THE FIRST
Volume of the
Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, contay-ning the Actes & Monumentes of thinges paſſed in euery kinges time,

in this Realme, eſpecially in the Churche of Eng-
land principally to be noted. With a full diſcourſe of
ſuch perſecutions, horrible troubles, the ſuffering of Martyrs,
the ſeuere puniſhment of perſecutors, the great prouidence of
God in preſeruing many, and other thinges incident touch-
ing aswell the ſayde Church of England, as alſo Scot-
land, and all other foreine Nations, from the
primitiue time, till the reigne of king
Henry the Eyght.

Newly recognised and inlarged by the
Author. I. Foxe. 1576.

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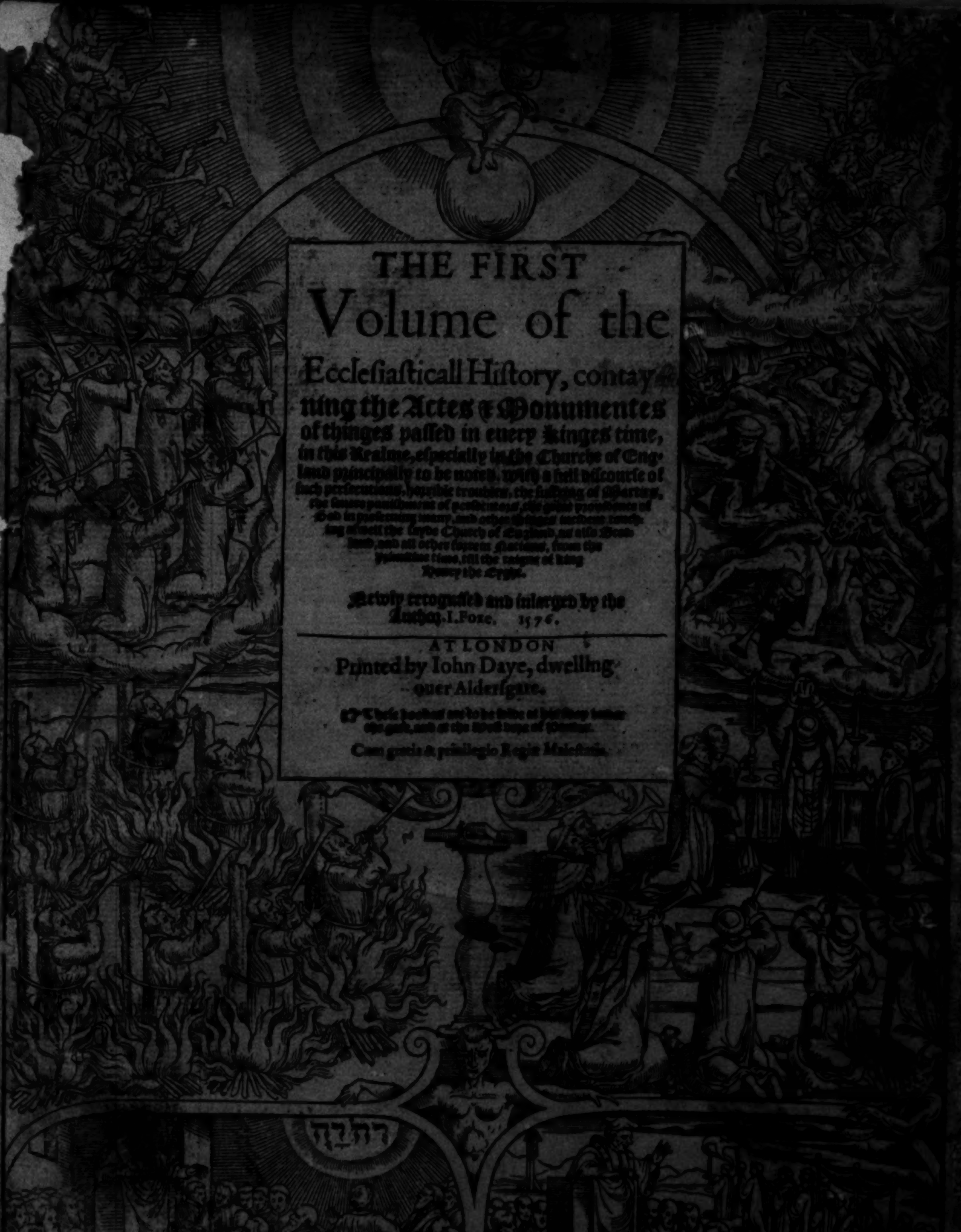


¶ TO THE TRVE AND FAITHFVLL CONGREgation of Chriſtes vniuerſall Church, with all and ſingular the members thereof, whereſoeuer congregated, or diſperſed through the Realme of England, A Proteſtation or petition of the Author, wiſhing to the ſame aboundance of all peace and tranquilitie, with the ſpedy comming of Chriſt the ſpouſe, to make an end of all mortall miſerie.

SAlomon the peaceable Prince of Iſraell, as we read in the thyrde of Kynges, after he had finiſhed the buildyng of the Lordes Temple (which he had vij. yeares in hand) made his petition to the Lord for al that ſhoulde pray in the ſayd Temple, or turne their face towarde it, And his requeſt was graunted, the Lord aunſweryng hym, as we read in the ſayd booke. cap. 6. *I haue heard* (ſaith he) *thy prayer and haue ſanctified this place, &c.* Albeit the infinite Maieſty of God is not to be compaſſed in any materiall walles, yet it ſo pleaſed his goodnes to reſpect thys prayer of the Kynge, that not onely he promiſed to heare them which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with his own glory. For ſo we read agayne in the booke aforeſayd: *Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulam, quia repleuit gloria Domini, domum Domini.* 3. *Reg.* 7.

Vpon lyke truſt in Gods gracious goodnes, If I ſinnefull wretch, not comparyng with the buildyng of that Temple, but following the zeale of the builder might eyther be ſo bolde to aſke, or ſo happy to ſpeede, after my vij. yeares trauaile about thys Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, moſt humbly would craue of almighty God to beſtow his bleſſing vpon the ſame, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple were heard: ſo all true diſpoſed myndes which ſhall reſort to the readyng of thys preſent hiſtory contaynyng the Actes of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monumentes of hys Church, may by example of theyr lyfe, fayth, & doctrine, receiue ſome ſuch ſpiritual fruit to theyr ſoules through the operation of hys grace, that it may be to the aduauncement of hys glory, and profite of hys Church, through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. *Amen.*

But as it hapned in that Temple of Salomon, that all whiche came thether, came not to pray, but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee newes, other to talke and walke, ſome to buye and ſell, ſome to carpe & finde fault, & finally ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy & pluck downe, as they did in deede, For what is in this world ſo ſtrõg, but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be cõtraryed? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wranglyng *Theon* will not ſet in his toothe? Euen ſo neyther do I looke for any other in this preſent hiſtory: but that amongeſt many well diſpoſed readers ſome waſpes neſt or other will be ſtyrred vp to buſze about myne eares. Such a daungerous thyng it is now a dayes to write or do any good, but eyther by flatteryng a man muſt offende the Godly, or by true ſpeakyng procure hatred with the wicked. Of ſuch ſtinging waſpes and buſzing drones I had ſufficient triall in my former edition before, who if they had founde in my booke any iuſt cauſe to carpe, or vppon any true zeale of truth had proceded agaynſt the vntruthes of my ſtory and had brought iuſt profes for the ſame, I coulde haue right well abyde it. For God forbid, but that faultes, wherſoeuer they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therfore accuſers in a commõ wealth after my minde do ſerue to no ſmall ſtead.

But then ſuch accuſers muſt beware they play not the dogge, of whome Cicero in hys Oration ſpeaketh, which beyng ſet in *Capitolio* to fray away theeues by nyght, left the theeues and fell to barke at true men walkyng in the day. Where true faultes be, there to bay and barke is not amiſſe. But to carpe where no cauſe is, to ſpye in other ſtrawes, and to leape ouer their owne blockes: to ſwallow Camels and to ſtrayne gnattes: to oppreſſe truth with lyes, and to ſet vp lyes for truth, to blaſpheme the deare Martyrs of Chriſt, and to canonize for Saintes, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good ſubiectes, that is intollerable. Such barkyng curres, if they were well ſerued, would be made a while to ſtoope. But with theſe braulyng ſpirites I entend not at this tyme much to wraſtle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leaſure ſerue me to attend vpon them, thus much I thought in the meane ſeaſon, by way of Proteſtation or petition, to write vnto you both in general and particular the true members and faythfull congregation of Chriſtes Church, whereſoeuer either congregated together, or diſperſed through the whole Realme of Englãd, that for ſomuch as all the ſeekyng of theſe aduerſaries is to do what they can, by diſcredityng of this hiſtory with ſlaunders and ſiniſter ſurmiſes, how to withdraw the readers frõ it: This therefore ſhalbe in few wordes to premoniſh and deſire of all and ſingular of you (all well mynded louers and partakers of Chriſtes Goſpell) not to ſuffer your ſelues to be deceaued with the bigge bragges, and hyperbolicall ſpeaches of thoſe ſlaundryng tounges, what ſoeuer they haue or ſhall hereafter exclame agaynſt the ſame, But indifferently ſtaying your iudgement till truth be tryed, you will firſt peruſe, and then refuſe: meaſuryng the vntruthes of this hiſtory, not by the ſcoryng vp of their hundreds and thouſands of lyes which they giue out, but wiſely weyng the purpoſe of their doynges, accordyng as you finde, and ſo to iudge of the matter.

To read my bookes I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as he ſeeth cauſe ſo lyke as he lyſte. If any ſhall thinke hys labour to much in readyng this hiſtory, his choyce is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruite therof ſhall recompence the readers trauaile, then would I wiſh no man ſo light eared, to be caryed away for any ſiniſter clamour of aduerſaries, who many tymes depraue good doynges, not for the faultes they finde, but therfore finde faultes becauſe they would depraue. As for me and my hiſtory, as my will was to profite all and diſpleaſe none: ſo if ſkill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpoſe ben ſimple, and certes the cauſe no leſſe vrgent alſo, which moued me to take this enterpriſe in hand.

For firſt to ſee the ſimple flocke of Chriſt, eſpecially the vnlearned ſort, ſo miſerably abuſed, and all for ignoraunce of hiſtory, not knowing the courſe of tymes, and true deſcent of the Church, it pitied me, that part of diligence ſo long to haue ben vnſupplyed in this my countrey Church of England. Agayn conſideryng the multitude of Chronicles and ſtorywriters, both in England, and out of England, of whom the moſt part haue bene either Monkes or clientes to the ſea of Rome, it greued me to behold how partially they handled their ſtories. Whoſe painefull trauiſe albeit I cannot but commend, in committing diuers thinges to writing, not vnfruitfull to be knowen, nor vnpleaſaunt to be read: yet it lamented me to ſee in their Monumẽtes the principal pointes, which chiefly cõcerned the ſtate of Chriſtes Church, and were moſt neceſſary of al Chriſtẽ people to be knowẽ, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention therof were inſerted, yet were all thinges drawen to the honour ſpecially of the Church of Rome, or els to the fauour of their own ſect of Religion. Whereby the vulgare

The partiall dealing of ſtory writers.

ſort, hearyng and reading in their writinges no other Church mentioned or magnified but onely that Church which here floriſhed in this world in riches and iollitye, were drawne alſo to the ſame perſuaſion, to thinke no other Church to haue ſtand in all the earth, but onely the Church of Rome.

In the number of this ſort of writers, beſides our Monkes of England (for euery Monaſtery almoſt had hys Chronicler) I might alſo recite both Italian, and other countrey authors, as *Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Pollid. Virgilius*, with many more, who takyng vpon them to entermeddle with matters of the Church, although in parte they expres ſome truth in matters concernyng the Byſhops and ſea of Rome: yet in ſuppreſſing an other part, they play with vs, as Ananias and Saphira did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny, who painting the one halfe of Venus commyng out of the Sea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So theſe writers while they ſhewe vs one halfe of the Byſhop of Rome, the other halfe of hym they leaue vnperfect, and vtterly vntold. For as they paint hym out on the one part gliſtering in wealth and glory, in ſhewing what ſucceſſion the Popes had from the chaire of S. Peter, when they firſt began, and how long they ſate, what Churches and what famous buildings they erected, howe farre their poſſeſſions reached, what lawes they made, what councels they called, what honour they receaued of Kinges and Emperours, what Princes and countreys they brought vnder their authority, with other like ſtratagemes, of great pompe and royaltie: ſo on the other ſide what vices theſe Popes brought with thẽ to their ſeate, what abominations they practized, what ſuperſtition they maintayned, what Idolatrie they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expreſſe word of God, to what hereſies they fell, into what diuiſion of ſectes they cut the vnitie of Chriſtian Religion, how ſome practized by Symonie, ſome by Necromancy, and ſorcery, ſome by poyſoning, ſome indentyng with the deuill to come by their Papacy, what hypocriſie was in their liues, what corruption in their doctrine, what warres they rayſed, what bloudſhed they cauſed, what trachery they trauerſed agaynſt their Lordes and Emperours, impriſoning ſome, betraying ſome to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other vnder their feete, alſo in beheddyng ſome, as they did with *Fredericus* & *Conradinus*, the heyres and ofſpring of the houſe of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*. an. 1269: furthermore howe mightely almighty God hath ſtand agaynſt them, how their warres neuer proſpered agaynſt the Turke, how the iudgemẽtes of the godly learned from time to tyme haue euer repugned againſt their errours &c. of theſe and a thouſand other mo, not one word hath ben touched, but all kept as vnder *Benedicite* in Auricular confeſſion.

This partiall dealyng and corrupt handlyng of hiſtories, when I conſidered, I thought with my ſelfe nothing more lackyng in the Church, then a full and a complet hiſtory, which beyng faythfully collected out of all our Monaſticall writers & written Monumentes, ſhould containe neyther euery vayne written fable for that would be to much, nor yet leaue out any thyng neceſſary, for that would be to litle: but with a moderate diſcretion taking the beſt of euery one, ſhould both eaſe the labour of the reader frõ turning ouer ſuch a nũber of writers: and alſo ſhoulde open the playne truth of tymes lying long hyd in obſcure darknes of antiquitie. Whereby all ſtudious readers, beholding as in a glaſſe the ſtate, courſe, and alteration of Religion, decay of doctrine, and the controuerſies of the Church, might diſcerne the better betwene antiquitie and noueltie. For if the thynges which be firſt (after the rule of Tertullian) are to be preferred before thoſe that be latter, then is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therfore not without cauſe *Hiſtoria, in old authors is called, the witneſſe of tymes, the light of Veritie, the lyfe of memory, teacher of lyfe, and ſhewer of antiquitie, &c.* Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blind, and ſoone may fall into any kinde of errour, as by manifeſt experience we haue to ſee, in theſe deſolate latter times of the Church, whẽ as the Byſhops of Rome vnder colour of antiquitie haue turned truth into hereſie and brought ſuch new found deuiſes of ſtraunge doctrine and Religion as in the former age of the Church were neuer heard of before, and al through ignoraunce of tymes, and for lacke of true hiſtory.

Primum quodq; veriſsimum eſt. Tertul.

For to ſay the truth, if tymes had ben well ſearched, or if they which wrote hiſtories had without partiallitie gone vpright betwen God, and Baal, haltyng on neyther ſide, it myght well haue bene found the moſt part of all this Catholicke corruptiõ intruded into the Church by the Byſhops of Rome, as Trãſubſtantiation, leuation, and adoration of the Sacrament, auriculer confeſſion, forced vowes of Prieſtes not to marry, veneration of Images, priuate and ſatisfactory Maſſes, the order of Gregories Maſſe now vſed, the vſurped authoritie and *Summa poteſtas* of the ſea of Rome, with all the route of their ceremonies and wiedes of ſuperſtition ouergrowing now the church, al theſe (I ſay) to be new nothings lately coyned in the minte of Rome without any ſtampe of antiquitie, as by readyng of this preſent hiſtory ſhall ſufficiently, I truſt, appeare. Which hiſtory therefore I haue here taken in hand, that as other ſtorywriters heretofore haue employed their trauaile to magnifie the Church of Rome: ſo in this hiſtory might appeare to all Chriſten readers the Image of both Churches, aſwell of the one as of the other: eſpecially of the poore oppreſſed and perſecuted Church of Chriſt. Which perſecuted Church though it hath ben of long ſeaſon trodden vnder foote by enemies, neglected in the world, nor regarded in hiſtories, & almoſt ſcarce viſible or knowne to worldly eyes, yet hath it bene the true Church onely of God, wherin he hath mightely wrought hetherto in preſeruing the ſame in all extreme diſtreſſes, cõtinually ſtirring vp from time to time faythfull Miniſters, by whome alwayes hath ben kept ſome ſparkes of his true doctrine and Religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now for ſomuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with ſome other Church or Chappell of the deuill to deface and maligne the ſame, neceſſary it is therfore the difference betwne them to be ſene, and the deſcent of the right Church to be deſcribed from the Apoſtles tyme. Which hetherto in moſt part of hiſtories hath ben lacking, partly for feare, that men durſt not, partly for ignoraunce that men coulde not diſcerne rightly betwene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be ſo viſible and glorious in the eyes of the world, ſo ſhyning in outward beauty, to beare ſuch a port, to cary ſuch a trayne and multitude, and to ſtand in ſuch hye authoritie, ſuppoſed the ſame to be onely the right Catholicke mother. The other becauſe it was not ſo viſibly knowne in the worlde, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Chriſt. Wherein they were farre deceaued. For although the right Church of God be not ſo inuiſible in the world, that none can ſee it: yet neyther is it ſo viſible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceaue it. For like as is the nature of truth: ſo is the proper condition of the true Churche, that commonly none ſeeth it, but ſuch onely, as be the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they which require that Gods holy Church ſhould be euident and viſible to the whole world ſeeme to define the great Sinagoge of the world, rather then the true ſpirituall Church of God.

The deſcent of Chriſtes Church from the Apoſtles tyme deſcribed.

How the true Church of Chriſt is viſible, and not viſible.

In Chriſtes time who would haue thought, but the congregation and Councels of the Phariſies had bene the right Church: and yet had Chriſt an other Church in earth beſides that, which albeit, it was not ſo manifeſt in the ſight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the ſight of God. Of this Church ment Chriſt ſpeaking of the Temple, which he would rayſe againe the third day. And yet after that the Lord was riſen, he ſhewed not him ſelfe to the worlde, but onely to his elect which were but few. The ſame Church after that encreaſed & multiplyed mightely amōg the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eyes to ſee Gods Church, but did perſecute it till at length all their whole nation was deſtroyed.

After the Iewes, then came the heathen Emperours of Rome, who hauing the whole power of the worlde in their handes, did what the world could do, to extinguiſh the name and Church of Chriſt. Whoſe violence continued the ſpace of iij. hundreth yeares. All which while the true Church of Chriſt was not greatly in ſight of the world, but rather was abhorred euery where and yet notwithſtanding the ſame ſmall ſelly flocke ſo deſpiſed in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightely preſerued. For although many then of the Chriſtians did ſuffer death: yet was their death neither loſſe to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they ſuffered, the more of their bloud encreaſed.

In the tyme of theſe Emperours, God raiſed vp then in this Realme of Britaine diuers worthy teachers and witneſſes, as *Elnanus, meduinus, Meltiuianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Iulius* and other moe. In whoſe time the doctrine of faith without mens traditions was ſincerely preached. After their death and Martirdome, it pleaſed the Lord to prouide a generall quietnes to his Church, wherby the nūber of his flocke began more to encreaſe.

In this age then followed here in the ſaid land of Britaine *Faſtidius, Niniauus, Patricius, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, Dauid, Daniel, Sampſon, Elnodugus, Aſaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Niuius* and a great ſort moe, which gouerned the Church of Britaine by Chriſten doctrine a long ſeaſon, albeit the ciuill gouernours for the time were then diſſolute and careles, as Gildas very ſharply doth lay to their charge, and ſo at length were ſubdued by the Saxons.

The antiquitie of the Church here in England with the deſcent of the ſame.

All this while about the ſpace of foure hundreth yeares, Religion remained in Britaine vncorrupt, and the word of Chriſt truely preached, till about the comming of Auſten and of his companions from Rome, many of the ſaid Britaine preachers were ſlaine by the Saxons. After that began Chriſten faith to enter and ſpring amōg the Saxons, after a certaine Romiſh ſort, yet notwithſtanding ſomewhat more tollerable, then were the times, which after followed, through the diligent induſtry of ſome Godly teachers, which then liued amongeſt them: as *Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Beda, Iohn of Beuerlay, Alcuinus, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealredus, Alexander Neckam, Nigellus, Fenallus, Aelfricus, Sygeferthus* and ſuch other: who though they erred in ſome few thinges, yet neyther ſo groſſely, nor ſo greatly to be complained of in reſpect of the abuſes that followed. For as yet, all this while, the errour of Tranſubſtantiation and leuation, with auriculer confeſſion was not crept in for a publicke doctrine in Chriſtes Church as by their own Saxon Sermon, made by *Aelfricus*, and ſet out in the ſecond Volume of this preſent hiſtory may appeare pag. 1114. During the which meane time, although the Biſhops of Rome were had here in ſome reuerence with the Clergy: yet had they nothing as yet to do in ſetting lawes touching matters of the church of England: but that onely appertained to the kings and gouernours of the land as is in this ſtory to be ſene. pag. 754.

Tranſubſtantiation not yet receiued for a publicke doctrine.

And thus the Church of Rome albeit it began then to decline a pace from God, yet during all this while it remayned hetherto in ſome reaſonable order, till at length after that the ſayd Biſhops began to ſhout vp in the world through the liberalitie of good Princes, and eſpecially by Mathilda a noble Duches of Italy. Who at her death made the Pope heyre of all her landes, & endued his ſea, with great reuenewes. Then riches begot ambition. Ambition deſtroyed Religion, ſo that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption ſprang forth here in England (as did in other places more) an other Romiſh kinde of Monkery, worſe thē the other before, beyng much more drowned in ſuperſtition and ceremonies, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 980. Of this ſwarme was *Egbertus, Aigelbart, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede, Agathon, Iames, Romaine, Cedda, Dunſtane, Oſwolde, Aethelwold, Aethelwine* Duke of *Eaſtangels, Lancfrancke, Anſelme* and ſuch other.

The Church when it began to fall from God.

Aeneas Siluius ſayth that Mathilda made the Pope heyre of theſe landes, which is called the Patrimonye of S. Peter.

Ex Auen. lib. 6.

Monkery when it beganne to reigne in England.

And yet in this time alſo through Gods prouidence, the Church lacked not ſome of better knowledge and iudgement, to weygh with the darkenes of thoſe dayes. For although king Edgar, with Edward his baſe ſonne being ſeduced by Dunſtane, Oſwolde and other Monkiſh Clerkes, was then a great author and fautor of much ſuperſtition, erecting as many Monaſteries, as were Sondayes in the yeare: yet notwithſtandyng this cōtinued not lōg. For eſtſoones after the death of Edgar came kinge Ethelrede and Queene Elſthred his mother, with Alferus Duke of merceland, and other peeres and nobles of the Realme, who diſplaced the Monkes againe, and reſtored the maryed Prieſtes to their old poſſeſſions and liuinges. Moreouer after that followed alſo the Danes which ouerthrew thoſe Monkiſh foundations, as faſt as king Edgar had ſet them vp before.

And thus hetherto ſtode the condition of the true Church of Chriſt, albeit not without ſome repugnance & difficultie, yet in ſome meane ſtate of the truth & veritie, til time of Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory vij. which was nere about the yeare. 1080. And of Pope Innocentius iij. in the yeare. 1215. By whō all together was turned vpſide downe, all order broken, diſcipline diſſolued, true doctrine defaced. Chriſten fayth extinguiſhed. In ſted wherof was ſet vp preaching of mens decrees, dreames, and Idle traditions. And whereas before truth was free to be diſputed amongeſt learned men, now libertie was turned into law, Argument into Authoritie. Whatſoeuer the Biſhop of Rome denounced, that ſtode for an oracle, of all men to be receaued without oppoſition or contradiction: what ſoeuer was contrary, *ipſo facto* it was hereſy, to be puniſhed with fagot and flamyng fire. Then began the ſincere fayth of this Engliſh Church, which held out ſo long, to quayle. Thē was the clere ſunne ſhine of Gods word ouerſhadowed, with miſtes and darknes, appearyng like ſackcloth to the people, which neyther could vnderſtand that they read, nor yet Permitted to read that they could vnderſtand. In theſe miſerable dayes, as the true viſible Churche began now to ſhrinke and kepe in for feare: ſo vpſtart a newe ſort of players to furniſh the ſtage, as ſchole Doctours, canoniſtes, and foure orders of Friers. Beſides other Monaſticall ſectes and fraternities of infinite varietie. Whiche euer ſince haue kept ſuch a ſtirre in the Churche, that none for them almoſt durſt route, neyther Cæſar, king, nor ſubiect. What they defined, ſtode. What they approued, was Catholicke: What they condemned, was hereſy: whom ſoeuer they accuſed, none almoſt coulde ſaue. And thus haue theſe hetherto continued or raigned rather in the church, the ſpace now of four hundreth yeares and odde. Duryng which ſpace, the true church of Chriſt, although it durſt not openly appeare in the face of the world, oppreſſed by tyranny: yet neyther was it ſo inuiſible or vnknowne, but by the prouidence of the Lord, ſome remnaunt alwayes remayned from tyme to tyme, whiche not onely ſhewed ſecret good affection to ſincere doctrine, but alſo ſtode in open defence of truth agaynſt the diſordered Church of Rome.

The true Church when it began firſt to decay.

The true Church continueth in middeſt of their enemies.

In which Cataloge, firſt to pretermit *Barthramus* and *Berengarius*, whiche were before Pope Innocent the iij. a learned multitude of ſufficient witneſſes here might be produced, whoſe names neyther are obſcure nor doctrine vnknowne: as *Ioachim* Abbote of Calabria, *Almericus* a learned Byſhop, who was iudged an hereticke for holdyng agaynſt Images, in the tyme of the ſayd Innocentius. Beſides the Martyres of Alſatia, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the ſayd Innocentius in one day, as writeth *Hermanus Mutius*. Adde likewiſe to theſe *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes*, which to a great number ſegregated them ſelues from the Churche of Rome. To this number alſo belonged *Reymundus* Earle of Tholoſe, *Marſilius Patauius*.* *Guilielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacenſis Arnoldus de noua Villa, Ioannes Semeca*, beſides diuers preachers in Sueuia ſtanding agaynſt the Pope. anno. 1240. *Ex Cranz. Laurentius Anglicus* a maſter of Paris. an. 1260. *Petrus Ioannis* a Minorite, who was burned after his death. anno. 1290. *Robertus Gallus* a Dominicke Frier, anno. 1291. *Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of Lincolne which was called Malleus Romanorum, an. 1250. *Lord Peter de Cugneriis*, anno. 1329. To theſe we may adde moreouer *Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratius Bergomenſis, Luitpoldus Andraas Laudenſis. Vlricus Hangener* Treaſurer to the Emperour, *Ioannes de Ganduno*. anno 1330. mentioned in the Extrauagantes, *Andraas de Caſtro, Buridianus, Endo* Duke of Burgundy, who counſelled the French kyng, not to receaue the new found conſtitutions and extrauagantes of the Pope into his Realme, *Dantes Alligerius*, An Italian, who wrote agaynſt the Pope, Monkes and Friers, and agaynſt the donation of *Conſtantine*, an. 1330. *Taulerus* a Germaine preacher, * *Conradus Hager* impriſoned for preachyng agaynſt the Maſſe. an. 1339. The author of the Booke called, *Pœnitentiarius Aſini*, compiled about the yeare 1343. *Michael Ceſenas* a gray Frier, *Petrus de Corbaria*, with *Ioannes de Poliaco*, mencioned in the Extrauagantes and condemned by the Pope. *Ioannes de Caſtilione*, with *Franciſcus de Arcatara*, who were burned about the yeare of our Lord. 1322 * *Ioannes Rochtaylada*, otherwiſe called *Haybalus*, with an other Frier Martyred about the yeare. 1346. *Franciſcus Petracha*, who called Rome the whore of Babilon, &c. an. 1350.* *Georgius Ariminenſis*, an. 1350. *Ioannes de Rupe Sciſſa*, empriſoned for certeine propheſies agaynſt the Pope, an. 1340. *Gerhardus Ridder*, who alſo wrote agaynſt Monkes and Friers a booke called *Lachryma Eccleſiæ*. an. 1350. *Godfridus de Fōtanis, Guilelmus de Lāduno, Ioannes Monachus Cardini. Armachanus, Nicholaus Orē* preacher, an. 1364. *Militzius* a Bohemian, which then preached that Antichriſt was come, and was excommunicate for the ſame, an. 1366. *Iacobus Miſnenſis*,* *Mathias Pariſienſis* a Bohemian Borne, & a writer agaynſt the Pope, an. 1370 *Ioannes Mountziger*, Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Vlme, anno, 1384. *Nilus* Archb. of Theſſalonica, *Henricus de Iota, Henricus de Haſſia, &c.*

Extrauagant cap. Non ſine multa.
Ex Nicholao Imerico. lib. Inquiſitionum.

Ex Ioan. Auentino. lib. 7.
Extrauant. cap. Licet infra doctrinam.

Ex Bullis quibuſdam Othonis Epiſ. Herbipolenſis.

Extrauagāt Ioan. 22
Ex Ioan. Proſſardo vol. 1. Cap. 211.
Ex Tritemio.

Ex Bulla Gregorij cap. 11.

Ex Illirico.

I do but recite the principall writers and preachers in thoſe dayes, How many thouſands there were which neuer bowed their knees to Baall, that is knowne to God alone. Of whome we finde in the writinges of one * *Bruſhius*, that xxxvj. Citizens of Maguntia were burned, anno, 1390. Who folowing the doctrine of the Waldenſes, affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichriſt. Alſo *Maſſaus* recordeth of one hundred and fourty, which in the prouince of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receauyng the decretalles of Rome: beſides them that ſuffered at Paris to the number of xxiiij. at one time, anno, 1210. and the next yeare after were iiij hūdred brent vnder the names of Heretiques. Beſides alſo a certaine good Heremite, an Engliſhman, of whome mention is made in *Iohn Bacon. Diſt. 2. Queſt. 1.* who was committed for diſputing in Paules Churche, againſt certaine Sacramentes of the Church of Rome, an. 1306.

Ex Bruſhio.
Ex Chriſtiano Maſſeo.

Ex Ioan. Bacon Diſt. 2. Queſt. 1.

To diſcend nowe ſomewhat lower in drawing out the deſcent of the Church. What a multitude here commeth of faythfull witneſſes in the time of *Ioh. Wickleffe, as Ocleffe, Wickleffe.* an. 1376. *W. Thorpe. White, Purney, Patſhall, Payne, Gower, Chauſer, Gaſcoyne, William Swynderby, walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry* about the yeare. 1400. *Iohn Badby*, an. 1410. *Nicholaus Tayler, Rich. Wagſtaffe, Mich. Sertuener, W. Smith Iohn Henry, W. Parchmenar, Roger* Goldſmith, with an Ancreſſe called *Mathilde* in the Citie of Leiceſter, Lord *Cobham*, Syr *Roger Acton* Knight, *Iohn Beuerley* preacher, *Iohn Huſſe, Hierome* of *Prage* Scholemaſter, with a number of faythful Bohemians and Thaborites not to be tolde with whom I might alſo adioyne *Laurentius Valla* and *Ioannes, Picus* the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what do I ſtand vpon recitall of names, which almoſt are infinite.

Wherefore if any be ſo farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the Churche of Rome (as it now ſtandeth) to be of ſuch antiquitie, and that the ſame was neuer impugned before the time of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* now of late, let hym read theſe hiſtoryes: or if he thinke the ſayd hiſtory not to be of ſufficient credite to alter his perſuaſion let hym peruſe the actes and Statutes of Parlamentes paſſed in this Realme of auncient tyme and therein conſider and conferre the courſe of tymes, where he may finde & read. *An. 5. Regis Richardi. 2.* in the yeare of our Lord 1380. of a great number (which there be called *euyll perſons*) *goyng about from towne to towne in Freeſe gownes preachyng vnto the people. &c.* which preachers, although the woordes of the Statute doo terme there to be diſſembling perſons, preaching diuers Sermons containing hereſies and notorious errours, to the emblemiſhment of Chriſten fayth, and of holy Church &c. as the wordes do there pretend: yet notwithſtandyng euery true Chriſten reader may conceaue of thoſe preachers to teach no other doctrine, then nowe they heare theyr owne Preachers in Pulpits preach, agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, and the corrupt hereſies of his Church.

Statut. in An. 5. Rich. 2. An. Domini. 1390.

Furthermore he ſhal finde likewiſe in *Statut, an. 2. Henr. 4. Cap. 15.* in the yeare of our Lord 1402. an other like company of good preachers and faythfull defenders of true doctrine agaynſt blynde hereſie and errour. Whom albeit the wordes of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falſey terme, to be falſe *and peruerſe preachers, vnder diſſembled holynes, teachyng in theſe dayes openly and priuely newe doctrines and hereticall opinions contrary to the fayth and determination of holy Church. &c.* yet notwithſtanding whoſoeuer readeth hiſtories and conferreth the order and deſcent of times, ſhall vnderſtand theſe to be no falſe teachers, but faythfull witneſſes of the truth, not teachyng any new doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church: But rather ſhall finde that Church to be vnholy, which they preached agaynſt, teachyng rather it ſelfe hereticall opinions contrary both to antiquitie, and verity of Chriſtes true Catholicke Church.

Ex Statut in An. 2. Henr. 4. cap 15. An. Domini. 1402.

Of the like number alſo, or greater, of like true faythfull fauourers and followers of Gods holy worde, we finde in the yeare of our Lord. 1422. ſpecified in a letter ſent from *Henry Chikeſley* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Pope Martine v. in the fift yeare of his Popedome, where mention is made *of ſo many here in England infected:* (as he ſayd) *With the hereſies of Wickleffe and Huſſe, that without force of any army they could not be ſuppreſſed. &c.* Wherupon the Pope ſent two Cardinals to the Archbiſhop to cauſe a tenth to be gathered of all ſpirituall and Religious men, and the money to be layd in the chamber Apoſtolicke, and if that were not ſufficient, the reſidue to be made vp of Chalices, Candleſtickes, and other implementes of the Church &c.

Ex Literis Archiepiſcopi Cant. ad Martinum. 5. Anno Domini. 1422.

What ſhall neede then any more witnes to proue this matter, when you ſee ſo many yeares ago, whole armies and multitudes, thus ſtanding againſt the Pope? who though they be termed here for heretickes & ſchiſmatickes, yet in that, which they call hereſy, ſerued they the liuing Lord, within the Arke of his true ſpirituall and viſible Church.

And where is then the friuolous bragge of the Papiſtes, which make ſo much of their paynted ſheath, and would needes beare vs downe, that this gouernement of the Church of Rome which now is, hath bene of ſuch an old ſtanding, tyme out of minde, euen from the Primitiue Antiquitie, and that neuer was any other church demonſtrable here in earth for men to follow, beſides the ſaid onely Catholicke motherchurch of Rome? when as we haue ſufficiently proued before by the continuall deſcent of the Church till this preſent tyme, that the ſayd Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begunne matter, but euen the old cōtinued Church, by the prouidence and promiſe of Chriſt, ſtill ſtanding, which albeit it hath bene of late yeares repreſſed by the tyranny of Romaine Byſhops, more then before: yet notwithſtanding it was neuer ſo oppreſſed but God hath euer maintayned in it the truth of his Goſpell, againſt hereſies and errors of the Church of Rome, as in this hiſtory more at full is to be ſeene.

Let vs now procede farther as we began, deducing this deſcent of the Churche vnto the 1501. yeare. In which yeare the Lord began to ſhew in the partes of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloudy markes of hys Paſſion, as the bloudy croſſe, his nayles, ſpeare, and crowne of thornes, which fell from heauen vpon the garmentes and cappes of men, and rockes of women, as you may further read in this booke pag. 816. By the which tokens almighty God (no doubt) preſignified what greuous afflictions and bloudy perſecutions ſhould then begin to enſue vpon his Church for his Goſpels ſake, according as in this hiſtory is deſcribed. wherein is to be ſeene what Chriſten bloud hath bene ſpilt, what perſecutions rayſed, what tyranny exerciſed, what tormentes deuiſed, what trechery vſed againſt the poore flocke and Church of Chriſt, in ſuch ſort as ſince Chriſtes tyme greater hath not bene ſeene.

Bloudy markes of Chriſtes paſſion ſeene on mens garmentes in Germany. An. 1501.

And now by reuolution of yeares we are come from that tyme of. 1501. to the yeare now preſent. 1570. In which the full ſeuentie yeares of the Babilonicall captiuitie draweth now well to an ende, if we count from the firſt appearing of theſe bloudy markes aboue mentioned. Or if we recken from the beginnyng of Luther, and his perſecution, then lacketh yet xvj. yeares. Now what the Lord will doe with this wicked worlde, or what reſt he will geue to his Church after theſe long ſorrowes, he is our father in heauen, his will be done in earth, as ſeemeth beſt to his diuine maieſtie.

Seuentie yeares of captiuitie well nere expired.

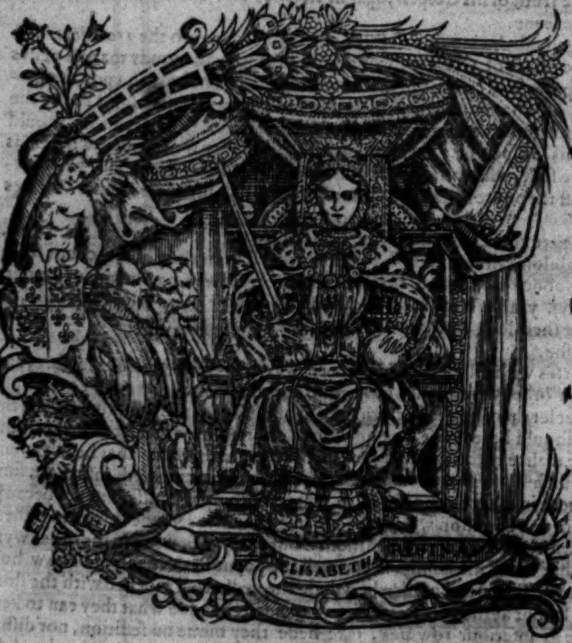
In the meane tyme let vs for our partes with all pacient obedience wayte vpon his gracious leyſure, and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one an other with all humilitie. And if there cā not be an end of our diſputing, & cōtēding one agaynſt an other: yet let there be a moderatiō in our affections. And forſomuch as it is the good will of our God, that Sathan thus ſhould be let looſe among vs for a ſhort tyme: yet let vs ſtriue in the meane while what we can, to amend the malice of the tyme with mutuall humanitie. They that be in errour, let them not diſdayne to learne. They which haue greater tallentes of knowledge committed, inſtruct in ſimplicitie them that be ſimple. No man lyueth in that common wealth where nothing is amiſſe. But yet becauſe God hath ſo placed vs Engliſhmen here in one common wealth, alſo in one Church as in one ſhippe together: let vs not mangle or diuide the ſhippe, which being diuided periſheth: but euery man ſerue in his order wyth diligence, wherein he is called. They that ſit at the helme, keepe well the poynt of the nedle, to know how the ſhippe goeth, & whether it ſhould. What ſoeuer whether betydeth, the nedle well touched with the ſtone of Gods word will neuer fayle. Such as labour at the oares, ſtart for no tempeſt, but doe what they can to kepe from the rockes. Likewiſe they which be in inferiour rowmes, take hede they moue no ſedition, nor diſturbance agaynſt the rowers and mariners. No ſtorme ſo daungerous to a ſhippe on the Sea, as is diſcord and diſorder in a weale publicke. What countryes and nations, what kingdomes and Empires, what Cities, townes, and houſes diſcord hath diſſolued, in ſtoryes is manifeſt: I neede not ſpende tyme in rehearſing examples.

Exhortation to the Church of England.

The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth his mercifull hand to helpe them vp that ſincke, to keepe them vp that ſtand, to ſtill theſe windes and ſourging Seas of diſcord and contention amongeſt vs: that we profeſſing one Chriſt, may in one vnitie of doctrine gather our ſelues into one Arke of the true Church together: where we continuing ſtedfaſt in fayth may at the laſt luckely be conducted to the ioyfull porte of our deſired landing place by his heauenly grace. To whom both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory, with his father and the holy ſprite for euer. Amen.

⁂

¶ TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXCELLENT and noble Princeſſe Queene Elizabeth, our Dread Lady, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of Chriſtes Fayth & Goſpel, and principall gouernour both of the Realme and alſo ouer the ſayd Church of England & Ireland, vnder Chriſt the ſupreame head of the ſame. &c. Iohn Foxe her hũble ſubiect wiſheth dayly increaſe of Gods holy ſpirite and Grace, with long reigne, perfect health, and ioyfull peace, to gouerne his flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good Princes, the comfort of his Church, and glory of his bleſſed name.



CHRIST *the Prince of al Princes who hath placed you in your throne of Maieſty, vnder hym to gouerne the Church and Realme of Englãd geue your royall highnes long to ſit, and many yeares to raigne ouer vs, in all floriſhing felicitie, to his gracious pleaſure, and long laſting ioy of all your ſubiectes. Amen.*

When I firſt preſented theſe Actes and Monumentes vnto your maieſty (moſt deare ſoueraigne, Queene Elizabeth, our peaceable Salome) which your maieſties rare clemency receaued in ſuch gentle part: I well hoped that theſe my trauailes in this kynde of writyng had bene well at an ende: whereby I might haue returned my ſtudies againe to other purpoſes, after myne owne deſire, more fit then to write hiſtories, eſpecially in the Engliſh tõge. But certaine euil diſpoſed perſons, of intemperant tounges, aduerſaries to good procedinges would not ſuffer me ſo to reſt, fumyng & freatyng, and raiſing vp ſuch miſerable exclamations at the firſt appearyng of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Chriſt to haue bene new borne agayne, and that Herode with all the Citie of Ieruſalem had bene in an vprore. Such bluſtring and ſtirring was then againſt that poore booke through all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Louaine: ſo that no Engliſhe Papiſt almoſt in all the Realme thought hym ſelfe a perfect Catholicke, vnleſſe he had caſt out ſome word or other, to geue that booke a blow.

Whereupon conſidering with my ſelfe what ſhould moue them thus to rage, firſt I began with more circũſpect diligẽce to ouerlooke againe that I had done. In ſearchyng wherof I found the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was in dede, not ſo much in the booke it ſelfe (to ſay the truth) as in an other certayne priuy miſtery & workyng of ſome: of whõ Ioãnes Auẽtinus *ſhall tel vs, in his owne wordes, and ſhew vs who they be:* Quibus, inquit, audiendi quæ fecerint, pudor eſt: nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubeſcunt. Illic vbi opus nihil verentur: hic vbi nihil opus eſt, ibi verentur. &c. *Who beyng aſhamed belike to heare their worthy ſtratagemes like to come to light, ſought by what meanes they might, the ſtopping of the ſame. And becauſe they could not worke it* per brachium ſeculare, *by publicke authoritie (the Lord of heauẽ long preſerue your noble maieſty) they renued againe an old wõted practiſe of theirs: doyng in like ſort herein as they did ſome times with the holy Bible in the daies of your renowned father of famous memory K. Henry viij. who when they neyther by manifeſt reaſon could gainſtãd the matter cõtained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out therof, then ſought they by a ſubtile deuiſed traine to depraue the tranſlation, notes and prologues therof, bearyng the king in hand, and all the people, that there was in it a thouſand lies, and I can not tell howe many mo: Not that there were ſuch lies in it in very dede: but becauſe the comming of that booke ſhould not bewray their lying falſhode, therefore they thought beſt, to begin firſt to make exceptions them ſelues agaynſt it: playing in their ſtage, like as* Phormio *did in the old Comedie: who beyng in all the fault him ſelfe, began firſt to quarel with* Demipho, *when* Demipho *rather had good right to lay* Phormio *by the heeles.*

With like facing bragges theſe Catholicke Phormiones *thinke now to daſh out all good bookes, and amonges others alſo theſe Monumentes of Martyrs. Whiche godly Martyrs as they coulde not abide being aliue: ſo neyther can they now ſuffer their memories to liue after their death, leaſt the Actes of them beyng knowen, might bryng perhaps their wicked Actes and cruell murthers to deteſtation: And therfore ſpurne they ſo vehemently agaynſt this booke of hiſtories, withall kinde of contumelies, and vprores, railing and wondering vppon it, much like as I haue heard of a company of theeues, who in Robbing a certayne true man by the high wayes ſide, when they had found a peece of gold or two about hym, more then he would be acknowen of, they cryed out of the falſhode of the worlde, merueiling and complayning what litle truth was to be found in men.*

Euen ſo theſe men deale alſo with me: for when they them ſelues altogether delight in vntruthes, and haue repleniſhed the whole Church of Chriſt with fained fables, lying miracles, falſe viſions, miſerable errours contained in their miſſals, and Portuſes. Breuiares, and Summaries, and almoſt no true tale in all their Saintes liues and Feſtiuals, as nowe alſo no great truthes in our Louanian *Bookes, &c. Yet notwithſtandyng as though they were a people of much truth, and that the worlde did not perceaue them, they pretend a face and Zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no hiſtories els in all the worlde corrupted, but onely this hiſtory of Actes and Monumentes, with tragicall voyces they exclaime and wonder vpon it, ſparing no coſt of hyperbolicall phraſes, to make it appeare as full of lyes as lines. &c. much after the like ſort of impudencie as ſophiſters vſe ſometimes in their ſophiſmes to do (and ſometimes is vſed alſo in Rethorick) that when an Argument commeth agaynſt them which they can not well reſolue in dede, they haue a rule to ſhift of the matter with ſtout wordes and tragicall admiration, whereby to daſhe the opponent out of countenaunce, bearing the hearers in hand, the ſame to be the weakeſt and ſlendereſt argument that euer was heard not worthy to be aunſwered, but vtterly to be hiſſed out of the Scholes.*

With like ſophiſtication theſe alſo fare with me: who when they neyther can abide to heare their own doynges declared, nor yet deny the ſame, whiche they heare, to be true, onely for iij. or foure eſchapes in the booke committed (and yet ſome of them in the ſayd booke amended) they neyther readyng the whole, nor rightly vnderſtandyng that they read, inueigh and maligne ſo peruerſly the ſetting out therof, as though neither any word in al that ſtory were true, nor any other ſtory falſe in all the worlde beſides. And yet in accuſing theſe my accuſers I do not ſo excuſe my ſelfe, nor defend my booke, as though nothyng in it were to be ſponged or amended. Therfore I haue taken theſe paynes, & reiterated my labors in trauailyng out the ſtory agayn: doyng herein as Penelope *did with her web, vntwiſting that ſhe had done before: or as builders do ſometimes, whiche build and take downe agayne, eyther to tranſpoſe the faſhion, or to make the foundation larger. ſo In recogniſing this hiſtory I haue employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I tooke in hand, partly alſo to aſſay, whether by any paynes takyng I might pacifie the ſtomackes, or ſatiſfie the iudgements of theſe importune quarrellers: which neuertheles I feare I ſhall not do, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heades of this hiſſing hidra will neuer be cut of, though I were as ſtrong as* Hercules. *And if* Apelles *the ſkilful Painter, when he had beſtowed all his cunning vppon a peece of worke, which no good artificer would or could greatly reproue, yet was not without ſome controling* Sutor, *which tooke vpon hym* Vltra crepidam, *much more may I looke for the like in theſe controlling dayes.*

Ne ſutor vltra crepidam.

Neuertheles committyng the ſucceſſe therof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured agayne vpon this ſtory of the Church, and haue ſpent not onely my paynes, but alſo almoſt my helth therein, to bring it to this. Which now beyng finiſhed, like as before I did: ſo agayne I exhibite and preſent the ſame vnto your Princely Maieſty. bleſſing my Lord my God withal my hart: firſt for this libertie of peace and tyme, which through your peaceable gouernement he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of thys and other like bookes, tractations and monumentes requiſit to the behofe of hys Churche, which hetherto by iniquitie of time, could not be contriued in any kinges raigne ſince the conqueſt, before theſe Alcyon *dayes of yours.*

Secondly, as we are all bound with publike voyces to magnifie our God for this happy perſeruation of your royall eſtate: ſo priuately for myne owne part, I alſo acknowledge my ſelfe bounde to my God and to my Sauiour, who ſo graciouſly in ſuch weake health, hath lent me time, both to finiſh this worke, and alſo to offer the ſecond dedication therof to your Maieſtye: deſiring the ſame to accept in worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthynes of the thyng geuen, yet as a teſtification of the bounden ſeruice and good will of one, whiche by thys he here preſenteth, declareth what hee would,

would, if he had better to geue.

And though the ſtory beyng writtē in the popular toūg, ſerueth not ſo greatly for your own peculiar readyng, nor for ſuch as be learned: yet I ſhall deſire both you and them, to conſider in it the neceſſitie of the ignorant flocke of Chriſt committed to your gouernement in this Realme of England. Who, as they haue bene long ledde in ignoraunce, and wrapt in blindnes for lacke ſpecially of Gods word, and partly alſo for wanting the light of hiſtory, pitie I thought [illegible] ſuch ſhould be helped, their ignoraunce relieued, and ſimplicitie inſtructed. I conſidered they were the flock of Chriſt, and your ſubiectes, belonging to your accompt and charge, bought with the ſame price, and hauyng as deare ſoules to the Lord as other. And though they be but ſimple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applyed. Furthermore what inconuenience groweth of ignoraunce, where knowledge lacketh, both I conſidered: and experience dayly teacheth.

And therfore hearing of the vertuous inclination of your Maieſtye, what a prouident care, and Zeale full of ſolicitude you haue, minding (ſpeedely I truſt) to furniſh all quarters and countreyes of this your Realme with the voyce of Chriſtes Goſpell, and faythfull preachyng of his word, I thought alſo not vnprofitable to adioyne vnto this your godly procedinges, and to the office of the miniſtery, the knowledge alſo of Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which in my mind ought not to be ſeparate frō the ſame: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and præceptes of doctrine: ſo by the other they may haue examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their fayth, and the edification of Chriſtian life. For as we ſee what light and profite commeth to the Church by hiſtories in old times ſet forth of the Iudges, Kinges, Machabies, and the Actes of the Apoſtles after Chriſtes time: ſo likewiſe may it redoūd to no ſmal vſe in the Church, to know the Actes of Chriſtes Martyrs now ſince the time of the Apoſtles.

Profite to be taken by examples of chriſtian Martyrs.

Gods workes to be obſerued in hiſtories.

What vſe commeth by reading of Hiſtories.

Beſides other manifolde examples and experimentes of Gods great mercies and iudgementes in preſeruyng his Church, in ouerthrowing tyrantes, in confounding pride, in altering ſtates and kingdomes, in conſeruyng Religion agaynſt errours and diſſentions, in relieuyng the godly, in brideling the wicked, in loſing and tying vp agayne of Sathan the diſturber of common weales, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions as well agaynſt the firſt table as the ſecond: wherein is to be ſeene Idolatry puniſhed, blaſphemy plagued, contempt of Gods holy name and religion reuenged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers and wedlocke breakers deſtroyed, periuries, extortions, couetous, oppreſſions, and fraudulent councels come to naught, with other excellent workes of the Lorde: the obſeruyng and notyng wherof in hiſtories, miniſter to the readers therof wholeſome admonitions of life: with experience and wiſedome both to know God in his workes, and to worke the thing that is godly: eſpecially to ſeeke vnto the ſonne of God for their ſaluation, and in hys fayth onely to finde that they ſeeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and conſtancie of which fayth, the Lord of his grace and goodnes graunt to your noble maieſty, and to his whole beloued Church, and all the members of the ſame, to euerlaſting life. Amen.

To the Chriſtian Reader.

SEyng the worlde is repleniſhed with ſuch an infinite multitude of bookes of al kinde of matters, I may ſeeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand ſuperfluous and nedeles, at this preſent to ſet out ſuch Volumes, eſpecially of hiſtories, conſidering now a dayes the world ſo greatly peſtred, not onely with ſuperfluous plenty therof, but of all other treatiſes, ſo that bookes nowe ſeme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lacke bookes: In which multitude of bookes I doubt not, but many do both perceiue, & inwardly bewayle this inſatiable boldnes of many now a dayes both in writyng and printing, which to ſay the truth, for my part I do as much lamēt as any man els beſide: & would therfore no mā ſhould thinke that vnaduiſedly or with raſhnes I haue attempted this enterpriſe, as one beyng not onely doubtfull, but alſo both baſhfull and fearefull within my ſelf for ſetting the ſame abroad. And why? firſt I perceaued how learned this age of ours is in readyng of bookes, neither could I tell what the ſecrete iudgements of readers would conceaue, to ſee ſo weake a thing, to ſet vpō ſuch a weyghty enterpriſe, not ſufficiently furniſhed with ſuch ornamentes able to ſatiſfie ẏ perfection of ſo great a ſtory, or ſufficient to ſerue the vtility of the ſtudious: and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wanting in me, the leſſe I durſt be bold to become a writer.

Multitude of Bookes lamented.

But agayne on the other ſide, when I wayed with my ſelfe what memorable Actes and famous doynges this latter age of the Churche hath miniſtred vnto vs by the patient ſufferinges of the worthy Martyrs: I thought it not to be neglected, that ſo precious Monumentes of ſo many matters, meete to be recorded and regiſtred in bookes, ſhould lye buried by my default vnder darknes of obliuion. Me thought ſomewhat was to be ſayd of them for their well deſeruyng, and ſomething againe of our partes for benefites by them receaued. But aboue all other thinges nothing dyd ſo much ſtyrre me foreward hereunto, as the diligent conſideration & ſpeciall regarde of the common vtilitie which euery mā plentifully may receiue by the readyng of theſe Monuments or Martyrologe which hiſtory as I haue taken in hand chiefly for the vſe of the Engliſh Church: ſo haue I framed it in that toung which the ſimple people could beſt vnderſtand.

Now if men commonly delite ſo much in other Chronicles which intreate onely vpon matters of policy, and reioyce to behold therein the variable euentes of worldly affaires, the ſtratagemes of valiant captaines, the terror of foughten fieldes, the ſacking of Cities, the hurly burlies of Realmes & people. And if men thinke it ſuch a gay thing in a common wealth to commit to hiſtory ſuch old antiquities of thinges prophane, and beſtow all their ornamentes of wyt and eloquence in garniſhyng the ſame: how much more then is it meete for Chriſtians to conſerue in remēbraunce the liues, Actes and doynges, not of bloudy warriours, but of mylde and conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, which ſerue not ſo much to delight the eare, as to garniſh the lyfe, to frame it with examples of great profite, and to encourage men to all kinde of Chriſtian godlines: As firſt by readyng thereof we may learne a liuely teſtimony of gods mighty workyng in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheiſtes, and all the whole neſt of Epicures. For like as one ſayd of Harpalus in times paſt, that his doynges gaue a liuely teſtimony agaynſt God, becauſe he beyng ſo wicked a man ſo long eſcaped vnpuniſhed: ſo contrariwiſe in theſe men we haue a much more aſſured and playne witnes of God both in whoſe liues & deathes appeared ſuch manifeſt declarations of gods diuine workyng, whiles in ſuch ſharpnes of tormentes we behold in them ſtrength, ſo conſtant aboue mans reach, ſuch redines to aunſwere, ſuch patience in impriſonment, ſuch godlines in forgeuing, cherefulnes ſo couragious in ſuffering, beſides the manifold ſenſe and feling of the holy ghoſt which they in their liues ſo plentifully taſted in their afflictions, as in readyng of their letters euidently we may vnderſtand. Ouer and beſides this, the milde deathes of the Saintes do not a little auaile to the ſtabliſhing of a good conſcience, to learn the contempt of the world, and to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme fayth, encreaſe godlines, abate pride in proſperitie, and in aduerſitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the miſery of theſe godly perſons, may not therin as in a glaſſe behold his owne caſe, whether he be godly or godles. For if God geue aduerſitie vnto good men, what may eyther the better ſort promiſe them ſelues, or the euill not feare? And wheras by readyng of prophane ſtories we are made perhaps more ſkilfull in warelike affaires: ſo by reading of this we are made better in our liuinges, and beſides are better prepared vnto like conflictes, if by Gods permiſſion they ſhal happen hereafter more wiſer by their doctrine, and more ſtedfaſt by their example.

Comparison betweene worldly ſouldiours and the ſouldiours of Chriſt.

To be ſhort, they declare to the worlde what true Chriſtian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquere, which ſtandeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the reſurrection to come, & is now I truſt at hand. In conſideration wherof, me thinks I haue good cauſe to wiſh, that like as other ſubiectes: euen ſo alſo Kinges and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall ſtories, woulde diligently peruſe ſuch monumentes of Martyrs, and lay them alwayes in ſight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cuppes, ringes, and gates. For doubtles ſuch as theſe, are more worthy of honour then an hundreth Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions and warrelike Iulies. And though the worlde iudgeth prepoſterouſly of thynges, yet with God the true iudge, certes ſuch are to be reputed in deede, not that kill one an other with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cauſe, to retayne an inuincible conſtancie agaynſt yͤ threates of tyrantes and violence of tormentours. Such as theſe, are in deede the true Conquerers of the worlde, by whō we learne true manhode, ſo many as fight vnder Chriſt, and not vnder the worlde. With this valiantnes dyd that moſt milde Lambe and inuincible Lyon of the tribe of Iuda firſt of all go before vs, of whoſe vnſpeakeable fortitude we heare this propheticall admiration: *Who is this* (ſayth he) *which walketh ſo in the multitude of his ſtrength?* Forſoth the high ſonne of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conqueryng the world after the ſame maner as he was conquered.

Esay. 63.

The like daunce dyd all hys other Martyrs followe, to whome the auncient antiquitie of the Church dyd attribute ſo great honour, as neuer King or Emperour could purchaſe in this world with all their images, pillers, hie ſpires, triumphes, temples, and all their ſolemne feaſts. In probation wherof we ſee with what admiration, and almoſt ſuperſtition, not onely the memory, but alſo the reliques of thoſe good Martyrs were receiued and kept amongſt the auncient Chriſtians. We haue alſo for witnes the learned Hymnes and Songes of Prudentius and Nazienzene, wherewith Pindarus dyd neuer ſo much ſet out his triumphes of Olympia and Nemea. I nede not here reherſe the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe, & Hierome, who neuer ſhewed their eloquence more, then when they fell into the cōmendations of the Godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifeſt, what eſtimation in tymes paſt was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, myrth, and common ioy the afflictions of thoſe godly dying in Chriſtes quarrell, were ſometime receiued and ſolemniſed, and that not without good reſonable cauſe. For the Church dyd well conſider howe much ſhe was beholdyng to their benefites, by whoſe deathes ſhe vnderſtode her treaſures to encreaſe. Now then if Martirs are to be compared with Martyrs, I ſee no cauſe why the Martyrs of our tyme deſerue any leſſe cōmendation, then the other in the primitiue church, which aſſuredly are inferior vnto them in no point of prayſe: whether we vew the number of them that ſuffered, or greatnes of their tormentes, or their conſtancy in dying, or alſo conſider the frute that they brought to the amendement of poſteritye, and encreaſe of the Goſpell. They dyd water the truthe with their bloud, that was newly ſpringing vp: ſo theſe by their deathes reſtored it agayne, being ſore decayed and fallen down. They ſtandyng in the forwarde of the battell, did receiue the firſt encounter and violence of theyr enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome ſuch tiranny: Theſe with like courage agayne like olde beaton ſouldiours dyd wyn the field in the rereward of the battaile. They like famous huſbandmen of the world did ſowe the fieldes of the Church, that firſt lay vnmanured and waſt: theſe with fatnes of their bloud dyd cauſe it to battell and fructifie. Would to God the frute might be ſpedely gathered into the barne, which onely remayneth behynd to come.

A compariſon betwene the Martyrs of the Primitiue Church, and of the latter Church.

Now, if we aſcribe ſuch reputation to godly preachers (and worthely) which diligently preach the Goſpell of Chriſt, when they liue notwithſtandyng by the benefite of tyme, without all feare of perſecution: how much more reaſonable cauſe haue we to prayſe and extoll ſuch men as ſtoutly ſpend their liues for the defence of the ſame? All theſe premiſſes duely of our partes conſidered and marked, ſeyng we haue found ſo famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not fayle then in publiſhyng and ſettyng forth their doynges, leſt in yͤ poynt we ſeeme more vnkinde to thē, then yͤ wryters of yͤ primatiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not their aſhes, chaynes, and ſwerdes in the ſtede of reliques: yet let vs yelde thus much vnto their commemoration, to glory the Lorde in hys Saintes, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like conſtancy, or theyr liues at the leaſt wͭ like innocency. They offered theyr bodies willing, to yͤ rough handlyng of yͤ tormentors. And is it ſo great a matter then for our part, to mortifie our fleſh, with all the members therof? They neglected not onely the riches and glory of the world for the loue of Chriſt, but alſo their liues: and ſhall we then keepe ſo great a ſtyrre one agaynſt an other, for the tranſitory trifles of this worlde? They continued in patient ſufferyng, when they had moſt wrong done vnto them, and when their very hartes bloud guſhed out of their bodies: and yet will not we forgeue our poore brother, be the iniury neuer ſo ſmal, but are ready for euery trifling offence to ſeeke his deſtruction, and cut his throte. They wiſhing well to all men, dyd of their owne accord forgeue there perſecutors: and therfore ought wee, which are now the poſteritie and children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former ſteppes, but beyng admoniſhed by their examples, if we cannot expreſſe their charitie toward all men, yet at leaſt to imitate the ſame to our power and ſtrength. Let vs geue no cauſe of offence to any. And if any be geuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgeuyng and not reuenging the ſame. And let vs not onely keepe our handes from ſhedyng of bloud, but our tonges alſo from hurting the fame of others. Beſides, let vs not ſhrinke if caſe ſo require, martyrdome or loſſe of life, accordyng to their example, to yeld vp the ſame in the defence of the Lordes flocke. Which thing if men would do, much leſſe contention and buſines would be in the world then now is. And thus much touchyng the vtility and fruite to be taken of this hiſtory.

To the Reader.

IN reading of philoſophy and mans learning al ſentences are pondered by reaſon, and lightly the readers wit doth run with the authors meaning, eyther to agree or diſagree from thoſe things which be vttered. But in matters wherein naturall deuiſes are not ſet out, but Gods power and wiſedome, we muſt bring more minde to credit, thẽ wil to examine, eſpecially where the iudgement of the author is not to be ſuſpected. The chiefeſt fayth is geuen to the ſcripture, the next to them whom God hath lightened with his grace, by beſtowing of greater knowledge or deeper vnderſtanding then other can attaine vnto by naturall abilitie, as Ieſus Syraches ſonne, and Eſdras & other, who are ioyned to Gods owne word, and read as eſpeciall writers. The third place of credite is geuen to the whole Church, which though it ſhould by nature & right courſe come next vnto the hed, & be prefered before any one member, yet it may not be beleued eyther for vniuerſalitie, or for auncientnes, but for the euidence of Gods ſpirite, which cannot nor will appeare in the whole, but in ſuch ſeuerally, as are choſen by God to be inſtructours of men, and reuealers of diuine miſteries. Neyther can the whole Churche wright or leaue any thing to the poſteritie for iudgement, except perhaps it were ſome dead monument which is not to be eſtemed as a thyng to breed credit. Therfore thoſe do ſpeake as the whole Church, whiche do make true report of the churches doings eyther in ſhewing the practiſes of Church men, or in declaryng the decrees and ordinaunces from time to time wiſely planted by holy fathers which met together by the ſpirite of God, and folowed conſent not onely by reaſon, but alſo by true expounding of ſcripture. In all ages many chaunges, and ſundry turmoyles haue ben according to the ſtate of common wealthes, in which it pleaſed God to place his members and holy ſeruauntes to liue, either obſcurely or famouſly. When ignoraunce and darcknes of worldly hartes did kepe the church low, & couered like a ſparckle of fire in aſhes, no man could looke for any generall tokens or report of matters worth the hearing. As in the time of nature, when after one or two generations the poſteritie of Noah forgat their maker, and worſhipped the monuments and memorye of thoſe men which were famous not onely for vertues, but alſo for vices, and ſundry deteſtable abuſes. After nature gaue place to Gods law, imperfections among the faithfull, wilfulnes in the reprobate, ignoraunce in ſuch as neuer heard, incredulity in thoſe that would not beleue, preuayled ſo much, that the law being a moſt ſeuere ſcholemaſter, could not greatly enlarge the Church.

Alſo when our mighty and noble head Chriſt Ieſu repayred nature, & performed the law, in leauing ſo cleere a light that ſenſe it ſelfe comming with ſimplicitie might eaſely perceaue and comprehend it, howe great reſiſtaunce was made by learned men, how cruell ſuppreſſing by gouernours, howe bitter vndermyneing by enemies, how ſhamfull corrupting by heretiques? ſo that the greateſt increaſe of the church, was by the bloud of martirs, and the worthyeſt maintenaunce camẽ by the ſeede of perſecution (if I may ſo call it) whiche was caſt abroad in the death of holy men. Other haue taken in hand to wright of the churches ſtate in their time, as Euſebius and Socrates. And Platina hath opened ſo much, as pertained to knowe the ſucceſſion of the Roman ſea, In whoſe diſcourſes mean perſonages are for the moſt part ouerpaſſed, though the potentates of the world, & vnlawfull powers, were neuer to be accompted builders of Gods houſe, but rather baſe, and lowe harted men, placed in inferiour roomes, that paynfullnes ſhoulde be no ſtaine to their vocation, no more then to a ſhepeherd, who muſt not feare the height of hilles nor auoyd the depth of ditches, ſo that his ſheepe may be ſaued. The centuryes written by Illyricus and other do more largely ſet out the troubles wherby godly men haue ben tryed and excerciſed for the defence of true fayth. But for playne vnderſtandyng, manifeſt proofe, and ſufficient diſcourſes, this worke of maiſter Iohn Foxe is to be preferred before other that haue bene written in time paſt. He thought hereby to benefite the Chriſtian reader, that he might haue a patern of diligent preaching and conſtant ſuffering, both for inward comfort and for outward cõfirmation, that the mouth may be as ready to confeſſe Chriſt, as the hart to beleue. For the examples of ſuch torments, ſo cruelly deuiſed, & ſo manfully ſuſtained, muſt needes make all Chriſtian hartes to wonder at the power of that word which remaineth ſafe in broken veſſels and will not be conſumed with fire, nor fade away with death nor lye hid vnder graueſtones, nor periſh in the ſea, nor be diſſolued by putrefaction, though the bodies of preachers be ſubiect to theſe alterations and many a thouſand mo. Moreouer it ſhal appeare in this ſtory that they haue ben moſt enemies to gods Church, which haue receaued moſt honor in the common wealth and moſt nobility in kinred: which thinges while men thinke to be their own, & not the benefites of him which might haue geuẽ thẽ to others, they ſeeke a tyrannous rule, and a wilfull power ouer ſuch as by nature and religion ought to be by them moſt maintained and foſtered. So that the vnthankefulnes toward God, and the abuſing of their ſtate ſhall be in the great day of iudgement, open cauſes of condemnation. Neceſſary therfore it is for mighty men to ſhoon the vices of other and to thinke the greateſt renowne of their life ſtandeth in iuſtice, Iuſtice in pleaſing God, pleaſing God in faith, faith in knowledge, and maintenance of religion. And of truth the miniſter hath no greater accompt for his inward talent of preachyng then the gouernor hath for his outward ſtate of honor, which is his talent deliuered for the gaine of his ſpirituall king, which will admit no concealing without profit, nor abuſe for iniury. As for the common people they ſhall here finde howe variable their mindes haue bene in old time, how in one yeare they preferred the Goſpell, in another oppreſſed it, how they haue gladly ſeen the bodies of their paſtors violently wronged, and conſented to all the trouble of Gods people, much like thoſe Iewes vnder the Romã Empire, that in one day would haue made Chriſt a king and almoſt in the next would haue hym crucified. To be ſhort, it will be found that the better the church is maintained, the better doth the common wealth ſtand in all floriſhing ſtate of wiſedome in counſel, of honor for vertue, of wealth to al ciuil affaires, of renowne both againſt the enemies grudge, and alſo for the poſterities imitation.

Therefore gentle reader with a louing eſtimation of the author read this booke paynfully gathered, faythfully written, and truely deliuered vnto thee for thy Chriſtian comfort. A long worke it is but very excellent, ſo that the learned ſhall finde reaſons deepe inough for a diſcourſing wit how paſſing ſoeuer it be, and the vnlearned ſhall ſee plainnes inough without any diſceat, or cauilling, wherby his ſimplicity might be beguiled. The cõmon welth man, and the church man, high and low ſhal vnderſtand a merueilous compaſſe of matter, to rule and to be ruled, whẽ they perceaue Gods wiſedome & mans pollicy as it were in a theater building vp and pulling down: in ſuch ſort that the affaires of al mankind ſhal ſeme gouerned be an inward prouidence excelling nature: much agaynſt thoſe men that counte religion and ſcripture, but deuiſes to keepe the people in obedience. Therfore good reader, make of this worthy and Chriſtian labour as is meete for Gods childe to do, gatheryng ſo much profite in knowledge as ſhal be aunſwerable to thy trauaile in reading, which I truſt god wil giue the with his grace, to whom I commend thy ſoule to be bleſſed in holines. Farewell. from Camb. *Kinges Coll.*

Sam. Fleminge.

¶ To all the profeſſed frendes and folowers of the Popes proceedinges, Foure Queſtions propounded.

Foure demaundes or queſtions put forth to the Papiſtes.

TO you all and ſingular, which profeſſe the doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy father, and of your mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholickes, commonly termed Papiſtes, where ſoeuer abiding in the Realme of England, theſe foure Queſtions or Problemes here vnder folowing I would moue, deſiring you all eyther to muſe vpō thē, or to anſwere thē at your layſure.

The firſt Queſtion.

The 1. Queſtion.

Eſay. 11. 65.

FIrſt, for ſomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Eſai, the hill of his holines) beareth in the Scripture an vndoubted type of the ſpirituall Church of Chriſt: and forſomuch as the ſayd Eſai. cap. 11. and 65. propheſiyng of the ſayd Mount Syon, ſayth in theſe wordes: Non nocebunt neq; affligent in omni monte ſancto meo, dicit Dominus. &c. 1. They ſhall not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, ſayth the Lord. &c. And agayne in the ſame Chapters thus we read: Habitabit Lupus cum agno, & Pardus cum hædo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & ouis vna commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos. &c. That is: The wolfe ſhall dwell with the Lambe, and ỹ Leopard with the Kid: The Calfe, the Lyon, and the Sheepe ſhall feede together, and a young childe ſhall rule them. The Cow alſo & the Beare ſhall abyde together, with their young ones, and the Lyon ſhall eate chaffe & fodder lyke the Oxe. &c.

Upon theſe premiſſes now followeth my Queſtion, how the Church of Rome can be aunſwerable to this hill of Sion: ſeyng in the ſayd Church of Rome is, and hath bene now ſo many yeares ſuch killing and ſlaying, ſuch crueltie and tyranny ſhewed, ſuch burning and ſpoyling of Chriſten bloud, ſuch malice and miſchiefe wrought, as in reading theſe hiſtories may to all the world appeare.

Obiection.
Refutation.

To this if they aunſwere, and expounde theſe wordes of the Prophet, as perteining to the Church triumphant: thereunto I replye agayne: that by the wordes in the ſame place and in the ſame ſentence expreſſed that ſenſe can not ſtand, for as much as the Prophet in the very ſame place, where he propheſieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy Mountayne without hurting or killing, meaneth playnely of the earth, and ſheweth alſo the cauſe of that godly peace. Becauſe (ſayth he) the earth is repleniſhed with knowledge and ſcience of the Lord &c. ibid. And furthermore, the Prophet ſpeaking of the ſame day when this ſhalbe, addeth ſaying: In that day the roote of Ieſſe ſhall ſtand for a ſigne to the people, for the Gentils to be conuerted, and to ſeeke vnto him, &c. Which day in no wiſe can be applyed to the Church in heauen triumphant, but onely here mylitant in earth.

Publicke execution of lawes, not forbidden in ſcripture.
The conditions and properties of the true church of Chriſt.
Rom. 15.
Galath. 6.

Touching which place of Eſai, further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount of Sion (which comprehendeth both the ſtates, as well Eccleſiaſticall as temporall) is not reſtrayned the publicke penalty of good lawes needefull to be executed vpon publicke malefactours, but here is reſtrayned the fierceneſſe, reuenge, crueltie, and vyolence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly ſubiect by nature, through grace and working of the Goſpel are altered, reformed, and chaunged to an other diſpoſition: from ſtoutnes to ſoftenes: from violence to ſufferance: from fierceneſſe to forbearing: from pride to humilitie: from crueltie to compaſſion: from wilineſſe to ſimplicitie: from ſolemne ſingularitie to humanitie and meekenes. Which vertues, if they had bene in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of S. Paul, which willeth men that be ſtronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the ſpirite of meekenes. &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I ſhould not haue neded now at this tyme to write ſuch a long hiſtory as this of the ſuffering of ſo many Martyrs.

The ſecond Queſtion.

The 2. queſtion.

The deadly hatred of the Papiſtes agaynſt the proteſtantes, grounded vpon no iuſt cauſe nor deſeruing.

My ſecond Queſtion is this: to demaunde of you Catholicke profeſſours of the popes ſecte, which ſo deadly maligne and perſecute the Proteſtantes profeſſing the Goſpell of Chriſt, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe haue you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bare vnto them, that neyther you your ſelues can abyde to lyue with them, nor yet will ſuffer the other to liue amongeſt you? If they were Iewes, Turkes or infidels, or in their doctrine were any Idolatrous impietie, or deteſtable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly deſtruction, or priuy conſpiracies to oppreſſe your liues, or by fraudulent dealyng to circumuent you, then had you ſome cauſe to complayne, and alſo to reuenge. Nowe ſeyng in their doctrine ye haue neyther blaſphemy, idolatry, ſuperſtition nor miſbeliefe to obiect vnto them: ſeyng they are Baptiſed in the ſame beliefe, and beleue the ſame articles of the Crede, as ye do: hauyng the ſame God, the ſame Chriſt & Sauiour, the ſame Baptiſme, and are ready to conferre with you in all kinde of Chriſtian doctrine, neyther do refuſe to be tryed by any place of the Scripture, how then riſeth this mortall malice of you agaynſt them? If you thinke them to be heretikes, then bryng forth if ye can, any one ſentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy Scripture, expounded by the cenſure of moſt ancient Doctors? Or what is there in all the ſcripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame? Serch and trye the order of their liues and doynges, what great fault finde you? They ſerue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be tranſgreſſours toward hym, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deſerued why you ſhould be ſo bitter agaynſt them?

Malice and crueltie of Papiſtes againſt the countrey of Merindol and Cabriers.

What offended the poore inhabitantes of Merindol and Cabriers when the Byſhop of Aix, the Cardinall of Turon, and other Biſhops of Fraunce wraſtyng from Fraunces the French kyng a commiſſion, ſent Menerius with his Captayne Iohn de Gay to deſtroy their countrey, an. 1530, who driuyng the poore people there into a barne full of ſtraw, ſet the barne on fire, and burned vp men, women, and children: And likewiſe in a Church, exerciſed the like crueltie vppon them, where were murdered the ſame time to the number of a thouſand young and olde, women, children, and young infantes, beſides. vij. whole townes, with the moſt part of the dwellers therein, beyng murdered and burnt in the ſayd countrey of Prouince.

Malice of Papiſtes againſt the Citizens of Tholouſe in France.

Alſo before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouſe and Auinion when Pope Gregory the ix. ſet Lewes the French kyng to warre agaynſt them and agaynſt Raymundus their Earle, without cauſe, where alſo the ſayd king died at the ſiege.

Malice and crueltie of Papiſtes agaynſt the Proteſtantes in the towne of Vaſſy.

Or to ſpeake of latter yeares, what hurt or harme dyd the poore Proteſtantes in the towne of Vaſſy, who peaceably beyng at a Sermon, were miſerably ſlayne and cut, men, women, and children, by the Duke of Guyſe and his armed ſouldiours? beſides other infinite examples almoſt not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, Fraunce, and now of late in Flaunders, and in other countres mo.

Clemencie and mercie ſhewed to Papiſtes in the reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

But to let other countryes paſſe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernement in this Realme of England, vnder this our ſo mylde and gracious Queene now preſently reignyng. Under whom you ſee how gently you are ſuffered, what mercy is ſhewed vnto you: how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you woulde haue, hauyng almoſt the beſt rowmes and offices in all the Realme, not onely without any loſſe of life, but alſo without any feare of death. And though a fewe of your Archclerkes be in cuſtody: yet in that cuſtody ſo frendely are they hurt, that many a good Proteſtant in the Realme woulde be glad with all their hartes to chaung rowmes and dyet with them if they might. And albeit ſome other for their pleaſure haue ſlypt ouer the Seas, if their courage to ſee countreyes abroade dyd ſo allure them, who coulde let them? yet this is certeyne, no dread there was of death that draue them. For what Papiſt haue you ſeene in all this lande to loſe eyther life or lymme for Papiſtry duryng all theſe xij. yeares hetherto ſince this Queenes reigne? And yet all this notwithſtandyng, hauyng no cauſe to complayne, ſo many cauſes to geue God thankes, ye are not yet content, ye fret & fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleaſed with peace, nor ſatiſfied with ſafetie, but hope for a day, and fayne would haue a chaunge. And to preuent your deſired day, ye haue conſpired, and riſe vp in open rebellion agaynſt your Prince, whom the Lord hath ſet vp to be your gouernour.

The trayterous murdering of the Lord Iames Regent of Scotland Martyr.

And as ye haue ſince that, now of late diſturbed the quyet and peaceable ſtate of Scotland, in murdering moſt trayterouſly the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in ſparyng the Queenes life there when he had her in his handes, hath now therfore loſt his owne) ſo with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would diſturbe the golden quyet and tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes. Which the mercifull grace of almighty, for Chriſt hys ſonnes ſake our Lord, forfende and vtterly diſapoynt. Amen.

Wherfore theſe premiſſes conſidered, my queſtion is to aske of you and know, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe ye haue of theſe your vnreaſonable doynges, of this your ſo mortall and deadly hatred, fury and malice you beare agaynſt theſe your euenchriſtened, of theſe your tumultes, coniurations, grypyng and hopyng, rebellions, mutteringes, and murders, wherewith you trouble and diſquiet the whole worlde. Of all whiche miſchiefes, if the true cauſe were well knowen, the truth would be found doubtleſſe to be none other but onely the priuate cauſe of the Byſhop of Rome, that he is not receaued, and the dignitie of his Church exalted.

The chiefe cauſe of all theſe later perſecutions in the Church is onely the priuate quarell of the Byſhop of Rome.

Touchyng which cauſe how vnreaſonable and vniuſt it is, more ſhall be ſayd (the Lord willing) in reply, accordyng as I ſhall ſee their aunſwere, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe them, or any of them to aunſwere this Queſtion. In the meane tyme this in a briefe note ſhall ſuffice: that it ſtandeth not with the Scripture, but contrary to the Scripture, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhould ſo reuenge his own priuate cauſe. If his title and plantation be good and of God, why doth not he referre it vnto god? And no doubt, but if it be ſo, God will maynteyne it, though the whole world ſayd no. If it be otherwiſe, it will fall and be rooted out, though al the world ſayd yea. Yea the greateſt Argument to proue this plantation of the Popes ſupremacy not to be of God is, that the Pope fightyng in hys owne priuate cauſe, by outward and worldly force ſeeketh hys owne glory. Chriſt our Sauiour beyng here refuſed hym ſelfe, yet neyther reuenged hys cauſe, nor ſought hys owne glory, but onely the glory and will of his father, thus ſpeakyng of hym ſelfe: Si ego glorifico meipſum, gloria me nihil eſt, pater meus eſt qui glorificat me. &c. Ioan. 8. This is: If I glorifie my ſelfe, my glory is nothyng, my father is he that glorifieth me. &c. Euen ſo I ſay with ſcripture, that if the Popes proceedyngs were planted of God, he would not ſo wraſtle for his glory, as hee doth. But forſomuch as he ſeketh by ſuch crueltie and bloudſhed to exalt hym ſelfe, we may well argue his proceedinges not to be of God, and that he ſhal be brought low. &c. Luc. 18.

The plantation of the Popes ſupremacie proued not to be of God. Iohn. 8. Luke 18.

The thyrd Queſtion.

My thyrd Queſtion I take of the xiij. chapter of the booke of Reuelation. Which booke as it conteyneth a Propheticall hiſtory of the Church: ſo likewiſe it requireth by hiſtories to be opened. In this Chapter mention is made firſt of a certayne beaſt commyng out of the Sea, hauyng vij. heades and x. hornes, with x. diademes & blaſphemy. Vnto the which beaſt the dragon, the deuill, gaue his ſtrength, and great power to fight agaynſt the Saintes, and to ouercome them, & to make xlij. monethes: of the which beaſt, one of his heades was wounded at length to death. &c.

The 3. queſtion. Apocal. 13. The two beaſtes in the booke of Reuelation deſcribed.

After this immediatly in the ſame Chapter mention followeth of an other beaſt, riſing out of the land, hauyng two hornes like a lambe, and ſpake like a Dragon, and dyd all the power of the former beaſt before his face, and cauſed all dwellers of the earth to worſhip the beaſt: whoſe head was wounded and healed. Who alſo had power to geue ſpirite and lyfe to the ſayd former beaſt, to make the Image of yͤ beaſt to ſpeake, & to cauſe all men from the higheſt to the loweſt, to take the marke of the beaſt in their handes and foreheades, and whoſoeuer worſhipped not the Image of the beaſt ſhould be killed. &c.

The ſecond beaſt with the hornes like a Lambe.

Vpon this deſcription of theſe two beaſtes riſeth my Queſtion, wherein I deſire all Papiſtes, from the higheſt to the loweſt, eyther to aunſwere or to conſider with them ſelues, what the ſpirite of the prophecie meaneth by the ſayde two beaſtes. Neyther is the myſtery of this prophecie ſo obſcure, but beyng hiſtoricall, by hiſtories it may be explaned and eaſily expounded. Writyng therfore to the Papiſtes, as men expert in hiſtories, my Queſtion is this: that ſeyng the prophecie of theſe ij. beaſtes muſt nedes prefigure ſome people or dominion in the world, of ſome high eſtate and power: they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this ſhould be. Which if they will do playnely & truely, accordyng to the markes and properties of the ſayd ij. beaſtes here ſet forth, they muſt nedes be driuen of force ineuitable to graunt and confeſſe, the ſame onely to agree to the Citie and Empyre of Rome, and to no other: Whiche by theſe reaſons folowyng of neceſſitie muſt nedes be concluded.

Firſt, the beaſt which came out of the Sea, hauyng the ſtrength, the ſeate, and power of the great Dragon (the deuill, called the Prince of this world) committed to hym, who alſo had power giuen ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people, and countries in the earth, muſt nedes be an Empyre or Monarchie of great force, paſſing all other Monarchies in yͤ world beſides: and this muſt nedes argue the Empyre of Rome, and none other.

The myſterie of the firſt beaſt riſing out of the ſea applied.

Secondly, in that the beaſt had vij. heades, and x. hornes, with x. diademes full of blaſphemy vpon them: thoſe vij. heads beyng expounded in the ſayd booke, cap. 17. for vij. hilles, notoriouſly importeth the Citie of Rome, wherein were vij. hilles conteyned. The like alſo may be thought of yͤ x. hornes beyng there expounded for x. Kinges (ſignifying belike yͤ x. Prouinces or Kingdomes of the world ſubdued to the Romayne Empire) with the x. crownes of blaſphemy vpon their heades: all which conueniently agree to the Citie of Rome.

The Image of the beaſt reſembled to the Monarchie of Rome. Apocal. 13.

Thyrdly, where the ſayd beaſt had power to make xlij. monethes and to fight agaynſt the Saintes, and to ouercome them, &c. thereby moſt manifeſtly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the heathen perſecutyng Emperours, which had power geuen the ſpace of ſo many monethes, (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, 294. yeares) to perſecute Chriſtes Church as in the Table of the primatiue Church hereafter followyng is diſcourſed more at large.

Of the 42. monethes, and the expoſition therof, read page. 101.

Fourthly, where the prophet ſpeaketh of the one of the heades of the beaſt to be wounded to the death, and the wounde afterward to be cured agayne, by that ye haue to vnderſtand the decay and ſubuerſion of the Citie of Rome and of Italie, which beyng one of the heades of the Romayne Monarchie, was ſubdued by the Gothes, Vandals, and Lombardes, and the Citie of Rome, thriſe ſacked and taken betwene the reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the tyme of Iuſtinian Emperour of Conſtantinople, & ſo remayned this head of Rome wounded a long tyme vnder yͤ dominion of yͤ Lombardes, till at length this wound was cured agayne, as the ſequele of this prophecie declareth: For ſo it followeth in the foreſayd Chapter of the Reuelation: And after this I ſaw (ſayth he) an other beaſt riſing out of the land, hauyng ij. hornes like the lambe, and ſpake like the Dragon. Who practiſed all the power of the firſt beaſt before his face, and cauſed all the inhabitantes of the earth to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe head was wounded & cured agayne &c. And to hym it was giuen to giue life to the Image of the beaſt, and to make it ſpeake: and alſo to make al them that will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, to be ſlayne, and cauſed all from the moſt to the leaſt, both rich and poore, free men and bond men, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand and in their forheades, ſo that none ſhould buy and ſell vnles he had the beaſtes marke about hym. &c.

The wounded head of the beaſt in the reuelation what it meaneth.

The ſecond beaſt riſing out of the land pretending the hornes of a Lambe what it meaneth. Apocal. 13.

The deſcription of this ſecond beaſt beyng well weyed, it can not be auoyded, but nedes muſt be applyed to yͤ Byſhop of Rome and to none other: as by hiſtory and order of tymes is euident to be proued. For who els repreſenteth the hornes of the lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, but onely he? who ſpeaketh with the voyce of the Dragon ſo proudly, as he? The voyce of the Dragon ſpake once to Chriſt: That all the glory of the world was his to giue to whom he would, and that he would giue it. &c. And doth not this falſe horned lambe ſpeakyng in the ſame voyce of the Dragon, ſay by the mouth of Pope Gregory vij. that al the kingdomes of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to looſe, and take away Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els ſoeuer mortall men may haue, and to giue them where he would. &c. Ex Platina in Vit. Gregorij. 7.

The myſterye of the 13. chapter of the Reuelations expounded.

Ex platina in vita Gregorij. 7.

Furthermore, at what time the declinyng ſtate of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought vnder ſubiection of the Lombardes, then the Pope ſtirred vp Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part agaynſt the Lombardes, and to reſtore agayne, the old glory of that Monarchie to his former ſtate. And therfore who cured the wounded head of this beaſt agayne, but onely he? who gaue life and ſpeach to the Image of the beaſt but he? who after yͤ by helpe of the French kinges, had ſubdued thoſe Lombardes with other aliens, and had gotten the poſſeſſion of Rome, into his own handes, he ſo repayred and aduaunced the ſtate and name of Rome, that ſince that tyme all perſons from the hyeſt, to the loweſt, both rich & poore haue bene glad to ſeke and ſeeke to Rome, yea Kynges, Emperours, Queenes, and Dukes haue bene glad to kyſſe the Biſhops feete, and to lead his horſe, by the bridle. So that the Maieſty of Rome in the olde heathen Emperours dayes was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to perſecute and ouercome Gods Saintes then theſe lambelyke Byſhops of Rome haue had, and haue exerciſed theſe 500. yeares in Chriſtendome. And therfore who els in all the world hath ſo much power to do the workes of the firſt beaſt before his face, as he? or who but he alone? Whiche forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bonde to receaue the ſeale, and to become loyal to the Citie and ſea of Rome: ſo that who ſoeuer hath not the marke whereby to be knowne to hold of the Church of Rome, ſhall haue no place: to buy and ſell nor to occupy in all Chriſtendome.

The Image of the old monarchie reſtored by the Byſhop of Rome.

Power to do the workes of the beaſt before his ſight. Apocal. 13.

Now if any Papiſt whatſoeuer, in aunſweryng to this my Queſtion can aply this propheticall myſtery of theſe ij. beaſtes, otherwiſe then thus, I would hartily deſire hym, to take ſo much paynes to ſatiſfie this doubte at his good pleaſure and leyſure. In the meane ſeaſon let this ſtand for a Corollarium, that the Byſhop of Rome by this deſcription muſt be that ſecond beaſt, propheſied to come in the later time of the Church, vnder a falſe pretenſed lambe, to reſtore agayne the old perſecutions of Rome, and to diſturbe the whole Church of Chriſt, as this day to truely is come to paſſe.

¶ *The fourth Queſtion.*

The 4 Queſtion
2. Theſſ. 2.

As touchyng my fourth Queſtion, although I could vrge you with an other like propheticall place of Scripture, no leſſe euident agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, taken out of the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Theſſalonians, where mention is made of the ſonne of perdition, ſittyng in the Temple of God, as God, and aduauncyng hym ſelfe aboue all that is called God &c. which place ye can by no reaſonable euaſion auoyde: yet notwithſtandyng to let this paſſe, I turne my Queſtion to aſke this of you, whether the Religion of Chriſt be mere ſpirituall, or els corporall. If ye affirme it to be corporall, as was the old Religion of the Iewes conſiſtyng in outward rites, ſacrifices, ceremonies of the law: then ſhewe if ye can, what any one outward action or obſeruation is required in Chriſtian Religion by the ſcripture, as neceſſary in a Chriſtian man, for remiſſion of ſinnes and ſaluation, ſaue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptiſme, and of the Lordes Supper? Howbeit neyther theſe alſo as they are corporall, that is to ſay neyther the outward action of the one, nor of the other conferreth remiſſion of ſinnes, nor ſaluation, but onely are viſible ſhewes of inuiſible and ſpirituall benefites. And furthermore if our God, whom we ſerue, be ſpirituall, how can his Religion and ſeruice be corporall as we are taught by the mouth of our Sauiour, ſaying: God is a ſpirite and therfore they that worſhip hym, muſt worſhip in ſpirite and veritie. &c. Ioan. 4.

Religion of Chriſt ſpirituall, and not corporall.

The Pope turneth the ſpirituall religion of Chriſt to a corporall Religion.

Nowe if ye graunt (as ye muſt nedes) this our Chriſtian Religion to be ſpirituall, and not a corporall Religion, then ſhew, if ye can, any one poynt of all theſe thinges which ye ſtriue for ſo much with vs, to be ſpirituall, but altogether corporall, and externe matters and ceremoniall obſeruations, nothyng conducyng to any ſpirituall purpoſe, as your outward ſucceſſion of Byſhops, garmentes, veſtures, geſtures, colours, choyſe of meates, difference of dayes, tymes and places, hearyng, ſeyng, ſaying, touchyng, taſtyng, numberyng of beades, gildyng and worſhipping Images, buildyng monaſteries, riſing at mydnight, ſilence in cloyſters, abſteinyng from fleſh and white meate, faſting in Lent, kepyng Imberdayes, hearyng Maſſe and diuine ſeruice, ſeyng and adoryng the body in forme of bread, receauyng holy water, and holy bread, crepyng the croſſe, caryng Palmes, takyng aſhes, bearyng candels, pilgrimage goyng, ſenſyng, knelyng, knockyng, altares, ſuperaltares, candleſtickes, pardons: In orders croſſyng, annoyntyng, ſhauyng, forſweryng mariage: In baptiſme, croſſyng, ſaltyng, ſpattelyng, exorciſyng, waſhing of handes: At Eaſter eare confeſſion, penaunce doyng, ſatiſfaction: And in receauyng with beardes new ſhauen, to imagine a body, where they ſee no body: and though he were there preſent to be ſeene, yet the outward ſeyng and touchyng of hym, of it ſelfe, without fayth, conduceth no more, then it did to the Iewes. At Rogation dayes, to cary banners, to follow the croſſe, to walke about the fieldes. After Pentecoſt, to go about with Corpus Chriſti play. At halowmas to watch in the Church, to ſay dirige and commendations, and to ryng for all ſoules, to pay tythes truly, to giue to the high altare. And if a man will be a Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe and Mattens, to ſerue the Sainte of the day, and to lyft well ouer his head. &c. In ſicknes to be aneled, to take his rightes, after his death to haue funerals, and obites ſayd for hym, and to be rong for at hys funerall, moneth mynd, and yeare mynde. &c. Adde moreouer to theſe the outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, with opus operatum ſine bono motu vtentis. &c.

The whole ſumme of the Popes catholicke religion ſet forth in partes.

A man may be Catholique by the Popes religion without any workyng of the holy ghoſt.

All which thinges aboue recited, as they conteine the whole ſummary and effect of all the Popes Catholicke Religion: ſo are they all corporall exerciſes, conſiſtyng in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholicke Chriſtian, then it may be ſayd, that men may be made perfect Chriſtians by fleſh and bloud, without any inward workyng of fayth, or of the holy ghoſt. For what is in al theſe, but ỹ fleſh ⁊ bloud, of his ſtrength is able to accompliſh, though no inward ſtrength or motion of the holy Ghoſt dyd worke.

The nature of true chriſtian religion deſcribed.

Saluation of man, ſtandeth onely in fayth of Chriſt.

Fayth in Chriſt, no light matter to fleſhe and bloud.

But nowe the order of our Religion, and way of ſaluation conſiſteth not in ſuch corporall or outward thynges as theſe, but in other more higher and more ſpirituall giftes, which farre exceede the capacitie of fleſh and bloud: of the which giftes the chiefeſt and onely meane cauſe that ſaueth man, and remitteth ſinnes, is his fayth in Chriſt. Which fayth I thus define, for a man to beleue by the bloudſhedyng of Ieſus the ſonne of God, his ſinnes to be forgiuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, and him ſelfe to be iuſtified perfectly from al accuſations that can be layd vnto hym, &c. And though the Papiſtes make a light matter of this, to beleue in Chriſt, and when they heare vs ſay, that fayth onely iuſtifieth, they obiect to vs agayne ⁊ make it a ſmall matter to be ſaued, if fayth onely iuſtifie vs. Yet notwithſtandyng, this fayth, if it be well examined, is ſuch a thyng that fleſh and bloud is not able to atteine therto, vnles Gods holy ſpirite from aboue do drawe hym.

Many thinges incident to ſaluation beſides faythe but not as cauſes thereof.

Moreouer beſides this fayth, many other thynges are incident alſo to the doctrine of our ſaluation. Albeit as no cauſes therof, but eyther as Sacramentes and ſeales of fayth, or as declarations therof, or els as fruites and effectes followyng the ſame. So Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord be as teſtimonies ⁊ profes: that by our fayth onely in Chriſt we are iuſtified, that as our bodies are waſhed by water, and our life nouriſhed by bread and wine: ſo by the bloud of Chriſt, our ſinnes be purged, and the hunger of our ſoules releued by the death of his body.

Workes of ſanctification, how they come and folow fayth.
Eſay. 58.
Math. 25.

Vpon the ſame fayth riſeth alſo outward profeſſion by mouth, as a declaration therof. Other thinges alſo as fruites and effectes do follow after fayth, as peace of conſcience, ioy in the holy Ghoſt, inuocation, pacience, charitie, mercy, iudgement, and ſanctification. For God for our fayth in Chriſt his ſonne, therfore geueth into our hartes his holy ſpirite of comfort, of peace, and ſanctification, whereby mans hart is moued to a godly diſpoſition to feare God, to ſeke hym, to call vpon hym, to truſt vnto hym, to ſticke to hym in all aduerſities and perſecutions, to loue hym: and for his ſake alſo to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compaſſion vpon them, to viſite them if they be in priſon, to breake bread to them if they be hungry: and if they be burdened, to eaſe them: to cloth them, if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houſeles. Mat. 25. with ſuch other ſpirituall exerciſes of pietie and ſanctification as theſe, which therfore I call ſpirituall, becauſe they procede of the holy ſpirite and law of God which is ſpirituall.

And thus haue ye a catholicke Chriſtian defined: firſt after the rules of Rome, and alſo after the rule of the goſpell. Now conferre theſe Antitheta together, and ſee whether of theſe is the truer Chriſtian, the ceremoniall man after the Churche of Rome, or the ſpirituall man with his fayth and other ſpirituall fruites of pietie following after the ſame. And if ye ſay that ye mixte them both together, ſpirituall thynges with your corporall ceremonies, to that I aunſwere agayne, that as touchyng the ende of remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſaluation, they ought in no caſe to be ioyned together, becauſe the meane cauſe of all our ſaluation and remiſſion, is onely ſpirituall, and conſiſteth in fayth, and in no other.

And therfore vpō the ſame cauſe I come to my Queſtion agayne, as I began, to aſke whether the Religion of Chriſt be a mere ſpirituall Religion: and whether in the Religiō of Rome, as it is now, is any thyng but onely mere corporall thinges required, to make a Catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your aunſwere.

IN turnyng ouer ỹ firſt leafe of this booke, which is Pag. 1. col. 1. and in the latter end of the ſame colume, thou ſhalte finde gentle reader, the argument of Pighius and Hoſius, wherin thus they argue: That forſomuch as Chriſt muſt nedes haue a catholique Church euer continuyng here in earth, which all men may ſee ⁊ whereunto all men ought to reſort: and ſeyng no other Church hath endured continually from the Apoſtles, viſible here in earth, but onely the Church of Rome: they cōclude therfore the Church onely of Rome to be the right catholicke Church of Chriſt. &c.

In aunſweryng whereunto this is to be ſayd: that forſomuch as the medius terminus of this argument, both in the Maior and Minor, conſiſteth onely in the word (viſible and vnknowne:) if they meane by this worde (viſible) in the Maior that Chriſtes Church muſt be ſene here to all the world, that all men may reſort to it, it is falſe: Likewiſe if they meane by ỹ ſame word (viſible) in ỹ Minor: that no other Church hath ben ſeene and knowne to any, but onely the Church of Rome, they are likewiſe deceiued. For the true Church of Chriſt neyther is ſo viſible, that all the world can ſee it, but onely they which haue ſpirituall eyes: and be members thereof: Nor yet ſo inuiſible agayne, but ſuch as be Gods elect, and members thereof, do ſee it and haue ſene it though the worldly eyes of the moſt multitude cannot ſo do. &c. Whereof read more in the proteſtatiō aboue prefixed to the Church of England.

¶Certaine places of the ſcripture expoūded.

	cap	ver.		
Math.	16	18	Vpō this rocke will I.	1.473.648.1034.1048.1650
Tobias.	4	10	Almoſe deliuereth from death.	70
Apocal.	13	5	Power was geuen to make 42. monethes.	101
		3	Two Prophetes ſhall prophesie 1260. dayes	
	11	2	Monethes. 42.	461.743
		9	Dayes 3. and a halfe.	102
	12	14	A tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme.	463
Ezech.	47	1	There came forth waters on the ſide.	102
Roma.	4	16	And therfore of fayth, that it might.	25
Galat.	5	6	Fayth which worketh by loue.	26
Math.	19		Go ſell all, and come follow me.	321
Apocal.	20	1	And I ſaw an Angell deſcendyng from.	401
Jeremy.	51	25	Deſtroying mountaine which deſtroyeſt the.	460
Eſay.	9	15	The Prophet that teacheth lyes.	460
Eezch.	21	25	And thou Prince of Iſraell.	460
Ezechi	28	2	Becauſe thyne hart is exalted.	460
Zacha.	11	17	O Idole ſhepperd that leaueth the.	461
Zacha.	13	11	I beheld a beaſt commyng out of the.	461
Apocal.	17	10	When he commeth he muſt continue a ſhort.	461
Apoc.	14	8	Babylon is fallen.	461
Eſay.	13	19	And Babylon that glorious Citie.	461
Jeremy.	15	9	She that hath borne ſeuen hath bene.	461
Daniell.	12	11	A thouſand two hundred ninty dayes.	462
Apocalips.	12	4	And the Dragon ſtode before the.	463
Daniell.	13	1	I ſaw a beaſt riſe vp out of the ſea.	461
Mathew.	9	16	And after 72. weekes ſhall Chriſt.	464
1. Peter. 2.	22	21	Geue vnto Cæſar that which is Cæſars.	358
Mathew.	2	17	Feare God, and honor the kyng.	361
Luke.	11		Verely I ſay vnto you there hath not.	469
Apoc.	5	14	Go and ſhew thy ſelfe to the Prieſt.	476
Apocalips.	18	2	Babylon is fallen.	482
Apoc.	13	1	I ſaw a beaſt riſe vp out of the ſea.	482
Daniell.	13	11	I beheld an other beaſt commyng.	482
Mathew	18		And foure great beaſtes came vp.	482
Theſſolo.	11		Tell it to the Church.	650
Apocalips.	2	3	Till a defection come.	711.757
Apocalips.	13	18	And his number is 666.	742.711
Apocalips.	16	12	And the ſixt Aungell poured out.	741
Daniell.	18	9	And the kynges of the earth.	731
2. Theſſa.	20	8	God and Magog.	739
Apocalips.	11		He ſhall returne and freate.	740
	2	3	Be ye not ſodenly moued in.	769
Apocalips.	9		Loſe the foure Aungels.	741
	10		And I ſaw an Aungell commyng.	743
Iohn.	21		Feede my ſheepe.	821
			He deſcended into hell.	847
1. Cor.	11	16	Shew forth the Lordes death.	847
Artic.			He aſcended into heauen.	1327
Mathew.	26		This is my body.	1328.1745.417.1104
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Mathew.	16		Me ſhall you not haue alwayes.	1341
1. Cor. 3.	3		For other foundation can no man.	1485
Heb.	6		For it is not poſſible that they.	1486
Colloſſ.	1		To fulfill that which is behynd.	1489
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THE NAMES OF THE AVTHORS ALLEGED IN THIS BOOKE,

besides many other & ſondry Authors whoſe names are vnknowen, and alſo beſide diuers Recordes of Parlament, and alſo other matters found out in Regiſters of ſondry Byſhops of this Realme.

A.

AVguſtinus.
Ambroſius.
Athanaſius.
Anacletus.
Anicetus.
Anſelmus.
Antoninus.
Auentinus.
Annonius de geſt.fran.
Antonius Equilinus.
Adonis. Martyrologium.
Abbas Vrſpergenſis.
Abdias.
Alfridus.
Albertus.
Arnoldus de noua villa.
Andreas a Lacuna.
Aueſburienſis.
Anſegiſus Abbas.
Alexander Hales.
Adamus Myrimouth.
Alcuinus.
Armachanus in defenſorio curatorum.
Aurelius Victor.
Acta Romanorum ponti.

B

BAſilius Magnus.
Beda.
Baldus.
Burnardus Claraualleuſis.
Bernardus de Breydẽbach.
Baptiſta Egnatius.
Bergomenſis.
Bertholome⁹ Georgieuitz.
Bartholomeus Peregrinus.
Bonauentura.
Benno.
Bracton.
Bertramus.
Bartholdus.

C

CYprianus.
Cyrillus.
Chryſoſtomus.
Clemens.
Clemens Alexandrinus.
Caſſiodorus.
Caſſianus.
Carion.
Carolus Molinæus.
Conradus Hager.
Cornelius.
Crantzius.
Cuſpinianus.
Calendarium Bruti.
Catharinus.
Cuſanus.
Cardanus.
Caxton.
Capgraue.
Clodouicus.
Carolus Bouillus.
Conradus Peutingerus.
Cæſarius Monachus.
Cicero.
Clitoueus.
Cochleus.
Criſpinus.
Chronicon Albanenſe.
Chronicon Saxonicum.
Chronicon monachi Douernenſis.
Chronicon Richardi.2.
Chronicon Herſfeldenſe.
Chron.manu ſcripta varia.
Concillia generalia varia.

D

DAmaſus.
Damaſcenus.
Druthmarus.
Dantes Italicus.
Dioniſius.
Dorotheus.
Dulcinus.
Durandus.

E

EVſebius.
Eutropius.
Eulogium hiſtoricum.
Euariſtus.
Aenea Syluius.
Egeſippus.
Edmerus.
Eleutherius.
Aegidius Biterig.
Eccius.

F

FVlgentius.
Fabianus
Faſciculus temporum.
Franciſcus Petracha.
Froyſard.

G

GRegorius Magnus.
Gregorius Naziãzenus.
Gelaſius.
Gratianus.
Gerſon.
Guliel. de Sancto Amore.
Gregorius Turonnenſis.
Gregorius Wicelus.
Gloſa.
Gulielmus Neubergenſis.
Gaulfridus Moneumetẽſis.
Gallus Benouenſis.
Geruaſius.
Guliel.de monte Landuno.
Gualterus Hemingford, alias Giſburnenſis.
Guliel.Malmeſburienſis de geſt. Pontif.
Guliel.Malmeſburienſis de regibus.
Godfridus Viterbienſis.
Godfridus de Fontanis.
Gildas.
Gormatius.
Geraldus Ridder.
Geraldus Cambrenſis.
Geffrey Chaucer.
Gabriel Biel.
Georgius Lilius.

H

HIlarius.
Hieronimus.
Hugo de S. Victore.
Hieronimus Marius.
Haymo.
Heliodorus.
Helchiades.
Hiſtoria Iornalenſis.
Henricus Huntington Archidiaconus.
Henricus Penea.
Henricus Herfordenſis.
Hermanus Mutius.
Helmoldus.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria monachi Cant de. miraculis B. Thomæ.
Hildegardis.
Henricus de Haſſia.
Hiſtoria Quadripartita ſeu Quadrilogus.
Hiſtoria D. Scales.
Huttenus.
Honorius.
Halles Chronicle.
Hieronimus Wellerus.
Hardinges Chronicle.

I

IVſtinus Martyr.
Ignatius.
Irenæus.
Iacobus Miſnenſis.
Iacobus Philippus.
Iacobus Seleſtudienſis.
Iacobus de Voragine.
Iacobus Cartuſienſis.
Iacobus Hipperius
Ingulphus Croulandenſis.
Ivo Carnotenſis.
Ioannes Sleidanus.
Ioannes Oſtendorpius.
Io.detemporibus.
Io. de monte regali.
Ioan.Franciſcus Mirandula.
Ioannes Picus Mirandula.
Ioan. Pizebram.
Ioannes Ramus.
Ioannes Hus.
Io. de rupe Sciſſa.
Ioannes Criſpus.
Ioannes Faber.
Iornandus.
Ioannes Stella.
Iſidorus.
Iſuardus.
Iſiodorus Rutherus.
Iuſtinianus.
Ioannes Maior.
Ioannes Scotus.
Illyricus.
Ioan.Dulcius.

L

LAziardus.
Laonicus Chalcondula.
Limprandus.
Ludouicus Pius.
Lindanus.
Lanchanci opus Scintillarũ.
Lapiſcaſtellius.
Lambertus Scafnaburgẽſis.
Ludouicus Rabus.
Laurentius Valla.
Ludouicus Viues.

M

MAtheus Weſtmonaſterienſis.
Mathæus Pariſienſis.
Manlius.
Marcilius Patauinus.
Marcilius Ficinus.
Martinus Pœnitentiarius.
Marianus Scotus.
Marinus Bartletus.
Marcellus.
Melchior Soiterus.
Meltiades.
Methodius.
Mytilineus Archiep.
Magiſter Hiſtoriarum.
Michael Ceſenas.
Martinus Lutherus.

N

NIcephorus.
Nauclerus.
Nicolaus Clemangis.
Nicholaus Trinet.
Nicolaus Euboicus.
Nouiomagus.
Nicolaus Amotten.
Nicolaus Lyranus.
Nicolaus Orem.
Nicolaus Ciſnerus.
Nicolaus Emericus.

O

OEcumenius.
Origenes.
Onomaſticon.
Onus Eccleſiæ.
Orthuinus Gratius.
Oroſius.
Olbernus.
Oecolampadius.
Occham.
Otto Phriſingenſis.

P

POlycarpus.
Platina.
Proſper.
Petrus Bleſenſis.
Petrus Lombardus.
Petrus Comeſter.
Petrus de Natalibus.
Petrus præmonſtratenſis.
Petrus Cluniacenſis.
Petrus de Corboria.
Petrus de Monte.
Paulus Aemilius.
Paulus Diaconus.
Paulus Iouius.
Paulus Catalanus.
Paulus Eberus.
Philippus Pulcher.
Philippus Comineus.
Philippus Melancthon.
Pomponius Lætus.
Prudentius.
Pragmatica Sanctio.
Phileas.
Petrus de Vineis.
Pandulphus Colonutius.
Paralipomenon.
Polydorus Virgilius.
Peucerus.
Pighius.
Pantaleon.

R

RAbanus.
Ruffinus.
Ranulphi Ceſtrenſis Polychronicon.
Rudborne.
Redus.
Reginus.
Robertus Lycius.
Rogerus Houeden.
Robertus Crickladenſis.
Rutgerus Fuldenſis.
Rodulphus Niger.
Reuelationes S.Brigittæ.
Robertus Groſthed.
Repington.
Reinerus.
Rogerus Wallus.
Robertus Gallus.
Randenulcus.
Rodolphus Gualterus.
Regiſtra Varia.

S

SOcrates.
Sozomenus.
Sabellicus.
Sebaſt.Munſterus.
Simeon Metaphraſtes.
Simon Tornacenſis.
Stephanus Cantuarienſis.
Scala Mundi.
Sigebertus.
Sibilla Erithræa.
Suidas.
Suetonius.
Staniſlaus Rutherus.
Stephanus Aufreferius.
Sulpitius.

T

TErtulianus.
Theophilactus.
Theodoretus.
Thomas de Aquino.
Thomas Fatellus.
Taulerus.
Theodorus.
Theodoricus Niemus.
Thomas Watryng.
Tritemius.
Thomas Gaſtonius.
Thomas Gray.
Thomas Morus.

V

VOlateranus.
Voluſianus.
Veſelus Groningenſis.
Vincentius.
Vopiſcus.
Vnio diſſ.

W

WOlphangus Drechſlerus
Waldenus.
Wodfard.

Z

ZOnaras.

FINIS.

The names of the Martyrs in this booke conteyned, namely ſuch as haue ſuffered moſt terrible Martyrdome for the fayth and hope they had in the redemption of our Lord and Saueour Ieſu Chriſt, from the firſt beheadyng of Iohn Baptiſt, to this preſent, as wel vnder the Iewes as Emperours, & lately vnder the Turke, and laſt of al vnder the Pope: albeit not in ſo ample maner, as that the names of al and euery Martyr here were to be required: For ſuch was the tyrannie in the tyme of the ten firſt perſecutions, ſpecially in the laſt perſecution vnder Diocleſian, that thirty thouſand were martyred in one day, whoſe names are not expreſſed, & likewiſe many thouſands in ſundry places were martyred, whoſe names neither are in this Table cōprehended, nor in any other to be nūbred. Howbeit to ſatiſfie ſome part of the Readers expectation, in comprehendyng ſuch as ſtories and Regiſters would geue vs, I haue collected this Table in the forme of Alphabete, as foloweth.

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A chyld of eyght yeres old whipt that he dyed therof. 1948
Adam Damplip. 1193
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Alexander Dayken. 869
Alexander Gouch. 1941
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Blandina cruelly handled of the Ethnickes, yet ſhewed wonderful pacience. 46.47.48
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Zenon. 90. 104. and ten thouſand other ſuffered Martyrdome together. 40

FINIS.

In Martylogium Ioannis Foxi.

Laurentius Humfredus.

TRiſtes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri:
Quas ſcite ſtuduit texere τυφλὸς ἀνήρ.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæ madidis ſpectant mœſta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, ſed vatum ſomnia multa,
Fictis intexunt vera probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vana commenta Legendæ,
Quam ſtabulum Augiæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem Sanctorum narrat, vt errat?
Vt pingit, fingit, Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, noua, vera Legenda:
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris hiſtoria.
Authorem commendat opus, ſic rurſus adornat
Author opus: ſimul hæc vtraq; felle carent.
Authorem ſpecta: pius eſt, & terſus, & amplus,
Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem conſideras, caſus, cædeſq; bonorum
Tractat, & immerita ſtigmata ſana crucis.
Illudant alij, carpant, at zoilus olim
Dum perijt, quid ſit rodere, iam docuit.
Hic diſcat Lector, quam ſit furioſa tyrannis
Romanæ caulæ cornigeriq; gregis:
Vt lupus innocuos ſemper graſſetur in agnos:
Vt fremat, atq; auidis faucibus oſſa vorat:
Nonne ſatis fuerat Chriſti pia membra cremare?
Et viuos flammis perdere, nonne ſatis?
Nonne ſatis damnaſſe ſenes, pueroſq;, viroſq;,
Famellas, omni ex ordine, nonne ſatis?
Cur iuuat, heu, Manes ſcriptis lacerare iacentes,
Et Diuos Foxi dicere ſtercoreos?
Ah miſer, ah Chriſti teneros compungis ocellos,
Pupillam tangis, quiſquis es, ergo ſape.
Hæc eſt progenies cuius ſtola lota cruore
Agni, per Chriſtum candida tota nitet.
Illa ſub altari querulatur, Chriſte quouſq;?
Apoc. 6. *Chriſte veni propere, Chriſte quouſq; feres?*
Extra tela tua eſt, & prædicat illa Tonantem:
Mors pretioſa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabioſe Sathan? quid ſpicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniaſq; pios?
Fruſtra carnufices, carcer tormenta, faceſq;,
In Cœlo regnant membra caputq; ſimul.
Corpora ſanctorum mundus conſumpſit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina Foxus habet.
Nomina Foxus habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina iam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum nomine viuent
Nomina, cumq; ſuo ſtirps generoſa deo.
Monſtra, Chriſte, tuis portum, compeſcito fluctus
Iactata naui ſit ſua, Chriſte, quies.
Sanguine fraterno poſthac ne terra madeſcat:
Ne pergat Foxus ſcribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes ſcelerata tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus tranſeat iſte calix.
Sit finis, veniatq; tuum, pater optime, regnum:
Sit tibi, ſit Chriſte, Spirituiq; decus. Amen.

In Sanct. Martyrum hiſtoriam

Abrah. Hartwelus.

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non Μάρτυρις ipſi
Sed nos: non Cœlum, Foxe, ſed orbis eget.
Illorum creuiſſe malis latboq; putatum eſt
quos nunc ipſe vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, hiſtoria velut ignibus antè
calfiet quod nunc friget Euangelium.
Certabitq; ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
fortia facta leget, fortia facta ſequi.
Et calamo ſeruata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
funera tot, lacrimas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollet, non qui malus intulit hoſtis:
non quamuis omnis cum Phlegetone velit.
Nam renuente deo, quondam qui ſæuijt hoſtis,
non, renuente deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat: innocuo rapietur cum grege Paſtor,
grex cadet & paſtor, ſpeſq; futura gregis.
Nullus reſtabit laceris in ouilibus agnus,
nulla, deus, recta ſimplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus: alma
ſimplicitas fuco, perfidiæq; fides:
Iniuſto, falſo, ſcelerato, ſanguineoq;
virtutum ſacer Euangeliumq; chorus.
Quid facient diſce ex factis: ventura probantur
præteritis.
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cuius
tolluntur digito parua, ſuperba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, inuicte, triumphans:
ſic, vt in Aegipto vel Babylone, veni.
Non tanti Babylone Draco Beluſq; fuere,
cultſuq; inſani. & fœda ſuperſtitio.
Et licet Aegypti crudelia facta legentur,
Aegyptus non tam ſæua minaxq; fuit.
Vtraq;, nec ſatis eſt, monſtrum concreuit in vnum.

Et

& ſi qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, ſtylóne magiſter?
docta quid poterunt Veripatáq́; ſcholæ?
Quid miris toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus ſanguifluuſq́; liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui viuos vndiq́; teſtes,
factores viuos, & modò geſta canit?
Scilicet vt monſtres ſanctorum Eccleſia qualis,
collectis quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Vt doceat, firmet, ſoletur corda piorum:
dedoceat, vincat, excrucietue malos.
Vt tibi parta, deus, ſtet ſemper gloria, natô
Vt poſſit tecum gloria ſtare tui:
Sanguinis vt ſacri, non occultanda trophæa.
Vtraq́; poſteritas ſancta, maligna, ſciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæſita labore,
tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantlata tot, & ſudata diebus,
tot placitura bonis, obrutura malos,
Chriſti, non hominum, laudes ſparſura per orbem
factáq́; (credo) ætas qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobiſq́; ſecundet,
numinis in laudem perpetuumq́; decus.
Inuideat Sathanas, & Zoilus ilia rumpat.
abtrectet mendax cum grege Roma ſuo.

In idem Argumentum. Rob. R.

EN iterum in magnos noua commentaria vates:
Auctius & plus eſt, q̃ fuit antè decus.
Sanctorum hiſtorias, & noſtri perfida ſecli
Tempora, lector habes, terrificumq́; ſcelus.
Dignum certè opus eſt, quamuis ſit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat, poſteritaſq́; probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) maius: numeroſa ſophorum eſt
Littera, ſed ſimilis pondere & arte ſtylus.
Crede mihi hiſtoriam hanc quondam lectura vetuſtas
Suſpiciet genium (Foxe diſerte) tuum.
Non tamen inſani fuit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patitur ve viros.
Hiſtrio, ſcurra dicax, paraſitus, hypocrita, mimus,
Vappa mage arrident, leno, Papiſta placent.
Neſcis adulari, nec verum (Foxe) ſilere:
Scriptaq́; miraris non placuiſſe tua?

Eiuſdem.

QVíſq́; bonus te (Foxe) colit, tua ſcripta celebrat,
Dant decus hæc ſtudij tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,
Vnde ergo in libros inuidia iſta tuos?
Vnde Papizantis ſubita hæc conuerſio ſectæ:
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit,
Vnde tot Harpyæ, nempe Hardyngiq́; Copiq́;?
Vnde hæc Louanij garrula turba ſcholæ?
Cauſa patet: furiis Muſas, nec ſacra Papiſmus,
Nec Chriſti athletas raſa farina probat.
Nec te adeo oderunt puto, ſed verumq́; fidemq́;
Heu bene nulla poteſt lingua maligna loqui.

¶Ad Io. Daium Typographum.

Friuola quum multi deliramenta, meramq́;
Stultitiam magno vendiderint pretio,
Ne dubita optato referes vel ſingula lucro
(Daie) licet magno ſtent Monumenta tibi.

In Acta Martyrum Carmen T. Drant.

Papa.

ERgone ſic Papæ potuit vox improba iuſſa
Tam dirum mãdare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulaſſe rogis, cineres ſine honore ſepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? quæue hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens vlla, pios ſine lege necari,
Totq́; ſimul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabieſq́; furorq́;
Corpora tam diris ſanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miſcere hominum, tot plectere ciues,
Vaſtare & toto diuiſos orbe Britannos?
Dic quid noſtrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima paſſi?
Vix pars vlla manet terræ qua panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata eſt frauſq́; doluſq́;,
Et Πολυπραγμοσύνη, & amor ſceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem ſonat: ergo
Rite putabamus Papam cacodæmone natum?
an quod cum Chriſto nos conſpirare delebas?
Quod te cum Chriſto non conſpirare videmus?
Quod te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, vt ſceleris magni, vitijq́; miniſtrum?
Hinc illud quod ſe verſat diriſq́; miniſq́;,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus vſſit.
Sis miſer & nulli cuiquam miſerabilis. Huius
Tu cladis tantæ pars magna Bonere fuiſti.

Bonerus.

Mactator pecudum Chriſti, diſperſor ouilis,
Triſte malum ſtabulis, & nil niſi peſſima clades.
Vos quoq́; vos omnes Iboni tetigiſſe Prophetas,
Et calcaſſe pios, numen ſpreuiſſe benignum
Quêis ſeculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Iam ſatis eſt (proh) plus ſatis eſt, reſipiſcite ſero,
Sera nimis non vlla dies, nunc diſcite tandem,
Diſcite vel tandem moniti non temnere Chriſtum.

Ad Martyres.

Oſcula libetis gnato, ne ſæuiat vltor,
Et male vos ſperſos deturbet tramite vitæ
At vos qui læti quiduis ſuperaſtis acerbum,
Cælicolæ, quibus æternum licet eſſe beatis,
Dulce decuſq́; Dei, Chriſtum quia morte decora
Ornaſtis, clari ſuperi, cœtuſq́; triumphans.
Non caro, nō mundus, nō vos tureæ, Papa, dæmon.
Non Phœbe pernox vexabit ſol vè diurnus,
Et vos ô cuncti, ſcanſo qui culmine cæli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terreaq́; male relicta:
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes, tormenta, cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tale? quid ignes?
Scilicet vt fuluum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum:
Sic vos mactarunt ſpectata holocaumata Chriſto,
Interitus veſter Domini, precioſus ocellis.
Horum (Foxe) pijs, dum tu ſic nominis ſcriptis,
Et mortem, & mores longum diffundis in æuum;
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipſo,
Ergo tu doctis pergis palleſcere chartis
Nocturna verſando manu, verſando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnauus, gnaruſq́; laborum
Es ſtudijs, dum magna cohors ſua cōmoda captans
(Auſpice non Chriſto) mundi venatur honores.
Vel tu Romano, vel tu ſermone Britanno
Scribito, præteriti vel produc temporis acta,
Patre Deo monſtrante viam, data fata ſecutus:
Omne feres punctum, ſi miſces vtile dulci.

Ad Deum de inundātibus bellorum procellis.

Magne Deus, Cœliq́; ſator, mundiq́; monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempeſtatumq́; potentem
Credimus, & ſolum ſcimus venerabile numen,
Aſpicis inſano vexari cuncta tumultu;
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui?

Parce gregi paruo, pacem te poſcimus omnes,
Sis bonus (ô) Felixq́ tuis, vel parcito Chriſto,
Cuius membra nimis iam mundus lædit & odit.
Per tibi dilectam ſponſam promiſſaq́ pacta,
Per paſſum Chriſtum, per dulcia pignora paſſi,
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papiſtas incendiarios.

SI fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuique eſt,
Papicolis Cœli maxima porta patet.

I. F.

In idem argumentum Ægidius Fletcher Cantabrigienſis.

IAm tua ter magnum ſpatijs emenſa laborem
Æquora luſtrauit puppis, ter littora vidit,
Foxe.
Dumq́ fugas, enſesq́ canis, conſumptaq́ flammis
Corpora, conſumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, ſed vtilior nobis tibi noxia ſoli
Indefeſſa manet virtus. Quin otia carpis
Mollia, iam ſolare tuos (diuine) labores.
Non potes, & ſemper mentē tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatq́ nouas in pectore vires.
Ergo age quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorū
Facta canis ſacra properans indulge labori.
Iam veniet magni ſeriem dum colligit æui
Poſteritas, quam longa tenet cuſtodia famæ,
Dumq́ tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimosq́ duces, mediosq́ petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura ſimul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum ſacras imitabitur æmula laudes.
Scilicet æthereas ardentia pectora flammas,
Non ignes alij, non ipſa potentia Regum,
Nec vis vlla domat ferri, non tela, nec enſes.
Qualis vbi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cineresq́ paternos,
Dumq́ rogum, flammasq́ parat ſibi, maior ab igne
Egreditur, quāq́ illa nouis volitauerit alis,
Indigenæ volucres læto clamore ſequūtur:
Fœlices animæ vobis ſuper alta beatis
Sydera calcatur quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec iam noſter honor, nec præmia curat
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus inuida tellus.
Ecce tamen, quales poterit, perſoluet honores
Poſteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur, plauſuq́ fidem ſuper aſtra ſequetur
Victricem. (Hoc ſiquid debent mortalibus) ipſi
Sanctorum cineres tibi ſe debere fatentur,
Foxe.
Tempus erit, cum tu poſt fata, pioſque labores,
Aucturus ſuperos fœlix ſuper alta videbis
Sydera, iam quorum tranſcribis nomina famæ,
Inſignes heroas, & ipſe videberis illis.
Iamq́ patres ſuperans mundo labente ſequetur
Progenies, Cœlo ſe clarior exeret alto
Relligio, humani generis decus, optima cuſtos
Imperij, quam ſancta fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum lætis creſcet pax aurea terris,
Tum quoque diuini paſſim monumenta laboris,
Et ſacrum florebit opus, fructuque beabit.
Et populum, & populi per ſecula longa nepotes.

In idem argumentum Thom. Ridley Cantabrigienſis.

COrpora quæ quōdam iuſto caruere ſepulchro
Oſſaq́ per campos vndique ſparſa pia
Collegit magna cum ſedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in vnum conglomerauit opus.
At cum gens mendax atq́ importuna Papiſta,
Fruſtra tam ſanctum perſequerentur opus.
Auxit, & ex vno, idem bina volumina fecit,
Obſtruxitq́ ſuis hoſtibus ora pius.
Nec ſic contentus, rurſus limauit & auctum
Arctauit, populi commoditate ſui:
Nequaquam veritus ſtolidæ conuitia linguæ,
Dum veſtra ô ſancti fortia facta ſonet.
O vos fœlices animæ, quæ ſanguine veſtro
Cœleſtes nobis teſtificaſtis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoraſti funere ſanctas
Relliquias, peragens triſte miniſterium:
Sed tibi præclarum, nobisq́ nec inutile, vt iſtis
Exemplis fortes poſſumus eſſe fide.

M. M. S.

PErlege, quæ faſtis ſignata fidelibus acta
Pādimus Angligenûm et feruida fata virûm,
Admiranda tibi gemini ſpectacula cœtus,
Pugnanteſq́ ſuo diſpare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbus ſæuo ferus impete Sathan
Tartareas præfert in ſua regna faces:
Illinc Rex ſuperûm, trans flāmas, transq́ cruentas
Mille neces, Chriſtus ſternit ad aſtra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lachrymæ, ieiunia templis
Iuſſus bonos ſummi iuſſaq́ ſacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopū rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, triſti pectora ſenta ſitu.
Miſſa volat flammis, & ſanguinis ebria riuis
Ante, gradum retro Roma maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat Foxus certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit.
Intereà veri vis ſtat ſata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato iam Phlegetonte ſuper.
Poſt alios fœtus, alios poſt deinde labores
Hæc extrema ſubit vindicis ira manus,
Tertiaq́ iſta patri ſuſpendimus arma Quirino
Parua prius iam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis iam tum miracula ſaxi
Prodidit Aſſyria regius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, ſed qui ſe attollere in auras
Iuſſus Atlantæos æquiparare ſinus.
Nunc quoq́ qui impleuit ſinuoſo fragmine mundū
Ætherioq́ ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipſe tonans flagranti diſtulit axe
Imperia, & vertit Regna ſuperba ſolo.
Sæua Silex quānam flammantibus incita fundis
Vrbium & elatis pernicioſa minis.
Coctilibus muris Romana Semiramis audax
Proſpice, iam Babylon iam ruit illa tua.
Saxea iam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas ſtrages miſeris horrida Romulidis
Vltimus hic labor eſt montis rapientis auari
Puppicolasq́ Papas papicolasq́ Popas.

At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Secla, pias puro funditis ore preces:
Aligeræq́ acies, ciues ſtellantis Olympi:
Plaudite: Roma fuit Babela, Papa fuit.

¶In idem argumentum Thom. Barwicke, Seruus *E. G.* Archie. Cantuar.

AVrea præclari ſplendet lucubratio Foxi,
Quem parili dono Nymphæ Muſæq́ bearũt
Et quem pro meritis extollere iure videntur
Dijq́ Deæq́ omnes: vates ter magnus Apollo
Hunc peperit: cuius cerebro ſatus eſſe videtur,
Vir pius hic, penitus, diuino percitus æſtro:
Quem, Nemeſis nocitura nihil, facit, impulit, vrget,
Inſtar præconis totum reſonare per orbem,
Iſta Papiſtarum crudelia facta notare,
Quæ merito poterint nigro carbone notari.
Nam poſtquam ſubitò lachrymoſa morte peremptus
Rex Edouardus erat, nulli pietate ſecundus,
Ecce Sacerdotum grex impius atque nefandus,
Eheu ſucceſsit mytris & vertice raſo
Ore cruentati miſcentes omnia cæde, et
Singula terribili vexabant oppida flamma.
Sed Deus omnipotens cuius clementia magna eſt,
Cuius item & propriũ eſt miſereri & parcere ſemper,
Nunc vindex pater eſt, nunc miſcens verbera verbis,
Qui ſolet in media vitam dare morte perennem,
Noluit in populo ſufferre diutius iſto
Tam crudele ſcelus, nec ſæuo corde tyrannos.
Aſt vbi iam pœnis meritam ſaciauerat iram,
Mira canam, ſed vera canam, ſublata Maria eſt,
Expectata pijs venit omnibus Elizabetha.
Quæ ſeu paſtor oues in pinguia paſcua duxit;
Et dedit arcanis oracula merſa tenebris,
Eripuitq́ ſuos gelidi formidine læthi.
O vtinam memores benefacta priora tenentes
Pectore, non reddat cæcas incuria mentes:
Singula quid referam, luculento hæc ordine Foxus,
Foxus aio meritò toto celebrandus in orbe:
Quæ loquimur vidit, teſtatur, & omnia pandit,
Omnibus archiuis ſcrutatis atque regeſtris;
Pontificum, iuſtum fecitq́ volumen ad vſus;
Corpora cæſorum narrat monumenta virorum
Propter Euangelium, tum dulcia dogmata Ieſu:
Ergo agite ô læti pariter iuueneſq́ ſeneſq́,
Laudibus excelſum celebretis ad æthera Chriſtum,
In Chriſto Foxum votis precibuſq́ iuuetis,
Martyribus iuſtum quoniam tribuebat honorem,
Da Deus auxilium de ſummo monte ſalutis,
Vt nos qui ætherea ſpirantes viuimus aura,
Abſque fuco veram recolamus Relligionem
Noſtrorum & fratrum penitus pia facta ſequamur,
Qui maledicta vomant hoſtes, & probra loquuntur.
Obruat hos mærens turbato infamia vultu,
Vel Deus hos ſæuo vaſtandos trade tyranno:
Aſt vbi ſolicitè recitanti hæc omnia Foxe
Mens infracta malis, animi vigor integer adſit,
Et reſponſuris ferat Anglia vocibus, Amen.

¶In idem argumentum Rich. Daye Cantabrigienſis.

SIccine Foxe iuuat ferrum, flammaſq́, viroſq́
Pandere, qui reduces Chriſti cæleſtis ad oras
Aetneos fugiunt fratres, Italumq́ Cyclopa
Montibus incluſum ſeptem, totidemq́ vorantem
Faucibus, impurum ſectæ genus vnde papalis?
Fœlices animæ, quæ vos tormenta gementes
Preſſerunt? preſſos heu quot miſeranda vorarunt
Funera? ſoliciti ſiquidem res plena doloris
Cœli verus amor, ſpretæq́ iniuria Romæ.
Nunc tamen optato donati munere, Chriſto
Gaudetis, Chriſti meritis & morte beati.
Et te Foxe manet ſtudioſi palma laboris
Et te Daie pater, cuius non prælia, præla
Inuiſos meritò t erræq́ Deoq́ Cyclopas
Ter circum Angligenas raptarunt fortiter oras.

¶To helpe the vnlearned, we haue thought it good to ſet forth the playne Numbers with Ciphers in Algoriſme, whereby they might vnderſtand the Number the better.

1.	i.
2.	ii.
3.	iii.
4.	iiii.
5.	v.
6.	vi.
7.	vii.
8.	viii.
9.	ix.
10.	x.
11.	xi.
12.	xii.
13.	xiii.
14.	xiiii.
15.	xv.
16.	xvi.
17.	xvii.
18.	xviii.
19.	xix
20.	xx.
21.	xxi.
22.	xxii.
23.	xxiii.
24.	xxiiii.
25.	xxv.
26.	xxvi.
27.	xxvii.
28.	xxviii.
29.	xxix.
30.	xxx.
31.	xxxi.
32.	xxxii
33.	xxxiii.
34.	xxxiiii.
35.	xxxv.
36.	xxxvi.
37.	xxxvii.
38.	xxxviii.
39.	xxxix.
40.	xl.
41.	xli.
42.	xlii.
43.	xliii.
44.	xliiii
45.	xlv.
46.	xlvi.
47.	xlvii.
48.	xlviii.
49.	xlix.
50.	l.
51.	li.
52.	lii.
53.	liii.
54.	liiii.
55.	lv.
56.	lvi.
57.	lvii.
58.	lviii
59.	lix.
60.	lx.
61.	lxi.
62.	lxii.
63.	lxiii.
64.	lxiiii.
65.	lxv.
66.	lxvi.
67.	lxvii.
68.	lxviii.
69.	lxix.
70.	lxx.
71.	lxxi.
72	lxxii
73.	lxxiii.
74.	lxxiiii.
75.	lxxv.
76.	lxxvi.
77.	lxxvii.
78.	lxxviii.
79.	lxxix.
80.	lxxx.
81.	lxxxi.
82.	lxxxii.
83.	lxxxiii.
84.	lxxxiiii.
85.	lxxxv.
86.	lxxxvi.
87.	lxxxvii.
88.	lxxxviii.
89.	lxxxix.
90.	xc.
91.	xci.
92.	xcii.
93.	xciii.
94	xciiii
95.	xcv.
96.	xcvi.
97.	xcvii.
98.	xcviii.
99.	xcix.
100.	C.
110.	cx.
120.	cxx.
130.	cxxx.
140.	cxl.
150	cl.
160.	clx.
170	clxx.
180.	clxxx.
190.	cxc.
200.	cc.
210.	ccx.
220.	ccxx.
230.	ccxxx.
240.	ccxl.
250.	ccl.
260.	cclx.
270.	cclxx
280.	cclxxx.
290.	ccxc
300.	ccc.
400.	cccc.
500.	D.
1000.	M. &c.

¶Certaine faultes or ouerſightes in the Printyng of this hiſtory eſcaped, which (gentle Reader) are thus to be amended.

Page.723.col.2.in the margent, for 150. read 150.thouſand.
Page.780.col.2.lin.6.for Sadlyng, read Spaldyng. Item lin.18.for Spadlyng, read Spaldyng.
Page.1023.col.2.lin.67.read.18.thouſand.8.hundred.
Page.1200.col.1.lin.81.for Dod, read Tod.
Page.1321.col.1.lin.40.read, and the Duke was condemned.
Page.1598.col.2.lin.43.read Richard Hoke.
Page.1621.col.1.lin.6.Whereas it is mentioned of Maiſter Edward Bourton Eſquier, that he was brought to the Church and there denyed Chriſtian buriall: vnderſtand (gentle Reader) that he was not brought to the place of burial, but only a meſſeger whoſe name is John Torperley was ſet to know whether he ſhould be buried in Chriſtian burial or not which beyng denyed hym, he was therupon buried in his owne garden, as is declared in the page aboue mentioned.

FINIS.

ACTES and Monumentes of Chriſtes Martyrs, and matters Eccleſiaſticall, as haue paſſed in the Church of Chriſt from the primitiue begynnyng of the ſame, to theſe our dayes, as well in other countreys as namely in this Realme of England, and alſo of Scotland, diſcourſed at large.

Math. 16.

Chriſt our Sauiour in the Goſpell of S. Mat. cap. 16. hearyng the confeſſion of Simon Peter, who firſt of all other openly acknowledged him to be ỹ ſonne of God, & perceiuyng the ſecret hand of his father therin, anſwered againe & alludyng to his name, called him a rocke vpon whiche rocke he woulde buylde hys church, ſo ſtrōg that ỹ gates of hell ſhould not preuayle againſt it, &c. In which wordes three thynges are to be noted: Firſt that Chriſt will haue a Church in this world. Secondly ỹ the ſame Churche ſhould mightely be impugned not onely by the world, but alſo by the vttermoſt ſtrēgth & powers of all hell. And thirdly that the ſame Church notwithſtandyng the vttermoſt of the deuill and all his malice ſhould continue. Which Propheſie of Chriſt, we ſee wonderfully to be verified. In ſomuch that the whole courſe of the Church to this day, may ſeeme nothyng els but a verifying of the ſayd Propheſie. Firſt that Chriſt hath ſet vp a Church it needeth no declaratiō. Secōdly what force, what ſides & ſortes of men, of Princes, Kynges, monarches, gouernours, and rulers of this world, with their ſubiectes publikely and priuely, with all their ſtrength and cunnyng haue bent them ſelues agaynſt this Church. And thirdly how the ſaid Church all this notwithſtandyng hath yet endured and holden his owne. What ſtormes and tempeſtes it hath ouerpaſt wonderous it is to behold. For the more euident declaration whereof, I haue addreſſed this preſent hiſtorie, entendyng, by the fauorable ayde of Chriſt our Lord, not ſo much to delite the eares of my countrey, in readyng of newes, as eſpecially to profite the hartes of the godly, in peruſing antiquities of auncient times to the end that the wonderfull workes of God firſt in hys Church might appeare to his glory. Alſo that the continuaunce and proceedynges of the Churche from tyme to tyme beyng ſet forth in theſe Actes & Monumentes, more knowledge and experience may redounde thereby to the profite of the reader and edification of Chriſten fayth.

The thinges noted in Chriſtes wordes.

For the better accompliſhyng wherof, ſo to proſecute the matter, as may beſt ſerue to the profite of the reader, I haue thought good firſt, beginning from the tyme of the primitiue Church, and ſo continuyng (by the Lordes grace) to theſe latter yeares, to runne ouer the whole ſtate and courſe of the Churche in generall, in ſuch order as digeſtyng the whole tractation of this hiſtorie, into fiue ſundry diuerſities of tymes: Firſt I wil entreat of ỹ ſufferyng time of ỹ Church, which continued from the Apoſtles age about. 300. yeares. Secondly, of the flouriſhyng tyme of the Churche, whiche laſted other. 300. yeares. Thirdly, of the declinyng or backeſlidyng tyme of the Churche, whiche comprehendeth other. 300. yeares, vntill the looſing out of Sathan, whiche was about the thouſand yeare after the ceaſing of perſecution.

The order or diſpoſitiō of this hiſtory.

1. The ſufferyng time of the Church.

2. The flouriſhing time of the Church.

3. The decliningtime of the Church.

During which ſpace of tyme, the Churche, although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the ſimple ſinceritie of the primitiue tyme, yet in outward profeſſiō of doctrine and religiō it was ſomethyng tollerable, and had ſome face of a Church: notwithſtandyng ſome corruption of doctrine, with ſuperſtition and hypocriſie was then alſo crept in. And yet in compariſon of that as followed after, it might ſeeme (as I ſayd) ſomething ſufferable. Fourthly followeth the tyme of Antichriſt, or deſolation of the Churche, whoſe full ſwyng continueth the ſpace of. 400. yeares. In whiche tyme both doctrine, and ſinceritie of life was vtterly almoſt extinguiſhed, namely in the chief heades and rulers of this Weſt Churche, through the meanes of ỹ Romane Biſhops, eſpecially countyng frō Gregory the vij. called Hildebrand, Innocentius the iij. & Friers whiche with him crept in, till the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Huſſe, duryng. 400. yeares. Fiftly and laſtly after this tyme of Antichriſt, raignyng in the Church of God by violence & tyranny, foloweth the reformation and purgyng of the Church of God, wherin Antichriſt beginneth to be reueled, and to appeare in his colours, and his Antichriſtian doctrine to be detected, the number of his Churche decreaſing, and the number of the true Church increaſing. The durance of which tyme hath continued hetherto about. 260. yeares, & how long ſhall continue more, the Lord & gouernour of all tymes he onely knoweth. For in theſe fiue diuerſities and alteratiōs of tymes, I ſuppoſe the whole courſe of the Church may well be compriſed. The which Church, becauſe it is vniuerſall, and ſparſedly through all countreys dilated, therfore in this hiſtory ſtandyng vpō ſuch a generall argumēt I ſhall not be bound to any one certaine nation, more then an other: yet notwithſtādyng, keepyng mine argument aforeſayd, I haue purpoſed principally to tary vpon ſuch hiſtoricall actes and recordes, as moſt appertaine to this my countrey of England & Scotland.

4. The tyme of Antichriſt in the Church.

5. The reformatiō of the Church.

And for ſomuch as the Church of Rome, in all theſe ages aboue ſpecified, hath chalenged to it ſelfe the ſupreme title, & ringleadyng of the whole vniuerſall Churche on earth, by whoſe direction all other Churches haue bene gouerned, in writyng therfore of the Churche of Chriſt, I can not but partly alſo intermedle with the actes and procedynges of the ſame Church, for ſomuch as the doynges and orderinges of all other Churches from time to time, as well here in England, as in other nations, haue this long ſeaſon, chiefly depēded vpon the ſame. Wherfore, as it is much nedefull and requiſite to haue the doynges & orderings of the ſayd Church to be made manifeſt to all Chriſten congregations: ſo haue I framed this hiſtory, accordyng to the ſame purpoſe. Firſt in a generall deſcriptiō briefly to declare as in a ſummary table, the diſguiſyng of that Church, comparing withall the primitiue ſtate of the forenamed Churche of Rome, with theſe latter tymes of the ſame. Whiche done, then after in a more ſpeciall tractatiō, to proſecute more at large all the particulars therof, ſo farforth as ſhall ſeme not vnprofitable for the publike inſtruction of all other Chriſten Churches, to behold and cōſider the maner and dealyng of this one. In the which one Church of Rome foure thynges, as moſt ſpeciall pointes, ſeeme to me chiefly to be conſidered. To wit, Title, Iuriſdiction, Life, and Doctrine, wherin I haue here to declare, firſt cōcernyng the title or primacie of ỹ Church, how it firſt began, & vpon what occaſion. Secondly, concernyng the iuriſdiction and authoritie therof, what it was, and how farre it did extend. Thirdly, touchyng the miſorder of life and conuerſatiō, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the forme of doctrine, how ſuperſtitious and idolatrous it was. Of the which foure the firſt was preiudiciall to all Byſhops, the ſecond derogatorie to Kynges & Emperours. The third deteſtable to all men. The fourth iniurious agaynſt Chriſt.

The Churche of Rome.

Foure thynges to be conſidered in the Church of Rome.
1. Title.
2. Iuriſdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine.

For firſt, the title and ſtile of that church was ſuch, that it ouerwent all other Churches, beyng called the holy vniuerſall mother Church, which could not erre, & the Byſhop thereof holy father the Pope, Byſhop vniuerſall, prince of Prieſtes, ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church, and Vicare of Chriſt here in earth, whiche muſt not be iudged, hauyng all knowledge of Scripture and all lawes contained within the cheſt of his breſt.

The title of the Pope.

Secondly the iuriſdictiō of that Byſhop was ſuch, that chalengyng to him ſelfe both the ſwordes, that is; both the keyes of the ſpiritualtie, and the ſcepter of the Laytie: not onely he ſubdued all Byſhops vnder him, but alſo extended him ſelfe aboue Kynges and Emperours, cauſing ſome of them to lye vnder his feete, ſome to hold his ſtirrup, Kinges to leade his horſe by the bridle, ſome to kiſſe his feete, placyng and diſplacing Emperours, Kynges, Dukes and Earles, whom and when he liked, takyng vpon him to tranſlate the Empire at his pleaſure. Firſt from Grece to Fraūce, from Fraunce to Germany, preferryng and depoſing whom he pleaſed, confirming them whiche were elected. Alſo beyng Emperour him ſelfe ſede vacante, pretendyng authoritie or

The iuriſdiction of the Pope.

power, to inueſt Byſhoppes, to geue benefices, to ſpoyle Churches, to geue authoritie to binde and loſe, to call generall Councels, to iudge ouer the ſame, to ſet vp religions, to canonize Saintes, to take appeales, to binde conſciences, to make lawes, to diſpence with the law and word of God, to deliuer from Purgatory, to commaunde aungels. &c.

The properties of lyfe in the Romiſh Clergy.

Thirdly, what was the lyfe and conuerſation of the court of Rome, hereafter in the proces of this hiſtory followeth to be ſeene and obſerued.

The doctrine of the Pope.

Fourthly, ſuch was his doctrine in like maner, tedious to Studentes, pernicious to mens conſciences, iniurious to Chriſt Ieſus, and contrary to it ſelfe. In lawes more diuers, in volume more large, in diligence and ſtudy more applied, in vauntage and preferment more gaynfull, then euer was the ſtudy and learnyng of the holy Scripture of God.

All whiche foure pointes well conſidered and aduiſed in this preſent hiſtory ſet forth, I truſt it may miniſter to the indifferent Chriſtian Reader, ſufficient inſtruction to iudge, what is of this ſea and Church of Rome to be eſteemed.

Pope Silueſter the ſecond.

Pope Gregory. 7. called Hildebrand.

Pope Innocentius the third.

Pope Bonifacius the eight.

But here by the way is to be noted, that all theſe deformities aboue touched of vayne title, of pretenſed iuriſdictiō, of hereticall doctrine, of ſchiſmaticall lyfe, came not into the Churche of Rome all at one tyme, nor ſprang with the begynnyng of the ſame Church, but with long workyng, and continuaunce of tyme by litle and litle crept vp, through occaſion, and came not to full perfection, till the tyme partly of Pope Silueſter, partly of Pope Gregory the vij. an. 1170. partly of Innocentius the third, and finally of Pope Boniface the eight. an. 1300. Of the whiche foure Popes, the firſt brought in the title. an. 670. which was neuer in ſuch ample wiſe before publickely exacted and receiued publikely in the ſayd Church of Rome. The ſecond brought in iuriſdiction. The third whiche was Pope Innocent with his rable of Monkes and Friers, with Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Iohannes Scotus, and with ſuch Byſhops as ſucceded in the ſame ſea after him, corrupted and obſcured the ſinceritie of Chriſtes doctrine & mǎners alſo. And laſtly, Pope Bonifacius the viij. and after him Pope Clement the fift, ouer and beſides the iuriſdiction, ſufficiently aduaūced before by Pope Hildebrand, added moreouer the temporall ſworde to be caried before them. And that no Emperour (were he neuer ſo well elected) ſhould be ſufficient and lawfull, without the Popes admiſſion, an. 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his full pride and perfectiō. And thus came vp the corruption of the Romiſh Church in continuaunce of yeares by degrees, and not all together, nor at one tyme, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe expreſſed.

Wherefore, whoſoeuer ſhall haue hereafter to do with any aduerſaries, about the antiquitie or authoritie of the Churche of Rome, let him here conſider when and how the title, iuriſdiction, and corruption of doctrine firſt began in the Popes ſea. And ſo ſhall he ſee, that the Church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this maner of title, iuriſdiction, and inſtitution of doctrine, neuer deſcended from the primitiue age of the Apoſtles, or from their ſucceſſion, niſi tantum æquiuocè, & non vniuocè: Like as Sancta Maria picta, nō eſt ſancta Maria, & homo pictus eſt non homo, as the ſcholes do ſay, that is: as the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgine, and as a man painted on the wall, is not a man: ſo it is to be ſayd of the Church of Rome, that although it haue the name of the Church Apoſtolicall, and doth bring forth a long Genealogie of outward ſucceſſiō from the Apoſtles, as the Phariſeis did in Chriſtes tyme bring their deſcent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I ſayd) but onely æquiuocè, that is, in name onely, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apoſtolical Church in deede, for as much as the definition of the Apoſtolicall Church, neither agreeth now with this preſent Church of Rome, nor yet the maner, forme, and inſtitutiō of the ſayd Romiſh Church, as it now ſtandeth with this title, iuriſdiction, & doctrine, had euer any ſucceſſion or offſpring from the primitiue church of the Apoſtles. But as Chriſt ſayd by the Phariſeis, that they were the children not of Abraham, but of the deuill: in ſemblable wiſe may be aūſwered, that this Church of Rome now preſent, with this title, iuriſdictiō, and doctrine now vſed, cānot be fathered vpon the Apoſtles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other authour, whom here I will not name.

Equiuocè. That is in name onely and not in very deede.

Vniuocè. That is both in name and alſo in definition and effect agreyng with the name.

The Churche of Rome as now is, is not Apoſtolicall but onely æquiuocè.

And here now commeth in the argument of Pighius, Hoſius, and Eccius, to be aunſwered vnto, who arguyng for the antiquitie and authoritie of the Churche of Rome, reaſon on this maner.

The Argument of Pighius, Hoſius, and Eccius for the authoritie of the church of Rome.

Da That for ſomuch as an ordinarie & a knowen Churche viſible muſt here be knowen continually on earth, duryng from the time of the Apoſtles, to the which church all other Churches muſt haue recours.

ri And ſeyng there is no other Churche viſible, orderly knowen to haue indured from the Apoſtles tyme, but onely the Church of Rome:

i. They conclude therfore that the Churche of Rome, is that Church whereunto all other Churches muſt haue their recourſe. &c.

Aunſwere. *Fallacia æquiuoci.*

To the which paralogiſme I aunſwere thus: that this word Durans Eccleſia, the duryng Churche in the Minor, hath fallaciā æquiuoci. For although the name of the church and outward ſucceſſion of Byſhops haue had their durance from time of the Apoſtles, yet the definition & matter which maketh a true Apoſtolical Church in deede and vniuocè, neither is now in the Churche of Rome, nor yet the forme and inſtitution of the Churche now vſed in Rome was euer frō the Apoſtles, whiche Apoſtles were neuer authours or fathers of this title, iuriſdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the ſame.

The minor examined.

The Maior examined.

Agayne to the Maior which ſtandeth vpon two partes, I aunſwere, firſt although the neceſſitie of the Churche duryng from the Apoſtles, may and muſt be graunted, yet the ſame neceſſitie was not bound to any certaine place, or perſon, but onely to fayth, ſo that where ſoeuer, that is, in what ſoeuer congregation true fayth was, there was the Church of Chriſt: And becauſe the true fayth of Chriſt muſt needes euer remaine in earth, therfore the Church alſo muſt needes remaine in earth. And God forbid that the ſayd true fayth of Chriſt ſhould onely remaine in one Citie in the world, and not in other as well. And therefore to the ſecond part of the Maior is to be ſayd, that as this true and ſincere fayth of Chriſt is not ſo geuen, to remaine fixely in one place or Citie alone: ſo neither is there any one Church in the worlde ſo ordained and appointed of God, that all other Churches ſhould haue their recourſe vnto it, for determination of their cauſes and controuerſies incident, &c. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hoſius. &c.

A diſtinctiō. The Church of Rome diſtincted into a double cōſideration of tymes.

The Church of Rome how it was commended of the olde Doctours.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the auncient Doctours, and holy fathers in the commendation of the Church of Rome, here commeth in alſo to be noted, that whoſoeuer will vnderſtand rightly their authorities and aunſwere to the ſame, muſt firſt learne to make a difference and diſtinction of the ſayd Church of Rome, frō that it was, to that it is, for as much as the Churche of Rome is not the ſame Church now, which it was then, but onely æquiuocè: otherwiſe as touchyng the very propertie and definition of a Church, it is an other Church, & nothyng agreyng to that was then, ſaue onely in outward name and place, therfore by this diſtinction made, I aūſwere the place of Irenæus, Cyprianus, and other famous Doctours, commendyng the Church of Rome as catholique and Apoſtolicall, and ſay that theſe Doctours ſpeakyng of the Church of Rome which then was, ſaid not vntrue, calling it catholique and Apoſtolicall, for that the ſame Church tooke their ordinary ſucceſſion of Byſhops, ioyned with the ordinarie doctrine and inſtitution from the Apoſtles: but ſpeakyng of the Church of Rome, which now is, we ſay the ſayd places of the Doctours, are not true, neither do appertaine to the ſame, all whiche Doctours neither knew the Churche of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would euer haue iudged any thyng therin worthy ſuch commendation. Ouer and beſides, our aduerſaries yet more obiect agaynſt vs, who heauing and ſhouing for the antiquitie of the Romiſh Church for lacke of other ſufficient reaſon to proue, are driuen to fall in ſcanning the times and yeares. What, ſay they, where was this Church of yours, before theſe. l. yeares? To whom briefly to aunſwere, firſt we demaunde what they meane by this, which they call our Churche? If they meane the ordinaunce and inſtitution of doctrine & Sacramentes, now receaued of vs, and differing from the Church of Rome, we affirme and ſay, that our Church was, when this Church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the ſhell, nor did yet euer ſee any light: that is, in the tyme of the Apoſtles, in the primitiue age, in the time of Gregory the firſt, and the old Romaine Churche, when as yet no vniuerſall Pope was receiued publikely, but repelled in Rome, nor this fulnes of plenary power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, and abuſe of Sacramentes yet heard of. In witnes whereof we haue the old actes and hiſtories of auncient tyme to geue teſtimonie with vs, wherein ſufficiēt matter we haue for vs, to declare the ſame forme, vſage, and inſtitution of this our Church reformed now, not to be the begynnyng of any new Churche of our owne, but to be the renewyng of the old auncient Church of Chriſt: nor to be any ſweruing from the Churche of Rome, but rather a reducing to the Church of Rome. Whereas contrary the Church of Rome which now is, is nothyng but a ſweruyng from the Church of Rome, as partly is declared, & more ſhall appeare (Chriſt wil-

The principall obiectiō of the Papiſtes, agaynſt the Proteſtātes.

Aunſwere to the obiectiō.

The Church of Rome reuolted from the Churche of Rome.

willyng) hereafter.

An other obiection of the papiſtes

And where the ſayd our aduerſaries do moreouer charge vs with the fayth of our fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptiſed, accuſing and condemning vs, for that we are now reuolted from them and their fayth, wherein we were firſt Chriſtened:

Aunſwere to the obiectiõ

To this we aunſwere, that we beyng firſt baptiſed by our fathers and Godfathers, in water, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Ghoſt, the ſame fayth wherin we were Chriſtened then, we do retaine, and becauſe our Godfathers were them ſelues alſo in the ſame fayth, therefore they can not ſay that we haue forſakẽ the fayth of our Godfathers. &c.

No man bound to folow the opiniõs of his Godfathers in all pointes vnleſſe they be conſonãt in all things

As for other pointes of Eccleſiaſticall vſes and circũſtaunces conſidered, beſides the principall ſubſtaunce of fayth and baptiſme, if they helde any thyng whiche receded from the doctrine and rule of Chriſt, therein we now remoue our ſelues not becauſe we would differ from them, but becauſe we would not with them remoue from the rule of Chriſtes doctrine. Neither doth the Sacramẽt of our baptiſme bynde vs in all pointes to the opinions of them that baptiſed vs, but to the fayth of him, in whoſe name we were baptiſed. For as if a man were Chriſtened of an heretique, the baptiſme of him notwithſtãdyng were good, although ye baptiſer were nought: ſo if our Godfathers or fathers, which chriſtened vs, were taught any thyng, not conſonant to Chriſtian doctrine in all pointes, neither is our baptiſme worſſe for that, nor yet we bound to folow them in all thinges, wherin they them ſelues did not folow the true Church of Chriſt.

Wherfore as it is falſe, that we haue renounced the faith of our Godfathers wherein we were firſt baptiſed, ſo is it falſe, that we are remoued from the Church of Rome. But rather ſay, and (by the leaue of Chriſt) will proue that the Church of Rome hath vtterly departed from the Churche of Rome, accordyng to my diſtinction afore touched.

The Church of Rome diſtincted frõ the Churche of Rome.

Which thyng the more euidently to declare, I will here compare the Church of Rome, with the Church of Rome: And in a generall deſcription ſet forth (by Gods grace) the differẽce of both the Churches, that is, of both ye tymes of the church of Rome: to the intent it may be ſeen, whether we or the Church of Rome haue more Apoſtatate from the Church of Rome.

Two tymes of the church of Rome cõſidered and examined.

And here firſt I diuide the Church of Rome in a double conſideration of tyme, firſt of thoſe firſt .600. yeares which were immediatly after Chriſt: and ſecondly of the other .600. yeares, whiche now haue bene in theſe our latter dayes. And ſo in comparyng theſe two together, will ſearch out what diſcrepance is betweene them both. Of the which two ages & ſtates of the Romaine Churche, the firſt I call the primitiue Church of Rome. The other I call the latter Church of Rome, countyng this latter Churche from the thouſand yeares expired after the bindyng vp of Sathan, to the tyme of his louſing agayne accordyng to the Prophecie of the .xx. chap. of S. Iohns Reuelation, countyng theſe .1000. yeares from the ceaſing of perſecution, vnder Conſtantinus Magnus, to the begynnyng of perſecution of the Church agayne vnder Innocentius .3. and Ottomannus the firſt Turcian Emperour. And thus haue ye the Churche of Rome parted into two Churches, in double reſpect and conſideration of two ſondry ſtates and tymes. Now in ſettyng and matchyng the one ſtate with the other, let vs ſee whether the Churche of Rome hath ſwarued from the Church of Rome more then we, or no.

The firſt point.

AND to begin firſt with ye order & qualities of life: I aſke here of this Romaine Clergie, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the old auncient tyme of the primitiue Church of Rome, with this pompe and pride, with this riches & ſuperfluitie, with this gloria mundi and name of Cardinals, with this prauncing diſſoluteneſſe and hoyſing of the Curtiſans, with this extortion, bribyng, byyng & ſellyng of ſpirituall dignities, theſe Annates, reſeruations, procurations, exactions and other practiſes for money, this auarice inſatiable, ambition intollerable, fleſhly filthyneſſe moſt deteſtable, barbarouſneſſe and negligence in preachyng, promiſebreakyng faythles, poyſoning and ſupplantyng one an other, with ſuch ſchiſmes and diuiſions, whiche neuer were more ſeene then in the elections & court of Rome theſe 700. yeares, with ſuch extreme crueltie, malice and tyranny in burnyng and perſecutyng their poore brethren to death.

The enormities of lyfe in the latter Church of Rome deſcribed.

Policies & practiſes of Rome to get money.

It were to long, and a thyng infinite, to ſtand particularly vpon theſe aboue rehearſed. And if a man ſhould proſecute at large all the ſchiſmes that haue bene in the Church of Rome ſince the time of Damaſus the firſt, which are counted to the number of .xviij. what a volume would it require? Or if here ſhould be recorded all that this Sea hath burned and put to death ſince louſing out of Sathan, who were able to number them? Or if all their ſleightes to get money, ſhould be deſcribed, as proces of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithſtãdyng, the moſt principal groũdes are reconed at leaſt to .xiiij. or .xv.

Firſt for annates, or vacanties of Archbyſhoprikes, Byſhoprikes, Abbaties, Priories conuentuall, and other benefices electiue.

Secondly, for the holding and retaynyng of all other ſpirituall liuynges whatſoeuer, beſides this whiche now he payeth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

Thirdly, new annates for all the ſame are required agayne, toties quoties, any one of all his ſpirituall liuynges be, or are feyned to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chaunced diuers tymes three or foure annates to be payed for one benefice.

Fourthly, for geuing out preuentions of benefices before they fall, and many tymes ſome one preuention to be geuen to diuers and ſundry perſons, by the office for money ſake.

Fiftly, for reſignations vpon fauour, whiche in many caſes the Pope challengeth to be reſerued to him ſelfe.

Sixtly, for commendams.

Seuently, for compoundyng with ſuch as be abſent frõ their charge, and geue attendance about the court.

Eightly, for infinite diſpenſations, as to diſpence with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the houſe be of ſuch or ſuch an order. Item diſpenſation for irregularitie, for whoredome and aduoutry, for tymes of mariage, for maryyng in degrees forbidden, or in affinitie canonicall, for Goſſips to mary, for the whiche it hath bene ſeen in Fraunce a thouſand crownes to be payd to Rome at one tyme, for diſpenſing with this canonicall affinitie of Goſſyppes, as we call it, the ſame beyng yet not true, but fayned. Item diſpenſing for eatyng meates in tymes prohibited.

Ninthly, for innumerable priuilegies, exemptions, graces for not viſityng, or viſityng by a Proctor, for confirmations of priuileges, for tranſactions made vpon ſpeciall fauour of the Pope, for permutations of benefices with diſpenſation annexed, or makyng of penſions, with ſuch like.

Tenthly, for mandates graunted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, wherof euery Ordinary, if he haue the collatiõ or preſentation of .x. may receaue one mandate, if he haue fifty, he may receaue .ij. mandates, and for euery mandate cõmeth to the Pope about .xx. ducates. And yet notwithſtanding ſo many are ſold, as will come byers to pay for them.

Eleuenthly, for the Popes penitentiarie, for abſolution of caſes reſerued to the Pope, for breakyng and chaungyng of vowes, for tranſlation from one monaſterie to an other, alſo from one order to an other, for licence to enter into certain Monaſteries, to carye about altares, with many other thynges of like deuiſe, pertainyng to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

Twelfthly, for geuyng & grauntyng of innumerable pardons and Indulgences, to be read not onely in publique temples, but alſo to be bought in priuate houſes, and of priuate perſons, in diuers and ſundry reſpectes.

Thirteenthly, for making Notaries, and Prothonotaries, and other offices of the court of Rome.

Fourteenthly, for grauntyng out Buls and commiſſions of new foundations, or for chaungyng of the old, for reducing regular Monaſteries, to a ſecular ſtate, or for reſtoryng agayne into the old, & for other infinite reſcriptes and writes, about matters dependyng in controuerſie, & otherwiſe might and ought by the Ordinarie to be decided.

Fifteenthly, for geuing the palle to Archbiſhops newly elected, by reaſon of all which deuiſes (beſides the firſt of the Annates) it hath bene accounted out of the kynges recordes in Fraũce, in the tyme of Ludouike the .ix. (as teſtifieth Molineus) to the number of .cc. thouſand crownes, onely out of Fraunce payd and tranſported to Rome. Whiche ſumme ſince that tyme hath bene doubled & tripled, beſides Annates and Palles, whiche all together are thought to make the totall ſumme, yearely goyng out of Fraunce to the Popes coffers of late yeares .x. Myriades, or Millions, euery Myriade mountyng to .x. thouſand crownes. Now what hath riſen beſides in other Realmes and nations, let other men coniecture.

Summa totalis.

Wherfore if the Goſpell ſende vs to the fruites to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Churche of Rome, with theſe fruites of life? Or if we will ſeeke the Churche in length and number of yeares, where was this Church of Rome with theſe qualities then, at what time the Church of Rome was a perſecuted Church, and not a perſecutyng Church? And when the Byſhops therof did not make Martyrs, as theſe do now, but were made Martyrs them ſelues, to the number of .xxv. in order one after an other? Or when the Byſhops therof were elected and exalted, not by factions conſpiryng, not by power or partes takyng, not by money or frendes makyng, as they be now, but by the free voyces of the people & of the Clergie, with the conſent of the Emperour ioyned with all, and not by a few conſpired Cardinals, cloſed vp in a corner, as they be now. &c.

The iuriſdiction and power of this new church of Rome examined.

Nicen. con. cap. 6.

Victor ſtopped from his excommunication by Ireneus.

Boniface the firſt falſifieth the Councell of Nice.

The vi. Councell of Carthage

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in Fraunce.

Ex Annonio de geſtis Francorum lib. 5. cap. 34.

The Popes iuriſdiction reſiſted in Fraunce.

Pragmatica ſanctio.

AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but onely corruption of life, all that we would tollerate, or els impute to the common fragilitie of man, and charge them no further therein, then we might charge our ſelues. Now ouer and beſide this deformitie of life, wherein they are cleane gone from the former ſteppes of the true Church of Rome, we haue moreouer to charge them in greater pointes, more nearely touchyng the ſubſtantiall grounde of the Church, as in their iuriſdiction preſumptuouſly vſurped, in their title falſely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three pointes, this latter pretenced Church of Rome, hath vtterly ſequeſtred it ſelfe from the image and nature of the auncient & true Churche of Rome, and haue erected to them ſelues, a new Churche of their owne making, as firſt vſurping a iuriſdiction neuer knowen before to their auncient predeceſſors. For although the Church of Rome in the old primitiue tyme had his due authoritie and place due vnto that ſea, among other patriarchall Churches, ouer and vpon ſuch Churches as were within his precinct, and bordering neare vnto it, as appeareth by the actes of Nicene Councell: yet the vniuerſall fulnes and plenitude of power in both the regimentes, ſpirituall and temporall, in depoſing and diſpenſing matters of the Church, not to him belongyng, in takyng appeales, in geuyng elections, inueſtyng in benefices, in exemptyng him ſelfe from obedience and ſubiection of his ordinary power & Magiſtrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the Church of Rome, was neuer receaued nor vſed in the old Romane Church, from which they diſagree in all their doynges. For although Victor the Biſhop of Rome, an. 200. went about to excommunicate the Eaſt Churches, for the obſeruation of Eaſter day: yet neither did he procede therin, neither was permitted by Irenæus ſo to doe. And although Boniface the firſt likewiſe, writing to the Biſhops of Carthage, required of them to ſend vp their appellations vnto the Church of Rome, alledgyng moreouer the decree of Nicene Councell for his authoritie: The Byſhops and Clergy of Carthage aſſẽblyng together in a generall Cõcell (called the ſixt Councell of Carthage) to the number of 217. Biſhops, after they had peruſed the decrees in the autentike copyes of the foreſayd Nicene Councell, and found no ſuch matter, by the ſayd Bonifacius alledged, made therfore a publike decree, that none out of that countrey ſhould make any appeale ouer the ſea. &c. And what maruell if appeales were forbidden them to be made to Rome, when as both here in England the kynges of this land would not permit any to appeale from them to Rome, before kyng Henry the ſecond, because of the murther of Thomas Becket, beyng therunto cõpelled by Pope Alexander the third? And alſo in Fraunce the like prohibitions were expreſſely made by Ludouicus Pius, an. 1268. whiche did forbid by a publike inſtrument, called Pragmatica ſanctio, all exactiõs of ẏ popes court within his Realme. Alſo by kyng Philip named Le bel an. 1296, the like was done, which not onely reſtrained all ſewyng or going vp of his ſubiectes to Rome, but alſo that no money, armour, nor ſubſidy, ſhould be trãſported out of his Realme. The lyke alſo after him did king Charles the fift, ſurnamed The Wiſe, and his ſonne likewiſe after him Charles the ſixt, who alſo puniſhed as traitours, certaine ſeditious perſons for appealing to Rome. The like reſiſtaunce moreouer was in the ſayd countrey of Frãce, agaynſt the Popes reſeruatiõs, preuẽtions, and other lyke practiſes of his vſurped iuriſdiction in the dayes of Pope Martin the fift, an. 1418. Item, when kyng Henry the ſixt in England, and kyng Charles the 7. in Fraunce, did both accord with the Pope, in inueſting and in collation of benefices, yet notwithſtãdyng the high court of Parliament in Fraunce did not admit the ſame, but ſtill maintayned the old libertie and cuſtomes of the Frẽch church. In ſo much that the Duke of Bedford came with the kynges letters patent to haue the Popes procurations and reſeruations admitted, yet ẏ court of Parliamẽt would not agree to the ſame, but the kynges procurator generall was fayne to go betwixt them, as is to be ſeene in their Regiſters, an. 1425. the 5. day of Marche. In the dayes of the which kyng Charles the vij. was ſet forth in Fraunce, Pragmatica ſanctio, as they call it, agaynſt the Annates, reſeruations, expectatiues, and ſuch other proceedinges of the Popes pretenced iuriſdiction, an. 1438. Wherefore what maruell if this iuriſdictiõ of the popes court in excõmunicating, in takyng appeales, and geuyng of benefices, was not vſed in the old Churche of Rome, when as in theſe latter dayes it hath bene ſo much reſiſted?

The Popes iuriſdiction concernyng elections examined.

Platina. Sabel. Enead. 8. Lib. 6.

Conſtantine the 4. Emperour of Conſtantinople.

The Popes bibliothecarie ſuſpected.

The conſtitution of Conſtantine the 4. Emperour of Conſtantinople examined.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the forme and maner of elections, now vſed in the Church of Rome, cleane conuerted frõ the maner of the old Church of their predeceſſours? For firſt in thoſe auncient dayes, when as yet the Church remayned in the Apoſtles onely, and a few other Diſciples, the Apoſtles then with prayer and impoſition of handes, elected Biſhops and Miniſters, as by the Apoſtles Iames was made Byſhop of Hieruſalem. Paule in Creta elected Titus, and Timothe in Epheſus. Alſo Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome. &c. After which tyme of the Apoſtles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Byſhops and Miniſters ſtode by the Clergy and the people, with the conſent of the chief Magiſtrate of the ſame place, and ſo continued duryng all the tyme of the primitiue Church, till the tyme, and after the time of Conſtantine the 4. Emperour, which Emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellic. Enead. 8. lib. 6.) publiſhed a law concernyng the election of the Romane Byſhop, that he ſhould be taken for true Byſhop, whom the Clergy and people of Rome did chuſe and elect, without any tarying for any authoritie of the Emperour of Conſtantinople, or the Deputy of Italy: ſo as the cuſtome & faſhion had euer been before that day, an. 685. And here the Byſhops began firſt to writhe out their elections and their neckes a litle from the Emperours ſubiection, if it be ſo as the ſayd Platina & Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this cõſtitution of Conſtantine to be forged and vntrue. Firſt, for that it is taken out of the Popes Bibliothecarie, a ſuſpected place and collected by the keeper and maiſter of the Popes Librarie, a ſuſpected author, who whatſoeuer fayned writynges or Apocripha he could finde in the Popes cheſtes of recordes, makyng any thyng on his maiſters ſide: that he compiled together, and therof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratianus take moſt part of their reportes, and therfore may the more be ſuſpected, &c.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus ſay that Conſtantine moued with the holynes of Pope Benedict the 2. made that conſtitution, how ſemeth that to ſtãd with truth, when both the Emperour was ſo farre of from him beyng at Conſtantinople, & alſo for that the ſayd pope raigned but. x. monethes? which was but a ſmall time to make his holines knowen to the Emperour ſo farre of. And giue he were ſo holy, yet that holynes might rather be an occaſion for the Emperour ſo to confirme and maintaine the olde receaued maner of his inſtitution, then to alter it.

Rubrica de ordinatione Epiſcopi. ex Cæleſtino Papa diſt. 63. cap. Cleri.

Diſt. 63. cap. Sacrorum.

Libertie graunted to the Clergie and to the people to chuſe their Byſhop.

Carolus Magnus.

Ludouicus Pius.

The third coniecture is this, for that the ſayd conſtitution was not obſerued, but ſhortly after by the ſayd Benedict was broken in the electiõ of Pope Conon. And yet notwithſtandyng albeit the conſtitution were true, yet the election there by was not taken away from the people, and limited to the Clergy onely, and much leſſe might be taken away frõ the Clergy, and be limited onely to the Cardinals, without the conſent of their Prince and ruler, accordyng to their owne rubrice in their decrees, where the rubrice ſayth: De ordinatione Epiſcopi: Nullꝰ inuitis detur Epiſcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis conſenſus & deſiderium requiratur. &c. that is: Let no Biſhop be geuen to any people agaynſt their wils: but let the conſent and deſire both of the Clergy and of the people, and of the order, be alſo required. &c. And in the ſame diſt. alſo, cap. Sacrorum, we read the ſame libertie and intereſt to be graunted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his ſonne, not to a few Cardinals onely, but to the order as wel of the Clergie, as of the people, to chuſe not onely ẏ Byſhop of Rome, but any other Byſhop within their owne Dioces whatſoeuer, and to the Monkes likewiſe, to chuſe their owne Abbot, ſetting aſide all reſpect of perſons and giftes, onely for the worthines of lyfe, and gift of wiſedome, ſo as might be moſt profitable for doctrine, and example vnto the flocke, &c. And this continued till the tyme of the foreſayd Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his ſonne, an. 810. of the which two, Carolus the father receaued expreſly of Pope Adrian the firſt, full iuriſdiction and power to elect and ordeine the Byſhop of Rome, like as pope Leo the 8. dyd alſo to Ottho ẏ firſt Germain Emperour, an. 961. The other, that is, Ludouicus, ſonne to the foreſayd Charles, is ſayd to renounce agayne, and ſurrendre from him ſelfe and his ſucceſſours, vnto pope Paſchalis & the Romaines, the right and intereſt of chuſing the Romaine Byſhop, and moreouer to giue and graunt to the ſayd Paſchalis the full poſſeſſion of the Citie of Rome, and the whole territorie to

The decree, *Ego Ludouicus diſt. 63.* ſuſpected.

Gratianus and Volateranus what groūdes they haue of their recordes. *Diſt. 63. cap. Ego Ludouicus.*

Election of the Byſhop of Rome ſtandeth vpon the conſent of the Clergy and the people of Rome.

The decree *Ego Ludouicus* proued falſe.

Diſt. 23. cap. In Nomine Domini.

the ſame belongyng. An. 821. as appeareth by the decree. Ego Ludouicus diſt. 63. But admitte that feyned decree to be vnfeynedly true (as it may wel be ſuſpected for many cauſes, as proceedyng out of the ſame fountaine, with the conſtitution of Conſtantine afore mentioned, that is, from the maſter of the Popes Library, of whō both Gratianus, and Volateran, by their owne confeſſion take their grounde) yet the ſame decree doth not ſo geue away the fredome of that election, that he limiteth it onely to the Cardinals, but alſo requireth the whole conſent of the Romaines, neither doth he ſimplely & abſolutely geue the ſame, but with condition, ſo that, Omnes Romani vno conſilio, & vna concordia ſine aliqua promiſſione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent: that is, whom as all the Romaines with one counſaile, & with one accorde, without any promiſe of their voyces graunted before, ſhall chuſe to be Byſhop of Rome. And moreouer in the ſame decree is required, that at the cōſecration of the ſame Byſhop, meſſengers ſhould be directed incontinent to the French kyng concernyng the ſame. Furthermore, neither yet did the ſame decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, and pope Paſchalis the firſt in Ludouicus tyme were inpapaced through diſcord without the electiō of the Emperour, yet they were fayne by meſſage to ſend their purgatiō to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the. ij. whiche ſucceded next to Paſchalis, Lotharius, ſonne of Ludouicus, & Emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes and Magiſtrates ouer the Citie. Whereby may appeare the donatiō of Ludouike, in geuyng away the Citie of Rome to the Pope, to be fayned. And after Eugenius, Pope Gregory the. iiij. who followyng within a yeare after Eugenius, durſt not take his election without the conſent & confirmation of the ſayd Emperour Ludouicus. And ſo in like maner his ſucceſſours Pope Sergius the. ij. Pope Leo, the. iiij. Pope Nicolas the firſt, and ſo orderly in a long tracte of tyme, from the foreſayd Nicolas the firſt, to Pope Nicolas the ſecond. an. 1061. (whiche Nicolas in his decree begynnyng, In nomine Domini diſt. 23.) ordained alſo the ſame in ẏ election of the Byſhops of Rome, commonly the conſent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergie of Rome, was not lackyng. After which Nicolas came Alexander the 2. and wicked Hildebrand, whiche Alexander beyng firſt elected without the Emperours will and conſent, afterward repentyng the ſame, openly in his preachyng to the people declared that he would no lōger ſit in the Apoſtolique ſea, vnles he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherfore he was greatly rebuked, and caſt into priſon by Hildebrand, and ſo depoſed. Then Hildebrand and his followers ſo ordred the matter of this election, that firſt the Emperour, then the lay people, after that the Clergie alſo began to be excluded. And ſo the election by litle & litle was reduced into the handes of a few Cardinals, contrary to all auncient order, where euer ſince it hath remained.

The iudiciarie power of the pope examined.

Gregor. Turonenſ. in Francorum hiſt. lib. 10. ca. 18.

And like as in elections, ſo alſo in power iudiciarie, in deciſing and determinyng of cauſes of fayth, and of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, the ſtate of the Churche of Rome, now beyng, hath no conformitie with the old Romane Churche heretofore. For then Byſhops debated all cauſes of fayth onely by the Scriptures, and other queſtions of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline they determined by the Canons, not of the Pope, but of the Church, ſuch as were decreed by the auncient Councels, as writeth Greg. Turonenſis in Francorum hiſtoria. Where as now both the rule of Scripture, & ſanctions of the old Councels ſet a ſide, all thynges for the moſt part are deciſed by certaine new decretall or rather extradecretall and extrauagant conſtitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Conſiſtories practiſed.

The Popes iuriſdiction vſurped in geuing and diſpoſing eccleſiaſticall promotiōs.

16. q. 7. cap. omnes Baſilicæ.

The Councell of Nice. *cap. 6.*

The generall Councell of Antioch. *cap. 9. 9. q. 3. cap. per ſingulas. Pragmatica ſanctio ſancti Ludouici.*

And where as the old ordinaunce and diſpoſition, as well of the common law, as of the ſacred Councels, and inſtitution of auncient fathers haue geuen to Byſhops and others prelates, alſo to patrons and donors of Eccleſiaſticall benefices euery one within his owne precincte and dominion, alſo to cathedrall Churches and other: to haue their free electiōs and to proſecute the ſame in full effect: orderyng and diſpoſing promotions, collations, prouiſions and diſpoſitions of prelacies, dignities, and all other Eccleſiaſticall benefices whatſoeuer, after their owne arbitrement, as appeareth by the firſt generall Councell of Fraunce. 16. q. 7. cap. Omnes Baſilicæ. by the firſt generall Councel of Nice, cap. 6. Alſo by the generall Councell of Antioche, cap. 9. & is to be ſeen in the popes decrees. 9. q. 3. per. Per ſingulas. And alſo beſide theſe auncīet decrees, ẏ ſame is cōfirmed agayne in more latter yeares by Ludouicus the. ix. French kyng in his conſtitution called Pragmatica ſanctio, made and pronounced by full Parliament agaynſt the Popes exactions. An. 1228. in theſe wordes as foloweth. Item exactiones & onera grauiſſima pecuniarum, per curiā Romanam Eccleſiæ regni noſtri impoſitas vel impoſita (quibus regnum miſerabiliter depauperatum exiſtit) ſiue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: niſi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentiſſima cauſa, vel ineuitabili neceſſitate, ac etiam de expreſſo, & ſpontaneo iuſſu noſtro, & ipſius Eccleſiæ regni noſtri. &c. that is, Item all exactions and importable burdens of money, which the court of Rome hath layd vpon the Church of our kyngdome (whereby the ſayd our kyngdome hath been miſerablely hetherto impoueriſhed) or hereafter ſhall impoſe or lay vpon vs, we vtterly diſcharge and forbid to be leuied or collected hereafter for any maner of cauſe, vnleſſe there come ſome reaſonable, godly, and moſt vrgent, and ineuitable neceſſitie, and that alſo not to be done without the expreſſe & voluntary commaundement of vs, and of the Church of the ſame our foreſayd kyngdome. &c. Now contrary and againſt to theſe ſo manifeſt and expreſſe decreements of generall Councels, & conſtitutions Synodall, this latter Churche of Rome of late preſumption, degeneratyng from all the ſteppes of their elders, haue taken vpon them a ſingular iuriſdiction by them ſelues, and for their owne aduauntage, to intermedle in diſpoſing and tranſpoſing Churches, Colledges, Monaſteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goodes and landes to the ſame belongyng, by reaſon and example whereof haue come in theſe impropriatiōs, firſt fruites, & reſeruations of benefices to the miſerable diſpoiling of Pariſhes, & horrible decay of Chriſtē fayth, which thyngs amōg the old Romaine elders were neuer knowē. For ſo much then dyd it lacke, that due neceſſities were plucked from the Church, that Emperours, Kynges, and Princes pluckyng frō their owne, rather did cumulate the Church with ſuperfluities.

Impropriations, and firſt fruites of benefices.

Inſtitutiones canonica ſub Ludouico pio.

Agayne, when ſuch goodes were geuen to the Church by thoſe aunceſtors, they were neither ſo geuen, nor yet taken, to ſerue the priuate vſe of certaine Churchmen takyng no paynes therin, but rather to ſerue the publique ſubuention of the nedy, as is conteined in the canonicall inſtitutiōs by the Emperour Ludouicus Pius ſet forth. an. 830. The wordes be theſe: Res Eccleſiæ vota ſunt fideliū, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum, that is: The goods of the Church be the vowes and bequeſtes of the faythfull, prices to raunſome ſuch as be in captiuitie or priſon, and patrimonies to ſuccour them with hoſpitalitie, that be nedy.

The wordes of *Proſper.*

Wherunto agreeth alſo the teſtimonie of Proſper, whoſe wordes be theſe: Viros ſanctos res Eccleſiæ nō vendicaſſe vt proprias, ſed vt cōmēdatas pauperibus diuiſiſſe: that is, good men tooke the goodes of the Church not as their own but diſtributed thē as geuen & bequeathed to ẏ poore. And ſaith moreouer: Quod habet Eccleſia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune, that is: Whatſoeuer the Churche hath, it hath it common, with all ſuch as haue nothyng. &c.

Aug. ad Bonifac.

Adde to theſe the worthy teſtimonie of S. Aug. ad Bonif. Si autem priuatim, quæ nobis ſufficiant poſſidemus, non ſunt illa noſtra, ſed pauperum quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vſurpatione damnabili vendicamus. &c.

Vowſons and pluralities of benefices.

Likewiſe vowſons and pluralities of benefices were thynges then as much vnknowen, as now they are pernitious to the Church, takyng away all free election of miniſters from the flocke of Chriſt.

Three poyntes wherein the Popes Church erreth in his iuriſdiction.

All which inconueniences as they firſt came and crept in chiefly by the pretenſed authoritie and iuriſdiction abuſed in this latter Church of Rome, ſo it can not be denyed but the ſayd latter Church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it ſelfe much more, then either the limites of Gods word do geue, or ſtandeth with the example of the old Romaine Church, in theſe three thynges eſpeciall. Wherof as mentiō is touched before, ſo briefly I will recapitulate the ſame.

1. Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction falſly reſtrayned & impropriat to the Church of Rome, whiche ought to be generally equall to all Churches Chriſtian.

The firſt is in this, that whatſoeuer the Scripture geueth and referreth, either to the whole Church vniuerſally, or to euery particular Church ſeuerally, this Church now of Rome doth arrogate to it ſelfe abſolutely and onely, both doyng iniury to other Churches, and alſo abuſing the Scriptures of God. For albeit the Scripture doth geue authoritie to binde and looſe, it limiteth it neither to perſon nor place, that is, neither to the Citie of Rome onely, more then to other Cities, nor to the ſea of Peter, more then to other Apoſtles, but geueth it clearely to the church, whereof Peter did beare the figure, ſo that where ſoeuer the true Churche of Chriſt is, there is annexed power to bynde and looſe, geuen and taken merely as from Chriſt, and not mediatly by the Pope or Byſhop of Peters ſea.

2. Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdictiō abuſed and extended in the Church of

The ſecond poynt wherein this preſent Churche of Rome abuſeth his iuriſdiction contrary to Scripture and ſteps of the old Romaine Church is this, for that it extendeth his authoritie farther and more amply, then either the

Rome further then the word limitteth.

warrant of the word, or example of tyme will geue. For although the Churche of Rome hath (as other particular Churches haue) authoritie to binde and abſolue, yet it hath no ſuch authoritie to abſolue ſubiectes from their othe, ſubiection, and loyalty to their rulers and Magiſtrates, to diſpenſe with periury, to denounce remiſsiō, where no earneſt repentaunce is ſene before, to number remiſsion by dayes and yeares, to diſpenſe with thynges expreſſely in the word forbidden, or to reſtrayne that which the word maketh free, to deuide Religion into Religions, to bynde and burthen conſciences with conſtitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters as for breakyng of parkes, for not ringyng bels at the Byſhops commyng, for not bringyng litter for their horſe, for not paying their fees and rentes, for withholdyng the Church goods for holdyng on their princes ſide in princely caſes, for not goyng at the Popes commaundement, for not agreeyng to the Popes election in an other princes Realme, with other ſuch thynges mo & more vayne then theſe. &c. Agayne, although the Scripture geueth leaue and authoritie to the Byſhop and Churche of Rome to miniſter Sacramentes, yet it geueth no authoritie to make Sacramentes, much leſſe to worſhyp Sacramentes. And though their authoritie ſerueth to baptiſe men, yet it extendeth not to Chriſten bels: neither haue they authoritie by any word of God to adde to the word of God, or take from the ſame, to ſet vp vnwritten verities vnder payne of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to inſtitute ſtraunge worſhip, otherwiſe then he hath preſcribed, which hath told vs how he would be worſhipped. &c.

1. The iuriſdiction of the pope abuſed & vſurped in temporall matters where he hath nothyng to doe.

The third abuſe of the Popes iuriſdiction ſtandeth in this that as in ſpirituall iuriſdiction they haue vehemently exceeded the boundes of Scripture, ſo they haue impudently intermedled them ſelues in temporall iuriſdiction, wherein they haue nothyng to do. In ſo much that they haue trāſlated the Empire, they haue depoſed Emperours, Kynges, Princes and rulers and Senatours of Rome, and ſet vp other, or the ſame agayne at their pleaſure, they haue proclaimed warres, and haue warred them ſelues. And whereas Emperours in auncient tyme haue dignified them in titles, haue inlarged them with donations, and they receauyng their confirmation by the Emperours, haue like ingratfull clientes to ſuch benefactors, afterward ſtampte vpon their neckes, haue made thē to hold there ſtirrup, ſome to hold the bridle of their horſe, haue cauſed them to ſeeke their confirmation at their hand, yea haue been Emperours them ſelues: ſede vacante, & in diſcordia electionis, and alſo haue bene Senators of the Citie. Moreouer haue extorted into their owne handes the plenarie fulnes of power and iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes, eſpecially ſince the tyme of Pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand depoſing Henricus the.iiij. Emperour, made him geue attendance at his Citie gate. And after him Pope Bonifacius the eight ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the people on the firſt day like a Biſhop, with his keyes before him, and the next day in his robes Imperiall, hauyng a naked ſword borne before him, like an Emperour. an. 1198. And for ſomuch as this inordinate iuriſdiction hath not onely bene vſed of them, but alſo to this day is mainteined in Rome, let vs therfore now compare the vſage hereof to the old maner in times paſt, meaning the primitiue and firſt age of the Church of the Romains. wherein the old Byſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes, as they were then ſubiect to their Emperours, ſo were other Byſhops in like maner of other nations ſubiect euery one to his king and prince, acknowledgyng them for their Lordes, & were ordered by their authoritie and obeyed their lawes, and that not onely in cauſes ciuile, but alſo in regiment Eccleſiaſticall as appeareth diſt.10.cap.1.&.2. diſt. 97. cap. De illicita. Alſo.24.q.3. So was Gregorius ſurnamed Magnus, ſubiect to Mauritius, and to Phocas although a wicked Emperour. So alſo both Pope and people of Rome tooke their lawes of the Emperours of Conſtantinople, and were ſubmitted to them, not onely in the tyme of Honorius an hundreth yeares after Conſtantine the great, but alſo in the tyme of Martianus. an. 451. and ſo further vnto the tyme of Iuſtiniā, and of Carolus Magnus, and alſo after the dayes of them. In all which continuance of tyme, it is manifeſt that the Emperiall law of Martiane did rule and bynde in Rome, both in the dayes of Iuſtinian. 150. yeares after, till the tyme of the Empire beyng tranſlated from Grece vnto Fraunce. Whereby it may appeare falſe, that the Citie of Rome was geuen by Conſtantine the firſt, vnto the Byſhop of Rome to gouerne, for that Pope Bonifacius the firſt writyng to the Emperour Honorius, calleth in the ſame place Rome the Emperours Citie. diſt.97. cap.1. And Lotharius, alſo Emperour appointed Magiſtrates and lawes in Rome, as is aboue mentioned. Moreouer for further probation hereof, that both the Byſhop of Rome and all other Eccleſiaſticall perſons were in former tyme, and ought to be ſubiect to their Emperours and lawfull Magiſtrates, in cauſes as well ſpirituall as ciuile, by many euidences may appeare, taken out both of Gods law, and mās law. And firſt by Gods law we haue example of godly King Dauid, who numbred all the Prieſtes and Leuites, and diſpoſed them into.xxiiij. orders or courſes, appointyng them cōtinually to ſerue in the miniſtery euery one in his proper order & turne, as came about: which inſtitution of the Clergy, alſo good kyng Ezechias afterward renued, of whom it is written: he did that was right in the ſight of the Lord, accordyng to all thinges as his father Dauid had done before, he tooke away the hye groues, and brake downe images. &c. 4. Reg. 8. The ſayd Ezechias alſo reduced the Prieſtes and Leuites into their orders, preſcribed by Dauid before, to ſerue euery one in his office of miniſtration. 2. Paral. 30. 31. And this order from Dauid ſtill continued till the tyme of Zachary at the cōmyng of Chriſt our Lord, beyng of Abias courſe, which was the viij. order of the Prieſtes appointed to ſerue in the tabernacle. Luc. 1. To paſſe ouer other lighter offices tranſlated from the Prieſtes to the kynges authoritie, as concernyng the orderyng of oblations in the temple, and reparations of the Lordes houſe, kyng Salomon diſplaced Abiathar the high Prieſt, by his kyngly power, and placed Sadoch in his ſtede. 3. Reg. cap. 2. Alſo dedicatyng the temple of the Lord with all the people, bleſſed the whole congregatiō of Iſraell. 3. Reg. 8. Iudas Machabeus alſo elected Prieſtes, ſuch as beyng without ſpot had a zeale to the law of the Lord, to purge the tēple, which the Idolatrous Gentils had before prophaned. 1. Machab. 4. Alſo kyng Alexander writing to Ionathas, appointed him for chief Prieſt in his countrey. 1. Mac. 10. Demetrius ordeined Simon, & Alchimus in the like office of prieſthode. Ioſaphat likewiſe as in the whole land did ſet iudges, ſo alſo in Hieruſalem he appointed Leuites and Prieſtes, and heades of families to haue the hearyng of cauſes, & to miniſter iudgement ouer the people. 2. Paral. 19. By theſe and many other is to be ſeen, that Kynges and Princes in the old tyme as well, when Prieſtes were borne Prieſtes, as when they were made by election, had the dealyng alſo in Eccleſiaſticall matters, as in callyng ẏ people to Gods ſeruice, in cuttyng downe groues, in deſtroying images, in gatheryng tithes into the Lords houſe, in dedicatyng the tēple, in bleſſing the people, in caſting downe the braſen Serpent within the temple, in correctyng & depoſing Prieſtes, in cōſtitutyng the order & offices of Prieſtes, in commaundyng ſuch thynges as pertained to the ſeruice & worſhip of God, & in puniſhyng the contrary. &c. And in the new Teſtament what meaneth the example of Chriſt himſelfe both geuyng & teachyng tribute to be geuen to Ceſar, to Ceſar I ſay, and not to the hye prieſt? What meaneth his wordes to Pilate not denying power to be geuen to him from aboue?

Popes ſubmitted in the olde tyme to Emperours.

Ex cap.1. de iuramentis calumniae.

Diſt.97.cap.1.

Platin. in vita Euge.2.

Euidences prouing Eccleſiaſticall perſons to haue bene ſubiect to their Magiſtrates, in cauſes both Eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

Euidences out of the Scripture.

Dauid. 1.Para.ca. xxx.xxxi.

Ezechias. 4.Reg.18.

The order of Abias was the eight order among the Prieſtes. 1.Par.24.

Salomon.

Iudas Machabeus. 1.Mac.10.

1.Mac.14.

Ioſaphat.

2.Par.19.

John.19.

And agayne declaryng the kynges of nations to haue dominion ouer them, & willyng his Diſciples not ſo to doe, geuing vs to vnderſtand the difference betwene the regiment of his ſpirituall kingdome, and of the kyngdome of this world, willyng all worldly ſtates to be ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour rulers and magiſtrates, in whoſe regiment is dominion and ſubiection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth alſo the doctrine of S. Paule, where it is written: let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the hyer powers, vnder whoſe obedience neither Pope, Cardinall, Patriarch, Byſhop, Prieſt, Frier nor Monke is excepted, nor exempted, as Theophilactus expoundyng the ſame place declareth, and ſayth: Vniuerſos erudit, ſiue ſacerdos ſit ille, ſiue monachus, ſiue Apoſtolus, vt ſe principibus ſubdant: that is, he teacheth all ſortes, whether he be Prieſt, or Monke, or els Apoſtle, that they ſhould ſubmit them ſelues vnder their Princes. &c. And S. Auſten writyng ad Bonifacium, ſayth in much like ſort: Quicunq; autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtēperare non vult, acquirit grande ſuppliciū, that is: whoſoeuer refuſeth to obey the lawes of the Emperour, whiche make for the veritie of God, incurreth the daunger of great puniſhment. &c. Alſo in an other place, writyng contra Creſconium hath theſe wordes: In hoc enim reges ſicut eis diuinitus præcipitur, Deo ſeruiunt, in quantum reges, ſi in ſuo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolūm quæ pertinēt ad humanā ſocietatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinā religionem, &c. that is, Kynges accordyng as it is inioyned them of God, do ſerue God in that they are kynges, if they in their kyngdome commaūde thoſe thinges that be good, and forbid thinges that be euill, ſuch as appertaine not onely to humaine ſocietie, but alſo to Gods Religion, &c. And yet to come more neare to the Popes owne Doctours, Thomas Aquine not much diſcre-

Rom.13.

Theophilactus.

Aug. ad Bonifacium.

Aug. contra Creſconium, lib.3.cap.51.

Thomas de regim. princip. lib.3.cap.12.

point from the iniunctiō of the Apoſtle aboue alledged, thus deſcribeth the office of a kyng: Hoc, inquit, officium rex ſe ſuſcepiſſe cognoſcat, vt ſit in regno, ſicut in corpore anima, & ſicut Deus in mundo. &c. Let a king (ſayth he) vnderſtand, that he hath taken this office vpon him, to be as the ſoule within the body, and as God in the world. In like agrement with the holy Apoſtle S. Paul, ioyneth alſo S. Peter: be you ſubiect (ſayth he) to euery humaine creature, whether it be to the kyng, as moſt preeminent, or to other ſet ouer you. &c. Where the common gloſe addeth thereto, to obey the ſame, whether they be good, or euill. Theſe places rightly pondered, let any man now iudge whether the pope hath done open wrong to the Emperour, in ſurpriſing aboue the iuriſdiction of his lawfull Prince and Magiſtrat, notwithſtandyng whatſoeuer his owne Canon law ſayth to the contrary.

1. Pet. 2.

And as it is ſufficiently hetherto proued by Gods law, that all Eccleſiaſticall perſons owe their due ſubiection to their lawfull Princes, in matters as well temporall, as ſpirituall: ſo no leſſe euidēces may alſo be inferred out of mans law, and examples of the oldeſt fathers, to proue the ſame. And firſt to begyn with the example of Gregory the great, who in his Epiſtle to Mauritius writeth thus: Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: Ecce per me ſeruum vltimum ſuum, & veſtrum reſpondebit Chriſtus. &c. that is: You were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of the whole Empire: behold Chriſt him ſelfe ſhall make you aunſwere by me, whiche am his moſt ſimpleſt ſeruaunt and yours. &c. And before him Eleutherius his predeceſſour Byſhop of Rome, writing to Lucius, kyng of this Realme, calleth him by the name of Chriſtes Vicare: But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, whē the Popes decrees and Canons be full of recordes hereof, teſtifiyng how the auncient Church of Rome not onely receaued, but alſo required of the Emperours, lawes and conſtitutions to be made, touching not onely ſuch cauſes, but alſo ſuch perſons as were Eccleſiaſticall. And here to omitte by the way the chap. Principes ſeculi, alſo cap. Adminiſtratores. 23. q. 5. with diuers other beſide, I will recite out of the Epiſtle of Boniface the firſt to the Emperour Honorius, ſo much as ſerueth for our purpoſe, writtē. diſt. 92. cap. Eccleſiæ. cap. Victor. Where it is mentioned that the ſayd Bonifacius Byſhop of Rome ſent an humble ſupplication to the forenamed Emperour deſiring him by his authoritie to prouide ſome remedy agaynſt the ambitious cōtentions of the clergy, for the Byſhopricke of Rome. Which Emperour Honorius incontinent at his requeſt, directed and ſtabliſhed a law, that none ſhould be made Byſhop of Rome through ambition charging all Eccleſiaſticall miniſters to ſurceaſe from ambition, appointyng moreouer, that if two were elected together, neither of them both ſhould be taken, but the election to procede further to an other to be choſen by a full conſent of voyces, as is expreſſed, Diſt. 79. cap. Si duo.

Gregor. ad Maurit. Auguſt. lib. 3. Epiſt. 61.

The pope calleth kyng Lucius, Chriſtes vicare.

23. q. ca. 5. principes, cap. Adminiſtratores.

Diſt. 97. cap. eccleſia ca. Victor.

Diſt. 79. cap. Si duo.

To this I adioyne alſo the law and conſtitution of Iuſtinian the Emperour, ratified and renued afterward in the counſell of Paris, in tyme of kyng Ludouicus Pius. Where all Byſhops and Prieſtes be expreſly forbidden not to excommunicate any man, before his cauſe was knowen and proued to be ſuch, as for the whiche the auncient Canons of the Church would him to be excommunicate. And if any ſhould otherwiſe procede cōtrary to the ſame, thē the excōmunicate perſon to be abſolued by ẏ authority of an heigher degree, and the excōmunicator to be ſequeſtred frō the communion, ſo long as ſhould ſeeme conuenient to him that had ẏ executiō therof, as is expreſſed. 24. q. 3. De illicita. The ſame Iuſtinian moreouer in his lawes and cōſtitutions, how many thynges did he diſpoſe & ordeine in church matters, as to haue a determinate number of Churchmen or Clerkes in churches. conſt. 3. Alſo concerning Monaſteries & monkes. conſt. 5. how Byſhops & Prieſtes ſhould be ordeined. conſt. 6. concernyng remouyng of Eccleſiaſticall perſons from one Church to an other. Alſo concernyng the conſtitution of the Churches in Aphrike. And that the holy miſteries ſhould not be done in priuate houſes, ſo that whoſoeuer ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be depriued. conſt. 57. Moreouer concerning Clerkes leauyng their Churches. conſt. 58. Alſo cōcernyng the order and maner of funerals, conſt. 59. And that Byſhops ſhould not keepe from their flocke. conſt. 67. The ſame Iuſtinian graūted to the Clergy of Conſtantinople the priuilege of the ſecular court, in caſes onely ciuile, and ſuch as touched not the diſturbaunce of the Byſhop, otherwiſe in all criminall cauſes he left them to the iudgement of the ſecular court. conſt. 83. He geueth alſo lawes & decrees for breach of matrimonie. conſt. 117. and in diuers other places. And in his conſtitution. 123. after the doctrine of S. Paul, he commaundeth all Biſhops and Prieſts to ſounde out their ſeruice, and to celebrate the myſteries, not after a ſecret maner, but with a loud voyce, ſo as they might not onely be heard, but alſo be vnderſtand of the faithfull people, what was ſayd and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers & ſeruice then, was in the vulgar toung.

24. q. 3. cap. De illicita.

Ex Nouel. 5. Iuſtinian.

Diuine ſeruice vſed in the vulgare toung.

And as this Iuſtinian, and other Emperours in thoſe dayes had the iuriſdiction and gouernement ouer ſpirituall matters and perſons, the like examples alſo may be brought of other kynges, in other landes, who had no leſſe authoritie in their Realmes, then Emperours had in their Empire. As in Fraūce, Clodoueus the firſt Chriſtened kyng at Orleans cauſed a Councell of. 33. Byſhops, where. 33. Canons were inſtituted concernyng the gouernement of the Church, within. 100. yeares after Chriſt. Ex primo Tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus beſide his other lawes and edictes politicall, called. v. Synodes, one at Mentze, the ſecond at Rome, the third at Remes, the fourth at Cabilone, ẏ fift at Arelate, where ſundry rites and ordinaunces were geuen to the Clergy about. 810. yeares after Chriſt. The ſame Carolus alſo decreed that onely the Canonicall bookes of Scripture ſhould be read in the Churche, and none other. Which before alſo was decreed, an. 417. in the third generall Councell of Cartage. Item he exhorteth and chargeth Biſhops and Prieſtes to preach the word, with a godly iniunction: Epiſcopi verò vt ſiue per ſe, ſiue per vicarios, pabulum verbi diuini ſedulò populis annuncient. Quia vt ait beatus Gregorius: Iram contra ſe occulti iudicis excitat Sacerdos ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit. Et vt ipſi clerum ſibi commiſſum in ſobrietate & caſtitate nutriant. Superſtitiones quas quibuſdam in locis in exequijs mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent, that is: That Byſhops either by them ſelues, or their deputies ſhall ſhew forth the foode of Gods word to the people with all diligence. For as Gregory ſayth, the Prieſt procureth againſt him the wrath of the ſecret iudge, which goeth without the ſound of preaching. And alſo that they bryng vp their Clergy to them committed in ſobernes and chaſtitie. The ſuperſtition which in certaine places is vſed of ſome, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and plucke vp by the rootes. &c. Moreouer inſtructing and informing the ſayd Byſhops and Prieſtes in the office of preachyng, willeth thē, not to ſuffer any to fayne or preach to the people any new doctrine of their owne inuention, and not agreeyng to the word of God, but that they thē ſelues both will preach ſuch things as lead to eternall life, & alſo that they ſet vp other to do the ſame, and ioyneth withall a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectiſſimi, toto corde præparemus nos ſcientia veritatis, & mox: vt diuina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & creſcat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Eccleſiæ Dei ſanctæ, & ſalutem animarum noſtrarum, & laudem & gloriā nominis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto. Amen. Furthermore, the ſayd Carolus in his conſtitutions diuideth the goodes geuen to the Church ſo, that in the more wealthy places two partes ſhould go to the vſe of the poore, the third to the ſtipend of the clergy. Otherwiſe in poorer places an equall diuiſion to be made betwene the pouertie and the Clergy, vnles the gift had ſome ſpeciall exception. Ex Anſegiſo. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the ſame booke a litle after, cap. 83. the author declareth by the ſayd Carolus to be decreed, that no Eccleſiaſticall perſon or perſons from thence forth ſhould preſume to take of any perſon, any ſuch gift or donation, wherby the children or kinſfolkes of the ſayd Donor ſhould be defeited of their inheritaunce duly to them belongyng. Ludouicus Pius kyng of Fraunce, and after Emperour, was ſonne to the foreſayd Charles who beyng ioyned together with the ſayd Charles his father in the Empire, ordained alſo with his father ſundry actes and obſeruaunces touchyng the gouernemēt of the Church, as in the author before alleged may appeare. As firſt, that no entry ſhould be made into the Church by Symony: Agayne, that Biſhops ſhould be ordained by the free election of the Clergy and of the people, without all reſpect of perſon or reward, onely for the merite of life, and gift of heauenly wiſedome. Alſo the ſayd Kynges and Emperours forbad that any free mā or Citizen ſhould enter the profeſſiō of Monkery, without licence aſked of the kyng before, and added a double cauſe wherefore. Firſt, for that many not for mere deuotion, but for idlenes and auoyding the kynges warres, do geue them ſelues to Religiō: agayne, for that many be craftely circumuented and deluded by ſubtile couetous perſons, ſeekyng to get from them that which they haue. lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Itē that no young childre or boyes ſhould be ſhauen or entre any profeſſion, without the will of their Parētes. And no young maydens ſhould take the veale or profeſſion of a Nunne, before ſhe came to ſufficient diſcretion of yeares to

Clodoueus.

Concilium Aurelienſe.

Carolus Magnus.

Canonicall Scripture onely to be read in Churches.

Conc. Cartha. 3. ca. 47.

Byſhops and Prieſtes charged to preache with diligence.

Superſtition in funerals forbidden.

Ex Anſegiſo Abbate, lib. 1. ca. 76.

Ludouicus Pius.

Ex Anſ. lib. 3. cap. 10.

diſcerne & chuſe what they will follow. That none ſhould be interred or buried thence forth within the church, which alſo was decreed by Theodoſius & Valentinianus. 40. yeares before them. Item the ſayd Carolus. 22. yeares before this Emperour, enacted that murderers and ſuch as were gilty of death by the law, ſhould haue no ſanctuarie by flying into the Churche. &c. whiche alſo was decreed by Iuſtinian. 300. yeares before this Carolus. Ex Nouel. Iuſtinia. Moreouer the forſayd Ludouicus Pius, with his ſonne Clotharius (or as ſome call hym, Lotharius) ioyned with him, among other Eccleſiaſticall Sanctions, ordained a godly law, for laymen to communicate the Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lorde in theſe wordes: Vt ſi non frequentiùs, vel ter, laici homines communicent: niſi fortè grauioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediantur. That laymen do communicate at leaſt thriſe, if not ofter, except they be let percaſe by ſome more haynous greuous offences, Anſeg. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item they enacted that no goods of the church ſhould be alienated vnder the payne Leoninæ conſtitutionis. Unto this Lotharius French kyng and Emperour, Pope Leo the fourth writeth that Romana lex, that is, the Romane law (meaning the law of the French Emperours) as it hath hetherto ſtode in force: Ita & nunc ſuum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat, that is: ſo now it may continue ſtill in his vigor and ſtrength. Ivo Carnotenſis. lib. 11. decretorum, about the yeare of the Lord. 848. After this Lotharius ſucceded his ſonne Ludouicus the ſecōd in the kingdome and Empire of Fraunce, before whom the foreſayd Pope Leo was brought into iudgement, and pleaded his cauſe of treaſon, and there was before the Emperour quyt and releaſed. Whiche declareth that Popes and Biſhops all this while were in ſubiection vnder their kynges and Emperours. Moreouer deſcending yet to lower tymes, an. 1228. Ludouicus. 9. called holy Ludouike, made a law agaynſt the peſtiferous ſimonie in the Church, alſo for the maintenaūce of the libertie of the Churche of Fraunce, eſtabliſhed a law or decree, agaynſt the new inuentions, reſeruations, preuentions, and exactions of the court of Rome, called Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludouici, the which Sanction was alſo practiſed long after in the kingdome of Fraunce againſt the Popes collectors and vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Areſtum of the counſaile of Paris. an. 1463. ex Molinæo in commētarijs. Furthermore king Philip le Bel. 1303. ſet forth a law, called Philippina, wherein was forbid any exaction of new tithes, and firſt fruites, and other vncuſtomed collections, to be put vpon the Church of Fraunce. Carolus the. v. named Sapiens, an. 1369. by a law commaunded, that no Biſhops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his kingdome of Fraunce, ſhould execute any cenſure of ſuſpenſe, or excommunication, at the Popes commaundement, ouer or vpon the Cities, or Townes, corporations, or commons of his Realme. ex regiſt. antiquarum conſt. chart. 62. Item Carolus vi. an. 1388. agaynſt the Cardinals and other officials, & collectors of the Pope, reuokyng agayne the power whiche he had geuē to the before, prouided by a law, that the fruites and rentes of benefices, with other penſions, and Byſhops goodes that departed, ſhould no more be exported by the Cardinals & the popes collectours vnto Rome, but ſhould be brought to the kyng, and ſo reſtored to them to whom they rightly did appertaine.

Lib. 2. C. de ſacro. eccleſ.

Iuſtini. in Nouell.

Ludouicus and Clotharius.

Clodouicus xx.

Ex Iuon. Carnotenſis. Lib. 11. decretorum.

The Pope pleadeth his cauſe at the barre before the Emperour.

2. quaſt. 7. cap. Nos ſi incompetenter.

Ludouicus ix.

Pragmatica ſanctio S. Ludouici.

Areſtum Senatus Pariſien. ex Molinæo.

Philippus Pulcher. Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus vi.

The like alſo may be inferred and proued by the ſtories and examples of our kynges here in Englād, as kyng Offa, kyng Egbertus, Edgarus, Aluredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edwardus, William Conquerour, Wilhel. Rufus, Henricus the firſt, Henricus the ſecond till the time of kyng Iohn and after. Whoſe dealyng as well in Eccleſiaſticall caſes, as in temporall, is a ſufficient demonſtration to proue what iniury the Popes, in theſe latter dayes, haue done vnto the Emperours their lawfull gouernours and Magiſtrates: in vſurping ſuch fulnes of power & iuriſdiction ouer them, to whom properly they owe ſubiection, cōtrary to the ſteps and example of the old Romaine Byſhops their aunciters, and therfore haue incurred the daūger of a premunire, worthy to be depriued. Although it is not to be denyed, but that Eccleſiaſticall miniſters and ſeruitures haue their power alſo committed vnto them after their ſort, of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to know his owne place and ſtandyng, and there to keepe him, wherin his owne precinct doth pale hym, & not raſhly to breake out into other mēs walkes. As it is not lawfull for a ciuile Magiſtrate to intermedle with a Byſhops or a preachers function: ſo vnſemely and vnorderly it is agayne, that Boniface the viij. ſhould haue borne before him the temporall maſe, and the naked ſword of the Emperour, or that any Pope ſhould beare a triple crowne, or take vpon him like a Lord and Kyng. Wherfore let euery man conſider the compaſſe and limitation of his charge, and excede no farther. The office of a Byſhop or ſeruiture Eccleſiaſticall, was in the old law to offer ſacrifice, to burne incenſe, to pray for the people, to expounde the law, to miniſter in the tabernacle, with which office it was not lawfull for any Prince or man els to intermedle, as we read how Ozias was puniſhed for offering incenſe, and an other for touchyng the Arke: ſo now the office of Chriſtian miniſters is to preach the word, to miniſter Sacramentes, to pray, to binde and looſe, where cauſe vrgently requireth, to iudge in ſpirituall caſes, to publiſh and denoūce free recōciliatiō, and remiſſion in the name of Chriſt, to erect & comfort troubled conſciences with the rich grace of the Goſpel, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the law and the Goſpell, wherof the one belongeth to ſuch as be not in Chriſt, & come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true beleuers in the ſonne of God, to admoniſh alſo the Magiſtrates erryng or tranſgreſſing in their office. &c.

The office of the Eccleſiaſticall miniſter.

The office of ciuile rulers and magiſtrates.

And as theſe properly belong to the function of the eccleſiaſticall ſorte: ſo hath the ciuile gouernour or Magiſtrate agayne his proper charge and office to him aſſigned, which is, to ſee the adminiſtration of iuſtice and iudgement, to defend with power the right of the weake that ſuffer wrong, to defend from oppreſſion the poore oppreſſed, to miniſter with equalitie, that which is right and equall to euery man: to prouide lawes good and godly, to ſee the executiō of the ſame as cauſe moueth: eſpecially to ſee the law of God mainteined, to promote Chriſtes glory and Goſpell, in ſettyng vp and ſendyng out good preachers, in mainteinyng the ſame, in prouidyng Byſhops to be elected that be faythfull, in remouyng or els correctyng the ſame beyng faulty or negligent, in congregating the Clergy when neede is of any counſell or election, to heare their learnyng in cauſes propounded, and accordyng to the truth learned, to direct hys iudgement, in diſpoſing ſuch rytes and ordinaunces for the Church, as make to edification not to the deſtruction therof, in conſeruyng the diſcipline of the Church and ſetting all thynges in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuile ruler and magiſtrate extendeth to miniſter iuſtice and iudgement in all Courtes as well temporall, as eccleſiaſticall: to haue correction ouer all tranſgreſſours, whether they be laymen or perſons eccleſiaſticall. And finally all ſuch thynges as belong to the mouyng of the ſword, what ſoeuer, that is to ſay, all outward puniſhment, is referred to the iuriſdiction of the ſecular Magiſtrate, vnder whoſe ſubiection the ordinaunce of God hath ſubiected all orders & ſtates of men.

Here we haue the witneſſe alſo of Hormiſda Byſhop of Rome, which beyng well weyed, maketh the matter playne, that Princes haue to deale in ſpirituall cauſes alſo, not onely in temporall: where the ſayd Hormiſda writeth to Epiphanius, Patriarche of Conſtant. in this ſorte: Clara cœleſtis miſericordiæ demonſtratio procedit, quando reges ſeculi cauſas de fide, cum gubernatione politicæ cōiungūt. &c. ex Act. v. vniuerſ. concil. Conſtantini ſecundi, an. 528. And thus much, and to much peraduenture concernyng the matter of iuriſdictiō, in which point this new Church of Rome hath ſwarued from the auncient Church of Rome, whiche was, as is ſufficiently proued.

The 3. point wherein the Churche of Rome is altered from the Churche of Rome. The titles & ſtile of the Byſhop of Rome.

The third point wherin the Churche of Rome hath broken and is departed from the Churche of Rome, is the forme of ſtile and title annexed to the Byſhop of that Sea. As where he is called Pope, moſt holy father, vicare generall, and vicare of Chriſt, ſucceſſour of Peter, vniuerſall Biſhop, Prince of Prieſtes, head of the Church vniuerſall, Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mundi, head Byſhop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thyng betwene both, &c. for all theſe termes be geuen him in popiſh bookes. Albeit the name pope, being a Greeke name, deriued of πάππας, which ſoundeth as much as Father, in the Syracuſane ſpeech, may peraduenture ſeme more tolerable, as which hath bene vſed in the old tyme amōg biſhops, for ſo Auſten was called of the Coūcell of Aphrike, Hierome, of Boniface & other. Alſo Cypriā byſhop of Carthage, was called papa. 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur & diſt. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Itē Clodouæus or (as Rheanus calleth him) Ludouicus, firſt Chriſtiā king of Fraūce, calleth a certain ſimpler Byſhop, Papam. Hierome alſo in his Epiſtle to Chromatius calleth Valerianus, by the name of Pope: and likewiſe writyng to Euſtachium, and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius beatum Papam. In the Apologies of Athanaſius, we read oft tymes that he was called papa, and Archiepiſcopus. Ruffinus alſo lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him, Pontificem maximū: Alſo Aurelius Preſident in the. vi. Councell of Carthage was called of the ſayd Councell, papa, ex cap. 4. vi. concil. Carthag. And before this Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, writyng to kyng Lucius the firſt Chriſtē kyng in this lād,

24. q. 1. cap. Loquitur.

Diſt. 50. cap. De eo tamen.

Papa a common name in the olde tyme to all Byſhops of hygher knowledge and vertue.

Hierony. ad Chromatium Epiſt. Edem ad Euſtachium & Fabiolam.

calleth him in his Epiſtle, the vicare of Chriſt, &c. But that any of theſe termes were ſo peculiarly applyed to the Byſhop of Rome, that other Byſhops were excluded from the ſame, or that any one Biſhop aboue the reſt had the name of Oecumenicall, or vniuerſall, or head, to the derogation of other Byſhops, or with ſuch glory as is now annexed to the ſame: that is not to be founde neither in hiſtories of the old tyme, nor in any example of the primitiue Church, nor in the teſtimonies of auncient approued Doctours. Firſt before the Councell of Nice, it is euident by Pope Pius the ſecond, that there was no reſpect had to the church of Rome, but euery Church then was ruled by his own gouernaunce, till the yeare of our Lord. 340. Then folowed the Councell of Nice, wherin was decreed, that through out ye whole vniuerſitie of Chriſtes Church, which was now far ſpread ouer all the world, certaine prouincies or precinctes to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head Churche, and chief Biſhop, called then Metropolitane, or Patriarche, to haue the ouerſight of ſuch Churches as dyd lye about him. In the nũber of which Patriarches or Metropolitanes, the Byſhop of Rome had the firſt place. 2. The Byſhop of Alexandria was the ſecond. 3. The Biſhop of Antioche the third. 4. The Byſhop of Hieruſalem was the fourth patriarche. Afterward in the nũber of theſe Patriarches came in alſo the Byſhop of Conſtantinople in the rowme of the Byſhop of Antioche. So theſe foure or fiue Metropolitanes or Patriarches had their peculiar circuits and precinctes to them peculiarly appointed, in ſuch ſort, as one of them ſhould not deale within an others precinct, and alſo that there ſhould be among them equalitie of honour. Wherupon we read ſo oft in the decrees of the old Coũcels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, equall degree of thrones, and of honour among Prieſtes and miniſters. Agayne ſpeaking of the ſayd Patriarches or primates, we read in the. ij. & iij. chap. of the Councell of Conſtant. ἐπισκόπους τοῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is. That Byſhops ſhould not inuade the Dioces of other Byſhops, without their borders, nor confound together Churches, &c. Moreouer the old Doctours for the moſt and beſt part, do accord in one ſentence, that all Byſhops placed whereſoeuer, in the Church of God, be eiuſdem meriti & honoris, & ſucceſſores Apoſtolorum, that is to be of one merite, of like honour, and all to be ſucceſſors together of the Apoſtles. Alſo, he that is the author of the booke called Dioniſius Areopagita, calleth all the Byſhops ὁμοταγεῖς καὶ ἰσοτίμους, that is, of equall order, and of lyke honor. &c. All this while the Biſhop of Rome was a Patriarch, & a Metropolitane or Byſhop called of the firſt ſea, but no Oecumenicall Biſhop, nor head of the vniuerſall Church nor any ſuch matter: In ſomuch that he, with all other Byſhops, was debarred from that, by a playne decree of the Councell of Carthage, can. 39. in theſe wordes: ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτρόπον τι ποτέ, that is. That the Biſhop of the firſt ſeate ſhall not be called the Prince of Prieſtes, or the hyghe Prieſt, or any ſuch thyng.

Ex Epiſt. Pij ſecundi. 301.

The foure Patriarches appointed by the Councel of Nice.

Ex Concil. Nicen.

Ex Concil. Conſtantinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Conſtantin. 2. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Conſt. cap. 2. 3.

Ex Concil. Carthag. can. 39.

And leaſt any here ſhould take occaſion of cauilyng, to heare him called, Byſhop of the firſt ſea, here is to be expounded, what is ment by the firſt ſea, and wherefore he was ſo called, not for any dignitie of the perſon, either of him whiche ſucceedeth, or of him whom he is ſayd to ſuccede, but onely of the place wherein he ſitteth. This is plainly proued by the Councell of Calcedone, cap. 28. Wherein is manifeſtly declared the cauſe why the ſea of Rome, among all other patriarchall ſeas, is intituled for the firſt ſea by the auncient fathers. For why, ſayth the Councell, καὶ γὰρ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα, that is, for that our forefathers did worthely attribute the chief degree of honour to the ſea of old Rome, becauſe ye principall reigne or Empery was in that Citie, &c. The ſame alſo is confirmed by Euſebius Cæſarienſis, declaryng, quòd excellentia Romani Imperij extulit papatum Rom. Pōtificis ſupra alias Eccleſias. That the excellencie of the Romaine Empery did aduaunce the Papedome of the Romaine Byſhop aboue other Churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer, ſayth the ſayd Cæſarienſis: Nicena ſynodus hoc contulit priuilegiũ Roma. pōtifici, vt ſicut Romanorũ rex Auguſtus præ cæteris appellatur: ita Rom. pōtifex præ cæteris Epiſcopis Papa vocaretur. That is. The Coũcell, ſayth he, of Nice gaue this priuilege to the byſhop of Rome, that like as the king of ye Romaines is named Emperour aboue all other kynges, ſo the Biſhop of the ſame Citie of Rome ſhould be called Pope aboue other Byſhops, &c. By theſe places hetherto alledged (& fiue other, many more then be here alledged) it appeareth that though theſe titles of ſuperioritie had bene attributed to the Byſhop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the ſayd Byſhop receiued that preferment Iure non diuino, ſed humano, by mãs law, not by the law of God. And ſo is the diſtinction of the Popes proued falſe, where is ſayd: Romanam Eccleſiam non a concilio aliquo, ſed a diuina voce primatum accepiſſe, that the Church of Rome, tooke not hys primacie by any Councell, but onely by the voyce of God. And this is to be ſayd although it were true, ye theſe titles & termes were ſo geuen to the Byſhop of Rome in the old tyme, yet how and by whom they were geuen, ye ſee. Now to try this matter, as ioyning an iſſue with our aduerſaries, whether theſe foreſayd titles of ſoueraintie, were applied in the old tyme of the primitiue Church, to the Byſhop of Rome, as to be called the vicare generall of Chriſt, the head of the whole Church, and vniuerſall Byſhop, remaineth to be proued. Wherunto this in my minde is to be anſwered, that albeit the Byſhops of Rome, were ſo called by the names of heigher preeminence of that Citie, of ſome goyng about to pleaſe them, or to craue ſome helpe at their handes, yet that callyng 1. firſt was vſed then but of a few. 2. neither yet was geuen to many. 3. thyrdly was rather geuẽ, then ſought for, of the moſt. 4. fourthly, was not ſo geuen that it maketh or can make any generall neceſſitie of law, why euery one is ſo bound to call them, as the Byſhop of Rome now ſeeketh to be taken and called, and that by neceſſitie of ſaluation, as the decree of Pope Boniface. 8. witneſſeth, where is ſayd, quòd ſit de neceſſitate ſalutis, vt credatur primatus Eccleſiæ Rom. & ei ſubeſſe. That it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, to beleue the primacie of the Church of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame, &c.

Ex Concil. Calcedon. cap. 28.

Ex Gabri. Biel. lect. 23.

As touchyng therfore theſe titles and termes of preeminence aforeſayd, orderly to ſet forth and to declare what hiſtories of tymes doe ſay in that matter, by the grace of Chriſt. Firſt we will ſee what be the titles, the Biſhop of Rome doth take and chalenge to hym ſelfe, and what is the meanyng of them. 2. When they firſt came in, whether in the primitiue tyme or not, and by whom. 3. How they were firſt geuen to the Romane Byſhops, that is, whether of neceſſary duetie, or of voluntary deuotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in reſpect of Peter, or in reſpect of the Citie, or els of the worthyneſſe of the Byſhop whiche then ſat. 4. And if the foreſayd names were then geuen of certaine Biſhops, vnto the byſhops of Rome: whether all the ſayd names were geuen, or but certaine, and what they were. 5. Or whether they were then receaued of all Byſhops of Rome, to whõ they were geuẽ, or els refuſed of ſome. 6. And finally whether they ought to haue bene refuſed beyng geuen, or not. Touchyng the diſcourſe of which matters, although it appertaineth to the profeſſion rather of Diuines, then hyſtoricians, and would require a long and large debatyng: yet for ſo much as both in theſe, & diuers other weyghty controuerſies of Diuinitie, the knowledge of tymes & hyſtories, muſt needes helpe Diuines diſputing about the ſame, ſo much as the grace of Chriſt ſhall aſſiſte me therein, I will ioyne to the ſeekyng out of truth, ſuch helpe as I may.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

And firſt to begyn with the names & titles, now claymed and attributed to the ſea and Byſhop of Rome: and what they be, is ſufficiently declared aboue, that is: the chief Prieſt of the world, the prince of the Church, Byſhop Apoſtolicall, the vniuerſall head of the Churche, the head and biſhop of the vniuerſall church, the ſucceſſour of Peter, moſt holy Pope, the vicar of God on earth, neither God nor man, but a mixte thyng betwene both: the Patriarche or Metropolitane of the Church of Rome, the Byſhop of the firſt ſea, &c. Unto the whiche titles and ſtile is annexed a triple crowne, a triple croſſe, two croſſed keyes, a naked ſword, ſeuenfold ſeales, in token of the ſeuenfold giftes of the holy Ghoſt, he beyng caried pickbacke on mens ſhoulders, after the maner of Heathen kynges, hauyng all the Empire, and the Emperour vnder his dominion: and that it is not conuenient for any terrene Prince to reigne there, where he ſitteth, hauyng the plenary fulnes of power, as well of temporall thynges as ſpirituall thynges in his handes, that all thynges are his, and that all ſuch Princes as haue geuen him any thing, haue geuẽ him but his own, hauyng power at his will and pleaſure to preach indulgencies and the croſſe agaynſt Chriſten Princes whatſoeuer: And that the Emperour, & certaine other Princes, ought to make to him confeſſion of ſubiection at their coronation: hauyng authoritie to depoſe, and that he de facto, hath depoſed Emperours and the kyng of Fraunce: Alſo to abſolue the ſubiectes from their allegiance to their Princes:

What names and titles be attributed to the Byſhop of Rome.

Ex 6. decret. Lib. 1. de elect. & electi poteſtate, tit. 6. in ca. 17. in proemio. gloſa.

The forme of the Popes regalitie to his titles appertaynyng.

Regalia Sancti Petri.

whom kynges haue ſerued for footemen to lead his horſe and the Emperour to hold his ſtirrup: that he may and doth geue power to Byſhops vpon the bodies of men, and hath graunted them to haue priſons, without whoſe authoritie no generall Councell hath any force. And to whō appellations in all maner of cauſes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decrees of Nicene Councell, and are to be obſerued and taken in no leſſe force, then if they had bene confirmed with the heauenly voyce of S. Peter him ſelfe ex fra. Barth. & alijs. Item that the ſayd Byſhop of Rome hath the heauenly diſpoſition of thynges, and therfore may alter and chaunge the nature of thynges, by applying the ſubſtaunce of one thyng to an other. cap. Quando de tranſl. Epiſ. tit. 7. Item, that he can of nothyng make ſomethyng, and cauſe the ſentence, whiche before was none, to ſtand in effect, and may diſpenſe aboue the law, and of iniuſtice make iuſtice, in correctyng & chaungyng lawes, for he hath the fulnes of power. And agayne. diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa. If the Pope do lead with him innumerable ſoules by flockes into hell, yet no man muſt preſume to rebuke his faultes in this world. Item that it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation to beleue the primacie of the ſea of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame. &c.

Ex frat. Barth. & alijs.

Ca. quando. de trāſl. Epiſc. tit. 7.

Diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa.

These thynges thus declared, now let vs ſee whether theſe names and titles, with the forme and maner of this authoritie and regalitie aboue rehearſed, were euer attributed of any in the primitiue tyme to the byſhop of Rome. For all theſe, he doth challenge and clayme vnto him by old poſſeſſion from the tyme of S. Peter. And here a queſtion is to be aſked of our aduerſaries the Papiſtes, whether they will auouch all theſe forſayd titles, together with the whole forme and tenour of regalitie, to the ſame belongyng as is afore touched, or not: if they will let them come forth with their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer ſhalbe able: if they will not, or can not auouch them all together in maner as is ſpecified, then why doth the Byſhop clayme them altogether ſo ſtoutly, vſurpe them ſo falſely, and obtrude them vpon vs ſo ſtraitly. Moreouer if the ſayd our aduerſaries beyng conuicted by playne euidence of hiſtory, and examples of tyme, will yeld vnto vs (as they muſt nedes) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come then to the particulars, and ſee what part of this regalitie they will defend and deriue from the auncient cuſtome of the primitiue Church (that is from the firſt fiue hundred yeares, I meane after Chriſt.) Firſt in the Councell of Nice, which was the yeare of our Lord, 340. and in the. vj. Canon of the ſayd Councell, we finde it ſo decreed: that in euery prouince or precinct ſome one Churche, and Byſhop of the ſame, was appointed and ſet vp to haue the inſpection and regiment of other Churches about him. Secundum morem antiquū, that is, after the auncient cuſtome, as the wordes of the Councell do purporte, ſo that the Biſhop of Alexandria ſhould haue power of Libia, and Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the Byſhop of the Citie of Rome, hath ye like or ſame maner. And in like ſort alſo in Antioch, & in other countreys, let euery Church haue his due honor, and conſequently that the Biſhop of Hieruſalē haue alſo his due honor to him reſerued, ſo that ſuch order be kept, that the Metropolitane Cities be not defrauded of their dignitie which to them is due and proper &c. In this Councell and in the ſame Canon. vj. and. vij. where the Byſhops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are ioyned together in one like maner of dignitie, firſt there appeareth no difference of honour to be ment therin. Secondly for ſomuch as in the ſayd two Canons after mention made of them, immediatly foloweth, that no Byſhoppes ſhould be made without conſent of their Metropolitanes, yea and that the Citie alſo of Hieruſalem ſhould be vnder his Metropolitane, and that the Metropolitane ſhould haue the full power to confirme euery Byſhop made in his prouince: Therfore it may be well ſuſpected that the third Epiſtle decretall of Pope Anacletus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other mo, are forged, wherin theſe Byſhops, and eſpecially the Byſhop of Rome is exempted and diſcerned from the name of a Metropolitane or an Archbyſhop, to the name of a Patriarch or primate: as appeareth in the decrees. diſt. 22. cap. Sacro ſancta. Wherfore as we muſt nedes graunt the Biſhop of Rome to be called a Metropolitane or an Archbyſhop by the Councell of Nice: ſo we will not greatly ſticke in this alſo, to haue him numbred with Patriarches or primates. which title ſemeth in the old tyme to be common to mo Cities then to Rome, both by the Epiſtle of Anacletus, of Pope Stephanus, of Pope Iulius, and Leo. &c.

Ex concil. Nicen. Cano. 6.

Diſt. 65. cap. Mos antiquus.

Ex concil. Nic. Can.

Diſt. 22. cap. Sacro ſancta.

The Byſhop of Rome called Metropolitane, Archbiſhop, Patriarch, Primate.

The vi. Councell of Carthage.

After this followed a generall Councell in Aphrike, called the vj. Councell of Carthage, an. 420, where were congregated. 217. Biſhops, among whom was alſo, Auguſtinus, Proſper, Oroſius, with diuers other famous perſons. This Councell continued the ſpace of. v. yeares, wherein was great contention about the ſupremacie, and iuriſdiction of Rome. The Byſhop wherof then was Zoſimus. This Zoſimus the Romane byſhop had receaued the ſame tyme into the communion of the Church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Aphrike, named Apiarius, a Prieſt whom Aurelius with the Councell of Aphrike had worthely excommunicated for hys deteſtable conditions before. Vpon this after that Zoſimus ſo had ſhewed ſuch fauour to Apiarius, for that he dyd appele to him, ſendeth to the Councell his meſſengers, to wit Fauſtinus Byſhop of Potentine and two Prieſtes of the Churche of Rome named Philippus and Aſellus, with theſe foure requeſtes: firſt that Apiarius whom he had abſolued might be receaued of them agayne, and that it might be lawfull for Byſhops or Prieſtes to appeale from the ſentence of their Metropolites, and alſo of the Councell, to the ſea of Rome.

Ex Conciliorū Tom. 1. in Sexta Synod. Carthag.

Secondly, that Byſhops ſhould not ſayle ouer importunely ad comitatū. Thirdly, ye if any prieſt or Deacō were wrongfully excommunicate by the Biſhops of their owne prouince, it ſhould be lawfull for thē to remoue ye hearing & iudgyng of their cauſe to their neighbour biſhops. Fourthly, that Vrbanus there Byſhop, either ſhould be excommunicated, or els ſent vp to Rome, vnleſſe he would correct thoſe thynges that were to be corrected. &c. For the approbation wherof, the ſayd Zoſimus alledged for hym the wordes (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage hearyng this, and remembryng no ſuch thyng in the Councell of Nice to be decreed, and yet not ſuſpecting the Byſhop of Rome to dare wrongly to falſify the wordes of that Councell: writeth agayne to Zoſimus, declaryng that they neuer read to their remembraunce, in their cōmon Latine exemplare of Nicene Councell any ſuch Canon, yet notwithſtanding for quietnes ſake, they would obſerue the ſame till tyme they might procure the originall copies of that Councell to be ſent to them from Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In lyke effect afterward they wrote to Pope Boniface, whiche then ſucceded Zoſimus.

Vrbanus Epiſcopus Siccenſis.

The Popes of Rome taken with the maner in falſefying the decrees of Nicene Councell.

And thirdly alſo to Celeſtinus, whiche ſhortly after ſucceded Boniface. In the meane tyme this foreſayd Councell ſent their Legates, Marcellus, and Innocentius to Atticus Patriarche of Conſtantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarche of Alexandria, for the autentique copies in Greeke of Nicene Councell, which beyng ſent vnto them, and they findyng in the true originals no ſuch Canō, as the Byſhop of Rome had falſely forged, they wrote a ſharpe and an handſome letter to Celeſtinus Byſhop of Rome, callyng him in the ſayd letter by the way: Domine frater: declaryng to hym, how they had peruſed all the copies of the Councell of Nice, and could finde no ſuch Canon, as he and his predeceſſours had falſely alledged, and there withall recityng the. vj. Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of Nicene Councell had committed all and ſingular perſons Eccleſiaſticall, as well Biſhops, as other, vnto the charge of their Metropolitanes. Moreouer expoundyng the ſame decree, they ſhewed the reaſons therof.

The Biſhop of Rome called *Domine frater,* **that is, brother byſhop. Byſhops of Rome proued falſifiers of Nicene Councell.**

Fiue reaſons, why matters of controuerſie ought not to be had out of their countreyes vnto Rome.

1. For that (ſayd they) the fathers of that Councell did well forſee, to be moſt iuſt and conuenient, that all controuerſies there be ended (in ijſdem locis) where they begyn.

2. For that it is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but that the grace of God wilbe as preſt & ready in one prouince as in an other, to inſtruct his miniſters both prudently to vnderſtād iudgement, and conſtantly to maintaine the ſame.

3. For ye there is no neede to ſeke further to any outlandiſh helpe, becauſe eſpecially that the partie whoſoeuer is not contented with the determination of his iudges or commiſſioners, may lawfully appeale either to a prouinciall, or to a generall Councell.

4. That way to be better, then to runne to any one foreine Iudge, it muſt nedes be graunted, becauſe it is not like, that our God will inſpire his iuſtice and truth of examining, vnto one Byſhop, and deny it to a multitude congregated in a whole Councell.

5. Neither can it be, that any ſuch outlandiſh iudgement in hearyng and determinyng cauſes, cā ſtand perfect and vpright, for that the neceſſary perſons of witneſſes, either for infirmitie of ſexe, of age, of infirmity, or ſome other impeachment, are not able to be preſent, by whō the truth of the ſentence, ſhould be directed. Wherfore as by theſe and other reaſons they thought it not conuenient frō them to bryng their matters ouer vnto Rome: ſo neither was it to be foūd, ſayd they, by any Councell of the old fathers decreed, that any

Euery countrey to appeale firſt to his owne Metropolitane, ſecondly to a prouinciall or generall Councell.

Lega-

Famoſum typhus ſeculi.

Legates ſhould be ſent from Rome to them, for decidyng of their matters. And therfore exhorted they the ſayd biſhop of Rome, that he would not induce, fumoſum typum, (or rather as I may call it) typhos ſeculi, in Eccleſiã Chriſti, quæ lucem ſimplicitatis & humilitatis præfert ijs qui Deum diligũt, that is, that he would not induce the ſwellyng pride of the world into the Churche of Chriſt, whiche Churche ſheweth and geueth the light of ſimplicitie and of humilitie to ſuch as loue to ſee God, &c. In theſe foreſayd letters moreouer is ſignified how the forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the Byſhop of Rome before had abſolued and receaued to the communion of the Church, was afterward found culpable, and therfore the Councell proceded agaynſt hym, brought him to open confeſſion of his faultes, and ſo enioyned him due penaunce for his demerites, notwithſtandyng the abſolution and inconſiderate clearyng of the Byſhop of Rome before procedyng.

Summary notes gathered out of the Coũcell of Carthage agaynſt the Pope.

1. In ſumme out of this Councell of Carthage theſe are
to be noted. Firſt, how glad the Biſhops of Rome were to
2. receaue ſuch as came to them for ſuccour.
2. What pride they tooke by the occaſion therof, thinkyng
3. and ſeekyng therby to haue all vnder their ſubiection.
3. To the entet to allure other to ſeeke to them, how rea-
4. dy they were to releaſe and quit this Apiarius as giltleſſe,
whiche after was tried culpable by his owne confeſſion.
4. How contrary to the actes and doyngs of the Romiſh
Byſhop, this Councell condemned him, whom the ſayd
5. Byſhop of Rome before had abſolued, little reſpectyng the
procedynges of the Romiſh Church.
5. How the Byſhops of olde time haue bene falſefiers of
auncient Councels and writynges: whereby it may be ſuſ-
pected, that they whiche ſhamed not to falſefie and corrupt
the Councell of Nice, much leſſe would they ſticke to abuſe
and falſefie the decretall Epiſtles and writynges of particu-
lar Byſhops and Doctours, for their owne aduauntage, as
6. no doubt they haue done many one.
6. In this foreſayd Councell, whereat, Auſten him ſelfe
was preſent, and where Aurelius Preſidẽt of the ſame, was
called Papa, the Byſhop of Rome was called expreſſely in
their letters, but Byſhop of the Citie of Rome, and Domi-
7. nus frater, that is, brother Byſhop.
7. Seuenthly, the dominion of this Romaine Patriarche,
in the ſayd Coũcell of Carthage, was cut ſo ſhort, that nei-
ther it was permitted to thẽ of Aphrike to appeale ouer the
ſea to him, nor for him to ſend ouer his Legates to them, for
endyng their controuerſies. Wherby it may ſufficiently ap-
peare, that the Byſhop of Rome in thoſe dayes, was not
8. fully admitted to be the chief of all other Byſhops, nor the
head of the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt in earth, &c.
8. We heare in this Coũcell v. cauſes or reaſõs geuẽ, why
it is not neceſſary nor yet cõuenient for all foreine cauſes to be
9. brought to one vniuerſall head or iudge, as is before recited.
9. Laſtly, by the ſayd Councell of Carthage we heare a
vertuous exhortation to be geuen to the Byſhop of Rome,
that he would not induce into the meeke and humble church
of Chriſt, the fumyng and ſwellyng pride of the world, as is
before declared, &c. In this or in ſome other Coũcel of Car-
thage, it was moreouer prouided by expreſſe law, and alſo
ſpecified in the Popes decrees, that no Byſhop of the firſt
ſea, ſhould be called the Prince of prieſtes, or the chief prieſt,
or any ſuch like thyng, but onely the byſhop of the firſt ſeate,
as followeth more in the ſayd decree, Vniuerſalis autem, nec
etiam Rom. pontifex appelletur, that is. Be it enacted, that
no Byſhop, no not the Byſhop of Rome be called vniuer-
ſall Byſhop, &c. And thus much concernyng this foreſayd
Councell of Carthage.

Diſt. 99. cap. primæ ſedis Epiſc.

The higheſt title belongyng to a Byſhop is to be called the Byſhop of the firſt ſeate.

The Biſhop of Rome forbidden to be called vniuerſall Byſhop.

Sinodus Mileuitana.

No Byſhop to appeale ouer the ſea.

Byſhop of the firſt ſeate what it meaneth.

Concil. Carth. can. 23.

Not long before this Coũcell, was celebrate in Aphricke an other Coũcell, called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yeare of our Lord. 442. at the which Coũcell alſo S. Auſten was preſent, where it was decreed vnder payne of excommunication, that no miniſter or Byſhop ſhould appeale ouer the ſea, to the Byſhop of Rome, whereby it may appeare that the Biſhop of Rome all this ſpace was not vniuerſally called by the terme of Oecumenicall or vniuerſall Byſhop, but the Byſhop of the firſt ſea: ſo that if there were any preferment therin, it was in the reuerence of the place, and not in the authoritie of the perſon. And yet it was not ſo in the place, that the place importeth the Citie of Rome onely, but the firſt ſeate then was called euery Metropolitane church, as by the wordes of Nicene Councell, and other conſtitutions moe, is to be ſene where the foure Patriarches were called πρῶτοι, or πρωτεύοντες, or προεστῶτες, as namely by the wordes of the Councell of Carthage may appeare, which be theſe: εἰ μὴ μετὰ χαρίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τοῦ ἰδίου ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου: τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατεξαίρετον λάβῃ. That is, except he haue ſome ſpeciall licence or exception, by the conſent of the firſt ſeate of the proper Byſhop in euery countrey, that is, of him that is the Primate in the ſaid coũtrey, &c. Alſo the wordes of the can. 39. of the Councell of Carthage, before touched be theſe, ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτρόπον τί ποτε. That is, that the Byſhop of the firſt ſeat, be not called Prince of Prieſtes, or head Prieſt, or els any ſuch like. Agayne Anicetus the tẽth Byſhop of Rome and Pope Stephen and Pope Felix makyng a difference betwene primate & metropolitane write thus: let no Archbyſhops be called Primates, but onely ſuch as haue the firſt ſeate. &c. Thus it is made playne, how the Byſhop of the firſt ſeate, or firſt Byſhop, or primate is none other, but he which thẽ was called patriarch, and belonged not onely to the Church of Rome, but to all ſuch Cities and places where as before among the Gentils were primi flamines &c. diſt. 80. cap. vrbes & loca, & in illis. Where by the way is to be noted the repugnaũce or contrarietie of ſuch as craftely, but falſely, haue counterfeited ý Popes decretall Epiſtles, which beſides other great and many coniectures alſo hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus Epiſt. 2. Anicetus and other, ioynyng together the office of Patriarches and primates do deuide the ſame from the order of Metropolitanes or Archbyſhops, alledgyng therin the conſtitution of the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, that is to be founde falſe by the Canons of the Apoſtles, by the Councell of Nice, and by the Councell of Antioche, with other moe. For in the Canõs of the Apoſtles, where in euery Canõ almoſt mention is made of Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Deacons, no word is there touched, neither of any order aboue the Byſhop, or lower then the Deacon, ſaue onely in the. 33. Canon ſettyng an order amõg Byſhops, the Canon willeth the Byſhops of euery nation to know their firſt or chief Byſhop, and him to be takẽ for the head of them: he ſayth not the head of the Churche or head of ý world, but the head of thoſe byſhops. And where? not in Rome onely, but plainely and expreſly in euery natiõ, for ſo the words purporte τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. That is, the Byſhops of euery nation ought to know the firſt or chief amõg them &c. Moreouer the Coũcell of Antioch recityng the foreſayd Canon word for word expoundeth the matter plainely, in ſtede of τὸν πρῶτον, writyng, τὸν ἐν μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον. Whiche is as much to ſay, as Metropolitane: and in the end of the ſayd Canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, Id eſt, Metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per ſingulas. Whereby it is to be concluded that to be falſe, that Clement, and Anacletus, & Anicetus be reported (but falſely) to put a difference betwene primates or patriarches, and Metropolitanes, or Archbiſhops. Where as by ſufficiẽt authoritie it is to be proued, that in the old Church, both Primates, firſt Byſhops, Byſhops of the firſt ſeate, Patriarches, Metropolitanes, Byſhops of the mother Citie, and Archbiſhops were all one. Firſt that primates and Metropolitanes were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apoſtles, and by the Councell of Antioche aforeſayd. Agayne that Patriarches and Archbyſhops were all one, it is euident Ex Nouella Iuſtiniani. cap. 23. where the ſayd conſtitutiõ recityng the. 4. Patriarches (aboue mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbyſhops. And a litle after calleth the Patriarche of Conſtantinople, Archbyſhop, by theſe wordes: Οἵτινες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσίν, That is, whiche be vnder the Archbyſhop and Patriarche of Conſtantinople. And after ſpeakyng more playnly in the matter, ſetteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placyng theſe foreſayd perſons, firſt beginnyng with Byſhops, then ouer them ſetteth the Metropolitane, and ouer him agayne, the Archbyſhop, and there ſtayeth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whoſe wordes be theſe: εἴπερ ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὑφ᾽ ὃν τελεῖ. That is: If a Byſhop be accuſed, the Metropolitane to haue the examination of thoſe thynges that are brought agaynſt him, if the Metropolitane be accuſed, then the Archbyſhop to haue hearing therof, vnder whom he dwelleth, and pertaineth, &c.

Concil. Carth. can. 39.

Ex Epiſt. decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

Diſt. 80. cap. Vrbes & loca. ibid. ca. in illis.

The Papiſtes in their decrees contrary to themſelues.

Cano. Apo. 34.

Cano. Apoſt. 33.

The firſt byſhop or head Byſhop expounded, how it is to be taken.

Antioch. Conc. ca. 9. 6. q. 3. per ſingulas prouincias.

Diſt. 99. cap. Anacletus.

Nouella Iuſtinian. cap. 23.

Ex Nouel. Iuſtin. ibid.

And in the ſame conſtitution moreouer, εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ ἢ ἄλλου οἱουδήποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπισκόπου γίνεται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα.&c. If any ſute or ſupplication be brought agaynſt a Byſhop by a miniſter, firſt the Metropolitane to haue the deciſing of the matter, and if any default ſhalbe found in the iudgemēt therof then the hearyng and endyng of the caſe to be brought before the Archbiſhop.&c.

Archbyſhop and Metropolitane not to be both one.

In this conſtitution of Iuſtinian, although the Metropolitane be placed aboue the Byſhop, & yͤ Archbiſhop aboue the Metropolitane: yet notwithſtanding by this is ſufficiently confuted the forged conſtitution of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephanus, and Felix: who in their Epiſtles decretall, do ioyne together in one forme and order, both Archbiſhop and Metropolitane, and aboue them both doe place the Patriarch, and aboue the Patriarch the Apoſtolical ſea, to wit the Byſhop of Rome, as may appeare in reading the firſt Epiſtle of Clement. In illis autem ciuitatibus.&c. the ſecōd Epiſtle of Anacletus, Art.4. prouinciæ. diſt.99.cap.prouinciæ multo, and the Epiſtle of Anicetus, art.23. diſt.99.cap. Nulli Archiepiſcopi. Alſo the Epiſtle of Pope Stephen the firſt, Art.5. (where note by the way, that Gracianus referreth this place of the Epiſtle to pope Lucius.) Item the Epiſtle of Pope Felix the ſecond, Art.12. in which all foreſayd Epiſtles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the firſt and principall place is geuen to Primates or Patriarches, the ſecond to Metropolitanes or Archbiſhops, the third to Biſhops, and finally aboue all theſe is extolled the Apoſtolicall ſea of the Biſhop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath bene alledged out of Iuſtinian, the Councell of Nice and of Antioch.&c. Whereby it may appeare that either Iuſtinian in preferring Archbiſhops aboue Metropolitanes, did not read theſe Epiſtles decretal, if they were vnfayned, or if they were forged, they whiche forged the ſayd Epiſtles in their names, did not well aduiſe what Iuſtinian had written in this matter before.

An Item agaynſt the forged Epiſtles decretall.
Clement Epiſt.1.
Anaclet. Epiſt.2. art.4.
Aniceti Epiſt. art.2 Diſt.99. cap. Nulli Archiepiſcopi.
Stephan. Epiſt. art.5.

Repugnance betwene the conſtitutions of Iuſtinian: and the Epiſtles decretall.

Thus then theſe titles aboue recited, as Byſhop, Metropolitane, Biſhop of the firſt ſeate, Primate, Patriarche, Archbiſhop, that is to meane chiefbyſhop, or headbyſhop to other Byſhops of his prouince, we deny not but were then in the old tyme applyed, and might be applyed, to the byſhop of Rome, like as the ſame alſo were applyed to other Patriarches in other chief Cities and prouinces.

Biſhop, Metropolitane biſhop of the firſt ſea, Primate, Patriarch Archbyſhop. Chief Byſhop, termes vſed in the primitiue tyme of the Church. Hygh Prieſt or hygh Prieſthode.

As touchyng the name likewiſe of the hygh Prieſt, or hygh Prieſthode, neither do I deny but it hath bene founde in old monumentes and recordes of auncient tymes, but in ſuch wiſe and ſorte, as it hath bene common to Byſhops indifferently and not ſingularly attributed to any one Byſhop or ſea. Whereof teſtimonie we haue out of the. vij. generall Councell, diſt.38.cap. Omnes, where the Byſhops office is called Summum ſacerdotium, the high Prieſthode, in theſe wordes: Subſtantia ſummi ſacerdotij noſtri ſunt eloquia diuinitus tradita.i.vera diuinarum Scripturarum diſciplina.&c. That is, the ſubſtaunce (ſay they) of our high Prieſthode is the worde or diſcipline of holy Scriptures geuen vs from aboue.&c.

Diſt.38. cap omnes Summus ſacerdos. Summum ſacerdotium.

And likewiſe the Councell of Agatha, maketh relation De pontificibus in ſummo ſacerdotio conſtitutis, of Biſhops ſet in the high Prieſthode, meanyng not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomſoeuer. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices. Alſo Fabianus Byſhop of Rome, an. 240. wrytyng in generall to his brethren, and to all Byſhoppes and Miniſters Eccleſiaſticall, doth attribute to them the ſame title of Summum ſacerdotium, in theſe wordes: Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinauit vos, & omnes qui ſummo ſacerdotio funguntur, &c. God whiche hath preordained you brethren, and all them which beare the office of high prieſthode. 3. q. 1. cap. Deus ergo. With like phraſe of ſpeech Anacletus alſo in his ſecond Epiſtle, ſpeakyng of Byſhops in generall, calleth them Summos ſacerdotes: vnde, inquit, liquet quod ſummi ſacerdotes.i. Epiſcopi a Deo ſunt iudicandi, &c. The high Prieſtes, that is, Byſhops, ſayth he. And moreouer in the ſame place calleth them Apoſtles, and ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles.&c. So doth Innocentius the firſt, an. 405. as appeareth, diſt.61.cap. Miſerum. Item Zoſimus Byſhop of the ſayd Citie of Rome, an. 410. as witneſſeth diſt. 59. cap. 1. who ſpeaketh de Summo ſacerdotio, that is, of high Prieſthode, not onely of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. Vrbanus the firſt was Byſhop of Rome, an. 216. who in his wrytyngs alleged by Gratian, referreth the name and place Summi pontificis, of the hygh Byſhop, not onely to the ſeate of Rome, but vniformely to euery Byſhop, as appeareth in the wordes of the diſt.59.cap. Si officia.&c.

Ex Concilio Agathenſi.12.q.3.cap. Pontifices.

3.q.1.cap. Deus ergo.

Ex Anaclet. Epiſt. 2.2 q.7 cap. Accuſatis.
Byſhops called the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles.
Diſt.61.c.miſerum
Diſt.59.cap.1.

Ex Vrban.1. Diſt.59.cap. Si officia.

And thus much as touchyng the name or title of hygh Prieſt, or ſupreme Byſhop. Which title as I do not deny to haue bene vſed in maner and forme aforeſayd: ſo do I deny this title and ſtile of Summus orbis pontifex, as it is now vſed in Rome, to haue bene vſed, or vſually receaued, duryng all the primitiue tyme of the church, that is. v. hundred yeares after Chriſt, after the maner and ſorte, I meane, of that authoritie and glory whiche in theſe dayes now is vſed and is geuē to the ſame, vntill the tyme of Phocas, the wicked Emperour, which was after the yeare of the Lord. 608. The whiche title as it is to glorious for any one Byſhop in the Church of Chriſt to vſe: ſo is it not to be founde in any of the approued & moſt auncient writers of the Church, namely theſe, as Cyprianus, Baſilius, Fulgentius, Chriſoſtomus, Hieronymus, Ambroſius, Auguſtinus, Tertullianus, but rather written agaynſt of the ſame, eſpecially of the laſt. And therfore not without cauſe it is written and teſtified of Eraſmus, who ſpeakyng of the ſayd name, of Summus orbis pontifex, denyeth playnly the ſame to be heard of among the old writers, whoſe wordes be theſe: Certè nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quātum ex veterum omnium ſcriptis licet colligere. &c. lib. Epiſt.3. Epiſt. 1. art. 73.&c. As whoſoeuer readeth the ſame authors ſhall finde to be true.

Summus orbis pontifex.

Ex Eraſmi.epi. lib.3.Epiſt.1. art.73.

The like is to be affirmed alſo of other preſumptuous titles of like ambition, as the head of the vniuerſall Church, the Vicare of Chriſt in earth, Prince of Prieſtes, with ſuch like, whiche all be new found termes, ſtraunge to the eares of the old primitiue writers and Councels, and not receiued openly and commonly before the tyme of Boniface the third, and Phocas aforeſayd.

Vniuerſalis pontifex.
Caput vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ.
Chriſti in terris vicarius.
Princeps ſacerdotum.&c.
Papa.

Now remaineth the name of the pope, which of his nature, and by his firſt origine, beyng a worde of the Syracuſane ſpeeche called παππᾶς, and ſignifiyng as much as Pater, Father, was then vſed and frequented of them in the old tyme, not ſo as proper onely to the Byſhop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other Byſhops or perſonages, whoſoeuer were of worthy excellence, as is partly before declared. But now contrarily, the generalitie of this name is ſo reſtrayned and abuſed, that not onely it is appropriate to the Byſhop of Rome, but alſo diſtincteth and diſſeuereth the authoritie and preeminence of that Byſhop alone from all other Byſhops, for whiche cauſe it is now worthely come into contempt & execration. No leſſe is to be reiected alſo the name of vniuerſalis, or œcumenicus pontifex, Summus orbis Epiſcopus, Caput vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ, Chriſti in terris vicarius, Principes ſacerdotum. &c. All whiche termes and vocables, tendyng to the derogation of other Byſhops & Patriarches, as they were neuer receaued nor allowed in Rome (if we beleue Gregory) duryng the tyme of the primitiue church, ſo now are worthely of vs refuſed.

Although it can not be denyed, but certaine were in the primitiue time, which began priuately to pretend that proud and wicked title of vniuerſall Byſhop, as Menna, and eſpecially Ioannes Patriarche of Conſtantinople, who callyng a Councell at Conſtantinople, went about to ſtabliſh and ratifie and to dignifie his throne by the cōſent of the Councell, and the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and ſo obtained the ſame as appeareth in the. v. generall Councell of Conſtantinople the 2: where both Menna is named Oicumenicus Patriarcharum and alſo Ioannes in the ſayd Councell is titled Oicumenicus Patriarcha: ex Concil. general. 5. cap. Domino. Concernyng the which title, although it was then vſed in Conſtātinople through the ſufferaunce of the Emperours, beyng then willyng to haue their Imperiall Citie aduaunced: yet notwithſtandyng this foreſayd title, all this while was not in the Citie of Rome. And in Conſtantinople it ſtode not then in force: Iure aliquo diuino, but onely by mans law. And thirdly, it was then but onely, verbalis titulus; hauyng no true domination vpon all other churches, or any reall ſubiection belongyng to the ſame. For aſmuch as neither the Byſhop of Rome, nor any of the weſt Churches were ſubiect, or did acknowledge ſeruice vnto them but rather did repugne the ſame: namely Pelagius the 2. & Gregorius the 1. both Byſhops at that tyme of Rome, whiche Pelagius wrytyng to all Byſhops, ſayth playnly in theſe wordes: that no Patriarche ſhould take the name of vniuerſalitie at any tyme, becauſe that if any one be called vniuerſall, the name of Patriarch is derogated from all other. But let this be farre, ſayth he, from all faythfull men, to will to take that thing to him, wherby the honour of his brethren is diminiſhed. Wherefore the ſayd Pelagius chargeth all ſuch Byſhops, that none of them in their letters will name any Patriarche to be vniuerſall, leaſt he take frō him ſelfe the honor due to him, while they geue that which

How they began firſt at Conſtantinople, to take the name of vniuerſall Byſhop.
Ex quinta Synodo vniuerſali Actione prima, cap. poſt conſulatum, Ibid. cap. domino noſtro.

Ex Pelagi. 2. Diſt.99.cap. Nullus.

is not due to any other. what can be more euident then theſe wordes of Pelagius, who was Biſhop of Rome next before Gregory. an. 581? In like maner, or more playnly, and more earneſtly writeth alſo Gregory of this matter in his regiſter, prouyng & diſputing, that no man ought to be called vniuerſall Byſhop, Moreouer with ſharpe wordes and rebukes deteſteth ÿ ſame title, callyng it new, fooliſh, proude, peruerſe, wicked, prophane, and ſuch, as to conſent vnto it, is as much, as to deny the faith. He addeth further & ſayth, that whoſoeuer goeth about to extolle him ſelfe aboue other Byſhops, in ſo doyng, foloweth the fact of Sathan, to whō it was not ſufficient to be counted equall or like vnto other aungels. In his Epiſtles how oft doth he repete and declare the ſame to repugne directly agaynſt the Goſpell, and auncient decrees of Councels? affirmyng that none of his predeceſſours did euer vſurpe to him ſelfe that ſtile or title, and concludeth that whoſoeuer ſo doth, declareth him ſelfe to be a forerunner of Antichriſt. &c. With this iudgement of Gregory well agreeth alſo the wordes of S. Auſten, Lib. 3. cap. 3. De Baptiſmo. where he reciting the words of Cypriā thus ſayth: Neq; enim quiſquā noſtrū ſe Epiſcopū Epiſcoporū conſtituit, aut tyrannico more ad obſequendi neceſſitatē collegas ſuos adigit. &c. That is: for none of vs doth euer ſet him ſelfe to be Biſhop of Biſhops, or after a tyrannicall maner doth ſubdue & bring vnder his fellowes vnto the neceſſitie of his obedience. &c. By theſe wordes of Cyprian & Auſtē, it is manifeſt that in their tyme was no ſupremacie, or vniuerſal title amōg biſhops receiued, nor that any greater reſpect was had to the Byſhop of Rome (as Piu the. 2. ſayth, Epiſt. 301.) before the Councell of Nice. And after in that Councell the ſayd Byſhop of Rome had no further authoritie to him limited, then onely ouer his prouince, and places ſuburbane, bordering about the Citie of Rome. Agaynſt whoſe primacie diuerſe Cities alſo did reſiſt long after that, as the Church of Rauenna, Mediolanenſis, and Aquilegienſis. Alſo all the Greeke Churches long reſiſted the ſame, ſo did the Churches of Aſia, Rutenicæ, Moſcouiticæ, Valachicæ, and other mo.

Gregory agaynſt the vniuerſalitie of the Byſhop of Cōſtantinople.

Auguſt. lib. 3. cap. 3. de Baptiſmo contra Donat.

To be Byſhop of Byſhops forbidden, by Cyprian, & Auſten.

Ex Pio ſecundo Epiſt. 301.

The Popes primacy reſiſted.

But to returne agayne to Gregory, who confirmyng the ſentence of Pelagius his predeceſſour aboue mentioned, had no ſmall conflictes about this title matter, both with the Patriarch, and with the Emperour of Cōſtantinople, as witneſſeth Antoninus, & other. &c. The hiſtory is thus: After that Iohn beyng made of a Monke, Patriarche of Conſtantinople by his flattery and hypocriſie, had obteined of Mauritius the Emperour to be exalted aboue other Biſhops with the name of vniuerſall Patriarche, and that he would write to Gregory Biſhop then of Rome for his cōſent cōcernyng the ſame: Gregory abydyng ſtill in his cōſtancie, did ſet him ſelfe ſtoutly agaynſt that Antichriſtian title, and would geue no place. At the ſame time the Lombardes had inuaded the countrey of Italy, and the Citie of Rome, the Emperour keeping then at Conſtantinople, and ſetting in Italy an ouerſear called Exarchus, to rule in Rauenna: Gregory perceiuing the Emperour Mauritius to be diſpleaſed with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Conſtantina the Emperice, arguyng and declaryng in hys letters, that preſumption and pride of him to be vniuerſall Patriarche, was both agaynſt the rule of the Goſpell, and decrees of the Canons, namely the vi. Canon of Nicene Councell, and the nouelitie of that newfound title to declare nothyng els, but that the tyme of Antichriſt was nere. Upon this, Mauritius the Emperour takyng diſpleaſure with him, calleth home his ſouldiours agayne frō Italy, & inciteth the Lōbardes agaynſt the Romanes: who with their kyng Agilulphus, therupō cōtrary to their league made before, ſet vpon the Citie of Rome, and beſieged it a whole yeare together, Gregory yet notwithſtandyng ſtill remayning in his former conſtancie. After theſe afflictions thus ouerpaſt, Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria wryteth to the ſayd Gregory, in his letters namyng him vniuerſall Pope. Unto whom Gregory refuſing the ſame, aunſwereth agayne as followeth.

Ex Antonino titl. 12. cap. 3.

¶ The letter of Gregory to the Patriarche of Alexandria.

The aunſwer of Gregory to Eulogius Patriarche of Alexandria. Diſt. 99. cap. Ecce.

Gregory refuſeth the name of vniuerſall Pope.

Behold in the preface of your Epiſtle directed to me, ye haue vſed a word of a proude name, callyng me vniuerſall Pope: which I pray your holynes you will ceaſe hereafter to do, for that is derogated from you, whatſoeuer is attributed to an other more then right and reaſon requireth. As for me I ſeeke not myne aduauncement in wordes, but in maners: neither do I account that my honour, wherein the honour of my brethren, I ſee to be hindered. For my honour, I take to be the honour of the vniuerſall Church: my honour is the whole and perfect vigor of my brethren. Then am I honoured, when to no man is denyed the due honour, which to him belongeth. For if your holynes call me vniuerſall Pope, in ſo doyng you denye your ſelfe to be that, which ye affirme me to be vniuerſall. But that God forbyd, let theſe wordes therfore go, which do nothyng but puffe vp vanitie, and wounde charitie. &c.

It were to long here to inſerte all ſuch letters and Epiſtles of his concernyng this matter, written to the Emperour Mauritius, and Conſtantina the Emperice, but that ſhall more largely appeare hereafter (Chriſt willyng) in the body of the hiſtory, when we come to the yeare and tyme of Gregory, which was well nye about vi. hundred yeare after Chriſt. In the meane ſeaſon this is ſufficient to declare, how the Churche of Rome with the fourme and maner of their title of vniuerſall ſupremacy now vſed and mayntayned, hath vtterly ſwarued from the auncient ſteppes of the primitiue Church of Rome.

Now let vs ſee what the aduerſary ſide hath to obiect agayne for the title of their vniuerſalitie, or rather ſingularitie. And firſt here commeth in a blinde cauillation of a certaine Sophiſter, who gloſing vpō the wordes of Pelagius aboue recited, laboureth to colour the playne text with a ſubtile meanyng, as though the ſenſe of the Canon were this, not to deny there the ſtate of ſupremacy: Sed negari ibi aliquem poſſe eſſe vniuerſalem Epiſcopum, ſub eo ſenſu duntaxat, quòd eſſet cuiuſq; Eccleſiæ proprius rector, ita quòd nullus alius eſſet Epiſcopus. &c. That is: but to deny there, that any may be vniuerſall Byſhop after this ſenſe & meanyng onely, ſo that he ſhould be the proper Paſtor of euery Churche alone, and that there ſhould be no other Byſhop beſide him ſelfe: &c. Thus goeth this Sophiſter about to daſh out this text, but he cā not ſo diſcharge the mater. For neither did Iohn the Patriarche then ſeeke any ſuch thyng, to be Byſhop and proper Paſtor of euery Churche alone, nor if he had the Cōcell of Chalcedon, and the Emperour Iuſtinian, would neuer haue agreed therunto. Neither is it true, that this Gloſer denyeth Pelagius here to forbyd the primacy or ſupremacy of that Patriarch, which in deede is the onely intent of Pelagius in that Canon, witneſſyng as well other Hiſtoriographers, as namely Antonin. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13. & alſo the gloſe ordinary vpon the ſame Canon. &c.

A ſophiſticall cauillation vpō the wordes of Pelagius and Gregory aunſwered.

Out of the ſame fountaine ſpringeth the like or very ſame reaſon of late renued by a certaine new ſtart Engliſh Clarke, in theſe our dayes. who aunſweryng to the places of Gregory, touchyng the ſayd matter, laboureth to auoyde the cleare authoritie of him, by a like blind cauillation, ſaying, that Iohn Biſhop of Conſtantinople, by this title of vniuerſall Byſhop, vnderſtode him ſelfe onely to be a byſhop, and none els. And that Gregory in reſiſtyng him, had none other meanyng but the ſame. And to proue this to be the very meanyng of Gregory, he reciteth the wordes of Gregory written to the ſayd Iohn Archbyſhop of Conſtantinople as foloweth: Qui enim indignum te eſſe fatebaris, vt Epiſcopus dici debuiſſes, ad hoc quandoq; perductus es, vt deſpectis fratribus Epiſcopus appetas ſolus vocari. That is to ſay: For thou (Iohn Byſhop of Conſtantinople) which ſometyme didſt graunt thy ſelfe vnworthy the name of a Byſhop, art now come to this, that thou doeſt ſeeke to be called a Byſhop alone. &c. Upon this word Epiſcopus ſolus, this Gloſer would groūde a ſurmiſe, that Gregory did finde faulte with the Archbyſhop, not for any primacy which he ſought for aboue other Byſhops, but onely, for that he coueted to be Byſhop and Paſtor alone in euery Churche, in ſuch ſort as there ſhould be no other Biſhop nor Paſtor els but him ſelfe onely. But as is ſaid, that was neuer ÿ Archbyſhops ſeekyng, nor the matter of Gregories reprehenſion. For the ſayd Archbyſhop of Conſtantinople, went not about to be Byſhop alone (which was to much abſurde and alſo impoſſible) but to be vniuerſall alone: not to take away the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depoſe them, but to deſpiſe them. And therfore ſayth Gregory, vt deſpectis fratribus, not depoſitis fratribus, ſo that this word ſolus here noteth a deſpiſing of other, not a depoſing of other, and importeth a ſingularitie in condition aboue other, and not the office or ſubſtaunce of miniſtration without other, that is, to be vniuerſall among many, and not to be one alone without any, not to diminiſhe the number of them, but onely to increaſe the honour to him ſelfe. For the more euident probation wherof (although the thyng of it ſelfe is ſo euident, that it needeth no proofe) what can be more playne, then the wordes them ſelues of Pelagius and Gregory? wherewith they charge him for runnyng before his brethren, for challengyng ſuperioritie aboue them, for diminiſhyng their honour, by takyng more honour then to him was due, for folowyng the aungell of pride in exaltyng hym ſelfe, in admittyng that to him, which the Biſhops of Rome and their predeceſſours had refuſed, beyng offered to them

An obiection of a certaine late Engliſh writer refuted.

A place of Gregory examined.

before. &c. All which declare that he ſought not to thruſt out all other Byſhops out of their Churches, and to be byſhop him ſelfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the Biſhops of Rome by the Councell of Chalcedon, that they ſhould be Byſhops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer ſeeke to haue no mo aungels in all heauen, but him ſelfe, but he to be aboue all other alone.

Pelagij. 2. Epiſt. 1.

Likewiſe the word præcurrere, that is to runne before other in the Epiſtle of Pelagius, declareth that Iohn ſought not to be Byſhop alone, but Byſhop vniuerſall. We ſay not that a man runneth before an other, whẽ he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly præcurrere, but ſolus currere. Moreouer in ſeekyng to be ſuperior to other Byſhops, he ſeeketh not to take away other Biſhops, but to make other Byſhops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there cã be no ſuperior, forasmuch as theſe together are correlatiues, and inferre neceſſary reſpect mutually. And if it were true as this Gloſer ſayth, that he had ſought to be Byſhop alone, how would that Councell either haue graunted that vnto him, or haue offered it to the Biſhop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be poſſible for him alone to ſerue all Churches, without any fellow Byſhop to helpe him? And where this foreſayd clerke ſtandeth ſo much vpon the wordes of S. Gregory: Solus Epiſcopus, Gregory therfore ſhall expounde Gregory, and one Solus ſhall declare an other. Wherfore if this diuine (what ſoeuer he be Doctour or Bacheler) either knoweth not, or would learne, what (onely Byſhop) meaneth in this place: an other place of the ſayd Gregory may inſtruct him, where Gregory wryting to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, geueth this reaſon, why he refuſed the ſame title offered to him (which then was offered to the ſayd Iohn Patriarche of Conſtantinople) ſaying: Quia videlicet ſi vnus Patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, ſed abſit hoc. &c. That is to ſay: For if one alone would be called Patriarch vniuerſall, then ſhould the name of Patriarches be derogated frõ all other. &c. Whereby two thynges are to be noted: Firſt what thyng it was whiche the Patriarche of Conſtantinople did ſeeke, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the name whiche was geuen to Iohn, whiche was to be called Patriarche vniuerſall. The ſecond thyng to be noted, is the cauſe why Gregory did rebuke this title, both geuen to Iohn, and offered to him, becauſe (ſayth he) if one take vpon him the name of vniuerſall Patriarch, then is the name Patriarche taken from the reſt. As who would ſay: if I ſhould take vpõ me to be named vniuerſall Patriarche, then ſhould there be no other Patriarche, but I ſhould be Byſhop Patriarche alone. And here commeth in your Solus Epiſcopus. &c.

Ex Epiſt. Greg. 36. Lib. 4.

Ex Epiſt. Greg. 38. Lib. 4.

Furthermore, the ſame Gregory ſpeakyng of the ſayd Solus, in an other place by, ſeemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in theſe wordes as folow: vt & nulli ſubeſſe, & ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur. That is to ſay: ſo that he would be ſubiect to none, and would be cheiftaine to all other alone. &c. And ſo by this place, may the other place be expounded, vt ſolus Epiſcopus ſit is, qui ſolus inter Epiſcopos præeſſe appetat. That is, that he ſeeketh to be a biſhop alone, who alone ſeeketh to be extolled aboue other byſhops. But to be ſhort in a matter that needeth not many wordes: he that thus cauilleth vpon this place Solus Epiſcopus in Gregory, muſt be deſired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne with all the wordes goyng before, which is, deſpectis fratribus, by the which might ſeeme ſufficiently declared, what Gregory ment by Solus Epiſcopus, meaning, that to deſpiſe other biſhops, & to diminiſh their honor, to ſet vp his own, & to be ſubiect to none, but to preferre him ſelfe inequally before all other, is as much as to be counted biſhop alone. And thus much touchyng this obiection.

An other obiection reſolued.

An other obiection of our aduerſaries is this: although (ſay they) no Byſhop of Rome was euer called, or would be called by the name of vniuerſall Biſhop: yet it followeth not therfore, that they be not, or ought not to be heades of the vniuerſall Church. Their reaſon is this:

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole Church (by the teſtimonie of Gregory) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuerſall Apoſtle:

So no more abſurde it is for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church, and to haue the charge therof, although he be not called vniuerſall Byſhop. &c.

A double vntruth in one Popiſh argument.

Peter how he had charge and not charge of the Church.

The firſt vntruth in this Argumẽt.

Wherin is a double vntruth to be noted. Firſt in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to haue the charge of the whole Church: if we take here (charge or head) for dominion or maiſterſhyp vpõ or aboue the Church, in all caſes iudiciall, both ſpirituall & temporall: for the wordes of the Scripture be playne. Non dominantes in clerum. 1. Pet. Vos autem non ſic. Luke. 22. That is. Not as maiſters ouer the Clergy. &c. but you not ſo. &c. Agayne that the Churche is greater, or rather the head of Peter it is cleare: 1. Cor. 3. All thinges are yours, whether it be Paule, or Apollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or lyfe, you be Chriſtes, Chriſt is Gods. &c. In whiche wordes the dignitie of the Churche no doubt is preferred aboue the Apoſtles, and aboue Cephas alſo. Moreouer as the dignitie of the wife is aboue the ſeruaunt, ſo muſt needes the honour and worthynes of the Church (beyng the ſpouſe of Chriſt) ſurmount the ſtate of Peter or other Apoſtles, which be but ſeruaũts to Chriſt and to the Churche, yea and though they were Princes of ỹ Church, yet after the mynde of Baldus: Magis attenditur perſona intellectualis, quàm organica. Otherwiſe if by this word (charge) be ment only the office and diligẽce of teachyng: to that I aunſwere: The ſame Lord that ſayd to Peter, feede my ſheepe, ſayd alſo to the other, go & preach this Goſpell to all nations. And he that ſaid to Peter: whatſoeuer thou looſeſt, ſayd alſo to the other: whatſoeuer ye remitte in the earth. Moreouer if the matter go by preaching, Paule the Apoſtle laboured more therin, then euer did Peter, by his owne confeſſion: Plus laboraui, alſo ſuffered more for the ſame, Plus ſuſtinui, neither was his doctrine leſſe ſound. Yea and in one point he went before Peter, and was teacher and ſcholemaiſter vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him iuſtly corrected. Gala. 2. Furthermore teachyng is not alwayes, nor in all thynges a poynt of maiſterſhyp, but ſometyme a poynt of ſeruice: As if a Frenchman ſhould be put to an Engliſh man to teach him Frẽch, although he excelleth him in that kinde of faculty, yet it followeth not therfore, that he hath fulnes of power vpon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his houſhold, to preſcribe his lawes, to ſtinte his landes, and ſuch other. Wherfore ſeing in trauaile of teachyng, in paynes of preachyng, in giftes of tounges, in largenes of commiſſion, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receauyng the holy Ghoſt, in vehemencie of tormentes and death for Chriſtes name, the other Apoſtles were nothyng inferiour to Peter: why Peter then ſhould clayme any ſpeciall prerogatiue aboue the reſt, I vnderſtãd no cauſe. As in deede he neuer claymed any, but the patrones of the Apoſtolicall ſea do clayme it for him, whiche he neuer claymed him ſelfe, neither if he were here, would no leſſe abhorre it from ſoule and conſcience, then we do now: and yet our abhorryng now is not for any malice of perſon, or auauntage to our ſelues, but onely the vehemencie of truth, and zeale to Chriſt and to his congregation. Moreouer if theſe men would needes haue Peter to be the Curate and ouerſeer of the whole vniuerſall Church (which was to much for one man to take charge vpon) and to be Prince of all other Apoſtles, then would I fayne learne of them, what meaneth (Dextra ſocietatis) the right hand of ſocietie betwene Peter, Paule, and Barnaby, mentioned Gal. 2. What takyng of handes is there betwene ſubiectes & their Prince in way of fellowſhyp? Or where fellowſhyp is, what maiſterſhyp is there? Or agayne, what ſtate of maiſterſhyp is it like, that Chriſt would geue to Peter, who beyng in deede maiſter of all, tooke ſuch litle maiſterſhyp vpon hym ſelfe, that he waſhed Peters feete, to geue Peter enſample to take no maiſterſhyp vpon him, but rather to humble him ſelfe, and that not onely in inward affection, but alſo in outward facte. Although I am not ignoraunt that Peter in places of the Goſpell hath his commendation, neither do I deny Peter to be worthy of the ſame. But yet theſe wordes of commendation geue to him no ſtate of ſuperioritie, or iuriſdiction vpon all other, to haue all vnder his ſubiection. As if a ſcholemaiſter ſhould haue more ſpeciall fauour to ſome one of his ſcholers for his ryper towardnes, yet this geueth him no fulnes of authoritie, or power [illegible] vpon the reſt, vnleſſe by ſpeciall admiſſion he be deputed therunto. Wherof nothyng can be gathered of Peter, for if it be true that S. Auſten ſayth: that ſuch thynges as were ſpoken to Peter, haue no lightſome vnderſtandyng, except they be referred to the Church, wherof Peter did beare a figure: then hath ỹ perſon of Peter nothyng to clayme by theſe wordes, but all redoundeth to the Church, which being ment by Peter, hath power by this reaſon both ouer the perſon of Peter, and all other perſons in the Lord.

The dignitie of the Churche aboue the Apoſtles.

Vide Baldum conſi. 169. Lib. 3. Secundum, nouam impreſſionem. Et ſecund. vete. conſi. 359. lib. 1.

Proofes and reaſons that there was no inequalitie of preeminence among the Apoſtles.

Office of teachyng geueth no dominion, farther then in his booke

Peter in no point excelleth the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Dextra ſocietatis.

Auguſt. in præfat. Pſal. 108.

Aunſwere to an inuincible argumẽt prouyng by Chriſoſtome the whole Church to be committed to Saint Peter.

But here ſtumbleth in an argument of our aduerſarie agayne, which he in the margent of his booke calleth an inuincible argument drawen out of the bookes of S. Iohn Chriſoſtome. Lib. 2. De Sacerd. Wherby he ſuppoſeth to haue geuen a ſhrewd blowe to the Proteſtantes, and to haue gotten Hectors victory vpon a certaine Engliſhe priſoner taken in playne field, and of all ſuch as take his part. The text onely of Chriſoſtome he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an inuincible argument in the margent. But becauſe he either hath not, or liſte not

to

Chriſoſt. Lib. 2. de ſacerd.

A Papiſtes perillous paralogiſme.

to ſhew his cunnyng therin, I will forme that argument for him, which he would haue done, but did not: and ſo will forme it (the Lorde willyng) as he him ſelfe muſt of neceſſitie be driuen to do, if the matter euer come to the triall of arte, and not to the triflyng of wordes. Firſt, he taketh his text out of Chryſoſtome, as followeth: for what cauſe, I pray you, did Chriſt ſhed his bloud? Truly to redeme thoſe ſheepe, whoſe charge he committed to Peter and to Peters ſucceſſors. Upon this place of Chryſoſtome, this clerke taketh his medium, Chriſtes ſufferyng. His concluſion is, that all whiche Chriſt dyed for, were committed to Peter. Wherfore the forme of the argument muſt needes ſtand thus in the third figure.

Chriſt ſuffered for all men.
Chriſt ſuffered for them whom he cõmitted to Peter.
Ergo, All that Chriſt died for, were cõmitted to Peter.

The world was committed as well to other Apoſtles as to Peter.

A place of Chryſoſtome examined by S. Paule.

If this be the forme of his inſoluble argument, as it ſeemeth to be, by the order of his reaſonyng: & als muſt needes be, takyng that medium, and makyng that concluſion as he doth, (for els in the firſt figure and firſt moode, the text of Chryſoſtome will not ſerue him) then muſt the forme and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denyed, for that it breaketh the rules of Logike, makyng his concluſion vniuerſall, whiche in that figure muſt needes be particular, either affirmatiue, or negatiue. And ſo this argument inuincible falleth into one of theſe two ſtraytes: either concludyng thus, the forme will not ſerue him: or concludyng in an other figure, the wordes of Chryſoſtome will not anſwere to his purpoſe, to proue that all the world was committed to Peter. Whiche propoſition as it is ſtraunge in Scripture: ſo neither is it the propoſition of Chryſoſtome. And though it were, yet both without inconuenience might be graunted of vs, and beyng graunted, ſerueth his purpoſe nothyng: ſo long as the propoſition is not exceptiue, excludyng other Apoſtles. For the wordes of Chryſoſtome be not ſo found, that the whole world was committed to Peter onely and to none other. Likewiſe then as it may be well affirmed of vs, that the world was committed to Peter, ſo can it not be denyed of them: that the world was alſo committed to Iohn, Iames, Bartholmewe, Paule, Barnabe, and other all and ſingular Apoſtles. For he that ſayd to Peter, feede my ſheepe, ſayd alſo to all and ſingulare his Apoſtles: Goe into all the world and preach. &c. Mat. vlt. Moreouer, forſomuch as this man collecteth out of Chryſoſtome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how ſhall we then ioyne this meanyng of Chryſoſtome with S. Paule, which ſayth that the Goſpell was committed to Peter ouer the Circumciſion, as was to Paule ouer the vncircumciſion? And here an anſwere to this doughtye argument, both to the forme, and to the matter thereof, albeit concernyng the matter, here lacketh much to be ſayd more of Peters ſucceſſours in the text of Chryſoſtome. By the whiche ſucceſſours, is not ment the Byſhop of Rome onely (as the Papiſtes would beare vs in hand) but all ſuch true and faythfull Paſtors, whom the Lordes calling ſendeth, and ſetteth ouer his flocke, whereſoeuer, or whatſoeuer they be. For as Peter beareth a repreſentation of the Church, by the teſtimony of Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 124. Præfat. in Pſal. 108: ſo the ſucceſſours of Peter be all faithfull Paſtors and ouerſeers of Chriſtes Church, to whom Chriſt our Lord hath committed the charge of his flocke. Wherfore they are not a litle deceaued, whiche lookyng vpon the rocke onely of the perſon, and not the rocke of confeſſion (contrary to the rule of Hilary De trini. lib. 6.) doe tye the Apoſtleſhyp or rocke of Peter to one onely Byſhop, & the ſucceſſiõ of Peter to one onely ſea of Rome: where as this beyng a ſpirituall office, and not carnall, hath no ſuch carnall race or diſcent after any worldly or locall vnderſtandyng: but hath a more myſticall meanyng, after a ſpirituall ſenſe of ſucceſſion, ſuch as Hierome ſpeaketh of, Epiſt. ad Euagrium. Omnes, inquit, Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt. &c. That is, All (ſayth he) (ſpeakyng of Byſhops) be ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles. &c.

The ſucceſſours of Peter.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 124.

Hilarius. lib. 6.

Hierony. Epiſt. ad Euagrium.

Of like force and faſhion, and out of the ſame figure, the ſame authour practiſeth an other argument, prouyng that the Byſhop of Rome was called the head of Chriſtes Church, in the primitiue tyme of the old aunciẽts, before the age of Gregory. His argument procedeth thus, in the third figure.

An argument of the Papiſtes.

Saint Peter was called by the auncient fathers, head of Chriſtes Church.
Saint Peter was Byſhop of Rome.
Ergo, the Byſhop of Rome was called head of the Churche, in the old auncient tyme.

Anſwere to the argument.

This argument expoſitory, beyng clouted vp in the third figure, and concludyng ſingularly, hath rather a ſhew of an argument, then maketh any neceſſary concluſion, ſtandyng vpon no moode in the ſayd figure, if the authour therof were put to his triall. Albeit to leaue the forme, and to come to the matter of the argumẽt. Firſt how will he well diſpatch him ſelfe of the Maior, & proue vs that S. Peter, although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome and ſuffered at Rome, yet that he was Byſhop and proper Ordinary of that Citie & ſpeciall Sea of Rome? As touchyng the allegation of Abdias, Oroſius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Optatus, & Auſten, brought forth for his moſt aduantage, to proue his Maior: thus I anſwere, cõcernyng Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, and Auſten, that where they ſpeake of S. Peters chayre, or plantyng the fayth at Rome, ſtraightway this man argueth therupon, that Peter was Byſhop of Rome. But that doth not clarkely follow. For the office of the Apoſtles was to plant the fayth in all places, and in euery region, yet were they not Byſhops in euery region. And as for the chayre, as it is no difference eſſentiall that maketh a Biſhop (for ſo much as a Doctor may haue a chayre, and yet be no Byſhop) ſo can not he conclude by the chayre of Peter, that S. Peter was Byſhop of Rome. For all this proueth no farther, but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the fayth of Chriſt, as Paule did alſo, and peraduenture in a chayre likewiſe: yet we ſay not that Paule was therfore Byſhop of Rome. But that he was there as an Apoſtle of Chriſt, whether he taught there ſtandyng on his feete, or ſittyng in a chayre. In the Scripture commonly the chayre ſignifieth doctrine or iudgement, as ſittyng alſo declareth ſuch as teach or iudge, whether they ſit in the chayre of Moſes, or in the chayre of peſtilence. Plantyng likewiſe is a worde Apoſtolicall, and ſignifieth not onely the office of a Biſhop. Wherfore it is no good conſequent: he ſat, he taught, he planted at Rome, his chayre and ſeate was at Rome: Ergo he was Biſhop of Rome. And thus much touchyng Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Auſten.

Oroſius. Tertul. lib. de præſcript. aduerſ. hære. Cyprian. lib. 1. epiſt. Hier. in catal. & Epiſt. 42.

A double takyng of the word Byſhop.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and ſuch other, although we ſhould haue much wrõg offred, and neuer ſhould make an ende, if we ſhould be preſt with the authoritie of euery one that could or did moue pen, in all the whole firſt age of the Church, to be our iudges in euery Eccleſiaſticall matter: and much more wrong ſhould haue, if the authors either corrupted, or counterfayted, ſhould be layd vnto vs, ſpeakyng not in the ſame ſenſe, or in the ſame toung, or in the ſame time wherein they wrote: yet to helpe and to ſalue the authorities of theſe authors ſo much as we may, I anſwere to their allegations, with this diſtinction of a Byſhop, which is to be taken either generally or ſpecially. After the firſt, a Byſhop is he to whom ſoeuer the publicke cure and charge of ſoules is committed, without any limitation of place. And ſo the name of Byſhop is coincident with the office of Apoſtle, or any publicke Paſtor, Doctor, or Curator of the vniuerſall flocke of Chriſt. And thus may Paule, Peter, or any other of the Apoſtles be called Byſhops. So alſo is Chriſt hym ſelfe by expreſſe word called ἐπίσκοπος and ποιμήν, that is, Biſhop, and Paſtor. 1. Peter. 2. And thus may Peter wel be named a Byſhop of theſe foreſayd authors after this maner of takyng. But this publicke and generall charge vniuerſally ouer the whole, without limitation, ceaſed after Chriſt & the Apoſtles. For then were Byſhops by places and prouinces appointed, to haue ſpeciall ouerſight of ſome particular flocke or prouince, and ſo to be reſident and attendant onely vpon the ſame.

Chriſt hym ſelfe a Byſhop.

The other diuerſitie of this name Byſhop, is to be taken after a more ſpeciall ſorte, which is, when any perſon orderly called, is aſſigned namely and ſpecially to ſome one certaine place, citie, or prouince, whereunto he is onely bound to employ his office and charge, and no where els, accordyng to the old Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the Councell of Nice. And this Byſhop differyng from the other, is called, Epiſcopus intitulatus, hauyng his name of his Citie or Dioceſſe. And thus we deny that Peter the Apoſtle was euer Byſhop elected, inſtalled, or intituled to the Citie of Rome, neither doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Hierome affirme the ſame. And if Ado ſay that Peter was Byſhop of Rome 25. yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of Nero, that is eaſely refuted, both by the Scriptures and hiſtories: for ſo we vnderſtand by the declaration of Saint Paule, Gal. 1. 2. that 14. yeares after his conuerſion, Saint Paule had Peter by the hand at Hieruſalem.

Canon. Apoſt. 15. 14. 34. Con. Nice. cap. 15. Concil. Antioch. cap. 3. 13.

Peters beyng at Rome.

Moreouer the ſayd Paule in the foreſayd Epiſtle witneſſeth, that ÿ charge Apoſtolicall was cõmitted vnto Peter ouer the Circumciſed, and ſo was he intituled. Alſo S. Paule writyng to the Romaines, in his manifold ſalutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of S. Peter, whiche doubtleſſe ſhould not haue bene vnremembred, if he had bene then in Rome. Agayne S. Peter datyng his

Epiſtle from Babylon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, hiſtories do recorde that Peter was at Pontus.v.yeares, and at Antioche.7.yeares. How could he then be.25.yeares at Rome? Finally, where our aduerſary alleaging out of Ado, ſayth that S. Peter was there.25.yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of Nero: how can that ſtand, whẽ S. Paule ſufferyng vnder Nero, was put to death the ſame day twelue moneth, that is a whole yeare after Peter. &c. But eſpecially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould make Peter an Apoſtle vniuerſall to walke in all the world: Ite per vniuerſum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi teſtes vſque ad fines terræ. &c. And our Papiſtes would needes make hym a ſittyng Byſhop, & intitle him to Rome. How accorde theſe: Apoſtolus and Epiſcopus: ire and ſedere. Omnes gentes, and Roma together?

And thus haue I reſolued the firſt vntruth of that Popiſh demonſtration aboue rehearſed. Page.14. wherein they thincke to proue, that as Peter, although he was not called vniuerſall Apoſtle, yet was the head of the whole Church: ſo the Pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole Church, although he was not called vniuerſall Byſhop in the old tyme. &c.

The ſecond vntruth of the argument aboue mentioned.

Now followeth the ſecond vntruth to be touched in the ſame argument, which is, that because Peter was the head of the Church: ſo therfore the Pope muſt alſo be the head of the Church, and was, albeit he was not called vniuerſall biſhop a long tyme. But this we do deny, yea the matter denyeth it ſelfe, by their owne poſition; for being graunted by them, that the title of vniuerſall Byſhop was not receaued at Rome, but refuſed to the tyme of Gregory: then muſt it neceſſarily be graunted, that the Byſhops of Rome before S. Gregory, had not the charge of the whole Church, neither could be admitted by that reaſon to be heades of the Church. For ſomuch as there can be no head, but which is vniuerſall to the whole body. Neither cã any haue charge of the whole, but he muſt needes be vniuerſall to all and ſingular partes of that, wherof he hath the charge. As in ſciences, whoſoeuer hath knowledge and cunnyng in all the ſeuen liberall ſciences, and all the partes therof perteinyng to liberall knowledge, is ſayd to be an vniuerſall learned man: ſo in office, to whomſoeuer the publicke charge of all Churches doth appertaine, how is he not to be called byſhop vniuerſall? Now if before S. Gregories tyme, the name of vniuerſall Byſhop, was repealed in Rome: how thẽ can ẏ name be refuſed, & the definition of the name be admitted? Or els let our aduerſaries tell vs how they define an vniuerſall Byſhop, ſeing this word Byſhop is properly the name of office, whereto is annexed charge. Wherfore if a Biſhop be he, which hath charge of all the ſoules in his Dioces committed to him, and muſt render acount for them all: then whoſe charge extendeth to all and ſingulare churches; and muſt render acount for euery Chriſten ſoule within the whole world: to him can not be denied the name of an vniuerſall Byſhop, hauyng the office of an vniuerſall Byſhop. Or if he be not an vniuerſall Byſhop, he can not then haue the charge of the whole, that is, of all and ſingulare Churches of Chriſt. For ſuch is the rule of true definition. Cui cõuenit definitio, eidem conuenit definitũ, & contra. Cui adimitur definitio, eidẽ & definitũ adimitur. Although this word vniuerſall, in the Greeke writers, ſignifieth that, which we in our vulgare Engliſh toung call catholique: yet I ſuppoſe our aduerſaries here will not take vniuerſall in that ſenſe. For after that meanyng, as we doe not deny that the Biſhops of Rome may be vniuerſall Byſhops: ſo neither can they deny but other Byſhops alſo may be as vniuerſall, that is, as catholique as they. But ſuch as more diſtinctly and ſcholelike diſcuſſe this matter, define vniuerſall or catholique by three thinges: to witte, by tyme, place, and perſon. So that whatſoeuer extendeth it ſelfe to all places, and to all perſons, that is properly vniuerſall or catholique. And contrariwiſe, what thing is to be called vniuerſall or catholique, reacheth to all thoſe three aforeſayd, comprehendyng all places, tymes, and perſons, and extendeth it ſelfe of his owne nature to the ſame, or els it is not to be called properly vniuerſall or catholike. And thus three thinges there be, which moſt commonly we call catholike or vniuerſall: that is, the Church which is called the catholike church: fayth, which is called the catholike faith: A man, whom alſo we call a man catholike, because theſe three of their owne nature and diſpoſition (no contrary obſtacle lettyng) extende them ſelues ſo to all, that no tyme, place, nor perſon is excluded. Which three conditions if they altogether cõcurre in the charge of the biſhop of Rome, then is it an vniuerſall charge, and he an vniuerſall Byſhop: If not, then is his charge neither vniuerſall, nor he the head of the Churche, nor yet vniuerſall Byſhop. For how theſe three can be ſeparated, I can not ſee, except the aduerſary part doe proue it more euidently, then yet they haue done.

What is an vniuerſall Byſhop.

Regula definitionis.

Cui conuenit definitio & definitum.

Vniuerſall defined by three thynges tyme, place, and perſõ.

Three thynges commonly called catholique or vniuerſall.

To haue vniuerſall charge, to be head of the vniuerſall Church, and to be vniuerſall Byſhop are all coincidẽt together.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduerſaries, arguyng thus: that as S. Peter being not called vniuerſall Apoſtle, yet was the head of the vniuerſall Church: So the Pope although he was not firſt called vniuerſall Byſhop, had and might haue the charge of the whole Churche, and was the vniuerſall head of the ſame. The whiche obiection conteinyng (as is ſayd) a double vntruth, our aduerſaryes yet notwithſtandyng do buſie them ſelues greatly to fortifie, by ſundry teſtimonies and allegations patched out of old and auncient Doctours, but ſpecially out of Theodoritus, Irenæus, Ambroſe, and Auſten: prouyng by them, that the ſea of Rome hauyng the preeminence and principalitie, hath bene honoured aboue all other Churches. Whereupon the ſayd aduerſary before minded, groundeth this conſequent.

Irenæus lib.3. cap.3. Amb. de doct. gent. lib.2.ca.6. Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

Argument of the papiſtes

Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſton, and Theodoritus affirme that the Church of Rome is the chief of all other Churches.

Ergo, the Byſhop and head of that Church is chief and head ouer all other Byſhops, & head of all other Churches.

Aunſwere.

But this conſequent is to be denyed, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not alwayes argue the excellencie of the miniſter or Byſhop, nor yet neceſſarily doth cauſe the ſame. For in matters of the Churche whiche are ſpirituall, all preeminence ſtandeth vpon ſpirituall and inward giftes, (ſpiritualia enim ſpiritualibus comparantur) as fayth, pietie, learnyng and godly knowledge, zeale and feruencie in the holy Ghoſt, vnitie of doctrine. &c. which giftes many tymes may excell in a Church, where the miniſter or Byſhop is inferiour to byſhops or miniſters of other churches. As the moſt famous ſchole in a Realme hath not alway the moſt famous ſcholemaiſter, neither doth make him thereby moſt excellent in learnyng aboue all other: So if our aduerſaries do meane by this preeminence of the Churche of Rome, ſuch inward giftes of doctrine, fayth, vnitie and peace of Religion: then ſay I, the excellencie hereof doth not infer or argue the excellencie of the Byſhop. And thus concernyng the principalitie of the Church of Rome, commended at that tyme of the Doctours, it may be true, & ſo well expounded one way. And thus do I graunt the antecedent of this argument, and deny the conſequent. But here will our aduerſaries peraduenture replye agayne and ſay, that the principalitie of the Churche of Rome, whiche is commended by the Doctours, is not ment here ſo much by inward giftes & ornaments belongyng to a Chriſtian church, as by outward authoritie and dominatiõ ouer other Churches, whereto is to be aunſwered. Firſt, what neceſſitie is there, or where did our Papiſtes learne, to bryng into the ſpirituall Church of Chriſt, this outward forme of ciuile regiment and policie? that as the Romane Emperours in tyme paſt gouerned ouer all the world, ſo the Romane Biſhop muſt haue his monarchie vpon the vniuerſall Clergye, to make all other Churches to ſtoupe vnder hys ſubiection. And where the be the wordes of our Sauiour: Vos autem non ſic: If they holde their affirmatiue, quòd ſic, where then is Chriſtes negatiue, non ſic, if they ſay, there muſt needes be diſtinction of degrees in the Churche, and in this diſtinction of degrees, ſuperioritie muſt neceſſarily be graunted for the outward diſcipline of the Church, for directyng matters, for quietyng of ſchiſmes, for ſettyng orders, for commenſyng of conuocations and Councels, as neede ſhall require. &c? Agaynſt this ſuperioritie we ſtand not, and therfore we yeld to our ſuperiour power, kynges, and Princes our due obedience, and to our lawfull gouernours vnder God of both regimentes, Eccleſiaſticall and temporall. Alſo in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, we take not away the diſtinction of ordinary degrees, ſuch as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the primitiue Church allowed. As Patriarches, or Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Miniſters, and Deacons. For of theſe foure we eſpecially read as chief. In which foure degrees as we graunt diuerſitie of office, ſo we admitte in the ſame alſo diuerſitie of dignitie: neither denying that which is due to eche degree, neither yet maintainyng the ambition of any ſingular perſon. For as we geue to the miniſter place aboue the Deacon, to the Byſhop aboue the miniſter, to the Archbyſhop aboue the Byſhop: ſo we ſee no cauſe of inequalitie, why one miniſter ſhould be aboue an other miniſter: One Byſhop in his degree aboue an other Byſhop to deale in his Dioces: or one Archbiſhop aboue an other Archbiſhop. And this is to keepe an order duely & truly in the Church, accordyng to the true nature and definition of order by the authoritie of Auguſt. lib. De ciuit. Dei. Where he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo, eſt parium diſpariumq; rerum ſua cuique loca tribuens diſpoſitio. Order (ſayth he) is a diſcretion or diſpoſitiõ geuen to all things, accordyng as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to euery one his owne right and proper place.

Preheminence of a Churche eſteemed after a double conſideration.

Obiection. Outwarde preeminence belongeth to outward kyngdomes not to the Church of Chriſt.

The firſt aunſwere to the obiection.

Non ſic, **ſaith Chriſt.** *Quod ſic*, **ſayth the Pope.**

Obiection.

Aunſwere. Superioritie in the Churche.

Diſtinction of degrees in the Churche.

Diuerſitie of dignitie in degrees.

Order kept in the Churche, & what true order is.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib.19. ca.13.

Order defined.

This definition of S. Auſten ſtandyng, with the thinges before premiſed, now here ioyneth the queſtion betwene vs and the Papiſtes, whether the Metropolitane Churche of Rome, with the Archbyſhop of the ſame, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitane Churches, & Archbiſhops through vniuerſall Chriſtendome, or not? To the aunſwere wherof, if the voyce of order might here be heard, it would ſay: geue to thinges that be matches and like, like honour, to thinges vnlike, vnlike honour. &c. Wherfore, ſeyng the ſea of Rome is a Patriarchall Sea appointed by the primitiue Churche, and the Byſhop therof an Archbyſhop limited within his owne bordering Churches, which the Councell of Nice calleth ſuburbicas Eccleſias, as other Archbyſhops be: he ought therfore orderly to haue the honour of an Archbyſhop (ordering him ſelfe therafter) and ſuch outward preeminence as to other Archbyſhops is due. More if he doe require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into preſumption, and doth wrong vnto his felowes, and they alſo do wrong vnto them ſelues, whoſoeuer they be, whiche feedyng his humour of ambition, geue more vnto him then the foreſayd rule of order doth require. For ſo much as they yeld to him more then is his right, ſo much they take from them ſelues, which is due to them. And the ſame is the cauſe, why both Gregory and Pelagius his predeceſſour reprehendeth them, whiche gaue to the Archbyſhop of Conſtantinople, that, whiche now the byſhop of Rome claymeth to him ſelfe, charging them with the breach of order in theſe wordes: Ne dum priuatum aliquod daretur vni, honore debito ſacerdotes priuarentur vniuerſi, that is: leaſt that while any ſingular thing is geuen to one perſon, all other Prieſtes be depriued of their due honour. And for the like cauſe Pelagius exhorteth that no Prieſt do geue to any one Archbiſhop, the name of vniuerſall Byſhop, ne ſibi debitum ſubtrahat cum alteri honorem offert indebitum. That is: leaſt (ſayth he) in ſo doyng, he take from him ſelfe his due honour, while he yeldeth that, which is not due to an other. And alſo in the ſame Epiſtle: Quia ſi ſummꝰ Patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. For (ſayth he) if he be called the chief vniuerſall Patriarche, then is the name of Patriarches derogated from other. &c. Wherfore as is ſayd, ſeing the Biſhop of Rome is an Archbiſhop: as other be: Order geueth, that he ſhould haue the dignitie, which to Archbiſhops is due, what ſoeuer is added more, is derogation to the reſt. And thus much concerning diſtinction of degrees, & order in geuing to euery degree his place and honour.

Ex Regiſtro Grego. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.

Ex Epiſt. 2. Pelagij. 2. Diſt. 99. ca. Nullus.

The ſecond aunſwere to the obiectiõ, before moued.

The ſecond reaſon or aunſwere to the obiection before moued, pag. 16. is this: that beyng graunted to the Papiſtes, that the Doctours aforeſayd, ſpeakyng of the principallitie of the Church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that Church, but alſo of the outward authoritie and iuriſdiction of the ſame, aboue other Churches: yet the cauſe wherfore they did attribute ſo much to the Churche, is to be expended, whiche was this, as before was alledged out of the Coũcell of Calcedone, cap. 28. διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, that is: for the rule and impery whiche that Citie of Rome had then aboue other Cities, whiche cauſe beyng outward and carnall, was neither then cauſe ſufficiẽt, and now ceaſing, importeth not to vs the like effect, accordyng as they ſay: Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus. So that by the reaſon therof, the foreſayd principallitie of the Churche of Rome, did not hold then iure diuino, ſed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, ſo by mans law may be repealed agayne.

Ex Concil. Calced. cap. 28.

Wherfore, be it admitted, that both the Pope ſitteth & ſucceedeth in the chayre of Peter, and alſo that he is the Byſhop of the greateſt citie in the world: yet it followeth not therby, that he ſhould haue rule and Lordſhyp ouer all other biſhops & Churches of the world. For firſt touching the ſucceſſion of Peter, many thinges are to be conſidered.

Certaine demãdes for the Papiſts to aunſwere vnto.

Firſt, whether Peter ſat, and had his chayre in Rome, or not?

Secondly, whether he ſat there as Apoſtle, or as Byſhop?

Thirdly, whether the ſitting in the outward ſeate of Peter maketh ſucceſſour of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he ſitteth in the chayre and ſeate of Peter, which ſitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the ſucceſſion of Peter maketh rather an Apoſtle, then a Byſhop, & ſo ſhould we call the Pope, the Apoſtle of Rome, and not the Byſhop of Rome?

Sixtly, whether Eccleſiaſticall functions ought to be eſteemed by ordinarie ſucceſſion of place, or by Gods ſecret callyng or ſendyng?

Seuenthly and laſtly, whether it ſtand by Scripture, any ſucceſſion at all to be pointed in Chriſtes Churche, or why more from Peter, then from other Apoſtles?

All which interrogatories, being well diſcuſſed (which would aſke a long proces) it ſhould well appeare what litle hold the Pope hath to take this ſtate vpon hym, aboue all other Churches, as he doth. In the meane tyme, this one argument by the way may ſuffice in ſteede of many, for our aduerſaries to aunſwere to at their conuenient layſure. Which argument thus I forme & frame in Cameſtres.

An argument prouyng the popes of this latter Church of Rome not to be ſucceſſours of Peter.

Ca- All the true ſucceſſours of Peter ſit in the chayre of the doctrine of Peter & other Apoſtles vniformely.
mes- No Popes of this latter Church of Rome, ſit in the chayre of Saint Peters and other Apoſtles doctrine vniformely.
tres. Ergo, no Popes of this latter Churche of Rome, be the true ſucceſſors of Peter.

And when they haue well peruſed the Minor of this argument, and haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the Popes, of iuſtification of a Chriſten man, of the office of the law, of the ſtrength and largenes of ſinne, of mẽs merites, of free will, of workes of ſupererogation, of ſetting vp images, of vij. Sacramentes, of auricular confeſſion, of ſatiſfaction, of ſacrifice of the Maſſe, of communicatyng vnder one kinde, of eleuatyng and adoryng the Sacramentall elementes, of Latine ſeruice, of inuocation, of prohibition of meates and mariage, of vowyng chaſtitie, of ſectes and rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardons: alſo with their doctrine taught now of Magiſtrates, of the fulnes of power, and regalitie of the ſea of Rome, with many other like to theſe. &c. then will I be glad to heare what they will ſay to the premiſſes.

Secondly, if they would proue by the allegation of the Doctours Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſten, Theodoritus aforeſayd, the Byſhop of Rome to be the chief of all Byſhops therfore, becauſe the Citie whereof he is Byſhop, is chief and principall aboue all other Churches, that conſequent is to be denyed. For it followeth not (takyng as I ſayd, the principallity of that Church, to ſtand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, that is, vpon the principall dominion of that Citie) no more then this conſequent followeth.

London is the chief Citie in all England.
Ergo, the Byſhop of London is the chiefeſt of all Byſhops in the Realme.

Which argument were derogatory to the Biſhop both of Canterbury, and of Yorke.

Yea to graunt yet more to our aduerſaries (whiche is all they can require) the minde of the foreſayd Doctours Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſten, and Theodoritus, in geuyng principallitie vnto Rome, to haue reſpect vnto the vertue of ſucceſſion from Peter, and not vnto the greatnes of the Citie: yet notwithſtandyng for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly conſidered: to ſay.

A falſe conſequent of the papiſtes.

The Apoſtolicall Sea of Rome, hauyng ſucceſſiõ from Peter, with the Biſhops therof, was chief then of all other Churches, in the primitiue tyme of theſe Doctours.

Ergo, the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome, with the Byſhops therof, hauyng ſucceſſiõ from Peter, ought now to be chief of all other Churches, in theſe our dayes.

Aunſwere to the conſequent.

Succeſſion Apoſtolicall double wiſe to be conſidered.

This conſequent might well follow, if the tymes were like, or if ſucceſſion which gaue then the cauſe of principallitie, were the ſame now whiche was then. But now the tyme and ſucceſſion is not correſpondent, for then ſucceſſion in the tyme of theſe Doctours, was as well in doctrine Apoſtolicall, as in place Apoſtolicall. Now the ſucceſſion of doctrine Apoſtolicall hath long ceaſed in the ſea Apoſtolicall: and nothyng remayneth but onely place, whiche is the leaſt matter of true ſpirituall and Apoſtolicall ſucceſſion. And thus much to the authoritie and teſtimonie of theſe forenamed Doctours.

Beſides theſe obiections heretofore recited out of Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auſten, and Theodoritus, our aduerſaries yet obiect and heape vp agaynſt vs, moreouer, examples of the primitiue tyme of the Church, teſtimonies of generall Councels, and opinions of auncient writers, taken out of the booke of Councels, and Epiſtles decretall whereby their intent is to proue, the foreſayd termes (of the head of the Church, ruler of the Church, chief of all other Prieſtes) to be applied not onely to Peter, but alſo to the Byſhop of Rome, with in the compaſſe of the primitiue time. And here commeth in the teſtimonie cited of Vincẽtius Lirinenſis. Of the Epiſtle of Paſchaſinus and his fellowes, writyng to Leo from the Councell of Chalcedon. The teſtimonie alſo of Iuſtinian the Emperour in his Codex: where Ioannes then Pope was called caput omniũ Eccleſiarũ. Epiſt. inter claras.

Teſtimonies alledged for the principallitie of the Pope.

cap. De ſumma Trinit. & fide Cath. The teſtimonie alſo of Athanaſius with his fellow Biſhops of Egypt, of Thebaida, and Libia, in their Epiſtles to Pope Marcus, Liberius, & Felix. Likewiſe ẏ teſtimonie of Hierome, In præf. in 4. Euāg. Item, Epiſt. 42. Tom. 1. Item, Epiſt. 41. Tom. 2. Of S. Ambroſe. 1. Timo. 3. Of S. Auſten to Boniface. Ad Bonif. contra duas Epiſt. Pelagian. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Item, Lib. 2. De baptiſ. cap. 1. Of Theodoritus in his Epiſtle to Pope Leo, Epiſt. commentar. in Pauli Epiſt. præfixa. Of Chriſoſtome, Epiſt. ad Innocentium, Tom. 5. &c. By which teſtimonies our aduerſaries would proue S. Peter, and after him the Byſhop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the Churche, chief Byſhop, Prince & ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which obiections fully and exactly to aunſwere in order, would require a whole volume by it ſelfe. In the meane time, leauing the reſt to them vnto whō it doth more properly appertaine, briefly with this one ſhort diſtinction I aunſwere theſe and all ſuch other like places, where S. Peter with his ſucceſſours are called: head of the Churche, chief of Byſhops, Prince of the Apoſtles. &c. In whiche places, this worde, head, chief, and Prince of the Apoſtles, may be taken two maner of wayes: to note either dominion, or els commendation. For ſo we read ſometyme Caput, and princeps to be wordes not of authoritie, but of excellencie, whereby is declared the chiefeſt and worthyeſt part among many partes, and not poſſeſſour and gouernour of the whole. Like as in the perſon of mā, the head is the principall part of the whole body, beyng endued with reaſon and furniſhed with moſt excellent ſenſes, by the which the whole body of man is directed: ſo thereof is deriued by a metaphor, to what mā or thing ſoeuer nature or condition hath geuen the greateſt excellencie, of giftes and properties aboue other partes or members the ſame to be called of the ſayd parties, Caput, or Princeps head or Prince. And yet the ſame head or Prince ſo called, hath not alwayes dominion or iuriſdiction of the reſt. So we call in our vulgare ſpeech the head or chief men of the Pariſh, who for their riches, wiſedome, or place, are moſt ſpecially noted: After like phraſe of ſpeech we call the head mā of the inqueſt, him that hath the firſt place. And yet neither they nor theſe haue any dominion or iuriſdiction vpon the reſidue. In a ſchole the chiefeſt ſcholer in learnyng, is not therfore the maiſter or gouernour of his fellowes. Neither hath M. Cicero any title thereby to clayme ſubiection and ſeruice of all other Oratours, becauſe he is named Princeps eloquentiæ, & goeth before them in that kinde of phraſe. The ſame Cicero. Lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippum principem huius ætatis Philoſophorum: as Homerus alſo may be called Poetarum Princeps: And yet neither Philoſophers to Cratippus, nor Poetes to Homere owe any thyng els, but onely fame and prayſe.

Aunſwere by a diſtinction.

Caput **and** *Princeps.* **haue a double vnderſtandyng.**

How Peter is *Princeps Apoſtolorum. Princeps eloquentiæ Cicero. Princeps Philoſophorum Cratippus.*

And what if S. Peter the bleſſed Apoſtle be called and counted of the old auncient Doctours, as head and Prince of the Apoſtles, whiche is as much as Coryphæus Apoſtolorum, for his excellent fayth, for his diuine confeſſion and ſingular affection to the Lord Ieſus: yet what intereſt or charge either hath he to chalenge ouer the Apoſtles, or the Pope after hym ouer all other Byſhops and the whole Church of Chriſt, although the Pope haue the like excellencie of Chriſtes fayth, whiche Peter had, as would God he had? As concernyng theſe allegations therfore out of the Doctours, two thynges are to be obſerued: firſt that neither theſe names and titles though they be geuen to Peter, doe geue him any ſtate or dominion aboue other Apoſtles: nor yet the ſucceſſion of him doth further any whit this celſitude and regalitie of the Pope to aduaunce hym aboue his fellow Archbiſhops, as he now doth.

Petrus Princeps & Coryphæus Apoſtolorum.

And if our aduerſaryes would needes prouoke vs to the numberyng of teſtimonies, & deuidyng the houſe (ſpeakyng of the writers and Councels of the primitiue age) for theſe aforeſayd teſtimonies alleged on their ſide, I could on the contrary part recite out of the witneſſe of Doctours, out of the exāples of Coūcels, & practiſes of Emperours, no leſſe then. 60. voyces much more repugnaunt agaynſt their aſſertion, then there is for the Pope. The tractation wherof for this preſent I do refer either to them, that haue more layſure at this tyme to diſcourſe them, or els omitte it to an other tyme, if the good pleaſure of the Lord ſhall be, to graūt me further leyſure in an other booke to intreate thereof at large, in ſuch order as (if the Lord ſo graunt) ſhall appeare ſufficient matter, to proue both by Doctours, general Coūcels, examples and hyſtories of tyme, that the Byſhops of Rome, duryng the firſt. 500. yeares after Chriſt, although for the greatnes of the Empyre, were ſomewhat more magnified thē the other, and therfore were ſought of many, and were flattered of ſome, and they them ſelues diuerſe dyd ſet forth them ſelues more then they ſhould: yet by the common conſent of Churches, were ſtopped of their purpoſe, ſo that by the conſenſiō of the moſt part, within the compaſſe of that age the Byſhops of Rome had not this regall ſtate of title, iuriſdiction, and fulnes of power, whiche now they vſurpe, but were taken as Archbyſhops, of equall honour, of equall merite with other Archbyſhops and rulers of the Church. And if any preferment was geuen vnto them ſome thyng aboue the reſt: yet neither was it ſo geuē of all, nor of the moſt part: ſecondly neither was it ſo geuen of them for any ſuch neceſſitie of Gods word, aut iure aliquo diuino, as whiche did ſo bind them thereunto, nor yet ſo much for the reſpect of Peter, and his ſucceſſion: as for certaine other cauſes, and reſpectes, as may be gathered to the number of. 13.

Cauſes 13. of aduauncyng the ſea of Rome.

1. Of whiche the firſt is the greatnes of the Citie & monarchie of Rome.

2. The ſecond is the authoritie of the Emperour Conſtātine the great, firſt of the Emperours cōuerted to the fayth, and rulyng in the ſame Citie, by whom the vniuerſall libertie of the Church was firſt promoted, and the cauſes of the Byſhops beyng then at variaunce, were committed partly to the Byſhop of Rome, partly to other Biſhops nere by to be deciſed, as appeareth Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 5.

3. The third was the Councel of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that Church to haue the ouerſight of the Churches borderyng about it.

4. The fourth cauſe of aduauncing the Churche of Rome was the vnquyet ſtate of the Greeke church much troubled in thoſe dayes with ſectes, factions, and diſſentions, whereof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

5. The fift, when Synodes were called by other Metropolitanes, then if it chaunced the Byſhops of Rome to be abſent, and their ſentence beyng abſent to be required, by the occaſion therof they began at length to take their ſentēce for a Canon or rule Eccleſiaſtical, & therby to refuſe other Synodes, where their decree or ſentence was not required.

6. An other cauſe was, that when any cōmon matter was in hand in other places, whatſoeuer was done, commonly the maner was to write to the Romane Biſhop for his approbation in the ſame, for publique vnitie and conſent to be had in Chriſtes Church: as appeareth Lib. 10. Epiſt. 78. Ambroſij ad Theophilum.

7. Item, for that the teſtimonie ſometymes of the Romane Byſhop was wont in thoſe dayes alſo to be deſired, for admittyng teachers and Byſhops in other Churches, whereof we haue example in Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

8. Moreouer this was a great ſetting vp of that Church, when as their ſentence not onely was required, but alſo receaued diuers tymes of other Byſhops. And whē Biſhops of other prouinces were at any diſſention among them ſelues, they of their owne accord, appealed to the Byſhop of Rome, deſiryng him to cite vp both parties, and to haue the hearyng and deciſing of the cauſe, as did Macarius and Heſychius ſend to Iulius then Byſhop of Rome. &c.

9. Item, in that certaine of the Arrianes, returnyng from their Arrianiſme, offered vp and exhibited vnto the Biſhops of Rome their libelles of repentaūce, and were of them receiued agayne, as Vrſatius and Valens did to Iulius. Socrat. Lib. 2. cap. 24.

10. The tenth cauſe was alſo, for that Gratianus the Emperour made a law, that all men ſhould reteine that Religiō, whiche Damaſus Byſhop of Rome, and Peter Byſhop of Alexandria did hold. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.

11. And alſo, if it happened the byſhop of Rome to diſallow the orderyng of any miniſter or miniſters, the popes perceiuyng how diligent and ready they were to ſeeke their fauour, & to ſend vp their meſſengers to Rome, for their purgation, tooke therby no litle maner of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12. Beſides theſe aforeſayd, the Byſhops of Rome had alſo an other artificiall practiſe, that in ſendyng out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in all their Epiſtles (if the Epiſtles be theirs, and not forged) euer they were harpyng of the greatnes of their name, and of their Apoſtolike ſea, & of the primacie of S. Peter, their predeceſſour and Prince of all the Apoſtles &c. And this they vſed in euery letter, when ſoeuer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus. &c.

13. Agayne if any of the Eaſt church directed any writyng to them, wherein any ſignification was contained of neuer ſo litle reuerence geuen vnto them (as learned men commonly vſe for modeſties ſake) that was takē by and by and conſtrued for playne ſubiection, and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damaſus, written to the Byſhops of the Eaſt Church, begynnyng thus: Quod debita reuerētia. &c. in Engliſhe thus: but that your charitie yeldeth due reue-

rence to the Apoſtolicall ſea, you in ſo doing (deare children) do much for your ſelues &c. Theodoret. Lib. 5. cap. 9. Whereas the Byſhops of the Eaſt Church notwithſtandyng had ſhewed litle or no reuerence in their Epiſtle to Pope Damaſus before.

Thus haue ye the firſt and originall groundes, by the meanes wherof the Archbyſhops of the Romiſhe ſea haue achieued to this their great kyngdome and celſitude ouer Chriſtes Church, firſt beginnyng the miſtery of their iniquitie, by that which was modeſtly and voluntarely geuen them. Afterward by vſe and cuſtome claimyng it ambitiouſly vnto them, of duetie and ſeruice, and laſtly holdyng faſt (as we ſee) that which once they had gotten into their poſſeſſiō, ſo that now in no caſe they can abyde the byrdes to call home their fethers agayne, which they ſo long haue vſurped.

This latter Church of Rome differyng frō the firſt Church of Rome, in forme of gouernement.

And thus much concernyng the life, iuriſdiction, & title of the Romane Biſhops: In all which (as is declared) they and not we, haue fallē from the Church of Rome. To theſe I might alſo ioyne the maner of gouernement, wherein the ſayd Romiſh Byſhops haue no leſſe altered both from the rule of Scripture, and from the ſteppes of the true Church of Rome, which gouernement as it hath bene, and ought to be onely ſpirituall: ſo hath the Byſhop of Rome vſed it of late yeares no otherwiſe, then hath an earthly kyng or prince gouerned his Realme and dominions, with riches, glory, power, terrour, outward ſtrength, force, priſon, death, execution, lawes, policies, promotyng his frendes to dignities, reuengyng his affections, puniſhyng and correctyng faultes agaynſt his perſon, more then other offences agaynſt God committed, vſing and abuſing in all theſe thinges, the word of God for his pretext and cloke to worke his worldly purpoſe withall: whereas in deede the word of God miniſtreth no ſuch power to ſpirituall perſons, but ſuch as is ſpirituall: accordyng to the ſaying of the Apoſtle: Arma militiæ noſtræ non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. &c. The armour and artillarie, ſayth S. Paule, of our warfayre is not carnall, but ſpirituall: ſuch as ſerue not agaynſt fleſh and bloud, nor agaynſt the weake perſon of man: but agaynſt Sathan, agaynſt the gates of hell, and the profoundities of wicked power. &c.

How the Churche of Chriſt ought to be gouerned.

Which armour as it is all ſpirituall, ſo ought they, which haue the dealyng therof, to be likewiſe ſpirituall, well furniſhed with all ſuch giftes and graces of the holy ghoſt, meete for the gouernaunce of his ſpirituall Church: as with wiſedome and knowledge in the Scripture, to inſtruct the ignoraunt: with inward intelligence and foreſight of the crafty cogitations and operations of Sathan, with power of the ſpirit to reſiſte the ſame: with practiſe and experience of tentations, to comfort ſuch as be afflicted and oppreſſed of Sathan: with heauenly diſcretiō to diſcerne ſpirites, and truth from vntruth: with iudgement, knowledge of tounges and learnyng to conuict errour: with zeale of Gods glory, with feruencie of prayer, with pacience in perſecution: with a mynde contented with all caſes and ſtates incident, with teares and compaſſion on other mens greeues: with ſtoutnes and courage againſt proude and ſtout oppreſſours: with humilitie toward the poore and miſerable: with the counſayle of the Lord Jeſus by his worde and ſpirite to directe him in all thynges to be done, with ſtrength agaynſt ſinne: with hatred of this world: with gift of fayth: power of the keyes in ſpirituall cauſes, as to miniſter the word, the Sacramentes and excommunication when the worde biddeth, that the ſpirite may be ſaued, and to reconcile agayne, as caſe requireth. &c. Theſe and ſuch like are the matters wherein conſiſteth the ſinewes & ſtrength of ẏ church, & the true gouernaunce of the ſame. But cōtrary to theſe aforeſayd both the Byſhop and Clergie of this latter Churche of Rome, proceeded in their adminiſtration and gouernaunce, as who vnder the name and pretence of Chriſt and his word, haue exerciſed of long tyme nothyng els but a worldly dominion, ſeekyng in deede their owne glory, not the glory of Chriſt: riches of the world, not the lucre of ſoules: not feedyng the flocke, but fillyng the purſe: reuengyng their owne wronges, but neglectyng Gods glory: ſtriuyng agaynſt man onely, and killyng him, but not killyng the vice, nor confutyng the errour of man: ſtrong agaynſt fleſhe and bloud, but weake agaynſt the deuill: ſtout agaynſt the ſimple, but meeke agaynſt the mightie: briefly, doyng almoſt all thynges prepoſterouſly, more like to ſeculare Princes, then ſpirituall paſtours of Chriſtes flocke, with outward forcement, and feare of puniſhment, with priſonyng, famiſhyng, hangyng, rackyng, drownyng, headyng, ſlaying, murderyng, and burnyng, and warryng alſo: on the other ſide with his riches and treaſures, with his garde and gardiaunce, with ſtrength of men, with Court and Cardinals: with pompe and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked ſworde: with their ordinarie ſucceſſion: with their lawes, and execeutions: their promotions and preferementes: their biddynges and commaundinges: threatnynges and reuengynges. &c.

Prepoſterous gouernment of the Church by the pope.

A compariſon betwene the kingdome of this world and the kingdome of the Pope.

In fine, to compare therefore the Image of a worldly kyngdome, with this kingdome of the Pope, there is no difference, ſaue onely that this kyngdome of the Pope vnder hypocriſie maketh a face of the ſpirituall ſword, which is the word of God: but in very deede doth all thynges with the temporall ſword, that is with outward forcement and coaction: differyng nothyng from ciuile & ſecular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well conſidered. For as in an earthly kyngdome firſt there is a Prince or ſome chief Magiſtrate appoynted, hauyng dominion ouer his nobles and commons, contaynyng all his ſubiectes vnder his ſtatutes and lawes, with the which lawes notwithſtandyng he diſpenſeth at his pleaſure: vnder whom all other inferior Magiſtrates haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the ſubiectes, and yet to be ſubiect vnder hym: So if the ſtate and forme of the Pope be well aduiſed, we ſhall ſee it altereth nothyng frō the ſame, but onely in names of the perſons. In ciuile gouernement, all ſubiection is referred to one head ruler, whoſe authoritie ſurmounteth all the reſt, and keepeth them vnder obedience: In lyke maner the gouernement of the Popiſh Churche is committed to one man, who as chief ſteward, ouerſeer & ruler of Chriſtes houſhold in his abſence, hath ſupreme power ouer all churches, to moderate and direct all the affaires therof. But here ſtandeth the difference, in ciuill policie he is called a Kyng or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

Secular Nobilitie compared with Eccleſiaſticall nobilitie.

Ciuile Magiſtrates compared with Eccleſiaſticall.

The King hath next vnto him, his Dukes and Earles, The Popes nobilitie ſtandeth in hys Cardinals and Legates, who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pōpe and pride will not onely geue checke to them, but alſo mate to Kynges thē ſelues, if they might be ſuffered, as did Theodorus, Lancfrācus, Anſelmus, Thomas Becket, and ſo would Thomas Woulſey had done, had not the Kyng geuen hym a necke to his mate by tyme. In ciuile policie next to Dukes & Earles foloweth the order of Lordes, Barons, Knightes, Eſquiers, Gentlemen, with Mayors, Sheriffes, Conſtables, Bayleffes, Wardens. &c. The like race is to be ſeen alſo, although vnder other names, in the Popes policie, of Primates, Byſhops, Suffraganes, Prouoſtes, Deanes, Canons, Vicares, Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacōs, Acolites, Exorciſtes, Lectors, Dorekepers, Singſters, with other Clerkes. And as in the other vnder wardens commeth the order of Scauingers: ſo neither doth the Popes monarchy lacke his kayndrakers, to whō may well be cōpared the rablement of Abbots, Prouincials, Priores, Monkes, Friers, with their Couentes and Nonneries.

Officers of the temporall court compared with the officers of the ſpirituall Court.

Moreouer from Juſtices, Judges, Lawyers, Sergeantes, Attorneys, which be neceſſary offices in the common wealth, what differeth the Popes Inquiſitors, Canoniſtes, Doctours and Bachelers of the Popes lawe, Cōmiſſaries, Officials, Proctors, Promotors, with ſuch other, which ſerue no leſſe in ſpirituall Court, & in the conſiſtorie, then the other aforeſayd doe in temporall Court, or in the yeld hall. Now who ſo lyſt to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other: alſo the power & ſtrength of the one regimēt, with the power of the other: and ſo the riches of ẏ one, with the riches of ẏ other, I ſuppoſe he ſhall ſee no great oddes betwene them both, takyng the Popes kyngdome as it hath ſtode in hys full ruffe, & yet doth ſtād, where churches are not reformed. As for ſubtletie & politicke practiſe, there is no man that doubteth, that is indifferēt, nor that ſeeth not, that hath his eyes, but that the Popes hierarchie in holdyng vp their ſtate, far excelleth all the Empires & Kyngdomes of worldly Princes, of whom all other may take example to learne.

Glory cōpared. Power cōpared. Riches compared.

Subteltie compared.

The difference betwene the Popes regiment, and the order of the primitiue Church.

Thus in comparyng the Popes regiment with ciuile gouernaunce as they doe litle or nothyng diſagree a ſunder: So in comparyng agayne the ſame with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the olde auncient Churche of Rome, we ſhall ſee no reſemblaunce betwene them. As we read in the Apoſtles tyme, all the armour of Chriſtes miniſters was ſpirituall and full of godly power, agaynſt the ſpirituall enemyes of our ſaluation, gouernyng the Church then with peace, pacience, humilitie, true knowledge of God, the ſworde of the ſpirite, the ſhielde of fayth, the breſt plate of righteouſnes, hartie charitie, ſincere faith, and good conſciēce: ſo after the Apoſtles in the tyme of Ambroſe, by his owne teſtimonie is to be vnderſtād, that the armour of church men was then, preces & lachrymæ, prayers and teares: where now the armour of the popes Prieſthode is nothyng els but ignis & ferrum, i. fire and ſword, wherewith they keepe all thinges vnder their ſubiection. And here

1. Cor. 10.
Ephes. 6.
1. Timo. 1.

The armour proper to Church men.

Horrible abuſe of excommunication in the Popes Church.

The Popes gouernyng in matters to them not perteinyng.

commeth in the enorme and horrible abuſe of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, and interdictiō in caſes friuolous, or worldly, and for ſuch, as for whiche the ciuill magiſtrate will not commit any Citizen to the ſtockes, the Popes cenſure will not ſticke to commit a Chriſtian to the deuill: not to ſpeake of their other vſurped dealynges and doynges in matters, that belong to the ciuile ſword, and be to them impertinent. As in puniſhyng whoredome and adultery, in adminiſtratiō and probates of teſtamentes, in bearyng ciuile office, as Popes to be Senatours of Rome, and Emperour alſo ſede vacante. Cardinals to be Capitaines in warre, and rulers of regions: Byſhops to be preſidentes or Chauncelors, prieſts to be ſtewardes in great mēs houſes, or maſters of myntes, or Clerkes of the market, or gardiners to Gentlemē. &c. All which here I ouerpaſſe referryng them to the deeper conſideration of ſuch as haue more leaſure to marke the order of their doynges, and ſo to iudge of the ſame with indifferencie, accordyng to the rule of truth, touched with Gods worde, and publique examples of the auncient Church of Chriſt in the primitiue tyme.

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Churche examined and detected.

The falſe image of the Popes Church.

No comfort nor ſaluation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

The ſcope and ſumme of the Popes doctrine whether it tendeth.

Thus hauyng diſcourſed ſufficiently ſomuch as concerneth the maner of life, title, iuriſdiction, and gouernement of the Popes ſea (in all whiche pointes is to be ſeene how this latter Church of Rome hath receded from the true auncient Church of Rome) now remaineth, accordyng to my promiſe, and order prefixed, cōſequently to proceede to the fourth and laſt point, which is of doctrine: wherin conſiſteth the chiefeſt matter that maketh with vs and agaynſt them, in ſuch ſorte as (their doctrine ſtandyng as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true Catholickes beyng altered ſo far frō them: nor we otherwiſe then heretickes if we ſhould now ioyne with theſe. For the more triall whereof, let vs examine the doctrine and rites of the ſayd Church of Rome now vſed, and compare the ſame with the teachyng of the auncient Catholickes, to the entent that ſuch ſimple ſoules as haue bene hetherto, and yet be ſeduced by the falſe viſour and image of this pretenſed and baſtardly church, perceauyng what lyeth within it, may be warned by tyme, either to eſchue the perill, if they liſt to be inſtructed: or if not, to blame none but them ſelues for their owne wilfull deſtruction. And albeit I could here charge this newfangled Churche of the Pope with vij. or viij. haynous crimes, as blaſphemy, Idolatrie, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as whiche neither agreeth with the old learnyng of their forelders, nor yet with them ſelues in ſondry pointes) yet after a more tēperate ſort to paſſe this matter with the, theſe ij. thinges I will and dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope now taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any cōſolation of conſcience, nor ſaluation of mās ſoule. For ſeyng there is no life nor ſoule health but onely in Chriſt, nor any promiſe of ſaluation or comfort made, but onely by fayth in the ſonne of God, what aſſuraunce then can there be of perfect peace, life, or ſaluation, where that which onely maketh all is leaſt made of, and other thynges whiche make leaſt, are moſt eſteemed? For to ſay the ſimple truth, what els is the whole courſe & body of the popes law now ſet forth, but a doctrine of lawes, a heape of ceremonies, a teachyng of traditions, a meditation of merites, a foundation of new Religions: all whiche conferre not one iote to the iuſtificatiō of our ſoules before the terrible iudgement of God.

Papiſtes neuer rightly afflicted in conſcience deeply.

An horrible thyng to thinke of God without Chriſt.

Luther.

And therfore (as it may be truly ſayd) this doctrine of the Pope to be voyde of all true comfort and ſaluation: ſo likewiſe it ſeemeth that theſe whiche addict them ſelues ſo deuoutly to the popes learnyng, were neuer earneſtly afflicted in conſciēce, neuer humbled in ſpirite nor broken in hart, neuer entred into any ſerious feelyng of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the ſtrength of the law and of death. For if they had, they ſhould ſoone haue ſeene their owne weakenes and be driuen to Chriſt: then ſhould they haue ſeene what a horrible thyng it is to appeare before God the father, or once to thinke of him (as Luther ſayth) without Chriſt. And on the contrary ſide, thē ſhould they know what a glory, what a kyngdome, what libertie and life it were to be in Chriſt Jeſus by fayth, holdyng their inheritaunce, not with the bondſonne of Agar, but with the free ſonne of Sara: by promiſe and not by the law; by grace, and not by workes: by gift, and not by deſeruyng, that God onely might be prayſed and not man.

The right fayth of the old Romanes.

Cornelius a Romane firſt Baptiſed of all the Gentiles.

And thus were the olde Romanes firſt taught by S. Paule writyng to the Romanes. The ſame did Cornelius the Romane, and firſt that was Baptiſed of all the Gentiles, learne of S. Peter when he receaued the holy Ghoſt, not by the deedes of the law, but onely by hearyng the fayth of Jeſus preached. And in the ſame doctrine ẏ ſayd Church of the Romanes many yeares continued, ſo long as they were in affliction. And in the ſame doctrine, the Byſhop of Rome, with his Romanes now alſo ſhould ſtill remaine, if they were ſuch auncient Catholickes as they pretend, and would folow the old mother Church of Rome, and hold the firſt liquor wherewith they were firſt ſeaſoned. But the ſweete verdor and ſent of that liquor is now cleane put out through other vnſauery infuſions of the Popes thruſtyng in, ſo that almoſt no taſt nor peece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine which S. Paule and other Apoſtles firſt planted amongeſt the Gentiles. And what maruell if the Romanes now in ſo long tract of tyme haue loſt their firſt ſappe, ſeyng the Church of the Galathians then in the very tyme of S. Paul their ſcholemaſter, he being amongeſt thē, had not ſo ſoone turned his backe a litle, but they were all turned almoſt from the doctrine of fayth, and had much a do to be recouered agayne.

The Church of Rome hath loſt the liquor wherewith it was firſt ſeaſoned.

The Galathians almoſt gone frō fayth in S. Paules tyme.

1. Timo. 4.

Of this defection and fallyng from fayth, S. Paule expreſly foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Theſſalonians, and alſo to Timothe, where he ſheweth: that a defectiō ſhall come, and that certaine ſhall depart from the fayth, attendyng to ſpirites of errour &c. 1. Timo. 4. And to know what errours theſe ſhall be, the circumſtaunce playnely leadeth vs to vnderſtand in the ſame place, where the ſayd Apoſtle, ſpeaketh of marked conſciences, forbiddyng men to marry, and to eate meates ordeined of God to be takē with thankes geuyng, for mans ſuſtenaunce, moſt euidently as with his finger, poynteth out vnto vs the church of Rome, which not in theſe pointes onely, but alſo in all other conditions, almoſt is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall ſinceritie of that doctrine whiche Saint Paule planted in the Church of the Romanes, and of all other Gentiles.

¶The ſumme of S. Paules doctrine

delivered to the Gentiles.

A brief ſumme of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

1. FIrſt, the doctrine of S. Paule aſcribeth all our iuſtification freely and meerly to fayth onely in Chriſt as to the onely meanes and cauſe immediate, wherby the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion be applyed vnto vs, without any other reſpect of worke or workes of the law, what ſoeuer: and in this doctrine the Church of the Romanes was firſt planted.

Saluation by mercy onely & not by merites.

2. Secondly, the ſame doctrine of S. Paul cuttyng of and excludyng all glory of mans deſeruyng, ſtayeth vs onely vpon Gods promiſe and vpon grace, not mans merites: vpon mercy, not mans labouryng or runnyng: vpon election and callyng, not mans willyng &c.

All fleſhe concluded vnder ſinne.

3. Thirdly, the ſame doctrine caſting downe the ſtrength of man and his integra naturalia (as the ſcholes doe terme them) concludeth all fleſh vnder ſinne, and maketh the ſame deſtitute of the glory of God.

Difference betwene the law and the Goſpell.

4. Item, it maketh manifeſt difference betwene the law and the Goſpell, declaryng the vſe and end of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken: the one to condēne, the other to iuſtifie: the one to haue an end and a tyme, the other to be perpetuall &c.

Iuſticia Dei. Iuſticia propria.

5. Item, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule, as it ſheweth a difference betwene the law and the Goſpell: ſo it maketh no leſſe difference betwene Iuſticia Dei, and Iuſticia propria, that is, the righteouſnes of God and the righteouſnes of man, abhorryng the one, that is, mans owne righteouſnes commyng by the law and workes: & embracyng the other, which God imputeth freely and graciouſly to vs for Chriſt his ſonnes ſake, in whom we beleue.

The righteouſnes of God, and the righteouſnes of man how they differ in Scripture.

6. Item, it wypeth away all traditions, and conſtitutions of men what ſoeuer, eſpecially from byndyng of conſcience, callyng them beggarly elementes of this world.

A true Chriſtian knoweth nothyng but Chriſt crucified.

7. Likewiſe it reiecteth and wypeth away all curious ſubtilities, and ſuperfluous ſpeculations, and knoweth nothing els but Chriſt onely crucified, whiche is onely the obiect whereunto our fayth looketh.

All men condemned by one: All men ſaued by one. Originall ſinne, originall iuſtice.

8. Furthermore, as the ſame doctrine of S. Paule defineth all men to be tranſgreſſours by diſobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the Aple, commyng of hys ſtocke by nature: ſo doth it proue all men to be iuſtified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, beyng likewiſe borne of him by ſpirituall regeneration & fayth.

9. And therfore as all men commyng of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow vp to commit any ſinne agaynſt the law, ſo all men be ſaued originally beyng regenerated by fayth in Chriſt, before they begyn to do any good worke of charitie, or any other good deede.

Rom. 5.

10. Item, the doctrine of S. Paule perpendyng the hygh glory of a Chriſten mās ſtate in Chriſt Jeſus by fayth, firſt ſetteth hym in a perfect peace with almighty God. Rom. 5. Secondly exempteth him from all condemnation. Rom. 8.

Thirdly it matcheth him with Angels, it equalleth him with Saintes and felowcitizens of heauē, it numbreth him with the houſhold of God, and inheriteth hym with Jeſus Chriſt hym ſelfe. Ephes. 2. Fourthly, it adopteth hym from the ſtate of a ſeruaunt, to the ſtate of the ſonne of God, crying: Abba father. Gal. 4. Fifthly, it openeth to him a bold acceſſe and intraunce to the high Maieſtie and throne of grace, Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtly, it ſubiecteth all thinges vnder him: as miniſters, yea the Apoſtles them ſelues in their hyeſt office, death, lyfe, thynges preſent, thynges to come, with the whole world beſides, & aſſigneth him no ſpirituall head, but onely Chriſt, ſaying: And you are Chriſtes and Chriſt is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it aduaunceth and ſetteth him in a ſpirituall libertie or freedome, aboue all terrours of ſpirite, riſing either of Gods law or mans law, aboue all dreadfull feares of ſinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or Purgatory: aboue all ſeruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, ſuperſtitious vowes, policies, cuſtomes, or what els ſoeuer oppreſſeth and entangleth the ſpirituall freedome of a conſcience which Chriſt hath ſet at libertie: And requireth moreouer that we walke and ſtand ſtout in that libertie with the free ſonne of Sara, whereto we are bought, and not ſuffer our ſelues any more to be clogged with any ſuch yoke of ſeruile bondage: that is to meane, although we muſt be content to ſubiect our bodyes to all ſeruice and to all men, yet that we yeld not our ſpirituall conſciences and ſoules as ſlaues and ſeruauntes to be ſubiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thyng in this world, for as much as we are in that part made Lordes and Princes ouer all thynges whatſoeuer can harme, or bynd, or terrifie vs. Gal. 4. Coloſſ. 2.

Ephes. 2.
Itaq; iam non es ſeruus ſed filius.
Gal. 4.
Heb. 4.
1. Cor. 3.
The glorious ſtate of Chriſtian beleuers & ſpirituall freedome in Chriſt Jeſus.

11. Item, the right vayne of S. Paules doctrine putteth no difference nor obſeruation in dayes and tymes, Gal. 4. Col. 2.

Gal. 4.
Coloſ. 2.
Dayes and times indifferent.

12. Item, it leaueth all meates to be indifferent, with thankes geuyng, to ſerue the neceſſitie of the body, and not the body to ſerue them. Col. 2. 1. Timot. 4.

Meates indifferent with thankeſgeuyng.

13. Itē, it permitteth Mariage without reſtraynt or exceptiō, lawfull and alſo expediēt for all men, hauyng neede therof. 1. Cor. 7.

Mariage lawfull for all men.

14. Item, it admitteth no ſacrifice for ſinne but the ſacrifice of Chriſt alone, and that done once for all with bloud. For without bloud there is no remiſſion of ſinne: whiche onely is applyed to vs by fayth, & by nothyng els. Heb. 9.

One ſacrifice for ſinne, & no more.
Heb. 9.

15. Item, as touchyng the holy Communion, by the letters of S. Paule to the Cor. 11. we vnderſtand, that the vſe then amongeſt them was, to haue the participation of the bread, called the Lordes body, and of the cup, called the Lordes bloud, adminiſtred not at an altar, but at a playne borde or table, the congregation there meetyng together after the tyme of their ſupper, where not the miniſter alone did receaue and the other looked on, but the whole congregation together did communicate with reuerence & thankes giuyng, not liftyng ouer the Prieſtes head, nor worſhyppyng, nor knelyng, nor knockyng their breſtes, but either ſittyng at the ſupper, or ſtandyng after the ſupper. Accordyng to whiche ſame the Maſcouites yet to this day folowyng the old rite of the countrey (although beyng otherwiſe in much ſuperſtition) vſe to receaue it after they be riſen from their dyner ſtandyng. Experience wherof was ſene here at London the firſt day of Octob. 1569.

The vſe of the holy communion in auncient time of the primitiue churche.

16. Itē, the ſayd Apoſtle, beſides the Sacramentall ſupper, maketh mention of Baptiſme, or waſhyng of regeneration, although he him ſelfe Baptiſed but few. 1. Cor. 1. of the other Sacramentes he maketh no mention.

No mo Sacramentes mentioned in S. Paule, but the Lordes ſupper and baptiſme.

17. Item, by the ſame doctrine of S. Paule no thing is to be vſed in the congregation whiche is not knowen and doth not edifie. 1. Cor. 14.

18. Item, the rule of S. Paules doctrine ſubiecteth euery creature vnder the obedience of Kynges and Princes, and ordinary Magiſtrates apointed of God to haue the ſword and authoritie of publicke regiment to order and diſpoſe in all thynges not contrary to God, what ſoeuer perteineth to the maintenaunce of the good, or to the correction of the euill: from whoſe iuriſdiction there is no exemption of vocations or perſons, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or politicall. And therfore to this office apperteineth to preſerue peace, to ſet thynges in lawfull order, to conſerue Chriſtian diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt, to correct offences, to bridle the diſobedient, to prouide & procure wholeſome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to maintaine learnyng and ſet vp ſcholes, to haue ouerſight not onely of ỳ people, but alſo of all Eccleſiaſticall miniſters to ſee euery one to do his duetie, & to remoue or puniſhe ſuch as be negligent: alſo to call Councels and Synodes, and to prouide the Church goodes to be faythfully diſpenſed by the handes of true dealers, to the ſuſtentation of the Churche, of true teachers, and to the publicke neceſſitie of the poore. &c.

The authoritie and office of the ciuill Magiſtrate.

19. Furthermore by S. Paules doctrine, the miniſters and ſuperintendentes of Chriſtes Church haue their authoritie and armour likewiſe to them limited, whiche armour is onely ſpirituall, and not carnall, wherby they fight not agaynſt fleſh & bloud, but agaynſt the power of darkenes, errour, and ſinne, agaynſt the ſpirituall ſeduction and craftines in heauenly thynges, agaynſt the workes & procedynges of Sathan the Prince of this world, in comfortyng weake conſciences agaynſt terrours of the deuill and deſperation, and finally agaynſt euery cogitation lifted vp agaynſt Chriſt, to ſubdue euery celſitude to the ſubiection and power of Chriſt Jeſu the ſonne of God.

The office & authoritie of Byſhops how farre it doth extende.

Briefly and in a compendious ſumme to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paule, in theſe fiue pointes chiefly it conſiſteth.

An other brief recapitulatiō of S. Paules doctrine reduced to fiue pointes.
John. 3.

1. Firſt, in ſettyng forth the grace, great loue & good will, and free promiſes of God the father in Chriſt Jeſus hys ſonne to mankynd, which ſo loued the world, that he hath geuen his owne ſonne for the redemption therof. John. 3. whiche gaue his ſonne to dye for vs beyng his enemyes. Rom. 5. whiche hath quickened vs beyng dead in ſinne. Ephes. 2. which ſo mercyfully hath reconciled the world to hym ſelfe by his ſonne, and alſo by his meſſengers deſireth vs to be reconciled vnto hym. 2. Cor. 5. who hath giuen his owne ſonne to be ſinne for vs. 2. Cor. 5. to be accurſed for vs. Gal. 3. whiche by firme promiſe hath aſſured vs of our inheritaūce. Rom. 4. which not by the workes of righteouſnes that we haue done, but of his owne mercy hath ſaued vs by the waſhyng of regeneration. Tit. 3. &c.

The great mercy of God in Chriſt.
Rom. 5.
Ephes. 2.
2. Cor. 5.
Rom. 4.
Tit. 3.

2. The ſecond poynt conſiſteth in preachyng and extollyng the glorious and triumphant Maieſtie of Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God, and the excellencie of his glory, who beyng once dead in the infirmitie of fleſh, roſe agayne with power, aſcended vp with Maieſtie, hath led away captiuitie captiue, Ephes. 4. ſitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heauenly thynges, aboue all principates and poteſtates, powers and dominations, and aboue euery name that is named, not onely in this world, but alſo in the world to come. Ephes. 1. In whoſe name euery knee hath to bend both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery toung to confeſſe our Lord Chriſt Jeſus to be of the glory of God the father. Phil. 2. In whom and by whom all thynges are made both in heauen and in earth, thyngs viſible, & inuiſible, whether they be thrones, or dominatiōs, or principates, or poteſtates, all are by him, and for him created, and he is before all, and all thynges conſiſte in him: who is the head of his body the Churche, the begynnyng and firſt borne from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fulnes. Col. 1. To whom the father hath giuen all iudgement, and iudgeth no man him ſelfe any more. John. 5. To whō the father hath giuen all thyngs to his handes. John. 13. To whom the father hath giuen power of all fleſh. John. 17. To whom all power is giuen in heauē and in earth. Mat. vlt. In whom be all the promiſes of God Eſt & Amen. 2. Cor. 1.

The glory and Maieſtie of Chriſt Jeſus ſet forth in Saint Paule.
Ephes. 4.
Phil. 2.
Coloſ. 1.
John. 5.
John. 13.
John. 17.
Mat. vlt.
2. Cor. 1.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his Croſſe & Paſſion, and what exceedyng benefites procede to vs by the ſame. By whoſe bloud we haue redemption and remiſſion of our ſinnes. Ephes. 1. By whoſe ſtripes we are made whole. Eſay. 53. By whoſe Croſſe all thynges are pacified both in heauen and in earth. Col. 1. By whoſe death we are reconciled. Rom. 5. who hath deſtroyed death, & brought life to light. 2. Timot. 1. who by death hath deſtroyed hym, which had the power of death, that is, the deuill, and hath deliuered them whiche lyued vnder feare of death all their life in bondage. Heb. 2. By whoſe obedience we are made iuſt: by whoſe righteouſnes we are iuſtified to life. Rom. 5. By whoſe curſe we are bleſſed, and deliuered from the malediction of the lawe. Gala. 3. By whoſe bloud we that once were farre of, are made neare vnto God. Ephes. 2. Who in one body hath reconciled both Jewes and Gētiles vnto God. Ephes. 2. who by his fleſh hath taken away the diuiſion and ſeparation betwene God and vs, aboliſhyng the law which was ſet agaynſt vs in preceptes & decrees. Ephes. 2. who is our peace, our aduocate, and propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole worlde. 1. John. 2. who was made accurſed, & ſinne for vs, that we might be the righteouſnes of God in hym. 2. Cor. 5. who is made of God for vs, our wiſedome, and righteouſnes, and ſanctificatiō, and redemption. 1. Cor. 1. By whom we haue boldnes, and entraunce with all confidence through fayth in hym. Ephes. 3. who forgiueth all our ſinnes, and hath torne a peeces the obligation or hand writyng, which was agaynſt vs in the law of commaundementes, and hath crucified it vpon the

The third braunch.
The vertue and effect of Chriſtes death, and what exceedyng benefites procede therof.
Ephes. 1.
Eſay. 53.
Colloſ. 1.
Rom. 5.
2. Timo. 1.
Heb. 2.
Rom. 5.
Gal. 3.
Ephes. 2.
1. John. 2.
2. Cor. 5.
1. Cor. 1.
Ephes. 3.

Col. 2.
Rom. 4.
Coloſ. 2.

Croſſe, & vtterly hath diſpatched and aboliſhed the ſame, and hath ſpoyled principates and poteſtates, as in an open ſhew of conqueſt, triumphyng ouer them openly in him ſelf. Coloſ. 2. Who iuſtifieth the wicked by fayth. Rom. 4. In whom we are made full and complete. Col. 2. &c.

The fourth braunch.

Fayth onely the meane cauſe of ſaluation & nothyng els.

Phil. 3.
The righteouſnes of the law.

The righteouſnes of the Goſpell.
Rom. 9.

4. The fourth braunch is, to teach and informe vs (to whō theſe benefites of Chriſtes Paſſion and victory do appertaine) by what meanes the ſame is applyed and redoundeth vnto vs: which meanes is onely one, that is, onely fayth in Chriſt Ieſu, and no other thyng. Whiche fayth it pleaſeth almightie God to accept for righteouſnes. And this righteouſnes it is, whiche onely ſtandeth before God and none other, as we are playnly taught by the Scriptures, and eſpecially by the doctrine of S. Paule. Whiche righteouſnes thus riſing of fayth in Chriſt, S. Paule calleth the righteouſnes of God, where he ſpeakyng of hym ſelfe, vtterly refuſeth the other righteouſnes whiche is of the law, that he might be found in him, not hauyng his owne righteouſnes, which is of the law, but the righteouſnes of Chriſt, which is of fayth. Phil. 3. Agayne, the ſayd Apoſtle writyng of the Iewes, whiche ſought for righteouſnes and found it not: and alſo of the Gentiles whiche ſought not for it, and yet found it, ſheweth the reaſon why: becauſe (ſayth he) the one ſought it as by workes and the law, and came not to it, who not knowyng the righteouſnes of God, and ſeekyng to ſet vp their owne righteouſnes, dyd not ſubmit thēſelues to the righteouſnes whiche is of God: The other, which were the Gentiles, and ſought not for it, obteined righteouſnes, that righteouſnes whiche is of fayth. &c. Rom. 9. Alſo in an other place S. Paule in the ſame Epiſtle writyng of his righteouſnes which commeth of fayth, calleth it the righteouſnes of God, in theſe wordes: Whom God (ſayth he) hath ſet vp for a propiciation by fayth in his bloud, wherby to make manifeſt the righteouſnes, which is of him ſelfe in toleratyng our ſinnes. &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteouſnes it is euident, that S. Paule meaneth the righteouſnes of fayth, which almightie God now reueleth and maketh manifeſt by preachyng the Goſpell. Wilt thou ſee yet more playnly this righteouſnes of God how it is taken in S. Paule, for the righteouſnes of fayth, & therfore is called the righteouſnes of God, becauſe it is imputed onely of God to fayth, and not deſerued of man? In the ſame Epiſtle to the Romanes and in the. 3. chap. aforeſaid, his wordes be manifeſt: The righteouſnes of God (ſayth he) is by fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, in all, and vpon all that doe beleue. &c.

The place of S. Paule. Rom. 3. expounded.
Rom. 3.

The righteouſnes of fayth. why it is called Gods righteouſnes.
Rom. 3.

A leſſon out of S. Paules doctrine, of all Chriſtians to be obſerued.

Rom. 9.

Act. 10.
Saluation commeth onely by fayth.
Mat. 16.

Luc. 19.

Luc. 7.

Luc. 23.

Luc. 18.
That whiche is loſt by the lawe, is recouered by fayth.

Luc. 18.
Mat. 9.
John. 14.
John. 14.

Wherfore: who ſoeuer ſtudyeth to be accepted with God and to be found righteous in his ſight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of S. Paule to make a difference & ſeparation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betwene theſe two, that is, betwene the righteouſnes of workes, & righteouſnes of fayth: and in any wiſe beware he bryng no other meanes for his iuſtification, or remiſsion of his ſinnes, but onely fayth apprehendyng the body or perſon of Chriſt Ieſus crucified. For as there is no way into the houſe but by the doore, ſo is there no commyng to God but by Chriſt alone, whiche is by fayth. And as the mortall body, without bodely ſuſtenaunce of bread and drinke can not but periſh: ſo the ſpirituall ſoule of man hath no other refreſhing, but onely by fayth in the body and bloud of Chriſt, wherby to be ſaued. With this fayth the Idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Ieſus Chriſt, and receaued therby righteouſnes. Cornelius the firſt Baptiſed Romane ſo ſoone as he heard Peter preach Chriſt, receaued ſtraightway the holy ghoſt. Peter him ſelfe confeſſed, and for his confeſsion had the keyes of heauen. Mat. 16. Zacheus receaued the perſon of Chriſt into his houſe, and withall receaued ſaluation both to hym and his whole houſhould. Luc. 19. What a ſinner was Mary, which had no leſſe in her then vij. deuils, and yet becauſe ſhe ſet her hart and affection vpon that perſon, many ſinnes were forgiuen her. Luc. 7. The right hand theefe, how farre was he from all workes of the lawe, and yet by fayth euen he iuſtified into Paradiſe the ſame day with Chriſt. Luc. 23. In like maner, although the poore Publicane came to the Churche with leſſe holynes after the law, yet went he home to his houſe more iuſtified then the Phariſey, with all his workes, & all by reaſon of fayth. Luc. 18. The Parable of ẏ prodigal ſonne which was loſt, yet reuiued agayne: Alſo of the loſt groat, & of the loſt ſheepe which went aſtray and was found agayne, what do theſe declare but that which is loſt by the law, to be recouered by fayth & grace? And how oft do we read in the Goſpels: Thy fayth hath ſaued thee. &c. Ieſus ſeyng their belief, &c. He that beleueth in me I will rayſe him vp in the laſt day. &c. Beleue alſo in me. &c. He that beleueth in me hath euerlaſtyng life. &c. Without me ye can do nothyng. &c. He that is in me. &c. He that loueth me. &c. He that heareth me. &c. He that abideth in me. &c. He that receaueth me. &c. Onles ye eate my fleſh, and drinke my bloud. &c. That they may receaue remiſsion of ſinnes by their fayth in me. &c. Act. 26. To him all the Prophetes giue witnes, to haue remiſsion of ſinnes, whoſoeuer beleueth in his name. &c. Act. 10. He that beleueth, and is Baptiſed. Mat. vlt. He that beleueth in me ſhall do the workes that I do, and greater then theſe. &c.

John. 15.
John. 6.
Act. 26.
Act. 10.
Mat. vlt.
John. 14.

The wrytynges of S. Paule, full of the name of Chriſt Ieſus.
Belief onely in Chriſt ſaueth.
Act. 16.

And likewiſe in the writynges of S. Paule, how often do we heare the name of Chriſt almoſt in euery iij. or fourth lyne, where he ſtill repeteth: In Chriſto Ieſu, per Chriſtum Ieſum, Per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominū noſtrum. &c. Qui credunt in ipſo. &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo. &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. &c. Beleue (ſayth S. Paule to the Iayler) in the Lord Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued & thy whole houſe. &c. Act. 16.

The perſonall cauſe of ſaluation.
The inſtrumētal cauſe.
How fayth iuſtifieth.
Chriſt the onely obiect of fayth which iuſtifieth.
Example of the braſen Serpent.

What fayth is by Saint Paule.

Rom. 10.

Fayth onely.

Thus then thou ſeeſt, as the Paſſion of Chriſt is onely the efficient or perſonall cauſe immediate of our ſaluation: ſo is fayth onely the inſtrumentall or meane cauſe that maketh the merites of Chriſt to vs auayleable. For as the Paſſion of Chriſt ſerueth to none but ſuch as do beleue: ſo neither doth fayth (as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans mynde) it ſelfe iuſtifie, vnles it be directed to the body of Chriſt crucified, as to his obiect, of whom it receaueth all his vertue. And therfore theſe ij. muſt alwayes ioyntly concurre together, fayth, and Chriſt Ieſus crucified. As for example, when the people of Iſraell were byd of Moſes to looke vp to the braſen Serpent, neither could the Serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp, nor yet their lookyng vpward haue profited them, vnles they had directed their eyes vpon the ſayd Serpent, as the onely obiect ſet vp to the ſame purpoſe for them to behold. So our fayth in like caſe directed to the body of Ieſus our Sauiour is onely the meanes whereby Chriſtes merites are applyed vnto vs, and we now iuſtified before God, accordyng to the doctrine of S. Paule, who in expreſſe wordes, declaryng to vs what this fayth is, and how it iuſtifieth, ſayth: If thou ſhalt confeſſe with thy mouth the Lorde Ieſus, and beleue with thy hart, that God rayſed him from death, thou ſhalt be ſaued. &c. Rom. 10. Beſides this what action or qualitie ſo euer is in man, either hope, charitie, or any other kynde of fayth and beleuyng, be it neuer ſo true, except it apprehendeth this obiect (whiche is) the body of Chriſt, the ſonne of God, it ſerueth not to iuſtification. And that is the cauſe why we adde this particle Onely, to fayth, and ſay that faith, Onely, in Chriſt iuſtifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualities, giftes, or workes in man, from the cauſe of iuſtifying, for ſo much as there is no other knowledge nor gift giuen of God to man, be it neuer ſo excellent, that can ſtand before the iudgement of God to iuſtification, or wherunto any promiſe of ſaluation is annexed: but onely this fayth, lookyng vp to the braſen Serpent, that is, to the body of Chriſt Ieſus for vs crucified.

Diuers ſortes of beleuyng.
The Turkes fayth.
The Iewes fayth.

Euery truth may be beleued but the beleuing of euery truth ſaueth not.
The Papiſtes fayth.
Onely.
Hope, & charitie be no partes of our iuſtification, nor cauſes to make the merites of Chriſt ours.
The cauſes of our ſaluation diſtincted.

As for example, when the Turke ſayth, that he beleueth in one lyuyng God that made heauen and earth, his belief therin is true, yet it iuſtifieth hym not, becauſe it lacketh the right obiect, which is Chriſt. So when the Iewe ſayth that he beleueth in one God maker of heauē & earth, & beleueth alſo the ſame God to be omnipotent, mercyfull, iuſt, & true of promiſe, and that he hath elected the ſeede of Abraham: true it is that he beleueth, and yet all this ſerueth hym not, becauſe Chriſt the ſonne of God is not ioyned withall. And though the ſayd Iew ſhould be neuer ſo deuout in his prayers, or charitable in his almoſe, or preciſe in keepyng the law, and beleued neuer ſo ſtedfaſtly that he is elect to be ſaued: yet is he neuer the nearer to ſaluation for all this, ſo lōg as his fayth is not grounded vpon that head cornerſtone, which is the perſon and body of Chriſt Ieſus the true Sauiour. After like ſorte, it may alſo be ſayd of the Papiſt, when he ſayth that he is Baptiſed, and beleueth in the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God, and alſo confeſſeth Ieſus Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, whiche dyed for our ſinnes, and roſe agayne for our righteouſnes. &c. his belief therin is true, and in deede would ſaue hym, if he dyd ſtay his ſaluatiō in this fayth, and vpon Chriſtes his Sauiour, Onely, accordyng to the promiſe & grace of God, and go no farther. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admitte Chriſt onely to be his perfect Sauiour without ẏ helpe of other patrons, helpers, aduocates, & mediatours, nor yet permitteth his fayth in Chriſt, Onely, to be the meanes of his iuſtification, but ſeeketh by other bymeanes, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the Maſſe, confeſsion, penaūce, ſatiſfaction, merites, & pardons, ſuppoſing therby to worke his iuſtification before God, cōtrary to the word of promiſe, to the Goſpell of grace, & to the doctrine of S. Paule wherof we ſhall ſee more (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

The cauſes of our ſaluation diſtincted.

Grace and mercy. Election. Vocation. Chriſtes Paſſion. Chriſtian fayth.

The meanyng & cauſe why fayth onely iuſtifieth.

All workes of ma͠ excluded from the glory of iuſtifiyng.

And thus much of the true cauſes of our iuſtification after the doctrine of S. Paule. Concernyng whiche cauſes this diſtinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touchyng the originall cauſes of our ſaluation, whiche be diuers and ſondry, ſome are externall, and without vs: ſome are internall, and within vs. Of the externall cauſes whiche are without vs, the firſt and principall is the mercy & grace of God. Of this foloweth predeſtination and election. Then commeth vocatio͠. The laſt and next cauſe to vs is the death and bloudſhed of Chriſt wherby we are redemed, & all theſe be externall cauſes, becauſe they are without vs. Of internall cauſes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no mo in Scripture appointed, that is, our fayth in Chriſt, which is the gift of God in vs. Beſide this there is no gift of God giuen to man, vertue, worke, merite, nor any thyng els, that is any part or cauſe of ſaluation, but onely this gift of fayth, to beleue in Chriſt Ieſu. And this is the cauſe why we hold, that fayth onely iuſtifieth, meanyng, that amongeſt all the workes, deedes, actions, labours, and operations, whatſoeuer man doth or can do, there is nothyng in man that worketh ſaluation, but onely his fayth giuen to him of God to beleue in Chriſt his ſonne, folowyng therein the true trade of S. Paules teachyng, who in preciſe wordes ſo aſcribeth iuſtification to fayth, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and workes of the law: And therfore in the ſame Epiſtle to the Romanes, S. Paule reaſonyng of the glory of iuſtifiyng, aſketh the queſtion how this glory is excluded: whether by the law of workes? and concludeth, no: aſcribyng onely the glory therof to the law of fayth. And conſequently vpon the ſame he inferreth: Colligimus enim iuſtificari hominem per fidé ſine operibus legis. We hold that a man is iuſtified by fayth, without the deedes of the law.

Ephes. 2. Tit. 3. 2. Timot. 1.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 4.

The excluſiues and negatiues of S. Paule to be marked.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our iuſtification, whiche S. Paule vtterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? Of ſuch like excluſiues and negatiues the whole courſe of S. Paules doctrine is full, where he ſtill concludeth: Sine operibus, abſq; operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum eſt, non ex operibus ne quis glorietur, Ephe. 2. Non ex operibus iuſtitiæ quæ fecimus nos, &c. Tit. 3. Non ſecundum opera noſtra, &c. 2. Timot. 1. That is to ſay. It is the gift of God, not of workes, that no man ſhould glory. &c. Not of the workes of righteouſnes whiche we haue done, but of his owne mercy. &c. Not after our workes, but after his owne purpoſe, and grace whiche is giuen to vs, &c. Agayne Gal. 2. No͠ iuſtificatur homo ex operibus, &c. That is, A man is not iuſtified by workes, &c. Item. Ei qui non operatur, &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but beleueth in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is imputed to righteouſnes, &c. By theſe excluſiues, and negatiues in S. Paules doctrine what doth he els meane, but vtterly to ſeclude all kynde of mans merites, and workes of the law from the office and dignitie of iuſtifiyng? And although he expreſſeth not the word, Onely, yet vpon his excluſiues and negatiues, this exceptiue muſt needes be inferred. For in all Logike the conſequent is neceſſary and formall: as, one man is ſuffered to come into the houſe, and no perſon els is ſuffered, but one: Ergo, one man onely is ſuffered to enter into the houſe. And thus much concernyng fayth in Chriſt, proued to be the onely meane, or inſtrumentall, or conditionall cauſe of our ſaluation, & no other beſides the ſame alone, by the doctrine of S. Paule taught to the auncient Romanes.

The fift braunch.

The true vſe and end of good workes.

5. The fift braunch, which I note in S. Paules doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus eſtabliſhed vs in certeintie of our ſaluation through fayth in Chriſt; then after that, he exhorteth vs vehemently and with all inſtance to good workes, ſhewyng the true vſe and ende of good workes: whiche is, firſt to ſhewe our obedience and dutifull ſeruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done ſo great thynges for vs. Secondly, to relieue our neighbours with our charitie and kyndnes, as God hath bene kynde to vs his enemyes. Thirdly, to ſtyrre vp other by our example, to prayſe God, to embrace the ſame Religion, & to do the like. For requiſite it is, that as God hath bene ſo mercyfull to vs & gratious in eternall giftes, we ſhould be mercifull likewiſe to other in temporall commodities. And ſeyng it hath pleaſed him of his fatherly goodneſſe (of our partes ſo litle deſerued) to call vs to ſo high a vocation, to giue the bloud of his ſonne for vs, to forgeue vs all our ſinnes, to deliuer vs from this preſent wicked world, to make vs Citizens of heauen, yea his children, more then ſeruauntes: litle then can we do, and well may we thinke thoſe benefites ill beſtowed, if we forgiue not our neighbour, & ſhew ſome thyng agayne worthy that holy callyng wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifiyng our worldly luſtes here, and ſtudying after heauenly thynges: and finally if we beyng prouoked with ſuch loue and kyndnes, render not agayne ſome loue for loue, ſome kyndnes for kyndnes, ſeekyng how to walke in the ſteppes which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, ſeruyng hym (ſo much as we may) in holynes and righteouſnes all the dayes of our life. And though our obedience ſhall alwayes be vnperfect, do the beſt we can: yet reaſon would that ſome obedience we ſhould ſhew as louyng children to ſuch a louyng father.

Good workes iuſtifie not, but folow the iuſtified.

Luc. 17.

And this is the cauſe why S. Paule is ſo vehemēt and vrgent to call vpon good workes, not that workes ſhould iuſtifie, but that we beyng iuſtified ſo mercyfully & tenderly through his grace, ſhould not abuſe his grace in vayne, but endeuour our ſelues, to our vttermoſt, to rēder our ſeruice agayne to him, in ſuch conuerſation of lyfe as may moſt make to his glory, and profite of our neighbour. And though the wordes of our Sauiour ſeme in ſome places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewardes in heauen: that is of his owne free grace and goodnes ſo to impute ſmall matters for great deſertes, and not for vs to clayme any meede thereby or thanke at hys hand, as by any worthynes of our doynges, no more then the ſeruaunt when he commeth from the plough and ſeruyng the cattell in the field, ſerueth firſt his maſter at home, and waiteth vpon his table: the maſter is not bound (ſayth Chriſt) to thanke his ſeruaunt therfore, and byd him ſit downe. So you (ſayth he) when ye haue done that is commaunded you, ſay ye are vnprofitable ſeruauntes: ye haue done but what your bound duety was to do. Luc. 17.

Agayne, here alſo is to be vnderſtand, that where ſuch rewardes be aſcribed vnto mens deedes, it is not for the worthynes of the deede it ſelfe, but for the fayth of the doer, whiche fayth maketh the worke to be good in Gods ſight: for els if an infidell ſhould do the ſame worke that the Chriſtian doth, it were nothyng, but mere ſinne before God. In that therfore the Chriſtian ma͠s worke is accepted, be it neuer ſo ſmall (as to giue a cup of cold water) the ſame is onely for his fayth ſake that doth it, & not for the worke whiche is done. Wherby agayne we may learne how fayth onely doth iuſtifie a man, and that three maner of wayes.

Fayth iuſtifieth three maner of wayes.

Firſt it iuſtifieth the perſon in makyng hym accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begyn to do any good worke.

Secondly, it iuſtifieth a man from ſinne, in procuryng remiſſion and forgiuenes of the ſame.

Thirdly, it iuſtifieth the good deedes and workes of man, not onely in bryngyng forth good fruites, but alſo in makyng the ſame workes to be good and acceptable in the ſight of God, whiche otherwiſe were impure and execrable in his ſight.

The office of fayth and the office of the lawe compared together.

The workes of man be imperfect and therfore haue nothyng to do with iuſtification.

The office therfore of fayth and workes is diuers, and muſt not be confounded. Fayth firſt goeth before, and regenerateth a ma͠ to God, and iuſtifieth him in the ſight of God, both in couueryng his ill deedes, and in makyng hys good deedes acceptable to God, clymyng vp to heauen, and there wraſtlyng with God and his iudgement for righteouſnes, for ſaluation, and for euerlaſtyng lyfe. Workes and charitie, folow fayth, and are exerciſed here vpon the earth, and glorifieth onely before man, but not before God, in ſhewyng forth obedience both to God and to man. Further then this our good workes do not reach, nor haue any thyng to do in the iudgement of God touchyng ſaluation. I ſpeake of our good workes (as S. Paule ſpeaketh Rom. 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For els if our workes could be perfect, accordyng to the perfection of the law, and as Chriſt wrought them in the perfection of his fleſh, that is, if we could performe them, and tranſgreſſe neuer a iote, ſo might we lyue in them, as it is ſayd: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But now, ſeyng the imbecillitie of our fleſh can not atteine thereto, it foloweth therof that all glory of iuſtifiyng is take͠ fro͠ workes, and transferred onely to fayth.

Gal. 1.

Defection of fayth in the Churche of Rome.

And thus much concernyng the principall contentes of S. Paules doctrine. Wherein the Churche of the auncient Romanes firſt was grounded and planted, and ſo continued in the ſame, or at leaſt did not much alter, duryng the primitiue ſtate of the Church. Likewiſe the ſame forme of doctrine the latter Romanes alſo that folowed ſhould haue maintened, and not haue fallen away for any mans preachyng, but hold hym accurſed, yea if he were any Apoſtle or an Aungell from heauen, teachyng any other doctrine beſides that inſtruction which they had receiued. Gal. 1. For ſo were they warned before by the Apoſtle S. Paule, to do. And yet notwithſtandyng all this forewarnyng and diligent inſtruction of this bleſſed Apoſtle of the Gentiles, what a defection of fayth is fallen among the Gentiles, eſpecially among the Romanes, whereof the ſayd Apoſtle alſo foretold them ſo long before, in propheſiyng: That the day of the

Lord ſhall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of ſinne ſhould be reueled, the proude aduerſary of God. &c. 2. Theſſal. 2. meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a partyng and a fallyng from that fayth whiche the holy ghoſt had then planted by his miniſtery, among the Gentiles. As we ſee it now come to paſſe in the Churche of Rome. Whiche Churche is ſo gone from the fayth that S. Paule taught, that if he were now alyue, and ſaw theſe Decrees & Decretals of the Byſhop of Rome, theſe heapes of ceremonies & traditions, theſe Maſſe bookes, theſe Portuiſes, theſe Feſtiuals and Legendes, theſe Proceſſionals, Hymnes and Sequences, theſe Beades and Graduals, & maner of their inuocation, their Canons, cenſures, and latter Councels, ſuch ſwarmes of ſuperſtitious Monkes and Friers, ſuch ſectes of ſo many diuers religions, the Teſtament of S. Frannces, the rule of S. Benedict, of S. Brigit, of S. Anthony. &c. the intricate ſubtleties and labyrinthes of the ſcholemen, the infinite caſes and diſtinctions of the Canoniſtes, the Sermons in Churches, the aſſertions in ſcholes, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of perſecutyng Prelates with their officials & promotors: he would ſay this were not a defection, but rather a playne deſtruction and a ruine of fayth: neither that this were any true Church of Chriſt, but a new found Religion, or paganiſme rather, brought in vnder the ſhadow of Chriſtianitie, wherin remaineth almoſt nothing els but the name onely of Chriſt, and the outward forme of his religion, the true vayne, and effect wherof is vtterly decayed, as to them which liſt to examine all the partes of this new Romiſhe Religion, may ſoone appeare.

A vew of the Popes Catholicke Church.

The Churche of Rome degenerated agayne almoſt to new paganiſme.

For ſaue onely that they pretend the ſolemne forme and wordes of the Creede, & are Baptiſed, cōfeſſing the name of the father, the ſonne, & holy Ghoſt: As touchyng all other poyntes, and true ſinceritie of the Chriſtian faith which they outwardly profeſſe, they are vtterly degenerated from that, which S. Paule & the word of God firſt had taught them.

First, they cōfeſſe the father in word, but his will in his word expreſſed they renounce, his grace they acknowledge not, his benefites and promiſes giuen vnto vs in his ſonne they receaue not, the vigor of his law they feele not, the terrour of his iudgementes earneſtly they feare not, his commaundementes they obſcure by the traditions and commaundementes of their owne.

The Popes Church onely in wordes Catholicke, in deede heatheniſhe.

Likewiſe the name of Chriſt his ſonne in worde they confeſſe, but his office in deede they deface and diminiſh: his glory they ſeeke not, but vnder his name they do ſeeke their owne: the power of his bloud and Paſſion they know not, or els diſſemble it, whom neither they admitte to be the head of his Church alone, nor Sauiour alone, nor onely to be our [illegible] & aduocate: but match with him our Lady, and other patrons, ſo that euery Pariſh almoſt in Chriſtendome hath his peculiar patrone beſides Chriſt to hold by.

In like maner they confeſſe the name of the holy Ghoſt. But God hym ſelfe knoweth how farre they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taſt of the holy Ghoſt, as well may appeare by their Councels, by their expoundyng of Scripture, by their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, by their outward worſhippyng and Idolatrous inuocation to ſtockes and ſtones and dead creatures, by their ſcrupulous obſeruation of dayes, tymes, places, numbers and geſtures: And no leſſe alſo by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poore hartes of ſimple Chriſtians, of their due conſolation, ioy, and libertie in the holy Ghoſt, & keepeth them ſtill in a ſeruile bondage, and a doubtfull uncerteinty of their ſaluation, contrary to the workyng of the holy ſpirite of God.

The Religion of the Popes churche procedeth contrary to the workyng of the holy ghoſt.

And thus the Churche of Rome pretendyng onely the name of Chriſt and of his Religion, is ſo farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that vnder the name of Chriſt, it perſecuteth both Chriſt and his Religiō: workyng more harme to the Churche of Chriſt, then euer did the open tyrantes and perſecutyng Emperours among the heathen: Not much vnlike herein to the old Synagoge of the Scribes and Phariſeis, who vnder the name of God, crucified the ſonne of God, and vnder pretence of the law, fought againſt the Goſpell, and vnder the title of Abrahams [illegible], perſecuted the children of Abraham. And as they [illegible] ſo highly of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, dyd in deede deſtroy the true Temple of the Lord: right ſo theſe pretenſed Catholickes in theſe dayes, after they haue rayſed vp a Catholicke Churche of their owne, and haue armed the ſame with lawes, and haue gathered vnto them a power of Prieſtes, Prelates, Abbates, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinals, and alſo of ſecular Princes to take their part, now vnder the name of the Catholicke church, they perſecute the true Catholicke church, and colouryng their proceedinges ſtill with In nomine Domini, moſt cruelly they put them to death, which dye pro nomine Domini, condemning them for heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, and rebels, not which deny any part of the Creede, whiche they them ſelues profeſſe, nor ſuch whom they can conuince by any Scripture, but onely ſuch which will not ioyne with their errours and hereſies cōtrary to the honour of God, and truth of his word.

The Churche of Rome pretendeth a fayre face of Religion, but is voyde of the effect therof.

The old Phariſeis, and the latter Church of Romaines compared together.

The Popes Churche vnder the name of the Catholicke churche perſecuteth the true Catholicke Churche of Chriſt.

And leſt any ſhould thinke this that we here proteſt agaynſt the corrupt errours and manifold deformities of this latter Church of Rome, to procede of any rancor or affection, rather then grounded of neceſſary cauſes, and demonſtrations euident, my purpoſe is (by the Lordes leaue) to take herein ſome litle payne, that as I haue collected a litle before, the ſumme & contentes of S. Paules doctrine, wherewith the old Churche of Rome was firſt ſeaſoned and acquaynted: ſo now as in a like ſummary table, to deſcrybe the particular braunches and contentes of the Popes doctrine now ſet forth, to the intent that all true Chriſtian readers comparyng the one with the other may diſcerne what great alteration there is betweene the Church of Rome that now is, and the Church of Rome that then was, planted by the Apoſtles in the primitiue tyme. And to open to the ſimple reader ſome way whereby he may the better iudge in ſuch matters of doctrine, and not be deceiued in diſcernyng truth from errour, firſt we ſhall propounde certeine principles or generall poſitions, as infallible rules or truthes of Scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men beyng tryed and examined as with the touchſtone, may the more ſafely be iudged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make agaynſt the Scripture, or no.

¶*Certeine Principles or generall verities grounded vpon the truth of Gods word.*

Certeine generall principles & rules gathered of the ſcriptures.

¶The firſt Principle.

1. As ſinne and death came originally by the diſobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: ſo righteouſnes and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him, by faith and Baptiſme. Rom. 5.

¶The 2. Principle.

2. The promiſe of God was freely giuen to our firſt parentes without their deſeruyng, that the ſeede of a woman ſhould breake the Serpentes head. Gen. 3.

Gen. 3.

¶The 3. Principle.

3. Promiſe was giuen freely to Abraham before he deſerued any thyng, that in his ſeede all nations ſhould be bleſſed. Gen. 12.

Gen. 12.

¶The 4. Principle.

4. To the word of God neither muſt we adde, nor take from it. Deut. 4.

Deut. 4.

¶The 5. Principle.

5. He that doth the workes of the law, ſhall lyue therein. Leuit. 18. Gal. 3.

Leuit. 18. Gal. 3.

¶The 6. Principle.

6. Accurſed is he, which abideth not in euery thyng that is written in the booke of the law. Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

¶The 7. Principle.

7. God onely is to be worſhipped. Deut. 6. Luc. 4.

Deut. 6. Luc. 4.

¶The 8. Principle.

8. All our righteouſnes is like a defiled cloth of a woman. Eſay. 64.

Eſay. 64.

¶The 9. Principle.

9. In all my holy hill, they ſhall not kill, nor ſlay, ſayth the Lord. Eſay. 11. 65.

Eſay. 11. 65.

¶The 10. Principle.

10. God loueth mercy and obedience, more then ſacrifice. Oſee. 6. 1. Reg. 15.

Oſee. 6. 1. Reg. 15.

¶The 11. Principle.

11. The lawe worketh anger, condemneth, and openeth ſinne. Rom. 3.

Rom. 3.

¶The 12. Principle.

12. The end of the law is Chriſt, to righteouſnes to euery one that beleueth. Rom. 10.

Rom. 10.

¶The 13. Principle.

13. Whoſoeuer beleueth and is Baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. Mat. vlt.

Mat. vlt.

¶The 14. Principle.

14. A man is iuſtified by fayth without workes freely by grace, not of our ſelues. Gal. 2. Ephe. 2.

Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2.

¶The 15. Principle.

15. There is no remiſſion of ſinnes without bloud. Heb. 9.

Heb. 9.

¶The 16. Principle.

16. Whatſoeuer is not of fayth is ſinne. Rom. 14. Without fayth it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. Heb. 11.

Rom. 14. Heb. 11.

¶The 17. Principle.

1.Timot.2. 1.John.2.

17. One Mediatour betwene God and man Chriſt Jeſus 1.Timot.2.& he is the propitiatiō for our ſinnes.1.John.2.

¶The 18.Principle.

Gal.5.

18. Who ſoeuer ſeeketh in the law to be iuſtified, is fallen from grace.

¶The 19.Principle.

2.Cor.1.

19. In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God, Eſt & Amen. 2.Cor.1.

¶The 20.Principle.

Rom.13.

20. Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to ſuperiour powers, geuyng to Cæſar that which is Cæſars, & to God that whiche is Gods.Rom.13.

These principles and infallible rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny,ſo if they be graunted,the doctrine then of the Popes Church muſt needes be founde not to be Catholicke, but rather full of errours and hereſies, as in the ſequele folowyng remaineth more expreſſely and particularly by the grace of Chriſt,to be conuinced.

¶Here foloweth a Summary collection of the errours, hereſies, and abſurdities conteyned in the Popes doctrine, contrary to the rules of Gods worde, and the firſt inſtitution of the Churche of Rome.

¶Of Fayth and Iuſtification.

The errours,hereſies,and abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

FIrſt, as touchyng the onely meanes and inſtrumentall cauſe of our iuſtificatiō,wherby the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion be applied to vs & made ours,ye heard before, how S.Paule onely aſcribeth the ſame to fayth:as appeareth by all his letters, eſpecially to the Romanes. Where he excludyng all kynde of workes, aſcribeth all our ſaluation, iuſtification,rightuouſnes, reconciliation, and peace with God, onely to fayth in Chriſt. Contrary to whiche doctrine the Pope and his Churche hath ſet vp diuers and ſondry other meanes of their own deuiſing,wherby ỹ merites of Chriſts Paſſion (they ſay)are applyed to vs and made ours,to the puttyng away of ſinnes, and for our iuſtification, as hope, charitie,ſacrifice of the Maſſe,auricular confeſſion, ſatiſfaction,merites of Saintes,and holy orders, the Popes pardons &c. So that Chriſtes ſacrifice,ſtripes, and ſufferyng, by this teachyng doth not heale vs, nor is beneficiall to vs, though we beleue neuer ſo well, vnles we adde alſo theſe workes,and merites aboue recited. Which if it be true, then is it falſe that Eſay the Prophet doth promiſe:chap. 53. In his ſtripes all we are made hole, &c. This errour and hereſie of the Church of Rome, though it ſeeme at firſt ſight to the naturall reaſon of man to be but of ſmall importance, yet if it be earneſtly conſidered, it is in very deede the moſt pernicious hereſie that euer almoſt crept into the Churche: vpon the which,as the onely foūdation,all, or the moſt part of all the errours,abſurdities,& inconueniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this beyng once admitted, that a man is not iuſtified by his fayth in Chriſt alone, but that other meanes muſt be ſought by our owne workyng & merites to apply the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion vnto vs, thē is there neither any certeinty left of our ſaluation, nor ende in ſettyng vp new meanes and merites of our owne deuiſing,for remiſſion of ſinnes. Neither hath there bene any hereſie that either hath rebelled more preſumptuouſly agaynſt the high Maieſtie of God the father, nor more perniciouſly hath iniuried the ſoules of the ſimple,then this doctrine.

The meanes of applying Chriſtes merites vnto vs by the Popes doctrine.

The takyng away of this Article of fayth onely to iuſtifie, is the roote of great inconuenience in Chriſtes Church.

No hereſie to be compared to the hereſie of the Papiſtes. The firſt inconuenience.

Firſt of all it ſubuerteth the will & Teſtament of God. For where almighty God of mercy hath giuen vs his ſonne to dye for vs,and with him hath giuen out his full promiſe, that whoſoeuer beleue vpon hym ſhould be ſaued by their fayth, and aſſigneth none other condition either of law or any workes, but onely of fayth, to be the meanes betwene his ſonne and vs: theſe men take vpon them to alter this Teſtament that God hath ſet,and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in his word neuer appointed nor knew. To whom the wordes of Hierome may be well applyed, vpon the Epiſtle to the Galat. ſpeakyng of ſuch. Qui de Euangelio Chriſti faciunt hominis Euangelium, vel quod peius eſt, Diaboli,&c. That is, Which make of the Goſpel of Chriſt, the Goſpell of men,or rather the Goſpell of the deuill.&c.

No conditiō limited of God to man for ſaluation but one.

Hierony. in Epiſt.ad Gal. cap.1.

Secondly, where as the Chriſtian reader in the Goſpell,readyng of the great grace and ſweete promiſes of God giuen to mankynd in Chriſt his ſonne, might thereby take much cōfort of ſoule,and be at reſt and peace with the Lord his God:commeth in the peſtiferous doctrine of theſe heretickes,wherwith they obſcure this free grace of God,choke the ſweete comfortes of man in the holy Ghoſt,and oppreſſe Chriſten libertie, and bryng our ſpirituall freedome agayne into bondage.

The 2. inconuenience. What hurt commeth into the Churche, by takyng away the Article of iuſtification.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they ſhew them ſelues manifeſt enemyes to Gods grace: ſo are they no leſſe iniurious to Chriſten men, whom they leaue in a doubtfull diſtruſt of Gods fauour and of their ſaluation,contrary to the word and will of God, and right inſtitution of the Apoſtolicke doctrine. And whereas our new ſcholemen of late,to mainteine the ſayd wicked poynt of doctrine,do obiect vnto vs that we rather leaue mens conſciences vncerteine, for ſomuch as,if lyfe (ſay they) were not a due reward,it were vncerteine. And now for ſomuch as due debe is certaine, and mercy or fauour is vncerteine, therefore (ſay they) we leauyng mens conſciences to the mercy of God,do leaue thē in a doubtfull incerteintie of their ſaluatiō. To this I aunſwere, that due debe, if it be proued by the law duely deſerued,it muſt be certeine. But if the law ſhall proue it vnperfect or vnſufficiently due, then is it not certeine, neither can there be any thyng duely claymed. Now as touchyng mercy, ſo long as it remayneth ſecrete in the Princes will,and not knowen to his ſubiectes, ſo long it is vncertaine. But when this mercy ſhalbe openly publiſhed by proclamation,ratified by promiſe, confirmed by will and Teſtament, eſtabliſhed in bloud, and ſealed with Sacramentes,then this mercy remaineth no more doubtfull, but ought firmely to be beleued of euery true faythfull ſubiect. And therfore S.Paule,to eſtabliſh our hartes in this aſſuraunce,and to aunſwere to this doubt, in his Epiſtle to the Romanes doth teach vs,ſaying: And therfore of fayth, that after grace the promiſe might be firme & ſure to the whole ſeede of Abrahā.&c.Rom. 4. meanyng hereby, that workes haue nothyng to do in this caſe of Iuſtifiyng, and noteth the reaſon why. For then our ſaluation ſhould ſtand in a doubtfull waueryng,becauſe in workyng we are neuer certeine whether our deſertes be perfect and ſufficient in Gods iudgement,or no. And therfore (ſayth S.Paule) to the intent our ſaluation ſhould be out of all doubt,and certeine, it ſtandeth not of workes in deſeruyng, but of fayth in apprehendyng,and of Gods free grace in promiſing.

The 3. inconuenience.

Obiection of the Papiſtes aunſwered.

The Papiſtes do teach the mercy of God to be vncerteine.

Mercy of God made certaine by his owne promiſes.

Saluation ſtandeth ſure and certaine by Gods promiſe.

The place of S. Paule.Rom.4. expounded.

Fourthly,as in this their ſiniſter doctrine they breake this principle of Chriſtian Religion,which ſayth that a mā is iuſtified by fayth without workes [illegible] it breaketh an other principle aboue rehearſed. [illegible] rule beyng graunted that nothyng is to be [illegible] worde, nor taken from it: then haue theſe [illegible] in addyng (as they do) to Gods word. [illegible] the word of God limiteth to our iuſtification [illegible] condition but fayth: Beleue (ſayth he) in the Lord Ieſus and thou ſhalt be ſaued, & thy whole houſe.&c.Act.16. theſe Iuſticiaries do adde thereto diuers and ſondry other cōditions beſides, and ſuch as the word alſo preciſely excludeth,as hope,charitie, the ſacrifice of their Maſſe, the worke of the Prieſt Ex opere operato, auricular confeſſion,ſatiſfactiō,meritorious deedes,&c. And thus much concernyng the doctrine of fayth and iuſtification,wherby it may appeare to what horrible blyndnes and blaſphemy,the Church of Rome is now fallen: where this kynde of doctrine is not onely ſuffered, but alſo publikely profeſſed,which ſpeakyng agaynſt faith,thus blaſphemouſly dare ſay: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certò ſtatuit propter Chriſtum ſibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, ſeſeq; poſſeſſurū vitam æternam,non fides eſt,ſed temeritas: non ſpiritus ſancti perſuaſio, ſed humanæ audaciæ præſumptio. That is: That fayth,wherewith a man firmely beleueth and certeinly aſſureth him ſelfe,that for Chriſtes ſake his ſinnes be forgiuen him,and that he ſhall poſſeſſe eternall life,is not faith, but raſhnes: not the perſuaſion of the holy Ghoſt, but preſumption of a mans boldnes.

The 4. inconuenience.

The 4.principle aboue recited broken.

Ex Lindano in Epitome doctrina Euangelica.

¶Of workes,and the law.

AS touchyng the doctrine of good workes and the law, what the teachyng of S. Paule was to the Romanes, ye heard before. Who although he excludeth good workes frō the office of Iuſtifiyng,yet excludeth he them not frō the practiſe and conuerſation of Chriſten lyfe,but moſt earneſtly calleth vpō all faithfull beleuers in Chriſt,to walke worthy their vocation, to lay downe their old conuerſation, to giue their mēbers ſeruauntes of rightuouſnes,to offer their bodyes vp to God a liuely ſacrifice &c. The like example of whoſe teachyng, if the Churches now reformed do not folow,let their Sermōs,their preachinges,writynges,exhortynges,and liues alſo beare record. Who although they can not ſay with Chriſt: Which of you can blame me of ſinne? yet they may ſay to the aduerſaries, who ſoeuer of you is without fault, caſt the firſt ſtone of reproche agaynſt vs. Wherfore Hoſius, Pighius, with their fellowes, do them open wrong,and ſlaunderouſly belye them in comparyng them in this behalfe to Ærius,Eunomius, and other heretickes cal-

The firſt errour of the Papiſtes touching good workes.

Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſsionis Cap.1.

led Anomæi, who takyng the good ſentences of S. Paule, did abuſe the ſame to filthy licence of the fleſh, and corruptiō of wicked lyfe, &c.

But to let theſe ſlaunders paſſe, now what the errours be of the Churche of Rome touchyng this part of doctrine, remayneth to be declared. whoſe errour firſt ſtādeth in this, that they miſunderſtandyng the definition of good workes, do call good workes not ſuch as properly are commaunded by the law of God: but ſuch as are agreable to the Popes law: As buildyng of Abbayes, and Churches, giuing to the high altar, foundyng of trentals, findyng of chauntreis, gildyng of Images, hearing of Maſſes, going on pilgrimage, fightyng for the holy croſſe, keepyng of vowes, entryng to orders, faſtyng of vigiles, creepyng to the Croſſe, prayng to Saintes, &c. All whiche are not onely reputed for good workes, but ſo preferred alſo before all other workes, that to theſe is giuen pardon from the Pope, double and triplefold more, then to any other good worke of charitie commaunded in the law of almightie God.

The ſecond errour of the Papiſtes in the doctrine of good workes.

Fayth the roote and cauſe of good workes.

Workes are not to be called good but by reaſon of fayth.

The office of fayth to iuſtifie.

The effect of fayth to bryng forth good workes.

Fides per dilectionē operans. Gal. 5.

An other errour alſo may be noted in the Papiſtes, touchyng the efficient or formall cauſe of good workes. For albeit they all confeſſe in their bookes, that Gratia Dei gratis data, is the chief principall cauſe therof, and worketh in vs iuſtitiam primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration, they referre to other ſubordinate cauſes vnder God, as to free will, or to habitum virtutis, or ad integra naturalia, and nothyng at all to fayth. Whē as fayth onely next vnder God, is the roote and fountaine of all well doyng: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the huſbandman be the principall agent therof, and ſome cauſe alſo may be in the good ground, yet the next and immediate cauſe is the roote that maketh the tree fruitefull. In like maner the grace of God, in a ſoft and repentaunt mollified hart planteth the gift of fayth. Fayth as a good roote can not lye dead or vnoccupyed, but ſpringeth forth and maketh both the tree fruitfull, and alſo the fruites therof to be good, whiche otherwiſe had no acceptation nor goodnes in them were it not for the goodnes of the roote from whence they ſpryng. So Paule, although he had certeine workes in him, ſuch as they were, before his conuerſion, yet had he no good workes before the grace of Chriſt had rooted fayth in him. So Mary Magdalene the ſinner, and Zacheus the Publicane. So all nations of the Gentiles begā to bryng forth fruite, and eſpecially good fruite, when they began to be ingrafted in Chriſt & to receaue the roote of his fayth, whoſe fruites before that were all dānable and vnſauery. As touchyng the cauſe therfore of good workes, there is no other in man but fayth, whoſe office as it is to iuſtifie vs in heauen: ſo the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the roote worketh by the ſappe. For as a man ſeeth and feeleth by fayth, the loue and grace of God toward hym in Chriſt his ſonne: ſo begynneth he to loue agayne both God & man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly ſpringeth the runnyng fountaine of all good workes, and deedes of charitie.

The 3. errour of the Papiſtes touchyng the end of the law and good workes. The end of the law and good workes peruerted.

Thom. Aquinat. Hoſius in 2. tom. cōfeſ. cap. 2.

The diuers opinions of the Catholicke Papiſtes, how fayth iuſtifieth.

The Popes doctrine agaynſt the principles of Scripture.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cauſe of good workes, ſo do they erre much more in the end of the law, & of good workes: for where S. Paule teacheth the law to be giuē to this vſe & end, to conuict our tranſgreſſions, to proue vs ſinners, to ſhew and condēne our infirmitie, and ſo driue vs to Chriſt: they take and apply no other end to the law, but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, and to make vs iuſt before God. And likewiſe, where S. Paule proueth all our good workes to be vnperfect, and vtterly ſecludeth them from the end of Iuſtifying: they contrariwiſe do teach, as though the end of good workes were to merite remiſſion of ſinnes, to ſatiſfie vnto God, to deſerue grace, to redeme ſoules from Purgatory, and that by them the perſon of the regenerate man doth pleaſe God and is made iuſt before God. For ſo they teach moſt wickedly and horribly, ſaying: That Chriſt ſuffered for originall ſinne, or ſinnes goyng before Baptiſme, but the actuall ſinnes, which follow after Baptiſme, muſt be done away by mens merites. And ſo they aſſigne to Chriſt the begynnyng of ſaluation, or obteinyng of the firſt grace (as they call it) but the perfection or conſummation of grace, they geue to workes and our owne ſtrength. Neither can they in any caſe abyde, that we be iuſtified freely by the mercy of God through fayth onely, apprehēdyng the merites of Chriſt. Howbeit neither do all papiſtes in this their errour agree in one. For ſome make diſtinction and ſay: that we are iuſtified by Chriſt principaliter. i. principally: & minus principaliter. i. leſſe principally, by the dignitie of our owne deedes, contrary to the 8. principle before mentioned: page. 24. Other hold that we are made righteous before God, not by the workes that go before fayth: but by our vertues that follow after. Some agayne do thus expounde the ſaying of S. Paule: We are iuſtified by faith: that is (ſay they) by fayth preparyng vs, or ſettyng vs in a good way to be iuſtified. Other expoūde it by the figure Sinecdoche, that is, by fayth conioyned together with other vertues. Other thus: by faith, that is, beyng formed with charitie, &c. Thus all theſe do derogate from the benefite of Chriſt, and attribute vnto workes a great or the greateſt part of our iuſtificatiō, directly agaynſt the true veyne of S. Paules doctrine and firſt inſtitution of the auncient Church of Rome, and agaynſt all the principles of holy Scripture.

The 4. errour of the Papiſtes touching the imperfectiō of man in ſatiſfying the perfection of the law.

Agaynſt the principles of Scripture.

Preceptes & Counſailes.

Workes of ſupererogation.

Mens traditions preferred before the workes of Gods law.

Agaynſt the principle of Scripture.

Furthermore, as touchyng the ſayd doctrine of the law & workes, they erre in miſunderſtandyng the nature of the law and workes. For where S. Paule diſputeth that the law is ſpirituall, & requireth of vs perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we beyng carnall are neuer able to accompliſh: they affirme otherwiſe, that the law doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented: And this obedience, they ſay, man is not onely able to performe, but alſo to do more and greater thynges then the law requireth. wherof riſeth the workes of ſupererogation, contrary to the 6. and 8. principles aboue ſpecified, pag. 24. Alſo there be, ſay they, among other certaine workes of the law, which pertaine not to all men, but are conſilia, counſayles, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merite by, and theſe they call opera perfectionis, or opera indebita: addyng alſo to theſe new deuiſes to ſerue God after their owne traditions beſides the word of God, as Monaſticall vowes, willfull pouertie, difference of meates and garmentes, pilgrimage to reliques and Saintes, worſhyppyng of the dead, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, roſaries, &c. with ſuch like, and theſe they call workes of perfection, whiche they preferre before the other commaunded in the law of God. In ſo much that in compariſon of theſe, the other neceſſary ductyes commaunded and commended by the word of God (as to beare office in the common wealth, to lyue in the godly ſtate of matrimony, to ſuſteyne the office of a ſeruaunt in a houſe) is contemned, and accounted as prophane in compariſon of theſe, contrary to the 10. principle aboue mentioned, pag. 14.

¶*Of Sinne.*

Erroneous doctrine of the latter Churche of Rome concernyng ſinne.

OF Sinne likewiſe they teach not rightly, nor after the Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, and the auncient Churche of Rome, while they conſider not the deepenes and largenes of ſinne, ſuppoſing ſinne to be nothyng els but inward actions with conſent of will, or outward, ſuch as are agaynſt will: where as the ſtrength of ſinne extendeth not onely to theſe, but alſo comprehendeth the blyndnes and ignoraunce of the mynde, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the vntowardnes of mans mynde to Godward, the priuy rebellion of the hart agaynſt the law of God, the vnwillyng will of man to God and his word. The ſenſe of fleſh Saint Paule alſo calleth an enemy agaynſt God, and feeleth in hym ſelfe, that is, in his fleſh nothyng dwellyng but ſinne. Rom. 7.

Originall ſinne what it is.

Fomes peccati.

Concupiſcētia.

Originall ſinne extenuated.

As touchyng alſo originall ſinne, wherin we are borne, which is the deſtruction of originall iuſtice, and of Gods Image in vs (remaynyng in vs and bryngyng forth in vs wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtynes, agaynſt the law of God, and neuer ceaſeth, ſo long as man lyueth) this originall ſinne the Popes doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the ſame and holdeth that this inward concupiſcence and vicious affections not braſtyng out in vs with conſent of will, are no mortall nor damnable ſinne, but onely fomes peccati: And ſay moreouer, that this concupiſcentia in vs, is no deprauation of the higher, but onely of the lower partes of man, beyng as a thyng ἀδιάφορον, indifferent, and no leſſe naturall in vs then is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the ſame is left to remaine in the Saintes after Baptiſme, to be to thē occaſion of more merityng, &c.

¶*Of Penaunce, or Repentaunce.*

Falſe doctrine of the latter Church of Rome, touchyng penaunce.

Contrition.

Confeſſion.

OF Penaunce, this latter Laterane Church of Rome, of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before, pag. 24.) whiche penaunce ſay they, ſtandeth of 3. partes. Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satiſfaction canonicall. Contritiō (as they teach) may be had by ſtrēgth of free will, without the law, and the holy ghoſt per actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeuour. whiche contrition firſt muſt be ſufficient, and ſo it meriteth remiſſion of ſinne. In confeſſion, they require a full rehearſall of all ſinnes, whereby the Prieſt knowyng the crimes, may miniſter ſatiſfaction accordyngly. And this rehearſing of

Satiſfactiō.

ſinnes, ex opere operato deſtroyeth remiſſion, contrary to the 14. principle before, pag. 14. Satiſfactions they call opera indebita, enioyned by the ghoſtly father. And this ſatiſfaction (ſay they) taketh away, and chaungeth eternall puniſhment into temporall paynes, which paynes alſo it doth mitigate. And agayne, theſe ſatiſfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence, &c.

True doctrine of repētaūce by the Scripture. Partes of repentaūce. 1. Contritiō. 2. Fayth. 3. New obedience.

This vnſauery and heatheniſh doctrine of penaunce farre differeth from the true teachyng of holy Scripture. By the which teachyng repentaunce properly contayneth theſe 3. partes: contrition, fayth, and new lyfe. Contrition is called in Scripture the ſorow of hart, riſing vpon the conſideration of ſinne committed, and of the anger of God prouoked: whiche ſorow driueth a man to Chriſt for ſuccour: whereupon ryſeth fayth. Fayth bryngeth afterward amendement or newnes of lyfe, which we call new obed. &c, workyng fruites worthy of repentaunce.

¶ *Difference betwene the law and the Goſpell.*

The blynde ignoraunce of the popes Churche in not diſtincting the law frō the Goſpell.
A Babylonicall confuſion in the Popes doctrine.
What difference the papiſtes put betwen Moſes & Chriſt.
Papiſtes make the Goſpell a new law.
Papiſtes diuide the law, into the law of nature, the law of Moſes, & the law of Chriſt.
The Popes church blind in the office of Chriſt.

AS there is nothyng more neceſſary and comfortable for troubled conſciences, then to be well inſtructed in the difference betwene the law and the Goſpell: ſo is the church of Rome much to blame in this behalfe, becauſe it confoundeth together thoſe ij. being in nature ſo diuers and contrary one frō the other: as threatnynges and promiſes, thinges temporall with thynges eternall, ſorowfull thynges with glad tydynges, death with lyfe, bondage with freedome, &c. teachyng the people, that whatſoeuer the lawe ſayth the Goſpell confirmeth, and whatſoeuer the Goſpell ſayth, the ſame is agreable to the law, and ſo make they no difference betwene Moſes and Chriſt, ſaue onely that Moſes (they ſay) was the geuer of the old law, Chriſt is geuer of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the Goſpell to be nothyng els but a new law geuen by Chriſt, byndyng to the promiſes therof the condition of our doynges and deſeruynges, no otherwiſe, then to the old law. And ſo deuide they the whole law after this diſtinction, into 3. partes, to wytte the law of Nature, the law of Moſes, and the law of Chriſt. And as for the Goſpell (they ſay) it is reueled for no other cauſe, but to ſhew to the world more perfect preceptes and counſayles, then were in the old law: to the fulfillyng wherof they attribute iuſtification, and ſo leaue the poore conſciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manifold errours: bryngyng the people into a falſe opinion of Chriſt, as though he were not a remedy agaynſt the law, but came as an other Moſes, to geue a new law to the world.

The tyme of the law, and tyme of the Goſpell diſtincted.

Furthermore as they make no difference betwene the nature of the law and nature of the Goſpell, confoundyng Moſes and Chriſt together: ſo neither do they diſtinct or diſcerne the tyme of the law, and tyme of the Goſpell a ſonder. For where S. Paul bryngeth in the law to be a ſcholemaſter, and limiteth hym his tyme vnto Chriſt: and ſayth that Chriſt is the ende of the lawe, that is, whereas the law ceaſeth, there Chriſt beginneth, and where Chriſt beginneth, there the law endeth, they contrary make the law to haue no end nor ceaſing, but giue to it immortall lyfe and kyngdome equall with Chriſt, ſo that Chriſt and the law together do reigne ouer the ſoule & conſcience of man. which is vntrue. For either Chriſt muſt giue place, and the law ſtand: Or els the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law I meane) muſt ende, and Chriſt reigne. For both theſe, Chriſt and the law, grace and malediction, can not reigne and gouerne together. But Chriſt the ſonne of God which once dyed, can dye no more, but muſt reigne for euer. Wherfore the law with his ſtrength, ſtyng, and curſe, muſt needes ceaſe and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paule ſpeakyng of the triumph of Chriſt, ſayth: that he aſcendyng vp led away captiuitie captiue, & hath ſet man at liberty, not at libertie to liue as fleſh lyſteth, neither hath freed him frō the vſe & exerciſe of the law: but frō the dominiō & power of the law, ſo that there is now no condemnation to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, which walke not after the fleſh. &c. Rom. 8. And in an other place S. Paule ſpeakyng of the ſame power and dominion of the law, ſayth, that Chriſt hath taken the obligation written agaynſt vs in Decrees, and hath nayled it vpon the Croſſe, triumphyng ouer all. &c. ſo that as the kyngdome of Chriſt firſt began vpon the Croſſe, euē ſo vpon the ſame Croſſe, and at the ſame time the kyngdome of the law expired, & the malediction of the law was ſo crucified vpon the Croſſe, that it ſhall neuer riſe agayn, to haue any power agaynſt them that be in Chriſt Ieſu. For lyke as if a woman be diſcharged from her firſt huſband beyng dead, and hath maryed an other man, the firſt huſband hath no more power ouer her: euē ſo we now beyng eſpouſed vnto Chriſt our ſecond huſband, are diſcharged vtterly from our firſt huſbād the law: and (as S. Paule, in an other place ſayth) are no more vnder the law, that is, vnder the dominion and malediction of the law, but vnder grace, that is, vnder perpetuall remiſſion of all ſinnes, committed not onely before our Baptiſme, but as well alſo after Baptiſme, & duryng all our life long. For therin properly conſiſteth the grace of God, in not imputyng ſinne vnto vs, ſo often as the repentyng ſinner riſing vp by fayth flyeth vnto Chriſt, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remiſſion promiſed in hym, accordyng to the teſtimonie both of the Pſalme: Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not ſinne. &c. and alſo of all the Prophetes, whiche (as S. Peter ſayth) giue recorde to hym, that through his name all that beleue in him ſhall receaue remiſſion of their ſinnes. &c. Act. 10. Whiche beyng ſo, as it can not be denyed, then what needeth theſe priuate and extraordinary remiſſions to be brought into the Churche by eare confeſſion, by meritorious deedes, and by the Popes pardons? for if there be no condemnation but by the law: and if this law it ſelfe be captiued, crucified, aboliſhed, and departed, which was the firſt huſband, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, or by whom ſhould it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and generall deliueraunce for all men, once gotten by the victory of Chriſt, from the penalty of the law: what needeth then any particular remiſſion of ſinnes, at ſondry tymes to be ſought at the Prieſtes handes or the Popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for ſinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer to all them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confeſſion? If it be not generall and perpetuall, how then is it true that S. Paule ſayth: the law is crucified and condemnation aboliſhed? or how ſtandeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remiſſion be not generall? For what is redemption els, but remiſſion of ſinnes, or ſinnes bought out? or what is els to kill the law, but to diſcharge vs from condemnatiō for euer? He that delyuereth his frend for a tyme out of his enemyes hand, doth hym a pleaſure: but he that kylleth the enemy once out of the way, geueth perpetuall ſafety. So if remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt were for ſome ſinnes and not for all, the law then muſt needes lyue ſtill. But now the killyng and crucifying of the law importeth full remiſſion to be abſolute, and our ſafety to be perpetuall. But here percaſe will be obiected of ſome: how ſtandeth remiſſion of ſinnes certeine & perpetuall, ſeyng new offences beyng dayly committed, do dayly require new remiſſion? Hereto I aunſwere: albeit ſinnes do dayly grow, whereby we haue neede dayly to deſire God to forgeue vs our treſpaſſes. &c. yet notwithſtandyng the cauſe of our remiſſion ſtandeth euer one and perpetuall, neither is the ſinne to be repeted any more, nor any other cauſe to be ſought beſides that alone. This cauſe is the ſacrificed body of Chriſt once vpon the Croſſe for all ſinnes that either haue or ſhalbe committed. Beſide this cauſe there is no other; neither confeſſion, nor mens pardons that remitteth ſinnes.

Malediction of the law ceaſeth in Chriſt.
The vſe of the law remaineth.
Chriſt & the law can not reigne together.
Epheſ. 4.
The power of the law is for a tyme: The power of Chriſt is eternall.
Rom. 8.
Coloſ. 2.
The malediction of the law geueth place to Chriſt.
The curſe of the law is crucified, and ſhall neuer riſe agayne.

Rom. 7.
Rom. 6.
To be vnder the law, and vnder grace expounded.
What is to be vnder grace.
Pſal. 32.
Act. 10.
One remedy for remiſſion of ſinnes and no more.
Auricular confeſſion no remedy for remiſſion of ſinnes.
Remiſſion of ſinnes ſtandeth vpon a generall cauſe, and not particular.
The law crucified by Chriſt, what it meaneth.
Obiection.
Aunſwere.
The cauſe of remiſſion euer one and perpetuall.

The promiſe of remiſſion euer perpetuall.
Remiſſion of ſinnes freely promiſed without limitation of tyme or number.

Furthermore, as the cauſe is one and euer perpetuall which worketh remiſſion of ſinnes vnto vs: ſo is the promiſe of God euer one, once made, and ſtandeth perpetuall that offereth the ſame to the fayth of the repentyng ſinner. And becauſe the ſayd promiſe of God is alwayes ſure and can not fayle, which offereth remiſſion to all them that beleue in Chriſt, being limited neither to time nor nūber, therfore we may boldly conclude, that what tyme ſoeuer a repētyng ſinner beleueth, and by faith applyeth to him the ſacrifice of Chriſt, he hath by Gods own promiſe remiſſiō of his ſinnes, whether they were done before, or after Baptiſme.

The meanes whereby remiſſion is promiſed is onely fayth.
The wordes of promiſe free and abſolute.
Act. 10.
Rom. 6.

And moreouer, for ſomuch as the ſayd promiſe of God offereth remiſſion to the repentaunt ſinner, by no other meanes nor condition, but onely one, that is, by fayth in Chriſt: therfore excludyng all other meanes and conditions of mans workyng, we ſay, that what repentyng ſinner ſoeuer beleueth in Chriſt, hath already in him ſelf (and needeth not ſeeke to any Prieſt) perpetuall aſſuraunce of remiſſion, not for this tyme or that tyme onely, but for euer and a day. For the promiſe ſayth not, he that beleueth in Chriſt ſhalbe pardoned this tyme, ſo he ſinne no more: neither doth it ſay, that the law is ſtayd, or the ſentence repriued, but ſayth playnly, that the law with her condemnation and ſentence her ſelfe is condemned and hanged vp, and ſhall neuer ryſe agayne to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu: and promiſeth indeterminately, without limitatiō, remiſſiō of ſinnes, to all that beleue in his name. Act. 10: and likewiſe in an other place the Scripture ſpeakyng abſolutely, ſayth: Synne ſhall not preuayle ouer you: and addeth the reaſon why? ſaying: Becauſe ye are not vnder the law, but vnder grace. Rom. 6: Addyng this leſſon withall, (as it foloweth in the ſame place) not that ſinners ſhould ſinne more therfore, becauſe they are vnder grace, but onely that weake infirmitie might be releued, broken conſciences comforted, & repentyng ſinners holpen from deſperation, to the prayſe of Gods glory. For as God forgeueth not ſinnes becauſe they ſhould ſinne: ſo neither doth infirmitie of fallyng deminiſhe the grace of Chriſt, but rather doth illuſtrate the ſame, as it is written: My ſtrength is made perfect in infirmitie. 2. Cor. 12. and agayne: Where ſinne aboundeth, there ſuperaboundeth alſo grace. Rom. 5. &c.

Mans infirmitie impayreth not the grace of Chriſt, but augmenteth it. 2. Cor. 12. Rom. 5.

Foure thynges concurre in remiſſion of ſinnes

In remiſſion of ſinnes therefore theſe foure thynges muſt concurre together: the cauſe that worketh (which is the ſacrifice of Chriſtes body) 2. the promiſe that offereth, 3. fayth, that apprehendeth. 4. the repentyng ſinner that receaueth. And although ſinnes dayly do grow, which dayly prouoke vs to craue remiſſion: yet as touchyng the cauſe that worketh remiſſion of our dayly ſinnes, and the meanes whiche apprehendeth and applyeth the ſayd cauſe vnto vs, they remaine alwayes one and perpetuall: beſides which no other cauſe nor meanes is to be ſought of man. So that to them that be repentyng ſinners and be in Chriſt Jeſu, there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deſerued cōdemnation: but they are vnder a perpetuall kyngdome, and a heauen full of grace and remiſſion to couer their ſinnes, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promiſe of God in Chriſt Jeſu our Lord.

The Popes errours touchyng remiſſion of ſinnes detected.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, firſt whiche ſeeke any other cauſe of remiſſion, then onely the bloud of our Sauiour. Secondly, whiche aſſigne any other meanes to apply the bloudſhedyng of Chriſt vnto vs, beſides onely fayth. Thirdly and eſpecially, which ſo limite and reſtraine the eternall priuiledge of Chriſtes Paſſion, as though it ſerued but onely for ſinnes done without and before fayth: and that the reſt after Baptiſme committed muſt be done away by confeſſion, pardons, and ſatiſfactory deedes. And all this riſeth, becauſe the true nature of the law, and of the Goſpell is not knowen, nor the differēce rightly conſidered betwene the tymes of the one, and of the other. Neither againe do they make any diſtinction betwene the malediction of the law, and vſe of the law. And therfore when ſoeuer they heare vs ſpeake of the law (meanyng the malediction of the law) to be aboliſhed, therupon they maliciouſly ſclaunder vs, as though we ſpeake agaynſt the good exerciſes of the law, and giue libertie of fleſh to carnall men to liue as they lyſt. wherof more ſhalbe ſayd (by the Lordes grace) as place and tyme ſhall hereafter require.

What inconuenience riſeth for lacke of diſtinction betwene the law & the Goſpell.

¶ Of Free Will.

Concernyng free will, as it may peraduenture in ſome caſe be admitted that men without the grace may do ſome outward functions of the law, and keepe ſome outward obſeruaunces or traditions: ſo as touchyng thynges ſpirituall and pertainyng to ſaluation, the ſtrength of man, beyng not regenerate by grace, is ſo infirme and impotent, that he can performe nothyng, neither in doyng well nor willyng well. Who after he be regenerate by grace may worke and do well, but yet in ſuch ſort, that ſtill remaineth notwithſtandyng a great imperfection of fleſh, and a perpetuall repugnaunce betwene the fleſh and ſpirite. And thus was the originall Churche of the auncient Romanes firſt inſtructed. From whom ſee now how farre this later Church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law, and prepare them ſelues to receaue grace by workyng, ſo that thoſe workes may be meritorious, and of congrue obteine grace. Whiche grace once obteined, thē men may (ſay they) perfectly performe the full obedience of the law, and accompliſhe thoſe ſpirituall actions and workes which God requireth, and ſo thoſe workes, of condigne, deſerue euerlaſtyng lyfe. As for the infirmitie whiche ſtill remaineth in nature, that they nothyng regarde nor once ſpeake of.

Erroneous doctrine of the Papiſtes cōcernyng free will.

Meritum de congrue.

Meritum de incongrue.

¶ Of Inuocation, and Adoration.

False doctrine concernyng inuocation.

Mediator of interceſſion.

Mediator of ſaluation.

Ouer and beſides theſe vncatholicke and almoſt vnchriſtian abſurdities and defections from the Apoſtolicall fayth aboue ſpecified, let vs conſider the maner of their Inuocation, not to God alone, as they ſhould, but to dead men, ſaying: that Saintes are to be called vpon tanquā mediatores interceſſionis: as Mediatours of interceſſion: Chriſtum vero tanquam mediatorem Salutis, and Chriſt as the Mediator of Saluatiō: And affirme moreouer, that Chriſt was a Mediator onely in time of his Paſſion. Which is repugnaunt to the wordes of S. Paule writyng to the old Romanes chap. 8. where he ſpeakyng of the interceſſion of Chriſt: Which is (ſayth he) on the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for vs. &c. And if Chriſt be a Mediator of ſaluation, what needeth then any other interceſſiō of the Saintes for other ſutes? for ſaluatiō being once had, what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saintes, which is ſure to be ſaued onely by Chriſt? And yet in their Catholicke deuotions why do they teach vs thus to pray to the bleſſed virgine: Salua omnes qui te glorificant. i. Saue all them, that glorifie thee. &c. if ſaluation onely belong to Chriſt? vnles they ſtudy of purpoſe to ſeeme contrary to them ſelues.

Chriſt a continuall Mediator, by the doctrine of S. Paule. Rom. 8.

Chriſt onely beyng our Mediator of ſaluation, what needeth any other Mediation of Saintes?

Saluation falſely attributed to the bleſſed virgine.

Hetherto alſo perteineth the worſhippyng of reliques, and the falſe adoration of Sacramētes, that is, the outward ſignes for the thynges ſignified, contrary to the 7. principle before, page. 14. Adde to this alſo the prophanation of the Lordes Supper, contrary to the vſe for whiche it was ordeined, in reſeruyng it after the Communion miniſtred, in ſettyng it to ſale for money, and falſely perſuadyng both thē ſelues and other, that the Prieſt doth merite both to hym ſelfe that ſayth, and to hym that heareth, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis. &c. That is, Onely by the mere doyng of the worke, though the partie that vſeth the ſame, hath no good motion in hym. &c.

Idolatrous adoration of Reliques & Sacramētes.

Prophanation of the Lordes Supper.

Falſe merityng by Maſſes.

¶ Of Sacramentes, Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper.

As touchyng Sacramentes, their doctrine likewiſe is corrupt and erroneous.

1. Firſt, they erre falſely in the number. For where the inſtitution of Chriſt ordeineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the preſcription of the Lordes word, fiue other Sacramentes.

2. Secondly, in the cauſe finall they erre. For where the word hath ordained thoſe Sacramentes to excite our faith, and to giue vs admonitions of ſpirituall thynges: they contrarywiſe do teach that the Sacramētes do not onely ſtirre vp fayth, but alſo that they auayle and are effectuall without fayth, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis &c. as is to be found in Thom. Aquine, Scotus, Catharinus, and other moe.

3. Thirdly, in the operation and effect of the Sacramētes they fayle: where they contrary to the mynde of the Scriptures, do ſay, that they giue grace and not onely do ſignifie, but alſo conteine and exhibite that whiche they ſignifie, to wytte, grace and ſaluation.

4. Fourthly, they erre alſo in Application, applying their Sacramētes both to the quicke & the dead, to them alſo that be abſent, to remiſſion of ſinnes, & releaſing of payne. &c.

Falſe doctrine touchyng Sacramentes.

The nūber, Cauſe finall, The operatiō, The application of Sacramētes.

In the Sacrament of Baptiſme they are to be reproued, not onely for addyng to the ſimple wordes of Chriſtes inſtitution diuers other newfound rites and phantaſies of men: but alſo where the vſe of the old Churche of Rome was onely to Baptiſe men, they Baptiſe alſo Belles, and applye the wordes of Baptiſme to water, fire, candels, ſtockes, and ſtones. &c.

Errours & abuſes in Baptiſme.

Baptiſing of Belles.

But eſpecially in the Supper of the Lorde their doctrine moſt filthely ſwarueth from the right mynde of the Scripture, all order, reaſon, and faſhion, moſt worthy to be exploded out of all Chriſten Churches. Touchyng the which Sacrament, their firſt errour is their Idolatrous abuſe by worſhyppyng, adoryng, ſenſing, knockyng & kneelyng vnto it, in reſeruyng alſo and caryng the ſame about in pompe and proceſſion in townes and fieldes. Secondly alſo in the ſubſtaunce therof their teaching is monſtruous, leauyng there no ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne to remaine, but onely the reall body and bloud of Chriſt, puttyng no difference betwene callyng, and makyng. Becauſe Chriſt called bread, his body, therfore, ſay they, he made it his body, and ſo of a wholeſome Sacrament, make a perilous Idole, and that which the old Church of Rome did euer take to be a myſtery, they turne into a blynd myſte of mere accidentes to bleare the peoples eyes, makyng them beleue they ſee that they ſee not: and not to ſee that which they ſee: and to worſhyp a thyng made, for their maker, a creature for the creator: and that was threſhed out of a wheaten ſheffe they ſet vp in the Churche, and worſhyp for a Sauiour: and when they haue worſhypped him, then they offer him to his father: and when they haue offered hym, then they eate hym vp, or els cloſe him faſt in a pyxe. Where if he corrupt & putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne hym to pouder and aſhes. And notwithſtandyng they know well by the Scrip-

False doctrine of the popes church concernyng the Lordes Supper.

Idolatry cōmitted to the Sacrament.

The Sacrament turned to an Idole.

Changyng, Worſhippyng, Offeryng, Eatyng, Burnyng the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, of the alter.

tures, that the body of Chriſt can neuer corrupt and putriſie, yet for all this corruption, will they needes make it the body of Chriſt, and burne all them whiche beleue not that which is agaynſt true Chriſtian beleife.

¶ Of Matrimony.

Abſurdities and errours of the popes Church touchyng Matrimony.
1.Cor.7.
1.Timot.3.
1.Timot.4.
Leuit.18.

WHat order and rule S. Paule hath ſet for mariage in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians it is manifeſt. Where as he preferreth ſingle lyfe in ſuch as haue the gift of continence, before the maryed ſtate: ſo agayne in ſuch as haue not the gift, he preferreth the coupled lyfe before the other: willyng euery ſuch one to haue his wife becauſe of fornication. Furthermore, how the ſayd Apoſtle aloweth a Byſhop to be the huſband of one wife (ſo he excede not to the maner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) and how vehemently he reproueth them that reſtraine Mariage, his letters to Timothy do recorde. Moreouer, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to mary, in the booke of Leuit. is to be ſeene chap. 18. Alſo how children ought not to mary without conſent of their parentes, by manifeſt examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Single lyfe be it neuer ſo impure preferred before Matrimony.
The iii. part of Chriſtendome ſtopt by the popes law to mary.
The Popes doctrine agaynſt Prieſtes mariage, and their children.
The third part of the yeare exempted frō mariage.
Mariage within the fift, or ſixt degree, by the Popes law.
Goſſyppes inhibited to mary by the Popes law.
What inconueniences come by reſtraynyng of mariage.

Contrary to theſe ordinaunces of the Scripture, the new Catholickes of the Popes Church, firſt do repute and call Mariage a ſtate of imperfection, and preferre ſingle life, be it neuer ſo impure, before the ſame, pretendyng that where the one repleniſheth the earth, the other filleth heauē. Further, as good as the third part of Chriſtendome, (if it be not more) both men and women they keepe through coacted vowes, from Mariage, hauyng no reſpect whether they haue the gift or no. Miniſters and Prieſtes, ſuch as are founde to haue wiues, not onely they remoue out of place, but alſo pronounce ſentence of death vpon them, & accounte their children for baſtardes and illegitimate. Agayne, as good as the iij. part of the yeare they exempt and ſuſpende from libertie of maryng. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extende farther then euer did the law of God, euen to the fift or ſixt degree, whiche degree notwithſtandyng they releaſe agayne when they lyſt for money. Ouer and beſides all this they haue added a newfound prohibition of ſpirituall kyndred, that is, that ſuch as haue bene goſſyps, or Godfathers and Godmothers together in Chriſtenyng an other mans child, muſt not by their law mary together. Briefly and finally in this their doctrine and caſes of Matrimony they gayne and rake to them ſelues much money from the people, they augment horrible ſodomitry, they nouriſh wicked adultery and much fornication. They fill the worlde with offenſions, and baſtardes, and giue great occaſion of murderyng infantes.

¶ Of Magiſtrates and Ciuill gouernement.

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Church concernyng ciuill rulers & magiſtrates.
Rom.13.

YE heard before what rules and leſſons S. Paule gaue to the old Romanes concernyng Magiſtrates, to whoſe authoritie he would all humane creatures to be ſubiected, and how they are the Miniſters of God, hauyng the ſword giuen vnto them, wherewith they ought to repreſſe falſe doctrine and idolatrie, and mainteine that whiche is true and right. Rom. 13. Now let vs ſuruey a litle the Popes procedynges, & marke how far he tranſgreſſeth in this, as he doth in all other pointes almoſt from true Chriſtianitie.

1. Firſt, the Pope with all his Clergie exempt them ſelues from all obedience ciuill.
2. They arrogate to them ſelues authoritie to ordeine and conſtitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinary Magiſtrate.
3. Yea, they take vpon them, to depoſe, and ſet vp rulers and Magiſtrates, whom they lyſt.

¶ Of Purgatory.

The phantaſies and Antiques of the popes church concernyng Purgatory.

THe Paradoxes or rather the phantaſies of the latter Church of Rome concernyng Purgatory, be monſtruous, neither old nor Apoſtolicall.

Ex Thom. Mor. & aliis.

1. Firſt, (ſay they) there is a Purgatory, where ſoules do burne in fire after this lyfe.
2. The payne of Purgatory differreth nothyng from the paynes of hell, but onely that it hath an end, the paynes of hell haue none.
3. The paynefull ſufferyng of this fire freateth and ſcoureth away the ſinnes before committed in the body.
4. The tyme of theſe paynes indureth in ſome longer, in ſome leſſe, accordyng as their ſinnes deſerue.
5. After whiche tyme of their paynes beyng expired, then the mercy of God doth tranſlate them to heauenly bleſſe, which the body of Chriſt hath bought for them.
6. The paynes of Purgatory be ſo great, that if all ỹ beggars of the worlde were ſene on the one ſide, and but one ſoule of Purgatory on the other ſide, the whole worlde would pitie more that one then all the other.
7. The whole tyme of puniſhmēt in this Purgatory muſt continue ſo long, till the fire haue cleane freated and ſcoured away the ruſty ſpottes of euery ſinnefull ſoule there burnyng, vnleſſe there come ſome releaſe.
8. Helpes & releaſes ỹ may ſhortē the tyme of their purgation, be the Popes pardons & indulgēces, ſacrifice of the altar, diriges & trentals, prayer, faſtyng, meritorious deedes out of the treaſure houſe of the Church, almoſe, & charitable deedes of the liuing in ſatiſfying Gods Iuſtice for them. &c.
9. Lacke of belief of Purgatory, bryngeth to hell.

Manifeſt defection of the Popes Church from the old fayth of Rome.

Many other falſe errours and great deformities, hereſies, abſurdities, vanities and follies, beſides their blaſphemous raylynges and contumelies, may be noted in the ſayd latter Church of Rome, wherein they haue made manifeſt defection from the old fayth of Rome, as in depriuyng the Church of one kinde of the Sacramēt, in taking frō the people the knowledge & readyng of Gods word, in prayyng and ſpeakyng to the people and adminiſtryng Sacramentes in a toung vnknowen, in miſtakyng the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in makyng the authoritie of Scripture inſufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the Church and their wrong notes of the ſame, in the ſupremacie of the ſea of Rome, in their wrong opinion of Antichriſt.

But becauſe theſe with all other partes of doctrine are more copiouſly and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and Engliſh ſet forth in theſe our dayes, I ſhall not neede further herein to trauaile, eſpecially ſeing the contrarietie betwene the Popes Church and the Churche of Chriſt, betwene the doctrine of the one, and doctrine of the other is ſo euident, that he is blynd that ſeeth it not, and hath no handes almoſt, that feeleth it not.

Contrarietie betwene the Religion of Chriſt & of the Pope briefly noted.
Chriſtes doctrine is wholy ſpirituall.
No outwarde thing required in Chriſtes doctrine to make a Chriſten mā but onely Baptiſme, and the Lordes Supper.
All doctrine of the Pope ſtandeth onely in outward things.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, which may ſuffice for all) where as the doctrine of Chriſt is altogether ſpirituall, conſiſtyng wholy in ſpirite and veritie, and requireth no outward thyng to make a true Chriſten man, but onely Baptiſme (which is the outward profeſſion of fayth) and receauyng of the Lordes Supper: let vs now examine the whole Religion of this latter Church of Rome, and we ſhall finde it wholy from toppe to toe, to conſiſte in nothyng els but altogether in outward and ceremoniall exerciſes: as outward confeſſion, abſolution at the Prieſtes hand, outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, buying of pardons, purchaſſing of obites, externe worſhippyng of Images and reliques, pilgrimage to this place or that: buildyng of Churches, foundyng of Monaſteries, outward workes of the law, outward geſtures, garmentes, colours, choiſe of meates, difference of tymes and places, peculiar rites and obſeruances, ſet prayers and nūber of prayers preſcribed faſtyng of vigiles, keepyng of holy dayes, commyng to Church, hearyng of ſeruice, externe ſucceſſion of Byſhops and of Peters ſea, externe forme and notes of the Church &c. ſo that by this Religion to make a true Chriſtiā and a good Catholicke, there is no workyng of the holy ghoſt almoſt required: As by example to make this matter more demonſtrable, let vs here define a Chriſten man after the Popes makyng: whereby we may ſee the better what is to be iudged of the ſcope of his doctrine.

¶ A Chriſten man after the Popes making defined.

A Chriſten man defined after the Popes doctrine.
Corporall exerciſe ſerueth to ſmall profite.

After the Popes Catholicke Religion, a true Chriſten mā is thus defined: firſt to be baptiſed in the Latin toūg (where the Godfathers profeſſe they cā not tell what): thē cōfirmed by the Byſhop: the mother of the childe to be purified. After he be growen in yeares, then to come to the Church, to keepe hys faſtyng dayes, to faſt the Lent, to come vnder *benedicite*, that is, to be confeſſed to the Prieſt, to do his penaūce, at Eaſter to take his rightes, to heare Maſſe & diuine ſeruice, to ſet vp cādels before images, to creepe the Croſſe, to take holy bread & holy water, to go on proceſſiō, to cary his palmes & candle, & to take aſhes, to faſt the Imber dayes, Rogatiō dayes & vigiles, to kepe the holy dayes, to pay his tithes & offeringe dayes, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardōs, to worſhip his maker ouer the Prieſts head, to reuerence the Pope for his ſupreme head and to obey his lawes, to receaue S. Nicolas Clerkes, to haue his beades, and to giue to the high altar, to take orders, if he will be Prieſt, to ſay his Mattens, to ſing his Maſſe, to lyft vp fayre, to kepe his vowe, and not to mary. When he is ſicke to be aneeld and take the rightes of holy Church, to be buryed in the Churchyard, to be rong for, to be ſong for, to be buryed in a Friers cowle, to finde a ſoule Prieſt. &c.

All whiche pointes beyng obſerued, who can deny but this man is a deuout and a perfect Chriſtian Catholicke, and ſure to be ſaued, as a true faythfull child of the holy mother Church.

Now looke vpon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what fayth or ſpirite, or what workyng of the holy ghoſt in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Ieſus giue the true light of his Goſpell to ſhyne in in our hartes. Amen.

σὺν τῷ χριστῷ.

❡The firſt booke, conteyning the. 300. yeares next after Chriſt.

These thynges before premiſed, hauyng thus hetherto prepared yͤ way vnto our ſtory, let vs now (by the grace and ſpede of Chriſt our Lorde) enter into the matter: that as we haue heretofore ſet forth in a general deſcription the whole ſtate as wel of the primitiue, as of the latter tymes of this Church of Rome: ſo now conſequently to diſcourſe in particular ſorte the Actes and doynges of euery age, by it ſelfe, in ſuch order as is afore prefixed.

1. First to declare of the ſufferyng tyme of the Churche, whiche conteineth about the tyme of. 300. yeares after Chriſt.

2. Secondly, the floriſhyng & growyng tyme of the ſame: conteinyng other. 300. yeares.

3. Thirdly, the declinyng tyme of the Church, and of true Religion, other. 300. yeares.

4. Fourthly, of the time of Antichriſt, reignyng & ragyng in the Church, ſince the looſing out of Sathan.

5. Laſtly, of the reformyng tyme of Chriſtes Churche in theſe latter. 300. yeares.

In the tractation of all whiche thinges our chief purpoſe and endeuour ſhalbe (ſo neare as the Lord will geue vs grace) not ſo much to intermedle with outward affayres of Princes, or matters ciuile, (except ſometyme for example of life) as ſpecially mindyng (by the helpe of the Lorde) to proſecute ſuch thynges, which to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the Church are apperteinyng: as firſt to entreate of the ſtabliſhyng of Chriſtian fayth, then of the perſecutions of tyrauntes, the conſtancie and pacience of Gods Saintes, the firſt conuerſion of Chriſtē Realmes to the fayth of Chriſt, namely of this Realme of England and Scotland: firſt begynnyng with kyng Lucius, and ſo forward followyng the order of our Engliſh kinges here in this land, to declare the mainteinaunce of true doctrine, the falſe practiſe of Prelates, the creepyng in of ſuperſtition, and hypocriſie, the manifold aſſaultes, warres and tumultes of the princes of this world, agaynſt the people of God. Wherein may appeare the wonderfull operation of Chriſtes mighty hand, euer workyng in his Church, and neuer ceaſing to defend the ſame agaynſt his enemyes, accordyng to the veritie of his owne word, promiſing to be with his Churche while the world ſhall ſtand, ſo as by the proces of this ſtorie may well be proued, and be teſtified in the ſequell therof.

Two thynges in this hyſtory chiefly to be noted.

In the tractatiō of all which thinges. ij. ſpeciall pointes I chiefly commend to the reader, as moſt requiſite and neceſſary for euery Chriſten man to obſerue and to note for his owne experience and profite, as firſt the diſpoſition and nature of this world: ſecondly the nature and condition of the kyngdome of Chriſt: the vanitie of the one, and ſtabliſhment of the other: The vnproſperous and vnquiet ſtate of the one, ruled by mans violence & wiſedome: And the happy ſucceſſe of the other euer ruled by Gods bleſſyng & prouidence. The wrath and reuengyng hand of God in the one, and his mercy vpon the other. The world I call all ſuch as be without or agaynſt Chriſt, either by ignoraunce not knowyng him, or by heatheniſh life not followyng him, or by violence reſiſtyng him. On the other ſide, the kyngdome of Chriſt in this world I take to be all them which belong to the fayth of Chriſt, and here take his part in this world agaynſt the world. The nūber of whom although it be much ſmaller then the other and alwayes lightly is hated & moleſted of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarly doth bleſſe and proſper, and euer will. And this nūber of Chriſtes ſubiectes is it, whiche we call the viſible Church here in earth. Whiche viſible Church hauyng in it ſelfe a difference of. ij. ſortes of people, ſo is it to be deuided in. ij. partes, of whiche the one ſtandeth of ſuch as be of outward profeſſion onely, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Chriſt: the firſt in word and lyppes ſeemeth to honour Chriſt and are in the viſible Church onely, but not in the Church inuiſible, and partaketh the outward Sacramētes of Chriſt, but not the inward bleſſing of Chriſt: The other are both in the viſible and alſo in the inuiſible Church of Chriſt, which not in wordes onely and outward profeſſion, but alſo in hart do truely ſerue & honour Chriſt, partakyng not onely the Sacramentes, but alſo the heauenly bleſſinges and grace of Chriſt.

The world.

The kyngdome of Chriſt in this world.

The viſible Church.

The Church of Chriſt deuided in two ſortes of people.

And many tymes it happeneth, that as betwene the world, and the kyngdome of Chriſt there is a continuall repugnaunce: ſo betwene theſe two partes of this viſible Church aforeſayd, oft tymes groweth great variaunce and mortal perſecutiō, in ſomuch that ſometime the true church of Chriſt hath no greater enemyes, than of their owne profeſſion and company, as happened not onely in the tyme of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, but alſo from time to tyme almoſt cōtinually. Euſeb. Lib, 8. cap. 1. But eſpecially in theſe latter dayes of the Church vnder the perſecutiō of Antichriſt and his retinue, as by the readyng of this volume more manifeſtly hereafter may appeare.

Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 1.

At the firſt preachyng of Chriſt, and commyng of the Goſpell: who ſhould rather haue knowen & receaued him, then the Phariſeis and Scribes of that people, whiche had his law? And yet who perſecuted and reiected him more, then they them ſelues? What followed? They in refuſing Chriſt to be their kyng, and choſing rather to be ſubiect vnto Cæſar, were by the ſayd their owne Cæſar at length deſtroyed: when as Chriſtes ſubiectes the ſame tyme eſcaped the daunger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a daungerous thyng it is to refuſe the Goſpell of God, when it is ſo gentely offered.

Gods puniſhment for refuſing the Goſpell.

The like example of Gods wrathfull puniſhmēt is to be noted no leſſe in the Romaines alſo them ſelues. For when Tiberius Cæſar hauyng receaued by letters from Pontius Pilate, of the doynges of Chriſt, of his miracles, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion into heauen, and how he was receaued as God of many, was himſelfe alſo moued with belief of the ſame, and did conferre thereof with the whole Senate of Rome, to haue Chriſt adored as God: but they not agreeyng therunto, refuſed him, becauſe that contrary to the law of the Romaines, he was conſecrated, (ſayd they) for God, before the Senate of Rome had ſo decreed & approued hym. &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vayne Senate followyng rather the law of man, then of God, and which were contented with the Emperour to reigne ouer them, were not contented with the meeke kyng of glory the ſonne of God to be their kyng. And therfore after much like ſort to the Iewes were ſcourged and intrapped for their vniuſt refuſing, by the ſame way which they them ſelues dyd preferre. For as they preferred the Emperour, and reiected Chriſt: ſo the iuſt permiſſion of God, did ſtyrre vp their own Emperours agaynſt them in ſuch ſorte, that both the Senatours them ſelues were almoſt all deuoured, and the whole Citie moſt horribly afflicted the ſpace almoſt of. 300. yeares together. For firſt the ſame Tiberius, whiche for a great part of hys reigne, was a moderate and a tollerable Prince, afterward was to them a ſharpe and heauy tyraunt, who neither fauoured his owne mother, nor ſpared his own neuewes, nor the Princes of the Citie, ſuch as were his owne counſellours, of whom to the number of. xx. he left not paſt two or three aliue, and ſo cruell was he to the Citie, that as the ſtory recordeth: Nullus a pœna hominum ceſſabat dies, ne religioſus quidem ac ſacer. Suet. reporteth him to be ſo ſterne of nature and tyrannicall, that in tyme of his reigne, very many were accuſed and condemned with their wiues and children. Maydes alſo firſt defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth. xx. perſons to be drawen to the place of execution. By whom alſo, through the iuſt puniſhment of God, Pilate vnder whom Chriſt was crucified, was apprehended, and accuſed at Rome, depoſed, then baniſhed to the towne of Lyonce, and at length did ſlay himſelfe. Neither did Herode and Cayphas lōg eſcape, of whō more foloweth hereafter. Agrippa alſo by him was caſt in priſon, albeit afterward he was reſtored. In the reigne of this Tiberiꝰ the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God, in the. xxxiij. yeare of his age, which was the. xvij. of this Emperour, by the malice of the Iewes, ſuffered his bleſſed paſſion for the conquering of ſinne, death, and Sathan the prince of this world, & roſe agayne the third day. After whoſe bleſſed paſſion and reſurrection, this foreſayd Tiberius Nero (otherwiſe called) Biberius Mero, lyued. vi. yeares, duryng which tyme no perſecution was yet ſtyrring in Rome agaynſt the Chriſtians, through the commaundement of the Emperour.

Tiberius Cæſar moueth the Senate to haue Chriſt receiued.

Chriſt refuſed of the Senate of Rome.

The vayne cauſe why the Senate of Rome refuſed Chriſt.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.

Euſeb. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

The Senate and Citie of Rome plagued for refuſing of Chriſt.

Ex Suet. in vita Tiberij.

Chriſt ſuffereth and riſeth agayne.

An. 34.

In the reigne alſo of this Emperour, and yeare which was the next after the paſſion of our Sauiour, or ſomewhat more S. Paule was cōuerted to the fayth. After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned. 23. yeare, ſucceded C. Cæſar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which. 3. were likewiſe ſuch ſcourges to the Senate and people of Rome, that the firſt not onely tooke other mens wiues violently from them, but alſo defloured three of his own ſiſters,

Saint Paul conuerted.

An. 35.

An. 39.

Cæſar Caligula

Caligula cōmaūded hys image to be ſet vp in the Temple of Hieruſalem.

The abomination of deſolation ſtandyng in the holy place.

Herode miſerably dyed in baniſhment.

Cayphas depoſed.

An. 43.

Ex Gotfrido Viterbienſi. part. 15.

and afterward baniſhed them. So wicked he was that he commaunded him ſelfe to be worſhipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and vſed to ſit in the temple among the Gods, requiring his images to be ſet vp in all temples, and alſo in the temple of Hieruſalem, which cauſed great diſturbaunce among the Iewes. And then began the abhomination of deſolation to be ſet vp in the holy place, ſpoken of in the Goſpell. His cruell condition, or els diſpleaſure was ſuch toward the Romaines, that he wiſhed that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he at his pleaſure might deſtroy ſuch a multitude. By the ſayd Caligula, Herode the murtherer of Iohn Baptiſt, and cōdemner of Chriſt, was condemned to perpetuall baniſhment, where he dyed miſerably. Cayphas alſo which wickedly ſat vpon Chriſt, was the ſame tyme remoued from the high Prieſts rowme, and Ionathan ſet in his place. The raging fiercenes of this Caligula incenſed agaynſt the Romaines, had not thus ceaſed, had not he bene cut of by the handes of a Tribune, and other gentlemen, which ſlew him, in the iiij. yeare of his reigne. After whoſe death was found in his cloſet. ij. litle libels, one called a ſword, the other the dagger. In the which libels were conteined the names of thoſe Senatours, and noble men of Rome, whom he had purpoſed to put to death. Beſides this ſword and dagger, there was found alſo a coffer, wherein diuerſe kindes of poyſon were kept in glaſſes and veſſels, for the purpoſe to deſtroy a wonderfull number of people. Whiche poyſons afterward beyng throwen into the Sea, deſtroyed a great number of fiſhe. Gotfr. Viterb.

Claudius Nero.

An. 56

Domitius Nero.

The horrible wickednes and crueltie of *Nero.*

Peter and Paule ſuffered for Chriſt.

An. 69

But that which this Caligula had onely conceaued, the ſame dyd the other two, whiche came after, bryng to paſſe, Claudius Nero, who reigned. xiij. yeares wᵗ no litle crueltie. But eſpecially the third of theſe Neros, called Domitius Nero. Whiche ſuccedyng after Claudius, reigned. xiiij. yeares, with ſuch fury and tyranny, that he ſlew the moſt part of the Senate, he deſtroyed the whole order of knighthode in Rome. So prodigious a monſter of nature was he, more like a beaſt, yea rather a deuill then a man, that he ſemed to be borne to the deſtruction of man. Such was his monſtrous vncleannes, that he abſtained not from his owne mother, his naturall ſiſter, nor frō any degree of kyndred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he cauſed to be put to death, his mother, his brother in law, his ſiſter, his wife great with child, alſo his inſtructor Seneca, and Lucane, with diuerſe moe of his owne kindred and conſanguinitie. Moreouer he commaunded Rome to be ſet on fire in. xij. places, and ſo continued it. vi. dayes, and. vij. nightes in burning, while that he to ſee the example how Troy burned, ſang the verſes of Homer. And to auoyde the infamie therof, he layd the fault vpon the Chriſtian men, and cauſed them to be perſecuted. And ſo continued this miſerable Emperour in his reigne. xiiij. yeares, till at laſt the Senate proclaimyng hym a publike enemy of mankynd, condemned him to be drawen through the Citie, and to be whipped to death. For the feare wherof he flying the handes of his enemies, in the night fled to a maner of his ſeruauntes in the countrey, where he was forced to ſlay him ſelfe, complaynyng that he had then neither frend nor enemy left, that would do ſo much for hym. In the latter ende of this Domitius Nero, Peter alſo and Paule were put to death, for the teſtimony and fayth of Chriſt. an. 69.

Veſpaſian Emperour & Titus hys ſonne.

The deſtruction of the Iewes.

A note for all Realmes to marke.

Thus ye ſee, which is worthy to be marked, how the iuſt ſcourge and heauy indignation of God from tyme to tyme euer followeth there, and how all thynges there go to ruine, neither doth any thyng well proſper, where Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God is contemned, and not receaued, as by theſe examples may appeare, both of Romaines, which not onely were thus conſumed and plagued by their owne Emperours, but alſo by ciuile warres, wherof three were fought in two yeares at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other caſualeties (as in Sueton. is teſtified, ſo that in ỷ dayes of Tiberius aforeſayd. 5000. Romaines were hurt & ſlayne at one time by fal of a theatre). And alſo moſt eſpecially by ỷ deſtruction of the Iewes, which about this ſame tyme, an. 73. and. xl. yeares after the paſſion of Chriſt, and the third yeare after the ſuffering of S. Peter and Paule, were deſtroyed by Titus & Veſpaſiā his father, (who ſucceded after Nero in the Empire) to the number of. xi. hundred thouſand, beſides them which Veſpaſian ſlew in ſubduyng the countrey of Galily, ouer and beſide them alſo which were ſold & ſent into Egypt and other prouinces, to vile ſlauery, to the number of. 17. thouſand. 2000. were brought with Titus in his triumph, of whiche, part he gaue to be deuoured of the wilde beaſtes, part otherwiſe moſt cruelly were ſlayne. By whoſe caſe all nations and realmes may take example, what it is to reiect the viſitation of Gods veritie beyng ſent, and much more to perſecute them which be ſent of God for their ſaluation.

The Romaines in contemnyng Chriſt, puniſhed by their owne Emperours.

Examples of the iuſt plague of God vpon the Romaine Emperours perſecutyng and reſiſtyng Chriſt till the time of Conſtantine.

Tiberius.
Caligula.
Claudius Domitius.
Nero.
Galba.
Ottho.
Vitellius.
Titus.
Domitian.
Commodus.
Pertinax.
Iulianus.
Seuerus.
Geta.
Baſſianus.
Macrinus.
Diadumenus.
Heliogabalus.
Alexāder Seuerus.
Maximinus.
Maximus.
Balbinus.
Gordianus.
Philippus.
Decius.
Gallus & Voluſianus.
Aemilianus.
Valerianus & Galienus.

Aurelianus.
Tacitus.
Florinus.

Probus.

Carus.
Diocleſianus.
Maximianus.
Galerius.
Maximinus.
Maxentius.
Licinius.

And as this wrathfull vengeaunce of God thus hath bene ſhewed vpon this rebellious people both of the Iewes, and of the Romaines, for their contempt of Chriſt, whom God ſo puniſhed by their owne Emperours, ſo neither the Emperours themſelues, for perſecutyng Chriſt in hys mēbers eſcaped without their iuſt reward. For among ſo many Emperours, which put ſo many Chriſten Martyrs to death, duryng the ſpace of theſe firſt. 300. yeares, few or none of them ſcaped either not ſlayne them ſelues, or by ſome miſerable end or other worthely reuenged. Firſt of the poyſonyng of Tiberius, & of the ſlaughter of the other three Neros after him, ſufficiently is declared before. After Nero Domitius, Galba, within. vij. monethes was ſlayne by Ottho. And ſo did Ottho afterward ſlay him ſelfe, beyng ouercome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus ſhortly after drawen through the Citie of Rome, & after he was tormēted, was throwen into Tiber? Titus a good Emperour is thought to be poyſoned of Domitian his brother. The ſayd Domitian after he had bene a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, was ſlayne in his chāber, not without the conſent of his wife. Likewiſe Commodus was murdred of Narciſſus. The like end was of Pertinax & Iulianus. Moreouer after that Seuerꝰ was ſlaine here in England & lyeth at Yorke. Did not his ſonne Baſſianꝰ ſlay his brother Geta, & he after ſlaine of Martialis? Macrinus with his ſonne Diadumenus, were both ſlayne of their owne ſouldiours. After whom Heliogabalus that monſtrous bellypanch, was of his owne people ſlayne, & drawen through the citie, & caſt into Tiber. Alexander Seuerus, that worthy and learned Emperour, which ſayd he would not fede his ſeruauntes doyng nothyng, with the bowels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues, was much vnlike other Emperours, yet proued the like ende, beyng ſlayne at Mentze with his godly mother Mammea by Maximinus, whom the Emperour before of a Muletour had aduaunced to great dignities. The which Maximinus alſo after three yeares was ſlayne him ſelfe of his ſouldiours. What ſhould I ſpeake of Maximus, and Balbinus, in like ſort both ſlayne in Rome? Of Gordian ſlayne by Philippe: of Philippe, the firſt Chriſtened Emperour, ſlayne or rather Martyred for the ſame cauſe: of wicked Decius drowned & his ſonne ſlayne the ſame tyme in battaile? Of Gallus and Voluſianus his ſonne, Emperours after Decius, both ſlayne by conſpiracie: of Æmilianus, who roſe agaynſt them both in warre, and within three monethes after was ſlayne hym ſelfe? Next to Æmilianus ſucceded Valerianus, and Galienus his ſonne, of whom Valerianus (who was a perſecutor of the Chriſtians) was taken priſoner of the Perſians, and there made a ridyng ſtoole of Sapores their kyng, who vſed him for a ſtoole to leape vp vpon his horſe, while his ſonne Galienus ſleepyng at Rome, either would not or could not once proffer to reuenge his fathers ignominie. For after the takyng of Valerian, ſo many Emperours roſe vp as were prouinces in the Romaine Monarche: At length Galienus alſo was killed by Aureolus, which warred agaynſt him. It were to long here to ſpeake of Aurelianus an other perſecutor, ſlayne of his Secretary: Of Tacitus, & Florinus his brother, of whom the firſt reigned ſixe monethes, & was ſlayne at Pontus, the other reigned two monethes, and was murdred at Tarſis. Of Probus, who although a good ciuil Emperour, yet was he deſtroyed by his ſouldiers. After whom Carus the next Emperour was ſlayne by lightenyng. Next to Carus folowed the impious and wicked perſecutor Diocleſian, with his felowes Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, vnder whom all at one time (during the life of Diocleſian) the greateſt and moſt greuous perſecution was moued agaynſt the Chriſtians. x. yeares together. Of which, Diocleſian and Maximinian depoſed them ſelues from the Empire. Galerius the chiefeſt miniſter of the perſecution, after his terrible perſecutions, fell into a wonderfull ſicknes, hauyng ſuch a ſore ryſen in the neather part of his belly, which conſumed his priuy members, and ſo did ſwarme with wormes, that beyng not curable, neither by Surgery nor Phiſike, he confeſſed, that it happened for his cruelty toward the Chriſtians, and ſo called in his proclamations agaynſt them. Notwithſtandyng he not able to ſuſteine (as ſome ſay) the ſtench of his ſore, ſlew him ſelfe. Maximinus in his warre beyng tormented with payne in his guttes, there dyed. Maxentius was vanquiſhed by Conſtantine and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewiſe beyng ouercome by the ſayd Conſtantine the great, was depoſed from his Empire, and afterward ſlayne of his ſouldiours. But on the other ſide, after the tyme of Conſtantine, when as the fayth of Chriſt was receaued into Imperiall ſeate, we read of no Emperour after the like ſort deſtroyed or moleſted,

leſted, except it were Iulianus, or Baſilius which expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled him ſelfe: or Valende, beſides theſe we read of no Emperour to come to ruine, as the other before mentioned. Ex lib. Hiſt. tripart.

And thus haue ye in a brief ſumme collected out of the Chronicles, the vnquiet and miſerable ſtate of the Emperours of Rome, vntill the tyme of Chriſtian Conſtantine, with the examples no leſſe terrible then manifeſt, of Gods ſeuere iuſtice vpon them, for their contemptuous refuſing and perſecutyng the faith and name of Chriſt their Lord.

Moreouer in much like ſort and condition, if leyſure of time or haſt of matter would ſuffer me a litle to digreſſe vnto more lower tymes, and to come more neare home the like examples I could alſo inferre of this our countrey of England, concernyng the terrible plagues of God agaynſt the churliſhe and vnthankefull refuſing or abuſing the benefite of his truth. Firſt we read how that God ſtyrred vp Gildas to preach to the old Brittaines, and to exhorte them vnto repentaunce, and amendement of life, and afore to warne thẽ of plagues to come, if they repented not. What auayled it? Gildas was laughed to ſcorne and taken for a falſe Prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britanes with luſty courages, whoriſh faces, and vnrepentaunt hartes, went forth to ſinne, and to offend the Lord their God. What folowed? God ſent in their enemies on euery ſide, & deſtroyed them, and gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeares paſt, God ſeyng idolatry, ſuperſtition, hipocriſie, and wicked liuyng vſed in this Realme, rayſed vp that godly learned man Iohn Wickleffe, to preach vnto our fathers repentaunce, and to exhort them to amend their liues, to forſake their Papiſtry and idolatry, their hipocriſie, ſuperſtitiõ, and to walke in the feare of God, his exhortations were not regarded. He with his Sermõs was deſpiſed. His bookes and he him ſelfe after his death were brent, what folowed? they ſlew their right kyng, and ſet vp three wrong kynges on a row, vnder whom all the noble bloud was ſlayne vp, & halfe the commons therto, what in Fraũce, and with their owne ſword in fightyng among themſelues for the crowne, and the Cities and Townes decayed, and the land brought halfe to a wildernes, in reſpect of that it was before. O extreme plagues of Gods vengeaunce. Since that tyme euen of late yeares, God once agayne hauyng pitie of this realme of England raiſed vp his Prophets namely William Tyndall, Thomas Bilney, Iohn Frithe, Doctour Barnes, Ierome Garret, Antony Parſon, with diuers other, which both with their writings, & Sermõs earneſtly labored to call vs vnto repentaunce, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from vs. But how were they entreated? how were their paynefull labors regarded? they them ſelues were condemned and brent as heretickes, and there bookes condemned and brent as hereticall. The tyme ſhall come ſayth Chriſt, that whoſoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God hye good ſeruice. Whether any thyng ſince that tyme hath ſo chaunced this Realme worthy the name of a plague, let the godly wiſe iudge. If God hath deferred his puniſhmẽt, or forgeuen vs theſe our wicked deedes, as I truſt he hath, let vs not therfore be proud and hye mynded, but moſt humbly thanke him for his tender mercies, & beware of the like vngodly enterpriſes hereafter. Neither is it here any neede to ſpeake of theſe our lower and latter tymes, whiche haue bene in kyng Henry, and kyng Edwardes dayes: ſeyng the memorie therof is yet freſh, and can not be forgotten. But let this paſſe of this I am ſure, that God yet once agayne is come on viſitation to this Church of England, yea and that more louingly and beneficially then euer he did afore. For in this his viſitatiõ he hath addreſſed many abuſes, and clenſed his Church of much vngodlines and ſuperſtition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the old forme and ſtate. And now how gratefull receiuers we be, with what hart, ſtudy and reuerence we embrace that which he hath geuen, that I referre either to them, that ſee our fruites, or to the ſequel, which peraduẽture will declare. But this by the way of digreſſion. Now to regreſſe againe to the ſtate of the firſt former tymes, it remaineth, that as I haue ſet forth the iuſtice of God vpon theſe Romaine perſecutors: ſo now we declare their perſecutions raiſed vp agaynſt the people and ſeruauntes of Chriſt, within the ſpace of three hũdred yeares after Chriſt. Which perſecutions in number commonly are counted to be. x. beſide the perſecutions firſt moued by the Iewes in Hieruſalem and other places agaynſt the Apoſtles. In the which firſt S. Stephen the Deacon was put to death, with diuers other moe, in the ſame rage of tyme either ſlayne, or caſt into priſõ. At the doing wherof, Saule the ſame tyme playd the doughtye Phariſie, beyng not yet cõuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, wherof the hiſtory is plaine in the Actes of the Apoſtle ſet forth at large by S. Luke.

Brittaines. *Gildas.*

Wickleffe & his bookes condemned and brent for an hereticke after his death.

Iohn. 16.

Gods benefites toward Englãd.

A *caueat* for England.

S. Stephen the firſt ringleader of all Chriſtes Martyrs.

After the Martyrdome of this bleſſed Stephẽ, ſuffered next Iames the holy Apoſtle of Chriſt, & brother of Iohn. Of which Iames, mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles, the. xij. chap. Where is declared, how that not long after the ſtonyng of Stephen, kyng Herode ſtretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the congregation: among whom Iames was one, whom he ſlew with the ſword. &c. Of this Iames Euſebius alſo inferreth mention, alledging Clement, thus writing a memorable ſtory of him. This Iames (ſayth Clement) when he was brought to the tribunall ſeate, he that brought him (and was the cauſe of his trouble,) ſeyng him to be condemned, and that he ſhould ſuffer death: as he went to the execution, he beyng moued therewith in hart and cõſcience, cõfeſſed hym ſelfe alſo of his owne accord to be a Chriſtian. And ſo were they both ledde forth together, where in the way he deſired of Iames to forgeue him that he had done. After that Iames had a litle pauſed with him vpon the matter, turnyng to him: Peace (ſaith he) be to thee brother, and kiſſed him: And both were beheaded together. an. 36.

S. Iames the Apoſtle, brother of Iohn martyred. Act. 12.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 9. Ex Clemente Septima Hypotypoſeon.

A notable conuerſion of a wicked accuſer, and after a martyr.

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopſis teſtifieth, that Nicanor one of the. vij. Deacons, with. 2000. other which beleued in Chriſt, ſuffred alſo the ſame day, when as Stephen did ſuffer.

Nicanor one of the ſeuen Deacons with. 2000. other martyred.

Ex Dorotheo in Synopſ.

The ſayd Dorotheus witneſſeth alſo of Simon, an other of the Deacons, Byſhop afterward of Boſtrum in Arabie, there to be burned. Parmenias alſo an other of the Deacons ſuffered.

Symon a Deacõ martyred.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Perſians: Alſo to the Germanes, Hiracanis, Bactris, & Magis. He ſuffred in Calamina a Citie of Iudea, being ſlayne with a Darte.

S. Thomas the Apoſtle ſuffered.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the countrey of Aphrike. And in Brittania he was likewiſe crucified.

Symon Zelotes crucified.

Iudas brother of Iames, called alſo Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edeſſens, and to all Meſopotamia. He was ſlayne vnder Augarus, kyng of the Edeſſens in Berito.

Thaddeus the Apoſtle ſlayne.

Simon called Cananeus, whiche was brother to Iude aboue mentioned, and to Iames the younger, whiche all were the ſonnes of Marye Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was Byſhop of Hieruſalem after Iames, and was crucified in a Citie of Egypt in the tyme of Traianus Emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth that he with his brother Iude, were both ſlayne by a tumult of the people in Suanyr a Citie of Perſidis.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Marke the Euangeliſt, and firſt Byſhop of Alexandria, preached the Goſpell in Egypt, and there drawen with ropes vnto the fire, was burned, and afterward buryed in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the reigne of Traianus Emperour.

Marke the Euangeliſt burned.

Bartholomeus is ſayd alſo to preach to the Indians, & to haue conuerted the Goſpell of S. Mathew into their toung. Where he continued a great ſpace doyng many miracles. At laſt in Albania a Citie of greater Armenia, after diuers perſecutions, he was beaten downe with ſtaues, then crucified, and after beyng excoriat, he was at length beheaded. Ioan. De Monte Regali.

Bartholomew the Apoſtle crucified and beheaded.

Ex Ioan. de Monte Regali.

Of Andrew the Apoſtle & brother of Peter thus writeth Ierome, in his booke De catalogo ſcriptorum Eccleſ. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the tyme and reigne of Veſpaſianus, as our aunceters haue reported) did preach in the. 80. yeare of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt to the Scythiãs, Sogdians, to the Sacons, and in a Citie whiche is called Auguſta, where the Ethiopians do now inhabite. He was buried in Patris, a Citie of Achaia, beyng crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Edeſſians: hetherto writeth Ierome, although in the nũber of yeares he ſeemeth a litle to miſſe, for Veſpaſianus reached not to the yeare. 80. after Chriſt. But Barnarde in his ſecõd Sermon, and S. Cyprian in his booke De duplici Martyrio, do make mention of the confeſſion and Martyrdome of this bleſſed Apoſtle, wherof partly out of theſe, partly out of other credible writers we haue collected after this maner, that when as Andrew beyng conuerſaunt in a Citie of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Chriſt: Egeas the gouernour knowyng this, reſorted thether to the intent he might conſtrayne as many as did beleue Chriſt to be God, by the whole conſent of the Senate, to do ſacrifice vnto the Idoles, and ſo geue diuine honour vnto them. Andrew thinkyng good at the beginning to reſiſt the wicked counſell, and the doynges of Egeas, went vnto him ſaying in this effect vnto him: that it behoued him which was a Iudge of men, firſt to know his Iudge which dwelleth

Andrew the Apoſtle crucified for the Goſpell.

Ex Hieronymo in Catalogo ſcrip. Eccleſ. Ex Cypriano. lib. De duplici Martyrio. Ex Bernardo ſerm. 2. de ſanct. Andrea.

The wordes of Andrew to the Counſell.

in heauen, and then to worſhyp him beyng knowen, and ſo in worſhyppyng the true God, to reuoke his mynde from falſe Gods and blynde Idoles. Theſe wordes ſpake Andrew to the Conſul.

The feruencie of Andrew againſt Idolatry.

But he greatly therewith diſcontented, demaunded of him, whether he was the ſame Andrew that did ouerthrow the Temple of the Goddes, and perſwaded men of that ſuperſtitious ſect, which the Romaines of late had commaunded to be aboliſhed, and reiected. Andrew did plainly affirme that the Princes of the Romaines did not vnderſtand the truth, and that the ſonne of God comming from heauen into the world for mans ſake, hath taught and declared how theſe Idoles, whom they ſo honored as Gods, were not onely not Gods, but alſo moſt cruell Deuils, moſt enemyes to mankind, teaching the people nothing els, but that wherwith God is offended, & being offended turneth away & regardeth them not, & ſo by the wicked ſeruice of the Deuill do fall headlong into all wickedneſſe, & after their departyng nothyng remaineth vnto them, but their euill deedes.

But the Proconſul eſteming theſe thynges to be as vayne, eſpecially ſeing the Iewes (as he ſaid) had crucified Chriſt before, therfore charged, & commaunded Andrew not to teach and preach ſuch thynges any more, or if he did, that he ſhould be faſtened to the croſſe with all ſpeede.

The conſtant faith of Andrew to the ende.

Andrew abidyng in his former minde very conſtaunt, aunſwered thus concernyng the puniſhment whiche he threatened, he would not haue preached the honor and glory of the Croſſe, if he had feared the death of the Croſſe. Wherupon ſentence of condemnation was pronoūced, that Andrew teachyng, and enterpriſing a new ſect, and takyng away the religion of their Gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew commyng to the place and ſeyng a farre of the croſſe prepared, did chaunge neither countenaunce ne colour, as the imbecilitie of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his bloud ſhrinke, neither did he fayle in his ſpeeche, his body fainted not, neither was his mynde moleſted, his vnderſtandyng did not fayle him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the aboundaunce of his hart his mouth dyd ſpeake: And feruent charitie did appeare in his wordes, as kindled ſparcles. He ſayd, O croſſe moſt welcome and long looked for, with a willyng mynde, ioyfully and deſirouſly I come to thee, beyng the ſcholer of hym which dyd hang on thee: Becauſe I haue bene alwayes thy louer and haue coueted to embrace thee. So beyng crucified he yelded vp the Ghoſt and fell on ſleepe, the day before the Calendes of December.

The croſſe here is not takē for the materiall croſſe of woode: but for the maner of death vpon the croſſe which death was to hym welcome.

S. Mathew the Apoſtle ſlayne with a ſpeare.

Hier. lib. de viris illuſt.

Ex Ioan. de monte Regali.

Mathew otherwiſe named Leui, firſt of a Publicane made an Apoſtle, wrote his Goſpell to the Iewes in ȳ Hebrue toung, as ſayth Hierome. Lib. De viris illuſt. After that he had conuerted to the fayth Ethiope and all Egypt, Hircanus their kyng ſent one to runne him thorough with a ſpeare, as writeth the forenamed Ioan. de monte Regali.

Mathias the Apoſtle, ſtoned and headed.

The ſame author likewiſe teſtifieth of Mathias, that after he had preached to the Iewes, at length he was ſtoned and beheaded.

Philip the Apoſtle crucified.

Ex Iſido. lib. de patribus noui teſtam.

Philippus the holy Apoſtle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations, in preachyng the word of ſaluation to them, at length he ſuffered as the other Apoſtles did, in Hierapolis a Citie of Phrigia, being there crucified and ſtoned to death, where alſo he was buried, & his daughters alſo with him. Iſido.

¶Of Iames the brother of the Lord, thus we read in the ſtory of Clement and of Egeſippus.

Iames Byſhop of Ieruſalem.

After that Feſtus had ſent the Apoſtle Paul vnto Rome after hys appellation made at Ceſaria, and that the Iewes by the meanes therof had loſt their hope of performyng their malicious vow agaynſt him conceiued, they fell vpon Iames the brother of our Lord, who was Byſhop at Ieruſalem, agaynſt whom they beyng bent with like malice, brought him forth before them and required him to deny before all the people the fayth of Chriſt. But he otherwiſe then they all looked for, freely and with a greater conſtancy before all the multitude confeſſed Ieſus to be the ſonne of God, our Sauiour, and our Lord. Wherupon they not being able to abyde ȳ teſtimony of this mā any longer, becauſe he was thought to be the iuſteſt among all, for the highnes of diuine wiſedome, and godlynes which in liuyng he declared, they killed him, findyng the more opportunitie to accompliſh their miſchief, becauſe the kingdome the ſame tyme was vacant. For Feſtus beyng dead in Iewry, the adminiſtration of that prouince was deſtitute of a ruler, and a deputy. But after what maner Iames was killed the wordes of Clement do declare, whiche writeth that he was caſt downe from the pinacle of the temple, and beyng ſmitten with the inſtrument of a fuller was ſlayne. but Egeſippus which liued in the tyme next after the Apoſtles, deſcribeth this cauſe diligently in his fift Commentary after this maner as followeth.

Ex Clemente.

Ex Egeſippo in 5. Commentario.

Iames the brother of our Lord tooke in hand to gouerne the Church after the Apoſtles (beyng counted of all men from the tyme of our Lord to be a iuſt & perfect man.) Many and diuers other Iameſes there were beſide him, but this was borne holy frō his mothers wōbe, he dronke no wine, nor any ſtronge drinke, neither did he eate any liuyng creature, the raſor neuer came vpon his head, he was not anoynted with oyle, neither did he vſe bathe, to hym onely was it lawfull to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with wollen cloth, but with ſilke, and he onely entred into the temple, falling vpon his knees, aſking remiſſion for the people, ſo that his knees by oft kneelyng, loſt the ſence of feelyng, beyng benummed and hardned like the knees of a Camell. He was (for worſhippyng God and crauing forgeuenes for the people) called iuſt, and for the excellencie of his iuſt life named Oblias. whiche (if you do interprete it) is the ſaueguard, and iuſtice of the people as the Prophetes declare of him: therfore when as many of the heretikes which were amōg the people aſked him what maner of doore Ieſus ſhould be, he aūſwered that he was the Sauiour. Wherof ſome do beleue him to be Ieſus Chriſt, but the aforeſayd heretikes neither beleue the reſurrectiō, neither that any ſhall come, which ſhall render vnto euery man accordyng to his workes, but as many as beleue, they beleued for Iames cauſe. When as many therfore of the Princes did beleue, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Iewes, and Phariſeis, ſaying: it is daungerous leſt that all the people do looke for this Ieſus, as for Chriſt, therfore they gathered them ſelues together and ſayd vnto Iames: we beſeech thee reſtraine the people, for they beleue in Ieſus, as though he were Chriſt. We pray thee perſwade them all which come vnto the feaſt of the paſſeouer of Ieſus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do teſtifie of thee that thou art iuſt, neither that thou doeſt accept the perſon of any man, therfore perſwade the people that they be not deceiued in Ieſus, and all the people, and we will obey thee, therfore ſtand vpon the piller of the temple that thou mayeſt be ſeene from aboue, and that thy wordes may be perceaued of all the people, for to this paſſeouer all the tribes do come with all the countrey. And thus the forenamed Scribes, & Phariſeis did ſet Iames vpon the battlementes of the Church, and they cryed vnto hym and ſayd, thou iuſt man whom all we ought to obey, becauſe this people is led after Ieſus, whiche is crucified, tell what is the doore of Ieſus crucified: and he aunſwered with a great voyce, what do you aſke me of Ieſus the ſonne of man, ſeyng that he ſitteth on the right hand of God in heauen, and ſhall come in the cloudes of the ſkye? But when many were perſwaded of this, they glorified God vpon the witnes of Iames, and ſayd: Oſanna in the higheſt to the ſonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes, and the Phariſeis ſayd among themſelues, we haue done euill that we haue cauſed ſuch a teſtimony of Ieſus. But let vs go vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare may deny that fayth. And they cryed out, ſaying: O, O, this iuſt mā alſo is ſeduced, and they fulfilled that Scripture which is ſpoken of in Eſay. Let vs take away the iuſt man, becauſe he is not profitable for vs: wherfore let them eate the fruites of theyr workes. Therfore they went vp to throwe downe the iuſt mā, and ſayd among themſelues: let vs ſtone this iuſt mā Iames, and they tooke him to ſmite him with ſtones, for he was not yet dead when he was caſt downe, but he turnyng fell downe vpon his knees, ſaying: O Lord God, Father, I beſeech thee forgeue them, for they know not what they do. But when they had ſmitten him with ſtones, one of the Prieſts of the children of Rechas, the ſonne of Charobim ſpake to them the teſtimony which is in Ieremy the Prophet: leaue of, what do ye? The iuſt mā prayeth for you. And one of thoſe which were preſent, tooke a Fullers inſtrument, wherwith they did vſe to beate & purge clothe, and ſmote the iuſt man on his head, and ſo he finiſhed his Martyrdome, and they buried him in the ſame place, and his piller abydeth yet by the temple. He was a true teſtimony to the Iewes and the Gentils. And ſhortly after Veſpaſianus the Emperour deſtroying the lād of Iewrie brought them into captiuitie. Theſe thynges beyng thus written at large of Egeſippus, do well agree to thoſe whiche Clement did write of him. This Iames was ſo notable a man, that for his iuſtice he was had in honour of all men, in ſomuch that the wiſe men of the Iewes ſhortly after his Martyrdome did impute the cauſe of the beſieging of Ieruſalem & other calamities whiche happened vnto them, to no other

Apoc. 14.

Cap. 3.

Luc. 23.

An. 67.

cauſe, but vnto the violence and iniurie done to this man. Alſo Ioſephus hath not left this out of his hiſtory, where he ſpeaketh of him after this maner: Theſe things ſo chaunced vnto the Iewes for a vengeaunce becauſe of that iuſt man Iames which was the brother of Ieſu, whom they called Chriſt, for the Iewes killed him although he was a righteous man.

The ſame Ioſephus declareth his death in the ſame booke and chapter ſaying: Cæſar hearyng of the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus the Lieutenaunt into Iewrie, but Ananus the yonger, beyng Byſhop, and of the ſecte of the Saduces, truſtyng that he had obtained a conuenient tyme, ſeyng that Feſtus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iourney, he called a Councell, and callyng many vnto hym, among whom was Iames by name the brother of Ieſu which is called Chriſt, he ſtoned them, accuſing them as breakers of the law.

Martyrs.

Whereby it appeareth that many other beſides Iames alſo the ſame tyme were Martyred and put to death amōg the Iewes, for the fayth of Chriſt.

A deſcription of the. x. firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Church.

The firſt. x. perſecutions in the primitiue Church.

THeſe thynges beyng thus declared for the Martyrdome of the Apoſtles, & the perſecution of the Iewes: Now let vs (by the grace of Chriſt our Lord) comprehend with like breuitie, the perſecutions rayſed by the Romaines, agaynſt the Chriſtians in the primitiue age of the Church, duryng the ſpace of. 300. yeares, till the commyng of godly Conſtantine, whiche perſecutions are reckoned of Euſebius, and by the moſt part of writers to the number of. x. moſt ſpeciall.

The ſundry tormentes of holy Martyrs in the primitiue Church.

Wherin maruelous it is, to ſee and read the numbers incredible of Chriſtian innocentes that were ſlayne and tormented, ſome one way, ſome another. As Rabanus ſayth, and ſayth truely. Alij ferro perempti. Alij flammis exuſti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij vectibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demerſi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, aliiſue cæſis membris ſpectaculum contumeliæ, nudi propter nomen Domini portantes. &c. That is. Some ſlayne with ſword. Some burnt with fire. Some with whippes ſcourged. Some ſtabbed in with forkes of yron. Some faſtened to the croſſe, or gibbet. Some drowned in the ſea. Some their ſkinnes pluckt of. Some their tounges cut of. Some ſtoned to death. Some killed with cold. Some ſterued with hunger. Some their handes cut of, or otherwiſe diſmembred haue bene ſo left naked to the open ſhame of the worlde. &c. Whereof Auſten alſo in his booke, De Ciuit. 22. cap. 6. thus ſayth: Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro ſalute, ſed ſalutem contemnentes pro ſeruatore. Whoſe kyndes of puniſhmentes, although they were diuers, yet the maner of conſtancie in all theſe Martyrs was one. And yet notwithſtandyng the ſharpenes of theſe ſo many and ſundry tormentes, and like cruelnes of the tormentours: yet ſuch was the number of theſe conſtaunt Saintes that ſuffered, or rather ſuch was the power of the Lord in hys Saintes, that as Hierome in his Epiſtle to Chromatius and Heliodorus ſayth: Nullus eſſet dies qui non vltra quinque millium numerum Martyrum reperiri poſſet aſcriptus, excepto die Kalēdarum Ianuarij. That is. There is no day in the whole yeare, vnto which the number of fiue thouſand Martyrs can not be aſcribed, except onely the firſt day of Ianuary.

Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 22. cap. 6.

The number of holy Martyrs in the primitiue Church.

1. The firſt perſecution.

An. 67.

Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. Lib. 2. cap. 24. 25. 26.

The firſt of theſe. x. perſecutions: was ſtyrred vp by Nero Domitius the vj. Emperour before mentioned, about the yeare of our Lord. 67. The tyrannous rage of whiche Emperour was ſo fierce agaynſt the Chriſtians, (as Euſebius recordeth,) Vſq; adeo vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates, iacētes mortuos ſimul cum paruulis ſenes: fœminarumq; abſq; vlla ſexus reuerentia nudata in publico, reiectaque ſtarent cadauera. That is. In ſomuch that a man might then ſee Cities lye full of mens bodyes, the old there laying together with the young, and the dead bodyes of women caſt out naked without all reuerence of that ſexe in the open ſtreetes. &c. Likewiſe Oroſius writing of the ſayd Nero, ſayth, that he was the firſt, which in Rome did rayſe vp perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, and not onely in Rome, but alſo through all the prouinces therof, thinkyng to aboliſh and to deſtroy the whole name of Chriſtians in all places. &c. Whereunto accordeth moreouer the teſtimony of Hierome vpon Daniell, ſaying: that many there were of the Chriſtians in thoſe dayes, which ſeyng the filthy abominations, & intollerable crueltie of Nero, thought that he ſhould be Antichriſt. &c.

Oroſius. Lib. 7.

Nero thought to be Antichriſt.

S. Peter the Apoſtle crucified at Rome.

In this perſecution, among many other Saintes the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter was cōdemned to death, & crucified as ſome do write, at Rome, albeit otherſome, and not without cauſe do doubt therof, concernyng whoſe lyfe & hiſtory becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed in the text of the Goſpel, and in the Actes by S. Luke, chap. 4. 5. 12. I neede not here to make any great repetitiō therof. As touchyng the cauſe and maner of his death, diuers there be, which make relation, as Hierome, Egeſippus, Euſebius, Abdias, and other: although they do not all preciſely agree in the tyme. The wordes of Hierome be theſe: Simon Peter the ſonne of Iona, of the prouince of Galile, and of the towne of Bethſaida, the brother of Andrew. &c. After he had bene byſhop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the diſperſion of them that beleued, of the Circumciſion in Pontus, Galacia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithinia, in the ſecōd yeare of Claudius the Emperour, (which was about the yeare of our Lord. 44.) came to Rome, to withſtand Simon Magus, and there kept the Prieſtly chayre, the ſpace of. *xxv. yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of the forſayd Nero, which was the xiiij. yeare of his reigne, of whom he was crucified, his head beyng downe, & his feete vpward, him ſelfe ſo requiryng, becauſe he was (he ſayd) vnworthy to be crucified after the ſame forme and maner, as the Lord was. &c. Egeſippus proſecutyng this matter ſomething more at large, and Abdias alſo, (if any authoritie is to be geuen to his booke, who followyng not onely the ſenſe, but alſo the very forme of wordes of Egeſippus in this hiſtory, ſeemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other authors) ſayth: that Simon Magus beyng then a great man with Nero, and as preſident and keeper of his lyfe, was required vpon a tyme to be preſent at the rayſing vp of a certaine noble yong man in Rome, of Neros kynred, lately departed. Whereas Peter alſo was deſired to come to the reuiuyng of the ſayd perſonage. But when Magus in the preſence of Peter could not do it: Then Peter callyng vpō the name of the Lord Ieſus, did rayſe him vp, and reſtored him to his mother, whereby the eſtimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay, and to be deteſted in Rome. Not long after the ſayd Magus threatned ẏ Romaines, that he would leaue the Citie and in their ſight flye away from them into heauen. So the day beyng appointed Magus takyng his wynges in the Mounte Capitolinus, began to flye in the ayre. But Peter by the power of the Lord Ieſus brought hym downe with his wynges headlong to the grounde, by the which fall his legges and ioyntes were broken, and he thereupon dyed. Then Nero ſorrowyng for the death of hym, ſought matter agaynſt Peter to put him to death. Which when the people perceaued, they entreated Peter with much a do, that he would flee the Citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perſwaded, prepared him ſelfe to auoyde. But commyng to the gate he ſaw the Lord Chriſt come to meete him, to whom he worſhyppyng, ſayd: Lord whether doeſt thou go? To whom he aunſwered and ſayd. I come agayne to be crucified. By this Peter perceauyng his ſufferyng to be vnderſtanded, returned backe into the Citie agayne. And ſo was he crucified, in maner as is before declared. And thus out of Egeſippus.

Hieron. lib. De viris illuſtrib.

*This report ſeemeth neither to come of Hierome nor to be true in Peter.

Egeſippus. Lib. 3. De excidio Hieroſolym.

Abdias. lib. 1. De vita Petri.

Euſebius. lib. 3. hiſt. eccl. c. 30.

Euſebius moreouer writing of the death not onely of Peter, but alſo of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter ſeyng his wife goyng to her Martyrdome (belike as he was yet hangyng vpon the croſſe) was greatly ioyous and glad therof. Who cryng vnto her with a loude voyce, and calling her by her name, bad her remember the Lord Ieſus. Such was then (ſayth Euſebius) the bleſſed bonde of Mariage among the Saintes of God. And thus much of Peter.

Peters wife put to death for Chriſt. The wordes of Peter to his wife, goyng to death.

Paule the Apoſtle.

Paule the Apoſtle, which before was called Saule, after his great trauaile and vnſpeakeable labours in promotyng the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſuffered alſo in this firſt perſecution vnder Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his booke De viris illuſtr. Paule, otherwiſe called Saule, one of the Apoſtles, yet out of the number of xij. was of the tribe of Beniamin, and of a towne of Iewry, called Giſcalis: which towne beyng taken of the Romaines, he with his parentes fled to Tharſus a towne of Cilicia. Afterward was ſent vp by his parentes to Hieruſalem, and there brought vp in the knowledge of the law, at the feete of Gamaliel, and was at the death of Stephen a doer. And when he had receaued letters from the hygh Prieſt to perſecute the Chriſtians, by the waye goyng to Damaſcus, was ſtroken downe of the Lordes glory, and of a perſecutour,

Ex Hieronymo Lib. de viris illuſt.

Saule brought vp vnder Gamaliel.

Saule a perſecutor.

Saule conuerted.

tour, was made a profeſſor, an Apoſtle, a Martyr, a witnes of the Goſpell and a veſſell of election.

Saulus turned to *Paulus*.

Paule ſent to the Gentiles.

Among his other manifold labours & trauailes in ſpreadyng the doctrine of Chriſt, he wanne Sergius Paulus the Proconſul of Cyprus, to the fayth of Chriſt, whereupon he tooke his name as ſome ſuppoſe turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had paſſed through diuers places and countries in his laborious peregrinatiōs, he tooke to him Barnabas, and went vp to Hieruſalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordeined & ſent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentiles.

And becauſe it is in the Actes of the Apoſtles ſufficiently comprehended, concernyng the admirable conuerſion, and conuerſation of this moſt worthy Apoſtle, that which remaineth of the reſt of his hiſtory, I will here adde, how the ſayd Apoſtle Paule, the. 25. yeare after the paſſion of the Lord, in the ſecond yeare of Nero, what tyme Feſtus ruled in Jewry, was ſent vp in bondes to Rome, where he remaynyng in his free hoſtery two yeares together, diſputed dayly agaynſt the Jewes, prouyng Chriſt to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his firſt aunſwere or purgation there made at Rome, the Emperour Nero, not yet fully cōfirmed in his Empire, & yet not burſting out into thoſe miſchiefes, which hiſtories report of him, he was at that tyme by Nero diſcharged, and dimiſſed to preach the Goſpell in the Weſt partes and about the coaſtes of Italy, as he himſelfe wrytyng vnto Timothe, afterward in his ſecond apprehenſion, in his ſecond Epiſtle witneſſeth, ſaying: In my firſt purgation, no man ſtode with me, but did all forſake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge. But the Lord ſtode with me, & did comfort me, that the preachyng of his word might procede by me, and that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was deliuered out of the Lyons mouth, &c. In which place by the Lyon he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterward likewiſe ſayth: I was deliuered from the mouth of the Lyon. &c. And agayne: the Lord hath deliuered me out from all euill workes, and hath ſaued me vnto his heauenly kyngdome. &c. ſpeakyng this, becauſe he perceiued then, the tyme of his Martyrdome to be neare at hand. For in the ſame Epiſtle before he ſayth: I am now offred vp, and the tyme of my diſſolution draweth on.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and meſſenger of the Lord, in the. 14. yeare of Nero, and the ſame day, in whiche Peter was crucified, was beheaded at Rome, for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and was buried in the way of Oſtia. The yeare after the paſſiō of the Lord. 37. he wrote. ix. Epiſtles to ſeuen Churches, to the Romaines one: to the Corinthians two: to the Galathians one: to the Epheſiās one: to the Philippians one, to the Coloſſians one: to the Theſſalonians two: Moreouer he wrote to his Diſciples, to Timothy two: to Titus one: to Philemon one.

The Epiſtles of S. Paule to vii. Churches.

The Epiſtle to the Hebrues.

The Epiſtle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the ſtyle & phraſe: but either iudged to be written of Timothie, as Tertullian ſuppoſeth, or of S. Luke, as other do thinke: or els of Clement, afterward Byſhop of Rome: who, as they ſay, was adioyned with Paule, and compyling together his ſayinges and ſentences, did phraſe them in his ſtile, and maner. Or els, as ſome do iudge, becauſe S. Paul wrote vnto the Hebrewes, for the odiouſnes of his name among that people, therfore he diſſimuled, and ſuppreſſed his name in the firſt entre of his ſalutation, contrary to his accuſtomed conditiō. And as he wrote to the Hebrewes he beyng an Hebrew: ſo he wrote in Hebrew, that is, in his owne toung more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cauſe, why it differeth from his other Epiſtles, and is after a more eloquent maner tranſlated into the Greeke, then his other Epiſtles be. Some alſo read the Epiſtle writtē to Laodicea, but that is exploſed of all men. Hæc Hieronym.

The Epiſtle to *Laodicea*.

Abdias de vitis Lib. 2.

As touchyng the tyme and order of the death & Martyrdome of S. Paule as Euſebius, Hierome, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly paſſe ouer: So Abdias (if his booke be of any ſubſtanciall authoritie) ſpeakyng more largely of the ſame, doth ſay: that after the crucifying of Peter, & the ruine of Simon Magus, Paule yet remaynyng in free cuſtody, was dimiſſed and deliuered at that tyme from Martyrdome, by Gods permiſſion, that all the Gentiles might be repleniſhed with preachyng of the Goſpell by him.

Paule declareth his doctrine to the Emperour.

The ſumme of Paules doctrine.

And the ſame Abdias procedyng in his ſtory declareth moreouer, that as Paule was thus occupied at Rome, he was accuſed to the Emperour, not onely for teachyng new doctrine, but alſo for ſtyrring vp ſedition agaynſt the Empire. For this he beyng called before Nero, and demaunded to ſhew the order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was: to teach all men peace and charitie, how to loue one an other, how to preuent one an other in honour, rich men not to be puft in pride, nor to put their truſt in their treaſures, but in the liuyng God. Meane men to be contented with foode and rayment, and with their preſent ſtate. Poore men to reioyce in their pouertie with hope. Fathers to bryng vp their children in the feare of God. Children to obey their parentes. Huſbandes to loue their wiues. Wiues to be ſubiect vnto their huſbandes. Citizens & ſubiectes to geue their tribute vnto Cæſar and to be ſubiect to their Magiſtrates. Maiſters to be curteous not churliſh to their ſeruauntes. Seruaūtes to deale faythfully with their maiſters. And this to be the ſumme of his teachyng, which his doctrine he receaued not of men nor by men, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and the father of glory, which ſpake to him from heauē, the Lord Jeſus ſaying to him, that he ſhould go and preach in his name, and that he would be with him, & would be the ſpirite of life to all that beleued in him, and that whatſoeuer he did or ſayd, he would iuſtifie it. &c. After that Paule had thus declared vnto the Emperour, ſhortly after ſentence of death was pronounced agaynſt him, that he ſhould be headed. Vnto whoſe executiō then Nero ſent two of his Eſquiers Ferega, and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They commyng to Paule, inſtructing then the people, deſired him to pray for them that they might beleue. Who told them that ſhortly after they ſhould beleue, and be baptiſed at his Sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done the ſouldiours came, and led him out of the Citie to the place of executiō, where he after his prayers made, gaue his necke to the ſword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was ſtrickē of, in ſtede of bloud iſſued out white milke, & that at laying downe his head, he ſigned him ſelfe with the ſigne of a croſſe in his forehead: but this beyng founde in no other hiſtory, Abdias ſeemeth either to adde of his owne, or els to borow out of the Legende, as he doth many other thynges beſide, wherof more ſhalbe ſayd (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. Although the ſame miracle of milke flowyng out of hys necke, is referred alſo vnto Ambroſe, who in his Sermon. 68. (if it be not counterfaited) ſeemeth to affirme the ſame. Of the tyme and yeare whē theſe bleſſed Apoſtles did ſuffer, hiſtories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the Popes decrees ſay, that both Peter and Paule ſuffred both in one day and in one yeare, which opinion ſeemeth to be taken out of Dioniſius, Byſhop of Corinth. Hierome in his booke De viris illuſtr. affirmeth that they ſuffered both in one day, but he expreſſeth not the yeare. So doth Iſidorus and Euſebius. Symeon Metaphraſtes bringeth in the opinion of ſome, which thinke that Paule ſuffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his Periſtephano, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the ſame day, but not in the ſame yeare, and ſayth that Paule followed Peter a yeare after.

Paule condēned.

Paule ſuffereth.

A Legende miracle.

Hiſtories do vary about the tyme of their Martyrdome.

If this be true that *Prudentius* recordeth of Paule to ſuffer vnder *Nero*, & the yeare after Peter: then is it falſe, whiche *Hierome* before teſtifieth, Peter to ſuffer the laſt yeare of *Nero*.

Abdias aboue mentioned, recordeth that Paule ſuffered two yeares after Peter. Moreouer, if it be true which Abdias ſayth, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paule remained in his free cuſtody at Rome, mētioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles, which was as Hierome witneſſeth, the. 3. or. 4. yeare of Nero: then muſt it be. x. yeare betwixt the Martyrdome of Peter and of Paule, for as much as it is by all writers confeſſed, that Paule ſuffered the. 14. yeare, which was the laſt yeare of Nero. And ſo Abdias ſeemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with him ſelfe. And thus much of the firſt perſecution.

¶The ſecond perſecution.

The ſecond perſecution.

An. 96.

The firſt Romaine perſecution beginnyng vnder Nero, ceaſed vnder Veſpaſianus, who gaue ſome reſt to the poore Chriſtians. After whoſe reigne was moued not long after the ſecond perſecutiō, by the Emperour Domitian brother of Titus. Of whom Euſebius and Oriſius ſo write, that he firſt beginning mildly, afterward did ſo farre outrage in pride intollerable, that he cōmaunded him ſelfe to be worſhipped as God, and that images of gold and ſiluer in his honour ſhould be ſet vp in Capitolio. The chiefeſt nobles of the Senators, either vpon enuy, or for their goodes, he cauſed to be put to death, ſome openly, and ſome he ſent into baniſhment, their cauſing them to be ſlayne priuely.

Ex Oroſio Lib. 7.

The tyranny and intemperaunce of *Domitian*.

And as his tyranny was vnmeaſurable, ſo the intemperancy of his life was no leſſe. He put to death all the nephewes of Juda, called the Lordes brother, and cauſed to be ſought out, and to be ſlayne all that could be founde of the ſtocke of Dauid (as Veſpaſian alſo did before him) for feare leaſt he were yet to come of the houſe of Dauid, whiche ſhould enioy the kyngdome. In the tyme of this perſecutour, Symeon Byſhop of Hieruſalem, after other tormentes, was crucified to death, whom Iuſtus afterward ſucceded in that Byſhopricke.

Simeon Byſhop of Hieruſalem crucified.

John the Euangeliſt.

Iſidorus de patribus noui Teſtamenti.

Euſeb. Lib. 3. cap. 10 Hiſtor. Eccl.

An. 97.

John baniſhed. John releaſed out of baniſhment.

In this perſecution John the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt was exiled by the ſayd Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whō diuers and ſundry memorable actes be reported in ſundry Chronicles. As firſt how he was put in a veſſell of boylyng Oyle, by the Proconſul of Epheſus. The Legende and Perionius ſay, it was done at Rome. Iſidorus alſo wrytyng of hym and comprehendyng many thynges in fewe wordes, declareth that he turned certaine peeces of woode into gold, and ſtones by the ſeaſide into Margarites, to ſatiſfie the deſire of two, whō he had before perſwaded to renounce their riches: And afterward they repentyng that for worldly treaſure, they had loſt heauen, for theyr ſakes agayne he chaunged the ſame into their former ſubſtaunce. Alſo, how he rayſed vp a widow and a certaine young man from death to life. How he dranke poyſon, and it hurt hym not, rayſing alſo to life two which had dranke the ſame before. Theſe and ſuch other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Iſidorus and other writers mo, yet becauſe they are no articles of our Chriſtian belief, I let them paſſe, & onely cōtent my ſelfe w that which I read in Euſebius, declaryng of him in this wiſe: That in the. 14. yeare after Nero, in the ſecōd perſecutiō in the dayes of Domitian, John was baniſhed into Pathmos for the teſtimony of the word, an. 97. And after ÿ death of the foreſayd Domitiā beyng ſlayne, & his actes repealed by the Senate, John was agayne releaſed vnder Pertinax the Emperour, & came to Epheſus, an. 100. where he continued vntill the tyme of Traianus, & there gouerned the churches in Aſia, where alſo he wrote his Goſpel, & ſo liued till the yeare after ÿ Paſſion of our Lord. 68. which was the yeare of his age. 99.

Euſeb. Lib. 3. cap. 23

Iren. Lib. 3.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

A notable hiſtory of John the Euangeliſt.

Moreouer in the foreſayd Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius, we read that John the Apoſtle and Euāgeliſt, whom the Lord did loue, was in Aſia, where he beyng returned out of Pathmos, after the death of Domitian, gouerned the Churches and congregations. Irenæus in his ſecond booke, thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witneſſe, which were with John the Diſciple of the Lorde in Aſia, that he ſpake and wrote theſe thynges. &c. for there he continued with them vnto the tyme of Traianus. &c. Alſo the ſayd Irenæus Lib. 3. Hypotheſ. in like wordes declareth, ſaying: The Church of the Epheſians beyng firſt founded by Paule, afterward beyng confirmed of John, (who continued in the ſame Citie vnto the tyme of Traianus the Emperour) is a true witneſſe of this Apoſtolicall tradition. &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth both the tyme of this holy Apoſtle, and alſo addeth to the ſame a certaine hyſtory of him, not vnworthy to be remembred of ſuch which delite in thynges honeſt and profitable. Of the which hiſtorie Sozomenus alſo in his Commentaries maketh mētion. The wordes of the author ſettyng forth this hiſtory, be theſe: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is told vs of John the Apoſtle, deliuered and commended to our remembraunce. After the death of the tyraunt, when John was returned to Epheſus from the Ile of Pathmos: he was deſired, to reſort to ÿ places borderyng neare vnto hym, partly to conſtitute Byſhops, partly to diſpoſe the cauſes and matters of the Church, partly to ordaine and ſet ſuch of the Clergy in office, whom the holy ghoſt ſhould elect. Wherupon, when he was come to a certaine Citie not farre of, the name of which alſo many do yet remember, and had among other thynges comforted the brethren, he lookyng more earneſtly vpon him, which was the chief Byſhop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of a beautifull countenaunce, and of a feruent mynde. I cōmende this man (ſayth he) to thee with great diligence, in the witneſſe here of Chriſt and of the Church.

What wicked company doth.

When the Byſhop had receaued of him this charge, and had promiſed his faithfull diligence, therein, agayne the ſecond tyme, John ſpake vnto him and deſired him in like maner and conteſtation, as before. This done John returneth agayne to Epheſus. The Biſhop receauyng the yōg man, commēded and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nouriſhed him, and at length alſo did illuminate, (that is) he baptiſed him. And in ſhort tyme through his diligence, brought him into ſuch order and towardnes, that he cōmitted vnto him the ouerſight of a certaine cure in the Lordes behalfe. The young man thus hauyng more his libertie, it chaunced that certaine of his companions and familiars beyng idle, diſſolute, and accuſtomed of old tyme to wickednes, did ioyne in company with him. Who firſt brought him to ſumptuous and ryotous bankets. Then entiſed him forth with them in the night to robbe & ſteale. After that, he was allured by thē vnto greater miſchief and wickedneſſe. Wherein by cuſtome of tyme by litle and litle, he being more practiſed, and being of a good witte, and a ſtoute courage, like vnto a wilde or an vnbroke horſe, leauyng the right way & runnyng at large without bridle, was caryed headlong to the profunditie of all miſorder & outrage. And thus beyng paſt all hope of grace, vtterly forgettyng & reiectyng the wholeſome doctrine of ſaluation, which he had learned before, began to ſet his mynde vpon no ſmall matters. And foraſmuch as he was entred ſo farre in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceded in the ſame. And ſo aſſociatyng vnto hym the company of hys companions, and fellow theeues, tooke vpon him to be as head and captaine among them, in committyng all kynde of murther and felony.

A notable leſſon for all miniſters to ſeeke againe their loſt ſheepe.

O vnſpeakeable loue ſhewed out to a wicked ſinner.

In the meane tyme it chaunced, that of neceſſity John was ſent for to thoſe quarters agayne and came. The cauſes beyng deciſed, and his buſines ended, for the which he came, by the way meetyng with the Biſhop afore ſpecified, requireth of him the pledge, which in the witnes of Chriſt, and of the congregation then preſent, he left in his handes to keepe. The Biſhop ſomethyng amaſed at the wordes of John, ſuppoſing he had meant of ſome money committed to his cuſtody, which he had not receaued, and yet durſt not miſtruſt John, nor contrary his wordes, could not tell what to aunſwere. Then John perceauyng his doubtyng, and vtteryng his mynde more playnely: The young man (ſayth he) and the ſoule of our brother committed to your cuſtody, I do require. Thē the Biſhop with a loude voyce, ſorrowyng and weepyng, ſayd, he is dead: to whom John ſayd, how? And by what death? The other ſayd, he is dead to God: for he is become an euill man, and pernicious, to be brief, a theefe: and now he doth frequent this mountayne with a company of villanes and theeues, like vnto him ſelfe agaynſt the Churche. But the Apoſtle rentyng his garmentes, and with great lamentation, ſayd, I haue left a good keeper of my brothers ſoule. Get me a horſe, and let me haue a guide with me, which beyng done, his horſe and man procured, haſted frō the Church as much as he could, and commyng to the ſame place, was taken of the theeues that watched. But he neither flying, neither refuſing, ſayd: I came for this ſame cauſe hether, lead me (ſaith he) to your captaine. So he beyng brought, the captaine all armed, fercely began to looke vpon him. And eftſoones commyng to the knowledge of hym, was ſtroken with confuſion and ſhame, and began to flye. But the old man followed him, as much as he might, forgettyng his age, and crying: My ſonne, why doeſt thou flie from thy father? an armed man, from one naked, a young man, from an old man. Haue pitie on me my ſonne, and feare not, for there is yet hope of ſaluation. I will make an aunſwere for thee vnto Chriſt. I will dye for thee, if nede be, as Chriſt hath dyed for vs. I will geue my life for thee, beleue me Chriſt hath ſent me. He hearyng theſe thynges, firſt as in a maſe ſtode ſtill, & therewith his courage was abated. After that he caſt downe his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea and wept bitterly: and commyng to the old man, embraced him, and ſpake vnto him with weepyng (as well as he could) beyng euen the baptiſed a freſh with teares, onely his right hand beyng hid and couered. Then the Apoſtle, after that he had promiſed and firmely acerteined him that he ſhould obtaine remiſſion of our Sauiour, and alſo prayed fallyng downe vpon hys knees, & kiſſed his murderyng right hand, which for ſhame he durſt not ſhew before: as now purged through repentaunce, brought him to the congregation, and when he had prayed for him with continuall prayer and dayly faſtinges, and had comforted and confirmed his mynde with many ſentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before he had reſtored him to the congregation agayne, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the viſible reſurrection.

An example of the godly to flye the company of the wicked.

Moreouer, the foreſayd Irenæus in Lib. 3. cap. 3. and Euſebius Lib. 3. cap. 28. and Lib. 4. cap. 14. proſecutyng the hiſtory of John, declare in theſe wordes, ſaying, that there were certaine which heard Policarpus ſay, that John the diſciple of our Lord, goyng into Epheſus to be waſhed, ſeyng Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bathe vnbathed, becauſe he feared the bathe ſhould haue fallē, ſeyng that Cerinthus, an enemy to the truth, was within. Such feare had the Apoſtles (ſayth Irenæus) that they would not cōmunicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And foraſmuch as we are here in hand with the ſtory of John the bleſſed Euangeliſt, commeth in matter and occaſion, not geuē by him, but taken of other, of a great doubt and difficulty, ſuch as hath occupied all the Catholicke, ſubtile, illuminate, and ſeraphicall Doctours of the Popes Catholicke Church, theſe. 500. yeares. The difficultie is this: that forſomuch as auricular confeſſion hath bene, and is yet receaued in the Popes Catholicke Church for an holy and neceſſary Sacrament, extendyng vniuerſally to all and ſingular

A Catholicke queſtiō. Solution.

An other Catholicke queſtion.

Solution. Albert. ſuper Euangelium. Miſſus eſt.

An other queſtiō with the ſolution.

Albert. ibidē. cap.74.

gular creatures Chriſtiā. Here then riſeth a queſtion, who was our Ladyes confeſſour, or ghoſtly father? But that is decreed and confeſſed with full conſent of all the Catholiques to be S. John. Whoſoeuer denieth or doubteth of this, is ſtraite wayes ipſo facto an hereticke. This then ſo determined, ariſeth an other queſtion or doubt, that ſeyng our Lady was without all originall ſinne, and alſo actuall or mortall: what neede then had ſhe of any Confeſſour? or what ſhould ſhe confeſſe vnto him? For if ſhe had confeſſed any ſinne, when ſhe had none: then had ſhe made her ſelfe a lyar, & ſo had ſinned in deede. Here therfore gentle Reader, in this perplexitie, theſe our illuminate Doctours ſtand in neede of thyne ayde, to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great diuine, denyeth not, but that ſhe in deede, although moſt pure, yet was confeſſed to her ghoſtly father, to keepe the obſeruaunces of the law, appointed for ſuch as had that neede, which ſhe had not. And therfore (ſayth he) neceſſary it was that ſhe ſhould confeſſe with mouth. But then here is to be aſked, what did ſhe ſay in her confeſſion, when ſhe had nothyng to confeſſe? To this Albertus aunſwereth agayne, and telleth vs playnly what ſhe ſayd in her confeſſiō, which was this: that ſhe had receaued that great grace, not ex condigno, that is, not of any dignitie of her owne, but yet notwithſtandyng of congruitie. And this was it (ſayth Albert) that ſhe ſayd in her confeſſion. Albert.cap.74. ſuper Euang. Miſſus eſt.&c.

S. Thomas par.3. quaeſt. 37.art.3.

Moreouer, to helpe this caſe out of all doubt, commeth in famous Thomas of Watryng, and thus looſeth the knot, much after like effect, ſaying: that as Chriſt, although he did owe nothyng to the law, yet notwithſtandyng receaued he Circumciſion, to geue to other example of humilitie and obedience: In like maner would our Lady ſhew her ſelfe obedient to the obſeruaunce of the law, albeit there was no cauſe, why ſhe had any neede therof. And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) this doubtfull queſtiō moued, and ſolued, to the intēt I would reueale to thee ſome part of the deepe diuinitie of our Catholique Maiſters, that haue ruled and gouerned the Church in theſe their late Popiſh dayes.

Flauia the daughter of a Conſul, baniſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 3.cap.19.

Beſides theſe and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, which ſuffered for the like teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, vnder the foreſayd Emprour Domitian, was Flauia the daughter of Flauius Clemens, one of the Romane Conſuls, which Flauia with many other was baniſhed out of Rome into the Iſle Pontia, for the teſtimony of the Lorde Jeſus, by the Emperour. Domitianus. Euſeb. Lib.3.

The Emperour maketh inquirie for all that were of Dauids ſtocke.

Dauids ſtocke feared of the Emperours.

Two nephewes of Jude the Lordes brother preſerued.

The kyngdome of Chriſt not of this world.

This Domitianus feared the commyng of Chriſt, as Herode did: and therfore commaunded them to be killed which were of the ſtocke of Dauid in Jewry. There were remaynyng aliue at that tyme certaine of the Lordes kindred, whiche were the nephewes of Jude, that was called the Lordes brother after the fleſh. Theſe when the Lieutenaūt of Jewry had brought vp to Domitiā to be ſlaine: the Emperour demaūded of them, whether they were of the ſtocke of Dauid: which when they had graūted, he aſked agayne, what poſſeſſions, and what ſubſtaunce they had. They anſwered, that they both had no more betwene them in all, but xxxix. acres of grounde, and how they gat their liuing, & ſuſtained their families with the hard labours of their hādes: ſhewing forth their handes vnto the Emperour, being hard and roughworne with labours, to witneſſe that to be true which they had ſpoken. Then the Emperour inquiryng of them concerning the kingdome of Chriſt, what maner of kyngdome it was, how and when it ſhould appeare: they aunſwered that his kingdome was no worldly nor terrene thyng, but an heauenly and Aungelicall kyngdome, and that it ſhould appeare in the cōſummation and end of the world, what tyme he commyng in glory, ſhould iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to euery one accordyng to hys deſeruynges. Domitian the Emperour hearyng this (as the ſaying is) did not cōdemne them, but deſpiſing them as vile perſons, let them go, and alſo ſtayde the perſecutiō then moued againſt the Chriſtiās. They beyng thus diſcharged and diſmiſſed, afterward had the gouernement of Churches, beyng taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lordes ſtocke, and ſo continued in good peace till the tyme of Traianus. Hæc Egeſip. & Euſeb. Lib.3.cap.20.

The cauſes why the Emperours and Senate of Rome did ſo rage agaynſt the Chriſtians. The kyngdome of Chriſt feared of the Romaines.

By this ſtory here recited may appeare, what were the cauſes why the Emperours of the Romaine Monarchie did ſo perſecute the Chriſtians: which cauſes were chiefly theſe: feare, and hatred: 1. feare, for that the Emperours and Senate of blind ignoraunce, not knowyng the maner of Chriſtes kingdome, feared and miſdoubted leaſt the ſame would ſubuert their Empyrie. Like as the Pope thinketh now that this Goſpel will ouerthrow his kyngdome of maieſtie. And therfore ſought they all meanes poſſible, how by death and all kindes of tormentes vtterly to extinguiſh the name and memorie of the Chriſtians. And therupon ſemeth to ſpryng the old law of the Romaine Senate: Non debere dimitti Chriſtianos qui ſemel ad tribunal veniſſent, niſi propoſitum mutent. Id eſt. That the Chriſtians ſhould not be let go, which were once brought to the iudgement ſeate, except they chaunged their purpoſe. &c. Euſeb. Lib.5.cap.21. 2. Hatred, partly for that this world of his owne naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced the people of God, from the firſt beginnyng of the world. Partly agayne for that the Chriſtians being of a contrary nature and Religiō, ſeruyng onely the true liuyng God, deſpiſed their falſe Gods, ſpake agaynſt their Idolatrous worſhippynges, and many tymes ſtopped the power of Sathan, workyng in their Idoles. And therfore Sathā the prince of this world, ſtirred vp the Romaine Princes, & blynd idolaters to beare the more hatred and ſpite agaynſt them.

Lex antiqua Romana contra Chriſtianos. Ex Euſeb. Lib.5. cap.21.

The kyngdome of Chriſt hated of Romayne Princes.

False accuſatiōs and ſclaunders agaynſt the Chriſtians. Ex Apologia Iuſtini Marty.

Publius Tarquinius. Mamertinus perſecutors.

Upon theſe cauſes and ſuch like, roſe vp theſe malicious ſlaunders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lyes, and ſlaunderous accuſations, of the Heathen idolatrous agaynſt the Chriſtian ſeruauntes of God, which incited the Princes of this world the more to perſecute them: for what crimes ſo euer malice could inuent, or raſh ſuſpicion could miniſter, that was imputed to the Chriſtians, as ẏ they were a people inceſtuous, that in the night in their concourſes, puttyng out their candels, they ranne together in all filthy maner, that they killed their owne children, that they vſed to eate mans fleſh, that they were ſeditious and rebellious, that they would not ſweare by the fortune & proſperitie of Cæſar, that they would not adoure the Image of Cæſar in the market place, that they were pernitious to the Emperie of Rome. Briefly whatſoeuer miſhappened to the Citie or Prouinces of Rome, either famine, peſtilence, earthquake, warres, wonders, vnſeaſonablenes of wether, or what other euils ſoeuer happened, it was imputed to the Chriſtians, as Iuſtinus recordeth. Ouer and beſide all theſe a great occaſion that ſtyrred vp the Emperours agaynſt the Chriſtians came by one Publius Tarquinius the chief Prelate of the idolatrous ſacrifices, and Mamertinus the chief gouernour of the Citie, in the tyme of Traianus, who partly with money, partly with ſiniſter & peſtilent cōſaile, partly with infamous accuſations (as witneſſeth Nauclerus) incenſed the mynde of the Emperour ſo much agaynſt Gods people.

Alſo amōg theſe other cauſes aboue ſayd, crept in ſome peece of couetouſnes withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accuſers for lucre ſake, to haue the poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians, were the more ready to accuſe them, to haue the ſpoyle of their goodes.

Ex Iuſt. Mart in 2. Apolog.

The forme of inquiſition agaynſt the Chriſtians in the old tyme.

Thus haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) firſt the cauſes declared of theſe perſecutions. 2. The cruell law of their condemnation. 3. Now heare more what was the forme of inquiſition: which was (as is witneſſed in the ſecond Apologie of Iuſtinus) to this effect: that they ſhould ſweare to declare the truth, whether they were in very dede Chriſtiās or not: And if they confeſſed, then by the law the ſentence of death proceeded. Iuſt. Apol.2.

The crueltie of tyrauntes in killyng of Chriſten men.

Ex Epiſt. fratrum Viennenſium & Lugdunenſium, ad fratres per Aſiam & Phrigiam ſcripta.

Neither yet were theſe tyrauntes and organes of Sathan thus contented with death onely, to bereaue the life frō the body. The kindes of death were diuerſe, and no leſſe horrible then diuerſe. Whatſoeuer the crueltie of mans inuention could deuiſe, for the puniſhment of mans body, was practiſed agaynſt the Chriſtians (as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epiſtle ſent from the brethren of Fraūce, hereafter followyng.) Crafty traynes, outcryes of enemyes, impriſonmētes, ſtripes & ſcourgynges, drawynges, tearynges, ſtonynges, plates of yron layde to the burnyng heate, deepe doungeons, rackes, ſtranglyng in priſons, the teeth of wilde beaſtes, gridyrons, gybettes & gallowes, toſſyng vpō the hornes of Bulles: Moreouer when they were thus killed, their bodyes layd in heapes, and dogs there left to keepe them, that no man might come to bury them: neither would any prayer obtayne them to be interred and buryed. Ex Epiſtola fratrum Viennēſium ac Lugdunenſium.&c.

Ex Nicephoro. Lib. 3.cap.22.

And yet notwithſtandyng for all theſe continuall perſecutions, and horrible puniſhmētes, the Church of the Chriſtiās dayly increaſed, deepely rooted in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of men Apoſtolicall, and watered plenteouſly with the bloud Saintes, as ſayth Nicephorus. Lib.3.

Ex Iuſtino Martyre in Dialogo cum Triphæo.

The Churche increaſeth by perſecution.

Wherof let vs heare the worthy teſtimony of Iuſtinus Martyr in his Dialogue with Triphæus: And that none (ſaith he) can terrifie or remoue vs, which beleue in Jeſus, by this it dayly appeareth: for when we are ſlayne, crucified, caſt to wilde beaſtes, into the fire, or geuen to other tormentes, yet we go not from our confeſſion: but contrary the more crueltie and ſlaughter is wrought agaynſt vs, the more they be, that come to pietie and fayth by the name of Jeſus:

no otherwiſe then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the braunches growe. For the vine tree planted by God and Chriſt our Sauiour, is his people. Hæc Iuſt.

¶ To comprehend the names & number of all the Martyrs that ſuffered in all theſe.x.perſecutions (which are innumerable) as it is vnpoſſible, ſo is it hard in ſuch variety & diuerſitie of matter, to keepe ſuch a perfect order and courſe of yeares and tymes, that either ſome be not left out, or that euery one be reduced into his right place, eſpecially ſeyng the authors them ſelues, whom in this preſent worke we follow, do diuerſly diſagree, both in the times, in the names, and alſo in the kynde of Martyrdome of them that ſuffered. As for example, where the common readyng and opinion of the Churche, and the Epiſtles Decretall do take Anacletus to ſuccede after Clement next before Euariſtus: Cōtrary Euſebius, Lib.3. & Lib.5. cap.6. makyng no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, ſayth that Euariſtus ſucceded next to Clement. Likewiſe Ruffinus and Epiphanius, ſpeakyng nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and Cletus, next before Clement, but ſay nothyng of Anacletus, wherby it may appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Enead.7.Lib.2. ſpeaketh of Linus & of Cletus, and ſayth that they were ordained helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his Apoſtleſhyp abroad, and ſo ſayth alſo Marianus Scotus. Contrary Irenæus Lib.3. contra Hæreſ. ſpeaketh of Anacletus, makyng no mētion of Cletus. Wherby it may appeare by the way, what credit is to be geuen to the Decretall Epiſtles, whom all the latter hiſtories of the Popes Church do follow in this behalfe. &c. Moreouer, where Antoninus, Vincentius, Iacobus in Supplemento, Symoneta, Aloyſius, with other, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus, Euariſtus, Alexāder, Biſhops of Rome, that they dyed Martyrs: Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory wrytyng of the, maketh therof no mention.

Diſagrement in authors touchyng the lyues and tymes of Martyrs.

Linus Byſhop of Rome.

Cletus and *Anacletus* both one.

And firſt as touchyng Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the firſt Byſhop of Rome after Peter) they ſay that he was ſent out in baniſhment of Traianus, beyonde Ponticus, with 2000. Chriſtians, where he opened to them a wellſpryng, whiche in the wildernes were condemned to the mynes. Afterward beyng accuſed to the Emperour, he was throwne into the ſea with a milſtone faſtened about his necke, and that not long after his body was caſt vp and buried (as Platina ſayth) at the place where the well was made. Some ſay it was founde firſt in the dayes of Pope Nicolas the firſt, Faſcicul. tempor. But forasmuch as I find of his Martyrdome no firme relation in the auncient authors, but onely in ſuch new writers of later tymes, which are wont to paynt out the liues and hiſtories of good men, with fayned additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the ſame of leſſe credite, as I do alſo certaine Decretall Epiſtles, vntruly (as may ſeeme) aſcribed and intituled to his name. Euſebius in his thyrd booke, wrytyng of Clemens geueth no more of hym, but thus: after he had gouerned the Church of Rome.ix.yeares, the ſayd Clement left the ſucceſſion therof to Euariſtus.

Clement Byſhop counted a Martyr.

The lyues of Martyrs paynted out with fayned miracles.

Of whiche Euariſtus next Byſhop of Rome, thus we finde in Irenæus Lib.3.cap.3. Peter and Paule (ſayth he) committed the charge of that Church to Linus. After whō came Anacletus, then ſucceded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euariſtus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the vi. Byſhop of Rome after the Apoſtles. After Sixtus ſat Teleſphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Anicetus. And when Soter tooke the place after hym, then the twelfe biſhop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clemēt followed (as is ſayd) Euariſtus in the ſecōd or iij. yeare of Traianus, as ſayth Euſebius, or as Nicephorus ſayth, the iiij. yeare of the ſayd Emperour. But howſoeuer the count of the yeares ſtand, litle or nothyng remaineth of the Actes and Monumentes either of this, or of other Byſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes. Whereby it may appeare that no great accompt was then made of Romane Byſhops in thoſe dayes, whoſe actes and dedes were then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderly committed to hiſtory. Notwithſtandyng certaine Decretall Epiſtles are remainyng, or rather thruſt to vs in their names, containyng in them litle ſubſtaunce of any doctrine, but all together ſtuffed with lawes, iniunctions, and ſtately decrees, litle to the purpoſe, & leſſe ſauoryng of the nature of that tyme then preſent. Amongeſt whō alſo are numbred two Epiſtles of this Euariſtus. And when he had geuen theſe orders, & had made vi. Prieſtes, two Deacons, and fiue Byſhops, for ſundry places (ſayth the ſtory,) he ſuffered Martyrdome, but what kinde of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what cōſtancy he ſhewed, what was the order or conuerſation of his life, is nothyng touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that whiche our new hiſtories do ſay: becauſe the old auncient writers leaue no remembraunce thereof, whiche otherwiſe would not haue paſſed ſuch thynges ouer in ſilence, if they had bene true. Agayne, neither do the authors fully agree in the tyme of his Martyrdome, which Nauclerus witneſſeth to be in the laſt yeare of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather that he ſuffered vnder Hadrianus: Faſcicul. temporum, referreth it to the third yeare of Hadrian: Volateranus, to the begynnyng of the raigne of Hadrian, Contrary, Euſebius commyng more neare to the ſimple truth (as ſeemeth) doth affirme that Euariſtus ſucceded Clement in the third yeare of Traianus, and ſo geuing to him.ix. yeares, it ſhould follow thereby that Euariſtus deceaſed the.xij. yeare of Traianus.

Euariſtus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

The Decretall Epiſtles.

Naucl.gener.4. Platina. Volateran. Anthropo. Lib. 22. Euſebius Lib. 3.cap.24.

After whom ſucceded next Alexander, in the gouernaunce of that Church, of whoſe tyme & death the lyke diſcrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus ſayth, he was the fourth Byſhop from Peter, but that could not be. Some ſay he was the vj. & ſome the vij. but they likewiſe were deceaued. For the moſt part all do graūt Sixtus to be yͤ vj. Damaſus affirmeth that he was in the raigne of Traiane. And how can that be, when the ſayd Damaſus affirmed before that Euariſtus his predeceſſour ſuffered in the laſt yeare of Traiane, and then the Byſhopricke ſtode at leaſt a moneth voyde, except he meane that the ſayd Alexander ſucceded Euariſtus in the laſt yeare of Traianus? But then how can that ſtand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, whiche ſay, that he ſuffered vnder Traianus, or with Otto Friſingenſis, whiche ſayth he ſuffered the fourth yeare of Hadrian, when he had bene Byſhop ten yeares, by the generall conſent of moſt writers?

Alexander Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Authors diſagree.

They which write of the dedes and doynges of this bleſſed Byſhop, as Bergomenſis, Antoninus, Equilinus and ſuch as follow them, declare that he had conuerted a great part of the Senatours to the fayth of Chriſt, amōgeſt whō was Hermes a great mā in Rome, whoſe ſonne beyng dead, Alexander rayſed agayne to lyfe and likewiſe reſtored ſight to his mayde beyng blynd. Hadrian the Emperour then abſent hearyng this, ſent worde to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwiſe called Theodorus, as Platina ſayth, his two Deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the Tribune: which beyng done as their ſtory recordeth, Alexander incloſed in a diuers priſon from Hermes, notwithſtandyng by the guidyng of an angell through three doores with three lockes a peece, was brought with candell light to the lodgyng of Hermes. And ſo returnyng to the priſon agayne, cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina: by reaſon wherof the ſayd Quirinus with his whole houſhold were all Baptiſed, and ſuffered alſo for the fayth of Chriſt.

Alexander. Euentius. Theodulus. Hermes with his houſhold.

Quirinus with hys houſhold Martyrs.

Thus then ſayth the ſtory, about the ſecond yeare of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the Byſhop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole houſhold, to the number of a M.CC.L. and threw them in priſon. And not long after the ſayd Alexander with Euentius his Deacon, and Hermes and the reſt were burned in a furnace. Theodulus an other Deacon of Alexander, ſeyng and rebukyng the crueltie of the tyraunt, ſuffered alſo the ſame Martyrdome.

Quirinus alſo the ſame tyme (as ſayth Antoninus) hauyng firſt his toung cut out, then his handes and feete, afterward was beheaded, and caſt to the dogs. Equilinus ſayth that he was beheaded and caſt into Tyber in the raigne of the Emperour Claudius, but that cannot be. Albeit Platina maketh relatiō but onely of Alexander with his two Deacons aforeſayd. Declaryng moreouer that in the tyme of this Byſhop, Saphira of Antioche, and Sabina a Romane ſuffred Martyrdome.

Ex Platina in vita Alexan.

Saphyra. Sabina, Martyrs.

Florilegus, the author of Flores Hiſtoriarum, affirmeth that Alexander Byſhop of Rome was beheaded. 7. myles out of Rome, where he lyeth buried, an. 105. but that agreeth not with the Chronicles aboue recited. Euſebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the. 3. yeare of Hadrian he ended his life and office, after he had bene Byſhop.x. yeares.

Ex Florilego.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the Canon Legendes, and lyues of Saintes: which as I deny not but may be true: ſo becauſe I cannot auouch them by any graue teſtimony of auncient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but do referre them to the authors & Patrons thereof, where they are founde. Notwithſtandyng whatſoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous Byſhop.

And as I ſay of his miracles, the like iudgement alſo I haue of the ordinaunces both of him & of Euariſtus his predeceſſour teſtified in the Popes Decrees, by Gratianus as.

The ordinaunces of *Euariſtus*.

Diſt.93.cap. Diaconi.

93.Diſt. cap. Diaconi, where is ſayd that Euariſtus diuided diuers titles in the Citie of Rome to the Prieſtes, alſo ordeined in euery Citie. vij. Deacons to aſſociate and aſſiſte the Byſhop in his preachyng, both for his defence, and for the witnes of truth. Notwithſtandyng if probable coniectures might ſtand agaynſt the authoritie of Gratianus and his Decrees, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordination of Prieſtes was firſt forbidden by Euariſtus, and whether the intitulation of Prieſtes was firſt by hym brought in or not: wherein an inſtaunce mey be geuen to the contrary, that this intitulation ſeemeth to take his firſt beginnyng at the Councell of Chalcedon, and of Pope Vrbane in the Councell of Placent. In the which Councell of Chalcedon the wordes of the Canon (makyng no mention of Euariſtus at all) do expreſſely forbyd, that any Eccleſiaſticall perſon either Prieſt or Deacon ſhould be ordeined abſolutely, otherwiſe the impoſition of handes without ſome proper title of the partie ordained, to ſtand voyde and fruſtrate. &c. And likewiſe Vrbanus in the Councell of Placentia, doth decree the ſame, alledgyng no name of Euariſtus, but the ſtatutes of former Councels.

Ex diſt. 70. cap. Neminem.

Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.

Moreouer in the time of Euariſtus the church then being vnder terrible perſecutions, was deuided in no peculiar Pariſhes or Cures, wherby any title might riſe, but was ſcattered rather in corners and desertes, where they could beſt hyde thẽſelues. And as the Church of Rome in thoſe dayes was not deuided into ſeuerall Pariſhes or Cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo neither was thẽ any ſuch open or ſolemne preachyng in Churches, that the aſſiſtence or teſtimony of vij. Deacons either could auayle among the multitude of the Heathen, or els needed amongeſt the Chriſtian ſecret congregations. Agayne this conſtitution of vij. Deacons ſeemeth rather to ſpryng out of the Councell of Neoceſaria long after Euariſtus, where it was appointed that in euery Citie, were it neuer ſo ſmall, there ſhould be vij. Deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſayd Councell taketh out of the booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles, makyng no word or mention of Euariſtus at all Diſt.93. but theſe (as is ſayd) be but onely coniectures, not deniyng that which is commõly receiued, but onely ſhewyng what may be doubted in their Epiſtles Decretall.

* *Ex diſt.93. cap. Diaconi.*

The inſtitutions of Alexander. Holy water firſt inuented. *De conſecrat. Diſt.3.*

More vnlike it ſeemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we read De conſec. Diſt.3. that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holy water mixt with ſalt, to purge and ſanctifie them vpon whom it is ſprinkeled. The wordes of the Diſt. be theſe. Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mãdamus. &c. That is: We bleſſe water mixt with ſalt among the people, that all men beyng ſprinkled therewith may be ſãctified and purified. And this we commaũde all Prieſtes to do. &c.

The mixting of water with the wine in the chalice. *Qui pridie* **put in the Maſſe Canon.**

The opinion is alſo, but how true I haue not to affirme, that by him firſt was ordained, water to be mixt with wine in the chalice. Item that by hym was brought in the pecce of the Maſſe Canon, beginnyng: Qui pridie. &c. And thus much of theſe foreſayd Byſhops of Rome, Martyred in the dayes of Traian, and Hadrian.

The third perſecution.

The thyrd perſecution of the church.

100.

BEtwene the ij. Romane perſecution and the thyrd was but one yeare, vnder the Emperour Neruа. After whõ ſucceded Traianus. And after him folowed the third perſecution. So the ſecõd and the third are noted of ſome to be both one, hauing no more difference but one yeare betwene them. This Traianus if we looke well vpõ his politicke and ciuill gouernaũce, might ſeme in cõpariſon of other, a right worthy and commendable Prince. Much familiar with inferiours, and ſo behauyng him ſelfe toward his ſubiectes, as he him ſelfe would haue the Prince (he ſayd) to him, if he were a ſubiect. Alſo he was noted to be a great obſeruer of iuſtice, in ſomuch that when he ordained any Pretour, geuyng to him the ſword, he would bid him vſe the ſword agaynſt hys enemies in iuſt cauſes, and if he him ſelfe did otherwiſe thẽ iuſtice: to vſe then his power agaynſt him alſo. But for all theſe vertues toward Chriſtian Religion he was impious and cruell, who cauſed the third perſecution of the Church. In the which perſecution Plinie the ſecond, a man learned and famous, ſeyng the lamentable ſlaughter of Chriſtiãs, & moued therewith to pitie, wrote to Traianus, of the pitifull perſecutiõ: certifying him, that there were many thouſands of them dayly put to death, of which none did any thyng cõtrary to the Romane lawes worthy perſecution, ſauyng that they vſed to gather together in the mornyng before day, and ſing Hymnes to a certaine God, whom they worſhypped, called Chriſt. In all other their ordinaunces they were godly and honeſt. Wherby the perſecution by commaundement of the Emperour, was greatly ſtayd and diminiſhed. The forme and copy of which Epiſtle of Plinie I thought here not inconuenient to ſet downe as foloweth.

Plinius ſecundus wrate to Traian to ſtop the perſecution.

The Epiſtle of Plinie to Traianus.

The Epiſtle of Plinie to *Traianus.*

IT is my propertie & maner (my ſoueraigne,) to make relation of all thoſe thinges vnto you wherin I doubt. For who can better, either correct my ſlackenes or inſtruct mine ignoraunce then you? I was neuer yet preſent my ſelfe, at the examination & execution of theſe Chriſtians. And therfore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtred, and how farre, or how to procede in ſuch inquiſitions, I am playne ignoraunt, not able to reſolue in the matter, whether any difference is to be had in age and perſon, whether the yong and tender ought to be with like crueltie intreated as the elder and ſtronger, whether repentaunce may haue any pardon, or whether it may profite hym or not, to denye which hath bene a Chriſtian, whether the name onely of Chriſtians without other offences, or whether the offences ioyned with the name of a Chriſtian ought to be puniſhed. In the meane ſeaſon as touchyng ſuch Chriſtians as haue beene preſented to me, I haue kept this order, I haue inquired the ſecond & third tyme of them, whether they were Chriſtians, manacyng them with feare of puniſhment, and ſuch as did perſeuere, I commaunded to execution. For thus I thought that what ſoeuer their profeſſion was, yet their ſtubburnes and obſtinacie ought to be puniſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madnes, who becauſe they were Citizens of Rome, I thought to ſend them backe agayne to the Citie. Afterward in further proces and handlyng of this matter, as the ſecte did further ſpread, ſo the more caſes did therof inſue. There was a libell offered to me bearyng no name, wherein was contained the names of many which denyed them ſelues to be Chriſtians, contented to do ſacrifice with incenſe, and wyne to the Gods and to your Image (whiche Image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) and to blaſpheme Chriſt: wherunto none ſuch as were true Chriſtians in dede could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let go. Other ſome confeſſed that they had bene Chriſtians, but afterward denyed the ſame. &c. Affirmyng vnto me the whole ſumme of that ſecte or errour, to conſiſte in this, that they were wont at certaine tymes appoynted to conuẽt together before day, and to ſing certaine Hymnes to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among themſelues to abſtayne from all theft, murther, and adultery, to keepe their fayth and to defraude no man: whiche done, then to depart for that tyme, and afterward to reſort agayne, to take meate in companyes together both men and womẽ one with an other, and yet without any acte of euils. In the truth wherof, to be further certified, whether it were ſo or not, I cauſed two maydẽs to be layd on the racke, and with tormentes to be examined of the ſame. But findyng no other thyng in them, but onely lewde and immoderate ſuperſtition, I thought to ſurceaſe of further inquirie, till tyme that I might be further aduertiſed in the matter from you, for ſo the matter ſeemed vnto me worthy and needefull of aduiſement, eſpecially for the great number of thoſe that were in daunger of your ſtatute. For very many there were of all ages and ſtates, both men and women which then were, and more are lyke hereafter to incurre the ſame perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not onely in Cities, but villages alſo and boroughes about, whiche ſeemeth that it may be ſtayed and reformed. For as much as we ſee in many places that the temples of our Gods which were wont to be deſolate, begyn now agayne to be frequented, and that they bryng ſacrifices from euery part to be ſold, whiche before very few were found willyng to bye them. Wherby it may eaſely be coniectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if ſpace and tyme be geuen them, wherin they may be reclaymed.

The vſe of Chriſtians in the primitiue Church.

The teſtimony of the Heathen of the Chriſtians.

Two maydens racked for Chriſt.

The Epiſtle of Traianus to Plinie.

The aunſwere of Traian to Plinies letter.

THe Acte and ſtatute, my Secundus, concernyng the cauſes of the Chriſtians which ye ought to follow, ye haue rightly executed. For no ſuch generall law can be enacted, wherin all ſpeciall caſes particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be ſought for, but if they be brought & conuicted, then let them ſuffer execution: So notwithſtandyng that whoſoeuer ſhall deny himſelfe to be a Chriſtian, and that he do it vnfaynedly in open audience, and do ſacrifice to our Gods, howſoeuer he hath bene ſuſpected before, let hym be releaſed vpon promiſe of amendement. Such libels as haue no names, ſuffice not to any iuſt crime or accuſatiõ, for that ſhould geue both an euill Preſident, neither doth it agree with the example of our tyme.

Tertullian writyng vpon this letter of Traianus aboue prefixed, thus ſayth: O ſentence of a confuſed neceſſitie: He would not haue them to be ſought for as men innocẽt, and yet cauſeth them to be puniſhed as perſons gilty. And thus the rage of that perſecutiõ ceaſed for a tyme, although notwithſtandyng many naughty diſpoſed men and cruell officers there were, whiche vpon falſe pretence to accompliſh their wicked myndes, ceaſed not to afflict the Chriſtians in diuers prouinces. And eſpecially if any occaſion were geuen neuer ſo litle for the enemies to take hold, or if any cõmotion were rayſed in the Prouinces abroad, by and by the fault was layd vpon the Chriſtians. As in Hieruſalem, after that the Emperour Traianus had ſent downe his commaundement, that whoſoeuer could be found of the ſtocke of Dauid, he ſhould be enquired out and put to death: vpon this Egeſippus writyng ſayth, that certaine ſectaries there were of the Iewiſh nation, that accuſed Simeon the Byſhop then of Ieruſalem and ſonne of Cleophas to come of the ſtocke of Dauid, and that he was a Chriſtian. Of the which his accuſers, it happened alſo (ſayth the ſaid Egeſippus) that certaine of them likewiſe were apprehended and taken to be of the ſtocke of Dauid, and ſo right iuſtly were put to execution them ſelues, which ſought the deſtruction of other. As concernyng Simeon the bleſſed Byſhop, the foreſayd Egeſippus thus writeth: That Simeon the Lordes nephew, when he was accuſed to Attalus the Proconſul, by the malicious ſect of the Iewes, to be of the lyne of Dauid and to be a Chriſtian, was ſcourged, duryng the ſpace of many dayes together, beyng of the age of an hundreth and twẽty yeares. In which his Martyrdome he indured ſo conſtant, that both the Conſul, and all the multitude did maruaile, to ſee him of that age ſo conſtantly to ſuffer, & ſo at laſt beyng crucified, finiſhed his courſe in the Lord, for whom he ſuffered, as partly before alſo is recorded.

The ſtocke of Dauid feared & enquired for of the Romaine Emperours. *Ex Egeſippo.*

Simeon ſonne of Mary Cleophas.

A iuſt puniſhmẽt of God vpon the malicious accuſers of the Chriſtians.

The age of Simeon.
The death and Martyrdome of Simeon.

Phocas Byſhop of Pontus Martyr.

In this perſecution of Traianus aboue ſpecified, (which Traianus next folowed after Nerua:) beſides the other afore mẽtioned, alſo ſuffered Phocas Byſhop of Pontus, whom Traianus, becauſe he would not do ſacrifice to Neptunus, cauſed to be caſt into an hoate Lymekilne: and afterward to be put into a ſkaldyng bathe, where the conſtaunt godly Martyr, in the teſtimony of Chriſt, ended his life, or rather entred into life. Anton. Equil. Faſcic. temporum.

Sulpitius.
Seruilianus.
Euphroſina.
Theodora Martyrs.
Sabina Martyr.
Ex Supple. Chron.
Seraphia.
Nereus.
Achilleus Martyrs.
Sagaris Martyr.

In the ſame perſecution ſuffered alſo Sulpitius & Seruilianus two Romaines. Whoſe wiues are ſayd to be Euphroſina and Theodora, whom Sabina did conuerte to the fayth of Chriſt, and afterward were alſo Martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus author of the booke called, Supplementum, reporteth that in the Mount of Auentine in Rome, ſhe was beheaded, of Clepidus the gouernour in the dayes of Hadrian. Under whom alſo ſuffered Seraphia a virgine of Antioch, as Hermannus witneſſeth.

The forenamed authors Anton. and Equilius make mẽtion moreouer of Nereus, and Achilleus, who in this perſecution of Traiane had the crowne of Martyrdome, beyng put to death at Rome. Euſebius in his fourth booke cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the ſame tyme ſuffered Martyrdome in Aſia, Seruilius Paulus beyng then Proconſul in that Prouince.

Ignatius Martyr.

An. 111.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 3. Cap. 35. 36. Ex Hiero. In catalogo Scrip. Eccleſ.

In this perſecution beſide many other, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ignatius, who vnto this day is had in famous reuerẽce among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the Biſhopricke of Antioche next after Peter in ſucceſſion. Some do ſay, that he beyng ſent from Syria to Rome, becauſe he profeſſed Chriſt, was geuen to the wild beaſtes to be deuoured. It is alſo ſayd of him, that whẽ he paſſed through Aſia beyng vnder the moſt ſtraight cuſtody of his garders, he ſtrengthned and confirmed the Pariſhes through all the Cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preachyng of the word of God: and admoniſhed them, eſpecially and before all other thynges, to beware and ſhunne thoſe hereſies riſen vp and ſprong newly among them, and that they ſhould cleaue and ſticke faſt to the tradition of the Apoſtles, which he for their better ſafegarde, beyng about to denounce or put in writyng, thought it a thyng very neceſſary to trauell in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Policarpus was, he wrote one Epiſtle to the Congregation of Epheſus, wherein he made mẽtion of Oneſimus their Paſtour, and an other he wrote vnto the congregation of Magneſia, being at Meandre, wherein alſo he forgetteth not Dama their Biſhop. Alſo an other he wrote to the cõgregation of Trallis: the gouernour of which City at that time he noteth to be one Polibius. Unto which congregation he made an exhortation, leaſt they refuſing Martyrdome, ſhould leeſe the hope that they deſired.

Oneſimus Paſtor at *Epheſus.*

The wordes of *Ignatius.*
The ſtraight handlyng of *Ignatius.*

But it ſhalbe very requiſite that I alledge ſomewhat therof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therfore as the wordes lye in this ſort: From Syria (ſayth he) euen till I came to Rome, had I a battaile with beaſtes, as wel by ſea, as land, both day & night, beyng bound in the middeſt of ten cruell Libardes (that is, the company or band of the ſouldiours) which, the more benefites that they receiued at my handes, became ſo much the worſe vnto me. But I beyng exerciſed and now well acquainted with their iniuries, am taught euery day more and more: but hereby am I not yet iuſtified. And would to God I were once come to the beaſtes, which are prepared for me. Which alſo I wiſh with gapyng mouthes were ready to come vpon me, whõ alſo I will prouoke that they without delay may deuour me, and forbeare me nothyng at all, as thoſe whom before they haue not touched or hurt for feare. And if they will not, vnleſſe they be prouoked, I will then inforce them agaynſt my ſelfe. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I know. Now begyn I to be a ſcholer. I force or eſteeme no viſible thynges, nor yet inuiſible thynges, ſo that I may get or obtaine Chriſt Ieſu. Let the fire, the galowes, the deuouryng of wilde beaſtes, the breakyng of bones, the pullyng a ſunder of my members, the brooſing or preſſyng of my whole body, and the tormentes of the deuill or hell it ſelfe come vpon me, ſo that I may winne Chriſt Ieſus.

The notable conſtãcy, and burnyng zeale to Chriſt in this bleſſed martyr to be marked.

And theſe thynges wrote he from the foreſayd Citie, vnto the congregations which we haue recited. And when he was euen now iudged to be throwne to the beaſtes, he ſpake, for the burnyng deſire that he had to ſuffer, what tyme he heard the Lyons roaryng: I am the wheate or grayne (ſayth he) of Chriſt, I ſhall be grounde with the teeth of wilde beaſtes, that I may be founde pure bread. He ſuffered in the .xi. yeare of Traian the Emperour. Hæc Euſebius, & Hieronym.

Ignatius deuoured of wild beaſtes

Beſides this godly Ignatius, many thouſandes alſo were put to death in the ſame perſecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius ſecundus aboue recited, written vnto the Emperour.

Ex Hiero. lib. de viris illuſt. *Publius* Byſhop of Athens Martyr.

Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illuſtrib. maketh mention of one Publius Byſhop of Athenes, who for the fayth of Chriſt, the ſame time duryng this perſecution was put to death and martyred.

Next after this Traianus ſucceded Hadrian the Emperour, vnder whõ ſuffered Alexander the Byſhop of Rome, with his two Deacons: Euentius and Theodorus: Alſo Hermes, and Quirinus with their families, as lately before was declared.

Zenon with 10000. Martyrs ſlayne for Chriſt. *Ex Henr. de Erfordia, & alijs.*

It is ſignified moreouer in hiſtoryes, that in the tyme of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thouſand, two hundreth and three, were ſlayne for Chriſt. Henr. de Erfordia, and Bergomenſis. Lib. 8. make mention of ten thouſand, in the dayes of this Hadrian, to be crucified, in the Mount Ararath, crowned with crownes of thorne, & thruſt into the ſides with ſharpe Dartes, after the example of the Lordes paſſion. Whoſe Captaines, (as Antoninus, & Vincentius in ſpec. hiſtor. declareth) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, & Carcerius, &c. Whether this ſtory be the ſame with the other aboue of Zenõ, or not, it is doubted: As touchyng the miracles done, and the ſpeakyng of the aungell, I referre the certaintie therof to Vincentius & ſuch other like authors, where they are to be founde.

Achaicus.
Heliades.
Theodorus.
Carcerius with x. thouſand Martyrs.

Euſtachius with hys wife & children Martyred for Chriſt.

There was one Euſtachius, a Captaine, whom Traianus in tyme paſt had ſent out to warre agaynſt the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiauntly ſubdued hys enemies, and now was returnyng home with victory: Hadrian for ioy meetyng him in his iourney, to bryng him home with triumphe, by the way firſt would do ſacrifice to Apollo, for the victory gotten, willyng alſo Euſtachius to do the ſame with him. But when Euſtachius could by no meanes thereto be inforced, beyng brought to Rome, there with his wife and children ſuffered Martyrdome, vnder the foreſayd Hadriã. It were a lõg proceſſe here to recite all the miracles contained and read in this ſtory of this Euſtachius concernyng his conuerſion and death. How the crucifixe appeared to him betwene the hornes of an harte. Of the ſauyng of his wife from the ſhipmen. Of one of his ſonnes ſaued from the Lyon, the other ſaued from the wolfe. Of their miraculous preſeruation from the wild beaſtes, from the tormentes of fire, mentioned in Bergomenſis, and Vincentius & other. All which as I finde them in no auncient recordes, ſo I leaue them to their authors and compilers of the Legendes.

Fauſtinus and *Iobita.*

We read alſo of Fauſtinus and Iobita, Citizens of the Citie of Brixia, which ſuffered Martyrdome with like grie-

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Calocerius Martyr.

nous tormentes. At the ſight wherof, one Calocerius ſeyng their ſo great pacience, in ſo great tormentes, cried out with theſe wordes: Verè Magnus Deus Chriſtianorum: That is, Verely great is the God of the Chriſtians. Which wordes beyng heard, forthwith he was apprehēded, & beyng brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their Martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

Eleutherius with his mother *Anthia* Martyrs. *Ex Nicephoro & ex Onam.*

The hiſtory of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her ſonne Eleutherius, to Anicetus Byſhop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of Chriſtian fayth, who afterward beyng Byſhop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foreſayd mother Anthia. Onamaſt.

Iuſtus & *Paſtor* brethren and Martyrs.

Iuſtus alſo and Paſtor two brethren, with like Martyrdome ended their lyues in a Citie of Spayne called Cōplutum, vnder the ſayd Hadrian the Emperour.

Symphoriſſa with her vii. childrē martyred.

Likewiſe Symphoriſſa the wife of Getulus the Martyr, with her vij. childrē, is ſayd about the ſame time to ſuffer: who firſt was much, and oft beatē and ſcourged, afterward was hanged vp by the heare of her head. At laſt hauyng an hudge ſtone faſtened vnto her, was throwne headlong into the riuer, and after that her ſeuen childrē in like maner, with ſundry and diuers kyndes of puniſhmēt diuerſly were martyred by the tyrauntes.

Sophia with her iii. children Martyred.

The ſtory of M. Hermannus and Antoninus and other report of Sophia with her three children alſo, alſo of Serapia and Sabina to ſuffer vnder the ſayd Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord, 130.

Ex Lib. cui titulus. Scala mundi.
Hermes.
Euentius.
Theodolus.
Sabina.
Serophia martyrs.

Vnder the raigne of this Hadrian, ſuffered alſo Alexander byſhop of Rome. Alſo a certaine old ſtory intituled Scala Mundi, ſayth that with him likewiſe ſuffered Hermes, one of the chief rulers of the Citie, whom he had conuerted to the faith. Alſo Euentius a Prieſt, and Theodolus a Deacon, with diuers other, which at the ſame tyme with Alexander were put to death. Moreouer in the forenamed author, mention is made of Sabina, and Serophia a virgine, whiche in the ſame time of this third perſecutiō were crowned with the like Martyrdome.

120.

Quadratus Byſhop of Athens, offereth an Apologie of Chriſtian doctrine.

Ariſtides a Philoſopher of Athens, defendeth before the Emperour the religion of Chriſt.

Serenus Granius a defender of Chriſtian religiō. *Euſeb. Lib.4. cap.8.*

While Hadrian the Emperour was at Athens, he purpoſed to viſite the countrey of Eleuſina, and ſo did: where he ſacrificyng to the Gentiles Gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had geuen free leaue & libertie, whoſoeuer would, to perſecute the Chriſtians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no leſſe zeale excellent, as of famous learnyng, beyng then Byſhop of Athens, and Diſciple of the Apoſtles, or at leaſt ſucceedyng incontinent the age of the Apoſtles, and folowyng after Publius (who a litle before was martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt) did offer vp and exhibite vnto Hadrian the Emperour, a learned and excellent Apologie in the defence of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherein he declared the Chriſtians without all iuſt cauſe or deſerte, to be ſo cruelly entreated and perſecuted. &c. The like alſo did Ariſtides an other no leſſe excellent Philoſopher in Athens, who for his ſingular learnyng and eloquence beyng notified to the Emperour, and commyng to his preſence, there made before him an eloquent Oration: Moreouer did exhibite vnto the ſayd Emperour a memorable Apologie for the Chriſtians, ſo full of learnyng and eloquēce, that as Hierome ſayth, it was a ſpectacle and admiration to men in his tyme, that loued to ſee wit and learnyng. Ouer and beſides theſe, there was alſo an other named Serenus Granius a man of great nobility, who likewiſe dyd write very pithy & graue letters to Hadrian the Emperour, ſhewyng and declaryng therein, to be conſonaunt with no right nor reaſon, for the bloud of innocentes ſo to be geuen to the rage and fury of the people, and ſo to be condemned for no fault, onely for the name and ſect that they followed.

The Emperour writeth for the Chriſtians.

Thus the goodnes of God beyng moued with the prayers and conſtaunt labour of theſe ſo excellent men, ſo turned the hart of the Emperour, that he beyng better informed concernyng the order & profeſſion of the Chriſtians, became more fauourable vnto them. And immediatly vpō the ſame directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mencioned) Proconſul of Aſia, willyng him, frō henceforth to exerciſe no more ſuch extremitie agaynſt the Chriſtians, as to condemne any of them hauyng no other crime obiected agaynſt them but onely their name. The copye of which his letter, becauſe that Iuſtine in his Apologie doth alledge it, I thought therfore to expreſſe the ſame, in his owne wordes as followeth.

¶*The letter of Hadrian Emperour to Minutius Fundanus.*

The letter of *Hadrian* the Emperour to *Fundanus* the Proconſul.

I Haue receaued an Epiſtle written vnto me from Serennius Granianus, our right worthy and welbeloued, whoſe office you do now execute. Therfore I thinke it not good to leaue this matter without farther aduiſemēt and circumſpection to paſſe, leaſt our ſubiectes be moleſted, and malicious ſycophantes boldened and ſupported in their euill. Wherfore if the ſubiectes of our prouinces, do bryng forth any accuſation before the iudge agaynſt the Chriſtians, and can proue the thyng they obiect agaynſt them, let them do the ſame, and no more, and otherwiſe for the name onely, not to impeach them, nor to cry out agaynſt them. For ſo, more conuenient it is, that if any man will be an accuſer, you to take the accuſation quietly, and iudge vpon the ſame. Therfore if any ſhall accuſe the Chriſtians, and cōplaine of them as malefactors, doyng contrary to the law, then geue you iudgement accordyng to the qualitie of the crime. But notwithſtandyng who ſoeuer vpon ſpyte and maliciouſnes ſhall cōmenſe or cauille agaynſt them, ſee you correct and puniſhe that man, for his vnordinate and malicious dealyng.

Reſpite frō perſecution.

Thus by the mercyfull prouidence of God, ſome more quyet and reſt was geuen to the Church, although Hermannus thinketh theſe Alcyone dayes did not very lōg continue, but that the Emperour chaungyng his Edict, began to renue agayne perſecution agaynſt Gods people, albeit this ſoundeth not to be ſo, by the wordes of Melito in his Apologie to Antoninus hereafter inſuyng. In the meane time this is certaine, that in the dayes of this Hadriā, the Iewes rebelled agayne & ſpoyled the countrey of Paleſtina. Agaynſt whom the Emperour ſent Iulius Seuerus, who ouerthrew in Iewry. 50. caſtels, and burnt and deſtroyed. 980. villages and townes, and ſlew of the Iewes. 50. thouſand, ſo that with famine, ſicknes, ſword and fire, Iuda was almoſt deſolate. But at lēgth Hadrian the Emperour, which otherwiſe was named Ælius, repayred and enlarged the Citie agayne of Hieruſalem, which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Capitolina, the inhabitaunce wherof he graunted onely to the Gentiles, and to the Chriſtians, forbiddyng the Iewes vtterly not to enter into the Citie.

The ſecond deſtruction of the Iewes.

Hieruſalē reedified & enlarged. Some write that the place where Chriſt was crucified, was taken into the walles.

Hieruſalē called by a newe name *Aeliopolis.*

Antoninus Pius Emperour.

After the death of Hadrian, who dyed by bleedyng at the noſe, ſucceded Antoninus Pius, about the yeare of our Lord. 140. and raigned. 23. yeares. Who for his clemency and modeſt behauiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the ſame in hiſtories commended. His ſaying was, that he had liefer ſaue one Citizen, then deſtroy a thouſād of his aduerſaries. At the beginnyng of his raigne, ſuch was the ſtate of the Church, as Hadrian his predeceſſour had left it, as in which although there was no Edict ſet forth to perſecute ẏ Chriſtians: yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the cauſes aboue ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputyng and aſcribyng to the Chriſtiās, whatſoeuer miſfortune happened, cōtrary to their deſires. Moreouer inuentyng agaynſt them all falſe crimes and contumelies wherin to accuſe them. By reaſon wherof diuers there were in ſundry places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by the conſent of the Emperour, who of nature was ſo mylde and gentle, that either he rayſed vp no perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, or els he ſoone ſtayde the ſame beyng moued. As well may appeare by his letter ſent downe to the countreyes of Aſia, the tenor wherof here inſueth.

¶*The Epiſtle of Antoninus Pius to the commons of Aſia.*

The letter of *Antoninus Pius* to the commons of Aſia.

EMperour and Cæſar, Aurelius, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus. Tribune eleuen tymes. Conſul thriſe, vnto the commons of Aſia greeting. I am very certaine, that the Gods haue a care of this, that they whiche be ſuch, ſhal be knowen, and not lye hyd. For they do puniſhe them, that will not worſhyp them, more then you: which ſo vexe and trouble them, confirmyng thereby the opinion which they haue conceaued, and do conceaue of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their ioy and deſire, that when they are accuſed, rather they couet to dye for their God, then to lyue. Wherby they are victorers, and do ouercome you, geuyng rather their liues, then to be obedient to you, in doyng that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconuenient to aduertiſe you of the earthquakes, which haue, and do happē among vs, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are afrayde, then conferre your caſe with them. For they vpon a ſure confidence of their God, are bold and feareles, much more then you: who in all time of this your ignoraunce, both do worſhyp other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortalitie, and ſuch Chriſtians as worſhyp hym, them you do driue out, and perſecute them vnto death. Of theſe and ſuch like matters, many Preſidētes of our Prouinces, dyd write to our father of famous memorie hereto-

A notable argument of the Emperour to proue the good cōſciēce of Chriſtiās and the falſe cōſciēce of the Heathen.

He meaneth *Hadrian*, whiche adopted this *Antoninus* of his ſonne in law, to be his ſonne and heyre.

O noble Edict.

fore. To whom he directed his aūſwere againe, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were founde in ſome treſpaſſe preiudiciall agaynſt the Empire of Rome. And to me alſo many there be, which write, ſignifying their mynde in lyke maner. To whom I haue aunſwered agayne, to the ſame effect and maner, as my father did. Wherfore if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation or trouble, to ſuch, hauing no other cauſe, but onely for that they are ſuch, let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch, (that is a Chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſteyne the puniſhment. &c.

This godly Edict of the Emperour was proclaymed at Epheſus, in the publique aſſembly of all Aſia, wherof Melito alſo Byſhop of Sardis, who floriſhed in the ſame tyme, maketh mention in his Apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhall appeare. By this meanes then the tempeſt of perſecution in thoſe dayes began to be appeaſed, through the mercyfull prouidence of God, whiche would not haue hys Churche vtterly to be ouerthrowen, though hardly yet to growe.

❡The fourth perſecution.

M. Antoninus Verus Emperour.

After the deceaſe of the foreſayd quiet and milde Prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among all other Emperours of that time made the moſt quiet ende) followed hys ſonne M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeare of our Lord. 162. a mā of nature more ſterne and ſeuere. And although in ſtudy of Philoſophy, & in ciuill gouernement no leſſe cōmendable: yet toward the Chriſtians ſharpe and fierce, by whom was moued the fourth perſecutiō after Nero. In whoſe tyme a great number of them which truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruell tormētes and puniſhmētes, both in Aſia and in Fraunce. In the nūber of whō was Policarpus, the worthy Biſhop of Smyrna. Who in the great rage of this perſecutiō in Aſia, amōg many other moſt cōſtaunt Saintes was alſo Martyred. Of whoſe ende and Martyrdome I thought it here not vnexpedient to commit to hiſtory, ſo much as Euſebius declareth to be takē out of a certaine letter or Epiſtle, writtē by them of his owne Churche, to the brethren of Pontus, the tenor of which Epiſtle here followeth.

Policarpus the bleſſed Martyr Byſhop of Smyrna.

Ex Euſeb. hiſt. Eccle. Lib. 4. cap. 15. Hieron. in Catalogo.

The congregation whiche is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace, and the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt be multiplied. Amen. We haue written vnto you brethren of thoſe mē which haue ſuffered Martyrdome, and of bleſſed Policarpus, which hath ended and appeaſed this perſecution as it were by the ſhedding of his owne bloud. And in the ſame Epiſtle, before they enter into farther matter of Policarpus, they diſcourſe of other Martyrs, deſcribyng what pacience they abode and ſhewed in ſufferyng their tormentes: which was ſo great and admirable (ſaith the Epiſtle) that the lookers on were amaſed, ſeyng and beholdyng how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward vaynes and arteries appeared, yea euen ſo much that the very intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſene, and after that, were ſet vpon ſharpe ſhels taken out of the ſea, edged and ſharpe, and certaine nayles and thornes for the Martyrs to go vpon which were ſharpened and poynted called Obeliſci. Thus ſuffered they all kynde of puniſhment and torment that might be deuiſed, and laſtly were throwne vnto the wilde beaſtes to be deuoured. But eſpecially in the foreſayd Epiſtle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he moſt worthely perſeuered and ouercame by the grace of God, that feare of death whiche is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whoſe notable patience & ſufferaunce was ſo notable, that the whole multitude wondryng at this beloued Martyr of God, for this his ſo bold conſtancie, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceedyng of the whole multitude of the Chriſtians: began ſodenly to crye with a loude voyce, ſaying: deſtroy the wicked mē: Let Polycarpus be ſought for. And whileſt a great vprore and tumult, began thus to be rayſed vpon thoſe cryes: A certaine Phrigian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrigia, who ſeyng and abhorryng the wilde beaſtes, and the fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mynde betrayed his owne ſafetie. For ſo the ſame letter of him doth report, that he, not reuerently, but more malepartly then requiſite was, together w others ruſhed into the iudgement place, and ſo beyng takē, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly, and vnreuerently with ſuch boldnes, to thruſt in hym ſelfe, to entermeddle in matters, wherewith he hath not to do.

Twelue Martyrs in Aſia.

The cruell and beaſtly handlyng of the Chriſtian Martyrs.

The ſingular patience and conſtancie of the Chriſtians.

Germanicus a moſt conſtaunt Martyr.

Quintus a Phrigian to hardie bold.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeake more of them, and returne to Polycarpus, of whom the foreſayd letter conſequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginnyng, when he heard of theſe thyngs, was nothyng at all afrayde nor diſquieted in mynde, but purpoſed to haue taryed ſtill in the Citie, till beyng perſwaded by the intreatie of them that were about him (which deſired him inſtātly that he would conuey him ſelfe away) hid him ſelfe in a graunge or village not farre of from the Citie, and there abidyng with a few more in his company, did nothing els (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherein he made his humble peticion for the obtainyng of peace vnto all the cōgregatiōs throughout the world. For that was his accuſtomed maner ſo to do. And as he was thus makyng his prayers three dayes before he was apprehended, in a viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on fire vnder his head, and ſodainly to be conſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded vnto them that were preſent his viſion, and told them before, what thing ſhould come to paſſe, that is, how that in the fire he ſhould leeſe his life for Chriſtes cauſe. It is further mētioned, that when they were hard at hand, which ſo narrowly ſought for him, that he was inforced, for the affection and loue of his brethren, to flee into an other village, to which place notwithſtanding within a litle while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt there aboutes, they ſo beate one of them w whippes, that by the bewrayng or cōfeſſiō of him, they were brought to the Inne, where Polycarpus was. And they ſay that the purſuers makyng no great haſt to enter, found hym in the vppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence he might haue eſcaped into other houſes, if he would, but this he would not do, ſaying: the will of God be done. Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, as the ſayd hiſtory ſheweth: he came downe, and ſpake vnto them with a very cherefull and pleaſaunt countenaunce, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which a while agone knew not the man, now beholdyng and vewyng his comly age, and his graue and cōſtant countenaunce, lamented that they had ſo much imployed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended. To conclude, he commaunded that ſtraight way without any delay the table ſhould be layd for them, and perſwaded them that they would eate and dyne well, and required of them boldly, that he might haue an houres reſpite to make hys prayers. Whiche thing after it was graunted, he aroſe and went to pray, ſo beyng repleniſhed with the grace of God, that they whiche were preſent, and hearyng the prayers that he made, were aſtonyed at it, and now many of them were ſory that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

Policarpus flyeth perſecution.

Policarpus prayeth for the Church.

Policarpus hath a viſion of his burnyng.

Policarpus purſued and taken.

Policarpus might eſcape and would not.

Policarpus falleth to prayer.

After this, the foreſayd Epiſtle or letter, proſecutyng the hiſtory addeth more as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers and had called to his remembraunce all thoſe thynges which euer happened vnto him and to the vniuerſall catholicke church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or els inglorious) & that the houre was now come in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him vpō an Aſſe and brought him to the Citie vpon a ſolemne feaſt day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which cauſing him to come vp into the chariot where they ſat, perſwaded him and ſayd: what hurt I pray thee ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalutation.) My Lord Cæſar, and to do ſacrifice, and thus to ſaue thy ſelfe? But he at the begynnyng made them none aunſwere. Till that when they inforced him to ſpeake, he ſayd: I will not do as ye counſell me I ſhould. When that they ſaw he could not be perſwaded, they gaue him very rough lāguage, and of purpoſe moleſted him, that in goyng downe the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legges. But he forcyng very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merely and diligently forward, makyng haſt vnto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch vprore in the place of executiō, that he could not be heard, but of a very few, there came a voyce from heauen to Policarpus, as he was goyng into the Stage or appointed place of iudgement, ſaying: be of good cheare Policarpus, & play the man. No man there was, which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of vs heard his voyce. And when he was brought in, there was a great noyſe made by them which vnderſtode that Policarpus was apprehended. The Proconſul aſked him when that he was come, whether his name was Policarpus or not, and when he ſayd, yea it was, he gaue him counſell to denie his name, and ſayd vnto him, be good vnto thy ſelfe, and fauour thyne old age, and many other ſuch like wordes which they accuſtome to ſpeake. Sweare ſayth he, by the Emperours good

Policarpus refuſeth to do ſacrifice.

Policarpus cōforted by a voyce from heauen.

Policarpus allured to change his name would not conſent.

fortune, looke vpō this matter, ſay thou with vs: Deſtroy theſe naughtie men. Then Policarpus beholdyng with conſtaunt countenaunce the whole multitude whiche was in the place appointed, and geuing a great ſighe, looked vp to heauē, ſaying: Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked naughty men. And the Proconſul thus beyng earneſtly in hand with him, ſayd, take thyne othe, and I will diſcharge thee, defie Chriſt. Policarpus aunſwered: foureſcore and ſixe yeares haue I bene his ſeruaunt, yet in all this tyme hath he not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeake euill of my king and ſoueraigne Lord, which hath thus preſerued me? Then the Proconſul agayne inforced him and ſayd: Sweare thou I aduiſe thee by Cæſars proſperity. Policarpus replyeth: if thou require of me this fonde word of vayne boaſtyng, feinyng not to know (as ẏ ſayeſt) who I am, I do thee to witte, that I am a Chriſtian: And if thou deſire to know the doctrine of Chriſtianity, appointe a day, & thou ſhalt heare. Perſwade the people to this ſayd the Proconſul: Truly ſayth Policarpus, I haue thought it my part, thus to ſay vnto you, for ſo much as we are commaunded to geue vnto the gouernours and powers ordained of God, the honour meete and due to them, & not hurtfull vnto vs: but as for thoſe I do iudge them vnworthy, to purge my ſelfe vnto them. Hereupon the Proconſul ſtode vp, I haue, ſayth he, wilde beaſtes, to whom I will throw thee, vnles thou take a better way: whereunto Policarpus aūſwered let them come: we haue determined with our ſelues that we will not by repentaūce turne vs from the better way, to the worſe, but rather conuenient it is, that a man turne from the thynges that be euill, to that which is good and iuſt. Agayne ſayth the Proconſul, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou ſet not by the wilde beaſtes, nor yet repēt. Then ſayd Policarpus, you threaten me with fire which ſhall burne for the ſpace of an houre, & ſhalbe within a litle while after put out & extinguiſhed, but thou knoweſt not the fire of the iudgement that is to come and of euerlaſtyng puniſhmēt, which is reſerued for the wicked and vngodly. But why make you all theſe delayes, giue me what death ſoeuer ye liſt. Theſe and many other ſuch like things beyng by him ſpoken, he was ſo repleniſhed with ioy and boldnes, and his countenaunce appeared ſo full of grace and fauour, that not onely he was not troubled with thoſe thynges which the Proconſul ſpake vnto him, but contrarily the Proconſul him ſelfe begā to be amaſed and ſent for the crier, which in the middle of the ſtage was commaunded to cry. 3. times, Policarpus hath confeſſed him ſelfe to be a Chriſtiā, which wordes of the cryer, were no ſooner ſpoken, but that all the whole multitude both of the Gentils and Iewes inhabityng at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loude voyce cried. This is that Doctour or teacher of Aſia, the father of the Chriſtians, and the deſtroyer of our Gods, which hath inſtructed a great nūber that our Gods are not to be worſhipped, & after this they cryed vnto Phillip the gouernour of Aſia, & required him that he would let looſe the Lion to Policarpus. To whom he made aunſwere that he might not ſo do, becauſe he had already his pray. Then they cryed agayne altogether with one voyce that he would burne Policarpus a liue. For it was requiſite that the viſion which he ſaw as cōcernyng his pyllow or bolſter, ſhould be fulfilled: whiche when he had ſene burnt, as he was in prayer, he turned him ſelfe vnto the faythfull ſorte which were with him, ſaying by the way of prophecie, it will ſo come, that I ſhal be burned a liue. And the Proconſul had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why, the multitude by and by brought out of their ſhops, workehouſes, and baynes, wood and other dry matter for that purpoſe, & eſpecially the Iewes were moſt ſeruiceable for that matter, after their wonted maner. And thus the pile beyng layd, and that now he had put of his garmentes and vndone his gyrdel, and was about to pull of his ſhoes, whiche he had not done before, for that all the faythfull ſort among them ſelues ſtriued (as it were) who ſhould firſt touch his body at their farewell, becauſe for the good cōuerſation of his life, yea frō his yōger age, he was had in great eſtimation of all men. Therefore ſtraightway thoſe inſtrumentes which are requiſite to ſuch a bonfire, were brought vnto him, and when they would haue nayled him to the ſtake with yron hoopes, he ſayd: let me alone as I am, for he that hath geuen me ſtrength to ſuffer and abyde the fire, ſhal alſo geue power, that without this your prouiſion of nayles, I ſhall abyde, and ſtyrre not in the myddeſt of this fire or pyle of wood. which thyng whē they heard, they did not nayle him, but bound hym. Therefore when his handes were bounde behynde hym, euen as the chiefeſt Ramme taken out of the flocke, he was ſacrificed as an acceptable burnt offryng to God, ſaying: O father of thy welbeloued and bleſſed ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, by whom we haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Aungels and powers, and of euery creature, and of all iuſt men whiche liue before thee, I geue thee thankes, that ẏ haſt vouchſafed to graūt me this day that I may haue my part amongeſt the number of Martyrs in the cup of Chriſt vnto the reſurrection of eternall life both of body and ſoule, through the operation of the holy ſpirite, among whom I ſhalbe this day receaued into thy ſight for an acceptable ſacrifice: and as thou haſt prepared, and reueled the ſame before this tyme, ſo haſt thou accompliſhed the ſame, whiche canſt not lye, O thou moſt true God. wherefore I in lyke caſe for all thynges prayſe thee, bleſſe thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlaſtyng Biſhop Ieſus Chriſt to whom be glory euermore. Amen.

A faythfull ſeruaunt of Chriſt hys Lord.

Policarpus ready to geue a reaſon of his doctrine.

Policarpus obedient to hyer powers

Policarpus threatned with wilde beaſtes.

An example of brotherly loue.

The willyng mynde of Policarpus to ſuffer.

This prayer before his death.

The thankeſgeuing of Policarpus.

And as ſoone as he had ended this word, Amen, and finiſhed his prayer, the tormētors begā to kindle the fire, and as the flame flaſhed out vehemently: we to whom it was geuē to diſcerne the ſame, ſaw a maruelous matter, which were alſo to this purpoſe preſerued, that we might ſhewe the ſame to other. For the fire, beyng made lyke to a rouſe or vaute of a houſe, & after the maner of a ſhypmans ſayle, filled with wynde, compaſſed about the body of the Martyr, as with a certaine walle, & he in the middle of the ſame, not as fleſhe, that burned, but as gold and ſiluer when it is tryed in fire. And ſurely we ſmelt a ſauour ſo ſweete, as if Myrre or ſome other precious Balme had geuē a ſent. At the laſt whē thoſe wicked perſons ſaw, that his body could not be conſumed by fire, they commaunded one of the tormentours to come vnto him, and thruſt him through with his ſword. which beyng done, ſo great a quantitie of bloud ranne out of his body, that the fire was quēched therwith, and the whole multitude marueled that there was ſo much diuerſitie betwene the infidels and the elect, of whom this Policarpus was one, beyng a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, and a propheticall inſtructour of our tymes, and Byſhop of the Catholique Churche of Smyrna, for what word ſo euer he ſpake both it was and ſhalbe accompliſhed. But the ſubtil, and enuious aduerſary, whē he ſaw the worthynes of his Martyrdome, & that his conuerſation euen from his yonger yeares could not be reproued, and that he was adourned with the crowne of Martyrdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefite, gaue in charge, that we ſhould not take & deuide his body. For feare leaſt the remnauntes of the dead corps ſhould be taken away, & ſo worſhypped of the people. wherupon diuers whiſpered Niceta the father of Herode, and his brother Dalces in the eare, to admoniſh the Proconſul, that in no caſe he ſhould deliuer his body, leaſt (ſayth he) they leaue Chriſt & begyn to worſhyp him. And this ſpake they, becauſe the Iewes had geuen them ſecret warnyng, & prouoked them therunto: who alſo watched vs that we ſhould not take him out of the fire, not beyng ignoraunt how that we ment, at no tyme to forſake Chriſt, which gaue his life for the ſaluation of the whole world, (as many I meane as are elected to ſaluatiō by him) neither yet that we could worſhyp any other. For why? him we worſhyp as the ſonne of God, but the Martyrs do we loue as diſciples of their Lord (& that worthely) for their aboundaūt loue towardes their kyng and maiſter, of whom we alſo deſire and wiſhe to be companions, & to be made his Diſciples. whē therfore the Centurion ſaw & perceaued the labour of the Iewes, the corps beyng layd abroad, they burnt the ſame, as was their maner to do.

A miracle ſhewed.

An example of much cruelty.

The Iewes enemyes alwayes to the Chriſtiās.

Marke that he ſayth we loue them, and worſhip them not.

Thus good Policarpus with xij. other that came from Philadelphia, ſuffered Martyrdome at Smyrna, which Policarpus ſpecially aboue the reſt is had in memorie, ſo that he in all places amongeſt the Gentiles is moſt famous. And this was the ende of this worthy diſciple of the Apoſtles. whoſe hiſtory the brethren of the congregation at Smyrna, haue written in this their Epiſtle as is aboue recited.

Twelue Martyrs put to death at Smyrna.

Irenæus in his. 3. booke agaynſt hereſies, the. 3. chap. and Euſebius in his. 4. booke, and. 14. chap. of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory reporteth this worthy ſaying of Policarpus: This Policarpus (ſayth he) meetyng at a certaine tyme Martion the hereticke, who ſayd vnto him, doeſt thou not know me? made aunſwere: I know that thou art the firſt begotten of Sathan. So great feare what euill might enſue therof, had the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, that they would not ſpeake to them whom they knew to be the deprauers of the veritie, euen as Paule ſayth: The hereticke, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, ſhonne, and auoyde: knowyng that he whiche is ſuch one, is peruerſe or froward, and damneth him ſelfe. This moſt holy Confeſſour & Martyr of Chriſt Policarpus ſuffered death in the fourth perſecution after Nero, when Marcus Antonius, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus

Ex Irenæo, Lib. 3. cap. 3.
Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 14

[illegible]dus raigned, an. Dom. 167. as Vrſperg. affirmeth, an. 170. as Euſebius witneſſeth in his Chronicles the. 7. before the Calendes of February.

Germanicus. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 15. Hiſtor. eccl.

Of Germanicus mention is made aboue in the ſtory of Policarpus, of whom writeth Euſebius Lib. 4. cap. 15. notyng hym to be a young man, and moſt conſtauntly to perſeuere in the profeſſion of Chriſtes doctrine, whom whẽ the Proconſul went about to perſwade, to remember his age, and to fauour him ſelfe, beyng in the floure of his age, he would not be allured: but conſtauntly and boldly, and of his owne accord incited and prouoked the wilde beaſt to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be deliuered more ſpeedely out of this wretched life. Hæc Euſebius. an. 170.

The old age of *Polycarpus.*

Polycarpus the ſcholer of Iohn.

Irenæus Lib. 3. cap. 3

Thus haue ye heard out of the Epiſtle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Policarpus, whereby it may appeare that he was a very aged man who had ſerued Chriſt. lxxxvi. yeares ſince the firſt knowledge of him, and ſerued alſo in the miniſtery about the ſpace of. 70. yeares. This Policarpus was the ſcholler and hearer of Iohn the Euangeliſt, and was placed by the ſayd Iohn in Smyrna. Of him alſo Ignatius maketh mention in his Epiſtle which he wrote in his iourney to Rome, goyng toward his Martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernement of hys Church at Antioche, whereby it appeareth that Policarpus then was in the miniſtery. Likewiſe Irenæus writeth of the ſayd Policarpus after this maner. He alwayes taught (ſayd he) thoſe thynges which he learned of the Apoſtles, leauing them to the Church, and are onely true. Whereunto alſo all the Churches that be in Aſia, and all they whiche ſucceded after Policarpus to this day, beareth witnes. And the ſame Irenæus witneſſeth alſo that the ſayd Policarpus wrote an Epiſtle to the Philippians, whiche whether it be the ſame that is now extant and read in the name of Policarpus, it is doubted of ſome: notwithſtandyng in the ſayd Epiſtle diuers thynges are founde very wholeſome and Apoſtlelyke: as where he teacheth of Chriſt, of iudgement, and of the reſurrection. Alſo he writeth of faith very worthely, thus declaryng that by grace we are ſaued, and not by workes, but in the will of God by Ieſus Chriſt.

The Epiſtle of *Polycarpus* to the Philippians.

Iuſtification by fayth.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 20.

Irenæus conuerſaunt with *Polycarpus.*

Polycarpus conuerſaunt with the Apoſtles.

In Euſebius we read in like maner a part of an Epiſtle, written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared how that the ſayd Irenæus beyng yet young, was with Policarpus in Aſia: at what tyme he ſaw and well remẽbred what Policarpus did, & the place where he ſat teachyng, his whole order of lyfe and proportion of his body, with the Sermõs & wordes which he ſayd to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred how that the ſayd Policarpus often tymes reported vnto him thoſe thynges whiche he learned and heard them ſpeake of the Lord, his doynges, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their owne eares, all which were moſt conſonaunt and agreable to the holy Scripture. This with much more hath Irenæus, concernyng Policarpus.

The authoritie of *Polycarpus* in the Churches of Aſia.

Hierome alſo, writyng of the ſame Policarpus, hath how he was of great eſtimation through out all Aſia, for that he was ſcholer to the Apoſtles, and to them which did ſee and were conuerſant with Chriſt him ſelfe, whereby it is to be coniectured his authoritie to be much, not onely with thẽ of his owne Church, but with all other Churches about him.

Polycarpus came to Rome.

Polycarpus conferreth with *Anicetus.*

The Eaſt church and Romaine Church differe about Eaſterday

Ex Niceph. Lib. 4. cap. 39.

Difference of ceremonyes cauſed no breache of charitie in the primitiue church

Ouer and beſides, it is witneſſed by the ſayd Irenæus, that Policarpus came to Rome in the tyme of Anicetus Biſhop of Rome about the yeare of our Lord. 157. in ỹ raigne of Antoninus Pius, whoſe cauſe of his comming thether appeareth to be about the controuerſie of Eaſterday: wherin the Aſians and the Romanes ſomethyng diſagreed among thẽ ſelues. And therfore the ſayd Policarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and Church of Aſia, tooke his long iourney thether, to come and conferre with Anicetus. Wherof writeth alſo Nicephorus Lib. 4. declaryng that Polycarpus and Anicetus ſomethyng varied in opinions and iudgement about that matter. And that notwithſtanding, yet both frendly communicated either with the other, in ſo much that Anicetus in his Church, gaue place to Polycarpus to miniſter the Communion and Sacrament of the Lordes Supper for honour ſake, which may be a notable teſtimony now to vs, that the doctrine concernyng the free vſe and liberty of ceremonies, was at that tyme retained in the church without any offence of ſtomacke, or breache of Chriſtian peace in the Church.

Socrates deceiued in his *Tripart. hiſt.*

This Polycarpus (as is aboue mentioned) ſuffered his Martyrdome euen in his owne Church at Smyrna, where he had laboured ſo many yeares in plantyng of the Goſpell of Chriſt, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 170. as Euſebius reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the. 7. yeare of Antoninus Verus his raigne: wherby it appeareth that Socrates in Hiſtoria tripartita was much deceiued ſaying that Policarpus ſuffered in the tyme of Gordianus.

Ex Euſebio Lib. 4. cap. 17.

Metrodorus. Pionius. Carpus. Papylus. Agathonica Martyrs.

In this fourth perſecution beſide Polycarpus and other mentioned before, we read alſo in Euſebius of diuers other, who at the ſame tyme likewiſe did ſuffer at Smyrna.

Ouer and beſides in the ſayd perſecution ſuffered moreouer Metrodorus a Miniſter: who was geuen to the fire, & ſo conſumed. Another was worthy Pionius, whiche after much boldnes of ſpeeche, with his Apologies exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in the defence of Chriſtiã fayth, and after much releuyng and comfortyng of ſuch as were in priſons, and otherwiſe diſcõforted, at laſt was put to cruell tormentes and afflictions, then geuen likewiſe to the fire, ſo finiſhed his bleſſed Martyrdome.

After theſe alſo ſuffered Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their moſt conſtaunt and worthy confeſſions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Aſia, witneſſyng Euſebius Lib. 4. cap. 7.

Felicitas with her vii. children.

Ianuarius. Felix. Philip. Siluanus. Alexander. Vitalis. Martialis Martyrs.

And as theſe ſuffered in Aſia, ſo in Rome ſuffered Felicitas with her 7. children, who vnder this M. Antoninus Verus, ſuſtained alſo the crueltie of this perſecutiõ. The names of whoſe children Bergomenſis and other hiſtories do thus recite: Ianuarius, Felix, Philippe, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her firſt and eldeſt ſonne Ianuarius after he was whipped and ſcourged with roddes, was preſt to death with leaden weyghtes. Felix and Philippe had their braynes beaten out with maules. Siluanus was caſt downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Laſt of all Felicitas the mother (otherwiſe then the accuſtomed maner was for ſuch as had borne children) was ſlayne with the ſword. Ex Supplem.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. Cap. 16.

In the rage of this fourth perſecution, vnder the raigne of Antonius Pius, ſuffered alſo good Iuſtinus, a man in learnyng and Philoſophy excellent, & a great defender of Chriſtian Religion. Who firſt exhibited vnto the Emperour and to the Senate, a booke or Apologie in defence of the Chriſtiãs, and afterward him ſelfe alſo dyed a Martyr. Of whõ in the hiſtory of Euſebius Lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded: That about what tyme, or a litle before that Polycarpus with other diuers Saintes ſuffered Martyrdome in Pargamopolis, a Citie of Aſia, this Iuſtinus (as is aforeſayd) preſented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the Emperour, to wit vnto Antoninus, and to the Senat. After which he was alſo crowned with like Martyrdome vnto thoſe, whom he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes, and crafty circumuention of Creſcens.

Creſcens a Philoſopher procurer of the death of Iuſtinus.

This Creſcens was a Philoſopher cõformyng his lyfe and maners to the Cynicall ſect, whom for becauſe this Iuſtinus had reproued in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth whiche he defended, he therfore as much as in him lay, did worke and procure vnto him this crowne of Martyrdome. And this did alſo Iuſtine him ſelfe a Philoſopher, no leſſe famous by his profeſſion, foreſee and declare in his foreſayd Apologie, tellyng almoſt all thoſe thynges before hand whiche ſhould happen vnto hym, by theſe wordes ſaying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be ſlayne goyng by the way, either of ſome of thoſe whom I haue named, and to haue my braynes beaten out with a bat, or els of Creſcens, whom I cannot call a Philoſopher, but rather a vayne boaſter. For it is not conuenient to call him a Philoſopher, whiche openly profeſſeth thynges to him vnknowen, and wherof he hath no ſkil, ſaying and reportyng of vs, that the Chriſtiãs be vngodly and irreligious: And all to pleaſe and flatter them, whiche are ſeduced by errour.

Creſcens a rayling Philoſopher, & a malicious rayler.

For whether he obiecteth agaynſt vs the doctrine of the Chriſtians, which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worſe then the vnlearned idiots, who for the moſt part vſe not to diſpute or iudge of thynges they know not, and to beare witnes of the ſame. Or put caſe that he had read them, yet vnderſtandeth not he the maieſtie of the matters therin conteined, or if peraduenture he vnderſtandeth them, and doth it for this purpoſe, that he would not be cõted as one of them: then is he ſo much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondſlaue of vyle and beaſtly, both fame and feare. For this I teſtifie of him, geuyng you truly to vnderſtand that for a truth, which I declare vnto you, how that I haue apoſed him, and haue put vnto hym many queſtions, wherby I know and perceaue, that he vnderſtandeth nothyng. But if ſo be that this our diſputatiõ with hym, hath not come vnto your eares, I am ready to communicate vnto you agayne thoſe queſtions whiche I demaunded of him, whiche thynges ſhall not be vnfit for your Princely honour to heare. But if ye know & vnderſtand both what thynges I haue examined him of, as alſo what aunſwere he hath made, it ſhal be apparant vnto you,

A ſlaue of fame & feare

Creſcens proued an vnlearned Philoſopher.

that he is altogether ignoraũt of our doctrine & learnyng, or els if he knoweth the ſame, he dare not vtter it for feare of his auditors, which thyng, as I ſayd before, is a profe that he is no Philoſopher, but a ſlaue to vaine glory, which maketh none accompt of that, which his owne Maiſter Socrates had in ſo great eſtimatiõ. And thus much of Iuſtine, out of Iuſtine him ſelfe.

Tacianus cõmended.

The prayſe of *Iuſtinus* Martyr.

Now to verifie that, whiche Iuſtine here of hym ſelfe doth prophecie, that Creſcens would and did procure his death, Tacianus (a man brought vp of a child in the inſtitutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the ſame not a little fame, and whiche alſo left behynd him many good monumentes and Commentaries) writeth in his booke agaynſt the Gentiles in this ſort: And Iuſtine ſayth he, that moſt excellent learned man, full well ſpake and vttered his mynde, that the afore recited men were lyke vnto theeues or lyars by the hygh waye ſide. And in the ſayd booke ſpeakyng afterward of certaine Philoſophers, the ſayd Tacianus inferreth thus: Creſcens therefore (ſayth he) when he came firſt into that great Citie, paſſed all other in the vicious loue of children, and was very much geuen to couetouſnes, and where he taught that men ought not to regarde death, he him ſelfe ſo feared death, that he did all his indeuour to oppreſſe Iuſtine with death, as with the moſt greateſt euill that was, and all becauſe that Iuſtine ſpeakyng truth, reproued the Philoſophers to be men onely for the belly and deceauers, and this was the cauſe of Iuſtines Martyrdome. Ierome in his Eccleſiaſticall Catalogue thus writeth: Iuſtine when in the Citie of Rome he had his diſputations, & had reproued Creſcens the Cinike, for a great blaſphemer of the Chriſtians, for a bellygod and a man fearyng death, and alſo a follower of luſt and lechery: at the laſt by his indeuour and conſpiracie was accuſed to be a Chriſtian, & for Chriſt ſhed his bloud in the yeare of our Lord. 154. vnder Marcus Antonius, as the Chronicles do witnes, Abb. Vrſperg. and Euſebius in his Chronicle in the .xiij. yeare of the Emperour Antoninus.

In Catalogo Hiero.

154.

The death & martyrdome of *Iuſtinus* the noble Philoſopher & Chriſtian Martyr.

Praxedis. Potentiana Chriſtiã virgines.

Among theſe aboue recited is alſo to be nũbred Praxedis a bleſſed virgine, the daughter of a Citizẽ of Rome, who in the tyme of Anicetus there Byſhop, was ſo brought vp in the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo affected to his religion, that ſhe with her ſiſter Potentiana, beſtowed all her patrimony vpon the releuing of poore Chriſtians, geuing all her tyme to faſting and prayer, and to the buryng of the bodyes of the Martyrs. And after ſhe had made free all her familie with her ſeruauntes, after the death of her ſiſter, ſhe alſo departed and was buried in peace.

Ptolomeus, Lucius, Martyrs.

Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 17.

Vnder the ſame Antoninus alſo ſuffered Ptolomeus, and Lucius for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in a Citie of Egypt called Alexandria, whoſe hiſtory becauſe it is deſcribed in the Apologie of Iuſtinus Martyr, I thought therfore ſo to ſet forth the ſame, as it is alledged in Euſebius, declaryng the maner and occaſiõ therof. Lib. 4. cap. 17. in wordes and effect as followeth. &c.

There was (ſayth he) a certaine woman maryed vnto a huſband, who was geuen much to laſciuiouſnes, whereunto ſhe her ſelfe in tymes paſt was alſo addict. But ſhe afterward beyng inſtructed in the Chriſtiã Religion, became chaſte her ſelfe, & alſo perſwaded her huſband to liue chaſtly: often tymes tellyng hym that it was written in the preceptes of the Chriſtians, that they ſhould be puniſhed eternally, which lyued not chaſtly and iuſtly in this life. But he ſtill continuyng in his filthynes, therby cauſed his wife to eſtraunge her ſelfe from his company. For why, the womã thought it not conuenient to continue in her huſbandes cõpany, which contemnyng the law of nature, ſought otherwiſe to ſatiſfie his filthy appetite. Therfore ſhe was purpoſed to be deuorced from him. But her neighbours & kinſfolkes prouoked her, by promiſing his amendemẽt, to keepe company againe with him, and ſo ſhe did. But he after this, tooke his iourney into Alexandria, and whẽ it was ſhewed her, that there he lyued more licenciouſly, then at any tyme before, for that ſhe would not be counted partaker of his inceſtuous life by couplyng her ſelfe any longer with him: ſhe gaue him a letter of diuorce, & ſo departed from him. Then her huſband, who ought rather to haue reioyced to haue ſo honeſt and chaſt a wife, which not onely would not commit any diſhoneſt thyng her ſelfe, but alſo could not abide any lewde or miſordered behauiour in her huſband, and that by this her ſeparatiõ ſhe went about to reclayme him from his luſtes & wickednes to better amendement of life: he in recõpence to his wife againe, accuſed her to be a Chriſtiã, which at that tyme was no leſſe then death. Wherupon ſhe beyng in great perill and daunger deliuered vp vnto the Emperour (as Iuſtinus in his Apologie writing to the Emperour him ſelfe declareth) a ſupplication, deſiryng and crauyng of his maieſtie, firſt to graunt her ſo much licence as to ſet her familie in order, and that done, afterward to come agayne & make aũſwere to all yͤ might or ſhould be ſayd agaynſt her: wherunto the Emperour cõdeſcended. Then her huſband ſeyng that he could haue no vãtage agaynſt her deuiſed with himſelfe, how he might bryng Ptolomeus (which was her inſtructour in the fayth of Chriſt) into trouble & accuſatiõ: vſing the meanes of a certaine Cẽturion who was his very frend, whom he perſwaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a Chriſtian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loued the truth, and not thinkyng good to hyde his profeſſiõ) confeſſed no leſſe to the examinour, openly declaryng that he had (as truth was) taught & profeſſed the veritie of Chriſtian doctrine. For who ſo denyeth him ſelfe to be that he is, either condemneth in denying that thyng that he is, or maketh him ſelfe vnworthy of that, the confeſſion wherof he flyeth: whiche thyng is neuer founde in a true and ſincere Chriſtian. Thus then he being brought before Vrbicius the iudge and by him cõdemned to ſuffer: One Lucius, beyng alſo a Chriſtian, ſtandyng by, and ſeyng the wrong iudgemẽt, and haſty ſentence of the Iudge, ſayd to Vrbicius: what reaſon, I pray you or equitie is this, that this man, who neither is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor fellon, neither hath committed any ſuch crime, wherein he may be charged, thus is condemned onely for his name and confeſſion of a Chriſtian. This condemnation and theſe maner of Iudgementes (O Vrbici) are neither ſeemely for the vertuous Emperour, nor to the Philoſopher his ſonne, nor yet for the ſtate of the Senate of Rome.

The boldnes and Chriſtian conſtãcie of *Lucius*.

Lucius condemned and Martyred.

The third alſo condemned and Martyred.

A place of *Gratianus* ſuſpected.

Which wordes beyng heard, Vrbitius makyng no farther examination of the matter, ſayd vnto Lucius: me thinketh thou art alſo a Chriſtian. And when Lucius had geuen him to vnderſtand that he was alſo a Chriſtian, the Iudge without further delay commaunded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he aunſwered: I thanke you with all my hart, that you releaſe me from moſt wicked gouernours, and ſend me vnto my good and moſt louing father, beyng alſo the kyng of all Gods. And in like maner the third man alſo, commyng vnto him, & vſing the lyke libertie of ſpeech, had alſo the like ſentence of death & condemnation, and crowned alſo with the ſame crowne of Martyrdome. And thus much out of yͤ Apologie of Iuſtinus, by the which ſtory it may appeare not to be true, that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higynus Byſhop of Rome, the deciſing of cauſes matrimoniall, ſeyng that in Iuſtinus tyme (who was in the ſame age of Higynus) the diuorcement of this woman in this hiſtory aboue touched, was not deciſed by any Eccleſiaſticall law, or brought before any Byſhop, but was brought before a Heathen Prince, & determined by the law ciuill.

Concordius Martyr.

Cõcordius ſpitteth in the face of the Idole.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the Martyrologe of Iſuardus, of one Concordus a miniſter in the Citie of Spolete, who in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, becauſe he would not ſacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did ſpit in the face of the Idol, after diuers and ſondry puniſhmentes ſuſtained, at laſt with the ſword was beheaded. Vincentius in his .x. booke chap. 108. reciteth a long ſtory of his actes and lyfe, wherof ſome part perhappes may ſeeme tollerable. But this verely appeareth to be falſe and fabulous, concernyng the water flowyng beſides his ſepulcher in the forenamed Citie of Spolete, vnto the which water was geuen (ſayth Vincentius) by the vertue of hym, for whoſe name he ſuffered, to reſtore light to the blynd, to heale the ſicke, and to caſt out deuils. &c. Which kinde of vertue to open the eyes of the blynd, and to expell Deuils, neither doth God geue to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordius the bleſſed Martyr did or would require any ſuch thyng at the handes of God.

Iſuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors moe, make relation of diuers other Martyrs that by ſondry kindes of tormentes were put to death, vnder the foreſayd Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Simmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexãder, Caius, Epipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cauſe of whoſe Martyrdome was the reprehẽdyng of Idolatrie, & becauſe at the Emperours commaundement, they would not ſacrifice to Idols. Many ſortes of puniſhmentes and of miracles are told of them, but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Wherby it may the more be ſuſpected, the hiſtories of theſe writers not to be certaine or true, aſwell touchyng theſe, as alſo other Martyrs, as may appeare in Vincẽtius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like ſort. In whiche authors they which liſt to read more of their miracles there may finde them.

Symmetrius. Florellus. Pontianus. Alexander. Caius. Epipodus. Victor. Corona. Marcellus. Valerian. martyrs.

Authors in the writyng the miracles of Martyrs ſuſpected.

Getulus. Cerealis.

A litle before. pag. 41. mention was made of Symphoriſſa, otherwiſe named Symphoroſa, wife of Getulus, with her vij. ſonnes. This Getulus or Getulius was a miniſter

Amantius.
Primitiuus.
Martyrs.

The vii. ſonnes of *Symphoroſa.*
Creſcens.
Iulianus.
Nemeſius.
Primitiuus.
Iuſtinus,
Statteus.
Eugenius.
Martyrs.

or a teacher (as witneſſeth Martyrol. Adonis) in the Citie of Tybur, whiche Getulius with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitiuus, by the commaundement of Adrian were condemned to the fire, wherein they were Martyred and put to death. The names moreouer of the ſeuen ſonnes of this Symphoroſa, I finde to be Creſcés, Iulianus, Nemeſius, Primitiuus, Iuſtinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the Chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commaundement of Hadrian, being faſtened to vij. ſtakes, and ſo racked with a pulley, and at laſt were thruſt through, Creſcens in the necke, Iulianus in the breſt, Nemeſius in the hart, Primitiuus about the nauell, Iuſtinus cut in euery ioynt of his body, Statteus run through with ſpeares, Eugenius cut a ſunder from the breſt to the lower partes, and then caſt into a deepe pyt, hauyng the name by the idolatrus Prieſtes, intituled Ad ſeptem Biothanatos. After the Martyrdome of whom alſo Symphoroſa the mother did likewiſe ſuffer, as is before declared.

The perſecution in Lyons and Vienna, two Cities in Fraunce.
Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 2.

Under the ſayd Antoninus Verus, and in the ſame perſecution, which raged not in Rome and Aſia onely, but in other countreys alſo, ſuffered the glorious and moſt cõſtant Martyrs of Lyons and Vienna, two Cities in Fraunce, geuyng to Chriſt a glorious teſtimony, & to all Chriſtian men a ſpectacle, or example of ſingular conſtancie and fortitude in Chriſt our Sauiour. The hiſtory of whõ, becauſe it is written and ſet forth by their owne Churches, where they did ſuffer, mentioned in Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expreſſe the ſame in the forme and effect of their owne wordes, as there is to be ſene. The title of whiche their Epiſtle written to the brethren of Aſia and Phrigia thus beginneth.

¶The ſeruauntes of Chriſt inhabiting the Cities of Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Aſia and Phrigia, hauyng the ſame fayth and hope of redéption with vs: peace, and grace, and glory, from God the father, and from Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

A letter of the brethren of Fraunce to the brethren of Aſia.

The greatnes of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles agaynſt vs, and the tormentes whiche the bleſſed Martyrs ſuffered, neither can we in wordes, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deſerue, ſet forth. For the aduerſary with all his force gaue his indeuour to the workyng of ſuch preparatiues, as he him ſelfe lyſted, agaynſt his tyrannous commyng, and in euery place practiſed he and inſtructed his Miniſters, how in moſt ſpitefull maner to ſet them agaynſt the ſeruauntes of God: ſo that not onely in our houſes, ſhoppes, and markets we were reſtrayned, but alſo were vniuerſally commaunded, that none (ſo hardy) ſhould be ſene in any place. But God hath alwayes mercy in ſtore, and tooke out of their handes ſuch as were weake amõgeſt them, and other ſome did he ſet vp as firme and immoueable pyllers, which by ſufferaunce were able to abyde all violent force, and valiauntly to withſtand the enemy, induryng all their opprobrious puniſhment they could deuiſe. To cõclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come vnto Chriſt, eſteemyng their great troubles but as light: thereby ſhewyng that all that may be ſuffered in this preſent life, is not able to counteruaile the great glorye whiche ſhalbe ſhewed vpon vs after this lyfe. And firſt they paciently ſuffered whatſoeuer the multitude of frãticke people runnyng vpon head did vnto them, as raylynges, ſcourginges, drawynges and halynges, flynging of ſtones, impriſonmynges, & what other thyng ſoeuer the rage of the multitude are wont to vſe and practiſe agaynſt their profeſſed enemyes. Then afterward they beyng led into the market place, and there iudged of the Captaine and reſt of the Potentates of the Citie, after their confeſſion made openly before the multitude, were commaunded agayne to priſon, vntil the returne of the chief gouernour. After this they beyng brought before him, and he vſing all extremitie that poſſibly he might agaynſt them: One Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, repleniſhed with feruent zeale, both towardes God and his brethren (whoſe conuerſation, although he were a young man, was counted as perfect, as was the lyfe of Zachary the Prieſt, for he walked diligently in all the cõmaundementes and iuſtifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towardes his brethren blameles) he hauing within him the feruent zeale of loue, and ſpirite of God, could not ſuffer that wicked iudgement which was geuen vpon the Chriſtiãs, but beyng vehemently diſpleaſed, deſired that the iudge would heare the excuſe whiche he was mynded to make in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, in whom ſayth he is no impietie founde. But the people cryed agayne to thoſe that were aſſiſtent with the chief Iuſtice, that it might not be ſo (for in deede he was a noble man borne) neither did the Iuſtice graunt him his lawfull requeſt: but onely aſked him whether he himſelfe were a Chriſtiã or not. And he immediatly with a loude, & bold voyce, aunſwered & ſayd: I am a Chriſtian. And thus was he receiued into the fellowſhyp of the Martyrs, and called the aduocate of the Chriſtiãs. And he hauing the ſpirite of God more plentifully in time, then had Zachary, the aboũdance therof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, beyng a true Diſciple of Chriſt followyng the Lambe wherſoeuer he goeth.

Vetius Epagathus **Martyr.**

The ſtoutnes of a godly young mã

By this mans example the reſt of the Martyrs were the more animated to Martyrdome, and made more ioyous with all courage of mynde to accompliſh the ſame. Some other there were vnready and not ſo well prepared, and as yet weake, not well able to beare the vehemency of ſo great conflict: of whom, x. there were in number, that faynted, miniſtryng to vs much heauynes and lamentation. Who by their example cauſed the reſt which were not yet apprehended, to be leſſe willyng thereunto. Then were we all, for the variablenes of confeſſion not a litle aſtonied: not that we feared the puniſhement intended agaynſt vs, but rather as hauyng reſpect to the ende, and fearyng leaſt any ſhould fall. Euery day there were apprehended ſuch as were worthy to fulfill the number of them which were fallen. In ſo much that of two churches, ſuch as were chiefeſt, & which were the principall gouernours of our Churches were apprehended. With theſe alſo certaine of the Ethnickes, beyng our men ſeruauntes, were apprehended (for ſo the gouernour commaunded, that all of vs in generall without any reſpect, ſhould be taken) which ſeruaunts beyng ouercome by Sathan, and fearyng the tormentes which they ſaw the Saintes to ſuffer, beyng alſo compelled thereunto by the meanes of the ſouldiours, fayned agaynſt vs that we kept the feaſtynges of Thieſtes, and inceſt of Oedipus, and many ſuch other crimes, whiche are neither to be remembred, nor named of vs, neither yet to be thought that euer any man would commit the like.

The faynting of certaine weake Chriſtians.

Falſe ſlaunders of the Chriſtians.

Theſe thynges beyng now bruted abroad, euery man began to ſhewe crueltie agaynſt vs, in ſo much that thoſe whiche before for familiarities ſake were more gentle toward vs, now vehemently diſdained vs, and waxed mad agaynſt vs. And thus was now fulfilled that, whiche was ſpoken of Chriſt, ſaying: the tyme ſhall come that whoſoeuer killeth you, ſhall thincke that he doth God great good ſeruice. Thẽ ſuffered the Martyrs of God ſuch bitter perſecution as is paſſing to be told: Sathan ſtill ſhootyng at this marke, to make them to vtter ſome blaſphemy by all meanes poſſible. Maruelous therfore was the rage both of the people and Prince, ſpecially agaynſt one Sanctus, which was Deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and agaynſt Maturus, being but a litle before Baptiſed, but yet a worthy ſouldiour of Chriſt, and alſo agaynſt Attalus, beyng borne in Pergama, whiche was the foundation and piller of that congregation, and alſo agaynſt Blandina, by whom Chriſt ſheweth, that thoſe thynges which the world eſteemed vyle and abiect, to be glorious in Gods ſight, for the very loue which in hart and deede they beare toward him, not in outward face onely. For when all we were afrayde, & ſpecially her miſtres in fleſh, who alſo was her ſelfe one of the nũber of the foreſayd Martyrs, leaſt happely for the weakenes of body ſhe would not ſtand ſtrongly to her confeſſiõ, the foreſaid Blãdina was ſo repleniſhed with ſtrength & boldnes, yͭ they which had the tormentyng of her by courſe from mornyng to night, for very wearines gaue ouer and fell downe, and were them ſelues ouercome, confeſſyng that they could do no more agaynſt her, and marueiled that yet ſhe liued, hauyng her body ſo torne and rent. And teſtified that any one of thoſe tormentes alone without any moe, had bene inough to haue pluckt the life from her body. But that bleſſed woman, fightyng this worthy battell, became ſtronger & ſtrõger, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe wordes (I am a Chriſtian, neither haue we committed any euill) it was to her a maruelous comfort and boldnyng to abide the tormentes.

The rage of the heathen agaynſt the Chriſtians.

The cruell handlyng & great paciẽce of *Blandina.*

Sanctus a Martyr.

The notable conſtancy of *Sanctus.*

Sanctus alſo an other of the Martyrs, who in the middeſt of his tormentes, induryng more paynes, then the nature of a man might away with, alſo at what time the wicked ſuppoſed, to haue heard him vtter ſome blaſphemous wordes, for the greatnes and intolerablenes of his tormẽtes and paynes, that he was in, abode notwithſtandyng in ſuch conſtancie of mynde, that neither he told them his name, nor what countreyman he was, nor in what Citie brought vp, neither whether he was a free man or a ſeruaunt, but vnto euery queſtiõ that was aſked him, he aunſwered in the Latine toung, I am a Chriſtian. And this was all that he cõfeſſed both of his name, Citie, kinred, and all other thynges in the place of execution, neither yet could the Gentiles, get

any

The cruell tormentes of *Sanctus.*

any more of him: whereupon both the Gouernour and tormentours, were the more vehemently bent agaynſt hym. And when they had nothyng els to vexe him withall, they clapped plates of Braſſe redhoat, to the moſt tēdereſt partes of his body: wherwith his body in deede beyng ſcorched, yet he neuer ſhronke for the matter, but was bold and conſtant in his cōfeſſion, beyng ſtrengthened and moyſtened with the fountaine of liuely water, flowing out of Chriſtes ſide. Truly his body was a ſufficient witnes, what tormētes he ſuffered, for it was all drawne together & moſt pitifully wounded & ſcorched: ſo that it had therewith loſt the proper ſhape of a man, in whoſe ſufferyng Chriſt obtained vnſpeakeable glory, for that he ouercame his aduerſarie, and to the inſtruction of other declared, that nothyng is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the loue of God is, nor nothyng greuous, wherein the glory of Chriſt is manifeſted.

A miraculous workyng of God

And when thoſe wicked men, began after a certaine time agayne, to torment the Martyr, and hoped well to bryng it to paſſe, that either they ſhould ouercome him in cauſing him to recant, by reiteratyng his tormentes, now when his body was ſo ſore and ſwollen, that he might not ſuffer a man to touche hym with his hand, or els that if he dyed vnder their handes, yet that thereby they ſhould ſtrike ſuch feare into the hartes of the reſt, to cauſe them to deny Chriſt. But they were not onely diſapointed herein, but alſo contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the latter puniſhment and torments ſoupled and reſtored, and tooke the firſt ſhape and vſe of the members of the ſame, ſo that the ſame his ſecond torment was by the grace of Chriſt (in ſteede of puniſhment) a ſafe medicine.

Byblides an holy Martyr.

Alſo, Sathan now thinkyng to haue ſettled him ſelfe in the hart of one Byblides, beyng one of them whiche had denyed Chriſt, and thinkyng to haue cauſed her, beyng a weake and feable woman in fayth, to haue dāned her ſoule, in blaſphemyng the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: inforcyng to wreſt ſome wicked thyng out of the mouth of the Chriſtians. But ſhe in middle of her tormentes, returnyng to her ſelfe, and waked as it were out of her dead ſleepe, by that temporall payne, called to her remembraunce the paynes of hell fire, and agaynſt all mens expectations reuiled the tormentours, ſaying: How ſhould we Chriſtians eate young infantes (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the bloud of any beaſt? Upon that ſo ſoone as ſhe had confeſſed her ſelfe to be a Chriſtian, ſhe was Martyred with the reſt. Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannicall torments, by the patiēce and ſufferaunce of our Saintes, the deuill yet inuented other engynes and inſtrumentes. For when the Chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut vp in darke and ougly doungeons, and were drawne by the feete, in a racke or engine made for that purpoſe, euen vnto the fift hole. And many other ſuch puniſhmentes ſuffred they, whiche the furious miniſters ſtirred vp with deuiliſh fury, are wōt to put men vnto: ſo that very many of them, were ſtrangled and killed in the priſons, whom the Lorde in this maner would haue to enioy euerlaſtyng life, and ſet forth his glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented, that and if they had had all the helpe, & medecines in the world, it was thought impoſſible for them to liue and to be reſtored. And thus they remaynyng in priſon, deſtitute of all humane helpe, were ſo ſtrengthened of the Lord, and both in body & mynde confirmed, that they comforted and ſtyrred vp the myndes of the reſt. The younger ſorte of them, which were latter apprehended, and put in priſon, whoſe bodyes had not [illegible] the laſh of the whipp, were not able to indure the ſharpnes of their impriſonment, but dyed in the ſame.

Eculeus ad quintum foramen.

Diuers martyrs ſtrangled in priſon.

Other Martyrs dyed in priſon.

Photinus a bleſſed martyr.

The bleſſed Photinus, who was Deacon to the Byſhop of Lyons, aboue. 90. yeares old, and a very feable or weake man, and could ſcarſly draw breath for the imbecillitie of his body: yet was he of a liuely courage and ſpirit. For the great deſire he had of Martyrdome, when he was brought vnto the iudgement ſeate: although his body was feable and weake, both becauſe of his old age, and alſo through ſickenes, yet was his ſoule or life preſerued to this purpoſe, that by the ſame, Chriſt might triumphe and be glorified. He, beyng by the ſouldiours brought to the place of iudgement, many Citizēs and men of great abilitie folowyng him, & the whole multitude cryyng vpon him diuerſly, as though he had bene Chriſt him ſelfe, gaue a good teſtimony. For being demaūded of the chief ruler, what was the Chriſtian mās God, he aunſwered: If thou be worthy to know, thou ſhalt know. He beyng with theſe wordes ſomewhat neare touched, cauſed him to be very ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtode next him, did him all the ſpyte & diſpleaſure that they could both with hand and foote, hauyng no regarde at all to his old age or white heares. And they which were further of, what ſoeuer came next to hand, they threwe at hym, and euery man thought that he did very wickedly refrayne, that withheld his hand from not doyng the like. For by this meanes they thought that they [illegible] reuenge the quarell of their Gods. Photinus, now euen as it were gaſpyng after lyfe, was throwen into priſon, and within two dayes after dyed.

The rage of the people agaynſt *Photinus.*

And here is the mighty prouidence of God, and the vnſpeakeable mercy of Jeſus Chriſt declared, whiche prouidence beyng aſſured amongeſt a fraternity, is neuer deſtitute of the ayde of Jeſus Chriſt. For thoſe whiche in their firſt perſecution denyed Chriſt, they alſo were put in priſon, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that tyme helpe them that had denyed Chriſt: but they whiche confeſſed him, were impriſoned as Chriſtians, neither was there any other crime obiected agaynſt them: but the other ſorte taken lyke homicides and wicked doers, were layde hand on, and had double more puniſhment then the others had. Theſe men were refreſhed with the ioy of Martyrdome, the hope of Gods promiſes, the loue toward Chriſt, and the ſpirite of God: The other, their conſciēce accuſed them, and that very ſore, in ſo much that by their gate, their countenaūces bewrayed vnto the reſt their giltye conſciences. For the Chriſtians went forth, hauyng chearefull countenaunces, very much adourned with glorye and grace, in ſo much that the very bondes wherewith they were tyed, ſet them out as men in ſeemely apparell: and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garmentes, and therewith all ſauored as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that it might be ſuppoſed them to be annoynted with ſome ſweete balme: whereas the other were doubtful and ſad, abiect, ilfauored, filled with all ſhame, and furthermore reuiled of the Gentiles themſelues, as wretches degenerate, hauyng the crime of homicide, and deſtitute of the moſt precious, glorious, and liuely callyng of the Chriſtian name. And truly by theſe ſightes the reſt were confirmed, & beyng apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtackeryng, not hauing ſo much as the thought of any ſuch deuiliſh mynde of deniall. And in the ſame Epiſtle of the foreſayd brethren of Fraunce, wrytyng to the brethren of Aſia, it followeth in this maner: After theſe thinges done, the Martyrdome of theſe holy Saintes were deuided diuerſly into diuers kyndes and formes, as they offeryng to God the Father a garland decked with diuers and ſundry kyndes of coulours and floures. For it ſo behoued the worthy Chāpiōs of God, after they had ſuffered diuers kindes of tormentes, and ſo winnyng a triumphaunt victory to obtaine great reward of immortalitie.

The comfort of the godly ſtandyng to their cōfeſſion.

The denyers of their confeſſion cōmfortleſſe and notwithſtandyng puniſhed.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus together were brought to the common ſcaffolde, there in the face of the people to be caſt and deuoured of the beaſtes. And Maturus with Sanctus beyng brought the ſecond tyme to the ſcaffold, ſuffered agayne all kynde of tormentes, as though hetherto they had ſuffered nothyng at all, yea rather as though the aduerſary beyng oftentymes put to the worſe, they as ſtriuyng for the crowne, ſuffered agayne more ſcourgynges, the tearyng of wilde beaſtes, and what thyng els ſoeuer the frantike people, on euery ſide cryed for and willed. And aboue all the reſt they brought an yron chayre, in the which their bodyes beyng ſet, were ſo fryed and ſcorched as on a gyrdiron fryed vpon the coales, filled with the ſauour of the fryyng all the people that ſtode by. And yet for all that the tormentors ceaſed not, but waxed more fierce and mad agaynſt them, labouryng to ouercome the patiēce of the Saintes. Notwithſtandyng all this they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thyng but the confeſſion whiche at the begynnyng he declared. And thus theſe holy mē, after they had long cōtinued alyue in this their moſt horrible conflict, at the lēgth were ſlayne, beyng made all that whole day a ſpectacle vnto the world in place and in ſteede of the games and fighters, whiche were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concernyng Maturus and Sanctus.

The ſpitefull handlyng of Gods people.

Maturus & Sanctus Martyred.

Now concernyng Blandina, who beyng faſtened vpon a ſtake, was caſt to the rauenyng beaſtes to be deuoured, whiche thyng was not done without the determinate will of God: to this ende that while ſhe ſeemed to hang vpon a croſſe (as it were) by the feruentnes of her prayer, ſhe much cōforted the reſt of the Saintes, as beholding in her Chriſt, with their bodily eyes, whiche in that agonie ſuffered for them all: and that all whiche beleue in him, and ſuffer for the glory of Chriſt, might be aſſured to lyue with hym for euer. And when they ſawe that no beaſt would come neare her thus hangyng, they tooke her downe from the tree, and caſt her agayne into priſon till an other time, that ſhe hauyng the victory of many battels, might triumphe ouer that ougly Serpēt the deuill, and that ſhe beyng a weake and ſely woman,

Blandina brought forth agayne.

man, and not regarded, armed with Chriſt the inuincible conquerour, might incourage her brethren and by the induryng of this battaile might wynne a crowne of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus, who beyng alſo required and cald for of the people to puniſhment, already prepared (for his conſciēce ſake) cōmeth forth to the fight. For he beyng worthely exerciſed in the Chriſtian profeſſion, was alwayes a witnes and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therfore when the preſſe of people was about the ſcaffold and the table caried before him, wherein was written in the Romane toung, This is Attalus the Chriſtiā: Thē the people were in a maruelous rage agaynſt him, but the gouernour vnderſtādyng that he was a Romane, commaunded hym agayne to priſon, with the reſt of his priſon fellowes: whereof he wrote to the Emperour, and wayted for an aunſwere what hys pleaſure herein was. The priſoners were not idle in the meane ſeaſon, nor vnprofitable to their brethrē, but by their pacience the vnſpeakeable mercy of Chriſt ſhyned out. For thoſe which were dead before, were now reuiued by them that liued and they whiche were Martyrs, profited them which were none, and the Church did much reioyce, as receiuyng them agayne aliue, whō before ſhe had loſt as dead. For many of them which before had denyed, now by their deniall were reſtored and ſtyrred vp, and learned to be confeſſours. And now beyng reuiued and ſtrengthened, and taſtyng the ſweetenes of him whiche deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but is mercyfull to the penitent, came of their owne accorde to the iudgement ſeate agayne, that they might be examined of the Iudge. And for that the Emperour had written backe agayne to him, that all the confeſſours ſhould be puniſhed, and the other let go, and that the Seſſions or Siſes were now begon, whiche for the multitude that had repayre thether out of euery quarter, was maruelous great: he cauſed all the holy Martyrs to be brought thether, that the multitude might behold them, and once agayne examined them, & as many of them as he thought had the Romane freedome, he beheaded, the reſidue he gaue to yͤ beaſtes to be deuoured. And truely Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a litle before had denyed him, which agayne cōtrary to the expectation of the Infidels, confeſſed him euen to the death. For they were examined apart from the reſt, becauſe of their deliuery, which beyng founde Confeſſours, were ioyned to the company of the Martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then abroad, which had no fayth at all, neither yet ſo much as the feelyng of the weddyng garment, nor any cogitation at all, of the feare of God, but blaſphemed his wayes, by the lewde conuerſation of their life: euen ſuch as were the children of damnation. All the reſidue ioyned them ſelues to the congregation: whiche whē they were examined, one Alexander a Phrigian borne, and a Phiſition, whiche had dwelt long in Fraunce, and knowen almoſt of euery mā, for the loue he had to God, and boldnes of ſpeakyng (neither was he voyde of the Apoſtolicall loue,) this Alexander ſtandyng ſomewhat neare to the barre, by ſignes and beckes perſwaded ſuch as were examined to confeſſe Chriſt: ſo that by his countenaūce ſometyme reioyſing, and ſome other while ſorrowyng, he was diſcryed of the ſtanders by. The people not takyng in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted, by and by agayne to ſticke to their firſt confeſſion: they cryed out agaynſt Alexander, as one that was the cauſe of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the Iudge, and demaunded what Religion he was of, he aunſwered: I am a Chriſtian. He had no ſooner ſpoken the word, but he was iudged to the beaſtes, of them to be deuoured.

Attalus commaunded agayne to priſon.

The denyers returnyng agayne to their confeſſion.

Alexander the Phrigian Martyred.

The next day followyng, Attalus, of whom I made mention a litle before, and Alexander, were brought forth together (for the gouernour grauntyng Attalus vnto the people, was bayted agayne of the beaſtes.) When theſe men were brought to the ſcaffold, and had taken a taſt of all the inſtrumentes that there were prepared for their execution, and had ſuffered the greateſt agonie they could put them to, were alſo at the length ſlayne: Of whom Alexander neuer gaue ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottome of his hart prayſed and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus when he was ſet in the yron chaire, and began to frie, and the friyng ſauour of his burnyng body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in the Romane lāguage: Behold (ſayth he) this is to eate mans fleſh which you do, for we neither eate mē, nor yet commit any other wickednes. And beyng demaunded what was the name of their God: our God (ſayth he) hath no ſuch name as men haue. Then ſayd they, now let vs ſee whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our handes or not.

The worthy pacience and conſtancie of Attalus.

After this, beyng the laſt day of the ſpectacle, Blandine agayne, & one Ponticus a child of .xv. yeare old, was brought forth: and this was euery day, to the intent they ſeyng the puniſhment of their fellowes, might be compelled thereby to ſweare by their Idoles. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe, & defied their Idoles, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither ſparyng the age of the child, nor fauoryng the ſexe of the woman, but put them to all the puniſhment and payne they could deuiſe, and often tymes inforced them to ſweare, and yet were not able to cōpell thē thereunto. For Ponticus ſo beyng animated of hys ſiſter, as the Heathnickes ſtandyng by did ſee, after he had ſuffered all tormentes and paynes, gaue vp the ghoſt. This bleſſed Blandina therfore beyng the laſt that ſuffered, after ſhe had like a worthy mother geuen exhortations vnto her children, and had ſent them before as conquerours to their heauenly kyng, and had called to her remembraunce all their battels & conflictes: ſo much reioyced of her childrens death, and ſo haſtened her owne, as though ſhe had bene bydden to a bridall, and not in caſe to be throwne to the wilde beaſtes. After this her pitifull whipping, her deliuery to the beaſtes, and her tormentes vpon the gridyron, at the length ſhe was put in a net, and throwne to the wilde Bull, and when ſhe had bene ſufficiently gored & wounded with the hornes of the ſame beaſt, and felt nothyng of all that chaunced to her, for the great hope and conſolation ſhe had in Chriſt & heauenly thynges, was thus ſlayne, in ſo much that the very Heathen men them ſelues confeſſed that there was neuer woman put to death of them, that ſuffered ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious crueltie thus aſſwaged agaynſt the Chriſtians. For the cruell barbarous people, like wilde beaſtes when they be moued, knew not when the tyme was to make an ende, but inuēted new and ſundry tormentes euery day agaynſt our bodyes. Neither yet did it cōtent them when they had put the Chriſtians to death, for that they wanted the ſenſe of mē: for which cauſe both the Magiſtrate & people were vexed at the very harts, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which ſayth, he that is wicked, let him be wicked ſtill, and he that is iuſt, let him be more iuſt. For thoſe which in their priſons they ſtrangled, they threw after to the dogs, ſettyng keepers both day and night to watche them, that they ſhould not be buryed, and bringyng forth the remnaūt of their bones and bodyes, ſome halfe burnt, ſome left of the wilde beaſtes & ſome all to be māgled, alſo bringyng forth heades of other which were cut of, and in like maner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remayne vnburied.

Blandina and Ponticus agayne brought forth.

Ponticus Martyred.

Blandina Martyred.

Apoc. 22.

The Gentiles grinde & gnaſht at the Chriſtians with their teeth, ſeekyng whiche way they might amplifie their puniſhment. Some other flouted and mocked them, extollyng their Idoles, attributyng vnto them the cauſe of this crueltie and vengeaunce ſhewed to vs. Such whiche were of the meeker ſorte, and ſeemed to be moued with ſome pitie, did hyt vs in the teeth, ſaying: where is your God, that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your Religiō, for whiche you geue your liues? Theſe were the ſundry paſſions and affectes of the Gentiles, but the Chriſtians in the meane while were in great heauynes, that they might not burye the bodyes and reliques of the holy Martyrs. Neither could the darke night ſerue them to that purpoſe, nor any intreatie, nor wagyng them with money, whiche were appointed for watchmen: but they ſo narowly looked vnto the matter, as though they ſhould haue gotten great benefite and profite therby.

Thus were the bodyes of the Martyrs made a wonderyng ſtocke, and lay ſixe dayes in the open ſtreetes, at the length they burned them, & threw their aſhes into the riuer of Rodes, ſo that there might appeare no remnaunt of them vpon the earth. And this did they as though they had bene able to haue pulled God out of his ſeate, & to haue let the regeneration of the Saintes, and taken from them the hope of the reſurrection, whereof they beyng perſwaded (ſayd they) bryng in this new and ſtraunge Religion, and ſet thus light by death and puniſhement. Hæc ex Epiſtola Viennenſium. &c.

Amongeſt other that ſuffered vnder Antoninus, mentiō was made alſo of Iuſtinus, who as it is ſayd before, exhibited two Apologies, concernyng the defence of Chriſtian doctrine, the one to the Senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperour, cōcernyng whoſe ſuffering, and the cauſes therof is partly before declared. This Iuſtine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrey of Paleſtine, whoſe father was Priſcus Bachius, as he himſelfe doth teſtifie. By whom in his youth he was ſet to ſchole to learne, where in proceſſe of tyme he became a famous and worthy Philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned and notable men do recorde. For firſt, he being altogether inflamed and rauiſhed

Iuſtinus.

Iuſtines father.

with deſire of knowledge, would in no wiſe be ſatiſfied in his mynde, before he had gotten inſtructors ſingularly ſeene in all kynde of Philoſophy, whereupon he writeth of him ſelfe in the begynnyng of hys Dialogue Cũ Triphone, thus declaryng, that in the begynnyng he beyng deſirous of that ſect and ſocietie, applyed him ſelfe to be the ſcholer to a certaine Stoicke, and remaynyng with him a tyme, whẽ he nothyng profited in diuine knowledge (wherof the Stoicke had no ſkill, and affirmed the knowledge therof not to be neceſſary) he forſoke him, and went to an other of the ſect of the Peripateticke, a ſharpe wytted mã, as he thought: with whom after he had bene a while, he demaunded of him a ſtipend for his teachyng, for the better confirmation of their familiaritie. wherupõ Iuſtine accomptyng him as no Philoſopher left him, & departed. And yet not ſatiſfied in mynde, but deſirous to heare of further learnyng in Philoſophie, adioyned him ſelfe to one that profeſſed ỹ Pythagorian ſect, a man of great fame, and one who made no ſmall accompt of him ſelfe. whom after he had followed a tyme, his maiſter demaunded of him whether he had any ſight in Muſicke, Aſtronomie, and Geometry, without the ſight of whiche ſciences he ſayd he could not be apte to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicitie, vnles before he had vſed to apply his mynde from ſenſible matters, to the contemplation of thynges intelligible. And ſpeakyng much in the commendations of theſe ſciences, how profitable and neceſſary they were: after that Iuſtine had declared him ſelfe not to be ſeene therin, the Philoſopher gaue him ouer, which greued Iuſtine not a litle, and ſo much the more becauſe he thought his maiſter to haue ſome knowledge in thoſe ſciences. After this Iuſtine conſideryng with him ſelfe what tyme was requiſite to the learnyng of theſe ſciences, and thinkyng not to deferre any longer, thought beſt to reſorte to the ſect of the Platoniſtes for the great fame that ran of them: wherfore he choſe vnto him a ſingular learned man of that ſect, which lately was come to thoſe parties, & ſo remaynyng with hym ſeemed to profite not a litle in contemplation of ſupernall thinges, and inuiſible formes, in ſomuch that he thought ſhortly to aſpire to ſuch ſharpnes of witte and wiſedome, that out of hand he might atchiue to the comprehenſion and cõtẽplatiõ of God, which is the end of Plato his Philoſophie. And in this maner he beſtowed his youth: But afterward he growyng to a riper age, how and by what meanes the ſayd Iuſtine came to the knowledge & profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, it foloweth likewiſe in his ſayd firſt Apologie: where he affirmeth of him ſelfe (as witneſſeth Euſebius in his fourth booke) that when he did behold the Chriſtiãs in their tormentes and ſufferynges to be ſo conſtaunt in their profeſſion, was therewith marueiouſly moued: after this maner reaſonyng with him ſelfe, that it was impoſſible for that kinde of people to be ſubiect to any vice or carnalitie, whiche vices of their owne nature are not able to ſuſtayne any ſharpe aduerſitie, much leſſe the bitterneſſe of death. The ſight wherof helped him not a litle (beyng of his owne nature inclined to the ſearching of true knowledge and vertue) to begyn thereby to loue and imbrace Chriſtian Religion, for ſo he doth witnes of him ſelfe in the end of the firſt Apologie: ſignifiyng there, how it was his ſeekyng and indeuour, to attaine to Chriſtianitie: Vnderſtandyng how the Chriſtians by malice of wicked perſons were compelled to ſuffer wrong and tormentes, and to be euill ſpoken of. By ſight wherof, as he ſayth him ſelfe, he became a Chriſtian through this occaſion: for beyng thus afflicted in his mynde as is aforeſayd, it came in his head for his more quietnes, to go aſide to ſome deſert and ſolitarie place voyde of concourſe of people, vnto a village or graũge neare to the ſea ſide: wher as he approched, thinkyng there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old auncient father of a comely viſage and gentle behauiour, who folowyng him a litle of, began to reaſon with him: where after long diſputation, when the old mã had declared vnto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongeſt the Philoſophers, whiche neither knew God, neither were ayded by the holy ghoſt: and further had reaſoned with him of the immortality of ſoule, of the reward of the godly, and puniſhmẽt of the wicked: then Iuſtine beyng confirmed with his reaſons and argumentes, yelded to him of his owne accorde, and demaunded of him by what meanes he might attayne to that true knowledge of God, wherof he had ſpoken. who then counſailed hym to read and ſearche the Prophetes, adioynyng there with prayer: but what maiſter, quoth Iuſtine, ſhould I vſe for the inſtructiõ therof? & who ſhalbe able to helpe vs if theſe Philoſophers (as you ſay) lacke the truth, & are voyde of the ſame? To whom the old father aunſweryng, there haue bene (ſayd he) many yeares before theſe Philoſophers, other more auncient then all theſe, whiche beyng accompted for Philoſophers were iuſt and beloued of God: who ſpake by the ſpirite of God, foreſeyng and propheciyng theſe thinges whiche we ſee now come to paſſe, & therfore they are called Prophetes. Theſe onely haue knowen the truth and reueled it to men, neither fearing nor paſſing for any: who were ſeduced with no opinions of mans inuention, but onely ſpake and taught thoſe thynges which they them ſelues both heard and ſaw, beyng inſpired with the holy ſpirit of God: whoſe writings and workes yet to this day remaine. Out of which, the reader may receiue great profite and knowledge of thynges, as concernyng the firſt creation of the world & end of the ſame, with all other thynges neceſſary to be knowen of euery true Philoſopher whiche will geue credite vnto them. Neither in their teachyng they do vſe any demonſtration, as beyng more certaine of them ſelues, then that they neede any ſuch demonſtration to be made. For aſmuch as the accompliſhyng and the end of thynges both paſt, and now preſent, cõſtraineth vs of neceſſitie to beleue the wordes and doctrine which they taught: whiche men not onely therfore are to be beleued, but alſo for their miracles and wonders done are worthy of credite, for that they both preached of God the maker and creator of all thynges: And alſo did prophecie before of Chriſt his ſonne to be ſent of him. The which the falſe Prophetes beyng ſeduced with falſe and wicked ſpirites, neither haue done, nor do: but onely take vpon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gaſe at, ſettyng out thereby to the world falſe and vncleane ſpirites. But thou, afore all thynges make thy prayer, that the gate of light may be opened vnto thee. for otherwiſe theſe thynges cannot be attayned vnto of euery man, but onely of ſuch, to whom God and his Chriſt geueth vnderſtandyng. Theſe thynges with much more (which now leaſure ſerueth not to proſecute) after the foreſayd old father had declared vnto him, he departed: exhortyng him well to folow the thynges which he had ſpoke. And after that, Iuſtine as he him ſelfe witneſſeth, ſaw him no more. Immediatly after this, Iuſtine beyng all inflamed as with fire kindled in his breſt, began to conceaue a loue and zeale toward the Prophetes, and all ſuch as were fauoured of Chriſt. And thus he reuoluyng in his mynde more and more theſe wordes, found onely this Philoſophie among all other profeſſions, both ſure and profitable, and ſo became he a Philoſopher, and in time, by theſe meanes afterward was he made a Chriſtian and Baptiſed. But where he receiued this holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, it is not read of: nor yet by what occaſion he left his countrey and came to Rome. This onely we read in Ierome, that he was in Rome, & there vſed certaine exerciſes which he called Diatribas, diſputyng there with Creſcens a Cynical Philoſopher, as is before touched. But this is certaine how that Iuſtine after he had receiued the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, became an earneſt defender of the ſame, trauelyng and diſputyng agaynſt all the aduerſaries therof, fearyng neither perill of lyfe nor daunger of death wherby he might maintaine the doctrine of Chriſt, agaynſt the malicious blaſphemers, and alſo to augment the number of Chriſtian beleuers. As may appeare by his vehement diſputations agaynſt the Heathen Philoſophers. Alſo moreouer aſwell appeareth in that long diſputatiõ, which he had with one Tripho at Epheſus: as alſo in his confutations of heretickes. Furthermore his conflictes and Apologies whiche with great courage & ſecuritie he exhibited agaynſt the perſecutors of the Chriſtiãs, both the Emperours and the Magiſtrates, yea and the whole Senate of Rome, do teſtifie the ſame.

Iuſtine deſirous of Philoſophie.

Iuſtine proueth all ſectes of Philoſophie.

Iuſtine a Platoniſt.

The ende of *Plato* hys Philoſophy.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. *cap.* 8.

Iuſtine beginneth to fauor Chriſtiã Religion.

Iuſtine goeth into deſert.

Iuſtinus miraculouſly conuerted by an old man.

The vanitie of the olde Philoſophers reproued.

The doctrine of the Prophetes commended.

The vtilitie of readyng the Prophetes.

Prophetes to be credited for two cauſes.

Iuſtinus Baptiſed.

Diatriba.

Iuſtinus an earneſt defender of Chriſt.

Two Apologies of *Iuſtinus*.

Of the which Apologies the firſt he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the Emperour as is before mentioned, where, in the firſt writyng with great libertie to the Senate he declared, that of neceſſitie he was compelled to write and vtter his mynde and conſciẽce to them. For that in perſecutyng of the Chriſtians, they did neglect their duety, and highly offended God, and therfore neede they had to be admoniſhed. And further writyng to Vrbicius lieftenaunt of the Citie, ſayd, that he put men to death and tormentes for no offence committed, but for the confeſſion onely of the name of Chriſt: whiche procedynges and iudgementes neither became the Emperour nor hys ſonne, nor the Senate: defendyng moreouer in the ſayd Apology and purgyng the Chriſtians of ſuch crimes as falſely were layd and obiected agaynſt them by the Ethnikes.

The ſumme of his Apologies.

And likewiſe in his ſecond Apologie writyng to Antoninus the Emperour and his ſucceſſors, with like grauitie and free libertie, declareth vnto thẽ how they had the name, commonly beyng reputed and taken as vertuous Philoſophers, maintainers of Iuſtice, louers of learning, but whether they were ſo, their actes declared. As for him, neither for flattery nor fauour at their handes, he was conſtrayned

The ſecond Apologie of *Iuſtine*.

tions to write vnto them, but onely to ſue vnto thē and deſire a ſerious and righteous kinde of dealyng in their iudgementes and ſentences. For it becommeth Princes to folow vprightnes and pietie in their iudgementes not tyranny and violence: alſo in playne wordes chargeth as well the Emperour as the Senate with manifeſt wrong. For that they did not graunt the Chriſtians, that which is not denyed to all other malefactors, iudgyng men to death not conuicted, but onely for the hatred of the name. Other men whiche be appeached (ſayd he) in iudgement, are not condemned, before they are conuicted. But on vs you take our name onely for the crime, whē as in deede you ought to ſee iuſtice done vpō our accuſers. And agayne (ſayth he) if a Chriſtian beyng accuſed onely deny that name, him you releaſe, beyng not able to charge him with any other offence. But if he ſtand to his name, onely for his confeſſion you caſt hym, where in deede it were your duety rather to examine their maner of lyfe what thyng they confeſſe or deny, and accordyng to their demerites ſee iuſtice done.

The Lord take away this ſpur of furie, condemnyng innocentes before they be conuicted.

And in the ſame further he ſayth, you examine not the cauſes, but incēſed with raſh affections as with the ſpurre of furie, ye ſlay and murder them not conuicted, without any reſpect of Iuſtice. And further he addeth. Some peraduenture will ſay certaine of them haue bene apprehended and taken in euill doynges: as though (ſayth he) you vſed to enquire vpon them beyng brought afore you, and not commonly to cōdemne them before due examination of their offence for the cauſe aboue mentioned. Where alſo in the end of the ſayd Apologie after this maner he reprehendeth them: you do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodneſſe of your predeceſſours, whoſe example ye follow not: for your father Adrian of famous memorie, cauſed to be proclaymed that Chriſtians accuſed before the iudge, ſhould not be condemned, vnleſſe they were found giltie of ſome notorious crime. I finde that all his vehement and graue Apologie ſtandeth vpon moſt ſtrong & firme probatiōs: denying that the Chriſtians ought by conſcience at the will and commaundement of the Emperour and Senate to do ſacrifice to the Idols. For the which they beyng cōdemned, affirme that they ſuffer open wrong: approuyng moreouer, that the true & onely Religion, is the Religion of the Chriſtians: whoſe both doctrine and conuerſation hath no fault. Iuſtinus although with theſe and ſuch lyke perſuaſions did not ſo preuayle with the Emperour to cauſe him to loue his Religion and become a Chriſtian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus writyng to his Officers in Aſia in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, required and commaunded them, that thoſe Chriſtians which onely were founde giltie of any treſpaſſe, ſhould ſuffer, and ſuch as were not conuicted, ſhould not therfore onely for the name be puniſhed, becauſe they were called Chriſtians. By theſe it is apparent with what zeale and fayth this Iuſtinus did ſtriue agaynſt the perſecutors, which (as he ſayd) could kill onely, but could not hurt.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 16.

A place of *Epiphanius* **found faulty.**

This Iuſtinus by the meanes and malice of Creſcens the Philoſopher as is before declared, ſuffered Martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninus Verus a litle after that Polycarpus was martyred in Aſia, as witneſſeth Euſebius Lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceiued in the time of his death, ſaying that he ſuffered vnder Ruſticus the preſident, and Adrian the Emperour, beyng of xxx. yeares of age, which in deede agreeth not neither with Euſebius, nor Ierome, nor Swide, nor other moe, which manifeſtly declare and teſtifie how he exhibited his Apologie vnto Antoninus Pius, which came after Adrian. Thus haſt thou good reader the life of this learned & bleſſed Martyr although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply diſcourſed for the better commendation of his excellent & notable vertues, of whoſe finall end thus writeth Photius ſaying, that he ſufferyng for Chriſt dyed chearefully and with honor.

Cum dignitate & latus pro Chriſto pertulit.

The ſingular modeſtie of the foreſayd martyrs declared.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 2.

Thus haue ye heard the whole diſcourſe of Iuſtinus, and of the bleſſed Saintes of Fraunce, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexāder, Alcibiades, with other, recorded & ſet forth by the writyng of certaine Chriſtian brethren of the ſame Church and place of Frāce. In the which foreſayd writyng of theirs moreouer appeareth the great meekenes and modeſt conſtācie of the ſayd Martyrs deſcribed in theſe wordes: ſuch folowers were they of Chriſt, who when he was in the forme of God, thought it no robberie, to be equall with God, beyng in the ſame glory with him, that they not once nor twiſe, but oft tymes ſufferyng Martyrdome, and taken agayne from the beaſtes, and bearyng woundes, tearynges and ſkars in their bodies, yet neither would count them ſelues Martyrs, neither would ſuffer vs ſo to call them: but if any of vs either by word or letter, would call them Martyrs; they did vehemently rebuke them: ſaying that the name of Martyrdome was to be geuen to Chriſt, the faithfull and true Martyr, the firſt borne of the dead, and the captaine of lyfe, teſtifying moreouer that Martyrdome belōgeth to ſuch, who by their martyrdome were already paſſed out of this lyfe, and whom as Chriſt by their worthy confeſſion hath receiued vnto him ſelfe and hath ſealed vp their Martyrdome by their end finiſhed: As for them, which were not yet cōſummated, they (ſayd they) were not worthy the names of Martyrs, but onely were humble & worthy confeſſors, deſiryng alſo their brethren with teares, to pray without ceaſing for their cōfirmation. Thus they performyng in deede that which belonged to true Martyrs, in reſiſtyng the Heathen with much libertie and great pacience, without all feare of man, beyng repleniſhed with the feare of God, refuſed to be named of their brethren for Martyrs. And after in the ſayd writyng it foloweth more: They humbled themſelues vnder the mighty hand of God, by whiche they were greatly exalted. Thē they rendred to all men a reaſon of their fayth, they accuſed no man, they looſed all, they bounde none. And for them which ſo euill did entreate them, they prayed, folowyng the example of Stephen the perfect Martyr, which ſayd: O Lord impute not this for ſinne to them. And after agayne: Neither did they proudly vaunce agaynſt them, which fell: but of ſuch as they had, they imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affectiō, ſheddyng their plentiful teares for them to God the father, and prayed for their lyfe and ſaluatiō, and as God gaue it them, they alſo did communicate to their neighbours. And thus they as conquerers of all thynges departed to God. They loued peace, and leauyng the ſame to vs, they went to God, neither leauyng any moleſtation to their mother, nor ſedition or trouble to their brethren, but ioy, peace, concorde, and loue to all.

The holy Martyrs refuſe to be called Martyrs.

Out of the ſame writyng moreouer concernyng theſe Martyrs of Fraunce afore mentioned, is reported alſo an other hiſtory, not vnworthy to be noted, taken out of the ſame booke of Euſebius. cap. 3. which hiſtory is this.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 3.

Alcybiades.

The ſtraite faſtyng of *Alcibiades* **corrected by the holy Ghoſt.**

There was among theſe conſtaunt and bleſſed Martyrs one Alcibiades, as is aboue ſpecified: which Alcibiades euer vſed a very ſtraight dyet, receiuyng for his foode and ſuſtenaunce nothyng els, but onely bread and water: when this Alcibiades now beyng caſt in priſon, went about to accuſtome the ſame ſtraightnes of dyet, after his vſuall maner before, it was reueiled by God to Attalus afore mentioned, one of the ſayd company, beyng alſo the ſame tyme impriſoned after his firſt conflict vpon the ſcaffold, that Alcibiades did not well, in that he refuſed to vſe and take the creatures of God: and alſo therby miniſtred to other a pernicious occaſion of offenſiue example. Whereupon Alcibiades beyng aduertiſed, and reformed, began to take all things boldly and with geuing of thankes, whereby may appeare to all ſcrupulous conſciences, not onely an wholeſome inſtruction of the holy Ghoſt, but alſo here is to be noted, how in thoſe dayes they were not deſtitute of the grace of God, but had the holy ſpirite of God to be their inſtructor. Hæc Euſeb.

A leſſon for ſcrupulous conſciences.

Irenæus **newly made miniſter, and commended to** *Eleutherius.*

The foreſayd Martyrs of Fraunce alſo, the ſame time, commended Irenæus newly then made miniſter, with their letters vnto Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome: as witneſſeth Euſeb. in the. x. chap. of the ſame booke, whiche Irenæus firſt was the hearer of Polycarpus, them made miniſter (as is ſayd) vnder theſe Martyrs. And after their death, made Byſhop afterward of Lyons in Fraunce and ſucceded after Photinus. Beſides this Iuſtinus, there were alſo the ſame tyme in Aſia, Claudius Apolinaris, or Apolinarius byſhop of Hierapolis: And alſo Melito Byſhop of Sardis an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who ſuccedyng after the tyme of the Apoſtles, in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited vnto him, learned and eloquent Apologies in defence of Chriſtes Religion, like as Quadratus, & Ariſtides aboue mentioned, did vnto the Emperour Hadrian, whereby they moued him ſomewhat to ſtay the rage of his perſecution. In lyke maner did this Apolinaris and Melito (ſtyrred vp by God) aduenture to defend in writyng the cauſe of the Chriſtians vnto this Antoninus. Of this Melito, Euſebius in his fourth booke makyng mention, excerpeth certaine places of his Apologie, in theſe wordes as foloweth. Now ſayth he, whiche was neuer ſene before, the godly ſuffereth perſecution by occaſion of certaine Proclamations & Edictes proclaimed throughout Aſia, for vylanous Sicophantes, robbers and ſpoylers of other mens goodes groundyng them ſelues vpon thoſe Proclamations, and takyng occaſion of them, robbe openly nyght and day, and ſpoyle thoſe whiche do no harme: And it foloweth after: whiche if it be done by your com-

Apollinaris **&** *Melito* **exhibited Apologies to the Emperour for the Chriſtians.**

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 26.

The ſumme of the Apologie of *Melito.*

maundement, be it ſo well done. For a good Prince will neuer commaunde but good thinges. And ſo we will be contented to ſuſtaine the honour of this death. This onely we moſt humbly beſeech of your Maieſtie, that callyng before you and examinyng the authors of this tumult and contention, then your grace would iuſtly iudge whether we are worthy of cruell death, or quyet lyfe. And then if it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion (which in deede agaynſt your barbarous enemyes were to badde) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your hyghneſſe, that hereafter you will vouchſafe to heare vs thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kynde of vylanous robberies. And verely our Philoſophy and doctrine did firſt amongeſt the barbarous take place, which doctrine firſt in the dayes of Auguſtus your predeceſſor, when it dyd raigne and floriſh, thereby your Empire became moſt famous and fortunate: and from that tyme more and more the ſtate of the Romaine Empire increaſed in honor, whereof you moſt happely were made ſucceſſour, and ſo ſhall your ſonne to. Honour therfore this Philoſophie, which with your Empire ſprang vp and came in with Auguſtus, which your progenitors aboue all other honored and moſt eſteemed. And verely this is no ſmall argumēt of a good begynnyng: That ſince our doctrine flouriſhed in the Empire, no miſfortune or loſſe happened from Auguſtus tyme: but cōtrary alwayes victory, good and honorable yeares, as euer any man would wiſhe. Onely among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian beyng kindled by diuers naughty and ſpitefull perſons, cauillyngly obiected agaynſt our doctrine, of whom this Sicophanticall ſlaundryng of vs by naughty cuſtome firſt came and ſprang vp. But your godly fathers eſpying the ignoraunce of theſe, often tymes by their writing corrected their temerous attemptes in that behalfe. Among whom your graunfather Adrian & many other is read of, to haue written to Fundayne the Proconſul and Lieutenaunt of Aſia. And your father, your owne father I ſay, with whom you ruled in all thynges, wrote to the Cities vnder his ſignet, as the Lariſſens, Theſſalonicenſes, Athenienſes and Grecians, raſhly to innouate or alter no thyng. Of your highnes therfore, who in this caſe is of that ſect as your predeceſſours were, yea and of a more benigne and Philoſophicall mynde, we are in good hope to obtayne our peticion and requeſt.

Chriſtian religion began with the Empyre of Rome.
Chriſtian religion maketh common weales to floriſh.

Thus much out of the Apologie of Melito, who writyng to Oneſimus, geueth to vs this benefite to know the true Catalogue, and the names of all the autēticke bookes of the old Teſtament, receaued in the auncient tyme of the primitiue Churche. Concernyng the number and names wherof, the ſaid Melito in his letter to Oneſimus declareth, how that he returnyng into the partes where theſe thinges were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the bookes approued of the old Teſtament, the names wherof in order he ſubſcribeth and ſendeth vnto him, as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Ieſus Naue, The Iudges: Ruth: Foure bookes of Kynges: Two bookes of Paralipomenon: The Pſalmes, Prouerbes of Salomon: The booke of Wiſedome: The Preacher. The ſong of ſonges: Iob. The Prophetes, Eſay, Hieremie, twelue Prophetes in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Eſdras. And thus much of this matter, whiche I thought here to recorde, for that it is not vnprofitable for theſe latter tymes to vnderſtand, what in the firſt tymes was receaued, and admitted as autenticke, and what otherwiſe.

The bookes of the olde Teſtament autentike & receaued.

Ex Euſebio ibidem.

But from this litle digreſſion to returne to our matter omitted, that is to the Apologies of Apolinarius and Melito: in the ſtory ſo it foloweth, that whether it was by the occaſiō of theſe two Apologies, or whether it was through the writyng of Athenagoras a Philoſopher, and a Legate of the Chriſtians, it is vncertaine: but this is certaine, that the perſecution the ſame tyme was ſtayd. Some do thinke, whiche moſt probably ſeeme to touche the truth, that the cauſe of ſtaying this perſecution, dyd riſe vpon a wonderfull miracle of God, ſhewed in the Emperours campe by the Chriſtians, the ſtory wherof is this: At what tyme the two brethren Marcus Antonius, and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Emperours, ioynyng together, warred agaynſt the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germaines, in the expedition agaynſt them, their army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their enemies, was cooped and ſhut in within the ſtraightes and hoate dry places, where their ſouldiours beſides other difficulties of battaile, beyng deſtitute of water. v. dayes, were like to haue periſhed, which dread not a litle diſcomfited them, and did abate their courage. Where in this their ſo great diſtreſſe and ieopardye, ſodainly withdrewe from the army a legion of the Chriſtian ſouldiours for their ſuccour; who fallyng proſtrate vpon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double reliefe: by meanes of whom God gaue certaine pleaſaunt ſhowers from the element, whereby as their ſouldiours quenched their thirſt: ſo were a great number of their enemyes diſcomfited & put to flight by the continuall lightenynges which ſhooted out of the ayre. This miracle ſo pleaſed and won the Emperour, that euer after he waxed gentler and gentler to the Chriſtians, and directed his letters to diuers of his rulers as Tertullian in his Apologie witneſſeth, commaūdyng them therin to geue thankes to the Chriſtians, no leſſe for his victory, then for the preſeruation of him and all his men. The copy of which letter hereafter enſueth.

A miraculous rayne obtained by the Chriſtians.

An.175.

¶ *Marcus Aurelius Antonius Emperour, to the Senate and people of Rome.*

I Geue you hereby to vnderſtand, what I intende to do, as alſo what ſucceſſe I haue had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficultie I haue vitled my campe, beyng compaſſed about with lxxiiij. fierce Dragons, whom my Scootes deſcryed to be within ix. miles of vs, and Pompeianus our Liefetenaunt hath vewed as he ſignified vnto vs by his letters. Wherfore I thought no leſſe but to be ouer runne and all my bandes of ſo great multitude, as well my vaward, mayne ward as reare ward, with all my ſouldiours of Ephrata. In whoſe hoſte there were numbred of fightyng men ix. hundreth ſeuenty and fiue thouſand. But when I ſawe my ſelfe not able to encounter with the enemy, I craued ayde of our countrey Gods, at whoſe handes I findyng no comfort, and beyng driuen of the enemy vnto an exegent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe men which we call Chriſtians who beyng muſtred were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in farther rage, then I had good cauſe, as afterwardes I had experiēce by their marueilous power, who forthwith dyd their indeuour, but without either weapon, munitiō, armour, or trumpets, as men abhorryng ſuch preparation and furniture, but onely ſatiſfied in truſt of their God, who they cary about with them in their cōſciences. It is therfore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhyp God in their hartes. For they fallyng proſtrate vpon the groūd, prayed not onely for me, but for the hoſte alſo which was with me, beſechyng their God for helpe in that our extremitie of vittels and freſh water. For we had bene now. v. dayes without water, and were in our enemyes land, euen in the middeſt of Germany, who thus fallyng vpon their faces, made their prayers to a G O D vnknowen of me: and there fell amongeſt vs from heauen a moſt pleaſaunt and cold ſhower, but amongeſt our enemyes a great ſtorme of hayle mixt with lightnyng, ſo that immediatly we perceiued the inuincible ayde of the moſt mighty God to be with vs. Therfore we geue thoſe men leaue to profeſſe Chriſtianitie, leaſt perhap by their prayer, we be puniſhed with the lyke, and thereby make my ſelfe the author of ſuch hurt as ſhall be receaued by the Chriſtian profeſſion. And if any ſhall apprehend one that is a Chriſtian, onely for that cauſe: I will that he beyng apprehended without puniſhment, may haue leaue to confeſſe the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe obiected agaynſt him, more then that he is a Chriſtian: But let his accuſer be burned aliue. Neither will I that he confeſſing and beyng found a Chriſtian, ſhalbe enforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the gouernour of any of our prouinces, but left to his owne choyſe. And this decree of myne I will to be ratified in the Senate houſe, and commaunde the ſame publickely to be proclaimed and read in the Court of Traianus, and that farder from thence it may be ſent into all our Prouinces by the diligence of Veratius gouernour of our Citie Polione. And further we geue leaue to all men to vſe and write out this our decree, takyng the ſame out of our copie publiquely in the common hall ſet forth.

Thus the tempeſtuous rage of perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians began for a tyme to aſſwage, partly by the occaſion hereof, partly alſo vpon other cauſes incident, compellyng the enemies to ſurceaſe their perſecution, as great plagues and peſtilence lying vpon the countrey of Italy: likewiſe great warres, as well in the Eaſt partes, as alſo in Italy and Fraunce, terrible earthquakes, great floudes, noyſome ſwarmes of Flies and vermine deuouryng their corne fieldes, &c. And thus much of thynges done vnder Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus in the begynnyng of his raigne ioyned with him in the gouernement of the Empire, hys brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who alſo was with him at the miraculous victorie gotten by the Chriſtiās, as Euſebius cap. 5. Lib. 5. recordeth. Cōtrary Platina in vita Soteris, and the booke intituled Flores Hiſtoriarum, referre the

Antoninus Verus, M. Aurelius Commodus Emperours.

The diſcrepance betwene *Euſebius* & *Platina*.

An. 175.

ſame to the tyme of Antoninus Verus, and his ſonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But how ſoeuer the truth of yeares do ſtand, certaine it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, ſucceded Lucius Antoninus Commodus the ſonne of Verus, who raigned. 13. yeares.

Quietnes geuen to the Church.

In the tyme of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious Prince to the Senatours of Rome, yet notwithſtandyng there was ſome quietnes vniuerſally through the whole Church of Chriſt from perſecution, by what occaſion it is not certaine. Some thinke (of whom is Xiphilinus) that it came through Marcia the Emperours concubine, whiche fauoured the Chriſtians: but how ſoeuer it came, ſayth Euſebius, the fury of the ragyng enemyes was then ſomewhat mitigated, and peace was geuē, by the grace of Chriſt, vnto the Church, through the whole world. At what tyme the wholeſome doctrine of the Goſpell allured and reduced the hartes of all ſortes of people, vnto the true Religion of God, in ſo much that many both riche and noble perſonages of Rome, with their whole families and houſholdes to their ſaluatiō, adioyned them to the Church of Chriſt.

Appollonius Martyr.

Appollonius accuſed by his owne ſeruaunt.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man, and a Senatour of Rome, mentioned in Euſebius Lib. 5. cap. 21. who beyng maliciouſly accuſed vnto the Senate by one, whom Ierome writeth to be the ſeruaunt of the ſayd Apollonius, and nameth him Seuerus: but whoſe ſeruaunt ſo euer he was, the wretched mā came ſoone inough before the iudge, beyng condignely rewarded, for that his malicious diligence. For by a law which the Emperour made, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould falſly accuſe the Chriſtians, he was put to execution, & had his legges broken forthwith, by the ſentence of Perennius the Iudge, which beyng an heathen man, he pronounced agaynſt him. But the beloued Martyr of God, when the Iudge with much a do had obtayned of him to render an accompt before the honorable Senate of his fayth, vnder whoſe defenſe and warrant of lyfe he did the ſame, deliuered vnto them an eloquent Apologie of the Chriſtian belief. But the former warrant notwithſtandyng, he by the decree of the Senate, was beheaded, and ſo ended his life: for that there was an auncient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therfore araigned, ſhould be releaſed without recantation, or alteryng his opinion.

Appollonius exhibiteth an Apologie of his fayth to the Senate.

An old wicked law of the Romaines.

This Commodus is ſayd in ſtories to be ſo ſure & ſteddye handed in caſtyng the dart, that in the opē Theatre before the people, he would encounter with the wilde beaſtes, and be ſure to hit them in the place where he appointed. Among diuers other his vicious and wilde partes he was ſo farre ſurpreſſed in pride and arrogācy, that he would be called Hercules, and many tymes would ſhewe him ſelfe to the people in the ſkynne of a Lyon, to be counted thereby the kyng of men, like as the Lyon is of the beaſtes.

The rediculous pride of the Emperour.

Vpon a certaine tyme beyng his byrth day, this Commodus, callyng the people of Rome together, in a great royaltie, hauyng his Lions ſkinne vpon him, made ſacrifice to Hercules and Iupiter, cauſing it to be cried through the Citie that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the Citie. There were the ſame tyme at Rome, Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potētianus, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, who folowing the ſteps of the Apoſtles, went about from place to place where the Goſpell was not yet preached, conuertyng the Gentiles to the fayth of Chriſt. Theſe hearyng the madnes of the Emperour & of the people, began to reproue their idolatrous blindnes, teachyng in villages and townes all that heard them, to beleue vpon the true and onely God, and to come away from ſuch worſhyppyng of diuels, and to geue honour to God alone, which onely is to be worſhypped, willyng them to repent, and to be Baptiſed, leaſt they periſhed with Commodus. With this their preachyng they conuerted one Iuſius a Senator and other to the Religion of Chriſt. The Emperour hearyng therof, cauſed them to be apprehended of Vitellius his Captaine, and to be compelled to ſacrifice vnto Hercules, whiche when they ſtoutly refuſed, after diuers greuous tormētes, and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed with leaden waightes to death. Vincentius Lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

Vincentius.
Euſebius.
Peregrinus.
Potentianus,
Martyrs.

Iulius a Senator conuerted to Chriſt.
Ex Vincen. Lib. 10. cap. 119.
Henr. de Erfordia.

This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had bene ſent before by Xiſtus Byſhop of Rome, into the parties of Fraunce, to ſupply there the rowme of a Byſhop and teacher, by reaſon that for the continuall and horrible perſecutiōs there about touched, thoſe places were left deſolate and deſtitute of Miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupyed hym ſelfe with much fruite amōg the flocke of Chriſt, & had ſtabliſhed the congregation there, returnyng home agayne to Rome there finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſayd) his martyrdome.

Peregrinus ſent to Fraunce & Martyred at Rome.
Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

Now remaineth likewiſe to ſpeake of Iulius, which Iulius beyng, as is afore deſcribed, a Senator of Rome & now wonne by the preachyng of theſe bleſſed men, to the fayth of Chriſt, did eftſoones inuite them and brought them home to his houſe, where beyng by them more fully inſtructed in Chriſtiā Religiō: he beleued in the Goſpel. And ſendyng for one Raffinus a Prieſt, was with all his familie by him baptiſed, who (not as the common ſorte was wont to do) kept cloſe and ſecrete his fayth: but incenſed with a marueilous and ſincere zeale openly profeſſed the ſame: altogether wiſhyng and prayyng to be geuen to him by God, not onely to beleue in Chriſt, but alſo to haſard his life for him. Whiche thyng the Emperour hearyng, how that Iulius had forſakē his old Religion, and became a Chriſtian, forthwith ſent for him to come before him, vnto whom he ſpake on this wiſe: O Iuly, what madnes hath poſſeſſed thee, that thus thou doeſt fall from the old and common Religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worſhypped Iupiter and Hercules their Gods, and now doeſt embrace a new & fond kinde of Religion of the Chriſtians? At whiche tyme Iulius hauyng good occaſiō to ſhew and open his fayth, gaue ſtraight way accompt therof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Iupiter were falſe Gods: and how the worſhippers of them ſhould periſh with eternall damnation and puniſhmentes. Which the Emperour hearing, how that he condemned and deſpiſed his Gods, beyng then inflamed with great wrath, as he was by nature very cholericke, committed him forthwith to Vitellius, the maiſter of his ſouldiours, a very cruell and fierce mā, to ſee Iulius either to ſacrifice to mighty Hercules, or refuſing the ſame to ſlay him. Vitellius (as he was commaunded) exhorted Iulius to obey the Emperours commaundement, and to worſhyp his Gods. Alledgyng how that the whole Empire of Rome was not onely conſtituted, but alſo preſerued and maintayned by them. Whiche Iulius denyed vtterly to do, admoniſhyng ſharply in lyke maner Vitellius, to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commaundementes, leaſt he with his maiſter ſhould dye ſome greuous death. Whereat Vitellius beyng moued, cauſed Iulius with cougels to be beaten vnto death.

Iulius with his familie Baptiſed & after Martyred.

Theſe thynges thus beyng briefly recited touching ſuch holy Martyrs, as hetherto haue ſuffered, now remaineth that we returne agayne to the order of the Romaine Byſhops, ſuch as followed next after Alexander, at whom we left, whoſe ſucceder next was Xiſtus or Sixtus, the firſt Biſhop counted after Peter, and gouerned that miniſtery the ſpace of. x. yeares, as Damaſus and other do write. Vrſpergenſis maketh mention but of. ix. yeares. Platina recordeth that he dyed a Martyr, and was buried at Uaticane. But Euſebius ſpeakyng of his deceaſe, maketh no word mentiō of any Martyrdome. In the. 1. Tome of the Councels, certaine Epiſtles be attributed to him, whereof Euſebius, Damaſus, Hierome, and other olde authors, as they make no relation, ſo ſeeme they to haue no intelligēce nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe coūterfet Epiſtles, and in Platina appeareth, that Xiſtus was the firſt author of theſe ordinaunces: Firſt that the holy miſteries and holy veſſels ſhould not be touched, but onely of perſons holy and conſecrated, eſpecially of no woman. Itē, that the corporas clothe ſhould be made of no other clothe, but of fine lynnen. Item, that byſhops ſuch as were called vp to the Apoſtolicke ſea, returnyng home agayne, ſhould not be receaued at their returne, vnleſſe they brought with them letters from the byſhop of Rome, ſalutyng the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be ſong this Verſe: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sāctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Where moreouer is to be noted, that the ſayd Platina in the lyfe of this Xiſtus, doth teſtifie, that Peter miniſtred the celebration of the Cōmunion onely with the Lordes Prayer. Theſe triflyng ordinaunces of Xiſtus, who is ſo rude ẏ ſeeth not, or may not eaſely coniecture to be falſely fathered of Xiſtus, or of any father of that tyme, firſt by the vnifourme rudeneſſe and ſtile of all thoſe decretall letters, nothyng ſauoryng of that age, but rather of the latter Dunſticall times that followed. Alſo by the matter and argument in thoſe letters contayned, nothing agreeyng with the ſtate of thoſe troubleſome dayes. Neither agayne is it to be ſuppoſed, that any ſuch recourſe of byſhops was then to the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians was then ſo hoate, in the dayes of Hadrian, that the Byſhops of Rome them ſelues were more glad to flee out of the Citie, then other Byſhops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xiſtus added the Sanctus vnto the Maſſe Canō, what peece then of the Canon went before it, when they whiche put to the other patches, came after Xiſtus? And if they came after Xiſtus that

Xiſtus Byſhop of Rome.

The triflyng ordinaunces of *Xiſtus.*

S. Peter celebrated the Lordes ſupper onely with the Lordes prayer. *Platina in vita Sixti.*

The ordinaunce of *Xiſtus* ſuſpected.

added the reſt, why did they ſet their peeces before his, ſeing they that begā the firſt peece of the Canon, came after him?

Teleſphorus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

The ordinaunces of Teleſphorus.

Lent faſt & the originall therof examined.

Montanus firſt brought in the lawes of faſtyng. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 18.

Ex Socrat. Eccleſ. hiſt. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

Ex Sozomeno Lib. 7. cap. 19.

The ordinaunces of Teleſphorus falſely to him aſcribed.

The ſame likewiſe is to be iudged of the Epiſtle & ordinaunces of Teleſphorus, who ſucceeded next vnto Xiſtus, and beyng Byſhop of that congregation the terme of .xi. yeares, in the firſt yeare of the raigne of Antoninus Pius, dyed Martyr, about the yeare of our Lord. 138. His Epiſtle like vnto the reſt, cōtaynyng in it no great matter of doctrine, hath theſe ordinaunces: Firſt he commaundeth all that were of the Clergy to faſt and abſtaine from fleſhe eatyng. vij. weekes before Eaſter. That three Maſſes ſhould be ſayd vpon the Natiuitie day of the Lord. That no lay man ſhould accuſe either Byſhop or Prieſt. He ordained moreouer Gloria in excelſis to be added to the Maſſe, &c. but theſe thynges falſely to be fayned vpon him may eaſely be coniectured. For as touchyng the. vij. weekes faſt, neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme commonly receaued, callyng it Quadrageſima, that is, the .xl. dayes faſt: neither with the example of our Sauiour, who faſted not ſeuen weekes, but onely .xl. dayes. Moreouer, as concernyng this .xl. dayes faſt, we read of the ſame in the Epiſtle of Ignatius, which was lōg before Teleſphorus: whereby it may appeare that this Teleſphorus was not the firſt inuentor thereof. And if it be true, that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but vntruly, as by many coniectures may be proued) there is read, that in the dayes of S. Mathewe this Lent faſt of .xl. dayes was obſerued long before Teleſphorus, by theſe wordes that followe: In the dayes, ſayd he, either of Lent, or in the tyme of other lawfull faſtynges, he that abſtaineth not as well from the eatyng meate, as alſo from the mixture of bodyes, doth incurre in ſo doyng not onely pollution, but alſo committeth offence, whiche muſt be waſhed away with the teares of repentaunce. Agayne, Apollonius affirmeth, that Montanus the hereticke, was the firſt deuiſer and bringer in of theſe lawes of faſtyng into the church, whiche before was vſed to be free, Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 18. but eſpecially by Socrates, writer of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory, who lyued after the dayes of Theodoſius, may be argued, that this. vij. weekes faſt is falſely imputed to Teleſphorus. For Socrates in his firſt booke, ſpeakyng of his tyme, hath theſe wordes: Romani namq; tres ante Paſcha ſeptimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas ieiunant, that is: the Romaines (ſayth he) do faſt three weekes continuall before Eaſter, beſide the Sabbaoth and the Sōday. And moreouer, ſpeakyng of the diuers and ſundry faſtynges of Lent in ſundry and diuers Churches, he addeth theſe wordes: And becauſe that no man can bring forth any commaundement written of this matter, it is therfore apparent, that the Apoſtles left this kynde of faſt free to euery mans will and iudgement, leaſt any ſhould be conſtrained by feare and neceſſitie to do that, which is good, &c. With this of Socrates, agree alſo the wordes of Sozomenus, liuyng much about the ſame tyme, in his vij. booke, where he thus writeth: The whole faſt of Lent (ſayth he) ſome cōprehend in vj. weekes, as do the Illyrians, & the weſt Churches, with all Libia, Egypt, and Paleſtina: ſome in vij. weekes, as at Cōſtātinople, & the parties borderyng to Phœnicia: otherſome in iij. weekes, next before the day of Eaſter, and ſome agayne in ij. weekes. &c. By the which it may be collected, that Teleſphorus neuer ordained any ſuch faſt of vij. wekes: whiche otherwiſe neither would haue bene neglected in Rome, and in the weſt Churches: neither agayne would haue bene vnremēbred of theſe auncient Eccleſiaſticall writers, if any ſuch thyng had bene. The like is to be thought alſo of the reſt, not onely of his conſtitutions: but alſo of the other auncient Byſhops and Martyrs, which followed after him, as of Higynus, an. 142. who ſucceedyng him, and dying alſo a Martyr, as Volateranus Lib. 22. declareth, is ſayd or rather fayned to bryng in the creame, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptiſme, to ordayne the Dedication of Churches: when as in his tyme ſo farre it was of, that any ſolemne Churches were ſtanding in Rome, that vnneth the Chriſtians could ſafely conuent in their own houſes. Likewiſe the diſtincting the orders of Metropolitanes, biſhops, and other degrees, ſauour nothing leſſe then of that time.

Higynus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr. Ex Volaterano Anthrop. Lib. 22.

Creame. One Godfather & Godmother in Baptiſme. Dedication of Churches

Pius Byſhop of Rome. The daungers of lettyng the holy miſteries fal from the Lordes Table.

The reuelation of Hermas.

The decretall Epiſtle of Pius.

After Higynus followed Pius, who as Platina reporteth, was ſo preciſely deuout about the holy miſteries of the Lordes Table, that if any one crome therof did fall downe to the grounde, he ordained that the Prieſt ſhould do penaunce. xl. dayes. If any fell vpon the Superaltare, he ſhould do penaunce. iij. dayes: if vpon the linen Corporas cloth, iiij. dayes: if vpon any other lynen cloth, ix. dayes. And if any drop of the bloud (ſayth he) ſhould chaunce be ſpilled, where ſoeuer it fell, it ſhould be licked vp, if it were poſſible, if not, the place ſhould be waſhed or pared, and ſo being waſhed or pared, ſhould be burned, and layd in the veſtrye. All which toyes may ſeeme to a wiſe man, more vayne and triflyng, then to ſauour of thoſe pure and ſtraight tymes of thoſe holy Martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conuerſaunt with Hermes called otherwiſe Paſtor. Damaſus ſayth he was his brother, but how is that like, that Hermes beyng the Diſciple of Paule, or one of the lx. diſciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes and of his reuelations the foreſayd Pius in his Epiſtle decretall (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaryng that vnto him appeared the Aungell of God in the habite of a ſhepheard, commaundyng him, yͤ Eaſter day ſhould be celebrated of all men vpō no other day, but vpon a Sonday: wherupon, ſayth the Epiſtle, Pius the Byſhop, by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, decreed and commaunded the ſame to be obſerued of all men.

Anicetus Byſhop of Rome, and Martyr. Soter Byſhop. Eleutherius Byſhop.

England conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt.

Ex Niceph. Lib. 2. cap. 4. Ex Gilda de Victor. Aur. Ambroſ.

Whether the land of Britaine receiued the Goſpell before kings Lucius dayes.

Then ſucceeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the yeare of our Lord. 180. This Eleutherius, at the requeſt of Lucius kyng of Britaines, ſent to hym Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the kyng was conuerted to Chriſtes faith, and Baptiſed about the yeare of our Lord. 179. Nauclerus Lib. Chron. Gen. 6. ſayth, it was, an. 156. Henr. de Erfordia, ſaith it was. 169. in the. xix. yeare of Verus the Emperour, ſome ſay it was in the vj. yeare of Cōmodus, which ſhould be about the yeare of our Lorde. 185. Timotheus in his ſtory thinketh that Eleutherius came him ſelfe: but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the writers for the count of yeares: So doth there riſe a queſtion amōg ſome, whether Eleutherius was the firſt that brought the fayth from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus Lib. 2. cap. 4. ſaith that Symō Zelotes came into Britaine. Some other alledge out of Gildas de victoria Aurel. Ambroſii, that Ioſeph of Arimathie after the diſperſiō of the Iewes, was ſent of Philippe the Apoſtle, from Fraunce to Britaine, about the yeare of our Lord. 63. & here remained in this land all his tyme, and ſo with his felowes layde the firſt foundation of Chriſtian fayth among the Britaine people. Wherupon other preachers & teachers commyng afterward confirmed the ſame, & increaſed it more. And therfore doth Petrus Cluniacenſis call the Scottiſhmen & ſo doth count them, as more auncient Chriſtiās. For the cōfirmatiō hereof might be alledged the teſtimonie of Origene, of Tertulian, and the wordes alſo of the letter of Eleutherius, whiche importe no leſſe, but that the fayth of Chriſt was here in England among the Britaine people, before Eleutherius tyme, & before the kyng was cōuerted, but hereof more ſhal be ſpokē hereafter (Chriſt willyng) when after the tractation of theſe. x. perſecutiōs, we ſhall enter yͤ matter of our Engliſh ſtories.

Serapion Byſhop of Antioche. Egeſippus Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Miltiades Eccleſiaſticall writer. Heraclitus Eccleſiaſticall writer. Theophilus Eccleſiaſticall writer. Dioniſius Corinthius Eccleſiaſticall writer.

The yoke of chaſtitie not to be layde vpō the infirme brethren. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 23.

The booke of Dioniſius Areop. De Hierarchia ſuſpected.

Celebration of the Sonday.

About this tyme of Commodus afore mentioned among diuers other learned men and famous teachers, whom God ſtirred vp at that tyme (as he doth at all other tymes rayſe vp ſome) in his Churche, to confounde the perſecutors by learnyng and writyng, as the Martyrs to cōfirme the truth with their bloud, was Serapion Byſhop of Antioche. Egeſippus a writer of the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory from Chriſtes Paſſion to his time, as witneſſeth Hierome and Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 8. & .22. Whiche bookes of his be not now remaynyng. And thoſe that be remaynyng (which be 5. de excidio Hieroſol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierome, nor of Euſebius, Miltiades which alſo wrote his Apology in defence of Chriſtian Religion, as did Melito Quadratus, and Ariſtides before mentioned. About the ſame tyme alſo wrote Heraclitus, who firſt began to write annotatiōs and enarrations vpon the new Teſtament, and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. Alſo Theophilus Byſhop of Cæſaria, Dioniſius, Byſhop of Corinthe a man famouſly learned, whiche wrote diuers Epiſtles to diuers Churches, and among other writeth, exhortyng Penitus a certaine Byſhop, Ne graue ſeruandæ caſtitatis onus neceſſariò fratribus imponat, ſed multorū ſeſe imbecilitati attemperet, that is, that he would lay no yoke of chaſtitie, of any neceſſitie vpon his brethren: but that he would conſider the infirmity of other, and beare with it. Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreouer the ſayd Dioniſius in his Epiſtles writyng of Dioniſius Areopagites, declareth of hym, how that he was firſt conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth by S. Paule, accordyng as in the Actes is recorded, and afterward was made the firſt Byſhop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his booke de Hierarchia. Whereby it may eaſely appeare what is to be iudged of that booke. Furthermore, by the Epiſtles of the ſayd Dioniſius Corint. this we haue to vnderſtand, to be the vſe at that tyme in Churches to read the letters and Epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned Byſhops and teachers vnto the Congregations, as may appeare by theſe wordes of Dioniſius, who writyng to the church of the Romaines, and to Soter ſaith: This day we celebrate the holy Dominicall day. In which we haue read your Epiſtle, whiche alwayes we will read for our exhortation, like as we do read alſo the Epiſtle of

Clement ſent to vs before.&c. Euſeb. ibid. where alſo mention is made of keepyng the Sonday holy, wherof we finde no mention els made in auncient authors, before this time, except onely in Iuſtinus Martyr, who in his deſcription declareth two tymes moſt eſpecially vſed, for Chriſten men to congregate together: firſt when any conuert was to be Baptiſed. The ſecond was vpon the Sonday, which was wont for ij. cauſes then to be halowed. Firſt, becauſe (ſayth he) vpon that day God firſt made the worlde: ſecondly, becauſe that Chriſt vpon that day firſt ſhewed him ſelfe after his reſurrection to his Diſciples.&c.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Ouer and beſide theſe aboue named, about the dayes of Commodus, wrote alſo Clemens Alexandrinus, a mã of notable and ſingular learnyng, whoſe bookes, although for a great part be loſt, yet certaine of them yet remaine, wherein is declared among other thynges, the order and number of the bookes and Goſpels of the new Teſtament.&c.

The Goſpell of S. Mathew in Hebrew.

The ſame tyme moreouer lyued Pantenus, which was the firſt in Alexandria that profeſſed in open ſchole to read, of whom is thought firſt to procede the order and maner among the Chriſtians to read and profeſſe in Vniuerſities. This Pantenus for his excellencie of learnyng was ſent by Demetrius Biſhop of Alexandria to preach to the Iudeans, where he founde the Goſpell of S. Mathewe written in Hebrewe, left there by S. Bartelmewe, whiche booke afterward he brought with hym from thence, to the Librarie of Alexandria.

Difference about the ceremonie of Eaſter.

Duryng all the raigne of Commodus, God graunted reſt and tranquillity, although not without ſome bloudſhed of certaine holy Martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto hys Church. In the which tyme of tranquillitie the Chriſtians hauyng now ſome layſure from the forayne enemy, began to haue a litle contention among them ſelues, about the ceremonie of Eaſter: whiche contention albeit of long tyme before had bene ſtyrring in the Church as is before mentioned of Polycarpus, and Anicetus: yet the variaunce and difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of Chriſtian cõcorde and ſocietie among them: Neither as yet did the matter exceede ſo farre, but that the band of loue, and communiõ of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the weſt Churche, pretendyng the tradition of Paule and Peter, but in deede beyng the tradition of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, whiche was vpon the Sõday after the.xiiij.day of the firſt moneth. The Church of Aſia folowyng the ordinaunce of Iohn the Apoſtle, obſerued an other, as more ſhalbe declared (the Lord willyng) when we come to the tyme of Victor Byſhop of Rome. In the meane tyme as concernyng the fourth perſecution let this hetherto ſuffice.

¶ The fift perſecution.

Seuerus Emperour.

An.195.

The fift perſecution.
Ex Euſeb. Lib.6. cap.2.

An.205.

The falſe accuſations agaynſt the Chriſtians.

After the death of Cõmodus raigned Partinax, but few monethes, after whom ſucceded Seuerus. Vnder whom was rayſed the fift perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtian Saintes: who raygnyng the terme of 18. yeares, the firſt.x.yeares of the ſame, was very fauorable and curteous to the Chriſtiãs. Afterward through ſiniſter ſuggeſtions and malicious accuſations of the malignãt, was ſo incenſed agaynſt thẽ, that by Proclamations he cõmaunded no Chriſtians any more to be ſuffered. Thus the rage of the Emperour beyng inflamed agaynſt them, great perſecutiõ was ſtyrred vp on euery ſide, whereby an infinite nũber of martyrs were ſlayne, as Euſebius in his ſixt booke recordeth, which was about the yeare of our Lord.205. The crimes and falſe accuſations obiected agaynſt the Chriſtians, are partly touched before, pag.37. as ſedition and rebellion agaynſt the Emperour, ſacrilege, murtheryng of infantes, inceſtuous polution, eatyng raw fleſh, libidinous commixture, whereof certaine in deede, called then Gnoſtici, were infamed. Item, it was obiected agaynſt them, for worſhyppyng the head of an Aſſe, whiche whereof it ſhould riſe, I finde no certaine cauſe, except it were perhaps by the Iewes. Alſo they were charged for worſhipping the ſunne, for that peraduenture before the ſunne riſe they conuented together, ſingyng their mornyng Hymnes vnto the Lord, or els becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt: but eſpecially for that they would not with them worſhyp their Idolatrous Gods, and were counted as enemies to all men.&c.

The captaines and miniſters of this perſecution.
Ex Tertul. ad Scapulam.

The Captaines and Preſidentes of this perſecution vnder the Emperour were Hilarianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus ruler of Capadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Veſpronius, alſo Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian. And Aquila Iudge of Alexandria, of whom Euſeb. Lib.6.cap.5. maketh relation.

The places where the force of this perſecution moſt raged were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage.

Leonides father of *Origene* Martyr.

Origene kept from Martyrdome by his mother.

The number of them that ſuffered in this perſecution, by the report of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory was innumerable. Of whõ the firſt was Leonides, the father of Origene, who was beheaded: with whõ alſo Origene his ſonne, beyng of the age thẽ of.xvij.yeares, ſhould haue ſuffered (ſuch a feruent deſire he had to be Martyred for Chriſt) had not his mother priuely in the night ſeaſon conueyed away his clothes and his ſhyrt. wherupon more for ſhame to be ſene, thẽ for feare to dye, he was cõſtrayned to remaine at home. And when he could do nothyng els, yet he writeth to his father a letter with theſe wordes: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud, quàm martyrij conſtanter faciendi propoſitum cogites, that is: Take heede to your ſelfe, that you turne not your thought and purpoſe for our ſakes.&c. Such a feruency had this Origene beyng yet young, to the doctrine of Chriſtes faith, by the operatiõ of Gods heauẽly prouidence, & partly alſo by the diligent educatiõ of his father, who brought him vp from his youth moſt ſtudiouſly in all good literature, but eſpecially in the readyng & exerciſe of holy Scripture, wherin he had ſuch inward and myſticall ſpeculation, that many tymes he would moue queſtions to his father, of the meaning of this place, or that place of the ſcripture. In ſo much that his father diuers tymes would vncouer his breſt being a ſleepe, and kiſſe it: geuing thãkes to God which had made him ſo happy a father of ſuch a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goodes confiſcated to the Emperour, he with his poore mother, and ſixe brethren, beyng brought to extreme pouertie, dyd ſuſtayne both him ſelfe and them by teachyng a ſchole: Till at length beyng weary of that profeſſion, he trãſferred his ſtudy onely to the knowledge and ſeekyng of diuine Scriptures, & ſuch other learnyng conducible to the ſame. So much he profited both in the Hebrue and other tounges, that he cõferred the Hebrue text with the tranſlation of the.lxx. And moreouer dyd conferre and finde out the other tranſlations which we call the common tranſlations of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Alſo he adioyned to theſe aforeſayd other foure trãſlations, wherof more is in the ſtory of Euſebius expreſſed.

Origene commended.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.2.

Ex Euſeb. Antonino. Symoneta.&c.

They that write of the lyfe of Origene, teſtifie of him, that he was of wyt quicke and ſharpe, much pacient of labour, a great traueler in the tounges, of a ſpare dyet, of a ſtraight life, a great faſter, his teaching and his liuing were both one: his goyng was much barefoote. A ſtraight obſeruer of that ſaying of the Lorde, biddyng to haue but one coate.&c. He is ſayd to haue written ſo much as ſeuen Notaries, and ſo many maydes euery day could penne. The nũber of his bookes by the accõpt of Hierome, came to.7000. Volumes, the copies wherof he vſed to ſell for.3.d. or a little more, for the ſuſtentation of his lyuing. But of hym more ſhal be touched hereafter. So zelous he was in the cauſe of Chriſt, and of Chriſtes Martyrs, that he nothyng fearyng his own perill would aſſiſte and exhort them goyng to their death, and kiſſe them, in ſo much that he was oft in ieopardie to be ſtoned of the multitude. And ſometimes by the prouiſion of Chriſten men had his houſe garded about with ſouldiours, for the ſafety of them, whiche dayly reſorted to heare his readynges, & many times he was cõpelled to ſhift places & houſes, for ſuch as layd wayte for him in all places. But ſuch was the prouidence of God to preſerue hym in the middeſt of all this tempeſt of Seuerus. Among other which reſorted vnto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and dyed a martyr, and with him Serenus his brother, who was burned. The third after theſe was Heraclides. The fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fift was an other Serenus alſo beheaded. Rhais and Potamiena, who was tormented with pitche poured vpon her, & martyred with her mother Marcella, who dyed alſo in the fire. This Potamiena was of a freſh and flouriſhyng beautie, who becauſe ſhe could not be remoued from her profeſſion, was committed to Baſilides one of the Captaines there in the armye, to ſee the execution done. Baſilides receiuyng her at the Iudges hand, and leadyng her to the place, ſhewed to her ſome compaſſion in repreſſyng the rebukes and raylinges of the wicked aduerſaries: for the which Potamiena the virgine, to requite agayne his kyndneſſe, bad him be of good comfort, ſaying that ſhe would pray the Lord to ſhew mercy vpon him. And ſo went ſhe to her Martyrdome, which ſhe both ſtrongly and quietly did ſuſtaine.

Plutarchus ſcholler of *Origene*, & *Serenus* his brother Martyred.

Heraclides.
Heron.
Rhais.
Potamiena.
Marcella, ſchollers of *Origene* and Martyrs.

Baſilides of a perſecutour made a martyr.

Not long after it happened that Baſilides was required to geue an othe in a matter concernyng his fellow ſouldiours: which thyng he denyed to do, playnly affirming that he was a Chriſtian. For their othe then, was wont to be by the Idoles and the Emperour. At firſt he was thought diſſimulingly to ieſt: but after whẽ he was heard conſtantly and in earneſt to cõfirme the ſame, he was had before the iudge, and ſo by him committed to ward. The Chriſtians maruelyng thereat, as they came to him into the priſon, inquired of him the cauſe of that his ſodaine conuerſion. To whom he aunſwered agayne and ſayd, that Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and ſo he ſaw a crowne put vpō his head: addyng moreouer that it ſhould not be long, but he ſhould be receaued. Which thynges thus done, the next day followyng, he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded. Euſeb. Lib.6.cap.5. Albeit the ſayd Euſebius geueth this ſtory of no credite, but onely of heare ſay, as he there expreſſeth.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.5.

Alexander cōfeſſor & Byſhop of Hieruſalem.

The notable age of *Narciſſus* Byſhop of Hieruſalem.

As diuerſe and many there were that ſuffered in the dayes of this Seuerus: ſo ſome were agayne which through the protection of God his prouidēce, beyng put to great tormentes, yet eſcaped with life. Of whom was one Alexander, who for his conſtaunt confeſſion and tormentes ſuffered, was made Biſhop afterward of Hieruſalem, together with Narciſſus, who beyng then an olde man of an hundred and three ſcore yeares & three, as ſayth Euſebius, was vnwieldy for his age to gouerne that function alone.

A miracle of water turned into oyle. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.9.*

A terrible example of periury puniſhed.

Of this Narciſſus is reported in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, that certaine miracles by him were wrought very notable, if they be true. Firſt of water turned by him into oyle at the ſolemne vigile of Eaſter, what tyme the congregation wanted oyle for their lampes. An other miracle is alſo told of him, which is this: There were three euill diſpoſed perſons, who ſeyng the ſoundnes and graue conſtancie of his vertuous life, and fearing their owne puniſhment, as a conſcience that is giltie, is alwayes fearefull, thought to preuent his accuſations, in accuſing him firſt, and laying an haynous crime to his charge. And to make their accuſation more probable before the people, they bound their accuſation with a great othe: One wiſhyng to be deſtroyed with fire, if he ſayd not true. The other to be conſumed with a greuous ſickenes. The third to looſe both his eyes if they did lye. Narciſſus, although hauing his conſcience cleare, yet not able beyng but one man to withſtād their accuſation bound with ſuch othes, gaue place, and remoued him ſelfe frō the multitude, into a ſolitarie deſert by him ſelfe, where he continued the ſpace of many yeares. In the meane tyme, to thoſe whiche ſo willyngly and wickedly forſweare them ſelues, this happened: the firſt, by caſualty of one litle ſmall ſparkle of fire was brent with his goodes and all his familie. The ſecond, was taken with a great ſicknes from the top to the toe, and deuoured with the ſame. The third hearyng and ſeyng the puniſhment of the other, confeſſed his fault, but through great repentaunce poured out ſuch teares, that he loſt both his eyes. And thus was their falſe periurie puniſhed. Narciſſus after long abſence, returnyng home agayne, was by this meanes both cleared of the fact, and receaued into his Biſhopricke agayne. To whom, as is ſayd, for impotencie of his age Alexander was ioyned with him in execution of the function. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 6.cap.10.

Narciſſus and *Alexāder* ioyned together in one Byſhopricke.

Alexander ordayned Byſhop of Hieruſalem, by Gods miracle. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.11.*

Of this Alexander is recorded in the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, that after his agonies and conſtancie of his confeſſion ſhewed in the perſecution of Seuerus, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in the night ſeaſon to make his iourney vp to Hieruſalem and Paleſtina (for that place remained free frō this perſecution) to ſee there the congregation, and to pray. Thus he taking his iourney, and drawing neare to the Citie, a viſion with playne wordes was geuen to certaine chief heades of Hieruſalē, to go out of ye gate of the citie, there to receaue their Byſhop appointed to thē of God. And ſo was Alexander met and receaued, and ioyned partner with aged Narciſſus, as is before expreſſed, in the Citie of Hieruſalem: where he continued Byſhop about .40. yeares, vntill the perſecution of Decius, and there erected a famous Librarie, where Euſebius had his chiefeſt helpe in writyng his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles to diuers Churches, and licenſed Origene openly to teach in hys Church. At length beyng very agede, was brought from Hieruſalē to Ceſaria before ye Iudge vnder Decius, where after his conſtant confeſſion the ſecond tyme, he was committed to priſon, and there dyed.

The confeſſiō and death of *Alexander* Byſhop.

Andoclus. Martyr.

Beſides theſe that ſuffered in this perſecutiō of Seuerus, recited of Euſebius, Vincentius alſo, Lib.11.cap.6. Ex Martyrol. ſpeaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had ſent into Fraunce: which Andoclus becauſe he ſpread there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended of Seuerus, and firſt beaten with ſtaues and battes, after was beheaded.

Aſclepiades Byſhop of Antioche cōfeſſor.

To theſe aboue named may alſo be added Aſclepiades, who although was not put to death in this perſecution of Seuerus, yet conſtātly he did abide the triall of his confeſſion, & ſuffered much for the ſame, as Alexander did, before mentioned, wherfore afterward he was ordained Byſhop of Antioche, where he continued the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, of whom Alexander writeth to the Church of Antioch, out of priſon, much reioyſing and geuing thankes to God, to heare that he was their Byſhop.

Irenæus Byſhop of Lyons, and Martyr.

About the ſame tyme duryng the raigne of Seuerus, dyed Irenæus. Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other Martyr writers, do hold, that he was Martyred with a great multitude of other moe, for the confeſſion and doctrine of Chriſt, about the fourth or fift yeare of Seuerus. This Irenæus as he was a great writer, ſo was he greatly cōmended of Tertulian for his learnyng, whom he calleth omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimū exploratorem: a great ſearcher of all kynd of learning. He was firſt ſcholler and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence either was ſent or came to Fraunce, and there by Photinus, and the reſt of the Martyrs was inſtituted into the miniſtery, commended by their letter vnto Eleutherius, as is before premoniſhed. At length after the Martyrdome of Photinus he was appointed Byſhop of Lyons, where he continued about the ſpace of .23. yeares. In the tyme of this Irenæus, the ſtate of the Churche was much troubled, not onely for the outward perſecution of the forein enemy, but alſo for diuers ſectes and errours then ſtyrring, agaynſt whiche he diligently labored, and wrote much, although but few of his bookes be now remaynyng. The nature of this man well agreeyng with his name, was ſuch, that he euer loued peace, and ſought to ſet agreement when any controuerſie roſe in the Church. And therefore, when the queſtion of keepyng the Eaſter day was renued to the church, betwene Victor Byſhop of Rome, & the Churches of Aſia, and when Victor would haue excōmunicated them as ſchiſmatickes, for diſagreeyng from him therein: Irenæus with the other brethren of the French Churche, ſory to ſee ſuch a contention among brethren for ſuch a trifle, conuented them ſelues together in a common Councell, and directyng their letter with their common conſent ſubſcribed, ſent vnto Victor, intreatyng him to ſtay his purpoſe, & not to procede in excommunicatyng his brethren for that matter. Although they them ſelues agreed with him in obſeruyng the Sonday Eaſter as he did: yet with great reaſons and argumētes exhorted him not to deale ſo rigorouſly with his other brethren, followyng the auncient cuſtome of their coūtrey maner in that behalfe. And beſide this he wrote diuers other letters abroad concernyng the ſame contention, declaryng the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Tertulian Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Not long after Irenæus followed alſo Tertulian about the tyme of this Seuerus, & Antoninus Caracalla his ſonne, a man both in Greeke and Latine well expert, hauing great giftes in diſputyng, and in writyng eloquent, as his bookes declare, and as the commendation of all learned men do teſtifie no leſſe. To whom Vincentius Lirinenſis geueth ſuch prayſe, that he calleth him the floure of all Latine writers, and of the eloquence of his ſtyle ſo he writeth, that with the force of his reaſons, he ſayth, whom he could not perſwade, them he compelled to cōſent vnto him. How many wordes, ſo many ſentences, and how many ſentences, ſo many victories he had. &c.

The Apologie of *Tertulian* defendyng the Chriſtians.

Tertullianus ad Scapulam.

Such men of doyng and writyng God rayſeth vp from tyme to tyme, as pyllers and ſtayes for his poore Churche, as he did this Tertulian in theſe daūgerous dayes of perſecution. For whē the Chriſtiās were vexed with wronges, and falſely accuſed of the Gentiles, Tertulian takyng their cauſe in hand, defendeth them agaynſt the perſecutors, and againſt their ſlaūderous accuſatiōs: Firſt, that they neuer mynded any ſtyrre or rebellion, either agaynſt the Empire or Emperours of Rome: for ſomuch as ye vſe of Chriſtiās was to pray for the ſtate of their Emperours and gouernours. And where as they were accuſed falſely to be enemyes to all mankynd: how could that be (ſayth Tertulian to Scapula) ſeyng the proper office of the Chriſtiās is by their profeſſiō to pray for all mē, to loue their enemyes, neuer requityng euill for euill: when as all other do loue but onely their frendes, and ſcarcely them? As touchyng the horrible ſlaunder of murderyng infantes, how can that be true in the Chriſtians (ſayth he) whoſe order is to abſtaine from all bloud, and ſtrangled, in ſomuch that it is not lawfull for the to touche the bloud of any beaſt at their tables when they feede? From filthy copulation no ſorte more free then they: whiche are and euer haue bene the greateſt obſeruers of chaſtitie, of whom ſuch as may, liue in perpetuall virginitie all their lyfe, ſuch as cannot, contract matrimony, for auoydyng all whoredome and fornication. Neither can it be proued of the Chriſtiās to worſhyp the ſunne, which falſe ſurmiſe Tertulian declareth to riſe hereof, for that the maner of the Chriſtians was to pray toward the Eaſt. Much leſſe was there any of them ſo mad to worſhyp an Aſſes head, whereof the occaſion beyng taken onely of the Iewes, the ſlaunder thereof, therfore he proueth to be falſely and wrong-

The occaſiō hereof belyke came of the Iewes worſhypping the iawe of an Aſſe in the ſtory of *Sampſon.*

fully layd to the charge of the Chriſtians.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

And likewiſe agaynſt all other lyes and ſlaunders, obiected of the Heathen agaynſt the Chriſtians, the ſayd Tertulian purgeth the Chriſtians, declaryng them falſely to be belyed, & wrongfully perſecuted, not for any deſert of theirs, but onely for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithſtandyng by the ſame perſecutions, he proueth in the ſame Apologie, the Religion of the Chriſtians nothyng to be impayred, but rather increaſed. The more (ſayth he) we are mowne downe of you, the moe riſe vp. The bloud of Chriſtians is ſeede. For what man ſayth he, in beholdyng the paynfull tormentes, and the perfect patience of them, will not ſearch and inquire what is in the cauſe? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not deſire to ſuffer for it? Thus (ſayth he) this ſect will neuer dye, which the more it is cut downe, the more it groweth. For euery man ſeyng & wondryng at the ſufferaunce of the Saintes, is moued the more thereby to ſearch the cauſe, in ſearchyng, he findeth it, and in findyng, he foloweth it. Tertul. in eadem Apolog.

The errours and imperfections in learned men noted.

Thus Tertulian, in this daungerous tyme of perſecution, beyng ſtyrred vp of God, defended the innocencie of the Chriſtians, agaynſt the blaſphemy of the aduerſaries, and moreouer for the inſtruction of the Church compiled many fruitefull workes, wherof ſome are extant, ſome are not to be found. Notwithſtãdyng the great learnyng and famous vertues of this worthy mã, certaine errours and blemiſhes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origine & Irenæus, and likewiſe of them, were they neuer ſo excellent, that folowed them, whiche errours all here in order to note and comprehend, were to long a matter for this ſtory to proſecute. This by the way ſhall be ſufficient to admoniſhe the Reader, neuer to looke for any ſuch perfection of any man in this world, how ſingular ſo euer he be (Chriſt onely excepted) but ſome blemiſhe or other ioyneth him ſelfe withall, wherof more perchaunce ſhall be ſayd, when we come to Cyprian.

Victor Byſhop of Rome.

Victor reported of ſome to dye a Martyr.

The cauſe diſcuſſed why the holy Ghoſt forbad bloud and ſtrangled in the primitiue Church.

And now to returne agayne to the order of Biſhops of Rome intermitted: after Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the Byſhopricke of Rome ſucceeded Victor, who as Platina ſayth, dyed quietly in the dayes of Seuerus. But Damaſus, Supplementum, Lib. 8. and ſuch as folow the common Chronicles, affirme that he dyed a martyr, after he had ſitte .x. or as ſome ſay .xij. yeares. This Victor was a great ſtyrrer (as partly before is ſignified) in the controuerſie & contention of Eaſterday. For the which he would haue proceded in excommunication agaynſt the Churches of Aſia, had not Irenæus the Biſhop of Lyõs, with the coũſaile of other his brethren there aſſembled, repreſſed his intended violẽce. As touchyng that controuerſie of Eaſter in thoſe dayes of the primitiue Church, the originall therof was this, as Euſebius, Socrates, Platina, and other recorde. Firſt certaine it is, that the Apoſtles onely beyng intentiue and attendaunt to the doctrine of ſaluation, gaue no heede nor regarde to the obſeruations of dayes & tymes, neither bounde the Church to any ceremonies and rites, except thoſe thinges neceſſary, mentioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles, as ſtrangled and bloud, which was ordained thẽ of the holy ghoſt, not without a moſt vrgent and neceſſary cauſe, touched partly in the hiſtory before. For when the murderyng and bloud of Infantes was commõly obiected by the Heathen perſecutors agaynſt the Chriſtians, they had no other argumẽt to helpe them ſelues, nor to refell the aduerſarie, but onely their own law, by the whiche they were commaunded to abſtaine not onely from all mens bloud, but alſo from the bloud of all cõmon beaſtes. And therefore that law ſeemeth by the holy Ghoſt to be geuen, and alſo to the ſame end continued in the Church, ſo lõg as the cauſe, that is the perſecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Beſides theſe we read of no other ceremonies or rites, whiche the Apoſtles greatly regarded, but left ſuch thynges free to the libertie of Chriſtians, euery man to vſe therein his owne diſcretion, for the vſing or not vſing therof. Wherupon, as concernyng all the ceremoniall obſeruations of dayes, tymes, places, meates, drinkes, veſtures, and ſuch other, of all theſe thynges neither was the diuerſitie among men greatly noted, nor any vniformitie greatly required. In ſo much that Irenæus wrytyng to Victor of the tradition of dayes and of faſtinges, and of the diuerſitie of theſe thyngs then vſed among the primitiue fathers, ſayth: Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter ſe retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnum, & ieiunij diſſonantia, fidei concordiam commẽdat. &c. That is: Notwithſtandyng all this varietie, all they kept peace among them ſelues, and yet we keepe it ſtill, and this difference of faſting among vs, commendeth more the concorde of fayth. And ſo long did the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie remaine whole & ſounde in the Church till the tyme of Victor, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 200. Although the diuerſitie of theſe vſages began ſomethyng before alſo in the dayes of Pius and Anicetus, about the yeare of our Lord. 163. to be miſliked: yet reſtraynt herof was not ſo much vrged before, as in the tyme of Victor. And yet neither did the violẽce of Victor take ſuch place, but that the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie was defended and maintained by meanes of Irenæus and other, and ſo continued in the Churche till after the Councell of Nice. And thus much concernyng the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 26.

The doctrine of Chriſtian libertie in outward vſages.

Now to returne to Victor agayne, to ſhew what diuerſitie there was in obſeruyng the day of Eaſter, and how it came, thus is the ſtory: Firſt in the tyme of Pius and Anicetus, an. 163. the queſtion of Eaſter day begã firſt to be moued, at what tyme Pius by the reuelation of Hermes, decreed the obſeruation of that day to be chaunged from the wonted maner of the. 14. day of the Moone in the firſt moneth, vnto the next Sonday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius Byſhops of Rome, which alſo determined the ſame. Agaynſt theſe ſtode Melito Byſhop of Sardis, Polycarpus, and as ſome thinke, Egeſippus, with other learned men of Aſia. Which Policarpus beyng ſent by the brethren of Aſia, came to Rome, as is aforeſayd, to conferre with Anicetus in that matter: wherin when they could not agree after long debatyng, yet notwithſtandyng they did both communicate together with reuerence, & departed in peace. And ſo the celebration of Eaſter day remained adiaphoron, as a thyng indifferent in the Church, til the tyme of Victor. Who folowyng after Anicetus and his felowes, and chiefly ſtyrryng in this matter, endeuoured by all meanes and might, to draw, or rather ſubdue the Churches of Aſia vnto hys opiniõ, thinkyng moreouer to excommunicate all thoſe Byſhops and Churches of Aſia, as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, which diſagreed from the Romane order, had not Irenæus otherwiſe reſtrayned him from that doyng, as is aforeſayd, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 191. in the raigne of Commodus. Thus then began the vniformitie of keepyng that holy day to be firſt required, as a thyng neceſſary, and all they accounted as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, whiche diſſented from the Byſhop and tradition of Rome.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 26.

Polycarpus & Anicetus diſagreyng in controuerſie, yet agreed in charitie.

Vniformitie in ceremonies not to be required as a thyng neceſſary.

With Victor ſtode Theophilus Biſhop of Ceſarea, Narciſſus of Hieruſalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus, Banchyllus of Corinthe, the Byſhop of Oſtroena, and other moe. All whiche condeſcended to haue the celebration of Eaſter vpon the Sõday, becauſe they would differ from the Iewes in all thynges as neare as they might, and partly becauſe the reſurrection of the Lord fell on the ſame day.

Polycrates Byſhop of Epheſus.

On the contrary ſide diuers Byſhops were in Aſia, of whom the principall was Polycrates Byſhop of Epheſus, who beyng aſſembled with a great multitude of Byſhops and brethren of thoſe parties, by the common aſſent of the reſt, wrote agayne to Victor, and to the Churche of Rome, declaryng, that they had euer from the beginnyng obſerued that day, accordyng to the rule of Scripture vnchaunged, neither addyng nor alteryng any thing from the ſame. Alledgyng moreouer for them the examples of the Apoſtles and holy fathers their predeceſſours, as Philip the Apoſtle, with his three daughters at Hierapolis: alſo Iohn the Apoſtle and Euãgeliſt at Epheſus, Polycarpus at Smyrna, Thraſeas at Eumenia Byſhop and Martyr: lykewiſe of Sagaris at Laodicea Byſhop and Martyr. Holy Papyrius, and Melito at Sardis. Beſide theſe Byſhops alſo of hys owne kindred, and his owne aunciters, to the number of. vij. which all were Byſhops before him, & he the eight now after them. All which obſerued (ſayth he) the ſolemnitie of the ſame day, after the ſame wiſe and ſort as we do now.

Byſhops in thoſe dayes maryed.

Victor excõmunicatyng the churches of Aſia.

Irenæus to Victor.

Victor beyng not a litle moued herewith, by letters agayne denounceth agaynſt them (more bold vpon authoritie, then wiſe in his commiſſion) violent excommunication. Albeit by the wiſe handlyng of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was ſtayd, and Victor otherwiſe perſwaded. What the perſwaſions of Irenæus were, partly may appeare in Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 26. the ſumme wherof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no ſtraunge matter in the Churche of Chriſt, when as this varietie is not onely in the day of Eaſter, but alſo in the maner of faſting, & in diuers other vſages among the Chriſtians. For ſome faſt one day, ſome two dayes, ſome other faſt moe. Other there be, whiche countyng .xl. houres, both day and night, take that for a full dayes faſt. And this ſo diuers faſhion of faſtyng in the Churche of Chriſt, began not onely in this our tyme, but was before among our forefathers. And yet notwithſtandyng they with all this diuerſity, were in vnitie amõg themſelues, and ſo be we, neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thyng hinder, but rather commendeth the concorde of fayth. And bryngeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Teleſphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and ſuch other, who neither obſerued the ſame vſage themſelues, neither preſcribed it to others, and yet notwithſtandyng kept Chriſtian charitie with ſuch as came to communicate with them, not obſeruyng the ſame forme of thynges whiche they obſerued, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, whiche although they agreed not in one vniforme cuſtome of rites, yet refuſed not to cõmunicate together, the one geuyng reuerẽce vnto the other. Thus the controuerſie beyng taken vp betwene Irenæus & Victor, remained free to the time of Nicene Councell. Hæc ex Iren. Euſebius. And thus much concernyng the cõtrouerſie of that matter, and concernyng the doynges of Victor.

Diuerſitie commendeth the concorde of fayth.

Zephyrinus Byſhop of Rome.

After Victor ſucceeded in the ſea of Rome Zephyrinus, in the dayes of the foreſayd Seuerus, about the yeare of our Lord. 203. To this Zephyrinus be aſcribed two Epiſtles, in the firſt Tome of the Councels. But as I haue ſayd before of the decretall Epiſtles of other Romane Byſhops: ſo I ſay and verely ſuppoſe of this, that neither the countenaunce of the ſtile, nor the matter therein cõtained, nor the condition of the tyme, doth otherwiſe giue to thinke of theſe letters, but that they be verely baſtard letters, not written by theſe fathers, nor in theſe tymes, but craftely & wickedly put in by ſome, whiche to ſet vp the primacie of Rome, haue moſt peſtilently abuſed the authoritie of theſe holy and auncient fathers, to deceaue the ſimple Churche. For who is ſo rude, but that in cõſideryng onely the ſtate of thoſe terrible tymes, may eaſely vnderſtãd, except affectiõ blind him, beſide a number of other probable coniectures to leade hym, that the poore perſecuted Byſhops in that tyme, would haue bene glad to haue any ſafe couert to put their heades in: ſo farre was it of, that they had any luſt or layſure, then to ſeeke for any primacie or Patriarchſhyp, or to driue all other Churches to appeale to the ſea of Rome, or to exempt all Prieſtes from the accuſation of any lay man: as in the firſt Epiſtle of Zephyrinus is to be ſene, written to the Byſhops of Sicilia. And likewiſe the ſecond Epiſtle of his, to the Byſhops of the prouince of Egypt, containyng no maner of doctrine, nor conſolation neceſſary for that tyme, but onely certaine ritual decrees to no purpoſe, argueth no leſſe, but the ſayd Epiſtles neither to ſauor of that mã, nor taſt of the tyme.

The Epiſtles and ordinaunces of *Zephyrinus* ſuſpected to be counterfet.

The firſt Epiſtle of *Zephyrinus* to the byſhops of Sicilia.

Of like credite alſo ſeemeth the conſtitution of the Patins of glaſſe, which Damaſus ſayth that the ſame Zephyrinus ordained to be caried before the Prieſt, at the celebration of the Maſſe. Againe Platina writeth that he ordayned the miniſtration of the Sacramẽt to be no more vſed in veſſels of wood, or of glaſſe, or of any other mettall, except onely ſiluer, gold, and tynne. &c. But how theſe two teſtimonies of Damaſus and Platina ioyne together, let the reader iudge: eſpecially ſeyng the ſame decree is referred to Vrbanus, that came after hym. Agayne, what needed this decree of golden Chalices to be ſtabliſhed afterward in the Councell of Tibur and Rhemes, if it had bene enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus ſat, our writers do varie. Euſebius ſayth, he dyed in the raigne of Caracalla: and ſat. xvij. yeares. Platina writeth that he dyed vnder Seuerus, and ſat. viij. yeares, and ſo ſayth alſo Nauclerus: Damaſus affirmeth that he ſat. xvi. yeares and two monethes.

Patins of glaſſe borne before the Prieſt. The ordinaunces of *Zephyrinus* of ſmall credite.

Golden chalices. *Concilium Tiburtinum Rhemienſe.*

Matthæus author of the ſtory intituled Flores Hiſtoriarum, with other latter Chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus her brother, alſo of Saturninus, and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, whiche in the perſecution of this Seuerus gaue ouer their liues to Martyrdome for Chriſt, beyng throwen to wilde beaſtes, and deuoured of the ſame, in Carthage and in Affrike, ſaue that Saturninus brought agayne from the beaſtes, was beheaded, and Secundulus dyed in priſon, about the yeare of our Lord. 202. as writeth Florilegus.

Ex Florilego.
Perpetua.
Felicitas.
Reuocatus.
Saturninus.
Satyrus.
Secundulus.
Martyrs.

This Seuerus the perſecutor raigned, as the moſt part of writers accorde the terme of. xviij. yeares, who about the latter tyme of his raigne, came with his armie hether into Britaine, where after many conflictes had with the Britaines, in the borders of the North, he caſt vp a diche with a mighty walle made of earth and turues, & ſtrong ſtakes, to the length of. cxxxij. myles from the one ſide of the ſea to the other, begynnyng at Tyne, and reached to the Scottiſh ſea. Which done he remoued to Yorke, and there by the breakyng in of the Northren men and the Scottes, was beſieged & ſlayne, about the yeare of our Lord. 214. leauyng behynd him two ſonnes, Baſſianus & Geta. Whiche Baſſianus, ſurnamed Caracalla, after he had ſlayne his brother Geta, here in Britaine gouerned the Empire alone the ſpace of. vi. yeares. After whoſe death, he beyng ſlayne alſo of his ſeruauntes (as he had ſlayne his brother before) ſucceeded Macrinus with his ſonne Diadumenus to be Emperour, who after they had raigned one yeare, were both ſlayne of their owne people.

Seuerus warreth in Britaine. A wall betwene England & Scotlãd builded. 132. miles in length. *Seuerus* the perſecutour ſlayne at Yorke.

214.

Baſſianus Emperour.

Macrinus with his ſonne *Diadumenus* Emperours

An. 219.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the Empire, rather to be called a monſter, then a man, ſo prodigious was his life in all glotonie, filthynes, and ribaudry. Such was his pompe, that in his lampes he vſed balme, and filled his fiſhpondes with roſewater. To let paſſe his ſumptuous veſtures which he would not weare but onely of gold, and moſt coſtly ſilkes: his ſhoes gliſtering with precious ſtones finely engraued: he was neuer. ij. dayes ſerued with one kinde of meate, he neuer wore one garment twiſe, and likewiſe for his fleſhly wickednes: ſome dayes his company was ſerued at meale with the braynes of Oſtriges, and a ſtraunge foule called Phenocapterie, an other day with the tongues of Popyngeis, and other ſweete ſinging birdes. Beyng nye to the ſea, he neuer vſed fiſh: in places farre diſtãt from the ſea, all his houſe was ſerued wt moſt delicate fiſhes. At one ſupper he was ſerued with. 7000. fiſhes, &. 5000. foules. At his remouyng in his progres, often there followed him. 600. charriotes, laden onely with baudes, cõmon harlots, and ribaudes. He ſacrificed with young children, and preferred to the beſt aduauncementes in the common weale, moſt light perſonages, as baudes, minſtrels, carters, and ſuch like. In one word, he was an enemy to all honeſty and good order. And when he was foretold by hys Sorcerers and Aſtronomers, that he ſhould dye a violent death, he prouided ropes of ſilke to hang him ſelfe, ſwordes of gold to kill him ſelfe, and ſtrong poyſon in iacinctes and emeraudes to poyſon him ſelfe, if needes he muſt thereto be forced. Moreouer he made an high tower, hauing the floore of bordes couered with gold plate, bordered with precious ſtones, from the whiche tower he would throw him ſelfe downe, if he ſhould be purſued of his enemyes. But notwithſtandyng all his prouiſion, he was ſlayne of the ſouldiours, drawen through the Citie, and caſt into Tiber, after he had raigned. 2. yeares and. 8. Monethes, as witneſſeth Eutropius, other ſay, foure yeares.

The monſtrous lyfe of *Heliogabalus* Emperour.

A prodigious belygod.

Heliogabalus ſlayne of his ſouldiours. *Ex Eutropio.*

Alexander Seuerus Emperour.

An. 224.

This Heliogabalus hauing no iſſue, adopted to his ſonne and heyre Aurelius Alexander Seuerus, the ſonne of Mammea, who entryng his raigne the yeare of our Lorde. 224. continued. xiij. yeares, well commended for vertuous, wiſe, gentle, liberall, and to no man hurtfull. And as he was not vnlearned himſelfe, through the diligent educatiõ of Mammea his mother, ſo he was a great fauourer of men, wiſe and learned. Neither did he any thyng in the cõmon weale, without the aſſiſtence of learned and ſage Counſaylours. It is reported of him, to beare ſuch ſtomacke agaynſt corrupt Iudges, that when he chaunced to meete with any of them, by the commotion of his minde, he would caſt vp choler, being ſo moued with them, that he could not ſpeake, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. Frõ his court he diſmiſſed all ſuperfluous and vnnedefull ſeruauntes, ſaying that he was no good pupill, which fed idle ſeruauntes with the bowels of his common weale.

Agaynſt corrupt Iudges. The ſaying of *Alexander* to be noted & folowed: Idle ſeruauntes eate vp the bowels of the common weale.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth alſo that he was frendly and fauourable vnto the Chriſtians, as by this act may be gathered: For when the Chriſtians had occupied a certaine publicke place in ſome good vſe, belyke for the aſſemblyng and conuentyng together of the congregation, the company of the Cookes or typlers made chalenge of that place to belong vnto thẽ. The matter being brought before the Emperour, he iudged it more honeſt, the place to ſerue to the worſhyp of God, howſoeuer it were, then to the dyrtie ſlobberyng of Cookes and Skullians.

By this it may be vnderſtand, that in Rome no Chriſtian Churches were erected vnto this tyme, when as yet (notwithſtandyng this fauour of the Emperour) no publicke houſe could quietly be obtayned for the Chriſtiãs. So that by the reaſon hereof may appeare the decretall Epiſtle and ordinaunce of Pope Higynus concernyng the dedicatiõ of Churches aboue mentioned, pag. 53. to be falſefied. And likewiſe the ordinaunce of Pius his ſucceſſour, concernyng the Altare, or Superaltare, to be alſo falſe. For what Superaltare was it like they had, in the time of Higynus and Pius, when as at this tyme which was long after, no publicke place almoſt could be graunted them for the Chriſtians to aſſemble together?

A note worthy to be marked.

Of this Alexander, Platina writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boaſters and flatterers, ſo he was of ſuch prudence, that no deceite could eſcape him, and bryngeth in a ſtory of one Turinus, who had gotten craftely many great bribes and giftes, in makyng the people beleue that he was of great authoritie with the Emperour, and that he could

Platina in vita Pontiani.

helpe them to haue what ſoeuer they ſued for. Whereof the Emperour beyng certified, cauſed him in the open market to be faſtned to a ſtake, and there kylled with ſmoke, where the Cryer ſtode thus cryng to the people: Smoke he ſold, and with ſmoke he is puniſhed.

Puniſhed with ſmoke, that ſold ſmoke.

Mammea the mother of the Emperour.

Mammea the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a deuout and religious womā) hearyng of the fame and the excellent learnyng of Origene, beyng then at Alexādria, ſent for him to Antioche, deſirous to heare and ſee him. Unto whom the foreſayd Origene accordyng to her requeſt, reſorted, and after that he had there remayned a ſpace with the Emperour, and his mother, returned agayne to Alexandria.

Ex Nauclero.

Calixtus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

And thus continued this good Emperour his raigne the ſpace of .xiij. yeares, at length at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea he was ſlayne. After whom ſucceded Maximinus, cōtrary to the mynde of the Senate, onely appointed by the ſouldiours to be Emperour. Duryng all this tyme, betwene Seuerus and this Maximinus the church of Chriſt, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had ſome meane tranquilitie from perſecution. Albeit ſome Martyrs there were at this tyme that ſuffered, wherof Nauclerus geueth this reaſon: for although (ſayth he) Alexander, beyng perſwaded through the entreatyng of his mother Mammea, did fauour the Chriſtians: yet notwithſtandyng, there was no publike Edict or Proclamation prouided for their ſafegarde. By reaſō wherof diuers there were which ſuffered Martyrdome vnder Almachius, and other iudges. In the number of whom after ſome ſtories, was Calixtus Byſhop of Rome, who ſucceded next vnto Zephyrinus aboue mentioned. And after him Vrbanus alſo, whiche both beyng Byſhops of Rome, did both ſuffer, by the opinion of ſome writers, vnder Alexander Seuerus.

The decretall Epiſtles of *Calixtus* examined.

The place of S. Paule vnfitly expounded.

Imber faſt firſt ordayned.

This Calixtus in his .ij. decretall Epiſtles, written to Benedictus, and to the Byſhops of Fraunce, geueth theſe ordinaunces, that no actions or accuſatiōs agaynſt the Prelates or teachers of the Church ſhould be receaued, that no ſecret conſpiracies ſhould be made againſt Byſhops. Item, no man to communicate with perſons excōmunicate. Alſo no Byſhop to excōmunicate or to deale in an other Dioceſſe. And here he expoundeth the Dioces or the Pariſh of any Byſhop or Miniſter to be his wife. The wife (ſayth the Apoſtle) is bounde to the law, ſo long as the huſband liueth: when he is dead, ſhe is free from the law: So (ſayth Calixtus) the wife of a biſhop (which is his Church) ſo lōg as he liueth, is bounde duly to him, neither ought to be iudged or diſpoſed by any other man, without his will & iudgement: after his death ſhe is free from the law, to mary to whom ſhe will, ſo it be in the Lord, that is, regulariter, regularely. In the end of the ſayd his Epiſtle decretall, he cōfuteth the errour of them, whiche hold, that they whiche are fallen, are not to be receaued agayne. Which hereſie after the tyme of Calixtus or Caliſtus, came in firſt by Nouatus, in the dayes of Cornelius. Moreouer in his ſayd firſt Epiſtle decretall is contained the faſt of the foure tymes, cōmonly called the Imber faſt, whereof alſo Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damaſus ſpeakyng of the ſame faſt ſayth, he ordained the faſt but of three tymes, which was for the encreaſe of corne, wyne and oyle.

By theſe hetherto premiſed, it is not hard for a quicke Reader to ſmell out the crafty iugglyng of that perſon or perſons, whoſoeuer they were, that falſely haue aſcribed theſe decretall inſtitutions to thoſe holy fathers. For firſt, what layſure had the Chriſtians to lay in their accuſations agaynſt their Byſhops, when we neuer read nor finde in any ſtory, any kynde of variaunce in thoſe dayes among them, but all loue, mutuall compaſſion, and harty communiō among the Saintes. And as we read of no variaunce among the people in thoſe dayes, nor of any fault or backſlydyng among the Byſhops, who for the moſt part then dyed all conſtaunt Martyrs: ſo neither do we read of any tribunall ſeate, or cōſiſtorie vſed or frequēted then about any ſuch matters. Agayne, if a man examine well the daungers of thoſe buſie dayes, he ſhall ſee the poore flocke of the Chriſtians, ſo occupied and pitiouſly oppreſſed by the cruell accuſations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cauſe did, yet the tyme would not ſerue them to commēce any law agaynſt their Byſhops. Secondly, as touching their cōſpiracie agaynſt Byſhops, what conſpiracie either would they then practiſe agaynſt them, which alwayes gaue their liues for their defence? Or how could they then conſpire in any cōpanies together, when neuer a true Chriſtian man durſt once put his head out of his doores, neither was there in the Church any Chriſtian man, in thoſe perilous dayes, except he were a true man in deede, ſuch as was farre from all falſe conſpiracies? And when as all the world almoſt in all places conſpired agaynſt them: what tyme, what cauſe, or what hart trow ye, could they haue to conſpire agaynſt their inſtructors? Thirdly, concernyng the confutation of that hereſie, how ſtandeth the confutation with the tyme of Caliſtus, when Nouatus the author of that hereſie was after him in the tyme of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus, euery Dioces be the proper wife of euery Byſhop or Miniſter, thē how many Byſhops wiues and Parſons wiues hath the adulterous Pope of Rome deflowred in theſe latter dayes of the Church, which ſo proudly and impudently hath intermedled & taken his pleaſure & his owne profit, in euery dioces and Pariſh almoſt through all Chriſtendome, without all leaue and licence of the good mā, who hath bene in the meane tyme, and yet is cōpelled ſtill, wherſoeuer the Popes holynes commeth, Vigilante ſtertere naſo, and to geue hym leaue vnaſked, to do what he liſt. Wherfore if this Canon decretall be truly his, why is it not obſerued, ſo as it doth ſtand without exceptiō? If it be not, why is it then falſely forged vpon him, and the Church of Chriſt deceaued? And certes lamentable it is, that this falſifieng of ſuch triflyng traditions vnder the falſe pretence of antiquitie, either was begon in the Church, to deceaue the people: or that it hath remained ſo long vndetected. For as I thinke, the Church of Chriſt will neuer be perfectly reformed, before theſe decretall conſtitutiōs and Epiſtles, which haue ſo long put on the viſard of antiquitie, ſhalbe fully detected, & appeare in their owne coulour, wherein they were firſt paynted.

Agaynſt the decretall Epiſtles and conſtitutiōs.

And yet neither do I ſay this, or thinke contrary, but that it may be, that byſhops of Rome and of the ſame name haue bene the true authors of theſe traditiōs: but here commeth in the errour (as I credibly ſuppoſe) that when other latter Biſhops of the like name, haue deuiſed theſe ceremoniall inuentions, the vulgare opinion of men hath transferred them, to the firſt primitiue fathers, although beyng of an other tyme, yet bearing the ſame name, with the true inuentors therof. But of Calixtus inough: who as Damaſus ſayth in the dayes of this Alexander Seuerus, dyed a Martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that he was tyed to a great ſtone, and ſo out of a window was throwne into a ditch. Euſebius ſpeakyng of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdome, and ſayth he ſat. v. yeares. Platina ſayth .vj. yeares. Sabellicus geueth him .vij. yeares, and ſo doth Damaſus.

Calixtus a Martyr. *Ex Vincen. in ſpecul. Hiſt. Ex Antonin. tit. 7. cap. 6.*

Vrbanus Byſhop of Rome.

227.

Confirmation of children inſtituted.

Vrbanus martyr.

After Caliſtus folowed Vrbanus, about the yeare of our Lord. 227. who in his Epiſtle decretall (commyng out of the ſame forge) which he wrote in common to all Biſhops, makyng no mention of the heauy perſecutions of the Churche, nor miniſtryng any exhortation of comfort or conſtancie to the brethren, onely geueth many ſtraite preceptes, for not tranſportyng or alienatyng the goodes of the Churche, and to pay truly their offeryngés, which they vow: alſo to haue all common among the Clergie. Moreouer, about the end of his Epiſtle he inſtituteth the confirmation of children after Baptiſme (whiche the Papiſtes be wont to take into the number of their .vij. Sacramentes) affirmyng and denouncyng more then Scripture will beare, that the impoſition of the Byſhops hand bringeth the holy ghoſt, and thereby to be made full Chriſtians. &c. But of theſe decretall Epiſtles inough is ſayd before, more may be conſidered of the diſcreet Reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late ſtory writers do hold as is aforeſayd, that he dyed a martyr, in the dayes of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that ſeate. iiij. yeares, as Damaſus and Platina do witnes: as Marianus ſayth eight yeares.

Turbitius, Valerianus Martyrs.

The ſame Damaſus and Platina do teſtifie of him, that he by his preachyng and holyneſſe of life conuerted diuers Ethnickes to the fayth. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus the huſbād of Cecilia, which both beyng noble men of Rome, remained conſtaunt in the fayth vnto the end and Martyrdome.

Cecilia Martyr. *Ex martyrologio Adonis.*

Of this Cecilia thus it is writtē in the Martyrologe by Ado, that Cecilie the Virgine after ſhe had brought Valerian her huſband eſpouſed, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and fayth of Chriſt, and with her exhortations had made them conſtaunt vnto Martyrdome: after the ſufferyng of them ſhe was alſo apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the Idoles to do ſacrifice: which thing when ſhe abhorred to do, ſhe ſhould be preſented before the iudge to haue the condēnation of death. In the meane tyme the Sergeauntes and officers which were about her, beholdyng her comely beautie, and the prudent behauiour in her conuerſation, began with many perſuaſions of wordes to ſollicite her mynde, to fauour her ſelfe, and that ſo excellēt beautie, and not to caſt her ſelfe away. &c. But ſhe agayne ſo replyed to them with reaſons & godly exhortations, that by the grace of almightie God their hartes began to kindle, and at length to yeld to that Religion, whiche before they did perſecute. Whiche thyng ſhe perceiuyng, deſired of the iudge Almachius a little reſpite. which beyng graunted, ſhe ſent for Vrbanus the Byſhop home to her houſe, to ſtabliſh and grounde them in the fayth of Chriſt. And ſo were they, with diuers other at the ſame tyme Baptiſed, both men and wemẽ, to the number (as the ſtory ſayth) of .400. perſons, among whom was one Gordianus a noble man. This done, this bleſſed Martyr was brought before the iudge, where ſhe was condemned: then after was brought to the houſe of the Iudge, where ſhe was incloſed in a whote bathe, but ſhe remaynyng there a whole day & night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out agayne, and commaundement geuen that in the bath ſhe ſhould be beheaded: The executour is ſayd to haue foure ſtrokes at her necke, & yet her head beyng cut of, ſhe (as the ſtory geueth) liued three dayes after. And ſo dyed this holy virgine martyr, whoſe body in the night ſeaſon Vrbanus the byſhop tooke and buryed among the other Byſhops. Ado the compiler of this Martyrologe addeth that this was done in the tyme of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for ſo much as Vrbanus by all hiſtories, was long after thoſe Emperours, and liued in the dayes of this Alexander as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Bergomenſis, Equilinus with ſuch other writers, ſet forth this hiſtory with many ſtraunge miracles, wrought by the ſayd Cecilia, in conuertyng her huſband Valerianus and his brother, in ſhewyng them the Angell whiche was the keeper of her virginitie, & of the Angell puttyng on crownes vpon their heades. But as touchyng theſe miracles, as I do not diſpute whether they be true or fabulous: ſo bycauſe they haue no grounde vpon any auncient or graue authors, but taken out of certaine new Legendes, I do therefore referre them thether from whence they came.

The Martyrdome of *Cecilia*.

Agapitus, a bleſſed Martyr.
Ex Bergomẽſe. Lib. 8.

Vnder the ſame Alexander, diuers other there be whom Bergomẽſis mẽtioneth to haue ſuffered martyrdome, as one Agapitus, of the age of .xv. yeares, who beyng apprehended and condemned at Praeneſte in Italy, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to Idols, was aſſayled with ſundry tormentes: firſt with whippes ſcourged, thẽ hanged vp by the feete, after hauyng hoate water poured vpon him, at laſt caſt to the wilde beaſtes. with all which tormentes when he could not be hurt, finally with ſword was beheaded. The executor of theſe puniſhmentes (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executyng of the foreſayd tormentes, ſodenly fell downe from his iudiciall ſeate, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within hym, and ſo gaue vp the breath. Henr. de Erfordia. Lib. 6. cap. 29.

A notable example of Gods iuſt plague vpon a perſecutour.
Ex Henr. Erfordienſ. Lib. 6.

Calepodius, Martyr.

Alſo with the ſame Agapitus is numbred Calepodius a miniſter of Rome, whoſe body firſt was drawen through the Citie of Rome, & after caſt into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Pammachius, with hys wife & children Martyrs.
xlii. Martyrs.

Then followeth Pammachius a Senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and other both men and women, to the number of .xlij.

Simplicius, Martyr.

Item an other noble Senator of Rome named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heades ſmitte of and their handes after hanged vp in diuers gates of the Citie, for a terrour of other, that none ſhould profeſſe the name of Chriſt.

Quiritius, Iulia. his mother Martyrs.

Beſide theſe ſuffered alſo Quiritius a noble mã of Rome, who with his mother Iulia, and a great number mo, were put likewiſe to death.

Tyberius, Valerianus, brethren and Martyrs.

Alſo Tiberius and Valerianus, Citizens of Rome, and brethren, ſuffered (as Bergomenſis ſayth) the ſame tyme, who firſt beyng bruſed and broken with battes, after were beheaded.

Martina a virgine and Martyr.

Alſo Vincentius, Bergomenſis, and Erfordienſis make mention of Martina a Chriſtian virgine, which after diuers bitter puniſhmentes, beyng conſtaunt in her fayth, ſuffered in like maner by the ſword.

Albeit as touchyng the tyme of theſe forenamed Martyrs, as I finde them not in elder writers: ſo do I ſuppoſe them to ſuffer vnder Maximinus, or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

¶ The ſixt perſecution.

Maximinus Emperour and perſecutour.
The ſixt perſecution.

237.

AFter the death of Alexander the Emperour, who with his mother Mãmea (as is ſayd) was murdered in Germany folowed Maximinus, choſen by the will of the ſouldiours, rather then by the authoritie of the Senate, about the yeare of our Lord. 237: who for the hatred he had to the houſe of Alexãder (as Euſebius recordeth,) rayſed vp the vj. perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians: eſpecially agaynſt the teachers and leaders of the Churche, thinkyng thereby the ſooner to vanquiſh the reſt, if the Captaines of thẽ were remoued out of the way. Wherby I ſuppoſe rather the Martyrdome of Vrbanus the Byſhop, and of the reſt aboue ſpecified, to haue happened vnder the tyranny of this Maximinus, then vnder Alexander. In the tyme of this perſecution Origene wrote his booke De Martyrio: whiche booke if it were extant would geue vs ſome knowledge. I doubt not, of ſuch as in this perſecution did ſuffer, whiche now lye in ſilence vnknowen. And no doubt but a great nũber they were, and mo ſhould haue bene, had not the prouident mercy of God ſhortened his dayes, and bridled his tyranny: for he raigned but three yeares. After whom ſucceded Gordianus, an. 240. a man no leſſe ſtudious for the vtilitie of the common wealth, as milde and gentle to the Chriſtians. This Gordian after he had gouerned with much peace and tranquilitie the Monarchie of Rome the ſpace of vi. yeares, was ſlayne of Philip Emperour after him.

Origenes De Martyrio.

Gordianus Emperour.

An. 240.

Pontianus Byſhop of Rome.

In the dayes of theſe Emperours aboue recited, was Pontianus Byſhop of Rome, who ſucceded next after Vrbanus aboue rehearſed, about the yeare of our Lord. 236. in the xij. yeare of Alexander, as Euſebius. Lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth: declaryng him to ſit vj. yeares. Contrary Damaſus and Platina write, that he was Byſhop. ix. yeares and a halfe. And that in the tyme of Alexander, he with Philippus his Prieſt was baniſhed into Sardina, and there died. But it ſeemeth more credible that he was baniſhed rather vnder Maximinus, and dyed in the begynnyng of the raigne of Gordianus. In his Epiſtles decretall (which ſeme likewiſe to be fayned) he appeareth very deuoute, after the common example of other Byſhops to vphold the dignitie of Prieſtes, and of Clergie men, ſaying: that God hath them ſo familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offeryngs and oblations of other, and forgeueth their ſinnes, and reconcileth them vnto him. Alſo, that they do make the body of the Lord with their owne mouth, and geue it to other. &c. Whiche doctrine how it ſtandeth with the Teſtament of God, and glorie of Chriſt, let the reader vſe his owne iudgement.

Diuerſitie betwene *Damaſus* & *Euſebius*.
Pontianus baniſhed.

This doctrine ſeemeth derogatory to Chriſt & blaſphemous.

Other notable fathers alſo in the ſame tyme were rayſed vp in the Church, as Philetus Byſhop of Antioche, whiche ſucceded after Aſclepiades afore mẽtioned. an. 220. and after him Zebennus Byſhop of the ſame place. an. 231.

Ammonius a Chriſtian writer.

To theſe alſo may be added Ammonius the ſcholemaſter of Origene, as Suidas ſuppoſeth, alſo the kynſman of Porphiry the great enemy of Chriſt. Notwithſtandyng this Ammonius endued with better grace, as he left diuers bookes in defence of Chriſtes Religion: ſo he did conſtantly perſeuere (as Euſebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Chriſt, whiche he had in the begynnyng receaued, who was about the dayes of Alexander.

Iulius Aphricanus writer.

Iulius Aphricanus alſo about the tyme of Gordianus aforeſayd, is numbred among the old and auncient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth, to be the ſcholer of Origene, and a great writer of hiſtories of that tyme.

Natalius, Confeſſor.
Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 28.

Vnto theſe Doctours and Confeſſors may be adioyned the ſtory of Natalius, mentioned in the fift booke of Euſebius. This Natalius had ſuffered perſecution before like a cõſtant Confeſſor, who beyng ſeduced and perſuaded by Aſclepiodotus and Theodorus (whiche were the Diſciples of Theodocus) to take vpon him to be biſhop of their ſect, promiſing to geue hym euery moneth an hundreth and fiftie peeces of ſiluer and ſo he ioyning hymſelfe to them, was admoniſhed by viſion and reuelation from the Lord. For ſuch was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Chriſt Ieſu, that he would not his Martyr, whiche had ſuffered ſo much for his name before, now to periſh out of his church. For the which cauſe (ſayth Euſebius) God by certaine viſions did admoniſh him. But he not takyng great heede therunto, beyng blynded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long ſcourged of the angels: In ſo much that he beyng made thereby very ſore, and early on the morow puttyng on ſackcloth with much weepyng and lamentation went to Zephyrinus the Byſhop aboue mentioned, where he fallyng downe before him and all the Chriſtiã Congregatiõ, ſhewed them the ſtripes of his body, & prayed them for the mercies of Chriſt, that he might be receiued into their communion agayne, from whiche he had ſequeſtred him ſelfe before. And ſo was admitted accordyng as he deſired.

The Lord will not looſe them which haue done or ſuffered any thyng for hym.

Anterius, Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

After the deceaſe of Pontianus Byſhop of Rome afore mentioned, ſucceded next in that place Anterius, of whom Iſuardus writeth that Pontianus departyng away, did ſubſtitute him in his rowme. But Euſebius writeth that he ſucceded immediatly after him. Damaſus ſayth that becauſe he cauſed the actes and deathes of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdome himſelfe, by Maximinus ẏ Iudge. Concernyng the tyme of this Biſhop, our writers do greatly iarre. Euſebius & Marianus Scotus affirme that

Authors diſagree.

he was Byſhop but one moneth. Sabellicus ſayth that not to be ſo. Damaſus aſſigneth to him. xij. yeares & one moneth. Volateranus, Bergomenſis, and Henricus Erford, geue to him three yeares and one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he ſat one yeare & one moneth. All which are ſo farre diſcrepāt one from an other, that whiche of thē moſt agreeth with truth, it lyeth in doubt. Next to this Byſhop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be ſayd hereafter.

Hyppolitus Byſhop and Martyr.

Of Hyppolitus, alſo doth Euſebius and Hieronymus maketh mention, that he was a Biſhop, but where, they make no relation. And ſo likewiſe doth Theodoretus witnes hym to be a Byſhop, and alſo a Martyr, but namyng no place. Gelaſius contra Eutichen ſayth, he dyed a Martyr, and that he was byſhop of an head Citie in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that he was Byſhop of Oſtia, a port towne neare to Rome. Certaine it is, he was a great writer, and left many workes in the Church, which Euſebius and Hierome do recite: by the ſupputation of Euſebius, he was about the yeare of our Lord. 230.

Prudentius Periſtepha.

Prudentius in his Periſtephanon, makyng mention of great heapes of Martyrs buryed by. lx. together, ſpeaketh alſo of Hyppolitus, and ſayth that he was drawen with wild horſes through fieldes, dales and buſhes, and deſcribeth thereof a pitifull ſtory.

Philippus Emperour.

An. 246.

Philippus the firſt Chriſtian Emperour.

After the Emperour Gordianus, the Empire fell to Philippus, who with Philippe his ſonne gouerned about the ſpace of vj. yeares. an. 246. This Philippus with his ſonne and all his familie was Chriſtened and conuerted by Fabianus, and Origene, who by letters exhorted him and Seuera his wife to be baptiſed, being the firſt of all the Emperours that brought in Chriſtianity into the emperiall ſeate. Howſoeuer Pomponius Letus reporteth of hym to be a diſſemblyng Prince, this is certaine that for his Chriſtianitie, he with his ſonne was ſlayne of Decius one of his Captaines. Sabellicus Bergomēſis. Lib. 8. ſheweth this hatred of Decius agaynſt Philippus to be conceaued, for that the Emperour Philip both the father and the ſonne had committed their treaſures vnto Fabianus then Byſhop of Rome.

¶ The ſeuenth perſecution.

Decius Emperour.

An. 250.

The ſeuenth perſecution.

The cauſe and occaſion of this perſecution.

Fabianus Byſhop of Rome.

Thus Philippus beyng ſlayne, after him Decius inuaded the crowne, about the yeare of our Lord. 250. by whom was moued a terrible perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, which Oroſius noteth to be the ſeuēth perſecutiō. The firſt occaſion of this hatred and perſecution of this tyraunt conceiued agaynſt the Chriſtiās, was chiefly, as is before touched, becauſe of the treaſures of the Emperour which were committed to Fabian the Byſhop.

The miraculous election of *Fabianus.*

This Fabian firſt beyng a maryed man, as Platina writeth, was made Biſhop of Rome after Anterius aboue mētioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, whiche Euſebius doth thus deſcribe in his ſixt booke: when the brethren (ſayth he) were together in the Congregation, about the election of their Byſhop, and had purpoſed among them ſelues vpon the nomination of ſome noble and worthy perſonage of Rome, it chaunced that Fabianus amōg other was there preſent, who of late before was newly come out of the countrey to inhabite in the Citie. This Fabian, as is ſayd, thinkyng nothyng leſſe thē of any ſuch matter ſodenly commeth a Doue fleing frō aboue, & ſitteth vpō his head. Wherupon all the congregation beyng moued, with one minde and one voyce, did choſe him for their Biſhop. In the which function he remayned the ſpace of. xiij. yeares, as Euſebius writeth. Damaſus, Marianus, and Sabellicus ſay. xiiij. yeares vnto the tyme of Decius. who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treaſures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginnyng of his raigne cauſed him to be put to death. Sendyng out moreouer hys Proclamation into all quarters that all which profeſſed the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſlayne.

Fabianus, Martyr.

The ordinaūces of *Fabianus* pretenſed.
Oyle & creame.
Accuſing of Byſhops.
Appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicall.
Marrying not within the fift degree.

False doctrine detected.

To this Fabian be aſcribed certaine ordinaunces, as of conſecratyng new oyle once euery yeare, & burnyng the old, of accuſations agaynſt Byſhops, of appealyng to the ſea Apoſtolicke, of not maryeng within the fift degree, of communicatyng thriſe a yeare, of offering euery Sōday, & ſuch other things mo in his. iij. Epiſtles decretall, the which Epiſtles, as by diuers other euidences may be ſuppoſed to be vntruly named vpō him, giuyng no ſignificatiō of any matter agreeyng to that tyme: ſo do I finde the moſt part of the iij. Epiſtle word for word ſtandyng in the Epiſtle of Sixtus the 3. which folowed almoſt. 100. yeares after him, beſide ẏ vnſeemely doctrine alſo in the end of the ſayd Epiſtles conteined, where he cōtrary to ẏ tenour of the Goſpell, applyeth remiſſion of ſinnes (onely due to the bloud of Chriſt) vnto the offeryngs of bread and wyne by men and women euery Sonday in the Church.

Origene.

To this Fabianus wrote Origene De orthodoxia ſuæ fidei, that is, of the rightnes of his fayth. Whereby is to be vnderſtode, that he continued to the tyme of Decius, ſome ſay alſo to the tyme of Gallus. Of this Origene partly mētion is touched before, declaryng how bold and feruent he was in the dayes of Seuerus, in aſſiſtyng, comfortyng, exhortyng and kiſſyng the Martyrs that were impriſoned & ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, with ſuch daunger of his own lyfe, that had not bene the ſingular protection of God, he had bene ſtoned to death many tymes of the heathen multitude. Such great concourſe of mē and women was dayly to his houſe to be catechiſed and inſtructed in the Chriſtian fayth by him, that ſouldiours were hyred of purpoſe to defēde the place where he taught them. Agayne, ſuch ſearche ſome tymes was ſet for him, that vnneth any ſhiftyng of place or countrey could couer him. In thoſe laborious trauailes, and affaires of the Church, in teachyng, wrytyng, confutyng, exhortyng, and expoundyng he continued about the ſpace of. lij. yeares, vnto the tyme of Decius, or Gallus. Diuers and great perſecutions he ſuſtayned, but ſpecially vnder Decius, as teſtifieth Euſebius in his ſixt boke: declaring, that for the doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained bandes, and tormentes in his body, rackynges with barres of yron, doūgeons, beſides terrible threates of death and burnyng. All this he ſuffered in the perſecution of Decius, as Euſebius recordeth of him, & maketh no relatiō of any further matter. But Suidas, & Nicephorus folowyng the ſame, ſayth further concernyng him, that the ſayd Origene, after diuers and ſundry other tormentes, which he manfully & conſtantly ſuffered for Chriſt, at length was brought to an altar: where a foule filthy Ethiope was appointed to be, and there this option or choyſe was offered vnto him, whether he would ſacrifice to the idole, or to haue his body polluted with that foule and ougle Ethiope. Then Origene (ſayth he) who with a Philoſophicall mynde, euer kept his chaſtitie vndefiled, moſt abhorryng that filthy villany to be done to his body, condeſcended to their requeſt. Wherupon the iudge puttyng incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to ſet it to the fire vpon the altar. For the whiche impietie, he afterward was excommunicated of the Churche. Epiphanius writeth that he beyng vrged to ſacrifice to Idoles, & takyng the bowes in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honour their Gods, called vpon the Chriſtians to cary them in the honour of Chriſt. The which fact the Churche of Alexandria miſlikyng remoued him from their communion. Wherupon Origene driuen away with ſhame and ſorow out of Alexandria, went into Iewry, where beyng in Hieruſalem among the congregation, and there requeſted of the Prieſtes and Miniſters (he beyng alſo a Prieſt) to make ſome exhortatiō in the church, refuſed a great while ſo to do. At lēgth by importunate petition beyng conſtrained thereunto, roſe vp, and turnyng the booke, as though he would haue expounded ſome place of the Scripture, onely read the verſe of the. 49. Pſalme: but God ſayd to the ſinner, why doeſt thou preach my iuſtifications, and why doeſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth. &c. Which verſe beyng read, he ſhut the booke, and ſat downe weepyng and waylyng, the whole congregation alſo weepyng and lamentyng with him. Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origene, it is not found in hiſtory, but onely that Suidas addeth, he dyed and was buried at Tyrus. Euſebius affirmeth, that he departed vnder the Emperour Gallus, about the yeare of our Lord. 255. and the. 70. yeare of his age, in great miſery (as appeareth) and pouertie.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 39.

The perſecutions of *Origene.*

Ex Suida & Nicepho. Lib. 5. cap. 32.

The fall of *Origene.*

Origene excommunicated.

The repentaunce of *Origene.*

Blemiſhes noted in *Origene.*

Origene commended for his learning.

Ex Socrat. Lib. 6. cap. 13.

In this Origene diuers blemiſhes of doctrine be noted, whereupō Hierome ſome tymes doth inueigh agaynſt him. Albeit in ſome places agayne he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learnyng, as in his Apologie agaynſt Ruff. and in his Epiſtle to Pammachius and Ocean. where he prayſeth Origene, although not for the perfection of hys fayth and doctrine, nor for an Apoſtle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wyt, and for a Philoſopher. And yet in his Prologe vpon the Homilies of Origene vpon Ezechiel, he calleth him an other maiſter of the Churches, after the Apoſtles. And in an other Preface vpon his queſtions vpon Geneſis, he wiſheth to him ſelfe the knowledge of the ſcriptures, whiche Origene had, alſo with the enuy of his name. Athanaſius moreouer calleth hym ſingular, and laborious, and vſeth alſo his teſtimonies agaynſt the Arrians. Socrates. Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Heraclas Byſhop of *Alexandria.*

After Origene, the congrue order of hiſtory requireth next to ſpeake of Heraclas his Vſher, a man ſingularly commēded for his knowledge, not onely in Philoſophy, but alſo in all ſuch faculties as to a Chriſtiā diuine doth appertaine. This great towardnes of wyt and learning when Origene perceaued in him, he appointed him aboue all other, to be hys

Vſher or vnderteacher, to helpe him in his ſchoole or Vniuerſitie of Alexandria, in the raigne of Antoninus Caracalla, ſonne of Seuerus. And after in the .x. yeare of Alexander, Origene departyng vnto Ceſarea, he ſucceeded in hys rowme to gouerne the ſchoole in Alexandria. Further alſo, in the tyme of Gordianus, after the deceaſe of Demetrius, Byſhop of Alexandria, this Heraclas ſucceeded to be Byſhop of the ſayd Citie. Euſebius. Lib.6.cap.29. In the which functiō he miniſtred the terme of .xvj. yeares. Euſebius. Lib.6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth alſo Origene him ſelfe, that he although being Prieſt, yet ceaſed not to read ouer and peruſe the bookes of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their owne bookes confute their errour. &c.

Euſeb. Lib.6. cap.29.

After Heraclas ſucceeded Dionyſius Alexandrinus, in the Byſhopricke of Alexandria, like as he ſucceeded him in the ſchole before. Which Dionyſius alſo writeth of the ſame Heraclas vnto Philemon a Prieſt of Rome, thus ſaying: Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa noſtro accepi. &c. that is: This Canon and type I receaued of bleſſed Heraclas our Pope. &c. Although this Heraclas was no Martyr whiche dyed .3. yeares before Decius, about the yeare of our Lord. 250. After whom ſucceded next in the ſame ſeate of Alexandria, Dionyſius Alexandrinus, who alſo ſuffered much vnder the tyrāny of Decius, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willing) when we come to the tyme of Valerian.

Heraclas **called Pope, yet no Byſhop of Rome.**

Nicephorus in his fift booke, and other whiche write of this perſecution vnder Decius, declare the horribleneſſe thereof to be ſo great, & ſo innumerable Martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame, that he ſayth it is as eaſie to number the ſandes of the ſea, as to recite the particular names of them, whom this perſecution did deuour. In the whiche perſecution the chiefeſt doers and tormentours vnder the Emperour appeare in the hiſtory of Vincentius to be theſe: Optimus the vnder Conſul, Secūdianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus. &c. Although therfore it be hard here to inferre all and ſingular perſons in order that dyed in this perſecution: yet ſuch as remaine moſt notable in ſtories, I will briefly touch, by the grace of him for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

Ex Nicepho. Lib.5.cap.29.

Perſecutours.

In the former tractation of the fift perſecution, pag. 55. mention was made before of Alexander Byſhop of Hieruſalem, and of his troubles ſuffered vnder Seuerus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed Biſhop of Hieruſalem, where he continued a very aged man, about the terme of .xl. yeares gouernour of that Churche, till the tyme of the firſt yeare of Decius. At what tyme he beyng brought from Hieruſalem to Ceſarea into the iudgement place, after a conſtaunt and euident confeſſion of his fayth made before the iudge, was committed vnto priſon, & there finiſhed his lyfe, as teſtifieth Dionyſius Alexandrinus in the ſixt booke of Euſebius. After whom ſucceeded in that ſeate Mazabanes the .xxxvj. Byſhop of that Citie, after Iames the Apoſtle.

Alexander **Byſhop of Hieruſalem Martyr.**

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.41.

Mention was made alſo before of Aſclepiades Biſhop of Antioche, who ſucceeded after Serapion, and in the perſecution of Seuerus did likewiſe perſeuer a conſtant confeſſor, and as Vincentius teſtifieth in his .xi. booke ſuffered Martyrdome at laſt vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wiſe agree with the truth of tyme, for aſmuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and other, the ſayd Aſclepiades after Serapion, entred the Byſhops ſeate of Antioche. an.214. and ſat .vij. yeares before the time of Gordianus. After whom ſucceeded Philetus. an.221. gouerning the function .xij. yeares. And after him Zebinus followed. an.232. and ſo after him Babylas, whiche Babylas if he dyed in this perſecution of Decius, then could not Aſclepiades alſo ſuffer in the ſame tyme, who dyed ſo long before him, as is declared.

Aſclepiades **Byſhop of Antioche Martyr.**

Ex ſpecu. Vincent. Lib.11. cap.52.

A place of *Vincentius* **reproued.**

Of this Babylas Byſhop of Antioche, Euſebius and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he dyed in priſon, as did Alexander Byſhop of Hieruſalem aboue rehearſed.

Babylas **Byſhop of Antioche Martyr.**
Ex Chriſoſt. Lib. contra Gētiles.

The ſtory of *Babylas.*

We read in a certaine treatiſe of Chriſoſtome, intituled Contra Gentiles, a notable and a long hiſtory of one Babylas a Martyr, who about theſe tymes was put to death for reſiſtyng a certaine Emperour, not ſufferyng him to enter into the temple of the Chriſtians, after a cruell murder committed, the ſtory of whiche murder is this: There was a certaine Emperour, who vpon concluſion of peace made with a certaine nation, had receiued for oſteage or ſuretie of peace, the ſonne of the kyng beyng of young and tender age, with conditiōs vpō the ſame, that neither he ſhould be moleſt of thē, nor that they ſhould euer be vexed of hym. Vpon this the kyngs ſonne was deliuered not without great care & feare of the father, vnto the Emperour, whom the cruell Emperour, contrary to promiſe, cauſed in ſhort tyme, without all iuſt cauſe to be ſlayne. This fact ſo horrible beyng committed, the tyraunt with all haſt would enter into the temple of the Chriſtians: where Babylas beyng Byſhop or Miniſter withſtode him that he ſhould not into that place approche. The Emperour therewith not a litle incenſed, in great rage commaunded hym forthwith to be layd in priſon with as many yrons as he could beare, & from thence ſhortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going conſtantly and boldly to his Martyrdome, deſired after his death to be buried with his yrons and bandes, and ſo he was. The ſtory proceedeth moreouer and ſayth, that in continuaunce of tyme in the raigne of Conſtantinus, Gallus then made the ouerſear of the Eaſt partes, cauſed his body to be tranſlated into the ſuburbes of Antioche called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with deuiliſhe oracles and aunſweres, geuen by that Idole, or by the deuill rather in that place. In the which temple after the bringyng of the body of Babylas, the Idole ceaſed to geue any more oracles, ſaying that for the body of Babylas he could geue no moe aunſweres, but complayning that that place was wont to be conſecrated vnto him, but now it was full of dead mēs bodyes. And thus the oracles there ceaſed for that tyme, till the commyng of Iulianus: who inquiryng out the cauſe why the oracles ceaſed, cauſed the bones of the holy Martyr to be remoued agayne from thence, by the Chriſtians, whom he then called Galileans. They commyng in a great multitude both men, maydens, and children, to the tombe of Babylas, tranſported his bones accordyng to the commaundement of the Emperour, ſingyng by the way as they went the verſe of the Pſalme, in wordes as foloweth: Confounded be all that worſhyp Images, and all that glory in Idoles. &c. which commyng to the Emperours eares, ſet him in great rage againſt the Chriſtiās, ſtyrring vp perſecution agaynſt them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cauſe ſomethyng otherwiſe, ſaying that ſo ſoone as the body of him and other Martyrs were remoued away, incontinent the temple of the Idole with the Image, in the night was conſumed with fire. For the which cauſe (ſayth Zonaras) Iulian ſtyrred vp with anger, perſecuted the Chriſtians, as ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willyng) in hys order and place hereafter.

The body of *Babylas* **ſtoppeth the oracles of Idols.**

Ex Zonara Tom. 3.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the ſame Babylas Byſhop then of Antioche, or an other of the ſame name, it appeareth not by Chriſoſtome: which neither maketh mention of the Emperours name, nor of the place where this Babylas was Byſhop. Agayne the ſtopping out of the Emperour out of the Church importeth as much as that Emperour to haue bene a Chriſtian. For otherwiſe if he had come in as an Heathen and as a perſecutour, it was not then the maner of Chriſtian biſhops violently to withſtand the Emperours, or to ſtop them out. Ouer & beſide the teſtimony of Euſebius, Zonaras doth witneſſe contrary in his vi. booke, that this Babylas which was then Byſhop of Antioche after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentours, but dyed in priſon. Wherfore it is not vnpoſſible, but this Babylas, and this Emperour whiche Chriſoſtome ſpeaketh of, may be an other Babylas, then that which ſuffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his fift booke maketh mētiō of an other Babylas beſide this, that ſuffered vnder Decius, which was Byſhop of Nicomedia.

Euſeb. Lib.6. cap.39

Nicepho. Lib. 5. cap. 52.
Babylas **Byſhop of Nicomedia Martyr.**

In the forenamed Citie of Antioch, Vincentius Lib.11. ſpeaketh of .40. virgins Martyrs, whiche ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius.

Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 52.
XL. Virgins Martyrs.

In the countrey of Phrigia, and in the towne of Lampſar, the ſame Vincentius alſo ſpeaketh of one Peter, which there was apprehended, and ſuffered bitter tormentes for Chriſtes name, vnder Optimus the Procōſul. And in Troada lykewiſe of other Martyrs that there ſuffered, whoſe names were Andrew, Paule, Nicomachus, and Dioniſia a virgin. Lib. 11. cap. 46.

Peter, **of Phrigia Martyr.**
Andræas,
Paulus,
Nicomachus,
Dionyſia Virgine,
Martyrs.

Alſo in Babylonia (ſayth he) diuers Chriſtian Confeſſours were founde of Decius, whiche were led away into Spayne, there to be executed. Lib. eodem. cap. 43.

Martyrs of Babylon.

In the countrey of Cappadocea at the Citie of Ceſarea in like maner of the ſayd author is teſtified of Germanus, Theophilus, Ceſarius, and Vitalis to ſuffer martyrdome for Chriſt, eodem. cap. 52. And in the ſame booke mention alſo is made of Polychronius Byſhop of Babylon. cap. 80. And in Pamphilia of Neſtor there Byſhop, that dyed martyr. cap. 52.

Germanus,
Theophilus,
Caſarius,
Vitalis,
Polychronius,
Neſtor.

At Perſide in the towne of Cardala, Olympiades and Maximus. In Tyrus alſo Anatolia Virgine, and Audax gaue their lyues likewiſe to death, for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes name.

Olympiades,
Maximus, **noble men.**
Anatolia virgine,
Audax, **Martyrs**

Ex Euſeb. Lib.6. cap.40.41.42.

Euſebius moreouer in his ſixt booke, reciteth out of the Epiſtles of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, diuers that ſuffered diuerſly at Alexandria, the which places of Dionyſius, as they be cited in Euſebius, I thought here good, for the auncientnes of the author, to inſerte and notiſie in his own wordes, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius Byſhop of Antioche, as foloweth.

The Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Byſhop of Alexandria to *Fabius*.

A commotion of the people of Alexandria agaynſt the Chriſtians.

This perſecution (ſayth he) began not with the Proclamation ſet forth by the Emperour, but began an whole yeare before: by the occaſiō and meanes of a wicked perſon, a Southſayer, and a folower of wicked Artes: who commyng to our Citie here ſtyrred vp the multitude of the heathen agaynſt vs, and incited them to maintaine their owne old ſuperſtition and gentilitie of their countrey, whereby they beyng ſet a gog, and obtaynyng full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſe, ſo thought & no leſſe declared, all their pietie and Religiō to conſiſte onely in the Idolatrous worſhyp of Deuils, and in our deſtruction. And firſt flying vpō a certaine Prieſt of ours, named Metra, apprehended him & brought him forth, to make him ſpeake after their wicked blaſphemy. Whiche when he would not do, they layd vpon him with ſtaues and clubbes, and with ſharpe reedes pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringyng him out into the ſuburbes, there they ſtoned him to death. Then they tooke a faythfull woman called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their Idols, to compell her to worſhip with them. Which when ſhe refuſed to do, and abhorred their Idoles, they bound her feete, and drew her through the whole ſtreete of the Citie, vpō the hard ſtones, and ſo daſhyng her agaynſt milſtones, & ſcourgyng her with whippes brought her to the ſame place of the ſuburbes, as they did the other before, where ſhe likewiſe ended her lyfe. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude rūnyng together, they bruſt into houſes of the religious & godly Chriſtians, ſpoylyng, ſackyng, and caryyng away all that they could finde of any price. The reſt of thynges, ſuch as were of leſſe value & of wood, they brought into the open market, & ſet them on fire. In the meane tyme the brethren voyded a ſide, & withdrew them ſelues, takyng patiently, and no leſſe ioyfully the ſpoylyng of their goodes, then did they of whom S. Paule doth teſtifie. Neither do I know any of them all (one onely excepted) apprehended of them, whiche reuoltyng from hys profeſſion, denyed the Lord, yet to this preſent day.

Metra, Martyr.

Quinta a faythfull woman and Martyr.

Patience and ioy in affliction.

The conſtancie of the Martyrs of Alexandria.

Among the reſt that were taken, there was a certaine virgine well ſtricken in yeares, named Apollonia, whom they brought forth, and daſhyng out all her teeth out of her iawes, made a great fire before the Citie, threatnyng to caſt her into the ſame, vnleſſe ſhe would blaſpheme with them & deny Chriſt. Whereat ſhe ſtaying a litle with her ſelfe, as one that would take a pauſe, ſodenly leaped into the middeſt of the fire, and there was burned.

Apollonia a bleſſed virgin and Martyr.

There was one alſo Serapion, whom they tooke in his owne houſe, and after they had aſſayled him with ſundry kyndes of tormentes, and had broken almoſt all the ioyntes of his body, they caſt him downe from an vpper loft, and ſo dyd he complete his Martyrdome. Thus was no way, neither priuie nor publicke, nor corner nor alley left for vs, neither by day nor by night to eſcape, all the people makyng an outcry agaynſt vs, that vnleſſe we vttered wordes of blaſphemy, we ſhould be drawen to the fire & burned. And this outragious tumult endured a certaine ſpace, but at length, as the Lord would, the miſerable wretches fell at diſſentiō amōg them ſelues, which turned the crueltie they exerciſed agaynſt vs, vpon their owne heades. And ſo had we a litle breathyng tyme for a ſeaſon, while the fury of the Heathen people by this occaſion aſſwaged.

Serapion Martyr.

The iuſt puniſhment of God turnyng the crueltie of aduerſaries vpon themſelues.

Shortly then after this, word was brought vnto vs of the ſtate of the Empire, which before was ſomething fauorable to vs, to be altered and chaunged agaynſt vs, puttyng vs in great feare. And conſequently vpon the ſame folowed the Edict of the Emperour ſo terrible and cruell, that accordyng to the forewarnyng of the Lord, the elect if it had bene poſſible, might haue bene therby ſubuerted. Vpon that edict ſuch feare came ouer vs all, that many there were, eſpecially of the richer ſorte, of whō ſome for feare came runnyng, ſome were led by the occaſion of tyme, ſome were drawen by their neighbours beyng cited by name, to thoſe vnpure and idolatrous ſacrifices. Other ſome came tremblyng and ſhakyng, as men not which ſhould do ſacrifice, but whiche ſhould be ſacrificed them ſelues, the multitude laughyng them to ſcorne. Some agayne came boldly to the aultars, declaryng them ſelues neuer to haue bene of that profeſſion, of whom it is ſayd that hardly they ſhalbe ſaued. Of the reſidue ſome folowed one part, ſome an other, ſome ranne away, ſome were taken. Of whom certaine continued to bandes & tormentes conſtant. Other agayne after long impriſonmēt, before they ſhould come before the Iudge, renounced their fayth. Some alſo after they ſuffered tormētes, yet after reuolted. But other beyng as ſtrōg as bleſſed, & valiaunt pillers of the Lord, fortified with conſtancie agreyng to their fayth, were made faythfull martyrs of yͤ kingdome of God.

Of whom the firſt was Iulianus, a man diſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, being caryed of two men, of whō the one quickly denyed, the other Cronion ſurnamed Eunus, with the foreſayd Iulianus the old man, confeſſing the Lord with a perfect fayth, were layde vpon Camels, and there ſcourged, at length caſt into the fire, with great conſtancie were ſo conſumed.

Iulianus martyr.

As theſe aforeſayd were going to their Martyrdome, there was a certaine ſouldiour, who in their defence tooke part agaynſt them that rayled vpon them. For the whiche cauſe the people crying out agaynſt hym, he alſo was apprehended, and beyng conſtant in his profeſſion, was forthwith beheaded.

A certaine ſouldiour Martyr.

Likewiſe one Macar, a man borne in Lybia, beyng admoniſhed and exhorted of the Iudge to deny his fayth, and not agreeyng to his perſuaſions, was burned alyue.

Macar a bleſſed Martyr.

After theſe ſuffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who beyng lōg deteined in priſon & in bandes, after innumerable paynes and tormentes with raſers and ſcourges, were alſo caſt into the burnyng fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdome.

Epimachus, *Alexander*, with foure wemē Martyrs.

Alſo Ammonarion an holy virgine, whom the cruell iudge had long and bitterly tormented, for that ſhe promiſing the Iudge before, that for no puniſhment ſhe would yeld to his requeſt, and cōſtantly performyng the ſame, ſuffered likewiſe Martyrdome, with two other women, of whom there was an aged Matrone, named Mercuria, the other was called Dionyſia, beyng a mother of many fayre children, whom yet notwithſtādyng ſhe loued not aboue the Lord. Theſe after they could be ouercome by no tormentes of the cruell iudge, but he rather aſhamed and confounded to be ouercome of ſely women, at length they beyng paſt feelyng of all tormentes, were ſlayne with the ſword, firſt Ammonarion like a valiant Captaine ſufferyng before them.

Ammonarion virgin Martyr.

Mercuria, *Dionyſia*, Martyrs.

Heron, Ater, and Iſidorus Egyptians, and with them Dioſcorus alſo a child of .xv. yeares, were crowned with the ſame crowne of Martyrdome. And firſt the Iudge began with the child, thinkyng him more eaſie to be wonne, with wordes to entiſe hym, then with tormentes to conſtraine him, but he perſiſted immouable, geuyng neither place to perſuaſions nor puniſhmentes. The reſt after he had greuouſly tormēted, beyng conſtant in their profeſſion, he committed to the fire. At Dioſcorus the Iudge greatly maruelyng for his wiſe aunſweres, and graue conſtauncie diſmiſſed him, ſparyng (as he ſayd) his age to a longer reſpite: whiche Dioſcorus is yet alſo with vs at this preſent, waytyng for a longer triall.

Heron, *Ater*, *Iſidorus*, *Dioſcorus*, Martyrs.

Nemeſion beyng alſo an Egyptian, firſt was accuſed for a companion of theeues, but beyng purged therof before the Centurion, was then accuſed of Chriſtianitie, and for that cauſe beyng in bandes, was brought to the Preſident, who moſt vnrighteouſly tormentyng and ſcourgyng hym double to all other theeues and felons, at length among the theeues burned him to death, makyng him a bleſſed martyr.

Nemeſion, Martyr.

Theeues in the old tyme amōgeſt the Romanes burned.

There were ſtandyng before the tribunall ſeate certaine of the warriours or Knightes, whoſe names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certaine aged man called Theophilus, who ſtādyng by, at what time a certaine Chriſten man was before the iudge examined, & there ſeyng him for feare ready to incline and fall away, dyd burſt almoſt for ſorrow within them ſelues, making ſignes to him with their handes and all ieſtures of their body, to be conſtant. This beyng noted of all the ſtanders by, they were ready to lay hold vpon them, but they preuentyng the matter, preaſed vp of their owne accorde before to the bench of the Iudge, profeſſing them ſelues to be Chriſtians. Inſomuch that both the Preſident with the benchers were all aſtonyed, the Chriſtians which were iudged, more emboldened to ſuffer, and the Iudges therby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and reioyſing for the teſtimony that they had geuen of their fayth. Many other beſides were in other cities and townes rent and torne a ſunder by the Heathen, among whom one I will ſpeake of for example.

Ammon, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus*, Martyr Confeſſours.

A notable example of Chriſtian courage in confeſſyng Chriſt.

Iſchirion one that was in ſeruice with a certaine noble man, was cōmaunded of his maiſter to make ſacrifice, who for not obeying was therfore rebuked: After perſiſtyng in the ſame, was greuouſly threatned with ſharpe and menacyng wordes. At laſt his maiſter, when he could not preuayle agaynſt him, takyng a ſtake or pyke in his handes, ranne him through into the body, and ſlewe him.

Iſchyrion, Martyr.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the multitude of them, which wanderyng in deſertes, and mountaines, were conſumed with hunger, thyrſt, cold, ſicknes, theeues, or wilde beaſtes, of whoſe bleſſed victorie they whiche be a liue, are yet witneſſes.

7

Cheremon, Martyr. Cheremon, a Byſhop had a wiſe.

neſſes. In the number of whom one I will ſpeake of, among diuers other, named Cheremon Byſhop of the Citie called Nilus, an aged man, he with his wife flying to the mountaine of Arabia, neuer returned agayne, nor euer could be ſeene after. And though they were ſought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodyes were founde. Many other there were which flying to theſe mountaines of Arabia, were taken of the Barbarous Arabians: of whom ſome with much money could ſcarſe be raunſomed, ſome were neuer heard of yet to this preſẽt day. Thus much out of the Epiſtle of Dionyſius alledged in Euſeb. Lib, 6.cap.41.42.&c.

Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap.40.41.42.

The Epiſtle of Dionyſius Alexand. to Germanus. This Germanus was a byſhop in that tyme, which charged Dionyſius for his fleyng perſecution, againſt whom he purgeth himſelfe.

Moreouer the foreſayd Dionyſius in an other place wrytyng to Germanus of his owne daungers and of other, ſuſtained in this perſecution, & before this perſecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: I, ſayth he, behold before the ſight of God, I lye not: and he knoweth, I lye not: how that I hauyng no regard of myne owne life, and not without the motion of God, dyd flye and auoyde the daunger of this perſecution. Yea and alſo before that this perſecution of Decius did rage agaynſt vs: Sabinus the ſame houre ſent a farmer to ſeeke me, at what tyme I remaynyng at home, wayted three dayes for his cõmyng. But he ſearchyng narrowly for me by all wayes, fieldes, floudes, & corners, where he thought I might beſt haue hid my ſelfe, or to haue paſſed by, was ſtroken with ſuch a blindnes, that he could not finde myne houſe, thinkyng with him ſelfe nothyng leſſe, then that I would abide at home in ſuch ſo daũgerous perſecutiõ. Thus theſe three dayes beyng paſt, vpõ the fourth day, the Lord God ſo willyng and cõmaundyng me to flye, and alſo marueilouſly openyng to me the way, I with my * children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my ſelfe, but to be the worke of Gods prouidẽce, the ſequel of thoſe things declared, wherin afterward I was not vnprofitable peraduenture to ſome. &c.

God willed Dionyſius to flee in perſecution.

* Ergo Byſhops then had wiues & children.

Agayne in an other place ſhortly after the foreſaid Dionyſius proceedyng in the narration of him ſelfe, thus inferreth: Then I commyng to Hieruſalem with them which were with me, was brought by ſouldiours vnto Taposixis: where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God) neither was preſent, nor yet taken. Who then returnyng home fond his houſe deſert, and officers watchyng about the ſame, and vs within taken. &c. And agayne ſhortly after it followeth: And to ſee, ſayth he, the admirable diſpoſing of God hys workes. As Timotheus was thus flying with much haſt & great feare, a certaine man, as happened, a dweller nere by mette him by the way, & aſked, whether he went ſo haſtely: to whom Timotheus aunſweryng, declared all the matter ſimply as it was. Whiche done, the man proceedeth on hys iourney, whether he was purpoſed to go, whiche was to a mariage, the maner of which mariages then was to ſit vp all the night long feaſtyng and drinkyng. Thus as he was come, ſittyng with them at the feaſt, he telleth his companions what was done, & what he heard by the way. This was no ſooner told, but all they forthwith vpon a head, as ſtroken with a ſodaine fury ruſhyng out together, made toward vs as faſt as they could, with ſuch cryyng & noyſe, as might ſeeme very terrible. At the firſt hearyng wherof, the ſouldiours yͭ had vs in keeping, beyng afrayde, ranne away, by reaſon wherof we were left alone, & found as we were lying vpõ fourmes & benches. I thẽ, (the Lord knoweth,) thinkyng with my ſelfe that they had bene theeues, which came to ſpoyle and robbe, beyng in my couche, lay ſtill in my ſhyrt onely as I was, the reſt of my garmentes lyeng by me, I offered to them. They then willed me in all haſt to riſe & get away. Wherby I then perceauing yͤ cauſe of their commyng, cryed vnto them deſiring that they would ſuffer vs ſo to do: And if they would do any benefite for me forſomuch as I could not eſcape the handes of them whiche would purſue me and cary me away, I prayed them that they would preuẽt them, and cut of my head before. And as I was cryyng thus vnto them, caſtyng my ſelfe groueling vpõ the pauement, as my cõpanions can teſtifie, who were partakers of all theſe thinges, they bruſt forth violently, takyng me by the handes and feete and caryed me out of the doores, and led me away. There folowed me Gaius, Fauſtus, Petrus, Paulus, (who were witneſſes of all the ſame) which brought me alſo out of the Citie, and ſo ſettyng me vpon a bare Aſſe, conueyed me away. Thus much writeth Dionyſius of him ſelfe, the example of whoſe Epiſtle is cited in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius. Lib.6.cap.40. alſo Lib. 7.cap.11.

The prouidence of God in preſeruing his.

The ſtory of the deliuerance of Dionyſius and his felowes.

Dionyſius, Gaius, Fauſtus, Petrus, Paulus deliuered from the Centurion and the ſouldiours. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap. 40. Lib. 7.cap.11. Ex Niceph. Lib.5.cap.27.

Chriſtophorus Martyr. The fable of great S. Chriſtopher.

Nicephorus in his fift booke, cap.27. maketh mention of one named Chriſtophorus, which alſo ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius. Of which Chriſtophorus whether the fable riſeth of that mightie Giante ſet vp in Churches, wadyng through the Seas, with Chriſt on his ſhoulder, and a tree in his hand, for a walkyng ſtaffe. &c. it is vncertaine. Georg. Wicelius alledgeth out of Ruggerus Fuldenſ. & mentioneth of one Chriſtophorus, borne of the nation of the Cananites, which ſuffered vnder Decius, beyng, as he ſayth, of. xij. cubites hye. But the reſt of the hiſtorie paynted in churches, the ſayd Wicelius derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other Poeticall fictions.

Meniatus, Agatha, Martyrs. Ex Bergomenſ. Lib.8. Ex Martyrologio Adonis.

Bergomenſis in his viij. booke maketh relation of diuers Martyred vnder Decius, as Meniatus whiche ſuffered at Florence, of Agatha an holy virgine of Sicile, who is ſayd to ſuffer diuers and bitter tormentes vnder Quintinianus the Proconſul, with priſonment, with beatynges, with famine, with rackyng, roled alſo vpon ſharpe ſhelles and hot coles, hauyng moreouer her breſtes cut from her body, as Bergomenſis, and the Martyrologe of Ado recorde. In the whiche authours as I deny not, but part of the ſtory may be true, ſo agayne concernyng the miracles of the aged man appearyng to her, and of the young man clothed in a ſilken veſture, with an hundreth young men after him, and of the marble table with the inſcription, Mentem ſanctam, &c. I doubt.

Martyrs wandryng in mountaines.

Hard it is to recite all that ſuffered in this perſecution, when as whole multitudes went into wildernes and mountaines, wandryng without ſuccour or comfort, ſome ſtarued with hunger and cold, ſome with ſicknes conſumed, ſome deuoured of beaſtes, ſome with barbarous theeues taken and caryed away. Vincentius in his xi. booke ſpeakyng of Aſclepiades, writeth alſo of.xl. Virgines, and Martyrs, which by ſondry kyndes of tormentes were put to death about the ſame tyme, in the perſecution of this tyraunt.

Fourty virgines Martyrs.

Tryphon, Martyr.

Likewiſe in the ſayd Vincentius mẽtion is made of Tryphon, a man of great holynes and conſtant in his ſufferyng, who beyng brought to the Citie of Nice, before the Preſident Aquilius, for his conſtant confeſſion of Chriſtes name was afflicted with diuers and greuous tormentes, and at length with the ſword put to death.

Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Dionyſius, Ioannes, Serapion, Conſtantinus. 7. Martyrs.

At what tyme Decius had erected a temple in the midſt of the Citie of Epheſus, compellyng all that were in the Citie there to ſacrifice to the Idoles, ſeuen Chriſtians were found, whoſe names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionyſius, Ioannes, Serapion, and Conſtãtinus, who refuſing the Idolatrous worſhyp, were accuſed for the ſame vnto the Emperour, to be Chriſtians, whiche when they conſtantly profeſſed, and did not deny, notwithſtandyng becauſe they were ſouldiours, retaynyng to the Emperours ſeruice, reſpite was geuen them, for a certaine ſpace to deliberate with them ſelues, till the returne agayne of the Emperour, whiche then was goyng to warre. In the meane ſpace, the Emperour being departed, they takyng counſaile together, went and hid them ſelues in ſecret caues of the Mount Cælius. The Emperour returnyng agayne, after great inquiſition made for them, hearing where they were, cauſed the mouth of the place where they were, to be cloſed vp with heapes of ſtones, that they not able to get out, ſhould be famiſhed within. And thus were thoſe good men Martyred. The ſtory (if it be true) goeth further, that they betwene feare and ſorrow fell a ſleepe, in which ſleepe they continued the ſpace of certaine ages after, till the tyme of Theodoſius the Emperour, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus. Lib.5.cap.27. and partly alſo Henr. Erfordienſ. But of their awakyng, that I referre to them that liſt beleue it. Certaine it is that at the laſt day they ſhall awake in deede without any fable.

The fable of the awaking of theſe ſeuen Martyrs. Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Erfordienſ.

A ſouldiour martyr. Ex Hierony. in vita Pauli Eremita.

Hieronymus in the lyfe of Paulus the Eremite, reciteth a ſtory of a certaine ſouldiour, whom the Pretor could not otherwiſe with tormentes remoue frõ his Chriſtianitie, he deuiſed an other way, whiche was this: he cõmaunded the ſouldiour to be layd vpon a ſoft bed in a pleaſaunt garden among the floriſhyng Lillies and redde Roſes, which done, all other beyng remoued away, & him ſelfe there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him, who embracyng him, & with all other inticementes of an harlot, laboured to prouoke him to her naughtynes. But the godly ſouldiour fearyng God more, then obeyng fleſhe, byt of his toung with his owne teeth, and ſpit it in the face of the harlot, as ſhe was kiſſing him, and ſo got he the victorie, by the conſtant grace of the Lord aſſiſtyng hym.

A notable exãple of a chaſt ſouldiour byting of his toung, and ſpittyng it in the face of an harlot.

An other like example of ſingular chaſtitie is written of the virgine Theodora, and an other ſouldiour, by Ambroſe, Lib.2. De virginibus. At Antioche, this Theodora refuſing to do ſacrifice to the Idoles, was condemned by the Iudge to the ſtues, whiche notwithſtandyng by the ſingular prouidence of God was well deliuered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the doore to preaſe into the houſe where ſhe was, one of the

A like example of chaſtitie betwene two Chriſtians. Ex Ambr. Lib.2. de virgin.

brethrē, named Didimus (as Ado ſayth) moued with fayth and motion of God, puttyng on a ſouldiours habite, made him ſelfe one of the firſt that came in, who roundyng her in the eare, told her the cauſe and purpoſe of his commyng, beyng a Chriſtiā as ſhe was: his counſell was that ſhe ſhould put on the ſouldiours habite, and ſo ſlyp away. And he puttyng on her garmentes would there remaine to abyde their force. And ſo did, whereby the virgine eſcaped vnknowen. Didimus left vnto the rage and wondryng of the people beyng a man in ſteede of a woman, was preſented to the Preſident, vnto whom without delay he vttered all the whole matter as it was done, profeſſyng him ſo as he was, to be a Chriſtian, and therupon was condemned to ſuffer. Theodora vnderſtandyng therof, and thinkyng to excuſe him, by accuſing her ſelfe, offered her ſelfe as the partie giltie, vnto the iudge, claymyng and requiryng the condemnatiō to light vpon her, the other as innocent to be diſcharged. But the cruell Iudge (crueller then Dionyſius, which ſpared Damō and Pithias) neither conſideryng the vertue of the perſons, nor the innocēcy of the cauſe, vniuſtly and inhumanely proceeded in execution agaynſt thē both, who firſt hauing their heades cut of, after were caſt in the fire Ambroſ. Ado. Although what tyme, or in what perſecution theſe did ſuffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appeare.

Theodora, Didimus, **Martyrs.**

Agathon, **Martyr.**

Agathon a man of armes in the Citie of Alexandria, for rebukyng certaine lewde perſons, ſcornefully deridyng the dead bodyes of the Chriſtians, was cryed out of and rayled on of the people. Afterward accuſed to the Iudge, was cōdemned to loſe his head. Erfordienſis.

Paulus, Andræas, **Martyrs.**

The ſayd Erfordienſis alſo maketh mention of Paulus, and Andræas, whom the Proconſul of Troada gaue to the people beyng ſcourged, and after drawne out of the Citie, they were troden to death with the feete of the people. Henr. de Erford.

Iuſtinus, Nicoſtratus, Portius, **Martyrs.**

Among other that ſuffered vnder this wicked Decius, Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of one Iuſtinus a Prieſt of Rome, and of an other Nicoſtratus a Deacon. To theſe Vincentius alſo addeth Portius a Prieſt of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the conuerter of Philippe the Emperour afore mentioned.

Abdon, Sennas, **Martyrs.**

Of Abdon and Sennas we read alſo in the foreſayd Bergomenſis and Vincentius, two noble men, who becauſe they had buried the Chriſtiās, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therfore accuſed to Decius, & brought to Rome, where they beyng commaunded to ſacrifice to dead Idoles, would not obey, and for the ſame were geuen to the wilde beaſtes to be deuoured: but when the wilde beaſtes more gentle then the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the ſword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it ſeemeth not vnpoſſible nor vnlike, this Abdon and Sennas to be the ſame, whom in other ſtories we finde, and before haue mentioned to be Ammon, and Zenon, pag. 62.

Secundianus, Verianus, Marcellianus, **Martyrs.**

One Secundianus was accuſed to Valerian a Captaine of Decius, to be a Chriſtian, which profeſſion whē he ſtoutly did maintaine, was commaunded to priſon. By the way as the ſouldiours were leadyng him to the gaile, Verianus and Marcellianus ſeyng the matter, cryed to the ſouldiours, aſking them whether they drew the innocent. At the which word, when they alſo confeſſed them ſelues to be Chriſtiās, they were likewiſe apprehēded, and brought to a Citie named Centumcellas: where beyng willed to ſacrifice, they did ſpyt vpon the Idols, and ſo after ſentence and iudgement geuen, firſt they were beatē with waſters or trunſhons, after that were hanged and tormented vpon the gibbet, hauyng fire ſet to their ſides. Vincentius addeth moreouer that the tormētors ſome of them fallen ſodainly dead, other ſome beyng taken wᵗ wicked ſpirites, the Martyrs with ſword at length were beheaded. Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 51.

Ex Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 51.

To proſecute in length of hiſtory, the liues and ſufferynges of all them, which in this terrible perſecution, were Martyred, it were to long, and almoſt infinite: briefly therfore to rehearſe the names of ſuch as we finde alledged out of a certaine brief treatiſe of Bede intituled De Temporibus, cited by Henricus De Erford, it ſhall be at this tyme ſufficient. Under Decius ſuffered Hyppolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria a virgine, beyng noble perſonages of Antioche. Bellias Byſhoppe of the Citie of Apollonia. Leacus, Tyrſus, and Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Tryphon in the Citie of Egypt called Tanais. Phileas Biſhop, Philocomus with many other in Perſide. Philocronius byſhop of Babylon, Theſiphon Byſhop of Pamphilia. Neſtor Byſhop. In Corduba Parmenius Prieſt with diuers moe. In the Prouince called Colonia Circenſis, Marianus & Iacobus. In Africa, Nemeſianus, Felix, Rogatianus prieſt. Feliciſſimus. At Rome Iouinus, Baſileus, alſo Ruffina, and Secunda Virgines, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemeſius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spayne Teragone, at Verona Zeno Byſhop. At Cæſarea, Marinus, and Archemius. In the towne of Miliane Priuatus Byſhop, Theodorus ſurnamed Gregorius Byſhop of Pontus. Hæc Beda.

Ex libro Bedæ, de Temporibus, citante Hērico de Erfordia. **A brief Cataloge of diuers whiche ſuffered vnder** *Decius ex Beda.*

Children Martyrs. *Ex Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 52.*

Vincentius in his xj. booke, maketh alſo mention, cityng Ex Hugone, of certaine childrē ſufferyng Martyrdome vnder the ſame perſecution, in a Citie of Tuſcia called Aretiū: whoſe names I finde not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus. Lib. 5. cap. 80.

Such as reuolted & fell in this perſecution.

Now that I haue recorded of them ſufficiently, which vnder this tempeſt of Decius, conſtauntly gaue their liues to Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: it remayneth, that a fewe wordes alſo be ſpoken of ſuch that for feare or frailtie in this perſecution did ſhrinke backe, and ſlide from the truth of their confeſſion. In the number of whom firſt commeth in the remembraunce of Serapion an aged old mā. Of whom writeth Dionyſius Alexādrinus, vnto Fabius, declaryng: that this Serapion was an old man, whiche lyued amongeſt them a ſincere and vpright lyfe of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many tymes deſired to be receaued agayne, but no man lyſtened to him, for he had ſacrificed before. After this not long after he fell into ſickenes where he remayned three dayes dombe, and benummed of all his ſenſes. The fourth day folowyng, beginnyng a litle to recouer, he called to him his ſiſters ſonne, and ſayd: how long, how long (my ſonne) do ye hold me here? Make haſt I pray you, that I were abſolued. Call hether ſome of the miniſters to me, and ſo ſaying no more, held his peace, as dombe and ſpeachles. The boy ranne, it was then night, vnto the miniſter, who at the ſame tyme beyng ſicke, could not come with the meſſenger, but ſayd: for ſomuch as he willed heretofore (as he ſayd) that ſuch as lay a dying, if they couet to be receaued & reconciled, & eſpecially if they required it earneſtly, ſhould be admitted, whereby with the better hope & confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gaue to the boy a litle of the * Euchariſt, willing hym to crumble it into the cup, & ſo to drop it into the mouth of the old mā. With this the boy returned, bringyng with him the holy Euchariſt. As he was now neare at hād, before he had entred in, Serapiō the old mā, ſpeakyng agayne, cōmeſt thou (ſayd he) my ſonne? The Prieſt, quoth the meſſenger, is ſicke & cā not come, but do, as he willeth you, and let me go. And the boy immixed the Euchariſt, & dropt it in ſoftely into the mouth of the old man. Who after he had taſted a litle, immediatly gaue vp the Ghoſt. &c. Hæc Dionyſ. ex Euſ.

Serapion.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 44.

*** Note here the Sacrament to be called the Euchariſt, & not the body of Chriſt.**

The holy Euchariſt in time of great neede & diſtres committed to a boy.

The repentaunce & reconciliation of *Serapion.*

The goodnes of God ſhewed to *Serapion.*

Ex Henr. de Erford.

In the Citie of Troade, as the Proconſul was grieuouſly tormentyng one Nicomachus, he cryed out, that he was no Chriſtian, and ſo was let downe agayne. And when after he had ſacrificed, he was taken eftſoones with a wicked ſpirite, and ſo throwen downe vpon the grounde, where he bytyng of his toung with his teeth, ſo departed. Henr. de Erfordia.

A terrible example of denying, ſhewed vpō *Nicomachus.*

Dionyſius ad Fabium.

Cyprianus Serm. de lapſis.

Dionyſius in his Epiſtles alſo wrytyng to Fabius, and lamentyng the great terrour of this perſecution declareth, how that many worthy and notable Chriſtians, for feare and horror of the great tyranny therof, dyd ſhew them ſelues feable and weake men. Of whom ſome for dread, ſome of their owne accorde, other after great tormentes ſuffered, yet after reuolted from the conſtancy of their profeſſion. Alſo S. Cyprian in his treatiſe De lapſis, reciteth with great ſorrow, and teſtifieth, how that a great number at the firſt threatenyng of the aduerſary, neither beyng compelled nor throwen down with any violence of the enemy, but of their volūtary weakenes fell downe themſelues. Neither (ſayth he) taryng while the Iudge ſhould put incenſe in their handes, but before any ſtroke ſtroken in the field, turned their backes, and played the cowardes, not onely commyng to their ſacrifices, but preuentyng the ſame, and pretendyng to come without compulſion, bringyng moreouer their infantes and children either put into their handes, or takyng them with them of their owne accorde, and exhortyng moreouer other to do the like after their example.

The weakeneſſe of Chriſtians denying their fayth.

Of this weakenes and fallyng the ſayd author ſheweth two cauſes, either loue of their goodes and patrimonie, or feare of tormentes. And addeth moreouer examples of the puniſhmentes of them whiche ſo reuolted: affirmyng that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked ſpirites. And of one man among other whiche after his voluntary deniall, ſodainly was ſtroken dombe. Agayne, an other after his abiuration as he ſhould communicate with other, in ſtead of bread receaued aſhes in his hād. Item of a certaine mayden, who beyng takē and vexed with a ſpirite, did teare her owne toung with her teeth, and tormented with payne in her bellye and inward partes ſo deceaſed.

Examples of God his puniſhment after deniall.

The Sacrament called bread of *S. Cyprian. De lapſis.*

Among other of this ſorte, S. Cyprian. Lib. 1. cap. 8. maketh alſo mention of one Euariſtus a byſhop in Aphrica, who leauyng his charge, and makyng a ſhypwracke of his fayth, went wanderyng about in other countreyes, forſakyng his owne flocke. In like maner he maketh alſo mention of Nicoſtratus a Deacon, who forſakyng his Deaconſhyp, and takyng the goodes of the Church with hym, fled away into other countreyes, &c. Albeit Bergomenſis geueth that this Nicoſtratus the Deacon afterward dyed a Martyr. Thus then although ſome did relent, yet a very great nũber, ſayth he, there was, whom neither feare could remoue, nor payne could ouerthrow to cauſe them to betray their confeſſion, but that they ſtoode lyke glorious Martyrs vnto the end. Cyprian.

Cyprianus Lib. de mortalitate.

A notable voyce of God to a Prieſt of Carthage.

The ſame Cyprianus alſo in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable ſtory of one of his owne Colleges and felowprieſt: who beyng oppreſſed with weakneſſe, and greatly afrayde with death drawyng at hand, deſired leaue to depart, and to be diſcharged. As he was thus entreatyng, and almoſt now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honorable and of reuerend maieſtie, of a tall ſtature, and comely behauiour, ſo bright & cleare to behold, that ſcarce mans carnall eyes was able to beare the beholdyng of him, but that he was able ſo to do, whiche was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man ſpeaking with a certaine indignation of mynde and voyce, thus ſayd: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To ſuffer ye dare not: to go out ye will not, what would ye me to do vnto you?

The occaſion and riſing vp of *Nouatus* hereſie.

Cornelij Epiſt. ad Fabium, ex Euſeb. Lib.6. cap.43.

The meanyng of *Cyprian* opened writyng of one Byſhop onely to gouerne in a Catholicke church, falſely wraſted of the Papiſtes for the Papacie. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6.cap.43.*

Upon the occaſion of theſe and ſuch other, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforeſayd, in this perſecutiõ of Decius, roſe vp firſt the quarell and hereſie of Nouatus, who in theſe dayes made a great diſturbaunce in the church, holdyng this opinion that they, which once renounced the fayth, and for feare of tormentes had offered incenſe to the idoles, although they repented therfore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Chriſt. This Nouatus beyng firſt Prieſt vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by ſtyrring vp diſcord and factions, begã to diſturbe the Byſhopricke of Cyprian, to appoint there a Deacon called Feliciſſimus, agaynſt the Byſhops mynde or knowledge, alſo to allure and ſeperate certaine of the brethren frõ the Byſhop, all which Cyprian, Lib.2. Epiſt.8. doth well declare. After this the ſayd Nouatus goyng to Rome, kept there the like ſtyrre with Cornelius (as the ſame Cornelius in Euſebius. Lib.6. cap.43. doth teſtifie) ſettyng him ſelfe vp as Byſhop of Rome agaynſt Cornelius, which was the lawfull Biſhop of Rome before. The which to bryng to paſſe, he vſed this practiſe: firſt he had allured to him to be his adherẽtes three or foure of good men and holy confeſſours, whiche had ſuffered before great tormentes for their confeſſion, whoſe names were Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus. After this he entiſed three ſimple byſhops about the coaſtes of Italie to repayre to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certaine controuerſies then in hand. This done, he cauſed the ſame, whether by makyng them drunke, or by other crafty counſaile, to lay their handes vpon him, and to make him Biſhop, and ſo did. Wherfore the one of thoſe three Byſhops hardly was receiued to the communion, by the great interceſſion of his people: the other two by diſcipline of the Church, were diſplaced from their Byſhopricks, and other poſſeſſed with their roumes. Thus then were there two Byſhops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, which was vnſeemely, & contrary to the diſcipline of the Church. And hereupon riſeth the true cauſe and meanyng of S. Cyprian, writyng in his Epiſtles ſo much of one Byſhop, and of the vnitie to be kept in Eccleſiaſticall regimẽt, as appeareth, Lib.4. Epiſt.2. De ſimplicit. prælat. item. Lib.3. Epiſt.11. &c. And in lyke ſorte writeth alſo Cornelius him ſelfe of one Byſhop, ſaying: Itaq; vindex ille Euangelij ignorauit vnum eſſe debere Epiſcopum in Catholica Eccleſia. &c. That is, He knew not that there ought to be one byſhop in a Catholicke Church. &c. This by the way, not out of the way I truſt, I haue touched briefly to detect or refute the cauilling wraſtlyng of the Papiſtes, which falſely apply theſe places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintaine the Popes ſupreme maiſterſhyp alone ouer the whole vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt in all places, when their meanyng is otherwiſe, how that euery one Catholicke Church or dioces ought to haue one Byſhop ouer it, not that the whole worlde ought to be ſubiect to the dominion of him onely that is Byſhoppe of Rome. Now to the ſtory agayne. Nouatus beyng thus Byſhop tooke not a litle vpon him, goyng about by all meanes to defeate Cornelius, and to allure the people from hym. In ſomuch that (as in the foreſayd booke of Euſebius appeareth) when Nouatus came to the diſtributyng of the offerynges, and ſhould geue euery man his part, he compelled the ſimple perſons euery man to ſweare, before they ſhould receaue of the benediction, and of the collectes or oblations, holdyng both their handes in his, and holdyng them ſo long, ſpeakyng theſe wordes vnto them: (Sweare to me by the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, that thou wilt not leaue me and goe to Cornelius,) till that they ſwearyng vnto him, in ſteede of Amen, to be ſayd at the receauyng of the * bread, ſhould aunſwere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latine booke of Chriſtoferſons tranſlation, in this place, craftely leaueth out the name of bread. This ſtory beyng written in Euſebius, alſo contained in Nicephorus, although not in the ſame order of wordes, yet in effect drawen out of hym, doth declare in playne wordes in both the authours (who ſo will marke the ſame) that the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is termed with the playne name of bread, after the conſecration.

* Note here the Sacrament of the body to be called bread. *Euſeb.lib.6.cap.43. Nicepho. Lib.6. cap.3.*

Maximus, Vrbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus, confeſſours. *Ex Cypr. Lib.3. Epiſt.3.*

Moſes, Martyr.

A Synode at Rome.

An.255.

It followeth more in the ſtory, that Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus before mentioned, perceiuyng at length the craftie diſſimulation and arrogancie of Nouatus, left him, and with great repentaunce returned againe to the Churche, & were reconciled to Cornelius, as they thẽſelues writyng to Cyprian, and Cypriã likewiſe writyng to them an Epiſtle gratulatorie doth declare. Lib.3. Epiſt.3. and Cornelius alſo in his Epiſtle to Fabiꝰ witneſſeth the ſame. In this Epiſtle the ſayd Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moſes a worthy Martyr, which once beyng a folower alſo of Nouatus, after perceauyng his wickedneſſe forſoke him, and did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian alſo maketh mention, & calleth him a bleſſed confeſſour. Lib.2. Epi.4. Damaſus in his pontificall ſayth, that he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicoſtratus aboue mentioned, and was put with them in priſon, where he ended his life. And thus much of Nouatus, agaynſt whom, as Euſebius teſtifieth, a Synode was holden at Rome of lx. ſondry Biſhops in the tyme of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius. an.255. Whereby it may be ſuppoſed that the heate of the perſecutiõ at that tyme was ſomewhat calmed.

Cornelius Byſhop of Rome, and Martyr.

Byſhops were choſen then not without the voyce of the people.

A cenſure of the decretall Epiſtles of *Cornelius*.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flauianus) next ſucceded into the byſhopricke of Rome Cornelius whõ Cyprian noteth to be a worthy Byſhop, and for his great vertue & maydenly continencie much commendable, choſen to that rowme, not ſomuch of his owne cõſent, as of the full agreement both of the Clergie men, and alſo of the people. Hierome addeth alſo that he was a man of great eloquence, whereby it may appeare thoſe two Epiſtles decretal, which go in his name not to be his, both for the rudeneſſe of the barbarous and groſe ſtile, and alſo for the matter therein contained, nothyng taſtyng of that tyme, nor of that age nor doynges then of the Churche. Whereof in the firſt he writeth to all miniſters and brethren of the Church, concernyng the liftyng vp of the bodyes & bones of Peter and Paule, De cathecumbis, and tranſpoſed to Vaticanum, at the inſtance of a certaine deuoute woman named Lucina, hauyng no great argumẽt or cauſe to write therof vnto the churches, but onely that he in that letter doth deſire thẽ to pray vnto the Lord, that through the interceſſion of thoſe Apoſtolicall Saintes, their ſinnes might be forgeuen them. &c. In the ſecond Epiſtle writing to Ruffus a Byſhop of the Eaſt Church, he decreeth and ordaineth that no othe ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief Byſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo that no cauſe of Prieſtes or Miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtraunge or foreyne court, without his precinct, except onely in the Court of Rome by appellation, whereby who ſeeth not the traine of our latter Byſhops goyng about craftely to aduaunce the dignitie of the Court of Rome, vnder and by the pretenced title of Cornelius, and of ſuch aũcient Byſhops. If Cornelius did write any Epiſtles to any in deede in thoſe ſo turbulent tymes of perſecution, no doubt but ſome ſignification therof he would haue touched in the ſayd his letters, either in miniſtryng conſolation to his brethrẽ, or in requiryng conſolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt but he would haue geuen ſome touch alſo of the matter of Nouatus, with whom he had ſo much to do, as in deede he did: for ſo we finde it recorded both in Euſebius, & in Hierome that he wrote vnto Fabius byſhop of Antioche, of the decreementes of the Councell of Rome, and an other letter of the maner of the Councell: the third alſo of the cauſe of Nouatus, and agayne of the repentaunce of ſuch as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in theſe foreſayd Epiſtles decretall.

The conſtauncie of *Cornelius* in his triall.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Nouatus, ſufficiently is before ſignified. In this perſecution of Decius he demeaned him ſelfe very conſtantly and faithfully, whiche

Cyprian. Lib.1. Epiſt.1.

Cornelius accuſed for writyng letters to Cyprian.

Plumbatis cædi.

Cornelius Martyred.

ſuſtained great conflictes with the aduerſaries, as S. Cyprian geueth witnes, Lib.1.Epiſt. 1. Herome teſtifieth that he remained Byſhop after the death of Decius, to the tyme of Gallus, & ſo appeareth alſo by S. Cypriã, which hath theſe wordes: Et tyrãnum armis & bello poſtmodum victum, prior ſacerdotio ſuo vicit. But Damaſus and Sabellicus, his folower, affirme that he was both exiled & alſo martyred vnder the tyrannous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this ſtory, takẽ out (as it ſeemeth) of Damaſus, and ſayth: yͤ Cornelius by the cõmaundemẽt of Decius, was baniſhed to a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he ſent letters to Cyprian Biſhop of Carthage, and Cyprian agayne to him. This commyng to the eares of Decius the Emperour, he ſendeth for Cornelius, aſkyng hym: how he durſt be ſo bold to ſhewe ſuch ſtubburnes, that he neither caring for the Gods, nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his Princes, durſt, againſt the common wealth, geue and receaue letters from other. To whom Cornelius aunſweryng agayne, thus purged him ſelfe, declaring to the Emperour, that letters in deede he had written and receaued agayne concerning the prayſes & honouryng of Chriſt, and of ſaluatiõ of ſoules, but nothing as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it followeth in the ſtory: Then Decius moued with anger cõmaunded him to be beaten with plumbattes (which is ſayth Sabellicus, a kynde of ſcourgyng) and ſo to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to do ſacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremitie. But he rather willyng to dye, then to committe ſuch iniquitie, prepared him ſelfe to Martyrdome, beyng ſure that he ſhould dye. And ſo commendyng the charge of the Churche vnto Stephanus his Archdeacõ, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faythfull martyrdome. Euſebius in one place ſayth, that he ſat .ij. yeares, in an other place ſayth, that he ſat three yeares, and ſo doth Marianus Scotus, followyng alſo the diuerſitie of the ſayd Euſebius. Damaſus geueth him onely two yeares.

Aurelius, Martyr.

Mappalicus, Martyr.

In this foreſayd perſecution of Decius, it ſeemeth by ſome writers alſo that Cyprian was baniſhed, but I ſuppoſe rather his baniſhement to be referred to the reigne of Gallus next Emperour after Decius, whereof more ſhall be ſayd, (Chriſt willyng) in his place hereafter. In the meane tyme the ſayd Cyprian in his ſecond booke, Epiſt. 5. & 6. maketh mention of two that ſuffered either in the tyme of this Decius, or much about the ſame tyme. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthy and valiaunt yõg man, who was twiſe in tormentes for his confeſſion, which he neuer denied, but manfully and boldly withſtode the aduerſarie, till he was baniſhed, and alſo after. And therfore was cõmẽded of Cyprian to certaine brethren, to haue him for their lectorer, as in the forenamed Epiſtle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who the day before he ſuffered, declaryng to the Proconſul, in the middeſt of his tormentes, and ſaying: Videbis cras agonem: that is, to morow you ſhall ſee the runnyng for a wager. &c. was brought forth accordyng as he foreſpake, to Martyrdome, and there with no leſſe conſtancie then patience did ſuffer.

The death and deſtruction of Decius.

Oroſius Lib.7.cap. 14.

The iuſt reuenge of God agaynſt perſecutours.

And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius agaynſt God his Saintes, now to touch alſo the power of God his vengeaunce and puniſhment agaynſt him, lyke as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannicall tormentour, who reignyng but two yeares as ſayth Euſebius, or three at moſt, as writeth Oroſius, among the middle of the Barbarians, with whom he did warre, was there ſlayne with his ſonne, like as he had ſlayne Philippus and his ſonne his predeceſſours before, ſo was he with his ſonne ſlayne by the righteous iudgement of God him ſelfe. Euſeb. Lib.7. cap.1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warryng agaynſt the Gotthians, and beyng by them ouercome, leaſt he ſhould fall into their handes, ranne into a whirlepyt, where he was drowned, and his body neuer found after.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the Heathen multitude, for perſecutyng his people.

The brotherly loue & pietie amõg the Chriſtians, ſhewed in tyme of plague.

A terrible peſtilence raygnyng through all the Romaine Monarchy.

Neither did the iuſt hand of God plague the Emperour onely, but alſo reuenged as well the heathen Gentiles and perſecutours of his word, through out all prouinces & dominions of the Romaine Monarchie, amongeſt whom the Lord immediatly after the death of Decius, ſent ſuch a plague and peſtilẽce, laſtyng for the ſpace of .x. yeares together, that horrible it is to heare, and almoſt incredible to beleue. Of this plague or peſtilẽce, teſtifieth Dionyſius to Hierax a Byſhop in Egypt. Euſeb. Lib.7.cap. 21. 22. Where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to be ſo great in Alexandria, where he was Biſhop, that there was no houſe in the whole Citie free. And although the greatnes of the plague touched alſo the Chriſtians ſomewhat, yet it ſcourged the Heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that the order of their behauiour in the one, & in the other was much diuers. For, as the foreſayd Dionyſius doth recorde, the Chriſtians through brotherly loue and pietie, did not refuſe one to viſite and comfort an other, and to miniſter to him, what neede required. Notwithſtandyng it was to them great daunger: for diuers there were, who in cloſing vp their eyes, in waſhing their bodyes, and interryng them in the grounde, were next them ſelues which followed them to their graues. yet all this ſtayed not them from doyng their duetie, and ſhewyng mercy one to an other. Where as the Gẽtiles contrarily, beyng extremely viſited by the hãd of God, felt the plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neither yet conſidered they their neighbour, but euery man ſhiftyng for him ſelfe, neither cared for one nor for an other: but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the doores halfe dead, to be deuoured of dogges and wilde beaſtes, ſome they let dye within their houſes, without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffered to lye vnburyed, for that no man durſt come neare him. And yet notwithſtandyng for all their voydyng & ſhiftyng, the peſtilence followed them, whether ſoeuer they went, & miſerably conſumed them. In ſomuch, that Dionyſius Byſhop the ſame tyme of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne Citie: that ſuch a great mortalitie was then among them, that the ſaid Citie of Alexandria had not in number of all together, both old and young, as it was wont to containe before of the old men onely, ſuch as were founde in time paſt by common almoſt in that Citie. Pomponius Lætus, & other Latine writers alſo makyng mention of the ſayd peſtilitie, declare how the begynnyng therof firſt came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hot countreyes, and ſo inuadyng & waſtyng firſt the South partes, from thence ſpread into the Eaſt, & ſo further runnyng & increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially whereſoeuer the Edictes of yͤ Emperour went agaynſt the Chriſtians, it followed after, and conſumed the moſt part of the inhabitauntes, whereby many places became deſolate and voyde of all cõcourſe, and ſo continued the terme of .x. yeares together.

Cyprianus Lib. de mortalitate.

Gallus and Voluſianus Emperours.

This peſtiferous mortalitie (by the occaſion wherof Cyprian tooke the grounde to write his booke De mortalitate) began, as is ſayd, immediatly after the death of Decius the perſecutor, in the beginning of the raigne of Vibias Gallus, and Voluſianus his ſonne: who ſucceeded through treaſon, next vnto Decius, about the yeare of our Lord. 255. and continued their raigne but two yeares.

The firſt baniſhment of Cyprian.

The biſhops and Prieſtes condemned to metals.

Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius, Byſhops condemned for the name of Chriſt.

This Gallus although the firſt begynnyng of his raigne was ſomething quyet, yet ſhortly after following yͤ ſteps of Decius, by whom rather he ſhould haue takẽ better heede, ſet forth Edictes in like maner for yͤ perſecutiõ of Chriſtians, albeit in this Edict we finde no number of Martyrs to haue ſuffered, but onely all this perſecution to reſt onely in the exilemẽt of Byſhops or guides of the flocke. Of other ſufferings or executions we do not read: for the terrible peſtilence followyng immediatly, kept the barbarous Heathẽ otherwiſe occupyed. Unto this tyme of Gallus, rather then to the tyme of Decius, I referre the baniſhment of Cyprian, who was then byſhop of Carthage. Of the which baniſhment he him ſelfe teſtifieth in diuers of his Epiſtles, declaryng the cauſe therof to riſe vpon a commotion or ſedition among the people, out of the whiche he withdrew himſelfe, leſt the ſedition ſhould grow greater. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Cyprian, though beyng abſent, yet had no leſſe care of his flocke and of the whole Church, then if he had bene preſent with them. And therefore neuer ceaſed in his Epiſtles continually to exhort, and call vpon them to be conſtaunt in their profeſſion, and patient in their afflictions. Amongeſt diuers other, whom he doth comfort in his baniſhment, although he was in that caſe to be comforted him ſelfe, wrytyng to certaine that were condemned to myning for metals, whoſe names were Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius, with other Byſhops, Prieſtes and Deacõs, declareth vnto them, how it is no ſhame, but a glory, not to be feared, but to be reioyced at, to ſuffer baniſhmẽt, or other paynes for Chriſt. And confirming them in the ſame, or rather commendyng them, ſignifieth, how worthely they do ſhew them ſelues, to be as valiaunt Captaines of vertue, prouokyng both by the confeſſions of their mouth, and by the ſufferyng of their body, the hartes of the brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdome, whoſe example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maydes and children, to follow the like. As for puniſhment and ſufferyng it is (ſayth he) a thyng not execrable to a Chriſtian. For a Chriſtian mans breſt, whoſe hope doth wholy conſiſt in the * tree, dreadeth neither bat nor clubbe: woundes and ſkars of the body be ornamentes to a Chriſten man, ſuch as bryng no ſhame nor diſhoneſty to the partie, but rather preferreth & freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mynes where the mettals be digged, there be no beds for Chriſten mens bodyes to take their reſt, yet

they

* That is, in the paſſion of him that dyed on the tree.

S.Cyprian exhorteth and conformeth the Chriſtiā Martyrs.
Cypri.Lib.3. Epiſt.viii.

The Chriſtian mans ſacrifice.

they haue their reſt in Chriſt. And though their weary bones lye vpon the cold grounde, yet it is no payne to lye with Chriſt. Their feete haue bene fettered with bandes & chaynes: but happely is he bound of man, whom the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happely doth he lye tyed in the ſtockes, whoſe feete thereby are made ſwifter to runne to heauen. Neither can any man tye a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garlād of lyfe. They haue no garmentes to ſaue them frō cold, but he that putteth on Chriſt, is ſufficiently coated. Doth bread lacke to their hungry bodyes? But man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery word proceedyng from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (ſayth he) ſhall be turned to honor, your mournyng to ioy, your payne to pleaſure and felicitie infinite. And if this do greue you, that ye cannot now employe your ſacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner: yet your ſacrifice dayly ceaſeth not, which is a contrite & humble hart, as whē you offer vp dayly your bodyes a liuely and a glorious ſacrifice vnto the Lorde, whiche is the ſacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your trauaile be great, yet is the reward greater, which is moſt certaine to follow. For God beholdyng and lookyng downe vpon them that confeſſe his name, in their willyng mynde approueth them, in their ſtriuyng helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewardyng that in vs, which he hath perfourmed, and crownyng that which he hath in vs perfected. With theſe and ſuch like comfortable wordes he doth animate his brethrē, admoniſhyng thē, that they are now in a ioyfull iourney, haſtyng a pace to the manſiōs of the Martyrs, there to enioy after this darknes a ſtable light, and brightnes greater then all their paſſions, accordyng to the Apoſtles ſaying: The ſufferynges of this preſent tyme be nothyng like comparable to the brightneſſe of the glory that ſhall be reuealed in vs. &c.

Cypria.Lib.4. Epiſt.1.
Seagrius, Rogatianus, Martyrs.

Sapien.3.

And after like wordes of ſweete comfort and conſolation writyng to Seagrius, and Rogatianus, whiche were in priſon and bondes for the teſtimonie of truth, doth incourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and paciēt in the way, wherein they haue begon to runne, for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiſeth to be with vs to the worldes end: and therefore willeth them to ſet before their eyes in their death immortalitie, in their payne euerlaſtyng glory, of the whiche it is written: Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saintes. Itē, although before men they ſuffered tormentes, yet their hope is full of immortalitie: & beyng vexed in ſmall thinges, they ſhall be well requited in great matters. For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer admoniſhyng them, that it is ſo appointed from the begynnyng of the world, that righteouſnes here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular conflictes, for ſo iuſt Abell was ſlayne in the begynnyng of the world, and after him all iuſt and good men, the Prophetes alſo and the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelfe, vnto whom all, the Lord firſt gaue an example in himſelfe, teachyng that there is no commyng to his kyngdome, but by that waye, whiche he entred him ſelfe, ſaying by theſe wordes: he that loueth his life in this world, ſhall looſe it, &c. And agayne, feare ye not thē, that ſlay the body, but haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. And S. Paule likewiſe admoniſhyng all them, who ſoeuer couete to be partakers of the promiſes of the Lord, to folow the Lord, ſayth: if we ſuffer together with him, we ſhall reigne together. &c.

Cyprian.Lib.3. Epiſt.6.

Furthermore as yͤ ſame Cyprian doth encourage here yͤ holy Martyrs, which were in captiuitie, to perſiſte: ſo likewiſe writing to yͤ Prieſtes & Deacōs, which were free, exhorteth them to be ſeruiceable & obſequious with all care & loue to cheriſh & embraſe thē that were in bondes. Cypria. Lib.3.Epiſt.6. whereby may appeare the feruent zeale & care of this good byſhop toward the Church of Chriſt, although beyng now in exile, in the tyme of this Emperour Gallus.

Lucius biſhop of Rome baniſhed.

256.

The Epiſtle decretall of Lucius biſhop

The ordinaūces of Lucius.

In the ſame tyme, and vnder the ſayd Gallus reignyng with his ſonne Voluſianus, was alſo Lucius Byſhop of Rome ſent to baniſhment, who next ſucceeded after Cornelius in that Byſhopricke, about the yeare of our Lord. 256. Albeit in this baniſhmēt he did not long cōtinue, but returned agayne home to his church, as by the Epiſtle of S. Cyprian, Lib.3.Epiſt.1. may appeare. As to all other Byſhops of Rome in thoſe primitiue dayes certaine decretall Epiſtles with ſeuerall ordinaunces be aſcribed, bearyng their names & titles, as hath bene afore declared: ſo alſo hath Lucius one Epiſtle, fathered vpon him, in the whiche Epiſtle, he writing to the brethren of Fraunce and of Spayne, appointeth ſuch an order and forme of the Church, as ſeemeth not to agree with the tyme then preſent: For ſo he declareth in that Epiſtle, that a Byſhop in all places, whether ſoeuer he goeth, ſhould haue two Prieſtes with three Deacōs waytyng vpō him, for witneſſes of all his wayes and doynges. Which ordinaunce although I deny not, but it may be and is conuenient, yet I ſee not how that tyme of Lucius could ſerue then, for a Byſhop to cary ſuch a pompe of Prieſtes and Deacōs about him, or to ſtudy for any ſuch matter: for ſomuch as Byſhops commonly in thoſe dayes were ſeldome free to go abroad, went they neuer ſo ſecrete, but either were in houſes cloſe and ſecrete, or in priſon, or els in baniſhment. Moreouer in the ſayd Epiſtle how pompouſly he writeth of the Church of Rome: This holy and Apoſtolicall Church of Rome (ſayth he) the mother of all Churches of Chriſt, which by the grace of God omnipotent, hath neuer bene proued to ſwarue out of the pathe of Apoſtolicall tradition, neither hath euer fallen, or bene depraued with hereticall innouations: but euen as in the firſt begynnyng it receaued the rule of the Apoſtolicall fayth by his firſt inſtructers, the Princes of the Apoſtles, ſo it continueth euer immaculate and vndefiled vnto the end.

The pompous ſtyle of the churche of Rome.

Diſtinct.81.
Miniſtri.
Miniſters reſtrained frō their owne wiues.
Euſebius and Damaſus varye in tyme.
Lucius Byſhop of Rome, Martyr.

Vnto this Lucius alſo is referred in the decrees of Gracian, this conſtitution, that no Miniſter what ſoeuer, after his ordination, ſhould at any tyme reenter to the chamber of his owne wife, in payne of looſing his Miniſterie in the Church. &c. Euſebius in his vij. booke, makyng mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his Martyrdome, ſayth that he ſat but eight monethes. But Damaſus in his Martyrologe holdeth that he ſat three yeares, and was beheaded the ſecond yeare of Valerian, and Galienus Emperours. And ſo doth alſo Marianus Scotus, and Nauclerus, with other that folow Damaſus, affirme the ſame.

Stephanus Biſhop of Rome, Martyr.

The cenſure of the decretall Epiſtles and ordinaunces of Stephanus.

No Byſhop oughte to be accuſed, after he be expulſed, before he be reſtored agayne.

After him came Stephanus next Byſhop of Rome followyng Lucius: whom Damaſus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirme to haue ſit. vij. yeares, fiue monethes, & to dye a martyr. Cōtrary Euſebius, and Volateranus holdyng with him, geue him but two yeares: which part commeth moſt neare to the truth, I leaue to the Readers iudgemēt. Of his two Epiſtles decretall, and of his ordinaunces out of the ſame collected, I neede not much to tary, for two reſpectes: either for that concernyng theſe decretall Epiſtles ſuſpiciouſly intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church, ſufficiently hath bene ſayd before: or els becauſe both the phraſe barbarous and incongrue, and alſo the matter it ſelfe therin contained is ſuch, that although no teſtimony came agaynſt it, yet it eaſily refelleth it ſelfe. As where in the ſecond Epiſtle he decreeth: that no Byſhop beyng expulſed out of his ſeate, or depriued of his goodes, ought to be accuſed of any, or is bounde to aunſwere for him ſelfe, before that by the law regularly he be reſtored agayne fully to his former ſtate, and that the Primates and the Synode render to him agayne all ſuch poſſeſſions & fruites, as were taken frō him before his accuſation, as is agreyng both to the lawes Canō, and alſo ſecular. Firſt here I would deſire the Reader a litle to ſtay, and thus to conſider with him ſelfe, who be theſe here meant, which either vſed or might deſpoyle theſe Byſhops of their goodes, & expulſe them from their ſeates, for ſuch wrongfull cauſes, but onely Kynges and Emperours, which at this tyme were not yet Chriſtened, nor vſed any ſuch proceedynges agaynſt theſe Byſhops, in ſuch ſort as either Primates or Synodes could reſtore them agayne to their places and poſſeſſions. Agayne, what priuate goodes or poſſeſſions had Byſhops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor poſſeſſions. And if any treaſures were cōmitted to the Church, it pertained not properly to the Byſhop, but went in generall to the ſubuention of the poore in the Churche, as in the Epiſtle of Cornelius to Fabius may appeare, alleaged in Euſebius, Lib.6.cap.43. where he ſpeakyng of his Churche, and declaryng how there ought to be but one Byſhop in the ſame, inferreth mention of .xlvi. Prieſtes, vij. Deacons, with vij. Subdeacons, xlij. Acoluthes, of widowes and poore afflicted perſons to the number of a. 1500. and aboue, founde and nouriſhed in the ſame Church, by the mercyfull benignitie and prouidence of God, Euſebius. Lib.6.cap.43. It foloweth more in the end of the ſayd Canon, whiche thyng is forbidden both by the lawes Eccleſiaſticall, and alſo ſeculare. &c. Now what lawes ſecular were in the tyme of Stephen, for byſhops not to be charged with any accuſation, before they were reſtored agayne to their ſtate, let any Reader markyng well the ſtate of the Heathen lawes that then were, iudge: and in iudgyng, I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be inough to deſcry the vntruth hereof.

The number of the poore founde at Rome by the Church goodes.

Primates, Metropolitanes, Archbyſhops.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and argumentes in the ſayd ſecond Epiſtle of Stephanus, it may be eaſely eſpyed, this Epiſtle to be fayned and vnauthorized: eſpecially by the fift Canon of the ſayd Epiſtle, where he ſo ſolemly entreateth of the difference betwene Primates, Metropolitanes, and Archbyſhops, whiche diſtinction of degrees and titles, ſauering more of ambition, then of perſecution, geueth me verily to ſuppoſe this Epiſtle not to be written by this Stephen, but by ſome other man, either of that name, or of ſome other tyme, when the Churche began to be ſatled in more proſperitie, and orders therein to be taken, for euery man to knowe his degree and limites of his authoritie, accordyng as is ſpecified by the vj. and vij. Canon of Nicene Councell, decreyng of the ſame matter.

The like eſtimation may be conceiued alſo of the ſeuenth Canon of the ſayd Epiſtle: where he willeth and appointeth all cauſes iudiciarie to be deciſed and determined within the precinct of their owne proper Prouince, and not to paſſe ouer the boundes therof, vnleſſe (ſayth he) the appeale be made to the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome: which ſauoreth in my noſe, rather of a ſmacke of Poperie, then of the veyne of Chriſtianitie, eſpeciall in theſe tymes, duryng this terrible perſecution among the Biſhops of Chriſt. And thus much of the ſecond decretall Epiſtle of Stephanus: although of the firſt Epiſtle alſo written to Hilarius, ſomethyng may be ſayd, as where he ſpeaketh in the ſayd Epiſtle of holy veſtimentes, and holy veſſels, and other ornamentes of the aultar, ſeruing to diuine worſhyp, and therfore not to be touched nor hãdled of any man, ſauyng of Prieſtes alone. Concernyng all which implementes, my opinion is this, that I thinke the Churche of Rome not to haue bene in ſo good ſtate then, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him beyng occupied about other more earneſt matters, and ſcarce able to hide their owne heades, had any mynde or cogitation to ſtudy vpon ſuch vnneceſſary inuentions, ſeruyng in publike Churches. Neither do I ſee how the Heathen in thoſe dayes would haue ſuffered theſe ornamentes to be vnconſumed, whiche would not ſuffer the Byſhops them ſelues to liue amongeſt them. Notwithſtandyng Iſidorus and Polydorus iudge the contrary. Betwene this Stephen and Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage was a great contention, about rebaptiſing of heretickes, whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhall be ſayd.

Lawfull to appeale to Rome.

Veſtiments and holy veſſels ſeruyng for the aultare.

Beſide theſe byſhops aboue ſpecified, diuers other there were alſo ſent into baniſhment vnder the forenamed Emperours Gallus and Voluſianus, as appeareth by Dionyſius writyng to Hermammon, on this wiſe: that Gallus not ſeyng the euill of Decius, nor foreſeyng the occaſion of his ſeduction and ruine, ſtumbled alſo him ſelfe at the ſame ſtone, lying open before his eyes. For at the firſt beginnyng whẽ his Empire went proſperouſly forward, and all thynges went luckely with him, afterward he draue out holy men which prayed for his peace and ſafegarde, and ſo with them reiected alſo the prayers which they made for him. &c. Euſebius, Lib.7.cap.1. Otherwiſe of any bloudſhed, or any Martyrs that in the tyme of this Emperour were put to death, we do not read.

Byſhops baniſhed in the tyme of *Gallus*.

After the raigne of which Emperour Gallus and of his ſonne Voluſianus, being expired, who raigned but .ij. yeares: Emelianus which ſlewe them both by ciuill ſedition, ſucceded in their place, who raigned but three monethes, & was alſo ſlayne. Next to whom Valerianus, and his ſonne Galienus were aduaunced to the Empire.

Gallus and *Voluſianus* Emperours ſlayne.
Emilianus Emperour three monethes.
Valerianus & *Galienus* his ſonne Emperours.
Perſecution ceaſed for a tyme.

About the chaungyng of theſe Emperours, the perſecution which firſt began at Decius, and afterward ſlaked in the tyme of Gallus, was now extinguiſhed for a tyme, partly for the great plague raignyng in all places, partly by the chaunge of the Emperours, although it was not very lõg. For Valerianus in the firſt entraunce of the Empire for the ſpace of .iij. or foure yeares, was right courteous and gẽtle to the people of God, and well accepted to the Senate. Neither was there any of all the Emperours before him, no not of thẽ which openly profeſſed Chriſt, that ſhewed him ſelfe ſo louyng & familiar toward the Chriſtians as he dyd: in ſo much that (as Dionyſius writyng to Herman doth teſtifie) all his whole court was repleniſhed wt holy Saintes & ſeruaũts of Chriſt, and godly perſons, ſo that his houſe might ſeeme to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Sathã, through wicked cõſaile theſe quyet dayes endured not very long. For in proceſſe of tyme this Valerianus beyng charmed or incenſed by a certaine Egyptian, a chief ruler of the Heathen Synagoge of the Egyptians, a maiſter of the Charmers or inchaũters, who in deede was troubled, for that he could not do his Magical feates for the Chriſtians, was ſo farre infatuated and bewitched, that through the deteſtable prouocations of that deuiliſh Egyptian, he was wholy turned vnto abhominable Idoles, and to execrable impietie, in ſacrificing young infantes, & quarteryng their bodyes, and deuidyng the intrals of children new borne: and ſo proceedyng in his furie, moued the eight perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abyde, as beyng the hynderers and deſtroyers of hys Magicall enchauntings, about the yeare of the Lord, 259.

The good begynnyng of *Valerian*.

Ex Dionyſio citãte Euſeb. Lib.7. cap.10 & Nicepho. Lib.6. cap.10.

Wicked counſayle what euill it doth.

¶ The eight perſecution.

The eight perſecution.

259.

IN the which perſecution the chief adminiſters and executours were Emilianus Preſident of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus Proconſuls in Aphrica. Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of Paternus Vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius ſpeaketh alſo of Nicetius, and Claudius Preſidentes. &c.

The chief executours of this perſecution.

What was the chief originall cauſe of this perſecution, partly is ſignified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian. But as this was the outward and politicall cauſe: ſo S. Cyprian ſheweth other cauſes more ſpeciall, and Eccleſiaſticall, in his .iiij. booke, Epiſtle. 4. whoſe wordes be theſe: But we (ſayth he) muſt vnderſtand and confeſſe, that this turbulent oppreſſion and calamitie, which hath waſted for the moſt part all our whole company, and doth dayly conſume, riſeth chiefly of our owne wickednes & ſinnes: while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerue his preceptes left vnto vs for our inſtitution. The Lord obſerued the will of his father in all pointes: but we obſerue not the will of the Lord, hauyng all our mynde and ſtudy ſet vpon lucre and poſſeſſions, geuen to pride, full of emulation and diſſenſion, voyde of ſimplicitie and faythfull dealyng, renouncing this world in word onely, but nothing in deede, euery man pleaſing him ſelfe, and diſpleaſing all other. And therfore are we thus ſcourged, and worthely. For what ſtripes and ſcourges do we not deſerue, when the cõfeſſours thẽ ſelues (ſuch as haue byd the triall of their confeſſion) and ſuch as ought to be an exãple to the reſt of well doyng, do keepe no diſcipline? And therfore becauſe ſome ſuch there be, proudly puft vp with this ſwellyng and vnmanerly braggyng of their confeſſion, theſe tormẽtes come: ſuch as do not eaſely ſend vs to the crowne, except by the mercy of God, ſome beyng takẽ away by quicknes of death, do preuent the tediouſnes of puniſhment. Theſe thynges do we ſuffer for our ſinnes and deſertes, as by the Lordes cenſure we haue bene forewarned, ſaying: If they ſhall forſake my law, and will not walke in my iudgementes: If they ſhall prophane my inſtitutions, and will not obſerue my preceptes, I will viſite their iniquities with the rod, and their tranſgreſſions with ſcourges. Theſe rods & ſcourges (ſayth he) we feele, whiche neither pleaſe God in our good deedes, nor repent in our euil deedes. Wherfore the ſayd Cyprian, addyng this exhortation withall: exhorteth them to pray and intreate from the bottome of their hart and whole mynde, the mercy of God which promiſeth, ſaying: but yet my mercy I will not ſcatter from them. &c. Let vs aſke, and we ſhall obtaine, and though (ſayth Cyprian) it be with tariance, yet for ſomuch as we haue grieuouſly offended, let vs continue knockyng, for to him that knocketh, it ſhalbe opened, if our prayers, ſighyngs, and weepyngs knocke ſtill at the doore with continuaunce, and if our prayers be ioyned together with brotherly agreement. &c.

The ſpeciall cauſes of this perſecution.

Cypria. Lib.4. Epiſt.4.

The ſinnes of the Chriſtians cauſe of perſecution.

Moreouer, what vices were then principally raygnyng among the Chriſtians, he further ſpecifieth in the ſayd Epiſtle: which chiefly were diuiſion and diſſenſion among the brethren. For when it was ſpoken to them in a viſion, by theſe wordes: Petite & impetrabitis, that is: Pray, and ye ſhall obtayne, afterward it was required of the congregatiõ there preſent, to direct their prayers, for certaine perſõs aſſigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condeſcende all together of the names and perſõs of thẽ which they ſhould pray for, but were diſſonant in their conſent & petition: which thyng (ſayth Cyprian) did greatly diſpleaſe hym, that ſpake vnto them: Pray, and ye ſhall obtaine, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voyce and hart, nor one ſimple and ioynt concorde among the brethren, wherof it is writtẽ in the Pſalme. 67. God which maketh to dwell in the houſe together mẽ of one accord. &c. And ſo by the occaſion hereof he writeth vnto them the foreſaid Epiſtle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreemẽt. For (ſayth he) if it be promiſed in the Goſpell, to be graunted what ſoeuer any two conſentyng together ſhall aſke, what thẽ ſhall the whole Church do agreyng together? or what if this vnanimitie, were among the whole fraternitie? Whiche vnanimitie (ſayth Cyprian) if it had bene then amõg the brethren, non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in vnum fraternitas fuiſſet animata, that is: theſe euils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie. &c.

Diſcord and diuiſion among the brethren.

Pſal.67.

After the cauſes thus declared of this or other perſecutions, the ſayd S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed Epiſtle (worthy to be read of all men) deſcribeth likewiſe a certaine viſion, wherein was ſhewed vnto them by the Lord, before the perſecution came, what ſhould happen. The viſiõ

was

A viſiõ foreſhewing perſecution to come.

Cyprian. Lib.4. Epiſt.4.

was this: There was a certaine aged father ſittyng, at whoſe right hand ſat a yõg man very ſad and penſiue: as one with an indignation ſorrowfull, holdyng his hand vpon his breſt, his countenaunce heauy and vnchearefull. On the left hand ſat an other perſon, hauyng in his hand a net, whiche he threatned to lay to catch the people that ſtode about. And as he was marueilyng that ſaw the ſight therof, it was ſayd vnto him: The young man whom thou ſeeſt ſit on the right hand, is ſad and ſory, that his preceptes be not obſerued. But he on the left hand daunceth and is merye for that occaſion is geuen him to haue power of the aged father geuen him to afflict men. And this viſion was ſeene long before this tempeſt of perſecution happened. Wherein is declared the ſame that before is ſayd, the ſinnes of the people to be the cauſe why Sathan in this perſecution and all other, hath had and hath ſtill ſuch power with his net of deſtruction, to rage agaynſt the bloud of Chriſten men, and all becauſe (ſayth Cyprian) we forſlacke our praying, or be not ſo vigilant therein as we ſhould: wherefore the Lord becauſe he loueth vs, correcteth vs, correcteth vs, to amend vs, amendeth vs to ſaue vs. &c. Cyprian.

Our ſinnes geue Sathã power agaynſt vs.

Furthermore, the ſame Cyprian, and in the ſame Epiſtle, writing of his owne reuelation or meſſage ſent to him, thus ſayth: And to his leaſt ſeruaunt both ſinfull and vnworthy (meanyng by him ſelfe) God of his tender goodnes hath vouchedſafe to direct this worde. Tell him ſayth he, that he be quyet and of good comfort, for peace will come. Albeit a litle ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remaine yet to be proued and tried. &c. And ſheweth alſo in the ſame place of an other reuelation of his, wherein he was admoniſhed to be ſpare in his feedyng, & ſober in his drinke, leaſt his mynde geuen to heauenly meditation might be caried away with worldly allurementes, or oppreſſed with to much ſurfet of meates and drinkes, ſhould be leſſe apt or able to prayer and ſpirituall exerciſe.

An other reuelation ſhewed to *S. Cyprian.*

Spare dyet and ſober drinke conuenient in Chriſtian biſhops.

Finally in the latter ende of the foreſayd Epiſtle, mention alſo followeth of other reuelatiõs or ſhewynges, wherin the Lord (ſaith Cyprian) doth voutchſafe in many of his ſeruaũts to foreſhew to come the reſtauryng of his church, the ſtable quiet of our health and ſafegard, after rayne fayre weather, after darckenes light, after ſtormy tempeſt, peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his loue, the wont and olde glory of his diuine maieſtie whereby both the blaſphemy of the perſecutours ſhall be repreſſed, and the repentaunce of ſuch as haue fallen be reformed, and the ſtrong & ſtable confidence of them that ſtand, ſhall reioyce and glory. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, writyng of theſe things to the Clergie. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 4.

The peace of the Churche to come, forſhewed by the Lord.

As touchyng now the crimes and accuſations in this perſecution layd to the charge of the Chriſtians, this was the principall, firſt becauſe they refuſed to do worſhyp to their idoles and to the Emperours: then for that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt. Beſides, all the calamities and euils that happened in the world, as warres, famine, and peſtilence, were onely imputed to the Chriſtians. Agaynſt all whiche quarelyng accuſations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Chriſtians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: Like as Tertulian had done before writyng Contra Scapulam. pag. 55. And firſt touchyng the obiection for not worſhyppyng Idoles, he cleareth the Chriſtians both in hys booke Contra Demetr. and alſo De vanitate idol. prouyng thoſe Idoles to be no true Gods, but Images of certaine dead kynges, whiche neither could ſaue them ſelues from death, nor ſuch as worſhyp them. The true God to be but one, and that by the teſtimonie of Soſthenes, Plato, and Triſmegiſtas, the which God the Chriſtians do truly worſhyp. And as cõcernyng that the Chriſtiãs were thought to be cauſes of publicke calamities, becauſe they worſhypped not the Gentiles Idoles, he purgeth the Chriſtians thereof, prouyng that if there be any defect in increaſe of thynges, it is not to be aſcribed to them, but rather to the decreaſe of nature, languiſhyng now toward her age and latter ende. Agayne, for that it hath bene ſo foreſayd & prophecied, that toward the end of the world ſhould come warres, famine, & peſtilence. Moreouer, if there be any cauſe therof more proper then other, it is moſt like to be imputed to their vayne idolatrie, and to the cõtempt of the true God. Alſo, that ſuch euils be increaſed by the wickednes of the people, ſo that to ſpeake in his owne wordes famem maiorem faciat rapacitas, quàm ſiccitas. i. famine commeth more by auarice of mẽ, then by drought of the ayre, but eſpecially the cauſe therof to proceede of the cruell ſheddyng of the innocent bloud of the Chriſtians. &c.

Crimes and cauſes falſely layd to the Chriſtians.

The Apologie of *Cyprian* for the Chriſtians.

Cypria. contra Demetrianũ.

Cypria. de idolorũ vanitate.

Thus with many other mo probations doth Cyprian defend the Chriſtians, agaynſt the barbarous exclamatiõs of the heathẽ Gentiles. Of which Cyprian for ſomuch as he ſuffered in the tyme of this perſecution, I mynde (Chriſt willyng) to recapitulate here in ample diſcourſe, the full ſumme firſt of his lyfe and bringyng vp, then of his death & Martyrdome, as the worthynes of that man deſerueth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therfore, otherwiſe named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Iacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and other, that he beyng an Aphricã, & borne in Carthage, firſt was an Idolater and Gentill, altogether geuẽ to the ſtudy and practiſe of the Magicall Artes, of whoſe parentage and education in letters from his youth, no mention is made, but that he was a worthy Rethoritian in Aphrica. Of whoſe conuerſion and Baptiſme he himſelfe in his firſt booke and ſecond Epiſtle, writeth a floriſhyng and eloquẽt hiſtory. Whiche his conuerſion vnto the Chriſtian fayth, as Hieronymus affirmeth in his Commentary vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God, and the meanes of Cecilius a Prieſt, whoſe name after he bare, and through the occaſion of hearyng the hiſtory of the Prophet Ionas. The ſame Hierome moreouer teſtifieth how he immediately vpon his conuerſion, diſtributed among the poore all his ſubſtaunce, and after that beyng ordained a Prieſt, was not long after conſtituted Byſhop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he ſucceeded Agrippinus of whom he oftẽ maketh mentiõ which alſo was the firſt author of rebaptizatiõ, or ſome other Byſhop of Carthage, it remaineth vncertaine. But this is moſt true, he him ſelfe ſhyned in his office & dignitie with ſuch godly giftes, and vertues, that as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the gouernemẽt of the whole Eaſt Church, and Church of Spayne, and was called the Byſhop of the Chriſtian men.

The countrey & education of *Cyprian.*

The conuerſion of *Cyprian.*

Cyprian made firſt Prieſt, then Byſhop of Carthage.

And to the further ſettyng forth to the prayſe of God, of his godly vertues wherewith he was indued, appearing as well in his owne workes, to thẽ that lyſt to peruſe the ſame, as alſo deſcribed by other worthy writers, he was curteous and gentle, louyng and full of pacience, and therewithall ſharpe & ſeuere in his office, accordyng as the cauſe required, as appeareth in his firſt booke and third Epiſtle. Furthermore, he was moſt louing and kinde towardes his brethren, and tooke much payne in helpyng and releuyng the Martyrs, as it appeareth by his letters to the Elders and Deacons of his Byſhoprike, that with all ſtudy and indeuour they ſhould gently entertayne and ſhewe pleaſure vnto the Martyrs in his abſence, as partly is touched before, pag. 67.

The vertues of *Cyprians* lyfe deſcribed.

The care of *Cyprian* toward the afflicted brethren.

The thirde Epiſtle of his firſt booke doth declare of what ſtomacke and godly courage he was, in executyng his office, and handlyng his matters. Neither was he voyde of prudence and circũſpection, but was adorned with marueilous modeſtie, whereby he attempted nothyng vpon his owne head and iudgement, but with the conſent of his fellow Byſhops & other inferiour Miniſters, and that chiefly (amõg others) doth the. 10. Epiſtle of his third booke witnes. He was of a marueilous liberall diſpoſition towardes the poore brethren of other cõtreyes, for ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence, he committed the care of thoſe poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their owne proper goodes they would helpe the baniſhed brethren, to that which was neceſſary for them, as witneſſeth the 24. Epiſtle of his third booke. He reciteth (among other giftes wherewith he was indued) as touchyng the viſions and heauenly admonitions of the perſecutions that ſhould follow, and of other matters touchyng the gouernement of the Church in his firſt booke & third Epiſtle, and fourth booke and fourth Epiſtle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the forme or maner of a certaine viſion, whiche we haue before ſufficiently expreſſed.

The modeſtie of *Cyprian* in conferryng with his fellow brethren.

Viſions concernyng the troubles and peace of the Church, recited and expounded by *Cyprian.* before pag. 67.

He had moreouer great ſkill in the foreknowledge of thynges that ſhould chaunce, as may be gathered by the vj. Epiſtle of his fourth booke. Alſo Auguſtine doth attribute vnto him many worthy vertues, whiche writeth much in ſettyng forth his giftes of humilitie, in his ſecond booke of Baptiſme, the fourth chap. agaynſt the Donatiſtes, and in his vij. booke and. xi. chap. of his long ſufferaunce and pacience. Alſo of his curteſie and meekenes, by whiche vertues he concealed nothyng that he vnderſtode, but vttered the ſame meekely and patiently. Alſo, that he kept the Eccleſiaſticall peace and concorde with thoſe that were of an other opinion, then he was of: laſtly, that he neither circumuented nor did preiudice any mã, but followed that thing which ſeemed good in his iudgement, it is manifeſt in S. Auguſtine his fift booke, De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas. Neither is this to be paſſed with ſilence, that Hierome writeth that he was very diligent in readyng, eſpecially the workes of Tertulian. For he ſaith that he ſaw a certaine old mã whoſe name was Paulus, whiche told him he ſaw the Notarie of

Cyprian meeke & pacient.

Cyprian a great reader of *Tertulian.*

bleſſed Cyprian, beyng then an old man, when he him ſelfe was but a ſpringal in the Citie of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont neuer to let one day paſſe without ſome readyng of Tertulian, and that he was accuſtomed often tymes to ſay vnto hym: geue me my maiſter, meanyng thereby Tertulian.

Now a few wordes touchyng his exile and Martyrdome. Of his Epiſtles whiche he wrote backe to his congregation, leadyng his lyfe in exile, mention is made aboue, wherein he ſheweth the vertue beſeemyng a faythfull paſtor, in that he tooke no leſſe care, as wel of his own church, as of other Byſhops beyng abſent, then he did beyng preſent. wherein alſo he him ſelfe doth ſignifie that voluntary he abſented him ſelfe, leaſt he ſhould do more hurt thẽ good to the cõgregation, by reaſon of his preſence, as is likewiſe declared before. Thus from the deſolate places of his baniſhment, wherein he was oftentymes ſought for, he wryteth vnto his brethren: as in his third booke and x. Epiſtle is manifeſt, which thyng ſeemeth to be done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned agayne out of exile, in the raigne of this Valerianus, he was alſo after that

The ſecond baniſhment of Cyprian.

the ſecond tyme baniſhed of Paternus the Proconſul of Aphrica, into the Citie of Thurbin, as the Oration of Auguſtine touching Cyprian ſheweth, or els as Pontius the Deacon ſaith, into a Citie named Furabilitana, or Curabilitana.

The apprehenſiõ of Cyprian.

But when Paternus the Proconſul was dead, Galienus Maximus ſucceeded in the rowme ⁊ office of Paternus: who findyng Cyprian in a garden, cauſed him to be apprehended by his Sergeauntes, and to be brought before the Idoles, to offer ſacrifice: whiche when he would not do, then the Proconſul breaking forth in theſe wordes ſayd: Long haſt thou liued in a ſacrilegious mynde, and haſt gathered together men of wicked conſpiracie, and haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe an enemy to the Gods of the Romaines, and to their holy lawes: neither could the ſacrete Emperours Valerianus ⁊

The Martyrdome of Cyprian.

Galienus reuoke thee to the ſect of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyraunt condemnyng him to haue hys head cut of, he paciently and willingly ſubmitted his necke to the ſtroke of the ſword (as Hieronymus affirmeth.) And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended this preſent lyfe in the Lord, Xiſtus then beyng Byſhop of Rome, as Euſebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lorde. 259. Sabellicus ſayth that he was Martyred in the raigne of Gallus and Voluſianus, Lucius beyng Byſhop of Rome, but that ſeemeth not like.

An. 259.

The bookes of Cyprian.

Now remaineth to ſpeake ſomethyng likewiſe of hys workes and bookes left behynd him, although all peraduenture do not remaine, that he wrote: whereof ſome are miſſing, ſome agayne which go in the liuery of his name ⁊ title, are not his: but ſuch as be certainly his by the ſtile and ſenſe may ſoone be diſcerned. Such is the eloquẽce of his phraſe, and grauitie of his ſentẽce, vigour of wit, power in perſwaſion, ſo much differyng from many other, as he can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the whiche his bookes with vs extant, as the floriſhyng eloquence is worthely commẽded, proceedyng out of the ſchole of Rhetoricians, ſo is the authoritie therof no leſſe in reputation, not onely among vs of this age of the Churche, but alſo among the auncient fathers. Whereof S. Auſten ſpeakyng of his commendation

The iudgement of Auſten vpon the bookes of Cyprian. Auguſt. contra Creſconium. Lib. 2. cap. 32.

ſayth: Ego, inquit, literas Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex canonicis conſidero: & quod in eis diuinarũ Scripturarum autoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autẽ non congruit, cum pace eius reſpuo. &c. By which wordes it may appeare that Auſten, although he did not repute ỹ bookes and wrytyngs of Cyprian to be equiualent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithſtandyng next after the Scriptures he had the ſame in great admiration.

Vincentius, ⁊ Laziardus Celeſtinus, recityng the names of diuers bookes, bearyng the title of Cyprian (moe peraduenture then be truly his) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his moſt pithy ſentẽces, all which here to repeate were to tedious. To geue a taſt of the ſpeciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he ſpeakyng of the treaſures of a rich man, exhorteth ſaying:

Sentences of Cyprian collected. Ex Vincent. Lib. 12. cap. 63.

Ne dormiat in theſauris tuis, quod pauperi prodeſſe poteſt. i.

> Let it not ſleepe in thy treaſures, that may profite the poore.

Duo nunquam veteraſcunt in homine, cor ſemper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo. i.

> Two thynges neuer ware old in man, the hart euer in imaginyng new cogitations, the toung euer in vttering the vayne conceptions of the hart.

Quod aliquando de neceſſitate amittendum eſt, ſponte pro diuina remuneratione diſtribuendum eſt. i.

> That whiche a man muſt needes forgo of neceſſitie, wiſedome it is a man to diſtribute ſo, that God may euerlaſtyngly reward him.

Diſciplina eſt morum præſentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obſeruatio. i.

> Diſcipline is an ordinate amendement of maners preſent, and a regular obſeruation of euils paſt.

Integritas ibi nulla eſſe poteſt, vbi qui improbos damnẽt, deſunt: & ſoli qui damnentur, occurrunt.

> There can be no integritie, where as they which ſhould condemne the wicked are euer wantyng: and they onely which are to be condemned, are euer preſent.

Auari ad hoc tantum poſſident, quæ habent, vt ne alteri poſſidere liceat.

> A couetous man onely poſſeſſeth his goodes for this, becauſe an other man ſhould not poſſeſſe them.

Sericum & purpuram indutæ, Chriſtum induere nõ poſſunt.

> Wemen that aduaunce them ſelues in putting on ſilkes and purple, cannot lightly put on Chriſt.

Fœminæ crines ſuos inficiunt malo præſagio: Capillos enim ſibi flammeos auſpicari non metuunt.

> They which coulour their lockes with red and yelow, begyn by tyme to prognoſticate, of what coulour their heades ſhalbe in hell.

Qui ſe pingunt in hoc ſeculo, aliter quàm creauit Deus, metuant ne cum reſurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturã ſuã non recognoſcat.

> They whiche loue to paynt them ſelues in this world otherwiſe then God hath created them: let them feare, leaſt when the day commeth of reſurrection, the creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemoſinam dat, Deo ſuauitatis odorem ſacrificat.

> He that geueth an almes to the poore, ſacrificeth to God an odour of ſweete ſmell.

Contemnenda eſt omnis iniuria præſentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

> All iniurie of euils preſẽt is to be neglected, for the good hope of good thynges to come.

Nihil prodeſt verbis proferre virtutem, & factis deſtruere.

> To ſet out vertue in wordes, and to deſtroy the ſame in factes, is nothyng worth.

Quo plures domi ſint tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondẽdum, ſed erogandum eſt, quia multorum iam delicta redimẽda ſunt, multorum purgandæ conſcientiæ.

> The mo children ⁊ greater houſhold thou haſt at home, the more cauſe thou haſt not to horde vp, but to diſperſe abroad, for that many ſinnes are to be redeemed, many conſciences are to be purged.

The place of Scripture expounded: Eleemoſyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat. Tob. 4. Ex Cypri. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.

¶ Moreouer, leaſt the Papiſtes here ſhould take an occaſion by this text, grounded vpon the text of Tobi, cap. 4. Almoſe (ſayth he) deliuereth from all ſinne and death: to build vp the workes of ſatiſfaction, the ſayd Cyprian Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2. more playnly expoundeth both him ſelfe, and that place of Scripture, wrytyng in theſe wordes: Quia ſcriptum eſt, Eleemoſina ab omni peccato, & a morte liberat. Tob. 4. non vtique ab ea morte, quam ſemel Chriſti ſanguis extinxit, & a qua nos ſalutaris Baptiſmi & redemptoris noſtri gratia liberauit, ſed ab illa quæ per delicta poſtmodũ ſerpit. &c. That is: Almoſe doth deliuer frõ all ſinne, and from death, Tob. 4. not from that (ſayth Cyprian) which the bloud of Chriſt hath once extincted, and from whiche the wholeſome grace of our Baptiſme, and of our redemer hath deliuered vs, but from that death whiche afterward creepeth in by ſinne. &c. Cypria. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2. by which wordes it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth, this deliuerãce (which commeth by almoſe geuyng) from death and ſinne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlaſtyng, frõ which onely the bloud of Chriſt doth ſaue vs: but for temporall or tranſitory puniſhmẽt which is wont to be inflicted in this body for ſinne. For ſo it is nothyng repugnaunt, but that temporall vertues may haue their tẽporall rewardes in this lyfe, ⁊ likewiſe ſinnes committed may haue temporall puniſhmentes, both in vs and in our families, our eternall ſaluation ſtandyng euermore firme in Chriſt yet notwithſtandyng.

The foreſayd Vincentius moreouer ſpeakyng of an other booke of Cyprian (although the ſayd booke be not nũbred in the Catalogue of his workes) maketh mention of xij. abuſes, or abſurdities in the lyfe of man, whiche in order be theſe:

Twelue abuſes in the lyfe of man, noted out of Cyprian.

1. Sapiens ſine operibus. A wiſe man without good workes.
2. Senex ſine religione. An old man without religion.
3. Adoleſcens ſine obediẽtia. A yõg mã without obediẽce.
4. Diues ſine eleemoſina. A ritch man without almoſe.
5. Fœmina ſine pudicitia. A woman ſhameleſſe.
6. Dominus ſine virtute. A guide without vertue.
7. Chriſtianus contentioſus. A Chriſtian man contentious.
8. Pauper ſuperbus. A poore man proude.

9. Rex

9.Rex iniquus.	A kyng vnrighteous.
10.Epiſcopus negligens.	A Byſhop negligent.
11.Plebs ſine diſciplina.	People without diſcipline.
12.Populus ſine lege.	Subiectes without law.

The learnyng of *Cyprian* ioyned with his blemiſhes.

The faulte of Papiſtes to make to much of euery thyng.

As I haue hetherto ſet forth the commendation of Cyprian this bleſſed Martyr: ſo muſt we now take heede agayne, that we do not here incurre the old & common daunger, whiche the Papiſtes are commonly accuſtomed to runne into, whoſe fault is alwayes almoſt to be immoderate and exceſſiue in their proceedinges, makyng to much almoſt of euery thyng. So in ſpeakyng of the holy Sacramentes, they make more of thē then both the nature of Sacramentes require, not vſing them, but abuſing thē, not referryng or applying them, but adoryng them, not takyng thē in their kynde for thynges godly as they are, but takyng thē for God himſelfe, turnyng Religion into ſuperſtition, & the creature to the creator, the thynges ſignifiyng, to the things them ſelues ſignified. &c. To the Church likewiſe, and ceremonies of the Church, to generall Councels, to the bleſſed virgin Mary mother of Chriſt, to the byſhop of Rome, and to all other in like caſe, not contented to attribute that whiche is ſufficient, they excede moreouer the bondes of iudgement and veritie, iudgyng ſo of the Church, and generall Coũcels, as though they could neuer, nor dyd euer erre in any iote. That the bleſſed mother of Chriſt amongeſt all women was bleſſed, and a virgine full of grace, the Scripture & truth doth geue: but to ſay that ſhe was borne without all originall ſinne, or to make of her an aduocate, or mother of mercy, there they runne further thē truth will beare. The ceremonies were firſt ordained to ſerue but onely for order ſake, vnto the which they haue attributed ſo much at length, that they haue ſet in them a great part of our Religion, yea and alſo ſaluatiō. And what thing is there els almoſt, wherin the Papiſtes haue not exceded?

How farre the authoritie of the doctors ought to extende.

Wherfore to auoyde this common error of the Papiſts, wee muſt beware in commēdyng the Doctors & writers of the church, and ſo cōmende them, that truth and conſideration go with our commendation. For though this cānot be denyed, but that holye Cyprian and other bleſſed Martyrs were holy men, yet notwithſtandyng they were men, that is ſuch as might haue, and had their falles and faultes, men I ſay, and not Angells, nor Gods, ſaued by God, not ſauiours of men, nor patrōs of grace. And though they were alſo men of excellent learning, and worthy Doctors, yet with their learnyng they had their errours alſo annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be) of great authoritye, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit they ſayd well in moſt thynges: yet is it not therfore inough, that what they ſayd, it muſt ſtand for a truth. That preeminence of authoritie onely belongeth to the worde of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and Doctours, be they neuer ſo famous, there is none that is voyde of his reprehenſion. In Origene (although in his tyme the admiration of his learnyng was ſingular) yet how many things be there, which the Churche now holdeth not? but examinyng him by Scriptures, where he ſayd well, they admit him, where otherwiſe, they leaue him. In Polycarpus the Church hath corrected and altered that whiche he did hold in celebratyng the Eaſter day after the Iewes. Neither cā holy and bleſſed Ignatius be defended in all his ſayinges: as where he maketh the faſtyng vpon the Sōday or the Sabboth day as great an offence, as to kill Chriſt him ſelfe, Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philip. contrary to this ſaying of S. Paule: Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. Alſo where the ſayd Ignatius ſpeaketh De virginitate, and of other thynges mo. Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the begynnyng. He ſeemeth alſo to defend free will in man, in thoſe thynges alſo that be ſpirituall. He ſayth that Chriſt ſuffered after he was fifty yeares old, abuſing this place of the Goſpell: Quinquaginta annos nondum habes. &c. Tertulianus (whom S. Cyprian neuer layd out of his handes almoſt) is noted to be a Chiliaſte: alſo to haue bene of Mōtanus ſect. The ſame did hold alſo S. Iuſtine, Cyprian, & other, that the Aungels fell firſt for the concupiſcence of women. Lib. de habitu mulierũ. He defendeth free will of mā after the corruption of nature, inclinyng alſo to the errour of them, which defend the poſſibilitie of keeping God his law. Concernyng Mariage, Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, ſicut vnum Deum. i. We know (ſayth he) one Mariage, as we know one God, condemnyng the ſecond Mariage. Lib. de Monogam. Diuers other thynges of like abſurditie in hym be noted. Iuſtinus alſo ſeemeth to haue inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliaſtes, of the fall of certaine Aungels by women, of free will of man, of poſſibilitie of keeping the law & ſuch other. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great ſcholer of Tertulian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who contrary to the doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptiſing of ſuch, as were before Baptiſed of heretickes. Wherof ſpeaketh S. Auſten, miſlikyng the ſame errour of Cyprian, in theſe wordes contained in his 2. booke, Contra Creſconium: Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego conſequi non valeo, eius multis literis mea ſcripta non comparo, eius ingeniũ diligo, eius ore delector, eius charitatem miror, eius Martyriũ veneror. Non accipio quod de baptiſandis hæreticis & ſchiſmaticis ſenſit. &c. Vpō the which matter there was a great contention betwene the ſayd Cyprian and Stephen Byſhop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Auſten him ſelf likewiſe, of Ambroſe, Hierome, Chriſoſtome, the ſame may be ſayd, that none of them all ſo clearely paſſed away, but their peculiar faultes and errours went with them, whereof it were to long, and out of our purpoſe at this preſent to entreate. And thus much concernyng the ſtory of Cyprian the holy learned Martyr of Chriſt.

The blemiſhes and errours of doctors noted.

Origene.

Policarpus.

Ignatius.

Irenæus.

Tertullianus.

Iuſtinus.

Cyprianus.

Contention betwene *Cyprian* & *Stephanus* Biſhop of Rome.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touchyng the life and ſtory of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he, whom the narration of Nazianzen ſpeaketh of, (as is aboue mentioned) who from Arte Magicke was conuerted to be a Chriſtian, which Cyprian was a Citizen of Antioche, and afterward Byſhop of the ſame Citie, and was Martyred vnder Diocletian. Where as this Cyprian was Byſhop of Carthage, and dyed vnder Valerianus, as is ſayd. &c. By the Decrees of Graciā. Diſt. x. Quoniam, it appeareth moreouer that there was alſo a third Cyprian, in the tyme of Iulianus the Emperour Apoſtata, lōg after both theſe aforenamed. For ſo geueth the title prefixed before the ſayd Diſtinct. Cyprianus Iuliano Imperatori: the Diſtinctiō beginning. Quoniā idē mediator Dei & hominũ homo Chriſtus Ieſus, ſic actibus proprijs, & dignitatibus diſtinctis officia poteſtatis vtriuſq; diſcernit. &c. Vpon the which Diſtinction ẏ Gloſe cōmeth in with theſe wordes, ſaying: that the Popedome, and the ſeate Imperiall, haue both one begynnyng of one, that is, Chriſt: who was both Byſhop, and Kyng of Kinges. And that the ſayd dignities be diſtincted, albeit the Pope notwithſtandyng hath both the ſwordes in his hand, and may exerciſe them both ſome tyme. And therefore although they be diſtincted, yet in exerciſe the one ſtandeth linealy vnder the other, ſo that the Imperial dignitie is ſubiect vnder the Papall dignitie, as the inferiour is ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour: ẏ as there is one ruler ouer the whole, which is God: ſo in the Church is one Monarche, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right both of the heauenly and terrene dominiō. Hæc Gloſa.

Cyprians diuers of that name.

Diſt. 10. *Quoniam.*

Gloſa ibid.

A blynd gloſe chalengyng both the ſwordes to the Popes hād.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, becauſe this Diſtinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, whiche is falſe, for this Cyprian was not in the tyme of Iulian, not by 100. yeares, and ſo likewiſe by the other Cyprian, whiche dyed Martyr vnder Diocletian. Of any Cyprian beſides theſe two, we read not. Neither is it credible, that if there were any ſuch Cyprian, he would euer haue written of any ſuch matter, of the difference and mutuall neede of Chriſtiā Emperours and Chriſtian Popes. When as that Emperour beyng an Apoſtata, neither regarded Chriſt, nor cared for any Pope.

A diſtinction of *Gracian* diſproued.

About this tyme, and vnder the ſame Emperour Valerianus ſuffered alſo Xiſtus, or Sixtus, the ſecond of that name, Byſhop of Rome: who beyng accuſed of his aduerſaries, to be a Chriſtiā, was brought with his vj. Deacons to the place of execution, where he with Nemeſius and other his Deacons were beheaded and ſuffered Martyrdome. Laurence in the ſame tyme being alſo Deacon folowed after, complaynyng to Xiſtus, as one beyng greued, that he might not alſo ſuffer with him, but to be ſecluded as the ſonne frō the father. To whom the Byſhop aunſweryng agayne, declared that within three dayes he ſhould folow after. In the meane tyme, he willed him to go home, and to diſtribute his treaſures, if he had any vnto the poore. The iudge belyke hearyng mention to be made of treaſures to be geuen to the poore, and thinkyng that Laurence had great ſtore of treaſure in his cuſtody, commaunded him to bryng the ſame vnto him, accordyng as in the diſcourſe of his ſtory here vnder written, more fully may appeare. Whiche hiſtory, becauſe it is ſet forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambroſe, and other writers, and conteyneth mo thynges in it worthy to be noted of the Reader, we haue therefore with the more diligence here inſerted the more ample deſcription of the ſame, to the further admiration of his pacience, and God his glorie ſhewed in him.

Xiſtus the ſecond Biſhop of Rome Martyr.

Sixe Deacons with *Xiſtus* Martyrs.

Now then as order requireth, let vs enter the ſtorie of that moſt conſtant and couragious Martyr of Chriſt S. Laurence, whoſe wordes and workes deſerue to be as freſh and greene in Chriſtian hartes, as is the flouriſhyng Laurel

The ſtory & martyrdome of *Laurence.*

Ex Ambroſ. Lib. 2. offic. cap. 41.

Ex Prudentio Lib. Periſteph.

The wordes of *Laurẽce* to *Xiſtus.*

ther. This thirſty Hart longyng after the water of lyfe, deſirous to paſſe vnto it, through the ſtraight doore of bitter death, when on a tyme he ſawe his vigilaunt Shepheard, Xiſtus, led as an harmeles lambe, of harmefull tyrauntes to his death, cryed out with open mouth and hart inuincible, ſaying: O deare father, whether goeſt thou, without the company of thy deare ſonne? Whether haſteneſt thou, O reuerend Prieſt, without thy Deacon? Neuer waſt thou wont to offer ſacrifice without thy Miniſter. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhode? Haſt thou proued me vnnaturall? Now try ſweete father, whether thou haſt choſen a faythfull Miniſter, or not. Denyeſt thou vnto him the fellowſhyp of thy bloud, to whom thou haſt committed the diſtribution of the Lordes bloud? See that thy iudgemẽt be not miſliked, whileſt thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abaſing of the Scholar, is the diſgracing of the Maiſter. What? haue we not learned that worthy Maiſters, haue obtained moſt worthy fame, by the worthy actes of their Diſciples and Scholars? Finally Abraham ſacrificed his onely begotten Iſaac. Stoned Stephen prepared the way to preachyng Peter: euẽ ſo father, declare thy manifold vertues by me thy ſonne. Offer thou him that profereth him ſelfe. Graunt that the body of thy ſcholar may be ſacrificed, whoſe mynde with good letters thou haſt beautified. Theſe wordes with teares S. Laurence vttered, not becauſe his maiſter ſhould ſuffer, but for that he might not be ſuffered to taſt of deathes cup, which he thirſted after.

The aunſwere of *Xiſtus* to *Laurence.*

Then Xiſtus to his ſonne ſhaped this aunſwere: I forſake thee not, O my ſonne, I geue thee to wyt, that a ſharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weake old man am I, and therfore runne the raſe of a lighter & eaſier death. But luſty and young art thou, and more luſtely, yea more gloriouſly ſhalt thou triumph ouer this tyraunt. Thy time approcheth, ceaſe to weepe & lament, three dayes after thou ſhalt follow me. Decent is it, that this ſpace of tyme come betwene the Prieſt & the Leuite. It may not beſeeme thee, O ſweete Pupil, to triumphe vnder thy maiſter, leſt it be ſayd he wanted an helper. Why craueſt thou to be partaker with me in my Paſſion? I bequeath vnto thee the whole inheritaunce. Why requireſt thou to enioy my preſence? Let weake Scholers go before, and the ſtrõger come after: that thoſe without maiſter may get the victory, which haue no neede by maiſter to be gouerned. So Helias left behynde hym his beloued Heliſeus. I yeld vp vnto thy hãdes the ſucceſſion of my vertues. Such was their contentiõ, not vnmeete for ſo godly a Prieſt, ſo zelous a Miniſter, ſtriuyng with them ſelues, who ſhould firſt ſuffer for the name of Chriſt Ieſu.

In tragicall hiſtories we haue it mẽtioned, that through ioy & admiration, people clapped their handes, whẽ Pylades named him ſelfe Oreſtes: Oreſtes, as truth it was, affirmed him ſelfe to be Oreſtes. Pylades wiſhyng to dye for Oreſtes, Oreſtes not ſufferyng Pylades to looſe his life for his ſake: But neither of them might eſcape death, for both theſe louers were giltie of bloud, the one committyng the fact, the other conſentyng. But this our Laurence the Martyr moſt conſtant, was by no meanes enforced to make this proferre, ſauyng onely by his ardent zeale, and feruent ſpirite, who thirſtyng after the cup of Martyrdome, had it ſhortly after filled to the hard brymme.

Some ſay that this tyraunt was *Decius* the Emperour, but that cannot be, except *Galienus* or ſome other iudge now was called by the name of *Decius.*

Now let vs draw neare to the fire of Martyred Laurence, that our colde hartes may be warmed therby. The mercyleſſe tyraunt, vnderſtandyng this vertuous Leuite, not onely to be a Miniſter of the Sacramentes, but a diſtributer alſo of the Church ritches (whereof mention is made before in the wordes of Xiſtus) promiſed to him ſelfe a double pray, by the apprehẽſion of one ſilly ſoule. Firſt with the rake of auarice to ſcrape to him ſelfe the treaſure of poore Chriſtians, then with the firy forke of tyranny ſo to toſſe and turmoyle them, that they ſhould wax weary of their Chriſtian profeſſion: with furious face, and cruell countenaunce, the greedy wolfe demaunded where this Deacon Laurence had beſtowed the ſubſtaunce of the Church. Who crauyng three dayes reſpite, promiſed to declare where the treaſure might be had. In the meane tyme he cauſed a good number of poore Chriſtians to be congregated. So whẽ the day of his aunſwere was come, the perſecutor ſtraightly charged him to ſtand to his promiſe. Then valiant Laurẽce ſtretchyng out his armes ouer the poore, ſayd: Theſe are the precious treaſure of the church. Theſe are the treaſure in deede, in whom the fayth of Chriſt raigneth, in whom Ieſus Chriſt hath his manſion place. What more precious Iuels can Chriſt haue, thẽ thoſe in whõ he hath promiſed to dwell? For ſo is it written: I was hungry, & ye gaue me to eate: I was thirſty, and ye gaue me to drinke: I was harborles, and ye lodged me. And agayne: Looke what ye haue done to the leaſt of theſe, the ſame haue ye done to me. What greater ritches cã Chriſt our maiſter poſſeſſe, thẽ the poore people, in whõ he loueth to be ſeene? Oh, what toung is able to expreſſe the fury and madnes of the tyrantes hart? Now he ſtaped, he ſtared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wit. His eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a bore fomed, his teeth like an hellhounde grinded. Now not a reaſonable man, but a roaryng Lyon he might be called. Kyndle the fire (he cryed) of wood make no ſpare. Hath this villaine deluded the Emperour? away with him, away with him. Whippe him with ſcourges, ierke him with rods, buffet him with fiſtes, brayne him with clubbes: ieſteth the traitour wt the Emperour? Pinche hym with firy tonges, girde him with burnyng plates, bryng out the ſtrongeſt chaynes, and the fireforkes, and the grated bedde of yron. On the fire with it, binde the rebell hand and foote, & when the bed is fire hot, on with him: roſt him, broyle him, toſſe him, turne him: On payne of our highe diſpleaſure do euery man his office, O ye tormentours.

The true treaſure of Chriſtes Churche.

***Laurence* tormẽted on the fiery gridyron.**

The word was no ſooner ſpoken, but all was done. After many cruell handlynges, this meeke lambe was layd I will not ſay on his firy bed of yron, but on his ſoft bed of downe. So mightely God wrought with his Martyr Laurence, ſo miraculouſly God tempered his elemẽt the fire, not a bed of conſumyng payne, but a pallet of nouriſhyng reſt was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the Emperour might ſeeme to be tormented: the one broylyng in the fleſh, the other burnyng in the hart. When this triumphaunt Martyr had bene preſſed downe with firepikes for a great ſpace, in the mightie ſpirite of God he ſpake to the vanquiſhed tyraunt:

This ſide is now roſted inough, turne vp O tyraunt great,
Aſſay, whether roſted or raw, thou thinkeſt the better meate.

The ſingular pacience of *Laurence* in his paynes.

O rare and vnaccuſtomed pacience. O fayth inuincible, that not onely not burneſt, but by meanes vnſpeakable doeſt recreate, refreſh, ſtabliſh, and ſtrengthen thoſe that are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why ſo mightely comforteſt thou the perſecuted? Becauſe through thee they beleue in Gods promiſes infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr ouercommeth his tormentors, vanquiſheth this tyraunt, confoundeth his enemyes, confirmeth the Chriſtiãs, ſleepeth in peace, raigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy graunt vs grace, by the lyfe of Laurence to learne in Chriſt to lyue, and by his death to learne for Chriſt to dye, Amen.

The Martyrdome and end of bleſſed *Laurence.*

A Romaine ſouldiour cõuerted by *Laurence,* and Martyred.

Such is the wiſedome and prouidence of God, that the bloud of his deare Sainctes (like good ſeede) neuer falleth in vayne to the grounde, but it bryngeth ſome increaſe: ſo it pleaſed the Lord to worke at the Martyrdome of this holy Laurence, that by the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certaine ſouldiour of Rome, beyng therwith compuncted, and conuerted to the ſame fayth, deſired forthwith to be Baptiſed of him: for the whiche he beyng called for of the iudge, was ſcourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

***Dionyſius* Biſhop of Alexandria with his felowes baniſhed. *Maximus, Fauſtus, Cheremon,* a certaine Romaine baniſhed.**

Vnder the ſame Valerianus ſuffered alſo Dionyſius Biſhop of Alexandria much affliction & baniſhment, with certaine other brethren. Of the which he writeth himſelfe, and is alledged in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory of Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 11. the wordes whereof tend to this effect: Dionyſius with three of his Deacons, to wit, Maximus, Fauſtus, and Cheremon, alſo with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then Preſident, who there declared vnto them in circumſtaunce of wordes how he had ſignified vnto them the clemencie of his Lordes and Emperours: who had graunted them pardon of lyfe, ſo that they would returne to them, and worſhyp the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Emperie, aſkyng them what aunſwere they would geue him thereunto: truſtyng, as he ſayd, that they would not ſhew themſelues ingratefull to the clemency of them which ſo gently did exhort them. To this Dionyſius aunſweryng, ſayd: All men worſhyp not all Gods, but diuers men diuers Gods, ſo as euery one hath in him ſelfe a mynde or phãtaſie to worſhyp. But we worſhyp not many nor diuers Gods, but onely that one God, who is the creator of all thynges, & hath committed to our Lordes Valerianus and Galienus the gouernment of their Empery, makyng to him our prayers inceſſantly, for their proſperous health and continuaũce. Then the Preſident ſayd: And what hurt is it, but that you may both worſhyp your God, what God ſoeuer he be, and theſe our Gods alſo? For you are commaũded to worſhyp ſuch Gods, as all mẽ know to be Gods. Dionyſius aunſwered: we worſhyp none other, but as we haue ſayd. Emilianus the Preſident ſayd: I ſee you are ingratefull men, & conſider not the benignity of the Emperours, wherfore you ſhall no longer remaine in this Citie, but ſhall be ſent out

The examination of *Dionyſius* before the Preſident.

The conſtant confeſſion of *Dionyſius* and his Deacõs.

to the partes of Libya, vnto a towne called Cephro. For that place by the commaundemẽt of the Emperours I haue choſen for you. Neither ſhall it be lawfull for you, to cõuent your aſſemblies, or to reſort, as ye are wont to your buriall places. And if any of you ſhall be founde out of the place, wherunto you are appointed, to your perill be it. And thinke not contrary, but ye ſhall be watched well inough. Departe therfore to the place as is cõmaunded you. And it followeth more in the ſayd Dionyſius ſpeaking of him ſelfe: And as for me (ſayth he) although I was ſicke, yet he vrged me ſo ſtraightely to depart, that he would not geue me one dayes reſpite. And how (ſayth he, writyng to Germanus) could I congregate, or not congregate any aſſemblies? And after a few lynes it followeth: And yet neither am I altogether abſent from the corporall ſocietie of the Lordes flocke, but I haue collected them together, which were in the Citie, being abſent, as though I had bene preſent, abſent in body, yet preſent in ſpirite. And in the ſame Cephro a great congregation remained with me, as well of thoſe brethren which followed me out of the Citie, as alſo of them whiche were remainyng there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the doore of his word, although at the firſt entraunce I was perſecuted and ſtoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their Idoles and were cõuerted vnto the Lord. And ſo by vs the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which miniſterie after that we had accompliſhed there, the Lord remoued vs to an other place. For Æmilianus tranſlated vs from thence to more ſharpe and ſtreighter places of Libya, commaundyng vs to meete all together at a citie Marcota, thinkyng there to ſeparate vs ſeuerally into ſundry villages, or thinkyng rather to take and preuent vs by the way. After we were come thether, it was aſſigned to me (ſayth Dionyſius) to go to Colluthion: which place I neuer heard of before: which was the more grief to me, yet ſome ſolace it was to me, that the brethren told me, it was neare to a Citie named Parætonium. For as my beyng at Cephron got me the acquaintaunce of many brethrẽ of Egypt, ſo my hope was that the vicinitie of that place where I ſhould be, to the Citie, might procure the familiaritie and concourſe of certaine louyng brethren, which would reſort and aſſẽble with vs, and ſo it came to paſſe. &c.

Dionyſius baniſhed to Cephro.

Infidels cõuerted by *Dionyſius* in his baniſhment.

Ex Dionyſio cõtra Germanum. Euſ. lib. 7 ca. 11.

Moreouer the ſayd Dionyſius in his Epiſtle ad Domitium & Didymũ, makyng mẽtion of thẽ which were afflicted in this perſecutiõ of Valeriã recordeth in theſe wordes, ſaying: it were ſuperfluous (ſayth he) here to recite the names particularly of all our brethren ſlayne in this perſecutiõ, which both were many, and to me vnknowen. But this is certaine, that there were men, women, young men, maydens, old wiues, ſouldiours, ſimple innocentes, and of all ſortes & ages of men. Of whom ſome with ſcourginges & fire, ſome with ſword, obtained victory & got the crowne. Some continued a great tyme, and yet haue bene reſerued. In the which number am I, reſerued hetherto to ſome other oportune tyme knowen vnto the Lord, whiche ſayth: In the tyme accepted, I haue heard thee, and in the day of ſaluation I haue helped thee. &c. Now as concernyng my ſelfe in what ſtate I am, if thou deſire to know, firſt how I and Caius, and Fauſtus, Petrus and Paulus, beyng apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certaine of the towne of Mareote, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included in a wilde place of Libya, diſtãt the ſpace of three dayes iourney from Parætonium. &c. And in proceſſe farther he addeth: In the Citie (ſayth he) were certaine priuily whiche vſed to viſite the brethren: of Prieſtes, Maximus, Dioſcorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they whiche were more notable in the world, Fauſtinus and Aquila, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the Deacons, beſides them whom ſicknes hath conſumed, Fauſtus, Euſebius, and Cheremon are yet aliue. Euſebius hath God rayſed and ſtyrred vp to miniſter to the Confeſſours lying in bandes, and to bury the bodyes of the bleſſed Martyrs not without great peril. Neither doth the Preſident ceaſe yet to this day, cruelly murderyng ſuch as be brought before him, ſome tearyng with tormentes, ſome impriſonyng and keepyng in cuſtody, commaundyng that none ſhould come to them, inquiryng alſo who reſorted vnto them. Yet notwithſtandyng God with chearefulnes and dayly reſorte of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionyſius.

Ex Dionyſio ad Domitium & Didimum. Euſ. ibidem.

Martyrs of all ſortes and ages.

Commendation of *Euſebius* the Deacon.

Concernyng theſe Deacons aboue recited, here is to be noted, that Euſebius afterward was made Byſhop of Laodicea in Syria, Maximus the Prieſt aforeſayd, had the miniſtration of the Church of Alexandria after Dionyſius. Fauſtus long after continued in great age, vnto the latter perſecution, where he beyng a very old man at length was beheaded, and dyed Martyr.

Euſebius the Deacõ made byſhop of *Laodicea*. *Maximus* byſhop of Alexandria. *Fauſtus* long preſerued, at laſt a martir.

As touchyng Dionyſius him ſelfe, thus the ſtories reporte, that he ſuruiuyng all theſe troubles and perſecutiõs, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, vnto the xij. yeare of the raigne of Galienus, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 268. and ſo departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the Churche of Alexandria the ſpace of. xvij. yeares, & before that, had taught the ſchole of the ſayd Citie of Alexandria, the terme of. xvj. yeares. After whom ſucceded Maximus, as is aboue ſpecified. And thus much touchyng the full ſtory of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and of other alſo Martyrs and Confeſſours of Alexandria.

The ende & death of *Dionyſius*.

In Ceſarea Paleſtine, ſuffered alſo the ſame tyme, Priſcus, Malchus, and Alexander, the whiche three dwellyng in the countrey, and good men, ſeyng the valiaunt courage of ye Chriſtians, ſo boldly to venter, and conſtantly to ſtand, and paciently to ſuffer in this perſecution, as men beyng greued with them ſelues, began to repent & to accuſe their ſo great ſluggiſhnes, and cowardly negligence, to ſee other ſo zealous and valiaunt, and them ſelues ſo cold and faynthearted in laboryng for the crowne of Chriſtian Martyrdome: firſt cõſultyng and agreyng within them ſelues, came to Ceſarea & there ſteppyng to the Iudge, declared thẽ ſelues what they were, and obtained the end they came for, beyng geuẽ to the wilde beaſtes. After which like maner alſo and in the ſame Citie of Ceſarea, a certaine woman, whoſe name Euſebius expreſſeth not, who had bene before of the ſect of Marcion, was brought before the Preſident, and likewiſe obtained the ſame Martyrdome. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 12.

Priſcus, Malchus, Alexander. A woman, Martyrs.

Neither was the Citie of Carthage all this while free from the ſtroke of this perſecution, if credit ſhould be geuen to the ſpeculatiue glaſſe of Vincentius, who cityng out of Hugo, recordeth of. 300. Martyrs: of which. 300. martyrs the hiſtory ſayth thus, that the Preſident ſettyng before them coales and incẽſe to do ſacrifice, by a lime kilne, which was there neare at hand, offered vnto them this condition, either to ſet incenſe to the coales, for ſacrifice to Iupiter, or els to go into the furnace of lyme: whereupon they altogether with a generall motion ſodenly ruſhed into the kilne, and there with the duſty ſmoke of the lyme were ſmothered. Vincent. Erford.

Three hundreth Martyrs in Carthage. *Ex ſpecul. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 83.*

In Aphrica alſo in the Citie Tuburba, the ſayd Vincentius out of the Martyrologe inferreth mention of three conſtaunt virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, who in the perſecution of this Valerian and Galienus, firſt had geuen for their drinke vinager and gaule, thẽ with ſcourges were tried, after that vpon the gibbet were tormẽted, and rubbed with lyme: then were ſcorched vpon ye fiery gridyrõ, at laſt were caſt to the wilde beaſtes, who beyng not touched of thẽ, finally with the ſword were beheaded. Vincent. Erford.

Maxima, Donatilla, Secunda. virgins, martirs.

In Symela a Citie in Italie, vnder the Alpes, one Põtius beyng there apprehended, by the commaundement of Claudius the Preſident, was hanged firſt vpon the racke, then was caſt to the wilde beaſtes, of whom he beyng nothyng hurt, was after committed to the fire. And finally neither touched therewith (if the ſtory of Vincẽtius be true) was headed by the riuers ſide, and his body throwne into the flood, where immediatly the ſame houre, the foreſayd Claudius, with his aſſiſtant Anabius, were takẽ with wicked ſpirites, by whom they were ſo miſerably vexed, that they bit of their tounges, and dyed.

Pontius. Martyr.

Ex Vincent. Lib. 12. cap. 77.

Ex Bergomẽ. lib. 8. Erford. lib. 6. cap. 17

Zenon alſo Byſhop of Verona, is ſayd alſo in the ſame perſecution to ſuſtaine Martyrdome.

Zenon. Martyr.

Moreouer, in the ſame Citie of Alexandria aforeſayd, Bergomenſis in his. 8. booke, writyng of the ſtory of Valerianus Emperour, maketh mention of Philippus, Biſhop of the ſayd ſea of Alexãdria, who (as he ſayth) was vnder the ſayd Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be founde in any approued ſtory, nor ſtandeth with the truth of tyme that any ſuch Philip then was Byſhop of Alexandria, or any other, except onely Dionyſius. After whom next ſucceded Maximus, who remained. xviij. yeares, and after him Theonas. &c. So that by the auncient recordes of old writers it appeareth not that Philippus or any other of that name was Byſhop of Alexandria, duryng this tyme ſignified by Bergomenſis.

Bergomenſis reproued.

Although in ſome other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomenſis, I finde a certaine hiſtory of one Philippus Preſident of Alexandria about the ſame tyme of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the Emperour and Senate of Rome, to gouerne thoſe quarters, where he was at length conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth, and after made Prieſt or Byſhop, as they ſay, of Alexandria, but that not to be ſo, the teſtimony of auncient writers doth refell. The hiſtory of this Philippus witneſſed in our later Chronicles

Ex Antoni. part. 1. cap. 6.

The ſtory of *Philippus* and *Eugenia.*

is this: Philippus beyng promoted to the Preſidentſhyp of Alexandria, came downe with his wife Claudia, and his .ij. ſonnes, Auitus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long hiſtory full of ſtrāge and prodigious miracles is writtē of Antoninus and other, whereof many thynges I will cut of, and briefly touche the effect of the ſtory, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of myne authors, as he ſhall ſee cauſe.

Eugenia, Prothus, Hiacynthus, conuerted.

Eugenia leauyng her parentes, chaungeth her ſelfe into mans apparell.

Helenus Byſhop of Hierapolis.

Eugenia accuſed of *Melancia.*

Eugenia knowen of her parentes.

Falſe accuſation conuicted.

Philippus by hys daughter conuerted vnto Chriſt.

This Eugenia daughter of Philippus, beyng of ſingular beautie, and diligently brought vp by her parentes in the ſtudy of ſciēce and learnyng, was by occaſion of hearyng the Chriſtians reduced and brought to Chriſtianitie, with .ij. other Eunuches her ſcholefellowes called Prothus & Hiacynthus: with whom ſhe takyng counſaile, vpon the occaſion, whether to auoyde the daunger of perſecution, or refuſing to marry with a Pagane, vnknowyng to her parentes and frendes did flee away, and becauſe the more boldly ſhe might reſorte to heare the readynges of Helenus then an aged Byſhop, and of others, chaunged her ſelfe into a mans apparell, and named her ſelfe Eugenius, vnder the whiche name ſhe was at length admitted vnto a certaine Monaſtery, or a ſocietie of Chriſtians in the ſuburbes of Alexandria (although I hardly beleue that any Monaſtery of Chriſtians was then in the ſuburbes of Alexandria permitted) where alſo at laſt for her excellencie of learnyng and vertue, ſhe was made head of the place. Here by the way I omit the miracles of the foreſayd Helenus (Byſhop as the ſtory ſayth of Hierapolis) how he caried burnyng coales in his lap, and how he aduentred him ſelfe to go in the burnyng fire, to refell wicked Zereas a Pagane, remaynyng in the ſame vnburned. Here alſo I omit the carefull ſearch of her parents for her, and of the anſwere of the Pythoniſſe agayne vnto them, that ſhe was taken vp to the heauen among the Goddeſſes. I omit moreouer the miracles done by the ſayd Eugenia, in healyng the diſeaſes and ſickneſſes of ſuch as came to her. &c. The ſtory proceedeth thus: Among other which were by this Eugenius cured and reſtored, there was a certaine Matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after ſhe had vſed the helpe and acquaintaunce of Eugenius, ſuppoſing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate loue, ſeekyng by all meanes how to accompliſh the luſt of her cōcupiſcence. In ſo much that in her dayly viſityng of her, at length ſhe began ſecretly to breake her mynde, and to entiſe her to her lewdnes. Eugenius contrary exhorted her to vertue & honeſty, ſhewyng her the miſeries of this life, and the perill of that folly. Melancia ſeyng that by no meanes ſhe would be allured, nor by force drawen to her deſire, and fearing moreouer, that ſhe in detecting of her, would bring her to ſhame, beginneth firſt to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaryng how that ſhe went about corruptly to defloure her, and ſo preſented her accuſation before Philippus the Preſident, as well agaynſt Eugenius, as alſo agaynſt the reſt of that company. This matter beyng heard, and the woman well knowen, the crime began to ſeeme ſuſpicious, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was obiected agaynſt the Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof Eugenius with her felow Chriſtians was now not onely in great hatred, but alſo in daunger of preſent death and deſtruction. Then Eugenius purgyng her ſelfe and her honeſty, although with ſufficiēt probation, yet notwithſtandyng perceauyng that it could take no place, what ſoeuer ſhe ſayd, and ſeyng no tyme now to diſſemble any lenger, for the daunger as well of her owne ſelfe, as ſpecially of her brethren, whiche troubled her more: deſired of the Iudge place and tyme to make manifeſt to him the truth, and ſo ſhewed her ſelfe what ſhe was, and how ſhe was his daughter, the other to be Prothus & Hiacinthus the two Eunuches, her ſcholefellowes, vttering moreouer to him and to her brethren the cauſe of her departyng from them. At the narration whereof Philippus her father, and her two brethren commyng to the knowledge of her, cōceaued no litle ioy in receauyng their Eugenia agayne, whom they thought had bene loſt. No leſſe gladnes was among the people, to ſee the euidence of ẏ matter ſo playnly to try out the truth of the one, and the falſenes of the other. Whereat the malignaunt accuſer was with double ſhame confounded, firſt for her diſhoneſty falſly cloked, ſecondly for the vntruth of her accuſation openly detected. Bergomenſis addeth moreouer, that the ſayd accuſer was ſtricken preſētly with lightnyng. Thus Eugenia tryyng her honeſty to her parents & frendes, not onely was receaued of them agayne, but alſo by grace of the Lord workyng with her, in ſpace of tyme did wynne them to Chriſt. Wherby Philippus the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his own daughter to a more perfect lyfe, and whom once he thought to haue bene loſt, not onely he founde agayne, but alſo with her found his owne ſoule, and his owne life, which before he had loſt in deede. This Philippus (ſayth the ſtory) was made afterward Byſhop of Alexandria, and there ſuffered Martyrdome. Concernyng whoſe Martyrdome I denye not but it may be true: but that he was Byſhop of Alexandria that can not be admitted, as is before ſufficiētly proued out of Euſebius and other auncient Hiſtoriciās.

Philippus Martyr.

Baſilla, Eugenia, Martyrs.

Likewiſe it is ſayd, that Eugenia after the Martyrdome of her father, returnyng to Rome with Prothus and Hiacinthus, by occaſion of conuertyng Baſilla (who ſhould haue bene maried to a Pagan huſband, and was then beheaded) to the Chriſtian fayth, was aſſayled with ſundry kyndes of death: firſt beyng tyed to a great ſtone & caſt into Tyber, where ſhe was caryed vp from drownyng, then put in the heate bathes, whiche were extincted, and ſhe preſerued: afterward by famiſhment in priſon, where they ſay ſhe was fed at the hand of our Sauiour, all which Legendary miracles I leaue to the Reader to iudge of them, as ſhall ſeeme good vnto him. At laſt the ſtory ſayth, ſhe was with the ſword beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

Corrections in the ſtory aboue touched.

Helena Byſhop of *Tarſus.*

And becauſe in this preſent hiſtory mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his felowes noteth to be the Byſhop of Hierapolis, here is to be vnderſtode & obſerued by the way, ẏ as Philippus in the foreſayd hiſtory is falſly ſayd to bee Byſhop of Alexandria: ſo likewiſe vntrue it is that Helenus was Biſhop of Hierapolis. For by Euſebius it appeareth Lib.7.cap.5. alledgyng the wordes of Dionyſius, that he was Byſhop of Tarſus in Cilicia, and had there ouerſight of that Church from the tyme of our Lord. 254. to the yeare. 274.

262.

Victor. Victorinus. Claudianus. Boſſa. martyrs.

The vj. yeare of Valerianus and Galienus, was read in the ſtory of Herfordienſis, cited out of Iſuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in priſon the ſpace of three yeares with Claudianus and Boſſa his wife, are ſayd to haue ſuſtayned great tormentes and Martyrdome, for the teſtimony and name of Chriſt. Ex Iſuardo.

Fructuoſus Byſhop of Tarracona in Spayne, wyth hys .2. Deacons *Augurius, Eulogius,* Martyrs.

Ex Pruden. Periſteph.

Fructuoſus & his Deacōs ſtrengthned in the fire.

The fauour of God towarde hys martirs openly declared.

Aurelius Prudentius in his booke intituled Periſtephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuoſus Byſhop of Tarracona in Spayne, who with his two Deacons Augurius, and Eulogius, ſuffered alſo Martyrdome, beyng burned after ſixe dayes impriſonmēt, vnder the foreſayd Emperours in this perſecution. The cauſe of their puniſhment was for the profeſſion of Chriſtes name. Their Iudge and condemner was Emilianus: Their impriſonment endured ſixe dayes. The kynde of death miniſtred vnto them was fire, wherin they beyng altogether caſt, with their armes bound behynd them, their bandes (as Prudentius writeth) were diſſolued, their handes vntouched with the fire, and their bodyes remaynyng whole. The charge of this Iudge vnto the Byſhop was this, that he would worſhyp the Gods, whom the Emperour Galienus worſhypped. To whom Fructuoſus the Byſhop aunſweryng: nay (ſayd he) I worſhyp no dombe Gods of ſtockes and blockes, whom Galienus doth worſhyp: but I worſhyp the Lord and Maiſter of Galienus, the father and creator of all tymes, and his onely ſonne ſent down to vs, of whoſe flocke I am here the Paſtor and ſhepheard. At this word Emilianus aunſweryng agayne: Nay (ſayth he) ſay not thou art, but ſay thou waſt. And forthwith commaunded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is ſayd) their bandes and manacles beyng looſed by the fire, they lifted vp their handes to heauen, prayſing the lyuyng God, to the great admiration of them that ſtode by, praying alſo that the element which ſeemed to flee from them, might worke his full force vpō them, and ſpedely diſpatche them, whiche was after their requeſt obtained. In the meane ſpace, as they were in the fire, there was a certaine ſouldiour in the houſe of Emilianus, who dyd ſee the heauens about to open, and theſe foreſayd Martyrs to enter in the ſame: which ſouldiour likewiſe ſhewed the ſight the ſame time vnto the daughter of Emilianus the Preſidēt, who beholdyng the ſame ſight with the ſouldiour, was a preſent witneſſe of the bleſſedneſſe of them, whom her cruell father had condemned.

The modeſtie of *Fructuoſus.*

As this godly Byſhop was preparyng to his death (ſayth Prudentius) the brethren approchyng to him, brought him drinke, deſiryng him with much weepyng, to receaue ẏ drinke with them: but that he refuſed to do, requiryng them moreouer to refrayne their teares. With like readyneſſe the brethren alſo were diligēt about him to plucke of his ſhooes and hoſe, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the fire. But neither would he ſuffer any ſeruauntes helpe in that, wherein he was no leſſe willing as able to helpe him ſelfe. And thus this bleſſed and fruitefull Byſhop Fructuoſus, with his two Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, beyng brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant confeſſion of the name of Chriſt, with the ſheddyng of their bloud. Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

The notable plague of God againſt Valerian the perſecutor.

Gods iuſt puniſhment to be noted.

And thus farre continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny agaynſt the Saintes of Chriſt. But as all the tyrauntes before, and oppreſſours of the Chriſtians had their deſerued reward at the iuſt hand of God, whiche rendreth to euery man accordyng to his workes: ſo this cruell Valerian, after he had raigned with his ſonne Galienus the terme of vj. or vij. yeares, and about two yeares had afflicted the Churche of Chriſt, felt the iuſt ſtroke of his hand, whoſe indignatiõ before he had prouoked, wherof we haue to witnes Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: For makyng his expedition agaynſt the Perſians, whether by the fraude and treaſon of ſome about hym, or whether by his owne raſhnes, it is doubtfull: But this is certaine, that he fell into the hãdes of his enemyes, beyng about the age of lxx. yeares, where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captiuitie. In ſo much that Sapores the kyng of the Perſians vſed him (and well worthy) not for his ridyng ſtoole, but for his riding blocke. For whenſoeuer the kyng ſhould light vpõ his horſe, openly in the ſight of the people, Valerian Emperour quondam, was brought forth in ſteede of a blocke, for the kyng to treade vpon his backe, in goyng to his horſebacke. And ſo continued this blockiſhe butcherly Emperour with ſhame and ſporte inough vnto his finall end, as witneſſeth Lætus and Aurelius Victor.

Ex Euſebio in Sermone ad Conuentum Sanctorum.

Valerian the perſecutyng Emperour, excoriate of the Perſiãs.

Albeit Euſebius in a certaine Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruell handlyng of him, affirmyng that he was ſlayne, writyng in theſe wordes: Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum ſæuitiem erga ſubditos Dei exercuiſti, iuſtum Dei iudiciũ declaraſti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vnà cum ipſa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abductus, ac tandem a Sapore Perſarum Rege excoriari iuſſus, ſaleq; conditus, perpetuum infælicitatis tuæ trophæum erexiſti. &c. That is: and thou Valerian for ſomuch as thou haſt exerciſed the ſame crudelitie in murderyng the ſubiectes of God, therfore haſt proued vnto vs the righteous iudgement of God, in that thy ſelfe haſt bene bound in chaynes, and caried away for a captiue ſlaue, with thy gorgious purple, and thy imperial attire, and at length alſo beyng commaunded of Sapores kyng of the Perſians to be ſlayne, and poudred with ſalt, haſt ſet vp vnto all men a perpetuall monument of thine owne wretchednes. &c. Euſeb.

The puniſhmẽt of God vpon *Claudius* preſident to the Emperour.

The lyke ſeueritie of God his terrible iudgement is alſo to be noted in Claudius, his Preſidẽt, and miniſter of his perſecutions. Of whiche Claudius, Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the deuill, in ſuch ſorte, that he bytyng of his owne tõg in many ſmal peeces, ſo ended his life. Erford.

Galienus plagued for his perſecution.

Peace graunted to the Church.

Neither did Galienus the ſonne of Valerian, after the captiuitie of his father, vtterly eſcape the righteous hand of God. For beſide the miſerable captiuitie of his father, whõ he could not reſcue, ſuch portentes ſtraunge, and out of the courſe of nature, ſuch earthquakes did happen, alſo ſuch tumultes, commotions, and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth recken vp to the number of xxx. together, which in ſundry places all at one tyme tooke vpon them to be tyrauntes and Emperours ouer the Monarchie of Rome, by the meanes wherof he was not able to ſuccour his father, though he would. Notwithſtãdyng the ſaid Galienus being (as is thought) terrified by ye example of his father, did remoue, at leaſt did moderate the perſecution ſtirred vp by the Edictes of Valerian his father, directyng forth his imperiall Proclamation, the tenor wherof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſeene in Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 13. Emperour and Cæſar, Publius Licinius Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Auguſtus, vnto Dionyſius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian and to all other the like Byſhops. The bõtifull benignitie of my gift, I haue willed and commaunded to be proclaimed through the whole world, to the entent that ſuch which are deteined in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafely returne home agayne, from whence they came. And for the ſame cauſe I haue here ſent to you the example of my reſcript, for you to peruſe and to enioy, ſo that no man ſo hardy to vexe or moleſt you. And this which you may now lawfully enioy, hath bene long ſince by me graunted. And therfore for your more warrant in the ſame, I haue cõmitted the exemplar hereof to the cuſtody of Aurelianus Cyrenius my chief Stuarde, where you may ſet the copy to ſee at your pleaſure.

An other graunt of *Galienus* vnto the Chriſten Byſhops.

This mandate aboue prefixed did Galienus ſend to Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and to other Byſhops as is premiſed. An other reſcript alſo the ſayd Emperour ſent to other Chriſtian Byſhops, permittyng to them full libertie to receaue agayne their wonted places, where they were wont to aſſociate together, called of them Coimiteria.

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Marinus Martyr. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 13.*

Theotechnus Byſhop of Ceſarea.

Marinus animated by the Byſhop to dye.

By this it may appeare that ſome peace was then graunted vnder this Galienus, to the Church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but that ſome there were which ſuffered. Among whom was one Marinus mentioned in Euſebius. Lib. 7. This Marinus beyng a warriour and a noble man in Ceſarea, ſtode for the dignitie of a certaine order, whiche by all order of courſe was next to fall vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambition of him that ſhould follow next after him, ſupplãted him both of office, and life. For he accuſed him to be a Chriſtian, and therfore ſayd that he was not to be admitted vnto their offices, which was agaynſt their Religiõ. Wherupõ Achaius then beyng Iudge, examined him of his fayth, who findyng him to be a Chriſtian in deede, and conſtantly to ſtand to his profeſſion, gaue him. iij. houres to deliberate and aduiſe with him ſelfe. There was the ſame tyme in Ceſarea a Byſhop named Theotecchnus, otherwiſe called Theodiſtus, who perceiuyng him to ſtand in doubtfull deliberation and perplexitie in him ſelfe, tooke him by the hand, & brought him into the houſe or Church of the Chriſtians, laying before him a ſword (whiche he had vnder his cloke for the ſame purpoſe) and a booke of the new Teſtament, & ſo willed him to take his free choyſe, whiche of them both he would preferre. The ſouldiour immediatly without delay ran to the booke of the Goſpell, takyng that before the ſword. And thus he beyng animated by the Biſhop, preſented him ſelfe boldly before the Iudge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded, and dyed a Martyr. Euſeb. ibid.

Aſyrius a rich Senatour and Cõfeſſour.

Whoſe body, he beyng dead, one Aſyrius a noble Senatour of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order (who the ſame tyme was there preſent at his Martyrdome) tooke vp and bare vpõ his owne ſhoulders, wrappyng it in a ritch and ſumptuous weede, & ſo honourably committed it to the burial. Euſebius. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

The worke of Satan diſapoynted by the prayer of *Aſyrius*.

Of whiche Aſyrius the ſayd author writeth moreouer this ſtory, how that in the foreſayd Citie of Ceſarea, the Gentiles vſed there of an aũcient cuſtome to offer vp a certaine ſacrifice by a fountaine ſide, the which ſacrifice by the workyng of the deuill, was wont ſodainly to vaniſh out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the inhabiters by. Aſyrius ſeing this, and pityng the miſerable errour of the ſimple people, liftyng vp his eyes to heauen, made his prayer to almighty God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might not be ſeduced of the deuil any lẽger. By ye vertue of whoſe prayer the ſacrifice was ſeene to ſwymme in the water of the fountaine, and ſo the ſtrãge wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter could be there wrought any more. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 17.

A myracle noted in *Euſeb. Lib. 7. ca. 18*

A myraculous operation of an herbe touching the hemme of Chriſtes picture to heale diſeaſes.

No vertue to be aſcribed to pictures.

And becauſe mẽtiõ is here made of Ceſarea, there followeth in ye next chapter of the ſame author, a ſtrãge miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth, how yt out of the ſame Citie was the woman, whiche in the Goſpell came to our Sauiour, and was healed of her bloudy iſſue. Her houſe beyng in the Citie of Ceſarea, before the doore thereof was ſet vp a certaine pyller of ſtone, and vpon the pyller, an Image was made of braſſe, of a woman meekely kneelyng on her knees, and holdyng vp her handes, as one that had ſome ſute. Agaynſt the which there was an other Image alſo of a man proportioned of the ſame mettall, cunnyngly engrauen, in a ſhort ſeemely veſture, & ſtretchyng forth his hand to the woman. At the foote of which pyller grewe vp a certaine herbe of a ſtraunge kynde, but of a more ſtraunge operation, which growyng vp to the hemme of his veſture, and once touchyng the ſame, is ſayd to haue ſuch vertue, that it was able to cure all maner of diſeaſes. This picture of the man (they ſay) repreſented the Image of Chriſt. The hiſtory is written in Euſebius, as is ſayd, the credite wherof I referre to the Reader, whether he will thinke it true or falſe. If he thinke it falſe, yet I haue ſhewed hym myne author: if he thinke it true, then muſt he thinke withall, that this miraculous operatiõ of the herbe proceeded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, beyng both dombe pictures, and engrauen no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels: but to be wrought by ſome ſecret permiſſion of God his wiſedome, either to reduce the Infidels at that tyme to the belief of the ſtory, or to admoniſh the Chriſtians, to conſider with them ſelues what ſtrẽgth & health was to be looked for onely of Chriſt, and no other Aduocate, ſeyng the dombe picture engrauen in braſſe, gaue his efficacie to a poore herbe to cure ſo many diſeaſes. This picture ſaith Dionyſius, remained alſo to his tyme which was vnder Conſtantinus the great.

Dionyſius Byſhop of Rome.

As touchyng the lyne and order of the Romaine Byſhops hetherto intermitted, after the martyrdome of Xiſtus, aboue ſpecified, the gouernment of that Church was cõmitted next, to one Dionyſius, about the yeare of our Lorde. 266. who continued in the ſame the ſpace of. ix. yeares as Euſebius ſayth, as Damaſus recordeth but onely vj. yeares and two monethes. Of his decretall Epiſtles, becauſe ſufficient hath bene ſayd before concernyng that matter, I o-

Felix Byſhop of Rome & Martir.
Eutichianus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.
Gaius Byſhop of Rome & Martir.

mit to ſpeake. After whom ſucceeded Felix, in the firſt yeare of Probus the Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord. 280 who gouerned that church .v. yeares, and died as Platina ſaith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, & both martyrs as the hiſtories of ſome do recorde.

About the tyme of theſe Byſhops, lyued Theodorus Byſhop of Neoceſarea, who is otherwiſe called Gregorius Magnus, whom alſo Nicephorus for his miracles, calleth θαυματουργὸν.

Thus Galienus the foreſayd Emperour raigned as is declared, with his father Valerian ſeuē yeares, after whoſe captiuitie he ruled the Monarchie alone about. ix. yeares, with ſome peace and quietnes graunted to the Church.

Claudius Emperour.

An. 272.

The dayes of this Galienus beyng expired, folowed Claudius a quiet Emperour, as moſt ſtories do record. Although Vincētius affirmeth that he was a mouer of perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtiās, and maketh mention of. 262. Martyrs, which in his tyme did ſuffer: but becauſe no ſuch record remaineth to be founde in Euſebius, who would not haue omitted ſome memoriall thereof, if it had bene true, therefore I referre the ſame to the free iudgement of the Reader to finde ſuch credite as it may. This Claudius raigned but two yeares, after whom came Quintilianus his brother next Emperour and a quiet Prince, who cōtinued but onely. xvij. dayes, and had to his ſucceſſor Aurelianus, vnder whom Oroſius in his ſeuenth booke doth number the ix. perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Quintilianus Emperour.

¶ The ninth perſecution.

The ninth perſecution.
Aurelianus Emperour.

HItherto from the captiuity of Ualerian the churche of Chriſt was in ſome quietnes, till the death of Quintilianus, as hath bene declared: After whom Aurelianus the next ſucceſſor poſſeſſed the crowne, who in the firſt beginning of his raigne (after the common maner of all princes) ſhewed himſelfe a prince moderate and diſcrete, much worthy of commendation, if hys good beginnyng had continued in a conſtant courſe agreeyng to the ſame. Of nature he was ſeuere and rigorous in correctyng diſſolute manners, in ſo much that it was ſayd of him by a vulgare prouerbe, that he was a good Phiſition, ſauyng that he gaue too bitter medicines. This Emperour beyng ſicke, neuer ſent for phiſition, but cured hymſelfe with abſtinence. And as hys beginnyng was not vnfruitefull to the common wealth: ſo neither was he any great diſturber of the chriſtians, whom he did not onely tollerate in their religiō, but alſo in their councell, beyng the ſame tyme aſſembled at Antioche, ſemed not to be agaynſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuaunce of tyme, through ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certayne about hym (as commonly ſuch are neuer abſent in all places from the eares of princes) hys nature ſomewhat inclinable to ſeueritie, was altered to a playne tiranny, which tiranny firſt he ſhewed beginnyng with the murder of hys owne ſiſters ſonne, as witneſſeth Eutropius. After that he proceeded eyther to mooue, or at leaſt to purpoſe perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians. Albeit that wicked purpoſe of the Emperour, the mercifull workyng of God his hand did ſoone ouerthrow. For as the edict or proclamation ſhoulde haue bene denounced for the perſecuting of the chriſtians, and the emperour now readye to ſubſcribe the edict with hys hande, the mighty ſtroke of the hand of the Lord ſodenly from aboue did ſtop hys purpoſe, binding as a man might ſay, the Emperours handes behynd hym: declaring (as Euſebius ſayeth) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence agaynſt the ſeruauntes of God, vnleſſe hys permiſſion do ſuffer them, and geue them leaue. Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Uopiſcus affirme, that as the ſayd Aurelianus was purpoſing to rayſe perſecution agaynſt vs, he was ſodenly terrified with lightnyng, and ſo ſtopped from hys wicked tiranny. Not long after about the fifte or ſixte yeare of hys raigne, he was ſlayne betwene Byzance and Heraclea. an. 278. Thus Aurelianus rather intended then moued perſecution. Neither is there any more then this founde concernyng this perſecution in auncient hiſtories and recordes of the church. wherfore I maruell the more, that Vincentius collecting out of the Martyrologes, hath comprehended ſuche a great Catalog of ſo many Martyrs, whiche in Fraunce and in Italy (ſayeth he) ſuffered death and tormentes vnder this Emperour Aurelianus. wherunto Oroſius alſo ſeemeth to agree, in numbring this to be the ninth perſecution vnder the ſayd Aurelian.

A prouerbe.
A good phiſition, but he geueth too bitter medicines.
Abſtinence the beſt phiſicke.

The counſell of Antioche.
The good beginning of Aurelian.
The Emperour altered by wicked counſell.

A notable example of Gods hand ſtopping perſecution.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 30
No power agaynſt the people of God except God geue leaue.

The death of Aurelianus.

An. 278.

Next after Aurelianus the ſucceſſion of the impery fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who raigned but vj. monethes. Him ſucceded hys brother Florianus, who raigned but lx. dayes. And after hym followed Marcus Aurelius, ſurnamed Probus. Of whome more hereafter (God willyng) ſhall appeare.

Ex Eutropio.
Tacitus Emperour.

Florianus Emperour.

In the meane tyme, within the compaſſe of theſe Emperours falleth in a ſtory recorded of Euſebius, and not vnworthy here to be noted, wherby to vnderſtand the faythfull diligence of good Miniſters, what good it may do in a common wealth.

Mention is made before, pag. 73. of Euſebius the Deacon of Dionyſius, whom God ſtyrred vp to viſite and comfort the ſaintes that were in priſon and bandes, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs departed, not wythout great perill of his owne lyfe, and after was made biſhop (as is ſayd) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be biſhop there, it chaunced, the ſayd Euſebius remaynyng as yet at Alexandria, the citie to be beſieged of the Romaines. Pyruchius being there captaine. In the which ſiege halfe of the citie did holde with the Romaines, the other halfe withſtood them. In that part which went with the Romaine captaine was Euſebius, beyng alſo in great fauour with the captayne for his worthy fidelity and ſeruice ſhewed. with the other halfe that reſiſted ẏ Romains, was Anatholius, gouernour or moderator then of the ſchole of Alexandria, who alſo was biſhop after the ſayd Euſebius of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceiuyng the citizens to be in miſerable diſtreſſe of famine and deſtruction by reaſon of penury and lacke of ſuſtenance, ſendeth to Euſebius being then with the Romaines, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and perill of the city, inſtructing him moreouer, what to do in the matter. Euſebius vnderſtanding the caſe, repayreth to the captayne, deſiring of hym ſo muche fauour, that ſo many as woulde flee out of the citie from their enemies, might be licenced to eſcape and freely to paſſe, which was to hym eftſoones graunted. As Euſebius was thus labouring with the capitaine, on the other ſide Anatholius for his part laboured with the Citizens, moouyng them to aſſemble togither, and perſwading them to geue themſelues ouer in yelding to the force and might of the Romaynes. But when the Citizens could not abyde the hearyng thereof: yet (ſayd Anatholius) this I truſt you will be contented, if I ſhall counſaile you, in this miſerable lacke of thynges to auoyde out of your citie all ſuch ſuperfluities and vnneceſſary impedimentes vnto you, as old women, yong children, aged men, with ſuch other as be feble and impotent, and not to ſuffer them here to periſh with famine, whoſe preſence can do no ſteade to you if they dye, and leſſe if they lyue, for ſpending the victuals which otherwiſe might ſerue them that be more able to defend the Citie. The Senate hearyng this ſentence, and vnderſtādyng moreouer the graunt of the captayne, promiſing them their ſafety, were well conſenting therunto. Then Anatholius, hauing a ſpeciall care to them that belonged to the churche of Chriſt, calleth them together, with the reſt of the multitude, and ſo perſwadyng them what they ſhould do, and what had bene obtayned for them, cauſed them to voyde the citie, and not onely them, but alſo a great number of other moe, who perſuaded by hym, vnder that pretence, chāgyng themſelues in womens apparell, or faynyng ſome impotency, ſo eſcaped out of the city. At whoſe commyng out Euſebius on the other ſide was ready to receyue them, and refreſhed their hungry and pined bodies, wherby not onely they but the whole city of Alexandria was preſerued from deſtruction. Euſebius, lib. 7. cap. 32.

Euſebius Deacon of Alexandria.
Anatholius rector of the vniuerſitie of Alexādria.

The piety of Anatholius & Euſebius to their countrey.

By this litle hiſtory of Euſebius and Anatholius, deſcribed in the vij. booke of Euſebius cap. 32. and briefly here ſet forth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayeſt partly vnderſtande the practiſe of the Prelates what it was in thoſe dayes in the church, which was then only employed in ſauing of lyfe, and ſuccouryng the common weales wherein they lyued, as by theſe two godly perſons Euſebius and Anatholius may well appeare. Unto the which practiſe if we compare the practiſe of our latter prelates of the churche of Rome, I ſuppoſe no little diuerſitie will appeare.

The prelates of Rome are cleane contrary to theſe good Prelates.

The next Emperour to Florianus (as is ſaid) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wyſe and vertuous, and no leſſe valiant in martiall affayres, as fortunate in the ſucceſſe of the ſame. During his tyme we read of no perſecution greatly ſtirring in the church, but much quietnes, as well in matters of religion, as alſo in the common wealth. In ſo much that after his great and many victories, ſuche peace enſued, that hys ſaying was, there needed no more ſouldiours, ſeyng there were no mo enemies to the common wealth to fight agaynſt. It was his ſaying alſo, that hys ſouldiours nede not to ſpend corne and victuale, except they laboured to ſerue the common wealth. And for the ſame cauſe he cauſed hys ſouldiours to be ſet a worke about certayne mountaynes in Syrmia and in Meſia to be planted

Marcus Aurelius Probus Emperour.

Peace in the Church.

The ſaying of Marcus Aurelius.

Souldyours brought vp in idlenes will bide no labour.

wyth

Marcus Aurelius ſlayne.

with vines, and not ſo much as in wynter ſuffred them to be at reſt, therfore by them at length he was ſlayne, after he had raigned the ſpace of vj. yeares, and 4. monthes, an. 284. Eutrop.

284.

Carus wyth hys two ſonnes (*Carinus*, and *Numerianus*) Emperour. *Carus* Emperour ſlayne wyth lightnyng.

Carus with his two ſonnes Carinus and Numerianus, ſucceded next after Probus in the Empire, the raygne of which Emperors, continued in all but iij. yeares. Of the which three firſt Carus, warring agaynſt the Perſians, was ſlayne with lightnyng. Of Numerianus hys ſonne, beyng with hys father in his warres againſt the Perſians, we finde much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiſcus, and other writers, which teſtify of hym to be a valiaunt warriour, an eloquent Orator, as appeared by his declamatiõs and writinges ſent to the Senate. Thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This Numerianus ſorrowyng and lamẽtyng for the death of hys father, through immoderate weepyng fell into a great ſoreneſſe of his eyes, by reaſon whereof he kepyng cloſe, was ſlayne not long after of hys father in lawe named Aper, who trayterouſly aſpiring to the Empire, diſſimuled hys death with a falſe excuſe to the people, aſkyng for hym, ſaying for the payne of hys eyes he kepte in from the wynd and weather, till at length by the ſtinch of his body beyng caried about, hys death was vttered.

Correction of a certaine place of *Eutropius, ex editione Frobeniana.*

In the lyfe of this Emperor Carus aforeſayd, written by Eutropius in the latter edition ſet forth by Frobenius, I finde (whiche in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the ſonne of this Carus was he ỹ ſlewe Babylas the holye Martyr, whoſe hiſtory before we haue comprehended, pag. 62. But that ſemeth not to be like both by the narration of Chryſoſtome, and alſo for that Vrſpergenſis declaring the ſame hiſtory, & in the ſame wordes, as it is in Eutropius, ſayth that it was Cyrillus, whom Numerianus killed, the ſtory wherof is this: What tyme Carus the Emperour in his iourney goyng toward the Perſians, remayned at Antioche, Numerianus his ſonne would enter into the church of the Chriſtians, to view and behold their myſteries. But Cyrillus their biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer hym to enter into the church, ſaying, that it was not lawfull for hym to ſee the myſteries of God, who was polluted with ſacrifices of Idoles. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearyng of theſe wordes, not ſuffering that repulſe at the handes of Cyrillus, in hys fury did ſlay the godly Martyr. And therfore iuſtly (as it ſemed) was he hymſelfe ſlayne afterward by the handes of Aper.

Cyrillus reſiſteth the Emperour.

Cyrillus Byſhop of Antioche Martyr.

Ex Chronico Vrſpergen.

Thus Carus with hys ſonne Numerianus being ſlaine in the Eaſt parties, as is declared, Carinus the other ſonne raigned alone in Italye, where he ouercame Sabinus ſtriuyng for the Empire, and raigned there with muche wickednes, till the returnyng home of the army agayne from the Perſians, who then ſet vp Diocleſian to be Emperor, by whom the forſayde Carinus for the wickednes of hys life, beyng forſaken of his hoſt, was ouercome, and at length ſlayne with the hand of the Tribune, whoſe wyfe before he had defloured. Thus Carus with hys two ſonnes, Numerianus and Carinus ended their lyues, whoſe raigne continued not aboue iij. yeares.

Carinus Emperor ſlayne. Adultery puniſhed.

289.

The peace of the Church, from *Valerian* to the tenth perſecution, laſted 44. yeares.

Euſeb. Lib 8. *cap.* 1.

All this meane ſpace we reade of no great perſecution ſtirryng in the church of Chriſt, but was in meane quiete ſtate and tranquillitie, vnto the xix. yeare of the raigne of Diocleſian. So that in countyng the tyme from the latter ende of Valerian, vnto this foreſaid yeare of Diocleſian, the peace of the church which God gaue to his people, ſeemeth to continue aboue 44. yeares. During the which tyme of peace and tranquillitie, the church of the Lord did mightely increaſe and floriſh, ſo that the mo bodies it loſt by perſecution, the more honour and reuerence it wanne daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Grekes and barbarous, in ſo much that (as Euſebius in hys viij. booke deſcribeth) amongſt the Emperours themſelues diuers there were which not onely bare ſingular good will and fauor to them of our profeſſion, but alſo did commit vnto them offices and regimentes ouer countreys and nations: ſo well were they affected to our doctrine, that they priuileged the ſame with libertie and indemnitie. What needeth to ſpeake of them, which not onely liued vnder the Emperors in libertie, but alſo were familiar in the court with the Princes themſelues, entertained with great honour and ſpeciall fauour, beyond the other ſeruitures of the court, as was Dorotheus with hys wyfe, children, and whole family, highly accepted & aduanced in the palace of the Emperour. Alſo Gorgonius in lyke maner with dyuers other mo, who for theyr doctrine & learnyng which they profeſſed, were with their Princes in great eſtimation. In lyke reuerence alſo were the biſhops of cities and Dioceſſes, with the Preſidentes and rulers where they liued: who not onely ſuffred them to lyue in peace, but alſo had them in great price and regarde, ſo long as they kept themſelues vpright, and continued in God hys fauour. Who is able to number at that tyme the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations aſſemblyng together in euery citie, and the notable cõcourſes of ſuche as dailye flocked to the common Oratories to pray. For the which cauſe they beyng not able to be conteyned in their olde houſes, had large and great churches new builded from the foundation for them to frequent together. In ſuch increaſement (ſayth Euſebius) by proceſſe of tyme did the church of Chriſt grow and ſhoot vp daily more and more profiting and ſpreadyng through all quarters, which neyther enuy of men could infringe, nor any deuill could inchaunt, neyther the crafty pollicy of mans wit coulde ſupplant, ſo long as the protection of God his heauenly arme went with hys people, keeping them in good order, accordyng to the rule of Chriſtian lyfe.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Chriſtians of great reputation in the Emperours court.

The peaceable ſtate of the church deſcribed.

Corruption through much peace and proſperitie crept into the Church.

But as commonly the nature of all men beyng of it ſelf vnruly and vntoward alwayes ſeeketh and deſireth proſperitie, and yet cã neuer well vſe proſperitie, alwayes would haue peace, and yet hauyng peace, alwayes abuſeth ỹ ſame: ſo here likewiſe it happened with theſe men, which through thys ſo great liberty and proſperity of lyfe, began to degenerate and languiſh vnto ſlouth and delicacie, & one to worke ſpite and contumely agaynſt an other, ſtriuing and contendyng amõgſt thẽſelues for euery occaſiõ, with raylyng wordes after moſt deſpitefull maner: Biſhops againſt biſhops, and people agaynſt people, mouing hatred and ſedition one agaynſt an other, beſide alſo curſed hypocriſie and ſimulation with all extremitie increaſing more and more, by reaſon wherof the iudgement of God after his wonted maner, whileſt yet the congregation began to multiply, began by a little and little to viſite our men with perſecution, fallyng firſt vpon our brethren which were abroad in warfare, but whẽ ỹ touche ỹ other nothing, or very litle, neither did they ſeke to appeaſe gods wrath, and call for his mercy, but wickedly thinking with our ſelues, that God neyther regarded nor would viſit our tranſgreſſions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one vpon an other, & they whiche ſeemed to be our paſtors refuſing the rule of pietie, were inflamed with mutual contentions one againſt an other. And thus whileſt they were geuen onely to the ſtudy vp of contentions, threatninges, emulations, mutual hatred, & diſcord, euery man ſeeking hys owne ambition, and perſecuting one another after the maner of tiranny: Then, then I ſay, the Lord accordyng to the voyce of Ieremy tooke away the beauty of the daughter of Sion, and the glory of Iſrael fell downe from heauen, neyther did he remember the footeſtoole of his feete in the day of his wrath. And the Lord ouerturned all the comely ornamentes of Iſraell, & deſtroyed all her gorgeous buildinges, and accordyng to the ſaying of the Pſalme, ſubuerted and extinguiſhed the Teſtament of hys ſeruaunt, and prophaned hys ſanctuary in deſtruction of hys churches, and in laying waſte the buildinges therof, ſo that all paſſingers ſpoyling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers aboute. For he hath exalted the ſtrength of hys enemies, and turned away the helpe of his ſword from her, nor ayded her in the battayle, but ceaſed from the purging of her and her ſeate. He ſtroke downe to the grounde, and diminiſhed her daies, and ouer all this poured vpon her confuſion. All theſe thinges were fulfilled vpon vs, when we ſaw the temples raſed from the top to the ground, and the ſacred ſcriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the Paſtours of the church to hyde themſelues, ſome here, ſome there, ſome other taken priſoners with great ſhame were mocked of their enemies, when alſo accordyng to the ſaying of the prophet in an other place: Contempt was poured out vpon the Princes, and they cauſed to go out of the way, and not to kepe the ſtraite pathe.

Hatred and diſdayne among the Church men.

Chriſtians perſecuting one another.

The wrath of God toward hys people.

❡The x. perſecution.

The tenth perſecution.

By reaſon wherof (the wrath of God beyng kindled agaynſt hys church) inſued the tenth and laſt perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, ſo horrible and greuous, that it maketh the pen almoſt to tremble to write vpon it, ſo tedious, that neuer was any perſecution before or ſince comparable to it for the tyme it continued, laſtyng the ſpace of ten yeares together. This perſecution although it paſſed thorow the handes of diuers tyrantes and workers moe then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Diocleſian who was Emperour, as is aboue noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Diocleſian euer hauyng an ambitious mynde, aſpired greatly to be Emperour. To whom Drias his Concubine ſayd, that firſt he ſhould kill a wylde

Diocleſian Emperour.

Eutr. Vopiſc.

Bore: before he ſhould be Emperour. He takyng effect at theſe wordes, vſed muche with hand to kill wilde Bores: but ſeyng no ſucceſſe to come thereof, vſed this prouerbe: Ego Apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is, I kill the Bores, but other do eate the fleſh. At length the ſayde Diocleſian beyng nominate to be Emperour, and ſeyng Aper (who had killed Numerianus the Emperour) ſtandyng therby, ſware to the ſouldiours that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith runnyng vpon Aper with his ſword, ſlew hym. Vopiſc. After this he beyng ſtabliſhed in the Empire, and ſeyng on euery ſide diuers and ſundry commotions riſing vp agaynſt hym, which he was not wel able hymſelf to ſuſtayne, in the firſt beginnyng of his raigne he chuſeth for his Colleage Maximianus ſurnamed Herculius, father to Maxentius. Which two Emperours, becauſe of diuers warres that roſe in many prouinces, choſe to them two other noble men, Galerius, & Conſtantius, whome they called Cæſars. Of whom Galerius was ſent into the Eaſt partes agaynſt the Perſians. Conſtantius was ſent ouer to Britanne to this our country of England, to recouer the tribute. where he toke to wyfe Helena ẏ daughter of king Coil, which was a mayden excelling in beauty, and no leſſe famouſly brought vp in the ſtudy of learnyng, of whom was borne Conſtantinus the great.

Aper ſlayne which ſlew Numerianus.

An. 290.

Maximianus, Herculius fellow Emperour wyth Diocleſian.

Galerius, Conſtantius, Cæſars vnder Diocleſian & Maximinian.

Helena daughter of Coil, maryed to Conſtantius.

All this while hitherto no perſecution was yet ſtyrred of theſe 4. princes agaynſt the church of Chriſt, but quietly and moderately they gouerned the common wealth: wherefore accordingly God proſpered their voyages and affayres, and gaue them great victories, Diocleſian in Egipt, Maximinian in Aphricke and in Fraunce, Galerius in Perſia, Conſtantius in England and in Fraunce alſo. By reaſon of which victories Diocleſian and Maximinian puffe vp in pride, ordeyned a ſolemne triumph at Rome, after whiche triumph Diocleſian gaue commaundement that he would be worſhipped as God, ſaying, that he was brother to the Sunne and Moone, and adournyng his ſhoes with golde and precious ſtones commaunded the people to kyſſe hys feete.

Pride in Diocleſian.

Crueltie followeth pride.

An. 308.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certayne enormities vſed in the church, aboue touched, began the great and greuous perſecution of the Chriſtians, moued by the ragious cruelty of Diocleſian, which was about the 19. yeare of his raygne, who in the moneth of Marche when the feaſt of Eaſter was nye at hande, commaunded all the churches of the Chriſtians to be ſpoyled and caſt to the earth, and the bookes of holy ſcripture to be burned.

Perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Chriſtian temples deſtroyed.

Thus moſt violent edictes and proclamations were ſet forth, for the ouerthrowyng as is ſayde, of the Chriſtians temples throughout all the Romaine Empyre. Neyther did there wante in the officers any cruell execution of the ſame proclamations. For their temples were defaced euen when they celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.2. And this was the firſt edict geuen out by Diocleſian, the next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy ſcripture, which thyng was done in the open market place as before. Then next vnto that were edictes geuen forth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were Magiſtrates, and that with great ignominie, & all other whatſoeuer bare any office. Impriſonyng ſuche as were of the common ſorte, if they would not abiure Chriſtianitie, and ſubſcribe to ẏ heathen religion. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.3. & Nicephorus lib.7.cap.4. Zonoras alſo in hys ſeconde tome. And theſe were the beginning of the Chriſtians euils.

Bookes of the ſcriptures burned.

Chriſtian Magiſtrates diſplaced.

Chriſtian ſubiectes impriſoned.

It was not long after, but that new edictes were ſent forth, nothyng for their cruelty inferiour to the firſt: for the caſtyng of the elders and biſhops into priſon, and then conſtraynyng them with ſundry kyndes of puniſhments to offer vnto theyr Idoles. By reaſon whereof enſued a great perſecution amongſt the gouernours of the church, amongſt whom many ſtood manfully, paſſyng through many exceedyng bitter tormentes, neyther were ouercome therewith, beyng tormented and examined diuers of them diuerſly: ſome ſcourged, all theyr bodies ouer with whips & ſcourges, ſome with rackes, raſings of the fleſh intollerable were cruciated: ſome one way, ſome another way put to death. Some againe violently were drawen to the vnpure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when in deede they did not, were let go. Other ſome neither commyng at all to theyr aulters, nor touchyng any peece of theyr ſacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed, and ſo ſufferyng that falſe infamatiō of their enemies, quietly went away. Other as dead men were caried and caſt away, beyng but halfe dead. Some they caſt downe vpon the pauement, and traylyng them a great ſpace by the legs, made the people beleue that they had ſacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which ſtoutly withſtood them, affirmyng with a loud voyce that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome ſayd, they were Chriſtians, & gloried in the profeſſion of that name: ſome cryed ſaying, that neyther they had, nor would euer be partakers of that idolatry. And thoſe beyng buffeted on the face and mouth with the handes of the ſouldiours, were made to hold their peace, and ſo thruſt out wyth violence. And if the Saintes dyd ſeme neuer ſo little to doe what the enemies would haue them, they were made muche of. Albeit all this purpoſe of the aduerſary, dyd nothyng preuayle agaynſt the holy and conſtant ſeruauntes of Chriſt. Notwithſtandyng, of the weake ſort innumerable there were, which for feare & infirmity fell and gaue ouer, euen at the firſt brunt.

Biſhops & Elders conſtrayned wyth tormentes to ſacrifice.

The noble courage and conſtācie of a Chriſtian Martyr.

At the firſt commyng downe of theſe edictes into Nicomedia, there chaūced a deede to be done, much worthy of memory, of a Chriſtian, beyng a noble man borne, whiche moued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was ſet vp, by and by ran and tooke downe the ſame, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearyng the preſence of the two Emperoures, then beyng in the Citie. For which acte he was put to a moſt bitter death, whiche death he with great fayth and conſtancy endured euen to the laſt gaſpe. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.3.& 5.

Perſecution firſt begynnyng in the Emperours campe.

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperours, beyng let looſe agaynſt the Saintes of Chriſt proceded more & more, makyng hauocke of gods people through out all quarters of the world. Firſt Diocleſian whiche had purpoſed with himſelfe to ſubuert the whole chriſtian religion, executed his tiranny in the Eaſt, and Maximianus in the weſt. But why Diocleſian began very ſubtilly: for he put the matter firſt in practiſe in his owne campe, among whom the Marſhall of the field, as Euſeb.lib.8.cap.4. affirmeth: put the chriſtian ſouldiours to this choyſe, whether they would obey the Emperours commaundement in that maner of ſacrifice he commaūded, and ſo both to kepe their offices, and lead theyr bandes, or els to lay away from them their armour and weapons. whereunto the Chriſten men couragiouſly aunſwered, that they were not onely ready to lay away their armor and weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death if it ſhould wyth tiranny be enforced vnto them, rather thē they would obey the wicked decrees and commaundements of the Emperour.

Notable religion and fayth in ſouldiours.

There might a man haue ſeene very many which were deſirous to lyue a ſimple and poore lyfe: and whiche regarded no eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true pietie and godlynes. And this was no more but a ſubtile & wily flattery in the beginnyng, to offer them to be at theyr owne libertye, whether they would willingly abiure theyr profeſſion or not: as alſo this was an other, that in the beginnyng of the perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifeſtly to braſte out into perſecution: It can hardly be expreſſed with wordes what number of Martyrs, and what bloud was ſhedde through all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt. Euſeb. in hys 8, booke, and 7. chap. ſayth, that he himſelf knew the worthy Martyrs ẏ were in Paleſtina. But in Tire of Phenicia he declareth in the ſame place a maruelous martyrdome made, where certaine Chriſtians beyng geuen to moſt cruell wylde beaſtes, were preſerued without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders, and thoſe Lions, Beares, and Lybardes (kept hungry for that purpoſe) had no deſire to deuour them: which notwithſtādyng moſt vehemently raged agaynſt thoſe by whome they were brought into the ſtage, and ſtoode as they thought without daunger of them, ſuch were firſt deuoured. But the Chriſtian Martyrs, becauſe they could not be hurt of ẏ beaſtes, beyng ſlayne with the ſword, were afterward throwen into the ſea. At that tyme was martyred the Biſhop of Sidon. But Syluanus the biſhop of Gazenſis with 39. other were ſlayne in the mettall mynes of Phenicia. Pamphilius the elder of Ceſarea, beyng the glory of that congregation, died a moſt worthy Martyr, whoſe both lyfe and moſt commēdable martirdome, Euſebius oftentymes declareth in his 8. booke, and 13. chap. in ſo much that he hath written ẏ ſame in a booke by itſelfe. In Syria all the chiefe teachers of the cōgregation were firſt committed to priſon, as a moſt heauy and cruell ſpectacle to behold, as alſo the Byſhops, Elders and Deacons, which all were eſteemed as menquellers and perpetratours of moſt wicked factes. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.6. After that we read of an other, whoſe name was Tirannion, which was made meate for the fiſhes of the ſea, and of Zenobius which was a very good Phiſition, which alſo was ſlayne with bricke bats in the ſame place. Euſeb. lib.8.cap.13.

Martyrs of Tyre in Phenicia.

Pamphilius biſhop of Ceſarea martir.

Martyrs of Syria.

Tirannion Martyr.

Zenobius a Phiſition Martyr.

Furthermore he maketh mention in the ſame place of

others

Two virgines with their mother martyrs.

Two other maydens ſiſters martyrs.

Sylvanus Byſhop of Emiſſa martyr.

others which were not tormented to death, but euery day terrified and ſcared without ceaſing: Of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifices, and commaunded to do ſacrifice, which would rather thruſt their right hande into the fire, then touche the prophane or wicked ſacrifice. Alſo of ſome others that before they were apprehended, woulde caſt downe themſelues from ſteepe places, leaſt that beyng taken they ſhould commit any thyng agaynſt their profeſſion. Alſo of two virgins very fayre and proper, with their mother alſo which had ſtudiouſly brought them vp, euen from their infancy in all godlineſſe, beyng long ſought for, and at the laſt founde, and ſtraightly kept by their keepers, whileſt they made their excuſe to do that which nature required, threw themſelues downe hedlong into a riuer. Alſo of other two yong maydẽs beyng ſiſters, & of a worſhipfull ſtock, & endued with many goodly vertues, which were caſt of the perſecutors into the ſea. And theſe things were done at Antioche as Euſebius in hys 8. booke, and 13. chap. affirmeth. But Sylvanus ẏ biſhop of Emiſſa that notable martyr together with certayne others were throwen to ẏ wilde beaſtes. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Martyrs of Meſopotamia.

Martyrs of Capadocia.

Diuers and ſundry tormentes were the Chriſtians in Meſopotamia moleſted with, where they were hanged vp by the feete, & their heades downwardes, & with the ſmoke of a ſmall fire ſtrangled. And alſo in Capadocia, where the Martyrs had their legs broken. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Martyrs of Tarſus. *Tharatus, Probus, Andronicus* martyrs.

Martyrs of Pontus.

Martyrs of Nicomedia.

Perſecution in Nicomedia exceding.

Peter a moſt valiant and conſtant martyr.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Martyrs.

Anthimus byſhop of Nicomedia wyth a great multitude of martyrs headed.

Lucianus the Elder of Antioche martyr.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of Tarſus in Cilicia as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: But yet the Martyrs in the regions of Pontus ſuffered far more paſſing and ſharper tormentes, whereof I will hereafter make mention. Euſebius ibidem. So outragious was the beginnyng of the perſecution whiche the Emperour made in Nicomedia in Bithinia, as afore is ſayd, that he refrayned not from the ſlaughter of the children of Emperours, neither yet from ſlaughter of the moſt chiefeſt princes of his court, whom a litle before he made as much of, as if they had bene his owne childrẽ. Such an other was Peter, which amongeſt diuers and ſundry tormentes, (among whom he beyng naked was lifted vp, his whole body beyng beaten with whips and torne, that a man might ſee the bare bones, and after they had mingled vineger & ſalt together, they poured it vpon the moſt tender partes of his body, and laſtly roſted at a ſoft fire, as a man would roſt fleſh to eate) as a victorious Martyr ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius beyng in great authoritie and office vnder the Emperour, after diuers tormentes were ſtrangled with an halter, whiche both beyng of the priuy chamber to him, when they ſaw and beheld the greuous puniſhmẽt of Peter their houſhold companion: wherfore (ſaid they O Emperour) do you puniſh in Peter that opinion whiche is in all vs? why is that accounted in him an offence, that all we confeſſe, we are of that fayth, Religiõ and iudgemẽt ẏ he is of. Therfore he commaunded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like paynes to be tormẽted as Peter was, and afterwardes hanged. Euſeb. Rufini. Lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus the Byſhop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confeſſion, and bringyng with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men beyng thus diſpatched, the Emperour vaynly thought that he might cauſe the reſt to do what euer him liſted. To this ende came Lucianus the Elder of the congregation of Antioche, and was Martyred after he had made his Apologie before the Emperour. Euſebius. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

Serena wife of *Diocleſian* Emperour Martyr.

Eulampius, Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, Anaſtacia, Martyrs.

Twenty thouſand martyrs burnt together in one Church.

Martyrs of Arabia.

Martyrs in a certayne citie of Phrigia brent wyth the whole citie.

Martyrs of Melitina in Armenia.

Euſtratius of a perſecutor made a Martyr.

Ex Nicephoro lib. 7. cap. 14.

Hermanus alſo that monſter, cauſed Serena the wife of Diocleſian the Emperour, to be Martyred for the Chriſtiã Religion: ſo much dyd the rage of perſecution vtterly forget all naturall affectes. Other Martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his vij. booke and xiiij. chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agapen, Irenea, Chionia, and Anaſtacia, vnder Illyricus chief officer, were bound hand & foote to a poſt and brent. Vincentius. Lib. 12. cap. 66. And alſo Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth ſuch an other lyke matter full of horror and grief. There aſſembled together in their temple many Chriſtian men to celebrate the memorie of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, of euery age and ſorte ſome: There Maximianus thinkyng to haue bene geuen a very fit occaſion to execute his tyranny vpon the poore Chriſtians, ſent thether ſuch as ſhould burne the temple, the doores beyng ſhut and cloſed rounde about. Thether came they with fire, but firſt they commaunded the Crier with a loude voyce to cry, that who ſoeuer would haue lyfe, ſhould come out of the temple, & do ſacrifice vpõ the next alter they came vnto of Iupiter, and vnleſſe they would do this, they ſhould all be brent with the temple. Then one ſteppyng vp in the temple, anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage & boldnes of mynde, that they were all Chriſtians, & beleued that Chriſt was their only God and king, and that they would do ſacrifice to him, with his father and holy Ghoſt, and that they were nowe all ready to offer vnto hym. With theſe wordes the fire was kindled and compaſſed about the temple, and there were brent of men, womẽ and children vicies mille, that is, 10000. There were alſo in Arabia very many Martyrs ſlayne with axes, as Euſebi. Lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrigia a citie, vnto which the Emperour ſent his Edictes, that they ſhould do ſacrifice to the Gods, and worſhyp Idoles, all which Citizens, the Maior hym ſelfe, the Queſtor, and chief Captaine confeſſed that they were all Chriſtians. The Citie vpon this was beſieged & ſet on fire, and all the people. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina, a region of Armenia, the Byſhops and Elders were caſt in priſon. Euſebius eodem cap. 6. In Arabace a region neare adioyning to Armenia Euſtratius was Martyred as Nicephorus declareth. Lib. 7. cap. 14. This Euſtratius was that countrey man borne, and very ſkilfull in the Greeke toung, executyng by the Emperours commaundement the Shiriffes office at Licia in the Eaſt, which alſo did execution there vpon the Chriſtians, and was a Scribe of great eſtimation called Ordinis Ducalis. This man beholdyng the marueilous cõſtancie of the Martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of Martyrdome, for that he had priuely learned the Chriſtian Religion. Therfore he not abydyng for other accuſers, detected himſelfe, & worthely profeſſed that he was a Chriſtian, openly execratyng the madnes and vanitie of the wicked Ethnickes. He therefore beyng caryed away, was tyed vp, beyng firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire, beyng put vnto his bowels, and then bathed with ſalt and vineger, and laſtly ſo ſcorched and bemangled with the ſhardes of ſharpe & cuttyng ſhels, that his whole body ſeemed to be all one continuall wound, howbeit by Gods great goodneſſe afterward it was reſtored to the firſt integritie. After this he was caryed away to Sebaſtia, where with his companion Oreſt he was burned. At that tyme alſo ſuffered Eugenius, Auxentius, Mardarius. Nicepho. Lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no leſſe wiſe raged this perſecution throughout all Egypt: where Euſebius in his. 8. booke, and. 13. chapter maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus Martyrs and Byſhops in Egypt. But at Alexandria eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflictes of Chriſtian and true conſtant Martyrs that ſuffered, whiche Phileas the Byſhop of Thmuitane deſcribeth as after (God willing) ſhalbe declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principall that then ſuffered was Peter, the Byſhop of Alexandria, with the Elders of the ſame, moſt worthy Martyrs, as Fauſtus, Didius, and Ammonius, alſo Phileas, Heſichius, Pachimius, and Theodorus, which all were byſhops of the congregations within Egypt, and beſides them many other both famous and ſingular men. The whole legion of Chriſtian ſouldiours whiche lay at Thebes in Egypt, vnder the Chriſtiã Captaine Mauritius, when they would not obey the Emperours commaundement touchyng the worſhyppyng of Images, were tythed to death once, and then agayne. And at laſt through the exhortation of Mauritius, dyed altogether like conſtant Martyrs. Vincentius in ſpeculo. Lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewiſe at Antino diuers Chriſtian ſouldiours, notwithſtandyng they were ſeriouſly diſſuaded, ſuffered death together, amongeſt whom were Aſcla. Philemon, and Apollonius, ibidem cap. 50. and alſo in the other partes of Aphrica and Mauritania was great perſecution, as Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 6. Alſo in Samnium, of which place Chronicon maketh mention, and Scilia, where were. 79. Martyrs ſlayne, for the profeſſion of Chriſt, as writeth Henricus de Erfordia.

Oreſtes Martyr. *Eugenius, Auxentius, Mardarius, Peleus, Nilus.* Biſhops and martyrs in Egypt.

Petrus Biſhop of Alexandria, *Fauſtus, Didius, Ammonius, Phileas, Heſichius, Pachimius, Theodorus.* Biſhops and Martyrs.

The Chriſtian ſouldiours and martyrs of Thebes.

The Chriſtian ſouldiours and Byſhops in Antino. *Aſcla, Philemon, Apollonius,* Martyrs.

79. Martyrs.

The perſecution in Europe. *Euphemia.*

Now let vs come vnto Europe, Nicephorus in his vij. booke &. 14. chap. ſayth, that at Nicopolis in Thracia ẏ martyrs were in moſt miſerable & pitifull wiſe handled, where Lyſia had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon ſuffered Euphemia, vnder Priſcus the Proconſul. Vincentius. Lib. 12. cap. 77.

Perſecution in Fraunce.

Victor martyr.

Henricus de Erfordia ſayth that at Rome, Iohannes and Criſpus, beyng Prieſtes, had the executiõ of Martyrs. And at Boemia Agricola and Vitalis, Vincentius. Lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the Emperour commaunded euery man to kill ẏ Chriſtians. Vincẽtius. Lib. eodem. cap. 58. & amongeſt thoſe Martyrs he maketh mention of Felices, and Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth, that in other places of Italy ẏ perſecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Neaples, Campania, Beneuentus, at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſia, and Henricus de Erfordia ſayth alſo at Verona. In Fraunce doubtleſſe Rectionarus appointed to that office, played the cruell helhound, of whoſe great crueltie agaynſt the Chriſtians, many hiſtories are full. At Mediolanus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſſilia, Maximianus ſet forth his decree,

cree, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice to the Gods of ỹ Gentiles, or els be all ſlayne wͭ diuers kindes of tormentes. Therfore many martyrs there died for the glory of Chriſt. Antonius & Vincẽt.lib.12.cap.2. In Beluac⁹ ſuffered Luciã.

Lucianus Martyr. The perſecution in Spayne. *Eulalia, Adala, Vincentius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Lencadia,* Martyrs. 18. Martyrs in Spayne.

Vincentius ⁊ Reginus write of many places in Spayne, where was great perſecutiõ, as at Emerita, where ſuffered Eulalia, of whõ more foloweth hereafter, and Adala, where alſo ſuffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffered Lencadia the virgin, at Ceſarea Auguſta, where were put to death.18. beſide a great number of other Martyrs, which ſuffered vnder Decianus the gouernour, which afflicted with perſecution all the coaſt of Spayne, as ſayth Vincentius. Lib.13.cap.123.124. 128. 130. 134. The foreſayd Rictionarus made ſuch perſecution at Treuers neare the riuer of Moſella, that the bloud of Chriſten men that were ſlayne ranne like ſmall brookes, and coloured great and mayne Riuers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but from thence ſent certaine horſemen with his letters, commaundyng them to ryde into euery place, and charge all ſuch as had taken ⁊ apprehended any Chriſtians, that they ſhould immediatly put them to death. Vincentius. Lib.13.cap.136.

Rictionarus a notable tyrant. The bloud of the Chriſtians made ryuers.

Agrippina, Auguſta, Martyrs.

Alſo Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great perſecution to be at Colonia where Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the Prouince of Rhetia.

The perſecution in Britanny or England.

Beda alſo ſayth that this perſecution reached euen vnto the Britanes in his booke De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Noſgaye of tyme, do declare that all the Chriſtians in Britany were vtterly deſtroyed. Furthermore, that the kyndes of death and puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no mans toung is able to expreſſe. In the beginnyng, when the Emperour by his ſubtiltie and wylynes, rather dallied, then ſhewed his rigour, he threatned them with bandes and impriſonmẽt: but within a while, whẽ he began to worke the matter in good earneſt, he deuiſed innumerable ſortes of torments and puniſhmentes, as whippyngs ⁊ ſcourgyngs, rackynges, horrible ſcrappynges, ſword, fire, and ſhyp botes, wherin a great number beyng put, were ſonke and drowned in the bottom of the Sea. Euſeb. Lib.8.cap.6.&.7. Alſo hangyng them vpõ croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heades downward, hanging them by the myddels vpõ Gallowſes, till they dyed for hunger, throwyng them alyue to ſuch kinde of wilde beaſtes as would deuour them, as Lyons, Beares, Lybardes, and wild Buls. Euſeb. Lib.8.cap.8. Prickyng and thruſtyng them in with bodkyns and talantes of beaſtes, till they were almoſt dead, liftyng them vp a high with their heades downeward, euen as in Thebaide they did vnto the women beyng naked and vnclothed, one of their feete tyed and lifted a high, and ſo hãgyng downe with their bodyes, which thyng to ſee was very pityfull, with other diuiſed ſortes of puniſhmentes moſt tragicall, or rather tyrannicall, and pityfull to deſcribe: as firſt, the bindyng of them to trees and to the boughes therof. The pullyng and tearyng a ſunder of their members and ioyntes: beyng tyed to the boughes and armes of trees. Euſeb. Lib.8.cap.9. The mangling of them with axes, the chokyng them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diſmembryng of their handes, eares and feete, with other ioyntes, as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria ſuffered, the ſcorchyng and broylyng of them with coales, not vnto death, but euery day renewed, with which kynde of tormentes the Martyrs at Antioche were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horrible puniſhmentes and fearefull to be heard, did the Martyrs of Chriſt ſuffer, of which ſome had their fingers endes vnder the nayles thruſt in with ſharpe bodkyns: ſome all to be ſprinkled with boylyng leade, hauyng their moſt neceſſary members cut from them: ſome other ſufferyng moſt filthy, intollerable, and indurable tormentes, and payne, in their bowels and priuy members. Euſebius eodem. cap.12.

Diocleſianus dyd but dally in the beginning of the perſecution. Sundry ſortes of tormentes deuiſed agaynſt the Chriſtians.

The women of Thebaide, Martyrs.

The perſecution in Antioche.

The perſecution in Pontus.

Perſecution in Alexandria.

The contentes of the Epiſtle of *Phileas* ſent to his congregation.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the perſecution which raigned in Alexandria was, and with how many ⁊ ſundry kindes of new deuiſed puniſhmentes the Martyrs were afflicted: Phileas, the Byſhop of the Thumitanes, a man ſingularly well learned, hath deſcribed in his Epiſtle to the Thumitanes, the copy wherof Euſebius hath in his.8. booke, and.x.chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite ſomwhat. Becauſe (ſayth he) euery man might torment the holy Martyrs as they liſted them ſelues: ſome beate thẽ with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thounges, and ſome with cordes, and this example of beating was in ſundry wiſe executed, and with much crueltie. For ſome of them hauyng their handes bound behynd their backes, were lifted vp vpon tymber logs, ⁊ with certaine inſtrumentes their members ⁊ ioyntes were ſtretched forth, whereon their whole bodies hangyng were ſubiect to the will of the tormentors, who were commaunded to afflict them with all maner of torments, and not on their ſides onely (like as homicides were) but vpõ their bellyes, thighes, and legges, they ſcratched them with the talents ⁊ clawes of wilde beaſtes. Some other were ſeene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, whereby they might feele the more greuous pullyng out of the reſt of their ioyntes and members. Some other were in ſuch ſorte bound vnto pyllers with their faces turned to the wal, hauing no ſtay vnder their feete, and were violently wayde downe with the payſe of their bodies, that by reaſon of their ſtraight byndyng, they beyng drawne out, might be more greuouſly tormented. And this ſuffered they not onely during the tyme of their examination, and while the Shiriffe had to do with them, but alſo the whole day long. And whileſt the Iudge went thus from one to an other, he by his authoritie appointed certaine officers to attend vpon thoſe he left, ⁊ not to be let downe vntill either through the intollerablenes of the payne, or by the extremitie of colde, they beyng neare the point of death, ſhould be let downe: and ſo were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commaunded that they ſhould ſhewe not ſo much as one ſparke of mercy or compaſſion vpon vs, but ſo extremely and furiouſly did deale with vs, as though our ſoules and bodyes ſhould haue dyed together. And therefore yet an other torment our aduerſaries deuiſed to augment our former plagues. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them, they deuiſed moreouer a new kinde of racke, wherin they lying vpright, were ſtretched by both the feete aboue the fourth ſtoppe or hole with ſharpe ſhelles or ſhares ſtrowed vnder thẽ, after a ſtrange kinde of engine to vs here vnknowẽ. Other ſome were caſt downe vpon the pauement where they were oppreſſed ſo thick, and ſo greuouſly with tormentes, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffered.

Straunge kyndes of tormentes.

Thus they lying in paynes and tormentes, ſome dyed therewith, not a litle ſhamyng and confoundyng their enemyes by their ſingular pacience. Some halfe dead and halfe a liue, were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by paynes and woundes of their bodyes they ended their better lyfe. Some agayne beyng cured of their woundes by their induraunce in priſon, were more confirmed: who beyng put to the choyſe whether they would come to their curſed ſacrifice, and enioy their wicked libertie, or els ſuſtaine the ſentence of death, did willyngly and without delay abyde the extremitie, remembryng with them ſelues what is written in the Scriptures: he that ſacrificeth (ſaith he) to ſtraunge Gods, ſhall be exterminate. ⁊c. Item, thou ſhalt not haue any ſtraunge Gods beſide me. ⁊c. Thus much wrote Phileas to the Congregation where he was Byſhop, before he receaued the ſentence of death, beyng yet in bandes, ⁊ in the ſame exhorteth his brethren conſtantly to perſiſte after his death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed. Euſeb. Lib.8.cap.10.

Ex Sabellico. Lib.7.cap.9.

Sabellicus in his vij. Ennead ⁊.8. booke, ſayth that that Chriſtened man which tore and pulled downe the wicked Edict of the Emperour in Nicomedia, beyng ſtript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after waſhed in ſalt and vineger, was then ſlayne with this cruell kynde of tormẽt. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus ⁊ Gorgonius exhorted him to dye ſo conſtantly.

An holy martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

But as all their tormentes were for their horriblenes, maruelous and notable, and there with all ſo ſtudiouſly deuiſed, and no leſſe greuous and ſharpe: ſo notwithſtandyng therewith, were theſe Martyrs neither diſmayed nor ouercome, but rather therby confirmed ⁊ ſtrengthned, ſo merely and ioyfully ſuſtained they what ſoeuer was put vnto them. Euſebius ſayth that he him ſelfe beheld ⁊ ſaw the huge and great perſecutiõ that was done in Thebaide, in ſo much that the very ſwordes of the hangmẽ and perſecutours beyng blunt with the great and often ſlaughter, they themſelues for wearyneſſe ſat downe to reſt them, and other were fayne to take their places. And yet all this notwithſtandyng the murthered Chriſtians ſhewed their maruelous readynes, willyngnes, and diuine fortitude, whiche they were indued with, with ſtout courage, ioy, and ſmilyng, receauyng the ſentence of death pronounced vpon them, and ſong euen vnto the laſt gaſpe Hymnes and Pſalmes to God. So dyd alſo the Martyrs of Alexandria, as witneſſeth Phileas aboue mẽtioned. The holy martyrs, ſayth he, keepyng Chriſt in their myndes, being led with the loue of better rewardes, ſuſtained not onely at one tyme, what ſoeuer labour and deuiſed puniſhmentes they had to lay vpon them: but now alſo the ſecond time haue done the ſame, and haue borne all the manaces of ỹ cruell ſouldiours not onely in wordes, wherewith they threatned them, but alſo what ſoeuer in deede and worke they could deuiſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomackes, excludyng all feare, with the perfectiõ of their vnſpeakable loue towardes Chriſt, whoſe great

Euſebius a beholder and a witnes of their ſufferyng.

The ſwordes blunt, and the hangmẽ weryed with ſlaughter.

The maruelous conſtancie of the Martyrs of God in perſecution ⁊ at the tyme of death.

ſtrength

Martyrdome more deſired in the olde tyme, then biſhoppriches be now.

strength and fortitude cannot by wordes be expreſſed. And Sulpitius ſayth in the ſecond booke of his ſacred hiſtory, that then the Chriſtians with more gredy deſire preaſed and ſought for martyrdome, thẽ now they deſire Byſhoppriches.

Chriſtians that denyed in this perſecution.

Miletius reuolteth from the faith, and is excommunicated.

Marcellinus the biſhop reuolteth & commeth agayne to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martirs in one day.

Seuenteene thouſand Martires in one moneth.

Although ſome there were alſo, as I haue ſayd, that with feare and threatnynges, and by their owne infirmitie, were ouercome and went backe, Euſebius. Lib.8. cap.3. Amongeſt whom Socrates nameth Miletius. Lib.1. cap.6. and Athanaſius in his ſecond Apologie nameth the Byſhop of Licus a Citie in litle Egypt, whom Peter the Byſhop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this perſecution he ſacrificed to the Gentiles Gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus the Byſhop of Rome, I will ſpeake afterwardes. For he beyng perſwaded by others, and ſpecially of the Emperour Diocleſian him ſelfe, did ſacrifice, wherupon he was excommunicated, but afterwardes he repenting the ſame, was agayne receaued into the Congregation, and made Martyr, as Platina & the compilor of the booke of the generall Councels, affirme. The number of the Martyrs increaſed dayly, ſometymes ten, ſometymes twenty were ſlayne at once, ſome whiles. 30. and often tymes. 60. and other whyles. 100. in one day, men, womẽ, and children, by diuers kindes of death, Euſebius, Lib. 8. cap. 9. alſo Damaſus, Beda, Oroſius, Honorius and others do witneſſe that there were ſlayne in this perſecution by the names of Martyrs, within the ſpace of. 30. dayes. xvij. thouſand perſons, beſide an other great number and multitude that were condemned to the mettall mynes and quarryes with like crueltie.

Three hundred ſlayne at one time in Alexãdria. *Gereon* Martyr.

Mauritius with 6666. Martyres. *Victor* wyth 360. martirs ſlayne.

At Alexandria, with Peter the Byſhop, of whom I haue made mention before, were ſlayne with axes. 300. and aboue, as Sabellicus declareth. Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with 300. of his felowes, as ſaith Hẽricus de Erfordia. Mauritius the Captaine of Chriſtiã Religiõ with his felowes. 6666. Victor in ẏ citie of Troy now called Xanthus with his felowes. 360. were ſlayne, as ſayth Otto Phrinſigẽſis. Lib.2.cap.45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other Martyrs to the number of. 120.

And foraſmuch as mẽtion here hath bene made of Mauritius and Victor, the particular deſcription of the ſame hiſtory I thought here to inſerte, taken out of Ado and other ſtory writers, as inſueth.

The hiſtorye of *Mauritius* captaine of the Theban ſouldiours.

Euery tenth man in the legion ſlaine.

The oration of the ſouldyours to the Emperor.

Mauritius came out of Syria into Fraunce and Italy, beyng Captaine of the band of the Theban ſouldiours, to the number of. 6660. beyng ſent for of Maximinians, to go agaynſt the rebellious Bangandes, but rather as it ſhould ſeeme by the treaſon of the tyraũt, which thought he might better in theſe quarters vſe his tyranny vpon the Chriſtians, then in the Eaſt part. Theſe Thebans with Mauritius the Captaine, after that they had entred into Rome, who were there of Marcellus the bleſſed Byſhop, confirmed in the fayth, promiſing by othe that they would rather be ſlayne of their enemyes, then forſake that fayth which they had receaued, who folowed the Emperours hoſt through the Alpes euen into Fraunce. At that tyme the Cæſarians were incamped not farre from the towne called Ottodor, where Maximianus offered ſacrifice to his deuils, and called all the ſouldiours both of the Eaſt and weſt to the ſame, ſtraitly charging them by the aulters of his Gods, that they would fight agaynſt thoſe rebels the Bangandes, and perſecute the Chriſtian enemies of the Emperours Gods: whiche his commaundement was ſhewed to the Thebans hoſt, which were alſo incamped about the Riuer of Rode, & in a place that was named Agawne, but to Ottodor they would in no wiſe come, for that euery man did certainly appoint and perſwade with them ſelues rather in that place to dye, then either to ſacrifice to the Gods, or beare armour agaynſt the Chriſtians. Which thyng in deede very ſtoutly and valiantly they affirmed, vpon their othe before taken to Maximianus when he ſent for them. Wherwith the tyraunt beyng wrathfull and all moued, commaunded euery tenth man of that whole band, to be put to the ſword, whereto ſtriuyngly and with great reioyſing they committed their neckes. To whiche notable thyng and great force of fayth Mauritius him ſelfe was a great incourager, who by and by with a moſt graue Oratiõ exhorted and animated his ſouldiours both to fortitude and cõſtancie. Which beyng agayne called of the Emperour, aunſwered in this wiſe ſaying: We are O Emperour your ſouldiours, but yet alſo to ſpeake freely, the ſeruauntes of God. We owe to thee ſeruice of warre, to him innocencie: of thee we receaue for our trauell, wages: of him the beginnyng of life. But in this we may in no wiſe obey thee O Emperour, to deny God, our author and Lord, and not onely ours, but your Lord likewiſe, will ye, nyl ye. If we be not ſo extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtles as we haue hetherto before, we will yet obey you, but otherwiſe we will rather obey him then you. We offer here our handes agaynſt any other enemyes: but to defile our handes with the bloud of innocentes, that we may not do. Theſe right hãdes of ours haue ſkil to fight agaynſt the wicked and true enemyes, but to ſpoyle and murder the godly and Citizens, they haue no ſkill at all. We haue in remembraunce how we tooke armour in hand for the defence of the Citizens, and not agaynſt them. We fought alwayes for iuſtice ſake, pietie, and for the health of innocentes. Theſe haue bene alwayes the rewardes of our perils and trauell. We haue fought in the quarell of fayth, which in no wiſe we can keepe to you, if we do not ſhewe the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware vpon the Sacramentes of our God, then afterward to the kyng: and do you thinke the ſecond will auaile vs: if we breake the firſt? By vs you would plague the Chriſtians, to do which feate we are onely commaunded by you. We are here ready to confeſſe God the author of all thyngs, and beleue in his ſonne Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours and trauels, to be put to the ſworde, and we ſprinckled with their bloud, of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethren their end and death we haue not bewayled nor mourned, but rather haue bene glad, and haue reioyced thereat, for that they haue bene counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreme neceſſitie of death cãnot moue vs agaynſt your maieſtie, neither yet any deſperatiõ, O Emperour, which is wõt in dãgerous affaires to do much, ſhall arme vs agaynſt you. Behold here we caſt downe our weapons, and reſiſt not, for that we had rather to be killed, then kill, and giltles to dye, then gilty to lyue. What ſoeuer more ye will commaund, appoint and inioyne vs, we are here ready to ſuffer, yea both fire, ſword, & what ſoeuer other tormentes. We confeſſe our ſelues to be Chriſtians, we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor will do ſacrifice to your deuiliſh Idoles.

Mauritius and his company martyred.

With which their aunſwere the kyng beyng altogether incenſed and moued, commaunded the ſecond tyme the tenth mã of them that were left to be in like caſe murdered. That crueltie alſo beyng accompliſhed, at length when the Chriſtian Souldiours would in no wiſe condeſcend vnto his mynde, he ſet vpon them with his whole hoſt, both footemen and alſo horſemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force ſet vpon them, they makyng no reſiſtaunce, but throwyng downe their armour, yelded their lyues to the perſecutours, and offered to them their naked bodyes.

The conſtant boldnes of *Victor* in refuſing to eat with the cruell perſecutors for the which hee was alſo ſlaine.

Victor Martyr.

Victor at the ſame tyme was not of that bande, nor yet then any ſouldiour, but one beyng an old ſouldiour, and diſmiſſed for his age. The which tyme he commyng ſodainly vpõ them as they were banketyng and makyng mery with the ſpoyles of the holy Martyrs, was bydden to ſit down with them: & firſt aſking the cauſe of that their ſo great reioycing, and vnderſtandyng the truth thereof, deteſted the geſſe, and refuſed to eate with them. And then beyng demaunded of them whether happily he were a Chriſtian or no, openly confeſſed and denyed not, but that he was a Chriſtian and euer would be. And therupon they ruſhyng vpon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like Martyrdome and honour.

The number of the chriſtians increaſed for all this perſecution.

Diocleſian and *Maximinian* were tired with perſecution, and gaue vp their kingdõs.

Beda in his hiſtory writeth that this perſecution beyng vnder Diocleſian, endured vnto the ſeuenth yeare of Conſtantinus, and Euſeb. Lib.8. cap.6. ſayth that it laſted vntill the x. yeare of Conſtantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Diocleſian & Maximianus ioynyng thẽſelues together, began their perſecution, when that they ſaw the number of the Chriſtians rather to increaſe then to diminiſh, notwithſtãdyng all the cruelty that euer they could ſhew, and now were out of all hope for ẏ vtter rooting out of them, which thyng was the cauſe of their firſt enterpriſe, and had now euen their fill of bloud, and lothed, as it were, the ſheddyng therof, they ceaſed at the laſt of their owne accord to put any mo Chriſtians to death: But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, and maymed their left legs at the hamme with a ſearyng yron, condemnyng them to the mynes of mettals, not ſomuch for the vſe of their labour as for the deſire of afflictyng them. And this was the clemencie and releaſe of the cruelty of thoſe Princes, which ſayd that it was not meete that the cities ſhould be defiled with the bloud of Citizens, and to make the Emperours highneſſe to be deſtained with the name of crueltie, but to ſhewe his Princely beneficence and liberalitie to all men. Euſebius. Lib.8. cap.10.

When Diocleſianus and Maximianus had raigned together Emperours twẽty yeares and one (Nicephorus ſayth. xxij. yeares) at length Diocleſian put himſelfe from his Imperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and liued at Salona, Maximinianus at Mediolanum, and led both of them a priuate like in the .309. yeare after Chriſt. This ſtraunge and marueilous alteration gaue occaſion, and ſo came to paſſe, that within ſhort ſpace after there were in the Romaine commōwealth many Emperours at one tyme.

The names of the tirantes. *Diocleſian, Maximiniā* Emperors depoſed. *Gale. Maximinus, Conſtantius* Emperours. *Maximinus, Seuerus, Conſtantinus Cæſars.*

In the beginnyng of this perſecution you heard how Diocleſian beyng made Emperour, tooke to him Maximinian. Alſo how theſe two gouernyng as Emperours together, choſe other two Cæſars vnder them, to wyt, Galerius Maximinus, and Conſtantius the father of Conſtantine the great. Thus then Diocleſian raignyng with Maximinian, in the .xix. yeare of his raigne began his furious perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, whoſe raigne after the ſame continued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnafle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after he cauſed both him and Maximinian (for what cauſe he knoweth) to geue ouer the Imperiall function, and ſo to remaine not as Emperours any more, but as priuate perſons. So that they beyng now diſplaced and diſpoſſeſſed, the Imperial dominion remained with Conſtantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two deuided the whole Monarchy betwene thē: ſo that Maximinus ſhould gouerne the Eaſt countreys, and Conſtantius the weſt partes. But Conſtantius as a modeſt Prince, onely cōtented with the Imperiall title, refuſed Italy & Aphricke, contentyng him ſelfe onely with Fraunce, Spayne, & Britaine. wherfore Galerius Maximinus choſe to him his two ſonnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewiſe Conſtantius tooke Conſtantinus his ſonne, Cæſar vnder him. In ÿ meane tyme, while Maximinus with his two Cæſars were in Aſia, the Romaine ſouldiours ſet vp for their Emperour Maxentius, ÿ ſonne of Maximiniā, who had before depoſed himſelfe. Agaynſt whō Maximinus the Emperour of the Eaſt ſent his ſonne Seuerus, whiche Seuerus was ſlayne in the ſame viage of Maxentius. In whoſe place then Maximinus tooke Licinius. And theſe were the Emperours and Cæſars, which ſucceeding after Diocleſian and Maximinian, proſecuted the reſt of that perſecution, whiche Diocleſian and Maximinian before begon, duryng neare the ſpace of ſeuen or viij. yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lord. 318. Saue onely that Conſtantius with his ſonne Conſtantinus, was no great doer therin, but rather a maintainer and a ſupporter of the Chriſtians. whiche Conſtantius ſurnamed Chlorus for his palenes, was ÿ ſonne of Eutropius, a man of great nobilitie of the Romaine nation, as Lætus affirmeth. He came of the lyne of Æneas and Clandia the daughter of Claudius Auguſtus. This man had not the deſire of great and mightie dominion, and therfore parted he the Empire with Galerius, and would rule but in Frāce, Britaine, and Spayne, refuſing the other kyngdomes for the troubleſome and difficult gouernement of the ſame. Otherwiſe he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh deſcriptiō of him, very excellent, ciuill, meeke, gentle, liberall, and deſirous to do good vnto thoſe that had any priuate authoritie vnder him. And as Cyrus once ſayd, that he gat treaſure inough, when he made his frendes riche: euen ſo it is ſayd that Conſtantius would often tymes ſay, that it were better that his ſubiectes had treaſure, then he to haue it, in his treaſure houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſufficed with a litle, in ſo much that he vſed to eate and drincke in earthē veſſels (which thyng was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation) and if at any time cauſe required to garniſh his table, he would ſend for plate and other furniture to his frendes. To theſe vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, deuotion, loue, and affection towardes the word of God, as Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 13. affirmeth, after which vertues enſued great peace and tranquillitie in all his Prouinces: By which word he being guided neither leauied any warres contrary to pietie and Chriſtian Religion, neither aided he any other that did the ſame: neither deſtroyed he the Churches, but commaūded that the Chriſtians ſhould be preſerued and defended, and kept them ſafe from all contumelious iniuries. And when that in the other iuriſdictions of the Empire, the congregations were moleſted with perſecution, as Sozomenus declareth. Lib. 1. cap. 6. he onely gaue licence vnto the Chriſtians to lyue after their accuſtomed maner. This wonderfull acte of his followyng beſides other doth ſhewe, that he was a ſincere worſhypper of the Chriſtian Religion.

Maxentius Emperour. *Licinius Cæſar.*

The commendation of *Cōſtantius.*

O happy *Conſtantius.*

Conſtantius graciouſe to the Chriſtians.

Conſtantius proueth who were true Chriſtiās in hys court, and who were not.

Those which bare the chiefe offices among the Ethnikes, draue out of the Emperors court all the godly chriſtians: wherupō this enſued, that the emperours thēſelues at the laſt were deſtitute of helpe: when ſuch were driuen away, which dwelling in theyr courtes, and lyuyng a godly lyfe, poured out their prayers vnto God for the proſperous eſtate and health both of the Empire and Emperor. Conſtantius therefore myndyng at a certayne tyme to try what ſincere and good Chriſtians he had yet in hys court, called together all hys officers and ſeruauntes in the ſame, feynyng himſelfe to chuſe out ſuch as would do ſacrifice to deuils, and that thoſe onely ſhould dwell there and kepe their offices, and that thoſe which would refuſe to do the ſame, ſhould be thruſt out and baniſhed the court. At this apointment, all the courtiars deuided themſelues into companies: The Emperor marked which were the conſtanteſt & godlieſt from the reſt: And when ſome ſayd that they woulde willingly do ſacrifice: other ſome openly and boldly denyed to do the ſame: Then the Emperor ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to do ſacrifice, & iudged them as falſe traitors vnto God, accountyng them vnworthy to bee in his court, which were ſuch traitors to God, & forthwyth commaunded that they onely ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them, which refuſed to do ſacrifice and confeſſed God, affirmyng that they onely were worthy to be about a prince, forthwith commaundyng thē that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty counſellors and defendours both of his perſon and kyngdome, ſaying thus much more, that they onely were worthy to bee in office, whom he might make accompt of, as his aſſured frendes, and that he ment to haue them in more eſtimation, thē the ſubſtance he had in his treaſurie. Euſebius maketh mention hereof in his firſt booke of the life of Conſtantius, & alſo Sozomenus in hys 1. booke and 6. chap.

Ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtan. Lib. 1. Ex Sozomeno. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Falſe Chriſtians diſcerned frō true.

With this Conſtantius was ioyned (as hath bene aforeſayde) Galerius Maximinus, a man as Eutropius affirmeth, very ciuill, and a paſſyng good ſouldior, furthermore a fauourer of wyſe and learned men, of a quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but in hys dronkenneſſe, whereof he woulde ſoone after repente hym, as Victor writeth, whether hee meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus hys ſonne, it is vncertayne. But Euſebius farre otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of hym in hys viij. booke, and firſt chapter. For he ſayth that he was of a tyrannicall diſpoſitiō: The fearefulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magical ſuperſtitiō, in ſomuch that without the diuinations & aunſwers of diuels he durſt do nothing at all, and therefore hee gaue great offices and dignities to enchaunters. Furthermore that he was an exactor and extorcioner of the Citizens, liberall to thoſe that were flatterers, geuen to ſurfettyng & riote, a great drinker of wyne, & in his furious dronkēneſſe moſt lyke a mad man, a Ribaud, an adulterer, which came to no Citie but he rauiſhed virgins and defiled mēs wiues. To conclude he was ſo great an idolater, that he builte vp Temples in euery city, and repayred thoſe that were fallen in great decay: and he choſe out the moſt worthieſt of hys politicall Magiſtrates to be the idols prieſtes, and deuiſed that they ſhould execute that their office with great authoritie and dignitye, and alſo with warlike pompe. But to Chriſtian piety and religion he was moſt incenſiue, and in the Eaſt Churches exerciſed cruel perſecution, and vſed as executioners of the ſame, Peucetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus beſide others.

Maximinus an enemye to the Chriſtians.

The wickedneſſ of *Maximinus* deſcribed.

A terrible plague ſent by God to *Maximinus.*

Notwithſtandyng he was at length reuoked from his cruelty by the iuſt iudgement and puniſhment of God. For he was ſodainly vexed wyth a fatall diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtraunge, takyng the firſt beginnyng in hys fleſh outwardly, frō thence it proceeded more and more to the inward partes of his body. For in the priuy members of hys body there happened vnto him a ſodaine putrifaction, & after in ÿ bottome of the ſame a botchy corrupt byle, with a Fiſtula, conſumyng and eatyng vp his entrals, out of the which came ſwarmyng forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtinche that no man coulde abide hym, and ſo muche more, for that all the groſeneſſe of his body by aboundaunce of meate before he fell ſicke, was turned all into fat: which fat now putrified and ſtincking was ſo vgſome and horrible, that none that came to hym could abyde the ſight thereof. By reaſon whereof, the Phiſitions which had hym in cure, ſome of them not able to abide the intollerable ſtinch, were commaunded to be ſlaine. Other ſome becauſe they could not heale hym, beyng ſo ſwollen and paſt hope of cure were alſo cruelly put to death. At length beyng put in remembraunce that his diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethinke the wyckedneſſe that he had done agaynſt the ſaintes of God, and ſo commyng agayne to hymſelfe, firſt confeſſeth vnto God all hys offences, then calling them vnto hym which were about hym, forthwyth commaunded all men to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. Requiryng moreouer that they ſhould ſet vp hys Imperiall proclamations, for the reſtoryng and reedifieng of their Temples, and that they would obtayne this of the Chriſtiās, in theyr aſſemblies (which without all feare & doubte they might bee bolde to make) that they would deuoutly

Maximinus killeth hys phiſitions.

pray to theyr God for the Emperor. Then forthwyth was the perſecution ſtayed, and the Imperiall proclamations in euery citie were ſet vp, conteyning the retraction or countermaund of thoſe thynges which agaynſt the Chriſtians were before decreed, the copy wherof enſueth.

Maximinus countermaunde in the behalfe of the Chriſtians.

Amongſt other thynges which for the benefite & commodity of the common weale we eſtabliſhed, we commaunded to reforme all thinges accordyng to the auncient lawes and publike diſcipline of ye Romaines, & alſo to vſe this policy, that the Chriſtians which had forſaken the religion of their forefathers ſhould be brought agayne to ye right way. For ſuch phātaſticall ſingularitie was amongſt them, that thoſe thynges which theyr elders had receyued & allowed, they reiected & diſallowed, deuiſing euery man ſuch lawes as they thought good, and obſerued the ſame, aſſemblyng in diuers places great multitudes of people.

Therfore when our foreſayde decree was proclaymed, many there were that felt the penalty therof, and many beyng troubled therfore ſuffred ſundry kindes of death. And becauſe we ſee yet that there be many which perſeuere in the ſame, which neyther geue due worſhip vnto the Celeſtiall gods, neyther receyue the God of the Chriſtians, we hauing reſpect to our accuſtomed benignitie wherwith we are wont to ſhew fauour vnto all men, thynke good in this cauſe alſo to extend our clemency, that the Chriſtians may be agayne tollerated, and appoynt them places where again they may meete together, ſo that they do nothyng contrary to publicke order and diſcipline. By an other Epiſtle we meane to preſcribe vnto the iudges, what ſhalbe conuenient for them to do. Wherefore accordyng as this our bountifull clemency deſerueth, let them make interceſſion to God for our health, common weale, and for themſelues, that in all places the ſtate of the cōmō weale may be preſerued, and that they thēſelues may be able ſafely to lyue within theyr borders. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. vltimo.

But one of hys inferior officers whoſe name was alſo Maximinus was not well pleaſed whē this countermaund was publiſhed throughout all Aſia, and the Prouinces where he had to do, yet he beyng qualified by this example, that it was not conuenient for him to repugne the pleaſure of thoſe Princes which had the chiefe authoritie as Conſtantius and Maximinus, ſet forth of himſelfe no edicte touching the ſame: but commaunded his officers in the preſence of others, that they ſhould ſomewhat ſtay from the perſecution of the Chriſtians: of which commaundement of the inferior Maximinus, eche of thē gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus which then amongſt them all, had the chiefeſt office and dignitie: to the ſubſtitutes of euery countrey wrote by his letters the emperors pleaſure in this wyſe.

Sabinus in the fauour of the Chriſtians publiſheth the decree.

The Maieſtye of our moſt gratious and ſoueraygne lordes the Emperors, hath lately decreed with ſpeciall diligence and deuotion, to induce all men to an vniforme lyfe, ſo that they which ſeemed to diſſent from the Romaine cuſtome by a ſtraunge maner of liuing, ſhould exhibite to the immortall gods their due and proper worſhip, but the wilfull and obſtinate mynde of diuers ſo muche, and ſo continually reſiſted the ſame, that by no lawfull meanes they might be reuoked from their purpoſe, neither made afrayde by any terror or puniſhment. Becauſe therfore it ſo came to paſſe, that by this meanes many put themſelues in perill and ieoperdy: The maieſtie of our ſoueraigne Lordes the Emperors according to their noble pietie, conſidering that it was farre from the meaning of their princely maieſties that ſuch thinges ſhould be, wherby ſo many men & muche people ſhould be deſtroied, gaue me in charge that with diligence I ſhould write vnto you, that if any of the Chriſtians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exerciſe of their religion, that in no wiſe you moleſt the ſame, neyther for that cauſe you do iudge any man worthy of puniſhmēt: for that in all this tyme it hath euidently appeared that by no meanes they myght be allured from ſuch wilfulneſſe. It is therfore requiſite that your wiſdom write vnto ye Queſtors, Captaynes, and Conſtables of euery city & village, that they may know it not to be lawfull for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the preſcript of this commaundement, neither that they preſume to attempt the ſame. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Perſecution ceaſeth for a tyme.

The gouernours therfore of euery prouince, ſuppoſing this to be the determinate pleaſure (and not fayned) of the Emperor, dyd firſt aduertiſe therof, the ruſticall & Pagan multitude: After that they releaſed & ſet at liberty all ſuch priſoners as were condēned to the mettall mynes, & to perpetuall impriſonmēt for their faith, thinking therby (where in deede they were deceyued) that the doyng therof would well pleaſe the Emperor. This therfore ſeemed to them as vnlooked for, and as light to trauellers in a darke nyght. They gather themſelues together in euery Citie, they call their Synodes and councels, and much maruell at the ſodayne chaunge and alteration. The Infidels themſelues extoll the onely and true God of the Chriſtians. The chriſtians receyue agayne all their former liberty, and ſuche as fell away before in the tyme of perſecution, repent thēſelues and after penaunce done, they returned agayne to the congregation. Now the Chriſtians reioyced in euery Citie, prayſing God with hymnes and Pſalmes. Euſebius ibidē.

The Infidels acknowledge the God of the Chriſtians.

One alteration vpon an other.

This was a meruaylous ſodaine alteration of the church, from a moſt vnhappy ſtate into a better, but ſcarce ſuffered Maximinus the tirant the ſame vi. monethes vnuiolated to continue. For whatſoeuer ſeemed to make for the ſubuerſion of the ſame peace (yet ſcarcely hatched) that dyd he only meditate. And firſt of all he toke from the Chriſtians all libertye and leaue for them to aſſemble and congregate in their chyrches vnder a certayne coulour. After that he ſent certayne Miſcreantes vnto the Athenians, to ſollicite thē agaynſt the chriſtians, and to prouoke them to aſke of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not ſuffer any Chriſtian to inhabite in their countrey: and amongeſt thē was one Theotechnus a moſt wicked miſcreant, an inchaunter, and a moſt deadly enemy agaynſt the Chriſtians. He firſt made the way wherby the Chriſtiās were put out of credite, and accuſed to the Emperour, to whiche fraud alſo he erected a certaine Idole of Iupiter to be worſhipped of the inchaunters and coniurers, and mingled the ſame worſhip with ceremonies, full of deceiuable witchecraft. Laſtly, he cauſed the ſame Idole to geue thys ſounde out of hys mouth. That is: Iupiter cōmaundeth the chriſtians to be baniſhed out of the Citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, as enemies vnto hym. And the ſame ſentence dyd the reſt of the gouernours of the prouinces publiſh againſt the Chriſtians, and thus at length perſecution began to kyndle agaynſt them. Maximinus appoynted and inſtituted hyghe prieſtes and biſhops in euery city to offer ſacrifice vnto Idoles, and enioyneth all thoſe that were in great offices vnder hym, that they ſhould not onely ceaſe to pleaſure them, and to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deuiſed accuſatiōs agaynſt them, at their pleaſure, put as many to death as by any meanes they might. They alſo dyd counterfet certayne practiſes of Pilate agaynſt our ſauior Chriſt full of blaſphemy, and ſent the ſame into all ye Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commaundyng that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed and ſet vp in euery citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, and that they ſhould be deliuered to the ſcholemaiſters, to cauſe their ſcholers to learne by roate the ſame.

The deueliſh practiſe of *Theotechnus.*

The dyuers practiſes of the Heathen againſt Chriſt and hys religion.

A deuiſed accuſation againſt the Chriſtians by harlots.

After that one named Præfectus caſtrorum, whom the Romaynes do call captayne, allured certaine light women, partly by feare, and partly by puniſhment, dwelling at Damaſcus in Phenicia, and taken out of the courte wherein they were accuſed, that they ſhould openly ſay in wrytyng that they were once Chriſtians, and that they knew what wycked and laſciuious actes the Chriſtians were wont to execute amongſt themſelues vpon the ſondayes, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the ſlaunder of the Chriſtians. The capitain ſheweth vnto the emperour their wordes, as though it had bene ſo in deede, and the Emperour by and by commaunded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout euery citie. Furthermore, they dyd hange vp in the myddeſt of euery Citie (which was neuer done before) the Emperours edictes agaynſt ye Chriſtiās, grauen in tables of braſſe. And the children in ye ſcholes with great noyſe and clappyng of handes did euery day reſound the contumelious blaſphemies of Pilate vnto Ieſus, and what other things ſo euer were deuiſed of the magiſtrates, after moſt deſpightfull maner. Euſeb. lib. 8, cap. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. And this is the copy of the edict, which Maximinus cauſed to be faſtened to pillers fraught with all arrogant & inſolent hate agaynſt God and Chriſt.

Maxim. recountermaunde grauen in braſſe.

The copye of the recountermaunde againſt the Chriſtians.

The weake and imbecyl rebellion of mans mynde (all obſcuritie and blindneſſe of ignoraunce ſet aparte, which hetherto hath wrapped the myndes of impious and miſerable men, in the pernicious darkeneſſe of ignoraunce) is now at the length able to diſcerne, that the ſame is gouerned as alſo corroborated by the prouidence of the immortall gods the louers of vertue: which thyng, how acceptable it is to vs, how pleaſaunt and gratefull, and how much proofe the ſame hath declared of your wel diſpoſed & godly myndes, is incredible to be told: Although this was not vnknowen before with what diligence and deuotion ye ſerued the immortall Gods, whoſe wonderfull and conſtant fayth is not knowen by bare and naked wordes, but by your worthy and notable deedes. Wherfore worthely is your Citie called the habita-

Wicked blaſphemy.

The workes of the lyuing God falſly imputed to dead Stockes and Idoles.

Horrible blaſphemy.

The lyke argument of weather and corne, and plenty, made the vnfaythfull Iewes, and alſo make now our faithles Papiſtes.

bitation and ſeate of the immortall Gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the ſame floriſheth, and proſpereth by the preſence of the celeſtiall Gods. For behold, your Citie not regardyng your priuate buſineſſes, nor eſteeming that whiche ſhould haue bene for the ſpeciall commoditie thereof, when it perceaued that curſed vanitie to begyn agayne to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brandes thereof began to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay ye hauing recourſe vnto our pietie, as vnto the Metropolitan of all diuine worſhyp and Religiō, craued remedy and helpe, which wholeſome minde for your pieties ſake, it is moſt manifeſt that the gods haue indued you with. Therfore he, euen that moſt mighty Iupiter I ſay, which preſerueth your moſt famous Citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrey Gods, your wiues and children, your houſhold Gods and houſes, frō all deteſtable corruption, hath inſpired you with this wholeſome and willyng mynde, ſhewing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthfull a thing it is to worſhip and to ſacrifice to the immortall Gods. For who is ſo voyd of reaſon and vnderſtandyng, that knoweth not that this thyng happeneth vnto vs by the carefull ſtudy of the goodnes of our Gods, that the grounde denyeth not to geue her yerely increaſe, nor maketh fruſtrate the huſband mans hope, nor that wicked warre dare ſhew her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the ayre is now cauſe of peſtilēce, neither ÿ the ſea ſwelleth with immoderate windes, neither that ſodaine ſtormes are cauſe of hurtfull tēpeſtes. To conclude, that the ground which is as the nurſe & mother of all thyngs, is not ſwallowed vp of her deepe chappes and gappynges, by terrible earthquake, neither that the hyls made leuell with the earth, are not with gapyng clyftes deuoured, all which euils and greater then theſe, before this tyme to haue happened euery man knoweth. And all theſe miſchiefes came vpon vs for the pernicious errours ſake of the extreme folly of thoſe wicked men the Chriſtiās, when filthines it ſelfe (as I may call it) ſo occupied their mindes, and ouerranne the world. Let them behold the fieldes now all about full of corne, & ouerflowen as it were with eares of corne. Let them vew the pleaſant medowes clothed with flowers, and moyſtned with ſhowers from heauen, and alſo the pleaſaunt and temperate weather. Therfore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, ſacrifices, and worſhippyng, the maieſtie of the moſt ſtearne God of battell Mars is appeaſed, and that therefore we enioy pleaſaunt and firme peace. And how many ſo euer haue left that blynd errour & ſtraying of the Chriſtians vnfaynedly, and be of a better mynde, let them ſpecially reioyce, as men deliuered out of a ſodayne great tempeſt, and from a greuous diſeaſe, and haue afterward obtained a delectable and pleaſaunt lyfe. For doubtles, if they had remained in that execrable vanitie, farre of had they bene chaſed from your Citie and ſuburbes of the ſame (accordyng to your deſire) that your Citie by that meanes accordyng to your commendable diligence, clenſed from all impuritie and impietie, may offer ſacrifices accordyng to the meanyng of the ſame, with due reuerence of the immortall Gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part we take your ſupplicatiō (yea vnaſked and deſired) we are moſt willing & ready to further your honeſt endeuours, and graunt vnto you for your deuotion, whatſoeuer ye aſke of our magnificence. And that this thyng may be accompliſhed, forthwith aſke, and haue. And this thyng with all ſpeede indeuour ye to obtaine, which ſhalbe a perpetuall teſtimonie of pietie exhibited of your Citie to the immortall Gods, and ſhalbe a Preſident to your children and poſteritie, and withall you ſhall obtaine of vs for this your willing deſire of reformation, condigne and worthy rewardes. Euſe. Lib. 9. cap. 7.

Perſecution renued a freſh.

Syluanus Byſhop.

Lucianus Elder, *Petrus* Byſhop, *Quirinus* Biſhop, *Marcellus* byſhop, *Tymotheus* elder, Martyrs.

The perſecution of *Maximinus* the younger.

Ex faſciculo temporum.

30000. Martyrs.

Coſmas, Damianus, Dorothea, wyth other Martyrs.

270. Martyrs.

37000. Martyrs.

Geminianus wyth 79. Martyrs.

Generall kyndes of tormentes.

This came it to paſſe that at ÿ length perſecutiō was as great as euer it was, and the Magiſtrates of euery prouince were very diſdaynfull agaynſt the Chriſtians, which condemned ſome to death, and ſome to exile. Among whom they condemned three Chriſtians at Emiſa in Phenicia, to whō Siluanus the Byſhop a very old man, being .40. yeares in the Eccleſiaſticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the Elder of Antioch, brought thether, after he had exhibited to the Emperour his Apologie concerning the doctrine of the Chriſtians, was caſt in priſon, and after put to death. In Amaſea a Citie of Capadocia, Bringes the Lieutenaunt of Maximinus, had at that tyme the executyng of that perſecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a moſt worthy Byſhop was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian Byſhops alſo dyed. Euſeb. Lib. 9. cap. 7. Nicepho. Lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus the Byſhop of Sceſcanius hauing a hanmyll tyed about his necke, was throwne headlōg from the bridge, into the flood, and there a long while fleted aboue the water, and when he opened his mouth to ſpeake to the lookers on that they ſhoulde not be diſmayed with that his puniſhment, was with much a do drowned. Chron. Euſeb. At Rome dyed Marcellus the Byſhop, as ſayth Platina, alſo Timotheus the Elder, with many other Byſhops and Prieſtes were Martyred. To conclude, many in ſundry places euery where were Martyred, whoſe names the booke intituled Faſciculus temporū declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Caſtorius with his wife, Caſtulus, Ceſarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, & other innumerable martyrs, Eraſmus, Bonifacius, and thirty thouſand Martyrs more, Iuliana, Coſmas, Damianus, Baſilinus with vij. others, Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodoſia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hireneus, Ianuarius, Feſtus, Deſiderius, Gregorius Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea, Theodora and .270. other Martyrs, Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modeſtus, Creſcentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pācratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the virgin, and Antheas the kyng with .37000. Martyrs, Simplicius, Fauſtinus, Beatrix, Pāthaleon, Georgius, Iuſtus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other mo to an infinite number ſuffered martyrdome in this perſecution, whoſe names God hath written in the booke of life. Alſo Felix, Victor with his parentes, Lucia the widow, Geminianus with .79. others, Sabinus, Anaſtaſia, Chriſogonus, Felix, & Audactus, Adrianus, Nathalia, Eugenia, Agnes alſo when ſhe was but .13. yeares old was Martyred. Euſebius in his .8. booke & .15. chap. rehearſeth theſe kindes of tormentes and puniſhmentes, that is to ſay: Fire, wilde beaſtes, the ſword, crucifyinges, the bottom of the ſea, the cuttyng & burnyng of members, the thruſtyng out of eyes, diſmembring of ÿ whole body, hunger, impriſonment, & whatſoeuer other crueltie the Magiſtrates could deuiſe. All which notwithſtandyng the godly ones rather then ÿ they would do ſacrifice as they were byd, mā fully endured. Neither were the women any thyng at all behinde them. For they beyng entiſed to the filthy vſe of their bodies, rather ſuffered baniſhment, or willyngly killed them ſelues. Neither yet could the Chriſtians liue ſafely in the wildernes, but were fetched euen from thence to death and tormentes, in ſomuch that this was a more greuous perſecutiō vnder Maximinus the tyrant, then was ÿ former cruell perſecutiō, vnder Maximianus the Prince. Euſeb. Lib. 9. cap. 6. & 10.

The worke of God agaynſt the foreſayd Edict.

The proud & blaſphemous Proclamatiō of the Emperour proued falſe and contrary.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 9 cap. 8.

A terrible hunger among the heathen perſecuters deſcribed.

And foraſmuch as ye haue heard the cruell Edict of Maximinus proclaymed agaynſt the Chriſtians, grauen in braſſe, which he thought perpetually ſhould endure to the aboliſhing of Chriſt and his Religion: Now marke agayne the great handy worke of God, which immediatly fell vpon the ſame, checkyng the proud preſumptiō of the tyrant, prouyng all to be falſe and contrary, that in the braſen Proclamation was contained. For where the foreſayd Edict boaſted ſo much of the proſperitie and plenty of all thynges in the tyme of this perſecution of the Chriſtians, ſodenly befell ſuch vnſeaſonable drouth with famine and peſtilence among the people, beſides alſo the warres with the Armenians, that all was found vntrue that he had bragged ſo much of before. By reaſon of which famine and peſtilence the people were greatly conſumed, in ſo much that one meaſure of wheate was ſold for two thouſand and fiue hundred peeces of money of Athens coyne, by reaſon wherof innumerable dyed in the Cities, but many more in the countrey and villages, ſo that moſt part of the huſbandmen and countreymē dyed vp with the famine and peſtilence. Diuers there were which bringyng out their beſt treaſure, were glad to geue it for any kynde of ſuſtenaunce, were it neuer ſo litle. Other ſellyng away their poſſeſſions, fell by reaſon thereof to extreme pouertie and beggary. Certaine eatyng graſſe, and feedyng on other vnholſome herbes, were fayne to relieue thēſelues with ſuch foode as did hurt and poyſon their bodyes. Alſo a number of womē in the Cities, beyng brought to extreme miſery and penury, were conſtrayned to depart the Citie, and fall to beggyng through the countrey. Some other very weake and faynt (as Images without breath) wandring vp and downe, and not able to ſtand for feeblenes, fell downe in the middle of the ſtreetes, and holdyng vp their handes moſt pitifull, cryed for ſome ſcrappes or fragmentes of bread to be geuen them, & beyng at the laſt gaſpe, ready to geue vp the Ghoſt, and not able to vtter any other wordes, yet cryed out that they were hungry. Of the richer ſort diuers there were, who beyng wery with the number of beggars and askers, after they had beſtowed largely vpon them, became hard harted, fearyng leaſt they ſhould fall into the ſame miſerie thēſelues, as they which begged. By reaſon wherof the market place, ſtreetes, lanes, and alleyes lay full of dead and naked bodyes, beyng caſt out and vnburied, to the pitifull & greuous beholdyng of them that ſaw them.

wherfore many were eaten of dogges, for which cauſe they that liued fell to the killyng of dogges, leaſt they runnyng mad, ſhould fall vpon them, and kill them.

Peſtilence among the perſecutours.

In like maner the peſtilence ſcatteryng through all houſes & ages of men, did no leſſe conſume them, eſpecially thoſe which through plētie of vitaile eſcaped famine. Wherfore the rich Princes, Preſidentes and other innumerable of the Magiſtrates, beyng the more apt to receiue the infection by reaſon of their plentie, were quickly diſpatched, and turned vp their heeles. Thus the miſerable multitude beyng conſumed with famine and with peſtilence, all places was full of mournyng, neither was there any thyng els ſeene, but waylyng and weepyng in euery corner. So that death, what by famine and peſtilence in ſhort tyme brake vp and conſumed whole houſholdes, two or three dead bodies beyng borne out together from one houſe, to one funerall.

The charity of the Chriſtians to the enemyes. Let your lyght ſo ſhine among men, that they may ſee your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen.

These were the rewardes of the vayne bragges of Maximinus and his Edictes, which he did publiſh in all townes and Cities agaynſt vs, when it was euident to all mē, how diligent and charitable the Chriſtians were to them all in this their miſerable extremitie. For they onely in all this tyme of diſtres, ſhewing compaſſion vpon them, traueled euery day ſome in curing the ſicke, and ſome in buryng the dead, which otherwiſe of their owne ſort were forſaken. Other ſome of the Chriſtians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in ieopardy of famine, diſtributed bread to them, wherby they miniſtred occaſion to all mē to glorifie the God of ỹ Chriſtians, and to confeſſe thē to be the true worſhippers of God, as appeared by their workes. By the meanes and reaſon herof, the great God and defēder of the Chriſtians, who before had ſhewed his anger and indignation agaynſt all men, for their wrongfull afflictyng of vs, opened agayne vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, ſo that by meanes therof peace fell vnto vs, as light to them that ſit in darknes, to the great admiration of all men, which eaſely perceiue God himſelfe to bee a perpetuall director of our doyngs, who many tymes chaſteneth hys people wyth calamityes for a tyme to exerciſe them, but after ſufficient correction, agayne ſheweth himſelfe mercifull and fauorable to them that with truſt call vpon him.

The wiſdom and policie of man ouerthrowne in hys owne turne. *Qui comprehendit ſapientes in aſtutia.*

By the narration of theſe thinges heretofore premiſed, taken out of the ſtory of Euſebius, like as it is manifeſt to ſee, ſo is it wonderfull to marke and note, how thoſe counſailes and rages of the Gentiles, atchiued agaynſt Chriſt & his Chriſtians, when they ſeemed moſt ſure agaynſt them, were moſt agaynſt them ſelues. And wherby they thought moſt to confound the Church and Religion of Chriſt, the ſame turned moſt to their owne confuſion, and to the profite & prayſe of the Chriſtians. (God of his maruelous wiſedome ſo orderyng and diſpoſing the end of thynges.) For where the brasen Edict of the Emperour promiſed temperate weather, God ſent drought, where it promiſed plenty, God immediatly ſent vpō them famine and penurie: where it promiſed health, God ſtroke them euen vpon the ſame, with greuous peſtilence, and with other mo calamities, in ſuch ſorte, that the moſt relief they had, was chiefly by the Chriſtians, to the great prayſe both of them, and to the honour of our God.

The promiſe of Chriſt verified. Mat 6. The gates of hell ſhall not preuayle agaynſt the church builded vpon the fayth of Chriſt.

Thus moſt playnly and euidently was then verified the true promiſe of Chriſt to his Church, affirming and aſſuryng vs, that the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile agaynſt his Church builded vpon his fayth: as ſufficiently may appeare by theſe .x. perſecutions aboue ſpecified and deſcribed. Wherin as no man can deny, but that Sathan and his malignant would haue aſſayed the vttermoſt of their power and might to ouerthrow the Church of Ieſus: ſo muſt all men needes graunt that read theſe ſtories, that when Sathan and the gates of hell haue done their worſt, yet haue they not preuailed agaynſt this mount of Sion, nor neuer ſhall. For els what was here to be thought, where ſo many Emperours and tyrauntes together, Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Maxētius, Licinius with their Captaines and officers, were let looſe, like ſo many Lyons, vpon a ſcattered and vnarmed flocke of ſheepe, intendyng nothyng els, but the vtter ſubuerſion of all Chriſtianitie, and eſpecially alſo when lawes alſo were ſet vp in braſſe agaynſt the Chriſtiās as a thing perpetually to ſtād: what was here to be looked for, but a ſmall deſolation of the name and Religion of Chriſtiās? But what folowed, partly ye haue heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the ſtory foloweth.

I ſhewed before how Maxentius the ſonne of Maximinian, was ſet vp at Rome by the Pretorian ſouldiours to be Emperour. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not conſentyng, yet for feare they were not reſiſtyng. Maximinian his father, who had before depriued him ſelfe with Diocleſian, hearing of this, tooke hart agayne to him, to reſume his dignitie, and ſo laboured to perſwade Diocleſian alſo to do the ſame: but when he could not moue him therunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinkyng to wraſt the Empire out of his ſonnes hand: but when the ſouldiours would not ſuffer that, of a craftie purpoſe he flyeth to Conſtantinus in Fraunce, vnder pretenſe to complayne of Maxentius hys ſonne, but in very deede to kill Conſtantinus. Notwithſtādyng that conſpiracie beyng detected by Fauſta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Conſtantinus had maryed, ſo was Conſtantinus through the grace of god preſerued, and Maximinian retyred backe. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and ſo put to death. And this is the ende of Maximinian.

The death & ende of *Maximinian*.

The wickednes of *Maxentius* deſcribed.

Now let vs returne to Maxentius agayne, who all this whyle raigned at Rome, with tiranny and wyckednes intollerable, much lyke to an other Pharao or Nero. For hee ſlew the moſt part of hys noble men, and tooke from them theyr goodes. And ſometyme in hys rage he would deſtroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by hys ſouldiors, as Euſebius declareth, lib.8.cap.14. Alſo he left no miſchieuous nor laſciuious acte vnattempted, but was the vtter enemy of all womanly chaſtity, which vſed to ſend the honeſt wyues whom he had adulterated with ſhame and diſhoneſty vnto their huſbandes (beyng worthy Senators) after that he had rauiſhed them. He abſtayned from no adulterous acte, but was inflamed wyth the inquenchable luſt of deflouryng of women. Letus declareth that he beyng at a tyme far in loue with a noble and chaſte gentlewoman of Rome, ſent vnto her ſuch courtiers of hys, as were mete for that purpoſe, whom alſo he had in greater eſtimation then any others, and with ſuch was wont to conſult about matters for the common weale. Theſe firſt fell vpon her huſbande and murthered hym within hys owne houſe, then when they could by no meanes neyther with feare of the tyraunt, nor wyth threatnyng of death pull her away from him: At length ſhe beyng a Chriſtian deſired leaue of them to go into her chamber, and after her prayers ſhe would accompliſh that which they requeſted. And when ſhe had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, ſhe kylled her ſelfe. But the courtiers when they ſaw that the woman taried ſo long, they beyng diſpleaſed therwith, brake open the doores, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared thys matter to the Emperour, who was ſo far paſt ſhame, that in ſtede of repentance, he was the more ſet on fire in attemptyng the lyke.

A ſhamefull acte of incontinency.

A Chriſtian matron ſlayeth her ſelfe to auoyde the luſt of *Maxentius*.

He was alſo much addict to the arte Magicall, which to execute, he was more fit then the imperiall dignitie. Alſo ſometyme he would rip women when they were in labour, and would ſearch the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he would inuocate diuels in a ſecrete maner, and by the anſwers of them he ſought to breake the warres, which he knew Conſtātinus and Licinius prepared agaynſt him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate hys miſchieuous and wycked attemptes, which in his vngracious mynde he had conceyued, accordyng to hys purpoſe, in the beginnyng of hys raigne he fained hymſelf to be a fauourer of the Chriſtians. In which thing doing, thinkyng to make the people of Rome his frendes, he commaunded that they ſhould ceaſe from perſecuting of the Chriſtians, and he hymſelfe in the meane ſeaſon abſtained from no contumelious vexation of them, tyll that he began at laſt to ſhew hymſelfe an open perſecutor of them: at which tyme as Zonaras writeth he moſt cruelly raged agaynſt all the Chriſtians thereabouts, vexyng them with all maner of iniuries, which thyng he in no leſſe wiſe dyd, then Maximinus, as Euſebius in hys 8. booke and 15. chap. ſeemeth to affirme. And Platina declareth in the lyfe of Marcellus the biſhop, that he baniſhed a certayne noble woman of Rome, becauſe ſhe gaue her goodes to the church.

A monſter in the lykelyhoode of an Emperour.

A lyuely paterne of an hypocrite.

The Romaines ſend to Conſtantine for ſuccour.

Thus by the grieuous tyranny and vnſpeakable wickednes of this Maxentius, the citizens and Senatours of Rome, beyng much grieued and oppreſſed, ſent theyr complaintes wyth letters vnto Conſtantinus, with much ſute and moſt harty petitions, deſiryng hym to helpe and releaſe theyr countrey and citie of Rome: who hearyng and vnderſtādyng theyr miſerable and pitifull ſtate, and grieued therewith not a little, firſt ſendeth by letters to Maxentius, deſiring and exhortyng hym to refrayne hys corrupt doynges, and great crueltie. But when no letters nor exhortations would preuayle, at length pityng the wofull caſe of the Romaynes, gathered together hys power and armye

An.318.

in Brytayne and Fraunce, wherewith to repreſſe the violent rage of that tyraunt. Thus Conſtantinus ſufficiently appoynted with ſtrength of men, but eſpecially w ſtrength of God, entred hys iourney commyng toward Italy, which was about the laſt yeare of the perſecution. an. 318. Maxentius vnderſtandyng of the commyng of Conſtantine, & truſtyng more to hys diueliſh arte of Magike, then to the good wyll of hys ſubiectes, which he little deſerued, durſt not ſhew hymſelfe out of the citie, nor encounter with hym in the open field, but with priuy garriſons layd in wayte for hym by the way, in ſundry ſtraightes as he ſhoulde come. With whom Conſtantine had diuers ſkirmiſhes, & by the power of the Lord dyd euer vanquiſh them and put them to flight. Notwithſtandyng Conſtantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mynde (approchyng now nere vnto Rome) for the Magicall charmes & ſorceries of Maxentius, wherwith he had vanquiſhed before Seuerus ſent by Galerius agaynſt hym, as hath bene declared, which made alſo Conſtantinus the more afrayd. Wherfore beyng in great doubt and perplexitie in himſelfe, and reuoluing many thinges in his mynde, what helpe he myght haue agaynſt the operations of hys charming, which vſed to cut women great with childe, to take his diueliſh charmes by the entrals of the infantes, with ſuch other like feates of deuiliſhnes which he practiſed: These thinges (I ſay) Conſtantinus doubting and reuoluing in his mynde, in hys iourney drawyng toward the citie, and caſting vp his eyes many times to heauen, in the South part, about the goyng downe of the ſunne, ſaw a great brightneſſe in heauen, appearing in the ſimilitude of a croſſe, with certaine ſtarres of equall bigneſſe, geuing this inſcription like latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In this ouercome. Euſeb.De vita Conſtant.lib.2.Niceph.lib.7.cap.29.Eutrop.lib.11.Sozom.lib.1.cap.3.Socrat.lib.1.cap.2.Vrſpurgenſ.Chronic.Paul.Diacon.lib.11. This miraculous viſion to be true, for the more credite, Euſebius Pamphilus in his firſt booke De vita Conſtantini doth witneſſe moreouer, that he had heard the ſayd Conſtantinus hymſelfe oftentymes report, and alſo to ſweare this to be true and certaine, which he did ſee with his owne eyes in heauen, and alſo his ſouldiours about hym. At the ſight whereof, when he was greatly aſtonied, and conſulting with his men vppon the meanyng therof, behold in the night ſeaſon in his ſlepe Chriſt appeared to him with the ſigne of the ſame croſſe, which he had ſene before, biddyng hym to make the figuration therof, and to cary it in hys warres before hym, and ſo ſhould he haue the victory.

Maxentius feared for his magicall and ſorcery.

A miracle of a croſſe appering to *Conſtantine* in heauen. *In hoc Vince.*

This viſion reported & teſtified by Conſtantine hymſelfe to be true.

¶ Wherin is to be noted (good Reader) that this ſigne of the Croſſe, and theſe letters added withall: In hoc vince, was geuen to hym of God, not to induce any ſuperſtitious worſhip or opinion of the croſſe, as though the croſſe it ſelf, had any ſuch power or ſtrength in it, to obtayne victory: but onely to beare the meanyng of an other thyng, that is, to be an admonition to hym, to ſeeke and aſpire to the knowledge and fayth of him, which was crucified vppon the croſſe for the ſaluation of him, & of all the world, and ſo to ſet forth the glory of his name, as afterward it came to paſſe. This by the way, now to the matter.

An admonition concerning the materiall croſſe not to be worſhipped, but to be a meanes to bryng *Conſtantine* to the fayth of hym which was crucified.

The next day followyng after this nightes viſiō, Conſtantinus cauſed a croſſe after the ſame figuratiō to be made of gold and precious ſtone, & to be borne before hym in ſtede of hys ſtandard: and ſo with much hope of victory & great confidence, as one armed from heauen ſpeedeth hymſelfe toward his enemy. Agaynſt whom Maxentius beyng cōſtrained perforce to iſſue out of the Citie, ſendeth all his power to ioyne with hym in the field beyonde the ryuer of Tybur, where Maxentius craftely breaking downe the bridge called Pons Miluius, cauſed an other deceitfull bridge to be made of boates and wherries, beyng ioyned together, and couered ouer with boordes and planckes in maner of a bridge, thynkyng therwith to take Conſtantine as in a trap. But here it came to paſſe which in the 7. pſalme is written: He digged a pit, and fell therin hymſelf. Let hys working returne vpon hys owne head, and hys vnrighteouſneſſe vppon hys owne pate, which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hoſtes did meete, he being not able to ſuſtayne the force of Conſtantine fightyng vnder the croſſe of Chriſt agaynſt hym, was put to ſuch a flight, and driuen to ſuch an exigent, that in retyring backe for haſt thinkyng to get the citie, vppon the ſame bridge which he did lay for Conſtantine, was ouerturned by the fall of hys horſe into the bottome of the flud, and there with the waight of hys armour, he with a great part of his beſt men were drowned. Repreſenting vnto vs the lyke example of Pharao and hys hoſte drowned in the red ſea. Who not vnaptly ſeemeth to beare a prophetical prefiguration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Iſraell were in long thraldom and perſecution in Egipt vnder tyrauntes there, till the drownyng of this Pharao their laſt perſecutor: ſo was this Maxentius & Maximinus and Licinius the laſt perſecutors in ỹ Romaine Monarchie of the chriſtiãs, whom this Conſtantinus fightyng vnder the croſſe of Chriſt, dyd vanquiſh & ſet the chriſtians at liberty, who before had bene perſecuted now 300. yeares in Rome, as hath bene hetherto in this hiſtorye declared.

Conſtantinus wyth hys army approcheth towarde Rome.

Pſal.7.

Maxentius taken in his owne trap.

Maxentius beaten in the fielde.

Maxentius drowned by his owne bridge.

Pharao a figure of *Maxentius* the laſt perſecutor in Rome.

Pharao and *Maxentius* compared.

Wherfore as the Iſraelites with their Moſes at ỹ drownyng of theyr Pharao, ſong gloriouſly vnto the Lord, who miraculouſly had caſt downe the horſe and horſemen into the ſea: So no leſſe reioycing and exceedyng gladneſſe was here, to ſee the glorious hande of the Lorde Chriſt fightyng with hys people, and vanquiſhyng his enemies and perſecutours.

Exod.15.

The figure of the olde Teſtament verified in the new.

In hiſtories we read of many victories and great conqueſtes gotten: yet we neuer read, nor euer ſhall of any victory ſo wholſome, ſo commodious, ſo opportune to mankind as this was, which made an ende of ſo much bloudſhed, and obtained ſo much liberty and life to the poſteritie of ſo many generations. For albeit that ſome perſecution was yet ſtiryng in the Eaſt countreys by Maximinus and Licinius, as ſhalbe declared: yet in Rome and in all the Weſt partes, no Martir dyed after this heauenly victory gotten. And alſo in the Eaſt partes the ſaid Conſtantinus with the ſayd croſſe borne before him, conſequently vppon the ſame ſo vanquiſhed the tirantes, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the church, that for the ſpace of a iuſt M. yeares after that, we read of no ſet perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, vnto the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe, when the biſhops of Rome began with fire to perſecute the true members of Chriſt, as in further proceſſe of this hiſtory (Chriſt graunting) ſhall appeare. So happy, ſo glorious (as I ſaid) was this victory of Conſtantine, ſurnamed the great. For the ioy & gladneſſe wherof, the Citizens who had ſent for him before, with exceedyng triumph brought him into ỹ citie of Rome, where he with the croſſe was moſt honourably receiued and celebrated the ſpace of vij. dayes together, hauing moreouer in the market place, his image ſet vp, holding in his right hand the ſigne of the croſſe, with this inſcription: Hoc ſalutari ſigno, veraci fortitudinis indicio, ciuitatem noſtram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui. That is, with this wholſome ſigne, the true token of fortitude, I haue reſcued and deliuered our Citie from the yoke of the tyrant. Euſeb.lib.9.cap.9.

The glorious & victorious hand of Chriſt.

Perſecution in the Weſt ceaſeth for a M. yeares tyll the tyme of *VVyckleffe.*

By this heauenly victory of Conſtantinus, and by the death of Maxentius no little tranquillitie came to the church of Chriſt. Although notwithſtanding in the Eaſt churches the ſtorme of this tenth perſecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that ſome tayle therof in thoſe partes remayned for the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeare. But of this we mynde to ſpeake (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, to returne agayne to the weſt partes here in Europe, where Conſtantinus then had moſt to do, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church without any open ſlaughter, for a thouſande yeares together (to the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe and Waldenſes, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginnyng of good Conſtantinus, who with hys fellow Licinius, beyng now ſtabliſhed in their dominion, eftſones ſet forth their generall proclamation or edict, not conſtraynyng therein any man to any religion, but geuyng liberty to all men, both for the Chriſtians to perſiſt in their profeſſion without any daunger, and for other men freely to adioyne with them, whoſoeuer pleaſed. Whiche thyng was very well taken, and highly allowed of the Romaines, and all wiſe men. The copy of the edict or conſtitution here enſueth.

Note well theſe thouſand yeares, and then read the xx. chap. of the Apoc. Satanas was bound vp for a thouſand yeares &c.

The copy of the Imperiall conſtitution of Conſtantinus and Licinius, for the eſtabliſhing of the free worſhipping of God, after the Chriſtian religion.

The copye of the imperiall conſtitution of *Conſtatinus* and *Licinius. Euſeb.lib.10. cap.5.*

NOt long agone we weyyng with our ſelues, that the liberty and freedome of religion ought not in any caſe to be prohibited, but that free leaue ought to be geuen to euery man to do therin according to hys will and mynd, we haue geuen commaundement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themſelues thought good, and that alſo the Chriſtians ſhould keepe the opinions and fayth of their religion. But becauſe that many and ſundry opinions by the ſame our firſt licence ſpring and increaſe through ſuche liberty graunted, we thought good manifeſtly to adde therunto, and make playne ſuch thynges, whereby perchaunce ſome of them in tyme to come, may from ſuch their obſeruaunce nance be let or hindered. When therfore by proſperous ſucceſſe, I Conſtantinus Auguſtus, and I Licinius Auguſtus came to Mediolanum, and there ſate in councell vpon ſuch thynges as ſerued for the vtilitie and profite of the common weale, theſe thinges amongſt others, we thought woulde be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purpoſed to eſtabliſh thoſe thinges, wherein the true reuerence and worſhip of God is comprehended, that is, to geue vnto the chriſtians free choyſe to follow what religion they thinke good, & whereby the ſame ſinceritie & celeſtiall grace which is in euery place receaued, may alſo be embraced and accepted of all our louing ſubiectes. Accordyng therfore vnto thys our pleaſure vpon good aduiſemēt and ſound iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man ſo hardy, be denyed to chuſe and follow the chriſtian obſeruance or religion: But that this liberty be geuen to euery man, that he may apply hys mynde to what religion he thinketh meete hymſelfe, wherby god may performe vpon vs all his accuſtomed care and goodneſſe. To the intent therefore you might know that this is our pleaſure, wee thought it neceſſary this to write vnto you, whereby all ſuch errours and opinions being remoued, which in our former letters (beyng ſent vnto you in the behalfe of the Chriſtians) are cōteyned, & which ſeeme very vndiſcreete and contrary to our clemencye, may be made fruſtrate and adnihilate. Now therefore firmelye and freely wee will and commaunde, that euery man haue free libertie to obſerue the Chriſtian religion, & that without any grief or moleſtation he may be ſuffred to do ẏ ſame. Theſe thynges haue we thought good to ſignifie vnto you by as playne wordes as we may, that we haue geuē to the Chriſtians free and abſolute power to keepe and vſe theyr religion. And for as much as this liberty is abſolutely geuen of vs vnto them, to vſe and exerciſe their former obſeruance, if any be ſo diſpoſed, it is manifeſt that the ſame helpeth much to eſtabliſh the publike tranquillitie of our time, euery man to haue licence and liberty to vſe & chuſe what kynde of worſhippyng he liſt hymſelfe. And this is done of vs onely for thintent, that we woulde haue no man to bee enforced to one religion more then an other. And this thyng alſo amōgſt others we haue prouided for the Chriſtians, ẏ they may haue agayne the poſſeſſiō of ſuch places, in which heretofore they haue bene accuſtomed to make their aſſemblyes, ſo ẏ if any haue bought or purchaſed ẏ ſame either of vs, or of any other: the ſame places without eyther money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay we wyll to be reſtored agayne vnto the ſayd Chriſtians. And if any man haue obtayned the ſame by gift from vs, and ſhall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalfe: Then let the Chriſtians repayre vnto the Preſident (beyng the iudge appointed for that place) that conſideration may be had of thoſe men by our benignitie: all which thinges we will, and commaund, that you ſee to be geuen and reſtored freely, and with diligence vnto the ſocietie of the Chriſtians, all delay ſet apart. And becauſe the Chriſtians themſelues are vnderſtood to haue had not onely thoſe places wherein they were accuſtomed to reſort together, but certayne other peculiar places alſo, not beyng priuate to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation & ſocietie: you ſhall ſee alſo all thoſe to be reſtored vnto the Chriſtians, that is to ſay, to euery fellowſhip and company of them, according to the decree, wherof we haue made mētion, all delay ſet apart. Prouided that the order we haue taken in the meane tyme be obſerued, that if any (taking no recompence) ſhall reſtore the ſame landes and poſſeſſions, they ſhall not miſtruſt but be ſure to be ſaued harmeleſſe by vs. In all theſe thynges it ſhalbe your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foreſaid company of the Chriſtians, wherby this our commaundement may ſpedely bee accompliſhed, and alſo in this caſe by our clemency the common and publike peace may be preſerued. For vndoubtedly by this meanes, as before we haue ſaid, the good will and fauour of God towards vs: wherof in many caſes we haue had good experience, ſhall alwayes continue with vs. And to the intent that this our conſtitution may be notified to all men, it ſhall be requiſite that the copy of theſe our letters be ſet vp in all places, that men may read and know the ſame, leaſt any ſhould be ignorant therof.

The conſideration of Gods worke in defendyng his Chriſtians.

By theſe hiſtories I doubt not (good reader) but thou doeſt right well cōſider and behold with thy ſelfe the maruelous working of God his mighty power: to ſee ſo many Emperours at one time conſpired and cōfederate together agaynſt the Lord and hys Chriſt annointed, whoſe names before we haue recited, as Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Licinius, who hauing the ſubiection of the whole world vnder their dominion, did bend and extende their whole myght and deuiſes, to extirpate the name of Chriſt, and of all Chriſtians. Wherein if the power of man could haue preuayled, what could they not do? or what could they do more then they did? If policie or deuiſes could haue ſerued, what policie was there lacking? If tormentes or paynes of death could haue helped, what crueltie of torment by man could be inuented, which was not attempted? If lawes, edictes, proclamations, written not onely in tables, but ingrauen in braſſe, could haue ſtand, all thys was practiſed agaynſt the weake Chriſtians. And yet notwithſtanding, to ſee how no counſayle can ſtand agaynſt the Lord, note here how all theſe be gone, and yet Chriſt and hys Church doth ſtand. Fyrſt, of the takyng away of Maximinian you haue heard, alſo of the death of Seuerus, of the drowning moreouer of Maxentius, inough hath bene ſayd. What a terrible plague was vpon Galerius, cōſumyng hys priuy members wyth Lyce, hath bene alſo deſcribed. How Diocleſian the quondam being at Salona, hearyng of the proceedynges of Conſtantinus, and thys hys edict, eyther for ſorrow died, or as ſome ſay did poyſon himſelfe. Onely Maximinus now in the Eaſt partes remayned alyue, who bare a deadly hatred agaynſt the Chriſtians, and no leſſe expreſſed the ſame wyth mortall perſecution, to whom Conſtantine and Licinius cauſed thys conſtitution of theirs to be deliuered: at the ſight whereof, although he was ſomwhat appaled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet forasmuch as he ſaw hymſelfe too weake to reſiſt the authoritie of Conſtantinus and Licinius the ſuperiour Princes: he diſſēbled hys counterfet piety, as though he himſelfe had tēdered the quyet of the Chriſtians: directing downe a certayne decree in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus afore mentioned, firſt repeating vnto hym the former decree of Diocleſian and Maximinian in few wordes, wyth the commaundement therein contayned touching the perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians. After that he reciteth ẏ decree which he hymſelfe made againſt them, when he came firſt to the imperiall dignitie in ẏ Eaſt part ioyned wyth Conſtantius. Then the Countermaund of an other decree of his againe, for the reſcuing of the Chriſtians, wyth ſuch fayned and pretenſed cauſes, as is in the ſame to be ſene. After that declareth how he commyng to Nicomedia, at the ſute and ſupplication of the Citizens (which he alſo fayned, as may appeare before) he applying to their ſute, reuoked that his former Edict, and graunted them that no Chriſtian ſhould dwell within their Citye or territories. Vpon which Sabinus alſo had geuen forth hys letters, rehearſing wythall the generall recountermaunde ſent forth by hym, for the perſecution agayne of the Chriſtians. Laſt of all now he ſendeth downe agayne an other Surrecountermaunde, wyth the cauſes therein contained, touchyng the ſafety of the Chriſtians, and tranquillitye of them: Commaundyng Sabinus to publiſh the ſame. Which edict of his is at large ſet forth of Euſebius, lib.9.cap.9. But thys Surrecountermaund he then diſſimuled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit ſhortly after, he makyng warres, and fightyng a battayle wyth Licinius, wherin he loſt the victory, commyng home agayne, tooke great indignation agaynſt the Prieſtes and Prophetes of hys Gods, whom before that tyme he had great regard vnto, and honored: vpon whoſe anſweres he truſtyng, and dependyng vpō their enchauntmentes, began hys warre agaynſt Licinius. But after that he perceaued hymſelfe to be deceaued by thē, as by wicked enchaunters and deceauers, and ſuch as had betrayed hys ſafety and perſon, he kylled and put them to death. And he ſhortly after, oppreſſed wyth a certayne diſeaſe, glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſeruation of them, wyth fraunchiſe and liberty: the copy whereof enſueth.

The kinges of the earth haue ryſen & Princes together agaynſt the Lord, and agaynſt his Chriſt. Pſal. 2.

No counſell ſtandeth agaynſt God.

The deſtruction of the cruell Emperours.

Diocleſian dyeth for ſorrow.

The effect of the decree which *Maximinus* made agaynſt hys will or ſurrecountermaunde for feare of *C.* and *L.* in the behalfe of the Chriſtians.

The ſurrecountermaunde of *Maximi.* diſſembled. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 9. cap. 9.*

The vnfained repentaunce and finall decree of *Maximinus* for the Chriſtians.

Imperator Cæſar, Caius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus. It is neceſſary ẏ we alwayes carefully prouide and ſee vnto the benefite & commoditie of ſuch as be our ſubiectes, & to exhibit ſuch things vnto them, whereby they may beſt obtayne the ſame. But we ſuppoſe that there are none of you ſo ignorant, but know and vnderſtand what thynges make beſt for the profit and commodity of the common weale, and beſt pleaſe euery mās diſpoſition. But it is meete and conuenient that euery man haue recourſe to that which they haue ſene done before their eyes, and that all ſortes of men conſider the ſame, and beare it in theyr myndes. When therfore, and that before thys tyme it came to our knowledge: vpon the occaſiō that Diocleſianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitours of famous memory, commaunded the aſſemblyes and meetyngs of the Chriſtians to be cut of, there were many of them ſpoyled and robbed of our Officials: which thyng we alſo perceaue is now put in practiſe agaynſt our ſubiectes, that they in like caſe may be ſpoyled of their goods and ſubſtance, which

„ thyng chiefly to preuent, is our onely indeuour. By our letters
„ ſent to the gouernours of euery prouince the yeare paſt,
„ we ordained that if any mā were diſpoſed to leane vnto the
„ Chriſtian religion, that he myght wythout any iniury done
„ vnto hym, accompliſh hys deſire, neyther to be of any man
„ eyther let or moleſted: and that he myght without any feare
„ or ſuſpicion, do whatſoeuer he therein thought good. But
„ now alſo we vnderſtād that there be certayne iudges which
„ haue neglected our commaundement, and haue put our ſubiectes
„ in doubt, whether that hath bene our pleaſure or not,
„ which thyng they did, that ſuch men myght be the better
„ aduiſed, how they entred into ſuch religion: wherein they
„ followed theyr owne phantaſie. To the entent therfore that
„ after this, all ſuſpicion, doubt, and feare may be takē away:
„ we haue thought good to publiſh thys our edict, whereby it
„ may be made manifeſt to euery man, that it ſhall be lawfull
„ for all ſuch as wyll follow that religion, by the benefit of this
„ our graunt and letters patentes, to vſe what religion they
„ lyke beſt. And alſo hereby we graunt vnto them licence to
build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that
thys our graunt may more amply extende vnto them, we
vouchſafe to appoynt and ordayne, that whatſoeuer landes
„ and ſubſtaunce, before belongyng and appertaynyng to the
„ Chriſtians, and by the commaundemēt of our predeceſſors
„ were tranſpoſed to our reuenew and eſchecour, or els be in
„ the poſſeſſion of any Citie, by meanes of the franchiſes of
„ the ſame, or els otherwiſe ſolde or geuen to any man: all and
„ euery parcell therof we commaund ſhal be reſtored vnto the
„ proper vſe of the Chriſtians agayne, wherby they may all
„ haue in thys matter more experience, of our godly deuotion
„ and prouidence. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

A large graunt of *Maximinus* to the Chriſtians.

An. 319.

Maximinus thus beyng conquered of Licinius, and alſo plagued wyth an incurable diſeaſe in the guts, ſent by the hand of God, was compelled by tormentes and aduerſitye to confeſſe the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write thys Edicte in the fauour of thoſe Chriſtians, whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many tymes hys enemyes, be they neuer ſo ſterne & ſtout, at length to ſtoupe, and mauger their harts, to confeſſe him, as thys Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of hys diſeaſe ended hys lyfe. Whereby, no mo tyrauntes now were left alyue, to trouble the Church, but onely Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of hys perſecutions ſtyrred vp in the Eaſt partes, agaynſt the Saintes of God, now remayneth in order of ſtory to proſecute.

God maketh his enemies to confeſſe him.

The end & death of *Maximinus*.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made firſt Cæſar by Galerius, as is aboue ſpecified, was afterward ioyned with Conſtantinus in gouernement of the Empyre, and in ſettyng forth the Edictes, which before we haue deſcribed: although it ſeemeth all this to be done of him with a diſſemblyng mynde. For ſo is he in all hiſtories deſcribed, to be a man paſſing all other in deſire of vnſatiable riches, geuen to lechery, haſty, ſtubburne, and furious. To learnyng he was ſuch an enemy, that he named the ſame a poyſon and a common peſtilence, and eſpecially the knowledge of the lawes. He thought no vice worſe became a Prince, then learning, becauſe he him ſelfe was vnlearned. Eutropius, Letus, Ignatius. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

The perſecution of the Church vnder *Licinius*.

An enemy to learning.

There was betwene him and Conſtantinus in the beginnyng great familiaritie: and ſuch agreement, that Conſtantinus gaue vnto him his ſiſter Conſtantia in Matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man haue thought him to haue bene of any other Religion then Conſtantinus was of, he ſeemed in all thynges ſo well to agree with him. Wherupon he made a decree with Conſtantinus in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, as we haue ſhewed. Euſebius, Lib. 9. cap. 9. And ſuch was Licinius in the begynning. But after armyng him ſelfe with tyranny, began to conſpire agaynſt the perſon of Conſtantinus, of whō he had receaued ſo great benefites, neither fauorable to the law of nature, nor mindefull of his othes, his bloud, nor promiſes. But when he conſidered that in his cōſpiracies he nothyng preuailed, for that he ſaw Conſtantinus was preſerued and ſafely defended of God: And partly beyng puffed vp with the victory agaynſt Maximinus, he began vehemētly to hate him, and not onely to reiect the Chriſtian Religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. He ſayd he would become an enemy vnto the Chriſtians, for that in their aſſemblies & meetyngs they prayed not for him, but for Conſtantinus. Therfore, firſt by litle and litle and that ſecretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Chriſtians, and baniſhed them his Court, which neuer were by any meanes preiudiciall to his kingdome. Then he commaūded that all thoſe ſhould be depriued which were knightes of the honorable order, vnleſſe they would do ſacrifice to deuils. Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 8. The ſame perſecution afterwardes ſtretched he from his court, into all his prouinces, which with moſt wicked and deuiſed lawes he ſet forth. Firſt, that for no cauſe the Byſhoppes ſhould in any matter communicate together; neither that any man ſhould come at the Churches next vnto them, or to call any aſſemblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and vtilitie of the Church.

Licinius an Apoſtata.

The fountaine of Apoſtacie.

Knightes of the order depriued for not doyng ſacrifice.

After, that the men and womē together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the women ſhould come in thoſe places where they vſed to preach and read the word of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the Byſhops, but ſhould chuſe out ſuch women amongeſt thē as ſhould inſtruct them. The third moſt cruell and wickedeſt of all was, that none ſhould helpe & ſuccour thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhould beſtow any almes or charitie vpon them, though they ſhould dye for hunger: and they which ſhewed any cōpaſſion vpon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whō they ſhewed the ſame ſhould be. Euſebius libro primo de vita Conſtantini. Theſe were the moſt horrible conſtitutions of Licinius, whiche went beyond and paſſed the boundes of nature.

A ſtraight charge againſt the releuing of the impriſoned Chriſtians.

After this he vſed violence againſt the Biſhops, but yet not openly, for feare of Conſtantinus, but priuely & by cōſpiracie: by which meanes he ſlew thoſe yͭ were the worthyeſt men amongeſt the Doctours and Prelates. And about Amaſea and other Cities of Pontus, he razed the Churches euen to the grounde. Other ſome he ſhut vp, that no man ſhould come after their accuſtomed maner to pray and worſhyp God: and therfore as we ſayd before, his conſcience accuſing him, all this he did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for Conſtantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the Eaſt parties vnto the Libians, which bordered vpon the Egiptians, the Chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of Licinius, which he had conceaued agaynſt them. Zozom. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

Secret perſecution for feare of *Conſtantinus*.

Furthermore, the flatteryng officers that were vnder him, thinkyng by this meanes to pleaſe him, ſlew and made out of the way many Byſhops, and without any cauſe put them to death, as though they had bene homicides and haynous offenders: and ſuch rigorouſnes vſed they towardes ſome of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbetes and ſmall peeces in maner of a Boucher, and after that threw them into the Sea to feede the fiſhes. Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 8. What ſhall we ſpeake of the exiles and confiſcations of good and vertuous men? For he tooke by violence euery mans ſubſtaunce, and cared not by what meanes he came by the ſame: But threatned them with death, vnleſſe they would forgoe the ſame. He baniſhed thoſe which had committed none euill at all. He commaunded that both gentlemen and men of honour, ſhould be made out of the way, neither yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmaried, to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowred. And Licinius himſelfe (although that by reaſon of his yeares, his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefully did he vitiate many womē, mens wiues and maydes. Euſeb. Lib. 1. de vita Conſtantini. Which cruell outrage of him cauſed many godly men of their owne accorde to forſake their houſes: and it was alſo ſeene that the woodes, fieldes, deſert places and mountaynes, were fayne to be the habitations, and reſting places of the poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 14. Of thoſe worthy men and famous Martyrs, whiche in this perſecution founde the way to heauen, Nicephorus Lib. 7. cap. 14. firſt ſpeaketh of Theodorus who firſt beyng hanged vpon a croſſe, had nawles thruſt into his arme pyts, and after that his head ſtrickē of. Alſo of an other Theodorus beyng the Byſhop of Tyre, the third was a man of Perga. Baſilius alſo the Byſhop of Amaſenus, Nicholaus, the Byſhop of Mirorus, Gregorius, of Armenia the great: After that, Paule of Neocæſaria, which by the impious commaūdemēt of Licinius had both his handes cut of with a ſearyng yron. Beſides theſe were in the Citie of Sebaſtia, xl. worthy men, and Chriſtiā ſouldiours in the vehement cold time of winter, ſouſed and drowned in a horſe pond, when Locias as yet, of whom we ſpake before, and Agricolaus executing the Shrieues office vnder Licinius in the Eaſt parts, were aliue: and were in great eſtimation, for inuentyng of new and ſtraunge tormētes agaynſt the Chriſtians. The wiues of thoſe. 40. good men, were caried to Heraclea a Citie in Thracia, and there, with a certaine Deacon whoſe name was Amones, were (after innumerable tormentes by them moſt conſtauntly indured) ſlayne with the ſword. Theſe thinges writeth Nicephorus. Alſo Zozomenus in his ix. booke and. 2. chapter maketh mētion of the ſame Martyrs. And Baſilius in a certaine Oration ſeemeth to intreate of their hiſtory, ſaying that in the circumſtaunces he ſomwhat varieth. And ſurely Licinius was determined, for that the

The violent wronges of *Licinius*.

The Chriſtians flee into the wilderneſſe.

Hote perſecution renued.

Theodorus.

An other *Theodorus* Biſhop of Tyrus.

A man of Perga.

Nicholaus Byſhop of *Mirorus*.

Gregorius Byſhop of Armenia.

Paulus Byſhop of *Neocaſarea*, wyth xl. other martyrs.

Xl. good mē and theyr wyues martyrs.

Amones with xl wiues of the xl. men Martyrs.

firſt

The wicked purpoſe of *Licinius* had he not bene preuented by God and ſlayne by *Conſtantinus*.

firſt face of this perſecution fell out accordyng to his deſire, to haue ouercome all the Chriſtians: to which thyng neither counſell nor good will, nor yet opportunitie, perchaunce wanted: vnleſſe God had brought Conſtantinus into thoſe parties where he gouerned: where, in the warres whiche he himſelfe began (knowyng right well that Conſtantinus had intelligence of his conſpiracy and treaſon) ioyning battaile with him, was moſt cowardly ouercome.

Licinius ouercome in battaile by *Conſtantinus*.

Diuers battailes betwene them were fought, the firſt fought in Hungary, where Licinius was ouerthrowen: Then he fled into Macedonia, & repairyng his army, was agayne diſcomfited. Finally beyng vanquiſhed, both by ſea and land: he laſtly, at Nicomedia, yelded himſelfe to Conſtantine: and was commaunded to liue a priuate life in Theſſalia, where at length he was ſlayne by the ſouldiours.

The ende & death of the tyrauntes which were the authors of this x. perſecution.

Thus haue ye heard, the end and concluſion of all the viij. tyrauntes which were the authors and workers of this x. and laſt perſecution againſt the true people of God. The chief Captaine and ringleader of which perſecution was firſt Diocleſian, who dyed at Salona, as ſome ſay, by his owne poyſon. an. 319. The next was Maximinian, who as is ſayd, was hanged of Conſtantine at Maſſilia about the yeare of our Lord. 310. Then dyed Galerius, plagued with an horrible diſeaſe ſent of God. Seuerus was ſlayne by Maximinian, father of Maxentius about Rauenna. an. 309. Shortly after Maxentius the wicked tyraunt was ouercome and vanquiſhed of Conſtantine. an. 318. Maximinus the vj. tyraunt taried not long after, who beyng ouercome by Licinius, died, about the yeare of our Lord. 320. Laſtly how this Licinius was ouercome of Conſtantine and ſlayne. an. 324. is before declared. Onely Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine beyng a good and a godly Emperour, dyed in the third yeare of the perſecution. an. 306. and was buried at Yorke. After whom ſucceded after his godly father, Conſtantinus, as a ſecond Moyſes ſent and ſet vp of God to deliuer his people out of this ſo miſerable captiuitie into libertie moſt ioyfull.

A briefe ſtory of the moſt notable Martyrs, that ſuffered in this x. perſecution.

Now remaineth after the end of theſe perſecutions thus deſcribed, to gather vp the names & ſtories of certaine particular Martyrs, which now are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpeciall memory, for their ſingular conſtancie and fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferinges & cruel tormentes. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſayd x. perſecution, beyng in number infinite, in vertue moſt excellent, it is impoſſible here to comprehend: but yͤ moſt notable, & in moſt approued authors expreſſed, we thought here to inſerte, for the more edification of other Chriſtians, which may and ought to looke vpon their examples, firſt beginnyng with Albanus, the firſt Martyr that euer in England ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

Albanus Martyr.

At what tyme Diocleſian and Maximinian the Pagane Emperours had directed out their letters with all ſeueritie, for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians, Alban beyng then an infidell, receiued into his houſe a certaine Clerke, fleyng from the perſecutours handes, whom when Alban beheld, continually both day and night to perſeuer in watchyng and in prayer: ſodenly by the great mercy of God he began to imitate the example of his fayth and vertuous life: whereupon by litle and litle he beyng inſtructed by his holſome exhortations, and leauyng the blindnes of his Idolatry, became at length a perfect Chriſtian. And when the forenamed Clerke had lodged with him a certaine tyme, it was enformed the wicked Prince, that this good man and Chriſtes confeſſour (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans houſe or very neare vnto him. Whereupon immediately he gaue in charge to the ſouldiours to make more diligent inquiſition of the matter: who as ſoone as they came to the houſe of Alban the Martyr, he by and by puttyng on the apparell wherewith his geſt and maiſter was apparelled (that is, a garment at that tyme vſed, named Caracalla) offered him ſelfe in the ſteede of the other to the ſouldiours: who byndyng him, brought him forthwith to the Judge. It fortuned that at yͤ inſtant when bleſſed Albā was brought vnto yͤ Judge, they founde yͤ ſaid Judge at yͤ aulters offering ſacrifice vnto deuils, who as ſoone as he ſaw Alban, was ſtraight wayes in a great rage for yͭ he would preſume of his owne voluntary will to offer him ſelfe to perill, and geue him ſelfe a priſoner to the ſouldiours, for ſafegard of his geſt whom he harbored: and commaunded him to be brought before the Images of the deuils whō he worſhipped, ſaying: For that thou haddeſt rather hide and conuey away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he ſhould not ſuffer puniſhment and merite of his blaſphemy: looke what puniſhment he ſhould haue had, thou for him ſhalt ſuffer the ſame: if I perceiue thee any whit to reuolte frō our maner of worſhipping. But bleſſed Alban, who of his owne accorde had bewrayed to the perſecutors that he was a Chriſtian, feared not at all the manaces of the Prince, but being armed with ſpirituall armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commaundement. Then ſayd the Judge: of what ſtocke or kindred art thou come? Alban aunſwered, what is that to you, of what ſtocke ſoeuer I am come of, if you deſire to heare the veritie of my Religion, I do ye to wyt that I am a Chriſtiā, and apply my ſelfe altogether to that callyng. Then ſayd the Judge, I would know thy name, and ſee thou tell me the ſame without delay. Then ſayd he, my parentes named me Alban, and I worſhip and honour the true and liuyng God, which hath created all the worlde. Then ſayd the Judge fraught with fury, if thou wilt enioy the felicitie of this preſent life, do ſacrifice (and that out of hand) to theſe mighty Gods. Alban replyeth: theſe ſacrifices which ye offer vnto deuils, cā neither helpe them that offer the ſame, neither yet can they accompliſh the deſires & prayers of their ſuppliantes: But rather ſhall they, what ſo euer they be, that offer ſacrifice to theſe Idoles, receiue for their meede euerlaſtyng paynes of hell fire. The Judge, when he heard theſe wordes, was paſſing angrie, and commaunded the tormentors to whip this holy Confeſſour of God, indeuoring to ouercome the conſtācie of his hart with ſtripes, which had preuailed nothing with wordes. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet ſuffered he yͤ ſame paciently, nay rather ioyfully, for the Lordes ſake. Then when the Judge ſaw that he would not with tormentes be ouercome, nor be reduced from the worſhyp of Chriſtian Religion, he commaunded him to be beheaded.

Fruite of hoſpitality to be noted.

Albanus firſt conuerted, & by what occaſion.

Albanus offereth himſelfe to death for an other.

The wordes of the Judge to *Albane*.

The cōſtancie & zeale of *Albane*.

The confeſſion of *Alban*.

The ſufferyng & martyrdome of *Alban*.

Superfluous miracles in this ſtory written by *Bede* omitted.

The reſt that foloweth of this ſtory in the narration of Bede, as of dryyng vp the Riuer, as Alban went to the place of his execution: then of makyng a welſpryng in the top of the hill, and of the fallyng out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with ſuch other prodigious miracles mentioned in his ſtory) becauſe they ſeeme more legendlike, then truthlike: agayne, becauſe I ſee no great profit, nor neceſſitie in the relation therof, I leaue them to the free iudgemēt of the Reader, to thinke of them as cauſe ſhall moue him.

The legend of *S. Albā* diſproued.

The like eſtimation I haue of the long ſtory, wherein is written at large a fabulous diſcourſe of all the doynges and miracles of S. Alban, taken out of the Library of S. Albans, compiled (as there is ſayd) by a certaine Pagan, who (as he ſayth) afterward went to Rome, there to be Baptiſed. But becauſe in the beginnyng or Prologue of the booke, the ſayd writer maketh mention of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolamium, containyng the ſtory of Albanus, and of his bitter puniſhmentes: which walles were then fallyng downe for age, at the writyng of the ſayd booke, as he ſayth: thereby it ſeemeth this ſtory to be written a great while after the Martyrdome of Albā, either by a Britaine, or by an Engliſh man. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latin tranſlatour take it out of the Engliſh toung, as in the Prologue he himſelfe doth teſtifie? If he were an Engliſhman, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptiſme, beyng a Pagan, when he might haue bene baptiſed among the Chriſtian Britaines more neare at home.

But amongſt all other euidences and declarations ſufficient to diſproue this Legendary ſtory of S. Alban, nothyng maketh more againſt it, then the very ſtory it ſelfe: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy Martyr to ſpeake vnto the people after it was ſmitten of from the body. Alſo where he bringeth in the Angels goyng vp, and commyng downe in a piller of fire, and ſingyng all the night long. Item in the Riuer which he ſayth S. Alban made dry, ſuch as were drowned in the ſame before in the bottome, were found aliue, with other ſuchlike Monkiſh miracles and groſſe fables, wherewith theſe Abbey Monkes were wont in tyme paſt to deceiue the Church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne aduauntage. Notwithſtandyng this I write not to any derogation of the bleſſed and faythfull martyr of God, who was the firſt that I did euer finde in this Realme, to ſuffer Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt. And worthy no doubt of condigne commendation, eſpecially of vs here in this land: whoſe Chriſtian fayth in the Lord, and charitie towardes his neighbour: I pray God all we may folow. As alſo I wiſh moreouer that the ſtories both of him, and of all other Chriſtian Martyrs might haue bene deliuered to vs ſimply as they were, without the admixture of all theſe Abbeylike additions of Monkiſh miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of ſuch ſaintes to the moſt, by whoſe offeringes they were accuſtomed to receiue moſt aduauntage.

S. Alban the firſt Martyr in this Realme of England.

The ſtories of the Saintes corrupted with their

As touching the name of the Clerke mentioned in this ſtory, whom Alban receiued into his houſe, I finde in the Engliſh ſtories to be Amphibalus, although the latine authors

Amphibalus Martyr.

Flores Hiſtoriarum.
The martyrdome of *Amphibalus.*

authors name hym not, who ẏ ſame tyme flying into Wales was alſo fette from thence agayne to ẏ ſame towne of Uerolamium, otherwiſe called Uerlancaſter, where he was martyred, hauyng hys belly opened, and made to runne about a ſtake, while all his bowels were drawen out, then thruſt in wyth ſwordes and daggers, and at laſt was ſtoned to death, as the foreſayd legend declareth.

Aaron, Iulius, Martyrs.

Moreouer the ſame tyme wyth Alban, ſuffered alſo ij. Citizens of the foreſayd citie of Uerlancaſter, whoſe names were Aaron and Iulius: beſide other, whereof a great number the ſame tyme no doubt, dyd ſuffer, although our Chronicles of their names doe make no rehearſall.

Perſecution in this realme of Britayne.

The tyme of the Martyrdome of this bleſſed Alban and the other, ſeemeth to be about the ſecond or third yeare of thys tenth perſecution, vnder the tyranny of Diocleſian, and Maximinianus Herculius, bearyng thē the rule in England, about the yeare of our Lord 301. before the comming of Conſtantius to hys gouernment. Where, by the way is to be noted, that thys realme of Britayne beyng ſo chriſtened before, yet neuer was touched wyth any of the other ix. perſecutions before thys tenth perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximinian. In which perſecution our ſtories & Polichronicon do recorde, that all Chriſtianitie almoſt in the whole Ileland was deſtroyed, the Churches ſubuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faythfull both men and women were ſlayne. Among whom the firſt and chiefe ringleader (as hath bene ſayd) was Albanus. And thus much touchyng the martyrs of Britayne. Now from England to returne agayne vnto other countryes, where this perſecution did more vehemently rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lord willyng) the ſtories of other, although not of all that ſuffred in thys perſecution (which were impoſſible) but of certayne moſt principall, whoſe ſingular conſtancy in theyr ſtrong tormentes are chiefly renowmed in latter hiſtories: beginning firſt with Romanus the notable and admirable ſouldiour and true ſeruaunt of Chriſt. Whoſe hiſtory ſet forth in Prudentius, doth thus procede: ſo lamentably by hym deſcribed, that it will be hard for any man almoſt with dry cheekes to heare it.

The lamentable ſtory of *Romanus* Martyr.

The exhortation of *Romanus* to the Chriſtians.

Pitiles Galerius with his graund captayne Aſclepiades violētly inuaded the city of Antioche, entendyng by force of armes to driue all Chriſtians to renounce vtterly theyr pure religion. The Chriſtians as god would, were at that tyme congregated together, to whom Romanus haſtely ran declaring that the wolues were at hand, which would deuour the chriſtian flocke, but feare not (ſayd he) neyther let this imminent perill diſturbe you, my brethren: brought was it to paſſe, by the great grace of God workyng in Romanus, that olde men and matrones, fathers and mothers, young men and maydens were all of one wyll and mynde, moſt ready to ſhed theyr bloud in defence of their Chriſtian profeſſion. Worde was brought to the captayne that ẏ band of armed ſouldiors was not able to wreſt the ſtaffe of faith, out of the hand of the vnarmed congregation: and all by reaſon that one Romanus ſo mightely did encourage thē, that they ſticke not to offer their naked throtes, wiſhyng gloriouſly to dye for the name of their Chriſt. Seke out that rebell (quod the captayne) and bring hym to me that he may anſwer for the whole ſect. Apprehended he was, & bound as a ſhepe appoynted to the ſlaughter houſe, was preſented to the Emperor: who with wrathfull countenance beholdyng him, ſayd: What? Art thou the author of this ſedition? art thou the cauſe why ſo many ſhall looſe their liues? By the gods I ſweare thou ſhalt ſmart for it, and firſt in thy fleſh ſhalt thou ſuffer the paynes, whereunto thou haſt encouraged the hartes of thy fellowes. Romanus aunſwered: Thy ſentence O Emperour I ioyfully embrace, I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell meanes as thou mayeſt inuent: and whereas thy ſouldiours were repelled from the chriſtian congregation, that ſo happened, becauſe it lay not in Idolaters and worſhippers of Deuils to enter into the holy houſe of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer.

The Chriſtian boldnes of *Romanus.*

Then Aſclepiades wholy enflamed with this ſtoute aunſwer, commaunded hym to be truſſed vp, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themſelues more pitifull in hart then the captayne, ſaid: not ſo ſir, this man is of noble parentage: vnlawfull is it to put a noble man to ſo vnnoble a death: ſcourge him then wyth whips (quod the captaine) with knaps of lead at ẏ endes. In ſteede of teares, ſighes and grones, Romanus ſong pſalmes all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to fauour hym for nobilities ſake, not the bloude of my progenitours (ſayd he) but Chriſtian profeſſion maketh me noble.

The noble patience of *Romanus* in his ſuffering.

Then with great power of ſpirit he inueyed againſt the captayne, laughing to ſcorne the falſe Gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worſhippyng of them, affirmyng the God of the Chriſtians to be the true God that created heauen and earth, before whoſe iudiciall ſeate all nations ſhall appeare, but the wholſome wordes of the Martyr were as oyle to the fire of the captaynes fury. The more the Martyr ſpake, the madder was he, in ſo much that he commaunded the Martyrs ſides to be launced with kniues, vntill the bones appeared white agayne. Sorry am I, O captayne (quod the Martyr) not for that my fleſh ſhall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cauſe am I ſorrowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errours, ſeduceſt others.

The preaching of *Romanus* to the Captayne.

The ſecond tyme he preached at large, the liuyng God, and the lord Jeſus Chriſt hys welbeloued ſonne, eternall lyfe through fayth in hys bloud, expreſſing therewith the abhomination of Idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worſhip & adore the liuyng God. At theſe wordes Aſclepiades commaunded the tormentors to ſtrike Romanus on the mouth, that hys teeth beyng ſtriken out, hys pronunciation at leaſt wiſe might be impeyred. The commaundement was obeyed, his face buffeted, hys eye liddes torne wyth theyr nayles, hys chekes ſcotched with kniues, the ſkinne of hys bearde was plucked by little and little from the fleſh, finally his ſeemely face was wholy defaced. The meeke martyr ſaid: I thanke thee, O Capitayne, that thou haſt opened vnto me many mouthes, whereby I may preache my Lord and Sauiour Chriſt. Looke how many woundes I haue, ſo many mouthes I haue laudyng and prayſing God. The captayne aſtoniſhed with this ſingular conſtancie, commaunded them to ceaſe from the tortures. He threatneth cruell fire, he reuileth the noble Martyr, he blaſphemeth god, ſaying: Thy crucified Chriſt, is but an yeſterdayes God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of moſt antiquitie.

Antiquitie alledged of the Pagans.

Here agayne Romanus takyng good occaſion, made a long Oration of the eternitie of Chriſt, of hys humaine nature, of the death and ſatiſfaction of Chriſt for all mankind. Which done, he ſayd: geue me a childe (O Captayne) but ſeuen yeres of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou ſhalt heare what he wyll ſay, hys requeſt was graunted. A prety boy was called out of the multitude, and ſet before hym. Tell me my babe (quod the Martyr) whether thou thynke it reaſon that we worſhip one Chriſt, & in Chriſt one father, or els that we worſhip infinite gods? Unto whom the babe aunſwered: That certainly, whatſoeuer it be, that men affirme to be God, muſt nedes be one: which with one, is one and the ſame: and in as much as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſitie Chriſt muſt be the true god: for, that there be many gods, we children cannot beleue.

The confeſſion of a chylde agaynſt Idolatry.

The Captayne hereat cleane amaſed, ſayd: thou yong villaine & traitor, where and of whom learnedſt thou thys leſſon? Of my mother (quod the childe) with whoſe milke I ſucked in this leſſon, that I muſt beleue in Chriſt. The mother was called, and ſhe gladly appeared, the Captayne commaunded the childe to be hoyſed vp, and ſcourged. The pitifull beholders of this pitileſſe acte, could not temper themſelues frō teares: the ioyfull and glad mother alone, ſtood by with dry cheekes: yea, ſhe rebuked her ſweete babe for crauyng a draught of cold water: ſhe charged hym to thirſt after the cup, that the infantes of Bethleem once dranke of, forgettyng theyr mothers milke and pappes.

A childe martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

An example of vertuous education.

She willed hym to remember little Iſaac, who beholdyng the ſworde wherewith, and the altar wheron he ſhould be ſacrificed, willingly profered hys tender neck to ẏ dent of hys fathers ſworde. Whileſt thys counſel was in geuyng, the boucherly torturer plucke the ſkin from the crowne of hys head, heare and all. The mother cryed, ſuffer my chylde, anone thou ſhalt paſſe to hym that wyll adorne thy naked head with a crowne of eternall glory. The mother counſelleth, the chyld is counſelled: the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged: and receiued the ſtripes with ſmiling countenaunce. The captaine perceiuyng the childe inuincible, and hymſelf vanquiſhed, committeth the ſilly ſoule, the bleſſed babe, the chylde vncheriſhed, to the ſtinkyng priſon, commaundyng the tormentes of Romanus to be renued and encreaſed, as chiefe author of this euill.

A godly mother of a godly childe.

Thus was Romanus brought forth agayne to newe ſtripes and puniſhmentes: to be renued and receiued vpon hys olde ſores, in ſo much the bare bones appeared, the fleſh all torne away: wherein no pity was ſhewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of hys blaſphemous mouth, lyke a madde man theſe wordes, cryed out to the tormentors, ſaying:

The cruell wordes of the tyraunt.

Where is quod the Captaine, where is your might?
What? are ye not able one body to ſpill?
Scant may it, ſo weake is it, ſtand vpright:
And yet in ſpite of vs, ſhall it liue ſtill?

The Gripe with talant, the dog with his tooth,
Could ſoone ye daſtardes, this corps rent and teare,
He ſcorneth our gods in all that he doth,
Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbeare.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbeare. but nedes he muſt draw nearer to the ſentence of death: is it painefull to thee (ſayd he) to tary ſo long aliue? a flamyng fire doubte thou not ſhalbe prepared for thee, by and by, wherin thou & that boy, thy fellow of rebellion ſhalt be conſumed into aſhes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid handes on Romanus, he looked backe ſaying: I appeale from this thy tyranny, O iudge vniuſt, to the righteous throne of Chriſt that vpright iudge: not becauſe I feare thy cruel torments and mercileſſe handlings but that thy iudgementes may be knowne to be cruell and bloudy. Now when they were come to the place, the tormentour required the child of the mother, for ſhe had taken it vp in her armes: And ſhe onely kiſſyng it, deliuered the babe. Farewel ſhe ſayd my ſweete chylde, and as the hangman applyed his ſword to the babes necke, ſhe ſang on this maner.

The Chriſtiā childe beheaded for confeſſing of Chriſt.

Nature ouercome of religion.

All laude and prayſe with hart and voyce,
O Lord we yeld to thee:
To whom the death of all thy ſaintes,
We know moſt deare to bee.

The innocentes head beyng cut of, the mother wrapped it vp in her garment, and layd it to her breſt. On the other ſide a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was caſt: who ſayd, that he ſhould not burne: wherwyth a great ſtorme aroſe (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The Captaine gaue in commaundement that his toung ſhould bee cut out, out was it plucked by the hard rootes and cut of: Neuertheleſſe he ſpake, ſaying: he that ſpeaketh Chriſt ſhall neuer want a tongue, thinke not that ẏ voyce that vttereth Chriſt, hath nede of the tong to be the miniſter. The Captaine, at this halfe out of hys wit, bare in hand that the hangman deceiued the ſight of the people by ſome ſubtile ſleight and crafty conueiance. Not ſo (quod the hangman) if ye ſuſpect my dede, open his mouth and diligently ſearche the rootes of his tongue. The Captayne at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, ſtraightly commaundeth him to be brought backe into the priſon, and there to be ſtrangled. Where his ſorowfull lyfe & paines being ended, he now enioyeth quiet reſt in the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miſerable body to be reſtored agayne with his ſoule into a better lyfe: where no tyraunt ſhall haue any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

The fire quenched with rayne that ſhoulde burne *Romanus*.

***Romanus* ſpeaketh after hys tongue was pluckt out.**

***Romanus* after long tormentes ſtrangled in priſon.**

The ſtory of *Gordius* a Centuriō martir.

Gordius was a citizen of Cæſaria, a worthy ſouldiour, and Captayne of an hundreth men. He in the tyme of extreme perſecution refuſing any longer to execute his charge did chuſe of his owne accord willyng exile, and lyued in the deſert many yeares a religious and ſolitary lyfe. But vpon a certayne day when a ſolemne feaſt of Mars was celebrated, in the Citie of Cæſarea, and much people were aſſembled in the Theatre to behold the games: he left the deſert, and got hym vp into the chiefe place of the Theatre, & with a loud voyce vttered this ſaying of the Apoſtle: Behold I am found of them which ſought me not, and to thoſe which aſked not for me, haue I openly appeared. By which wordes he let it be vnderſtood, that of his owne accord he came vnto thoſe games. At this noyſe, the multitude little regardyng the fighters, loked about to ſee who it was that made ſuch exclamation. As ſoone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the crier had commaunded ſilence, hee was brought vnto the ſhirife, which at that inſtant was preſent, and ordeyned the games. Whē he was aſked the queſtion who he was, from whence, and for what occaſion he came thether, he telleth the truth of euery thing as it was. I am come, ſayth he, to publiſh, that I ſet nothing by your decrees agaynſt the chriſtian religion: but that I profeſſe Ieſu Chriſt to be my hope and ſafety. And when I vnderſtood with what cruelty ye handle other men: I tooke thys as a fitte time to accompliſh my deſire. The Shirife wyth theſe wordes was greatly moued, and reuengeth all hys diſpleaſure vpon poore Gordius, commaunding the executioners to be brought out with ſcourges, while gibbet, and whatſoeuer tormentes els might be deuiſed. Whereunto Gordius aunſwered, ſaying, that it ſhould be to him an hinderaunce and damage if he could not ſuffer and endure dyuers tormentes & puniſhmentes for Chriſt hys cauſe. The ſhirife beyng more offended with this hys boldneſſe, commaunded hym to feele as many kynde of tormentes as there were, with all which Gordius notwithſtandyng, could not be maſtered or ouercome: but liftyng vp his eyes vnto heauen ſingeth thys ſaying out of the Pſalmes. The Lord is my helper, I will not feare the thyng that man can doe to me: and alſo this ſaying, I will feare none euill, becauſe thou Lord art with me.

***Gordius* of his accord vttereth himſelfe to be a Chriſtian.**

***Gordius* brought to examinatiō.**

The confeſſion of *Gordius*.

After this, he agaynſt him ſelfe prouoketh the extremitie of the tormentours, and blameth thē if they fauour hym any thing at all. When the Shirife ſaw, that hereby he could wynne but little, he goeth about by gentlenes and intiſing wordes, to turne the ſtoute and valiaunt mynde of Gordius. He promiſeth to hym great and large offers if he will deny Chriſt: as to make him a Captaine of as many men as any other is, to geue hym riches, treaſure, and what other thing ſo euer he deſireth. But in vayne as the Prouerbe is, pypeth the minſtrel to hym that hath no eares to heare, for he deridyng the fooliſh madnes of the Magiſtrate ſayth, that it lyeth not in him to place any in authoritie, which be worthy to haue a place in heauen. The Magiſtrate with theſe wordes throughly angred and vexed, prepareth him ſelfe to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he cauſed to be had out of the Citie to be brent. There runeth out of the Citie great multitudes by heapes to ſee hym put to execution, ſome take hym in their armes, and louingly kiſſe hym, perſuadyng him to take a better way & ſaue him ſelfe, & that with weeping teares. To whom Gordius aunſwered, weepe not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God whiche alwayes make warre agaynſt the Chriſtians: weepe I ſay for them whiche prepare for vs a fire, purchaſing hell fire for them ſelues in the day of vengeance: And ceaſe of further, I pray you, to moleſt and diſquiet my ſetled minde. Truly (ſayth he) I am ready for the name of Ieſus Chriſt, to ſuffer & indure a thouſād deathes if nede were. Some other came vnto him which perſuaded hym to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and to keepe hys conſcience to himſelfe. My toung (ſayth he) whiche by the goodnes of God I haue, can not be brought to deny the author and geuer of the ſame: for with the hart we beleue vnto righteouſnes, and with ẏ toung we cōfeſſe vnto ſaluatiō. Many mo ſuch like wordes he ſpake: but eſpecially vttering to them ſuch matter, whereby he might perſwade the beholders to death, and to the deſire of Martyrdome. After all whiche, with a mery and glad countenaunce, neuer chaungyng ſo much as his colour, he willyngly gaue hym ſelfe to be brent. Baſilius in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæſarienſem.

The bolde conſtancy and courageous ſpirite of *Gordius*.

***Gordius* attempted wyth fayre promyſes & giftes.**

***Gordius* condemned to be brent.**

The aunſwere of *Gordius* to hys frendes.

A ſubtile kinde of diſſwaders.
None ought to deny Chriſt with hys mouth, and confeſſe hym wyth hys hart.
The martirdome of *Gordius*.
Ex Baſili. in Ser. in Gordium militem Cæſarienſem.

Not much vnlike to the ſtory of Gordius, is the ſtory alſo of Menas an Egyptian, who beyng likewiſe a ſouldiour by his profeſſion, in this perſecution of Diocleſian forſoke all, & went into the deſerte, where a long tyme he gaue him ſelfe to abſtinence, watchyng, and meditation of the Scriptures. At lēgth returnyng agayne to the Citie Corps, there in the open theatre, as the people were occupyed vpon their ſpectacles or paſtymes, he with a loude voyce openly proclaymed himſelfe to be a Chriſtian, and vpon the ſame was brought to Pyrrhus the Preſident: of whom, he beyng demaunded of his fayth, made this aunſwere: Conuenient it is that I ſhould (ſayth he) confeſſe God, in whom is light and no darknes, forſomuch as Paule doth ſo teach: that with hart we beleue to righteouſnes, with mouth confeſſion is geuen to ſaluation. After this the innocent Martyr was moſt paynfully pinched and cruciate with ſundry puniſhmentes. In all which, notwithſtandyng he declared a conſtant hart, and fayth inuincible, hauyng theſe wordes in his mouth, beyng in the middeſt of his tormentes. There is nothyng in my mynde that can be compared to the kyngdome of heauen. Neither is all the world, if it were weyed in balaunce, able to be conferred with the price of one ſoule. And ſayd, who is able to ſeparate vs from the loue of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord? ſhall affictiō, or anguiſh? And moreouer (ſayd he) I haue thus learned of my Lord & my king, not to feare them which kill the body, and haue no power to kill the ſoule: but to feare hym rather, who hath power to deſtroy both the body and ſoule in hell fire. To make the ſtory ſhort, after manifold tormentes borne of him and ſuffered, when the laſt ſentence of death was vpon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded. Menas beyng then had to the place of execution ſaid: I geue thee thankes my Lord God, which haſt ſo accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and haſt not geuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt made me to remaine conſtant in thy pure faith vnto this my latter end. And ſo this bleſſed ſouldiour fightyng valiantly vnder the baner of Chriſt, loſt his head, & wanne his ſoule. Symeon Metaphraſt. tom. 5. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixitie I do omit.

***Menas* Martyr.**

Ex Simeone Metaphr. tom. 9.

The confeſſion of *Menas*.

The wordes of *Menas* in hys tormentes.
All the world is not to be weyed wyth one ſoule ſaued.

The prayer of *Menas* at hys death.

***Menas* martyred.**

The ſtorye of 40. martyrs.

Baſilius in a certaine Sermon of .40. Martyrs rehearſeth this ſtory not vnworthy to be noted. There came (ſayth he) into a certaine place (which place he maketh no mention of) the Emperours Marſhall or officer, with the Edict which the Emperour had ſet out agaynſt the Chriſtians: that whoſoeuer confeſſed Chriſt, ſhould after many tormentes ſuffer death. And firſt they did priuely ſuborne certaine which ſhould detect & accuſe the Chriſtians whom they had found out, or had layd wayt for: vpon this the ſword, the gibbet, the wheele, and the whips were brought forth: At the terrible ſight whereof the hartes of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble. Some for feare did flee, ſome did ſtand in doubt what to do. Certaine were ſo terrified at the beholding of theſe engines & tormenting inſtrumentes that they denyed their fayth. Some other began the game, and for a tyme did abyde the conflict and agony of Martyrdome: but vanquiſhed at length, by the intollerable payne of their tormentes, made ſhipwracke of their conſciences & loſt the glory of their confeſſion. Among other, there were at that tyme yonge gentlemen all ſouldiours, which after the Marſhall had ſhewed the Emperours Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the ſame, freely and boldly of their owne accorde profeſſed them ſelues to be Chriſtians, & declared to him their names. The Marſhall ſomewhat amaſed at this their boldneſſe of ſpeach, ſtanding in doubt what was beſt to do, yet forthwith he goeth about to wynne them with fayre wordes, aduertiſing them to conſider their youth, neither that they ſhould chaunge a cruell and vntymely death for a ſweete and pleaſaunt life: After that, he promiſeth them money, and honourable offices in the Emperours name. But they litle eſteemyng all theſe thinges, breake forth into a long and bold Oration affirming that they neither deſire life, dignitie, nor money, but onely the celeſtiall kyngdome of Chriſt, ſaying farther, that they are ready for the loue and fayth they haue in God, to indure the affliction of the wheele, the croſſe, and the fire. This rude Marſhall beyng herewith offended, deuiſeth a new kinde of puniſhment. He ſpyed out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which lay full vpon the cold Northerne wynde: for it was in the wynter tyme: wherein he cauſed them to be put all that night: but they beyng merye and comfortyng one an other, receiued this their appointed puniſhment, and ſayd, as they were puttyng of their clothes: we put of (ſaid they) now not our clothes: but we put of the old man, corrupt with the deceypt of concupiſcence. We geue thee thankes (O Lord) that with this our apparell we may alſo put of by thy grace, the ſinfull man: for by meanes of the Serpent we once put hym on, and by the meanes of Ieſus Chriſt we now put him of. When they had thus ſayd: they were brought naked into the place where they felt moſt vehement colde: in ſo much that all the partes of their bodyes were ſtarke & ſtiffe therewith. Aſſoone as it was day, they yet hauyng breath were brought vnto the fire, wherin they were conſumed and their aſhes throwne into the floud. By chaunce there was one of the company more liuely, and not ſo neare dead as the reſt, of whom the executioners takyng pitie, ſayd vnto his mother ſtanding by, that they would ſaue his lyfe. But ſhe with her owne handes takyng her ſonne brought him to the pyle of wood where the reſidue of hys fellowes (crowned for Chriſte) did lye ready to be burned, admoniſhyng hym to accompliſh the bleſſed iourney he had taken in hand with his companions. Baſil.

Tormentes brought out to terrifie the Chriſtians.

The couragious boldnes, & Chriſtian confeſſion of theſe 40. martyrs.

Martyrdome & death for Chriſt, preferred before lyfe and riches of this world.

The martyrs in a colde ponde all a winters night.

The martyrs taken out of the pond were caſt into the fire.

A good mother caryng more for the ſoule then for the body of her ſonne.

Ex Baſil. in Serm. de. 40. Martiribus.

A like hiſtory of .40. Martyrs which were martyred, we read alſo in Niceph. & Zozomenus Lib. 9. cap. 2. which were kylled likewiſe in a lake or ponde at Sebaſtia a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius, if the ſtory be not the ſame with this. Nicepho. Zozom.

An other ſtory of 40. Martyrs in a colde pond at Sebaſtia.

In this felowſhip and company of Martyrs can not be left out and forgotte the ſtory of Cyrus. This Cyrus was a Phiſition borne in Alexandria, which flying into Egypt in the perſecutiõ of Diocleſianus, and Maximianus led a ſolitary life in Arabia, there profeſſing him ſelfe a Monke: beyng much ſpoken of both for his learnyng and miracles: vnto whoſe company after a certaine tyme did Ioannes, borne in the Citie Edeſſa beyond the Riuer Euphrates ioyne hymſelfe, leauyng the ſouldiours life which before that time he had exerciſed. But whileſt as yet the ſame perſecutiõ raged in a Citie in Egypt called Canope, there were caſt into priſon for the confeſſion of their fayth, a certaine godly Chriſtian womã called Athanaſia and her three daughters Theoctiſte, Theodota, and Eudoxia: with whom Cyrus was well acquainted. All whoſe infirmities he much fearing, accõpanied with his brother Iohn, came and viſited them for their better confirmation: at which time Syrianus was chief Captaine and Lieutenaunt of Egypt, of whoſe wickednes and crueltie, eſpecially agaynſt women and maydens: Athanaſius maketh mentiõ in his Apologies, and in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lead a ſolitary lyfe. This Cyrus therfore and Ioannes beyng accuſed and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whoſe perſwaſiõs, the maydens and daughters of Athanaſia contumelioully deſpiſed the Gods, & the Emperours Religion, and could by no meanes be brought to do ſacrifice, were after the publication of their conſtaunt confeſſion put to death by the ſword. Athanaſia alſo and her iii. daughters beyng condemned to death. This hiſtory writeth Symeon Metaphraſtes.

Cyrus, Ioannes, Athanaſia, wyth her three daughters, *Theoctiſte, Theodota, Eudoxia.* Martyrs.

The louyng care of one Chriſtian toward an other.

Cyrus to doe others good, loſt his lyfe.

Sebaſtian beyng borne in the part of Fraunce called Gallia Narbonenſis, was a Chriſtian, and was Lieutenaunt generall of the vaward of Diocleſian the Emperour, who alſo encouraged many Martyrs of Chriſt by his exhortations with conſtauncy, and kept them in the fayth. He beyng therfore accuſed to the Emperour, was commaunded to be apprehended, and that he ſhould be brought into the open field: where, of hys owne ſouldiours he was ſhot through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that his body was throwne into a iaques or ſinke. Ambroſius maketh mention of this Sebaſtian the Martyr in hys Commentary vpon the 118. Pſalme, & Symeon Metaphraſtes amongeſt other Martyrs that ſuffered with Sebaſtian, numbreth alſo theſe followyng: Nicoſtratus with Zoe his wyfe, Tranquillinus with Martia his wife: Traglinus, Claudius, Caſtor, Tiburtius, Caſtulus, Marcus, and Marcellinus with other moe.

The ſtory of *Sebaſtian* Martyr. A worthy example of a captaine to be followed.

Marcus, Marcellinus, Nicoſtratus wyth *Zoe* his wyfe. *Tranquillinus* wyth *Martia* hys wyfe. *Traglinus, Claudius, Caſtor, Tiburtius, Caſtellus,* Martyrs. *Barlaam.*

Baſilius in an other Sermon alſo maketh mention of one Barlaam beyng a noble and famous Martyr, which abode all the tyrannies of the executioners euen to the poynt of death: which thing when the tormentours ſaw, they brought hym and layd hym vpon the aulter, where they did vſe to offer ſacrifices to their Idoles, and put fire & frankenſence in his right hand wherin he had yet ſome ſtrength, thinkyng that the ſame his right hand, by the heate & force of the fire, would haue ſcattered the burnyng incenſe vpon the aulter, and ſo haue ſacrificed. But of that their hope, the perſecutours tormentours were diſappointed: for the flame ran round about his hand, and the ſame indured euen as though it had bene couered with hote embers, when Barlaam recited out of the Pſalmes this ſaying: Bleſſed is the Lord my God which teacheth my handes to fight.

[illegible] the heathen, had by ſome meanes to allure the Chriſtians to offer ſacrifice.

To this narration of Baſilius touchyng the Martyrdome of Barlaam, we will adioyne conſequently an other ſtory of Ambroſe. He makyng a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the ſame Oration commendeth the martyrdomes of Agricola & Vitalis, who ſuffered alſo in the ſame perſecution vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian (as they do affirme) at Bononie. This Vitalis was ſeruaunt to Agricola, who both together betwene themſelues had made a compact to geue their lyues with other Martyrs for the name of Chriſt. Whervpon Vitalis beyng ſent before of his maiſter, to offer him ſelfe to Martyrdome, fell firſt into the handes of perſecutours, who laboured about hym by all maner of meanes to cauſe him to deny Chriſt, which when he would in no caſe do, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the confeſſion of his fayth, they began to exerciſe him with all kyndes of tormentes: So that there was no whole thing left in all his body. So Vitalis in the middeſt of the agonie & paynfull tormentes, after he had in a ſhort prayer commended him ſelfe to God, gaue vp his lyfe. After him the tormentours ſet vpon Agricola his maiſter, whoſe vertuous maners and gentle conditions, becauſe they were ſingularly well knowen, [illegible] the tyrant: his ſuffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola [illegible] the long delay of his martyrdome, [illegible] the aduerſaries to quicker ſpeede, at length was faſtened vpon the croſſe and ſo finiſhed his martyrdome which he ſo long deſired. Ambroſ. in Exhortatione ad Virgines.

Agricola, with hys ſeruaunt *Vitalis,* martyrs.

Vitalis firſt Martyred.

Agricola deſirous of martirdome.

Agricola died martyr vpon the croſſe.

No leſſe worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdome of Vincentius, whoſe hiſtory here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard and a Leuite, moſt godly and vertuous, who at this tyme ſuffered Martyrdome at Valence, vnder Dacianus the Preſident, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne. Bergomenſis in his ſupplement, recites theſe thinges concernyng his martyrdome out of a certaine ſermon of S. Auguſtine: Our hart conceiued not a vayne and fruitleſſe ſight (as it were in beholdyng of lamentable tragedies) but a great ſight and maruelous, certainly, and there with ſingular pleaſure receiued it, when the paynefull paſſion of victorious Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is there any ſo heauy harted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this vnmoueable Martyr ſo manly, or rather ſo godly fighting againſt the craft and ſubtletie of that Serpent, againſt the tyranny of Dacianus, againſt the horrours of death, and by the mighty

The cruell martyrdome of [illegible] Sermon.

ſpirite

The tormẽts exerciſed vpon *Vincentius*.

The comfort of the Lord vpon hys Saintes.

ſpirit of his God cõqueryng all? But let vs in few wordes rehearſe ỹ degrees of hys tormẽts though the paynes therof in many wordes cannot be expreſſed. Firſt Dacianus cauſed the martir to be layd vpon the torture, and all the ioyntes of his body to be diſtended and racked out, vntill they crackte agayne. This being done in moſt extreme and cruell maner, all the members of his paynfull and pitifull body were greuouſly endented with deadly woundes. Thirdly (that hys dolors & griefes might be augmented) they miſerably vexed hys fleſh with yron combes ſharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meeke and milde Martirs fleſh, the tormentours thẽſelues alſo were vily ſcourged at the Preſidentes commaundement. And leaſt his paſſion through want of paynes might ſeeme imperfect, or els too eaſy, they laid his body beyng all out of ioynt, on a grate of iron. which body when they had opened with yron hookes, they ſeared it with firye plates: with hote burning ſalt ſprinckling the ſame. Laſt of all into a vile dongeon was this mighty Martir drawen, the floure whereof firſt was thicke ſpredde with the ſharpeſt ſhels that might be gotten, hys feete then beyng faſt locked in the ſtockes, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with hym, the holye ſpirit of god (whoſe office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his hart with ioy and gladnes. Haſt thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruell tyrant, O deuouring Lyon) for the Martirs bed? the Lord ſhall make that bed ſofte and ſweete vnto hym. Rackeſt thou his bones and ioyntes all aſunder? His bones, his ioyntes, his heares are all numbred. Tormẽteſt thou his fleſh with mortal woundes? the Lord ſhall poure aboundantly into all his ſores of his oile of gladnes. Thy ſcraping combes, thy ſharpe fleſh hookes, thyne whote ſearing yrons, thy parched ſalte, thy ſtinckyng pryſon, thy cutting ſhelles, thy pinchyng ſtockes ſhall turne to this pacient Martyr to the beſt. Altogether ſhall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of ioy ſhall he reape into the barne of his ſoule, out of this mighty harueſt of paynes that thou haſt brought him into. Yea, thou ſhalte proue hym Vincentius in deede: that is, a vanquiſher, a triumpher, a conqueror ſubduyng thy madneſſe, by his mekeneſſe, thy tiranny by his patience, thy manifolde meanes of tortures, by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

Philoromus, Martyr.

The confeſſion and martyrdome of *Philoromus*.

In thys catalogue or company of ſuch holy martyrs, as ſuffered in thys foreſayd x. perſecution, many moe and almoſt innumerable there be expreſſed in authors, beſide them whom we haue hetherto comprehended, as Philoromus, a man of noble byrth, and great poſſeſſions in Alexandria, who beyng perſwaded by his friendes to fauour hymſelfe, to reſpect hys wyfe, to conſider his children and familie: did not onely reiecte the counſels of them, but alſo neglected the threates and tormentes of the Iudge, to keepe the confeſſion of Chriſt inuiolate vnto the death, & loſing of his head. Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.9.Niceph.Lib.7.cap.9. of whom Euſebius beareth witnes, that he was there preſent hymſelfe.

Procopius, Martyr.

The tormẽts and conſtancie of *Procopius*, to death.

Of lyke eſtate and dignitie was alſo Procopius in Paleſtina, who after hys conuerſion brake hys images of ſiluer and golde, and diſtributed the ſame to the poore, and after all kynde of tormentes, of racking, of cordyng, of tearyng hys fleſhe, of goring, and ſtabbing in, of fiering, at length had hys head alſo ſmitten of, as witneſſeth Niceph.Lib.7.cap.15.

Georgius martyr.

The ſundry tormentes of *Georgius*.

To this may be adioyned alſo Georgius, a yonge man of Capadocia, who ſtoutly inueighing agaynſt the impyous idolatry of the Emperours, was apprehended, and caſt in priſon, then torne wyth hoked yrons, burnt wyth hoate lyme, ſtretched with cordes, after that his handes and feete wyth other members of hys body beyng cut of, at laſt wyth a ſworde had his head cut of. Niceph.ibid.

Sergius, *Bacchius*, *Panthaleon*, *Theodorus*, *Fauſtus*, *Gereon*, wyth 318. fellowes. *Hermogenes*, *Menas* a man of Athens. *Eugraphus*. *Samonas*, *Gurias*, *Abibus*. *Hieron*, wyth hys fellowes. *Iudes*, *Domuas*.

Eualaſius, *Maximinus*, *Thyrſus*. *Lucius*, *Callinicus*, *Apollonius*. *Philemon*, *Aſilas*, *Leonides*, *Arrianus* the Preſident. *Cyprianus*, Byſhop of *Antioche*. *Iuſtina*, *Glicerius*, *Felix* Prieſt. *Fortunatus* and *Achilleus* Deacons. *Carpophorus*, *Abundus* his Deacon. *Claudius*, *Syrinus*, *Antonius*, *Cucuſatus*, *Felix* Biſhop. *Adauctus*, and *Ianuarius*, *Fortunatus*, *Septimus*, Martyrs.

Wyth theſe aforenamed adde alſo Sergius, and Bacchius, Panthaleon a phiſitton in Nicomedia, mentioned in Supplem.Lib.8. Theodorus of the Citie Amaſia in Helleſp. mentioned of Vincentius.Lib.3. Fauſtus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph.Lib,8.cap.5. Gereon wyth 318. fellow Martyrs which ſuffered about Colour. Petr.de nat.Lib.9. cap.49. Hermogenes the preſident of Athens, who beyng conuerted by the conſtancie of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their tormentes, ſuffered alſo for the lyke fayth. Item, Samonas, Gurias, and Abibus, mentioned in Symeon Metaphraſte. Hieron alſo wyth certayne hys confeſſors, vnder Maximinus mentioned in Metaphraſtes. Iudes, and Domuas, who ſuffered with 10000. Martyrs aboue mentioned, at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphraſtes. Euelaſius, and Maximinus the Emperours officers, whom Fauſta the virgine in her tormentes conuerted. Alſo Thyrſus, Lucius, Callinicus, Appollonius, Philemon, Aſilas, Leonides, with Arrianus preſident of Thebaide. Cyprianus, lykewiſe a Citizen of Antioche, who after he had continued a long tyme a filthy Magician, or ſorcerer, at length was conuerted, and made a Deacon, then a Prieſt, and at laſt the Byſhop of Antioche. Vincent. lib.12.cap.120. of whom partly wee touched ſomwhat before. Pag.72. Thys Cyprian with Iuſtina a virgine ſuffered among the Martyrs. Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia, Felix a miniſter, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in the Citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Cyriacus Deacon to Marcellus the Byſhop. Carpophorus prieſt at Thuſcia, wyth Abundus his Deacon. Item Claudius, Syrinus, Antonius, which ſuffered with Marcellinus the Byſhop. Sabell. Enead.7.Lib.8. Cucuſatus, in the citie Barcinona. Felix Byſhop of Apulia, wyth Adauctus and Ianuarius hys prieſtes, Fortunatus and Septimus, hys readers, who ſuffered in the Citie Venuſina, vnder Diocleſian. Bergom.Lib.8.

The Lamentable ſtory of *Caſſianus* Martyr.
Ex Aurel.Prudentio.lib.periſtephanõ.

It were to long a trauayle or trouble to recite all and ſingular names of them particularly, whom thys perſecution of Diocleſian dyd conſume. The number of whom beyng almoſt infinite is not to be collected or expreſſed: One ſtory yet remayneth not to be forgottẽ of Caſſianus, whoſe pitifull ſtory beyng deſcribed of Prudentius we haue here inſerted, rendring metre for metre as followeth.

1 THrough Forum, as in Italy,
I paſſed once to Roome:
Into a Church by chaunce came I,
And ſtoode for by a toome.
2 Which church ſometime a place had bene,
Where cauſes great in lawe:
Were ſcand and tryde, and iudgement geuen,
To keepe brute men in awe.
3 Thys place Sylla Cornelius,
Fyrſt built: he rayſde the frame:
And called the ſame Forum, and thus,
that Citye tooke the name.
4 In prayer feruent as I ſtoode,
caſtyng myne eye aſide:
A picture in full pitious moode,
(Imbrude) by chaunce I ſpyde.
5 A thouſand wounded markes full bad,
All mangled, rent, and torne:
The ſkinne appearde, as though it had,
Bene iagde and prickte wyth thorne.
6 A ſcull of pictured boyes did bande,
About that lothſome ſight:
That wyth theyr ſharpened gads in hande,
Hys members thus had dight.
7 Theſe gads were but their pens wherwith,
Their Tables written were:
And ſuch as ſcholers often ſith,
Vnto the ſcholes do beare.
8 Whom thou ſeeſt here thus picturde ſitte,
And firmely dooſt beholde:
No fable is, I do thee witte,
Vnaſkt a Prelate tolde
9 That walkt therby: but doth declare
The hiſtory of one,
Which written, would good record beare,
What fayth was long agone.
10 A ſkilfull ſcholemaiſter this was,
that here ſometyme did teache:
The biſhop once of Brixia as,
And Chriſt full playne dyd preache.
11 He knew well how to comprehend,
Long talke in few lynes:
And it at length how to amend,
By order and by tymes.
12 His ſharpe precepts, and ſtearne lookes,
His beardleſſe boyes did feare:
When hate in harte (yet for their bookes)
Full deadly they did beare.
13 The childe that learnes, I do ye weete,
Tearmes, aye, hys tutor crule:
No diſcipline in youth ſeemes ſweete,
Counte this a common rule.
14 Behold the ragyng tyme now here,
Oppreſſing ſore the fayth:
Doth perſecute gods chyldren deare,
And all that Chriſt bewrayth.
15 This truſty teacher of the ſwarme,
Profeſt the liuing God:

The chiefe good thing, they compt their harme,
Perhaps he ſhakes hys rod.
16 What rebell askte the Preſident,
Is he, I heare ſo loude?
Vnto our youth an inſtrument,
They ſay, and low they bowde.
17 Go bryng the caytif forth he bids,
And make no long delay:
Let hym be ſet the boyes amids,
They do as he doth ſay.
18 Let him be geuen vnto them all,
And let them haue their wyll:
To do to hym what ſpite they ſhall,
So that they will him kyll.
19 Euen as they liſt let them hym fray,
And hym deride ſo long:
Till wearineſſe prouokes their play,
No lenger to prolong.
20 Let them (I ſay) then vncontrold,
both pricke and ſcotch his ſkin:
To bathe their handes let them be bold,
In the hote bloud of hym.
21 The ſcholers hereat make great game,
It pleaſeth them full well:
That they may kill and quench the flame,
They thought to them a hell.
22 They binde his handes behynd his backe,
And naked they him ſtrippe:
In bodkyn wiſe at hym they nacke,
They laugh to ſee hym ſkippe.
23 The priuy hate that eche one hath,
In hart it now appeares:
They poure it forth in galley wrath,
they wreake them of their teares.
24 Some caſt great ſtones, ſome other breake,
theyr tables on his face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke,
(Oh barren boyes of grace.)
25 The bloud runnes downe his cheekes, and doth
Imbrue the boxen leames:
Where notes by them were made (though loth)
and well proponed theames.
26 Some whet, ſome ſharpe, their penſels pointes,
that ſerude to write withall:
Some other gage his fleſh and ioyntes,
as with a poynted nall.
27 Sometymes they pricke, ſometyme they rent,
this worthy Martirs fleſh:
And thus by turnes they do torment,
this confeſſour afreſh.
28 Now, all with one conſent on hym,
their bloudy handes they lay:
To ſee the bloud from limme to limme,
Drop downe, they make a play.
29 More painefull was the pricking pange,
Of children, oft and thicke:
Then of the bigger boyes that ſtange,
And neare the hart did ſticke.
30 For by the feeble ſtrokes of th'one,
Death was denied his wyll:
Of ſmart that made him wo begon,
he had the better ſkill.
31 The deeper ſtrokes the great ones gaue,
and nearer toucht the quicke:
The welcomer he thought the ſame,
Whom longyng death made ſicke.
32 God make you ſtrong he ſaith, I pray,
God geue you might at will:
And what you want in yeares I ſay,
Let cruelty fulfill.
33 But whileſt the hangman breatheth ſtill,
and me with you do match:
That weakely worke, yet want no will,
My lyfe for to diſpatch.
34 My griefes waxe great, what groneſt thou now?
Sayd ſome of them agayne?
In ſchoole, aduiſed well art thou?
Whom there thou putſt to payne?
35 Behold, we pay and now make good,
as many thouſand ſtripes:
As when with wepyng eyes we ſtoode,
In daunger of thy grypes.
36 Art thou now angry at thy band,
that alwayes cryed write, write:
And neuer wouldſt that our right hand,
Should reſt in quiet plyte?
37 We had forgot our playing tymes,
Thou churle deniedſt vs of:
We now but pricke and poynt our lynes,
and thus they grinne and ſcof.
38 Correct good ſir our viewed verſe,
If ought amiſſe there bee:
Now vſe thy power, and them rehearſe,
that haue not marked thee.
39 Chriſt pitiyng this groning man,
With tormentes torne and tyerd:
Commaundes hys hart to breake euen than,
and lyfe that was but hyerd:
40 He yeldes agayne to hym that gaue,
and thus he makes exchaunge:
Immortall, for mortall to haue,
That in ſuch payne did raunge.
41 This is ſayth he, that this picture,
Thou ſo beholdſt, oh Geſt:
Of Caſſianus Martyr pure,
Doth preach. I do proteſt.
42 If thou Prudence ought haue in ſtore,
In pietie to deale:
In hope of iuſt reward therfore,
Now ſhew thy louing zeale.
43 I could not but conſent, I weepe,
Hys tombe I do embrace:
Home I returne, and after ſleepe,
This pitifull preface
44 I write as a memoriall,
For euer to indure:
Of Caſſianus ſcholemaiſter,
all others to allure.
45 To conſtancy vnder the croſſe,
of their profeſſion:
Accomptyng gayne what euer loſſe,
for Chriſt they take vpon.

No leſſe admirable and wonderfull was the conſtancy alſo of women and maydens, who in the ſame perſecution gaue their bodies to the torments, & their liues for the teſtimony of Chriſt, with no leſſe boldneſſe of ſpirit, thē did the men themſelues aboue ſpecified, to whom how muche more inferiour they were in bodely ſtrength, ſo much more worthy of prayſe they be, for their conſtant ſtandyng. Of whom ſome examples here we mynde (Chriſt willing) to inferre, ſuche as in our ſtories and Chronicles ſeeme moſt notable, firſt beginning with Eulalia, whoſe ſtory we haue taken out of the foreſayd Prudentius as followeth.

In the weſt part of Spaine called Portingall, is a citie great and populous, named Emerita, wherin dwelt and was brought vp a virgine borne of noble parentage, whoſe name was Eulalia: whiche Emerita although for the apte ſituatiō therof, was both rich and famous, yet more adourned and famous was the renowne therof, by the Martyrdome, bloude, and ſepulture of this bleſſed virgine Eulalia. Twelue yeares of age was ſhe and not much aboue, when ſhe refuſed great and honourable offers in mariage, as one not ſkilfull of, nor yet delightyng in courtly daliaunce, neyther yet takyng pleaſure in purple and gorgeous apparell, or els in precious balmes, or coſtly ornamentes and iuels: But, forſakyng and deſpiſing all theſe and ſuch lyke pompeous allurementes, then ſhewed ſhe her ſelfe moſt buſie in preparyng her iourney to her hoped inheritaunce, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as ſhe was modeſt & diſcrete in behauiour, ſage and ſober in conditions, ſo was ſhe alſo wittie and ſharpe in anſwering her enemies. But whē the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to ioyne her ſelf amongſt Gods children in the houſhold of fayth, and when the Chriſtians were commaunded to offer incenſe and ſacrifice to deuils or dead gods: Then began the bleſſed ſpirit of Eulalia to kindle, and beyng of a prompt and redy wit thought forthwith (as a couragious capitaine) to geue a charge vppon this ſo great, and diſordred a battaile: and ſo ſhe, ſillie woman, pouring out the bowels of her innocent hart before God, more prouoketh therby the force and rage of her enemies againſt her. But the godly care of her parentes, fearing leaſt the willyng mynde of the Damſell, ſo redy to die for Chriſtes cauſe, might make her gilty of her owne death, hid her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the countrey, being a great way out of the citie. She yet miſlikyng that quiet lyfe, as alſo deteſting, to make ſuch delay: ſoftly ſtealeth out of the dores (no mā knowyng therof) in the night: and in great haſt leauyng the common way, openeth the hedge gappes, and with wery feete (God knoweth) paſſeth through the thornie and briery places, accom-

panied

Eulalia Martyr.

Ex Aurel. Prudentio. lib. periſtephanon.

The chaſte and continent behauiour of *Eulalia*.

Eulalia geueth the onſet, denying to ſacrifice to deuils.

Eulalia kept ſecret by her parentes.

panied yet with ſpirituall garde: and although darke and dreadfull was the ſilent night, yet had ſhe with her ý lord and guider of light. And as the children of Iſraell commyng out of Egipt, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy piller for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in ý night: ſo had this godly virgine, trauelling in this darke night, whẽ ſhe flying and forſakyng the place where all filthy idolatry abounded, and haſtened her heauenly iourney, was not oppreſſed with the dreadfull darkeneſſe of the night. But yet ſhe before the day appeared in this her ſpeedy iourney, with her ſelfe conſidered and muſed of a thouſand matters and more. In the mornyng betyme with a bolde courage ſhe goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement ſeat, and in the middeſt of them all with a loud voyce, crying out ſayde: I pray you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhly and without aduiſement to deſtroy and kill mens ſoules, and to throw their bodies aliue agaynſt the rockes, and cauſe them to deny the omnipotent God. would you know (O you vnfortunate) who I am? beholde, I am one of the Chriſtians: an enemy to your diueliſh ſacrifices. I ſpurne your idoles vnder my feete: I confeſſe God omnipotent with my hart and mouth. Iſis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himſelfe, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for ý they be the worke of mens handes, the other but a caſt away, becauſe he worſhippeth the ſame worke. Therefore friuolous are they both, and both not worthy to be ſet by. Maximinus is a Lord of ſubſtaunce, and yet he hymſelfe falleth downe before a ſtone, and boweth the honour of hys dignitie vnto thoſe that are much inferiour to his vaſſals. Why then doth he oppreſſe ſo tyrannically, more worthy ſtomackes and courages then himſelfe? He muſt needes be a good guide, and an vpright iudge, which feedeth vpon innocent bloud: and breathing in the bodies of godly men, doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath hys delight in deſtroying and ſubuerting the faith.

Eulalia diſproueth the heathen Iudge.

The godly confeſſion of *Eulalia.*

Go to therefore thou hangman, burne, cut, and mangle thou theſe earthly mẽbers. It is an eaſie matter to breake a brittle ſubſtaũce, but the inward minde ſhalt not thou hurt for any thyng thou canſt do. The Pretor thẽ or iudge with theſe wordes of hers, ſet in a great rage, ſayth: hãgmã take her and pull her out by the heare of her head, & torment her to the vttermoſt. Let her feele the power of our countrey Gods, and let her know what the Imperiall gouernement of a Prince is. But yet, O thou ſturdy gerle, fayne would I haue thee (if it were poſſible) before thou dye, to reuoke this thy wickednes. Behold what pleaſures thou mayeſt enioy by the honorable houſe thou cameſt of. Thy fallen houſe and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares: & the heauy nobilitie of thy kindred, maketh dolefull lamentation for thee. What meaneſt thou? wilt thou kil thy ſelfe ſo young a flower & ſo neare theſe honourable mariages and great dowries that thou mayeſt enioye? Doth not the gliſteryng and golden pompe of thy bryde bed moue thee? Doth not the reuerende pietie of thyne aunceſtours prick thee? whom is it not, but that this thy raſhenes and weakenes ſorroweth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death. Either ſhalt thou be beheaded with this ſword, or els with theſe wild beaſtes ſhalt thou be puld in peeces, or els ý beyng caſt into theſe firy flames ſhalt be (although lamentably bewayled of thy frendes and kinsfolkes) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to eſcape all this? If thou wilt but take a put with thy fingers a litle ſalt and incenſe into the cēſers, thou ſhalt be deliuered from all theſe puniſhmentes. To this Eulalia made no aunſwere, but beyng in a great fury ſhe ſpitteth in the tyrauntes face, ſhe throweth downe the Idoles, and ſpurneth abroad with her feete the heape of incenſe prepared to the cenſers. Thẽ, without further delay, the hangmen with both their ſtrẽgthes tooke her, and puld one ioynte from an other, and with the talentes of wilde beaſtes, ſcratched her ſides to the hard bones: ſhe all this while ſingyng and prayſing God in this wiſe. Behold O Lord I will not forget thee: what a pleaſure is it for them O Chriſt that remember thy triumphant victories, to attayne vnto theſe high dignities, and ſtill calleth vpon that holy name, all ſtayned and embrued with her owne bloud. This ſung ſhe with a bolde ſtomacke, neither lamentyngly, nor yet weepingly, but beyng glad and mery, abandonyng from her mynde all heauyneſſe and griefe, when, as out of a warme fountaine her mangled members with freſh bloud bathed her white and fayre ſkinne. Then proceede they to the laſt and finall torment, which was, not onely the goryng and woundyng of her mangled body with the yron grate, & hurdel, and terrible harrowyng of her fleſh: but burned, on euery ſide with flamyng torches her tormented breſtes and ſides. Her heare hangyng about her ſhoulders in two partes deuided (wherewith her ſhamefaſt chaſtitie and virginitie was couered) reached downe to the ground: but when the crackyng flame flieth about her face, kindled by her heare, and reacheth the crowne of her head: then ſhe deſiring ſwift death, openeth her mouth and ſwalloweth the flame, and ſo reſted ſhe in peace.

Eulalia allured wyth fayre perſwaſions.

Eulalia ſingeth, and prayſeth God in her tormentes.

Eulalia put in the fire.

The end and martyrdome of *Eulalia.*

The ſaid Prudentius, and Ado, alſo Equilinus adde moreouer, writyng of a white doue iſſuyng out of her mouth at her departyng, & of the fire quenched about her body, alſo of her body couered miraculouſly with ſnow, & other thinges more, wherof let euery reader vſe his owne iudgement.

Ex Pruden.

As ye haue heard now the Chriſtian lyfe and conſtant death of Eulalia, much worthy of prayſe and commendatiõ: So no leſſe commendation is worthely to be geuen to bleſſed Agnes, that conſtant Damſell and martyr of God, who as ſhe was in Rome of honorable parentes begotten, ſo lyeth ſhe there as honorably intombed and buried. Which Agnes for her vnſpotted and vndefiled virginitie, deſerueth no greater prayſe and commendation, then for her willyng death and Martyrdome. Some writers make of her a long diſcourſe, more in my iudgement then neceſſary, reciting diuers and ſundry ſtraunge miracles by her done in the proceſſe of her hiſtory, which partly for tediouſnes, partly for the doubtfulneſſe of the author (whom ſome father vpon Ambroſe) and partly for the ſtraungenes and incredibilitie therof, I omit: beyng ſatiſfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as foloweth: She was (ſayth he) young & not mariageable, when firſt ſhe beyng dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked Edictes of the Emperour: leaſt that through idolatry ſhe might haue denyed and forſaken the holy fayth. But yet firſt proued by diuers and ſundry pollicies to induce her to the ſame (as now with the flattering and entiſing wordes of the Iudge, now with the threatnynges of the ſtampyng executioner) ſhe notwithſtandyng, ſtedfaſt in all courageous ſtrength: and willyngly offered her body to hard & paynefull tormentes, not refuſing, as ſhe ſayd, to ſuffer what ſoeuer it ſhould be, yea though it were death it ſelfe. Then ſayd the cruell tyraunt: if to ſuffer payne and tormẽt be ſo eaſie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, & that thou accompteſt thy life nothyng worth: yet the ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity, is a thing more regarded I know, and eſteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that vnles thou wilt make obeyſaunce to the aulter of Minerua, and aske forgiueneſſe of her for thy arrogancy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the common ſtewes or brothel houſe. Agnes the virgin, with more ſpirit and vehemency inueyeth againſt both Minerua and her virginitie. The youth in ſeuls flocke and runne together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their lecherous pray. Thẽ ſayth Agnes, Chriſt is not ſo forgetfull of thoſe that be his, that he will ſuffer violently to be taken frõ them their golden and pure chaſtitie, neither will he leaue them ſo deſtitute of helpe. He is alwayes at hand and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamefaſt and chaſt virgines, neither ſuffereth he his giftes of holy integritie or chaſtitie to be polluted. Thou ſhalt ſayth ſhe, willyngly bathe thy ſword in my bloud if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt, for any thyng thou canſt do. She had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but he commaunded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtreete. (whiche place at that tyme, ſuch as were ſtrumpets commonly vſed) the greater part of the multitude both ſorrowyng and ſhamyng to ſee ſo ſhameleſſe a ſight, went their wayes, ſome turnyng their heades, ſome hydyng their faces. But one amõgeſt the reſt, with vncircumciſed eyes beholdyng the Damſell, and that in much opprobrious wiſe: behold, a flame of fire lyke vnto a flaſh of lightnyng, falleth vpon him, ſtriketh his eyes out of his head, wherupõ he for dead fallyng to the ground, ſprauleth in the chanell durt: whoſe companions takyng hym vp, and caryyng him away, bewayled him as a dead man. But the virgin for this her miraculous deliuery from the daunger and ſhame of that place, ſingeth prayſes vnto God and Chriſt.

Agnes Martyr.

Straunge and vnneceſſary myſteries omitted.

Ex Prudentio lib. De coronis.

Agnes conſtant in the confeſſion of her fayth.

Agnes threatened to the brodle houſe.

Agnes bolde vpõ the helpe of Chriſt.

The incontinent eyes of a young man beholding *Agnes*, ſtrokẽ out.

There be (ſayth Prudentius) that report, how that ſhe beyng deſired to pray vnto Chriſt for the partie, that a litle before with fire from heauẽ for his incontinency was ſtricken, was reſtored by her prayer, both vnto his perfect health and ſight. But bleſſed Agnes after that ſhe had climed this her firſt grief and ſtep vnto the heauenly pallace, forthwith began to clime an other: for fury ingendryng into the mortall wrath of her bloudy enemy, wryngyng his handes crieth out and ſayth, I am vndone: O thou executioner draw out thy ſword and do thyne office that the Emperour hath appointed thee. And when Agnes ſaw a ſturdy and cruell fellow (to behold) ſtand before her, or approchyng neare vnto her with a naked ſword in his hãd: I am now gladder ſaith ſhe,

The young man reſtored agayne to his health by the prayer of *Agnes.*

Agnes deſirous of Martyrdome.

The prayer of Agnes.

Agnes beheaded.

ſhe, and reioyce, that ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce, ſtrong, and ſturdy ſouldiour art come, then one more feable, weake, and faynt ſhould come, or els any other young man ſweetely embalmed, and wearing gaye apparell that might deſtroy me with funerall ſhame. This, euen this is he I now confeſſe, ỹ I do loue. I will make haſt to meete him, and will no longer protract my longyng deſire: I will willingly receaue into my pappes the length of hys ſword, and into my breſt will draw the force therof, euē vnto the hiltes: That thus I beyng maried vnto Chriſt my ſpouſe, may ſurmount and eſcape all the darkenes of this world, that reacheth euen vnto the ſkies. O eternall gouernour, vouchſafe to open the gates of heauen once ſhut vp agaynſt all the inhabitauntes of the earth, and receaue (oh Chriſt) my ſoule that ſeeketh thee. Thus ſpeakyng and kneelyng vpon her knees, ſhe prayeth vnto Chriſt aboue in heauen, that her necke might be the readyer for the ſword now hāgyng ouer the ſame. The executioner then with his bloudy hand, finiſheth her hope, & at one ſtroke cutteth of her head, & by ſuch ſhort & ſwift death doth he preuent her of the payne therof.

The hiſtory of *Katherine* martyr.

All thinges be not true ỹ probable, that be written of Saintes lyues.

Petrus de Natalibus.lib.10.

Katherine reſiſteth the Emperour openly to his face.

Katherine committed to priſon and comforted by an Aungell.

The tormentes ỹ end of *Katherine*.

I haue oftentimes before complayned that the ſtories of Saintes haue bene powdered and ſawſed with diuers vntrue addicions and fabulous inuentions of men, who either of a ſuperſtitious deuotion, or of a ſubtill practiſe, haue ſo mingle mangled their ſtories and liues, that almoſt nothing remaineth in them ſimple and vncorrupt, as in the vſuall Portues wont to be read for dayly ſeruice, is manifeſt and euident to be ſeene, wherein, few Legendes there be, able to abyde the touch of hiſtory, if they were truly tried. This I write vpon the occaſion ſpecially of good Katherine, whō now I haue in hand. In whō although I nothyng doubt, but in her life was great holynes, in her knowledge excellencie, in her death conſtancie: yet that all thynges be true that be ſtoried of her, neither dare I affirme, neither am I bounde ſo to thinke: So many ſtraunge fictions of her be fayned diuerſly of diuers writers, whereof ſome ſeeme incredible, ſome alſo impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus, writyng of her conuerſion declareth, how that Katherine ſleepyng before a certaine picture in table of the Crucifixe, Chriſt with his mother Mary appeared vnto her: And when Mary had offered her to Chriſt to be his wife, he firſt refuſed her for her blacknes. The next tyme, ſhe beyng baptiſed, Mary appearyng agayne, offered her to mary with Chriſt, who then being liked, was eſpouſed to him & maried, hauing a golden ring the ſame tyme put on her finger in her ſleepe. &c. Bergomenſis writeth thus, that becauſe ſhe in the ſight of the people openly reſiſted the Emperour Maxētius to his face, and rebuked him for his crueltie, therfore ſhe was commaunded and committed vpon the ſame to priſon, which ſeemeth hetherto not much to digreſſe frō truth. It foloweth moreouer, that the ſame night an angell came to her, comfortyng and exhortyng her to be ſtrong and conſtant vnto the Martyrdome: for that ſhe was a mayde accepted in ỹ ſight of God, & that the Lord would be with her, for whoſe honor ſhe did fight, & that he would geue her a mouth & wiſedome, which her enemies ſhould not withſtand: with many other thynges mo, which I here omitte. As this alſo I omit cōcernyng the .50. Philoſophers, whō ſhe in diſputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our Religion, & died martyrs for the ſame. Item, of the cōuertyng of Porphyrius kinſman to Maxentius, and Fauſtina the Emperours wife. At length (ſayth the ſtory) after ſhe proued the racke, and the foure ſharpe cuttyng wheeles, hauyng at laſt her head cut of with the ſword, ſo ſhe finiſhed her martyrdome, about the yeare of our Lord (as Antoninus affirmeth) 310. Symeon Metaphraſtes writyng of her, diſcourſeth the ſame more at large, to whō they may reſort, which couet more therin to be ſatiſfied.

The hiſtory of *Iulitta* Martyr.

Ex Baſil.in Serm.

Iulitta violently ſpoyled of her goods.

Iulitta once abiured.

Iulitta ſtandeth to the confeſſion of her fayth.

A Chriſtian voyce of a true martyr.

The anſwere of *Iulitta*.

Iulitta condemned to the fire.

The wordes and exhortations of *Iulitta* to women about her.

Among the workes of Baſill a certaine Oration is extant concernyng Iulitta the Martyr, who came to her martyrdome (as he witneſſeth) by this occaſion. A certaine auaricious and greedy perſon, of great authoritie, and as it may appeare, the Emperour his deputy, or other like officer (who abuſed the decrees and lawes of the Emperour agaynſt the Chriſtians, to his owne lucre and gayne) violently tooke from this Iulitta all her goodes, landes, cattell and ſeruauntes, contrary to all equitie and right. She made her pitifull complaint to the Iudges, a day was appointed when the cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoyled woman, and the ſpoylyng extorcioner ſtode forth together: the womā lamentably declareth her caſe, the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proued that of good right the goodes were her owne, & that wrongfully he had dealed with her: the wicked and bloodthirſty wretch, preferring vile worldly ſubſtaunce before the precious ſubſtaunce of a Chriſtian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that ſhe was as an outlaw, in not ſeruyng the Emperours Gods, ſince her Chriſtian fayth had bene firſt abiured. His allegation was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whervpō incenſe and fire were prepared for her to worſhip the Gods, which vnleſſe ſhe would do, neither the Emperours protection, nor lawes, nor iudgement, nor life, ſhould ſhe enioy in that common weale. When this handmayde of the Lord heard theſe wordes, ſhe ſayd: farewell life, welcome death: farewell riches, welcome pouertie. All that I haue, if it were a thouſand tymes more, would I rather loſe, then to ſpeake one wicked and blaſphemous word agaynſt God my creator. I yeld thee thankes moſt harty, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne and deſpiſe this fraile and tranſitory world, eſteemyng Chriſtian profeſſion aboue all treaſures. Hence forth, when any queſtion was demaunded, her aunſwere was: I am the ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt. Her kindred and acquaintaūce flockyng vnto her, aduertiſed her to chaunge her mynde. But that vehemently ſhe refuſed, with deteſtation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Iudge, with the ſharpe ſword of ſentēce not onely cutteth of all her goodes and poſſeſſions, but iudgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruelly. The ioyfull Martyr embraceth the ſentence as a thyng moſt ſweete and delectable. She addreſſeth her ſelfe to the flames, in countenaunce, ieſture, and wordes, declaryng the ioye of her hart, coupled with ſingular conſtancie. To the women beholdyng her, ſententiouſly ſhe ſpake: Sticke not, O ſiſters, to labour and trauell after true pietie and godlynes. Ceaſe to accuſe the fragilitie of feminine nature. What? are not we created of the ſame matter, that men are? Yea, after Gods Image and ſimilitude are we made, as liuely as they. Not fleſhe onely God vſed in the creation of the woman, in ſigne and token of her infirmitie and weakenes, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhe muſt be ſtrong in the true and liuyng God, all falſe Gods forſaken. Conſtant in fayth, all infidelitie renounced: patient in aduerſitie, all worldly eaſe refuſed. Waxe wery (my dere ſiſters) of your liues led in darkeneſſe, and be in loue with my Chriſt, my God, my redemer, my comforter which is the true light of the worlde. Perſwade your ſelues, or rather the ſpirite of the liuing God perſwade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worſhippers of idoles & deuils ſhall be tormented perpetually, the ſeruauntes of the high God ſhalbe crowned eternally. With theſe wordes ſhe embraced the fire, and ſweetely ſlept in the Lord.

Barbara, Fauſta, Euclaſius, Maximinus, Iuliana, Anyſia, Iuſtina, Tecla, Martyrs.

There haue bene moreouer beſide theſe aboue recited, diuers godly women and faithfull Martirs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thuſcia, who after miſerable priſonmēt, ſharpe cordes, and burning flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded. Alſo Fauſta the virgin, which ſuffered vnder Maximinus, by whom Euclaſius a ruler of the Emperours palace, and Maximinus the Preſident were both conuerted and alſo ſuffred martirdome, as witneſſeth Metaphraſtes. Item, Iuliana a virgine of ſingular beauty in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies ſuffred likewiſe vnder Maximinus. Item, Anyſia a mayde of Theſſalonica, who vnder the ſaid Maximinus ſuffred. Metaphr. ibid. Iuſtina which ſuffered with Cyprianus biſhop of Antioche: not to omitte alſo Tecla, although moſt writers do accord that ſhe ſuffred vnder Nero. Platina in vita Caij, maketh alſo mētion of Lucia & Agatha. All which holy maides and virgines glorified the Lord Chriſt with their conſtant martyrdom in this tenth and laſt perſecution of Diocleſian.

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Euſebius, Meltiades byſhops of Rome and Martyrs.

Marcellinus denyeth and repenteth.

Ex lib. Concilio. & Platina.

During the tyme of which perſecution theſe biſhops of Rome ſucceded one after another, Caius who ſucceded next after Xiſtus, mentioned Pag. 72. Marcellinus, Marcellus, (of whom, Euſebius in his ſtory maketh no mention) Euſebius, and then Miltiades all which, dyed Martirs in the tempeſt of this perſecution. Firſt Marcellinus after the Martyrdome of Caius was ordeined Biſhop, he beyng brought by Diocleſian to the idoles, firſt yelded to their Idolatry, and was ſeene to ſacrifice. Wherfore, beyng excommunicate by the Chriſtians, fell in ſuch repentaunce, that he returned againe to Diocleſian, where he ſtanding to his former confeſſion, and publikely condemning the idolatry of the heathen recouered the crowne of Martyrdome ſufferyng with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus. & Marcellus likewiſe was vrged of Maxentius to renounce his biſhopricke & religion, & to ſacrifice with them to Idols. Which when he conſtantly refuſed, was beaten with whips, and ſo expelled the city. Then he entring into ỹ houſe of Lucina a widow, aſſembled there the congregatiō. Which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tirant: he turned the houſe of Lucina into a ſtable, and made Marcellus the keper of the beaſtes, and ſo with the ſtinche thereof and miſerable handlyng was put to death. Euſebius ſate biſhop of Rome, as Euſebius in Chron. ſayth 7. monthes. Maria-

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Authors diſſent.
Ex Sabel. Ene-ad. 7. lib. 8.

anus Scotus ſaith 8. mõthes. Damaſus affirmeth 6. yeares. Sabellicus allegeth certaine authors that ſay, that he was ſlayne by Maximinianus: but correcteth that himſelf, affirmyng that Maximinianus died before hym.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of *Platina* confuted.

Miltiades by the teſtimony of Platina, and other that follow him ſat 3. yeares, and 7. monthes, and ſuffred vnder Maximinus. But that ſeemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirmyng that the ſame cannot ſtand by the ſupputation of tyme: Forſomuch as the ſaid Galerius Maximinus raigned but 2. yeares, and dyed before Miltiades. Alſo Euſebius manifeſtly expreſſeth the example of a letter of Conſtantine written to this Miltiades biſhop of Rome, plainely conuicting that to bee falſe, which Platina affirmeth.

The order & proceedyng deſcribed in iudgement againſt the Biſhop of Rome.

An obiection of the Papiſtes anſwered vnto.

The Biſhop of Rome cyted vp and appeareth before the Councell.

The Byſhop of Rome cõdemned by the Councel.

In the booke collected of generall councels among the decretall epiſtles, there is a long tractation about ÿ iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: wherof the Maiſters and patrones of popery in theſe our dayes, take great hold to proue the ſupremacy of the Pope to be aboue all generall councels: and that he ought not to be ſubiect to the condemnation of any perſon or perſones, for that there is wrytte: Nemo vnquam iudicauit Pontificem, nec Præſul ſacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes nõ iudicabitur a quoquam. &c. Although this ſentence of Miltiades ſeemeth apparantly to be patched in, rather by ſome Heldibrandus, the by Miltiades: both for that it hangeth ŵ litle order of ſenſe vpõ that which goeth before: & againe, becauſe that prima ſedes here mentioned, was not yet ordayned, nor attributed to the ſea of Rome before the councell of Nice, where the order and placing of biſhops was firſt eſtabliſhed. But to let this ſentence paſſe, yet notwithſtanding the circũſtance and proceding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weyed, maketh very little to the purpoſe of theſe men. Neyther is it true that the biſhops of this councell of Sinueſſe, dyd not condemne Marcellinus: for the wordes of the councell be playne. Subſcripſerunt igitur in eius damnationem & damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem. That is: They ſubſcribed therfore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by the ſaid councell were brought in the 42. witneſſes agaynſt Marcellinus. In the ſaid councell the verdit of the ſame witneſſes was demaunded and alſo receiued. Furthermore, Quirinus there, one of the biſhops openly proteſted, that he would not depart the councell, before the malice of the biſhoppes were reuealed: what doth all this declare, but that the Biſhop of Rome was called there, and did appeare before the iudgement ſeat of the Councell, and there ſtoode ſubiect to their ſentence and authoritye, by the which he was expelled out of the Citye? Non enim noſtro, ſed tuo ipſius iudicio condemnaberis. &c. Item: Tuo ore iudica cauſam tuam. &c. Theſe wordes importe not here the authoritie of the Romaine biſhop to be aboue the councell, neither do they declare what the councell could not do: but what they would and wiſhed rather to be done, that is, rather that he ſhould acknowledge hys crime before God and them, with a voluntary yeldyng of his hart, then that the confeſſion of ſuch an haynous fact ſhould be extorted from him through their condemnation: for that they ſaw to be expedient for his ſoules health. Otherwiſe, their condemnation ſhould ſerue hym to ſmall purpoſe. And ſo it came to paſſe. For he beyng vrged of them to cõdemne hymſelfe, ſo did: proſtratyng hymſelfe and weepyng before them. Wherupon immediatly they proceded to the ſentence agaynſt him, condẽnyng & pronouncing hym to be expelled the city. Now whether by this may be gathered, that ÿ biſhop of Rome ought not to be cited, accuſed, & cõdemned by any perſon or perſons, let the indifferẽt reader iudge ſimply.

The decretal epiſtles & cõſtitutions of theſe Byſhops of Rome examined.

The chiefe ſcope of the cõſtitutions decretall, to magnifie the Church of Rome.

The epiſtle of *Caius*.

A great part of the epiſtle of *Caius*, takẽ out of the epiſtle of *Leo*. to *Leo* the Emperour.

As touching the decretall epiſtles, which be intituled vnder the name of theſe foreſayd biſhops: who ſo well aduiſeth them, and with iudgement wyll examine the ſtile, the tyme, the argument, the hangyng together of the matter, & the conſtitutions in them contained (little ſeruyng to any purpoſe, and nothyng ſeruing for thoſe troublous dayes then preſent) may eaſily diſcerne them: eyther in no part to be theirs, or much of the ſame to be clouted and patched by the doynges of other, which liued in other tymes: eſpecially ſeyng all the conſtitutions in them for the moſt part tend to the ſetting vp and to exalt the ſea of Rome aboue all other biſhops and churches, and to reduce all cauſes & appeales to the ſaid ſea of Rome. So the epiſtle of Caius, beginnyng with the commendation of the authoritie of his ſea, endeth after the ſame tenor: willing and commaunding all difficult queſtions in all prouinces whatſoeuer emergyng, to be referred to the ſea Apoſtolicall. Moreouer, the greateſt part of the ſaid epiſtle from this place, Quicunque illi ſunt ita obcæcati. &c. to the ende of this periode: Quoniam ſicut ait B. Apoſtolus, Magnum eſt pietatis. &c. is contayned in the epiſtle of Leo, vnto Leo the Emperour: and ſo rightly agreeth in all pointes with the ſtile of Leo, that euident it is the ſame to be borowed not of Leo, out of the epiſtle of Caius, but to be patched into ÿ epiſtle of Caius taken out of Leo.

The Epiſtle of *Marcellinus*.

Likewiſe the epiſtle of Marcellinus to get more authoritie with the Reader, is admixed with a great part of S. Paules epiſtle to the Epheſians, worde for worde. And how is it lyke that Marcellinus which died in the 20. yeare of Diocleſian, could write of Conſubſtantialitie of the deuine perſons, when, that controuerſie and terme of Conſubſtantialitie, was not heard of in the church before Nicene councell, which was 23. yeares after hym? But eſpecially the two epiſtles of Marcellus bewray themſelues, ſo that for the confutyng therof, needeth no other probation, more thẽ onely the reading of the ſame. Such a glorious ſtile of ambition therin doth appeare, as it is eaſy to be vnderſtoode, not to procede eyther from ſuch an humble Martyr, or to ſauour any thyng of the miſery of ſuch a tyme. His wordes of hys firſt epiſtle written to the brethren of Antioche, and alledged in the Popes decrees by Gratianus, are theſe:

The epiſtles decretall of *Marcellus*.

24. q. 1. Rogamus vos fratres.

In what chapter or leafe in all the Byble doth the Lord commaund the ſea of *Peter* to be tranſlated frõ Antioch to Rome.

The Church of Rome ſueth to the Church of Antioch to yelde vnto her.

We deſire you brethren, that ye do not teache nor conceiue any other thing, but as ye haue receyued of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter, and of other Apoſtles, and fathers. For of hym ye were firſt of all inſtructed: wherfore ye muſt not forſake your owne father, and follow others. For he is the head of the whole church, to whom the Lord ſayd: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my churche, &c. whoſe ſeat was firſt wyth you in Antioch: whiche afterward by the cõmaundement of the Lord, was tranſlated from thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the gouernour. From the which church of Rome, neither ought you to ſeperate your ſelues, ſeyng to the ſame church all maner cauſes eccleſiaſticall, beyng of any importance (Gods grace ſo diſpoſing) are commaunded to be referred: by the ſame to be ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their firſt begynnyng. &c. And followeth conſequently vppon the ſame. And if your church of Antioche, which was once the firſt, wyll now yeld her ſelfe vnto the ſea of Rome, there is no other church els, which will not ſubiect it ſelfe to our dominion: to whom all other biſhops, who ſo euer liſteth, and as they muſt nedes do (accordyngly to the decrees of the Apoſtles and of their ſucceſſors) ought to flee vnto, as to theyr hed, and muſt appeale to the ſame, there to haue theyr redreſſe, and their protection from whence they toke their firſt inſtruction and conſecration, &c.

Whether this be lyke matter to procede from the ſpirit of Marcellus that bleſſed martyr, in thoſe ſo dreadful dayes, I ſay no more, but onely deſire thee (gẽtle reader) to iudge.

The ſecond epiſtle of *Marcellus* written to *Maxentius*.

The epiſtle of *Marcellus* to *Maxentius* blanched.

In his ſecond epiſtle moreouer, the ſayd Marcellus, wrytyng to Maxentius, the bloudy tyraunt, firſt reprehendeth him for his cruelty, ſharply admoniſhing him how and what to do: to ſeeke and learne the true religion of God, to maintayne his church, to honor and reuerence the Prieſtes of God, and ſpecially exhorteth hym to charitie, and that he would ceaſe from perſecution, &c. All this is poſſible, & like to be true: but now marke (good Reader) what blanched ſtuffe here followed with all: as where he alledgyng the ſtatutes and ſanctiõs of his predeceſſors, declareth and diſcuſſeth that no biſhop nor miniſter ought to bee perſecuted, or depriued of hys goods. And if they be, then ought they to haue their poſſeſſions & places agayne reſtored (by the law) before they were bound (by the law) to anſwer to theyr accuſations laid in agaynſt them. And ſo after that, in conuenient tyme, to be called to a Councell. The which councell notwithſtandyng, without the authoritie of the holye ſea, cannot procede regularly (albeit it remaine in hys power to aſſemble certaine biſhops together). Neyther can he regularly condemne any biſhop, appealyng to this his Apoſtolicall ſea, before the ſentence diffinite do procede from the foreſayd ſea. &c. And it followeth after: and therfore (ſaith he) let no biſhop of what crime ſo euer he be attached, come to hys accuſation or be heard, but in hys owne ordinary Synode at his conuenient tyme: the regular and Apoſtolicall authoritie being ioyned withall. Moreouer in the ſaid Epiſtle writing to Maxentius, he decreeth that no lay men, or any ſuſpected biſhop, ought to accuſe prelates of the church: ſo that if they be eyther lay men, or men of euill conuerſation, or proued manifeſt enemies, or incenſed with any hatred, theyr accuſations agaynſt any biſhops ought not to ſtand. With other ſuch matters moe, concernyng the diſpoſition of iudiciall court. Which matter if Pope Gregory the 7. had written to Henry the 3. Emperour: or if Pope Alexander the 3. had written to the Emperour Fridericus the firſt: it might haue ſtande with ſome reaſon and opportunitie of tyme. But now for Marcellus to write theſe decrees in ſuch a perſecution of the church, to Maxentius the Heathen and moſt cruell Emperour: how vnlyke it is to be true, and how it ſerued then to purpoſe, the reader may ſoone diſcerne. And yet theſe be the epiſtles and conſtitutions decretall, whereby (vnder the pretenſed title of theſe fathers) all churches of late tyme, and all eccleſiaſtical cauſes haue bene, and yet are in this realme of England to this day, gouerned, directed, and diſpoſed.

The Church of England gouerned by the popes Canon lawe wythout ſufficient ground of antiquitie.

The epiſtles decretall of *Euſebius* and *Miltiades*.

The like diſcuſſion and examination, I might alſo make of the other epiſtles that follow of Euſebius, and Miltiades: which all tend to the ſame ſcope, that no Prelate or Biſhop ought to come to his anſwere (or ad litem cõteſtatam, as the wordes of their writing do terme it) before they be orderly & fully reſtored agayne to their poſſeſsiõs. Who moreouer in ỹ ſayd their epiſtles ſtill harpe vpon this key of the ſcripture: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam. Declaring moreouer that thys priuiledge of iudgyng all men, and to be iudged of no man, but onely to be left to the iudgement of the Lord: was geuen to this foreſaid holy ſea of Rome, from tyme of the Apoſtles, and chiefly lefte with Peter the holy key keper: ſo that although the election of all the Apoſtles was equall, yet this was chieflye graunted to S. Peter, to haue preheminẽce aboue the reſt. Concluding in the ende hereby: Quòd ſemper maiores cauſæ, ſicut ſunt Epiſcoporum & potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad vnam beati principis Apoſtolorum Petri ſedem confluerét. That is: that always all greater cauſes, as be the matters of biſhops, and ſuch other cares of waightye importaunce, ſhould be brought to the ſea of S. Peter the bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles &c. Theſe be the wordes of Miltiades and Euſebius, whereby it may be partly ſmelled of hym that hath any noſe, what was the meanyng of thẽ which forged theſe writinges and letters, vpon theſe auncient holy martyrs.

Ex epiſt. Decretal. Miltiades.

A place of the third epiſtle decretal of *Euſebius* found vntrue.

This I cannot but maruell at, in the third Epiſtle of Euſebius the Biſhop of Rome: that where as Marcellinus his late predeceſſour before, in his owne tyme and remembraunce, did fall ſo horribly, and was condẽned for the ſame, iuſtly to be expulſed the Citie by the Councell of. 300. Biſhops: yet notwithſtandyng, the foreſayd Euſebius in his 3. Epiſtle, alledgyng the place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a profe of the ſame and ſayth: Quia in ſede Apoſtolica extra maculam ſemper eſt Catholica ſeruata religio. &c. That is, for in the Apoſtolicall ſea alwayes the Catholicke Religion hath bene preſerued without any ſpot or blemiſh.

Miltiades the laſt Biſhop of Rome being in daunger of perſecution.

But how ſoeuer the forgers of theſe decretall Epiſtles haue forgotten themſelues, moſt certaine it is that theſe holy Byſhops, vpon whom they were and are aſcribed: lyued perfect good men and died bleſſed Martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the laſt among all the Byſhops of Rome here in the Weſt Church of Europe, that euer was in daunger of perſecution to be Martyred, yet to this preſent day.

The end of thys perſecution in all the Weſt Churches.

And thus haue ye heard the ſtories and names of ſuch bleſſed Saintes, whiche ſuffered in the tyme of perſecution from the. xix. yeare of Diocleſian, to the. vij. and laſt yeare of Maxentius, with the deathes alſo and plagues deſerued vpõ thoſe tormentors and cruel tyrauntes, which were the captaines of the ſame perſecutiõ. And here commeth in (bleſſed be Chriſt) the ende of theſe perſecutions here in theſe Weſt Churches of Europe, ſo farre as the dominiõ of bleſſed Conſtantinus did chiefly extend.

The perſecution vnder *Licinius*.

Hermylus, Stratonicus, Martyrs.

Theodorus Captayne, Martyr.

Milles, Martyr.

The kinges of Perſia were cõmonly called by the name of *Sapores*.

Yet notwithſtanding in Aſia all perſecution as yet ceaſed not for the ſpace of foure yeares, as aboue is mentioned, by the meanes of wicked Licinius. Under whom diuers there were holy and conſtaunt Martyrs, that ſuffered greuous tormentes: as Hermylus a Deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the priſon, whiche both, after their puniſhmentes ſuſtained, were ſtrangled in the floud Iſter. Metaſth. Alſo Theodorus the Captaine, who beyng ſent for of Licinius, becauſe he would not come, and becauſe he brake his Gods in peeces, and gaue them to the poore, therfore was faſtned to the croſſe: and after beyng pearſed with ſharpe prickes or bodkins, in the ſecret partes of his body, was at laſt beheaded. Adde to theſe alſo Milles, who firſt beyng a ſouldiour, afterward was made byſhop of a certaine Citie in Perſia: where he ſeyng himſelfe could do no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, curſed the Citie and departed. Which Citie ſhortly after by Sapores kyng of Perſia was deſtroyed.

Perſecution in Perſia.

Acindynus, Pegaſius, Anempodiſtus Epidiphorus.

Symeon Archb. *Cteſiphon* Byſhop, Martyrs.

128. Martirs in Perſia.

The ſtory of *Simeõ* Archb. of *Seleucia*. *Ex Sozom. lib. 2. ca. 8. 9. 10.*

In the ſame countrey of Perſia, about this time ſuffered vnder Sapores the kyng (as recordeth Symeon Metaſthenes) diuers valiaunt and conſtant Martyrs, as Acindynus, Pegaſius, Anempodiſtus, Epidephorus, alſo Symeon Archbiſhop of Seleucia, with Cteſiphon an other Byſhop in Perſia, with other miniſters and religious men of that region, to the number of. 128. Of this Symeon and Cteſiphõ thus writeth Zozomenus Lib. 2. that the Idolatrous Magicians in Perſia takyng counſaile together agaynſt the Chriſtians, accuſed Symeon and Cteſiphon, to Sapores the kyng, for that they were grateful and accepted vnto the Romane Emperour, and bewrayed to him, ſuch thinges as were done in the land of Perſia. Wherupon Sapores beyng moued, tooke great diſpleaſure agaynſt the Chriſtians, oppreſſing them with taxes and tributes vnto their vtter impoueriſhing: killyng alſo their Prieſts with the ſword. After that calleth for Symeon the Archbiſhop, who there before the kyng declared him ſelfe a worthy and a valiant captaine of Chriſtes Churche. For when Sapores had commaũded him to be led to ſuffer torments, he neither ſhronke for any feare, nor ſhewed any great humble ſute or ſubmiſſion for any pardon: whereat the kyng partly maruellyng, partly offended, asked why he dyd not kneele downe, as he was wont before to do. Symeon to this aunſwered, for that ſayth he, before this tyme I was not brought vnto you in bondes to betray the true God, as I am now, ſo long I refuſed not to accompliſh that which the order and cuſtome of the Realme of me required: but now it is not lawfull for me ſo to do, for now I come to ſtand in defence of our Religion and true doctrine. When Symeon thus had aunſwered, the kyng perſiſting in his purpoſe, offereth vnto hym the choyſe, either to worſhip with him after his maner (promiſing to hym many great giftes, if he would ſo do) or if he would not, threatneth to him, and to all the other Chriſtiãs within his lãd, deſtructiõ. But Simeõ neither allured with his promiſes, nor terrified with his threatnynges, cõtinued conſtaunt in his doctrine profeſſed, ſo that neither he could be induced to Idolatrous worſhyp, nor yet to betray the truth of his Religion. For the which cauſe he was committed into bandes, and there commaunded to be kept to the kynges pleaſure further knowen.

The worthy anſwere of *Simeon* vnto the kyng.

The conſtancie of *Simeon*.

The fall of *Vſthazares*.

It befel in the way as he was going to the priſon, there was ſittyng at the kynges gate a certaine Eunuch, an old Tutor or ſcholemaiſter of ỹ kings, named Vſthazares, who had bene once a Chriſtian, and afterward fallyng from hys profeſſion, fell with the Heathen multitude to their Idolatrie. This Vſthazares ſittyng at the doore of the kyngs palace, and ſeyng Symeon paſſing by led to the priſon, roſe vp and reuerenced the Byſhop. Symeon agayne with ſharpe wordes (as the tyme would ſuffer) rebuked him, & in great anger cryed out againſt him: which beyng once a Chriſtiã, would ſo cowardly reuolt from his profeſsiõ, and returne agayne to the Heathniſh Idolatrie. At the hearyng of theſe wordes the Eunuche forthwith braſtyng out in teares, layng away his courtly apparell, which was ſumptuous and coſtly, and puttyng vpõ him a blacke and mournyng weede, ſitteth before the Court gates weepyng & bewaylyng, thus ſayng with him ſelfe: wo is me, with what hope, with what face, ſhall I looke hereafter for my God, which haue denied my God: whẽ as this Symeon my familiar acquaintaunce, thus paſſing by me, ſo much diſdaineth me, that he refuſeth with one gentle word to ſalute me.

The fruite of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline & chaſtiſment.

The repentaunce of *Vſthazares*.

Theſe thynges beyng brought to the eares of the kyng (as ſuch tale cariers neuer lacke in Princes courtes) procured agaynſt him no litle indignation. Wherupon Sapores the king ſending for him, firſt with gentle wordes & courtly promiſes began to ſpeake him fayre, aſkyng hym what cauſe he had ſo to mourne, & whether there was any thyng in his houſe, which was denyed him, or whiche he had not at his owne will and aſkyng. Whereunto Vſthazares aunſweryng agayne, ſayd: That there was nothyng in that earthly houſe, which was to him lackyng, or wherunto his deſire ſtode. yea would god (ſaid he) O king, any other grief or calamitie in all the world, what ſoeuer it were, had happened vnto me, rather thẽ this for ỹ which I do moſt iuſtly mourne and ſorrow. For this ſorroweth me, that I am this day aliue, who ſhould rather haue dyed long ſince, and that I ſee this ſunne, which agaynſt my hart and mynde, for your pleaſure, diſſemblyngly I appeared to worſhyp. For which cauſe doublewiſe I am worthy of death. Firſt, for ỹ I haue denyed Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe I did diſſemble with you. And incontinent vpon theſe wordes, ſwearyng by him that made both heauen and earth, affirmed moſt certainly, that although he had played ỹ foole before, he would neuer be ſo mad agayne, as in ſteede of the creator and maker of all thynges, to worſhyp the creatures, which he had made and created. Sapores the kyng beyng aſtonyed at the ſo ſodaine alteration of this man, and doubtyng with hymſelfe, whether to be angry with thoſe Inchaunters, or with him: whether to intreate hym with gentlenes, or with rigour, at length in this moode commaunded the ſayd Vſthazares his old auncient ſeruaunt, and firſt Tutor & bringer vp of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was goyng to the place of execution, he deſired of the ex-

The anſwere of *Vſthazares* to the kyng.

Vſthazares the kynges tutor condemned to be beheaded.

The meſſage of *Vſthazares* to the kyng.

The cauſe openly cryed, why *Vſthazares* was beheaded.

The end and martyrdome of *Vſthazares*.

The martyrdome of *Symeon* Archb.

The exhortatiō of *Symeon* the Archb. to the martyrs at their death, when he alſo hymſelfe ſhould ſuffer.

Abedecalaas, *Ananias*, Martyrs.

ecutioners, a litle to ſtay, while he might ſend a meſſage vnto the kyng, whiche was this (ſent in by certaine of the kyngs moſt truſty Eunuches) deſiryng him that for all the old and faythfull ſeruice he had done to his father, & to him, he would now requite him with this one office agayne, to cauſe to be cryed openly by a publicke Cryer in theſe wordes following: that Vſthazares was beheaded, not for any traitchery or crime committed agaynſt the kyng or the Realme, but onely for that he was a Chriſtian, and would not at the kynges pleaſure deny his God. And ſo accordyng to his requeſt it was performed and graunted. For this cauſe dyd Vſthazares ſo much deſire the cauſe of his death to be publiſhed: becauſe that as his ſhrinkyng backe from Chriſt, was a great occaſion to many Chriſtians to do the like: ſo now the ſame hearyng that Vſthazares dyed for no other cauſe, but onely for the religiō of Chriſt, ſhould learne likewiſe by his example, to be feruent and cōſtant in that which they profeſſe. And thus this bleſſed Eunuch dyd conſummate his Martyrdome. Of the whiche his Martyrdome, Symeon hearing beyng in priſon, was very ioyfull, & gaue God thākes. Whom the next day folowyng, beyng brought forth before the kyng and conſtantly refuſing to condeſcēde to the kynges requeſt, to worſhyp viſible creatures, was likewiſe by the cōmaūdement of the kyng beheaded, with a great nūber mo, whiche the ſame day alſo dyd ſuffer, to the number, as is ſaid, of an hundred and more. All which were put to death before Symeon, he ſtandyng by, and exhortyng them, with comfortable wordes: admoniſhyng them to ſtād firme and ſtedfaſt in the Lord. Preachyng & teaching them concernyng death, reſurrection, and true pietie, and proued by the Scriptures that to be true which he had ſayd. Declaryng moreouer that to be true life in deede, ſo to dye: and that to be death in deede, to deny or to betray God for feare of puniſhmēt. And added further, that there was no mā alyue, but needes muſt once dye. For ſo much as to all men is appointed neceſſarely, here to haue an ende. But thoſe thinges which after this life folow hereafter, to be eternall: which neither ſhall come to all men after one ſorte. But as the condition and trade of life in diuers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: ſo the tyme ſhall come, when all men in a moment ſhall render and receaue accordyng to their doynges in this preſent life immortall rewardes: ſuch as haue here done well, of life and glory, ſuch as haue done contrary, of perpetuall puniſhment. As touchyng therefore our well doyng here, there is no doubt, but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deedes, there is no hyer or greater deede, then if a man here loſe his life for his Lord God. With theſe wordes of comfortable exhortation, the holy Martyrs being prepared, willyngly yelded their liues to death. After who at laſt folowed Symeon, with two other Prieſtes or Miniſters of his Church, Abedecalaas, and Ananias, whiche alſo with him were partakers of the ſame Martyrdome.

The ſtory of *Puſices* martyr.

The free ſpeach and boldnes of *Puſices*.

The cruell martyrdome of *Puſices*.

The daughter of *Puſices* martyr.

At the ſufferyng of thoſe aboue mentioned, it happened that Puſices one of the kynges officers, and ouerſeer of hys Artificers, was there preſent: who ſeyng Ananias being an aged old father, ſomewhat to ſhake and tremble at the ſight of them that ſuffered: O father (ſayd he) a litle momēt ſhut thyne eyes, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee the ſight of God. Upon theſe wordes thus ſpoken, Puſices immediatly was apprehended, and brought to the kyng. Who there confeſſing himſelfe conſtantly to be a Chriſtian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the kyng, in the cauſe of Chriſtes fayth, was extremely and moſt cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdome. For in the vpper part of his necke they made a hole to thruſt in their hād, and plucke out his tong out of his mouth, and ſo was he put to death. At which tyme alſo the daughter of Puſices a godly virgin, by the malicious accuſation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

A cruell edict of Sapores againſt the Chriſtians.

Innumerable *martyrs* in Perſia.

Azades a noble courtyer Martyr.

The prouiſion of God to ſaue the Chriſtians.

The next yeare followyng, vpon the ſame day, whē the Chriſtians did celebrate the remembraunce of the Lordes paſſion, which we call good Friday before Eaſter (as witneſſeth the ſayd Zozomenus.) Sapores the kyng directed out a cruell and a ſharpe Edict throughout all his land, cōdemnyng to death all them, who ſoeuer confeſſed them ſelues to be Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof an innumerable multitude of Chriſtians, through the wicked procuryng of the malignant Magiciās, ſuffered the ſame tyme by the ſword, both in Citie and in Towne: ſome beyng ſought for, ſome offeryng themſelues willingly, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme by their ſilence to deny Chriſt. Thus all the Chriſtians that could be found, without pitie were ſlayne, and diuers alſo of the kynges owne court and houſhold. Among whom was alſo Azades an Eunuche, and whom the kyng did entirely loue and fauour. Which Azades after that the kyng vnderſtode to be put to death, beyng greatly moued with the ſorrow thereof, commaunded after that, no Chriſtians to be ſlayne, but them onely which were the Doctours and teachers of Chriſtian Religion.

Trabula wyth her ſiſter martyrs.

Trabula the ſiſter of Symeon.

Falſe accuſation raſhly beleued.

Trabula and her ſiſter ſawne in ſunder.

The blynde charme of the wicked Queene.

Example of maydenly chaſtitie in *Trabula*.

In the ſame tyme it happened that the Queene fell into a certaine diſeaſe: vpon the occaſion whereof the cruell Iewes with the wicked Magicians, falſely & maliciouſly accuſed Trabula, the ſiſter of Symeon the Martyr, a godly virgin, & an other ſiſter alſo of hers: that they had wrought priuy charmes to hurt the Queene, for the reuēgyng of the death of Symeon. This accuſation beyng receaued and beleued: innocent Trabula with the other were cōdemned, and with a ſawe cut a ſunder by the middle. Whoſe quarters were then hanged vpon ſtakes: the Queene goyng betwen them, thinckyng therby to be deliuered of her ſicknes. This Trabula was a mayde of a right comely beauty, and very amiable, to whom one of the Magiciās caſt great loue, much deſiryng and laboring by giftes and rewardes ſent into the priſon to wynne her to hys pleaſure: promiſing that if ſhe would apply to his requeſt, ſhe ſhould be deliuered and ſet at libertie. But ſhe vtterly refuſing to conſent vnto him, or rather rebukyng him for his incōtinent attempt, did chuſe rather to dye, then to betray either the Religiō of her minde or the virginitie of her body. Zozo.

Ex eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Zozom. lib. 2. ca. 13

Perſecution agaynſt the Byſhops & teachers of the Church in Perſia.

Acepſimas byſhop Martyr.

Iacobus prieſt Martyr.

Example of true Chriſtian charitie and ſingular pietie in *Iacobus*.

Athalas Deacon, *Azadanes* Deacō, *Abdieſus* Deacon, Martyrs.

This *Archimagus*, and *magi* (as *Xenophon* ſayth) was an order of religion among the Perſians, which had the greateſt ſtroke in the land next to the kyng.

The end & martyrdome of *Acepſimas* Byſhop.

Aithalas loſt the vſe of both hys armes beyng plucht from the ioyntes of hys body.

Now for ſomuch as the kyng had commaūded that no Chriſtians ſhould be put to death, but onely ſuch as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the Magicians and Archimagiciās, left no diligence vntryed, to ſet forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and perſecutions was among the Byſhops and teachers of the Church, whiche in all places, went to ſlaughter, eſpecially in the country of Diabenor: for that part of Perſia aboue all other was moſt Chriſtian. Where Acepſimas the Byſhop, with a great nūber of his flocke and clergy were apprehended and taken, vpon the apprehenſion of whom the Magiciās to ſatiſfie the kinges commaundement, diſmiſſed all the reſt, onely depriuing them of their liuyng and goods. Onely Acepſimas the biſhop they retayned, with whom one Iacobus a Miniſter or prieſt of his church, was alſo ioyned: not of any compulſion, but onely as himſelfe ſo deſired and obtayned of thoſe Magians, that he myght follow him, & be coupled in ẏ ſame bondes to ſerue the aged biſhop and to relieue (ſo much as he might) hys calamities, and heale hys woundes. For he had bene ſore ſcourged before of the Magians, after they had apprehended hym, and brought hym to worſhyp the ſunne: which thyng becauſe he would not do, they caſt hym into priſon agayne, whē this Iacobus was waytyng vpō hym. At the ſame tyme likewiſe Athalas a prieſt or Miniſter, alſo Azadanes and Abdieſus Deacons were impriſoned, and miſerably ſcourged for the teſtimony of the Lorde Ieſus. After this the Archimagus eſpying his tyme, complayneth to the kyng of them, hauing authoritie and commiſſion geuen hym (vnleſſe they would worſhip ẏ ſunne) to puniſh them as he pleaſed. Thys commaundement receyued of the kyng, the maiſter magus doth declare to them in priſon. But they aunſwered againe plainely, that they would neuer be eyther betrayers of Chriſt, or worſhippers of the Sunne. Whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter tormentes. Where Acepſimas ſtrongly perſiſtyng in the confeſſion of Chriſt, endured to death. The other being no leſſe rent and wounded with ſcourges, yet cōtinued merueilouſly aliue. And becauſe they would in no caſe turne from their conſtant ſentence, were turned agayne into priſon. Of whom Athalas in the tyme of his whippyng was ſo drawne and rackt with pulling, that both his armes beyng looſed out of the ioyntes, hanged downe from hys body: which he ſo caried about without vſe of any hande to feede hymſelfe, but as he was fed of other. Miſerable and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters vnder the raigne of this Sapores, of Biſhops, Miniſters, Deacons, religious men, holy virgins, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſuch as did then cleaue to the doctrine of Chriſt and ſuffered for the ſame. The names of the biſhops beſides the other multitude taken away in that perſecution, is recited in Sozom. lib. 2. and in Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37. in this order followyng.

Ex Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 13. ex Niceph. Lib. 8. cap. 37. *Barbaſimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas, Bicor, Maureanda,* wyth 250. other martyrs.

Barbaſymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas. Bicor alſo wyth Maureanda hys fellow byſhop, and the reſt of hys Churches vnder hym, to the number of 250. perſons, which were the ſame tyme apprehended of the Perſians, &c. Briefly to cōprehend the whole multitude of them that ſuffered in that perſecution, the maner of their apprehenſion, the cruelnes of their tormēts, how & where they ſuffered, & in what places, it is not poſſible for any hiſtory to diſcharge. Neither are the Perſians themſelues (as Sozomenus recordeth) able to recite them, The number of the martyrs that ſuffered in Perſia, were 16. thouſand.

Conſtantinus the Emperour wryteth to the kyng of Perſia in the behalfe of the afflicted Chriſtiãs.

them. In ſumme, the multitude and number of thẽ whom they are able to recite by name, commeth to the ſumme of xvi. thouſand men and women.

The rumor and noyſe of thys ſo miſerable affliction of the Chriſtians in the kyngdome of Perſia, commyng to the eares of Conſtantinus the Emperour, put hym in great heauines, ſtudying and reuoluyng wyth hymſelfe, how to helpe the matter, which in deede was very harde for hym to do. It ſo befell the ſame tyme, that certayne Embaſſadors were then at Rome from Sapores king of Perſia, to whom Conſtantinus did eaſely graunt, and conſent, ſatiſfiyng all theyr requeſtes and demaundes, thynking thereby to obtayne the more frendſhip at the kynges handes, that at hys requeſt, he woulde be good to the Chriſtians, to whom he wryteth hys Epiſtle in their behalfe, and ſendeth the ſame by hys meſſengers, begynnyng thus:

The copy & effect of the epiſtle of *Conſtantine* to *Sapores*.

Diuinam fidem ſeruans veritatis lucem ſortior. Veritatis luce ductus diuinam fidem cognoſco. Per ea igitur quibus illa res agendas confirmat, ſanctiſsimam religionẽ cognitam reddo, & hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis ſancti dei habere confiteor. &c. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 4.

The contentes wherof briefly do tend to thys effect. Declaryng vnto hym how he ſhould ſtand much beholden to hym, if at hys requeſt he would ſhew ſome quyet and reſt to the Chriſtians. In whoſe religion there was nothyng which he could iuſtly blame. For ſo much as in their ſacrifices they vſe to kyll nothyng, nor to ſhedde no bloud, but onely to offer vp vnbloudy ſacrifices, & to make their prayers vnto God, who deliteth not in bloud ſhedding, but onely in the ſoule that loueth vertue, and followeth ſuch doctryne and knowledge, which is agreyng to true piety. And therefore ſuch men as doe lead hym and learne hym ſo to beleue and to worſhip God, are more to be cõmended. Moreouer he aſſureth hym to finde God more mercifull to hym, if he would embrace the godly pietie and truth of the Chriſtians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the ſtories of Galienus and Valerianus, who ſo long as they were fauorers of ẏ Chriſtians did proſper and floriſhe. But as ſoone as they moued any perſecution agaynſt them, it happened to them, as it did to all other Emperours before them, that all went backward with them, as eſpecially might appeare by Valerianus, who after he had raged ſo cruelly agaynſt the Chriſtians, was eftſoones ouercome of the Perſians, (the reuẽging hand of God fallyng vpõ hym) where he led euer after a miſerable lyfe, in wretched captiuitie. Farther alſo, for the more euidence of the ſame, inſerteth the examples of thoſe Emperours and tyrauntes in hys time, whom he vanquiſhed and ſubdued onely by his faith in Chriſt, for the which fayth, God was hys helper, and gaue hym the victory in many battayles, & triumph ouer great tyrauntes, whereby alſo he hath enlarged the dominiõ of the Romane monarchie from the weſt Ocean, to the vttermoſt partes well neare of all the Eaſt. To the doing & working whereof, he neyther called to hym the helpe of any charmer or diuination of any Soothſayer, nor vſed the kyllyng of any ſacrifice: but onely the followyng of the croſſe, and prayer made to almighty God, without any other bloudy ſacrifice, was the armour wherewith he ouercame. &c. And in the end of the Epiſtle addeth theſe wordes: What ioy (ſaith he) what gladnes would it be to my hart, to heare the ſtate alſo of the Perſians to floriſhe, as I wiſhe it to do, by embracing thys ſort of men, the Chriſtiãs I meane: ſo that both you wyth them, and they wyth you in long proſperity may enioy much felicity together, as your hartes would deſire: and in ſo doyng, no doubt ye ſhall. For ſo ſhall you haue God, which is the author and creator of all this vniuerſall world to be mercifull and gracious to you. Theſe mẽ therfore I commende vnto you vpon your kyngly honour. And vpon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them vnto you, deſiring you to embrace and receaue them accordyng to your humanitie and benignitye, agreyng and conuenient to your eſtate: who in ſo doing ſhal now doth procure to your ſelfe grace through your fayth, and alſo ſhal declare to me a great pleaſure and benefit worthy of thankes. &c.

Of this *Galienus* and *Valerianus* read the pag. 75.

The generall care of godly *Cõſtantinus* for all Chriſtians in all places.

Thys Epiſtle wrote Conſtantinus to kyng Sapores. Such care had this godly Prince for them that beleued in Chriſt, not only in his own monarchye but alſo in al places of the world. Nether is it to be doubted, but this interceſſiõ of the Emperour did ſomething mitigate the heate of the Perſians perſecution. Although thereof we reade no certayne thinge in our hiſtories.

Other forraine perſecutions in Perſia.

Of other troubles and perſecution we reade of, which happened afterward in the ſayd countrey of Perſia, vnder Iſdigerdes the kyng, but theſe followed long after about the time of the Emperour Theodoſius. At which tyme ſuffred Andas their biſhop, and Hormiſda a great noble mãs ſonne, and of great reputation among the Perſians: whom when the kyng vnderſtood to be a Chriſtian, and to deny to turne from his religion, condemned hym to keepe hys Elephants naked. In proceſſe of tyme, the kyng looking out, and ſeing hym all ſwarted and tanned in the ſunne, commaunded him to haue a ſhiert put on and to be brought before him. Whom then the kyng aſked, if he woulde deny Chriſt. Hormiſda hearyng thys, tare of hys ſhiert from hys body, and caſt it from hym, ſaying: If ye thynke that I will deny my fayth to Chriſt for a ſhiert, haue here your gyft agayne. &c. And ſo was vpon that expelled the country. Theodor. lib. 5.

Andas Biſh. Martyr.

The ſtory of *Hormiſda* Martyr. *Ex Theodor. Lib. 5. cap. 39.*

The faithfull conſtancie of *Hormiſda*.

Hormiſda baniſhed the country of Perſia.

Suenes Martyr.

An other there was the ſame tyme, named Suenes, which had vnder hym an hundreth ſeruauntes. The kyng taking diſpleaſure with hym, for that he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, aſked who was the worſt of all hys ſeruauntes. And hym the kyng made ruler of all the reſt, and couplyng hym with his mayſters wyfe, brought alſo Suenes vnder hys ſubiection, thinkyng thereby to ſubdue alſo the fayth of Suenes, but it was builded vpon a ſure foundation.

The conſtancie of *Suenes*.

The ſtory of *Beniamin* Deacon and Martyr.

Of Beniamin the Deacon thus writeth the ſayd Theodoret in hys fift booke, that after two yeares of his impriſonment, at the requeſt of the Romaine Legate he was deliuered, who afterward becauſe contrary to the kings commaundemẽt he preached and taught the Goſpell of Chriſt, was moſt miſerably excarnificate, hauyng xx. ſharpe pricks of reedes thruſt vnder hys nayles, but when he dyd laugh at that, then in his priuy parde had a ſharpe reede thruſt in with horrible payne. After that a certayne long ſtalke ragged & thorny beyng thruſt into his body by the neather part, was forced into h[illegible] with the horribleneſſe of the payne wherof, the valian[illegible]nuincible ſouldiour of the Lord, gaue ouer hys lyfe. Theo[illegible] ibid. And thus much cõcernyng the martyrs & perſecution amõg the Perſians, although theſe perſecutiõs belõg not to this time, which came (as is ſayd) lõg after ẏ dayes of Cõſtãtinus, about ẏ yeare of our L. 425.

Beniamin tormented.

The martyrdome of *Beniamin*.

The martirs vnder *Iulianus* Apoſtata.

Aemilianus

Domitius Martyrs.

The ſtory of *Theodorus* Martyr.

Likewiſe vnder Iulianus the wicked Apoſtata, certayne there were which conſtantly ſuffered martyrdome by the Heathen idolatours, as Emylianus, who was burned in Thracie, and Domitius, which was ſlayne in hys caue. Theodorus alſo for ſinging of a Pſalme at the remouyng of the body of Babylas (wherof mentiõ is made before pag. 61.) beyng apprehended, was ſo examined with exquiſite tormentes, and ſo cruelly excruciate from morning almoſt to noone, that hardly he ſcaped wyth lyfe. Who beyng aſked afterward of hys friendes, how he could abyde ſo ſharpe tormentes, ſaid that at the firſt beginning he felt ſome paine, but afterwarde there ſtoode by hym a young man, who as he was ſweatyng, wyped of hys ſweate, and refreſhed hym wyth colde water oft tymes: wherwith he was ſo delyted, that when he was let downe from the engine, it greued him more then before. Ruff. lib. 5. cap. 36. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 11. Zozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

A myracle to be noted.

Artemius Martyr.

Artemius alſo the captayne of the Egiptian ſouldiours the ſame tyme loſt his head for hys religiõ in deede, although other cauſes were pretended agaynſt hym. Theod. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Euſebius. *Neſtabus.* brethren. *Neſtor.* Martyrs.

Adde to theſe moreouer, Euſebius and Neſtabus two brethren, wyth Neſtor alſo, which for their Chriſtianitie were dragged through the ſtreetes, and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 9.

Eupſychius, wyth other men of Ceſarea Martyrs.

Amõg them of Cæſarea, wherof ſome were ſlayne, ſome were baniſhed of Iulianus, for pullyng downe the temple of Fortune, Eupſichius a noble man of that countrey, dyed alſo with them a Martyr. Sozo. Lib. eod. cap. 11.

Miſerable crueltie againſt the Chriſtian virgyns of Arethuſa.

The people mad to be pluckt from their olde cuſtomes, though it be neuer ſo wicked.

But eſpecially the crueltie of the Arethuſians, a people of Syria, exceeded agaynſt thoſe Chriſtian virgines, whom they ſet out naked before the multitude to be ſcorned, after that beyng ſhauen, they couered them with ſwill and braffe, wont to be geuen to their hogs, and ſo cauſed their bowels and fleſh to be deuoured of the hungry ſwyne. This rage & fury of the wicked Arethuſians, Sozomenus ſuppoſeth to come of this, becauſe that Conſtantinus before had broken them from their countrey maner, of ſettyng forth and expoſing their virgins, filthely to whom ſoeuer luſted, and deſtroyed the Temple of Venus in Heliopolis: reſtraynyng the people there from their filthyneſſe and vile whoredome. Sozom. Lib. 5. cap. 10.

Of the lamentable ſtory or rather Tragedy of Marcus Arethuſius their Byſhop, thus writeth the ſayd Sozomenus, & alſo Theodoretus in his thyrd booke, in theſe wordes as follow.

The ſtory of *Marcus Arethuſius*.

This Tragedy (ſayth he) of Marcus Arethuſius, doth require the eloquence and worthynes of Æſchilus and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deſerueth, ſet forth and

The true conſcience of *Marcus Arthuſius.*

Great cruelty ſhewed.

Couetouſnes the cauſe of cruelty.

A notable ſaying.

beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commaundement of Conſtantinus, pulled downe a certaine temple dedicated to Idoles, and in the ſtede therof built vp a church where the Chriſtians might congregate. The Arthuſians remembryng the litle good will that Iulianus bare vnto him, accuſed him as a traytour and enemy to him. At the firſt, accordyng as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared him ſelfe to flee. But when he perceaued that there were certaine of his kinſmen or frendes apprehended in his ſtede, returnyng agayne of his owne accord he offered him ſelfe to thoſe that thirſted for his bloud: whom when they had gotten as men neither pityeng his old age and worne yeares, nor abaſhed at his vertuous conuerſation beyng a man ſo adourned both with doctrine and maners: firſt ſtript him naked, and pitifully beate him: then within a while after, they caſt him into a foule filthy ſincke, & from thence beyng brought, they cauſed boyes to thruſt him in with ſharpned ſtickes, made for the nonce, to prouoke his payne the more. Laſtly, they put him into a baſket, and beyng annoynted with hony & brothe, they hong him abroad in the heate of the ſunne, as meate for weſpes and flies to feede vpon. And all this extremitie they ſhewed vnto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of theſe thinges, (that is) either to builde vp agayne the temple, which he had deſtroyed, or els to geue ſo much money as ſhould pay for the buildyng of yͤ ſame. But he, euen as he purpoſed with himſelfe to ſuffer & abyde their greuous tormentes: ſo refuſed he to do that they demaunded of hym. At the length they takyng him to be but a poore man, and not able to paye ſuch a ſumme of money, promiſed to forgeue him the one halfe, ſo that he would be cōtented to pay the other halfe. But he hangyng in the baſket, wounded pitifully with the ſharpned ſtickes of boyes and children and all to be bitten with waſpes and flyes, did not only conceale his payne & griefe, but alſo derided thoſe wicked ones, and called them, baſe, lowe, and terrene people, and he him ſelfe to be exalted and ſet on high. At length they demaundyng of him but a ſmall ſumme of money, he aunſwered thus: it is as great wickedneſſe to conferre one halfe penye in caſe of impietie, as if a man ſhould beſtow the whole. Thus they beyng not able to preuayle agaynſt him, let him downe. And leauyng him, went their way, ſo that euery man might learne at his mouth the example of true pietie and faithfulneſſe.

Although the tractation of theſe foreſayd ſtories & perſecutiōs of Perſia, aboue premiſed, do ſtray ſome what out of the order and courſe of tyme & place, as whiche came neither in the tyme of Conſtantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome: yet becauſe in this preſent hiſtory we are in hand with the holy Martyrs and Saintes of Chriſt, for as much as theſe alſo gaue ſuch a faythfull teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus with their bloud: I thought therfore not to paſſe them ouer without ſome teſtimonie in this our Catalogue of holy Martyrs. And here an end of theſe perſecutions of the primitiue Church.

Hierony in Aba. cap. 1.

The wicked in this world doe moſt floriſhe and preuaile.

Perſecution commeth by no chaunce.

Perſecution of Gods people prefigured and forewarned of God.

The Church forewarned of Chriſt by ſpeciall reuelation in the Apoc.

The beaſt in the Apoc. expounded.

42. monethes in the Apoc. cap. 13. expounded.

The beaſt had power to make 42. monthes.

The perſecutyng tyme of the primitiue Church vnder the beaſt laſted 300. yeares.

The Iſraelites 300. yeares.

¶ It may peraduenture here be marueiled of ſome, readyng the hiſtory of theſe ſo terrible perſecutions aboue ſpecified, why God the almighty director of all thinges, would ſuffer his owne people and faithfull ſeruauntes, beleuyng in his owne and onely begotten ſonne Ieſus, ſo cruelly to be handled, ſo wrongfully to be vexed, ſo extremely to be tormented and put to death, & that the ſpace of ſo many yeares together, as in theſe foreſayd perſecutiōs may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothyng to aunſwere, but to ſay with the wordes of Hierome: Non debemus ſuper hac rerum iniquitate, perturbari: videntes. &c. We ought not to be moued with this iniquitie of thinges, to ſee the wicked to preuayle agaynſt the godly: for ſo much as in the begynnyng of the world we ſee Abell the iuſt to be killed of wicked Cain. And afterward Iacob beyng thruſt out, Eſau to raigne in his fathers houſe. In like caſe the Egyptians with bricke and tyle, afflicted the ſonnes of Iſrael. Yea & the Lord him ſelfe, was he not crucified of the Iewes, Barrabas the thief beyng let go? Tyme would not ſuffice me, to recite & recken vp how the godly in this world go to wracke, the wicked floriſhyng and preuaylyng. Hiero. Briefly, howſoeuer the cauſe hereof proceedeth, whether for our ſinnes here in this lyfe, or how els ſoeuer, yet this is to vs, and may be to all men a ſufficient ſtay: that we are ſure theſe afflictions & perſecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chaunce, or blind fortune, but by the prouident appointment and forewarnyng of God. For ſo in the old law by the affliction of the children of Iſraell, he hath prefigured theſe perſecutions of his Chriſtiās. So by the wordes of Chriſtes owne mouth in yͤ Goſpel, he did forewarne his Church of theſe troubles to come. Agayne, neither dyd he ſuffer theſe ſo great afflictions to fall vpon his ſeruauntes, before that he had premoniſhed them ſufficiently by ſpeciall Reuelation in the Apocalips of Iohn his ſeruaunt. In the which Apocalips, he declared to hys church before, not onely what troubles were cōmyng at hand toward thē, where, and by whom, they ſhould come, but alſo in playne number (if the wordes of the prophecy be wel vnderſtode) aſſigneth the true tyme, how long the ſayd perſecutions ſhould continue, and when they ſhould ceaſe. For as there is no doubt, but by the beaſt with vij. heades, bearyng the whore of Babylon, dronken with the bloud of Saintes, is ſignified the Citie of Rome: So in my iudgement, the power of makyng. 42. monethes (in the. 13. of the Apocalips) is to be expounded, takyng euery moneth for a Sabbot of yeares: that is, reckenyng for vij. yeares a moneth: ſo that forty and two ſuch Sabbots of yeares beyng gathered together, make vp the yeares iuſt, betwene the tyme of Chriſtes death, to the laſt yeare of the perſecution of Maxentius, when Conſtantinus fightyng vnder the bannar of Chriſt ouercame hym, and made an end of all perſecution, within the Monarchie of Rome. The number of which yeares by playne computation, come to. 294. to the which. 294. yeares, if we adde the other. 6. yeares vnder the perſecutiō of Licinius in Aſia: then it filleth vp full the number of. 300. yeares. And ſo long continued the perſecutiō of Chriſtes people, vnder the Heathen tyrauntes and Emperours of the Monarchie of Rome, accordyng to the number of xlij. monethes which the beaſt had power to make, ſpecified in the. xiij. of the Apocalips. For the better explication wherof, becauſe the matter beyng of no ſmall importaunce greatly appertaineth to the publike vtilitie of the Church, and leſt any ſhould miſdoubt me herein to follow any priuate interpretatiō of myne own, I thought good to cōmunicate to the Reader that as hath bene imparted to me, in openyng theſe myſticall numbers in the foreſayd booke of Reuelation contayned, by occaſion as foloweth.

As I was in hand with theſe hiſtories, and therein cōſidered the exceedyng rage of theſe perſecutions, the intolerable tormentes of the bleſſed Saintes, ſo cruelly rackt, rent, torne, and pluckt in peeces, with all kynde of tortures paynes and puniſhmentes that could be deuiſed, more bitter then any death it ſelfe, I could not without great ſorow and paſſion of mynde, behold their ſorowfull afflictions, or write of there bloudy paſſions. Wherein much like it happened to me, as dyd to T. Liuius, who writyng of the warres of Carthage, was ſo moued in the writyng therof: Ac ſi in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipſe pariter fuiſſet. Further I proceeded in the ſtory, & the hoater the perſecutiōs grew, the more my grief with them, and for thē encreaſed, not onely pitieng their wofull caſe, but alſo almoſt reaſonyng with God, thus thinkyng lyke a foole with me ſelfe, why God of his goodneſſe would ſuffer his children and ſeruauntes, ſo vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted. If mortall thyngs were gouerned by heauenly prouidence (as muſt needes be graūted) why dyd yͤ wicked ſo rage & floriſh, & the godly ſo to go to wracke? If ſinnes deſerued puniſhmēt, yet neither were they ſinners alone, and why was their death aboue all other ſo ſharpe and bitter. At leaſt why would the Lord ſuffer the vehemencie of theſe ſo horrible perſecutions to endure ſo long tyme agaynſt his poore Church, ſhewyng to them no certaine determined end of their tribulatiōs: whereby they knowyng the appoynted determination of almighty God, with more cōſolation might endure out the ſame. As the Iſraelites in the captiuitie of Babylon had 70. yeares limited vnto them. And vnder Pharao they were promiſed a deliueraunce out. Alſo vnder the Syrian tyrauntes, 62. Weekes were abriged vnto them. Onely in theſe perſecutions, I could finde no end determined, nor limitatiō ſet for their deliueraunce. Whereupon much marueilyng with me ſelfe, I ſearched the booke of Reuelatiō, to ſee whether any thyng there might be founde. Where although I well perceaued, the beaſt there deſcribed to ſignifie the Empire of Rome, which had power to ouercome the Saintes: yet cōcernyng the tyme and continuaunce of theſe perſecutions vnder the beaſt, I founde nothyng to ſatiſfie my doubt. For albeit I read there of. 42. monethes, of a tyme, tymes and halfe a tyme, of. 1260. dayes, yet all this by computation cōmyng but to. 3. yeares & halfe, came nothyng neare the long continuaunce of theſe perſecutions, whiche laſted, 300. yeares. Thus beyng vexed and turmoyled in ſpirite, about the reckenyng, of theſe numbers and yeares, it ſo happened vpon a Sonday in the mornyng lying in my bed, and muſing about theſe nūbers, ſodenly it was aunſwered to my mynde, as with a maieſtie, thus inwardly ſaying within me: Thou foole count theſe monethes by Sabbots, as the weekes of Daniell are counted by Sabbots. The Lord I take to wytnes thus it was. Whereupon thus beyng admoniſhed, I began to recken the .42. monethes by Sabbats, firſt of monethes that would not ſerue, thē by Sabbots of yeares wherein I began to feele ſome probable vnderſtandyng. yet not ſatiſfied herewith, to haue the matter more ſure, eftſoones repayred to certaine Marchaūtes, of myne acquaintaunce. Of whom one is departed a true faythfull ſeruaunt of the Lord, the other two be yet alyue, and witnes hereof. To whom the number of theſe foreſayd .42. monethes beyng propounded and examined by Sabbots of yeares, the whole ſumme was founde to ſurmount to .294. yeares, conteynyng the full and iuſt tyme of theſe foreſayd perſecutions, neither more nor leſſe.

Now this one claſpe beyng opened, the other numbers that folow, are playne and manifeſt to the intelligent Reader to be vnderſtode. For where mention is made of three yeares and halfe: of one tyme, two tymes, and halfe a tyme, alſo of .1260. dayes: all theſe come to one reckenyng, and ſignifie .42. monethes, by whiche monethes, as is ſayd, is ſignified the whole tyme of theſe primitiue perſecutiōs, as here in order may appeare.

¶ The myſticall numbers in the Apocalips opened.

1. MCCLX. Reuelation.11.12

FIrſt, where mention is made, Apocal. chap.11. that the ij. Prophets ſhal propheſie .1260. dayes. And alſo that the woman fleyng into the deſert ſhal there be fed .1260. dayes: who knoweth not, that 1260. dayes make three yeares and halfe: that is, monethes ——— 42

2. Three dayes and halfe. Reuela.11.

Secondly, where we read, chap. 11. the bodyes of the ij. foreſayd Prophetes ſhall lye in the ſtreetes of the great Citie vnburied, the ſpace of iij. dayes and halfe, and after the ſayd iij. dayes and halfe they ſhall reuiue agayne &c. let the houres of theſe iij. dayes & halfe (whiche be 42,) be reckened euery day for a Sabbot of yeares: or els euery day for a month, & they come to monethes ——— 42

3. A tyme. tymes, and halfe a tyme. Reuela.cap.12.

Thirdly, where as in the ſame booke is expreſſed that the woman had ij. wynges geuen her to flye vnto the deſert for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, giue for one tyme, one yeare, or one day: for ij. tymes, ij. yeares, or ij. dayes: for halfe a tyme, halfe a yeare, or halfe a day. And ſo it is manifeſt that thoſe three yeares and halfe, mounteth to monethes ——— 42

4. Xlij. monethes or iij. yeares and halfe. Reuel. cap.11.

Fourthly, account theſe 42. monethes aforeſaid (which the beaſt had power to make, Apocal. 11.) by Sabbots of yeares, that is, vij. yeares for a moneth: or euery moneth for ſeuen yeares, and it amounteth to the ſumme of yeares ——— 294

And ſo haue ye ẏ iuſt yeares, dayes, tymes, & monethes of theſe foreſayd perſecutions vnder the beaſt, neither ſhorter nor longer, reckenyng from the death of Iohn Baptiſt vnder Herode the Romane kyng to the ende of Maxentius, and of Licinius, ij. laſt great perſecutors, the one in the weſt, the other in the Eaſt. who were both vanquiſhed by godly Cōnſtantinus. And ſo peace was geuen to the Church, albeit not in ſuch ample wiſe but that diuers tumultes and troubles afterward enſued, but they laſted not long: and the chief brunt, to ſpeake of theſe Romane perſecutions, which the holy ghoſt eſpecially conſidered aboue all other, in this his Reuelation thus ended, in the tyme of this Cōſtātinus. Then was the great Dragon the deuill, to wytte, the fierce rage and power of his malitious perſecutyng, tyed ſhort for a thouſand yeares after this, ſo that he could not preuayle in any ſuch ſort, but that the power and glory of the Goſpell by litle and litle encreaſing and ſpreadyng with great ioye and libertie, ſo preuayled that at length it got the vpperhād, and repleniſhed the whole earth, rightly veriſiyng therein, the water of Ezechiel, which iſſuyng out of the right ſide of the altar, the farther it ranne, the deeper it grew, till at length it repleniſhed the whole Oceane Sea, & healed all the fiſhes therin. No otherwiſe the courſe of the Goſpell proceedyng of ſmall & hard begynnynges kept ſtill his ſtreame, the more it was ſtopped, the ſwifter it ranne: by bloud it ſeeded: by death it quickened: by cuttyng it multiplied: through violēce it ſprong, till at laſt out of thraldome and oppreſſion it braſt forth into perfect libertie, & floriſhed in all proſperitie, had it ſo bene, that the Chriſtians wiſely & moderatly could haue vſed this reſt & libertie, and not abuſed the ſame, forgettyng their former eſtate to their own pride, pompe & worldly eaſe: as it came afterward to paſſe, wherof more is to be ſeen and ſayd (the Lord willyng) in place and tyme conuenient.

Ezech.cap.47.

And thus much touchyng the propheticall numbers in the Apocalips, wherin is to be noted and magnified the eternall wiſdome, and the prouidence of almighty God, ſo diſpoſing and gouernyng his Church, that no aduerſitie or perturbation happeneth at any time vnto it, which his prouidēt wiſedome doth not foreſee before and preordaine, neither doth he preordaine or determine any thyng, whiche he doth not moſt truly performe, both foreſeyng the begynnyng of ſuch perſecutions, and limityng the end therof how long to continue and when to ceaſe. In much like ſort we read in the booke of Geneſis, how the ſtocke of Iſraell, was .400. yeares in the land of Egypt. Duryng the ſpace of whiche .400. yeares, after the death of Ioſeph (who beareth a playne figure of Chriſt) they were hardly intreated and cruelly afflicted of the Egyptians, about the ſpace of .300. yeares, reckenyng from after the death of Ioſeph, to their deliueraunce out of the bondage of Egypt, ſemblably as theſe Chriſtians, after Chriſtes tyme ſuffered the lyke bondage vnder the Romane tyrauntes.

The perſecuted Iſraelites bearing a figure of the perſecuted church of Chriſt.

Thus much by the way I thought to inſinuate, leaſt any ſhould muſe, or take any offēce in him ſelfe, to ſee or read of the Church, ſo lōg and ſo many yeares to be vnder ſo miſerable and extreme afflictions. Wherin neither chaūce nor fortune, nor diſpoſition of man, hath had any place: but onely the forecounſaile and determination of the Lord ſo gouerned and diſpoſed the ſame. Who not onely did ſuffer them to fall, and foreſee thoſe perſecutions before they fell: but alſo appointed the tymes and yeares how long they ſhould laſt, and when to haue an end. As by the foreſayd .42. monethes in the .13. and .11. chap. of S. Iohns Apocalips hath bene declared. Which monethes contaynyng .294. yeares, if they be rightly gathered, make the full tyme betwene the firſt yeare of the perſecution of Chriſt vnder the Iewes & Herode, till the laſt yeare of perſecution vnder Licinius, which was from the Natiuitie of Chriſt, an. 324. from the firſt perſecution of Chriſt, an. 294. as is aforeſayd. After the which yeare, accordyng to the preordinate counſaile of God, when his ſeueritie had bene ſufficiently declared vpon his owne houſe, it pleaſed him to ſhew mercy agayne, & to binde vp Satan the old Serpent, accordyng to the .xx. chap. of the Reuelation for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares, that is, from this tyme of Licinius, to the tyme of Iohn Wickleffe, & Iohn Huſſe. Duryng all which tyme, albeit certaine conflictes & tumultes haue bene amōg Chriſtian Byſhops themſelues in the Church, yet no vniuerſal murderyng perſecutiō was ſtyrryng, before the preachyng of Iohn Wickleffe, of Huſſe, & ſuch other, as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtory (Chriſt willyng and aydyng vs) ſhall more appeare hereafter.

From the firſt perſecution of the primitiue Church to the laſt perſecution, 294. yeares.

Vniuerſall perſecution ceaſeth for a 1000. yeares in the Church. Apoc.20.

From the tyme of *Licinius*, to *VVickliffe* 1000. yeares.

Sathan bound vp for a thouſand yeares.

The time of Sathans byndyng opened.

Thus hauyng at large diſcourſed theſe horrible perſecutions paſt, and heauy afflictions of Chriſtian Martyrs, now by the grace of God, commyng out of this redde ſea of bloudy perſecution, leauyng Pharao and his hoſt behynde: let vs ſing gloriouſly to the worthy name of our God, who through the bloud of the lambe, after long and tedious afflictions at length, hath viſited hys people with comfort, hath tyde vp Sathan ſhort, hath ſent hys meke Moſes (gentle Conſtantine I meane) by whom it hath ſo pleaſed the lord to worke deliuerance to hys captiue people, to ſet hys ſeruantes at liberty, to turne their mournyng into ioy, to magnifie the church of hys ſonne, to deſtroy the Idoles of all the worlde, to graunt life and libertye, (and woulde God alſo not ſo much riches) vnto them which before were the abiectes of all the world: and all by the meanes of godly Conſtantinus, the meeke and moſt chriſtian Emperour, of whoſe diuine victories agaynſt ſo many tyrantes and Emperors, perſecutors of Chriſtes people, and laſtly agaynſt Licinius, an. 324. of whoſe other noble actes and proweſſes, of whoſe bleſſed vertues and his happy birth and progeny, part we haue comprehended before, part now remayneth (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

This Conſtantine was the ſonne of Conſtantius the Emperour, a good and vertuous childe, of a good and vertuous father, borne in Britaine, as ſayth Eutropius whoſe mother was named Helena, daughter in deede of kyng Coilus, although Ambroſius in his funerall Oration of the death of Theodoſius, ſayth was an Inholders daughter. He was a moſt bountefull and gracious Prince, hauyng a deſire to nouriſhe learnyng and good artes, and did oftentymes vſe to read, write, and ſtudy himſelfe. He had marueilous good ſucceſſe and proſperous atchieuyng of all thynges he tooke in hand, whiche then was (and truly) ſuppoſed to procede of this, for that he was ſo great a fauourer of the Chriſtian fayth. Whiche fayth when he had once embraced, he did euer after moſt deuoutly and religiouſly reuerence: and commaunded by eſpeciall Commiſſion and proclamations, that euery man ſhould profeſſe the ſame religion throughout all the Romain Monarchy. The worſhipping of Idoles, whereunto once he was addict, by

Dutologia.

The good qualities of *Conſtantinus.*

The cauſe of all his proſperous ſucceſſe.

the

Conſtantine ſometyme by meanes of hys wyfe was an Idolater.

the allurement of Fauſta hys wife: in ſomuch that he dyd ſacrifice vnto thẽ: after the diſcomfite of Maxentius in battaile, he vtterly abiured. But baptiſme he deferred euẽ vnto hys olde age, becauſe he had determined a iourney into Perſia, and thought in Iordan to haue bene baptiſed. Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtantini.

The commõ ſaying of Conſtantinus.

As touchyng his naturall diſpoſition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good Philoſopher, and in diſputatiõ ſharpe and ingenious. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that an Emperour ought to refuſe no labour, for the vtilitie of the common weale: yea and that to aduenture the mangling of hys body for the remedy therof, but if other wayes it may be holpen, to cheriſh the ſame. This, Aurelius Victor, Pomponius Letus, and Ignatius write of him. And Ælius Lampridius ſaith writing vpon the life of Heliogabalus, that Conſtantinus was wont to ſay, that an Empire was geuen by the determinate purpoſe of God, that he to whome it was geuen, ſhould ſo employ his diligẽce, as he might be thought worthy of the ſame at the handes of the geuer. Which ſame ſaying alſo Auguſtine noteth in his 3. booke agaynſt Creſconius, epiſt. 49. and 50.

The raigne of Conſtantinus.

The effect of ſome of his conſtitutions.

He firſt entred into the Empire, by the mercyfulnes of God, mynding after long waues of dolefull perſecution to reſtore vnto hys church peace and tranquillitie, an. 311. as Euſebius accompteth in his Chronicle. His raigne continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, 30. yeares, Letus ſayth 32. yeres lacking 2. monthes. Great peace and tranquillitie enioyed the Churche vnder the raigne of this good Emperour, which tooke great payne and trauell for the preſeruation thereof. Firſt, yea and that before he had ſubdued Licinius, he ſet forth many edictes for the reſtitution of the goodes of the church, for the reuokyng of the Chriſtians out of exile, for taking away the diſſention of the Doctors out of the Church, for the ſettyng of them free from publike charges, and ſuch lyke: euen as the copies of hys conſtitutions here vnder declare, which Euſebius in hys 10. boke, and 5. chapter, repeateth in this wyſe.

The copy of an Epiſtle of Conſtantinus, ſent *to his ſubiectes inhabiting in the Eaſt.*

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Litherneſ the nurſe of ignoraunce, & ignoraũce the enemy to wiſdome.

Tyranny depriueth Emperours.

Bloudy tyrauntes make ciuile wars.

Apollo gaue anſwere out of a caue in the ground, that he was diſquieted by the Chriſtians.

The ſword geuen for to be auenged vpon malifactours.

A great commendation of the Chriſtians.

VIctor Conſtantinus Maximus, Auguſtus, to our louyng ſubiectes inhabityng throughout the Eaſt partes, ſendeth greetyng. The thyng it ſelfe, which in the ſure & moſt firme law of nature is conteyned, doth geue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordeyned the ſame) ſufficient perceueraunce and vnderſtandyng, both of ſuche thinges as man ought to foreſee, as alſo what thinges preſently he ought to meditate. Neyther is there any thyng therin to be doubted, of ſuch as haue theyr myndes directed to the ſcope or marke of perfect vnderſtandyng: ſo that the perfect comprehẽding of ſound reaſon, and the perceueraunce therof, be compared with the knowledge of God, beyng the true & perfect vertue. Wherfore let no wyſe man be troubled, although he ſee diuers men of diuers diſpoſitiõs. For wiſdom which ſpringeth of vertue, can not abide, or acquaynte her ſelfe wyth fonde idiotes, vnleſſe that (on the other ſide) the malice of peruerſe litherneſſe prolong her dayes, and cauſe the ſame Ideocie to ſuruiue. Wherfore aſſuredly the crowne & price of vertue lyeth open vnto all men, and the moſt mighty god ordereth the iudgement of the ſame. I vndoubted, as manifeſtly as poſſible is, wyll indeuour my ſelfe to teſtifie & confeſſe vnto you all, the hope which is in me. I thinke verily that the Emperours which before this tyme haue lately bene, euen for their tiranny had the Empire taken from them: and my father onely exerciſing and vſing all mekeneſſe and lenitie in his affayres, callyng vpon God the father, with great deuotion and humilitie, hath bene exalted to the ſame. And all the reſt, as men wantyng theyr wits, and in compariſon as ſauage beaſtes, rather did geue themſelues to lyke cruelty, then vnto any lenitie and gentleneſſe towardes theyr ſubiectes: in which tiranny euery one for hys tyme beyng mooſeled, vtterly ſubuerted the true & vnfallible doctrine. And ſo great malice was there kyndled in theyr breſtes, that when all thinges were in peaceable trãquillitie, they made and rayſed moſt cruell and bloudy inteſtine or ciuill warres. It is credibly enformed vs, that in thoſe dayes, Apollo gaue aunſwers: but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certayne caue and darke place (ſaying) that he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the iuſt men & lyuers vpon the earth, ſo that he could or would not for them declare a truth of ſuch thynges as others demaunded: and hereby it came to paſſe that ſuch falſe diuinations were geuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And this thyng did hys propheticall prieſt complayne of, when he tooke vp agayne the heare of his hed, that other had contemptuouſly caſt downe: and that the neglecting of his diuination was the cauſe of ſo many euils amongeſt men. But let vs ſee what was the ende hereof: we now boldly and without all feare inuocate and worſhip the omnipotent God: when I was a chylde, I heard, that he which then was chiefe Emperour of Rome, vnhappy, yea moſt vnhappy man beyng ſeduced, and brought into error, by hys ſouldiours: curiouſly inquired who were thoſe iuſt men vpon the earth that Apollo ment. And one of his prieſtes which was neare about hym, made aunſwer that they were the chriſtians. This aunſwer hereupon, vnto him beyng as delectable, as hony vnto the mouth, drew the ſword (geuen vnto hym to be a reuenger vpon euill doers and malefactours) againſt the profeſſors of the irreprehenſible ſanctimony and religion. And ſtraight way he gaue forth a Commiſſion (to bloudy homicides as I may well call them) and gaue commaundement to all the Judges, that they ſhould endeuour themſelues with all the cunning they had to the deuiſing of more greuouſer and ſharper puniſhmentes agaynſt the poore Chriſtians. Then, then, I ſay, a man myght haue ſeene, how greatly the honeſt profeſſors of that religion were moleſted with crueltye, & daily ſuffred no ſmal iniuries and contumelies: and that alſo they ſuffred and ſuſtayned the ſame with ſuch temperancie, as though they had had no iniuries done vnto thẽ at all. Which temperancie and patience of theirs, was the cauſe why the furious citizens were the more madder and raging againſt them. What fires, what tortures, what kynde of tormentes were there, but that they without reſpect either of age or ſexe were enforced to feele.

The earth bewayled the martyrs deathes.

The authors of all miſchiefe puniſhed.

Apollos lying oracles the cauſe of ſo many martyrs deathes.

Conſtant. prayer.

Conſtantines fayth confirmed by the myracles of the croſſe.

The clemency of a good Emperour.

Then dyd the earth without doubt, her ſelfe bewayle her children and the rounde worlde which contayneth all thinges beyng ſprinckled and imbrued with their bloude made dolefull lamentation for them, yea and the day it ſelfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amaſed for them. But what is this to purpoſe. Now the very barbarous nations reioyce for theyr ſakes which receaued and harboured thẽ, when they were afrayd and fled from vs: kepyng them as it were in moſt louyng and amiable captiuitye. And they ſaued not onely their lyues, but alſo were a defence for theyr religion. And now alſo the Romaine nation remembreth and hath before their eyes this blame and ſpotte, which the Chriſtians that were of that tyme, worthely gaue vnto them, when they by them were baniſhed (as vnfitte members in their common wealth) amongeſt the barbarous people. What nedeth to make further rehearſall of yͤ mournyng lamentation, which the heathen people themſelues through all the worlde, made for the pitifull murther and ſlaughter of thẽ. After this it came to paſſe that they which were authors of all theſe miſchiefes dyed alſo, & were committed for their reward to the moſt filthy & horrible dungeon of hell. They being ſo intangled with inteſtine and ciuile warres, left alyue neither name nor kinſmen of theyr owne: which thyng vndoubtedly had not chaunced vnleſſe the wicked diuination of Apollos oracles had deceiued and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I praye, oh moſt mighty God, that thou wilt vouchſafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the Eaſt partes and inhabitauntes of the ſame, beyng oppreſſed with preſent calamitie: and that by me thy ſeruaunt thou wilt of thy goodneſſe helpe and relieue the ſame. And theſe thynges raſhly craue I not at thy handes: Oh Lord, moſt mighty and holieſt God of all. For I beyng perſwaded by thy onely oracles, haue both begon and alſo finiſhed wholeſome and profitable thinges: and further, by the bearing and ſhewyng of thy enſigne, haue ouercome a mighty and ſtrong hoſt, and when any neceſſitie of the common weale (to my charge committed) requireth therunto, (folowing thoſe ſignes & tokens of thy vertue) I boldly go forth and fight agaynſt mine enemies: & for this cauſe haue I ſacrificed my ſoule vnto thee, purified & cleſed both with thy loue and feare. Yea truely, thy name do I ſincerely loue, and thy power do I reuerence, which by many tokens and wonders, haſt ſhewed & confirmed therby my belief & faith. Therfore will I do my endeuour, & bend my ſelfe therunto, yͭ I may redifie thy moſt holy houſe which thoſe wicked & vngodly Emperors haue with ſo great ruine laid waſte. Thy people do I deſire to bryng and ſtabliſh in firme peace and tranquillitie, and that for the publique vtilitie of all the inhabitauntes of the earth. Thoſe whiche yet erre and are out of the way, enioy the benefite of peace and quietneſſe, with, and amongeſt, the number of the faythfull ſorte: for I truſt, the reſtitution of the like ſocietie and participatiõ may be a meanes to bryng them alſo that erre, into yͤ perfect way of veritie. Let no mã therfore be greuous one vnto an other: but what euery mã thinketh beſt, that let him do. For ſuch as are wiſe ought throughly to be perſwaded, that they

A good iudgement.

One religion from the beginning of the world.

The prayer of *Conſtant.* was fulfilled.

Ech thyng in their creation preach the very and true God.

The earth ſtayde vp by the power of God.

Who they be that *Conſtant.* accompteth wiſe in deede.

Experience a tryall of the truth.

Conſtantinus neyther for feare diſſembleth hys fayth, neyther through policy defaceth Gods glory.

onely meane to liue holily and as they ſhould do, whom the ſpirite of God moueth, to take their delight and recreation in readyng his holy will. And if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleauyng to the Synagoges of falſe doctrine, they may at their owne perill: as for vs, we haue the moſt worthy houſe or congregation of Gods veritie, whiche he accordyng to his owne goodnes and nature hath geuen vs. And this alſo we wiſh vnto them, that with like participation and common conſent, they may feele with vs the ſame delectation of mynde. For this our Religion is neither new nor newly inuented, but is as old, as we beleue the creation of the world to be: and which God hath commaunded to be celebrated with ſuch worſhyp as both ſeemed and pleaſed him. But all liuyng men are lyers, and are diſceaued with diuers and ſundry illuſions. Thou O God for Chriſt thy ſonnes ſake, ſuffer not this wickednes agayn to take roote: thou haſt ſet vp a cleare burnyng light, that thereby, as many as thou haſt choſen may come vnto thee. Theſe thy miracles approue the ſame. It is thy power that keepeth vs in innocency and fidelitie. The Sunne & the Moone runne their appointed courſe: neither yet in rangyng wiſe wander the ſtarres to what place of the world they liſt them ſelues. The dayes, yeares, monethes, and tymes, keepe their appointed turnes. The earth abydeth firme and vnremoueable at thy word, and the winde at the time (by thee directed) ſtormeth and bloweth. The ſtreamyng watery floudes, ebbe in tyme accordyng as they flow. The ragyng Sea abideth within her bounded limites. And for that the Ocean Sea ſtretcheth out her ſelfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth: this muſt needes be wrought with ſome marueilous workemanſhyp of thine owne hand: whiche thyng vnleſſe it were at thy will made and diſpoſed, without all doubt, ſo great difference and partition betwene, would or this tyme haue brought vtter ruine and deſtruction, both to the life of man, as all that belongeth to man beſide. Whiche for that they haue ſuch great and huge conflictes amongeſt themſelues, as alſo the inuiſible ſpirites haue: we geue thee thankes, O Lord moſt mighty God of all Gods, that all mankynd hath not bene deſtroyed thereby. Surely, euen as greatly as thy benignitie and gentlenes, is manifeſted by diuers and ſundry benefites beſtowed vpon vs: ſo much alſo is the ſame ſet forth and declared in the diſcipline of thy eternall word, to thoſe that be heauenly wiſe, and apply them ſelues to the attaynemẽt of ſincere and true vertue. But if any ſuch there be, that litle regarde or haue but ſmal reſpect vnto the conſideration thereof: let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the ſame. For that Phiſicke wherby health is obtained is manifeſtly offered vnto all mẽ: now therfore let no man go about to ſubuert that, whiche experience it ſelfe doth ſhew (of neceſſitie) to be pure & good. Let vs therfore altogether vſe the participation of this benefite beſtowed vpon vs, that is to ſay, the benefit of peace & tranquilitie, ſettyng a part all controuerſie. And let no mã hurt or be preiudiciall to his fellow for that thyng, wherein he thinketh him ſelfe to haue done well. If by that, which any man knoweth & hath experience of, he thinketh he may profite his neighbour, let him do the ſame, if not, let him geue ouer, and remit it till an other tyme. For there is a great diuerſitie betwixt the willyng & voluntary embracyng of religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of theſe thynges haue I made a more larger diſcourſe, then in deede, the ſcope of mediocritie requireth: ſpecially becauſe I would not haue my fayth (touchyng the veritie) to be hyd. For that I heare there be ſome, whiche complayne the old accuſtomed hauntyng of their temples, and that the power of ſuch darkneſſe is cut of and taken away: whiche thyng ſurely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebelliõ of flagitious errour, were ſo fixed in many mens hartes, wherby they thyrſt after the vtter ſubuerſion of the common weale and Empire.

Conſtantinus compared to *Moſes*, in deliuering the people, & agreeing them together.

The letter of *Conſtantinus* to *Anilinus* hys captayne.

Such was the goodnes of this Emperour Conſtantinus, or rather ſuch was the prouidence of almighty God toward his Church, in ſtyrryng him vp: that all his care and ſtudy of mynde was ſet vpon nothyng els, but onely how to benefite and enlarge the commodities of the ſame. Neither was it to him enough to deliuer the Churche and people of God, from outward vexation of forraine tyrauntes and perſecutors. No leſſe beneficiall was his godly care alſo in quietyng the inward diſſentions and diſturbaunce within the Church among the Chriſtian Biſhops themſelues, accordyng as we read of Moſes the deliuerer of the Iſraelites, in agreyng the brethren together, when he ſaw them at variaunce. Exod. 2. No leſſe alſo did his vigilant ſtudy extend in erectyng, reſtoryng, & enrichyng the Churches of God in all Cities, & in prouidyng for the Miniſters of the ſame. And therfore wrytyng to Anilinus his chief captaine, declareth his will and mynde to him in letters, concernyng the goodes which dyd before appertaine to the Churches of the Chriſtians: that he ſhould procure vigilancy for the ſame: that all ſuch goodes, houſes, and gardens, belongyng before to the right of Churches, ſhould agayne be reſtored in all ſpeedy wiſe: and that he therein might be certified with ſpeede. &c.

An other letter of *Conſtãtine* to *Anilinus.*

The cõtempt of Gods religion, the chiefeſt decay of common weales.

Moreouer, wrytyng to the ſayd Anilinus in an other letter, ſignifieth vnto him in this effect: that for ſo much as the contempt of God his reuerent Religion, is and hath bene euer the greateſt decay to the name and people of Rome, as contrary the maintaynyng and reuerencyng the ſame, hath euer brought proſperitie to all common weales: Therfore he in conſideration therof, hath taken that order, and geueth to him in charge, that through that prouince, where he hath to do, whiche was in Aphrica where Cecilianus was Byſhop, he ſhould there ſee and prouide, that all ſuch miniſters and Clerkes, whoſe vocation was to ſerue in the Church, ſhould be freed & exempted frõ all publike duties & burdens: whereby they beyng ſo priuileged, & all impedimentes remoued, which ſhould hinder their diuine miniſtration: thereby the common vtilitie of the people might the better floriſh. &c.

An other letter of *Conſtãtinus* to *Miltiades* byſhop of Rome.

Furthermore, the ſayd Cõſtãtinus in an other letter wrytyng to Miltiades, Byſhop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them, how Cecilianus byſhop of Carthage, hath bene accuſed vnto him by diuers of his colleages and fellow byſhops. Wherfore his will is, that the ſayd Cecilianus, with .x. Biſhops his accuſers, with .x. other his defendauntes ſhould repayre vp to him at Rome, where in the preſent aſſiſtaunce of the foreſayd Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, & of other their fellow Colleages, the cauſe of Cecilianus might be hard, and rightly examined, ſo that all ſchiſme and diuiſion might be cut of from among them: wherin the feruent deſire of Conſtantinus to peace and vnitie, may well appeare.

The feruent deſire of *Conſtantinus* to peace and vnitie.

The letter of *Conſtant.* to *Chreſtus* B. of *Syracuſa.*

Upon the lyke cauſe and argument alſo, he wryteth to Chreſtus Biſhop of Syracuſa, ſo deſirous to nouriſh peace and concord in the Church, that he offereth to him with his vnder Miniſters and three ſeruauntes, his free cariage to come vp to hym vnto the Coũcell of other Biſhops, for the agreyng for certaine matters belongyng to the Church.

He wryteth alſo an other letter to the forenamed Cecilianus Byſhop of Carthage.

The edicte of *Cõſtantinus* to the rulers of the prouince of Paleſtina.

To the prouinces likewiſe of Paleſtina and thoſe partes about, he directeth his Edict in the behalfe of the Chriſtians: for the releaſing of ſuch as were in captiuitie: and for the reſtoryng agayne of them, which had ſuſtained any loſſe in the former perſecutiõ before, & for the refreſhyng of ſuch as heretofore had bene oppreſſed with any ignominie, or moleſtatiõ, for their confeſſiõ ſake: declaring in the ſayd Edict, how that his whole body, life and ſoule, and what ſoeuer is in hym, he oweth to God, and to the ſeruice of hym. &c.

The letters of *Conſtantine* to *Euſebius.*

The Coũcell of Nice.

The effect of the letter of *Conſtantine* to *Alexander* and *Arrius. Ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtan. Lib. 2.*

Moreouer an other letter he wryteth to Euſebius, for the edifiyng of new Chriſtiã Churches, and reſtoryng of them which had bene waſted before by forreine enemyes. And after he had collected the Synode of Nice, for the ſtudy of peace and vnitie of the Church, he wryteth vpon the ſame to Alexander and Arrius. In which his letters he moſt lamentably vttered the great griefe of his hart, to ſee and heare of their contention and diuiſion: whereby the peace & common harmony of the Church was broken, the Synode prouoked and reſiſted, the holy people of the Lord deuided into partes and tumultes, contrary to the office of good and circumſpect men, whoſe duty were rather to nouriſh concorde and to ſeeke tranquillitie. And though in ſome ſmall poyntes and light trifles they did diſagree from other: yet as the exãple of Philoſophers might teach thẽ, who although in ſome part of a ſentence or peece of a queſtion, ſome might diſſent from other: yet in the vnitie of their profeſſion, they did all ioyne as fellowes together. In like caſe were it their duty in ſuch fruitles queſtions (or rather peeces of queſtions) to keepe them in the conceptiõs of their myndes, in ſilẽce vnto themſelues, and not to bryng them forth into publicke Synodes, to breake therfore from the communiõ of the reuerent Councell. Declaryng moreouer in the ſayd Epiſtle, the firſt origine and occaſion of this their contentious diſſention to riſe vpon vayne and triflyng termes, vile cauſes, and light queſtions, and peeces rather of queſtions: about ſuch matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be aunſwered vnto beyng moued, more curious to be ſearched, and perilous to be expreſſed, then neceſſary to be inquired, magiſq; puerilibus ineptijs, quàm ſacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ conuenientia, as he there doth terme them. Wherefore by all maner meanes he doth labour them, both entreate thẽ, and perſwade them, not onely with reaſons, but alſo with teares and ſighyng ſobbes, that they

would

ſhould reſtore agayne peace vnto the Church, and quietnes to the reſt of his lyfe (which otherwiſe would not be ſweet vnto hym) and that they would returne agayne to the cōmunion of the reuerent Councell, who in ſo doyng ſhould open his way and purpoſed iourney into the Eaſt partes, which otherwiſe hearyng of their diſcord and diſſention, would be ſory to ſee with his eyes, that which greueth hym now to heare with his eares: with much more in the ſame Epiſtle contained, but this is the effect of the whole. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Thus much I thought ſummarely to comprehend, wherby the diuine diſpoſition and ſingular gentle nature of this meeke and religious Conſtantine might more notoriouſly appeare to all Princes: for them to learne by his example, what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the Church of Chriſt, and how gently to gouerne, and how to be beneficiall to the ſame.

Conſtantine ſet forth a ſpectacle to all Princes to follow.

Many other Edictes and Epiſtles writtē to other places and parties, be expreſſed at large in the ſecond booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtantini: wherin the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperour towarde the Church of Chriſt may appeare. Wherof in a brief recapitulation ſuch ſpecialities we haue collected as here followeth, and is to be ſeene in Sozo. Lib. cap. 8. 9.

Firſt he commaunded all them to be ſet free, who ſoeuer for the confeſſion of Chriſt, had bene condemned to baniſhment, or to the mynes of metall, or to any publike or priuate labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or open ſhame among the multitude, he willed them to be diſcharged from all ſuch blemiſh of ignominie. Souldiours which before were depriued either of their place, or put out of their wages: were put to their liberty, either to ſerue agayne in their place, or quietly to liue at home. What ſoeuer honour, place, or dignitie had bene taken away from any man, ſhould be reſtored to them agayne. The goodes & poſſeſſions of them that had ſuffered death for Chriſt, how ſoeuer they were alienated, ſhould returne to their heyres, or next of kyn: or for lacke of them ſhould be geuen to the Church. He commaunded moreouer that onely Chriſtians ſhould beare office. The other he charged & reſtrayned, that neither they ſhould ſacrifice, nor exerciſe any more diuinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor ſet vp any images, nor to keepe any feaſtes of the Heathen idolaters. He corrected moreouer and aboliſhed all ſuch vnlawfull manners and vnhoneſt vſages in Cities, as might be hurtfull any wayes to the Church, as the cuſtome that the Egyptians had in the flowyng of Nilus, at what tyme the people vſed to runne together lyke brute beaſtes, both men and womē, and with all kynde of filthynes and Sodomitrie to pollute their Cities, in celebratyng the increaſe of that riuer. This abhomination Conſtantine extinguiſhed, cauſing that wicked order called Androgynæ, to be killed. By reaſon wherof the Riuer afterward (through the benefit of God) yelded more increaſe in his flowyng, to the greater fertilitie of the grounde, then it dyd before.

A brief recapitulation of ſuch benefites as were wrought by Conſtantine vpon Chriſtes Church.

Where wickednes is puniſhed there goodnes followeth.

Amōg the Romanes was an old law, that ſuch as were barren hauyng no fruite of children, ſhould be mulcted of halfe their goods. Alſo, that ſuch as beyng aboue the yeares of .xxv. vnmaried, ſhould not be numbred in the ſame priuileges with them that were maried, neither ſhould be heyres to them, to whom notwithſtādyng they were next in kinde. Theſe lawes becauſe they ſeemed vnreaſonable, to puniſhe the defect of nature, or gift of virginitie, by mās law, he abrogated and tooke away. An other order was among the Romanes, that they whiche made their willes beyng ſicke, had certaine preſcribed and conceiued wordes appoynted to them to vſe, which vnleſſe they followed, their willes ſtode in none effect. This law alſo Conſtantine repealed, permittyng to euery man in makyng his teſtament to vſe what wordes, or what witneſſes he would. Likewiſe among the Romaines he reſtrayned and tooke away the cruell & bloudy ſpectacles and fightes, where men were wont with ſwordes one to kill an other. Of the barbarous and filthy faſhion of the Arethuſians in Phœnicia, I haue mentioned before, pag. 100. where they vſed to expoſe & ſet forth their virgins to open fornication, before they ſhould be maryed, which cuſtome alſo Conſtantine remoued away. Where no Churches were, there he commaunded new to be made: where any were decayed, he commaunded them to be repayred: where any were to litle, he cauſed them to be enlarged, geuyng to the ſame great giftes & reuenewes: not onely of ſuch tributes and taxes commyng to him frō certaine ſundry Cities, whiche he transferred vnto the Churches, but alſo out of his owne treaſures. When any Byſhops required any Councell to be had, he ſatiſfied their petitions: And what in their Councels and Synodes they eſtabliſhed, beyng godly and honeſt, he was ready to confirme the ſame.

The liberalitie of Conſtantine in geuing to Churches.

The armour of his ſouldiours, which were newly come from Gentilitie, he garniſhed with the armes of the croſſe, whereby they might learne the ſooner to forget their old ſuperſtitious idolatrie. Moreouer like a worthy Emperour he preſcribed a certaine forme of prayer in ſteede of a Catechiſme for euery man to haue, and to learne how to pray and to inuocate God. The whiche forme of prayer is recited in the fourth booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtātini, in wordes as followeth.

Te ſolum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoſcimus, te adiutorem inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum conſtituimus, tibi præſentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoq; ſperamus, tibi ſupplices ſumus omnes: Imperatorem noſtrum Conſtantinum, ac pientiſſimos eius filios, in longiſſima vita incolumes nobis ac victores cuſtodire ſupplices oramus, per Chriſtum dominum noſtrum. Amen. In engliſh.

The forme of prayer appointed of Conſtantine for his ſouldiours.

We knowledge thee onely to be our God, we confeſſe thee onely to be our king, we inuocate and call vpon thee our onely helper, by thee we obtayne our victories, by thee we vanquiſh and ſubdue our enemies, to thee we attribute whatſoeuer preſent commodities we enioy, and by thee we hope for good thinges to come, vnto thee we direct all our ſute and petitions: moſt humbly beſechyng thee to cōſerue Conſtantine our Emperour, and hys noble children in long lyfe to continue, and to geue them victory ouer all their enemies, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

The ſouldiours prayer.

In hys owne palace, he ſet vp an houſe peculiar for prayer and doctrine, vſing alſo to pray and ſing with hys people. Alſo in hys warres he went not without hys tabernacle appointed for the ſame. The Sonday he cōmaunded to bee kepte holy of all men, and free from all iudiciarie cauſes, frō markets, martes, fayres, and all other manuall labours, onely huſbādry excepted: eſpecially chargyng that no Images or Monumētes of Idolatry ſhould be ſet vp.

The Sonday appointed to be kept holy.

Men of the Clergy and of the miniſtery in all places he endued with ſpeciall priuileges and immunities, ſo that if any were brought before the ciuill Magiſtrate, and liſted to appeale to the ſentence of hys biſhop, it ſhould be lawful for hym ſo to do: & that the ſentence of the biſhop ſhould ſtand in as great force as if the Magiſtrate or the Emperour himſelfe had pronounced it.

Liberties and priuileges graunted to the clergy.

¶ But here is to be obſerued & noted by the way, that yͤ Clerkes & miniſters then newly creeping out of perſecutiō, were in thoſe dayes, neither in number ſo great nor in order of lyfe, of like diſpoſition to theſe in our dayes now liuyng.

No leſſe care and prouiſion the ſayde Conſtantinus alſo had to the maintenaunce of ſcholes pertaynyng to yͤ church and to the nouriſhing of good artes and liberall ſciences, eſpecially of Diuinitie: not onely with ſtipendes and ſubſidies furniſhing them, but alſo with large priuileges and exemptions defending the ſame, as by the wordes of hys owne law is to be ſene and read as followeth: Medicos, Gramaticos, & alios profeſſores literarū & doctores legum, cum vxoribus & liberis. &c. In Engliſh: Phiſitions, Gramarians, and all other profeſſors of liberall artes, and Doctors of the law, with theyr wyues and children, and all other their poſſeſſions, which they haue in Cities: we commaunde to be freed from all ciuill charges and functiōs, neyther to receaue forren ſtraūgers in prouinces, nor to be burdened with any publike adminiſtration, nor to be cited vp to ciuil iudgemēt, nor to be drawē out, or oppreſſed with any iniury. And if any mā ſhal vexe thē, he ſhal incurre ſuch puniſhmēt, as yͤ iudge at his diſcretion ſhall award hym. Their ſtipendes moreouer & ſalaries, we cōmaūde truly to be payd them, wherby they may more freely inſtruct other in artes and ſciences. &c.

The prouiſion & liberalitie of Conſtan. in maynteynyng ſcholes.

The priuiledge graunted by Conſtantinus to vniuerſities and ſcholes.

Ouer and beſide this, ſo farre did hys godly zeale and princely care and prouiſion extend to the church of Chriſt, that he commaunded and prouided bookes and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remaine in publike churches to the vſe of poſteritie. Wherupon wrytyng to Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia in a ſpeciall letter (recorded in the 4. booke of Euſebius, De vita Conſtant.) he willeth hym with all diligence to procure 50. volumes of parchment well bound and compacted: wherin he ſhould cauſe to be written out of the ſcripture in a fayre legeable hand, ſuch thinges as he thought neceſſary and profitable for the inſtruction of the church. And alloweth him for that buſines two publike Miniſters. Alſo writeth concerning the ſame, to the general of his army, to ſupport and further hym with ſuch neceſſaries, as thereunto ſhould appertayne. &c.

The prouident care of Conſtant. to haue the ſcripture in Churches.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.

¶ In vewyng, peruſing, and wrytyng this ſtory, and in conſideryng the Chriſtian zeale of this Emperour, I wiſh that either this our Printyng and plēty of bookes had bene in his dayes: or that this ſo heroycall hart toward Chriſtes

A wiſhe of the author admonitory to Princes.

Religiō, as was in this ſo excellent Monarche, might ſomthyng appeare in inferiour Princes raignyng in theſe our Printyng dayes. &c.

The liberalitie of *Conſtantine* towardes the poore and needy.

The liberall hand of this Emperour, borne to do all men good, was no leſſe alſo open and ready toward the needy pouertie of ſuch, which either by loſſe of parentes, or other occaſions were not able to helpe them ſelues: to whom he cōmaunded and prouided deue ſubuention both of corne and rayment to be miniſtred out of his owne coffers, to the neceſſary reliefe of the poore men, women, children, orphanes, and widowes, Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. Lib. 4.

Conſtantine remitteth the fourth part of his rents and reuenewes.

Finally, among all the other monumentes of his ſingular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted: that through all the Empire of Rome and prouinces belongyng to the ſame, not onely he diminiſhed ſuch taxes, reuenewes, and impoſtes, as publickly were commyng to hym, but alſo clearely remitted and releaſed to the contributers the fourth part of the ſame.

Donation of *Conſtantine*.

This preſent place would require ſomethyng to be ſayd of the donation of Conſtantine: whereupon as vpon their chiefeſt anchor holde, the Byſhops of Rome do grounde their ſupreme dominion and right, ouer all the politicall gouernement of the Weſt partes & the ſpirituall gouernement of all the other Seas and partes of the world. Which donation to be falſely fayned and forged, and not to proceede frō Conſtantine, many argumentes might here be inferred, if layſure from other matters would ſuffer me.

Reaſons and argumentes prouing the donation of *Conſtantine* to be falſefied.

1. Firſt, for that no auncient hiſtory, nor yet Doctour maketh any mention therof.

2. Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the hiſtory of Iſidorus: but in the old copyes of Iſidorus no ſuch thyng is to be founde.

3. 3. Gracianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not vpon any auncient authoritie, but onely vnder the title of Palea.

4. 4. Gelaſius is ſayd to geue ſome teſtimony therof, in Diſt. 15. Sācta Romana, but that clauſe of the ſayd Diſtinctiō touchyng that matter, in the old auncient bookes is not extant.

5. 5. Otho Phriſingenſis, who was about the tyme of Gracian, after he hath declared the opinion of the fauourers of the Papacie: affirmyng this donatiō to be geuen of Cōſtantine, to Silueſter the Pope: induceth cōſequently, the opiniō of them that fauour the Empire affirmyng the contrary.

6. 6. How doth this agree, that Cōſtātine did yeld vp to Silueſter all the political dominion ouer the Weſt: when as the ſayd Conſtantine at his death, deuidyng the Empire to his three ſonnes, gaue the Weſt part of the Empire to one, the Eaſt part to the ſecond, the middle part to the third?

7. 7. How is it lyke that Theodoſius after them, beyng a iuſt and a religious Prince, would or could haue occupyed the Citie of Rome, if it had not bene his right, but had belonged to the pope, & ſo did many other Emperours after him?

8. 8. The phraſe of this decree being cōferred with the phraſe and ſtile of Conſtantine, in his other Edictes and letters aboue ſpecified doth nothyng agree.

9. 9. Seing the Papiſtes themſelues confeſſe that the decree of this donation was written in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth: when as both it was written not to the Grecians, but to the Romanes, and alſo Conſtantine himſelfe for lacke of the Greeke toung was fayne to vſe the Latine toung in the Councell of Nice?

10. 10. The contentes of this donation (who ſoeuer was the forger therof) doth bewray it ſelfe. For if it be true whiche there is confeſſed, that he was Baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, and the iiij. day after his baptiſme this patrimony was geuen (which was before his battaile againſt Maximinus or Licinius, an. 317. as Nicep. recordeth) how thē accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iuriſdiction geuen ouer the other iiij. principall ſeas of Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople, & Hieruſalem: when as the Citie of Cōſtant. was not yet begun, before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, & was not finiſhed, before the. xxviij. yeare of the raigne of Conſtantine, an. 339. or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finiſhed the. xxiij. yeare of hys raigne, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 334. long after this donation by their owne accompt.

11. 11. Furthermore, where in the ſayd cōſtitutiō is ſayd that Conſtantine was baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, & thereby was purged of leproſie: the fable therof agreeth not with yͤ truth of hiſtory: for ſo much as Euſebius, lib. 4. De vita Cōſtātini, Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib. 2. cap. 34. do all together conſent that he was baptiſed not at Rome, but at Nicomedia: and that moreouer, as by their teſtimony doth appeare, not of Silueſter but of Euſebius Byſhop of Nicomedia, not before his battaile againſt Maxim. or Licinius, but in the. xxxj. yeare of his raigne, a litle before his death.

12. Agayne, whereas Conſtātine in this donatiō appoynted hym to haue the principalitie ouer the other. 4. Patriarchall Seas: that maketh Conſtantine contrary to hymſelfe. Who in the Cōſell of Nice afterward agreed with other biſhops, that all the iiij. patriarchall ſeas ſhould haue equall iuriſdiction, euery one ouer his owne territory and precinct. 12.

13. In ſumme, briefly to conclude: who ſo deſireth more aboundantly to be ſatiſfied touchyng this matter, let him read the bookes of Marſillius Patauinus, intituled: defenſor pacis, an. 1324. of Laurētius Valla, an. 1440. of Antoninꝰ Archbyſhop of Florence, who in his hiſtory, playnly denyeth the tenour of this donation to be founde in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cuſanus Cardinalis. Lib. 3. cap. 2. writyng to the Councell of Baſill an. 1460. Of Æneas Syluius in Dialogo, of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, an. 1496. of Raphael Volateranꝰ, an. 1500. of Lutherꝰ, an. 1537. &c. all which by many & euidēt probatiōs, diſpute & proue this donatiō taken out of a booke De geſtis Silueſtri, & trāſlated (as they ſayne) by one Bartholomeꝰ Picernꝰ out of Greeke into Latin: not to procede frō Cōſtātinus, but to be a thyng vntruly pretēſed, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deede of Pipinus or Charles, or ſome ſuch other, if it were euer the deede of any. 13.

Cōmendatiō of *Conſtantine* the Emperour.

And thus haſt thou (beloued Reader) briefly collected yͤ narratiō of the noble actes & heauenly vertues of this moſt famous Emperour Conſtantine the great: a ſingular ſpectacle for all Chriſtiā Princes to behold and imitate, & worthy of perpetuall memory in all congregations of Chriſtian Saintes. Whoſe feruent zeale & piety in generall, to all congregations, & to all the ſeruauntes of Chriſt was notable: but eſpecially the affection and reuerence of his hart toward them was admirable, which had ſuffered any thyng for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in the perſecutions before, them had he principally in price & veneratiō, in ſo much that he embraced and kiſſed their woundes and ſtripes, and their eyes, beyng put out. And if any ſuch Byſhops or any other Miniſters brought to hym any complaintes one agaynſt an other, (as many tymes they did) he would take their bils of cōplaynt, and burne them before their faces: ſo ſtudious and zealefull was his mynde to haue them agree, whoſe diſcord was to hym more grief, then it was to themſelues. All the vertuous actes and memorable doynges of this diuine & renowmed Emperour to comprehēd or commit to hiſtory: it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with theſe aboue premiſed, bycauſe nothyng of him can be ſayd inough, I ceaſe to diſcourſe of hym any further.

Conſtantine kiſſed the woundes of them that ſuffered for Chriſt.

Conſtantine burneth the bils of complaintes, and breaketh ſtrife among the Byſhops.

Note, that the oration *ad conuentum ſanctorum* is wrongly aſcribed to *Euſebius*, which in deede is the oration of *Cōſtātine*.

One thyng yet remayneth not to be omitted, wherin (as by the way or a note) I thought to admoniſh the learned reader, ſuch as loue to be conuerſāt in readyng of aūcient authors: that in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory of Euſebius, where in the latter end of the booke, is added a certaine Oratiō. Ad conuentū Sanctorū, vnder the name of Euſebius Pamphilus, here is to be vnderſtand, that the ſayd Oration is wrongly intituled vpō the name of Euſebius, which in very truth is the Oration of Cōſtātinus himſelfe. For yͤ probation wherof, beſide the ſtyle & matter therin contained, and tractation heroycall (liuely declaryng the religious mynd of Conſtantine) I alledge yͤ very teſtimony of Euſebius hymſelfe in his fourth booke De vita Conſtant. where he in expreſſe wordes not onely declareth that Conſtantine wrote ſuch an Oration intituled Ad Conuentum Sāctorum, but alſo promiſeth in the end of his booke, to annexe the ſame: declaryng moreouer what difficultie the interpreters had, to tranſlate the ſame from the Romane ſpeech, to their Grecian toung. Euſebius de vita Conſtantini. Lib. 4. pag. 211.

And here an end of theſe lamentable & dolefull perſecutiōs of the primitiue Church, duryng the ſpace of the. 300. yeares frō the paſſion of our Sauiour Chriſt, til the cōming of thys Conſtātinus, by whō, as by the elect inſtrument of God, it hath ſo pleaſed his almighty maieſty, by his determinate purpoſe, to geue reſt after lōg trouble to his church, accordyng to that S. Cyprian declareth before, pag. 69. to be reueled of God vnto his Church: that after darkneſſe and ſtormy tempeſt ſhould come peaceable calme, & ſtable quietnes to his Church, meanyng this tyme of Conſtātine now preſent. At which tyme it ſo pleaſed the almighty, that the murderyng malice of Sathā ſhould at length be reſtrained, and he him ſelfe to be tyed vp for a thouſand yeares, through his great mercy in Chriſt, to whom therfore be thākes and prayſe now and for euer. Amen.

Looke aboue *pag. 69. col. 1. lin. 36.*

Satan boūd vp for a M. yeares.

¶The end of the firſt Booke.

The ſecond booke contaynyng the next. 300. yeares followyng, with ſuch things ſpecially touched, as haue bene done in England, from the tyme of kyng Lucius, to Gregorius, and ſo after to the tyme of kyng Egbert.

By theſe perſecutions hetherto in the booke before preceded, thou mayeſt vnderſtand (Chriſtian reader) how the fury of Sathan & rage of men haue done what they could to extinguiſh the name & religion of Chriſt. For what thyng did lack, ÿ either death could doe, or tormẽtes could worke, or the gates of hell could deuiſe: all was to the vttermoſt attẽpted. And yet all the fury & malice of Sathã, all ÿ wiſdome of the world, & ſtrẽgth of men, doyng, deuiſing, practiſing what they could: notwithſtanding the Religiõ of Chriſt (as thou ſeeſt) hath had ÿ vpper hand. Which thing I wiſh thee greatly (gentle reader) wiſely to note, & diligently to ponder, in conſideryng theſe former hiſtoryes. And becauſe thou canſt not conſider thẽ, nor profite by thẽ, vnles thou do firſt read & peruſe thẽ: let me craue therfore thus much at thyne handes, to turne & read ouer ÿ ſayd hiſtoryes of thoſe perſecutiõs aboue deſcribed: eſpecially aboue all the other hiſtoryes of this preſent volume, for thy eſpeciall edification, which I truſt thou ſhalt finde not vnworthy the readyng.

A petition to the reader, diligently to read ouer the former booke of the x. perſecutions.

Now becauſe the tyeng vp of Sathan geueth to the Church ſome reſt, & to me ſome leyſure to addreſſe my ſelfe, to the handlyng of other ſtoryes: I mynde therfore (Chriſt willyng) in this preſent booke, leauyng a while the tractation of theſe generall affayres, pertaynyng to the vniuerſall Churche: to proſecute ſuch domeſticall hiſtoryes, as more neare concerne this our countrey of England and Scotlãd, done here at home: beginnyng firſt with kyng Lucius, with whom the fayth firſt begã here in this Realme, as the ſentence of ſome writers doth hold. And for ſomuch here may ryſe, yea and doth ryſe, a great cõtrouerſie in theſe our Popiſh dayes, concernyng the firſt origine and plantyng of the fayth in this our Realme: it ſhall not be greatly out of our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſtay and ſay of this queſtion, whether the Church of England firſt receiued the fayth from Rome or not. The which, although I graunt ſo to be, yet beyng ſo graunted, it litle auayleth the purpoſe of them whiche would ſo haue it: for be it ſo, that England firſt receaued the Chriſtian fayth and Religion from Rome, both in the tyme of Eleutherius their Byſhop. Clxxx. yeares after Chriſt: and alſo in the tyme of Auſten, whom Gregory ſent hether. DC. yeares after Chriſt: yet their purpoſe followeth not therby, that we muſt therfore fetch our Religiõ frõ thence ſtill, as from the chief welhead and fountayne of all godlynes. And yet as they are not able to proue the ſecond, ſo neither haue I any cauſe to graunt the firſt: that is, that our Chriſtiã fayth was firſt deriued from Rome, which I may proue by vj. or vij. good coniecturall reaſons. Whereof, the firſt I take of the teſtimony of Gildas, our countreymã, who in his hiſtory affirmeth plainely, that Britayne receaued the Goſpell in the tyme of Tiberius the Emperour, vnder whom Chriſt ſuffered. Lib. De victoria Aurelij Ambroſij. And ſayth moreouer, that Ioſeph of Arimathie after the diſperſiõ of the Iewes, was ſent of Philip ÿ Apoſtle from Fraunce to Britayne, about the yeare of our Lord. 63. and here remayned in this Iland all his tyme: and ſo with his felowes, layd the firſt foundation of Chriſtian fayth among the Britayne people. Wherupon other preachers & teachers comming afterward confirmed the ſame, and encreaſed it.

The firſt planting of Chriſtẽ fayth in England.

Queſtion.

Whether Chriſtiã Religion in this Realme came firſt from Rome.

Aunſwere.

1. *Gildas.*

2. *Ex Tertul. contra Iudæos.*

2. The ſecõd reaſon is out of Tertullian, who liuyng neare about, or rather ſomewhat before the tyme of this Eleutherius, in hys booke Contra Iudæos, manifeſtly importeth the ſame: where the ſayd Tertullian teſtifieng how the Goſpell was diſperſed abroad by the ſounde of the Apoſtles, & there reckenyng vp the Medes, Perſians, Parthiãs, and dwellers in Meſopotamia, Iewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Aſia, Phrigia, Egypt, Pamphilia, with many moe, at length cõmeth to the coaſtes of the Mourians, and all the borders of Spayne: with diuers nations of Fraunce, & there amongſt all other reciteth alſo the partes of Britayne, whiche the Romaines could neuer attayne to, and reporteth the ſame now to be ſubiect to Chriſt, as alſo reckeneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germanes, the Scithians, with many other prouinces and Iles to hym vnknowen: in all whiche places, ſayth he, raigneth the name of Chriſt, which now beginneth to be common. This hath Tertulliã. Note here, how among other diuers beleuyng nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt places of Britayne to be of the ſame number. And theſe in his tyme were Chriſtened, who was in the ſame Eleutherius tyme, as is aboue ſayd. Then, was not Pope Eleutherius, the firſt whiche ſent the Chriſtian fayth into this Realme, but the Goſpell was here receiued before his tyme, either by Ioſeph of Arimathia, as ſome Chronicles recorde, or by ſome of the Apoſtles or of their ſcholers, which had bene here preachyng Chriſt, before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

3. *Ex Origene hom. 4. in Ezechi.*

3. My third probation I deduct out of Origen, Home. 4. in Ezechielem, whoſe wordes be theſe: Britanniam in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem. Wherby it appeareth that the fayth of Chriſt was ſparſed here in England before the dayes of Eleutherius.

4. *Ex Beda.*

4. For my fourth probatiõ I take the teſtimony of Bede, where he affirmeth that in hys tyme, and almoſt a thouſand yeare after Chriſt, here in Britayne: Eaſter was kept after ÿ maner of the Eaſt Church, in the full moone: what day in the weeke ſoeuer it fell on, & not on the Sonday, as we do now. Wherby it is to be collected, that the firſt preachers in this land, haue come out frõ the Eaſt part of the world, where it was ſo vſed, rather then from Rome.

5. *Ex Nicephoro. lib. 2. cap. 40.*

5. Fiftly I may alledge the wordes of Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap. 40. where he ſayth, that Symon Zelotes dyd ſpread the Goſpell of Chriſt to the weſt Ocean, & brought the ſame vnto the Iles of Britayne.

6. *Ex Pet. Cluniacenſ. ad Bernardum.*

6. Sixtly may be added here alſo the wordes of Petrus Cluniacenſis, who writyng to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scottes in hys tyme dyd celebrate their Eaſter, not after the Romane maner, but after the Greekes. &c. And as the ſayd Britaynes were not vnder the Romane order in the tyme of this Abbot of Cluniake: ſo neither were they nor would be, vnder the Romane Legate, in the tyme of Gregory: nor would admit any primacie of the byſhop of Rome, to be aboue them.

7. *Ex epiſt. Eleutherij ad Lucium.*

7. For the ſeuenth argument, moreouer I may make my probation by the playne wordes of Eleutherius, by whoſe Epiſtle written to kyng Lucius, we may vnderſtand, that Lucius had receaued the fayth of Chriſt in his land, before ÿ kyng ſent to Eleutherius for ÿ Romane lawes: for ſo the expreſſe wordes of the letter do manifeſtly purporte, as hereafter followeth to be ſeene. By all which cõiectures, it may ſtand probably to be thought, that the Britaynes, were taught firſt by the Grecians of the Eaſt Churche, rather then by the Romaines.

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe ſomethyng, either to conuert the kyng, or els to encreaſe the fayth then newly ſprong among the people: but that he preciſely was the firſt, that cannot be proued. But graunt he were, as in deede the moſt part of our Engliſh ſtoryes confeſſe, neither will I greatly ſticke with them therin: yet what haue they got thereby, when they haue caſt all their gayne? In few wordes to conclude this matter, if ſo be that the Chriſtian fayth and Religion was firſt deriued from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but graunt to vs the ſame fayth and Religion, which then was taught at Rome: and from thence deriued hether by the ſayd Eleutherius, and we will deſire no more. For then neither was any vniuerſall Pope aboue all Churches and Councels, whiche came not in before Pope Bonifacius tyme, whiche was 400. yeares after: neither any name or vſe of ÿ maſſe, the partes wherof how and by whom they were compiled, here after in this booke followyng appeareth to be ſeene. Neither any ſacrifice propiciatory for the ſcouring of Purgatory was then offered vpõ halowed altars, but onely the communion frequented at Chriſtian tables: where oblatiõs & giftes were offered as wel of the people, as of the Prieſts to God: becauſe they ſhould appeare neither empty nor vnkynde before the Lord, as we may vnderſtand by the tyme of Cyprian. Neither was then any tranſubſtãtiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thouſand yeare after. Neither were thẽ any images of Saintes departed ſet vp in churches, yea a great number of the Saintes worſhypped in this our tyme, were not as yet borne, nor the Churches wherin they were worſhypped, were yet ſet vp: but came in long after, eſpecially in the tyme of Irene and Conſtans the Emperour. Likewiſe neither Reliques nor peregrinations were then in vſe. Prieſtes Mariage was then as lawfull, and no leſſe receiued as now: neither was it condemned before the dayes of Hildebrand, almoſt a thouſand yeares after that. Their ſeruice was then in the vulgare toung, as witneſſeth Hierome. The Sacrament miniſtred in both kyndes, as well to lay men, as to Prieſtes, the witnes wherof is Cyprian. yea, and that temporall men which would not then communicate at Eaſter, Whitſontyde, and Chriſtemaſſe: were not counted for Catholickes, the Popes owne Diſtinction can teſtifie. In funerals, Prieſtes thē flocked not together, ſellyng trentals and dirges for ſweepyng of Purgatory: but onely a funerall cōcion was vſed, with Pſalmes of prayſes, and ſonges of their worthy deedes: and Alleluya ſoundyng on hygh, which dyd ſhake the gilded ſeelynges of the temple, as witneſſeth Nazienzene, Ambroſe, and Hierome. &c.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 2.

In the Supper of the Lord, & at Baptiſme, no ſuch ceremonies were vſed, as now of late haue been intruded, in ſo much that as in this ſtory is ſhewed hereafter, both Auſten and Paulinus Baptiſed then in Riuers not in halowed fountes, as witneſſeth Fabianus. The Portuis of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, with Mattens & Euenſong of the day: agayne neither the orders and religions of Monkes & Friers, were not yet dreamed of, to the ſpace almoſt of a thouſand yeares after, &c. So that, as I ſayd, if the Papiſtes would needes deriue the fayth and Religiō of this Realme, from Rome: then let them ſet vs and leaue vs there, where they had vs: that is, let them ſuffer vs to ſtand cōtent with that fayth and religion, which then was taught & brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothyng frō the ſame) and we will deſire no better. And if they will not, then let the wiſe Reader iudge, where the fault is, in vs or them which neither themſelues will perſiſt in the antiquitie of the Romiſh Religion, which they ſo much bragge of, neither will they permit vs ſo to do.

Fabianus ca. 119. & 120.

And thus much by the way, to ſatiſfie the foreſayd obiection: wherby we may haue now a more ready paſſage into the order and courſe of the hiſtory. Beyng therefore graunted vnto them, which they ſo earneſtly ſticke vpon, that the Chriſtian fayth and Religion of this Realme was brought from Rome, firſt by Eleutherius, then afterwarde by Auſten: thus writeth the Chronicles of that matter.

Eleutherius biſh. of Rome.

About the tyme and yeare of the Lord. 180. Kyng Lucius ſonne of Coilus, which builded Colcheſter, kyng of the Britaines who then were the inhabiters and poſſeſſours of this land (which now we Engliſhmen cal Englād) hearyng of the miracles and wonders done by the Chriſtians at that tyme in diuers places (as Monumetenſis writeth) directed his letters to Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, to receaue of hym the Chriſtian fayth. Although about the computation of the yeare and tyme: great difference there is in authours, when this ſhould be. Nauclerus ſayth it was. an. 156. but that cannot be, for ſomuch as Eleutherius was not yet Byſhop by the ſpace of xx. yeares after that. Hēricus de Erfordia ſayth, it was. an. 169. in the. xix. yeare of Verus Emperour, but that agreeth not with approued hiſtoryes: which all conſent, that Verus raigned not. xix. yeares, and if he had, yet that yeare cōmeth not to the yeare of our Lord, 169. but to the yeare. 181. Some other ſay, that Eleutherius was made Byſhop, in the vi. yeare of Cōmodus, which was the yeare of our Lord. 186. but that ſeemeth to go too farre, but let the authours agree as they cā. Let vs returne to Eleutherius the good Byſhop, who hearyng the requeſt of this king, and glad to ſee the godly towardnes of his wel diſpoſed mynde: ſendeth him certaine teachers & preachers, called Fugatius, or by ſome Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus: whiche conuerted firſt the kyng and people of Britaine, and Baptiſed them with the Baptiſme and Sacrament of Chriſtes fayth. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monumentes of Gentilitie they ſubuerted, conuertyng the people from their diuers and many Gods to ſerue one liuyng God. Thus true Religiō with ſincere fayth increaſing, ſuperſtition decayed, with all other rites of Idolatry. There were then in Britayne. 28. head Prieſtes, which they called Flamines, and iij. Archprieſtes among them, which were called Archflamines: hauyng the ouerſight of their maners, and as Iudges ouer the reſt. Theſe 28. Flamines they turned to. 28. Byſhops. And the three Archflamines, to iij. Archbiſhops, hauing then their ſeates in. iij. principall Cities of the Realme: that is, in London, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet, in Vrbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the countreys of the whole Realme, beyng deuided euery one vnder his owne Biſhop, & all things ſetled in a good order: the foreſayd kyng Lucius ſent agayne to the ſayd Eleutherius, for the Romane lawes: therby likewiſe to be gouerned as in Religion now they were framed accordyngly. Unto whom Eleutherius agayne writeth, after the tenour of theſe wordes enſuyng.

Auſten. 2.
The fayth of Chriſt brought into this realme.
Lucius firſt chriſtened kyng of the Britaynes.

Ex Monumetenſ. & alijs.

Faganus, Damianus.

28. Byſhops within this Realme. 3. Archb.

¶ *The Epiſtle of Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, ſent to king Lucius.*

ANno. 169. a Paſſione Chriſti ſcripſit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britaniæ, ad correctionem Regis & procerū regni Britanniæ, & ſo forth, as foloweth in Engliſh.

Ex vetuſto codice regum antiquorum. The epiſtle of *Eleutherius* to kyng *Lucius.*

Ye require of vs the Romane lawes and the Emperours, to be ſent ouer to you: whiche you may practiſe and put in vre within your Realme. The Romane lawes, and the Emperours, we may euer reproue, but the law of God we may not. Ye haue receaued of late through Gods mercy in the realme of Britayne, the law & faith of Chriſt: ye haue with you within the Realme both the parties of the Scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace, with the Councell of your realme, take ye a law, and by that lawe (through Gods ſufferaunce) rule your kyngdome of Britayne. For you be Gods Vicare in your kyngdome, accordyng to the ſaying of the Pſalme. Deus iudicium tuum Regi da, &c. That is. O God geue thy iudgemēt to the kyng, and thy righteouſnes to the kynges ſonne, &c. He ſayd not the iudgement and righteouſnes of the Emperour, but thy iudgement and iuſtice: that is to ſay, of God. The kynges ſonnes be the Chriſtian people and folke of the Realme, which be vnder your gouernemēt, and liue and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the Goſpell ſayth: lyke as the henne gathereth her chickynges vnder her wynges, ſo doth the kyng his people. The people and folke of the Realme of Britayne be yours, whom if they be deuided ye ought to gather in concorde and peace: to call them to the faith and law of Chriſt, and to the holy church, to cheriſh and maintayne them, to rule and gouerne them, and to defende them alwayes from ſuch as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemyes. A kyng hath hys name of rulyng, and not of hauyng a Realme. You ſhall be a kyng while ye rule well, but if you do otherwiſe, the name of a kyng ſhall not remayne with you, and you ſhall loſe it, which God forbid. The almighty God graunt you ſo to rule the Realme of Britayne, that you may raigne with hym for euer, whoſe Vicar ye be in the Realme.

The kyng, Gods vicare within hys owne kingdome.

After this maner as you haue heard, was the Chriſtiā fayth either firſt brought in, or els confirmed in this realme of Britayne, by the ſendyng of Eleutherius, not with any croſſe or proceſſion, but onely at the ſimple preachyng of Fagane and Damiā, through whoſe miniſtery this realme and Ileland of Britayne was eftſoones reduced to the fayth & law of the Lord, accordyng as was prophecied by Eſay, as wel of that, as other Ilandes mo, where he ſaith, chap. xlij. he ſhall not faynt, nor geue ouer till he hath ſet iudgement in earth, & Ilandes ſhall wayte for his law. &c. The faith thus receiued of the Britaynes continued among them and floriſhed the ſpace of. 216. yeares, till the commyng of the Saxones: who then were Paganes: wherof more followeth hereafter to be ſayd, the Lord Chriſt aſſiſtyng therunto. In the meane tyme ſomethyng to ſpeake of this ſpace before, which was betwixt the tyme of Lucius, and the firſt commyng in of the Saxones: firſt is to be vnderſtāded, that all this while as yet the Emperours of Rome had not receiued the fayth, what tyme the kynges of Britayne, & the ſubiectes therof, were conuerted now, as is ſayd, to Chriſt: for the whiche cauſe much trouble and perturbation, was ſought againſt thē, not onely here in Britayne but through all partes of Chriſtendome by the Heathen infidels. In ſo much that in the perſecution onely of Dioclesian and Maximinian raignyng both together within one moneth. xvij. thouſand Martyrs are numbred to haue ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, as hath bene hetherto in the booke before ſufficiently diſcourſed.

Eſay. 42.

Thus therfore although the foreſayd Lucius, the Britayne kyng, through the mercifull prouidence of God, was then Chriſtened and the Goſpell receaued generally almoſt in all the land: yet the ſtate therof as well of the Religiō, as of the common wealth, could not be quiet, for that the Emperours and nobles of Rome were yet infidels, & enemyes to the ſame: but eſpecially for this cauſe, the caſe ſo happenyng, that Lucius the Chriſten kyng dyed without iſſue: for therby ſuch trouble and variaūce fell among the Britaynes (as it happeneth in all other Realmes, namely in this our Realme of England when ſoeuer ſucceſſion lacketh) that not onely they brought vpon them the Idolatrous Romaines, & at length the Saxones: but alſo inwrapped them ſelues in ſuch miſery and deſolation, as yet to this day amongeſt them remaineth. Such a thyng it is (where a

H. Huntendon. Lib. 1.
What incommoditie commeth by lack of ſucceſſion.

Prince or a kyng is in a kyngdome) there to lacke ſucceſſion, as eſpecially in this caſe may appeare. For after the death of Lucius, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord within themſelues vpon ſucceſſion of the crowne, ſtept in the Romaines, & got the crowne into their owne handes, wherevpon followed great miſery and ruine to the realme: for ſometymes the Idolatrous Romaines, ſometymes the Britaynes raigned and ruled, as violence and victory would ſerue, one kyng murderyng an other, till at length the Saxones came and depriued them both, as in proceſſe hereafter followeth to be ſeene.

In the meane ſeaſon touching the ſtory of kyng Lucius, here is to be reproued the fable of ſome writers falſely faynyng of hym, that he ſhould after his Baptiſme receaued, put of all his kyngly honour, & forſake the land and be made a preacher: who after lōg trauaile in preachyng & teachyng, in Fraunce, in Germany, in Auguſta, and in Sueuia, at length was made Doctour and Rector of the Churche of Curea: where (as this fable ſayth) he ſuffered Martyrdome. But this phātaſie of whomſoeuer it firſt did ſpring, diſagreeth from all our Engliſh ſtoryes: who with a full conſent do for the moſt part accord in this, that the ſayd Lucius, after he had founded many Churches, and geuen great riches and liberties to the ſame: deceaſed with great tranquillitie in his owne land, and was buried at Gloceſter, the xiiij. yeare after his Baptiſme, as the booke of Flores Hiſtoriarum, doth counte, whiche was the yeare of our Lord (as he ſayth) CC. and reckeneth his conuerſion to be. an. 87. In ſome I finde his deceaſe to be the fourth, and in ſome the tenth yeare after his Baptiſme, and hold that he raigned in all the ſpace of .lxxvij. yeares, and thus much concernyng kyng Lucius.

The deceaſe of K. Lucius. Ex Florilego.

Now to proceede in order of the ſtory, briefly to touche the ſtate of the foreſayd land of Britayne, betwene the tyme of kyng Lucius, and the entryng of the Saxones, who were the kynges therof: and in what order they ſucceeded, or rather inuaded one after an other, this Catalogue here vnder written will ſpecifie.

Ex Beda Polychro, monumetenſ.

Kynges of Britaine from the tyme of Lucius till the cōmyng of the Saxons.

Lucius,	a Britayne.
Seuerus,	a Romaine.
Baſſianus,	a Romaine by the father.
Ceraufius,	a Britayne.
Alectus,	a Romaine.
Aſclepiodotus,	a Britayne.
Coilus,	a Britayne.
Conſtantius,	a Romaine.
Conſtantinus,	a Britayne by the mother ſide and borne in Britayne.
Octauius,	a Gewiſſian.
Maximinianus,	a Romayne borne, but hys mother a Britayne.
Gratianus,	a Romayne.
Conſtantinus,	a Britaine by the mother.
Conſtans,	a Romaine by the father.
Votigerus,	a Gewiſſian or Bri.
Vortimerus,	a Brit.
Vortigernus,	agayne.

An.D.190. ſecund. fab. Bed. An.433 fab. An.443. An.448. An.464.

By this table may appeare a lamentable face of a common wealth ſo miſerably rent and diuided into two ſortes of people: differyng not ſo much in countrey, as in Religiō. For when the Romaines raigned: ſo were they gouerned by the Infidels. Whē the Britaines ruled, ſo they were gouerned by Chriſtiās. Thus what quietneſſe was or could be in the Church, in ſo vnquyet and doubtfull dayes, it may eaſely be conſidered.

Albeit notwithſtandyng all theſe foreſayd heathen rulers of the Romaines, whiche here gouerned, yet (God be prayſed) we read of no perſecution, duryng all theſe .x. perſecutiōs aboue mentioned, that touched the Chriſtian Britaynes, before the laſt perſecution onely of Diocleſian, and Maximianus Herculius, whiche here then exerciſed much cruelty. This perſecution, as it was the laſt amōg the Romane Chriſtians, ſo it was the firſt of many & diuers that followed after in this Churche and Realme of England: wherof we will here after intreate (Chriſt willyng) as order of the matter ſhall lead vs. In the meane tyme this rage of Diocleſian as it was vniuerſally through all the churches in the world fierce and vehement: ſo in this realme of Britayne alſo it was ſo ſore, that as all our Engliſh Chronicles do teſtifie, and record, all Chriſtianitie almoſt in the whole land was deſtroyed: Churches were ſubuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faythfull both men and women were ſlayne. Among whom the firſt and chiefe was Albanus, then Iulius, Aaron, and Amphibalus. Of whom ſufficiently hath bene ſayd before. What were the other, or how many they were that ſuffered beſide, ſtoryes make no rehearſall. And thus much therof.

The Britaynes neuer touched with any perſecution before the time of Diocleſian.

Now as concernyng the gouernement of theſe aboue named kynges of Britayne, although I haue litle or nothyng to note, which greatly apperteyneth to the matter of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory: yet this is not to be paſt ouer: firſt how in the order of theſe kyngs commeth Conſtantinus the great & worthy Emperour, not onely a Britayne borne by his mother Helina beyng kyng Coilus daughter, but alſo by the helpe of the Britaynes armye (vnder the power of God) whiche the ſayd Conſtantine tooke with hym out of Britaine to Rome: obtayned with great victory, peace and tranquillitie to the whole vniuerſall Church of Chriſt: hauing .iij. legiōs w hym out of this Realme, of choſen and able ſouldiours. wherby ȳ ſtrēgth of the land was not a litle impayred & indaungered, as afterward in this ſtory followeth.

Conſtantine the great, borne and bred in Britayne.

The cauſe how this Realme of Britaine was firſt weakened.

After hym likewiſe Maximian followyng his ſteppes, tooke with hym alſo (as ſtoryes recorde) all the power and ſtrength which was left: and whatſoeuer he could make, of able and fightyng men, to ſubdue Fraunce: beſides the garriſons which he had out with hym before, ſendyng for mo to the number of C.M. ſouldiours at once, to be ſent to hym out of Britayne into Fraunce. At whiche tyme alſo Conanus his partener beyng then in Fraunce, ſent ouer for virgines from Britaine to the number of .xi. M. who with Vrſula the Prince Dionets daughter beyng ſhypped ouer, many periſhed in the ſea: ſome were taken of the infidels, marchyng vpon the borders, with whom becauſe they would not be polluted, all were deſtroyed, beyng miſerably diſperſed (ſome one way, ſome an other) ſo ȳ none eſcaped.

Britaine ſpoyled of ſoldiours.

Vrſula with xi. thouſād virgines.

Thus poore Britayne beyng left naked and deſtitute on euery ſide, as a maymed body without might or ſtrēgth: was left open to his enemyes, not able to ſuccour it ſelfe, without helpe of forreine frends. To whom they were thē conſtrained to flye, eſpecially to the Romaines to whom the Britaynes ſent this word or meſſage: Ætio ter Cōſuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare. Repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerū genera, quia aut iugulamur, aut ſubmergimur. But the Romaines then began to forſake them, whereby they were in nearer daunger to be oppreſſed by Gwanus & Melga, had not Gwetelinus the Archbyſhop of Londō made ouer to leſſer Britayne, and obtaynyng their helpe, had brought Conſtantinus the kynges brother, to reſcue his countrey agaynſt the infidels. This Conſtantinus was brother to Aldroenus kyng of litle Britayne, and father to Conſtans, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter, who after raigned kynges in Britayne.

Gwetelinus Archb. of London. Ex Chronico Monumetenſi. Conſtantinus. Conſtans, Aurelius, Ambroſius. Vter Pendragon.

Thus by the meanes of the good Archbyſhop and Conſtantinus the ſtate of the Religion and Realme of Britayne was in ſome meane quyet and ſafetye, duryng the tyme of the ſayd Conſtantine and of the good Archbyſhop. But as the realme of Britayne almoſt from the begynnyng was neuer without ciuil warre, at length came wicked Vortigerne, who cruelly cauſing Conſtans his Prince to be murdred, ambitiouſly inuaded the crowne: who then fearyng the other two brethren of Conſtans, which were Aurelius and Vter, beyng then in litle Britayne: did ſend ouer for the ayde of the Saxones beyng the infidels, and not onely that: but alſo maryed with an infidell, the daughter of Hengiſt called Rowen. Wherupon the ſayd Vortigerne not long after, by the ſayd Hengiſt and the Saxones was with lyke traitery diſpoſſeſſed of his kyngdome, and the people of Britayne driuen out of their countrey, after that the Saxons had ſlayne of their chief Nobles and Barons at one meetyng: ioynyng together ſubtiltie with crueltie, to the number of C C.lxxi. ſome ſtoryes ſay C C C C. lx. This wicked act of the Saxones, was done at Ambſbury, or at a place called Stonehenge, by the monument of which ſtones there hangyng, it ſeemeth that the noble Britaynes there were buryed.

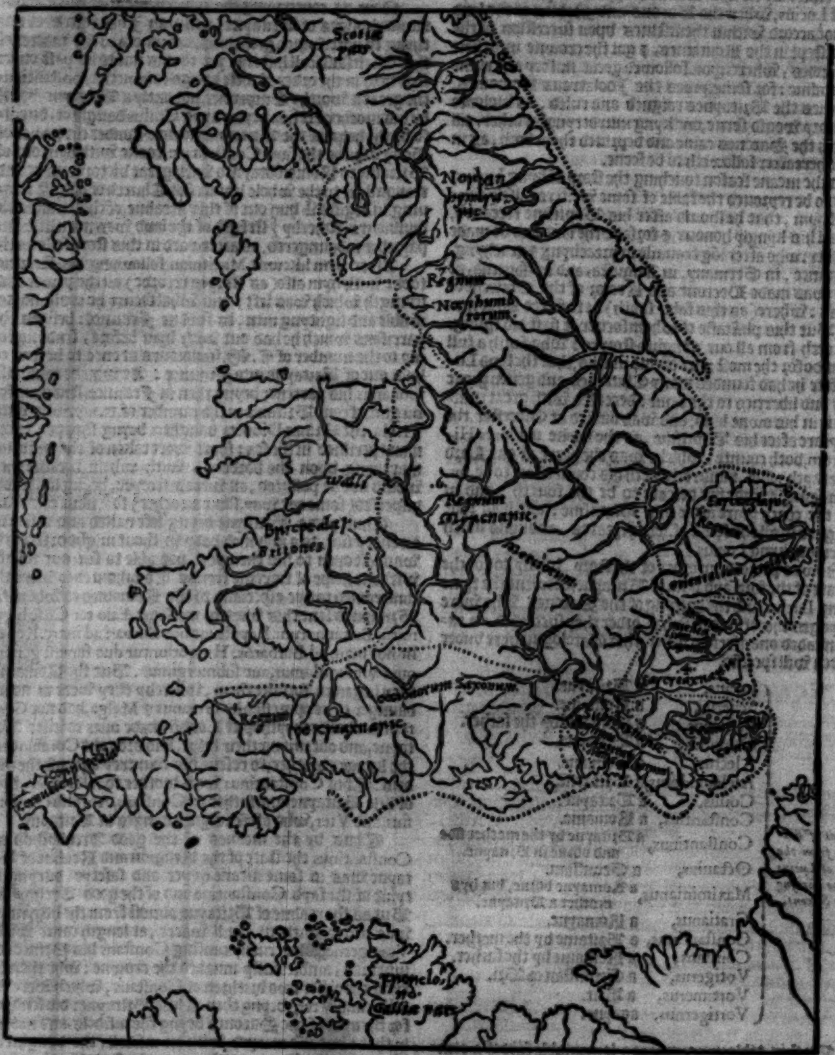
The Saxons ſent for to Britayne. Kyng Conſtans ſlayne by Vortigerne. Hengiſt and Horſus captaynes of the Saxons.

A wicked murther of the Saxons.

This fabulous ſtory of the Welſhemen, of bryngyng theſe ſtones from Ireland by Merlyn I paſſe ouer. Some ſtoryes recorde that they were ſlayne beyng byd to a banket, other do ſay that it was done at a talke or aſſemblie, where the Saxones came with priuy kniues contrary to promiſe made, with the which kniues they geuyng a priuy watchword, (in their Saxones ſpeache nem your ſexes) ſlew the Britaines vnarmed: and thus farre concernyng the hiſtory of the Britaynes. As this great plague could not come to the Britaynes without Gods permiſſion, ſo Gildas ſheweth in his Chronicle, the cauſe therof, writing thus: Quòd Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam

Principum, propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiā Iudicum,
propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum,
propter luxuriam & malos mores populi,
patriam perdidiſſe. &c.

A deſcription of England, as it was deuided in the Saxones tyme into vij. kyngdomes.



¶The entryng and raignyng of the Saxones.

An. 469.

This was the commyng in firſt of the Angles or Saxones into this Realme, beyng yet vnchriſtened and infidelles: whiche was about the yeare of our Lord as William Malmſbury teſtifieth, CCCC. lxix. the Captaines of whom were Hengiſtus and Horſus. Although the ſayd Hengiſt and Saxones at their firſt commyng for all their ſubtile workyng and cruell attempt had no quyet ſettyng in Britayne, but were driuen out diuers tymes by the valiauntneſſe of Aurelius Ambroſius, and his brother Vter aboue mentioned, who raigned after that among the Britaynes: yet notwithſtandyng they were not ſo driuen out, but that they returned agayne, and at length poſſeſſed all, driuyng the Britaynes ſuch as remayned into Cambria, whiche we call now Wales. Hengiſtus, as ſome Chronicles recorde, reigned. 43. yeares, and dyed in Kent. Galfridus in ſuo Britannico ſayth: that he was taken in warre by Aurelius Ambroſius, and beheaded at Conyngeſburgh, after he had raigned xxxix. yeare.

Aurelius and *Vter*, ſonnes to *Conſtantius*.

Ex Gaufrido. Ex Alfrido in ſuo Britannico.

After the death of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca, raigned xxiiij. yeares leauyng his ſonne Octa, to whoſe reigne with hys ſonne Ymenricus, hiſtories do attribute liij. yeares, who alſo were ſlayne at length by Vter Pendragon, Polichroni. Lib. 5. cap. 4.

Ex Polichron. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxones after they were ſetled in the poſſeſſion of England, diſtributed the Realme among themſelues, firſt in ſeuen partes: euery part to haue his kyng, that is: The firſt to be the kyng of Kent. The ſecond to be kyng of Suſſex and Southerye, holdyng his Palace at Ciceſter. The third kyng was of Weſtſexe. The fourth kyng of Eſſex. The fift kyng was of the Eaſtangles, that is, of Cambridgeſhire, Northfolke, & Southfolke. The vj. kyng of Marche, & in his kingdome were contained the Counteſſes of Lyncolne, Leyceſter, Huntyngdō, Northāpton, Oxford, Darby, Warwike. &c. The vij. kyng had all the countryes beyond Humber, and was called kyng of Northumberland.

Seuē kynges rulyng in England.

Of theſe ſeuen kyngdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, commyng all into the poſſeſſion and ſubiection of the Weſtſaxones: yet for the ſpace they continued (whiche was with continuall trouble and warres among themſelues) this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be ſeene.

¶A

¶ A Table deſcribyng the ſeuen kyngdomes of the Saxones, raignyng here in England.

IN the tyme of Vortiger aboue mentioned, began the raigne of the Saxones in this land, the which commyng out of 3. ſortes of the Germaine people (to wytte) the Saxones, the Iutes and Angles, repleniſhed this land, of them called now Anglia. Of whō firſt Hengiſtus raigned in Kent: which countrey of Kent he had obteined by Rowen his daughter of kyng Vortiger, which was about the yeare of our Lord as ſome do count, 476. or as I finde it in the cōputation of our Engliſh Tables, 456. in ſome. 463. After Hengiſt, came in Octha, with Eoſa, or Yiſe his kinſman: who afterward ſucceeded the ſayd Hengiſt in Kent. Not long after came in an other company of the Saxones, with Elle their Captaine, whiche planted them ſelues in Southſexe. And after them agayne an other garriſon of the Saxones with Cerdice their Captaine, which dyd occupy the Weſt part of the land, called by them Weſtſaxon. And ſo likewiſe the other multitude of the Saxones after them, whiche as yet beyng vnchriſtened and infidels, deuided the whole land among themſelues into ſeuen kyngdomes, as in this Table followeth.

456.
Kent.

¶ The Kynges of Kent, with the yeares how long they raigned.

The kinges of Kent.

Hengiſtus, ſlayne.	31	
Eoſa, or Yiſe.	24	
Ocha, or Octha.		
Ermenricus, or Emericus.	26	
Ethelbertus, the firſt of yͤ Saxon kings that receiued the fayth by Aug. an. reg. 35.	56	This Ethelbert firſt of all the Saxones receiued the fayth, and ſubdued all the other vj. Kyngs, except onely the kyng of Northumberland.
Edbaldus.	24	
Ercombertus.	24	Ercombert commaūded Lent firſt to be faſted in his dominion.
Egebertus, or Edbricth, ſlayne.	9	Egebert killed two Sonnes of hys Uncle.
Lotharias, ſlayne.	12	
Eadrichus.	6	Unto the tyme of Eadrick all the byſhops of Canterbury were Italians.
Nidredus. Wilhardus.	7	Some Chronicles do place theſe two, Nidredus and Wilhardus after Edricke, and geue to them ſeuen yeares, ſome agayne do omitte them.
Withredus.	33	
Egfertꝰ, or Edbert.	23	
Ethelbert.	11	
Alricus.	34	Betwene the raigne of Alricke, and Cuthred, ſome ſtoryes do inſert the raigne of Eadbert, whiche raigned two yeares.
Eadbertus, ſurnamed Pren.	2	
Cuthredus.	18	
Baldredus, expulſed.	81	

¶ In the raigne of this Baldred the kyngdome of Kent, was trāſlated to Egbertus, otherwiſe called Egbrict, kyng of the Weſtſaxons, who ſubduyng the foreſayd Baldred. an. 832. gaue the ſayd kingdome to Athelſtan his younger ſonne. After whoſe deceaſe it came to Ethelwolfe the elder ſonne of Egbrict, and ſo was vnited to the Weſtſaxons, who then began to be the Monarche of the whole land. This kyngdome began neare about the yeare of our Lord. 456. and continued. 342. yeares, and had. xv. kynges.

478.
South-ſaxe.
Now called Suſſex.

¶ The Kynges of Southſaxe, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kinges of Suſſex.

Elle, or Alle.	31	
Ciſſa.		Of this Ciſſa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he raigned.
Nancanleus, or Nancanleodus.		This Nathāleod ſeemeth by ſome old ſtoryes to be a Britaine, & the chief Marſhall of kyng Vter, whom Porth the Saxon ſlew.
Porth.		This Porth a Saxon, came in at the Hauen, which now is called of him Porthmouth.
Ethelwelfus.		Becauſe I finde but litle mention of theſe two I thinke it rather like to be the ſame Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus which after followeth.
Redwallus.		
Condebertus.		Of Condebertus and Ethelred I finde no mentiō, but in one table onely, ſuppoſing therfore that yͤ true names of theſe were Ercōbertus & Egbertus, which were kynges of Kent the ſame tyme, and peraduenture might then rule in Suſſex.
Ethelredus, or Ethereus.		
Adelwood, or Ethelwaldus, ſlayne.		This Adelwold was the firſt king of Suſſexe Chriſtened, and as Fabian ſayth, the iiij. kyng of the Southſaxones: as other ſay the. vij. ſo vncertaine be the hiſtories of this kingdom.
Adelbrich, or Berethunus, ſlayne.	5	
Aldhunus.	15	

¶ This kyngdome endured ſhorteſt ſeaſon of all other, & ſooneſt paſſed into other kyngdomes, in the dayes as ſome write of Iue kyng of Weſtſaxe, and ſo endured not aboue an hundred and twelue yeares, vnder ſeuen or at moſt. xi. kyngs, beginnyng firſt in the yeare of the Lord. 478 and about the. 30. yeare of the firſt commyng of the Saxons.

522.
Weſt-ſaxe.

¶ The principall kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, and of their raignes.

The kinges of Weſtſax.

Cerdicus, or Credicus.	17	This kingdome contained Somerſetſhyre, Barkſhyre, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhyre, Cornewale. &c.
Kenricus.	26	
Chelingus. 30. 33. lib. cycl.		
Celricus, or Ceolfricus.	5	
Celwlfus, or Ceolulfus.	14	
Kynigilſus & Quicelinus.	32	This Kynigilſus was firſt kyng Chriſtened in that prouince, conuerted by Birinus, after made Monke.
Kenewalkins.	31	
Sexburga.	1	
Eſcwynus, Aſcwynꝰ, or Elkwinus.	2	
Centwinus, dyed at Rome.	7	
Cedwalla.	3	Cedwalla went to Rome, & there was Chriſtened and dyed.
Ina, or Iue.	35	Ina alſo went to Rome, and was made Monke.
Edelardus, or Athelardus.	14	
Cuthredus, or Cuthbert.	16	
Sigebertus, or Sigherus, ſlayne.	1	Sigebert for his pride and crueltie was depoſed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faythfull counſell geuing him wholeſome counſaile: ſo after was he ſlayne of the ſame counſellers Swyneard, as he hid him ſelfe in a wood.
Kynulfus, or Kynewlfus, ſlayne.	31	
Brithricus.	13	
Egbertꝰ, or Egbrichtus, otherwiſe Athelbertus, or Athelbrich. &c.	37	This Egbert was firſt expelled by Brithricus, who after returnyng again and raignyng, was much derided and ſcorned: with mockyng rimes for a coward of Bernulfus kyng of Mercia. At lēgth the ſayd Egbert ſubdued him firſt, then all the reſt, to his kingdome: cauſing the whole land to be called no more Britaine, but Anglia. Concernyng the other kings after him in that Lordſhyp hereafter followeth.

¶ This Egebert ſubdued all the other ſeuen kyngdomes, and firſt began the Monarchie of all the Saxons, whiche after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter foloweth (the Lord willyng) to be declared. This kingdome of Weſtſaxons began the yeare of grace. 522. and as it ſubdued all the other, ſo it did the longeſt cōtinue, till about the commyng of William Conquerour, which is about the tyme of. 554. yeares.

547.
North-umber-land.

¶ The kynges of Northumberland with the yeares of their raigne.

Ida.	12	This Ida of his wife had. 6. children, Adda, Elricus, Oſmerus, Theodledus, of concubines other 6.

After Ida the kyngdome of Northumberland was deuided into two prouinces, Deyra and Bernicia.

Alle, or Elle, Deirorum.	30	This Alle was the ſonne of Iffe, and raigned in Deyra. 30.
Adda, Bernicorum.	7	

Some Chronicles do ſet vnder Adda to raigne in Bernicia theſe kynges, Glappa, or Claſpa, Theonulfus, or Huſſa, or Theowalnus, Frihulfus, Theodoricus.

Alricus, or Alfricus Deirorum.	5	This Alfricus was the ſonne of Ida and raigned fiue yeares. This Ethelfridus was he that ſlew the Mōkes of Bangor, to the number

The kinges of Northũberland.

Ethelfridus Bernicorum.		of. 2200. whiche came to pray for the good ſucceſſe of the Britaines, and by his wife Accan, the daughter of Elle, had vij. ſonnes: Eaufridus, Oſualdus, Oſwius, Oſlacus, Oſmundus, Oſa, Ofſa. Flor. Hiſtor.
Edwinus, Northumberland, ſlayne.	17	This Edwinus was the firſt of the Northumberland kinges, which was conuerted and Chriſtened by Paulinus Byſhop of London.
Oſricus Deirorum, ſlayne.		These two are put out of the raſe of kings, becauſe they reuolted frõ the Chriſtian fayth, and were both ſlayne miſerablye by Cedwalla a Britayne, whiche then raigned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.
Eaufridus Bernicia, ſlayne.		
Oſwaldus, Northũberland, ſlayne.		This Oſwaldus, called S. Oſwald, fought with Cedwalla, & Penda with a ſmall army, and by ſtrength of prayer vanquiſhed thẽ in the field. He ſent for Ædanus into Scotlãd to preach in his cõutrey, & as he preached in Scottiſh, yͤ kyng expounded in Engliſh. He was a great geuer of almes to yͤ poore. Of his other actes more appeareth hereafter.
Oſwius, Northumberland.	28	This Oſwius fighting againſt Pẽda, vowed to make hys daughter Elfred a Nonne, geuyng with her. xij. Lordſhyps, to build. xij. Monaſteries. vj. in Bernicia. vi. in Deira.
Oſwinus raygned together with Oſwius in Deira ſlayne.	7	The ſame Oſwius in the beginning of hys raigne tooke one Oſwinus the ſonne of Edwyne to be his partener ouer the countrey of Deyra. Afterward cauſing him to be killed, tooke to hym an other called Edelwald, the ſonne of Oſwalde. Of this Oſwynus more followeth hereafter to be declared.
Egfridus, Northumberland, ſlaine.	15	This Egfrid maried Etheldrida, who beyng xij. yeares maried to hym, could after, by no meanes be allured to lye with him, but obtainyng of him licence, was made Nunne, & then Abbes of Elye. She made but one meale a day, & neuer weare lynen. At laſt the ſame Egfrid fighting againſt yͤ Scots, was ſlayne in the fielde by a trayne of the Scots, fayning themſelues to flee.
Alfridus, Northumberland.	20	Of this Alfride, Bede in his hiſtory teſtifieth that he was exactly & perfectly ſeene in the holy Scriptures, & recouered much that his predeceſſours had loſt before. Bed. lib. 4. cap. 24. Some ſay he raigned not. 18. yeares.
Oſredus, Northumberlãd, ſlayne.	11	Oſred began his raigne beyng but viij. yeares olde, and raigned the ſpace of xi. yeares.
Kenredus North.	2	
Oriſcus, North.	20	Some affirme that Oriſcus raigned but xi. yeares.
Celulfus, Northum. made a Monke.	9	This Celulf after he had raigned. 8 yeares was made a Monke. To hym Beda wrote his ſtory.
Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northũberlãd, Monke.	21	
Oſulfus, Northum. ſlayne.	1	
Mollo, or Ethelwold North. In ſome Chronicles vj. yeares.	11	Mollo by the ſubtil trayne of Altredꝰ was made away, which Altredus alſo himſelfe after he had raigned. x. yeares, was expulſed by his owne people.
Altredus, Northum. expulſed.	10	In ſome Chronicles this Altredus raigned but viij. yeares.
Ethelbertus, or Edelredus, Northumberland, expulſed.	5	
Alfwoldus, Northumberland ſlayne.	11	
Oſredus.		
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus, North. ſlayne.	16	

¶ After this Ethelbert, the kyngdome of Northumberland ceaſed the ſpace of xxv. yeares, till Egbertus king of the Weſtſaxons ſubdued alſo thẽ, as he did the other Saxons to his dominiõ. After the which Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxons ſucceded in Northumberland his ſonne.

Ethelwolfus. Ethelbaldus.
Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. } Kynges of Weſtſaxons, raignyng in Northumberland.

In the tyme of this Ethelredus there were two vnder kynges in Northumberland Ella, and Oſbright, whom the Danes ouercame and raigned in their place, whoſe names were theſe.

Exbertus. Guthed.
Richſi. Guthrid. } Danes.
Egebert.

¶ After the raigne of theſe foreſayd Danes, the kyngdome of Northumberland came into the handes of the Weſtſaxons, in the tyme of Athelſtane and his brother Edmundus. It began firſt. an. 547. and ſo endured. 409. yeares. It contained Yorkeſhyre, Notinghamſhyre, Darbyſhyre, the Byſhopricke of Dyrham, Copeland and other.

(561) *Mercia.*

¶ The kynges of Mercia, or Merceland with the yeares of their raigne.

The kinges of Mercia.

Crida, or Creodda.	35	
Wibba.	20	
Ceorlus.	10	
Penda, ſlayne.	30	Penda ſlew in battaile Edwyne and Oſwald kynges of Northũb. Alſo Sigebert, Edrik, and Annaꝰ, kynges of the Eaſtangles. Alſo he droue out Kenwalkins kyng of the Weſtſaxons.
Peda, or Weda, ſlayne by his wife.		Under Peda and Wlferus Chriſtes faith was receiued in thoſe parts, they being conuerted by Finianus Byſhop. The ſame Peda raigned in a part of Mercia, with hys brother Wlferus, which were both the ſonnes of Penda.
Wlferus.	29	This Wlferꝰ by his wife Ermeburg had iij. daughters, Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holy virgines.
Adelredus, or Ethelred, made Mõke.	30. or. 19	This Adelredus, or Ethelredus was Monke of Bardney, whoſe ſiſters were Kynedrid, and Kyneſwith, holy virgines.
Kenredus made alſo mõke at Rome.	5	
Ceolredus, or Kelredus.	8	In the time of this Ceolred was Guthlake otherwiſe called S. Guthlake, the Popiſh Eremite of Crouland. Under Ethelbaldus dyed Beda. Ethelbald gaue that all churches ſhould be free from all exactions and publicke charges.
Ethelbaldꝰ ſlaine.	41	
Bernredus.	1	This Bernred for his pride & ſtoutnes toward his people, was by them depoſed, & the ſame yeare by the iuſt iudgement of God burned. Hiſtor. Carienſ.
Offa.	39	Offa cauſing or cõſenting to the death of good Ethelbert king of the Eaſtangles, peaceably commyng to marry his daughter, for repentaunce cauſed the Peter pence firſt to be geuẽ to Rome, and there did his penaunce.
Egfredus.	1	
Kenulphus, ſlayne.	20. or 16	
Kenelmꝰ, murthered		This Kenelme beyng of vij. yeares of age, was wickedly ſlayne after he had raigned vj. monethes.
Ceolwolfus expulſed.	1. or. 3	
Bernulphus ſlayne.	3	
Ludecanus ſlayne.	2	This Ludecane after the 2. yeare of his raigne was ſlayne of Egbert, kyng of the Weſtſaxones, by whom the reſt of the Saxons were alſo ſubdued.
Some Chronicles here inſert *Milefredus*.		
Wilaſius, or Withlacus beheaded.	12	

¶ This Withlacus in the beginning of his raigne was vãquiſhed by Egfrid kyng of Weſtſaxe, to whom he became tributary with his ſucceſſours here followyng.

Berthulfus. 12 Celulfus. 1
Buthredus. 20 Elfredus. 1 } ¶ Some writers ſay that theſe kynges were ſubdued by the Danes.

After this Elfride the kyngdome of the Mercians was tranſlated vnto the Weſtſaxons, in the latter tyme of kyng Alfred, or in the beginnyng of Edwardus Senior, and ſo was adioyned to the Weſtſaxons, beginnyng an. 561. It endured the ſpace of. 250. yeares, till about the latter ende of Aluredus, by whom it was ioyned to the kyngdome of Weſtſaxõs. This kyngdome ſtretched out to Huntyngtonſhyre, Hertfordſhyre, Glocesterſhyre, Worceter, Warwicke, Lichfield, Couentry, Cheſter, Darbyſhyre, Staffordſhyre, Shroſbury, Oxford, Buckyngham, Dorceter, Lincolne, Leceſter. &c.

(561) *Eaſt-ſaxons.*

¶ The kynges of the Eaſtſaxons, with the yeares of their raigne.

Erchwinus.	35	
Sledda.	17	
Sebertus, or Sigebertus.	14	This Sebertus nephew to Ethelbert king of Kent, among theſe kyngs was firſt chriſtened by Mellitꝰ, which made the Church of Paules.
Sexredus, and Sewardus, brethren ſlayne.	7	Sexred, and Seward and Sigebert expelled Mellitus the Byſhop, becauſe he would not miniſter to thẽ yͤ Sacramentall bred, they being not Baptiſed

The kynges of the Eaſtſaxons.

Sigebertus paruus.	23	This Sigebertus Paruus with his brother Sebertus were ſlayne of Kynegilſus and Swithelinus his brother, by the iuſt iudgement of God, for they reuolted agayne from their faith, & expelled Mellitus Byſhop of London.
Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, ſlayne.		This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much reſorting to Oſwy king of Northumberland, by his perſuaſion was brought to Chriſtiā baptiſme, baptiſed of Finianus Biſh. to whō alſo was ſet Cedde with other miniſters to preach & to baptiſe in his countrey. At laſt he was ſlayne of his mē about him, vſing to much to ſpare his enemies, & to forgeue their iniuries that repented. Flor.
Swythelinus.	14	
Sigherius, ſonne of Segebertus Paruꝰ.		This Sigherius and Sebbi firſt fell to Idolatry, then through ye meanes of Wolferus kyng of Mercia, were reduced, & at laſt Sebby became a Monke.
Sebbi ſonne of Sewardꝰ, which was made a Monke.		
Sigehardꝰ, and Suefridus, brethren.		
Offa.	5	Offa after he had raigned a while, became a Monke at Rome.
Selredus, or Colredus, ſlayne.	38	
Swithredus.		

This Swithredus was ſubdued vnto Egbert kyng of Weſtſaxons. Albeit London remained vnder the Mercians to the tyme that they alſo were ſubdued to the Weſtſaxons. This kyngdome began .an. 561. and ſo continued till the tyme of Egbertus. Some ſtories ſay it continued to the tyme of Edward ſonne of Aluredus, about the cōmyng of the Danes, and contained vnder it the Lordſhyp of Midleſex and London. The Metropolitane ſea of this prouince of Eſſex was Lōdon, where the famous Church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert kyng of Kent, and Sigebert kyng of Eſſex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Chriſtes fayth: wherof the firſt byſhop was Mellitus, the ij. biſhop was Ceddus, the third came in by Symonie, whoſe name was Wine. Malmeſb. de vitis Pont. After him was Erkenwaldus, of whō writeth Bede, that he beyng diſeaſed in his legges that he could neither go nor ride, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in his Dioces. &c. Although W. Malmeſb. writyng of the Byſhops of London in his booke De vitis Ponti. ſayth that Mauritius firſt the kynges Chaūcelor, then Byſhop there, did firſt begin this ſo large and famous buildyng of the Church of S. Paul in London: which worke after him Richardus his ſucceſſour did proſecute, beſtowyng all the rentes of his Byſhopricke vpō the ſame, and yet was ſcarſely ſeene: yet herein may be aunſwered peraduenture, that the Church builded before by kyng Ethelbert, and kyng Sigebert, might be ouerthrowen by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by theſe Byſhops aboue mentioned.

(561)

Eaſtangles.

¶ The kynges of the Eaſtangles, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kinges of the Eaſte angles.

Vffa, or Vlfa.	30	Of this Vffa the people of Northfolke were then called Vfkyns.
Titulus, or Titila.	13	
Redwaldus.	12	Redwaldus firſt was conuerted in Kent: afterward through the wicked perſwaſion of his wife and other, ioyned Idolatry with Chriſtianitie.
Erpwaldꝰ, or Corpwaldus, ſlayne.	38	Notwithſtandyng his ſonne Erpwaldus through the meanes of Edwyn king of Northūberland, was brought to the perfect fayth of Chriſt, & therin faithfully did continue.
Sigebertꝰ, or Sibrect firſt a mōke ſlayne.	3	This Sigebert made hym ſelfe a Monke and afterwarde brought out to fight agaynſt Penda, with a white ſticke in his hand, was ſlayne in the field.
Egnicus, or Egricus, ſlayne.	3	
Anna, ſlayne.	3	The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelbertha, and Saint Etheldreda.
Adelhere, or Adelredus, ſlayne.	2	
Adelwoldus, or Ethelbaldus.	9	
Aldulphus.	25	
Elkwoldus.	12	
Beorna.	26	
Ethelredꝰ, ſlayne.	52	This Ethelredus for his holynes & godly vertues is counted for a Saint: he innocently commyng to Offa kyng of Mercia to mary with Althrid his daughter, by the ſiniſter ſuſpicion of Offa, & wicked counſaile of Kineſwina his wife, was cruelly put to death in ye houſe of Offa. For ye which cauſe Offa afterwarde repentyng went to Rome, where he made him ſelfe a Monke.
Ethelbritus, ſlayne.	5	

¶ After this ſinful murther of Ethelbert, the kyngdome of Eaſtangles durying the tyme of certaine yeares, was in great trouble and deſolation, vnder diuers kynges and tyrauntes, ſometyme the kyng of Weſtſaxe, ſomtimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauyng dominiō ouer them, till the commyng of S. Edmund, whiche was the laſt kyng there rulyng vnder the Weſtſaxons.

S. Edmund, martyred.	16	

¶ After the death of S. Edmund, beyng ſlayne of the Infidel Danes, the kyngdome remained with the Danes. 50. yeares, till at length Edward kyng of the Weſtſaxons, expulſed the Danes, and ioyned it to his kyngdome. It began about the yeare of our Lord. 561. and continued neare about. 377. yeares. Fabian numbreth but. xij. kynges, but in other I finde mo.

The Metropolitane ſea of this prouince of Eaſtangles, was firſt at a towne called Dūmoke, or Dunwich (which in tyme paſt hath bene a famous & populous towne with a Maior and iiij. Bayliffes, & alſo diuers Pariſh Churches and Hoſpitals, wherunto great priuileges by diuers kyngs haue bene graunted, which towne is now falle into ruine & decay, and more then halfe conſumed by the eatyng in of the Sea, as alſo greatly impoueriſhed by loſſe of the Hauen, whiche heretofore hath floriſhed with diuers tall ſhyppes belongyng to the ſame, the inhabitauntes therof beyng not able of them ſelues to repayre it without the helpe of other good people,) where the firſt Byſhop was Felix, a Burgundian, who ſate there xvij. yeares. After this, vnto the tyme of Egbert kyng of Weſtſaxe, this prouince was euer ruled by two Biſhops, wherof the one had his ſea at Dunmoke now called Dunwich. The other at Helmahā, where xij. ſat, one after an other. From thence it was tranſlated to Thetford, where ſat three Byſhops. At laſt by Byſhop Herbert it was remoued to Norwich, where he erected a Monaſterie of Monkes.

This Dunwich lyeth vpon the ſea ſide in Suffolke.

And thus ſtandeth the order and race of the Saxon kynges, raignyng together with the Britaines in this Realme. Now foloweth the deſcription of the Britaine kings, raignyng with the Saxons in like maner.

Although the miſerable Britaines thus were bereued of their land, by the cruell ſubtletie of the Saxōs, yet were they not ſo driuen out or expulſed, but that a certaine kyngdome remained amōg them, in ſome part of the land, namely about Cornewall, and the partes of Cambria, which is deuided in two partes, Southwales called Demetia, and Northwales called Venedocia. The ſayd Britaines moreouer through the valiaunt actes of their kinges, ſometimes raigned alſo in other countreys, diſplacing the Saxons, and recouering agayne their owne: ſometymes more, ſomtimes leſſe, till the tyme of Carecius, when as the Britaines beyng depoſed by Godmundus, (whoſe helpe they themſelues ſent for out of Irelād, againſt Carecius their wicked king) vtterly loſt their land and kyngdome: beyng thence driuen vtterly into Wales and Cornewale, the yeare of our Lord. 570. What the order of theſe kynges was, what were their actes, their names, and tymes when they raigned: in this briefe table vnder written is expreſſed. Wherein firſt is to be premoniſhed that Conſtantinus ſecundus had three childrē, to wit, Conſtans, which was made a Mōke in Winchester, and after made a kyng: the ſecond was Aurelius Ambroſius: the third was Vter Pendragon. This being premiſed, we will now enter the deſcription of our Table, beginnyng with Vortigernus.

¶ *A Table declaryng the kynges of Britayne, which raigned together with the Saxones, after their commyng into this land.*

Kynges of Britaine whiche here raigned in the tyme of the Saxones.

Vortigernus.
Vortimerius.
Vortigernus, agayne.
Aurelius Ambroſius.
Vter Pendragon.
Arthurus.

Conſtantinus 3.
Aurelius.
Conanus.
Vortiperius.
Malgo.
Carecius.

Here is to be vnderſtand that theſe Britaine kyngs aboue mentioned, did not ſo raigne here in this land, from the tyme of Vortigerne, that they had the full poſſeſſion and gouernment ouer all the whole Realme: but onely ouer parcels or partes, ſuch as by force of armes, they could either hold or wynne from the Saxons: which cōmyng in dayly & grewing vpon thē, did ſo repleniſh yͤ land with multitudes of thē, that yͤ Britaines at legth neither were able to hold yͤ which they had, nor to recouer yͤ which they loſt: Leauyng example to all ages & cōtreys, what it is, firſt to let in forreine natiōs into their dominiōs, but eſpecially what it is for Princes to ioyne in mariage with infidels: as this Vortiger did with Hengiſtus daughter, which was the mother of all this miſchief: geuing to the Saxons not onely ſtrength, but alſo occaſion and courage to attempt that whiche they dyd. Neither was this vnconſidered before of yͤ Britaine Lords and Nobilitie: who worthely beyng therewith offēded, iuſtly depoſed their kyng, and inthroned Vortimerus his ſonne in his rowme. By the whiche Vortimer beyng a puiſſaunt Prince, the Saxons were then repulſed and driuen agayne into Germany, where they ſtayed a while till the death of Vortimer whom Rowen daughter of Hēgiſtus cauſed trayterouſly to be poyſoned. Then Vortiger beyng agayne reſtored to his kyngdome, through the entreatie of Rowen hys wife, ſent into Germany agayne for Engiſt, who eftſoones makyng his returne, came in with a nauy of. 300. ſhyppes well appointed. The Nobles of Britaine hearing this, prepared them ſelues to the contrary ſide in all forceable wiſe to put them of. But Engiſt through Rowen his daughter ſo laboured the kyng: excuſing himſelfe, and ſaying that he brought not the multitude, to worke any violence either agaynſt him or againſt his countrey, but onely thinkyng that Vortimer had yet bene alyue, whom he mynded to impugne for the kynges ſake, and to take his part. And now for ſo much as he heareth of the death of Vortimer his enemy, he therfore cōmitteth both himſelfe and his people to his diſpoſition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remaine within his land: the reſt ſhould returne. And if it ſo pleaſed the kyng, to appoint day and place, where they might meete and talke together of the matter, both he and his would ſtand to ſuch order as the kyng with his counſaile ſhould appoint. With theſe fayre wordes the kyng and his nobles (well cōtented) did aſſigne to them both day and place, which was in the towne of Ambry: where he ment to talke with them, addyng this condition with all, that eche part ſhould come without any maner of weapon. Engiſt ſhewyng him ſelfe well agreed thereto, gaue priuy intelligence to his ſide, that eche man ſhould cary with him ſecretly in his hoſe a long knife, with their watch word alſo geuē vnto them when they ſhould draw their kniues: wherwith euery Saxon ſhould (and ſo did) kill the Britaine, with whō he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britaine Lordes beyng ſlayne, the Saxons tooke Vortigerne the kyng, and bound him: for whoſe raunſom they required to be deliuered to them the Citie of London, Yorke, Lincolne, Wincheſter, with other the moſt ſtrōgeſt holdes within the lād: which beyng to them graunted, they begyn to make ſpoyle and hauocke of the Britaine nation, deſtroying the Citizens, pluckyng downe Churches, killyng vp the Prieſtes, burnyng bookes of the holy Scripture, leauyng nothyng vndone that tyranny could worke, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 462. The kyng ſeyng this miſerable ſlaughter of the people fled into Wales.

Example what it is to let in ſtraunge nations.

Maryage wyth Infidels what deſtruction it worketh.

The ſecond returne of *Engiſt* into Britayne.

The diſſembling wordes of the Saxons to deceaue the Britaynes.

Neme your ſexes the watchword.

All the Nobilitie of the Britaynes deſtroyed in one day.

The king raunſomed.

The Saxons enter poſſeſſion of the land.

The Chriſtian Britaines perſecuted of the Infidel Saxons.

This while Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter Pendragon brethren to kyng Conſtans aboue mentioned, whom Vortigerne wickedly cauſed to be killed, were in litle Britaine. To whom the Britaynes ſent word, deſiryng their ayde in helpyng their countrey. Aurelius vnderſtandyng the woful ſtate of the Realme, ſpeedeth hym ouer to ſatiſfie their deſire, and to reſcue (what in him was) their neceſſitie. Who at his firſt commyng eftſoones beyng crowned for their kyng, ſeeketh out wicked Vortigerne, the cauſe of all this trouble and murder of kyng Conſtās his brother. And findyng him in Wales in a ſtrong tower, wherein he had inmured him ſelfe, ſetteth him and his caſtell on fire. That done he moued his power agaynſt the Saxons, with whō, and with Elle Captaine of the Southſaxons (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflictes.

Aurelius Ambroſius returneth into Britayne.

Aurelius crowned king of Britaine.

Vortigerus burned in his tower.

Our Engliſh old Chronicles make record that Horſus the brother of Engiſt was ſlayne before in the tyme of Vortimer. The ſame alſo do record, that this Engiſt was taken priſoner in the field, fightyng agaynſt Aurelius Ambroſius: who then conſultyng with his Nobles and Barons, what was to be done with him: the Byſhop of Gloceſter, called Eldadus, ſtandyng vp, gaue this counſaile, ſaying: that if all men would deliuer him, yet he with his owne hādes would cut him in peeces, alleaging the example of Samuel againſt Agag kyng of the Amelechites, taken by kyng Saul in the field: whom the ſaid Samuel cauſed to be cut in peeces. Euen ſo (ſayth he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children: ſo his mother may be made this day of him likewiſe. And ſo was Engiſt taken out of the Citie by Eldol Conſul or Maior of Gloceſter, and there was beheaded: if truth or credite is to be geuen to theſe our old Britaine ſtories: wherof I haue nothyng certainly to pronounce, but that I may ſuſpect the truth therof, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 490. Henr. Huntyng. Galfr. cum alijs.

Horſus ſlayne. *Engiſt* taken in the field.

The counſell of *Eldadus* byſhop of Gloceſter.

Engiſt beheaded.

Ex Henric. Huntingtonſ. Galfrido.

A certaine auncient written hiſtory I haue in Latin, compiled in the. xiiij. yeare of kyng Richard the ſecond, and by him cauſed to be written as the title declareth: which becauſe it beareth no name of the author: I call it by the name of him of whom I borowed this booke, with many other likewiſe without name, Hiſtoria Cariana. This hiſtory recordeth that Hengiſtus dyed in Kent the xxxij. yeare of his raigne: which if it be true, then is it falſe that he was takē at Cunynburgh, and ſlayne in the North. This Aurelius Ambroſius before mentioned, is thought of Polidorus Vergilius citing the authoritie of Bede, to deſcend of the ſtocke of the Romaines: which as it is not vnpoſſible to be true: ſo this is certaine by the full accord of all our old writtē ſtories, that both the ſayd Aurelius, and his brother Vter Pendragon beyng the ſonnes of Conſtantinus, brother to Andocnus kyng of litle Britaine, were nurſed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and inſtructed by Guitelinus Archbyſhop of London, and after the murder of Conſtans their elder brother, were conueyed from hence to litle Britaine: whereby it is manifeſt that they were borne in this land, and though their father were a Romaine as Polydorus pretēdeth, yet like it is that they were Britaines borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

Ex Chronico quodā Carienſ.

The vncertainty of our old Britaine ſtories.

Ex hiſtoria Cariana.

Aurelius Ambroſius Brit. kyng.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the ſtory ſayth) was poyſoned by the crafty meanes of Paſcentius, ſonne of Vortigernus (ſubornyng one, vnder the weede of a Monke to play the Phiſicion, and ſo to poyſon him) next ſucceeded his brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragon, about the yeare of our Lord. 497. who fightyng agaynſt Octa & Coſa, tooke them and brought them to London there to be kept. But they breakyng out of priſon returned into Germanie for more ayde. In this meane time dayly recourſe was of Saxons, with great companies cōmyng out of Saxonie: with whom the Britaines had diuers and ſundry cōflictes, ſome tymes wynnyng, ſometymes looſing. Not long after Octa and Coſa, renewyng their power in Germany, in all moſt ſpeedy haſt did returne agayne, and ioyne with the other Saxons agaynſt the Britaines. Here began the ſtate of miſerable Britaine dayly more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons preuayled in nūber and ſtrength agaynſt the Chriſtian Britaines: oppreſſyng the people, throwyng downe Churches and Monaſteries, murderyng the Prelates, ſparyng neither age nor perſon, but waſtyng Chriſtianitie almoſt through the whole realme. To theſe miſeries it fell moreouer that Vter their kyng was ſicke & could not come out. Notwithſtandyng beyng greeued with the lamētable deſtruction of his people, cauſed his bed to be brought into the camp, where God gaue him victory: Octa and Coſa there beyng ſlayne. After this victory in ſhort ſpace Vter dyed of poyſon (as is ſayd) put into a fountaine of water, wherof the kyng was wont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lord. 516. Flor. Hiſt.

Vter Pendragō Brit. kyng.

Remember the wordes of *Gildas 633. hiſt. Caria.*

The Chriſtiā Britaines perſecuted by the heathen Saxons.

About which tyme and yeare, came in Stuph and Wigarius two nephewes of Certhice king of Weſtſaxons, with their companies ſo violently vpon the Britaines, that they of the weſt part of the Realme, were not able to reſiſt thē. Then the mercifull prouidence of almighty God, rayſed vp for them kyng Arthure the ſonne of Vter: who was then crowned after him and victoriouſly raigned. To this Arthure the old Britaine hiſtoryes do aſcribe xij. great victories agaynſt the heathē Saxons: whoſe notorious and famous conqueſtes, mētioned in the Britaine ſtories, I leaue them as I finde them: referryng them to the credite of their authours in whom they are found. Notwithſtandyng as I do not thinke contrary, but God by the foreſayd Arthure, gaue to the Britaines ſome ſtay and quietnes duryng his life, and certaine of his ſucceſſours: ſo touchyng certaine of great victories and conqueſtes, not onely ouer this land, but alſo ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, thē that any credit ſhould be geuen vnto them, more worthy to be ioyned with the Iliades of Homere, then to haue place in any Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. After Arthure next kyng of the Britaines, was Conſtantinus the 3. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius, after whom folowed Malgo, noted in ſtories to be a Sodomite. And after him the laſt kyng of the Britaines, was Carecius, all geuen to Ciuill warre, execrable to God and man. Who being chaſed out by the Britaines thēſelues, the land fell to the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: about the yeare of our Lord. 568. by whom all the

Kyng *Arthur.*

The tales of kyng *Arthur.*

Conſtātinus. 3. Aurelius Conanus. Vortiporius, Malgo, Carecius, kynges of Britaine.

The Archbyſhop of London and the Archbyſh. of Yorke flee into Wales.

Clergy and the Chriſtian miniſters of the Britaines, were then vtterly driuen out: In ſomuch that Theonus Archbiſhop of London, & Thadeoſeus Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſeyng their Churches all waſted, and Pariſhes diſperſed, with their cariages and monumentes: left their ſeas in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales. Touchyng which matter, and touchyng alſo the cauſe of this deſolatiō and ruine of the Britaines kyngdome, the firſt fountaine & origine therof partly before is declared, where was ſhewed in the tyme of Conſtantinus Magnus and Maximinian, pag. 109. how theſe noble Princes with other mo, atchiuing their venturous affaires in other countreys, tooke with them great multitudes and armyes out of Britayne: through the occaſion wherof, the land was greatly empayred and depriued of his moſt chief and principall nobles, beyng caried away to ſerue in forreine warres. Which was no ſmall cauſe, why the realme of Britayne (beyng ſo waſted) was the leſſe able to helpe it ſelfe agaynſt their enemyes. Although this was not the chief occaſion, but other cauſes there were greater, wherfore God by his iuſt iudgement, ſuffered this plague and ouerthrow to fall vpon that people, as here out of an old authour, and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, ſo I thought to annexe it in his owne wordes, firſt in Latin, then afterward Engliſhyng the ſame, for the more credite of that which ſhall be alleaged, in tenour as followeth.

Ex hiſtoria quadã Cariẽſi.

The cauſes of the deſtruction of the Brit. declared.

Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces ſequuti fuerunt & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpiſſent, extulerunt ſe vltra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluenciam diuitiarum ſuperbi cœperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gẽtes audita eſt. Et, vt Gildas hiſtoricus teſtatur, non ſolùm hoc vitium ſed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere ſolent, & præcipue quod totius boni euertit ſtatum, odium veritatis, amor mendacij, ſuſceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate: exceptatio Sathanæ pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, ſed qui cæteris crudeliores eſſent. Si quis verò eorũ mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quaſi Britanniæ ſubuerſorem omnia odia, telaq; torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & diſplicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non ſolùm hoc ſeculares viri, ſed & ipſe grex domini, eiuſq; paſtores ſine diſcretione faciebãt. Non igitur admirandum eſt degeneres tales patriam illam amittere quam prædicto modo maculabant.

In Engliſhe thus.

In Engliſh thus: The nobles of this Realme followyng the Princes and Captaines aboue named: by the reaſon therof the vulgare and raſcall ſorte remayned behinde at home, who whẽ they had gotten the rowmes and places of the nobles, they aduaunced them ſelues aboue that their dignitie required. And through their aboundaũce of riches, they ſurpriſed with pride, begã to fall into ſuch and ſo great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Hiſtoriographer witneſſeth, not into vice onely, but alſo into all maner of wickednes, wherto mans nature is inclined: and eſpecially into that whiche is the ouerthrow of all good eſtates, the hatred of the truth, loue of lyes, imbracyng of euill in ſtead of goodneſſe, regardyng of miſchief in ſtead of vertue, receauyng of the deuill in ſtead of an Aungell of lyght. They annoynted kynges not ſuch as could well rule a common wealth, but thoſe which exceeded all other in crueltye. And if any might be perceaued to be ſomwhat more humble or meeke, or to be more inclined to fauour the truth then the reſidue, hym did euery one hate and backbyte as the ouerthrower and deſtroyer of Britain. All thynges, whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God, they regarded alike. And not ſecular men onely did thus, but alſo the congregatiō of the Lord and their Biſhops, and teachers without any difference at all. Therfore it is not to be marueiled, that ſuch people ſo degeneratyng and goyng out of kinde ſhould loſe that countrey, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the hiſtory of the Britaines, till, by the grace of Chriſt, the order of tyme ſhall bring vs hereafter to the treatiſe of Cedwalla and Calwalladrus. Now remayneth, in returnyng agayne to the matter of the Saxons, to diſcourſe particularly, that which before in the table aboue we haue ſommarely comprehended.

In this order and race of the Saxon kinges, aboue ſpecified which had thus thruſt out the Britons, and now deuided their land in ſeuen kyngdomes: as there were many noughty and wicked kynges (whoſe pernicious examples, beyng all ſet on warre and bloudſhed, are greatly to be deteſted and eſchued of all true godly Princes) ſo ſome there were agayne (although but few) very ſincere & good. But none almoſt from the firſt to the laſt, which was not either ſlayne in warre, or murdered in peace, or els conſtrayned to make him ſelfe a Monke. Such was the rage then and tyranny of that time, whether we ſhould impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the iuſt iudgement of God ſo diſpoſing the matter, that as they had violently and falſely diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of their right: ſo they moſt miſerably were not onely vexed of the Danes, and conquered at laſt by the Normans: but alſo more cruelly deuoured them ſelues, one warryng ſtill agaynſt an other, till they were neither able to helpe them ſelues, nor yet to reſiſt others. Of them which are noted for good among theſe Saxon kinges, the firſt and principall is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbrict the firſt kyng of Kent aboue ſpecified: who by the meanes of Auſten and partly through his wife, named Berda, firſt receiued and preferred the Chriſtian fayth, in all this land of the Engliſh Saxons, wherof more followeth hereafter to be ſayd (the Lord ſo permittyng) as place and opportunitie ſhall require. The next place I geue to Oſwaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did his endeuour in furtheryng the fayth of Chriſt amongeſt his people: but alſo beyng kyng, diſdayned not himſelfe to ſtand vp and interprete to his nobles and ſubiectes the preachyng of Aidanus, preachyng Chriſt to them in his Scottiſh lãguage. In the ſame commendation alſo, like as in the ſame lyne, commeth his vncle Edwin, king of Northumberland, a good Prince, and the firſt receauer of Chriſtes fayth in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus Byſhop. Adde to theſe alſo Sigebert, firſt Chriſtened king of the Eaſtangles, & Sebert, firſt Chriſtened kyng of Eſſex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of Religion, and ſetter vp of Scholes: the other which is Sebert or Sexbricth, was newew to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Eſſex. By the which Ethelbert, in the tyme of the ſayd Sebert the Churche of Paules was builded at London, and Chriſtian fayth much enlarged. &c. Of the ſame name there was alſo an other Ethelbert kyng of the Eaſtangles, a good prince: who by the aduiſe of his counſaile perſwaded to mariage (though agaynſt his will) went peaceably to kyng Offa for deſpouſage of Althride his daughter, where the good kyng meanyng innocently through the ſiniſter and deuiliſh counſayle of kyng Offa his wife, was ſecretly beheaded and made away. Wherupon Offa through repentaũce therof, made the firſt Peter pence to be geuẽ to S. Peters church in Rome.

This *Berda* beyng a Chriſtian was maryed vnto *Ethelbert* vpon the condition that ſhe ſhould be ſuffered to enioy her religion.

Ethelbertus kyng of Kent.

Oſwaldus kyng of Northumberlãd.

Edwinus kyng of Northumberlãd.

Sigebertus of Eaſtangles.

Sebert or *Sexbricth* of Eſſex.

The firſt buildyng of the Church of Paules in Lõdõ.

Ethelbert kyng of the Eaſtangles.

Peter pence how they firſt came vp to be payde to Rome.

Kenelmus kyng of the Mercians.

S. Edmund kyng of Eaſtangles.

In the Cathologue of theſe good kynges is alſo to be numbered Kenelmus kyng of the Mercians, & Edmundus kyng of the Eaſtangles: of the which ij. the firſt was falſely & abhominably circumuẽted and beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell ſiſter and his tutor, as he was in his huntyng at Corfcaſtle. The other which is called kyng Edmund the Martyr, was ſlayne at Bury, or as ſome write at the Caſtle of Haleſdon by the Danes: vpon what occaſion, hiſtories do vary. The author of Flores Hiſtoriarũ ſayth, it was by reaſon of one Lothebrocus a Dane: who beyng of the kyngs bloud, & beyng with his Hawke on the Sea ſide in a litle boate, was driuen by force of weather into the coaſt of Northfolke, where he beyng preſented to king Edmund, was retained in his Court with great fauour: till at length one Bericke the kynges Fawkner, enuiyng and deſpityng him, for his great dexteritie in that facultie, priuily did murder him in a wood. This beyng at laſt ſpyed (as murder lightly will come out) Bericke was ſet in Lothbrockes boate alone without all tackling, to be committed vnto the Sea: and as it chaũced ſo was driuen into Denmarke, who there beyng ſeene in Lothebrockes boate, was ſtraitly examined of the partie. He then to excuſe himſelfe, falſely ſayd he was ſlayne by the commaundemẽt of the king. Upon the occaſion wherof Inguar and Hubba ſonnes to the ſaid Lothebroke gatheryng an army of Danes, inuaded firſt Northumberlãd: after that bruſtyng into Northfolke on euery ſide, ſent this meſſage to king Edmũd after this tenour: Signifieng that kyng Inguar the victorious Prince (dread both by ſea and land) as he had ſubiect diuers other landes vnder hym, ſo arriuyng now to the coaſtes of Northfolke, where he intendeth to wynter: chargeth and commaundeth him to deuide with hym his old treaſures and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule vnder him: which if he would not do, but would contemne his power ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with ſuch an army, he ſhould be iudged as vnworthy both of kingdome and life, &c. The king hearyng this meſſage, aſtonied not a litle therat, calling his counſaile about him, conſulted with them, eſpecially with one of his Byſhops, beyng then his Secretary, what was beſt to be done: who fearyng the kynges life, exhorteth hym by wordes and diuers examples to agree to the meſſage. At this a while the kyng holdyng his peace, at length thereto made aunſwere agayne in theſe wordes ſaying: Go (ſayth he) tell your Lord, and let him know that Edmundus the Chriſtened kyng, for the loue of this temporall

The meſſage of *Inguar* to kyng *Edmund*.

rall life, will not ſubiect him ſelfe to a Pagane Duke, vnles before he become a Chriſtiā, &c. The meſſenger takyng his aunſwere was not ſo ſoone out of the gates, as Inguar meetyng him and biddyng him to be ſhort in declaryng his aunſwere, cauſed all the kynges garriſon to be ſet round about. Some ſay that the kyng flying to Thetford, there pitcht a field with the Danes, but the Danes preuaylyng, the good kyng from thence dyd flye to the Caſtle of Haleſdon aboue mentioned: where he beyng purſued of the Danes was there taken, and at length beyng bound to a ſtake, there of the raging Danes was ſhott to death. And thus much for the good kynges.

The martirdome of kyng *Edmund* in Northfolke.

A queſtion, whether kynges which made thēſelues Monkes did well in ſo doyng or not.

Now as concernyng thoſe kynges which made themſelues Monkes (which in number be vij. or viij.) although the example be rare & ſtraunge, and much commended of the Chroniclers of that tyme: yet I cā not raſhly aſſent to their commendation, albeit the caſe therof is no matter of our hiſtory. Firſt in alteryng their eſtate from kings to Mōkes, if they did it to finde more eaſe, and leſſe trouble thereby: I ſee not how that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to chaunge his publike vocation, for reſpect of priuate commoditie. If feare of ieopardie and daunger did driue thē therunto: what prayſe and commendation they deſerue, in ſo doyng let the Monkiſhe hiſtories iudge what they liſte: me ſeemeth ſo much prayſe as they deſerue in prouidyng their owne ſafetie, ſo much they deſerue agayne to be diſcōmended in forſakyng the common wealth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holyneſſe ſake, thinkyng in that kynde of lyfe to ſerue and pleaſe God better: or to merite more toward their ſaluatiō then in the eſtate of a king, therin they were farre deceaued: not knowyng that the ſaluatiō which cōmeth of God is to be meaſured and eſteemed, not by mans merites, or by any perfectiō of life, or by difference of any vocation more of one then an other: but onely by the free grace of the Goſpell, which freely iuſtifieth all them, that faythfully beleue in Chriſt Ieſu. But here will be ſayd agayne peraduenture, in the ſolitarie lyfe of Monkery be fewer occaſions of euils, then in kynges courtes, wherfore that lyfe ſerueth more to holynes, and more is to be preferred thē the other. To this I aunſwere, to auoyde the occaſions of euill is good, where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſte. But otherwiſe, where duety & charge byndeth to tary, there to auoyde the occaſions of euil: where rather they are to be reſiſted: rather declareth a weakenes of the mā, then deſerueth any prayſe. As it is truly ſayd of Tullie: Out of Aſia, ſayth he, to lyue a good lyfe, is no Godamercy: but in Aſia where ſo great occaſions of euill abound, there to lyue a good mā, that is prayſe worthy. With the like reaſon I may inferre, if a man be called to be a kyng, there not to chaunge the vocation, for voydyng of occaſiōs, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keepe his vocation, declareth a good and perfect mā. But of theſe bymatters hetherto ſufficient.

Aunſwere. Where vocation byndeth to tary, there not to fly, but to reſiſt the occaſiōs of euill, it is a good mās part.

These thynges now thus premiſed, concernyng the order and raigne of kynges, as is aboue prefixed: conſequently it remayneth to enter the tractation of ſuch thynges, as in the tyme and raigne of the foreſayd kynges happened in the Church: firſt puttyng the Reader agayne in mynde of the former perſecutions within the Realme, partly before touched in the tyme of the Britayne kynges, whiche ſpecially were three or foure before the commyng of Auſten into England.

Foure perſecutions in Britayne before the commyng of Auſten into England.

The perſecution of *Diocleſian* about the yeare of our Lord, 310.

1. The firſt was vnder Diocleſian, and that not onely in England, but generally throughout all the Romaine Monarchie, as is aboue ſpecified. In this perſecution Albanus, Iulius, Aaron, with a great nūber moe of other good Chriſtian Britaines, were Martyred for Chriſtes name.

2. The ſecond perſecution or deſtructiō of Chriſtiā fayth, was by the inuadyng of Gnauius & Melga: wherof, the firſt was captaine of the Hunnes, the other of the Pictes. Theſe two tyraunts, after the cruell ſlaughter of Vrſula & other 11000. noble virgines, made their rode into Britaine, heryng the ſame to be deſtitute of the ſtrēgth of men. At what tyme they made a miſerable murder of Chriſtes Saintes, ſpoylyng and waſtyng Churches, without all mercy either of women or children, ſparyng none.

The perſecution of *Gnauius* and *Melga*.

The perſecution of *Hengiſt* in Britayne.

3. The third perſecution came by Hengiſt, and the Saxones: who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the Chriſten congregations within the land, like ragyng wolues fleyng vpon the ſheepe, and ſpillyng the bloud of Chriſtians, till Aurelius Ambroſius came, and reſtored agayne the Churches deſtroyed.

The fourth deſtruction of Chriſten fayth in Britayne by *Gurmundus* an. 595 This *Gurmundus*, as ſome ſtories record, leauyng his kingdome at home to his brother, ſayd he would poſſeſſe no kyngdome, but which he ſhould wyn with hys ſword.

4. The fourth deſtruction of Chriſten fayth and Religiō, was by Gurmundus a Pagan kyng of the Africanes: who ioynyng in league with the Saxons, wrought much greuaunce to the Chriſtians of the land. In ſo much that Theonus Byſhop of Lōdon, and Thadioceus Byſhop of Yorke, with the reſt of the people ſo many as were left: hauyng no place, wherin to remaine with ſafety, did flee ſome to Cornwall, and ſome to the mountaines of Wales about the yeare of our Lord. 550. and this perſecution remained to the tyme of Ethelbert kyng of Kent. an. 589.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the 5. kyng of Kent, the fayth of Chriſt was firſt receiued of the Saxons or Engliſhmen: by the meanes of Gregory byſhop of Rome, in maner and order as here foloweth, out of old hiſtories collected and recorded.

Firſt then to ioyne the order of our hiſtory together: The Chriſtē faith firſt receiued of kyng Lucius, endured in Britaine till this tyme, neare vpon the ſeaſō of. CCCC. yeares and odde: when by Gurmundus Africanus (as is ſayd) fightyng with the Saxons agaynſt the Britaynes, it was neare extinct in all the land, duryng the ſpace about. xliiij. yeares. So that the firſt ſpringyng of Chriſtes Goſpell in this land, was an. 180. The commyng of the Saxons was. an. 449. or an. 469. The commyng of Auſten was. an. 596. From the firſt entryng in of the Saxones to their complet conqueſt, and the driuyng out of the Britaynes (which was about the latter tyme of Cadwalader) were. 240. yeares. In ſumme: from Chriſt to Lucius were. 180. yeares. The cōtinuaūce of ỹ Goſpell frō Lucius to the entring of the Saxōs was. 302. yeares. The decay of the ſame to the entryng of Auſtē was 143. yeares, which beyng added together make frō Lucius to Auſten. 445 frō the baptiſme of Chriſt to Auſtē they make. 598. yeres. In this yeare then. 598. Auſten beyng ſent from Gregory came into England: the occaſion wherupon Gregory ſent hym hether was this.

Kyng *Lucius* dyed 428. before the commyng of *Auſten*.

The computation of tymes concernyng the cōtinuance and decay of Chriſtes Goſpell betwene the Britaynes & Saxons.

598.

In the dayes of Pelagius Byſhop of Rome, Gregory chauncyng to ſee certaine children in the market place of Rome (brought thether to be ſold out of England) beyng fayre and beautifull of viſage, demaunded out of what cōtrey they were: and vnderſtandyng they were Heatheniſh, out of Englād, lamented the caſe of that land being ſo beautifull and Angelicall, ſo to be ſubiect vnder the Prince of darknes. And aſkyng moreouer out of what prouince they were, it was aunſwered, out of Deyra a part of Northumbers: wherof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call Deyrham taketh his name. Then he alludyng to the name of Deyra, theſe people (ſayth he) are to be deliuered de Dei ira, which is, from Gods wrath. Moreouer vnderſtandyng the kynges name of that prouince to be Alle (aboue mētioned) alludyng likewiſe to his name: there (ſayth he) ought Alleluia to be ſong to the liuyng God. Whereupon beyng moued and deſirous to go and helpe the conuerſion of that cōtrey, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romaines for that tyme to accompliſh his deſire. But afterward beyng Byſhop hym ſelfe next after Pelagius, he ſent thether the foreſayd Auſten with other preachers neare about to the number of xl. But by the way, how it happened I cannot ſay: As Auſten with his company were paſſyng in their iourney, ſuch a ſodaine feare entred in their hartes (that as Antonius ſayth) they returned all. Other write that Auſtē was ſent backe to Gregory agayne, to releaſe them of that viage ſo daungerous & vncertaine, amongeſt ſuch a barbarous people: whoſe language neither they knew, nor whoſe rudenes they were able to reſiſt. Thē Gregory with pithy perſwaſions confirmyng & comfortyng him, ſent hym agayne with letters, both to the Byſhop of Arelalēſis, willyng him to helpe and aide ỹ ſaid Auſten & his company in all, whatſoeuer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by ỹ foreſayd Auſtē vnto his fellowes, exhortyng them to go forward boldly in the Lords worke, as by the tenour of the ſaid Epiſtle here followyng may appeare.

Beda Polychronicon. lib. 5. cap. 8. 6. Maleſburienſis de regib. Henr. Huntington. lib. 3. Fabianus, part. 5. ca. 119. Liber bibliotheca tornalenſis.

***Deyrham* in Northumberland.**

Episcopus Arelalenſis.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ſeruis Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quàm ab ijs quę cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c. In Engliſhe. Gregory the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruaunts, to the ſeruaūtes of our Lord. For aſmuch as it is better not to take good thinges in hād, then after they be begon, to thinke to reuolte backe frō the ſame againe: therfore now you may not, nor cānot (deare children) but with all feruent ſtudy and labour, muſt needes go forward in that good buſines, which through the helpe of God you haue wel begon. Neither let the labour of your iourney, nor the ſlaūderous toūgs of mē apalle you, but that with all inſtaūce and feruency ye proceede and accompliſh the thyng whiche the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand: knowyng that your great trauaile ſhalbe recompenſed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therfore as we ſend here Auſten to you agayne, whom alſo we haue ordained to be your gouernour: ſo do you humbly obey hym in all thynges, knowyng that it ſhall be profitable

Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſ. lib. 3.

The epiſtle of *Gregory* to them which went to preach in England.

ſo, for your ſoules, whatſoeuer at his admonitiō ye ſhall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and graunt me to ſee in the eternall countrey the fruite of your labour: that although I can not labour as I would with you, yet I may be founde partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the ſame fellowſhyp with you together. The Lord God keepe you ſafe, moſt deare and welbeloued children. Dated the. x. before the Calendes of Auguſt, in the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lord Mauritius moſt vertuous Emperour, the. xiiij. of hys Empire.

The Byſhop of Rome calleth the Emperour his Lord.

Auſten & hys company commeth to England.

Ethelbert king of Kēt.

What goodnes commeth, to haue a good & godly wyfe.

Thus they emboldened and cōforted through the good wordes of Gregory, ſped forth their iourney till they came at length to the Iſle of Thenet: lying vpon the Eaſt ſide of Kent. Neare to the whiche landyng place, was then the Manor or palace of the kyng, not farre from Sandwyche (Eaſtward frō Caunterbury) which ẏ inhabitaūts of the Iſle, then called Richbourgh: wherof ſome part of the ruinous walles is yet to be ſeene. The kyng then raignyng in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fift kyng of that prouince: who at that tyme had maried to wife a French woman beyng Chriſtened, named Berda: whom he had receaued of her parentes vpon this condition, that he ſhould permitte her with her Byſhop committed vnto her, called Lebardus, to enioy the freedome of her fayth and Religion: by the meanes wherof, he was the more flexible, and ſooner induced to embrace the preachyng and doctrine of Chriſt. Thus Auſten beyng arriued, ſent forth certaine meſſengers and interpreters to the kyng, ſignifying that ſuch a one was come from Rome, bryngyng with hym glad tidynges to him and all his people, of life and ſaluation eternally to reigne in heauē, with the onely true & lyuyng God, for euer: if he would ſo willyngly harken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it vnto hym.

The kynges aunſwere to Auſten.

The kyng ſtayeth vppō old cuſtome.

The kyng, who had heard of this Religion before by meanes of his wife, within a few dayes after commeth to the place where Auſten was to ſpeake with hym: but that ſhould be without the houſe, after the maner of his law. Auſten agaynſt his commyng, as ſtories affirme, erected vp a banner of the Crucifixe (ſuch was thē the groſſenes of that tyme) and preached to hym the word of God. The kyng aunſwering againe ſayth in effect, as followeth: The wordes be very fayre that you preach and promiſe. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe it is to me vncowth and new, I can not ſoone ſtart away from my cōtrey law wherewith I haue bene ſo lōg inured, & aſſent to you. Albeit yet notwithſtandyng for that ye are come, as ye ſay, ſo farre for my ſake: ye ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall be right well entreated, hauyng all thynges to you miniſtred neceſſary for your ſupportation. Beſides this, neither do we debarre you, but to haue free leaue to preach to our people and ſubiectes, to conuert whō ye may to the fayth of your Religion.

The Letany of Auſten.

When they had receaued this comfort of the kyng, they went with proceſſion to the Citie of Dorobernia, or Caunterbury, ſingyng Alleluya with the Letanie, which then by Gregory had bene vſed at Rome in the tyme of the great plague, reignyng then at Rome, mentioned in old hiſtories: The wordes of the Letany were theſe: Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a ciuitate iſta, & de domo ſancta tua: quoniam peccauimus. Alleluya. That is. We beſeech thee O Lord in all thy mercyes, that thy fury and anger may ceaſe from this Citie, and from thy holy houſe, for we haue ſinned. Alleluya. Thus they entryng in the Citie of Dorobernia, the head Citie of all that dominion at that time, where the kyng had geuen them a manſion for their abode: there they continued preachyng and baptiſing ſuch as they had conuerted in the Eaſt ſide of the citie, in the old church of S. Martine (where the Queene was wont to reſort) vnto the tyme that the kyng was conuerted him ſelfe to Chriſt. At length when the king had well conſidered the honeſt conuerſatiō of their lyfe, and moued with the miracles wrought through Gods hād by them, he heard them more gladly: and laſtly by their wholeſome exhortations, and example of godly lyfe, he was by them conuerted and Chriſtened in the yeare aboue ſpecified. 586. and the. 36. yeare of his reigne. After the kyng was thus conuerted, innumerable other dayly came in, and were adioyned to the Church of Chriſt: whom the kyng did ſpecially embrace, but cōpellyng none: for ſo he had learned that the fayth and ſeruice of Chriſt ought to be voluntarie, and not coacted. Then he gaue to Auſtē a place for his biſhops ſea at Chriſtes Church in Dorobernia, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and Paule, in the Eaſtſide of the ſayd Citie, where after Auſten, and all the kynges of Kent were buryed, and that place is now called S. Auſten.

Miracles wrought by God for the conuerſion of the land.

Auſten made Archbyſhop.

In this while Auſten ſayled into Fraunce to the Byſhop Arelatenſis, called Ethereus: by him to be conſecrated Archbyſhop, by the commaundement of Gregory, and ſo was. Alſo the ſayd Auſten ſent to Rome, Laurentius one of his company, to declare to Gregory how they had ſped, and what they had done in England: ſendyng withall, to haue the counſaile and aduiſe of Gregory, concernyng. ix. or. x. queſtions, wherof ſome are partly touched before.

The tenour of his queſtions or interrogations, with the aunſweres of Gregory to the ſame: here follow in Engliſh briefly tranſlated.

The queſtions of Auſten Archbiſhop of Caunterbury ſent to Gregory, with the aunſweres agayne of Gregory to the ſame.

¶ The firſt interrogation.

Ex decretis Gregorij primi lib. concil. tom. 2.

1. Interrogation.

MY firſt queſtion (reuerend father) is cōcernyng Byſhops, howe they ought to behaue them ſelues toward their Clerkes. Or of ſuch oblations as the faythfull offer vpō the altar: what portiōs or diuidentes ought to be made therof.

The aunſwere.

The anſwere.

How a Byſhop ought to behaue him ſelfe in the Congregation, the holy Scripture teſtifieth: which I doubt not but you know rightwell, eſpecially in the Epiſtles of S. Paule to Timothe: wherein he laboureth to informe the ſayd Timothe, how to behaue his conuerſation in the houſe of the Lord. The maner is of the ſea Apoſtolike, to warne and charge all ſuch as be ordained Byſhops: of all their ſtipende or that which is geuen, to make foure particiōs. One to the Byſhop for hoſpitalitie, and receauyng commers in. An other to the Clergy. The third to the poore. The fourth to the repayring of Churches. But becauſe your brotherhode inſtructed with rules of Monaſticall diſcipline, cānot liue ſeparated from your Clerkes about you: therfore in the Engliſh Churche (whiche now through the prouidence of God is brought to the fayth of Chriſt) you muſt obſerue this inſtitution, concernyng your conuerſation: which was in the firſt fathers in the begynnyng of the primitiue Church, among whom there was not one whiche counted any thyng to be his owne proper, of all that he did poſſeſſe: but all was common among them.

Diſtribution of Church goods.

¶ The ſecond interrogation.

2. Interrogatiō.

I deſire to know and to be inſtructed, whether Clerkes that cānot contayne, may marry. And if they do marry, whether then they ought to returne to the ſecular ſtate agayne or no?

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

The gloſe vppon the *12. q. 1. parag. Si qui.* ſaith that this now holdeth not, and alledgeth the *extrau. De cler. coniug. ca Ioh. &c.* Whereby note how the Popes decrees be repugnaunt to themſelues.

If there be any Clerkes out of holy orders, which can not containe, let them haue their wiues, and take their ſtipendes or wages without. For we read it ſo written of the foreſayd fathers, that they deuided to euery perſon, accordyng as their worke was. Therfore as concernyng the ſtipend of ſuch, it muſt be prouided and thought vpon. And they muſt alſo be holden vnder Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, to lyue a godly conuerſation: to employ themſelues in ſingyng Pſalmes, and to refrayne their toung, hart and body (by the grace of God) from all thynges vnſeemely and vnlawfull. As for the vulgare and common ſort, whiche lyue after the common condition of men: to deſcribe what particions to make, what hoſpitalitie to keepe, or what workes of mercy to exhibite to ſuch: I haue nothyng to ſay, but to geue (as our maiſter teacheth) in all our deedes of mercy, of that whiche aboundeth. Of that (ſayth he) whiche aboundeth or is ouerplus, geue almes, and behold all thynges be cleane vnto you.

Luke. 11.

¶ The thyrd interrogation.

3. Interrog.

Seyng there is but one fayth, how happeneth then, the ceremonies and cuſtomes of Churches to be ſo diuers. As in the Church of Rome there is one cuſtome and maner of Maſſe: and the French church hath an other?

The aunſwere.

The anſwere.

The cuſtome of the Churche of Rome, what it is you know: wherin ye remember that you haue bene brought vp frō your youth. But rather it pleaſeth me better, that whether it be in the Church of Rome, or in any Frēch church: where ye finde any thyng that ſeemeth better to the ſeruice and pleaſing of God, that ye chuſe the ſame: and ſo to inferre and bryng into the Engliſh church (which is yet new in the fayth) the beſt & perfect thynges choſen out of many Churches. For thynges are not to be beloued for ẏ place ſake, but the place is to be beloued for the thinges that be good. Wherfore ſuch thynges as be good, godly, and religious: thoſe chuſe out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take roote in the myndes of Engliſhmen.

Note a worthy ſaying of *Gregory*.

¶ The fourth interrogation.

4. Interrogation.

I pray you, what puniſhment iudge you for hym, that ſhall ſteale or pilfer any thyng out of the Church?

The aunſwere.

The anſwere.

This your brotherhode may ſoone diſcerne, by the perſon of a theef, how it ought to be corrected. For ſome there be, which hauyng ſufficient to liue vpon, yet do ſteale. Other there be which ſteale of mere neceſſitie: wherfore conſideryng the qualitie and difference of the crime, neceſſarie it is that ſome be corrected by loſſe of goodes: ſome by ſtripes: ſome other more ſharply, and ſome more eaſely: yea & when ſharper correction is to be executed, yet that muſt be done wt charitie, and with no fury. For in puniſhyng offenders, this is the cauſe & end wherfore they are puniſhed: becauſe they ſhould be ſaued, and not periſh in hell fire. And ſo ought diſcipline to procede in correctyng the faythfull, as do good fathers in puniſhyng their children, whom both they chaſten for their euill, & yet beyng chaſtened, they looke to haue thē their heyres, & thinke to leaue thē all they haue, notwithſtādyng they correct them ſometymes in anger. Therfore this charitie muſt be kept in mynde. And in the correction there is a meaſure to be had, ſo that the minde neuer do any thyng without the rule of reaſō. Ye adde moreouer with what recompence or meaſure thoſe thynges ought to be required agayne, which be ſtollen out of Churches. But God forbyd that the Church ſhould euer require agayne with increaſe, that which is loſt in outward thynges, & ſo ſeeke her gayne by endamagyng other.

¶ The fift interrogation.

5. Interrogation.

Item, whether two brethren may mary two ſiſters, beyng farre of from any part of kyndred?

The aunſwere.

The anſwere.

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

¶ The ſixt interrogation.

6. Interrogation.

Item, to what degree of kyndred may the matrimony of the faythfull extend with their kyndred, or whether is it lawfull to mary with the ſtepmother, and with her kynſfolkes?

The aunſwere.

The anſwere. In what degree of kindred a man may marry.

A certaine terrene law amongeſt the old Romaines doth permit, that either brother or ſiſter, or the ſonne and daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by experience we learne, that the iſſue of ſuch mariage doth neuer thriue, nor come forward. Alſo the holy law of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy bloud or kyndred.

Wherfore neceſſary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfully marry. For in the ſecond as beyng vnlawfull, they muſt nedes refrayne. To be coupled with the ſtepmother, is vtterly abhominable, for it is written in the law: Thou ſhalt not reueale the turpitude of thy father. For ſomuch then as it is ſo writtē in the law, & they ſhall be two in one fleſh: the ſonne then that preſumeth to reueale the turpitude of his ſtepmother, which is one fleſh with his father, what doth he thē but reueale the turpitude of his owne father. Likewiſe it was forbidden and vnlawfull to marry with your kinſwoman, which by her firſt mariage was made one fleſh with thy brother. For the which cauſe Iohn the Baptiſt alſo loſt his head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who though he dyed not for the confeſſion of Chriſt: yet for ſomuch as Chriſt ſayth: I am the truth, therfore in that Iohn Baptiſt was ſlayne for the truth, it may be ſayd his bloud was ſhed for Chriſt.

By this rule the mariage of king *Henry* with Q. *Katherine Dowager* was vnlawfull.

¶ The ſeuenth interrogation.

7. Interrogation.

Item, whether ſuch as be ſo coupled together in filthy and vnlawful matrimony, ought to be ſeparated and denied the partakyng of the holy Communion.

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

Becauſe there be many of the nation of Engliſh men which beyng yet in their infidelitie, were ſo ioyned and coupled in ſuch execrable mariage: the ſame commyng now to fayth, are to be admoniſhed hereafter to abſtaine from the like, & that they know the ſame to be a greuous ſinne. That they dread the dreadful iudgement of God, leſt for their carnall delectation, they incurre the tormentes of eternall puniſhment. And yet notwithſtandyng they are not to be ſecluded therfore from the participatiō of Chriſtes body and bloud, leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to reuēge thoſe thynges in thē, which they before their Baptiſme, through ignoraunce dyd commit. For in this tyme the holy Churche doth correct ſome faultes more feruently, ſome faultes ſhe ſuffereth agayne through manſuetude and meekenes, ſome wittingly and willingly ſhe doth winke at, and diſſemble: that many tymes the euill which ſhe doth deteſt, through bearyng and diſſemblyng ſhe may ſtoppe & bridle. All they therfore which are come to the fayth, muſt be admoniſhed that they commit no ſuch offence. Which thyng if they do, they are to be depriued of the Communion of the Lordes body and bloud. For like as in them that fall through ignoraunce, their default in this caſe is to be tollerate: ſo in them agayne it is ſtrongly to be inſued, whiche knowyng they do nought, yet feare not to commit.

A diſcrete ſaying of *Gregory* to be noted.

¶ The eight interrogation.

8. Interrog.

Item, in this I deſire to be ſatiſfied, after what maner I ſhould deale or do with the Biſhops of Fraunce, and of Britaynes.

The aunſwere.

The Anſwere.

As touchyng the Byſhops in Fraunce, I geue you no authoritie or power ouer them. For the Byſhop of Arolas, or Orliance hath by the old tyme of our predeceſſours receiued the Palle, whom now we ought not to depriue of hys authoritie. Therfore when your brotherhode ſhall go vnto the prouince of Fraunce, what ſoeuer he ſhall haue there to do with the Biſhop of Orliance: ſo do, that he looſe nothyng of that whiche he hath found and obtained of the auncient ordinaunce of our foreelders. But as concernyng the Byſhops of Britaine, we commit them all to your brotherhod, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirme by perſwaſion may be cōfirmed, the wilfull by authoritie may be corrected.

25. q. 2. cap. *In Galliarum.*

¶ The ninth interrogation.

9. Interro.

Whether a woman beyng great with child, ought to be baptiſed, or after ſhe hath childed, after how long time ſhe ought to enter into the Church. Or els that which ſhe hath brought forth, leaſt it ſhould be preuented with death, after how many dayes it ought to receaue Baptiſme. Or after how long tyme after her childbyrth is it lawful for her huſbād to reſort to her? Or els if ſhe be in her monethly courſe, after the diſeaſe of womē, whether thē ſhe may enter into the church, & receaue the Sacrament of the holy Cōmuniō? Or els her huſband after the lying with his wife, before he be waſhed with water, whether is it lawful for hym to enter the Churche, and to draw neare vnto the miſtery of the holy Communion? All which thynges muſt be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Engliſhmen.

The aunſwere.

The anſwere.

The childyng or bearyng woman, why may ſhe not be Baptiſed: ſeyng that the fruitfulnes of the fleſh is no fault before the eyes of almighty God? For our firſt parentes in Paradiſe, after they had tranſgreſſed: loſt their immortalitie by the iuſt iudgement of God which they had taken before. Then, becauſe almighty God would not mankynd vtterly to periſh becauſe of his fall (although he loſt now his immortalitie for his treſpaſſe) yet of his benigne pietie, left notwithſtandyng to him the fruite and generation of iſſue. Wherfore the iſſue and generation of mans nature, whiche is conſerued by the gift of almightie God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptiſme?

As cōcernyng the Churchyng of women after they haue trauailed: where ye demaunde after how many dayes they ought to go to the Church, this you haue learned in the old law, that for a man child. 30. dayes, after a womā child. 66. dayes be appointed her to keepe in: Albeit this you muſt take to be vnderſtād in a myſtery. For if ſhe ſhould the houre after her trauayle enter into the Churche to geue thankes, ſhe committed therein no ſinne. For why the luſt and pleaſure of the fleſh, and not the trauaile and payne of the fleſh is ſinne. In the coniunction of the fleſh is pleaſure, but in the trauayle and bringyng forth of the child is payne & gronyng. As vnto the mother of all it is ſayd: In ſorrow thou ſhalt trauayle. Therfore if we forbyd the women after her labor to enter the church, thē what do we els but count the ſame the puniſhment geuen vnto her for ſinne? Therfore for the woman after her labour to be baptiſed: either that which ſhe hath trauailed forth (if preſent neceſſitie of death doth ſo require) yea in the ſelfe ſame houre, either ſhe that hath brought forth, either that whiche is borne in the ſame houre when it is borne, to be baptiſed we do not forbid.

The churchyng of women.

He ſpeaketh here after the cuſtome of the tyme.

Moreouer, for the man to company with his wife, that he muſt not: before the child that is borne be wayned. But now there is a lewde and naughtie cuſtome riſen in the condition of maryed folkes, that mothers do contēne to nourſe their owne children, which they haue borne, but ſet them to other women out to nourſe: whiche ſeemeth onely to come of the cauſe of incontinencie. For while they will not contayne themſelues, therfore they put from them their children to nourſe. &c.

Mothers that nurſe not their owne childe reprehended.

As concernyng the woman in her menſtruous courſe, whether ſhe ought to enter the Churche? To this I anſwere: ſhe ought not to be forbid. For the ſuperfluitie of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault,neither is it iuſt that ſhe ſhould be depriued of her acceſſe to ẏ church, for that which ſhe ſuffereth againſt her wil. And if the woman did well,preſumyng in touchyng the Lordes coate in the tyme of her bloudy iſſue:why thē may not that be graunted vnto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one perſon done in her infirmitie? Therfore to receaue the miſtery of the holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if ſhe dare not ſo farre preſume in her great infirmitie,ſhe is to be prayſed: but if ſhe do receiue, ſhe is not to be iudged. For it is a point of a good mynde in ſome maner to acknowledge his ſinnes there, where is no ſinne:becauſe many tymes that is done without fault,which cōmeth of fault. As when we be hungry, we eate without fault notwithſtandyng it commeth by the fault of our firſt father to vs that we are hungry. &c.

Where ye aſke, if a man after the cōpany with his wife may reſort to the Church or to the holy communion,before he be purged with water: The law geuen to the old people, commaunded that a man after the company with his wife, both ſhould be purified with water, and alſo ſhould tary the Sunne ſet before he came to the congregation. Which ſeemeth to be vnderſtand ſpiritually: for then, moſt true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mynde through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiſcence in his hart and cogitation. At what tyme, before the ſayd fire of concupiſcence ſhall be remoued, let the perſon thinke himſelfe vnworthy the entraunce to the congregatiō through the viciouſnes of his filthy will. But of this matter ſondry nations haue euery one their ſondry cuſtomes; ſome one way and ſome an other. The auncient maner of ẏ Romaines frō our forefathers hath bene,that in ſuch caſe, firſt they purge themſelues with water,then for a litle they abſtaine reuerently,and ſo reſort to the Church. &c.

And after many other wordes debated of this matter, thus he inferreth: but if any perſon not for voluptuouſneſſe of the fleſh,but for procreation of children,do company with his wife, that man concernyng either the commyng to the Church,or the receauing of the miſtery of the Lordes body & bloud,is to be left to his owne iudgement: for he ought not to be forbyd of vs to come, which when he lyeth in the fire, will not burne.&c.

There is an other queſtion alſo to theſe adioyned, with his aunſwere likewiſe to the ſame,concernyng pollutiōs in the night, but I thought theſe at this preſent to our Engliſh eares,ſufficient.

To returne now to the ſtory agayne, Gregory after he had ſent theſe reſolutions to the queſtions of Auſten, ſendeth moreouer to the Church of Englād moe coadiutors, & helpers,as Mellitus,Iuſtus,Paulinus,& Ruffianus,& bookes and ſuch other implemētes as he thought neceſſarie for the Engliſh church. He ſendeth moreouer to the foreſayd Auſten a palle,with letters wherin he ſetteth an order betwen the two Metropolitane ſeates,the one to be at London,the other to be at Yorke. Notwithſtanding,he graunteth to the ſayd Auſten duryng his lyfe to be the onely chief Archbyſhop of all the land: And after his tyme, then to returne to the two foreſayd ſeates of London and Yorke, as is in the ſame letter conteined, the tenour wherof here foloweth in his owne wordes as enſueth.

¶ The copie of the Epiſtle of Gregory, ſent to Auguſtinus into England.

REuerendiſſimo & ſanctiſ. fratri Auguſtino coepiſcopo, Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorū Dei. Cum certum ſit, pro omnipotente Deo laborātibus ineffabilia æterni Regis præmia reſeruari: nobis tamē,eis neceſſe eſt bonorum beneficia tribuere,vt in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare: and ſo forth, as followeth in Engliſhe.

TO the reuerend and vertuous brother Auguſtine,his felow Byſhop,Gregorius the ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God. Although it be moſt certaine that vnſpeakeable rewards,of the heauēly kyng,be layd vp for all ſuch as labour in the workes of almighty God,yet it ſhal be requiſite for vs, to reward the ſame alſo with our benefites,to the end, they may be more encouraged,to go forward in the ſtudy of their ſpiritual worke. And for aſmuch now,as the new Church of Engliſhmen is brought to the grace of almighty GOD, through his mighty helpe,and your trauayle: therefore we haue graunted to you the vſe of the palle, onely to be vſed at the ſolemnitie of your Maſſe: ſo that it ſhall be lawfull for you,to ordayne twelue Byſhops,ſuch as ſhall be ſubiect to your prouince or ditiō. So that hereafter alwayes the Byſhop of the Citie of London, ſhall be ordayned and conſecrate by his own proper Synode:and ſo to receaue the palle of honour,from the holy and Apoſtolicke ſeate, wherein I here(by the permiſſion of God)do ſerue. And as touchyng the Citie of Yorke,we wil ſend alſo a biſhop thether,whō you ſhal thinke meete to ordaine.So that, if that Citie with other places borderyng thereby, ſhall receaue the worde of God,he ſhall haue power likewiſe to ordaine twelue Byſhops,and ſhall haue the honor of a Metropolitane:to whō alſo,if God ſpare me life,I entend,by the fauour of God, to ſend a palle:this prouided,that notwithſtandyng he ſhal be ſubiect to your brotherly appointment. But after your deceaſe,the ſame Metropolitane, ſo to be ouer the Byſhoppes whom he ordereth, that he be no wiſe ſubiect to the Metropolitane of London after you. And here after betwixt theſe two Metropolitanes,of London, and Yorke, let there be had ſuch diſtinction of honour, that he ſhall haue the prioritie,which ſhall in tyme firſt be ordained:with cōmō counſell,and affectiō of hart,let them both go together,diſpoſing with one accord,ſuch thyngs as be to be done,for the zeale of Chriſt. Let them forethinke and deliberate together prudently,and what they deliberate wiſely, let them accompliſh concordly,not gerryng,nor ſwaruyng, one from the other. But as for your part,you ſhall be indued with authoritie,not onely ouer thoſe Byſhops, that you conſtitute, and ouer the other conſtituted by the Byſhop of Yorke. But alſo you to haue all other Prieſtes of whole Britaine, ſubiect to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: to the end that through your preachyng and holynes of lyfe,they may learne both to beleue rightly,and to liue purely,and ſo in directyng their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous maners,they may attayne,when God ſhall call them, the fruition and kyngdome of heauen. God preſerue you in health reuerend brother: the.x.before the Kalend. of Iuly, in the reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord Mauritius,moſt vertuous Emperour.

Gregory calleth the Emperour his Lord.

Beſides this, the ſayd Gregory ſendeth alſo an other letter to Mellitus, concernyng his iudgement what is to be done with the idolatrous temples and Phanes of the Engliſhmen newly cōuerted: which Phanes he thinketh not beſt to plucke downe, but to conuert the vſe therof, and to let them ſtand. And likewiſe of their ſacrifices and killyng of Oxen, how the ſame ought to be ordered, and how to be altered: diſputyng by the occaſions therof, of the ſacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God vnto the Iſraelites, the end and vſe therof beyng altered. &c.

A letter of Gregory to Mellitus.

He ſendeth alſo an other letter to the foreſayd Auſten, wherein he warneth him not to be proude nor puft vp, for the miracles wrought of God by hym, in conuertyng the people of England: but rather to feare and tremble, leaſt ſo much as he were puft vp by the outward worke of miracles, ſo much he ſhould fall inwardly through the vayne glory of his hart: and therfore wiſely exhorteth him to repreſſe the ſwellyng glory of hart, with the remembraunce of his ſinnes rather agaynſt God, whereby he rather hath cauſe to lament, then to reioyce for the other. Not all the elect of God (ſayth he) worketh miracles, and yet haue they their names written in the booke of lyfe. And therefore he ſhould not count ſo much of thoſe miracles done, but reioyſe rather with the Diſciples of Chriſt: and labour to haue his name writtē in the booke of lyfe, where all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that reioycing. And what ſoeuer miracles it hath pleaſed God by hym to haue bene done, he ſhould remember they were not done for hym: but for their conuerſion, whoſe ſaluation God ſought thereby. &c.

A letter of Gregory to Auſten.

Item, he directed an other Epiſtle to kyng Ethelbert as is expreſſed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntyngton. Lib.3. in the which Epiſtle, firſt he prayſed God, then commendeth the goodnes of the kyng, by whom it pleaſed God ſo to worke ſuch goodnes to the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to perſiſt and continue in the godly profeſſion of Chriſtes fayth, and to be feruent and zelous in the ſame: in conuertyng the multitude, in deſtroying the temples and workes of Idolatry, in rulyng and gouernyng the people in all holynes and godly conuerſation, after the godly example of the Emperour Conſtantinus the great. Laſtly, cōfortyng hym with the promiſes of lyfe and reward to come, with the Lord that raigneth and lyueth for euer: premoniſhyng hym beſides, of the terrours and diſtreſſes that ſhall happē (though not in his dayes) yet before the terrible day of Gods iudgement: wherefore he willeth him alwayes to be ſollicitous for his ſoule, and ſuſpectfull of the houre of hys death, and watchfull of the iudgement, that he may be alwayes prepared for the ſame, when that iudgement ſhall come. In the ende he deſireth hym to accept ſuch preſentes

A letter of Gregory to K. Ethelbert.

as giftes whiche he thought good to ſend vnto hym from Rome. &c.

An. 600.

Polychrō. lib. 5. ca. 9. Fab. part. 5. ca. 119.

Archbyſhopes of London and of Yorke, made by *Auſten.*

Mellitus **Byſhop of London.**

Auſten thus receiuyng his palle from Gregory, as is aboue ſayd, and now of a Monke beyng made an Archbyſhop, after he had Baptiſed a great part of Kent: he after made two Archbyſhops or Metropolitanes, by the commaundement of Gregory, as witneſſeth Polychronicon, the one at London the other at Yorke.

The Britaynes and Scots vſed not the rites of Rome.

An. 602.

Abbey of Bāgor.

Ex libro Iornalenſi, Fabiano & alijs.

Ethelfride king of Northumberlād.

Brocmayl **Conſul of Cheſter.**

The monaſtery of Bangor.

Galfridus Monumetenſis. Policbron. lib. 5. cap. 10. Liber bibliotheca Iornalenſis. Gu. Malmeſberienſis. lib. 1. de Reg. Fabian. part 5. cap. 109. 120.

A pitifull ſlaughter of vnarmed Monkes of Bangor.

Mellitus, of whō mention is made before, was ſent ſpecially to the Eaſtſaxons in the prouince of Eſſex, where after he was made Byſhop of London, vnder Sigebert kyng of Eſſex: whiche Sigebert together with his vncle Ethelbert, firſt built the Churche and Minſter of S. Paule in London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the Byſhops ſea. Auſten aſſociate with this Mellitus and Iuſtus, through the helpe of Ethelbert aſſembled and gathered together the Byſhops and Doctours of Britaine in a place, which takyng the name of the ſayd Auſten, was called Auſtēs Oke. In this aſſemblie he charged the ſayd Byſhops, that they ſhould preach with him the word of God to the Engliſhmen: and alſo that they ſhould among them ſelues reforme certaine rites and vſages in their church, ſpecially for keepyng of their Eaſtertyde: Baptiſing after the maner of Rome, and ſuch other lyke. To theſe the Scots and Britons would not agree, refuſing to leaue the cuſtome, which they ſo long tyme had cōtinued, without the aſſent of them all, which vſed the ſame. Here the ſtories both of Bede, Ceſtrenſis in Polychron. Huntyngtonenſis, Iornalenſis, Fabianus, and other mo write of a certaine miracle wrought vpō a blynd Engliſh man: whom when the Britons could not helpe, Auſtē kneelyng downe and prayng, reſtored the blynd man to his ſight before them all: for a confirmation (as theſe authors ſay) of his opinion in keepyng the Eaſter. But cōcernyng the credite of this miracle, that I leaue, to the authors of whom I had it. Then Auſten gathered an other Synode, to the whiche came ſeuen Byſhops of Britons, with the wiſeſt men of that famous Abbey of Bangor. But firſt they tooke counſell of a certaine wiſe and holy man amongeſt them, what to do: and whether they ſhould be obedient to Auſten or not? And he ſayd: if he be the ſeruaunt of God, agree vnto him. But how ſhall we know that, ſayd they? To whom he aunſwered agayne: If he be meeke and hūble of hart, by that know that he is the ſeruaunt of God. To thys they ſayd agayne: & how ſhal we know him to be hūble & meeke of hart? By this (quoth he) ſeing you are yͤ greater number, if he at your commyng into the Synode riſe vp, and courteouſly receaue you, perceaue him to be an humble and a meeke man. But if he ſhall contemne and deſpiſe you (beyng as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you him agayne. Thus the Britaine Byſhops entryng into the Councell, Auſten after the Romiſhe maner keepyng hys chayre would not remoue. Wherat they beyng not a litle offended, after ſome heate of wordes, in diſdaine and great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whom the Auſten ſpake: and ſayd that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they ſhould receiue warre with their enemyes: And if they diſdayned to preach with them the way of lyfe to the Engliſh nation, they ſhould ſuffer by their handes the reuenge of death. Which not lōg after ſo came to paſſe by the meanes of Ethelfride kyng of Northumberland: who beyng yet a Pagan and ſtyrred with fierce fury againſt the Britaines, came with a great army agaynſt the city of Cheſter: where Brocmayl the Conſul of that Citie, a frend and helper of the Britaines ſide, was ready with his force to receaue him. There was at the ſame tyme at Bangor in Wales, an exceedyng great Monaſtery, wherin was ſuch a number of Monkes, as Galfridus with other authors do teſtifie, that if the whole company were deuided into ſeuen partes, in euery of the ſeuen partes were contained not ſo few as. 300 Mōkes: which all did liue with the ſweat of their browes, and labour of their owne handes, hauyng one for their ruler named Dinoc. Out of this Monaſterie came the Monkes to Cheſter, to pray for yͤ good ſucceſſe of Brocmayl, fightyng for them againſt the Saxons. Three dayes they cōtinued in faſtyng and prayer. When Ethelfride the foreſayd kyng, ſeyng them ſo intent to their prayers: demaunded the cauſe of their commyng thether in ſuch a company. When he perceaued it was to pray for their Conſul, then (ſayth he) although they beare no weapō, yet they fight agaynſt vs, and with their prayers & preachinges they perſecute vs. Whervpon, after that Brocmayl beyng ouercome did flee away, the kyng commaunded his men to turne their weapons agaynſt the ſely vnarmed Monkes: of whom he ſlewe the ſame tyme, or rather Martyred. 1100. onely fiftie perſons of that number dyd flee and eſcape away with Brocmayl: the reſt were all ſlayne. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and ſay, how the forſpeakyng of Auſten, was here verified vpon the Britaines: whiche becauſe they would not ioyne peace with their frendes, he ſayd ſhould be deſtroyed of their enemyes. Of both theſe parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaſeth: I cannot ſee but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one ſo I cannot defend the other. Firſt Auſten in this matter can in no wiſe be excuſed, who beyng a monke before, and therfore a ſcholer & profeſſor of humilitie: ſhewed ſo litle humilitie in this aſſemblie, to ſeuen Byſhops, and an Archbyſhop, commyng at his cōmaundement to the Councell: that he thought ſcorne once to ſtirre at their commyng in. Much leſſe would his Phariſaicall ſolemnitie haue girded him ſelfe, and waſhed his brethrēs feete, after their trauaile, as Chriſt our great maiſter did to his Diſciples: ſeyng his Lordſhyp was ſo hye, or rather ſo heauy, or rather ſo proude, that could not finde in his hart to geue them a litle mouyng of his body, to declare a brotherly and humble hart. Agayne the Britaines were much, or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpirituall duety, in reuengyng their temporall iniurie: that they denyed to ioyne vnto their helpyng labour, to turne the Idolatrous Saxons to the way of lyfe and ſaluatiō. In which reſpect all priuate caſes ought to geue place, and to be forgotten. For the whiche cauſe, although lamentable to vs, yet no great maruaile in them, if the ſtroke of Gods puniſhment did light vpon thē: accordyng to the wordes of Auſten, as is before declared. But eſpecially the cruell kyng, in this fact, was moſt of all to blame, ſo furiouſly to flee vpon them, whiche had neither weapon to reſiſt him, nor yet any will to harme him. And ſo likewiſe the ſame or like, happened to him ſelfe afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlayne in the field by Chriſtian Edwine, who ſucceeded hym: as he had ſlayne the Chriſtians before, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 610. But to returne to Auſten agayne, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done: after he had baptiſed and Chriſtened. x. thouſand Saxons or Angles in the weſt riuer, that is called Swale, beſide Yorke on a Chriſtēmaſſe day: perceauyng his ende to draw neare, he ordained a ſucceſſor named Laurentius to rule after him the Archbyſhops ſea of Dorobernia. Where note by the way Chriſtian Reader, that where as Auſten baptiſed then in riuers: it followeth, there was then no vſe of fontes. Agayne, if it be true that Fabian ſayth, he baptiſed. x. thouſād in one day: the rite then of Baptiſing at Rome was not ſo ceremoniall, neither had ſo many trinkets at that tyme, as it hath had ſince, or els it could not be, that he could baptiſe ſo many in one day.

Whether *Auſten* **or the Britaines in this caſe were more to blame.**

Laurentius **Archb. after** *Auſten.*

Baptiſing in riuers, not in fontes. Baptiſing amōg the olde Romaynes was not vſed with ſo many ceremonies as ſince.

604.

S. Dauid **in Wales, otherwiſe called** *Dewy.*

Computatiō of tyme examined.

Galfridus Monumetēſis.

In the meane ſeaſon, about this tyme departed Gregory Byſhop of Rome: of whom it is ſayd, that of the number of all the firſt Biſhops before him in the primitiue tyme, he was the baſeſt: of all them that came after him, he was the beſt. About whiche tyme alſo dyed in Wales, Dauid Archbyſhop firſt of Kayrleon, who then tranſlated the ſea from thence to Meneuia, and therfore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this alſo deceaſed the foreſayd Auſten in England after he had ſat there. xv. or. xvi. yeares: by the which count we may note it, not to be true that Henry Huntyngton and other do witneſſe, that Auſten was dead before that battell of Ethelfride againſt the Mōkes of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon teſtifieth of this murder, to be done about the yeare of our Lord. 609. and the commyng of Auſten firſt into the Realme, to be. an. 596. then Auſten enduryng. xvi. yeares could not be dead at this battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetenſis declareth, concernyng the ſame battell, that Ethelbert the kyng of Kent, beyng (as is ſayd) conuerted by Auſten to Chriſtes fayth: after he ſaw the Britaines to diſdayne and deny their ſubiection vnto Auſten, neither would aſſiſt him with preachyng to the Engliſh nation: therfore ſtirred vp he the foreſayd Ethelfride to warre agaynſt the Britaines. But that ſeemeth rather ſuſpicious then true, that he beyng a Chriſten kyng, either could ſo much preuayle with a Pagan Idolater, or els would attempt ſo farre to committe ſuch a cruell deede. But of vncertaine thinges I haue nothyng certainly to ſay, leſſe to iudge.

610.

Poly. lib. 5. cap. 10.

A ſtory of *Iohn Patriarch* **of Alexādria.**

About this preſent tyme aboue prefixed, which is. 610. I read in the ſtory of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis the writer of Polychronicon, of Iohn the Patriarche of Alexandria: who for his rare example of hoſpitalitie and bountifulnes to the poore: I thought no leſſe worthy to haue place amongeſt good men, then I ſee the ſame now to be followed of fewe. This Iohn (beyng before belike a hard and ſparyng man) as he was at his prayer vpon a tyme (it is ſayd) there appeared to him a comely virgine hauyng on her head a garland of Oliue leaues: which named her ſelfe mercy, ſaying to hym and promiſing that if he would take her to wife, he

Mercy may liue a mayde, for no mā will marry her.

This *Iohn* was ſo bountifull in geuyng that he aſſayde to ſtriue in a maner with the Lord, whether the Lord ſhould geue more or he ſhould diſtribute more of that which was geuen.

ſhould proſper well. This, whether it were true or not, or is inuented for a moralitie, I would wiſh this floriſhyng damſell ſo to be maryed to moe then to this Iohn, that ſhe ſhould not lyue ſo long a virgin now as ſhe doth, becauſe no mā will marry her. But to returne to this Patriarch, who after that day (as the ſtory recordeth) was ſo mercifull and ſo beneficiall, eſpecially to the poore and needy, that he coūted them as his maiſters, & himſelfe as a ſeruaunt & ſteward vnto them. This Patriarch was wont cōmonly twiſe a weeke to ſit at his doore all the day long, to take vp matters, and to ſet vnitie, where was any variaunce. One day it happened, as he was ſittyng all the day before his gate & ſaw no man come, lamented that all that day he had done no good: To whom his Deacon ſtandyng by, aunſwered agayne, ỷ he had more cauſe to reioyſe, ſeyng he had brought the Citie in that order & in ſuch peace, that there needed no reconcilemēt amōgeſt them. An other tyme as the ſayd Iohn the Patriarche was at the ſeruice and readyng the Goſpell in the church, the people (as their vſed maner is) went out of the Church to talke and iangle: he perceauyng that, wēt out likewiſe, and ſat amongeſt them: whereat they marueilyng to ſee him do ſo, My children, ſayd he, where the flocke is, there ought the ſhepheard to be: wherfore either come you in, that I may alſo come in with you, or els if you tary out, I will likewiſe tary out together with you. &c.

The actes of *Gregory* the firſt.

As touchyng the actes & deedes of Gregory aboue mentioned, how he withſtode the ambitious pride of Iohn, Patriarche of Conſtantinople, which would be the vniuerſall Prieſt, and onely chief Byſhop of all other: declaryng hym to be no leſſe then the forerunner of Antichriſt, that would take that name vpon him: how and with what reaſons he aūſwered agayne the letters of the Emperour Mauritius in that behalfe, ſufficient relatiō is made therof in the firſt entry and beginning of this booke. This Gregory among many other thynges induced into the Churche (the ſpecialties wherof hereafter ſhal follow Chriſt willing more at large) firſt began and brought in this title among the Romaine Byſhops, to be called Seruus ſeruorum Dei: puttyng them in remembraunce therby both of their humbleneſſe, and alſo of their duetie in the Churche of Chriſt. Moreouer as concernyng his act for the ſole lyfe of Prieſtes firſt begon, and then broken agayne. Alſo concernyng the order of Gregoryes Maſſe booke to bee receaued in all Churches: hereof who ſo lyſteth to read more, ſhall finde the ſame in other places hereafter, namely when we come to the tyme of Pope Adrian the firſt.

Whereupon the Romaine byſhops vſe in their ſtile, *Seruus ſeruorum Dei.*

Sabinianus byſhop of Rome.

Bonifacius. 3. Byſhop of Rome.

After the death of Gregory aboue mentioned, firſt came Sabinianus who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory & of his workes: ſo he continued not long, ſcarſe the ſpace of two yeares. After whom ſucceded next Bonifacius the 3. which albeit he reigned but one yeare, yet in that one yeare he did more hurt, then Gregory with ſo great labours, and in ſo many yeares could do good before, for that which Gregory kept out, he brought in, obtaynyng of Phocas the wicked Emperour for him and his ſucceſſours after hym, that the ſea of Rome aboue all other Churches ſhould haue the preeminence: and that the Byſhop of Rome ſhould be the vniuerſall head, through all Churches of Chriſt in Chriſtendome: alleagyng for him this friuolous reaſon, that S. Peter had and left to his ſucceſſours at Rome the keyes of byndyng and looſing. &c. And thus began firſt Rome to take an head aboue all other Churches, by the meanes of Boniface the 3. who as he lacked no boldnes nor ambitiō to ſeeke it, ſo neither lacked he an Emperour fit and meete to geue ſuch a gift. This Emperours name was Phocas, a man of ſuch wickednes and ambition, moſt like to his owne Byſhop Boniface: that to aſpire to the Empire, he murthered his owne maiſter and Emperour Mauritius, & his children. Thus Phocas cōmyng vp to be Emperour, after this deteſtable vilanie done: thinkyng to ſtabliſhe his Empire with frendſhip and fauour of his people, and eſpecially with the Byſhop of Rome: quickly condeſcended to all his petitions, and ſo graunted him (as is ſayd) to be that he would: the vniuerſall and head Byſhop ouer all Chriſten Churches. But as bloud commonly requireth bloud agayne, ſo it came to paſſe on ỷ ſayd Phocas. For as he had cruelly ſlayne his Lord and Emperour Mauritius before, ſo he in like maner (of Heraclius the Emperour ſuccedyng him) had his handes and feete cut of, and ſo was caſt into the Sea. And thus wicked Phocas whiche gaue the firſt ſupremacie to Rome, loſt his owne. But Rome would not ſo ſoone loſe his ſupremacy once geuen, as the geuer loſt his life: for euer ſince, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the ſame ſtill, and yet doth to this preſent day, by all force & policie poſſible. And thus much concernyng Boniface, whō, by the wordes of Gregory, we may well call the runner before Antichriſt. For as Gregory brought into their ſtile, Seruus ſeruorum Dei, ſo this Boniface brought into their heades, firſt Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus. That is. We will and commaunde, we enioyne and charge you. &c.

How Rome began firſt to take an head aboue other Churches.

Phocas traitor & murderer of his Emperour.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus brought in by *Boniface* the third.

Fabian. cap. 120.

Mention was made a litle before of Ethelbert kyng of Kent, and alſo of Ethelfride king of Northſaxons or Northumbria. This Ethelbert hauing vnder his ſubiection all the other Saxon kyngs, vnto Humber: after he had firſt receaued him ſelfe, and cauſed to be receaued of other, the Chriſtian fayth by the preachyng of Auſten, being cōfirmed afterward in the ſame fayth, among other coſtly deedes, with the helpe of Sigebert kyng of Eſſex his nephew, then reignyng vnder hym, began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, & ordained it for the Byſhops ſea of London. For the Archbyſhops ſea which before time had bene at London, was by Auſten and this Ethelbert at the prayer of the Citizens of Dorobernia tranſlated to the ſayd Citie. Malmeſberienſis. Lib. de pontific. Wherfore ſuch authors as ſay ỷ Paules was builded by Sigebert, ſay not amiſſe: which Sigebert was ỷ kyng of Eſſex, in which prouince ſtādeth ỷ citie of Lōdō. This Ethelbert alſo foūded ỷ church of S. Andrew in the Citie of Dorubres in Kēt, now called Rocheſter, of one Rof, diſtāt frō Dorobernia. 24. miles. Of this citie, Iuſtus was Byſhop ordained before by Auſtē. Moreouer the forenamed Ethelbert ſtyrred vp a dweller or Citizen of London to make a Chappell or Churche of S. Peter in the weſt end of Lōdon, thē called Thorny, now ỷ towne of Weſtminſter: which church or chappell was after by Edward the confeſſour enlarged or new builded: laſtly of Henry the 3. it was newly agayne reedified and made as it is now a large Monaſtery. &c. After theſe Chriſtian and worthy actes this Ethelbert whē he had reigned the courſe of. lvj. yeares, chaunged this mortall lyfe about the yeare of our Lord. 616. whō ſome ſtories ſay to be ſlayne in a fight betwene him and Ethelfride kyng of the Northſaxons.

Ethelbert & *Sigebert* builders of Paules Church.

The Archbiſhops ſea tranſlated from Lōdon to *Dorobernia.*

Malmeſberienſis. lib. de pontific.

H. Huntingtō. lib. 3.

This *Edward* was the third of that name before the conqueſt.

The *monaſtery* of Weſtminſter.

An. 616.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

In the meane time the foreſaid Ethelfride kyng of Northumberland, after the cruell murther of the Monkes of Bangor, eſcaped not long vnpayed his hyre: for after he had raigned. 24. yeares, he was ſlayne in the field of Edwyne, who ſucceded in Northumberland after him.

Edwine firſt Chriſtened king in Northumberland.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

This Edwyne beyng the ſonne not of Ethelfride (as Galfridus Monumetenſis ſayth) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Cābrenſis ſeemeth to witneſſe more truly) was firſt a Panim or idolater: afterward by Paulinus was Chriſtened, and the firſt Chriſtened kyng in Northūberland. The occaſion of which his callyng or conuerſion, as is in ſundry ſtories contained, was this.

The order and maner of the conuerſion of *Edwine* to the faith of Chriſt.

The trouble of *Edwine.*

Edwine beyng yet a Pagane, maryed the daughter of Ethelbert kyng of Kent, called Edelburge a Chriſtian woman, otherwiſe called Tace. But before this mariage, Edwyne beyng yet young Ethelfride the kyng, conceiuyng enuy agaynſt him: perſecuted him ſo ſore, that he was forced to flee to Redwaldus, kyng of Eaſtangles, as in the table of the kynges is aboue expreſſed. The whiche Redwaldus, what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length priuely had intended to haue betrayed Edwyne. But as Gods will was, Edwyne hauyng warnyng therof by a ſecret frēd of his, was moued to flee and to ſaue himſelfe, beyng promiſed alſo of his frend to be ſafely conueyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwyne ſayd: whether ſhall I flee, whiche haue ſo long fleene the handes of myne enemyes through all prouinces of the Realme. And if I muſt needes be ſlayne, I had rather ỷ he ſhould do it, then an other vnworthy perſon. Thus he remaynyng by himſelfe alone and ſolitarie, ſittyng in a great ſtudy, there appeared vnto him ſodainely, a certaine ſtraunger, to him vnknowen and ſayd: I know well the cauſe of thy thought and heauynes. What wouldeſt thou geue hym that ſhould deliuer thee out of this feare, and ſhould recōcile kyng Redwald to thee agayne? I would geue him (ſayd Edwyne) all that euer I could make. And he ſayd agayne: And what if he make thee a mightyer kyng, then was any of thy Progenitours? He aunſwered agayne as before. Moreouer, (ſayth he) and what if he ſhew thee a better kinde and way of life, then euer was ſhewed to any of thine aunceters before thee: wilt thou obey him and do after his counſell? yea (ſayd Edwyne) promiſing moſt firmely, with all his hart ſo to do. Thē he laying his hand vpon his head, when (ſayd he) this token happeneth vnto thee: then remēber this tyme of thy tribulatiō, and the promiſe which thou haſt made, and the word which now I ſay vnto thee. And with that he vaniſhed out of his ſight ſodainly. After this ſo done, as Edwyne was ſittyng alone by him ſelfe penſiue and ſad: his foreſayd frend, which moued him before to flee, commeth to him, biddyng him be of good cheare, for the hart

The marueilous calling of *Edwine.*

Edwine miraculouſly deliuered.

(ſayd he) of kyng Redwaldus, which had before intẽded thy deſtruction, was now altered through the counſell of the Queene, and is fully bent to keepe his promiſe with you, whatſoeuer ſhall fall therupon. To make the ſtory ſhort, Redwaldus the kyng (although Fabian followyng Henry Huntyngtõ, ſayth it was Edwyne) with all cõuenient ſpede aſſembled an hoſt: wherewith he ſodainly commyng vpon Ethelfride, gaue battaile vnto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride kyng of Northumberland, alſo with Reyner Redwaldus ſonne was ſlayne in the field. By reaſon wherof Edwyne (his enemies now beyng deſtroyed) was quietly placed in the poſſeſſion of Northumberlãd. All this while yet Edwyne remained in his old Paganiſme: albeit his Queene, beyng (as is aboue declared) kyng Ethelbertes daughter, a Chriſten woman, with Paulinus the biſhop ceaſed not to ſtyrre and perſwade the kyng to Chriſtiã fayth. But he takyng counſell with his nobles and counſellers vpon the matter, was hard to be wonne. Then the Lord, who diſpoſeth all thynges after his purpoſe, to bryng all good thynges to paſſe, ſent an other trouble vpon him, by meanes therof to call him. For by afflictiõ God vſeth commonly to call them whom he will ſaue, or by whom he will worke ſaluatiõ vnto other. So his diuine wiſedome thinketh good to make them firſt to know them ſelues, before they come to know him, or to teach him to other. So it was with Paule, who was ſtricken downe, before he was lifted vp, with Conſtantinus, Edwynus, and many moe. How long was Ioſeph in priſon before he bare rule? How hardly eſcaped this our Queene now beyng, (Queene Elizabeth) by whom yet notwithſtãding it hath pleaſed God to reſtore this his Goſpell now preached amongeſt vs? In what cõflictes and agonyes inwardly in his ſpirite was M. Luther, before he came to preach the iuſtification of Chriſt openly? And ſo be all they moſt commonly, which come to any liuely feelyng or ſenſible workyng of Chriſt the Lord.

W. Malmeſberienſis, Lib. de Reg.

This Queene was Edelburga, daughter to king Ethelbert the Chriſtened king of Kent.

God calleth cõmonly by afflictiõ and trouble.

But to returne to Edwyne agayne. The occaſiõ of his trouble was this: Quicelinus with Kynegilſus his brother, kynges of Weſtſaxons (as aboue is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kynges) conſpiring the death of Edwyne now kyng of Northumberland: vpon enuy and malice ſent vpon an Eaſter day a ſwordman named Emner, priuily to ſlay the ſayd Edwyne. This ſwordman or cutthrote came to a Citie beſide the water of Darwent in Darbyſhyre, there to wayte his tyme, and laſtly founde the kyng ſmally accompanied, and intended to haue runne the king through with a ſword inuenemed. But one Lilla the kynges truſty ſeruaunt, diſgarniſhed of a ſhield or other weapon, to defend his maiſter: ſtart betwene the king and the ſword, and was ſtricken through the body and dyed, & the kyng was wounded with the ſame ſtroke. And after he wounded alſo the third which was a knight, and ſo was taken, and confeſſed by whom he was ſent to worke that treaſon. The other knight that was ſecondly wounded dyed, and the kyng lay after long ſicke, or he were healed.

An other daunger of Edwine.

An. 627.

Polychr, lib. 5. ca. 12
Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.

Fabianus parte. 5.

A part of a truſty ſeruaunt.

After this, about Whitſontyde the kyng beyng ſcantly hole of his wounde, aſſembled his hoſte, intending to make agaynſt the kyng of Weſtſaxon: promiſing to Chriſt to be Chriſtened, if he would geue him the victory ouer his enemyes. And in token therof cauſed his daughter, borne of Edelburge, yͤ ſame Eaſter day whẽ he was woũded, named Eufled to be baptiſed: with .xij. other of his familie, of Paulinus. Thus Edwyne proceded to yͤ battaile agaynſt Quiceline and Kynegilſus, with his ſonne Kenwalcus and other enemyes: who in the ſame battaile beyng all vãquiſhed and put to flight, Edwyne (through the power of Chriſt) returneth home victorer. But for all this victory, & other things geuen to him of God, as he was in wealth of the world, forgat his promiſe made, and had litle mynde therof, ſaue onely that he by the preachyng of Paulinus forſooke his maumentry. And for his excuſe ſayd that he might not clearely denye his old law, whiche his forefathers had kept ſo long, and ſodenly to be Chriſtened without authoritie and good aduiſe of his counſaile.

Edwin forgetteth his promiſe to Chriſte.

Proſperity forgetfull.

Olde cuſtome in matters of religion, not to be followed, but onely truth.

About the ſame ſeaſon Pope Boniface the 5. ſent alſo to the ſayd Edwyne letters exhortatorie, with ſundry preſentes from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the Queene. But neither would that preuayle. Thẽ Paulinus ſeyng the kyng ſo hard to be conuerted, poured out his prayers vnto God for his conuerſion: who the ſame tyme had reuealed to hym by the holy ghoſt, the oracle aboue mentioned, whiche was ſhewed to the kyng, when he was with Redwaldus kyng of the Eaſtangles. Wherupon Paulinus commyng afterward to the kyng, on a certaine day, and laying his hand vpon the kinges head, aſked hym if he knew that tokẽ. The kyng hearyng this, & remembryng wel the token, was ready to fall downe at his feete. But Paulinus not ſufferyng that, did lift hym vp agayne, ſaying vnto him: behold, O kyng, you haue vanquiſhed your enemyes, you haue obtayned your kyngdome, now performe the third, whiche you haue promiſed, that is to receiue the fayth of Chriſt, and to be obedient to him. Wherupon the kyng conferryng with his counſell, and his nobles, was baptiſed of the ſayd Paulinus at Yorke, with many of his other ſubiectes with him: In ſomuch that Coyfi the chief of the Prelates of his old maumentry armed him ſelfe with his other Idolatrous Byſhops, and beſtrode good horſes, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ryde but onely on a Mare: & ſo deſtroyed all the altars of their maumentrie, & their temple of Idoles, which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke, and this was the .xi. yeare of his raigne.

Old cuſtome letteth Edwin to be chriſtened.

A miracle of God in the conuerſion of kyng Edwine.

The part of a godly biſhop exemplified in Paulinus.

Edwine baptiſed.

He was baptiſed in S. Peters Church at Yorke which he firſt cauſed to be made of woode, which after by S. Oſwald was buylded of ſtone.

628.

Frõ that tyme forth, duryng the lyfe of Edwyne, which was the terme of .vj. yeares moe, Paulinus Chriſtened continually in the riuers of Gweny, and Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, vſing the ſayd riuers for his fountes, and preached in the ſhyre of Lincelſey, where he builded alſo a Church of ſtone at Lincolne.

Note. Paulinus chriſtened in ryuers.

In this tyme was ſo great peace in the kyngdome of Edwyne after his conuerſiõ, that a woman laden with gold might haue gone from the one ſide of the Sea to the other, and no man moleſt her. Moreouer by the hye waye ſides through all his kingdome, he cauſed by euery well or ſpring to be chayned a diſhe or bole of braſſe to take vp water, for the refreſhyng of ſuch as went by the way. Which boles of braſſe there remained ſafe, ſo that no mã touched them, duryng all the lyfe of the ſayd Edwyne. Such was then the tender care and ſtudy of Chriſten Princes, for the refreſhyng of their ſubiectes. But that was then the braſen world, which now is growen to yron and leade, called Ætas ferrea or rather plumbea.

What true iuſtice of a good prince can do in a realme.

Great peace & truth among the people in the dayes of Edwine.

This Edwyne, who firſt brought in the fayth in the North partes, continuyng after his Baptiſme .vj. yeares, at length was ſlayne in battayle by Cedwalla, kyng of the Britaines, and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, with his ſonne alſo Offricus, in the field called Hatfield.

634.

This Paulinus was the firſt Archbyſhop of Yorke, and as he was of Iuſtus Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, ordained Archbyſhop of the ſea of Yorke: ſo he agayne after the deceaſe of Iuſtus, ordained Honorius to be Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.

Archbiſhop of Canterb. and Yorke the one ordayneth the other.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwyne, ſeyng vnmercifull Cedwalla or Cedwallon with his Britaines, & wicked Penda with yͤ Idolatrous Mercians, to ſpoile yͤ land in ſuch ſort, as they made no ſpare neither of age, nor ſexe, nor Religiõ: was compelled to flee with Edelburg the Queene, and Euſlede her daughter, by water vnto Kent: where the ſayd Archbyſhop Paulinus remained Byſhop of Rocheſter the ſpace of .xix. yeares. And ſo the Churche of Northumberland lacked a Byſhop for the ſpace of .xxx. yeares after. Notwithſtandyng he left there one Iames his Deacon, a good man, who continued there baptiſing and preachyng in the North partes, till that peace beyng recouered, and the number of the faythfull increaſing, the Church came agayn to his ſtay. Hunting. Lib. 3.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

Iames a godly deacon.

A deacon the might baptiſe.

By the meanes of this Edwyne, Erpwaldus kyng of the Eaſtangles, ſonne to Redwaldus aboue mentioned, was reduced to Chriſten fayth.

Erpwaldus otherwiſe named Corpwaldus, kyng of Eaſtangles conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt.

After the deceaſe of Edwyne and his ſonne Offrike, both ſlayne in battaile, reigned Oſricus and Eaufridus, the one in Deyra, the other in Bernicia. Oſricus was the ſonne of Elfricus, which was brother to Ethelfride. Eaufridus was the eldeſt ſonne of Ethelfride (for Ethelfride had iij. ſonnes, to wytte: Eaufridus Oſwaldus, and Oſricus.) Theſe two kynges of Deyra and Bernicia, Oſricus, and Eaufride, beyng firſt Chriſtened in Scotland: after beyng kynges, returned to their old idolatrie: and ſo in the yeares followyng were ſlayne, one after the other, by the foreſayd Cedwalla, and wicked Penda, as is in the table aboue expreſſed.

After whom ſucceeded in Northumberland, the ſecond ſonne of Ethelfride, named Oſwaldus hauyng rule on both the Prouinces as well Deyra, as of Bernicia. Whereof when the foreſayd Cedwalla (or Cadwallo) the Britaine kyng had vnderſtandyng: who before had made hauoke of the Saxons and thought to haue rooted them vtterly out of England: he ſent kyng Penda with a mighty hoſt of the Britaines, thinkyng to ſlea alſo Oſwald, as he had before ſlayne his brother Eaufride, and kyng Edwyne before them. But Oſwald when he was warned of the great ſtrength of this Cadwall, and Penda, made his prayers to God, and beſought him meekely of helpe to withſtand his enemy: for the ſaluation of his people. Thus after Oſwald had prayed for the ſauyng of his people, the two hoſtes met in a field named Deniſburne, ſome ſay, Heuẽfield, where was faught

S. Oſwalde K. of Northũb.

636.

Galfridus.
Malmeſburienſis.
Polychro.
Hiſtoria Iornalenſis.
Fabian.

Strength of prayer ouercommeth enemyes.

Penda beaten in the fielde. The cōmendation of king *Oſwalde.*

a ſtrong battaile. But finally the army and power of Penda and Cedwal, whiche were farre exceedyng the number of Oſwaldus hoſt, was chaſed and moſt part ſlayne by Oſwaldus, after he had reigned ouer the Britaines xxij. yeares leauyng after him a ſonne, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaldrus, the laſt kyng of the Britaines.

Of this Oſwald, much prayſe and commendation is written in authors, for his feruent zeale in Chriſtes Religion, and mercifull pitie toward the poore, with other great vertues moe. As touching the miracles of S. Oſwald, what it pleaſed the people of that tyme to reporte of him, I haue not here to affirme: This I finde in ſtories certaine, that he beyng well and vertuouſly diſpoſed to the ſettyng forth of Chriſtes fayth and doctrine, ſent into Scotland for a certein Byſhop, there called Aidanus, whiche was a famous preacher. The kyng what tyme he was in Scotland baniſhed, had learned the Scottiſh toung perfectly: wherfore as this Aidanus preached in his Scottiſh toung to the Saxons, the kyng him ſelfe interpretyng that which he had ſayd, diſdeyned not to preach and expounde the ſame to his nobles & ſubiectes in the Engliſh toung.

Kyng *Oſwald* diſdayned not to expounde and preach the Goſpell to his people.

The goodnes & charitie of *Oſwalde* toward the poore.

Moreouer toward the poore and needy, his pitie & tenderneſſe was ſuch, beyng notwithſtandyng of ſo hygh and Princely callyng: that vpon a tyme (beyng the Eaſterday) he ſittyng with the ſayd Aidanus at meate, and ſerued after the maner of kynges in Siluer: there commeth to hym one of the ſeruitures bryngyng him worde, that there was a great multitude of poore people ſittyng in the ſtreete, which deſired ſome almes of the kyng. He hearyng this, commaunded not onely the meate prepared for his owne Table to be caried vnto them, but alſo takyng a Siluer platter whiche ſtode before him, brake it in peeces and ſent it among them: And ſo releued his poore ſubiectes not onely with the meat of his Table, but with his diſhes alſo. Aidanus the Byſhop ſeyng this, and maruelyng thereat, taketh him by the hād, wiſhyng and prayng in this wiſe: This hand, ſayth he, I pray God may continue and neuer putrifie. What the ſtories ſay more concernyng this hand of Oſwald, I entēd not to medle farther then ſimple, true, and due probabilitie will beare me out. In thoſe dayes, and partly by the meanes of the ſayd Oſwald, Kynigilſus kyng of the Weſtſaxons was conuerted to Chriſtes fayth: eſpecially through the godly labour of Berinus, whiche was ſent by Pope Honorius to preach in Englād, and was then made Byſhop of Dorcheſter. To whom Quicelinus brother of the foreſayd Kynigilſus, after he had alſo receaued Baptiſme of the ſayd Berinus: gaue to him the ſayd Citie to make there his ſea. And as Guydo witneſſeth, the ſayd Quicelinus gaue after to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, ſeuen myles compaſſe of land, to builde there the Byſhops ſea: the which was accompliſhed and finiſhed by Kenwalcus his ſonne.

Hiſtoria Iornalenſis. Polychronicō. lib. 5. ca. 12.

Kynigilſus kyng of the Weſtſaxons, conuerted to Chriſtes fayth.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 13. Fabiā. part. 5.

Landes geuē to Wincheſt.

Malmeſberienſis lib. de pōtif. Angl. Ceſtrēſis. lib. 5. Hiſt. Iornalēſis. Hunting. lib. 3.

Of this Berinus, Malmeſbery, Polychronicon, with diuers other writers do report, a thyng ſtraunge and miraculous: which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but maruell that ſo many authors ſo conſtantly agree in reportyng and affirmyng the ſame. The matter is this: This Berinus being ſent as is ſayd, by Honorius to preach in England, promiſeth him to trauayle to the vttermoſt borders therof: and there to preache the Goſpell where the name of Chriſt was neuer hard. Thus he ſettyng forward in his iourney paſſeth through Fraunce, and ſo to the Sea ſide, where he founde a paſſage ready, and the wynde ſerued ſo fayre, that he was called vpon in ſuch haſt that he had no leyſure to remember him ſelfe to take all thyngs with him, which he had to cary. At length as he was on the Sea ſaylyng, and almoſt in the middle courſe of his paſſage, remembred him ſelfe of a certaine relique left behynd hym for haſt: which Honorius had geuen him at his commyng out. Malmeſberienſis calleth it Corporalia. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis, calleth it Pallulam ſuper quam Corpus Chriſti conſecraret, which we call a Corporas, or ſuch a like thyng, and what els incloſed within it I can not tell. Here Berinus in great ſorrow could not tell what to do, if he ſhould haue ſpoken to the Heathen mariners, to turne their courſe backe agayne, they would haue mocked him, & it had bene in vayne. Wherfore as the ſtories write, he boldly ſteppeth into the ſea, and walkyng on foote backe agayn, taketh with him that which was left behynd, and ſo returneth to his company agayne, hauyng not one thred of his garmentes wete. Of this miracle, or whether I ſhould call it a fable rather, let the reader iudge therof, as he thinketh: becauſe it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to beleue it. But if it were true, it is thē to be thought to be wrought of God not for any holynes in the man, or in the Corporas, but a ſpeciall gift for the conuerſion of the Heathen, for whoſe ſaluation God ſuffereth oft many wōders to be done. Thus Berinus beyng receiued in the ſhyp agayne with a great admiration of the Mariners, being therewith conuerted and Baptiſed: was driuen at laſt by the weather to the coaſt of the Weſtſaxons, where Kynigilſus and his brother Quicelinus aboue mentioned, did raigne. Which two kyngs, the ſame tyme by the preachyng of Berinus were conuerted, and made Chriſten men, with the people of the countrey, beyng before rude and barbarous. It happened the ſame tyme when the foreſayd kinges ſhould be Chriſtened, that Oſwaldus (mentioned a litle before) kyng of Northumberland, was then preſent and the ſame day maryed Kynigilſus his daughter, and alſo was Godfather to the kyng.

Berinus walkyng on the ſea wyth lye and all.

Oſwaldus godfather and ſonne in law to *Kynigilſus*, & all in one day.

Kyng *Oſwald* ſlaine in the fielde.

An. 643.

Penda kyng of Mercians ſlaine. *Oſwy* kyng of Northūberland.

Thus Oſwald after he had reigned. ix. yeares in ſuch holynes and perfectneſſe of life as is aboue ſpecified, was ſlayne at length in the field called Marfeld, by wicked Penda, kyng of the Mercians. Which Penda, at length after all his tyranny, was ouercome and ſlayne by Oſwy brother to Oſwald, next kyng after Oſwald of Northumberland notwithſtandyng he had twiſe the people that Oſwy had. This Penda beyng a Paynim had iij. ſonnes Wolferus, Weda, and Egfridus. To this ſecond ſonne Weda, Oſwy had before tyme maried his daughter by conſent of Penda his father. The whiche Weda by helpe of Oſwy was made kyng of Southmercia: the whiche Lordſhyp is ſeuered frō Northmercia by the ryuer of Trent. The ſame Weda moreouer, at what tyme he maried the daughter of Oſwy, promiſed to him that he would become a Chriſten man: which thyng he perfourmed after the death of Penda his father, but afterward within iij. yeares of his reigne, he was by reaſon of his wife ſlayne: And after him the kyngdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, who beyng wedded to Ermenilda daughter of Ercombert kyng of Kent, was ſhortly after Chriſtened: ſo that he is accompted the firſt Chriſtened kyng of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus, kyng of Kent, & gat the Ile of Wight, whiche after he gaue to Sigbert kyng of the Eaſtangles, vpon condition he would be Chriſtened. And thus the Eaſtangles, whiche before had expulſed Mellitus there Byſhop, as is declared recouered agayne the Chriſtian fayth vnder Sigbert their kyng, who by the meanes of the foreſayd Wolferus was reduced, and Baptiſed by Finanus the Byſhop.

The conuerting of the Mercians to the fayth of Chriſt. *Wolferus* firſt chriſtened kyng of Mercia.

The Eaſtangles reduced to the Chriſtian fayth.

Oſwy and *Oſwyne* fellow kinges in Northūberland.

But to returne agayne to Oſwy, from whom we haue a litle digreſſed, of whom we ſhewed before how he ſucceded after Oſwald, in the prouince of Bernicia: to whom alſo was ioyned Oſwynus his coſin, ouer the Prouince of Deyra, and there with his felow Oſwy raigned the ſpace of vij. yeares. This Oſwyne was gentle, & liberall to his people, and no leſſe deuout toward God: who vpon a tyme had geuen to Aidanus the Byſhop, aboue mentioned, a Princely horſe, with the trappers and all that perteined therto: becauſe he ſhould not ſo much trauayle on foote, but ſome tyme eaſe him ſelfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scottiſhe Byſhop as he was ryding vpon his kyngly horſe, by the way meeteth him a certeine poore man aſkyng and crauyng hys charitie. Aidanus hauyng nothyng els to geue him: lighteth downe, and geueth to hym his horſe trapped and garniſhed as he was. The kyng vnderſtandyng this, and not contented therewith: as he was entryng to dinner with the ſayd Aidanus: what ment you father Byſhop (ſayd he) to geue away my horſe I gaue you, vnto the begger? had not I other horſes in my ſtable, that might haue ſerued hym well inough: but you muſt geue away that whiche of purpoſe was picke out for you among the chiefeſt? To whom the Byſhop made aunſwere agayne ſaying or rather rebukyng the kyng: what be theſe wordes (O kyng ſayd he) that you ſpeake? Why ſet you more price by an horſe, whiche is but the fole of an horſe, then you do by him whiche is the ſonne of Mary, yea which is the ſonne of God? He ſayd but this. When the kyng forthwith vngyrdyng his ſword frō about him (as he was then newly come in from huntyng) falleth downe at the feete of the Byſhop: deſiryng him to forgeue him that, and he would neuer after ſpeake word to him for any treaſure he ſhould afterward geue away of his. The Byſhop ſeyng the kyng ſo meekely affected, he then takyng him vp, & chearyng him agayne with wordes, began ſhortly after to weepe & to be very heauy, his Miniſter aſkyng the cauſe therof, Aidanus aunſwered in his Scottiſh language, ſaying to him: I weepe (ſayth he) for that this kyng cannot lyue long. This people is not worthy to haue ſuch a Prince as he is, to raigne among them. And ſo as Aidanus ſayd, it came to paſſe. For not long after Oſwy the kyng of Bernicia diſdaynyng at him, when Oſwyne either beyng not able, or not willyng to ioyne with him in battayle, cauſed him traiterouſly to be ſlayne. And ſo Oſwy with his ſonne Egfride raigned in Northumberland alone.

Note the worthy liberality in the kyng, and no leſſe in the byſh.

H. Huntyng. de hiſtoria Anglorum. lib. 9. Example of true almoſe.

A perfect example of humilitie in a Prince.

Oſwyne traiterouſly murthered.

An. 651.

In the tyme, & alſo in the houſe, of this Oſwy kyng of

Benedict or Benet the brynger vp of Bede.

Northumberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the brynger vp of Bede frõ his youth, & tooke him to his inſtitution, whẽ he was but ſeuen yeare old, & ſo taught him duryng his lyfe. This Benedict, or Benet, deſcendyng of a noble ſtocke and riche kinne & in good fauour with Oſwy: forſoke ſeruice, houſe, and all his kyndred, to ſerue Chriſt, & wẽt to Rome (where he had bene in his life tyme v. tymes) and brought from thence bookes, into Monaſteries, with other thynges which he thought then to ſerue for deuotion. This Benedict ſurnamed Byſhop, was the firſt that brought in the arte and vſe of glaſing into this land. For before that, glaſſe windowes were not knowẽ, either in churches, or in houſes.

The vſe of glaſing firſt brought into this realme.

Botulphus. Aidanus. Finianus. Colmannus. Cutbertus, Larumannus, Cedda, VVilfridus.

In the raigne of the foreſayd Oſwye and Egfride hys ſonne, was Botulphus Abbot: whiche builded in the Eaſt part of Lincolne an Abbey. Alſo Aidanus, Finianus, & Colmannus, with iij. Scottiſh Byſhops of Northumberland holy men, held with the Britaines, againſt the Romiſh order, for the keepyng of Eaſterday. Moreouer Cutbertus, Larumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus, liued the ſame time, who as I iudge to be Byſhops of an holy conuerſation, ſo I thought it ſufficient here onely to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made Saintes in the Popes calender: ſeyng they are not written in the Goſpell nor in my Crede, but in certaine old chronicles of that age: ſo they are no matter of my fayth. Notwithſtãdyng as touchyng their conuerſation, thus I read, and alſo do credite: that the Clergy both of Britaine & England at that tyme plyed nothyng that was worldly: but gaue thẽ to preaching and teachyng of the word of our Sauiour, and followed the lyfe that they preached, by geuyng of good enſample. And ouer that, as our hiſtories accorde, they were ſo voyde of couetouſneſſe, that they receaued no poſſeſſions or territories, as was forced vpon them.

O quanta mutatio! Beda. lib. 4. cap. 5. Hunting. Polychr. Iornalenſis, Fabia.

An. 664.

About this ſeaſon or not much before, vnder the raigne of Oſwy and Oſwyne, kynges of Northumberland: an other Synode or Councell was holden agaynſt the Britaines, and the Scottiſh Byſhops, for the right obſeruyng of Eaſter, at Sternehalt. At what tyme Agilbertus Byſhop of the weſtſaxons came to Northumberland, to inſtitute Wilfride Abbot of Rypon: where this queſtion for Eaſterday began to be moued. For Colmannus then Byſhop of Northumberlãd followed not the cuſtome of Rome, nor of the Saxons: but followed the Britaines, and the Scottiſh Byſhops, his predeceſſors in the ſame ſea, before. Thus on the one ſide was Colmannus the Archbyſhop of Yorke and Hilda the Abbes of Sternhalt: whiche alleaged for them the doynges and examples, of their predeceſſours, both godly and reuerend Byſhops: as Aidanus, Finianus, Archbyſhops of that ſea of Yorke before them, and diuers moe, who had vſed alwayes to celebrate the Eaſter, from the. xiiij. day of the Moone, till the. xxviij. of the ſame. And ſpecially for that, S. Iohn the Euangeliſt at Epheſus, kept and obſerued that day, &c. On the other ſide was Agilbert Byſhop of weſtſaxons, Iames the Deacon of Paulinus, aboue mentioned: Wilfride Abbot of Rypon: and king Alfride, Oſwyes ſonne, with his Queene, holdyng on the ſame ſide. The full contentes of whiche diſputation here followeth, accordyng as in the ſtory of Beda at large is deſcribed, with their reaſons and argumentes, on both ſides as inſueth. &c.

Controuerſie about Eaſter day.

Ex Beda lib. 3. ca. 25

The queſtion of Eaſter, and of ſhauyng, and other Eccleſiaſticall matters beyng moued, it was determined that in the Abbey which is called Streneſhalch, of the whiche Hilda a deuout woman was Abbes: a conuocation ſhould be had and this queſtion there determined. To the whiche place came both the kynges, the father and the ſonne. Byſhop Colman with his Clergy of Scotlãd. Aigelbert with Agathon and Wilfride Prieſts, Iames and Roman were on their ſides. Hilda the Abbes with her company was on the Scottiſh part. And the reuerend Byſhop Cedda was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. Kyng Oſwye began firſt with an Oratiõ declaryng that it was neceſſary for ſuch as ſerued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that ſuch as looked for one kyngdome in heauen ſhould not differ in celebration of the heauenly Sacramentes, but ſhould rather ſeeke for the true traditiõ and follow the ſame. This ſayd, he commaunded his Byſhop Colman to declare what the rite and cuſtome was in this behalfe that he vſed, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes commaũdement, ſayd: the Eaſter which I obſerue I receaued of my aunceſtors that ſent me hether a Byſhop. The which, all our forefathers beyng men of God, did celebrate in like maner: & leaſt it ſhould be cõtemned or deſpiſed of any man, it is manifeſtly apparant, to be the very ſame, which the holy Euangeliſt S. Iohn (a Diſciple eſpecially beloued of the Lord) did cuſtomably vſe, in all Churches and congregations, where he had authoritie. When Colman had ſpoken many thinges to this effect, the kyng commaũded Aigelbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to ſhew the order that he then vſed, from whence it came and by what authoritie he obſerued the ſame. Aigelbert requeſted the kyng, that his ſcholer Wilfride, a Prieſt, might ſpeake for him: in as much as they both, with the reſt of his Clergy, were of one opinion herein: and that the ſayd Wilfride could vtter his mynde better and more playnly in the Engliſhe toung, then he himſelfe could. Then Wilfride at the kynges cõmaundement, began on this ſorte, and ſayd: The Eaſter whiche we keepe, we haue ſeene at Rome, where as the holy Apoſtles, Peter & Paule, did lyue and teach, did ſuffer, and were buried. The ſame alſo is vſed in Italie, and in Fraunce: the which coũtreys we haue traueled for learnyng, and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Aſia alſo and in Aphricke, in Egypt and in Grecce, and finally in all the world, the ſame maner of Eaſter is obſerued, that we vſe: ſaue onely by theſe here preſent with theyr accomplices, the Pictes & the Britaines: with the which two (& yet not altogether agreyng) they condeſcend, & ſtriue fooliſhly in this order againſt the vniuerſall world. To whom Colmã replyed, ſaying: I maruel, you wil cal this order fooliſh, that ſo great an Apoſtle, as was worthy to lye in ye Lordes lappe, did vſe: whom all the world doth wel know to haue liued moſt wiſely. And Wilfride anſwered, God forbyd that I ſhould reproue S. Iohn of folye, who kept the rites of Moyſes law accordyng to the letter (the Churche beyng yet Iewiſhe in many pointes) and the Apoſtles not as yet able to abdicate all the obſeruations of the law before ordained: As for exãple, they could not reiect Images inuented of the deuill, the whiche all men that beleue in Chriſt ought of neceſſitie to forſake, and deteſt: leaſt they ſhould be an offence to thoſe Iewes that were amongſt the Gentiles. For this cauſe did S. Paule Circumciſe Timothe: for this cauſe did he ſacrifice in the temple, and did ſhaue his head with Aquila and Priſcilla at Corinthe: all whiche thinges were done to none other purpoſe, then to eſchue the offence of the Iewes. Herevpon alſo ſayd Iames to Paule, thou ſeeſt brother how many thouſand Iewes do beleue, and all theſe be zelous notwithſtandyng of the law. Yet ſeyng the Goſpel is ſo manifeſtly preached in the world, it is not lawfull for the faythfull to be Circumciſed, neither to offer ſacrifice of carnall thynges to God. Therfore Iohn accordyng to the cuſtome of the law, the. xiiij. day of the firſt moneth at euenyng, dyd begyn the celebration of the feaſt of Eaſter: nothyng reſpectyng whether it were celebrated in the Sabboth, or in any other feriall day. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembryng that the Lord did ariſe from death on the firſt day after the Sabboth geuing thereby an hope to the world of the reſurrectiõ: thought good to inſtitute Eaſter on that day, & not after the vſe and preceptes of the law (that was) the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth. Euen ſo Iohn lookyng for the Moone at night if it did ariſe, & the next day after were Sonday, which was then called the Sabboth, then dyd he celebrate the Eaſter of the Lord in the euenyng, like as we vſe to do euen at this day. But if Sonday were not the next day after the xiiij. day, but fell on the xvj. day, or xvij. or on any other day vnto the xxi: he taried alwayes for it, and dyd begyn the holy ſolemnitie of Eaſter, on the euenyng next before the Sabboth. And ſo came it to paſſe that Eaſter was alwayes kept on the Sonday, and was not celebrated but from the xv. day vntill the xxi. Neither doth this tradition of the Apoſtle breake the law, but fulfilleth the ſame. In the which it is to be noted, that Eaſter was inſtituted frõ the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth at euenyng: vnto the xxi. day of the ſame moneth at euenyng, the whiche manner all S. Iohns ſucceſſours in Aſia, after his death did folow, and the Catholicke Church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Eaſter, and onely of all Chriſtians to be obſerued. it was not newly decreed: but confirmed by the Councell of Nice, as appeareth by the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. Wherupon it is manifeſt that you (Colman) do neither folow the example of S. Iohn as ye thinke, nor of S. Peter whoſe tradition ye do willingly reſiſt, nor of the Church nor yet of the Goſpell, in the celebration of Eaſter. For S. Iohn, obſeruyng Eaſter accordyng to the preceptes of the law, kept it not on the firſt day after the Sabboth. But you preciſely keepe it, onely on the firſt day after the Sabboth. Peter did celebrate Eaſter from the xv. day of the Moone to the xxi. day: But you keepe Eaſter frõ the xiiij. vnto the xx. day, ſo that you begyn Eaſter oftentymes the xiij. day at night: of the which maner neither the law nor the Goſpell maketh any mention. But the Lord in the xiiij. day

either

A diſputation betwene the Romaine byſhops and the Scottiſh byſhops for the day of Eaſter & other ceremonies.

The kyng begynneth.

Colman ſpeaketh.

VVilfride replyeth.

Vniuerſalitie alleged.

Colman agayne ſpeaketh.

VVilfride replyeth.

Why *Paule* circumciſed *Timothy.*

Example of *Peter* alleaged, but no proofe ſhowed.

Peter & *Iohn* did not agree in the celebrating of Eaſter.

In the counſell of Nice no ſuch matter appeareth.

either did eate the old Paſſouer at night, or els did celebrate the Sacramentes of the new Teſtament in the remembraunce of his death and paſſion, you do alſo vtterly reiect from the celebration of Eaſter the .xxj. day, the whiche the law hath chiefly willed to be obſerued. And therefore as I ſayd in the keepyng of Eaſter, you neither agree with S. Iohn, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the Goſpell. Then Colman agayne aunſwered to theſe thinges, ſaying: Did then Anatholius a godly man and one much cōmended in the foreſayd Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, agaynſt the law and the Goſpell? who writeth that the Eaſter was to be kept frō the .xiiij. day vnto the .xx: or ſhall we thinke that Columba our reuerend father and his ſucceſſours being mē of God who obſerued the Eaſter after this maner, did agaynſt the holy Scripture? where as ſome of them were men of ſuch godlynes and vertue as was declared by their wonderfull miracles, and I hereby (nothyng doubtyng of their holines) do endeuour to follow their life, order, and diſcipline. Then ſayd Wilfride, it is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly and a learned man, and worthy of great commendation: but what haue you to do with him, ſeyng you obſerue not his order. For he folowyng the true rule in keepyng his Eaſter, obſerueth the circle of .xix. yeares. The which either you know not, or if you do, you contemne the common order obſerued in the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt. And moreouer the ſayd Anatholius doth ſo count the .xiiij. day in the obſeruation of Eaſter, as he confeſſeth the ſame to be the .xv. day at night, after the maner of the Egyptians, and likewiſe noteth the .xx. day to be in the feaſt of Eaſter the .xxi. in the euening: the which diſtinction that you know not, by this may appeare for that you keepe the Eaſter on the .xiij. day before the full Moone. Or otherwiſe I can aunſwere you, touchyng your father Columba and his ſucceſſours, whoſe order you ſay you follow, moued thereto by their miracles, on this wiſe: that the Lord will aunſwere to manye that ſhall ſay in the day of iudgement, that in his name they haue prophecied & caſt out deuils, and haue done many miracles. &c. that he neuer knew them. But God forbid that I ſhould ſay ſo of your fathers, becauſe it is much better to beleue well of thoſe we know not, then ill. Whereupon I deny not, but they were the ſeruauntes of God and holy men, the which loued the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude ſimplicitie. And I thinke that the order whiche they vſed in the Eaſter, did not much hurt them, ſo long as they had none amongeſt them, that could ſhew thē the right obſeruation of the ſame for them to follow. For I thinke if the truth had bene declared vnto them, they would as well haue receiued it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellowes if you refuſe the order of the Apoſtolicall ſea, or rather of the vniuerſall Church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture, without all doubt you do ſinne. And though your forefathers were holy mē, what is their fewnes beyng but a corner of an Iland, to be preferred before yͤ vniuerſall church of Chriſt diſperſed throughout the whole worlde? And if Columba your father (and ours alſo beyng of Chriſt) were mighty in miracles, is he therfore to be preferred before the Prince of the holy Apoſtles? to whō the Lord ſayd: thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, & the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle agaynſt it, and I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen.

Colman agayne aunſwereth.

VVilfride replyeth.

The authoritie of men is not to be ſticked vnto, for their doyng of myracles.

The example of them that follow not, for lacke of teaching, excuſeth not them which being taught wyll not follow.

Yea ſyr, *Suffragia eccleſia non numeranda ſunt ſed ponderanda. Aug.*

Wilfride hauyng thus ended his argumēt, the kyng ſayd to Colman: Is it true that the Lord ſpake theſe thynges to S. Peter? And Colman aunſwered yea. Then ſayd the kyng: Can you declare any thyng that the Lord gaue to Columba? Colman aunſwered no. Then quoth the kyng, do both of you agree and conſent in this matter without any cōtrouerſie, and that theſe wordes were principally ſpoken to Peter, and that the Lord gaue him the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen? And they both aunſwered yea. Then concluded the kyng on this wiſe: For as much as S. Peter is the doore keeper of heauen, I will not gaynſay hym: but in that I am able, I will obey hys orders in euery point, leaſt when I come to the gates of heauen, he ſhut them agaynſt me.

The kyng concludeth.

Upon this ſimple and rude reaſon of the kyng, the multitude eftſoones conſented: and with them alſo Cedda was contented to geue ouer. Onely Colmannus the Scot, beyng then Archbiſhop of Yorke, in diſpleaſure left the Realme, & departed into Scotland, carying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. Lib. 3. Cap. 25. And thus much concernyng this matter of Eaſter.

Mobile mutatur ſemper cum principe vulgus.

Egfride or *Edfride* of Northumberlād.

After the deceaſe of Oſwy, Egfride his ſonne was king after him in Northumberland .xv. yeares. By this Egfride Cutbert was promoted to the Byſhopricke of the Ile of Farne. And Wilfride which before had bene Archbyſhop of Yorke, was diſplaced through the meanes of Theodore Archbyſhop of Canterbury: and Cedda poſſeſſed that ſea. Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome, and cōplayned of him to Agathon the Byſhop, and was well allowed in ſome thynges. But the kyng and Theodorus had there ſuch Proctors and frendes, that he returned without ſpedyng of his cauſe. Wherefore he returned vnto the Southſaxons, and builded an Abbey in Sileſey, and preached vnto the Southſaxons .xv. yeares. The kyng of the Southſaxons at that time was Ethelwold: to whom we declared a litle before, that Wolferus king of the Mercians, gaue the Ile of Wight, vpon cōdition, that he would be Chriſtened, and ſo was Baptiſed by Berinus: the ſayd Wolfer beyng his Godfather and ſonne in law, both in one day. Wherfore Wolferus now beyng licenſed by Ethelwold the kyng, preached vnto his nobles and people of Southſexe, and conuerted them to Chriſt. In the tyme of whoſe Baptiſing the rayne whiche before they lacked .iij. yeares together, was geuen them plentifully: whereby their great famine ſlaked, and the countrey was made fruitfull, whiche before was dryed vp with barennes: In ſomuch that as in ſome ſtories is ſayd, the people penured with famine would go .xl. together vpon the rockes by the ſea ſide, and takyng handes together, would throw themſelues downe to the ſea. Moreouer, where they lacked before the arte of fiſhyng, the foreſayd Wilfride taught them how with nets to fiſh.

Malmeſber. Huntyngt. Fabian, cap. 135.

VVilfride Archb. of Yorke.

Southſaxons conuerted to Chriſtes fayth.

H. Huntyngt. lib. 3.

And thus by proceſſe haue we diſcourſed from tyme to tyme how & by what meanes the Idolatrous people were induced to the true fayth of Chriſt: of whom theſe Southſaxons with the Ile of Wyght was the laſt.

The Ile of Wyght laſt conuerted to Chriſt.

After Egfride, who was ſlayne in the ſtraightes of Scotland, next ſucceded Alfride his brother, and baſtard ſonne to Oſwy, and raigned .xviij. or .xix. yeares in Northumberland. This Alfride reſtored agayne the foreſayd Wilfride to the ſea of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, & put in Cedda. Notwithſtandyng, the ſame kyng within .v. yeares after, expulſed the ſayd Wilfride agayne: and ſo went he to Rome. But at length by Oſrike his ſucceſſour was placed agayne the Archbyſhop of Yorke: and Cedda was ordained by Theodorus, Byſhop of Mercia. The whiche prouince of Mercia, the ſaid Theodorus Archbiſhop of Cāterbury by the authoritie of the Synode holdē at Hatfield, did after deuide into fiue Biſhoprickes: that is, one to Cheſter, the ſecond to Worceter, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna in Lindeſey, the fift to Dorcheſter, whiche was after tranſlated to Lincolne.

Alfride kyng of Northumb.

VVilfride reſtored agayne to the ſea of Yorke.

Mercia deuided into v. byſhopprickes.

Neare about this tyme, in the yeare of our Lord. 666. yͤ deteſtable ſect of Mahumet, begā to take ſtrēgth & place: Although Polychronicō differyng a litle in yeares, accounteth yͤ beginnyng of this ſect ſomwhat before. But the moſt diligent ſearchers of them which write now, referre it to this yeare, which well agreeth with yͤ nūber of yͤ beaſt, ſigned in the Apocalips. χξϛ. That is. 666. Of this Mahumet came the kyngdome of Agarenes (whom he after named Saracenes) to whom he gaue ſundry lawes, patched of many ſectes and religions together, he taught thē to pray euer to the South: And as we keepe the Sonday, ſo they keepe the Friday: which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to haue as many wiues as they were able to maintaine: to haue as many concubines as they liſt: to abſtaine from vſe of wyne, except vpon certaine ſolemne dayes in the yeares: to haue & worſhip onely one God omnipotent: ſaying, that Moſes & the Prophetes were great men, but Chriſt was greater, and greateſt of all the Prophetes: as beyng borne of the virgine Mary by the power of God, without mans ſeede: and at laſt was taken vp to heauen, but was not ſlayne: but an other in his lykenes for him, with many other wicked blaſphemies in his law contained. At length this kyngdome of the Saracenes began to be cōquered of the Turkes, and in proceſſe of time wholy ſubdued to them.

The wicked ſect of Mahumet.

Apoc. 13.

An. 666.

Ex Polychron. Ex Giraldo Cambrenſi. Ex Stephano Cantuarienſi.

But now to returne agayne to the tyme of our Engliſh Saxons. In this meane ſeaſon Theodorus was ſent from Italy into England by Vitellianus the Pope, to be Archbyſhop of Caunterbury: and with him diuers other mōkes of Italy, to ſet vp here in England Latin ſeruice, Maſſes, ceremonies, Letanies, with ſuch other Romiſhe ware. &c. This Theodorus beyng made Archbyſhop and Metropolitane of Canterbury began to play the rex, placyng & diſplacyng the Byſhops at his pleaſure. As for Cedda, & Wilfride Archbyſhops of Yorke, he thruſt them both out vnder the pretence, that they were not lawfully conſecrated, notwithſtandyng they were ſufficiently authoriſed by their kynges, and there placed agaynſt their willes. Wherefore Wilfride (as is before touched) wēt vp to Rome, but could haue no redreſſe of his cauſe. Yet to ſhew what modeſty this

Theodorus Archb. of Cant.

Wilfride vſed agaynſt his enemy, beyng ſo violently moleſted as he was, becauſe the wordes of his complaint are expreſſed in W. Malmeſbery: I thought here to expreſſe the ſame, both for the commendation of the partie, and alſo for the good enſample of other, in caſe any ſuch be, whom good examples will moue to well doyng. This Wilfride therfore hauyng ſuch iniury and violence offered vnto hym by the handes of Theodore: although he had iuſt cauſe to do his vttermoſt, yet in proſecutyng his complaint, how he tempered himſelfe: what wordes of modeſty he vſed, rather to defende his innocencie, then to impugne his aduerſary: by this his ſuggeſtion offered vp to the Byſhop of Rome, may appeare: whoſe wordes in effect were theſe: Quid autem acciderit, vt Theodorus ſanctiſſ. Archiepiſcopus (me ſuperſtite in ſede) quam, licèt indignus diſpenſabam: abſq; conſenſu cuiuſlibet Epiſcopi ex ſua autoritate (mea humilitate non acquieſcente) ordinauit tres Epiſcopos: omittere magis quàm vrgere, pro eiuſdem viri reuerentia, cõdecet. Quem quidem, pro eo q; ab hac Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſummitate directus eſt, accuſare non audeo, &c. In Engliſh. How it chaunceth that Theodorus, the moſt holy and reuerẽd Archbiſhop (my ſelfe beyng aliue in the ſea) which I though vnworthy, did rule and diſpoſe: hath of his owne authoritye without the cõſent of any Byſhop, neither hauyng my ſimple voyce agreyng to the ſame, ordained. iij. Byſhops: I had rather paſſe ouer in ſilence then to ſtyrre any farther therin, becauſe of the reuerence of that man, and no leſſe thought I it my duetie ſo to do. The which mã for that he hath bene directed by the authoritie of this ſea Apoſtolicall, I will not, nor dare not here accuſe, &c. Thus ỹ cauſe of the ſayd Wilfride, albeit it was ſufficiently knowen in the Court of Rome, to be well allowed for iuſt and innocent, yet it was not then redreſſed. In ſuch eſtimation was this Theodorus then among the Romaines. Vpon this controuerſie of theſe two Byſhops I may well here inferre the wordes of W. Malmeſbury, not vnworthy (in my mynde) to be noted: which be theſe in his Latine ſtory. Vbi, videri & doleri poteſt humana miſeria, quòd videlicet quantumlibet quis ſanctitate polleat, non ad plenum peruicaces mores exuat, &c. That is: In the which Theodore, ſayth he, the weake and miſerable infirmitie of man, may be ſeene and alſo lamented: conſideryng, that although a man be neuer ſo holy, yet in the ſame man is ſome thynge, whereby it may be perceaued, that he hath not vtterly put of all his ſtubburne conditions. &c.

Gu. Malmeſburienſis. lib. 1. de geſtis pontiff. Anglorum.

Bede. lib. 4. cap. 22.

Gul. Malmeſb. lib. de geſtis pontifi. Anglorum. lib. 1. Policbron. lib. 5. cap. 19.

An. 680.

Bede. lib. 4. cap. 5.

In the tyme of this Theodorus, and by the meanes of him, a prouinciall Synode was holden at Thedford, mentioned in the ſtory of Bede: the principall contentes wherof were theſe.

1. Firſt, that Eaſter day ſhould be vniformely kept and obſerued through the whole Realme, vpõ one certaine day, videlicet prima. 14. Luna Menſis primi.

2. Secondly, that no Byſhop ſhould entermedle within the Dioces of an other.

3. Thirdly, that Monaſteries conſecrated vnto GOD, ſhould be exempt & free from the iuriſdiction of the byſhops.

4. Fourthly, that the Monkes ſhould not ſtray from one place (that is) from one monaſtery to an other, without the licenſe of his Abbot: alſo to keepe the ſame obedience which they promiſed at their firſt entryng.

5. Fiftly, that no Clergymã ſhould forſake his owne Byſhop, and to be receiued in any other place, without letters commendatory of his owne Byſhop.

6. Sixtly, that foreine Byſhops and Clergymen cõmyng into the Realme, ſhould be content onely with the benefite of ſuch hoſpitalitie, as ſhould be offered them: neither ſhould entermedle any further within the precinct of any byſhop, without his ſpeciall permiſſion.

7. Seuenthly, that Synodes prouinciall ſhould be kept within the Realme: at leaſt once a yeare.

8. Eightly, that no Byſhop ſhould preferre him ſelfe before an other, but muſt obſerue the tyme and order of his cõſecration.

9. Ninthly, that the number of Byſhops ſhould be augmented, as the number of the people increaſeth.

10. Tenthly, that no Mariage ſhould be admitted, but that which was lawfull. No inceſt to be ſuffered: neither any mã to put away his wife for any cauſe, except onely for fornicatiõ, after the rule of the Goſpell. And theſe be the principall chapters of that Synode. &c.

In the next yeare following was the ſixt generall Cõcell kept at Conſtaunce, where at, this Theodore was alſo preſent, vnder Pope Agatho: where Mariage was permitted to Greeke Prieſts, and forbidden to the Latin. In this Councell the Latin Maſſe was firſt openly ſayd by Iohn Portuenſis the Popes Legate, before the Patriarche and Princes at Conſtantinople, in the temple of S. Sophy.

705.

Oſredus, Kenredus, Oſricus, kinges of Northumberland.

The kyngdome of Britaine ceaſeth.

Iua, or *Iue.* K. of Weſtſaxons.

Polychrõ. lib. 5. cap. 21.

S. Cuthlake a popyſhe ſaint.

After the deceaſe of Alfride kyng of Northumberland (frõ whom we laſt digreſſed) ſucceeded his ſonne Oſredus, raignyng. xi. yeares. After whõ raigned Kenredus. 2. yeares. And next Oſricus after him. xi. yeares.

In the tyme and raigne of theſe. iiij. kynges of Northumberland, kyng Iua reigned in Weſtſaxe: who ſucceedyng after Cadwalader (the laſt kyng of the Britaines) began his raigne about the yeare of the Lord. 689. and raigned with great valiauntnes ouer the Weſtſaxons, the terme of. xxxvij. yeares. Concernyng whoſe actes and warres maintayned agaynſt the Kentiſh Saxons, and other kings: becauſe I haue not to entermedle withal, I referre the reader to other Chroniclers.

About the ſixt yeare of the raigne of this Iua, or Iue, Polychronicon and other make mentiõ of one Cuthlacus, whõ they call, S. Cuthlake a confeſſor, who about the. 24. of his age, renoũcyng the pompe of ỹ world, profeſſed him ſelfe a Monke in the Abbey of Repindon, and the third yeare after went to Crowland, where he led the lyfe of an Anker. In the whiche Ile and place of his buryng was builded a fayre Abbey, called afterward, for the great reſorte and gentle entertainment of ſtraungers, Crowland the courteous. But why this Cuthlake ſhould be ſainted for hys doynges, I ſee no great cauſe, as neither do I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgare people are made to beleue, that he incloſed the deuill in a boylyng pot, and cauſed wicked ſpirites to erect vp houſes, with ſuch other fables and lying miracles. &c. Amonge whiche lying miracles alſo may be reckened that whiche the ſtories mention in the. xi. yeare of the raigne of Iua, to be done of one Brithwalde or Drithelmus: who beyng dead a lõg ſeaſon, was reſtored to lyfe agayne, and told many wonders of ſtraunge thynges that he had ſeene, cauſing thereby great almes and deedes of charitie to be done of the people. And ſo ỹ diſpoſing of his goodes geuen in iij. partes, went to the Abbey of Mailroos, where he continued the reſt of his life.

Crowland the courteous.

Lying myracles.

What ſtraunge ſightes this *Brithwalde,* or *Drithelm,* did ſee after hys death, read the ix. booke of *Hen. Huntington.*

King *Ethelred* made Abbot of Bardney.

Aldelmus. Gu. Malmeſb. lib. 5. de põtifi.

Moreouer, about the. xvj. yeare of the ſayd Iua, Ethelred king of Mercia, after he had there raigned. 30. yeares, was made a Monke: and after an Abbot of Bardney.

And about the xviij. yeare of the raigne of Iue, dyed the worthy and learned byſhop Aldelmus, firſt Abbot of Malmeſbery, afterward Biſhop of Schyrborn: of whom Williã Malmeſberie writeth plenteouſly, with great commendation: and that not vnworthely as I ſuppoſe: eſpecially for the notable prayſe of learnyng and vertue in hym aboue the reſt of that tyme (next after Bede) as the great number of bookes and Epiſtles and Poemes by him ſet forth, will declare. Although concernyng the miracles which the ſayd author aſcribeth vnto him, as firſt in cauſing an infant of. ix. dayes old to ſpeake at Rome, to cleare pope Sergius, which was then ſuſpected the father of the ſaid child. Alſo in hanging his cauſule vpon the ſunne beames. Item, in makyng whole the altar ſtone of Marble, brought from Rome. Itẽ, in drawyng alength one of the tymber peeces, which went to the buildyng of the temple in Malmeſbery. Item, in ſauyng the Mariners at Douer. &c. As concernyng theſe and ſuch other miracles, which Williã Malmeſbery to him attributeth, I cannot conſent to him therein, but thinke rather the ſame to be Monkiſhe deuiſes, forged vpon their Patrons, to maintaine the dignitie of their houſes. And as the author was deceaued (no doubt) in beleuing ſuch fables him ſelfe: ſo may he likewiſe deceaue vs, though ỹ dexteritie of his ſtile, and fine handlyng of the matter, but that father experiẽce hath taught the world now adayes more wiſedome, in not beleuyng ſuch practiſes. This Aldelmus was Byſhop of Schyrborne, which ſea after was vnited to ỹ ſea of Winton. In which Church of Wincheſter the like miracles alſo are to be read of Byſhop Adelwold, & S. Swithune, whom they haue canonized likewiſe for a Saint.

Lying myracles.

Malmeſbery commended for his ſtile.

Lying myracles reproued.

Aldelme biſh. *Swythune,* B. of Wint.

Bede. lib. 5. cap. 23. Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi de regibus Northumb.

S. Iohn of Beuerlay.

717.

Moreouer neare about the. xxv. yeare of Iue, by the report of Bede, S. Iohn of Beuerley, which was then Biſhop of Yorke dyed, and was buried at the portche of the Minſter of Deyrwood or Beuerley. In the whiche portch it is recorded in ſome Chronicles, that as the ſayd Iohn vpon a tyme was praying, beyng in the portche of S. Michaell in Yorke: the holy Ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Doue ſat before him vpon the altar, in brightnes ſhynyng aboue the ſunne. This brightnes beyng ſeene of other, firſt commeth one of his Deacons runnyng vnto the portche: who beholdyng the Byſhop there ſtandyng in his prayers, and all the place repleniſhed with the holy ghoſt: was ſtroken with the light therof, hauyng all his face burnt, as it were with hote burnyng fire. Notwithſtandyng the Byſhop by and by cured the face of his Deacon agayne, charging him as the ſtory ſayth, not to publiſhe what he had ſeene duryng hys lyfe tyme.

An other lying fable of S. Egwyne.

Ranulphus in Polychro. lib. 5. cap. 23.

tyme. &c. which tale ſeemeth as true, as that we read about the ſame tyme done of S. Egwyne, in Polychron. Abbot of Euſham, and Byſhop of Worceſter (then called Wyctes:) who vpon a tyme when he had fettered both his feete in yrons faſt locked, for certaine ſinnes done in his youth, and had caſt the key therof in the Sea: afterward a fiſh brought the key agayne into the ſhyp, as he was ſaylyng homeward from Rome.

Beda. lib. 5. de geſtis. Angl. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 17.

A generall rule ſeruing for the obſeruation of Eaſter day.

This rule of Eaſter ſeemeth to be taken out of the booke of *Numer.* And they going out of Rameſſe the 15. day of the firſt moneth, the next day after held their Eaſter. &c.

But to leaue theſe Monkiſhe phantaſies, and returne into the right courſe againe of the ſtory. In the time of this foreſayd Iue, began firſt the right obſeruyng of the Eaſter day to be kept of the Pictes, and of the Britaines. In the obſeruation of whiche day (as is largely ſet forth in Bede, and Polychron. Lib. 5. cap. 17. and. 22.) three thynges are neceſſary to be obſerued: the full Moone of the firſt moneth, that is, of the moneth of March: Secondly, the Dominicall Letter: Thirdly, the Equinoctiall day, which Equinoctiall was wont to be counted in the Eaſt Church, and eſpecially among the Egyptians, to be about the. 17. day of Marche. So that the full Moone either vpon the Equinoctiall day, or after the Equinoctiall day being obſerued: the next dominicall day followyng that full moone, is to be taken for Eaſter day. Wherin is diligently to be noted two thynges. Firſt, the fulnes of the moone, muſt be perfectly full, ſo that it be the beginnyng of the third weeke of yͤ moone which is the 14. or 15. day of the moone. Secondly, is to be noted, that the ſayd perfect fulnes of the moone beginninge he third weeke, muſt happen either in the very euenyng of the Equinoctiall day, or after the Equinoctial day. For els if it happen either on the Equinoctiall day before the euenyng, or before the Equinoctial day: then it belongeth to the laſt moneth of the laſt yeare, and not to the firſt moneth of the firſt yeare, and ſo ſerueth not to be obſerued.

Why prieſts crownes were ſhauen.

Bede de geſt. lib. 5.

This rite and vſage in keepyng Eaſter day beyng receiued in the Latin Church, began now to take place amõg the Pictes & Britaines through the buſie trauaile of Theodorus, Cuthlacus, but namely of Edbert the holy Monke, as they terme him: & of Colfrid Abbot of Girwin in Northumberland, whiche wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the kyng of Pictes, concernyng the ſame: who alſo among other thynges writeth of the ſhauen crownes of Prieſtes, ſaying: that it was as neceſſary for the vow of a Mõke, or degree of a Prieſt, to haue a ſhauen crowne for reſtraint of their luſtes: as for any Chriſten man, to bleſſe him agaynſt ſpirites when they come vpon him. Bede. Lib. 5. The copy of whiche letter, as it is in Bede: I haue here annexed, not for any great reaſon therein cõtained, but onely to delite the reader with ſome paſtime, in ſeyng the fond ignoraunce of that Monkiſh age: the copy of the letter thus procedeth.

¶Of the ſhauyng of Prieſtes, out of the fift booke of Beda the. xxi. Chapter.

The copy of a Monkiſhe letter of *Colfride* to kyng *Naiton* for the ſhauing of Prieſtes crownes. How proueth he that the Apoſtles. *Iob & Ioſeph* were ſhauẽ. Much ſayd, nothing proued.

Diuerſitie of rites hurteth not the Church. See how theſe ſhauelings would father theyr ſhauing vpõ *Peter*, which is neither founde in ſcripture, nor in any approued ſtory, but onely in painted clothes.

CONcernyng the ſhauyng of Prieſts (wherof you write alſo vnto me) I exhort you that it be decently obſerued accordyng to the Chriſtian faith. We are not ignoraunt that the Apoſtles were not all ſhauen, after one maner, neither doth the Catholicke Churche at this day agree in one vniforme maner of ſhauyng, as they do in fayth, hope, and charitie. Let vs conſider the former tyme of the Patriarches, and we ſhall finde that Iob (an example of patience) euen in the very point of his afflictions, dyd ſhaue his head: and he proueth alſo, that in the tyme of his proſperitie, he vſed to let his heare grow. And Ioſeph an excellẽt Doctour and executour of chaſtity, humilitie, pietie, and other vertues: whẽ he was deliuered out of priſon and ſeruitude, was ſhauen: wherby it appeareth that whileſt he abode in priſon he was vnſhauen. Behold both theſe beyng men of God dyd vſe an order in the habite of their body one contrary to the other, whoſe conſciences notwithſtãdyng within did well agree in the like grace of vertues. But to ſpeake truely and freely, the difference of ſhauing hurteth not ſuch as haue a pure fayth in the Lord, & a ſincere charitie towardes their neighbour: eſpecially for that there was neuer any controuerſie amongeſt the Catholike fathers about the diuerſitie therof, as there hath bene of the difference of the celebration of Eaſter, and of fayth. But of all theſe ſhauynges that we finde, either in the Churche or els where: there is none in mine opinion ſo much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he vſed on his head, to whom the Lord ſayd: thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Churche and the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile agaynſt it, & I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. And contrarywiſe there is no ſhauyng ſo much to be abhorred and deteſted as that whiche he vſed to whom the ſame S. Peter ſayd, thy money be with thee to thy deſtructiõ, becauſe thou thinkeſt to poſſeſſe the gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part nor lot is not in this worde. Neither ought we to be ſhauen on the crowne onely becauſe Saint Peter was ſo ſhauen, but becauſe Peter was ſo ſhauen, in the remembraunce of the Lordes Paſſion: therefore we that deſire by the ſame Paſſion to be ſaued, muſt weare the ſigne of the ſame paſſion with him vpon the toppe of our head which is the higheſt part of our body. For as euery Church that is made a Church by the death of yͤ Sauiour, doth vſe to beare the ſigne of the holy croſſe in the front: that it may the better by the defence of that banner, be kept frõ the inuaſions of euill ſpirites: and by the often admonition therof, is taught to crucifie the fleſh, with the concupiſcẽce of the ſame: In like maner it behoueth ſuch as haue the vowes of Monkes and degrees of the Clergy, to binde thẽ ſelues with a ſtraiter bitte of continencie for the Lordes ſake. And as the Lord bare a crowne of thorne on his head in his paſſiõ, wherby he tooke and caried away from vs the thornes and prickes of our ſinnes: ſo muſt euery one of vs by ſhauyng our heades, patiẽtly beare and willingly ſuffer, the mockes and ſcornes of the world for his ſake: That we may receaue the crowne of eternall lyfe, whiche God hath promiſed to all that loue him, and ſhall by ſhauyng their corporall crownes beare the aduerſitie, and contemne the proſperitie of this world. But the ſhauyng whiche Symon Magus vſed, what faythfull man doth not deteſt together with his magicall arte? The which at the firſt apparance hath a ſhew of a ſhauen crowne, but if you marke his necke, you ſhall finde it curtalled in ſuch wiſe as you will ſay it is rather meete to be vſed of the Symoniſtes then of the Chriſtians. And ſuch (of fooliſhe men) be thought worthy of the glory of the eternall crowne: whereas in deede for their ill liuyng they are worthy not onely to be depriued of the ſame, but alſo of eternall ſaluation. I ſpeake not this agaynſt thẽ that vſe this kynde of ſhauyng, & liue Catholickely in fayth and good workes, but I ſurely beleue there be diuerſe of them be very holy and godly men. Amongeſt the whiche is Adamnan the Abbot and worthy Prieſt of the Columbiãs: who when he came Embaſſadour from his countrey vnto kyng Alfride deſired greatly to ſee our Monaſtery: where he declared a wonderful wiſedome, humilitie and Religion, both in his mãners and wordes. Amongeſt other talke I aſked him why he, that did beleue to come to the crowne of life that ſhould neuer haue end, did vſe contrary to his beliefe a definite Image of a crowne on his head. And if you ſeeke (quoth I) the felowſhyp of S. Peter, why do you vſe the faſhion of his crowne whom S. Peter did accurſe, and not of his rather with whom you deſire to liue eternally. Adãnã anſwered, ſaying: you know right well (brother) though I vſe Symons maner of ſhauyng after the cuſtome of my countrey: yet do I deteſt and with all my hart abhorre his infidelitie. I deſire notwithſtandyng to imitate the footeſteps of the holy Apoſtle as farre forth as my power will extend. Then ſayd I: I beleue it is ſo. But then is it apparant you imitate thoſe thynges whiche the Apoſtle Peter did (from the bottom of your hart) if you vſe the ſame vpon your face that you know he did. For I ſuppoſe your wiſedome vnderſtandeth that it is right decent, to differ in the trimmyng your face or ſhauyng frõ his, whom in your hart you abhorre. And contrarywiſe as you deſire to imitate the doyngs of him whom you deſire to haue a* mediator betwene God and you: ſo it is meete you imitate the maner of his apparell and ſhauyng. Thus much ſayd I, to Adamnan who ſeemed then well to like of our Churches: in ſo much that he returnyng into Scotland, reformed many of his Churches there after our celebration: albeit he could not do ſo amongſt the Monkes with whom he had ſpeciall authoritie. He endeuoured alſo to haue reformed their maner of ſhauyng if he had bene able. And now (O kyng) I exhort your maieſtie to labour together with your people (ouer whom the Kyng of Kynges and Lord of Lordes hath made you gouernour) to imitate likewiſe in all theſe pointes the Catholike and Apoſtolicall Churches. So ſhall it come to paſſe that in the end of this your temporall kingdome the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles ſhal open you the gates of yͤ heauẽly kyngdome together with yͤ other elect of God. The grace of the eternal king preſerue you moſt dearely beloued ſonne in Chriſt lõg time to reigne ouer vs to the great tranquilitie of vs all.

Why Prieſtes & Monkes be ſhauen in the crowne.

The ſhauing of the crowne what it repreſenteth. How doth the ſigne of the croſſe defend Churches frõ euill ſpirites when it cannot keep them from euill prieſtes?

If ſhauing of the crowne doth teach men patience in ſuffering, how commeth it that we ſee none more waſpiſhe & irefull then theſe ſhorne generations, of monkiſh vipers.

An. 724.

Simon Magus ſhauen as hee ſaith.

The difference betwene the ſhauing of *Peter* and of *Simon Magus*.

In outward habite chriſtians ought not reſemble wicked doers

*There is but one mediator betwene God and man Chriſt Ieſus.

The Scottiſh monkes and the engliſh monkes differed in their ſhauing.

If *Peter* ſhall let in the elect of God into heauen Chriſt then ſerueth in litle ſted.

When this letter was read before kyng Nayton with other of his learned men, and diligently tranſlated into his proper language: he ſeemed to reioyce very much at the exhortatiõ therof. In ſomuch as riſing vp from among his noble men, he kneeled on the ground, and gaue God thankes that he had deſerued to receaue ſo worthy a preſent out of England: and cauſed it forthwith by publike proclamation to be written out, learned, and obſerued throughout all the prouinces of the Pictes: defacyng the errours that had bene vſed there by the ſpace of .vij. C. and .iiij. yeares. For all the miniſters of the altar and all monkes were ſhauen on the crowne. And all the people reioyſed for the new diſcipline of the moſt bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles S. Peter which they had receaued.

A note to admoniſhe the reader.

¶ By this Monkiſh letter aboue prefixed, voyde of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of hiſtory, thou mayeſt note, gentle Reader: how this vayne tradition of ſhauen crownes, hath come vp, and vpon how light and triflyng occaſion: whiche in very deede was none other, but the dreamyng phantaſies of Monkes of that tyme, falſely groundyng vpon the example of Peter: when by no old monument of any aũcient record they can euer proue, either Peter or Symon Magus to haue bene ſhauen. Moreouer in the ſayd letter alſo is to be noted, how the Scottiſh Clergy at that ſeaſon, did weare no ſuch Prieſtly crownes, as our Engliſh Churchmen then did.

Fabia. cap. 140. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de Reg.

But to cut of this matter of ſhauyng, more worthy to be laughed at, then to be ſtoried, let vs now agayne returne, where as we left at kyng Iue, of whom W. Malmeſbery, & Fabian in his Chronicle do record, that whẽ the foreſaid Iue had ruled the Weſtſaxons by the terme of .37. yeares, by the importunate perſwaſion, and ſubtile policie of his wife Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, and there to be made a Monke. Which Ethelburga, after ſhe had a long tyme laboured hym to leaue the world, and could not bryng about her purpoſe: vpon a ſeaſon whẽ the kyng and ſhe had reſted them in a fayre palace richly behanged, and were vpon the morrow thence departed: ſhe by her commaundement cauſed the palace to be repleniſhed with all kynde of filth and doung, and hogges and vile beaſtes therein to be layd, as well in the chambers, as other houſes of office. And in their owne chamber where they did lye, there was a Sow layd & her young pigs. And whẽ ſhe knew that this palace was thus deformed, beyng a certeine ſpace out of the towne, ſhe beſought the kyng to viſite the ſayd palace. And when ſhe had brought him thereunto, ſhe ſayd to him: I pray you, my Lord, behold now this houſe: where are now the rich tapettes, and clothes of gold and ſilke, & other rich apparell, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies & pleaſaunt ſeruitours, and coſtly diſhes, that you and I lately were ſerued with? Be not all theſe paſſed and gone? My Lord (ſaith ſhe) in like maner ſhal we vaniſh away as ſodainely, as you ſee theſe worldly thyngs bene paſſed. And our bodyes whiche now be delicately kept, ſhall fall & turne into the filth of the earth. Wherefore haue in mynde my wordes that before tyme to you I haue often ſhewed and told, and buſie you to purchaſe that palace that euer ſhal endure in ioy without tranſmutation.

An. 724.

Ethelburga the Queene perſwadeth her huſband to be a Monke.

The crafty head of a woman.

By meane of theſe wordes and other, the Queene turned ſo the kinges mynde, that ſhortly after he reſigned the gouernaunce of his kingdome vnto Ethelardus his neuew: & for the loue of Chriſt tooke vpon him the habite of a poore man. And ſettyng a part all the pompe & pride of this wicked world, aſſociated himſelfe in the felowſhyp of poore mẽ, and trauailed to Rome with great deuotion, when he had bene kyng of Weſtſaxons, as before is ſayd .37. yeares. After whoſe departyng, the foreſayd Ethelburga his wife, went vnto Barkyng vij. miles from London, where in the Nunry of Barking before of Erkenwald foũded, ſhe cõtinued & ended the reſt of her lyfe, whẽ ſhe had bene Abbes of the place a certaine time. The ſaide Malmeſbery in his ſtory alſo teſtifieth, that this Iue was yͤ firſt kyng that graunted a peny of euery fire houſe through his dominion to be payd vnto the Court of Rome: whiche afterward was called Romeſcot, or Peter pence, and long after was payd in many places of England.

Kyng *Iue* reſignyng his kyngdome, went to Rome and became a monke.

Ethelburga the Queene made Nunne of Barkyng.

Peter pence firſt graunted and payd to Rome.

This Iue, like as for his tyme, he was worthy and valiaunt in his actes: ſo was he the firſt of the Saxon kynges (that I read of) which ſet forth any lawes to his countrey: the rehearſall of which lawes, to the number of .80. & odde, were not vnprofitable here to be inſerted together with other lawes of the Weſtſaxon kynges after him, before the tyme of William Conquerour: in caſe it were not for the length and prolixitie of this preſent volume. And thus much concernyng the raigne of kyng Iue, kyng of Weſtſaxons by the way. Now to repayre agayne to the courſe of Northumberland kynges ſomethyng intermitted.

The lawes made by kyng *Iue* to hys people.

Next vnto the foreſayd Oſricus, followed Celulfus, whõ he had adopted, brother to Kẽred aboue ſpecified. This Celulfus, as he was himſelfe learned, ſo were in his tyme diuers learned men then floriſhyng in England, among whõ was Beda: who vnto the ſame kyng Celulfus, offered his ſtory, intituled Anglorum Hiſtoria, not onely to be ratified by his authoritie, but alſo to be amended, as Malmeſburienſis writeth, by his knowledge and learnyng.

Celulfus kyng of Northumb.

Bede.

729.

And for as much as I haue here entered into the mention of Bede, a man of worthy and venerable memorie, becauſe of the certifieng the truth of that man: and for that I ſee all writers (as touching his life) do not agree, ſome ſaying that he was no Engliſhman borne: I thought ſo much to reporte of hym, as I finde by his owne wordes teſtified of him ſelfe in the latter end of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory of England, offered to the ſayd Celulfus aboue mentioned, the wordes of whom be theſe.

The lyfe of *Bede* briefly deſcribed.

Thus much, by the helpe of God, I Bede the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, and Prieſt of the Monaſtery of Peter and Paul at Wire: haue compiled and digeſted, concernyng the Britaine hiſtory. And ſo the ſame Bede proceedyng further in his narration, declareth that he beyng borne in the territorie of the ſayd Monaſtery, beyng of the age of .vij. yeares, was committed of his parentes and frendes, to the tuition and educatiõ of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made) and of Celfride Abbots of the foreſayd Monaſtery. In the whiche place or Monaſtery he continuyng, from that tyme forth, all his lyfe long, gaue hym ſelfe and all his whole ſtudy to the meditatyng of holy ſcripture, Whatſoeuer tyme or laiſure he had frõ his dayly ſeruice in yͤ church, yͭ he ſpẽt either in learning, or in teaching, or writing ſomthing. About .xix. yeares of his age, he was made Deacon: the .xxx. yeare of his age he was made Prieſt. From the whiche tyme, to the age of .59. yeares he occupyed him ſelfe in interpretyng the workes of the auncient fathers, for his owne vſe, and the neceſſitie of others: and in writyng of treatiſes, whiche came in all to the number of .37. volumes, whiche he digeſted into .78. bookes.

This *Benedict* maiſter to *Bede*, was the firſt that brought in the vſe of glaſſe wyndowes into England. Alſo the ſayd *Benet* brought from Rome wyth hym *Iohn* the Archchaunter, who firſt taught in England to ſing in the quire after the manner of Rome.

The number of the workes & bookes written by *Bede*.

Some ſay that he went to Rome, either there to defend his bookes to be conſonaunt to Catholicke doctrine: either els if they ſhould be found faulty, to amende and correct the ſame, as he ſhould thereto be commaunded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certeinly affirme that euer he was at Rome: but that he was inuited and called thether to come: both it is manifeſt in ſtories, and alſo this Epiſtle of Pope Sergius, doth ſufficiently proue, declaryng moreouer in what price and eſtimation Bede was accepted, as well in the Court of Rome, as in other places beſides. The Epiſtle of Sergius ſent to Celfride, thus proceedeth, in tenour and forme as followeth in Latin.

¶ *The Epiſtle of Pope Sergius ſent to Celfride Abbot of Wire Abbey, requiring Bede to be ſent vp to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthy learnyng.*

SErgius Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, Celfrido religioſo Abbati. Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei noſtri, atq; inenarrabilem prouidẽtiam poſſumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immenſis eius circa nos beneficijs perſoluere: qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis poſitos ad lumen ſcientiæ perducit? Et infra. Benedictionis gratiã: quam nobis per præſentem portitorem tua deuota miſit religio, libenti & hilari animo ſicuti ab ea directa eſt nos ſuſcepiſſe cognoſce. Oportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ ſollicitudinis petitionibus arctiſſima deuotione ſatiſfacientes: hortamur Deo dilectam religioſitatis tuæ bonitatẽ, vt quia exortis quibuſdam Eccleſiaſticarum cauſarum capitulis, nõ ſine examinatione longius innoteſcendis, opus nobis ſunt ad conferendum artes literaturæ, ſicut decet Deo deuotum auxiliatorem ſanctæ matris vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ obedientem deuotionem huic noſtræ exhortationi non deſiſtas accommodare: ſed abſq; vlla immoratione religioſum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilẽ Monaſterij tui Præſbyterum, ad limina Apoſtolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad noſtræ mediocritatis conſpectum non moreris dirigere: Quem, ſatiſfaciente domino ſanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas proſpere ad te redire (peracta præmiſſorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei deſiderata ſolennitate.) Erit enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Eccleſiæ generali claruerit per eius præſtantiam impartitum. &c.

An epiſtle of Pope *Sergius*.

So notable and famous was the learnyng of this foreſayd Bede, that the Church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both ſtode in neede of his helpe, and alſo required the ſame, about the diſcuſſyng of certeine cauſes and controuerſies apperteinyng to learnyng. Moreouer the whole Latin church at that tyme, gaue him the maiſterie in iudgement and knowledge of the holy Scripture. In all his explanations his chiefeſt ſcope and purpoſe did euer tende, to

The famous learnyng of *Bede*.

Bedes commended for integrity of lyfe.

inſtruct and informe his Reader ſimplely and without all curiouſnes of ſtile, in the ſincere loue of God, & of his neighbour. As touchyng the holynes and integritie of his lyfe, it is not to be doubted: for how could it be, that he ſhould attend to any vicious idlenes, or had any layſure to the ſame, who in readyng and digeſting ſo many volumes, conſumed all his whole cogitations in writyng vpon the Scriptures: for ſo he teſtifieth of him ſelfe in the iij. booke vpon Samuell ſaying in theſe wordes. If my treatiſes and expoſitiõs, ſayth he, bryng with them no other vtilitie to the Readers therof: yet to my ſelfe they conduce not a litle in this, that while all my ſtudy and cogitation was ſet vpon them, in the meane while of the ſlipperie inticementes & vayne cogitatiõs of this world I had litle mynde. Thus in this trauaile of ſtudy he cõtinued till the age of. 62. yeares. At length drawyng to his later end, beyng ſicke vij. weekes together, beſides other occupiynges of his mynde, and other ſtudyes whiche he did not intermit: he tranſlated alſo the Goſpell of S. John into Engliſh. At length with great comfort of ſpirite departed this lyfe, pronouncyng many comfortable ſayinges to them that ſtode about hym, vpon the Aſcenſion day, the ſame yeare whẽ Nothelinus was inſtituted Archbyſhop of Caunterbury. And thus much concernyng the ſtory of Bede.

735.

S. Iohns Goſpell tranſlated into Engliſhe by Bede.

This Celulfus kyng of Northumberland afore mentioned, after he had reigned viij. yeares, was made a Monke in the Abbey of Farne, otherwiſe called Lindeſfar, or holy Ilãd: where by his meanes, licence was geuen to the Monkes of that houſe to drinke wyne or ale, which before by the inſtitution of Aidanus aboue mentioned, dronke nothyng but milke and water. After whom ſucceeded Egbert his coſin, brother to Egbert (the ſame tyme beyng Byſhop of Yorke) whiche brought agayne thether the palle that his predeceſſours had forgone, ſince the tyme that Paulinus had left the ſea, and fled to Rocheſter, as is before declared. The ſayd Egbert alſo erected a noble Library in Yorke, whoſe example I would other Byſhops now would follow.

Celulfus of a kyng made a Monke.

Egbert kyng of Northumberland.

About the begynnyng of the raigne of this Egbert, was Cutbert Archbyſhop of Canterbury: who collected a great Synode of Byſhoppes and Prelates, in the yeare of our Lord. 747. in the moneth of September, neare to the place called Clouesho. In the which Synode aſſembled, theſe decrees were enacted.

747.

Ex Malmesb. lib. de geſtis pontifi. Anglo. Cutbert Archbiſh. of Canterbury.

1. Firſt, that Byſhops ſhould be more diligent in ſeyng to their office, and in admoniſhyng the people of their faultes.
2. That they ſhould lyue in a peaceable mynde together, notwithſtandyng they were in place diſſeuered a ſunder.
3. That euery Byſhop once a yeare ſhould go about all the Pariſhes of his Dioces.
4. That the ſayd Byſhops euery one in his dioces ſhould monish their Abbots & Monkes to lyue regularly: and that Prelates ſhould not oppreſſe their inferiours, but loue thẽ.
5. That they ſhould teach the Monaſteries which the ſecular men had inuaded, & could not then be takẽ from them, to liue regularly.
6. That none ſhould be admitted to orders, before his lyfe ſhould be examined.
7. That in Monaſteries the readyng of holy Scripture ſhould be more frequented.
8. That Prieſts ſhould be no diſpoſers of ſecular buſines.
9. That they ſhould take no money for baptiſing infantes.
10. That they ſhould both learne and teache the Lordes Prayer and Creede in the Engliſh toung.
11. That all ſhould ioyne together in their miniſtery after one vniforme rite and maner.
12. That in a modeſt voyce they ſhould ſing in the church.
13. That all holy and feſtiuall dayes ſhould be celebrate at one tyme together.
14. That the Sabboth day be reuerently obſerued & kept.
15. That the vij. houres Canonical euery day be obſerued.
16. That the Rogation dayes both the greater and leſſer ſhould not be omitted.
17. That the feaſt of S. Gregory, and S. Auſten our Patron, ſhould be obſerued.
18. That the faſt of the foure tymes ſhould be kept and obſerued.
19. That Monkes and Nunnes ſhould go regularly apparelled.
20. That Byſhops ſhould ſee, theſe decrees not to be neglected.
21. That the Churchmen ſhould not geue themſelues to dronkennes.
22. That the Communion ſhould not be neglected of the Churchmen.
23. Item, that the ſame alſo ſhould be obſerued of the laye men, as tyme required.
24. That laye men firſt ſhould be well tryed, before they entred in Monkery.
25. That almes be not neglected.
26. That Byſhops ſhould ſee theſe decrees to be notified to the people.
27. They diſputed of the profit of Almes.
28. They diſputed of the profit of ſingyng Pſalmes.
29. That the Congregation ſhould be cõſtitute, after the habilitie of their goodes.
30. That Monkes ſhould not dwell amongeſt lay men.
31. That publike prayer ſhould be made for Kynges and Princes.

The rogatiõ dayes had not thẽ that ſuperſtition in them as they had afterward.

Theſe decrees and ordinaunces beyng thus among the Byſhops concluded: Cutbert the Archbyſhop, ſendeth the copy therof to Boniface, whiche Boniface otherwiſe named Winfride, an Engliſhman borne, was then the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and after made a Martyr, as the Papiſh ſtories terme him.

Boniface an Engliſhe man Archb. of Mentz.

This Boniface beyng, as is ſayd, Archbiſhop of Mentz in the tyme of this foreſayd Synode, wrote a letter to Ethelbald kyng of Merceland: whiche Ethelbald was alſo preſent in the ſame Synode, of whom Bede maketh mention in his hiſtory, calling him proude Ethelbald, & the greateſt of the Saxon kynges in his tyme. Firſt this Ethelbald after the departyng of kyng Ceolulphe into his Monkery, inuaded & ſpoyled the countrey of Northumberland. Moreouer he exerciſed mortall & horrible warre a long ſpace with Cudred, otherwiſe of ſome named Cutbert, kyng of Weſtſaxons. Furthermore he with other Saxon kynges, ſo impugned the Britaines, that from that time they neuer durſt prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the ſayd Cudred refuſing the intollerable exactiõs of proude Ethelbald, doth incounter with him in battaile: where notwithſtanding the great power that Ethelbald had to hym adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eaſtſaxons, of the Eaſtangles, & of Cantuarites: yet the ſayd Cudred through Gods power, and the meanes of a certaine valiaunt warriour called Edelhim a Conſul, ouerthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a ſore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald notwithſtandyng repayring his power agayne the next yeare after, renued battayle with the foreſayd Cudred. In the which battaile Ethelbald after he had raigned. xli. yeares in Mercia, was ſlayne by one Beornered, who after raigned in that dition, but a ſmall tyme. For Offa nephew to the ſayd Ethelbald expulſed the ſayd Beornered, & ſucceeded kyng in that prouince of Mercia, where he reigned. xxxix. yeares: of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jeſu ſpeedyng therin our purpoſe) to be declared, as place & time ſhall require. In the meane ſeaſon not to forget the letter before, mentioned of Boniface Archbyſhop of Mentz, ſent vnto this Ethelbald: I thought the ſame not vnworthy here to be inſerted (at the leaſt the effect therof) not ſo much for the authors ſake, as for that ſome good matter peraduenture may be picked thereout, for other Princes to behold and conſider.

Ethelwold kyng of Merceland.

Edelhim a ſtrong and valiant warriour.

Pride ouerthrowne.

The copye and tenour of the Letter of Boniface Archbiſhop of Mentz, and martir of God (an Engliſhmã) ſent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freely and yet charitably admoniſhyng hym of his aduenterous lyfe, and oppreſſion of Churches.

A letter of Boniface, otherwiſe called VVinfride ſent to kyng Ethelbalde.

REgi & filio chariſſimo, & in Chriſti amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius Archiepiſcopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ Eccleſiæ perpetuam in Chriſto charitatis ſalutem. Confiſtemus coram Deo, qui nouit an verè atq; ex animo dicam: Quando proſperitatem veſtram, & fidem, & bona opera audiuimus, lætamur. Quando autem aliquid aduerſum vel in euentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoſcimus, triſtamur. Audiuimus enim quòd eleemoſinis intentus: furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defenſor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium ſpernis, ſi pro caſtitate faceres, eſſet laudabile. Sed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum ſãctimonialibus volutaris, eſt vituperabile, & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ veſtræ, corã Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter idololatras conſtituit, quia templum Dei violaſti. Quapropter fili Chariſſime penitere, & memorare oportet, quam turpe ſit, vt tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei, dominaris, ad iniuriam eius ſis lididinis ſeruus. Audiuimus præterea quòd optimates penè omnes gentis Merciorum, tuo exemplo legitimas vxores deſerant, & adulteras & ſanctimoniales conſtuprẽt. Quod quàm ſit peregrinum ab honeſtate, doceat vos alienæ gentis inſtitutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia, vbi nulla eſt Chriſti cognitio: ſi virgo in materna domo, vel maritata ſub coniuge fuerit adulterã, manu propria ſtrangulatam cremant, & ſupra foſſa ſepultæ corruptorem ſuſpendũt aut cingulo tenus (veſtibus abſciſſis) flagellant eam caſtæ matronæ, & cultellis pungunt. Et de villa in villam miſſæ occurrunt nouæ flagellatrices: donec interimant. Inſuper & vinuli, quod eſt fœdiſſimũ genus hominum, hunc habent morem vt mulier viro mortuo, ſe in rogo cremanti pariter arſura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum caſtitatis habent: quid tibi conuenit fili Chariſſime, qui Chriſtianus & rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: Parce multitudini populi tui percũtis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quid ſi gens Anglorum (ſicut in Frãcia, & Italia, & ab ipſis Paganis nobis improperatur) ſpretis legitimis matrimonijs per adulteria deficit: naſciturāq; ſit ex ea commixtione gens ignaua & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriã peſſundet: ſicut Burgundionibus, & prouincialibus, & Hiſpanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infeſtarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum eſt nobis, quod multa priuilegia Eccleſiarum & monaſteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quæſo quàm terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiuſdem culpæ conſcios, quam in te arguimꝰ. Nam Celredum prædeceſſorem tuum ſtupratorem Sanctimonialium, & Eccleſiaſticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, ſplendidè cum ſuis comitibus epulantem ſpiritus malignus arripuit: & ſine confeſſione & viatico, cum diabolo ſermocinanti, & legẽ Dei deteſtãti animam extorſit. Oſredum quoq; regem Deirorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum regem egit: vt regnum & iuuenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoq; princeps Frãcorum monaſteriorum multorum euerſor, & Eccleſiaſticarum pecuniarum in vſus proprios commutator longa tortione, & verenda morte conſumptus eſt. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili Chariſſime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, vt non deſpicias conſilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celſitudinem tuam appellare ſatagunt. Nihil enim bono regi ſalubrius, quàm, ſi talia commiſſa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur. Quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit diſciplinã, diligit ſapientiã. Ideo, fili Chariſſime, oſtendentes conſilium iuſtũ, conteſtamur & obſecramus per viuentẽ Deum & per filium eius Ieſum Chriſtum, & per ſpiritũ ſanctum: vt recorderis quàm fugitiua ſit vita præſens, & quã breuis & momentanea delectatio ſpurcæ carnis: & quàm ignominioſum ſit, vt breuis vitę homo mala exẽpla in perpetuũ poſteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitã componere, & præteritos errores iuuentutis corrigere: vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas, & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celſitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

Nihil factum quod non factum prius.

In this Epiſtle here is to be ſeene and noted firſt the corruption and great diſorder of lyfe whiche alwayes from tyme to tyme hath bene founde in theſe religious houſes of Nunnes: whoſe profeſſed vow of coacted chaſtitie, hath yet neuer bene good to the Churche, nor profitable to the common wealth, and leaſt of all to them ſelues. Of ſuch young and wanton widowes S. Paule in his tyme complayneth. 1. Tim. 5. which would take vpon them the wilfull profeſſion of ſingle lyfe, which they were not able to performe, but falling into damnable luxurie deſerued worthely to be reprehended. How much better had it bene for theſe laſciuious Nunnes, not to haue refuſed the ſafe yoke of Chriſtiã matrimonie: then to intangle themſelues in this their ſuperſtitious vow of perpetual maydenhode, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keepe.

The corrupt lyfe of Nũnes noted.

Secondly no leſſe are they alſo to be reprehended, which maynteyned theſe ſuperſtitious orders of vnprofitable Nunnes, and of other Religiõs: In the number of whom was this foreſayd Boniface otherwiſe called Winfride, who although in this Epiſtle doth iuſtly reprehend the vicious enormities both of ſecular, and of Religious perſons: yet he him ſelfe is not without the ſame or rather greater reprehẽſion, for that he gaue the occaſiõ therof in maintaining ſuch ſuperſtitious orders of ſuch laſciuious Nunnes and other Religions, and reſtreyning the ſame from lawfull mariage. For ſo we finde of him in ſtories that he was a great ſetter vp and vpholder of ſuch blind ſuperſtition, and of all Poperie. Who beyng admitted by Pope Gregory the ſecõd, Archbyſhop of Magunce, and indued with full authoritie legantine ouer the Germanes, brought diuers countreys there, vnder the Popes obedience: held many great Councels, ordained Biſhops, builded Monaſteries, canoniſed Saints, commaunded reliques to be worſhypped, permitted religious fathers to cary about Nunnes with them a preaching. Amõgeſt all other he founded the great monaſtery of Fulda in Germany of Engliſh monkes: into the which no women might enter, but onely Lieba, and Tecla, two Engliſhe Nunnes. Item, by the authoritie of the ſayd Archbyſhop Boniface, which he receiued from Pope Zacharie, Childericus kyng of Fraunce, was depoſed from the right of hys crowne: and Pipinus betrayer of his maiſter was cõfirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceded that deteſtable doctrine whiche now ſtandeth regiſtred in the Popes decrees. Diſt. xl. Cap. Si Papa. whiche in a certaine Epiſtle of his is this. That in caſe the Pope were of moſt filthy liuyng, and forgetfull or negligent of him ſelfe, and of the whole Chriſtiantie in ſuch ſort, that he led innumerable ſoules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in ſo doyng. For he hath (ſayth he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged agayne.

The popiſh actes and doinges of *Boniface* Archb. of *Magunce*.

The Monaſtery of *Fulda* in Germany, builded by *Boniface*.

Childericus the French king depoſed, and *Pipinus* intruded.

Diſt. xl. cap. Si Papa.

In the tyme of this Archbyſhop, Pope Gregory the ſecond, alſo Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before theſe alſo Pope Conſtantine the firſt: wrought great maiſtryes agaynſt the Greke Emperours, Philippicus, & Leo, and others for the mainteyning of Images to be ſet vp in Churches. Of whom Philippicus loſt both his Empire & alſo his eyes. Leo for the ſame cauſe likewiſe was excommunicate of Gregory the third. This Gregory the third (ſo farre as I can coniecture) was he that firſt wrote the 4. bookes of Dialogues in Greeke, falſely bearyng the name of Gregory the firſt: which bookes afterward Zachary hys ſucceſſour tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin. Item, the ſame Gregory the third, firſt brought into the Maſſe Canon, the clauſe for reliques beginnyng, Quorum ſolennitates hodie in conſpectu. &c. Itẽ, brought into the ſayd Canon the memoriall, the offeryng, and ſacrifice for the dead: Like as Zachary brought in the Prieſts veſture and ornamẽtes: and as the foreſayd Conſtantinus alſo was the firſt that gaue his feete to be kiſſed of the Emperours. But turne agayne into the courſe of our Engliſh ſtory.

Images in Churches ſubuerted by Emperours, mainteyned by Popes.

Philippicus for holding agaynſt Images, loſt hys Empyre and his eyes.

The author of the booke called the Dialogues of *Gregory*.

Memoriall of reliques, offering & ſacrifice for the dead brought into the maſſe canon.

The Popes feete firſt kiſſed of the Emperours.

In the tyme of this Egbert kyng of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sigbert raigned in Weſtſaxonie: a man of ſo cruell tyranny to his ſubiectes (turnyng the lawes & cuſtomes of his forefathers after his owne will and pleaſure) that when he was ſomewhat ſharpely aduertiſed by one of hys nobles, an Earle called Combranus, to chaũge his maners, & to behaue him more prudẽtly towarde his people: he therfore maliciouſly cauſed him to be put to cruell death. Whereupon, the ſaid king Sigebert continuyng in his cruell conditions, by his ſubiectes conſpiryng agaynſt him, was put frõ his kyngly dignitie: and brought into ſuch deſolation, that wandryng alone in a woode without comfort, was there ſlayne euen by the ſwyneheard of the ſayd Earle, whom before he had ſo wrongfully murdered, as partly is aboue touched: whereby is to be ſeene, the cruell tyranny of Princes neuer to proſper well, without the iuſt reuenge both of God and man.

Sigebert kyng of Weſtſaxons.

Sigebert ſlayne.

Cruel tyranny wyth like crueltie reuenged.

Thus Sigebert beyng ſlayne, in his place ſucceeded Kenulphus, in the yeare of our Lord. 748. who with the agreemẽt of the Weſtſaxons was one of the chief doers agaynſt Sigebert his maiſter. This Kenulphus kept ſtrongly his Lordſhip agaynſt Offa, & againſt the power of all his enemyes: till at length, after that he had reigned, as Fabian ſayth, 31. yeares, he reſortyng to a peramour which he kept at Merton, was there beſet & likewiſe ſlayne by the trayne and meanes of a certaine kynſman of the foreſayd Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in reuengement of kyng Sigebertes death.

Kenulphus kyng of Weſtſaxons.

748.

Murder reuenged with murder.

Moreouer in the raigne of the foreſayd Egbert kyng of Northumberland, and in the viij. yeare of Kenulphus kyng of Weſtſaxons: Offa after he had ſlayne the tyraunt Beornredus whiche before had ſlayne Ethelwald kyng of Mercia, and vncle to this foreſayd Offa: raigned kyng of that Prouince.

Offa kyng of Mercia.

Of this Offa are told many notable deedes, which becauſe they cõcerne rather politicall affayres, & do not greatly appertayne to the purpoſe of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, I omit here to recite. As his warres and victories agaynſt Egbert and the Northumbres, as alſo agaynſt Etheldred kyng of Eaſt Angles. Item, agaynſt Egbert king of Kent, otherwiſe called Wren, whom Fabian ſayth he tooke priſoner, and led him bound with him to Mercia. Malmeſbery witneſſeth otherwiſe, this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Chriſt willyng hereafter ſhall appeare. After theſe victories Offa had ſuch diſpleaſure vnto the Citizens of Canterbury, that he remoued the Archbyſhoppes ſea, and landes of Lambrith Archbiſhop of Canterbury (by the agreemẽt of Pope Adrian) vnto Lichfield. He alſo chaſed the Britaines or Welſhmen into Wales, and made a famous dike betwene Wales and the vtter bondes of Mercia or middle England, whiche was called Offditche. And builded there a Church whiche long tyme after was called Offekyrke. This Offa alſo married one of his daughters

An vntruth noted in the ſtory of *Fabian*.

The primacy of Canterbury remoued to Lichfield. *Lambrith* Archbyſhop of Cant.

7

This *Alcuinus* is commended for hys learning next to *Aldelmus* & *Bede* aboue all engliſhe Saxons.

to Brightricus that was kyng of Weſtſaxons. And for that in his tyme was variaunce betwene him and the Frenchmen, in ſo much that the paſſage of Marchauntes was forbydden: therefore he ſent Alcuinus a learned man, vnto Charles the great, then king of Fraunce, to common the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that the ſaid Alcuinus in great fauour and eſtimation, and afterward made him Abbot of Turonia in Fraunce.

Ethelbert king of Eaſtāgles wrongfully murdered by Offa.

The vayne ſuſpicion & wicked counſell of a woman.

Ex hiſtoria Iernalenſi & Malmeſburienſi.

Cruell murder reuenged.

Offa & Kenredus of kinges made mōkes at Rome.

About the latter tyme of the raigne of Offa, kyng of Mercia: Ethelbert beyng then kyng of Eaſtangles (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of Offa: prouoked by the counſell of his Nobles, to ſue for the Mariage of his daughter: well accompanied lyke a prince, with his men about him. Whereupon, the Queene conceauyng a falſe ſuſpicion, and fearyng that which was neuer mynded: that Ethelbert with his companye, vnder the pretence and made matter of Mariage, was come to worke ſome violence agaynſt her huſband, and the kyngdome of Mercia, ſo ſhe perſwaded with kyng Offa: and certeine of her counſell that night, that the next day followyng, Offa cauſed him to be trayned into his palace alone from his company, by one called Guymbertus: who tooke him and bound him, and there ſtroke of his head, which forthwith he then preſented to the kyng and Queene. And thus the innocent kyng Ethelbert was wrongfully murthered, about the yeare of our Lord. 793. but not without a iuſt reuēge at Gods hād. For as the ſtory recordeth, the foreſayd Queene worker of this vilanie, liued not iij. monethes after: and in her death was ſo tormented, that ſhe was fayne to byte and rent her toung in peeces with her owne teeth. Offa vnderſtandyng at length the innocencie of this kyng and the haynous cruelty of his fact: gaue the tenth part of his goodes to holy Church: and to the Church of Hertford, in remembraunce of this Ethelbert, he beſtowed great landes. Moreouer, builded the Abbey of S. Albons, with certaine other monaſteries beſides. And ſo afterward he wēt vp to Rome for his penaunce, where he gaue to the Church of S. Peter a peny through euery houſe in his dominion, which was called commonly Romeſhot, or Peter pence, payed to the Church of S. Peter: and there at length was transformed from a kyng to a monke, about the yeare of our Lord. 794. with Kenredus kyng of Northumberland aboue mētioned, although ſome ſtories deny that he was Monke.

Egfretus kyng of Mercia.

Alcuinus Offerto patritio.

After Offa kyng of Mercia, whē he had raigned. xxxix. yeares, ſucceded his ſonne Egfretus, who raigned but foure monethes: of whom thus writeth the foreſayd Alcuinus: Non arbitror quod nobiliſſimus iuuenis Egfretus propter peccata ſua mortuus ſit: Sed quia pater ſuus pro confirmatione regni eius multum ſanguinem effudit, &c. That is: This noble young man dyed not ſo much for offences of his owne, as for that his father had ſpilled much bloud, to confirme him in his kyngdome.

The fathers fault puniſhed in the childe.

Egbert kyng of Kent take priſoner.

A princely example of clemency in a noble kyng.

The Church of Winchcombe builded by kyng *Kenulphus*.

Egbert kyng of Kent releaſed out of priſon.

A place of *Fabian* doubted.

Next to which Egfretus, ſucceeded Kenulphus in the ſaid kyngdome of Mercia, whiche Kenulphus keepyng and retainyng the hatred of Offa his predeceſſour againſt the Cātuarites, made warre agaynſt them: where he tooke Egbert their kyng, otherwiſe called Wren, whom he bound and led priſoner to Mercia. Notwithſtandyng ſhortly after beyng mollified with Princely clemency in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the ſame tyme a Church: vpō the day when he ſhould dedicate the ſame, in the preſence of. xiij. Biſhops: and of Cutbert, whō he had placed in the ſame kyngdome of Canterbury before: and x. Dukes, and many other great eſtates: kyng Kenulphus brought the ſayde Egbert kyng of Kent out of priſon into the Church, where hee enlarged him of impriſonement, and reſtored him to his place agayne. At the ſight whereof not onely Cutbert the foreſayd kyng reioyced, but alſo all the eſtates and people beyng there preſent, made ſuch an exclamation of ioy and gladnes, that the Church, (and not onely the Church, but alſo the ſtreetes) range withall. At whiche tyme ſuch bountifulnes of giftes and iewels was then beſtowed, that from the higheſt eſtate to the loweſt, none departed without ſomethyng geuen, accordyng as to euery degree was thought meete. Although Fabiā referreth this ſtory to king Offa, yet cauſes there be, why I aſſent rather to Malmeſbery and to Polychronicon, whiche attribute the ſame to Kenulphus the ſecond kyng of Mercia, after Offa.

Pope *Steuen* the ſecond.

The donation of *Pipinus* falſely taken to be the donation of Conſtantine.

A litle before in ſpeakyng of certaine Biſhops of Rome, mention was made of Pope Conſtantine the firſt: Pope Gregory the ſecond: Pope Gregory the third: and of Pope Zachary, which depoſed Childerike, and ſet vp Pipinus the French king. &c. Next after this Zachary, in order followed pope Stephē the ſecond: to whom yͤ foreſaid Pipinus, to gratifie agayne yͤ ſea of Rome, for this their benefite ſhewed to him: gaue and contributed to the ſayd ſea of Rome, the exarchat or Princedome of Rauenna: the kyngdome of the Lumbardes: & many other great poſſeſſions of Italy: with all the Cities therto adioynyng vnto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pipine, no doubt if the truth were rightly tried, ſhould be found to be the ſame, which hetherto falſely hath bene thought to be the donation of Conſtantine. For els how could it be, that the exarchat of Rauenna could belong all this while to the Emperours of Conſtantinople, if Conſtantine before, had geuen it and all Italy from the Empire, to the ſea of Rome.

Ex Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 25.

To this Pipinus, as witneſſeth Polychronicon, was ſent firſt into Fraunce, the inuention of the Organes out of Grecia, by Conſtantine Emperour of Conſtantin. 757.

Pope *Paule* the firſt.

Images agayne maintained by the Pope against the Emperour.

A lay mā Pope who was depoſed, & had his eyes put out.

Next to this Stephen the ij. ſucceeded Paule the firſt, who followyng his predeceſſours, thundred out great excōmunications agaynſt Conſtantinus the Emperour of Conſtantinople, for abrogatyng and pluckyng downe Images ſet vp in Temples. Notwithſtandyng this Conſtantine neglectyng the Popes vayne curſes perſeuered in his bleſſed purpoſe, in deſtroying Idolatry till the end of hys lyfe. Then came to be Pope, Conſtantinus the ſecond a lay mā, and brother to Deſiderius the kyng of Lombardy: for the which cauſe he was ſhortly depoſed, and thruſt into a monaſtery, hauyng his eyes put out.

Pope *Steuen* the third.

The Councell of Conſtantinople the 7. condemned of the Pope for condemning images.

This Pope alſo ordeined *Gloria in Excelſis* to be ſong in the maſſe at *S. Peters* altar by the Cardinals.

In whoſe ſteede ſucceeded Stephen the iij. who ordeyned that after that, no lay man ſhould be Pope: condemnyng moreouer the Councell of Conſtātinople the vij. for hereticall: becauſe in that Councell the worſhyppyng of Images was reproued and condemned. Contrary to the whiche Councell, this Pope not onely maintayned the filthy Idolatry of Images in Chriſten Temples: but alſo aduaunced their veneration, commaundyng them moſt Ethnically to be incenſed. &c. At this tyme Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a litle before mentioned, began to raigne, by whom this pope cauſed Deſiderius the Lumbard kyng, to be depriued.

Pope *Hadrian* the firſt.

Images agayne maintained by the Pope to be mens Kalenders.

The body of *S. Peter* clothed in ſiluer.

The order of the Romiſh Maſſe booke whē it came in.

Ex Durando Nauclero, Iacob de Voragine, in vita Greg.

Then in this race of Popes, after this Stephen the iij. commeth Hadrianus the firſt, who likewiſe followyng the ſteppes of his forefathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of Images more then all the other had done before: writyng a booke for the adoration and the vtilitie proceedyng of them, commaundyng them to be takē for lay mens Calenders, holding moreouer a Synode at Rome agaynſt Fœlix, and all other that ſpake agaynſt the ſettyng vp of ſuch ſtockes and Images. And as Paul the firſt, before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: ſo this Hadrian clothed the body of S. Peter all in Siluer, and couered the altar of S. Paule with a Palle of Gold. This Pope Hadrian was he, whom we declared in the former part of this treatiſe, to ratifie and confirme by reuelation, the order of S. Gregories Maſſe, aboue the order of S. Ambroſe Maſſe: for vnto this tyme which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 780. the Liturgie of S. Ambroſe was more vſed in the Italian Churches. The ſtory whereof, becauſe it is Regiſtred in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to inſerte the ſame, to this eſpeciall purpoſe, for yͤ reader to vnderſtād yͤ tyme, whē this vſuall Maſſe of the Papiſtes began firſt to be vniuerſall and vniforme, and generally in Churches to be receaued. Thus it followeth in the ſtory by the foreſayd authours ſet forth. Iacobus de Voragine, in the lyfe of Pope Gregory the firſt telleth a tale concernyng this matter.

In tymes paſt (ſaith he) when the ſeruice, which Ambroſe made, was more frequented & vſed in Churches, thē was the ſeruice which Gregory had appointed: the Biſhop of Rome thē called Adrian, gathered a Coūcell together: in the which it was ordained, that Gregories ſeruice ſhould be obſerued and kept vniuerſally: which determination of the Councell, Charles the Emperour did diligently put in execution while he ranne about by diuers prouinces, and inforced all the Clergy, partly with threatnynges, and partly with puniſhmentes, to receiue that order. And as touching the bookes of Ambroſe ſeruice, he brent them to aſhes in all places, and threw into priſon many Prieſtes that would not conſent and agree to the matter. Bleſſed Eugenius the Byſhop commyng vnto the Councell, founde that it was diſſolued iij. dayes before his commyng. Notwithſtandyng through his wiſedome, he ſo perſwaded the Lord pope, that he called agayne all the Prelates that had bene preſent at the Councell, and were now departed by the ſpace of three dayes. Therfore when the Councell was gathered agayne together, in this all the fathers did conſent and agree, that both the Maſſe bookes of Ambroſe and Gregory ſhould be layd vpō the altar of bleſſed Peter the Apoſtle, & the church dores diligently ſhut, and moſt warely ſealed vp with the ſignets of many and diuers Byſhops. Agayne, that

they

Et tamen ipſis commentū placet. Teris.

they ſhould all the whole night geue them ſelues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, declare, open and ſhewe vnto them by ſome euident ſigne or token, which of theſe two ſeruices he would haue vſed in the Temples. Thus they doyng in all poyntes, as they had determined, in the mornyng opened the Churche doores, and founde both the Myſſals or Maſſe bookes open vpō the altar: or rather, as ſome ſay, they found Gregories Maſſe booke vtterly plucked a ſunder one peece from an other, and ſcattered ouer all the Church. As touchyng Ambroſe booke, they onely found it open vpō the altar in the very ſame place where they had before layd it. This miracle Pope Adrian like a wiſe expounder of dreames ſayth, that as the leaues were torne and blowen abroad all the Church ouer: ſo ſhould Gregories booke be vſed throughout the world. Whereupon they thought them ſelues ſufficiently inſtructed and taught of God, that the ſeruice which Gregory had made, ought to be ſet abroad and vſed throughout all the world: and that Ambroſe his ſeruice ſhould onely be obſerued and kept in his owne Church of Mediolanum, where he ſometyme was Byſhop.

Note well the practiſe of Prelates in playing their popiſhe maſſe.

Thus haſt thou heard (brother Reader) the full and whole narration of this miſticall miracle, with the Popes expoſition vpon the ſame: whiche ſeemeth to be as true, as that whiche Daniell ſpeaketh of, how the Idole Bell did eate vp all the meate, that was ſet before him all the night Daniell. 14. Concernyng the whiche miracle, I neede not admoniſh thee to ſmell out the blind practiſes of theſe night crowes, to blind the world with forged inuentiōs, in ſteede of true ſtories. Albeit to graunt the miracle to be moſt true and vnfallible, yet as touchyng the expoſitiō therof, an other man beſide the Pope, percaſe might interprete this great miracle otherwiſe, as thus: That God was angry with Gregories booke, and therfore rent it in peeces, and ſcattered it abroad: and the other as good, lay ſound vntouched, & at the leaſt ſo to be preferred. Notwithſtandyng what ſoeuer is to be thought of this miracle with the expoſitiō therof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregories ſeruice had onely the place, and yet hath to this day in the greateſt part of Europe, the ſeruice of Ambroſe beyng excluded. And thus much touchyng the great act of Pope Adrian, for the ſetting vp of the Maſſe. By the relation wherof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at leaſt to vnderſtand, how that commonly in Chriſten nations abroad, as yet no vniforme order of any Miſſall or Maſſe booke was receaued, as hath bene hetherto diſcourſed.

***Gregories* maſſe taketh place in Europe.**

Now from the Popes to returne agayne to the Emperours from whence we digreſſed, like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hath bene before ſufficiently told) had geuen to the ſea Papall all the Princedome of Rauenna with other donations and reuenewes, and landes in Italy: ſo this Carolus followyng his fathers deuotion, did confirme the ſame, addyng moreouer therunto the Citie and dominion of Venice, Hiſtria, the Dukedome Foroiulienſe, the Dukedome Spoletanum, and Beneuentanum, and other poſſeſſiōs moe, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, makyng him the prince of Rome and of Italy. The Pope agayne to recompēſe his ſo gentle kyndnes, made him to be intituled moſt Chriſten king, and made him Patricium Romanum. Moreouer ordeined him onely to be taken for Emperour of Rome. For theſe and other cauſes moe, Carolus bare no litle affection to the ſayde Adrian aboue all other Popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnꝰ ſent to kyng Offa, what tyme the ſayd Offa (as is aboue prefixed) ſent to him Alcuinus for entreaty of peace: whereunto the foreſayd Carolus aunſwereth agayne to the meſſage of Offa in a letter, the contentes wherof be theſe.

***Carolus Magnus* beneficiall to the ſea of Rome.**

***Rex chriſtianiſſimus* intituled to Fraunce.**

¶ *The tenour of a Letter ſent by Carolus Magnus to king Offa, aunſweryng to his requeſt concernyng the intreatie of peace betwene them.*

A letter of *Charles* the great ſent to kyng *Offa*.

CArolus Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, Patricius Romanorum viro venerando, & fratri chariſſimo Offæ Regi Merciorum Salut. Primò gratias agimus omnipotēti Deo, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis verò qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum, beatorum Apoſtolorū limina deſiderāt adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui religioni non ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluāt telonia. Negociatores quoq; volumus vt ex mādato noſtro patrocinium habeāt in regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi in aliquo loco, iniuſta affligātur oppreſſione, reclament ſe ad nos, vel noſtros iudices, & plenā iuſtitiam iubemꝰ fieri. Cognoſcat quoq; dilectio veſtra quòd aliquam benignitatem de Dalmaticis noſtris vel pallijs ad ſingulas ſedes Epiſcopales regni veſtri vel Ethelredi direximus, in eleemoſinā Domini Apoſtolici Adriani, deprecantes vt pro eo intercedi iubeatis, nullā habentes dubitationem beatam illius animā in requie eſſe, ſed vt fidem & dilectionem oſtendamus in amicū nobis chariſſimū. Sed & de theſauro humanarū rerum, quum Dominus Ieſus gratuita pietate conceſſit aliquid per metropolitanas ciuitates: Direximus veſtræ quoq; dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium & duo pallia ſerica. &c.

The cauſe why this Carolus writeth ſo fauorably of Adriā partly is touched before, partly alſo was, for yͤ Carolomane his elder brother beyng dead, his wife called Bertha with her two children came to Adrian, to haue them confirmed in their fathers kyngdome: wherunto the Pope to ſhew a pleaſure to Carolus would not agree: but gaue the mother with her two childrē, & Deſiderius the Lōbard king with his whole kyngdome, his wife and children, into the handes of the ſayd Carolus: who ledde them with him captiue into Fraunce, and there kept them in ſeruitude during their lyfe.

How the Pope heareth the cry of poore widowes & orphanes.

Thus, Carolus Magnus beyng proclaymed Emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian, and of Pope Leo the third which ſucceeded next after him: was the Empire tranſlated from the Grecians about the yeare of our Lord. 801. vnto the Frenchmen: where it continued about 102. yeares till the commyng of Conradus and his nephew Otho, which were Germaines: and ſo hath it continued after them among the Almanes vnto this preſent time. This Charles builded ſo many Monaſteries as there be letters in the row of A.B.C: he was beneficiall chiefly to Churchmen alſo mercyfull to the poore, in his Actes valiaunt and triumphaunt, ſkild in all languages, he held a Councell at Francford, where was condēned the Councell of Nice and Irene, for ſetting vp and worſhipping of Images. &c.

The Empire tranſlated from Grece to Fraunce.

Concernyng which Councell of Nice, & thynges there concluded and enacted (becauſe no man ſhall thinke, the deteſtyng of Images to be any new thyng now begon) thus I finde it recorded in an auncient written hiſtorie, of Roger Houeden, called Continuationes Bedæ, his wordes in Latin be theſe: Anno. D. cc. xc. 11. Carolus Rex Francorum miſit Synodalem librum ad Britanniam, ſibi a Conſtantinopoli directū. In quo lib. Heu, proh dolor, multa incōuenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maximè q; pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus q̄ 300. vel eo amplius Epiſcoporum vnanimi aſſertione confirmatum ſit, imagines adorari debere: Quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. Contra quod ſcripſit Albinus Epiſtolam ex autoritate diuinarū ſcripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamq; cum eodem libro ex perſona Epiſcoporum ac principum noſtrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is. In the yeare of our Lord. 792. Charles the French kyng ſent a booke conteynyng the actes of a certaine Synode, vnto Britaine, directed vnto him from Conſtantinople. In the which booke (lamētable to behold) many thynges inconuenient, & cleane contrary to the true fayth are there to be founde: eſpecially for that by the common conſent of almoſt all the learned byſhops of the Eaſt Church not ſo few as 300. it was there agreed that Images ſhould be worſhypped. Whiche thyng the Church of God hath alwayes abhorred. Againſt which booke Albinus wrote an Epiſtle ſubſtantialy grounded out of the authoritie of holy Scripture. Which Epiſtle with the booke, the ſayd Albinus in the name and perſon of our Byſhops, and Princes, did preſent to the French kyng.

Images written againſt, as contrary to the true faith.

This *Albinus* was *Alcuinus* aboue mentioned.

The biſhops & Princes of England againſt images.

And thus much by the way of Romiſh matters: now to returne agayne to the Northumberland kynges, where we left at Egbert. Which Egbert, as is before declared, ſucceeded after Ceolulphus after he was made Monke. And likewiſe the ſayd Egbert alſo followyng the deuotion of hys vncle Ceolulphus, and Kenredus before him: was likewiſe ſhorne Mōke, after he had reigned xx. yeares in Northumberland, leauyng his ſonne Oſulphus after him to ſucceede: about which tyme and in the ſame yeare when Ceolulphus deceaſſed in his Monaſtery, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 764. diuers Cities were brent with ſodeine fire as the Citie of Wenta, the Citie of Lōdon, the Citie of Yorke, Donaceſter with diuers other townes beſides. Roger Houeden. Lib. Contin. poſt Bedam, who in the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was the yeare of our Lord. 757. beyng innocently ſlayne, next to him folowed Mollo, otherwiſe called Adelwald, who likewiſe beyng ſlayne of Alcredus after he had reigned xi. yeares departed. After, Alcredus whē he had reigned. x. yeares was expulſed out of his kyngdome by his people. Then was Ethelbert otherwiſe named Edelred the ſonne of the foreſayd Mollo receaued kyng of Northumberland. Whiche Ethelbert, or Adelred in like ſorte after he

King *Egbert* made a Monke.

757.

***Oſulphus*, *Mollo*, otherwiſe called *Adelwold*. *Alcredus* or *Aluredus*. *Ethelbert* otherwiſe named *Adelred*, or *Eardulphe*. *Alfwold*. *Ofredus*, *Adelred*, againe kinges of Northumberland.**

764.

had reigned v. yeares, was expulſed. After whom ſucceeded Alfwold who likewiſe when he had reigned xi. yeares was vniuſtly ſlayne. So likewiſe after him his nephew, and the ſonne of Alcredus named Oſredus reigned one yeare & was ſlayne. Then the foreſayd Ethelbert the ſonne of Mollo after xii. yeares baniſhment, reigned agayne in Northumberlãd the ſpace of foure yeares, & was ſlayne: the cauſe wherof (as I finde in an old written ſtory) was that forſakyng his old wife he maried anew. Concernyng the reſtoryng of whom Alcuinus writeth in this maner: Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Nuper Edelredus filius Edelwaldi de carcere proceſſit in ſolium, & de miſeria in maieſtatem, cuius regni nouitate detenti ſumus ne veniremus ad vos. &c. And afterward the ſame Alcuinus agayne ſpeakyng of his death writeth to kyng Offa, in theſe wordes: Sciat veneranda dilectio veſtra, quod Do. Carolus amabiliter & fideliter ſæpe mecum locutus eſt de vobis, & in eo habetis fideliſſimũ amicum, Ideo & veſtræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per Epiſcopales ſedes regni veſtri ſimiliter & Edelredo Regi, & ad ſuas Epiſcoporum ſedes direxit dona. Sed heu Proh dolor, donis datis, & Epiſtolis in manus miſſorum ſuperuenit triſtis legatio per miſſos qui de Scotia per nos reuerſi ſunt, De infidelitate gẽtis, & nece Regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus eſt contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam, & peruerſam, & homicidam dominorum ſuorum, peiorem eam paganis æſtimans, vt niſi ego interceſſor eſſem pro ea quicquid eis boni abſtrahere potuiſſet, & mali machinari, iam feciſſet. &c.

¶ The kingdome of Northũberland ceaſeth.

Northumberland kingdome ceaſeth.

Thus, as you haue heard, after the reigne of kyng Egbert, before mentioned, ſuch trouble & perturbatiõ was in the dominiõ of Northũberlãd: with ſlayng, expulſing, & depoſing their kings one after an other, ÿ after the murdering of this Edelred aboue ſpecified, none durſt take the gouernement vpon him, ſeyng the great daunger thereupon inſuyng. In ſomuch that the foreſayd kyngdome dyd lye voyde & waſt the ſpace of. xxxiij. yeares together, after the terme of which yeares this kingdome of Northumberland, with the kingdomes alſo of the other Saxons beſides, came all together into the handes of Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxons & his progenie: which Monarchy begã in the yeare of our Lord. 827 and in the. 28. yeare of the reigne of the ſayd Egbert: wherof more ſhall be ſayd (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. Of this troubleſome and ragious time of Northumberland people, ſpeaketh alſo the ſayd learned man Alcuinus otherwiſe called Albinus, in the ſame countrey borne: writyng out of Fraunce into England, and complaynyng of the ſame in diuers his letters, as firſt to Offa, where he thus writeth, Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reuerti: Sed melius viſum eſt propter pacẽ gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, neſciens quid feciſſem inter eos, vbi nullus ſecurus eſſe, vel in ſalubri conſilio proficere poteſt. Eccleſia ſancta a Paganis vaſtata, altaria periurijs fœdata, monaſteria adulterijs violata, terra ſanguine dominorum & principũ fœdata, &c. Moreouer the ſayd Alcuinus writyng to the foreſayd Edelred a litle aboue mẽtioned, after the ſame tenour reporteth: Ecce Eccleſia ſancti Cuthberti ſacerdotum Dei ſanguine aſperſa (omnibus ſpoliata ornamentis) locus, cunctis in Britãnia venerabilior, Paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et vbi primũm poſt deceſſum S. Cuthberti ab Eboraco, Chriſtiana religio in noſtra gente ſumpſit exordium: ibi miſeriæ & calamitatis cœpit initium. &c. Item, writing to Oſbert a noble piere of the Mercians complainyng on the ſame maner ſayth: Regnum noſtrum Northumbrorũ penè perijt, propter inteſtinas diſſentiones, & fallaces coniurationes. &c.

Alcuinus otherwiſe called Albinus.

The troubles of the kingdome of Northũberland deſcribed by Alcuinus.

Item, in an other place the ſayd Alcuinus writing to Adalard Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, complayneth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus inſulæ noſtræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata eſt noſtris. Legitur in libro Gildæ ſapientiſſimi Britonum, quòd iidem Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum: propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiam iudicum: propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum: propter luxuriam & malos mores populi patriam perdidere. Caueamus hæc eadem vitia noſtris temporibus inoleſcere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conſeruet in proſperitate bona, quam nobis miſericordiſſima pietate perdonare dignatus eſt. &c.

Ouer and beſides, the ſame author Alcuinus, writyng to the foreſayd Edelred kyng of Northumberland, maketh record of a ſtraunge ſight which he him ſelfe did ſee the ſame time in the citie of Yorke, to rayne bloud: wherof, his wordes which he wrote concernyng the ſame, to the ſayd kyng Edelred be theſe. Quid ſignificat pluuia ſanguinis, quam quadrageſimali tempore in Eboraco ciuitate, quæ caput eſt totius regni in Eccleſia beati Principis Apoſtolorum, vidimꝰ de borealibus partibus domus, (ſereno aere) de ſummitate minanter cadere? Nonne poteſt putari, a borealibus partibus venire ſanguinem ſuper terram? That is: What ſignifieth the rayne of bloud, whiche in tyme of Lent, in the Citie of Yorke, the chief Citie of that dominion, and in the Churche of S. Peter, the chief of the Apoſtles, we our ſelues did ſee to fal from the Church toppe (the element being cleare) out of the North partes of the temple. &c. This wondrous ſight teſtified by Malmeſberienſis, is thought of Fabian to happẽ in the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Brigthricus (as with the tyme doth well agree) whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 780. and is thought of ſome expoſiters to betoken the commyng of the Danes into this land: which entred ſhortly after, about. vij. yeares in the. ix. yeare of the raigne of Brigthricus, kyng of the Weſtſaxons. Which Brigthricus in defence therof, ſent forth his ſteward of his houſhold with a ſmall companie which ſhortly was ſlayne: but by the ſtrength of the ſayd Brigthricus and the other Saxon kyngs they were compelled to voyde the land for that tyme, whiche was. an. 790. To this Brigthricus, kyng Offa, as is aforeſayd, gaue his daughter Ethelburga to wife, by whõ he at length was impoyſoned beſides certaine other of his nobles: vpon whõ, the ſayd Queene, before him had practiſed the ſame wickednes. Who then after that, fled ouer to Charles the great into Fraunce: where ſhe beyng offered for her beautie to marry either to him, or to his ſonne, becauſe ſhe choſed rather his ſonne, marryed neither the one nor yet the other: but was thruſt in a Monaſtery, where ſhe then playing the harlot with a Monke: was expulſed from thence, and ended her lyfe in penury and miſery.

Ex hiſtoria Malmeſberienſ.

How it rayned bloud in Yorke.

An. 780.

Brigthricus K. of Weſtſaxons.

Edelburga daughter to Offa, poyſoned her huſband.

Wickednes reuenged.

In the meane tyme while this Edelburga was thus workyng her feates in England: Irene Empreſſe of the Greekes, was as buſie alſo for her part at Cõſtantinople: who firſt through the meanes of pope Adrian, tooke vp the body of Conſtantine Emperour of Cõſtãtinople, her own huſbandes father. And when ſhe had burned the ſame, ſhe cauſed the aſhes to be caſt into the ſea, becauſe he diſanulled Images. Afterward, raignyng with her ſonne Conſtãtine the. 6: ſonne to Leo the. 4. (whom alſo we declared before to be excommunicate for takyng away Images) beyng at diſſenſion with him: cauſed him to be taken, and layd in priſon. Who afterward through power of frendes beyng reſtored to his Empire agayne, at laſt ſhe cauſed the ſame her owne ſonne to be caſt in priſon: and his eyes to be put out ſo cruelly, that within ſhort ſpace after he dyed. After this the ſayd Irene Empreſſe, with the counſaile of Theraſius Byſhop of Conſtantinople: held a Councell at Nicea where it was decreed, that Images ſhould agayne be reſtored to the Church: whiche Councell, after was repealed by an other Cõucel holden at Franckford by Charles the great. At lẽgth ſhe was depoſed by Nicephorus (who raigned after) & was expulſed the Empire: who after the example of Edelburga aboue mentioned (condignely puniſhed for her wickednes) ended likewiſe her life in much penurie and miſerie.

Irene.

An. 784.

Images reſtored agayne by Irene at Conſtãtinople

The ſecond councell at Nicea.

The wickednes of Irene cõdingly rewarded.

About the tyme when the foreſayd Brigthricus was impoiſoned by Edelburga his wife, dyed alſo king Offa: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 795. or as ſome ſay. 802. After which Offa (as is aforeſayd) ſucceeded Egfert: then Kenulphus: after whom ſucceded Kenelmus his ſonne, who in his younger age was wickedly murthered by his ſiſter Quindreda: and Aſkebertus, about the yeare of our Lord 819. And in the church of Winchcombe was counted for an holy Martyr. After him ſucceeded his vncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the firſt yeare of his reigne expulſed, and reigned in his place. Who likewiſe the third yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expulſed by Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxons, and afterward ſlayne by the Eaſtangles. And the kyngdome of Mercia alſo ceaſed, & came into the handes of the Weſtſaxons.

Kenelmus kyng of Mercia innocently ſlayne.

Celulphus or Ceolulphus, Bernulphus kyng of Mercia.

The kingdome of Mercia ceaſeth.

¶ Hetherto I haue brought, as thou ſeeſt (good Reader) the confuſed and turbulent raignes of theſe. vij. Saxõ kynges: who after the expulſion of the Britannes, ruled and raigned a ſonder, in ſundry quarters of this land together, vnto this preſent tyme of Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxons. By whom it ſo pleaſed God, to begyn to reduce and vnite, all theſe ſcattered kyngdomes, into one monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherfore as in the foreſayd Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the common wealth here in this land, among the Saxons: ſo my purpoſe is (the Lord willyng) with the ſame Egbert to enter a new beginnyng of my third booke: after a brief recapitulation firſt made of ſuch things, as in this ſecond booke before, are to be collected and noted eſpecially touchyng the Monaſteries builded: the kynges whiche haue entred the lyfe and profeſſion Monaſtike: alſo Queenes and Queenes daughters, whiche the ſame tyme profeſſed ſolitary lyfe in Monaſteries, which they or theyr aunceſtors had erected.

¶The concluſion of the ſtory precedent concerning the ſeuen kingdomes of the Saxon kynges aboue mentioned.

¶And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) concernyng the vij. kyngdomes of theſe Saxõs, rulyng altogether in England: the courſe and order of their doynges briefly deſcribed and diſcourſed vnto thee, in ſuch order, as the matter beyng ſo intricate, in ſuch confuſion and diuerſitie of thynges incident together, would permit: followyng eſpecially in this ſtory hetherto, the line of the Northumberland kynges, as the other ſtories moſt follow the line of weſtſaxon kyngs. The which ſeuen kyngdomes of theſe ſayd Saxons, after they had vntruely expulſed and chaſed out the Britaines from their land, like as they neuer were in quietnes among them ſelues, reignyng thus together, till the tyme of this Egbert: ſo alſo after the reigne of Egbert, the whole Realme beyng induced into one regiment, no leſſe were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually from tyme to tyme, till the laſt conqueſt of William the Normand. Thus it pleaſeth (God euer) lightly to reuenge with bloud bloudy violence, and the vniuſt dealyngs of men, with iuſt and like retribution. But of this let the Chriſtian Reader conſider, as Gods grace ſhall worke in him. In the meane tyme we, as much as in vs did lye, ſatiſfyng the part of an hiſtorician, haue thus hetherto ſet forth and declared concernyng theſe vij. foreſayd kyngdomes: firſt the names and lineall deſcent of the kynges ſeuerally by themſelues, as by the table precedent may appeare, then what were the doynges and actes of the ſame. How firſt being Paganes they were conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth: what thynges in their tyme happened in the Church: how many of them, of kings were made Mõkes: how deuout they were then to holy Church & to ẏ Churchmẽ, and eſpecially to the Church of Rome. But the churchmẽ then were much otherwiſe in lyfe, thẽ afterward they declared thẽſelues to be. Through which deuotion of ẏ ſayd kynges firſt came in the Peterpence or Romeſchots in this Realme: as by Iue firſt in his dominion, then by Offa in his Lordſhyp, & afterward by Adelwulph brought in & ratified through the whole Realme: where alſo is to be noted, that by the foreſayd Kynges and Queenes of the ſayd Saxons, the moſt part of the greateſt Abbayes and Nunneries in this Realme were firſt begõ and builded, as partly the names of ſome here follow to be ſeene.

Vniuſt dealyngs of men iuſtly rewarded.

Paules Church.

Firſt the Church or Minſter of S. Paule in London was founded by Ethelbert kyng of Kent, & Sigebert kyng of Eſſex, about the yeare of our Lord. 604.

The firſt aultar and croſſe ſet vp in Englãd.

The firſt croſſe and altare within this realme was firſt ſet vp in the North partes in Heuenfield, vpon the occaſion of Oſwald Kyng of Northumberlãd, fightyng againſt Cadwalla, where he in the ſame place ſet vp the ſigne of the croſſe, kneelyng and prayng there for victory. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The Churche of Winchester.

The Church of winchester was firſt begon and founded by Kingilſus Kyng of Mercians, hauyng. 9. myles about it: after finiſhed by his ſonne Kewalcus, where Wyne, of Engliſhmen was firſt byſhop. an. 636. Guliel. Malmeſb. Lib. De geſtis pont. Ang.

The Churche of Lincolne.

The Churche of Lyncolne firſt founded by Paulinus Byſhop. An. 629.

The Churche of Weſtminſter.

The Churche of weſtminſter began firſt by a certaine Citizẽ of Londõ, through the inſtigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an Ile of thornes. Bed. An. 614.

The ſcholes at Cambridge.

The common ſcholes firſt erected at Cambrige by Sigebert Kyng of Eaſtangles. An. 636.

Abbey of Knouiſburgh.

The Abbey of Knouiſburgh builded by Furceus the Eremite. An. 637.

Malmeſb.

The Monaſterie of Malmeſbery, by one Meldulfus a Scot, about the yeare of our Lord. 640. Afterward inlarged by Agilbert Byſhop of wint.

Abbey of Gloceſter.

The Monaſtery in Gloceſter firſt builded by Ofricus Kyng of Mercia, as Ceſtrenſis ſayth. But as Williã Malmeſb. writeth, by Vlſerus, and Ethelred brethren to Kineburga Abbeſſe of the ſame houſe. An. 679.

Mailroſe.

The Monaſtery of Mailroſe by the floud of Twide by Aidanus a Scottiſh Byſhop.

Heorenton.

The Nunnery of Heorenton, by Heui, who was the firſt Nunne in Northumberland. Bede. Lib. 4. cap. 1.

Heteſey.

The Monaſtery of Heteſey by Oſwy Kyng of Northumberland, who alſo with his daughter Elfred, gaue poſſeſſions for twelue monaſteries in the partes of Northumberland. An. 656.

The Monaſtery of S. Martin at Douer.

The Monaſtery of S. Martin in Douer builded by Whitred Kyng of Kent.

Leſtingey.

The Abbey of Leſtingey by Ceadda (whom we call S. Cedd) through the graunt of Oſwald ſonne to S. Oſwald, Kyng of Northumb. An. 651.

Whitbie.

This Hilda was firſt conuerted to the fayth by Paulinus a godly & learned woman, out of her Monaſtery came. 5. Byſhops Boſa, Etha, Oſtford, Ioannes, Wilfride.

The Monaſtery of Whytby called otherwiſe Strenhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwyne kyng of Northumberland. An. 657.

Hacanos.

Item an other Monaſtery called Hacanos, not farre frõ the ſame place builded by the ſayd Hilda, the ſame yeare.

Abington.

The Abbey of Abbington buylded by Ciſſa Kyng of Southſex. An. 666.

Ioanno at Lincolne.

Item an Abbey in the Eaſt ſide of Lyncolne called Ioanno, by S. Botulphe: Polychro. Lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

Ely Abbey.

The monaſtery in Ely founded by Etheldred or Edeldrida, daughter of Anna Kyng of Eaſtangles, and the wife of Elfrid Kyng of Northumb. An. 674.

Chertſey.

The Monaſtery of Chertſey in Southrey founded by Erkenwald Byſhop of London. an. 674. throwne done by the Danes, after reedified by Kyng Edgar.

Berkyng.

Item the Nunnery of Berkyng edified by the ſayd Erkenwaldus Byſhop of London, about the ſame tyme.

Peterbrough.

The Abbey of Peterborough called otherwiſe Modehamſtede founded by kyng Ethelwald kyng of the Mercians. an. 675.

Bardney.

Bardney Abbey by Etheldredus kyng of the Merciãs. Anno. 700.

Glaſtonbery

Glaſtonbery by Iua kyng of the weaſtſaxons, and after repayred and enriched by kyng Edgar. an. 701.

Rameſey.

Rameſey in the tyme of kyng Edgar by one Ailwinus a noble man. an. 973. Kyng Edgar builded in his tyme xl. monaſteries who reigned. an. 901.

Winburne.

The Nunnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga ſiſter to Ingilſus kyng Iua his brother. an. 717.

Sealeſey.

The Monaſtery of Sealeſey by the Ile of wyght by Wilfridus Byſhop of yorke. an. 678.

Wincombe.

The monaſtery of Wincombe by Kenulphus kyng of the Mercians. an. 737.

S. Albones.

S. Albons builded by Offa Kyng of the Mercians. Anno. 755.

Euſham.

The Abbey of Euſham by Egwinus Byſhop. an. 691.

Ripon.

Ripon in the North by Wilfridus Byſhop. an. 709.

Echelinghey.

The Abbey of Echelinghey, by kyng Aluredus. an. 891.

S. Shafteſbury.

The Nunnery of Shafteſbury by the ſame Aluredus, the ſame yeare.

Thus ye ſee what Monaſteries in what tyme began to be founded by the Saxons kynges newly conuerted to the Chriſten fayth, within the ſpace of. 200. yeares: who, as they ſeemed then to haue a certeine zeale and deuotion to Godward, accordyng to the leadyng & teaching ẏ thẽ was: ſo it ſeemeth againe to me, two things to be wiſhed in theſe foreſayd kynges. Firſt that they which began to erect theſe monaſteries, and Celles of Monkes and Nunnes, to lyue ſoly and ſinglely by themſelues out of the holy ſtate of matrimony: had forſeene what daunger & what abſurde enormities might and alſo did thereof enſue, both publikely to the Church of Chriſt, & priuatly to their owne ſoules. Secondly, that vnto this their zeale & deuotion had bene ioyned like knowledge & doctrine in Chriſtes Goſpel, eſpecially in ẏ article of our free iuſtification by the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt. Becauſe of the lacke wherof as well the builders and founders therof, as they that were profeſſed in the ſame, ſeeme both to haue runne the wrong way, and to haue bene deceaued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion and zeale of mynde that thought well in this their doyng, which I wil not here reprehend: yet the ende and cauſe of their deedes & buildynges can not be excuſed beyng contrary to the rule of Chriſtes Goſpell, for ſemuch as they did theſe thynges ſeekyng thereby merites with God, and for remedy of their ſoules, and remiſſion of their ſinnes: as may appeare teſtified in their owne recordes, wherof one here I thought to ſet forth for probation of the ſame. Read this Charte (if it pleaſe thee gentle Reader) of kyng Ethelbald his donation, and charter geuẽ to churches, and religious perſons: which Ethelbald was the builder (as is ſayd) of Peterborough, the wordes of his recorde and inſtrument be theſe.

Two thyngs to be wiſhed in them, that firſt builded Monkiſhe Monaſteries.

The article of free iuſtification not knowne.

¶The donations and priuileges graunted and giuen by king Ethelbald to Religious men of the Churche.

Ex Chronich Guliel. Malmeſb. Lib. 1.

PLerumq; contingere ſolent pro incerta temporum viciſſitudine, vt ea quæ multarum fidelium perſonarum teſtimonio conſilioq; roborata fuerint: fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorũ, & machinamẽta ſimulationis, ſine vlla conſideratione rationis, periculoſe diſſipentur, niſi autoritate literarum (teſtamento Chyrographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, ſtudendum eſſe præuidi: vt eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per miſericordiam clementiæ ſuæ, abſq; vllo antecedente merito ſceptra regiminis largitus eſt: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratia hanc donationem, me viuente, concedo, vt omnia monaſteria & Eccleſiæ regni mei, a publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus abſoluãtur: niſi inſtructionibus arcium, vel pontium quæ nulli vnq̃ proſunt. Præterea habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus ſiluarum & agrorum, & in captura piſcium, ne munuſcula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, niſi voluntaria. Sed liberi Deo ſeruiant. &c.

By the contentes hereof may well be vnderſtand (as where he ſayth, pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & abſolutione delictorum. &c.) how great the ignoraunce and blyndnes of theſe men was: who lackyng no zeale, onely lacked knowledge to rule it withall: ſeekyng their ſaluation not by Chriſt onely, but by their owne deſeruynges and meritorious deedes. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehenſion of them, but rather to put vs in mynde and memorye, how much we at this preſent are bounde to God for the true ſinceritie of his truth: hidden ſo long before to our foreauncetors, and opened now to vs by the good will of our God, in hys ſonne Chriſt Ieſu. This onely lamentyng by the way, to ſee them to haue ſuch workes, and to lacke our fayth: and vs to haue the right fayth, and to lacke their workes. And this blynde ignoraunce of that age, thus aboue prenoted: was the cauſe not onely why theſe kynges builded ſo many Monaſteries vpon zealous ſuperſtition, but alſo why ſo many of them, forſakyng their orderly vocation of Princely regiment, gaue them ſelues ouer to Monaſticall profeſſion, or rather wilfull ſuperſtition. Concernyng the names and number of whiche kynges that were profeſſed Monkes, is ſufficiently in the ſtory before declared: the names of whom we ſhewed to be ſeuen or eight, within the ſpace of theſe two hundreth yeares. Such was then the ſuperſtitious deuotion of kynges and Princes in that age: and no leſſe alſo to be noted in Queenes and kynges daughters, with other noble women, of the ſame age and time. The names of whom, it were to long here to recite.

A brief Catalage of Queenes & kings daughters, whiche leauing their eſtate were made nuns.
Hilda.

As Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwyne kyng of Northumberland, Abbeſſe of the houſe of Ely. Erchẽgoda with her ſiſter Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus kyng of Kent: which Erchengoda was profeſſed in Saint Brigets order in Fraunce. Item Edelberga wife and Queene to kyng Edwyne of Northumberland, and daughter of kyng Anna, whiche was alſo in the ſame houſe of Saint Briget made a Nunne. Item Etheldreda, whom we terme S. Eldred, wife to kyng Elfride of Northumberland: who beyng maried to two huſbandes, could not be obtayned to geue her conſent to either of them duryng the ſpace of twelue yeares, but would needes lyue a virgine, and was profeſſed Nunne at Helynges.

Erchengoda.
Ermenilda.
Edelberga.
Etheldreda.

Werburga.
Kynreda.
Kineſwida.
Sexburga.
Elfrida.
Mildreda.
Milburga.
Milguida.
Kineburga.
Elfleda.
Alfritha.
Wulfritha.
Editha.

Werburga was the daughter of Vlſerus kyng of Mercians, and made Nunne at Ely. Kinreda ſiſter of kyng Vlſerus and Kinſwida her ſiſter, were both Nunnes profeſſed. Sexburga daughter of kyng Anna kyng of Mercians, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was Abbeſſe at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oſwy kyng of Northumberland, was Abbeſſe of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, & Milguida all three daughters of Merwaldus king of weſt Mercians, entred the profeſſion and vow of Nunniſh virginitie. Kineburga, wife of Alfride kyng of Northumberland, and ſiſter to Oſricus kyng of Mercians, and daughter of kyng Penda: was profeſſed Abbeſſe of the monaſtery in Gloceſter. Elfleda daughter of Oſwy kyng, and wife of Peda, ſonne of kyng Penda, likewiſe incloſed her ſelfe in the ſame profeſſion, and vowe of Romiſhe chaſtitie. Likewiſe Alfritha wife to kyng Edgar. And Editha daughter to the ſayd Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother. &c. All whiche holy Nunnes with diuers moe, the Romiſh Catholickes haue canoniſed for Saintes, and put the moſt part of them in their Calender, and onely becauſe of the vowe of chaſtitie ſolemnely profeſſed. Concernyng the whiche chaſtitie, whether they kept it or no, litle I haue to ſay agaynſt them, and leſſe to ſweare for them. But whether they ſo kept it or not, if this gift of chaſtitie which they profeſſed were geuen them of God, ſmall prayſe worthy was it in them to keepe it: If it were not geuen thẽ, I will not ſay here of them ſo much, as hath bene ſayd of ſome other, which ſufficiently haue painted out to the world, the demeanour of theſe holy votaries. But this will I ſay, that although they kept it neuer ſo perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh Saintes before God, but onely the bloud of Chriſt Ieſus, and a true fayth in him.

Likewiſe remayneth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of theſe noble women, whiche profeſſyng Monaſticke lyfe, haue caſt of all worldly dignitie and delites: ſo we ſhould alſo intreate of ſuch noble men, who among the Saxen kynges in like zeale of deuotion, haue geuen ouer them ſelues from the world (as they thought) to the cõtemplatiue life of Monkiſh profeſſion. The names of whom, as in the Catalogue of the Saxon kynges before is deſcribed, be theſe: to the number of. ix.

¶ A Table of ſuch Saxon kynges, as were after made Monkes.

Kynges made Monkes.

1. Kynigilſus, kyng of Weſtſaxons.
2. Ine, kyng of Weſtſaxons.
3. Ceolulſus, kyng of Northumberland.
4. Eadbertus, kyng of Northumberland.
5. Ethelredus, kyng of Mercia.
6. Kenredus, kyng of Mercia.
7. Offa, kyng of Eaſtſaxons.
8. Sebbi, kyng of Eaſtſaxons.
9. Sigebertus, kyng of Eaſtangles.

Of whiche kynges and of their doynges, what is to be iudged, locke gentle Reader before pag. 115. and. 116.

By theſe hiſtories it is apparaunt: what mutations, what perturbations, and what alteration of ſtate hath bene in this Realme of Britaine, firſt from Britaines kynges, to Romaines, then to Britaines agayne, afterward to the Saxons. Firſt to vij. all together raignyng, then to one. &c. And this alteratiõ not onely happened in the ciuill gouernement, but alſo followed in the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall. For as in the Britaines tyme the Metropolitan ſea was in London: ſo in the Saxons tyme after the commyng of Auſten, it was remoued to Cãterbury, the Catalogue and order of which Metropolitanes, from the tyme of Auſten to Egbertus, is thus, as is in the hiſtory of Malmeſberienſis deſcribed.

¶ The names and order of the Archbyſhops of Canterbury, from Auſten, to the tyme of Kyng Ethelbert.

1.	Auguſtinus.	16.
2.	Laurentius.	5.
3.	Mellitus.	5.
4.	Iuſtus.	3.
5.	Honorius.	25.
6.	Deus dedit.	10.
7.	Theodorus.	22.

¶ Hetherto from Auſtẽ all the Archbyſhops of Canterbury were Italians and foreners.

8.	Berctualdus English.	37	In his tyme the Monaſtery of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus and his brother kynges of Kent.
9.	Tacuinus.	3.	
10.	Nothelinus.	5.	
11.	Cuthbertus.	17	This Cutbert after hys death forbad all funerall exequies or lamẽtation for him to be made. William Malm. De vitis. Lib. 1.
12.	Breguinus.	3	
13.	Lambrihtus, or Lambertus.	27.	In his tyme king Offa tranſlated the Metropolitan ſea frõ Cant. to Lichfield by the graunt of Pope Adrian, beyng ouercome with Apoſtolicall argumentes, as ſayth Flores Hiſt. that is, with money.
	Ethelardus.	13	
15.	Vlfredus.	28	
16.	Fegeldus. oncthes.	3	This Ethelard' by his Epiſtles to Pope Leo, obteined the Metropolitan ſea agayne to Cant.
17	Celnochus.	41	

During the courſe of theſe. 17. Archbyſhops of Cant. in Rome paſſed in the meane tyme, 34. Popes, of whom partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the time of the vij. kingdomes of the Saxõs, rulyng together in England, from the raigne of Hengiſt, vnto Egbert, firſt kyng & monarch of the whole land, after the expulſion of the Britaynes.

NOw remaineth (by the grace of Chriſt) in the next booke followyng, to proſecute the order of ſuch kynges as principally raignyng alone, had this Realme in their poſſeſſion: from the tyme of Egbert kyng of Weſtſaxons to the cõmyng of William Conquerour the Normane, comprehẽdyng therin the reſt of the next. 300. yeares, with the actes and ſtate of Religion, as in that ſpace was in the Church: wherein may appeare the declinyng tyme of the Church, and of true Religion, preparyng the way to Antichriſt, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that duryng yet this meane tyme, Sathan (as is ſayd) was bound vp from his ragyng and furious violence, countyng from the time of Cõſtantinus, to the next looſing out of Sathan, which was foretold by the Reuelation of S. John aboue mentioned, to be a thouſand yeares. Wherof by the order of the hiſtory (Chriſt grauntyng) more ſhall be ſayd hereafter.

¶ The ende of the ſecond booke.

The third booke conteinyng
the next. 300. yeares, from the raigne of
kyng Egbertus to the tyme of
William Conquerour.

NOw remayneth likewiſe as before I did in deſcribing the diſcent and diuerſitie of the ſeuẽ kings altogether reignyng & ruling in this lãd: ſo to proſecut in like order the lineall ſucceſſion of thẽ, which after Egbert king of Weſtſaxons, gouerned & ruled ſoly vntill the conqueſt of William the Normand: firſt expreſſing their names, & afterwarde importyng ſuch actes as in their tyme happened in the Churche worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touchyng the actes and doynges of theſe kyngs, becauſe they are ſufficiently & at large deſcribed and taken out of Latine writers into the Engliſh toung by ſondry authors, and namely in the ſtory or Chronicle of Fabian. I ſhall not ſpend much trauaile therupon, but rather referre the reader, to him or to ſome other: where the troubleſome tumultes betwene the Engliſhmẽ and the Danes at that tyme may be ſeene, who ſo liſteth to read them. Onely the Table of their names and reigne, in actes done vnder their reigne, I haue compendiouſly abridged, vſing ſuch breuitie, as the matter would ſuffer.

¶ *A table of the Saxon kinges which ruled alone from king Egbert to William Conquerour.*

Egbertus.	an.35	This Athelvvulphus had by his wife Oſburga, foure ſonnes.
Athelvvulfus, or Athulfus.	an.20	
Ethelbaldus.	5	Sonnes of Athelvvulfus.
Ethelbertus.	6	
Etheldredus.	5	
Aluredus, or Alfredus.	an.28	Aluredus had two ſonnes Edward and Egelward of the whiche one enioyed the Realme.
Edward named the elder ſonne of Aluredus.	239	Edward beſides theſe 3. had two other ſonnes Edred, and Edwyne, whiche dyed before they came to reigne, he had alſo foure daughters.
Adelſtanus.	16	Sonnes of Edward. — Matild. Alfrid, a Nunne. Edridena, a Nunne. Edourga.
Edmundus.	6	
Edredus.	9	
Edwinus.	4	Sonnes of Edmund.
Edgarus.	16	Sonnes of Edgar.
Edwardus.	4	
Etheldredus.	36	This Etheldred hauyng two wiues one an Engliſh woman, called Ethelgina, & of her had this Edmund, Edwyne, Ethelſtane, with a daughter named Edgina: the other a Normand called Emana, and of her had Alfridus, and Edward called the confeſſor.
Edmund Ironſide, ſonne of Etheldred.	1	
Canutus, a Dane.	19	
Haraldus, Harefoote, ſonne of Canutus.	4	
Hardeknoutus, ſonne of Canutus.	2	
Edwardus, the confeſſor, an Eng. ſonne of Etheldred.	24	
Haraldus, ſonne of Earle Godwyne.	1	
William Conquerour a Normand.		

¶ Kyng Egbert.

IN the raigne of Brigthricus a litle aboue forementioned, about the yeare of grace. 795. there was in his dominiõ a noble perſonage, of ſome called Egbert, of ſome Ethelbert, of ſome Athelbright, who beyng feared of the ſame Brigthricus, becauſe he was of a kingly bloud, and neare vnto the crowne, was by the force and conſpiracie of the forenamed Brigthricus chaſed & purſued out of the land of Britaine, into Fraunce, where he endured till the death of the ſayd Brigthricus. After the hearing wherof Egbert ſped him efteſones out of Frãce, vnto his coũtry of Weſtſaxe, where he in ſuch wiſe behaued him ſelfe, that he obteined the regiment and gouernaunce of the aboueſayd kyngdome.

Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxõs, afterward Monarke and kyng of the whole Realme.

In this tyme came in the Danes, firſt into the North partes & were driuen out agayne.

807.

Bernulphus kyng of Mercia aboue mentioned, with other kynges, had this Egbert in ſuch deriſiõ, that they made of him diuers ſcoffyng geſtes, and ſcornyng rimes all which he ſuſteined for a tyme. But when he was more eſtabliſhed in his kyngdome, & had proued the myndes of his ſubiectes, and eſpecially God workyng withall: he afterward aſſembled his knightes, and gaue to the ſayd Bernulphus a battaile in a place called Elundẽ, in the prouince of Hamtõ. And notwithſtandyng in that fight was great oddes of number, as. 6. or. 8. agaynſt one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord whiche geueth victory as pleaſeth him) had the better, and wan the field: which done, he ſeaſed that Lordſhyp into his hand. And that alſo done, he made warre vpon the Kentiſhe Saxons, and at length in likewiſe of them obtained the victory. And as it is in Polychronicon teſtified, he alſo ſubdued Northumberland, and cauſed the kyngs of theſe three kyngdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, or ioyned them to his kyngdome. Ex Flor. Hiſt. This Egbert alſo wan from the Britons or Welſhmẽ the towne of Cheſter, whiche they had kept poſſeſſion of, till that day. After theſe and other victories, he peaceably enioyeng the lãd called a Councell of his Lordes at Wincheſter, where by their aduiſes he was crowned kyng & chief Lord ouer this land, which before that day was called Britaine: but thẽ he ſent out into all coaſtes of the land his commaundementes & commiſſions chargyng ſtraightly that frõ that day forward the Saxons ſhould be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

Example what it is to deſpiſe other. Example of patience.

826.

Of this victory went a prouerbe, *Riuus cruore rubuit, ruina reſtitit, fœtore tabuit.*

This land firſt called *Anglia.*

About the. xxx. yeare of the raigne of Egbert the heatheniſh people of the Danes, which a litle before had made horrible deſtruction in Northumberland, and eſpecially in the Ile of Lindeſarne, where they ſpoyled the Churches, and murthered the Miniſters, with men, women and children, after a cruell maner, entred now the ſecond tyme with a great hoſt into this land, and ſpoyled the Ile of Shepy in Kent, or neare to Kent: where Egbert hearyng therof, aſſembled his people and met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict ſped not ſo well, as he was wont in tymes before, but with his knightes was compelled to forſake the field. Notwithſtanding in the next battaile the ſayd Egbert with a ſmall power ouerthrewe a great multitude of them, and ſo droue them backe. The yeare next followyng, the ſayd Danes preſumyng vpon their victorie before, made their returne agayne into the lãd Weſtward, where ioynyng with the Britaines, by the helpe and power of them, they aſſayled the lãdes of Egbert, and did much harme in many places of his dominion, and els where, ſo that after this day, they were continually abidyng in one place of the realme of England or other, till the tyme of Hardeknutus, laſt kyng of the Danes bloud, ſo that many of them were maryed to Engliſh women, and many that now be, or in tymes paſt were called Engliſhmen, are deſcended of them. And albeit that they were many and ſundry tymes driuen out of the land, & chaſed from one countrey to an other, yet that notwithſtandyng, they euer gathered new ſtrengthes and power, that they abode ſtill within the land.

833.

Danes now the ſecond tyme entred in this land.

834.

Fabian. cap. 158. Rog. Houed. Lib. 3. cap. [illegible]

And thus (as by the ſtories appeareth) this troubleſome land of Britaine, now called England, hath bene hetherto by. v. ſundry outward nations plagued. Firſt by the Romaines, then by the Scots & Pictes. 3. by the Saxons. 4. by the Danes, of whoſe outragious crueltie & hoſtilitie,

England fiue tymes plagued by other natiõs.

In Reg. Houed. Lib. 5.

our Engliſh hiſtories do moſt exclayme & complayn: fiftly by the Normanes, which I pray God be the laſt.

Then it followeth in the ſtory, that the time of this perſecution of the foreſayd Paganes and Danes continuyng, kyng Egbert when he had ruled the Weſtſaxons, and ouer the more part of England, by the terme of xxxvij. yeares, dyed, and was buried at Wincheſter, leauyng to his ſonne Ethelwolfe his kyngdome, whiche firſt was Byſhop of Wincheſter (as Houeden recordeth) and after vpon neceſſitie made kyng, leauyng withall and pronouncing this ſaying to his ſonne: Fœlicem fore, ſi regnũ, quod multa rexerat induſtria, ille conſueta genti illi non interrumperet ignauia.

¶Kyng Athelwolfus.

837.

A place in Fabian to be amended.

AThelvvulfus, the ſonne of Egbert, in his former age had entred into the order of Subdeacõ, and as ſome other ſay was made Byſhop of Wincheſter. But afterward beyng the onely ſonne of Egbert was made kyng through the diſpenſation (as Fabian ſayth) of Pope Paſchalis, but that can not be: for Paſchalis then was not Byſhop: ſo that by the cõputatiõ of tyme, it ſhould rather ſeeme to be Gregory the 4. This Athelvvulphe (as beyng himſelf once inſealed in that order) was alwayes good and deuout to holy Church & religious orders. In ſomuch that he gaue to them the tythe of all his goodes & landes in Weſtſaxonie, with libertie & fredome from all ſeruage and ciuill charges. Wherof, his charte inſtrument beareth teſtimony after this tenour proceedyng: much like to the donatiõ of Ethelbaldus kyng of Mercians, aboue mentioned.

Guliel. Lib. de geſtis pont. Anglor. ſayth this Pope was Leo. iiij.

¶The priuileges and donations geuen by king Ethelwulfus, to the Clergie.

844.

Priuileges and temporalties grãted to the Churche by kyng Ethelwulfe.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

REgnante Domino noſtro imperpetuum. Dum in noſtris temporibus per bellorũ incendia, & direptiones opum noſtrarum, nec non & vaſtãtium crudeliſſimas depredationes hoſtium, barbararum, paganarumq; gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vſq; ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculoſa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelvvulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum conſilio Epiſcoporum & principum meorum, conſilium ſalubre, & vniforme remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam, Deo & ſanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus ſanctis iure perpetuo poſſidendam concedam, ſcilicet partẽ terræ meæ, vt ſit tuta & immunis ab omnibus ſecularibus ſeruicijs, nec non regalibus tributis maioribus & minoribus ſiue taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witereden: ſitq; libera omnium rerum, pro remiſſione animarum & peccatorũ noſtrorum, ad Deo ſoli deſeruiendũ ſine expeditione, & pontis cõſtructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo diligentiùs pro nobis ad Deum preces ſine ceſſatione fundant, quo eorum ſeruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus. &c.

Pro remiſ. Note the blind ignoraunce and erroneous teachyng in thoſe dayes.

Hereby may it appeare, how and when the Churches of England, began firſt to be indued with temporalties and landes: alſo with priuilegies & exemptions enlarged. Moreouer (and that whiche ſpecially is to be conſidered & lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led: thus to ſet remiſſion of their ſinnes, and remedy of their ſoules, in this donation and ſuch other deedes of their deuotion, contrary to the information of Gods word, and no ſmall derogation to the croſſe of Chriſt.

These thynges thus done within the Realme, then the ſayd Ethelvvulfus ẏ kyng, takyng his iourney to Rome with Alured his youngeſt ſonne, committed him to the bryngyng vp of Pope Leo the iiij. Where he alſo reedified the Engliſh ſchole at Rome: whiche being founded by kyng Offa, or rather by Iue king of Merciãs (as in the Flowers of hiſt. is affirmed) was lately in the tyme of kyng Egbert his father, conſumed with fire. Farther and beſides, this kyng gaue and graunted there vnto Rome, of euery fire houſe a peny to be payed through his whole lãd, as kyng Iue in his dominion had done before. Alſo he gaue and graunted yearely to be payed to Rome. 300. markes, that is to the mainteinyng of the light of S. Peter. c. markes: to ẏ light of S. Paul. c. markes: to the vſe of the Pope alſo an other hundreth. This done, returnyng home through Fraunce, maried their Iudith the daughter of Carol⁹ Caluus, the Frẽch kyng: whom he reſtored afterward, contrary to the lawes of Weſtſaxons, to the title and throne of a Queene. For before, it was decreed among the Weſtſaxons (by the occaſion of wicked Ethelburga, who poyſoned Brigthricus her owne huſband) that after that, no Kyngs wife there ſhould haue the name or place of a Queene.

Peter pence through the whole realm graunted to Rome. Money beſtowed to burne day light.

And for ſomuch as I haue here entred into the mentiõ of Iudith, daughter of Carolus Caluus: the occaſion therof putteth me in memory, here to inſerte by the way a matter done: although not in this Realme, yet not impertinent to this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. And firſt to deduct the narratiõ hereof from the firſt originall. The father of this Carolus Caluus, whoſe name was Ludouicus, firſt of that name, called Pius kyng of Fraunce had two wiues: whereof by the firſt, he had iij. ſonnes, Lothary, Pepyn, and Lewes. Whiche iij. ſonnes vnnaturally and vnkyndly conſpiryng agaynſt their father, & his ſecond wife, with her ſonne, their yongeſt brother, perſecuted him ſo: that through a certaine counſell of Lordes ſpirituall and temporall: they depoſed the ſame their naturall and right godly father, diſpoſſeſſing and diſchargyng him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer cauſed him to renounce his temporall habite, incloſing him in the Monaſtery of Saint Marke, for a Monke or rather a priſoner. All whiche done, they deuided his Empire & kyngdome among themſelues.

Note here the holy & holeſome counſailes & doynges of the ſpirituall Lordes.

Thus was Ludouicus Pius, of impious ſonnes left deſolate. But the power of God, whiche worketh when all earthly power ceaſeth, of his diuine mercy ſo ayded and recouered him out of all this tribulation to his Imperiall dignitie agayne: that it was to all his enemyes confuſion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his ſecõd wife whoſe name was Iudith, he had this Charles the Bald here mẽtioned. Which Iudith was thought and ſo accuſed to the Pope, to be within ſuch degree of alliãce: that by the popes law, ſhe might not cõtinue his wife without the Popes diſpenſation. It ſo fell out in the meane tyme, that this Ludouicus the Emperour, had promoted a young man named Frederike to be Byſhop of Vtrike: and to hym had geuen ſadde and good exhortation, that he remembryng and followyng the conſtauncie of his predeceſſours, would maintaine right and truth without all exception of any perſon, and puniſh miſdoers with excommunication, as well the rich as the poore, with ſuch like wordes of godly counſaile. Frederike hearyng the kyng thus to ſay, ſittyng at dinner with him, as the maner was beyng newly inueſted, in theſe wordes aũſwered to the Emperour agayne. I thanke your maieſtie ſayth he, whiche with your ſo wholeſome exhortation putteth me in minde of my profeſſion. But I beſeech you of your benigne fauour and pacience, that I may freely diſcloſe, that which hath long encombred and pearced my conſciẽce. To whom leaue beyng geuen, thus he begã: I pray you (Lord Emperour) to ſhew me herein your mynde (poyntyng to the fiſh before him) whether is it more accordyng to attaine this fiſh here preſẽt, begynnyng firſt at the head or at the tayle. What a tale is this, quod the Emperour, of the taile, and of the head: At the head quoth he. The Frederike takyng therof his occaſion, proceedeth: Euen ſo let it be (Lord Emperour) ſayth he, as you haue ſayd. Let Chriſtian fayth and charitie firſt begyn with your ſelfe, as with the head admoniſhing you to ceaſe from your fact, and errour: that your ſubiectes by your example, be not boldned to follow your miſdoyng. Wherefore firſt forſake you, your vnlawful wedlocke which you haue made with Iudith your neare kinſwoman. Theſe wordes of the new Byſhop, although they moued Ludouic⁹ the Emperour not a litle: yet he, with a gentle modeſtie, and modeſt ſilence was contented, ſufferyng the biſhop to go home in peace. But the word beyng vttered in ſuch an audience could not ſo be concealed, but ſpread and braſt out in much talke in the whole Court: and eſpecially among the Byſhops, conſultyng earneſtly with them ſelues about the matter. Through whoſe counſaile and labour ſo at length it fell, that the Emperour was conſtrained to leaue the company of his wife, till he had purchaſed a licence of the Byſhop of Rome, to reteine her agayne: who thẽ forgaue the ſayd Byſhop all that was paſt. But the woman, hyred two Knightes that ſlew him in his veſtiments, when he had ended his Maſſe. Ranulphus, and Guliel. Libro de pontificib. geue forth this ſtory in his great commendation to dye a Martyr. Whereof, I haue not to iudge, nor here to pronoũce: but that rather I thinke him to be cõmended in his dying, then the woman for her killing.

Ludouicus, Pius. Emperour king of Fraũ.

Fridericke Byſhop of Vtrike.

Byſhop Frederike openly admoniſheth the Emperour at the table.

Note, there were ij. Iudithes one the mother of Carolus Caluus, the other his daughter, whom kyng Ethelwulfe dyd marry.

Fridericke Byſhop of Vtrike iudged of ſome a Martyr.

Example of the woman more ready to reuenge then the man.

And for aſmuch as mention hath bene made of Ludouicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in Fraunce then was vſed of Prieſtes and Churchmen, precious and ſhewyng veſture, and golden, and rich ſtaryng girdles, with rynges and other ornamentes of gold. Wherefore, the ſayd Lewes purchaſed of the Byſhop of Rome, a correction for all ſuch as vſed ſuch diſordinate apparell, cauſing them to weare browne and ſad coulours, accordyng to their ſadnes. Fab.

Of this Lewes the Papiſtes do fayne, that becauſe he conuerted certaine of their Church goodes and patrimonie to the wages of his ſouldiours, his body (they ſay) was caried out of his toumbe by deuils, and was no more ſeene.

Swithinus Byſhop of Wincheſter.

And thus a litle hauyng diſgreſſed out of our courſe, now let vs returne out of Fraunce into England agayn: kyng Ethelwulfus, who commyng from Rome by the cõtrey of Fraunce, was now returned agayne into his owne dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwulfus had ſpecially about him two Byſhops, whoſe counſaile he was moſt ruled by: Swythinus Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Adelſtanus Byſhop of Shyreborne. Of the which two, the one was more ſkilfull in temporall and ciuill affaires touchyng the kynges warres, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the kyng. The other (whiche was Swythinus) was of a contrary ſorte, wholy diſpoſed and inclined to ſpirituall meditation, and to miniſter ſpirituall cõſell to the kyng: who had bene ſcholemaiſter to the kyng before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this kynges nature, among his other vertues, not onely in folowyng the preceptes and aduertiſementes of his old ſcholemaiſter: But alſo in that he like a kinde ⁊ thankefull pupille did ſo reuerence his bringer vp, and old ſcholemaiſter (as he called him) that he ceaſed not, till he made him Byſhop of Wincheſter, by the conſecration of Celnoch then Archbiſhop of Cant. But as concernyng the miracles which are read in the Church of Wincheſter, of this Swithinus, them I leaue to be read together with the Iliades of Homere, or tales of Robenhode.

Example of a kynde ſcholer to his ſcholemaiſter.

Monkiſh miracles fayned of Swithinus.

Pope Leo. iij.
Stephen. iiij.
Paſchalis. i.
Eugenius. ij.
Valentinus. i.
Gregory. iiij.

This Gregory the iiij. here in this preſent Chapter aboue mentioned: was the third Pope which ſucceeded after Paſchalis the firſt, being but. 4. yeares betwixt them, which Paſchalis ſucceeded Stephen the. 4. who folowed after Leo the 3. next Pope vnto Hadrian aboue in our hiſtory mentioned where as we entreated of Charles the great. From the tyme of that Hadrian the firſt, vnto Pope Hadrian the. 3: the Emperours had ſome ſtroke in the election (at leſt in the confirmation) of the Romaine Pope. Notwithſtãdyng, diuers of theſe foreſayd Popes in the meane tyme: began to worke their practiſes to bring that purpoſe about. But yet, all their deuiſes could take no full effect, before the ſayd Hadrian the. iij. as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. So that the Emperours all this while bare ſome rule in chuſing the Popes, and in aſſemblyng generall Councels. Wherfore by the commaundemẽt of Ludouicus the Emperour, in the time of this Gregory the. iiij. a generall Synode was commẽced at Aquiſgraue, where it was decreed by the ſayd Gregory, and his aſſiſtaunce: firſt that euery Churche ſhould haue ſufficient of his owne proper landes and reuenewes, to finde yͤ Prieſtes therof: that none ſhould neede to lacke, or go about a beggyng. Itẽ, that none of yͤ Clergy of what order or degree ſo euer he be, ſhould vſe any veſture of any precious or ſcarlet colour. Neither ſhould weare rings on their fingers, vnleſſe it be whẽ Prelates be at Maſſe, or geue their conſecratiõs. Itẽ that prelates ſhould not keepe to great portes or families, nor keepe great horſe, vſe dyce, or harlots. And the monkes ſhould not exceede meaſure in glottony or riot. Item that none of the Clergy being either annoynted or ſhauẽ: ſhould vſe either gold or ſiluer in their ſhoes, ſlippers, or gyrdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be cõiectured, what pompe ⁊ pride in thoſe dayes was crept into the Clergy. Moreouer, by the ſayd pope Gregory the. 4. at the commaundement of Ludouicus Emperour the feaſt of all Saintes was firſt brought into the Church.

A generall Synode at Aquiſgraue.

Euery Churche to haue ſufficient to finde his own prieſtes.

Precious garmentes of ſcarlet or other rich colour forbidden men of the Clergy.

Great families not lawfull for men of the Clergy.

Ringes and gold in their ſhoes forbidden.

The feaſt of all Saintes firſt ordained.

After this Pope, came Sergius the ſecond whiche firſt brought in the alteryng of the Popes names, because he was named before, os porci, that is, ſwynes ſnowt: which alſo ordained the Agnus thriſe to be ſong at the Maſſe, and the hoſte to be deuided into three partes.

Pope Sergius. ij.

When the popes names begã firſt to be altered.

Agnus thriſe ſõg at the Maſſe.

The hoſte deuided in iij. partes.

After him, was Pope Leo the. iiij. to whom this kyng Ethelwulfus (as in this preſent chapter is aboue ſpecified) did commit the tuition of his ſonne Alured. By this Pope Leo, it came in, and was firſt enacted in a Councell of his, that no Byſhop ſhould be condemned vnder. 72. witneſſes, accordyng as ye ſee in the witneſſes, at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner, orderly practiſed.

Pope Leo. iiij.

No Byſhop by the Popes law to be condemned vnder 72. witneſſes.

Item contrary to the law of Gregory the. iiij. his predeceſſor: this Pope ordained the croſſe (all ſet with gold and precious ſtone) to be caryed before him, like a Pope.

The golde croſſe firſt borne before the Pope.

And here next now followeth ⁊ commeth in, the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permiſſion of God and manifeſtly without all tergiuerſation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not onely after the ſpirituall ſenſe, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in deede. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the Cardinals proceedyng to their ordinary election (after a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, to the perpetuall ſhame of them ⁊ of that ſea) in ſtede of a man Pope, elected an whore in deede to miniſter Sacramentes, to ſay Maſſes, to geue orders, to conſtitute Deacons, Prieſtes, and Byſhops, to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to conſecrate Churches and altares, to haue the raigne ⁊ rule of Emperours ⁊ Kynges: And ſo ſhe did in deede, called by name Ioan the. 8. This womans proper name was Gilberta (a Dutch woman of Magũce) who went with an Engliſh Monke out of the Abbey of Fulda in a mans apparell, vnto Athens. And after through her dexterity of witte and learning, was promoted to the Popedome: where ſhe ſat two yeares ⁊. 6. monethes. At laſt openly in the face of a generall proceſſion, fell in labour ⁊ trauaile of child, ⁊ ſo dyed. By reaſon wherof the Cardinals yet to this day do auoyde to come neare by that ſtreete, where this ſhame was taken. By Benedictus the. iij. who ſucceeded next in the whoryſh ſea, was firſt ordained (as moſt writers recorde) the Dirige to be ſayd for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregory the iij. had done in that matter, worthely for his part already.

A woman Pope called Ioan. viij.

The Church of Rome after their Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt may erre.

Pope Benedictus. iij. Dirige for the dead.

Pope Nicolas the firſt.

After him ſat Pope Nicolas the firſt, who enlarged the Popes decrees with many conſtitutions, equalling the authoritie of them, with the writyngs of the Apoſtles. He ordayned that no ſecular Prince, nor the Emperour himſelfe, ſhould be preſent at their Councels, vnleſſe in matters cõcernyng the fayth: to the end that ſuch as they iudged to be heretickes, they ſhould execute and murther. Alſo, that no lay men ſhould ſit in iudgement vpon the Clergy men, or reaſon vpon the Popes power. Item that no Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſhould haue any power vpon any Prelate, alledgyng that a Prelate is called God. Itẽ that all Church ſeruice ſhould be in Latin: yet notwithſtandyng, diſpenſing with the Sclauonians, ⁊ Polonians, to retaine ſtill their vulgar language. Sequences in the Maſſe were by him firſt alowed. By this Pope, Prieſtes began to be reſtrained and debarred from maryeng: whereof Huldericke Byſhop of Auſtebrugh (a learned, and an holy man) ſendyng a letter vnto the pope: grauely and learnedly refuteth ⁊ reclaymeth agaynſt his vndeſcrete proceedinges, touching that matter. The copy of which letter, as I thought it vnworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo I iudged it here worthy ⁊ meete for the better inſtruction of the Reader, to be inſerted. The wordes wherof here follow out of Latin into Engliſh tranſlated.

The Mariage of prieſtes begon to be forbidden.

A learned Epiſtle of Hulderike Biſhop of Auſbrough, ſent to Pope Nicholas the firſt, prouyng by probations ſubſtauntiall, that Prieſtes ought not to be reſtrayned from Mariage.

867.

A letter written to Pope Nicolas cõcernyng Prieſtes not to reſtrayne from Mariage.

Nicolao Domino & patri, peruigili ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ prouiſori, Huldericus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem vt filius, timoré vt ſeruus. Cum tua (O pater & Domine) decreta ſuper clericorũ continentiam. &c.

❡ The ſame in Engliſh.

Huldericke Byſhop onely by name, vnto the reuerend father Nicholas the vigilant prouiſor of the holy Churche of Rome: with due commendation ſendeth loue as a ſonne, and feare as a ſeruaunt. Vnderſtandyng reuerend father your decrees which you ſent to me concernyng the ſingle lyfe of the Clergy, to be farre diſcrepant from all diſcretion, I was troubled partly with feare, partly with heauyneſſe. With feare, (for that, as it is ſayd) the ſentence of the paſtor, whether it be iuſt or vniuſt, is to be feared.

For I was afrayd for the weake hearers of the Scripture (which ſcarſely obey the iuſt ſentẽce of their Paſtor) much more deſpiſing this vniuſt decreement, through the onerous and importable tranſgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhewe themſelues diſobedient. With heauynes I was troubled, and with cõpaſſion: for that I doubted how the members of the body ſhould do (their head beyng ſo greatly out of frame.) For what can be more greuous or more to be lamẽted, touchyng the ſtate of the Church: then for you, beyng the Byſhop of the principall ſeate, to whom appertaineth the regiment of the whole Church: to ſwarue neuer ſo litle, out of the right way: Certes in this you haue not a litle erred, in that you haue gone about to conſtrayne your Clergy to ſinglenes of life, through your imperious tyrãny: whom rather ye ought to ſtirre vp to the continency of mariage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny to the iudgement of all wiſe men: when a man is compelled by your decrees to do that whiche is agaynſt the inſtitution of the Goſpell, and the proceedyng of the holy Ghoſt? Seyng then there be ſo many holy examples, both of the old and new Teſtamẽt, teachyng vs (as you know) due information: I deſire your pacience not to thincke it greuous, for me to bryng a fewe here out of many.

Prieſtes Mariage in the old law permitted, in the new law not forbiddẽ.

Firſt in the old law, the Lord permitteth mariage vnto the Prieſtes, whiche afterward in the new law, we do not read to be reſtrained: but in the Goſpel thus he ſayth: There be ſome Eunuches whiche haue gelded them ſelues for the kyngdome of heauen, but all men do not take this worde: he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore the Apoſtle ſayth: concernyng virgins, I haue no commaundement of the Lord, but onely I geue counſell. Which counſell alſo all mē do not take, as in the commaundement of the Lord before, but many there be, falſe diſſemblers and flatterers, goyng about to pleaſe men and not God, whom we ſee vnder a falſe pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickedneſſe: Some to lye with their fathers wiues, ſome to be ſodomites, and not to abhorre to playe the beaſtes with brute beaſtes. And therſore leaſt through the infection of this wicked peſtilēce, the ſtate of the Church ſhould to much go to ruine: therfore he ſayd: becauſe of fornication, let euery man haue his own wife. Touchyng which ſayyng, our falſe hypocrites falſly do lye, and fayne: as though onely it pertayned to the laitie, and not to them. And yet they them ſelues ſeemyng to be ſet in the moſt holy order, are not afrayde to abuſe other mēs wiues: and as we ſee with (weepyng eyes) all they do outrage in the foreſayd wickednes.

The inconuenience of ſingle lyfe.

These men haue not rightly vnderſtanded the Scripture, whoſe breſtes while they ſucke ſo hard (in ſtede of milke) they ſucke out bloud. For the ſaying of the Apoſtle: let euery mā haue his owne wife: doth except none in very deede, but him onely which hath the gift of continencie, prefixyng with him ſelfe to keepe and to continue his virgine in the Lord. Wherefore (O reuerend father) it ſhalbe your part to cauſe & ouerſee, that who ſoeuer, either with hād or mouth, hath made a vow of continencie, and afterward would forſake: either ſhould be compelled to keepe his vow, or els by lawfull authoritie ſhould be depoſed from his order.

The ſaying of the Apoſtle, let euery one haue his owne wife.

And to bryng this to paſſe, ye ſhall not onely haue me, but alſo all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderſtand, that ſuch which know not what a vow doth meane: are not to be violently compelled thereunto: heare what the Apoſtle ſayth vnto Timothie. A Byſhop (ſayth he) muſt be irreprehenſible, the huſband of one wife. Which ſentence, leaſt ye ſhould turne and apply onely to the Churche, marke what he inferreth after: he that knoweth not (ſayth he) to rule his own houſhold and familie, how ſhould he rule the Church of God? And likewiſe the Deacons (ſayth he) let them be the huſbandes of one wife, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne houſe and children. And this wife, how ſhe is wont to be bleſt of the Prieſt, you vnderſtand ſufficiently: I ſuppoſe, by the decrees of holy Silueſter the Pope.

This decree is contrary to the Byſhops and Prelates in Queene Maries tyme.

To theſe and ſuch other holy ſentences of the Scripture, agreeth alſo, he that is the writer of the rule of the Clergy, writyng after this maner. A Clarke muſt be chaſte and continent, or els let hym be coupled in the bandes of matrimony, hauing one wife. Whereby it is to be gathered, that the Byſhop and Deacon, are noted infamous and reprehenſible, if they be deuided in mo women then one: otherwiſe, if they do forſake one, vnder the pretence of Religion: both they together, as well the Byſhop as the Deacon be here condemned by the Canonicall ſentence, which ſayth: let no Byſhop or Prieſt forſake his owne wife, vnder the coulour and pretence of Religion. If he do forſake her, let him be excommunicate. And if he ſo continue, let him be diſgraded. S. Auſten alſo, a man of diſcrete holynes, ſayth in theſe wordes: There is no offence ſo great or greuous, but it is to auoyde a greater euill.

Furthermore, we read in the ſecond booke of the Tripartite hiſtory: That when the Councell of Nice, goyng about to eſtabliſh the ſame decree, would enact that Byſhoppes, Prieſtes, and Deacons, after their conſecration, either ſhould abſtaine vtterly from their own wiues, or els ſhould be depoſed. Then Paphnutius (one of thoſe holy Martyrs, whom the Emperour Maximus had put out the right eye, & hockt their left legs) riſing vp amōgeſt them, withſtode their purpoſed decreement: confeſſing Mariage to be honorable, and callyng the bed of matrimony to be chaſtitie: & ſo perſwaded the Councell from makyng that law, declaryng therby what occaſion might come to them ſelues and their wyues of fornication. And thus much dyd Paphnutius (beyng vnmaryed him ſelfe) declare vnto them. And the whole Coūcell commendyng his ſentence, gaue place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulſion, to the will of euery man, to do therein as he thought.

Notwithſtandyng there be ſome, which take Saint Gregory for their defence in this matter: whoſe temeritie I laugh at, and ignoraunce I lament: for they know not, being ignoräuntly deceiued, how daungerouſly the decree of this hereſie was (being made of Saint Gregory) who afterward well reuoked the ſame, with condigne fruite of repētaunce.

For vpon a certaine day day as he ſent vnto his fiſh ponde to haue fiſhe, and did ſee more then ſixe thouſand infantes heades brought vnto him, which were takē out of the ſame ponde or mote: did greatly repent in hym ſelfe the decree made before, touchyng the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purgyng the ſame, with condigne fruite of repentaunce: altered agayne the thynges which he had decreed before, commendyng that counſell of the Apoſtle, whiche ſayth: It is better to marry then to burne. Addyng moreouer of hym ſelfe thereunto, and ſaying: it is better to marry, then to giue occaſion of death.

More then 6000 heades of infātes founde in the Popes mote through the wicked decree of the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes.

Let Prieſtes note well the ſaying of Gregory.

Peraduenture if theſe mē had read with me this, which ſo happened: I thinke they would not be ſo raſhe in their doyng and iudgyng, fearyng at leaſt the Lordes commaūdemēt: do not iudge, that ye be not iudged. And S. Paule ſayth: who art thou that iudgeſt an other mans ſeruaunt? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to his own maiſter: but he ſhall ſtād, for the Lord is mighty, and able to make him ſtand. Therefore let your holyneſſe ceaſe to compell and enforce thoſe, whom onely ye ought to admoniſhe: leaſt through your owne priuate commaundement (which God forbid) you be found contrary: as well to the old Teſtament, as to the new. For as S. Auſten ſayth to Donatus: this is onely that we do feare in your iuſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of Chriſtian lenitie, but for the greuouſnes and greatneſſe of tranſgreſsions committed) you be thought to vſe violence in executyng puniſhment of that whiche onely we do deſire you (by Chriſt) not to do. For tranſgreſſions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the lyfe of the tranſgreſſours may repent. Alſo an other ſaying of Auſten we woulde you to remember, which is this: Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. That is: Let nothyng be done through the greedynes of hurting, but all thyngs through the charitie of profityng: Neither let any thyng be done cruelly, nothyng vngently. Item of the ſame Auſten it is written: In the feare and name of Chriſt I exhorte you, which of you ſo euer haue not the goodes of this world, be not greedy to haue thē: Such as haue thē, preſume not to much vpon thē. For I ſay, to haue thē is no damnatiō, but if ye preſume vpon them, that is damnatiō: if for the hauyng of them ye ſhall ſeeme great in your owne ſight, or if ye do forget the common cōdition of man, through the excellencie of any thyng you haue. Vſe therefore therein due diſcretiō, tēpered with moderatiō, the which cup of diſcretion is drawen out of that foūtaine of the Apoſtolike preachyng which ſayth: art thou loſe frō thy wife? Do not ſeeke for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seeke not to be looſed frō her. Where alſo it followeth: ſuch as haue wiues, let them be as though they had them not: and they that vſe the world, let them be as not vſing it.

Note well the ſaying of Auſten.

Item concernyng the widow he ſayth: Let her marry to whom ſhe will, onely in the Lord. To marry in the Lord, is nothyng els but to attempt nothyng in contractyng of matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremy alſo ſaith: truſt not in the wordes of lyes, ſaying: the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which ſaying of Ieremy, Hierome expoundyng ſayth thus: this may agree alſo, and be applyed vnto ſuch virgins, which brag and vaunt their virginitie with an impudent face, pretēdyng chaſtitie, when they haue an other thing in their cōſciēce, and know not how the Apoſtle defineth the virgine, that ſhe ſhould be holy in body, and alſo in ſpirite. For what auayleth the chaſtitie of the body, if the mynde inwardly be deflowred? Or if it haue not the other vertues, which the propheticall Sermon doth deſcribe? The whiche vertues, for as much as we ſee partly to be in you, and becauſe we are not ignoraunt, that this diſcretion (although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your lyfe to be kept honeſtly of you:) do not diſpayre, but you will alſo ſoone amende the litle lacke which is behynd. And therfore with as much grauitie as we can, we ceaſe not to call vpon you, to correct and amende this your negligēce. For although, accordyng to our common callyng, a Byſhop is greater then a Prieſt, yet Auſtē beyng leſſe then Hierome (notwithſtādyng the good correction proceedyng frō the leſſer to the greater) was not to be refuſed or diſdayned, eſpecially when he which is corrected, is found to ſtriue agaynſt the truth, to pleaſe men.

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a virgine is by the definition of the Apoſtle.

For as S. Auſten ſayth, writyng to Boniface: the diſputations of all men, be they neuer ſo Catholicke or approued perſons: ought not to be had in ſteede of the Canonicall Scriptures. So that we may diſproue or refuſe (ſauyng the honor and reuerence whiche is due vnto them) any thyng that is in their writynges: if any thyng there be founde, contrary to truth: and what can be found more contrary to the truth then this? When as the truth hym ſelfe ſpeakyng of continēcy, not of one onely, but of allmē together, (the nūber onely excepted of them which haue profeſſed continēcie) ſayth: He that can take, let him take: the whiche ſaying, theſe men moued, I cannot tell by what occaſion, do turne and ſay: he that cannot take, let hym be accurſed. And what can be more fooliſh amongeſt men, then when any Byſhop or Archdeacon, runne them ſelues headlong into all kynde of luſt, to adultery and inceſt, and alſo Sodomitry: yet ſhame not to ſay, that the chaſt mariage of Prieſtes do ſtincke before them. And as voyde of all compaſſion of true righteouſnes, do not deſire or admoniſh their Clerkes, as their felow ſeruaūtes to abſtaine, but cōmaūde them: and enforce them as ſeruauntes, violently to abſtayne? Vnto the whiche imperious commaundement of theirs or counſell (whether you will, call it) they adde alſo this fooliſh and filthy ſuggeſtion, saying: that it is more honeſt, priuily to haue to do with many women, then apertly in the ſight and conſciēces of many men, to be bounde to one wife. The whiche truly they would not ſay, if they were either of hym, or in hym, which ſayth: wo to you Phariſeis, which do all thynges before mē. And by the Pſalmiſt: becauſe they pleaſe men, they are confounded: for the Lord hath deſpiſed them. Theſe be the men, who rather ought to perſwade vs, that we ſhould ſhame to ſinne priuely in the ſight of hym to whom all thynges be open, then to ſeeme in the ſight of men for to be cleane. Theſe men therfore, although through their ſinfull wickednes, deſerue no cōūſell of godlynes to be geuen thē: yet we not forgettyng our humanitie, ceaſe not to geue thē counſell by the authoritie of Gods word, which ſeeketh all mens ſaluatiō, deſiryng them by the bowels of charitie, and ſaying with the wordes of Scripture: Caſt out thou hypocrite firſt the beame out of thyne owne eye, and then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt out the mote of the eye of thy brother.

The abſurde ſaying and contrary turnyng of Paules ſayng.

Moreouer, this alſo we deſire them to attende what the Lord ſayth of the aduouterous woman: whiche of you that is without ſinne, let hym caſt the firſt ſtone agaynſt her. As though he would ſay: if Moſes byd you, I alſo byd you. But yet I require you that be the competent miniſters and executours of the law: Take heede what ye adde therunto, take heede alſo I pray you, what you are your ſelues: for if (as the Scripture ſayth) thou ſhalt well conſider thy ſelfe, thou wilt neuer defame or detract an other.

Moreouer, it is ſignified vnto vs alſo, that ſome there be of them, whiche (when they ought lyke good ſhepheardes to giue their liues for the Lordes flocke) yet are puffed vp with ſuch pride: that without all reaſon they preſume to rēt and teare the Lordes flocke with whippynges and beatings, whoſe vnreaſonable doynges Saint Gregory bewaylyng, thus ſayth: Quid fiat de ouibus, quando paſtores lupi fiunt? That is: what ſhall become of the ſheepe, when the paſtors them ſelues be Wolues? But who is ouercome, but he which exerciſeth the cruelty? Or who ſhall iudge the perſecutor, but he which gaue paciently his backe to ſtripes. And this is the fruite which commeth to the Church by ſuch perſecutors, alſo which commeth to the Clergy by ſuch deſpitefull handlyng of their Byſhops, or rather Infidels. For why may ye not call them infidels, of whom S. Paule thus ſpeaketh and writeth to Timothie: that in the latter dayes there ſhall certaine depart from the fayth, geue heede to ſpirites of errour and doctrine of deuilles, of them that ſpeake falſe through hypocriſie, and hauyng their cōſciēces marked with an hote yron, forbidding to marry, and commaundyng to abſtaine from meates. &c. And this is if it be well marked, the whole handfull of the darnell and cockel growing amōgeſt the corne: this is the couent of all madnes: that whiles they of the Clergy be compelled to relinquiſh the company of their owne lawfull wiues: they become afterward fornicators and adulterers with other women, and wicked miniſters of other ſinful filthines. Theſe be they which bring into the Church of God this hereſie (as blynd guides leadyng the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the Pſalme ſpeaketh of: as foreſeyng the errours of ſuch men, and accurſing them after this maner: let their eyes be blynded that they ſee not, and bow downe alwayes their backe. For as much then (O Apoſtolicall Syr) as no man which knoweth you is ignoraunt, that if you, through the light of your diſcretion had vnderſtāded and ſeene, what poyſoned peſtilēce might haue come into the Churche through the ſentence of this your decree: they would neuer haue conſented to the ſuggeſtions of certaine wicked perſons. Wherfore we cōūſell you by the fidelitie of our due ſubiection, that with all diligēce you would put away ſo great ſlaunder from the Church of God: and through your diſcrete diſcipline, you will remoue this Phariſaicall doctrine frō the flocke of God: ſo that this onely Sunanite of the Lordes (vſing no more adulterous huſ anbdes) do not ſeparate the holy people and the kyngly Prieſthode from her ſpouſe which is Chriſt, through an vnrecouerable diuorcement: ſeyng that no mā without chaſtitie (not onely in the virgines ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of matrimony) ſhall ſee our Lord: who with the father and the holy ghoſt lyueth and raigneth for euer. Amen.

Inuenitur hæc Epiſtola in vetuſtis membranaceis libris (teſtante Illyrico in Catalogo) Meminit eiuſdem Epiſtola Aeneas Syluius, in ſua peregrinatione, & Germania deſcriptione.

¶ By this Epiſtle of Byſhop Hulderické aboue prefixed, the matter is playne (gētle Reader) to conceiue what was then the ſentence of learned men, cōcernyng the mariage of miniſters: but that here by the way ẏ reader is to be admoniſhed that this Epiſtle, whiche by errour of the writer is referred to pope Nicolas the firſt, in my mynde is rather to be attributed to the name and tyme of Nicolas the 2. or 3.

After this Pope Nicolas ſucceded Hadrianus. ij. Ioannes ix. Martinus. ij. After theſe came Hadrian the third and Stephen the v. By this Hadrian it was firſt decreed, that no Emperour after that tyme ſhould intermedle or haue any thyng to do, in the election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperours firſt to decay, and Papacie to ſwell and riſe aloft. And thus much concernyng Romiſh matters for this tyme.

Pope Hadrian. ij.
John. 9.
Martine. ij.
Hadrian. iij.
Stephen. v.

Then to returne where we left, touchyng the ſtory of kyng Ethelwolfe. About the latter end of his reigne, the Danes, which before had inuaded the Realme, in the tyme of kyng Egbert, as is aboue declared: now made there reentre agayne, with 33. ſhyppes arriuyng about Hamſhyre: through the barbarous tyrannie of whom much bloudſhed and murther happened here among Engliſhmen, in Dorcetſhyre, about Portchmouth in Kent, in Eaſtangle, in Lindeſey, at Rocheſter, about London, and in Weſtſexe, where Ethelwolfe the kyng was ouercome: beſides diuers other vnder Kynges and Dukes, whom the Danes dayly approchyng, in great multitudes in diuers victories had put to flight. At legth, king Ethelwulfe, with his ſonne Ethelbaldus, warring againſt them in Southrey at Oclea, draue them to the Sea: where they houering a ſpace, after a while braſt in agayne with horrible rage and crueltie, as hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared ſo much as to our purpoſe ſhall ſerue: profeſſing in this hiſtory to write not of matters externe and politike, but onely pertainyng to the Church. The cauſe of this great affliction ſent of God vnto this Realme thus I found expreſſed and collected in a certaine old writtē ſtory, which hath no name: the wordes of whiche writer, for the ſame cauſe as he thought to recite thē, writyng as he ſayth (ad Cautelā futurorū) I thought alſo for the ſame here not to be omitted, albeit in all partes of his commēdation I do not fully with him accorde. The wordes of the writer be theſe.

Ex vetuſto exemplo hiſtoria Cariana. VV. C. 1.

In Anglorum quidem Eccleſia primitiua religio, clariſſimè reſplenduit: ita vt Reges & Reginæ, Principes ac Duces, Conſules, & Barones. &c. **In Engliſh thus.**

The cauſe of Gods wrath, wherby the Realme of England was ſcourged by the Danes.

In the primitiue Church ſayth he, of the Engliſhmen, Religion dyd moſt clearely ſhyne, in ſo much that Kynges, Queenes, Princes and Dukes, Conſuls, and Barons, and rulers of Churches incenſed with deſire of the kyngdome of heauen: laboryng and ſtriuyng among them ſelues, to enter into Monkery, into voluntarie exile and ſolitary lyfe: forſoke all, and folowed the Lord. Where in proceſſe of tyme, all vertue ſo much decayed among them, that in fraude and trechery none ſeemed lyke vnto them: Neither was to thē any thyng odious or hatefull but pietie and iuſtice: Neither any thyng in price and honor, but ciuill warre, and ſhedyng of innocent bloud. Wherfore almighty God ſent vpō them pagane and cruell nations lyke ſwarmes of bees, whiche neither ſpared wemen, nor children: as Danes, Norwagians, Gothes, Sueuians, Vandals, and Freſians. Who from the begynnyng of the reigne of kyng Ethelwolfe till the commyng of the Normandes, by the ſpace neare of 230. yeares, deſtroyed this ſinnefull land, from the one ſide of the Sea, to the other: from man alſo to beaſt: for why they inuading England oftymes of euery ſide, went not about to ſubdue and poſſeſſe it, but onely to ſpoyle and to deſtroy it. And if it had chaunced them at any tyme to be ouercome of Engliſhmen, it auayled nothyng, whē as other nauies ſtill with greater power, in other places were ready vpon a ſodeyne and vnwares to approche vpon them. &c. Hiſtoria Cariana.

An other cauſe rēdred, why England was ſcourged of the Danes.

Thus farre haue ye the wordes of myne author, declaryng the cauſe, whiche prouoked Gods anger: wherunto may be adioyned the wickedneſſe, not onely of them but of their forefathers alſo before them: who falſly breakyng the fayth & promiſe made with the Britaines, did cruelly murther their nobles: wickedly oppreſſed their commons: impicruſly perſecuted the innocent Chriſtians: iniuriouſly poſſeſſed their land and habitatiō: chaſing the inhabitauntes out of houſe and countrey: beſides the violent murther of the Monkes of Bangor, and diuers foule ſlaughters agaynſt the poore Britaines, who ſent for them to be their helpers. Wherfore, Gods iuſt recompence fallyng vpon them, from that tyme neuer ſuffered them to be quiet from forreine enemyes, till the commyng of William the Normand. &c.

The firſt entryng of the Danes.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi.

Moreouer concernyng the outward occaſions geuen of the Engliſhmens partes, mouing the Danes firſt to inuade the Realme, I finde in certaine ſtories two, moſt eſpecially aſſigned. The one iniuſtly geuen and iuſtly take. The other not geuen iuſtly, and vniuſtly taken. Of the whiche two, the firſt was geuen in Northumberland, by meanes of Oſbryght reignyng vnder kyng of Weaſtſaxons, in the North partes. This Oſbryght, vpon a tyme, iorneyng by the way, turned into the houſe of one of his nobles called Bruer. Who hauyng at home a wife of great beautie (he beyng abſent abroad) the kyng after his dinner, (allured with the excellencie of her beautie) tooke her to a ſecret chamber, where her forceably contrary to her will did rauiſhe her. Whereupon ſhe beyng greatly diſmayde, and vexed in her mynde, made her mone to her huſband returnyng, of this violence and iniury receiued. Bruer conſultyng with his frendes, firſt went to the kyng, reſignyng to his handes all ſuch ſeruice and poſſeſſions, which he did hold of him. That done tooke ſhippyng and ſayled into Denmarke, where he had great frendes: and had his bringyng vp before. There makyng his mone to Codrinus the kyng, deſired his ayde in reuengyng of the great vilany of Oſbryght agaynſt him & his wife. Codrinus hearyng this, and glad to haue ſome iuſt quarell to enter that land: leuied an army with all ſpeede: & preparyng all thynges neceſſary for the ſame, ſendeth forth Inguar, and Hubba two brethrē, his chief Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England. Who firſt arriuyng at Holderneſſe there brent vp the countrey, & killed without mercy both men, women and children, whom they could lay handes vpō. Then marchyng toward Yorke, entred their battaile, with the foreſayd Oſbryght, where he with the moſt part of his army was ſlayne. And ſo the Danes entred the poſſeſſion of the Citie of Yorke. Some other ſay (and is by the moſt part of ſtory writers recorded) that the chief cauſe of the commyng of Inguar and Hubba with the Danes, was to reuenge kyng Edmund reignyng vnder the Weaſtſaxons ouer the Eaſtangles in Northfolke and Southfolke: for the murderyng of a certaine Dane beyng father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falſely imputed to kyng Edmund. The ſtory is thus told.

Example, what miſchief cōmeth by adultery.

Codrinus kyng of Denmarke.

Inguar and Hubba captaines of the Danes.

An other cauſe of the commyng of the Danes.

A certaine noble man of the Danes, of the kings ſtocke, called Lothebrocus, father to Inguar and Hubba, entring vpon a tyme with his Hauke into a certaine ſchaffe or cockbote alone: by chaunce through tempeſt was driuen with his Hauke to the coaſt of Northfolke named Rodhā, where he beyng found and deteined was preſented vnto the kyng. The kyng vnderſtandyng his parētage, and ſeyng his caſe: entertained him in his Court accordingly. And euery day more and more perceauyng his actiuities, and great dexteritie in huntyng & haukyng, bare ſpeciall fauour vnto him. In ſo much that the kynges faulkner, or maiſter of game, bearyng priuye enuy agaynſt him, ſecretly as they were huntyng together in a woode, did murther him, & threw him in a buſh. Thus Lothebroke beyng murdered, within two or three dayes began to be miſſed in the kynges houſe: of whō no tydinges could be hard, but onely by a dogge or ſpaniell of his, which continuing in the woode with the corps of his maiſter, at ſondry tymes came and fawned vpon the kyng: ſo long that at length they folowyng the traſe of the hounde, were brought to the place where Lothebroke lay. Whereupon inquiſition made, at length by certaine circumſtaunces of wordes and other euidences, it was knowen how and by whom he was murthered, that was, by the kyngs huntſman named Berike. Who thereupon beyng conuicted, was ſet into the ſame bote of Lothebroke alone, and without any takelyng: to driue by Seas, either to be ſaued by the weather or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chaunced Lothbroke from Denmarke to be driuen to Northfolke, ſo it happened that from Northfolke he was caſt into Denmarke. Where the bote of Lothebroke beyng well knowen, handes were layd vpon him, and inquiſitiō made of the partie. In fine, in his tormentes, to ſaue him ſelfe, he vttered an vntruth of kyng Edmūd, ſaying: that the kyng had put him to death in the countrey of Northfolke. Whereupon grudge firſt was cōceiued, then an armey appointed, & a great multitude ſent into England, to reuenge that fact: where firſt they arriuyng in Northumberland, deſtroyed (as is ſayd) thoſe parties firſt. From thence ſayling into Northfolke they exerciſed the like tyranny there, vpon the inhabitauntes therof: eſpecially vpon the innocēt Prince, and bleſſed martyr of God, kyng Edmund. Cōcernyng the farther declaration wherof, hereafter ſhall folow (Chriſt our Lord, ſo permittyng) more to be ſpoken, as place & obſeruation of tyme and yeares, ſhall require.

Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba.

What miſerable enuy worketh.

Murther will out.

In the meane ſeaſon, kyng Ethelwulphe in this chapiter here preſently touched, whē he had chaſed the foreſayd Danes (as is aboue rehearſed) from place to place: cauſing thē to take the Sea, he in the meane while departeth hym ſelfe both from land and life: leauyng behynd him foure ſonnes, whiche reigned euery one in his order after the decraſe of their father. The names of whō, were Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Ethelredus, and Aluredus.

K. Ethelwulphe deceaſeth.

¶Kyng Ethelbalde.

KIng Ethelbald ẏ eldeſt ſonne of Ethelwulfe, ſucceedyng his father in the prouince of Weſtſaxe: & Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent: reigned both together ẏ terme of v. yeares, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald the firſt left this infamie behynd him in ſtories, for maryng and lying with his ſtepmother, wife to his owne father named Iudith. After theſe two ſucceeded Ethelred the iij. ſonne, who in his tyme was ſo encombred with the Danes, bruſtyng in on euery ſide: eſpecially about Yorke (which Citie they then ſpoyled and brent vp) that he in one yeare ſtode in ix. battailes agaynſt thē, with the helpe of Alured his brother. In the begynnyng of this kynges reigne, the Danes landed in Eaſt England, or Northfolke and Southfolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forſake that countrey, & ſo tooke agayne ſhyppyng, and ſayled Northward, and landed in Northumberland: where they were met of the Kynges then there reignyng, called Oſbright and Ella, which gaue to them a ſtrōg fight. But that notwithſtandyng, the Danes, with helpe of ſuch as inhabited the countrey: wanne the Citie of Yorke, and held it a certaine ſeaſon as is aboue foretouched.

An. 857.

Kyng Ethelbald. K. Ethelbright.

An. 867.

Kyng Ethelred. Yorke burned by the Danes.

In the reigne of this Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebellyng agaynſt the kyng, thought to recouer agayn the former ſtate of their kyngdome out of the Weſtſaxons hand: by reaſon of which diſcorde (as happeneth in all lādes where diſſention is) the ſtrength of the Engliſhe nation was thereby not a litle weakened, and the Danes the more thereby preuayled.

What diſcorde doth in a commō wealth.

An. 870.

About the latter tyme of the reigne of this Etheldred, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 870: certaine of the foreſayd Danes being thus poſſeſſed of the North coūtrey: after their cruell perſecution and murther done there, (as partly is touched before) tooke ſhippyng from thēce intendyng to ſayle toward the Eaſtangles: Who by the way, vpō the Sea met with a flote of Danes, wherof the Captaines or leaders were named Inguar, and Hubba. Who ioyning altogether in one counſaile, made all one courſe, & laſtly landed in Eaſt Englād or Northfolke, and in proceſſe of tyme came to Thetford. Therof hearyng Edmund, then vnder Kyng of that prouince: aſſembled an hoſt, that gaue to them battaile. But Edmund and his company was forced to forſake the field, and the kyng with a few perſons fled vnto the caſtle of Framynghā, whom the Danes purſued. But he in ſhort while after, yelded him ſelfe to the perſecution of the Danes: aunſweryng in this maner to the meſſenger, that told him in the name of Inguar Prince of the Danes: which moſt victoriouſly (ſayth he) was come with innumerable legions, ſubduyng both by Sea and land many natiōs vnto him: and ſo now arriued in thoſe partes, requireth him likewiſe to ſubmit him ſelfe, yeldyng to him his hid treaſures, and ſuch other goodes of his aunceters, and ſo to reigne vnder him. Which thing if he would not do, he ſhould (ſaid he) be iudged vnworthy both of life and reigne. Edmūd hearing this proude meſſage of the Pagane, conſulted with certaine of his frendes: And amongeſt other, with one of his Byſhops, beyng thē his Secretary, who ſeyng the preſent daunger of the Kyng, gaue him counſell to yeld to the conditions. Upon this the kyng pauſing a litle with hym ſelfe, at length rendred this aunſwere: Bidding the meſſenger go tell his Lord in theſe wordes: That Edmūd a Chriſtian Kyng for the loue of temporall lyfe, will not ſubmitte him ſelfe to a Pagane Duke, vnleſſe he before, would be a Chriſtian. Incontinent vpon the ſame, the wicked & crafty Dane approchyng in moſt haſty ſpede vpon the Kyng, encountred with him in battaile (as ſome ſay) at Thetford: where the kyng being put to the worſe, and pitieng the terrible ſlaughter of his men: thinkyng with him ſelfe rather to ſubmitte his owne perſon to daunger, then his people ſhould be ſlayne, did flye (as Fabian ſayth) to the caſtle of Framyngham: or (as my author writeth) to Haleſdon now

S. Edmūd kyng of Eaſtangles.

The meſſage of the Danes to K. Edmund.

The aunſwere of kyng Edmund.

The perſecution and death of S. Edmund king of the Eaſtangles.

Kyng Edmund Martyr.

called S. Edmundes bury, where this bleſſed man beyng on euery ſide compaſſed of his cruell enemies, yelded himſelf to their perſecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Chriſt and his lawes, they therfore moſt cruelly bounde him vnto a tree, and cauſed him to be ſhot to death: and laſtly cauſed his head to be ſmitten from the body, and caſt into the thicke of the buſhes. Whiche head and body at the ſame tyme was by his frendes taken vp, and ſolemnly buryed at the ſayd Haleſdon, otherwiſe now named S. Edmūdes bury. Whoſe brother named Edwoldus, notwithſtandyng of right, the kyngdome fell next vnto him: ſettyng a part the lykyng and pleaſure of the world, became an Hermite at the Abbey of Cerum in the countrey of Dorſet.

Redyng taken of the Danes.

Inguar & Hubba ſlayne.

Duke Ethelwold ſlayne.

After the Martyrdome of this bleſſed Edmund, when the cruell Danes had ſufficiently robbed and ſpoyled that countrey: they tooke agayne their ſhyppes, and landed in Southrey, and continued their iourney till they came to the towne of Redyng: & there wanne the towne with the caſtle. Where (as Cambrenſis ſayth) within three dayes of their thether commyng, the foreſayd Inguar and Hubba Captaines of the Danes, as they went in purchaſing of their prayes or booties: were ſlayne at a place called Englefelde. Which Princes of the Danes thus ſlayne, the reſt of them kept whole together, in ſuch wiſe that the Weſtſaxōs might take of them none aduauntage. But yet within fewe dayes after the Danes were holden ſo ſhort, that they were forced to iſſue out of the caſtle, and to defēd them in playne battaile. In the which, by the induſtry of Kyng Ethelred and of Alured his brother, the Danes were diſcomfited, & many of them ſlayne: which diſcomfort made them flye agayne into the caſtle, and there kept them for a certaine tyme. The Kyng then committyng the charge of them to Ethelwolde Duke of Baroke or Barkſhyre, ſo departed. But whē the Danes knew of the Kynges departure, they brake ſodenly out of their hold, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, and ſlew him, and much of his people. And ſo adioynyng them ſelues with other that were ſcattered in the countrey, embattelled them in ſuch wiſe, that of them was gathered a ſtrong hoſt.

Oſrike kyng of Denmarke landeth in Englād.

Ex Guliel. Malmeſberienſi.
Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi.
Ex Fabiano & alijs.

Inuocation and prayer profitable in tyme of battaile.

The Danes ouerthrowen at Aſhdone.

As the tydinges hereof was brought to Kyng Ethelred, (whiche put him in great heauynes) word alſo was brought the ſame tyme of the landyng of Oſrike, Kyng of Denmarke: who with aſſiſtence of the other Danes had gathered a great hoſt & were embattelled vpon Aſhdowne. To this battaile kyng Etheldred with his brother Alured forced by great neede, ſpedde them ſelues to withſtand the Danes. At which tyme, the kyng a litle ſtaying behynd beyng yet at his ſeruice, Alured which was comen before, had entred already into the whole fight with the Danes: who ſtrake together with huge violence. The king being required to make ſpeede (he being then at ſeruice, & meditations) ſuch was his deuotion: that he would not ſtyrre out one foote, before the ſeruice was fully complet. In this meane while, the Danes ſo fearſly inuaded Alured and his men, that they wanne the hill: and the Chriſten men were in the valley, and in great daunger to loſe the whole field. Neuertheleſſe through the grace of God, and their godly manhode, the kyng commyng from his ſeruice, with his freſh ſouldiours recouered the hill of the infidels: and ſo diſcomfited the Danes that day, that in fleyng away not onely they loſt the victory, but moſt part alſo of them their lyues. In ſo much that their Duke or Kyng Oſride or Oſege, and fiue of their Dukes, with much of their people were ſlayne, and the reſt chaſed vnto Redyng towne.

An other battaile fought with the Danes.

An other battaile fought with the Danes at Merton.

After this, the Danes yet reſembled their people, and gathered a new hoſt ſo that within xv. dayes, they mete at Baſingſtoke, and there gaue battaile vnto the kyng, & had the better. Then the Kyng agayne gathered his mē, which at that field were diſparkled, and with freſh ſouldiours to them accompanyed, mete the Danes within two monethes after at the towne of Merton, where he gaue to thē a ſharpe battaile: ſo that much people were ſlayne as well of the Chriſten, as of the Danes, but in the ende, the Danes had the honour of the field, & Kyng Etheldred there was wounded, and therfore fayne to ſaue him ſelfe.

After theſe ij. fieldes thus won by the Danes, they obtained great circuite of ground, and deſtroyed man and child, that would not yeld to them. And Churches & tēples they turned to the vſe of ſtables, and other vyle occupation.

What diſcord and rebellion doth in a realme.

The death of Ethelred.

The Abbey of Exeter founded.

Thus the kyng beſet with enemyes on euery ſide, ſeyng the land ſo miſerably oppreſſed of the Danes: his knightes and ſouldiours conſumed: his owne land of Weſtſaxons in ſuch deſolation: he being alſo wounded him ſelfe: But eſpecially for that he ſendyng his commiſſions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Eaſtanglia, could haue of them but ſmall or litle comfort (becauſe they through wicked rebellion, were more willyng to take the part of the Danes, then of their Kyng) was ſore perplexed therewithall, as the other Kynges were both before him and after him, at that tyme. So that, as Malmeſbery witneſſeth, magis optarent honeſtum exitium, quàm tam acerbum imperium. That is, They rather wiſhed honeſtly to dye, then with ſuch trouble & ſorow to reigne. And thus this Kyng not long after deceaſed, when he had reigned, as Fabian ſayth viij. yeares, as Malmeſbury writeth, but. v. yeares. Duryng which tyme of his reigne, notwithſtandyng his ſo great troubles & vexations in martiall affaires, (as is in ſome ſtories mentioned) he founded the houſe or college of Chanons at Exeter, and was buryed at the Abbey of Winborne or Woborne. After whoſe deceaſe, for lacke of iſſue of his body, the rule of the land fell vnto his brother Alured.

¶Kyng Alured otherwiſe called Alfrede.

872.

Alured kyng of England.

Ex Rog. Houedeno.
H. Huntingt.
Polychron.
Fabiano.

Burhered beyng expulſed his kingdome went to Rome & there dyed in the Engliſh houſe.

Rollo a Dane firſt Duke of Normandy.

AMong the Saxon Kynges hetherto in this hiſtory aboue mentioned: I finde few or none to be preferred (or almoſt to be cōpared) to this Alured, or Alfrede for the great and ſingulare qualities in this Kyng worthy of high renowne and commendation. Whether we behold in him the valiaunt actes, and manifold trauailes whiche he continually from tyme to tyme ſuſtained agaynſt his enemyes in warres duryng almoſt all the tyme of his reigne, for the publike preſeruation of his people: Or whether we conſider in him, his godly and excellēt vertues, ioyned with a publike and tender care, and zelous ſtudy for the common peace and tranquilitie of the weale publike: appearyng as well in his prudent lawes by him both carefully ſet forth, & with the like care executed, as alſo by his owne priuate exerciſes touchyng the vertuous inſtitution of his lyfe. Or whether we reſpect that in him, which with equall prayſe matcheth with both the other before: That is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a feruent loue and Princely deſire to ſet forth the ſame through all his Realme (before his time beyng both rude and barbarous.) All whiche his heroicall properties, ioyned together in one Prince, as it is a thyng moſt rare, and ſeldome ſeene in Princes now a dayes: ſo I thought the ſame the more to be noted and exemplifide in this good kyng. Thereby either to moue other rulers and Princes in theſe our dayes, to his imitation: or els to ſhew them what hath bene in tymes paſt, in their aunceters, which ought to be, & yet is not found in them. Wherfore of theſe three partes to diſcourſe (either part in order) firſt we will enter to entreate of his actes and paynfull trauayles ſuſtayned in defence of the Realme publicke, agaynſt the ragyng tyranny of the Danes, as they be deſcribed in the Latin hiſtories of Rog. Houeden, and Huntington: whō Fabian alſo ſeemeth in this part ſomewhat to follow. Kyng Alfred therfore, firſt of all the Engliſh Kynges takyng his crowne and vnction at Rome of Pope Leo (as Malmeſberienſis and Polycronicon do record) in the begynnyng of his raigne, perceauyng his Lordes and people much waſted & decayed, by the reaſon of the great warres of Ethelred, had agaynſt the Danes: yet as well as he could, gathered a ſtrength of men vnto him, and in the ſecond moneth that he was made King, he met with the Danes beſide Wylton, where he gaue to them battaile. But beyng farre ouermatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worſſe: although not without a great ſlaughter of the Pagane army. Whiche army then of the Danes, after that victory, by cōpaction made with Kyng Alfrede, to depart out of his dominion of Weſtſaxe: remoued from Readyng to London, where they abode all that winter. Where Halden their Kyng, takyng truſe with Burhered, Kyng of Mercians, the next yeare followyng voyded thoſe partes, and drew to Lyndeſey: in robbyng and ſpoylyng the townes and villages as they went, and holdyng the cōmon people vnder their ſeruage. From thenceafter to Reppyngdon: where they ioynyng with the three other Kynges of the Danes (called Surdrim, Oſketel, and Hamond) grewe thereby in mighty force & ſtrength. Who then diuidyng their army in two partes, the one halfe remained with Halden in the countrey of Northumberland: the reſidue were with the other three Kynges, winteryng and ſoiournyng all the next yeare at Grantbrige, which was the iiij. yeare of kyng Alfred. In the which yeare King Alfred his men had a cōflict on the Sea, with vj. of the Danes ſhyps, of which one they tooke, the other fled away. In this yeare went Rollo the Dane into Normandy, where he was Duke. 30. yeare, and afterward was Baptiſed in the fayth of Chriſt, & named Robert. The foreſayd army of the three Dane Kynges aboue mentioned from Grantebrydge, returned agayne to Weſtſaxonie, & entred the Caſtle of Warham: where Kyng Alfrede with a ſufficiēt power of men, was ready to aſſault them. But the Danes ſeyng his ſtrength durſt not attēpt with him, but ſought delayes, while more ayde might come. In the meane ſeaſon they were conſtrayned to entreate for truce: leauing alſo ſufficient pledges in the Kings hand, promiſing moreouer vpon their othe, to voyde the countrey of the Weſtſaxons. The Kyng vpon this ſurety let them go. But they falſly breakyng their league, priuely in the night brake out, takyng their iourney toward Exceter. In which iourney they loſt vj. ſcore of their ſmall ſhyps, by a tempeſt at Sādwich (as Henry Hūtyngton in his ſtory recordeth.) Then Kyng Alfrede followed after the horſemen of the Danes, but could not ouertake them, before they came to Exceter: where he tooke of them pledges and fayre promiſes of peace, and ſo returned. Notwithſtandyng, the nūber of the Paganes dyd dayly more & more increaſe: in ſo much (as one of my authors ſayth) that if in one day. 30. thouſād of them were ſlayne, ſhortly after they increaſed double as many agayne. After this truce taken with Kyng Alfrede, the Danes then voyded to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kyngdome they kept themſelues, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: vpon condition that he ſhould be vaſſall to them, and at their commaundement, with his people at all tymes.

879.

Kyng Alfrede flyeth into a deſert woode.

Ethelyng which is to ſay the Ile of nobles.

The next yeare inſuyng, which was the vij. yeare of the raigne of Alfred, the Danes, who now hauyng all the rule of the Northpart of England, from the riuer of Tames, with Mercia, London, and Eſſex: diſdayned that Alfrede ſhould beare any dominiō on the other ſide of Tames ſouthward. Whereupon the foreſayd three Kynges with all the force and ſtrength they could make, marched toward Chippenham in Weſtſexe, with ſuch a multitude, that the Kyng with his people was not able to reſiſt thē. In ſomuch that the people whiche inhabited there, ſome fled ouer the Sea, ſome remayned with the Kyng, diuers ſubmitted themſelues to yͤ Danes. Thus Kyng Alfrede beyng ouerſet with multitude of enemyes, and forſaken of his people, hauyng neither land to hold, nor hope to recouer that whiche he had loſt: withdrew himſelfe with a few of his nobles about him, into a certaine wood countrey in Somerſetſhyre, called Ethelyng: where he had right ſcant to liue with, but ſuch as he & his people might purchaſe by hūtyng and fiſhyng. This Edelyng or Ethelyng or Ethelyngſey, ſtandeth in a great Mareſſe or Moore, ſo that there is no acceſſe vnto it, without ſhyp or bote: and hath in it a great wood called Selewood, and in the midle a litle playne, about of two acres of ground. In which Ile is veneſon, and other wyld beaſtes, with foule, and fiſhes, great plenty. In this wood, Kyng Alured at his firſt commyng, eſpyed a certaine deſert cotage of a poore Swynard, keepyng ſwyne in the wood, named Dunwolphus: of whom the King then vnknowen was entertayned and cheriſhed with ſuch poore fare as he and hys wife could make hym. For the which, Kyng Alfrede afterward, ſet the poore Swynhard to learnyng, and made hym Byſhop of Wincheſter.

A Swineheard made Byſhop of Wincheſter.

In the meane ſeaſon, while King Alfrede accompanied with a few, was thus in the deſert wood, waytyng the euēt of theſe miſeries: certaine ſtoryes recorde of a poore beggar, which there came and aſked his almes of the Kyng. And the night folowyng he appeared to the Kyng in hys ſleepe: ſaying his name was Cutbert, promiſing (as ſent frō God, vnto him for his good charitie) great victories agaynſt the Danes. But to let theſe dreamyng fables paſſe, although they be teſtified by diuers authors, both Wilielmus Lib. de Reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Houeden, Iornalenſis, and other moe. Notwithſtandyng the Kyng in proces of tyme, was ſtrengthened and comforted more, though the prouidence of God: reſpectyng the miſerable ruine of the Engliſhmē. Firſt the brother of Kyng Haldene the Dane before mentioned, commyng in with. xxiij. ſhyps, landed about Deuonſhyre: where by chaunce being reſiſted by a buſhment of King Alfredes men (who for their ſafegard there lay in garyſon) were ſlayne to the number of. 1300. men, and their enſigne called the Rauen was taken. Houedenus in his booke of Continuations writeth, that in the ſame cōflict both Inguar and Hubba were ſlayne amōg the other Danes. After this, Kyng Alfrede beyng better cheared, ſhewed him ſelfe more at large: ſo that dayly reſorted to him, men of Wiltſhyre, Somerſetſhyre, and Hamſhyre, till that he was ſtrongly accompanyed.

Henr. Hunting. lib. 5 de Hiſtor. Angl.

Inguar and Hubba ſlayne.

A bold aduēture or attēpt of kyng Alfrede, ventryng himſelfe into the tentes of the Danes.

Then the Kyng put himſelfe in a bold and daungerous venture (as writeth Wilelmus Lib. de Reg. Polychron. and Fabian which followeth them both) for he apparellyng him in the habite of a Minſtrell (as he was very ſkilfull in all Saxon Poemes) with his inſtrument of Muſike, entred in the tentes of the Danes, lying then at Eddendune: and in ſhewyng there his interlude and ſonges eſpyed all their ſloth and idlenes, and heard much of their counſell. And after returnyng to his company, declared vnto them the whole maner of the Danes. Shortly vpon the ſame, the Kyng ſodainly in the night fell vpon the foreſayd Danes, & diſtreſſed and ſlew of them a great multitude, & chaſed them from that coaſt. In ſo much that through his ſtrong & valiaunt aſſaultes vpon his enemies out of his tower of Edelyng newly fortified: he ſo encōbered them, that he clearely voyded the countrey of them, betwene that and Selwoodes. His ſubiectes eftſones, hearyng of theſe his valiaunt victories, and manfull dedes, drew to him dayly out of all coaſtes. Who through the helpe of God, and their aſſiſtence, held the Danes ſo ſhort, that he wanne from them Wincheſter, and diuers other good townes. Briefly, at legth he forced them to ſeeke for peace: the which was concluded vpon certaine couenauntes. Whereof one and the principall was, that the forenamed Gutrum their Kyng ſhould be Chriſtened. The other was, that ſuch as would not be Chriſtened, ſhould depart and voyde the countrey.

Ex Fabiano.

Gutrum the Prince of the Danes was Chriſtened.

Upon theſe couenaūtes, firſt the ſayd Gutrum the Daniſh Prince cōmyng to Wincheſter, there was Chriſtened with. xx. of his greateſt Dukes or Nobles. To the whiche Gutrum Kyng Alured beyng his Godfather at hys Baptiſme, named him Athelſtane. Who after a certaine ſeaſon that he had feaſted the ſayd Danes: he accordyng to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto their Kyng the countrey of Eaſtanglia, conteinyng Northfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridſhyre. Moreouer (as ſaith Polychon.) he graūted to the Danes that were Chriſtened, the countrey of Northumberland. So the reſidue that would not be Chriſtened, departed the land, and ſayled into Fraunce: where, what vexation and harme they wrought, the Chronicles of Fraunce do partly comprehend.

Kyng Gutrum named Athelſtane.

Norfolke and Suffolke geuen to kyng Gutrū.

Kyng Athelſtane thus hauyng the poſſeſſion of theſe countreys, had all Eaſtangles vnder his obedience. And albeit that he held the ſayd prouince as in fee of the Kyng, and promiſed to dwell there as his liege man: yet that notwithſtandyng, he continued more like a tyraunt, by the terme of xi. yeare: and dyed in the. xij. yeare. Duryng the which ſpace, Kyng Alfrede hauyng ſome more reſt and peace, repaired certaine townes and ſtrong holdes afore by the Danes empayred. Alſo builded diuers houſes of Religiō, as the houſe of Nunnes at Shafteſbury. An other Religious houſe at Ethelyng he founded. Item an other in Wincheſter, named the new Monaſtery. Item, he endewed richly the Churche of S. Cutbert in Dyrham. He ſent alſo to India, to pay and performe his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made duryng the tyme of his diſtreſſe agaynſt the Danes.

The Nunrie of Shafteſbury builded.

The Monaſtery of Ethelyng.

The new minſter at Wincheſter builded.

Rocheſter beſieged of the Danes.

About the. xv. yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes returnyng from Fraunce to England, landed in Kent, and ſo came to Rocheſter, and beſieged that Citie: and there lay ſo long, that they builded a Tower of tymber agaynſt the gates of the Citie. But by ſtrength of the Citizens, that tower was deſtroyed, and the Citie defended till Kyng Alfrede came and reſcued them. Whereby the Danes were ſo diſtreſſed, and ſo neare trapped: that for feare, they left their horſes behynd them, and fled to their ſhyps by night. But the Kyng, when he was therof ware: ſent after them and tooke. xvi. of their ſhyppes, & ſlew many of the ſayd Danes. This done, the Kyng returned to London, & repayred the ſame honorably (as ſayth Houedenus) & made it habitable, which before was ſore decayed and febled by the Danes.

An. 891.

The third yeare after this, which was the. xix. yeare of the reigne of kyng Alfred: the foreſayd Athelſtane the Daniſh Kyng in Northfolke (which by Alfred was Chriſtened before) deceaſed. Not lōg after this, about the. xxi. yeare of this Kynges reigne, the Danes agayne landed in foure places of this land: whiche was, in Eaſtengland: in the North: and in the Weaſt, in two places. Before the landyng of theſe Danes, it chaunced Kyng Alfred, hearyng of the death of Kyng Athelſtane, and of other complaintes of the Danes, was then in Eaſtengland, when theſe tidynges came to him.

When Kyng Alfrede was hereof aſcertained: for ſomuch as ſome of the Danes were landed in that coaſt, thinkyng with themſelues th: further they went in thoſe parties, the leſſe reſiſtence to haue, & the more ſpede, as they were wont to haue before: Alfrede therfore ſendyng meſſengers in all haſt to Etheldred Duke of Mercia, to aſſemble to hym an hoſt, to withſtand the Danes whiche landed in the Weſt: made forth toward hys enemyes there where he was in Eaſtanglia, whom he purſued ſo ſharpely, that he droue them out from thoſe parties. They then landed in Kent, whether the Kyng with his people ſped him, and in lyke maner draue the Danes from thence, without any great fight, ſo farre as in our authors we can ſee. After this, a-

The Danes driuen from Norfolke.

gayne

The Danes returne agayne to Norfolke.

gayne the Danes tooke ſhippyng, and ſayled into Northwales, and there robbed and ſpoyled the Britones, & from thence returned by the Sea into Eaſtanglia, with an hundreth ſhippes, and there reſted them, for ſo much the kyng then was gone weſtward.

The Danes driuen out of Cheſter.

The Danes driuen frō Lewes.

The fourth hoſt of the Danes, the ſame yeare came to Cheſter, which at length they won: but then, the countrey adioynyng preſſed ſo ſore vpon them, and beſieged them ſo long, keepyng them ſelues within the Citie, that at the laſt the Danes weryed with the long ſiege, were compelled to eate their owne horſes for hunger. But by appointment, at laſt they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, which was about the xxiij. yeare of kyng Alfrede: whiche Alfrede in the meane while with his hoſt ſped him thetherward. Thē the Danes, leauyng their ſtrong holdes and Caſtles garniſhed with men and vitaile: tooke agayne ſhippyng, and ſet their courſe in ſuch wiſe that they landed in Suſſex, & ſo came to the porte of Lewes: and from thence toward London, and builded a Tower or Caſtle neare vnto the Riuer of Ley. xx. mile frō London. But the Londiners hearyng therof, manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who with the aſſiſtēce of them of that countrey, put the Danes from that Tower: and after brake it downe to the groūd. Soone after the kyng came downe thether. And to preuent the daungers that might enſue, commaunded the riuer of Luye to be deuided in iij. ſtreames: ſo that where a ſhyp might ſayle in tymes before, then a litle boate might ſcantly row. Frō thence the Danes, leauyng their ſhyppes & wiues: were forced to flye that countrey, and tooke their way agayne toward Wales, and came to Quadruge neare to the Riuer of Seuerne. Whereupon the borders therof, they builded then a Caſtle, their reſtyng themſelues for a tyme: whom the kyng eftſoones with his armey purſued. In the meane tyme, the Londiners at Luye takyng the Danes ſhyppes: ſome of them they brought to London, the reſt they fired. Duryng all theſe three yeares, from the firſt commyng of the Danes to Luye, England was afflicted with three maner of ſorrowes: with the Danes: with peſtilence of men, and morreine of beaſtes. The which troubles notwithſtandyng, yet the kyng manfully reſiſted the malice of his enemyes, and thanked God alway, what trouble ſoeuer fell to him, or vnto his Realme: and ſuſteined it with great paciēce and humilitie. Theſe three yeares ouerpaſt, the next yeare followyng, which was the xxviij. of the reigne of Alfrede: the Danes deuided their hoſte: of whom part went to Northumberland, ſome to Northfolke, part ſayled ouer to Fraunce, ſome other came to Weaſtſaxe. Where they had diuers conflictes with the Engliſhmen, both by land and eſpecially vpon the Sea: of whom ſome were ſlayne: many by ſhypwracke periſhed: diuers were taken and hanged, and xxx. of their ſhyppes were taken.

The ryuer of Luy deuided in three.

Three plagues in England.

An. 897.

The Danes ſhyps taken.

An. 899.

Not long after this, kyng Alfred, when he had reigned xxix. yeares, and vj. monethes: chaunged this mortall lyfe. And thus much (and more peraduenture, then will ſeeme to this our Eccleſiaſticall ſtory apperteinyng) touchyng the paynfull labours and trauailes of this good kyng: which he no leſſe valiauntly achiued, then paciently ſuſteined: for the neceſſary defence of his Realme and ſubiectes.

The vertues and godly life of king Alfrede deſcribed

The inclinatiō of nature corrected in king Alfrede.

Now if there be any Prince, who liſteth to ſee and folow the vertuous and godly diſpoſition of this kyng: both touchyng the inſtitutiō of his owne life and alſo concernyng his carefull gouernement of the cōmō weale: thus the hiſtories of him do recorde. That what tyme he beyng young, perceaued himſelfe ſomewhat diſpoſed to the vice of the fleſh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purpoſes: did not as many young Princes, and Kynges ſonnes in the world be now wont to do: that is to reſolue themſelues into all kinde of carnall licence, and diſſolute ſenſualitie, running and folowyng without bridle, whether ſoeuer their licence geuen doth leade them (as therefore not without cauſe the common prouerbe reporteth of them) that kynges ſonnes learne nothyng well els, but onely to ryde. Meanyng therby, that Princes and Kynges ſonnes hauyng about them flatterers, whiche bolſter them in their faultes: onely their horſes geue to them no more, then to any other: but if they ſit not faſt, they will caſt them. But this young kyng ſeyng in him ſelfe the inclination of his fleſhly nature, myndyng not to geue him ſelfe ſo much as he might take, but rather by reſiſtence to auoyde the tentation therof: beſought God, that he would ſend to him ſome continuall ſickenes, in quenchyng of that vice: whereby he might be more profitable to the publike buſines of the common wealth, and more apt to ſerue God in his callyng. Ceſtrenſ. Lib. 5. cap. 7. Fab. cap. 17.

The godly petition of king Alfrede.

Modwenna

Then at Gods ordinaunce, he had the euill called Ficus, till he came to the age of xx. yeares, wherof at lēgth he was cured (as is ſayd in ſome ſtories) by the virgin called Modwen, an Iriſhwoman. After this ſickenes beyng taken away, to him fell an other: whiche continued with him from the xx. yeares of his age, to xlv. (accordyng to his owne petition & requeſt made vnto God) whereby, he was the more reclaimed and attempered from other more great incōueniences, & leſſe diſpoſed to that which he did moſt abhorre.

King Alured how he deuided his goods in ij. partes.

Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 1. Guliel. Lib de regibus.

The liberall hart of king Alfrede.

Moreouer to behold the bountiful goodnes ioyned with like prudence in this man: in the orderyng and diſpoſing his riches and rentes, it is not vnworthy to be recited. How he deuided his goodes in two equall partes: the one apperteynyng to vſes ſecular, the other to vſes ſpirituall or Eccleſiaſticall. Of the which two principall partes, the firſt he deuided into three portions: the firſt to the behofe of his houſe and familie, the ſecond vpon his workemen and builders of his new workes, wherof he had great delight and cunnyng: the third vpon ſtraungers. Likewiſe the other ſecond halfe, vpon ſpirituall vſes, he did thus diuide in foure portions: One to the releuyng of the poore: An other to monaſteries: The iij. portion to the ſchooles of Oxford, for the maynteynyng of good letters: The iiij. he ſent to forreine Churches, without the Realme. This alſo is left in ſtories written to his commendation, for his great tolerance and ſufferaunce: that when he had builded the new Monaſtery at Wincheſter, and afterward his ſonne Edward had purchaſed of the Byſhop and the Chapter a ſufficient peece of grounde for certaine offices to be adioyned vnto the ſame, and had geuen for euery foote of ground, mancā auri pleni ponderis (which was as I thinke a marke of golde) or more: yet Alfrede therewithall was not greatly diſcontented to ſee his coffers ſo waſted.

How well & godly thys king ſpent hys tyme.

Ouer and beſides, how ſparyng and frugall he was of tyme (as of a thyng in this earth moſt precious) and how farre from all vayne paſtimes and idlenes he was: this doth well declare, whiche in the ſtory of William de Reg. and other writers is told of him. That he ſo deuided the day and night in three partes, if he were not let by warres, or other great buſines: that eight houres he ſpent in ſtudy and learnyng: and other eight houres he ſpent in prayer and almes deedes: and other eight houres he ſpent in his naturall reſt, ſuſtenaunce of his body, and the needes of the Realme. The which order he kept duely by the burnyng of waxen tapers kept in his cloſet by certaine perſons for the ſame purpoſe. Guliel.

The godly lawes of king Alfrede.

A notable example of theftery and felony baniſhed thys Realme.

How ſtudious he was & carefull of the cōmō wealth and maintenaunce of publike tranquilitie: his lawes moſt godly ſet forth and diuiſed by him may declare. Wherein eſpecially by him was prouided, for the extirpyng and aboliſhing all theft and theeues out of the Realme. Whereby, the Realme through his vigilant care, was brought into ſuch tranquilitie or rather perfection, that in euery croſſe or turnyng way, he made be ſet vp a golden brouch at leaſt of ſiluer gilded, through his dominiōs: and none ſo hardy neither by day nor night to take it downe: for the more credit wherof, the wordes of the Latin ſtory be theſe: Armillas aureas iuberet ſuſpendi, quæ viantium auiditatē irritarent, dum nō eſſent, qui eas abriperent, &c. Guliel. Lib. de Regibus Angl. And no great maruell therein, if the Realme in thoſe dayes was brought in ſuch an order, and that iuſtice then was ſo well miniſtred, when the kyng him ſelfe was ſo vigilant in ouerſeyng the doynges of his iudges and officers. Wherof thus alſo we read in ẏ ſayd author teſtified: Iudiciorū a ſuis hominibus factorum, inquiſitor, perperam actorum aſperrimus corrector. i. he was (ſayth mine author ſpeaking of the kyng) a vigilant inquiſitor of the doyngs of his iudges and a ſtrict puniſher of their miſdoynges. Iornalenſis alſo writyng vpon the ſame, thus ſayth: Facta miniſtrorum ſuorum, & potiſſimè iudicum diligenter inueſtigauit, adeo vt quos ex auaritia aut imperitia errare cognoſceret, ab officio remouebat, that is, he did diligently ſearche out the doynges of his officers, and eſpecially of his iudges: ſo that if he knew any of them to erre either through couetouſnes, or vnſkilfulnes: them he remoued from their office.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſ.

King Alfrede commended for learning.

When learnyng firſt began to be ſet vp in England.

And thus much concernyng the valiaunt actes, and noble vertues of this worthy Prince: whereunto although there were no other ornaments adioynyng beſides: yet ſufficient were they alone to ſet forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Now beſides theſe other qualities and giftes of Gods grace in him, aboue mētioned: remaineth an other part of his no litle prayſe and commendation, whiche is his learnyng and knowledge of good letters: wherof he not onely was excellently expert him ſelfe, but alſo a worthy mainteiner of the ſame through all his dominiōs: where before, no vſe of Grammer or other ſciences was practiſed in this Realme, eſpecially about the Weſtpartes of the lād: there through the induſtrie of this kyng, ſchooles began to

Cheſter a place of learnyng.

The vniuerſitie of Grauntcheſter by Cambridge.

The vniuerſitie of Paris firſt begã by iiij. Rabanus, Alcuinus, Claudius, Ioan. Scotus.

Sigebert K. of Eaſtãgles a ſetter vp of ſchooles.

Two auncient ſchooles in Englãd, one for Greeke, the other for latine.

be erected, and ſtudies to floriſh. Although amõg the Britaines in the towne of Cheſter in Southwales long before that, in kyng Arthurs tyme, as Galfridus writeth: both Grammer, and Philoſophy with other tounges was then taught. After that ſome writers record, that in the tyme of Egbert kyng of Kent, this Iland began to floriſhe with Philoſophie. About which tyme ſome alſo thinke: that the Vniuerſitie of Graſtecheſter, neare to that whiche now is called Cambrige, began to be founded, by Bede: followyng this coniecture therin, for that Alcuinus (before mẽtioned) which after went to Rome, and from thence to Fraunce, in the tyme of Charles the great, where he firſt began the Vniuerſitie of Paris: was firſt traded vp in the exerciſe of ſtudies, at the ſame ſchoole of Graſtecheſter. Beda Lib.iii. cap.18, writyng alſo of Sigebert kyng of Eaſtangles, declareth how the ſayd Sigebert returnyng out of Fraunce into England (accordyng to the examples which he did there ſee) ordered and diſpoſed ſchooles of learnyng, through the meanes of Felix then Byſhop: and placed in them maſters and teachers, after the vſe and maner of the Cantuarites. And yet before theſe tymes, moreouer is thought to be two ſchooles or vniuerſities within the realme: the one Greke, at the towne of Greglade, whiche after was called Kyrkelade: The other for Latine, which place was thẽ called Latinelade: afterward Letthelade neare to Oxford.

But howſoeuer it chaũced that the knowledge and ſtudy of good letters beyng once planted in this Realme afterward went to decay: yet kyng Alfrede deſerueth no litle prayſe, for reſtoryng or rather increaſing the ſame. After whoſe tyme they haue euer ſince continued, albeit not continually through euery age in like perfection. But this we may ſee, what it is to haue a Prince learned him ſelfe, who feelyng and taſtyng the price and value of ſcience and knowledge, is therby not onely the more apt to rule, but alſo to inſtruct and frame his ſubiectes, from a rude barbaritie, to a more ciuile congruencie of life, and to a better vnderſtãdyng of thynges: as we ſee in this famous Prince to happen. Cõcernyng whoſe firſt education & bryngyng vp, although it was ſomewhat late before he entred any letter: yet ſuch was the apt towardnes and docilitie of his nature, that beyng a child, he had the Saxon Poemes (ſuch as were vſed then in his owne toung) by hart & memory. Who afterward with yeares and tyme grew vp in ſuch perfectiõ of learning and knowledge, in ſo much that, as mine author ſayth, Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligẽdo acutior, vel in interpretando elegantior. The whiche thyng in him the more was to be marueiled, for that he was xij. yeares of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, careful and tender ouer him, hauyng by chaũce a booke in her hãd, which he would fayne haue: promiſed to geue him the ſame, ſo that he would learne it. Wherupon he for greedines of the booke, eftſoones learned the letters, hauyng to his ſcholemaſter Pleimundus, after Byſhop of Canterbury. And ſo dayly grew more and more in knowledge, that at length, as myne author ſayth, Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium ciuium vſibus conuertens. That is. A great part of the Latin Librarye he tranſlated into Engliſh, conuertyng to the vſes of his Citizens, a noble pray of forein ware and marchaũdiſe. &c. Of whiche bookes by him and through him tranſlated, was Oroſius: Paſtorale Gregorij. The hiſtory of Bede: Boëtius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ. Alſo a booke of his owne makyng & in his owne toung, which in the Engliſh ſpeech he called a hãdbooke, in Greeke called it Enchiridion, in Latine a Manuell. Beſides the hiſtory of Bede tranſlated into the Saxons toũg, he alſo himſelfe compiled a ſtory in the ſame ſpeech, called the ſtory of Alfrede. &c. whiche both bookes in the Saxons toung I haue ſeene, though the language I do not vnderſtãd. And as he was learned himſelfe excellently well, ſo likewiſe did he inflame all his countreymen to the loue of liberall letters, as the wordes of the ſtory reporteth, Illos præmijs, hos iniurijs hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aſpirare permittens. That is. He exhorted and ſtyrred his people to the ſtudy of learning, ſome with giftes, ſome by iniuries, ſuffering no man to aſpire to any dignitie in the Court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other ſtory thus ſayth, ſpeakyng of his nobles: Optimates quoq; ſuos ad literaturam addiſcendam in tantum prouocauit, vt ipſi filios ſuos, vel ſaltem ſi filios non haberent, ſeruos ſuos literis commendarent. That is. Alſo his nobles ſo much he did allure to the embracyng of good letters, that they ſet all their ſonnes to ſchoole: or if they had no ſonnes, yet their ſeruauntes they cauſed to be learned. Whereby the common prouerbe may be founde not ſo common as true. Such as is the Prince, ſuch be the ſubiectes. &c. He began moreouer to trãſlate the Pſalter in Engliſh, and had almoſt finiſhed the ſame had not death preuented him. Guliel. de Regib. Angl. In the Prologue of the booke intituled Paſtorale Grego. thus he writeth: declaryng ẏ cauſe why he was ſo earneſt and diligent in tranſlatyng good bookes from Latine into Engliſh, ſhewyng the cauſe thereof, why he ſo did, as foloweth: Quòd Eccleſiæ in quibus innumeræ priſcæ bibliothecæ continebãtur, cum libris a Danis incenſæ ſint: quódq; in tota inſula ſtudium literarum ita abolitum eſſet vt quiſq; minus timeret capitis periculũ, quàm ſtudiorũ exercitia adire. Quapropter ſe in hoc Anglis ſuis conſulere. &c. That is. The cauſe was, for that innumerable auncient Libraries which were kept in Churches, were conſumed with fire by the Danes: And that men had rather ſuffer perill of their lyfe, then to follow the exerciſe of ſtudyes: And therfore he thought thereby to prouide before for the people of the Engliſh nation. &c.

Ex hiſtoria Guliel. de Regibus Ang.

Pleimõdus teacher to K. Alfred, & after byſhop of Caunterb.

Bookes trãſlated out of Latine by K. Alfrede.

None permitted to haue any dignitie in the court, except he were learned. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 1.

The Pſalter tranſlated into Engliſhe by kyng Alfrede.

The cauſe why the K. turned latine bookes into Engliſhe.

It is told of him both in Polychron. Malmeſb. Iornalenſis, and other ſtories mo, wherof I haue no names: that he ſeyng his countrey (namely weſtward) to be ſo deſolate of ſcholes and learnyng, partly to profite himſelfe, partly to furniſhe his countrey & ſubiectes with better knowledge, firſt ſent for Grimboldus a learned Monke out of Fraũce to come into England. Alſo ſent for an other learned man out from the partes of Wales, whoſe name was Aſſerion, whom he made Biſhop of Shyreborne. Item out of Mercia, he ſent for Werefrithus, Byſhop of Wiceter: to whom he put the Dialogues of Gregory to be tranſlated. But chiefly he vſed the counſell of Neotus, who then was counted for an holyman, and Abbot of a certaine Monaſtery in Cornwalle. By the aduiſement of which Neotus, he ſent for theſe learned mẽ about recited: and alſo ordained certaine ſcholes of diuerſe artes, firſt at Oxford, and alſo fraunchiſed the ſame with many great liberties, Guliel. Iornalenſ. Fabia. cap. 171. Wherof perhappes the ſchole, now called the New Colledge (firſt then begon of this Neotus) might take his name: whiche (afterward peraduenture) the Byſhops of Wincheſter after a larger maner did reedifie, & inlarge with greater poſſeſſions.

Learned men ſent for, and placed about the K.

The dialoges of Gregory tranſlated.

Neotus an Abbot.

The ſchooles & vniuerſitie of Oxford firſt begon by K. Alfrede.

The new colledge in Oxford.

Moreouer, amõg other learned men which were about kyng Alfrede: hiſtoryes make mention of Iohannes Scotus (a godly Diuine, and a learned Philoſopher) but not that Scotus, which now we call Duns. For that Iohannes Scotus came after this, many yeares. This Iohannes is deſcribed to be a ſharpe wyt, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greeke toung: pleaſaunt and mery of nature and cõditions, as appeareth by diuers his doynges and aũſweres. Firſt he commyng to Fraunce out of his owne countrey of Scotland, by reaſon of the great tumultes of warre, was there worthely intertayned: & for his learnyng had in great eſtimation of Carolus Caluus the French kyng, whom he commonly and familiarly vſed euer to haue about him, both at table, and in chamber. Vpon a tyme the kyng ſittyng at meate, & ſeyng ſomethyng (belike) in this Iohn Scot, which ſeemed not very courtly: caſt forth a mery word, aſkyng of him, what difference there was betwixt a Scot, and a Sot? Whereunto the Scot ſittyng ouer agaynſt the kyng, ſomewhat lower, replyed agayne ſodainly, rather then aduiſedly (yet merely) ſaying: Menſa tantum, that is, the table onely: importyng therby himſelfe to be the Scot, and ſo calling the kyng a Sot by craft. Which word how other princes would haue taken to ſtomake, I know not: but this Charles, for the great reuerence he bare to his learnyng, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, and ſo let it paſſe.

Ioan. Scotus.

The aunſwere of Ioannes Scotus to the French kyng.

In other tyme, the ſame kyng being at dinner, was ſerued with a certaine diſhe of fiſh: wherein, were two great fiſhes and a litle one. After the kyng had taken thereof his repaſt, ſetteth downe to Iohannes Scotus the foreſayd fiſh, to diſtribute vnto the other ij. Clarkes ſittyng there with him: which were two tall and mighty perſons, he himſelfe beyng but a litle mã. Iohannes taketh the fiſh, of the which the two great he taketh and carueth to himſelfe: the litle fiſh he reacheth to the other two. The kyng perceauing this his diuiſion thus made, reprehended the ſame. Then Iohannes, whoſe maner was euer to finde out ſome honeſt matter to delite the king, aunſwered to him agayne, prouing his diuiſion to ſtand iuſt and equall. For here (ſayth he) be two great, and a litle, poyntyng to the two great fiſhes and himſelfe: And likewiſe here agayne is a litle one and two great, pointing to the litle fiſh, and two great perſons. I pray you (ſayth he) what oddes is there, or what diſtribution can be more equall? Whereat the kyng with his nobles, beyng much delighted, laughed merely.

At the requeſt of this Charles ſurnamed Bawld, the Frenche kyng, this Scotus tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius, intituled De Hierarchia, frõ Greeke into Latin, word

Ioan. Scotus tranſlated *Hierarchiam Dionyſij* frõ greeke to latine.

for worde, quo ſit (as my author ſayth) vt vix intelligatur Latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quàm poſitione conſtruitur Latina. He wrote alſo a booke De corpore & ſanguine Domini, which was afterward condemned by the Pope In Concilio Vercellenſi.

The booke of Ioannes Scotus called περὶ φυσικῶν.

The ſame Iohannes Scotus moreouer compiled a booke of his owne, geuyng it a Greeke title, περὶ φυσικῶν διαμερισμῶν, that is, De naturæ diuiſione. In whiche booke (as ſayth my foreſayd author) is cõtained the reſolution of many profitable queſtions (but ſo) that he is thought to follow the Greeke Church, rather then the Latine, and for the ſame was coũted of ſome to be an hereticke: becauſe in that booke ſome thynges there be, whiche in all pointes accorde not with the Romiſh Religion. Wherefore the Pope, wrytyng to the ſayd kyng Charles of this Scotus, complayneth, as in his owne wordes here followeth:

Ioannes Scotus addicted more to the Greeke church then the Latine.

Relatum eſt Apoſtolatui noſtro, quòd opus Dionyſij Areopagitæ quod de diuinis nominibus, & de cæleſtibus ordinibus Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper tranſtulit in Latinum. Quod, iuxta morem Eccleſiæ, nobis mitti, & noſtro iudicio debuit approbari: præſertim quum idem Ioannes (licèt multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicetur) olim non ſane ſapere in quibuſdam frequenti rumore dicatur. &c. That is: Relation hath been made vnto our Apoſtleſhyp, that a certaine man called Iohannes a Scottiſh man, hath tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius the Areopagite: of the names of God, and of the heauenly orders, from Greeke into Latin. Whiche booke, accordyng to the cuſtome of the Church, ought firſt to haue been ſent to vs, and to haue bene approued by our iudgement: namely ſeyng the ſayd Iohn (albeit he be ſayd to be a man of great learnyng and ſcience) in tyme paſt hath bene noted by common rumor, to haue bene a man, not of vpright or ſound doctrine, in certaine pointes. &c. For this cauſe the ſaid Scotus, beyng conſtrayned to remoue from Fraunce, came into England, allured (as ſome teſtifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfrede, of whom he was with great fauour enterteyned, and conuerſaunt a great ſpace about the kyng: till at length (whether before or after the death of the kyng it is vncertaine) he went to Malmeſbery, where he taught certaine ſcholers a few yeares, by the whiche ſcholers at laſt moſt impiouſly he was murthered and ſlayne with their penkniues, and ſo dyed, as ſtories ſay, a Martyr, buryed at the ſayd monaſtery of Malmeſbury with this Epitaphe.

Ioan. Scotus accuſed of the pope for an heretike.

Ioan. Scotus ſlayne by his owne ſcholers.

Ioan. Scotus a Martyr.

Clauditur in tumulo ſanctus ſophiſta Ioannes
Qui ditatus erat iam viuens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti conſcendere regnum
Qui meruit, regnans ſecli per ſecula cuncta.

Kyng Alfrede hauyng theſe helpes of learned men about him, & no leſſe learned alſo himſelfe, paſt ouer his time, not onely to great vtilitie and profite of his ſubiectes, but alſo to a rare & profitable example of other Chriſten kynges and Princes, for them to follow. This foreſaid Alfrede had by his wife called Ethelwitha, two ſonnes: Edward and Ethelward, and three daughters: Elſlena, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri. That is. Whom he ſet all to their bookes and ſtudy of liberall Artes: as my ſtory teſtifieth. Firſt Edward his eldeſt ſonne ſucceeded hym in the kyngdome. The ſecond ſonne Ethelward dyed before his father. Ethelgora hys middle daughter was made a Nunne. The other ij. were maried, the one in Marceland, the other to the earle of Flaunders. Thus Kyng Alfrede the valiaunt, vertuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Chriſtianly gouerned the realme the terme of. xxix. yeares & .vi. monethes, departed this life. v.Kal. Nouemb. and lyeth buried at Winchester. An. Dom. 901. Of whom this I finde moreouer greatly noted & commended in hiſtory, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example therof. touchyng this Alfrede: that wherſoeuer he was, or whether ſoeuer he went, he bare alwayes about him, in his boſome or pocket, a litle booke containyng the Pſalmes of Dauid, & certaine other Oraſons of his owne collectyng. Wherupon he was continually readyng or prayng when ſoeuer he was otherwiſe vacant, hauyng leyſure therunto. Finally what were the vertues of this famous kyng, this litle table here vnder writtẽ, which is left in auncient wrytyng, in the remembraunce of his worthy and memorable life: doth ſufficiently, in few lynes containe.

This Ethelwitha builded firſt the houſe of Nũnes at Wincheſter.

The children of kyng Alfrede.

All his daughters learned.

The deceaſe of kyng Alfred.

An. 901.

¶ *In Regem Alfredum, & virtutum illius claram memoriam.*

FAmoſus, Bellicoſus, Victorioſus: Viduarum, pupillorũ, & orphanorum pauperũq; prouiſor ſtudioſus, Poetarũ Saxonicorum peritiſſimus: Suæ genti Chariſſimus: Affabilis omnibus: Liberaliſſimus: Prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, Iuſtitia præditus: in infirmitate, qua continuè laborabat pacientiſſimus: In exequendis iudicijs indagator diſcretiſſimus: In ſeruicio Dei vigilãtiſſimus & deuotiſſimus: Anglosaxonum Rex Alfredus, pijſſimi Ethelulfi filius. 29. annis ſexq; menſibus regni ſui peractis mortem obijt. Indict. 4. Quinto Kalend. Nouemb. feria quarta: & Wintoniæ in nouo monaſterio ſepultus immortalitatis ſtolam, & reſurrectionis gloriam cum iuſtis expectat. &c.

Moreouer in the hiſtory of Henricus Huntingtonenſis theſe verſes I finde written in the commendation of the ſame Alfrede: made (as I ſuppoſe & as by his wordes appeareth) by the ſayd author, wherof I thought not to defraude the reader: the wordes wherof here follow.

¶ *Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.*

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitaſq; laborem.
Perpetuumq; labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia ſemper erant, Spes ſemper mixta timori.
Si modò victor eras, ad craſtina bella paucbas:
Si modò victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore iugi, cui ſica cruore,
Tincta iugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt.
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in aduerſis nil reſpirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finiſſe dolores.
Iam poſt tranſactos vitæ regniq; labores,
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumq; perenne.

In the ſtory of this Alfred, a litle aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus ſcholemaſter to the ſayd Alfrede, and alſo Byſhop of Caunterbury, ſucceding Etheredus, there Byſhop before him. Which Pleimũdus gouerned that ſea, the number of. xxxiiij. yeares. After Pleimundus ſucceeded Athelmus, and ſat. xij. yeares. After him came Wlfelmus xiij. yeares. Then followed Odo a Dane borne, in the ſayd ſea of Cãterbury, and gouerned the ſame. xx. yeares, being in great fauour with kyng Athelſtane, kyng Edmund, and Edwine, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt willyng) as place and order doth require, ſhall more at large be expreſſed.

Etheredus, Pleimũdus, Athelmus, Wlfelmus, Odo. Archb. of Caunterbury.

As touchyng the courſe and proceedynges of the Romiſh Byſhops there: where I laſt entered mentiõ of them (pag. 140.) I ended with Pope Stephen the 5. After his tyme was much broyle, in the election of the Byſhops of Rome: one contendyng agaynſt an other: in ſomuch that within the ſpace of ix. yeares, were ix. Byſhops. Of the which, firſt was Formoſus, who ſucceeded next vnto the forenamed Stephen v. being made pope agaynſt the mynde of certaine in Rome: that would rather Sergius then deacon of the Church of Rome, to haue bene Pope. Notwithſtandyng, Mers and money preuailed on Formoſus parte. This Formoſus, of whom partly alſo is mẽtioned in other places, of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, beyng before Byſhop of Portuake: had in tyme paſt (I know not vpon what cauſes) offended pope Iohn the viij, of that name. By reaſon wherof for feare of the Pope, he voyded away, and left his Byſhopricke. And becauſe he beyng ſent for agayne by the Pope, would not returne: therfore was excommunicated. At length commyng into Fraunce, to make there hys ſatiſfaction vnto the Pope, was degraded from a Byſhop into a ſecular mans habite, ſwearyng to the Pope that he would no more reenter into the Citie of Rome, nor clayme his Byſhopricke agayne: ſubſcribyng moreouer with hys owne hand to continue from that tyme in the ſtate of a ſecular perſon. But then, Pope Martin (the next Pope after Iohn) releaſed the ſayd Formoſus of his othe, and reſtored him agayne vnto his Byſhopricke. Whereby Formoſus entred not onely into Rome agayne, but alſo obtayned ſhortly after the papacie. Thus he beyng placed in the popedome, aroſe a great doubt or cõtrouerſie amõg the diuines, of his conſecratiõ, whether it was lawfull or not: ſome holdyng agaynſt him, that for ſomuch as he was ſolẽnly depoſed, degraded, vnpriested, and alſo ſworne not to reiterate the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical: therfore he ought to be taken no otherwiſe, then for a ſecular man. Other alledged agayne, that what ſoeuer Formoſus was, yet for the dignitie of that order, and for the credite of them, whom he ordered: all his cõſecrations ought to ſtand in force, eſpecially, ſeyng the ſayd Formoſus was afterward receiued and abſolued by Pope Martine, from that his periurie and degradatiõ. &c. In the meane tyme (as witneſſeth Sigebertus) this Formoſus

9. Popes in ix. yeares at Rome.

Formoſus firſt Pope.

Ex Chronico. Sigeberti.

Schiſmes among the Popes.

ſen=

ſendeth for kyng Arnulphus for ayde agaynſt his aduerſaries. who then marchyng toward Rome, was there reſiſted by the Romanes from entryng. But in the ſiege (ſayth the author) the Romanes within ſo playde the Lions, that a poore hare (or ſuch a like thyng) commyng toward the Citie: the hoſte of Arnulphus folowed after with ſuch a maine cry, that the valiaunt Romanes vpon the walles for very feare, (where there was no hurt) caſt themſelues deſperatly ouer the walles: ſo that Arnulphus with litle labour ſcaled the walles, and gat the Citie. Thus Arnulphus obteinyng the Citie of Rome, reſcueth Pope Formoſus, & beheadeth his aduerſaries, whom the Pope, to gratifie with like recompence agayne, bleſſeth and crowneth him for emperour. Thus Formoſus ſittyng faſt about the ſpace of 4. or 5. yeares, folowed his predeceſſours: after whoſe tyme (as I ſayd) within the ſpace of ix. yeares were ix. Biſhops as foloweth. But in the meane tyme concernyng the ſtory of this Formoſus declared by Sigebert, and many other Chroniclers: this thyng would I gladly aſke, & more gladly learne of ſome indifferent good Catholike perſon, which not of obſtinacie, but of ſimple errour beyng a papiſt would aunſwere his conſcience. Whether doth he thinke the holy order of Prieſthode, whiche he taketh for one of the vij. Sacramentes, to be Character indelebilis or not? If it be not indelebilis, that is, if it be ſuch a thing, as may be put of: why then doth the Popes doctrine ſo call and ſo hold the contrary, pretendyng it to be indelebile, vnremouable? If it be in deede, ſo as they teache and affirme, indelebilis character, why then did Pope Iohn, or could Pope Iohn, adnichilat & euacuat one of his ſeuen Popeholy Sacramentes: makyng of a Prieſt a non Prieſt, or a layman: vncharacteryng his owne order, whiche is (as he ſayth) a character, which in no wiſe may be blotted out, or remoued? Agayne how ſoeuer Pope Iohn is to be iudged in this matter, to do either well or not wel, this would I know, if he did wel in ſo diſprieſtyng and diſcharactering Formoſus, for ſuch priuate offences? If yea, how then ſtandeth his doing with his owne doctrine, which teacheth the contrary? If he dyd not well, how then ſtandeth his doctrine with his doynges to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Sinode of Cardinals can not erre? Moreouer if this Pope Iohn did not erre in his diſorderyng Formoſus: how then dyd Martinus his ſucceſſour not erre, in repealing the ſayd doyng of his predeceſſour? Or how did not Pope Formoſus erre himſelfe, who beyng vnprieſted by Pope Iohn: afterward without reiteratyng the character or order of Prieſthode, tooke vpon him to be Pope, and made actes & lawes in the Churche? Agayne, if Formoſus now Pope did not erre, how then did Pope Stephen his ſucceſſour afterward not erre: who did adnichilate the conſecration, and all other actes of the ſaid Formoſus, as erroneous? Or agayne if we ſay that this Stephen with his Sinode of Cardinals dyd right: then how could it be, that Pope Theodore, & Pope Iohn the x. which came after the foreſayd Stephen, did not plainly erre. who approuyng the conſecration of Formoſus: did condemne, & burne the actes Sinodale, of Stephen and his Cardinals, which before had condẽned Formoſus: accordyng as in ſtory here conſequently may appeare.

Character indelebilis.

Whether the Pope with his Cardinals may erre.

After Formoſus had gouerned the ſea of Rome fiue yeres, ſucceded firſt Bonifacius the vj. who continued but 25. dayes: then came Stephen the vj. whiche ſo enuied the name of his predeceſſor Formoſus: that he abrogated and diſſolued his decrees: And takyng vp his body, after it was buried, cut two fingers of his right hand, and commaunded them to be caſt into Tiber, and then buried the body in a priuate or laymans ſepulchre.

Bonifacius 6. Pope.
Stephen. 6. Pope.
Ex chroni. Martini pœnitentiarij. Sigebert. Ex polich. et alijs.

This Stephen after he had ſat in the chaire of peſtilẽce one yeare: ſucceded in the ſame chaire, Pope Rhomanus, and ſate 3. monthes: repealing the actes decreed by Stephen his predeceſſor, againſt Formoſus. Next to whome came Theodorus 2. who likewiſe takyng parte with Formoſus againſt the foreſayd Stephẽ, reigned but 20. daies. Then ſate Pope Iohn the 10. who did fight and repugne againſt the Romanes. And to confirme the cauſe of Formoſus more ſurely did hold a ſinode at Rauenna of 74. biſhops, with the Frenche king Endo and his Archbiſhops beyng preſent at the ſame. At the which councell, were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formoſus: and the contrary actes of the ſinode of Stephen the vi. were burned. This Pope liued not Pope fully two yeares: after whom ſucceded Benedictus the 4. which kept the chaire three yeares. After whom Leo the 5. was next Pope, who within xl. dayes of his papacie, was with ſtrong hand taken and caſt in priſon by one Chriſtopher his owne houſehold chaplaine, whõ he had long nouriſhed before in his houſe. Which thyng (ſayth Platina) could not be done without great conſpiracie and great ſlaughter of men. Which Chriſtofer beyng Pope about the ſpace of ſeuen monthes, was likewiſe himſelfe hoiſted from his papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to his maiſter before. And thus within the ſpace of 9. yeares, had bene 9. Popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thruſt downe Pope Chriſtofer, and ſhorne him monke into a monaſtery, occupied the roume 7. yeares. This Sergius a rude man, and vnlearned, very proude and cruell: had before bene put backe from the popedome by Formoſus aboue mẽtioned. By reaſon wherof, to reuẽge Formoſus agayne beyng now in his papacie, cauſed the body of Formoſus, where it was buried to be takẽ vp: and afterwarde ſet in the papall ſea (as in his pontificalibus) firſt diſgraded him, then commaunded his head to be ſmitten of, with the other three fingers that were left (as Sigebertus writeth) which done, he made his bodye to be throwen into Tiber, depoſing likewiſe all ſuch, as by the ſaid Formoſus before had bene conſecrated and inueſted. This body of Formoſus thus throwne into Tiber, was afterward (as our writers ſay) found and taken vp by certaine fiſhers, and ſo brought into S. Peters temple. At the preſence wherof (as they ſay) certaine images there ſtanding by, bowed down themſelues, and reuerenced the ſame, with lye and all. But ſuch deceiuable miracles of ſtockes and Images in monkiſh and frierly temples, be to vs no newes, eſpecially here in England: where we haue bene ſo inured with the lyke, and ſo many, that ſuch wily practiſes cannot be to vs inuiſible: though this crowneſhorne generation, thynke themſelues to daunce in a net. But the truth is, while they thinke to deceaue the ſimple, theſe wily beguily moſt of all deceiue themſelues, as they wil finde except they repent. By this Pope Sergius, firſt came vp to beare about cãdels on Cãdlemas day: for ẏ purifieng of the bleſſed virgin. As though the ſacred conceptiõ of Ieſus the ſonne of God, were to be purified as a thing vnpure, & that with candell light.

Pope Theodorus. 2.
Pope Iohn. 10.
One councell burneth an others decrees.

Pope Benedictus. 4.
Pope Leo 5. impriſoned and vnpoped by his owne chaplayne.

Pope Chriſtoferus. 1.

Pope Sergius. 3

Pope Formoſus after his death beheaded of Pope Sergius.

A falſe fayned myracle vpõ the body of Formoſus.

Popiſhe myracles not to be credited.

Bearing of candels on Candlemas day how it came vp.

After Sergius, entred pope Anaſtaſius, in whoſe time the body of Formoſus forenamed, is thought to be found of fiſhermen in the riuer of Tiber, & ſo brought, as is ſaid, into the temple to be ſaluted of the images, which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought that the body of Formoſus ſo long dead before, and now lying 7. yeares in the ryuer: could remayne whole all that while, that fiſhers might take it vp, and diſcern it to be the ſame? After Anaſtaſius had ſate two yeres, folowed Pope Lando, the father (as ſome ſtories thinke) of pope Iohn, which folowed after. This Lando reigned vj. monthes. After him ſucceded his ſonne and baſtard, Pope Iohn the xj. Whiche Iohn is ſayde to be the paramour of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, and ſet vp of the ſame harlot either againſt Lando, or after Lando his father to ſucceede in his roume. There is a ſtory writer called Liuthprandus, who writyng de Imperatoribus, Lib.2.cap.13. maketh there mention of this Theodora, and Pope Iohn xj. and ſayeth moreouer, that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia: which Marozia had by Pope Sergius aboue mentioned, a ſonne, which afterward was pope Iohn the 12. The ſame Marozia afterward it chanced to marry with Guido Marques of Tuſcia: through the meanes of which Guido and hys frendes at Rome, ſhe brought to paſſe that this pope Iohn the 11. was ſmothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned 13. yeares. And ſo the foreſayd Iohn the 12. her ſonne, to ſuccede next after hym. But becauſe ẏ clergie and people of Rome dyd not agree to hys election, therefore was Pope Leo the vi. in hys place ſet vp. Thus Pope Iohn the ſonne of Sergius and Marozia beyng deiected, reigned Pope Leo 7. monthes. After hym Pope Stephen two yeares. Who beyng poyſoned, then was pope Iohn the 12. aboue rehearſed, the ſonne of Sergius and Marozia, ſet vp agayne in ẏ papacie, where he reigned nere the ſpace of v. yeares. Of the wickedneſſe of this ſtrompet Marozia, how ſhe maried two brethren, one after the death of the other: And how ſhe gouerned all Rome, & the whole church at that time, I let it paſſe. Although the latin verſes wherwith the ſayd Liuthprandus, doth inuey agaynſt ſuche women as marry two brethren, were neither vnworthy here to be recited, and perhappes might be further applied then to that Marozia of Rome, but for ſhortneſſe I let them alſo paſſe.

Pope Anaſtaſius. 3

Pope Lando. 1.

Pope Iohn 11.

Harlots at this time ruled all at Rome.

Pope Iohn. 12.
Pope Leo. 6.
Pope Stephen. 9
Pope Iohn. 12. reſtored.

Liuthprandus Ticinenſis, lib. 3.

After Iohn. 12. followed Pope Stephen three yeares. Pope Leo 3. yeares and 4. monethes. Pope Stephen the eight 3. yeares and 4. monthes. Pope Martine 3. yeares & 6. monthes. After him Pope Agapetus 8. yeares & 6. monethes. About whoſe tyme or a little before began firſt the order of monkes called Ordo Cluniacenſis, &c.

Pope Stephẽ. 7.
Pope Leo. 7.
Pope Stephẽ. 8.
Pope Martin. 3.
Pope Agapetus. 2.
Ordo Cluniacenſis begonne, &c.

But nowe to leaue of theſe monſtruous matters of

Rome, and to returne agayne to our countrey of England, where we laſt left before.

King Edward the elder.

¶ King Edward the elder.

The Edwardes before the conqueſt.

A compariſon betwene Alfrede, and his ſonne Edwarde.

AFter the reigne of the famous king Alfred, his ſonne Edward ſucceded, ſurnamed the elder. Where firſt is to be noted, that before the conqueſt of the Normandes, there were in England 3. Edwardes, firſt this Edward the elder, 2. Edward the martyr. 3. Edward the confeſſor. Whereof hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall follow in order, as place ſhall geue to be declared. This Edward began his reigne, the yeare of our Lord. 901. and gouerned the land right valiauntly and nobly 24. yeares. In knowledge of good letters and learning, he was not to bee compared to his father. Otherwiſe, in princely renowne, in ciuile gouernment, and ſuch lyke martiall prowesse, he was nothing inferiour but rather excelled him. Through whoſe valiaunt actes, firſt the princedome of Wales, and kingdom of Scotland, with Conſtantine king thereof were to hym ſubdued. He adioyned moreouer to his dominion the countrey of Eaſtanglia, that is, of Norfolke, Suffolke and Eſſex. All Merceland alſo he recouered and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes. In all his warres he neuer lightly went without victory. The ſubiectes of his prouinces and dominions were ſo inured, and hardened in continuall practiſe and feates of warre: that when they hearde of any enemies comming (neuer taryeng for any biddyng from the king, or from his dukes) ſtraightwayes they encountred with them: both in number, and in knowledge of the order of warre excelling alwayes their aduerſaries. Guliel. de Regi. Ita hoſtes militibus contemptui, Regi riſui erant. To meane, So was the comming and aſſaulting of their enemies to the people and common ſouldioures but a trifle, to the king but a ridicle. Among other aduerſaries which were buſie rather then wiſe, in aſſailing this kyng: was one called Clyto Ethelwoldus a yong man, king Edwardes vncles ſonne. Who firſt occupyeng the towne of Wimborne (takyng thence a Nonne with hym, whom the he had maried) fledde by night to Northumberland, to adioyne himſelfe vnto the Danes, who was made chief king and captaine ouer them. Then chaſed from thence, he fled ouer into Fraunce, but ſhortly returnyng againe into England, landed in Eaſtengland, where the ſayd Clyto with a company of Danes of that countrey gathered vnto hym, deſtroyed and pilled much of the countrey about Crekinford and Crikeland. And ſo paſſing ouer Thamis after he had ſpoyled the lande there to Bradeneſtocke: returned agayne to Northfolke and Suffolke, where he meting with a buſhment of Kentiſh men, which bragged & taried after the maine hoſte of Edward, contrary to his commaundement, incloſed them in, and ſlew the moſt part of thẽ. Sone after the two hoſtes meeting together, betwene the two diches of S. Edmundes land, after a long fight Clyto with many of the Danes were ſlaine, and the remnaunte were conſtrained to ſeeke for peace, which vpon certaine conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them graunted.

Vſe and long exerciſe of thinges maketh perfectnes.

Clyto Ethelwold rebelleth agaynſt king Edward.

An. 904.

An. 913.

In proceſſe, about the 12. yeare his reigne, the Danes repenting them of their couenants, and minding to breake the ſame: aſſẽbled an hoſt and met with the king in Staffordſhire at a place called Totenhall, & ſoone after at Wodneſield: at which two places the kyng ſlew two kynges, ij. erles, & many thouſand of Danes, that occupied the countrey of Northumberland.

Cheſter repayred and enlarged.
The caſtle of Herford builded.
Caſtles builded vpon the riuer of Auene, and of Owſe.
The townes of Towſetour and Wigmore builded.
The new towne of Nottingham builded.

Thilwalde.
Mancheſter repayred.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes beyng aſſwaged, kyng Edward hauing nowe ſome leyſure geuen from warres to other ſtudies: gaue hys minde to the buildyng or repayring of cities, townes, and caſtles, that by the Danes were raſed, ſhatred, and broken. As firſt of Cheſter, which city he double enlarged to that it was before: compaſſing the caſtle within the walles of the ſame, which before ſtood without. That done, the kyng builded a ſtrong caſtle at Herford in the edge of Wales. Alſo for the ſtrengthening of the countrey, he made a caſtle at the mouth of the water of Auene, and an other caſtle at Buckingham, and the third faſt thereby vpon the riuer of Owſe. Moreouer he builded or reedified the townes of Towſetour, and Wigmore, and deſtroyed the caſtle that yͤ Danes had made at Demesford. Likewiſe vpon the riuer of Trent agaynſt the old towne of Nottingham, he builded a new towne on the ſouthſide, and made a bridge ouer the riuer, betwene the ſaid two townes. Alſo by the riuer of Merce, he builded a citie or towne, in the North ende of Mercia, and named it Thilwall and after repaired the citie of Mancheſter, that ſore was defaced with warre of the Danes.

Elfleda.

Cities, townes, and caſtles builded by Elfleda.

In this renuyng and buildyng of townes and caſtels for the more fortefieng of hys realme: hys ſiſter Elfleda, daughter of kyng Alfrede, and maried to the duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of thys Elfleda it is firmely of writers affirmed that ſhe beyng as is ſaid maried to Ethelrede duke of Mercia, after ſhe had once aſſayed the paynes of women in trauelyng with her childe: ſomuch ſhe abhorred euer after the embracing of her huſband, that it ſemed to her (ſhe ſayd) not ſeemely for a noble womã to vſe ſuch fleſhly liking wherof ſo great ſorrow and trauaile ſhould enſue. And yet notwithſtãdyng the ſame Elfleda, for all her delicate tenderneſſe in eſchewing the naturall paſſion, which neceſſitie geueth to womẽ: ſo hardy ſhe was in warlike daungers, which nature geueth not to women, that fighting agaynſt the Danes, ſo venturous ſhe was of ſtomacke, that foure of her nexte knights, which were gardeins of her body, were ſlaine faſt by her. This Elfleda among her other noble actes, wherby ſhe deſerued praiſe, was a great helper & ſtirrer vp of her brother Edward: who builded and newly repaired many caſtels & townes, as Tomworth, beſide Lichfield, Stafforde, Warwike, Shrowesbury, Watriſbury, Eldiſbury, beſides Cheſter in the foreſt now deſtroyed. Alſo in the North ende of Mercia, vpon the riuer of Merce, a caſtle called Rimcorne, alſo a bridge ouer Seuern named Brimmiſbury bridge.

The lawes of king Alfred & kyng Edward.

As touchyng the lawes & ſtatutes of this Edward, as alſo of hys father Alfrede made before hym, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waſt of tyme: yet notwithſtanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note: that in thoſe dayes of theſe auncient kinges reigning in Englande, the authoritie then both of conferryng biſhoprickes, and ſpirituall promotions, and alſo of preſcribyng lawes as well to the church men, as to the laitie, and of orderyng and intermedling in matters mere ſpirituall, was then in the handes of kings, rulyng in the lande, and not onely in the hand of the Pope, as appeareth by theſe lawes of Alfred.

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadrageſima ſanctum velum in publico vel in lecto. &c.
Vt Chriſtiani Deum diligant & paganiſmo renſicient. &c.
Si quis Chriſtianitatem mutet. &c.
Si quis ordinatus ſacris furetur. &c.
Si præsbyter ad rectum terminum ſanctum Chriſma. &c.
Si duo fratres, vel cognati cum vna aliqua fornicentur. &c.

Note howe kynges of England in times paſt had autoritie in ſpirituall cauſes.

By theſe and other ſuch lyke conſtitutions of king Alfred, it may appeare: how the gouernaunce and direction of the church in thoſe dayes, depended not vppon monſieur le Pope of Rome: but vpon the kyngs which here in their tyme (vnder the Lord) dyd gouerne the land. To this alſo the example of king Edwardes tyme geueth teſtimony: which Edward with Pleimundus (aboue mentioned) Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and with other biſhops in a ſinode aſſembled: aſſigned and elected 7. biſhops in 7. Metropolitane churches of the realme. Which were, 1. Fridestane. 2. Adelſtane. 3. Werſtane. 4. Adelelme. 5. Edulfus. 6. Dernegus. 7. Kenulphus. In which election the kynges authoritie ſemed then alone to be ſufficient. &c.

925.

The children of king Edward the elder.

Prince Ethelward excellent in learning.

This Edward (as in the beginnyng was ſayd) reigned 24. yeres. Who had 3. wiues, Egwine, Elfled, and Ethelwide. Of Egwine he had his eldeſt ſonne Adelſtane, who next ſucceded in the kingdome, & a daughter maried after to the duke of Northũberlãd. Of Elflede, he receiued two ſonnes, and vj. daughters, to witte Ethelward & Edwine. Ethelward was excellently well ſeene in all knowledge of learnyng: much reſembling both in countenaunce and conditions his grandfather Alfrede, and dyed ſoone after hys father. Of his vj. daughters, two of them. 1. Elflede and Ethelhilda, were made nonnes. The other 4. were maried. Edgina to Charles the French kyng, in his fathers tyme. Ethilda by king Ethelſtane was maried to Hugo, the ſonne of duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina, were both ſent to Henricus prince of Almains. Of which two ſiſters the ſecond, the ſaid Henricus, maried to his ſonne Otho, who was the firſt Emperor of the Almains. The other ſiſter which was Edgitha, the foreſayd Henricus, maried to a certaine duke about the borders of the Alpes, in Italy. Of hys third wife Ethelwide, he receiued two ſonnes, Edmũd, and Edred: which both reigned after Adelſtane, And two daughters, Egburga whom he made a Nonne, and Eadguina who was maried to Ludouicus, prince of Aquitania in Fraunce. Theſe ſonnes and daughters king Edward thus brought vp. His daughters he ſet to ſpinnyng, Guliel. de Reg.

The bringing vp of K. Edwards children.

nyng, and to the nedle, Guliel. de Reg. His ſonnes he ſet to the ſtudy of learnyng, vt quaſi Philoſophi ad gubernandam remp. non iam rudes procederent: that is, to the ende, that they beyng as firſt made Philoſophers, ſhould be the more expert therby to gouerne the common wealth.

¶ King Ethelſtane, or Adelſtane.

Kyng Ethelſtane, or Adelſtane.

Ethelſtane or Adelſtane, after the death of Edward hys father to whom he was baſe ſonne: beganne his reigne in England, and was crowned at Kingſtone. He was a prince of worthy memory, valiaunt and wiſe in all hys actes, nothyng inferiour to his father Edward. In lyke worldly renowne of ciuile gouernaunce, ioyned with much proſperous ſucceſſe, in reducyng this realme vnder the ſubiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled the Danes, ſubdued the Scottes, and quieted the Welſhmen, as well in Northwales, as alſo in Cornwale. The firſt enemy agaynſt this Ethelſtane was one Elfredus: who, with a faction of ſeditious perſons conſpiring againſt the ſayd Ethelſtane at Wincheſter, continently after the death of his father, wẽt about to put out his eyes. Notwithſtādyng the kyng eſcapyng that daunger: through the helpe of God, was at that tyme deliuered. Elfrede vpõ the ſame beyng accuſed, fledde to Rome: there before the Pope to purge hymſelfe by hys othe. Who beyng brought to the Church of S. Peter, and there ſwearing (or rather forſwearyng) hymſelf to be cleare, which in dede was guilty therof: ſodenly vpon his othe fell downe, and ſo brought to the engliſh houſe in Rome, within 3. dayes after departed. The Pope ſendyng word to kyng Ethelſtane, whether he would haue the ſayd Eldred buried among chriſtians or not: at length through the perſwaſions of his frendes and kinſfolkes, it was concluded that he ſhould be buried in chriſten buriall. This ſtory although I finde in no other writers mentioned, but only in the chronicles of Guliel. Lib. de Regi. yet foraſmuch as it beareth the witneſſe and wordes of the kyng himſelfe, as teſtified in an old dede of gift, geuen to the monaſtery of Malmeſbury: I thought the ſame the more to be of credite. The wordes of the king procede in this tenor as followeth.

Duke Elfrede ſodenly ſtroken by the hand of God for periury.

Guliel. lib. de Regib. in vita Ethelſtani.

The copy of an olde writing of king Ethelſtane teſtifieng of the miraculous death of duke Elfrede ſodenly ſtroken by the hande of God for periury.

The copie of an olde chart of K. Ethelſtane.

Sciant ſapientes regionis noſtræ, non has præfatas terras me iniuſtè rapuiſſe, rapinamq́; Deo dediſſe. Sed ſic eas accepi, quemadmodum iudicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Inſuper & Apoſtolicus Papa Romanæ eccleſiæ Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui noſtræ fœlicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ inimicorum noſtrorum conſentiẽs: quando me voluerũt (patre defuncto) cæcare in vrbe Wintonia, ſi non me Deus ſua pietate eripuiſſet. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remiſſus eſt ad Romanam eccleſiã, vt ibi ſe, coram Apoſtolico Ioanne iureiurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare ſancti Petri. Sed facto iuramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum ſuorum portatus eſt ad ſcholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tunc Apoſtolicus ad nos remiſit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis conſuluit, an cum cæteris Chriſtianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis: optimates regionis noſtræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per noſtram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Chriſtianorum. Noſq́; flagitationi illorum conſentientes Romam remiſimus: & Papa conſentiente, poſitus eſt ad cæteros Chriſtianos, quamuis indignus. Et ſic iudicata eſt mihi tota poſſeſſio eius in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prænotauimus, ne quãdo aboleatur, vnde mihi præfata poſſeſsio, quam Deo & ſancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iuſtiùs noui, quàm Deo & ſancto Petro hanc poſſeſſionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conſpectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi proſperitatem regni largiti ſunt. &c.

927.

In the ſecond yere of the reigne of kyng Adelſtane, for an vnitie and a peace to be had betwene the kyng and the Danes of Northumberlande: he maried to Sythericus their king hys ſiſter, wherof mention is made before. But ſhortly after, within one yeare this Sithericus dyed. After whoſe death king Ethelſtane ſeazed that prouince into hys owne hand, puttyng out the ſonne of the foreſayd Sithericus called Alanus: who with hys brother Godfridus fledde the one into Irelande, the other to Conſtantine kyng of the Scots. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he ſhortly made ſubiect vnto hym Conſtantine kyng of Scottes. But the ſayde Conſtantine meeked hymſelfe ſo lowly to the kyng, that he reſtored him to his former dignitie, ſaying, that it was more honour to make a kyng, then to be a kyng.

Northumberlād ſubdued to kyng Ethelſtane.

The Scots ſubdued to the kyng of England.

It is more honour to make a kyng, then to be a kyng.

Not long after, the ſayd Conſtantine king of Scottes dyd breake couenaunt with kyng Ethelſtane. Wherfore he aſſembled hys knightes, & made toward Scotland. Where, he ſubduyng his enemies, and bringing them agayne vnto due ſubiection, returned into England with victory. Here by the way in ſome ſtory writers (who forgettyng the office of hiſtoricians, ſeme to play the Poetes) is written & recorded for a maruell, that the ſayd Ethelſtane, returnyng out of Scotland into England, came to Yorke, and ſo into the church of S. Iohn of Beuerly, to redeeme hys knife, which before he had lefte there for a pledge at hys goyng forth. In the which place he praying to God and to S. Iohn of Beuerley, that he might leaue there ſome remembrance wherby they that came after might know, that the Scots by right ſhould be ſubdued to the Engliſh men: ſmote with ſword (they ſay) vpon a great hard ſtone ſtanding neare about the caſtle of Dunbar, that with the ſtroke therof the ſtone was cut a large elne deepe (with a lye no leſſe deepe alſo, then was the ſtroke in the ſtone.) But of this poeticall or fabulous ſtory, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Iornalenſis, and other mo conſtantly accorde in the ſame: yet in Guliel. and Henricus, no mention is made at all. But peraduenture he that was the inuentor firſt of thys tale of the ſtone, was diſpoſed to lie for the whetſtone: wherefore in my mynde he is worthy to haue it.

A fabulous myracle falſely reported of kyng Athelſtane.

Of lyke truth and credite ſemeth alſo to be this that followeth about the ſame yeare and tyme, vnder the raigne of kyng Ethelſtane, beyng the 8. yeare of hys raigne, of one Briſtanus byſhop of Wincheſter, who ſucceeded Frithſtanus in the ſame ſea, and gouerned that biſhopricke 4. yeres. This Briſtanus beyng a deuout biſhop in prayer and contemplation: vſed much among hys ſolitary walkes, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the ſoules there, and all chriſten ſoules departed. Vpon a tyme, the ſayd Briſtanus after hys wonted maner proceeding in hys deuotions, when he had done, came to requieſcant in pace. Wherunto, ſodainly a great multitude of ſoules aunſweryng together with one voyce, ſaid Amen. Of this miracle, albeit I haue not much to ſay (haſtyng to other matters) yet this queſtion would I aſke of ſome indifferent papiſt, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceiued: if this multitude, which here anſwered Amen, were the ſoules of them buried in the churchyard or not? If yea, thẽ how were they in purgatory, what tyme they were heard in that place anſweryng Amen? Excepte we ſhould thinke Purgatory to bee in the churchyarde at Wincheſter, where the ſoules were hearde then ſo many anſweryng and praying Amen. And yet this ſtory is teſtified by the accord of writers of that tyme, Guliel. Pòlychron. Houedenus, Iornalenſis, & other mo. Much lyke miracles and prophecies alſo we reade of Elphegus, which ſucceeded him: but becauſe we haſte to other things let theſe fables paſſe.

Briſtanus Byſhop.

An. 933.

A ridiculous myracle forged vpõ Briſtanus Biſh. of Wincheſter.

A myracle of ſoules anſweryng Amen.

Ye heard a little before, how kyng Ethelſtane after the death of Sithericus kyng of Northumberland, ſeazed that land or prouince into hys owne hand, and put out his ſonne Alanus: who after flieng into Scotland, maried yͤ daughter of Conſtantine kyng of Scots. By whoſe ſtirring and exhortation, he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and other, and entred the mouth of Humber with a ſtrong nauy of 615. ſhips.

Wherof king Ethelſtane with hys brother Edmunde hauyng knowledge: prepared his army, and at length ioynyng in fight with him and his people at a place called Brimãbruch or Brimford: where he fighting with them from mornyng to euen after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides (as the lyke hath not bene ſene lightly in England) had the victory. In which battaile were ſlayne fiue ſmall and vnder kinges, with Conſtantine kyng of Scots: and xij. Dukes, with the more part of all the ſtrangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here alſo our writers put in an other miracle in this battayle: how king Ethelſtanes ſword miraculouſly fell into his ſheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A ſore battayle fought at Brimford.

An other vnlyke myracle of K. Athelſtanes ſworde.

Concernyng this battayle, I finde in a certayne written chronicle theſe verſes: which becauſe they ſhould not be loſt, I thought not vnworthy here of rehearſall.

Odo Archbyſhop of Cant.

Tranſierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Iure regens ciues, ſubigens virtute tyrannos:

Analaus.

Cum redit illa Lues Europæ noxia labes,
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries Aquilonis,
Et iacet in campis pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas toruasq; minas Analanus anhelans,
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat aſſenſum Borealis terræ ſerenum.
Et iam grande tument, iam terrent aera verbis,
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota ſuperbis.
Nam quia rex noſter fidens alacriſq; iuuenta,
Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Vrgentes miſeros iniectis ignibus agros.
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra ſeges votum deluſerat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium, concurſus quadrupedantum.
Exciuit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne ſe cauterio tali pateretur inuri.
Quod ſua barbaricæ ceſſiſſent arma ſecuri,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia ſigna cohortes,
Explicat iuuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virum virtus, decies bis milia quina,
Ad ſtadium belli comitantur præuia ſigna.
Hicq; ciet ſtrepitus armatorum legiones.
Terruit inſignis venientum fama latrones.
Vt poſita proprias præda repetant regiones.
At vulgus reliquum miſeranda ſtrage peremptum,
Infecit bibulas tetris nidoribus auras.
Fugit Analaſus de tot modo millibus vnus. &c.

The North Britaines brought to tribute.

After thys victory thus obtayned of the Danes and Scottes: kyng Ethelſtane alſo ſubdued (or at leaſt quieted) the North Britaynes. whom he conuentyng together at Herforde (or there about) forced them to graunt vnto him as a yearely tribute, 20. pound of gold: three hundreth pound of ſiluer: and of heades of neate 25. hundred: wyth haukes and dogs, to a certayne number. This done, he wẽt to Exceter, and there likewiſe ſubduyng the South Britaynes, about Exceter and Cornewall: repaired yͤ walles of Exceter with ſufficient ſtrength, and ſo returned.

The South Britaines ſubdued.

Among theſe victorious and noble actes of this kyng: One blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended (that is) the innocent death and murther of his brother Edwyne. The occaſion thereof was this: kyng Edward aforenamed their father, in the tyme of his youth, commyng by a certaine village or grãge, where he had bene nourſed and brought vp of a child: thought of curteſie to go ſee how his nurſe did. where he entryng into the houſe, eſpyed a certaine young damſell bewtyfull and right ſeemely attyred, Egwina by name. This Egwina before beyng a poore mans daughter, had a viſion by night, that of her body ſprang ſuch a bright light of the Moone, that the brightnes thereof gaue light to the Realme of England. By reaſon wherof, ſhe was taken into the foreſayd houſe, and dayntely brought vp in ſteede of their owne daughter: for hope of ſome commoditie to enſue thereby, as afterward it came to paſſe. For kyng Edward (as it is declared) commyng into the houſe, and rauiſhed with the beauty of the mayden: begat of her the ſame night this Ethelſtane. wherefore the ſayd Ethelſtane beyng thus baſely borne of Egwina, the firſt wife to Edward (as is ſayd) before he was marryed to her: and fearyng his next brother Egwyne whiche was rightly borne (eſpecially beyng ſtyrred thereunto through the ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of his butler) did caſt ſuch diſpleaſure to the foreſayd Egwine his brother, beyng yet but young, that (notwithſtandyng his innocent ſubmiſſion and purgation made agaynſt his accuſers) he cauſed him to be ſet in an old rotten boate in the broad Sea (onely with one Eſquier with him) without any tacklyng or other prouiſiõ to the ſame. where the young and tender Prince beyng diſmayed with the rage of windes and of the floudes, and now weary of his lyfe, caſt himſelfe ouer borde into the Sea, and ſo was drowned. Notwithſtandyng the Eſquyre ſhiftyng for himſelfe as he could, and recoueryng the body of his maſter, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the kyng afterward commyng to the remembraunce of himſelfe, was ſtroken with great repentaunce the ſpace of. vij. yeares together. And at length was reuẽged of him that was the accuſer of his brother. This accuſer (as is ſayd) was the kynges cupbearer, who (as God the righteous iudge of all thynges would haue it) vpon a certaine ſolemne feaſt bearyng the cup vnto the kyng, chaunced in the middle of the floure to ſtumble with one foote, helpyng and recouering himſelfe with the other, ſaying in theſe wordes: Thus one brother (as ye ſee) helpeth an other. Theſe wordes beyng thus ſpoken in the hearyng of the kyng, ſo moued his mynde, that forthwith he commaunded the falſe accuſer of his brother to be had out to execution. whoſe iuſt recompence I would wiſh to be a warnyng to all mẽ, what it is to ſow diſcorde betwixt brother and brother.

K. Ethelſtane ſeeketh the death of his owne brother.

A note to learne not to ſowe diſcorde betwixt brother and brother.

Kyng Ethelſtane (beſides his vij. yeares lamentation for this acte) builded the two Monaſteries of Midletone, and of Michelenes, for his brothers ſake (or as the ſtories ſay) for his ſoule. whereby it may appeare, what was the cauſe moſt ſpeciall in thoſe dayes, of buildyng Monaſteries, to wyt, for releaſing the ſinnes both of them departed, and them alyue, which cauſe how it ſtãdeth with the grace and veritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, and of his paſſion: let the Chriſten Reader trye & examine with himſelfe. This cruel fact of the kyng toward Edwyne, cauſed him afterward, to be more tender and carefull toward his other brethren and ſiſters left in his handes vnmaryed. whiche ſiſters, as is partly in the Chapiter before declared, he richely beſtowed, in great mariages: As one to the kyng of Northumberland Sithericus: an other he gaue to Lewes kyng of Aquitania, the 3. to Henricus Duke of Almaine for his ſonne Otho: who was yͤ firſt Emperour of the Germanes. whereby it is to be vnderſtãd, that the Empire at this tyme begã firſt to be tranſlated from Fraunce (where it remained about C. yeares and halfe) vnto Germanie where it hath euer ſince continued.

The cauſe of building Abbayes examined.

Otho firſt Emperour of the Germaines.

The iiij. of his ſiſters, beyng a virgine of ſingulare bewty Hugo the French kyng required to be geuen vnto hym: ſendyng to kyng Ethelſtane pretious and ſumptuous preſentes, ſuch as were not before ſeene in England. Among the which preſentes and giftes, beſides the rare odours of ſõdry ſauours and fine ſpices: and beſides the pretious and coſtly gemmes, namely of Smaragdes of moſt redolent grene, beſides alſo many and great courſers & palfreis richly trapped, eſpecially of one iewell (as writers make mention) which was, a certaine veſſell finely and ſubtily made of the pretious ſtone Onichinus ſo radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lyuely corne growyng, and mens images walkyng, &c. Ouer and beſides was ſent alſo the ſword of Conſtantine the great, with the name of the poſſeſſor written in golden letters, wherein the hafte of the ſame all beatẽ in gold, was one of the yron nayles, wherewith our Sauiour on the croſſe was nayled. Of the veritie wherof I am not diſpoſed at this preſẽt much to ſay what I ſuſpect, but that this in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius, is euidẽt. That two of the foreſayd nayles of Chriſt, was ſpẽt on the bridle of Conſtãtine: the 3. he caſt into the Sea in a ragyng tempeſt. wherfore, if Chriſt were nayled with iiij. nayles perhappes this nayle might be one. If he were nayled but with iij. I ſee not how this ſtory can ſtand with other ſtories, neither how this fourth nayle can ſtand with truth. Among the reſt moreouer, was the ſpeare (as is reported) wherewith the ſide of our Sauiour was opened: which alſo the ſayd Conſtantine was wont to cary in the fielde agaynſt his enemies: with a portiõ likewiſe of the holy croſſe incloſed in Criſtall: Alſo a part of the crowne of thorne in like maner incloſed, &c. Of the whiche Reliques, part was geuen to winchester, part to the Church of Malmeſbury, where king Ethelſtane was buried. As this king was indued and enlarged by the gift of God (the ſetter vp & diſpoſer of all kynges) with great victories of worldly renowne: hauyng vnder his ſubiection both the Scottes, and Britons, and the whole Monarchie of the land: So he deuiſed diuers good and holeſome lawes for the gouernement of the ſame, as well concerning the ſtate of the orders Eccleſiaſticall, as alſo of the ſecular or lay people. whereby it is to be vnderſtãd, that the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome, did not then extend it ſelfe ſo largely, nor ſo proudly to derogate frõ the authoritie of kynges and princes: but that euery one in his owne dominion, had (vnder God, and not vnder the Pope) the doyng of all matters within the ſame his dominion contained: whether they were cauſes tẽporall, or ſpirituall. As by the decrees and conſtitutions of this kyng (and alſo of other as wel before him, as after him) may euidently be teſtified: as where he amõg other lawes, thus ordeineth touchyng the Byſhop, in wordes as folow.

Precious iewels ſent to king Ethelſtane frõ the French kyng.

Concernyng one of the nayles wherwith our Sauiour Chriſt was crucified.

Kinges of England gouernors as well in cauſes eccleſiaſticall as temporall.

Epiſcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere Dei videlicet, ac ſeculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum inſtruere, quid ei ſit agendum iure, & quid hominibus ſecularibus iudicare debeant.

Extractum ex legib. regis Athelſtani.

Debet etiam ſedulò pacem & concordiam operari cum ſeculi iudicibus: qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alij perperã agat, in iureiurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumuentionem iniuſtæ menſuræ,

ſuræ,vel iniuſti ponderis.Sed conuenit vt per cōſilium & teſtimonium eius,omne legis rectum,& burgi menſura,& omne pondus ſit ſecundum * ditionem eius,inſtitutum valde rectum: ne quis proximum ſuum ſeducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.

*alias dictionē.

Et ſemper debet Chriſtianis prouidere cōtra omnia, quæ prædicta ſunt, & ideo debet ſe de pluribus intromittere: vt ſciat quomodo grex agat,quem ad Dei manum cuſtodire ſuſcepit,ne diabolus eum dilaniet,nec malum aliquod ſuperſeminet. Nunquam enim erit populo benè conſultum, nec dignè Deo conuerſabitur,vbi lucrum impium & magis falſum diligitur.Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum eſt eneruare,& quod iuſtum eſt eleuare, nec pati vt propter falſum,& pecuniæ quęſtum homines ſe foriſfaciant erga verè ſapientem Deum,cui diſplicet omnis iniuſtitia.

Chriſtianis autem omnibus neceſſarium eſt,vt rectum diligant,& iniqua condemnent & ſaltem ſacris ordinibus euecti iuſtum ſemper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent Epiſcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare & intereſſe,ne permittant(ſi poſſint)vt illinc aliqua prauitatū gramina pullulent. Et ſacerdotibus pertinet in ſuo Diœceſi, vt ad rectum ſedulò quęcunq; iuuent, nec patiantur(ſi poſſint)vt Chriſtianus aliquis alij noceat,non potens impotēti,nō ſummus infirmo,non prælatus * ſubditis, non Dominus hominibus ſuis,ſeruus,aut liberis. Et ſecundum * ditionem,& per menſuram ſuam,cōuenit per rectum, vt neceſſaria * ſerui operentur ſuper omnem ſcyram cui * præeſt.

*alias minoribus.
*alias ſcriſtes dictionum.
*alias ſerui tiſtimentales.
*vel cui inſunt.
*alias ſcriſtes menſuram.
*in ſua ſcyrſt. ſcyra.

Et rectum eſt vt non ſit aliqua mēſurabilis virga longior quàm alia ſed per * Epiſcopi menſurā omnes inſtitutæ ſint, & exequatæ per ſuam * diœceſin.Et omne pondus cōſtet ſecundum dictionē eius,& ſi aliquid controuerſiarum interſit, diſcernat Epiſcopus.

Vniuſcuiuſq; Domini propriū eſt et neceſſe,vt ſeruis condeſcendat,& compatiatur,ſicut indulgentiùs poterit: Quia Domino Deo viuēti ſunt æque chari ſeruus,& liber.Et omnes vno & eodē pretio redemit, & omnes ſumus Deo neceſſariò ſerui:Et ſic iudicabit nos,ſicut antè iudicauimus eos,in quos poteſtatē iudicij in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus eſt vt eis parcamus,qui nobis parere debent & tunc manutenebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio. Amen.

A law how that maiſters ought to condiſcend and beare ſometime with their ſeruantes.

The lawe of kyng Ethelſtane concernyng tythes.

The ſayd Ethelſtane beſides, preſcribed other conſtitutions alſo,as touchyng tithes geuyng: where he ſayth and proclaymeth.Ego Ethelſtanus rex,conſilio Vlfelmi Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum Epiſcoporum mando præpoſitis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & ſanctorum omnium,vt inprimis reddāt de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in viuente capitali,quàm in mortuis frugibus terræ: & Epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciāt de ſuo proprio,& Aldermanni mei & præpoſiti mei,&c. That is. I Ethelſtane kyng,charge & commaunde all my officers through my whole Realme, to geue tithes vnto God of my proper good,as well in lyuyng cattell,as in the corne and fruites of the groūd,and that my Byſhops likewiſe of their proper goodes, and myne Aldermen,and my officers and headmen ſhall do the ſame. Item this I will: that my Byſhops and other headmē do declare the ſame,to ſuch as be vnder their ſubiection,and that to be accompliſhed at the terme of S. Iohn the Baptiſt. Let vs remember what Iacob ſayd vnto the Lord: Of all thyngs that thou geueſt to me, I wil offer tithes vnto the Lord.&c. Alſo what the Lord ſayth in the Goſpell of S. Mathew. To him that hath,it ſhal be geuen:and he ſhall abound. We muſt alſo conſider how terribly it is written in bookes,that if we will not offer our tenthes,from vs ix. partes ſhall be taken away,and onely the x. part ſhalbe left vs.&c. And in the ſame place,after that he hath aſſigned ẏ Churchrightes to be payd in the place, whereto they belong: it followeth thus.Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria cupiatis, quæ mihi poteritis rectè acquirere.Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniuſtè conquiratis.Sed omnia veſtra cōcedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea ſimiliter exoptetis.Cauete ſimul & vobis,& eis quos admonere debetis,ab ira Dei,& tranſgreſſione mea.

Tythes.

The kyng woulde vſurpe no mans goods wrongfully.

Amōg his other lawes and ordinaunces,to the nūber of. xxvi. diuers thynges be comprehended pertainyng as well to the ſpirituall,as alſo to the temporall iuriſdiction.

Out of the lawes of this kyng,firſt ſprang vp the attachement of theeues,ſuch as ſtole aboue. xij. peace and were aboue.xij.yeares old,ſhould not be ſpared.

The law of kyng Ethelſtane concernyng fealons ſtealing aboue xii.d.

And thus much briefly concernyng the hiſtory of kyng Ethelſtane,& thynges in his tyme done:who reigned about the ſpace of.xvi.yeares. And becauſe he dyed without iſſue, therfore after him ſucceeded his brother Edmund,the yeare of our Lord.940.who reigned.vi. yeares.

Epitap.in Ethelſt.
Sol illuſtrauit biſeno ſcorpion artu,Cum regē cauda perculit ille ſua.

¶Kyng Edmund.

Edmundus king of England.

EDmund the ſonne of Edward the elder, by his thyrd wife(as is declared)and brother of Ethelſtane,beyng of the age of.xx.yeares,entred his reigne: who had by his Queene Elgina, two ſonnes, Edwyne, & Edgarus, ſurnamed Pacificus,which both reigned after him, as foloweth. This Edmund continued his reigne vi.yeares and a halfe. By him were expulſed the Danes, Scottes, Normandes,and all forein enemyes out of the land. Such Cities and Townes whiche before were in the poſſeſſion of ſtraungers: as Lyncolne,Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Leyceſtour,he recouered out of their handes. Thus the Realme beyng cleared of forein power,for a tyme: then the kyng ſet his ſtudy and mynde in the redreſſing and maintaynyng the ſtate of the Church: which all ſtode then in building of Monaſteries, and furniſhyng of Churches, either with new poſſeſſions,or with reſtoring the old which were taken away before. In the tyme of this Edmund, this I finde in an old written ſtory,borowed of W.Cary:a Citizen of Londō,a worthy treaſurer of moſt worthy monuments of antiquitie. The name of the author I can not alledge: becauſe the booke beareth no title,lacking both the beginning, and the latter end. But the wordes therof faythfully recited,be theſe: Huius regis tempore,facta eſt diſperſio Monachorum Euſhmenſis cœnobij, cum ſubſtitutione Canonicorum per Althelmum,& Vlricum laicos, & Oſulphum Epiſcopum.&c. That is: In the tyme of this king,there was a ſcattering or a diſperſion made of the Monkes out of the Monaſtery of Euſham, and Canons ſubſtituted in their place: through the doyng of Athelmus, & Vlricus lay men, and of Oſulfus Byſhop.&c.

Ex hiſtoria Cariana.

Monkes put out of Euſham, the yeare of our Lord.941.

Where,as concernyng thys matter betwene monkes and other of the clergie,firſt it is to be vnderſtand: that in the realme of England,heretofore before the time of Dunſtane: the byſhops ſeas and cathedrall churches were repleniſhed with no monkes, but with prieſtes and canons (called then clerkes or men of the clergy) After this beginneth to riſe a difference or a ſect betwixt theſe two parties, in ſtraitneſſe of lyfe and in habite: ſo that they which liued after a ſtraiter rule of holineſſe,were called monkes & profeſſed chaſtitie: that was,to lyue from wiues,(for ſo was chaſtitie then defined in thoſe blynde dayes)as though holy matrimony were no chaſtitie,according as Paphnutius did well define it in the councell of Nice. The other ſort which were no monkes but prieſtes or men of the clergy called,liued more free from theſe monkiſh rules and obſeruaunces: and were then commonly (or at leaſt lawfully) maried,and in their life and habite,came nearer to the ſecular ſorte of other chriſtians. By reaſon wherof great diſdayne and emulation was among them: in ſo much that in many cathedral churches,where as prieſtes were before,there monks were put in. And contrary, ſometyme where as monkes were intruded,there prieſtes and canons agayne were placed,and monkes thruſt out: wherof more ſhall appeare hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) when we come to the lyfe of Dunſtane. In the meane tyme, ſomethyng to ſatiſfie the cogitation of the reader, which peraduenture either is ignorant,or els would know of the firſt comming in of monkes into this realme and churche of England in the Saxones tyme: this is to be noted,accordyng as I finde in old chronicles,namely in the latine hiſtory of Guliel. de geſtis pontificum Angl.recorded,touching the ſame. That about this tyme of kyng Edmund or ſhortly after,when hardneſſe and ſtraitnes of lyfe,ioyned with ſuperſtition, was had in veneration,and counted for great holyneſſe: Men therefore, eyther to winne publique fame with men, or merites with God,gaue themſelues to lead a ſtraite lyfe: thinkyng therby,the ſtraunger their conuerſation was,and farther from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to bee toward God and man. There was at that tyme (& before that)a monaſtery in Frāce named Floriake,after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which monaſtery dyd ſpring a great part of our engliſh monkes. Who being there profeſſed,and afterward returnyng into England,did congregate men daily to theyr profeſſion. And ſo, partly for ſtraungeneſſe of their rule: partly for outward holineſſe of theyr ſtraite lyfe: partly for the opinion of holines that many had of them,were in great admiration: not onely with the rude ſort, but with kynges and princes: who founded theyr houſes, mainteyned their rules, and enlarged them with poſſeſſions. Among the which order of monkes commyng from Floriake,eſpecially was one Oſwaldus, firſt a monke of Floriake,then biſhop of Wirceter and of Yorke: a great patrone and ſetter vp of monckery. Touching the which Oſwaldus,William in hys booke,De pontific.wri-

The difference betwene mōkes and prieſtes.

Chaſtitie wrongly defined.

Holy mariage by the definition of Paphnutius is chaſtitie.

Monkes how they differed frō Prieſtes, & how they firſt began in England.

Guliel.de pontif. lib.3.

The monaſtery of Floriake.

Oſwaldus byſhop of Yorke a great patrone of monkery.

Guliel, lib. 3. de pontiſ.

The origen of monkery, how it firſt began in England.

Dunſtane Abbot of Glaſtonbury.

The ſonnes of K. Edmund.

The impudent vanity of the Popes church in forging falſe myracles.

Guliel. lib. 1. de pont.

The monaſtery of Glaſtonbury. Dunſtane Abbot of Glaſtonbury. The Abbey of Glaſtonbury was firſt builded by king Iue, by the counſell of Adelmus, after being deſtroyed by the Danes. *Guliel. lib. 2. de Regib.*

ting of hys hiſtory, hath theſe wordes: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis conſuetudo fuit, vt ſi qui boni afflati eſſent deſiderio, in beatiſſimi Benedicti monaſterio cœnobialem ſuſciperet habitum: a quo, religionis huiuſce manauit exordium, &c. That is. It was a common cuſtom at that tyme among engliſh men, that if any good men were, well affected or mynded toward religion, they went to the monaſtery of bleſſed S. Benedict in Fraunce, & there receiued the habite of a monke: wherupon the firſt origine of this religion began, &c. But of this Oſwald biſhop of Yorke, and Dunſtane biſhop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, how they repleniſhed diuers Monaſteries, and Cathedrall Churches with Monkes: and how they diſcharged maryed Prieſtes and Chanons out of their houſes, to plant in Monkes in their celles: more ſhal be ſpoken (by the grace of Chriſt) hereafter. Now let vs returne agayne to the matter where we left, of kyng Edmund: who beſides his noble victories agaynſt his enemies, and recouering the Cities aboue expreſſed into his own handes: did alſo ſubdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two ſonnes of Dunmail kyng of Cumberland, he committed the gouernaunce therof to Malcolinus kyng of Scottes: vpon promiſe of his truſty ſeruice & obedience, when the kyng ſhould ſtand in any neede of hym. In the time of this king, Dunſtane was not yet Archbiſh. of Cāterbury, but onely Abbot of Glaſtenbury: of whom many fabulous narrations paſſe among the writers, importyng more vanitie then veritie. Wherfore this is one of the firſt: what tyme Edgarus called Pacificus was borne, Dunſtane beyng the ſame tyme abbot of Glaſtenbury (as the monkiſh fables dreame) heard a voyce in the ayre of certayne aungels ſinging after this tenor, and ſayeng: Nowe peace commeth to the church of England in the tyme of this chyld and of our Dunſtane, &c. This I thought to recite, that the chriſtian reader might the better ponder with himſelfe, the impudent and abhominable fictions of this Romiſh generation. Out of the ſame minte alſo haue they forged, how the ſayd Dunſtane ſhould heare the aungels ſing the Kyrieeleyſon, vſed to be ſong at euenſong in the church. Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the harpe hangyng in a womans houſe, played by it ſelfe the tune of the Antheme, called Gaudent in cœlis, &c. What would not theſe deceiuers fayne in matters ſomethyng likely, whiche in thynges ſo abſurde and ſo inconuenient, ſhame not to lye and to forge ſo impudently and alſo ſo manifeſtly. Through the motion of this Dunſtane: kyng Edmund builded and furniſhed the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, and made the ſayd Dunſtane Abbot therof.

Concerning the ende and death of this king, ſundry opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus ſay: that while this kyng Edmund endeuored himſelfe to ſaue hys ſewer from the daunger of hys enemies which would haue ſlaine hym at Pulcherchurch: the king in parting of the fray was wounded, and died ſhortly after. But Guliel. de Regibus, lib. 2. ſayth, that the king being at a feaſt at Pulcherchurch vpon the day of S. Auſten: eſpied a fellon ſittyng in ẏ hall, named Leof, whom he before for his felony had exiled. And leaping ouer the table did flie vppon hym, and plucked the thiefe by the heare of the head to the ground. In which doyng, the fellon with a knife wounded the kyng to the deth, and alſo with the ſame knife wounded many other of the kynges ſeruantes, and at length was all to hewen, and died forthwith.

The lawes of K. Edmunde touching as well the ſtate ſpirituall as temporall.

By the lawes of kyng Edmund (ordeyned and ſet forth as well for the redreſſe of church matters, as alſo of ciuile regiment) it may appeare, that the ſtate both of cauſes temporall and likewyſe ſpirituall, appertayned then to ẏ kings right (the falſe pretenſed vſurpatiō of the biſhop of Rome notwithſtandyng) as by theſe lawes is to be ſeene: where he by the aduiſe of hys lordes and biſhops, did enact and determine concernyng the chaſtitie and pure lyfe of eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and ſuch as were in the orders of the church with the penalties alſo for thē, which trāſgreſſed the ſame.

Item for tithes to be payde of euery chriſten man, and for the church fees, and alme fees. &c.

Item for deflouryng of women profeſſed, which we cal Nunnes. &c.

Item for euery biſhop to ſee hys churches repaired, of his owne proper charge, and boldly to admoniſh the kyng, whether the houſes of God were well mainteyned. &c

Item for flieng into the church for ſanctuary. &c

Item concernyng caſes and determinations ſpouſall, or matrimoniall. &c.

All which conſtitutions declare, what intereſt kings had in thoſe dayes in matters as wel eccleſiaſticall as other within their dominion: and that not onely in diſpoſing the ordinances and rites, ſuch as appertayned to the inſtitution of the church: but alſo in placing and ſettyng biſhoppes in their ſeas, &c.

Wlſtanus Archbiſh. of Yorke. Odo Archb. of Caunterb.

Guliel. de pontiſ. lib. 1. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Odo made monke at Floriake, after he was Archbiſh. of Cāterbury. *Guliel. de pontiſ. lib. 1.*

Guliel. lib. 3. de pont. Ebor.

The differēce of habite and garmentes amōg mē of the Church.

Falſe & lying miracles noted vpō Odo.

A note to the reader.

Trāſubſtātiation not yet receaued.

In the tyme of this Edmund, was Wlſtanus Archb. of Yorke, and Odo Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, which Odo beyng a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that ſea by king Etheliſtane, for that (as they ſay) he beyng firſt biſhop of Wiltone, and preſent with king Etheliſtane in the fielde agaynſt Analafus before mentioned, what tyme the ſayd Etheliſtane had loſt hys ſword, he through his interceſſion vp to heauen, dyd ſee a ſworde from heauen, come downe into the ſheath of the kyng. Whereof relation beyng made to the kyng by the foreſayd biſhoppe, Etheliſtane vpon the ſame was ſo affected towarde Odo: that not onely he counted hym for a patrone of his lyfe, but alſo made hym primate of Canterbury after the deceaſe of Wlfelmus. This Odo was the firſt from the commyng of the Saxons till his tyme which was Archbiſhop of Canterbury beyng no monke. For all the other before him were of the profeſſion of Monkes, of whom a great part had ben Italians, vnto Berctualdus. Notwithſtanding this Odo, beyng alſo a ſtranger borne, after he was elected into the biſhopricke, to anſwere to the olde cuſtome of others before him, ſayled ouer into Fraunce, and there at Floriake (after the vſuall maner aboue mentioned of engliſh men) receiued the profeſſion and habite of monkiſh religion, as ſayth my foreſayd author. And lyke as the ſayd Odo firſt beyng no Monke, was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury: So alſo Wlſtanus the ſame tyme, beyng biſhop of Yorke and of Worceter, differed from diuers hys predeceſſors before hym, in profeſſion and in habite: of whome the forenamed author thus writeth in his iij. booke, ſpeakyng of Wlſtanus, qui ſanctitate diſcrepabat & habitu, that is: he differed in ſanctimony and in habite. Wherby is to be collected, that in thoſe dayes was a difference in habite and garment: not onely betwene monkes and biſhops, but alſo betwene one biſhop and an other. Albeit what difference it was yet I do not finde. But I returne agayne to Odo, who by the deſcription of his maners, myght ſeeme not to be the worſt that occupied that place, were it not that our lying hiſtories faynyng falſe miracles vpō hym (as they do of other) make hym in deede to ſeme worſe then he was. As where they imagine that he ſhould ſee from heauen a ſword fal into the ſcabberd of kyng Etheliſtane. Item where he ſhoulde couer and defend the church of Caunterbury with his prayers from rayne. And alſo where he ſhould turne the breade of the aulter (as the writer termeth it) into liuely fleſhe, & from fleſh into bread agayne: to confirme the people which before doubted in the ſame. Where note agayne (good reader) that albeit this myracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue: yet is it to be noted, ẏ in thoſe dayes was a great doubt among engliſhmen of the popiſh ſacrament, and that tranſubſtantiation was not receiued into the chriſten crede. The lyke iudgement is to be geuen alſo of that, where our Engliſhe writers teſtifieng of the ſame Odo, ſaye that he ſhould prophecie long before of Dunſtan, to be hys ſucceſſor in the church of Canterbury. But to let theſe fantaſies and idle ſtories paſſe, this which we finde of Odo: his own writyng is certayne, that the ſaid Odo in the raign of king Edmund, had a ſynode commenſed of the chiefe Prelates and men of the clergy in his tyme, to whom he directed this letter here followyng: the copy wherof I thought to expreſſe, for ẏ reader to ſee what zelous care raigned in archbiſhops then toward the church of the Lord. The wordes of hys epiſtle procede in this tenour.

¶ *The letter or an Epiſtle of Odo Archebiſhop of Caunterbury ſent to the other biſhops and men of the Clergy.*

The letter of Odo Archb. to the prelates.

Mirabili cunctipotentis polorum præſulis clementia opitulante: Ego Odo, eccleſiæ Saluatoris Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti Archiepiſcopus Doruernienſis ciuitatis Metropolitanus, coepiſcopis fidei catholicæ compagatoribus ſpirituali charitatis rigore meis confratribus. Præſentium proſperitatem æthereiq́; decoris beatitudinem. &c. The ſame in engliſh.

By the deuine grace of God, I Odo of the church of our Lord and ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, Archbiſhop and Metropolitane of the citie of Cāterbury, to my fellow biſhops, & fellow planters of the Catholike fayth, and my fellowe brethren in the ſpirituall bond of charitie with greetyng wiſh proſperitie in this world preſent, and in the world to come felicitie. If it were ſo or by any meanes could be, that all the riches of this world were layd before mine eyes, ſo that I beyng Emperour had all thinges vniuerſally vnder my ſubiection, all thoſe things gladly would I geue, yea & my ſelf alſo would offer willingly for the helth of your ſoules as which alſo do deſire and truſt likewiſe my ſelfe to bee ſtrenghthened with the feruency of your holineſſe as appertaynyng to thoſe thinges wherein the Lorde our God hath ſet vs to be workemen.&c.

And after a few other wordes of like effect wherein he doth declare the heauy burden of hys office, it followeth after this maner.

Wherfore moſt humbly and one vnworthy but yet a deuout fellow brother of yours, I beſeech and exhort your holineſſe: that you will not ſhew your ſelues cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of ſoules, ſo that in the tyme of the fearefull iudgement, the Lord do not complain of you, ſaying, my ſhepeheardes did not fede my flocke, but they fed themſelues. And agayne they were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take hede, and be diligent ouer the houſehold of the Lord, ouer which he hath ſet vs to be the leaders: to geue them meate, and true meaſure of corne in tyme conuenient: that is to ſay, wholſome doctrine. And although vpon myne owne demerites or worthines I do not preſume to comfort or exhorte any man: but as one beyng vnworthy and faultie in tranſgreſſions innumerable, am glad, and ſtand in neede, rather to be ſtrenghthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the auncient authoritie of my predeceſſors, as of Auguſtine, of happy memory, and alſo of all other ſaintes by whoſe induſtrie the rule of chriſtianitie did firſt floriſh and ſpryng from this Metropolitane ſea, vnto all quarters of England. Therfore I haue thought good to direct vnto you theſe my letters to the profite of you all: eſpecially, for that our renowmed and princely king Edmond, with all his people doth ioy to follow that whiche he heareth in you and of you: and alſo, for ſo much as all his ſubiectes which be vnder his imperiall dominion, do loue and delight to follow moſt ioyfully the fame and report of your ſincere conuerſation.&c.

Elſinus Archb. of Caunt. elect.

Thus Odo continued byſhop the ſpace of xx. yeres. After whome Elſinus was elected and ordeyned by the kyng to ſuccede, through fauour & mony: but in goyng to Rome for the popes palle in hys iourney through the Alpes, he decayed and dyed for colde. Whereupon ſucceded Dunſtane: as in tyme and place (by the leaue of Chriſt) followeth to be declared.

S. Edmūdſ bury.

This Edmund gaue to S. Edmund the martyr before mentioned, the towne of Bredrichcehworth, which is now called S. Edmondeſbury, with great reuenewes and landes apperteinyng to the ſame. But concernyng the friuolous miracles whiche our monkiſhe ſtorywriters here fayne of thys good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them paſſe.

The children of king Edmund.

946.

Edrede gouernour of the Realme.

And thus much concernyng the reigne of king Edmūd, who after he had reigned vj. yeares and halfe, was ſlaine as is ſayd at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glaſtenbury of Dunſtane: leauyng behynde hym two children Edwine & Edgar, by his wyfe Elgina. But becauſe the foreſaid children were yet yong and vnder age, therfore Edrede brother to king Edmunde, and vncle to the children: gouerned as protector about the ſpace of 9. yeares and halfe, til Edwine the eldeſt ſonne came to age. This Edrede with great moderation, and fidelitie to the yong children, behaued hymſelfe during the tyme of hys gouernement. In his tyme, Dunſtane was promoted through the meanes of Odo the Archbiſhop, frō abbot of Glaſtebury to be biſhop of Wirceter: & after of Londō. By the counſell of this Dunſtane Edrede was much ruled, and to much therto addicted: In ſo much that the ſayd Edrede is reported in ſtories to ſubmit hymſelfe to much fond penance, and caſtigations inflicted to hym of the ſayd Dunſtane. Such zealous deuotion was then in princes, and more blynd ſuperſtitiō in biſhops. And here agayne is an other miracle as fantaſticall as the other before, forged of Dunſtane. That when that Edrede beyng ſicke ſent for Dunſtane to be hys confeſſor, by the way, Dunſtane ſhould heare a voyce declaryng to hym before, that Edrede was already departed: at the declaryng wherof Dunſtanes horſe fell immediatly dead vnder hym, with lye and all.

Dunſtane made byſhop of Wirceter & after of London.

With lye and all.

¶King Edwine.

K. Edwine.

955.

EDwine the eldeſt ſonne of kyng Edmond afore mentioned, after hys vncle Edrede, began hys reigne about the yere of our lord, 955. beyng crouned at Kingſton by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Of this Edwine it is reported of diuers writers, that the firſt day of hys coronation, ſittyng with hys Lordes, brake ſodaynely frō them & entred a ſecret chamber, to the company of a certaine womā whom he inordinately reteyned (being as ſome ſay an other mās wife) whoſe huſbād he had before ſlayne: as other ſay beyng of hys aliance: to the great miſlikyng of hys Lordes, and eſpecially of the Clergy. Dunſtane was yet but Abbot of Glaſtēbury, who followyng the kyng into the chamber, brought hym out by the hand, and accuſed hym to Odo the archbyſhop cauſing hym to be ſeperate frō the company of the foreſayd partie, by the which Odo, the kyng was for his fact ſuſpēded out of the church. By reaſon wherof the king beyng with Dunſtane diſpleaſed, baniſhed hym hys land, and forced hym for a ſeaſon to flee to Flaunders where he was in the monaſtery of S. Amandus. About the ſame ſeaſon the monaſticall order of Benedict monkes or blackmonkes (as they were called) began to multiply and encreaſe here in england. In ſo much, that where before tyme other prieſtes and cannons had ben placed, there monkes were in their rowmes ſet in, and the ſecular prieſtes (as they then were called) or cannōs put out. But kyng Edwin for the diſpleaſure he bare to Dunſtane dyd ſo vexe all the order of the ſayd monkes: ẏ in Malmeſbury, Glaſtenbury and other places mo, he thruſt out the monkes, and ſet in ſecular prieſtes in theyr ſtede.

The kyng ſuſpēded by the Archb. K. Edwine an enemy to Mōkes

Monkes put out, and ſecular prieſtes placed in their roomes.

Notwithſtandyng it was not long, but theſe prieſtes and cannons were agayne remoued, and the ſayd monckes in theyr ſteade reſtored, both in the foreſayde houſes, and in diuers other Churches cathedrall beſides: as in the next ſtory of kyng Edgar (Chriſt willyng) ſhall at more large appeare.

The death of kyng Edwine.

In fine kyng Edwine beyng hated by reaſon of certain hys demeaners, of all hys ſubiectes (eſpecially the Northumbrians, and Mercians) was by them remoued from hys kingly honour, and hys brother Edgar in his ſtead receaued: ſo that the riuer of Thamis deuided both theyr kyngdomes. Which Edwine after he had reigned about the terme of 4. yeares departed, leauyng no heyre of hys body. Wherfore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his younger brother.

King Edgar.

An. 959.

K. Edgar called Pacificus.

EEgar the ſecond ſonne of Edmunde, and brother to Edwine, being of the age of xvi. yeares, began hys raygne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of the Lord. 959. but was not crowned till xiiij. yeares after: the cauſes wherof here vnder follow (Chriſt willyng) to be declared. In the beginnyng of hys raigne he called home Dunſtane, whom kyng Edwine before had exiled. Then was Dunſtane, which before was Abbot of Glaſtenbury, made byſhop of Worceter, and then of London. Not long after, this Odo the Archbyſhop of Cant. deceaſeth, after he had gouerned that Church xxiiij. yeares. After whom Brithelmus Byſhop of Wint. firſt was elected. But becauſe he was thought not ſufficient to furniſh that roome: Dunſtane was ordayned Archbyſhop, and the other ſent home agayne to hys olde Church. Where note by the way, how in thoſe dayes the donation and aſſigning of Eccleſiaſticall dignities remayned in the kyngs hand: onely they fet their palle from Rome, as a token of the Popes confirmation. So Dunſtane beyng by the king made Archbyſhop, tooke his iourney to Rome for his palle of Pope Iohn the xiij. which was about the beginning of the kynges raigne. Thus Dunſtane obtaynyng his palle, ſhortly after his returne agayne from Rome, entreateth king Edgar: that Oſwaldus (who, as is ſaid, was made mōke at Floriake, & was nephew to Odo, late byſhop of Cāt.) might be promoted to the biſhopricke of Worceter: which thyng to hym was graūted. And not long after, through ẏ meanes of the ſayd Dunſtane, Ethelwoldus (whom ſtories do faine to be the great patrone of Monkery) firſt Monke of Glaſtenbury, then Abbot of Abbendon, was alſo made Byſhop of Wincheſter. Of this Ethelwold, Gulielmus libro de geſtis pontificum recordeth, that what tyme he was a monke in the houſe of Glaſtenbury: the Abbat had a viſion of him which was this. How that there appeared to him in hys ſleepe a certayne great tree, the braunches whereof extended throughout all the foure quarters of the Realme: whiche braunches were all couered with many little Monkes coules: where in the top of the tree was one great maiſter coule, which in ſpredyng it ſelfe ouer the other coules, incloſed all the reſt: which maiſter coule in the tree top, myne author in the interpretation applyeth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of ſuch prodigious fantaſies our Monkiſhe hiſtories be full: and not onely our hiſtories of England, but alſo the heathen hiſtories of the Gentiles be ſtuffed with ſuch kinde of dreames of much lyke effect.

Dunſtane made B. of Worceter, and of London. *Ex hiſt. Rog. Houeden.*

Spirituall lyuinges geuen by the king, and not by the Pope.

Oſwaldus biſh. of Worceter and after of Yorke, Ethelwoldus byſh. of Wint. a great maintayner of monkery.

An. 963.

Ex Gulielm. Malmeſberienſ. de geſtis pontif. Ang.

Of

Monkiſh dreames.

Of ſuch a lyke dreame we read, of the mother of Ethelſtane: how the moone did ſprynge out of her wombe, and gaue light to all England. Alſo of K. Charles the Emperour: how he was led by a thred to ſee the tormentes of hell. Likewiſe of Furceus the Heremite, mētioned in the third booke of Bede, who ſaw the ioyes of heauen & the iiij. fires that ſhould deſtroy the world: the one of lying, for breaking our promiſe made at baptiſme. The ſecōd fire was of couetous. The third of diſſentiō. The fourth was of the fire of impietie & wrongfull dealing. Itē in like ſort of the dreame of Dunſtane, and of the ſame Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three byſhops, Briſtanus, Birinus, and Swithinus. &c. Item of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who beyng great with him, did ſee a golden Eagle flee out of her mouth. &c. Of the dreame likewiſe or the viſion of kyng Edgar cōcernyng the fallyng of the two apples, and of the pots, one being full, the other empty of water. &c. Alſo of king Edward the confeſſor, touching the ruine of the land by the conqueſt of the Normandes. we read alſo in the hiſtory of Aſtiages, how he dreamed of Cyrus. And likewiſe of many other dreames in the bookes of the mōkes and of the Ethnicke writers.

Dreames not neceſſary to be regarded.
Difference of dreames.

For what cannot either the idle vanitie of mans head, or the deception of the lying ſpirite worke by man: in foreſhewing ſuch earthly euentes, as happen commonly in this preſent worlde? But here is a difference to be vnderſtood betweene theſe earthly dreames ſpeaking of earthly thinges, and matters of humane ſuperſtition: and betweene other ſpirituall reuelations ſent by God touchyng ſpirituall matters of the Church, pertaynyng to mans ſaluation.

How and when monkes firſt began to ſwarme in England.
Dunſtane, Ethelwold, Oſwald, three ſetters vp of Monkiſh religion.

But to our purpoſe, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare how and by what meanes the multitude of Monkes began firſt to ſwarme in the Churches of England (that is) in the dayes of this Edgar, by the meanes of theſe three Byſhops, Dunſtane, Ethelwold, and Oſwolde. Albeit Dunſtane was the chiefeſt ryngleader of this race: yet Ethelwold being now byſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald byſhop of Worceter, were not much behinde for their partes.

xl Monaſteries builded & repaired by K. Edgar.

By the inſtigation and counſel of theſe three aforeſaid, kyng Edgar is recorded in hiſtories to builde eyther new out of the ground, or to reedifie monaſteries decayed by ẏ Danes, mo then xl. As the houſe of Ely, Glaſtenbury, Abington, Burgh by Stamford, Thorney, Rameſey, Wilton, Wenton, Winchome, Thaniſtocke in Deuonſhyre, with diuers other mo. In the ſettyng vp and buildyng of the which, the foreſayd Edelwolde was a great doer and a founder vnder the kyng.

Prieſtes thruſt out of Cathedrall houſes, and Monkes ſet in.

Moreouer, through the motion of this Dunſtan and his fellowes: kyng Edgar in diuers great houſes and Cathedrall Churches, where Prebendaries and Prieſtes were before: diſplaced the Prieſtes, and ſet in Monkes.

Roger. Houeden lib. Continuationum, poſt Bedā.

Wherof we read in ẏ Chronicle of Rog. Houedē, in wordes and forme as followeth: Hic namq; Ethelwoldus Regem cuius eximius erat conſiliarius ad hoc maximè prouocauit, vt clericos a Monaſterijs expelleret, & monachos, ſanctimonialeſq; in eis collocaret. &c. That is: Ethelwold Byſhop of Wincheſter, who was then one of the kynges counſell, dyd vrge the kyng chiefly to expel Clerkes out of Monaſteries, and in their rowmes to beſtow Monkes and Nunnes. &c.

Chronicō Iornalenſ.

Wherunto accordeth likewiſe Hiſtoria Iornalenſis, contaynyng the like effect in theſe wordes: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oſwaldus Wygornenſis Epiſcopi, iuſſu Regis Edgari (clericis de quibuſdā maioribus Eccleſijs expulſis) Monachos inſtituerunt, aut de eiſdem clericis & alijs monachos in eiſdem fecerunt.

Guliel. de geſtis pontif. lib. 1.

Gulielmus alſo wrytyng of the tyme of Dūſtane, maketh the matter ſomwhat more playne, where he ſayth: Itaq; clerici multarum Eccleſiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerēt, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes. Surgebant itaq; in tota inſula, religioſorum monaſteria, cumulabantur mole pretioſi metalli ſanctorū altaria. &c. Thus ẏ ſecular Prieſts, beyng put to their choiſe, whether to chaūge their habite, or to leaue their rowmes: departed out of their houſes, geuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houſes & Monaſteries of Religious men through all the Realme, went vp apace. &c.

Oſwald Biſh. of Worceter, and Archb. of Yorke.
The pollicie of Oſwald in driuing out prieſtes to place in Monkes.

An. 969.

After the kynges mynde was thus perſwaded and incited by theſe Byſhops to aduaunce Monkery: then Oſwaldus Biſhop of Worceter, & alſo made Archbiſhop of Yorke, after the deceaſe of Oſkitellus, ſui voti compos effectus (as Houeden writeth) hauyng his ſea in the cathedrall Church there of S. Peter: Began firſt with fayre perſuaſions, to allay the myndes of the canons and Prieſtes: whether they could be content to chaunge their profeſſion and to be made Monkes, or no: which whē he ſaw it would not take effect, he practiſed this pollicie with thē. Neare to the ſayd church of S. Peter, within the Churchyard he erected an other Church of our Lady: which, whē he had repleniſhed with Monkes, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he ſat, and was euer there conuerſaunt.

Guliel. lib. 3. de Geſt. pontif. Chron. Iornalenſe in vita Edgari.

By reaſon whereof the other Church was left naked and deſolate, and all the people gathered there where the byſhop was. The Prieſtes ſeyng themſelues ſo to be left and neglected both of the Byſhop and of the people, to whom nothyng remayned but ſhame and contempte: were driuen of ſhame either to relinquiſhe the houſe (ſuch as would not enter the Monkiſh profeſſion) or els to become Mōkes: ſuch as had nothyng elles to ſtay vpon. After the like ſuperſtition (although not after ẏ ſame ſubtiltie) did Ethelwold alſo driue out the Chanons and Prieſtes from the new Monaſtery in Wincheſter, afterward called Hida: & placed his monkes. So in Oxford, and in Mildune, with diuers other places more: the ſecular Prieſts with their wiues were expelled to geue place to Monkes.

Prebendaries and Prieſtes ſlack in their duetie.

The cauſe whereof is thus pretended in certaine ſtory writers, whō I ſee alſo Fabian to follow: for that the Prieſts and Clerkes were thought ſlacke and negligent in their Church ſeruice, and ſet in Vicars in their ſteede, while they liued in pleaſure, and miſſpent the patrimony of the Church after their owne luſt. Then king Edgar gaue to the Vicars, the ſame land which before belonged to the prebendaries: who alſo not long after ſhewed themſelues as negligent, as the other.

Prieſtes voyded of Cathedral churches, and mōks ſet in.

wherfore kyng Edgar (as myne authors write) by the conſent of pope John. xiij. voyded clearely the Prieſtes, and ordained there mōkes. Although certaine of the nobles, and ſome of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the Chapiter followyng may partly appeare.

The difference, order, and inſtitution of monkes examined.

But for ſomuch as we haue entred into the mention of Monkes and Nunnes, and of their profeſſiō, which I ſee ſo greatly in our Monkiſh ſtories commended: leaſt perhappes the ſimple Reader may be deceaued thereby, in hearing the name of Mōkes in all hiſtories of tymes to be ſuch an auncient thyng in Chriſtian lyfe (euē from the primitiue Church after the Apoſtles tyme) both commonly recited, & well receaued: therfore to helpe the iudgement of the ignoraunt, and to preuent all errour herein: It ſhall not be vnprofitable, in followyng the preſent occaſion here geuen (by way of a litle digreſſion) to entermedle ſomwhat cōcernyng the originall inſtitution of Monkes: what they were in the old tyme, which were called Monachi, wherein the Mōkes of the primitiue tyme, did differre from the Monkes of the middle tyme, & frō theſe our Mōkes now of this latter age. Moreouer wherein all theſe three do differ from Prieſtes (as we call them) and from men of the Clergy. wherfore to anſwere to the ſuperſtitious ſcruple of ſuch, which allege the old antiquitie of the name and title of Monkes: firſt I graunt, the name and order of Monkes to be of old continuaunce, duryng neare from the tyme of. 300. yeares after Chriſt. Of whom diuers old authors do record, as Auguſtinus, Hieronymus, Baſilius Magnus, who was alſo himſelfe one of the firſt inſtitutors and commenders of that ſuperſtition. Chryſoſtomus, Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozomenus, Dionyſius, & diuers other.

Two ſortes of monkes in the primitiue Church.

In the number of theſe Mōkes (which then were deuided into Hermites or Anachorites, and into Cœnobites) were Antonius, Paulus, Ioannes, with diuers other recluſes: Amōg the which was Hierome, Baſile, Macarius, Iſidorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite other: both in Paleſtina, Syria, Thebaide, Meſopotamia, in Egypt, in Africa, and Scythia.

Caſſianus. lib. 2. cap. 4. de canon. Noctur. orat.

In ſomuch that Caſſianus. Lib. 2. cap. 4. de Canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mentiō of a certaine Monaſtery in Thebaide, wherin were aboue 5000. monkes vnder the gouernemēt of one Abbot. And here alſo in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thouſand and. 200. Monkes vnder one mans ruling, in the yeare of our Lord. 596. whereby it appeareth, that Monkes were then, and. 200. yeares before in the primitiue tyme of the Church. But what Monkes theſe were, is to be conſidered. Such as either by tyranny of perſecution, were driuen into ſolitary and deſert places, or els ſuch as not conſtrained of any, but of their owne voluntary deuotion (ioyned with ſome ſuperſtition among, for the loue they had to ſpirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themſelues from all company: either hauyng nothyng to themſelues proper, or els all thynges common with other.

Two ſortes of lay men.
Monkes in the olde time were no other but lay men, leading a ſtraiter lyfe.

And all theſe were then nothyng els but lay men. Of which lay men there were two ſundry ſortes: one of the vulgare and common people, which onely were partakers of the Sacramentes: the other in followyng a Monaſticall kynde of life, were called Monkes (beyng nothyng but lay men) leadyng a more ſeuere and ſtraighter trade of lyfe, then the other: as may ſufficiently appeare by Auguſt. Lib. de moribus Eccleſiæ cap. 13. Item Lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item Epiſtola ad Aurelium.

Auguſt. de mor. eccleſiæ. Hieronym. ad Heliodor.

Alſo by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writyng theſe wordes: Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia clericorum. Clerici paſcūt oues,

ego

Dionyſius. Concilium Chalced. Can.4.

Mõkes forbiddẽ to intermeddle with matters eccleſiaſticall.

ego paſcor.&c. That is: One thyng perteineth to Mõkes, an other thyng to them of the Clergy. They of the Clergy feede their flocke: I am fed. &c. Et ex Dionyſio. Alſo the ſame appeareth likewiſe by the iiij. Canon of the Councell of Chalcedone, where it is prouided, Ne Monachi ſe Eccleſiaſticis negocijs immiſceant. That is, That mõkes ſhould not intermedle with matters of the Church. &c. Et Leo Epiſtola.62. vetat Monachos & laicos, etſi ſciẽtię nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

Mõkes differing from Prieſtes. Monkes in the primitiue time differing from Monkes in the ij. age of the church.

Auguſt. de inſtitutis monachorum.

Sozomen. lib.3. cap.16

Monkes of the primitiue time were no clerkes, but mere lay mẽ.

Monkes of the olde time ſome maried, none reſtrayned from mariage.

Athanaſius epiſtola ad Dracon.

By theſe foreſayd authors alledged it is euident: that Monkes in the former age of the Church, albeit they liued a ſolitary life, yet they were then no other but onely lay mẽ: differyng from Prieſtes, & differing from the other mõkes, whiche ſucceeded them afterward in the middle age of the Church, and that in iij. pointes. Firſt they were tyde and bound to no preſcript forme either of dyet, or apparell, or of any thyng els: as we may ſee teſtified by the wordes of S. Auſten, which be theſe: Neq; inter hæc nemo vrgetur in aſpera, quę ferre nõ poteſt: Nulli quod recuſat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur a cæteris in quo eis imitandis ſe fatetur inualidum. Meminerunt enim quantoperè commendata ſit in Scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis. &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, ſed quod exit. Itaq; non reijciendis generibus ciborum, quaſi pollutis, ſed concupiſcentiæ perdomandæ, & dilectioni fratrum retinendæ inuigilat omnis induſtria. And Sozomenus Libr. 3. cap. 16. ſpeaking of the Mõkes of the ſame time, which in cities had ſeuerall manſions from other, ſayth: Alij in turba ciuitatũ conuerſabantur, ſic ſeipſos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & a multis nihil differrẽt. &c. Some liued in Cities, ſo behauyng thẽſelues, as ſeemyng nothing worth: and they differed nothyng from the multitude. &c. The ſecond poynt wherein they were diſcrepant from the latter Monkes: was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely beyng of a ſtraiter lyfe then the reſt) & had nothyng to do in matters and charges Eccleſiaſticall. Which was afterward broken, by Pope Bonifacius the. 4 as foloweth more (the Lord willyng) to be ſeene, and ſayd. Thirdly, the foreſayd Monkes of that age (albeit the moſt part of them liued ſole and ſingle from wiues) yet ſome of them were maried: certes none of them were forbiddẽ or reſtrained from mariage. Of ſuch as were maryed, ſpeaketh Athanaſius in Epiſtola ad Dracontium: qui ait ſe nouiſſe & Monachos & Epiſcopos coniuges & liberorum patres. &c. 1. which ſayth that he knew both Monkes & Byſhops maried men, and fathers of children. &c.

Superſtition crept in with monkery. The ignorance of our free iuſtification by Chriſt, is the cauſe of all ſuperſtition.

Ex Caſſia. cap. 17. collat. 2.

Examples declaring the blinde ſuperſtition of the monkes of the olde time

And yet the ſayd Monkes of the old tyme, though they were better then the other which folowed them: yet all that notwithſtandyng, ſuperſtition with them and among them begã then to creepe into the church, through the crafty ſubtility of Sathan: And all for the ignoraunce of our free iuſtification by fayth in Jeſus Chriſt. Examples do declare the vayne and prodigious ſuperſtitiõ of theſe Monaſticall ſorte of men, which examples do not lacke: if layſure rather did not lacke to bring them in. But ij. or iij. ſhall ſuffice for many: which I purpoſe (the Lord willyng) here to inſerte: to the intent the mynde of the godly reader may the better cõſider and vnderſtãd, how ſhortly after ẏ tyme of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the doctrine of Chriſtian iuſtification began to be forgotten: true Religion turned to ſuperſtition: And the price of Chriſtes paſſion to be obſcured through the vayne opinion of mẽs merites. &c. A certeine Abbot named Moſes thus teſtifieth of himſelfe, in the Collatiõs of Caſſianus: that he ſo afflicted himſelfe with much faſtyng and watchyng, that ſometymes for ij. or iij. dayes together, not onely he felt no appetite to eate, but alſo had no remẽbraũce of any meate, at all: and by reaſon therof was driuen alſo frõ ſleepe. In ſomuch that he was cauſed to pray to God, but for a litle refreſhyng of ſleepe to be geuen him ſome peece of the night. In the ſame author, mention is made of a certaine old man an Heremite: who becauſe he had conceiued in him ſelfe ſuch a purpoſe neuer to eate meate without he had ſome geſt or ſtraunger with him, ſome tyme was conſtrayned to abſteine fiue dayes together vntill Sonday, while he came to the Church and there brought ſome ſtraunger or other home with him.

Caſſianus lib. de ſpiritu Gaſtrimarg. cap.40

Superſtition.

Two other examples yet more will I adde out of the ſayd Caſſianus, to declare how the ſubtilitie of Sathã, through ſuperſtition and falſe colour of holynes blyndeth the miſerable eyes of ſuch, which rather attende mens traditions, then the word of God. In the xl. chap. of the ſayd author in his booke de Gaſtrimargia, is told of a certaine Abbot named Joannes in the deſert of Scythia: who ſent ij. of his Nouices with figges vnto one that was ſicke in the wildernes xviij. miles of from the Church. It chaunced theſe two young Nouices miſſyng the way, wandered ſo long in the wild foreſt or wildernes, & could not finde the Celle, that for emptines & werynes they waxed faynt and tyred. And yet rather would they dye, then taſt the figges comitted to them to cary. And ſo dyd, for ſhortly after they were found dead, their figges lying whole by them.

Caſſian. lib.5. cap.2

An other ſtory he alſo reciteth of two Monaſticall brethren, who makyng their progreſſe in the deſert of Thebaide: purpoſed with thẽſelues, to take no ſuſtenaũce but ſuch as the Lord ſhould miniſter him ſelfe vnto them. It happened, as they were wanderyng deſolate in the deſert, and fayntyng almoſt for penury, certaine Mazices, a kynde of people by nature fearce and cruell: notwithſtandyng, beyng ſodenly altered into a new nature of humanitie, came forth and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them. Which bread the one thankefully receaued as ſent of God. The other as counting it ſent of man and not of God refuſed it, and ſo for lacke periſhed.

Monkery mother of ſuperſtition & hipocriſie

Baſilius Magnus. Nazianzenus.

Hereunto might I alſo annexe the ſtory of Mucius, who to declare his obedience, did not ſticke at the commaũdement of his Abbot, to caſt hys ſonne into the water, not knowing whether any were appoynted there ready to reſcue hym from drowning: ſo farre were the Mõkes in thoſe dayes drowned in ſuperſtition. What is thys, but for mãs traditions and commaundementes, to tranſgreſſe the commaundement of God, which ſayth: Thou ſhalt do no murther. Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is ſo blynde, that ſeeth not by theſe & infinite examples mo: what pernitious ſuperſtition hath begon by reaſon of thys Monkery, almoſt from the beginning, to creepe into the Church. Wherfore I cannot maruell inough, ſeeing that age of the Church, had in it ſo many learned and famous Doctours, who not onely did approue and allow theſe monaſticall ſectes of life: but alſo certaine themſelues were the authors and inſtitutors of the ſame, yea and of mens traditions made the ſeruice of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Baſilius Magnus, & Nazianzenus, who with immoderate auſteritie did ſo plucke downe thẽſelues, that when they were called to the office of Byſhops, they were not able to ſuſtayne the labour therof.

Monkes of the middle & latter age of the church deſcribed.

Cauſes of the founding of monaſteries & Nunries tending to the derogatiõ of Chriſtes paſſiõ & chriſtian faith.

Moſt part of monaſteries were builded vpõ ſome murther.

The order of monkes Cluniack, by Otho ſet vp in king Edgars time.

After theſe foreſayd Monkes of that tyme aboue recited, followed other Mõkes of the middle age of the church: who as in multitude, ſo alſo in ſuperſtition increaſing, began by litle and litle from their deſolate dens in the vaſte wildernes, to approche more neare to great townes: where they had ſolẽne monaſteries foũded by Kings & Queenes, and Kinges daughters, and other rich Conſuls, as is partly before touched. pag.134. And the cauſes alſo touched withall, for the which they were firſt founded, as theſe: pro remedio animæ meæ: pro remiſſione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, et pro ſalute regnorum, quiq; meo ſubiacent regimini populorum. In honorem glorioſæ virginis. &c. For all theſe impious and erronious titles and cauſes, we finde alledged in ſtoryes, as in Malmeſberienſis, Iornalenſis, Henricus, and other moe. In which hiſtories I alſo note, that the moſt part of theſe foreſayd monaſteries were erected firſt vpon ſome great murther, eyther by warre in the field, or priuately committed at home: as ſhall well appeare to them which read the bookes whom I haue alledged. But to returne to our Monkes agayne, who (as is ſayd) firſt began to creepe from the colde field into warme townes and cloiſters: from townes, then into cities, and at lẽgth from their cloſe celles and cities, into Cathedrall Churches (as here appeareth by this ſtory of king Edgar) where, not onely they did abound in wealth and riches (eſpecially theſe Monkes of our latter tyme) but much more did ſwimme in ſuperſtition, and phariſaicall hipocriſie, beyng yoked and tyed in all their doinges, to certayne preſcript rules and formall obſeruancies: in watching, in ſleeping, in eating, in riſing, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in taſting, in touching, in handling, in their geſtures, in their veſtures, euery man apparelled not as the proper condition of other would require, nor as the ſeaſon of ẏ yeare did ſerue: but as the coacted rules & order of euery ſect did enforce thẽ. The number of which ſectes was infinitely diuers: ſome after Baſilius rule, went in white: ſome after Benets rule in blacke: ſome Cluniacenſis firſt ſet vp by Otho in the tyme of thys king Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order: Some after Hieromes rule, leather gyrdled, and coaped aboue their white coate: Some Gregorians, copper coloured: ſome de valle vmbroſa, gray Monkes: Some Grãdimontenſes, wearing a coate of mailes vpõ their bare bodies, with a blacke cloke thereupon. Some Ciſtercianes, who had white rochets on a blacke coate: Some Celeſtines, all in blew, both cloke, coule, and cap: Some Charter Monkes, wearing heare cloth next their bodies: ſome

Flagel-

Monarchi flagellantes.

Mõkes are ſubiect & ruled by the knocke of a bell.

Flagellantes, going barefoote in long white linnen ſhirtes, wyth an open place in the backe, where they beat thẽſelues with ſcourges on the bare ſkinne euery day, before the peoples eyes, till the bloud ranne downe: ſaying that it was reuealed to them by an Angell, that in ſo ſcourging themſelues, within xxx. dayes & xij. houres, they ſhould be made ſo pure from ſinne as they were when they firſt receaued baptiſme. Some ſtarred Monkes. Some Ieſuites, with a white gyrdle and a ruſſet coule. Briefly, who can recken vp the innumerable ſectes & diſguiſed orders of their fraternities: ſome holding of S. Benet, ſome of S. Hierome. Some of Baſil: Some of S. Bernard, ſome of S. Briget, ſome of S. Bruno, ſome of S. Lewes, as though it were not inough for Chriſten men to hold of Chriſt onely: ſo ſubiect were they to ſeruile rules, that no part of Chriſtẽ libertie remayned among them. So drowned and ſunke in ſuperſtition: that not onely they had loſt Chriſtes religion, but alſo almoſt the ſenſe and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the diſcrete gouernement of reaſon in all outward doynges, wherein no one rule can ſerue for all men: the circumſtaunce of tyme, place, perſon, and buſines beyng ſo ſundry and diuers. Cõtrary, amõg theſe: not reaſon but onely the knocke of a bell, ruled all their doynges: their riſing, their ſleepyng, their praying, their eatyng, their commyng in, their goyng out, their talkyng, their ſilence, & all together like inſenſible people, either not hauyng reaſon to rule themſelues: or els as perſons vngrateful to God, neither inioying the benefite of reaſon created in thẽ, nor yet vſing the grace of Chriſtes libertie, wherunto he redemed them.

Monkes made ſpirituall miniſters contrary to the old decrees and cuſtome of the church.

Prieſtes in kyng Edgars tyme had wiues.

Thus thou ſeeſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently declared, what the mõkes were in the primitiue tyme of the church, and what were the Monkes of the middle age, and of theſe our latter dayes of the Church. Wherunto ioyne this with all, that where the Monkes of elder tyme (as is ſayd) were mere lay men, and no ſpirituall miniſters: Afterward Bonifacius the iiij. made a decree, an. 606. that mõkes might vſe the office of preachyng, of Chriſtenyng, of hearyng confeſſions, & alſo of aſſoylyng them of their ſinnes. &c. So the Monkes, who in the begynnyng were but lay men, and no ſpirituall miniſters, forbidden by the generall Councell of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters Eccleſiaſticall: afterward in proces of time did ſomuch incroch vpon the office of ſpirituall miniſters, that at length the Prieſtes were diſcharged out of their Cathedrall churches, and Monkes ſet in their places. Becauſe that mõkes in thoſe dayes, leadyng a ſtraighter lyfe, and profeſſing chaſtitie, had a greater countenaunce of holynes amõg the people, then the Prieſtes, who then in the dayes of kyng Edgar had wiues (at leaſt ſo many as would) no law forbyddyng them to the contrary: till the tyme of Hildebrand called Gregory the vij. wherof more ſhalbe ſayd (Chriſt willyng) in the booke next folowyng.

The worthy acts of kyng Edgar.

The king a good iuſticiarie.

England reduced into one full and perfect monarchie.

Edgarus Rex Pacificus.

King Edgar & K. Alfrede compared together.

A note for mẽ of nobilitie to marke.

A notable example of a prince to admoniſhe all princes what to doe.

And thus much by the way as touchyng the order and profeſſion of monkes: now to turne in agayne, from whence we digreſſed (that is) to the matter of kyng Edgar: who folowyng the counſell and leadyng of Dunſtane, & the foreſayd Ethelwold byſhop of Wincheſter, was ſomwhat therby inclined to ſuperſtition. But otherwiſe of his owne nature, wel geuen to all vertues and princely actes worthy of much commẽdation, and famous memory. So excellẽt was he in iuſtice, and ſharpe in correctiõ of vices, (as well in his magiſtrates, as other ſubiects) that neuer before his dayes was leſſe felony by robbers, nor leſſe extortion or bribery by falſe officers. Such prouinces and Lordſhyps as were not yet come vnder the kynges ſubiection: he vnited and adioyned to his dominion. And ſo made one perfect monarchy of the whole Realme of England, with all the Ilandes and borders about the ſame. Such as were wicked he kept vnder: he repreſſed them that were rebels: the godly he maintained: he loued the modeſt: he was deuout to God: and beloued of his ſubiects, whom he gouerned in much peace and quietnes. And as he was a great ſeker of peace, ſo God did bleſſe him with much aboundaũce of peace and reſt from all warres: ſo that as the hiſtory recordeth of him, Nullas inſidias domeſticorum, nullum exterminium alienorũ ſenſerit, for the which, he was called Pacificus: He neither taſted of any priuie treaſon among his ſubiectes, nor of any inuaſion of forein enemies. So ſtudious he was of the publike profite of his Realme, and fruitfull in his gouernemẽt: that as the ſayd ſtory teſtifieth of him, Nullus ferè annus in Chronicis præterijt, quo non magnum & neceſſarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No yeare paſſed in all the tyme of his reigne wherein he did not ſome ſingular and neceſſary commoditie for the common wealth. &c. A great maintayner he was of Religion and learnyng: not forgettyng herein the foreſteppes of kyng Alfred his predeceſſor. Among his other princely vertues, this chiefly is to be regarded: ỹ where as other princes cõmonly in much peace and quietnes are wont to grow into a diſſolute negligence of life, or obliuion of their charge committed vnto them: This kyng in continuaunce of peace (that notwithſtandyng) kept euer with him ſuch a watch, and a vigilant ſeuerity ioyned with a ſeemely clemency, that I can not here but recite the witnes of our ſtory writers, teſtifying of his diligent care ouer the cõmen wealth: which was ſo great, Vt nullũ cuiuſcunq; dignitatis hominem leges eludere impunè permitteret. i. That he would ſuffer no man of what degree of nobilitie ſo euer he were, to dally out his lawes without condigne puniſhment. &c. And foloweth more in the ſame author. Nemo eius tẽpore priuatus latro, Nemo popularis prædo, niſi qui mallet in fortunas alienas graſſari propriæ vitę diſpẽdio. &c. In all his time there was neither any priuey pyker, nor opẽ theefe: but he that in ſtealyng other mens goodes, would venter & ſuffer (as he was ſure) the loſſe of his owne life. &c. Guliel. de Reg.

Wolues firſt driuen out of England.

Moreouer as the ſtudious induſtrie of this Prince was forward in all other pointes: ſo his prudent prouiſion did not lacke in this alſo, in driuyng out the deuouryng and rauenyng wolues, through out all his land. Wherin he vſed this policie: In cauſing Ludwallus Prince or kyng of Wales, to yeld to him yearely by way of tribute. 300. Wolues. By meanes wherof within the ſpace of iiij. yeares after, in England & Wales, might ſcantly be found one wolfe a lyue.

The prouiſion of K. Edgar in keeping the ſeas.

A notable example in a prince, for all good princes to marke & to follow.

The deuiſe of K. Edgar to auoyde dronkennes.

This Edgar among other of his politike deedes, had in readines. 3600. ſhyppes of warre, to ſcoure the Seas in the ſommer time: wherof. 1200. kept the Eaſt ſeas: as many to defend the Weſt ſide: agayne as many on the Southſeas, to repulſe the inuaſion of forein enemies. Moreouer in winter ſeaſon, the vſe and maner of this vertuous kyng was this: duryng all the tyme of his life, to ryde ouer ỹ land in progreſſe, ſearchyng and inquiryng diligently (to vſe here the wordes of myne author) Quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum obſeruarentur: & ne pauperes a potentibus præiudiciũ paſſi opprimerentur. This is. How his lawes and ſtatutes by him ordeined were kept, and that the poore ſhould ſuffer no preiudice or be oppreſſed any maner of wayes by the mightier. &c. Briefly as I ſee many things in this worthy prince to be commended: ſo this one thing in him I can not but lament. To ſee him lyke a Phenix to flee alone, that of all his poſteritie ſo few there be that ſeeke to keepe him company. And although I haue ſhewed more already of this kyng, then I thinke will well be folowed, yet this more is to be added to ỹ worthynes of his other actes. That where as by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in diuers places of England, much exceſſiue drinking was vſed, wherupon enſued dronkenes, and many other vices, to the euill example and hurt of his ſubiectes: he therfore to preuent that euill, ordeined certaine cuppes, with pynnes, or nayles ſet in them, addyng therunto a law: that what perſõ dranke paſt that marke at one draught, ſhould forfayte a certaine peny. Wherof one halfe ſhould fal to the accuſer, and the other halfe to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

viij. kynges do homage to K. Edgar.

The glory of K. Edgar reprehended.

Wherein kings ought to glory.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the. xiij. yeare of his reigne, he beyng at Cheſter: viij. kinges (called in hiſtories Subreguli) to wit, petykynges, or vnderkynges: came and did homage to him. Of whom the firſt was the kyng of Scottes, called Kinadius: Macolinus of Cumberland. Mackus or Maſcuſinus kyng of Monix, and of diuers other Ilandes: and all the kynges of Wales, the names of whom were Dufual, or Dunewaldus, Sifreth, Huwall, Iacob. Vikyll, Iuchell. All which kyngs after they had geuen their fidelitie to Edgar: the next day followyng (for a pompe or royaltie) he entred with theſe aforeſayd kynges into the riuer of Dee. Where he ſittyng in a boate tooke the rule of the helme, and cauſed theſe viij. kyngs, euery perſon takyng an ore in his hand to row him vp & downe the riuer to and from the Church of S. Iohn vnto his palace agayne, in tokẽ that he was maiſter and Lord of ſo many prouinces: wherupon he is reported to haue ſayd in this maner: Tunc demum poſſe ſucceſſores ſuos gloriari ſe Reges Angliæ eſſe, cum tanta prærogatiua honorum fruerẽtur. But in my mynde this kyng had ſayd much better, if he had rather ſayd with S. Paule: Abſit mihi gloriari, niſi in cruce Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti.

K. Edgar a ſuperſtitious upholder of Monkery. *Ex Edmero.*

And thus ye haue hearde hetherto touchyng the commendation of king Edgar, ſuch reportes as the old Monkiſh writers thought to beſtowe vpon hym, as vppon the great patrone of their monkiſh religion, who had builded ſo many monaſteries for them, as were ſondayes in the yeare (as ſome ſay) or, as Edmer reporteth, but 48.

Vices noted in K. Edgar.

Now on the other ſide, what vices in hym were reignyng let vs likewiſe conſider, accordyng as we finde in the ſayd authors deſcribed which moſt wryte to hys aduauncement. Wherof the firſt vice is noted to be crueltie, as well vpon others, as namely vpon a certayne earle beyng of hys ſecret counſaile called Ethelwold. The ſtory is this, Orgarius Duke of Deuonſhyre had a certayne daughter named Elfrida, whoſe beautie beyng highly commended to the kyng, he beyng inflamed therwith, ſent this foreſaid Ethelwold (whom he eſpecially truſted) to the partie, to ſee and to bryng hym worde agayne, if her beautie were ſuch as was reported, willyng hym alſo to make the match betwene them. Ethelwold well viewyng the partie and ſeyng her beautie nothing inferiour to her fame, and thinking firſt to ſerue hys owne turne, tolde all thinges contrary to the kyng. Wherupon the kyng withdrawing his minde otherwiſe, in the ende it came to paſſe that Ethelwold hymſelfe dyd mary her.

K. Edgar circumuented by one of hys owne coūſel.

Not long after, the kyng vnderſtandyng farther by the complaintes and rumors of certayne, how he was preuented and beguiled, ſet a faire face vpon the matter before Ethelwold, and merily ieſtyng with hym, told hym howe he would come and ſee his wyfe, and in dede appoynted the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the huſbande perceauyng this matter to go hardly with hym, made haſt to hys wyfe, declaryng to her the comming of the kyng, and alſo opening the whole order of the matter how he had done, deſired her of all loue, as ſhe would ſaue hys lyfe, to diſgrace and deforme her ſelf with garments and ſuch attyre, as the kyng might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this what dyd ſhe, but contrary to the requeſt of her huſband & promiſe of a wyfe, agaynſt the kynges commyng trymmed her ſelfe at the glaſſe, and decked her in her beſt aray. Whom when the kyng beheld, he was not ſo much enamored with her, as in hatred with her huſbād who had ſo deceiued him. Whereupon the kyng ſhortly after makyng as thoughe he would go to hunt in the foreſt of Harwood, ſent for Ethelwold to come to hym vnder the pretence of huntyng & there ran hym throw and ſlue hym. After this the baſtard ſonne of Ethelwold commyng to hym, the kyng aſked hym how he lyked that huntyng. Who aunſwered agayne: that which pleaſeth the kyng, ought not to diſpleaſe him. For the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a Monaſtery of Nunnes in remiſſion of ſinnes.

Crueltie in K. Edgar noted.

An other fault which Malmeſbery noteth in him, was the comming in of ſtraungers into this land, as Saxones, Flemminges, & Danes, whom he with great familiaritie retayned, to the great detriment of this land, as the foreſaid ſtory of Malmeſbery recordeth: whoſe wordes be theſe. Vndè factum eſt, vt fama eius per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipſi etiam Dani huc frequēter annauigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti: quorum aduentus magnum prouincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde meritò iureq́; reprehendunt eum literæ. &c. That is: wherby it happened, that diuers ſtraungers out of foreine countreys, allured by hys fame, came into the land, as Saxons, Flemmyngs, and Danes alſo, all which he retayned with great familiaritie. The commyng of whiche ſtraungers wrought great damage to the realme, and therfore is Edgar iuſtly blamed in ſtories. &c. with the which reprehenſion all the Saxon ſtories alſo do agree.

Great detriment happenyng in thys Realme by K. Edgar.

W. Malmeſb.

The third vice to hym obiected was hys incontinent and laſciuious luſt in deflouring maides, as firſt of a dukes daughter beyng a Nunne and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilftrude, of which Wilfride was borne Editha, a baſtarde daughter of Edgar. Alſo of an other certayne virgin in the towne of Andeuar, who was priuily conueyed into his bed by thys meanes. The laſciuious kyng commyng to Andeuar, not farre from Wincheſter, and thinkyng to haue his pleaſure of a certayne Dukes daughter of whoſe beauty he heard much ſpeakyng, commaunded the mayd to be broght vnto hym. The mother of the virgin greeued to haue her daughter made a concubine, ſecretly by night conueyed to the kinges bed in ſtead of her daughter, an other mayden of beauty and fauour not vncomely: who in the mornyng riſing to her worke, and ſo beyng knowen of the kyng what ſhe was, had graunted vnto her of the kyng ſuche libertie and freedome, that of a ſeruant ſhe was made miſtres both to her maiſter and alſo to her miſtreſſe. Ex Math. Pariſ. lib. de Regib.

The incontinent life of K. Edgar. Editha baſe daughter of Wilfrid the kinges lemman.

An other concubine he had alſo beſides theſe aforeſaid, which was Egelfleda, or Elfleda, called Cādida (ẏ white) daughter of Duke Ordmere (as Guliel. Malmeſb. recordeth) ſhe beyng alſo a profeſſed Nunne, of whom he begot Edward in baſtardy. For the which he was enioyned by Dunſtane 7. yeares penance. After which penance beyng complete, then he tooke to hym a lawfull wyfe (as Malmeſ. ſayth) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwyſe called Egelred, wherof more ſhalbe ſaid (ẏ Lord willyng) hereafter.

Edward borne in baſtardie of Elflede, king Edwardes concubine.

Ouer and beſides all theſe vices noted and obiected to kyng Edgar in our Monkiſh ſtorywriters, I alſo obſerue an other no leſſe, or rather greater vyce then the other afore recited, which was blynd ſuperſtition and Idolatrous monkery brought into the church of Chriſt, with the wrongfull expulſing of lawfull maried prieſtes out of theyr houſes. Wherupon what inconueniences enſued after in thys realme, eſpecially in the houſe of the Lord, I leaue it to the conſideration of them which haue hearde of the deteſtable enormities of theſe religious votaries. The occaſiō wherof firſt and chiefly began in this Edgar, through the inſtigation of Dunſtane and hys fellowes, who after they had inueigled the kyng and had wrought him to their purpoſe, they cauſed hym to call a Councell of the Clergy: where it was enacted and decreed, that the Canons of diuers Cathedrall Churches, colleginars, perſons, vicars, prieſtes, & deacons with their wyues and children either ſhould geue ouer that kynde of lyfe, or els geue rowme to Monkes. &c. For execution of which decree two principall viſitors were appoynted, Athelwold or Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwold biſhop of Worceſter, as is partly before touched, pag. 154. Oſbernus in vita Dunſtani. Malmſb. De vit. pontif. Rog. Houed.

K. Edgar a great maintayner of monkery.

K. Edgar ſeduced by Dunſtane, and Ethelwold Biſh. of Wincheſter.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani, Fol. 25. Malmeſb. Houedeno & alijs.

And thus much concernyng the hiſtory of kyng Edgar end of ſuch thinges as in his tyme happened in the church. Which Edgar after he had entred into the partes of Britannie, to ſubdue the rebellion of the Welchmen, and there had ſpoyled the coūtrey of Glamorgan, & waſted the countrey of Ono within x. dayes after, when he had reigned the ſpace of 16. yeares, dyed, and was buried at Glaſtenbury, leauyng after hym two baſtardes, to witte, Editha and Edward, and one ſonne lawfully begotten, named Ethelred, or otherwiſe by corruption called Egelred: For Edmund the elder ſonne dyed before hys father.

The death of kyng Edgar.

Ye heard before how kyng Edgar is noted in all ſtories to be an incontinent liuer in deflouring maydes and virgines. Of which virgines iij. notoriouſly are expreſſed in authors, to witte, Wilftrude or Wilfride: the ſeconde was the Dukes mayd at Andouar, nie to Wyncheſter: the third was Elflede mother of Edwarde, for the whiche Elflede he was ſtayd and kept backe from hys coronation by Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Cant. the ſpace of 7. yeares: and ſo the ſayd kyng beginnyng hys reigne in the 16. yeare of hys age beyng the yeare of the Lorde. 959. was crowned at hys age 31. An. dom. 974. as is in the Saxon chronicle of Worceſter church to be proued. For the more euident declaration of which matter concernyng the coronation of ẏ king reſtrayned, and the preſumptuous behauiour of Dunſtane agaynſt the king, and his penance by the ſayde Dunſtane enioyned, ye ſhall heare both Oſborne, Malmeſb. and other authors ſpeake in theyr owne wordes as followeth. Perpetrato itaq; in virginem velatam peccato. &c. After that Dūſtane had vnderſtandyng of the kinges offence perpetrated with the profeſſed Nunne, and that the ſame was blaſed amongſt the people, with great ire & paſſiō of mynde he came to ẏ kyng. Who ſeing ẏ Archb. cōmyng, eftſones of gētlenes aroſe from hys regall ſeat towardes hym, to take him by ẏ hande, and to geue hym place. But Dunſtane refuſing to take hym by the hand, and with ſterne countenaunce bendyng hys browes, ſpake after this effect of wordes (as ſtories importe) vnto the kyng: You that haue not feared to corrupt a virgine mayd handfaſt to Chriſt, preſume you to touch the conſecrated handes of a biſhop? you haue defiled the ſpouſe of your maker, and thinke you by flattering ſeruice to pacifie the frend of the bridegrome? No ſir, his frend will not I be whiche hath Chriſt to his enemy, &c. The kyng terrified with theſe thundryng wordes of Dūſtane, and compuncted wyth inwarde repentaunce of hys crime perpetrated, fell downe with weepyng at the feete of Dunſtane. Who, after he had rayſed him vp from the grounde agayne, began to vtter to hym the horribleneſſe of hys fact, & findyng the kyng ready to receiue whatſoeuer ſatiſfaction he would lay vpon hym, enioyned hym this penance for 7. yeres ſpace, as foloweth: That he ſhould weare no crowne all that ſpace: that he ſhould faſt twiſe in the weeke: he ſhould diſtribute hys treaſure left to him of his aunceters, liberally vnto the poore: he ſhould builde a monaſtery of Nunnes at Shafteſbury, that as he had robbed God of one virgine through hys tranſgreſſion, ſo ſhoulde he reſtore to hym many againe in tymes to come: Moreouer he ſhould expell Clerkes of euill lyfe (meanyng ſuch prieſtes as had wiues and children) out of Churches, and place Couents of Monkes in their rowme. &c.

Ex Chronico Saxonico Eccleſiæ VVigornenſis.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani.

Dūſtane refuſeth to take the kyng by the hand.

The wordes of Dunſtane to kyng Edgar.

Penance enioyned to K. Edgar by Dunſtane.

It followeth then in the ſtory of Oſborne, that when the vij. yeres of the kings penaunce were expired: Dun-

Kyng Edward reigned but iij. yeares crowned kyng.

Elflede proued a Nunne and Edward her ſonne a baſtard.

ſtane callyng together all the peeres of the Realme, wyth Biſhops, Abbots, and other eccleſiaſticall degrees of the clergy, in the publike ſight of all the multitude ſet ỹ crowne vpon thys kynges head at Bathe, which was the 31. yeare of hys age, and the 13. yeare of hys raigne ſo that he reigned onely but 3. yeares crowned kyng. All the other yeares beſides, Dunſtane belyke ruled the land as he liſted. Further more as touchyng the ſonne of the ſayd Elfled, thus ỹ ſtory writeth: Puerum quoq; ex pellicatrice quondam progenitũ, ſacro fonte regeneratum lauauit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium ſibi adoptauit. i. The child alſo, which was gotten of the harlot he baptiſed in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo geuyng hys name to be called Edward, dyd adopt hym to be his ſonne. &c. Ex Oſberno.

Errours in Malmeſbery, & certayne other monkes ſtories.

By the which narration of Oſberne, agreeyng alſo with the ſtory of the Saxon booke aboue mentioned, is conuinced a double vntruth or errour, eyther negligently ouerſene, or of purpoſe diſſembled in our later monkiſh ſtory writers as in Malmeſbury, Math. Pariſ. Math. Weſtm. and other mo. Who to conceale the fault of kyng Edgar, or to beare with Dunſtans fact in ſettyng vp Edward for the maintenance of their monkiſh order, firſt do falſely affirme, that Editha the daughter of Vlfride was borne after Edward, & that for her thys penaunce was enioyned to kyng Edgar, which neither is, nor can be ſo, as in proceſſe hereafter (the Lorde willyng) ſhall appeare.

The 1. errour. The kynges penaunce not enioyned for Edith but for Edward.

The 2 errour. Elflede the mother of Edward proued to be a profeſſed Nune.

Secondly, they are deceiued in this, that they affirme kyng Edgar to haue two wyues and that Elfleda the mother of Edward was not a profeſſed Nunne in deede, but diſſembled ſo to be, to auoyde the violence of the kyng: whereas in deede the truth of the ſtory doth geueth her to bee a Nunne, and her ſonne to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelfe neuer to be maried vnto the kyng.

The lying myracles of Elflede, Dunſtane, and Editha reproued.

Now, for as much as we haue hitherto entred mention of Elfleda and Editha, alſo of Wlfrede, and Dunſtane, here would not be let paſſe to ſpeake ſomethyng of their lying miracles falſely forged to the great ſeduction of chriſtẽ people by ſuperſtitious Monkes, who cared not what fables and lyes they brought into the church, ſo they might haue the vantage of poore mens purſes and oblations. And firſt here commeth in the fabulous miracles wrought at the tombe of Elfleda the kinges concubine, which W. Malmeſ. in theſe verſes expreſſeth: Nam nõnullis paſſa annis morborum moleſtiam, Defecatam & excoctam Deo dedit animam. Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuuias, Infinitis clemens ſignis illuſtrauit Deitas. Inopes viſus & auditus ſi adorãt tumulum, Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum. Rectum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes. Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locuples. The engliſh of which verſes is needeleſſe here to be recited. Briefly the effect is this, that both the blynde, deafe, halt, and ſuch as be mad receiue their health agayne, if they worſhip the tombe of this Elfleda, &c.

Idolatrous worſhipping the tumbe of Elflede

The idle phantaſies & forged myracles of Dunſtane.

A doubt whether Dunſtane was a ſorcerer.

The lyke fayninges and monſtrous miracles we read alſo in chronicles of doting Dunſtane, drowned in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked ſorcerer: Firſt how he beyng yet a boy, chaſed away the deuill, ſet about with a great company of dogges: and how the Aungels did open the Church dore for hym to enter. Then how the Lute or Harpe hangyng vpon the wall, dyd ſing or play without any finger theſe wordes: Gaudent in cœlis animæ ſanctorũ, qui Chriſti veſtigia ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro eius amore ſanguinem ſuum fuderunt: ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum. Item, where a certayne great beame or maiſter poſt was looſed out of the place: he wyth makyng ỹ ſigne of a Croſſe, ſet it in right frame agayn. Moreouer, how the ſayd Dũſtane, beyng tempted vpõ a tyme of ỹ deuill with the cogitation of women, caught the deuill by the noſe wyth a whote payre of tonges, and held hym faſt. Item how ofte heauenly ſpirites appeared to hym, and vſed to talke wyth hym familiarly. Item, howe he prophecied of the byrth of kyng Edgar, of the death of kyng Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwood biſhop of Wincheſter. Alſo how our Lady wyth her fellowes appeared viſibly to hym, ſingyng this ſong: Cantemus Domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Agayne, how the Aungels appeared to hym ſingyng the Hymne called Kyrie Rex ſplendens. &c. And yet theſe prodigious fantaſies with other mo are written of hym in Chronicles, and haue bene beleued in Churches.

Dunſtane a poſt ſetter.

Dunſtane caught the deuill by the noſe with an hoate payre of tongs.

Our Lady appeareth to Dũſtane.

What marueill if certayne bookes and epiſtles be falſely intituled to the Doctours when the Papiſtes ſhame not to aſcribe other mens verſes alſo to the virgin Mary her ſelfe.

A foule filthy monkiſhe myracle in the ſtory of Editha.

Among many other falſe and lying miracles, forged in thys corrupt tyme of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy legend of Editha were not to be ouerpaſſed, if for ſhame and honeſty it might well be recyted. But to caſt the dyrte of theſe Popehaly monkes in theyr own face, which ſo impudently haue abuſed the church of Chriſt, and ſimplicitie of ỹ people with their vngratious vanities let vs ſee what thys miracle is, and how honeſtly it is told. Certain yeres after the death of Editha, ſayth William of Malmeſ. which yeres Capgraue in hys new Legend reckeneth to be thirtene, the ſayd Editha and alſo S. Denys holdyng her by ỹ hand, appeared to Dunſtane in a viſion, willyng and requiryng hym that the body of Editha in the church of Wilton, ſhould be taken vp and ſhrined, to the entent it might be honored here in earth of her ſeruants, accordyng as it is worſhypped of her ſpouſe in heauen. Dunſtane vpon this commyng from Saliſbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commaunded her body to be taken vp wyth muche honor and ſolemnitie. Who there in openyng her tombe (as both Malmeſbury and Capgraue wyth ſhame enough recordeth) founde all the whole body of thys Editha conſumed to earth, ſaue onely her thumbe her belly, and the part vnder the belly. Whereof the ſaid Editha expoundyng ỹ meanyng, declared that her thumbe remayned ſounde, for the much croſſyng ſhe vſed wyth the ſame. The other partes were incorrupted for a teſtimony of her abſtinence, and integritie &c. Ex Malmeſb. & Capgrauo. What Sathan hath ſo enuied the true ſinceritie of chriſtian fayth and doctrine, ſo to contaminate the ſame wyth ſuch impudent tales, ſuche filthy vanities, and Idolatrous fantaſies as this? Suche Monkes with their deteſtable houſes, where chriſtes people were ſo abhominably abuſed & ſeduced to worſhyp dead carcaſes of men and women, whether they deſerued not to be raſed & pluckt downe to the ground, let all chaſt readers iudge. But of theſe matters enough and to much.

An other dreame of Dunſtane.

Ex VV. Malmeſberienſi & Capgrauo in legend noua.

The death of K. Edgar.

¶ Here followeth the Epitaphe, written by Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington, vpon the prayſe and commendation of kyng Edgar.

An Epitaph commendatorie of kyng Edgar, written by H. Huntingtõ.

Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,
Septiger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa deo, tẽplis monachos, monachis dedit agros:
Nequitiæ lapſum, iuſtitiæq; locum.
Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falſo,
Immenſum modico, perpetuumq; breui.

Sonday ſhould be halowed fro ſaterday at ix. of the clocke, to monday mornyng.

Among hys other lawes, thys kyng ordayned that the Sonday ſhould be ſolemniſed from Saterday at ix. of the clocke, till Monday mornyng.

Kyng Edward called the Martyr.

975.

The ſtory of K. Edward. *Ex Simone Durham.*

After the death of Edgar no ſmall trouble aroſe amongſt the Lordes and byſhops for ſucceſſion of the crowne: the principall cauſe wherof roſe vpon thys occaſion as by the ſtory of Symon of Durham, and Roger Houedẽ, is declared. Immediately after the deceaſe of the kyng, Alferus Duke of Mercia, and many other nobles which helde wyth Egelrede or Ethelrede the onely right heyre and lawfull ſonne of Edgar, miſlikyng the placyng and intrudyng of Monkes into churches and the thruſtyng out of the ſecular Prieſtes with theyr wyues and chyldren out of their auncient poſſeſſions, expelled the Abbots and Monkes, and brought in agayne the foreſayd prieſtes wyth theyr wyues. Agaynſt whom, certeyne other there were on the contrary part, that made reſiſtance, as Ethelwine Duke of Eaſtangles, Elfwoldus hys brother, and the erle Brithnothus ſaying in a councell together aſſembled, that they would neuer ſuffer the religious Monkes to be expulſed and driuen out of the Realme, which held vp all Religion in the land, and thereupon eftſoones leuied an army, whereby to defend by force the Monaſteries, ſuch as were within the precincte of Eaſtanglia.

Contention amonges the Lordes about the putting in of mõkes.

Contention amonges the Lordes for chuſing the kyng.

In this hurly burly amongſt the Lordes about ỹ placyng of Monkes and puttyng out of Prieſtes, roſe alſo the contention about the crowne, who ſhould be theyr kyng: the Biſhops and ſuch Lordes as fauored the Monkes ſekyng to aduance ſuch a kyng as they knew would incline to their ſide: ſo that the Lordes thus deuided, ſome of them would haue Edward, and ſome conſented vpon Egelred the lawfull ſonne. Then Dunſtane Arch. of Canterbury, and Oſwold Archbiſhop of Yorke, with other theyr fellowbiſhops, Abbots, and diuers other Lordes and Dukes aſſembled in a councell together. In the which councell Dunſtane commyng in with hys croſſe in hys hand, & bringyng Edwarde be-

Edward the baſtard made king and the right heyre put backe.

before the Lordes ſo perſwaded thē that in the end Edward by Dunſtanes meanes was elected, conſecrated, and anoynted for theyr kyng.

Ex Oſberne. Nic. Trinet. Ioan. Paris. Vincentio. Antonino.

And thus haſt thou (good Reader) the very truth of thys ſtory, accordyng to the writing of authors of moſt antiquitie which lyued nereſt to that age, as Oſberne and others: which Oſberne liuyng in the dayes of Williā Conqueror, wrote thys ſtory of Dūſtane through the motion of Lanfrancus, and alledgeth or rather tranſlateth the ſame out of ſuch Saxon ſtories as were written before his time. Beſides which Oſberne, we haue alſo for witnes hereof Nic. Trinet, in his engliſh ſtory writtē in French, & alſo Ioannes Paris, in hys French ſtory written in the latin tong, where he plainely calleth Edward, non legitimum filium, that is no lawfull ſonne. Whereunto adde moreouer the teſtimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in playn termes likewyſe report the ſame.

Editha proued not to be the chylde for whom kyng Edgar was enioyned penaunce.

Now hauyng layd the foundation for the truth & ground of thys matter, let vs come to examine how truly our later writers do ſay, which wryte that Editha, and not Edward was the chyld for whom Dunſtane enioyned to the king 7. yeres penaunce, & alſo how truly they report Edward to be a lawful heyre, & Elflede to be lawful wyfe to kyng Edgar.

For firſt, touchyng Editha thys is confeſſed by the ſayde wryters themſelues, that ſhe was of good yeares at what tyme Edgar her father was enioyned hys penaunce. After the whiche ſeuen yeares of hys penaunce expired, he lyued at the moſt but 3. yeares and a halfe. Which 7. yeres and 3. yeares and a halfe, make in all but x. yeares & a halfe. But now the ſayd authors themſelues do graunt that ſhe was made Abbas by her father, he beyng then alyue. And how can thys then ſtand with her Legend, which ſayeth, that ſhe was not leſſe then 15. yeres of age? By which account it muſt nedes fall out, that ſhe could not be ſo little as v. yeres old before the byrth of that chyld for whom the king dyd penaunce.

The yeares of Editha & Edward, caſt by the ſupputation of legendes and ſtories.

And thus much touchyng Editha. Now in lyke manner to conſider of the tyme of Edward: firſt this by all writers is graunted, that he was ſlayne in the xv. yeare of hys age. Which yeares do well agre to that chylde which king Edgar begate in baſtardy, and for the which he dyd his penaunce. For the more euidēce wherof, let vs come to the ſupputation of yeares in this ſort.

Firſt the penaunce of the kyng, after the byrth of thys chyld, laſted 7. yeres. Then the kyng after the ſame liued 3. yeres and a half. After whoſe death Edward reigned other 3. yeres & a half, which in all make the ful ſūme of 14. yeres about the cōpt of which age, the ſaid Edward going on his 15. yeres, by their owne reckenyng was ſlayne.

And thus haue ye by manifeſt demonſtration proued by the right caſtyng of the yeres, after theyr owne graunt and reckenyng, that Editha daughter of Wlfride in no caſe can be the chyld which was borne after Edward & for whom ẏ kyng was enioyned penaunce: but ẏ Edward rather was borne after Editha and was the child for whom the penāce was enioyned, contrary to the opinion commonly receaued in the church, which for ignorance of the ſtory hath hetherto holden Edward to be an holy Martyr, and right heyre vnto the crowne. Which error and opinion, how it firſt ſprāg and by whome, albeit it pertaine not to my ſtory to diſcuſſe, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

K. Edward called martir proued to be a baſtard.

The cauſe perpended why this ſtory of K. Edward is ſo falſely corrupted in Monkiſhe ſtories.

Firſt, after that Dunſtane and Oſwold, wyth other Byſhops, Abbots, and certayne Lordes and dukes of that faction, for the maintenaunce of Monkery, had aduaunced Edward to be kyng, agaynſt Quene Alfrith mother of Etheldred, & Alferus duke of Mercia, and certeine other nobles, which held with the contrary ſide of the Prieſtes agaynſt the Monkes, in proceſſe of tyme the Monkes that came after to wryte ſtories, perceiuyng Dunſtane to be reputed in the Church of Rome for an holy Saint, and the ſayd kyng Edward for an holy Martyr, and partly alſo to bolſter vp theyr owne Religion of Monkery ſo muche as they could: to the entent therfore they would ſaue the credite both of Dunſtane and of the kyng, and eſpecially bearing fauour to theyr owne Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of Rome ſhould not be diſtained by opening ẏ truth of thys matter, either did not ſee, or would not confeſſe herein what they knew, but rather thought beſt to blanche the ſtory, & colorably to hide the ſimple truth therof, makyng the people falſly beleue, that Elfleda ẏ mother of Edward was wyfe to king Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully borne, and alſo that Editha was borne after Edward, and to be the child for which the kyng was enioyned penaunce. All which is falſe and contrary both to the order of tyme aboue declared, and alſo to the plaine wordes of Malmeſbury, which ſpeaking of kyng Edgars laſt concubine, ſayth in playne wordes: Dilexit vnicè, integram lecto vni deferens fidem, quoad legitimā vxorem accepit Elfthridem filiam Ordgari. That is, he had a concubine whō he loued entirely, kepyng true fayth of his bed to her alone, vntill the tyme he maryed for his lawfull wife Elfride the daughter of duke Ordgare, &c. Wherby we haue to vnderſtand that whatſoeuer concubine this was which Malmſbury ſpeaketh of, certayne it is, that Edgar liued in whoredome till tyme he maryed his lawfull wyfe. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beſide theſe argumentes and allegations aboue recited, let thys alſo be perpended, how the ſayd Dunſtane with hys complices, after ẏ killyng of king Edward, leauing the right heire of the crowne (which was Etheldred) went about, as Capgraue and their owne Legend confeſſeth, to ſet vp Editha the other baſtarde to poſſeſſe the crowne, but that ſhe more wiſe then her brother Edward, refuſed the ſame. Wherby what is to be thought of the doyngs of Dunſtane, and what ſhould be the cauſe why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the crowne rather then the lawfull heyre, I leaue to all indifferēt readers therof to iudge.

Malmeſb. in lib. de Regibus.

Dunſtane ſuborneth Editha the baſtard to take the crowne from the right heyre.

Ex Capgraue in vita ſancta Editha.

Duke Alpherus.

After that Dunſtane and hys fellowes had thus ſet vp Edward for their kyng, they were now where they would be, ſuppoſing all to be ſure on theyr ſide, and that they had eſtabliſhed the kyngdome of Monkery for euer, through ẏ helpe of the yong kyng, and the Duke of Eaſt Angles, and certayne other nobles whom they had drawen to their part. Howbeit this matter paſſed not ſo well with them as they hoped. For ſhortly after the coronation of this yong kyng, Alferus duke of Mercia, who folowed much the ſteppes of the Queene with other great men, ſtoutly ſtandyng on the contrary ſide, droue out the Monkes from the Cathedrall churches which kyng Edgar before had ſet in, and reſtored againe ẏ Prieſts (as Ranulphus ſayth) with their concubines: but in the hiſtory of the Librarie of Iornall, I find it plainly expreſſed with their wyues. The wordes of the very author be theſe: Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæteriq; plures, eiectis monachis de magnis monaſterijs, quos rex Edgarus nuper inſtituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: That is, Alferus duke of Mercia, with other great men mo droue out the Monkes from the great Monaſteries, whom kyng Edgar had there ſet in before, and reſtored agayne the prieſtes with their wiues.

Prieſtes with their wyues reſtored.

Hiſtoria Iornalenſis in vita Edgari.

Byſhops and Prieſtes in thoſe dayes, maried in England.

Iornalenſ. de Inas Rege.

Wherby it doth euidently appeare, that prieſtes in thoſe dayes were maried and had their lawfull wiues. The like before that in kyng Inas tyme is playne: that Byſhops thē had wiues and children, as appeareth by the wordes of the law then ſet forth, extant in the hiſtory of the ſayd Iornalenſis, which be theſe: Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, ſit ſimile cognationi, & creſcat emendatio ſecundum Weram eius Regi, ſicut cognationi. Si de parentela ſit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, ſicut manbota Domini. Si Epiſcopi filiolus ſit, ſit dimidium hoc. &c. And thus much by the way for prieſtes wiues & their children. Now to the purpoſe agayne of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and nobles of England expulſed the monkes out of the monaſteries after the death of king Edgar. Wherof let vs heare what the mōkiſh ſtory of the Abbay of Crouland recordeth. Monachis de quibuſdam monaſterijs eiectis, clerici ſunt introducti, qui ſtatim monaſteriorū maneria ducibus terræ diſtribuebant, vt ſic in ſuas partes obligati eos contra monachos defenſarent. Tunc de monaſterio Eueſhamenſi, monachis expulſis, clerici fuerant introducti. Terraq; tyranni de terris Eccleſiæ præmiati ſunt, quibus Regina nouercali nequitia ſtās cum clericis in regis opprobrium, fauebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & ſancti Epiſcopi perſiſtebant. Sed tyranni fulti Reginæ fauore & potētia, ſuper monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus eſt. Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crouland. &c. that is, The monkes being expelled out of certaine monaſteries, the Clerkes agayne were brought in, who diſtributed the maners or fermes of the ſayd monaſteries to the Dukes & Lordes of the land that they beyng obliged to them, ſhould defend them againſt the monkes. And ſo were the monkes of Eueſham thruſt out, and the ſeculare clerkes placed, and the landes of the church giuen to the Lordes, with whom the Queene, the Kyngs ſtepmother holdyng the ſame tyme, tooke part alſo with the ſayd Clerkes agaynſt the kyng. On the contrary part ſtode the kyng & the holy biſhops, takyng part with the monkes Howbeit the Lordes and peeres of the Realme ſtaying vpō the fauour and power of the Queene, triumphed ouer the monkes. &c.

Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crouland.

Great buſines in the land about placing Mōkes, and diſplacing prieſtes.

Thus as much ado there was through all quarters of the realme about the matter among the Lordes: ſo aroſe no leſſe contention betwene the prieſtes and monkes of Eng-

A cõtrouerſie betweene Prieſtes and Monkes.

Prieſts marriage noted for an olde cuſtome in England.

The obiection of Prieſtes againſt the Monkes.

Guliel. de Regib. lib. 2.

The aunſwere of Monkes againſt the Prieſtes.

land. The prieſtes complaynyng to the kyng and Dunſtane layd for thẽſelues, that it was vncomely, vncharitable, yea and vnnaturall to put out an old knowen dweller for a new vnknowen: and that God was not pleaſed, that to be taken from the auncient poſſeſſor which by God was geuen him: neither that it could be to any good man accepted to ſuffer ſuch iniury to be done: leſt peraduenture the ſame thyng wherin he was preiudiciall to an other, might after reuert and redound vpon himſelfe at length. The monkes on the other ſide, layd for their part, that Chriſt allowed neither the old dweller nor the new comer, nor yet looked vpon the perſon: but who ſo would take the croſſe of penaunce vpõ him, and folow Chriſt in vertuous liuyng, ſhould be his diſciple.

Maryed mens lyues compared with the lyfe of Monkes.

An. 977.

A vayne myracle of Dũſtanes roode that ſpake.

These & ſuch other were the allegations of the monkes. But whether a mõkes coule or a wiueles life make a ſufficient title to enter into other mens poſſeſſions or no, I referre it to the iudgement of the godly. The troublous cares in mariage: the neceſſary prouiſion for houſe keepyng: the vertuous bringyng vp of children: the dayly helpyng of pouertie and bearyng of publicke charges: with other manifold perturbations and combraunces dayly incident to the ſtate of matrimony, might rather appeare to godly wiſe mẽ, to come nearer to the right croſſe of penaunce, then the eaſie and loytring idlenes of monkery. In the end, vpon this controuerſie was holden a Councell of Byſhops and other of the Clergy: Firſt at Redyng or at Wincheſter as Guliel. ſaith: where the greater part both of the nobles & cõmons, iudged the prieſtes to haue great wrong, and ſought by all meanes poſſible, to bring them agayne to their old poſſeſſiõs and dignities. Iornalenſis here maketh rehearſall of an Image of the Crucifixe or a roode ſtandyng vpon the frater wall, where the Councell was holden. To this roode Dũſtane requireth them all to pray, beyng belike not ignoraunt of ſome ſpirituall prouiſion before hand. In the middes of their prayer the roode, or els ſome blind monke behynd hym in a trunke through the wall, is reported to ſpeake theſe wordes: Abſit hoc vt fiat, abſit hoc vt fiat: iudicaſtis benè, mutaretis non benè. In remembraũce wherof theſe verſes were written vnder the roodes feete.

Humano more crux præſens ædidit ore.
Cœlitus affata, quæ perſpicis hic ſubarata.
Abſit vt hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

Here lacked a Thomas Cromwell to ſpy out falſe iugling.

Of this Dunſtanicall, or rather Satanicall oracle, Hẽricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus: nor yet Houedenus, nor Fabiã in their hiſtories. Gulielmus in his booke De Regibus, reporteth it, but by hearesay, in theſe wordes ſaying: Aliæ literæ docent. &c. Wherfore the leſſe it ſemeth to be of credite. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proueth in this matter nothyng els, but Dũſtane to be a Sorcerer, as Polydorus Virgilius alſo himſelfe ſeemeth to ſmell ſomethyng in this matter.

An other aſſemble called at Calue.

Dunſtane an enemy to prieſts wyues.

A ſodaine fall of the people at the councel of Calue.

Henricus lib. 5.
Guliel.
Ranulph.
Iornalenſis.
Fabian.

Notwithſtãding for all this, yet the ſtrife ceaſed not. Inſomuch that a new aſſemblie of the Clergy and other, was appointed after: at a place called the ſtrete of Calue, where the Councell was kept in an vpper loft. In this Cõucell many greuous complaintes were obiected (as Malmeſbertienſis ſayth) agaynſt Dunſtane. But yet he kept his opinion, and would not remoue from that which he begon to maintayne. And while they were there in great contention and argument which way ſhould be admitted and alowed, (if it be true, that in the ſtories is written) ſodenly the ioyſtes of the loft fayled, & the people with the nobles fell down, ſo that certaine were ſlayne, and many hurt. But Dũſtane (they ſay onely, ſtandyng vpon a poaſt of the ſolare, which remained vnbroken, eſcaped without daũger. Which thing, whether it ſo happened to portend before, the ruine of the Realme and of the nobles (as Henry Huntington doth expound it) which after enſued by the Danes: or whether it was ſo wrought by Dunſtanes ſorcery (as was not vnpoſſible:) or whether it were a thyng but fayned of the mõkiſh writers, and not true: all this I leaue to the Readers, to thincke therein what them liketh. The ſtories ſay further, that vpon this the matter ceaſed, and Dunſtan had all his wyll.

The horrible wickednes of the Queene the mother.

These thynges thus done at Calue, it happened not lõg after the ſame: that kyng Edward, whom the writers deſcribe to be a vertuous and a meeke prince, much pitifull and beneficiall to the poore: about the iiij. yeare of his raigne, came vpon a ſeaſon from huntyng in the foreſt alone, without the company of his ſeruauntes, to the place in the weſt countrey, where Alfrith his mother, with her ſonne Egelred dyd lye. When the Queene the mother was warned of his commyng by her men, anone ſhe calleth a ſeruaunt of hers, which was of her ſpeciall truſt, opening to him all her conceiued counſell, and ſhewing him in all poyntes how and what to do for the accompliſhyng of her wicked purpoſe. Which thyng ſo done, ſhe made towardes the kyng, and receaued him with all courteſie, deſiryng him to tarye that night. But he in like courteſie excuſed himſelfe, & for ſpeede deſired to ſee his brother, and to drinke, vpon his horſe ſittyng, the which was ſhortly brought.

K. Edward traiterouſly murthered by his ſtepmother and her ſeruant.

K. Edward found dead, & buryed, not knowen to be kyng.

Corff caſtle.

The body of King Edward after three yeares honorably taken vp & tranſlated to Shafteſbury.

And while the cup was at his mouth, the ſeruaunt of the Queene (before informed) ſtrake him in the body with a long two edged dagger. After the which ſtroke the kyng tooke the horſe with the ſpurres, and ran toward the way, where he ſuppoſed to meete with his company. But he bled ſo ſore, that with faintnes he fell from his horſe, hys one foote beyng in the ſtyrrup. By reaſon wherof he was drawen of hys horſe ouer fieldes and landes, tyll he came to a place named Corpſgate, where he was founde dead. And for that, neither ẏ maner of his death, nor yet he himſelfe for the kyng was knowen: was buryed vnhonorably at the towne of Warham, where the body remayned the ſpace of iij. yeares, and then after was taken vp by Duke Alfere aboue mentioned: and with pompe and honor accordingly, was remoued to the Minſter of Shafteſbury, and there beſtowed in the place called Edwardſtow. Many tales run (mo perchaunce then be true) concerning ẏ findyng and takyng vp of his body, which our moſt commõ hiſtories aſcribe to myracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the kyng was buryed. As firſt how a poore woman borne blynde, receaued her ſight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lye. Alſo how a piller of fyre from heauen, deſcended ouer the place of hys buryall. Then how the foreſayd Queene Alfryth takyng her horſe to goe to the place, was ſtopped by the way: that neither her horſe coulde be driuen by any meanes, nor ſhee her ſelfe on foote was able to approche neare to the place where the corps of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the ſayd Queene in repentaunce of her facte, afterwarde builded two Nunries, one at Ameſbury by Saleſbury: the other at Werewelle, where ſhee kept her ſelfe in continuall repentaunce all the dayes of her lyfe. And thus as ye haue heard, was this vertuous yoũg kyng Edward murthered, when he had raigned almoſt iiij. yeares, leauing no iſſue behynde hym: whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus hys brother.

Two Nunries founded vpõ murther.

979.

Three Edwards kings before the conqueſt.

¶ But here by the way is to be noted (vpon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwardes before the conqueſt. The firſt was kyng Edward the Senior. The ſecond kyng Edward the Martyr, which was thys kyng. The thyrd was kyng Edward called the Confeſſor, whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

Cõtinuation of the romiſh biſhops or Popes.

Pope Iohn xiij a wicked Pope.

Linthprandus. lib. 6.

As mery as Pope Iohn. Prouerb.

Pope Iohn xiij. depoſed.

Pope Iohn reſtored.

Pope Iohn wounded in adultery.

In the order and courſe of the Romayne byſhops, mention was made laſt of Agapetus the ſecond. pag. 147. After whom next ſucceeded Pope Iohn. xiij. of whom Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Cant. receaued his palle, as in the ſtory of King Edgar is before mynded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous: repleate from his firſt bringing vp, wyth abhominable vices: a whoremaiſter, an adulterer, inceſtuous, libidinous, a gamſter, an extorcioner, periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruell, and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, from ſome he cut of their tounges, ſome their fingers, ſome their noſes. &c. In a generall councell before the emperour Otho, the firſt of that name (who was the firſt emperour of ẏ Germaynes) after the empyre was tranſlated out of Fraunce to Germany by Pope Agapetus (as is aboue hiſtoried, pag. 150.) theſe obiections were articulate agaynſt hym. Firſt, that he neuer ſayd his ſeruice: that in ſaying hys Maſſe he did not communicate: that he ordayned Deacõs in a ſtable: that he cõmitted inceſt with two of his ſiſters: that playing at dice, he called for the deuill to helpe: that for money he made boyes byſhops: that he defloured virgins and ſtraungers: that of the palace of Laterane he made a ſtewes: that he lay with Stephana his fathers cõcubine: lykewiſe with Rainera, and with Anna and her neeſe: that he put out ẏ eyes of biſhop Benedict: that he cauſed houſes to be ſet on fier: ẏ he brake open houſes: that he dranke to the deuill: that he neuer croſſed himſelfe. &c. For the which cauſes (and worthely) he was depoſed by the conſent of the emperour wyth the Prelates, and Pope Leo was ſubſtitute in hys place. But after his departing (through the harlotes of Rome, and their great promiſes) the ſayd Pope Iohn was reſtored agayne to hys place, & Leo (ſet vp by the emperour) was depoſed. At length about the tenth yeare of the Popedome of thys Iohn, he beyng found wythout the Citie with an other mans wyfe, was ſo woũded of her huſbãd, ẏ within viij dayes after he died.

Pope Benedictus 5.

After him, the Romanes elected pope Benedictus the fift, without the conſent of the emperour. Whereupon the ſayd Otho the emperour being not a little diſpleaſed for diſplacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the chuſing alſo of Benedict: came with his armye, & layd ſiege to Rome, and ſo ſet vp Pope Leo agayne, the viij. of that name. Which Leo to gratifie his benefactor agayne, crowned Otho for emperour, and intituled hym to be called Auguſtus. Alſo the power which Carolus Magnus had geuen before to the Clergy and people of Rome: this Leo by a ſynodall decree graunted to the emperour and hys ſucceſſors: that is, touchyng the electiō of the byſhop of Rome. The Emperour agayn reſtored to the ſea of Rome, all ſuch donations and poſſeſſions, which either Conſtantinus (as they falſely pretend) or which Carolus Magnus tooke frō the Lombardes, and gaue to them.

Pope Leo.8.

The election of the Byſh. of Rome geuen to the Emperour.

The donations of Carolus Magnus & Otho to Rome.

After Pope Leo had raigned a yeare and .iij. monethes, ſucceeded Pope John the xiiij. agaynſt whom (for holdyng with the Emperour) Petrus the head captaine of the Citie, with two Conſuls .xij. Aldermen, and diuers other nobles: gatheryng their power together, layd handes vpō him, in the Church of Laterane, and clapt the Pope in priſon .xi. monethes. The Emperour hearing this, with all ſpeede returned with his armye agayne to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chief doers of that fact: among other committed the foreſayd Petrus, to the Popes arbitrement. Whom he cauſed firſt to be ſtript naked, then his beard beyng ſhauen, to be hanged by the heare a whole day together: after that to be ſet vpon an Aſſe (his face turned backward, and his handes bound vnder the aſſes tayle) and ſo to be led through the Citie, that all men might ſee him: that done, to be ſcourged with rods, and ſo baniſhed the Citie. Thus ye ſee, how the holy father followeth the iniunctiō of the Goſpell: Diligite inimicos veſtros: loue your enemies. Luc. 6. &c. From this Pope proceeded firſt the Chriſtenyng of bels. an. 971.

Pope John xiiij.

Pope John 14. caſt in priſon.

The cruel reuenge of the Pope.

Chriſtening of belles firſt beganne.

After him folowed Pope Benedictus the ſixt, who in like maner was apprehended by Cynthius a Captaine of Rome, & caſt in priſon, where he was ſtrangled, or as ſome ſay, famiſhed to death.

Pope Benedictus.6.

Pope Benedict ſlayne in priſon.

Then came pope Donus the ij. After whom Bonifacius the .vij. was Pope: who likewiſe ſeyng the Citizens of Rome to conſpire agaynſt him, was conſtrained to hyde himſelfe. And ſeyng no place there for hym to tarye, tooke the treaſure of S. Peters Church, and ſo priuely ſtale to Conſtantinople. In whoſe ſtede the Romanes ſet vp pope John the xv. Not long after, Boniface returnyng agayne from Conſtantinople, by his money and treaſure procured a garriſon or company to take his part: By whoſe meanes the foreſayd Pope John was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo throwne in priſon, where he was as ſome ſay famiſhed: ſome ſay he was ſlayne by Ferrucius. Neither did Boniface raigne many dayes after, but ſodainly dyed: whoſe carkaſe after his death was drawen by the feete through the ſtreetes of Rome, after the moſt deſpitefull maner of the people ſhrikyng and exclamyng agaynſt him. an. 976.

Pope Donus.2

Pope Bonifacius.7.

Two Popes together.

Pope John xv.

Pope John ſlayne.

Pope Boniface drawen through the ſtreetes of Rome.

Next pope after him was Benedictus vij. by the conſent of the Emperour Otho the 2. and raigned ix. yeares. In the tyme of this pope: Hughe Cappet the Frēch kyng, tooke Charles (the right heyre to the crowne) by the treaſon of the byſhop of Laon: & when he had impriſoned him he alſo cōmitted to priſon Arnoldus Archbiſhop of Rayns, and placed in his rowme Gilbertus a monke of Floriake (a Necromāſer) who was ſcholemaiſter to Duke Robert the kynges ſonne. But this Pope Benedictus, callyng a Coūcell at Remis, reſtored the ſayd Arnoldus agayne, and diſplaced Gilbertus: which after by the helpe of Otho was made Archbyſhop of Rauenna, and at length was Pope, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt graūtyng) ſhalbe declared.

Pope Benedictus.7

Otho ſecond Emperour.

Gilbertus a necromanſer made Archb.

After Benedictus ſucceded in the ſea of Rome Pope John the .xvi. & dyed the .viij. moneth of his Papacy. Next to whom came John the .xvij. And after him Gregory the .v. in the yeare of our Lord. 995. This Gregory (called before Bruno) was a Germane borne, and therefore the more malaced of the Clergy & people of Rome. Wherupon, Creſcētius with the people and Clergy, conuentyng agaynſt the ſayd Gregory: ſet vp Pope John the xviij. Gregory vpon the ſame, ſped him ſelfe in all conuenient haſt to the Emperour Otho the iij. in Germany. Who hearyng the complaint of Gregory, and vnderſtandyng his wronges: ſet forward with his army well appointed, to Italy: gat the Citie, and there tooke both Creſcentius the Conſull, and John the Pope. Which John firſt hauyng his eyes put out, was depriued after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſul was ſet vpon a vyle horſe, hauyng his noſe and eares cut of, and ſo was led through the Citie, his face beyng turned to the horſetayle, and afterward hauyng his members cut of, was hanged vpon a gibbet.

Pope John the xvj.

Pope John the xvij.

Pope Gregory the v.

Pope John the xviij.

Two Popes together in Rome.

Pope John had his eyes put out, & ſo put to death.

Pope Gregory thus beyng reſtored to his former ſtate reigned iiij. yeares in his Papacie (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus ſay, that he ſat but. ij. yeares) &c. Duryng the which tyme he aſſembled a Coūcell in Rome, where, he to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent and counſaile of Otho) ordeined vij. Princes of Germany to be electors of the Emperour: which order, yet to this day remayneth. What be the names of theſe vij. electours, and what is their office, thus I finde in theſe verſes expreſſed.

Pope Gregory reſtored.

vij. electours of themperour ordayned in Germany, and who they be.

Ex Chronico Martini.

Maguntinenſis, Treuerenſis, Colonienſis.
Quilibet Imperij fit cancellarius horum.
Et Palatinus Dapifer, Dux portitor enſis.
Marchio præpoſitus cameræ, Pincerna Bohemus.

Theſe vij. he ordeined to be electors: 3. byſh. & 3. princes (to wyt) the Palatine, the duke of Saxonie, the marques Brandenburgh. To whom was added alſo the kyng of Boheme, to geue the odde voyce, if the euen voyces could not agree. This conſtitutiō being firſt begon. an. 997. was after eſtabliſhed in Germanie by Otho the Emperour, the yeare of the Lord. 1002. And thus much by the way or rather by digreſſion, cōcernyng the rages and tumultes of the Romiſh Church. Now to our matter agayne.

¶ Kyng Egelred, or Elred.

Kyng Edward thus being murthered as is aforeſaid: the crowne fell next to Egelrede his yōger brother, and ſonne to kyng Edgar by the foreſayd Queene Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long reigne geuē of God, which dured the terme of xxxviij. yeres: but very vnfortunate, & full of great miſeries. And he him ſelfe (by the hiſtories) ſeemeth to be a prince not of the greateſt courage to gouerne a cōmon wealth. Our Engliſh ſtories writyng of him, thus report of his reigne: that in the beginnyng, it was vngracious: wretched in the middle: and hatefull in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, when Dunſtane the Archbiſhop ſhould Chriſten him: as he dyd hold him ouer the fonte, ſomthing there happened, that pleaſed not Dunſtan: wherupon he ſweare: per ſanctam Mariam iſte ignauus homo erit. i. By the mother of Chriſt, he wyll be a Prince vntoward & cowardlike. Chron. de Croulād. I finde in Williā of Malmeſbury, Lib. 2. de Regi. that this Egelred being of yͤ age of x. yeares, whē he heard his brother Edward to be ſlayne, made ſuch ſorow & weepyng for him: that his mother fallyng therwt in a rage, tooke waxe candels (hauing nothyng els at hād) wherewith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore (wel neare till he ſounded) that after the ſame, he could neuer abyde any waxe cādels to burne before him. After this, about the yeare of our Lord. 981. (the day of his coronation beyng appointed by the Queene the mother & the nobles) Dunſtan the Archb. of Cant. (who firſt refuſed ſo to do) with Oſwald Archbyſhop of Yorke: were inforced to crowne the kyng. And ſo they did at Kyngſton. In doyng wherof, the report of ſtories go: that the ſayd Dunſtan ſhould ſay, thus prophecyng vnto the kyng: that for ſomuch as he came to the kyngdome, by the death of his brother and through the conſpiracie of the wicked conſpiratours and other Engliſhmen: They ſhould not be without bloudſhedyng and ſword, till there came a people of an vnknowen toung, and ſhould bryng them into thraldome: Neither ſhould that treſpaſſe be cleanſed without long vengeaunce. &c.

Kyng Egelred.

An. 979.

The life of Egelred.

An. 981.

The coronation of K. Egelred.

The propheſie of Dunſtane as Monkiſhe ſtories geue it.

In the Chronicles of Crouland, I finde theſe wordes, Quoniam aſcendiſti ad thronum tuum, per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini, hoc dicit Dominus, Nō deficiet gladius de domo tua, ſæuiens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & interficiens de ſemine tuo, & de gente tua, vſq; dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: Cuius ritum & linguam gens tua non nouit, nec expiabitur, niſi longa vindicta, & multa ſanguinis effuſione peccatum matris tuæ, & peccatum virorum peſſimorum, qui conſenſerūt conſilio eius neq̄, vt mitterent manum in Chriſtum Domini, ad effundendum ſanguinem innocentem. Chron. de Crouland.

Not lōg after the coronatiō of this kyng, a cloude was ſeene throughout the land which appeared, the one halfe like bloud, and the other halfe like fire. And chaunged after into ſondry colours and vaniſhed at the laſt in the mornyng. Shortly after the appearaūce of this cloud, in the iij. yeare of his reigne, the Danes ariuyng in ſondry places of the land, firſt ſpoyled Southampton: either ſlaying the inhabitaunce, or leadyng them captiue away. From thence they went to the Iſle of Thanet: then they inuaded Cheſter: from thence they proceeded to Cornwale and Deuēſhyre, and ſo to Suſſex: where, in thoſe coaſtes they did much harme, and ſo retired to their ſhyppes agayne. Roger Houeden

The Danes recourſe to England.

Houeden.lib.continuationum.

London conſumed with fire.

The king warred againſt the Biſh. of Rocheſter.

ueden writyng hereof, ſayth: that London, the ſame tyme (or as Fabian ſayth) a great part of Londō, was conſumed with fire. About this time fell a variance betwene the foreſayd Egelred, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter: in ſomuch that he made warre agaynſt him, and beſieged the Citie. And notwithſtandyng that Dunſtan required the kyng ſendyng hym admoniſhmēt to giue ouer, for the ſake of S. Andrew: yet continued he his ſiege, till the byſhop offered him an hundreth poundes of gold, which he receaued, and ſo departed. The Danes ſeing the diſcord that then was in the realme, and ſpecially the hatred of the ſubiectes agaynſt the kyng: Roſe againe, and did great harme in diuers places of England, in ſomuch that ȳ king was glad to graūt them great ſummes of money for peace to be had. For the aſſuraunce of which peace, Analaffe captaine of the Danes, became a Chriſten man, and ſo returned home to his coūtrey, and did no more harme. Beſides theſe miſeries before recited, a ſore ſickneſ of the bloudy flyxe, and hote feuers fell among the people: wherof many dyed, with a like morreine alſo among the beaſtes. Moreouer for lacke of iuſtice: many theeues, ryoters, and bribers, were in the land, with much miſerie and miſchief.

An. 990.

The bloudy flixe and hoat feuers reigned in thys land.

The death of Dunſtane. Ethelgarus, Elfricus, Siricus, Elphegus, Archb. of Cant.

About the xi. yeare (ſome ſay, the ix. yeare) of this kynges reigne, dyed Dunſtan. After whom ſucceeded Ethelgarus, or as Iornalenſis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus as affirmeth Guliel.lib.1.de pontif. But as Polidorus ſaith Siricius. After him, Elfricus came: but Siritius after the minde of William Lib.1. But Polidorus ſaith Aluritius, then Elphegus. &c.

An. 995.

The byſhops ſea of Dyrham.

About the ſame tyme in the yeare of our Lord. 995. Aldunus Byſhop, tranſlated the body of S. Cutbert from Cheſter (which firſt was in a Northeren Iland then at Rocheſter) to Durelme or Dunolme. Wherupon the Byſhops ſea of Dureſme firſt began.

London beſieged of the Danes.

The Danes ſpoyled the land.

Great tribute leuied of the Engliſhmen. Dane gelt.

Not long after the death of Dunſtan, the Danes agayn entred England, in many and ſondry places of the land: in ſuch ſorte, that the kyng was to ſeeke, to which coaſt he ſhould go firſt to withſtand his enemyes. And in concluſion, for the auoydyng of more harme: he was compelled to appeaſe them with great ſummes of money. But whē that money was ſpēt, they fell to new robbyng of the people, and aſſailyng the land in diuers places: not onely about the coūtrey of Northumberlād, but alſo beſieged the Citie of Lōdon at the laſt. But beyng from thence repulſed by the māhode of the Londiners, they ſtrayde to other countreys adioynyng, as to Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhyre: burnyng and killyng where ſoeuer they went. So that for lack of a good heade or gouernour, many thynges in the land periſhed. For the king gaue himſelfe to the vice of lechery, and polyng of his ſubiectes, and diſinherited men of their poſſeſſions, & cauſed them to redeme the ſame agayne with great ſummes of money: for he payd great tribute to the Danes yearely, which was called Danegelt. Which tribute ſo increaſed, that from the firſt tribute of x. M. pound, it was brought at laſt in proceſſe of v. or vi. yeare, to xl. M. pound. The which, yearely (duryng to the comyng of S. Edward, and after) was leuyed of the ſubiectes of this land.

The ſorowful affliction of the Engliſhe nation.

What diſſention and diſcorde doth among the nobles in a realme.

To thys ſorow moreouer, was ioyned hunger & penury among the commons: in ſo much that euery one of thē was conſtrayned to plucke and ſteale from other. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieues and bribers: this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greateſt cauſe of thys afflictiō (as to me appeareth) is not ſo much to be imputed to the kyng: as to the diſſention among the lordes themſelues: who then did not agree one with an other. But when they aſſembled in conſultation together, eyther they did draw diuers wayes: or if any thyng were agreed vpon any matter of peace betwene the parties, ſoone it was broken agayne: or els if any good thyng were deuiſed for the preiudice of the enemy, anone ȳ Danes were warned therof by ſome of the ſame counſail. Of whom the chiefe doers, were Edrike duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the Admirall or captaine of the ſhips: who betrayed the kings nauy to the Danes. Wherefore the kyng apprehendyng Alfagarus ſonne of the ſayd Alfrike, put out his eyes: and ſo dyd he after to the two ſonnes of Duke Edrike in lyke maner.

The pride and wretchednes of the Danes toward the Engliſhmen.

Lord Dane.

Lurdaine.

The Danes thus preuaylyng more and more ouer the engliſh men, grew in ſuch pryde & preſumption: that when they by ſtrength cauſed the huſbandmen to eare and ſow ȳ land, and to do all other vyle labour belongyng to the houſe: they would ſit at home holding the wyfe at their pleaſure, with daughter and ſeruant. And when the huſband man came home, he ſhould ſcantly haue of hys owne, as hys ſeruantes had: ſo that the Dane had all at his wyll and fill, faryng of the beſt, when the owner ſcantly had his fil of the worſt. Thus the common people beyng of them oppreſſed, were in ſuch feare and dread, that not onely they were conſtrained to ſuffer them in their doinges: but alſo glad to pleaſe them, and called euery one of them in the houſe where they had rule, Lord Dane. Which worde after (in proceſſe of tyme, when the Danes were voyded) was for deſpite of the Danes, turned of the engliſh men to a name of opprobry: that when one engliſh man would rebuke an other, he would for the more part call hym Lurdaine.

1000.

Henric. Archidiac. lib. 6.

The firſt ioynyng betwene the Norm. and Engliſh mē. king Egelred maryeth Emma the Dukes daughter of Normandy. Richard Duke of Normandie.

The Danes by ſecret cōmiſſiō ſlaine in euery towne of England.

And thus hitherto (through the aſſiſtance of Chriſt) we haue brought this hiſtory to the yere of our lord. 1000. During now and continuing theſe great miſeries vpō this engliſh nation, the land beyng brought into great ruine by the greuous tribute of the Danes, and alſo by ſuſtainyng the manifold villanies and iniuries as well by them as by other oppreſſions within the realme. This yere which was the yeare of our ſauiour 1000. This Egelred through the counſell of certayne his familiars about hym, in the 21. yere of his reigne, beganne a matter which was occaſion eyther geuen by ȳ one, or taken by the other of a new plague to enſue vpon the Saxons: who had driuen out the Britaynes before. That was in ioynyng with the Normans in mariage. For the kyng this yere aboueſayd, for the more ſtrēgth (as he thought) both of him and the realme, maried Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. Which Richard was the third duke of the Normains, and the firſt of that name. By reaſon of which mariage, kyng Egelred was not a little enhaunſed in hys owne mynd: And by preſumption therof, ſent ſecret and ſtraite commiſſions to the rulers of euery towne in england, that vpon S. Brices day at a certaine houre appointed, the Danes ſhould be ſodenly ſlayne. And ſo it was performed: which turned after to more trouble.

Suanus k. of Dēmarke arriueth in England. Exetour beat downe.

Norwych ſpoyled and waſted by the Danes.

1004.

A tribute payd to the Danes of xxx. M. pounde to haue peace.

After that tydinges came into Denmarke of the murder of thoſe Danes: Anone after, Suanus king of Denmarke, with a great hoſt and nauy, landed in Cornewall: Where, by treaſon of a Normand named Hugh, which by fauour of Queene Emma was made erle of Deuonſhire: the ſayd Suanus tooke Exceter and after bette downe the walles. From thence proceding further into the land, they came to Wilton, and Shirborne, where they cruelly ſpoyled the countrey, and ſlew the people. But anone, Swanus hearyng that the kyng was commyng to him with ȳ power of hys land: toke his ſhippes and ſet about to Norfolke. Where, after much waſting of that countrey, and ſpoyling the citie of Norwiche, and burnyng the towne of Thetford, and deſtroying the countrey therabout: at lēgth duke Ulkatel met hym, and bet hym, and ſlew many of the Danes. Wherfore, Swanus for that yere returned to Denmarke, and there made great prouiſion, to reenter the lande againe the next yeare followyng. And ſo did, landyng at Sandwich about the 25. yere of the reigne of kyng Egelred, and there ſpoiled that countrey. And as ſoone as he heard of any hoſt of engliſhmen cōmyng toward hym, thē he tooke ſhippyng againe. So that when the kings army ſought to meete him in one coaſt, then would he ſodenly land in an other. And when the kyng prouided to mete with them vpon the ſea, either they would faine to flee, or els they would with giftes blynde the Admirall of the kinges nauy. And thus weried they the engliſhmen: and in concluſion brought them in extreme and vnſpeakable miſery. In ſo much that the kyng was fayne to take peace with them, & gaue to king Suanus 30000. poūd. After which peace thus made, Suanus returned agayne to Denmarke.

The perſecution of Turkillus a Dane.

Euill coūſell about a king what hurt it doth.

But this peace continued not long. For the yeare next followyng, kyng Egelred made Edricus aboue mentioned, duke of Mercia, which was ſubtile of witte, gloſing and eloquēt of ſpeach, vntruſty, and falſe to the king & the realm. And ſoone after one Turkillus (a prince of the Danes) lāded in Kent with much people: and there did ſuch harme, that the Kentiſhmen were fayne to make peace with great giftes, and ſo thence departed. But this perſecution of the Danes (in one countrey or other in england) neuer ceaſed: nor the king did euer geue to them any notable battail. For when he was diſpoſed to geue them battayle, this Edricus would euer counſel him to the contrary: ſo that the Danes euer ſpoyled and robbed, and waxed riche: and the engliſh men euer poore and bare.

The ſecond returne of Suanus into England.

After this Suanus beyng in Denmarke, and hearing of the increaſe of hys people in england, brake his couenāts before made: and with a great army and nauy in moſte defenſable wyſe appoynted, landed in Northumberland proclaimyng himſelf to be king of this land. Where, after much vexation, when he had ſubdued the people, and cauſed the erle with the rulers of the countrey to ſweare to him fealtie: he paſſed by the riuer of Trent to Ganiſburgh, and to

Nor=

The perſecution of Suanus kyng of Danes.

Canterbury beſieged. Treaſon of a falſe Deacō.

Canterbury ſacke & brent. The tything of the monkes of Cant. A cruel murther of the Danes. Elphegus the Archb. of Cant. ſtoned to death.

Northwatlyng ſtreete: and ſubduing the people there, forced them to geue hym pledges: which pledges he committed with his nauy vnto Canutus his ſonne to kepe, while he went further into ẏ land. And ſo with a great hoſt came to Mercia, killyng and ſleyng. Then he tooke by ſtrength Wincheſter, and Oxforde, and dyd there what him lyked. That done he came toward London, and hearing the kyng was there, paſſed by the riuer Thamis, and came into Kēt and there beſieged Caunterbury: where, he was reſiſted the ſpace of 20. dayes. At length, by treaſon of a Deacon called Almaricus (whome the biſhop had preſerued from death before) wan it: and tooke the goods of the people & fyred the citie, and tythed the Monkes of S. Auſtens abbay (that is to meane, they ſlue 9. by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept aliue as for their ſlaues.) So they ſlewe there of religious men, to the number of 900. perſones: of other men, women, and childrē, they ſlue aboue 8000. And finally when they had kept the biſhop Elphegus in ſtraite priſon the ſpace of 7. monethes: and becauſe he would not condeſcend to geue vnto them 3000. pounde: after many villanies vnto hym done, they brought hym to Grenewich and there ſtoned hym to death.

1013.

K. Egelred driuen to the Ile of Wight. frō thence to Normandie.

The vertue of Chriſten mēs prayer.

The death and end of Suanus.

The Abbey of S. Edmundes burie builded.

Kyng Egelred in the meane tyme, fearyng the ende of this perſecution: ſent his wyfe Emma with his ij. ſonnes Alphred and Edward, to the Duke of Normandy: with whom alſo he ſent the biſhop of London. The Danes proceded ſtill in their fury and rage: and when they had won a great part of Weſtſaxonie, they returned againe to Londō. Wherof hearing the Londiners, ſent vnto them certaine great giftes and pledges. At laſt the king about the. 35. an. of his reigne was chaſed vnto the Jle of Wight, and with a ſecret company he ſpent there a great part of the winter: and finally, without cattell or comfort ſailed into Normandy to his wyfe. Suanus beyng aſcertayned therof, (inflamed with pryde) reired exceedyng impoſitions vpon ẏ people. And among other he required a great ſumme of mony of S. Edmundes landes: which the people there, claiming to be free from kinges tributes, denied to paye. For thys, Suanus entred the territory of S. Edmund, and waſted, and ſpoyled the countrey, deſpiſyng the holy martyr, & manaſing alſo the place of hys ſepulture. Wherfore the men of that countrey fearyng hys tiranny, fell to prayer & faſtyng: ſo that ſhortly after, Suanus died ſodenly, crying & yellyng among hys Knightes. Some ſay that he was ſtriken with the ſword of S. Edmund, wherof he dyed the 3. day after. In feare wherof, Canutus hys ſōne, which ruled as king after hys father, graunted them the freedome of all their liberty, & moreouer ditched the land of the ſayd Martyr with a depe ditch: and graunted to the inhabitantes therof great fredomes, quityng them from all taſke or tribute. And after builded a Church ouer the place of his ſepulture, & ordeined there an houſe of Monckes, and endued them with riche poſſeſſions. And after that tyme it was vſed, ẏ kings of England, when they were crowned, ſent their crownes for an offering to S. Edmunds ſhrine, & redemed the ſame agayne afterwardes, with a condigne pryce.

King Egelred returneth into Englād Canutus cutteth of the noſes and handes of his pledges.

Canutus taketh Weſtſaxon.

When kyng Egelred heard of the death of Suanus, he made prouiſion & returned into england. Of whoſe ſodaine comming Canutus beyng vnprouided fled to Sandwiche. And there cuttyng of the noſes and handes of the pledges, which hys father left with hym, ſayled into Denmarke: who the next yere returned agayne with a great nauy, and landed in the South countrey. Wherfore the eldeſt ſonne of kyng Egelrede called Edmond Yronſide: made prouiſion with ẏ ayde of Edrike Duke of Mercia to mete him. But Edrike feyning himſelfe ſicke came not, but deceiued hym. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promiſed hys allegeance to Canutus. By reaſon wherof, Canutus entred ẏ country of Weſtſaxon, and forced the people to be ſworn vnto hym, and to geue hym pledges. In this ſeaſon, king Egelred beyng at London, was taken with great ſicknes, & there dyed: and was buried in the Northſide of Paules church behynd the quire, after he had raigned vnproſperouſly 36. yeres: leauyng after hym hys ſayd eldeſt ſonne Edmund Yronſide, and Alphred, and Edward, which were in Normandy: ſent thither before as is aboue reharſed. This Egelred although he was miſerably impugned and vexed of hys enemies: yet he wyth hys coūſaile gaue forth wholſome lawes. Wherof thys is one parcell conteinyng good rules and leſſons, for all Judges and Juſtices to learne and follow.

A leſſon for all Judges & Juſtices.

Brybes.

Euil Judges worſe in a common wealth, thē bloudy enemies.

Wicked officers.

Againſt wicked Judges.

OMnis iudex iuſtus miſericordiam & iudicium liberet in omnibus: vt inprimis per rectam ſcientiam dicat emendationem ſecundum culpam, & eam tamen admenſuret propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur a bonis iudicibus ſecundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per Dei miſericordiam condonandæ. Iudicia debent eſſe ſine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diuiti alicui, vel egeno, amico, vel inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniuſtius eſt, quàm ſuſceptio munerum pro iudicio ſubuertēdo: Quia munera excæcant corda ſapientum, & ſubuertunt verba iuſtorum: Dominus Ieſus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaueritis iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem ſuum, ne in die iudicij mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunq; factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus Dominus, nulla poteſtas ſtultos aut improbos iudices conſtituant, quia ſtultus per ignauiam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat, quam didicit, veritatem. Grauiùs enim lacerantur pauperes a prauis iudicibus, quàm a cruentis hoſtibus. Nullus hoſtis acerbior, nulla peſtis efficacior quàm familiaris inimicus. Poteſt aliquoties homo fuga, vel defenſione vitare prauos inimicos: Non ita poſſunt iudices quoties aduerſus ſubditos malis deſiderijs inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & miniſtros nephandos: quorum reatibus ipſi domini conſtringuntur, ſi non eos coerceant, & a rapacitate cohibeant. Quia dominus & miniſter ſeculorum ait: Non ſolùm malè agentes, ſed omnes conſentientes digni ſunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam praui iudices iudicium peruertunt, vel reſpectant & non finiunt cauſam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, ſed munera conſiderant. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum ſapientum, ſicut rapaces lupi veſpere nil reſiduant vſque mane, id eſt, de præſenti ſolum vita cogitant: de futura nihil conſiderant. Malorum præpoſitorum mos eſt, vt quicquid poſſunt, auferant: et vix neceſſarium parum quid relinquant ſuſtentationi. Iracundus iudex non poteſt attendere rectam iudicij ſatiſfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perſpicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iuſtum iudicium, vbi non perſona conſideratur. Scriptum eſt: Non attendas perſonam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt a vero declines, et iniuſtè iudices. Suſceptio muneris eſt dimiſſio veritatis. Ex hiſtoria bibliothecæ Iornal.

A wicked Judge depoſed & depriued by the kyng.

Of thys kyng Egelred I finde noted in the booke of Roger Houeden, that he depoſed and depriued from all poſſeſſions, a certayne Judge or Juſticer named Walgeatus, the ſonne of one Leonet, for falſe iudgement and other proude doynges: whome notwithſtandyng he loued aboue all other.

¶ *Edmonde Yronſide a Saxone, and Canutus a Dane, Kynges together in Englande.*

An. 1016.

Edmund Ironſyde ſonne of Egelred, kyng.

Canutus ſonne of Suanus, kyng.

The battailes betweene Edmundus & Canutus.

AFter the death of Egelred, variance fell betwene the engliſhmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London, with certaine other Lordes: named Edmond the eldeſt ſonne of Egelred (a yong man of luſty and valiant courage) in martial aduentures, both hardy and wiſe, and could very well endure all paynes. Wherfore he was ſurnamed Yronſide. But the more of ẏ lordes, fauoured Canutus the ſonne of Swanus: eſpecially ẏ Abbots, biſhops, and men of the ſpiritualtie which before had ſworne to hys father. By meanes wherof, betwene theſe two martial princes were fought many great battails, firſt in Dorſetſhire, where Canutus was compelled to flie the field. And after that they fought an other battail in Worceterſhire, ſo ſore, that none could tell, who had the better: but eyther for werines, or for lacke of day, they departed one frō the other, and on the next morow fought agayne: but then Canutus was compelled to forſake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought againe where Edmond (as ſtories ſay) by the treaſon of that falſe Edrike Duke of Mercia (whom he before had receiued to fauor) had the worſe. Thus many great conflicts there were betwene theſe ij. princes. But vpon a ſeaſon, when the hoſtes were redy to ioyne, and at a certaine tyme of a truce taken before battaile: a knight of the party of Edmond ſtode vp vpon a high place, and ſayd theſe wordes.

A witty oration to ſtay bloud betweene two armyes.

Daily we dye, and none hath the victory: And when the knightes be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by neede ſhall accord: or els they muſt fight alone. And this kingdome is now ſufficiēt for. 2. men, which ſome tyme ſufficed. 7. But if the couetouſnes of Lordſhip in theſe twayne be ſo great, that neither can be content to take part and lyue by the other, nor the one vnder the other: then let them fight alone, that will be Lordes alone. If all mē fight ſtill, at the laſt all men ſhall be ſlayne, and none left to bee vnder their Lordſhip, nor able to defend the kyng that ſhal be, agaynſt ſtraunge enemies and nations.

Two kings fight hand to hand.

These wordes were ſo well alowed of both ẏ hoſtes, & Princes: that both were content to try the quarell betwene them two onely. Then the place and tyme was appoynted where they both met, in ſight of both hoſtes. And when ether had aſſayed other with ſharpe ſwordes and ſtrokes: firſt, by the motion of Canutus (as ſome write) haſtely they were both agreed, and kiſſed eche other to the comfort of both hoſtes. And ſhortly after they agreed vpon particiõ of the land: and after that, during theyr liues they loued as brethren. Sone after, a ſonne of wicked Edricus, by ẏ mind (as appeared afterward) of his father: eſpied, when kyng Edmund was at the draught: and with a ſpeare (ſome ſay with a long knife) thruſt him into the fundement, whereof the ſaid Edmond ſhortly after dyed, after that he had raigned two yeres. He left behynd him two ſonnes, Edmund & Edward, whom Edricke the wicked Duke, after the death of their father, tooke from their mother (not knowyng yet of the death of Edmond her huſband) and preſented them to king Canutus, ſaluting him in theſe wordes: Aue Rex ſolus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmond Ironſide, was king alone of the whole realme of england. And afterward by the aduiſe of his counſaile, he ſent the foreſayd ſonnes of Edmond Ironſide, to his brother Suanus king of Sueueland to be ſlayne: who abhorryng that dede, ſent them to Salomon king of Hungary, where Edmund beyng maried to the kinges daughter dyed. Edward was maried to Agatha daughter of hys brother Henry the iiij. emperour.

he wicked murther of kyng Edmund.

Two ſonnes of Edmũd yrõſyde.

When Canutus was ſtabliſhed in the kingdome: he called a parlyament at Londõ, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the Byſhops, Barons, and Lordes of the parliament there preſent: whether that in the compoſition made betweene Edmund and Canutus, any ſpeciall remembraunce was made for the children, or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Wherunto the engliſhe Lordes falſly flattering wyth the forrene kyng, and ſpeaking agaynſt their owne myndes, as alſo agaynſt their natiue countrey, anſwered, and ſayd nay. Affirmyng moreouer with an oth (for the kynges pleaſure) that they to the vttermoſt of their powers, would put of the bloud of Edmund, in all that they might. By reaſon of which aunſwere and promiſe, they thought (many of them) to haue purchaſed with the kyng great fauour. But by the iuſt retribution of God, it chaunced farre otherwiſe. For many of them, or the moſt part (ſuch eſpecially as Canutus did perceaue to be ſworne before tyme to Edmund, and his heyres: and alſo conſidering that they were natiue engliſhmen) he miſtruſted and diſdayned euer after: In ſo much that ſome he exiled: a great ſort he beheaded: and ſome by Gods puniſhment dyed ſodainely. Among whom wicked Edricke alſo the traytor (although wyth hys ſugred wordes he continued a while in the kynges fauour) at length eſcaped not condigne reward for hys deceaueable dealing. For (as the hiſtory of Iornalẽſis recordeth) as the kyng was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edricke (beyng belike accuſed, or els ſuſpected of the kyng before) comming vnto hym, began to recken vp his benefites and labours beſtowed for his ſake. Firſt in forſaking and betraying Egelred: then in ſlaying kyng Edmund his ſonne, with many ſuch other dedes moe: which all for his ſake he had done. Well ſaith ẏ king, thou haſt here rightly iudged thy ſelfe, and worthely thou ſhalt dye, for ſlaying thy naturall Prince, and my ſworne brother. And ſo commaunded hym to be bound immediately hand and foote, and to be throwen into Thames. Some ſtories ſay, that when he had ſaluted the king wyth Aue rex ſolus, and ſhewed him the ſlaying of Edmund: Canutus (promiſing that he would make him therefore higher then all the Lordes of the Realme) commaunded his head to be ſtricken of, and to be ſet vpon London bridge, and hys body to be caſt in the towne ditch. And thus wyth ſhame ended he his wretched lyfe, as all they commonly do, which wyth like diſſimulatiõ ſeeke the deſtruction of their prince and of their countrey.

Flattery, infidelitie, & vntruth in Engliſh Lordes.

Falſe vnfaithfulnes, & vncõſtant mutabilitie in Engliſhe Lordes well rewarded.

Duke Edrike the falſe traytour & murtherer of his king, worthely rewarded for his wicked falſhode.

The end of pernicious traytors.

Thys Canutus (ſhortly after the death of kyng Edmund, by the counſayle of Edricke) exiled Edmund, beyng brother to Kyng Edmund, called rex ruſticorum, the kyng of Choorles. But afterward, he was reconciled agayne to the kynges fauour: and laſtly ſlayne by certaine of the kynges Secretaries or ſeruauntes. Alſo, through the counſayle of the ſayd Edricke, and of Emma his wyfe, he ſent the two ſonnes of Edmund yron ſide (Edmund and Edward) to his brother Suanus king of Denmarke, to be ſlayne, as is aboue ſayd.

The brother of Edmũd yrõſyde, baniſhed, reconciled, and laſtly ſlayne.

Edmund & Edward two ſonnes of Edmund yrõſyde ſent out to be ſlayne.

In thys meane tyme, Suanus kyng of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, dyed. Wherfore that land fell to Canutus: which anon after ſayled thether, and tooke therof poſſeſſion. And after he had ſet it in an order, he returned into england, and marryed Emma, late wyfe before of Egelred: & by her had a ſonne called Herdeknight or Hardeknoutus. Moreouer thys Canutus aſſembled a parliamẽt at Oxford: where it was agreed, that engliſhmen & Danes ſhould hold the lawes made by king Edgar, becauſe they were thought ſo good & reaſonable aboue any other lawes.

Canutus kyng of Denmarke.

Canutus marieth Emma, wife before of Egelred.

Lawes of kyng Edgar.

Thus the Danes being in england, began by little and little to be chriſten men. And Canutus went to Rome, and ſo returning agayne to england, gouerned that land ẏ ſpace of xx. yeares, leauing after him two ſonnes, Harold and Hardeknoutus: which Hardeknoutus was made kyng of Denmarke in his fathers time.

Harold (called Harefoote, for his deliuernes and ſwiftnes) ſonne to Canutus by Elgina his firſt wife: begã his raigne ouer england an. 1039. Of hym is little left in memory, for he raygned but iiij. yeares, ſaue ẏ he baniſhed his ſtepmother Emma, & tooke her goods & Iewels frõ her.

Harold Harefote kyng of england a Dane.

1039.

Hardeknoutus, beyng kyng of Denmarke, and ſecond ſonne to Canutus by his laſt wife Emma, was next king of England. In the tyme of theſe Daniſhe kinges, there was one Godwyn an earle in england, which had bene before in great fauour with Canutus, for his actes done in Denmarke agaynſt the Northwegians: and afterwarde maryed the ſiſter; (ſome ſay the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwyn was of a cruel and ſubtill wit, as he declared no leſſe by the two ſonnes of kyng Egelred: For when theſe two aforeſayd (whoſe names were Alfride, and Edward) came from Normandy into england, to viſite their mother Emma, and brought with them a great company of Normandes: this Godwine (hauing a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marry to Edward, and ſet him vp to be king, to bring hys purpoſe about) vſed this practiſe: that is, to perſwade king Hardeknout, & the lordes not to ſuffer thoſe Normandes to be within the realme for ieoperdy, but rather to puniſh them for example. By which meanes he gate authority to order ẏ matter himſelfe: wherfore he met them on Guild downe, & there moſt wretchedly murthered, or rather martired the moſt number of ẏ Normandes, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the Monkes of Canterbury: ſo he with the cruell company of engliſh ſouldiors, ſlew ix. of the ſaid Normandes and ſaued the x. And yet paſſing the fury of Swanus (as not contented with that tiranny) he tithed againe the ſayd tithe, and ſlew euery x. knight, and that by cruel torment, as windyng their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And among other, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfridus, and ſent him to an abbey of Ely: where he beyng fed with bread and water, endured not long after. Of ſome writers it was recorded, that he was there ſlaine with the forenamed torment, and Edward was conueyed by ſome other to his mother. Who fearing the treaſon of Godwine, ſent hym ſoone ouer the ſea to Normandy again. This cruell fact of Godwine and his men agaynſt the innocent Normandes, whether it came of himſelfe, or of the kinges ſetting on: ſemeth to me to be the cauſe, why the iuſtice of God, did ſhortly after reuenge the quarell of theſe Normandes, in conquering and ſubduing the engliſh natiõ by William Conquerour, and the Normandes which came with hym. For ſo iuſt and right it was, that as the Normandes commyng with a naturall Engliſh Prince, were murthered of Engliſh men: ſo afterwarde the Engliſhe men ſhould be ſlayne and conquered by the Normandes, commyng with a forraine kyng beyng none of their naturall countrey.

Hardeknout king laſt of the Danes that reigned in england.

Erle Godwyn.

The miſerable wretchednes of Godwyn agaynſt the Normands.

The Normandes tythed: and yet the tenthes retithed agayne.

Alfredus ſonne of Egelred righte heire of the crowne, tormẽted wyth cruell death.

The cauſe expreſſed, why God ſuffred this land to be conquered by the Normandes.

Example of Gods righteous iudgement.

Then it followeth in the ſtory that this king Canute or Hardeknout: when he had reigned ij. yeres (being mery at Lambeth) ſodainly was ſtriken dombe, and fell downe to the ground, and within 8. dayes after died, without iſſue of his body. Who was the laſt that raigned in england of the bloud of the Danes.

The death of K. Hardeknout.

This foreſayd Godwine, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one ſonne which was drowned. Of his ſecond wife he receiued vj. ſonnes, to wit, Suanus, Harold, Toſtius, Wilnotus, Sirthe, or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was maried to kyng Edward the Confeſſor.

The ſonnes of Erle Godwyn.

Concerning the ſtory of this Alfred, I find it ſomthing otherwiſe reported in our engliſh chronicles: that it ſhould be after the death of Hardeknout: for as much as ẏ Earles and Barons after hys death, aſſembled and made a cõncel: that neuer after any of the Danes bloud ſhould be king of england, for the deſpite that they had done to engliſh men. For euermore before, if the Engliſh men and the Danes had happened to mete vpon a bridge, the engliſh men ſhould

The ſtory of Alfred repeated.

not ſo hardy to moue a foote, but ſtand ſtill, till the Dane were paſſed forth. And moreouer, if the engliſh men had not bowed downe their heds to do reuerence vnto the Danes, they ſhould haue bene beaten & defiled. For yͤ which deſpits and villany, they were driuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout, for they had no Lord that might maintayne them. And after this maner auoyded the Danes england, that they neuer came agayne.

Takē out of the engliſhe ſtory or chronicle cōpiled of certayne Engliſhe clerkes.

The Erles and Barons, by their common aſſent and counſaile: ſent vnto Normandy for theſe two brethren, Alphred and Edward: intending to crowne Alphred the elder brother, and to make hym king of England. And to this the Earles and Barons made their othe: but the erle Godwine of Weſtſaxe (falſly and traiterouſly) thought to ſlea theſe two brethren, as ſoone as they came into england, to that intent to make Harold hys ſonne kyng: which ſonne he had by his wife Hardeknoutes daughter that was a Dane. And ſo this Godwyn went priuely to Southampton, to meete there with the two brethren at their landyng. And thus it fell, that the meſſengers that went (ſayth mine author) into Normandy, found but onely Alphred the elder brother. For Edward his younger brother was gone to Hungary, to ſpeake with his coſin the outlaw, which was Edward Ironſides ſonne.

Alfred or Alured ſonne of kyng Egelred.

When Alfrede had heard theſe meſſengers and perceiued their tydings: he thanked God, and in all haſt ſped hym to England, arriuing at Southampton. There, Godwine the falſe traitour (hauyng knowledge of his comming) welcommed and receaued him with much ioy: pretēdyng to lead him vnto London, where the Barons wayted for to make him kyng. And ſo they together paſſed forth toward London. But when they came to Guild downe, the traitour cōmaunded all his men to ſlea all that were in Alphredes cōpany, which came with him frō Normandy. And after that to take Alphrede, & to lead him into the Iſle of Ely, where they ſhould put out both his eyes: and ſo they did. For they ſlew all the company that were there, to the number of xij. Gentlemen, which came with Alfrede from Normandy: & after that they tooke Alphrede, and in the Iſle of Ely they executed their commiſſion. That done, they opened his body, tooke out his bowels, ſet a ſtake into the ground, and faſtened an end of his bowels therunto, and with needels of yron they pricked his tender body, therby cauſing him to go about the ſtake, till that all his bowels were drawen out. And ſo dyed this innocent Alphred or Alured, beyng the right heyre of the crowne: through treaſon of wicked Godwyne. When the Lordes of England heard therof, and how Alphred, that ſhould haue bene their kyng, was put to death through the falſe traitour Godwyne, they were wonderous wroth: and ſware betwene God and them, that he ſhould dye a worſe death then did Edrith which betrayed his Lord Edmund Ironſide: and would immediatly haue put hym to death, but that the traytour fled thence into Denmarke: and there held hym .iiij. yeares and more, and loſt all his landes in England.

Ex hiſtoria ignoti autoris

An other Latin ſtory I haue (bearyng no name) which ſayth that this commyng in of Alphred & the Normandes: was in the time of Harold Canutus ſonne. And how Godwyne (after he pretended great amitie to them) ſodenly in the night came vpon them at Gilford: And after he had tythed the Normandes: ſent Alfrede to Harold at London, who ſent hym to the Iſle of Ely and cauſed his eyes to be put out.

Gunilda wife to Henricus the Emperour.

And thus much of Canutus: and of his ſonnes, Harold and Hardecanutus. Beſides theſe .ij. ſonnes Canutus had alſo a daughter named Gunilda: maried to Henricus the Emperour. Of whom ſome write, that ſhe beyng accuſed to the emperour of ſpouſebrech, and hauyng no champion or knight that would fight for her (after the maner of that coūtrey) for triall of her cauſe: a certaine litle dwarfe or boy, whom ſhe brought with her out of England (ſtyrred vp of God) fought in her cauſe againſt a mighty bigge Germaine of a monſtrous greatnes: which ſelye dwarfe, cuttyng by chaūce the ſinewes of his leg, after ſtroke him to the groūd, and ſo cut of his head, and ſaued the lyfe of the Queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Canutus went to Rome. The hoſpitall builde at Rome for Engliſhe pilgrimes. Rome ſhote cōfirmed by Canutus. The Cathedrall Church of Winc. inriched by Canutus. S. Benets in Norfolke builded.

Of this Canutus it is ſtoried, that he folowyng much the ſuperſtition of Athelnotus Archbyſhop of Cant. went on pilgrimage to Rome: and there founded an hoſpitall for Engliſh pilgrimes. He gaue the Pope precious giftes, and burdened the land with an yearely tribute called the Rome ſhote: he ſhryned the body of Berinus, & gaue great landes and ornamentes to the Cathedrall Church of Wincheſter: he builded S. Benets in Northfolke, which was before an Hermitage. Alſo S. Edmundes bury, which kyng Ethelſtane before ordeined for a Colledge of Prieſtes, he turned to an Abbey of monkes of S. Benets order.

Bury Abbey turned to Monkes.

Henricus Archdeacon of Huntyngton Lib. 6. maketh mention of this Canutus, as doth alſo Polidorus Lib. 7. That he after his commyng from Rome, walkyng vpon a tyme by the port of Southampton. (But as Polydorus ſayth) and Fabian affirmeth the ſame that it was by Thames ſide at London. When his flatterers commyng about hym, began to exalt hym vp with high wordes, callyng him a kyng of all kyngs (moſt mighty) who had vnder his ſubiection both the people, the land, and alſo the ſea. Canutus reuoluyng this matter in his mynde (whether for pride of his hart exalted, or whether to trye and refell their flatteryng wordes) cōmaunded his chaire of eſtate to be brought to the ſea ſide at what tyme it ſhould begyn to flow. Polydore ſayth, that no ſeate was brought, but ſittyng vpon his garmentes beyng folded together vnder him: there charged and commaunded the floudes ariſing and commyng toward his feete, that they ſhould not touch neither him, nor his clothes. But the water keppyng his ordinary courſe, came nearer and nearer: Firſt to his feete, and ſo growing higher began to waſh him welfauoredly. Wherwith the kyng abaſhed and partly alſo afeard ſtart backe: and lookyng to his Lordes: Loe (ſayth he) ye call me ſuch a mighty kyng & yet can I not commaunde backe this litle water to ſtay at my word, but it is ready to drowne me. Wherfore all earthly kynges may know, that all their powers be but vayne: and that none is worthy to haue the name of a kyng, but he alone: which hath all thynges ſubiect to the power & authoritie of his word: which is the Lord of heauē and earth: the creator aboue of all thynges: the father of our Chriſt and Lord: who with him for euer is to be glorified: him let vs worſhyp and extoll for our kyng for euer. After this (as hiſtories witnes) he neuer ſuffred the crowne to come vpon his head, but went to Wincheſter (or as ſome ſay, to Canterbury, but both thoſe may be true) for his goyng to Canterbury, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power then he himſelfe was, and therewithall to render vp his crowne for euer. With that, Eglenothes Archbyſhop of Canterbury: informed him of the Image of the Crucifixe before mentioned which diſſolued the matter betwene maried Prieſts and lyfe of Monkes, and did many other miracles mo, beyng then at Wincheſter. Wherewith the kyng prouoked to go to Wincheſter to the roode, there reſigned vp his regall crowne, and made the roode kyng ouer all the land.

Flatterers and clawbackes about Princes.

Canutus chargeth the ſea to ſtand backe, but it would not bee.

A leſſon notable for kynges and Princes.

God onely the kyng of all kinges and lord of all lordes.

The kynges crowne put on a roode.

Here is alſo to be noted in this Canutus, that although (as is ſayd) he cōdeſcended in the beginnyng of his raigne, vpon kyng Edgares lawes: yet after in proces of tyme, he ſet forth peculiar lawes of his owne. Among which, diuers there be that concerne as well cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as alſo temporall. Wherby it may appeare, that the gouernment of ſpirituall matters not to depend then of the Byſhop of Rome: but to appertaine to the lawfull authoritie of the temporall Prince, no leſſe then of matters and cauſes temporall. As for example by theſe ordinaunces of the foreſayd Canutus, may be well conſidered as here folow. Pecunia ſepulturæ iuſtum eſt vt aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a ſua parochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia ſepulturæ.&c. In Engliſh.

Kings of england haue as much right in cauſes ſpirituall as temporall.

Certaine lawes of K. Canutus for the orderyng of matters eccleſiaſticall.

It is meete and right that in funerals money be geuen for openyng the earth.

If any body, or corſe, be caryed from his owne Pariſh into an other: the money of the buriall ſhall pertayne by the law to his owne Pariſh Church.

All ordinaunces & ceremonies of God, let them be obſerued as neede in all thynges requireth.

Upon the Sonday, we forbyd all publique fayres or markets, all Synodes or conuenticles, huntynges, or any ſuch ſeculare actions, to be exerciſed, vnleſſe vrgent neceſſitie compell therunto.

Let euery Chriſtē mā prepare himſelfe thriſe a yeare to approche to the receauing of the Lordes body: ſo to eate the ſame as not to his iudgemēt but to his wholeſome remedy.

If a miniſter of the altare do kill any man, or haue intangled himſelfe in any notorious crime, let him be depriued both from his order and dignitie.

If any maried woman (her huſband beyng aliue) haue committed adultery & be proued with the ſame: to her open ſhame in the world, let her haue her noſe and eares cut of.

Adultreſſe womē to looſe their eares and noſes.

Let euery widow after the death of her huſband: ſo remayne ſole .xij. monethes: or if ſhe marry, let her looſe her ioynter.

And here an end of the Daniſh kynges. Now to the Engliſh kynges agayne, whoſe right lyne cōmeth in againe in Edward here followyng.

¶Kyng Edward called the Confeſſor.

An.1043.

Kyng Edward the confeſſour.

England afflicted by the Danes the ſpace of 255. yeares.

FOr ſomuch as God of his mercy and prouidence, who is onely the maker of heyres: thought it ſo good, after the wofull captiuitie of this Engliſh nation, to graunt now ſome reſpite of deliueraunce, in takyng away the Daniſh kynges without any iſſue left behynd them: who reignyng here in England, kept the Engliſh people in miſerable ſubiection, about the ſpace of xxviij. yeares, and tha. from their firſt landyng in the tyme of kyng Brightricus: waſtyng and vexyng this land, the terme of cc.lv. yeares: Now their tyranny here commyng to an end, the next election and right of the crown fel (as appertained) to Edward the yonger ſonne of kyng Egelred and Emma, a mere Engliſhmā: who had bene now long baniſhed in Normādy, as is aboue declared. A man of a gentle and ſoft ſpirite: more applyable to other mens counſailes then able to truſt to his owne: of nature and condition ſo geuen from all warre & bloudſhed: that beyng in his baniſhment, he wiſhed rather ſo to continuall his lyfe long in that priuate eſtate, then by warre or bloudſhed to aſpire to any kyngdome. This Edward, after the death of Canutus the ſecond or Hardecanute, beyng ſent for of ẏ Lordes into Normādy to take poſſeſſion of the Realme, although he ſomethyng miſtruſted the vnconſtant and fekle heades of Engliſhmen (yet hauyng ſufficient pledges layd for hym in Normādy) came ouer, with a few Normandes accompanyed: and not long after was crowned at Wincheſter an.1043. by Edſius then Archbiſhop of Cant. And not long after that, he maried Goditha, or Editha daughter of earle Godwyne: whom he entreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet delt with her fleſhly. Whether it were for hate of her kynne (as moſt like it was) or for loue of chaſtitie it remaineth vncertaine. But moſt writers agree, that he continued his lyfe without offence with woman: for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtory writers and called holy kyng Edward. After he had thus taken vpon hym the gouernment of the realme, he guided the ſame with much wiſedome and iuſtice, the ſpace of xxiiij. yeares, lackyng two monethes: from whō iſſued (as out of a fountaine) much godlynes, mercy, pitie & liberalitie toward the poore: gentlenes and iuſtice toward all mē: and in all honeſt lyfe he gaue a vertuous example to his people. He diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great tribute called Dane gelt, which before tyme was yearely leuyed to the great impoueriſhyng of the people. He ſubdued the Scottes and Welſhmē, which in their borders began to rebell againſt him. In much peace he continued his reigne, hauing no forein enemy to aſſault him: Albeit, as ſome chronicles do ſhewe, certaine Danes and Norwaynes there were, which entended to ſet vpon England: But as they were takyng ſhippyng, there was brought to them firſt one bowle, thē an other, of mede or methe, to drincke vpon a bon viage. Thus one cup commyng after an other: after drinke came dronkennes, after dronkennes folowed iangling, of iangling came ſtrife: and ſtrife turned into ſtripes, whereby many were ſlayne and the other returned to their home agayne. And thus the mercyfull prouidence of the Lord diſpatched that iourney.

King Edward crowned.

Holy K. Edward a virgine in mariage.

Methe in Greke ſignifieth dronkennes.

In the tyme of this Edward: Emma his mother was accuſed to be familiar with Alwyn the Biſhop of Wincheſter: vpon which accuſation (by counſayle of Earle Godwyn) he tooke from her many of her iewels, and cauſed her to be kept ſomwhat more ſtraitly in the Abbay of Warwell: and the Byſhop committed to the examination of the Clergy. Polydore ſaith, they were both in priſon at Wincheſter: where ſhe ſorowyng the defame both of her ſelfe and of the Byſhop, and truſtyng vpon her conſcience, deſireth them of iuſtice, offeryng her ſelfe ready to abyde any lefull triall: yea although it were with the ſharpeſt.

Then diuers of the Byſhops made labour to the kyng for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert the Archbyſhop of Cant. ſtopped the ſute. Who not well contented with their labour ſayd vnto them: My brethren, how dare ye defende her which is no woman but a beaſt? ſhe hath defamed her owne ſonne the kyng, and takē her lecherous leman the Biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the Prieſt? who ſhall then purge the womā that is accuſed to be conſentyng to the death of her ſonne Alphred: and procured venim to the poyſonyng of her ſonne Edward? But whether ſhe be giltie or giltles: if ſhe will go barefooted for her ſelfe foure ſteppes and for the Byſhop fiue continually vpon ix. plough ſhares fire hote: then if ſhe eſcape harmeles, he ſhalbe aſſoyled of this chalenge and ſhe alſo.

Accuſation of the Archbiſh. againſt Emma, the kinges mother.

To this ſhe graunted, the day was appointed: at which day, the kyng and a great part of his nobles were preſent, except onely Robert the Archbyſhop. This Robert had bene a monke of a houſe in Normandy, and an helper of the kyng in his exile: and ſo by the ſendyng for of the kyng, came ouer and was made firſt Byſhop of London, after Archbiſhop of Cant. Thē was ſhe led blindfield vnto the place betwene two men, where the yrons lay brennyng hote, & paſſed the ix. ſhares vnhurt. At laſt ſayd ſhe, good Lord when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation. When they then opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that ſhe was paſt the payne, ſhe kneeled downe geuyng God thankes.

Falſe accuſation purged by hote yron.

A ſtraunge thyng if it were true, & without falſe conueyaunce.

Then the kyng repented (ſayth the ſtory) and reſtored vnto her, that he had before taken from her and aſked her forgeuenes. But the Archbyſhop fled into Normandy.

Neare about this tyme, about the x. yeare of his reigne: fell paſſing great ſnow, from the begynnyng of January, to the xvij. day of March. After which inſued a great mortalitie of men, morrian of cattel and by lightnyng the corne was wonderfully blaſted and waſted.

Great ſnow and mortalitie in englād.

Not long after this: a certaine Earle of Bolōgne, who had maried kyng Edwardes ſiſter, came into England: through the occaſion of whom: when execution ſhould be done vpō the Citizens of Douer, for a fray betwene them & the Earles mē: variance happened betwene kyng Edward & earle Godwyne. Who perceauyng that he could not withſtand the kyngs malice (although he gathered a great company to worke therein what he could) fled into Flaunders, and was outlawed with his fiue ſōnes. Kyng Edward repudiated his wife the daughter of the ſayd Godwyn: but the ſecond yeare after, by mediatours he was reconciled to the kyng agayne, and called from baniſhment: And for his good a bearyng he gaue for pledges his two ſonnes, Byornon, and Toſtius, which were ſent to the Duke of Normandy there to be kept.

Variaunce betwene the kyng and Godwyn.

Godwyn wyth his v. ſonnes outlawed.

Godwyn reconciled to the king vpon pledges geuē.

During the tyme of the outlawrie of Godwyn: William Baſtard Duke of Normandy came with a goodly company into England to ſee kyng Edward, and was honorably receaued. To whom the kyng made great cheare, and at his returne inriched him with great giftes and pleaſures. And there (as ſome write) made promiſe to him, that if he dyed without iſſue, the ſayd William ſhould ſucceede him in the kyngdome of England.

William Duke of Normandy came into England to K. Edward.

In this kynges reigne lyued Marianus Scotus the ſtory writer. As concernyng the end of erle Godwin, ẏ cruell murderer of Alphred, and of the Normandes: although diuers hiſtories diuerſly do vary: yet in this the moſt part do agre, that as he ſate at the table with king Edward at Windſore, it happened one of the cupbearers one of erle Godwins ſonnes to ſtumble and recouer againe, ſo that he dyd ſhed none of the drinke: wherat Godwine laughed, & ſayd, how the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With which wordes the kyng callyng to mynde his brothers death that was ſlaine by Godwine: beheld the erle (ſaying) ſo ſhould my brother Alphred haue holpen me had not Godwin bene. Godwine then fearing the kinges diſpleaſure to be newly kindled, after many wordes in excuſing himſelfe, ſayd: So moght I ſafely ſwalow this morſel of bread as I am giltles of the dede. But as ſoone as he had receiued the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commaūded him to be drawne from the table, and ſo was cōueyed by Harold his ſonne to Wincheſter, and there buried.

Marianus Scotus, when he lyued.

The end and death of vngodly Godwyn.

Ex Iornalenſ. Malmeſburienſ. Polydor. Fabiano & alijs.

Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon Godwyn, for the murthering of Alphred. Periurie plagued.

About the 13. yere of this kinges reigne, the ſayd king Edward ſent Alured biſhop of Worceter to the Emperour Henricus the 4. praying him, that he would ſend to ẏ king of Hungary, that his coſin Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide might come to england: for ſo much as he intended to make hym king after him, which which was called Edward outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to witte, Edgar Adeling, Margarete, and Chriſtina. But the yeare after his returne into the realme, this Edward deceaſed at London, and was buried at Weſtminſter: or as Iornalenſis ſayth, at Paules church in London. After whoſe deceaſe, the king then receaued Edgar Adeling his ſonne, as his owne child: thinkinge to make him his heyre. But fearing partly the vnconſtant mutabilitye of the Engliſhmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the ſonne of Godwine, and of other (perceauing therby, that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo wel to paſſe) directed ſolemne Embaſſadors vnto Williā Duke of Normandy, his kinſman: admitting & aſſigning him to be his lawfull heyre next to ſucceede after him to the crowne.

Edward the outlaw ſone of Edmund Ironſyde ſent for to England.

1056.

The death of Edward, ſonne of Edmund Ironſide.

William Duke of Normandy admitted heire to the crowne.

After the death of Godwin, Harold his ſonne waxed ſo in the kings fauour: that he ruled the moſt and greateſt cauſes of the realme, and was lieftenant of the kinges army: Who with his brother Toſton or Toſtius (ſent by ẏ king againſt the Welchmen) ſubdued their rebellion. But afterward, ſuch enuy grew betwene theſe two brethren, for

that

The enuy and diſcorde of brethren.

that Toſtius ſaw his brother Harold ſo greatly aduaunced in the kinges fauour, that at Herford, the ſaid Toſtius ſlue all his brothers men. Whom when he had cut in pieces, he poudered their quarters and mangled partes, in barrels of ſalt, vinegre, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power againſt his brother Harold (being kyng) with the ayde of certaine Danes and Norgaynes, and fought a battaile with hym in the North as after ſhall followe (God willyng) to be ſeene. So vngratious were theſe wicked children of Erle Godwine: that if they had ſeene any faire manſion or maner place: they would ſlay the owner therof with all his kinrede, and enter the poſſeſſion therof themſelues.

Vngratious children of a wicked father.

At length it came in the minde of this Harold to ſayle ouer the ſea (as Polydore ſayth) into Normandy to fet his brother Wilnotus, as alſo his coſine Hacus, whom ẏ kyng had ſent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. Polydore ſaith theſe pledges were Toſto & Sweynon, but that can not be, for Toſtius was then in england. But as Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington ſaieth, hys iourney was into Flaunders, as ſemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that Harold who was a doer in the cruel murther of Alphred, and of the Normanes: would venter into Normandy, and therfore more lyke it is, that his ſailing was into Flaunders. But as the ſtory proceedeth, he being in the courſe of his ſailing, was weather driuen by tempeſt into the prouince of Pountith, where he was taken as a priſoner, and ſent to Duke William of Normandy. To whome he was made to ſweare, that he in tyme followyng ſhoulde marry his daughter: and that after the death of king Edward, he ſhould kepe the land of england to hys behoue, according to the will and mynde of Edward (after ſome writers) and ſo to liue in great honor & dignitie next vnto hym in the realme. This promiſe faithfully made to the Duke, Harold returneth into england (with his coſin Hacus the ſonne of his brother Suanus beyng deliuered vnto hym) But Wilnotus brother of Harold, the Duke kepeth ſtil for performance of the couenaunts. Thus Harold I ſay, returning home, ſheweth the king all that he had done in the foreſayd matters. Wherewith the king was well contented. Wherby it may be gathered, that kyng Edward was right well willyng that Duke William ſhould reigne after hym, and alſo ſemeth not vnlike, but that he had geuen hym hys promiſe therunto before.

A place of Polydorus Virg. examined.

Harold take of the Normandes.

Harold promiſeth Duke William to marry hys daughter, & to keepe the realme for his behooſe.

Among all that were true and truſty to king Edward of the engliſh nobilitie, none had lyke commendation as had Leofricus erle of Mercia and of Cheſter. This Leofricus purchaſed many great liberties for the towne of Couẽtry, and made it free of all maner thinges, except onely of horſe. Which freedom there was obtained by meanes of his wyfe Godina, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a ſtrange maner through ẏ towne. This Leofricus with his wife Godina, builded alſo ẏ abbey of Couẽtry, and indued the ſame with great landes and riches.

Erle Leofricus euer true & faithfull to his prince.
How Couentry was made free.
Godina wife to Leofricus.
The abbey of Couentry builded by Leofricus.

You heard a little before, of the comming ouer of Edward called the outlaw, ſonne of kyng Edmund Ironſide: whom kyng Edward had purpoſed to haue made king after him. But ſoone after his comming ouer, he deceaſed at London. This Edward had by his wife Agatha, a ſonne & a daughter called Edgar Adelyng and Margaret. Whiche Margaret beyng maried afterward to the kyng of Scots, was the mother of Matild or Maude Quene of England and of Dauid king of Scots. &c.

Edward the outlaw.
Edgar Adeling.
Margaret Queene of Scots.
Matilde Queene of England.
Dauid kyng of Scots.

This vertuous and bleſſed king Edward, after he had reigned 23. yeres, and 7. monethes, died and was buried in the Monaſtery of Weſtminſter, which he had greatly augmented and repaired, but afterward was more inlarged after this forme which it hath now, by Henry the third, ſonne of kyng Iohn.

The death of K. Edward.
Weſtminſter repayred.

They that write the hiſtory of this king, here make mention of a dreame or reuelation that ſhould be ſhewed to hym in tyme of his ſicknes: how, that becauſe ẏ peeres & biſhops of the realme were ſeruauntes not of God, but of the deuill: God would geue this realme to the hande of others. And the king deſired vtteraunce to be geuen him that he myght declare the ſame to the people, whereby they might repent. It was anſwered againe, that neither would they ſo do, or yet if they did, it ſhould be geuen to an other people. But becauſe it is a dreame, I let it paſſe.

Gulial. Malmeſber.
Ex Iornalen.
Ex hiſtoria Richardi. 2. iuſſu compoſita.

Diuers lawes were before in diuers countreys of this realme vſed, as ẏ law firſt of Dunuallo Molmucius, with the lawes of Mercia called Mercenelaga: then the lawes of Weſtſaxone kinges, as of Iue, Offa, Alfred, &c. which was called Weſtſaxenelaga. The third were the lawes of Canutus & of Danes called Danelaga. Of all theſe lawes which before were diuerſly in certaine particuler countreis vſed and receiued: this Edward compiled one vniuerſall & common law for all people through the whole realm, which were called K. Edwardes lawes: which lawes being gathered out of ẏ beſt & cheefeſt of the other lawes, were ſo iuſt, ſo equall, & ſo ſeruyng ẏ publike profite & weale of all eſtates: that some authors ſay: ẏ people long after did rebell againſt their heads and rulers, to haue the ſame lawes agayne (beyng taken from them) and yet could not obtaine them.

The lawes of kyng Edward.

Furthermore, I read and find in Math. Pariſ. that whẽ Will. Conquerour at his commyng in, did ſweare to vſe and practiſe the ſame good lawes of Edward, for the common lawes of this realme: afterward (being eſtabliſhed in hys kingdome) he forſwore hymſelfe, and placed his own lawes in their rowme, much worſe and obſcurer then the other were. &c.

Ex Mathæo pariſienſi.
William Cõquerour ſworne to K. Edwardes lawes, yet went from it.

Notwithſtanding among the ſayd lawes of Edward, and in the firſt chapter and beginnyng therof, this I finde among the auncient recordes of the Guildhall in London. The office of a kyng, with ſuch other appurtenaunces as belong to the realme of Britaine: ſet forth and deſcribed in the latine ſtile, which I thought here not vnmete to be expreſſed in the engliſh tong, for them that vnderſtande no latine. The tenor and meanyng wherof thus followeth.

¶ *De iure & appendijs regni Britanniæ, & quod ſit officium Regis.*

REx autem quia vicarius ſummi regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, vt regnum terrenum & populum domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam eius veneretur eccleſiam & regat, & ab iniurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab ea auellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſperdat. Quod niſi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo conſtabit. Verùm, Papa Ioanne teſtante, nomen regis perdit, cui Pipinus & Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, ſed principes ſub rege Francorum ſtultò ſcripſerunt quærentes: ſi ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, ſolo regio nomine contenti. A quo reſponſum eſt, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt, et regunt eccleſiam Dei et populum eius, &c. In engliſh thus.

Ex libro Reg. antiquorum in prætorio Londinenſi.
The office of a king deſcribed in the lawes of kyng Edward.

The king becauſe he is the vicar of the hieſt king, is appointed for this purpoſe: to rule the earthly kingdome, and the lordes people, and aboue all thinges, to reuerence his holy church: to gouerne it, and to defende it from iniuries: to plucke away wicked doers, and vtterly to deſtroye them. Which vnleſſe he do, the name of a kyng agreeth not vnto him, but he loſeth the name of a kyng as witneſſeth Pope Iohn: to the which Pope, Pipinus and Carolus his ſonne (beyng not yet kinges but princes vnder the French king beyng not very wiſe) did write, demaundyng this queſtiõ, whither the kings of France ought ſo to continue hauyng but onely the name of a kyng. Unto whome Pope Iohn anſwereth agayne, that it was conuenient to call thẽ kings which vigilantly do defend and gouerne the church of God and hys people, following the ſaying of kyng Dauid the Pſalmograph. He ſhall not dwell in my houſe which worketh pride. &c. Moreouer, the king by right and by hys office ought to defend & conſerue fully and wholy in all ampleneſſe without diminution, all the lands, honors, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdom. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate, all ſuch thinges as haue bene diſperſed, waſted and loſt, which apperteine to his kingdõ. Alſo the whole and vniuerſal land with all Ilelands about the ſame vnto Norwey and Denmarke, be apperteining to the crowne of hys kingdome, and be of the appurtenances & dignitie of the kyng: making one monarchie and one kingdome, which ſomtime was called the kingdom of Britains, and now the kingdome of England: ſuch bondes & limites as is aboueſayd, be appointed & limited to the name of this kyngdome.

A king the vicar of God in earth.

The limits of the kyngdome of England how far they do extende.

Moreouer, in the foreſaid lawes of this king Edward it followeth in the ſame booke where the foreſayd Edward deſcribing the office of a kyng, addeth in theſe wordes. A kyng ſayth he, ought aboue all things to feare God: to loue and to obſerue hys commaundements: and cauſe them to be obſerued through hys whole kingdom. He ought alſo to kepe, cheriſh, maintayne, and gouerne the holy church within his kingdome, with all integritie and libertie, accordyng to the conſtitutions of his auncetors and predeceſſors: and to defend the ſame agaynſt all enemies, ſo that God aboue all things be honored, and euer be before his eyes. He ought alſo to ſet vp good lawes and cuſtomes, ſuch as be wholeſome and approued; ſuch as be otherwiſe, to repeale them, & thruſt them out of his kingdom. Item, he ought to do iudgement and Iuſtice in his kingdome, by the counſell of ẏ nobles of hys realme. All theſe thinges ought a kyng in hys owne perſon to do, takyng hys othe vpon the Euangeliſt, &

The office of a king farther deſcribed.

the bleſſed reliques of ſainctes, ſwearyng in yͤ preſence of the whole ſtate of hys realme (as well of the temporaltie as of the ſpiritualtie) before he be crowned of the Archbiſhops & Biſhops. Three ſeruauntes the kyng ought to haue vnder hym as vaſſals: fleſhly luſt, auarice, and greedy deſire. whō if he kepe vnder as his ſeruauntes and ſlaues, he ſhal raign well and honourably in his kingdome. All thynges are to be done wyth good aduiſement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a kyng. For haſtie raſhnes bringeth all thynges to ruine, accordyng to the ſaying of the Goſpell: Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe, ſhall bee deſolate. &c.

Three ſlaues and ſeruauntes a king ought to haue vnder his ſubiection.

After the duetie and office of Princes thus deſcribed, conſequently followeth the inſtitution of ſubiectes declared in many good and neceſſary ordinaunces, very requiſite and conuenient for publique gouernment. Of the which lawes William Cōquerour was compelled through the clamour of the people to take ſome: but the moſt parte he omitted, contrary to his owne othe at hys coronation, inſertyng and placyng the moſte of hys owne lawes in hys language: to ſerue hys purpoſe: and whiche as yet to this preſent day in the ſame Normande language do remayne. Nowe (the Lorde willyng) let vs proceede in the ſtorye, as in order followeth.

¶ Kyng Harold.

An. 1066

Harold laſt kyng of Saxons.

HArold the ſeconde ſonne of earle Godwine, and laſt kyng of the Saxons: notwithſtandyng that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heire after Edmūd Ironſide: yet he through force & might contemnyng the yong age of Edgar and forgetting alſo his promiſe made to Duke William, toke vpon hym to be kyng of england, an. 1066. When Harolde Harefager, ſonne of Canutus, king of Norway and Dēmarke, heard of yͤ death of kyng Edward, he came into england with 300. ſhips or mo: who, then ioynyng with Toſtus, brother to yͤ ſaid Harold kyng of england, entred into the North partes, & claymed the land after the death of Edward. But the Lordes of the countrey aroſe and gaue them battaile, notwythſtandyng the Danes had the victory. And therfore Harold king of england prepared toward them in all haſte, and gaue them an other ſtrong battell, and there had the victory, where alſo Harold the Dane was ſlaine, by the hand of Harold king of england. And Toſtius was alſo ſlayne in the battell. After this victory, Harold waxed proud and couetous: and would not deuide the prayes to his knightes that had deſerued it, but kept it to hymſelfe wherby he loſt the fauour of many of his knights and people.

Harolde kyng of Denmarke and Toſtius ſlayne.

In this meane tyme William Duke of Normandy ſent Ambaſſades to Harold kyng of England, admoniſhing him of the couenauntes that were agreed betwene them: which was, to haue kept the land to hys vſe after the death of Edward. But becauſe that the daughter of Duke William (that was promiſed to Harold) was dead: Harold thought him therby diſcharged, & ſaid, that ſuch a nice fooliſh promiſe ought not to be holden (concernyng an others land) without the conſent of the Lordes of the ſame: and eſpecially for that he was therunto, for nede or for dread compelled.

Vpon theſe anſweres receaued, Duke William, in the whyle that the meſſengers went and came: gathered hys knightes, and prepared his nauye, and had the aſſent of the Lordes of hys land to ayde and aſſiſt him in hys iourney. And ouer that ſending vnto Rome to Pope Alexander, cōcerning his title & viage into england: the Pope cōfirmeth hym in the ſame, and ſent vnto hym a banner, willyng him to beare it in the ſhip, wherein hymſelfe ſhould ſaile. Thus Duke William, beyng puruayed of all thynges concernyng his iourney: ſped him to the ſea ſide, and tooke ſhipping at the hauen of S. Valery: where he taryed a long tyme, or he might haue a conuenient wynde. For the which his ſouldiours murmured (ſaying) it was a woodnes, and a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to haue an others mans kyngdome by ſtrength, and namely when God was againſt it in ſending contrary wynde. &c. At the laſt the wynde ſhortly after came about, and they tooke ſhipping wyth a great company, and landed at Haſtinges in Suſſex.

The Pope ſendeth a banner to Duke W. vpon bone viage into England.

Duke William landeth at Haſtinges.

Three cauſes why Duke William entred England.

For three cauſes Duke William entred this land, to ſubdue Harold. One was for that it was to hym geuen by king Edward his nephew. The ſecōd was to take wreake for the cruell murther of his nephew Alfrede, kyng Edwardes brother, and of the Normandes, which deede he aſcribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert Archbyſhop of Canterbury, which was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harold, in the tyme of kyng Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the North: Duke William made ſo great ſpede that he came to London before the kyng: out of which he was holden, till he had made good ſurety, that he and his people ſhould paſſe through the citie wythout taryng: which promiſe he well obſeruing, paſſed the bridge, and went ouer vnto Suſſex. From whence he ſent a Monke vnto Harold, and profered to hym three maner of wayes. 1. Eyther to render to hym the poſſeſſion of the land, & ſo to take it agayne of hym, vnder tribute raignyng vnder hym. 2. or els to abyde and ſtand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both: or thirdly to defende hys quarell in his owne perſon agaynſt the Duke, and they two onely to try the matter by dint of ſword, without any other bloudſhedyng.

Three cōditions offered to Harold by Duke William.

But Harold refuſed all theſe offers, ſaying: it ſhould be tryed by dinte of ſwordes, and not by one ſword. And ſo gathered his people, and ioyned battaile with the Normandes in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of Battayle in Suſſex. In the beginning of which fight the engliſhmen kept them in good array, like to vanquiſhe the Normandes. Wherfore Duke William cauſed hys men to geue backe, as though they fled: wherby the engliſhmen followed faſt and brake their array. Then the Normaines fiercely geuing a charge vpon them, in concluſion obtained the victory, through the iuſt prouidence of God. Where kyng Harold, who before had murdered Alfrede the true heire of the crowne, wyth his company of Normandes ſo cruelly: was now wounded of the Normandes, in the left eye wyth an arrow, and therof incontinent dyed: although Gerardus ſayth, he fled away to Cheſter, and liued after that a Monke in the monaſtery of S. James. Which is not like, but rather that he was there ſlayne after that he had raigned ix. monethes, and was buryed at Waltham (which proueth that he dyed not at Cheſter) and ſo was he the laſt that raigned in england of the bloud of Saxons: the which cōtinued (to recken frō Hengiſtus his firſt raigne in Kent) by the ſpace of fiue hundred & 91. yeares. And if it be reckened from the yeares of the Weſtſaxons, then it endured the ſpace of 565. yeres.

The fight betwene Harold & Duke William.

K. Harold ſlayne.

Thys William Duke, and kyng Edward, were by the fathers ſide, coſin germaines remoued. For Richard the firſt of that name, which was the third Duke of Normādy after Rollo: was father to Duke Richard the ſecond of that name, & brother to Emma mother to kyng Edward. Which Duke Richard the ſecond, was father to Duke Robert, this Duke Williams father.

The conſanguinitie betwene kyng Edward, and William Conqueror.

Albeit in this matter, other ſome may gather otherwiſe and better, perchaunce, yet if I may ſay what I think, verely I ſuppoſe, that there is no conſanguinitie ſo much here the cauſe, why God of his vnknowen iudgementes ſuffred the Normandes here to preuayle: as was rather the cruell murder of Alfred, and of the innocēt Normādes, wrought by the cruell deſpight of Harold and the engliſhmen, as is before declared. The which merciles murther, God hath here iuſtly in thys conqueſt recompenſed.

Murther iuſtly recompenſed.

Now remayneth alſo to theſe forein affayres of kyngs & princes, to adde ſomethyng likewiſe concernyng the continuation of the Archbyſhops of Caunterbury, begynnyng there where we laſt left: that is wyth Elphegus, whom we declared a litle before to be ſtoned by the Danes at Grenewiche. After which Elphegus next ſucceded Liuingus, after hym Egelnothus alſo aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Norman, a great doer (as is declared) about kyng Edward, and a faithfull counſailer vnto hym: but he abode not long. After whom, Stigandus inuaded the ſea (as they report) by ſimony: beyng both Archbiſhop of Cāt. Byſhop of Wincheſter, and alſo Abbot in an other place. Wherin he continued a great ſpace, gatheryng and heapyng goodes together, till at length Duke William clapt him in priſon, and there kept hym: placing in his rowme, Lancfrācus a Lombard borne, of whom more ſhall follow (Chriſt willyng) hereafter to be declared.

Archbiſhops of Canterb.

Liuingus.
Egelnothus.
Robertus.
Stigandus.

¶ Although the Church of Chriſt, and ſtate of religion firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did not continually altogether remayne in his primatiue perfection, wherein it was firſt inſtituted: But in proceſſe of tyme, began from better to worſe, to decreaſe and decline into much ſuperſtition & inconuenience: partly through the comyng in of Mahumet, partly through yͤ increaſe of wealth and riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge and diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the guides of Chriſtes flocke: yet the infection and corruption of that tyme (though it were great) did not ſo abounde in ſuch exceſſiue meaſure, as afterward in the other latter tymes now following a-

The decay of the church.

Pope Siluester the. 2.

bout the thouſand yeares expired after Chriſt: wherof we haue to intreat, Chriſt ſo permittyng. About the which tyme and yeare came Siluester yͤ ſecond of that name, who next ſucceded after Gregory the. 5. before mentioned pag. 161. and occupyed the ſea of Rome about the yeare of our Lord. 1000. lackyng one or two.

Siluester the 2. a foule ſorcerer.

This Siluester was a Sorcerer, which after the ſort of them, that worke by familiars (as they call thẽ) and by cõiuration, compacted with the deuill, to be made pope. And ſo he was (through the operation of Sathan) accordyng to his requeſt. Which thyng ſome hiſtories ſay, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bryng in the wordes of Ioannes Stella, a Venetian, tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh, concerning the ſayd Siluester: to the entent that our inchaunters and ſorcerers now a dayes (wherof there be to many in England) may the better through his example be admoniſhed. The wordes of Stella be theſe, agreyng alſo with the narration of Benno, Platina and many other. Siluester the ſecond of that name, beyng Pope, and a Frenchman, called Gilbertus: ſate in his Papacie iiij. yeares, one moneth and viij. dayes. He entred into his Papacy, through wicked and vnlawfull meanes: who from his youth beyng a mõke, and leauyng his monaſtery, gaue himſelfe wholy to the deuill, to obtaine that which he required. And firſt commyng to Hiſpalis a Citie in Spayne, there applyed his booke and profited there in ſomuch, yͭ he was made Doctour, hauyng amongſt his auditours, Otho the Emperours ſonne, and Robert the French kyng, Lotharius Archbyſhop of Senen, with diuers other mo. By whoſe aduauncement he was promoted, firſt Byſhop of Rheme, afterward Biſhop of Rauenna, and at laſt through the operation of Sathan, was exalted to the Papacy of Rome, vpon this condition, that after his death, he ſhould geue himſelfe to the deuill, by whoſe procurement, he came to that promotiõ. Vpon a certaine time he demaunded an aunſwere of the deuill, how lõg he ſhould enioy his Popedome: to whom he aunſwered agayne: vntill thou ſay Maſſe in Ieruſalem thou ſhalt liue. At length the iiij. yeare of his Popedome, ſaying Maſſe at Lent tyme, in the temple of the holy croſſe being called then Ieruſalem, there he knew the tyme was come, when he ſhould dye. Wherupon beyng ſtroke with repentaunce, confeſſed his fault openly before the people: deſiryng all men to cut his body all in peeces (being ſo ſeduced by deceites of the deuill) and ſo beyng hewen in peeces, they would lay it vpõ a cart, and bury it there, where ſoeuer the horſes would carry it of their accord. And ſo the ſaying is to be, that by yͤ prouidence of God (whereby the wicked may learne yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo that they will repẽt them in their lyfe) the horſes of their owne accord ſtayd at the Church of Laterane, and there he was buried: where as commonly by the ratlyng of his bones within the tombe, is portẽded the death of popes as the cõmon report goeth. Thus much out of Ioannes Stella, concernyng Siluester. By whom our ſorcerers and inchaunters, or Magicians may learne to beware of the deceitful operatiõ of Sathã: who, at the end deceiueth and fruſtrateth all them, that haue to do with hym: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which vſe the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the ſpirite of Ieſus our redemer, diſſolue the workes of Sathan, and preſerue the hartes of our nobles, and of all other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection. Amen.

Ioannes Stella.
Platina.
Petrus Præmonſtratẽſis
Nauclerus.
Antoninus.
Robertus Barnus.
Ioãnes Baleus.

Ex Ioã. Stella.

An admonition for ſorcerers and wicked coniurers.

The feaſt of all ſoules brought into the Church.

After Siluester ſucceded Ioannes. xix. by whom was brought in (as Volateran ſayth) the feaſt of all ſoules, an. 1004. through the meanes and inſtigatiõ of one Odilo Abbot of Clunake, to be celebrate next after the feaſt of all Saintes. This monke Odilo, thinkyng that Purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mount Aetna: dreamed vpon a tyme in the countrey of Sicile, that he by his Maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules from thence: ſaying moreouer, that he did heare the voyces and lamentations of deuils crying out, for that the ſoules were takẽ from them by the maſſes and dirges funerall. Ex Bakẽthorpo. in prolo. 4. Lib. Sẽtent. And not long after him came Iohn the. xx. and Sergius the iiij. After whom ſucceded Benedictus the viij. then Iohn the. xxi. who beyng promoted by art magike of Theophilact his nephew, Gratianus, Brazutus and other Sorcerers brought in firſt the faſt of the euẽ of Iohn Baptiſt and S. Laurẽce. After him followed pope Benedictus the. ix. likewiſe aſpiryng to his Papacy, by like magike, practiſing inchauntmentes and coniuration in woodes, after horrible maner. Who reſiſtyng the Emperour Hẽricus. iij. ſonne to Conradus, and placyng in his rowme, Petrus the kyng of Hungary with this verſe. Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam: Afterward for feare of Henricus preuailing in battaile, he was fayne to ſell his ſeat to his ſucceſſor Gratianus, called Gregorius vi. for. 1500. poundes. At which tyme were iij. Popes together in Rome raignyng & raging one againſt an other, Benedictus. ix. Siluester iij. & Gregorius vi. For the which cauſe Henricus ſurnamed Niger, the Emperour, commyng to Rome: diſplaced theſe iij. monſters at one tyme, placyng for them, Clemens. ij. and thereupon inactyng, that there ſhould no Byſhop of Rome henceforth be choſen but by the conſent and confirmation of the Emperour. Which conſtitution though it was both agreable and alſo neceſſary for publike tranquillity of that citie, yet the Cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtile practiſe and open violence, as in proceſſe (the Lord permittyng) ſhall appeare, in the tyme of Henricus the iiij. and 5. In the tyme of this Clemẽt, the Romanes made an othe to the Emperour, cõcernyng the election of the Byſhops, themſelues to intermeddle no farther therein, but as the aſſent of the Emperour ſhould go withall. Howbeit the Emperour departyng thence into Germany agayne, by and by they forgot their othe, and within. ix. monethes after poyſoned the Byſhop. Which fact ſome impute to Stephen his ſucceſſor called Damaſus. ij. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as hiſtories record) within xiij. yeares poyſoned vj. popes, that is, Clemẽs. ij. Damaſus. ij. Leo. ix. Victor. ij. Stephanus ix. Nicolaus the ſecond.

Benedictus the 9.

Gregorius the 6.

A conſtitution no pope to be choſen but by the confirmation of the Emperour.

Pope Clemens the. 2.

Pope Damaſus the. 2.

Thus Clemẽt beyng poyſoned, after him ſucceded Damaſus. ij. neither by conſent of the people, nor of the Emperour elected: but by force & inuaſion, who alſo within. xxiij. dayes beyng poyſoned. an. M. xlix. much contention & ſtriuyng began in Rome about the Papal ſeat. Wherupon the Romans, through the counſell of the Cardinals, ſent to the foreſayd Emperour, deſiryng to geue them a Byſhop and ſo he did, whoſe name was Bruno an Almaine, and biſhop of Collen, afterward called Leo. ix. This Bruno beyng a ſimple man and eaſie to be led with euill counſell, commyng from the Emperour towardes Rome in his pontificall apparell like a Pope: meeteth him by the way the Abbot of Clunake, and Hildebrand a Monke. Who ſeyng him ſo in his pontificalibus, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authoritie of the Emperour, and not rather of the Clergy of Rome and the people therof, as other his predeceſſors were wont to do: & ſo counſelled him, to lay downe that apparell, and to enter in with his owne habite, till he had his election by them. Bruno followyng their counſell and confeſſing his fault before the Clergy of Rome, obtained their fauour, and ſo was nominate Leo. ix. Wherby Hildebrand was made a Cardinal, and put in high rowme. Vnder this Pope Leo were two Councels, one kept at Vercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius agaynſt the reall ſubſtaunce in the Sacrament was firſt cõdemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, whiche neuertheleſſe was done after in the Councell of Laterane, vnder Nicolas. ij. an. M. lx. The other was kept at Moguntia, where amongeſt many other decrees was enacted, Prieſtes to be excluded and debarred vtterly from mariage. Item, that no lay men might geue benefice, or Byſhopricks, or any ſpirituall promotion. &c.

Pope Leo the. 9.

Concilium Moguntinum.
Nauclerus Crantz.

This Leo, beyng at Wormes with the Emperour vpõ Chriſtenmas day, did excommunicate the ſubdeacõ becauſe in readyng the Epiſtle he did it not in the Romane tune, he beyng there preſent. The Archbyſhop moued therwith, departed frõ the altar (being then at Maſſe) ſaying, he would not procede no farther in his ſeruice, vnleſſe his ſubdeacon were reſtored. Wherupon the Pope commaunded him to be releaſed, and ſo they went forward in their ſeruice.

Alb. Crantz. Saxo. lib. 4. cap. 43.

Pope Victor the. 2.

Concilium Florentinum.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poyſoned the firſt yeare of his popedome. Theophilactus dyd ſtriue to be Pope: but Hildebrãd to defeate him, went to the emperour (partly alſo being ſent by the Romanes for feare of the emperours diſpleaſure) who aſſigned an other Biſhop, a Germaine, called Victor. ij. This Victor hauing a Councell at Florence, depoſed diuers Byſhops and Prieſtes, for ſimony and fornication. For ſimony, in that they tooke of ſecular men their dignities for money: for fornication, in that contrary to their Canon, they were maried. &c. The ij. yeare of his papacy and litle more, this pope alſo followed his predeceſſors being poyſoned by the foreſaid Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his maiſter.

Pope Stephan the. 9.

The Church of Millan firſt brought vnder the Church of Rome.

Here now began the Church and Clergy of Rome to wryng out of the emperours hand the election of the pope: electyng Stephen the. ix. for pope, contrary to their othe and to the emperours aſſignemẽt. Here was the church of Millan firſt brought to obedience of the Romiſhe Church, by this Stephanus the. ix. byſhop of Rome. Who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe the Emperour Henry (of whom mention is made before) of hereſie, or miniſhyng the authoritie of

The Emperour accuſed of hereſie

Hildebrand ſent in commiſſion for ſimonie.

Roman ſea. So this was their hereſie at that tyme, not to maintaine the ambitious proceedinges of the Romiſh Prelate. And ſimony they called this, to take and enioy any ſpirituall lyuyng at a ſecular mans hand, wherfore Stephen hearyng this ſimony to raigne in diuers places, namely in the Churches of Burgundy and Italy, ſent forth the Cardinall Hildebrand to reforme the matter: who was no leſſe earneſt in that kynde of commiſſion to helpe the matter forward.

Hildebrand beginneth to ſturre.

In the meane tyme Stephanus yͤ pope, taſting of Brazutus cup fell ſicke. Hildebrãd hearing that, applyeth home with all poſt ſpede. So beyng returned to Rome, aſſẽbleth all the companies and orders of the cleargie together, makyng thẽ to ſweare: that they ſhould admit none to be Byſhop, but which ſhould be appointed by the publike conſent of them all together. This beyng done, Hildebrande taketh his iorney to Florẽce (belike to fetch the biſhop of Florẽce) to ſtall him byſhop: the clergy ſwearing to him, that no byſhop ſhould be ordained before his returne agayne. But the people of Rome not ſuffering the election to ſtand ſo long, after the death of Stephan: elected one of their owne citie, called Benedictus yͤ tenth. Hildebrand hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome with one Gerhardus byſhop of Florẽce, cauſed the clergy to procede to a new election, ſaying: that Benedictus was not lawfully called but came in by force & brybing. But the clergy not daryng to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Sene, and there elected this Garhardus byſhop of Florence, whome Hildebrande brought with hym. So were ij. popes in Rome together: But Garhardus named Nicolaus. ij. holding a councell at Sutrium, through the help of Duke Godfride and Guibert, and other byſhops about Italy, cauſed yͤ other pope to be depoſed. Benedictus vnderſtanding them to be ſet againſt him through the meanes of Hildebrand, vnpoped himſelfe, & went to Velitras, liuing there more quietly then he ſhould haue done at Rome.

Pope Benedictus. 10.

Pope Nicolaus the. 2.

Two Popes together at Rome.

Pope Benet vnpopeth himſelfe.

The gloſe of the Popes decrees refuted.

Here is to be touched by the way, the error of the gloſe vpon the 23. Diſt. which falſly allegeth out of the Chronicles, that Benedictus x. which ſucceded Stephen, was depoſed: after whom came Ioannes biſhop of Sabin for money, & he againe depoſed. Benedictus was thẽ reſtored, and after diſplaced agayne, & then Ioannes Archdeacon ad portam latinam, was made Pope, and he agayne depoſed by yͤ emperour, and all this within one yere. Which hiſtory neither is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus, ſaue onely that Benedictus 9. was depoſed, and then reigned 3. Popes together, Benedictus 9. Siluester 3. and Gregorius 6. which before was called Ioannes ad portam latinam, whome the Emperor depoſed (all three together) But that Benedict neither was the x. neither did he ſuccede Pope Stephen, as the gloſe recordeth. Nicolas thus beyng ſet vp wout the mynde both of the emperour, & of the people of Rome, after his fellow Pope was driuen away: brake vp the Synode of Sutrium, & came to Rome where he aſſembled an other councell, called concilium Lateranum, In which councell firſt was promulgate the terrible ſentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and beginneth: In nomine domini noſtri. &c. The effect wherof is this. Firſt that he after a ſubtile practiſe (as farre and as plainly as he durſt ſpeake) vndermyndeth the Emperours iuriſdiction, and transferreth to a fewe Cardinals and certaine Catholike perſons, the full authoritie of chuſing the Pope. Secondly, againſt all ſuch as do creepe into the ſeate of Peter, by money or fauour without the full conſent of yͤ Cardinals: he thundreth with terrible blaſtes of excommunication, accurſing them and their children with deuils, as wicked perſons to the anger of almighty God, geuyng alſo authoritie and power to Cardinals, with the Clergye and laitie, to depoſe all ſuch perſons, and call a councell generall, whereſoeuer they will againſt them.

Concilium Lateranũ.

An. 1059

Diſt. 23. cap. In no.

A terrible curſe of Pope Nicolaus.

Berengarius driuen to recantation.

Item in the ſayd Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Nicholas the ſecond, Berengarius Andegauenſis, an Archdeacon was driuen to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes holy body and bloude, to be in the ſacrament, otherwiſe then ſacramentally and in myſterie.

Tranſubſtantiation brought into the Church.

In the ſame councell alſo was hatched and inuented, yͤ new found deuiſe and terme of Tranſubſtantiation.

Nauclerus.
Platina.
Eneas Sil.

It were to long here to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicholas, and Robertus Guiſcardus: whome this pope cõtrary to all right & good law diſplacing yͤ right heire, made Duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, & captayne generall of S. Peters landes: that through hys force of armes and violence, he might the better ſubdue all ſuche as ſhould rebell to his obedience, and ſo did. Nowe let all men iudge and vnderſtand (which be godly wiſe) how this ſtandeth with the doctrine of Chriſt, the example of Peter, or the ſpirite of a chriſten biſhop, by outward armes & violence to conquer chriſten men and countreys, vnder the obedience of a biſhops ſea. Thus Pope Nicolas the ſecond, well anſwering to his Greeke name: by might and force continued 3. yeres and a halfe. But at length he mette with Brazutus cup, and ſo turned vp his heeles.

Potentia papę Coactiua ſtandeth not with the Goſpell.

1062.

Henricus. 4. Emperour.

At the beginnyng of this Nicolas, or ſomewhat before about the yeare of our Lord. 1057. Henricus the 4. after the deceaſe of Henry the 3. was made emperour beyng but a child, & reigned 50. yeres: but not without great moleſtation and muche diſquietnes, and all through the vngracious wickednes of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord ſo permitting) ſhalbe declared.

The Popes curſe compared to Domicianus thunder.

Here by the way commeth to be noted, an exãple, wherby all Princes may learne and vnderſtande, how the Pope is to be handled, whoſoeuer loketh to haue any goodnes at hys hand. If a mã ſtand in feare of his curſe, he ſhalbe made his ſlaue, but if he be deſpiſed of you, ye ſhal haue him as you liſt. For the Popes curſe may well be aſſimuled to Domicianus thunder: If a man geue eare to the noyſe & cracke, it ſemeth a terrible thyng: but if ye conſider the cauſes and effect therof, it is a moſt vaine ridicle.

Aldredus Archbyſhop of yorke.

In the reigne of this Nicolas, an. 1060. Aldredus byſhop of Worceter, after the deceaſe of Kinſius hys predeceſſor ſhould be made Archbiſhop of yorke, who commyng to Rome with Toſtius erle of Northumberland, for his palle (as the maner was) could not obteine it, but was depriued of all hys dignitie (for ſome default, I can not tell what) in hys aunſwer. And furthermore, after his reuerſion home, was ſpoyled alſo of all that he brought with him. wherupõ he returning againe to Rome with Toſtius the foreſayde erle, there made hys complaint, but could not be heard: tyll Toſtius, a man of ſtout courage, takyng the matter in hãd, told the Pope to hys face, that his curſe was not to be feared in farre countreys, which his owne neighbours, yea and moſt vile vacabondes derided and deſpiſed at home. Wherefore he required the Pope, either to reſtore Aldredus againe to his goods loſt, or els it ſhould be knowen, that they were loſt through hys meanes and ſubtletie. And furthermore, it would come to paſſe, that the king of england hearyng this, would debarre hym of ſ. Peters tribute, takyng it for a great ſhame to hym and hys realme, if Aldredus ſhould come frõ Rome both depriued of dignitie, & ſpoyled alſo of his goods, &c. In fine, the Pope thus perſwaded by the argument of hys purſe, was content to ſende home Aldredus with hys palle, accordyng to hys requeſt.

Toſtius how he perſwaded the Pope.

Cadolus a Lombard made Pope by the Emperour.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombards beyng oppreſſed before by Pope Nicholas, and brought vnder feare, were the more deſirous, and thought it good, to haue a Biſhop of their company: and ſo elected the biſhop of Parmẽ, called Cadolus, to be Pope: ſendyng to the emperour and deſiryng hys fauour and ſupportation therein. For the election of the Pope (ſayde they) moſt properly apperteined vnto hym.

Pope Alexander the 2.

Two battailes betwixt two Popes for S. Peters ſeate.

The emperor well pleaſed and content, geueth his good leaue & voyce withall. Hildebrandus, no leſſe a wycked Necromancer, then a ſtoute mainteiner of popiſh liberties againſt good emperors, hearyng this: ſetteth vp by a contrary faction, an other biſhop, Anſelmus, after called Alexãder the 2. Cadolus thus elected by the Emperour and the Cardinals, ſetteth forward to Rome with a ſufficient army and ſtrength of men. Alexander alſo no leſſe prepared, there receiueth him with an other army, where they had a great conflict, and many ſlayne on both ſides. But Cadolus as he had the better cauſe, ſo had he the worſe fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himſelfe and came againe with a greater power. Albeit, he preuailed not. The Emperour ſeyng this hurly burly: to take vp the matter, ſent thither hys embaſſador Otho, Archbiſhop of Colen: who commyng to Rome, beginneth ſharpely to chide the Pope for takyng ſo vpõ him, without the leaue or knowlege of the emperour, declaryng how the election of that ſea ought chiefly to apperteine to the right of the emperour, as it hath done for yͤ moſt part in the tyme of his predeceſſors tofore. But Hildebrande all ſet on wickednes and ambition, and alſo puft vp not a little with his late victories: not ſuffering the embaſſador to tell to the ende, interrupted him in the middle of his tale: affirmyng, yͭ if they ſhould ſtand to law and cuſtome, the libertie of that election ſhould rather belong to the Clergy, then to the Emperour. To make ſhort, Otho the embaſſador bearyng (belike) more with the Clergie, then with the emperour, was content to be perſwaded: onely required this in the Emperors name, a councell to be had, to deciſe the matter: wherat the emperor ſhould be preſent himſelfe. And ſo he was: In the which councell beyng kept at Mantua, Alexander was

Concilium Mantuanum.

Alleluya ſuſpended in the tyme of Lēt.

A decree that no ſeculer man ſhould geue a ſpirituall promotion.

Benno Cardinalis.

Pope Alexander knockt about the pate by Hildebrand.

declared Pope, the other had hys pardon graunted. In this councell amongſt many other conſiderations, was concluded concerning prieſtes to haue no wyues: ſuch as haue cōcubines to ſay no maſſe: prieſtes children not to be ſecluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for mony. Alleluya to be ſuſpended in tyme of Lent out of the Church. &c. This alſo was decreed (which made moſt for Hildebrandes purpoſe) that no ſpirituall man, whatſoeuer he be, ſhould enter in any church, by a ſeculer perſon, and that the Pope ſhould be elected onely by the Cardinals &c. Benno Cardinalis writeth thus of Alexander, that after he perceiued the fraudes of Hildebrand, & of other the emperors enemies: and vnderſtanding that he was ſet vp and inthroniſed, but onely for a purpoſe: beyng at his maſſe, as he was preachyng to the people, told them, he would not ſit in that place, vnles he had the licence of the emperour. Which when Hildebrandus hard, he was ſtroke in ſuch a fury, that ſcarſly he could kepe hys handes of hym, while maſſe was done. After the maſſe beyng finiſhed, by force of ſouldiors and ſtrength of men hee had hym into a chamber, and there all to bepomild Pope Alexander with hys fiſtes rating and rebuking hym for that he would ſeke for fauour of the emperour. Thus Alexāder beyng kept vp in cuſtody, & beyng ſtinted to a certaine allowance, as about v. grotes a day. Hildebrand incrocheth all the whole reuenues of the church to himſelfe, procuring therby much treaſure. At length Alexander vnder the miſerable induraunce of Hildebrand, dyed at euentyde after eleuē yeres and halfe of hys Popedome. And thus muche of Romiſhe matters.

These thinges thus diſcourſed concernyng the matters of Rome (now returnyng agayne to our owne countrey ſtory) the order therof would require to enter agayne into the reigne of William Conquerour, the next king followyng in England. But as a certaine oration of king Edgarus, which ſhould haue bene placed before, chanced in the meane tyme to come to my handes, not vnworthy to be red: I thought by the way in the ende of this booke, to inſert the ſame (although out of order) yet better I iudged it out of order, then out of the booke.

The oration of K. Edgar to the Clergie.

Psal.43.

BEcauſe God hath ſhewed his great mercy to worke with vs: it is meete (moſt reuerende fathers) that with worthy workes wee ſhoulde aunſwer his innumerable benefites. For we poſſeſſe not the land by our owne ſworde, and our owne arme hath not ſaued vs: but hys right hande and his holy arme, becauſe he hath bene delighted in vs. Therefore it is meete that we ſhould ſubmit both our ſelues and our ſoules to him that hath ſubiected all theſe things vnder our gouernment: and that we ought ſtoutly to labour, that they whom he hath made ſubiect to vs, might be ſubiecte to hys lawes. It belonges to me to rule the lay people with the lawe of equitie, to do iuſt iudgement betwixt man and hys neighbour, to puniſh church robbers, to hold vnder rebels, to deliuer the helpeleſſe from the hand of the ſtronger, the nedy alſo and the poore from them that rob them. It belonges alſo to my care to prouide neceſſary thinges to the miniſters of the churches, to the flockes of the monkes, to the companies of virgins, and to prouide for their peace and quiet. The examinyng of all whoſe maners belongeth vnto vs: whether they liue chaſtely, if they behaue thēſelues honeſtly toward them that be without, whither they be diligent at gods ſeruice, if they be earneſt to teach the people, if they be ſober in eating and drinking, if they keepe meaſure in apparell, and if they be diſcret in iudgemēt. If ye had regarded theſe thinges with a trial of them (O reuerend fathers, by your leaues I ſpeake) ſuche horrible and abhominable thinges of the Clearkes, ſhould not haue come vnto our eares. I omitte to ſpeake how their crowne is not broade, nor their rounding conuenient, the wantonneſſe in your lyfe, your pride in your geſture, the filthineſſe in your wordes, do declare the euil of the inward man.

Furthermore what negligence is in Gods ſeruice, when ſcarce they will be preſent at the holy vigils? And whē they come to maſſe, they ſeeme rather to be gathered to play and laugh, then to ſing. I will tell that, that good men be ſorye for, and the euill laugh at. I will ſpeake with ſorrow (if ſo be I may expreſſe it) how they be riotous in banckettynges, in chambering, dronkenneſſe, and vnſhamefaſtneſſe: that now clarkes houſes may be thought to be a ſtewes of harlots, & a couēt of players. There be dyce, there is dancyng and ſinging, there is watching to midnight, with crying & ſhouting. Thus the goods of kings, the almes of princes, yea (and that more is) the price of that precious bloude is not eſteemed. Haue our fathers then ſpent their treaſures for this purpoſe? Hath the kings cofers decayed by taking away many reuenues, for this cauſe? Hath the kinges liberalitie geuen landes and poſſeſſions to Chriſtes churches for this intente, that Clarkes harlots ſhould be decked with the ſame? that riotous feaſtes might be dreſſed? that houndes and haukes and ſuch other toyes might be gotten? The ſouldiours cry out of theſe thinges, the people grudge, minſtrels ſing and daunce, and yet ye regard it not, ye ſpare it, ye diſſemble it. Where is the ſword of Leuy, and the zeale of Symeon, which kylled the Sichemites and the Circumciſed, which bare the figure of them that defile Chriſtes church with filthy deedes, becauſe they abuſed Iacobs daughter as a harlot? Where is Moſes ſpirite which ſpared not his owne kinſfolke that worſhipped the head of the Calfe.

Gen.34.
Exod.32.

Where is Phinies the prieſtes dagger, whiche pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale, whē he killed hym that plaied the harlot with the Madianite? Where is Peters ſpirite by whoſe power coueteouſneſſe is deſtroyed, and ſimonicall hereſie is condemned? Be earneſt ye prieſtes, be earneſt, to folow the ways of the Lord, and the righteouſnes of our god. It is tyme to do agaynſt them that haue broken the law of God. I haue Conſtantines ſword, and ye haue Peters ſword in your handes, let vs ioine right handes, let vs couple ſword to ſword, that the lepers may be caſt out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the ſonnes of Leuy may miniſter in the temple, who ſayd to his father & mother I know you not, & to hys brothers, I know not you. Go to diligētly I pray you, leſt we repēt to haue done that that we haue done, & to haue geuē that, that we gaue. If we ſhall ſee that to be ſpent not in Gods ſeruice, but on the riotouſneſſe of wicked men, through vile and corrupt libertie of lyfe, for lack of chaſtiſement: let the reliques of holy ſaints which they deſpiſe, and the holy altars, before which they play the madde men, mooue you. Let the great deuotion of our auncetors moue you, whoſe almes the madneſſe of the Clerkes doth abuſe. My great graundfather (as ye knowe) gaue the tenth part of all hys landes to churches and abbeis. My great great graundfather Alfredus of holy memorye, thought not meete to ſpare his treaſures, his goods, no coſtes nor rentes that he myght enriche the church. My graundfather the elder Edward, your fatherhood is not ignorāt, how great thinges he gaue to the Churches. It becommeth you to remember with what giftes my father and hys brothers did enrich Chriſtes altars. O father of fathers Dunſtane, behold I pray thee the eyes of my father loking on thee, from that bright place of heauen. Harken his complainyng words ſoundyng in thyne eares thus pitifully lamentyng. O father Dunſtane, thou thou I ſay, gaueſt me coūſell to build abbaies and churches: thou waſt my helper and fellow worker in al thinges. I choſe thee as a ſhepheard and byſhop of my ſoule, and a keper of my maners. When did I not obey thee? what treaſures did I preferre in reſpect of thy counſels: what poſſeſſions dyd I not deſpiſe, if thou bad me? if thou thought meete to geue any thyng to the poore, I was ready. If thou thought meete to geue any thing to churches, I deferred not. If thou cōplained that mōkes or Clerkes wanted any thing, I ſupplied. Thou ſaideſt that almes laſted for euer, & that there was none more fruitfull then that which was geuen to Abbeis or Churches. For with that both Gods ſeruauntes are ſuſtained, and that which remayneth is geuen to the poore. O worthy almes, O worthy price of the ſoule, oh wholeſom remedy for our ſinnes, which now doth ſtinck in the ſweete furres of prieſts lemmans, wherwith they adorne their eares, and deck their fingers, apparailyng their delicate bodies with ſilke and purple. O father, is this the fruite of myne almes, is this the effect of my deſire, and of thy promiſe? what wilt thou aunſwer to this complaint of my fathers? I knowe, I know, when thou didſt ſee a thiefe, thou ranneſt not wyth hym, neither haſt thou put thy portiō with adulterers. Thou haſt rebuked, thou haſt exhorted, thou haſt blamed them, but wordes haue bene deſpiſed. Now we muſt come to ſtripes of correction: thou haſt here with thee the worſhipfull father Edwald biſhop of Wincheſter. Thou haſt the reuerend Prelate Oſwold byſhop of Worceter, I committe thys buſineſſe to you, that both by byſhoply correction, and the kynges authoritie the filthye lyues may bee caſt out of the Churches, and they that lyue orderly may be brought in. &c

Nume.25.
Acte.5.8.

Deut.33.

The ignorance and ſuperſtition of the tyme of K. Edgar noted.

In this oration of kyng Edgar aboue prefixed, 3. thinges are chiefly to be noted and conſidered to thē that haue iudgements to marke and vnderſtande, to witte: The religious zeale and deuotion of kynges, both in geuyng to the church, and alſo in correcting the maners of churchmen. 2. Secōdly, the diſſolute behauiour and wantonneſſe of the Cleargie, then abuſing the great donations and patrimonies of princes beſtowed vpon them. 3. Thirdly, the blynde ignoraunce and ſuperſtition of that tyme in both ſtates: as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall: in eſteming Chriſtes religion chiefly to conſiſt in geuyng to churches, and in maintaining of monkery, falſly beyng perſwaded that remiſſion of theyr ſinnes and remedy of their ſoules therin did lie: in building monaſteries, erectyng churches and cloyſters, and in placyng monkes in the ſame, and ſuch other almes dedes, and workes of deuotion. Wherin appeareth how ignoraunt that tyme was of the true doctrine of Chriſtes faythe, & of free grace of the Goſpell, which promiſeth lyfe, remedy, and iuſtification, not by any deuout merites of ours, nor by any workes either of ẏ law of God or of the inuētiō of mā: but onely and freely by our fayth vpon Chriſt Jeſus ẏ ſonne of God, in whome onely conſiſteth all the promiſes of god. Amen.

The doctrine of iuſtification vnknowne.

Iuſtification by fayth in Chriſt.

Now remayneth as in the former boke before, ſo in this likewyſe, to proſecute the order and race of Archbiſhops of Caunterbury: as we haue done the race of kinges, beginnyng with Etheredus, who ſucceded next after Celnoth the 17. Archbiſhop of that ſea, mentioned, where we laſte left before. Pag. 132.

The names and order of the Archbiſhops *of Caunterbury, from the tyme of king Egbert to king William Conquerour.*

18. Etheredus.	18	
19. Pleimūdus.	29	This Pleimundus was ſcholemaiſter to good king Alfred.
20. Athelmus.	12	
21. Vlfelmus.	13	
22. Odo.	20	By the prayers of this Odo, the Monkiſh ſtories ſay, that the ſword of king Ethelſtane was brought agayne into hys ſcabberd. As touching the epiſtle of this Odo, ſent to other biſhops, vide pag. 151.
23. Elſius, or Elſinus.	1.	This Elſius firſt biſhop of Winchester, came to the ſee of Canterbury by the cōmaundemēt of kyng Edgar (ſome ſay by bribes) contrary to ẏ mynd of Odo. Wherupon in the firſt day of his conſecration, he inſultyng vpon the tombe of Odo with deſpite, ſhortly after went to Rome for hys palle, where in his iourney vpon the Alpes he died for cold, inſomuch that his horſes beyng killed, & he put in their warme bellies, yet could get no heate. Malmſ.
24. Dunſtan. ¶Polydorus maketh Dunſtane to be the 23. archb.	30	Of this Dunſtane many Monkiſh miracles be fayned, as of the harpe vppon the wall playing by it ſelfe: Gaudent in cælis. &c. of our lady with her company appearing to him, ſinging: Cantemus domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Alſo of the angels ſinging Kyrieleyſon. &c. Item of holdyng the Deuill by the noſe wyth a payre of tonges, tempting him with women. Malmeſ. Item, of ſeyng the holy Ghoſt at hys maſſe in likenes of a Doue. Item, in deliueryng the ſoule of Edwine from the Deuill. Item, in foreſeyng the death of kyng Edred, by the death and fallyng of hys horſe. Item, of hys mother beyng great wyth Dunſtane, when all the candels of others wente out, her onely candle remayned light, & many other like fables. &c.
25. Ethelgarus.	1	
26. Elfricus.	11	
27. Siricius.	5	This Siricius was ẏ counſeller to king Egelrede, to redeme peace of the Danes, with a great tribute.
28. Elphegus.	6	Elphegus becauſe he denied to pay to the Danes a tribute, was ſtoned to death at Grenewich, and of ſome is called a martyr.
29. Liuingus.	7	
30. Egelnodus.	17	
31. Edſius.	11	
32. Robertus.	5	This Robertus cauſed Godwine and hys ſonnes to be baniſhed, accuſing them of treaſon. But afterward they being reſtored, he went to Rome, and at his returne dyed.
33. Stigandus.	17	Stigandus being an engliſh man, in the tyme of Williā Cōquerour the Normane, was by the craft of the ſayde William conueyed into Normandy, where a while with great honour he was entertayned. At length the ſayde William procured ſecretly the Popes letters to depoſe hym, that he might place Lanfrancus in hys roume. This Stigandus died at length in priſon.
34. Lanfrancus.	19.	

S. Dunſtanes harpe vpon the wall, ſet by a pynne did hange as without mans helpe wyth hys [illegible] all, and by it ſelfe did chaunge a.

The ende of the third Booke.

The fourth Booke conteyning other 300. yeres from William Conquerour to the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe, wherein is deſcribed the proude and miſordered raigne of Antichriſt, beginnyng to ſtirre in the church of Chriſt.

William Cōquerour.

WIlliam duke of Normandy ſurnamed Conquerour, baſe ſonne of duke Robert, the 6. duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto king Edward: after the foreſayd victory agaynſt Harold and the engliſhmen obteined, was receiued king ouer the realme of england: not ſo much by the aſſent, as for feare & neceſſitie of time. For els the Londiners had promiſed there aſſiſtance to Edgar Athelyng to the vttermoſt of their power. But beyng weakened & waſted ſo greatly in battailes before, and the Duke commyng ſo faſt vpon them, fearyng not to make their partie good, ſubmitted themſelues. Whereupon the ſayd William (of a duke made a kyng) was crowned vpon Chriſtmas day the yere of our Lord. 1067. by the handes of Aldredus Archbiſhop of yorke. Forſomuch as at yͤ time Stigandus Archb. of Canterb. was abſent, or els durſt not, or would not come in the preſence of the king. A little before the commyng in of this Duke, a terrible blaſing ſtarre was ſeene, yͤ ſpace of 7. dayes, which was the yeare before. In record whereof, as well of the conqueſt of the Duke, as of the blaſing ſtarre, theſe verſes yet remayne.

1067.

A blaſing ſtarre.

Sexagenus erat ſextus milleſimus annus.
Cum pereunt Angli, ſtella monſtrante cometa.

Tribute.

Which kyng thus beyng crowned, did reigne ouer the realme of england the ſpace of 21. yeares, and one moneth, with great ſeueritie and crueltie, toward the engliſhmen, burdenyng them with great tribute and exactions, whiche was to pay of euery hide of ground, conteinyng xx. acres, vi. ſhillings. By meane whereof certaine parties of the land rebelled, and ſpecially the citie of Exceter. But at laſt William ouercame them, and wanne the citie and puniſhed them greuouſly. But for that and for other ſterne dedes of William, diuers of the Lordes departed to Scotland: wherfore he kept the other Lordes that taried the ſtraiter, and exalted the Normanes, geuyng to them the chiefe poſſeſſions of the land. And for ſo much as he obteyned the kyngdome by force and dent of ſword, he chaunged the whole ſtate of the gouernaunce of this common weale: and ordeyned new lawes at his owne pleaſure, profitable to hymſelf, but greuous & hurtfull to the people: aboliſhyng the lawes of K. Edward, wherunto notwithſtandyng he was ſworn before, to obſerue & maintayne. For the which great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people, as hyſtories record: to haue the ſayd lawes of king Edward reuiued agayne.

Rebellion.
Erle Marcatus, and erle Edwyn, Edgar Atheling, wyth his mother, & ij. ſiſters, Margaret, & Criſtia fled into Scotland.
New kyng, new lawes.
kyng William forſworne in aboliſhing K. Edwardes lawes.

Ouer and beſides this, he builded 4. ſtrong caſtles, 2. at yorke, one at Notingham, another at Lincolne, whiche garriſons he furniſhed with Normanes.

About the third yere of his reigne, Harold & Canutus ſonnes of Suanus kyng of Denmarke, entered into the North countrey. The Normanes within yorke fearyng that the engliſhmen would ayde the Danes, ſet to the ſuburbes of the towne. Whereof the flame was ſo big, and the wynde ſo ſtrong, that it tooke into the citie, & brent a great part therof, with yͤ mynſter of S. Peter. Where no doubt many worthy workes and monumentes of bookes were conſumed. In the tyme whereof, the Danes by fauour of ſome of the citizens entered the citie, and ſlew more then iij. M. of the Normanes. But not long after kyng William chaſed them out and draue them to the ſhips, & tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the inhabitaunce of that countrey, that he deſtroyed the land from yorke to Durham, ſo that 9. yeres after, the prouince lay waſte and vnmanured, onely except S. Johns land of Beuerley, and the people therof: ſo ſtraitly beyng kept in penury by the warre of the kyng, that (as our engliſh ſtory ſayth) they eate rats, cats, and dogs, and other vermine.

Yorke wyth the minſter of S. Peter brent.

The north countrey waſted.
Horrible famine in the north partes.

Alſo in the iiij. yeare of this kyng, Malcolyn kyng of Scottes, entred into Northumberland & deſtroyed the countrey, and ſlew there much of the people both of men, women and children after a lamentable ſorte, and tooke ſome priſoners. But within ij. yeares after, kyng William made ſuch warre vpon the Scottes, that he forced Malcolyn their kyng to do him homage.

Slaughter of Northumberland men.

Scots ſubdued to K. William.

The continuall affliction and diſquietneſſe of thys Realme of England.
Fiue conqueſtes which haue been in this Realme.
Romanes.
Scots & Pictes.
Saxons.
Danes.
Normandes.

And thus much concernyng the outward calamities of this realme vnder this forein conquerour. Which is now the 5. tyme that the ſayd land with the inhabitaunce therof hath bene ſcourged by the hand of God. Firſt by the Romanes in the tyme of Julius Ceſar. Then by the Scottes and Pictes (as hath bene ſhewed) afterward by the Saxons. Agayne, the Saxons or Engliſhmen did not enioy the poſſeſſion of Britaine with long quiete, but were brought in as much ſubiectiō themſelues vnder the Danes, as they had brought the Britanes before (and that much more) in ſomuch that through all England, if an Engliſh man had met a Dane vpon a bridge, he might not ſtyrre one foote, before the Lorde Dane (otherwiſe Lurdane) were paſt. And then if the Engliſh man had not geuen low reuerence to the Dane, at his commyng by, he was ſure to be ſharpely puniſhed (with more) as aboue hath beene declared, page. 162. And this ſubiection almoſt continued from the reigne of K. Ethelwolfus, 230. yeares, till the reigne of K. Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceaſed not: but ſtyrred vp the Normandes agaynſt them, who conquered and altered the whole realme after their owne purpoſe, in ſomuch that beſides the innouation of the lawes, coignes, and poſſeſſions: there was in no Church of England almoſt any Engliſh Byſhop, but onely Normandes and foreiners placed through all their Dioceſ. To ſuch miſery was this land the brought vnto, that not onely of all the Engliſh nobilitie not one houſe was ſtandyng: but alſo it was thought reprochfull to be called an Engliſh man. This puniſhment of God agaynſt the Engliſh nation, writers do aſſigne diuerſly to diuers cauſes (as partly before is touched) of whō ſome aſſigne this to be cauſe, as followeth in the wordes of the ſtory: In primitiua Angliæ Eccleſia religio clariſſimè ſplēduit, ita vt Reges & Reginæ, Duces & Epiſcopi, vel Monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: proceſſu verò temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, vt gentem nullam proditione & nequitia ſibi parem eſſe permitterēt, &c. The meaning wherof is, yͤ where as Kings & Queenes, Dukes, and Prelates in the primitiue tyme of the Engliſh church, were ready for Religion to forſake either libertie or countrey, and geue themſelues to a ſolitary life: in proces of tyme they grew to ſuch diſſolutenes, that they left no other Realme like vnto them in iniquitie. &c. Agayne ſome writyng of the viſion of kyng Edward a litle before the inuaſion of the Normādes: teſtifie, how the kyng reportyng of his own viſion, ſhould heare, that for the great enormitie and miſbehauiour of the head Dukes, Byſhops, and Abbots of the realme: the kyngdome ſhould be geuen to the hand of their enemyes, after the deceaſe of him, for the ſpace of a. C. yeares, and one day. Which ſpace was alſo ſeene by William conquerour to be a. C. yeares, and l: and that his progenie ſo long ſhould continue. Agayne ſome writers entreatyng of this ſo great wrath of God vpon the Engliſh people, declare the cauſe therof, as followeth: Nam ſicut Angl. Britones, quos Deus diſterminare propoſuerat (peccatis ſuis exigentibus) humiliuerant, & a terra Angliæ minus iuſtè fugauerant: ſic ipſi duplici perſecutione. &c. Lyke as the Engliſhmen did ſubdue the Britons (whom God purpoſed, for their deſeruynges, to exterminate) and them vniuſtly did diſpoſſeſſe of their land: ſo they ſhould likewiſe be ſubdued and ſcourged with a double perſecution, firſt by the Danes and after by the Normans. &c. Moreouer to theſe iniuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Engliſh men hetherto recited, let vs adde alſo the cruell vilanie of this nation in murderyng and tything of the innocent Normans before: who commyng as ſtraungers with Alfred the lawfull heyre of the crowne, were deſpitefully put to death. Which ſeemeth to me no litle cauſe, why the Lord (whoſe doinges be alwayes iuſt and right) did ſuffer the Normans ſo to preuayle. By the commyng in of the which Normans, and by their quarell vnto the Realme, 3. thinges we may note and learne. Firſt to conſider and learne the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heauen vpon all iniquitie and vnrighteous dealyng of men. Secondly we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leaue no iſſue or ſure ſucceſſion behinde them. Thirdly, what

Ex Henr. Huntington, Lib. 6.

Ex hiſtor. Ieruallenſ.

England afflicted and ſcourged for iniquitie.

The viſion of kyng Edward.

Engliſhmē ſcourged for their vniuſt oppreſſion of the Britaines.

Engliſhmē iuſtly ſcourged for their vniuſt crueltie againſt the Normandes.

Three thinges in this conqueſt to be noted.
Gods iuſt iudgement.
Lacke of ſucceſſion.

Forein mariage

daungers often do chaunce to Realmes publique by forein maryage wyth other Princes. &c.

An. 1070

A councel holden at Wincheſter.

Might ouercommeth right.

In the ſame fourth yeare of this kyng, betwene Eaſter and Whitſontyde, was holden a ſolemne councell at Wincheſter of the clergy of england. At the which councell were preſent two Cardinals ſent from Pope Alexander. 2. Peter, & John. In this coũcell the king being there himſelf preſent, were depoſed diuers byſhops, Abbots, and Priors (by the meanes of the kyng) without any euident cauſe: to thentent hys Normans might be preferred to the rule of yͤ church, as he had preferred his knightes before to yͤ rule of yͤ temporaltie, therby to ſtand in more ſuretie of the land. Amongeſt whom alſo Stigandus Archb. of Cant. was put downe, for iij. cauſes agaynſt hym pretended.

Diuers biſhops, Abbots, and priors depoſed in England. Stigandus Archb. of Cant. depriued, and the cauſes why.

The firſt was for that he had holden wrongfully that byſhoprike, while Robert the Archbiſhop (aboue mentioned pag. 156.) was lyuing.

The ſecond was, for that he had receiued the palle of Benedict byſhop of Rome the fifth of that name. Which Benedict for byying his popedome, had bene depoſed, as is ſhewed before.

The third cauſe, for that he occupied the ſaid palle without licenſe and lefull autoritie of the court of Rome.

Falſe countenaunce not to be truſted.

Then Stigandus well proued the beneuolence of king William. For where before the king ſeemed in frendly countenaunce to make much of hym, and did unto hym great reuerence: then he chaunged all his mildenes into ſternes, & excuſed himſelfe by the byſhop of Romes autoritie: So that in the end, Stigandus was depriued of hys dignitie, and kept in Wincheſter, as a priſoner duryng hys lyfe. Thys Stigandus is noted for a man ſo couetous and ſparing, that when he would take nothing of his owne, and ſwearing that he had not a peny, yet by a key faſtened about his neck was found great treaſours of his under yͤ ground.

A couetous Byſhop.

Thomas made Archb. of yorke.

At the ſame tyme was preferred to the Archbiſhopprike of yorke, Thomas a Normand, and Chanon of Baion.

Lanfrancus an Italian, Archb. of Canterb.

At which tyme alſo Lanfrancus Abbot of Cadomenencie (a Lumbard, and Italian borne) was ſent for, and made Archbyſhop of Cant. betwene which two Archbyſhops about their conſecration, firſt began a contentiõ for geuing and takyng the othe of obedience, but that cõtentiõ was at that tyme appeaſed by the kyng. And Thomas contented to ſubſcribe to the Archbyſhop of Cant. obedience.

The minſter of yorke builded.

After thys it folowed within ſhort ſpace, that the ſayde Lanfrancus and Thomas Archbyſhop of yorke, who firſt builded the minſter of yorke, & gaue poſſeſſions thereunto: came to Rome with Remigius Byſhop of Dorceſter, for their palles, as the maner was: without which, no Archbyſhop nor Biſhop could be cõfirmed, although their election were neuer ſo lawfull. This palle muſt be aſked no where but of the Pope or his aſſignes, and that within iij. monethes: alſo it muſt be aſked not faintly but mightely: Diſt. C. cap. priſca: which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (eſpecially ſuch as were farre from Rome) ſo it was no ſmall gayne to the Romiſh ſea, ſo as they did order it: for although at the beginning yͤ palle was geuen without money, according to the decree. Diſt. C. or for little, as percaſe in thys tyme of Lanfranke: yet in proces of yeares it grew to ſuch exceſſe, that where the Byſhopprike of Mentz was wont to geue to Rome but x. M. florences: afterward it aroſe ſo, that he that aſked to haue his cõfirmation could not obtayne it, without xx. M. And from thence it exceeded to xxv. thouſand, and at length to xxvij. thouſand florences: which ſumme Jacobus Archbyſhop of Mentz was preſt to pay, a litle before the councell of Baſill: in ſo much that the ſayd Jacobus at his departing (which was within foure yeares after) ſayd, that hys death did not ſo much greue him, as to remember hys poore ſubiectes, which ſhould be conſtrayned to pay ſo terrible a fine for the Popes palle. Now by this what did riſe to the Pope in whole Germany conteinyng in it aboue L. Byſhopprikes, it may be eaſily coniectured. Lanfrancus thus commyng to Rome, with the other two Byſhops: he for the eſtimation of hys learning, obtayned of Alexander ij. palles, one of honor, the other of loue. Item, he obtained for the other ij. Byſhops alſo their confirmation. At which tyme, they being there preſent before Alexander: the cõtrouerſie began firſt to be moued (or rather renued) for the primacy betwixt the. ij. Metropolitanes, that is betwixt the Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, and Archbiſhop of yorke, whether of them ſhould haue preeminence aboue the other: For Canterbury chalenged to himſelfe prerogatiue and the primacy, ouer whole Britany, and Ireland: the which contention continued a long ſeaſon, betwixt theſe two Churches, and was often renued in the dayes of diuers kynges after this: as in the reigne of Henry the firſt, betwixt Thurſtinus of yorke, and Radolphus of Canterbury. And agayne in the .xxvij. yeare of the ſayd king, at his ſecond coronation: for Radolphus would not ſuffer the firſt coronatiõ to ſtãd, becauſe it was done by the Byſhop of yorke, without hys aſſent. Alſo in the reigne of Henry the ſecond, where Alexander Pope made a letter decretall betwixt theſe ij. metropolitanes for bearyng the croſſe. an. M.C.Lix. Alſo an other tyme, in the raigne of the ſayd kyng, betwixt Richard of Canterbury, and Roger of yorke: agayne about the yeare of the Lord. M.C.lxx. when Thomas Becket, hearing the kyng to be crowned of Roger Byſhop of yorke: complayned therof greuouſly to Pope Alexãder the iij. Item an other tyme, an. M.C.lxxvi. betwixt Richard, and the ſayd Roger, whether of thẽ ſhould ſit on yͤ right hãd of Cardinal Hugo, in his Councell at London. Moreouer in the beginnyng of the reigne of kyng Richard. an. M.C.xc. betwixt Baldwinus of Canterbury, & Godfridus of yorke. &c.

The geuing of the palle.

Diſt. 100. Cap. Priſca.

Diſt. 100. cap. Noui.

Ex lib. grauaminum nationis Germanic.

Jacobus Archb. of Mentes.

Eneas Siluius writeth to be 50. byſhoprickes in Germany.

Now to proceede in the ſtory hereof. After this queſtiõ was brought as is ſayd, to the Popes preſence (he not diſpoſed to decide the matter) ſent them home unto England, there to haue their cauſe determined, whereupon they ſpeding thẽſelues frõ Rome, to Englãd an. M.lxx. and the vi. yeare (as is ſayd) of this William: brought the matter before the king and the Clergy, at Windſore, whereas Lanfrãck firſt alledgyng for hymſelf, brought in, from yͤ time of Auſte, to the tyme of Bede (which was about. C.xl. yeres) how that the Byſhop of Cant. had euer the primacie ouer the whole land of Britaine, and Ireland: how he kept his Cõcels diuers tymes within the precinctes of yorke: how he did call and cite the Byſhops of yorke thereto: wherof ſome he did conſtitute, ſome he did excõmunicate, & ſome he did remoue: beſides alſo he alledged diuers priuileges graunted by princes and prelates to the primacie of that ſea. &c.

To this Thomas Archbiſhop of yorke replyeth again, and firſt beginnyng with the firſt originall of the Britaines Church declareth in order of tyme, how the Britanes. &c.

¶ The Britaines firſt poſſeſſioners of this kyngdome of Britaine, which endured from Brutus & Cadwalader 2076. yeares under an hundreth and. ij. kynges, at length receaued the Chriſtian fayth. an. C.lxiij. in the tyme of Lucius their kyng. Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, ſent Faganus and Damianus, preachers unto them, at which tyme after their conuerſion, they aſſigned and ordeined in the Realme. xxviij. Byſhops with two Archbyſhops Theonus the Archbyſhop of London, and Theodoccus Archbyſhop of yorke. Under thoſe Byſhops and Archbyſhops the Church of Britane was gouerned after their conuerſion, almoſt. 300. yeares, till at length the Saxons beyng then infidels, with Hengiſtus their kyng, ſubdued the Britans by fraudulent murder, and inuaded their land: which was about the yere of the Lord. 440. After this the Britans beyng driuen into Cambria (which we now call Wales) the Saxons ouerrunnyng the land, deuided themſelues into vij. kyngdomes. And ſo being infidels and paganis continued, till the tyme that Gregory Byſhop of Rome, ſent Auguſtinus to preach unto them: which Auſten commyng firſt to Douer, beyng then the head Citie of Kent, called in Latin Dorobernia, and there plantyng himſelfe, conuerted firſt the kyng of Kent, called Edilbertus: who had then ſubdued certaine other kyngs unto Humber. By reaſon wherof Auguſtine was made Archbyſhop of Douer, by the appointment of Gregorius, who ſent hym certaine Palles, with his letter from Rome, which before is expreſſed, pag. 159. Which letter beyng recited, then Thomas expoundyng upon the ſame, begynneth to declare for himſelfe, how the meanyng of Gregory in this letter, was to reduce the new Church of Saxons, or Engliſhmen, to the order that was in the old tyme among the Britanes: that is, to be under ij. Metropolitanes, one of London, the other of yorke: for ſo the Church was ordered in the tyme of the Britanes, as is before declared. Notwithſtãdyng he geueth to Auſten this prerogatiue duryng his lyfe time, to haue authoritie and iuriſdiction not onely ouer his. xij. Byſhops, but upon all other Byſhops and Prieſtes in England. And after his deceaſe, thẽ theſe. ij. metropolitanes, London and yorke, to ouerſee the whole Clergy, as in tymes paſt, amongeſt the Britanes: who he ioyneth together after the death of Auguſtine, to conſtitute Byſhops, and to ouerſee the Church. And that he ſo meaneth, London to be equall in authoritie with yorke, it appeareth by foure argumentes: Firſt that he will Lõdon to be cõſecrate by no Byſhop but of his own Synode. Secondly, in that he putteth no diſtinction of honor to be betwixt London and yorke, but accordyng onely to that as eche of them is elder in tyme. Thirdly for that he matcheth theſe two together in common councell, and with one agreement to conſent together in doyng and diſpoſing ſuch thynges, as they ſhall conſtitute upõ in the zeale of Chriſt Jeſus:

Lucius the firſt king of Britanie chriſtened. Theonus firſt Archbyſhop of London.

Ex Chronico, Sigeberti.

Douer the head citie of Kent.

This was about 150. yeares after the comming of the Saxons.

Ieſus: and that in ſuch ſort, that one ſhould not diſſent nor diſcorde from the other. What meaneth this, but that they ſhould gouerne together, whom he would not to diſſent together? Fourthly where he writeth, that the Byſhop of Yorke ſhould not be ſubiect to the Biſhop of London: what meaneth this, but that the Byſhop of London ſhould be equiualent with the Metropolitane of Yorke, or rather ſuperiour vnto him?

Lanfrancus replyeth.

And thus he expounded the meanyng of Gregory, to be in the foreſayd letter. To whom Lancfrancus agayne aunſwereth, that he was not the Byſhop of London, and that the queſtion perteyned not to Londõ. Thomas replieth, hauyng on his part many fautors, that this priuilege was graunted, by Gregory, to Auguſtine alone, to haue all other Byſhops ſubiect to him: but after his diſceaſe, there ſhould be equalitie of honor betwixt London, and Yorke, without all diſtinction of prioritie ſaue the onely prioritie of tyme ſhould make ſuperioritie betwene them. And although Auguſtine tranſlated the ſeate from London to Kent, yet Gregory, if his mynde had bene, to geue the ſame prerogatiue to the ſucceſſors of Auſten (which he gaue to hym) would expreſly haue vttered it in the wordes of his Epiſtle, writyng thus to Auſtẽ. That which I geue to thee Auſten, I geue alſo and graunt to all thy ſucceſſors after thee. But in that, he maketh here no mention of his ſucceſſors, it appeareth therby, that it was not his mynde ſo to do.

Thomas argueth.

Lanfrancus replyeth.

To this Lancfrancus argueth agayne. If this authoritie had bene geuen to Auſtẽ alone, & not to his ſucceſſors, it had bene but a ſmall gift, proceeding from the Apoſtolike ſeate, to his ſpeciall and familiar frend: eſpecially ſeyng alſo that Auſten, in all his lyfe, did conſtitute no Byſhop of Yorke, neither was there any ſuch Byſhop to be ſubiect to him. Agayne we haue priuileges from the Apoſtolike ſea, which confirme this dignitie in the ſucceſſors of Auſten, in the ſame ſeate of Douer. Moreouer, all Engliſhmẽ thinke it, both right and reaſon, to fetch the directiõ of well liuyng, from that place, where firſt they tooke the ſparkle of right beleuyng. Farther, where as you ſay, that Gregory might haue confirmed with playne wordes, the ſame thyng, to the ſucceſſours of Auſten, which he gaue vnto hym: all that I graunt: yet notwithſtandyng, this is nothing preiudiciall to the ſeate of Cãterbury. For, if you know your Logike, that which is true in the whole, is alſo true in the part: And what is true in the more, is alſo true in the leſſe. Now the Church of Rome is as the whole, to whõ all other Churches be, as partes therof. And as Homo .i. mankynd is Genus .i. the generall in a certaine reſpect to all his Indiuidua .i. to all particular perſõs, & yet in euery particular perſõ lyeth the property of ẏ generall: ſo in like maner, ẏ ſea of Rome, in a certaine reſpect, is the generall & the whole, to other churches, & yet in euery particular church, is contained the whole fulnes of the whole Chriſtian faith. That church of Rome is greater then all Churches, that which is wrought in it, ought to worke in the leſſe Churches alſo: ſo that the authoritie of euery chief head of the Church, ought to ſtand alſo in them, that do ſucceede: vnleſſe there be any preciſe exception made by name. Wherfore, like as the Lord ſayd, to all byſhops of Rome, the ſame thyng, which he ſayd to Peter: ſo Gregory in like maner ſayd to all the ſucceſſours of Auſten, that which he ſayd to Auſten. So thus I cõclude, likewiſe as the Biſhop of Canterbury is ſubiect to Rome, becauſe he had his fayth from thence, ſo Yorke ought to be in ſubiection to Canterbury, which ſent the firſt preachers thether. Now where as you allege, that Gregory would Auſten to be reſident at Lõdon: that is vtterly vncertaine. For how is it to be thought that ſuch a diſciple would do contrary to the mynde of ſuch a maiſter? But graũt, as you ſay, that Auſten remoued to London: what is that to me, which am not Byſhop of London. Notwithſtandyng, all this controuerſie ceaſing betwixt vs, if it ſhall pleaſe you, to come to ſome peaceable compoſition with me (all contention ſet a part) you ſhall finde me not out of the way, ſo farre as reaſon and equitie ſhall extend.

The dignitie of Canterb. confirmed by priuileges.

Well replied of an Italiã.

If this ſimilitude were framed into a ſillogiſme, neither were the Maior true. And ſpecially the minor were vtterly falſe.

With theſe reaſons of Lancfranke, Thomas gaue ouer, condeſcendyng that the firſt of his prouince ſhould begin at Humber.

Wherupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that tyme, ſhould be ſubiect to Canterbury, in all matters appertainyng to the rites & regiment of the catholike Church: So that whereſoeuer within Englãd, Canterbury ſhould or would hold his Councell, the Byſhop of Yorke ſhould reſort thither, with his Byſhops, and be obedient to hys decrees canonicall.

Order taken betwixt Lanfrancus B. of Canterbury and Thomas biſhop of Yorke.

Prouided moreouer, that when the byſhop of Canterbury ſhould deceaſe, Yorke ſhould repayre to Douer, there to conſecrate with other, the Byſhop that ſhould be elect. And if Yorke ſhould deceaſe, his ſucceſſor ſhould reſort to Cãterbury, or els, where the Byſhop of Cãterbury ſhould appoint, there to receiue his conſecration, makyng his profeſſiõ there with an othe of Canonicall obedience. Thomas beyng content withall, Lancfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no ſmal ioy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writyng, that the memory therof might remayne to the poſteritie of his ſucceſſors. But yet that decree did not long ſtand. For ſhortly after, the ſame ſcarre ſo ſuperficially cured, braſt out agayne. In ſomuch that in the reigne of kyng Henry the firſt. An. Domini. 1121. Thurſtinus Archbyſhop of Yorke could not be compelled to ſweare to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury: and yet notwithſtandyng, by the letters of Calixtus ij. was conſecrate without any profeſſion made to the ſayd Byſhop, with much more matter of contention: all whiche to recite it were to long. But this I thought to commit to hiſtory, to the intent men might ſee the lamentable decay of true Chriſtianitie amongeſt Chriſten Byſhops: who inflamed with glorious ambition, ſo contended for honor, that without mere torcement of law, no modeſty could take place.

Of ſuch like contentions among Prelates of the Clergy, for ſuperioritie, we read of diuers in old Chronicles: as in the hiſtory intituled Chronicon Hirſſeldẽſe, where is declared a bloudy conflict, which twiſe happened in the church of Goſlaria, betwene Heccion Byſhop of Hildeſheime, and Wederatus biſhop of Fulda: and all for the ſuperiour place, who ſhould ſit next to the Emperour, the Emperour hym ſelfe beyng there preſent, and lookyng on them, and yet not able to ſtay them.

Thus I haue deſcribed the troublous contention betwene Lancfrancus, & Thomas Metropolitane of Yorke in the dayes of Alexander, of which controuerſie and of the whole diſcourſe therof: Lanfrancus writeth to Pope Alexander beginnyng thus.

A letter of Lanfrancus ſent to Pope Alexander.

Domino totius Chriſtianæ religionis ſummo ſpeculatori Alex. Papæ. Lancfrancus ſanctæ Dorobernenſis Eccleſiæ antiſtes debitam cum omni ſeruitute obedientiam. In cõcilio quod Angliæ per veſtram autoritatem coactum eſt, vbi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiſcopi prolatæ & ventilatæ ſunt, allata eſt eccleſiaſtica gentis Anglorum hiſtoria, quam Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ preſbyter & Anglorum Doctor Beda compoſuit: and ſo forth in a long proceſſe of wordes which follow. Amõg which in the middle of the Epiſtle ſpeakyng of Douer & Canterbury, he hath theſe wordes. Vrbs namq; quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus ab ipſius terræ incolis Dorobernia vocabatur, &c. with many other wordes in the ſaid Epiſtle, which for breuitie here I ouerpaſſe.

In the ſtory before of kyng Egbert, was declared, about the yeare of our Lord. M. xvj, how the Biſhopricke of Lindaffarne otherwiſe named holy land, in the floude of Twede, was tranſlated to Durham: ſo likewiſe in the dayes of this Lancfrancus Archbyſhop of Cant. an. M. lxxvi. diuers Byſhops ſeates were altered and remoued from towneſhyps to greater Cities. As the Byſhopricke of Selcie was remoued to Chicheſter, out of Cornwall to Exceter, frõ Welles to Bathe: from Shyrburne to Saleſbury: frõ Dorceſter to Lincolne, from Lichefield to Cheſter: which Byſhopricke of Cheſter Robert beyng then Byſhop reduced from Cheſter to Couentry. Likewiſe after that in the raigne of William Rufus, an. 1094. Herbert Byſhop of Thetford, from thence reduced the ſeat to Norwige. &c.

Byſhops ſeates tranſlated into England.

As concernyng Douer and Caunterbury, whether the ſea was likewiſe tranſlated frõ the towne of Douer to the Citie of Cant. in the tyme of Theodorus: or whether Canterbury by old time had the name of Dorobernia (as the letter of Lancfrancus to Pope Alexander, aboue mentioned, doth pretend) I finde it not in hiſtories expreſſely defined. Saue that I read by the wordes of Williã beyng yet duke of Normandy, chargyng then Harold to make a welle of water for the kyngs vſe in the Caſtell of Dorobernia: that the ſayd Dorobernia then was taken for that which now we call Douer: but whether Dorobernia and the Citie of Cant. be both one or diuers, the matter is not great. Notwithſtãding this I read in the epiſtle of Pope Bonifacius to kyng Ethelbert, as alſo to Iuſtinus Archbiſhop. Item in the Epiſtle of Pope Honorius to biſhop Honorius. Item of Pope Vitalianus, to Theodorus: of Pope Sergius to kyng Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulphus, and to the Biſhops of Englãd. Likewiſe of pope Gregory the 3. to the byſhops of England. Item of Pope Leo to Athelard Archbiſhop of Cant. Of Formoſus to the byſhops of England: and of Pope Iohn to Dunſtan, that the name of Dorobernia and of Canterbury indifferently are taken for one matter.

Dorobernia and Canterbury taken both for one.

A councell holdẽ at London, and what were the actes therof.

In this tyme (and by the procuryng of this Lanfrancus) the .ix. yeare of this kyng: a cõcell was holden at Lõdon, where among the actes therof, theſe were the principall thynges concluded.

1. For the order of ſittyng: that the Archbyſhop of Yorke ſhould ſit on the right hand, and the Byſhop of London of the left hand: or in the abſence of Yorke, Lõdon ſhould haue the right, and Wincheſter the left hand of the Archbyſhop of Cant. ſittyng in counſell.

2. The ſecond, that Byſhops ſhould tranſlate their ſees from villages into Cities: Whereupon thoſe ſees aboue named were tranſlated.

3. That Monkes ſhould haue nothyng in proper. And if any ſo had, he dying vnconfeſſed, ſhould not be buryed in the Churchyard.

4. That no Clerke or Monke of an other dioces, ſhould be admitted to orders, or retayned without letters commendatory or teſtimoniall.

5. That none ſhould ſpeake in the Cõcell except biſhops and Abbots, without leaue of the Archmetropolitanes.

6. That none ſhould marry within the vij. degree with any either of his owne kinred, or of his wiues departed.

7. That none ſhould either buy or ſell any office within the Church.

8. That no ſorcery nor any diuination ſhould be vſed or permitted in holy Church.

9. That no byſhop nor abbot, nor any of the clergy: ſhould be at the iudgemẽt of any mans death or diſmembryng, neither ſhould be any fautor of the ſayd iudicantes.

Byſhops of England about to driue out mõkes and to place prieſtes agayne in their ſteede.

Moreouer in the dayes of this Lancfrancus, diuers good byſhops of the realme began to take part with prieſtes agaynſt the Monkes, in diſplacyng theſe out of their Churches, and to reſtore the maryed Prieſtes agayne: in ſomuch that Walkelmus Byſhop of Wint. had placed about xl. Canons in ſtede of monkes for his part: but this godly enterpriſe was ſtopped by ſtout Lancfranke the Italian Lombard. This luſty Prelate ſate xix. yeares, but at latter end he was not ſo fauored of William Rufus, and dyed for ſorow. Although this Italian Franke beyng Archbyſhop: had litle leyſure to write, yet ſomethyng he thought to do, to ſet out his famous learnyng, and wrote a booke agaynſt Berengarius, intitulyng it: Opus Scintillarum. The old Church of Cant. he plucked downe & builded vp the new.

Opus Scintillarum Lanfranci.

An. 1074

Hildebrandus ſeu Gregor. 7.

Hildebrand the cauſe of all thys ſtoutnes & pride in prelates.

After the death of Pope Alexander aboue mentioned, next to him folowed Hildebrand ſurnamed Gregory the vij. This Hildebrand as he was a ſorcerer, ſo was he the firſt and principall cauſe of all this perturbation that is now and hath bene, ſince his tyme in the Church: by reaſon that through his example all this ambition, ſtoutnes and pride, entred firſt into the Church of Rome, & hath euer ſince cõtinued. For before Hildebrandus came to Rome, workyng there his feates: ſettyng vp and diſplacyng what Byſhops he lyſted: corruptyng them with pernicious counſell, and ſettyng them agaynſt Emperours: vnder pretẽce of chaſtitie deſtroying matrimony: & vnder the title of libertie, breakyng peace and reſiſtyng authoritie: before this (I ſay) the Church of Rome was in ſome order, and Byſhops quietly gouerned vnder Chriſten Emperours, and alſo were defended by the ſame. As Marcellus, Melciades, and Silueſter were ſubdued, and vnder obedience to Conſtantinus. an. 340. Syricius to Theodoſius. an. 388. Gregorius to Mauritius. an. 600. Hilarius to Iuſtinian. an. 528. Adrianus and Leo to Carolus Magnus: an. 801. Paſchalis and Valentius to Ludouicus Pius. an. 830. Sergius 29. vnto Lotharius. an. 840. Benedictus the iij. and Ioannes the ix. vnto Ludouicus ſonne of Lotharius. an. 856 But agaynſt this obedience and ſubiection Hildebrand firſt began to ſpurne, and by his example taught all other Byſhops to do the lyke.

The obedience of Byſhops in auncient tyme to Emperours.

In ſomuch, that at length they wrought and brought to paſſe, to be lawfull for a few curtiſans and Cardinals (contrary to auncient ordinaũce and ſtatutes decretall) to chuſe what Pope they liſt, without any cõſent of the Emperour at all. And where as before it ſtode in the Emperours gift, to geue and graunt Byſhoprikes, Archbyſhoprikes, benefices and other Eccleſiaſticall preferments within their owne limites, to whom they lyſt: now the Popes through much wraſtlyng, warres, and contention, haue extorted all that into their owne handes, and to their aſſignes: yea, haue pluckt in, all the riches & power of yͤ whole world. And not contẽt with yͭ, haue vſurped & preuailed ſo much aboue Emperours: that, (as before) no Pope might be choſen without the confirmation of the Emperour: ſo now no Emperour may be elected without the confirmation of the Pope, takyng vpon thẽ more than Princes, to place or diſplace Emperours at their pleaſure, for euery light cauſe: to put downe or to ſet vp when, & whom they lyſted: as Fridericus Primus, for holdyng the left ſtyrrup of the Popes ſadel, was perſecuted almoſt to excommunication. The which cauſe moueth me to ſtrayne more diligence here, in ſettyng out the hiſtory, actes, and doyngs of this Hildebrand: from whom, as the firſt patron and founder, ſprong all this ambitiõ and contention, about the liberties & dominion of the Romane Church: to the intent, that ſuch as can not read the Latine hiſtoryes, may vnderſtãd in Engliſh, the originall of euils: how, and by what occaſion they firſt began, and how long they haue continued.

What Popes haue done.

Popes more then Princes.

Fredericus primus, ſhẽt for holdyng the Popes left ſtirrup.

And firſt how this Hildebrand hetherto had behaued himſelfe before he was Pope, I haue partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was there Pope in dede, & ruled the Popes and all their doynges, as hym lyſted. Item what wayes and fetches he had attempted euer ſince his firſt commyng to the Court of Rome, to magnifie and mayntaine falſe libertie, agaynſt true authoritie: what practiſe he wrought by Councels, what factiõs and conſpiracies he made in ſtyrryng vp Popes agaynſt Emperours, ſtriuyng for ſuperioritie: and what warres followed therof, I haue alſo expreſſed. Now let vs ſee further (by the helpe of Chriſt) the worthy vertues of this princely prelate after he came to be pope, as they remayne in hiſtories of diuers and ſondry writers deſcribed.

Ex Auentino & alijs.

¶ *The tragicall hiſtory of Gregory the vij.*

otherwiſe named Hildebrand.

Gregory the vij. *Ex Auentino.*

The wordes of the latin hiſtory be theſe: Hactenus põtifices Rom. comitijs curiatis, calatis, a ſacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, Senatu. &c. In engliſhe: Hetherto the Byſhops of Rome haue bene elected by voyces, & ſuffrages, of all ſortes and degrees, as well of the Prieſts and the Clergy, as of the nobilitie, people, and Senate, all cõuenting and aſſemblyng together. And this election ſo I finde to ſtand in force, & ſo be it were ratified and cõfirmed, by the conſent of Romane Emperours: who had authoritie to call and to aſſemble all theſe, as well, as Byſhops together, vnto councels, as caſe required. Under the authoritie and iuriſdiction of theſe emperours, were contayned both in Germany, Fraunce, Italy, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all Patriarches, Byſhops, maſters of Churches and monaſteries, by the decree of councels, accordyng to the old cuſtome of our aunceters as is declared in a certayne ſtory, in the lyfe of Carolus Magnus. The holy and auncient fathers (lyke as Chriſt our Lord wyth his diſciples and Apoſtles both taught and did) honoured and eſteemed their Emperours, as the ſupreme poteſtate next vnder God in earth, ſet vp, ordayned, elected, & crowned of God, aboue all other mortall men, and ſo counted them, and called them their Lordes. To them they yelded tribute, and payd their ſubſidies. Alſo prayed euery day for their life. Such as rebelled agaynſt them, they tooke as rebels and reſiſters againſt God his ordenance, & Chriſtian piety. The name of the emperour then was of great maieſty, and receiued as geuen from God. Then theſe fathers of the church neuer intermedled, nor intangled themſelues wyth politike affayres of the common weale: much leſſe they occupyed martiall armies, and matters of chiuary. Onely in pouertie and modeſty, was all their contentiõ wyth other Chriſtians, who ſhould be poreſt, and moſt modeſt amongeſt them. And the more humbleneſ appeared in any, the higher opiniõ they cõceiued of hym. The ſharpe and two edged ſworde they tooke geuen to the Church of Chriſt, to ſaue, and not to kill: to quicken, & not to deſtroy: and called it the ſword of the ſpirite, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and reuoketh from death to lyfe, making of men, Gods: of mortall, immortall. Farre were they from that, to thruſt out any Prince or kyng (though he were neuer ſo farre out of the way, yea an Arrian) from his kingdome: or to curſſe him, to releaſe hys ſubiectes from their oth and their allegeance, to chaunge & tranſlate kyngdomes, to ſubuert Empires, to pollute thẽſelues wyth Chriſten bloud, or to warre with their Chriſtiã brethren for rule and principallity. This was not their ſpirit and maner then, but rather they loued & obeyed their Princes. Againe Princes loued them alſo, like fathers and fellow princes with them of the ſoules of men. Now thys Gregorius the ſeuenth, otherwiſe named Hildebrandus: truſting vpon the Normannes, which then ruled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania: truſting alſo vpon the power of Matheilda, a ſtoute woman thereabout Rome: and partly agayne, bearing himſelfe bold for the diſcord among the Germaines: firſt of all other (contrary to the maner of elders) contemning the authoritie of the emperour, inuaded

The ſtate & maner of the old church in tymes paſt.

Reuerence & obedience in olde time geuen to Princes.

The maners & vertue of the forefathers deſcribed.

The ambitious preſumption of Hildebrand.

ded the Cathedrall ſea of Rome: vaunting himſelfe as hauing both the eccleſiaſticall and temporall ſword committed to him by Chriſt: and that fulnes of power was in his hād to bynde and loſe what ſo he liſted. Wherupon thus he preſumed to occupy both the regimentes, to chalenge all the whole dominion, both of the eaſt and weſt Church, yea and all power to himſelfe alone, abiding none to be equall, much leſſe ſuperiour to hym: derogating from other, and arrogatyng to himſelfe their due right and honour: ſetting at light Ceſars, kyngs, and Emperours, and who raigned but by his owne godamercy? Byſhops, and prelats, as his vnderlinges, he kept in awe: ſuſpending and curſing, and chopping of their heades, ſtirring vp ſtrife and warres, ſowing of diſcorde, making factions, releaſing othes, defeating fidelitie and due allegeance of ſubiectes to their princes. Yea and if he had offended or iniured themperour himſelfe, yet notwithſtanding he ought to be feared: as he himſelfe glorieth in a certayne epiſtle, as one that could not erre, and had receiued of Chriſt our ſauiour, and of Peter, authoritie to bynde and vnbinde at hys will and pleaſure.

Ex Auentino, qui inuenit in inſtrumentis donationum.

Prieſtes wyues called *preſbyteriſſæ*, in olde chapter ſeales.

Prieſtes then in thoſe dayes had wiues openly and lawfully, (no law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deede & writinges of their chapter ſeales and donations, which were geuen to temples and monaſteries: wherein their wyues alſo be cited with them for witnes, and were called presbyteriſſæ. Alſo for Byſhops, prelates, parſons of churches, gouernours of the Clergy, maſters of monaſteries, and religious houſes, all theſe were thē in thoſe times in the Emperours ordination, to aſſigne by voyce or conſent to whom he would. Now theſe ij. thynges Gregorius this pope could not abyde.

Hildebrand a mortall enemy againſt prieſtes mariage.

For the which two cauſes onely, was all his ſtriuyng and driuyng from his firſt begynnyng: to aboliſh the mariage of Prieſtes, and to tranſlate the authoritie Imperiall, to the Clergy. For to this ſcope onely tended all hys labour, practiſes & deuiſes: as appeared before in the Councell of Lateran, vnder Pope Nicolas: and alſo in the Coūcell of Mantua, vnder Alexander, makyng their mariage hereſie, and the other to be ſimony. And that which before he went about by other, now he practiſeth by him ſelfe: to cōdemne miniſters that were maryed, for Nicolaitans: and to receaue any ſpirituall regimēt of ſecular perſons, for Simony.

Prieſtes mariage made hereſie.

Directyng forth his letters vpon the ſame to Henricus the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, Poteſtates, Tetrarkes, namely to Berchtoldus, to Rudolphus of Sweuia, to Whelpho, Adalberon and their wiues. Item to Biſhops, Archbiſhops, to Prieſts, and to all the people: in the which letters he denounceth them to be no prieſts, ſo many as were maryed: forbiddyng men to ſalute them, to talke, to eate, to cōpany w̄ thē, to pay thē tithes, or to obey thē, if they would not be obedient to him. Amōgeſt all other he directed ſpeciall letters to Otho Byſhop of Conſtance, concernyng this matter.

Otho biſhop of Cōſtance.

But Otho perceauyng the vngodly and vnreaſonable pretence of Hildebrand, would neither ſeperate them that were maryed, from their wiues: nor yet forbyd them to mary, which were vnmaryed. &c.

¶ *The copy of the letter of Hildebrande, ſent to the biſhop of Conſtance againſt prieſtes mariages.*

GRegorius biſhop, ſeruaunt of ſeruauntes of God, to the Clergy and laitie, both more and leſſe within the dioces of Conſtance, ſalutation & benediction. We haue directed to our brother Otho, your biſhop, our letters exhortatory: wherin we enioyned him, according to the neceſſitie of our duty, by the authoritie apoſtolical, that he ſhould vtterly aboliſh out of his church the hereſy of ſimony: and alſo ſhould cauſe with all diligence to be preched the chaſtitie of prieſtes. But he neither moued with reuerence of S. Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his duety, neglected to do theſe thinges, wherunto we ſo fatherly haue exhorted him: incurring therby a double offence, not onely of diſobedience, but alſo of rebellion: in that he hath gone and done cleane contrary to our commaundement (yea rather the commaundement of bleſſed S. Peter) ſo that hee hath permitted his Clergy not only ſuch as had wyues, not to put them away, but alſo ſuch as had none, to take vnto them. Wherupon, we beyng truely informed therof, and agrieued therwith, haue directed to hym an other letter, declaring the motion of our diſpleaſure and indignation. In which letters alſo we haue cited hym vp to our councel at Rome, there to appeare and geue account of hys diſobedience, in the audience of the whole Synode. And now therfore we thought it beſt to ſignifie this to you (our deare children) wherby in this behalf we might the better prouide for your health and ſaluation. For if your biſhop ſhal continue ſo obſtinately to repugne and reſiſt agaynſt oure commaundement, he is not mete to ſit ouer you. &c. Wherfore theſe ſhalbe to commaund you, and all them that bee obedient to God, and to bleſſed S. Peter, by our Apoſtolicall authoritie, that if this your biſhop ſhall perſiſt in hys obſtinacie, you that be his ſubiectes, hereafter geue to him no ſeruice, nor obedience. For the which thing doyng, we here diſcharge you before god, and your ſoules. For if your biſhop ſhall ſeme contrary to the decrementes and iniunctions apoſtolicall: we through the apoſtolicall authority of S. Peter, diſcharge and abſolue you from the bande of your allegeance to him. So that if you be ſworne to hym: ſo long as he is a rebell againſt God, and the Apoſtolike ſeat, we loſe you from the perill of your othe, that you ſhal not nede to feare therin no daunger. &c.

Otho cited to appeare for ſuffring prieſtes with their lawfull wyues.

The pope diſpenſeth for diſobedience.

Otho biſhop of Conſtance thus beyng cited, whether he dyd appeare perſonally hymſelfe, I do not read. This I read and find, that in the ſayd councell holden at Rome, Hildebrand with other biſhops of Rome, dyd then enacte amongſt many other, theſe thre thinges moſt ſpeciall: Firſt that no prieſt hereafter ſhould marry wiues. Secondly that all ſuch as were maried ſhould be diuorſt. Thirdly, that none hereafter ſhould be admitted to the order of prieſthode but ſhould ſweare perpetuall chaſtitie. &c. This councell of Rome beyng ended, forthwith the acte of Hildebrand, concernyng the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, was proclaymed and publiſhed in all places, and ſtraite commaundement geuen to biſhops to execute the ſame.

Three thinges enacted by Hildebrande.

Here commeth in the vowe of chaſtitie.

The copy of his bull ſent into Italy and Germany was this.

GRegory the Pope, otherwiſe Hildebrand, the ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God, ſendeth the apoſtles bleſſing to all them within the kingdomes of Italy and Germany, that ſhew their true obedience to S. Peter. If there be any Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, that ſtill will remayne in the ſinne of fornication: we forbidde them the churches entraunce by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authoritie of Saint Peter, till tyme they amende and repent. But if they perſeuere in their ſinne: we charge that none of you preſume to heare their ſeruice. For their bleſſing is turned into curſing, and their prayer into ſinne, as the Lorde doth teſtifie to vs by his Prophete: I will turne your bleſſing, &c.

The biſhops of Fraunce beyng called vpon daily, with the Popes letters, were compelled to obey the decre of the councell, but the reſidue of the clergy manfully and ſtoutely withſtanding the Popes decree, and inforcement of theyr biſhops would not agree, but repined therat, and ſaid, that the councell did manifeſtly repugne againſt the worde of God, and that the Pope did take from Prieſtes, that which both God and nature had geuen them, and therfore that perſon to be an heretike, and author of a wycked doctrine, which rules and gouerned not by the ſpirite of God, but by Sathan. The decree and acte ſet forth, to tende directly agaynſt the worde of God, and the ſaying of Chriſt: Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, all men haue not the gifte and capacitie of this worde. Item to be agaynſt the ſounde doctrine of S. Paule, writing in theſe wordes: As concernyng virginitie, I haue no commaundement of yͤ Lord. &c. Agayne, he that cannot otherwiſe liue continently, let him marry. Item, that it was agaynſt the Canons bothe of the Apoſtles, and of Nicene councell. Moreouer, that it was agaynſt the courſe of nature which he required, that men beyng ſequeſtred from their naturall wyues and women, ſhould be coacted to lyue as aungels, that is, to performe that, which nature doth not geue. And therefore the biſhop therin did open a pernicious wyndow to vncleannes and to fornication. In ſumme, geuyng vp their aunſwer, thus they concluded: That they had rather geue vp theyr benefices, then to forſake their naturall and lawful wiues, agaynſt the worde of Chriſt: and finally, if maried prieſtes could not pleaſe them, they ſhould call downe angels from heauen, to ſerue the churches. But Hildebrande, nothyng moued, neither with honeſt reaſon, nor with the authoritie of holy Scripture, nor with the determination of Nicene councell, nor any thyng els: followeth this matter, calleth vpon the biſhops ſtill, with his letters and Legates both ſollicitate their myndes, accuſeth them of negligence and daſtardnes, threatneth them with excommunication, vnleſſe they cauſe their prieſtes to obey his decree enioyned them. Whereupon a great number of biſhops for feare of the Popes tiranny, laboured yͤ matter with their prieſts,

The Clergie of Fraunce repugning, for departing from their wyues.

by all meanes poſſible to bereaue them of their accuſtomed matrimony.

Byſhop of Mentz.
Ex Lamberto Scafnaburgenſ. in Hiſto. Germanorum.

Amongſt other the Archbiſhop of Mentz, perceauyng this acte of takyng away prieſtes mariage, might breede hym no litle trouble: talketh with his Clergy gently, admoniſheth them of the Popes mynd and decree, and geueth them halfe yeres reſpite to deliberate vpon the caſe: exhortyng them diligently to ſhewe themſelues obedient to the pope & to hym, & to graunte with good will that, which at length will they nil they, needes they muſt be forced vnto, and therfore of their owne accord to ſtand content therwith leſt the Pope ſhould be cōpelled to attempt wayes of ſharper ſeueritie. The tyme of deliberation expired, the Archbiſhop aſſēbleth his clergy at Erſpford, the month of October, and there willeth them according to the pontificall decree, either to abiure for euer all matrimony, or els to abrenounce their benefices and eccleſiaſticall liuinges. The clergy agayne defend themſelues agaynſt the popes decree with ſcriptures, with reaſon, with the actes of generall councels, with examples of aunceters, by diuers ſtrong argumentes declaryng the Popes decree not to be conſonāt, nor ought to take effect. But the Archbiſhop ſaid, he was compelled ſo of the Pope, and could not otherwiſe do, but to execute yͭ was inioyned him. The clergy ſeyng yͭ no reaſō nor prayer, nor diſputation would ſerue, lay theyr heades together, conſultyng among themſelues what was beſt to be done. Some gaue counſell not to returne agayne to the Synode. Some thought it good to returne, and to thruſte out the Archbiſhop from hys ſeat, and to geue him due puniſhment of death for his deſeruyng, that by the example of hym, other may be warned hereafter, neuer to attempte that thyng any more, to the preiudice of the church, and the rightfull liberty of miniſters. After that this was ſignified to the Archbiſhop, by certaine ſpies that were amongſt them, what the clergy intended to doe: the Archbiſhop to preuent and ſalue the matter, ſendeth to the prieſts as they were commyng out, certayne meſſengers biddyng them be of good hope, and to returne agayne to the Metropolitane, and they ſhould haue that ſhould content their mindes. So beyng perſwaded, they came agayne to the Councell. The biſhop promiſeth he would do his indeuour what he could to reuoke and turne the mynd of the biſhop of Rome from that ſentence, willyng them in the meane tyme to continue as they had done, in their cure and miniſtery. The next yeare followyng, Hildebrand the ſouldiour of Sathan, ſendeth hys legate (a certayne biſhop called Curienſis) vnto the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and aſſembled there a Councel. In the which councell the Archbiſhop agayne propoſeth the matter, cōmaundyng all yͤ clergy vnder paine of yͤ popes curſe, there perpetually eyther to abrenounce their wiues or their liuynges. The clergy defended their cauſe agayne with great conſtancy. But when no defenſion could take place, but all went by tiranny and mere extortion: it burſt in the ende to an vprore and tumult, where the legate and the Archbiſhop beyng in great daunger, hardely eſcaped with their lyues, and ſo the Councell brake vp. By this ſchiſme and tumult it folowed, that the churches after that in chuſing their prieſtes, would not ſend them to yͤ biſhops (the enemies and ſuppreſſors of matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but dyd elect them within themſelues, & ſo put them in their office, without all leaue or knowledge of biſhops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no prieſtes, but ſuch as ſhould take an othe of perpetuall ſinglenes, neuer to marry after. And thus firſt came vp the othe and profeſſion of ſingle prieſthode. Notwithſtandyng if other nations had followed the like conſtancy and concord of theſe Germaine miniſters: the diueliſh drift and decree of this Hildebrand (or rather helbrande) had bene fruſtrate and auoyded. But this gredines of liuynges in weake prieſtes, made them to yelde vp their godly liberty, to wicked tiranny. yet this remayneth in theſe Germains to be noted, what concord can do, in repreſſing vnordinate requeſtes of euill biſhops if they conſtantly ſtand to truth, and hold together. And thus much for baniſhing of matrimony. Now let vs procede to the cōtentions betwixt wicked Hildebrand, and the godly emperour. But before by the way of digreſſion it ſhall not be much wyde from the purpoſe, to touch a little of the properties of this Pope as we finde them deſcribed in certayne epiſtles of Benno a Cardinall writyng to other Cardinals of Rome: which Benno lyued in the ſame tyme of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious actes and doyngs of this monſtrous Pope.

The Prieſtes of Germany ſtout agaynſt the Popes vnlawfull procedinges.

Single prieſthoode how it began.

Examples of concorde in prieſtes and miniſters.

Ex Bēno Cardinali.

Firſt declaryng that he was a ſorcerer moſt notable, & a Necromanſier, an olde companion of Syluester, of Laurentius, and Theophilactus called otherwiſe Benedictus nonus. Amongſt other, Benno Cardinals writeth this hiſtory of hym. How vpon a certaine tyme this Gregorius cōmyng from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behynd him hys familiar booke of Necromancy, which he was wont commonly to cary alwayes with him. Wherupon remembryng himſelf, entred the porte of Laterane, he calleth two of his moſt truſtie familiars to fette the booke, charging them at no hand to looke within it. But they beyng ſo reſtrayned, were the more deſirous to open it, and to peruſe it, and ſo did. After they had read a little the ſecretes of the Sathanicall booke, ſodenly there came about them the meſſengers of Sathan, the multitude and terror of whome made them almoſt out of their wits. At length they comming to themſelues, the ſpirites were inſtant vpon them to knowe wherfore they were called vp, wherfore they were vexed. Quickly (ſayd they) tel vs what ye would vs to do, or els we will fall vpon you, if ye retaine vs longer. Then ſpake one of the yong men to them, bidding them go and plucke downe yonder walles pointing to certaine high wals there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The yong men croſſing them for feare of the ſpirites (ſcarſe recoueryng themſelues) at length came to their maiſter. And it followeth moreouer in the Epiſtle of the ſaye Benno, to the Cardinals.

Pope Hildebrand forſaken of dyuers of his Cardinals.

We haue made mention to you before of diuers colleges of the church of Rome, which refuſed to communicate with him. As Leo then Archprieſt of the Cardinals, Benno, Vgobaldus, Iohannes the Cardinall, Peter Chaunceler & cardinal, beyng all inſtituted before this Hildebrand. Theſe 3. alſo beyng conſecrated by hym that is Natro, Innocentius, and Leo: forſooke him, curſing the deteſtable errours, which he had. In like caſe Theodinus whome he conſtituted Archdeacon, and other Cardinals mo: Iohannes ſurnamed Primicerius, Petrus oblationarius with all that apperteined vnto them, ſauing one only man. And now when this Hildebrand ſaw, that the biſhops alſo would forſake him: he called vnto hym the laymē, and made them priuie of his counſell, thinking thereby to ſeparate the Biſhops, that they ſhould haue no conference with the Cardinals. After that, he called together thoſe biſhops: and beyng garded with bandes of lay men, he enforced the biſhops partly for feare and partly by his manacing words, to ſweare vnto hym, that they ſhould neuer diſagree vnto that, which he would haue done: that they ſhould neuer defend the kinges quarell, and that they ſhould neuer fauor or obey the pope, that ſhould in his ſtede be inſtituted. Which thyng beyng done, he ſent them by meanes of the prince of Salernites, into Campania, & thus did he ſeperate them, from the company of the Cardinals, and from the citie of Rome. And not onely the biſhops, but alſo the prieſtes of the citie, and clerkes of inferiour orders as alſo the lay men: he bound by their othes, that at no tyme nor for any cauſe, they ſhould condiſcend vnto the kyng.

Pope Hildebrand compelleth the Byſhops & prieſtes of Rome to ſweare vnto hym.

Aſſoone as Pope Alexander was deade, whiche dyed ſomewhat before night: the ſame day contrary to the Canons he was choſen Pope of the laymē. But the Cardinals ſubſcribed not to his election. For the Canōs preſcribe (vnder payne of accurſing) that none ſhould be choſen Pope before the third day after the buriall of his predeceſſours. But he (by ſiniſter meane thus climyng to the ſeate) remoued the Cardinals of the ſayd ſeate frō beyng of the counſell. But with what perſons, he conſulted night and day, Rome well hard and ſaw. And he now putting the Cardinals from his counſell: his lyfe, fayth and doctrine, no mā could accuſe or beare witnes of: where as in the Canons is commaunded, that in euery place where ſoeuer the Pope is: ſhould be with him iij. Cardinals beyng Prieſtes, and ij. Deacons, becauſe of his Eccleſiaſticall teſtimonie and ſtile of veritie: of which Canonicall decree, looke gētle Reader, before pag. 39. He violently wreſted the ſacred Scriptures, to couer his falſhode: which kynde of idolatrie, how great it is, manifeſtly throughout all the Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the myndes and counſell of the Cardinals, and beſides the determinate order of pronoūcyng iudgement by the Canons, he raſhly did excommunicate the Emperour: being in no Synode ſolemly accuſed before. The ſentence of which excōmunication after rehearſall of theſe preſentes, ſhall alſo be manifeſted (Chriſt willyng:) to the which excommunication ſayth Benno, none of the Cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoone as he roſe out of his ſeat papall, to excommunicate the Emperour: the ſame ſeat (beyng made but a litle before, with bigge tymber) ſodenly by the appointement of God, was rent and ſhyuered in peeces: ſo that all men might plainly vnderſtād, what, and how great and terrible ſchiſmes, that lubber had, ſowen agaynſt the Church of Chriſt: againſt the ſeat of S. Peter: and how cru-

Pope Hildebrand vnorderly made Pope.

The Emperour wrongfully excommunicated.

The Popes chayre brake vnder hym as he roſe to excommunicate the Emperour.

elly he had diſperſed the chaire of Chriſt, in defilyng the lawes of the church:ruling by might & auſteritie,in that his ſo perillous and preſumptuous excommunication.

In the diſcriptiõ of the ſame excõmunicatiõ,he inſerteth thoſe thinges,wherin he himſelfe erred, when he abſolued the Emperour,beyng vniuſtly excommunicate and the Byſhops alſo communicatyng with hym:and to the vttermoſt thus cuttyng and mangelyng the vnitie of the Church and thoſe that communicated with them,did as much as in him lay to make two Churches.

The Pope deuideth the vnitie of the Church.

Alſo the ſame bold marchaũt,cõmaũded that the Cardinals ſhould faſt: to the intẽt that God would reuele whoſe opinion was better (either of the Church of Rome, or of Berengarius)touchyng the controuerſie of the Lordes body in the Sacrament.And hereby,he proued him ſelfe to be a manifeſt infidell:for that in the Nicen Coũcell it is written,he that doubteth is an infidell.

Further, he ſought after a ſigne to eſtabliſh his fayth concernyng the Article of the Lordes body,as did Gregory:to cõfirme the womãs fayth,when the conſecrated bread was tranſubſtantiated into the forme of a fleſhly finger.He alſo ſent two Cardinals (Attones, and Cunones)vnto Anaſtaſie:that with the Archprieſt of the ſame Church, they ſhould begyn a faſt of three dayes ſpace. And that euery of them(euery day during thoſe iij.dayes) ſhould ſay ouer the Pſalter,and ſing Maſſes: that Chriſt would ſhew vnto thẽ, ſome ſuch like ſigne of his body, as he dyd to the foreſayd Gregory:which thyng they could not ſee.

Of thys miracle we read in no approued hyſtorie.

The Emperour was oftentymes wont to go to S. Maries Church, in the mount Auentine to pray. Hildebrand when he had by his eſpials ſearched out and knew all the doynges of the Emperour:cauſed the place where the Emperour was accuſtomed (either ſtandyng, or proſtrate on his face to pray)to be marked, and for money he hyered a nauty paſt(like him ſelfe)to gather & lay together a heape of great ſtones,directly ouer the place, in the vaute of the Church,where the Emperour would ſtand:that in throwyng the ſame downe vpon his head,he ſhould ſlay the Emperour.About which purpoſe as the hyerlyng haſted, and was buſie remouyng to the place a ſtone of great hugenes and waight: it broke the planke whereon it lay: and the hyerlyng ſtandyng therupon,both together fell downe frõ the roofe,to the pauement of the church, & with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in peeces.And after the Romanes had vnderſtandyng of the handling of this matter:they faſtened a rope to one of the feete of this hyrelyng, and cauſed him to be drawen through the ſtreetes of the Citie three dayes together, in example of others. The Emperour notwithſtandyng accordyng to his wonted clemencie, cauſed hym to be buryed.

The Pope hyreth one to ſlay the Emperour.

Iohannes the Byſhop of Portua (beyng one of the ſecret counſell of Hildebrand)came vp into the pulpit of S. Peter:and amongeſt other thynges in the hearyng both of the Clergy and people ſayd:Hildebrand and we haue committed ſuch a fact and ſo horrible,for the which we are all worthy to be burned alyue (meanyng of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt)which Sacrament: Hildebrand, when he thereof inquired a diuine aunſwere agaynſt the Emperour,and would not ſpeake,threw into the fire and burned it contrary to the perſuaſion of the Cardinals, that were preſent and would haue reſiſted the ſame.

Hildebrand caſteth the ſacrament of the Lordes body in the fire,because it would geue him no aunſwere.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter weeke, when the clergy and the people were aſſembled at S.Peters Church to heare Maſſe:after the Goſpell,he went vp into the pulpit as he was in his pontificall attyre:and in the preſence of diuers Byſhops and Cardinals(a great cõpany both of the Senat and the people of Rome, beyng gathered together) openly preached (among many other wordes of diuination)that the kyng whoſe name was Henry, ſhoulde die (without all peraduenture) before the feaſt of Saint Peter next inſuing: or els at leaſt wiſe, that he ſhould be ſo deiected from his kingdome, that he ſhould not be able any more to gather together aboue the number of vi. knightes. Thys he preached to the Byſhops & Cardinals,and all that were preſent, crying out of the pulpit in theſe wordes:Neuer accept me for Pope any more, but plucke me from the aulter: if this prophecie be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the ſame tyme, he went about by helpe of priuie murtherers to kill the Emperour, but God preſerued hym. And many there were euen at that tyme, which thought Pope Hildebrand to be giltie, and to be the deuiſer of the treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the deede put in execution) preſumed of the death of the kyng,being by hym falſly propheſied of before: which words of hys, wounded many mens hartes.And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand, by his wordes was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is ſayd) gaue iudgement of hymſelfe to be no Pope: neither that he would be counted, for Pope any longer: but thought to be both a belyer and a traitor:vnles that before the feaſt of S.Peter next comming the Emperour ſhould dye or els ſhould be depriued of all kyngly honour: in ſo much he ſhould not be able to make aboue vi.knightes on his part. And thus by the appointmẽt of God it came to paſſe, that by his owne mouth he was condemned for an hereticke.

The Pope a falſe prophet.

The pope ſeeketh agayne to murther the Emperour.

The Pope by his own mouth condemned for an hereticke.

Thus ſayth the Lord: The prophet which of arrogancy will prophecie in my name, thoſe thinges I haue not commaunded hym: or els will prophecie in the name of other Gods: let hym be ſlayne. And if thou ſhall ſay with thy thy ſelfe, how ſhall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commaunded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou haue to know it by. Whatſoeuer thyng the Prophet in the name of God ſhall prophecie, and the ſame come not to paſſe: that mayſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the hautines of his owne mynde,and therfore thou ſhalt not be afrayd of him.

When the tyme was expired that Hildebrand in hys diuination had ſet, and that neither the kyng was dead, neither the power of the Empyre empayred: and fearyng leaſt by the wordes of his owne mouth he ſhould be reprehended and condemned: ſubtilie turned hys tale, ſaying & perſwading the ignorant people, that he ment not of the body of the kyng,but of hys ſoule: as though the ſoule of the kyng had loſt all,ſauing vi.of his knightes or ſoldiours, or els had bene dead during that ſpace: and thus by theſe ſleightes he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch Prophets S.Gregory vpon Ezechiel ſayth: Betwene true Prophets and falſe thys difference there is: that true Prophetes, if they ſpeake any thyng vpon their owne mynde, they be ſoone rebuked: but the falſe prophetes, both they tell lyes,and not hauyng the ſpirite of truth, they perſeuere in their falſity.

The Emperour preſerued by the power of God from the Pope.

A ſubtile ſhift of Hildebrand to ſaue his lying prophecie.

Ouer and beſide, the ſayd Hildebrand iudged to death three men before they were conuict, or els confeſſed their crime without the ſentence of any ſecular iudge:and cauſed them to be hanged vpon a payre of gallowes ouer agaynſt the Church of S.Peter in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or aduiſement,contrary to the lawes, whiche commaunde that euery publike offender ſhould haue, 30. dayes ſpace before he be put to execution.Which thyng euẽ amõgeſt the Paganes is in vre and obſerued:as teacheth the authoritie of Saint Ambroſe,and the martyrdome of holy Marcelianus and Marcus.

Three perſons before they were conuict put to execution by Hildebrand agaynſt all law.

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephẽ the Alderman into priſon,beyng before his truſty frend: and in a veſſell beyng thicke ſet with ſharpe nayles,he tormented him to the poynt of death:who after that he was eſcaped,apprehẽded the ſayd Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion before he was ſet at liberty,he openly forgaue all the cõſpiratours. Which thyng afterwardes,contrary to his fidelity, he brake and reuenged,and cauſed Centius, to whom he had forgeuen all offences,to be taken,and hanged hym,and ix. of his men vpon the gallowes before S.Peters porche.

Centius taken by the Pope,and put into a barrell of nayles.
The Pope taken of Centius.
Cẽtius executed by the pope contrary to promiſe and fayth.

There was at the apprehenſion of Pope Hildebrand, a certaine widowes ſonne,to whom and others moe for their penaunce, he enioyned a yeares baniſhment. Which tyme beyng explete or run out,the widow in token of more ample ſatiſfactiõ,thinking therby to haue appeaſed the minde of Hildebrand, put a halter about her ſonnes necke: and drawyng her ſonne by the rope to the foote of Hildebrand, ſayd:My Lord Pope,at your handes will I receaue agayne my ſonne,which one whole yeare hath indured baniſhmẽt and other penaunce by your holynes enioyned. Then the ſayd Hildebrand, for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with hym in company(diſſimulyng his wrath) deliuered her,her ſonne very churliſhly, ſaying: get thee hence woman I bid thee,and let me be in reſt. After this he ſent his officers and apprehẽded the widowes ſonne,& gaue cõmaundement to the Iuſtices,to put hym to death: who altogether makyng aunſwere, ſayd that they could no more condemne or meddle with hym, for that he had for hys crime committed,appealed once to the Pope: and abydden the baniſhment,and done the penaunce by hym enioyned. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand,beyng diſpleaſed with the iudges,cauſed the foote of the widowes ſonne to be cut of: makyng neither repentaunce, nor the lawes and ordinaunces to be of any eſtimation with hym: and thus hys foote beyng cut of,he dyed within three dayes after with the payne therof. Many other wicked deedes did this Hildebrand,vpon whom the bloud of the Church cryeth vengeaunce,

The villanie of the pope in kylling a widowes ſonne which before had done hys penaunce.

geaunce, ſhed by the ſword (that is) the miſerable trechery of his toung. For which things (and that iuſtly) the Church refuſed to communicate with hym. Hæc Benno.

An other Epiſtle of Benno to the Cardinals.

An other letter of Benno.

TO the reuerend fathers of the Church of Rome, and to his beloued in Chriſt, and to his brethrē that ſhall for euer be beloued: Benno the cardinal of the church of Rome, wiſheth faythfull ſeruice, health and communion with the ſeruaunts of the catholike Church. Of the which communion, diſcipline and power, he vaynely braggeth, that by the preſumption of his authoritie ſhall vniuſtly bynde or loſe any maner of perſon. And he doth vniuſtly bynde whatſoeuer he be, that curſeth any man (beyng willyng to make ſatiſfaction, and bewaylyng his boldnes, beyng alſo vnconuict, and not confeſſyng the crime) but rather curſing that party in vayne: he curſeth and condemneth himſelfe, turnyng his weapon vpon his owne perſon to deſtruction. O ſtraunge and new founde trechery, procedyng from the ſanctuary: nay rather from him which as hygh Prieſt ſeemeth to rule the Church, and to be a iudge ouer the Iudges.

A deuiliſh practiſe of Hildebrād in ſetting the Byſhops againſt the Emperour.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the Emperour, that he ſhould depriue thoſe Byſhops which came in by ſimonie. The Emperour (thinkyng as a zealous prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded frō the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration or iudiciall order, depriued certaine Byſhops: and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand, he offered an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowyng the crafty hādlyng of him. But Hildebrand then agayne placed thoſe whō the Emperour for ſimony at his commaundement had before depoſed: and thoſe whom by that meanes he made to beare a hatefull hart to the Emperour, he reconciled againe vnto himſelfe in great familiaritie: And by many and great othes taken of them for their fidelitie towardes him, he promoted aboue all the reſt. And thus by theſe prākes, the emperiall ſeate of the kyng beyng ſhortly after impayred, & deſtitute almoſt of frendes, he craftely purchaſing the frendſhyp and fauour of the greateſt Princes, the better to bring his matters to paſſe: ſodainly agayne, without any lawfull accuſation, without any canonicall vocatiō, without all iudiciall order, excommunicated the Emperour (ſo obedient alwayes vnto him) and ſet the Princes of the Empire all agaynſt him. And notwithſtandyng (as the Apoſtle ſayth) that no man ought to circumuent his brother in his buſines: as much as in him lay, he rather mortified and killed him, then brotherly corrected him. Thus the Emperour beyng many wayes circumuented: as, excommunicate beſides the canonicall order: and by the conſent and counſell of Hildebrand, ſpoyled of the greateſt part of his imperiall honour: and ouercharged with great warres and ſlaughters of his owne ſubiectes, in vayne deſired he & ſued for, to haue the canon read and heard: cauſing him by force and violence at Canuſium, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe hymſelf by his owne confeſſion.

The Emperour cauſed by Hildebrand to accuſe hymſelfe.

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as loue iuſtice, and loue not to leane either vpon the left hand, or els the right hand in the fauour of any perſon: ſay your myndes, whether that ſuch a confeſſion beyng inforced vpon neuer ſo poore a man (much leſſe vpon an Emperour) ought at ſuch a tyme to be preiudicall or not. Or whether he which extorted the ſame confeſſion, is gilty of the canon? Or els he, which beyng ſo peruerſly iudged, ſuffered the iniury of a moſt peruerſe Iudge? which alſo moſt patiently and publikely ſuffered this violence with lamentable affliction vpon his bare feete, clothed in thinne garmentes, in the ſharpe winter, which neuer was vſed, and was three dayes together at Canuſium, made a ſpectacle both of aungels and men, and a ludibrious mocking ſtocke to that proud Hildebrand. Neuer truſt me if that. xiij. Cardinals, the Archdeacon hymſelfe, and he that is called Primicerius, being all wiſe and religious mē, beſides many other of the Clerkes of Lateran, to the iudgemēt and priuilege of whoſe holy ſeate the whole world is obedient (waying and conſideryng his intollerable apoſtaſie) departed not from participating, and refuſed from communicatyng with hym.

The great patience of the godly Emperour.

This glorious Hildebrand & his affinitie, by their new authoritie breakyng the decrees of the Chalcedone Councell, not onely in wordes, but alſo in publicke writynges haue agreed, that it is tollerable both to baptiſe and communicate beyng out of the Church of God: and how blind theſe men were, & alſo what heretickes they be, their owne writynges do declare. What a miſchief is this (ſayth Benno) they preſume to iudge of the Church, which ſwarue themſelues in all errours: who alſo eſteeme the veritie, but as a lye: and leaſt their poyſoned falſhode both in wordes and writynges ſhould appeare, they haue (lyke ſubtill poyſoners, the ſooner to deceiue) mixed hony therewithall. A lye ſayth S. Auguſtine is euery thyng pronounced with the intent of deceiuyng other.

Mēdaciū quid.

It were to long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doynges, and diabolicall practiſes, of coniurynges, charmes and filthy ſorceries, exerciſed betwene hym and Laurentius, & Theophilact, otherwiſe named Pope Benedict the 9. whereof a long narration followeth in the foreſayd epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals to be ſene, to whome the reader may repayre, who ſo hath either laiſure to read, or mynd to vnderſtand more of the abhominable partes, and diueliſh artes of this Hildebrand.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of ſorcery and coniuring.

Thus hauing ſufficiently alledged the wordes and teſtimonies of Benno and Auentinus, concernyng the actes and factes of this Pope: now let vs procede (in the order as followeth in his ſtory) to ſet forth the miſerable vexatiō which the vertuous and godly Emperour ſuſtayned by that vngodly perſon.

Henricus 4. the emperor.

About what tyme Hildebrand was made pope, Henricus 4. the Emperour was incombred and muche vexed with ciuill diſſention in Germany, by reaſon of certayne greuances of the Saxons agaynſt him and his father Henricus the 3. Whereupon the matter growyng to ſedition, ſides were taken, and great warres inſued, betwixt Otho duke of Saxony, and Henricus the Emperour. This buſy tyme ſeemed to Hildebrande very opportune to worke hys feates: whoſe ſtudy and draft was euer from the beginning to aduance the dominion of the Romiſh ſeat aboue all other byſhops, & alſo to preſſe downe the authoritie of ẏ temporall rulers, vnder the ſpirituall ure of the church. And although he went about the ſame long before by ſubtile traines and actes ſet forth concernyng ſimonye: yet nowe he thought more effectuouſly to accompliſhe hys purpoſed intent, after that he was exalted thether where he would be. And therfore now bearyng himſelfe the bolder, by the authority of S. Peters throne, firſt he began to purſue the act ſet out by his predeceſſor, as touching ſimony: curſing and excommunicating, whoſoeuer they were that receyued any ſpirituall liuyng or promotion at lay mens handes, as all ſuch as were the geuers therof. For this he called than Simony, that vnder that colour he might defeat the temporall poteſtates of theyr right, and ſo bryng the whole Clergy at length to the luer of Rome. And foraſmuch as the Emperour was the head, thinkyng firſt to begin with hym: he ſendeth for hym by letters and legates to appeare in the councell of Laterane at Rome. But the Emperour buſied in hys warres agaynſt the Saxones, had no laiſure to attend to Councels. Notwithſtandyng Gregorius the pope, procedeth in his councell: rendryng there the cauſe and reaſon before the biſhops, why he had excommunicate dyuers of the Clergie, as Herman biſhop of Bamberge, counſellor to the Emperour, and other prieſts mo for Simony. And there moreouer in the ſayd Councell, he threateneth to excommunicate lykewiſe the Emperour hymſelfe, and to depoſe hym from hys regall kyngdome, vnleſſe he would abrenounce the hereſie of Simony, and do penance. The coūcell beyng ended: Guibertus Archbiſhop of Rauenna, perſwadeth wyth one Centius (a Romayne, the Captaines ſonne, whome the Pope had excommunicate) to take the Emperors parte agaynſt the Pope. Who watchyng hys tyme, in the temple of S. Mary, vpon Chriſtmas day in the mornyng, taketh the Pope and putteth hym faſt in a ſtrong tower. The next day the people of Rome hearyng this, harneſſe themſelues with all expedition to helpe the biſhop, whom when they loſed out of priſon, they beſieged the houſe of Centius, and plucked it downe to the ground. His family hauyng their noſes cut of, were caſt out of the Citie. Centius hymſelfe eſcapyng, fled to the Emperour. Guibert the Archbiſhop pretendyng good wil to ẏ Pope, departed frō Rome: who likewyſe had wrought wᵗ Hugo Candidus Cardinall, and with Thebaldus Archbiſhop of Millaine, alſo with diuers other biſhops about Italy to forſake the Pope, and take the Emperors part. Gregory the Pope called Hildebrand, hearyng the conſpiracy, layeth the ſentence of excommunication vpon them all, and depriueth them of their dignitie. The Emperor beyng moued (and worthely) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud prelate, calleth together a Councell at Wormes. In which Councell all the Biſhops not onely of Saxony, but of all the whole Empire of Germaines, agree and conclude vpon the depoſition of Hildebrand: and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be geuen to hym. This beyng determined in the Councell, Roulandus a Prieſt of

Much boaſt made of Peters throne, but his life they let alone.

Hermanus excommunicate of Hildebrand.

Centius.

Hildebrand caſt in the tower.

Guibertus Archbiſh. of Rauenna.

Parmen, was ſent to Rome, wyth the ſentence: who in the name of the Councell, ſhould commaunde Gregory to yeld vp hys ſeat, and alſo charge the Cardinals, to reſort to the Emperor for a new election of another Pope. The tenor of the ſentence ſent vp by Rolandus was this.

¶ The ſentence of the Councell of Wormes agaynſt Hildebrand.

The councell of Wormes agaynſt the Pope.

FOr ſo much as thy firſt ingreſſe and commyng in, hath bene ſo ſpotted with ſo many periuries, and alſo the church of God brought in no little daunger through thine abuſe & newfanglenes. Moreouer, bicauſe thou haſt diffamed thine owne life and conuerſation, with ſo muche and great diſhoneſty, that we ſee no little perill or ſlaunder to riſe therof: therfore the obediẽce which yet we neuer promiſed thee, hereafter we vtterly renounce, and neuer entend to geue thee. And as thou haſt neither taken vs yet for biſhops (as thou haſt opẽly reported of vs) ſo neither wyll we hereafter take thee to be Apoſtolike. Vale.

The councell of Rome agaynſt the councell of Wormes.

Gregory the Pope tickled with this ſentence, firſt condemneth it in hys councell of Laterane with excommunication. Secondarily depriueth Sigifridus Archbiſhop of Mentz of hys dignities, and eccleſiaſticall liuinges, with all other biſhops, Abbots and prieſtes, as many as tooke the Emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth Henricus the Emperor hymſelfe: depriueth hym of his kyngdome and regall poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all hys ſubiectes of their othe of allegiance geuen vnto hym, after this forme and maner.

Henricus the Emperour excommunicated of Hildebrand.

¶ The tenor of the ſentence excommunicatorie, agaynſt Henricus the Emperour, by Hildebrande.

Ex Platina.

O Bleſſed S. Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, bowe downe thine eares I beſech thee, and heare me thy ſeruaunte, whom thou haſt brought vp euen from mine infancie: and haſt deliuered me vnto this day frõ the handes of the wicked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my fayth in thee. Thou art my witnes, and alſo the bleſſed mother of Ieſu Chriſt, and thy brother Saynt Paule, fellow partener of thy martyrdome: how that I entred this function (not willingly) but inforced againſt my will; not that I take it ſo as a robbery, lawfully to aſcend into this ſeat: but bicauſe that I had rather paſſe ouer my life like a pilgrime or priuate perſon, then for any fame or glory to clyme vp to it. I do acknowledge (and that worthely) all this to come of thy grace, & not of my merites: that this charge ouer chriſten people, and this power of bindyng and loſing is committed to me. Wherfore truſting vpon this aſſuraunce, for the dignitie and tuition of holy church: In the name of god omnipotẽt, the father, the ſõne, & the holy ghoſt: I do here depoſe Hẽry the ſonne of Hẽry once the Emperour frõ his Imperiall ſeate, and princely gouernment: who hathe ſo boldly and preſumptuouſly laid handes vpon thy Church. And furthermore, all ſuch as tofore haue ſworne to be his ſubiectes, I releaſe thẽ of their oth, wherby all ſubiects are bound to the allegeaunce of their princes. For it is mete & conuenient that he ſhould be voyde of dignitie, which ſeeketh to diminiſh the maieſtie of thy church. Moreouer, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tendring his helth and wealth of his people: and hath ſeparate himſelf from the fellowſhip of the church (which he, through his ſeditions, ſtudieth to deſtroy) therfore I binde him by vertue of excommunication, truſting and knowing moſt certainly, that thou art Peter (in the rocke of whome, as in the true foundation Chriſt) our king hath built his church.

Marke this, ye papiſtes that ſay the Pope can not erre.

The pope threatneth kindnes of S. Peter.

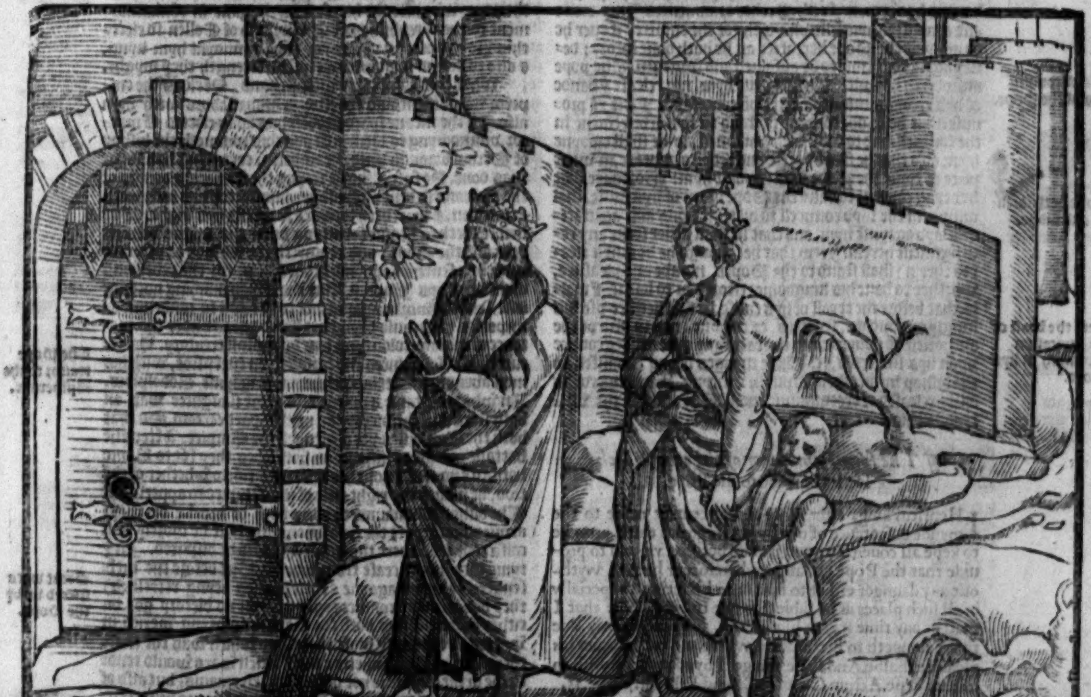
Quis tulerit gracchos de ſeditione querentes. Iuuen.

The Emperor thus aſſaulted with the Popes cenſure, ſendeth abroad his letters through all natiõs, to purge himſelfe: declaring how wrongfully, and agaynſt all right, he was condemned. The princes of Almany partly fearing the cracke of the Popes thunderclap, partly agayne reioycing that occaſion was renued to rebell agaynſt the Emperor: aſſembled a commencement, where they did conſult and ſo conclude, to elect an other Emperor, and to fall from Henry, vnles the Pope would come to Germany, and he there content to ſubmit hymſelfe, and obteine hys pardon.

The Saxons take the Popes part againſt the Emperour.

Wherin is to be conſidered the lamentable affections of

¶ Henricus the Emperour with his wife and child, barefoote and barelegd, *waiting on the Pope Hildebrand iij. dayes, and iij. nightes at the gates of Canuſium, before he could be ſuffred to come in.*



the Germains in thoſe dayes: ſo to forſake ſuch a valiaunt Emperor, and ſo much to repute a vile Byſhop. But thys was the rudeneſſe of the world thē, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperor ſeyng the chiefe princes ready to forſake hym, promiſeth them wyth an othe, that if the Pope would repaire to Germany, he would aſke forgeuenes.

Upon this the biſhop of Triers, was ſent vp in commiſſion to Rome, to entreat the pope to come into Germany. The biſhop (at the inſtaunce of the Legate, and of the Princes) was contēt. He entred into Germany, thinking to come to Auguſta. After he was come to Vercellos (the biſhop of that city beyng the Chauncelor of Italy, & deſirous to diſturbe peace, for the olde grudge he had to themperor) falſly perſwadeth wyth the Pope, that he was certayne, the Emperour was cōmyng with a mighty great army agaynſt hym: counſelling hym therefore to prouide betymes for hys owne ſafegarde in ſome ſtronger place. Wherby the Popes mynde beyng altered, he retyred backe to Canuſium or Canoſſus, a Citie beyng ſubiect to Matilda, a Counteſſe of Italy: where he ſhould not neede to feare the Emperour.

Peace diſturbed through wicked counſell.

Henricus vnderſtandyng the falſe feare of the Pope, & of hys retyre to Canuſium: incontinent (commyng out of Spires with his wyfe and hys yong ſonne in the depe and ſharpe of winter) reſorteth to Canoſſus. All his peeres & nobles had left hym, for feare of the Popes curſe, neyther dyd any company hym. Wherfore the Emperor beyng not a little troubled (laying apart hys regall ornamentes) came barefooted with his wyfe and childe, to the gate of Canoſſus: where he from mornyng to night (all the day faſting) moſt humbly deſireth abſolution, crauyng to be let in to the ſpeech of the biſhop. But no ingreſſe might be geuen hym once within the gates. Thus he continuyng iij. dayes together in hys peticion and ſute: at length anſwer came, that the Popes maieſtye had yet no laiſure to talke with hym. The Emperour nothyng moued therwith, that he was not let into the Citie, patiently and with an humble mynde abydeth without the wals, with no litle greuance & painfull labor: for it was a ſharpe wynter, and all froſen wyth cold. Notwithſtandyng yet, through hys importunate ſute at length, it was graunted through the intreating of Matilda the Popes paramour, and of Adelaus Earle of Sebaudia, and the Abbot of Cluniake, that he ſhould be admitted to the Popes ſpeach. On the 4. day beyng let in, for a token of hys true repentaunce, he yeldeth to the Popes handes hys crowne, with all other ornamentes Imperiall: and confeſſeth hymſelfe vnworthy of the empire, if euer he do agaynſt the Pope hereafter as he hath done before: deſiryng for that time to be abſolued and forgeuen. The pope anſwereth he will neither forgeue hym, nor releaſe ẏ bande of hys excommunication, but vpō conditions. Firſt, to promiſe, that he ſhalbe content to ſtand to hys arbitrement in the councell, and to take ſuch penaunce, as he ſhall enioyne hym: alſo that he ſhal be preſt and redy to appeare, in what place or tyme the Pope ſhall appoint hym: Moreouer that he beyng content to take the Pope iudge of hys cauſe, ſhal anſwer in the ſayd councell to all obiections and accuſations layd agaynſt hym, and that he ſhall neuer ſeeke any reuengement herein. Item that he (though he be quit & cleared therin) ſhall ſtand to the Popes mynde and pleaſure, whether to haue his kingdome reſtored, or to loſe it. Finally, that before the tryall of hys cauſe, he ſhal neither vſe his kingly ornaments, ſcepters, or crowne, nor to vſurpe the authoritie to gouerne, nor to exacte any othe of allegeaunce vpon hys ſubiectes, &c. Theſe thynges beyng promiſed to the biſhop by an othe, and put in writyng, the Emperor is onely releaſed of excommunication. The tenor of the writyng is this.

A wonderous ſubmiſſion of a valiant Emperor to a vile Pope.

Notable patience in a noble Emperour.

Proud conditions of the Pope.

Pope both accuſer and iudge.

Here the beaſt of the Apocalips appeareth in hys colors.

¶ *The forme and tenor of the othe, which* Henricus made to the Pope.

I Henricus king, after peace and agreement made to the mynde & ſentence of our Lord Gregorius the 7. promiſe to kepe all couenantes and bandes betwixt vs, and to prouide that the Pope go ſafely, whereſoeuer he will wythout any daunger either to him or to his retinue. Eſpecially in all ſuch places as be ſubiect to our Impery. Nor that I ſhall at any time ſtay or hinder him, but that he may doe that belongeth to his function, where and whenſoeuer his pleaſure ſhalbe. And theſe thinges I bynd my ſelfe with an othe to kepe. Actum Canoſ. 5. Calend. Februarij. indic. 15.

Thus the matter beyng decided betwixt them after the Popes owne preſcribement: The Emperour taketh hys iourney to Papia. The Pope wyth hys Cardinals, dyd vaunce and triumphe with no little pryde that they had ſo quailed the Emperor, and brought hym on his knees, to aſke them forgeuenes. Yet notwithſtandyng miſtruſting themſelues and miſdoutyng tyme, what might befall them hereafter: if fortune ſhould turne, and God geue the Emperor to enioy a more quiete kyngdome: therfore to preuent ſuch dangers betyme, they ſtudy and conſult priuely with them ſelues, how to diſplace Hēry cleane from his kingdom. And how that deuice might ſafely be conueyed, they conclude and determine to deriue the Empire vnto Rodolphus, a man of great nobilitie amongſt the chiefeſt ſtates of Germany, and alſo to incite and ſtirre vp all other princes and ſubiects (beyng yet free and diſcharged from their othes) againſt Henry, and ſo by force of armes to expulſe the emperor out of hys kingdome. To bring this purpoſe the better to paſſe, legates were ſent downe from the Pope: Sighardus Patriarch of Aquila, and Altumannus biſhop of Padway, which ſhould perſwade through all Fraunce, that Henry the Emperor was rightfully excommunicate, and that they ſhould geue to the biſhop of Rome their conſentes in chuſing Rodolphus to be Emperor. This beyng done, there was ſent to the ſaid Rodolphus duke of Sweuia, a crowne from the Pope with this verſe.

The craftie conſpiracy of the Cardinals agaynſt the Emperour.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.
The rocke gaue the crowne to Peter,
Peter geueth it to Rodolph.

The verſe.

Here by the way of digreſſion (to make a litle gloſe vpon this barbarous verſe) two notable lyes are to be noted. One, where he lyeth vpon Chriſt, the other where he lyeth vpon S. Peter. Firſt that Chriſt gaue any temporall diademe to Peter it is a moſt manifeſt lye, and agaynſt the ſcriptures: when as he would not take it, beyng geuē to hymſelfe, and ſayth hys kingdome is not of this world. Agayne, where he ſaith that Peter geueth it to Rodulph: Here he playeth the Poet, for neither had Peter any ſuche thyng to geue, and if he had, yet he would not haue geuen it to Rodolph, from the right heyre, neyther is it true that Peter dyd geue it, becauſe Hildebrand gaue it. For it is no good argument. Hildebrand dyd geue it: Ergo Peter dyd geue it: excepte ye wyll ſay, Hildebrand ſtirred vp great warres and bloudſhed in Germany, ergo Peter ſtirred vp great warres in Germany. So Peter neither coulde, nor would, nor dyd geue it to Rodolphus, but only Hildebrand the pope: who after he had ſo done, he gaue in cōmaundement to the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and of Collen, to electe this Rodolphus for Emperor, and to annoynt hym kyng, & alſo to defend hym with all force & ſtrength they myght.

The gloſe vpon the verſe of Hildebrand.

The pope proued a double lyer.

While this conſpiracy was in hand, Hēricus the emperor was abſent, and the Popes ambaſſadors with hym alſo. In the meane ſpace Rodolphus was elected Emperor, vnknowyng to Henry. Upon this commeth the biſhop of Strauſborough vnto the emperor, certifiyng him what was done. He ſuſpecting & ſeyng the ſtomack, & doings of the Saxons ſo bent agaynſt hym, muſtreth hys men with expedition, & marcheth forward to defend hys right. But firſt ſendeth to Rome (truſtyng vpon the league betwixt hym and the Pope) and requireth the Biſhop to proceede with hys ſentence agaynſt Rodolphus, for the rebellious inuaſion of hys Impery. But the biſhop minding nothing leſſe, ſendeth worde agayne, not to be right to condemne any perſon (his cauſe beyng not heard) thus vnder the pretence of the law, colouryng hys vnlawfull treatory. Henricus thus diſappointed and forſaken on euery ſide, with his men about hym, attempteth battayle agaynſt Rodolphus. In which battayle, a maruelous great ſlaughter was on both ſides, but the victory on neither part certain. So that both the Captaines yet chalenged the Empire. After the battaile and great murder on both ſides, they ſēt to Rome both, to know of ẏ pope his determinatiō: to whether of thē two, he iudged the right title of the Empire to appertaine. The biſhop commaundeth them both to breake vp theyr armies, and depart the field: promiſing that he ſhortly will call a councell where this matter ſhould be diſputed. In ẏ tyme they ſhould ceaſe from warre. But before the meſſengers returned agayne (their armies beyng refreſhed) they had an other conflict together, but no victory got on either parte. Thus both the Captaines beyng weried in warres, the Romiſh beaſt the biſhop which was the cauſe therof, perceiuyng whether theſe cruell wars would tend: to the great calamitie not only of the Germains, but alſo of other nations (truſtyng to find an other way to helpe Rodolphus and hys adherentes) ſendeth downe a commiſſion by Ottho Archbiſhop of Treuers, Bernardus Deacon, and Bernardus Abbot of Maſſilia: to whom he gaue

in

The Pope traitor to the Emperour.

Great wars ſtirred vp by the Pope.

in charge that they ſhould cal together a Councel or ſitting in Almany, and there to be defined to whether part the empire ſhould pertaine, by moſt right and publike conſideration. Promiſing that what they ſhould therein determine, he (lokyng vpon the matter, through the authoritie of god omnipotent, and of S. Peter, and S. Paul) would ratifie the ſame. Moreouer for that, no lette nor impeachement ſhould happen to the Legates by the way, he geueth with them letters, to the princes & nations of Germany, whereof the contentes be declared briefly in Platina: If any liſt to read them.

But the Emperor would not ſo permit the Legates to haue any Councel within Germany, except they would firſt depriue Rodolphus of hys kingdome. The Legates conſideryng that, to be agaynſt the order and intention of the Pope, returned agayne from whence they came. The Pope hearyng this and ſeyng hys purpoſe ſo diſappoynted by the Emperor, draweth out an other excommunication agaynſt hym, and agayne bereueth him of hys kyngdome: ſendyng about hys letters excommunicatorie, throughout all places: thinkyng therby to further the part of Rodolphus the better. Platina hath in hys booke the whole effect of the wrytyng, which tendeth after this ſort.

✻ *The copy of the ſecond excommunication of Hildebrand, agaynſt the Emperor.*

BLeſſed S. Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, and thou Paul alſo the teacher of the Gentiles, geue eare vnto me, I beſeche you a litle, and gently heare me. For you are the diſciples and louers of truth, the thinges that I ſhal ſay are true. This matter I take in hand for truth ſake, that my brethren (whoſe ſaluation I ſeke) may the more obſequiouſly obey me, and better vnderſtand, how that I truſting vpon your defēce (next to Chriſt & his mother the immaculate virgin) reſiſt the wicked, and am redy to helpe the faithfull. I did not enter this ſeat of mine owne accorde, but much againſt my wil, & with teares: for that I accoūted my ſelf vnworthy to occupy ſo high a throne. And this I ſay, not that I haue choſen you, but you haue choſen me, and haue layd this great burthen vpon our ſhoulders. And now whereas by this your aſſignment, I haue aſcended vp this hill, crying to the people, and ſhewyng thē their faults, and to the children of the church, their iniquities: the members of Sathan haue riſen againſt me, and haue laid hands together to ſeke my bloud. For the kinges of the earth haue riſen vp againſt me, and the Princes of this world: with whom alſo haue conſpired certaine of the Clergy ſubiects againſt the lord, and againſt vs his annoynted, ſaying: let vs breake a ſunder their bandes, and caſt of from vs their yoke. This haue they done agaynſt me, to bring me either to death, or to baniſhment. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call king, the ſonne of Henry the Emperour, which hath liſt vp ſo proudly his hornes and hele againſt the church of God, making conſpiracy with diuers other biſhops, both Italiās, French and Germains. Againſt the pride of whom, hetherto your authoritie hath reſiſted: who rather being broken then amended, comming to me in Ciſalpina, made humble ſute to me for pardon and abſolution. I thinking nothyng els but true repentaunce in hym, receaued him againe to fauour, and did reſtore hym to the communion onely, from which he was excommunicate: but to his kingdome (from which in the Synode of Rome he was worthily expulſed) I did not reſtore: nor to the rentes and fruites therof (that he might returne to the fayth againe) that I graunted not vnto him. And that I did for this purpoſe, that if he ſhold deferre to fall to agreement with certaine of his neighbours, whom he hath alwayes vexed, and to reſtore agayne the goods both of the church and otherwiſe: than he might be compelled by the cenſures of the Church & force of armes therunto. Wherby diuers and ſundry biſhops and princes of Germany (ſuch as he had long troubled) beyng helped by this oportunitie, elected Rodolphus their Duke, to be kyng in the place of Henricus: whom they for his tranſgreſſions had remoued and diſpatched frō his Empire. But Rodolphus firſt in this matter vſing a princely modeſtie & integritie: ſent vp hys meſſengers to me, declaring how he was conſtrained (wild he, nild he) to take that regall gouernment vpon him: albeit he was not ſo deſirous therof, but that he would rather ſhew hymſelfe obedient to vs, then to the other that offered him the kingdom, and whatſoeuer our arbitrement ſhould be therin, he would be vnder obedience, both of God and of vs. And for more aſſurance of this his obedience, he hath ſent his owne children hither for pledges. Vpon this Henricus began to ſnuffe, and firſt entreated with vs, to reſtraine and inhibite Rodolphus through the payne of our curſe, from the vſurpation of his kingdom. I anſwered againe, I would ſee whether of them had more right and title therunto, and ſo ſend our Legates thither vpon the ſame, to know the whole ſtate of the matter: and therupon I would deciſe betwixt them, whither of them had the truer part. But Henricus would not ſuffer our Legates to come to take vp the matter, and ſlew diuers both ſecular men, and of the Clergy, ſpoiling and prophaning churches, and ſo by this meanes hath indangered him ſelf in the bandes of excommunication. I therfore truſtyng in the iudgement and mercy of God, and in the ſupportatiō of the bleſſed virgin, alſo bold vpon your authoritie, do lay the ſentence of curſe vpon the ſayd Henricus, and all hys adherents: and here againe I take his regall gouernement from him, charging and forbidding all Chriſten men, that haue bene ſworne vnto him (whom I diſcharge here of their othe) that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but to take Rodolphus to their king, who is elected by many Princes of the prouince. For ſo right it is and conuenient, that as Henry for his pride and ſtubburnnes, is depriued of his dignitie and poſſeſſion: ſo Rodolphus being gratefull to all men, for his vertue and deuotion be exalted to the Imperiall throne and domination.

O peſtiferous hypocrite.

The Pope prayeth S. Peter to diſhonour hys king. And S. Peter byndeth the Pope to honour hys kyng.

Crocodili lachryma.

Scripture well applied. A figure called ἀντιμεταβολή.

Cuius contrarium verum eſt. Vim faciunt ſcripturis, vt plenitudinē accipiant poteſtatis.

Let all papiſtes marke here well the holyneſſe of their holy father.

As though he were not ſet vp by you, rather then by thē.

The more to blame Emperors to ſuffer you to be ſo ſaucie with them.

Therfore O you bleſſed Princes of the Apoſtles, grāt to this, and confirme with your authoritie that I haue ſaid, ſo that all men may vnderſtand, if you haue power to bind and loſe in heauen, you haue alſo power in earth to geue and take away Empires, kingdoms, principalities, and what ſo euer here in earth belongeth to mortall men. For if you haue power to iudge in ſuch matters, as appertain to God: what then ſhould we thinke you haue of theſe inferior & prophane thinges? And if it be in your power to iudge the aungels, ruling ouer proud princes: what then ſhall it beſeme you to do vpon their ſeruants. Therfore let the kings vnderſtand by this example, and all other princes of the world, what you be able to do in heauen, & what you are with God: that therby they may feare to contemne the commaundements of holy church. And now do you exerciſe this iudgement quickly vpon Henricus, wherby all mē may ſee this ſonne of iniquitie to fall from his kingdome, not by any chaunce, but by your prouiſion and only worke. Notwithſtanding, this I would craue of you, that he being brought to repentance, through your interceſſion, yet in the day of iudgement, may finde fauor and grace with the lord. Actum Romæ. Nonis Martij, indictione. 3.

Nego argumentum.

Cōfer this clauſe with the hiſtorie of the ſtorie hereafter folowing. O double hypocrite.

Furthermore. Hildebrand not yet content with this, interditeth & depoſeth alſo Gubertus archbiſhop of Rauenna, for takyng the Emperours parte, commaundyng all prieſtes to geue no maner obedience to hym: And ſendeth thether to Rauenna an other Archbiſhop, wyth full authoritie.

Gubertus Archbiſhop depriued.

After and vpon this, Henricus and Rodolphus to try the matter by the ſword, coped together in battell, not without bloudſhed: where Henricus by the fauour of God, agaynſt the iudgement of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodolphus there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and caried to Hyperbolis: where he cōmaunded the biſhops and chiefe doers of hys conſpiracy to be brought before hym. When they came, he lifted vp his right hand, in which he had taken hys deadly wound, and ſayd: This is the hand which gaue the othe and ſacrament vnto Henricus my Prince: and which through your inſtigation, ſo oft hath fought agaynſt him in vayne. Now go and performe your firſt othe and allegeance to your king, for I muſt to my fathers, and ſo dyed. Thus the pope gaue battayle, but God gaue the victory.

The 4 battell betwixt Henry and Rodulph. Hēricus victor.

Rodulphus at his death repenting.

The Pope geueth war but God geueth victory.

Henricus (after his enemy beyng thus ſubdued, and warres beyng ceaſed in Germany) forgat not the old iniuries receiued of Hildebrand, by whom he was twiſe excommunicate, and expulſed from his kyngdome: and three dayes makyng humble ſute (yea and that in ſharpe winter) could finde no fauour with hym: Beſides yͤ, he incited moreouer & ayded his enemy agaynſt him: wherfore calleth together a coūcell or aſſemble of diuers byſhops of Italy, Lombardy & Germany, at Brixia. an. 1083. where he purged himſelfe, and accuſed the Byſhop Hildebrand of diuers crimes: to be an vſurper: periured: a necromanſer and ſorcerer: a ſower of diſcord, complainyng moreouer of wronges & iniuries done by the biſhop & Church of Rome: in yͤ the church of Rome preferred the Byſhop before him, when that his father beyng Emperour before him, had inthroniſed and ſet in diuers and ſundry Byſhops there by his aſſignement, without all other election. And now this Byſhop contrary to his othe and promiſe made, thruſt in himſelfe, without the will and

Cōcilium Brixenſe.

An. 1083.

No Byſhop of Rome to be choſen without the aſſent of the Emperour.

knowledge of him, beyng their kyng and magiſtrate. For in the tyme of his father Henricus iij. this Hildebrand with other, bounde themſelues with a corporall othe: that ſo long as the Emperour and his ſonne now beyng kyng ſhould lyue, they ſhould neither themſelues preſume, nor ſuffer any other to aſpire to the Papall ſeate, without the aſſent and approbation of the foreſayd Emperours: which now this Hildebrād contrary to his corporall othe had done. Wherfore the foreſayd Councell with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he ſhould be depoſed: The tenour of which condemnation is thus expreſſed in Abbate Vrſpergenſi.

¶ The ſentence of the Councell of Brixia, agaynſt Hildebrand.

Abbas Vrſpergenſis.

Henricus Mutius.

Note here the Pope iudged & depoſed of the councell.

Becauſe it is not knowen, this Byſhop not to be elected of God, but to haue intruded himſelfe, by fraude and money, who hath ſubuerted all Eccleſiaſticall order, who hath diſturbed the gouernement of the Chriſtiā Empery, manaſing death both of body and ſoule agaynſt our Catholike and peaceable kyng: who hath ſet vp and maintayned a periured kyng, ſowyng diſcord, where concorde was: cauſing debate amongeſt frendes, ſlaunders, and offences amongeſt brethren, diuorcementes and ſeparation amongeſt the maryed (for he tooke away the mariage of Prieſts, as Henricus Mutius witneſſeth) and finally diſquietyng the peaceable ſtate of all quyet lyfe: therfore we here in the name and authoritie of God congregate together, with the Legates and handes of xix. biſhops, the day of Pētecoſt at Mentz, do procede in Canonicall iudgement, agaynſt Hildebrand, a man moſt wicked: preachyng ſacrilege and burnyng, maintayning periury and murthers, callyng in queſtion the Catholike fayth of the body and bloud of the Lord, a folower of diuination and dreames, a manifeſt Necromancer, a ſorcerer, and infected with a Pythonical ſpirit, ann therfore departed from the true fayth, we iudge hym to be depoſed and expelled. And vnleſſe he hearyng this, ſhall yeld and depart the ſeate: to be perpetually condēned. Inacted.vij.Calend.Iulij.feria.5.indictione.iij.

The Pope ſeeketh ſuccour of his paramour. The firſt example to fight for remiſſion of ſinnes, began in Hildebrand.

This beyng enacted & ſent to Rome, they elected Guibertus Archbiſhop of Rauenna, in the place of Hildebrand, to gouerne the Church of Rome, named Clemens iij. But when Hildebrand neither would geue ouer his hold, nor geue place to Clement: the Emperour gatheryng an army to ſend to Italy, came to Rome to depoſe Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand ſendyng to Mathilda the counteſſe, before mentioned: required (in remiſſion of all her ſinnes) to withſtand Henry the Emperour, and ſo ſhe did. Notwithſtandyng Henricus preuaylyng came to Rome, where he beſieged the Citie all the Lent, and after Eaſter got it, the Romaines being compelled to open the gates vnto him: ſo he commyng to the temple of S. Peter, there placeth Clement in his Papacy. Hildebrand ſtraight ſlyeth into Adrians tower with his adherentes. Where he being beſet round about, at length ſendeth for Robert Guiſcardus his frend a Norman. In the meane tyme while Robertus collecteth his power, the Abbot of Cluniake, conferryng with Gregory, exhorteth hym to crowne Henricus Emperor in Lateran. Which if he would do, ẏ other promiſeth to bryng about, that Henricus ſhould departe with his army into Germany. Wherunto the people of Rome alſo did likewiſe moue hym. To whom Gregory aunſwered that he was content ſo to do (but vpon condition) that the Emperour would ſubmit himſelfe to aſke pardon, to amende his fault, and to promiſe obedience. The Emperour not agreyng to thoſe conditions went to Senas, takyng Clement, new ſtalled Pope with hym.

Platina.
Nauclerus.
Sabellicus.
Crantzius.
Benno. &c.

After the returne of the Emperour, the foreſaid Robert Guiſcardus approchyng with his ſouldiors, braſt in at one of the gates, and ſpoyleth the Citie. And not long after deliuereth Hildebrand out of his enemyes handes, and caryed hym away to Campania, where he, not long continuyng after dyed in exile.

Antoninus writeth, that Hildebrand, as he dyd lye a dying, called to hym one of his chief Cardinals: bewaylyng to hym his fault and miſorder of his ſpirituall miniſtery, in ſtyrryng vp diſcorde, warre and diſſenſion: whereupon he deſired the Cardinall to go to the Emperour, and deſire hym of forgeuenes: abſoluyng from the daunger of excommunication, both hym and all his partakers both quicke and dead.

Hildebrand, the firſt author and patrone of all miſrule that followed in Popes.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the full hiſtory of pope Gregory vij. called Hildebrād which I haue layd out more at large, and deſire thee to marke: becauſe that from this Pope (if thou marke wel) ſpringeth all the occaſion of miſchief, of pride, pompe, ſtoutneſſe, preſumption and tyranny, which ſince that tyme hath reigned in his ſucceſſors hetherto, in the Cathedrall Church of the Romiſh Clergy. For here came firſt the ſubiection of the temporall regiment, vnder the ſpirituall iuriſdiction. And Emperours, which before were their maiſters, now are made their vnderlynges. Alſo here came in the ſuppreſſion of Prieſtes mariage, as is ſufficiently declared. Here came in moreouer the authority of both ẏ ſwordes ſpirituall & ſeculare into ſpirituall mens handes. So that Chriſtian Magiſtrates could do nothyng in election, in geuyng Byſhopprikes, or benefices, in callyng Coūcels, in hearyng and correctyng the exceſſes of the clergy, but onely the Pope muſt do all. Yea moreouer no Byſhop nor paſtor in his owne pariſh could excommunicate or exerciſe any diſcipline amongeſt his flocke, but onely the Pope chalenged that prerogatiue to hymſelfe. Finally, here came in the firſt example to perſecute Emperours & kings, with rebellion and excommunication: as the clergy themſelues hereafter do teſtifie and witnes in proceedyng agaynſt Paſcalis. Thus theſe notes being well obſerued, let vs (by the grace of Chriſt) now repayre agayne to our countrey hiſtory of England.

The death of Wil. Conquerour.

About the death of Pope Hildebrand (or not long after) folowed the death of kyng William cōquerour, in the yeare of our Lord. 1090. after he had reigned in England the ſpace of xxi. yeares and x. monethes. The cauſe of his ſickenes & death is ſayd to be this: for that Philip the French kyng vpon a tyme (ieſtyng ſayd) that kyng William lay in childbed and nouriſhed his fat belly. With this the foreſayd William hearyng therof, anſwered agayne & ſayd, when he ſhould be Churched, he would offer a thouſand candels to hym in Fraunce, wherewithall the kyng ſhould haue litle ioy. Wherupon kyng William in the moneth of July (when the corne, fruit, and grapes were moſt floriſhyng) entred into Fraunce, and ſet on fire many Cities and townes in the weſtſide of Fraunce. And laſtly commyng to the Citie of Meaux, where he burnyng a woman beyng as a recluſe in a wall incloſed (or as ſome ſay, two men Anachorites incloſed) was ſo feruent and furious about the fire: that with the heate partly of the fire, partly of the tyme of yeare, therby he fell into ſickenes, and dyed vpon the ſame.

By the lyfe and actes of this kyng it may appeare true as ſtoryes of hym reporte, that he was wiſe but gylefull: Riche but couetous: a fayre ſpeaker, but a great diſſembler: glorious in victory, and ſtrōg in armes, but rigorous in oppreſſing whom he ouercame, in leuiyng of taſkes paſſing all other. In ſomuch that he cauſed to be enrolled and numbred in his treaſury, euery hide of land, and owner therof: what fruite and reuenewes ſurmounted of euery Lordſhyp, of euery towneſhyp, caſtell, village, field, riuer, and wood within all the Realme of England. Moreouer how many Pariſh Churches, how many liuyng catell there were, what & how much euery Baron in the realme could deſpēde: what fees were belongyng, what wages were taken. &c. The tenour and contentes of which taſkement, yet remaineth in rolles.

Peſtilēce in Englād, and morayne of beaſtes.

London wyth the Church of Paules, brent.

After this taſkyng or nūbring which was the yeare before his death: folowed an exceadyng moreine of cattell, & barrennes of the ground: with much peſtilence and hote feuers among the people, ſo that ſuch as eſcaped the feuer, were conſumed with famine. Moreouer at the ſame ſeaſon among certaine other Cities, a great part of the Citie of London, with the Church of Paules was waſted with fire an. 1085.

Wolſtane byſhop of Worceſter.

In huntyng and in parkes the foreſayd kyng had ſuch pleaſure, that in the countrey of Southampton, by the ſpace of 30. miles, he caſt down Churches and Towneſhyps and there made the new foreſt: louyng his deare ſo dearely as though he had bene to them a father: makyng ſharpe lawes for the increaſing therof, vnder payne of looſing both the eyes. So hard he was to Engliſhmen, and ſo fauorable to his owne countrey: that as there was no Engliſh Byſhop remainyng, but onely Wolſtane of Worceſter, who beyng commaunded of the kyng and Lancfrank to reſigne vp his ſtaffe, partly for inhabilitie, partly for lacke of ẏ Frēch toūg: refuſed otherwiſe to reſigne it, but onely to him that gaue it, and ſo went to the tumbe of kyng Edward, where he thought to reſigne it, but was permitted to enioy it ſtill: ſo likewiſe in his dayes there was almoſt no Engliſh man, that bare office of honour or rule.

In ſomuch it was halfe a ſhame at that tyme, to be called an Engliſh man. Notwithſtādyng he ſomedeale fauoured the Citie of London, & graunted vnto the Citizens the firſt charter, that euer they had, written in the Saxon, with greene waxe ſealed, and contemed in few lynes.

England peaceable frō theeues.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that ſo geuen he was to peace and quyet, that any mayden being laden with gold or ſiluer might paſſe through the whole Realme.

The Abbey of battayle.

The Abbey of Barmoſdeſay.

Realme, without harme or reſiſtaūce. This William in his tyme builded two monaſteries one in England, at Battaile in Suſſex where he wanne the field agaynſt Harold, called the Abbey of Battaile: an other beſide, named Barmoſideſay, in his countrey of Normandy.

The firſt Byſhop of Saleſbury.

Oſmunde Byſhop of Sarum.

Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij. Secundū vſum Sarum.

Ex Eulogio hiſtorico. Lib. 3.

The vſe and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was deuiſed.

A litle aboue, mention was made of the Byſhops ſea of Shyrborne, tranſlated from thence to Saleſbury. The firſt Byſhop of Saleſbury was Hermannus a Normand: who firſt began the new Church and minſter of Saleſbury. After whō ſucceded Oſmūdus, who finiſhed the worke and repleniſhed the houſe with great liuyng, and much good ſingyng. This Oſmundus firſt began the ordinarie, which was called Secundum vſum Sarum. an. 1076. The occaſion wherof was this (as I finde in an old ſtory booke intituled Eulogium) a great contention chaunced at Glacenbury betwene Thurſtanus the Abbot, and his couēt in the dayes of William Cōquerour, which Thurſtanus the ſayd William had brought out of Normādy, from the Abbey of Cadonum, and placed him Abbot of Glacenbury. The cauſe of this contentious battaile, was for that Thurſtanus contemnyng their quyer ſeruice, then called the vſe of S. Gregory: cōpelled his monkes to the vſe of one Williā, a monke of Fiſcā in Normādy. Wherupō came ſtrife and cōtentions amongeſt them. Firſt in wordes then frō words to blowes, after blowes then to armour. The Abbot with his garde of harneſt men fell vpon the monkes, and draue them to the ſteppes of the hye altar: where, two were ſlayne, viij. were wounded with ſhaftes, ſwordes, and pikes. The Monkes then driuen to ſuch a ſtraight and narrow ſhift were cōpelled to defende themſelues, with formes, and candleſtickes, wherewith they dyd wounde certaine of the ſouldiours. One mōke there was (an aged man) who in ſteade of his ſhield, tooke an Image of the Crucifixe in his armes, for his defence: which Image, was woūded in the breſt by one of the bow men, whereby the Monke was ſaued. My ſtory addeth more, that the ſtriker incontinent vpon the ſame fell mad, which ſauoureth of ſome monkiſh addition beſides the text. This matter beyng brought before the kyng: the Abbot was ſent agayne to Cadonum, and the monkes by the commaundement of the kyng were ſcattered in farre countreys. Thus by the occaſion hereof, Oſmundus Byſhop of Saliſbury, deuiſed that ordinary, which is called the vſe of Sarum, and was afterward receiued in a maner through all England, Irland and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the tyme of this kyng William.

Which William after his death: by hys wyfe Matildis or Mauld, left three ſonnes, Robert Courtſey to whom he gaue the Duchie of Normandy: William Rufus his ſecōd ſonne, to whom he gaue the kingdome of England: And Henry the third ſonne, to whom he left and gaue treaſour: and warned William to be to his people louyng and liberal: Robert to be to his people ſterne and ſturdy.

Example of Gods iuſt iudgement vpon a Byſhop, who being vnmercifull to the poore, was eaten with rattes and myſe.

In the hiſtory called Iornalenſis, is reported of a certayne great man, who about thys tyme of kyng William, was compaſſed about wyth myſe and rattes: and flying to the middeſt of a riuer, yet when that would not ſerue, came to the land agayne, and was of them deuoured. The Germanes ſay that this was a Byſhop: who dwellyng betwene Colene and Mentz, in tyme of famine and dearth, hauing ſtore of corne and graine, would not helpe the pouertie, cryyng to hym for reliefe, but rather wyſhed hys corne to be eaten of myſe and rattes. Wherfore beyng compaſſed wyth myſe and rattes (by the iuſt iudgement of God) to auoyde the annoyaunce of them, he buylded a tower in middeſt of the riuer of Reyne (which yet to this day the Duchmen call Rattes tower) but all that would not helpe: for the Rattes and myſe ſwam ouer to hym in as great aboundaunce, as they did before. Of whom at length he was deuoured.

William Rufus.

1088.

William Rufus.

William Rufus the ſecond ſonne of William Conquerour began hys raigne an. 1088. And raigned xiij. yeares, beyng crowned at Weſtminſter by Lanfrancus, who after his coronation releaſed out of priſon, by the requeſt of his father: diuers of the Engliſh Lordes, which before had bene in cuſtody. It chaunced, that at the death of William Conquerour, Robert Courtſey his eldeſt ſōne was abſent in Almany. Who hearing of the death of hys father: and how William hys yonger brother had taken vpon hym the kingdome: was therwith greatly amoued, in ſo much that he layd his Dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry: and with that good, gathered vnto him an armye, and ſo landed at Hampton, to the intent to haue expulſed his brother from the kyngdome. But William Rufus hearyng therof, ſent to hym fayre and gentle wordes, promiſing him bedition and ſubiection as to the more worthy, and elder brother: thys thyng onely requiring, that ſeyng he was now in place and poſſeſſion, he might enioy it duryng his lyfe: paying to hym yearely. iij. thouſād markes, wyth condition, that which of them ouerlyued the other, ſhould enioy the kyngdome. The occaſion of this variance betwene theſe brethren, wrought a great diſſention among the Normande Lordes and Byſhops, both in England & in Normandy. In ſo much that all the Normans byſhops wythin the realme almoſt rebelled againſt the king (taking part wyth Duke Robert) except onely Lanfrancus, and Wolſtane Byſhop of Worceter, aboue mentioned, an Engliſhe man. Who for his vertue and cōſtancie was ſo well lyked and fauoured of hys citizens: that (emboldened wyth hys preſence & prayer) they ſtoutly mainteyned the citie of Worceter agaynſt the ſiege of their enemyes, and at laſt vāquiſhed them wyth vtter ruine. But Duke Robert at length by the aduiſe of his counſale (hearing the wordes ſent vnto him and waggyng hys head thereat, as one conceauyng ſome matter of doubt or doublenes) was yet content to aſſent to all that was deſired, and ſo returned ſhortly after into Normandy: leauing the Biſhops and ſuch other, in the bryars, which were in England taking hys part agaynſt the kyng.

Wolſtane biſhop of Worcetor.

Thys Rufus was ſo ill lyked of the Normans, that betwene hym and his Lordes was oft diſſention. Wherfore (well nere) all the Normans tooke part agaynſt hym: ſo that he was forced of neceſſitie to draw to hym the Engliſhe men. Agayne, ſo couetous he was, and ſo vnmeaſurable in hys taſkes and taxynges: in ſellyng benefices, Abbeyes, and Byſhoppryckes: that he was hated of all Engliſhe men.

An. 1091.

The death of Lancfrancus Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

In the third yeare of thys kyng, dyed Lancfrancus Archbyſhop of Cant. from whoſe commendation & worthynes as I liſt not to detract any thyng (being ſo greatly magnifyed of Polidorus hys countreyman) ſo neyther doe I ſee any great cauſe why, to adde any thyng thereunto. This I thinke, vnles that man had brought wyth hym leſſe ſuperſtition, and more ſincere ſcience into Chriſtes Church: he might haue kept him in his countrey ſtill, and haue confuted Berengarius at home. After the deceaſe of Lancfranke, the ſea of Cant. ſtoode emptie iiij. yeares.

Remigius byſh. of Lincolne.

Lincolne mynſter builded.

Stow Abbey builded.

After the councell of Lancfrancus aboue mentioned, wherein was concluded, for tranſlating of Byſhops ſeas, from villages into head cities: Remigius byſhop of Dorcheſter, who (as ye heard, accompanied Lancfrācus vnto Rome) remoued hys Byſhops ſea from Dorcheſter, vnto Lincolne: where he builded the minſter there ſituate vpon an hill within the ſayd citie of Lincolne. The dedication of which Church, Robert Archbyſhop of Yorke dyd reſiſte, ſaying that it was builded within the ground of his precinct. But after, it had his Romiſh dedication by Robert Bloett, next Biſhop that folowed. By the ſame Remigius alſo was founded the cloyſter or monaſtery of Stow. &c.

An. 1092

Wynchecombe ſteple brent wyth lightning.

Vj. hundreth houſes blowen downe with wynde.

The roofe of Bow church ouerthrowen.

In the iiij. yeare of this kyng, great tempeſt fell in ſondry places of England ſpecially at Winchecome: where the ſteple was burned with lightnyng: the Church wall braſt thorough: the head & right legge of the Crucifixe, with the Image of our Lady, on the right ſide of the Crucifixe throwen downe: and ſuch a ſtenche left in the Church, that none might abyde it. At London the force of the weather & tempeſt ouerturned vj. hundreth houſes. In which tempeſt the roofe of Bow Church was whirled vp in the wynde, and by the vehemence therof was pitched downe a great deepenes into the ground.

Robert Bleuet payd v. thouſand markes for his Biſhopricke.

Kyng William (as ye heard an exceedyng piller or rauener rather of Church goodes) after he had geuen the Byſhopricke of Lyncolne to his Chauncelor Robert Bleuet (aboue mynded) began to cauill: auouchyng the ſee of Lyncolne to belong to the ſea of Yorke: till the Byſhop of Lyncolne had pleaſed hym with a great ſumme of money of fiue thouſand markes, &c.

Herbert Loſinga Byſhop of Norwige.

Loſinga. i. adulator.

Norwyge mynſter builded by Herbert.

And as nothyng could come in theſe dayes, without mony from the kyng: ſo Herbert Loſinga paying to the kyng a peece of money, was made byſhop of Thetford as he had payd a litle before to be Abbot of Rameſey. Who likewiſe the ſame tyme, remouyng his ſea from Thetford, to the Citie of Norwige: there erected the Cathedrall Church with the cloyſter in the ſayd Citie of Norwige: where he furniſhed the Monkes with ſufficient liuyng and rentes of his owne charges, beſides the Byſhops landes. Afterward repētyng of his open and manifeſt ſimonie, he went to Rome: where he reſigned vnto the Popes handes his biſhopricke: but ſo, that incōtinent he receiued it agayne. This Herbert, was the ſonne of an Abbot called Robert, for whō he purchaſed of the kyng to be byſhop of Wincheſter, whereof runneth theſe verſes.

Filius eſt præſul,pater Abba,Simon vterq́;,
Quid non ſperemus ſi nummos poſſideamus:
Omnia nummus habet quod vult facit,addit & aufert
Res nimis iniuſta,nummus ſit præſul & Abba.&c.

Pope Victor the.3.

Pope Victor poyſoned in hys chalice.

A compariſon betwene Hildebrād Pope of Rome: and Ieroboam kyng of Iſraell.

The order of Charter mōkes beganne.

Ye heard a litle before of the death of Pope Hildebrand: after the tyme of which Hildebrand, the Germaine Emperours began to loſe their authoritie and right in the Popes election,and in geuing of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand,came Pope Victor by the ſettyng vp of Matilda, and the Duke of Normandye, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewiſe ſhewed himſelfe ſtoute agaynſt the Emperour. But God gaue the ſhrewd Cow ſhort hornes: For Victor beyng poyſoned (as ſome ſay in his chalice) ſate but one yeare and a halfe. Notwithſtandyng the ſame imitation, and example of Hildebrand cōtinued ſtill in them that followed after. And lyke as the kyngs of Iſraell followed moſt part the ſteppes of Ieroboam, till the tyme of their deſolation:ſo for the greateſt ſort all popes followed the ſteppes and proceedynges of this Hildebrand their ſpirituall Ieroboam:in maintaynyng falſe worſhyp,and chiefly in vpholding the dignitie of that ſea,againſt all rightfull authoritie, and the lawfull kyngdome of Syon. In the tyme of this Victor,began the order of the Monkes of Charterhouſe,through the meanes of one Hugo Byſhop of Gracionople,and of Bruno Byſhop of Colen.

Pope Vrbanus the.2.

Two Popes in Rome.

The order of Ciſtercian or whyte monkes beganne.

Next to Victor ſate Vrbanus the.ij.by whom the actes of Hildebrand were confirmed, & alſo new decrees enacted agaynſt Henricus the Emperour. In this tyme were two popes at Rome: Vrbanus & Clemens.iij. whom the Emperour ſet vp. Vnder Pope Vrbane, came in the whyte Monkes of Ciſterciane order, by one Stephen Hardyng a Monke of Sherborne(an Engliſhman)by whom this order had his begynnyng in the wildernes of Ciſtery, within the prouince of Burgoyne as witneſſeth Ceſtrēſis. Other write that this Hardyng was the ij. Abbot of that place, & that it was firſt founded by the meanes of one Robert Abbot of Moliſme in Ciſtercium,a Foreſt in Burgundy. an. 1098.(perſuaded perchaunce by Hardyng) and afterward in the yeare of our Lord.1135.it was brought into Englād by a certaine man called Eſpek, which builded an Abbay of the ſame order called Meriuale. In this order the mōkes did lyue by the labour of their handes. They payd no tythes nor offrynges. They weare no furre nor lynyng. They weare red ſhoes their coules white, and coate blacke, all ſhorne ſaue a litle circle. They eate no fleſh but onely in their iourney. Of this order was Bernardus.&c.

Synodus Romana vel Placentina.

This Vrbanus held diuers Councels:one at Rome, where he excommunicated all ſuch lay perſons, as gaue inueſtiture of any Eccleſiaſticall benefice. Alſo all ſuch of the Clergy as abiected themſelues to be vnderlynges or ſeruauntes to lay perſons for Eccleſiaſticall benefices.&c.

Synodus Claromontana.

The viage vnto the holy land. The number that went. The captaines of them which wēt to the holy land.

An other Councell he held at Clermount in Fraunce. Where among other thynges the Byſhop made an Oration to the Lordes beyng there preſent, concernyng the viage & recoueryng of the holy land, from the Turkes and Saraſins. The cauſe of which viage, firſt ſprang by one Peter a mōke or heremite:who beyng in Ieruſalem, and ſeyng the great miſery of the Chriſtians vnder the Paganes, made therof declaration to pope Vrbane, and was therin a great ſollicitor to all Chriſtian Princes. By reaſon wherof, after the foreſayd Oratiō of pope Vrbane.30000. men(takyng on them the ſigne of the croſſe for their cogniſaunce) made preparation for that vyage: whoſe Captaines were Godfrey duke of Lorayne with his two brethren,Euſtace ,and Baldwyne: the Byſhop of Podye: Bohemunde Duke of Puell, and his nephew Tancredus: Raymunde Earle of S.Egidius: Robert Earle of Flaunders , and Hugh le Graund,brother of Philip the French kyng. To whō alſo was ioyned Robert Courthoyſe Duke of Normādy with diuers other noble men,with the foreſayd Peter the Heremite,who was chief cauſer of that viage.

At that tyme , many of the ſayd noble men layd theyr lādes and Lordſhips to morgage,for to prouide for the forenamed viage:as Godfrey Duke of Lorayne, who ſold the Dukedome of Boloyne to the Byſhop of Eburone for a great ſumme of money . Alſo Robert Curthoyſe Duke of Normandy layd hys Dukedome to pledge to hys brother William kyng of England for x.thouſand poundes.&c.

An.1096

Thus the Chriſtians which paſſed firſt ouer Boſphorus:hauyng to their captaine Peter the Heremite (a man perchaunce more deuout then expert to guide an army) beyng trapped of their enemyes, were ſlayne & murthered in great number amōge the Bulgares,and neare to the towne called Cinitus.

The actes of the Chriſtians in their viage to Hieruſalem.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Conſtantinople(where Alexius was Emperour) paſſyng ouer by Helleſpontus goyng to Ieruſalem , they tooke the cities of Nicea,Eraclea, Tarſis,and ſubdued the countrey of Cicilia , appoyntyng the poſſeſſion therof to certaine of their Captaines.

Antioche taken of the Chriſtians.

1098.

Antioche was beſieged,and in the ix. moneth of the ſiege it was yelded to the Chriſtians by one Pyrrhus: about whiche ſeaſon were fought many ſtrong battayles to the great ſlaughter and deſolation of the Saraſins, & not without loſſe of many Chriſtian men. The gouernaunce of this Citie was committed to Boamunde duke of Puell,whoſe martiall knyghthode was often proued in tyme of the ſiege therof.

The ſlaughter of the Perſian infidels.

And not long after Corbona, maiſter of the Perſians chiualry was vanquiſhed and ſlayne, wyth an hundreth thouſand Infidels. In which diſcomfiture were taken 15000.camels.

Hieruſalem cōquered by the chriſtiās.

Ex Hēric.lib.7

Ieruſalem the 39.day of the ſiege was conquered by yͤ Chriſtians. Robert Duke of Normandy was elect to be kyng therof. But he refuſed,hearyng of yͤ death of K. William of England: wherfore he neuer ſped in all his affaires well after the ſame. Then Godfrey captaine of the Chriſtiā army was proclaimed yͤ firſt king of Ieruſalem. At the takyng of the Citie was ſuch murder of men,that bloud was congeled in the ſtreete the thicknes of a foote. Then after Godfrey raigned Baldwine hys brother. After him Baldwine the ſecond nephew. Then Gaufridus duke of Gaunt and after hym Gaufridus his ſonne:by whom many great battailes there were fought agaynſt the Saraſens,and all the countrey therabout ſubdued ſaue Aſcalō,&c. And thus much hetherto touching the viage to the holy land. Now to our owne land agayne.

The kyng of Englandes iudgement agaynſt the Pope.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

About this tyme (as Mattheus Pariſienſis wryteth) the kyng of England fauoured not much the ſea of Rome, becauſe of their impudent and vnſatiable exactions,which they required: neither would he ſuffer any of hys ſubiectes to go to Rome,alleagyng theſe wordes in the author thus expreſſed: Quòd Petri non inhærent veſtigijs, præmijs inhiantes,nec eius poteſtatem retinent,cuius ſanctitatem probantur non imitari : that is, becauſe they follow not yͤ ſteps of Peter,huntyng for rewardes,neither haue they the power and authoritie of hym , whoſe holineſſe they declare themſelues not to follow,&c.

Decrees of pope Vrbanus.

By the ſame Vrbanus : the ſeuen howers,which we call ſeptem horas Canonicas, were firſt inſtituted in the Church.

Item,by this pope was decreed, no biſhop to be made, but vnder the name and title of ſome certayne place.

Io. Stella.

Item,that Mattens and howers of the day,ſhould euery day be ſayd.

Nauclerus.

Alſo euery Saterday, to be ſayd the maſſe of our Lady: and all the Iewes Sabboth to be turned to the ſeruice of our Lady, as in the Councell of Turon, to the which ſeruice was appoynted the Antheme, Ora pro populo,interueni pro clero,intercede pro deuoto fœmineo ſexu.

Diſt.31. Eos qui.15.q.6.Iuratos.

Item,all ſuch of the clergy as had wyues to be depriued of their order.

Item,to be lawfull for ſubiectes to breake theyr othe of allegeaunce,with all ſuch as were by the Pope excommunicate.

30.q.8.quod autem.

Item, not to be lawfull both for huſbande and wyfe to chriſten one child both together,with matters many mo.

By the ſaid Pope,thus many chapters ſtand written in the canon law,Diſt.7.Sanctorum,diſt.31.Eos qui.1.q.1.Si qui diſt.56.præſbyterorum,11.q.3.quibus.15.q.6.Iuratos,16.q.7.congregatio.19.q.2.Statuimus.23.q.8.Tributum.30.q.4.quod autem.&c.

Example of Gods rightful iudgemēt in puniſhing cruell murther.

In the 6.yere of this kynges reigne: Malcolme king of Scots (which foure times before had made great ſlaughter of old and yong in the North partes,as is before ſhewed) brake into Northumberlād with all the power he could make,and there by the right iudgement of God was ſlaine with his ſonne Edward, and alſo Margaret his wyfe ſiſter to Edgar Adeling,aboue mynded, a vertuous and deuout Lady,within 3.dayes after.

Anſelmus made archb. of Cant.

The ſame yeare he gaue the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury (after that he had deteined the ſame in hys owne handes 4. yeares) to Anſelmus Abbot of Becke in Normandy.

This Anſelme was an Italian in the Citie of Auguſta borne,and brought vp in the Abbey of Becke in Normandy: where,he was ſo ſtraite a follower of vertue, that (as the ſtory recordeth) he wyſhed rather to be wythout

ſinne

The ſayings of Anſelme pondered.

The vice of ſingularitie.

ſinne in hell, then in heauen wyth ſinne. Which ſaying and wiſh of hys (if it were hys) may ſeme to procede out of a mynd neyther ſpeakyng orderly accordyng after ỹ phraſe and vnderſtandyng of the ſcripture, nor yet ſufficiently acquaynted wyth the iuſtification of a chriſten mã. Further they report hym to be ſo farre from ſingularitie: that he ſhould ſay it was the vyce, which thruſt the aungels firſt out of heauen, and man out of paradiſe.

Anſelme ill willing to take the archbiſhopprick.

Canterbury firſt geuen to the archbiſh. wholy.

Strife and contention betwene the kyng and Anſelmus.

Of thys Anſelme it is moreouer reported, that he was ſo vnwillyng to take the Archbiſhopricke, that the kyng had much a do to thruſt it vpon hym: and was ſo deſirous to haue hym take it, that the Citie of Caunterbury (which before Lanfrancus dyd hold but at the kynges good will & pleaſure) he gaue now to Anſelme wholy, which was about the yere of our Lord. 1093. But as deſirous as the kyng was then to place the ſayd Anſelme: ſo much did he repent it afterward, ſekyng all maner of meane to defeate hym if he myght. Such ſtrife and contention roſe betwene them two for certayne matters, the ground and occaſion wherof firſt was thys.

After that Anſelmus had bene thus elected to the ſee of Canterbury, before he was fully conſecrate, the king commoned wyth hym (aſſaying by all gentle maner of wordes to entreat him) that ſuch landes and poſſeſſions of ỹ church of Cant. as the kyng had geuen and graunted to his frendes ſince the death of Lanfrancus: they myght ſtill enioye the ſame, as theyr owne lawfull poſſeſſion, through his graunt and permiſſion. But to thys, Anſelme in no caſe would agree. Wherupon the kyng conceyuyng great diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, dyd ſtop hys conſecration a great ſeaſon: till at length in long proces of tyme, the kyng enforced by the daily complayntes and deſires of hys people and ſubiectes for lacke of an Archbyſhop to moderate the church, was conſtrained to admit & autorize hym vnto them. Thus Anſelme with much ado, takyng hys conſecration, and doyng hys homage to the kyng, went to hys ſee of Cant. And not long after the kyng ſayled ouer to Normandy.

Anſelme ſtopped from his conſecration.

Anſelme conſecrated.

Anſelme doth homage to K. Williã.

About this tyme there were two ſtriuyng in Rome for the Popedome, as is afore touched: Urbanus & Gubertus. Diuers realmes diuerſly conſentyng ſome to the one, ſome to the other. England takyng part with theyr kyng was rather enclined to Gubertus, called Clemens the 3. but Anſelmus dyd fully go with Urbanus, making ſo his exception with the kyng, entryng to hys biſhopricke. After the kyng was returned agayne from Normandy, ỹ Archbiſhop commeth to hym and aſketh leaue to go to Rome, to fet hys palle of Pope Urbane: which whẽ he could not at the firſt obtayne, he maketh hys appeale from the kyng to the Pope. Wherat the kyng beyng iuſtly diſpleaſed, chargeth the Archbiſhop with breach of hys fealtie, contrary to hys promiſe made, that is: if he, wythout hys licenſe, would appeale eyther to Urbane or to any other pope. Anſelme anſwereth agayne, that was to be referred to ſome greater councell, where it is to be diſputed: whether this be to breake a mans allegeaunce to a terrene Prince, if he appeale to the vicare of S. Peter. And here much arguyng & contendyng was on both ſides. The kynges reaſon proceded thus: The cuſtome (ſayth he) from my fathers tyme hath bene in England, that no perſon ſhould appeale to the Pope wythout the kynges licence. He that breaketh ỹ cuſtomes of the realm, violateth the power and crowne of the kyngdome. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traitour and enemy agaynſt me. &c. To this Anſelme replyeth agayne: The Lord (ſaith he) eaſily diſcuſſeth this queſtion, briefly teachyng what fidelitie and allegeaunce we ought to geue to the vicar of S. Peter, where he ſaith: thou art Peter, and vpon thys rocke will I builde my church, &c. And to thee I wyll geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bind in earth, it ſhalbe bound in heauen: and whatſoeuer thou looſeſt in earth, ſhalbe loſed in heauen, &c. Agayne to them all in generall he ſayth: he that heareth you, heareth me: & who deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And in an other place he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of myne eye. On the other ſide, what duty we owe to the kyng, he ſheweth alſo. Geue (ſayth he) to the Emperour, what belongeth to the Emperor, and to God, geue that to God belongeth. Wherfore in ſuch thynges as belong to God, I will yelde and muſt yeld by good right and duety, my obedience to the vicare of S. Peter: and in ſuch thynges as belong agayne to terrene dignity of my prince, in thoſe I will not deny to hym my faithfull helpe and counſell, ſo far as they can extende.

Urbanus & Clemẽs ſtriuing for the papacie.

Englãd fauored Clemẽs.

Anſelmus holdeth with Urbanus.

Anſelme denied leaue to goe to Rome

Anſelme appealeth from the king to the Pope.

Anſelme charged for a traytour.

The kinges argument agaynſt Anſelme.

The cuſtome of England, from Williã Cõquerours time not to appeale to the Pope.

Anſelmes reply againſt the kyng.

The reaſons of Anſelme to proue the popes authoritie aboue other kyngs.

Anſelme here ignorãtly calleth the Pope the vicare of S. Peter, where the cãno law calleth hym but the ſucceſſour of Peter, & vicar of Chriſt.

Thus haue ye the grounded argumentes of this prelate, to ſtand ſo ſtifly agaynſt his prince: whereunto peraduenture was ioyned alſo ſome peece of a ſtubburne hart. But in this concluſion, none of hys fellow Byſhops durſt take his part, but were all agaynſt hym: namely William Byſhop of Dureſme. To whom Anſelme thus proteſteth ſaying: whoſoeuer he were that would preſume to proue it any breache of allegiance or feaulty to hys ſoueraigne, if he appealed to the vicar of S. Peter, he was ready to anſwere at all tymes to the contrary: the byſhop of Dureſme anſwering agayne, that he which would not be ruled by reaſon, muſt with force be conſtrained &c. The king hauing on his part ỹ agreement of the biſhops, thought to depriue the archbiſhop both of his paſtorall ſea, and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpoſe: for Anſelme as he was ready to depart the realme, hee ſayd: whenſoeuer he went he would take his office and authoritie with him, though he tooke nothing els. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the meane ſeaſon the king had ſent priuely two meſſengers to pope Urbane, to intreat him to ſend his pall to the king, for him to geue it where he would. Which meſſengers, by this time were returned againe, bringing with them frõ Rome Gualter biſhop of Albane the popes Legate, with the pall to be geuen to Anſelme. This Legate firſt landing at Douer, from thence came priuely (vnknowing to Anſelme) to the king: declaring and promiſing that if Urbane was receaued pope in England, whatſoeuer the king required to be obtayned, he by his priuiledge from the apoſtolicall ſea would ratifie and confirme the ſame: ſaue onely, that when the king required of the Legate that Anſelme might be remoued, the Legat therunto would not agree, ſaying: that was vnpoſſible to be obtayned that ſuch a man as he, being lawfully called, ſhould be expelled without manifeſt cauſe. In concluſion ſo it folowed, that although he could not obtaine his requeſt of the Legate, yet the Legate wrought ſo with the kyng, that Urban was proclaymed lawfull Pope through all the realme.

All the byſhops of the realme ſtoode of the kynges ſide againſt Anſelmus.

William byſhop of Dureſme.

Gualterus the Popes legate cõmeth to Englãd.

Anſelme could not be remoued by the kyng.

The pope taketh this no fault, for a ſubiect to repugne againſt hys kyng.

Then were ſent to Anſelmus certayne Byſhops, to moue and proue his mynde: declaring what charges and paynes the kyng had beene at in his behalfe, to procure the palle for hym frõ Rome, which otherwiſe would haue ſtoode hym in great expences: and that all thys, the kyng had done for his ſake. Wherefore it were good reaſon and conuenient that he (to gratefie the kyng) ſhould ſomthyng condeſcend to hys requeſt agayne. But wyth all thys, Anſelme the ſtout Archbyſhop would not be moued. Wherefore the kyng ſeeyng none other remedy: was compelled to graunt vnto hym the full right of hys archbyſhopricke. And ſo the day appointed when the pall ſhould be brought to Cãterbury (beyng caryed wyth all ſolemnitie in a thyng of ſiluer) the archbyſhop with a great concourſe of people, came forth barefoote, wyth his prieſtly veſtimentes, after a moſt goodly maner, to meete ỹ ſame. And ſo being brought in, was layde vpon the aulter, whyleſt Anſelme (ſpreading ouer his ſhoulders his popiſhe veſtmentes) proceeded vnto hys popiſhe maſſe.

The ſtoutnes of Anſelme ſtādyng againſt his king.

The maner of bringing in Anſelmes palle into Cant.

Thus agreement beyng made betweene the kyng and the byſhop, ſo long as it would hold: it happened the yeare following, the kyng wyth his armye entred into Wales to ſubdue ſuch as there rebelled agaynſt him. After the victory gotten, the kyng returned home agayne with triumph. To whom Anſelme thought to haue come, to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe. But the kyng preuented hym by meſſengers: laying to the byſhops charge both the ſmal number, and euill ſeruice of his ſoldiours ſent to hym at hys neede. At ỹ hearing herof, all ỹ hope of Anſelme was daſht: who at ỹ ſame preſẽt had thought to haue obtayned & done many great matters wyth the kyng, touching the ſtate of the Church. But here, all turned contrary to his expectation. In ſo much that he was charged agaynſt the next court of parliament, to make his anſwere. But he auoyded that by appealyng to Rome. Wherefore he made hys ſute and frendes to the kyng for licenſe to goe to the Pope. Unto the which ſute, the kyng anſwered againe, that he ſhould not goe, neyther was there any cauſe for hym ſo to doe: for that both he knew hym to be of ſo ſounde a life, that he had done no ſuch offence whereof he needed to craue abſolution at Rome: neither was there any ſuch lacke of ſcience and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counſel there. In ſo much (ſayth the kyng) that I dare ſay, Pope Urbane, rather hath to geue place to the wyſedome of Anſelme, then Anſelme to haue neede of Urbane. Wherefore as he hath no cauſe to goe, ſo I charge hym to tarry. And if he continue in hys ſtubbernes ſtyll, I will aſſuredly ſeaſon vpon his poſſeſſions, and conuert hys archbyſhopprick vnto my coffers: for that he tranſgreſſeth and breaketh hys fidelitie and obeiſance, promyſing before to obſerue all the cuſtomes of my kyngdome. Neyther is it the faſhion in thys Realme, that any of my Nobles ſhould goe to Rome

An other quarell of the kyng againſt Anſelme.

Anſelme agayne appealeth to Rome.

The kings anſwere to Anſelme for his appealing to Rome.

The cuſtome of Englãd, no prelate or noble mã to goe to Rome wythout the kings ſending.

without my ſending. And therefore, let him ſweare vnto me, that he ſhall neuer for any greuance, appeale hereafter to the ſea of Rome, or els let hym voyde my realme.

The anſwere of Anſelme to the kyng.

Agaynſt theſe wordes of the kyng, Anſelme thinkyng not beſt to reply agayne by any meſſage, but by worde of mouth: commyng hymſelfe perſonally to the kyng, placeth hymſelfe (after his order) on the right hand of the prince: where he made his reply vnto the meſſage ſent to hym by the kyng. Whereas ye ſay, I ought not to goe to Rome, eyther for lacke of any treſpaſſe, or for aboundaunce of cõſaile and knowledge in me (albeit I graunt to neither of them as true) yet what the truth is therein, I referre it to the iudgement of God. And where as ye ſay that I promiſed to kepe and obſerue your cuſtomes: that I graunt, but with a condicion: ſo farre to kepe them, and ſuch of them to obſerue, as were conſonant to the lawes of God, & ruled with right and equitie. Moreouer where as ye charge me with breach of my fidelitie and allegeance, for that contrary to your cuſtomes I appeale to the ſea Apoſtolicke (my reuerence and dutie to your ſoueraigntie reſerued) if an other would ſay it, that is vntrue. For the fidelitie and obeyſance that I owe to thee (O kyng) I haue it of the fayth and fidelitie of God, whoſe Vicar S. Peter is: to whoſe ſeat I do appeale. Farther, wheras ye require me to ſweare, that I ſhal for no cauſe hereafter at any time appeale to Rome: I pronounce openly that a chriſtian prince requireth ſuch an othe of hys Archbiſhop vniuſtly. For if I ſhould forſweare S. Peter, I ſhould deny Chriſt. And when I ſhall at any tyme deny Chriſt, then ſhall I be content and redy to ſtand to my ſatiſfaction of my trãſgreſſion to you, for aſkyng licenſe to go to Rome. And peraduenture when I am gone, the goodes of the church ſhall not ſo ſerue your temporall deſires and commodities as ye wene for. At theſe wordes of the Biſhop, the king and his nobles were not a litle incenſed: defending agayne, that in obſeruyng the kinges cuſtomes, there was neither condicion nor any clauſe put in, either of God or right. No was, ſaid Anſelme? If ſo be that in your cuſtomes was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould be bound to any cuſtomes, which go contrary to god and to right: Thus on both ſides paſſed much altercation betwene them. At length, the king after many threatnyng wordes, told hym he ſhould cary nothing out of the realme with hym. Well ſayd the biſhop, if I may neither haue my horſe, nor garmentes with me, then will I walk on foote. And ſo addreſſed hym toward his iourney (all the other biſhops forſakyng hym) wherof none would take his part: but if he came to them for their counſaile, they ſaid he was wiſe inough, and neded not their counſaile, as who for his prudence knew beſt what was to be done, as alſo for hys holineſſe was willing and able to proſecute the ſame that he dyd know. As for them, they neither durſt nor woulde ſtand agaynſt ȳ kyng their lord: whoſe fauour they could not lacke, for the perill that might happen both to themſelues and to their kinrede. But for hym becauſe he was both a ſtraunger, and voyde of ſuch worldly corruptiõ in hym: they willed him to go forward as he had begõ, their ſecrete cõſent he ſhould haue, but their open voyce they would not geue him. Thus Anſelmus remaynyng at Douer 15. dayes tarying for winde: at laſt ſped hym toward hys paſſage. But hys packing beyng ſecretly knowen in the court: the kinges officer (Williã Warlwaſt) preuented hys purpoſe: ſerching by the kinges commaundement all his truſſes, coffers, ſatchels, ſleues, purſe, napkin and boſome for letters, and for mony, and ſo let hym paſſe. Who ſayling into Fraunce, firſt reſted a while at Lions, from thence came to Rome to cõplayne to Pope Vrbane, accordyng to the tenor & forme of a certayne Epiſtle of his, wherein among many other thynges in the ſame Epiſtle conteined: theſe wordes he writeth to Pope Paſchalis, the third yeare after hys baniſhment, after the death of Vrbane, and a little before the death of the kyng.

Note the hye treaſons, of Anſelme.

The Byſhops left Anſelme alone.

Anſelme flying out of England.

Anſelme ſearched by the kinges officer for letters.

¶ To the Lord and reuerend father Paſchalis, hygh Byſhop: Anſelme ſeruaunt of the church of Cant. offereth due ſubiection from his hart, and prayers, if they can ſtand in any ſtede.

Ex Epiſt. 36. Paulo poſt initium.

A fragment or portiõ of a letter of Anſelme to Pope Paſcalis. Et ex legẽda Anſelmi, aut. Edmero. Ex epiſtol. Anſel. 36.

I See in England many euils, whoſe correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor ſuffer without myne owne fault. The kyng deſireth of me, that vnder the name of right I ſhould conſent to hys pleaſures, which were agaynſt the law and wil of God. For he would not haue the Pope receaued nor appealed vnto in england, without his cõmaundement: neither that I ſhould ſend a letter vnto hym, or receaue any from hym: or that I ſhould obey his decrees. He ſuffered not a Councell to be kept in his realme, now theſe 13. yeares ſince he was kyng. In all theſe things and ſuch like, if I aſked any cõſaile, all my ſuffragane byſhops of his realme, denied to geue me any counſayle, but accordyng to the kynges pleaſure. After that I ſaw theſe and ſuch other thynges, that are done agaynſt the wil & law of God: I aſked licẽſe of him to go to Rome, vnto the ſea Apoſtolicall, that I might there take cõſayle for my ſoule, and the office cõmitted to me. The kyng ſayd, that I offended agaynſt hym for the onely aſkyng of licẽſe: And propounded to me, that either I ſhould make hym amendes for the ſame as a treſpas (aſſuryng hym neuer to aſke this licenſe any more nor to appeale to the pope at any tyme hereafter) or els ȳ I ſhould quickly depart out of his land. Wherfore choſing rather to go out of the land, then to agree to ſo wicked a thyng: I came to Rome, as ye know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord pope. The kyng by and by (as ſoone, as I went out of England) inuaded the whole Archbyſhopricke, and turned it to hys owne vſe: taryng the monkes onely with bare meate, drinke, & clothe. The kyng beyng warned and deſired of the Lord Pope to amende this, he contemned the ſame: and yet continueth in his purpoſe ſtill. And now is the thyrd yeare ſince I came thus out of England, and more. Some men not vnderſtandyng, demaunde why I do not excommunicate the kyng. But the wiſer ſorte, and ſuch as haue vnderſtandyng counſayle me, that I do not this thyng: becauſe it belongeth not to me both to cõplayne, and to puniſh. To conclude, I was forewarned by my frendes that are vnder the king, that my excommunication (if it ſhould be done) would be laughed to ſcorne and deſpiſed, &c.

The king would not haue the pope receaued, nor appealed vnto in England. Anſelme cõplayneth of the kyng & of his ſuffragane byſhops.

The kyng contemneth the popes warning.

By theſe here aboue prefixed, appeareth how Anſelme the Archbyſhop commyng to Rome, made his complaynt to Pope Vrbane of the kyng: and how the Pope writyng to the kyng in the behalfe of Anſelme: his letters and commaundementes were deſpiſed. And now to our ſtory. In the meane time while the Popes letters were ſent to the king, Anſelme was byd to wayt about the Pope to looke for anſwere backe. Who perceauyng (at lẽgth) how litle the kyng reputed the Popes letters, began to be wery of his office: deſiryng the Pope, that he might be diſcharged therof. But the Pope in no caſe would thereto conſent, chargyng hym vpon his obedience, that where ſoeuer he went, he ſhould beare with hym the name and honour of the Archbyſhop of Cant. Whereunto, Anſelmus agayne ſayd: his obedience, he neither durſt nor would refuſe, as who for Gods cauſe was ready to ſuffer, what ſoeuer ſhould happẽ (yea though it were death it ſelfe) as he thought no leſſe would follow therof. But what ſhould we thinke (ſayth he) is there to be done, where not onely iuſtice taketh no place, but is vtterly oppreſſed: and where as my ſuffraganes not onely do not helpe (for dreade) the righteous cauſe: but alſo for fauour do impugne the ſame. Well (ſayth the Pope) as touchyng theſe matters, we ſhall ſufficiently prouide for at the next Councell at Baron: where as I will you the ſame tyme and place to be preſent.

Concilium Baronenſe.

Anſelme and his ſucceſſours of Cant. placed at the right foote of the pope in generall councels.

When the tyme of the Councell was come, Anſelme among other was called for. Who firſt ſittyng in an vtter ſide of the Byſhops, afterward was placed at the right foote of the Pope, with theſe wordes: Includamus hunc in orbe noſtro tanq̃ alterius orbis Papam. Whereupon, the ſame place after him was appoynted to the ſucceſſors of the ſea of Cãt. (in euery generall Councell by the decree of Vrbane) to ſit at the right foote of the pope. In this Cõucell, great ſturre & much reaſonyng there was agaynſt the Grecians, cõcernyng ȳ matter & order of procedyng of ȳ holy Ghoſt. Where is to be noted, that the Greeke Church, hath of long tyme diſſented from the Latin Church in many & ſondry points, to the number of xx. or almoſt of xxix. Articles, as I haue them collected out of the Regiſter of the Church of Hereford. Wherof lyke as occaſiõ hereafter may ſerue (God willyng) for a further & more ample tractation to be made: ſo here by ȳ way partly I mynde to touch ſome. The firſt is.

De proceſſione Spiritus ſancti.

The difference betwene the greek church & the latine.

¶ Wherein the Greeke Churche differeth from the Latine.

Ex Regiſtro eccleſ. Herfordenſis.

The firſt Article wherin the Greek Church altereth frõ the Latin or Romiſh Church is this. Quòd ſunt extra obediẽtiam Romanæ eccleſiæ, pro eo quòd eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana non eſt ſubiecta, ſed ei æqualis.

1. Dicunt Dominum Apoſtolicum non habere maiorem poteſtatem, q̃ iiij. Patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter ſcientiã eorum per Papam, vel ſine eorum approbatione, nullius eſt valoris, &c. In Engliſh. Firſt they are not vnder the obedience

The articles and opiniōs of the greeke Church diſſencing from the Latine Church of Rome.

ence of the Church of Rome, becauſe that the Church of Conſtantinople is not ſubiect, but equall to the ſame.

2. They hold that the Byſhop of the Apoſtolicke ſea of Rome, hath no greater power thē the 4. Patriarches. And what ſoeuer the pope doth beſide their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no valor.

3. Item they ſay, what ſoeuer hath bene done or cōcluded ſince the ſecond generall Councel, is of no full authoritie, becauſe from that tyme they recounte the Latines to be in errour, and to be excluded out of the holy Church.

4. Item Dicunt Euchariſtiam conſecratam per Romanā Eccleſiam non eſſe verum corpus Chriſti. i. They hold the Euchariſt conſecrated by the Church of Rome, not to be the very body of Chriſt. Alſo where the Romiſhe Church doth conſecrate in vnleauened bread, they cōſecrate in bread leauened.

5. Item they ſay, that the Romiſh Church doth erre in the wordes of Baptiſme for ſaying, I baptiſe thee, when they ſhould ſay: let this creature of God be baptiſed. &c.

6. They hold moreouer, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the Church do auayle the dead, either to leſſe the paine of them, that be deſtinate to hell, or to increaſe the glory of them that be ordained to ſaluation.

7. Itē they hold, that the ſoules out of the bodyes departed (whether they haue done good or euill) haue not their perfect payne, nor glory: but are reſerued in a certaine place, till the day of iudgement.

8. Item they condemne the church of Rome, for mixtyng cold water in their ſacrifice.

9. Item they condemne the church of Rome, for that as well women as Prieſtes annoynt children (whē they baptiſe them) on both ſhoulders.

10. Item Dicunt panem noſtrum panagiam. i. They call our bread Panagia.

11. Item they blame the Church of Rome, for celebratyng their Maſſe on other dayes beſide Sondayes, and certayne other feaſtes appoynted.

12. Alſo in this the Greeke Church varyeth from the Latine, for they haue neither chreme, nor oyle, nor Sacrament of confirmation.

13. Neither do they vſe extreme vnction, or anoyling after the maner of the Romane Church, expoundyng the place of S. James of the ſpirituall infirmitie, and not corporall.

14. Itē they enioyne no ſatiſfaction for penaūce, but onely that they ſhew themſelues to the Prieſtes, annoyntyng them with ſimple oyle in token of remiſſion of ſinnes.

15. Item onely on Maundy Thurſday they cōſecrate for the ſicke: keepyng it for the whole yeare after, thinkyng it to be more holy vpon that day conſecrate, then vpon any other. Neither do they faſt any ſaterday through the whole yeare, but onely on Eaſter euen.

16. Item they geue but onely 5. orders as of Clerkes, Subdeacons, Deacons, Prieſtes, and Byſhops, when as the Romaine Church geueth ix. orders after the ix. orders of Aungels.

My copy here ſeemed to wante ſomewhat.

17. Moreouer, the Grecians in their orders make no vow of chaſtitie, alledgyng for them the 5. Canon of N. * Ego præſbyter vel Diaconus vxorem cauſa honeſtatis non reijciam. &c. i. I. N. Prieſt or Deacon will not forſake my wife for honeſty ſake.

18. Item, euery yeare the Grecians, vſe vpon certayne dayes to excommunicate the Church of Rome, and all the Latines, as hereticke.

19. Item, among the ſayd Grecians they are excommunicated, that beate or ſtrike a Prieſt. Neither do their religious men lyue in ſuch Prieſtly chaſtitie, as the Romane Prieſtes do.

20. Item their Emperour among thē, doth ordaine Patriarches, Byſhops, and other of the Clergy, and depoſeth the ſame at his pleaſure, alſo geueth benefices to whom he luſteth, and retaineth the frutes of the ſame benefices, as pleaſeth hym.

21. Item, they blame the Latine Churche becauſe they eate not fleſh, egges, and cheſe, on Friday, and do eate fleſh on Saterdayes.

This article ſeemeth not to be rightly collected, out of the Greciās.

22. Item, they hold agaynſt the Latine men, for celebratyng without the conſecrated Church, either in the houſe or in the field: And faſtyng on the Sabboth day: And for permittyng menſtruous women, to enter into the Church before their purifyng: Alſo for ſufferyng dogges, and other beaſtes, to enter into the Church.

23. The Grecians vſe not to kneele in all their deuotiōs, yea not to the body of Chriſt (as the regiſter termeth it) but one day in the whole yeare: ſaying and affirmyng, that the Latines be goates and beaſtes, for they are alwayes proſtratyng themſelues vpon the ground in their prayers.

24. The Grecians moreouer permit not the Latines, to celebrate vpon their altars. And if it chaunce any Latine Prieſt to celebrate vpon their altar, by and by they waſh their altare, in token of abominatiō and falſe ſacrifice. And diligently they obſerue, that when ſoeuer they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgy or Maſſe vpon one altare or table, that day.

25. Item, they diſſent from the Church of Rome, touchyng the order and maner, of the proceedyng of the holy Ghoſt.

These Articles wherin is declared the difference betwene the Eaſt and weſt Church, of the Greciās and Romanes, as I founde them articulate & collected in an aūciēt and autenticall Regiſter of the Church of Hereford: ſo I thought here to inſerte them, and leaue them to the conſideration of the Reader. Other foure articles mo in the ſame regiſter be there expreſſed, concernyng ſimony, vſury not with them forbydē, and touchyng alſo their Emperour, and how they teach their children to hurt or dāniſie by any maner of way the Latine Prieſts. &c. which articles, for that either they ſeeme not truly collected out of their teachings, or els not greatly pertinēt to the doctrine of Religion, I ouerpaſſe them. To the purpoſe now of our ſtory agayne.

Anſelme a ſtoute champiō againſt the Grecians.

When certaine of theſe aboue prefixed, were moued in the foreſayd Councell to be diſcuſſed, namely cōcernyng the aſſertion of proceedyng of the holy Ghoſt: and concernyng leauened bread in the miniſtration of the Lordes Supper. Anſelme, as is aboue ſayd, was called for, who in the tractation of the ſame Articles ſo beſturred hym in that cōcell, that he well liked the Pope, and them about hym, as myne author recordeth. Wherupon, touchyng the matter of vnleauened bread how indifferently he ſeemed there to reaſon: and what he writeth to Walcrame Byſhop of Nurenburgh therof, ye ſhall heare by a peece of his letter ſent to the ſayd Byſhop, the copy wherof here inſueth.

¶ *Anſelme ſeruaunt to the Church of Canterbury, to Valtram Biſhop of Nurenburgh.*

Epiſtola 325. poſt initium.

A letter of Anſelme ſent to Waltram B. of Nurenburgh. *Ex epiſt. Anſel. 325*

AS concernyng the ſacrifice in which the Greciās thinke not as we do: it ſeemeth to many reaſonable Catholike men: that which they do, not to be agaynſt the Chriſtian fayth, for both he that ſacrificeth vnleauened and leauened ſacrificeth bread. And where it is red of our Lord (whē he made his body of bread) that he toke bread and bleſſed: it is not added vnleauened, or leauened. Yet it is certaine that he bleſſed vnleauened bread (peraduenture) not becauſe the thyng that was done required that, but becauſe the ſupper in which this was done, did geue that. And where as in an other place he called himſelfe and his fleſhe bread, becauſe that as many as liue temporally with this breade, ſo with that bread he liueth for euer. He ſaieth not vnleauened or leauened, becauſe both alike are bread. For vnleauened & leauened differ not in ſubſtaunce as ſome thinke: like as a new mā afore ſinne, & an olde rooted man in the leauē of ſinne, differ not in ſubſtaunce. For this cauſe therfore only, he might be thought to call himſelf and his fleſh, bread, and made his body of bread, becauſe that this bread (vnleauened or leauened) geueth a tranſitory lyfe: and his body geueth euerlaſting life, not for that it is eyther leauened or vnleauened. Although it be a commaundement in the law, to eate vnleauened bread in the paſſeouer, where all thinges are done in a figure: that it might be declared, that Chriſt whom they loked for, was pure and cleane: and we that ſhould eate his body were admoniſhed to be likewiſe pure from all leauen of malice & wickednes. But now after we are come frō the olde figure to the newe truth, & eate the vnleauened fleſh of Chriſt: that olde figure in bread (of which we make that fleſh) is not neceſſary for vs. But manifeſt it is, to be better ſacrificed of vnleauened then of leauened, &c.

Bread in the communiō to be vnleuened is not neceſſary.

To this letter I haue alſo adioyned an other Epiſtle of hys to the ſayd Waltrame, apperteinyng to matters not much vnlike to the ſame effect: wherin is entreated touchyng the varietie and diuers vſages of the ſacraments in the church. Wherby ſuch as call and cry ſo much for vniformitie in the church, may note peraduenture in the ſame ſomethyng for their better vnderſtandyng.

A piece of an other letter of Anſelme to the ſayd Valtram biſhop of Nur.

To the reuerend father and his frend Valtram by the grace of God the worſhipfull byſhop of Nuremburge, Anſelme the ſeruaunt of the church of Canterbury greting &c.

Ex epiſt. Anſel. 327
An other letter.

Diuerſitie of vſages in the church to be borne wyth peace, rather then to be condemned with offence.
Diuers cuſtomes in the church hurt nothing.

YOur worſhip complaineth of the Sacramentes of the church, that they are not made euery where after one ſort, but are handled in diuers places after diuers ſorts. And truely if they were miniſtred after one ſorte and agreyng through the whole church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe there be many diuerſities which differ not in the ſumme of the ſacrament, in the ſtrength of it, or in the fayth, nor els can be gathered into one cuſtom: I thinke that they are rather to be borne with in agrement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we haue this from the holy fathers, that if the vnitie of charitie be kept in the catholique fayth, the diuerſitie of cuſtoms hurt nothing. But if it be demaunded whereof this diuerſitie of cuſtomes do ſpring: I perceiue no other cauſe therof, but the diuerſitie of mens wits. Which although they differre not in ſtrength and truth of the thyng: yet they agre not in the fitnes and comelines of the miniſtring. For that which one iudgeth to be meeter, oftentimes an other thynketh leſſe mete: wherfore not to agre in ſuch diuerſities, I thinke it not to ſwarue from the truth of the thing. &c.

Excōmunication denoūced againſt the Grecians.
Excōmunication bent agaynſt K. William.
Firſt breake hys head, and then geue him a playſter.

Then in the ſtory it followeth, after long debating and diſcuſſyng of theſe matters in the councell, when they had geuen forth their determination vpon the ſame: And the Pope had blaſted out hys thundring excommunications agaynſt the Grecians and all that take their part: at length was brought in, touchyng the complaintes and accuſation agaynſt the kyng of England. Upon the hearyng whereof, Pope Urbane wyth hys adherentes was redy to procede in excommunication agaynſt the kyng. But Anſelme knelyng before the Pope, after he had firſt accuſed hys kyng, then after obtayned for hym longer tyme to be geuen vpon further triall.

Meſſage betwene the kyng and the Pope.

A loude cracke of thūder, but without a thūderbolt.

A bribing miſtery hādled at Rome.

Cōcilium Romanū. Optimus conſiliarius nummus.

Thus the councell breakyng vp, the Pope returnyng agayne to Rome, directeth downe hys letters to the kyng, commaundyng hym that Anſelme with all hys partakers (in ſpedy wiſe) ſhould be reueſted agayne into his archbiſhopricke, and all other poſſeſſions therunto appertaynyng. To this the kyng ſendeth aunſwer agayne by meſſengers, who commyng to the Pope, declared in the kinges behalfe on this wiſe. That the kyng their maiſter dyd not a little meruaile, what came in hys mynd to commaund Anſelm to be reueſted and releaſed agayne into his former Archbiſhopricke, ſeyng he told hym before plainly, that if he went out of England without hys leaue, he would ſo do vnto hym. Well ſayth the Pope haue ye no other matter againſt Anſelmus but onely this? No, quod they. And haue ye taken all this trauell (ſayth the Pope) to come hether ſo farre to tell me thys, that the Primate of your countrey is therfore ſeaſed and diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe he hath appealed to the ſea & iudgement Apoſtolicall? Therfore if thou loueſt thy Lord ſpede thee home and tell hym, if he will not be excommuned, that he quickly reueſt Anſelme agayne, to all that he had before. And leſt I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, looke to thy terme, and ſee that thou bring me anſwer agayne from him into this citie, agaynſt the next Councell the third weeke after Eaſter. The meſſenger or ſpeaker beyng ſomwhat aſtonied at the hearyng of this ſo ragicall aunſwer: thinkyng yet to worke ſomethyng for his kyng and maiſter: came ſecretly to the Pope ſaying yͭ he would conferre a certaine myſterie from his kyng priuately with hys holineſſe betwene them two. What myſterie that was or what there paſſed from the kyng to the pope & the court of Rome, myne author doth not ſhew. But ſo cunningly yͤ myſterie was handled: that with a full conſent both of the Pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was geuen (from Eaſter to Mighelmas) and the Popes cholerike heat ſo aſſwaged: that when the councell came (which thē was holden at S. Peters church in Rome) albeit great complaintes were there denounced agaynſt the kyng: yet ſuch fauour was found, that he toke no harme. Onely the ſentence of excommunication was there pronoūced againſt ſuch lay perſons as gaue inueſture of churches, and them that were ſo inueſted. Alſo againſt them that do cōſecrate ſuch or which geue themſelues in ſubiection to lay men for eccleſiaſticall liuings, as is before touched, &c.

Actes of the coūcell of Rome.

This Councell beyng finiſhed, the Archbiſhop ſeyng the vnſtedfaſtnes of the Pope (which pleaſed hym but a little) tooke his iorney to Lions: where he continued hys abode a long tyme, till the death firſt of Pope Urban, then after of the kyng.

The hardines or rather raſhnes of K. William.

The ſaying of K. Williā, how he neuer knew any kyng drowned.

Of this kyng William, many things be diuerſly recorded, ſome to his commendation, and ſome to his diſcommendation: wherof this is one which ſome wyll aſcribe to hardineſſe, but I rather to raſhnes in hym. As this kyng vpō a tyme was in hys diſport of hunting: ſodenly worde came to hym, that Cenomana (a Citie in Normandy) was beſieged. The kyng without longer taryng or aduiſement, toke the ſtraight way toward the ſea ſide, ſendyng to hys lordes, that they ſhould follow after. They beyng come to hys preſence, aduiſed hym to ſtay, till the tyme his people were aſſembled, but he would not be ſtaied: ſaying, that ſuch as hym loued (he knew) would follow him ſhortly, & ſo went to take ſhip. The ſhipmaiſter ſeyng the weather ſo darke and cloudie, was afraid, and counſailed the kyng to tary till the wynde did turne about, and the weather more fauourable. But the kyng perſiſting in his iourney, commaunded hym to make all the ſpede he might for his lyfe (ſaying) that he neuer heard, that any king yet was euer drowned. And ſo paſſed the ſea in ſafetie, and came to Normandy.

The death of William Rufus.

Walter Tirrell.
The new foreſt.

Example of the iuſt hand of God reuēging the faultes of kings in their poſteritie.

The xiij. yeare of his reigne the ſayd kyng William hauing the ſame tyme in hys hand three byſhopricks, Cant. Wint. and Sarum: alſo xij. Abbeyes in ferme: As he was in hys diſport of hunting in the new foreſt, by glaunſing of an arrow (ſhot of a knight named Walter Tyrell) was wounded to death: and ſo ſpechles was caried to Weſtminſter, and there was buryed. Where alſo is to be noted, that Richard the coſen Germayne of K. William, and ſonne to Duke Robert hys brother, was likewiſe ſlaine in the foreſayd foreſt. See the iuſt hand of God vpon kynges, vſurpyng wrongfully vpon other mens groundes, as did William Conquerour their father, in making this newe foreſt: pluckyng downe diuers churches & townſhips, the cōpaſſe of xxx. myles about. Here therfore appeareth, that although men can not reuenge, yet God reuengeth either in them, or in their poſteritie. &c. This kyng as he alwayes vſed Concubines, ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behynde hym. Hys lyfe was ſuch, that it is hard for a ſtory: that ſhould tell truth to ſay, whether he was more to be commended, or reproued. Among other vices in hym, eſpecially is to be rebuked in hym vnmeaſurable and vnreaſonable couetouſnes: in ſomuch that he coueted (if he might) to be euery mans heire. This one example of a liberall and princely nature I finde in hym: that vpon a tyme, when a certayne Abbot of a place was dead, there came to his court two Monkes of the ſame houſe: who before had gathered much money, and made their frendes to the kyng, and offered large offers eyther of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was alſo the third Monke of the ſame place, which of meekenes and humilitie followed the other two: to the intent that vpon hym yͭ the kyng had admitted for Abbot, he ſhould geue attendance, and as his chaplayne to haue with hym recurſe. The kyng called before him the two mōkes ſeuerally, of whome the eyther outproffered the other. As the kyng caſt his eye aſide, he eſpyed the third monke ſtanding by, ſuppoſing that his commyng had bene alſo for the like cauſe. Then the kyng callyng hym, aſked what he would doe, whether he would geue more then his brethren had offred, to be Abbot. He anſwered to the kyng, and ſayde: that he neyther had (nor would yf he might) offer any peny for it, by any ſuch vnlawfull meane.

Couetouſnes noted in K. William.
A famous example of bribes refuſed.

Two bribing mōkes both diſapointed.

When the kyng had well pondered thys third monkes anſwere, he ſayd that he was beſt worthy to be Abbot, and to haue the rule of ſo holy a charge: and ſo gaue vnto hym that benefice without takyng any peny.

Urban excōmunicated Henry the 4. Emperour.

Henry the 4 Emperour, by 4. Popes excommunicated.

Ludouicus earle conſpiring and rebellious agaynſt the Emperour.

Urbanus B. of Rome (who, as is ſayd ſucceded after Uictor) ruled the Church of Rome, about the ſpace of .12. yeares: and among his other actes, he excommunicated the Emperour Henricus yͤ fourth of that name, as a man not much deuout to that ſea of Rome: But yet a worthy and victorious prince he was, in whom albeit ſome vice perchaunce might be noted; yet none ſuch, wherfore any prelate or miniſter of Chriſt, ought to excite hys ſubiectes to rebell agaynſt publike authoritie of God appointed. Thys Emperour Henricus the iiij. was by 4. Popes ſeuerally excommunicate: firſt by Hildebrand, by Uictor, Urbanus, and Paſchalis. Which excommunication wrought ſo in the ignoraunt and blynde hartes of the people, that many (as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their ſworne alleageaunce) rebelliouſly conſpired agaynſt theyr kyng and Emperour. In number of whom, among the reſt, was one certayne earle named Ludouicus: to whom Waltramus Biſhop of the Church of Mergburgh (a godly and a faythfull man, as appeareth) doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhortyng and inſtructing hym in the office of obedience. Unto the which letters he likewiſe doth aunſwere agayne, by cauilling ſophiſtication, and by mere affection, rather diſpoſed to diſcord, then ſeeking ſinceritie of truth. And foraſmuch as in theſe two letters, the argument of Chriſtian obedience on both ſides is ſo debated by proofes and reaſons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruſe and vnderſtand: I thought therefore not to defraude the Engliſhe reader of the ſame, whereof peraduenture ſome vtilitie might be taken. The tenour of the Byſhops letter to the Earle here foloweth.

¶ The Epiſtle of Waltramus biſhop of Mergburgh, to the earle Ludouicus, exhorting to concorde and obedience.

1090.

Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.

VAltramus dei gratia id quod eſt, Ludouico ſereniſſimo principi cum inſtantia orationum, ſemetipſum ad omnia deuotiſſimum. Omni regno vtilis eſt concordia, deſiderabilis eſt iuſtitia. &c. **In Engliſh.**

Concorde & iuſt obedience neceſſary in a common wealth.

Valtrame by the grace of God beyng that he is: to Ludouike the noble prince, with inſtance of prayer offereth himſelfe ſeruiceable to all things. To euery realm concord is a thyng profitable, and iuſtice much to be deſired. For this vertue is the mother of godlines and the conſecration of all honeſty. Whoſoeuer ſeking after ciuile diſſention, & incenſeth other to effuſion of bloud: he is a murtherer, and partaker with hym: who euer gaping and thruſting for an others bloud, goeth about ſeeking whome he may deuour. You therefore, conſidering with your ſelfe (moſt noble prince) how God is the God of peace, and not of diſſention (ſo muche as in you doth lye) haue peace with all men. God is charitie, the deuill is hatred. The whole law & prophets conſiſt in loue and charitie. He that hateth and maligneth his brother, is a murtherer, and hath no part wyth Chriſt in the kingdome of God. This we read teſtified and proteſted both by him which is the truth himſelf, & by him which was the ſcholer of the truth: who vpon the breſt of the Lord (drinkyng a more ful draught of the veritie of the goſpel) reioyceth the citie of God with aboũdance of plẽtifull floods. In lyke maner the worthy veſſell of election, who beyng rapt vp to the third heauen (not by man but by reuelation of Ieſu Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying: let euery ſoule ſubmit hymſelfe to higher powers. There is no power ſayth he, but of God. He that reſiſteth power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. If that be true therfore, which certayne of our frendes do iangle among womẽ, & the vulgar ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdued to kingly power, then is it falſe which the Apoſtle teacheth, that euery ſoule muſt ſubmit himſelfe vnder power and ſuperioritie. But can the veritie lye? Or do we ſeke for experiment of hym, who ſpake in the Apoſtle, Chriſt the Lord? Or do we prouoke the Lord? Be we ſtronger then he? For what doth he but thinketh himſelfe ſtronger then the Lord, that reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God, for there is no power but of God. But what ſayth the prophet? Confounded be all they that ſtriue agaynſt thee O Lorde, and the men which repugne againſt thee, ſhall periſh. Rodolphus, Hildebrandus, Egbertus, with many other princes, reſiſted the ordinance of God in Henry the Emperour. And lo, euen as they had neuer bene, ſo are they now periſhed, and as their end was euill, ſo their beginnyng could not be good.

Diſobedience puniſhed of God.

Now therfore, for ſo much as they which be contrary to vs do earneſtly ſtriue agaynſt vs with their owne arguments, whereas of right (I dare referre me to your iudgement) we ought to vſe the authoritie of Chriſt and auncient fathers, before that, which our aduerſaries take out of their owne treaſurie. And becauſe I wil not refuſe the order of law in this behalfe, let it be the ende of the ſtryfe: that eyther I may be openly ſhamed before the people, eyther els (the victory fallyng on my ſide) we may winne you to the obedience of our ſoueraign Lord the emperor. Alſo take you heede to this ſaying: if any man do preache otherwyſe then that which is preached, let hym of you be accurſed. This curſe, I ſay doth not procede from any newe prophane authoritie, but is thundered downe from the iij. heauen. And of them which know not the righteouſnes of God, but go about to ſtabliſh their owne righteouſnes, and therfore be not ſubiect to the righteouſnes of God: I maye boldly ſay, let ſuch be accurſed. So may you well ſay, confounded be all they that proudly riſe vp agaynſt the Lord: but thy ſeruaunt (oh Lord) ſhall reioyce, for as thou haſte well ſayd, without me you can do nothing, ſo in iudgyng of the wicked, thou doeſt not condemne the iuſt. Who art thou that iudgeſt another mans ſeruant to his owne Lord whether he doth ſtand or fall.

Gal.

Iohn.

Rom.

The aunſwer of the Earle Lewes, to biſhop Waltram.

A rayling aunſwere to the former letter of byſhop Waltram.

THe Earle Lewys to the Lord Waltram, howſoeuer vnworthy or vnmeete he be for the name. Like as a good man frõ the good treaſure of the hart bringeth forth good fruite, ſo doth the euill man from the euill treaſure of the hart bring forth euill fruite. What arrogancie hath ſo poſſeſſed you, to prouoke my diſpleaſure, with ſuch iniurious contumelies? for in dede, thoſe my good Lordes and ſpiritual fathers, which ſtrengthen me in the way of righteouſnes: you railingly call them, bloudy men lyke vnto Sathan, and the wholeſome leſſons which they teach, you ſay they are but dreames of the common people amongeſt fooliſhe women. Hath God any neede of your iudgement that you ſhould ſpeake leaſings for hym? Iniquitie hath taught your mouth to follow blaſphemous tonges, ſo that wel may the Prophet ſay of you, he would not vnderſtand to do wel, he hath deuiſed wickednes vpon his bed. Although therfore you beyng altogether froward, haue onely ſpoken froward things: yet we haue determined to ſet a watch before your mouth, like as if a ſhameles perſon ſhould ſtande vp before vs, and the worde of God doth prouoke vs, ſaying. Anſwer a foole accordyng to hys owne foliſhnes, leaſt he ſhould ſeme wyſe in his owne opinion. Shall folly ſpeake & wiſedome hold his peace? Shall lies be freely vttered, & truth compelled to kepe ſilence? Shall darkenes couer the earth, and ſhall not the Lord ariſe and ſhine? yea rather the light hath lightened the darkenes, and darkenes hath not comprehended it. In conſideration hereof our hartes haue melted, and our zealous meditatiõ hath ſet vs on fire. We therfore ſpeake and cry, and the little foxes which vndermyne the Lordes vineyardes (as much as in vs is) we driue away fearing the threatning prophecy. You haue not withſtãded our aduerſaries, neither haue you made a bulwarke for the defence of the houſes of Iſraell, that you might be able to ſtand in battaile in the day of the Lord. Let them heare (I ſpeake not to you which haue eares and heare not, eyes & ſee not, which haue made darke the light that is in you) but let them heare (I ſay) that be wel diſpoſed, and haue eares to heare withall. As for you, you haue no vnderſtandyng, and if you haue you cloke it. Neither haue you any thing to ſay or to proue, by what reaſon we ſhould be ſubiect to the Lord Henry whom you call Emperour. And yet (as it is giuen vs to vnderſtand) you go about to perſwade, that of neceſſitie we ought to be ſubiect to him, and that by the argument of S. Paule. Let euery ſoule be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, he therfore that doth withſtand power, doth reſiſt gods ordinãce. The which ſentence of the Apoſtle, we ſay that you do euill conceiue, and therfore euil interprete: for if euery power be of God (as you do vnderſtand) what is ment by that, that the Lord doth ſpeake of ſome by the Prophet. They did raigne and were not made Princes by me, and I knew them not. If euery power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth ſay, If thyne eye offend thee, plucke it out, and caſt it from thee. For what is power, but the eye? Certainly, Auguſtine in the expoſition of this ſentence of the Apoſtle, let euery ſoule, &c. doth ſay that if the powers do commaund any thing againſt God, then haue them in contempt: but yet neuertheles feare them. Is there any iniquitie with God? is Chriſt the miniſter of ſinne? God forbid. What ſhall we therfore ſay? doth the Apoſtle preach cõtrary to the truth? Auguſtinus ſayth no: one winde filleth many pipes of diuers tunes. Therfore let vs heare the Apoſtle agreyng and expounding himſelfe, and deſtroying his enemy and auenger. There is (ſayth he) no power but of God. What followeth. He therfore (ſayth he) that doth reſiſt the power, &c. God forbid? doth nothyng follow, But what doth follow? Thoſe powers which be ordeyned of God truly: that is it we loke for. O crafty tongue, O hart imaginyng miſchiefe. O conſumyng breath that ſhall not returne, why haſt thou lyed to the holy ghoſt? Thine owne conſcience ſhall accuſe thee. Behold the wicked flieth and no mã doth purſue hym. Why would you ſuppreſſe the truth to the intent to deceiue? Why haue you ſtolne away the pithe and effect of this ſentence? For if theſe wordes ſhould be taken away from the midſt of the ſentence, it ſhould lie contrary to it ſelfe, inconuenient and halfe dead. The worde of the Lord is herein fulfilled. He that diggeth a pit for his neighbor, ſhall fall therin himſelfe. Verely you can neither excuſe you of theft, neither auoyd the puniſhmẽt due for the ſame. What (O vnhappy man) what ſhall you aunſwer to the iudge, when he ſhall require an accompt of his ſeruants

Well ſayd, when ye are not able to withſtand his wiſedome, call hym a foole.

Note how the earle here calleth light darcknes, & darcknes lyght.

He hath vttered more reaſon then you are able euer to aunſwere to.

Whether euery power is to be obeyed or no.

Oſee.8.

If euery power which offendeth his ſubiectes, is to be caſt out, thẽ hath this Earle made a fayre argument.

whom he putteth in truſt? ſeing you ſhal be ſet before him in the midſt, and proued a picker of your maiſters treaſure. Wherfore did you not feare the iudgement and execution, when as the giltines of offence doth require condigne puniſhment? The apoſtle through the holy ghoſt did foreſee that you and ſuch heretikes as you are ſhould ſpring in the church, which ſhould call good euill, and euill good: and that ſhould put darkenes in place of light, & light in place of darknes, which alſo ſhould take occaſion by the ſentences of truth to bring in error: When as he did ſet this before, there is no power but of God: to the intent that he might take away the coniecture of falſe vnderſtanding, for (ſayth he) thoſe powers that be, are ordained of god. Geue therfore an ordinary power, & we do not reſiſt, yea we wil forthwith do our homage. But I do maruell (if at the leaſt there remayne in you any one drop of bloud) that you are not aſhamed, to call the Lord Henry a king, or to allowe him any ordinary place.

How liuely theſe papiſtes deſcribe themſelues in their owne colour.

But Paule iudged the Emperour to be an ordinary power, when he appealed to him.

Is this a ſeemely order thinke you to geue place to wickednes, and to make a generall confuſion in mixyng good & euil, Gods and mans deuiſes together? Either do you thinke this good order, for a man to ſinne againſt his owne body, as (oh ſhamefull wickednes) to make his owne wife a common harlot, a miſchief not heard of at any tyme ſince the begynnyng of the world before now: or do you alow this for good order, when as the Lord ſayth, defend the widowes, eſpecially ſuch as require equity of Iuſtice, and then them to ſend away moſt filthely defiled? Mad Oreſtes doth proteſt him to be out of his wit that will ſay theſe thynges to be orderly or well done. Vntill this moſt miſerable time, nature hath euer loued ſecrecy, but your kyng geuen vp into a reprobate ſenſe, hath vncouered the priuities of nature, who hath not let to lay abroad all ſhamefaſtnes: we will not ſpeake of other thyngs which cannot be numbred, that is to ſay, burnyng of Churches, robberies, fieryng of houſes, manſlaughters, murders and ſuch lyke, the number wherof he knoweth and not we: for let vs ſpeake chiefly of thoſe things which moſt greue the Church of God. Harken therfore to true and not fayned thinges. Harken I ſay to matters of earneſt and to no trifles. Euery one that doth ſell ſpirituall dignities, is an hereticke: But the Lord Harry, who they call a kyng, doth ſell both Byſhoprikes and Abbathyes: for truly he ſold for money the Byſhoprikes of Conſtance, Bamberge, Menz, and many others. The Byſhoprikes of Ratilbone, Auguſta, & Straſebrough, he ſold for a ſword: and the Abbey of Fulda for adultery. And for filthy ſodomitry he ſold the byſhopricke of Mon. A wickednes it is to ſpeake or heare of ſuch a fact. The which things if without ſhame you will deny, he is to be condemned by the witnes of heauen and earth: yea and of the ſely poore idiotes that come from the ſmithes forge. Wherfore the Lord Harry is an hereticke. For the which moſt wicked euils he is excommunicate from the ſea Apoſtolike, ſo that he may not exerciſe either kyngdome or power ouer vs which be Catholicke. And whereas you burden vs with hatred of our brethren, know you that we purpoſe not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeale. God forbyd that we ſhould thinke Harry worthy to be accompted amongeſt our Chriſtian brethren, who in deede is reputed for an Ethnike and Publicane, in that he refuſed to heare the Church which ſo oft hath reproued him. The hatred of whom we offer vnto God for a great ſacrifice, ſaying with the Pſalmiſt: Lord ſhall not I hate them that hate thee? and ſhall not I triũphe ouer thine enemyes? I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemyes to me for thy ſake. The truth it ſelfe commending the worthines of this hatred, doth ſay: If any do not hate father and mother, brethren and ſiſters for my ſake, he cannot be my diſciple. We are not therfore iuſtly to be reproued of hatred, which do geue ouer our owne ſoule to be in the way of God: who in deede are commaunded to hate father and mother, and euery affection which doth withſtand vs for walkyng in the path of God. Hereof it commeth, that we labour with all our ſtudy and endeuour to beware of the enemyes of the Church, and them to hate. Not for that they be our enemyes, but Gods. Farther, where you do perſwade peace to be had with all men: you muſt remember what the Apoſtle doth put before, if it may be. But if it can not be that we can haue peace with them, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know the Lord our Sauiour, to commende not onely peace, when as he ſayth: my peace I geue vnto you, my peace I leaue vnto you? but that he is the peace, as ſayth the Apoſtle: he is the peace which made of both one: For he calleth hym our peace, ſpeakyng in commẽdation of the peace. Thinke not (ſayth he) that I came to ſend peace: For I came not to ſend peace, but the ſword. What is mẽt by this? Why is peace called a ſword? Or doth peace byd battell? Yea truly, to deſtroy the peace of the deuill. For the deuill hath his peace, wherof the Lord ſpeaketh: When as the ſtrong man keepeth his houſe, he doth poſſeſſe all his ſubſtaũce in peace. Oh how mightely doth the deuill keepe his ſouldiours and his houſe in this tyme: who with the ſhield of falſhode, & the helmet of vntruth, ſo doth defend him, that he will not ſuffer either arrow or darte of truth to pearſe him. Neuertheleſſe, our Lord being more ſtrongly armed, and fiercely commyng vpon your Giaunt, is able to ouercome him, and to take away his weapons, wherin he putteth his truſt. We are not therfore to be blamed, if we do deteſt that peace, more cruell then any warre. The which the truth it ſelfe dyd reproue, weepyng ouer Hieruſalem and ſaying: Truly, it greueth me this day to ſee ſinners in peace, beyng lyke vnto that peace, whereat the Pſalmiſt was offended. Whereas you condemne Pope Gregory, kyng Rodolphus, and Marques Eggerbertus, as men that haue dyed of an vnhappy death, and doe magnifie your Lord, becauſe he doth ouerlyue them: it doth plainly (forſoth) appeare that you remayne voyde of all ſpirituall conſideration. Is it not better to dye well, thẽ to lyue ill? They be truly happy, who ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake. By the ſame reaſon may you eſteeme Nero, Herod, and Pilate happy, in that they ouerlyued Peter, Paul, Iames Apoſtles, and Ieſus Chriſt. What can be ſayd more fooliſh and wicked then this opinion? Wherſore refrayne your bablyng toung from this blaſphemy, leaſt that you place your ſelfe in the nũber of them, which ſeyng the end of the iuſt to be glorious (themſelues doyng late and vnfruitfull penaunce, bewayling in the anguiſh of the ſpirite) ſhall ſay: Theſe be they who ſometyme we had in deriſion, and laughed to ſcorne: we beyng out of our wits, thought their lyues madnes, and their end to be without honor. Behold how they be allowed to be amongeſt the children of God, and their portiõ is amongeſt the Saints. Wherfore we haue erred from the way of truth, and the brightnes of righteouſnes dyd not ſhyne vpon vs. What did our pride auayle vs? And what profit dyd the boaſtyng of our riches bryng vnto vs? They are all vaniſhed away lyke a ſhadow. The which wordes we haue regiſtred vp into perpetuall memory, and we do deſpiſe euery attẽpt that ſhall lyft vp it ſelfe againſt the truth of God. And reioycing in troubles, we may be reproued, put to ſhame and rebuked, yea and finally be ſlayne and killed, but we will neither yeld, nor be ouercome. And with great triumphe will we reioyce in our fathers doings: of whom, you (as a beardles boy, and of ſmall knowledge) haue not rightly conceiued: who in deede deſpiſing Princes commaundementes, haue deſerued euerlaſtyng reward.

This is likely that the Emperour would make his owne wife a common harlot.

Euill will neuer ſay well.

By this argument how many popes may be proued heretikes.

Rather from the popes forge of lyes.

A zeale, but farre from knowledge.

And when they ſhall ſlay you, they ſhall thinke they do God great ſeruice. Iohn. xvi.

yea true, if he had compelled you to forſake the name of Chriſt, which he neuer did.

Oh how craftely doth Sathan here ſhape himſelfe to an Angell of light.

There is a certaine Chronicle in old Engliſh meter, which among other matters ſpeakyng of William Rufus, declareth him to be ſo ſumptuous and exceſſiue in pompous apparell, that he beyng not contented with a payre of hoſe of a low price which was .iij. ſhillynges: cauſed a payre to be brought of a marke, wherupõ his chamberlayne procuryng a payre much worſe then the other before, ſayd:

Ex vetuſto chronico.

That they coſtenyd a marke, and vnneth he thẽ ſo bought,
Ye belamy (quoth the kyng) theſe are well brought.

Wherby is to be noted what difference is to be ſene betwene the hoſe of Princes then, and the hoſe of ſeruyngmen now.

Appendix Hiſtoria.

After the tyme of this kyng William, the name of kyngs ceaſed in the countrey of Wales among the Britaines, ſince kyng Ris. who in the raygne of this kyng, the yeare of our Lord. 1093. was ſlayne in Wales. Ex cõtinuatione Rog. Houeden.

Kings ceaſed in Wales.

1100.

Kyng Henry the firſt.

HEnry firſt of that name, the iij. ſonne of Williã Cõquerour, ſucceedyng his brother Rufus: began his reigne in England, the yeare of our Lord. 1100. who for his knowledge and ſcience in the vij. liberall artes, was ſurnamed Clerke or bewclerke. In whom may well appeare, how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce, to the gouernmẽt & adminiſtratiõ of any realme or cõtrey. At the beginnyng, he reformed the ſtate and condition of the Clergy: releaſed the greuous paymentes: reduced agayne K. Edwards lawes, with emendation therof: he reformed ỹ old and vntrue meaſures, & made a meaſure after the lẽgth of his arme: he greatly abhorred exceſſe of meates & drinkes: many

Henry Beuclerke the firſt, king of England.

What learning doth in a prince.

Lawes of K. Edward reduced.

The meaſure of England made after the length of kyng Henries arme.

many thynges miſuſed before his tyme he reformed: and vſed to vanquiſh more by counſaile then by ſword. Such perſons as were nyce and wanton, he ſecluded from his Court. This man as appeareth, litle fauoured the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome. Soone after he was kyng, he maried Matilde or Maude: daughter of Malcolyn kyng of Scottes, and of Margaret his wife: daughter of Edward the Outlaw, as is before ſpecified: beyng a profeſſed Nune in Wincheſter, whom notwithſtandyng (without the popes diſpenſation) he maried by the conſent of Anſelme. By the which Maude he receaued .ij. ſonnes, William, & Richard: and two daughters, Maude and Mary, which Maude afterward was maried to Henry the .v. Emperour. &c.

Wanton perſons remoued out of the court.

Ex Math. Pariſ. Flor. hiſt.

In the ſecond yeare of his reigne, Robert his elder brother Duke of Normandy, who beyng occupyed in the Chriſten warres agaynſt the Turkes, and beyng elect (as ye heard) kyng of Hieruſalem, hearyng of the death of Rufus, refuſed the kingdome therof. For the which (as is thought) he neuer ſped well after. Thus the ſayd Robert, leauyng of the Lordes buſines, and returnyng into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came ouer into England, with a great hoſt to chalenge the Crowne. But by mediation of the Lordes it was agreed, that Robert ſhould haue yearely duryng his lyfe iij. M. markes, as was likewiſe promiſed him before, by king Rufus his brother. And whether of them ouer lyued the other, to be others heyre. And thus Robert departed agayne vnto Normandy, to the great diſcontentation of his Lordes there. But in few yeares after, the forenamed tribute of iij. M. markes, through the inſtance of Queene Maude, was releaſed to the kyng his brother. In proceſſe of tyme, variaunce fallyng betwen kyng Henry, and the ſayd Robert his brother: at length Robert in his warre was taken priſoner & brought ouer into England, and was put into the Caſtell of Cardiffe in Wales, where he continued as priſoner while he lyued.

Example what it is to leaue of the Lordes buſines.

Duke Robert taken priſoner.

In this time, as about the iij. yeare of this kyng: the hoſpitall of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minſtrel belongyng to the kyng) named Rayer. And after was finiſhed by Richard Whittyngton, Alderman and Maior of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day a lay ſtow of all ordure or filth, & the place where the felones & other tranſgreſſours of the kings lawes were put to execution.

The hoſpital of Bartholomew founded. Rayer, and Richard Whyttington founders of S. Bartholomewes in London.

Diuers ſtraite lawes were by this kyng prouided, eſpecially agaynſt theeues and felones: that who ſo were taken in that fault, no money ſhould ſaue him from hangyng.

Item, that who ſo did counterfaite falſe money, ſhould haue both his eyes, and nether partes of his body cut of.

Item, in the ſame Councell was decreed an order for Prieſtes to be ſequeſtred from their wiues, which before were not forbidden, accordyng as the wordes of myne author do purporte, whoſe wordes be theſe: Anſelmus prohibuit vxores ſacerdotibus Anglorum antè non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum, ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent. &c. Hen. Hunt.

Ex Henr. lib. 7 Anſelmus.

Item, it was then decreed, that Monkes and Prieſtes ſhould beare no rule ouer lay perſons.

Item, it was then decreed, concernyng broderyng of heare, and wearyng of garmentes.

Item, that the ſecrete cōtract betwene a yōg ladde and a yōg mayde ſhould not ſtād: with other thynges mo concernyng the excommunication of Sodomites. &c.

In the ſtory of William Rufus before, was declared how Anſelmus Archbiſhop of Canterbury departing out of the realme, went vnto the Pope. Who after the death of king William, was ſent for agayne by the foreſayde king Henry, and ſo returned agayne, and was at the Councell of the kyng at Weſtminſter: where the kyng in the preſence of the Lordes as well temporall as ſpirituall ordeyned and inueſted two Biſhops, Roger Biſhop of Saliſbury, and Roger Biſhop of Hereford. During which parliament or Councell of the king, Anſelmus in his conuocation depoſed and diſplaced diuers Abbots & other Prelates, from their rowmes and dignities: either for that they lawfully came not by them, or vprightly did not adminiſter the ſame.

The kyng ordayned and inueſted byſhops without the pope.

After this councell, and the other before ſet forth by Anſelmus, Herbert biſhop of Norwich, had much ado with yͤ prieſtes of hys dioceſſe. For they would neither leaue their wyues, nor yet geue ouer their benefices. Wherupon, he wrote to Anſelme yͤ archbiſhop for counſaile, what was to be done therin. Which Anſelme required hym (as he did other mo the ſame tyme, by writing) to perſwade the people of Norfolke and Southfolke: that as they profeſſed Chriſtianitie, they ſhould ſubdue them as rebels againſt the church, and vtterly to driue both them and their wiues out of the countrey, placing monkes in their rowmes, as by the epiſtles of the ſayd Anſelme doth appeare. Wherof certayne percels ſhall hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) enſue for the better euidence of this and the other his actes aboue recited.

Herbert byſhop of Norwyge diuorſing hys prieſtes frō their wyues had much a doe.

Anſelmus cruell and fierce againſt maried prieſtes.
Ex epiſt. Anſel. 176.

The like buſines alſo had Gerarde the Archbiſhop of Yorke, in depriuing the prieſtes of his prouince from their wiues: which thing with all his excommunications and thundringes he could hardly bryng about. Vpon this ſuffering of Anſelme with maried prieſtes, were rimyng verſes made to helpe the matter withall, whē reaſon could not ſerue. Which verſes for the folly therof, I thought here to annexe.

O malè viuentes verſus audite ſequentes,
Vxores veſtras, quas odit ſumma poteſtas
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum,
Quod ſi non facitis, inferna clauſtra petetis.
Chriſti ſponſa iubet, ne præſbyter iſte miniſtret:
Qui tenet vxorem, domini quia perdit amorem.
Contradicentem fore dicimus inſipientem,
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius ſed amore.

Verſus malè ſoriati, ex biblio Ramſey.

An. 1103.

About the end of the third yere of this king, which was the computation of our Lord, 1103. a variance fel betwene king Henry and Anſelme: the occaſion wherof was this. Ye heard a little before how Henry the foreſaid king had of his own authoritie inueſted two biſhops, one Roger which was his Chauncelour biſhop of Saliſbury: and an other Roger biſhop of Hereford. Beſides them diuers alſo he inueſted, and diuers other like thinges toke he vpon hym in the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, which he might lawfully do, Gods word allowyng well the ſame: but becauſe it was reſtrained by the biſhop of Rome for him ſo to do: this Anſelme ſwelled, fretted, and waxed ſo mad, that he would neither conſent to it, neither yet confirme them: nor communicate or talke frendly with them, whom the king had inſtituted and inueſted: but opprobriouſly called them abortiues, or children of deſtruction: diſdainefully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of religion and polluter of their holy ceremonies; as witneſſeth Polydorus. With this vncomely outrage the kyng was much diſpleaſed (as he might full well) and required Gerard the Archbiſhop of Yorke, (as he ought hym allegeaunce) to conſecrate them: who without delay ſo did, well performyng the ſame, ſauing that one William Gifford to whom the kyng had geuen the biſhoprike of Wincheſter, refuſed to take hys conſecration by the handes of the Archbiſhop of Yorke. For the which cauſe yͤ kyng worthely with hym offended, depriued him both of biſhoprike and goods, and baniſhed him the realme.

A ſtrife betwene kyng Henry and Anſelme the archb. of Cant.

Gifford biſh. of Wint. refuſeth to be conſecrate by the archbyſhop of Yorke.

Moreouer, the kyng required of Anſelmus the archb. of Canterbury, to do vnto him homage after the maner of his aunceſtors, as witneſſeth Guliel. de geſtis pontif. Angl. Alſo, it was aſked of the ſaid Anſelme, whether that he would be with the kyng in geuyng inueſtures as Lāfrancus his predeceſſor was with his father. To whome Anſelme ſayd, that he promiſed not in any tyme, that he would enter into this order, to kepe the law or cuſtome of hys father, as Lanfrancus did. Moreouer, as concerning homage to be done to the kyng, that he refuſed, alledging the Cenſures of the Popes excommunication: who in his councell of Rome a little before, had geuen forth open ſentence of excommunication, vpon all ſuch lay perſons (whatſoeuer they were) that ſhould from henceforth conferre or geue any ſpirituall promotions: alſo vpon them that receyued them at their handes, either yet ſhould conſecrate any ſuche receiuers. Moreouer, he accurſed all them that for benefices or other eccleſiaſtical promotions ſhould ſubiect themſelues vnder the homage or ſeruice of any great man, kyng, Prince, Duke, or Erle of the laitie. For it was vnſemely (ſayd the Pope) and a thing very execrable: that the handes which were conuerted into ſo high workyng, as was graunted to no aungell (that is, to create him with their croſſes, which created all, and to offer vp the ſame before the ſight of the father, for the ſaluation of the whole world) ſhould be brought to ſuch a ſlauery, as to be ſubiect to thoſe filthy handes, which both day and night are polluted wt ſhameful touchings, robberies, & bloudſhed. &c. This decree of Pope Vrban, Anſelmus alleaging for himſelfe: denied to ſubiect hymſelfe to the kyngs homage, fearyng (as he ſayd) the Popes excommunication. Vpon this, meſſengers were ſent to Rome on both partes, vnto the Pope (then Paſchalis) who ſtoutly ſtanding to the ſteps and determinations of Vrbane hys predeceſſor, would in

A ſtrife betwene K. Henry and Anſelmus Archbyſhop of Cant.
Ex Guil. lib. 1. de Geſtis.

Actes of the Romans councell agaynſt lay men to geue any ſpirituall promotions.

No ſpiritual perſon to be vnder ſubiection to any lay perſonage.

Ex Ieruſalenſi bibliotheca hiſtoria.

Anſelme refuſeth to do homage to hys kyng.
Meſſengers ſent to Rome.

no caſe yeld to the kinges inueſting.

Ex Matheo Pariſ.

Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de geſtis pont. Ang.

The king hath nothing to doe with the Pope hys letters.

In the meane tyme while there was long diſputation on both ſides for inueſting: the nobles of the realme contended, that inueſtinges did belong to the kings dignity: wherfore the king callyng for Anſelmus agayne, required hym eyther to do homage to hym or els to voyde hys kingdome. To whom Anſelmus replying agayne, required the Popes letters to be brought forth: and according to the tenor therof, ſo the matter to be decided. For now the meſſengers were returned from Rome with the Popes aunſwer, altogether bearyng with Anſelmus: Then ſayd the kyng: what haue I to do with the Popes letters. I wyll not forgo the liberties of my kingdome for any Pope. Thus the contētion continued betwene them. Anſelmus ſayeth, he would not out of the realme, but depart home to his church: and there ſee who would offer hym any violence, and ſo did. Not long after, meſſage came from the kyng to Anſelme, requeſting hym after a gentle ſort, to repaire to the kinges preſence agayne, to ſet an end of the controuerſie began: whereunto Anſelme graunted and came. Then were new ambaſſadours ſent agayne to the Pope, that he would ſomethyng qualifie and moderate (or rather aboliſh) the ſtreitnes of yͤ Romaine decree before mentioned. On the part of Anſelmus went two Monkes, Baldwinus and Alexander. On the kinges behalfe were ſent two biſhops, Robert biſhop of Lichfield, and Herbert biſhop of Norwich, with the kings letters written vnto the Pope, conteynyng in forme as followeth.

Meſſengers ſent agayne to Rome.

Patri venerabili Paſchali ſummo pontifici, Henricus dei gratia rex Anglorum, Salutem. Promotioni veſtræ in ſedem ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ plurimùm congaudeo, petens vt amicitia quæ patri meo cum anteceſſoribus veſtris fuit, inter nos quoq; illibata permaneat. Vnde, vt dilectio & benignitas a me videatur ſumere initium, beneficium quod ab anteceſſoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eoſq; honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei anteceſſores veſtri in regno Angliȩ habuerunt, tempore meo vt habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, vt dignitatis vſus & conſuetudines, quas pater meus tempore anteceſſorum veſtrorum in regno Angl. habuit: ego, tempore veſtro in eodē regno meo integrè obtineam. Notumq; habeat ſāctitas veſtra quod me viuente (deo auxiliante) dignitates & vſus regni Angl. non minuentur. Et ſi ego (quod abſit) in tanta me deiectione ponerem: optimates mei (immo totius Angl. populus) id nullo modo paterentur. Habita igitur (chariſſime pater) vtiliori deliberatione ita ſe erga nos moderetur benignitas veſtra, ne quid inuitus faciam & a veſtra me cogatis recedere obedientia.

In Engliſh.

The letter of K. Henry the firſt vnto the Pope.

To the reuerend father Paſchal the chief biſhop, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of England, greetyng. For this your promotion into the ſee of the holy church of Rome, as I am hartily glad: ſo my requeſt is to you, that the frēdſhip and amitie, which hath bene tofore betwene my father and your predeceſſors in tymes paſt, may now alſo betwene vs in like manner continue vndeminiſhed And that loue and gentlenes may firſt beginne of my part: here I ſend vnto you that gift that S. Peter had in foretime of my predeceſſors. And likewyſe the ſame honours and obedience, which your predeceſſors haue had in the realme of England before in the tyme of my father, I will you to haue the ſame in my tyme alſo: after this forme I meane, & tenor, that the vſage and maner of dignity & ſuch cuſtomes which my father hath had in this realme of England in the tyme of your auncetors, I in like ample maner alſo now in your tyme may fully enioy the ſame in this the ſaid realme of England. Thus therfore be it knowen to your holineſſe, that during this life of myne (God almighty ablyng me to the ſame) theſe aboue named dignities, vſages, and cuſtomes of this realme of England, ſhall in no part be leſſoned. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I ſhould) woulde ſo much deiect my ſelfe into ſuch cowardnes: yet my Nobles, yea the whole people of England in no caſe would ſuffer it. Wherfore (deare father) vſing with your ſelfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentlenes ſo moderate it ſelfe toward vs, leaſt ye compell me (which I ſhall do agaynſt my will) to receade and depart vtterly from your obedience.

Spoken lyke a kyng.

The kyng is at a point to leaue the popes obedience.

At the ſame terme alſo he ſent an other letter or Epiſtle to the ſayd Pope, crauing of hym the palle for Girardus Archb. of Yorke, the forme wherof, here alſo followeth.

Reuerendo & diligendo patri vniuerſali Papæ Paſchali Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglorum, ſalutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas quæ multum veſtros actus exornat. &c.

In Engliſh.

An other letter of kyng Henry the firſt ſent to the Pope.

To the reuerend & welbeloued father, vniuerſall Pope Paſchalis, Henry by the grace of God, king of England, greting. The great loue which I beare to you, and the no leſſe gentlenes in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings miniſtreth to me boldnes to write. And where as I thought to haue reteined ſtill this Gerardus with me, and to haue craued your palle for hym by letters: yet notwithſtanding, when hys deſire could not otherwiſe be ſatiſfied, but would nedes preſent himſelfe before your preſence, by his owne hart to craue of you the ſame, I haue ſent hym vp vnto you. Deſiring your benigne fatherhood in his behalfe, that he obtaining the palle at your handes, may be ſent home again to me. And thus requiring the aſſiſtance of your prayers, I pray the Lord long to conſerue your Apoſtleſhip.

This ſecond letter of the kyng in ſending for the Palle, was well taken of all the court of Rome, whiche (as mine autor ſayth) procured ſuch fauour to Girardus archbyſhop of Yorke, and bringer therof: that no complaint of his aduerſaries afterward could hurt hym with the pope. Notwithſtanding he was accuſed greuouſly for diuers things, and ſpecially for not ſtādyng to the conſecratiō of Anſelme archbiſhop of Cant.

A place of Polydorus Virg. founde faultie.

Polydorus in his xi. booke of his Engliſh hiſtory, affirmeth, that Anſelmus alſo went vp to Rome with Girardus, about the ſame cauſe. But both the premiſſes, and ſequele of the ſtory argueth that to be vntrue. For what neded the ij. Monkes to be ſent vp on Anſelmus ſide, if he had gone vp hymſelfe. Agayne, how could the pope write downe by the ſayd meſſengers to Anſelme, if he had there bene him ſelfe preſent? For ſo procedeth the ſtory by the narration of Malmeſbery and others.

Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de pont. Angl.

The Pope lothe to goe agaynſt hys owne profit.

After the Ambaſſadours (thus on both ſides ſent vp to Rome) had laboured their cauſe with inſtant ſute, one agaynſt the other: the pope glad to gratifie the kyng (yet loth to graunt his requeſt beyng agaynſt his owne profite, and therefore more inclining to Anſelmus ſide) ſendeth downe his letters to the ſayd Anſelme, ſignifying that he would not repeale the ſtatutes of his holy fathers for one mans pleaſure: charging him moreouer, not onely not to yeld in yͤ cauſe of inueſting, but conſtantly to adheare to the foreſayd decreement of pope Vrbane his predeceſſor. &c. Beſides this letter to Anſelme, he directed alſo an other to the kyng him ſelfe: whiche letter, myne autor ſaith, the king ſuppreſſed, & did not ſhew: onely declaring by word of mouth, what the embaſſadours had ſayd vnto him from the pope. Whiche was, that he permitted vnto him, the licence of Inueſting vpon condition, that in other thinges he would execute the office of a good prince. &c. To this alſo the teſtimonie of the ij. biſhops aboue minded, did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the ij. mōkes on the other ſide replied agayne, bringing forth yͤ letter of Anſelme to the cōtrary. &c. To them was aunſwered agayne, yͭ more credite was to be geuen to the degree and teſtimonie of the byſhops, then to theyrs: And as for monkes, they had no ſuffrage nor teſtimonie (ſayd they) in ſeculare matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. But this is no ſecular matter, ſayd Baldwyne abbot of Ramſey. Whereunto the nobles again on the kynges parte, aunſwered ſaying: that he was a good man, and of ſuch demeanour, as they had nothyng to ſay agaynſt him neither ſo would if they might: but yet both humane and diuine reaſon taught them ſo, to yeld more credite and confidence to the teſtimonie of iij. byſhops then of two monkes. Whereby may well appeare, that Anſelme at that tyme went not with them. Thē Anſelmus ſeyng the king and hys peeres how they were ſet: & hearing alſo the teſtimonie of the iij. byſhops, agaynſt which he ſaw, he could not preuaile: And alſo hauing the popes ſeale, whiche he ſawe to be ſo euident on the contrary ſide: made his aunſwere agayne, that he would ſend to Rome, for a more certenty of truth. Adding moreouer, that he neither would nor durſt geue ouer his cauſe though it ſhould coſt hym his lyfe, to do or procede againſt the determinatiō of the church of Rome, vnleſſe he had a perfect warrant of abſolution from thence, for his diſcharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that he ſhould not ſend, but goe himſelfe to Rome. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that iorney himſelfe, in his owne perſon, to preſent himſelfe to the pope, for the peace of the church and of his countrey. And ſo at the length by perſuaſion was content, went to Rome, and ſpake with the pope. In ſhort tyme after followeth alſo, the kynges Ambaſſadoure (William Warlwaſt) new elect byſhop of Exceter: who there pleading on the kynges ſide, for the auncient cuſtomes of the realme, and for the

He meaneth beſide the two biſhops Girardus which made the third.

Anſelme a deuout chaplayne to the church of Rome.

Anſelme iourneieth agayne to Rome.

kinges

The effect of the oration of W. Warlwaſt, at the popes court.

kinges right of Inueſting.&c. Firſt declared: how England of a long continuance, had euer bene a prouince peculiar to the churche of Rome, & how it payed dewly his yearely tribute vnto the ſame. Inferring moreouer how ÿ king, as he was of nature very liberall, ſo alſo of courage a prince ſtout and valiant. Then what a ſhame would he thinke it be to hym (as it were in dede) if he, who in might and dignitie far exceded all his progenitours, ſhould not defend and maintayne the liberties & cuſtomes by thẽ procured. Wherfore he deſired the pope to ſee to the matter, ſo as might ſtād both with the kinges honour, and alſo with his owne profite and aduātage: who otherwiſe no doubt, ſhould loſe a great peece of money out of the realme, vnleſſe he did remitte ſome thyng of the ſeueritie of his canons & lawes decretal.

With theſe and ſuch other perſwaſions lyke to the ſame effect, the court of Rome was well cōtented: agreyng that the kynges requeſt ought wyth all fauour to be graunted. But the Pope and Anſelme ſate ſtill marking their doynges. The ambaſſadour ſuppoſing their ſilence to be halfe a yeldyng to hym, added moreouer and ſayd: that the kyng, no not for the crowne of hys realme, would loſe the authoritie of Inueſting or admitting hys prelates, within hys dominion. Wherunto the proude pope aunſwering agayne, braſt out in theſe wordes: Nor I (ſayd he) for the price of hys head (as thou ſayſt) will loſe the geuing of ſpirituall promotions in England, and confirmyng it with an othe (before God ſaith he I ſpeake it) know it for a certaine.&c. Then it foloweth in the ſtory of Malmeſbery: with thys worde of the Pope, the myndes of the reſt were chaunged, ſaying: Benedicta ſit cordis tui conſtantia, benedicta oris tui loquela. The kynges atturney alſo was therwith daſhed: who notwithſtanding yet brought to paſſe, that certayne of ÿ kynges cuſtomes vſed before of his father, were releaſed vnto hym. At the which tyme, in the ſame court was decreed, that (the kyng onely, which had inueſted thē, beyng excepted) the other which were inueſted by the king, to be excommunicated: the abſolution and ſatiſfaction of whom was left to Anſelme the archbiſhop.

Ex Guliel. De geſtis pontifi. lib. 1.
Ex Math. Pariſ. lib. 3.
A proude anſwer of the Pope.

Excōmunicatiō abuſed.

Thus Anſelme beyng diſmiſſed from Rome, tooke his iorney toward England. But the ambaſſadour pretending to go to S. Nicholas remayned behinde, to ſee whether he could winne the Popes minde to the kings purpoſe. Which when he ſaw it would not be, he ouertaketh Anſelmus by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the kinges pleaſure. The king (ſaith he) geueth to you in charge & commaundement, that if you will come to England and there behaue your ſelfe to him, as your predeceſſors did to hys father, you ſhould be receiued and retayned in the realme accordingly: if not you are wiſe inough (ſayth he) ye know what I meane, and what wyll follow.&c. And ſo with theſe wordes parting from hym, returned againe to the kyng. Anſelmus remayned at Lyons a yeare and a halfe, writing diuers letters to the kyng, after this effect and wordes as followeth.

Anſelme reſtrayned frō comming to England.
Ex Rodulph. Lundinenſi.

¶To his reuerend Lord Henry king of England. Anſelme Archbiſhop of Canterbury, faithfull ſeruice with prayers. Epiſtola. 224.

A letter of Anſelme to K. Henry.

Although ye vnderſtād by William Warlwaſt what we haue done at Rome: yet I ſhall ſhortly ſhewe you that belongeth to me. When I came to Rome, I declared the cauſe wherfore I came to the Lord Pope. He anſwered that he would not ſwarue from the ſtatutes of hys predeceſſors. Furthermore, he commaunded me that I ſhould haue no fellowſhip with them that receiued inueſtinges of Churches at your handes after the knowledge of this prohibition, except they would doe penance & forſake that they had receiued, without hope of recouery: nor that they ſhould not communicate wyth the other Biſhops that had conſecrated ſuch men, except they would preſent themſelues to the iudgement of the Apoſtolike ſea. The foreſayd William can be a witneſſe of all theſe things if he will. This William when we departed a ſunder (reconing vp in your behalfe the loue and liberalitie which ye haue had alwayes towardes me) warned me as your Archbiſhop, that I ſhould ſhew my ſelf ſuch a one, that if I would come into England, that I might be wyth you as my predeceſſor was with your father: and ye might entreate me with the ſame honour and liberalitie, that your father entreated my predeceſſor. By which wordes I vnderſtand, that except I would ſhew my ſelfe ſuch a one, you woulde not haue me come into England. For your loue and liberalitie I thanke you: but that I ſhoulde be with you as my predeceſſour was wyth your father, I cannot doe it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take inueſtinges of Churches at your handes: becauſe of the foreſayd inhibitiō made, I my ſelf hearing it. Wherfore I deſire you to ſende me your pleaſure herein (if it pleaſe you) whether I may returne into England (as I ſaid) with your peace and power of mine office.

The proud ſtoutnes of a prelate in a wrong cauſe.

In the meane while, great buſines there was, and much poſting went to and fro, betwene the king, the Archbyſhop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: for neither would the Pope agree to the kyng, neither would ÿ kyng condeſcende to the Archbyſhop. At laſt, the Archbiſhop ſeing by no meanes he could preuaile againſt ÿ king: thought to reuenge himſelfe by excommunication, and ſo went about the ſame. The kyng hauing worde therof by the Counteſſe Adala his ſiſter, deſireth her to come to hym to Normandye, and bring Anſelmus wyth her: wherupon (through the meanes of the Counteſſe) reconcilement was made, and the Archbyſhop was reſtored to his former poſſeſſions agayne. Onely his returne into England was differred, becauſe he would not communicate wyth thoſe whom the kyng had inueſted. So the kyng tooke his paſſage ouer into Englande, and Anſelme made hys abode at the Abbey of Becke.

Anſelme about to excommunicate the kyng.

Reconcilement made betwene the kyng and Anſelmus.

Then were ambaſſadours againe directed vnto Rome W. Warlwaſt, & Baldwine aboue named Abbot of Rameſey: who at length concluded the long controuerſie betwene the kyng and the Pope, vpon this agreement: that ÿ king ſhould take homage of the Biſhops elect, but ſhould not deale with inueſting them by ſtaffe and ring.&c. While the Embaſſadours were thus in their ſute at Rome, diuers complaintes were dayly brought from England to Anſelme, againſt the Prieſtes and Chanons: who in his abſence, contrary to the late councell holden at London, receaued their wiues vnto their houſes agayne, and ſo were permitted by the kyng, paying hym certaine money for ÿ ſame. Anſelme (the ſore enemy agaynſt lawfull mariage) agreeued therwith: addreſſeth his letters vnto the king, requiring him to refraine from any more taking of ſuch exactions: declaring moreouer and affirming, that the offences of all ſuch Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters muſt be corrected by the inſtance of Byſhops, and not of lay men. To this the kyng aunſwereth gently agayne by letters, temperyng hymſelfe: how he purpoſed ſhortly to come ouer into Normandy, and if he had done any thyng amiſſe, either in theſe or other thynges, he would reforme it by his obedience.

Ambaſſage to Rome.

Guliel. Malmeſb. lib. 1. de geſtis pōtif.
Prieſts receaued their wiues agayne by the abſence of Anſelme.
The faultes of eccleſiaſticall miniſters long to none but to byſhops to correct, quod Anſelme.

It was not long after (the meſſengers beyng now returned from Rome) but the kyng as he had promiſed, ſped him into Normādy: where he warryng agaynſt his brother Robert, brought both him & the countrey of Normandy at laſt vnder his ſubiection. But firſt meetyng wt Anſelmus at the Abbey of Becke, he cōuented & agreed with him in all ſuch poyntes as the Archb. required. As firſt, that all his Churches which before were made tributary vnto kyng William his brother, now ſhould remayne free from all tribute. Itē, that he ſhould require nothing of the ſayd Churches or Prouinces, in the tyme of the ſeat beyng vacant. Moreouer, concernyng ſuch Prieſtes & Miniſters, as had geuē money to the kyng for their cōpany with their wiues: it was agreed that they ſhould ſurceaſe frō all Eccleſiaſticall function, the ſpace of .iij. yeares: & that the kyng ſhould take no more after ſuch maner. Item, that all ſuch goodes, fruites, and poſſeſſions, as had bene taken away before frō the Archbyſhopricke, ſhould be reſtored at his commyng agayne into England.&c.

The kyng brought vnder the Archbiſhop.

Cōditions graunted by the kyng to Anſelme.

Lawfull matrimony puniſhed.

Thus Anſelmus the ſtout champion of Popery and ſuperſtition, after this victory gotten vpon the kyng, for the which he ſo long fought: with ioy and triumphe ſayleth into England, hauyng all his Popiſh requeſtes obtayned. Where firſt, he flieth lyke a Lyon vpon the maried Prieſts, contrary to the word of God, diuorſing and puniſhyng that by mans authoritie, which the eternall and almighty God had coupled. Next he looketh to them, which did hold any Church by farme vnder the kyng. Agaynſt Simony likewiſe, and againſt them that maryed within the vij. degree, he proceedeth with his full pontificall authoritie.

Anſelme returneth into England.

Prieſtes driuen agayne from their wiues.

An. 1106.

Shortly after, as kyng Henry had finiſhed his warre in Normandy, & with victory returned agayne into England, about the vi. yeare of his raigne: Anſelme Archbyſhop of Canterbury (by the permiſſion of the kyng) aſſembled a great Councell at Weſtminſter in London, of the Clergy and Prelates of England.

In the which (by the Byſhop of Romes authoritie) he ſo wrought with the kyng, that at length, albeit (as the ſtory ſayth not without great difficultie) it was newly confirmed and enacted: that no temporall man after that day, ſhould make inueſture with croſſe or with ryng, or with paſtorall hoke. In this Councell ſundry and diuers iniunctions were geuē forth to Prieſtes and Deacons: as diuers other ſinodall actes alſo by the ſame Anſelme had bene concluded in other Councels before. And becauſe here falleth in mention of the actes Synodall concluded in ẏ tyme of this Anſelme: I thought here good to packe them all in one generall heape together, as I finde them in Malmeſbury, and in other ſondry authors ſcatteryngly recited.

Ex lib. Guliel. de geſtis pontifi. lib. 1. & Iornalēſi. et alijs.

The firſt thing decreed by this Anſelme in his Synodall Councels, was touchyng the fault of Simony: whereby diuers both Byſhops and Abbotes (as is aforeſayd) were at the ſame tyme depoſed. And lay men forbyddē to conferre any Eccleſiaſticall promotion.

Prieſtly apparel.

Alſo it was decreed, that no Byſhop ſhould beare any office in ſecular mens buſines or meetynges. And that ſuch ſhould not go appareled as the lay men did, but ſhould haue their veſtures decent, and mete for religious perſons. And that in all places they ſhould neuer go without ſome to beare witnes of their conuerſation.

Archdeaconries not to be farmed.

Itē, that no Archdeaconries ſhould be let out to ferme.

Item, that no Archdeacon ſhould be vnder the degree of a Deacon.

Mariage of prieſtes forbidden.

Item, that archdeacon, prieſt, deacon, ſubdeacon, colligener, nor Chanon, ſhould from thence forth mary a wife, nor yet kepe her, if he had bene maried to one before.

Item, that euery ſubdeacon, beyng vnder the degree of a chanon (after the profeſſion of chaſtitie, maryeng a wife) ſhould be ſubiect to the ſame rule.

They ordeined alſo that a prieſt keepyng cōpany with his wife, ſhould be reputed vnlawful: and that he ſhould ſay no Maſſe: and if he ſayd Maſſe, it ſhould not be heard.

Vow of chaſtitie brought in.

They charged that none were admitted to orders from that tyme forward, from the degree of a ſubdeacon, vnleſſe he dyd profeſſe chaſtitie.

Benefices not to goe by heritage.

That Prieſtes ſonnes ſhould not clayme by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the cuſtome had alwayes bene before.

How then was Steuē Gardiner Lord Chācellor in Queene Maryes tyme.

Item, that no ſpirituall perſon ſhould ſit in any ſecular office: as to be procurators or iudges of bloud.

Item, that Prieſtes ſhould not reſort to tauernes, or banquets, nor ſit drinkyng by the fire ſide.

That the garmentes of Prieſtes ſhould be of one colour, and that their ſhoes ſhould be decent.

Item, that Monkes or any other of the clergy (if they forſoke their order) either to come agayne, or to be excommunicate.

Prieſts crownes.

Itē, that mē of the clergy ſhould weare broad crownes.

Tythes.

Item, that no tythes ſhould be geuen, but to the church.

Bying of prebendes.

Item, that no churches or prebendes ſhould be bought.

Building of Chappelles.

That no new Chapels ſhould be made without conſent of the Byſhop.

Euery church to finde his owne Prieſt.

That no Church ſhould be halowed, before neceſſary prouiſion were made for the Prieſt, and for the Church to be mainteyned.

Abbots to maintayne no warre.

That Abbotes ſhould ſet forth no men to warre, & that they muſt both ſleepe & eate in the ſame houſe with their monkes, vnleſſe ſome great neceſſitie do let.

Monkes limited in geuing penaunce.

Item, that monkes do inioyne no penaūce to any man without the knowledge of his Abbot. And that their Abbotes may geue no licence therein, but onely for ſuch perſōs whoſe charge they haue of ſoule.

Monkes no godfathers nor nunnes godmothers.

That no Monkes ſhould be Godfathers: Nor Nunnes Godmothers.

Abbey landes.

That Monkes ſhould haue no Lordſhyps to ferme.

Impropriations reſtreyned.

Item, that Monkes ſhould take no Churches but by the Byſhop, neither ſhould ſo ſpoyle and oppreſſe the churches geuē to them, with their rentes, that ſufficiēt were not left for the Miniſters of the ſame.

Priuie cōtractes.

That priuy contract betwene man and woman without witnes ſhould not ſtand, but be fruſtrate if eche partie do go from the contract.

Roundinge.

Item, that ſuch as weare long heare of the Clergy, be ſo rounded, that part of their eare appeare, and that their eyes be not couered.

Mariage within the 7. degree reſtreyned.

Item, that there be no matrimoniall copulation, within the vij. degree of kindered: nor ſo to continue if they be maryed, but the mariage to be broken. And if any beyng priuie to that inceſt, do not detect the ſame, he to be giltie of the ſame crime.

Buryinges.

Item, that no funerall or buryenges be without their owne Pariſh Church, ſo that the Prieſt therof do loſe that which to hym is due.

No holynes to be geuen to ſhrynes & places.

Item, that no man vpon any newfangled raſhnes, do attribute any reuerence or opinion of holynes, to dead mens bodies: to fountaines, or to any other thyng (as the vſe hath bene in tyme paſt) without authoritie of the Byſhop.

Selling and bying of men.

Item, that no buying & ſellyng be vſed hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Sodometry.

Item, after the reſtreinte of Prieſtes mariage: whē filthy Sodomitry begā to come in the place therof, then were they forced alſo, to make an acte for that, which was this.

A lap with a foxe tayle for Sodomitrie.

With a greuous curſe we condemne both them that occupy the vngracious vice of Sodomitry, and them alſo that willyngly aſſiſte them, or be wicked doers with them in the ſame: till ſuch tyme, as they may deſerue abſolution by penaunce and confeſſion.

So that whatſoeuer hee be, that is noyſed or proued to be of this wickednes (if he be a religious perſon) he ſhall from thence forth be promoted, to no degree of honour: and that which he hath, ſhalbe taken from hym.

If he be a lay perſon, he ſhalbe depriued of all his fredome within the land, and be no better then a forreiner.

And becauſe it ſhalbe knowen, the abſolution of ſuch as be ſecular to belong onely to Byſhops, it was therefore enacted: that on euery ſonday, in euery pariſh church of England the ſayd excommunication ſhould be publiſhed. &c.

Ranulph. Ceſtrēſis lib. 7.

Note the prepoſterous proceeding of Anſelme in ceaſing the vice of Sodomitrie.

But marke in this great matter what followed. For as Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis witneſſeth: this greuous generall curſe was ſoone called backe agayne, by the ſute of certaine: which perſwaded Anſelme, that the publication or openyng of that vice, gaue kyndlynges to the ſame in the hartes of lewde perſons: miniſtring occaſion of more boldnes to them to do the like. And ſo to ſtop the occaſion of filthy Sodomitry, the publication therof was taken away, but the forbiddyng and reſtreinement of Prieſtes vnlawfull mariage (which chiefly was the cauſe therof) remained ſtill. And thus euer ſince, horrible Sodomitry remained in the clergy, both for lacke of mariage more vſed, and for lacke of publication, leſſe puniſhed.

Beſides all theſe Synodall actes aboue comprehended, and geuen out by Anſelmus in his Coūcels before: here alſo in this preſent Councell at Weſtminſter, and in the yeare of this kyng aforeſayd, he alſo directed other new Iniunctions to the Prieſtes.

Penalties & forfaites agaynſt prieſts that kepe their wiues.

Firſt, that they and their wyues ſhould neuer more meete in one houſe, neither yet haue dwellyng in their territories.

Item, that Prieſtes, deacons, and ſubdeacons, ſhould kepe no women in their houſe, vnleſſe they were of their next kynne.

Item, for ſuch as had diſſeuered themſelues from the ſociety of their wiues: yet for ſome honeſt cauſe they had to common with them, they might: ſo it were without doore, & with.ij. or.iij. lawfull wytneſſes.

In the latter dayes ſhall come falſe teachers forbidding mariage, & eating of meates. &c.

Item, if any of them ſhould be accuſed by ij. or. iij. wytneſſes, and could not purge hymſelfe agayne by ſixe able men of his owne order (if he be a Prieſt, or if he be a Deacon, by iiij. or if he be a Subdeacō by.ij.) then he ſhould be iudged a trāſgreſſour of the ſtatutes, depriued of his benefice, and be made infamous, or be put to open reproche of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, as in contempt of this new ſtatute held ſtill his wife, and preſumed to ſay maſſe: vpon the viij. day after (if he made not due ſatiſfaction) ſhould be ſolemnly excommunicated.

Item, all Archdeacons and Deacons to be ſtraightly ſworne, not to wincke or diſſēble at their meetynges, nor to beare with thē for money. And if they would not be ſworne to this, then to looſe their offices without recouery.

Purification of prieſtes, that had been maried.

Itē, ſuch prieſtes as forſakyng their wiues, were willyng to ſerue ſtill and remaine in their holy order: firſt muſt ceaſe.xl. dayes from their miniſtration, ſettyng Vicars for them in the meane tyme to ſerue: and takyng ſuch penaunce vpon them, as by their Byſhop ſhould be enioyned them.

Thus haue ye heard the tedious treatiſe of the lyfe and doynges of Anſelmus: how ſuperſtitious in his Religion, how ſtubburne agaynſt his Prince he was, what occaſion of warre and diſcorde he miniſtred by his complaintes (if they had bene taken) what zeale without right knowledge, what feruencie without cauſe he pretended, what paynes without profit he tooke. Who if he had beſtowed that tyme and trauel in preaching Chriſt at home to his flocke, which he tooke in gaddyng to Rome, to complayne of his countrey: in my mynde he had bene better occupyed. Moreouer what violent and tyrannicall iniunctions he ſet forth of inueſtyng and other thynges, ye haue heard: but ſpecially agaynſt the lawfull and godly mariage of Prieſtes. Wherin, what a vehement aduerſary he was: here may appeare by theſe minutes or peeces extracted out of his letters, which we haue here annexed in forme and effect as followeth.

¶ A letter of Anſelme.

¶ Anſelme archbiſhop, to his brethren and deareſt ſonnes the Lord prior, and other at Canterbury.

K. Henry permitted prieſtes to haue both churches and wiues. *Ex epiſt. Anſel. 77. & 377.* Pope Paſchall hath ſo decreed it at Rome. Ergo prieſts muſt haue no wyues.

AS concernyng Prieſtes, of whom the kyng commaunded that they ſhould haue both their Churches and their women as they had in the tyme of his father and of Lancfrancus Archbyſhop: both becauſe the kyng hath reueſted and reſeazed of the whole Archbiſhopricke: and becauſe ſo curſed a mariage was forbidden in a Councell in the tyme of his father and of the ſayde Archbyſhop: Boldely I commaunde by the authoritie which I haue by my Archbiſhoprike, not onely within my Archbyſhoprike, but alſo throughout England: that all Prieſtes whiche keepe women ſhalbe depriued of their Churches, and Eccleſiaſticall benefices.

A letter of Pope Paſchalis to Anſelme.

¶ *Paſchall Biſhop ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, to his reuerend brother Anſelme Archb. of Cant. greetyng and Apoſtolicall bleſsyng.*

Ex epiſt. Anſel. 33.

WE beleue your brotherhode is not ignorãt, what is decreed in the Romiſh Church concernyng Prieſtes children. But becauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch within the Realme of England, that almoſt the greater and better part of the Clerkes are reckened to be on this ſide: therfore we comitte this diſpenſation to your care. For we graunt theſe to be promoted to holy offices by reaſon of the neede at this tyme, and for the profite of the Church (ſuch as learnyng and lyfe ſhall commende among you) that yet notwithſtandyng the preiudice of the Eccleſiaſticall decree be taken heede to hereafter. &c.

If profit of the church may come by prieſtes children, what hurt then were it to the church for prieſtes to haue wiues.

An other letter of Anſelme for Inueſtyng.

¶ *To the reuerend lord and louyng father Paſchall high biſhop, Anſelme ſeruaunt of Canterbury Church, due ſubiection and continuall prayers.*

AFter that I returned to my biſhopricke in Englande, I ſhewed the Apoſtolical decree: which I beyng preſent, heard in the Romiſh Councell. 1. That no man ſhould receiue inueſting of Churches of the kinges hande, or any lay perſon, or ſhould become his man for it. And that no man ſhould preſume to conſecrate hym, that did offend herein. When the kyng and his nobles, and the biſhops themſelues and other of the lower degree heard theſe things: they toke them ſo greuouſly, that they ſayd: they would in no caſe agre to the thyng, and that they would driue me out of the kyngdome, and forſake the Romiſh Churche, rather than keepe this thing: wherfore reuerend father I deſire your counſell by your letter. &c

K. Henry & hys nobles ready to forſake the Romiſh church.

An other letter of Anſelme.

¶ *Anſelme Archbiſhop to the reuerend Gudulphus biſhop, and to Ernulphus Prior, and to William Archdeacon of Canterbury, and to all in his Dioces greetyng.*

WIlliam our Archdeacon hath written to me, that ſome prieſts that be vnder his cuſtody (taking agayne theyr women, that were forbidden) haue fallen vnto the vncleneſs from the which they were drawn by wholeſom counſell and commaundement: when the Archdeacon would amend this thyng, they vtterly deſpiſed with wicked pride his warnyng and worthy commaundement to be receiued. Then he callyng together many religious men and obedient Prieſtes, excommunicated worthely the proud and diſobedient, that beaſtly deſpiſed the curſe and were not afrayde to defile the holye Miniſterie, as muche as lay in them. &c.

A letter of Anſelme againſt prieſts, receauing agayne their wiues. *Ex epiſt. 37.* Prieſtes excõmunicated for receauing agayne their wiues.

Unto theſe letters aboue prefixed, I haue alſo adioyned an other of the ſayd Anſelmus, touchyng a great caſe of conſcience, of a Monkes whippyng of hymſelfe. Wherin may appeare both the blynd and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe religious men, and the iudgement, of this Anſelmus in the ſame matter.

An other letter of Anſelmus.

¶ *Anſelmus Archbiſhop, to Bernard Monke of the Abbey of S. Warburg greetyng, and prayer.*

A letter of Anſelmus. *Ex epiſt. 255.* Whether is more meet for a monke to cauſe hymſelfe in the chapter to be whipped: or to ſuffer obediently the whippinges of his Abbot.

I Heard it ſayde of your Lorde Abbot that thou iudgeſt it to be of greater merite, when a Monke either beateth himſelfe, or deſireth hymſelf to be beaten of an other: then when he is beaten (not of hys own will) in the chapter, by the commaundement of the prelacy. But it is not ſo as you thinke. For that iudgement that any man commaundeth to himſelfe is kingly. But that which he ſuffreth by obediẽce in the chapter is monkiſh. The one is of hys owne will, the other is of obedience, and not of his owne wil. That which I call kingly, kinges and rich proud men commaunde to be done to themſelues. But that which I call monkiſh, they take (not cõmaunding, but obeying) The kingly is ſo much eaſier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the monkiſh is ſo much the greuouſer, by how much it differeth from the will of the ſufferer. In the kingly iudgement, the ſufferer is iudged to be his owne: In the monkiſh he is proued not to be his owne. For although the kyng or rich man when he is beaten, willingly ſheweth himſelf hũbly to be a ſinner: yet he would not ſubmit himſelf, to this humblenes at any other commaundemẽt, but would withſtand the commaunder with all his ſtrength. But when a Monke ſubmitteth himſelfe to the whippes humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelate: the truth iudgeth him to be of ſo much greater merite, by how much he humbleth himſelfe more, and more truly then the other. For he humbleth himſelf to God onely, bicauſe he knoweth his ſinnes. But this man humbleth himſelfe to man for obedience. But he is more lowly that humbleth himſelfe both to God and man for Gods cauſe, then he which humbleth hymſelfe to God only, and not to gods commaundement. Therfore if he that humbleth himſelf ſhal be extolled, Ergo he that more humbleth himſelfe ſhalbe more exalted. And where I ſayd that when a monke is whipped, that it differeth from hys wil: you muſt not ſo vnderſtãd it, as though he would not paciently beare it with an obedient will: but becauſe by a naturall appetite, he would not ſuffer the ſorrow. But if ye ſay, I do not ſo much flie the open beating for the paynes (which I fele alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: know then, that he is ſtronger that reioyceth to beare this for obediẽce ſake. Therfore be thou ſure, that one whippyng of a monke by obedience, is of more merite then innumerable whippings taken by his owne mynde. But where as he is ſuch that alwayes he ought to haue his hart ready without murmuryng obediently to be whipped: we ought to iudge hym then to be of great merite, whether he be whipped priuily or openly. &c.

The iudgement or concluſion of Anſelme vpon the caſe.

Falſe opinion of merite.

An. 1105.

And thus much concerning Anſelmus archbyſhop of Cant. whoſe ſtoute example gaue no litle courage to Thurſtinus and Becket his ſucceſſors: and to other that folowed after to doe the lyke agaynſt their kynges and princes, as in proces hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare.

About this tyme an. 1105. two famous Archbyſhops of Mentz, being right vertuous and well diſpoſed Prelates: were cruelly and tirannouſly delt withall, and intreated by the byſhop of Rome. Their names were Harry and Chriſtian. This Harry hauyng intelligence, that he was complayned of to the pope, ſent a learned man (a ſpeciall frend of his) to excuſe him, named Arnolde: one for whome he had much done, and promoted to great lyuing and promotions. But this honeſt mã Arnold, in ſteede of an excuſer became an accuſer, bribing the two chiefeſt Cardinals with good gold: by which meanes he obtayned of the pope, thoſe two Cardinales to be ſet as inquiſitors and onely doers in that preſent caſe. The which (comming to Germany) ſomoned the ſayd Henry, and depoſed him of his Archbyſhopricke (for all he could doe) either by lawe or iuſtice: ſubſtituting in his place the foreſayd Arnold, vpon hope (truly) of the eccleſiaſticall golde. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable Henry (as the ſtory telleth) ſpake vnto thoſe his peruers iudges on this wyſe. If I ſhould appeale vnto the Apoſtolick ſee for this your vniuſt proces had agaynſt me: perhaps the pope would attempt nothing any more therein, then ye haue: neyther ſhould I win any thyng by it, but onely toyle of body, loſſe of good, affliction of mind, care of hart, and miſſing of his fauour. Wherefore I do apeale to the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, as to the moſt hygheſt and iuſt iudge, & cite you before his iudgement, there to aunſweare me before the high iudge. For neither iuſtly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaſeth you) you haue iudged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwered: Go you firſt, and we will folowe. Not long after (as the ſtory is) the ſayd Harry dyed: whereof ẏ two Cardinals hauing intelligence ſayd one to the other ieſtingly: behold he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promiſe: and verely they ſayd truer then they were aware of, for within a whyle they dyed in one day. For the one ſit-

Iudges corrupted.

A terrible example for corrupt iudges to beware tyng vpō a iakes to eaſe himſelf, voyded out all his intrales into the draught, and miſerably ended hys lyfe. The other gnawing of the fingers of his handes, and ſpitting thē out of his mouth (all deformed in deuouring himſelfe) died. And in likewiſe, not long after the end of theſe men, the foreſayd Arnold (moſt horribly) in a ſedition was ſlayne: and certayne dayes (lying ſtinking aboue the groūd vnburied) was open to the ſpoyle of euery raſcall and harlot. The hiſtoryographer in declaring hereof, cryeth vpon the Cardinals in this maner: O ye Cardinals, ye are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hether therfore, come ye hether, and heape and cary vnto your countries the deuil: and offer your ſelues to him with that money whereof ye haue bene moſt glottonous and inſatiable.

Pope Paſchalis the.2.

The Popes tyrement.

The ſeuenfolde power of the Pope.

About the ſame tyme and yeare when king Henrye began hys raygne, Pope Paſchalis entered his papacie, ſucceding after Vrbanus: about the yeare of the Lord a thowſand and one hundreth, nothyng ſwaruing from the ſteppes of Hildebrand his ſuperior. This Paſchalis, beyng elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cryed thryſe, S. Peter hath choſen good Raynerus: He than putting on a purple veſture, and a tyer vpon his head, was brought vpon a white palfray into Laterane: wher a ſcepter was geuen him, & a girdle put about him (hauyng .vij. keyes, with vij. ſeales hanging there vpon) for a recogniſance or token, of his ſeuen fould power, according to the ſeuē folde grace of the holy ghoſt: of byndyng, looſing, ſhutting, opening, ſealing, reſigning, and iudging, &c. After this Paſchalis was elected Pope: Henricus 4. the foreſayd Emperour (of courage moſt valiant, yf the tyme had ſerued thereto) thought to come vp to Italye to ſalute the new pope. But vnderſtādyng the popes minde bent agaynſt him, he chaunged hys purpoſe. In the meane tyme, Paſchalis to ſhew himſelfe inferior to Hildebrand in no point: began firſt to depoſe all ſuch abbates & byſhops whome the Emperour had ſet vp. Alſo baniſhed Albertus, Theodoricus, & Maginulphus ſtriuing the ſame tyme for the papacie. I ſpake before of Guibert, whom Henricus the emperour had made pope agaynſt Hildebrād. Agaynſt this Guibert, Paſchalis made out an army: who being put to flight, not lōg after departed.

Of Antichriſt, borne & manifeſt.
The B. of Fluence a martyr.
Sabellicus.
A councell at Trecas.

About the ſame tyme, an. M.C.i. the byſhop of Fluence began to teach and to preache of Antichriſt then to be borne and to be manifeſt, as Sabellicus teſtifieth: wherupō Paſcalis aſſembling a councell, put to ſilence the ſayde byſhop, and condemned his bookes. In this councell at Trecas: prieſtes that where maryed, were condemned for Nicolaitanes. Itē, according to the decree of Hildebrād: All ſuch of what degre or eſtate ſoeuer they were (being lay men) that gaue any eccleſiaſticall dignities, were condemned of Symonie. Furthermore, the ſtatute of prieſtes tithes, there he renued: counting the ſelling away therof as a ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt. Concernyng the excommunication and other troubles that Hildebrand wrought agaynſt Henricus the 4. Emperor: it is declared ſufficiently before. This excommunication, Paſchalis the Pope renued a freſh, agaynſt yͤ ſayd Henry. And not onely that, but alſo conuentyng the Princes of Germany into a generall aſſemble: ſet vp hys owne ſonne agaynſt hym: cauſing the biſhop of Mentz, of Colen, and of Wormes, to depriue hym of his Imperiall crowne, and to place his ſonne Henricus the fift, in hys fathers kyngdome: and ſo they did. Commyng to the place at Hugelſhem, firſt they required hys Diademe, his purple, hys ryng, and other ornamentes pertainyng to the crowne, from hym. The Emperor demaundeth the cauſe, being thē excommunicate and voyde of frendes. They pretendyng agayne (I cannot tell what) for ſellyng of biſhopricks, Abbaies, and other eccleſiaſticall dignities for money: alſo alledging the Popes pleaſure, and of other princes. Then required he firſt of the biſhop of Mentz (and likewiſe of yͤ other two whom he had preferred to their biſhopricks before) aſkyng them in order, if he had receyued of them any peny for hys promoting them to their dignities. This whē they could not deny to be ſo: wel ſaith he, and do you requite me agayne with this? With diuers other wordes of exhortation, admoniſhing them to remember theyr othe and allegeaunce to theyr Prince. But the periured Prelates, neyther reuerencyng hys maieſtie, nor moued with hys benefites, nor regardyng their fidelitie, ceaſed not for this, but firſt plucked from hym (ſittyng in throne) his crowne imperiall: then diſueſtured hym, takyng from hym his purple and hys ſcepter. The good Emperor, beyng left deſolate & in confuſion ſayth to them: Videat deus, & iudicet, that is, let God ſee, and iudge. Thus leauyng hym, they went to hys ſonne, to confirme hym in his kingdom, and cauſed him to driue hys father out. Who then beyng chaſed of his owne ſonne (hauyng but 9. perſons about hym) did flee, by the Dukedome of Limburgh, where the Duke beyng then in huntyng, perceauyng and hearyng of hym, made after to folow hym. The Emperor fearing no other but preſent death (for he had diſplaced the ſame Duke before out of his dukedome) ſubmitted himſelfe, crauyng of hym pardon, and not reuengement. The Duke ful of compaſſion, and pitieng his ſtate: not onely remitted all hys diſpleaſure, but alſo receyued hym to his caſtle. Moreouer, collecting hys ſouldiours and men of warre, brought hym to Colen, and there was well receaued. His ſonne hearyng this, beſieged the citie of Colen. But the father by night eſcapyng, came to Leodiū: where thē reſorted to hym all ſuch as were men of compaſſion and of a conſtant hart. In ſo much, that hys power beyng ſtrong enough, he was now able to pitch a field agaynſt his enemies, and ſo did: deſiryng hys friendes that if he had the victory, they would ſpare hys ſonne. In fine (the battayle ioyned) the father had the victory, the ſonne was put to flight: many beyng ſlaine on both ſides. But ſhortly after the battell renued agayne: the ſonne preuailed, the father was ouercome, and taken. Who then beyng vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of his kyngdome, was brought to that exigent: that commyng to Spire, was fayne to craue of the biſhop there (whom he had done much for before) to haue a prebende in the church: and for that he had ſome ſkill of hys booke, he deſired to ſerue in our Ladies quire. Yet could he not obtayne ſo much at his hande: who ſwore by our Lady, he ſhould haue none there. Thus the wofull emperour (moſt vnkindly handled, and repulſed on euery ſide) came to Leodium, and there for ſorrow dyed, after he had raigned 50. yeres: whoſe body Paſchalis after hys funerall, cauſed to be taken vp againe, and to be brought to Spires, where it remayned v. yeares vnburied. Hæc ex Helmoldo.

A tragicall hiſtory of Pope Paſchalis ſetting the ſonne agaynſt the father.

Ex hiſtoria Helmoldi.

The prelates ſet the ſonne againſt the father.

A gratefull example of a good & thākfull Duke.
A naughtie ſonne of a good father.

Ex Helmoldo, & Gotfrido Viterbienſi.

The vnkindnes of a proud prelate.

1106.

The Emperour v. yeres without buriall.

1107.

Henricus Emperour.

Ex Chronico Carionis, lib. 3.

The Pope taken priſoner.

After the deceaſe of this Emperour Henricus the 4. his ſonne Henricus the 5. raygned the ſpace of xx. yeares. Who commyng to Rome to be crowned of the Pope, could not obtayne before he would fully aſſent to haue this ratified, that no Emperour ſhould haue any thyng to doe with the election of the Romaine Byſhop, or with other byſhopricks. Beſides that (about the ſame tyme) ſuch a ſtirre was made in Rome by the ſayd Byſhop: that if the Emperour had not defended hymſelfe, with his owne handes, he had bene ſlayne. But as it happened, the Emperour hauing the victory: amongeſt many other Romaines (which were partly ſlayne, partly taken in the ſame ſkirmiſhe) he taketh alſo the Pope, and leadeth him out of the Citye: where he indenteth with him vpon diuers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recouering agayne his right & title in the election of the Pope, and of other byſhops: whereunto the Pope aſſenting, agreed to all. So the Emperour (beyng crowned of Paſchalis) returned agayne wyth the Pope to Rome.

All the condicions betwene the Emperour & the Pope (ſo long as the Emperour remayned at Rome) ſtoode firme and ratified. But as ſoone as the Emperour was returned agayne to Germany, forthwith the Pope callyng a Synode, not only reuoked all that he had agreed to before: but alſo excommunicated Henricus the Emperour, as he had done his father before, reprouing the former priuilegium for prauilegium. The Emperour returning frō Rome to Fraunce, there maried Mathild daughter to king Henry. Who then hearing what the Pope had done (agreeued not a little) wyth all expedition marcheth to Rome, & putteth the Pope to flight: and finally placeth an other in his ſtede. In the meane tyme the Byſhops of Germany (the Popes good frendes) ſlept not their buſines, incenſing the Saxons, all that they might againſt their Ceſar: In ſo much that a great commotion was ſtirred vp, and grew at length to a pitch fielde: which was fought in the moneth of February, by yͤ wood called, Silua Catularia, an. M.C.xv.

War rayſed vp by the Pope, & hys papiſtes.

The Emperour ſeeing no end of theſe conflictes (vnles he would yelde to the Pope) was fayne to geue ouer, and forgoe his priuiledge: falling to a compoſition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the Popes election, nor with inueſting, nor ſuch other thinges belonging to the Church, and Church men. And thus, was the peace betwene them concluded and proclaymed, to no ſmall reioyſing to both the armies, then lying by Wormes, neare the riuer of Rine.

Peace cōcluded betwene the Emperor & the pope.

Bernardus the Abbot.
Bernardine monkes came in.

In the tyme of thys Paſchalis: liued Bernardus, called Abbas Clarauallenſis, an. M.C.viij. of whom ſprange the Bernadine Monkes.

The citie of Worceter almoſt all conſumed wyth fire.

About what tyme, the citie of Worceſter was cōſumed almoſt all with fier. an. M.C.x.

Mathildis.

All this while Henricus the Emperour had no iſſue (hauing to wife Mathildis, the daughter of Henricus. 1. kyng of England) and that by the iuſt iudgement of God,

as

Example of the Lordes iuſt retribution & iudgement.

as it may appeare. For as he hauing a father, perſecuted hym by the Popes ſetting on, contrary to the part of a naturall ſonne: ſo Gods prouidence did not ſuffer hym to be the father of any childe, naturally to loue him, or to ſucceede hym.

Two popes ſtriuing together.

Pope Calixtus the 2.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperour.

After the death of Paſchalis, an.1118. ſucceeded pope Gelaſius (choſen by the Cardinals) but without the conſent of the Emperour: wherupon roſe no litle variance in Rome. And at length an other Pope was ſet vp by yͤ Emperour called Gregorious.viij. and Gelaſius driuen away into Fraunce, and there dyed. After whom came Calixtus the ſecond (choſen likewiſe by a few Cardinals, without the voyce of the Emperour) who comming vnto Rome to enioy his ſeat, firſt ſent his legat into Germanye to excommunicate the Emperour Henricus: who then hauing diuers conflictes with his fellow Pope Gregorius, at legth draue him out of Rome. At this tyme by this occaſiō, great diſputatiō & controuerſie was betwene yͤ Emperours and the Popes court, whether of them in dignitie ſhould excell the other: wherof reaſons and argumentes on both ſides were alleadged, as in the verſes here following are comprehended.

¶ *Allegatio Imperatoris contra papam.*

Cæſar lex viua ſtat regibus imperatiua,
Legéq; ſub viua ſunt omnia iura datiua,
   Lex ea caſtigat, ſoluit et ipſa ligat.
Conditor eſt legis neq; debet lege teneri,
Sed ſibi complacuit ſub lege libenter haberi,
   Quicquid ei placuit iuris adinſtar erit.
Qui ligat ac ſoluit deus ipſum protulit orbi,
Diuiſit regnum diuina potentia ſecum,
   Aſtra dedit ſuperis, cætera cuncta ſibi.

¶ *Reſponſio Romana curia contra Imperatorem.*

Pars quoque papalis ſic obuiat Imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quòd Petro ſubijciaris,
   Ius etenim nobis Chriſtus vtrumq; parit.
Spiritus et corpus mihi ſunt ſubiecta potenter,
Corpore terrena teneo cæleſtia mente
   Vnde tenendo polum, ſoluo ligóq; ſolùm,
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, ſoluere cuncta meretur,
   Cui dedit omne decus lex noua, léxque vetus.
Annulus & baculus quamuis terrena putentur,
Sunt de iure poli, quæ ſignificare videntur.
   Reſpice iura dei, mens tua cedat ei. &c.

In concluſion the Emperour beyng ouercome ſo much with the vayne reaſons of the Popes ſide, and fearyng the daūgerous thūderbolt of this curſe (talkyng with princes, and perſwaded by his frendes, was fayne to condeſcend to the vnreaſonable conditions of the Pope. Firſt to ratifie his election: notwithſtandyng (the other pope whō the ſayd Emperour had ſet vp) yet was a liue: Secondly, that he ſhould reſigne vp his right and title in matters pertainyng to the election of the pope, and inueſture of Byſhops.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the pope, his face to the horſe tayle.
Ex Platina. Vincentio. Stella. &c.

This beyng done and graunted, & the writinges therof ſet vp in the Church of Lateran for a triumph, of the Emperour thus ſubdued: the pope maketh out after Gregorius his fellow pope, beyng then in a Towne called Sutrium. This Sutrium, beyng beſieged and taken, Gregory alſo was taken. Whom Calixtus the Pope, ſitting vpon a Camell (his face to the Camels tayle) brought him ſo through the ſtreetes of Rome, holdyng the tayle in his hand in ſteede of a bridle: and afterward beyng ſhorne, was thruſt into a Monaſtery.

The Imber dayes by whom they were brought in and when.
Diſt.76 cap. Ieiunium.

Amōgeſt many other actes done by this glorious pope, firſt he eſtabliſhed the decrees of the papall ſea agaynſt this Emperour. He brought in the iiij. quarter faſtes, called Imber dayes. Diſt.70.cap.Ieiunium.

The order of Monkes, *Præmōſtratēſes.*

By the ſame Calixtus, the order of monkes called Præmonſtratenſes, were brought in.

Scripture clerkly applied of the Pope.

Farther, by hym it was decreed to be iudged for adultery, if any perſon (by his lyfe tyme) had put from him either Byſhopricke or benefice: groundyng vpon this Scripture of S. Paule to the Romaines: Alligata eſt vxor legi viri, quamdiu vir eius viuit: eo defuncto, ſoluta eſt a lege viri. &c. That is: the wife is bound to the law of her huſband, ſo lōg as the huſband lyueth: after he is dead, ſhe is loſe from the law of her huſband. &c.

Prieſtes and miniſters compelled to leaue their wiues.

Item, the ſame Calixtus holdyng a generall Councell at Rhemis, decreed: that Prieſtes, deacons, and ſubdeacons ſhould put away their concubines and wiues: or els, whoſoeuer was found to keepe his wife, to be depriued of benefice, and all other Eccleſiaſticall lyuynges: wherupon a certaine Engliſh writer made theſe verſes followyng.

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te,
Quondam preſbyteri poterant vxoribus vti
Hoc deſtruxiſti, poſtquam tu Papa fuiſti. &c.

That is word for word.

The hatred of the Clergie, haſt thou good Calixte,
   For ſome tymes Prieſtes might vſe their wiues right,
But that thou haſt reiected, ſince Pope thou waſt elected.

An. 1109.

And thus much of Romaine matters: Now to our cōtrey ſtory agayne. After the death of Anſelme before mētioned (who deceaſſed the yeare of our Lord. 1109. after he had bene in the ſea xvj. yeares) the Church of Cant. ſtode voyde v. yeares: and the goodes of the Church were ſpent to the kynges vſe. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was ſo long without a paſtor, his aunſwere was: pretendyng that where his father and brother, had accuſtomed there to ſet the beſt, tryed and approued men that might be found: to the entent therfore that he might do the ſame (in chuſing ſuch, which either ſhould equall the former examples of them before, or at leaſt follow their footeſteppes as neare as they could) he tooke therein the more tyme and layſure. And ſo with ſhift of aunſwere dalyed out the time, while he had filled his cofers with the commodities of that benefice. The ſame yeare (after the death of Anſelme) the kyng conuerted the Abbey of Eley to a Byſhopricke, which before was vnder the Byſhopricke of Lyncolne: placyng there Henry Byſhop of Bangor the firſt byſhop of that ſea. And as of late yeares before this, diuers wonders were ſeene: as ſtarres fallyng from heauen ſo thick, that they could not be numbred at the ſettyng forth of the Chriſtians to the holy land: Iornalenſ. A blaſing ſtarre ouer Conſtantinople: A ſpryng boylyng out bloud (ſene at Finchamſtede in Barkeſhyre) three weekes together, an. 1090. Giſburnenſ. After that, the firmament appearyng ſo red, as it had bene all on fire: Alſo two full Moones appearyng together, one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt (on maundy thurſday) with a blaſyng ſtarre in the ſame yeare appearyng about the takyng of Duke Robert, hauyng a white circle incloſing it, an. 1106. Iornalenſ. Alſo with an Eclipſe of the Sunne darkned after that: ſo likewiſe about this preſent yeare an. 1110. was ſeene the flood of Trent, about Notyngam, ſo dryed vp from mornyng to iij. of the clocke at after noone, that men might go ouer it dryſhod. Giſburnenſ. Alſo in Shrowſbery a great earthquake happened: And after that followed a ſharpe Winter, great morraine of beaſtes, and peſtilence of men, as Gualterus Giſburnenſ. recordeth: Moreouer the ſame author mentioneth that nere about the ſame yeare, the lyke dryyng of water alſo happened in the flood of Medeway: And in Thamis betwene the bridge and the tower, and vnder the bridge (frō midnight to the next euenyng) was ſo great an ebbe, that an innumerable ſorte of people and children waded ouer, ſcarce knee depe in yͤ water, the ſea withdrawyng his tide x. myles from hys accuſtomed courſe, Rog. Houedē. Gualt. Giſburnenſ. &c. In the which yeare alſo as the ſaid author and Iornalenſ. do teſtifie, the citie of Worceter, by caſualtie was conſumed with fire. Alſo the citie of Cheſter. an. 1114. Rog. Houed.

The byſhopricke of Ely firſt planted.
Henry firſt byſhop of Ely.

An. 1110.

Trent dryed vp.
An earthquake.
Morraine & peſtilence.
Ex Gualthero Giſburnenſ.

An. 1113.

Worceter conſumed with fier.

An. 1114.

Rodulphus archbyſhop of Cant.
Thurſtinus archbiſhop of Yorke.

The next yere followyng, Rodolphus biſhop of Rocheſter (an Engliſh man) was promoted to be Archb. of Canterb. and Thurſtinus the kinges chaplaine was elect archbiſhop of Yorke. Who beyng content to receaue hys benediction or conſecration of the ſee of Cant. yet becauſe he refuſed to make his profeſſion of obedience to the ſame ſee, he was by the kyng depriued of hys dignitie.

Diſſention betwene Thurſtinus of Yorke, & Rodolph archb. of Cant. for ſubiection.
The letter of Pope Paſchalis to kyng Henry.

Then Thurſtin (by the inſtigation of certaine of hys clerkes at Yorke) toke his iorney to Rome: who there makyng his complaint to Pope Paſchalis, brought with him a letter from the Pope to the kyng: where among other wordes was conteined as followeth: Audiuimus electum Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ virum ſapientem & ſtrenuum ſine iudicio ab Eboracenſi ſequeſtratum eccleſia, quod nimirū diuinæ iuſtitiæ & S. Patrum inſtitutionib. aduerſatur. Nos quidem neq; Cant. eccleſiam minui, neque Eboracenſem volumus præiudicium pati, ſed eam conſtitutionem quæ a B. Gregorio Anglicæ gentis Apoſtolo inter eaſdem eccleſias conſtituta eſt, firmam cenſemus illibatamq; ſeruari. Idem ergo electus (vt iuſtitia exigit) ad ſuam eccleſiam omnibus modis reuocetur. Si quid autem quæſtionis inter eaſdem eccleſias naſcitur, præſentibus vtriſq; partibus in veſtra præſentia pertractetur. &c. In Engliſh thus.

We heare and vnderſtand, that the Archb. elect of the

Ex Gualthero Giſburnenſ.
Ex Gulie. De pontif. Lib. 4.
Ex Roger. Houed. Fabia. &c.

church of Yorke (a diſcrete and induſtrious man) is ſequeſtred from the church of Yorke: which ſtandeth againſt both diuine iuſtice, and the inſtitution of holy fathers. Our purpoſe is, that neither the church of Cant. ſhould be empaired, nor agayne that the church of Yorke ſhould ſuffer any preiudice but that the ſame conſtitution which was by bleſſed Gregory (the apoſtle of the engliſh nation) ſet and decreed betwene thoſe two churches: ſhould remayne ſtill in force and effect inuiolate. Wherfore, as touchyng the foreſaid elect let hym be receaued agayne by any meanes (as right and meete it is) vnto hys Church. And if there be any queſtion betwene the foreſayd churches, let it be handled and deciſed in your preſence, both the two parties beyng there preſent. &c.

An. 1116.

Aſſemble of the nobles at Saleſbury.

Vpon the occaſion of this letter, a ſolemne aſſemble there was appoynted at Saliſbury, about the hearyng of this controuerſie. The variance betwene theſe two prelates ſtill encreaſed more and more. Radulph Archbiſhop of Cant. in no caſe would yeld nor condiſcende to geue impoſition of handes vnto hym, vnleſſe he would make hys profeſſion of obedience. Thurſtine agayne ſayde he would willingly receiue and embrace hys benediction, but as touchyng the profeſſion of hys ſubiection, that he would not agree vnto. Then the king declaring hys minde therin, ſignified vnto Thurſtin: that without his ſubiection and obedience profeſſed to the Archbiſhop of Cant. he ſhould not enioy hys conſecration to be Archbiſhop of Yorke. Wherunto Thurſtin (nothing replying agayne) renounced his Archbiſhopricke, promiſing moreouer to make no more clayme vnto it nor moleſt them that ſhould enioy it.

Thurſtine refuſeth to profeſſe ſubiection to the archb. of Cant. Thurſtine promiſeth to renounce hys archbiſhopricke.

An. 1118.

Shortly after this, it happened, that Pope Paſchalis dyed: After whom (as is aboue rehearſed) ſucceeded pope Gelaſius, which lyued not paſt a yeare, and dyed in Frãce. Wherupon, the Cardinals (which then followed the ſayd Pope Gelaſius to Clunake) created an other Pope of their chuſing, whome they called Calixtus. ij. The other Cardinals which were at Rome did chuſe an other Pope called Gregory as mention before is made: About which two Popes much ſturre there was in chriſten realmes. As this Calixtus was remaynyng in Fraunce, and there calling a general councell at Remis as ye heard before. Thurſtinus the Archbiſhop of Yorke deſired licence of the kyng to go to the Councell, purpoſing there to open the cauſe of hys church, which eftſones he obtained: firſt promiſing to the kyng that he ſhould there attempt nothyng that ſhould be preiudiciall to the church of Cant. In the meane tyme, the kyng had ſent ſecret worde vnto the Pope, by Radulph and other procurators, that in no cauſe he would conſecrate Thurſtinus. Yet (notwithſtandyng the faythfull promiſe of the Pope made to the kyng) ſo it fell out: that the ſayd Pope, through the ſute of hys Cardinals, whom Thurſtinus had wonne to hym: was inclined to conſecrate him, and gaue hym the palle. For this deede the kyng was ſore diſcontented with Thurſtine, and warned hym the entrie of hys land.

Pope Calixtus breaketh promiſe with the kyng. Thurſtine ſacred archb. of Yorke by the Pope againſt the kinges mynde.

Cõciliũ Rhemenſe. Actes of the cõſell of Rhemes.

In this councell at Rhemis (aboue mentioned) where were gathered 434. Prelates, theſe 5. principall acts were concluded.

1. That no man ſhould either buy or ſell any biſhopricke, abbotſhip, deanry, archdeaconſhip, prieſthoode, prebendſhip, altar, or any eccleſiaſticall promotion, or benefice, orders, cõſecration, church hallowyng, ſeat or ſtalle within the quire, or any office eccleſiaſticall, vnder daunger of excommunication, if he did perſiſt.

2. That no lay perſon ſhould geue inueſture of any Eccleſiaſticall poſſeſſion: or that any ſpirituall man ſhould receaue any ſuch at any lay mans hande vnder payne of depriuation.

3. That no man ſhould inuade, take away, or detayne the goodes or poſſeſſions of the church: but that they ſhould remayne firme and perpetuall, vnder payne of perpetuall curſe.

4. That no biſhop or prieſt ſhould leaue any eccleſiaſtical dignitie or benefice to any, by way of enheritaunce. Addyng moreouer that for baptiſme, chriſme, anoyling, or beriall, no money ſhould be exacted.

5. Item that all prieſts, deacons and ſubdeacons, ſhould be vtterly debarred and ſequeſtred from company of their wyues and concubines, vnder payne of excludyng from all chriſtian communion.

The actes ſent to the Emperour.

The actes thus determined, were ſent eftſones to Henricus the Emperor, to ſee and try, before the breakyng vp of the councell, whether he would agree to the canonicall elections, free conſecration, and inueſtyng by ſpirituall perſõs, and to other Actes of the ſayd Councell. The Emperour maketh aunſwer agayne, that he would loſe nothyng that auncient cuſtome of hys progenitours had geuen him. Notwithſtandyng, bicauſe of the authoritie of the general councell, he was content to conſent to the reſidue, ſaue only the inueſtyng of eccleſiaſticall functions to be taken from hym, to that he would neuer agree. Vpõ this, at the next returne of the Pope to the councell, the Emperour was appoynted to be excommunicated. Which thyng, when diuers of the Councell did not well lyke, and therfore did ſeparate themſelues from the reſt, the Pope applying agaynſt them the ſimilitude of the 70. diſciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eatyng his fleſh and bloud, and therfore deuided themſelues from hym. Declaring moreouer to them, how they which gathered not with hym ſcattered, and they that were not with hym, were againſt him: by theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions reducing them againe to hys ſide, and ſo by that Councell Henricus the Emperour was excommunicated.

The emperor agreeth not to the popes inueſting.

The councell deuided.

Ex Rog. Houed.

Henry the Emperour excommunicated.

It was not long after, but the Pope came to Giſortium: where, Henry kyng of England reſorted to hym, deſiryng and alſo obtaynyng of hym, that he would ſend henceforth no Legate, nor permit any to be ſent from Rome to England, vnleſſe the kyng hymſelfe ſhould ſo require, by reaſon of ſome occaſion of ſtrife, which els could not otherwyſe be deciſed, by his owne biſhops at home. The cauſe why the kyng required this of the Pope: was for that certaine Romaine legates had bene in England a little before (to witte) one Guido, and an other Romaine named Anſelmus, and an other alſo called Petrus: who had ſpoyled the realme of great treaſure, as the cuſtomed maner of the Popes proud legates is wont to do. Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Alſo he required of the Pope, that he might vſe and retaine all the cuſtomes vſed before of his forefathers, in England and in Normandy.

Agreed that England ſhould haue no other Legat from Rome, but onely the Archb. of Canterb. England ſpoyled by the popes legates.

To theſe peticions the Pope did eaſily conſent, requiring agayne of the kyng that he would licence Thurſtinus the Archb. aboue mynded, to returne with fauour into hys realme. But that the kyng vtterly denied vnleſſe he would profeſſe ſubiection to the Church of Canterbury, as hys predeceſſours had done before, and excuſed hymſelfe by hys othe, which he before had made. To this the Pope aunſwered agayne, that he by his autoritie Apoſtolical, both might and would alſo eaſily diſpenſe with hym for hys promiſe or othe. Then the kyng ſayd that he would talke with hys counſaile therof, and ſo ſend hym an aunſwer of his mynde. Which aunſwer was this: that for the loue and requeſt of the Pope, he was content that Thurſtinus ſhould ſafely reenter hys realme, and quietly enioy hys prelateſhip, vpon this condition that he would (as hys predeceſſors did) profeſſe his ſubiection to the church of Cant. Otherwiſe (ſayd he) ſo long as he was kyng, he ſhould neuer ſit Archbiſhop of ẏ church of Yorke. And thus ended that meting betwene the king of England, and the Pope for that tyme.

All the cuſtomes of the realme graunted of the Pope.

1120.

The yeare following after that, which was an. 1120. the foreſayd pope Calixtus directeth his letters for Thurſtinus, to the king, and to Radulph Archb. of Canterb. In which Epiſtle by his full power Apoſtolicall he doth interdict both the church of Cant. and the church of Yorke with all the pariſh churches within the ſame cities, from all diuine ſeruice: from the buriall alſo of the dead, except onely baptiſing of children, and abſolution of them that lye on dieng: vnleſſe within a month after the receite of the ſame, Thurſtinus (without any exaction of ſubiection made) were receyued and admitted to the ſea of Yorke: and that the kyng likewiſe ſhould doubtles be excommunicated, except he would conſent vnto the ſame. Wherupon Thurſtinus for feare of the Popes curſe, was immediatly ſent for and reconciled to the kyng, and was placed quietly in his Archiepiſcopall ſee of Yorke.

The popes letter to the kyng.

The kyng cõpelled to receaue Thurſtinus, for feare of the popes curſe. Thurſtinus reſtored.

1122.

William Archbiſh. of Cant. The gray friers firſt came into Englãd.

It followed not long after (within two yeares) Radulph Archbiſhop of Cant. departed: in whoſe ſee ſucceded after hym Gulielmus de Turbine. About which tyme (in the 27. yeare of the kynges raigne) the gray Friers by procuring of the kyng, came firſt into England, & had their houſe firſt at Caunterbury. About the ſame ſeaſon, or a litle before: the kyng called a councell at London, where the ſpiritualtie of England (not knowyng to what purpoſe it was required) condeſcended to the kyng, to haue the puniſhment of maried prieſtes: by reaſon of which graunt (whereof the ſpiritualtie afterwarde much repented) the prieſts paying a certayne to the kyng, were ſuffered to retaine their wiues ſtill, wherby the kyng gathered no ſmall ſumme of mony. Rog. Houed. Guliel. Gyſburnenſ. At this tyme, beganne firſt the foundation of the Monaſtery called Giſburne in Cleueland.

1125.

Prieſts payd for their wiues.

Ex Roger. Houed.
Ex Guliel. Giſburnenſ.
Ex Henric. Hunting. lib. 7.

The Abbey of Giſburne builded.

It was aboue touched, how Matild or Maude daughter of king Henry, was maried to Henry the 5. Emperor: who

S. James hand. Reading Abbey founded. Matilde daughter of K. Henry heyre to the crowne. Geffray Plantagenet. Hēry the ij. borne of Matilde the Empriſe.

who after the deceaſe of the ſayd Emperour her huſband, returned about this preſent tyme with the Imperial crowne to her father in Normandy: bringyng with her the hand of S. James. For the ioy wherof, the kyng builded the abbey of Reading, where the ſayd hand was repoſed. This Matild was receyued by the ſayd councell to be next heire to the kyng her father, in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crowne, for lacke of iſſue male. And ſoone after vpon the ſame was ſent ouer to Normandy, to mary with Geffrey Plantagenet Erle of Angeow: of whom came Henry the ſecōd, that (after Stephen) was kyng of England. And about this tyme was alſo founded the priorie of Norton in the prouince of Cheſter, by one William the ſonne of Nichelle. In the ſtory of Polychron. Iornal. and Polydorus is declared: how the kyng was troubled greatly wyth iij. ſondry viſiōs appearing vnto him by night. The firſt was of a great multitude of huſbandmen of the countrey, which appeared to flye vpon hym with their mattockes and inſtrumentes, requiring of hym his debt which he dyd owe vnto them. In the ſecond, he ſaw a great number of ſouldiours and harneſſed men to come fierſly vpon hym. In the third, he ſawe a company of prelates and churchmen threatnyng hym with their biſhops ſtaues, & fierſly approching vpon hym. Wherupō (being diſmayd) in all haſt, ran & toke his ſword to defend hymſelfe, findyng there none to ſtrike: who afterward aſking counſell concernyng theſe viſions, was monished by one of hys Phiſitions (named Grimbald) by repentaunce, almes and amendment of life, to make ſome mendes to God and to his countrey whom he offended. Which thre vowes thus beyng made, the next yere after he went to England: where he beyng vpon the ſeas in a great tempeſt with his daughter Matild remembred there hys iij. vowes. And ſo cōmyng to the land (for performance of the ſame) firſt releaſed vnto the commons, the Dane gelt, which hys father & hys brother before had renued. Secondly, he went to S. Edmondes bury, where he ſhewed great benefites to ẏ churchmen. Thirdly, he procured iuſtice to be adminiſtred more rightly throughout hys realme. &c. Alſo he ordeined and erected a new biſhopricke at Carlile.

1130.

The priorie of Norton founded. The terrible viſions of the king.

Thre vowes made of king Henry.

1131.

Dane gelte releaſed. The church releiued. Iuſtice rightly adminiſtred. Biſhopricke of Carlile newly erected by kyng Henry.

In the 33. yeare of hys kinges raigne (as witneſſeth a certaine author) a great part of the citie of London, with the Church of ſaint Paule, was burned with fire in Whitſon weeke.

The citie & Paules church of London burned. Honorius the ij. *Matheus Pariſienſis.*

After Calixtus (whoſe ſtory and tyme is before diſcourſed) ſucceded Pope Honorius. ij. Notwithſtandyng ẏ the Cardinals had elected an other: yet he by the meanes of certaine citizens obtained the papacie, an. 1125. About the ſecond yeare of hys induction (as is to be red in Math. Pariſ.) there was a certaine legate of hys, called Joannes Cremēſis ſent downe to England, from the Pope for the redreſſe I cannot well tell wherof. But in dede the chiefeſt purpoſe of hys commyng (as of all other after hym in thoſe dayes) was to fill their pouches with engliſh money, as may further appeare by their procedings. This Legate commyng then with the Popes letters directed both into England & Scotland (after he had well refreſhed hymſelfe in biſhops houſes, and amongſt the Abbots) at length reſorted to London: where he aſſembled the whole clergy together, inquiryng of prieſtes concubines (otherwiſe called theyr wiues) and making therupon a ſtatute in the ſaid Synode of London, after this tenor: Præſbyteris, diaconibus, ſubdiaconibus, & canonicis, vxorum, concubinarum, & omniū omnino fœminarum contubernia: autoritate Apoſtolica inhibemus præter matrem, aut ſororem vel amitam, aut eiuſmodi quæ omnino careant ſuſpitione. Et qui decreti huius violator extiterit (confeſſus vel conuictus) ruinam ordinis patiatur. Inter conſanguineos, ſeu affinitate propinquos, vſque ad ſeptimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus. That is, vnto prieſtes, deacons, ſubdeacons, and canons, we do vtterly inhibite by authoritie Apoſtolicall: all maner ſocietie and conuerſation with all kynde of women, except onely their mother, ſiſter, or aunt, or ſuch wherof can ryſe no ſuſpition. And whoſoeuer ſhalbe found to violate this decree (beyng conuict therof) ſhall ſuſtaine therby the loſſe of all that he hath by hys order. Moreouer amongſt kindred or ſuch as be ioyned in affinitie, we forbid matrimony, vnto the ſeuenth generation, &c. But ſee how God worketh agaynſt ſuch vngodly procedinges. The next night after, it happened, the ſame Cardinal (ruſſelyng and reuelyng wyth hys concubines) to be apprehended in the ſame vice, wherof he had ſo ſtraitly geuen out preceptes the next day before: to the no litle ſlaunder and ſhame (as Math. Pariſ. doth write) of the whole clergy.

A romiſhe ſtatute cōcernyng prieſtes wiues and concubynes.

Mariage forbid to the ſeuenth degree.

The Popes Legate geuing preceptes of chaſtitie, was founde wyth an harlot. Lotharius Emperour.

Unto this tyme liued Henricus the v. Emperour, after he had raigned 20. yeares, dying without iſſue as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus, the Imperiall crowne came to Lotharius duke of Saxon, an. 1127.

Arnulphus martyred at Rome. The hiſtory of Arnulphus.

Certaine hiſtories make mention of one Arnulphus in the time of this pope Honorius. ij. Some ſay he was Archbyſhop of Lugdune: as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Trithemius ſayth, he was a prieſt: whoſe hiſtory, as it is ſet forth in Trithemius, I will briefly in Engliſh expreſſe. About this tyme (ſayth he) in the dayes of Honorius. ij. one Arnulphus Prieſt (a man zelous and of great deuotion, and a worthy preacher) came to Rome: which Arnulphus in his preachyng rebuked the diſſolute and laſciuious looſenes, incōtinencie, auarice, and immoderate pride of the clergy: prouokyng all to follow Chriſt & his Apoſtles in ẏ pouerty rather, & in purenes of lyfe. By reaſon wherof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobilitie of Rome, for a true diſciple of Chriſt: but of the Cardinals and the clergy no leſſe hated, then fauoured of the other. In ſo much that priuely in the night ſeaſon they tooke him & deſtroyed him. This his martyrdome (ſayth he) was reueled to hym before, from God by an aungell, he beyng in the deſert, whē he was ſent forth to preach. Wherupon, he ſayd to them publikely with theſe wordes: I know (ſayth he) ye ſeeke my lyfe: and know, ye will make me away priuely. But why? becauſe I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, ſtoutnes, auarice, incontinencie, with your vnmeaſurable gredynes in getting and heapyng vp riches: therfore be you diſpleaſed with me. I take here heauen and earth to witnes, that I haue preached to you, that I was commaūded of the Lord. But you contemne me and your creator: who by his onely ſonne hath redemed you. And no maruell if ye ſeeke my death, beyng a ſinfull perſon preachyng to you the truth: when as if S. Peter were here this day, & rebuked your vices (which do ſo multiply aboue all meaſure) you would not ſpare him neither. And as he was expreſſyng this with a loude voyce, he ſayd moreouer: for my part, I am not afrayd to ſuffer death for the truth ſake: but this I ſay to you, that God will looke vpon your iniquities, & will be reuenged. You beyng full of all impuritie, play the blynd guides to the people committed to you, leadyng them the way to hell. A God he is of reuengeaūce. Thus the hatred of the clergye beyng incenſed agaynſt hym for preachyng truth, conſpired agaynſt him, and ſo laying priuye waite for hym, tooke hym, and drowned hym: Sabellicus and Platina ſay, they hanged hym.

Arnulphus Martyr.

Ex Tretimio. A booke called Tripartitum, written 400. yeares agoe.

In the ſecond Tome of the generall Councels imprinted at Colen, is mentioned a certaine booke called Opus tripartitum, written as the author ſuppoſeth, aboue 400. yeres agoe: either of this Arnulphus, or iuſt about ẏ ſame tyme. In this booke the writer complayneth of many enormities and abuſes in the Church. Firſt of the number of holy dayes: declaryng what occaſion of vice groweth therby, accordyng to the common ſaying of whores and naughty women (which ſay) they vantage more in one holy day then in 50. other dayes beſides.

Number of holy dayes.

Itē, complayneth of the curious ſingyng in Cathedrall churches, wherby many be occaſioned to beſtow much good tyme, yea many yeares about the ſame, which otherwiſe they might geue to the learnyng of better ſciences.

Curious ſinging in cathedrall churches.

Likewiſe, he complayneth of the rable and multitude of beggyng Friers and religious men, and profeſſed women, ſhewyng what great occaſiō of idle and vncomely lyfe commeth therof.

The world ouercharged with begging religions.

Alſo of the vnconſiderate promotion of euill Prelates. And of their great negligence in correctyng and reformyng the euill demeanour of the people.

Promotion of euill prelates.

Item, of the great wantonnes and laſciuiouſnes in their ſeruauntes and families, concernyng their exceſſiue wearyng of apparell.

Superfluitie of apparell in Byſhops families.

Item, complayneth alſo of the outragious and exceſſiue gaynes, that Prelates and other vnder them take for their ſeale: eſpecially of officials, ſcribes and ſuch like, which geue out the ſeale they care not how nor wherfore ſo they may gayne money.

Byſhops ſeales abuſed to get money.

He complayneth in like maner, that prelates be ſo ſlacke & negligent in lookyng to the reſidentes in their benefices.

Non reſidentes in benefices.

Farther lamenteth, for the raſhe geuyng of benefices to parſons, vicars, and curates, not for any godlynes or learnyng in them, but for fauour or frendſhyp, or interceſſion, either els for hope of ſome gayne: wherof ſpryngeth this great ignoraunce in the Church.

Raſhe beſtowing of benefices.

After this he noteth in prelates, how they waſt and expend the goodes of the Church in ſuperfluities or vpō their kinſfolke, or other worſe wayes: which ſhould rather be ſpent vpon the poore.

Waſtfull ſpēding of the church goodes.

Nextly in the x. chapter, he complaineth for that through the negligence of men of the church (eſpecially of the church of Rome) the bookes and monumentes of the old Councels and alſo of the new, are not to be found: which ſhould be re-

Old bookes of counsels loſt by the negligence of the clerkes.

ſerued and kept in all Cathedrall Churches.

The vnchaſt lyfe of prieſts cōdemned by the nature of the ſtorkes.

Item, that many prelates be ſo cold in doyng their duties. Alſo reprocheth the vnchaſt and voluptuous demeanour of Eccleſiaſticall perſons by the example of ſtorkes, whoſe nature is (ſayth he) that if any of their company, leauyng his owne mate, ioyneth with any other: all the reſt flyeth vpon hym (whether it be he or ſhe) beateth him, and plucketh his fethers of: what then (ſayth he) ought good Prelates to do to ſuch a perſon of their company, whoſe filthynes and corrupt life both defileth ſo many, and ſtinketh in the whole Church.

Amendment of life ought firſt to begin with prieſtes.

Agayne, for aſmuch as we read in the booke of Eſdras, lib.ij.chapt.ix. that he purgyng Iſraell of ſtraunge women, began firſt with the Prieſts: So now likewiſe in the purgyng and correctyng of all ſortes of men, firſt the purgation ought to begin with theſe, accordyng as it is written by the Prophet Ezechiell. Begyn firſt with my ſanctuary. &c.

The realme of Fraūce interdited.

King of Portingale depoſed.

Moreouer, how that in the tyme of Phillippe kyng of Fraunce, the whole Realme was interdited, for that the kyng had but one woman in ſtede of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And agayne, ſeyng in theſe our dayes, the king of Portingale hath bene ſequeſtred from his dominion, by the authoritie of the Church (beyng thought not ſufficient to gouerne) what then ought to be ſayd to that Prelate: which abuſeth other mens wiues, virgines, and nunnes, which alſo is found vnable and inſufficient to take vpon hym the charge of ſoules?

The knightes of the Rhodes and Templars.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1128. the orders of the knightes of the Rodes, called Ioannites: alſo the order of Templars roſe vp.

Pope Innocentius the ij.

After Honorius, next in the ſame vſurpation ſucceeded Pope Innocentius, ij. an. 1130. But as it was with his predeceſſours before hym, that at euery mutation of new Popes, came new perturbations: and commonly neuer a Pope was elected, but ſome other was ſet vp agaynſt hym (ſometymes. ij. ſometymes iij. Popes together) ſo likewiſe it happened with this Innocentius: for after he was choſen, the Romaines elected an other pope named Anacletus. Betwixt theſe two Popes was much ado, and great conflictes through the partakyng of Rogerius Duke of Sicile takyng Anacletus part agaynſt Innocentius, vntill Lotharius the Emperour came: who reſcuyng Innocentius, droue Rogerius out of Italy. Our ſtoryes recorde, that kyng Henry was one of the great helpes in ſettyng vp and maintaynyng this Pope Innocentius agaynſt Anacletus, Giſburnenſ.

Hurly burly betwene popes.

The popes icurſe proclaymed agaynſt ſuch that ſtrike any prieſt.

Amongeſt many other thynges this Pope decreed, that whoſoeuer did ſtrike a Prieſt or Clerke beyng ſhauen, he ſhould be excommunicate, and not to be abſolued, but onely of the Pope himſelfe.

The death of kyng Henry.

An. 1135.

About the tyme of doyng of theſe thynges (beyng the yeare of our Lord. 1135.) kyng Henry beyng in Normandy (as ſome ſay) by takyng there a fall frō his horſe (as other ſay) by takyng a ſurfet in eatyng Lampreis: fell ſicke and dyed, after he had reigned ouer the Realme of Englād xxxv. yeares and odd monethes, leauyng for his heyres, Matilde the Empriſe his daughter, with her young ſonne Henry to ſucceede after him: to whom all the Prelates and nobilitie of the Realme were ſworne. But contrary to their othe made to Molde in the preſence of her father before: William the Archbyſhop of Cant. & the nobles of the Realme, crowned Stephen Earle of Boloyne, and ſiſters ſonne to kyng Henry, vpon S. Stephens day in Chriſtenmas weeke. Which Archbyſhop, the next yeare after dyed: beyng (as it was thought) iuſtly puniſhed for his periury. And many other Lordes which did accordyngly, went not quite without puniſhment. In like iuſtice of puniſhment is numbred alſo Roger byſhop of Saliſbury, who contrary to his othe (beyng a great doer in the coronation of Stephen) was apprehended of the ſame kyng, and miſerably (but iuſtly) exterminated.

Periurie iuſtlye puniſhed.

Ex Chronico. Anglico. incerti autoris.

A certaine written Engliſh ſtory I haue, which addeth more and ſayth, that kyng Stephen (hauyng many foes in diuers quarters, keepyng there holdes and caſtels agaynſt him) went then to Oxford, and tooke the Byſhop of Saleſbury: and put a rope about his necke, & ſo led him to yͤ caſtle of Vice (that was his) & commaunded them to render vp the Caſtle, or he would ſlay and hang their Byſhop. Which Caſtle beyng geuen vp, the kyng tooke the ſpoyle therof. The like alſo he did to the Byſhop of Lyncolne named Alexander, whom in lyke maner he led in a rope to a Caſtle of the Byſhops, that was vpon Trent: and bad them deliuer vp the Caſtle, or els he would hang their Lord, before the gate. Long it was before the Caſtle was geuen vp: yet at length the kyng obteinyng it, there entred and tooke all the treaſure of the Byſhop. &c. Rog. Houed. Fabian allegyng a certaine old author, whom I can not finde: referreth a great cauſe of this periury to one Hugh Bigot, Steward ſometyme with kyng Henry. Who immediatly after the death of the ſayd Henry, came into England: and before the ſayd Archbyſhop & other Lordes of the land, tooke wilfully an othe, and ſware: that he was preſent a litle before the kynges death, when kyng Henry admitted for his heyre (to be kyng after hym) Stephen his nephew: for ſo much as Molde his daughter had diſcontented hym. Whereunto the Archbyſhop with the other Lordes gaue to haſty credence. But this Hugh (ſayth he) eſcaped not vnpuniſhed: for he dyed miſerably in a ſhort tyme after. Ex Fabia. Albeit all this may be ſuppoſed rather to be wrought not without the practiſe of Henry Byſhop of Winchaſter, and other prelates (by his ſettyng on) which Henry was brother to kyng Stephen. &c.

The Biſhop of Saruin & of Lincolne taken priſoners of the king, and led wyth ropes about their neckes.

Roger. Houed. in vita Steph.

Ex Fabian. In vita. Step.

¶Kyng Stephen.

1136.

K. Stephen.

THus when king Stephen contrary to his othe made before to Molde the Emperice, had taken vpon hym the crowne (as is aboue ſayd) he ſware before the Lordes at Oxford: that he would not hold the benefices that were voyded, and that he would remit the Danegelt, with many other thynges: which after he litle performed. Moreouer, becauſe he dread the commyng of the Empreſſe, he gaue licence to his Lordes, euery one to build vpon their owne ground, ſtrong caſtels or fortreſſes, as them lyked. All the tyme of his reigne he was vexed with warres, but eſpecially with Dauid kyng of the Scottes: with whom he was at length accorded: but yet the Scottiſh kyng dyd him no homage, becauſe he was ſworne to Maude the Empreſſe: Notwithſtandyng yet Henry the eldeſt ſonne to kyng Dauid, did homage to kyng Stephen. But he after repentyng therof, entred into Northumberlād with a great hoſt, and brent and ſlew the people in moſt cruell wiſe, neither ſparyng man, woman, nor child. Such as were with child they ript: the childrē they toſt vpō their ſpeare pointes: and laying the Prieſtes vpon the altares, they mangled and cut them all to peeces after a moſt terrible maner. But by the manhode of the Engliſh Lordes and ſouldiours, and through the meanes of Thurſtine Archbyſhop of Yorke: they were met withall, and ſlayne a great number of them, and Dauid their king conſtrayned to geue Henry his ſonne hoſtage for ſuretie of peace. In the meane tyme, kyng Steuen was occupied in the South coūtreys beſiegyng diuers caſtels of diuers Byſhops, & other Lordes: and tooke them by force, and fortified them with his knightes and ſeruauntes to the entent to withſtād the Empreſſe, whoſe commyng he euer feared.

Buildyng of Caſtels in England.

The crueltie of the Scots againſt the Engliſhmen.

1140.

Maude the Empreſſe came into England agaynſt Steuen.

King Steuē taken priſoner.

About the vi. yeare of his reigne, Maude the Empreſſe came into England out of Normandy, & by the ayde of Robert Earle of Gloceſter, and Ranulphe of Cheſter, made ſtrong warre vpon kyng Stephen: In the end wherof the kynges partie was chaſed, and himſelfe taken priſoner, & ſent to Briſtow, there to be kept in ſure hold. The ſame day, when kyng Stephen ſhould ioyne his battayle: it is ſayd in a certaine old Chronicle before mynded, that he beyng at the Maſſe (which then the byſhop of Lyncolne ſayd, before the kyng) as he went to offer vp his taper, it brake in two peeces. And when the Maſſe was done, (at what tyme the kyng ſhould haue bene houſeled) the rope wherby the pyxe did hange, dyd breake, and the pyxe fell downe vpon the altar.

After this field, the Queene (kyng Stephens wife, lyeng then in Kent) made great labour to the Empreſſe and her counſaile, to haue the kyng deliuered and put into ſome houſe of religion, but could not obtayne. Alſo the Londiners made great ſute to the ſayd Empreſſe, to haue and to vſe agayne Saint Edwardes lawes, and not the lawes of her father, which were more ſtraite and ſtraunge to them then the other: which when they could not obteyne of her and her coūſaile: the Citizens of Londō (beyng therwith diſcontented) would haue taken the Empreſſe. But ſhe hauyng knowledge therof, fled priuily from London to Oxford. But then the Kentiſhmen and Londiners takyng the kyngs part, ioyned battaile agaynſt the Empreſſe: there the foreſayd Robert Earle of Gloceſter, and baſe brother to the Empreſſe was taken. And ſo by exchaunge, both the kyng, & Earle Robert were deliuered out of priſon. Then Stephen (without delay) gatheryng to him a ſtrong army: ſtraitly purſued the foreſayd Matilde or Maulde, with her frendes: beſiegyng them in the Caſtell of Oxford. In the ſiege wherof, fell a great ſnow and froſt, ſo hard: that a man well laden might paſſe ouer the water. Vpon the occaſion wherof the Empreſſe (bethinking her ſelfe) appointed with

What it is for princes to be hard & ſtreit to their ſubiectes.

K. Steuen & Rob. erle of Gloceſter deliuered by exchaunge.

her

Ex incerti autoris chronico.

her frendes and retinue: clothed in white ſheetes (and ſo iſſuing out by a poſterne gate) went vpon the yſe, ouer Thames, and ſo eſcaped to Wallingford. After thys, the kyng (the caſtell beyng gotten) when he founde not the Empreſſe, was much diſpleaſed: and moleſted the countrey about diuers wayes. In concluſion, he purſued the Empreſſe and her company ſo hard, that he cauſed them to flee the realme, which was the vi. yeare of his reigne.

The ſecond yeare after this, which was the viij. yeare of his reigne: there was a parliament kept at Londō. Vnto the which, all the Byſhops of the Realme reſorted, and there denounced the kyng accurſed (and all them with him) that did any hurt to the Church, or to any miniſter therof. Wherupon the kyng began ſomewhat to amend hys conditions, for a certaine ſpace: but afterward, as my ſtory ſaith, was as euill as he was before. But what ẏ cauſes were, myne author maketh no relation therof. &c. To returne agayne to the ſtory, the Empreſſe compelled (as is ſayd, to flee the realme) returned agayne into Normandy to Geffray Plantagenet her huſband, who, after he had valiantly wonne and defended the Duchy of Normandy, agaynſt the puiſance of kyng Steuen a long tyme: ended hys lyfe, leauing Henry his ſonne to ſucceede him in that dukedome. In the meane while: Robert Earle of Glocetter, and the Earle of Cheſter (who were ſtrong of people) had diuers conflictes wyth the kyng: in ſo much that at a battayle at Wilton betwene them, the king was welneare taken, but yet eſcaped with much payne.

The deceaſe of Geffray Plantagenet.

Henry Duke of Normandye.

It was not lōg after, but Euſtace ſonne to kyng Steuen, who had maryed the French kynges ſiſter: made war vpon Duke Henry of Normandye, but preuayled not. Soone after, the ſayd Henry Duke of Normandy (in the quarell of his mother Maude) with a great puiſance entred into England: and at the firſt wan the caſtell of Malmeſbury: then the tower of London: and afterwarde the towne of Nottingham: wyth other holdes and caſtels, as of Walyngford and other mo. Thus, betwene him and the kyng were foughten many battayles, to the great annoyance of the realme. During which time, Euſtace ẏ kings ſonne departeth. Vpon the occaſion wherof, the king cauſed Theobalde (which ſucceeded next after William aboue mentioned) Archbyſhop of Cant. to make meanes to the Duke for peace: which vpon this condition betwene them was concluded, that Steuen during his life tyme ſhould holde the kyngdome: And Henry in the meane tyme to be proclaymed heyre apparant, in the chiefe cities throughout the realme. Theſe thinges thus concluded, Duke Henry taketh his iourney into Normandy (king Steuen and his ſonne William, bringing him on his way) where William the kinges ſonne, taking vp his horſe before his father, had a fall, and brake his legge, and ſo was had to Canterbury. The ſame yeare kyng Steuen, about October (as ſome ſay for ſorow) ended his lyfe, after he had reigned xix. yeres periuredly.

Henry entreth into England.

Theobalde archbiſhop of Cant. Peace betwene kyng Steuen, and Duke Hēry concluded.

The death of K. Steuen.

S. William of Yorke.

As Theobalde ſucceeded after William archbiſhop of Cāt. ſo in Yorke after Thurſtine ſucceeded Williā, which was called S. William of Yorke: who was poyſoned in his chalice by his chaplaynes.

In the tyme of thys kyng, which was the xvi. yeare of hys reigne, Theobaldus archbyſhop of Cant. and Legate to the Pope, did hold a councell at London: In the which councell firſt began new found appellations, from councels to the Pope, found out by Henry byſhop of Wint. For as the wordes of myne author do recorde: In Anglia namq; appellationes in vſu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wint. Epiſcopus dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit. In eodē namq; concilio ad Ro. pōtificis audientiam ter appellatum eſt &c. i. For appellations before were not in vſe in England, till Henry byſhop of Wint. being thē the popes Legate, brought them cruelly in, to his owne hurt. For in that Councell, thriſe appeale was made to the Byſhop of Rome.

Gracianus the cōpiler of the popes decrees. Petrus Lombardus maſter of the ſentence.

In the tyme of kyng Stephen died Gracianus a mōke of Bonanie: who compiled the booke called the popes decrees. Alſo his brother Petrus Lombardus Byſhop of Paris (which is called the Maſter of Sentēces) cōpiled his foure bookes of the ſentence. Theſe two brethren were the greateſt doers in findyng out and ſtabliſhyng this blynde opinion of the Sacrament: that the onely ſimilitude of bread and wyne remayned, but not the ſubſtaunce of them: and this they call the ſpirituall vnderſtandyng of the myſtery. And therfore no maruell if the ſunne in thoſe dayes were ſeene black and dym.

Petrus Comeſtor.

Some alſo affirme, that Petrus Comeſtor, writer of the ſcholaſticall hiſtory was the third brother to theſe aboue named.

Hugo de ſancto Victore. Bernardus Clarenalenſis.

In the ſame tyme and raigne of the ſayd kyng Stephē, was alſo Hugo ſurnamed De ſancto victore. About the which time (as Polychronicon reciteth) lyued a dyed Bernardus Clarenallenſis.

Hildegard.

The author of the hiſtory (called Iornalenſis) maketh alſo mention of Hildegare the Nunne and Propheteſſe in Almaine, to lyue in the ſame age. Concernyng whoſe prophecy agaynſt the Friers: hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) more ſhalbe ſayd, when we come to recite the order, and number of Friers and religious men crept into the Church of Chriſt.

Ioannes de temporibus.

We read moreouer of one named Ioannes de temporibus: which by the affirmaunce of moſt of our old hiſtories, lyued. 361. yeares (ſeruaunt once to Carolus Magnus) and in ẏ raigne of Stephen, kyng of England dyed. Polychron. Lib. 7. Continuator Hen. Huntyng. Iornalenſ. in vita Steph. Nicola. Trinet. &c.

In the dayes alſo of this kyng (and by hym) was builded the Abbey of Feuerſhā: where his ſonne and he were buryed. He builded the monaſtery of Furneys, and of Fomitaunce, the Caſtle of Walingford, with a number of other Caſtels mo.

The Iewes crucified a chriſten boy at Norwige.

During the tyme of the ſayd kyng Stephen, the yeare of our Lord. 1144. the miſerable Iewes crucified a child, in the Citie of Norwyge. N. Trinet. & alij.

The order of the Gilbertines.

Much about the ſame tyme, came vp the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, ſonne to Iocoline a knyght of Lyncolneſhyre. &c.

The Lordes prayer & the Creede in Engliſhe.

Mention hath bene made before, of certaine Engliſh Councels, holden in the tyme of this kyng, where it was (in one of them vnder Theobald the Archbyſhop of Canterbury) decreed, that byſhops ſhould lyue more diſcretely: ſhould teach their flocke more diligently: that readyng of the Scriptures ſhould be frequented more vſually in Abbeyes: that Prieſtes ſhould not be rulers of worldly matters: and that they ſhould learne and teach the Lordes prayers, and Crede in Engliſh. Malmeſb.

Mattheus Pariſienſ. lib. Chron. 4.

Steuen kyng of England.

Mattheus Pariſienſis writeth, how Stephen kyng of England in theſe dayes reſerued to himſelfe, the right and authoritie of beſtowyng of ſpirituall liuyngs, and inueſtyng Prelates, an. 1133.

At which time alſo, Lotharius the Emperour began to do the like: in recouering agayne the right and priuiledge taken away from Henricus his predeceſſour: had not Bernardus geuen hym contrary counſell.

Curſing wyth booke, bell, and candle.

Here came into the Church, the maner of curſing with booke, bell, and candell, deuiſed in the Councell of London holden by William byſhop of Wincheſter vnder pope Celeſtinus, which ſucceeded after Innocentius, an. 1144.

An. 1138.

After Lotharius, ſucceeded in the Imperiall crowne, Conradus the nephew of Henricus the v. afore mentioned an. 1138. which onely amongeſt many Emperours is not found to receiue the crowne at the popes hand.

Pope Lucius the ij. warring againſt the Senatours.

In the dayes of this emperour (who raigned. xv. yeares) were diuers Popes: as Celeſtinus ij. Lucius the ij. Eugenius ẏ iij. At which time the Romaines went about to recouer agayne their former old maner of chuſing their conſuls and Senators. But the popes then beyng in their ruffe, in no caſe would abyde it: wherupon roſe many commotions, with much ciuile warre amongeſt them. In ſo much, that Pope Lucius (ſendyng for ayde to the Emperour, and he otherwiſe letted at that tyme could not come) armed his ſouldiours: thinking to inuade them or els to deſtroy them in their Senate houſe. But this commyng to their knowledge before: the people was all in aray, & ſo much ado was amongeſt them. Pope Lucius beyng alſo amongeſt them in the fight (well pelted with ſtones and blowes) lyued not long after. Likewiſe pope Eugenius after hym, an. 1145. (purſuyng the Romaines for the ſame matter) firſt dyd curſe them with excommunication. After, when he ſaw that would not ſerue, he came with his hoſte: and ſo compelled them at length to ſeeke his peace, and to take his conditions which were theſe: that they ſhould aboliſh their cōſuls, and take ſuch Senatours, as he by his Papale authoritie, ſhould aſſigne them.

Spirituall excōmunication abuſed in temporall cauſes.

Hadrianus a Pope an Engliſhman.

Then followed Anaſtaſius. 4. and after him Hadrianus. 4. an Engliſhman, by his name (called Breakeſpere) belongyng once to S. Albones. This Hadrianus kept great ſtyrre in like ſort with the Citizens of Rome for aboliſhyng their conſuls and Senate: curſing, excommunicatyng, and warryng agaynſt them, with all power he could make: to the tyme he remoued the conſuls out of their office, and brought them all vnder his ſubiection. The lyke buſineſſe and rage he alſo ſtyrred vp agaynſt Apulia, and eſpecially agaynſt the impiere: bluſtryng and thundering agaynſt Fridericus the Emperour, as (the Lord graūtyng)

You ſhall heare anone after we haue proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily appertaineth firſt to the continuation of our Engliſh ſtory.

¶Kyng Henry the ſecond.

An. 1154.

K. Henry the ſecond.

Thomas Becket chauncellor of England.

Henry the ſecond of that name, the ſonne of Ieffray Plantagenet, and of Maude the Empreſſe & daughter of kyng Henry the firſt, began his raigne after kyng Stephen, and continued, 35. yeares. The firſt yeare of his raigne he ſubdued Ireland, and not long after Thomas Becket was made by hym Lord Chauncellour of England. This kyng caſt downe diuers Caſtels, which were erected in the tyme of kyng Stephen. He went into the North partes, where he ſubdued Williā kyng of Scotland: who at that tyme held a great part of Northumberland vnto new Caſtel vpon Tyne: and ioyned Scotland to his own kyngdome from the South Oceane to the North Iles of Orchades. Alſo he put vnder his dominion yͤ kyngdome of Wales, and there let to fall downe many great woodes, and made the wayes playne. So that by his great manhode and policie, the ſeignorie of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Iles Orchades, Britaine, Poytow and Guyan. Alſo he had in his rule, Normandy, Gaſcoyn, Angeo, and Chinon: alſo Auerne and the Citie of Tholouſſe he wan, and were to hym ſubiect. Ouer & beſides (by the title of his wife Elenore daughter to yͤ earle of Poytow) he obtained yͤ mountes Pirenie in Spayne: ſo that we read of none of his progenitours, which had ſo many countreyes vnder his dominion.

An. 1157.

In England were ſene in the firmament, ij. ſunnes, or as it is in Chronica Chronicorum, in Italy appeared three ſunnes by the ſpace of, iij. houres in the weſt: and the yeare folowyng appeared iij. moones: wherof the midle moone had a red croſſe ouerthwart the face. Wherby was tokened (by the iudgement of ſome) the great ſchiſme, that after fell amōg the Cardinals for the election of the byſhop of Rome: or els rather the buſines betwene Fridericus the Emperour and the popes: wherof partly now incidently occaſion geueth vs to diſcourſe. After that I haue firſt written of Gerhardus and Dulcinus Nauarenſis, who in their tyme according to their gift did earneſtly labour & preach agaynſt the Church of Rome: defendyng and maintainyng, that prayer was not more holy in one place then in an other: that the Pope was Antichriſt: that the Clergy and prelates of Rome were reiect: and the very whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalips, &c. Peraduenture theſe had receiued ſome light of knowledge of yͤ Waldenſes. Who at legth with a great number of their followers were oppreſſed and ſlayne by the pope. And although ſome inconuenient points of doctrine and diſhoneſty in their aſſēblies be agaynſt them alledged, of ſome: yet theſe tymes of ours do teach vs ſufficiently, what credite is to be geuen to ſuch popiſh ſlanders, forged rather vpon hatred of true Religion, then vpon any iudgement of truth. Illyricus in his booke De teſtibus, referreth the time of theſe two, to the yeare of our Lord. 1280 but as I find in the ſtory of Robert Guiſburne: theſe two, about the yeare of our Lord, 1158. brought 30. with them into England: who by the kyng and the Prelates, were all burnt in the forehead, & ſo driue out of the realme: and after (as Illyricus writeth) were ſlayne by the pope.

Gerhardus. Dulcinus.

Ex hiſtoria Giſburnenſ.

An. 1158.

Fredericus Barbaroſſa Emperour.

And now accordyng to my promiſe premiſed, the tyme requireth to proceede to the hiſtory of Fridericus the firſt (called Barbaroſſa) ſucceſſor vnto Conradus in the Empire, who marched vp to Italy, to ſubdue there certaine rebels. The pope hearyng that, came with his clergy to mete him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinkyng by him to finde ayde agaynſt his enemies. The Emperour ſeyng the byſhop: lighteth of his horſe to receiue him holdyng the ſtirrup to the Prelate on the left ſide, when he ſhould haue held it on yͤ right: wherat yͤ pope ſhewed himſelf ſomwhat agreued. The Emperour ſmilyng, excuſed hymſelfe that he was neuer accuſtomed to hold ſtirrups. And ſeyng it was done onely of good wil and of no duety, the leſſe matter was, what ſide of the horſe he held. The next day to make amendes agayne to the Byſhop: the Emperour ſendyng for him, receiued him holdyng the right ſtirrup to the prelate, and ſo all the matter was made whole, and he the popes owne white ſonne agayne.

The Pope diſpleaſed, that the Emperour did not hold hys right ſtyrup. The Emperour holdeth the popes ſtyrup.

After this, as they were come in and ſate together: Hadrianus the pope beginneth to declare vnto him, how his aunceſtors before him (ſuch as ſought to the ſea of Rome for the crowne) were wont alwayes to leaue behynde them ſome ſpeciall token or monumēt of their beneuolence, for the obteynyng therof: as Carolus Magnus in ſubduyng the Lōbardes: Otho, the Berengarians: Lotharius, the Normandes, &c. Wherfore, he required ſome benefite to procede likewiſe from him to the Church of Rome, in reſtoryng agayne the countrey of Apulia, to the Church of Rome. Which thyng if he would do, he for his part agayne would do that which appertained to him to do: (meaning in geuing him the crowne) for at that tyme the popes had brought the Emperours, to fetch their crowne at their handes.

The popes olde practiſe in ſetting princes together by the eares.

Frederike with his princes perceiuyng, that vnleſſe he would of his owne proper coſtes & charges fetch in agayne Apulia out of duke Williams handes, he could not ſpede of the crowne: was fayne to promiſe to all that the pope required, and ſo the next day after was crowned.

This done, the Emperour returneth into Germany, to refreſh his army & his other furnitures, for the ſubduing of Apulia. In the meane while, Hadrianus not thinkyng to be idle: firſt geueth forth cenſures of excommunication agaynſt William duke of Apulia. Beſides (not content with this) ſendeth alſo to Emanuell emperour of Cōſtantinople, incenſing him to warre agaynſt the foreſayd William. The duke perceauyng this, ſendeth to the pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to him whatſoeuer he would.

Warre more gainefull to the Pope then peace. Warre ſtyrred vp by the Pope.

But the Pope through the malignaunt counſell of his Cardinals, would graūt to no peace: thinkyng to get more by warre. The Duke ſeyng nothyng but warre, prepareth himſelf with all expeditiō to the ſame. To be brief, making all his power out of Sicilia, he arriueth at Apulia, & there putteth Emanuell the Emperour to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the Citie Bonauenture, where the pope with his Cardinals were lookyng for victory. He plantyng there his ſiege, ſo ſtraitly preſſed the City: that the pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreate for peace, which they refuſed before. The Duke graunted to their peace vpon certaine conditions: that is, that neither he ſhould inuade ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope ſhould make hym kyng of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The byſhop commyng to Rome, was no leſſe troubled there about their Conſuls and Senators. In ſo much, that when his curſes and excommunications could not preuayle nor ſerue, he was fayne to leaue Rome, and remoued to Ariminum.

The pope driuen to entreate for peace.

The Emperour all this while, ſittyng quietly at home: began to conſider with himſelfe, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperours (his predeceſſours) the inueſtyng and induyng of Prelates: how he had pylled and poled all nations by his Legates: and alſo had bene the ſower of ſeditions through all his Impery: he began therfore to require of all the Byſhops of Germany homagium, and othe of their allegeance: Commaundyng alſo the popes Legates, if they came into Germany without his ſendyng for, not to be receiued. Charging moreouer all his ſubiectes, that none of them ſhould appeale to Rome. Beſides this, in his letters he ſet and prefixed his name, before the Popes name. Wherupon the Pope beyng not a litle offended, directed hys letters to the foreſayd Fridericke Emperour, after this tenor and forme as foloweth.

The godly proceedings of Fredericke the Emperour agaynſt the Pope.

¶The copy of Hadrianus the Popes letters, to Fredericke the Emperour.

Hadrianus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, Friderico Imperatori ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cætera vide in priore æditione. In Engliſh.

A letter of Pope Hadrian, to the Emperour Fredericke.

Hadrian Byſhop, ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God, to Fredericke Emperour health and Apoſtolicall benediction. The law of God, as it promiſeth to them that honour father and mother long lyfe: ſo it threateneth the ſentence of death to them that curſe father and mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that euery one which exalteth hymſelfe, ſhalbe brought low. Wherfore (my welbeloued ſonne in the Lord) we maruell not a litle at your wiſedome: in that you ſeme not to ſhew that reuerence to bleſſed S. Peter and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to ſhew. For why, in your letters ſent to vs, you preferre your owne name before ours: wherin you incurre the note of inſolencie, yea (and rather to ſpeake it) of arrogancie. What ſhoulde I here recite vnto you, the othe of your fidelitie, which you ſware to bleſſed S. Peter and to vs, and how you obſerue and kepe the ſame? Seyng you ſo require homage and allegiance of them that be Gods, and all the ſonnes of the high God, and preſume to ioyne their holy hands with yours: working contrary to vs? Seyng alſo you exclude (not onely out of your churches, but alſo out of your cities) our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our ſide: what ſhall I ſay then vnto you? Amend therfore I aduiſe you, amend: for while you go about to obtayne of vs your conſecration

The Emperours name before the Popes.

ſtation and crowne, and to get thoſe thinges you haue not, I feare much, your honour will loſe the thinges ye haue. Thus fare ye well.

¶The aunſwer of Fredrike the Emperour to the Pope.

FRederike by the grace of God, Romaine Emperour, euer Auguſtus: vnto Adrian biſhop of the Romaine Church, & vnto all ſuch that be willing to cleaue vnto thoſe things which Ieſus began to worke and teach, greetyng. The law of Iuſtice, geueth to euery perſon accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our parentes: of whome, accordyng as we haue receiued this our dignitie of the Imperiall crowne and gouernaunce: ſo in the ſame kingdome of ours, we do render their due and true honour to them againe. And for as much as duty in all ſortes of men, is to be ſought out: let vs ſee, firſt in the tyme of Conſtantine (Silueſter then beyng biſhop of Rome) what patrimony or regalitie he had of his own, due to him that he might claim? Did not Conſtantine of hys liberall benignitie geue liberty, and reſtored peace vnto the church? And whatſoeuer regality or patrimony the ſee of your papacy hath: was it not by the donation of Princes geuen vnto them? Reuolue and turne ouer the auncient chronicles (if eyther you haue not red, or neglected that we do affirme) there it is to be foũde. Of them which be Gods by adoptiõ, & hold our lordſhips of vs: why may we not iuſtly require their homage, & their ſworne allegiance: when as he which is both your maiſter and ours (taking nothing of any king or any man, but geuing all goodnes to all men) payde toll and tribute for him and Peter, vnto Ceſar? Geuing you example to doe the lyke. And therfore ſaith to you, & all men: Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of hart. &c. Wherefore either render againe your lordſhips & patrimonies which ye hold of vs: or els if ye finde them ſo ſwete vnto you, then geue that which is due to God, to God: and that which is due to Ceſar, vnto Ceſar. As for your Cardinals, we ſhut them out both of churches and cities. For that we ſee them not preachers, but proylers: not repairers of peace, but rakers for mony: not pillers and vpholders of the church, but polers inſatiable of the world and moylers of mony & gold. What tyme we ſhall ſee them to be other men (ſuch as the church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace ſhining forth lyke lights to the people, aſſiſting poore and weake mens cauſes in the way of equitie. &c. Thẽ ſhal they find vs preſt and ready to relieue them with ſtipendes, and all things neceſſary. And where as you infer ſuch queſtions as theſe vnto ſecular men (little conducing to religion) you incurre therby no little note and blemiſh of your humilitie (which is keper of all vertues) and of your manſuetude. Therfore let your fatherhood beware and take hede, leſt in mouyng ſuch matters as ſeme to vs vnſeemely for you: ye geue therby offence to ſuch as depend of your word (geuing eare to your mouth, as it were to an euening ſhower.) For we cannot but tell you of that we heare: ſeing now the deteſtable beaſt of pride, doth creepe into the ſeat of Peter, prouiding alwayes (as much as we may by gods grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare ye well.

Upon this, Hadrianus the Pope directeth out a Bull agaynſt Fredericke: excommunicating hym with publike & ſolemne ceremonies. Moreouer (conſpiring with William duke of Apulia) ſought all maner of wayes to infeſt the emperour, and to ſet all men agaynſt hym: eſpecially the clergy. Amongſt many other writyng to Hillinus B. of Triuers: to Arnulphus biſhop of Mentz: and to Fredericke biſhop of Colen: ſeketh firſt to make them of his ſide. His Epiſtle to them ſoundeth to this effect.

A ſeditious and proud letter of the Pope to the Biſhops of Germany.

THe Empire of Rome was transferred frõ the Grekes, to ẏ Almaynes: ſo ẏ the kyng of Almaines could not be called Emperour, before he were crowned of the biſhop Apoſtolicall. Before hys conſecration he is a kyng, afterward Emperour. whence hath he hys Empire then, but of vs? By the election of hys princes he hath the name of a king: by our conſecratiõ he hath the name of the Emperor of Auguſt, or of Ceſar. Ergo, by vs he reigneth as Emperour. Search auncient antiquities. Zacharias Pope promoted Carolus, and made hym a great name: that he was made and called Emperour. And after that, euer the kyng of Almaynes was named Emperour, and aduocate to the ſee Apoſtolicall: ſo that Apulia (conquered by hym) was ſubdued to the biſhop of Rome: which Apulia, with the city of Rome is ours, and not the Emperours. Our ſeate is at Rome: the ſeat of the Emperour is at Aquis in Ardueuna which is a wood in Fraunce. The Emperour whatſoeuer he hath, he hath it of vs. As Zacharias dyd tranſlate the Empyre from the Greekes to the Almaynes: ſo we may tranſlate it agayne from the Almaynes, to the Grekes. Behold it lyeth in our power to geue it to whom we will: beyng therfore ſet vp of God aboue Gentiles and nations, to deſtroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant. &c.

Well bragged and lyke a Pope.

Scripture well wraſted.

And yet further to vnderſtand the ambitious preſumption of thys proud ſee of Rome: it ſo chaunced this Emperour Fredericus at hys firſt commyng vp to Rome, dyd behold there in the palace of Lateran, a certaine picture brought forth vnto hym: How Lotharius ij. Emperour was crowned of the Pope, with the inſcription of certaine verſes in Latin: declaryng how the foreſayd Emperor cõmyng to Rome, firſt dyd ſweare to the city: after was made the Popes man, and ſo of hym receiued the crowne. Fredericus offended with this picture, deſired the Pope it might be aboliſhed, for that it ſhould be no cauſe of any diſſention hereafter. The Pope vnderſtandyng the intent of the Emperor, how loth he was to come vnder ſubiection to hys ſee: deuiſed by all crafty wayes to bring it to paſſe. And firſt takyng hys occaſion by the biſhop of Laodicia (beyng thẽ deteyned in cuſtody, I cannot tell by whom) ſent diuers and ſharpe letters vnto hym. And yet not ſo ſharpe, as proud & diſdainfull. wherin the firſt ſalutation by hys legates, was this in latine: Salutat vos beatiſſimus pater noſter Papa, & vniuerſitas Cardinalium, ille vt pater, hij vt fratres: That is, Our moſt bleſſed father the Pope, greeteth you, and the vniuerſall company of the Cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meanyng therby that he ſhould vnderſtand hymſelfe to be ſubiect and vnderlyng to the Pope, no leſſe then the Cardinals were. Moreouer in hys letters obiectyng diuers thynges agaynſt hym, reciteth: how many & great benefites he had receiued of the church of Rome by the which church he had obteyned the fulnes of hys honour and dignity. &c. The Emperor wyth hys princes perceauyng wherunto the Pope by hys Legates dyd ſhoote: (beyng a prince of courage) could not abide ſuch intollerable preſumption of a proud meſſage: wherupon much contention fell betwene the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then (ſay the Legates) receyueth Ceſar hys Empery, if he take it not of the Pope? With the which worde, the Germayne princes were ſo much offended: that had not the Emperour ſtayed them (with much ado) they would haue vſed violence agaynſt the Legates. But the Emperour not permittyng that, commaunded the Legates away: ſtraitly chargyng them to make no turne by the way to any perſon or perſons, but ſtraight to depart home. And he (to certifie the whole ſtate of ẏ Empire of the truth of the matter) directeth forth theſe letters that follow.

Ex Radeuuico, in appendice Friſingenſis.

See the ambitious preſumption of a proud prieſt.

¶The tenor of the Emperours letters ſent through all hys Empire.

FOr as much as the prouidence of God (wherof depẽdeth all power both in heauen and earth) hath committed to vs his annoynted, this our regiment and Impery to be gouerned, and the peace of hys Churches by our Imperiall armes to be protected: we can but lament and complaine to you with great ſorow of hart, ſeing ſuch cauſes of diſſentiõ (the roote and fountaine of euils, and the infection of peſtiferous corruption) thus to ryſe from the holy church imprinted with the ſeale of peace and loue of Chriſt.

By reaſon wherof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole body of the church is lyke to be polluted: the vnitie therof to be broken: and a ſchiſme and deuiſion to be betwixt the ſpirituall and temporall regiment. For we beyng a late at Biſuntze, and there intreating buſily of matters pertainyng as well to the honour of our Empire, as to the wealth of churches: there came Embaſſadors of the ſee Apoſtolicall, declaring they brought a legacie to our maieſty of great importaunce: redoũding to no ſmall commoditie of our honour and Empire.

Who then, the firſt day of their cõmyng, being brought to our preſence, and receyued of vs (as the maner is) with honour accordingly, audience was geuen thẽ, to heare what they had to ſay. They forthwith, bruſtyng out of the Mammon of iniquitie: hautie pryde, ſtoutneſſe and arrogancie: out of the execrable preſumption of their ſwellyng harte, did their meſſage with letters Apoſtolicall, wherof the tenour was this. That we ſhould always haue before our eies, how that our ſoueraigne Lord the Pope gaue vs the Imperiall crowne, and that it doth not repent him, if ſo be it, we haue receiued greater benefites at hys hand.

And this was the effect of that ſo ſweete and fatherly legation, which ſhould nouriſh peace both of the church and of the Empire, to vnite them faſt together in the band of loue.

At the hearyng of this ſo falſe, vntrue, and moſt vaineglorious preſumption of ſo proud a meſſage: not onely the Emperours maieſtie, conceyued iuſt indignation, but alſo all the Princes (there preſent) were moued with ſuche anger and rage there at: that if our preſence and requeſt had not ſtayed them, they could not haue helde their handes from theſe wicked prieſtes, or els to haue proceded with ſentẽce of death agaynſt them.

Furthermore, becauſe a great number of other letters (partly written already, partly with ſeales ready ſigned, for letters to be writtẽ according as they ſhould think good to the churches of Germany) were found about them: wherby to worke their conceyued intent of iniquitie here in our Churches, to ſpoyle the altars, to cary away the iewels of the church, and to fley the limmes and plates of goldẽ croſſes, &c. To the entent their auaricious meanyng ſhold haue haue no further power to raigne: we gaue them commaundement to depart the ſame way, they came. And now, ſeing our raigne and Empery ſtandeth vpon the election of Princes, frõ God alone: who in the paſſion of his ſonne, ſubdued the world to be gouerned with two ſwordes neceſſary: & again, ſeyng Peter the Apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this doctrine: Deum timete, Regem honorificate: That is, Feare God, honour your kyng: Therefore, who ſo ſayth, that we haue and poſſeſſe our Imperiall kingdome by the benefite of the Lord Pope: Is contrary both to the ordinãce of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and alſo ſhalbe reproued for a lyer.

Note here a couragious hart in a valiant Emperor. An example for all princes to follow.

Therfore as our endeuor hath bene heretofore to helpe and to deliuer the ſeruile captiuitie of churches out of the hand, and from the yoke of the Egiptians, and to maintaine the right of their liberties and dignities: we deſire you all with your compaſſion to lament with vs, this ſlaunderous ignominie inferred to vs and our kingdome. Truſtyng that your faithfull good will, which hath bene euer truſty to the honour of this Empire (neuer yet blemiſhed from the firſt beginnyng of this citie, and of religion) will prouide, that it ſhall haue no hurt through the ſtraunge noueltie, & preſumptuous pride of ſuche. Which thing, rather than it ſhould come to paſſe, know you this for certaine: I had rather incurre the daunger of death, then to ſuffer ſuch confuſion to happen in our dayes.

This letter of Ceſar fretted the Pope not a little: who wrote agayne to the biſhops of Germany, accuſing the Emperour, and willing them to worke againſt him what they could. They aunſwer agayne with all obedience to yͤ pope: ſubmittyng themſelues, and yet excuſing the Emperor, and blamyng hym rather. And exhorted hym henceforth to temper hys letters and legacies with more gentlenes and modeſtie: the which counſell he alſo followed, perceiuing otherwiſe, that he could not preuayle.

Much trouble had good Fredericus with this Pope: but much more with the other, that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the ſpace onely of 4. yeares & odde monthes. About whoſe tyme, roſe vp the order of the Hermites by one William, once duke of Aquitania, & afterward a Frier. This Hadrianus walkyng with his cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia or Arignanum, (as Volateran calleth it) chaunced to be choked with a flie gettyng into hys throte, and ſo was ſtrangled, who in the latter tyme of his papacie, was wont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kinde of lyfe in the earth, then to be a Pope, and to come to the Papacie by bloud, that is (ſaid he) not to ſuccede Peter, but rather Romulus, who to raigne alone, did ſlay hys brother.

The order of Eremites.

An. 1159.

The ſaying and iudgement of Pope Adrianus of the papall ſea. The popes rather ſucceſſors to Romulus then to Peter.

Pope Alexander the 3.

Although this Adrian was bad inough, yet came yͤ next much worſe, one Alexander the 3. of yͤ name. Who yet was not elected alone, for beſide him the Emperor with 9. Cardinals (albeit Sabellicus ſaith but with 3.) did ſet vp another pope named Victor the 4. Betwene theſe two popes roſe a foule ſchiſme and great diſcord, and long contynued. In ſo much that the Emperour being required to take vp the matter, ſent for them both to appeare before him: that in hearing them both he might iudge their cauſe yͤ better. Victor came, but Alexãder (diſdaining that his matter ſhould come in controuerſie) refuſed to appeare. Whereupon the Emperour with a full conſent of his biſhops and clergy about him, aſſigned and ratified the electiõ of Victor to ſtãd. And ſo brought him into the citie, there to be receyued and placed. Alexander (flying into Fraunce) accurſed thẽ both: ſendyng hys letters to all chriſtendome agaynſt them, as men to be auoyded and caſt out of all chriſten company. Alſo to get him frendes at Rome, by flattery and mony got on hys ſide the greateſt part of the citie: both to the fauouring of hym, and to the ſetting vp of ſuch Conſuls as were for hys purpoſe. After this, Alexander commyng from Frãce to Sicile, and from thence to Rome: was there receyued with much fauour, through the helpe of Philip the Frẽch kyng.

Alexander curſeth the Emperour.

The Emperour hearyng this rebellion and conſpiracie in Rome: remoued with great power into Italye, where he had deſtroyed diuers great Cities. Commyng at length to Rome, he required the Citizens: that the cauſe betwixt the two Popes might be decided, and that he which had the beſt right might be taken. If they would ſo doe, he would reſtore agayne that which he tooke from them before. Alexander miſtruſtyng his part, and doubting yͤ willes of the Citizens, (hauyng ſhippes ready prepared for hym, from William Duke of Apulia) fetchte a courſe about to Venice.

1164.

To declare here the difference in hiſtories, betwene Blondus Sabellicus, and the Venitian Chronicles, with other writers, concernyng the order of this matter: I will ouerpaſſe. In this moſt do agree, that the Pope beyng at Venice, and required to be ſent of the Venetians, to the Emperour, they would not ſend hym. Wherupon, Fredericus the Emperor ſent thither hys ſonne Otho with men and ſhips well appoynted: charging hym not to attẽpt any thing before hys commyng. The yong man more hardy then circumſpect (ioyning wyth the Venetians) was ouercome: & ſo taken was brought into the City. Hereby the pope toke no ſmall occaſion to worke hys feates.

The father to helpe the captiuitie and miſery of hys ſonne: was compelled to ſubmitte hymſelfe to the Pope, and to intreat for peace. So the Emperour commyng to Venice (at Saint Markes church, where the biſhop was, there to take his abſolution) was bid to knele downe at the Popes feete.

The proude Pope ſettyng hys foote vpon the Emperours necke ſayd the verſe of the Pſalme: Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis & conculcabis Leonem & Draconẽ: That is: Thou ſhalt walke vpon the adder and yͤ baſiliſke: and ſhalt treade downe the Lion and the Dragon, &c. To whom the Emperour aunſwering agayne, ſayde: Non tibi ſed Petro, that is not to thee but to Peter. The Pope agayne, Et mihi, & Petro, both to me and to Peter. The Emperour fearyng to geue any occaſion of farther quarellyng, held hys peace & ſo was abſolued, and peace made betwene them: the conditions wherof were theſe. Firſt yͭ he ſhould receyue Alexander, for the true Pope. Secondly, that he ſhould reſtore agayne to the church of Rome, all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperour obtaynyng agayne his ſonne, departed.

The Pope treading on the Emperours necke.

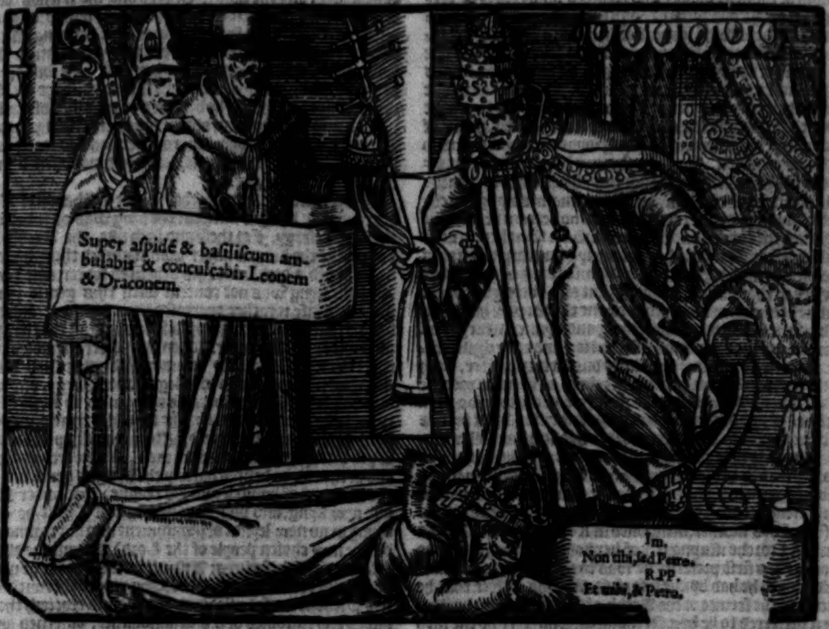
Here, as I note in diuers writers, a great diuerſity and varietie touching the order of this matter (of whome ſome ſay that the Emperour campt in Paleſtina before hee came to Venice, ſome ſay after) ſo I meruell to ſee in Volaterane (ſo great a fauourer of the Pope) ſuch a contradiction, who in his xxij. booke ſaith: that Otto (the Emperoures ſonne) was taken in this conflict, which was the cauſe of yͤ peace betweene his father and the pope: And in his xxiij. booke againe ſayth, that the Emperour himſelfe was taken priſoner in the ſame battaile: and ſo (afterward peace concluded) toke his iorney to Aſia & Paleſtina: This pope in the time of his papacye (which contynued xxi. yeares) kept ſundry councels both at Turo and at Laterã, where he confirmed the wicked procedinges of Hildebrand, and other his predeceſſors. As to binde all orders of the cleargie to the vowe of chaſtitie. Which were not greatly to be reprehended if they would define chaſtity aright. For who ſo liueth not a chaſte life (ſayth he) is no fit perſon to be a miniſter. But herein lyeth an error full of much blindnes: and alſo peril to thinke that matrimony immaculat (as S. Paule calleth it) is not chaſtitie, but onelye a ſingle lyfe, that they eſteeme to bee a chaſte life.

Volateran taken with a cõtradiction.

Concilium Lateranenſe.

The cleargye bounde to the vow of chaſtitie. Papiſtes erre not ſo much in promiſing chaſtitie, as in defining chaſtity

Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederike the Emperor.


Super aſpidē & baſiliſcum ambulabis & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem.
Im.
Non tibi, ſed Petro.
R.PP.
Et mihi, & Petro.

Now foraſmuch as our engliſh pope holy martir called Thomas Becket, happened alſo in ẏ ſame time of this pope Alexander, let vs ſomewhat alſo ſtoppe of him ſo far as the matter ſhall ſeeme worthy of knowledge and to ſtand with truth. To the end that the truth therof being ſifted from all flattery and lyes of ſuch popiſh writers as painte out hys ſtory: men may the better iudge both of him what he was, and alſo of his cauſe.

¶ *The lyfe and hiſtory of Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.*

Tho. Becket Archb. of Cant.

Becket no martyr.

IF the cauſe make a Martyr (as is ſaid) I ſee not why we ſhould eſteeme Thomas Becket to dye a Martir, more then any other whom the princes ſword doth here temporally puniſh for their temporall deſertes. To dye for the church, I graunt is a glorious matter. But ẏ church, (as it is a ſpirituall and not a temporall church) ſo it ſtandeth vpon cauſes ſpirituall, and vpon an heauenly foundation, as vpon fayth, religion, true doctrine, ſincere diſcipline, obedience to gods cōmaundementes, &c. And not vpō things pertainyng to this world, as poſſeſſions, liberties, exemptions, priuileges, dignities, patrimonies and ſuperiorities. If theſe be geuen to the church, I pray God, churchmen may vſe them well: but if they be not geuen, the church can not clayme them: or if they be taken away, that ſtandeth in the princes power. To contend with Princes for the ſame, it is no matter (in my mynde) material, to make a Martyr, but rather a rebellion agaynſt them, to whom we owe ſubiection. Therfore as I ſuppoſe Thomas Becket to be far fro the cauſe and title of a Martyr (neither can he be excuſed, from a playne rebell agaynſt his prince) ſo yet would I haue wiſhed agayne, the law rather publikely to haue found out hys fault: then the ſwordes of men (not bidde nor ſent) to haue ſmitten him, hauyng no ſpeciall commaundement, neither of the prince nor of the law ſo to do. For though the indignatiō of the prince (as the wyſe prince ſayth) is death: yet it is not for euery priuate perſon ſtraightwayes to reuēge the ſecret indignation of hys prince, except he be publikely authoriſed therunto. And thus had bene (as I ſuppoſe) the better way, the lawes firſt to haue executed their iuſtice vpon hym. Certes, it had bene the ſafeſt way for the kyng as it proued after: who had iuſt matter inough, if he had proſecuted his cauſe agaynſt hym. And alſo therby, hys death had bene without all ſuſpicion of martyrdome, & neyther had there followed this ſhrinyng and ſaintyng of hym as there did. Albeit, the ſecret prouidence of God (which gouerneth all thinges) dyd ſee this way percaſe to be beſt, and moſt neceſſary for thoſe dayes. And doubtles (to ſay here what I thinke, and yet to ſpeake nothing againſt charitie) if the Emperours had done the lyke to the Popes contending againſt them what time they toke them priſoners: that is, if they had vſed the law of the ſword agaynſt them, and chopped of the heds of one or two, according to their traiterous rebellion: they had broken the necke of much diſturbaunce, which long tyme after did trouble the church. But for lacke of that, becauſe Emperors hauing ẏ ſword, and the truth on their ſide, would not vſe their ſword: but ſtandyng in awe of the Popes vayne curſe, and reuerencyng hys ſeat for S. Peters ſake, durſt not lay hand vpon hym: though he were neuer ſo abhominable and traiterous a malefactour. The popes perceiuyng that, toke ſo much vpon them (not as the ſcripture would geue) but as much as the ſuperſticious feare of Emperours and kynges would ſuffer them to take: which was ſo much, that it paſt all order, rule, and meaſure. And all becauſe the ſuperior powers (either would not, or durſt not) practiſe the authoritie geuen to them of the Lord, vpon their inferiours, but ſuffred them to be their maiſters.

But as touchyng Thomas Becket, what ſoeuer is to be thought of them that dyd the acte: the example therof yet bringeth this profite with it, to teach all Romiſh Prelates not to be ſo ſtubburne (in ſuch matters not pertaynyng to them) agaynſt their Prince, vnto whom God hath ſubiected them.

Herbertus de boſcham.
Ioan. Charnot.
Alanus Abbot of Tewkesbury.
Gulielmus Cantuarienſis.
Tho. Becket deſcribed.

Now to the ſtory, which if it be true that is ſet forth in Quadrilogo, by thoſe foure who toke vpon them to expreſſe the lyfe and proceſſe of Thomas Becket: it appeareth by al coniectures, that he was a man of a ſtoute nature, ſeuere, & inflexible. What perſwaſion or opinion he had once conceaued: from that he would in no wyſe be remoued, or very hardly. Threatnings and flatterings were to him both one. In this poynt ſingular, followyng no mans counſayle ſo much as hys owne. Great helpes of nature were in hym (if he could haue vſed them well) rather then of learnyng. Albeit, ſomwhat ſkilfull he was of the ciuil law, which he ſtudied at Bonony. In memory excellently good, and alſo wel ſpoken in courtly and in worldly matters. Beſides this, he was of a chaſte and ſtraite lyfe, if the hiſtories be true. Although in the firſt part of his lyfe (beyng yet Archdeacon of Canterbury and after Lord Chauncelor) he was very ciuil, courtlike, pleaſant, geuen much both to huntyng and hawkyng, accordyng to the guiſe of the court. And highly fauoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted hym: but alſo had committed hys ſonne and heire to hys inſtitution and gouernaunce. But in this his firſt beginnyng he was not ſo wel beloued: but afterward he was agayne as much hated (and deſeruedly) both of the kyng, and alſo of the moſt part of hys ſubiectes; ſaue onely of certayne Monkes and prieſtes, and ſuch other as were perſwaded by them: who magnified hym not a little, for vpholdyng the liberties of the church (that is) the licentious lyfe and exceſſe of churchmen. Amongeſt all other, theſe vices he had moſt notable, and to be rebuked. Full of deuotiõ, but wythout all true religion. Zealous, but cleane wythout knowledge. And therfore as he was ſtiffe and ſtubburne of nature, ſo (a blind conſcience beyng ioyned withal) it turned to playne rebellion. So ſuperſtitious he was to the obedience of the Pope, that he forgot hys obedience to hys naturall and moſt beneficiall kyng. And in maintaynyng (ſo cõtentiouſly) the vayne conſtitutions and decrees of men: he neglected the commaundementes of God. But herein moſt of all to be reprehended, that not onely (contrary to ẏ kings knowledge) he ſought to conuey hymſelfe out of the realme (beyng in that place and calling) but alſo (beyng out of the realme) ſet matter of diſcord betwene the Pope & his king, and alſo betwene the French kyng and hym: contrary to all honeſty, good order, naturall ſubiection, and true chriſtianitie. Whereupon followed no little diſquietneſſe after, both to the kyng and damage of the Realme, as here (in proceſſe and in order followyng by the grace of Chriſte) we wyll declare. Fyrſt beginnyng wyth the firſt riſing vp of hym, & ſo cõſequently to proſecute in order hys ſtory as followeth.

What commeth of blinde zeale deſtitute of right knowledge.

The lyfe of T. Becket.
Polydorus myſtaketh the mother of Becket.
Ex Roberto Crikeladenſi.
Ex Florilego.

And firſt here to omitte the progenie of hym and of hys mother named Roſe, whom Polyd. Vergilius falſly nameth to be a Saracen: when in dede ſhe came out of the partes bordering nere to Normandy. To omit alſo the fabulous viſion of hys mother, mentioned in Rob. Crikeladenſis, of a burnyng torche iſſuyng out of her body and reachyng vp to heauen: hys firſt preferment was to the church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of S. Albons. After that, he entred in the ſeruice of the Archb. of Cãt. by whom he was then preferred to be hys Archdeacon. And after by the ſayd Theobald was put (as a mã moſt meteſt for his purpoſe) to K. Hẽry, to bridell ẏ young kyng ẏ he ſhould not be fierce agaynſt ẏ clergy: whom in proceſſe of tyme, the kyng made lord Chauncellor, and then he lefte playing the archdeacon, and began to play the Chauncelor. He facioned hys conditions lyke to the kings both in waighty matters and trifles. He would hunt wyth hym, and watch the tyme when the kyng dined and ſlept. Furthermore he began to loue ẏ mery geſtings of the court, to delite himſelfe with the great laud of men, and prayſe of the people. And that I may paſſe ouer hys houſhold ſtuffe, he had hys bridle of ſiluer, and the boſſes of hys bridle were worth a great treaſure. At hys table and other expences, he paſſed any earle: That on ẏ one ſide, men would iudge hym little to conſider the office of an Archdeacon: and on the other ſide would iudge him to vſe wicked doings. He plaied alſo the good ſouldiour vnder the kyng in Gaſcoin, and both wan and kept townes. When the king ſent Thomas being Chauncellor home into England (ambaſſador with other nobles after the death of the Archbiſhop) he willed Ri. Luci (one of the chiefeſt) to commend in his name, this Thomas to the couent of Canterbury, that they might choſe him archbiſhop, which thing he did diligẽtly. The monkes ſayd, it was not mete to chuſe a Courtier and a ſouldiour to be head of ſo holy a company for he would ſpend (ſaid they) all that they had. Other had this ſurmiſe alſo, becauſe he was in ſo great fauour with the prince, the kynges ſonne, and was ſo ſodenly diſcharged of the Chauncellorſhip which he had borne fiue yeares. In the 44. yeare of hys age (on the Saturday in the Whitſon weeke) he was made Prieſt, and the next day conſecrated Biſhop.

Difference in Chronicles.

As touchyng the prieſthoode of thys man, I finde the hiſtories to vary in themſelues, for if he were beneficed, and chaplain to Theobald, and afterward archdeacon (as ſome ſay) it is no other lyke, but that he was prieſt before, & not (as our moſt engliſh ſtories ſay) made prieſt in the one day, and archbiſhop the next.

But how ſo euer this matter paſſeth, here is in ẏ meane tyme to be ſene, what great benefites the king had done for hym, and what great loue had bene betwene them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variaunce and diſcord happened betwene them, remayneth to be ſhewed: The cauſes of which variaunce were dyuers and ſondry.

The cauſes of variance recited betwene the king and the Archb.

As firſt when (accordyng to the cuſtome) the kynges officers gathered of euery one hyde mony through ẏ realm, for the defence of their owne countrey: the kyng woulde haue taken it to hys cofers. But the biſhop ſayd, ẏ which euery man gaue willingly, he ſhould not counte as hys proper rente.

Another cauſe was, that where a prieſt was accuſed of murther: and the kinges officers and the friends of the deade accuſed the prieſt earneſtly afore the biſhop of Saliſbury his Dioceſan to whom he was ſent, deſiryng iuſtice to be done on hym: the prieſt was put to hys purgation. But when he was not able to defend hymſelfe, the biſhop ſent to the archbiſhop to aſke what he ſhould do. The archbiſh. commaunded he ſhould be depriued of all eccleſiaſticall benefices, and ſhut vp in an abbey to do perpetuall penaunce. After the ſame ſort were diuers other handled for like cauſes, but none put to death, nor loſt ioynt, nor burned in the hand or the like payne.

The third cauſe was, that where a Chanon of Bruis did reuile the kynges iuſtices: the king was offended with the whole clergy. For theſe and ſuch like, the Archbyſhop (to pacifie the kinges anger) commaunded the Chanon to be whipped, & depriued of his benefices for certaine yeares. But the kyng was not content with this gentle puniſhment, becauſe it rather encreaſed their boldnes: and therfore he called the Archbiſhop, biſhops, and all the clergye to aſſemble at Weſtminſter. When they were aſſembled together: the kyng earneſtly commaunded, that ſuch wicked Clerkes ſhould haue no priuilege of their clergy, but be deliuered to the Iaylers, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of that ſpirituall correction: and thus he ſayd, alſo their owne Canons and lawes had decreed. The archbyſhop counſelyng wyth his byſhops and learned men, aunſwered probably: and in the end he deſired hartely the kynges gentlenes (for the quietnes of hymſelf and his realme) that vnder Chriſt our new kyng, and vnder the new law of Chriſt, he would bryng in no new kynde of puniſhment into his realme (vpon the new choſen people of the Lord) agaynſt the olde decrees of the holy fathers: And oft he ſaide, that he neither ought nor could ſuffer it. The kyng moued therwith (and not without cauſe) allegeth agayne and exacteth the olde lawes and cuſtomes of his graundfather, obſerued and agreed vpõ by archbyſhops, biſhops, prelates and other priuileged perſons: inquiring likewiſe of him, whether he would agree to the ſame, or els now (in his raigne) would condemne that which in the raigne of his graũdfather was well allowed. To which lawes & cuſtomes, the ſaid Thomas did partly graunt, and partly not graunt. The copye of the which foreſayd lawes are contayned in the number of xviij. or xix. whereof I thought here to recite certayne, not vnworthy to be knowne.

¶ *The copie of the olde lawes and cuſtomes, wherunto* Thomas Becket, did graunt.

The kynges cuſtomes.

1. That no orders ſhoulde be geuen to huſband mens children or bondmens children, without the aſſent or teſtimoniall of them which be the Lordes of the countrey where they were borne and brought vp: and if their ſonnes become Clerkes, they ſhall not receiue the order of prieſthoode without licenſe of their Lordes.

Out of an Engliſhe Chronicle as it appeareth, drawen out of French by Erle Ryuers lord Scales.

2. And if a man of holy Church, holde any lay fee in hys hand: he ſhall do therfore, the kyng the ſeruice that belongeth thereto, as vpon Iuries, aſſiſe of landes, and iudgementes: ſauing onely, at execution doing of death.
3. If any man were the kings traytor, and had taken the Church: that it ſhould be lawfull to the kyng and hys officers to take hym out.
4. Alſo if any fellons goods were brought to holy church, that there ſhould none ſuch keepe there: for euery fellons goodes ben the kynges.
5. That no land ſhould be geuen to the Church, or to any houſe of religion, without the kynges licenſe.

¶ *Theſe articles folowing, Thomas* agreed not vnto.

1. If that betwene a clerke, and a lay man, were any ſtriuing for Church goods, they would the ple ſhould be done in the kinges court.
2. That there ſhould neither byſhop nor clerke, go out of the land without the kynges licence: And then he ſhould ſweare vpon a booke, he ſhould procure no hurt agaynſt the kyng nor none of his.
3. If any man were denounced accurſed, and were come agayne to amendement: the kyng would not, that he ſhould be ſworne, but onely finde ſureties to ſtand to that holy Church ſhould award.
4. The fourth, that no man that held of the kyng in chief or in ſeruice, ſhould be accurſed without the kynges licence.
5. That all the Byſhoprikes and Abbeyes that were vacant

cant, ſhould be in the kynges handes vntill ſuch tyme that he ſhould chuſe a Prelate thereto: and he ſhould be choſen out of the kynges chappels, and firſt before he were confirmed, he ſhould do his homage to the kyng.

6. If any plee were to conſiſtory brought, they ſhould appeale from thence to the archdeacon: and from thence to the Byſhops court: and from the Byſhops court, to the archbyſhops: and from thence to the kyng, and no further: So that in concluſion the complayntes of holy Church, muſt come before the kyng and not the pope.

7. That all debtes, that were owyng through trouth plyght, ſhould not be pleded in ſpirituall but in temporall Court.

8. That the Peter pence, which to the Pope were gathered ſhould be taken to the kyng.

9. If any clerke for felonie were taken, and ſo proued: he ſhould be firſt diſgraded, and then through iudgement, to be hanged, or if he were a traytor to be drawen.

¶ Other lawes and conſtitutions made at Claredoun in Normandy, and ſent to England, whereunto Becket and the Pope would not agree: He beyng then fled out of the Realme.

The lawes of Claredoun.

1. If any perſon ſhall be found to bryng from the pope or from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, any wrytyng cōtaynyng any indict or curſe agaynſt the Realme of Englād: the ſame man to be apprehended without delay, for a traytor, and execution to be done vpon the ſame.

2. That no Monke, nor any Clerke ſhalbe permitted to paſſe ouer into England, without a paſſeporte frō the kyng or his Iuſtices: who ſo doth cōtrary, that man to be taken and impriſoned.

3. No man to be ſo bold once to appeale to the Pope, or to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, out of England.

4. That no decree, or commaundement procedyng frō the authoritie of the pope or the Byſhop of Canterbury, to be receaued in Englād, vnder payne of takyng & impriſonyng.

5. In generall, to forbyd any man to cary ouer any commaundement or precept (either of clerke) or layman, to the pope or to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, vnder payne of impriſonement.

6. If any byſhop, clerke, abbot, or lay man ſhall do contrary to this inhibition: or will kepe the ſentēce of interdityng: the ſame incontinent to be thruſt out of the land, with all their kinred, and to leaue all their goodes behynd them.

7. All the poſſeſſions, goodes and cattell of ſuch as fauour the pope, or the archbyſhop of Canterbury, to be ſeaſed and confiſcat for the kyng.

8. All ſuch of the Clergy, as be out of the Realme hauyng their rentes and profites out of the land: to be ſomoned and warned through euery ſhyre, within three monethes to repayre home: either els their rentes and goodes to returne to the kyng.

9. That ſaint Peters pence, ſhould be no more payd to the Apoſtolicall ſee, but to be reſerued diligently in the kynges cofers, and there to be at his commaundement. Atq; hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10. That the Byſhops of Saleſbury and Norwich, be at the kings mercy: and be ſomoned by the Shyrfe and bedels, that they before the kynges iuſtices, do right to the kyng and his iuſtices: becauſe (contrary to the ſtatutes of Clarendon) by commaundement they interdicted the land of Hugh Earle, and publiſhed the ſame in their Dioces without licence of the kynges iuſtices.

By theſe and ſuch other lawes and decrees it may appeare: that the aboliſhyng of the Pope, is no new thyng in the realme of England. This onely difference there is, that the pope beyng driuen out then could not be kept out ſo lōg as now he is. The cauſe is, that the time was not yet come, that antechriſt ſhould ſo fully be reueled. Neither was hys wickednes then ſo fully ripe in thoſe dayes, as it hath bene now in our tyme. Now theſe premiſed, let vs returne where we left, to the matter betwixt the kyng and Thomas Becket.

¶ The communication and controuerſie betwene the kyng and Thomas Becket with hys Clergy.

The kyng as is aforeſayd, conuentyng his nobles and clerkes together, required to haue the puniſhmēt of certaine miſdoers of the Clergy. But Thomas Becket not aſſentyng thereunto: the kyng came to this poynt: to know whether he would conſent with his clergy, that the cuſtomes then ſet forth in the realme (meanyng by the firſt part of thoſe decrees aboue ſpecified) ſhould be obſerued. To which the Archbyſhop conſultyng together with his brethren, geueth aunſwere agayne, that he was contented the kynges ordinaunces ſhould be obſerued, addyng this withall, Saluo ordine ſuo: that is, ſauyng his order. And ſo in like maner all the other byſhops after, beyng demaunded in order aunſwered with the ſame addition, Saluo ordine ſuo. Onely Hillarius byſhop of Chicheſter, perceauyng the kyng to be exaſperate with that addition: in ſtede of Saluo ordine, agreed to obſerue them Bona fide. The kyng hearyng thē not ſimply to agree vnto him but with an exceptiō, was mightely offended: who then turnyng to the Archbyſhop and the Prelates ſayd: that he was not well contented with that clauſe of theirs, Saluo ordine ſuo, which he ſayd, was captious and deceitfull: hauyng ſome maner of venime lurkyng vnder, & therfore required an abſolute graunt of them without any exception to agree to the kynges ordinaunces. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered agayne, that they had ſworne vnto him their fidelitie, both lyfe, body, and earthly honour: Saluo ordine ſuo: and that in the ſame earthly honour, alſo thoſe ordinaunces were comprehēded: and to the obſeruyng they would bynde themſelues after no other forme, but as they had ſworne before. The kyng with this was moued, & all his nobilitie not a litle. As for the other byſhops, there was no doubt but they would eaſely haue relented, had not the ſtoutnes of the Archbyſhop made thē more conſtant thē otherwiſe they would haue bene. The day being well ſpēt: the kyng (when he could get no other aunſwere of them) departed in great anger: geuing no word of ſalutation to the byſhops. And likewiſe, the byſhops euery one to his owne houſe departed. The Byſhop of Chicheſter (amongeſt the reſt) was greatly rebuked of his felowes, for chaūging that exception cōtrary to the voyce of all the other. The next day followyng, the kyng tooke from the Archbiſhop all ſuch honours and Lordſhyps, as he had geuē him afore in the tyme that he was Chaūcellour: wherby appeared the great diſpleaſure of the kyng agaynſt him and the clergy. Not long after this, the kyng remouyng from London (vnknowyng to the byſhops) ſayled ouer to Normandy. Whether, the byſhop of London called Gilbert (not long after) reſorted to craue the kynges fauour: and gaue him counſell withall to ioyne ſome of the biſhops on his ſide, leaſt if all were againſt him, peraduenture he might ſooner be ouerthrowen. And thus the greateſt nūber of ẏ byſhops were by this meanes reconciled agayne to the kyng: onely the Archbiſhop with a few other remained in their ſtoutnes ſtill. The kyng (thinkyng to try all maner of wayes) when he ſaw no feare nor threates could turne him: did aſſay him with gentlenes, it would not ſerue. Many of the nobles labored betwixt them both, exhortyng him to relent to the kyng, it would not be. Likewiſe the Archbiſhop of Yorke with diuers other Byſhops and abbotes (eſpecially the biſhop of Cheſter) did the ſame. Beſides this his own houſhold dayly called vpō him: but no man could perſuade him. At length, vnderſtandyng (partly by them that came to him) what daunger might happen not onely to himſelfe, but to all the other clergy vpon the kyngs diſpleaſure: partly conſideryng the old loue & kyndnes of the kyng towardes him in tyme paſt, was content to geue ouer to the kinges requeſt: and came to Oxford to him, reconcilyng himſelfe about the addition, which diſpleaſed the kyng ſo much. Wherupon, the king (beyng ſomewhat mitigate) receiueth him with a more chearefull countenaunce: but yet not all ſo familiarly as before, ſaying: that he would haue his ordinaunces and proceedynges after the forme confirmed in the publike audience & open ſight of hys Byſhops and all his nobles. After this, the kyng (beyng at Clarendon) there called all his pieres and prelates before him: requiryng to haue that performed which they had promiſed, in conſentyng to the obſeruyng of his graundfathers ordinaunces and proceedynges. The archbyſhop ſuſpectyng (I cā not tell what) in the kyngs promiſe, drew backward, & now would not that he would before. At laſt, with much a do he was inforced to geue aſſent. Firſt, came to him the byſhop of Saliſbury and of Norwiche, who (for old matters indaungered to the kyng long before) came weepyng & lamentyng to the archbyſhop, deſiryng him to haue ſome cōpaſſion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the kyng: leſt if he ſo continued (through his ſtoutnes to exaſperate the kynges diſpleaſure) happely it might redounde to no ſmall daunger, not onely of them which were in ieopardy already: but alſo of himſelfe to be impriſoned, and the whole Clergy to be indaungered. Beſides theſe two byſhops, there went to him other two noble pieres of the realme labouring with him to relent and cōdeſcend to the kynges deſire. If not, they ſhould be inforced to vſe violence, as neither would ſtand with the kynges fame, and much leſſe with his quietnes.

Beckets additiō. *Saluo ordine ſuo.*

The Biſhop of Chicheſter.

The ſtubberne wilfulnes of T.Becket.

T.Becket relenteth to the kyng.

But yet the ſtout ſtomacke of the mã would not geue ouer. After this came to him. ij. rulers of the tẽple called Templars: one Richard de Haſt: an other Coſtans de Hauerio with their company: lamẽtyng and bewaylyng the great perill which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head: yet neither with their teares nor with their kneelynges, would he be remoued. At length came the laſt meſſage from the kyng, ſignifieng vnto hym with expreſſe wordes (and alſo with teares) what he ſhould truſt to, if he would not geue ouer to the kynges requeſt.

Becket yeldeth to the kyng.

Saluo ordine left out in the compoſition.

By reaſon of which meſſage, he (either terrified or els perſwaded) was content to ſubmit himſelfe. Whereupon, the kyng incontinent aſſemblyng the ſtates together: the Archbiſhop firſt before all other beginneth to promiſe to the kyng obedience and ſubmiſſion vnto his cuſtome, and that Cum bona fide leauyng out his former addition, Saluo ordine, mentioned before: in ſtede wherof he promiſed in Verbo veritatis, to obſerue and keepe the kynges cuſtomes and ſweare to the ſame. After hym the other Byſhops likewiſe gaue the lyke othe. Whereupon, the kyng cõmaunded incontinent certaine inſtrumentes obligatorie to be drawne: of the which, the king ſhould haue one: the archbyſhop of Canterbury an other: the Archbyſhop of Yorke the third: requiryng alſo the ſayd Archbyſhop to ſet to his hand and ſeale. To the which, the Archbyſhop (although not denying but that he was ready ſo to do) yet deſired reſpite in the matter, while that he (beyng but newly come to his byſhoprike) might better peruſe with himſelfe the foreſayd cuſtomes and ordinaunces of the kyng. This requeſt as it ſeemed but reaſonable, ſo it was lightly graunted: and ſo the day beyng well ſpent, they departed for that ſeaſon and brake vp.

Becket repenteth of his good deede.

Alanus one of the iiij. writers of yͤ life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth: that the archbyſhop in his viage toward Wincheſter, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the inſtigation of certaine about hym: but chiefly of his croſſebearer, who going before the archbiſhop, did ſharply and earneſtly expoſtulate with him for geuyng ouer to the kynges requeſt againſt the priuilege & liberties of the Church: polluting not onely his fame and conſcience, but alſo geuing a pernitious example to them that ſhould come after, with many like wordes. To make the matter ſhort: the Archbyſhop was ſo touched vpon the ſame with ſuch repentaunce, that keepyng himſelfe from all company, lamentyng with teares, with faſtyng, and with much penaunce maceratyng and afflicting himſelfe, did ſuſpend himſelfe from all diuine ſeruice: and would not receiue comfort, before that (word beyng ſent to his holy graundfather the pope) he ſhould be aſſoild of him: who tendryng the teares of his deare chicken, directed to him letters agayne by the ſame meſſenger which Thomas had ſent vp to him before. In which letters not onely he aſſoyled him from his treſpaſſe: but alſo with wordes of great conſolation dyd incourage him to be ſtout in the quarell he tooke in hand. The copy of which letters conſolatory ſent from the Pope to Popiſh Becket, here follow vnder written.

A letter of Pope Alexander to T. Becket.

ALexander Byſhop. &c. Your brotherhode is not ignoraunt that it hath bene aduertiſed vs, how that vpon the occaſion of a certaine tranſgreſſion or exceſſe of yours: you haue determined to ceaſe henceforth from ſaying of Maſſe, and to abſtaine from the cõſecration of the body and bloud of the Lord. Which thyng to do, how daungerous it is (eſpecially in ſuch a perſonage) and alſo what inconueniẽce may ryſe therof: I wil you aduiſedly to conſider, and diſcretly alſo to ponder. Your wiſedome ought not to forget what differẽce there is betwixt them which aduiſedly and willyngly do offende, and thoſe which through ignoraunce, and for neceſſity ſake do offend. For as you read, ſo much the more greater is wilfull ſinne: as the ſame not beyng voluntarie is leſſer ſinne. Therefore if you remember your ſelfe to haue done any thyng that your owne conſcience doth accuſe you of, whatſoeuer it be: we counſell you (as a prudẽt and wiſe Prelate) to acknowledge the ſame. Which thyng done, the mercyfull and pityfull God who hath more reſpecte to the hart of the doer then to the thyng done, will remit and forgeue you the ſame accordyng to his accuſtomed great mercy. And we (truſtyng in the merites of the bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paule) do abſolue you from the offẽce committed, and by the authoritie Apoſtolicall we releaſe you vnto your fraternitie, counſailing you and commaunding you, that henceforth you abſtayne not (for this cauſe) from the celebration of the Maſſe.

Thys letter with other mo after lyke ſort, the pope thē wrote to hym: animatyng and comfortyng him in this quarell ſo nerely pertainyng to the Popes profite. By the occaſion wherof, Becket toke no ſmall hart and conſolation. In ſo much, that therof ſemeth to me to procede, all the occaſion that made hym ſo ſtout and malapert agaynſt his prince, as hereafter followeth to be ſene by his doynges. What yͤ other letters were that the Pope wrote vnto hym, ſhortly after (when we come to the appellations made to the pope) ſhall appeare God willyng. In the meane ſeaſon (as he ſat thus mourning at home) the kyng hearyng of hym, and how he denied to ſet hys ſeale to thoſe ſanctions, which he condeſcended to before, toke no little diſpleaſure agaynſt hym. In ſo much that he (threatnyng to him and his, baniſhment & death) began to call hym to reckonynges, and to burden hym with paymentes: that all men might vnderſtand that the kynges mynde was ſore ſet againſt hym. The Archbiſhop hereupon (whether more for the loue of the Pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an eſcape out of the realme, and ſo wẽt about in the night (with two or three with him ſtealing out of hys houſe) to take the ſea priuily. Now amongſt other the kings ordinances and ſanctions, this was one: that none of the prelacy or nobilitie without the kings licence (or of his iuſtices) ſhould depart out of the Realme. So Becket twiſe attempted the ſea, to flee to the ſee of Rome: but the weather not ſeruyng, was driuen home agayne, and hys deuiſe for that tyme fruſtrated. After his departure began to be knowen and noyſed abroad: the kinges officers came to Canterbury to ſeaſon vpon his goodes in the kinges behalfe. But as it chanced the night before their commyng, Becket beyng returned and found at home, they dyd not procede in their purpoſe.

Becket enterpriſing agaynſt the kings lawes to flie out of the realme.

Becket taunted of the kyng.

Upon this, the Archbiſhop (vnderſtandyng the kyng ſore bent agaynſt him, and the ſeas not to ſerue him) made haſt to the court, lying then at Woodſtocke. Where, the king receiued hym (after a certaine maner) but nothing ſo familiarly as he was wont: tauntyng him geſtingly & merily, as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleaſure to the court) yet could not obtayne the fauor that he would: perceiuyng both in hymſelf, & confeſſyng no leſſe to other, how the matter would fall out: ſo that eyther he ſhould be conſtrained to geue ouer with ſhame, or ſtoutely ſtand to that which he had ſo boldly taken in hand. The Archbiſhop of Yorke in the meane tyme (goyng betwene yͤ kyng and the Archbiſhop) laboured to make peace & loue betwene them, but the kyng in no caſe would be reconciled, vnles the other would ſubſcribe to his lawes. So yͤ while, neither the kyng would otherwiſe agree, nor yet the archb. in any wiſe would ſubſcribe: there was a foule diſcorde. Where the fault was, let the Reader here iudge betwene them both. The kyng (for his regall authoritie) thought it much, that any ſubiect of his, ſhould ſtand againſt him. The archbiſhop againe (bearing himſelfe bold vpon the authoritie, and eſpecially vpon the letters of the pope lately writtẽ to hym) thought hym ſtrong enough againſt the kyng and all his realme. Agayne, ſuch was hys quarell for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the church, that he could lacke no ſetters on and fauourers in that behalf, in ſo ſweete a cauſe amongſt the clergy. Wherfore the Archb. (truſting to theſe things) would geue no place, but by vertue of hys Apoſtolike authoritie gaue cenſure vpon theſe lawes and conſtitutions of the king: condemning ſome, and other ſome approuyng for good and catholik, as is before declared. Beſides this, there came alſo to the kyng, Rotrodus Archbiſhop of Rotomage (ſent from the Pope) to make peace betwene the king and Caunterbury. Wherunto the king was well content, ſo that the Pope would agre to ratifie his ordinaunces. But when that could in no wiſe be obtayned at the Popes handes: then the kyng beyng ſtopped and fruſtrate of hys purpoſe by reaſon of Beckets Apoſtolike legacie (beyng legatus a Latere) thought good to ſend vp to the Pope and ſo dyd: to obtayne of hym that the ſame autoritie of the Apoſtolike legacy might be conferd to an other after hys appointment, which was the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke. But the Pope denied. Notwithſtandyng at the requeſt of the kings Clergy, the pope was content that the king ſhould be Legate hymſelfe: wherat the kyng tooke great indignation (as Houeden writeth) ſo that he ſente the Pope hys letters agayne. Here the Pope was perplexed on both ſides.

Ex Rogero Houed. pri. parte hiſtoria continuata poſt Bedam.

The kyng to be the popes Legate.

If he ſhould haue denied the kyng: that was to hote for hym. For the Pope vſeth alwayes to hold in wͭ kinges, howſoeuer the world ſpeedeth. Agayne, if he ſhould haue forſaken ſuch a churchly chaplen (the cauſe being ſo ſweete and ſo gainfull) that ſhould haue bene agaynſt hymſelfe: what dyd he then? Here now commeth in the old practiſe of popiſh prelacy, to play with both handes: priuily he conſpireth

The craftie diſſimulatiõ of the Pope.

eth with the one, and openly diſſembleth with the other. Firſt he graunted to the kinges ambaſſadors their requeſt, to haue the Legate remoued, and to place in that office the Archbiſhop of Yorke after hys owne contentation. And yet notwithſtandyng (to tender the cauſe of Thomas Becket) he addeth this promiſe withall: that the ſayd Becket ſhold receyue no harme or damage therby. Thus the pope craftily conueying the matter betwene them both (glad to further the Archbiſhop for hys owne aduauntage, and yet lothe to deny the kyng for diſpleaſure) writeth to the king openly and alſo ſecretly directeth an other letter to Becket, ỹ contentes wherof here follow.

The Popes ſecret letters to Becket.

Alexander the Pope to Thomas Archb. of Caunterbury.

ALthough we condeſcendyng to the kinges requeſt, haue graunted the gift of our legacy after his minde from you, yet let not your mynde therby be diſcomforted nor brought into ſighes of diſpayre. For before that we had graunted that, or gaue our conſent thervnto: the kinges ambaſſadours firmely promiſed in the word of truth (ready alſo to be ſworne vpon the ſame, if I would haue ſo required) that their letters, alſo which he had obtayned, ſhould not be deliuered to the Archbiſhop of Yorke, without our knowledge and conſent therin. This is certaine, and ſo perſwade your ſelfe boldly without any ſcruple, doubte or miſtruſt, that it neuer was my minde or purpoſe, nor euer ſhalbe God willing, to ſubdue you or your Church vnder the obedience of any perſon, to be ſubiect ſaue onely to the biſhop of Rome. And therefore we warne you and charge you, that if you ſhal perceiue the kyng to deliuer theſe foreſayd letters (which we truſt he will not attempt, without our knowledge to doe) forthwith by ſome truſtie meſſenger or by your letters, you will geue vs knowledge therof: wherby we may prouide vpon the ſame, both your perſon, your church, and alſo your citie committed to you, to be clerely exempt by our autoritie Apoſtolicall, from all power and iuridiction of any legacie.

Upon theſe letters and ſuch other, as is ſayd before: Becket ſeemed to take all hys boldneſſe to be ſo ſtoute and ſturdy agaynſt hys Prince as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſent ſecretly this Chaplaine of hys, and directed an other letter alſo vnto the kyng: grauntyng and permittyng at hys requeſt, to make the Archbiſhop of Yorke Legate Apoſtolicall.

More then an C. murthers done by the clergye. *Gulicl. Neuburg. lib.2. cap.16.*

The kyng (after he had receyued hys letters ſent from the Pope) beganne to put more ſtrength to hys purpoſed proceedings agaynſt the Archbiſhop: firſt beginnyng wyth the inferiors of the Clergy ſuch as were offenders agaynſt hys lawes: as fellons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace and eſpecially ſuch as had committed homicide & murders: wherof more then an hũdred at that tyme were proued vpõ the clergy (as witneſſeth Gulicl. Neuburgenſis, in his boke de geſtis Anglorum, lib.2.cap.16.) vrging and conſtraynyng them to be arreigned after the order of the law temporall, & iuſtice to be miniſtred to them accordyng to theyr deſertes: as firſt to be depriued, and ſo to be committed to the ſeculer handes. This ſemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the ſecular power ſhould paſſe in cauſes criminall, or ſit in iudgement againſt any eccleſiaſticall perſon. This law, the royſters (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Euariſtus, by whoſe falſly alleged and pretenſed authoritie, they haue deduced this their cõſtitution from the Apoſtles: which geueth immunity to all eccleſiaſticall perſons to be free from ſecular iuriſdiction. Becket therfore (lyke a valiaunt champion fightyng for hys liberties, and hauyng the pope on his ſide) would not permit hys clerkes infamed otherwiſe to be conuented, then before eccleſiaſticall iudges: there to be examined and depriued for their exceſſe, and no ſecular iudge to procede agaynſt them. So that after their depriuation, if they ſhould incurre the lyke offence agayn: then the temporall iudge to take hold vpon them, otherwyſe not. This obſtinate and ſtubburne rebellion of the Archbiſhop, ſtirred vp much anger and vexation in the kyng: and not onely in hym, but alſo in the nobles and in all the Byſhops (for the greater part) that almoſt he was alone a wonderment to all the realme.

Becket cited to Northampton.

The kynges wrath dayly increaſed more and more agaynſt him (as no meruell was) and cauſed hym to be cited vp to appeare by a certeine day at the towne of Northampton: there to make anſwere to ſuch things as ſhould be laid layd to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peeres and nobles, with the prelates of the realme vpon the kynges proclamation beyng aſſembled in the caſtell of Northampton) great fault was found wyth the Archbyſhop, for that he (perſonally cited to appeare) came not hymſelfe, but ſent an other for hym. The cauſe why he came not, Houeden aſſigneth to be this: for that the kyng had placed hys horſe and horſemen in the archbiſhops lodgyng (which was a houſe there of Chanons) wherewyth he beyng offended ſent worde agayne, that he woulde not appeare vnleſſe his lodgynge were voyded of the kynges horſemen. &c. Wherupon (by the publike ſentence as well of all the nobles, as of the byſhops) all his moueables were adiudged to be confiſcate for the kyng, vnleſſe the kynges clemency would remit the penalty. The ſtubburne Archbyſhop agayne (for his part) quarelling agaynſt the order and forme of the iudgement, complayneth: allegging for hymſelfe (ſeing he is their primat and ſpirituall father not onely of all other in the realme, but alſo of the kyng hymſelfe) not to be conuenient the father ſo to be iudged of his children, nor the paſtor of his flock, ſo to be cõdemned: ſaying moreouer that the ages to come ſhould know, what iudgement was done. &c. But eſpecially he complayneth of his fellow byſhops (when they ſhould rather haue taken his part) ſo to ſit in iudgement agaynſt their Metropolitane; and this was the firſt dayes action. The next day following, the kyng layd an action agaynſt hym in the behalfe of one that was his marſhall (called John) for certayne iniury done to him: and required of the ſayd archbyſhop the repaying agayne of certayne money, which he (as is ſayd) had lent vnto him being Chauncelor, the ſumme wherof came to 500. markes. This money the Archbyſhop denyed not but he had receiued of the kyng, howbeit (by the way & title of gift, as he tooke it) though he coulde bring no probation therof. Wherupon, the kyng required hym to put in aſſuraunce for the payment therof: whereat the archbyſhop makyng delayes (not well contented at the matter) was ſo laid vpon, that either he ſhould be countable to the kyng for the money, or els he ſhould incur preſent daunger, the kyng being ſo bent agaynſt hym. The Archbiſhop being brought to ſuch a ſtraite (and deſtitute of hys owne ſuffragans) could here by no meanes haue eſcaped, had not v. perſons of their owne accorde ſtepped in, beyng bound for him, euery man for one C. markes a peece. And this was vpon the ſecond day concluded. The morrow after (which was the third day of the councell) as the archbyſhop was ſitting below in a certaine conclaue with hys fellow byſhops about hym conſulting together, (the doores faſt locked to them, as the king had willed and commaunded) it was propoſed vnto hym in the behalfe of the kyng, that he had had diuers byſhoprikes and abbaties in hys hand which were vacant (wyth the fruites and reuenues thereof due vnto the king, for certayne yeares) wherof he had rendered as yet no accompt to the kyng: wherefore it was demaunded of hym to bryng in a full and a cleare reckoning of the ſame. This (with other ſuch like) declared to all the councell great diſpleaſure to be in the kyng, and no leſſe daunger toward the Archbyſhop.

The Archbyſhop condemned in the councell of Northampton, in the loſſe of all hys moueables.

Becket required to geue an accompt.

¶ *The aduiſe of the Biſhops for Thomas Becket.*

THus while the byſhops and prelates were in councell, (aduiſing and deliberating what was to be done) at length it came to voyces, euery man to ſay his minde, and to geue ſentence what were the beſt way for their archbyſhop to take. Firſt began Henry byſhop of Wincheſter, (who then tooke part with Becket, ſo much as he durſt for feare of the kyng) who ſayd, he remembred that ỹ ſayd Archbyſhop (firſt beyng archdeacon, & then Lord Chauncelor, at what tyme as he was promoted to the Church of Canterbury) was diſcharged from all bandes and reckoninges of the temporall court, as all the other Byſhops could not but beare record to the ſame.

The verdit of Wincheſter.

Next ſpake Gilbert byſhop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbyſhop that he ſhould call with himſelfe to mynde, from whence the kyng tooke hym and ſet hym vp: what and how great thynges he had done for hym: alſo that he ſhould conſider with himſelfe the daungers and perils of the time: and what ruine he might bring vpõ the whole church (and vpon them all there preſent) if he reſiſted the kynges mynde in the thynges he required. And if it were to render vp his archbiſhopricke (although it were x. tymes better then it is) yet he ſhould not ſticke with the kyng in the matter. In ſo doing it might happen, the kyng ſeyng that ſubmiſſion and humilitie in him, would releaſe him peraduenture of all the reſt. To this the archbyſhop anſwering, well, well (ſaith he) I perceiue well inough my Lord, whether you tend and wherabout you goe. The

The counſell of the byſhop of London.

Canterburye.

Wincheſter.

ſpake Wincheſter, inferring vpon the ſame. This forme of counſell (ſayth he) ſeemeth to me very pernicious to the Catholike Church, tending to our ſubuerſion, and to the confuſion of vs all. For if our Archbiſhop and primate of all England do leane to this example, that euery Byſhop ſhould geue ouer his autoritie and the charge of the flocke committed to him, at cōmaundement and threatning of the prince: to what ſtate ſhall the Church be brought then, but that all ſhould be confounded at his pleaſure and arbitrement, and nothing to ſtand certaine by any order of law, and ſo as the prieſt is, ſo ſhall the people be?

Chicheſter.

Moderate counſell.

Hylary the Byſhop of Chicheſter replyeth agayne to this ſaying: If it were not that the iniuſtice & the great perturbation of tyme did otherwiſe require and force vs, I would thinke this counſell here geuen were good to be followed. But now ſeing the autoritie of our canon ſayeth, and cā not ſerue vs, I iudge it not beſt to go ſo ſtraightly to worke, but ſo to moderate our proceedinges: that diſpenſatiō with ſufferaunce may win that which ſeuere correction may deſtroy. Wherfore my counſail and reaſon is, to geue place to the kinges purpoſe for a tyme: leaſt (by ouer haſtie proceeding, we exceede ſo farre) that both it may redounde to our ſhame, and alſo cannot rid our ſelues out again when we would.

Lincolne.

Much to the ſame end ſpake Robert the biſhop of Lincolne after this maner: Seyng ſayth he, it is manifeſt that the lyfe and bloud of this man is ſought, one of theſe two muſt needes be choſen: ẏ either he muſt part with his archbiſhopricke, or els with his lyfe. Now what profite he ſhall take in this matter of hys biſhopricke, his lyfe beyng loſt, I do not greatly ſee.

Exceter.

Next followed Bartlemew biſhop of Exceter, with his aduiſe, who (inclining his counſaile to the ſtate of tyme) confirmed their ſayinges before, affirmyng how the dayes were euill and perilous: And if they might ſo eſcape that violence of that raging tempeſt vnder the couer of bearyng and releuyng, it were not to be refuſed. But that he ſayde could not be, except ſtraight ſeueritie ſhould geue place to tractabilitie: and ſo the inſtance and condition of tyme then preſent required no leſſe, eſpecially ſeyng that perſecution was not generall, but perſonall & particular: And though it more holy and conuenient, one head to run in ſome part of daunger, then the whole church of England to be ſubiect & expoſed to inconuenience ineuitable.

Worceter.

The aunſwer of Roger biſhop of Worceter was deuided in a double ſuſpence, neither affirmyng the one, nor denying ẏ other, whoſe ſaying was this: that he would geue no aunſwer on neither part. For if I (ſayth he) ſhall ſay that the paſtoral function and cure of ſoules ought to be relinquiſhed at the kynges will or threatnyng: then my mouth ſhall ſpeake agaynſt my conſcience to the condemnation of myne owne head. And if I ſhal geue agayne cōtrary coūſel, to reſiſt the kyngs ſentence: here be they that will heare it, and report it to hys grace, and ſo I ſhalbe in daunger to be thruſt out of the ſinagoge, and for my part, to be accompted amongſt the publike rebels (with them to be condemned) wherfore neither do I ſay this, nor counſell that.

Becket the archbyſhop replyeth agaynſt the Byſhops.

A great diſtreſſe growen in the Church, becauſe that Byſhops may not be aboue kynges and princes.

And this was the conſultation of the biſhops in that place, aſſembled togither by the kings commaundement. Againſt theſe voyces and cenſures of the biſhop, Becket the Archbiſhop replyeth agayne, expoſtulating and checkyng them with rebukefull wordes. I perceiue (ſaith he) and vnderſtand ye go about to maintayne and cheriſh but your owne cowardnes, vnder the coulorable ſhadow of ſufferāce: and vnder pretence of diſſemblyng ſoftnes, to choke the liberty of Chriſtes church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnſatiable biſhops? What meane ye? Why do ye ſo vnder the impudent title of forbearyng: beare a double hart, and cloke your manifeſt iniquitie. What cal ye this bearing with tyme: the detriment of the church of Chriſt? Let termes ſerue the matter, why peruert you the matter that is good, with vocables & termes vntrue? For that ye ſay we muſt beare with the malice of tyme, I graunt wyth you: but yet we muſt not heape ſinne to ſinne. Is not God able to helpe the ſtate and condition of hys church, but with the ſinfull diſſimulation of the teachers of the church? Certes God is diſpoſed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether ſhould the gouernors of the church put themſelues to daungers for the church in tyme of tranquillitie, or in tyme of diſtreſſe? ye will be aſhamed to deny the contrary but in diſtreſſe. And now then (the church lying in ſo great diſtreſſe and vexation) why ſhould not the good paſtour put hymſelfe into perill therfore? For neither do I thinke it a greater acte or merite for the auncient biſhops of the olde tyme, to lay the foundation of the church then (with their bloud) then now for vs to ſhed our bloude for the liberties of the ſame. And to tell you playne, I thinke it not ſafe for you to ſwarue frō an example, which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After theſe thinges were ſpoken, they ſate all in ſilence a certayne ſpace, beyng locked in together. At length (to find a ſhift to cauſe the dore to be opened) I will, ſayth the Archbiſhop ſpeake with two Erles which are about ẏ kyng, and named them whome they were. Which (beyng called) opened the dore, and came in with haſt, thinkyng to heare ſome thyng which ſhould appeaſe the kynges mynd. To whom the Archbiſhop ſpake in this maner: As touching and concernyng the matters betwene the kyng & vs, we haue here conferred together: and for as much as we haue them not preſent wyth vs now, which know more in the matter thē we do (whoſe aduiſe we would be glad alſo to follow) therfore we craue ſo much reſpite as to the next day followyng, and then to geue vp our aunſwere vnto the kyng. With this meſſage, two Biſhops were ſente to the kyng, which was the biſhop of London, and the byſhop of Rocheſter.

Becket deſtitute and forſaken.

London (to helpe the matter and to ſet quietneſſe as I take it, addyng ſomethyng more to the meſſage) ſaid to the kyng: that the Archbiſhop craued a litle delay of tyme to prepare ſuch writings and inſtrumentes, wherin he ſhould ſet forth and declare his mynde, in accompliſhyng ẏ kynges deſire &c. Wherfore, two barons were ſent to hym from the kyng, to graunt hym that reſpite or ſtay, ſo that he would ratifie that which the meſſengers had ſignified to the kyng. To the which the archbiſhop aunſwereth, that he ſent no ſuch meſſage, as was intimate in hys name: but only, that the next day he would come and geue aunſwer to the kyng, in that which he had to ſay. And ſo the conuocation of ẏ biſhops was diſſolued, and dimiſſed home: ſo that the moſt part of them that came with the Archbiſhop, and accompanied hym before, (for feare of the kyngs diſpleaſure) ſeuered themſelues from hym. The Archbiſhop thus forſaken and deſtitute (as his ſtory ſayth) ſent about for the poore, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furniſh his houſe: ſaying, that by them he might ſoner obtayne his victory, than by the other which had ſo ſlipt from hym.

Becket taken with ſickneſſe when he ſhould appeare.

A maſſe of S. Steuen to ſaue hym from hys enemyes.

Beckets anſwere to the Byſhops.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

On the next day followyng (becauſe it was ſonday) nothing was done. So the day after (which was the ſecond fery) the Archbiſhop was cited to appeare. But the night before (beyng taken wyth a diſeaſe called paſſio iliaca, the collicke) all that day he kept hys bed, and was not able (as he ſayd) to ryſe. Euery man ſuppoſing this to be but a fayned ſickenes (as it ſeemed no leſſe) certayne of the chiefe nobles were ſent to try the matter, and to cite hym to ẏ court: namely, Rob. erle of Leiceſter, and Reginald erle of Deuōſhire. To whom the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that as that day he was ſo diſeaſed that he could not come, yea though he were brought in an horſlitter. So that day paſſed ouer. The morow after certayne ẏ were about him, (fearyng no leſſe, but ẏ ſome daunger would happen to hym) gaue hym counſaile in ẏ mornyng to haue a maſſe in ẏ honour of ẏ holy martyr S. Steuē, to kepe hym frō ẏ handes of hys enemies that day. Whē the morow was come (beyng tueſday) there came to hym the biſhops and prelates, counſailyng and perſwadyng hym couertly by inſinuatiō (for apertly they durſt not) that he would ſubmit hymſelf wyth all hys goods (as alſo hys Archbiſhopricke) to the wyll of the kyng: if peraduenture hys indignation by that meanes might ſwage. Addyng moreouer, ẏ vnles he would ſo do, periury would be layd agaynſt hym: for that he beyng vnder the othe of fidelity to kepe the kyngs lawes and ordinaunces, now would not obſerue them. To this, Becket the Archbiſhop anſwereth agayne: brethren ye ſee and perceyue wel, how ẏ world is ſet agaynſt me, and how the enemy riſeth and ſeketh my confuſion. And although theſe thinges be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that greueth me moſt of all is thys: the ſonnes of myne owne mother be prickes and thornes agaynſt me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the poſteritie to come will know and report how cowardly you haue turned your backes, and haue left me your Archbiſhop & Metropolitane alone in this conflict. And how you haue ſitten in iudgement againſt me (although vnguiltie of crime) now ij. dayes together: and not that only in the ciuill and ſpirituall court, but alſo in the temporal court redy to do the ſame. But in generall this I charge and commaund (by the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your order) that ye be preſent perſonally in iudgement agaynſt me. And that ye ſhal not fayle ſo to do, I here appeale to our mother (the refuge of all ſuch as be oppreſſed) the church of Rome: and if any ſecular men ſhall lay handes vpon me (as it is rumord they will) I ſtraightly enioyne and charge you in the ſame vertue of obedience, that you exerciſe your cenſure eccleſiaſticall vpon them, as it becommeth you to do for a father and an Archbiſhop. And this I do you to vnderſtand: yͤ though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body tremble (for the fleſh is weake) yet God ſo fauouring me, I will neither cowardly ſhrinke, nor vily forſake my flock cōmitted to my charge. &c.

But the biſhop of London, contrary to this commaundement of the Archbiſhop: did incontinent appeale frō him. And thus the biſhops departed from hym to the court, ſaue only two (Henry Wincheſter and Iocelyne of Saliſbury) who returned with hym ſecretly to his chamber & comforted him. This done, the Archbiſhop (which yeſterday was ſo ſore ſicke that he could not ſtirre out of his bed) now addreſſeth him to his maſſe of S. Steuen with all ſolemnity, as though it had bene an hie feſtiuall day, with his Metropolitane pall, which was not vſed but vpon the holyday to be worne, &c. The office of his maſſe began, Sederunt principes, & aduerſum me loquebantur: that is, Princes ſate & ſpake agaynſt me, &c. (the kinges ſeruants beyng alſo there and beholding the matter). For this maſſe, Gilbert byſhop of London accuſed Becket afterward, both for that it was done per artem magicam, & in contemptu regis (as yͤ wordes of Houeden purport) that is, both by arte Magike, and in contempt of the king, &c.

Lōdō appealeth frō the archbyſhop.

A maſſe to charme away perſecutors.

The maſſe beyng ended, the Archbiſhop (putting of hys pall, hys miter and other robes) proceedeth to the kings court: but yet not truſting peraduenture ſo greatly to the ſtrength of hys maſſe (to make the matter more ſure) he taketh alſo the ſacrament priuily about hym, thinkyng thereby himſelfe ſufficiently defenced againſt all bugs. In going to the kinges chamber (there to attend yͤ kings comming) as he was entring the dore, he taketh from Alexander hys croſier, and the croſſe with the croſſeſtaffe, in the ſight of all that ſtoode by, and carieth it in himſelfe (the other biſhops following him and ſaying) he did otherwiſe then became hym. Amongſt other Rob. biſhop of Hereford offered hymſelfe to beare hys croſſe rather then he ſhould ſo do, for that it was not comely: but the Archb. would not ſuffer hym. Then ſayd the biſhop of London to him: if the kyng ſhall ſee you come armed into his chamber, perchaunce he will draw out hys ſword againſt you, which is ſtronger then yours: and then, what ſhall this your armour profite you. The Archb. aunſwereth againe: if the kings ſword do cut carnally, yet my ſword cutteth ſpiritually, & ſtriketh downe to hell. But you my lord as you haue plaid the foole in this matter, ſo you will not yet leaue of your folly for any thyng I cā ſee: & ſo he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his commyng and of yͤ maner therof, taried not long but came where Becket was ſet in a place by himſelf, with his other Biſhops about hym. Firſt, the erle called yͤ prelates and all the lordes of the temporalty together. That beyng done, (and euery one placed in hys ſeat, accordyng to his degree) the kyng beginneth with a great complaint agaynſt the Archb. for hys maner of entryng into the court: not as (ſayth he) a ſubiect into a kynges court: but as a traytor, ſhewyng hymſelfe in ſuch ſort as hath not bene ſene before in any chriſten kinges court, profeſſyng the chriſtian fayth. To this, all (there preſent) gaue witneſſe with the kyng, affirmyng hym alwayes to be a vaine and a proud man, & that the ſhame of his fact dyd not only redound againſt yͤ Prince himſelfe, but alſo againſt hys whole realme. Moreouer they ſayd that this had ſo happened to the king, for that he had done ſo much for ſuch a beaſt, aduauncing him ſo highly in ſuch a place and rowme next vnder hymſelfe. And ſo altogether with one cry called hym traytor on euery ſide, as one that refuſed to geue terrene honour to the kyng, in keping (as he had ſworne) hys lawes and ordinaunces: at whoſe handes alſo he had receiued ſuch honour and great preferments: and therfore was wel worthy (ſaid they) to be hadled like a periured traitor and rebell. Whereupon, great doubt and feare was what ſhould befall vpon hym. The Archbiſhop of Yorke commyng downe to his men ſaid, he could not abide to ſee what the Archb. of Caunt. was like to ſuffer. Likewiſe, the Tipſtaues and other miniſters of the aſſemble commyng downe with an outcry againſt hym, croſſed them to ſee his hauty ſtubburneſſe, and the buſines there was about hym. Certaine there were of hys diſciples ſittyng at hys feete, comforting him ſoftly, and bidding him to lay hys curſe vpon them. Other (contrary) biddyng hym not to curſe, but to pray and to forgeue them, and if he loſte his lyfe in the quarell of the church and the liberty therof, he ſhould be happy. Afterward, one of them named Ioannes Stephani, deſired to ſpeake ſomething in hys eare, but could not be ſuffred by the kinges marſhall, who forbad, that no man ſhould haue any talke with him. Then he (becauſe he could not otherwiſe ſpeake to him) wrought by ſignes makyng a croſſe, and lokyng vp with his eyes and wagging his lips, meanyng that he ſhould pray, and manfully to ſtand to the croſſe. In the meane time commeth to him Bartlemew B. of Excetor: deſiring hym to haue regard and compaſſion of hymſelfe, and alſo of them, or els they were all like to periſh for the hatred of hym: for there commeth out (ſayth he) a precept from the king that he ſhalbe taken, and ſuffer for an open rebell, that hereafter taketh your part. It is ſayde moreouer, that Iocelinus B. of Saliſbury, and William B. of Norwich, are to be had to the place of execution for their reſiſting and making interceſſion for the B. of Canterbury. When he had thus ſaid, the Archbiſhop (lokyng vpon the ſaid biſhop of Excetor) auoyde hence from me (ſaith he) thou vnderſtandeſt not, neither doeſt ſauour thoſe things that be of God.

Becket caryeth with him the ſacramēt going to the kyng.

Houeden referreth not this ſaying to the biſhop of London, but to the archb. of Yorke.

Becket called traytor of the kyng and of all his nobles.

A blind zeale for the proud lybertyes of the Church.

Who ſo taketh Beckets part is counted a rebel.

The Byſhop and Prelates then goyng aſide by themſelues from the other nobles (the kyng ſo permittyng them to do) tooke counſell together what was to be done. Here the matter ſtode in a doubtfull perplexitie, for either muſt they incurre the daungerous indignation of the kyng, or els with the Nobles they muſt procede in condemnation agaynſt the archbyſhop for reſiſtyng the kyngs ſanctions: which thyng neither they themſelues dyd fauour. In this ſtraight neceſſitie (they deuiſing what way to take) at length agreed vpon this: that they with a common aſſent ſhould cite the archbyſhop, to the ſea of Rome vpō periury. And that they ſhould oblige and bynde themſelues to the kyng with a ſure promiſe, to worke their diligēce in depoſing the archbyſhop (vpon this condition) that the kyng ſhould promiſe their ſafetie, and diſcharge them frō the perill of that iudgement, which was toward them. So all the Biſhops obligyng themſelues thus to the kyng, went forth to the Archbyſhop: of whom, one ſpeakyng for the reſt (which was Hillary Byſhop of Chicheſter) had theſe wordes: Once you haue bene our archbyſhop, and ſo long we were bounde to your obedience: but now forſomuch as you (once ſwearyng your fidelitie to the kyng) do reſiſt him, neglectyng his iniunctions and ordinaunces concernyng and appertainyng to his terrene honour and dignitie: we here pronounce you periured, neither be we bounde to geue obedience to an Archbyſhop thus beyng periured. But puttyng our ſelues and all ours in the popes protection, do cite you vp to his preſence. And vpon the ſame, aſſigned him his day and tyme to appeare. The Archbyſhop aunſweryng agayne, ſayd: he heard him well inough. And vpon this ſendeth vp to Rome in all haſt to yͤ pope, ſignifieng to him by letters the whole matter, how & wherfore, and by whom he was cited. To whō the pope directed agayne his letters of comfort (as he had done diuers before) the copy wherof here inſueth.

Becket cited to Rome vpon periury by the byſhops.

Becket condemned of periurie.

Becket cited to Rome.

¶ Alexander Pope, to Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

YOur brotherly letters which you directed to vs, and ſuch other matters which your meſſenger by word of mouth hath ſignified vnto vs, we haue diligetly heard the reading therof: and thereby fully vnderſtand the greuous vexations and dolorous griefes wherewith your mynde is dayly encumbred: by reaſon whereof, we hearyng and vnderſtanding, are not a litle diſquieted in our ſpirit for your ſake: in whoſe proſperities we do both gladly reioyce, and no leſſe do ſorow in your aduerſities as for our moſt deare brother. You therfore (as a conſtant and wiſe man) remember with your ſelfe that which is written: The Apoſtles departed away (reioyſing) from the face of the Councell. &c. With like patience do you alſo ſuſtaine that mans moleſtations, and let not your ſpirite be troubled therein more then needeth, but receaue in your ſelfe cōſolation: that we alſo together with you, may be cōforted in the Lord, who hath preſerued you to the corroboration of his Catholike and Chriſten veritie, in this diſtres of neceſſitie: and from whō alſo it hath pleaſed him to wype away the blot of ſuch thyngs which haue bene worldly of you committed, and here to puniſh the ſame through ſundry afflictions: whereby (in the ſtraite iudgemēt of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But hēceforth let not this much greue you: neither let your hart be ſo deiect or timerous in the matter (for that you are cited vp to the Apoſtolike ſea) which to vs is both gratefull and accepted. And this we will you, that if they which haue cited you ſhall chaunce to come: draw not you backe, but folow the appeale (if ye pleaſe) and ſpare not (all doubt and delay ſet apart) for the authoritie of the Church tendring this your conſtācy, may not do that which may put you either in feare, or doubt. But our diligēce ſhall be with all labour and ſtudy, to conſerue the right and preheminence (God willyng) of that Church cōmitted to you, ſo much as in vs lyeth (ſauyng our iuſtice and equitie) as to one whom in working for the Church, we finde to be both a conſtant and a valiaunt champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repaire vnto the Church of Canterbury: and reteinyng but a few Clerkes about you (ſuch onely as ſerue your neceſſitie) make no excurſes out (as litle as you can) in that coũtrey: but in this eſpecially I thought to premoniſh you (that in no caſe) neither for feare or any aduerſitie, whatſoeuer may happen: ye be brought to renounce and geue vp the right and dignitie of your Church. Written at Seue the vij. before the Kalendes of Nouember.

Becket called to a full accompt.

Ex Rogerio Houedeno.

Becket iudged to be layd in priſon.

Ex quadripartita historia. lib. 1. cap. 38

Becket appealeth to the pope.

Becket thinketh not ſufficient the protectiõ of God without the pope.

As the Archbyſhop was thus cited vp to Rome (ſittyng with his croſſe waytyng in the court, neither geuyng place to the kynges requeſt nor abaſhed with the clamor of the whole court agaynſt him callyng him traytor on euery ſide, neither followyng the aduertiſement of his fellow Byſhops) at length the kyng by certaine Earles and Barons ſent commaundement to him, (Robert Earle of Leceſter doyng the meſſage) that he ſhould without delay come and render a full accompt of all thynges that he had receiued, as the profites and reuenues of the Realme, in the tyme he was Chaũcelour: and eſpecially for the .30000. markes, for the which he was accomptable to the kyng. To whom the archbyſhop aunſwereth agayne: the kyng knew, how oft he had made his reckenyng of thoſe thynges which now were required of him. Farther and beſides, Henry his ſonne & heire of his realme, with all his barons, and alſo Richard Lucye chief Juſtice of England, told him: that he was free & quyt to God and to holy Church, from all receiptes & computations, and from all ſecular exactions on the kynges behalfe. And ſo he takyng thus his diſcharge at their handes, entred into his office, and therfore other accompt beſides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his Barons to do the law vpon him. Who ſo doyng, iudged him to be apprehended, and layd in priſon. This done, the king ſendeth to him Reignald Earle of Cornewall and Deuonſhyre, and Robert Earle of Leyceſter, to declare to him what was his iudgement. To whom the Archbyſhop aunſwereth: heare (my ſonne and good Earle) what I ſay vnto you: how much more precious the ſoule is more then the body, ſomuch more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather then your terrene kyng. Neither doth any law or reaſon permit the children to iudge or condemne their father. Wherfore, to auoyde both the iudgement of the king, of you, and all other: I put my ſelfe onely to the arbitremẽt of the Pope, vnder God alone to be iudged of him, and of no other. To whoſe preſence here before you all, I do appeale: committyng the ordering of the Church of Cãterbury (my dignitie, with all other thynges apperteinyng to the ſame) vnder the protectiõ of God and him. And as for you my brethren and fellow biſhops (which rather obey man, thẽ God) you alſo I call and cite to the audience and iudgement of the Pope, and departe hence forth from you, as from the enemyes of the Catholike Church, and of the authoritie of Apoſtolike ſee.

Becket flyeth out of the court.

Becket chaũgeth his name, and is called Derman.

Hiſtories differ ſomething in the order of his flight.

While the Barons returned with this aunſwere to the kyng the Archbyſhop paſſing through the throng, taketh to him his palfrey (holdyng his croſſe in the one hand, & his bridle in the other) the courtiers followyng after and cryyng: traytor, traytor, tary and heare thy iudgemẽt. But he paſſed on till he came to the vttermoſt gate of the Court, whiche being faſt locked there had bene ſtayd, had not one of his ſeruauntes, called Peter (ſurnamed Demunctorio) findyng there a bunche of keyes hangyng by: firſt moued one key, thẽ an other (till at laſt findyng the true key) had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbyſhop went ſtraight to the houſe of Chanons, where he dyd lye, callyng vnto hym the poore, where they could be found. When ſupper was done, makyng as though he would go to bed (which he cauſed to be made betwixt two altars) priuely while the king was at ſupper, prepareth his iourney ſecretly to eſcape away: and chaungyng his garment and his name (beyng called Dermã) firſt went to Lincolne, frõ thence to Sandwich where he tooke ſhyp, and ſayled into Flaunders: and from thence iourneyed to Fraũce, as Houedenus ſayth. Albeit Alanus differing ſomethyng in the order of his flight, ſayth: that he departed not that night, but at ſupper tyme came to him the byſhop of London, & Chicheſter (declaring to him) that if he would ſurrender vp to the kyng his two maners of Otford and Wyngecham, there were hope to recouer the kings fauour, and to to haue all remitted. But when the Archbyſhop would not agree thereunto (for aſmuch as thoſe maners were belongyng to the Church of Caunterbury) the kyng hearing therof, great diſpleaſure was taken: Inſomuch that the next day, Becket was fayne to ſend to the kyng two byſhops and his chapleins, for leaue to depart the realme. To the which meſſage the king aunſwered, that he would take a pauſe therof till the next day, & then he ſhould haue an aunſwere. But Becket not tarying his aunſwere, the ſame day conueyed himſelfe away ſecretly (as is aforeſayd) to Ludouicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert the byſhop of London, and William the earle of Arundel (ſent frõ the king of England to Fraũce) preuented him: requiring of the ſaid French king (in the behalfe of the king of England) that he would not receiue nor retaine in his dominiõ the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Moreouer (that at his inſtãce) he would be a meanes to the pope, not to ſhew any familiaritie vnto him. But the kyng of England in this point ſeemed to haue more cõfidẽce in the French king, then knowledge of his diſpoſition. For, thinking that the French king would haue bene a good neighbour to him (in truſting him to much) he was deceiued. Neither conſidered he with himſelfe inough the maner and nature of the Frenchmen, at that tyme agaynſt the realme of England: who then were glad to ſeeke and take all maner of occaſions to do ſome act agaynſt England.

The French king ſupporteth Becket againſt the king of England.

Ambaſſadours ſent to the pope.

And therfore Ludouicke the French kyng, vnderſtandyng the matter: & thinking (percaſe) thereby to haue ſome vauntage agaynſt the kyng, and realme of England, by the occaſion hereof: contrary to the kynges letters and requeſt: not onely harboureth and cheriſheth this Derman: but alſo (wrytyng to the pope by his Almener and brother) entreateth him (vpon all loues, as euer he would haue his fauour) to tender the cauſe of the Archbyſhop Becket. Thus the kynges ambaſſadours repulſed of the French kyng, returned, at what tyme he ſent an other ambaſſage (vpõ the like cauſe) to Alexãder the pope then beyng at Sene in Fraũce. The ambaſſadours ſent in this meſſage were Roger archbyſhop of Yorke, Gilbert biſhop of London, Henry byſhop of Wincheſter, Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter, Barthelemew byſhop of Exeter, with other doctors and clerkes: alſo William Earle of Arundell, with certeine mo Lordes and Barons. Who commyng to the popes Court, were frendly accepted of certaine of the Cardinals: amõgeſt the which cardinals, roſe alſo diſſention about the ſame cauſe: ſome iudgyng the byſhop of Canterbury, in the defence of the liberties of the Church (as in a good cauſe) to be maintained: Some thinking agayne, that he (beyng a perturber of peace and vnitie) was rather to be bridled for his preſumption, then to be foſtered and incouraged therin. But the Pope, partly bearyng with his cauſe (which onely tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly agayne incenſed with the letters of the French kyng: did wholy incline to Becket as no maruell was. Wherfore (yͤ next day followyng) the pope ſittyng in conſiſtory with his Cardinals, the ambaſſadours were called for, to the hearing of Beckets matter: and firſt beginneth the Byſhop of London: next, the Archbyſhop of Yorke: then Exceter: and the other Byſhops, euery one in their order to ſpeake. Whoſe Orations beyng not well accepted of the Pope, and ſome of them alſo diſdayned: the Earle of Arundell perceiuyng that (and ſomewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes eares) began after this maner.

The oration of the earle of Arundell to the Pope.

ALthough to me it is vnknowen (ſaith he) which am both vnlettered and ignoraunt, what is that theſe Byſhops here haue ſayd neither am I in that tõg ſo able to expreſſe my mynde as they haue done: yet beyng ſent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cauſe is of our ſending hether. Not (truly) to contend or ſtriue with any perſon, nor to offer any iniury or harme vnto any man (eſpecially in this place) and in the preſence here of ſuch a one, vnto whoſe becke and authoritie all the world doth ſtoupe and yelde. But for this intent is our legacy hether directed: to preſent here before you and in the preſence of the whole Churche of Rome, the deuotion and loue of our kyng and maiſter, which euer he hath had and yet hath ſtill toward you. And that the ſame might the better appeare to your excellẽcy: he hath aſſigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacy, not the leaſt, but the greateſt: not the worſt but the beſt & chiefeſt of all his ſubiectes: both Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Earles, Barons, with other potentates mo: of ſuch worthynes and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his Realme, he would haue ſent them, both for the reuerence of your perſon, and of the holy Church of Rome. Ouer and beſides this, I might adde to more (which your ſanctitude hath ſufficiently tryed and proued already) the true and harty fidelitie of this our kyng and ſoueraigne toward you. Who (in his firſt intraunce to his kyngdome) wholye ſubmitted hymſelfe, with all that is his beſides, to your willand pleaſure.

And truly to teſtifie of his maieſty how he is diſpoſed to the vnitie of the Catholike fayth: we beleue there is none more faythfull in Chriſt then he, nor more deuout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the vnitie of peace wherunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to proteſt for our kyng and maiſter: ſo neither do I deny the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, to be a man deſtitute or vnfurniſhed with giftes and ornamentes in his kynde of callyng: but to be a man both ſage and diſcrete, in ſuch thyngs as to him appertaineth: ſaue onely that he ſeemeth to ſome more quicke and ſharpe then needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and that the breach betwene our king and hym had not ſo happened: both the regiments together, (of the temporalty and ſpiritualty) might quietly haue floriſhed one with the other in much peace and concorde: both vnder a prince ſo worthy, and a paſtor ſo vertuous. Wherfore (the caſe ſo ſtanding as it doth) our meſſage hether, and our ſupplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your fauour and wiſedome) the necke of this diſſention may be broken: and that reformation of vnitie and loue (by ſome good meanes) may be ſought.

¶ This oration of his, although it was lyked of them for the ſoftnes and moderation therof: yet it could not ſo perſwade the Romiſhe Biſhop to condeſcende to their ſute and requeſt. Which ſute was, to haue two legates or arbiters to be ſent from his popiſhe ſide into England, to examine and to take vp the controuerſie betwene the king and the archbyſhop. But the pope incenſed (as is ſayd before) would not graunt to their petition: foraſmuch as it ſhould be (ſayth he) preiudiciall and tendyng to the oppreſſion of the archbyſhop to graūt vnto it, he being not preſent. And therfore he willed them to tarry his commyng vp, otherwiſe (he being abſent) he would not (he ſayd in any caſe) proceede againſt him. But they (alledging agayne their tyme to be expired appointed them of the kyng, hauing beſides other lets and cauſes as they alledged) ſayd that they could not there wait for the commyng of Becket: but returned backe (their cauſe fruſtrated) without the Popes bleſſing to the king. Within foure dayes after, Becket commeth to the Popes court, where he proſtratyng hymſelfe at hys feete, brought out of his boſome a ſcrole conteining the cuſtomes and ordinaunces of the kyng, afore mentioned fol. 209. The Pope receiuing the foreſayd ſcrole, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and curſed the moſt part of the ſayd decrees of the kyng, which he called *conſuetudines auitas*, that is, his grandfathers ordinaunces. Beſides this: the Pope moreouer blameth Becket, for that he ſo much yelded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithſtanding (becauſe he was repentant for his vnaduiſed fact) he was content to abſolue him for the ſame, and the rather becauſe of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holy church did ſuſteine: and ſo with great fauour for that day dimiſſed him.

The Pope tendereth Beckets cauſe againſt the kyng.

Becket complayneth of his kyng to the Pope.

Repentaūce for his well doing.

The next day (Alexander the Pope aſſembling his Cardinals together in his ſecret chamber) appeareth before them archbyſhop Becket, hauing this oration to the pope and hys popelings: which here I thought to ſet out in our vulgare Engliſhe tongue (tranſlated out of Latin) to the entent that the poſteritie hereafter may vnderſtand, either the vaine ſuperſtition or vile ſlauery of the Churchmē in thoſe dayes: who (being not content with their owne naturall prince and kyng geuen them of God) muſt ſeeke further to the Pope: thinking no eccleſiaſticall lyuing to be geuen, which is not taken at his handes. The wordes of his Oration be ſtoried rightly thus.

¶ *The Oration of Becket, reſigning hys Byſhopricke to the Pope.*

FAthers and Lordes, I ought not to lye in any place, much leſſe before God, and in your preſence here. Wherfore, with much ſighing and ſorow of hart I graunt and cōfeſſe, that theſe perturbations of the Church of England, be rayſed through my miſerable fault. For I entred into the fold of Chriſt, but not by the dore of Chriſt: for that, not the canonicall election did call me lawfully therunto, but terror of publike power droue me in. And albeit I againſt my will tooke this burden vpon me, yet not the will of God, but mans pleaſure placed me in the rowme. And therfore no maruell though all thinges haue gone contrary & backward wyth me. And as for the reſigning vp agayne therof: if I had ſo done, and geuen vp to their handes, the priuilege of my byſhoply autoritie which I had graūted to me at the commaundement of the kyng (ſo as my fellow Byſhops did inſtantly call vpon me to doe) then had I left a pernicious and daungerous example to the whole Catholike Church. By reaſon whereof, I thought to deferre that vnto your preſence. And now therfore (recogniſing wyth my ſelfe my ingreſſe not to be Canonicall, and therefore fearing it to haue the worſe end: and againe pondering my ſtrength and abilitie not to be ſufficient for ſuch a charge) leaſt I ſhould be found to ſuſteine that roome to the ruine of the flocke, to whom I was appointed a paſtor vnworthy: I render vp to your fatherly handes the archbiſhopprike here of Canterbury. &c. And ſo putting of hys ryng from his finger, and offering it the pope: deſired a Byſhop for the Church of Canterbury to be prouided: ſeeing he thought not himſelfe meete to fulfill the ſame, and ſo (with teares, as the ſtory ſaith) ended his oration.

Beckets argument: the Pope brought him not in, but the kyng: Ergo God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (M. Becket) reſigne it as well to his handes of whom ye tooke it.

This done, the Archbyſhop was byd to ſtand a part. The Pope conferryng vpon this with his Cardinals, about the reſignation of Becket what was beſt to be done: ſome thought it beſt to take the occaſion offered, thinkyng thereby the kynges wrath might eaſely be ſwaged if the church of Canterbury were aſſigned to ſome other perſon, and yet the ſayd Becket otherwiſe to be prouided for notwithſtandyng. Contrary, other agayne thought otherwiſe, whoſe reaſon was: If he (which for the liberties of the church had ventred not onely his goodes, dignitie and authoritie, but alſo his lyfe) ſhould now at the kynges pleaſure be depriued: like as it might be a preſidēt hereafter to others in reſiſtyng their king in lyke ſort (if his cauſe were maintained) ſo contrarywiſe if it quayled: it ſhould be an example to all other hereafter, none to reſiſt his Prince in the lyke caſe. And ſo, might it redounde not onely to the weakenyng of the ſtate of the Catholike Church, but alſo to the derogation of the popes authoritie. Briefly, this ſentēce at lēgth preuayled: and ſo Becket receaueth his paſtorall office at the Popes hand agayne, with commendation and much fauour. But for ſomuch as he could not be wel placed in England: in the meane while, the Pope ſendeth him with a monkes habit into the abbay Pontiniak in Fraūce: where he remained two yeares, from thence he remoued to Senon where he abode fiue yeares. So the tyme of his exile continued a ſeuen yeares in all. &c.

A conſultation betwene the Pope and the Cardinals about Beckets matter.

Becket in baniſhment vij. yeares.

Upon this, the kyng beyng certified by his ambaſſadours of the Popes aunſwere, how his fauour enclined more to Becket then to hym: was moued (and worthely) with wrothfull diſpleaſure. Who vpon the ſame ſaylyng frō England vnto Normandy, directed ouer certaine iniunctions agaynſt the Pope and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, as were recited aboue. Fol. 209. The contētes wherof were declared to be theſe.

If any perſon ſhalbe found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbyſhop of Canterbury. &c.

Of theſe and ſuch other iniunctions Becket ſpecifieth partly in a certaine letter, writyng to a frend of his in this maner.

THomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, to his welbeloued frend. &c. Be it knowen to your brotherly goodnes, that we with all ours here (by Gods grace) are ſafe and in good health. Hauyng a good hope and truſt to your faythfull amitie, I charge you and require you: that either by the bringer hereof or by ſome other (whom ye know faythfull and truſty to our Church of Canterbury, and to vs) you write with all ſpede, what is done. As touchyng the kynges decrees here ſet out, theſe they be: that all hauens and portes ſhould be diligētly kept: that no letters of the Popes interdict or curſe be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they ſhall haue their feete cut of: if he be a prieſt or clerk, he ſhall loſe his priuy members: If he be a lay man, let hym be hanged: If he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any biſhop, for feare of the Popes interdict, will depart (beſides his ſtaffe onely in his hand) let him haue nothyng els. Alſo the kynges will is: that all ſcholers and ſtudētes beyond the Seas ſhall repayre home, or els loſe their benefices. And if they yet ſhall remaine ſtill, they ſhal loſe the libertie of all returnyng. Further if any ſuch Prieſts ſhalbe found (that for the Popes ſuſpēſe or interdict will refuſe to ſing) they ſhal loſe their priuy mēbers. In ſumme, all ſuch Prieſtes as ſhew thēſelues rebels to the kyng, let them be depriued of their benefices. &c.

The kynges decrees.

Beſides theſe and ſuch like iniunctions, it was alſo ſet forth by the kynges proclamation. an. 1166. that all maner of perſons (both men and women, who ſoeuer were found of the kindered of Thomas Becket) ſhould be exiled without takyng any part of their goodes with them and ſent to him, where he was: which was no litle vexation to Becket

An. 1166.

Beckets kinred baniſhed.

to behold them. Moreouer, for ſomuch as he then was lyeng with Gwarine Abbot of Pontiniack (to whō the pope as is aforeſayd had commēded him) therfore the kyng writyng to the ſame Abbote, required him not to retaine the Archbyſhop of Canterbury in his houſe: for if he did, he would driue out of his Realme, all the monkes of his order. Whereupon Becket was enforced to remoue from thence and went to Lewes the French kyng, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of hym the ſpace of fiue yeares, as is aboue mentioned.

These monkes were of the Ciſtertian order.

In the meane tyme, meſſengers went dayly with letters betwene the kyng and the pope, betwene the pope agayne and him, and ſo betwene the Archbyſhop and other. Wherof if the Reader (peraduenture) ſhalbe deſirous to ſee the copies: I thought here to expreſſe certaine of them, to ſatiſfie his deſire: firſt beginnyng with the Epiſtle of Becket complaynyng of his prince, to the pope in maner & forme as foloweth.

Becket complayneth of his prince to the Pope.

The copy of an Epiſtle ſent of Thomas Becket, to Pope Alexander.

TO your preſence and audience I flee (moſt holy father) that you, who hath bought the libertie of the Churche with your ſo great daunger, might the rather attend to the ſame (either beyng the onely or chiefeſt cauſe of my perſecution) vſing and followyng therein the example of you. It greueth me that the ſtate of the Church ſhould fall to any decay, and that the liberties therof ſhould be infringed thorough the auarice of princes. For the which cauſe, I thought to reſiſt betyme that inconuenience begynnyng ſo to grow. And the more I thought my ſelfe obliged to the ſame my Prince (vnto whō next vnder God, I am moſt chiefly boūd) the more boldnes I tooke to me, to withſtand his vnrightfull attemptes: till ſuch that were on the contrary part (my aduerſaries) preuailed, working my diſquietnes, and incenſing him agaynſt me. Wherupon (as the maner is amongeſt Princes) they rayſed vp agaynſt me citations and ſlaunders, to the occaſion of my perſecution: but I had rather to be proſcribed, then to ſubſcribe. Beſides this, I was alſo called to iudgement, and cited before the kyng to make aunſwere there as a lay perſon, to ſecular accomptes: where as they whom I moſt truſted dyd moſt forſake me. For I ſaw my fellow brethren the Byſhoppes, through the inſtigation of ſome, ready to my condemnation. Wherupon all beyng ſet againſt me, and I thus oppreſſed on euery ſide, tooke my refuge to appeale to your goodnes, which caſteth of none in their extremities: being ready to make my declaratiō before you, that I ought neither to be iudged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to vſurpe to themſelues your right? and to bryng the ſpiritualtie vnder the temporaltie. Which thyng (once begon) may breede an example to many. And therfore, ſo much the more ſtouter I thought to be in withſtandyng this matter: how much more prone and procliue, I ſaw the way to hurt: if they once might ſee vs to be faynt and weake in the ſame. But they will ſay to me here agayne: geue to Ceſar, that which belongeth to Ceſar. &c. But to aunſwere agayne therunto (albeit we are bound to obey our kyng in moſt thyngs) yet not in ſuch maner of thyngs, wherby he is made to be no kyng: neither were they then thynges belongyng to Ceſar, but to a tyraunt. Concernyng the which poyntes, theſe Byſhoppes ſhould (not for me onely, but for themſelues) haue reſiſted the kyng. For if the extreme iudgement be reſerued to hym which is able to iudge both body and ſoule: is it not thē extreme pride for mē there to iudge, which iudge but by thēſelues? If the cauſe of the biſhops and of the clergy, (which I maintayne) be right: why be they ſet agaynſt me? Why do they reprehend me? For if that I appealed to hym before whom either it was not lawfull, or els not expedient for me to do: what ſeeme they by this, but either to blame me cauſeles, or els to diſtruſt your equitie? For me to be conuicted before your holyneſſe: it had bene a double confuſion. Or wherin haue I deſerued to be perſecuted of thē, for whoſe cauſe I haue ſet my ſelfe to ſtand in their behalfe? And if they had willed, I had preuayled: but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forſaken: as if the eyes ſhould take the toūg to ſpeake againſt the head. If they had had eyes to haue foreſene the matter, they might vnderſtād themſelues to ſpeake their owne deſtruction: and that the Princes dyd vſe their helpe, but to their own ſeruitude. And what ſo great cauſe of hatred had they agaynſt me, to procure their owne vndoyng, in vndoyng of me? So, while they neglected ſpirituall things in ſteede of temporall, they haue loſt them both. What ſhould I ſpeake more of this, that I repugnyng them and appealyng to your audience (yet notwithſtādyng) they durſt preſume to ſtād in iudgement and condemnation agaynſt me, as children agaynſt their father. Yea, and not agaynſt me onely, but agaynſt the vniuerſall Church of God (conſpiryng together with the prince) beyng with me offended. And this ſuſpection might alſo as well pertaine to you holy father. But to this they will ſay: that they owe their duty and ſeruice vnto the kyng, as their Lord: to whom they are bound, vpon their allegeaunce. To whom I aunſwere, that to hym they ſtand bound bodely, to me ſpiritually. But to whō ought they rather to ſtand boūd, then to themſelues? And were it not better to ſuſtaine the loſſe of corporall, then of ſpirituall thynges? But here they will ſay agayne: at this tyme the Prince was not to be prouoked. How ſubtily do theſe men diſpute for their own bōdage? Yea, they themſelues prouoke him by their owne exceſſe, miniſtryng wynges vnto him to fight agaynſt them, for he would haue reſted if they had reſiſted. And when is conſtancy more to be required, then in perſecution? Be not a mans chief frendes moſt tryed in perſecution? If they geue ouer ſtill, how ſhall they obtaine the victory? Sometyme they muſt needes reſiſt. Condeſcend therfore (holy father) to my exile and perſecutiō. And remember, that I alſo once was a great man, in the time whē it was: and now for your ſake thus iniuriouſly I am intreated. Vſe your rigour and reſtrayne them, by whoſe inſtigation the name of this perſecution began. And let none of theſe thynges be imputed to the kyng, who rather is to be counted the repairer then the author of this buſineſſe.

To keepe vnder the pride of prelates is no cauſe ſufficient to vnkyng a Prince.

If ye meane by ſpirituall thinges, ſuch as pertayne to the ſpirituall part of mā, I graūt, but your liberties be not ſuch as which pertayne to the inward or ſpirituall mā but rather are thinges more corporall.

Perſecution tryeth a true frende, but euery cauſe maketh not a true perſecution.

Beſides this Epiſtle ſent vnto the pope: he writeth alſo an other letter, ſent to ẏ kyng in Latin: the tenour wherof (he that is diſpoſed to read) may peruſe in our former edition, with the notes adioyned withall.

Beſides which Epiſtle to the kyng in Latin, he ſent alſo one or two mo, to the ſayd kyng Henry the ij. much after the like rate and ſort. The one thus begynnyng: Loqui de Deo, liberæ mētis eſt & valdè quietæ. Indè eſt quòd loquar ad Dominū meum, & vtinam ad omnes pacificum. &c. Which Epiſtle, for that I would not ouercharge the volume of theſe hyſtories with to much matter ſuperfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he ſent afterward, wherof the wordes be theſe.

An other letter of Becket, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, ſent to the kyng.

TO his Lord and frend Henry by the grace of God, kyng of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitane, Earle of Angeow: Thomas by the ſame grace, hūble miniſter of the Church of Canterbury (ſometyme his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentaunce with amendement. I haue long looked for, that the Lord would looke vpon you: and that you would conuert and repent, departyng from your peruerſe way: and cut of from you your wicked and peruerſe counſellors, by whoſe inſtinction (as it is thought) you are fallen into that deepe, wherof the Pſalme ſpeaketh. A ſinner when he commeth to the depth of miſchiefes, is without all care or feare. And albeit, we haue hetherto quietly ſuffred and borne: cōſideryng and earneſtly lookyng if there would any meſſenger come that would ſay: Your ſoueraigne Lord the kyng (which now a lōg tyme hath erred & bene deceiued, & led euē to the deſtruction of the church) through Gods mercy with aboūdant humilitie doth now agayne make ſpeede for the deliueraunce of the church, & to make ſatiſfaction & amēdemēt. Yet notwithſtāding, we ceaſe not (day by day cōtinually) to cal vpō almighty God, with moſt humble deuotion: that, that which we haue long deſired for you and by you, we may ſpeedely obtaine with aboundant effect. And this is one poynt, that the care of the Church of Cāterbury, wherunto God hath preſently appointed vs (albeit vnworthy) you beyng kyng doth ſpecially conſtraine me (in that as yet, we are deteined in exile) to write vnto your maieſty letters commonitory, exhortatory, and of correctiō. But I would to God they were fully able to correct leaſt that I be to great a cloker of your outragies (if there be any) as in dede there are: for the which we are not a litle ſory. I meane ſpecially of them which are done by you in euery place, about the Church of God and the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, without any reuerence either of dignitie or perſon: and leaſt alſo that I appeare negligent to the great daunger of my ſoule: for without doubt he beareth the offence of him which doth cōmit any offence: who neglecteth to correct that, which an other ought to amend. For it is written not onely they which do commit euill, but alſo they which conſent therunto are counted partakers of the ſame. For they verely do conſent, which whẽ they both might and ought, do not reſiſt or at the leaſt reproue. For the error which is not reſiſted is alowed, and the truth whẽ it is not defended is oppreſſed: neither doth it lacke a priuy note of ſociety in hym, which ceaſeth to withſtand a manifeſt miſchief. 2. For like as (moſt noble Prince) a ſmall Citie doth not diminiſh the prerogatiue of ſo mighty a kingdome as your is: ſo your royall power ought not to oppreſſe or chaunge the meaſure of the religious diſpenſation: For it is prouided alwayes by the lawes, that all iudgementes againſt Prieſtes, ſhould procede by the determination of Prieſtes. For whatſoeuer Byſhops they are: albeit that they do erre as other men do, (not exceedyng in any point contrary to the religiõ of faith) they 3. ought not, nor can in any caſe be iudged of the ſecular power. Truly, it is the part of a good and religious Prince, to repayre the ruinous Churches, to builde new, to honour the prieſtes and with great reuerence to defend them (after the example of the godly prince of moſt happy memory, 4. Conſtantinus) which ſayd, when a complaint of the Clergy was brought to hym: You ſaith he, can be iudged by no ſecular iudge, which are reſerued to the onely iudgement of God. And for ſo much as we do read that the holy Apoſtles and theyr ſucceſſors (appoynted by the teſtimony of God) commaunded that no perſecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to enuy thoſe which labour in the field of the Lord: and that the ſtewardes of the eternall kyng ſhould not be expelled and put out of theyr ſeates. Who then doubteth, but that the prieſtes of Chriſt ought to be called the fathers & maiſters of all other faithfull princes? Is it not a miſerable madnes then, if the ſonne ſhould go about to bryng the 5. father vnder obedience? or the ſcholer hys maiſter? and by 6. wycked bondes to bryng hym in ſubiection by whome he ought to beleue, that he may be bound and loſed, not only in earth, but alſo in heauen? If you be a good and a catholike kyng, and wil be ſuch a one as we hope, or that we rather deſire you ſhould be, (be it ſpoken vnder your licence) you are the chylde of the church and not the ruler of the church. You ought to learn of the prieſtes, and not to teach them: you ought to 7. folow the prieſtes in eccleſiaſtical matters, & not to go before thẽ, hauyng the priuiledge of your power geuen you of God to make publike lawes: that by hys benefites you ſhould not be vnthankful againſt the diſpẽſation of the heauẽly order: and that you ſhould vſurpe nothyng, but vſe them with a wholeſom diſpoſition.

Wherfore, in thoſe things which contrary vnto that, you haue (through your malitious counſell, rather then by your owne mynd) wickedly vſurped: with all humilitie and ſatiſfaction ſpeedily geue place, that the hande of the moſt higheſt be not ſtretched out agaynſt you, as an arrowe agaynſt the marke. For the moſt higheſt hath bended hys bow openly to ſhoote againſt hym, that wyll not confeſſe hys offences. Be not aſhamed (whatſoeuer wicked men ſay vnto you, or that traytors do whiſper in your eare) to humble your ſelfe vnder the mighty hande of God. For it is he which exalteth the humble, & throweth down the proud: which alſo reuengeth himſelfe vpon Princes: he is terrible, and who ſhall reſiſt hym? You ought not to haue let ſlip out of your memory, in what ſtate God did finde you: how he hath preſerued, honoured, and exalted you: bleſſed you with children: enlarged your kyngdome: and eſtablyſhed the ſame in deſpite of your enemies. In ſo much, that hetherto (in a maner) all men haue ſaid with great admiratiõ, that this is he whom God hath choſen. And how wil you reward (or can you reward) hym for all theſe things which he hath done vnto you? Will you (at the prouocation and inſtaunce of thoſe which are about you: that 8. perſecute the church and the eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and alwayes haue accordyng to theyr power perſecuted them, rendryng euill for good, bringyng oppreſſions, tribulations, iniuries and afflictions vpõ the church & church men) do the like? Are not theſe they of whom the lord ſpeaketh: he that heareth you heareth me, he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me, & he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verely forſakyng all that thou haſt, take vp thy croſſe, that thou maiſt folow thy God our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Yet wil it ſcarſely be (or not at all) that thou ſhalt appeare a thankful recõpẽcer of the benefites receaued at his hand. Search the ſcriptures of ſuch as are learned, and you ſhall vnderſtand: that 9. Saul (albeit he was elect of the Lord) periſhed with his whole houſe, becauſe he departed from the wayes of the Lord.

Ozias alſo kyng of Iuda (whoſe name is ſpoken of and ſpread ouer all) through the manifolde victories geuen hym of God, hys hart was ſo puffed vp to hys deſtruction (becauſe the Lord did healp and ſtrengthen him in euery place) that he contemnyng the feare and reuerence of the Lord would vſurpe vnto himſelfe that which was not his office (that is to ſaye, the prieſthoode) and to offer incenſe vpon the altar of the Lord, for the which he was ſtriken with a leproſy, and caſt out of the houſe of the Lord. Many other kynges and holy men of great ſubſtãce (becauſe they haue walked about their eſtate in the meruailes of the world, preſumyng to rebell agaynſt God in his miniſteries) haue periſhed: and at the laſt, they haue found nothyng of their ſubſtance in their power. Alſo king Achaz (becauſe he did vſurpe the office of Prieſthoode) was likewiſe ſtriken with a leproſy by God.

Oza alſo (albeit he was not king) yet for ſomuch as he touched the arke and helde it, when it would haue fallen by the vnrulines of the Oxen (which thyng perteined not vnto him, but vnto the miniſters of the Church) was ſtrikẽ by the wrath of God and fell down dead by the arke. O kyng, it is a famous prouerbe: that a man forewarned by an other mans misfortune, will take the better heede vnto himſelfe. For euery man hath his owne buſines in hand, when his neighbours houſe is on fier.

Dearely beloued Kyng, God would haue the diſpoſing of thoſe thinges which pertaine vnto the church, to belong onely vnto prieſtes, and not vnto the ſecular power. Do not chalẽge vnto thy ſelfe therefore, another mãs right: neither ſtriue againſt him, by whom all thinges are ordained, leaſt thou ſeeme to ſtriue againſt his benifites, of whom thou haſt receiued thy power. For by the cõmon 10. lawes and not by the ſecular power, and by the byſhops & prieſtes: almighty God would haue the cleargy of the chriſten religion to be ordered and ruled. And chriſtian kings ought to ſubmit all their doinges vnto eccleſiaſticall rulers, and not to preferre them ſelues: for it is written, that none ought to iudge the byſhops but onely the church, neither doth it perteine vnto mans law to geue ſentence vppon anye ſuch. Chriſtiã princes are accuſtomed to be obedient vnto the ſtatutes and ordinaunces of the church, and not to preferre their owne power. A prince ought to ſubmitte himſelfe vnto the byſhops, and not to iudge the byſhops: for there are two thynges wherewith the world is chiefly gouerned (that is to ſay) the ſacred authoritie of biſhops and royall power. 11. In the which, the biſhops charge is ſo much the more waighty, in that they ſhall at the latter iudgement render accompt, euen of the kings themſelues. Truely you ought to vnderſtand, that you depend vpon their iudgement, and can not reduce them vnto your owne will: for many Byſhops haue excommunicated both kinges and Emperours. And if you require an eſpeciall example thereof, Innocentius the Pope dyd excommunicate Arcadius the Emperour, becauſe he dyd conſent that Iohn Chriſoſtome ſhould be expulſed from hys ſeate: and S. Ambroſe alſo dyd excommunicate 12. Theodoſius the great Emperour, for a fault (which ſeemed not ſo waighty vnto other Prieſtes) and ſhut him out of the Church: who afterwarde by condigne ſatiſfaction was abſolued.

There are many other lyke examples: for Dauid when he had committed adultery and murther, the prophet Nathan was ſent vnto hym by God to reproue hym, & he was ſoone corrected. And the king (laying aſide his ſcepter and Diademe, and ſettyng apart all princely maieſtie) was not aſhamed to humble hymſelfe before the face of the Prophet to confeſſe hys fault, and to require forgeuenes for hys offence: what wyll you more? he beyng ſtriken with repẽtaunce aſked mercy, and obtayned forgeuenes. So likewyſe you (moſt beloued kyng and reuerend Lord) after the example of this good kyng Dauid (of whom it is ſayd: I haue found a man after myne owne hart) with a contrite and humble hart, turne to the Lord your God: and take hold of repentaunce for your trãſgreſſions. For you are fallen & erred in many things, which yet I kepe in ſtore ſtill, if (peraduẽture) God ſhal inſpire you to ſay with the prophet: haue mercy on me O God, accordyng to thy great mercy, for I haue ſinned much agaynſt thee, and done euill in thy ſight. Thus much I haue thought good to write to you my deare Lord at thys preſent, paſſing ouer other thinges in ſilence, till I may ſee whether my wordes take place in you, and bryng forth fruites in you worthy of repentaunce: & that I may heare and reioyce with them that ſhall bring me word and ſay: Oh king, thy ſonne was dead, and is alyue agayne was loſt and is found agayne. But if you will not heare me: loke where I was wont (before the maieſty of the body of Chriſt) to pray for you in aboundaunce of teares & ſighes: There in the ſame place I will cry agaynſt you, & ſay: Riſe vp Lord and iudge my cauſe, forget not the rebukes and iniuries which the kyng of England doth to thee and thyne forget not the ignominy of thy Church, which thou haſt builded in thy bloud. Reuenge the bloud of thy ſaintes which is ſpilt: reuenge (O Lord) the afflictions of thy ſeruaunts, of whom there is an infinite number. For the pride of them which hate and perſecute thee, is gone vp ſo high: that we are not able to beare them any longer. Whatſoeuer your ſeruauntes ſhall do, all thoſe things ſhall be requyred at your handes: for he ſeemeth to haue done the harme, which hath geuen the cauſe therof. Doubtles, the ſonne of the moſt higheſt (except you amẽd and ceaſe from the oppreſſing of the church and clergy, and kepe your hand from troublyng of them) will come in the rod of hys fury, at the voyces of ſuch as cry to hym, and at the ſighes of them that be in bandes: when the tyme ſhall come for hym to iudge the vnrighteouſnes of men in equity and ſeueritie of the holy ghoſt. For he knoweth how to take away the breath of Princes, and is terrible among kings of the earth. Your dere and louyng grace I wiſh well to fare. Thus fare ye well agayne and euer.

¶ Certayne notes or elenches vpon this Epiſtle: which by the figures you may finde out, and their places.

1. The ſcope of this Epiſtle is this, to proue that Biſhops and prieſtes ought not to come vnder the courte and contrullement of temporall power.

2. This ſimilitude holdeth not. For though the ſmalneſſe of a Citie blemiſheth not the prerogatiue of a kyngdome: yet the euilnes and rebellion of a city, doth worthily blemiſh his owne prerogatiue.

3. So ſayth the Popes decrees, Diſt. 10. but the ſcripture of God importeth otherwyſe. Abiathar the prieſt was depoſed of kyng Salomon, not for any hereſie, but for other cauſes. 3. Reg. 1. 2. Ionathas toke his prieſthoode of kyng Alexander. And Simon of Demetrius. 1. Mach. 7. Chriſt offred tribute to Ceſar for hym and for Peter. Alſo Peter ſayeth: be ye ſubiect to euery humaine creature: & it followeth, whether it be to the kyng as to the chiefe. &c. Item Pope Leo ſubmitted hymſelfe to Ludouicus the Emperour with theſe wordes: And if we do any thyng incompetently, and doe ſwarue from the pathe of righteouſneſſe, we wyll ſtande to your reformation, or of them whome you ſhall ſende. 2. q. 7. Hos.

4. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Conſtantinus writyng to the biſhops, congregated at Tyrus, firſt chydeth them, then commaundeth them to reſort vnto hys preſence, to haue their cauſe iudged and decided. *Trip. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

5. The father vnder obedience, &c. If fatherhoode go by age, I ſuppoſe that kyng Henry was elder then Becket. If fatherhoode conſiſt in autoritie, I iudge the authoritie of a kyng to be aboue the authoritie of an Archbiſhop. If the ſee of Caunterbury make the fatherhoode: yet had Becket no cauſe to clayme fatherhoode ouer the kyng, ſiing the ſonne ordeined the father (that is) ſeyng the kyng made hym his Archbiſhop, and not he made hym hys kyng.

6. By wicked bondes. All is wicked with the Papiſts, that bringeth thẽ in ſubiection to their Princes.

7. Eccleſiaſticall matters be ſuch, as properly belong to doctrine and deuine knowledge, for the inſtitution of the ſoule, and information of conſcience. In which both Princes and ſubiectes ought to follow theyr paſtors ſo long as they go truely before them without error, or els not. But what maketh this for the landes and liberties of churchmen?

8. Puniſhment due to malefactors and rebels, is not to be called perſecution, but due correction.

9. Saule brake the commaundement of God and was reiected. Ozias contrary to the commaundement of God toke the office of a prieſt, and was ſtriken. Oza agaynſt the expreſſe worde of the law put his hand to the Arcke, and was puniſhed. But what expreſſe worde had kyng Henry why he ſhould not correct and puniſhe rebellious Byſhops, and wycked prieſtes within hys owne realme? wherefore theſe ſimilitudes accorde not. As for Achas he was not ſo much puniſhed for takyng the prieſtes office, as for ſpoylyng the temple of the Lord, and offeryng to Idoles.

10. Common lawes.) S. Auguſtine writyng to Boniface, ſayeth thus: Whoſoeuer obeyeth not the lawes of the Emperour (beyng made for the veritie of God) procureth to hymſelfe great puniſhment. For in the tyme of the Prophetes, all the kynges which did not forbid and ſubuert all ſuch thinges as were vſed of the people agaynſt the law of God, are rebuked. And ſuch as dyd withſtande them, are commended aboue the reſt. *Auguſt.*

11. Iſidorus hath theſe wordes: Let temporall princes know, that they muſt render accompt to God for the church, which they haue at the handes of God to gouerne. &c.

12. The caſe of Archadius, Theodoſius, David, and of this kyng (as touching this matter) hath no ſimilitude. In them was murder: This king doth nothyng, but clayme that which is his due. And though by the ſpirituall ſword thoſe kynges were reſiſted: yet it argueth not therefore, that the perſons of them which haue the vſe of the ſpiritual ſword, are aboue the perſons of them which haue the temporall ſword.

Beſides theſe letters of the Archbiſhop ſent to ye kyng the Pope alſo in the ſame cauſe writeth to the kyng, beginnyng after this ſort: Alexander Papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, et forma iuris dictante, prouidẽtiam tuam credimus, edoctam fuiſſe, quòd quanto quis ab aliquo maiora ſuſcepiſſe dignoſcitur, tanto ei obnoxior & magis obligatus tenetur. &c. **The whole tenor of the letter as he wrote it to the kyng I would here expreſſe, but for ſtraityng of the tyme and ſtraightneſſe of roume, hauyng ſo many things els in this ſtory (by the grace of Chriſt) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect: to exhorte and charge the kyng to ſhew fauour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the proceſſe of the Epiſtle, it followeth in theſe wordes:** Ea propter ſeueritatem tuam per Apoſtolica ſcripta rogamus, monemus, & exhortamur in domino: nec non in remiſſionem peccatorum ex parte dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis Apoſtolorum autoritate noſtra iniungimus, vt memoratum Archiepiſcopum pro deo & eccleſia ſua & honore tuo, nec non & totius regni tui in gratiam & fauorem tuum recipias. &c. **That is: therfore we deſire you, monish and exhorte your honor by theſe our Apoſtolicall writings, & alſo enioyne you vpõ the remiſſion of your ſinnes, in the behalfe of almighty God, and of S. Peter Prince of the Apoſtles, by our authoritie, that you wyll receiue again the foreſayd Archb. into your fauour and grace, for the honour of God, hys Church, and of your owne Realme, &c. Thus you haue heard the popes intreating letter: now here is an other letter ſent vnto the foreſayde king, wherein he doth manaſſe hym, as in the tenor therof here followeth.**

¶ *Biſhop Alexander, ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, to king Henry king of England, helth* and bleſſing Apoſtolicall.

HOw fatherly and gently we haue oft tymes entreated & exhorted both by Legates and letters your princely honour, to be reconciled agayne with our reuerend brother Thomas Archb. of Cant. ſo that he and hys may be reſtored agayne to theyr Churches and other poſſeſſions to thẽ appertainyng: your wiſdome is not ignoraunt, ſeyng it is notified and ſpred almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome. For ſo much therfore, as hetherto we could not preuayle wyth you, neither moue nor ſtirre your mynde with fayre and gẽtle wordes: it lamenteth vs not a little, ſo to be fruſtrate & deceyued of the hope and expectation which we had conceyued of you. Eſpecially ſeyng we loue you ſo dearely, as our own dearely beloued ſonne in the Lord, and vnderſtandyng ſo great ieopardy to hang ouer you.

But foraſmuch as it is written, Cry out and ceaſe not, lift vp thy voyce lyke a trumpe, and declare to my people their wickednes, and their ſinnes to the houſe of Iacob. Alſo for as much as it is in Salomon commaunded, that the ſluggiſh perſon ſhould be ſtoned with the dung of Oxen: we haue thought good therfore, not to forbeare or ſupporte your ſtubburnnes any longer agaynſt iuſtice and ſaluation. Neyther that the mouth of the foreſayd Archbyſhop ſhold be ſtopped from henceforth any more: but that he may freely proſecute the charge of hys office and duetie, to reuenge wyth the ſword of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, the iniuries both of hymſelfe, and of hys Church committed to hys charge.

And here I haue ſent vnto you two Legates, Petrus de ponte dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admoniſh you of the ſame. But if ye wil neither by vs be aduertiſed, nor geue eare to them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtleſſe) leaſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from vs in our behalfe, may happen and fall vpon you. **Dated at Beneuent, the 9. day before the Kalendes of Iune.**

To aunſwer theſe letters agayne: there was an other certayne writing drawne out and directed to ye Pope, made by ſome of the Clergy, as it ſemeth: but not without conſent of the king, as by ye title may appeare, inueying and diſprouyng the miſbehauiour of the Archb. The tenor wherof here followeth, and beginneth thus.

¶ *An aunſwer to the Pope.*

TIme now requireth more to ſeeke helpe then to make cõplaints. For ſo it is now that the holy mother church (our ſinnes deſeruyng the ſame) lyeth in a dangerous caſe of great decay, which is like to enſue, excepte the preſent mercy of the lord ſupport her.

Anſwere to the Popes letter.

Such is the wickednes now of ſchiſmatikes: that the father of fathers pope Alexander (for the defence of hys fayth, and for the loue of righteouſneſſe) is baniſhed out of hys countrey: not able to kepe free reſidence in his own proper ſee, by reaſon of the indurate hart of Friderick the Pharao.

Frederike falſely compared to Pharao, but thys was to clawe the pope withal.

Farther and beſides, the Church alſo of Canterbury is miſerably impayred and blemiſhed, as well in the ſpirituall as in the temporall eſtate: much lyke vnto the ſhyp in the Seas, being deſtitute of their guide, toſſed in the floudes, and wraſtelyng wyth the windes, while the paſtor beyng abſent from hys prouince dare not there remayne through the power of the kyng. Who beyng ouer wiſe, (to the ieoperdy both of hymſelfe, hys Church, and vs alſo) hath brought and intangled vs likewiſe with himſelfe in the ſame partaking of hys puniſhmentes and labours: not conſidering how we ought to forbeare, and not to reſiſt ſuperior powers. And alſo ſheweth himſelfe to vs vnkinde, which with all our affections beare the burden with him of his afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute vs which ſtand in the ſame condemnation wyth him. For betwixt him, and our ſoueraigne prince, kyng of England, aroſe a certaine matter of contention: wherupon they were both agreed that a day ſhoulde be appoynted, to haue the controuerſie diſcuſſed by equitie and iuſtice.

The day being come, the kyng commaunded all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates of the Church to be called, in a great and ſolemne frequency: ſo that the greater and more generall this councell was, the more manifeſt the detection of this ſtubburne malice ſhoulde appeare and be eſpyed.

At the day therfore aboue mentioned, this troubler of the realme and of the Church preſenteth himſelfe in the ſight of our Catholicke Kyng: who not truſting the qualitie and condition of his cauſe, armeth hym with the armour of the croſſe, as one which ſhould be brought to the preſence of a tyraunt. By reaſon wherof, the kings maieſty being ſomething agreued (yet becauſe he would be deliuered from all ſuſpition) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Biſhops. This done, it reſted in the biſhops to deciſe and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement betwene them, remouing all occaſiõ of diſſention. Which thing they going about: commeth in this foreſaid archbyſhop, forbidding & commaunding, that no man proceede in any ſentence of him before the kyng.

This being ſignified to the kynges hearing, his mynde was greuouſly prouoked thereby to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtanding had bene eaſely ſwaged, if the other would haue ſubmitted himſelf, and acknowledged his default. But he adding ſtubburneſſe to his treſpaſſe, through the quantitie and greatneſſe of his exceſſe, was the autor of hys owne puniſhment: which now by the law ciuill he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſhameth to craue pardon for his deſertes at the kinges hand: whoſe anger he feared not to ſturre vp in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecutiõ of the church, greatly agaynſt the profite of the ſame: augmenting and increaſing therby the perſecution which now the Church lyeth vnder. Much better it had beene for hym to haue tempered hymſelfe wyth the bridle of moderation in the high ſtate of his dignitie: leaſt in exceeding too farre, in ſtrayning the ſtraite pointes of thinges by ouer much preſumption (peraduenture through his preſumption beyng not in meane and tollerable things) might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church would not moue hym: yet the great benefites and prefermentes of riches & honours ought to perſwade him, not to be ſo ſtubburne agaynſt the king. But here peraduenture his frend and our aduerſary will obiecte: that his bearing and ſubmitting to the king in this behalfe, were preiudiciall againſt the autoritie and ſea Apoſtolical: as though he did not or might not vnderſtand, that although the dignitie of the Church ſhould ſuffer a little detriment in that iudgement: yet he might and ought to haue diſſimuled (for the time) to obtaine peace into the Church. He will obiect againe, alleging the name of father, that it ſoundeth like a poynt of arrogancie, for children to proceede in iudgement of condemnation agaynſt the father: which thing is not conuenient. But he muſt vnderſtand againe: that it was neceſſary that the obedience and humilitie of the children ſhould temper the pride of the father: leaſt afterward, the hatred of the father might redounde vpon the children. Wherfore, of theſe premiſes your fatherhoode may vnderſtand: that the action of this our aduerſary ought to fall downe (as voide and of none effect) who onely vpon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus againſt vs, hauing no iuſt cauſe nor reaſon to ground vpon.

Becket a ſtubburne treſpaſſer, Ergo no martyr.

And forſomuch as the care and charge of all churches (as ye know) lyeth vpon vs: it ſtandeth vs vpon, to prouide concerning the ſtate of the Church of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſayd Church of Canterbury through the exceſſe of his paſtor, be not driuen to ruine or decay.

By this Epiſtle it may appeare to the Reader therfore that Becket (beyng abſent from England) went about to worke ſome trouble agaynſt certaine of the Clergy and of the laity (belyke) in excommunicating ſuch as he tooke to be his euill willers.

Now to vnderſtand further what his workyng was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate: this letter (ſent to William Byſhop of Norwige) ſhall better declare the matter.

A letter of Becket to the byſhop of Norwyche.

HE byndeth himſelfe to the penalty of the crime, whoſoeuer receiuyng power and authoritie of God, vſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeuerity, in puniſhing vice: but (winckyng and diſſimulyng) doth miniſter boldnes to wicked doers, maintaynyng them in their ſinne. For the bloud of the wicked is required at the hand of the Prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as the Scripture ſayth, thornes and brambles grow in the handes of the idle dronkard. Wherfore, leaſt (through our to much ſufferaũce and diſſemblyng) the tranſgreſſions of manifeſt euill doers ſhould alſo be layd to our charge, and redounde to the deſtruction of the Church through our gilty ſilence: We therfore (followyng the authoritie of the Popes commaundement) haue layd our ſentence of curſe and excommunicatiõ, vpon the Earle Hugo: commaundyng you throughout all your Dioces publickely to denounce the ſaid Earle as accurſed: ſo that (accordyng to the diſcipline of the Church) he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhyp of all faythfull people. Alſo, it is not vnknowen to your brotherhode, how lõg we haue borne with the tranſgreſſions of the Byſhop of London. Who (amongeſt other his factes) I would to God were not a great doer and fautor of this ſchiſme, and ſubuerter of the right and liberties of holy Church. Wherfore, we (being ſupported with the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke ſea) haue alſo excommunicated him, beſides alſo the biſhop of Saleſbury: becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others likewiſe (vpon diuers and ſundry cauſes) whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed. Hugo Bernardes ſonne, Radolph of Brocke, Robert of Brocke a clerke, Hugode of S. Cleare and Letardus a clerke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Seacauil, and Richard Chaplein, William of Haſting, and the Frier which poſſeſſeth my Church of Monchote. We therfore, charge & cõmaunde you by the authoritie Apoſtolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of ſaluatiõ, and of your order: that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclaymed excommunicate throughout all your Dioceſſe, and to commaunde all the faythfull to auoyde their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your hart be troubled, nor feare: for we ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtaunce of the Apoſtolike ſea (God beyng our borow) agaynſt the pretenſed ſhiftes of the malignaunt ſorte, and agaynſt all their appellatiõs. Furthermore, all ſuch as haue bene ſolemnely cited of vs: ſhall ſuſtaine the like ſentence of excommunication (if God wil) in the Aſcẽſion day: vnleſſe they ſhal otherwiſe agree with me. That is to witte: Geffray Archdeacõ of Canterbury and Robert his vicare, Ryce of Wilceſter, Richard of Lucy, William Gifferd, Adã of Cheringes, with ſuch other mo: which either at the cõmaundement of the kyng, or vpon their own proper temerity haue inuaded the goods and poſſeſſions either appertainyng to vs, or to our Clerkes about vs. With theſe alſo we do excommunicate all ſuch as be knowen either with ayde or counſell to haue incenſed or ſet forward the proceedyng of our Kyng agaynſt the liberties of the Church, and exilyng of the innocentes. And ſuch alſo as be knowen to impeche or let by any maner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the Pope, or from vs) for the neceſſities of the Church. Fare you well agayne and euer.

The byſhop of London excommunicated.

This biſhop was excommunicated becauſe he ſet in the Deane of Saleſbury without the licence of him beyng then beyond the ſeas.

Hetherto haſt thou ſeene (gentle reader) diuers and ſundry letters of Thomas Becket, wherby thou mayſt collect a ſufficient hiſtory of his doynges and demeanour (though nothyng els were ſayd further of hym) concernyng his luſty and hauty ſtomacke, aboue that beſeemed either his degree or cauſe which he tooke in hand. And here peraduenture I may ſeeme in the ſtory of this one man to tary to long, hauyng to write of ſo many others better then it: yet for the weaker ſort (which haue counted him, and yet do count him for a Saint, hauyng in themſelues litle vnderſtandyng to iudge or diſcerne in the cauſes of men) I thought to adde this letter more, wherin he complaineth of his kyng to a forrein power: doyng what in him did lye, to ſtyrre for his own cauſe mortall warre to the deſtruction of many. For ſup-

poſe wrong had bene offred him of his Prince: was it not inough for hym to flye? What cauſe had he for his own priuate reuenge, to ſet potentates in publike diſcord? Now hauyng no iuſt cauſe but rather offeryng iniurie in a falſe quarell, ſo to complaine of his prince: what is to be ſayd of this, let euery man iudge, which ſeeth this letter.

¶An Epiſtle of Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury to Pope Alexander.

A ſeditious complaint of Becket to the pope agaynſt his kyng.

AMantiſſimo patri & D. Alexandro Dei gratia ſummo pont. Thomas Cant. Eccleſiæ humilis miniſter debitam & deuotam obedientiam. In Engliſh this.

To our moſt louyng father and Lord, Alexander by the grace of God byſhop: Thomas the humble miniſter and ſeruaunt of the Church of Canterbury due and reuerend obedience. Long inough and to long moſt louyng father haue I forborne, ſtill looking after amendement of the kyng of England. But no fruite haue I reaped of this my long patience: Nay rather, whileſt that vnwiſly I do thus forbeare: I augment and procure the detriment and diminiſhyng of my authoritie as alſo of the Church of God. For oftentymes haue I by deuout and religious meſſengers inuited him to make condigne ſatiſfactiõ as alſo by my letters (the copies wherof I haue ſent you) intimate and pronounced, Gods ſeuerity and vengeaunce agaynſt him vnleſſe he repent and amend. But he (that notwithſtandyng) groweth frõ euill to worſe: oppreſſing and conculcatyng the Church and ſanctuary of God: perſecutyng both me and thoſe which take part with me: In ſomuch that with fearefull threatnyng wordes hys purpoſe is to terrifie ſuch, as (for Gods cauſe and mine own) ſeeke any way to relieue and helpe me. He wrote alſo hys letters vnto the Abbot of the Ciſterciã order, that as he fauoured the Abbacie of that his order (whiche was in hys power ſayd he) he would not accept me into the fellowſhyp therof, nor do any thyng els for me. What ſhould I vſe many wordes? So much hath the rigour and ſeuerity as wel of the kyng as of his officers vnder our patience and ſufferaunce ſhewed it ſelfe: that if a great nũber of men yea and that of the moſt religious ſort ſhould ſhew vnto you the matter as it is in deede (and that vpon their othe taken) I partly doubt whether your holines would geue credite vnto them or not. With heauynes of mynde therfore I conſideryng theſe thynges, and beholdyng as well the perill of the king as of our ſelfe, haue publiquely condẽned not onely thoſe pernitious cuſtomes: but all thoſe peruerſities and wicked doynges wherby the Church of England is diſturbed and brought to confuſion: as alſo the writyng whereby they were confirmed: Excommunicatyng generally as well the obſeruers and exactours therof, as alſo the inuentours and patrones of the ſame, with their fauourers, counſaylers, and coadiutors whatſoeuer, either of the clergy or laity: abſoluyng alſo, our Byſhops frõ their othe wherby they were ſo ſtraightly inioyned to the obſeruation of the ſame. Theſe are the articles which in that writyng I haue principally cõdemned. Firſt that it is inhibited to appeale vnto the ſea Apoſtolicall, for any cauſe but by the Kynges licence. That a byſhop may not puniſh any man for periury or for breaking of his troth. That a byſhop may not excommunicate any mã that holdeth of the kyng in *capite*, or els to interdicte either their land or offices without the kinges licẽce. That clerkes and religious men may be taken frõ vs to ſecular iudgemẽt. That the kyng or any other iudge may heare and decide the cauſes of the Church and tythes. That it ſhall not be lawfull for any archbyſhop or byſhop to go out of the realme, and to come at the Popes call without the kynges licence: and diuers others ſuch as theſe. Namely alſo I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenford, which hath communicated with the ſchiſmaticke and excõmunicate perſon (Reginald Colonienſis) the which alſo contrary to the cõmaundemẽt of the Lord pope and ours, hath vſurped the Deanrie of the Church of Saliſbury: and hath (to renewe his ſchiſme) taken an oth in the Emperours court. Alſo I haue denoũced & excommunicate Richard of Worceter, becauſe he is fallen into the ſame damnable hereſie and cõmunicated with that famous ſchiſmatike of Colen: deuiſing and forgyng all miſchief poſſible, with the ſchiſmatikes and Flemynges to the deſtruction of the Churche of God, and eſpecially of the Church of Rome, by compoſition made betwene the kyng of England and them. Alſo Richard de Lucy, and Iocceline de Baliol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kinges tyranny and workers of their hereſies. Alſo Ranulphe de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Claro, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard which haue vſurped the poſſeſſions and goodes of the Church of Canterbury without our licence and cõſent. We haue alſo excõmunicated all thoſe which without our licence do ſtretch out their handes to the poſſeſſions and goods of the church of Caunterbury. The kyng himſelf we haue not yet excommunicated perſonally: ſtill waytyng for his amendement: whom (notwithſtãding) we will not deferre to excommunicate: vnleſſe he quickly amende and be warned by that he hath done. And therefore that the authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike & the libertie of the church of God (which in theſe partes are almoſt vtterly loſt) may be by ſome meanes reſtored: it is meete and very neceſſary that what we herein haue done, the ſame be of your holynes ratified and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wiſhe your holynes long to proſper and floriſh.

By this Epiſtle, he that liſteth to vnderſtand of the doynges and quarels of Becket, may partly iudge what is to be thought therof. Which his doynges, although in ſome part may be imputed either to ignorance of mynde, or blindnes of zeale, or humaine fragilitie: yet in this point (ſo vilely to complaine of his naturall prince, for the zeale of the pope) he can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindneſſe thẽ of the Prelates in thoſe dayes who meaſured and eſteemed the dignitie & libertie of Chriſtes Church by no other thyng, then onely by goodes and poſſeſſions flowyng and aboundyng in the clergy: and thought no greater point of religion to be in the Church then to maintaine the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abhominably abuſe Chriſtiã diſcipline and excommunication of the church at that tyme: as by this foreſayd Epiſtle may appeare. And what maruaile if the actes and doynges of this Archbyſhop ſeme now to vs in theſe dayes both fonde and ſtraunge: ſeyng the ſuffraganes of his owne Church and Clergy writyng to him: could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh may be ſene.

Becket reprehended for complaynyng of his kyng.

Excommunication abuſed in priuate reuẽge about landes and poſſeſſions.

¶An effectuall and pithy letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffraganes of the Church of Caunterbury to Tho. Becket their Archbyſhop.

QVæ veſtro (pater) in longinquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius nouitate turbata ſunt: veſtra ſperabamus humilitate. &c. In Engliſh this.

The letters of the Byſhops to Becket.

Such trouble and perturbations as happened through the ſtraungenes of your departure out of the Realme: we hoped by your humility and prudence ſhould haue bene reduced agayne (Gods grace workyng withall) into a peaceable tranquilitie. And it was no litle ioy to vs, to heare ſo of you in thoſe partes where you are conuerſaunt, how humbly you there behaued your ſelfe, nothyng vauntyng your ſelfe agaynſt your prince and kyng: and to attempt no riſinges or wraſtlynges agaynſt his kyngdome: but that you bare with much patience the burden of pouertie, and gaue your ſelfe to readyng and prayer, and to redeme the loſſe of your tyme ſpent, with faſtyng, watchynges, and teares: & ſo beyng occupyed with ſpirituall ſtudyes, to tend and riſe vp to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now through the ſecret relation of certaine, we heare (that we are ſory of) that you haue ſent vnto hym a threatnyng letter, wherin there is no ſalutatiõ premiſed: In the which alſo, ye pretend no intreatyng nor prayers for the obtainyng of fauour, neither do vſe any frendly maner in declaring what you write: but manaſing with much auſteritie, threaten to interdict him, and to cut hym from the ſocietie of the church. Which thyng if you ſhall accompliſh, with lyke ſeuerity as in wordes ye threaten to do, you ſhall not onely put vs out of all hope of any peace, but alſo put vs in feare of hatred and diſcord without meaſure, and without all redreſſe amongeſt vs. But wiſedome will conſider before the end of thynges: labouryng and endeuoryng to finiſh ỹ which ſhee wiſely beginneth. Therfore your diſcretion ſhall do well diligẽtly to forecaſt and cõſider whereto ye tend, and what end may enſue therof, and where about ye go. Certes we (for our partes) hearyng that we do heare, are diſcouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauyng ſome good comfort of tranquility to come, are caſt from hope to diſpayre: ſo that while one is drawen thus agaynſt an other, almoſt there is no hope nor place left to make entreaty or ſupplication. Wherfore, writyng to your fatherhode we exhort and counſell you by way of charitie, that you adde not trouble to trouble, & heape iniurie vpon iniury. But ſo to behaue your ſelfe, that all manaſſes ſet aſide, ye rather geue your ſelf to patience & humility, and to yeld your cauſe to the clemency of God, & to the mercy of your Prince: which in ſo doyng ſhall heape coales of charity vpon the heades of many. Thus charity ſhall be kindled, and that which manaſinges can not do, by Gods helpe and good mens counſell) pity peraduenture and godlyneſſe ſhall obtayne. Better it were to ſuſtayne pouerty with prayſe, then in great promotions to be a common note to all men. It is right well knowen vnto all men, how beneficiall the kyng hath bene vnto you, from what baſenes to what dignity he hath aduanced you, and alſo into hys owne familiaritie hath ſo much preferred you, that from the North Ocean, to the mount Pyrineus he hath ſubdued all thinges to your authoritie: in ſo much that they were amongeſt all other accounted for men right fortunate, whoſoeuer could finde any fauour with you.

And furthermore, leaſt that your eſtimation ſhould be ouermatched by any nobilitie: he (agaynſt the mynde of hys mother, and of his realme) hath placed & ratified you ſubſtantially in eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and aduaunced in thys honour wherin ye ſtand: truſting thorough your helpe and counſaile to reigne more ſafely and proſperouſly. Now, if he ſhall finde diſquietnes, wherin he truſted to haue quietnes: what ſhall all men ſay or thinke of you? what recompence or retribution ſhall this be thought to be for ſo many and great benefites taken? Therfore (if it ſhall pleaſe you) ye ſhall do well to fauor & ſpare your fame & eſtimation: & to ouercome your lord and ſoueraigne with humility & charity. Wherunto, if our aduertiſment cannot moue you, yet yͤ loue and fidelitie you beare to the biſhop and holy church of Rome, ought to incline you therunto, & not to attempt any ſuch thyng, wherby the troubles of the church our mother may encreaſe: or wherby her dolor may be augmented in yͤ loſſe of them, whoſe diſobediẽce now ſhe doth bewaile. For, what if it ſo happen thorough prouocation, that the kyng (whom all his ſubiectes and kingdomes obey) ſhould relinquiſh the Pope, which God forbid: and ſhould deny all obedience to hym, as he denieth to the king helpe or ayde agaynſt you: what inconuenience would grow therof? And thinke you, he hath not great inſtigations, ſupplications, giftes, and many faire promiſes ſo to do? yet he (notwithſtanding) abideth firme hetherto in the rocke, deſpiſing wͭ a valiant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth vs, leſt his mynd (whom no worldly offers can aſſaile: no glory, riches, nor treaſure can ouerturne) only thorough indignation of vnkindnes, be ſubuerted. Which thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you ſit downe and ſing the ſong of lamentation of Ieremy, & weepe your belly full.

Conſider therfore, (if it ſhal pleaſe you) and foreſee wel with your ſelfe, this purpoſe of yours (if it procede) howe hurtfull and perillous it will be: not onely to the pope, and to the holy church of Rome, but alſo to your ſelf moſt eſpecially. But ſome peraduenture about you (of hauty & hygh mynded ſtoutnes, more ſtoute percaſe then wyſe) will not ſuffer you to take this way: but wyll geue you contrary counſaile to proue rather and declare what ye are able to do agaynſt your Lord and prince, and to practiſe agaynſt hym and all his, the vttermoſt of your power & authoritie: which power and authoritie of yours (to hym that offendeth) is fearefull: and to hym that will not amend, terrible. Such counſell as this, ſome peraduenture will whiſper in your eare. But to theſe agayne, this we ſay and aunſwer for our king, whom notwithſtandyng to be without fault, we do not affirme: But yet alwayes that he is redy to amend and make ſatiſfaction, that we ſpeake confidently and proteſt in his behalfe.

The kyng (appoynted for the Lordes annoynted) prouideth for the peace of his ſubiectes all that he is able: and therfore, to the intent he may conſerue this peace in hys Churches and amongſt hys ſubiectes committed to him: he willeth and requireth ſuch ordinaunces due to kinges, and exhibited to them before tyme, alſo to be exhibited to hym. Wherin, if there hath any contradiction ſprong betwixt him and vs, he (beyng therupon conuented and admoniſhed frõ the pope by the reuerend Biſhops of London & Herford) braſt not out in any defiance: but mekely and humbly aunſwered, that wherin ſo euer the church or any eccleſiaſticall perſon can ſhew hymſelfe greued, he would therin ſtand to the iudgement of the church of hys kingdome. Which alſo, he is ready no leſſe to performe in deede: thinking nothyng more ſweete vnto hym then to be admoniſhed of hys fault (if he haue offended the Lord,) and to reforme the ſame: & not onely to reforme and amend hys fault, but alſo to ſatiſfie it to the vttermoſt, if the law ſhall ſo require hym. Wherfore, ſeyng he is ſo willyng to recompence and ſatiſfie the iudgement of the church in all thyngs appertainyng to yͤ church: refuſing no order that ſhalbe takẽ, but in all things ſubmitting hys necke to the yoke of Chriſt: with what right, by what canon or reaſon can you interdict hym, or vſe excommunication againſt him? It is a thyng laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wiſe men: wiſely to go with iudgement and reaſon, and not to be caried with puffes of haſty violence. Wherupon this is the onely and commõ petition of vs all: that your fatherly care will diligently prouide for your flocke and ſhepe committed to you: ſo yͭ they miſcary not, or run to any ruine through any inconſiderate or to much heady counſell in you: but rather through your ſoftnes and ſufferaunce, they may obtaine life, peace and ſecurity. It doth moue vs all, that we heare of late to be done by you againſt the B. of Saliſbury and the deane of yͤ ſame Church (proſperouſly) as ſome men ſuppoſe, againſt whõ you haue geuen out the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any queſtion of their crime was: following therin (as it ſemeth) more the heat of haſtines, thẽ the path of righteouſnes. This is a new order of iudgemẽt (vnheard of yet to this day in our lawes and canons) firſt to condemne a man, and then to enquire after of the fact committed. Which order, leaſt ye ſhould hereafter attempt to exerciſe in lyke maner againſt our ſoueraigne and king: or agaynſt vs and our churches and pariſhes committed to vs, to the detriment of the Pope and the holy church of Rome and to the no little confuſion of vs all: therfore we lay here againſt you for our ſelues, the remedy of appellation. And as before, openly in the publike face of the church with liuely voyce we appealed to the Pope for feare of certaine perils that might haue happened: So now againe in writyng, we appeale to the ſame, aſſignyng the terme of our appellation, the day of the Lordes Aſcention. Moſt humblye and reuerently beſechyng your goodneſſe, that you (takyng a better way with you in this matter) will let your cauſe fall: ſparing herein both the labors and charges as well of your ſelfe, as ours alſo. And thus we wiſh you right well to fare (reuerend) in the Lord.

The commendation of kyng Henry 2. for hys meekenes and moderation.

¶ *The reſcript or aunſwere agayne of Thomas Becket, to all his ſuffraganes, not obeying, but confuting their counſayle ſent.*

Fraternitatis veſtræ ſcriptum, (quod tamen prudentiæ veſtræ communi conſilio non facilè credimus emanaſſe) nuper ex inſperato ſuſcepimus, &c.

Your brotherly letters ſent (albeit not by the whole aſſent of your wiſdomes written, as I ſuppoſe) of late I receyued vpon a ſodayne: the contentes wherof, ſeeme to conteyne more ſharpenes then ſolace. And would to God they proceded more of ſincere zeale, of godlines, or affection of charity: then of diſobedience or froward wilfulnes. For charity ſeketh not the thynges that be hys owne, but which appertayne to Ieſus Chriſt. It had bene your dutie (if there be truth in the Goſpell, as moſt vndoubtedly there is) & if you would faythfully haue accõpliſhed his buſines, whoſe perſon you repreſent: rather to haue feared hym, which can caſt both body and ſoule to hell: then him, whoſe power extendeth no further then to the body. Rather to haue obeyed God then man: Rather your father then your maiſter or Lord: after the example of hym who was to his father obedient vnto the death. Which dyed for vs, leauyng vs example to follow hys ſteps. Let vs dye therfore wyth hym, and lay downe our lyues for the deliueraunce of hys church out of the yoke of bondage and tribulation of the oppreſſion: which church he hath founded, and whoſe libertie he hath procured with hys owne proper bloud: Leaſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe, it may happely fall vpon vs, which is written in the Goſpell: who ſo loueth hys owne lyfe more then me, is not worthy of me. This ye ought to know, that if it be right which your captaine commaundeth: your duety requireth to obey his will: if not, ye ought then, rather to obey God then men.

Scripture in wordes rightly alledged but falſely applyed.

I deny your Minor, M. Becket.

One thyng I will ſay (if I may be ſo bold to tel it vnto you) I haue now ſuffred & abſtayned a long ſpace, waityng if the Lord had geuen you to take a better harte vnto you, which haue turned away cowardly your backes in the day of battaile: or if any of you would haue returned agayn to ſtand lyke a wall for the houſe of Iſraell: at leſt if he had but ſhewed hymſelf in the field makyng but the countenaũce of a warrier agaynſt them, which ceaſe not daily to aſſault yͤ Lambe of God. I wayted and none came: I ſuffered, and none roſe vp: I held my peace and none would ſpeake: I diſſembled and none would ſtand with me in lyke ſemblaũce. Wherfore ſeyng I ſee no better towardnes in you: this remaineth onely, to enter action of complaint againſt you, and to cry againſt myne enemies. Riſe vp (O Lord) and iudge my cauſe, reuenge the bloud of the church which is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them that hate his liberty, riſeth vp euer: neyther is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God (brethren beloued) there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the Church: for ſhe is builded vpon a ſure rocke, that although ſhe be ſhaken, yet ſhe can not be ouerthrowen. And why then ſeeke ye to confound me? Nay rather, your ſelues in me, then me in you: I man which haue taken vpon me all the perill, haue ſuſtained all the rebukes, haue ſuſtained all the iniuries, haue ſuffred alſo for you all, to the very baniſhment.

The Church of Chriſt can not be ouerthrowen: Ergo, Becket ought not to be reſiſted.

And ſo it was expedient one to ſuffer for that Church that thereby it might be releaſed out of ſeruitude. Theſe things diſcuſſe you ſimply with your ſelues and waigh the matter. Attende I ſay diligently in your myndes for your partes: that God for hys part remouyng from your eyes all maieſty of rule and impery (as he is no accepter of perſon) may take from your hartes the veile, that ye may vnderſtād and ſee what ye haue done, what ye entend to do, & what ye ought to do. Tell me, which of you all cā ſay that I haue takē frō him ſince yͤ tyme of my promotiō either oxe, or aſſe: if I haue defrauded him of any peny: if I haue miſiudged yͤ cauſe of any mā wrōgfully: Or if by yͤ detrimēt of any perſon I haue ſought my owne gayne, let hym complaine & I will reſtore hym fourefold. And if I haue not offended you, what then is the cauſe that ye thus leaue and forſake me in the cauſe of God?

Seruitude & libertie of the Church wrongfully defined. The wordes of holy ſcripture falſely applyed.

Why bend ye ſo your ſelues agaynſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpeciall belonging to the church?

Brethren ſeeke not to confounde your ſelues and the Church of God (ſo much as in you is) but turne to me and you ſhalbe ſafe.

Turne to thee? Nay turne thou to the Lord and thou ſhalt be ſaued.

For the Lord ſayeth, I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ſhould conuert and liue. Stand with me manfully in the warre, take your armor and your ſhield to defend me. Take the ſword of the word of the mighty God, yͭ we all together may withſtand more valiauntly the malignant enemies, ſuch as go about to take away the ſoule of the church, which is her liberty: without which liberty, ſhe hath no power againſt them that ſeeke to incroche to their inheritance, the poſſeſſion of Gods ſanctuary. If ye will heare and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, & with vs all in the defēce of the liberty of his church. Otherwiſe if ye will not, the Lord iudge betwixt me & you, and require the confuſion of hys Church at your handes: which Church (whether the worlde will or no) ſtandeth firmely in the word of the Lord whereupon ſhe is builded, and euer ſhall till the houre come that ſhe ſhall paſſe from this world to the father. For the Lord euer doth ſupporte her with his hand.

The ſoule of the Church is the libertie of the Church ſayth Becket.

Wherfore, to returne to the matter: brethren remember well with your ſelues (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought vnto, and the church of God alſo while I was in England: at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence: alſo in what danger it ſtandeth in at this preſent day: But eſpecially at that tyme, when as at Northampton Chriſt was iudged againe in my perſon, before the iudgement ſeat of yͤ high preſident. Who euer heard the Archb. of Cant. (beyng troubled for iniuries done to him and to his Church, & appealing to the pope of Rome) to be iudged, condemned, appealed and put to hys ſureties, and that of his owne ſuffraganes. Where is this law ſene or the autoritie (nay rather peruerſitie) of this Conon heard of? And why yet ſhame ye not at this your enormitie? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confuſion worke in you repentance, and repentance driue you to due ſatiſfaction before God & men. For theſe and ſuch other iniuries done to God and to hys Church, and to me for gods cauſe (which with a good conſcience I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without danger of ſoule I ought not to diſſemble them) I chuſe rather to abſent my ſelfe for a ſeaſon, and to dwel quietly in the houſe of my Lord, then in the tabernacle of ſinners: vntill yͤ tyme that (their iniquitie being complete) the hartes of the wicked and the cogitations of the ſame ſhould be opened. And theſe iniuries were the cauſe both of my appeale from the kyng, and of my departure from thence, which ye terme to be ſodaine. But if ye will ſpeake yͤ truth which ye know, it ought no leſſe then to be ſodaine: leſt (beyng foreknowen) it might haue bene preuented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter it happened for the beſt both for the honor of the king and better ſafetie of the, which (ſeking my harme) ſhould haue brought ſlaunder to the king. If ſuch troubles followed vpon my departing as ye ſay, let that be imputed to him which gaue the cauſe: the fault is in the worker, not in the departer: in him that purſueth, not in him that auoydeth iniuries: what would ye more? I preſented my ſelf to the court, declaring both the cauſes of my comming, and of my appeale: declaring alſo the wronges & iniuries done to me and to my Church, and yet could haue no anſwere: neyther was there any that layd any thing againſt me, before we came to the kyng. Thus, while we ſtoode waytyng in the court, whether any would come agaynſt me or not, they ſent to my officials: charging them not to obeye me in my temporalities, nor to owe any ſeruice to me, or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the Court: my Church was ſpoyled: we (and they about vs) depriued of our goods: outlawed both of the Clergie and of the laytie, men, women, and infantes: the goods of the Church (that is, the patrimony of the crucifix) confiſcate: and part of the money turned to the kinges vſe, part to your owne cofers. Brother byſhop of London, if this be true that we heare of you: and that to the vſe of your owne Church, ye conuert this money: we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience: that within fourty dayes after the ſight of theſe letters (all delay and excuſe ſet aſide) ye reſtore againe within the time aforeſaid: all ſuch goods and percels as you haue taken away. For it is vnmeete & contrary to all law, one church to be enriched with yͤ ſpoyle of another church. If ye ſtand vpon the authoritie that ſet you a worke: you muſt vnderſtand, that (in matters concerning the church goods) he cā geue no lawfull autoritie, which committeth violent iniury. &c.

Vnbeſeemyng wordes of high preſumption.

Chriſt is not iudged in the perſons of any traytor.

Conſcience made where is none.

But he leaueth out here the matter of his commyng to the court and the ſturdines of hys behauiour.

What autoritie, and what ſcripture geueth this prerogatiue to Princes vpon Church goods, which you would attribute to them? What, will they lay for them the remedy of appeale? God forbid. It were euill with yͤ church of God, if when the ſacrilegious extorcioner hath violētly inuaded other mens goods (eſpecially the goods of yͤ church) he ſhould after defend him with the title of appeale. &c.

Becket ſeemeth here more ſkilfull of his maſſe booke then of the booke of holy ſcripture, either els he might ſee it no new thing in the old law for kinges to depriue prieſts, and to place whom they would.

Doe not brethren ſo confound altogether the right of the Church and of the temporall regiment: For theſe two are much different, one borowing his autoritie of the other. Reade the ſcriptures, and ye ſhall finde what & how many kinges haue periſhed for taking vpon them the prieſtly office. Therfore, let your diſcretion prouide: leaſt for thys your doing, Gods puniſhment light vpon you: which if it come, it will be hard for you very eaſely to eſcape. Prouide alſo and ſee to your king, whoſe fauour ye prefer before the wealth and profit of the Church: leaſt if it happen (which God forbid) that he doth periſhe with all his houſe, after the example of them, which for the like crime were plagued. And if ye ceaſe not of from that ye begin: with what conſcience can I diſſemble or forbeare, but muſt nedes puniſh you: let him diſſemble with you who liſt (hauyng autoritie ſo to doe, truely I will not) there ſhall be no diſſimulation found in me. And where you write in your letters, concerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voyce of the whole realme, & that the church did reclaime agaynſt it: What ſhould I ſay to you, but that ye know right well: the lye which the mouth doth willingly ſpeak, killeth the ſoule: but eſpecially the wordes of a Prieſtes mouth ought euer to goe with veritie. As touchyng thys matter, I appeale to your owne conſcience, whether the forme of my election ſtoode not fully with the conſent of them all to whom the election belonged: hauing alſo the aſſent of the prince by his ſonne, and of them which were ſent thereto. And if there were ſome yͭ repugned the ſame, he that was troubled and is gilty let him ſpeake.

Kings in the old law did not intermedle with the Prieſtes office in ſome thinges that were forbidden: But yet kinges were officers ouer prieſtes to correct them when they did amiſſe.

If ye meane of Achas, & Ozi in the old teſtamēt, thē we deny your Minor.

Ye ſay moreouer, that I was exalted and promoted frō a baſe & low degree, to this dignitie by him. I graūt that I came of no royall or kingly bloud: yet notwithſtādyng, I had rather be in the number of them whom the vertue of the mynde, then of birth maketh noble. Peraduenture I was borne in a poore cotage: of poore parentage, & yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to worke mercy with his ſeruantes, and which cheriſheth the humble and low thinges, to confound the hie and mightye: in this my poore and low eſtate, before I came to the kinges ſeruice, I had aboundantly and wealthely to liue withall (as ye know) amongeſt my neighbours and frendes. And Dauid euen from the ſhepefold, was taken vp and made a king. Peter of a fiſher was made a prince of the Church: who for his bloud being ſhed for the name of Chriſt, deſerued to haue in heauen a crowne, and in earth name and renowne: would to God we could do the like. We be the ſucceſſors of Peter, and not of kings and Emperours.

They be the ſucceſſours & ſonnes of ſainctes, not that holde the places of ſainctes, but that doe the wordes of Sainctes. Hieron.

And where ye ſeeme to charge me (by inſinuatiō) with the blot of ingratitude: This I anſwere: there is no offence capitall or infamous, vnleſſe it procede from the hart and intention. As if a man commit a murther vnwillingly (although he be called a murtherer) yet he is not therby puniſhable: And ſo, although I owe my dutie & ſeruice wyth reuerence to my king: yet if I haue forborne hym as my Lord, if I haue warned hym, and talked with hym fatherly and gently as with a ſonne, & in talkyng with him could not be heard: If therfore (I ſay) beyng enforced therunto, and againſt my will, do exerciſe vpon hym the cenſure of due ſeueritie: in ſo doing (I ſuppoſe) I make rather with hym, then againſt hym, and rather deſerue at hys hande thanke for my correction, then note or ſuſpicion of vnkindnes or puniſhment for the fact. Some tymes a man agaynſt his wyll receiueth a benefite: as when neceſſity cauſeth a man to be reſtrained from doyng that which he ought not: he that doth ſo reſtraine hym (though he ſtop him) doth not hurt hym, but rather profiteth hym for his ſoules health. An other thing that defendeth vs from ingratitude, is our father and patron Chriſt. Which, in that he is our father (to whome we as children owe obedience) then are we bound as children by neceſſitie to obey his commaundemẽt. in warnyng the euill doer: in correcting the diſobedient: and in bridelyng the obſtinate: which if we do not, we run into daūger to haue hys bloud required at our hãds. Ye ſet forth likewiſe and ſhew, what loſſe we therby may ſuſtaine of our temporalties. But ye ſpeake no word of ỹ loſſe of our ſoules.

If the kyng had bene an adulterer or tyraunt againſt the true doctrine or preachyng of Chriſt, then myght this reaſon ſerue, & God more to be obeyed then man. Now where did Becket learne, that the king in his temporall right was not to be obeyed? Take heede, ye marre all, and ye open that dore.

Moreouer, as concernyng the departure of the king frō the homage of the Church of Rome (which in your letters ye ſeme to pretend, or rather threaten) God forbid I ſay, that the deuotion or fayth of our kyng ſhould euer ſwarue away from the obedience and reuerence of the Church of Rome, for any temporal commoditie or incommoditie: which thyng to do is very damnable in any priuate ſubiect, muche more in the prince which draweth many other with hym: therfore, God forbid, that euer any faithful man ſhould once thynke ſo haynous a deede. And you according to your diſcretion take heede, leſt the wordes of your mouth infect any perſon or perſons therin: occaſionyng them by your wordes to ſuch dangerous and damnable matter: like to the golde cup which is called the cup of Babilon, which for the outward gold no man will refuſe to drinke of, but after they haue dronke therof, they are poyſoned.

This John was called a ſchiſmaticke, becauſe he tooke part with Reginald Archb. of Colen & the Emperour againſt Alexander iij. the Pope.

And where ye lay to my charge for the ſuſpendyng of the reuerend father biſhop of Saliſbury, and for excommunicatyng of John Deane of the ſame church for a ſchiſmatike (by knowledge and proceſſe had of the matter), to this I anſwer: That both theſe are iuſtly and condignly excommunicate, and if ye vnderſtand perfectly the condicion of the matter, and the right order of iudgementes, ye will ſay no leſſe. For this ſtandeth with good authoritie (as ye know) that in manifeſt and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceedyng is not requiſite. Perpend with your ſelues diligently, what the biſhop of Saliſbury did (concernyng the Deanry) after that he was prohibited of the pope and of vs, vnder payne of excommunication: and then ſhall you better vnderſtand (vpon ſo manifeſt diſobedience) ſuſpenſion did rightly follow: as ye read in the decree of Saint Clement, ſaying: If they do not obey their Prelates, all maner of perſons of what order ſo euer they be, whether they ſhall be Princes of high or low degree, and all other people: ſhall not onely be infamed, but alſo baniſhed from the kingdome of God, and the fellowſhip of the faithful. As concernyng John of Oxford, this we ſay: that excommunication commeth diuers wayes: Some are excommunicate, by the law denouncyng them excommunicate. Some by the ſentence of the Prelate. Some by communicatyng wyth them which are excommunicate. Now, he that hath fallen into this damnable hereſie, in participating with ſchiſmatikes, whome the Pope hath excommunicate: he draweth to hymſelfe the ſpotte and leproſie of lyke excommunication. Wherfore, ſeyng he (contrary to the Popes expreſſe commaundement and ours, beyng charged vnder payne of excommunication to the contrary) take vpon hym, the Deanry of Saliſbury: we haue denounced him, and hold him excommunicate: and all his doynges we diſanull, by the authoritie of the viij. Synode, ſaying. If any man either priuely or apertly ſhall ſpeake or communicate with hym that is excommunicated, he draweth vnto hymſelf the puniſhment of lyke excommunication. And now for ſo much as you (brother biſhop of London) which ought to know that ſaying of Gregory, vij. if any biſhop ſhall conſent to the fornication of prieſtes, deacons, &c. within hys precinct: for reward, fauour, or peticion, or doth not by authoritie of hys office correct the vice: let hym be ſuſpended from hys office. And agayne that ſaying of Pope Leo, which is this: If any biſhop ſhall inſtitute or conſecrate ſuch a prieſt as ſhall be vnmete and vnconuenient: if he ſcape with the loſſe of his own proper dignity, yet he ſhall loſe the power of inſtitutyng any more. &c.

Clementes decree.

Diuers wayes of excommunication.

The councell ſpeaketh of ſuch which be worthely excommunicated.

This Gregory otherwyſe called Hildebrand, was he that firſt tooke away prieſtes mariage, cõdemnyng all prieſtes for fornicators which had wiues.

Therfore, forſomuch I ſay, as you (knowing thys) haue double wiſe offended agaynſt the ſentence of theſe Canons: we commaunde you, and in the vertue of obedience enioyne you, that if it be ſo: within three monethes after the receite hereof, you will ſubmit and offer your ſelfe to due correction and ſatiſfaction to the counſell of our felowbyſhops, for theſe your ſo great exceſſes: Leaſt other (through your example) run into the like offence, and we ſhall be conſtrayned to procede agaynſt you, wyth ſeuerer ſentence.

Finally (in the cloſing vp of your letter) where ye bring in for your appellation againſt me, a ſafegarde for you: which rather in deede is an hindraunce to you: that we ſhould not proceede agaynſt the inuaders of the Church goods, nor agaynſt the kyng in like cenſure, as we haue done againſt the byſhop of Saliſbury (as ye ſay) and hys Deane. To this I anſwere, God forbid that we haue, or els ſhould hereafter procede or doe any thing agaynſt the kyng or his land, or againſt you or your Churches, inordinately or otherwiſe then is conuenient. But what if you ſhall exceede in the ſame or like tranſgreſſion, as the Byſhop of Saleſbury hath done: thinke ye then your appellation ſhall helpe you from the diſcipline of our ſeueritie, that ye ſhall not be ſuſpended? Marke ye diligently whether this be a lawfull appeale, and what is the forme therof. We know that euery one that appealeth, eyther doth it in his owne name, or in the the name of another: If in his owne name, eyther it is for ſome grieuance inferred alreadye, or els for that he feareth after to be inferred againſt him. Cōcerning the firſt, I am ſure there is no greuaunce that you can complaine of as yet (God be thanked) that you haue receaued at my hand, for the which you ſhould appeale frō me; neither haue you (I truſt) any cauſe ſpeciall agaynſt me ſo to doe. If ye doe it for feare that is to come, leaſt I ſhould trouble you and your Churches: conſider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in conſtant men, or whether this be the appeale which ought to ſuſpende or ſtay our power and authoritie that we haue vpon you & your Churches. It is thought therfore, of wiſe men (and we alſo iudge no leſſe) your appeale to be of no force.

Diſcuſſing of a true appellation.

Firſt, for that it hath not the right forme of a perfecte appellation, and alſo becauſe it is not conſonant to reaſon, and lacketh order and helpe of the law.

The forme of a true appellation.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in an other mans name, either it is for the kyng (as moſt like it is) or for ſome other. If it be for the king, then ye ought firſt to vnderſtand, that appellations are wont to be made to repell, and not to inferre iniury: or to releaſe ſuch as be oppreſſed, that they ſhould not be oppreſſed any more.

Wherfore, if any man ſhall enter any appellation (not truſting to the ſuretie of his cauſe, but to delay the tyme, that ſentence be not geuen vpon him) that appellation is not to be receaued. For what ſtate will there be of the Church, if the liberty therof beyng taken away: the goods of the Church ſpoyled: the byſhops driuen from their places: or at leaſt not receiued with full reſtitution of theyr goods: the inuaders and ſpoylers therof, may defend themſelues by appealing, therby to ſaue themſelues from the penalty of their deſert?

What a ruine of the Church will this be? See what ye haue done, and what ye ſay. Be you not the vicars of Chriſt, repreſenting hym in earth? Is it not your office to correcte and bridle ill doers, whereby they may ceaſe to perſecute the Church? And is it not inough for them to be fierce and to rage againſt ỹ church, but that you ſhould take their part, ſetting your ſelues againſt vs, to the deſtruction of the Church? Who euer heard of ſo monſtrous doynges? Thus it ſhall be heard and ſayd of all nations & countries: that the ſuffraganes of the church of Canterbury (which ought to ſtand with their metropolitane vnto death in defence of the Church) now go about by the kings commaundement ſo much as in them doth lye, to ſuſpend his autoritie: leaſt he ſhould exerciſe his diſcipline of correction vpon them that rebell againſt the Church. Thys one thing I know, that you cannot ſuſtaine two ſortes of perſons at once: both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed vp your ſelues. You be they which haue made the appellation, and you be they againſt whom the appellation is made. Is there any more Churches thē one, and the body of the ſame? And how meete were it than, that you being the members of the church, ſhould hold together with the head therof? I am afraid brethren leaſt it may be ſaid of vs: Theſe be the prieſtes which haue ſayde where is the Lord? and hauing the law do not know the law. Furthermore this I ſuppoſe you (beyng diſcret mē) are not ignorāt of: that ſuch as enter any appellatiō there, are not wont to be heard: vnleſſe the matter of their appel-

One perſon can not both be the appeale maker, & the party appealed.

lation either belōgeth to themſelues, or except ſpeciall commaundement force them thereunto, or els vnleſſe they take an other mans cauſe vpon them. Firſt, that it belongeth nothyng vnto you, it is playne: for ſo much as the contrary rather pertaineth to your ducty: that is, to puniſh and to correct all ſuch as rebell agaynſt the Church. And if he which ſubuerteth the libertie of the Churche, and inuadeth the goodes therof (conuertyng them to his owne vſe) be not heard appealyng for his owne defence: much leſſe is an other to be heard appealyng for hym. Wherfore, as in this caſe neither he can appeale for hymſelfe, nor yet commaunde you ſo to do: ſo neither may you receaue the commaundement to appeale for hym.

Thirdly as touchyng the takyng of an other mās cauſe or buſines vpō you, to this I ſay and affirme: that ye ought in no maner of wiſe ſo to do, ſpecially ſeyng the matter pertaineth to the oppreſſion of the Church, and whereupon enſueth great damage to the ſame.

Wherfore, ſeyng it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receaue any ſuch cōmaundement, nor yet to take vpon you any ſuch cauſe as that is: your appeale is neither to be heard, nor ſtandeth with any law. Is this the deuotiō and conſolation of brotherly loue which you exhibite to your metropolitane lyyng for you in exile? God forgeue you this clemency. And how now? will ye looke for your letters and meſſengers to be gently receiued here of vs? Neither do I ſpeake this, as though there were any thyng in hand betwixt your part and ours: or that we haue done any thyng inordinately agaynſt the perſon of the kyng, or agaynſt hys lād, or agaynſt the perſons of the church, or intend (by Gods mercy) ſo to do. And therfore we ſay briefly and affirme conſtantly: that our Lord the kyng can not complayne of any wrong or iniurie to be done vnto him, if he (beyng often called vpon by letters & meſſengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confeſſe his treſpaſſe nor yet come to any ſatiſfactiō for the ſame) haue the cenſure of ſeueritie by the pope and vs layd vpon hym. For no man can ſay that he vniuſtly is entreated, whom yͤ law doth iuſtly puniſh. And briefly to cōclude, know you this for certaine: that extortioners, inuaders, detainers of the Church goodes, & ſubuerters of the liberty therof: neither haue any authority of the law to maintaine thē, neither doth their appealyng defend them. &c.

Though the Popes law will not defend them yet the law of the ſcripture wyll and doth.

¶ *The letter of Matild the Empreſſe and* mother of the kyng, to Thomas Becket.

The letter of the Empreſſe to Becket.

MY Lord the Pope cōmaunded me (& vpō the forgeuenes of my ſinnes inioyned me) that I ſhould be a mediator & meanes of peace & concorde betwene my ſonne & you, by recōcilyng of your ſelfe to him: wherunto (as you know) ye requeſted me. Wherfore, the earneſter & with more affectiō (as well for the diuine honor as for holy Church) I tooke the enterpriſe vpon me. But this by the way I aſſure you, that the kyng, his Barons, and counſell, taketh it greuouſly: that you, who he entirely loued, honored, and made chiefeſt in all his Realme (to the intent to haue more comfort and better truſt in you) ſhould thus (as the report is) rebell and ſtyrre his people agaynſt him. Yea and further, that (aſmuch as in you lyeth) you went about to diſherite him, and depriue him of his crowne. Vpon the occaſion wherof, I ſent vnto you our truſty and familiar ſeruaunt Laurence Archdeacon, by whom I pray you that I may vnderſtand your minde herein, and good wil toward my ſonne: and how you meane to behaue your ſelfe (if my prayer and petition may be heard of him in your behalfe) toward his grace. But this one thyng I aſſure you of, that vnleſſe it be through your great humilitie and moderation (euidently in you appearyng) you can not obtaine the fauour of the kyng. Herein what you meane to doe, I pray you ſend me word by your proper letters and meſſengers.

¶ A brief cenſure vpō the former reſcript of Becket to his ſuffragans, in the page before with a generall reſolution of the reaſons therein contayned.

IF the kyng of England had bene an idolater, couetous, an adulterer, an inceſt, a murderer, with ſuch like: than the zeale of this archbyſhop (threatnyng the kyng and ſuch as tooke his part) had deſerued prayſe in this Epiſtle, and the ſcripture would haue borne him out therin. For theſe & ſuch cauſes, ſhould byſhops proſecute the authoritie of the Goſpell agaynſt all perſons. But the matter ſtandyng onely vpon church goods, liberty (or rather licētiouſnes of prieſts) making of Deanes, titles of Churches, ſuperioritie of crownyng the kyng, with ſuch other: to ſtand ſo ſtiffe in theſe, is not to defend the Church: but to rebell againſt the kyng. Agayne, if the principles which he here groundeth vpō, were true: to witte that the pope were to be obeyed before princes: that the libertie of Church ſtandeth vpon the immunitie of prieſtes exempted from princes lawes: or vpon ample poſſeſſions of the Church: or that the Popes law ought to preuayle in all foreine countreys: and to bynde all princes in their owne dominions: or that the ſentence of the pope and his Popelynges (how, or by what affection ſo euer it is pronounced) may ſtand by the vndoubted ſentence of God: Thē all the argumentes of this Epiſtle do procede and cōclude well. But if they ſtād not ratified vpon Gods word: but ſhakyng vpon mans traditions: Then whatſoeuer he inferreth or concludeth therupō (his aſſumpt beyng falſe) can not be true, accordyng to the ſchoole ſaying: One inconuenience beyng graunted in the begynnyng, innumerable follow therupon. So in this Epiſtle it happeneth as is aboue noted, that the Maior of this man is true, but the Minor is cleane falſe, and to be denyed.

1169.

But to procede farther in the order of the hiſtory: After theſe letters ſēt to and fro (the yeare of the Lord. 1169) which was the. 15. of the raigne of Henry the ij. The kyng miſdoubtyng and fearyng with himſelfe that the Archbyſhop would procede (or excede rather) in his excommunication agaynſt his owne perſon (to preuent the miſchief) made his appeale to yͤ preſence of yͤ pope: requiryng to haue certaine Legates ſent downe from Rome from the Popes ſide, to take vp the matter betwene the Archbyſhop & him: requiryng moreouer that they might alſo be abſolued, that were interdicted. Wherupon, two Cardinals (beyng ſent from Alexander the Pope with letters to the kyng) came into Normandy: where they appointed the Archbyſhop to meete them before the kyng vpō S. Martins day. But the Archbyſhop (neither agreeyng with the day nor place) delayed his commyng to the viij. day after: neither would any further go then to Griſorſium. Where (the two Cardinals and the Archbyſhop with other byſhops conuentyng together) had a certaine intreaty of peace and reconciliation, but came to no concluſion. The contentes of which intreatie or action (becauſe it is ſufficiently cōtained in the Cardinals letters, who were called Gulielmus and Otho, written to the Pope) it ſhall require no further labour, but to ſhew out the wordes of the letter, where the ſūme of the whole may appeare. The wordes of the letter be theſe.

¶ *The copy of the Epiſtle written and ſent by* two Cardinals to the Pope concernyng the matter of the Archbyſhop Becket.

WIlliam, and Otho, Cardinals of the Church of Rome, to Alexander the Pope, &c. Cōmyng to the land of the kyng of England, we found the controuerſie betwixt him and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, more ſharpe and vehement than we would. For the kyng and the greater part of them about him ſayd, that the Archbyſhop had ſtyrred vp the French kyng greuouſly againſt him. And alſo, the Earle of Flaunders his kinſman (who bare no diſpleaſure to hym before) he made his open aduerſary ready to warre agaynſt him, as is by diuers euidences moſt certaine. Thus when we came to Cadomus firſt to the kynges ſpeach, we gaue the letters of your fatherhode to his hands: which after that he had receiued and conſidered (bringyng forth withall other letters receiued from you before, ſomething diuers and alteryng from theſe which he receiued of vs) was moued and ſtirred with no litle indignation, ſaying: that the Archbyſhop after our departure from you, had receiued of you other cōtrary letters, by the vertue wherof he was exempted from our iudgement: ſo that he ſhould not be compelled to aunſwere vs. Moreouer the ſayd kyng to vs added and affirmed (& ſo did the biſhops there preſent teſtifieng the ſame) that concernyng the old and auncient cuſtomes of his progenitours, (wherof complaint was made to you) all that, for the moſt part was falſe and vntrue which was intimate to you. Offering farther to vs, that if there were any ſuch cuſtomes or lawes in his tyme that ſeemed preiudiciall or diſagreable to the ſtatutes of the Church: he would willyngly be content to reuoke and diſanull the ſame. Whereupon, we with other Archbyſhops, Byſhops, and Abbotes of the lād (hearing the kyng ſo reaſonable) laboured by all meanes we might that the kyng ſhould not vtterly breake from vs, but rather ſhould incline to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt him and the forenamed Archbyſhop: By reaſon wherof, we directed out our owne Chapleins with letters vnto hym, appointyng him both time & place where ſafely he might meete with vs in the feaſt of S. Martin. Neuertheleſſe, he pretending certaine excuſes made his dilatories,

Becket ſtirring vp the French kyng againſt the kyng of England.

ries, driuyng of the tyme from the day of S. Martin to the Octaues followyng: which thyng ſtirred the kynges hart more then is to be thought.

A communication betwene Becket and the Cardinalles.

Thus, although we offered to the Archbyſhop ſafe cōmyng, yet when he refuſed to meete vs in the borders of the kyng: we to ſatiſfie his mynde, condeſcended to meete hym within the land of the French kyng, in the place where he himſelfe appointed: bycauſe there ſhould be no let in vs whereby to ſtoppe his profit. After we had entred communication, we begã to exhort him (all that we could) to ſubmit and humble himſelfe to his ſoueraigne and kyng, who had heaped him with ſuch benefites and dignities: wherby matter might be geuen vs to further occaſion of reconciling them together. He beyng thus moued and exhorted by vs, departed aſide to conſult with his counſell vpon the matter. At length after counſell taken, he commeth agayne aũſwering in this maner. That he would ſubmit and humble himſelf to the kyng. Saluo honore Dei, & eccleſiæ libertate, ſalua etiã honeſtate perſonæ ſuæ, & poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiarũ: & amplius, ſua & ſuorũ in omnibus ſalua iuſticia. That is: Sauyng the honour of God, and the liberty of the Church: ſauyng alſo the honeſty of his perſon, and the poſſeſſions of Churches: and moreouer, ſauyng the iuſtice of him and of all his in all thynges. &c. After which communication had among vs: we moued and required him more inſtantly, that he would come to the ſpeciallities: when as yet he had brought nothyng in, either which was certaine or particular. Likewiſe we demaunded of him, if he would in all ſuch thynges contained and comprehended in our letters, ſtand and ſubmit himſelfe to our letters, ſo as the kyng and the Byſhops before were contented to do. To the which he aũſwering agayne ſayd, that he had receiued from you a commaundemẽt, not to aunſwere before he and all his were reſtored ful to all their poſſeſſiõs. And then he would ſo procede in the matter accordyng as he ſhould receiue commaundement from the ſea Apoſtolicall. Thus, we breakyng of communication (ſeyng that he neither would ſtand to iudgement, nor come to conformitie) thought to make relation therof to the kyng, and ſo did: declaring that which he had expreſſed to vs: yet not vtteryng all, but keepyng backe a great part of that which we had heard and ſene. Which when the kyng and his nobles had vnderſtandyng of, affirmed to vs agayne: that he therein was cleared ſo much the more, for that the Archbyſhop would not ſtand to their iudgement nor abyde their triall. After much heauynes and lamentation of the kyng, the archbyſhop, byſhops, and abbotes of the Realme requiryng of vs, whether we had any ſuch power by vertue of our commiſſion, to withſtand him and proceede agaynſt him: and perceiuyng that our authoritie would not ſerue therunto, and fearyng leaſt the foreſayd Archbyſhop (refuſing all order of iudgement) would worke agayne diſquietnes to ſome noble perſonages of the Realme: and ſeyng our authoritie could not extend ſo farre to helpe them agaynſt hym (takyng a conſultation among themſelues) agreed together with one aſſent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixyng accordingly the terme of their appeale.

Beckets addition.

Becket would neyther ſtand to iudgement nor triall.

Becket loueth better his biſhopricke then the peace of the church, for all hys gaye talke.

And this is the Epiſtle of theſe two Cardinals ſent to the pope: wherein, may ſufficiently appeare all the diſcourſe and maner of that aſſembly (although particularly euery thyng not expreſſed) concernyng the talke betwixt the Cardinals and the Archbiſhop. As when that William (who of the two Cardinals was the more eloquent) amõgeſt other communication had, reaſoned long with him concerning the peace of the Church: which Becket ſayd he preferred aboue all thinges, Well then (ſayth the Cardinall) ſeyng all this cõtentiõ betwene the king & you, riſeth vpon certaine lawes and cuſtomes to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the Church ſo much: then what ſay you: will you renounce your Byſhopricke, and the kyng ſhall renounce his cuſtomes? The peace of the Church now lyeth in your handes, either to retaine or to let go, what ſay you? To whom he aunſwereth agayne, that the propoſition was not like. For I ſaith he (ſauing the honour of my Church and my perſon) can not renounce my Byſhopricke. Contrary, it ſtandeth the kyng vpon for his ſoules health and honour, to renounce theſe his ordinaunces and cuſtomes. Whiche thyng he thus proued, becauſe the Pope had condemned thoſe cuſtomes, and he likewiſe with the Church of Rome had done the ſame. &c.

¶ The talke betwene the French kyng, the kyng of England, and Becket.

Becket commeth in wyth his olde addition, Saluo honore Dei.

Becket charged with vnkindnes.

After the Cardinals were returned: the French king ſeyng the kyng of England diſquieted & ſolicitous to haue peace (or at leſt wiſe pretendyng to ſet agreement betwene them) brought the matter to a communication among thẽ. In which communication the French king made hymſelfe as vmpeare betwene them. The kyng of England hearing that the Archb. would commit hymſelfe to hys arbitremẽt, was the more willing to admit hys preſence. Wherupon, many being there preſent, the Archbiſhop proſtrating himſelfe at the kinges feete, declared vnto hym kneelyng vpon hys knees that he would commit the whole cauſe (wherof the diſſention roſe betwene them) vnto hys owne arbitrement: addyng therto (as he dyd before) Saluo honore Dei, that is, ſauyng the honor of God. The king, who (as is ſaid before) beyng greatly offended at thys word: hearyng and ſeeyng the ſtiffeneſſe of the man ſtickyng ſo much to thys worde Saluo honore. &c. was highly therwith diſpleaſed: Rebukyng hym with many greuous wordes as a man proude and ſtubburne, and alſo chargyng hym with ſondry and great benefites beſtowed vpon hym, as a perſon vnkynd and forgetting what he had ſo gently done and beſtowed vpon hym.

The kinges offer to Becket both charitable and reaſonable.

The wordes of the French king.

And ſpeaking to the French kyng there preſent: See ſir (if it pleaſe you, ſayth the kyng of England) whatſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man: that he ſayth, to be contrary to the honor of God. And ſo by this meanes, he wyll vendicate & chalenge to hymſelfe both that is his and myne alſo. And yet notwithſtandyng: for that I will not ſeeme to do any thing contrary or preiudiciall to Gods honor, this I offer hym. There hath bene kynges in England before, both of greater and leſſe puiſſance then I am: Likewiſe there hath bene biſhops of Cant. many, both great and holy mẽ: what the greateſt and moſt holieſt of all hys predeceſſors before hym hath done to the leaſt of my progenitors and predeceſſors before me, let hym do the ſame to me and I am contẽt. They that ſtode by hearyng theſe wordes of the king, cryed all with one voyce: the kyng hath debaſed himſelf inough to the byſhop. The Archb. ſtaying a little at this with ſilence: what (ſayth the Frẽch kyng to hym) my lord Archbiſhop will you be better then thoſe holy men? will ye be greater then Peter? what ſtand you doubting? Here now haue you peace and quietnes put in your owne handes, if ye will take it. To this ẏ Archb. anſwered agayne: truth it is (ſayth he) my predeceſſors before me were much both better and greater then I, and of them euery one for his tyme (although he dyd not extirpe and cut of all) yet ſomethyng they did plucke vp and correct which ſemed aduerſe and repugnant agaynſt gods honor. For if they had taken altogether away: no ſuch occaſion then had bene left for any man to rayſe vp this fire of temptation now agaynſt vs, as is now rayſed to proue vs with all: that we beyng ſo proued with them might alſo be crowned with them being likewiſe pertakers of prayſe and reward, as we are of their labour and trauayle. And though ſome of them haue bene ſlack, or exceded in theyr dutie doyng: in that we are not bounde to follow their example.

This maior if it had bene ioyned with a good Minor had made a good argument.

Ex quadrilogo.

Peter, when he denyed Chriſt, we therfore rebuke him: but whẽ he reſiſted ẏ rage of Nero, therin we cõmend him. And therfore, becauſe he could not finde in hys cõſcience to cõſent vnto ẏ he ought in no wyſe to diſſemble: neither dyd he: by reaſon therof he loſt his lyfe. By ſuch lyke oppreſſions the church hath alwayes growen. Our forefathers and predeceſſors, becauſe they would not diſſemble the name & honor of Chriſt, therfore they ſuffred. And ſhall I, to haue the fauour of one man, ſuffer the honor of Chriſt to be ſuppreſt? The nobles ſtandyng by (hearyng hym thus ſpeak) were greatly agreued with hym: notyng in hym both arrogancy and wilfulnes, in perturbyng and refuſing ſuche an honeſt offer of agrement. But ſpecially one among the reſt was moſt agreued, who there openly proteſted: that ſeyng the Archbiſhoppe ſo refuſed the counſayle and requeſt of both the kyngdomes, he was not worthy to haue the helpe of eyther of them: but as the kyngdome of Englande had reiected, ſo the kyngdome of Fraunce ſhoulde not entertayne hym.

Alanus, Herbertus, and certaine other of hys Chaplaines that committed to ſtory the doyngs of Becket, doe record (whether truly or no I cannot ſay) that the French king ſending for hym as one much ſorrowyng and lamentyng the wordes that he had ſpoken at the commyng of Becket dyd proſtrate himſelfe at hys feete: confeſſing his fault in geuyng counſell to hym in ſuch a cauſe (pertainyng to the honor of God) to relent therin and to yeld to the pleaſure of man: wherfore declaryng hys repentance, he deſired to be abſolued therof. So that after this, the French kyng and Becket were great frendes together: in ſo much, that king Henry ſendyng to the kyng to entreate hym and deſire him, that he would not ſupport nor maintayne hys enemy within in hys Realme: the French kyng vtterly denied the kings requeſte, takyng parte rather wyth the Archbyſhop then with hym.

An.1170.

Beſides theſe quarels and grudges betwixt the kyng and the Archbiſhop aboue mentioned: there followed yet moreouer another, which was this. Shortly after this cõmunication recited betwene the kings and Becket: ý king of England returnyng agayne from Normandy to england (which was the yeare of our Lord 1170. and the 16. yeare of his raigne) about Midſomer, kept hys court of Parliament at Weſtminſter. In ý which Parliament he (through the aſſent both of the Clergy, and the Lordes temporall) cauſed hys ſonne Henry to be crowned kyng. Which coronation, was done by the handes of Robert Archb. of Yorke with the aſſiſtance of other biſhops miniſtring to the ſame, as Gilbert of Londõ, Goceline of Saliſbury, Hugo of Dureſme and Gualter of Rocheſter. By reaſon wherof, Becket of Cant. beyng there neither mentioned nor called for, tooke no little diſpleaſure: and ſo dyd Lodouike the French kyng, hearyng that Margaret hys daughter was not alſo crowned with her huſband. Wherupõ he gatheryng a great army forthwith marched into Normandy. But the matter was ſoone compoſed by the king of England, who ſending hys ſonne to hym into Normandy, intreated there and concluded peace with hym: promiſing that hys ſonne ſhould be crowned agayne, and then hys daughter to be crowned alſo. But the Archb. not ceaſing his diſpleaſure and emulation, ſent vnto the Pope complaynyng of theſe foure biſhops, eſpecially of the Archb. of Yorke, who durſt be ſo bold in hys abſence and without hys knowledge or his licence, to intermeddle to crowne the kyng, beyng a matter proper and peculiar to hys iuriſdiction. At the inſtance of whom, the pope ſent downe the ſentence of excommunication againſt ý B. of London. The other 3. biſhops with the Archb. of Yorke, he ſuſpended: whoſe ſentence and letters therof, for auoydyng prolixitie, I here omit.

The Byſhop of London excõmunicated, with foure other Byſhops ſuſpended.

Beſides theſe foreſayd biſhops excommunicated, diuers other clerkes alſo of the court he cited to appeare before him by vertue of hys large commiſſion which he gate from the Pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reaſon of their benefices. And ſome he commaunded in vertue of obediẽce, to appeare in payne of forfeting theyr order and benefices. Of which, when neither ſort would appeare, he curſed thẽ openly. And alſo ſome lay mẽ of the court & the kings familiars: ſome as intruders, and violent withholders of church goods, he accurſed: as Richard Lucy, and Iocelin Balliot, and Rafe Brocke which toke bels and goodes that belonged to the Church of Canterbury, and Hugh Sentclere, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard, and all that ſhould hereafter take any Church goods without hys conſent, ſo that almoſt all the court was accurſed eyther by name, or as partakers.

This beyng done, the Archb. of Yorke with the foreſayd biſhops, reſorted to the king with a greuous cõplainte: declaring how miſerably their caſe ſtode, and what they had ſuſtained, for fulfillyng of his commaundement. The kyng hearing this, was highly moued as no maruell was. But what remedy? The tyme of the ruine of the Pope was not yet come: and what Prince then might withſtand the iniurious violence of that Romiſh poteſtate?

The cauſe of the kynges wrath agaynſt Becket.

In the meane ſeaſon, the French kyng for hys parte, his Clergy, and courtiers, ſlackt no occaſion to incite, and ſollicite Alexander the Pope againſt the king of England, to excommunicate hym alſo: ſeking therby and thinking to haue ſome vauntage againſt the realme. Neither was the king ignoraunt of this, which made hym more redy to apply to ſome agrement of reconciliation. At length commeth downe from the Pope two Legates (the Archb. of Rhotomage, and the biſhop of Nauerne) with direction & full commiſſion, either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes cenſures out of the churche. The kyng vnderſtanding himſelfe to be in greater ſtraites then he could auoyde: at length (thorough the mediation of the French king, and of other prelates and great princes) was content to yeld to peace and reconciliation with the Archb. whom he receaued both to his fauour, and alſo permitted & graunted him free returne to hys Church agayne. Concerning his poſſeſſions and landes of the Church of Cant. although Becket made great labour therfore: yet the kyng (beyng then in Normandy) would not graunt him, before he ſhould repaire to England, to ſee how he would there agree with his ſubiectes.

Thus, peace after a ſort concluded betwene the king & him, the Archb. after ſixe yeares of his baniſhment, returned to England: where he was right ioyfully receaued of the Church of Cant. albeit, of Henry the yong king he was not ſo greatlye welcomed. In ſo muche that comming vp to London to the kyng, he was returned back to Canterburye and there byd to keepe his houſe. Roger Houeden maketh mention in his Chronicle, that the archbyſhop (vpon Chriſtenmas day) did excõmunicat Robert de Broke, for cutting of the tayle of a certaine horſe of his the day before. In the meane time, the four byſhops before mentioned whom the archbyſhop had excõmunicate, ſent to him, hũbly deſiring to be releaſed of their cenſure. To whom, when ý archbyſhop would not graunt clearlye and ſimplye, without cautels and exceptions: they went ouer to the kyng, declaring to hym and complaynyng of their miſerable ſtate, and vncurtuous handling of the archbyſhop. Wherupon ý king conceyued great ſorrowe in his mynde, and diſpleaſure toward the party. Inſomuche, that he lamented oft & ſundry times to thẽ about hym, that (amõg ſo many ý he had done for) there was none that would reuenge him of his enemie: by the occaſion of which wordes, certaine that were about the kyng (to the number of foure) hearing him thus to cõplaine and lament: addreſt themſelues in great heate of haſt, to ſatiſfie the agreeued mynde and quarel of their prince. Who within foure dayes after the ſayd Chriſtenmas day (ſayling ouer to England, and hauing a forward and a proſperous wynde in their iorney, being in the deepe of winter) came to Caunterbury, where Becket was commaunded to keepe. After certayne aduiſement and conſultation had among themſelues: they preaſed at length into the palace where the Archbyſhop was ſitting with his company about him: firſt to aſſay hym with wordes, to ſee whether he would relent to the kynges minde, and come to ſome conformitie. They broughte to hym (ſayd they) commaundement from the kyng: which whether he had rather openly there in preſẽce, or ſecretly to be declared to him, they bad hym chuſe. Then the company being byd to auoyde, as he ſat alone, they ſayd: you are commaunded from the kyng beyond the ſea, to repayre to the kyng here his ſonne, and to do your duty to hym: aunſwering to him your fidelitie, for your baronage and other thynges, and to amend thoſe thynges wherein you haue treſpaſſed agaynſt hym. Whereupon, the archbyſhop denying to ſweare, and perceiuing their intent, called in his company agayne: and in multiplying of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the Byſhops which were excommunicate for the Coronation of the kyng: whom they commaunded in the kynges name, he ſhould abſolue and ſet free agayne. The archbyſhop anſwered, that he neither ſuſpended nor excommunicated them, but the Pope: wherfore, if that were the matter that greued them, they ſhould reſort to the Pope, he had nothing to doe with the matter. Then ſayd Reignald, one of the foure: although you in your owne perſon did not excommunicate them, yet through your inſtigation it was done. To whome the archbyſhop ſayd agayne: and if the Pope (ſayd he) tendring the iniuries done to me and my Church, wrought this reuenge for me: I confeſſe it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (ſayd they) it appeareth well by your owne wordes, that it pleaſeth you right well (in contempt and contumacy of the kinges maieſty) to ſequeſter his byſhops from their miniſtery, who at the commaundement of the kyng did ſeruice in the coronation of his ſõne. And ſeing ye haue ſo preſumed thus to ſtãd agaynſt the exaltation of this our ſoueraigne, our new king: it ſemeth likely that you aſpired to take his crowne frõ him, and to be exalted kyng your ſelfe. I aſpire not, ſayd he, to ý crowne & name of ý kyng: but rather if I had 4. crownes (to geue him more) I would ſett them all vpon hym: ſuch good will I do beare hym, that onely (his father the kyng excepted) there is none, whoſe honour I more tender and loue. And as concerning the ſequeſtring of thoſe Byſhops this I geue you to vnderſtande: that nothing was done in that behalfe, without the knowledge and aſſent of the kyng himſelfe. To whom when I had made my complainte, at the feaſt of Mary Magdelen, of the wrong and iniury done to me & my church therein: he gaue me his good leaue to obtayne at the Popes hand ſuch remedy therein as I could, promiſing moreouer his helpe to me in the ſame. What is this, quoth they, that thou ſayeſt? Makeſt thou the kyng a traytor, & betrayer of the king his owne ſonne? that when he had cõmaunded ý biſhops to crowne hys ſonne, he would geue thee leaue afterward to ſuſpend thẽ for ſo doing? certes it had beene better for you not to haue accuſed ſo the kyng of this prodition. The archb. ſayd to Reignald, that he was there preſent at that tyme, and hard it himſelfe. But that he denyed, and ſwore it was not ſo: and thinke you (ſay they) that we ý kings ſubiectes will or ought to ſuffer this. And ſo approching nearer to him, ſayd: he had ſpoken inough agaynſt hys owne head. Whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning wordes. Thẽ ſayd the archb.

Becket returneth out of baniſhment.

Ex Rogerio Houedeno.

The wordes of the king, which were the cauſe of Beckets death.

If the Papiſtes wyll needes meaſure the ſucceſſe of thynges by ſeaſons & wether: then muſt they by that reaſon condemne the cauſe of Becket, hys aduerſaries hauing ſuch forwardnes of wether in doyng their feate.

The talke betwene the foure ſoldiers and Tho. Becket.

I haue, ſithe my commyng ouer, ſuſtained many iniuries and rebukes, concernyng both my ſelfe, my men, my cattell, my wynes, and other goodes: notwithſtanding, the kyng (writing ouer to his ſone) required him that I ſhould liue in ſafetie and peace: and now beſides all other, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald aunſwering againe ſayd: if there be any that worketh you any iniury otherwiſe then right is, the law is open: why do you not complaine? To whom ſayd Becket ſhould I complain? To the yong king ſaid they. Then ſayd Becket, I haue complayned inough if that would helpe, and haue ſought for remedy at the kings handes, ſo long as I could be ſuffered to come to hys ſpeche: but now ſeyng that I am ſtopt from that, neyther can finde redreſſe of ſo great vexations and iniuries as I haue and do daily ſuſtaine: nor can haue the benefite of yͤ law or reaſon: ſuch right and law as an Archb. may haue that will I exerciſe, and let for no man. At theſe wordes one of the burſting out in exclamation, cryed: he threatneth, he threatneth, what, will he interdict the whole realme & vs altogether? Nay that he ſhall not ſayth another, he hath interdicted to many already. And drawyng more nere to hym, they proteſted and denounced hym to haue ſpoken wordes to the ieoperdy of hys owne head. And ſo departing in great fury and with many high wordes, ruſhed out of the dores: who by the way returning to the Monkes, charged them in the kings name to kepe hym forth commyng, yͭ he ſhould not eſcape away. What quoth the Archb. thinke ye I wyll flee away? Nay neither for the king, nor for any man aliue, will I ſtirre one foote from you. No ſay they, thou ſhalt not auoide though thou wouldeſt. And ſo they departing with many wordes, the Archb. followeth them out of the chamber dore crying after them: here, here, here ſhall you finde me, laying his hand vpon his crowne.

The ſtoute hart of Becket.

The names of theſe foure ſouldiours aboue mentioned were theſe. 1. Reginald Bereſon. 2. Hugh Morteuil. 3. William Thracy, and 4. Richard Brito: who going to harneſſe themſelues, returned the ſame day agayne. But finding the hall doore of the palace of Canterbury ſhut agaynſt them: they went to an inward backe doore leading into the Orcharde: there brake they vp a wyndow and opened the doore, and ſo iſſued into the place. The monkes (being about Euenſong time) had got he Archbiſhop into the Church: who being perſwaded by them, cauſed his croſſe to be borne before him, and ſo through the Cloyſter (by a doore which was broke vp for him) proceeded into the quire. The harneſt men following after, at length came to the church doore: which doore the monkes would haue ſhut againſt them, but (as the ſtory ſaith) the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer them. So they approching into the Church, and the biſhop meeting them vpon the ſtayres, there was ſlayne: euery one of the foure ſouldiours ſtriking him with his ſworde into the head. Who afterward flying into the North, at length with much ado obtayning their pardon of the pope (through the kinges procurement, as ſome ſtories recorde) went to Ieruſalem.

1171.

The death of Tho. Becket.

Thus you haue heard the life and death of this Tho. Becket: of whom what is to be iudged, let his owne acts and factes declare. And albeit yͤ ſcripture ought to be onely the rule to vs to iudge all thinges by: yet if any ſhall require farther teſtimony (partly to ſatiſfie their mindes therein) ye ſhall heare the iudgementes of certayne men, in yeares and times almoſt as auncient as himſelfe, what they writ, and affirme of him.

What is to be thought or iudged of T. Becket.

And firſt to beginne with the teſtimony of one of hys owne religion, and alſo not farre (as it appeareth) from his owne tyme: who writing of his martyrdome & myracles, thus teſtifieth of the iudgement and ſentence of diuers cõcerning his promotion and behauiour. The chronicle being written in Latine, and hauing the name of the autor cut out, thus beginneth: Quoniam verò multi. &c. And in the firſt booke, cap. 8. it foloweth in this maner: Nonnullis tamen ” id circa promotionem eius viſum eſt minus canonicũ, ” quòd ad eam magis operata eſt regis inſtantia, quàm cleri ” vel populi vota. Præſumptionis quoq; vel indiſcretionis ” fuiſſe notatum eſt, quòd qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, ” primum gubernaculi locum ſuſcepit, &c. & mox: ” magis etiam ſecularia tum ſapiens, tam ſanctum tantæ dignitatis ” faſtigium non horrens renuiſſe, ſed vltroneus aſcendiſſe ” creditus. Aliter dei amicus Moſes. &c. With much ” more, as in Latine enſueth, which for the Engliſh reader, here followeth tranſlated. Diuers notwithſtanding there be, which as touching his promotiõ, ſuppoſe the ſame not to be canonicall. For that it was wrought rather by the inſtance of the kyng (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his vtilitie) than by the aſſent either of yͤ clergie or of the people. Farther it is noted in him for a point of preſumption, and lacke of diſcretion: for that he beyng ſcarce worthy to take the Ore in hand and play the boteſwane, would take vpon him to ſit at the healme, and guide the ſhip: namely in that Church, where the Couent being in geſture and veſture religious, be wõt to haue their prelate ” taken out of the ſame profeſſion. Where as he, ſcant ” bearing the habite of a Clarke, and going in his chaunges and ſoft apparell, is more conuerſant amonge the delicate ruſters in the court, ſauoring rather of worldly things: not refuſing moreouer without any dread, to clime vp to the high preferment of ſuch an holy dignitie, but rather wyllingly of his owne accorde to aſpire vnto it. Moſes, we ” read, did otherwiſe, who being the frende of God and ſent ” of him to conducte his people Iſraell out of Egipt, trembled ” at the meſſage, and ſaid. Who am I Lord, yͭ I ſhould ” goe to Pharao: & bring thy people Iſraell out of Egipt? ” And againe, I pray thee (ſaith he) O Lord: I am nothing ” eloquent, ſend him whom thou wilt ſend. Likewiſe Ieremias ” alſo being ſent of the Lord to propheſie againſt Ieruſalem, ” was abaſhed to take the office vpõ him, anſwering ” againe with much dread of hart, A, a, a. Lord I cannot ” vtter my minde, for I am a childe.

What is to be thought whether T. Beck. dyed a ſainct or not.

The promotion of Becket iudged not canonicall.

Becket charged wyth preſumptiõ and lacke of diſcretion.

Ambition noted in Becket, in not refuſing but taking his promotion.

” After like maner we read of the ſainctes of the newe teſtament, whereof many were preferred oftẽtimes to their biſhopprikes, and functions of the Church by mere forcement and compulſion rather of other, then by theyr owne willes. So was bleſſed Gregory after his flight, and goyng away, brought backe agayne, and placed in the ſea and chayre of Rome. Likewiſe S. Ambroſe ſore agaynſt hys mynde, who alſo of purpoſe accuſing and confeſſing hys owne defectes, becauſe he would be repealed: yet by the cõmaundement of Valentinian the Emperour was inforced to take the burden vpon him, which he could by no wiſe ſhake of. S. Martin in like ſorte vnknowyng of any ſuch matter: was circumuented by a certaine godly trayne and wile of the Citizens, before he could be brought to his conſecration: which he did not ſo much take, as he was thruſt into it, with much penſiuenes and ſorrow of hart. By theſe and ſuch other examples this Chauncellour likewiſe ſhould haue rather excuſed himſelfe as vnworthy and vnmeete for that rowme, ſhewyng himſelfe more willing to refuſe, then to take it. To the which, this Archbiſhop is iudged to do cleane cõtrary, &c. Hæc ex Chronico. Cui titulus, De paſſione & miraculis beatæ Thomæ.

Byſhops againſt their wils thruſt into their byſhopprickes.

And although ſcarcely any teſtimony is to be taken of that age (beyng all blinded & corrupt with ſuperſtition) yet let vs heare what Neuburgẽſis an aũcient Hiſtoriographer ſayth: who in yͤ dayes of yͤ ſonne of this K. Hẽry yͤ ij. proſecuting his hiſtory vnto kyng Richard the firſt, hath theſe wordes, writing of Thomas Becket: Sanè cum pleriq; ſoleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propenſiori, ſed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur, approbare: planè ego in viro illo venerabili ea quę ita ab ipſo acta ſunt, quum nulla exindè proueniret vtilitas ſed feruor tantùm accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala poſtmodum pullulaſſe noſcũtur, laudanda nequaquã cenſuerim, licèt ex laudabili zelo proceſſerint: Sicut in beatiſſ. apoſtolorũ principe, quod gentes ſuo exemplo iudaizare coegit: in quo cũ doctor gentiũ reprehenſibilem declarat fuiſſe, licèt eum cõſtet laudabili hoc pietate feciſſe. &c. That is in Engliſh.

Ex Chronico Neuburgenſis.

Acta Becketi improbata.

Whereas many be wont, in them whom they loue or prayſe (iudging them more by affectiõ, then prudence) to allow and approue, whatſoeuer they do: yet for me to iudge vpon this reuerend man: verely I thinke not his doynges & actes to be prayſe worthy, or to be allowed. For aſmuch as therof came no vtilitie but onely the anger and the ſtyrring vp of the kyng, wherupon afterward ſprong ſo great miſchiefes (although the thing that he did might procede of a certaine laudable zeale) like as in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Iewes: Paul the Doctour of the Gentiles, did declare him therin to be rebukeable: albeit it can not be denied, but that he did it of a good affection. &c. And in the ſame author, in an other place it followeth to the like effect, in theſe wordes: Literas has in Angliam ad ſuſpenſionem Epiſcoporum præmiſſas ipſe ſequebatur, zelo iuſtitiæ feruidus, verùm an plenè ſecundum ſcientiam nouit Deus: Noſtræ enim paruitati nequaquam conceditur de tanti viri actibus temerè iudicare. Puto enim quòd in molli adhuc teneráq; regis concordia minus prouidè egiſſet, & ea quæ ſine fidei Chriſtianæ periculo tolerari potuiſſent, ratione temporis & cõpẽſatione pacis diſſimulanda dixiſſet, iuxta illud propheticum: prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum eſt. Itaq; quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum eſt, nec laudandum eſſe iudico, nec vituperare præſumo: ſed dico ſi vel modicè in huiuſmodi a ſancto viro per zeli immoderatiorem impetum eſt exceſſum, hoc ipſum eſt ſacræ, quæ conſecuta noſcitur, igne paſsionis excoctum. Ita quippe ſancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi ſunt a nobis, qui nos illis longè impares eſſe cognoſcimus, vt ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuiſſe noſcuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: ſed ea tantũ, in quibus eos ſine ſcrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipſis fiant, eſſe imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, ſed ſapienter & cautè debent laudari, vt ſua Deo prærogatiua ſeruetur, in cuius vtique laudibus nemo poteſt eſſe nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur. &c. That is in Engliſh.

The letters which were ſent before for the ſuſpending of the Byſhops, he perſued with burnyng zeale of iuſtice: but whether accordyng to knowledge, God knoweth. It is not for my rude and ſlender witte to iudge of the doynges of ſuch a perſon. But yet this I ſuppoſe: that he did not behaue himſelfe ſo circumſpectly as he ought (conſidering the time) and that the concorde betwene him and the kyng, as yet was but ſoft and tender. Who for the conſideration of the tyme, and for the recompenſe of peace: might haue forborne or diſſembled ſuch thinges, which without any perill of Chriſten Religion might be tolerate well inough accordyng to the propheticall ſaying: A wiſe mã in his tyme will keepe ſilence, becauſe the time will not ſerue him. Wherfore, as the doynges of that reuerend Prelate I iudge in that behalfe not to be commended: ſo neither do I preſume to diſcommend them. But this I ſay, that if that holy man through immoderate violence of zeale, did excede in any part therin: the ſame was excocted agayn and purged by the fire of his ſuffering, which afterward enſued. And ſo farre, holy men are to be loued or prayſed of vs which know our ſelues much inferiour to their vertues: that in ſuch things wherin they haue bene men and alſo knowen to be men: therein, we neither hold with them nor commẽd them, but onely in ſuch thynges wherein without all daunger or ſcruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to ſay, that they are to be imitated in all that they do? And therfore, they are not to be eſtemed & prayſed in all thynges generally whatſoeuer they do: but conſiderátly and with aduiſement: wherin they deſerue prayſe: ſo that the onely prerogatiue in this behalfe be reſerued to God, in whoſe prayſe no man can exceede how feruent ſoeuer he be in his prayſing. &c.

And heare yet more what the ſayd author writeth in the ſame cauſe of the kynges wrath & Beckets fault. Pluſquam. 100. homicidia a clericis commiſſa ſub Hen. ij. dicũtur. In quibus plectendis rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed huius immoderationis regiæ, noſtri temporis Epiſcopos tãtum reſpicit culpa, quantum ab eis proceſſit & cauſa. Cum enim ſacri præcipiunt canones, clericos nõ ſolùm facinoroſos & grauioribus irretitos criminibus, verùm etiam leuiorum criminũ reos degradari, & tot millia talium tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas Eccleſia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio priuari. Nempe Epiſcopi dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus quàm eorum vitijs corrigendis reſecandiſque inuigilant, arbitrantur obſequium ſe præſtare Deo & Eccleſiæ, ſi facinoroſos clericos quos pro officij debito canonicæ vigore cenſuræ coercere debeant, cõtra publicam tueantur diſciplinam. Vndè clerici qui in ſortem domini vocati, tanquam ſtellæ in firmamento cœli poſitæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent ſuper terram, habẽtes pro impunitate agendi quodcunque libuerit, licentiã & libertatem, neq; Deum, cuius iudicium tardare videtur, neque homines poteſtatẽ habẽtes reuerentur, cum & Epiſcopalis circa eos ſollicitudo ſit lãguida, & ſeculari eos iuriſdictioni ſacri eximat ordinis prærogatiua. That is.

More then. 100. murders are ſayd to be committed by the Clergy vnder kyng Henry. 2. In puniſhyng of whom, the kyng was ſomewhat to vehement: but the fault (ſayth he) of this immoderate dealyng of the kyng reſteth moſt in the Biſhops of our time: for as much as the cauſe therof procedeth of them. For where it is decreed and cõmaunded by the Canon law (concerning the ſpirituall men of the clergy) that not onely ſuch notorious, but ſuch as be ſpotted with lighter crimes ſhould be diſgraded: wherof, haue we ſo many thouſandes and hole ſwarmes of ſuch now in England, as innumerable chaf among a litle good grayne? and yet how few do we ſee theſe many yeares in England depriued of their office? For why? the Byſhops while they labour more to maintaine the liberties & dignities of church men, then to correct their vices: thinke they do God & the Church great ſeruice, if they reſcue and defend the enormities of the Church men agaynſt publike diſcipline, whom they ought rather to puniſh by the vertue of the cenſure eccleſiaſticall. Wherupon, the Church men: ſuch as be ſorted peculiarly to the Lord, & ought like ſtarres to ſhine in earth by word and example, takyng licence and liberty to do what they luſt: neither reuerence God, (whoſe iudgement ſemeth to tary) neither men ſet in authoritie: when as both the byſhops are ſlacke in their charge doing, and alſo the prerogatiue of their order exempteth them from the ſecular iuriſdiction. &c. And thus much out of Neuburgenſis.

Ex Cæſario Monacho. lib. 8 dialo. cap. 69.

To this matter alſo pertaine the wordes of Ceſarius the Monke in his 8. booke of Dialogues. cap. 69. about the 48. yeare after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeare of the Lord. 1220. whoſe wordes in ſumme come to this effect. Quæſtio Pariſijs inter magiſtros ventilata fuit, vtrũ damnatus an ſaluatus eſſet ille Thomas: Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normãnus, fuiſſe illũ morte ac damnatione dignum, quòd cõtumax eſſet in Dei miniſtrũ regẽ. Protulit ecõtra Petrus Cãtor Pariſiẽſis quòd ſigna ſaluationis, & magne ſanctitatis eſſent eius miracula: & quòd martyriũ probaſſet Eccleſiæ cauſa pro qua mortẽ ſubierat. &c. In Engliſh.

Whether T. Becket be ſaued or damned.

There was a queſtiõ moued amõg the maiſters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket were ſaued or damned. To this queſtion aunſwereth Roger a Norman: that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was ſo obſtinate agaynſt Gods miniſter his kyng. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Pariſiã diſputed, ſaying and affirmyng that his miracles were great ſignes and tokens of ſaluation, and alſo of great holynes in that man: affirmyng moreouer that the cauſe of the Church did allow and confirme his martyrdome, for the which Church he dyed.

If God in theſe latter dayes geueth no miracles to glorifie the glory of his owne ſonne: much leſſe will he geue myracles to glorifie Thomas Becket.

And thus haue ye the iudgement, and cenſure of the ſchole of Paris touchyng this queſtion, for the ſancting of Thomas Becket. In which iudgement for ſomuch as the greateſt argument reſteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death: let vs therfore pauſe a little vpon the ſame, to try and examine theſe his miracles. In the tryall wherof we ſhall finde one of theſe two to be true, that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a cõtrary ſpirite: of whom Chriſt our Lord geueth vs warnyng in his Goſpell, ſaying: whoſe comming ſhalbe with lyenge ſignes and wonders to deceaue, if it were poſſible, the elect. Math. 24. or els we ſhall finde that no ſuch were euer wrought at all, but fayned and forged of idle Monkes and religious belyes for the exaltation of their Churches, & profit of their powches: which thyng in dede ſeemeth rather to be true. And no leſſe may appeare by the miracles themſelues ſet forth by one of his owne monkes, and of his own tyme: who in fiue ſolemne bookes hath cõprehended all the reuelations, vertues, and miracles of this Archbiſhop: the which bookes (as yet remainyng in the handes of William Stephenſon Citizen of London) I haue ſene and peruſed: wherin is conteined the whole ſumme of all his miracles to the number of 270. beyng ſo farre of from all truth & reaſon, ſome ridiculous, ſome mõſtruous, vayne, abſurde, ſome alſo blaſphemous and ſome ſo impudẽt: that not onely they deſerue no credit (altogether ſauoring of mere forgery) but alſo for very ſhame will abaſh an honeſt penne to write vpon them.

Liber de miraculis b. thomæ autore monacho quodã Cãtuar.

Miracles of Becket conſidered.

Firſt, if miracles ſerue for neceſſitie and for infidels: what cauſe or neceſſity was there (in a Chriſtian realme hauing the word of God) for God to worke ſuch miracles after his death, who neuer wrought any in all his life? Then to conſider the end of theſe miracles: whether do they tend, but onely to bring vp men to Canterbury, with their vowes and offeringes to enrich the couent?

Beſide the nũber of the miracles, which be ſayd ſo many, that they loſe their own credit: What diſeaſe is there belonging to man or woman in the curing wherof, ſome miracle hath not bene wrought by this θαυματουργός: as feuers, fiſtula, the goute, tothache: palſey, conſumption, fallyng ſickeneſſe, leproſie, headache, broken armes, maymed legges, ſwelling throtes, the rayſing vp of the dead, which haue bene two dayes departed, with infinite other. And as all theſe haue healed (for the moſt part) by one kynde of ſalue (as a certaine panacea) which was, with the water onely of Canterbury, like as a cunning ſmith which ſhould open with one key all maner of lockes: ſo agayne in readyng the ſtory of theſe miracles, ye ſhall finde the matter ſo conueyed, that the power of this dead Saint, was neuer twiſe ſhewed vpõ any one diſeaſe, but euery diuers diſeaſe to haue a diuers miracle.

Aqua Cantuarienſis.

To recite in order all theſe prodigious reuelations and phantaſticall miracles, falſely imagined and aſcribed to this archbiſhop: were nothing els, but to write a legende of lyes, and to occupy the people with trifles. Which, becauſe it pertaineth rather to the idle profeſſion of ſuch dreaming mõkes and cloyſterers that haue nothing els to maintaine that religion withall: I will not take their profeſſion out of their handes. Wherfore, to omit all ſuch vayne and lyeng apparitions and miracles, as how this angry ſaint (ij. dayes after his death) appeared by viſion at the altar in his pontificalibus, Singing in the maſſe forbidden by T. Beckes after hys death.

A blaſphemous lye.

Beck. aboue the Martirs in heauen.

A place prepared in heauen for Becket, xij. yeares before hys death.

bus, commaundyng the quere not to ſing, but to ſay this office of his Maſſe: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine. &c. which viſiõ the author himſelfe of the booke doth ſay he did ſee. To omit alſo the blaſphemous lye, how in an other viſiõ the ſayd Archbyſhop ſhould ſay: that his bloud did cry out of the earth to God, more thẽ the bloud of iuſt Abell. Item, in an other viſion it was ſhewed to a mõke of Lewes, how S. Thomas had his place in heauen appointed with the Apoſtles: aboue Stephen, Laurence, Uincent, & all the other Martyrs. Wherof this cauſe is rendred, for that S. Stephen, Laurence, and ſuch other, ſuffered onely for their own cauſe. But this Thom. ſuffered for the vniuerſall Church. Item, how it was ſhewed to a certaine young man (Ormus by name) xij. yeares before the death of this Becket: that among the Apoſtles & Martyrs in heauen, there was a vacant place left, for a certaine Prieſt, as he ſayd, of England: which was credibly ſuppoſed to be this Thom. Becket. Item, how a certaine Knightes ſonne beyng two dayes dead, was reuiued agayne ſo ſoone as he had the water of Caunterbury put in his mouth, & had by his parents foure peeces of ſiluer bended, to be offered at Caunterbury in the childes behalfe. All theſe, I ſay, with ſuch other like, to omit (the nũber wherof commeth to an infinite variety) onely this one ſtory or an other that foloweth ſhall ſuffice to expreſſe the vanitie and impudent forgerie of all the reſt.

An impudent and a lying myracle.

Ex hiſtoria monachi Cantuar. de miraculis b. Thomæ.

A blaſphemous viſiõ.

A falſe & impudent myracle.

In the fourth booke of this fabulous author, and in the iij. chap. a miracle is there conteined of a certeine countreyman of Bedfordſhyre in Kinges weſton, whoſe name was Eilwardus: which Eilwardus in his dronkennes bruſting into an other mans houſe, which was his debter, tooke out of his houſe a great whetſtone, & a payre of hedging gloues. The other partie ſeyng this value not ſufficient for his cõdemnation (by the counſell of the towne clerke) entred an action of felonie agaynſt hym for other thynges beſides, as for ſtealyng hys wimble, hys axe, nette, and other clothes. Wherupon, Eilwardus beyng had to the Jaile of Bedford and afterward cõdemned for the ſame: was iudged to haue both his eyes put out, and alſo thoſe members cut of, which nature with ſecret ſhame hath couered. Which puniſhment by the malice of hys aduerſary beyng executed vpon him, he lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counſayled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done (ſayth the myracle) appeared one to hym by night, in white apparell, bidding hym to watch and pray, and put his truſt in God, and in our Lady, and holy S. Thomas. In concluſion, the miracle thus fel out: the next day at the euenyng, the mã rubbing his eye lids began to feele his eyes to be reſtored againe: firſt in a little, after in a greater meaſure: ſo that one was of a gray colour, the other was of blacke. And here was one miracle rong. After this followed an other miracle alſo vpon the ſame perſon. For goyng but the ſpace of 4. myles when his eyes were reſtored, he chaunced (in lyke maner) to rubbe the place, where hys ſecret partes were cut of. And immediatly vpon the ſame, hys pendenda (to vſe the wordes of my ſtory) were to him reſtored, Principio parua quidem valdè, ſed in maius proficientia, which he permitted euery one to feele, that would and ſhamed not to deny. In ſo much, that he commyng vp to S. Thomas: firſt at London was receyued with ioy of the B. of Dirhã, who then ſending to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter receaued frõ them agayne letters teſtimonial: wherin the Citizens there (ſayeth this fabulous feſtiuall) confirmed firſt to the biſhop, then to the couent of Canterbury, the relation of thys to be as hath bene told. This one miracle (gentle reader) ſo ſhameleſſe & impudent, I thought here to expreſſe, that by this one, thou mighteſt iudge of all ẏ reſidue of his miracles: and by the reſidue thereof mygheſt iudge moreouer of all the filthy wickednes of all theſe lying monkes and cloyſterers, which count it a light ſport ſo impudently to deceiue the ſimple ſoules of Chriſtes Churche with triflyng lyes and dreamyng fables. Wherfore, (as I ſayd) if the holy ſaintyng of Thomas Becket, ſtandeth vpon no other thyng but vpon hys miracles: what credite is to be geuen therto, and vpõ what a weake grõd his ſhrine ſo long hath ſtand, by this may eaſily be ſene. Furthermore, an other fable as notable as thys, and no leſſe worthy of the whetſtone, we read in the ſtory of Geruaſius: That Thomas Becket appearyng to a certayne prieſt, named Thomas, declared to hym that he had ſo brought to paſſe, that all the names of the Monkes of the church of Canterbury with the names of the prieſtes and Clerkes, and wyth the families belongyng to that citie and church of Cant. were written in the booke of lyfe. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 6.

But whatſoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, or howſoeuer the teſtimony of the ſchole of Paris, or of theſe auncient tymes went with hym or agaynſt him: certain it is, that this Antheme or Collect lately collected and primered in his prayſe, is blaſphemous, and derogateth from the prayſe of him, to whome all praiſe onely and honor is due, where it is ſayd:

The blaſphemous antheme of T. Becket, Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit. Fac nos Chriſte ſcãdere quò Thomas aſcendit.

Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos Chriſte ſcandere quò Thomas aſcendit. That is,

For the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Graunt vs (Chriſt) to climbe, where Tho. did aſcend.

Wherin is a double lye conteined: Firſt, that he died for Chriſt. Secondly, that if he had ſo done, yet that hys bloud could purchaſe heauen. Which thing, neither Paul nor any of the apoſtles durſt euer chalenge to themſelues. For if any mans bloud could bring vs to heauen, then the bloud of Chriſt was ſhed in vayne.

And thus much touching the teſtimony or cenſure of certaine auncient tymes concerning the cauſe of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whoſe hiſtory I haue ſtoode now the longer (exceding peraduenture in ouermuch prolixitie) to the intent that hys cauſe beyng fully opened to the world and duely weyed on euery parte: mens myndes (thereby long deceaued by ignoraunce) might come vnto the more perfect certaintie of the truth therof, and thereby to iudge more ſurely what is to be receiued, and what to be refuſed.

Where by the way is to be noted out of the teſtimony of Rob. Crikeladenſis, which in hym I finde: that the Pieres and nobles of this land nere about the kyng, gaue out in ſtraight charge vppon payne of death, and confiſcatyng all their goodes, no man to be ſo hardy to name Tho. Becket to be a Martyr, or to preach of hys miracles, &c. Ex Crikeladenſi.

The king ſendeth to Rome.

Ex libro annotationũ hiſtoriarũ manu ſcripto I. Skyngi.

The penaunce of the iiij. knightes.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearyng ẏ Popes wrath and curſe to be layd vpon hym (whereunto Ludouike the French kyng alſo helped what he could to ſet the matter forward) ſẽt to Rome the Archb. of Rotomage with certayne other biſhops and Archdeacons vnto ẏ pope with hys excuſe: which, the Pope woulde in no wyſe heare. And after other meſſengers beyng ſent, whom ſome of the Cardinals receiued: it was ſhewed to them that on good Friday (beyng then nye at hand) the Pope of cuſtome was vſed to aſſoile or to curſe, and that it was noyſed, how the kyng of England with his biſhops ſhould be curſed and his land interdicted, and that they ſhould be put in pryſon. After this, certaine of the Cardinals ſhewed the pope that the meſſengers had power to ſweare to the Pope, that the kyng ſhould obey his puniſhment and penance. Which was taken both for the king, and the Archbyſhop of yorke. So that in the ſame day the Pope curſed the deede doers, with ſuch as were of their conſent, either that aided or harboured thẽ. Cõcernyng theſe dededoers it is touched briefly before: how they fled vnto yorkeſhire lyeng in Gnarſborough. Who after hauyng in penaunce to go in their linnen clothes barefote (in faſtyng and prayer) to Jeruſalem: by reaſon of this hard penance are ſayd to dye in few yeres after.

Ex Houedeno.

The kings Embaſſadors lying as is ſayde in Rome: could finde no grace nor fauor a long tyme at the Popes handes. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two Cardinals ſhould be ſent downe to enquire out the matter concerning them that were conſentyng to Beckets death. The kyng perceiuyng what was preparing at Rome, neither beyng yet certayne, wherto the intent of the Pope, & commyng downe of the Cardinals would tend: in ẏ meane tyme addreſſed hymſelfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, geuyng in charge and commaundemẽt (as Houedenus writeth) that no bringer of any briefe or letter ſhould come ouer to England or paſſe out of the realme (of what degree or condition ſo euer he were) without ſpeciall licẽce and aſſurance to bring nothyng that ſhould be preiudicial to the Realme.

Ireland firſt ſubdued to Englãd.

This order beyng ſet and ordeined, the kyng with 400 great ſhippes taketh hys iourney to Irelande: where he ſubdued in ſhort tyme the whole land vnto hym, which at that tyme was gouerned vnder diuers kinges to the number of v. Of whom foure ſubmitted themſelues vnto the ſayd kyng Henry, onely the fifth (who was the kyng of Conacta) denied to be ſubdued, kepyng him in woods and Mariſhes.

An. 1172.

In the meane ſeaſon whyle the kyng was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinals that were ſent from ẏ Pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normãdy. Unto whom, the kyng the next yere following reſorted, about the month of October, an. 1172. But before (duryng the tyme of the kyngs beyng in Ireland) the B. of Londō and Iocceline B. of Saliſbury, had ſent to Rome, and procured their abſolution from the Pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, and from thence to Normandy: there made hys purgation before the popes legates, as touching the death of the foreſayd Becket: to the which he ſware he was neither aidyng or conſentyng, but onely that he ſpake rigorous wordes agaynſt hym, for ẏ his knights would not auenge hym againſt the ſaid Thomas. For the which cauſe, this penance was enioyned him vnder his othe.

The kynges penance for the death of Becket.

Firſt, that he ſhould ſend ſo much to the holy lande, as would finde two C. knightes or ſouldiours for the defence of that lande.

Alſo, that from Chriſtmas day next folowing, he ſhold ſet forth hys owne perſon to fight for the holy land ẏ ſpace of 3. yeres together, vnleſſe he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpenſed withall by the Pope.

Item, that if he would make his iorney into Spain (as hys preſent neceſſitie dyd require) there he to fight againſt the Saracens: And as long tyme as he ſhould there abide ſo long ſpace might he take in prolongyng his iourney toward Ieruſalem.

Item, that he ſhould not hinder nor cauſe to be hindred by hym, any appellations made to the Pope of Rome.

Item, that neither he nor hys ſonne, ſhoulde depart or diſſeuer from Pope Alexander, or from hys catholike ſucceſſors: ſo long as they ſhould recount hym or his ſonne for kings catholike.

Item, that the goodes and poſſeſſions taken from the Church of Canterbury, ſhould bee reſtored agayne (fully and amply) as they ſtoode the yeare before Thomas Becket departed the Realme, and that free libertie ſhould be graunted to all ſuch as were outlawed for Beckets cauſe to returne agayne.

Item, that the foreſaid cuſtomes & decrees by him eſtabliſhed againſt ẏ church, ſhould be extinct and repelled (ſuch only except, that concerned hys owne perſon) &c. beſides other ſecret faſtings and almes enioyned hym.

Ex quadrilogo.

All theſe former conditions, the kyng with his ſonne dyd both agree vnto: debaſing hymſelfe in ſuch ſort of ſubmiſſion before the two Cardinals: by the occaſion whereof, the Cardinall toke no little glory, vſing this verſe of the pſalme: Qui reſpicit terram, & facit eam tremere: qui tangit montes & fumigant. That is, which looketh vpon the earth, and maketh it to tremble: which toucheth the hils, & they ſmoke &c. Moreouer, it is mentioned in hiſtories of the ſayd king: that a little after William kyng of Scots wyth his army had made a rode into the realme, he returning out of Normandy into England, came firſt to Canterbury: who by the way (ſo ſoone as he came to the ſight of Beckets church) lightyng of hys horſe and putting of his ſhoes went barefoote to hys tombe: whoſe ſteppes were found bloudy through ẏ roughnes of ẏ ſtones. And not only that, but alſo receiued farther penance by euery mōke of the cloyſter certayne diſcipline of a rod. By which ſo great deiectiō of the kyng (if it were true) thou mayeſt ſee the blynde and lamentable ſuperſtition and ignorance of thoſe dayes. If it were pretenſed (as might ſo be in tyme of warre, to get the hartes of the people) yet mayeſt thou learned Reader ſee, what ſlauery kings and princes were brought into at that tyme, vnder the Popes Clergy. The ſame yere (as Houeden writeth) which was 1174. the whole citie of Canterbury, was almoſt all conſumed with fire, & the ſaid minſter church cleane burnt.

K. Henry the 2. goeth on pilgrimage with bloudy ſteps to Tho. Becket.

Ex Rogero Houedeno & quadrilogo & alijs.

An. 1174.

The citie of Canterbury almoſt conſumed wyth fire.

Ex Houedeno parte. 1. continuata hiſtoria.

An. 1175.

Controuerſie betwene the ſea of Cant. and the ſea of Yorke. Archbyſhop of Yorke appealed the Archb. of Cāterbury to the byſhop of Rome.

The next yeare enſuyng, which was 1175. a conuocatiō of biſhops was holdē at Weſtminſter by Richard archbiſhop of Cant. In which conuenticle, all the byſhops and Abbots of the prouince of Canterbury and of Yorke beyng preſent, determined (as it had done a little before in kyng Henry 1. dayes, an. 1113.) about the obedience that Yorke ſhould do to Canterbury. That is whether the Archbiſhop of Yorke might beare hys croſſe in the dioceſſe of Cāterbury or not: whereof ſome thyng was touched before in the former proceſſe of this hiſtory. Alſo about the biſhopricke of Lincolne, of Chicheſter, of Worceter & of Hereford: whether theſe churches were vnder the iuriſdiction of the ſee of Yorke or not, &c. Upon theſe and other lyke matters: roſe ſuch controuerſie betwene theſe ij. ſeas, that the one appealed the other to the preſence of the biſhop of Rome.

In theſe and ſuch caſes lyke, how much better had it bene, if the ſupremacy had remayned more nere in ẏ kinges hands at home, wherby not only much labour and trauayle had bene ſaued, but alſo the great and waſtful expences beſtowed at Rome, might with much more fruite and thanke haue bene conuerted to their cures and flockes committed vnto them, and alſo percaſe their cauſe no leſſe indifferently heard (at leſt more ſpedely might haue bene decided) but to the purpoſe agayne. In thys controuerſie dyuers of the biſhop of Yorkes Clergy (ſuch as were of Glouceſter, belongyng to the Church of S. Oſwald) were excommunicate by the Archb. of Cant. becauſe they beyng ſummoned, refuſed to appeare before hym. &c. At length the ſame yeare, which was 1175. there was a Cardinall ſent downe from Rome by the kinges procurement: who ſtudied to ſet peace betwene the two Archbiſhops. Wherupon, this way of agreement was takē (by the meanes of the kyng) at Wincheſter: that as touchyng the church of S. Oſwald at Gloceſter, the Archbyſhop of Caunterb. ſhould ceaſe of hys clayme therof, moleſtyng the ſee of Yorke no more therein. Alſo ſhould abſolue agayne the Clerkes therof, whome he had excommunicated before. And as concernyng the bearyng of the croſſe and all other matters: it was referred to the Archbyſhop of Rhotomage, and of other Byſhops in Fraunce: ſo that for fiue yeares, a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they ſhould haue a full determination of theyr cauſe.

The clerkes of S. Oſwald in Gloceſter excommunicated.

Agreement betwene the Archb. of Cant. and of Yorke.

1176.

Iuſtices of aſſiſe deuided into circuites.

The next yere followyng, the foreſayd king Henry the 2. (deuidyng the realme of England into 6. partes) ordeyned vpon euery part 3. Iuſtices of Aſſiſe. The circuit or limitation of which Iuſtices was thus diſpoſed. The firſt vpon Northfolke, Suffolke, Cantebridgeſhire, Huntendunſhire, Bedfordſhyre, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire. 2. Upon Lincolnſhire, Notinghamſhyre, Darbiſhyre, Staunfordſhyre, Warwickſhyre, Northhamptōſhire Leiceſterſhyre. 3. Upon Kent, Surrey, Southhamptonſhyre, Southſaxe, Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhyre. 4. Upō Herefordſhyre, Glouceſterſhyre, Wirceſterſhyre, Salops ſhyre. 5. Upon Wiltſhyre, Dorcetſhyre, Sommerſetſhyre, Deuōſhyre, Cornwall. 6. Euerwickſhyre, Richmondſhire, Lancaſter, Copland, Weſtmerland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

Ex Epitome Math. Pariſienſis & aliarum hiſtoriarum.

In the which yeare alſo, Richard Archb. of Canterbury, made 3. Archdeacons in hys dioces, where as before there was but one. About which tyme alſo it was graūted by the kyng to the Popes legate, that a Clearke ſhould not be called before a temporall iudge, except for offence in ẏ foreſt, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

A friuolous contētion betwene the Archb. & the abbot of Canterbury.

Where was here the precept of the goſpell: he that will be greateſt amongſt you, let him be an vnderling to other.

Item, that no Archbiſhopricke or biſhopricke, nor abbey ſhould remayne in the kings hands ouer one yeare without great cauſe. It chaunced the ſame yere, that this was done there was at Caunterbury one elected to be Abbot in the houſe of ſaint Auſten named Albert: who made great labour and ſute vnto the Archb. that he would come to hys Church, and there conſecrate hym Abbot of S. Auſtens. To whom the Archb. ſent word agayne, that he was not bound to come to hym but rather the other ſhould repayre to the Metropolitane Church of Canterbury, there to receiue hys conſecration. Wherupō (controuerſie riſing betwene them) the foreſayd new Elect appealed vp to the audience of the Pope, and ſo laboured vp hymſelfe to Rome. Where, he ſo handled the matter, (by what meanes I cannot tell, vnles with hys golden bottle wherwith he quenched the popes thirſty ſoule, for Abbots neuer trauel lightly without fat purſes to Rome) that with ſhort diſpatche he procured letters from Alexander the Pope, to Roger biſhop of Worceſter: ſignifieng to hym, that he had geuen in charge and commaundement to the Archb. of Cant. (in the behalfe of his deare ſonne Albert) that he ſhould conſecrate hym within hys owne monaſtery: which monaſterie properly and ſolie without mediation belonged to the iuriſdiction of Rome: and ſo likewiſe ſhould do to his ſucceſſors after hym, without any exaction of obedience of thē. which thyng further he ſayd if the Archb. would refuſe to do, within the terme appoynted: that then he the foreſayd B. of Worceſter, (ſhould by the autoritie committed vnto him) execute the ſame all maner of appellation or other decree whatſoeuer ſhould come notwithſtanding. This letter beyng obtayned, the Abbot (that would be) returneth home ſuppoſing with hymſelfe all thinges to be ſure. The archb. vnderſtandyng the caſe, and ſeeyng hymſelfe ſo ſtraightly charged, and yet lothe to yeld and ſtoupe to the Abbot, tooke to him pollicy where authoritie would not ſerue: and both to ſaue hymſelfe, and yet to diſappoint the Abbot, he watcheth a tyme when the Abbot was about buſineſſe of hys houſe. And commyng the ſame tyme to the monaſtery (as he was commaunded to do) with all thinges appointed, ẏ to ſuch a buſines appertayned: called for the Abbot, pretendyng no leſſe but to geue hym hys conſecration. The Abbot beyng called for, was not at home. The Archb. faynyng hymſelfe not a little agreued at his labour & good will ſo loſt: departed, as one in whom no redy diligence was lacking

The tenor of the popes letter to the Byſhop of Worceſter.

kyng: if in caſe that the Abbot had bene at home. Whereupon, the Abbot (beyng thus diſappoynted) was fayne to fill hys ſiluer flagon a freſh, & make a new courſe to Rome to hys father the Pope, of whom he receyued his conſecration, and ſo came home agayne with as much witte as he went forth: but not with ſo much mony peraduenture as he went withall.

We haue declared a little aboue, pag. 207. touching the actes and doynges of this Pope Alexander the 3. howe he had brought the Emperours head vnder hys foote in S. Markes church at Venice: at which tyme and place peace was concluded, and a compoſition made betwene the Pope and the ſayd Frederike the Emperour. Which pacification, Rog. Houedenus, and Gualterus Giſburgenſis, referre to this tyme beyng the yeare of our Lord, 1177. bringyng in two ſeuerall letters ſent from the ſayd Pope to Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Hugh biſhop of Dureſme. Out of the which letters (ſo much as ſerueth to our purpoſe) I haue taken and here inſerted.

Houedenus Giſburgenſis.

1177.

¶ The letter of pope Alexander, ſent to Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, and to the byſhop of Dureſme.

ALexander, ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, to his reuerend brethren Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Hugh byſhop of Dureſme greetyng, and Apoſtolicall bleſſing. The obſequy and ſeruice of your kinde deuotion, which hitherto you are knowen to haue geuen both deuoutly & laudably to vs and to the Church: requireth that we ſhould deſcribe to you as to our ſpeciall friendes, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the church: & to let you know as ſpiritual children of the church, what hath happened to the ſame. For meete it is, conuenient and alſo honeſt, that you whom we haue had ſo firme, and ſure in our deuotion: ſhould now be cheriſhed and made ioyous in the proſperitie of vs and of the Churche. And about the ende of the Epiſtle it followeth thus.

The next day followyng, which was the feaſt of Saint Iames (the ſayd Emperour ſo requeſtyng) we came to the foreſayd church of S. Marke, there to celebrate our ſolemn Maſſe: where (as we were commyng in the way) the ſayd Emperour met vs without the church, and placing vs again on hys right hand, brought vs ſo into the ſaid church. After the Maſſe was done, placyng vs agayne on his right hand, he brought vs to the church dore. And moreouer, when we ſhould take our palfrey: he held our ſtirrup: exhibityng to vs ſuch honor and reuerence as his progenitours were wōt to exhibite to our predeceſſors. Wherfore, theſe ſhall be to incite your diligēce and ſtudy towardes vs: that you reioice with vs and the church in theſe our proſperous ſucceſſes, & alſo that you ſhall open the ſame effect of peace to other deuout childrē of the church: that ſuch as be touched with the zeale of the houſe of the Lord, may congratulate and reioyce alſo in the Lord, for the great workyng of peace which he hath geuen. Geuen at Venice in the deepe ryuer, the xxvi. of Iuly.

A meeke emperour and a proud Pope.

The Emperour holdeth the Popes ſtirrup.

This yere the contention reuiued agayne, ſpoken of a little before, pag. 174. betwene ẏ two Archbiſhops of Yorke and Cāterbury. The occaſion wherof was this. The maner and practiſe of the Pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he ſendeth ſome limityng Cardinall abrode, to fetch hys harueſt in. So there came this yeare into England (as lightly few yeares were without them) a certaine Cardinall frō Rome called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugezun, who would needes keepe a Councell at Weſtm. To this Councell reſorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, & ſuch other of the Clergy. As euery one was there placed in his order, and after his degree: firſt commeth the Archbiſhop of Yorke named Roger: who (thinkyng to preuent the other Archbiſhop) came ſomethyng ſooner, and ſtraightway placed hymſelfe on the right hand of the Cardinall. Richard ẏ Archbiſhop of Cant. followyng ſhortly after: and ſeing the firſt place taken vp, refuſeth to take the ſecond: complaynyng of the Archb. of Yorke, as one preiudiciall to hys ſee. So, while the one would not ryſe, & the other not ſit downe: roſe no ſmall contention betwene them two. The Archb. of Canterbury claymed the vpper ſeat by the preheminence of hys church. Contrary, the Archb. of Yorke alledged for him the old decree of Gregory, wherof mention is made before, pag. 119. By which this order was taken betwene the two Metropolitanes of Canterbury and Yorke: that, which of them two ſhould be firſt in election, he ſhould haue the preheminence in dignity, and go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed ſo warme in wordes, that at laſt they turned to hote blowes. How ſtrong the Archbiſhop of Yorke was in reaſon and argument I cannot tell: but the Archbiſhop of Cant. was ſtronger at the armes end. Whoſe ſeruauntes beyng more in number (like valiaunt men) not ſuffring their maiſter to take ſuch a foyle: ſo preuailed againſt Yorke (ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinall) that they pluckt hym downe from the hand, to the foote of the Cardinall vpon the ground: treadyng & tramplyng vpon hym with their feete, that marueil it was he eſcaped with lyfe. Hys Caſule, Chimer, and Rochet, were all to be rente and torne from hys backe. Here no reaſon would take place, no debatyng would ſerue, no praying could be heard, ſuch clamour and tumulte was there in the houſe among them: much lyke to the tumult, which Virgill deſcribeth.

Contention betwene two Archbiſhops who ſhould ſit on the right hand of the Cardinal.

> Ac veluti in magno populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
> Seditio, ſæuitq; animis ignobile vulgus,
> Iamq; faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat.

Now, as the firſt part of this deſcription doth well agree, ſo ſome peraduenture wyll looke agayne, that accordyng to the latter parte alſo of the ſame: my Lord Cardinall wyth ſageneſſe and grauitie (after the manner of the olde Romaynes ſtanding vp) ſhoulde haue ceaſed and alayed the diſturbaunce: accordyng to that which followeth in the Poete.

> Tum pietate grauem meritis ſi forte virum quem
> Conſpexêre, ſilent, arrectiſq; auribus aſtant:
> Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet. &c.

But what dyd the noble Romaine Cardinall? Lyke a prety man of hys handes (but a prettier man of hys feete) ſtandyng vp in the midſt, and ſeing the houſe in ſuch a broil, committed hymſelf to flight, and (as Houedenus writeth) abſcondit ſe a facie illorum. The next day after, the Archbiſhop of Yorke bringeth to the Cardinall hys Rochet, to beare witneſſe what iniury and violence he had ſuſteyned: appealyng and cityng vp the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury with certaine of his men, to the biſhop of Rome. And thus the holy councell (the ſame day it was begon) brake vp and was diſſolued.

Under the raigne of this kyng Henry the 2. the dominion and crowne of England, extended ſo farre as hath not bene ſene in this Realme before hym, whome hiſtories record to poſſeſſe vnder hys rule and iuriſdiction, firſt Scotland, to whom William kyng of Scots, wyth all the lordes temporall and ſpirituall dyd homage, both for them and for their ſucceſſors (the ſeale wherof remayneth in the kings treaſury) as alſo Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitane, Gaunt. &c. vnto the mountaynes of Pireney, which be in the vttermoſt partes of the great Ocean in the Brittiſh ſea: beyng alſo protector of Fraunce, to whom Philip the French kyng yelded both hymſelfe and Realme wholy to his gouernaunce, an. 1181. Moreouer, he was offred alſo to be the king of Ieruſalem, by the Patriarche and maiſter of the hoſpital there: who then beyng diſtreſſed by the Soldane, brought hym the keyes of their citie, deſiring his ayde agaynſt the infidels: which offer he than refuſed, alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his ſonnes, which might happen in hys abſence.

The large dominion of K. Henry the 2.

Homage of Scotlād in paine of interdiction.

K. Henry the 2. protector of Fraunce.

K. Henry choſen king of Ieruſalē and refuſed it.

¶ And here, the olde hiſtories finde a great fault with the kyng for his refuſall, declaring that to be the cauſe of Gods plagues, which after enſued vpon him, by his children: as the Patriarche (in his Oration, beyng offended wyth the kyng) propheſied ſhould ſo happen to him for the ſame cauſe. Which ſtory if it be true, it may be a leſſon to good Princes: not to deny their neceſſary helpe to their diſtreſſed neyghbours, eſpecially the cauſe appertaynyng vnto God.

Ayde not to be denyed to our neighbours the cauſe beyng godly.

The wiſedome, diſcretion, manhoode, and riches of this Prince was ſo ſpred and renowmed through all quarters: that meſſengers came from Emanuell Emperour of Conſtantinople, Frederick Emperour of Rome, and William Archbyſhop of Treuer in Almayne, & Duke of Saxon, and from the Earle of Flaunders, and alſo from the Frēch king (vpō determinatiō of great queſtiōs & ſtrifes) to aſke counſell and determination therof, of this K. Henry: as of one moſt wyſe and ſcholemaiſter of all wiſedome and iuſtice, to haue ſolution of their queſtions and doubts. Moreouer, Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and Sanctius kyng of Nauerne, being in ſtrife for certaine Caſtels and other poſſeſſions: ſubmitted them (of their free accorde) &

Ex Polychro.
Ex Giraldo Cambrienſi.

King Henry choſen arbiter by 2. kynges.

by their oth, to abyde the awarde of this king Henry: who made awarde, and pleaſed them both. Whereby it is to be preſuppoſed that this kyng, to whom other princes did ſo reſort, as to their arbiter & deciſer: did not attende eyther to any ſlouth or vicious liuing. Wherefore it may ſeeme, the actes of this prince not to be ſo vicious as ſome monkiſhe writers doe deſcribe.

Among many other thinges in this king memorable, this is one to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigning 35. yeares: and hauing ſuch warres wyth his enemyes: yet neuer vpon his ſubiectes put any tribute or taxe, nor yet vpon the ſpiritualtie, firſt fruites, and appropriations of benefices. Belike they were not knowen, or els not vſed. And yet his treaſure after his death (weyed by king Rychard his ſonne) amounted to aboue nine hundreth thouſand pound beſides Iewels, precious ſtones, and houſhold furniture. Of the which ſubſtance a leuen thouſand pound came to him by the death of Roger, Archbyſhop of Yorke, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any Prieſt dyed within his prouince without teſtament, thē he ſhould haue all his goods. And ſhortly after the Archbyſhop died, and the king had all his goods: which extended (as is ſaid) to a leuen thouſand pound beſide plate. &c. an. 1181.

The treaſure of K. Henry the 2.

A couetous archbyſhop.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in thys mortall world ſo perfect, which is not darckned with ſome cloude of inconſtaunce and aduerſitie: So it happened to thys kyng, that among his other princely ſucceſſours: this incommoditie followed hym withall: that his ſonnes rebelled and ſtoode in armour agaynſt him, taking the part of the French kyng agaynſt their father. Firſt at the coronation of Henry his ſonne, whom the father ioyned with him as kyng, he being both father and kyng, tooke vpon him (that notwithſtanding) as but a ſteward: and ſet downe the firſt diſhe as Shewer vnto his ſonne: renouncing the name of a king. At what tyme, the foreſayd archbiſhop of Yorke, ſitting on the right hand of ẏ young kyng ſaid: ſir ye haue great cauſe this day to ioy. For there is no Prince in the world that hath ſuch an officer this day. &c. And the yong kyng diſdaynyng his wordes, ſayd: my father is not diſhonored in this doing. For I am a King and a Queenes ſonne, and ſo is not he. And not onely this, but after he alſo perſecuted his father. And ſo in his youth, when he had raigned but a fewe yeares, died: teaching vs what is the price and rewarde of breaking the iuſt commaundementes of God.

Pride deſtroyeth all.

After him likewiſe Richard his ſonne (who was called Richard Cœur de Lyon) rebelled agaynſt his father: And alſo Iohn his yōgeſt ſonne did not much degenerate from the ſteps of his brethren. In ſo much that this foreſayd Richard (like an vnkinde childe, perſecuting and taking part agaynſt his father) brought him to ſuch diſtreſſe of body and mynde: that for thought of hart he fell into an ague, and within foure dayes departed, after he had raigned xxxv. yeare, whoſe corps, as it was caried to be buried, Richard his ſonne cōming by ẏ way & meetyng it, & beginning for compaſſion to weepe: the blood braſt incontinent out of the noſe of the kyng at the comming of his ſonne: geuing therby a certaine demonſtration how he was the onely autor of his death.

K. Henry the 2. perſecuted by his ſonnes.

The death of K. Henry the 2. How the kyng beyng dead bled at the comming of his ſonne.

After the death and reigne of which king: his children after him (worthely rewarded for their vnnaturalnes agaynſt their father) lacking the ſucceſſe which their father had: loſt all beyond the ſea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reigne of Henry the ſecond, and the death of Thomas Becket: whoſe death (as is aforeſayd) happened in the dayes of Pope Alexander the thyrd: which pope vſurping the keyes of Eccleſiaſticall regiment xxi. yeares (or as Giſburgenſis writeth, three and twenty yeares) gouerned the Church with much tumulte: ſtriuyng and contending with Fridericke the Emperour not ſhamyng like a moſt proude Lucifer, to treade with his foote vpon the necke of the ſayd Emperour, as is aboue deſcribed pag. 207.

An. 1179.

This Pope among many other his actes, had certaine Councels (as is partly before touched) ſome in Fraunce, ſome at Rome in Laterā, by whom it was decreed: that no Archbyſhop ſhould receiue the palle, vnleſſe he ſhould firſt ſweare. Concernyng the ſolemnitie of which palle: for the order and maner of geuyng and takyng the ſame with obedience to the pope, as it is cōteined in their owne wordes: I thought it good to ſet it forth vnto thee, that thou mayeſt well conſider and vnderſtand their doynges therin.

¶ The forme and maner how and by what wordes the Pope is wont to geue the palle vnto the Archbyſhop.

Geuyng of the pall.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ virginis & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & Domini noſtri N. Papæ, & ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, nec non N. Eccleſiæ tibi commiſſæ tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri ſumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officij, vt vtaris eo infra Eccleſiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in priuilegijs tibi ab Apoſtolica ſede conceſſis. That is in Engliſh.

To the honour of almighty God, and of bleſſed Mary the virgin, and of bleſſed S. Peter and Paule, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy Church of Rome, and alſo of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we geue to you the palle taken frō the body of S. Peter, as a fulnes of the office pōtificall, which you may weare within your own church, vpon certaine dayes, which be expreſſed in the priuileges of the ſayd church, graunted by the ſea Apoſtolike.

¶ Notes vpon the ſame.

¶ To the honour, &c, with what confidēce durſt the pope couple the honor of almighty God, and the honor of Mary, of S. Peter, and of the Pope, and of the Romiſh Church altogether if he had not bene a preſūptuous Lucifer, equallyng himſelf not onely with ſuch Saints, but alſo euē with him which is God alone, to be bleſſed for euer?

Taken from the body. &c. If S. Peters body be not all conſumed, let him ſhewe it if he can. If he can not ſhew it, how then is this palle taken from the body of S. Peter? or if he meane it to be of S. Peters owne wearyng then belike S. Peter had a goodly wardrop of palles, when euery Archbyſhop in all Chriſtendome receiueth from the Pope a diuerſe palle.

As a fulnes of the office. &c. Rather he might ſay, the fulneſſe of his owne purſe, when as Archbyſhops payd ſo ſwetely for it. In ſomuch that Iacobus the Archbyſhop of Mētz, as is aboue touched pag. 174. a litle before in the coūcell of Baſile where the price was wont to be but a thouſand florences, could not obteine it without xxvij. thouſand florences.

Vpon certaine dayes. &c. This difference there was betwene the pope and other archbiſhops. For the Pope might were the palle at all tymes and in all places at his pleaſure. Archbyſhops might not weare it, but vpon certaine dayes, and in their church onely within their prouince. Moreouer, this palle ſhould not be aſked but with great inſtaūce, and within three monethes, without which palle he is not to be named Archbyſhop, but may be depoſed, hauyng it not after three monethes. And the ſame palle muſt alſo be buried with him whē he dyeth. And when it is geuen, ſome priuilege muſt be geuen withall, or the old renued.

Ex libro grauaminum nationis germanicæ.

¶ In like maner procedeth the othe of euery Byſhop ſwearyng obedience to the Pope, in lyke wordes as followeth.

The ſolemne oth of Byſhops made to the Pope.

EGo N. Epiſcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, ſanctæquè Apoſtolicæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Domino meo. D. N. Papæ, ſuiſq; ſucceſſoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in conſilio, ſeu auxilio, conſenſu, vel facto, vt vitam perdant, aut membrum, ſeu capiantur mala captione. Cōſilium verò quod mihi credituri ſunt, per ſe aut per nuncium, ſeu literas eorum, me ſciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & Regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum ſaluo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè tractabo, & in ſuis neceſſitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad ſynodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis triennijs viſitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nunciū, niſi Apoſtolica abſoluar licentia. Poſſeſſiones verò ad mēſam mei Epiſcopatus pertinētes non vendam, neq; donabo, neq; oppignorabo, neq; de nouo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo, inconſulto Rom. pōtifice, ſic me Deus adiuuet, & ſancta Dei Euangelia. That is in Engliſh.

Saluo meo ord. This was the clauſe that made Becket to be baniſhed and to be ſlayne.

I N. Byſhop of N. from this houre henceforth, wilbe faythfull and obedient to bleſſed S. Peter, and to the holy Apoſtolique Church of Rome, and to my Lord N. the pope. I ſhalbe in no counſell nor helpe, either with my conſent or deede: wherby either of them or any member of them may be impayred, or whereby they may be taken with any euill takyng. The counſell which they ſhall commit to me, either by themſelues or by meſſēger or by their letters, wittingly or willyngly I ſhal vtter to none, to their hinderaūce and damage. To the reteinyng and mainteynyng the Papacy of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter I ſhalbe an ayder (ſo myne order be ſaued) agaynſt all perſons. The Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea both in goyng and commyng, I ſhal honorably entreate and helpe him in all neceſſities. Beyng called to a Synode I ſhalbe ready to come, vnleſſe I be let by ſome lawful and canonicall impechement. The palace of the Apoſtles euery thyrd yeare I ſhall viſite either by my ſelfe, or my meſſenger, except otherwiſe beyng licenſed by the ſea Apoſtolique. All ſuch poſſeſſions as belong to the table and dyet of my Byſhoprike: I ſhall neither ſell, nor geue, nor lay to morgage, nor leaſe out, or remoue away by any maner of meanes, without the conſent and knowledge of the Byſhop of Rome, ſo God helpe me and the holy Goſpels of God.

And how be not thoſe byſhops then periured which at the death of Q. Mary, ſet & let out a great part of their poſſeſſions, frõ their ſucceſſors.

¶ A note vpon the ſame.

¶Hereby haſt thou by the way (gentle Reader) to note and cõſider among other thyngs which here may be vnderſtand, that ſince the tyme the othe began to be layd & thruſt vpon Byſhops, all generall Councels began to loſe their libertie. For how could any fredome remayne for men to ſpeake their knowledge in redreſſe of thynges: beyng by their othe ſo bounde to the Pope to ſpeake nothyng but on his ſide, to maintaine the Papacie & the church of Rome in all tymes and places. Coniecture by thy ſelfe (Chriſtẽ Reader) what is more hereby to be conſidered.

Beſides this it was alſo decreed in the ſayd Councell at Rome of. 310. Byſhops, by pope Alexander: that no mã ſhould haue any ſpirituall promotiõ, except he were of lawfull age, & borne in wedlock. That no Pariſh church ſhould be voyde aboue vj. monethes. That none within orders ſhould medle with temporall buſines. That Prieſts ſhould haue but one benefice. And that the Biſhop ſhould be charged to finde the Prieſt a liuyng, till he be promoted.

That open vſurers ſhould not communicate at Eaſter, nor be buried within the Churchyard.

That nothyng ſhould be taken for miniſtryng Sacramentes, or buryng.

Item, that euery cathedrall Church ſhould haue a maſter to teach children freely, without takyng any thyng for the ſame.

The vowe of chaſtitie layd vpõ prieſtes.

In this Councell the vowe of chaſtitie was obtruded and layd vpon Prieſtes. Thomas Becket alſo, and Bernard were canoniſed for Saintes.

Duryng the raigne and tyme of this kyng Henry the ſecond: the City of Norwige was deſtroyed and brent by the men of Flaunders. Alſo the towne of Leyceſter. Notingham waſted, and the Burgeſes ſlayne by the Earle of Ferers. The towne of Barwike deſtroyed by the Scots. The kyng of Scots was taken in warre by Engliſhmen, an. 1174. The towne of Huntington taken & burned. The towne of Canterbury by caſualtie of fire, brent with all the Churches, ſpecially with the Trinitie church, where Becket was worſhipped, an. eod. The yeare of our Lord. 1170. Williã kyng of Scots with Dauid his brother, and all the Barons of the realme dyd homage to the kyng of Englãd. Ireland made ſubiect to England. Decreed in a Councell in Normandy, that no boyes or children ſhould poſſeſſe any benefice. A Cõcell of Lateran was holdẽ at Rome, where were. 33. articles concluded, an. 1179. The French kyng came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the kyng of England meetyng him by the way, an. 1184. After the death of Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, ſucceded Baldwinus, who of a Ciſtercian monke beyng made a byſhop, is ſayd neuer to eate fleſh in his lyfe. To whom a certaine poore woman (bare and leane) meetyng him in the ſtreete: deſired to know of hym whether it were true ỹ was ſayd of him, that he neuer eate fleſh. Which thyng when he affirmed to be true: Nay, ſayth ſhe that is falſe: for ye haue eaten my fleſh vnto the bone. For I had but one cow wherewith I was ſuſteined, and that hath your Deanes taken from me. True, true ſayd the Byſhop, and thou ſhalt haue an other Cow as good as that. &c. Iornalenſ.

Richardus Baldwinus Archbiſhop of Canterb.

Moreouer, in the raigne of the ſayd king Henry, about the yeare of our Lord. 1178. I find in the ſtory of Rog. Houeden and other, that in the Citie of Tholouſe was a great multitude of men and women, whom the Popes Commiſſioners, to witte, Peter Cardinall of S. Criſogom, and the Popes Legate: with the Archbyſhops of Narbone & Bituriensis: Reginald Byſhop of Bathe, John Byſhop of Pictauia, Henry Abbot Clareuallẽſis. &c. did perſecute and cõdemne for heretickes: Of whom ſome were ſcourged naked, ſome chaſed away, ſome cõpelled to abiure. Concernyng whoſe articles & opinions I haue no firme ground to make any certayne relatiõ: for ſomuch as I ſee the Papiſtes many tymes ſo falſe in their quarelyng accuſations, vntruly collectyng mens ſayinges, not as they ment, and meanynges, not as they ſayd: but wreſtyng and deprauyng ſimple mens aſſertions after ſuch a ſubtile ſorte as they liſt themſelues to take them. But this I finde how one of the ſayd commiſſioners or Inquiſitors (Henry the Abbot) in a certaine letter of his, write thus of them: Nam & panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ ſacerdotis miniſterio in verbo Domini conſecratum non eſſe corpus Domini, nouo dogmate contendebat aſſerere. That is: After a new opinion he affirmed, that the holy bread of eternall life, conſecrated by the miniſtery of the Prieſt, was not the body of the Lord, &c.

Vualdenſes ſiue pauperes de Lugduno Leoniſtæ, Inſabbatati.

In the tyme of this Alexander ſprong vp the doctrine and name of them, whiche were then called Pauperes de Lugduno whiche of one Waldus a chief Senatour in Lyons were named, Waldenſes: Item Leoniſtæ, & Inſabbatati: about the yeare of our Lord. 1109. or (as Laziardus writeth) an. 1170.

4. Arche pillers of proud papiſtry.

Not long before this tyme (as is expreſt aboue) roſe vp Gratianus maſter of the decrees, & Petrus Lombardus, maſter of the ſentence, both archpillers of all Papiſtry. After whom followed alſo two as euill, or worſe then they, Franciſcus and Dominicus, mainteynyng blinde hypocriſie, no leſſe then the other maintayned proud prelacy. As theſe labored one way, by ſuperſtition and worldly aduauncement to corrupt the ſinceritie of Religion: So it pleaſed Chriſt the contrary way, laboryng againſt theſe, to rayſe vp therfore the ſayd Waldenſians, agaynſt the pride and hypocriſie of the other.

Thus we neuer ſee any great corruptiõ in the Church, but that ſome ſparkle, yet of the true light of the Goſpell, by Gods prouidence doth remaine. What ſoeuer Doctour Auguſtinus, Reinerius, Siluius, Cranzius with other in their Popiſh hiſtoryes, do write of them (diffamyng them through miſreporte) and accuſing them to Magiſtrates, as diſobedient to orders, rebels to the Catholicke Church, and contemners of the virgine Mary: yet they that cary iudgement indifferent, rather truſtyng truth then waueryng with tymes, in weying their Articles, ſhall finde it otherwiſe: that they maintained nothyng els, but the ſame doctrine, which is now defended in the Church. And yet I ſuppoſe not contrary, but as they did with the Articles of Wickliffe, and Hus: ſo the Papiſtes did in lyke maner with their articles alſo, in gatheryng and wraſtyng them otherwiſe then they were ment.

¶ The hiſtory of the Valdenſes, concernyng their originall, and doctrine, with their perſecutions.

The hiſtory of Valdenſes or Albingenſes.

The firſt originall of theſe Valdenſes came of one Valdus, a man both of great ſubſtaunce, and no leſſe callyng in the Citie of Lyons: the occaſion wherof is declared of diuers writers, thus to come. About ỹ yeare of the Lord. 1160. it chaunced that diuers of the beſt and chiefeſt heades of the Citie of Lions, talking and walkyng in a certaine place, after their old accuſtomed maner, eſpecially in the Sommer tyme, conferred and conſulted together vpon matters, either to paſſe ouer tyme, or to debate things to be done. Amongeſt whom it chaunced one (the reſt lookyng vpon) to fall downe by ſodaine death. In the number of whom this foreſayd Valdus there beyng amongeſt them was one. Who beholdyng the matter more earneſtly then the other, and terrified with ſo heauy an example, beyng (as is ſayd) a rich man, and Gods holy ſpirite workyng withall: was ſtroken with a deepe & inward repentaunce, wherupon folowed a new alteration, with a carefull ſtudy to reforme his former lyfe. In ſomuch that firſt he begã to miniſter large almes of his goodes, to ſuch as needed. Secondly to inſtruct him ſelfe and his family, with the true knowledge of Gods word: Thirdly, to admoniſh all that reſorted to hym, by any occaſion, to repentaunce and vertuous amendment of lyfe.

Whereby, partly through his large geuing to the poore, partly through his diligent teaching, and wholeſome admonitions: more reſort of people daily frequented about hym. Whom when he dyd ſee ready and diligent to learne, began to geue out to them certayne rudiments of the Scripture, which he had tranſlated hymſelfe into the French tongue. For as he was a man welthy in riches, ſo he was alſo not vnlearned.

Although Laziardus Volaterranus, with other: note hym vtterly vnlearned, and charge hym with ignorance, as who ſhould procure other to write and tranſlate for hym. By other that haue ſene hys doyngs, yet remaynyng in old parchment monumentes, it appeareth he was both able to declare and tranſlate the bookes of ſcripture, alſo did collect doctours mynd vpon the ſame.

The true nature of Antichriſt, neither himſelfe to further the word nor ſuffer other men to do it.

But whatſoeuer he was (lettred, or vnlettred) the byſhops and prelates ſeyng hym ſo to intermeddle with ſcriptures, and to haue ſuch reſort about hym: albeit it was but in hys own houſe, vnder priuate conference: could not abide either that the ſcriptures ſhould be declared of any other, neyther would they take the paynes to declare it thēſelues. So beyng moued with great malice agaynſt yͤ mā: threatned to excommunicate hym, if he dyd not leaue of ſo to doe. Waldus ſeyng hys doyng to be but godly, and their malice ſtirred vp vpō no iuſt nor godly cauſe: neglecting yͤ threatnings and frettings of the wycked, ſayd, that God muſt be obeyed more then man: to be brief, the more diligent he was in ſetting forth the true doctrine of Chriſt agaynſt the errors of Antichriſt: the more maliciouſly theyr fierceneſſe increaſed. Inſomuch that when they did ſee theyr excommunication to be deſpiſed, & would not ſerue: they ceaſed not wyth priſon, with ſword and baniſhment to perſecute, tyll at length they had driuen both Waldus, and all the fauourers of hys true preaching out of the citie.

Whereupon came firſt their name, that they were called Waldenſes, or pauperes de Lugduno, not becauſe they would haue all things common amongſt them: or that they profeſſing any wilfull pouertie, would imitate to lyue as the Apoſtles dyd (as Siluius dyd falſly belie them) but becauſe they beyng thruſt out both of countrey and goods, were cōpelled to lyue poorely, whether they would or no. And thus much touchyng the firſt occaſion and beginnyng of theſe men, and of the reſtoring and maintaynyng the true doctrine of Chriſtes goſpell, agaynſt the proud proceedings of popiſh errors. Now concernyng their articles: which I finde in order, and in number to be theſe.

The Articles of Waldenſes.

Solis ſacris literis credendum eſſe in iis, quæ ad ſalutē. &c. That is: Only the holy ſcripture is to be beleued in matters pertainyng to ſaluation: and no mans wrytyng, or man beſides.

2 All thinges to be conteyned in holy Scripture, neceſſary to ſaluation: and nothing to be admitted in religion, but what only is commaunded in the word of God.

3 To be one alonely mediator. Other ſaintes in no wyſe to be made mediators, or to be inuocated.

4 To be no purgatory, but that all men either by Chriſt are iuſtified to lyfe: or wythout Chriſt to be condemned: and beſides theſe two, neyther any thirde or fourth place to be.

5 That all maſſes, namely ſuch as be ſong for the dead to be wicked, and to be abrogate.

6 All mens traditions to be reiected, at leaſt not to be reputed as neceſſary to ſaluation: and therfore this ſingyng & ſuperfluous chaunting in the chauncell to be left: conſtrayned and prefixed faſtes bound to dayes and tymes: differēce of meates: ſuch varietie of degrees and orders of Prieſtes, friers, monkes, and nunnes: ſuperfluous holidayes: ſo many ſundry benedictions & hallowyng of creatures: vowes, peregrinations: wyth all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man to be aboliſhed.

7 The ſupremacy of the Pope, vſurpyng aboue all churches, and eſpecially aboue all politike realmes and gouernments: or for hym to occupy and vſurpe the iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes to be denyed, neither that any degree is to be receaued in the Church, but onely Prieſtes, Deacons, and Biſhops.

8 The communion vnder both kyndes to be neceſſary to all people, accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

9 Item, the church of Rome to be the very Babilon ſpoken of in the Apocalips: And the Pope to be the fountaine of all error, and the very Antichriſt.

*This article ſeemeth to be geuen vp of them in Bohemia long after, for indulgences came not in before Bonifacius. 8.

10 * The popes pardons and indulgences they reiect.

11 The mariage of prieſtes, and of eccleſiaſticall perſons, to be godly and alſo neceſſary in the church.

12 Such as heare the word of God, & haue a right faith, to be the right Church of Chriſt. And to this Church the keyes of the church to be geuen, to driue away wolues, and to inſtitute true paſtors, to preach the word, and to miniſter the Sacramentes.

Theſe be the moſt principall articles of the Waldenſes albeit ſome there be, that adde mo to them: ſome agayne deuide the ſame into mo partes. But theſe be the principall, to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame Waldenſes at length exiled, were diſperſed in diuers and ſundry places: of whom many remayned lōg in Bohemia, which wrytyng to their kyng Uladiſlaus, to purge themſelues agaynſt the ſlaunderous accuſations of one D. Auguſtine, gaue vp their confeſſion with an Apology of their chriſtian profeſſion: defendyng with ſtrong and learned argumentes, the ſame which now is receiued in moſt reformed churches: both concernyng grace, fayth, charity, hope, repentaunce, and workes of mercy. As for purgatory, they ſay, that Tho. Aquinas is the author therof.

Thomas Aquin firſt finder of Purgatory. *Ex Ortuino Gratio.*

Concernyng the ſupper of the Lord, their fayth was, that it was ordeyned to be eaten, not to be ſhewed and worſhipped: for a memoriall, not for a ſacrifice: to ſerue for yͤ preſent miniſtration, and not for reſeruation: to be receyued at the table, not to be caried out of the dores: accordyng to the auncient vſe of the primitiue church, when they vſed to cōmunicate ſittyng. And this they proue both by an olde chronicle called Chronica geſtorum: as alſo by auncient Origen vpon the third booke of Moſes: bryngyng in his wordes which be theſe: prouing that this ſacramental bread ought not to be reſerued: Quicunque hunc panem cœnæ Chriſti, ſecunda, vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicetur anima eius, ſed inquinabitur: Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes portauerunt ad filios Iſrael, oportuit eos ligna, ac aquam portare, &c. That is, whoſoeuer receiueth this bread of the ſupper of Chriſt, vpō the ſecond or iij. day after: hys ſoule ſhall not be bleſſed but be polluted. Therfore the Gabaonites, becauſe they brought olde bread to the chyldren of Iſraell, it was enioyned them, to cary wood & water, &c.

Chronica Geſtorum. *Origines ſuper tertium librum Moſi.*

The ſacramentall bread ought not to be kepe or reſerued.

D. Auſten (of whom mention is made before) diſputing agaynſt them, about this matter of the holy Euchariſt, vrgeth them with this interrogation: whether it be the ſame Chriſt (preſent in the ſacrament) which is preſent at the ryght hand of the father? If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it true in the Scripture, Vna fides, vnus Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, One fayth, one Lord Ieſus Chriſt? If it be the ſame Chriſt, then how is he not to be honoured and worſhipped here, as well as there?

Part of the diſputation betwene Doct. Auſten & Waldēſes.

Dilemma. That is a captious queſtion, in cōferring on both ſides an incōuenience.

To thys the Waldenſes aunſwer agayne, and graunt that Chriſt is one, and the ſame wyth hys naturall body in the ſacrament, which he is at the right hand of hys father: but not after the ſame exiſtēce of hys body. For the exiſtēce of hys body in heauen is perſonall and locall: there to be apprehended by the fayth and ſpirit of men. In the ſacrament the exiſtence of hys body is not perſonall or locall, to be apprehended or receyued of our bodies, after a perſonal or corporall maner, but after a ſacramental maner: that is, where our bodies receyue the ſigne, and our ſpirit the thing ſignified. Moreouer in heauen the exiſtence of hys body is dimenſiue, and complete with the full proportion and quantity of the ſame body wherwyth he aſcended: here the exiſtēce of hys complete body, wyth the full proportion, meaſure and ſtature therof: both not, neyther can ſtand in the ſacramēt. Briefly, the exiſtence of hys body in heauen is naturall not ſacramentall: that is, to be ſene, and not remembred: here it is ſacramentall, not naturall: that is, to be remembred, not to be ſene.

The anſwere of the Waldenſes.

What it is to receiue after a ſacramentall maner.

Naturall. *Sacramentall.*

The aunſwer beyng made to the captious propoſition of D. Auguſtine. The Waldenſes (retortyng the like interrogation to hym agayne) demaund of hym to aunſwer the in yͤ like obiectiō: whether it be all one Chriſt ſubſtācially & naturally, which ſitteth in heauen: and which is vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and in the receiuers of the Sacrament? If he graunt to be: Then they bid him ſay, ſeing Chriſt is as well in the ſacrament as in heauen, & as well in the receiuer as in the ſacrament, & all one Chriſt in ſubſtance & nature: why then is not the ſame Chriſt as well in yͤ breaſt of the receauer to be worſhipped, as vnder the formes of bread and wyne in the ſacramēt? ſeing he is there after a more perfect maner in man then in the ſacrament: for in the ſacrament he is but for a tyme, and not for the ſacramentes ſake, but for the mans cauſe. In man he is not for the ſacramentes cauſe, but for his owne, and that not for a ſeaſon but for euer: as it is written: Qui manducat hunc panem viuet in æternum, that is: he that eateth this bread ſhall lyue for euer. &c.

An other *Dilemma* againſt Trāſubſtantiation.

Moreouer and beſides, ſeing tranſubſtantiation is the goyng of one ſubſtance into an other: they queſtion agayne wyth hym, whether the formes of bread and wyne remaynyng, the ſubſtaūce therof be chaunged into the whole perſon of our Lord Chriſt Ieſus: that is, both into his body, ſoule, and diuinitie: or not into the whole Chriſt? If he graunt the whole: Then ſay they, that is impoſſible (concernyng the diuinitie) both to nature and to our fayth, that any creature can be chāged into the creator. If he ſay the bread is chaunged into the body and ſoule of Chriſt, not to his diuinitie: then he ſeperateth the natures in Chriſt. If he ſay into the body alone, and not the ſoule: then he ſeparateth the natures of the true manhoode. &c. And ſo cannot be the ſame Chriſt that was betrayed for vs: for that he had both body & ſoule. To conclude, to what part ſo euer he would aunſwere? this doctrine of tranſubſtantiation cannot be defended without great incõuenience of all ſides.

Ouer and beſides, Eneas Syluius writing of theyr doctrine and aſſertions (perchaunce, as he found them, perchaunce makyng worſe of them, then they taught or mẽt) reporteth them after this maner, which I thought here to ſet out as it is in the Latin.

Eneas Syluius in Bohemica hiſtoria de Valdenſium dogmatibus.

ROmanum præſulem reliquis epiſcopis parem eſſe. Inter ſacerdotes, nullum diſcrimen. Præſbyterum non dignitatem ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem. In Engliſh.

The byſhop of Rome to be equall wyth other biſhops. Amongeſt prieſtes to be no difference of degree. No Prieſt to be reputed for any dignity of hys order, but for the worthynes of his life.

The ſoules of men departed, eyther to enter into payne euerlaſting, or euerlaſting ioye. No fier of Purgatory to be founde. To pray for the dead to be vayne, and a thyng onely found out for the lucre of Prieſtes.

The images of God (as of the Trinitie and of ſaintes) to be aboliſhed. The halowing of water and palmes to be a mere ridicle. The religion of begging Fryars to be founde out by the Deuill. That prieſtes ſhould not encroch riches in thys worlde, but rather follow pouertye, being content wyth their tythes, and mens deuotion. The preaching of the word to be free to all men called thereunto.

That no deadly ſinne is to be tollerate, for whatſoeuer reſpect of a greater commoditie to inſue therupon. The cõfirmation which byſhops exerciſe wyth oyle, and extreme vnction: are not to be counted amongeſt the ſacramentes of the Church. Auriculare confeſſion to be but a toy: to ſuffice for euery man to confeſſe hymſelfe in hys chamber, to God. Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred onely wyth pure water, without any mixture of halowed oyle. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The maieſty of God not to be reſtrained more within the walles of temples, monaſtaries and chappels, ſo that his grace is rather to be found in one place then in another.

The temple of the Lord that is, the proper habitatiõ wherin God moſt properly dwelleth and worketh. That is, the very place maketh not the miniſtration of holy thinges either more or leſſe holy.

Prieſtes apparell, ornaments of the high aulter, veſtimentes, corporaces, chalices, patines, and other Church plate to ſerue in no ſteede. For the difference and reſpect of the very place: to make no matter, where the prieſt doth conſecrate, or doth miniſter to them which do require. To be ſufficient to vſe onely the ſacramentall wordes without all other ſuperfluous ceremonies.

The ſuffrages of ſaintes reigning with Chriſt in heauen, to be craued in vayne, beyng not able to helpe vs. In ſaying or ſinging the houres and Mattens of the day, the tyme to be but loſt. A man ought to ceaſe from his labour no day, but onely vpon the Sonday.

The feaſtes and feſtiuals of ſaintes, ought to be reiected. Item, ſuch faſtes as be coacted and inioyned by the Church, haue no merite in them.

Theſe aſſertions of the Waldenſes, beyng thus articled out by Eneas Siluius, I thought to geue them abroad in Engliſhe as they are in Latine: to the intent, that as they are the leſſe to be doubted, beyng ſet out of a popes pen: ſo we may the better know both them hereby, what they were: and alſo vnderſtand how thys doctrine now preached and taught in the Church, is no new doctrine, which here we ſee both taught & perſecuted almoſt 400. yeares agoe. And as I haue ſpoken hetherto ſufficiently concerning their doctrine: So now we will briefly ſomewhat touch, of the order of their lyfe and conuerſation, as we finde it regiſtred in a certayne olde written booke of Inquiſition.

¶Ex Inquiſitorio quodam libello.

De moribus et conſuetudine Valdenſium.

MOdus autem Valdenſium talis eſt.&c. The whole proces commeth to this effect in Engliſhe. The maner of the Waldenſes is this: They kneeling vpon their knees, leaning to ſome banke, or ſtay, do continue in their prayers with ſilence, ſo long as a mã may ſay 30. or 40. tymes Pater noſter. And this they do euery day with great reuerẽce, being amõgſt thẽſelues, & ſuch as be of their owne religiõ, & no ſtraungers with them, both before dinner & after: likewiſe before ſupper & after: alſo what tyme they go to bed: and in the morning whẽ they riſe, & at certaine other times alſo, as well in ẏ day as in ẏ night. Itẽ, they vſe no other prayer, but ẏ prayer of the lord, & that without Aue Maria and the Creede, which they affirme not to be put in for any prayer by Chriſt, but onely by the Church of Rome. Albeit they haue and vſe the ſeuen articles of fayth cõcerning the diuinitie: and ſeuen articles concerning the humanitie, and the x. commaundementes, and ſeuen workes of mercy, which they haue compiled together in a compẽdious booke, glorying much in the ſame, and therby offer thẽſelues, ready to aunſwere any man for their fayth.

Before they go to meate, they haue this grace, Benedicite. Kyrieeleyſon. Chriſte eleyſon. Kyrieeleyſon. Pater noſter: Which being ſayd, then the elder amongeſt them beginneth thus in their owne tongue: God which bleſſed the fiue barly loaues and two fiſhes in the deſert, before his diſciples, bleſſe this table and that is ſet vpon it, or ſhalbe ſet vpon it. In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen. And likewiſe agayne when they riſe from meate, the ſeniour geueth thankes: ſaying the wordes of the Apocalips: Bleſſing, and worſhip, and wiſedome, & thankes geuing, honor, vertue, and ſtrength to God alone for euer and euer. Amen. And addeth moreouer: God reward them in their boſoms, and be beneficiall to all them, that be beneficiall to vs, and bleſſe vs. And the God which hath geuen vs corporall feeding, graunt vs his ſpirituall life, and God be with vs, and we alwayes with him. To which they anſwere agayne. Amẽ. And thus ſaying grace, they holde their hands vpward, looking vp to heauẽ. After their meate and grace ſayd, they teach and exhort amongeſt themſelues conferring together vpon their doctrine. &c.

Their maner of grace before meate.

Their grace after meate.

In their doctrine and teaching they were ſo diligent & paynefull, that Reinerius a writer about their tyme, (an extreme enemy agaynſt them) in a long proces, wherin he deſcribeth their doctrine & teaching, teſtifieth: that he heard of one which did know the partie, that a certaine heretike (ſayth he) onely to turne a certayne perſon away from our fayth, and to bring him to his (in the night, and in the winter time) ſwamme ouer the riuer called Ibis, to come to hym and to teach hym: moreouer ſo perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the ſayd Reinerius ſayth, he did heare and ſee a man of the countrey vnlettered, which could recite ouer the whole booke of Iob word by word, without booke: with diuers other, which had the whole new teſtament perfectly by hart.

Reinerius an old inquiſitor againſt Waldenſes.

And although ſome of them, rather merely then vnſkilfully, expounded the wordes of. 1. Ioan. Sui non receperunt eum, Swine dyd not receaue hym: yet were they not ſo ignoraunt and voyde of learnyng; nor yet ſo few in number but ẏ they did mightely preuayle. In ſo much that Reinerius hath theſe wordes. Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum ſuorum. Inquiſitioni & examinationi ſæpe interfui. Et computatæ ſunt 40. Eccleſiæ, quæ hæreſi infectæ fuerunt: ac in vna parochia Cammach fuerũt decem eorum ſcholæ. &c. That is. There was none durſt ſtoppe them, for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often bene at their inquiſition, & examination. And there were numbred xl. Churches, infected with their hereſie, in ſomuch that in one pariſh of Cãmach, were x. open ſcholes of them. &c. Hæc illæ.

Pius videtur Iocus in laſciuos ſacerdotes.

The power and multitude of Waldenſes.

And yet the ſayd Reinerius, whẽ he hath ſayd all he cã, in deprauyng and impugnyng them: yet is driuen to cõfeſſe thus of them, where he doth diſtinct their ſect from other ſectes and hath theſe wordes: Hæc verò Leoniſtarum ſecta magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis, eò quòd coram hominibus iuſtè viuant, & benè omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in ſymbolo continẽtur. Solam Romanam Eccleſiam blaſphemant & oderunt. That is. This ſect of Leoniſtes, hath a great ſhew of holyneſſe: in that both they lyue iuſtly before men and beleue all thynges well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Crede. Onely they blaſpheme the Romiſh church, and hate it. &c.

Waldenſes in all other pointes ſound, but onely for holding agaynſt the church of Rome.

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Ex Orthuino Gratio.

Now to touch ſomwhat their perſecutions. After they were driuen out of Lyons, they were ſcattered into diuers and ſondry places (the prouidence of God ſo diſpoſing) that the ſounde of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world: Some, as I ſayd, went to Bohemia. Many dyd flie into other prouinces of Fraunce. Some into Lombardy, other into other places. &c. But as the croſſe commonly followeth the veritie and ſincere preaching of Gods word: ſo neither could theſe be ſuffered to lyue in reſt. There are yet to be ſene, the conſultations of Lawyers, Archbyſhops, and byſhops of Fraunce, as Narbonenſis, Arelatenſis, Aquenſis, and Albanenſis, deuiſed amongeſt themſelues, and yet remayne in writing, for the aboliſhing and extirping of theſe Waldenſes, written about 300. yeares agoe: wherby it appeareth, there was a great number in Fraunce.

The croſſe commonly followeth the worde.

Beſides, there was a whole councell kept in Tholouſe about 355. yeares tofore, and all agaynſt theſe Waldenſes: The which alſo were condemned in an other councell at Rome before that.

Waldenſes perſecuted more then 300. yeares agoe by Antichriſt.

What great perſecutions were rayſed vp agaynſt them in Fraunce, by theſe iiij. Archbyſhops before mencioned, it appeareth by their writings, whereof I will recite ſome of their wordes, which towardes the ende be theſe: Quis enim eſt ſolus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Valdenſium ignoret a longe retro annis factã, tam famoſam, tam publicam, tot et tantis laboribus, expenſis, et ſudoribus fidelium inſecutam, et tot mortibus ipſorum infidelium ſolenniter damnatorum, publiceq́; punitorum tam fortiter ſigillatam. &c. That is: who is ſuch a ſtraunger, that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenſes the heretikes, done & paſt ſo many yeares ago: ſo famous, ſo publike folowed vpon with ſo great labours, expences, and trauayle of the faythfull, and ſealed with ſo many deathes of theſe Infidels, ſo ſolemnly beyng condemned and openly puniſhed. Whereby we may ſee perſecution to be no new thyng in the church of Chriſt, when Antichriſt ſo long before (euen 300. yeres) began to rage agaynſt theſe Waldenſes. In Bohemia likewiſe after that, the ſame called by the name of Thaborites (as Siluius recordeth) ſuffred no litle trouble. But neuer perſecution was ſtirred vp agaynſt them, or any other people more terrible, then was in theſe latter yeares in Fraunce by the French kyng, an. 1545. Which lamentable ſtory is deſcribed in Sleidan: and hereafter in the proces of this booke, as we come to the order of yeares, ſhall be ſet forth (by the grace of Chriſt) more at large. In the which perſecution is declared in one towne Cabriera to be ſlayne by the Captaine of Sathan (Minerius) eight hũdred perſons at once, without reſpect of women or children of any age: Of whome, 40. women (and moſt of them great with chyld, thruſt into a barne and the wyndowes kept with pykes, and ſo fire ſet to them) were all conſumed. Beſides, in a caue not farre from the towne Miſſium, to the number of xxv. perſons, with ſmoke and fire were the ſame tyme deſtroyed: At Merindolum, the ſame tyrant (ſeyng all the reſt were fled away, findyng one yong man) cauſed hym to be tyed to an Oliue tree, & to be deſtroyed with tormentes moſt cruelly: with much other perſecution as may appeare hereafter, in the hiſtory tranſlated out of Sleidan into Engliſh.

Antichriſt wyth whom he firſt began his perſecution.

An horrible murther of Chriſtes holy martyrs.

Minerius an horrible perſecutor.

But to returne agayne to higher tymes from whence we digreſſed. Beſides that, Reinerius (aboue mentioned) ſpeaketh of one in the towne of Cherõ, a glouer, which was brought in his tyme to execution, and ſuffred. There is alſo an olde Monument of proces, wherein appeareth, 443. brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places there about: about the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

A Glouer ſuffered martyrdome in Cheron.

443. brought to examination.

And thus muche touchyng the originall doctrine, and the lamentable perſecutions of the Waldenſes: who (as is declared) firſt began about the tyme of this kyng Henry the ſecond.

¶ *Other incidencies happenyng in the* raigne of this Henry the ſecond.

Concernyng the firſt origine of Waldenſes, ſpringyng in the dayes of this kyng, is ſufficiently hetherto declared. Now remayneth in lyke order of tyme, to ſtory alſo ſuch other incidencies, as chaunced vnder the raigne of the ſayd kyng, not vnworthy to be obſerued: keeping the order of the tyme, ſo neare as we may and as authors do geue vnto vs.

Incidences in the raigne of K. Henry the 2.

Mary the daughter of kyng Stephen (beyng the Abbeſſe of Rameſſey) was maryed in this kynges dayes to Mathew Earle of Bolon, which mariage Thomas Becket dyd worke agaynſt and did diſſolue: by reaſon wherof he procured hym great diſpleaſure with the ſayd Earle. &c. an. 1161. Ex Chronico Bibliothecæ Carienſis.

Becket a diſſoluer of mariages.

The ſame yeare a certaine child was crucified of the Iewes in the towne of Glocester, an. 1161. Iornalenſ. After the ſame maner the wicked Iewes had crucified an other child before in the Citie of Norwiche, in the dayes of kyng Stephen. an. 1145.

Two children crucified by the Iewes.

A collection was gathered through all England and Fraunce (two pence of euery pound) for the ſuccour of the Eaſt Chriſtians agaynſt the Turkes. an. 1167. Ex eodem.

Babylon was taken, and deſtroyed, and neuer ſince repayred, by Almaricus kyng of Hieruſalem. an. 1170. Ex vetuſto manuſcripto exemplari hiſtoriæ Carienſis.

Babilon vtterly deſtroyed.

An. 1173. almoſt all England was diſeaſed with the cough. Ex vetuſto Chron. acephalo. About which yeare alſo William kyng of Scots was taken in battaile, and impriſoned in England.

Great warre happened in Paleſtina: where in the Citie Ieruſalem with the croſſe and the kyng of the Citie, & other of the temple was taken of the Sarazines, and moſt part of the Chriſtians there either ſlayne or taken. Cruell murther and ſlaughter there was vſed by the Turke, who cauſed all the chief of the Chriſtiãs to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. In ſomuch that Pope Vrbanus the iij. for ſorrow dyed: and Gregory the viij. next pope after hym, liued not ij. monethes. Thẽ in the dayes of pope Clement iij. (newes and ſorrow growyng dayly for the loſſe of Paleſtina, and deſtruction of the Chriſtians) K. Henry of England, & Philip the Frẽch king, the Duke of Burgũdy, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Campania, with diuers other Chriſtian Princes, with a generall conſent vpon S. Georges day, tooke the marke of the croſſe vpon them, promiſing together to take their viage into the holy land. At which tyme the ſtories ſay, the kyng of England receaued firſt the redde croſſe, the French kyng tooke the white croſſe, the Earle of Flaunders the greene croſſe, & ſo other princes diuerſly, diuers coulours: therby to be diſcerned euery one by his proper croſſe. But kyng Henry (after the three yeares were expired, in which he promiſed to performe his viage) ſent to the Pope for further delay of hys promiſe, offeryng for the ſame to erect three Monaſteries. Which thyng he thus performed: In the Church of Waltham he thruſt out the ſecular Prieſtes, and ſet in Monkes for them. Secondly, he repayred agayne and brought in the Nunes of Ameſbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promiſe made before to the Pope. an. 1173.

The holy croſſe taken with the citie of Ieruſalẽ, by the Saracẽs. Perſecutiõ of the Turke againſt the Chriſtians.

A viage agaynſt the Turkes.

How the difference of the croſſes firſt came in amongſt chriſten princes.

The kynges promiſe fulfilled to the Pope.

The kyng of Scots dyd his homage and allegeaunce to the kyng of England and to his ſonne, as to his chief Lordes: promiſing that all the Earles & Barons of Scotland ſhould do the lyke with their poſteritie. Item, all the Byſhops and Abbots of the Church of Scotland promiſed ſubiection and ſubmiſſion to the Archbyſhop of Yorke. an. 1175. Nic. Triuet.

Kyng of Scots doing homage to the kyng of England. The church of Scotland ordered by the church of Yorke.

The cuſtome was in this realme, that if any had killed any Clerke or Prieſt: he was not to be puniſhed with the temporall ſword, but onely excommunicate & ſent to Rome for the Popes grace and abſolution. Which cuſtome in the dayes of this kyng began firſt to be altered by the procurement of Richard Archbyſhop of Canterbury, an. 1176. Triuet.

Murtherers could not be puniſhed by the Popes decrees.

London bridge firſt began to be made of ſtone by one Peter Prieſt of Colechurch. an. 1176. Ex Chron. cuius initiũ: In diebus ſanctiſ. regis Edouardi. &c. ex Bibliot. Carienſi.

London bridge of ſtone.

S. Williã of Paris was ſlayne of the Iewes on maundy thurſday, wherfore the Iewes were burned, & he counted a Saint. an. 1177.

S. William of Paris.

Ireland ſubdued to the crown of Englãd by this kyng. an. 1177. Ex varijs Chron.

Ireland ſubdued to England.

Under the raigne of the ſayd kyng Henry, about the. 25. yeare of his reigne, Ludouicus the French king (by the viſion of Thomas Becket, appearyng to hym in his dreame, and promiſing to him the recouery of his ſonne if he would reſort to hym at Canterbury) made his iourney into England to viſite S. Thomas at Caunterbury with Philip Earle of Flaunders: where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other pretious iewels, and a C. veſſels of wyne yearely to be geuen to the Couent of the church of Canterbury: notwithſtanding the ſayd Philip in his returne from England takyng his iourney to Paris, to viſite S. Denis, in the ſame his pilgrimage was ſtriken with ſuch cold, that he fell into a palſey, and was benommed of the right ſide of his body. an. 1178. Iornalenſis & alij.

Pilgrimage to Canterbury ſprang by a lying viſion.

A iuſt reward for an idolatrous viage.

Stephanus Epiſcopus Redomonſis, was wont to make many rymes, and gaudiſhe proſe, to delite the eares of the multitude, to whom a litle before his death, this verſe was ſounded in his eare. Deſine ludere temerè, nitere properè ſurgere, de puluere. an. 1178. Nic. Triuet.

Albingenſes denyed tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, about the Citie of Tholouſe, alſo that matrimonie was not a Sacrament. &c. an. 1178. ibidem.

Tranſubſtantiation gaynſayd.

Kyng Henry ſeparated himſelfe from his wife Alinor, and held her many yeares in priſon, as ſome thinke for the loue of Roſamũde. Which ſemeth to me to be the cauſe, why God afterward ſtyrred all his ſonnes vp to warre agaynſt him, and to worke him much ſorow. an. 1179. Nic. Triuet. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Alinor was ſhortly after reconciled to him.

Queene Alinor impriſoned.

S. Frideſwide was tranſlated vnto Oxford. an. 1179.

An. 1180. There came to the Councell of Pope Alexander, one Piſanus Burgundio, a man very cunnyng both in Greeke and Latin. Which brought and preſented to the Councell the Homelies of Chriſoſtome vpon the Goſpell of S. Iohn, tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin, and ſayd that he tranſlated likewiſe a great part of his expoſition vpon Geneſis, ſaying moreouer that the ſayd Chriſoſtome had made expoſitions in Greeke vpon the whole old Teſtament, and alſo the new. an. 1180.

Expoſitions made by Chriſ. both of the olde & new teſtament.

The Monkes of Charterhouſe, firſt entred into this land. an. 1180.

The Charterhouſe monkes.

An. 1181. Richard Pech Byſhop of Couentry, before

his

The biſhop of Couentry voluntarely renounceth hys byſhoprike.

S. Hugh of Lincolne.

his death renounced his byſhoprike, and became a Chanon, in the Church of S. Thomas, by Stafford. Ex Chronico peruetuſto, cui initium: In diebus ſanctiſ. Regis. &c.

About the later tyme of this kyng Henry, one Hugo (whō men were wont to call S. Hugh of Lyncolne) borne in Burgundy, and Prior of the Monkes of Charterhouſe was preferred by the kyng to the Byſhoprike of Lyncolne, who after his death is ſayd to do great miracles, and therfore was counted a Saint. an. 1186. Flores Hiſt.

Lambeth firſt began to be built.

Baldwinus Archbiſhop of Canterbury began the buildyng of his new houſe and Church of Lambyth, but by the letters of Pope Clement 3. he was forbyd to procede in the buildyng therof. an. 1187. Triuit.

K. Henries gift to the Church of Rome for the death of Becket.

I do finde likewiſe in the foreſayd written Chronicle remaining in the hands of one Williā Cary Citizen of London: that this forenamed kyng Hēry the ij. gaue to the court and Church of Rome, for the death of Becket xl. thouſand markes of ſiluer. And v. thouſand markes of gold. an. 1187.

A worthy ſtory of Sibilla and Guido, in Jeruſalem.

Mention was made a litle aboue of Amalrike kyng of Jeruſalem, which deſtroyed Babylon, ſo that it was neuer after to this day reſtored, but lyeth waſt & deſolate: wherin was fulfilled that, which in the Prophetes in ſo many places was threatened to Babylō before. This Amalrike had a ſonne named Baldwyne, and a daughter called Sibilla. Baldwyne from the begynnyng of his raigne was a Leper, and had the fallyng ſickenes, beyng not able for feeblenes of body (although valiaunt in hart and ſtomacke) to ſatiſfie that function.

Sibilla his ſiſter was firſt maryed to one Willermus Marques of Mōt Ferrat, by whom ſhe had a ſonne called alſo Baldwinus. After him ſhe was maryed to an other husband, named Guido de Liziniaco, Earle of Joppe and of Aſcalon. Upon this befell, that the foreſayd Baldwyne the Leper ſonne of Amalricus, being thus feable and infirme, as is ſayd: called his nobles together with his mother and the Patriarche declaryng to them his inhabilitie, and by the conſentes of them committed the vnder gouernemēt of the Citie to Guido the husband of Sibilla his ſiſter. But he beyng found vnſufficient or els not lucky in the gouernyng therof: the office was tranſlated to an other, named Raimūdus Earle of Tripolis. In the meane tyme the Soldan with his Saraſins mightely preuailed againſt the Chriſtians and ouerran the cōtrey of Paleſtina. In which meane tyme Baldwyne the kyng departed, wherby the kingdome fell next to Baldwynus the ſonne of Sybilla by her firſt husband Willermus. The which Baldwynus beyng but fiue yeares old, was put to the cuſtody of Raimundus aforeſayd. Who alſo in his minoritie, before he came to hys crowne, dyed: wherby the next ſucceſſion by deſcent fell to Sibilla, the wife of Guido aboue mētioned. To whom the peeres and nobles ioynyng together in counſayle, offered to the ſayd Sibilla as to the lawfull heyre to the crowne to be their Queene: with this condition, that ſhe ſhould ſequeſter from her by ſolemne diuorſemēt the foreſayd Guido her husband. But ſhe refuſed the kyngdome offered to her on that condition: till at laſt, the Magiſtrates with the nobles in generall graunted vnto her, and by their othes cōfirmed the ſame, that whomſoeuer ſhe would chuſe to be her husband, all they would take & obey as their kyng. Alſo Guido her husband with lyke petition among the reſt, humbly requeſted her: that the kyngdome not for his ſake, or for his priuate loſſe, might be deſtitute of gouernement. At length ſhe with teares conſentyng to their entreatie was contented, and ſolemnely was crowned for their Queene: who after the maner, agayne receiued their fidelitie by their othe. Wherupon Guido without all hope both of wife and kyngdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, the Queene aſſemblyng her ſtates and prelates together entred talke with them about the chuſing of ẏ kyng, accordyng to that which they had promiſed and ſworne vnto her: and to obey hym as their kyng, whom ſhe would name to be her husband. Thus, while they were all in great expectation waytyng euery man whom ſhe would nominate: The Queene with a loude voyce ſayd to Guido that ſtode amongſt thē: Guido my Lord, I chuſe thee for my husband, and yeldyng my ſelfe and my kyngdome vnto you, openly I proteſt you to be the kyng. At theſe wordes all the aſſembly beyng amaſed, wondered that one ſimple woman ſo wiſely had begyled ſo many wiſe mē. And worthy no doubt was ſhe to be cōmended and extolled for her ſingular vertue both of faythfull chaſtitie, and high prudence: ſo temperyng the matter that both ſhe obteined to her husbād the kyngdome, and retayned to her ſelfe agayne her husband, whom ſhe ſo faythfully loued. an. 1186. Ex Hiſtoria manu ſcripta, cui initium: Rex Pictorum ex Bibliotheca Caticenſi mutuata.

A worthy example of a true wife to her husband.

A worthy example in Guido of a true ſubiecte to the cōmon wealth.

A ſingular example of prudence in a princes, and fidelitie in a wyfe.

As I haue hetherto deſcribed the publique actes of king Henry, ſo now I meane to touch ſomethyng of his priuate conditions. He was of meane ſtature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chiualry. Fearefull of the mutabilitie and chaunce of warre, more lamentyng the death of his ſouldiours dead, then louyng them aliue, none more curteous and liberall for the obtaynyng of hys purpoſe: in peace & tranquilitie none more rougher: ſtubburne agaynſt the ſtubburne: ſometymes mercyfull to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed: ſtraight to hys houſhold ſeruantes, but liberall to ſtraungers: publikly of publike thinges liberall, ſparing of hys owne: whom once he tooke a diſpleaſure agaynſt, hardly or neuer would he receiue agayne to fauour: ſomewhat lauaſh of hys toung, a willyng breaker of hys promiſe, a louer of hys eaſe, but an oppreſſour of hys nobilitie: a ſeuere reuenger and furtherer of iuſtice: variable of worde, and craftie in his talke: an open adulterer: a nouriſher of diſcorde amongeſt hys children. Moreouer the Papiſtes bearyng hym (for Thomas Beckets quarell and ſuch like, as may be gathered) no good wyll: terme hym to be an aduerſary of the fayth, the maule and beetle of the church.

Alſo in the Chronicle intituled Scala mundi, I finde of hym: that he followed the ſteppes, maners & conditions of Henry the firſt hys graundfather in euery point. He preſerued firme peace, and executed ſtraight iuſtice through all hys dominions. He loued maruelous well his foreſt: and agayne, thoſe that were traſgreſſours either to his crowne or perſon, he moſt ſeuerely puniſhed.

The kyng admoniſhed to amende hys lyfe.

Sonday to be free from byyng and ſelling.

The ſecond and thyrd admonitiō to the king to reforme hys lyfe.

Seuen thynges to be amended.

The kinges victory was falſely imputed to the cauſe of hys pilgrimage.

Moreouer, in a certayne hiſtory intituled De regibus Angliæ, I finde that this kyng was ſundry tymes admoniſhed to reforme and amende hys life. And firſt by one that was an olde man at the caſtell of Cardif in Wales, at that time of the yeare called Dominica in albis, the eyght day after Eaſter. Where alſo, after that he had heard maſſe, and was goyng to take hys horſe: there ſtode a certaine man by hym, ſomwhat yelowiſh (hys heare beyng rounded, leane, and ill fauoured) hauyng on a white coate, and being barefoote, looked vpon the kyng, and ſpake in thys wyſe: Good old kyng. That done, thus he proceedeth. The kyng ſaluteth you and his bleſſed mother, John Baptiſt, & Peter: ſtraightly chargyng you, ẏ vpō the Sūdayes throughout all your dominions there be no byyng & ſellyng or other ſeruile buſines (thoſe onely except, which appertayne to ẏ preparation of meate and drinke) which thyng if thou ſhalt obſerue, whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hand, thou ſhalt happely finiſh and bring to paſſe. Thē ſpake the king in Frēch to the knight that held hys horſe by the bridle: Aſke of this chourle whether he dreamed this or not. And in the meane whyle that the knyght ſhould haue interpreted the kinges wordes and meſſage, he ſpake before, and ſayd. Whether thys be a dreame or not, marke well what day this is: for vnleſſe that thou do theſe thynges, and amende thy lyfe: ſuch newes ſhalt thou heare wythin theſe xij. monethes, that wyll make thee lament and mourne, till thy dying day. And when theſe wordes were ſpoken, the man vaniſhed out of hys ſight. And wythin one yeare next after: Henry, Gawfride, and Richard his ſonnes, forſooke hym their father, and tooke part wyth the French kyng. The king of Scots, the Earle of Cheſter, & Earle of Leceter, made an inſurrection againſt the king. Many other premonitions were alſo geuen to the king, but all theſe dyd he little eſteeme. The ſecond which did admoniſhe him was a certayne Iriſh man, geuing him certayne ſecrete ſignes. And thirdly, a certayne knight of Fyndeſey, named Phillip de Eaſterby: ſayling wyth hym ouer into Fraunce, declared vnto the kyng in Normandy ſeuen articles, which he ſhould amend. Which thyng if he would do, he ſhould raigne ſeuen yeares moſt honorable, and ſhould take the holy croſſe frō hys enemyes: or els he, in the fourth yeare ſhould die in great ignominie. The 3. firſt things were theſe, which he at hys coronation ſware to obſerue (that is) to defende the Church, to maintayne good lawes, and to condemne no mā to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the reſtoring of inheritaunce wrongfully taken. The fift was in doyng iuſtice without reward. The ſixt was, of miniſters and officers wages and ſtipends. The ſeuenth was, of expellyng the Jewes, leauyng them ſome money to depart withall. But the kyng not amendyng his lyfe: there roſe vp gainſt hym 3. ſtrong enemies, that is to ſay, his that ſonnes with the French kyng. But after that the kyng (forſooth) had gone a pilgrimage to the Martyrs tombe, barefoote: William the kyng of Scots, the erles of Cheſter and Leyceſter, were taken at Alnewich.

The death of K. Henry the 2.

In the 35. yeare of hys raigne, beyng in the Caſtle of Chinen in Normandy, he dyed: at whoſe death thoſe that were preſent, were ſo gredy of the ſpoyle, that they left the body of the king naked, and not ſo much could be found as a cloth to couer it: tyll that a Page commyng in, and ſeyng the kyng ſo ignominiouſly to lye, threw hys cloke vpon his neither partes, wherin (ſayth the author) was verified the ſurname, which from his youth he bare, beyng called Henry court Mantell.

❡ King Richard.

An. 1189.

K. Richard crowned.

IN this yere of the lord aboue recited, which was 1189 kyng Richard the eldeſt ſonne of Henry ſuccedyng hys father, entred hys crowne: at which tyme pope Clemēt ſate at Rome, ſuccedyng after Gregory which died a little before with ſorrow for the loſſe of the holy croſſe.

The kynges reſtraint that no Jew ſhould enter the palace nor Church duryng hys coronation.

During the tyme of whoſe coronation it befell, that notwithſtandyng the kyng the day before hys coronation, & by publique edict cōmaunded both the Iewes and their wiues not to preſume eyther to enter the church, or els his palace, duryng the ſolemnizatiō of hys coronation amongſt his nobles and Barons: yet (whileſt the kyng was at dinner) the chieftain of the Iewes with dyuers other of his Iewiſh affinitie and ſuperſtitious ſect, agaynſt the kyngs prohibition together wyth other preaſe entred the court gates. Wherat a chriſtian man beyng offended, ſtroke one of them with hys hand or fiſt, and bad hym ſtand further from the courte gate, as the kyng had geuen in commaundement: whoſe example others alſo followyng beyng diſpleaſed agaynſt the Iewes, offred them the like contumely. Other alſo, ſuppoſing that the kyng had ſo commaunded in deede (as vſing the authoritie of the kyng) fell vpon all ỳ Iewes that ſtode by without the court gate. And firſt they bet thē but with their fiſtes: but afterwardes they toke vp ſtones and ſuch other things, as they could get, & threw at them, & bet them therewith. And thus dryuyng them from the court gates, ſome of them they wounded, ſome they ſlew, & ſome they left for dead.

A Jew through feare was baptized.

There was amongſt this number of the Iewes, one which was called the bleſſed Iew of Yorke: which was ſo ſore beaten and wounded with the reſt, that for feare of hys lyfe he ſayd he would become a chriſtian: and was in deede of William the Prior of the Church of S. Mary of Yorke baptized: wherby he eſcaped the great peril of death he was in, and the perſecutors handes. In the meane while, there was a great rumor ſpred throughout all the city of Londō, that the kyng had commaunded to deſtroy all the Iewes. Wherupon, as well the citizens as innumerable people more beyng aſſembled to ſee the kings coronation: armed themſelues and came together. The Iewes thus being (for the moſt part) ſlayne, the reſt fled into their houſes: where, for a tyme through the ſtrong and ſure buildyng of them, they were defended. But at legth, theyr houſes were ſet on fire, and they deſtroyed therin.

The Jewes in London ſlayne and their houſes ſet on fire.

These things beyng declared to ỳ kyng, whileſt he with hys nobles & Barōs were yet at dinner: he ſendeth immediatly Ranulph de Glanuile, the lord hygh Steward of England, with dyuers other noble men to accompany him: that they might ſtay and reſtrayne theſe ſo bold enterpriſes of ỳ Londoners, but all was in vayne. For in this ſo great a tumult, none there was that regarded eyther what ỳ nobilitie ſayd, or els any whit reuerenced their perſonages: but rather with ſterne lookes and threatnyng wordes aduiſed them and that quickly to depart. Wherupon, they with good deliberation thinkyng it the beſt ſo for to do, departed: the tumult and inſurrection continuyng till the next day. At which tyme alſo the kyng ſendyng certayne of hys officers into the city, gaue them in commaundement to apprehende and preſent ſome ſuch as were the chiefeſt of the malefactours: of the which, three were cōdemned to be hanged, and ſo were. The one, for that he had robbed a chriſtiās houſe in this tumult: and the other two, for that they fired the houſes, to the great daunger of the citie. After this, ỳ king ſent for hym, that from a Iew was conuerted to Chriſtianitie: and in the preſence of thoſe that ſaw where he was baptiſed, the kyng aſked him whether he was become a Chriſtian or not. He aunſwering the kyng, ſayd no: but to the entent he myght eſcape death, he promiſed to do whatſoeuer the Chriſtians would haue hym. Then the kyng aſked the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury (other Archbiſhops and biſhops beyng preſent) what were beſt to be done wͭ hym: who vnaduiſedly anſweryng ſayd: If he wyll not be a mā of God: let hym be a man of the deuil: and ſo reuolted he agayne to Iudaiſme.

The ſmall regard of nobilitie had in tumultes and inſurrections.

A new chriſtian reuolteth to an olde Jewe.

An vnaduiſed anſwere of an Archb.

Then, the king ſent hys writs to the ſhiriffes of euery coūtrey to enquire for the authors and ſtirrers of this outrage. Of whom 3. were hanged, dyuers were impriſoned. So great was then the hatred of Engliſhmen againſt the Iewes, that as ſone as they began to be repulſed in ỳ court the Londiners takyng example thereof, fell vpon them, ſet theyr houſes on fire, and ſpoyled theyr goods. The country agayne followyng the example of the Londiners ſemblably did the lyke. And thus the yere, which the Iewes tooke to be theyr Iubilie, was to them a yeare of confuſion. In ſo much as in the citie of Yorke the Iewes obteinyng the occupying of a certaine Caſtle for their preſeruation, and afterward not willyng to reſtore it to the Chriſtians agayne, when they ſawe no other remedy but by force to be vanquiſhed, firſt they offred much mony for their liues: when that would not be taken, by the counſaile of an olde Iew among them, euery one wyth a ſharpe razer cut an others throte, wherby a thouſand and fiue hūdreth of them were at that preſent deſtroyed. Neither was this plague of theirs vndeſerued. For euery yeare commonly their cuſtome was to get ſome Chriſten mans childe from the parentes, and on good Friday to crucifie hym in deſpite of our religion. Ex chron. Weſtm.

Ex Chron. VVeſtm. ſub titium: Anaa num Aſſanis, &c.

A miſerable and deſerued deſtructiō of the Jewes.

1189.

Kyng Richard after the death of hys father, commyng to remembraunce of hymſelfe, and of hys rebellion agaynſt hys father, ſought for abſolution of hys treſpaſſe, & in part of ſatiſfaction for the ſame agreed with Philip the French kyng about Eaſter next enſuyng to take his voyage with hym for the recouery of Chriſtes patrimony, which they called the holy land. Wherupon the ſayd king Richard immediately after hys coronation, to prepare hymſelfe the better toward hys iourney, ſet to ſale diuers of hys manors. Wherof Godfrey Lucy then B. of Wint. bought a couple for ij. M. markes, to witte, Wergraue, and Melenge. The Abbot of Bury bought another for a M. Markes, called Middleſale. Hugh Pulaz B. of Durham, bought the lordſhip of Seggesfield, or Sadberga with the Wapentake, & all the appertenaunce thereto belongyng. He bought alſo the Erledome of Northumberlād. Whom when ỳ king ſhould ſolemnize after ỳ maner of ſecular Erles, merily wyth a mockyng ieſt, lo (ſayd he) of an old byſhop I haue made a young Erle. And becauſe the ſayd Biſhop had profeſſed before a ſolemne vow to viſite the holy land, to be releaſed of hys vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great ſumme of mony therfore, and moreouer gaue to the kyng a thouſād Markes to remayne at home as chiefe Iuſtice of Englād. Ouer and beſides, the kyng ſet out all that he had to ſale, woodes, caſtles, townſhips, Lordſhips, Earledomes, Baronages, &c. ordeinyng alſo dyuers new Biſhops, & not without ſome aduauntage (as appeared) to hys purſe: ſaying moreouer, hys olde ſeale to be loſt, that they whiche had landes to hold, myght be driuen to renew their writynges agayne by the new ſeale, wherby great ſubſtaunce of mony was gayned.

The couetous gredineſſe of Byſhops noted, in bying great lordſhips.

Sleightes to get money.

Aboue all this, by the commaundement of Pope Clement 3. a tenth alſo was exacted of the whole Realme, in ſuch ſort as the chriſtians ſhould make to the king 70000 pound, the Iewes 60000. *Ex Geruaſ. fol. 134.* Kyng Richard after hys coronation ſent certayne Erles and Barōs to Philip the French kyng in the tyme of hys parliament at S. Denis, deſiryng hym to remember his promiſe made for the recouery of Chriſtes holy patrimony out of ỳ Saracens handes. Unto whom he ſent worde agayne in the month of December, certifying hym how he had bound himſelf by ſolemne othe, depoſing vpon the Euangeliſtes, that he the next yere followyng about the tyme of Eaſter, had certainly prefixed to addreſſe hymſelfe toward that iourney, requiring hym likewiſe not to fayle but to be ready at the terme aboue limited, appoyntyng alſo the place where both the kinges ſhould mete together.

A tenth gathered throughout all England.

K. Philip & K. Richard cōcluding to trauell to the holy land.

1190.

The next yere then enſued which was 1190. in the beginnyng of which yere, vpon Twelfe euen fell a foule Northern brawle, which turned welnere to a fray, betwene the Archbiſhop new elected of the Church of Yorke & his company on the one ſide, and Henry Deane of the ſayd church, with hys Catholike partakers on the other ſide, vpō occaſion as followeth. Gaufridus or Geffray, ſonne to king Henry 2. and brother to kyng Richard, whom the kyng had elected a little before to the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, vpon the euen of the Epiphanie, which we call Twelfe day, was diſpoſed to heare Euenſong with all ſolemnitie in the Cathedrall church, hauyng with hym Hamon the Chaunter, with diuers other Canons of the church. Who tarying ſomthing long, belike in adournyng and attyryng himſelf: in the meane whyle Henry the Deane, and Bucardus the treaſurer, diſdainyng to tary hys commyng, with a bold courage luſtily began their holy Euenſong with ſinging their Pſalmes, rattlyng of deſcant, and mery pipyng of Organs. Thus this Catholike Euenſong with as much deuotion begon, as to gods high ſeruice procedyng, was now almoſt halfe complete, whē as at length (they beyng in the middeſt of their mirth) commeth in the new elect, with his trayne & gar=

A Northen brawle in the Cathedrall Church of Yorꝛ twe neu ch

I o A g n fo A

The Deane & Treaſurer would not ceaſe euenſong at the archbiſhops commaundemēt.

gardeuiaunce, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durſt be ſo bold, not waityng for hym, to begin gods ſeruice and ſo eftſones commaunded the Quire to ſtay & hold their peace. The Chaūter likewyſe, by vertue of hys office, commaundeth the ſame. But the Deane and Treaſurer on yͤ other ſide willed them to procede, and ſo they ſong on, and would not ſtint. Thus the one halfe crying agaynſt the other, the whole Quire was in a roare, their ſingyng was turned to ſcolding, their chaūtyng to chidyng, and if in ſtead of yͤ organes they had had a Drumme, I doubt, they would haue ſolfed by the eares together.

The Archb. beginneth euenſong agayne beyng halfe done before.

The Treaſurer putteth out the candels at euenſong.

The Popes Church can do nothyng without candle lyght.

The Deane & Church of yorke ſuſpēded by the Archb. frō diuine ſeruice.

At laſt, through the authoritie of the Archb. and of the Chaunter, the Quire began to ſurceaſe and geue ſilence. Then the new elect not contented with that had bene ſong before, with certayne of the Quire beganne the Euenſong new agayne. The Treaſurer vpon the ſame cauſed by vertue of hys office, the candles to be put out. wherby yͤ Euenſong hauing no power further to procede, was ſtopped forthwith. For like as without the light and beames of yͤ ſunne there is nothyng but darkenes in all the world: euen ſo you muſt vnderſtand, the Popes Church can ſee to do nothing without candle light, albeit the Sunne do ſhyne neuer ſo cleare and bright. This beyng ſo, the archb. thus diſappointed on euery ſide of hys purpoſe, made a greuous plaint, declaryng to the Clergy and to the people, what the Deane, and Treaſurer had done, and ſo vpon the ſame ſuſpended both them and the church from all deuine ſeruice, till they ſhould make to hym due ſatiſfaction for their treſpaſſe.

The ſtoutnes of the Deane and Treaſurer in not ſubmitting themſelues to the Archb.

The people incenſed agaynſt the Deane of yorke and his Canons.

Ex Chron. anonimo cui initium: Anno gratiæ.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the Citie were aſſembled in the Cathedrall church (as their maner was, namely in ſuch feaſts) deuoutly to heare deuine ſeruice (as they call it) of the church, there was alſo preſent the Archb. and the Chaunter with the reſidue of the Clergy, loking when the Deane and Treaſurer would come and ſubmit themſelues making ſatiſfaction for their crime. But they ſtill cōtinuing in their ſtoutnes, refuſed ſo to do, exclaimyng and vtteryng cōtemptuous wordes agaynſt the Archb. and hys partakers. Which whē the people heard, they in a great rage would haue fallen vpō them, but the Archb. would not ſuffer that. The Dean thē and hys fellowes perceiuing the ſtirre of the people, for feare like pretty men were fayne to flie, ſome to the tombe of S. William of yorke, ſome ran to the Deanes houſe, and there ſhrowded themſelues: whom the archbiſhop then accurſed. And ſo for that day the people returned home without any ſeruice. Ex veteri Chronico manu ſcripto, cui initium: Anno gratiæ Milleſ. &c.

K. Richard prepareth toward his iourney.

Williā byſh. of Ely the kings Chaūcellor and Hugh byſh. of Durham made chiefe ouerſeers of the Realme in the kyngs abſence.

Williā byſh. of Ely made the popes Legate in England and Scotland.

After this king Richard preparyng to ſet all thinges in an order before hys goyng, committed the whole gouernment of the realme principally to William Byſhop of Ely his Chauncellor, & to Hugh B. of Durham, whom he ordayned to be chief Iuſtices of all England in his abſēce, the one to haue the cuſtody of the Tower, with yͤ ouerſight of all other partes of the land on this ſide of Humber: the other (which was the B. of Durham) to haue charge vpon all other hys dominions beyond Humber: Sendyng moreouer to Pope Clement in the behalfe of the foreſayd Williā B. of Ely, to be made the Popes Legate through all England and Scotland, which alſo was obteyned. Thus yͤ B. beyng aduaunced in hygh autoritie, to furniſh the kyng toward his ſettyng forth, prouideth out of euery city in England ij. Palfreys, and ij. Sumpters, and out of euery Abbey, one palfrey, and one ſumpter.

Captaines & Conſtables of the kyngs nauie appoynted.

The long cōtētiō betwen Baldewyne Archb. of Canterb and the Monkes of Chriſtes Church.

Archbyſhops of Canterbury cōmōly were wont to worke the kinges of England much ſorrow.

Kings of Englād euer carefull about the chuſing of the Archb. and wherfore.

Ex Chrō. Geruaſij.

These things and other thus ſet in a ſtay, the kyng accordyng to his former appoyntment, about the tyme of Eaſter, ſayled to France, where the French king and he conferring together, becauſe they could not make redy at yͤ time of Eaſter, concluded to take a longer day, prorogyng their voyage till after Midſommer. In which meane tyme the king occupying hymſelfe in redreſſing and ſtabliſhyng ſuch things as further were to be ordered, there determined, that Gaufridus & Iohn his brethrē ſhould not enter into England in 3. yeres after his departure: Neuertheles he releaſed that band afterward to hys brother Iohn. Then he appoynted the Captains and Conſtables ouer his nauy, & ſet lawes to be obſerued in hys iourny vpon the ſeas. But eſpecially hys care was to make vnitie and concord betwene parties that were at variaunce, and to ſet them together at one. At which tyme the long contention began alſo to be appeaſed which ſo many yeres had continued betwene Baldwinus Archb. of Cant. and hys monkes of Chriſts church. The diſcourſe wherof although it be ſomwhat tedious to be ſet forth at large being enough to make a whole tragedy, yet to the intent yͤ age now preſent may ſee what great conflicts and diſquietnes, vpon what little trifles haue ben ſtirred vp, what little peace and vnity hath bene not only in this Church, but commonly in all other churches, vnder yͤ popes Catholike regiment: I thought it labour not ill beſtowed, ſomwhat to intermeddle in openyng to the eyes of the Reader, the conſideration of this matter. Wherin firſt is to be vnderſtood that the Archbiſhops of Cant. cōmonly beyng ſet vp by the Pope, eſpecially ſince yͤ tyme of yͤ cōqueſt, haue put the kings of this land to much ſorrow and trouble: as appeared by William Rufus & Lanfranck, and alſo Anſelme. By Henry 1. and Anſelme, king Stephen & Theobald, Henry 2. and Becket, &c. For which yͤ kyngs of this land haue vſed the more care & circumſpection, to haue ſuch Archbiſhops placed in that ſea, as either ſhould ſtende with them, or at leaſt ſhould not be agaynſt them.

*Or xv. as ſome recken.

Ieremie the Prior of Cant. appealeth to Pope Innocent.

Ieremie the Prior depoſed by the Archb.

Ieremie reſtored to hys place agayne by the Pope.

Concilium Remēſe. an. 1140.

Now to the purpoſe of our matter intended. Firſt after Lanfrancus who was Archb. xx. yeares, the ſea ſtanding vacant v. yeres, ſucceded Anſelmus, and ſat 17. yeres. After whom the ſea ſtādyng vacant 4. yeres, ſucceded Radulphus and continued 9 yeares. Then followed William, who ſate* 12. yeres, and dyed, an. 1137. After whome came Theobaldus in the tyme of kyng Stephen. This Theobaldus beyng no great fauourer of the Monkiſh generatiō fell out with Ieremias Prior of the houſe of Cant. for certaine cauſes betwene them: for which, the Archb. takyng ſtomacke agaynſt the Prior would lay the ſentence of interdiction againſt hym. The Prior ſeyng that, to ſaue himſelf, made hys appeale to Pope Innocent. The Archb. prouoked the more by that, depoſed hym from the Priorſhip, and placed one Walter in his roome. Ieremias notwithſtādyng makyng his complaint and appeale to Rome, obteined letters from the Pope to Henry B. of Wint. beyng the popes Legate: by vertue wherof, he againſt the hart of the Archbiſhop was reſtored, and Walter diſplaced. Neuertheles, yͤ ſayd Ieremy, not willing there to continue with diſpleaſure of the Archb., ſhortly after of his owne accord, renounced his Prioritie, and Walter againe was receiued in hys ſtead. Not long after this followed the general Councell of Rhemes, an. 1140. To yͤ which councell Theobald cōtrary to the commaundement of the king, would nedes reſorte, to ſhew his obedience to the Pope, wherfore at his returning home againe the king toke ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that within a while after the Archbiſhop was driuen to voyde the realme, and flie into Fraunce: where he by cenſure of interdiction ſuſpended diuers Churches and religious houſes which refuſed to come to the Councell, and alſo hearing how the king had ſeized vpon all his goodes, he interdicted likewiſe all the kings landes, what ſoeuer belonged to the crowne, ſo that the king in concluſion was fain to compoūd with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the yere. 1148. Ex Geruaſio.

A friuolous ſtrife betwene Theobalde Archb. and Silueſter Abbot of S. Auſtens about the place, in what Church the Abbot ſhould take his conſecration.

Silueſter goeth vp to Rome.

After this in the yeare of our Lord 1151. after the death of Hugh Abbot of S. Auſtens in Cant. Silueſter was elected by the Couent to be their Abbot, in the reign of king Stephen. Which Silueſter when he came to Theobald yͤ Archb. to make his profeſſion of ſubiection vnto hym, and to receaue of hym conſecration: the Archb. was contented, ſo that the Abbot would come to chriſtes church in Cant, and there make hys profeſſion. But to this Silueſter in no caſe would graunt to take his conſecration there, but els in any other Church whereſoeuer the Archbiſhop would, he was contented. Wherunto when the Archbiſh. in no wyſe would agree, Silueſter making a great bag of mony, went to Rome, where he obteined of the pope for mony, (for what can not money do at Rome?) letters that the Archbiſhop ſhould conſecrate the Abbot in hys own church of S. Auſten, and alſo not exact of hym any profeſſion of canonicall ſubiection. Whereupon the Archb. was compelled againſt hys will, to come to the Abbots Church, and there at the Popes commaundement to conſecrate hym ſimply, & without any further profeſſion to be required.

The Monkes of Chriſtes Church ſtriue agaynſt the Monkes of S. Auſten in Cant. for the honour of their houſe.

Walter Prior of Chriſtes Church appealeth the Archb. vp to Rome.

Silueſter trudgeth agayne to Rome.

Then Walter Prior of Chriſtes Church in Cant. ſeyng that, and perceiuyng how preiudiciall and derogatory the example therof would be to yͤ honor and maieſty of their Church, through counſail of hys brethren, went thither, & notwithſtandyng the dores were ſtraitly watched & kept, yet by meanes he at laſt gate in. And as he ſaw the Archb. attired in his Pontificalibus, ready to miniſter conſecration to the Abbot, he ſtepped ſtraight to the Archb. and eftſones appealeth him vp to Rome, for the great iniurie wrought againſt the Church of Cant. forbiddyng him in the name of hym to whom he appealed, not to procede any further. And ſo this holy cōſecratiō was for yͤ preſent time ſtayd. For yͤ which Silueſter with a new purſe of money was faine to trauaile and trot againe to Rome. Where he complaynyng of the Archb. and accuſing him of contempt to the Pope in not executing the commaundement ſent down, obteineth againe new letters with more effectuall charge to the fore-

ſaid

Siluester conſecrated Abbot in hys owne church whether the Archb. would or not.

ſaid Archb. that he without any profeſſion, ſimply ſhould geue to Silueſter his conſecration in his own Church: omni occaſione & appellatione remota, all maner of ſtay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithſtandyng, and ſo in cõcluſion the Abbot contrary to whatſoeuer the Archb. and all the Monkes of Cant. could do, was in his owne church made Abbot, and had the victory for that tyme. Notwithſtandyng the Archb. left not the matter ſo, but within v. yeres after obteyned of pope Adrian, that Silueſter ſhould make profeſſion of hys obedience to the Archb. and ſo dyd. Ex Geruaſ.

In few yeres after this dyed kyng Stephen. an.1154 and after hym Theobald the Archb. an.1159. after he had ſit 23. yeres. After whom through the inſtant procurement of king Henry the 2. was placed Tho. Becket, the kynges Chauncellor. an.1162. of whoſe ſturdy rebellion againſt the kyng, becauſe ſufficient hath ben ſaid before, it ſhal not nede to make a double labour now about the ſame.

Petition of kyng Henry to the Prior of Cant. for chuſing of the Archb. and yet could not be graunted.

Odo Prior of Cant.

Richard Prior of Douer elected Archb. of Cant. an.1173.

After the death of Becket, much adoe there was betwene kyng Henry and Odo Prior of Cant. about the election of a new Archb. For the kyng ſeing the Realme ſo oftentimes encombred by thoſe Popiſhe Archbyſhops, and fearyng leaſt the Monkes of Cant. ſhould elect ſuch an other as would folow the ſteppes of Tho. Becket, moſt hũbly wyth cappe in hand & curteſie of knee, deſired Odo the Prior, that at hys requeſt, & for contentation of his minde, ſuch a one myght be elected, whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certayne byſhop, which was a good ſimple man after the kynges lykyng): but the Prior diſſemblingly aunſweryng the king agayne, that he neither could nor would without the conſent of his Couent giue promiſe to any man, in fine contrary to the kynges ſo humble requeſt, agreed to the election of an other, which was the prior of Douer, called Richard. an.1173. who continued in that ſeate xj. yeares.

An other ſtriuous cõtẽtion betwene Richard Archb. and Roger Abbot of the Auſten Monkes in Cant about profeſſiõ of obediẽce.

And here was renewed agayne the like variaunce betwene this Archbyſhop and Roger Abbot of the Auſten monkes in Canterbury as was before mentioned betwene Theobaldus, and Silueſter. For when the ſayd Roger after his election to be Abbot, muſt nedes take his conſecration at the Archbyſhops hand, neither would the Archbyſhop graunt it unto hym, unleſſe he made profeſſion of obedience according to ye aũcient cuſtome of his predeceſſours: then Roger conſultyng with his Monkes, firſt denyed ſo to do, but at length was contented, ſo it might not be done in the Archbyſhops Church, but in any other Church where he would, under wrytyng this clauſe withall: Saluis vtriuſq; Eccleſiæ priuilegijs, that is, ſauing the priuileges of both Churches. To this the Archbiſhop ſayd agayne, firſt that he ſhould make his due & canonicall profeſſion, & that he ſhould not come to hym with writing or underwriting, but ſhould ſay in his hart: Salue ſancta parens: or Salue feſta dies: not Saluis priuilegijs, or any ſuch like thyng. Whereunto when the Auſten Monkes in no caſe would conſent, nor the Archbiſhop otherwiſe would graunt his benedictiõ: Roger the Abbot was fayne to poſt to Rome, and there to bryng the Archb. in hatred in the Court of Rome, made his Abbay tributary to Pope Alexander.

Roger Abbot of S. Auſtens maketh hys houſe tributary to pope Alexãder. an.1177

Roger the Abbot returneth home wyth triumph.

Appellation of the Archbyſhop.

The Pope well contented with this, not onely graunteth the Abbot his deſire, but alſo in contumacie of the archbyſhop dubbeth the Abbot with all ſuch ornamentes as to a Prelate apperteined, and ſo in the yeare. 1178. ſent home the Abbot triumphantly with his ryng and mitre, and other enſignes of victorie, with letters alſo to the Archbyſhop inioynyng him immediatly upon the ſight therof to cõſecrate the Abbot in his owne Church, and without makyng any profeſſion. Although with theſe letters the Archbyſhop was ſhrewdly preſſed, yet notwithſtandyng his ſtoute hart would not ſtoupe for this, but layd his appeale againſt the ſame: and ſo the conſecration for that tyme was ſuſpended.

Concilium Lateranẽ ſub Alexandro Papa.

Roger Abbot of S. Auſtens trauayleth up agayne to Rome.

Roger Abbot cõſecrated at Rome by the Pope.

Then Roger for his more defence, gettyng the kynges letters, trauailed up the ſecond tyme to Rome, where greuouſly he complayned to Pope Alexander of the Archbyſhop. At the ſame tyme a generall Councell was ſummoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard the foreſaid archbyſhop was alſo looked for amongeſt other Byſhops to be preſent. Who then came as farre as Paris, but being there, durſt approch no further, and ſo retired home agayn. Whereupon the Pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbot with his owne conſecration, and inueſted him with all pompe and glory: howbeit prouidyng before that the ſayd conſecration ſhould redound to no preiudice agaynſt the liberties of the mother Church of Canterbury, and ſo upon the ſame wrote to the Archbyſhop his letters of certificate, with this addition annexed. Saluo iure & dignitate Cant. Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, Sauyng the liberties & dignitie of the Church of Cant. &c.

The houſe of the Auſten Monkes in Cãt. not able to ſhew for them any deedes or writinges of antiquitie.

Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

After the Councell ended, Roger the Abbot returneth home, although with an empty purſe, yet full of victory and triumphe. The Archbyſhop agayne thinkyng to worke ſome greuaunce to the Auſten Monkes, had procured in this meane tyme letters from Pope Alexander to the Byſhop of Durhã, and Abbot of S. Albans, that they ſhould cauſe the ſayd Roger Abbot of the Auſten monkes, to ſhew unto the Archbyſhop all the old priuileges of his houſe, which in deede being ſhewed ſeemed to be raſed, & new written, with Bulles of leade not after the maner nor ſtile of that age, nor pretẽdyng no ſuch antiquitie as ſhould ſeeme to reach from the tyme of Auſten, but rather newly counterfeite.

Richard the Archb. goyng toward Rome to cõplayne of the Abbot, was ſtayed by the kyng.

A Catholick practiſe of the Romiſhe Court to ſet mẽ together at variance, that they might get their money.

All this notwithſtandyng, the Abbot bearyng him bold upon the Popes fauour, ceaſed not ſtil to diſquiet and ouercrow the Archbyſhop by all wayes he could, in exemptyng all his Prieſtes and laymen belongyng to his iuriſdiction, from the Archb. obedience: forbiddyng alſo that none of his ſhould come to his Chapters or Synodes, nor to feare any ſentence of his curſe or excommunication. Whereupon the Archbiſhop about the moneth of Nouember the ſame yeare ſaylyng ouer to Normandy where the kyng was, thought to take his iourney to the Pope, to complaine of the Abbot: but beyng ſtayd by the kyng was not ſuffered to paſſe any further, the kyng labouryng what he could, to bryng them to agreement, neuertheleſſe the Pope and his Romanes (ſayth my ſtory) Aurum & argẽtum magis quàm iuſtitiam ſitientes, ſeditiones inter eos & litigia commouebant, that is, caring more for gold and ſiluer, then for iuſtice, ſtill ſtyrred coales of ſedition and debate betwene them. Ex Hiſtoria Geruaſij.

Trouble in chuſing the Archbiſh. of Cant. after the death of Richard.

Monkes of Cant. ſent for by kyng Henry. 2. about chuſing of their Archbyſhop.

Monkes of Cant. partial in chuſing their Archb.

The next yeare after this enſuing, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1184. dyed Richard the Archbiſhop aforeſayd: in the. 38. yeare of king Henry 2. After whoſe deceaſe much trouble happened about the electiõ of a new Archbyſhop betwene the kyng and monkes of Caunterbury. And now to enter here into the ſtory of Baldwyne aboue mẽtioned, firſt the kyng ſent to the mõkes, that they ſhould conſider with themſelues about the election of their Archbyſhop and to be ready agaynſt the tyme that he would ſend for them to the Court. Upon this the Couent gladly aſſemblyng together, agreed in themſelues upon one, whom they thought chiefly to preferre, yet namyng foure moe, that if the kyng would refuſe one, the other yet might ſtand. Now the practiſe in the monkes was, firſt to keepe the election onely in their owne handes, as much as they could. And ſecondly, euer to giue the election either to ſome Prior or Monke of their owne houſe, or to ſome Abbot or Byſhop, which ſome tyme had bene of their company. Whereby as much inconuenience and blind ſuperſtition was bred in the Church of England: ſo the ſame diſliked both the kyng and the Byſhops not a litle.

Monkes of Cant againe ſent for to the kyng about their electiõ.

Alanus Prior of Cant.

The king offended wyth the Prior & Monkes of Cant.

The ſtubburnes of the Monkes againe the k.

As this paſt on, the kyng when he ſaw his tyme willed the monkes of Canterbury, to be cited or ſent for, to underſtand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the Monkes ſent up their Prior called Alanus, with certaine other monkes to Redyng, where the kyng then lay, about the moneth of Auguſt. Who at firſt were curteouſly entertained: but after the kyng had intelligence whom they had nominated & elected: they were ſent home agayne with cold cheare, the kyng willing them to pray better, and to aduiſe more earneſtly upon the matter amongeſt themſelues. Alanus the Prior, with his felowes thus departed, who commyng home, in concluſion ſo concluded amongeſt them ſelues, that they would remitte no iote of their liberties to the kyng, without the Popes conſent and knowledge. The kyng underſtandyng hereof, ſent his Ambaſſadours likewiſe to the Pope, for the fortifying of his cauſe, being in the meane time greuouſly offended with the Prior, ſaying: that he was proude & would make Archbiſhop whom he lyſted, and would be the ſecond Pope in England. &c.

The king ſendeth to Rome agaynſt the Monkes.

The kynges gentle wordes to the Monkes.

Not long after this, as theſe letters were ſent up to Rome, the kyng ſent for Alanus the Prior, and moe of the monkes, to come to him. Whom he entreateth, deſiryng thẽ in gentle ſpeach, that they would ſhew ſo much gentleneſſe & fauour to him being their Lord and Kyng as becõmeth his frendes and ſubiectes to do, as to conferre with the Byſhops of the Realme about this matter, and to take ſome better counſell, ſo as might redounde to Gods glory, his honour, & wealth of the publicke ſtate, with other like wordes to the ſame effect.

To whõ when the Prior agayne had aunſwered with thãkes and due reuerence, accordyng to the kyngs requeſt, the Byſhops and monkes went to conferre together about the matter. And firſt, the Byſhoppes marueiled why the

monkes

Byſhops of England clayme to haue intereſt in the electiõ of the Archb. of Cant.

The popes letters cõmaundyng the Byſhops of the realme with the Prior & Couent to chuſe the Archb.

monkes ſhould exclude them out of the election, ſeyng they were profeſſed & Suffraganes to the ſayd Church of Canterbury: Neither is there any Prince, quoth the Byſhop of Bathe, that will refuſe our counſaile. There be ſome counſailes, ſayd the monkes, whereat you may be called: but as touching the doyng of this electiõ, it perteineth nothyng vnto you further then to publiſh onely and denounce the party whõ we haue choſen. The Byſhop of London then aſked, if they had already made any election. No election, ſayd the Prior, as yet, but onely we haue denominate the perſons. Thẽ haue ye proceeded further, quoth he, then ye ought, hauyng a cõmaundement from the pope not to proceede without vs. And with that was brought forth the popes letter, commaundyng that within xl. dayes the Byſhops of England, and the Prior, and Couent of Cãterbury ſhould elect an able and ſitte perſon to be their Archbiſhop. About the ſcannyng of theſe letters was much ado. The Byſhops ſayd, they were firſt named, and therfore ought to haue moſt intereſt in this election. The mõkes ſayd agayne, that they alſo were not excluded, and required to haue a tranſcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

The king ſeparateth the Biſhops frõ the Mõkes.

The Mõkes will loſe no preeminence of their Church.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the kyng commyng betwene them both, called away the Byſhops from the Monkes, ſuppoſing by ſeparatyng the one from the other, to draw both parties to his ſentence. But that would not be, for the monkes ſtifly ſtandyng to their liberties, would loſe no preeminence of their Church, ſtill alledgyng how by the auncient priuileges of the Church of Canterbury the Couent ſhould chuſe their Paſtor & Byſhop, and the Prior to publiſh and denouce the perſon. The Byſhops agayne replied, that it was their right to appoint their Archbiſhop and metropolitane, which were Biſhops and Suffraganes, and namely the Byſhop of London alſo beyng Deane of the ſayd Church of Canterbury. The king then as vmpere betwene them, yet fauoryng rather the ſide of the Byſhops, deſired them to agree together in peace. Whẽ that would not preuayle, he ſet the Lord Steuard, and other noble mẽ to entreat the Prior, to draw to ſome agreement: at leaſt to be contented with this forme of election, which was that the Byſhop of London or ſome other Byſhop ſhould declare the election in theſe wordes.

The forme of electiõ of the Archb ſet betwene the biſhops & the Monkes of Canterb.

We biſhops, and the Prior and Couẽt of Chriſtes church in Caunterbury, with the aſſent of our Lord our Kyng do chuſe ſuch a perſon to be Archbyſhop. &c. or els thus, that the Prior ſhoulde pronounce forth the election in theſe wordes, ſaying: The Byſhops of Englãd and I Prior and the Couent of Cãterbury, with the aſſent of our Lord and king do chuſe ſuch a perſon. &c.

The biſhops and Mõkes could not agree about the forme of election.

The election of the Archb. deferred to the moneth of December an.1184.

Upon this the Prior ſayd, he would conuent with his Couent. Who with much ado were content to grãt to the kynges deſire, but afterward beyng required to put downe the ſame in writing, that they refuſed to do: yet notwithſtãdyng relented at laſt to the kyng. But when the Byſhops made excuſes for the abſence of their felow Byſhops, ſo the matter for that tyme ſtayd. And the kyng ſendyng home the Monkes agayne to their houſe in peace, deferred that buſines to a further day, which was till yͤ firſt day of Decẽber cõmaundyng the Prior with his felowes the ſame day not to fayle but to be at London about the chuſing of the Archbyſhop.

The kinges meſſage to the Mõkes of Cant. to agree & ioyne with the Byſhops.

As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company were alſo preſent. Who geuyng attendaunce all that day and the next day alſo followyng, ſo were driuen of till the thyrd day after. At length the Lord Stuard with other nobles of the Realme, were ſent to them from the kyng, to declare, that where as the kyng before had diuided the Biſhops frõ the Monkes, that they both might haue their election by themſelues after the forme of a Bill, which was put down in writyng: now the mynde of the kyng was, that the Monkes takyng an other way, ſhould ioyne with the Biſhops, and ſo hauyng the matter in talke together, ſhould procede ioyntly in the election.

The kinges wordes to the mõkes of Cant.

Agaynſt this, many thynges were alledged by the Prior and his mates, cõplaynyng much vpon the Byſhops, which ſayd that the Byſhops had euer holden with the kynges agaynſt the liberties of their Church and Archbyſhops. As firſt they ſtode agaynſt Anſelme, for kyng William: Then agaynſt Theobalde for kyng Stephen: After that agaynſt Thomas Becket for kyng Henry: And after him did ſupplant the election of Richard their Archbyſhop: And now againe went about to practiſe and worke againſt this their election preſent. &c. At laſt the Prior with his felowes concludyng, deſired they might ſpeake with the kyng himſelfe. Who eftſoones commyng to them, willed them as good men to be contented, and to go talke with the Byſhops about the election, promiſing that whom they agreed vpon, he alſo would graunt his aſſent to the ſame. To whom when the Prior agayne had obiected the writynges that before were made: truth it is ſayd the kyng, ſuch writynges were made: but I neither may, nor will go agaynſt the counſaile of my Realme: and therfore agree, ſayd he, with my Biſhops and Abbotes, and remember, that the voyce of the people is the voyce of God.

The Mõkes of Cant. cõpelled agaynſt their wylles to ioyne with the biſhops touching the electiõ of the Archb.

Upon this the Prior with his monkes ſeyng no other remedy, went to the Byſhops, to conferre accordyng to the kynges requeſt about the election. Who then were willed by yͤ byſhops to nominate whom they would, and the Byſhops would likewiſe name theirs. So that whẽ the Prior with his complices had named three after their chuſing, the Biſhops ſayd they would nominate but one, and ſo did, which was the Biſhop of Worceſter: willyng the Prior to go home, and to conferre with his Couent about the ſame. To whom ſhortly after the Biſhops ſent certeine Prieſts to ſignifie to the Couent, that they, accordyng to the popes letters, ſhould repayre to the Byſhops concernyng the election of the Archbiſhop, alſo to declare moreouer to them, that the perſons whom they had named were good men, but he whom they had nominated, was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and alſo would electe. The Monkes maruelyng hereat, ſent two Monkes, with the Archdeacon of Canterbury to the kyng.

Byſhops of the realme in the their election of the Archb. without the monkes of Cant.

Conditions preſcribed to the kyng by the mõkes of Cant. for the ratification of the Archb. made by the Byſhops.

Baldwine biſhop of Worceſter elected Archb. of Cant. an.1184.

This done, immediatly after the returne of the Prieſts, the Biſhops cauſed all the Bels of the citie to be rong, and Te Deum to be ſong for the Archbiſhop new elect. Wherof when the two Monkes brought tydyngs to the Couent at Canterbury what was done at London, they were all in a maruelous dumpe. The kyng hearyng this and perceauing the ſtifnes of the mõkes, in all haſt ſent meſſengers to Canterbury with gentle wordes to will the Prior to come to the kyng, and certifie him of the purpoſe of his mõkes. Unto whom the Prior eftſoones being come, declareth in the name of the whole Couent, that in no caſe he nor the mõkes would neuer while yͤ world ſtode, agree to that election of the biſhops, vnles the kyng in his owne perſon would come to Canterbury, and there openly before the whole Couent, proteſt by his own mouth the foreſayd electiõ to be nought and voyde: and ſo returnyng to Lõdon agayne openly likewiſe before yͤ Clergy & the people would repudiate and reiect the ſame; And furthermore that the partie alſo elected ſhould openly in the ſame place proteſt, and ſay, that he neither would nor ought to take that function vpon him, vnles he entred by the conſent of the Prior & Couent of Canterbury: And all this to be done in the ſame place where the Biſhops had made their electiõ before, and ſo peraduenture (ſayd they) at the kynges ſo earneſt ſute and requeſt, they would gratifie his will & ratifie the ſayd election with the voyces of their conſent. To make the ſtory ſhort, after great hold betwene the ſeculare Clergy on the one ſide, and the regular order on the other ſide, and after the kynges indignation agaynſt the Prior, and the ſwoundyng of the Prior before the kyng, at length the king to take vp the matter, and to ſaue the Priors life was fayne to performe in his owne perſon all theſe conditions aboue preſcribed by the Monkes. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 100.

And thus haue ye heard the tragicall election of the Biſhop of Worceſter, named Baldwynus made Archbyſhop of Cant. Now what a troubleſome tyme the ſayd Baldwine had with the mõkes, in gouernyng yͤ church of Cant. here foloweth likewiſe not vnworthy to be conſidered.

¶ The troubles betwene Baldwyne archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the monkes of the ſame Churche.

The great trouble & contention betwene Baldwine Archb. and the mõkes of Cant.

IN the firſt yeare the Archbiſhop ſhewed himſelfe frendly and louing to the monkes: the next yeare folowyng he begã to appeare ſomewhat rough vnto them. The maner then was of the houſe of Chriſtes Church toward the tyme of the Natiuitie and of Eaſter, to receaue certaine preſentes or giftes of their fermers or tenauntes, which the cellarer ſhould take & lay vp. Thoſe preſentes the archbiſhop began firſt to intercept from the monkes, and to beſtow them vpon his ſecular Clerkes. After this he tooke three Churches or benefices (which the Monkes claimed as proper to themſelues) and placed in them iij. of his Chaplaines. After this he encroched to his hãdes certeine tenements, reuenewes, & victuall belõgyng before to the mõkes (as they ſaid) and committed the cuſtodie therof to certeine of his owne Clerkes and houſholde ſeruauntes.

The monkes which had borne ſo much with the Archbiſhop before ſeyng this, could forbeare him no longer, but

The monkes of Cant appeale to the pope agaynſt their Archb.

Reconciliation made betwene the Archb. & the mōkes, which did not lōg holde.

needes would make their appeale agaynſt him. The Archbiſhop not much regarding that, waxed thereby more fierce agaynſt them, in ſomuch that ſuch fermes and tenementes, as he before had let alone, now he receaued to his own occupying: with many other greuaunces, wherewith he greatly vexed the monkes, ſo that iij. Abbottes were fayne to come and reconcile the Archbiſhop and the monkes. Which reconciliation was this, that the monkes ſhould let fall their appeale, and the archbiſhop ſhould reſtore agayne to them their fermes and tenementes. But as touchyng the benefices and the preſentes, the archbiſhop ſtill kept them in his handes for a further triall of their obedience and patience. Neuertheleſſe ſome there were of the auncient monkes, which in no caſe would geue ouer the foreſayd appeale before the archbiſhop made a full reſtitution of all together.

The Archb. ſendeth to the pope.

The Archb. goeth about to plucke downe the pride of the Monkes of Cant.

Baldwine archb. of Cant. about to build a new Church on the North ſide of Cant.

After this agreemēt, ſuch as it was, betwene the mōkes and him, the archbiſhop ſoone after ſent vp to Rome one of his Chaplaines (to whom he had giuen one of the benefices afore mentioned) partly for cōfirmatiō of his benefice, partly alſo to obteine licence for the archbiſhop to build a church, which he intended to erect of ſeculare Prieſtes neare to the towne of Canterbury. Which beyng obteined of the Pope, the archbiſhop not a litle glad therof, began now more and more to waxe fierce agaynſt the mōkes, not onely in taking from them their churches and oblations, but alſo in aggrauating the whole ſtate of their houſe, which he intended either to ſubuert, or greatly to diminiſh, to plucke downe the pride and ſtubburnes of the monkes. Wherfore taking with him certeine other byſhops (whom he knew bare no good will to that mōkiſh generatiō) he went to yͤ kyng, declaring how he had a good purpoſe in his minde, to erect a new & a ſolēne Church in the honour of S. Thomas of Cant. of ſecular Prieſts or Canons, and therfore deſired of the kyng, to haue his fauourable licence to the ſame. The kyng right well perceauing the purpoſe of the archbiſhop whether it tended, as to the bridlyng of the ſtifnecked mōkes, was the more willing to giue aſſent, if he were not alſo the chief worker of that matter himſelfe.

The purpoſe of the Archb. in building his new Church at Cant.

Hakyngton Church.

The monkes of Cant. make their appeale againſt Baldwine their Archb.

Three cauſes alledged againſt the Archb. by the Monkes.

The Monkes of Cant. claime all the goods of the Archb. to be their owne.

The monkes put thēſelues & their houſe in the popes protectiō.

The intent of the archbiſhop in plantyng of that new Church was to found there diuers prebendes, and to make both the kyng, and euery Biſhop beyng his Suffraganes, prebendaries therof, ſo that euery one of them ſhould conferre one prebendſhip to the ſame foūdation, mindyng there to conſecrate Biſhops, to make his Chriſmatorie, to celebrate his Synodes, and to adminiſter all other thynges belonging to the function of his Sea, and the ſame to be called Hakyngton Church. The monkes not ignoraunt how the archbiſhop priuely intended the deſolation and ſubuerſiō of their houſe and liberties, conſulting vpon the matter, determined at length among themſelues to appeale to the ſea of Rome, namely for theſe iij. cauſes againſt the archbiſhop: Firſt for ſpoiling them of their giftes & oblations: Secondly, for depriuyng thē of their Churches and benefices: And thirdly for erectyng a new foundatiō of ſecular Canons to the derogation & ouerthrow of their religious order, giuyng admonition to the archbiſhop before by their Monkes ſent vnto him of this their appellatiō. To whom the archbiſhop aunſwered, that the foundation which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honor of their houſe. Who aunſwered agayne that it was and could not otherwiſe be, but to their ſubuerſion. And what ſhould let me (then ſayd the archbiſhop) but I may build in myne owne ground what I will? No (ſayd they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other thinges that you haue by right are ours, for ſomuch as you haue them not of your ſelfe, but of the Church & for the churches cauſe: all which thinges haue bene giuen neither to you, nor to the archbiſhops, but to the Church of Chriſt: and therfore (ſayd they) all ſuch as apperteine to vs inwardly and outwardly, with the perſons alſo, and the whole ſtate of our Church we ſubmit vnder the popes protection, & now here make our appeale to the Sea Apoſtolike, aſſignyng alſo the terme when to proſecute the ſame.

Appellation againſt the Archb.

Buſines betwen the mōkes & the Archb. for placing ſecular Clerkes in the Church of S. Steuēs in Cant.

The Prior of Cant. ſuſpended.

The archbiſhop receiuyng this appellation, and ſaying that he would aunſwere to the ſame either by himſelfe or by his reſponſall, ſo within iij. dayes after, which was the xvi. of December, he came to Canterbury: where the Monkes vnderſtanding how he was in minde to place new ſecular Prieſts in the Church of S. Stephen, where the monkes had ſerued before, came to the Church to ſtoppe the proceedyng of the archbiſhop by way of appeale. Wherof the archbiſhop hauing warning before, differred that matter till the next day after. On which day the mōkes agayne beyng ſent by Honorius the Prior into the Church, charged the archbiſhop in the name of almighty God, and by vertue of their appeale made to the Apoſtolicke Sea, to ſurceaſe thoſe his doynges, forbiddyng alſo the Parſon of the Church in no wiſe to ſuffer thoſe ſecular Clerkes to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithſtādyng the archbiſhop procedeth in his buſineſſe. And firſt placing in hys Clerkes he ſuſpendeth the Prior from his adminiſtratiō. Then he adiureth the Porters of the gate vpō their othe to let none of the monkes paſſe out of the houſe without his licence. The monkes likewiſe he commaūded by vertue of obedience, not to ſtray any where abroad without his leaue. And furthermore one of the foreſayd monkes, which ſerued the appeale agaynſt him, he vtterly baniſhed from that Couent. Vpon this, the day next folowing Honorius the Prior truſtyng (ſayth the ſtory) on God, and S. Thomas, tooke his way to Rome, ſent in Commiſſion by the Couent, to proſecute the appeale agaynſt the archbiſhop.

An other garboile betwen the monkes of Cant and their Archb.

The king cō meth into the Chapte of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis **a great do er agaynſt the monkes.**

The king entreateth peace betwene the monkes and the Archb.

In this meane ſeaſon a new iarre begā betwene yͤ ſaid Archb. and the Monkes, about their rentes and reuenues, which the Archb. would haue committed to the receiuyng and kepyng of 3. monkes, but the Supprior Geffray, with the Couent, in no caſe would ſuffer that: wherabout there was a foule ſtirre. The Archb. crauing the aide of the king firſt had 3. Biſhops ſent downe to him, of Couentry, Norwich, and Worceſter. Who beyng inſtant with the Monks to ſubmit their cauſe into the kinges handes, like as the archb. had done, they vtterly refuſed it, eſpecially ſeing they had already referred the whole ſtate of their cauſe to the determination of the Apoſtolicall ſea. The king ſeyng no other remedy came hymſelfe with the Archb. into the chapter houſe, where he commaunded firſt the dores to be kept faſt, that none ſhould enter but which by name were called for. Amongſt whom were two Biſhops, to witte, of Norwich, and of Durham, and one Petrus Bleſenſis a learned man (whoſe Epiſtles be yet extant in Libraries) a chiefe worker in this matter againſt the Monkes. Then was called in Geffrey the Supprior, with a few other Monkes whom he brought with hym. The king then firſt talkyng with the Archb. and his company, and afterward with the Monkes, laboured to entreat them that they would let fall their appeale, and ſo ſtand to the arbitrement of hym and of the Biſhops, concerning the cauſe which was betwene the Archb. and them in trauers.

The mōkes deny to put their matter frō the Pope to the kings hearing.

The mōkes excuſe to the kyng.

To this the Monkes anſwered, that theſe were good wordes, but ſerued not for that tyme, for ſo much as their cauſe was already tranſlated to the court of Rome, and now was preſently in hearyng before the Popes holyneſſe: and therfore they could not, ne would do that iniury to their lord Pope, to refuſe hym, and to put the matter to the iudgemēt of any other. Then was it required of the Monkes, that they would put the matter in compromiſe, in caſe the Prior would conſent thereto, vpon this entent, that if the Prior conſented and the Monkes not, then ſhould they runne in contempt and diſobedience; or if the Monkes would conſent, and the Prior not, then ſhould the Prior be excluded the Realme. The wily Monkes beyng not vnprouided of this ſubtletie, made their aunſwer, that ſeyng they had ſent their Prior forth in their commiſſion, it ſtode not with their honeſty, to geue any determinate cōſent, without yͤ knowledge and before the returne of the ſayd Prior, vnleſſe the Archb. firſt would promiſe to make full reſtitution of all yͭ he had wrongfully wraſted from thē. When the kyng could get no other aunſwer of the Monkes, neither could moue the Archb. to releaſe the ſentence of their ſuſpenſion, vnleſſe they would confeſſe and knowledge their fault, he ſo parting from them paſſed ouer into Fraunce.

The firſt letter of Pope Vrban ſent to Baldwine Archb. of Cant.

The anſwere of the Archb. to the popes letter.

The Archb. maketh hys oyle & creame at London.

Not long after this, came a meſſenger from Rome, bringing letters from Pope Vrbanus to the Archb. wherein yͤ Pope conſidering and tēdering (as he ſayd) the enorme greuaunces done agaynſt the Monkes, ſtraightly enioyned & commaunded hym, within x. dayes after the receiuyng therof, to releaſe the ſentence of hys ſuſpenſion againſt yͤ Prior and other of the ſayd Couent, and alſo to retract & reſtore agayne to the Monkes whatſoeuer he plucked from them ſince the tyme of their appeale firſt made. Who in caſe he ſhould deny, or forſlacke the doyng hereof, Commiſſiō was geuen to 3. Abbots, of Battaile, of Feuerſham, of S. Auſtens, with ample authoritie to performe the ſame. &c. The Archb. receiuing theſe letters brought to him by a Monke of the foreſayd houſe, firſt made hys excuſe, that the Pope was miſinformed. But the Monkes not contented wyth that excuſe, when they would nedes know what anſwer he would make to the Popes nuncio: his aunſwer was that he had yet x. dayes geuen him of the Pope. In which mean tyme the Archb. went to London and there in the church of S. Paul, conſecrated his holy oyle and creame (making one of the Popes 7. Sacramentes) which was greuouſly take in the church of Cant. At laſt, the x. days beyng ended, whē the

Three Abbots aſſoyle the monkes of their ſuſpenſion.

the Archb.refuſed to accompliſh that was in the popes letter enioyned him, the 3. Abbots aforeſayde to execute the Popes commaundement, came at their day aſſigned, to Cant. and there aſſoiled all ſuch as the Archb. before had ſuſpended, and in the end certified pope Urbane by letters, what they had done.

The Archb. appealeth vp the iij. Abbots to Rome.

The Archbiſhops new church made of woode.

The Archb.hearing this,within 4.dayes after ſent ij. of hys Clerkes,which appealed the 3. Abbots aforeſayd vp to Rome,and he hymſelfe in the meane tyme prepared buſily for the building vp of hys church,ſending to all Churches in England,vpon releaſement of their ſinnes,to conferre to the ſame: and to make the more haſt,for lacke of free ſtone, he made vp hys building with tymber,and ſuch other ſtuffe as he could get.

A letter of Pope Urban agaynſt the Archb.

The Prior Honorius all this while remayned ſtil at the Court of Rome,geuyng attendaunce vpon the Pope, who hauyng intelligence of the Archbiſhops doings,procured an other letter of Pope Urbane to the whole Clergy of England,ſtraitly enioyning them,that none ſhould conferre to ye new fraternitie of Baldewine Archbiſhop of Canterbury. To theſe letters the Archbyſhop ſhewed ſuche reuerence, that where before he had planted hys Chappell of woode and boardes,now he prouided the ſame to be builded of lyme and ſtone.

The Archbyſhops meſſengers come to the Popes Court.

Letters of the king,the Archb. & of other Byſhops to the Pope.

M.Pilleus attorney in the Popes Court for the Monkes of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis agent for the Archb. of Cant.

The Pope holdeth on the monkes ſide agaynſt the kyng, the Archb. & the Biſhops of the Realme.

By this tyme Petrus Bleſenſis, with other meſſengers of the Archb. ſeyng Honorius the Prior to be gone from the Court to Fraunce,returned to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credite from the kyng, from the archb. and alſo from other Biſhops of the realme: but ye pope readyng onely the kings letters & the archbiſhops, the reſidue he caſt into a window by, ſaying he would read them at further laiſure. Thē the pope geuing audience in hys conſiſtory to heare their cauſe: firſt came in Petrus Bleſenſis with the agentes of the Archb. exhibityng their letters and propoundyng their requeſts to the Pope. which were that reſtitution ſhould be made by the Monkes to the Archb. wherin they had iniuried him. Item,that the things which had bene graunted before to the Prior in the Court, might be called in agayne. Thirdly,that the archb.might haue licence to proceede in buildyng his College of Canons. &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus, the attorney for the Monkes of Cant. who allegyng many great thinges agaynſt the archb. for his contempt and diſobedience to the popes precepts, required that he rather ſhould make reſtitution to the Monkes for his iniuries done to them: & alſo that his new foundation of ſecular Canons,tendyng to the ouerthrow of the conuentuall Church of Cant. ſhould be vtterly raſed and throwen downe to the ground. Thus betwene theſe two parties pleyng and repleing one againſt the other,much hard hold there was. But in concluſion for all ye kings letters,and for all that the Archb.and Biſhops could do,the matter wēt on the monkes ſide. So that there was no remedy,but the Pope would nedes haue ye Archbiſhops new buildyng to come downe,and the Monkes to be reſtored agayne to their full poſſeſſions. The execution wherof was committed to the thre Abbots aforeſayd, to witte,of Battail,of Feuerſham,of S.Auſtens in Cant.& to Geffrey Supprior of Cant.

The Popes executers cōmaunded by L.Glanuile in the kings name not to proceede agaynſt the Archb.

Which thinges beyng thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Granuille Lord Steward of England writing to the ſayd Abbot of Battail,and to the Supprior and Couent of Cant.commaundeth them in the kinges name, and vpon their othe and fealtie geuen vnto him,that they nor any of them do procede in this controuerſie betwene ye monkes and the Archbiſhop of Cant.before they came and talke with hym,there to know further of the kings pleaſure:and furthermore charging the Couent of Cant. not to enter further in any examination concerning the archb. matters, and alſo citing the Supprior of the ſayd houſe, to appeare before hym at London, at the feaſt of S.James the ſame yeare,which was 1187.Notwithſtanding he excuſing himſelfe by ſicknes,ſent two Monkes in his ſtead,and ſo kept hymſelfe at home. To whom commaundement was geuen that the Monkes of Cant.within xv.dayes ſhould ſaile ouer to Normandy to the kyng,and there to ſhew the tenour and euidences of their priuileges: And alſo that ſuch Stuardes and Bailifs whom they had placed in their farmes & lordſhips,cōtrary to the will of the Archb.ſhould be remoued. And likewyſe the iij. Abbots in the kinges name,were commaunded in no wyſe to execute the Popes commaundement agaynſt the Archb. Not long after this,the Archb. toke ſhippyng at Douer,and went ouer to the king,where he ordeyned thre principall officers ouer the Monkes of Chriſtes Church: the Sacriſt, the Cellarer and Chamberlaine,cōtrary to the will of the Couent,with other greuances mo: wherby the Monkes were not a little offended ſo that vpon the ſame, they made a new appellation to the Pope. wherupon Pope Urbane,by the ſettyng on of Honorius the Prior,who was now come agayne to the court, wrote to hym an other letter after a ſharper and more vehement ſort,to the effect as followeth.

Mōkes of Cant.commaunded to ſhew their priuileges to the kyng.

Certaine officers put in the houſe of Chriſt church agaynſt the mōkes will.

An other appellation of the monkes agaynſt the Archb.

¶*The tenor of Pope Vrbanes letters to Baldwine Archb.of Cant.*

The copy of pope Urbans letter to the Archb.of Cant.

VRbanus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorū Dei Baldewino Cantuar. Archiepiſcopo & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato,ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem.&c.

In that we haue borne with your brotherhode hitherto, and haue not proceded in ſuch greuous maner againſt you, as we might,although being therto greatly prouoked, the chiefeſt cauſe was this, that we ſuppoſed your hart would haue relented frō the oppreſſiō of the couētuall church of Cant.cōmitted vnto you,if not for our reuerēce,which you ſeme to haue contemned more then became you,yet at leſt for feare of Gods iudgement.For well we hoped, our conſcience perſwading vs to the ſame, that after you had obteyned that high ſtate and dignitie in the church of England, you would haue bene an example to other of obedience and reuerence to be geuen to the ſea Apoſtolike,of all Eccleſiaſticall perſons. Wherfore at the firſt beginning both of our and alſo of your promotion we did not ſpare to aduance and honour you as we haue done few other beſides, thinkyng no leſſe,but that we had founde a faithfull friend of the Church,for our honor. Wherein we perceyue now (which maketh vs not a little to maruell) our expectation greatly deceiued. And whom we well truſted to be a ſure ſtay for the maintenaunce of our eſtate,hym now we finde a perſecuter agaynſt vs in our members.

Note how the Popes ſtand all vpō their honor.

The popes expectation deceaued in the Archb. of Cant.

The pope expoſtulateth wyth Baldwine for cōtempt of his ſea.

For where as we ſondry tymes haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren,and the Church committed to your charge,that you ſhould deſiſt from diſquietyng them, and not to vexe or diſturbe their liberties, at leaſt for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other thinges moe (as commonly is reported of you in all places) ſettyng at light our letters and appellations made to the Apoſtolicall Sea, what you haue wrought againſt them after their ſo manifold appellations layd vnto vs, and our inhibitions agayne vnto you,we are aſhamed to vtter. But reuolue and conſider in your mynde,if ye haue done well,and aduiſe in your own conſcience what you haue done.We for our part becauſe we may ne ought not with deafe eares paſſe ouer the clamours of the brethren,and ſuch contempt of the Apoſtolike Sea, although our biddings and warnings geuē to you ſeme to be all in vayne,yet notwithſtādyng we ſend our mandates agayne to your brotherhoode, in theſe Apoſtolicall writings,diſtrictly,and in vertue of obedience commaunding you,that whether ye be preſent in your church, or abſent,all that notwithſtandyng, whatſoeuer you haue done in building of your Chappell (which you to the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of Cant. haue erected) after the tyme of their appeale made to vs, or our inhibition ſent to you, you fayle not of your proper coſtes and charges to demoliſh,vndoyng againe, and making voyde,whatſoeuer ye haue begon and innouated concerning the inſtitutiō of the Canons,and other things belongyng to the erection of the ſayd Chappell:accompting moreouer and reputing the place where the Chappel was,to be accurſed and prophane:and alſo that all ſuch whoſoeuer haue celebrated in the ſame place,ſhall ſtand ſuſpēded,till the tyme they appeare before our preſence: Comaunding furthermore,that all thoſe mōkes whom you haue preſumed to remoue frō their office or to excommunicate,ſince the tyme of their appeale made, you ſhal reſtore & aſſoyle againe, rēdring alſo & reſtoryng all ſuch farmes,manors,tenemētes & oblations, as you after their appeale made,haue inueigled frō thē:And finally that you innouate nothing touching the ſtate of that Monaſtery, during the tyme of this controuerſie dependyng before vs. Geuyng you to vnderſtand,that in caſe you ſhal cōtinue in your ſtubburnneſſe & rebelliō vpō this preſent warning,or differre the executiō of this our precept xxx. dayes after the receiuyng hereof, we ſhall appoynt others to execute the ſame,inioyning alſo your Suffragans, that as you ſhal ſhew your ſelf diſobedient & rebelling to vs: ſo they all ſhall refuſe likewiſe to geue any obediēce or reuerēce vnto you.&c.

The Archb. commaunded by the Pope to throw downe the buildyng of his new Church,of hys owne coſtes and charges.

The Archb. commaunded to reſtore & aſſoyle the Monkes whom he did depriue & excommunicate.

The Archb. threatned by the Pope.

Geuen at Ferraria 5.non.Octob.

The pope writeth to the Abbots, & alſo to the kyng.

An other letter beſide this, the Pope alſo ſent to the 3.Abbots aforeſayd for the correction of theſe enormities. Likewiſe an other letter was ſent to king Henry 2.wherin the pope enioyneth and requireth hym vpon remiſſion of hys ſinnes, not to diſſemble and beare with the Archb. in hys oppreſſion of hys monkes, but to helpe thoſe things to be amended, where he hath treſpaſſed agaynſt them.

Pope Urbane dyeth.

Baldwinus king of Hieruſalem with many nobles taken of the Saracens, and the citie wonne.

These pontificall letters were written an. 1187. the 3. day of October, and in the 19. day after, the ſame month the ſayd pope Urbane dyed. In the which yeare, and about the which month, Baldwinus king of Jeruſalem was taken with many noble men of Saladine the Saracen: and Jeruſalem loſt, after it had bene in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, and ſo continued the ſpace of 88. yeres, and 80. dais, from the tyme that Godfridus Bolonius did firſt winne it from the Infidels.

The King and Archb. glad to agree wyth the Monkes.

The Mõkes got the vpper hand ouer the Archb.

The miſerable ſubiectiõ of kynges vnder the pope to be noted.

After the receiuyng of thoſe letters of pope Urbane aboue ſpecified, both the king and Archb. with all the biſhops of yͤ realme were marueilouſly quayled, glad now to pleaſe, and ſpeake faire to the Monkes, promiſing all things to be done and reſtored to them after the beſt ſort. Neither was the king now and Archb. ſo ſubmiſſe: but the Monkes on the other ſide, were as brag and iocant, beyng fully aſſured that all now was their owne. In the narration of which hiſtory (as it is ſet in Geruaſius at large) this we haue to note by the way in what feare and thraldome kings in thoſe dayes were vnder the Pope, who could not be maiſters ouer their owne ſubiectes, but that euery vyle Monke, or pelting Prior, vpon vertue of their appeale to the Courte of Rome, & makyng their houſe tributarie to the pope, was able not onely to matche, but to geue checkemate to the beſt kyng Chriſtened, as not in this ſtory onely may appeare.

Calypha is the high Prieſt of the Saracens, ſitting in Damaſcus, vnto whom all the Sultans were ſubiect, as our princes now are to the Pope.

It followeth then in the ſtory of theſe Monkes, that as they were thus in the midſt of their ioy and iolitie, ſodeinly commeth newes of the death of Pope Urbane their great Calypha, and alſo how that Gregory 8. was placed in hys roume, who was a ſpeciall frend and fauourer of the archb. which as it did greatly encourage the kyng and the Archb. ſo the Monkes on the other ſide were as much diſcomforted, ſo that now all was turned vpſide down. For where as the king and the Archb. before thought they had loſt all, and were glad to compound with the monkes, and to ſeke their fauour: now were the Monkes on the contrary ſide faine to crouch to the kyng, and glad to haue a good countenance, who then reſortyng to him, and finding hym altered both in word and geſture, deſired he would confirme yͤ graunt that which of late before he had promiſed. To whom it was anſwered againe by the king, that ſeyng the archb. had graunted to them their Sacriſt, their Chamberlain, & their Celerar, they ſhould haue no more reſtored of hym, neither would he ſuffer the liberties and priuileges of the archb. to be empaired or take any wrong. And as touchyng the new Chappell of S. Thomas (ſayd he) whereaboutes ye ſtriue ſo long, with the Canonſhips and other buildinges belongyng therto, the ſame I receiue into my handes, ſo yͭ none ſhall haue any thing to do therin but my ſelfe. &c. In lyke maner of the archb. ſuch an other like anſwer they receyued and of the biſhops little better. So the Monkes ſent away with a flee in their eare, went home agayne out of Normandy vnto their Celle.

The kinges anſwere to the monkes of Cant.

Pope Gregory 8. dyeth.

Pope Clemẽt 3.

Pope Clements letters to the Archb.

Honorius Prior of Cant. dyed at Rome.

The ſecond letter of Pope Clemẽt to the Archb.

Now the Archb. hauyng the Monkes where as he would, wrought them much greuaunce, but that continued not very long. For within two monthes after and leſſe, died pope Gregory 8. about the 16. day of December following. After whom ſucceded Pope Clement 3. who following the ſteps of Urbane, bent all hys power with the Monkes agaynſt the archb. ſending diuers precepts and mandates: in the yere next following, which was 1188. with an Imperious letter, willyng and commaunding hym to deſiſt from hys oppreſſion of the Monkes, and to throw down his new Chappell. wherupon the archb. made his appeale and minded to go to Rome: but was called backe of the kyng, beyng redy to ſayle ouer. In the which yeare Honorius the Prior died at Rome of the plague, which was ſome helpe & comfort to the archb. For whom the archb. made Roger Noris Prior, agaynſt the wils of the Couent. After this about the latter end of yͤ ſame yeare, Pope Clement ſent downe his Legate called Radulfus a Cardinall, to Cant. with an other letter more ſharply writen to the ſame effect vnto the archb. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

K. Henry 2. dieth.

K. Richard 1. ioyneth wyth the Archb.

Furthermore, in the yeare next after, which was 1189. he wrote alſo the third letter to hym. In the which yeare alſo dyed kyng Henry. 2. After whom ſucceded kyng Richard hys ſonne, who ioyning lykewiſe wyth the Archbyſhop, tooke his part ſtrongly agaynſt the ſayd Monkes. At laſt, after much a do on both partes, and after great diſturbaunce, and impriſonyng diuers of the Monkes, king Richard preparyng hys viage toward Jeruſalem, and ſtudying firſt to ſet peace betwene them, conſulted and agreed wyth the Byſhops and Abbots about a finall concorde in thys matter betwene the Archb. and monkes of Cant. which at length on both partes was made, vpon theſe conditions as follow.

Agreement betwene the Arch. and Monkes of Cant vpon what conditions.

Conditions of peace concluded.

Ex lib. anal. mo, & ex hiſt. Geruaſij Monachi Cantuarienſis.

1. Firſt, that Roger Norys ſhould be depoſed, whom the Archbiſhop had made Prior againſt their wylles. whom the kyng then at the requeſt of the Archb. promoted to be Abbot of Euſham. 2. Item, that the Archbyſhop ſhould plucke downe hys chappell, which he builded in yͤ ſuburbes of Cant. againſt the mindes of the Monkes. 3. Item, that the foreſayd monkes ſhould make profeſſion of their obedience and ſubiection to the Archb. as they had done to his other predeceſſors before hym. 4. Item, as touching all other complayntes and iniuries (except onely the Chappell, and depoſition of Roger Norys the Prior) the monkes ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of the kyng, of the Archb. and the Prelates. 5. Item, that the monkes kneelyng downe before the kyng in the Chapter houſe, ſhould aſke the Archb. forgeueneſſe. Which beyng done, they went altogether to yͤ Church and ſang Te Deum for thys reformation of peace. Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto & ex Geruaſio.

Archb. of Cant. purchaſeth of the B. of Rocheſter land in Lambeth to builde hys houſe vpon. Baldewine Archb. of Cãt. buildeth hys houſe at Lambeth.

The next day after the Archb. commyng into yͤ Chapter, reſtored to the Couent their manors & farmes againe: alſo diſcharged the Prior which he had made before, deſiryng them likewiſe, that if he had offended them eyther in worde or deede, they would from their hart remitte hym. This reconciliation beyng made betwene the Archb. and yͤ Couent, then the Archb. goyng about to diſſolue the buildyng of hys new Church, though he chaunged the place, yet thought not to chaunge hys intent, and therfore makyng exchaunge of landes wyth the Byſhop and Monkes of Rocheſter, purchaſed of them their ground in Lambeth an. 1191. Which done, he came to hys Clerkes whom he had placed to be Canons in hys new Colledge of Hakyngtõ, and willed them to remoue all their goods & furniture to Lambeth ouer agaynſt Weſtminſter, where he erected for them an other Church, and there placed the ſayd Canons. About which colledge of Lambeth afterward much trouble lykewiſe enſued by the ſpyring of the ſayd Monkes of Cant. in the tyme of Hubert their Archb. in the reigne of the ſayd kyng Richard, and in the yeare of our Lord 1196. Furthermore after the depoſing of Roger Norys Prior of Cant. aforeſayd, Baldewyn the Archb. enforced to graunt them an other Prior by the aſſent of the kyng and of yͤ Couent, aſſigned Oſbernus to be their Prior, who had taken part before wyth the Archb. but the Monkes not pleaſed wyth hym, after the death of Baldewyne the Archb. remoued hym agayne.

Three thynges to be obſerued in this ſtory of Cãt. Monkes aboue rehearſed.

Hypocriſie in Mõkery.

Kings made ſlaues vnder the Pope.

No concorde nor vnitie in Popiſhe Churches.

Examples prouing what diſcord & how little vnitie is in the Popes Church.

And thus haue you the tedious diſcourſe of thys Catholicke tragedy, betwene the Monkes of Cant. and their Archb. ſcarce worth the rehearſall. Notwithſtãding, thys I thought to geue yͤ reader to ſee, of purpoſe: firſt to ſhew forth vnto the world the ſtout ſturdines of thys monkiſhe generatiõ, who profeſſing profound humilitie in their coate, what little humilitie they had in their hart, what pride and arrogancie in their conuerſation, and what hypocriſie in their religion, thys one example amongeſt a thouſand other may geue ſome experience. Secondly, that the poſteritye now may ſee, how litle kynges could then doe in their owne Realmes, for the Pope. And thirdly, to the entent it may more notoriouſly appeare to all readers, what ſtrife and debate, what diſſention and diuiſion, what little vnitie and concorde hath alwayes followed the Popes Catholike Church, whereſoeuer the corrupt religion and vſurped ambition of the Pope preuayled. For not to ſpeake onely of this monkiſhe houſe of Cant. what Church Cathedrall, Collegiate, or conuentuall, what ſea, Church, Monaſtery or Chappell was vnder all the Popes gouernment, but euer there happened ſome variance, either betwene the king and Archb. as betwene kyng William and Lancfrank, kyng Henry. 1. and Anſelme, kyng Stephen and Richard, kyng Henry. 2. and Becket, kyng John and Steuen Langhtõ, kyng Henry. 3. and Boniface. &c. or els betwene Archb. and Archb. for making profeſſion, for carying the Croſſe, for ſitting on the ryght hand of the Popes Legate, &c. or els betwene Archbyſhops and their Suffragans, or betwene Archbyſhops and their Couentes, or betwene Byſhops and Monkes, betwene Deane and the Chapter, betwene monkes and ſecular Prieſtes, Monkes of one ſort agaynſt an other, Fryers of one order agaynſt an other, ſtudentes agaynſt Fryers, townes men agaynſt ſcholers. &c. As for example, what diſcorde was betwene the Archbyſhop of Cant. and Rich. archbiſhop of Yorke. Betwene Lancfrancus and archb. Thomas, betwene Theobalde archb. of Cant. and Siluester Abbot of S. Auſtens, betwene Walter of Chriſtes Church, and Siluester abbot aforeſayd, betwene William archb. of Cant. and Jeremias Prior of Cant. an. 1144. betwene the Monkes of Cant. and Odo their Prior for tranſlating the reliques of Dunſtane,

ſtane, betwene kyng Stephen and Roger Biſhop of Saliſbury, the Byſhop of Lincolne, and Roger Byſh. of Ely hys ſonne. an. 1138. betwene Pope Innocent. 2. and Anacletus the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, the Cardinals for money (ſayth Geruaſius) ſometyme holdyng with the one, ſometyme with the other, and at laſt the electiõ was determined by a ſore battaile betwene Lotharius Emperour, and Rogerius Duke of Apulia. an. 1137. Alſo betwene pope Innocent 4. and Fridericke Emperour 2. betwene kyng Henry 3. and Williã Rale byſhop of Winchester, when the kyng bad the gates of Winchester towne to be ſhut agaynſt hym. an. 1250. betwene Boniface archbyſhop of Canterbury and Canons of S. Paule. Item, betwene the ſayd Boniface and monkes of S. Bartholomew, who ſat there in harnes in his viſitation. an. 1250. betwene the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and mõkes of the ſame houſe. an. 1251. Item, betwene the foreſayd William Rale Biſhop of Winchester and Boniface archbiſhop of Canterbury for a prieſt of the Hoſpitall in Southwarke. an. 1252. betwene the ſayd Boniface, and Canons of Lyncolne after the death of Robert Groſted, for giuyng of Prebendes. an. 1253. betwene the mõkes of Couentry, and Canons of Lichfield, for chuſing their Byſhop in the tyme of kyng Henry 3.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

No vnitie in the popes Church.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the diſcord, which coſt ſo much money betwene Edmund archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Monkes of Rocheſter, for chuſing Richard Wandour to be their Biſhop. an. 1238. betwene Robert Groſted Byſhop of Lyncolne, and Canons of the ſame houſe, for whiche both he and they were driuen to trauaile to Rome. an. 1244. betwene Gilbert Biſhop of Rocheſter delegate to archbiſhop Baldwyne, and Robert the Popes Legate for ſittyng on the right hand of the Legate in his councell at Weſtminſter. an. 1190. betwene the Abbot of Bardeney, & the ſeid Groſted, about viſitation of their Abbay. an. 1243. Item, betwene the Couent of Canterbury & the ſayd Robert Byſhop of Lyncolne. an. 1243. betwene Hugo Biſhop of Durham, and Hubert Byſhop of Sarum: and Geffray Archbiſhop of Yorke. an. 1189. betwene William Biſhop of Ely the kynges Chauncellor, and the Canons of Yorke, for not receauyng him with proceſſion. an. 1190. betwene the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and his Couent of Blackemonkes, whom kyng Henry 3. had much ado to ſtill and agree. an. 1249. Item, betwene the foreſayd Byſhop of Lyncolne, & the Abbot of Weſtminſter. Likewiſe betwene Nicolas byſhop of Durhã, and John Abbot of S. Albans. an. 1246. Alſo betwene Hubert Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and the mõkes there for the houſe of Lambeth. an. 1196. And what a ſtyrre was betwene the preachyng Friers, and the gray Friers mentioned In Math. Pariſ. for ſuperioritie. an. 1243. Alſo betwene the ſayd gray Friers, and the Prelates and Doctours of Paris about ix. concluſions, cõdemned of the Prelates to be erroneous.

Concluſions of the Friers condemned for erroneous by the Prelates of Paris. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 167.*

1. Concernyng the diuine eſſence, that it can not be ſene of the aungels or men glorified.
2. Concernyng the eſſence of the holy Ghoſt.
3. Touchyng the proceedyng of ẏ holy Ghoſt, as he is loue.
4. Whether men glorified ſhalbe in cœlo Empyreo, or in cœlo Criſtallino.
5. That the euill aungell at his firſt creation was euill & neuer good.
6. That there haue bene many verities from the begynnyng, which were not God.
7. That an aũgell in one inſtant may be in diuers places.
8. That the euill aũgell neuer had wherby he might ſtãd, no more had Adam in his ſtate of innocency.
9. That he which hath meliora naturalia, ẏ is to ſay, more perfect ſtrength of nature workyng in him, ſhall haue more full meaſure of neceſſitie to obtaine grace and glory. To the which article the Prelates aunſweryng, did excommunicate the ſame as erroneous, affirmyng, that grace and glory ſhal be geuen accordyng to that God hath elected and predeſtinate. &c. Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 167.

Contention betwene Friers about the conceptiõ of our Lady.

In like maner betwene the ſayd Dominicke Friers, & the gray Friers what a brawle and tumult was about the Conception of our Lady, whether ſhe was without originall ſinne conceaued or not, in the reigne of kyng Henry vij. and kyng Henry viij. an. 1509. Adde moreouer to theſe the xxiij. haynous ſchiſmes and not ſo few, which happened betwene pope and pope in the Church and ſea of Rome. But what doe I ſtand to recite the diuiſions and diſſentions in the popes Church, which is as much almoſt as to reckẽ the ſandes of the ſea. For what Church, Chapter, or Couent was in all that Religion, whiche either had not ſome variaunce with themſelues, or with others? Upon which continuall ſtrife and variance amongeſt them, the readers hereof may iudge of them & their Religiõ as pleaſeth them:

Continuall variaunce in the Popes Church.

In the meane tyme, my iudgement is this: that where ſuch diſſention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the ſpirite of Chriſt.

These thynges thus diſcourſed touchyng the tragicall diſſention betwene Baldwyne archbiſhop and Monkes of Caunterbury, now to proceede (by the Lordes aſſiſtance) in cõtinuation of our ſtory: After kyng Richard had thus, as is declared, ſet the monkes & the archbyſhop in ſome agreement, and had compoſed ſuch thynges as were to be redreſſed within the Realme, he prepareth forward his iourney, & came to Turon, to meete with Philip the French kyng: and ſo after that went to Uizeliace, where the Frẽch kyng and he ioynyng together for the more continuaunce of their iourney, aſſured themſelues by ſolemne othe, ſwearyng fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe othe was this: That either of them ſhould defend and mainteyne the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of lyfe, members, and worldly honour, and that neither of them ſhould fayle one the other in their affaires: but the Frenche kyng ſhould ayde the kyng of England in defendyng his land and dominions, as he would himſelfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that Richard kyng of England likewiſe ſhould ayde the Frẽch king in defendyng his land and dominions, no otherwiſe thẽ he would defend his owne Citie of Roan, if it were beſieged. &c. But how ſlenderly this othe did hold betwene theſe two kynges, and by whoſe chief occaſion firſt it fell aſunder, the ſequele of the ſtory (the Lord willyng) ſhall declare hereafter.

Kyng Rychard taketh his iourney toward the land of Hieruſalem.

The oth of fidelitie betwene Philip ſecond Frẽch kyng, and kyng Richard the firſt, goyng to the holy land.

Furthermore, touchyng the lawes and ordinaunces appointed by kyng Richard for his nauy, the forme thereof was this.

1. That who ſo killed any perſon on ſhypbord, ſhould be tyed with him that was ſlayne and throwen into the Sea.
2. And if he killed him on the lãd, ſhould in like maner be tyed with the partie ſlayne, & be buryed wt him in the earth.
3. He that ſhalbe cõuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapõ, to the entent to ſtrike any mã, or that hath ſtrickẽ any to the drawing of bloud, ſhall loſe his hand.
4. Alſo, he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hãd, without effuſion of bloud, ſhalbe plunged thrée tymes in the Sea.
5. Itẽ, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes, in reuilyng or curſing one an other, for ſo oft tymes as he hath ſo reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many vnces of ſiluer.
6. Item, a theefe or felon that hath ſtolne, beyng lawfully conuicted, ſhall haue his head ſhorne and boylyng pitch poured vpon his head, and fethers or downe ſtrawed vpon the ſame, wherby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landyng place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp. &c.

Diſcipline & orders ſet by kyng Richard for malefactours.

These thynges thus ſet in a readynes, kyng Richard ſendyng his nauy by the Spaniſh Seas, & by the ſtraites of Iubaltarie betwene Spayne and Africa, to meete him at Marſilia, he himſelfe went (as is ſayd) to Uizeliace, to the French kyng. Which two kynges from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge ouer the floode Rhodanus, for preſſe of people brake, and many both men and womẽ were drowned. By occaſion wherof the ij. kynges for the combraunce of their traynes, were conſtrayned to diſſeuer them ſelues for tyme of their iourney, appointyng both to meete together in Sicilie: and ſo Philip the French kyng tooke his way to Genua, and kyng Richard to Marſilia, where he remained viij. dayes, appointyng there his nauy to meete him. Frõ thence croſſing ouer to Genua, where the French kyng was, paſſed forward by the coaſts of Italy, and entered into Tyber not farre from Rome, where meetyng with Octomanus Cardinall and Byſhop of Hoſtia, he did complayne greatly of the filthy Symonie of the Pope and the Popes Court, for receauyng vij. hundred Markes for conſecratyng the Byſhop Cenomanenſis: Alſo a thouſand and fiue hundreth Markes of William Byſhop of Ely for his office Legatiue. And likewiſe an infinite ſumme of money of the Byſhop of Burdeaux, for acquityng hym when he ſhould be depoſed for a certeine crime layd to his charge by his Clergy. &c.

The French king and K. Richard come to Lyons.

K. Richard commeth to Marſilia.

K. Richard complayneth of the filthy Symony of the Popes Court.

The vij. day of Auguſt, in the yeare aforeſayd kyng Richard departed out of Marſilia, after he had there wayted viij. dayes for his nauy, which came not, and ſo hyryng xx. Galleys, and x. great Barkes, to ſhyp ouer his men, ſayled by the coſt of Italy, and came to Naples, and ſo partly by horſe and wagon, partly by the Sea paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he heard that his ſhyps were arriued at Meſſana in Sicilie he made ẏ more ſpeede and ſo the xxiij. of September entred Meſſana, with ſuch a noyſe of trumpets and ſhalmes, with ſuch a route and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terrour both of the French men, and all other that did heare and behold the ſight.

Kyng Richard departeth from Marſilia.

The kyngs ſhips arriue at Meſſana.

The comming of kyng Richard to Meſſana.

To the ſayd towne of Meſſana the French kyng was

The French king lodged in Meſſana.

come before the xvi. of the ſame moneth of September and had taken vp the Pallace of Tancredus king of Sicilie, for his lodgyng. To whom kyng Richard after his arriual eftſoones reſorted, and when the two kynges had communed together, immediatly the ſame day the French kyng tooke ſhippyng and entred the Seas, thinkyng to ſayle toward the lād of Hieruſalem. But after he was out of the hauen, the wynde riſing contrary agaynſt him returned him backe agayne to Meſſana. Then kyng Richard (whoſe lodgyng was prepared in the ſuburbes without the Citie) after he had reſorted agayne, & talked with the French kyng, and alſo had ſent to Tancredus kyng of Sicilie for deliueraunce of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bene ſometymes Queene of Sicilie) and had obtained her to be ſent vnto him, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the floud of Del far, and there gettyng a ſtrong hold called De la Bagnare, or Le Bainare, and placing therin his ſiſter with a ſufficient gariſon, he returned agayne to Meſſana. The ſecond of October kyng Richard wanne an other certeine ſtrong hold called Monaſterium Gryffonum, ſituated in the middeſt of the Riuer Del far, betwene Meſſana and Calabria, from whence the Monkes beyng expulſed, he repoſed there all his ſtore and prouiſiō of victuals which came from England or other places.

The French king driuen backe agayne by the wynde to Meſſana.

K. Richard obtaineth his ſiſter Ioane Queene ſometime of Sicilie to be ſent vnto hym.

K. Richard getteth the monaſtery of Griffones.

Diſcord betwene the Citizens of Meſſana, and the Engliſh armye.

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeyng that the kyng of England had won the Caſtle and Iland in De la Bagnare, and alſo the Monaſterie of the Griffons, and doubting leſt the kyng would extend his power farther to inuade their citie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicile, begā to ſtyrre agaynſt the kynges army, and to ſhut the Engliſhmen out of the gates, and kept their walles againſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeyng that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, in ſo much that the kyng rydyng amongeſt them with his ſtaffe, and breakyng diuers of their heades, could not aſſwage their fierceneſſe. Such was the rage of the Engliſhmen agaynſt the Citizens of Meſſana. The king ſeyng the fury of the people to be ſuch as he could not ſtay them, tooke boate, and went to the Palace of kyng Tancred to talke of the matter with the French kyng. In which meane tyme the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe hādlyng of the auncients of the Citie, that both partes layng downe their armour went home in peace.

The king could not ſtay the rage of the people.

The fourth day of the ſayd moneth of October came to kyng Richard the archbyſhop of Meſſana, with two other archbiſhops, alſo with the French kyng, and ſondry other Earles, Barons and Byſhops, for entreataunce of peace. Who as they were together conſultyng, and had almoſt cōcluded vpon the peace, the Citizens of Meſſana iſſuyng out of the Towne, ſome went vp vpon the mountaines, ſome with open force inuaded the manſion or lodgyng of Hugh Brunne an Engliſh Captaine. The noyſe whereof cōmyng to the eares of the kyng, he ſodenly breakyng of talke with the French kyng and the reſt, departed from them, and cōmyng to his men, commaūded them forthwith to arme thēſelues, Who then with certeine of his ſouldiours makyng vp to the toppe of mountaine (whiche ſeemed to paſſe their power to clyme) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them downe the mountaine, vnto the very gates of the Citie, whom alſo certeine of the kynges ſeruauntes purſued within the Citie, of whom fiue valiaunt ſouldiours, and xx. of the kynges ſeruaūtes were ſlayne, the French kyng lookyng vpon, and not once willyng to reſcue them, contrary to his othe and league before made with the kyng of England. For the French kyng with his men beyng there preſent rode in the midſt of them ſafely & without any harme, to and fro, and might well haue eaſed the kyngs party, more then he, if it had ſo liked him.

Communication about peace among the kings.

A ſkirmiſhe betwene the Citizens of Meſſana & the Engliſhmē.

The French k. a bearer with ſtrāgers againſt the Engliſhmen.

This beyng knowen to the Engliſh hoaſt, how their felowes were ſlayne, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded, & the gates barred agaynſt them, beyng alſo ſtopped from buying of vitayle and other thynges, they vpon great indignation gathered themſelues in armes, braſt open the gates, and ſcaled the walles, and ſo winnyng the Citie, ſet vp their flagges with the Engliſh armes vpon the walles. Which when the French kyng did ſee, he was mightely offended, requiryng the kyng of England, that the armes of Fraunce might alſo be ſet vp & ioyned with his. But kyng Richard to that would in no caſe agree. Notwithſtandyng to ſatiſfie his mynde, he was contented to take downe his armes, and to commit the cuſtodie of the Citie to the Hoſpitallaries and Templaries of Hieruſalem, till the tyme that Tancrede king of Sicilie and he ſhould agree together vpon conditions.

Engliſhe men winne the Citye of Meſſana in Sicilie.
Engliſhe armes ſet vp at Meſſana.

These thynges beyng done, the v. & vj. day of October, it folowed thē vpō the viij. day of the ſame moneth of October, that peace among the kyngs was concluded. In which peace firſt kyng Richard and Phillip the French kyng renewed agayne their othe and league before made cōcernyng their mutuall ayde and ſocietie duryng the tyme of that peregrination. Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betwene kyng Richard, and Tancred king of Sicile aforeſayd with conditions, that the daughter of Tancred in caſe kyng Richard ſhould dye without iſſue, ſhould mary to Arthure Duke of Britaine, the kynges nephew, and next heyre to his crowne. &c, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters ſent therof to Pope Clement beyng dated the ix. day of Nouember.

The league renued betwene kyng Richard, and the French kyng.

Peace cōcluded betwene K. Richard, & Tancrede K. of Sicille.

In this meane tyme, as theſe ij. kynges of Fraūce and England were thus wynteryng at Meſſana, Fredericke Emperour firſt of that name (the ſame, on whoſe necke Pope Alexander did treade in the Churche of Venice, ſaying the Verſe of the Pſalme Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis &c. whereof read before pag. 207.) and his ſonne Conradus, with a mighty army of Almanes and others, were commyng vp likewiſe toward the land of Hieruſalem, to the ſiege of Achon: where by the way the good Emperour, through a great miſchaunce fallyng of his horſe into a Riuer called Salef, was therin drowned. After whoſe deceaſe Conradus his ſonne takyng the gouernment of his army, came to the ſiege of Achon, in which ſiege alſo he died. Upon whoſe commyng ſuch a dearth folowed in the campe which laſted two monethes, that a loafe of bread, which before their commyng was ſold for one peny, was afterward ſold for iij. pound. By reaſon wherof many Chriſtian ſouldiours did there periſh through famine. The chiefeſt foode which the princes there had to feede vpon was horſe fleſh. This famine beyng ſo miſerable, ſome good Biſhops there were in the campe, namely Hubert Byſhop of Saliſbury, with certaine other good Byſhops, who makyng a generall collection through the whole campe for the poore, made ſuch prouiſion, that in ſuch penury of all thinges, yet no mā was ſo deſtitute & needy, but ſomwhat he had for his relief, till within a few dayes after by the mercyfull prouidence of God (who is the feeder of all creatures) ſhyppes came vnto them with aboundaunce of corne, wyne, and oyle.

Fredericke 1. Emperour wyth hys ſonne Conrade come vp toward the ſiege of Achō.

Fredericke the Emperor drowned in a riuer goyng to the ſiege of Achon.

A miſerable famine in the ſiege of Achon.

Gods prouidence in tyme of neede.

The ſiege of this towne of Achon endured a long ſeaſon, which as it was mightely oppugned by the Chriſtiās, ſo was it ſtrongly defended by the Saracens, eſpecially by helpe of wild fire, which the Latines do call Ignem Græcū, ſo that great ſlaughter there was on both ſides. During the tyme of which ſiege, many noble perſonages & alſo Biſhops dyed, amōg whom was Conradus the Emperours ſonne, Randulphe Earle of Fougeres, the Earle of Pericio, Robert Earle of Leiceſter, Baldwyne archbyſhop of Canterbury with foure archbiſhops, and diuers other byſhops and Abbots and Earles and Barons to the number of 34. and not ſo few. All this while kyng Richard & kyng Phillip of Fraunce, ſtill kept at Meſſana in Sicilie, from the moneth of September till Aprill, for lacke (I ſuppoſe) of wynde & weather, or els for neceſſitie of repayring their ſhyppes. In which meane tyme kyng Richard hearyng of Ioachim abbot of Curacio a learned mā in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the ſpirite of propheſie, and told many thynges of a people that ſhould come) ſent for hym, with whom he and his Byſhops had much conferēce about the cōmyng & time of Antichriſt. This Ioachim belike in his bookes & Reuelations vttered ſome things againſt the Sea and pride of Rome: for the which he was leſſe fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemy to their Sea, and ſo by pope Innocēt the 3. was cōdemned with his bookes for an hereticke, in his Idolatrous generall Councell of Laterane, an. 1215. as ye may read in Antoninus.

The ſiege of Achon.

Ignis Græcus much vſed of the Saracēs.

K. Richard conferreth with Ioachim Abbot about the comming of Antichriſt.

Abbas Ioachim cōdemned in the councell of Laterane, by Innocent. 3.

After this Henricus kyng of Almanes, ſonne of Fredericke the Emperour hearing of the deceaſſe of his father, ſtandyng now to be Emperor, firſt reſtoreth to Henry duke of Saxonie, & to others, whatſoeuer hys father before had takē from them. That done he ſent to Clement & his Cardinals, promiſing in all thinges to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would graunt him their aſſent to be Emperour. Wherupon Pope Clement by aduiſe of the Romaines aſſigned hym the terme of Eaſter in the next yere enſuyng for hys coronation. But before the Eaſter came, Pope Clement dyed, after he had ſit 3. yeres & about 4. monthes. After whom ſucceded Celeſtinus the 3. Of whom more hereafter, God willyng.

Henricus ſonne of Fredericke ſtādeth to be Emperour.

Pope Clement dyeth. Celeſtinus 3. Pope.

1191.

The tyme thus paſſing ouer in the month of February, the next yeare followyng, which was of the Lord. 1191. king Richard ſet ouer his Galeys to Naples, there to mete his mother Alenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purpoſed to marry. Who by that tyme were come to Brunduſium, vnder the conduct of Phillip Erle of Flanders, and ſo procedyng vn-

The bountifull liberality of K.Rich.

to Naples, there found the kings ſhips, wherin they ſayled to Meſſana. In this meane ſpace K. Richard ſhewed himſelfe exceedyng bounteous and liberall to all men. To the French kyng firſt he gaue diuers ſhips: vpon others lykewiſe he beſtowed rich rewardes, and of hys treaſures and goodes he diſtributed largely to hys ſouldiors & ſeruaunts about hym. Of whome it was reported that he diſtributed more in one month, then euer any of hys predeceſſors did in a whole yeare: by reaſon wherof he purchaſed great loue & fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduauncement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward proued.

K.Rich remoueth frō Meſſana, & commeth to Cathneys.

The honorable intertainment of king Rich. by king Tancredus.

To proceede then in the progreſſe of kyng Richard it followeth. In the firſt day of the month of March, he leauyng the Citie of Meſſana where the French kyng was, went to Cathinienſium, a Citie where Tancredus kyng of Sicilie then lay, where he was honourably receiued, and there remayned with king Tancred 3. dayes & 3. nightes. On the 4. day when he ſhould depart, the foreſaid Tancredus offered him many rich preſents in gold and ſiluer, and precious ſilkes, whereof kyng Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ryng for a token of hys good will. For ẏ which kyng Richard agayne gaue to hym a rich ſword. At length when king Richard ſhould take hys leaue, K. Tancredus would not ſo let hym part, but needes would geue hym 4. great ſhips, and 15. galeis: and furthermore, he himſelfe would needes accompany hym the ſpace of ij. dais iourney to a place called Tauernium.

Phillip the French king trayterouſly ſeeketh the deſtructiō of K.Richard by ſecret letters ſent to the kyng of Sicilia.

A frendfull part of Tancredus kyng of Sicilia toward kyng Richard.

Then the next mornyng when they ſhould take theyr leaue, Tancredus declared vnto hym the meſſage which ẏ French king a little before had ſent vnto hym by the Duke of Burgundy, the contentes wherof was this: That the king of England was a falſe traytor, and would neuer kepe the peace that was betwene them. And if the ſayd Tancredus would warre againſt him, or ſecretly by night woulde inuade him, he with all hys power would aſſiſte hym, and ioyne with hym to the deſtruction of him and all his army, &c. To whom Richard the kyng proteſted agayne, that he was no traitour, nor neuer was: and as touchyng ẏ peace begon betwene them, the ſame ſhould neuer be broken thorough hym: neyther could he beleue, that the French king, beyng his good Lord and his ſworne compartener in that voyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by him. Which whē Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of ẏ Frēch king ſent to hym by the Duke of Burgundy, affirmyng moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the ſayd letters, he was redy to try with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuyng the letters, and muſing not a little vpō the ſame, returneth again to Meſſana. The ſame day that king Richard parted, the French king cōmeth to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancredus, & there abode with hym that night, and on the morow returned to Meſſana agayne.

The firſt occaſion of diſcord betwene the French kyng & kyng Richard.

K.Richard chargeth the French kyng with falſhod.

The French king quarelleth with K. Rich. about maryng hys ſiſter.

From that tyme king Richard moued in ſtomacke agaynſt king Phillip, neuer ſhewed any gentle countenaunce of peace & amitie, as he before was wont. Wherat ẏ Frēch king greatly maruelling, & enquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe therof, word was ſent hym agayne by Phillip Erle of Flaunders what wordes he had ſent to the king of Sicilie, & for teſtimony therof ẏ letters were ſhewed which he wrote by the Duke of Burgundy, to the king of Sicile. Which when the French king vnderſtode, firſt he held hys peace as gilty in his conſcience, not knowyng well what to aunſwer. At length turnyng his tale to an other matter, he began to quarell with king Richard pretending as though he ſought cauſes to breake with hym, and to maligne hym: and therfore he forged theſe lyes (ſayd he) vpon hym, and al becauſe he by that meanes would voyde to mary with Alice his ſiſter, accordyng as he had promiſed: Addyng moreouer, that if he would ſo do, and would not mary the ſayde Alice hys ſiſter, accordyng to hys othe, but woulde marry an other, he would be an enemy to hym and hys, while he lyued.

Cauſes alledged why K.Richard could not marry wyth the French kinges ſiſter.

Agreemēt betwene the two kynges, with the conditions touchyng the ſame.

The Frēch kyng commeth to Achō.

To this kyng Richard ſaid agayne, that he could by no meanes mary that woman, for ſo much as hys father had carnall copulation with her, and alſo had by her a ſonne: for proofe wherof he had there preſently to bring forth diuers and ſondry witneſſes to the kyngs face, to teſtifie with him. In concluſion through counſell and perſwaſion of diuers about the French kyng, agrement at laſt was made, ſo that kyng Phillip dyd acquite king Richard from hys bonde of maryng his ſiſter, and king Richard agayne ſhould be bound to pay to hym euery yeare for the ſpace of v. yeres, two M. markes, with certayne other conditions beſides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphred. And thus peace beyng betwene them concluded, the 18. day of the ſaid month of March, ẏ French king launching out of the hauen of Meſſana, in the xxij. day after in Eaſter weeke came with his army to the ſiege of Achon.

Berēgaria, or as ſome do call her Bernegera daughter to the kyng of Nauarre brought to be maryed to kyng Richard by hys mother Alinor.

Pope Celeſtinus. 3.

Cōditions required of Henricus king of Almanes before he ſhould be made Emperour by the pope.

The Pope of Rome in the full top of his pride.

Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henricus the Emperor with his feete.

The pope ſtriketh of the Emperours crowne wyth his foote.

After the departure of the French kyng from Meſſana kyng Richard with his army yet remaynyng behynd, arriued Queene Alinor ẏ kings mother, bringing wt her Bernegera the kyng of Nauarres daughter to be eſpouſed to kyng Richard. Which done, Alinor leauyng Bernegera behynd her departed, takyng her iorney toward Rome, to entreate ẏ pope for Gaufridus her other ſonne aboue mentioned, to be conſecrated in the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, beyng before elected by the procurement of king Richard hys brother, as ye heard. In which meane tyme as Queene Alinor was trauailing toward Rome, Pope Clement aboue mentioned died about the 6. day of Aprill, in whoſe roume ſucceded Pope Celeſtinus the 3. Who the next day after hys conſecration, came frō Laterane to S. Peters church, where in the way meteth hym Henricus the Emperor, and Conſtantia his wyfe, with a great route of armed ſouldiours. But the Romanes makyng faſt their gates, would not ſuffer them to enter their Citie. Then pope Celeſtine ſtandyng vpon the ſtaires before the church dore of S. Peter, receiued an othe of the ſayd Henricus kyng of the Almains (his army waiting without) that he ſhould defend the Church of God, and all the liberties therof, & maintaine Iuſtice, alſo to reſtore agayne the patrimonie of S. Peter full and whole, whatſoeuer hath bene diminiſhed therof, & finally that he ſhould ſurrender to the Church of Rome agayne, the Citie of Tuſculanum, &c. Upon theſe conditiōs and grauntes then the pope tooke hym to the Church, and there annoynted hym for Emperor, and hys wife for Empreſſe, who there ſittyng in his chaire pontificall, helde the crowne of gold betwene hys feete, and ſo the Emperor bowyng downe hys head to the popes feete, receiued the crown: and in like maner the Empreſſe alſo. The crowne thus beyng ſet vpon the Emperours head, the pope eftſones with his foote ſtroke it of agayne from his head vnto ẏ ground, declaring therby that he had power to depoſe hym agayne, in caſe he ſo deſerued. Then the Cardinals taking vp ẏ crown ſet it vpon his head agayne. Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto anonymo, De geſtis Richardi regis cui initiū: Anno gratiæ &c. Item ex alio eiuſdem vetuſtatis Chronico manuſcripto, cui initium: Æneas cum Aſcanio, &c.

K.Richard remoueth from Meſſana to Achon.

K.Richard ouertakē wyth a tempeſt in the Seas, goyng to Achon.

Iſakius kyng of Cyprus a cruell enemy to Engliſhe men.

Not long after the departure of king Phillip frō Meſſana: which was in the month of March, king Richard in Aprill followyng, about the xx. day of the ſayd month, ſailing frō the hauē of Meſſana, with a 150. great ſhips, & 53. great Galeis well manned and appoynted, tooke his iourney toward Achon. Who beyng vpon the ſeas, on good Friday about the 9. houre roſe a mighty Southwind with a tempeſt, which diſſeuered and ſcattered all his nauy, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The king with a few ſhips was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes caſt ancker. The ſhip that caried the kings ſiſter Queene of Sicile, and Bernegera the king of Nauarres daughter, with ij. other ſhips wer driuen to the Ile of Cyprus. The king making great mone for the ſhip of hys ſiſter, and Bernegera his wyfe that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblown ſent forth his Galleys diligently to ſearch the reſt of his nauy diſperſed, but eſpecially for the ſhippe wherein hys ſiſter was, and the mayden whom he ſhould mary, who at legth were found ſafe and mery at the porte of Lymiſzem in ẏ Ile of Cyprus. Notwithſtāding the ij. other ſhips which were in their company before in the ſame hauen, were drowned, with diuers of the kings ſeruaunts and men of worſhip, amongſt whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, ẏ kings Vicechauncelor, who was found hauing the kinges ſeale hanging about hys necke. The king of Cyprus was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperor of the Griffones) who toke and impriſoned all Engliſhmen whiche by ſhipwrack were caſt vpon his land: alſo inuegled into his hādes the goods and priſes of them which were found drowned about his coſtes, neither would ſuffer the ſhip wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the porte.

K.Richard maketh ſute to the kyng of Cyprus for hys ſoldiours in captiuitie.

The tydinges of thys being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gatheryng hys Galleys and ſhippes together, bordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to kyng Iſakius, how he with his engliſhmen commyng as ſtraungers to the ſupportation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of wether driuen vpon his borders, and therfore wyth all humble peticion beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy croſſe, to let goe ſuch priſoners of his which he had in captiuitie, and to reſtore agayne the goods of them which were drowned, as he deteyned in hys handes, to be employed for the behouſe of

The diſdaineful & proud anſwere of Iſakius to kyng Richard.

their ſoules.&c. And thys the king once, twiſe, and thriſe, deſired of the Emperour. But he proudly aunſweryng agayne, ſent the kyng word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.&c.

K. Richard exhorteth his men to fight agaynſt Iſakius.

K. Rich. ſetteth vpon Iſakius king of Cyprus.

When kyng Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force, eftſoones geueth commaundement through all hys hoaſt, to put themſelues in armour and to follow hym, to reuenge ſuch iniuries receaued of that proude and cruell kyng of Cyprus, wylling them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but the Lord would ſtand with them, and geue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane tyme with hys people ſtoode warding the Sea coaſtes, where the Engliſhmen ſhould ariue, wyth ſwordes, billes, and launces, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſettyng boardes, ſtooles and cheſtes before them in ſtead of a walle. Howbeit but few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert and vnſkilful in the feates of warre. The king Richard with his ſouldiours iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt ſet his bowmen before, who with their ſhotte made a way for other to follow. The Engliſhmen thus winnyng the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Griffones, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom kyng Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke alyue, and had gone neare alſo to haue the Emperour, had not the nyght come on and parted the battayle. And thus kyng Richard with much ſpoyle and great victorie returning to ẏ Port towne of Lymeſzim, which the townſmen had lefte for feare, found there great aboundance of corne, wyne, oyle, and vitayles.

The battayle betwene the Emperour of Cyprus and king Rich.

Iſakius Emperour of the Griffones put to flight.

The towne of Lymeſzim taken by king Richard.

The ſame day after the victorie got, Ioane the kinges ſiſter, and Bernegera the mayden, entred the Port and towne of Lymeſzim, wyth L. great ſhippes, and xiiij. Galliots: So that all the whole nauye there meeting together were CC.Liiij. talle ſhippes, and aboue lx. Galliots. The Iſakius the Emperour ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by the Sea, the ſame night pitched his tentes v. myles of from the Engliſhe army, ſwearing that the third day after he would ſure geue battayle to kyng Richard. But he preuentyng hym before, ſodenly the ſame mornyng before the day of battayle ſhould be, ſetteth vpon the tentes of the Griffones early, they being vnwares and a ſleepe, & made of them a great ſlaughter, in ſo much that the Emperour was fayne naked to runne away, leauyng hys tentes and pauilions to the Engliſhmen full of horſes and rich treaſure, alſo wyth the Imperiall ſtandard, the lower part whereof wyth a coſtly ſtremer was couered and wrought all with golde. Kyng Richard then returnyng with victory and triumph to hys ſiſter, and Bernegera, ſhortly after in the moneth of May next folowing, and the 12. day of the ſayd moneth, maried the ſayd Bernegera daughter of Ràcon king of Nauarre, in the Iſle of Cyprus, at Lymeſzen.

The kyng of Cyprus agayne put to flight.

Kyng Richard marieth Bernegera daughter of the king of Nauarre in the Iſle of Cyprus.

The kyng of Cyprus ſeeyng himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeld hymſelfe wyth conditions, to geue kyng Richard xx. thouſand markes in golde, for amendes of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned: Alſo to reſtore all his captiues agayne to the kyng: And furthermore he in his owne perſon to attende vpon the king to the land of Hieruſalem, in Gods ſeruice and his, with CCCC. horſemen, and v. hundreth footemen: in pledge whereof he would geue to hys handes hys Caſtels, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him. This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to kyng Richard, before Guido kyng of Hieruſalē, and the Prince of Antioche (who were come thether to kyng Richard a litle before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certeyne keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he breaking from his keepers, was agayne at defiance with the kyng. Wherupō king Richard beſetting the Iſeland of Cyprus round about with ſhips and Galleys, did in ſuch ſort preuayle, that the ſubiectes of the land were conſtrayned to yeld themſelues to ẏ king, and at lēgth the daughter alſo of the Emperour and at laſt the Emperour himſelfe, whom kyng Richard cauſed to be kept in fetters of ſiluer and gold, and to be ſent to the Citie of Tripolis.

Iſakius king of Cyprus yeldeth hymſelfe to kyng Richard.

The king of Cyprus breaketh conditions wyth kyng Richard.

King of Cyprus againe ſubmitteth himſelfe, & was kept in golden fetters.

These thynges thus done, and all ſet in order touchyng the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulfe ſonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlayne, being then the firſt day of Iune, vpon the v. of the ſayd moneth, kyng Richard departed from the Iſle of Cyprus with his ſhyppes and galleys toward the ſiege of Achō, and on the next morow came to Tyrus, where by procurement of ẏ French kyng he was reſtrayned by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the vj. day of Iune, croſſyng the Seas, he mette with a great Barke fraught with ſouldiours and men of warre to the number of a thouſand and fiue hundreth, whiche pretendyng to be Frenchmē, and ſettyng forth their flagge with the French armes, were in deede Saracens ſecretly ſent with wild fire and certeine barels of vnknowen Serpentes, to the defence of the towne of Achon. Which kyng Richard at length perceauyng, eftſoones ſet vpon them, and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whom the moſt were drowned, & ſome takē aliue. Which beyng once knowen in the Citie of Achon, as it was a great diſcomfort to them, ſo it was a great helpe to the Chriſtiās for wynnyng the Citie. The next day after, which was the vij. of Iune, kyng Richard came to Achon, whiche at that tyme had bene long beſieged of the Chriſtians. After whoſe commyng it was not long, but the Paganes within the Citie, ſeyng their walles to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by compoſitiō to eſcape with lyfe and lymme, to ſurrender the Citie to the two kynges. An other great helpe to the Chriſtians in winnyng the Citie was this. In the ſayd Citie of Achon there was a ſecret Chriſtian among the Saracens, who in tyme of the ſiege thereof vſed at ſondry tymes to caſt ouer the walles into the campe of the Chriſtiās certaine billes written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherin he diſcloſed to the Chriſtians, frō tyme to tyme, the doynges and counſels of the enemyes, aduertiſing them how and what way they ſhould worke, and what to beware. And alwayes his letters began thus: In nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. By reaſon whereof the Chriſtians were much aduauntaged in their procedynges. But this was a great heauynes vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the Citie was got they could euer vnderſtand who he was. Ex Chronico manuſcripto, De geſtis Richardi.

K. Rich taketh his iourney to Achon.

A thouſand & fiue hundreth Saracens ſent to the reſcue of Achon, vanquiſhed on the ſea by K. Richard.

The Citie of Achon yelded to the Chriſtians.

An honeſt part of a ſecret Chriſtiā in the citie of Achon.

To make of a long ſiege a ſhort narration, vpon the xij. day of Iuly the yeare aforeſayd, the Princes and captaines of the Paganes vpon agreement reſorted to the tente of the Templaries, to common with the two kynges touchyng peace, and geuyng vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thys: That the kynges ſhould haue the Citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered to them with all which was therin, and fiue hundreth captiues of the Chriſtians ſhould be reſtored to them, whiche were in Achon. Alſo the holy Croſſe ſhould be to them rendered, & a thouſand Chriſtian captiues, with two hūdreth horſemen, who ſoeuer they thē ſelues would chuſe out of all thē which were in the power of Saladine. Ouer & beſides, they ſhould giue to the kyngs CC. thouſand Byſātes, ſo that they themſelues would remaine as pledges in the kyngs handes, for the performance hereof, that if in xl. dayes theſe foreſayd couenaunces were not accompliſhed, they would abyde the kynges mercy touchyng life and lymme. Theſe couenaunces beyng agreed vpon, the kynges ſent their ſouldiours and ſeruauntes into the Citie, to take a C. of the richeſt and beſt of the Citie, to cloſe them vp in towers vnder ſtrong keepyng, and the reſidue they committed to be kept in houſes and in ſtreetes, miniſtryng to them accordyng to their neceſſities: to whom notwithſtandyng this they permitted, that ſo many of them as would be baptiſed and receaue the faith of Chriſt, ſhould be free to go whether they would. Whereupon many there were of the Paganes, which for feare of death, pretended to be Baptiſed, but afterward ſo ſoone as they could, reuolted agayne to the Saladine. For the whiche it was afterward commaunded by the kynges, that none of them ſhould be Baptiſed agaynſt their willes.

The forme of peace concluded betwene the kynges & the Princes of Achon.

Couenaunces made in geuing vp the citie of Achō.

Religion would be taught and not coacted.

The 13. day of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, kyng Phillip of Fraunce, and kyng Richard, after they had obtained the poſſeſſion of Achon, diuided betwene them all thynges therin conteined, as well the people as gold and ſiluer, with all other furniture whatſoeuer was remaynyng in the Citie: who in diuidyng the ſpoyle were ſo good caruers to thēſelues, that many Knightes and Barons with other ſouldiours, who had there ſuſteined the whole trauaile iij. yeares together about that ſiege, ſeyng the kynges to take all to themſelues and their part to be but litle, retracted themſelues without the vttermoſt trench, and there after conſultatiō had together, ſent word to the kings that they would leaue and forſake them, vnleſſe they were made partakers alſo of the gaynes for the which they had ſo long trauayled. To whom aunſwere was ſent agayne by the kynges, that their willes ſhould be ſatiſfied. Howbeit becauſe of long differryng of their promiſe, many conſtrained by pouertie departed from them.

The two kings deuide the Citie of Achon, wyth all the ſpoyle therof betwene themſelues.

Commonly ſeene, who ſo taketh moſt paynes, their part to be the leaſt.

Many of the Chriſtiā ſoldiours for neede were conſtrayned to depart from Achon.

The xx. day of Iuly kyng Richard ſpeakyng with the French kyng, deſired him that they two with their armyes

K. Richard requireth of the French kyng to remaine three yeares wyth hys armye, but he would not.

would bynde themſelues by oth to remayne there ſtill in yͤ lād of Hieruſalem the ſpace of 3. yeares, for the wynning and recouering agayne of thoſe countreys. But he would ſweare (he ſayd) no ſuch othe: & ſo the next day after kyng Richard with his wife and ſiſter entreth into the Citie of Achon, & placed there himſelfe in the kyngs Palace: the French king remainyng in the houſes of the Templaries, where he continued til yͤ end of that moneth. So about the beginnyng of the moneth of Auguſt, Phillip the French kyng, after that he and kyng Richard had made agreement betwene Guido and Conradus the Marques about the kyngdome of Hieruſalem, went frō Achon to Tyrus: notwithſtandyng king Richard, and all the princes of yͤ Chriſtiā army with great entreaty deſired him to tary, ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo farre, & now to leaue vndone yͤ, for which he came, and on the 3. of Auguſt from Tyrus departed, leauyng his halfe part of the Citie of Achon in the handes of the foreſayd Conradus Marques. After whoſe departure the Paganes refuſed to keep their couenauntes made, who neither would reſtore yͤ holy croſſe nor the money, nor their captiues, ſendyng word to kyng Richard, yͭ if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achō, they would choppe of yͤ heads of ſuch captiues of yͤ Chriſtians, which were in their handes. Shortly after this the Saladine ſendyng great giftes to kyng Richard requeſted yͤ time limited for beheadyng of the captiues to be prolonged: but the kyng refuſed to take his giftes, and to graunt his requeſt. Whereupon the Saladine cauſed all the Chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion forthwith to be headed: which was the xviij. day of Auguſt. Which albeit king Richard vnderſtode, yet would not he preuent the time afore limited for the execution of his priſoners, beyng the xx. day of Auguſt. Vpon which day he cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens, openly in the ſight of the Saladines army to loſe their heades: the number of whom came to two thouſand and fiue hundreth, ſaue onely that certaine of the principal of thē he reſerued for purpoſes & conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchaunge for the holy Croſſe, and certaine other of the Chriſtian captiues.

Chriſtian captiues ſlayne by the Saladine.

The Saracen captiues ſlayne by K. Richard.

After this kyng Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citie of Ioppe. Where by the way betwene Achon and Ioppe, neare to a towne called Aſſur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens, came fiercely agaynſt the kynges rearward, but through Gods mercyfull grace, in the ſame battaile the kynges warriours acquited them ſo well, that the Saladine was put to flight (whom the Chriſtiās purſued the ſpace of iij. myles) & loſt the ſame day many of his nobles and captaines, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion xl. yeares before: and but one Chriſtian captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen. From thence kyng Richard procedyng further went to Ioppe and then to Aſcalon, where he found firſt the Citie of Ioppe forſaken of the Saracens, who durſt not abyde the kynges commyng. Aſcalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewiſe forſooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the kyng had free paſſage without reſiſtance: neither durſt the Sarazen Prince encounter after that with kyng Richard. Of all which his acheuaunces the ſayd kyng Richard ſent his letters of certificate as well into Englād, as alſo to the Abbot of Clara Valle in Fraunce, well hopyng that he, (God willyng,) ſhould be able to make his repayre agayne to them by Eaſter next.

Saladine put to flight.

A noble victory by gods power gottē by K. Rich. agaynſt the Saracens.

K. Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria.

¶ A brief ſtory of William Byſhop of Ely the kynges Chauncellour.

The ſtory of William the proud Byſhop of Ely.

AND now to leaue kyng Richard a while in the field, let vs make a ſteppe into England, and looke a little what is done at home while the kyng was abroad, & ſo returne to the kyng agayne. Ye heard before how kyng Richard at his ſettyng forth committed the gouernement of yͤ realme to Hugo Byſhop of Durham, and to William Biſhop of Ely, ſo that to the Biſhop of Durham was cōmitted the keepyng of the Caſtle of Wyndſore: the other, which was the biſhop of Ely, had the keeping of the tower of Londō, about which he cauſed a great ditch with a rampear to be caſt, which is yet remaynyng. Furthermore to theſe ij. Byſhops, the kyng alſo aſſigned foure other chief Iuſtices, which ioyntly with them ſhould haue the hearing and ouerſight of all cauſes as wel to the Clergy as the layty apperteinyng, to witte, Hugh Bardolfe, William Marſhall, Geffrey Peterſon, and William Bruer. But the Byſhop of Ely was the principal, or at leaſt, he that tooke moſt vpon hym. Who both was the kynges Chauncelour, and bought with his money to be the Popes Legate through England, Ireland, & Scotlād, as is before ſpecified. Touchyng the exceſſiue pride and pompe of which Byſhop, his ruffelinges outragious, & fall moſt ſhameful, it would make a long tragedie to diſcourſe the whole circūſtaunces at full: Onely to demōſtrate certein ſpecialties thereof for our preſent purpoſe, it may ſuffice.

Vt iuſte iudicarent clerum & populum, verba hiſt.

Foure chiefe Iuſtices with ij. Byſhops appointed ouerſeers of the Realme in the kings abſence.

W. Longchamp B. of Ely, Lord Chauncelour, & the popes Legat.

Firſt, this William called Longchamp beyng thus aduaunced by the kyng to be his high Chauncelour, and chief Iuſtice of the Realme, and alſo the Popes Legate, to ſhew abroad the authoritie of his Legatſhyp, begā to ſuſpend the Canons, Clerkes, and Vicares of the Church of S. Peter in Yorke, becauſe they receaued him not with proceſſion: vnder which interdiction he held them, till they were fayne at laſt, both Canons, Clerkes, and Vicares to fall downe at his foote, cauſing al their belles to be let downe out of the ſteple. After this commeth Hugo byſhop of Durham, whō the kyng ſent home out of Normādy with his letters, who metyng with the foreſayd William Byſhop of Ely in the towne of Bype, ſhewed him the kings letters, wherin was graunted to him the keepyng of Windſore Caſtle, and to be the kynges Iuſtice from the Riuer of Humber, to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the Chauncelour aunſwered, that the kynges cōmaundement ſhould be done, and ſo brought him with him to Suwell, where he tooke him, and kept him faſt, til he was forced at laſt to ſurrender to him the Caſtle of Wyndſore, and other things which the king had committed to his cuſtody: and moreouer was conſtrained to leaue with the ſayd Chaūcelour, Henry de Puteaco his owne ſonne, and Gilbert Ley for pledges and hoſtages of his fidelitie to be true to the king and the Realme. And thus the biſhop of Durham beyng ſet at libertie, went to his towne of Houedē. Where after he had made his abode a few dayes, cōmeth thether Oſbert Lōgchamp the Chaūcelours brother, and William Stutevill, with a great company of armed men ſent by the Chauncelour to apprehend him. But the ſayd Biſhop of Durham puttyng in ſureties not to depart that towne without licence of the kyng and of the Chauncellour, there ſtill remained, till he got letters to be ſent to the kyng, ſignifying how he was vſed. Whereupon the kyng writyng his letters from Marſilia to the byſhop of Ely, ſet the ſayd Byſhop of Durham free, and confirmed to him all the poſſeſſions and grauntes that he before had geuen him.

The Church and belles of Yorke ſuſpēded becauſe the Lord Legate was not ſet in with proceſſion.

Byſh. of Ely getteth the caſtell of Wyndſore from the B. of Durhā.

Hugo Biſhop of Durham vexed by W. Biſhop of Ely.

It is almoſt incredible to thinke how intemperatly this byſhop and Chauncelour miſuſed himſelfe after the kynges departure into Syria in exceſſe of pride, and in cruell exactions and oppreſſions of the kynges ſubiectes. Firſt his fellow Iuſtices, whom the kyng ioyned with him for gouernement of the Realme, he vtterly reiected, & refuſed to heare their counſaile, reputyng none to be equall with him in all the Realme. Neither was he contented with the authoritie of a Prelate, but playde both kyng and prieſt in the Realme. All Caſtels, Lordſhyps, Abbayes, Churches, and all other appropriations belongyng to the right of the kyng, he claymed to himſelfe, and by vertue of his Legateſhyp, when he came to any Byſhops houſe, Abbay, Priory, or any other Religious houſe, he brought with him ſuch a ſuperfluitie of men, horſes, dogges, & haukes, that the houſe was worſe for it iij. yeares after. For commonly he neuer rode vnder a 1500. horſes of Chaplaynes, Prieſtes, and other ſeruyng men waytyng vpon him. From the Clergy & laytie he tooke away their Churches, their vowſons, their liuynges, and landes, to beſtow vpon his nephewes, and other waytyng Chaplaynes to ſerue his vayne glorie, or els conuerted them to his owne vſe, to mainteine his pompe and vanitie. In gettyng and gatheryng of treaſures he had no meaſure, in miſpendyng the ſame he kept no order. And that no vyce ſhould be wantyng where ſuch auarice taketh roote, the money which he wrōgfully got, he committed to the banke, to be encreaſed by vſurie. What wantonnes and laſciuiouſnes was vſed in that ſo riotous lyfe, the ſtories do ſhame to declare it. All ruffenly runnagates, idle belyes, and light perſons, whereſoeuer he went, hanged vpon his Court. To increaſe the vayne ioylitie of this Royall Prelate, there was lackyng no kynde of Muſicall inſtrumentes and melodious noyſe, to refreſh belike his weryed ſenſes ſo much beaten and macerated with continuall labour and ſtudy of huntyng, haukyng and gamyng: of preachyng and readyng, I ſhould haue ſayd.

The exceſſiue pride and enormities of W. Byſhop of Ely.

Byſhop of Ely neuer rode vnder a 1500. horſe.

His vanitie.

His vſury.

His riotous delicate life.

Briefly this foreſayde Prelate, bearing the authoritie both of the king and of the pope, kept ſuch a ſturre in England, that all the whole realme was at hys becke, with cap and knee crouchyng to hym. Neither durſt any man riche or poore diſpleaſe hym. Yea none in all the Realme ſo noble or worſhipfull, but was glad to pleaſe hym, accountyng themſelues happy if they might ſtand in his fauour. At his table all noble mens children dyd ſerue and wayte vpon hym. To

The Biſh. of Ely playeth both king and Prieſt.

whome he coupled in mariage hys nieces and kinſwomen. And when any that ſtoode waityng before hym, durſt once caſt vp his eyes, or dyd not demurely loke downward vpon the ground, he had a ſtaffe in hand with a pricke, wherwith he vſed to pricke them, learning belike by the carter hys father, which vſed at the plough or carte to driue hys oxen. Furthermore, as kings vſe to haue their gard about thẽ, ſo he becauſe he would not alſo be vngarded, refuſing men of the Engliſh nation, had hys wayters and warders moſt of Frenchmen and Flemmings.

Wil. Biſh. of Ely garded with French men and Flemminges.

An. 1191.

A generall complaint to the K. of W. Biſh. of Ely.

It happened after this, in the yeare 1191. that a great diſcord roſe betwene Iohn Erle of Morton the kings brother, with other ſtates of the realme, and the ſayd William biſhop of Ely, ſo that vniuerſally they all wrote ouer to the king concerning the miſgouernmẽt & enormities of the ſaid Biſhop. Who vnderſtandyng of the caſe, ſent from Meſſana into Englãd, Walter Archb. of Roan, and Williã Marſhall Erle, vnto the biſhop of Ely with letters, commaundyng hym that in all his doynges he ſhould aſſociate vnto hym the ſayd Archb. of Roan, W. Mareſchall, Geffrey Peterſon, W. Bruer, and Hugh Bardolfe aboue mentioned. Who when they came into England, durſt not deliuer their letters, dreadyng the diſpleaſure of the Chauncelor: for he deſpiſed all the commaundements of the kyng, nor woulde ſuffer any fellow to ioyne with hym in hys kingdome.

Of theſe foure aſſociates read the page before.

Hitherto you haue heard of the glorious vanitie of this lordly Legate and Chauncellor of the Realme, now ye ſhall heare of hys ſhamefull fall, after hys ſhameleſſe exaltation. For ſhortly after this followeth an other breach betwene the ſayd erle Iohn the kinges brother and hym, about the beſiegyng of the Caſtle of Lincolne. Concernyng yͤ which caſtell yͤ ſayd Iohn ſent hym word, that vnles he raiſed his ſiege yͤ ſooner frõ thẽce, he would ſend him away by force of ſword. The biſhop either not able to make hys partie good, or not daryng to reſiſt, thought beſt to fall to ſome compoſition with the Erle, and ſo dyd. In which compoſition, he was contented agaynſt his will, by mediation of diuers biſhops and others, to make ſurrender, not onely of the caſtle of Lincolne, but alſo of Nottingham, of Tickhill, Walingford and many moe, which were then committed to the cuſtody of ſondry men of worſhip and honour. And thus was that controuerſie agreed, wherin the biſhop of Ely began a little to be cut ſhorter.

An other diſſention betwene Iohn the kinges brother & William Biſh. of Ely.

It followed then not long after in the ſame yeare, that an other like buſines began to kindle betwene Geffrey the Archb. of Yorke the kynges brother, and the foreſayd glorious biſhop of Ely, vpon this occaſion. Ye heard before how the kyng at his ſetting out, left order that Erle Iohn and Geffrey his brethren ſhould not enter into the Realme the ſpace of iij. yeres after hys departure (howbeit his brother Iohn was ſhortly after releaſed of that bond): and alſo after that how kyng Richard being at Meſſana, ſent his mother Alinore to the Pope for his brother Geffrey (elected before to the Sea of Yorke) to be conſecrated Archbiſhop: wherupon the ſaid Geffrey beyng conſecrated thorough licence of Pope Celeſtine by the Archb. of Turon, the ſayd Geffrey eftſones after his conſecratiõ differred no time, but would nedes come into England. Wherof the biſhop of Ely hauyng intelligence, ſent hym word beyng at Wiſſand in Flaunders not to preſume to aduenture into the realme cõtrary to hys othe made to kyng Richard before: commaundyng moreouer, that if he came, he ſhould be apprehended. All which notwithſtandyng the Archb. letted not for all yͭ, but nedes would repayre to his Sea, and ſo arriued at Douer in the month of September, where the Chauncelours men ſtoode on the Sea ſide to apprehend hym. But he by changyng hys apparell and by ſwiftnes of his horſe eſcaped their handes, and came to the monkes houſe of Douer. But the Chauncelors men whom he ſent to take him, beſet the Church of the Monkes round about, ſo that in no wyſe he could auoyd their handes.

An other broyle betwene the Chauncelour & Geffray Archb. of Yorke the kynges brother.

[illegible]

The cruell handling of Geffray Archb. of Yorke, by the B. of Ely the popes Legate & Chauncelour of England.

To make the ſtory ſhort, as the Archb. on a day, when he had ſayd Maſſe was ſtanding at the altar, with his garmẽts yet about hym, the rude ſouldiours hauing little good maners, and leſſe deuotiõ, ſpared not boldly to ruſh into the Church, and there layd hands vpon the Archb. as he ſtode: toke hym, bound hym and dragged hym through durt & mire (and as we vſe to ſay) through thicke and thin, and ſo committed hym to Mathew Clerke their Conſtable to be kept: wherat the people greatly diſdayned, ſeyng hym that was a kinges ſonne, and the brother of a kyng ſo to be entreated. The hearyng wherof when it came to the eares of Earle Iohn hys brother, he beyng not a little offended therewith, ſent to know of the Chauncelour whether this was his doyng or not. To whom when the Chauncellor ſent anſwer agayne, and ſtoutly confeſſed the fact to be hys, then the erle ſent cõmaundemẽt that his brother ſhould be deliuered, & ſo he was. Who then cõmyng to Lõdon, made his complaint to the erle his brother, and to other nobles of the realme, of the iniuries done to hym by the Chauncelour. Wherupon yͤ erle ſent for the ſaid Chauncelor & appointed a day peremptory for hym to appeare before the whole body of the Counſell, to make aunſwer to ſuch iniuries as he had done, both to the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and alſo to the biſhop of Durham aboue mentioned. But the Chauncellour driuyng of the tyme with delayes, would neither come nor ſend. Then the Earle with the Biſhops about hym, made their iourney toward London, to haue the matter there handled in greater audience.

Geffray Archb. of Yorke deliuered out of priſon by commaundement of Earle Iohn his brother.

A ſkirmiſhe betwene the ſeruauntes of the B. of Ely and the ſeruauntes of Earle Iohn.

The chãcelour ſeyng that, withdrew hymſelf frõ Windſore to the Citie of London. Where by the way it happened that the ſeruants of the Erle and of the Chauncelour metyng, did ſkirmiſh together. In which fray one of the Erles family was ſlayne, but yet hys men had the better, and the Chauncelor with hys men were put to flight, and ſo fled to the Tower, where they did hide themſelues. The next day after (which was about yͤ 12. day of October) Erle Iohn the kings brother, and the Archb. of Roan, with all the biſhops, Erles and Barons, and Citizens of London aſſembled together in Paules Church, where many and great accuſations were layd agaynſt the ſayd Chancelor, ſo that in fine it was agreed in that aſſembly, that the ſayd Chancelor ſhould be depoſed, and in hys place was ſubſtitute the Archb. of Roan, accordyng to the tenour of yͤ kings letters ſent from Meſſana, which was, that certein other perſons ſhould be aſſociated with the Chauncelour for the gouernement of the Realme, by whoſe counſaile if he would not be directed, the archb. of Roan ſhould be ſet in hys place, & he to be depoſed. The third day after this, the Chancelor firmly promiſed, not to depart out of the Realme before he had deliuered out of his handes all ſuch caſtles, yͤ keping wherof he committed to certaine foreiners and ſtraungers, and for aſſuraunce therof, he gaue his two brethren and Chamberlaine for pledges, and ſo went to Canterbury, where he ſayd he would take the croſſe of a Pilgrime, and leaue the croſſe of hys Legateſhip.

The nobles aſſembled in counſell agaynſt the B. of Ely.

The B. of Ely Chãcelor of the realme and Legate depoſed.

The B. of Ely reſigneth his Caſtels.

Now when he was come to the Caſtle of Douer, and there had remayned a few dayes, contrary to hys promiſe made, hys purpoſe was to take ſhip, and to paſſe ouer the Seas. And becauſe he durſt not do it openly, he deuiſed a new kynd of diſguiſing, deckyng hymſelfe in the apparell of a woman, and ſo as gouty as he was went to the ſea ſide in hys womans wede, hauing in hys hand a met yarde, and on hys arme a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was ſittyng vpon a rocke waityng for hys ſhip to come and to cõuey hym ouer, a certayne fiſherman eſpying hym, and ſuppoſing the ſame to be a harlot, came to hym, and ſo wͭ ſtrugglyng with hym, found hym, as he was in dede to be a man in lykeneſſe of a woman. Wherat he wondered, and began to make an outcry vpon hym. But the biſhops ſeruants being not farre of, came runnyng and ſtilled hym as well as they could.

The B. of Ely clotheth himſelfe in a womans apparell.

The fiſherman then goyng to the next Village, & there belike declaring what he had ſene, to try out the matter further, came out certein women, who ſeyng the linnen clothe hangyng at hys arme, began to queſtion with him of yͤ price of hys cloth, and what he would take for it. But to this he would aunſwer neuer a word, but ſmiled vpon thẽ. Wherat they muſing with themſelues, and whiſpering one with an other, at laſt with their handes were ſo bold to pluck down hys muffler, and there by his beard new ſhauen, found hym in dede to be a man, and ſo with a loud exclamation rayſed yͤ Village vpõ hym, and would haue fallẽ vpõ hym wͭ ſtones. Then came runnyng a great multitude both of men & women, who wondering at hym, as birdes are wonte at an Owle, layd handes vpon hym, and pluckt hym downe to the ground, halyng and drawyng hym by the ſleues and colar of his gowne through ſtones and rockes, wherby he was ſhrewdly hurt. His ſeruauntes once or twice made out to reſcue their old maiſter, or new miſtres, but could not for yͤ preace of the people, who beating hym with their fiſtes, and ſpitting at hym, drew hym through the whole towne, and ſo with ſhame inough at length layde hym in a darke cellar in ſtede of a priſon. Of whom all the countrey about wondred and cried out. In concluſion Earle Iohn hearyng therof, within 8. dayes after ſent worde, that they ſhould deliuer hym, and let hym go.

A Fiſherman taketh the B. of Ely to be a woman.

The B. of Ely in a womãs apparel found to be a man.

Bayted of womẽ by the Seas ſide.

Caſt in a darke cellar in ſtead of a priſon.

Set at libertie by Iohn Earle of Morton.

The biſhop then ſet at libertie, ſayled ouer as he could, to Flaunders, where he had but cold welcommyng. From thence he went to Paris, where he gaue Mauricius their biſhop 60. Markes of ſiluer, to be receiued in with proceſſion, and ſo he was. Then returned he into Normandy.

The B. of Ely geueth lx. markes to be receaued with proceſſion.

But

The Biſh. of Ely cõplayneth to the kyng and the Pope.

But the Archb. of Roan there gaue commaundemẽt, that the Church dores ſhould be locked and no ſeruice ſayde ſo long as he there remayned. The Biſhop ſeyng that, directeth hys letters and meſſengers to Pope Celeſtine and alſo to king Richard into Syria, ſignifying to them how John the Erle of Morton and hys complices had handled hym, and expulſed hym out of the realme, requiryng that he might be reſtored agayne to that was taken from him: and alſo offring himſelfe to be tryed by the lawe for that he had done, ſo that if ẏ kyng ſhould diſlike in any thing that he had done, he was redy to ſatiſfie the kings contentation in all things wherin iuſtly he could be charged.

The letter of Pope Celeſtine, in the behalfe of the Biſh. of Ely hys Legate.

Vpon this Pope Celeſtine inflamed with an Apoſtolicall zeale in the behalfe of the ſayd Biſhop of Ely hys Legate, wrote a ſharpe and a thunderyng letter to the Archb. Biſhops and prelates of England, commaundyng them by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, that for ſo much as the iniuries done to his Legate, did redounde to the contumelie of the whole mother Church of Rome, they ſhould not faile therfore, but with ſeuere cenſures of the Church, that is, wyth booke, bell, and candle, procede: as well agaynſt the foreſayd John Erle of Morton, as alſo all other, who ſo euer had, or ſhould attempt any violẽce or iniury agaynſt the ſaid his Legate W. of Ely, with no leſſe ſeueritie, then if the ſaid iniury ſhould be offred to the Perſon of the Pope himſelfe, or any other of hys brethren the Cardinals. &c.

The B. of Ely bold vpon the Popes fauour.

The biſhop of Ely the popes Legate, bearing hymſelfe bold vpon the fauour and letters of the Pope which toke his part, writeth to Henry B. of Lincoln, charging and requiring, ẏ he in vertue of obedience ſhould execute ẏ popes ſentence and mandate, in excommunicating all ſuch as were offenders in that behalfe, and there reciteth the names of diuers agaynſt whom he ſhould procede, as the Archbiſhop of Roan, the B. of Wint. W. Mareſchall, Geffrey Peterſon, Bruer, and Bardolf, the Erle of Saliſbury, the Earle of Mellent, Gilbert Baſſet, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and eſpecially Hugh B. of Couentry. Alſo M. Benet, and Steuen Ridle, Chauncelor to Erle John the kings brother, to the which Earle he reſerued a further day of reſpite before he ſhould be excommunicate, with a number of other mo beſide theſe. Howbeit the ſayd B. of Ely could finde none to execute this commaundement of the pope. Then they with a generall conſent wrote agayne to king Richard, complainyng of the intollerable abuſes of the ſayd B. hys Chauncellor. In lyke ſort the ſayd Chauncelor alſo complaining of them, wrote hys letters to the kyng, ſignifying how Earle John hys brother went about to vſurpe hys kingdom, and would alſo ſhortly ſet the crowne vpon his owne hed: vnles he made the more ſpedie homewarde. The kyng then was buſie in repulſing the Saladine, and prepared to lay ſiege agaynſt Hieruſalem, and got Sclauonia, with diuers other townes from the Saracens, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1192. hauing diuers conflicts in the meane ſpace with the Saladine, and euer put hym to the worſe. As the king thus was preparyng to lay his ſiege agaynſt Jeruſalem, ẏ Saladine glad to fall to ſome compoſition with the kyng, ſent vnto him, that if he would reſtore to him againe Sclauonia in as good ſtate as it was when he toke it, he would graunt to hym, and to all Chriſtians in the land of Jeruſalem truce for 3. yeres, and offred hymſelfe therunto to be ſworne. The king ſeyng the Duke of Burgundy and the Frenchmen to ſhrinke from him, and his own men to decay and alſo his mony and health to diminiſh, but eſpecially for that he vnderſtode by the B. of Ely his Chauncelour, the Frenche kyng to ſet vp John his brother to poſſeſſe his kyngdome, beyng counſailed thereto by the Templaries, toke the truce offred of the Saracens, and ſo begã to draw homeward.

The names of many which ſtoode againſt the Biſh. of Ely appointed to be excommunicated.

The Biſh. of Ely cõplayneth to the king of the Earle of Morton hys brother.

1192.

Strife betwene the B. of Ely & the Archb. of Roan.

In this meane while much grudge and ſtrife increaſed more and more betwene the B. of Ely, and the Archbiſhop of Roan aboue ſpecified, in ſo much that the Archb. beyng excommunicate, ſent vp his Clerkes to pope Celeſtine to complaine of the B. But the Pope euer ſtoode in hys purgation. At laſt he ſent two of his Cardinals, to wit, Octomannus biſhop of Hoſtia, and Jordanus de foſſa noua, to breake the ſtrife betwene the B. of Ely, and the Archbiſhop of Roan.

Pope Celeſtine ſtãdeth in excuſe of the Byſh. of Ely.

The B. of Ely wyth the kinges letters cõmeth agayne into England.

After this, king Richard beyng taken and in the cuſtody of Henry the Emperour, the B. of Ely reſorting to him was ſent by hym into England to Alinore his mother, and other nobles. Who then returning into England agayne, not as Chauncelour, nor as Legate (as he ſayd) but as a ſimple playne Biſhop, ſo by that meanes was receiued. Ex Matthæo Pariſ. Et ex alijs incerti nominis manuſcriptis codicibus.

But of this vayneglorious prelate though and to much,

What diſcord doth.

Now to returne agayne to Richard, concerning whoſe worthy actes done abroad in getting of Cyprus, Achon & Ptolemaida in pacifying Joppe &c. partly is ſpoken of before. Many other valiaunt and famous actes were by hym and the French kyng atchieued, and moe ſhould haue bene, had not thoſe two kings fallyng into diſcord, diſſeuered thẽ ſelues: by reaſon wherof Philip the French king returned home agayne within ſhort ſpace. Who beyng returned agayne eftſones inuaded the country of Normandy, exciting alſo John the brother of king Richard to take on hym the kyngdome of England in his brothers abſence. Who then made league (vpon the ſame) with the French kyng, and did homage vnto hym, which was about the fourth yere of king Richard. Who then beyng in Syria, and hearing therof made peace with the Turkes for 3. yeres. And not long after, king Richard the next ſpring followyng returned alſo. Who in hys returne driuen by diſtreſſe of wether about the parties of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Limpold duke of the ſame countrey, and ſo ſold to the Emperor for 60000. markes. Who for no ſmal ioy therof, writeth to Philip the French kyng theſe letters here followyng.

The French king returneth from Paleſtina.

An. 1193.

K. Richard returneth from Paleſtina.

The Letter of the Emperour to Phillip the Frenche king, concerning the taking of King Richarde.

HEnricus dei gratia Romanorũ Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo Philippo illuſtri Francorum Regi ſalutem & ſinceræ dilectionis affectũ. Quoniam Imperatoria celſitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici de vniuerſis quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos & Rom. imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quòd inimicus imperij noſtri & turbator regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua in qua ipſe erat, induceret eam in partes Hiſtriæ, ad locum qui eſt inter Aquileiam & Venetias. Vbi Rex Dei permiſſione paſſus naufragium, cum paucis euaſit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter comes Maynardus de Gooxce & populus regionis illius audito quòd in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentiùs qualẽ nominatus Rex in terra promiſſionis, proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem rege in fugam conuerſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites. Poſtmodum proceſſit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fridericus de Beteſow, rege cum tribus tantùm verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu, ſex milites de ſuis cepit. Dilectus autem conſanguineus noſter Limpoldus Dux Auſtriæ, obſeruata ſtrata, ſæpe dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo deſpecta captiuauit. Cum itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tua moleſtauit & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus, nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus, ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum, V. Kalendas Ianuar.

King Richard thus beyng traiterouſly taken and ſolde to the Emperor by the duke of Auſtrige for 60000. markes, was there kept in cuſtody a yere and 3. monethes. In ſome ſtories it is affirmed that K. Richard returning out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous winde, where he deſired of the Pope to be abſolued frõ an othe made agaynſt his will, and could not obtaine it. And ſo ſetting out from thence toward England, paſſing by the country of Conradus the Marques, whoſe death (he beyng ſlaine a little before) was falſly imputed by the French king, to the kyng of England, and there traiterouſly was taken as is before ſayd by Limpoldus Duke of Auſtrige. Albeit in an other ſtory I find the matter more credibly ſet forth, which ſayth thus that king Richard ſlewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with hym at cheſſe in the French kings court. And Limpoldus takyng his vauntage was more cruel againſt hym, and deliuered him, as is ſayd, to the Emperour. In whoſe cuſtody he was detained, duryng the tyme aboue mentioned, a yere and 3. monthes. During the which tyme of the kings enduraunce, the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſtirred warre in Normandy. And Erle John ẏ kings brother made ſturre and inuaded England, but the barons & biſhops of the land mightely withſtode hym. And beſieged hym in the caſtell of Windſore, where they tooke from hym all the caſtels and munitiõs, which before he had got. Thus the Erle ſeyng no hope to preuaile in England, and ſuſpec-

Confederacy of the French kyng and Earle John againſt kyng Richard.

Earle John beſieged at Wyndſore.

tyng the deliueraunce of the king his brother: made into Fraunce, and kept with the French king. At length it was ſo agreed & concluded with ye Emperor, that K. Rich. ſhould be releaſed for 14000. poundes. Of the which money part ſhould remaine to the Duke of Auſtrige, the reſt ſhould be ye Emperors. The ſomme of which mony was here gathered and made in England, of Chalices, croſſes, ſhrines, candleſtickes and other church plate, alſo with publike contribution of Friers, Abbeys, and other ſubiectes of the Realme. Whereof part was preſently payd, and for the reſidue remainyng, hoſtages and pledges were taken: which was about the v. yere of his raigne. And then was it obteyned of the Pope that prieſts might celebrate with chalices of Latin & tinne. And ſo was graunted & continued long after, which myne author (in his Chronicle entituled Eulogium) doth teſtifie hymſelfe to haue ſene. At what tyme this foreſayde mony was payd, and the oſtages geuen for the raunſome of this K. I haue an old ſtory that ſayth how ye foreſaid Duke of Auſtrige ſhortly after was plagued by God with v. ſondry plagues: Firſt with burning of his chiefe townes. Secondly, with the drownyng of x. thouſand of hys men in a flood happening no man could tell how. Thirdly, by turning all the eares of hys corne field into wormes. Fourthly, by taking away almoſt all the Nobles of hys lande by death. Fiftly, by breaking his owne legge, fallyng from hys horſe, which leg he was compelled to cut of with hys owne handes and after dyed vpon the ſame. Who then at his death is ſayd to forgeue K. Richard 50000. Markes, and ſent home the hoſtage, that was with hym, ex varijs Chron. The boke intituled Eulogium before mentioned, declareth thus, that the ſayd Limpoldus Duke of Auſtrige fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and died excommunicate, the next yere after. an. 1196.

An. 1195.

Ex Chronico cui titulus Eulogium.

The firſt puniſhment of God vpon the Duke of Auſtrige.

An. 1196.

Thus the ſayd king Richard beyng ranſomed, as hath bene declared from the couetous captiuity of the Emperour, was reſtored agayne, and made hys repayre into England. At whoſe returne, Erle Jhon his brother reſorting to hym wyth humble ſubmiſſion: deſired to be pardoned of his tranſgreſſions. To whom king Richard anſwering agayne: would God (ſayth he) this your treſpaſſe, as it dyeth wyth me in obliuion, ſo it may remayne wyth you in remembraunce. And ſo gentlely forgaue hym. And after he had agayne recouered hys holdes and caſtels, cauſed hymſelfe to be crowned agayne. Which done, he made hys power againſt the French king, and draue him out of Normandy. After that he turned his viage agaynſt the Welſhemen, and ſubdued them.

The anſwere of K. Richard to his brother.

An. 1197.

The next yeare folowing: which was the 1197. yeare of the Lord, Philip the Frẽch kyng brake truce made betwene hym and kyng Richard, whereupon the king was compelled to ſayle ouer againe to Normandy to withſtand the malice of hys enemy. About which time, my ſtory recordeth of one called of ſome Fulco: ſome ſay, he was the Archbiſhop of Roane called Gualter. This Fulco beyng then in England, and comming to the kynges preſence, ſayd vnto him with great courage and boldnes. Thou haſt O mighty king, three daughters very vicious and of euill diſpoſition: take good heede of them, and betimes prouide for them good huſbandes: leaſt by vntimely beſtowing of the ſame, thou ſhalt not onely incurre great hurt & damage, but alſo vtter ruine and deſtruction to thy ſelfe. To whom the kyng in a rage ſayd: Thou lying and mocking hipocrite, thou knoweſt not where thou art, or what thou ſayeſt: I thinke thou art mad or not well in thy wittes, for I haue neuer a daughter as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open lyer get thee out of our preſence. To whom Fulco aunſwered: no, and like your grace I lye not, but ſay truth: for you haue iij. daughters, which continually frequent your court, and wholy poſſeſſe your perſon: and ſuch iij. whores & naughty packes as neuer the like hath bene heard of. I meane miſcheuous pride, gredy couetouſnes, and filthy luxurie. And therfore againe I ſay, O King, beware of them, and out of hand prouide mariages for them, leaſt in not ſo doyng, thou vtterly vndoe both thy ſelfe and all the whole realme.

Three daughters of the kyng noted.

The which hys wordes, the kyng tooke in good part: with correction of himſelfe, & confeſſion of the ſame. Wherupon incontinently he called his Lordes and Barons before hym, vnto whom he declared the commonyng & monition of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of hys three daughters: pride, auarice, and luxury, with counſell out of hand to marry them: leaſt further diſcommoditie ſhould enſue both to hym and the whole realme, whoſe good counſell (my Lordes) I entende to follow, not doubting of all your conſentes therunto. Wherfore here before you all, I geue my daughter ſwellinge pride to wife, to the proude Templars: my greedy daughter auarice to the couetous order of the Ciſtercian Monkes, and laſt of all, my filthy daughter luxury, to the riotous prelats of the church, whom I thinke to be very meete man for her: and ſo ſeuerally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our Realme are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.

Not long after this, it befell that a certaine noble perſonage (Lord of Lemonice in litle Britaine, Widomarus by name) found a great ſubſtaunce of treaſure both of gold and ſiluer hid in the ground: whereof a great part he ſent to kyng Richard, as chiefe Lord and Prince ouer the whole countrey. Which the kyng refuſed, ſaying, he woulde eyther haue all or none, for that he was the principall cheftayne ouer the land. But the finder would not condeſcend to that. Wherefore the kyng layd ſiege to a Caſtell of hys called Galuz, thinking the treaſure to lye there. But the keepers and warders of the caſtell, ſeeing themſelues not ſufficient to wythſtand the kyng, offered to hym the caſtel, deſiring to depart with life and armour. To this the kyng would in no wiſe graunt, but bidde them to reenter the caſtell agayne, and to defend it in all the forceable wiſe they could. It ſo befell, that as the kyng wyth the Duke of Brabant went about the caſtell, vewing the places therof: a ſouldiour within, named Bertandus Gordoun, ſtroke the kyng wyth an arrow in the arme, wherupon the yron remaynyng and feſtering in the wound, the kyng within ix. dayes after dyed: who becauſe he was not content wyth the halfe of the treaſure that an other mã found, loſt all his owne treaſure that he had. The king being thus wounded cauſed the man that ſtroke him, to be brought vnto hym, and aſked the cauſe of him, why he ſo wounded hym. Who aunſwered agayne (as the ſtory ſayth) that he thought to kill rather then to be killed. And what puniſhment ſoeuer he ſhould ſuſteine, he was cõtent, ſo that he might kill him, which had before killed his father and brethren. The kyng hearyng his wordes, freely forgaue him, and cauſed an hundreth ſhillinges to be geuen him. Albeit (as the ſtory addeth) after the death of the kyng, the duke of Brabãce, after great tormentes cauſed him to be hanged. Ex hiſtoria Regis Richardi 2. cui initium. De patre iſtius Bruti. &c. The ſtory of Giſburne ſayth, that the killer of kyng Richard, commyng to the French kyng, thinking to haue a great reward, was commaunded to be drawen a ſonder with horſe, & his quarters to be hanged vp.

He that all would haue, ſhall all forgoe.

Couetous gredines plagued.

The death of K. Richard the firſt.

K. Richard forgeueth hym that killed hym.

Ex bibliotheca Carienſ. Ex Gualtero Hemyngford, monacho Giſburnenſ.

An other ſtory affirmeth, and Giſburne partly doth teſtifie the ſame, that a litle before the death of king Richard: three Abbotes of the order Ciſterciã came to him, to whom he was confeſſed. And when he ſaw them ſomewhat ſtay at his abſolutiõ, had theſe wordes: that he dyd willyngly commit his body to the earth, to be eaten of wormes: and his ſoule to the fire of Purgatory there to be tormented till the iudgement, in the hope of God his mercy. Ex Iornalenſ. Giſburn. & alijs.

Vaine feare of purgatory.

Ex Iornal. Giſburnenſ. & alijs.

About the reigne of this kyng, the ſayd Iornalenſis maketh mention of Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, which put out of his Church the Monkes and placed for them ſeculare Prieſtes: ſaying that he would rather wiſhe Eccleſiaſticall benefices to be geuen to wanton Prieſtes then to abhominable monkes, and that Thurſtinus did ſinne neuer worſe in all his lyfe then in buildyng that houſe for monkes &c. An other ſtory I haue which ſayth, that this was the Byſhop not of Yorke, but of Couentry.

Mõkes put out, and ſecular prieſtes receaued.

The kyng not lõg after, departed without iſſue: & John his brother reigned after him: in whõ, although ſome vices may worthely be reprehended: eſpecially for his incontinent and to much licentious lyfe, yet was he farre from that deſeruyng, for the which he hath bene ſo ill reported of diuers writers: who being led more with affection of Popery, then with true iudgement and due conſideration, depraued his doynges more thẽ the ſincere truth of the hiſtory will beare them. Concerning which hiſtory, after ſo many writers we thought alſo to beſtow a litle labour: although in this matter we can not be ſo long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

¶Kyng Iohn.

After the death of kyng Richard called Coeur de Lyon, reigned his brother John Earle of Morton. Afterward the Archbyſhop put the crowne on his head, and ſware him to defend the church, and to maintaine the ſame in her good lawes, and to deſtroy the euill. And except he thought not in his mynde to do this the archb. charged him, not to preſume to take on him this dignitie. And on S. John Baptiſtes day next following, kyng John ſay-

K. John.

led into Normandy and came to Rowan: where he was royally receiued, and truce concluded betwene him and the Frẽch kyng for a time. And thether came to him the Earle of Flaunders, & all other Lordes of Fraunce that were of kyng Richards band & frendſhyp, & were ſworne vnto him.

Arthur of Brytayne.

A cõmunicatiõ betwene the kyng of Englãd & the French king.

Not long after this, Phillip the French king made Arthure Knyght, and tooke his homage for Normandy, Britaine, and all other his poſſeſſions beyond the Sea: and promiſed him helpe agaynſt kyng Iohn. After this king Iohn and the French kyng talked together with their Lordes, about one houres ſpace: And the French kyng aſked ſo much land for himſelfe & knyght Arthure, that kyng Iohn would graunt him none, and ſo departed in wrath.

The ſame yeare, a legate came into Fraunce and commaunded the Kyng in payne of interdiction, to deliuer one Peter out of priſon, that was elect to a Biſhopricke, & therupon he was deliuered.

And after that, the Legate came into England, & commaunded king Iohn vnder payne of interdictiõ, to deliuer yͤ Archbiſhop which he had kept as priſoner ij. yeares: which the kyng denyed to do, till he had payd him, 6000. markes. Becauſe he tooke him in harnes in a field agaynſt him, and ſware him vpon his deliueraunce, that he ſhould neuer weare harnes agaynſt any Chriſten man.

Mariage in the 3. degree forbidden by the Pope.

1200.

This tyme, diuorce was made betwene kyng Iohn and his wife, daughter of the Earle of Glocester, becauſe they were in the iij. degree of kinred. And after, by the counſell of the French kyng, kyng Iohn wedded Iſabell daughter of the Earle of Angulla, and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to kyng Iohn for Britaine and other.

At this tyme fell ſtrife betwene kyng Iohn & Geoffrey the Archbyſhop of yorke for diuers cauſes: firſt, becauſe he would not ſuffer and permitte the Sherife of yorke in ſuch affaires as he had to do for yͤ kyng within his Dioces. Secondly, becauſe he dyd alſo excõmunicate the ſayd Sheriffe. Thirdly, becauſe he would not ſayle with him into Normandy, to make the Mariage betwene Lewes the French kynges ſonne and his niece. &c.

1202.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1202. Phillip the French kyng (in a communicatiõ betwene kyng Iohn and him) required: that the ſayd king Iohn ſhould depart with all his landes in Normandy and Pictauia which he had beyond the Sea, vnto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or els he would warre agaynſt him, and ſo dyd. For when kyng Iohn denyed that requeſt, the next day followyng, the French kyng with the ſayd Arthur, ſet vpon certaine of his townes and caſtels in Normandy, and put hym to much diſquietnes. But he (the Lord ſo prouiding, which is the geuer of all victory) had ſuch repulſe at the Engliſhmens handes: that they purſuyng the Frenchmen in their flight, did ſo follow them to their hold, and ſo enforced vpon thẽ: that not onely they tooke the ſaid Arthur priſoner with many other of the Frenchmen: but alſo gaue ſuch an ouerthrow to the reſt, that none was there left to beare tydings home. This Arthur was nephew to kyng Iohn, and ſonne to Geffrey, which was the elder ſonne to Iohn. For King Henry the 2. (to make the matter more euident,) had viij. children: one William which dyed in his childhode: the ſecõd Henry, which dyed alſo his father beyng yet alyue: the third Geoffrey Erle of Britaine, which likewiſe deceaſſed in his fathers dayes, leauyng behind him two children, Arthur & Brecca. The fourth, Richard coeur de Lyon Kyng: the v. Iohn now reignyng: and iij. other daughters beſides. The ſame Arthur beyng thus taken in warre, was brought before the Kyng at the caſtell of Faleſie in Normandy: who beyng exhorted with many gẽtle wordes to leaue the Frẽch kyng and to incline to his vncle, aunſwered agayne ſtoutly & with great indignation: requiryng the kyngdome of England with all the other dominions thereto belõgyng to be reſtored to hym as to the lawfull heyre of the crowne. By reaſon wherof he (prouokyng the kings diſpleaſure againſt him) was ſent to yͤ tower of Rowan: where at length (whether by leapyng into yͤ ditch thinking to make his eſcape, or whether by ſome other priuy hãd, or by what chaũce els: it is not yet agreed vpõ in ſtories) he finiſhed his lyfe. By occaſion wherof, the foreſayd K. Iohn was had after in great ſuſpicion: whether iuſtly or vniuſtly, the Lord knoweth.

Nat. Paretti in vita Ioannis Regis.

Arthur.

1203.

Normandy loſt and gotten by the French men.

The yeare folowyng, Hiſtoriographers write that kyng Iohn for lacke of reſcue, loſt all his holdes and poſſeſſions in Normandy, through the force of the French kyng.

After theſe loſſes, came other troubles vpon him: with other as great or more greater enemyes (that is with the Pope & his Popelinges) by occaſion of chuſing of the archbiſhop of Cãterbury, as in this hiſtory followeth by Chriſt his grace, to be declared.

An. 1205.

Striuing for the election of the Archb. of Cant.

The yeare of our Lord. 1205. about the moneth of Iuly, Hubert the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deceaſſed, whoſe deceaſſe after it was in Cãterbury to the monkes knowẽ: and afore his body was yet cõmitted to the earth: the yonger ſort of the monkes there gathered themſelues together at midnight, and elected their ſuperiour Reignold, & without the Kynges licence or yet knowledge priuely placed him in the Metropolicall ſeat, ſingyng Te Deum at midnight. And becauſe the King ſhould not make their electiõ of none effect, they charged him by vertue of his othe to keepe all ſecret by the way, and to ſhew nothyng what was done before he came to the pope: but he cõtrary to his othe, ſo ſoone as he came in Flaunders opened all abroad the matter, and vttered their counſell: whereupon the monkes beyng not a little agreued wͭ him, ſent hym priuely to the court of Rome out of hand. The next day, yͤ elder mõkes ſent to yͤ king: deſiring hym of his gracious licence canonically to choſe their Archb. The Kyng moſt gently & fauorably graunted their petition: requiryng them inſtantly and deſiryng, that for his ſake they would ſhew fauour to Ihon Gray then Byſhop of Norwich, as they did in deede: erectyng him into that ſeat of their high primacy. Moreouer, becauſe the authoritie of Kynges and Princes was then but ſmall in their owne dominion without the Popes conſent, and confirmation to the ſame: he ſent alſo to Rome of his owne charges, to haue the foreſayd election ratified by the pope. The ſuffraganes of Canterbury then (being not a litle offended at theſe two elections) ſent ſpeedely to Rome to haue them both ſtopped: for that they had not bene of counſell with them. And hereupon at the laſt grew a moſt prodigious tumult.

An. 1206.

Prelates of the Church had then money inough belike that they could keepe play at Rome agaynſt their prince. Which thing cauſed the princes after to ſeeke ſuch meanes to cut them ſhort.

The next yeare after, the ſuffraganes of the prouince of Canterbury on the one ſide, and the Monkes of Canterbury on the other ſide: came afore the pope with their brawlyng matter. Firſt the monkes preſentyng Reignold their ſuperiour, deſired that their election might be confirmed. The ſuffraganes likewiſe complayned that the Monkes would preſume to chuſe the Archbyſhop without their conſent, and therfore deſired by diuers reaſons the firſt election to be of none effect. The Pope deciſing the matter betwene both, pronounced with the monkes, chargyng the Suffraganes and Byſhops, to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monkes alone. The monkes of Canterbury now hauyng the whole electiõ in their owne handes, fell alſo at ſquare amõg thẽſelues, the yõger ſort with the elder. The younger ſort which had choſen Reignold their ſuperiour, would that election to ſtand. The elder ſorte of the monkes replied agayne, ſaying: that the firſt election was done by ſtealth and by night and by the younger part, alſo without the counſell of other monkes: ouer and beſides it was done without the kynges licence or appointement and without the due ſolemnitie therunto belongyng.

An. 1207.

Diſſention amõg the Monkes of Cant. about the election of the Archb.

And as concerning our election (ſayd they) it was done in the cleare light of the day, by which it had authoritie in preſence of our liege Lord the Kyng and his counſell beyng willing to the ſame.

This allegation thus propoũded: the Suffraganes proctour or man of law ſtode forth, and proued the former election to be good, and this latter, to be voyde and of no value, after this ſort. whether the firſt electiõ (ſayth he) were iuſt or vniuſt, ye ought firſt by the law to haue condemned it, afore ye ſhould haue preſumed to the ſecond: but thus ye dyd not. Therfore is this your latter doing no election at all: and the firſt therfore is rather to be ratified than yours. when they had thus multiplied talke on both ſides, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and could not agree vpon one perſon: Pope Innocent condemned both their electiõs, commaundyng them to chuſe Stephen Lãgton, then Cardinall of S. Chriſogone for their Archbyſhop. The mõkes then aunſwered, that they durſt not ſo do, without cõſent of their kyng, & for yͭ it was preiudiciall to their auncięt liberties. The Pope by and by (ſayth the text) as one in a fury, takyng the wordes out of their mouthes, ſayd thus vnto them. we will ye to know, that we haue full power and authoritie ouer the Church of Caunterbury: neither are we wont to tary the conſent of princes: therfore we cõmaunde you in payne of our great curſe that ye choſe him onely whõ we haue appointed.

The pride & tyrãny of the Pope.

The Monkes at theſe wordes abaſhed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hartes, yet conſented they all in one, and therupon ſang Te Deum. Onely doctour Helias Brantfield withdrew himſelfe from that election, whom the Kyng had ſent for the admiſſion of the Byſhop of Norwich.

Stephen Lãgton made Archb of Canterbury.

Thus was Stephen Langton (in the high Church of Viterby, by the Popes hand) made Archbyſhop of Canterbury. From thence forth therfore (ſayth Mathew Paris) the Pope could do no leſſe but mightely defend him from all vexation and daunger: conſideryng that he was his owne deare dearlyng, and a child of his owne creation.

Upon this occaſion, kyng Iohn conceyued an exceedyng diſpleaſure agaynſt the Clergy, and mõkes of Canterbury (as he had good cauſe) they doyng ſo many euils agaynſt his Princely prerogatiue. Without his licence they elected their Archbyſhop, and put by the Byſhop of Norwich whõ he had appointed. They waſted a great part of his treaſure for the warres: & to bryng all to the deuill, they made Stephen Langton their high Metropolitane, whom he tooke for a greuous enemy vnto the whole realme, beyng alwayes ſo familiar with yͤ Frẽch king. Wherfore in his anger he baniſhed them out of the land, to the number of 64. for this their contumacie and contempt of his regall power.

The monkes of Canterbury thus beyng expulſed, the kyng forthwith ſendeth meſſengers to the Pope with hys letters, wherein he doth ſharply and expreſſely expoſtulate with the Pope: Firſt for that ſo vncurteouſly he repulſed the election of the Biſhop of Norwich, and ſet vp one Stephen Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amõgeſt his enemies a lõg tyme in the kingdome of Frãce, conſecratyng him Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and lettyng the other go. Alſo (which is more) it redoundeth to the ſubuerſion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crowne: for notwithſtandyng his conſent paſt (beyng before of yͤ monkes not made priuy which ſhould ſo haue done) yet he raſhly preſumed to promote and preferre an other. Wherfore, he can not marueile (he ſayth) enough, that neither the ſayd Pope, nor the Court of Rome doth conſider & reuolue with themſelues how neceſſary his loue & fauour hath bene alwayes hetherto to the ſea of Rome: and that they conſider not what great profite and reuenewes, hath proceeded hetherto to thẽ out of the realme of Englãd: the like wherof hath not bene receiued out of any other countrey beſides, on this ſide the Alpes. He addeth moreouer and ſayth, that for his liberties he wyll ſtand (if neede be) vnto death, neyther can he be ſo remoued and ſhaken of frõ the election of the Biſhop of Norwich, which he ſeeth to be ſo commodious to hym and profitable. Finally, he thus cõcludeth ſaying: that in caſe in this his requeſt he be not heard, he will ſo prouide by the ſeas, that there ſhall be no ſuch gaddyng and courſing any more ouer to Rome, ſuffryng the riches of the land no more to be tranſported ouer, wherby he ſhould be himſelfe the leſſe able to reſiſt hys enemies. And ſeyng he hath of hys owne at home, Archbiſhops, biſhops, & other prelates of the Church (both of Engliſh men and of other) ſufficiently prouided and inſtructed in all kynde of knowledge: therfore he ſhall not neede greatly to ſeeke for iudgement and iuſtice farther abroad.

The kyng doth expoſtulate wyth the pope for conſecrating Stephẽ Langton Archb. of Cant.

When theſe came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth letters to the K. agayne in this forme.

The popes letters aunſweryng kyng Iohn.

INnocentius P. ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, to our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, the king of England health, and Apoſtolicall bleſſing. Where as we haue writtẽ to you heretofore, exhorting and entreating you after an humble, diligent, and gentle ſort (concernyng the Church of Caunterbury) you haue written to vs agayne after a threatnyng ſort and vpbraidyng manner: both ſpitefully and alſo frowardly. And where, as we more & aboue that our right & duety required, haue borne and geuen to you: you agayne for your part haue geuen to vs not ſo much as by right and duety you are bound to do. And though your deuotion as you ſay, hath bene to vs very neceſſary, yet conſider agayne that ours alſo is not a little opportune & expediẽt for you. And where as we, in ſuch like caſes haue not ſhewed at any tyme the like honor to any prince as we haue vnto you: you againe haue ſo much derogated our honor, as no prince els hath preſumed to do beſides you alone: pretending certaine friuolous cauſes and occaſions I cannot tell what, why you woulde not condeſcend to the election of Steuen Langton Cardinall of S. Chryſogono choſen by the Monkes of Canterbury: for that the ſayd Steuen as you ſay hath bene conuerſant & brought vp amongſt your enemies, and his perſon to you vnknown. But you know what is the prouerbe of Salomõ: the net is caſt, but in vaine in the ſight of the flying birdes, &c.

It is pitie but this pope ſhould be honored of kinges & princes.

With much other matter in the ſame epiſtle, wherin he falleth into the commendation of Steuẽ Lãgtõ his Cardinall, declaring how learned he was in the liberall artes, and in diuinitie, in ſo much he was prebendared at Paris: alſo come of an honeſt ſtocke and an Engliſhman borne, and not vnknowen to the king, ſeyng the K. had written his letters thriſe to hym before. Declaryng moreouer in the ſayd letter, how the meſſengers of the kyng had ſpecified to him an other cauſe: which was, for that the monkes of Canterbury which had to do in the election, came not to hym before for hys conſent, declaryng moreouer in the ſayd letter, how the ſayd meſſengers of the K. intreated in the kinges behalf: that for ſo much as the popes letters (wherin the K. was commaunded to ſend his proctors to Rome for yͤ ſame matter) came not to the kings hand, neither did the monkes direct any ſuch letters or meſſage to the kyng to haue hys conſent: therefore the Pope conſideryng the ſame, would graunt ſo much for the regard of the kings honour, that the monkes of Cant. ſhould not procede without the kings aſſent therin. And for as much, as that hath not bene done as yet, therfore they deſired ſome delay therin to be geuen, ſufficient for the doyng therof. Wherunto he ſayd, that he had graunted, and fulfilled their requeſt, in ſending hys letters and meſſengers once or twiſe to the kyng for the ſame purpoſe, although he ſayd it was not the maner of the ſea Apoſtolique, (who had the fulneſſe of power ouer the Church of Canterbury) to waite for princes conſents in ſuch elections, who then could not be ſuffered to do that which they came for. Wherfore in knittyng vp his letter, he thus concludeth in theſe wordes.

A pitiful caſe that yͤ king cãnot cõfirme an Archb. within his owne realme, who hym moſt lyketh.

The king might write to him and yet his perſõ not greatly knowen to the king.

And therfore ſeyng the matter ſo ſtandeth, we ſee no cauſe why we ſhould require or tary for the kings fauour, or conſent any more therin: but intend ſo to procede in this matter, neither enclinyng on the right hand nor on the left, accordyng as the canonicall ordinaunces of the holy fathers ſhall direct vs: that is (that all impediments and delayes ſet aſide) ſo to prouide, that the Church of Canterbury be no longer deſtitute of her paſtor. Wherefore be it knowne to your diſcretion or kingly prudence, that for ſo much as this election of Stephen Langhton hath orderly and concordely thus proceded without fraude or diſceit, vpon a perſon mete for the ſame: therfore, we will not for no mans pleaſure, neither may we without daunger of fame and of conſciẽce, defer or protract any longer the conſummation of the ſayd election. Wherefore my welbeloued ſonne, ſeyng we haue had reſpect to your honour, aboue that our right and duety requireth: ſtudy to honour vs ſo much as your duety requireth agayne, ſo that you may the more plentifully deſerue fauour, both at gods hands and ours: leaſt that by doing the contrary, you bring your ſelf into ſuch a pecke of troubles, as afterwards you ſhall ſcarce rid your ſelfe of agayne. For this know for a certaine, in the ende it muſt nedes fall out, that he ſhal haue the better, vnto whom euery kne (of heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures) doth bowe: whoſe turne I ſerue in earth, though I be vnworthy. Therfore ſettle not your ſelfe to obey their perſwaſions, which always deſire your vnquietnes: wherby they may fiſh the better in the water when it is troubled: but commit your ſelf to our pleaſure, which vndoubtedly ſhal turne to your praiſe, glory, and honour. For it ſhould not be much for your ſafetie in this cauſe to reſiſt God and the Church, in whoſe quarell that bleſſed Martyr and glorious biſhop Thomas hath of late ſhed his bloud: eſpecially ſeyng your father and your brother of famous memory, then kings of England, did geue ouer thoſe three wicked cuſtomes into the hãds of the Legates of the ſee Apoſtolique. But if you yeld your ſelfe hũbly into our handes, we will loke that you and yours ſhall be ſufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may ariſe here vpon to you warde. Geuen at Laterane the x. yeare of our Popedome.

Note the proceedinges of this ambitious pope.

Tho. Becket he meaneth.

Princes muſt be ſubiecte to the pope.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the glorious letter of the proud Pope. I beſeche thee marke it well. Now to the ſtory.

After this letter was ſent out, not long after procedeth a charge and commaundement, ſent alſo to England, vnto certayne biſhops there: requiring them by authoritie Apoſtolicall, that if the ſayd king woulde not receaue the ſaid Prior of Cant. & his mõkes, thẽ they ſhould interdict hym throughout all his realme. For yͤ executing wherof, 4. Biſhops were appointed by yͤ vſurped power of yͤ popes buls: namely Williã B. of Lõdõ, Euſtace B. of Ely, Walter B. of Wincheſter, & Giles B. of Herford. Which ſayd foure biſhops went vnto the K. and ſhewed hym their commiſſion from the Pope as is aboueſayde, willing hym to conſent thereto. &c.

Foure byſhops appointed to interdict the realme.

But the ſayd kyng refuſed the ſame, and would by no meanes graunt to their requeſt. Wherupon they departing from hys grace, went the morow after the Annuntiation of our Lady, and pronounced the ſayd generall interdiction throughout all England: ſo that the Church dores were ſhutte vp with keyes and other faſtenynges, and wyth walles. &c.

England interdicted by the Pope.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moued agaynſt them, and tooke all the poſſeſſions of the 4. biſhops into his handes: appoynting certayne men to keepe

the

Diſcipline of the church abuſed for priuate reuenge.

the liuinges of the clergy throughout the realme, & that they ſhould enioy no part therof. Which beyng done, the Biſhops (ſeyng the ſame) curſed all them that kept or ſhould meddle with Church goods, agaynſt the will of the that ought them: and vnderſtanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went ouer ſea to the byſhop of Canterbury, and informed hym what had happened. Who hearyng the ſame, willed them agayne to returne to Caunterbury and he would come thither to them, or els ſend certayne perſons thither in his ſtede, that ſhould do as muche as if he were there hymſelfe. Then when the biſhops heard this, they returned agayne into England, to Caunterbury, which tidings came ſhortly to ỹ king, that they were come agayne thether. And becauſe he might not hymſelf trauaile to them, he ſent thether biſhops, erles and abbots to intreat them that the Archb. Stephen whom he had choſen, might be admitted, promiſing the Prior and all the Monkes of Caunterbury in hys behalfe: that he ſhould neuer take any thyng of the Church goods, agaynſt the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whome he had taken any ſuch goods: and that the church ſhould haue all her fraunchiſes in as ample maner as in S. Edwardes tyme the Confeſſor it had.

The incōſiderate ſtoutnes of the prelates agaynſt the kyng.

When the forme of agreement was thus concluded, it was engroſſed in a payre of Indentures, which the foreſaid 4. biſhops, to the one part therof ſet their ſeales: & the other part the ſayd biſhops, erles and abbots, caried to ſhew the kyng. When the K. ſaw the order therof, he lyked it well: ſaying he would not agree to make reſtitution of the church goods. So he ſent to the 4. biſhops agayne, ỹ they ſhould put out that point of reſtitution. But they anſwered ſtoutly ỹ they would not put out one word. Then the kyng ſent word to the Archb. by the 4. biſhops, that he ſhould come to Cant. to ſpeak with hym, and for hys ſafe conduit to come and go agayne at hys will: he ſent his Juſtices as pledges, Gilbert Peiteuin, William de la Bercuer, and John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the Archb. Stephen came to Cant. and the K. (hearyng therof) came to Chilham: from whence he ſent hys treaſurer the B. of Winchester to him, to haue hym put out of the indentures the clauſe of reſtitution aforeſayd: who denying to alter any word of the ſame moued ỹ K. in ſuch ſort, that immediatly it was proclaimed throughout England at the kinges commaundement, that all thoſe that had any church liuyng and went ouer the ſea, ſhould come agayne into England at a certaine day, or els loſe their liuings for euermore. And further in that proclamation he charged all Shirifs within the realm to enquire if any biſhops, Abbots, Priors, or any other Church man (from that day forward) receiued any commaundement that came from the pope, & that they ſhould take his or their body and bring it before hym. And alſo that they ſhould take into their handes for the kings vſe, all the church landes ỹ were geuen to any man through the Archbiſhop Stephen, or by the priors of Cant. from the tyme of the election of the Archb. And further charged, that all the woods that were the Archb. ſhould be cut downe and ſold.

Stephen Langhton ſtout agaynſt hys kyng.

The king moued agaynſt the Archbiſhop Langhton.

Two legates ſent from the Pope.

When tidinges came to the Pope that the K. had thus done, beyng moued therby with fiery wrath: ſent to ỹ kyng two Legates (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warne hym in the popes name that he ſhould ceaſe hys doyngs to holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the Archb. of Cant. and to the Priors and ỹ monks of Cant. and to all the Clergy of England. And further, ỹ he ſhould reſtore the goods agayne that he had taken of thē agaynſt their will, or els they ſhould curſe the K. by name: & to do this, ỹ pope tooke them hys letters in Buls patent. These two Legates commyng into England, reſorted to ỹ king to Northhampton, where he held his Parliamēt, and ſaluting hym, ſayd: they came from the pope of Rome, to reforme ỹ peace of holy church. And firſt ſayd they we monish you in the popes behalfe, that ye make full reſtitution of the goods & of the land that ye haue rauiſhed holy church of: and that ye receiue Stephen the Archb. of Cant. into his dignitie, and Prior of Cant. and his monkes. And that ye yeld agayne vnto the Archb. all his landes and rentes without any withholding. And ſir, yet moreouer, that ye ſhall make ſuch reſtitution to them, as the Church ſhall thinke ſufficient.

Reſtitution required of the king.

Then aunſwered the K. as touching the Prior and his Monkes of Cant. all that ye haue ſayd I would gladly do, and all thing els that ye would ordayne: but as touching ỹ Archb. I ſhall tell you as it lieth in my hart. Let the Archbiſhop leaue his biſhoprick: and if the pope then ſhal entreat for him, peraduenture I may like to geue him ſome other biſhoprick in England. And vpon this condition I will receiue and admit hym.

Then ſayd Pandolph vnto the K. holy Church was wont neuer to diſgrade Archb. wythout cauſe reaſonable: but euer ſhe was wont to correct princes that were diſobedient to her.

What, how now (quoth the K.) threaten ye me? Nay ſayd Pandulph, but ye haue now openly told vs as it ſtandeth in your hart: and now we will tell you what is the popes will, and thus it ſtandeth. He hath wholy interdicted & curſed you, for the wronges ye haue done to holy Church and to the Clergy. And foraſmuch as ye dwell ſtill in your malice, and will come to no amendement, ye ſhall vnderſtand: that from this tyme forward, the ſentences vpon you geuē haue force and ſtrength. And all thoſe that with you haue commoned before this tyme, whether that they be Erles, Barons or knightes (or any other whatſoeuer they be) we aſſoyle them ſafely from their ſinnes vnto this day. And from this tyme forward (of what condition ſoeuer they be) we accurſe them openly: and ſpecially by this our ſentence, that do with you common. And we aſſoyle moreouer erles, Barons, knightes, and all other maner of men of their homages, ſeruice, and fealties, that they ſhould do vnto you. And this thing to confirme, we geue playne power to the B. of Winchester, and to the biſhop of Norwich. And the ſame power we geue againſt Scotland to the byſhop of Rocheſter, and of Saliſbury. And in Wales, we geue the ſame power to the Biſhops of Saint Dauid, and of Landaffe, and of Saint Aſſe.

Sentence of the Popes curſe pronounced agaynſt the king.

Alſo ſir king (quoth Pandolfe) all the kinges, princes, and the great Dukes chriſtened, haue laboured to the pope to haue licence to croſſe themſelues, and to warre agaynſt thee, as vpon gods enemy, and win thy lande, and to make K. whom it pleaſeth the Pope. And we here now aſſoile all thoſe of their ſinnes that will ariſe agaynſt thee here in thine owne land.

The pope author of rebellion & diſobedience of ſubiectes towardes their prince.

Then the K. hearing this, anſwered: What ſhame may ye do more to me then this.

Pandolfe agayne: We ſay to you in verbo dei: that neither you nor any heire that you haue, after this day ſhall be crowned. So the king ſayd: by him that is almighty God, if I had known of this thyng before ye came into this land, & that ye had brought me ſuch newes: I ſhould haue made you tary out theſe xij. monthes.

Then aunſwered Pandolfe. Full well we thought (at our firſt commyng) that ye would haue bene obedient to God and to holy church: and haue fulfilled the popes commaundement, which we haue ſhewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therwith. And now ye ſay, that if ye had wiſt ỹ cauſe of our cōming, ye would haue made vs tary out a whole yere: which might as wel ſay, ỹ ye would haue taken a whole yeres reſpite without the popes leaue. But for to ſuffer what death ỹ ye can ordeine, we ſhal not ſpare to tell you all the popes meſſage and will that he gaue vs in charge.

Like maſter lyke man.

In an other chronicle I finde the wordes betwene the kyng and Pandolfe ſomethyng otherwiſe deſcribed, as though the kyng ſhould firſt threaten hym with hanging if he had foreknowen of his commyng in. To whom Pandolf agayne ſhould anſwer, that he loked for nothyng els at hys hand, but to ſuffer for the Churches right. Wherupon the K. beyng mightily incenſed, departed. The K. the ſame time beyng at Northhampton willed the ſhirifs and bayliffes to bring forth all the priſoners there, that ſuch as had deſerued ſhould be put to death: to the entent (as ſome thinke) to make Pandolfus afrayd. Among whome was a certayne Clerke, who for counterfaiting the kinges coyne was alſo condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. And moreouer, by the K. was commaunded (therby to anger Pandulfus, the more as may be thought) to be hanged vp hyer aboue the reſt. Pandolfus hearing therof, notwithſtanding he ſomwhat began to feare leſt he ſhould be hanged himſelf, yet with ſuch courage as he had, he went to the church to ſet out booke, bell, and candle, charging that no man vnder payne of accurſing ſhould lay handes vpon the Clarke. Vpon this the K. and the Cardinall departed in no little anger. And Pandolfe went to Rome and reported to the pope and the Cardinals what had bene done.

Pandolph worſe afrayd then hurt.

Then the pope ſummoned all the biſhops, Abbots, and clarkes of England to come and repaire to Rome, to conſult what was to be done therin. This councell began the firſt day of October. In the which councell it was decreed by the pope and his aſſembly, that John king of England ſhould be accurſed with all ſuch as helde with him, euery day ſo long as that Councell endured. Albeit this was not yet graunted, that the people ſhould be croſſed to fight againſt him, becauſe as yet he had ſhed no bloud. But afterward, the ſayd Pope Innocent ſeyng that K. John by no meanes would ſtoupe vnder his ſubiection, nor vnder the rule of hys popiſh ſee, he ſent vnto the French kyng, vpon remiſſion of all hys ſinnes, and of all that went with hym that he ſhould take with hym all the power he might, & ſo to inuade the realme of England to deſtroy K. Iohn.

The Popes great curſe.

This occaſion geuen, Pope Innocent yet once agayne commaunded in payne of his great curſe: that no mã ſhould obey kyng Iohn, neyther yet keepe company with hym: he forbad all perſons to eate and drinke wyth hym, to talke with him: to commune or counſell with him: yea, his owne familiar houſhold to doe him any kinde of ſeruice, eyther at bed or at boorde: in Church, hawle or ſtable, and what folowed therof. The greater part of them which after ſuch ſort fled from him (by the ordinaunce of God) of diuers & ſundry diſeaſes the ſame yeare dyed. And betwene both nations (Engliſh and French) fell that yeare great amitie: but ſecret, ſubtile, and falſe: to the bitter betraying of Englãd. Neither was the pope content onely with this, but moreouer the ſayd Pope Innocent gaue ſentence definitiue (by counſell of his Cardinals) that kyng Iohn ſhould be put from his ſeat regall and depoſed, and an other put in hys roome. And to the ſpeedy executiõ therof, he appointed the French king Philip, promiſing to geue him full remiſſion of all his ſinnes, and the cleare poſſeſſion of all the realme of England, to hym and his heyres: if he did either kyll hym or expell hym.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon diſobedient ſubiectes.

The pope ſoundes a murtherer.

An. 1212.

The next yeare, the French king began hys attempt in hope of the crowne of England: being well mãned with the Biſhops, Monkes, prelates, and Prieſtes, and theyr ſeruauntes to maintayne the ſame: bragging of the letters which they had receiued from the great mẽ there. But behold the worke of God: the Engliſh nauy tooke three hundred of the French kinges ſhips well loden with wheate, wyne, meale, fleſhe, armour, and ſuch other like, meete for the warre: and an hundred they brent within the hauen, taking the ſpoyle with them. In the meane tyme the prieſts in England, had prouided thẽ a certaine falſe coũterfait prophet called Peter Wakefield of Poꝛ: who was an idle gadder about, and a pratling marchãt. This Peter, they made to prophecy lies: rumoring his propheſies abroad, to bring the kyng out of all credite with hys people. They noiſed it dayly among the commõs of the Realme, that Chriſt had twiſe appeared to this Prophet of theirs, in ſhape of a childe betwene the Prieſtes handes, once at Yorke, another time at Pomfret: and that he had breathed vpõ him thriſe, ſaying, peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anone after declared to the Biſhops, and bid people amende their naughty liuing. Being rapt alſo in ſpirit (they ſayd) he beheld the ioyes of heauen, and ſorrowes of hell. For ſcant were there three (ſaith the Chronicle) among a thouſand that liued chriſtianly. This counterfeite ſoothſayer propheſied of kyng Iohn: that he ſhould raigne no longer then the aſcenſion day, within the yeare of our Lord 1213. which was ỹ 14. yeare from hys coronatiõ, and this (he ſayd) he had by reuelation. Then was it of hym demaunded, whether he ſhould be ſlayne or be expelled, or ſhould of himſelf geue ouer the crowne: He anſwered, that he could not tell. But of this he was ſure (he ſayd) that neither he, nor any of his ſtock or linage ſhould raigne, that day once finiſhed. The king hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a ſcoffe therof. Tuſhe (ſaith he) it is but an idiote knaue, & ſuch a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foliſh Prophet had ſo eſcaped the daunger of the kynges diſpleaſure, and that he made no more of it: he gate him abroad and prated therof at large (as he was a very idle vagabund) and vſed to tattle and talke more thẽ inough: ſo that they which loued the kyng, cauſed hym anone after to be apprehẽded as a malefactor, and to be throwen in priſon, the king not yet knowing therof.

French ſhips taken by Engliſhmẽ.

Peter the falſe prophet.

The falſe prophet found a lyar.

Anone after, the fame of this phantaſticall Prophet went all the Realme ouer: and his name was knowen euery where (as fooliſhneſſe is much regarded of people, where wiſdome is not in place) ſpecially becauſe he was then impriſoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger: their wonderinges were the wantonner: their practiſing the foliſher: their buſie talkes and other idle occupying the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude maner of people is) olde goſſips tales went abroad, new tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lyes grew vpon lyes. So that euery day, new ſlaunders were raiſed on the king, and not one of them true: rumours aroſe, blaſphemies were ſpred, the enemies reioyſed, & treaſons by the prieſts were maintayned: and what likewiſe was ſurmiſed, or other ſubtiltie practiſed, all was then fathered vpõ this fooliſh prophet. As, thus ſayth Peter Wakefield: thus hath he propheſied: and this ſhall come to paſſe: yea many times when he thought nothing leſſe. When the Aſcenſion day was come which was propheſied of afore: kyng Iohn cõmaunded his regal Tent to be ſpread abroad in ỹ open field: paſſing that day with his noble counſell and men of honor, in the greateſt ſolemnitie that euer he did afore: ſolacyng himſelfe with muſicall inſtrumentes & ſonges, moſt in ſight amongeſt his truſty frendes. When that day was paſt in all proſperitie and myrth: his enemyes beyng confuſed, turned all to an allegoricall vnderſtandyng, to make the prophecie good, and ſayd: he is no longer kyng, for the Pope raigneth & not he, yet raigned he ſtil and his ſonne after him, to proue that prophet a lyar. Then was the kyng by his cõſell perſwaded, that this falſe prophet had troubled all the Realme: peruerted the hartes of the people: and rayſed the commons agaynſt him. For his wordes went ouer the Sea by the helpe of his Prelates, and came to the French kinges eare, & gaue vnto him a great encouragement to inuade the land: he had not els done it ſo ſodenly. But he was moſt fouly deceiued, as all they are & ſhalbe, that put their truſt in ſuch darke drouſie dreames of hypocrites. The king therfore cõmaũded that he ſhould be drawen and hanged like a traytor.

The falſe prophet proued a lyer of K. Iohn.

The falſe prophet hanged.

After that, the popiſhe Prelates, Monkes, Chanons, Prieſtes, &c. ſaw this their crafty iugglyng by their fayned prophet would not ſpede, notwithſtandyng they had done no litle harme thereby: to helpe the matter more forward, they began to trauaile and practiſe with pope Innocent of the one ſide, and with the French king on the other ſide: beſide ſubtile treaſons, which they wrought within the Realme, and by their confeſſions in the eare, wherby they both blinded the nobilitie and commons. The king thus compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemyes, and fearyng the ſequele therof, knowyng the conſpiracies that were in workyng agaynſt him, as well by the Pope (in all that euer he might) as alſo by Phillip the French kyng by his procurement: and moreouer his owne people, eſpecially his Lordes and Barons beyng rebelliouſly incited agaynſt him, as by the Popes curſes & interdictions agaynſt ſuch as tooke his part: and by his abſolutions and diſpenſatiõs with all thoſe that would rebell agaynſt him, commaundyng them to detaine from him ſuch homage, ſeruice, duties, debtes, and all other allegiaunce that godly ſubiectes owe and are bound to yeld and giue to their liege Lord & prince. All which things conſidered, the kyng in the .xiiij. yeare of his raigne, for that the French kyng began to make ſharpe inuaſion vpon hym within his own Realme: ſent ſpeedy Embaſſadours to the Pope (as to the fountaine of all this his miſchief pretenſed) to worke & intreate his peace and reconciliation with him, promiſing to do what ſoeuer the Pope ſhould will him and commaunde him in the reformation of himſelfe, and reſtitution of all wronges done to holy Church, & to make due ſatiſfaction therfore vnto all men that could complayne.

K. Iohn ſubmitteth himſelfe to the pope.

K. Iohn entreateth for peace wyth the pope.

Then ſent the Pope agayne into England his Legate Pandulphe with other Embaſſadours: the kyng alſo at Caunterbury (by letters as it ſhould ſeeme certified from his owne Embaſſadours) wayted their commyng. Where, the .xiij. day of May the kyng receaued them, makyng vnto them an othe, that of and for all thynges wherein he ſtode accurſed he would make ample reſtitution and ſatiſfaction. Vnto whom alſo all the Lordes and Barons of England (ſo many as there were with the kyng attendyng the Legates commyng) ſware in lyke maner, and that if the kyng would not accompliſh in euery thyng the othe which he had taken: that then they would cauſe him to hold and confirme the ſame whether that he would or not (or by ſtrẽgth) to vſe the authors wordes.

Then ſubmitted the kyng himſelfe vnto the Court of Rome and to the Pope: And reſignyng gaue vp his dominions and Realmes of Englãd and Ireland from him and from his heyres for euermore that ſhould come of him. With this condition, that the kyng and his heyres ſhould take agayne theſe two dominions of the Pope to ferme: payeng yearely therfore to the Court of Rome a thouſand markes of ſiluer. Then tooke the kyng the crowne from his head, kneelyng vpon his knees in the preſence of all his Lordes & Barons of Englãd to Pandulphe the popes chief Legate, ſaying in this wiſe. Here I reſigne vp the crowne of the realme of England to the popes hands Innocent the third, & put me wholy in his mercy & his ordinaunce. Then tooke Pandolphe the crowne of kyng Iohn and kept it v. dayes as a poſſeſſion and ſeazon takyng of theſe two Realmes of England and Ireland. Confirmyng alſo all thynges promiſed by his charter obligatory as foloweth.

K. Iohn ſubmitteth himſelfe and reſigneth hys crowne.

The copy of the letter obligatory that K. Iohn made to the Pope, concernyng the yeldyng vp of the crowne and the Realme of England into the Popes handes, for a certaine ſumme of money yearely to be payde.

The draught or inſtrumēt obligatory wherein king John reſigneth hys kyngdome to the popes hand.

Chriſt was offered a kingdome & would none of it but the pope doth not refuſe it.

TO all Chriſtē people throughout the world dwellyng, Iohn by the grace of God kyng of Englād, greetyng. To your vniuerſitie knowen be it, that for almuch as we haue greeued and offended God and our mother Churche of Rome: and for as much as we haue neede of the mercy of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, and we may nothyng ſo worthy offer and competēt ſatiſfaction make to God and to holy church (but if it were our owne body) as with our Realmes of England and of Ireland: Then, by the grace of the holy Ghoſt we deſire for to meeke vs for the loue of him, that meked him to the death vpon the croſſe. And through counſell of the nobles, Earles and Barons, we offer and freely graunt to God and to the Apoſtles S. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the realme patronages of Churches of England and of Irelād: with all the appurtenaūces for remiſſiō of ſinnes, and helpe and health of our kings ſoules, and of all Chriſtē ſoules. So that from this tyme afterward, we will receiue and hold of our mother Church of Rome, as in ferme, doyng fealtie to our holy father the Pope Innocent the third, and to all the Popes that come after him in the maner aboueſayd. And in the preſence of the wiſe man Pandolphe the Popes Southdeacon, we make liege homage, as it were in the popes preſence and we before him were, and that he himſelfe ſhould haue done all maner thynges aboueſayd, and thereto we binde vs, and all that come after vs and our heyres for euermore without any gaynesaying to the Pope and eke the ward of the Church vacant. And in token of this thyng euer for to laſt, we will, confirme, and ordeine: that he be our ſpeciall renter of the foreſayd Realmes (ſauyng Saint Peter pence) in all thyng. To the mother church of Rome paying by yeare a M. markes of ſiluer at two tymes of the yeare for all maner cuſtomes that we ſhould doe for the ſayd Realmes: that is to ſeyne, at Michelmas and at Eaſter: that is for England vij. C. markes and three C. markes for Ireland. Sauyng to vs and to our heyres our Iuſtices and our other frāchiſes. And all theſe thinges that before bene ſayd, we will that it be firme and ſtable without end: and to that obligatiō we and all our ſucceſſours and our heyres in this maner, beth bounde: that if we or any of our heyres through any preſumption fall in any pointe agayne theſe thynges aboue ſayd (and he bene warned and will not right amende him) he ſhall then leeſe the foreſayd Realmes for euermore: and this charter of obligation and our warrant for euermore be firme and ſtable without gaynesaying. We ſhall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother church of Rome, and to thee Innocent the thyrd, and to all that commen after thee: and the Realmes of England and of Irelād, we ſhall mainteyne trewlich in all maner pointes agaynſt all maner men by our power, through Gods helpe.

The vnreaſonablenes of the clergy agaynſt their naturall prince.

Upon this obligation, the kyng was diſcharged the ſecond day of July, from that tyrannicall interdiction, vnder which he continued vi. yeares and iij. monethes. But before the releaſement therof, firſt he was miſerably compelled (as hath bene declared) to geue ouer both his crowne and ſcepter to that Antichriſt of Rome, for the ſpace of fiue dayes: & as his client, vaſſall, feudary, and tenant, to receiue it agayne of him, at the handes of an other Cardinall, beyng bound obligatorily, both for himſelfe and for his ſucceſſours to pay yearely (for a knowledge therof) a. M. markes, for England and Ireland. Thē came they thether, from all partes of the Realme ſo many as had their conſciences wounded for obeying their liege kyng (as blind Idiotes) and there they were abſolued: euery one of his own Byſhop, except the ſpirituall fathers and Eccleſiaſticall ſouldiours: for they were compelled to ſeeke to Rome, as captiues reſerued to the popes own fatherhod. In this new ruffeling the kyng eaſely graunted, that Abbotes, Deanes, and Curates, ſhould be elected freely euery where, ſo that the lawes of the Realme were truely obſerued. But agaynſt that were the Biſhops: alledgyng their Canonicall decrees and rules ſynodall: determinyng the kyng therin to haue nothyng a do: but onely to geue his cōſent after that they had once elected. But among this ſhauen rable, ſome there were which conſented not to this wicked errour. A ſorte alſo there were of the prelates at that time, which were not pleaſed that the ſayd interdiction ſhould ceaſe, till the kyng had payed all that which their Clergy in all quarters of ÿ realme had demaunded without reaſon: yea, what euery ſaucy ſyr Iohn for his part demaunded, euen to the very breakyng of their hedges, the ſtealyng of their apples, and their other occaſionall damages, which grew to an incredible ſumme, and impoſſible to be aunſwered. Such was the outragious cruell noyſe of that miſchieuous progeny Antechriſt, agaynſt their naturall kyng.

Notwithſtandyng, that which is vttered afore concernyng the bitter malice of the Clergy agaynſt their Prince: yet did the Popes Legate, and Cardinall Nicolaus Tuſculanus, much fauour his doynges, & allow his procedynges. Wherfore they reported of him, that he was exceedyng parciall, & regarded not their matters eccleſiaſtical as he ſhould haue done: for leauyng the accompt of their reſtitutions. He went with the kyngs officers (as the kings pleaſure was) to the Cathedrall minſters, abbeyes, priories, deanries, and great Churches vacant. And there, for the next incumbent alwayes he appointed two: one for the kyng, an other for the parties. But vpon him onely whom the kyng nominated, he cōpelled moſt comōly the electiō to paſſe: which vexed them wōderfully. Vpō this therfore, they rayſed a new cōſpiracy agaynſt ÿ kyngs perſon, by helpe of their biſhops, ſeditious prelates, & ſuch noble men as they had drawen to their parties. We beheld (ſayth Houeden) about ÿ ſame tyme many noble houſes & aſſēblies deuided in many places: ÿ fathers & the aged men ſtode vpon ÿ kyngs part, but the yōger ſort cōtrary. And ſome there were, that for loue of their kindred, and in other ſondry reſpectes, forſoke the kyng agayne: yea, and the ſame went that tyme (ſaith he) that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottiſh kyng, and Ieoline the Prince of Wales, to worke him an vtter miſchief. A councell at Oxford the Archbyſhop called: where at ſome would not tary, conſideryng the confuſion therof: the other ſort (hauyng very obſtinate hartes) reuiled the kyng moſt ſpitefully behynd his backe and ſayd: that from thence forth he ought to be taken for no gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantike clamours ſo much preuailed in thoſe dayes: that it grew to a greuous tumult, and a moſt perilous commotion.

An. 1215.

The councell of Lateran holden by pope Innocent.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1215. as witneſſeth Paulus Æmilus and other hiſtories: Pope Innocent the third held a generall Synode at Rome, called the Councel Laterane. The chief cauſes of that Councel were theſe: In the dayes of this Innocent, hereſie (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuked his ſinne) began to ryſe vp very high: and to ſpread forth his braunches abroad. By reaſon wherof, many Princes were excommunicate as Otho the Emperour, Iohn the kyng of England, Peter kyng of Aragon, Raymund the Earle of Tholouſe, Aquitane, Narbon, and ſuch other like as is ſayd afore. So that it could be no otherwiſe, ſayth Houeden, but with the ſharpe axe of the Goſpel (ſo called the Pope his excommunications) they ought of neceſſitie to haue bene cut of from the Churche. Therfore was this Councell prouided, proclaimed, & Prelates from all nations thereunto called. And to colour thoſe miſchiefes which he then went about: he cauſed it by his Legates and Cardinals (very crafty marchauntes) to be noyſed abroad, that his entent was therin onely to haue the Church vniuerſally reformed: and the holy land from the Turkes handes recouered. But all this was craft & falſehode as the ſequele therof hath manifeſtly declared. For his purpoſe thereby was to ſubdue all Princes, and to make himſelfe rich and wealthy: for there he made this Antichriſtian act, and eſtabliſhed it by publicke decree: that the pope ſhould haue from thenceforth the correction of all Chriſtian Princes: and that no Emperour ſhould be admitted, except he were ſworne before, and were alſo crowned of him. He ordeined moreouer, that whatſoeuer he were that ſhould ſpeake euill of ÿ pope, he ſhould be puniſhed in hel with eternall damnatiō. Conradus, Vrſpergenſis, Hieronimus Marius. He prouided confeſſion to helpe theſe matters: he alowed their bread a pixe to couer him, and a bell when he goeth abroad: and made the Maſſe equall with Chriſtes Goſpell.

The Pope to haue iuriſdiction of all Churches.

Ioannes Scotus.

Trāſubſtantiatiō firſt brought in.

In this Councell was firſt inuented and brought in Trāſubſtantiatiō: of which Ioannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his iiij. booke, writyng in theſe wordes. The wordes of the Scripture might be expounded more eaſely, and more plainly without trāſubſtantiatiō. But the Church dyd chuſe this ſenſe, which is more hard: beyng moued thereto, as it ſeemeth chiefly: becauſe that of the Sacramentes men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, &c. And in the ſame place maketh mention of Innocentius the thyrd.

Moreouer, in the ſayd Councell was ſtabliſhed and ratified the wretched and impious act, compellyng Prieſtes to abiure lawfull Matrimony. Whereupon theſe meters & Verſes were made the ſame tyme agaynſt him: which here follow vnder written.

Non eſt Innocentius, imo nocens vere,
Qui quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere.

Et quod olim iuuenis voluit habere,
Modò vetus pontifex ſtudet prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem & vxorem,
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem,
Baptizauit etenim mundi ſaluatorem:
Pereat qui teneat nouum hunc errorem.
Paulus cœlos rapitur ad ſuperiores,
Vbi multas didicit res ſecretiores.
Ad nos tandem rediens inſtruénsq; mores,
Suas inquit, habeant quilibet vxores.
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor eſſe melius & magis decorum,
Quisq; ſuam habeat & non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum fœminas, filias, & neptes
Violare nefas eſt, quare nil deceptes,
Veré tuam habeas, & in hac delectes
Diem vt ſic vltimum tutiùs expectes.

Mariage of prieſtes forbidde by pope Innocẽt.

Nocent, not innocent, he is that ſeeketh to deface,
By word the thyng, that he by deede hath taught men to embrace
Which beyng now a Byſhop old, doth ſtudy to deſtroy
The thyng, which he a young man once did couet to enioy.
Prieſt Zachary both had a wife, and had a child alſo,
By meane of whom there did to him great prayſe and honour grow,
For he dyd baptiſe him, that was the ſauer of mankynde,
Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his mynde.
Into the higher heauens good Paule was lyfted from below,
And many ſecret hydden thynges he learned there to know.
Returnde at length from thence to vs, and teachyng rules of lyfe,
He ſayd, let eche man haue his owne and onely wedded wife.
For this and other documentes of them that learned be,
Much better and more comely eke it ſeemeth vnto me.
That eche ſhould haue his own alone, and not his neighbours wife,
Leaſt with his neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathfull ſtrife.
Thy neighbours daughters or their wiues, or nieces to defile,
Vnlawfull is therfore beware, do not thy ſelfe beguile.
Haue thou thyne owne true wedded wife, delite in her alway,
With ſafer mynde that thou mayeſt looke to ſee the latter day.

Now let vs returne to K. Iohn againe: & marke how the prieſtes and their adherentes were plagued for their miſhandlinges of his maieſties will. In ÿ foreſaid councell of Laterane and the ſame yeare, was Steuen Langton the Archb. of Cant. excommunicated of pope Innocẽt: with all thoſe biſhops, prelates, prieſtes, Barons, & commons, which had bene of counſail with hym in the former rebellion. And when the ſayd Archb. had made inſtaunt ſute, of hym to be abſolued: anone he made hym this aunſwer with great indignation: Brother mine, I sweare by Saint Peter, thou ſhalt not ſo ſone at my hand obteyne the benefite of abſolution; for why thou haſt not onely done harme to the king of England, but alſo thou haſt in a great many of thinges iniured the Church of Rome here: and therfore thou ſhalt tary my leiſure. The Archb. was alſo at that tyme ſuſpended out of the Church, and commaunded to ſay no maſſe at all: neither yet to exerciſe any other eccleſiaſticall office, becauſe he would not at time conuenient execute the popes curſe vpon the rebellious Barons. With them the ſayd Pope had bene ſo deeply offended and angred a litle afore, that ÿ great charter of the liberties of England (with great indignatiõ and countenaunce moſt terrible) he rent and deſtroyed: by ſentence definitiue cõdemning it for euer. And by & by therupõ curſed all the other rebels, with booke, bell, and candle. The greater captaynes of them (with the citizens of London) for that aſſay were pronounced excõmunicate by name and remayned ſtill interdicted. They appealed then to the councell generall.

Ste. Langhton ſuſpended out of the Church.

Appeale to the generall coũcell.

An. 1215.

In the ſame yere 1215. were thoſe great men alſo ſummoned to appeare at Rome in that generall ſinode: which would not conſent to their kings expulſion nor yet tyrannicall depoſing. Though they were called (they ſayd) therunto by the Archb. of Cant. and others: and required by othe to ſubſcribe to the ſame, yet could they not of conſcience do it: becauſe he had humbled hymſelfe and alſo graunted to kepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miſerably then deuided into two factions through malice of ÿ clergy: ſo ſtrifes encreaſed in ÿ land euery where. Yet were there of the Lordes and gentlemen a great number at that tyme, that followed the kyng and alowed his doyngs. But they which were on the other ſide (not a litle ſuſpecting the ſtate that they were in) fled ſpedely to the French K. Philip: deſiring hym that he would graunt to them his eldeſt ſonne Lodowike, and they would elect hym to be their K. and that without much tariance. They beſought him more ouer, that he would ſend with hym a ſtrong & mighty power, as were able to ſubdue hym vtterly: that they myght (they ſayd) be deliuered of ſuch a wicked tyrant. Such was the report, ÿ thoſe moſt wicked papiſtes gaue their chriſtiã gouernour, appoynted to them of God: whom they ought to haue obeyed, though he had bene euill: euen for very conſcience ſake, Rom. 13. And as certeine of the Lordes & Barons were buſy to chooſe the ſayd Ludowike for their kyng, the pope ſent thither one Gualo the Cardinall of ſ. Martin to ſtop thoſe raſh & cruell attemptes: charging the Frẽch K. vpõ his allegeaunce, that he with all power poſſible, ſhould fauour, maintaine, and defend K. Iohn of Englãd, his feudarie or tenant. The French king therto made aunſwer, as one not cõtented with that arrogant precept. The realme of England ſaid he, was neuer yet any part of S. Peters patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet at any tyme ſhalbe hereafter. This ſpake he, for that he was in hope to obtaine it for his ſonne, by treaſon of the Barons.

The diſcorde betwene the nobles and the kyng.

Gualo Cardinal ſent into England.

The French king and hys ſonne reaſoning about England.

No prince or potentate (ſaid Phillip the French king) may pledge or geue away his kingdom: which is (beſide ÿ realme) the gouernmẽt of his whole common welth: without the lawfull conſent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the ſame. If the Pope ſhall introduce or ſet vp ſuch a preſident in chriſtianitie, he ſhall at his pleaſure bryng all chriſtian kings, and their kingdomes to nought. I like not this example, in theſe dayes begon. I cannot therfore allow this fact of king Iohn of England: though he be my vtter aduerſary, yet I much lament that he hath ſo endamaged his realme, and hath brought that noble ground and Queene of prouinces, vnder miſerable tribute. The chiefe Lordes & men of hys nobilitie ſtanding by, when he vttred theſe wordes (beyng as it were in a fury) cried with one voyce: By the bloud of God, in whome we truſt to be ſaued, we wyll ſticke in this article to the loſing of our heades. Let the K. of England do therin what hym liketh: no king may put his land vnder tribute, and ſo make his nobility captiue ſeruants. With that came in Ludowike the kings eldeſt ſonne, and is ſayd vnto them all there preſent. I beſeech you, let not my purpoſed iourney: The Barons of England haue elected me for their Lord and king, and I will not ſurely loſe my right: but I will fight for it euen to the very death yea ſo long as hart ſhall ſtir within my breſt: and I doubte not but I ſhall well obtayne it: for I haue frendes among them. His father the kyng ſtoode ſtill as he had bene in a dompe, & aunſwered neuer a worde, but fared as though he had diſſembled the matter. Belike he miſtruſted ſome thing therin, as he might well inough: for all was procured by the prieſtes that they might liue licentiouſly in all wealth and fredome from the kynges yoke.

Prelates & prieſtes conſpiring agaynſt the kyng.

About the ſame tyme were ſuch treaſons and conſpiracies wrought by the Byſhops, prieſtes, and Monkes, through out all the realme, that the king knew not where to become, or finde truſty frendes: he was then compelled by the vncertaintie of his ſubiectes to trauaile from place to place, but not without a great army of men: lookyng euery day when his Barons and their confederates would cruelly ſet vpon him. At the laſt he came to Douer, & there looked for ayde from other quarters, which loued him better then did his owne people. And thether to him reſorted from Flaunders, Brabant and Holland, on the one ſide: and from Guiane, Gaſcoine, and Poitiers, on the other ſide: & from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report then went, that the Pope had written to thoſe countreis, mightely to aſſiſt him for diuers conſiderations: one was, for that he had both ſubmitted himſelfe, and hys dominion to his protection. An other was becauſe he had taken on hym (a litle before) the liuery of the croſſe, to win agayne Hieruſalem. The third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to loſe both, if he ſhould chaunce to decay. For the ſpace of iij. monethes he remained in the Iſle of wight, abroad in the ayre, to quiet himſelfe for a time from all maner of tumultes: and led there a ſolitary life, among rutters and watermen: where as he rather counted to dye then to liue, beyng ſo trayterouſly handled of his Byſhops and Barons, and not knowing how to be iuſtly auenged of them. Vpõ the purification day of our Lady therfore, he tooke vpõ him the croſſe or viage againſt the Turkes for recouery of Hieruſalem: moued therunto rather for the doubtes which he had of his people, then for any other deuotion els. And thus he ſayd to his familiar ſeruaunts: ſince I ſubmitted my ſelfe and my landes, England and Ireland to the church of Rome (ſorow come to it) neuer thing proſpered with me, but all hath gone agaynſt me.

1216.

In the next yeare after 1216. was Symon Langton choſen Archbyſhop of Yorke: but that election anon after was diſſolued: for information was geuen to the pope, that the ſayd Symon was brother to Steuen the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which had bene the occaſion of all the tumultes which were that tyme in England. And the pope had ỹ more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him vp of nought, & did finde him at that tyme ſo ſtubburne: wherfore he placed in his brothers place Walter Gray, the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Walter Gray Archb. of Yorke.

Gualo the popes Legate.

In the ſame yeare, Gualo the Popes legate renued his great curſe vpon Lewes the French kynges ſonne, for vſurping vpon king Iohn. Likewiſe vpon Symon Langton and Geruais Hobrige, for prouoking him to the ſame, and that with a wonderfull ſolemnitie: for in that doing he made all the belles to be rong, the candels to be light, the doores to be opened, and the bookes of excommunications and interdictions publikely to be read: committing the wholy to the deuill, for their contumacy and contempt. He alſo commaunded the Byſhops and Curates, to publiſhe it abroad ouer all the whole realme, to the terror of all his ſubiectes. The ſayd Symō & Geruais laughed him to ſcorne, and derided much his doynges in that behalfe, ſaying: that for the iuſt title of Ludowicke, they had appealed to the generall councell at Rome.

Radul. Niger cap. 43. 44.

The popes curſe laught to ſcorne.

The Magiſtrates of London and citizens of the ſame, did likewiſe vilipende and diſdaynfully mocke all that the Pope had there commaunded and done. And in ſpight both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at Church, ſhewyng themſelues thereby, as open contemners, both of him & his lawes. Ludowicke at Londō taking himſelf for king, conſtituted Symon Langton for his high Chauncellor, & Geruais Hobrige for his chiefe preacher. By whoſe dayly preachinges, as well the Barons, as the Citizens themſelues, beyng both excommunicated, cauſed all the church doores to be opened, and the ſeruice to be ſong, and the ſaid Ludowicke was in all pointes fit for their handes. About this time, was Pandulphus (then Cardinall) collectyng the Peter pence, an olde pillage of the Pope: taking great paynes therin. And for his great labours in thoſe affaires of holy Church, and for other great myracles beſides: he was then made Byſhop of Norwich, to the augmentyng of his dignitie and expenſes.

Pandulphus the popes collector made biſh. of Norwich.

Mat. Pariſ. Radul. Niger. cap. 47.

The great prouidence of God for the helpe of England.

It chaunced about this tyme, that the Vicoūt of Melun (a very noble man of the realme of Fraunce, which came thether wyth the Prince Ludowicke) to fall deadly ſicke at London: and alſo touched of conſcience to call certaine of the Engliſh Barons vnto hym (ſuch as were there appointed to the cuſtody of that citie) ſayd vnto them. I lament your ſorowfull caſe, and pitie wyth my hart the deſtructiō that is commyng towardes you and your country. The daungerous ſnares which are prepared for your vtter confuſion, are hidden from you: ye do not beholde them, but take ye heede of them in tyme. Prince Ludowick hath ſworne a great oth, and xvi. of his Earles and noble mē are of counſell wyth him, that if he obtaine the crown of England, he will baniſhe all them from ſeruice, and depriue thē of landes and goods, as many as he findeth now to goe agaynſt their liege kyng, and are traitours to hys noble perſon. And becauſe ye ſhal not take this tale for a fable, I aſſure you on my fayth (lying now at the mercy of God) that I was one of them, which was ſworn to the ſame. I haue great conſcience therof, and therfore I geue you this warning. I pitie poore England, which hath bene ſo noble a region, that now it is come to ſo extreme miſery. And when he with teares had lamented it a ſpace, he turned agayne vnto them, and ſayd: my frendes, I counſell you earneſtly, to looke to your ſelues, and to prouide ỹ remedy in tyme, leaſt it come vpō you vnwares. your kyng for a ſeaſō hath kept you vnder: but if Ludowick preuaile, he will put you frō all. Of two extreme euils, chooſe the more eaſie, & kepe that ſecret which I haue tolde you of good will: with that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

When this was once noyſed among the Barons, they were in great heauines: for they ſaw themſelues entrapped euery way, and to be in exceeding great daunger. And this dayly augmented that feare which then came vpō the Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope & his Legates, and euery weeke came vpon them new excommunications. Dayly detrimentes they had beſides: in their poſſeſſions and goods: in their landes and houſes: corne and cattell, wiues and children: ſo that ſome of them were driuen to ſuch neede, that they were enforced to ſeeke praies and booties for ſuſtaynyng their miſerable liues. For looke what ſoeuer prince Ludowick obtayned by his warres, eyther territories or caſtels: he gaue them all to his French men (in ſpight of their heads) and ſaid that they were but traitours, like as they had warning afore, which greeued the worſt of all. At the laſt, they perceiuing that they in ſeeking to auoyd one miſchiefe were redy to fall into an other, much wyſe: they began to lay their heds together, conſenting to ſubmit themſelues wholy with all humilitie to the mercy of their late ſoueraigne, and naturall liege Lord, K. Iohn. And for that they were ſomewhat in doubte of their liues for ỹ treaſō afore cōmitted: many of ỹ friendes of the which were of moſt credite with hym, made ſute for thē. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtaunt great ſuite made for them. I here omit hys recouery of Rocheſter caſtle and citie, with many other daungerous aduentures agaynſt the foreſayde Ludowicke, both at London, Yorke, Lincolne, Wincheſter, Norwiche and other places els, as things not pertainyng to my purpoſe. And now I returne to my matter agayne.

Into Suffolke and Norfolke he conſequently iourneyed, with a very ſtrong army of men: and there, wyth great miſchiefes he afflicted them, becauſe they had geuen place & were ſworne to his enemies. After that, he deſtroyed the Abbeyes of Peterborough & Crowland, for ỹ great treaſons which they alſo had wrought agaynſt him, and ſo he departed from thence into Lincolneſhire.

Pope Innocent the iij. dyeth.

In this yeare, about the xvij. day of Iuly, dyed Pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a citie called Peruſium in Italy: where as he had trauailed to make a peace betwene the Genowayes and the Pyſes, for his owne commoditie and aduauntage. After him anone ſucceded one Cintius otherwiſe called Honorius Tertius, a man of very great age: yet liued he in the papacie x. yeares and an halfe, and more. When this was once knowē in England: greatly reioyced all they which were king Iohns enemies, ſpecially the prieſtes: yet had they ſmall cauſe, as will appeare hereafter. They noyſed it all the realme ouer, that this new Pope would ſet a new order, and not rule all things as the other Pope did: thinking therby that he would haue done all thinges to their commoditie: but they found it otherwiſe. For he made all them which were excommunicate, to pay double and treble, ere they could be reſtored agayne to their former liuinges.

K. Iohn poyſoned by a Monke.

And in the ſelfe ſame yeare, as king Iohn was come to Swineſtead Abbey, not farre from Lincolne: he reſted there two dayes: where (as moſt writers teſtifie) he was moſt trayterouſly poyſoned by a monke of that abbey, of the ſect of the Ciſtercians or S. Bernardes brethren, called Simon of Swinſted. As concerning the noble perſonage of this prince: thus writeth Roger Houeden therin: Princeps quidē magnus erat ſed minus fœlix: atque vt Marius vtramque fortunam expertus. Doubtles (ſayth he) kyng Iohn was a mighty prince, but not ſo fortunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius the noble Romaine: he taſted of fortune both wayes: bountifull in mercy: in warres ſometyme he wanne, ſometyme agayne he loſt. Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, ſed proditionis cauſa ſuorum deprædator, plus aduenis quàm ſuis confidens. He was alſo very bounteous & liberall vnto ſtraungers, but of his owne people (for their dayly treaſons ſake) he was a great oppreſſour, ſo that he truſted more to forreners then to them.

Ex Chronico cui titulus Eulogium.

Among other diuers and ſundry conditions belongyng to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: for that being farre from the ſuperſtition which kinges at that time were commonly ſubiect vnto; regarded not the popiſhe maſſe, as in certayne Chronicles writing of hym may be collected: for ſo I finde teſtified of him by Mat. Pariſienſis, that the king vpō a time in hys hunting, comming where a very fat ſtag was cut vp and opened (or how the hunters terme it I cannot tell) the king beholding the fatnes and the liking of the ſtagge: ſee ſayth he, how eaſily and happely he hath liued, and yet for all that he neuer heard any maſſe.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

The ſaying of K. Iohn deriding the Maſſe.

Ex Caxtono. lib. 7.

It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of Wyllyam Caxton, called fructus temporum, and in the 7. booke. The foreſayd monke Simon, being much offended with certaine talke that the king had at his table, concerning Ludowicke the French kinges ſonne (which then had entred and vſurped vpon him) did caſt in his wicked hart, how he moſt ſpedely might bring him to his end. And firſt of all he counſeled with his Abbot, ſhewing him the whole matter, and what he was mynded to doe. He alledged for hymſelfe the Prophecy of Cayphas, Iohn xi. ſaying: It is better that one man dye, then all the people ſhould periſh. I am well contented (ſayth he) to looſe my life, and ſo become a martyr, that I may vtterly deſtroy this tyranne. With that ỹ Abbot did weepe for gladnes, and much commended hys feruent zeale, as he tooke it. The Monke then being abſolued of his Abbot for doing thys act (aforehand) went ſecretly into a garden vpon the backe ſide, and finding there a moſt venemous Tode, he ſo pricked him, and preſſed him with his penknife: that he made him vomit all the poyſon

Woe be to you that call good euill & euill good.

Simon Monke abſolued of hys Abbot for poyſonyng his kyng.

that was within him. This done, he conueyed it into a cuppe of wine, and with a ſmiling and flattering countenaunce, he ſaid thus to the kyng: Sir, if it ſhall like your princely maieſtie, here is ſuch a cup of wine, as ye neuer dranke a better before in all your life tyme. I truſt this Waſſall ſhall make all England glad. And with that he dranke a great draught therof, ȳ kyng pledging him. The monke anon after went to the farmery, and there dyed (his guts guſhing out of his belly) and had continually from thenceforth three Monkes to ſing maſſe for his ſoule, confirmed by their generall chapter. What became after that of kyng Iohn, ye ſhall know right well in the proces following. I would ye did marke well the wholeſome proceedings of theſe holy votaries, how vertuouſly they obey their kynges, whom God hath appointed: and how religiouſly they beſtow their confeſſions, abſolutions and Maſſes.

The monke dyeth of his owne poyſon.

The kyng within a ſhort ſpace after (feelyng great griefe in his body) aſked for Symon the monke: and aunſwere was made, that he was departed this life. Then God haue mercy vpon me (ſayd he) I ſuſpected as much, after he had ſayd, that all England ſhould therof be glad: he ment now I perceaue then of his owne generation. With that he commaunded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ryde. So went he from thence to Slaford Caſtell, & from thence to Newerke vpon Trent: and there within leſſe thē three dayes he dyed. Vpon his deathbed he much repented his former lyfe, & forgaue all them with a pitifull hart, that had done him iniury: deſiryng that his elder ſonne Henry might be admoniſhed by his example, and to learne by his miſfortunes, to be naturall, fauourable, gentle, and louyng to his natiue people. When his body was embawmed & ſpiced (as the maner is of kyngs) his bowels or intralles were buryed at Cropton Abbey: which was of the ſect of Premonſtratenſes or Chanons of S. Norbert. His hired ſouldiours, both Engliſhmen and ſtraungers were ſtill about him, and followed his corps triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter: and there honorably was he buried by Syluester the byſhop, betwixt S. Oswald & S. Wolſtane, ij. byſhops of that church. He dyed in the yeare of our Lord. 1216. the. 19. day of October, after he had raigned in ſuch calamitie, by the ſubtle conueyaunce of his Clergy. xviij. yeares. vj. monethes, and odde dayes. So ſoone as kyng Iohn was dead and buryed (as is ſayd afore) the Princes, Lordes and Barōs, ſo many as were of his part (as well of ſtraūgers as of them that were borne here) by counſayle of the Legate Gualo: gathered thē ſelues together, and all with one conſent proclaymed Henry his ſonne for their kyng. Of whom more ſhall folow (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

The death of kyng Iohn.

A prince to be louing to hys ſubiectes.

K. Iohn buryed at Worceter.

An. 1216.

Many opinions are among the Chroniclers of the death of kyng Iohn. Some of them do write that he dyed of ſorrow and heauines of hart, as Polydorus: ſome of ſurfetyng in the night, as Radulphus Niger: ſome of a bloudy flixe, as Roger Houeden: ſome of a burnyng ague, ſome of a cold ſweat, ſome of eatyng appels, ſome of eatyng peares, ſome plummes, &c.

The death of K. Iohn.

This you ſee what varietie is among the writers concernyng the death of this kyng Iohn. Of which writers, although the moſt agree in this that he was poyſoned by the monke aboue named: yet Math. Pariſienſis, (ſomething differyng from the other) writeth thus concernyng his death. That he goyng frō Lunne to Lincolneſhyre, and there hearyng of the loſſe of his cariage, and of his treaſures vpon the waſhes fell in great heauines of mynde: in ſo much that he fell therby into a feruēt feuer beyng at the abbey of Swineſted. This ague he alſo encreaſed through euill ſurfettyng & noughty dyet, by eatyng Peaches and drinking of new Ciſer, or as we call it Syder. Thus beyng ſicke he was caried from thence to the Caſtel of Laford, and from thence to the Caſtell of Newerke: where callyng for Henry his ſonne, gaue to him the ſucceſſiō of his crowne and kingdome, wrytyng to all his Lordes and nobles to receiue him for their kyng. And ſhortly after vpō S. Lucies euen, departed this lyfe, beyng buryed at Worceſter, &c.

Math. Pariſi. in vita Ioannis Regis.

In Giſburn, I finde otherwiſe, who diſſentyng from other ſayth: that he was poyſoned with a diſhe of Peares which the Monke had prepared for the kyng therewith to poyſon him. Who aſkyng the kyng whether he would taſte of his fruite, and being bidde to bryng them in, accordyng to the kynges biddyng ſo did. At the bringing in wherof, ſayth the ſaid ſtory, the precious ſtones about the king begā to ſweate. In ſomuch that the kyng miſdoubting ſome poyſō, demaūded of the mōke, what he had brought. He ſayde: of his fruite, and that very good, the beſt that he did euer taſt. Eate, ſayd the king: & he tooke one of ȳ peares, which he did know, and did eate. Alſo beyng byd to take an other, did eate likewiſe ſeuerly. And ſo likewiſe the third. Then the kyng refrayning no lenger, tooke one of the poyſoned peares, and was therewith poyſoned, as is before. &c.

An other deſcription of kyng Iohns death. *Ex hiſtor. Gualt. Hemyngford, Giſburnenſ.*

In the raigne of this kyng Iohn the Citizens of London firſt obtayned of the kyng to choſe yearely a Maior. In whoſe tyme alſo the bridge of London was firſt builded of ſtone: which before was of woode. Raſtall.

The firſt Maior of London.

¶ Kyng Henry the third.

After this kyng Iohn had raigned as ſome ſay, xviij. yeares, or as ſome ſay. 19. yeares, was, as is aboueſayd, poyſoned and dyed. This kyng left behinde him iiij. ſonnes and iij. daughters, firſt Henry, ſecond Richard, and he was Earle of Cornwall: Third William of Valentia: Fourth, Guido Diſenay. He had alſo an other ſonne, who afterward was made Byſhop. Of his daughters firſt was Iſabell maryed afterward to Fredericke the Emperour. The ſecond named Alinour, maried to William Marſhall Earle. The third to the Earle of Leyceſter, &c. An other ſtory ſayth that he had but two daughters, Iſabell and Elenore, or as an other calleth her Ioene, which was after Queene of Scotland. Ex Chronico vetuſto Anglic.

K. Henry the third.

The iſſue of kyng Iohn.

This kyng Iohn beyng deceaſſed which had many enemyes both of Earles, Barōs, and eſpecially of the Popiſh Clergy, Henry his eldeſt ſonne was then of the age of nine yeares. At what tyme the moſt of the Lordes of England did adhere to Ludouike or Lewes the French kynges ſon, whom they had ſent for before, in diſpleaſure of kyng Iohn to be their kyng, and had ſworne to him their allegeaunce. Then William Earle Marſhall a noble man, and of great authoritie, and a graue and a ſound counſelier, frendly and quietly called vnto him diuers Earles and Barōs: and takyng this Henry the young prince, ſonne of king Iohn ſetteth him before them, vſing theſe wordes: Behold (ſayth he) right honourable and welbeloued: although we haue * perſecuted the father of this young Prince for his euill demeanour, and worthely: yet this young child, whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in yeares tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from theſe his fathers doyngs. Wherfore in as much as euery man is charged onely with the burthen of his own workes and tranſgreſſions: neither ſhall the child (as the Scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therfore of duetie and conſcience to pardon this young and tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age, as ye ſee. And now for ſomuch as he is the kynges naturall & eldeſt ſonne, and muſt be our ſoueraigne and kyng, and ſucceſſour of this kyngdome, come and let vs appoint him our kyng & gouernour: & let vs remoue frō vs this Lewes the French kynges ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people which is a confuſion and a ſhame to our nation, and the yoke of their ſeruitude let vs caſt of from our ſhoulders. To theſe wordes ſpake and aunſwered the Earle of Gloceſter. And by what reaſon or right (ſayd he) cā we ſo do, ſeyng we haue called him hether and haue ſworne to him our fealtie.

An example of a worthy & faythfull Counſailour. The oration of the Earle Marſhall for young kyng Henry.

* Truely ſaid, that you perſecuted hym, for perſecutours ye were of a true mā & your owne natural king. But well might England cry out of your blinde guides and leaders on.

Whereunto the Earle Marſhall inferred agayne and ſayd: Good right and reaſon we haue, and ought of duety to do no leſſe for that he contrary to our mynde & callyng hath abuſed our aduaunce and fealties. Truth it is, we called him, and ment to preferre him to be our chieftaine and gouernour: but he eftſoones ſurpriſed in pride hath contemned and deſpiſed vs: and if we ſhall ſo ſuffer him, he will ſubuert and ouerthrow both vs and our natiō, & ſo ſhall we remaine a ſpectacle of ſhame to all men, and be as outcaſtes of all the world.

At theſe wordes all they, as inſpired from aboue, cryed altogether with one voyce: be it ſo, he ſhal be our kyng. And ſo the day was appointed for his coronation which was the day of Symon and Iude. This coronatiō was kept not at Weſtminſter, for as much as Weſtminſter the ſame tyme was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Glouceſter the ſafeſt place (as was thought) at that time in the realme. an. 1216. by Swallow the Popes Legate through counſell of all the Lordes and Barons that held with his father Kyng Iohn, to witte, the Byſhop of Wincheſter, Byſhop of Bath, Byſhop of Cheſter, and Byſhop of Worceſter, the Earle Radulph of Cheſter, William Earle Marſhall, William Earle of Pembrocke, William Tren Earle of Ferers, William de Brier, Serle or Hainarike de mall Baron. Theſe were at the crowning of the king at Gloceſter. Many other lordes and Barons there were, which as yet held with Lewes the French kynges ſonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crownyng of this kyng, he held his coūcell at Briſtow at S. Martins feaſt: where were aſſembled xi. byſhops of England and Wales, with diuers Earles & Barons and knightes of England.

Ex Chron. Monac. Giſburnenſ.

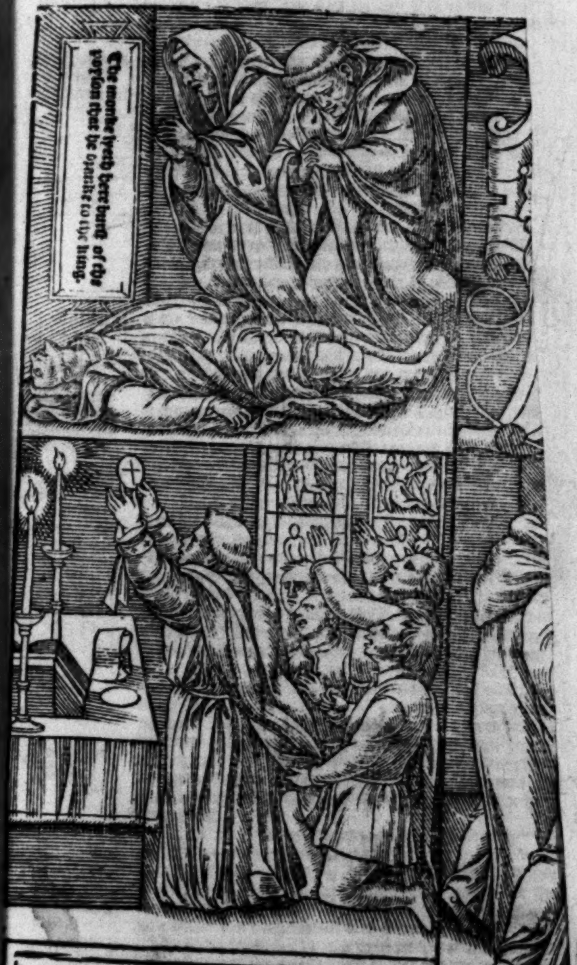
K. Hēry the 3. crowned.

All

which did sweare fealtie vnto the kyng. After which ... the Legate should

to consider more with themselues ... the more

The D


The monke lyeth here buryed, of the poyson that he dranke to the kyng.

A perpetuall masse song dayly in Swinsted for the Monke, that poysoned kyng John.

The Monke po

as soone as they ... all the chiefe and nobles therof, into perpetuall exile out of the realme, where out they should neuer returne agayne. This, commyng to the eares of the Barons, as is sayd: gaue them

... and the foresaid French men ... departure, the next yeare following: anno 1218.

he conueyed it into a ſaucerly. And ſo likewiſe the third. Then the kyng

lenger, tooke

the kyng: & he would

did eate. Also beyng byd to ta

and

wiſe

held a councell at Briſtow at S. Martinmaſſe:

Where were aſſembled .11. byſhops of England and Wales,

with diuers Earles & Barons and knightes of England.

In

All which did ſweare fealtie vnto the kyng. After which homage thus done to the kyng, the Legate Swalo interdicted Wales becauſe they held with the foreſayd Lewes: and alſo the Barons & all other as many as gaue helpe or counſell to Lewes, or any other that moued or ſtyrred any warre agaynſt Henry the new kyng, he accurſed them. All which notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Lewes did not ceaſe, but firſt layde ſiege to the Caſtel of Douer xv. dayes: when he could not preuayle there, he tooke the Caſtell of Berkhamſted, & alſo the Caſtell of Hartford, doing much harme in the countreyes, in ſpoylyng & robbyng the people where they went: by reaſon whereof, the Lordes and Commons which held with the kyng, aſſembled themſelues together, to driue Lewes and his men out of the land. But ſome of the Barons with the Frenchmen, in the meane ſeaſon went to Lyncolne and tooke the Citie, and held it to the vſe of Lewes. Which beyng knowen, eftſoones a great power of the kynges part made thether, as the Earle Randolfe of Cheſter, William Earle Marſhal and William de le Bruer, Earle of Ferers, with many other Lordes and gaue battaile vnto Lewes & his partie: ſo that in concluſion Lewes loſt the field, and of his ſide were ſlaine the Earle of Perchys, Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, Hēry de la Boghon Earle of Herford, and Syr Robert le Fitzwater, with diuers other mo. Whereupon Lewes for ſuccour fled to London, cauſing the gates there to be ſhut and kept, waytyng there for more ſuccour out of Fraūce. Which as ſoone as the king had knowledge of, immediatly ſent to the Maior and Burgeſſes of the Citie, willyng them to render them and their Citie to hym as their chief Lord and Kyng, promiſing to graunt to them agayne all their fraunchiſes and liberties as in tymes paſt, and to confirme the ſame by his great charter and ſeale. In this meane time on Bartholmew eue, Euſtace a Frēch Lord, accompanied with many other Lordes and nobles of Fraunce, came with a great power, to the number of a hundreth ſhyppes, to ayde and aſſiſte the ſayd Lewes. Who before they arriued, were encountered vpon the Seas by Richard kyng Iohns Baſtard ſonne, who hauyng no more but. xviij. ſhyppes to keepe the Cinque portes, ſet egerly vpon them, and through Gods grace, ouercame them. Where preſently he ſmote of the head of Euſtace, the reſt of the French Lordes to the number of. x. he brought with him to the land, where he impriſoned thē in the Caſtell of Douer, & ſlue almoſt all their men that came with them, and ſonke their ſhyppes in the Sea, onely xv. ſhyppes (ſayth ſome of my ſtories) eſcaped away. Lodowike or Lewes hearing this loſſe of his ſhyppes and men, and miſdoubtyng his own life for the great miſchief he had done to the Realme, ſought meanes by Swalo, and the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury and by other Lordes, to be at accorde with the kyng. With whom at length it was ſo concluded and agreed, that for his coaſtes and expenſes he to haue a thouſand pound of ſiluer geue. Pariſiēſ. ſpeaketh of xv. thouſād markes (which he borowed of the Londiners) that he ſhould depart the realme, neuer to returne into England agayne, neither he nor none of his.

Berkhāſted and Hartford taken by Lewes.

Lincolne taken by Lewes.

1217.

This Euſtace ſome ſay he was a Spaniard.

A noble victory by gods grace geuen to K. Iohns ſonne.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ.

This done, & vpon the ſame, he with all the other Barons that tooke his part, was aſſoyled of Swalo the Legate. And thus peace beyng confirmed at Merton, Lewes tooke his leaue, and beyng brought honorably to the Sea with the Byſhop of Canterbury & other byſhops, Earles, and Barons, returned home into Fraunce.

Lewes the Frēch kings ſonne driuen out of England.

And here ſayth Giſburn, it was truly verified, that was before ſpoke of the Frēch kyng, father of Lewes: At what time the ſayd Lewes was in Englād, his father the Frēch kyng demaunded of his meſſengers cōming into Fraunce, where his ſonne was: and they ſayd at Stamford: And he aſkyng agayne, whether he had got the Caſtell of Douer, and they ſayd no: Then the father ſwearyng by the arme of ſ. Iames: My ſonne (quoth he) hath not one foote in England, as afterward well proued true. Ex Giſburn.

The anſwere of the Frēch king concernyng hys ſōne Lewes.

But the chiefeſt helpe that repelled Lewes & the Frēch men out of the realme, and that moſt preferred king Iohns ſonne to the crowne, was the ſingular workyng of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before pag. 259. which was through the confeſſion of a certaine Gentleman of the French hoſt (as Florilegus doth teſtifie.) who lyeng ſore ſicke at the point of death, and ſeyng no hope to eſcape, was touched in conſcience for daunger of his ſoules health openly to confeſſe & vtter to the Barons of England, what was the purpoſe of the Frenchmen to do: who were conſpired & ſworne together among themſelues, with a priuy compactiō, that ſo ſoone as they ſubdued the land, they ſhould thruſt all the chief and nobles therof, into perpetuall exile out of the realme, where out they ſhould neuer returne agayne. This, commyng to the eares of the Barons, as is ſayd: gaue them to conſider more with themſelues, whereby many of them were the more willyng to leaue Lewes, and apply to their naturall kyng and Prince. Which no leſſe may alſo be an admonition to all tymes and ages, for Engliſhe men to take heede, not to admitte or to place foreine rulers into the Realme, leaſt perhappes it follow that they be diſplaced themſelues.

Ex Florilego.

An admonition to Engliſhmen not to admitte foreine rulers into the realme.

After the happy departure of this Lewes & his French men out of the land, whereby the ſtate of this Realme long vexed before, was now ſomewhat more quieted: immediatly Swalo the Legate lokyng to his harueſt, directeth forth inquiſitors through euery ſhire, to ſearche out all ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Canons and Secular prieſtes, of what order or degree ſo euer they were, that with any ſuccor or counſaile, did either helpe, or els conſented to Lewes. For all theſe were exempted out of the charter of pardon & abſolution made before, betwene the kyng and Lewes. By reaſon whereof no ſmall gayne grewe to the Pope and the Cardinall: for all ſuch were either put out of their liuings and ſent vp to the Pope, or els were fayne to fine ſweetely for them. Among whome (beſides a great number of other clerkes, both religious and ſecular) was Hugo biſhop of Lincolne: who for the recouery of hys biſhoprike, diſburſed 1000. Markes to the Pope, and 100. Markes to the foreſaid Swalo the Legate, who now (as Pariſ. recordeth) by this tyme had gathered in a faire crop of that, which he did neuer ſow. Ex Mat. Pariſ. &c.

It is a bad winde that bloweth no man profite.

Money cōming in to the Pope & Cardinall.

Hugo B. of Lyncolne redeemeth his Biſhopricke for a 1000. markes.

Ex Math Pariſ. in vita Reg. Hen. 3.

About this ſeaſon or not much before, died pope Innocent the 3. in the 19. yere of hys popedome: to whoſe cuſtody, Fredericus the nephew of Frederike Barbaroſſa being yet yong, was committed by the Empreſſe his mother, of whom more ſhal follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next ſucceeded Pope Honorius the 3. who writing to yong K. Henry in a ſpeciall letter, exhorteth hym to the loue of vertue, and to the feare of God, namely to be circumſpect with what familiars and reſort, he acquainted himſelfe: but principally aboue all other moniſheth hym to reuerence the church which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and to honor the miniſters therof, in whom Chriſt himſelfe (ſayth he) is both honored or deſpiſed. And thus ſemeth the chiefeſt article of that hys writing to hym.

Pope Innocent the third.

Pope Honorius the third.

The effect of the letter of Pope Honorius the 3. to K. Hēry the 3. *Ex Pariſien.*

Of this Pope Honorius, Abbas Vrſpergenſis, (who lyued in the ſame tyme) reporteth a ſtraunge wonder, more ſtrange peraduenture then credible, which is this: Honorius beyng prieſt in Rome (whoſe name was then Cētius) and procurator to Iacinctus a Cardinall. So it befell, that hys maiſter ſent hym abroad about Rome, to borow & procure mony for hym agaynſt his iourney into Spayne: for pope Clement then intended to ſend the ſayd Iacinthus his Legate vnto Spayne. As this Centius was walkyng by hymſelfe all ſad and ſolicitous to ſpede his maiſters meſſage, commeth to hym a certaine aged and reuerend father, & aſketh hym what cauſe he had to walke ſo heauy & careful. To whom he anſwered agayne, and ſignified the occaſion of hys buſineſſe, what then he had to do. Then the old father ſayd to him: Go and returne home agayne: for thy maiſter ſayth he, ſhall not at this tyme go to Spayne. How ſo quoth the other, how is that true? As true (ſaid he) as it is certaine that the pope ſhall die, and the ſaid thy maiſter ſhalbe Pope after hym. Centius thinkyng that to be vnlikely, ſayd: he could not beleue that to be true. To whome the other inferreth agayne. So know this, ſayd he, to be as certayne, as it is true that the citie of Ieruſalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and ſhall not be recouered from thē, before the tyme of thy papacie. And thus ſpeakyng, ſayeth Vrſperg. he voyded ſodenly away. Ex Abbate Vrſperg. All which ſayth the ſayd author, came afterward to paſſe: and were teſtified of the ſame Honorius beyng Pope afterward in his publike ſermons at Rome. All which I graunt may be, and yet notwithſtanding this fabulous narration may be a piece of ẏ popes old practiſes ſubtilly inuented, to bring men forth to Ieruſalem to fight, &c. Agayne, after Honorius (when he had gouerned x. yeres) followed Gregorius the ix. which two Popes were in the tyme of this king Henry 3. and of Fredericke the Emperour, of whome we minde (Chriſt willyng) farther to touch, after that we ſhall haue proſecuted more, concernyng the hiſtory of king Henry and matters of England.

A ſtraunge tale of pope Honorius if it be true.

Ex Abbate Vrſperg. in Chronico.

After that it ſo pleaſed the mercifull prouidence of almighty God, to worke this great mercy vpon the ſtocke of K. Iohn (which notwithſtandyng the vnkinde prelates & their falſe prophetes had declared before, that neuer none ſhould ſucceede in the throne after that king) & alſo vnto the whole common wealth of the realme, in deliueryng thē from the dangerous ſeruice of Lodowike and the foreſaid French men. After their departure, the next yeare followyng: Anno

1218.

An. 1218

K. Henry confirmed the liberties graunted by king Iohn.

1218. which was the third of this kings raigne, the Archbiſhop. S. Langhtõ and the biſhops, Erles & Barons, reſorted to London vnto the kyng at Michaelmas next following: and there held a great parliament. wherein were confirmed and graunted by the king all the frãchiſes, which were made & geuẽ by K. Iohn his father at Romeneedow: and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter. whiche long tyme after, ſaith my author, vnto hys dayes did continue and were holden in England. For the which cauſe, by the nobles and the commons was geuen & graunted againe vnto ẏ king ij. ſhillings for euery plow land through England. And Hubert of Burgh was made chiefe Iuſtice of England, of whoſe troubles more is to be ſayde hereafter. And this was the 3. yere of K. Henry, and 50. yere after the death of Tho. Becket: wherfore the ſaid Becket the ſame yere or next followyng was taken vp and ſhrined for a new ſaint made of an old rebel. Thether came ſuch reſort of people of England and of Fraunce, that the countrey of Kent was not ſufficient to ſuſtaine them. Ex hiſtor. D. Scales. About the ſame tyme Iſabell the kings mother was maried to the Erle of March. And William Marſhall ẏ good erle died, which was the gouernour of the king and the realme, not without great lamentation of the people of England. Then was the kyng committed to the gouernment of Peter B. of Winchester. This noble Erle left behynd hym v. ſonnes, and v. daughters.

Two ſhillings of euery plough land graunted to K. Henry. Tho Becket ſhryned.

Ex hiſtoria D. Scales.

W. Marſhall dyeth and was buried at the Temple.

An. 1219.

Aliens commaunded out of England.

The yere next inſuyng, an. 1219. It was ordeined and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and forreiners ſhould depart the realme, and not to returne to the ſame agayne: onely ſuch excepted, as vſed trafficke or trade of merchaundiſe, vnder the kings ſafe conduct. This proclamatiõ was thought chiefly to be ſet forth for the cauſe to auoyde out of the land Faukes de Breute, Phillip de Markes, Engelardus de Ciconia, William Erle Albemarke, Robert de veteri ponte, Brihenne de inſula, Hugo de Baillueł, Robert de Gaugi, with diuers other ſtraũgers mo, which kept caſtles and holdes of the kings againſt his wil. Of whom the foreſayd Faukes was ẏ principall, who fortefied & held ẏ caſtle of Bedford, which he had by ẏ gift of king Iohn, & myght and ſtrength agaynſt the K. and hys power, nere the ſpace of 3. monthes. Moreouer he went about to apprehende the kings iuſtices at Dunſtable, but they being warned therof eſcaped all ſaue Henry Braibrocke, whom he impriſoned in the ſayd caſtle. The K. hearing therof, & conſulting with his clergy and nobles, made his power agaynſt the ſame. Which after long ſiege and ſome ſlaughter at length he obteyned, and hanged almoſt all that were within, to the number of 97. which was (as Pariſienſ. writeth) about the 7. or 8. yere of his reigne. Faukes the ſame tyme was in Wales, who hearyng of the takyng of the caſtle, conueyed himſelfe to the church of Couentry. At length ſubmitting himſelfe to the kings mercy, vpon conſideration of his ſeruice done before to the kings father, was committed to the cuſtody of Euſtace biſhop of London, and afterward beyng depriued of all hys goods, poſſeſſions and tenements within the realme, was forced to perpetuall baniſhment, neuer to returne to England agayne.

Faukes de Breut rebelleth againſt king Henry.

Ex Pariſienſ.

There (by the way) I finde it noted in Pariſienſ. that after this foreſayd Faukes had ſpoyled and raſed ẏ church of S. Paule in Bedford, for the buildyng vp of his Caſtle: the Abbaſe of Heluestue hearyng therof, cauſed the ſworde to be taken from the Image of S. Paule ſtandyng in the Church ſo long as he remayned vnpuniſhed. Afterward, ſhe hearing him to be committed to the cuſtody of S. Paule in London, cauſed the ſword to be put in the handes of the image againe. Mat. Pariſienſ. in vita. Hen. 3.

An. 1220.

K. Hẽry crowned the ſecond tyme at Weſtminſter.

About this yeare the young king the ſecond tyme was crowned agayne at Weſtminſter, about which tyme began the newe buildyng of our Lady Church at Weſtminſter. Shortly after Gualo the Legate was called home againe to Rome. For the holy father (as Math. Pariens. reporteth) beyng ſicke of a ſpirituall dropſie, thought this Gualo (hauyng ſo large occupying in England) to be able ſomewhat to cure his diſeaſe. And ſo that Legate returned with all his bagges well ſtuffed, leauyng Pandulphe behynde hym to ſupply that Bailywike of hys great graundfather the Pope.

Pope Innocentius the third.

The deedes and decrees of pope Innocent. 3.

The lyfe and Actes of Pope Innocentius the 3. are partly deſcribed before, how he intruded Stephen Langhtõ agaynſt the kings will into the Archbiſhoprike of Canterbury, ſtirring vp alſo 64. Monkes of the ſame Church of Canterbury, priuily to worke agaynſt the king. Moreouer how he dyd excommunicate the ſayd king as a publike enemy of the Church, ſo long as the ſayd kyng withſtoode his tirannicall doings: putting hym and his whole kingdome vnder interdiction, for the ſpace of 6. yeres and 3. monethes. And at length depoſed and depriued hym from hys ſcepter, kepyng it in hys owne handes for v. dayes. How he abſolued all hys ſubiectes from their due obedience and ſubiectiõ vnto hym. How he gaue away his kingdomes and poſſeſſions vnto Lewys the French kings ſonne, commaundyng ẏ ſaid Lewys to ſpoyle hym both of landes and lyfe. Wherupon, the king (beyng forſaken of hys nobles, prelates, and commons) was inforced againſt his will to ſubmit hymſelf, & ſware obedience vnto ẏ pope: paying vnto hym a yearly tribute of a M. markes by yeare, for receiuyng his kingdome agayne, whereby both he and his ſucceſſors after hym, were vaſſals afterward vnto ẏ Pope. And theſe were ẏ Apoſtolical acts of this holy Vicar in ẏ realme of Englãd. Moreouer he condemned Almericus a worthy learned man and a biſhop, for an heretike, for teaching & holding againſt images. Alſo he condemned the doctrine of Ioachim Abbas (whõ we ſpake of before) for hereticall. This pope brought firſt into the church the paying of priuate tithes. He ordeyned the receiuyng once a yere at Eaſter. Vnto the papal decretals he added the decree. Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus, &c. Alſo the reſeruation of the ſacrament, and the goyng wyth the bell, and light before the Sacrament was by hym appoynted. In the ſayd Councel of Laterane, he alſo ordeyned that the Canon of the Maſſe ſhould be receyued with equall authoritie as though it had proceded from the Apoſtles themſelues. He brought in tranſubſtantiatiõ, looke in the decretals. Titulo. 1. De ſumma Trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.

Almericus condemned.

Ioachim Abbas condemned.

Priuate tithes brought in.

Bell & cãdle before the ſacrament.

Canon of the maſſe authoriſed.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Mariage in the 3. degree forbidden.

Item, the ſayd Innocentius the 3. ordeyned that none ſhould mary in the third degree, but onely in the fourth degre, and ſo vnder.

The pope ſetteth kinges & Emperours together by the eares. Philip the Emperour depoſed. Otho the Emperour depoſed.

The ſayd Pope ſtirred vp Otho againſt Phillip the Emperor, becauſe the ſayd Phillip was elected Emperour againſt his will. Vpon the occaſion wherof followed much warre and ſlaughter in Germany. And afterward agaynſt the ſayd Otho, whome he had made Emperour, he ſet vp Frederike K. of Cicile, and cauſed the Archb. of Mayence to pronounce hym excommunicate in all his cities, and to be depoſed of his Empire. For the which cauſe the princes of Germany did inuade hys biſhoprike, ſpoyling & burnyng his poſſeſſions. The cauſe why the Pope ſo dyd accurſe and depoſe hym, was for that the ſayd Otho did take and occupy Cities, townes and caſtles, which the pope ſaid pertained to hym.

The councell of Lateran.

Item, the ſayd pope ordeined that if any prince offended one another, the correction ſhould appertayne vnto ẏ Pope. In this Councell of Laterane were Archbiſhops & Primates 61. Biſhops, 400. Abbots 12. Priors and Conuentuals 800. beſides other Embaſſadors, Legates, Doctors and Lawyers an innumerable ſort, &c.

Martyrs of Alſatia, to the number of an 100 burned in one day. *Ex Herm. Mutio.*

In the hiſtory of Hermannus Mutius, we read how in the yere of our Lord, 1212. in this popes tyme diuers noble men, and other in the country of Alſatia, contrary to the tradition of the Romiſh Popes did hold, that euery day was free for eating of fleſh, ſo it be done ſoberly. Alſo, that they did wickedly which reſtreined prieſtes and miniſters from their lawfull wyues, for the which cauſe (as is in the foreſayd author) by this pope Innocent the third, and hys biſhoppes, an hundreth of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Collectes ſent from the brethren of Millane, to them of Alſatia.

Some other hiſtories (as Nauclerus) recordeth alſo, that at the ſame tyme many were in the citie of Millaine of the ſayd doctrine, which vſed to ſend collects, vnto the foreſayd ſaintes of Alſatia. Ex Nauclero.

Obſeruant Friers begã.

Dominick.

In the chronicle of Gualter Hemingford otherwiſe called Giſburnenſis, it is recorded ẏ in ẏ dayes of this K. Iohn, and Pope Innocent beganne the two ſectes and orders of Friers, one called the preachers order, or blacke Friers of S. Dominike. The other called the Minorites of S. Frãces. The preachers or blacke Friers order began of one Dominike a Spaniard, about the partes of Tholouſe, who after he had laboured 10. yeres in preaching againſt the Albingenſes, and ſuch other as did hold againſt the church of Rome: afterward commyng vp to the Councell of Lateran with Fulco B. of Tholouſe, deſired of the foreſayd Innocent the 3. to haue his order of preaching Friers cõfirmed. Which the Pope a great while refuſed to graunt: at length he had a dreame, that the church of Laterane was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing & much ſorrowing thereat, commeth in this Dominicke: who with his ſhoulders vnderpropped the Church, and ſo preſerued the buildyng therof from falling, &c. And right wel this dreame may ſeme to be verified, for that Friers haue bene alwayes the chiefe pillers and vpholders of the popes church. Vpon this, the Pope (wakyng out of his dreame) called Dominicke to him and graunted his peticion. And ſo came by this wolniſh order

Friers vpholders of the Popes Church.

der of the Dominickes. I call it woluiſh, for that his mother when ſhe was great with this Dominicke, dreamed ẏ ſhe had in her wombe a Wolfe, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dreame, the preachers of that order do greatly aduaunce, and expound it to their orders glory, as well as they can. Neuertheleſſe, howſoeuer they expound it, they can make a wolfe but to be a wolfe, and thus a woluiſh order. The rule which they follow ſemeth to be taken out of S. Auguſtine, as who ſhould ſay, that Chriſtes rule were not inough to make a chriſtian man. Their profeſſion ſtandeth vpon 3. principall pointes, as thus deſcribed. Charitatem habentes, humilitatem ſeruātes, & paupertatem voluntariam poſſidentes: That is, hauyng charitie, holding humilitie, and poſſeſſing wilful pouertie. Their habite and clothing is blacke.

The Minorite Friers diſcended from Sainct Fraunces.

The order of the Minors or Minorite Friers deſcended from one Francis an Italian of the citie Aſſiſi. This Aſſiſian Aſſe, whom I ſuppoſe was ſome ſimple and rude Idiot, hearyng vpon a tyme how Chriſt ſent forth his diſciples to preach: thought to imitate the ſame in himſelf and his Diſciples, and ſo left of ſhoes, had but one coate, & that of courſe cloth. In ſtede of a latchet to his ſhoe, and of a girdle: he toke about hym a hempen cord, and ſo apparelled his diſciples, teaching them to fulfil (for ſo he ſpeaketh) the perfection of the Goſpell, to apprehend pouerty, and to walke in the way of holy ſimplicitie. He left in writyng to his diſciples and followers, his rule which he called Regulam Euangelicam. i. the rule of the Goſpell, as though the Goſpell of Chriſt were not a ſufficient rule to all Chriſten men, but it muſt take his perfection of frantike Fraunces. And yet for all that great preſumption of this Frauncis, and notwithſtandyng this his rule, ſounding to the derogation of Chriſtes Goſpell, he was confirmed by this pope Innocent. yea and ſuch fooles this Frauncis found abroade, that not only he had followers of hys doltiſh religion (both of the nobles, and vnnobles of Rome) but alſo ſome there were, which builded manſions for hym and hys Friers. Thys Frauncis, as he was ſuperſtitious in caſtyng all thynges from hym (as his girdle girdyng a corde about hym) ſo in outward chaſtiſing of hymſelfe, ſo ſtraight he was to hys fleſh (leauyng the ordinary remedy appoynted by god) that in winter ſeaſon he couered his body with Iſe and ſnowe. He called pouertie his Lady, he kept nothing ouer nyght. So deſirous he was of Martyrdome, that he went to Siria to the Souldane, which receyued him honorably: whereby it may be thought, that (ſurely) he told him not ẏ truth, as Iohn Baptiſt dyd in Herodes houſe. For truth is ſeldome welcome in courtes and in the world. But it is hard to make a Martyr of hym which is no true confeſſor. I will here paſſe ouer the Fable, how Chriſt and his ſaintes dyd marke hym with v. woundes.

Diuers ſectes of Franciſcans.

Theſe Franciſcane or beggyng Friers, although they were all vnder one rule & clothyng of S. Fraunces: yet they be deuided in many ſectes, and orders: ſome go on treen ſhoes or Pattins, ſome barefooted, ſome regulare Franciſcanes or obſeruantes, ſome Minors or Minorites, other be called Minimi, other of the Goſpell, other de Caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in ſuperſtition and hypocriſie. And forſomuch as we haue here entred into the matter of theſe two orders of Friers: by the occaſion hereof, I thought a litle by the way to digreſſe from our ſtory, in recityng the whole catalogue or rabblement of Monkes, Friers, and Nunnes, of all ſectes, rules and orders ſet vp and confirmed by the pope. The names of whome here in order of the Alphabet followe vnder written.

¶ The rablement of religious orders.

The table of all religious orders.

AVſtinians, the firſt order.	
Ambroſians two ſortes.	490
Antonies heremites.	324
Auſtines heremites.	498
Auſtines obſeruauntes.	490
Armenians ſect.	
Ammonites and Moabites.	
Baſilius order.	384
Benets order.	524
Bernardes order.	1120
Barefooted Friers.	1222
Brigits order.	1370
Beghartes or white ſpirites.	1399
Brethren of Ieruſalem.	1103
Brethren of S. Iohn De Ciuitate blacke Frier.	1220
Brethren of wilfull pouerty.	
Cluniacenſis order.	913
Canons of S. Auſtine.	1080
Charterhouſe order.	1086
Ciſtercienſis order.	1098
Croſbearers or croſſed Friers.	1216
Carmelites or white Friers.	1212
Clares order.	1225
Celeſtines order.	1297
Camaldulenſis order.	950
Croſſe ſtarred brethren.	
Conſtantinopolitaniſh order.	
Croſſe bearers.	
Chapter monkes.	
Dutch order.	2216
Dominicke blacke Friers.	1220
Franciſcanes.	1224
Graundmontenſis order.	1076
Gregorian order.	594
Georges order.	1407
Guilhelmites.	1246
Gerundinenſiſh order.	
Galilei or Galileans.	
Heremites.	
Helenes brethren, Humiliati.	1166
Hoſpitall brethren.	
Holy Ghoſt order.	
Ieromes orders two ſortes.	1412
Iohns heremites.	
Iuſtines order.	1432
Iohns order Ioannites.	380
otherwiſe knights of the rodes.	1308
Iniesuati.	1365
Ieromes heremites.	490
Ioſephes order.	
Iacobites ſect.	
Iames brethrens order.	
Iames brethren with the ſword.	
Indians order.	
Katherine of Senes order.	1455
Keyed Monkes knightes of rhodes.	
Lazarites or Mary Magdalens our Lady brethren.	1304
Lordes of Vngary.	
Minorites which be deuided into. Continentiales. Obſeruantes. Reformate. Colleſtane. De Caputio. De Euangelio. Amedes. Clarini, and other.	
Minors or Minorites.	1224
Maries ſeruauntes.	1304
Monkes of mount Oliuete.	1406
Marouinies ſect.	
Moronites ſect.	
Monachi and Monache.	
Morbonei and Meriſtei.	
Menelayſh and Liſoniſh ſect.	
New Chanons of S. Auſten.	1430
Neſtorini.	
Nalharte brethren.	
New order of our Lady.	
Nazarei.	
Paules heremites.	345
Premonſtratenſis order.	1119
Preacher order, or blacke Friers.	
Peter the Apoſtles order.	1409
Purgatory brethren.	
Rechabites.	
Sarrabaites.	
Sambonites.	1199
Scourgers the firſt ſect.	1265
Souldiours of Ieſus Chriſt.	1323
Scopenites, or Saint Saluators order.	1367
Specularij or the glaſſe order.	
Sepulchers order.	
Sheere order.	
Swerdes order.	
Starred Monkes.	
Starred Friers.	
Sclauony order.	
Scourgers the ſecond ſect, called Niniuites.	
Stoole brethren.	
Scotland brethren order.	
Sicarij.	
Saint Sophis order.	
Templar Lordes.	1110
Templar knightes.	1120
The vale of Ioſaphat hys order.	
Vallis vmbroſe	1400
Waldenſis ſect.	
Wentzelaus order.	
Wilhermer order.	
White mōkes of mōūt Oliuet.	1406
Zelotes order.	

Thus haſt thou, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to know what orders and ſectes of religion haue bene ſet vp by the Pope, the catalogue and number of them all, ſo farre as we could ſearch them out: not onely in bokes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martin Luther: but alſo conferred with an other engliſh boke, which came to our handes, conteyning the ſame lyke notes of auncient antiquitie, the number of which rablement of religious perſons came to 101. Now as I haue reckened vp the names and varieties of theſe prodigious ſectes: it commeth to mind conſequently to inferre the prophecie of Hildegardis, as well agaynſt the whole route of Romiſh prelates, and the fall of that Church, as eſpecially againſt the beggyng Friers and ſuch other vnprofitable bellies of the Church. This Hildegardis is holden of the papiſtes themſelues to be a great Prophetiſſe, whoſe prophecy procedeth in this maner: firſt agaynſt the prieſtes and Prelates of the Romiſh Church, as followeth.

¶ *The prophecie of Hildegardis, of the ruine of* Rome, and againſt the begging Friers.

HIldegardis a Nonne, and (as many iudged a prophetiſſe) lyued in the yeare 1146. In her propheſies ſhe doth moſt greuouſly reprehend, not onely the wicked and abhominable life of the ſpirituall papiſtes: but alſo the contempt of eccleſiaſticall office, and alſo the horrible deſtructiō of the Church of Rome. In a certaine place ſhe hath theſe wordes. And now is the law neglected among the ſpirituall people which neglect to teach and doe good thyngs. The maſters likewiſe and the Prelates doe ſleepe, deſpiſing iuſtice and laying it aſide. In a certayne viſion: the Church appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman, complaynyng that the prieſtes had berayed her face wyth duſt, & rent her coat &c. and that they did not ſhyne ouer the people, neyther in doctrine, neither in example of life: but rather contrariwiſe, that they had driuen the innocent lambe from them. She ſayd moreouer, that all eccleſiaſticall order did euery day become worſe and worſe, and that Prieſtes did not teach but deſtroy the law of God. And for theſe horrible crimes and impieties, ſhe threatneth and propheſieth vnto them Gods moſt heauy wrath and diſpleaſure, and dolefull puniſhments. There is no cauſe why the ſpirituall papiſtes ſhould flatter themſelues vpon this: that ſhe promiſeth agayne to the miniſters of the Church thoſe good thinges to follow, like as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa doth, and other ſuch like prophets: for they ſay it will come to paſſe, that they muſt repent before the tymes be amended. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane, the godly miniſters in the reformed Churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpirituall number, and yet did forſake the diſhoneſt life, & thoſe wicked idolatries. Now, where as the prieſtes & monkes, that is, the whole rable and ſpiritualtie doe account Hildegard for a true prophetiſſe: they ought to cōſider that by her they are moſt ſeuerely accuſed: not as by a woman, but as by God himſelfe. And I pray you, what abhomination, impietie, and idolatry hath beene committed ſince that time by the ſpiritualtie? I will note here a certayne prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token, becauſe we ſee it manifeſtly fulfilled in our time. She propheſieth of the reformation of religion, and ſayth that it ſhall be moſt godly.

A prophecy for the decay of the Romiſh Church.

Then ſhall the crowne of Apoſtolicall honour be deuided, becauſe there ſhall be found no religion among the Apoſtolicall order, and for that cauſe ſhal they deſpiſe the dignitie of that name, and ſhall ſet ouer them other men and other Archb. In ſo much, that the Apoſtolike ſea of that tyme (by the diminution of hys honour) ſhall haue ſcarſe Rome, and a few other countries thereabout vnder hys crowne. And theſe thinges ſhall partly come to paſſe by incurſion of warres, and partly alſo by a common councell, and conſent of the ſpirituall and ſecular perſons. Then ſhall iuſtice floriſhe, ſo that in thoſe dayes men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelues to the auncient cuſtomes and diſcipline of auncient men, and ſhall obſerue them as the auncient men did. The gloſe agreeth. &c.

Theſe thinges thus premiſed, now will we come to the prophecy of the foreſayd Hildegard concerning the foreſaid begging Friers aboue mentioned: reciting her wordes: not onely as they are printed in a booke printed of late in Germany, but alſo as my ſelfe haue ſeene and read, agreeing to the ſame booke worde for word, and yet haue the ſame to ſhew: written in olde parchment leaues, in ſuch ſort as the thing it ſelfe moſt euidently declareth a great antiquitye of tyme. The wordes of her prophecy be theſe.

Hildegardis prophecying of Fryers and monkes.

In thoſe dayes ſhall riſe a ſenſeles people, proud, greedy, without fayth, & ſubtile, the which ſhal eate the ſinnes of the people, holding a certayne order of fooliſh deuotion vnder the fayned cloke of beggery: preferring themſelues aboue all other, by their fayned deuotion: arrogant in vnderſtanding, and pretending holynes: walking wythout ſhamefaſtnes, or the feare of God: in inuenting many new miſchiefes ſtrong and ſtout. But this order ſhall be accurſed of all wyſe men, and faythfull Chriſtians: they ſhall ceaſe from labour, and geue themſelues ouer vnto idlenes: chuſing rather to liue thorow flattery, and begging. Moreouer, they ſhall together ſtudy, how they may peruerſly reſiſt the teachers of the truth, and ſlay them together wyth the noble men. How to ſeduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the neceſſitie of their liuing, and pleaſures of this worlde: for the deuill wyll graft in them foure principall vices (that is to ſay) flattery, enuy, hypocriſie, and ſlaunder. Flattery, that they may haue large giftes geuen them. Enuy, when they ſee giftes geuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation, they may pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commende themſelues, and backbite others, for the prayſe of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo, they ſhall inſtantly preach, but without deuotion or example of the Martyrs: and ſhall detracte the ſecular Princes, takyng away the Sacramentes of the Churche from the true paſtors, receiuyng almes of the poore, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociatyng themſelues with the commō people: hauing familiaritie with women, inſtructyng them how they ſhall deceiue their huſbandes and frendes by their flatterie & deceitfull wordes, and to robbe their huſbandes to geue it vnto them: for they will take all theeſe ſtollen and euill gotten goodes, and ſay: geue it vnto vs, and we wyll pray for you, ſo that they beyng curious to hide other mens faultes, do vtterly forget their owne. And alas, they will receiue all thynges, of rouers, pickers, ſpoylers, theeues and robbers, of ſacrilegious perſōs, vſurers, adulterers, hereticks, ſchiſmatickes, apoſtataes, whores and baudes, of noble mē, periurers, marchauntes, falſe iudges, ſouldiours, tyrauntes, Princes, of ſuch as liue contrary to the law, and of many peruerſe and wicked men, followyng the perſwaſion of the deuill, the ſweetenes of ſinne, a delicate and tranſitory life, and fulnes euen vnto eternall damnation.

All theſe thinges ſhall manifeſtly appeare in them vnto all people, and they (day by day) ſhall waxe more wicked & hard harted: and whē as their wickednes and diſceites ſhal be found out, then ſhall their giftes ceaſe, & then ſhal they goe about their houſes hungry, and as madde dogges lookyng downe vpon the earth, & drawing in their neckes as doues, that they might be ſatiſfied with bread: then ſhall the people cry out vpō them. Wo be vnto you ye miſerable children of ſorrow, the world hath ſeduced you, the deuill hath bridled your mouthes, your fleſh is frayle, & your hartes without ſauour, your myndes haue bene vnſtedfaſt, & your eyes delited in much vanitie and folly, your dainty bellyes deſire delicate meates, your feete are ſwift to runne vnto miſchief. Remember when you were apparātly bleſſed, yet enuious: poore in ſight, but rich: ſimple to ſee to, but mighty flatterers: vnfaythfull betrayers: peruerſe detracters: holy hypocrites: ſubuerters of the truth: ouermuch vpright: proud, vnſhamefaſt, vnſtedfaſt teachers, delicate martyrs, confeſſors for gayne: meeke, but ſlaunderers: religious, but couetous: humble, but proude: pitifull, but hard harted lyers: pleaſaunt flatterers, peacemakers, perſecuters, oppreſſours of the poore, bryngyng in new ſectes newly inuented of your ſelues: mercyfull thought but found wicked, louers of the world, ſellers of pardons, ſpoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, ſeditious conſpirators, dronkardes, deſirers of honours, maintainers of miſchief, robbers of the world, vnſatiable preachers, men pleaſers, ſeducers of women, and ſowers of diſcord, of whom Moyſes the glorious prophet, ſpake very well in his ſong. A people without coūſell or vnderſtandyng: would to God they did know, vnderſtand and foreſee the end. You haue builded vp an high, and when you could aſcend no higher, then did you fall euen as Symon Magus, whom God ouerthrew, & did ſtrike with a cruell plague: ſo you likewiſe through your falſe doctrine, naughtynes, lyes, detractions, and wickednes, are come to ruine. And the people ſhall ſay vnto them, goe ye teachers of wickednes, ſubuerters of truth, brethrē of the Sunamite, fathers of hereſies, falſe Apoſtles: which haue fained your ſelues to follow the life of the Apoſtles, & yet haue not fulfilled it in no part: ye ſonnes of iniquitie, we will not follow the knowledge of your wayes, for pride and preſumption hath deceiued you, and inſatiable concupiſcence hath ſubuerted your erroneous hartes. And whē as you would aſcend higher then was meete or comely for you (by the iuſt iudgement of God) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobry and ſhame.

This Hildegardis whoſe prophecie we haue mētioned, lyued about the yeare of our Lord, 1146, as were read in Chronico Martini.

About

Croſſbearers fryers.

About the ſame time that theſe Franciſcans, and Dominicke Friers began (which are aboue mentioned) ſprāg vp alſo the Croſſebearers, or crouched Friers, taking their originall and occaſiō of Innocent ÿ third: which Innocent, rayſed vp an army (ſigned with a Croſſe on their breſt) to fight agaynſt the Albingēſes, whom the Pope and his ſect accompted for heretickes, about the partes of Tholouſe.

Albingenſes.

What theſe Albingenſes were, it can not be well gathered by the old Popiſh hiſtories: For if there were any that did hold, teach, or maintaine agaynſt the Pope, or his Popall pride; or withſtand & gainſay his beggarly traditions, rites, and religions, &c. the Hiſtoriciãs of that tyme (for the moſt part in writyng them) do ſo depraue and miſreporte them (ſuppreſſing the truth of their articles) that they make thē and paint them forth to be worſe then Turkes and Infidels. And that as I ſuppoſe, cauſed Mathew Pariſienſis & other of that ſort, to write ſo of thē as they did. Otherwiſe, it is to be thought (and ſo I finde in ſome recordes) that the opinions of the ſayd Albingenſes were ſounde inough: holdyng and profeſſing nothing els, but onely agaynſt the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the Prelates: denying the Popes authoritie to haue grounde of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as Images, Pardons, Purgatory of the Romiſh church, calling thē (as ſome ſay) blaſphemous occupyengs &c. Of theſe Albingenſes were ſlayne (at tymes) & burned, a great multitude, by the meanes of the Pope, and Symon Eccleſiaſticus with other mo. It ſemeth that theſe Albingenſes were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, because they ſet vp a contrary pope agaynſt him, about the coſtes of Bugarorum. For the which cauſe, the Biſhop called Portuēſis beyng the Popes Legate in thoſe quarters, writeth to the Archbiſhop of Roane and other Biſhops in this wiſe.

Letter of the byſhop Portuenſis concerning the Albingenſes.

Venerabilibus patribus Dei gratia Rothomagēſi Archiepiſcopo & eius ſuffraganeis Epiſcopis Sal. in Domino Ieſu Chriſto. Dum pro ſponſa veri crucifixi veſtrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potiùs cōpellimur lacerari ſingultibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod ſcimus teſtificamur. Ille homo perditus qui extollitur ſuper omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus, iam habet perfidiæ ſuæ præambulum hæreſiarcham, quem hæretici Albingēſes Papam ſuum nominant, habitantem in finibus Bugarorum & Croatiæ, & Dalmatiæ, iuxta Hungariorum nationē. Ad eum confluunt hæretici Albingēſes, vt ad eorum cōſulta reſpondeat. Etenim de Carcaſona oriundus vices illius Antipapæ gerēs Bartholomæus, hæreticorum Epiſcopus, funeſtam ei exhibendo reuerentiam, ſedem & locum conceſſit, in villa quæ Porlos appellatur, & ſeipſum tranſtulit in partes Tholoſanas. Iſte Bartholomæus in literarum ſuarum vndique diſcurrentium tenore, ſe in primo ſalutationis alloquio, intitulat in hunc modum: Bartholomæus ſeruus ſeruorum. M. ſanctæ fidei ſalutem. Ipſe etiam inter aliãs enormitates creat Epiſcopos, & Eccleſias perfidè ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentiùs, & per aſperſionem ſanguinis Ieſu Chriſti, & propenſiùs obſecramus, authoritate Domini Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte diſtrictè præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli proximè futuris, vbi & alij prælati Franciæ, fauente Domino congregabūtur, parati conſiliū dare in negotio prædicto, & cum alijs qui ibidem aderunt prouidere ſuper negotio Albingenſi. Alioqui inobedientiam veſtram, D. Papæ curabimus ſignificari. Datum apud Plauium, 6. Nonas Iulij.

For ſomuch as mention is here made of theſe ſuperſtitious ſectes of Friers, and ſuch other beggerly religions, it might ſeeme not much impartinent, beyng moued by the occaſion herof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before: ſo now to annexe alſo to ÿ ſame, a certaine other aūcient treatiſe cōpiled by Geoffray Chawcer by the way of a Dialogue or queſtions moued in the perſon of a certaine vplandiſh and ſimple ploughman of the countrey. Which treatiſe for the ſame, the author intituled Iacke vp land: wherein is to be ſeene and noted to all the world, the blind ignorãce and variable diſcord, of theſe irreligious religiōs, how rude and vnſkilfull they are in matters & principles of our Chriſtian inſtitutiō. As by the cōtentes of this preſent Dialogue appeareth, the wordes wherof in the ſame old Engliſh, wherein firſt it was ſet forth, in this wiſe do procede. Wherein alſo thou mayeſt ſee, that it is no new thynge that their blaſphemous doynges hath by diuers good men in old tyme bene detected, as there are many & diuers other old bookes to ſhew.

The blind ignorance of friers deſcribed.

¶ A treatiſe of Geoffrey Chawcer intituled Iacke vp land.

The fruites of Antichriſt.

I Iacke vpland make my mone to verey God and to all true in Chriſt, that Antechriſt and his diſciples (by colour of holynes) walkyn and deceauyn Chriſtes Church by many fals figures: where through (by Antechriſt and his) many vertues bene tranſpoſed to vices.

Antechriſt his broode.

But the feliſt folke that euer Antechriſt found, bene laſt brought into the church and in a wonder wiſe: for they bene of diuers ſectes of Antechriſt, ſowen of diuers contreys and kyndredes. And all men knowen well, that they be not obedient to Byſhops, ne lege men to kynges: nether they tillen, ne ſowe, weden, ne repen, wode, corne, ne graſſe, nether nothing that man ſhuld helpe: but only themſelues ther lyuys to ſuſtein. And theſe men han all maner power of God as they ſeyn in heuyn and in erth, to ſell heuyn and hell to whom that them lyketh, and theſe wretchys were neuer where to bene them ſelues.

Patience proueth ÿ fryer.

And therfore (Frere) if thy order and rules bene grounded on Goddys law, tell thou me Iack vp land, that I aſke of thee: & if thou be or thinkyſt to be on Chriſtes ſide kepe thy paciens.

The Frier muſt anſwere accordyng to Gods worde.

Saint Paul teacheth, that all our dedes ſhuld be do in charite: and els it is nought worth, but diſpleaſing to God and harme to our owne ſoules. And for that Freres chalenge to be greateſt Clerkes of the Church, and next folowyng Chriſt in liuyng: men ſhuld for charite aſke them ſome queſtions, and pray them to grounde their anſweres in reaſon and in holy write, for els their anſwere wold nought be worth, be it flouriſhed neuer ſo fayre, and as me thinke men might ſkilfully aſke thus of a Frere.

Friers may better breake Gods law then mans law.

1. Frere, how many orders be in erth: and which is the perfiteſt order? of what order art thou? who made thyne order? what is thy rule? Is there any perfiter rule then Chriſt himſelfe made? If Chriſtes rule be moſt perfite why ruleſt thou thee not thereafter? without more why, ſhall a Frere be more puniſhed if he breke the rule that his patron made, then if he breke the heſtes that God him ſelfe made?

There is but one religion.

2. Approueth Chriſt any more religions then one, that S. Iames ſpeketh of? If he approueth no more, why haſt thou left his rule and takeſt another? why is a Frere apoſtata that leueth his order & taketh another ſect, ſith there is but one religion of Chriſt.

The Frier more bound to his habite then the man to his wiſe.

3. Why be ye wedded faſter to your habites then a man is to his wiſe: For a man may leue his wiſe for a yeare or two as many men done, and if you leue your abite a quarter of a yeare, ye ſhuld beholden apoſtataſe.

If the habite make the Fryer religious, as his habit weareth ſo doth his religiō.

4. Maketh your habite you men of Religion or no? If it do, then euer as it wereth, your religion wereth, and after that that your habite is better, your religion is better: and when ye lyggen it beſide you, then lyn ye your religion beſide you, and byn apoſtataſe: why bye ye you ſo precious clothes, ſith no man ſechith ſuch but for vayne glory, as S. Gregory ſayth.

What betokeneth your great hoode, your ſcaplery, your knotted girdell, and your wide cope?

5. Why vſe ye all one colour, more then other Chriſten mē do? what betokenith that ye bene clothed all in one maner clothing?

Holines of all hypocrites conſiſteth in clothing & outward appearance.

If ye ſay, it betockenith loue and charite: certes, then ye be oft hypocrites, when any of you hateth other, and in that that ye woole be ſayd holy by your clothing.

Why may not a Frere were clothing of an other ſect of Freres, ſith holynes ſtondeth not in the clothes.

6. Why hold ye ſilence in one howſe more then in an other, ſith men ought ouer all to ſpeke the good and leaue the euill?

Why ete you fleſh in one houſe more then in an other? if your rule and your order be perfite, and the patron that made it?

All Friers found liars.

7. Why gete ye you diſpenſations to haue it more eſy: certes, other it ſemith that ye be vnperfite, or he that made it ſo hard: that ye may not hold it. And ſeker, if ye hold not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her Freres and ſo ye lye vpon your ſelues.

Fryers be dead men and quick beggars.

8. Why make ye you as dede men, when ye be profeſſed, and yet ye be not dede, but more quicke beggers then ye were before: and it ſemith euill a dede man to go about and begge.

9. Why will ye not ſuffer your Nouices, heare your counſels in your chapter houſe ere that they ben profeſſed, if your counſels byn trew and after Goddes law?

10. Why make ye you ſo coſtly houſes to dwell in? ſith Chriſt did not ſo, and dede men ſhuld haue but graues, as falleth to dead men, and yet ye haue more Courtes then ma-

ny Lordes of England. For ye mowe wenden through the realme, and eche might welnigh lygge in your owne courts, and ſo mow but right few Lordes do.

Graues be fit for dead men & not courtly houſes.

11. Why hyre ye to ferme your limitors, geuing therfore eche yeare a certaine rente, and will not ſuffer one in an others limitation, right as ye were your ſelues Lordes of countreys.

Why be ye not vnder your Biſhops viſitations, & liege men to our king.

Friers not the kings liege men.

Why are ye no letters of brether hedes of other mēs praiers, as ye deſire that other men ſhould aſke letters of your?

If your letters be good, why graunt ye them not generally to all maner of men for the more charitie?

Friers nede no mens prayers.

12 How ye make any man more perfite brother for your prayers thē God hath by our beleue? by our baptiſme & his owne graunt? if ye mow, certes then ye be aboue God.

Friers greater & better then God.

Why make ye men beleue that your golden trentall ſong of you to take therfore x.s. or at the leſt, v.s. wole bring ſoules out of hell, or out of purgatory? if this be ſoth, certes ye might bring all ſoules out of payne, & that will ye nought, and then ye be out of charitie.

O vncharitable Fryers.

13 Why make ye mē beleue, that he that is buried in your habite ſhall neuer come in hell, and ye wyte not of your ſelfe whether ye ſhall to hell or no: and if this were ſothe, ye ſhould ſell your hye houſes to make many habites, for to ſaue many mens ſoules.

14 Why ſteale ye mens children for to make hem of your ſecte? ſith that theft is agaynſt Gods heſtes, and ſithe your ſect is not perfite: ye know not whether ẏ rule that ye bind hym to, be beſt for hym or worſt.

Friers ſtealers of mēs children.

15 Why vndernime ye not your brethren for their treſpas after the law of the Goſpell: ſith that vndernimyng is the beſt that may be. But ye put them in priſon oft when they do after Gods law, and by Saint Auguſtines rule: if any did amiſſe and would not amende him, ye ſhould put hym from you.

16 Why couete ye ſhrifte and buriyng of other mens pariſhens, and none other Sacrament that falleth to Chriſten folke.

Shrift & burials were more gaynfull thē the miniſtring of the ſacramentes.

Why buſſy ye not to here ſhrift of poore folke as well as of rich lordes and Ladies? ſithe they mowe haue more plenty of ſhrift fathers then poore folke mow.

Why ſay ye not the Goſpell in howſes of bedred men? as ye do in riche mens that mowe go to Church and heare the Goſpell.

Why couete you not to bury poore folke among you? ſithe that they bene moſt holy (as ye ſayne that ye bene for your pouerty.)

Poore men haue no ſoules ſayth my fellow Frier.

17 Why will ye not be at her dirige as ye haue bene at riche mens? ſith God prayſeth hem more then he doth other men.

What is thy prayer worth? ſithe thou wilt take therfore: for of all chapmen ye nede to be moſt wiſe for dread of ſimonie.

What cauſe haſt thou, that thou wilt not preach ẏ Goſpell, as God ſayth that thou ſhuldeſt? ſith it is the beſt lore and alſo our beleue.

Why be ye euill apayd that ſecular prieſtes ſhuld preach the Goſpell? ſith God hymſelfe hath boden hem.

Theſe be they that will not enter themſelues nor ſuffer other mē that would.

18 Why hate ye the Goſpell to be preached, ſithe ye be ſo much hold therto: for ye win more by yere with In principio, then with all the rules that euer your patrons made, and in this minſtrels bene better then ye: for they contrarien not to the mirthis that they maken, but ye contrarien the Goſpell both in word and dede.

The frier getteth by *In principio* and yet hateth the Goſpell.

19 Frere, when thou receiueſt a peny for to ſay a Maſſe: whether ſelleſt thou Gods body for that peny, or thy prayer or els thy trauell? if thou ſayeſt thou wolt not trauell for to ſay the Maſſe, but for the peny, and certes if this be ſothe then thou loueſt to little mede for thy ſoule, and if thou ſelleſt Gods body, other thy prayer: then it is very ſimonie, & art become a chapman worſe then Iudas that ſolde it for thirty pence.

Iudas for 30. pence, but the prieſt & Frier for 4. pence ſelleth Chriſt.

A compariſon betwene Iudas & the Frier.

20 Why writeſt thou her names in thy tables that yeueth the mony? ſith God knoweth all thing: for it ſemeth by thy writing: that God wold not reward him, but thou write in thy tables, God wold els forgetten it.

The Frier writeth becauſe God forgetteth.

Why beariſt thou God an honde and ſclaundreſt hym, that he begged for hys mete? ſithe he was Lord ouer all, for then had he bene vnwyſe to haue begged, and haue no nede therto?

Frere after what law ruleſt thou thee? where findeſt thou in Gods law that thou ſhouldeſt thus beg?

21 What maner men nedeth for to beg?

For whom oweth ſuch men to beg?

Why beggeſt thou ſo for thy brethren? If thou ſayeſt, for they haue nede, then thou doeſt it for the more perfection: or els for the leſt, or els for the meane. If it be the moſt perfection of all: then ſhould all thy brethren do ſo, and then no man neded to beg but for himſelf: for ſo ſhold no man beg but hym neded. And if it be the leſt perfection, why loueſt thou then other men more then thy ſelfe? For ſo thou art not well in charitie, ſith thou ſhouldeſt ſeke the more perfection after thy power, liuyng thy ſelfe moſt after God: and thus leauyng that imperfection thou ſhouldeſt not ſo beg for them. And if it is a good meane thus to beg as ẏ doeſt, then ſhould no man do ſo, but they bene in thys good meane, and yet ſuch a meane graunted to you may neuer be grounded in Gods law: for then both lerid and lewd that ben in meane degre of this world, ſhould go about and beg as ye doe, and if all ſhould do ſo, certes well nigh all the world ſhould go about and beg as ye done, & ſo ſhould there be ten beggers againſt one yeuer.

It is better to labour and geue: then to loyter & beg M. Frier.

Why procureſt thou men to yeue thee their almes, and ſayeſt it is ſo medefull, and thou wilt not thy ſelfe wynne thee that mede.

22 Why wilt thou not beg for poore bedred men that bene poorer then any of your ſect, that liggen and mow not go about to helpe himſelues, ſith we be all brethren in God, and that brotherhed paſſeth any other that ye or any man coulde make: and where moſt nede were, there were moſt perfection, either els ye hold thē not your pure brethrē but worſe: but then ye be imperfite in your begging.

Why make ye ſo many maiſters among you: ſithe it is agaynſt the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtle.

23 Whoſe bene all your rich courtes that ye han, & all your rich iuelles: ſith ye ſeyne that ye han nought ne in proper ne in commen. If ye ſayne they bene the Popes? why gether ye then of poore men and Lordes ſo mich out of the kinges hand to make your Pope riche. And ſith ye ſayne that it is great perfection to haue nought in proper ne in commen? why be ye ſo faſt about to make the Pope that is your father riche, and put on hym imperfection? ſithē ye ſayne that your goodes bene all his, and he ſhould by reaſon be ẏ moſt perfite man, it ſeemeth openlich that ye bene curſed children ſo to ſlaunder your father and make hym imperfect. And if ye ſayne that the goods be yours, thē do ye ayenſt your rule: and if it be not ayenſt your rule, then might ye haue both plough and cart and labor as other good men done, and not ſo to beg by loſengery, and idle as ye done. If ye ſay, that it is more perfection to beg thē to trauell or worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to do ſo: ſithe it is the beſt and moſt perfite life to the helpe of their ſoules, as ye make children to begge that might haue bene riche heyres.

Friers beg from all men to make the Pope rich.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why do the friers deſire to make the pope vnperfect.

23 Why make ye not your feaſtes to poore men and yeueth hem yeftes, as ye done to the rich? ſith poore men han more nede then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go twayne and twayne together? If ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in ſoule.

Why begge ye and take ſalaries therto more then other prieſtes? ſith he that moſt taketh, moſt charge hath.

24 Why hold ye not S. Fraunces rule and his teſtamēt? ſith Fraunces ſayth, that God ſhewed hym this liuing and this rule: and certes if it were Gods will, the Pope might not fordo it: or els Fraunces was a lyer that ſayd on this wiſe. And but this teſtament that he made, accorde wyth Gods will: els erred he as a lyer that were out of charity, and as the law ſayth, he is curſed that letteth the rightfull laſt will of a dead man. And this teſtament is the laſt wil of Fraunces that is a dead man: it ſemeth therfore that all hys Freeres ben curſed.

If Fraunces order be contrary to Chriſt his teſtament, thē is Fraunces accurſed.

25 Why will ye not touch no coyned mony with the croſſe ne with the kings hed, as ye done other iuels both of gold & ſiluer? Certes if ye deſpiſe the croſſe or the kings hed, thē ye be worthy to be deſpiſed of God and the kyng: and ſithe ye will receiue mony in your hartes, and not ī your hādes, it ſemith that ye hold more holines in your handes then in your hartes, and then be falſe to God.

He that is more holy in hand then in hart, is falſe to God.

26 Why haue ye exempt you frō our kyngs lawes, & viſityng of our biſhops more then other Chriſten men that liuen in this realme: if ye be not gilty of traitory to our realm, or treſpaſſers to our biſhops. But ye will haue the kinges lawes for treſpaſſe do to you, and ye will haue power of other biſhops more then other prieſtes, and alſo haue leue to priſon your brethren as Lordes in your courtes more then other folkes han, that bene the kings liege men.

A ſubiect to exempt himſelfe frō the lawes of his prince ſmelleth of treaſon.

27 Why ſhall ſome ſect of you Freres pay eche a yeare a certaine to her generall prouinciall or miniſter, or els to her ſoueraignes: but if he ſteale a certayne number of children (as ſome men ſayne) and certes if this be ſoth, then be ye conſtreined vpon certaine payne to do theft againſt Gods

Friers are forced to be theeues.

com-

maundement. Non furtum facies.

Workes of ſupererogation.

28 Why be ye ſo hardy to graunt by letters of fraternitie to men and women, that they ſhall haue part and merite of all your good dedes, and ye witen neuer whether god be apaid with your dedes becauſe of your ſinne. Alſo ye wyten neuer whether that mā or woman be in ſtate to be ſaued or damned, then ſhall he haue no merite in heuyn for his own dedes ne for none other mans. And all were it ſo, that he ſhould haue part of your good dedes: yet ſhuld ye haue no more thē God would geue hym after that he were worthy: and ſo mich ſhall eche man haue of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will ſay that ye bene Gods felowes, and that he may not do without your aſſent, then be ye blaſphemers to God.

God is the limiter of of meede and reward, & not the Frier.

29 What betokenith that ye haue ordeined, that whē ſuch one as ye haue made your brother or ſiſter, and hath a letter of your ſeale, that letter mought be brought in your holy Chapter, and there be rad, or els ye wyll not praye for hym. And but ye willen praye eſpecially for all other that were not made your brethren or ſiſtren? then were ye not in right charitie: for that ought to be commen, and namely in ghoſtly things.

Fryers wyll not pray, but for them that be of their fraternitie.

30 Frere, what charitie is this to ouercharge the people by mighty begging vnder colour of preaching, or praying, or maſſes ſinging? ſith holy write biddeth not thus, but euen the contrary: for all ſuch ghoſtly dedes ſhuld be done freely, as God yeueth them freely.

31 Frere, what charitie is this to beguile children or they comen to diſcretion, and bynde hem to your orders that byn not grounded in gods law, agaynſt her frendes will: ſithen by this folly bene many Apoſtataes both in will and dede, and many bene Apoſtataes in her will, duryng all her lyfe that would gladly be diſcharged if they wiſt how, and ſo many bene Apoſtataes, that ſhoulden in other ſtates haue byn true men.

Friers doe make Apoſtataes.

32 Frere, what charitie is this to make ſo many Freres in euery countrey to the charge of the people: ſith perſons & vicars alone, ye ſecular prieſtes alone, ye monkes and Chanons alone, with biſhops aboue them: were inough to the church to do prieſts office. And to adde mo then inough, is a foule error and great charge to the people, and this is openly againſt gods will that ordeyned all thinges to be done in weight, number and meaſure. And Chriſt himſelfe was apayd with xij. Apoſtles and a few diſciples to preach and do prieſtes office to all the whole world, than was it better do than is now at this tyme by a thouſand dele: and right ſo as foure fingers with a thombe in a mans hande helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hande ſhould let hym more: & ſo the more number that there were paſſing the meaſure of gods ordinance, the more were a mā letted to worke. Right ſo (as it ſemeth) it is of theſe newe orders that ben added to the church without ground of holy write, and gods ordinance.

The number of Friers are ſuperfluous & as neceſſary as ten fingers on one hand.

33 Frere what charitie is this to lie to the people and ſay that ye follow Chriſt in pouertie more than other mē done, and yet in curious and coſtly howſing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and likyng feding, and in treaſure and iewels, and rich ornaments, Freres paſſen Lordes and other rich worldly men: and ſoneſt they ſhold bring her cauſe about (be it neuer ſo coſtly) though Gods law be put abacke.

See ſo faſt the Frier foloweth Chriſt in his pouerty.

34 Frere, what charitie is this to gather vp the bokes of holy write and put hem in treaſory, and ſo empriſon them from ſecular prieſts and curates, and by this cautell let hem to preach the goſpell freely to the people without worldly mede, and alſo to defame good prieſts of hereſie and lyen on hem openly for to let hem to ſhew gods law by the holy goſpell to the chriſten people.

Friers are the letters of preaching the Goſpell.

35 Frere, what charitie is this to fayne ſo much holines in your bodely clothyng (that ye clepe your habite) that many blynd fooles deſiren to die therin more than in an other: and alſo that a Frere that leuith his habite late founden of men, may not be aſſoyled till he take it agayne, but is Apoſtata as ye ſeyne, and curſed of God and mā both. The frere beleueth truth, and patience, chaſtitie, mekeneſſe & ſobriete: yet for the more part of his lyfe, he may ſoone be aſſoyled of hys prior, and if he bryng home to his houſe mich good by yeare, (be it neuer ſo falſly begged and pilled of the poore & nedy people in courtes about) he ſhall be hold a noble frere, O Lord whether this be charitie?

What holynes is in a Friers coat.

The ſtouter begger the nobler fryer.

36 Frere, what charitie is this to preaſe vpon a riche man, and to entice hym to be buried among you from hys pariſh Church, and to ſuch riche men geue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generall ſeale, and thereby to beare hym in hand that he ſhall haue part of all your maſſes, mattens, preachings, faſtinges, wakinges, and all other good deedes done by your brethren of your order (bothe whyles he liueth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye wyten neuer whether your deedes bee acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by good liuyng to receyue any parte of your dedes: and yet, a poore man (that ye wyte well or ſuppoſen in certayne to haue no good of) ye ne geuen no ſuche letters, though he be a better man to God then ſuch a riche man: neuertheleſſe this poore man doth not retche thereof. For as men ſuppoſen ſuche letters and many other that Freeris behooten to men, be full falſe deceites of Freres: out of all reaſon, and gods law and chriſten mens feyth.

Why Friers ſo much deſire to haue richmen buryed in their frieries.

Friers beheſtes are falſe deceites.

37 Frere, what charitie is this: to be Confeſſours of Lordes and Ladies and to other mighty men, and not amend hem of her liuyng: but rather as it ſemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poore tenantes, and to liue in lechery, and there to dwell in your office of confeſſour for wynnyng of worldly goodes, and to be holde great by colour of ſuche ghoſtly offices: this ſemith rather pryde of Freeres than charitie of God.

Friers deſire to be Lordes & Ladies confeſſors.

38 Frere, what charitie is this to ſayne, that who ſo liuith after your order, liueth moſt perfitely, and next followeth the ſtate of Apoſtles in pouertie and penaunce: and yet the wiſeſt and greateſt clerkes of you, wend or ſend or procure to the court of Rome to be made Cardinals, or biſhops or the popes chaplaines, and to be aſſoyled of the vow of pouerty and obedience to your miniſters in the which (as ye ſayne) ſtandeth moſt perfection and merite of your orders, and thus ye faren as Phariſeis that ſayen one and do an other to the contrary.

Fryers and Phariſes ſay one & do an other.

Why name ye more the Patrone of your order in your Confiteor, when ye beginne maſſe: than other Saintes, Apoſtles or Martirs, that holy Church holde more glorious, then hem? and clepe hem your Patrons and your auowries.

Frere, whether was S. Fraunces in makyng of his rule, that he ſet thine order in, a foole and lyer, or els wyſe and true? If ye ſayne that he was not a foole, but wiſe, ne a lyar, but true: why ſhewe ye contrary by your doyng? whan by your ſuggeſtion to the Pope ye ſayde, that your rule that Fraunces made was ſo harde, that ye myght not lyue to holde it, without declaration and diſpenſation of the Pope. And ſo, by your dede: ye lete your Patrone a foole that made a rule ſo harde, that no man may well kepe: and eke your dede proueth hym a lyer, where he ſayth in his rule, that he tooke and learned it of the holy ghoſt. For how might ye for ſhame pray the Pope vndoe that the holy ghoſt bit, as when ye prayed him to diſpenſe with the hardnes of your order.

Dilemma.

Frere, which of the foure orders of Friers is beſt to a man that knoweth not which is the beſt, but would fayne enter into the beſt, and none other? If thou ſayſt that thine is the beſt, then ſayeſt thou that none of the other is as good as thine: and in this eche Frere in the iij. other orders wolle ſay that thou lieſt, for in the ſelfe maner eche other Frere woll ſay that his order is beſt. And thus to ech of the 4. orders bene the other three contrary in this point: in ẏ which if any ſaith ſooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the beſt of foure: ſo followeth it that if eche of theſe orders anſwered to this queſtion as thou doeſt, three were falſe, & but one true: and yet no man ſhould wite who that were. And thus it ſeemeth, that the moſt part of Freeres, bin or ſhould be liers in this poynt, and they ſhould anſwer therto. If you ſay that another order of the Freres is better then thine, or as good: why tooke ye not rather therto as to the better, when thou mighteſt haue choſe at the beginnyng: And eke why ſhouldeſt thou be an Apoſtata to leaue thyne order, and take thee to that is better, and ſo why goeſt thou not from thine order into that?

Which is the beſt order of Friers.

Friers neuer agree one with an other.

Frere, is there any perfiter rule of religion than Chriſt Gods ſonne gaue in his Goſpell to his brethren? Or then that religion, that Saint James in his Epiſtle maketh mention of? If you ſay yes, then putteſt thou on Chriſt (that is the wiſedome of God the father) vnkunnyng, vnpower, or euill will: for than he could not make hys rule ſo good as another did his. And ſo he had be vnkunnyng, that he might not make hys rule ſo good as an other mā might, and ſo were he vnmighty, and not God, or he woulde not make hys rule ſo perfite as an other did hys, and ſo he had be euill willed, namely to hymſelfe.

The Frier thinken hys rule perfecter then Chriſtes, becauſe he leaueth the one & foloweth the other.

For if he might, and could, and would haue made a rule perfite without default, and did not: he was not gods ſōne almighty. For if any other rule be perfiter then Chriſtes, then muſt Chriſtes rule lacke of that perfectiō by as much as the other weren more perfiter, and ſo were default, and Chriſt had fayled in making of hys rule: but to put any default or fayling in God, is blaſphemy. If thou ſay ỷ Chriſtes rule, and that religion that S. James maketh mention of, is the perfiteſt: why holdeſt thou not thilke rule without more. And why clepeſt thou the rather of S. Fraunces or S. Dominikes rule or religion, or order, then of Chriſtes rule, or Chriſtes order?

Dilemma.

Frere, canſt thou any default aſſigne in Chriſtes rule of the Goſpell, (with the which he taught all men ſekerly to be ſaued) if they kept it to her endyng? If thou ſay it was to hard, then ſayeſt thou Chriſt lyed: for he ſaid of his rule: my yoke is ſoft, and my burthen light. If thou ſay Chriſtes rule was to light, that may be aſſigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou ſayeſt that there is no default in Chriſtes rule of the Goſpell, ſith Chriſt himſelfe ſayth it is light and eaſie: what nede was it to patrons of Freres, to adde more therto? and ſo to make an harder religion to ſaue Freres, then was the religion of Chriſtes Apoſtles and his diſciples helden and weren ſaued by. But if they wolden that her Freres ſaten aboue the Apoſtles in heauen for the harder religion that they kepen here: ſo wold they ſitten in heauen aboue Chriſt hymſelfe, for the mo and ſtraite obſeruaunces: than ſo ſhould they be better then Chriſt himſelfe with miſchaunce.

Friers would ſit in heauen aboue ỷ Apoſtles.

Go now forth and frayne your clarkes, and ground ye you in gods law, and gyf Iack an aunſwer: and when ye han aſſoiled me that I haue ſayd ſadly in truth, I ſhal ſoile thee of thine order, and ſaue thee to heauen.

If Freres kun not or mow not excuſe hem of theſe queſtions aſked of hem: it ſemeth that they be horrible gilty againſt God, and her euen Chriſten. For which giltes & defaultes, it were worthy that the order that they call theyr order were fordone. And it is wonder that men ſuſtayne hem or ſuffer hem lyue in ſuch maner. For holy writ biddeth that thou do wel to the meke, and geue not to the wicked, but forbed to geue hem bread, leſt they be made therby mightier through you.

After theſe digreſsions, now to returne to the courſe of our ſtory agayne. As Henry thys king ſucceeded K. John hys father, ſo after Innocent the Pope, came Honorius 3. then Gregorius 9. &c. And after Otho the Emperour (whom the Pope had once ſet vp, & after depriued againe) ſucceeded Frederike the ſecond, as is partly before touched. In the dayes of theſe kyngs, popes and Emperours: it were to long to recite all that happened in England, but eſpecially in Germany, betwixt Pope Honorius, Gregorius & Frederike the Emperour: the horrible tragedy whereof, were inough to fill a whole booke by it ſelfe. But yet we meane God wylling, ſomwhat to touch concernyng theſe Eccleſiaſticall matters, firſt beginning wyth thys realme of England.

Otho the Emperour ſet vp and depoſed againe by the Pope.

After that the kingdome of England had bene ſubiected by kyng John, as hath bene ſayd, and made tributary to the Pope and the Romiſhe church: it is incredible how the inſatiable auarice and gredines of the Romaines did oppreſſe and wring the commons and all eſtates & degrees of the Realme, eſpecially beneficed men and ſuch as had any thyng of the Church. Who, what for their domeſticall charges within the realme, what for the Pope, what for the Legates, what for contributing to the holy land, what for relaxations, and other ſubtile ſleightes to get away their money, were brought into ſuch ſlauery, captiuitie, and penury, that whereas the kyng neyther durſt nor might remedy their exclamations by himſelfe: yet notwithſtādyng by his aduiſe, Symon Mounfort, and the Erle of Leiceſter, and other noble men (not forgetting what great greuances and diſtreſſes the Realme was brought into by the Romaynes) thought to worke ſome way, how to bridle & reſtraine the inſatiable rauening of theſe gredy wolues. Wherfore they deuiſed their letter, geuing ſtraight cõmaundement to the religious men, and to ſuch as had their churches to ferme: that henceforth they ſhould not anſwere the Romaynes of ſuch fermes and rentes any more, but ſhould pay the ſayd fermes or rentes vnto their owne proctors appointed for the ſame purpoſe, as by their writings ſent abroad to byſhops or chapters, and other eccleſiaſticall houſes, may appeare in this forme and effect as followeth.

TO ſuch and ſuch a byſhop, and ſuch a chapter: all the vniuerſitie and company of them, that had rather dye then to be confounded of the Romaines, wiſheth health. How the Romaines and their Legates haue hetherto behaued themſelues towarde you, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons of this realme of England, it is not vnknowen to your diſcretions, in diſpoſing and geuing away the benefices of the realme after their owne luſt, to the intollerable preiudice and greuaunce both of you and all other Engliſhmen. For where as the collation of benefices ſhould & do properly belong to you and other your fellow byſhops (Eccleſiaſticall perſons) they, thundring agaynſt you the ſentence of excommunication, that you ſhould not beſtow them vpon any perſon of this Realme, vntill in euery dioceſſe and Cathedrall Church within the realme, fiue Romanes (ſuch as the pope ſhall name) be prouided for, to the value of euery man an hundred poundes by yeare. Beſides theſe, many other greuaunces the ſayd Romaniſts do inflicte and inferre, both to the Laitie and Nobles of the Realme, for the patronages and almoiſe beſtowed by thẽ and by their aunceſtours for the ſuſtentation of the poore of the realme, and alſo to the clergy and eccleſiaſtical perſons of the realme, touching their liuinges and benefices. And yet the ſayd Romaniſtes not contented with the premiſſes, doe alſo take from the clergie of thys realme, the benefices which they haue, to beſtow them vpon men of their owne countrey. &c.

A complaint of the nobles of England agaynſt the couetouſnes of Rome.

Wherefore, we conſidering the rigorous auſteritie of theſe foreſayd Romaniſtes, which once commyng in but as ſtraungers hether, now take vpon them not onely to iudge but alſo to condemne vs, laying vpon vs vnportable burdens, whereunto they will not put to one of theyr own fingers to moue: laying therfore our heades together vpon a generall, and full aduiſe had among our ſelues cõcerning the ſame, haue thought good (although very late) to reſiſt and withſtand them: rather, then to be ſubiect to their intollerable oppreſsions, & greater ſlauery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cauſe, we ſtraitly charge and commaunde you, as your frendes (going about to deliuer you, the Church, the Kyng, and the kyngdome from that miſerable yoke of ſeruitude) that you do not intermedle or take any part, concerning ſuch exactions or rentes to be required or geuen to the ſayd Romaines. Letting you to vnderſtand for truth, that in caſe you ſhall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein: not onely your goodes and poſſeſsions ſhall be in daunger of burning, but alſo in your perſons ſhal incurre the ſame perill and puniſhment, as ſhall the ſayd Romiſh oppreſſors themſelues.

Thus fare ye well.

¶Thus much I thought here to inſert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not onely the gredie and auaritious gredines of the Romiſh church might the more euidently vnto all Engliſhmen appeare: but that they may learne by this example, how worthy they be ſo to be ſerued and plagued with their owne rod, which before would take no part wyth their naturall kyng, agaynſt forein power, of whom now they are ſcourged.

Example teaching neuer to take part agaynſt their kyng wyth forain power.

¶To make the ſtory more playne. In the raigne of this Henry the third (who ſucceedyng as is ſayde, after king John his father raigned ſixe and fifty yeares) came diuers Legates from Rome to Englande: Firſt Cardinall Otho ſent from the Pope with letters to the King, like as other letters alſo were ſent to other places for exactions of money.

Cardinall Otho Legate.

The kyng opening the letters and perceiuyng the contentes: aunſwered that he alone could ſay nothing in the matter, which concerned all the Clergy and commons of the whole Realme. Not long after, a Councell was called at Weſtminſter, where the letters being opened the forme was this. Petimus inprimis ab omnibus Eccleſijs Cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, vnam de portione Epiſcopi, & alteram de capitulo. Et ſimiliter de Cœnobijs vbi diuerſæ ſunt portiones Abbatis & conuentus: a conuentibus quantum pertinet ad vnum Monachum, æquali facta diſtributione honorum ſuorum, & ab Abbate tantundem. That is: we require to be geuen vnto vs firſt, of all cathedrall Churches two Prebendes, one for the Biſhops part, other for the Chapter. And likewiſe of Monaſteries, where be diuers portions, one for the Abbot, an other for the Couent: Of the Couent, ſo much appertained to one Monke, the portion of the goods being proportionly deuided: Of the Abbot likewiſe as much. The cauſe why he required theſe prebendes was this. It hath bene (ſayth he) an old ſlaunder, and a great complaint agaynſt the Church of Rome, to be noted of inſatiable couetouſnes, which as ye know, is the roote of all miſchief: & all by reaſon that cauſes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceede in the Church of Rome without great giftes and expenſe of money. Wher-

The pope requyreth two prebendſhips in euery cathedrall Church.

Note the cauſe why the Pope is compelled to craue money of other countryes.

of, ſeing the pouertie of the Church is the cauſe, and why it is ſo ſlaundered and ill ſpoken of: it is therfore conuenient, that you (as naturall children) ſhould ſuccour your mother. For vnleſſe we ſhould receiue of you and of other good men as you are: we ſhould then lacke neceſſaries for our lyfe, which were a great diſhonour to our dignitie. &c.

When thoſe petitions and cauſes of the Legate were propounded in the foreſayd aſſembly at Weſtminſter on the Popes behalfe (the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realme being preſent) anſwere was made by the mouth of maiſter John Bedford, on this wiſe: That the matter there propoſed by the L. Legate, in eſpeciall concerned the kyng of England, but in generall it touched all the Archbiſhops & their Suffraganes, the Biſhops and all the Prelates of the realme. Wherfore, ſeing both the kyng by reaſon of his ſickneſſe is abſent, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with diuers other Biſhops alſo were not there: therfore in the abſence of them they had nothing to ſay in the matter, neither could they ſo do without preiudice of them which were lacking. And ſo the aſſembly for that tyme brake vp.

A councell at Lõdõ called.

Not long after, the ſaid Otho Cardinal De carcere Tulliano, comming agayne from Rome cum autentico plenariæ poteſtatis, indicted an other Councell at London: cauſed all Prelates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbotes, Priors, and other of the Clergy to be warned vnto the ſame Councell, to be had in the Church of S. Paules at London, about the feaſt of S. Martin: the pretence of which Councell was for redreſſe of matters concerning benefices and religiõ, but the chief and principall was to hunte for money. For putting them in feare and in hope, ſome to loſe, ſome to obteine ſpirituall promotions at his hand, he thought gaine would riſe thereby, and ſo it did. For in the meane time (as Pariſienſis in vita Henrici 3. writeth) diuers pretious rewardes were offred him in Palfreis, in rich plate and iewels, in coſtly and ſumptuous garmentes richly furred, in coyne, in vitails. &c. In ſomuch that onely the Biſhop of Wincheſter (as the ſtory reporteth) hearing that he would winter at London, ſent him L. fat Oxen, an C. come of pure wheate, 8. tunne of choſen wine, toward his houſe keeping. Likewiſe other Biſhops alſo for their part offred vnto the Cardinals bore after their habilitie.

Great rewards geuen to the Cardinall.

The time of the Councell drawyng nye: the Cardinall commaunded at the Weſt end of Paules Church an high & ſolẽne throne to be prepared, riſing vp with a glorious ſcaffold vpon mighty and ſubſtantiall ſtages ſtrongly builded, and of a great height. Thus againſt the day aſſigned, came the ſayd Archbyſhop, Biſhops, Abbotes and other of the prelacy, both farre and neare throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winters iorney, bringing their letters procuratory. Who being together aſſembled, the Cardinall beginneth his ſermon. But before we come to the ſermon, there happened a great diſcord betwene the ij. Archbiſhops of Canterbury and of Yorke for ſitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinall: for the which the one appealed agaynſt the other. The Cardinall to pacifie the ſtrife betwene them both, ſo that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certaine Bull of the Pope: in the middeſt of which Bull was pictured the figure of the croſſe. On the right ſide of the croſſe ſtode the image of S. Paule, and on the left ſide, S. Peter. Loe ſaith the Cardinall (holding open the Bull with the croſſe) here you ſee S. Peter on the left hand of the croſſe, and S. Paul on the right ſide, and yet is there betwene theſe two no contention. For both are of equall glory. And yet S. Peter (for the prerogatiue of his keyes, and for the preheminence of his Apoſtleſhip and Cathedrall dignitie) ſeemeth moſt worthy to be placed on the right ſide. But yet, becauſe S. Paul beleued on Chriſt, when he ſaw him not, therfore hath he the right hand of the croſſe: for bleſſed be they, ſayth Chriſt, which beleue and ſee not. &c. And from that time forth, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury inioyed the right hand, and the archbiſhop of Yorke, the left. Wherein yet, this Cardinall is more to be commẽded then the other Cardinal Hugo, mentioned a litle before, pag. 231. which in the like contention betwene theſe Archbiſhops, ranne his way.

Contention for ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinall.

Why Saint Paule ſtandeth on the right hand of the Popes croſſe.

Why the Archb. of Cant. hath the right hand & the Archbiſh. of Yorke the left hand.

Thus the controuerſie ceaſed, and compoſed betwene theſe two: Otho the Cardinall ſitting a loft betwene theſe ij. Archbiſhops beginneth his ſermon, taking his theame of the Prophet. In medio ſedis, & in circuitu eius quatuor animalia plena, oculis ante & retro. &c. That is.

In the middeſt of the ſeat, and in the circuite about the ſeat, were foure beaſtes full of eyes before and behind. &c. Upon this theme, the Cardinall proceded in his Sermon: ſitting like a God in the middeſt. He compared them about him, to the foure beaſtes about the ſeat, declaring how they ought to haue eyes both before & behind (that is) that they muſt be prouident in diſpoſing of ſecular thinges, and circumſpect in ſpirituall matters, continuyng & ioyning wiſely thinges paſt with things to come, & this was the greateſt effect of this Clerkly Sermon. That done, he geueth forth certaine ſtatutes for ordering of Churches: as for the dedication of temples, for ſeuen Sacramentes, for geuing of orders, for ferming of benefices, collations and reſignations of benefices and vicarages, prieſtes apparell, and ſingle life, for eating of fleſh in religious houſes, for archdeacons, biſhops, proctors, and ſuch other like matters. But the chiefeſt intent of all his procedyng was this: that they ſhould be vigilant, prouidẽt, and circumſpect, with all their eyes (both before & behind) to fill the Popes pouche: as appeared not onely by this, but all their other trauels beſides. In ſomuch, that the kyng dreading the diſpleaſures of his commons for the doings of the Legate, willed him to repaire home to Rome agayne: but yet could not ſo be rid of him. For he, receiuyng new commaundementes from the Pope: applied his haruest, ſtill glening and raking whatſoeuer he might ſcrape, writyng and ſendyng to Biſhops and Archdeacons in this forme and tenour.

Note the theame of the Cardinal applyed to God, how he applyeth it to hymſelfe.

Scripture clerkly applyed.

OTto miſeratione diuina &c, diſcreto viro N. Epiſcopo vel N. Archidiacono ſal. Cum neceſſe habeamus de mandato ſummi pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec poſſimus proprijs ſtipendijs militare, diſcretionem veſtram, qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, vt procurationes vobis debitas in Epiſcopatu, vel Archidiaconatu veſtro colligi faciatis noſtro nomine diligenter, eas quàm citius poteritis nobis tranſmiſſuri, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Prouiſo, quòd quælibet procuratio ſummam 4. mercarum aliquatenus non excedat, & vbi vna Eccleſia non ſufficiet ad procurationem huiuſmodi habendam, duæ pariter vnam ſoluant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Grego. Papæ 9.

A letter of the Cardinall to byſhops & archdeacons.

Cenſure of the Church well applyed.

Foure markes to be payde to the Pope of euery procuration.

And moreouer, note agayne the wicked & curſed traines of theſe Romiſh rakehels: who to picke ſimple mẽs purſes, firſt ſend out their Friers and preachers to ſtyrre vp in all places and countreys men to go fight agaynſt the Turkes. Whom, when they haue once bound with a vow, and ſigned them with the croſſe: thẽ ſend they their Buls to releaſe them both of their labour, and their vow for money. As by their owne ſtile of writyng is here to be ſene, thus proceedyng.

Note the crafty practiſe of the Romiſhe prelates to poyle for money.

N. Epiſcopus dilectis in Chriſto filijs omnibus Archidiaconis per Diœceſim ſuam conſtitutis ſal. Literas Domini Legati ſuſcepimus in hæc verba. Otto miſeratione diuina. &c. Cum ſicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce ſignati regni Angliæ, qui ſunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad ſedem Apoſtolicam accedant: vt ibidem a voto crucis abſolui valeant, & nos nuper recepimus a ſummo pontifice in mandatis, vt tales nõ ſolum abſoluere, verùm & ad redimenda vota ſua * compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expenſis, fraternitatem veſtram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus partem prædictam a ſummo pontifice nobis cõceſſam faciatis in noſtris diœceſibus ſine mora qualibet publicari, vt præfati cruce ſignati ad nos accedere valeant, * beneficium ſuper his iuxta formam nobis traditam accepturi. Datum Londini. xv. kal. Marc. Pont. D. N. Papæ Grego. 9.

* Note the ſtile of Rome.

* *Immo maleficiũ & naufragium pecuniæ.*

The cauſe why the Pope was ſo gredy & needy of money, was this: becauſe he had mortall hatred, & waged continuall battaile the ſame time agaynſt the good Emperour Fredericke the ij: who had to wife kyng Johns daughter, and ſiſter to this kyng Henry the 3. whoſe name was Iſabell. And therfore becauſe the popes warre could not be ſuſteined without charges: that made the Pope the more importunate to take vp money in all places, but eſpecially in Englãd. In ſomuch that he ſhamed not to require the fifth part of euery Eccleſiaſticall mãs liuing, as Pariſienſis writeth. And not onely that but alſo the ſayd Pope Gregory (comunyng with the Citizens of Rome) ſo agreed with them: that if they would ioyne with him in vanquiſhing the foreſayd Fredericke, he would (and ſo did) graũt vnto thẽ, that all the benefices in England which were or ſhould be vacant (namely pertaining to religious houſes) ſhould be beſtowed at their owne will & commaundement to their children & kinſfolkes. Whervpon it followeth in the forenamed hiſtory, vnde infra paucos dies miſit D. Papa ſacra præcepta ſua Domino Cant. Archiep. Elienſi, & Lincol. & Saliſb. Epiſcopis vt trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficijs vacantibus prouiderent, ſcientes ſe ſuſpenſos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter prouiderentur. That is.

Fredericke the Emperour marked kyng Johns daughter.

The fifth part of euery ſpirituall mans liuing geuẽ to the Pope.

Three hundred Romanes to be placed in the beſt benefices of England.

The Pope ſent in commaundement to the Archbiſhop of Cant. and iiij. other Biſhops: that prouiſion ſhould be made for iij. hundred Romanes in the chiefeſt and beſt benefices in all England, at the next voydaunce. So that the foreſayd Archbiſhop, and byſhops ſhould be ſuſpended in the meane tyme frō all collation or gift of benefice, vntill theſe foreſayd iij. hundred were prouided for: wherupon the Archbyſhop the ſame tyme ſeyng ỷ vnreaſonable oppreſſion of the church of England, left the realme and went into Fraunce.

Petrus Rubens the popes agent.

Agayne, marke an other as much or more eaſie ſleight of the pope in procuring money: he ſet one Petrus Rubeus the ſame tyme, with a new deuiſe, which was thus: not to worke any thyng openly, but priuily to go betwixt Byſhop and Byſhop, Abbot and Abbot &c. tellyng in their eares ſuch a Byſhop, ſuch an Abbot hath geuen ſo much and ſo much vnto the Popes holyneſſe, truſting that you alſo will not be behind for your part &c. By the meanes wherof it is incredible to thinke what a maſſe of money was made out of the Realme vnto the Pope.

A Romiſh ſleight of the pope to get Engliſh money.

At length the foreſayd Biſhops, Abbots, and Archdeacons feelyng their owne ſmart, came to the kyng (whoſe father before, they did reſiſte) with their humble ſute lamentably cōplaining of the vnmeaſurable exactions of the pope: and eſpecially agaynſt Petrus Rubeus and his fellow Otto the Legate, deſiring the kyng: that ſeyng the matter toucheth not themſelues alone, but the whole Church, and ſeyng the valuation of Churches was knowen better vnto their archdeacons then to themſelues: therfore they deſired a generall callyng and talke to be had in the matter. In the Octaues of S. Iohn the Baptiſt, the day and place was aſſigned where they ſhould talke. At which day & place, the Prelates of England conuenyng together, durſt not geue any direct denaye of that contribution, but after a modeſt ſort did inſinuate certaine exceptions agaynſt the ſame.

Exceptions alledged for not contributing to the Pope.

1. Firſt they ſay, that for ſomuch as the contribution is demaunded to warre agaynſt him, who was ioyned in Matrimony with their prince, they were not bound ſo to do.

2. Secondly for that the ſayd contribution tended to the ſheddyng of Chriſten bloud: for ſo the forme of the bill pretended, to fight agaynſt the Emperour.

3. Thirdly, becauſe it was agaynſt the libertie of the Church: for ſo it is in the bill: that they that would not, ſhould be excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, becauſe that when alate they gaue the tenth part of their goodes, it was with this proteſtatiō, that they ſhould contribute to the Pope no more hereafter.

5. Item, becauſe they had cōtributed before, if they ſhould now contribute agayne, it were to be feared leaſt an action twiſe done ſhould grow into a cuſtome, as is in the law. Lege nemo. &c.

6. Item, for aſmuch as they ſhall haue cauſes continually to ſeeke to Rome through the Emperours land: it were to be feared, leaſt the ſayd Emperour by the way would worke their annoyance.

7. Item, becauſe the kyng hath many enemyes abroad, & for his warres hath neede of much money at home: it is not conuenient that the goodes of the Realme ſhould be alienated out of the Realme.

8. Item, becauſe that could not be done without preiudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree vnto the ſame.

9. Laſtly, becauſe they heare ſay, that the generall ſtate of the church is in daunger: for the which they vnderſtand there ſhall be ſhortly a generall Councell, wherin ſuch matters ſhall be determined: and therfore if they ſhould contribute now, it ſhould be to the hinderance and dammage of the Church.

The Legate and his fellow hearing theſe allegations, ſeyng their owne confuſion were the leſſe importunate.

Not long after this, followed a generall Councel at Lions, called by Pope Innocentius 4. in the which Councel the Engliſh natiō did exhibite certaine articles of their greuaunces not vnworthy to be knowne. Grauatur regnū Angliæ eo quòd D. Papa non eſt contentus ſubſidio illo quod vocatur denarius b. Petri. &c. In Engliſh thus.

Articles exhibited in the councel of Lugdune for the greuances ſuſtayned by the P.

The 1. greuance.

1. The kingdom of England is greued that the pope beyng not contented with hys Peter pence, requireth and extorteth from the clergy great exactions, and (more is lyke) without the conſent both of the king, and agaynſt the cuſtomes of the realme.

The ſecond.

2. Item, the church and kingdom of England is greued, that the patrons of the ſame, cannot preſent as they were wont into their churches, for the Popes letters. But the churches are geuen to Romanes, which know neither the realme, nor ỷ tong therof, both to the great perill of ſoules, and robbyng away the mony out of the realme.

The third.

3. Item, it is greued, for that the Pope promiſing by the tenor of his letters, that in requiryng of penſions and prouiſions in the realme of England, he would require but only twelue benefices: now contrary to the tenour thereof, many mo benefices and prouiſions are beſtowed away by hym.

The fourth.

4. Item, the realme is greued and complayneth, that in the benefices in England, one Italian ſucceedeth an other: the Engliſh men beyng not onely excluded, but alſo cōpelled (for the determinyng of their matters) to ſeke to Rome: contrary both to the cuſtomes of the realme, and alſo to the priuileges graunted by the popes predeceſſors to the kyng and kingdom of England.

The fifth. He meaneth percaſe Otho or mayſter Martinus.

5. The fift greuance is, for the oft recourſe of that infamous Legate, by whom both fayth and fidelitie, the auncient cuſtomes of the realme, the authoritie of olde grauntes, ſtatutes, lawes, and priuileges, are vnbeſeled and abrogate: wherby an infinite number in England be greuouſly afflicted and oppreſſed.

The ſixte.

6. The ſayd Realme is alſo greued in generall tallages, collections, and aſſiſes, made without the kings conſent, ỷ appellation and contradiction of the kings Proctors to the contrary notwithſtandyng.

The ſeuenth.

7. Seuenthly, the foreſayd realme complayneth & is greued: that in the benefices geuen to Italians, neither the old ordinaunces, nor releefe of the poore, nor hoſpitalitie, nor any preachyng of Gods worde, nor care of mens ſoules, nor ſeruice in the church, nor yet the walles of the churches be kept vp and maintayned, as the maner and cuſtome of the ſame realme requireth. Ouer and aboue theſe foreſayd greuaunces, there came moreouer from the pope other freſh letters, charging and commaundyng the prelates of England to finde of their proper coſtes and charges, for one whole yeare, ſome ten armed ſouldiours, ſome fiue, ſome xv. to be redy at the Popes commaundement: there, where he ſhould appoynte.

The Babilonicall captiuitie & ſlauery of England vnder the Pope.

After theſe and other greuances & enormities of Rome the ſtates of England conſultyng together, direct their letters to the Pope for reformation therof: firſt the Abbots & Priors, then the biſhops and Suffraganes, after the Nobles and Barons, laſt of all the kyng hymſelfe. But as the prouerbe is, venter non habet aures, ſo the popes purſe had no eares to heare. And as our cōmon ſaying goeth, as good neuer a whit, as neuer the better, ſo went it with the pope. Who not long after the ſame, ſent yet for new tallage and exactions to be collected: which thyng when it came to the kings eare, he beyng moued and diſturbed vehemētly withall, writeth in this wyſe to the biſhops, ſeuerally to euery one in his dioceſe.

The letter of K. Henry the third to the Byſhops.

HEnricus tertius dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Chriſto N. Epiſcopo Salutem. Licet alias vobis. &c. In Engliſhe thus.

K. Henry the 3. commaundeth no taxe nor tallage to be ſent to the Pope.

Henry the third by the grace of God, to the reuerend in Chriſt biſhop of N. Where as we haue heretofore written vnto you once, twice, thrice, as well by our priuy ſeales, as alſo by our letters patentes, that you ſhould not exact or collect for the Popes behalfe, any tallage or other helpe of our ſubiectes, eyther of the Clergy or of the Laitie, for that no ſuch tallage nor helpe, either can or is vſed to be exacted in our realme, without the great preiudice of our princely dignitie, which we neither will nor can ſuffer or ſuſtayne: yet you contemnyng and vilipendyng our commaundemēt, and contrary to the prouiſion made in our laſt Councell at London (graunted and agreed vpon by our prelates, Earles and Barons) haue that notwithſtandyng, proceded in collectyng the ſayd your taxes and tallages. Wherupon we do greatly maruell & are moued (eſpecially ſeyng you are not aſhamed to do contrary vnto your owne decrees) where as you and other prelates in the ſayd Councell in this dyd all agree and graunt, that no ſuch exactions ſhould be hereafter, vntill the returne of our and your Ambaſſadours frō the court of Rome, ſent thither purpoſely of vs, & in the name of the whole realme for the ſame, for to prouide redreſſe agaynſt theſe oppreſſions. Wherfore, we ſtraitly will & cōmaund you, that from henceforth you do not proceede any more in collecting and exacting ſuch tallages or helpes, as you will enioy our fauour, and ſuch poſſeſſions of yours, as within this our kingdome you haue and hold. And if you haue already procured or gathered any ſuch thing: yet that you ſuffer not the ſame to be tranſported out of our realm, but cauſe it to be kept in ſafe cuſtody, till the returne of the ſayd Ambaſſadours, vnder the payne of our diſpleaſure in doyng of the contrary: and alſo of prouokyng vs to extend our hand vpon your poſſeſſiōs, farther then you wil thinke or beleue. Moreouer, willing and chargyng you, that you participate & make common this our inhibition, with your Archdeacons and Officials, which we here haue ſet forth for the liberties of the Clergy and of the people, as knoweth God. &c.

The Popes ſaying agaynſt kyng Henry.

K. Henry agayne reſiſteth the popes taxes.

The pope rageth agaynſt the kyng.

The king cōpelled for feare to geue ouer to the Pope.

The pope aſketh the 3. part of the church goods.

At length, the Ambaſſadours which were at Rome, came home about the latter ende of December, bringyng word, that the pope hearing what was done in the councell of Wincheſter and of the king, was greatly diſpleaſed with him and the realme, ſaying: Rex Anglorum qui iam recalcitrat & fredericiſat ſuum habet conſilium, ego verò & meum habeo, quod & ſequar. &c. Wherupon, when the Ambaſſadours began to ſpeake in the kinges behalfe: frō that time, they were halfe counted for ſchiſmatickes, & could no more be heard in yͤ court of Rome. The king hearing this, was marueilouſly incenſed therewith, commaundyng by generall proclamation through all this realme: that no man ſhould hereafter cōſent to any taxe or ſubſidie of money for yͤ court of Rome. When thys came to the popes eare, vpon a cruell rage, he directed hys letters to the Prelates of England, charging them vnder payne of ſuſpence or interdiction, they ſhould prouide the ſame ſumme of money to be collected agaynſt the feaſt of the Aſſumption, the charge being geuen to the byſhop of Worceſter to be executer of the ſayd curſſe. The kyng, that lately intended to ſtand to the libertyes of the Church: now for feare of the Pope, and partly for perſwaſions of the ſayd Byſhop of Worceſter and other Prelates, durſt not ſtand to it, but gaue ouer. Moreouer, the gredy gulfe of the Romiſh auarice was ſo vnmeaſurable, that at length the Pope ſhamed not vpon the cenſure of his curſſe, to aſke the third part of the Church goods, and the yearely fruite of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers & Legates in England, were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubeus nuncius, Mag. Martin & Mag. Marinus, Ioannes Anglicus Epiſcopus Sabinenſis. Of whom to ſpeake further (for that I haue matter much more to write) for this preſent time I thinke beſt to ſurceaſe: leaſt in opening all the deteſtable doynges and peſtilent workinges of thoſe men, I might perhaps not onely moleſt good eares: but alſo infect the ayre. Yet one thyng concernyng the ſayd Otho, I can not well ouerpaſſe.

A ſtory of Cardinall Otho at Oxford.

A ſkirmiſhe betwene the ſcholers of Oxford & the Cardinals men.

The Cardinall runneth away.

xxx. ſcholers taken and had to priſon.

Thys Otho, as he left no place vnſought, where any vauntage might be got: ſo amongeſt all other he came to Oxford. Where lying in the houſe of Oſney, he was receyued with great honour: the ſcholers preſenting hym honorably with ſuch diſhes and rewardes as they had, thinkyng to gratifie the Cardinall after the beſt maner. This beyng done before diner, & the diner ended, they came reuerently to ſee & welcome hym, ſuppoſing yͭ they alſo ſhould with like curteſie agayne of hym be entertayned. As they came to the gate, the porter (beyng an Italian) with a loude voyce aſketh what they would haue. They ſayd they came to ſee yͤ Lord Legate. But Cerberus the porter holding the dore halfe open, with proude and contumelious language thruſt them out, and would not ſuffer them to enter. The Scholers ſeyng that, by force thruſt open the gate and came in: whom, when the Romanes which were within would haue repelled with their fiſtes, and ſuch ſtaues as they had in their handes, they fell to alarme & by the eares together, ſo much houyng & ſhouyng & many blowes on both ſides. In yͤ meane tyme whyle ſome of the ſcholers ran home for their weapōs, there chaunced a poore ſcholer (an Iriſhmā) to ſtand at yͤ gate waytyng for hys almes. Whom when the maiſter Cooke ſaw at the gate, he takyng whote ſkaldyng water out of the pan, where the meat was ſodden: did caſt it in hys face. One of the ſcholers a Welcheman, that came with hys bow and ſhaftes, ſeyng that: letteth driue an arrow, & ſhooteth this Nabuzardan (that is maiſter of cokes) cleane through the body, and ſlayeth hym out of hand. The Cooke fallyng dead: there was a mighty broyle, & a great clamor, throughout all the houſe. The Cardinall hearing yͤ tumult and great noyſe about hym, lyke a valiant Romaine runneth as faſt as he could into the ſteple: and there locketh the dores faſt vnto hym, where he remayned till midnight. The ſcholers in the meane while not yet all pacified, ſought all corners about for the Legate, exclaiming and crying out: where is that vſurer, that Symoniake, that piller and poler of our liuyngs, that proyler and extorcioner of our money, which peruerteth our kyng, and ſubuerteth his kingdome, enrichyng himſelfe with our ſpoyles. &c. All this heard the Cardinall, and held hys peace. When the night approchyng had broken vp the field: the Cardinall commyng out of his forte, and takyng hys horſe (in ſilence of the night) was priuely conueyed ouer the riuer toward the kyng, conueyng himſelf away as faſt as he could. After the kyng heard this, he ſendeth to Oxford a garriſon of armed men, to deliuer the Romaynes which were there hidden for feare of ſcholers. Then was maiſter Odo a lawyer, with 30. other ſcholers apprehended, and caried to Walingford Caſtle: & frō thence had in cartes to London, where at length (thorough much entreaty of the biſhops) beyng brought barefoote to yͤ Legates dore, had their pardon, and the vniuerſitie releaſed of interdiction. And thus much concernyng the Popes Legates in England.

Three ſcore thouſand Florens cōtributed to the pope in one yeare of the clergie.

Thus partly you haue heard, and doe vnderſtand the miſerable thraldome and captiuitie of this realme of England and the clergie of the ſame: who (before) refuſed to take part with kyng Iohn their naturall Prince, agaynſt the forreyne power of the Pope: and now how miſerably they are oppreſſed & ſcourged of the ſame pope. Whoſe inſatiable extorcion & rapacity, did ſo exceede in pillyng & polyng of thys realme long after thys, that neyther the kyng now could helpe them, neyther could the Pope with any reaſonable meaſure be content. In ſo much (as writers record) in the dayes of Sudbury Archbiſhop of Canterbury an. 1360, the Pope by hys proctors gat from the Clergie in leſſe then one yeare, more then lx. M. florences, of mere contribution: beſides his other auayles and common reuenues out of benefices, prebendaries, firſt fruites, tributes, Peter pence, collations, reſeruations, relaxations, and ſuch marchandiſe. &c.

Ludouicke the French kyng.

Ludouicke fighteth agaynſt Albingenſes.

Ludouicke beſiegeth Tholouſe. The hand of God fighting for hys people.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ. in vita Henrici. 3.

The generall of the army ſlayne.

The ſiege agaynſt Albingenſes broke vp.

Mention was made a litle before pag. 235. and 261. of Albingenſes keeping about the Citie of Tholouſe. Theſe Albingenſes becauſe they began to ſmell the Pope, and to controle the inordinate procedings and diſcipline of the ſea of Rome: the Pope therfore recountyng them as a people heretical, excited and ſtirred vp, about this preſent tyme & yeare an. 1220. Ludouicke the young Frēch king through the inſtance of Philip hys father: to lay ſiege agaynſt the ſayd citie of Tholouſe, to expugne and extinguiſh theſe Albingenſes hys enemyes. Wherupon Ludouicke (according to hys fathers commaundement) reared a puiſant and a mighty army, to compaſſe about and beſet the forenamed citie: and ſo did. Here were the men of Tholouſe in great daunger. But ſee how the mighty protection of God fighteth for hys people, agaynſt the myght of man. For after that Ludouicke (as Mathew Paris. teſtifieth) had long weryed himſelfe and his men in waſte, and could doe no good wyth all their engines and artilery agaynſt the citie: there fel moreouer vpon the French hoſte by the hand of God, ſuch famine, and peſtilence both of men and horſes, beſide the other dayly ſlaughter of the ſouldiours: that Ludouick was enforced to retire, and wyth ſuch as were left to returne agayne home to Fraunce from whence he came. In the ſlaughter of which ſouldiours beſide many other, was Earle Simon de monte forti, generall of the army, to whom the landes of the Earle of Tholouſe was geuen by yͤ pope, who was ſlayne before the gate of the citie wyth a ſtone. And ſo was alſo the brother of the ſayd Symon the ſame time in beſieging a caſtell neare to Tholouſe ſlaine with a ſtone in lyke maner. And ſo was the ſiege of the Frenchmen agaynſt Tholouſe broke vp. Ex Mat. Par.

The expugnatiō of a certayne ſtrong caſtle of Damieta in Egipt by the Chriſtians.

Damieta taken by the Chriſtians.

The ſtory of S. Elizabeth. Elizabeth daughter of the kyng of Hungary. S. Elizabeth prouoketh her huſband to goe & fight for the holy land.

The mother of S. Elizabeth accuſed of adultery. The ſentence of a double meaning.

As the ſiege of theſe French men could do no good agaynſt the citie of Tholouſe: ſo it happened the ſame tyme that the chriſtiās marching toward the holy land, had better lucke by the way in laying their ſiege to a certaine tower or caſtle in Egipt, neare to the citie Damieta: which ſemed by nature, for the ſituation and difficultie of the place, inexpugnable: as which beyng ſituate in the middeſt of the great floud Nilus (hard by the citie called Damieta) could neyther be come to by land, nor be vndermined for the water, nor by famine ſubdued for the nearenes of the city, yet notwithſtandyng, through the helpe of God and policie of man, in erecting ſcaffoldes and caſtels vpon tops of maſtes, the Chriſtians at laſt conquered it: and after that the citie alſo Damieta, albeit not wythout great loſſe of Chriſten people. In the expugnation of thys citie or forte, among other that there dyed, was the Lātgraue of Thuringe named Ludouicke, the huſband of Elizabeth, whom we vſe to call S. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my ſtory recordeth) was the daughter of the kyng of Hungary, & maryed in Almayne, where ſhee lyued wyth the forenamed Ludouicke Lantgraue of Thuringe. Whom ſhe thorough her perſwaſions prouoked and incenſed to take that vyage to fight for the holy land, where he in the ſame viage was ſlayne. After whoſe death, Elizabeth (remaynyng a widow) entred the profeſſion of cloyſterly religion, & made her ſelfe a Nunne. So growing and increaſing from vertue to vertue, that after her death, all Almayne did ſounde wyth the fame of her worthy doinges. Mat. Pariſ. addeth thys more, that ſhee was the daughter of that Queene, who beyng accuſed to be naught wyth a certayne Archbyſhop; was therfore condemned wyth thys ſentence pronounced agaynſt her. Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum eſt: etſi omnes conſenſerint non ego contradico. That is (although it be hard in Engliſhe to be tranſlated as it ſtandeth in Latine) To kill the Queene will ye not to feare that is good: And if all men ſhall conſent therunto, not I my ſelfe do ſtand agaynſt it. &c. The which ſentence beyng brought to Pope Innocent, thus in poyntyng the ſentence which otherwiſe ſeemeth to haue a double vnderſtandyng, ſo ſaued the Queene: thus interpretyng and poyntyng the ſentence: Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum eſt, & ſi omnes conſenſerint, non ego. Contradico. That is: To kill the Queene will ye not: to feare, that is good. And if all do conſent thereto, yet not I: I myſelfe do ſtand agaynſt it: And ſo eſcaped ſhe yͤ daunger. This Queene was the mother, as is ſayd, of Eliſabeth the Nunne, who for her holy Nunnyſhenes was canoniſed of the Popes Church, for a Sainct in Almanie, about the yeare. 1220. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

The Queene ſaued by fauorable interpretatiõ of a double ſentence.

Elizabeth canoniſed a Saint in Almayne.

An. 1221.

And thus by the way, now to proceede farther in the yeares and life of this kyng Henry. The next yeare followyng which was an. 1221. the kyng went to Oxford: where he had ſome thyng to do with William Earle de Albemarla, who had taken the Caſtel of Bitham: but at laſt for his good ſeruice he had done in the Realme before, was releaſed of the kyng with all his men, by the interceſſion of Walter Archbiſhop of Yorke, and of Pandolphe the Legate. About which preſent yeare, entred firſt the Friers Minorites, or gray friers, into England, and had their firſt houſe at Canterbury: whoſe firſt patrone was Franciſcus, which dyed an. 1127. and his order was confirmed by Pope Honorius 3. an. 1224.

Ex tabula penſili in æde diui Pauli.

The gray Friers firſt entred into England.

The order of Gray Fryers firſt cõfirmed.

About the firſt commyng of theſe Dominicke and gray Friers Franciſcane into the Realme (as is in Nic. Triuet teſtified) many Engliſhmen the ſame time entred into their orders. Among whom was Iohannes de ſancto Egidio, a man famouſly expert in the ſcience of Phiſicke and Aſtronomie. And alſo Alexander de Hales both Engliſhmen and great diuines. This Iohannes makyng his Sermon ad clerum, in the houſe of the Dominicke Friers: exhorted his auditorie with great perſuaſiõs vnto wilfull pouertie. And to confirme his wordes the more by his owne example, in the middeſt of his Sermon he came down from the pulpite and put on his Friers habite: and ſo returnyng into the pulpite agayne made an end of his Sermon. Likewiſe Alexander Hales entred the order of the Franciſcanes, of whom remaineth yet the booke intituled De Summa Theologiæ in old Libraries.

Iohannes de S. Egidio. Alexãder de Hales.

Moreouer, not long after by William de longa ſpata, which was the Baſtard ſonne of king Henry ij. and Earle of Saliſbury: was firſt founded the houſe of the Carthuſiã monkes at Heytrope. an. 1222. After whoſe death, his wife Ela was tranſlated to the houſe of Hentone in Barkſhyre, an. 1227. which Ela alſo founded yͤ houſe of Nunnes at Lacockes, and there continued herſelfe Abbes of the place. The Byſhop of London named William, the ſame tyme gaue ouer his Byſhopricke: after whom ſucceded Euſtace in that ſea. Flor. hiſt.

Charterhouſe monkes founded by William Long ſpey.

Ela foundreſſe of the houſe of Lacocks.

In the towne of Oxford aboue mentioned, where the kyng kept his Court: Symon Langton Archbyſhop of Canterbury held a Councell, where was condemned and burned a certeine Deacon, as Nic. Triuet. ſayth, for apoſtaſie. Alſo an other rude countrey man who had crucified him ſelfe, & ſuperſtitiouſly bare about the woundes in his feete & handes, was condemned to be cloſed vp perpetually within walles. Ex Nic. Triuet. About which yeare alſo Alexãder kyng of the Scottes maried Iohanne ſiſter to kyng Henry.

Two condemned at a councell in Oxford.

Ex Nic. Triuet.

Not long after, began the new buildyng of the minſter of Saliſbury. Whereat Pandolphus the Popes Legate, layd the fiue firſt ſtones: One for the Pope (ſuch was the fortune of that Church to haue the Popes ſtone in his foundation) the ſecond for the young kyng Henry: the third, for the good, Earle of Saliſbury: The fourth for the Counteſſe: The fifth for the Byſhop of Saliſbury. &c. which was about the ſame yeare aboue mentioned. an. 1221. Ex Chron. Do. Sal.

In the ſame yeare about S. James tyde, fell a diſſention betwene the Citizens of Lõdon, and men of Weſtminſter, the occaſiõ wherof was this. A certaine game betwene theſe two parties was appointed to trye whether part in wraſtlyng could ouercome the other. Thus in ſtriuyng for maſtry, ech part contendyng agaynſt the other (as the maner is in ſuch paſtime) it happened the Lõdiners to get the victorie, and the other ſide was put to foyle, but eſpecially the ſtuard of the Abbot of Weſtminſter. Who beyng not a litle confounded therewith, began to forethinke in his minde, how to be reuenged agayne of the Londiners. Whereupon, an other day was ſet, which was at Lammas, that the Londiners ſhould come agayne to wraſtle: and who ſo had the victorie, ſhould haue the belwether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play: the ſtuard ſodenly bryngeth vpon the Londiners vnwares a company of harneſt men, prepared for the ſame before, and letteth driue at the Lõdiners. Who at length beyng wounded and greuouſly hurt, after much bloudſhed were driuen backe agayne into the Citie. This contumely thus beyng receaued, the Citizens egerly ſtroken with ire and impacience, range to the cõmon bell: and by the ryngyng therof, aſſembled their commons together to conſulte with themſelues, what was to be done in the caſe ſo contumelious. Wherin, when diuers ſentences were geuen diuerſly, Serle the ſame tyme Maior of London (a wiſe and diſcrete man) gaue thus counſaile, that the Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhould be talked withall: who if he would rectifie the iniurie done, and ſatiſfie for the harme receaued, it ſhould be to them ſufficient. But contrary, one Conſtantine a great mã then in the Citie of London, in much heate exciting the people, gaue this ſentence: that all the houſes of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, but eſpecially the houſe of the ſteward, ſhould be caſt downe to the ground. In fine, that which he ſo vnaduiſedly counſailed, was as madly performed: for the furious people, accordyng to his counſaile ſo did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be priuie, commyng to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo Lord chief iuſtice of England aboue mentioned: he commyng with a ſufficient ſtrength of armed ſouldiours to the citie of London, ſent to the Maior & Aldermen of the Citie to will them to come vnto him. Who ſo obeying his commaundement, required of them the principall begynners of the ryot. To whom Conſtantine there being preſent anſwered, that he would warrant that which was done: ſhowyng moreouer, that they had not done more then they did, in that matter. The iuſtice vpõ the ſame his confeſſion, commaunded him with ij. other, without any further tumult to be taken. And ſo, with yͤ ſame ij. was hanged, offeryng for his life xv. thouſand markes. &c.

Diſſention betwene the Citizens of Lõdon & of Weſtminſter.

Wholſome counſaile of the Maior of Lõdon refuſed of wilful heades.

Conſtantine executed at London for ryot.

The ſayd Hubert Earle of Kent, & Lord chief iuſtice, although he was a faythfull and truſty officer to his prince, & had the whole guidyng of the Realme in his own handes, the king as yet being in his minoritie: yet afterward, what indignatiõ he ſuſteined for this his ſeueritie & other things, both of the nobles and of the commons: and how ſharpely he was toſſed & troubled of his Prince, wonder it is to ſee, as in his due place and tyme (by the Lordes leaue) hereafter ſhall appeare. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

Hubert Lord chiefe iuſtice of England.

Ex Math. Pariſienſi.

And for ſomuch as mẽtion hath bene made of the wraſtlyng betwene the commoners of London & of Weſtminſter: both tyme and occaſion bringeth me in remembraunce, ſomthyng to ſpeake likewiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall conflictes among Churchmẽ: nothyng inferiour, in my mynde, nor leſſe worthy to be noted, then the other. For ſo I read in Mat. Pariſienſ. and in Flor. hiſtor. that at what tyme this wraſtlyng was among the Citizens for the ſheepe: the like contention kindled and flamed betwene Euſtace Byſhop of London, and yͤ chapter of Paules on the one ſide: and the Abbot of Weſtminſter with his Couent on the other ſide, about ſpirituall iuriſdiction & ſubiection: to wit, whether the monaſtery of Weſtminſter were exempted from the ſubiection & iuriſdictiõ of yͤ B. of Lõdon, or not. Which controuerſie at laſt cõmyng into compromis was committed to yͤ arbitrement of Stephen Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Philip Biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas of Merton, and Richard prior of Dunſtable. And at length was thus agreed, that the monaſterie of Weſtminſter ſhould be vtterly exempted from the iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of London. And that Stanes with the appurtenaunce thereto belongyng, ſhould appertaine to the Monaſtery of Weſtminſter. Alſo, that the Manure of Sunbury ſhould be due and proper to the Church of S. Paul, and alſo the Church of S. Margarite with all the landes belongyng to the ſame, to be exempted from all other iuriſdiction, but onely to the Byſhop of Rome. And ſo was this matter decided. an. 1222. Ibidem Flor. hiſtor.

Diſcorde and contention among Churchmẽ.

Ex Mat. Pariſ. & ex Florileg.

Whether the monaſtery of Weſtminſter be exempted frõ the ſubiection of the biſh. of London or not.

1222.

The ſame yeare, as writeth Mat. Pariſienſ. horrible tempeſtes, with ſuch thundryng & lightning, and whyrlewindes went through all the land, that much harme was done, churches, ſteples, towers, houſes, & diuers trees with the violẽce of wyndes were blowen vp by the rootes. In Warwickeſhyre, a certaine wife with eight other in her houſe were ſlayne. In Grantham the Church was ſet on fire by lightnyng moſt terribly, with ſuch a ſtincke left there behynd, that no man could after a long time abide it. The author addeth, that manifeſt markes of that tempeſt dyd remayne long after in that Monaſterie to be ſeene. Some alſo write, that fire Dracons and ſpirites were ſeen then flying in the ayre.

Horrible tempeſt in England. A woman with 8. of her houſeholde ſlayn: wyth thunder.

Grantham church burned wyth lightenyng.

1223.

Lewes kyng of Fraunce

The French kyng falſe of his promiſe.

An. 1223. Philip the French kyng dyed, after whõ his ſonne Ludouicke ſucceded in the crowne. To whom kyng Henry ſendyng his meſſage, and deſiryng him to remember his promiſe and couenaunt made in rendryng agayne the landes loſt in Normandy, could obtayne nothyng at his handes. Wherupon Richard Earle of Cornwalle, alſo William the kynges vncle Earle of Saliſbury, with diuers other nobles, made ouer into Fraunce: where they recouered Poytiers, and kept Gaſcoine vnder the kynges obedience. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. Triuet. Flor. hiſt.

1224.

Wardſhip firſt graūted to the kyng.

In the ſame yeare, or as Fabian geueth, the next followyng which was. 1224. by the vertue of a certaine Parliament: was graunted of the Lordes and Baronie of the lād: the kyng and his heyres, to haue the ward and mariage of their heyres: which then was called, & after ſo proued, to be Initium malorum, the beginning of harmes.

Ex Giſburnenſ. & alijs.

In the ſame yeare, by the count of Giſburne and other writers, the ſayd kyng holding an other Parliamẽt at Oxford, by the aduiſe of his counſaile & of his clergy: did graūt and confirme vnder his great ſeale, two chartes of the old liberties and cuſtomes of this Realme, for euer to be kept & obſerued, the one called Magna Charta: the other Charta de foreſta. The contentes wherof, fully in the forenamed author be expreſſed. For the which cauſe, was graūted againe by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a fiftene of all his ſubiectes as well of lay men, as alſo of the Clergy.

Magna Charta. Charta de foreſta.

¶ Where is to be noted, that theſe liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed agayne by the ſayd kyng. an. 1236.

An. 1226. dyed pope Honorius a great aduerſary againſt Fredericke the Emperour, after whom ſucceded Gregory the ix. more greuous then his predeceſſour. In the which yeare alſo dyed Ludouicke the periured French king, at the ſiege of Auinion. Whom the Pope now the ſecond or thyrd tyme had ſet vp to fight agaynſt Reimund the good Earle of Tholouſe, and the heretickes Albingenſes of that countrey. For ſo the Pope calleth all them, which hold not in all pointes, with his glorious pride, and vſurped power & vngodly proceedynges. The origine wherof was this, as in Mat. Pariſiē. appeareth. In the dayes of Phillip the Frēch kyng, this Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe was diſdayned of the Pope for holdyng wt the Albingēſes: and therfore by the inſtigation of the Pope, the landes of the Earle were taken from him & geuen to Symon Montfort, and inſtruments made vpō the ſame. But when the ſayd Earle Reimundus would not be remoued from the right of his poſſeſſions by vnrighteous dealyng, then the Pope ſetteth Phillip the Frēch king, to make open warre againſt him. Wherupon, Lewes yͤ Frēch kyngs ſonne was ſent with a great power (as is aboue declared) to beſiege the Citie of Tholouſe. But beyng repulſed from thence, by the merueilous hand of God fightyng for his people, could not preuaile, and ſo returned home, after he had loſt the moſt part of his army by peſtilence, and other calamitie as hath bene before deſcribed. And thus continued the good Earle ſtill in quyet poſſeſſiō, till thys preſent time. an. 1226. In the which yeare, the Pope not forgettyng his old malice agaynſt the Earle, and no leſſe inflamed with inſatiable auarice, directeth downe his Legate maſter Romanus to the partes of Fraunce, for ij. ſeueral purpoſes: One to extirpe the Earle, the other to enlarge his reuenewes. Thus the Legate beyng entred into Fraunce, beginneth to ſummone a Councell, willyng the French kyng with the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and Clergy of Frāce to appeare before him at Bitures. To whom eftſoones repayred vj. Archbiſhops wt the biſhops & Suffragans of ix. prouincies, to yͤ nūber of 100. beſides the Abbates, Priours, & Proctours of all the Couentes of Fraunce, to heare the Popes will & cōmandement: but becauſe there was a diſcorde feared to riſe (ſayth Mathæus) about preheminence of ſitting, for that the Archbiſhop of Lyons chalenged the ſuperiour place aboue the Archbyſhop of Sene. Alſo the Archbiſhop of Roane, aboue the Archbyſhop of Bitures, and aboue the Archbyſhop of Narbone. &c. Therfore the ſeſſion was holden there, not in maner and forme of a Councell, but of a certaine parlie, or conſultation. Thus the meke and holy Councell beyng ſet, & the popes maieſties letters read & declared: appeareth before them Reimūd Earle of Tholouſe of the one part. And Symon Mountfort on the other part. Which Symon, required to be reſtored vnto him the landes and poſſeſſions of the ſayd Reimund, which the Pope and Phillip the Frēch kyng, had geuen to him & to his father before: hauyng good euidences to ſhew for the ſame, confirmed by the donation of the Pope, and of the Kyng. Addyng moreouer, that the Earle Reimund was depriued and diſherited in the generall Councell at Rome for hereſie, which is called the hereſie of Albingenſes. At leaſt if he might not haue the whole yelded vnto hym, yet the moſt part of his Lordſhyps he required to be graunted to him.

The Pope raiſeth war.

1226.

The Popes wicked malice agaynſt the Chriſtien Earle of Tholouſe.

Marke reader the right nature of phariſies ſtriuing for the chiefe place.

The pope geueth the right poſſeſſions away from the owners. Reimundus wrongfully diſherited by the Pope.

Reimundus the good Earle of Tholouſe anſwereth for hymſelfe.

To this the Earle Reimund aunſwered agayne, offeryng himſelfe ready to all duetie and office both toward the Frēch kyng, and to the Church of Rome, whatſoeuer duely to him did apperteine. And moreouer touchyng the hereſie, wherwith he was there charged: he did not onely there offer hymſelfe in that Councell before the Legate, but moſt humbly did craue of hym, that he would take the paynes to come into euery Citie within hys precinct to enquire of euery perſon there the articles of hys beliefe: and if he found any perſon or perſons, holding that which was not Catholike, he would ſee the ſame to be corrected and amended, accordyng to the cenſure of holy church to the vttermoſt. Or if he ſhould find any citie rebellyng agaynſt hym, he to the vttermoſt of hys might with the inhabitance therof, would compell them to do ſatiſfaction therfore. And as touchyng hymſelfe, if he had committed or erred in any thyng (which he remembreth not to haue done) he offered there full ſatiſfaction to God and church, as becommed any faithfull chriſten man to do, requiring moreouer there before the Legate to be examined of his fayth. &c. But all this (ſayth Mathæus) yͤ legate deſpiſed: neither could the catholike Erle (ſaith he) there finde any grace, vnles he would depart from hys heritage: both from hymſelfe and from his heyres for euer. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part that he ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of xij. peeres of France: to that Reimundus anſwered, that if the French king would receiue his homage, which he was redy at all tymes to exhibite, he was contented therwith. For els they would not (ſayd he) take him, as one of their ſocietie and felow ſubiect.

Albingēſes falſly ſuſpected for hereſie.

The proud villanie of the Popes Legate.

After much altercation on both ſides about the matter, the Legate willeth euery Archbiſhop to call aſide his Suffragants, to deliberate with them vpon the cauſe: and to geue vp in writyng what was concluded. Whiche beyng done accordingly, the Legate denounceth excommunication to all ſuche as dyd reueale any piece of that which was there concluded, before the Pope and the kyng had intelligence therof.

Theſe things thus in hudder mudder among thēſelues concluded, the Legate gaue leaue to all proctors of couentes and chapters to returne home, only retaynyng with him the Archbiſhops, biſhops, and Abbots, and certayn ſimple prelates, ſuch as he might be more bold withall to open, and of them to obteine yͤ other part of his commiſſion: which was in dede to obtein of euery cathedral church two prebendſhips one for the biſhop, the other for the chapter. And in monaſteries alſo after yͤ lyke ſort, where the Abbot and the Couent had diuers and ſeuerall portions: to require two churches, one for the Abbot, the other for the couent, keping this proportion: that how much ſhould ſuffice for the liuing of one Monke, ſo much yͤ whole couent ſhould find for their part, and as much the Abbot likewiſe for his. And for ſo much as he would not ſeme to demaund this without ſome colour of cauſe, hys reaſon was this: that becauſe the Courte of Rome had long ben blotted with the note of auarice, which is mother of all euill, for that no man could come to Rome for any buſines, but he muſt ſolke for the expeditiō of yͤ ſame: therfore for the remouyng away of the occaſion of that ſlaunder: the publike helpe of the church therfore muſt neceſſarily be required. &c.

Marke reader the practiſe here of prelates, for thy learnyng.

The proctours and parties thus ſent home by the Legates, merualing with themſelues why the Biſhops and Abbots ſhould be ſtayd and they ſent home, and ſuſpectyng no leſſe, but as the matter was in dede: conferred their counſailes together, and deuiſed with themſelues to ſende certayne vnto hym in the behalfe of all the cathedrall and conuentuall churches in Fraunce, and ſent to the ſayd Legate this meſſage, to ſignifie vnto hym: That they were credibly informed, that he came with ſpeciall letters frō the court of Rome, for the obteinyng of certayne prebendaries within euery cathedrall and conuentuall church. Which beyng ſo, they much merueiled that he would not in the publike counſaile, make manifeſt to them thoſe letters which ſpecially concerned them as much as the others. Wherfore their requeſt was to hym in the Lord, that no ſuch offenſiue matter might ryſe by hym in the French church: knowing this that the thyng which he enterpriſeth, could not be brought to effect, without great offence taken, and ineſtimable damage to the church of Fraunce. For graunt, ſayd they, that certaine will aſſent vnto you, yet their aſſent ſtandeth in no effect, concernyng ſuch matters as touch the whole: eſpecially, ſeyng both the ſtates of the realme with all the inferior ſubiectes, yea and the kyng hymſelfe, they are ſure, will withſtand the ſame: to the venture not onely of their honor, but of their lyfe alſo, conſideryng the caſe to be ſuch, as vpō the offence wherof, ſtandeth the ſubuerſion both of the realme pub-

The clergie of Fraunce anſweryng to the legate.

publike, and of the whole Church in generall. Declaryng moreouer the cauſe of this feare to ryſe herof, for that in other realmes ſuch communication hath bene with Biſhops and prelates, for the procuryng of ſuch prebendſhips, where as neither the prince nor the ſubiects, were made any thing priuy thereto.

Inferiors euer more bolde to ſpeake in difficulte cauſes of truth, then the rich.

In concluſion, when the matter came to debating with the Legate, the obiections of the inferiour parties, agaynſt the cruell exaction, were theſe in briefe effect, as is in Pariſienſ. noted.

The obiections of the clergie of Fraunce, agaynſt the popes exaction.

Firſt they alleged their great dammages and expenſes which they were lyke to ſuſteine thereby by reaſon of yͤ continuall procurators of the Pope, which in euery dioceſſe muſt liue not of their owne, but muſt be ſuſteyned vpon the charges of the Cathedrall Churches, and other Churches alſo: And many tymes they beyng but procurators will be found as Legates.

Item, by that meanes, they ſayd great perturbations might enſue to the Couentes and Chapters of Cathedrall churches in their elections: for ſo much as the Popes agents and factors beyng in euery cathedrall Church & chapter houſe, percaſe the Pope would commaund hym in hys perſon to be preſent at their elections, and ſo might trouble the ſame: in delaying and deferryng till it might fall to the court of Rome to geue. And ſo ſhould be placed mo of the Popes clientele in the churches of Fraunce, then of yͤ proper inhabitance of the land.

Item by this meanes they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome ſhould be richer and ſhould receiue more for their proportion, then the kyng of the realme: by reaſon of which aboundance of riches, it was lyke to come to paſſe, that as the worme of rich men is pride: ſo by the meanes of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and driue of great ſuites, and ſcarce would take any paynes in ſmall cauſes: the experiment wherof is euident, for that now alſo they vſe to delay their matters when they come with their giftes, and beyng in aſſuraunce to receiue. And thus ſhould iuſtice ſtand aſide, and poore ſuters die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowyng and triumphyng in full aboundance of all treaſure and riches.

Item, for ſo much as it is mete and conuenient to haue frendes in the Courte of Rome, for the better ſpeedyng of their cauſes: therfore they thought to kepe thẽ nedy, whereby their giftes may be the ſweeter and their cauſes ſooner diſpatched.

Item, when as it is impoſſible the fountaine of gredy deſire to be ſtopped, it was to be feared, that eyther they would do that by other, which they were wont to do by themſelues: or els they ſhould be enforced to geue greater rewardes then before. For ſmall giftes in the ſight of great rich men are not loked vpon.

Item, where he alledged the remouing away of yͤ ſlaunder which goeth on the court of Rome: By this means rather the contrary were to be feared: wherin they alleaged yͤ ſentence of the verſe, that great riches ſtop not the taking of much, but a mynd contented with a little.

Quod virtus reddit, non copia ſufficientem,
Et non paupertas ſed mentis hiatus egentem.

Farther they alleged that great riches would make the Romanes mad: and ſo might kyndle among them ſides and partes taking: ſo that by great poſſeſſions ſedition might follow, to the ruine and deſtruction of the city: wherof ſome experiment they had alredy.

Item, they added that although they woulde condeſcende and oblige themſelues to that contribution, yet their ſucceſſours would not ſo be bound, nor yet, ratifie the bonde of theyrs.

Laſtly thus they conclude the matter, deſiring hym that the zeale of the vniuerſal church, and of the church of Rome would moue hym. For if this oppreſſiõ of the church ſhould be vniuerſall: it were to be doubted, leaſt an vniuerſall departyng might folow from the church of Rome (which god forbid ſay they) ſhould happen.

God graunt ſay we.

The legate hearyng theſe wordes, beyng therwith ſomthing moued, as ſemed, thus excuſed himſelfe, that he being in the court, neuer agreed to this exaction. And that the letters herof came not to him before he was in Frãce, wherat he ſayd he was greatly ſory. Addyng this with all, that the wordes of hys precept included this ſecrete meaning in them, thus to be vnderſtande and taken: ſo farre forth as the Empire and other realmes would agree vnto the ſame. And as for hym, he woulde ſtirre no more in the matter, before it were proued, what other countreys woulde ſay and do therein.

The cardinall repulſed, and defeyted of his purpoſe in Fraunce.

And thus much concernyng the ſecond part of the blynd commiſſion of this legate, touching his exaction of prebẽdſhips in euery cathedral and conuentual church. Wherin as ye heare, he was repulſed. Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 63.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ. Pag. 63.

1224.

Now to returne to the firſt part of his commiſſiõ again, which was concerning Reimundus the godly erle of Tholouſe, thus the ſtory procedeth. That while the legate was in hand with this matter of the popes mony, in the meane ſeaſon certaine preachyng Friers were directed by the ſaid Romanus the Popes Legate, into all Fraunce: to incite & ſtirre vp the Frenchmen to take the croſſe vpon them, and to war agaynſt the Erle of Tholouſe, and the people therof whome they accounted then for heretikes. At the preachyng wherof, a great number of prelates and lay men ſigned themſelues with the croſſe, to fight agaynſt the Tholoſians, beyng therto induced as the ſtory ſaith, more for feare of the French kyng, or fauor of the legate, then for any true zeale of iuſtice. For ſo it followeth in the wordes of Pariſ. Videbatur enim multis abuſio, vt hominem fidelem Chriſtianum infeſtarent: præcipuè cum conſtaret cunctis eum in concilio nuper Biturienſi, multis precibus perſuaſiſſe legato, vt veniret ad ſingulas terræ ſuæ ciuitates, inquirens a ſingulis articulos fidei: & ſi quempiam contra fidem inuenire. &c. For to many, ſayth he, it ſemeth an abuſe to moue war agaynſt a faythfull chriſten man: eſpecially ſeyng in yͤ councell of Bitures (before all men) he intreated the Legate with great inſtaunce, that he would come into euery Citie wythin hys dominions. And there to require of euery perſon the articles of hys fayth. Where, if he founde any man to holde any thyng contrary to the Catholicke fayth, he promiſed a full ſatiſfaction to be had therof accordyng to the cenſure of the Church, to the vttermoſt. &c.

The Pope rayſeth war agaynſt the Earle & the people of Tholouſe.

Teſtimony of the autor for the clearing of Reimundus & of the Albingenſes.

Yet all thys notwithſtandyng, the proude Legate contemning this ſo honeſt and reaſonable purgatiõ of the earle Reimundus, ceaſed not by all maner meanes, to proſecute the Popes fury againſt him and hys ſubiectes, ſtirring vp the kyng and the French men vnder payne of excommunication, to warre agaynſt them. Ludouicke the Frẽch king thus beyng enforced by the Legate, anſwered agayne, that he for hys owne ſafety would not atchiue that expeditiõ or aduenture agaynſt the Earle, vnles it were firſt obteyned of the Pope, to write to the king of England: commaundyng hym, that during yͤ tyme of that expedition, he ſhould inuade and moleſt no peece of hys landes and poſſeſſions: which he the ſame preſent tyme did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howſoeuer they were holdẽ, while the time of the ſayd warre againſt the heretickes (as they were thẽ termed) did indure: but rather ſhould ayde and aſſiſt hym wyth counſaile and money in that enterpriſe. All which beyng done and accompliſhed, the French kyng and the Legate (croſſing themſelues to the field) appointed a day peremptory, for the French army to meete together at Lyons, vnder payne of the Popes excommunication, & wyth horſe and harnes to ſet vpon the Tholoſians, agaynſt the Aſcenſion day next enſuyng.

The vnreaſonable tyranny of the Pope agaynſt the Tholoſians.

Excõmunicatiõ abuſed.

When the Aſcenſion day was come, which was the day peremptory appointed: The French kyng hauing prepared at Lyons all thyngs neceſſary for hys armye, marcheth forward wyth a great and myghty hoſt: after whom alſo commeth the Legate, wyth hys Byſhops and Prelates. The number of fightyng men in hys armie beſides the vittlars and wagoners were 50000. men. The Legate by the way openly excommunicated the Earle of Tholouſe, & all that tooke hys part, and furthermore interdicted hys whole land. Thus the kyng came marching forward, tyll he came into the prouince of Tholouſe, and the firſt Citie which they came vnto there of the Earles, was Auinion, which city they thought firſt to haue beſieged, & ſo in order after, as they went to haue deſtroyed & waſted all yͤ whole prouince belonging to the Earle. And firſt yͤ kyng demaũded of them to haue hys paſſage through their citie, faining hymſelfe in peaceable wiſe for the expedition of his iourney, but to paſſe through the ſame. The citizens cõſulting with themſelues what was to be done, at length gaue aunſwere that they miſtruſted their comming, and ſuppoſed that in deceipt they required the entraunce of their citie, and for no neceſſitie of their iourney.

Lewes the French kyng & Romanus the Popes Legate, marching againſt Albingenſes.

Reimundus Erle of Tholouſe excommunicated.

The citie of Auinion beſieged.

The kyng hereat beyng much offended, ſware an othe that he would not depart thence till he had taken the citie: & immediatly in thoſe places where he thought moſt meete, he began to geue ſharpe aſſaultes, wyth all maner of ſaultable engins: The citizens agayne wythin, manfully defended themſelues, caſting ſtone for ſtone, and ſhootyng ſhot for ſhot, and ſlew and wounded many of the French men. Thus, when they had long beſieged the citie and coulde not winne the ſame: at length vittaylers in the French campe beganne to faile, and many of them dyed for hunger. For the Earle of Tholouſe as a wyſe man of warre, hearyng before of their commyng, tooke into the towne, all the prouiſion that was abroad, and left nothyng without to ſerue for their defence and ſuccour: he plowed vp the fieldes, that there ſhould no ſtouer be founde to ſerue their horſes: he put out of the towne all the olde people, and young children, leaſt they ſhould want vittayles that kept the towne, and before their commyng ſent them farre away. So that within the towne they had plenty, and without they dyed for famine: and beſides in ſeekyng farre for their forage, many fell into the handes of them that kept the citie, who ſecretly lay in wayte for them abroad and ſlew many of them. Beſides a great number of cattell and horſes dyed for want of forage: and poore ſouldiours that had no great ſtore of money dyed for want of vittayles. By which mortalitie and ſtench both of men and cattell, grew great infection & peſtilence amongeſt them, inſomuch that the kyng hymſelfe and alſo the Legate were greatly diſmayed: thinkyng it to be no litle ſhame as well to the realme of Fraunce, as alſo to Rome, that they ſhould ſo depart and breake vp their ſiege. Thus agayne thought the ſouldiours, that much better it were for thẽ to end their lyues by battell, then ſo to dye like dogges and ſterue: wherfore with one conſent they purpoſed to geue a new aſſaute at the bridge that goeth ouer the floud Rodanus into the towne, to which place they came in ſuch number: that eyther by the debilitie of the bridge, or ſubtiltie of the ſouldiours that kept the towne: Three thouſand of them with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent ſtreame and were drowned. What was there then but ioy and gladnes of the Citizens part, and much lamentation and heauynes on the other part. Then ſhortly after, the Citizens of Auinion (when they ſaw a cõuenient tyme whileſt their enemies were in eatyng meate) came ſodenly vpon them out of the towne and ſlew of them. 2000. and tooke the towne agayne with ſafetie. But the Legate with his company of prelates (like good men of warre) practiſed none other martiall feates, but all to be curſed the erle of Tholouſe, his Cities, & his people. Lodouicus the kyng, to auoyde the peſtilence that was in the camp, went into an Abbey not farre of: where ſhortly after he dyed, of whoſe death are ſundry opinions, ſome ſaying that he was poyſoned, ſome that he dyed of a bloody flixe.

Pollicie of warre.

Famine and peſtilence in the French campe.

The French ſouldiours deſtroyed at the ſiege of Auinion.

Lewes the French kyng dyeth at the ſiege of Auinion.

Whoſe death notwithſtandyng, the Legate thought to kepe ſecret and conceale till that the towne might be rendered and geuen vp: for he thought hymſelfe ſhamed for euer, if he ſhould depart before the towne were wonne: wherfore, after he had incouraged the ſouldiours a freſh, and yet after many ſharpe aſſaultes could not preuayle: he bethought hym how by falſhode he might betray them, and ſent vnto them certaine Haraldes to will them that they ſhould amõgeſt themſelues conſult vpon articles of peace, and bring the ſame to their camp, whoſe ſafe conduite they faythfully promiſed and warraunted both of comming and goyng. And when they had geuen their pledges for the ſame, the meſſengers from the Citizens talked with the Legate: who promiſed them if they would deliuer vp their citie, they ſhould haue their liues, goodes, and poſſeſſions in as ample maner as now they enioyed the ſame. But the Citizens and ſouldiours refuſed to be vnder the ſeruitude of the Frẽch king, neither would ſo deliuer vp their citie, to thoſe of whoſe inſolent pryde they had ſo good experiment. After much talke on both ſides and none like to take effect: the Legate requeſted them & frendly deſired, that he and his Prelates which were about him, might come into their Citie to examine what faith & belief they were of, and that he neither ſought nor ment any other thyng thereby, but their owne ſafeties, as well of body as ſoule, which thyng he faithfully ſware vnto: for (ſayth he) the brute of your great infidelitie hath come to the Lord Popes eare, & therfore deſired he to make true certificate therof. Wherupon the Citizens not miſtruſtyng his faythfull othe and promiſe made to them, graunted entrance to him and the reſidue of the Clergy bryngyng with them no weapon into the towne. The ſouldiours of the camp as it was agreed before, made them ready: ſo that at the entraunce of the Prelates in at the gate, nothyng regardyng their othe & fidelitie: The other ſodenly were ready, and with violence ruſhed in, ſlew the porter and warders, and at length wanne the Citie and deſtroyed the ſame and ſlue many of them that were within. Thus by falſhode and policie, when they had got this noble Citie, they caryed the kynges corpes to Paris where they buried the ſame. Of the whole number of the French ſouldiours which in this ſiege were deſtroyed by famine, peſtilence, and drownyng, be recolected mo then. 22000. Wherby ſayth the ſtory of Mat. Pariſienſ. it may euidently appeare the warre was vniuſtly taken in hand. &c. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

The falſe dealing of the popes legate, in betraying the citie of Auinion.

The popes legate wickedly periured.

Periury of the papiſtes. The citie of Auinion takẽ by treaſon & periury of the popes Legate.

The number of the Frẽch ſouldiours in this ſiege deſtroyed.

After theſe thynges finiſhed, and after the funerall of the kyng celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the ſayd hiſtory of Pariſienſ. that the ſayd Legate Romanus was vehemently ſuſpected, and greuouſly infamed to abuſe himſelfe with Blanca the kynges mother. Sed impium eſt (ſayth he) hoc credere, quia æmuli eius hoc diſſeminauerunt. Benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur. i. But it is vngodly to ſuſpect any ſuch thing of him: becauſe his enemyes ſo rumored the ſame abroad, but a gẽtle mynde expoundeth thynges doubtfull in the better part.

The incontinent lyfe of theſe Romiſhe prelates to be noted.

An. 1227.

To paſſe further to the yeare next folowyng, which was 1227. of the Lord: firſt is to be noted, that in this yeare kyng Henry beginnyng to ſhoote vp to the xx. yeare of his age, came frõ Redyng to Londõ, where he began to charge the Citizens of London for old reckenynges, namely for geuyng or lendyng 1000. markes to Lewes the French kyng at his departyng out of the Realme, to the great preiudice of him & of his kyngdome. For the recompenſe wherof, they were conſtrayned to yeld to the kyng the full ſumme of the like money. That done, he remoued to Oxford where he aſſembled a great counſaile, there denouncyng and proteſtyng before them all, that he was come to ſufficient age, no more to be vnder tutors and gouernours but to be his owne mã, requiring to be freed from the cuſtody of other. Which thing beyng proteſted, and contraried forthwith: he, by the counſaile of Hubert the chief iuſtice (whõ he made then the earle of Kent) remoued from his cõpany, the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and other vnder whõ he was moderated. And immediatly in the ſame cõſaile, by the ſiniſter perſuaſiõ of ſome, doth adnihilate and make voyde the charters, and liberties before by him graũted, pretendyng this colour: for that they had bene graunted and ſealed in the time of his minoritie, at what tyme he had the rule neither of himſelfe, nor of hys ſeale. Wherupon much mutteryng and murmuring was amõg the multitude. Who did all impute the cauſe to Hubert the iuſtice. Moreouer it was the ſame time proclaimed, that whoſoeuer had any charter, or gift ſealed vnder the tyme of the kynges minoritie, they ſhould come and renew the ſame agayne vnder the new ſeale of the kyng, knowyng otherwiſe that the thyng ſhould ſtand in no effect. And finally for renewyng of their ſeales, were taxed not accordyng to their habilitie, but accordyng as it pleaſed the iuſtice and other to leuie them.

The king claymeth to be freed frõ gouernours and to be hys owne man.

Hubert the iuſtice made Earle of Kent.

The kyng voydeth & diſanulleth the liberties which before he graunted.

Practiſes of princes to get money.

Moreouer beſide this generall ſubſidie of the fifteene graũted to the kyng through the whole Realme, and beſide alſo the contribution of the Lõdiners, diuers other parcels and paymentes he gathered through ſeuerall places: as of the Burgeſſes of Northampton he required a thouſãd and 100. markes, for his helpyng of them, and ſo of other lykewiſe. All this preparation of money was made toward the furniſhyng of his viage to recouer Normandy. And yet becauſe he would gratifie the Citie of London agayne with ſome pleaſure: he graunted the Citizens therof ſhould paſſe tole free (ſaith Fabian) through all England. And if of any Citie, borough, or towne they were conſtreined at any tyme to pay their tole, then the Shyriffes of London to attach euery man comming to London of the ſayd citie, borough, or towne: and him & his goodes to withhold, till the Lõdiners were agayne reſtored of all ſuch mony payd for the ſayd tole, with all coſtes & damages ſuſteined for the ſame. Ex Fabia.

The citizens of Londõ freed frõ tole through all England.

An. 1228.

Ex Fabia. part. 7.

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius, ſucceded Pope Gregory the ix. betwene the which Gregory and the people of Rome, this yeare, fell a great ſedition. In ſo much that about the feaſt of Eaſter, they thruſt the Pope out of the Citie, purſuyng hym vnto his Caſtell at Viterbium. Where alſo they inuaded him ſo valiauntly, that they chaſed hym to Peruſium. Then hauyng no other remedy wherewith to reuenge his perſecutors, ſterſly did excõmunicate them. Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 69.

Sedition betwene the Romanes & the pope.

Here, by the way, is to be obſerued & conſidered Chriſtian reader, not onely by this ſedition, but by ſo many other ſchiſmes, diuiſions, tumultes, fightynges, brawles and contentions, in the Church of Rome from the firſt beginnyng of the Popes vſurped power: and that not onely within the Citie of Rome, but vniuerſally almoſt in all Popiſh Monaſteries, Colleges, Churches, and Couentes vnder the Pope ſubiected, continually reignyng amongeſt them, what is to be thought of their religion and holynes, hauyng ſo litle peace, ſo great diſquietnes, diſſentions, and wranglyng amongeſt them, as in ſtoryes both manifeſt it is to behold, and wonderous to conſider.

The popes church may be iudged by their diſſentions and ſchiſmes.

No peace in the popes church.

And for as much, I haue entred here into the mention of this ſchiſmaticall commotion betwene the Pope and his Citizens: it followeth moreouer in the hiſtory of Pariſienſis, who maketh relation of a like brawlyng matter, which be-

Diſſention betwene the prior & couent of Durham, & the king.

fell the ſame yeare and tyme.an.1228.betwene the Prior & Couent of Durham, and this kyng Henry the iij. vpō this occaſion. After the death of Richard Byſhop of Durham, the Prior and Chapter of the ſayd Church, came to the K. to obteine licenſe for the electyng of their byſhop. The kyng offered to them one Lucas a Chaplaine of his, requiryng them inſtauntly to elect him for their Byſhop. To this the Monkes aunſwered, that they would receaue no man, but by their order of Canonicall election. Meanyng belyke by their Canonicall election that is, when as they elect either ſome Monke out of their owne company, or els ſome monkiſh Prieſt, after their owne likyng. Contrary, the kyng agayne ſendeth word vnto them and bound it with an othe, that they ſhould tary vij. yeares without a Byſhop, vnleſſe they would admit the forſayd Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithſtandyng, the monkes proceding in their election, refuſed the ſayd Lucas, and preferred an other Clerke of theirs, named William Archdeacon of Worceſter, and hym they preſented to the kyng. But the kyng bringyng in exceptions and cauſes agaynſt the party, would not admit him. Then the monkes in all haſty ſpeede ſent vp to Rome certaine of their Couent, to haue their election ratified, by the authoritie Apoſtolicall. On the other ſide the kyng likewiſe hearyng, ſendeth alſo to Rome agaynſt the Monkes: the Byſhop of Cheſter, and the Prior of Lentonie on his behalfe, to withſtand the purpoſe of the monkes. And ſo the matter beyng trauiſed with great altercation on both ſides, dyd hang in ſuſpenſe, ſayth myne author till at length thus it was concluded, betwene both that neither maſter William, nor yet Lucas ſhould be taken, but that Richard Byſhop of Sarum ſhould be tranſlated to Durham and be Byſhop there.an.1228.Ex Mat.Pariſienſ.

Canonicall election.

The monkes of Dyrham ſend to Rome agaynſt their kyng.

Appellation to Rome, agaynſt the kyng.
Ex Mat. Pariſ.

The like ſtyrre alſo happened, both the ſame yeare and for the lyke matter, betwene the monkes of Couentry, and the Canons of Lichfield, about chuſing of their Byſhop, which of them ſhould haue the ſuperiour voyce, in the election of their prelate. After much a do, the cauſe at length beyng hoyſted vp to Rome, had this determination: that the monkes of Couentry, and the Church of Lichfield ſhould chuſe their Byſhop by courſe, ech part kepyng hys turne the one after the other: prouided notwithſtandyng, that the Prior of Couentry ſhould alwayes haue the firſt voyce in euery election, where as the old cuſtome was, ſayth myne author, that the Couent with the Prior of Couentry was wont to haue the whole election of the Byſhop without the Canons. This was.an.1228.Ex Pariſienſ.pag.68.

An other contention betwene the monkes of Couentry, and the Chanons of Lichfield.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. pag. 68.

In the which yeare dyed Stephen Langton Archbyſhop of Canterbury by whom (as is recorded by Nic. Triuet) the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number, as we now vſe them were firſt diſtincted: The ſayd Langthō alſo, made Poſtiles vpō the whole Bible. The ſame moreouer builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

Stephen Langtō Archb. dyed.
The chapters of the bible firſt di-
by ſtincted Ste-
phen Langhton.

After the death of this Langthon, inſued an other variance about the election of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury betwene the Monkes of Canterbury and the king. The perturbation wherof as it was no leſſe ſeditious, ſo the determination of the ſame was much more coſtly. After the death of Stephen Langthon, the Monkes of Canterbury obtainyng licence of the kyng to procede in the election of a new Archbyſhop, did chuſe one of their owne ſociety named maſter Walter Heineſham. Whom when the Monkes had preſented to the kyng, he after long deliberatiō began to obiect agaynſt that election, ſaying: firſt, that the monkes had elected ſuch one as neither was profitable to him nor to his kyngdome. Secondly, he obiected agaynſt the partie elect, that his father was conuict of felony, & hanged for the ſame. Thirdly, that he ſtode in cauſes againſt his father K. John in the tyme of the interdict. Moreouer the byſhops his ſuffraganes charged the partie elect, that he had lyen with a certaine Nunne, and had children by her: addyng farther, that the election of the Archbyſhop was without their preſence, which ought not to be. &c. But the archbyſhop agayne ſtoutly ſtandyng to his election, appealed vp to Rome, and eftſoones takyng with him certayne monkes preſented him ſelfe to the Popes owne proper perſon, there to ſue his appeale: inſtantly intreating, that his election might ſtand cōfirmed by his authoritie pontificall. But the Pope, vnderſtandyng that the ſayd electiō was reſiſted by ỹ kyng & the biſhops, differred ỹ matter, till he did heare farther of ỹ certeinty therof. The kyng and the byſhops hauyng intelligence that the archbyſhop with his monkes were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foreſaid obiections aboue alledged in writyng: and ſealyng the ſame with the ſeales both of the kyng and of the byſhops to exhibite them to the Byſhop of Rome. The meſſengers of theſe letters were the Byſhop of Rocheſter, of Cheſter, and the Archdeacon of Bedford maſter John &c. who cōming to Rome, & exhibityng their meſſage with their letters vnto the pope (conſideration beyng had vpon the ſame) were cōmaunded to wayte attendaunce agaynſt ỹ next day after Aſhewedneſday: then to haue a reſolute aunſwere cōcernyng the cauſe. which was the ſecond day of March, the yeare next followyng.videlic.an.1229. In the meane ſeaſon, the kynges proctors ceaſed not with all inſtaunce to labour the Pope and his Cardinals to be fauorable to the kynges ſide. But findyng them ſomwhat hard and ſtrait in the matter (as is the guiſe of that Court) they began to miſdoubt there ſpeding. Wherfore conſultyng together with themſelues vpon the premiſſes, they came to the pope, promiſing in the kynges behalfe, to be geuen and graunted to him out of the realmes both of England and Scotland the tith or tenthe part of all the goodes within the ſayd Realmes moueable, to ſuſteine his warres againſt the Emperour, ſo that he would incline fauorably to the kynges ſute and petition herein. At Dominus Papa (ſayth Pariſienſ.) qui rebellem Imperatorem ſuper omnia æſtuabat deijcere, tantis promiſſionibus exhileratus trahitur ad conſenſum. That is. But the Pope (ſayth the author) which boyled with deſire aboue all meaſure, to haue the Emperour his enemy caſt downe: beyng cheared with ſo great promiſes, graūted his conſent to thē, who ſittyng then in his conſiſtory had theſe wordes, as here follow.

An other contentious diſſentiō betweene the mōkes of Canterbury & K. Henry the 3.
Obiections laid againſt the new Archb.

Appeale ſued to Rome.

K. Henry ſendeth to the pope.

Tithe of all moueable goods in England and Ireland promiſed to the pope for grāting the kinges ſute
O auri ſacra fames.
It is pitie the pope will take no bribes.

> There hath come a late to our intelligence, the election of a certaine Monke named Walter, to be Archbyſhop of Cant. whereupon after that we heard and aduiſed as well thoſe things, which the ſayd Monke hath ſayd for himſelf, and for his election: as alſo on the contrary ſide, the obiections and exceptions of the biſhops of England alleaging againſt hym, and againſt his election: Namely of the biſhop of Cheſter, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and John Archdeacon of Bedford: we vpon the ſame committed the examination touching the perſon of the man, vnto our reuerend brethren L. Cardinall Albany, L. Cardinall Thomas de Sabina, & maſter Peter. And when the forſayd elect comming before them was aſked of them, firſt concernyng the Lordes deſcending into hell, whether he deſcended in fleſh, or without his fleſh, he aunſwered not well. Item, beyng aſked touching the makyng of the body of Chriſt on the aulter, he aunſwered likewyſe not ſoundly: Beyng aſked moreouer, how Rachell wept for her children, ſhe beyng dead before, he aunſwered not well. Item beyng aſked concernyng the ſentence of excommunication denounced agaynſt the order of law, he anſwered not well. Agayne beyng required of matrimony, if one of the maried parties be an infidele, and do depart, he anſwered therto not well. Upon theſe articles he was (as is ſayd) diligently examined of the Cardinals to the which (we ſay) he anſwered not only not wel, but alſo very il. For ſo much therfore, as the church of Cant. is a noble churche, and requireth a noble prelate, a man diſcrete, and modeſt, & ſuch as ought to be taken out of the boſome of the Church of Rome: and forasmuch as this new elect (whome not onely here we pronounce to be vnworthy, but alſo ſhould ſay more of hym, if we would procede with hym by the rigour of the lawe) is ſo inſufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to ſuch a roume: we do vtterly infringe, annihilate, and euacuate his election alwayes reſeruyng to our ſelues the prouiſion of the ſayd church. Hæc ex Math. Pariſienſ. ad verbum.

The popes anſwere to the election of Walter Archbiſhop of Cant.

No, but whē your darling T. Becket came, he was heard without ſuch communications.

The election of Walter archb. of Cāt. diſſolued of the pope for the kinges money.

Thus the election of Walter being fruſtrate and diſſolued, the kings procurators bringing forth the letters of the king and of the Suffraganes of the church of Canterbury, preſented the ſame vnto the pope for the ratification of Richard Chauncellor of Lincolne, to be appointed Archb. of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of wordes did ſet forth to be a man of profound learnyng and knowledge: of an honeſt conuerſatiō, and which was greateſt of all, ỹ he was a man much for the profit of the church of Rome, as alſo for the realme of England. And thus the ſayd Richard being commended to the Pope by the letters procuratory of the king and of the biſhops: had the conſent of the pope and of the Cardinals, and ſo was made Biſhop of Cant. before he was elected. Wherupon the ſayde Pope Gregory in his behalfe, directeth downe hys letters to all & ſingular Suffraganes of the Church of Cant. declaring thus, and beginning firſt with a lie, that for ſo much as by the fulnes of eccleſiaſticall power, the charge of paſtoral office is committed to him in generall vpon all Churches: he therfore for the ſollicitude he beareth as well to all other churches in generall, as in ſpeciall to ỹ metropolitan church of Cant. repudiating and diſanullyng the former election of Walter the monke vpon iuſt cauſes: hath prouided for that ſee, a man as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know hym: ſo for that function ve-

Richard chācelour of Lincolne cōmended to the pope to be Archbiſhop of Cant.

Richard made archb. of Cant. by the pope without election.

The effect of the popes letters to the ſuffraganes of Cant.
The pope beginneth firſt with a lye.

ly fit and commodious: and willeth and commaundeth thē and all other by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue him, and humbly to obey him. ⁊c. which was an. 1229. Ex Pariſ.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

This was a deare Archb. of Cant. bought wyth the tythes of all England.

The pope requireth the tethes of all the moueables in England, Wales, & Ireland.

The cōtents of the popes letters, to the kyng.

The falſe pretence of the Pope vnder the name of the church, cloking hys owne cankered malice.

The kynges mouth ſtopped.

The Earles and Barons refuſed payment to the Pope.

The prelates in feare of the Popes curſe.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Popes extortion.

Uſurers brought into England by the Pope to ſerue hym with money.

These things thus finiſhed at Rome, ẏ pope not forgetting the ſwete promiſes made of the Engliſh ſiluer, which he ſo gredily gaped for, omittyng neither tyme nor diligence in all ſpedy wiſe ſendeth to the king of England maiſter Stephen his own chaplein and truſty Legate, to require ẏ collect the foreſayd tithes of all the moueable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promiſed to him before, therwith to maintayne his warre againſt Friderike the Emperour. And to the intent he might inflame all chriſten realmes with the like hatred which he bare agaynſt Friderike the Emperor, ſendeth alſo with the ſaid Stephē ſpeciall letters full of manifold complaints and greuous accuſations againſt the ſayd emperour, wherof more (Chriſt graunting) ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. Upon the commyng of this Stephen the Legate, ẏ kyng aſſembled all his erles and Barons, with the Archbiſhops, biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Templaries, Hoſpitalers, parſons and vicares, and other ſuch as held of hym in capite, to appeare before hym at Weſtminſter, to heare and to common of the matter. In the aſſembly of whom, the Popes patent letters were brought forth and red, wherin he required the tenthes of all the moueables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergy as of the laitie, to maintaine hys expedition agaynſt the foreſayd Friderike the Emperor. The which expedition as he pretended to atchieue & to take in hand for ẏ cauſe of the vniuerſall church, and happely had begon the matter already: and for ſo much, as the riches of the Apoſtolicke ſee did not ſuffice, for the accompliſhing of ſo great an enterpriſe: he therfore enforced by mere neceſſitie, dyd implore the ayde and helpe of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the Church of Rome, leſt the members therof together with the head ſhould be ſubuerted. These letters of the Pope, to this effect, beyng openly recited and explaned by the Popes chaplaine, which he with much more allegation and perſwaſion of wordes did amplifie to his vttermoſt, the king (ſayth mine author) in whome all men dyd hope an helpe to their defēce, became thē as a ſtaffe of reede. For as much as he had obliged hymſelfe to the ſame before, for ẏ electiō of his Archb. now could ſay nothing againſt it, but held his peace. The Earles, Barons, and all the laitie vtterly refuſed ſo to bynd their Baronies to the Church of Rome: but the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, wyth other Prelates of the Church, firſt requiring ſpace and reſpite to deliberate for 3. or 4. dayes: at length for feare of ẏ Popes curſe (although they durſt not vtterly withſtande) had brought to paſſe to haue concluded for a ſomme of money much leſſe, had not Stephen Segraue, one of the kynges counſailers, craftily conuected with the Legate: and by ſubtile meanes brought it ſo to paſſe, that the whole tenthes was gathered and payd, to the ineſtimable damage (ſayeth Pariſienſ.) both of the Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall ſtate. The meanes wherof (ſayth the author) was this. The Legate ſhewyng to the prelates his procuratory letters to collect and gather vp all the foreſayde tenthes in the name and authoritie of the Pope, declared moreouer full authoritie to hym graunted by the vertue of his commiſſion, to excommunicate all ſuch, and to interdict their Churches, who ſo euer did gainſtand or go contrary to the ſayd collection. Wherupon by the ſayd vertue legantine, he ſendeth to euery ſhire, his Proctors to gather the Popes money, or els to excommunicate them which denied to pay: and for ſo much as the preſent nede of the Pope required preſent help without delay, he ſendeth moreouer to the biſhops and prelates of the Realme, in payne of interdiction forthwith to procure and ſend to hym either of their owne, or by lone, or vſance, or by what meanes ſo euer, ſo much money in all poſt ſpede, for the preſent vſe of the pope. And after to take vp againe the ſayd money of the tenthes of euery ſingular perſon, by the right taxyng of their goods. Upon this, the Prelates to auoyde the daunger (hauing no other remedy) were driuen to ſell their chalices, cruets, copes, iewels, and other church plate: and ſome to lay to morgage ſuch things as they had, ſome alſo to borow vpon vſaunce, to make the money which was required. Moreouer, the ſayd Stephen the Popes chaplaine (as reporteth Pariſ.) brought wyth hym into England for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch bankers and vſurers, who lendyng out their money vpon great vſury, did vnreaſonably pinche the Engliſh people, which Merchaunt vſurers were then called Caurſini. Briefly ſuche ſtraight exaction was then vpon the poore Engliſh men, that not onely their preſent goodes were valued and taxed, but alſo the corne yet growyng in the field, againſt the next harueſt was tithed, ⁊c. Only the Earle of Cheſter named Ranulphus, ſtood ſtoutly agaynſt the Pope, ſuffring none within his dominion either lay man or clearke to yelde any tenthes to the Popes Proctors. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. pag. 74. And this was the ende of the ſtrife betwene the Monkes of Caunterbury, and the kyng for the election of their Archbiſhop which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1229. In the which yeare was finiſhed the new Churche of Couentry, by Alexander Biſhop of the ſayd Citie, and partly by the helpe of the Kyng: whiche Churche, Richard hys predeceſſor Biſhop before him of Couentry had begonne.

Corne vpon the ground tythed to the Pope.

Ranulphus Erle of Cheſter denyeth to pay the Popes tithes.

An. 1229.

The Church of Couentry finiſhed.

The French men about this tyme agayne prepared themſelues toward Prouince, to warre agaynſt the foreſayd Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe, and to expulſe hym out of hys poſſeſſions. And hearing that he was in his Caſtle of Saracene, they made thither all their power thinkyng there to encloſe and compaſſe hym about: but the erle beyng priuy of their conſpired purpoſe, ſet for them by the way, appointing certayne buſhmentes in woodes, not ſo ſecretly as ſtrongly, there to waite and receaue the commyng of the Frenchmen, and to geue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entred the wood, the Erle with his trayne of well armed and able warriours, ſodenly did flie vpon them vnwares, and gaue them a bitter meetyng, ſo that in that conflict 500. of the French ſouldiours were taken, and many ſlayne. Of their ſeruitures to the number of 1000. men with their armour were taken. Of whom ſome loſt their eyes, ſome their noſes, ſome their eares, ſome their legges, and ſo ſent home. The reſt were caried away priſoners into the Caſtell. And to be brief ſaith the hiſtory, thriſe the ſame Sommer, were the Frenchmen diſcomfited, put to flight, taken and impriſoned by the foreſayd Reimundus the godly Erle. Ex Pariſ. pag. 69. Wherin is to be ſene, and to be prayſed, the gracious protection of the Lord our God againſt the furious papiſtes: which is glorious alwayes in his ſaintes.

The popes French army thinking to deſtroy Reimūde is deſtroyed by the way.

The French men thriſe in one ſommer ouercome by Reimūd erle of Tholouſe.

¶ The ſame yeare the king beyng at Porteſmouth, had aſſembled together all his Nobilitie, Earles, Barons, and knightes of England with ſuch an army of horſemen and footemen, as hath not bene lightly ſene, thinking to recouer agayne the countrey of Normandy, of Gaunt, and other poſſeſſions which king John his father before had loſt. But when the Captains and marſhals of the field ſhould take ſhipping, there were not halfe ſhips enough to receiue the hoſte. Wherupon the King was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault to Hubert the Lord chiefe Juſtice (who vnder the kyng had all the gouernement of the Realme) calling hym olde traytour, charging him that he ſhould be the let of this voiage, as he was before, when he toke of the French Queene 5000. Markes, to ſtay the kinges iourney into Normandy. In ſo muche the rage of the Kyng was ſo kindled againſt hym, that drawyng hys ſword, he made at him to runne him through, had not the Erle of Cheſter Ranulph ſtopt the King. Hubert withdrew himſelf away till ẏ kings rage was paſt. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arriued Henry Erle of Normandy in the hauen of Porteſmouth in the month of October. Who ſhould haue conducted the Kyng vpon his allegeaunce and othe into Normandy. But he with other of the kinges army counſayled the King not to take that voiage toward winter, but rather to deferre it to the Eaſter next followyng: wherwith the king was ſtayd and well contented, and pacified agayne with Hubert the Juſtice ⁊c. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

The inconſtant loue of Princes toward them that be chiefe about them.

Fabian recordeth this yere the liberties and fraunchiſe of the Citie of London to be confirmed by the kyng, and to eurich of the ſhriues to be graunted two clerkes, & two officers without mo. Ex Fabia.

An. 1230.

Then followed the yeare 1230. In which, vppon the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule (as ſayth Pariſienſis) as a great multitude of people for ſolemnitie of the day were congregate in the Temple of Saint Paule: the byſhop then beyng at hys Maſſe: a ſodaine darkeneſſe wyth ſuch thickneſſe of cloudes fell in the ayre, that vnneth one man might ſee an other in the Church. After that followed crackes of thunder and lightnyng ſo terrible, leauyng ſuch a ſent in the Church: that the people lookyng for doomes day, thought no leſſe but that the ſteeple and whole Church would haue fallen vpon their heads. In ſo much that they running out of the Church, as people amaſed, fel downe together by thouſandes, as men amaſed: not knowyng for the tyme where they were: onely the Biſhop & hys Deacon ſtood ſtill at their maſſe, holding the aulter faſt. Ex Pariſienſ.

A ſoden terrour amōg the people in Paules church by thūder and lightening.

Ex Pariſ. Pag. 75.

Of the death of Steuen Langton, & of the troubleſome

An. 1231.

Richard Archb. of Cant.

The complaint of Rich. Archb. of Cant. againſt Hubert Lord chiefe iuſtice.

election of the next Archbiſhop: alſo of the coſtly & chargeable bringing in of Richard to ſuccede in the roume, which did coſt the whole realme of Englend the tenthes of all their moueables: ſufficient hath bene declared before. This Richard beyng now confirmed in his ſeat, came to the kyng complaynyng of Hubert the Lord chiefe Juſtice, oft mentioned before, for withholdyng from hym the caſtle & towne of Tunebrygge with the appurtenaunce to the ſame belongyng, and other landes of the Earle of Clare late deceaſed; which landes apperteined to the right of his ſeate, and to yͤ church of Cant. for the which the ſayd Erle with his aunceters were bound to do homage to him and to his predeceſſors: and therfore required the keping of the foreſaid caſtle with the demaynes therof to be reſtored vnto him. To this the king aunſwered agayne, that the ſayd Erle did hold of hym in Capite, and that the Caſtles beyng vacaunt of Erles and Barons with their heyres, did belong to hys crowne, till the lawfull age of the ſayd heires. The Archbiſhop when he could get no other aunſwer of the Kyng, did excommunicate all ſuch as inuaded the foreſaid poſſeſſions wyth all other that tooke their part, the kyng onely excepted. Which done, efſones ſpeedeth hymſelfe to Rome, there to proſecute hys ſute before the Pope. The king hearyng therof, not long after ſendeth vp maiſter Roger Cantelu with certaine other meſſengers to Rome agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

The kynges anſwere to Richard the Archb.

Excommunication abuſed.

Richard the Archb. complayneth to the pope of hys king, and of other matters moe.

Thus Richard the Archb. commyng before the Popes preſence, beginneth firſt to complayne of his king, for that he committed all the affayres of the realme to the diſpoſitiō and gouernmēt of Hubert hys iuſtice, vſing only his counſaile, all hys other nobles deſpiſed.

Againſt the ſayd Juſtice moreouer he complained, laying to his charge: Firſt that he had maried a wife, beyng the kinſwoman of her whom he had maried before: alſo that the ſayd Hubert the iuſtice did inuade, hold and wrongfully deteine ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to the ſee & church of Canterbury.

¶ As touching the wyfe of this Hubert, here is to be noted, that he maried the elder ſiſter of the king of Scottes, which ſemeth could be of no great kinne to her whom he maried before.

Farther, he complayned of certayne biſhops hys Suffragans, who neglecting their paſtorall function, did ſit on Checker matters belonging to the kyng, and exerciſed ſeſſions and iudgements of bloud.

Pluralitie of benefices complayned of by the Archb. of Cant.

Ouer and beſides, he complayned of beneficed perſons, and clerkes within orders, for hauing many benefices, ioyned with cure of ſoule: And that they alſo takyng example of the biſhops, did intermedle in ſecular matters, and in iudgements of lay men.

Of theſe and ſuch other defaultes, he required redreſſe to be had. The Pope ſeyng and conſidering the cauſe of the Archbiſhop to ſtande vpon right and reaſon (at leaſt wyſe ſemyng ſo to hys purpoſe) commaunded incontinent hys petitions and requeſtes to be diſpatched accordyng to Juſtice.

The kinges attornies coulde not ſpeede wyth the Pope.

Reſpect of perſō doth much wyth the Pope.

Agaynſt theſe complayntes of the Archbiſhop, the kings atturneis alleged and defended, in as much fauour of the kyng, as they might, but could do no good. Such fauour found the archbiſhop in the Popes ſight, beyng (as the ſtory reporteth) of a comely perſonage, & of an eloquent tonge, that he obteyned whatſoeuer he aſked. Thus the Archbiſhop with all fauourable ſpede being diſpatched at Rome, after his owne will and deſire, returned homeward: who in hys iorney wythin iij. dayes of his ſetting forth, departed in the houſe of the gray Friers at S. Gemmes, and ſo his cauſe departed wyth hym: who winnyng hys ſute, loſt hys life, for whom it had bene better I ſuppoſe to haue taryed at home. And here of him an ende, with all his complayntes alſo. Ex Pariſienſ.

Rich. the Archb. in his iourney from Rome, dyeth.

Raffe Neuill B. of Chicheſter elected Archb. of Cant.

After the death of this Richard, the monkes of Cant. (according to the maner) addreſſe themſelues to a new election: at which was choſen Radulf Neuill, Byſhop of Chicheſter, who was the kynges Chauncelor, much commended in ſtories, to be a man faythfull, vpright, and conſtant: which from the way of iuſtice declined neyther to the right hand nor to the left. But vpright and ſincere both in word and deede. This Rauffe (thus choſen of the monks) was preſented to the kyng to be their Archbyſhop, wherewyth the kyng was right well contented, and glad alſo of thys election: and forthwith inueſted hym for Archbyſhop of the Church of Cant. But this inueſting of the kyng was not inough, vnles he ſhould alſo be confirmed by the Pope. Wherfore, the mōkes ready to take their iorney vnto Rome, came to the new archbyſhop: requiring his helpe for their expenſes by the way, and to know what ſeruice he would commaunde them to the court of Rome. But he fearing in hys mynd the ſame not to be without ſome ſcruple of ſimony and ambitiō, ſayd he would not geue an halfpeny, and holding vp his handes to heauen thus prayed, ſaying: O Lord God, if I ſhalbe thought worthy to be called (although in dede vnworthy) to the ſeat and office of thys church: ſo be it as thou ſhalt diſpoſe it. But if otherwiſe in this troubleſome office of Chauncery, and this my inferior miniſtery, wherunto I haue bene aſſigned, I ſhall ſeme more neceſſary for this thy kingdome and people: I refuſe not my labour: thy will be done.

The king inueſteth the Archb. of Cant.

Ex Mat. Pariſ.

A rare example of a good Archb.

The prayer of the Archb. elect.

The monkes beholdyng the conſtancie of the man, notwithſtanding they had of him no mony yet refuſed not their trauail and iorney to Rome, to haue their election cōfirmed by the Popes authoritie. The Pope inquiryng of Simon Langhton (brother of Stephen Lāghton Archb. of Cant. before mētioned) of the perſon of this mā: it was reported agayne to him by the ſaid Simon (maliciouſly deprauyng the good man behynd his backe) declaring to the Pope, yͭ he was a courtier, vnlearned, haſty and feruent in hys doynges, and ſuch one: who if he ſhould be promoted to that dignitie, would go about with the helpe of the kyng, and of the whole realme, to remoue and bryng the realm of England from vnder the yoke of the Pope and of the Church of Rome. And ſo to bereue the ſee of Rome of the tribute, vnder which king John had once ſubiected himſelfe and hys realme, at what tyme he yelded his crowne to the handes of Pandolfus the Legate &c. With theſe & ſuch other wordes Simon Langhton falſly and maliciouſly depraued yͤ godly biſhop. The Pope hearyng with one eare, & crediting what he heard, without farther inquiſitiō made of the other partie accuſed: ſendeth incontinent to the monkes of Cant. to procede in a new election, and to chuſe to thē another Archbiſhop, ſuch as were an wholeſome paſtor of ſoules, profitable to the church of England, and deuout to the church of Rome. And thus was the lawfull election of this good Archb. made fruſtrate, to good peraduenture to ſerue in that place, wherunto he was elected.

Simō Lāghtō Archd. of Yorke, a malicious backbiter of Radulfus Archbyſh. electe.

The raſhe iudgemēt of the Pope.

The election of Radulfe Archb. elect defeited by the Pope.

John Archb. of Cant. elected & refuſed of the Pope.

After the repulſe of this Radulphe, the Canterbury monkes entryng a new election, agreed vpon John their Prior, to be their Metropolitane. Who goyng vp to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the Pope, was 3. dayes together examined of the Cardinals. And when they could find no inſufficiencie in hym, touching thoſe things, wherin they tried hym: yet notwithſtanding, the Pope findyng a fault with his age (he peraduenture being more aged himſelfe) repealed him, for that he ſayd, he was to old and ſimple, to ſuſteine that dignitie. Ex Pariſ.

¶ What was the age of this perſon I find it not in the author expreſſed: yet it is to be ſuppoſed, that he which was able to take that iorney to Rome, and home agayne: was not ſo greatly to be complayned of for hys age, but that he was able ſufficiently to take paines in kepyng the chaire of Canterbury.

The Popes intollerable exactions vpon England.

In the former partes of this ſtory procedyng, partly before hath bene declared, partly hereafter more ſhall appeare (Chriſt willing) how the Church of England & commons of the ſame was greued and miſerably afflicted, by the intollerable oppreſſions of the Pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the beſt benefices to be geuen to his Romanes and the chief fruites of them to be reſerued to his owne coffers. And what complayntes therof haue bene made, ye heard before, pag. 270. But yet no redreſſe could be had. Such was the inſatiable auarice of theſe Romanes rakehels, proling and polling wherſoeuer they came, with their prouiſions and exactiōs out of meaſure, and neuer ſatiſfied. In ſomuch, that here in Englād whoſoeuer lacked: their barnes were alwayes full of corne: and what penurie ſoeuer pinched the people, they were ſure to haue inoughe. And theſe importunate exactiōs and contributions of theſe Italian harpyes: beſide the Peterpence, beſide the commō tribute, dayly more & more increaſed, to the great greuaūce of the Realme: in ſomuch that the wealth of this land was almoſt cleane ſucke vp, & tranſlated to the Court of Rome. Neither was the kyng ignorant herof, but could not helpe the matter. Wherfore it was deuiſed by ſome of the nobles (as appeareth in the ſtory of Pariſienſis) this foreſayd yeare an. 1231. that certaine letters vnder the pretenſed colour of the kyngs authoritie, ſhould be ſent abroad: willyng & commaundyng, that ſuch corne and grayne, & other reuenewes, as were taken vp for the Pope, ſhould be ſtayed and forth commyng, by a certain day in the ſayd letters appointed, the which letters are thought to procede chiefly by the meanes of Hubert Lord chief Juſtice of England, who then next vnder the kyng, ruled the moſt affaires of the Realme. The wordes and contentes of the letters be theſe.

Ex Math. Pariſ. pag. 79.

Hubert lord chiefe Juſtice a worker againſt the Pope.

After

The copy of the letter wrytt vnder the kinges authoritie to reſtraine the benefices of the Romans wythin the realme.

AFter diuers and ſondry griefes and oppreſſions whiche this Realme, as you know, hath ſuſtayned by the Romaniſtes & yet doth: as well to the preiudice of the kyng hym ſelfe as alſo of the nobilitie of the ſame, concernyng the aduowſons of their churches and about their tythes: who alſo goe about to take frō the clerkes & ſpirituall men their benefices, and to beſtow them vpō their owne nation and coūtreymen, to the ſpoyle and confuſion both of vs and our realme: we therfore by our common conſentes haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any longer to ſuffer their intollerable oppreſſions and extortions, to reſiſte and withſtand the ſame. And by the takyng from them their benefices through all England, in like maner to cut ſhort and bridle thē, as they had thought to haue kept vnder and bridled others: wherby, they may deſiſte any lenger to moleſt the Realme. Wherfore, we ſtraitly charge and cōmaūde you, that as touching the fermyng of their churches or els the rentes belonging to them, which either you haue preſently in your handes or els do owe vnto the ſayd Romaniſtes: that from hence forth you be no more accoumptable vnto them or els pay vnto them from hence forth the ſame. But that you haue the ſayd your rentes & reuenewes ready, by ſuch a day, to pay and deliuer vnto our procurators thereunto by our letters aſſigned. And that all Abbates and Priors haue the ſame in a readynes at the day appointed, in their owne Monaſteries: and all other Prieſtes, Clerkes, and laymen, at the Churches of the Romaniſtes there ready to pay. And farther know ye for certeintie that if ye refuſe thus to do: that all that you haue beſides ſhalbe by vs brent and ſpoyled. And beſides looke what daunger we purpoſe ſhall fall vpon them, the ſame ſhall light vpon your neckes, if you refuſe thus to do. Farewell.

When this was done, they ſent theſe letters abroad by certeine ſouldiours therūto appointed: to the which letters they had deuiſed a new ſeale with two ſwordes ingraued, and betwene the ſwordes was written. Ecce gladij duo, &c. Behold theſe two ſwordes ready to take vengeaunce of all thoſe that ſhall withſtand the forme and order in theſe letters contayned.

1232.

At that tyme the 16. day before the Kalendes of January, about the beginnyng of the yeare. 1232. there was kept at S. Albons a great conſiſtory of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, with diuers other both of the nobilitie and clergy by the Popes commaundement: for the celebration of a diuorſe betwene the Countes of Eſſex and her huſband. At the breaking vp of which conſiſtory, when euery man was about to depart thence. There was a certaine clerke whoſe name was Cincius a Romane, & alſo a Chanon of Paules in London: taken by ſome of the ſayd Vniuerſitie not farre of from S. Albons, and was caryed away from his company by the ſouldiours. But maſter John Archdeacon of Norwich a Florentine hardly eſcapyng from that company gat to London, where he hyd himſelfe and durſt not be ſene. Cincius after fiue weekes, when they had well emptied his bagges, was ſafly ſent agayne without any more hurt to London.

A Romayne prieſt, Chanō of Paules taken & robbed by ſouldiours.

Not long after this, about the beginnyng of January: the barnes of a certaine beneficed mā, a Romane, and perſon of Wingham, being ful of corne: were broke vp by a like company of armed ſouldiours. And the corne brought out to be ſold and geuen away to the poore people. The fermer ſeyng this and not able to reſiſte, complayneth to the Shirife of the ſhyre, of this iniurie done to his maſter, and of breakyng the kynges peace: wherupon, the Shyriffe ſent certain of his men to ſee what was done. Who cōmyng to the emptie barnes, and there findyng the foreſayd ſouldiours to thē vnknowen, who had ſold away the moſt part of the corne vpon eaſie price, and ſome for charitie had geuen to the pouertie of the countrey about: required of them what they were, that ſo durſt preſume to breake the kynges peace. Whom the other thē called ſecretly a part, and ſhewed them the kynges letters patentes (pretendyng at leaſt the kyngs name and ſeale) wherin was forbidden, that no man ſhould preſume to ſtoppe or let them in that purpoſe. Wherof the Shyriffes ſeruauntes beyng certified, quietly returned frō whence they came.

The barnes of a Romane parſon broke vp and the corne diſtributed to the poore.

The Romaines and Italian parſons in England robbed of their rentes and corne.

This commyng to the knowledge of Roger byſhop of London, he (with the aſſiſtaunce of other Byſhops) proceedeth in ſolēne excommunicatiō, firſt agaynſt them that robbed Cintius the Romane: then of them which ſpoyled the barnes of the Parſō of Winghā, an other Romane. Thirdly he excommunicated them that forged the letters and ſeale of the kyng aboue ſpecified.

Neither yet for all that, that did ſo ceaſe, but the ſame yeare, about Eaſter next folowyng, all the barnes in England, whiche were in the handes of any Romane or Italian, were likewiſe waſted: and the corne ſolde to the beſt commoditie of the poore commons. Of the whiche, great almoſe was diſtributed: and many tymes, money alſo with corne together was ſparſed for the needy people to gather vp. Neither was there any, that would or durſt ſtand agaynſt them. As for the Romanes and Italians themſelues, were ſtricken in ſuch feare: that they hyd themſelues in Monaſteries and celles, not daryng to complayne of their iniuries receaued: but held it better, to loſe rather theyr goodes, then to loſe their liues. The authors and workers of this feate were to the number of 80. armed ſouldiours, of whom the principall Captaine was one namyng himſelfe W. Wytherſe, ſurnamed Twyng.

A generall ſpoyle of the Romayne parſons in England.

The Popes cholar ſtyrred vp agaynſt England.

A fumiſhe vicare of milde Chriſt.

This commyng to the Popes knowledge, he was not a little ſtyrred therewith, and ſendeth his letters immediatly to the kyng vpon the ſame: with ſharpe threatnynges, and imperious commaundementes, chargyng him for ſufferyng of ſuch vilany within his Realme: ſtraitly inioynyng hym vnder paine of excōmunicatiō, to ſearch out the doers hereof with all diligence, and ſo to puniſh them that all other by them may take exāple. Likewiſe, he ſendeth the ſame charge to Peter Byſhop of Wincheſter and to the Abbot of S. Edmūd, to inquire in the South partes. Alſo to the archbyſhop of Yorke, and to the Byſhop of Durham, and to maſter John Chanon of Yorke a Romane, to inquire in the North partes for the ſayd malefactors: and after diligēt inquiſition made, to ſend vp the ſame to Rome, there needes to appeare before him. &c.

Inquiſitiō made for the ſpoyling of the popes corne.

Thus after earneſtly inquiſitiō made of all parties, and witneſſes ſworne and examined: many were found culpable in the matter, ſome that were factours, ſome that were cōſenters, of whom ſome were Byſhops, and Chaplaines to the Kyng: ſome Archdeacons, & Deanes, with other ſouldiours and lay men. Among whom certaine Shriffes and vndershyriffes with their ſeruitures vnder them, were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the kyng. Many for feare fled and eſcaped away, who beyng ſought for could not be founde: but the principall of this number (as is aforeſayd) was ſuppoſed to be Hubertus Lord chief iuſtice: who both with the kyngs letters & his owne, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durſt interrupt them. Moreouer in the ſame ſocietie of thē, which were noted in theſe doynges, was the ſame Robert Twyng, aboue mētioned, a comely young mā and a talle ſouldiour: who of his owne voluntary accorde, with fiue other ſeruitures, whō he tooke with him abroad to worke that feate, came to the kyng: opēly proteſting himſelfe to be the author of that deede doyng, and ſayd, he dyd it for hatred of the Pope and the Romaines: becauſe that by the ſentence of the Byſhop of Rome, and fraudulent circūuention of the Italiās, he was bereued of the patronage of his benefice, hauyng no more to geue but that one. Wherfore to be reuenged of that iniurie, he enterpriſed that which was done: preferryng rather vniuſtly to be excommunicate for a ſeaſon, then to be ſpoyled of his benefice for euer. Then the kyng, & other executors of the Popes commaundement gaue him counſaile, that ſeyng he had ſo incurred the daunger of the Popes ſentence, ſhould offer himſelfe to the pope to be abſolued of him agayne, and there to make his declaration vnto him, that he iuſtly and canonically was poſſeſſed in that Church. The kyng moreouer with him ſent his letters teſtimoniall vnto the Pope, witneſſing with the ſayd ſouldiour, & inſtantly deſiryng the Pope in his behalfe, that he might with fauour be heard. At the requeſt wherof, pope Gregory afterward, both releaſed hym of the ſentence, & reſtored him to his patronage: writing to the archb. of Yorke, that he might agayne inioye the right of his benefice in as ample maner, as he did before it was taken from him.

Hubert de Burgo.

Robert Twinge, ſpoyled of his benefice by the Romaynes.

Hubert de Burgo Lord chiefe Juſtice, beyng one of them which held agaynſt the Romiſh Prieſtes, as is afore ſignified: was therfore not a litle noted of the byſhops, who to requite him with like deſpite agayne (after their accuſtomed maner of practiſe) went about by ſubtile workyng, to ſhake him out of the kings fauour. And firſt commeth Peter Byſhop of Wincheſter, to the kyng greuouſly complaynyng of certaine about the kyng, but eſpecially of the foreſayd Hubert the kynges iuſtice: in ſomuch, that he cauſed him to be remoued from his office, notwithſtandyng he had the kyngs ſeale and writyng for the perpetuitie of the ſame, & procured Stephen Segraue to be placed in his function. And after a few dayes, the kyng more and more incenſed agaynſt him, called him to a count of all the treaſure which he was countable for by his exchecker office: alſo of all ſuch debtes by him due frō the tyme of his father, vnto his time. Alſo of all the Lordſhyps, which were in the poſſeſſion of William Earle of Pēbroke, chief iuſtice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that tyme, in foreſtes,

The Byſhops goe about to bring Hubert out of the kinges fauour.

Obiections layd agaynſt Hubert, by the kyng.

warennes, ſhyres, and other places: how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of Priſis likewiſe: Alſo of loſſes committed through his negligence: And of waſtes made contrary to the kynges profite: of his liberties, how he did vſe them. Item, of iniuries and damages wrought agaynſt the clerkes of Rome, and other Italians, and the Popes Legates: for the redreſſe wherof, he would neuer adioyne his counſaile, accordyng as appertained to his office beyng then chief Juſtice of Englãd. Alſo of ſcutagies, giftes, preſentes, ſcapes of priſoners. Item, of marriagies which kyng John cõmitted to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were alſo in hys tyme committed vnto him. To theſe Hubert anſwered, that he had kyng Johns owne hãd to ſhew for his diſcharge: who ſo approued his fidelitie, that he neuer called him to any, but clearely diſcharged hym frõ all ſuch countes. Wherunto aunſwered agayne the Byſhop of Wincheſter, ſaying: the charter of kyng John hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckenyng of this kyng for the ſame.

Note, that wyth Wint. the kyngs charter is no longer in force then whyleſt he liueth.

Other crimes obiected to Hubert by the kyng.

Ouer and beſides theſe, other greater obiections were layd to his charge by the kyng: as for ſendyng and writyng to the Duke of Auſtria, that he might marry his daughter, to the preiudice of the kyng and of the Realme, diſſuadyng that ſhe might not be geuen to him. Item, for counſailyng the kyng not to enter into Normãdy with his army which he had prepared for the recouery of landes there belongyng to his right, wherby great treaſure was there conſumed in vayne. Item, for corruptyng the daughter of the kyng of Scottes, whom kyng John his father committed to his cuſtody for him to mary. Item, for ſtealyng from him a precious ſtone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in warre and for ſending the ſame to Leoline prince of Wales. And that by his letters ſent to the ſayd Leoline, William Brues a noble man was cauſed there traiterouſly to be hãged. &c. Theſe with other crimes (whether true or falſe) were ſuggeſted to the king agaynſt the ſayd Hubert by his aduerſaries. Wherunto he was required to aunſwere by order of law. Hubert then ſeyng himſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, refuſed to aunſwere preſently, but required reſpite therunto, for that the matters were weighty which the kyng obiected to him, which was graunted to him till the 14. day of September: but in the meane tyme, Hubert beyng in feare of the kyng, fled from Lõdon to the priorie of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the loue of the kyng, and defence of the realme (ſayth myne author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of Englãd, now beyng out of the kyngs fauour was deſtitute of comfort on euery ſide: ſaue onely that Lucas Archbyſhop of Dubline, with inſtant prayers and teares, labored to the kyng for him. By this exãple and many lyke is to be ſene, how vnſtable and variable a thyng the fauour of mortall & mutable princes is: To teach all ſuch as haue to do about Princes, how to repoſe and plant their truſt not in mã but in their lord God: by him to finde helpe in Chriſt the true Prince of all Princes, which neuer faileth. By like example was Clito ſerued of kyng Alexãder, Joab of king Dauid, Beliſarius of Juſtiniane, Harpagus of Aſtiages, Cromwell of king Henry, with innumerable mo, which in hiſtories are to be found.

Princes fauours not to be truſted to.

When the day was come, that this Hubert ſhould aunſwer, kepyng among the monkes of Merton, he durſt not appeare.

Then was it ſignified to hym from the kyng, that he ſhould come vp and appeare in the court, there to aunſwer to hys charge. Wherunto he anſwered agayne, that he miſdoubted the kings anger, & therfore he did flie to the church as the vttermoſt refuge to all ſuch as ſuffer wrong. From whence he would not ſtirre, till he heard ỹ kings wrath to be mitigated towardes hym. With this, the king moued and ſore diſpleaſed, directed hys letters in all haſt, to the Maior of London commaũdyng hym at the ſight therof to muſter and take vp all the Citizens that could beare harneys in ỹ City, and to bring to hym by force of armes the forſayde Hubert either quicke or dead, out of Merton. Wherupon, the Mayor immediately cauſing the great bell to be rong: aſſembled together the people of London, and openyng before them the kings letters, commaunded them to prepare and arme themſelues in all readines to the executing of the kings will and meſſage.

The kinges diſpleaſure agaynſt Hubert.

The kinges meſſage to the maior of London.

The citizens hearyng this, were therwith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert: becauſe of the execution of Conſtantine their Citizen aboue mentioned, pag. 272. Notwithſtanding, certayne of the citizens namely Andrew Bukerel, John Trauers and other moe, men of more graue and ſage diſcretion (wiſely ponderyng with themſelues, what inconuenience myght riſe hereof) went in haſt to the biſhop of Wint. lyeng then in Southwarke: and wakyng hym out of his ſleepe, deſired hym of his counſaile in that ſo ſodeine and daungerous diſtreſſe: Declaring to hym, what perill might thereby enſue as well to the church of Merton, as alſo to the citie, by the fury of the vnordinate & fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and ſpoylyng, neither will ſpare ſheding of bloud. &c. Unto whom agayne the bloudy biſhop gaue this bloudy counſail (ſayth Pariſienſis.) Daungerous it is (quod he) both here and there, but yet ſee that you obey and execute the precept of the kyng. J counſaile you plainely. At the which counſaile of the biſhop they beyng amaſed, went with an euill will about the buſines enioyned. But the people inflamed with hatred, gladly coueted to be reuẽged and to ſhed the bloud of the ſayd Hubert.

Old grudge borne in mynde.

Some wiſer then ſome.

Good aduiſemẽt of diſcrete Citizens.

Cruell counſaile geuen of Peter B. of Wint.

¶ The cauſe why Peter biſhop of Wint. was ſo cruelly ſet agaynſt the Juſtice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Romaine prieſtes, as is before touched: Partly alſo for the old grudge, becauſe the king commyng to his lawfull age before (through the counſail of this Hubert) loſed hymſelfe frõ the gouernment of the ſaid B. who had hym then in cuſtodie. And thus roſe vp the grudge and diſpleaſure of this biſhop agaynſt hym.

The cauſes of diſpleaſure betwene Hubert and the byſhop of Wint.

On the next morow, the Londiners iſſuyng out of the citie to the number of xx. M. ſet forth toward the Abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying proſtrate before the altar, commendyng himſelfe to God.

Hubert proſtrate vpon the ground commendeth himſelfe to God.

In the meane ſeaſon, while the citizens were in theyr iourney, raging againſt the poore erle of Kent: it was ſuggeſted to the king by Radulfe B. of Chicheſter, and Lord Chauncelor, that it was daungerous to excite vp the vulgare and vnruly multitude, for feare of ſedition: leſt peraduenture, the rude and heady people beyng ſtirred vp, wyll not ſo ſoone be brought downe agayne, when the K. would haue them. Moreouer, what ſhall be ſayd (quod he) among the French men and other nations, which of great thinges loue to make them greater, and of euill thinges to make the worſe then they are: but thus ieſtingly and mockingly: Se what a kynd bird is the yong king of England, which ſeeketh to deuour hys olde nurſe vnder whoſe winges he had bene brought vp and nouriſhed in his youth. And thus the kyng by the perſwaſion hereof, changing his counſaile, ſent in all haſty wiſe after the army againe, willyng them to retract their iorney, and to retire. And thus the Londiners (although much agaynſt their wils) returned home, miſſing of their purpoſe. Wherin is to be obſerued another notable example of Gods workyng prouidence. For when the king (ſayth the ſtory) had ſent by two meſſengers or purſeuantes to reuoke and call backe agayne the army of ỹ Londiners, goyng with gredy myndes to ſhed the bloud of the innocent Juſtice: One of the meſſengers poſtyng with all ſpede poſſible, with the kinges letters, ouertoke the army: and commyng to the forward, where the Captaines were by vertue of the kings letters ſtayed their courſe and bloudy purpoſe, wherby they could procede no farther. But the other meſſenger crafty and malitious, who bearyng hatred to the ſayd Hubert, rather wiſhing hym to be ſlayne, then to be deliuered: lingred by the way of purpoſe (although being commaunded to make haſt) and when he came, wẽt onely but to the middle ſort. More like a meſſenger mete to ſerue a dead mans arrant, then to ſerue the turne of them which be aliue. And ſo in lyke maner by the iuſt hande of God it fell vpon hym. For the ſame meſſenger ſtomblyng with his horſe, riding but a ſoft or a foote pace, and rather walking then ridyng: fell down backward from his horſebacke, and there brake his necke and died. This mercifull meſſage of the kyng was, as is ſayde, ſent by the inſtigation of Radulph B. of Chicheſter Lord Chauncelor (a vertuous and a faithfull man) and one that could ſkill to haue compaſſion on the miſeries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he beyng elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, would not geue one halfepeny to their expences by the way, to get hys election confirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the ſayd Pope was deceited and fruſtrated of his election, as relation was made before pag. 278. And thus through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of ỹ kinges letters the army returned: and Hubertes life (contrary to his expectation) was preſerued.

Sage counſaile of an Erle geuẽ to the king.

The marueilous working of the Lords helpe at time of nede, *Iuxta verſum* ſayth the ſtory: *Aliu alet, aliu alium ne longius alet.*

Ex additamẽtis Math. Pariſienſ. Pag. 81.

A notable example of Gods iuſte puniſhment ſtriking with death him that ſeeketh the death of an other.

Cõmendatiõ of Radulfe B. of Chicheſter.

After this, the Archbiſhop of Dubline with much labour and great ſute intreated and obteyned of the kyng to graunt vnto the ſayd Hubert reſpite till the twelfe day of January, to prouide himſelfe of hys anſwer to ſuch things as were commenſed agaynſt hym. Then Hubert truſtyng to enioy ſome ſafetie by the kings permiſſion to him graunted, to breath hymſelfe a litle and to walke abroad, toke his iorney towardes S. Edmundeſbury, where his wife was. And paſſing through the countrey of Eſſex, was Inned

The Archb. of Dubline agayne maketh interceſſion for Hubert.

there in a certayne towne belonging to the biſhop of Norwich. Wherof when the kyng was certified, fearing leſt he would raiſe vp ſome commotion in the Realme: ſendeth in haſty anger after hym Sir Godfred Craucombe knyght, with 300. men: commaunding vnder payne of hanging, that they ſhould apprehend hym, and bryng him to yͤ tower of London. Which commaundement to accompliſh, there lacked no haſt. Hubert hauyng intelligence of their commyng (riſyng out of hys bed, naked as he was) ranne to the chappell ſtādyng nere to yͤ Inne, where he holdeth with the one hande the croſſe, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lordes body. Then Godfride with his foreſaid armed ſouldiours entryng into the Chappell, willed him to come out. Which when he would not: with violent handes he drew hym out of the Chappell, and takyng the Croſſe and Sacrament out of hys handes, faſt bounde hym with fetters and giues vnder the horſe belly, and brought hym as they were commaunded, to the Tower. And ſo certifiyng the kyng what they had done (who then taryed vp waytyng for them) he reioyced not a little therat, and went mery to hys bed.

Hubert flyeth to the Church for hys refuge.

Hubert violently drawen out of the Church.

Hubert caſt into the towre of Londō.

The next morrow followyng after, Roger Byſhop of London had knowledge, how and in what order he was taken violently out of the Chappell, he commeth to yͤ king blamyng him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and proteſted that vnleſſe the partie were looſed agayne, and ſent to the Chappell from whence he was drawen, he would enter ſentence of excommunication agaynſt all the dede doers.

The kyng blamed for breaking the peace of holy Church.

The kyng as he dyd not deny his tranſgreſſion herein, ſo ſendeth hym, albeit agaynſt his will, out of the Tower to the ſayd Chappel agayne, and by the ſame ſouldiors which brought hym out before. Which done, he geueth in ſtraight charge and commaundement vnder payne of hangyng, to the Shiriffes of Herforde and of Eſſex, that they in their owne perſons with the ſtrength of both the Shires, ſhould watch and compaſſe about the Chappell, and ſee that the ſayd Hubert no wayes might eſcape. Which commaundement of the king was accompliſhed with all diligence. But Hubert tooke all this paciently, and continued in the Chapell prayng both night and day, and commending his cauſe vnto the Lord, whome he deſired ſo to deliuer hym from that inſtant daunger, as he alwayes ſought the kinges honour by his faithfull and truſty ſeruice. And as he continued in his prayer, ſo the kyng continuyng in hys rage, commaunded that no man ſhould intreat for hym, or make any mention of hym in hys preſence. Notwithſtandyng, yet Lucas Archbyſhop of Dubline, hys true and almoſt onely friende, ceaſed not to pray and weepe to the kyng for hym, deſiryng the kyng at leaſt to intimate to hym, what he purpoſed ſhould be done wyth Hubert. Whereunto the kyng aunſweryng, ſayd: that of thre things one he ſhould chuſe: whether he woulde abiure the Realme of England for euer, or be condemned to perpetuall pryſon, or els confeſſe hymſelfe openly to be a Traytour. But Hubert hereunto ſayde, that he woulde chuſe none of theſe Articles, as who knewe hymſelfe neyther giltie, nor worthye of any ſuche confuſion: but to ſatiſfie ſomewhat the mynde of the kyng, he would bee content to departe the Realme for a ſeaſon, but to abiure the Realme, he would not ſo doe.

The kyng compelled to ſend Hubert againe to his ſanctuary.

Example of a conſtant frend in the time of nede.

Thre thinges put to Hubert to chuſe.

In this meane tyme it befell, that Ranulphus Earle of Cheſter and of Lincoln, one of his foreſt enemies dyed. Hubertus all this whyle, remayned in the Chappell incloſed & garded about with the power, as is ſayd, of two Shires, & ſo continued til at length by the cōmaundement of the king his two ſeruitoures which miniſtred to hym within the Chappell, were take from hym. Then Hubert ſeeyng no other remedy but there to ſtarue for famine, offered hymſelfe of hys owne accorde to the Shiriffes, ſaying, that he would put hymſelfe rather in the kynges mercy, then there deſperately to periſh for hunger. And ſo was he taken, and beyng faſt bounde in fetters, was brought agayne & clapped by the Kinges commaundement, in the Tower of London.

Hubert yeldeth himſelfe to the Sheriffes.

Hubert reduced againe to the Tower.

Not long after this, worde was brought to the king by certaine, that the ſayd Hubert had much treaſure lying in the houſe of the new Templaries in London. Whereupon the kyng to try out the truth therof, ſendeth for the Priour or maiſter of yͤ houſe. Who not daring to deny, cōfeſſed that there was in deede treaſure brought into the houſe, but the quantitie and number therof he could not tell. The King deſirous to ſeaſon vpon the treaſure, required and charged the maiſter with his brethren, with threatnyng wordes, to bryng forth the treaſure to hym, ſaying, that it was taken and ſtolne out of hys treaſurie. But they aunſwered agayn that the treaſure was committed with truſt and faith vnto their handes: and therfore they would not ought to let it go out of their handes, beyng truſted withall, without the aſſent of hym which committed the ſame vnto them. When the kyng could get no other anſwer at their handes, neither durſt ſhew any further violence agaynſt them, he ſendeth to Hubert in yͤ Tower, requiring of hym the foreſaid treaſures. To whome he aunſweryng agayne mildely, yelded both himſelfe, hys treaſures, & all that euer he had vnto the kings will & pleaſure, & ſo ſendyng worde to the Maiſter & brethren of the Temple, willeth them to take all the keyes, and deliuer the goods, with all that there was to the kyng. Who receiuyng the ſame, and taking an Inuentorie of that which was receiued, cauſed it to be brought to his treaſure, wherof the number both of the plate, of coyne, and of the iuels was of price vnknowne. The enemies of Hubert ſuppoſing therby to take aduauntage againſt hym to bring hym to his ende, come with open complaint to the king, crying out againſt Hubert, that he was a thiefe, a traytor, and a robber of the kings treaſure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged, and thus cried his accuſers daily in the kinges eare. But the hartes of kinges (ſaith the wiſe man) are in the handes of the Lorde, to be ruled not after mans will, but as it pleaſeth God to direct them. And ſo this king, hauyng now his will and fill vpon poore Hubert and ſomwhat cōmyng more vnto hymſelf, anſwered againe in this wiſe: that there was no ſuch neede to deale ſo ſtraitly with him, who from the tyme of his youth firſt ſerued myne vncle king Richard, then my father king Iohn, in whoſe ſeruice, (as I heard ſay) beyond the Seas he was driuen to eate hys horſe, Pariſienſ.pag.81. and in my tyme hath ſtand ſo conſtauntly in defence of the Realme againſt foreine nations, who kept the Caſtle of Douer agaynſt King Lewes, and vanquiſhed the Frenchmen vpon the Seas, alſo at Bedforde, and at Lincolne hath done ſuche ſeruice. And though againſt me he hath delt any thing vntruely, which yet is not euidently proued, yet he ſhall neuer be put by me to ſo villanous death. I had rather be counted a kyng fooliſh and ſimple, then to bee iudged a tyraunt or a ſeeker of bloude, eſpecially of ſuch as haue ſerued me and myne aunceters in many perils ſo daungerouſly, weying more the fewe euils which yet be not proued, then ſo many good deſertes of his euident and manifeſt ſeruice done both to me and to the whole realme.&c. And thus the kyng ſomewhat relentyng to poore Hubert his olde ſeruaunt, graunted vnto hym all ſuch landes as he had geuen by K. Iohn hys father, and what ſo euer els he had by hys owne purchaſe.

Faithfull depoſitaries.

Hubert bereft of all his treaſures.

An. 1232.

God ruleth the harts of kynges.

The kinges anſwere in defence of Hubert.

Thus Hubert after long trouble, a litle chered wyth ſome peece of comfort, ſet Laurence hys truſty frende that neuer left hym, one that belonged to S. Albons, to be hys Stuard and ouerſeer of thoſe poſſeſſions graunted to hym by the king. And ſhortly vpon the ſame, after the kynges mynde was ſeene thus ſomething to relent, the enuy alſo of the nobles beyng now partly ſatiſfied: began to turne to mercy: In ſo much that iiij. Earles, to witte: Earle Richard the kynges brother, William Earle of Warenne, Richard Earle Marſchal, and William Earle of Ferrys, became ſureties to the kyng for hym. Vpon whoſe ſurety he was transferred to the Caſtle of Diuiſis: where he was vnder the keeping of iiij. ſouldiours by them appoynted, hauing the libertie of the Caſtle. But the Byſhop of Wincheſter, who alwayes hunted after the life of Hubert, craftely commeth to the kyng, and deſireth the cuſtody of that Caſtle, making no mention of Hubert, to the entent that by the keeping therof, he myght the ſooner diſpatch hym. Hubert hauing therof ſome inklyng, breaketh the matter to two of hys ſeruitours, who with compaſſion tenderyng his miſery, watched their tyme (the keepers being a ſleep) and conueyed him by night vpon their backes, fettered as he was into the Pariſh Church of the Towne, and there remayned with him. The keepers when they miſſe their priſoner, were in great perplexitie, and after diligent ſearch finding hym at length, where he was in the Church, with violent force drew hym from thence into the Caſtle againe. For the which iniurie done to the Church, the Byſhop of Sarum, vnderſtandyng the order of the matter, commeth to the Caſtle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert ſhould be brought agayne into the Church, from whence he was taken. Which when the keepers denyed to do, ſaying that they would rather that he ſhould hang then they: then the Byſhop gaue ſentence agaynſt them of excommunication. Which done, he wyth the Byſhop of Lōdon and other Byſhops, goeth immediately to the kyng, complaynyng of the iniury done to Hubert, and eſpecially of the contumely agaynſt holy Church: neither would they

The kinges minde relenteth toward Hubert.

Foure Earles ſureties for Hubert.

Hubert put in the Caſtle of Deuiſis.

An. 1233.

Hubert conueyed out of the Caſtle into the Pariſhe Church.

Hubert agayne taken out of the church, & brought back to the caſtel.

leaue the kyng, before they had obtayned that he ſhould be reduced agayne into the church, and ſo he was. It was not long after, but the kyng in great diſpleaſure ſendeth to the Sheriffe of the ſhyre to keepe him well watched in the Church, tyll eyther he came forth, or there periſhed wyth famyne.

Hubert deliuered out of priſon & caried into Wales.

It befell in the meane ſeaſon that great diſſention roſe betwene the kyng and the nobles of hys Realme, by reaſon wherof Hubert was taken and caryed away by Richard Earle Marſhall into Wales, and there remayned till the kyng at length was reconciled wyth his nobles, and ſo receaued wyth the reſt, the ſayd Hubert agayne into hys fauour. Ex Math. Pariſienſi. Ex Flor. Hiſtoriarum. Of the which diſſection more ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

Roger B. of Lõdon goeth to Rome to purge hymſelfe before the pope.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert firſt ſprang of vexing the Popes barnes: ſo likewiſe Roger Biſhop of London ſuſpected for the ſame cauſe, was enforced to trauayle vp to Rome, there to purge hymſelfe before the pope. Where after much money conſumed, and robbed alſo by the way, he gat nothyng els, but loſt hys labour, and ſo came home agayne. Who then doing the part of a good Byſhop, after his returne from Rome, attempted to expell and exclude out of hys Dioces, all theſe Italian vſurers called, as is before ſayd Caurſini. Theſe Caurſinites commyng wyth the Popes Legates into England, and lending their money to Religious houſes, to Colleges, and Churches, had their debters to them bound in ſuch ſort, as was much vantiſhable to them, and much iniurious vnto the other, as in the forme of their obligations in the ſtories of Mathew Pariſienſ. is largely expreſſed fol. 65. Agaynſt theſe Caurſinites the Byſhop of London beyng worthely inflamed wyth zeale of iuſtice, firſt wyth louyng admonition, went about to reclayme them, for the wealth of their ſoules, afterward with ſharper wordes began to charge them. But they neyther regarding Chriſtian counſayle, and deſpiſing the Byſhops threatninges, would not leaue the ſweetnes of their occupation. Wherfore the Biſhop proceeding to the ſentence of excommunication, preciſely and diſtrictly charged them to depart hys Dioces. But they agayne beyng confident and emboldened vpon the popes defence, not onely ſet at light his excommunication, but alſo wrought ſuch wayes with the pope, that they cauſed the ſayd B. of Lõdon, beyng both aged and ſickly, to be cited peremptorely to appeare beyond the Seas, there to aunſwere to ſuch obiections as they ſhould inferre agaynſt him. And thus the Byſhop myndyng rather to couer, then to open yͤ faultes of the Church, and partly being let with infirmitie & age, was compelled to let the cauſe fall.

Againſt vſurers.

Vſurers excõmunicated & expelled by the Byſhop of London.

Excõmunication well vſed agaynſt vſurers.

And thus much of the popes marchants here in England, which were not ſo buſie here for their part, but the Pope the great maiſter of theſe marchaunt vſurers, was as buſie for hys. And although hys barnes here in England were deſtroyed, and hys banke ſomethyng decayed, yet he thought to winne it vp an other way: for he proclaimed the ſame yeare a generall viſitation through all the religious houſes exempt or not exempt vniuerſally perteyning to his iuriſdiction, where by the cruell dealing of the viſitours, many were compelled to appeale and to trauell vp to Rome, to the great expenſes of their money, and filling the Popes coffers. But as touching this viſitation, to make ſhort (ſayth the ſtory) it tended not to any reformation ſo much, as to the deformation of the vniuerſall order. Dum omnes qui in diuerſis orbis partibus vnicam Benedicti ſecuti fuerant regulam, per nouas conſtitutiones ita inueniantur vbiq; diſcordes, quòd ex omnibus cœnobiis, vel alijs religioſorum Eccleſijs vix duo habeantur in norma viuendi concordes. i. While all they, which before thorough all partes of the world folowed onely the rule of Benedict, now through new deuiſed conſtitutions are found in all places ſo deuided and diuers, that of all monaſteryes, and other Churches of religion, ſcarſe may two be found, which do agree in one rule and inſtitution of life.

The generall viſitation of the pope, through all religious houſes.

Ex Pariſ.

The great diuerſitie among all religious orders noted.

All this while that Hubert aboue mentioned was ſecluded from the kyng, Peter B. of Wincheſter bare all the rule, and aboue all other alone was accepted. Thys biſhop beyng in ſuch principall fauour with the king, as by whoſe counſaile all thinges were adminiſtred, remoued the naturall ſeruitours that were Engliſhmen, out of their offices, and placed other ſtraungers, namely of Pictauia, and of other countryes in their rowme. Amõg whom was thruſt out William the Vndermarſhall, which ſupplyed yͤ rowme of Richard Lord great Marſhal of England: for yͤ which cauſe, the ſayd Lord Richard was mightely offended. Alſo Walter Treaſurer of the kynges houſe, was not onely expelled, but alſo marſed at an hundreth pound, and put frõ all his holdes and munitions, which he had by the kynges patent graunted to him.

Old ſeruitures of the kyng put out and diſcharged.

Moreouer by the counſaile of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter, all the old counſaillours as well Biſhops, as other Earles and Barons, and all the nobles were reiected from the kyng in ſuch ſort, that he would heare & folow no mans counſaile, but onely the ſaid Peter Byſhop of Wincheſter, and his coſine Peter de Ryuallis. Wherby it came to paſſe that all the greateſt holdes and munitions in the Realme were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the cuſtody of the ſayd Peter. Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, to plant and pitch himſelfe more ſtrongly in the kynges fauour, adioyned to his felowſhip Stephen Segraue ſucceeding in the place of Hubert the iuſtice: alſo Robert Paſſelew, who had the keeping of the treaſure vnder the foreſayd Peter Riuall. So by theſe three all the affayres of yͤ realme were ordered. Moreouer, to make their party more ſure, by them was prouided, that ſouldiours and ſeruitours from beyond the Sea, as Pictauians and Britons were ſent for, to the number of two thouſand, which were placed partly about the kyng, partly were ſet in Caſtles & holdes within the Realme, and had the ouerſight and gouernement of Shyres and Baronies, who then oppreſſed the nobles of the land, accuſing them to the kyng for traytours: whom the ſimple kyng did lightly beleue, committing to them the cuſtody of hys Treaſures, the ſitting in iudgementes, and the doing in all thynges: And when the nobles thus oppreſſed came to complayne of their iniuries to the kyng, by the meanes of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, their cauſe was nothing regarded. In ſo much that the ſayd Wincheſter moreouer accuſed certayne Byſhops alſo to the kyng, ſo that he did flie and ſhunne them as open traytors and rebels.

The kyng forſaketh his nobles & ſticketh to ſtraũgers.

Theſe thynges ſtanding thus out of order, Richard the noble Marſhall of England, with other of the nobles ioyning wyth hym, ſeeing theſe oppreſſions and iniuries dayly growing contrary to the lawes and wealth of yͤ realme, came to the king, and blamed him for reteyning ſuch peruerſe counſaile about him of the Pictauians and other forreners, to the great preiudice of hys naturall ſubiectes, and of the liberties of the Realme, humbly deſiring and beſeching him, that he with as much ſpeede as might be, would reforme and redreſſe ſuch exceſſes, wherby yͤ whole realme ſeemed to lye in daunger of ſubuerſion. Otherwiſe, if he refuſed to ſee correction therof, he with other peeres and nobles, would withdraw themſelues from hys counſayle, ſo long as he mainteyned the ſocietie of thoſe foreners and ſtraungers about him.

Richard Earle Marſchall admoniſheth the kyng.

To thys Peter Wincheſter aunſwering agayne, ſayd: that the king right wel might call vnto him what foreners and ſtraungers him liſted, for the defence both of hys kingdome and of his crowne: and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle hys proude and rebellious ſubiectes, and ſo to keepe them in awe and good order. When the Earle and the nobles could get no other aunſwere of hym, in great perturbatiõ they departed, promiſing among themſelues, in this cauſe which ſo touched the ſtate of the whole Realme, they would conſtantly ioyne together to the parting of their life.

The diſdainfull aunſwere of the B. of Wint. to the nobles.

After this, the foreſaid Petrus Byſhop of Wincheſter with his complices, ceaſed not by all meanes to inflame the kynges hart to hatred and contempt of hys naturall people, whom they ſo vehemently peruerted, that he counting them no other then hys enemyes, ſought by all diligence yͤ vtter deſtruction of them: ſending dayly for mo gariſons of the Pictauians, that in ſhort ſpace they repleniſhed welneare the whole land, whoſe defence the king onely truſted vnto: neyther was any thyng diſpoſed in the Realme, but through the guiding of this Peter, and of the Pictauians.

Wicked counſaile about a kyng.

Petrus de Rupibus Biſh. of Wint peruerter of the kyng.

The kyng thus garded and ſtrengthned wyth theſe foreine alians and ſtraungers, proclaimed a Parliamẽt to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to be preſent. They conſidering the indignation of the king conceiued, would not appeare. Agayne they were required the firſt, ſecond, and third time to preſent themſelues. The aſſemblie proceeded, but they came not, for whom the kyng looked. In this aſſembly or Parliament, it was playnely told the king by a Dominicke Fryer preaching before him, that vnleſſe he remoued from hym the Byſhop of Wincheſter and Peter Riuall hys kinſmã, he ſhould, neither could long enioy peace in hys kingdome. This although it was bluntly ſpoken of the Frier agaynſt the Byſhop: yet thys remedy he had: the frier had nothyng to loſe. Yet was there an other Chapleine of the Court, who perceauing the king ſomewhat mitigated by the former preachyng, and after a courtlike dexteritie handling hys matter, being a pleaſaunt conceited man, thus merely came to the king, aſking a queſtion, what was the thyng moſt pernitious & daungerous of all other thinges to them that trauaile by ỹ ſeas: That, ſayd the kyng, is beſt knowne to ſuch as trauaile in that kynde of trafficke. Nay, ſayth he, this is eaſie to be tolde. The king demaunding what it was: forſoth (quoth he) ſtones and rockes, alluding merely, but yet truely to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe name and ſurname was Petrus de Rupibus. For ſo Petræ in Latine ſignifieth ſtones, and Rupes rockes. Notwithſtanding the kyng either not perceiuing the meaning, or not amending the fault, agayne ſignifieth to his nobles to ſpeake with him at Weſtminſter. But they fearing ſome trayne to be layd for them, refuſed to appeare: ſendyng playne word to the kyng by ſolemne meſſage, that his grace without all delay ſhould ſeclude from him Peter B. of Wincheſter and other aliens of Pictauia, or if he would not, they with the common aſſent of the Realme, would diſplace hym wyth his wicked counſaillours from hys kyngdome, and haue within themſelues tractation for chuſing a new kyng.

A mery Apothegma of the kynges Chaplayne.

The meſſage of the nobles to the kyng.

The kyng at the hearing of this meſſage being mightely moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, eſpecially hauing the late example of king Iohn his father before his eyes, was caſt in great perplexitie, doubting what was beſt to be done. But Wincheſter with his wicked counſaile ſo wrought with the kyng, that he proceeded wyth all ſeueritie agaynſt them: In ſo much that in ſhort time the ſparkles of poyſoned counſayle kindling more and more, grew to a ſharpe battayle betwene the kyng, and Richard Earle Marſhall, wyth other nobles, to the great diſquietnes of the whole Realme. The which warre before was preſignified by terrible thundering and lightenyng heard all England ouer in the moneth of March, wyth ſuch aboundaunce of raine and floudes growing vpon the ſame, as caſt downe milnes, ouercouered the fieldes, threw down houſes, and did much harme through the whole Realme.

Warre raiſed by the kyng agaynſt hys nobles.

Great thunders & floudes in England.

To proſecute here at large the whole diſcourſe of thys warre betwene the king and Earle Marſhall, which continued neare the ſpace of two yeares, to declare all ỹ partes and circumſtaunces therof, what trouble it brought, what damage it wrought to ỹ whole realme, what traines were layde, what ſlaughter of men, what waſt of whole countreis enſued from Wales vnto Shrewſbery, how ỹ Marſhall ioyned hymſelfe wyth Leoline Prince of Walles, how the Pictauians were almoſt all ſlaine & deſtroyed, how the kyng was diſtreſſed, what forgerie wily Wint. wrought by the kings letters to entrappe ỹ Marſhall, & to betray hym to the Iriſhmen, among whom he was at length ſlayne, all thys I referre to other authours, who at large doe entreat of the ſame, as Math. Pariſienſ. Florilegus and ſuch other. This is to be noted and obſerued (which rather perteineth to our Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory) to ſee what ſedition and continuall diſquietnes was in thoſe dayes among all Chriſten people almoſt, beyng vnder the Popes Catholicke obedience. But eſpecially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reignyng, it is to be maruailed, or rather lamented, to ſee the king and the people then ſo blinded in ỹ principall point and article of their ſaluatiō, as we finde in ſtories, which making mention of a houſe or Monaſterie of Conuertes, builded the ſame yeare by the kyng at Londō, doe expreſſe in playne wordes, that he then did it, Pro redemptione animæ ſuæ, & Regis Ioannis patris ſui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum. i. For the redemption of hys ſoule, of the ſoule of kyng Iohn his father, and for ỹ ſoules of all his aunciters. &c. Wherby may be vnderſtād in what palpable darkenes of blinde ignoraunce the ſely ſoules redeemed by Chriſt, were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and firſt principles of their redemption. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. pag. 86.

Monaſteries builded *pro redemptione animæ.*

Mention was made a litle before pag. 178. of diſſoluing the election of Iohn Prior of Cāterbury, which was choſen by the Monkes to be Archbyſhop of ỹ ſaid Church of Canterbury, but by the Pope was defeited. After whō one Iohn Blund was elected, who trauailyng vp to Rome this yeare an. 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was alſo repealed and vnelected agayne, for that it was thought in England, & ſo complayned of to the Pope, that he had receaued of Peter Byſhop of Wincheſter a thouſand markes, and had an other thouſand promiſed hym of the ſayd Wincheſter. Who by his money thought to make hym of hys ſide, and alſo wrote to the Emperour to helpe forward his promotion in the Court of Rome. Notwythſtanding, both he wyth his geuing, and the other with his taking of bribes were both detected & diſappointed of their purpoſe. For the Pope hating then the Emperour, for the ſame cauſe admitted not the election, pretending the cauſe, for that he was proued to hold two benefices without hys diſpenſation. After whom by the commaundement of the Pope one Edmund Chanon of Saliſbury was ordeyned Archbyſhop, and had hys Palle ſent to hym from the pope. Which Edmund after for his vertues was Canoniſed of the Popiſhe Monkes there for a Saint, and called S. Edmund. About which time alſo Robert Groſted was made B. of Lincolne.

Iohn Archb. of Cant. elected by the Chapter, and agayne vnelected by the Pope.

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund Archb. of Canterbury.

Sainct Edmund Canonyſed. Robert Groſted made Biſhop of Lincolne.

An. 1234.

This Edmund accompanyed wyth other Byſhops, during this trouble betwene the kyng and hys nobles, beyng in counſaile at Weſtminſter, in the yeare next enſuing, which was 1234. came vttering their mynde boldly in the name of the Lord, and declaring vnto the kyng as became hys faithfull ſeruauntes, that hys counſaile which then he folowed, was not ſound, nor ſafe, but cruell and daungerous both to hym and to the ſtate of the Realme, meanyng the counſayle of Peter Wincheſter and of Peter Riuall, wyth other adherentes.

Faythfull counſayle of the Byſhops geuen to the kyng.

The counſaile of Wincheſt. & ſuch other Byſhops about the kyng diſproued for certayne cauſes.

1. FIrſt, and in primis, for that they hate and contemne the Engliſh nation, calling them traytours and rebels: and turnyng the kynges hart from the loue of his naturall ſubiectes, and the hartes of them from hym, as appeareth by the Erle Marſchall and other, ſowyng diſcorde among them.

2. Item, by the ſayd Counſaile, to wyt, by the foreſayd B. and hys fellowes, king Iohn the kinges father loſt firſt the hartes of his Barons, after that loſt Normandy, and afterward other landes alſo, and in the end waſted all his treaſure, ſo that ſince that tyme the regiment of England had neuer no quiet after.

3. By the ſayd counſaile alſo, in their tyme and memory, the kyngdome of England had bene troubled and ſuſpēded, and in concluſiō, became tributary, ſhe that was before the Prince of Prouincies: and ſo warre enſuyng vpō the ſame, the ſayde king Iohn hys father incurred great daunger of death, and at laſt was extinguiſhed, lackyng both peace of hys kingdome and of hys owne hart.

4. Item, by the ſayd counſaile the Caſtle of Bedford was kept long tyme agaynſt the king, to the great loſſe both of men and treaſure, beſide the loſſe of Rupella, to the ſhame of the realme of England.

5. Moreouer, through their wicked counſaile, at this preſēt, great perturbatiō ſemed to hang ouer the whole realm, for els if it had not bene for their counſail, and that true iuſtice and judgement might haue bene adminiſtred vnto the kings ſubiectes, theſe tumultes had neuer ben ſtirred, and the kyng might haue had his land vnwaſted, and hys treaſure vnconſumed.

6. Item, in that fayth and allegeance wherwith they wer obliged vnto him, they proteſted vnto hym that the ſaid his counſaile was not a counſaile of peace, but of deuiſion and diſquietnes, to the end that they which otherwiſe by peace could not aſpire, by diſturbing and diſheriting other myght be exalted.

7. Item, for that all the caſtels, fortes, munitions, alſo all the offices of the Eſcheker, with all other the greateſt exchetes of the realme were in their handes, of the which, if the kyng would demaund a counte, he ſhould proue how true they were.

8. Item, for that neither by the kings ſeale, nor commaundement, except it bare with all the ſeale of Peter Riuall, almoſt no buſines of any weight could be diſpatched in the realme, as though they recounted the king for no king.

9. Furthermore, by the foreſayd counſail, the natural ſubiectes and nobles of the realme were baniſhed the Court, which was to be feared would grow to ſome inconuenience both to the kyng and to the realme, for ſo much as the kyng ſemed more to be on their ſide then they of his, as by many euident coniectures may appeare.

10. Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the ſayd counſaile ſtandyng of ſtraungers and aliens, to haue in their power both the kinges ſiſter, and many other noble mens daughters and other women marigeable, with the kynges wardes and mariages, which they beſtowed and deuided among themſelues, and men of their affinitie.

11. Alſo, the ſayd counſayle regardyng neyther the lawes, nor liberties of the Realme confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, dyd confounde and peruert all Iuſtice. Wherfore it was to be feared they would runne vnder excommunication, and the kyng alſo in communicatyng with them.

12. Item, becauſe they kept neither promiſe nor fayth, nor othe with any perſon, neither did obſerue an inſtrument made neuer ſo formall by law, nor yet did feare any excom-

municatiõ. Wherfore they were to be left for people deſperate, as which were departed from all truth and honeſty.

Theſe thynges (ſayd the Byſhops) we as your faythfull ſubiectes, before God, and mẽ, do tell and aduertiſe your grace, deſiring and beſeching you, that you will remoue and ſeclude from you ſuch counſaile, and as the cuſtome is of all other kyngdomes to do, that you wil ſo gouerne in like maner your kyngdome by your owne naturall liege people, and ſuch as be ſworne vnto you of your owne realme. For thus (ſayd they) in veritie we denounce vnto you, that vnleſſe in ſhort tyme you will ſee theſe thynges reformed, we accordyng to our duetie, will procede by the cẽſure of the church, agaynſt you, and all other that gaynſtand the ſame: tarying no other thyng, but onely the conſecration of this our reuerend Archbyſhop.

Excõmunication denounced by the byſhops agaynſt the kyng.

Theſe wordes of the Byſhops thus ſayd and finiſhed, the kyng required a litle tyme of reſpite, wherein to aduiſe with himſelfe about the matter, ſaying: that he could not in ſuch a ſodeine remoue frõ him his counſaile, before he had entred with thẽ a coũte of his treaſure committed to them, and ſo that aſſemble brake vp.

The kynges aunſwere to the Byſhops.

It folowed then after this communicatiõ ſo broken vp, that yͤ kyng reſorted to the partes of Northfolke, where cõmyng by S. Edmundes bury, where the wife of Hubert the Iuſtice was, he beyng moued with zeale of pitie toward the woman, who very humbly behaued her ſelfe to the king, did graunt vnto her viij. manerplaces, which her huſband before with his money had purchaſed, beyng then in the cuſtody and poſſeſſion of Robert Paſſelew, one of the kynges new counſaillours aboue ſpecified. It was not long after this, but Edmund the Archbiſhop was inueſted and conſecrated in the Church of Caunterbury, who ſhortly after his conſecration, about the moneth of April, commyng with his Suffragans to the place of counſaile, where the kyng with his Earles and Barons was aſſembled, opened to him the cauſe and purpoſe of his commyng and of the other Prelates, which was to put him in remembraunce of their former talke had with him at Weſtminſter: denouncyng moreouer to him expreſſely, that vnles with ſpede he would take a better way, & fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with yͤ true & faythful nobles of his Realme, he incontinent with the other Prelates there preſent, would paſſe with the ſentence of excommunication agaynſt him, and agaynſt all them that ſhould be enemyes to the ſame peace, & maintеiners of diſcord.

The pitie of the kyng toward the wife of Hubert.

Edmund conſecrated Archb. of Cant. which was afterward canoniſed by pope Innocent the fourth for a Sainct.

Example of excõmunicatiõ rightly practiſed.

The kyng after he heard the meanyng of the Biſhops, with humble and gentle language aunſwered them agayne, promiſing to condeſcend to them in all thynges. Wherupon within few dayes after, the kyng commyng to ſome better remembraunce of himſelfe, commaunded the forenamed byſhop of Wincheſter to leaue the Court, and returne home to his Byſhopricke, there to attend vnto the ſpirituall charge and care of his flocke committed to him. Moreouer he commaũded Peter Riuall the Byſhops coſin (ſome ſtories ſay his ſonne) who had then the diſpoſing of all the affaires of the Realme, to render vnto him his Caſtels, and to geue a counte of all his treaſures, whereof he had the keepyng, and ſo to voyde the Realme, ſwearyng moreouer vnto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the church, els he would haue cauſed both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

The kinges promiſe to the Byſhops.

Peter Biſhop of Wint. diſcharged the court.

Peter Riuall called to account of the kynges treaſures.

He expelled likewiſe the Pictauians out of the Court, and from the cuſtody of his munitions, ſendyng them home into their countrey and byddyng they ſhould no more ſee his face. And thus the king wiſely diſpatchyng himſelfe of his wicked counſaillours, firſt did ſend Edmund the Archbyſhop, with the Byſhops of Cheſter and of Rocheſter, into Wales to Leoline, and to Richard Earle Marſhall and other, to entreate with them of peace. Alſo he receaued to his ſeruice agayne men of his naturall countrey, to attend about him, offering himſelfe willyng to be ruled by the cõſaile of the Archbyſhop and the Byſhops, by whoſe prudence he truſted his Realme ſhould be reduced agayne to a better quietnes.

Pictauians and ſtraungers ſent home by the king into their countrey.

Reconciliation ſought betwene the king and the nobles.

But in the meane tyme, while theſe thinges were doyng in England, the foreſayd Richard Earle Marſhall by the falſhode of the byſhop of Wincheſter and Peter Riuall, forging the kinges letters to the Iriſhmen agaynſt him, & partly by the conſpiracie of Gilbert de Mariſco, was circumuented by the Iriſhmen in warre, and there taken and wounded, was by them through the meanes of his Surgean ſlayne.

Richard Earle Marſhall fraudulently circumuented and ſlayne, in Ireland.

Catini ſlayne about Almaine, iudged of the Papiſtes for heretickes.

Great ſlaughter the ſame tyme was of thẽ which were called Catini, about the partes of Almaine. Theſe Catini were eſteemed of Pope Gregory and the Papiſtes to be heretickes. But what their opinions were I finde it not expreſſed. In Pariſienſ.

In like ſort the Albingenſes afore mentioned, recounted alſo of the Popes flocke to be heretickes, with their byſhops, & a great number and company of them, were ſlayne by the cõmaundement of Pope Gregory at the ſame tyme in a certaine playne in Spayne. Ex Mat. Parienſ. fol. 87.

Albingenſes ſlayne in Spayne by the Popes ſetting on.

Now the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury with other two Byſhops, were ſent into Wales for intreatie of peace, ye heard before. At whoſe returne agayne after the tyme of Eaſter, the kyng going toward Glocester to meete them by the way, as he was in his iourney at Woodſtocke, came meſſengers from Ireland, declaryng to yͤ kyng the death of Richard Earle Marſhall, and the order therof, through the forged letters of Wincheſter and other, whereat the kyng made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, ſaying and cõplaining, that he left not his like in all the realme agayne.

The K. lamenteth the death of Richard Earle Marſhall.

After this the kyng procedyng in his iourney came to Glocester. Where the Archbiſhop with the other Byſhops comming to the king, declared to him the forme and condition of peace which they had cõcluded with Leoline, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, ſuch as the king had baniſhed out of his realme: to the end that the concorde might be the more firme betwene them. Thus (ſayd they) was Leoline contented, although with much a do and great difficultie, to receaue the league of peace, ſaying & profeſſing thus vnto them, that he feared more the kinges almoſe, then all the puiſſaunce both of him and of all his Clergie within England.

The ſaying of Leoline kyng of Wales. The almoſe of K. Henry more feared then his puiſſaunce.

This done the king there remaining with yͤ byſhops, directed his letters to all the exiles and baniſhed Lordes and to all his nobles, that they ſhould repayre to him about the beginning of Iune, at Glocester, promiſing to them his full fauour and recõcilement to them and to their heyres, & that they ſhould ſuſpect no fraude therein, they ſhould haue their ſafe conduct by the Archbiſhop and Byſhops.

Peace cõcluded betwene the kyng and the nobles.

Wherupon through the mediation of the ſayd Archbyſhop and the Byſhops, firſt commeth to the kyng Hubert Earle of Kent, offering himſelfe to the kings good will and fauour. Whom the king with chearefull countenaũce receaued and embraced, reſtoring him not onely to his fauour, but alſo to his houſhold and counſaile, with his liuinges & poſſeſſions frõ which he had bene diſſeiſed before. Then Hubert lifting vp his eyes to heauen, gaue prayſe and glory to God, by whoſe gratious prouidẽce he ſo merueilouſly being preſerued from ſo great diſtreſſes and tribulations, was agayne ſo happely reconciled to the kyng, and his faithfull frendes. After him in like ſort came in Gilbert Baſſet a noble man, Richard Suard: alſo Gilbert the brother of Rich. Marſhall that was ſlayne. Which Gilbert recouered again his whole inheritaunce as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the kyng and his ſeruice due for the ſame. To whom alſo was graunted the office of the high Marſhall Court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

Hubert Erle of Kent reſtored agayne to the kinges fauour.

Hubert geueth thankes to God.

In the ſame counſaile or communication continuyng then at Glocester, the ſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, bringing the forged letters, wherin was betrayed the life of Richard Earle Marſhall, ſealed with the kynges ſeale, and ſent to the great men of Ireland, read the ſame openly in the preſence of the kyng and all the nobles. At the hearing wherof, the kyng greatly ſorowing and weeping, confeſſed there in truth that beyng forced by the Byſhop of Wincheſter and Peter de Riualis, he cõmaunded his ſeale to be ſet to certaine letters preſented vnto him, but the tenour therof he ſaid and ſware he neuer heard. Whereunto the Archbiſhop aunſwering agayne, deſired the kyng to ſearch well his conſcience, & ſayd, that all they which were procurers or of knowledge of thoſe letters, were gilty of the death of the Earle Marſhall, no leſſe then if they had murdered him with their owne handes.

Falſehode & murder commeth out.

Kings many times abuſed by wicked counſaile.

Then the kyng callyng a counſaile, ſent his letters for the Biſhop of Wincheſter, for Peter Riuall, Stephen Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew to appeare and yeld accoũt for his treaſures to them committed and for his ſeale by them abuſed. But the Byſhop and Riuall keepyng themſelues in the ſanctuarie of the minſter Church of Wincheſter, neither durſt nor would appeare. Stephen Segraue who ſucceded after Hubert the Iuſtice, and was of the Clergy before, after became a layman, and now hidyng himſelfe in S. Maryes Church in the Abbay of Leyceſter, was turned to a Clerke agayne. Robert Paſſelew couertly hid himſelfe in a certaine celler of the new tẽple, ſo ſecretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length through the foreſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of Can-

The Biſh. of Wincheſter called to hys aunſwere.

terbury,

Peter Riual, Stephē Segraue, Robert Paſſelew, called to their aunſwere.

terbury, meanes was made, that a dilatory day was graunted by the kyng, for them to aunſwere. At which day firſt appeared Peter de Riuallis, then Stephen Segraue, after him Robert Paſſelew, ech of them ſeuerally one after an other ſhewed themſelues, but not able to aunſwere for them ſelues like traytors were reproued, and like villanes were ſent away. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 91.

¶Variaunce betwene Pope Gregory the 9. and the Romanes.

Variance betwene the Pope & Citizens of Rome.

The allegation of the Romanes.

WHile peace thus betwene the kyng and the nobles was reconciled in England, diſſenſion and variaunce the ſame tyme and yeare begā in Rome, betwene the Pope and the Citizens of Rome. The cauſe was, for that the Citizens clayme[d] by old cuſtome and law, that the Byſhop of Rome might not excommunicate any Citizen of the Citie, nor ſuſpend the ſayd Citie with any interdiction for any maner exceſſe.

The popes aunſwere.

To this the Pope aunſwered agayne, Quòd minor Deo eſt, ſed quolibet homine maior (to vſe the very wordes of mine author) Ergo, Maior quolibet ciue, imò etiā rege, vel Imperatore. &c. that is, that he is leſſe then God, but greater then any man. Ergo, greater then any Citizen, yea alſo greater then kyng, or Emperour. And forſomuch as he is their ſpiritual father, he both ought and lawfully may chaſtiſe his children when they offend, as beyng ſubiected to him in the faith of Chriſt, and reduce them into the way agayne, when they ſtray out of courſe.

The 2. allegation of the Romanes. The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearely tribute.

Moreouer, the Citizens alledge agayne for themſelues, that the Poteſtates of the Citie and Senatours do receaue of the Church of Rome yearely tribute, which the byſhops of Rome were bound to pay vnto them, both by new and alſo auncient law. Of the which yearely tribute, they haue bene euer in poſſeſſion before this preſent tyme of this pope Gregory 9.

The Pope replyeth.

Hereunto the pope aunſwered and ſayd, that although the Church of Rome in tyme of perſecution, for their defence and cauſe of peace was wont to reſpect the head rulers of the Citie with gentle rewardes, yet that ought not now to be take for a cuſtome: For that cuſtome onely ought to ſtand, which conſiſteth not vpon examples, but vpō right and reaſon.

The 3. cauſe and allegatiō of the Romanes.

Farther and beſides, the Citizens ſayd, that they at the commaundement of the Senatour would appropriate their countrey with new and larger limites, and infranches the ſame beyng enlarged with new lines and borders.

The Popes aunſwere.

To this the pope agayne made aunſwere, that certaine Lordſhyps and Cities and Caſtels be conteined within the compaſſe of the ſayd limites, as the Citie Viterbium, and Montcaſter, which they preſume to appropriate within their precinct: but to aſcribe to them and vſurpe that which perteineth to other, is agaynſt right and iuſtice.

The Pope flyeth the Citie of Rome.

Excōmunication abuſed.

The Pope warreth agaynſt the Romanes.

For theſe and ſuch other controuerſies riſing betwene the Pope and the Romanes, ſuch diſſention kyndled, that the Pope with his Cardinals leauyng the Citie of Rome, remoued to Peruſium (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remaine and to plant themſelues: but the Romanes preuailyng againſt him, ouerthrew diuers of his houſes in the Citie. For the which, he did excommunicate them. The Romanes then flying to the Emperour, deſired his ayde & ſuccour: but he, belike to pleaſure the Pope, gatheryng an armey, went rather againſt the Romanes. Thē the Popes armey, whoſe Captaines were the Earle of Tholouſe (to purchaſe the Popes fauour) and Peter the foreſayd Byſhop of Winchester (whom the Pope for the ſame had ſent for from Englād, partly for his treaſure, partly for his practiſe and ſkill in feates of warre) and the Emperours hoſt ioyned together, and borderyng about the Citie of Rome, caſt downe the caſtles or manſions belongyng to the Citizens round about the Suburbes, to the number of xviij. and deſtroyed all their vines and vineyardes about the Citie. Whereat the Romanes beyng not a litle offended, braſt out of the Citie with more heate then order, to the number of C. thouſand (as the ſtory reporteth) to deſtroy Viterbium the Popes Citie, with ſword and fire. But the multitude beyng vnordered and out of battaile ray, and vnprouided for ieoperdies which by the way might happen, fell into the handes of their enemies, who were in wayte for them, and of them deſtroyed a great nūber, ſo that on both partes were ſlayne to the vew of xxx. thouſand, but the moſt part was of the Citizens. And this diſſenſion thus begon was not ſoone ended, but continued long after.

A great ſlaughter of the Romães by the Pope. *Ex Pariſienſ. pag. 92.*

The Church of Rome degenerated frō the image of the true church

By theſe & ſuch other ſtories who ſeeth not, how farre the church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right Church of Chriſt, which by the rule and example of the Goſpell ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a reuenger of her ſelfe nor ſeeker of wars, but a forgeuer of iniuries, humbly and paciently referryng all reuenge to the Lord, not a raker for riches, but a winner of ſoules, not contendyng for worldly maiſterſhip, but humbling themſelues as ſeruants, and not Vicars of the Lord, but ioyntly lyke brethren ſeruyng together, Biſhops with Biſhops, Miniſters with miniſters, Deacōs with Deacons, and not as maiſters ſeparatyng themſelues by ſuperioritie one from an other, and brieſly communicatyng together in doctrine and counſaile, one particular Church with an other, not as a mother one ouer an other, but rather as a ſiſter Church one with an other, ſekyng together the glory of Chriſt, and not their owne. And ſuch was the Church of Rome firſt in the olde auncient beginnyng of her primitiue ſtate, eſpecially while the croſſe of perſecution yet kept the Biſhops and Miniſters vnder in humilitie of hart and feruent callyng vpon the lord for helpe: ſo that happy was that chriſtian then, which with liberty of conſcience onely, might hold his lyfe, how barely ſoeuer he liued. And as for the pride and pompe of the world, ſtriuyng for patrimonies, buying of Biſhoprikes, gapyng for benefices, ſo farre was this of from them, that then they had litle layſure and leſſe luſt yea once to thinke vpon them. Neither dyd the byſhops then of Rome ſight to be Conſuls of the City, but ſought how to bryng the Conſuls vnto Chriſt, beyng glad if the Conſuls would permit them to dwell by them in the citie. Neyther did they then preſume ſo hie, to bring the Emperors neckes vnder their girdles, but were glad to ſaue their neckes in any corner from the ſword of Emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward cōſolation, Gods holy ſpirit mightely working in their harts. Then was one Catholike vnitie of truth and doctrine amongſt all churches, againſt errors and ſectes. Neither did the Eaſt and Weſt, nor diſtance of place deuide the church, but both the Eaſt church and Weſt church, the Grekes & Latines made all one church. And albeit there were then v. Patriarchall Seas appoynted for order ſake, differing in regions, and peraduenture alſo in ſome rites one from an other, yet all theſe conſentyng together in one vnitie of Catholike doctrine, hauyng one God, one Chriſt, one Fayth, one Baptiſme, one ſpirit, one head, and lincked together in one bande of charitie, and in one equalitie of honour, they made all together, one body, one Church, one Communion, called one Catholike, vniuerſall, and Apoſtolicall Church. And ſo long as this knot of charitie and equalitie did ioyne them in one vnitie together, ſo long the church of Chriſt floriſhed and encreaſed, one redy to help and harbour another, in tyme of diſtreſſe, as Agapitus and Vigilius flying to Conſtantinople, were there ayded by the Patriarch. &c. ſo that all this while neither forrein enemy, neither Saracen nor Souldane, nor Sultane, nor Calipha, nor Corasmine, nor Turke had any power greatly to harme it.

Difference betwene the church of Rome that was, & the church of Rome that is now.

Eaſtchurch, Weſtchurch.

Catholike.

The Schiſme betwene the greeke Church and the church of Rome.

Equalitie mother of concorde.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catholike vnitie dyd not long continue, and all by reaſon of the biſhop of Rome, who not contented to be lyke hys brethren, began to extend hymſelfe and to clayme ſuperioritie aboue ẏ other 4. Patriarchall Seas, and all other Churches in ẏ world. And thus as equalitie amongeſt chriſtian biſhops was by pride and ſingularitie oppreſſed: ſo vnitie began by litle and litle to be diſſolued, and the Lordes coate which the ſouldiours left whole, to be deuided, which coate of Chriſtian vnitie, albeit of long time it had bene now ſeamript before by the occaſion aforeſayd: yet notwithſtandyng in ſome peece it held together in ſome meane agrement, vnder ſubiection to the Sea of Rome, till the tyme of this pope Gregory the 9. an. 1230. at which tyme this rupture and ſchiſme of the church brake out into a playne deuiſion, vtterly diſſeuering the Eaſtchurch from the Weſtchurch, vpon this occaſion.

The cauſe & occaſion why the Greeke Church vtterly brake frō the Romanes.

Mat. Pariſ. fol. 111

There was a certaine Archbiſhop elected to an Archbiſhoprike among the Grecians, who comming to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted vnles he promiſed a very great ſumme of mony. Which when he refuſed to doe, and deteſted the execrable ſimony of the court of Rome, he made his repayre home agayne to his country vnconfirmed declaryng there to the whole nobilitie of that land, the caſe how it ſtood. For the more confirmation whereof, there were other alſo, which comming lately from Rome, and there had proued the ſame or worſe, came in and gaue teſtimony to his ſaying. Wherupon all the Church of the Grecians the ſame tyme hearyng this, departed vtterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the dayes of this Pope Gregory the 9. In ſo much that the Archbyſhop of Conſtantinople comming afterwarde to the generall Councell at Lions, there openly declared, that where as before tyme

he

All Grecia gone from the obedience of the church of Rome. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol.186.*

he had vnder hym aboue thirty Biſhoprikes and Suffraganes, now he had not three, adding moreouer that all the Grecians and certain other, with Antioche and the whole Empire of Romania, euen to the gates almoſt of Conſtantinople, were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome. &c. Math.Pariſ.fol.112.&c.fol.186.

Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople writeth to Pope Gregory.9.

By the occaſion of which ſeparation aforeſayde, of the Grecians from Pope Gregory, it happened ſhortly after, beyng the yere of our Lord.1237. that Germanus Archb. and Patriarch of Conſtantinople, wrote to the ſayd Pope Gregory 9. humbly deſiring hym to ſtudy, and ſeeke ſome meanes of vnitie, how the ſeameleſſe coat of the Lord Ieſus thus lamentably rent, not with handes of ſouldiours, but by diſcord of Prelates may be healed agayne, offering this moreouer, that if he will take the paynes to ſtirre out, he for hys part, notwithſtandyng his old age and feble body would not refuſe to mete hym in the mid way, to the intent that the truth on both ſides being debated by the ſcriptures the wrong part may be reduced, the ſlaunder ſtopped, and vnity reformed betwene them.

This requeſt of the Patriarke, as it was both godly and reaſonable, ſo it had bene the biſhops part agayne with lyke humilitie to haue condeſcended to the ſame, and glad with all his might to helpe forward the reformation of chriſtian vnitie in the Church of Chriſt, and ſo to haue ſhewed hymſelfe the ſonne of peace. But the proud biſhop of Rome more lyke the ſonne of diſcord and diſſenſion, ſtandyng ſtill vpon hys Maieſtie, refuſed thus to do, but writing againe anſwer to hys letters with great diſdayne, ſekyng nothing els but onely how to aduance his ſea aboue all other Churches: and not onely that, but alſo ſhortly after ſent forth his preachyng Friers to moue all Chriſtians to take the ſigne of the croſſe and to fight agaynſt the Grecians no otherwiſe then againſt the Turkes and Saracens: In ſo much that in the Iſle of Cyprus many good men and Martyrs were ſlayne for the ſame, as by the letters of the ſayd Germanus Patriarke of Conſtantinople, is to be ſene.

The pope ſetteth the Weſt church to fight agaynſt the Eaſt church. *Ex Mat.Pariſienſ. fol.112.*

The tenour of the which letter to the Pope, wyth the Popes anſwer agayne to hym, beyng long and tedious to read, are extant in the hiſtory of Math.Pariſ. there to be ſene and found. fol.111. The ſummary effect wherof notwithſtanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the ſimple and vnlearned multitude, which vnderſtandyng not the Latine, may hereby perceaue the fault of this ſchiſme not ſo much to reſt in the Greeke church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the contentes of hys letter may appeare.

Ex libro Mat.Pariſ. manu ſcripto.fol.3. & 111.

¶ *The effect of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople* his letter to Pope Gregory 9.

The letter of Germanus Patriarch of Cōſtantinople to Pope Gregory.9. an. 1237.

IN the which letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarcke of Conſtantinople, writing to Pope Gregory, firſt after his reuerend ſalutation and preamble following vpon the ſame, entryng then toward the matter, ſheweth the occaſion of hys writyng, which was by fiue obſeruaunt Friers repayring that wayes, whom he gently receauing into his houſe, had conference with them touchyng this diſcorde betwene the two Churches, how it might be reduced agayne to vnitie: and afterward perceiuyng the ſayd Friers to make their iorney toward Rome, he thought therfore by them to write his letters. Wherin he firſt lamentyng this diuiſion in the houſe of God, and recityng the inconueniences which come therof, by the example of Iuda, and Iſraell: Ieruſalem and Samaria: Cain and Abel: Eſau and Iacob: alſo of other ſuch like, both priuate and publike ſocieties, where brother fighteth againſt brother, lyke as among fiſhes the greater deuoureth the leſſer, he procedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the ſtudy of vnitie.

He ſheweth the inconuenience of diſcord.

Galat.1.

And for ſo much as the pope had accurſed (belike) thoſe Churches of the Greekes before, he therfore takyng hys ground vpon the wordes of S. Paule, Gal.1. where he accurſeth euery ſuch perſon and perſons, whatſoeuer they be either man or Angell of heauen, that ſhall preach any other Goſpell then hath bene preached, &c. willeth the Pope to ſtand with hym vpon the ſame ground of the Apoſtles accurſe, ſo that if the ſtroke of that curſe haue light vpon him or his churches, he deſireth him to ſhew the wound, and to help to wype away the bloud, to miniſter ſome ſpiritual emplaiſter to bynde vp the ſore, and to ſaue his brethren from periſhyng which lay in daunger, accordyng to the ſaying of the wiſe man: A brotherly frend is tried in aduerſitie.&c.

Salomon.

Whether the Church of the Greekes or the Popes Church lyeth more vnder the daunger of Gods curſe.

But if we (ſayth he) of the Greeke Church be free frō the ſtripe of this accurſe of the Apoſtle, and that you Italians and of the Latine Church be ſtricken therewith, & lye therby in daunger of deſtruction, I truſt that you through ignoraunce and wilfull obſtinacie will not ſo ſuffer your ſelues to be ſeparated from the Lord, but rather will ſuffer a thouſand deathes before, if it were poſſible for a man ſo often to dye.

And as touching this great diſcord betwene vs, if either contrarietie of doctrine, or ſwaruing from the auncient Canōs, or diuerſitie of rites receaued of our forefathers be any cauſe therof, we here take heauen and earth to witnes, that we for our partes are ready, and deſire alſo vpon due triall of profound truth by Gods word, and inuocation of the holy Ghoſt, to ioyne handes with you, or you to ioyne with vs. But to ſay the very truth and to tell you playne, this we ſuppoſe, that many mighty and noble prelates would ſooner incline to your obediēce, were it not that they feared your vniuſt oppreſſions, your inſatiable exactions, and inordinate oppreſſions wherewith you wryng your ſubiectes. By reaſon wherof haue riſen amongeſt vs cruell warres, one fighting agaynſt an other, deſolation of Cities, Bulles and Interdictions ſet vpon Church doores, diuiſion of brethren, and Churches of the Grecians left without ſeruice, where God ſhould be prayſed. So that now onely one thing lacketh, which I beleue to be predeſtined and appointed frō aboue long before to vs Grecians, the tyme, I meane, of martyrdome, which alſo now haſteneth faſt vpō vs, that the tribunall of tyrantes ſhould be opened and the ſeates of tormentors be ſet, that the bloud of Martyrs ſhould be ſpilled, and we brought to the ſtage of Martyrdome, to fight for the crowne of glory.

The Greekes afrayd of the Popes oppreſſions.

The Patriarch of Conſtantinople propheſieth of the martyrdome and ſlaughter of the Grecians.

This that I do ſpeake, and wherfore I ſpeake it, the noble Iland of Cyprus doth already know & feele, which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath ſent valiant ſouldiors of Chriſt, which of long tyme before paſſing by water and teares of ſorrow, now at laſt haue alſo paſſed thorow fire, and ſo entred into the heauenly reſt. How ſay you, be theſe thinges good and ſemely, O holy Pope, the ſucceſſor of S. Peter the Apoſtle? Is this the biddyng of that good Peter, ẏ meeke and humble diſciple of Chriſt? Doth he thus inſtruct the Seniors and Elders in hys Epiſtle, where he writeth in this wyſe: The Elders which are amongſt you, I beſeche, which am alſo a fellowelder wyth them, and witneſſe of the ſufferinges of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhalbe opened: feede the flocke of God which is amongſt you, hauyng care and ſight ouer it, not of coaction as compelled agaynſt your wils, but willingly of your owne accord, nor for filthy lukers ſake, but frely and hartily, neither as bearing dominion and lordſhip ouer the Church, but ſhewyng your ſelues, as an example to the flocke, and when the chiefe paſtor ſhall appeare, you ſhall receiue an incorruptible crowne of eternall glory, &c. And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they ſhall ſee, which do not obey it. As for vs the other part of the ſayd Epiſtle is ſufficient, wherin he willeth them to reioyce which are in heauines through manifold temptations, that the tryall of their fayth beyng much more precious then golde that periſheth, and is tryed in fire, may be their laud honour, and glory, at the appearyng of the Lord Ieſu. &c. But beare with me I pray you (O holy father, and of all your predeceſſours moſt meekeſt) and ſuffer my wordes though they ſeme ſomethyng ſharpe: for they be ſighinges of a ſorrowfull hart.

The popes perſecution in the Iſle of Cyprus.

The tyrāny & auarice of the Pope chaſtened by the word of S. Peter.

1.Peter.5.

1.Peter.1.

He exhorteth the pope to come & mete with him, that they might conferre together about the vnitie of fayth.

Wherfore girde about your loynes with fortitude, and light vp the candle of your diſcretion, and ſeeke the groate that is loſt, of the vnitie, I meane of fayth. And we wil alſo with lyke compaſſion ioyne with your holineſſe, and will not ſpare this weake body of myne, in pretendyng any excuſe either of age or length of the way. For the more laborious the trauaile is, the moe crownes it bringeth. And S. Paule ſayth: Euery man ſhall receiue reward according to his trauayle.&c.

The Greeke church ſound and ſincere in doctrine.

Neyther are we ignoraunt (if it pleaſe your holineſſe) that like as we Grecians for our partes do labour in all reſpectes to keepe and obſerue the ſinceritie of true fayth and doctrine, not to erre ne ſwarue in any part or poynt from the ſtatutes of ẏ bleſſed Apoſtles & auncient fathers: ſo the church likewiſe of olde Rome, doth for her part labour alſo (we know wel) to folow ẏ ſincere veritie of chriſtiā doctrin, and thinketh her ſelfe to erre in nothyng, nor to neede any remedy or reformation. And this we know, is the iudgement & ſaying of both the Churches aſwel of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can ſee any ſpot in his owne face, without he ſtoupe downe to the glaſſe, or els be admoniſhed by ſome other, whether his face be blotted or no. Euē ſo haue we many great and fayre glaſſes ſet before vs, firſt the cleare Goſpell of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, & diuinitie bookes of auncient writers. Let vs therfore looke in them well. They will ſhew euery mans mynde & iudgement, whether he go right or wrong. The GOD of peace

He exhorteth the church of Rome to loke her face in Gods glaſſe, that is, to trye their doctrine by Gods word.

tread

treade downe Sathan ſpeedely vnder our feete. The author
” of peace confound the ſower of diſcord. He that is the cauſe
” of all goodnes deſtroy the hater of that which is good, and
” which giueth cauſe of offence and ſclaunder. And he which
” is God of all ioy and peace, ſend to vs, which are the ſhe-
” pheardes of his ſhepe reaſonable, the aungell of peace and
” meſſenger of great glad tydynges, as he did in the Natiui-
” tie of Chriſt, to the ſhepheardes of brute ſheepe and vnrea-
” ſonable, and make vs worthy to ſing that ioyfull ſong of
” Gods prayſe: Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra pax, homi-
” nibus bona voluntas, and to receaue one an other with an
” holy kiſſe. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the
” peace of God the father, and the communion of the holy ſpi-
” rite be with you alwayes. Amen.

¶ *An other Epiſtle of the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and Primate of the Greeke Church, to the Cardinals of Rome.*

An other letter of Germanus Patriarch of Cōſtantinople to the Cardinalles.

AN other letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, wrote alſo the ſame tyme, to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he firſt commending them for theyr wiſedome and counſell, and ſhewing what vtilitie cōmeth by good counſaile geuing: for ſo much as God (ſayth he) many times that he hydeth from one, inſpireth to an other, ſo that that good thing which by the almighty God is ſōderly diſpenſed to diuers, through common counſel & conference, ſpreadeth to the publike vtilitie of many. &c. After this, eftſoones he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable miniſters and diſcrete counſellours, will take in hand the ſpirituall armour of God, to caſt downe the ſtop and partitiō walle of the old diſcord betwene the Greekes and Latin Church, and that they will be a meanes to the Biſhop of Rome, that they which ſo long haue bene diſſeuered by diſſentiō, may now be cōioyned in vnity of peace, in brotherly charitie and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter, I haue (ſaith he) already written to his holynes. And now I beſeech the kyng of heauen, which tooke the ſhape of a ſeruaunt, to helpe hys miſerable ſeruauntes: and was exalted vpon the croſſe, to raiſe them vp which were fallē into the profundity of deſolation, that he will vouchſafe to put from your harts all elation of mynde, extolling it ſelfe ouer and aboue the vnitie of your brethren and felow ſeruauntes, and to lighten your conſciences with the true light of vnderſtādyng, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there bee no ſchiſme amongeſt vs. Let vs therfore as we are inſtructed, ſo abide in one mynde, that it be not ſayd of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs: I hold of Paule, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Chriſt: but that all we, as we holde the name of Chriſt, and are called Chriſtians, ſo may alſo abide in that wherein we are inſtructed in one minde, that is, to folow loue and charity in Chriſt Ieſus, hauing alwayes in our hartes the words of the Apoſtle, ſaying: One Lord, one Fayth, and one Baptiſme.

1.Cor.1.

And now to be playne with you in that I haue to ſay, I ſhall deſire you not to be offended wyth me in vtteryng the truth as a frend vnto you. The wordes (ſaith Salomon) of a wiſe man telling truth, be like to nayles which be driuen in deepe. And truth, for the moſt part, breedeth enemyes. And therfore though I am partly afrayd, yet will I ſimply confeſſe the truth vnto you. Certes this diuiſion of Chriſtian vnitie amongeſt vs, proceedeth of no other cauſe but onely of the tyranny, oppreſſion, and exactions of the church of Rome: which of a mother is become a ſtepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long tyme ſhee nouriſhed (after the maner of a rauening byrde which driueth her young from her): which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the leſſe ſhee eſteemeth them, and treadeth them vnder foote, not regarding the ſaying of the Goſpell: Who ſo humbleth himſelſe ſhalbe exalted.

The tyranny & oppreſſion of the church of Rome, is the onely cauſe of breakyng vnitie betwene the Greeke church and the Latine.
Luc.18.

Let modeſtie therefore ſomething tempere you, and let the auarice of the Court of Rome, although it can not wel out of the fleſhe which is bred in the bone, yet ſurceaſe a while, and let vs together condeſcend to the triall of the truth: which truth beyng founde out on both ſides, let vs conſtantly embrace the ſame.

The old amitie & cōcorde betwene the eaſt church & the Weſt.

For why, we haue bene altogether ſome tymes both Italians & Grecians in one fayth, and vnder the ſame Canons: hauing peace ech with other, and defending one an other, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what tyme many flying out of the weſt parts (whileſt that the tyrannie of the heretickes indured) made their cōcourſe to vs, and were receaued, and part fled vnto you, that is, olde Rome, as to a ſtrong tower of refuge: and ſo receaued they comfort in both places, and one brother was thus receaued into the boſome of an other, by mutuall loue for their defence.

Agapitus & Vigilius, fled to Conſtantinople for ſuccour.

Then after, when Rome had bene often diſtreſſed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were euer ready to reſcue and deliuer them. Did not Agapitus and Vigilius flye vnto Conſtantinople by reaſon of the diſſentions then at Rome, and being honorably receaued, were here defended vnder our protection? although, the lyke kindnes was neuer yet ſhewed of your part to vs agayne in our like neceſſities. Notwithſtanding we ought to do good to them alſo that be vngratefull: for ſo doth the Sea participate her ſmoth and calme tides euen vnto the Pirates. And ſo God cauſeth the ſunne to ſhine vpō the iuſt and vniuſt. But (alas for ſorow) what bitter diuiſion is this that hath thus ſequeſtred vs aſonder? One of vs detracteth an other, ſhonnyng the company one of an other, as the damnatiō of his ſoule. What a mortal hatred is this come amōgeſt vs? if you thinke we are fallen, then do you helpe to lift vs vp: and be not to vs as a ſtōbling blocke to our bodely ruine, but helpers vnto the ſpirituall reſurrection of our ſoules. So ſhall we acknowledge our ſelues bounde vnto you to giue you condigne thankes accordyngly.

Paule rebuketh Peter.
Galat.2.

But if the blame and firſt origine of all this offence proceedeth frō Rome, and the ſucceſſours of Peter the Apoſtle: then read you the wordes of S. Paule to the Galathiās: ſaying. When Peter came vnto Antioche, I withſtode him in the face, bycauſe he was to be rebuked. &c. Howbeit this reſiſtaunce was no cauſe of any diſcorde or breache betwene them: but the cauſe rather of further ſearch and profoūder diſputations, prouoking tēporall agreement. For they were faſt ioyned together in the bonde of charitie in Chriſt, agreyng in fayth and conformitie of doctrine ſeparated by no ambition or auarice. In which pointes would God we alſo were like vnto them. This to vs in our myndes gendreth a great offence, that your gapyng ſo greedely after terrene poſſeſſiōs, ſcrape together all that you can ſcratch and rake. You heape vp gold and ſiluer, and yet pretende that you be the Diſciples of him whiche ſayd: Gold and ſiluer I haue none. &c. You make whole kyngdomes tributary to you, and kynges and princes your vaſſals. You augment your money by vſury, and by feates of marchaūdiſe. You vnteach by your deedes, that which you teach in wordes.

Actes.3.

He meaneth of the kingdome of England & other moe which were made tributary to the ſea of Rome.

The immoderate auarice of the court of Rome.

Moderate your ſelues therfore with more temperaūce, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You ſee how good a thyng it is one brother to helpe an other. Onely God alone needeth no helpe or counſell, but men neede one to be holpen of an other. And were it not that I do reuerēce the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter, the chief of Chriſtes Apoſtles, and the rocke of our fayth, I would here put you in remembraunce how greatly this rocke was ſhaken and remoued from the foundation, at the ſight of a ſely womā: and Chriſt of his ſecret purpoſe permitted the ſame, which by the crowyng of the cocke brought him agayne to remēbraunce of that whiche was foretold him, and rayſed him from the ſlumber of deſperatiō. Then he beyng thus waked, waſhed his face with teares, cōfeſſing him ſelfe before God and all the world, to be a true paterne of repentaūce, which before bare the keyes of the kyngdome, as ſaying thus vnto vs: May not he which falleth, riſe agayne? Oh you whiche are fallen, riſe ye vp and behold me, and harken vnto me trauaylyng toward Paradiſe. The gates wherof to open I haue receaued power.

Peters fayth ſhaken.

Peter an enſample of repētaūce.

And thus do I write vnto you, not for any inſtruction, but onely to put you in remembraūce: for I know how God hath indued you with all wiſedome and knowledge. As Salomon ſayth: Giue onely occaſion to the wiſe, and he wil learne wiſedome: Teach the iuſt man, and he will be glad to take inſtruction.

This one thyng more I will ſay and ſo make an ende. There be great and mighty nations that are of like mynde and opinion with vs. Firſt the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefeſt part of the Eaſt. After that the Syrians: and other moe of greater nomber thē they: and more diſpoſed to vertue, as the Hyberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, with innumerable people of Ruſſia, and the kyngdome of great victory of the Vulgarians. And all theſe are obedient vnto vs as their mother Church, perſiſtyng hetherto conſtantly in the auncient and true orthodoxałicall fayth immouable.

Chriſtian countreyes & nations in the Eaſt parts which are not būd to the Byſhop of Rome.

The God of all holynes which for our ſakes became mā, and which onely is the head of his Churche and congregation, vouchſafe to gather vs agayne together in vnitie, and graunt, that the Græcian Church together with her ſiſter

Chriſt onely head of the Church.

Church

Churche of old Rome may gloriſie the ſame Chriſt, the prince of peace, by the vnitie of fayth, to the reſtitution of ſound and holſome doctrine, wherein many yeares agone they haue agreed and were vnited. God graũt vnto you brotherlike charitie, and the hand of the moſt mighty God gouerne you all (holy Cardinals) til that ioyfully ye arriue in the hauen of euerlaſtyng tranquillitie. The grace of God be with you all. Amen. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 111.

The Pope proclaymeth war agaynſt the Greek Church.

Shortly after the ſendyng of theſe letters, Pope Gregory prepared to ſend men of warre ſigned with the Croſſe to fight agaynſt the Grecians. Whereupon the Archbyſhop of Antioch, with the ſayd Germanus ſolemnely excommunicated the Pope, after he firſt had excommunicated them. Par. fol. 118. In the meane tyme by the tenour of theſe letters of the Patriarch ſent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is euident to all men that haue eyes in their heades, to ſee: firſt how the whole vniuerſall church of Chriſt, from the Eaſt partes to the weſt, in auncient tymes were altogether vnited in one cõſent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charitie, one Church brotherly to helpe an other, both with temporall ayde and ſpiritual counſell, as caſe required. Neither was then any one mother Church aboue other Churches, but the whole vniuerſall Church was the mother Churche and ſpouſe of the Lorde, to euery faithfull beleuer. Vnder which vniuerſall Church in generall, were comprehended all other particular Churches in ſpeciall, as ſiſter Churches together, not one greater then an other, but all in like equalitie, as God gaue his giftes ſo ſeruyng one an other, euer holdyng together the vnitie of fayth and ſiſterly loue. And ſo long was it and rightly might ſo be called the Catholicke Church, hauyng in it true vnitie, vniuerſalitie, and free conſent. Vnitie in doctrine, vniuerſalitie in communicating & ioynyng together of voyces, conſent in ſpirite and iudgemẽt. For whatſoeuer was taught at Rome touchyng fayth and ſaluation, it was no other then was taught at Antioch, Syria. &c.

The Archbyſh. of Antioch & Conſtantinople excõmunicate the Pope.

5. Notes to be conſidered.
The firſt Note.

The true Catholicke Church, where it was, and when.

1. Vnitie
2. Vniuerſalitie.
3. Conſent.

The ſecond note.

Secondly, how in proceſſe of tyme, through occaſion of the Byſhop of Romes tyranny and violent oppreſſion, this ryng of equalitie beyng broken, all flew in peeces, the Eaſt Church from the weſt, the Greekes from the Latines, and that which was one before, now was made two: vnitie turned to diuiſion, vniuerſalitie to ſingularitie, and free conſent to diſſenſion.

The third note.

Thirdly, here is alſo to be noted, after this pitiful breach of equalitie, how many & what great nations departed from the communion of the Church of Rome, and eſpecially about this tyme aboue ſpecified of Pope Gregory 9. an. 1230, ſo that both before and after that tyme many Councels were holden, and many thynges concluded in the Weſt church, wherunto the one halfe of Chriſtendome lying in the Eaſt partes, did neuer agree: and contrary, many Councels holden with them, which in the Latine Church were not receaued. So that the Church now as ſhe loſt the benefite of vniuerſall conſent, ſo alſo ſhe loſt the name of Catholicke. Wherupõ this queſtion is to be aſked, that whẽ the Councell of Laterane vnder Pope Innocent 3. ordeyned the doctrine of tranſubſtantiatiõ & auricular confeſſion here in the Weſt Church, without the free conſent of the Eaſt Church, whether the ſame doctrine is to be counted Catholicke or not?

The church hath her name of Catholicke. wherby and when.
Whether the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, made without the free conſent of the Eaſt Churches, be Catholicke or no.
The fourth note.

Fourthly, in the departyng of theſe Churches from the Byſhop of Rome, here is alſo to be noted, that the ſame Churches of the Greekes, notwithſtandyng they ſequeſtred themſelues and fell out with the Church of Rome, & that iuſtly: yet they kept their vnitie ſtill with their God, & reteined ſtill the true ὀρθοδοξίαν that is, the true and ſincere doctrine of fayth, ready to debate and try the truth of their Religiõ by the Scriptures, as they here in their own writynges deſire to haue the truth examined, accordyng as ye haue heard. Wherfore the Church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which beyng offered ſo gently to try and to be tryed by the truth of Gods word, not onely would ſtãd to no triall, nor abyde conference, but alſo hath excommunicated them as heretickes, which appeare here to be more orthodoxaſticall Chriſtians, then they themſelues.

The fifth note.

The Church of Rome proued not to be Catholicke.
The proceedinges of Rome ſtand vpon no free cõſent, but are coacted.

Fiftly, theſe thynges thus ſtandyng, then haue we to conclude that the church of Rome falſely pretendeth it ſelfe to be Catholicke. For if the name of Catholicke muſt nedes importe an vniuerſall conſent of the whole, how can that be Catholicke where the conſent of ſo many famous and true Chriſtian Churches hath bene lackyng, and furthermore where the cõſent that hath bene amongeſt themſelues, hath rather bene coacted, then any true or free conſent? Which is eaſie to be proued. For let theſe fiers and fagottes ceaſſe, let kynges and princes leaue to preſſe their ſubiectes with the Popes obedience, but let the Scripture, and the Byſhops alone euery one in his owne Dioces to gouerne their flocke after the rule of Gods word, and how few be there in this Weſt end of the world (trow you) that would not do the ſame that theſe Grecians, Ethiopians, and Syrians haue done before vs? And thus much by the occaſiõ of this Patriarches letters ſent to Pope Gregory, concernyng the Grecians.

The miſerable ſtate of the Weſt partes of Chriſtendome vnder the Pope.

Whoſe doynges when I conſider, as I can not but commend their wiſedome and iudge their ſtate happy and bleſſed, in ſhakyng of from their neckes the miſerable yoke of the popes tyranny: ſo on ỹ other ſide cõſideryng with my ſelf the wretched thraldome of theſe our Churches here in the Weſt part of the world, vnder the Byſhop of Rome, I can not tell, whether more to marueil or to lament their pitifull ſtate, who were brought into ſuch oppreſſiõ and ſlauery vnder him, that neither they could abyde him, nor yet durſt caſt him of. So vntollerable were his exactions, ſo terrible was his tyranny, his ſuſpenſions and excommunications, much like to a mad mans dagger, drawen at euery trifle, that no Chriſten pacience could ſuffer it, nor natiõ abide it. Agayn, ſo deepe did he ſit in their conſciences, falſely beleuyng him to haue the authoritie of S. Peter, that for conſcience ſake neither kyng nor Cæſar durſt withſtand him, much leſſe durſt poore ſubiectes once mute againſt him. And although his takynges & ſpoylynges, namely in this realme of England were ſuch, that neither the layty nor ſpiritualty could beare them: yet was there no remedy, beare them they muſt, or els the Popes ſentence was vpon them, to curſe them as blacke as pitch.

The popes excommunications like to a fooles dagger.

The falſe perſwaſiõ of the popes ſupremacie, cauſe of much wretchednes.

In readyng the hiſtories of theſe tymes, any good hart would lament and rue, to ſee the miſerable captiuitie of the people, what they ſuffered vnder this thraldome of the Byſhop of Rome, wherof part hath bene ſhewed before, more (God willyng) ſhall follow hereafter, and ſome part here preſently I mynd to expreſſe.

¶ *A briefe table or declaration of the Popes vnreaſonable gatherings, exactions, and oppreſſions in the Realme of England.*

AND firſt to begin with the elections of the biſhops, Abbots, Deanes and Priors within this realme, it cannot be told what maſſe of mony grew to ỹ popes coffers therby, eſpecially in this kings dayes: for ſo much as in his tyme lightly no election happened either of Archbiſhop, biſhop, Abbot, or any rowme of dignitie, but when the Couent or Chapter had choſen one to their mynd, the king who had maried a ſtranger, and ſought therfore to preferre ſtrangers, would ſet vp another. By reaſon wherof, when the other part was fayne to appeale to Rome and there to plead ỹ caſe, no ſmal riuers of engliſh mony, beſides expẽces & trauaile by the way, went flowyng to the popes ſea. And though the election went neuer ſo cleare, yet the new elect muſt nedes reſpect the holy father with ſome gentle reward, and further by hys othe was bound euery 3. yeares, eyther in his owne perſon or by another to viſit Limina Apoſtolorum.

A briefe table of the popes ſpoylyng and gettyng of Engliſh money in the dayes of K. Henry. 3.

So in the houſe of S. Albones, when Iohn Herford was elected Abbot, their publike election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the ſame, the Monkes were fayne to ſend Reynold the Phiſicion, & Nicholas a monke, to Rome with a ſufficient bag of mony, through the mediation wherof the election myght ſtand, and the new Abbot ſwore euery third yere by himſelfe, or another to viſite the doreſels of the Apoſtles.

Money comyng to the pope by the election of Iohn Herford Abbot of S. Albans.

An other ſuch like contention happened betwene the kyng and Monkes of Wincheſter about the election of W. Rale: whom the Monkes had choſen, but the kyng refuſed, willyng to place a ſtranger, and therfore ſent to Rome hys meſſengers, Theobald a Monke of Weſtminſter, and M. Alexander a Lawyer with no ſmall ſomme of mony: to euacuate the election of the foreſayd W. Rale: Commaundyng moreouer, that the gates of Wincheſter ſhould be ſhut agaynſt hym, and no man ſo hardy there to receaue hym in hys houſe. Wherupon the ſayd W. beyng excluded, after he had layd his curſe vppon the whole Citie of Wincheſter, made his repayre to Rome, wherefor 8000. Markes, beyng promiſed to the Pope, his biſhoprike ſpite of the kings hart, was confirmed and he receyued. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 164. & 240.

Eight thouſand markes geuen out of the Byſhopricke of Winc. to the pope, about the electiõ of Williã Rale. an. 1243.

After the death of Steuen Langhton Archb. of Canterbury, ye heard before how the monkes had elected Walter a Monke of Caunterbury. But the kyng to ſtop that election, ſent vp his Proctors, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford biſhop of Rocheſter to the Pope, to

Read before pag. 177.

euacuate that election, and to place Richard Chauncelour of Lincolne. which Proctors perceiuyng at firſt the Pope and Cardinals, how hard and vnwillyng they were therunto, and conſideryng how all thinges might be bought for money, rather then the Kyng ſhould fayle of his purpoſe, they promiſed on the Kinges behalfe to the Pope for maintainyng his warres agaynſt Fredericke the Emperour, a diſme, or tenth part of all the moueables in the Realme of England, and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which mony the Pope eftſoones thinking to paſſe with the kyng, begā to pike quarels w̄ the foreſayd Gualter, for not aunſweryng rightly to his queſtions about Chriſtes deſcendyng to hell: makyng of Chriſtes body on the aulter: ẏ weepyng of Rachell for her children, ſhe beyng dead before: about the ſentence of excommunication, and certayne cauſes of Matrimony. His aunſwers wherunto, when they were not to the Popes mynd, he was therfore put backe, and the kings man preferred, which coſt the whole Realme of England and Ireland, the tenth part of their moueable goodes. By reaſon wherof, what money was rayſed to the Popes Gazophylacium, I leaue to the eſtimation of the Reader, an. 1229. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 71.

The tenth part of all moueables in England & Irelād geuen to the Pope. 1229.

Math. Pariſ. fol. 71. b.

Money ſpēt at Rome betwene the K. & the Archb. of Cant.

And yet for all this the ſayd Richard the coſtly Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, within leſſe then two yeares after, fallyng out with the King about the Caſtle and Lordſhip of Tunbridge, went and complayned of hym to the Pope. In the trauers wherof it coſt the kyng a great piece of mony beſides, and yet myſt he his purpoſe. In the which iourney the ſayd Archbiſhop in hys returne homeward by the way departed. an. 1231.

The coſtly election of the B. of Durhā Read before, page. 276.

Of the lyke diſſentiō ye heard before betwene the kyng and the couent of Durham, for not chuſing M. Lucas the kings Chaplaine, whom the kyng offered to be their Biſhop. About the ſuite wherof, when much money was beſtowed on both ſides welfauouredly, the Pope defeiting thē both, admitted neither M. William nor M. Lucas, but ordeyned the Biſhop of Sarum to be their biſhop. an. 1228. Ex Pariſ.

Money comming to the pope for the electiō of the B. of Couentry and Lichfield.

Betwene the monkes of Couentry and the canons of Lichfield, roſe another like quarell, which of them ſhould haue the ſuperior voyce in chuſing their biſhop. In which ſuite, after much mony beſtowed in the court of Rome, the pope to requallifie agayne ech part with ſome retributiō for their mony receiued, tooke this order indifferently betwene them, that ech part by courſe ſhould haue the chuſing of their biſhop. an. 1228. Ex Pariſ. fol. 68.

Edmunde Archb. of Cant. condemned at Rome in a 1000. markes.

What a buſines fell likewiſe betwene Edmund Archb. of Canterbury, and the Monkes of Rocheſter, about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their biſhop? And what was the ende? firſt the Archbiſhop was fayne to trauaile hymſelfe to the Pope: and ſo dyd the Couent alſo ſende their Proctours. Who belyke beyng better monied, weyed downe the cauſe, ſo that the good Archbiſhop in that cauſe agaynſt the Monkes: and partly in an other cauſe againſt the Earle of Arundell, was condemned of the Pope in a thouſand Markes. Wherof the greateſt part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes coffers. an. 1238. Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 114.

The fift part of all the goods of the clergy graunted to the Pope.

After the returning of the ſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury agayne from Rome, it chaunced, that ẏ Monkes of Caunterbury had elected their Prior without hys aſſent: for the which he did excommunicate the Monkes, and euacuate their election. Not long after this the Popes exactours went about to extort from the Churchmen the fift part of their goodes to the Popes vſe fightyng then agaynſt the Emperour. This cruell exaction being a greate while reſiſted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the foreſayd Archb. thinking therby to get the victory agaynſt the monkes, was contented to graunt to the ſayd exaction, adding moreouer of his owne for an ouerplus 800. markes. Wherupon the reſt of the Clergy was fayne to folow after, and contribute to the Popes exactours. an. 1240. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 132. b.

Great expence of money in the court of Rome betwene the B. of Lincolne & the Cathedrall Church.

In the church of Lincolne (whoſe ſea before the conqueſt was in Dorkeſter, and afterward by William Rufus tranſlated from thence to Lincolne) roſe a greuous contention betwene Rob. Groſted then biſhop, and the Canons of the Cathedrall church, about their viſitation, whether the biſhop ſhould viſite them, or the Deane: which matter beyng put to arbiters, could not ſo be compoſed: before the B. and the chapter after their appeale made to the Pope, went both to Rome, and there after they had well waſted theyr purſes, they receiued at length their aunſwer, but payed full ſweetely for it. an. 1239. Pariſ. fol. 119.

At what tyme the Canons of Chicheſter had elected Robert Paſſelew to their biſhop at the kinges requeſt, the Archb. with certeine other biſhops taking part againſt the kinges Chaplain, repelled hym and ſet vp Richard Witch. Vpon this what ſendyng and goyng there was to Rome, and what mony beſtowed about the matter, as well of the kinges part, as biſhops, read the ſtory therof in Mat. Pariſ. fol. 182. 184. 186.

Money waſtfully beſtowed.

Money comyng to the Pope, betwene the B. of Lincolne and the monkes within his Dioces.

Robert Groſtede Biſhop of Lincolne (of whome relation was made before) hauing a great care how to bring the priuileged orders of religious houſes within hys precinct, vnder his ſubiection and diſcipline, went to Rome, & there with great labour & much effuſiō of money, as ẏ ſtory ſayth, procured of the Pope a mandate, wherby all ſuch religious were commaunded to be vnder his power and obedience. Not long after, the Monkes not abiding that, who could ſoone wey downe the biſhop with money, ſent their factours to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence ſo perſwaded hym and ſtirred affections in ſuch ſorte, that ſoone they purchaſed themſelues freedome from their ordinarie Biſhop. Wherof Robert Groſted hauyng intelligēce, made vp to Rome, and there complayning to the Pope, declared how he was diſappointed and confounded in his purpoſe, contrary to promiſes and aſſuraunce made to hym before. Vnto whom Pope Innocent lookyng with a ſterne countenaunce, made this aunſwer agayne: Brother (ſaid he) what is that to thee? Thou haſt deliuered and diſcharged thyne owne ſoule. It hath pleaſed vs to ſhew fauour vnto them. Is thine eye euill, that I am good? And thus was the Biſhop ſent away with a flea in his eare, murmuryng with hymſelfe, yet not ſo ſoftely, but that the Pope hearde hym ſay theſe wordes: O money, money, what canſt not thou doe in the Courte of Rome? Wherwith the Pope beyng ſomewhat pynched, gaue this aunſwere agayne: O ye Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen, of all men moſt wretched. For all your ſeekyng is how ye may conſume and deuour one an other. &c. anno. 1250. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 230.

How pretely the pope can take with both handes.

Money may do much at Rome.

The popes aunſwere to Rob. Groſted.

It happened moreouer the ſame yeare, that the ſayde Robert Groſtede excommunicated and depriued one Ranulphus a beneficed perſon in hys Dioceſſe, beyng accuſed of incontinencie. Who after the terme of xl. dayes, refuſing to ſubmit hymſelfe, the Byſhop wrote to the Shiriffe of Rutland to apprehend hym as contumax. Which Shiriffe becauſe he differred, or refuſed ſo to do (bearyng fauour to the partie) and beyng therfore ſolemnly excommunicate by the Biſhop, vttered his complaint to the kyng. Wherat the king takyng great diſpleaſure with the Biſhop for excommunicatyng hys Shiriffe, and would not firſt make hys cōplaint to hym, ſendeth forthwith a ſubſtantiall meſſenger (M. Moneta) ſuch as he was ſure would ſpede, vnto pope Innocent, by the vertue of whoſe wordes the Pope eaſie to be entreated, ſendeth downe a prouiſo to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, charging that no Prelate nor B. in the Realme of England ſhould moleſt or enter action agaynſt any of the kynges Bayliffs or officers, in ſuch matters as to the kings iuriſdiction apperteined. And thus was this ſtrife ended, not without ſome helpe and heape of Engliſh mony, ſo that no wynde of any controuerſie here ſtirred in England, were it neuer ſo ſmall, but it blew ſome profite for the popes aduantage. an. 1250. Ex Pariſ. fol. 231.

Iuſtice peruerted by the popes authoritie for money.

In lyke manner no little treaſure grew to the Popes coffers by the election of Boniface the Queenes Vncle a Frenchman to be Archb. of Caunt. an. 1243. and of Ethelmare the Queenes brother, to be B. of Wincheſter, againſt the wils of the Prior and Couent there, an. 1250. beſides many ſuch other eſchetes, which made England poore, and the Pope riche.

Money comyng to the Pope by the electiō of Boniface Archb. of Cant. and of Ethelmare B. of Winc. both ſtraūgers & Frēchmē.

I come now ſomething likewyſe to touch briefly of the popes diſpenſations, prouiſions, exactions, contributions, & extortions in England in this kings dayes: for to diſcourſe all it is not one booke will hold it.

Symon Montfort Earle of Leiceſter had maried Alnore the kings ſiſter and daughter of kyng Iohn, who, by report of ſtories had taken the mantell and ryng. Wherfore the kyng and his brother Richard Earle of Exceter, were greatly offended with the Mariage. Which ſeyng the Erle Simon made a hand of money, and poſtyng ouer to Rome, after he had talked a few wordes in Pope Innocents eare, the mariage was good inough: and letters ſent to Otho ẏ popes legate here, to geue ſentence ſolemnly with the Erle. Notwithſtanding the Dominicke Friers and other of the like religious fraternitie, withſtode that ſentence of ẏ pope ſtoutly, ſaying, that the Popes holines was therin deceyued, and ſoules in danger, that Chriſt was ielous ouer hys wife, & that it could not be any wiſe poſſible, that a woman which had vowed her mariage to Chriſt could afterward mary with any other. &c. an. 1238. Ex Pariſ. fol. 114.

Mariage with Alnore the kinges ſiſter a Nunne, diſpenſed by the Pope for money.

What inconuenience commeth by the popes diſpenſations.

As there was nothing ſo hard in the wide world wherwyth the Pope would not diſpenſe for money: ſo by the ſayd diſpenſations much miſchiefe was wrought abroad. For by reaſon therof, the people truſtyng vpon the Popes diſpenſation, litle regarded what they did, what they promiſed, or what they ſware. As well appeared by this kyng Henry.3. who being a great exactor of the poore commons, as euer was any king before him or ſince, and thinkyng thereby to winne the people ſooner to hys deuotion, moſt faithfully promiſed them once or twiſe, and therunto bound hymſelfe wyth a ſolemne othe, both before the Clergie and laytie, to graunt vnto them the old liberties and cuſtomes as well of Magna Charta, as Charta de Foreſta perpetually to be obſerued. wherupon a Quindecim was graunted to the kyng. But after the payment was ſure, the kyng truſting by the Popes diſpenſation for a litle money to be diſcharged of hys oth & couenaunt, went from that he had promiſed and ſworne before.

Wilfull periurie mayntayned by the Popes diſpenſations.

In like maner the ſayd king an other tyme, beyng in neede of money, ſigned hymſelfe wyth the Croſſe, pretendyng and ſwearing deepely in the face of the whole Parlament, that he would hymſelfe perſonally fight in the holy land agaynſt the Saracens. But as ſoone as the money was taken, ſmall care was takē for performance of hys oth, beyng ſo put in yͤ head by certaine about him, that he needed not paſſe of that periury, for ſo much as the Pope for an hundreth pound or two would quickly diſcharge hym therof. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.273.

Out of the ſame corrupt ſpring of theſe popiſhe diſpenſations, haue proceeded alſo many other foule abſurdities. For where many young men were in thoſe dayes, which enioyed benefices, and were no prieſtes: and when by the procurement of Robert Groſted Byſhop of Lincolne, the ſayd young men ſhould be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders, they laying their purſes together, ſent to Rome, and obteyned of the Pope a diſpenſation to remayne ſtill as they were, that is, to haue the fruites of benefices to finde them at ſchoole or vniuerſitie and yet themſelues neither miniſters to take charge, nor yeldyng any ſeruice for their profites taken. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.256. Beſides innumerable heapes of enormities moe, proceedyng of the Popes diſpenſations, as diſpenſing one man to haue ſundry byſhoprickes, to encroch pluralities of benefices, to make children Parſons, to legitimate baſtardes, with ſuch other like, the particulars wherof, for breuities ſake I do omit to further opportunitie.

Enormities which ſpring out of the popes diſpenſations.

¶ *The intollerable oppreſsion of the Realme of England*, by the Popes exactions and contributions and other ſleightes here vſed in the time of K.Henry.3.

The miſerable impoueriſhing of the Realme by the popes prouiſions & contributions.

ALthough theſe emolumentes thus riſing dayly to the Popes purſe by Symonie and brybery, by elections & diſpenſations, myght ſeeme ſufficient to ſatiſfie his greedy appetite, yet ſo vnſatiable was the auarice of that ſea, that he not yet contented here with, ouer and beſides all this, ſent euery yeare almoſt ſome Legat or other into this realme to rake for his aduauntage. In ſo much that during all this kinges tyme, the Realme was neuer lightly without ſome of the Popes liegers with all violence exacting and extorting continuall prouiſions, contributions, and ſummes of money to be leaued out of Celles, Abbeyes, priories, fruits of benefices, and Byſhoprikes, and alſo lay mens purſes, to the miſerable empoueriſhing both of the clergy, & temporaltie, as here vnder foloweth.

Cardinall Otho legate in Englād.

The receauing of Otho the popes Legate into the Realme.

An.1237.

First after Pandulphus, was ſent into this Realme Cardinall Otho, procured by the kyng without the aſſent of his nobles, to the entent to aſſiſte him in certeine affaires, he had to doe. At receiuing of which Legate, great preparaunce was made, many rich and precious giftes in ſcarlet, in plate, in iewels, in money and palfreyes were geuen him. whom the kyng alſo himſelfe went as farre as the Sea ſide to receaue, bowyng downe his head in low courſie to the cardinals knees. To whom alſo the Byſhop of winchester for his part gaue toward keepyng of his houſe, fifty fat Oxen, a hundreth ſeme of wheate, and viij. great veſſels of pure wyne. This Legate at his firſt commyng beginneth firſt to beſtow ſuch benefices as he found vacant, vpon them whō he brought with him without reſpect, whether they were meete, or vnmeete. Ex Pariſ.fol. 103.

After this the Pope hearyng how the nobles and commons of the Realme began to ſtomacke the Cardinall for his exceſſiue procurations and exactions, ſent for him home: but the kyng, by reaſon he ſtode in feare of his nobles, and thought to haue a ſtay by the Cardinall agaynſt all occurrentes, entreated him to ſtay while he wrote to the Pope, to obteyne further licence for him to tary: & ſo did, not without ſome Engliſh money, ye may be ſure.

Otho the legate ſeeketh to come into England.

In this meane tyme of vacation, Otho thinkyng to loſe no tyme, but to gather alſo ſome crōmes in Scotland, made as though he would ſet thynges there in order, which were in the Church of Scotland to be reformed, and ſo commeth to the kyng of Scots beyng then in Yorke with kyng Henry, to haue leaue to enter. Unto whom the kyng thus made aunſwere, that he neuer ſaw, to his remēbraunce, any popes Legate in his land, neither was there any ſuch neede (God be prayſed) for any ſuch to be ſent for. Matters there were well though, and neded no helpe of his. And as he could neuer learne either in the dayes of his father, or any his predeceſſours, that any ſuch entraunce to any Legate was graunted, ſo he for his part would not now begyn. But yet notwithſtanding, for ſomuch as I heare (ſayd he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if ye will needes aduenture in, do it warely, and take heede to your ſelfe, leſt it happen to you otherwiſe, then I would wiſh: for they be a ſauage and vnruly people, geuen much to murder, and ſheding bloud, whō neither I my ſelfe am ſcarſe able to bridle, ſo that if they fall vpon you, I ſhal not be able to helpe you. And how they alſo inuaded me, and ſought to expell me frō my kyngdome, ye heard alate. And therfore I warne you before, take heede by tyme, what ye thinke beſt to do. After the Cardinal heard the kyng ſpeake theſe wordes he pluckt in his hornes, and durſt procede no farther but kept him ſtill by the ſide of kyng Henry. Notwithſtandyng ſhortly after, the ſame Legate commyng to the borders of Scotlād, there called the Byſhops to him, & ſo when he had well filled his bagges came backe agayne. Ex Mat.Pariſ.fol.106.123.b.

The king of Scotes hys aunſwere to Cardinall Otho.

The realme of Scotland hetherto neuer troubled with any popes legate.

Cardinall Otho ſtopped frō going into Scotlād.

It was not lōg after, but licence came from Pope Gregory to his legate Otho, for his longer abode here in the realme (as welcome as water in the ſhyp) with new authoritie alſo to procede in the Popes affaires. Who firſt ſhewyng to the Biſhops and the Clergy his letters of longer taryng, required of them, for ſomuch as no mā (ſayd he) warreth of his owne Charges, to be ſupported & new procuratiōs which was to haue of euery able church iiij. Markes, and where one Church was not able to reach therto, that other Churches ſhould ioyne with all, to make the ſaid money. Notwithſtandyng the Byſhops a great while ſtode in deniall therof. Pariſienſ.fol.123.128.132.

Oppreſſions of the church of Englād by Cardinall Otho the popes Legate.

Beſides he aſſembled together all blacke Monkes of S.Benedictes order, geuyng to them ſtrait orders, which ſhortly after for money, he releaſed to them agayne. Pariſienſ.fol.116.119.

1238.

Moreouer by the ſayd Otho, and other the Popes executours with ſpeciall Bulles directed downe for the ſame, collation of benefices beyng taken out of the handes of the patrons, were geuen to light and vyle runnagates, commyng from Italy and other places, ſuch as pleaſed the Pope and his Legate to beſtow them vpon, to the great preiudice of the auncient libertie and right of the true patrons therof. Wherupon the Earles and Barons and nobles of the Realme addreſſed letters vnto Pope Gregory, by Syr Robert Twyng knight, for redreſſe of ſuch wrōg and iniuries, who otherwiſe ſhould be forced (they ſayd) to inuocate the ſuccour of their kyng, who both was able and no leſſe was willyng according to his duety (they truſted) to reforme ſuch enormities, and to defend the liberties of his Realme. The tenour of whoſe wrytyng is to be read in Mat. Pariſienſ.fol.128.a.

The nobles of England write to pope Gregory for collation of benefices wraſted out of their handes.

Not long after the ſame, in the yeare of our Lord.1240. came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubeus the Popes nuncio, to the foreſayd Otho, that all beneficed men in the Clergy as well in England as Fraunce, ſhould pay to the Pope the fift part of their reuenewes. Wherupon when the Clergy men made their complaint to the kyng, ſeekyng to be releued by him, the kyng aunſwered them agayne that he neither would, ne durſt ſtand agaynſt the pope in any caſe, and ſo without all hope of ſuccour ſent them away. Pariſienſ.fol.132. Then were the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbats and Prelates of the Church commaūded to aſſēble together at Redyng, there to heare the popes pleaſure and commaundement, concernyng the payment of this fift part. Where in the end thus the matter concluded, that the Prelates deſired a further tyme to be geuen them to aduiſe vpon the matter, and for that ſeaſon, the aſſembly brake vp. Pariſienſ.122.b. Notwithſtādyng at laſt after many excuſes and exceptions layd in by the Clergy, firſt that becauſe the money was gathered to fight agaynſt the Emperour, they ought not to contribute their money contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, for ſomuch as they had payd a tenth not long before vnto the Pope, vpon condition that no mo ſuch paymentes ſhould be required of thē, much

Petrus Rubeus the popes cariet.

All beneficed men in Englād compelled to geue the fift part of their reuenewes to the Pope. an. 1240.

1240.

Excuſes of the Clergie why they would not contribute to the Pope.

leſſe now the fift part ſhould be exacted of them, becauſe an action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome. Item, ſeyng they had oftymes to repayre to the Court of Rome, if they ſhould giue this money agaynſt the Emperour, it would turne to their daūger commyng through his land. Item, ſeyng their kyng had many enemyes, agaynſt whom they muſt needes releue the king with their money, they could not ſo do, if the realme were thus impoueriſhed. &c. All which excuſes with diuers other moe notwithſtanding, they were compelled at length to conforme themſelues to the Popes good pleaſure, through the example giuen of Edmūd Archbyſhop of Cāterbury who to obteyne his purpoſe agaynſt the Monkes of Canterbury (with whom he was then in ſtrife) began firſt to yeld to the Legates viij. hundreth Markes for his part. Wherby the reſt alſo were fayne to follow after. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 132. 136.

Furthermore the ſame yeare the Pope agreed ſo with the people of Rome, that if they would ayde him agaynſt Fridericke the Emperour, looke what benefices were to be giuen in Englād, the ſame ſhould be at their arbitrement to be beſtowed vpon their children. Wherupon commaūdement was ſent to the foreſayd Edmund Archbiſhop, to the Biſhops of Lyncolne and Sarum, that all collations of benefices within the realme ſhould be ſuſpended, till prouiſion were made for iij. hūdreth children of the Citizēs of Rome, to be firſt ſerued. Vpō the which ſo miſerable requeſt yͤ ſayd Edmund Archbyſhop of Canterbury for ſorow to ſee the Church ſo oppreſſed, departed the Realme, and ſo continued in Fraunce, & dyed at Pontinia. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 134. b. Which Edmund was afterward made a Sainte, and canonized by Pope Innocent 4.

Three C. children of Rome placed in benefices in England.

Edmunde Archb. of Cant. departeth the realme & dyeth in exile.

This done, then went Petrus Rubeus the popes nūcio, and Ruffinus into Scotlād, from whence they brought with them iij. thouſand poundes, to the Popes vſe, about allhallowtyde the ſame yeare. At which tyme moreouer cōmeth an other harpax from the Pope to England named Mumelius, bryngyng with him xxiiij. Romanes here into the Realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the kyng on the one ſide, and what by Cardinall Otho, Petrus Rubeus, Ruffinus, and Mumelius on the other ſide, poore Englād was in a wretched caſe. Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 137.

Three thouſand poūdes to the popes vſe.

Romaynes 24. brought to Englād to be beneficed.

An other prety practiſe of the Pope to pole for money, was this. The foreſayd Petrus Rubeus commyng into religious houſes and into their Chapters, cauſed them to cōtribute to the Popes holynes, by the example of this Byſhop and that Abbot, pretēdyng that he and he of their own voluntary deuotiō had giuē ſo much & ſo much, & ſo ſeduced them. Pariſ. fol. 134. Alſo the pope craftely ſuborned certeine Friers, authoriſed with full indulgence, that who ſoeuer had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was diſpoſed to be releaſed of his vow, needed not to repayre to Rome for abſolution, but paying ſomuch money as his charges would come to goyng thether, he reſortyng to the ſayd Friers might be aſſoyled at home.

The pope for money releaſeth Chriſtians of their vow.

The next yeare followyng, which was. 1241. came a commaundement Apoſtolicall to the houſe of Peterborow, that they at the Popes contemplation muſt needes graunt him ſome benefice lying in their donation, the fruits wherof at leaſt beyng worth an hundreth poundes, and if it were more it ſhould be the better welcome, ſo that they ſhould be as the fermers, and he to receaue the profites. In fine, the Couent, excuſed themſelues by the Abbat, beyng then not at home. The Abbat when he came home excuſed himſelfe by the kyng, being the patrone & founder of the houſe. The kyng agreeued with the vnreaſonable rauenyng of theſe Romaniſtes, vtterly forbad any ſuch example to be giuē. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 143. But what happened? The Abbat beyng therfore accuſed to the Pope by one of the Legates, and commyng vp about foure yeares after in the tyme of Pope Innocent, to the Councell of Lyons, was ſo rated and reuiled, & ſo ſhamefully thruſt out of the popes Court, that for ſorrow he fell ſicke vpon the ſame, and there dyed. Pariſienſ. fol. 184.

Mumelius an other meſſenger of the Pope.

An execrable exaction of the pope vpon the houſe of Peterborough.

Abbot of Peterborough thruſt out of the popes court.

In the tyme of which Councell of Lyons, Pope Innocent 4. (for ſomuch as the inſtrumēt or obligatiō, wherby the Realme of England ſtode tributary to the pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes chamber a litle before) brought forth either the ſame, or an other charte lyke vnto it, wherunto he ſtraitly charged & commaunded euery Engliſh Byſhop beyng there preſent at the Councell ſeuerally to ſet to his hand & ſeale. Which vnreaſonable petitiō of yͤ pope, albeit it went ſore agaynſt yͤ harts of yͤ byſhops, yet (ſee in what miſerable ſubiection the Pope had all the byſhops vnder him) none of them durſt otherwiſe do but accompliſh the Popes requeſt therein, both to their owne ſhame, & preiudice to the publicke freedome of the Realme, Amongeſt which Byſhops, the longeſt that held out, and laſt that put to his ſeale was the Biſhop of London. Which Acte when the king and the nobilitie vnderſtode, they were mightely, and worthely therwith all offended. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 192. an. 1245.

The obligatiō of kyng Johns tribute to the pope, burned.

The biſhops of England put their handes and ſeales to the popes bill.

After what tyme Cardinal Otho was ſent for by pope Gregory in all haſt to come to the generall Councell, ij. other in his rowme here remained, whoſe names were Petrus Rubeus, and Petrus de Supino. Of whom the one bearyng himſelfe for the Popes kinſman, brought out his Billes and Bulles vnder the Popes authoritie, to ſuch an Abbat or to ſuch a Prior, or to ſuch and ſuch a Byſhop, and ſo extorted from them a great quantitie of gold and ſiluer. The other, to wyt, Petrus de Supino ſayled to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thouſand and fiue hūdreth markes to yͤ popes vſe. an. 1241. Ex Par. fol. 147. b. All which money notwithſtādyng gotten by both yͤ collectors, in yͤ cariage vp to Rome, about the death of pope Gregory, happened into the handes of Fridericke the Emperour, who cauſed it agayne to be reſtored as neare as he could, to them of whom it was taken. Pariſienſ. fol. 151.

Petrus Rubeus, Petrus de Supino, the popes collectors in England.

A thouſand & fiue hūdreth markes brought out of Ireland for the Pope.

After theſe, came in then M. Martinus a new Marchaunt from the new pope Innocent the fourth. an. 1244. armed with full power to ſuſpend all Prelates in Englād from giuyng benefices, till the popes kinſmē were firſt preferred. Neither would he take the fruites of any benefice, vnleſſe it were aboue the value of xxx. Markes. At his firſt commyng he required of prelates, and eſpecially of religious houſes to furniſh him with horſes & palfreys, ſuch as were conuenient for the popes eſpeciall Chaplein and Legate to ſit vpon. Alſo with plate, rayment, prouiſion for his kitchyng and celler. &c. and ſuch as denyed or excuſed, he ſuſpēded, as the Abbat of Malmeſbury, and the Prior of Merton. All prebēdes that were voyde he ſought out and reſerued them for the popes behoufe. Among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belongyng to the Chauncellour of the Queene, whom he preferred to the Byſhopricke of Bathe, and ſo ſeiſed vpon the prebend beyng voyde, agaynſt the willes both of the Byſhop and the Chapter. Pariſ. fol. 167. 180. Moreouer he brought with him blankes in paper and parchmēt ſigned in the popes chamber with his ſtampe and ſeale, wherin he might afterward write to whom, and what he would. Pariſienſ. fol. 178. b. requiring furthermore of the kyng in the popes behalfe, to helpe his holynes with a contribution to be taxed amongeſt his Clergy, at leſt of x. thouſand Markes, Ibid. And to the end that the Pope might wynne the kyng ſooner to his deuotion, he writeth in the kynges behoufe to the nobles and commons of the Realme, that they ſhould not fayle, vpon payne of his great curſe, to conferre ſuch ſubſidie of money to the ſubuention of the kyng, as he then had demaunded of them, but they ſtode ſtiffe in not graunting to him.

M. Martinus an other meſſenger for the popes money. an. 1244.

Extortion of the Popes Legate vpon the clergie of England.

Contribution of x. M. markes for the pope.

The pope craftely holdeth with the king, that the king might hold with hym.

While the inſatiable auarice of the Pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goodes together in England, the nobles and Barons, with the community as well of the Clergy as the laitie, weyng the miſerable ſtate of the Realme, and namely of the Church, which now neither had libertie left them to chuſe their owne miniſters, nor yet could enioy their owne liuynges, layd their heades together, and ſo exhibited an earneſt intimatiō to the kyng, beſechyng him to conſider the pitifull affliction and oppreſſion of his ſubiectes vnder the popes extortion, liuyng in more thraldome, then euer did the people of Iſraell, vnder Pharao. Wherupon the kyng begynnyng at laſt to looke vp, & to conſider the iniuries and wronges receaued in his Realme through the auarice of the Court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent 4. this letter in tenour as foloweth.

Intimation geuē to the king, touching the importable oppreſſion of the realme by the Pope.

¶ The kynges letter to pope Innocent 4.

SAnctiſ. in Chriſto pat. ac Domino Innocentio Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Henr. eadem gratia Rex Angliæ. &c. Salutem & pedum oſcula beatorum. &c. To the moſt holy father in Chriſt and Lord, Innocent by the grace of God chief biſhop, Henry by the ſame grace, king of England &c. greetyng and kiſſinges of his bleſſed feete. The more deuout & obſequious the ſonne ſheweth hymſelfe in obeying the fathers will, the more fauour and ſupportation doth he deſerue to finde at his fathers handes agayne. This therfore I write, for that where as both we and our realme haue euer and in all thinges bene hitherto at the deuotion and commaundement of your fatherhoode, and that although in ſome certain affayres of ours and of our kyngdom, we haue found your fatherly fauor and grace ſomtymes propice vnto vs: yet in ſome thinges agayne, as in prouiſions geuen & graunted to your clerkes of forreine nations, both we & our

K. Henries letter to the Pope.

The king offereth to kiſſe the Popes feete.

Damage receaued by the pope in the realme of England.

kyngdome haue felte no ſmall detriment. By reaſon of which prouiſions the Church of England is ſo ſore charged and burdened, that not onely the Patrones of Churches, to whom the donations therof do appertayne, are defrauded of their right: but alſo many other good workes of Charitie thereby do decay, for that ſuch benefices which haue bene mercifully beſtowed vppon religious houſes to their ſuſtentation, are now waſted and conſumed by your prouiſions.

The popes prouiſions.

Wherfore for ſo much as your ſea Apoſtolike ought to be fauourable to all that be petitioners to the ſame, ſo that no perſon be wrōged in that which is his right, we thoght therfore to be ſuiters to your fatherhood, moſt humbly beſeching your holineſſe that you will deſiſt and ſurceaſe for a tyme, from ſuch prouiſions to be exacted. In the meane ſeaſon, it may pleaſe your fatherhoode, we beſech you, that our lawes and liberties, (which you may rightly repute none other but your owne) you will receaue to your tuition, to be conſerued whole and ſound, nor to ſuffer the ſame by any ſiniſter ſuggeſtion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holineſſe be any whit mooued therfore with vs, if in ſome ſuch caſes as theſe be, we do or ſhall hereafter reſiſt the tenour of your commaundementes foraſmuch as the complayntes of ſuch which daily call vpon vs, do neceſſarily enforce vs therunto, which ought by the charge of this our office and kingly dignitie committed to vs of almighty GOD, to foreſee that no man in that which is their right be iniured, but truely to miniſter iuſtice to euery one in that which duely to hym appertayneth. This letter was ſent, the 28. yeare of the kinges reigne. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 172.

The kinges too much in ſubiectiō to the Pope.

A man would thinke that this ſo gentle and obedient letter of the king to the Pope, would haue wrought ſome good effect in hys Apoſtolicall breſt, to withdraw his prouiſions, and to haue tendered the kings ſo reaſonable and honeſt requeſt: but how little all this preuayled to ſtop his inſatiable gredines, and vntollerable extortions and oppreſſions, the ſequele well declareth. For beſides that ſhortly after the Pope ſent M. Martin with blankes beyng bulled for contribution of 10000. markes in all haſt to be payed, alſo euen immediatly vpon the receauing of this letter, it followeth in myne author, that the ſayd pope Innocent the 4. after all this great ſubmiſſion of the king and ſo manifold benefites and paymentes yerely out of this Realme receiued, was not aſhamed to take of Dauid prince of Northwales 500. Markes by yeare, to ſet him agaynſt the king of England, and exempted hym from his fealtie and obedience due to his owne liege Lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welchmen had ſworne their ſubiection before, as by the ſeales and obligations, as wel of that Dauid himſelfe, as other Welch Lordes in this behalfe, doth appeare. In Mat. Pariſ. fol. 172.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 172.

The pope ſetteth Welch men agaynſt the king of England.

Neither did M. Martinus in the meane whyle ſleepe his buſines in making vp his market for the Popes mony of 10000. markes, but ſtill was callyng vpon the prelates and clergy. Who firſt excuſing themſelues by the abſence of the king and the Archb. of Cant. afterward beyng called agayne by new letters, made their aunſwer by the Deane of Paules their Prolocutor.

Firſt that the pouerty of the Realme would not ſuffer them to conſent therto.

Item, where as they had geuen before a contributiō to Cardinall Otho, for paying of the Popes debtes, & knew the ſayd mony to be employed to no ſuch end as it was demaunded for, more cauſe they had now to miſdoubt, leſt this contribution, in his handes which was a much more inferiour meſſenger then the Cardinall, would come to the ſame or a worſe effect.

Contribution required of the clergie of Englād for the pope with their excuſes and reaſons agaynſt the ſame.

Item, if they ſhould now agree to a new contribution, they feared leſt it would grow to a cuſtome, ſeyng that one action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome.

Item, for ſo much as a generall Councell is ſhortly looked for, where euery Prelate of the realme muſt nedes beſtow both hys trauayle and expenſes, and alſo his preſence to the Pope, if the Prelates now ſhould be bound to thys taxe, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, ſeyng it is alleaged, that the mother Church of Rome is ſo farre in debt, reaſon and right it were, that the mother ſo oppreſſed ſhould be ſuſteyned of all her deuout children meetyng together in the generall Councell, wheras by helpes of many more reliefe might come, then by one nation alone.

Item laſt of all they alleged, that for feare of the Emperour and his threatninges, they durſt not conſent to the ſayd contribution.

While theſe thynges were thus in talke betwene the Popes prieſt and the Clergy of England, cōmeth in John Marſchall, and other meſſengers from the kyng, commaundyng in the kings name, that no biſhop that held his Baronage of the kyng, ſhould infeſt hys lefeode to the court of Rome, which they ought onely vnto hym, &c. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 139. anno. 1244.

Not long after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1245. the whole nobilitie of the Realme, by generall conſent, and not without the kings knowledge alſo, cauſed all the Portes by the Sea ſide to be laid, that no meſſenger with the popes letters and Bulles from Rome, ſhould be permitted to enter the Realme. Wherupon ſome were taken at Douer, and there ſtayed. Notwithſtandyng when complaint therof was brought to the kyng by M. Martinus the Popes leiger, there was no remedy but the kyng muſt nedes cauſe theſe letters to be reſtored agayne, and executed to the full effect, fol. 185.

The portes of England layde to ſtop the popes letters, yet all would not ſerue.

Then the kyng vpon aduiſe, cauſed a vewe to be taken through euery ſhire in England, to what ſumme the whole reuenewes of the Romains and Italians amounted, which by the Popes authoritie went out of England: the whole ſumme wherof was found yerely to be threeſcore thouſand Markes: to the which ſumme, the reuenues of the whole crowne of England did not extende. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 185. a.

Sixty thouſand markes yerely going out of England to the Pope and his Italian clerkes.

The Nobles then vnderſtandyng the miſerable oppreſſion of the Realme, beyng aſſembled together at Dunſtable for certayne cauſes, ſent one Fulco in the name of the whole Nobilitie, vnto M. Martinus the Popes merchaunt, with this meſſage, that he vndelayedly vpon the ſame warnyng ſhould prepare hymſelfe to be gone out of the realme, vnder payne of beyng cut all to pieces. At which meſſage the Legate beyng ſore agaſt, went ſtreight to the king, to know whether his conſent was to the ſame or not. Of whom when he found litle better comfort, he tooke his leaue of the king, who bade him adue in ẏ deuils name (ſayeth M. Pariſ.) and thus was the realme rid of M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Pariſ. 185. b. an. 1245.

M. Martine the Popes legate ſent out of England in the deuils name.

As ſoone as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage: And furthermore remembryng how the French king and ẏ king of Arragon, not long before had denyed him entraunce into their land, and being therfore in diſpleaſure with them likewiſe, began in great anger to knit his browes, and ſaid: it is beſt that we fall in agreement with our Prince, wherby we may the ſooner bryng vnder * theſe little pety kinges, and ſo the great Dragon being pacified, theſe little ſerpentes we ſhall handle at our owne pleaſure as we liſt.

The Pope in diſpleaſure with the king of England.

Iſtos Regulos.

The proud wordes of the pope agaynſt the French king and king of England.

After this immediatly then folowed the generall councell of Lions, to the which Councell the ſtates and Lordes of the Realme, with the conſent of the communaltie, ſent two Billes: One conteynyng a generall ſupplication to the Pope, and the Councell: the other with the Articles of ſuch greuaunces which they deſired to be redreſſed, wherof relation is made ſufficiently before, pag. 170. The other Bill of the Supplication becauſe it is not before expreſſed, I thought here to exhibite for two cauſes: Firſt, that men now in theſe dayes may ſee the pitifull blindneſſe of thoſe ignoraunt dayes, wherin our Engliſh nation here dyd ſo blyndely humble themſelues, and ſtand to the Popes curteſie, whome rather they ſhoulde haue ſhaken of, as the Grecians dyd. Secondly, that the pryde of the pope might the better appeare in hys colours, who ſo diſdainefully reiected the humble ſute of our Lordes and Nobles, when they had much more cauſe to diſdayne rather, & to ſtampe hym vnder their feete. The Tenour of the Supplication was this.

The copy of the Supplication written in the
names of all the nobles and commons of England to
Pope Innocent the 4. in the generall Councell
at Lyons. an. 1245.

1245.

¶To the reuerend father in Chriſt Pope Innocent, chiefe Biſhop, the nobles with the whole comminalty of the Realme of England ſendeth commendation with kiſſing of his bleſſed feete.

The ſupplication of the Lordes and commons of England to the pope.

OVr mother the Church of Rome we loue with all our hartes as our duety is, and couet the encreaſe of her honour with ſo much affection as we may, as to whome we ought always to flie for refuge, wherby the grief lying vpō the child may finde comfort at the mothers hand. Which ſuccor the mother is bound ſo much the rather to imparte to her childe,how much more kind and beneficiall ſhe findeth him in releuing her neceſſities.Neither is it to the ſaid our mother vnknowen,how beneficiall and bountiful a geuer the Realme of England hath bene now of long tyme for the more amplifiyng of her exaltation,as hath appeared by our yerely ſubſidie, which we terme by the name of Peterpence. Now the ſayd Church not contented with this yearely ſubſidie,hath ſent diuers Legates for other contributions, at diuers and ſondry times,to be taxed and leuyed out of the ſame Realme, all which contributions and taxes notwithſtandyng , haue bene louingly and liberally graunted.

The ſuperſtitious foundyng of monaſtaries in England.

Furthermore, neyther is it vnknowen to your fatherhoode, how our forefathers lyke good Catholickes, both louyng and fearyng their maker, for the ſoules health as well of themſelues as of their progenitours, and ſucceſſors alſo, haue founded Monaſteries, and largely haue endued the ſame,both with their owne proper landes,and alſo patronages of benefices, wherby ſuch religious perſons profeſſing the firſt and chiefeſt perfection of holy Religion in their Monaſteries, myght with more peace and tranquillitie occupy themſelues deuoutly in Gods ſeruice, as to the order appertayned : And alſo theyr Clerkes preſented by them into their benefices, myght ſuſtayne the other exteriour labours for them in that ſecond order of religion, and ſo diſcharge and defend them from all haſardes: ſo that the ſayde religious monaſteries cannot be defrauded of thoſe their patronages and collations of benefices, but the ſame muſt touch vs alſo very nere,and worke intollerable griefe vnto our hartes.

Iniuries receiued in England by the Pope.

Benefices in Engliſh wickedly geuen away to Italians.

And now ſee we beſeche you, which is lamentable to behold,what iniuries we ſuſtayne by you and your predeceſſours, who not conſidering thoſe our ſubſidies and contributions aboue remembred, doe ſuffer alſo your Italians and forreiners (which be out of number) to be poſſeſſed in our Churches and benefices in England, perteining to the right and patronage of thoſe monaſteries aforeſaid: which forreiners neither defending the ſayde religious perſones, whom they ought to ſee to,nor yet hauyng the language, wherby they may inſtruct the flock,take no regard of their ſoules, but vtterly leaue them, of wylde wolues to be deuoured. Wherfore it may truely be ſayd of them, that they are no good ſhepeherdes,where as neither they know their ſhepe,nor yet the ſhepe do know the voyce of their ſhepeherdes,neither do they kepe any hoſpitalitie, but only take vp the rentes of thoſe benefices, carying them out of the realme,wherwith our brethren,our nephews,and our kinſfolkes might be ſuſteyned, who could and would dwell vpon them,and employ ſuch exerciſes of mercy and hoſpitalitie as their duety required. Wherof a great number now for mere neceſſitie are lay men, and fayne to flie out of the Realme.

Three ſcore thouſãd markes yearely geuen to Italians out of the church of England.

And now to the entent more fully to certifie you of the truth,ye ſhall vnderſtand that the ſayd Italians and ſtraungers receauing of yerely rentes out of England, not ſo little as 60000.Markes by yeare,beſides other auayles and exiſes deducted, do reape in the ſayd our kingdome of England more emoluments of mere rentes, then doth the king hymſelfe beyng both the tutour of the Church and gouernour of the land.

Italians receaued more in this land of mere rẽtes then did the kinges crowne.

Furthermore,where as at the firſt creation of your Papacie,we were in good hope and yet are, that by meanes of your fatherly goodnes we ſhould enioy our fraunchiſes, & free collation of our benefices,and donatiues, to be reduced againe to the former ſtate: now cõmeth an other greuance, which we cannot but ſignifie vnto you, preſſing vs aboue meaſure, which we recíue by M.Martinus : who entryng late into our land without leaue of our king,with greater power thẽ euer was ſene before in any Legat,although he beareth not the ſtate and ſhew of a Legate,yet he hath doubled the doynges of a Legate, charging vs euery day wyth new mandates, and ſo moſt extremely hath oppreſſed vs: First in beſtowing & geuing away our benefices if any were aboue xxx.markes, as ſoone as they were vacant,to Italian perſons.

Deteſtable dealinges of the popes legate in England.

Secondly,after the deceaſe of the ſayd Italians,vnknowing to the patrons,he hath intruded other Italians therein, wherby the true patrons haue bene ſpoyled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly,the ſaid M.Martinus yet alſo ceaſeth not to aſſigne and conferre ſuch benefices ſtill to the like perſones : And ſome he reſerueth to the donation of the Apoſtolike ſea: And extorteth moreouer from religious houſes immoderate penſions,excommunicating and interdictyng who ſo euer dare gaynſtand hym,

Complaint of M. Martin the popes Legate.

Wherſore,foraſmuch as the ſayd M.Martin hath ſo far extended his iuriſdiction,to the great perturbation of the whole Realme,and no leſſe derogation to our kinges priuiledge,to whome it hath bene fully graunted by the ſea Apoſtolike,that no Legate ſhould haue to doe in his land, but ſuch as he by ſpeciall letters did ſend for:we with moſt humble deuotion beſeche you,that as a good father will alwayes be ready to ſupporte his childe,ſo your fatherhode will reach forth your hand of compaſſiõ to releaue vs your humble children from theſe greuous oppreſſions.

K. Henry the 3. vſed euery day to heare 3. maſſes by note.

And although our Lord and king,being a Catholicke Prince,and wholy giuen to his deuotions and ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſu our Lord,ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his owne body,will feare and reuerence the ſea Apoſtolicke,and as a deuoute ſonne of the Church of Rome,deſireth nothing more then to aduaunce the eſtate and honour of the ſame:yet we whiche trauaile in his affaires bearing the heate and burden of the day,and whoſe duety together with him,is to rẽder the preſeruatiõ of the publick wealth, neither can pacienly ſuffer ſuch oppreſſions ſo deteſtable to God and man,and greuaunces intollerable, neither,by Gods grace,will ſuffer them,through the meanes of your godly remedy,which we well hope and truſt of you ſpedily to obteine.And thus may it pleaſe your fatherhode,we beſech you to accept this our Supplicatiõ,who in ſo doing ſhall worthely deſerue of all the Lordes and Nobles,with the whole comminaltie of the Realme of Englãd,cõdigne and ſpeciall thankes accordingly.an.1245 . Ex Mat.Pariſienſ. fol.188.

The ſtout wordes of the Lordes to the Pope.

The ſupplication of the Engliſhe nation tooke no place wyth the Pope.

This ſupplication beyng ſent by the handes of Sir W. Pygot Knight, and W. de Powike Squier, Henry de la Mare, with other knightes and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent ,firſt keping ſilence, differred to make aunſwer therunto, makyng haſt to procede in hys deteſtable excommunication and curſe agaynſt the good Emperour Friderike. The which curſe beyng done, and the Engliſh Embaſſadours waityng ſtill for their anſwer, the Pope then told them flatte, they ſhould not haue their requeſt fulfilled. Wherat the Engliſh men departyng in great anger away,ſware with terrible othes, that they would neuer more ſuffer any tribute, or fruites of any benefices,namely wherof the noble men were patrons, to be payd to that inſatiable and greedy Court of Rome worthy to be deteſted in all worldes. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.193.

The Engliſhe ambaſſadours agreeued wyth the Pope.

The pope in an anger with England.

The Pope hearing theſe wordes, albeit makyng them no aunſwer,thought to watch his tyme and did. Firſt,incontinent vpon the ſame,during the ſayd Councell,he cauſed euery Biſhop of England to put hys hande and ſeale to the obligation made by king Iohn for the Popes tribute, as is aboue ſpecified. Threatnyng moreouer and ſaying,that if he had once brought downe the Emperour Friderike,he would bridle the inſolent pryde of England well enough.

The biſhops of England ſet their ſeales to the popes tribute.

An.1246.

After this Councell ended,in the beginnyng of the next yeare followyng,an.1246. Pope Innocent came to Cluniake,where was then appointed a ſecret meetyng or colloquie betwene the Pope and Lewes the Frenche kyng (who was then preparyng his voyage to Ieruſalem): in which colloquie the Pope ſought by all meanes to perſuade the French kyng, in reuengement of hys iniury, to warre contra Regulum (as he termed hym) that is, agaynſt the weake and feeble kyng of England,eyther to driue him vtterly from hys kyngdome,or els ſo to diminiſhe hym, wherby he ſhould be conſtrayned,whether he would or no,to ſtoupe to the Popes will and obedience: wherin he alſo would aſſiſt hym with all the authoritie he could do. Neuertheleſſe the French kyng to this would not agree, firſt for the conſanguinitie that was betwene them (for there ij. Quenes were ſiſters.) And alſo for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly,for feare of the Emperour leaſt he ſhould take his part. Item,for that it could not be without the ſpillyng of much Chriſten bloud. And laſtly becauſe he was preparing his voyage to the holy land, where his comming was already looked for. And thus the French king denying the Popes bloudy requeſt, refuſed not onely to enter warre agaynſt the kyng and the realme of England,but alſo ſhortly after concluded with hym longer truce.an.1146. Ex Math. Pariſ.fol.196.b.

The pope ſtirreth Lewes the frẽch king to warre agaynſt the kyng of England.

Lewes the frẽch king refuſeth to warre agaynſt England.

The firſt yeares fruites for 7.yeres gathered of all benefices for the Archb.of Cant.

Straight vpon the necke of this,followed then the exaction of Boniface Archbiſhop of Canterbury,that he had bought of the Pope : which was, to haue the firſt yeares fruites of all benefices and ſpirituall liuynges in Englande for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares together, vntill the ſumme ſhould come of ten thouſand Markes. Wherat the kyng firſt was greatly agreeued. But in concluſion he was faine at laſt to agree wyth the Archbyſhoppe, and ſo the money was gathered. Pariſ.fol.197.

The prelates of England charged to finde horſe & harnes for the Popes warres.

A ſubtile practiſe of the Pope.

Ouer and beſides all other exactions, wherwith ẏ pope miſerably oppreſſed the church of England, this alſo is not to be ſilenced, how ẏ pope ſendyng downe his letters frõ the ſea Apoſtolike, charged & commaunded ẏ Prelates to finde hym, ſome x. ſome v. and ſome xv. able men well furniſhed with horſe and harneis, for one whole yere, to fight in the Popes warres. And leſt the kyng ſhould haue knowledge therof, it was enioyned them vnder payne of excommunication that they ſhould reueale it to none, but to kepe it ſecret only to themſelues. Pariſ.fol.200.

The Popes baite layd for more money.

The pope yet notwithſtãdyng, partly being laboured by ſuters, partly of hys owne mynd thinking good ſomewhat to geue to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to geue ſome thing to their babes to play withall to kepe them ſtill, ſent downe this releaſement to the K. that hereafter whenſoeuer any of the Popes nephews or of hys Cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of Englãd, eyther he, or the Cardinals ſhould firſt make the K. priuy therof, and inſtauntly craue his good will in obteynyng the procuratiõ, or els ẏ ſame to ſtand in no effect. &c. Pariſienſis fol.202. howbeit all this ſeemed to be done but of a pollicie, to get the Kynges fauour, whereby he might be ſuffered more freely to paſſe with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

A new law of the pope, to ſeaſon vpon all the goods of clergie men that die inteſtate.

A note of certain eccleſiaſticall perſons dying in England worth great ſubſtance.

For when the foreſayd pope Innocent 4. had knowlegde the ſame tyme of certayne rich Clerkes leauing great ſubſtaunce of mony, which died inteſtate, as of one Rob. Halles Archdeacon of Lincolne, which died leauing thouſandes of Markes and much plate behynd him, all which becauſe no will was made, came to temporall mens handes: alſo of M. Almaricke Archdeacon of Bedford, beyng foũd worth a great ſubſtaunce, when he died: and likewiſe of an other M. John Hotoſp Archdeacon of Northampton, who died ſodenly inteſtate, leauing behynd hym 5000. Markes, & 30. ſtandyng pieces of plate, with other infinite iewels beſides: ſent forth vpon the ſame a ſtatute to be proclaimed in England, that whatſoeuer eccleſiaſticall perſon henceforth ſhould deceaſe in England inteſtate, that is, without makyng his will, all his goodes ſhould redound to the Popes vſe. Pariſ.fol.203.

Sixe thouſand markes to be gathered of the clergie of England for the Pope.

The kyng beginneth to withſtand the pope, but durſt not hold out.

Furthermore the Pope yet not ſatiſfied with all this, addreſſeth new letters to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and to W. biſhop of Norwich, for gathering vp amongſt the clergy, and religious houſes in England 6000. Markes to the behoufe of holy mother the church, without any excuſe or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage beyng greatly grudged of the Clergy, when it came to the kings eare, he eftſoones directeth contrary letters to all the Prelates and euery one of them, commaundyng them vpon forfeityng their temporalties to the kyng, that no ſuch ſubſidie of mony ſhould be gathered or tranſported out of the realm. But the Pope agayne hearyng therof, in great anger writeth to the Prelates of England, that this collection of mony, vpon payne of excommunication and ſuſpenſion ſhould be prouided, and brought to the new Temple in London, by the feaſt of the Aſſumption next enſuyng.

An.1246.

The pope in a chafe.

The wordes of Joannes Anglicus Cardinall to the Pope.

The miſerable troubles of Chriſtendome.

And furthermore, foraſmuch as he perceiued the Kyng to go about to gaynſtand his procedings, takyng thereat great diſdayne, he was about the ſame tyme to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his Cardinals, called Joannes Anglicus, an Engliſhman borne, ſpeaking for the realme of England, deſired his fatherhood for Gods cauſe to mitigate his modie ire, and with the bridle of temperance to aſſuage the paſſion of hys mynd: which (ſayd he) to tell you plaine, is here ſtirred vp to much without cauſe. Your fatherhode (quod he) may conſider that theſe dayes be euill. Firſt the holy land lyeth in great perils to be loſt. All the Greeke Church is departed from vs. Fridericke the Emperour is againſt vs, ẏ mightieſt prince this day in all chriſtendome. Both you and we which are the peeres of the Church are baniſhed from the Papall ſea, thruſt out of Rome, yea excluded out of all Italy. Hungary with all the coſtes bordering about it, loketh for nothing but vtter ſubuerſion by the Tartarians. Germany is waſted and afflicted with inward warres and tumultes. Spayne is fierce & cruell agaynſt vs, euen to the cuttyng out of the Biſhops tonges. France by vs is ſo impoueriſhed, that it is brought to beggery, which alſo conſpireth agaynſt vs. Miſerable England beyng ſo often plagued by our manifold iniuries, euen much like to Balaames aſſe, beaten and bounſt wyth ſpurs and ſtaues, beginneth at length to ſpeake & complain of her vntollerable griefes and burdens, beyng ſo wexed & dammified, that ſhe may ſeeme paſt all recouery: And we after the maner of Iſmaell hating all men, prouoke all men to hate vs. &c. Ex Pariſ.fol.207.

Of Spayne he meaneth becauſe the king of Aragone a litle before had cut of the toungue of a certayne Biſh. that did reprehend him. *Pariſ.fol.206.*

Power geuen to the B. of Worceſter to interdict the land. The K. fayne to relent to the pope.1

For all theſe wordes of Joan. Anglicus his Cardinall, the Popes cholericke paſſion could not yet be appeaſed, but forthwith he ſendeth commaundement with full authoritie to the biſhop of Worceſter, that in caſe the king would not ſpedely ſurceaſe his rebellion agaynſt hys Apoſtolicall procedings, he ſhould interdict hys land. So that in concluſion, the king for all his ſtout enterpriſe was fayne to relent at laſt, and the Pope had his mony. anno.1246. Ex Pariſienſ.fol.204.

Of this diuiſion read before pag.

The Grekians vſed to waſhe their altars, if any latin maſſe had bene ſaid vpon them. *Ex Actis concilij Lateranẽſis cap.4.*

Ye heard before of the Greke churches vnder the Empire of Conſtantinople, how they ſequeſtred themſelues from the company of the Romiſh church. In ſo much that Germanus the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, & the Archbiſhop of Antioch did excommunicate the biſhop of Rome. And after the ſayd Germanus an other Archb. of Conſtãtinople at the Councell of Lions proteſted, that where as before were 30. Suffraganes belonging to that prouince, now there were not iij. that held with the church of Rome. And this breache, albeit it chiefly braſt out in the tyme of Pope Gregory ẏ 9. an.1230. to open warre and bloudſhed, yet the ſame had begonne, and ſo continued long before, in ſuch ſort as in the tyme of the Pope Innocent the third, if any Prieſt had ſayd Maſſe in their Churches, they would waſhe the aulter afterward: as appeareth by the actes of Laterane Councell Cap.4. Wherfore Pope Innocent now (as his other predeceſſors had done before) bearing an olde grudge agaynſt thoſe churches of the Grekes, and neither willing by conferẽce to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of armes to ſubdue them, ſent the Prouinciall of the gray Friers, with other aſſociates of the ſame order into England with his precept authenticall, conteinyng in it theſe Articles.

Goods gotten by vſury attached for the Pope. Excommunicatiõ abuſed.

1. Firſt, that the ſayd prouinciall, or his Friers ſhould inquire vpon all vſurers beyng aliue, and of all ſuch euill gotten goodes gayned per vſurariam prauitatẽ, ſhould make attachement for the vſe and preparation of this warre agaynſt the Greeks, excommunicatyng all them by diſtrict cenſures of the Church that repugned agaynſt it.

False abſolutiõ of ſinnes.

2. That all they, which tooke the badge of the croſſe, for the recouery of the ſayd Empire of the Greekes, or with goods and cattell would helpe ſufficiently vnto the ſame, ſhould be abſolued of all their ſinnes.

Vſuraria prauitas.

3. Item, that all the goodes lefte in the Teſtamentes of them that were departed, beyng gotten by vſury, ſhoulde be taken vp to the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſayde, and whoſoeuer repugued agaynſt the ſame, ſhould be excommunicated.

Goods left in dead mens wils for reſtitutiõ conuerted to the Pope.

4. Item, that ſuch goods as in the teſtamentes of the dead, left or which ſhould be left three next yeares to come, for reſtitution of ſuch goodes as the dead had euill gotten, they ſhould take vp for the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſaid, excommunicating. &c.

Goods vnbequethed in dead mens wills, cõuerted to warre agaynſt the Grecians.

5. Item, ſuch goods as were left to be diſtributed in godly vſes, after the arbitrement of executours, by the willes of the dead, or were not in their wils deputed to any certayne places or perſons named, nor yet were beſtowed by the ſaid executors to the foreſayde vſes, they ſhould collect to the vſe and ſubſidie aforeſaid, and geue certificate to the ſea Apoſtolike of the quantitie therof, excommunicatyng all repugners and rebellers agaynſt the ſame.

Goods ill gotten cõuerted to the pope.

6. Item, that they ſhould diligently enquire of ſuch mens goods euill gotten or euil come by, as were alyue, and them they ſhould attache for the ſubſidie aforeſayde, in caſe the parties which ought to be ſatiſfied for thoſe goodes euill gotten, could not be found, geuyng certificate thereof, & excommunicating. &c.

Abſolution for money.

7. Item, that the ſayd prouinciall or his Friers, ſhould haue full power to abſolue thoſe that were excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the collectiõ aforeſayd, ſo that the ſayd perſons did make due ſatiſfaction to the deputies aforeſayd. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.205.

What man hauyng eyes is ſo blynde, which ſeeth not theſe execrable dealings of the Pope to be ſuch, as would cauſe any nation in the world, to do as the wyſe Grecians dyd, and perpetually to abrenounce the Pope, and well to conſider the vſurped authoritie of that ſea not to be of God. But ſuch was the rude dulnes then of miſerable Englãd, for lacke of learnyng and godly knowledge, that they felyng what burdens were layd vpon them, yet would play ſtill ẏ aſſe of Balaam, or els the horſe of Eſope, which receiuyng the bridle once in hys mouth, could afterward neither abide hys owne miſery, nor yet recouer libertie. And ſo it fared with England vnder the Popes thraldome: as partly by theſe ſtories aboue hath bene declared, partly by other in like caſe followyng is to be ſene.

An vnreaſonable exactiō of the pope.

For ſo it followeth in the hiſtory of the ſayd Math. Pariſ. how the Pope takyng more courage by his former abuſed boldnes, and perceiuyng, what a tame aſſe he had to ride vpon, ceaſed not thus, but directed a new precept the ſame yere. 1246. to the Prelates of England, commaundyng by the autoritie Apoſtolike, that all beneficed men in yͤ realme of England, which were Reſident vpon their benefices, ſhould yeld to the Pope the third part of their goodes, and they which were not reſident, ſhould geue the one halfe of their goods, and that for the ſpace of 3. yeres together, with terrible comminations to all them that did reſiſt: and euer with this clauſe withall, Non obſtante, which was lyke a key that opened all locks. Which ſumme caſt together was found to amount to lx. M. poundes: which ſumme of mony could ſcarce be found in all England to pay for king Richardes raunſome. Pariſ. fol. 207. The execution of this precept was committed to the biſhop of London: who conferring about the matter with his brethren in the Church of Paules, as they were buſily conſultyng together, and bewailyng the importable burthen of this contribution, which was impoſſible for them to ſuſteine, ſodainly commeth in certayne Meſſengers from the kyng: Sir Iohn Lexintune Knight, and M. Laurence Martine the kings chaplain, ſtraightly in the kings name, forbiddyng them in any caſe to cōſent to this contribution, which ſhould be greatly to the preiudice and deſolation of the whole Realme. Pariſienſ. fol. 207.

Non obſtante.

Three ſcore thouſand poundes exacted of the clergie to be payd to the Pope.

The kyng agaynſt the popes contribution.

A Parliament.

This beyng done about the firſt day of December, in the yeare aboueſayd, ſhortly after in the beginnyng of the next yeare. 1247. about February the kyng called a Parliament, where by common aduiſe it was agreed, that certaine Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent to Rome, to make manifeſt to the Court of Rom: the exceedyng greuaunces of the Realme, deliueryng moreouer theſe letters to the Pope in the name both of the Temporaltie and alſo of the Clergy, as here followeth.

¶ An other letter ſent to Pope Innocent 4. in the names of the whole Clergie and comminaltie of England. an. 1247.

A letter ſent to the Pope in the name of all the eſtates & comminaltie of the realme.

SAnctiſ. Patri in Chriſto ac Do. Innocent. Dei prouidentia ſummo pontifici vniuerſitas cleri & populi per prouinciam Cant. conſtituti deuota pedum oſcula beatorum. Cum Anglicana Eccleſia. &c. To the moſt holy father in Chriſt, and Lord Innocent, by Gods prouidence chiefe byſhop: The whole comminaltie both of the Clergy and laity within the prouince of Canterbury, ſendeth deuout kiſſinges of his bleſſed feete. Lyke as the Church of England ſince it firſt receaued the Catholicke fayth, hath alwayes ſhewed her ſelfe faithfull and deuout in adhering to God and to our holy mother the Church of Rome, ſtudiyng with all kinde of ſeruice to pleaſe and ſerue the ſame, and thinketh neuer otherwiſe to do, but rather to continue & increaſe as ſhe hath begon: euen ſo now the ſame Church moſt humbly proſtrate before the feete of your holynes, intirely beſeecheth your clemencie to accept her petition, in ſparing this impoſitiō of money, which ſo manifold wayes for the ſubuention of other nations, by the commaundement of your holynes is layd vpon vs: conſidering that not onely it is importable, but alſo impoſſible which is enioyned vs. For although our coūtrey ſometimes yeldeth forth fruite for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the inhabitaunts, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor ſiluer, neither were able to bryng forth of long tyme, ſo much as now a dayes is required. Which alſo beyng burdened and ouercharged of late dayes wyth an other ſuch like impoſition, but not ſo great as this, is not able any whit to anſwere to that which is exacted.

More fooles you in geuing to the Church ſo much.

The Pope thinketh belike Englād to ſwimme with golde and ſiluer.

Furthermore, beſides this commaundement of your holynes, there is required of the Clergie a ſubſidie for our temporall kyng, whoſe neceſſities neither poſſibly we can, nor honeſtly ought to forſake, whereby he may both withſtand the inuaſion of the enemy, and mainteine the right of his patrimony, and alſo recouer agayne that hath bene loſt. In conſideration wherof, we haue directed the bearers hereof to the preſence of your holynes with our humble ſupplication, to explane to you the daungers and inconueniences which are like to enſue vpon the premiſſes. which by no meanes we are able to ſuſteine: although notwithſtāding we know our ſelues by all bondes of charitie to be obliged to your deuotion and obedience. And becauſe our generall communitie hath no ſeale proper, we haue ſigned therfore theſe preſentes wyth the publike ſeale of the Citie of London. &c. Ex Pariſ. fol. 209.

The like letters were ſent alſo vnto the Cardinals to the ſame effect. The Pope vnderſtādyng theſe thyngs, and perceauing that there was no ſtriuing agaynſt ſuch a generall conſent, and yet loth to forgoe hys ſweete harueſt, which he was wont to reape in England, craftely deuiſed to ſend this aunſwere agayne to the kyng, much like to the ſame which he ſent before, which was: that although the Pope in tyme paſt vpon his owne will and pleaſure to the importable greuaunce of the Realme of England, hath euery where and without reſpect: through the whole land made his prouiſions, in geuing their benefices vnto his Italians: yet now the Lord be prayſed, that tempeſt (ſayd he) is ouerblowen: ſo that hereafter if the Pope ſhall graunt his prouiſion for any of his nephewes, or of hys Cardinals, they ſhall come firſt and make their inſtant ſute vnto the king, without all inforcement, ſo that it ſhall ſtand wholy in the kings free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good. &c. Pariſ. fol. 209. b.

The Popes aunſwere agayne to the kyng of England.

The pope falſe in his promiſe.

This aunſwere of the Pope, albeit it was but a ſubtile ſhifte for the tyme: yet neither did he long ſtand to that he had thus promiſed to the kyng. For ſhortly after and within few dayes vpon the ſame, and in the tyme alſo of yͤ ſayd Parliament holden at Wincheſter, the Pope ſent two Engliſh Friers into the realme, whoſe names were Iohn and Alexander, with full authoritie after the largeſt ſort, for new contributions. Who firſt pretending lowly ſubmiſſion to the kyng, while they had leaue graunted to range about the Realme, afterward commyng to the Byſhops and rich Abbots, ſhewed themſelues forth in their full authoritie, in ſuch ſort, as they became rather tyraunts then extortioners.

Note the ſubtle practiſe of the pope to get money.

Amongeſt other, commyng to Robert Byſhop of Lincolne, who of all other bare a ſpeciall mynde to the order of Obſeruauntes, theſe two Fryers as proud as Luſifer, bringing forth the terrible Mandate, wyth the popes Bulles, required, and eke commaunded vnder the Popes mighty curſe, to haue the gathering in hys Dioceſ of vi. thouſand markes. Likewiſe of yͤ Abbot of S. Albons they required iiij. hundred markes, vnder great penaltie, and that in ſhort tyme to be payd.

The Biſhop of Lincolnes aunſwere to the Friers the Popes meſſengers.

The Byſhop although well lyking before that order of thoſe Friers, yet ſeeing the impudent behauiour, and more impudent requeſt of theſe Marchauntes, thus aunſwered to them agayne: that this exaction (ſauing ſayd he, the Popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, and neither was honeſt, nor yet poſſible to be performed: and moreouer was ſuch as did not onely concerne hym, but the whole publicke ſtate of the Clergie, and of the whole Realme in generall, and therfore it ſhould be abſurdly and raſhly done of hym to geue them aunſwere herein, before the kyng and the reſt of the Counſell, wyth other, to whom the matter generally did appertaine, were made priuy thereunto &c. and ſo for that tyme he ſhoke them of. Pariſ. fol. 210.

Furthermore, as touching the Abbot of S. Albones, when he alſo alleged the ſame cauſes, he pretended moreouer that he would appeale, and ſo dyd, to the Pope and hys Cardinals. Whereupon immediately was ſent downe from Pope Innocent, another Legate called Ioannes Anglicus, an Engliſh Frier and Cardinall, who bringing downe a new ſpeciall precept to the foreſayd Abbot, cited hym eyther to appeare at London the morow after S. Giles day, or to diſburſe to the vſe of the Pope the foreſayd iiij. hundreth Markes. By reaſon wherof the Abbot was driuen to ſend his Proctours agayne, with a new ſupplication to yͤ Pope at Lyons, who in the ende through great inſtaunce of monyed friendes, agreed with the Abbot for two hundreth Markes, beſides his other charges borne, & ſo was that matter compounded, little to the Abbots profite. Pariſienſ. fol. 213.

The Abbot of S. Albons maketh great ſute to the Pope for the 400 markes that he ſhould pay. This Iohannes Anglicus was the more fierce agaynſt the abbot, becauſe he receiued him not with ſuch reuerence as he thought meete for the popes legate.

To recite all damages and greuaunces receiued by the B. of Rome in this realme of England, neyther is any hiſtory ſufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, vnneth is there any that would beleue it. Notwithſtanding to thoſe aboue declared, this one I thought to commit likewyſe to memory, to the intent, that they which liue in this age now may behold and wonder in themſelues to ſee in what miſerable ſlauery, paſſing all meaſure, not onely the ſubiectes, but kings alſo of this realme were brought vnto, vnder the intollerable yoke of the popes tiranny, which in thoſe dayes neither durſt any man caſt of, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example enſuyng, with infinite other like to the ſame, may appeare.

Example how this Realme of England was oppreſſed miſerably by the Pope.

In the yeare of our Lord.1248. after that Pope Innocent the 4. had taken ſuch order in the Realme, that all Prelates of the Church were ſuſpended from collation of any benefice, before the Popes kinſfolkes and Clerkes of Italy had bene firſt prouided for: it happened vpō the ſame, that the Abbot of Abingdon had a commaundement from the pope, to beſtow ſome benefice of his Church in all haſt, to a certaine Prieſt of Rome, which the Abbot as an obedient child to his father the pope, was preſt and ready to accompliſh accordyngly. But the Romane prieſt not contented with ſuch as fell next hand, would tary his time, to haue ſuch as were principal & for his own appetite, hauyng a ſpeciall eye to the benefice of the Church of S. Helene in Abingdon, which was then eſteemed worth an C. Markes by yeare, beſides other vayles and commodities belōgyng to the ſame: the collation wherof the prieſt required by the authoritie Apoſtolicall to be graunted to him.

As this paſt on, it chaunced at laſt, the incumbent to dye, & the benefice to be empty. Which eftſoones beyng knowen, the ſame day commeth a cōmaundemēt, with great charge, from the kyng to the Abbot, to giue the benefice to one Æthelmare the kynges brother by the motherſide, who at the ſame time was poſſeſſed with ſo many benefices, as the nūber and value therof was vnknowen. The Abbot here beyng in great perplexitie, and not knowyng what to do, whether to gratifie his kyng, or to obey the pope, tooke counſell with his frendes. Who well aduiſing the matter, gaue him counſell rather to preferre the brother of his Prince and patrone, ſo that the kyng would vndertake to ſtand in his defence againſt the pope, rather then the Romiſh prieſt whom alwayes he ſhould haue lyyng there as a ſpye and watcher of him, and lyke a thorne euer in his eye: and ſo the kyng aſſuryng the Abbot of his vndoubted protection, and indemnitie agaynſt all harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the kynges brother.

The Abbot of Abingdon cited to appeare before the Pope.

The Romane prieſt not a litle agreued thereat, ſpeedeth himſelfe in all haſt to the Byſhop of Rome, certifying hym what was done, & partly alſo (as the maner is of men) makyng it worſe then it was. Upon whoſe complaint the pope eftſoones in great anger cited vp the Abbot perſonally to appeare before him, to aunſwere to the crime of diſobediēce. The Abbot truſtyng vpon the kynges promiſe and protection, which neither could helpe him in that caſe, neither durſt oppoſe himſelfe agaynſt the Pope, beyng both aged and ſeckely, was driuē to trauaile vp to the court of Rome, in great heauynes and bitternes of mynde. Where in concluſion after much vexation and bitter rebukes, beſides great expenſes, he was fayne to ſatiſfie the Pope after his owne will compoundyng to giue him yearely 50. Markes in part of makyng amēdes for his treſpaſſe of diſobedience. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 222.

The Abbot of Abingdon cōdemned in 50. markes for denying of an Engliſh benefice to an Italian the popes nephew.

A deteſtable extortiō of the pope vſed againſt the priory of Binhā.

To this alſo may be added an other like fact of the pope as outragious as this, agaynſt the houſe of Binham. For when the benefice of Weſtle in the Dioces of Eley was voyd by the death of the incumbent who was an Italian & one of the popes chamber, the donatiō of which benefice belonged to the priory of Binham, an other Italian whiche was a baſtard and vnlearned, borne in the Citie of Iania, called Herrigetto de Malachana de volta, brought downe the popes letters to M. Berardo de Nympha the Popes agent here in England, with ſtrait charge and full authoritie, commaundyng him to ſee the ſayd benefice to be conferred in any caſe to Herrigetto. Yea and though the benefice had bene giuen already, yet notwithſtandyng the poſſeſſor therof ſhould be diſplaced, and ẏ ſayd Herrigetto preferred: yea alſo, non obſtante that the ſayd pope himſelfe had before giuen his graunt to the king & realme of England, that one Italian ſhould not ſuccede an other in any benefice there, yet for all that the ſayd Herrigetto, vpō payne of excommunication, to be placed therin. Ex Pariſ. fol. 240.

The Grecians excuſed and purged in parting from the Church of Rome.

The miſeries that haue riſen in Englād through ſubiection vnder the Church of Rome.

And thus much hetherto of theſe matters, through the occaſion of the Eaſt Churches and the Grecians, to the entent all men that read theſe ſtories, & ſee the doynges of this Weſterne Biſhop, may conſider what iuſt cauſe theſe Grecians had to ſeclude themſelues from his ſubiection, & communion. For what Chriſtian communion is to be ioyned with him, which ſo contrary to Chriſt and his Goſpell, ſeeketh for worldly dominion, ſo cruelly perſecuteth his brethren, ſo giuen to auarice, ſo greedy in gettyng, ſo iniurious in oppreſſing, ſo inſatiable in his exactions, ſo malitious in reuengyng, ſtyrring vp warres, depriuyng kinges, depoſing Emperours, playing Rex in the Church of Chriſt, ſo erroneous in doctrine, ſo abominably abuſing excommunicatiō, ſo falſe of promiſe, ſo corrupt in lyfe, ſo voyde of Gods feare, and briefly ſo farre from all the partes of a true Euangelicall Byſhop. For what ſemeth he to care for the ſoules of men, which ſetteth in benefices, boyes and outlandiſh Italians, and further one Italian to ſuccede an other, which neither did know the language of the flocke, nor once would abyde to ſee their faces. And who can blame the Grecians then for diſſeueryng themſelues from ſuch an oppreſſour and gyant agaynſt Chriſt.

England plagued by the pope whē it needed not.

Whoſe wiſe example if this Realme had then folowed, as they might, certes our predeceſſours had bene ryd of an infinite number of troubles, iniuries, oppreſſions, warres, commotions, great trauailes, & charges, beſides the ſauyng of innumerable thouſand of poundes, which the ſayd byſhop full falſely hath raked and tranſported out of this Realme of ours. But not to excede the boūdes of my hiſtory, becauſe my purpoſe is not to ſtand vpon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will paſſe ouer, leauyng the iudgement therof to the further examinatiō of the Reader. For els if I lyſted to proſecute this argument ſo farre as matter would lead me, and truth peraduenture would require me to ſay, I durſt not onely ſay, but could well proue, the pope & court of Rome to be the onely fountaine and principall cauſe, I ſay not of much miſery here in England, but of all the publicke calamities and notorious miſchiefes which haue happened theſe many yeares through all theſe weſt partes of Chriſtendome, & eſpecially of all the lamentable ruine of the church, which not onely we, but the Greciās alſo this day do ſuffer by the Turkes and Saracens. As whoſoeuer well conſidereth by readyng of hiſtories the courſe of tymes, & vieweth with all the doynges and actes paſſed by the ſayd Byſhops of Rome, together with the blind leadyng of his doctrine, ſhal ſee good cauſe not onely to thinke, but alſo to witnes the ſame. Onely one narratiō touchyng this Argumēt, and yet not tranſgreſſing the office of my hiſtory, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to ſet before the readers eyes, which happened euen about this preſent tyme of this kyng Henryes reigne, in the yeare of our Lord. 1244.

The pope & court of Rome the principall cauſe of all the publique calamityes through Chriſtendome.

The ſicknes of Lewes the Frēch k.

In the which yeare it chaunced, that Lewes the French kyng ſonne to Queene Blanch, fell very ſore ſicke, lying in a ſwound or in a traunſe for certaine dayes, in ſuch ſort as few thought he would haue liued, & ſome ſayd he was gone already. Amongeſt other there was with him his mother, who ſorowyng bitterly for her ſonne, and giuen ſomewhat (as cōmonly the maner of women is) to ſuperſtition, went and brought forth a peece of the holy croſſe, with the crowne and the ſpeare, which peece of the holy croſſe Baldwynus Emperour of Conſtantinople (whō the Grecians had depoſed a litle before for holdyng with the Byſhop of Rome) had ſold to the French kyng for a great ſumme of money, & bleſſed him with the ſame, alſo layd the crowne, & the ſpeare to his body, making a vow withall in ẏ perſon of her ſonne, that if the Lord would viſite him with health, and releaſe him of that infirmitie, he ſhould be croyſed or marked with the croſſe, to viſite his ſepulcher, and there ſolemnely to render thākes in the lād which he had ſanctified with his bloud. Thus as ſhe, with the Byſhop of Paris, and other there preſent were praying, behold the king which was ſuppoſed of ſome to be dead, began with a ſigh to plucke to his armes and legges, and ſo ſtretchyng himſelfe, began to ſpeake, geuyng thankes to God, who from an high had viſited him & called him from the daunger of death. Which as the kynges mother, & others there tooke to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy croſſe: ſo the kyng amendyng more and more, as ſoone as he was well recouered, receaued ſolemnely the badge of the croſſe, vowyng for a freewill ſacrifice vnto God, that he, if the counſaile of his realme would ſuffer him, would in his owne perſon viſite the holy lād: forgetting belike the rule of true Chriſtianitie, where Chriſt teacheth vs otherwiſe in the Goſpell, ſaying: That neither in this moūt, nor in Samaria, nor at Ieruſalem the Lord will be worſhipped, but ſeeketh true worſhippers, which ſhall worſhyp hym in truth and veritie. &c. an. 1244. Parienſ. fol. 182.

The ſuperſtition of the kynges mother.

The kyng recouereth hys ſicknes.

The people of Fraunce blinded with a falſe myracle.

The vayne vowe of Lewes the Frēch king.

The French k. croſſed to go to the holy land.

Great preparatiō in Fraūce toward that viage.

After this was great preparaunce and much a do in Fraunce toward the ſettyng forth to the holy land. For after the kyng firſt begā to be croyſed, the moſt part of the nobles of Fraunce, with diuers Archbyſhops and Byſhops, with Earles, and Barōs, & Gentlemen to a mighty number, receaued alſo the croſſe vpon their ſleeues. Amongeſt whom was the Earle Atrebacenſis the kyngs brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Coūteſſe of Flanders with her two ſonnes, the Earle of Britanie with his ſonne, the Earle of Barrēſis, Earle of Sweſſen, Earle of S. Paul, Earle of Druiſ. Earle Retel. with many noble perſons mo. Neither lacked here whatſoeuer the pope could do, to ſet forward this holy buſines, in ſendyng his Legates and Friers into Fraunce, to ſtyrre the people

Contributiō in Fraunce to the kinges vyage.

The Pope maketh prouiſion for his contribution alſo in Fraunce.

to folow the kyng, & to contribute to his iourney. Wherupō was graūted to the kyng, to gather of the vniuerſall church of Fraunce by the Popes authoritie, the tenth part of all their goodes for three yeares ſpace together, vpon this condition, that the kyng likewiſe would graunt to the pope the twenty part, for ſo many yeares after, to be gathered of the ſayd Church of Fraunce. Which was agreed, an. 1246. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 204. b.

1247.

The tyme of the kings viage appointed.

The French king ready to recōpence all iniuries done to hys ſubiectes.

Williā Lōgſpath with other noble Engliſhmē, prepared to the ſame viage.

Shortly after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1247. folowed a Parliament in Fraunce, where the kyng with his nobles beyng preſent, there was declared, how the kyng of Tartarians or Turkes hearyng of the viage of the French kyng, writeth a letter to him requiryng that he will become his ſubiect. In the which Parliament, tyme was prefixed for takyng their iourney, which ſhould be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the next yeare inſuyng. Alſo they that were croyſed, were ſworne to perſiſte in their purpoſe and ſentence of the popes great curſe denounced to all them that went from the ſame. Pariſienſ. fol. 211. Furthermore for the better ſpeede in his iourney the kyng through all his realme cauſed it to be proclaimed, that if any marchaūt or other had bene iniured at any tyme by the kynges exactours, either by oppreſſion, or borowyng of money, let him bryng forth his Bill ſhewyng how or wherein, and he ſhould be recompenſed. At which tyme William Longſpatha a worthy warrier, with the Biſhop of Worceſter and certaine other great men in the Realme of England, moued with the example of the Frenchmen, prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

Perſwaſiōs geuen to the French king to turne hys viage.

The next yeare after this inſuyng, which was. 1248. the French kyng yet ſtill remaynyng in his purpoſed iourney, Lady Blanche his mother, alſo the Byſhop of Paris his brother, with the Lordes of his counſaile, and other nobles, and his ſpecial frendes aduertiſed him with great perſuaſions, to alter his mynde touchyng that ſo aduenturous and ſo daungerous a iourney, for that his vow (ſayd they) was vnaduiſedly made, and in tyme of his ſicknes, when his mynde was not perfectly ſtabliſhed: and what ieoperdies might happen at home it was vncertaine, the kyng of England beyng on the one ſide, the Emperour on the other ſide, and the Pictauians in the middeſt ſo fugitiue, and vnſtable: and as concernyng his vow, the pope ſhould frendly diſpenſe with him conſideryng the neceſſitie of his Realme, and weakenes of his body. Beſides all this his mother vpon her bleſſyng required him, his brethren of all loues deſired him to ſtay at home, and not in his perſō to aduenture, other might be ſent in his rowme, with no leſſe furniture to achiue that enterpriſe, and to diſcharge him of his vow, eſpecially ſeyng at the makyng therof his ſenſes were feeble, his body weake, and reaſon through ſicknes, and very death almoſt, decayed.

The kinges aunſwere to his Lordes laying down & takyng vp hys croſſe agayne.

To whom the kyng agayne: for ſomuch (ſayd he) as you ſay, that for feeblenes of my ſenſes I tooke this vow vpon me, loe therfore as you here will me, I lay downe the croſſe that I tooke, and puttyng his hand to his ſhoulder, tare of the badge of the croſſe, ſaying to the byſhop, here Syr I reſigne to you ÿ croſſe wherewith I was ſigned. At the ſight wherof there was no ſmall reioyſing to all that were there preſent. To whom the kyng then both alteryng his countenaunce and his ſpeach thus ſpake: My frendes (ſayd he) whatſoeuer I was then in my ſicknes, now I thāke God, I am of perfect ſenſe, and reaſon ſound, and now I require my croſſe agayne to be reſtored vnto me: Saying moreouer that no bread ſhould come in his head, before he were recegniſed agayne with the ſame croſſe, as he was before. At the hearyng wherof all there preſent were aſtonyed, ſuppoſing that God had ſome great matter to worke, and ſo moued no mo queſtions vnto him.

1248.

The French king ſetteth forth in hys iorney.

The Frēch k. deſireth to reconcile the Pope & the Emperour.

Vpon this drew nye the feaſt of Iohn Baptiſt, which was the tyme ſet for the ſettyng forth. And now beyng in a readynes, the kyng in few dayes after was entryng his iorney. But yet one thyng lacked. For the kyng perceauyng the mortal variance betwene the pope, and good Fredericke the Emperour, thought beſt firſt, before his goyng to haue that matter appeaſed, wherby his way both might be ſafer through the Emperours countreys, and alſo leſſe ieoperdy at home after his departure, & therfore vpon the ſame, tooke firſt his way to Lyons, where the pope was, partly to take his leaue, but moſt eſpecially to make recōcilement betwene the Emperour and the Pope.

The Emperour Fredericke purgeth himſelfe to the pope and councell.

The ſubmiſſiō of the Emperour.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touchyng the good Emperour there was no let nor ſtay. Who rather ſought all meanes how to compaſſe the popes fauour, & neuer could obteine it. In ſomuch that before he ſhould be excommunicated in the Councell of Lyons, he not onely aunſwered ſufficiently by Thadeus his atturney, diſchargyng himſelfe agaynſt whatſoeuer crimes or obiections could be brought agaynſt him; but ſo farre humbled himſelfe to the pope and the Councell, that for all detrimentes, damages, loſſes, or wronges done of his part, what amendes ſoeuer the Pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the vttermoſt. This would not be taken.

The worthy offer of the noble Emperour.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he ſayd) could not abyde his taryyng in his owne dominions and Impire, he would goe fight agaynſt the Saracens and Turkes, neuer to returne into Europe agayne, offeryng there to recouer landes and kyngdomes whatſoeuer did at any tyme belōg to Chriſtendome, ſo that the Pope onely would be contented that Henry his ſonne (which was then nephew to kyng Henry here in England) ſhould be Emperour after hym. Neither could this be admitted.

The Emperour offreth to put in the French king and king of England to be hys ſureties.

Then he offered for truth of his promiſe to put in the French kyng and the kyng of England to be his ſureties, or els for triall of his cauſe to ſtand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be graunted.

The Emperour deſireth to anſwere for himſelfe in the councell.

At leaſt he deſired, that he might come himſelfe & anſwere before the Councell. But the proud Pope in no caſe would abyde that, ſaying: that he did not yet finde himſelf ſo ready and meete for Martyrdome, to haue hym to come thether to the Councell: for if he did, he would depart himſelfe. &c. Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 187. an. 1245.

The peſtilent rācor of pope Innocent 4. agaynſt Fredericke 2. is the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, that to this day we ſuffer by the Turkes.

The beginning of the Turkes victories ouer Chriſtendome.

This obſtinate rancour and deuiliſh malice of pope Innocent, and his predeceſſour agaynſt that valiant Emperour, and againſt the Grecians, what diſturbance and miſchiefe it wrought to the whole Church, what ſtrength it gaue to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it empayred Chriſtian concorde, and weakened all Chriſten landes, not onely the hoſt of the French king did finde ſhortly after, but chriſtēdome euē to this day may & doth feele & rue. Neither cā in ſtories be found any greater cauſe which firſt made ÿ Turkes ſo ſtrong to get ſo much ground ouer chriſtēdome as they haue, then the peſtilent workyng of this pope in depoſing and excommunicatyng thys worthy Emperour. For as there was neuer no Emperor of long tyme, which more victoriouſly preuayled in bridlyng & keeping vnder theſe enemies of Chriſt, or would haue bene more agaynſt thē, the ÿ ſayd Frederick, if he myght haue bene ſuffered: ſo after ÿ depoſing and excommunicating of hym, when the French kyng neyther would abyde at home, as he was counſelled, neyther yet was able, without the helpe of other, to withſtand the force and multitude of the ſayde Saracens and Tartarians beyng now ioyned together, neyther yet could the Emperour be ſuffered by the Pope to reſcue the king, it folowed therof, that the good kyng being taken priſoner, and all hys armye deſtroyed, the Turkes thervpō got ſuch a hand, and ſuch a courage agaynſt the Chriſtians, that euer ſince they haue braſt in farther vpon vs, and now haue preuayled ſo farre as neyther the power of the Pope nor of all Chriſtendome is able to driue them out, as hereafter by ſequele of ſtory, is further to be declared.

Pope Innocēt 4. would not be reconciled wyth the Emperour.

The french army releiued by the Emperour Fredericke.

The french king againe entreateth the pope for the Emperour.

In the meane tyme, to returne where before we left, when the French kyng commyng thus to the Pope at Lyons, to entreate for the Emperour, could finde no fauour, he tooke his leaue and with great heauines departed ſettyng forward on his iourney to Marſilia, and ſo ſayled to the Iſle of Cyprus, where he remayned all that winter, ſo that fallyng into penury and lack of victuall, he was fayne to ſend to the Venetians and other Ilandes by for helpe of prouiſion. The Venetians gently ſent vnto hym ſixe great ſhippes laden wyth corne, wyne and other victuals requiſite, beſides the reliefe of other Ilands moe. But eſpecially Fredericke the Emperour vnderſtādyng of theyr want, ſo furniſhed the French campe wyth all plenty of neceſſaries, that it had aboundance. Whereupon the Frēch kyng moued wyth the kyndnes of the Emperour, wrote hys ſpeciall letters to the Pope in the Emperours behalfe, but the hard hart of the Pope would not relent. Blanchia the kynges mother in Fraunce, hearing what the Emperour had done to her ſonne, ſent hym moſt harty thankes, with preſentes and rewardes manifold. Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 226.

Damiata gotten agayne by the Frenchmen.

The offers of the Saracens to the French men.

In this meane tyme about the beginning of October, the French men got Damiata, beyng the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt. an. 1249. fol. 228. After the winning of Damiata, the Prince and people of the Saracens beyng aſtonyed at the loſſe therof, offered to the Chriſtians great ground and poſſeſſions more then euer belonged to Chriſtendome before, ſo that they might haue Damiata to them reſtored agayne. But the pride of ÿ Erle of Artoys the kynges brother would in no caſe accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damiata and Alexandria the chiefe Metropolitane Citie of all Egypt to be

The pride of the Earle of Artoys.

be deliuered vnto them. The Saracens ſeing the pride and gredines of the Frēch men, in no caſe could abide it: which turned after to the great detriment of our Chriſtians, as in the end it proued. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 229.

Death of certaine of the Frēch captaines in the way.

Firſt, in the Iſle of Cyprus and in the iourney before died the Erle of Palatine, & one of ý xij. peeres of Frāce, alſo the Earle of S. Paule & Bleſſe, who had vnder him fiftie enſignes, which were all after his death ſcattered abroad and diſperſed. Alſo dyed Ioannes de Denis a valiant Captayne, with many other noble perſonages both men and women, which by altering the ayre and diet there deceaſed. fol. 229.

An. 1250.

Victory of the French men ouer the Saracens.

The next yeare enſuing, which was. 1250. about Aſhewedneſday, the French men iſſuing out of their tentes by the Citie of Damiata, flew vpon the Saracens, which beſieged them, and ſo after a great number of the enemyes ſlayne, with victory and great ſpoyles, returned to theyr tentes agayne. Now within the Citie of Damiata, was the Queene with her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and byſhops, with a garriſon of horſemen and footemen for the defence of the Citie ſtrongly appointed. The next day, the French men ſuppoſing to haue the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gaue a freſh aſſault vpon them: but in that cōflict, the Saracens had ſo ſtrongly appointed themſelues, that the French men loſt ten tymes more then they got the day before, & ſo after a great ſlaughter of their men, retyred to their tentes agayne: wherupō the Saracens begā to take great harts & courage againſt our men, ſtopping alſo the paſſages round about the Citie of Damiata, that no vitayle could paſſe vnto them. In like maner the Soldan alſo gathering all the galeyes about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, ſo incloſed the Seas, that no intercourſe ſhould be to them by water. fol. 231.

Frenchmen diſcomfited by the Saracens.

The Frenchmen agayne well offered by the Soldā.

At length after long talke and conſultation betwene them on both ſides, the Soldan aduiſed them betyme to reſigne to hym the Citie of Damiata, wyth the furniture which they founde therin, and they ſhould haue all ý countrey about Ieruſalem, wyth all the captiues of the Chriſtians frendly reſtored vnto them. Wherwith the Chriſtians (ſayd he) ought to be contented, and to ſeeke no farther, but onely to haue the land of Ieruſalem, which beyng graunted to them, they ſhould not encroch into other landes and kingdomes, wherto they had no right. Thys forme of peace, as it liked well the meaner ſort of ý poore ſouldiours and diuers other of the ſage counſayle and nobilitie: ſo the proud Earle of Artoys the kynges brother, in no caſe would aſſent therto, but ſtill required the Citie of Alexandria to be yelded to them. Which the Egiptians by no meanes would agree vnto.

The Earle of Artoys & the popes Legate agayne refuſe the forme of peace offered.

Famine & miſery in the French campe.

The French men eate their horſes in Lent time.

From that tyme the French army being compaſſed by Sea and by land, began euery day more and more to be diſtreſſed for lacke of victuall, and famine, being brink to that miſery, that they were fayne to eate their owne horſes in the Lent tyme, which ſhould haue ſerued them to other vſes. Neither could any Chriſtian, nor Fredericke being depoſed by the Pope, be able to ſend them any ſuccour. Furthermore the more miſeries the Chriſtians were in, ý more fiercely did the Saracens preſſe vpon them on euery ſide, deteſting their forward wilfulnes. In ſo much that diuers of the Chriſtian ſouldiours not able to abyde the affliction, priuely conueyed themſelues, as they could, out of the campe, to the Saracens, who were gladly receaued and relieued, and ſome ſuffered ſtill to keepe their faith: Some marying wiues amongeſt them, and for hope of honour did Apoſtatate to their law: and ſo wrought no litle harme to the Chriſtians.

The Soldans meſſage, deriding the Frenchmen.

The Soldan beyng perfectly inſtructed by theſe fugitiues of all thinges belonging to the kinges army, ſent him word in diriſion, aſking, where were all his mattockes, forkes, & rakes, his ſithes, plowes, and harowes, which he brought ouer with hym? or why he did not occupy thē, but let them lye by hym to ruſt and canker? All thys and much more, the kyng with his French men were faine to take well in worth. It happened ſhortly after, that thys Soldā died, being poyſoned of his owne ſeruauntes. Which was to the Chriſtians a more heaping of their myſeryes, For albeit the ſayd Soldan had bene a cruell tyraunt to ý Chriſtians, yet was he hated of his owne people, wherby his ſtrength was the leſſe: After whom ſucceeded an other much more cruell. Who as he was better loued, ſo he became much ſtronger by a generall confederacie of all ý Saracens which were in the Eaſt partes, ioyning now together. So that when the Chriſtians deſired now to haue the forme of peace before proffered, he preciſely denied thē. And ſo the French hoſte which at firſt began to be feared, by their pride and ouermuch gredines grew more and more in contempt amongeſt their enemyes, and now was vtterly deſpiſed.

The Soldan dyeth, a worſe followeth.

The Frenchmen deſire agayne the peace offered before, and could not haue it.

The Chriſtians thus ſeeing all thinges to goe backeward with them, and how the infidell Saracens dayly did preuayle, began to murmure agaynſt God, and ſome alſo which were well ſetled before, to ſlacke in their Religion, caſtyng out theſe wordes of infidelitie: how is this (ſayd they) that the Lord hath left vs in whoſe cauſe we fight? how often within the tyme of remembraunce, haue we bene confounded by theſe Saracens and infidels, who with ſheding of our bloud, haue enioyed great ſpoyles and victories? firſt this Citie of Damiata, which we Chriſtians had gotten dearely with effuſion of ſomuch Chriſtian bloud, afterward we were conſtrained for nought to reſigne vp agayn. After that the army of the Tēplaries, fighting for the holy Temple agaynſt the Saracens, neare to Antioch, was vanquiſhed, and the ſtandard bearer ſlayne in the field. Agayne within theſe few yeares, our Frenchmen fighting in like maner agaynſt the Saracens at the Citie of Gazera, were put to the worſe, and many afterward out of captiuitie ranſomed, by Richard Duke of Exceter, brother to the king of England Henry 3. Then came in the Choſmezins, ſent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a wyle inuaded the Chriſtiās in the citie of Ieruſalē, where almoſt all the Chriſtiā army beyng in the holy land, were deſtroyed. And now here our moſt Chriſtian king together with the whole nobilitie, is like to be in daunger, vtterly to be ouerthrowen. And how is it, that the Lord thus ſtandeth againſt vs, and fighteth with them? hath he more regard of them, then of vs? &c. Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 231. Such murmuring wordes of an vnſtable fayth many there began to caſt out, as takyng diſpleaſure for their ſufferynges, but not conſideryng on the other ſide what Idolaters they were, what pride and diſcord was amongeſt them, what crueltie and murther they had ſhewed at home in perſecutyng the poore Albingenſes, what ſuperſtition they firſt brought out with them, with what Idolatry they proceded, putting their truſt in maſſes, in the popes indulgences, in worſhyppyng of Images, and praying to Saintes. And what helpe then could they looke for at Gods hand, which had Images in their temples, to fight agaynſt them which had none? Or what maruell, if the Lord of hoſtes went not with their army, committyng ſuch Idolatry euery day in their pauilions to their Sacramentall bread and wyne as they did, and fightyng with the ſtrength of their owne merites, and not onely by the power of their fayth in Chriſt, which is only the victory that ouercommeth the world? Iohn. 1. and finally hauyng in their campe the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be hys enemy? As by example of Fredericke the Emperour may be wel perceaued who after he was accurſed by pope Gregory a litle before, commyng the ſame tyme to warre againſt the Saracens in Paleſtina, Gods bleſſyng wrought ſo mightely with him, that without any bloudſhed he recouered Ieruſalem, & ſet all the countrey about it in great quietnes, till at laſt the Popiſh Templaries, which at the popes ſettyng on, went about to betray him, to the Soldā of Babylon, & ſo loſt all agayne by their owne malicious miſchief that the Emperour before had gotten. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

Victories ouer the Templaries & hopers of Ieruſalem.

Cauſes debated why the Lord did not proſper the Chriſtians fightyng agaynſt the Saracens.

The Popes warres neuer went well forward agaynſt the Infidels.

Fredericke the Emperour curſed of the Pope, bleſſed of God.

Templaries ſet on by the Pope to betray the Emperour.

But let vs procede further in this holy progreſſe. The French kyng with his army, ſeyng himſelfe diſtreſſed, and no good there to be done againſt the Soldan of Egypt, after he had ſufficiently fortified the Citie of Damiata, with an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remoued his tentes from thence, to go Eaſtward. In whoſe army alſo folowed William Longſpath (of whom mention was touched before) accompanyed with a pyked number of Engliſh warriers reteinyng vnto him. But ſuch was the diſdayne of the Frenchmen agaynſt this William Longſpath and the Engliſhmen, that they could not abyde them, but flouted them after opprobrious maner, with Engliſh tayles: in ſomuch that the good kyng himſelfe had much ado to keepe peace betwene them.

William Longſpath.

Grudge and diſdayne betwene the Frēch campe & the Engliſhe ſouldiours.

The originall cauſe of this grudge betwene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt, a ſtrong fort or Caſtle, repleniſhed with great Ladyes, and rich treaſure of the Saracens. The which hold it chaunced the ſaid William Longſpath, with his company of Engliſh ſouldiours to get, more by good lucke and politicke dexteritie, then by open force of armes, wherby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmē had knowledge hereof, they beyng not made priuey thereto, began to conceiue an hart burnyng agaynſt the Engliſh ſouldiours, and could not ſpeak well of them after that. It happened agayn not long after, that the ſaid William had intelligence of a company of rich Marchauntes among the Saracens goyng to a certaine fayre about the partes of Alexandria, hauyng their

A booty gotten by the Engliſhe ſouldiours about Alexandria.

A bentrous act of Willi Longſpath.

Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, richly loden with ſilkes, precious iewels, ſpyces, gold, & ſiluer, with carte lodes of other wares, beſides victuals and other furniture, wherof the ſouldiours then ſtode in great neede. He hauyng ſecret knowledge herof, gathered all the power of Engliſhmen vnto him that he could, and ſo by night falling vpon the Marchauntes, ſome he ſlue with their guides and conductours, ſome he tooke, ſome he put to flight. The Cartes with the driuers, and with the Oxen, and the Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke and brought with him, loſing in all the ſkirmiſh but one ſouldiour, and viij. of his ſeruitures. Of whom notwithſtandyng ſome he brought home wounded, to be cured.

William Longſpath inriched by Saracens goodes.

This beyng knowen in the camp, forth came the Frēch men, which all this while loytered in their pauilions, & metyng this cariage by ŷ way, tooke all the foreſaid prey whole to themſelues, rating the ſayd William & the Engliſhmen, for ſo aduenturyng & iſſuyng out of the campe without leaue or knowledge of their generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſayd agayne, he had done nothyng, but he would anſwere to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoile deuided to the behoufe of the whole army. Whē this would not ſerue, he beyng ſore greued in his mynde ſo cowardly to be ſpoyled of that, for which he ſo aduenturouſly had trauayled for, went to the kyng to complayne. But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerue, by reaſon of the proude Earle of Artoys the kynges brother, which vpon deſpite & diſdayne ſtode agaynſt him, he biddyng the kyng farewell, ſayd he would ſerue him no longer. And ſo Williā de Longſpath, with the reſt of his cōpany, breakyng from the Frēch hoſt, went to Achon. Vpon whoſe departure, then ſayd the Earle of Artoys: Now is the army of French men well ryd of theſe tayled people. Which wordes ſpoken in great deſpite, were euill taken of many good men that heard him. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 233. 234.

William Longſpath wronged by the Frenchmen.

Williā wyth the Engliſhmē departeth to Achon.

The deſpitefull wordes of the kings brother agaynſt Engliſhmen.

Before the arriuyng of the French army in the land of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon hauyng before intelligence of their commyng committed the cuſtody of Damiata to a certaine Prince of his, whom he ſpecially truſted, committing alſo to his brother the keeping of Kaira & Babylonia. It folowed now after the takyng of Damiata, that ŷ Soldan of Babylon accuſed the Prince which had the cuſtody therof, before his nobles, of prodition, as geuyng the Citie vnto the Chriſtians. Who notwithſtandyng in iudgement did ſufficiently cleare himſelfe, declaryng how he was certified that the kyng would land at Alexandria, and therfore bent all power to preuent the kynges arriuall there. But by diſtreſſe of weather, he miſſyng of his purpoſe and the kyng landyng about Damiata, by reaſon therof the City was taken vnprouided, he notwithſtandyng & his company reſiſtyng, as well as they might, till they could no longer, and ſo departed out, curſing, ſayd he, Mahomet & his law. At which wordes the Soldan being offended commaunded him to be had away as a traytor and blaſphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had ſufficiently purged himſelfe by the iudgement of the Court. His brother which was the keper of Kayra and Babylonia, beyng therewith not a litle agreeued, and bearyng a good mynde to the Chriſtian Religion, deuiſed in himſelfe, how to giue ŷ ſayd Citie of Kayra with Babylonia to the French kyng, & ſo in moſt ſecret wiſe ſent to the kyng, ſhewyng his full purpoſe and what had happened, and furthermore inſtructing the kyng in all thinges how and what he ſhould do: & moreouer requiryng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, meanyng in deede good fayth, and ſendyng alſo away all the Chriſtian captiues, which he had with him in priſon. The kyng beyng glad herof, ſent in all haſt for William Lōgſpath, promiſing a full redreſſe of all iniuries paſt. Who vpon hope of ſome good lucke towardes, came at the kynges requeſt, and ſo ioyned with the French power agayne.

Babilon in Egipt.

How Damiata was taken of the Chriſtians.

The keeper or tribune of Damiata wrongfully put to death by the Soldā.

The tribune of Kaira deſireth to be Chriſtened.

W. Longſpath ſent for agayne, & commeth.

The lamentable ouerthrow and ſlaughter of the French armey fightyng agaynſt the infidels, thorough the ſiniſter counſell of the Popes Legate.

TO make the ſtory ſhort, the kyng ſettyng forward frō Damiata, directed his iourney toward Kayra, ſlayng by the way ſuch Saracens as there were ſet to ſtop the vitailes from Damiata. The Soldan in the meane tyme hearing of ŷ couragious cōmyng of the Frēch hoſt, as beyng in great hope to conquere all: ſent vnto ŷ kyng by certaine that were next about him, offeryng to ŷ Chriſtians ŷ quyet and full poſſeſſion of the holy land, with all the kyngdome of Ieruſalē, & more: beſides other infinite treaſure of golde & ſiluer, or what els might pleaſure thē, onely vpō this conditiō they would reſtore agayne Damiata, with the captiues there, and ſo would ioyne together in mutuall peace & amitie. Alſo they ſhould haue all their Chriſtian captiues deliuered home, and ſo both coūtreys ſhould freely paſſe one to an other with their wares & traficke, ſuch as they lyſted to occupy. Furthermore it was alſo firmely affirmed & ſpoken, that the Soldan, with moſt of his nobles were mynded no leſſe thē to leaue the filthy law of Mahomet, and receaue the fayth of Chriſt, ſo that they might quietly inioy their landes and poſſeſſiōs. The ſame day great quietnes had entred (no doubt) in all Chriſtendome, with the end of much bloudſhed and miſery, had not bene for the pope and his Legate, who (hauyng commaundement from the Pope, that if any ſuch offers ſhould come, he ſhould not take them) ſtoutly & frontoſe (as the wordes be of the ſtory) contradicens, in no wiſe would receaue the conditions offered. Pariſienſ. fol. 233.

The story how the French army was ouerthrowen fightyng agaynſt the Saracens.

The fayre offers of the Soldan to the Frenchmē, if they had had grace to take it.

The pope & hys legate cauſe of all thys miſchiefe.

Thus while the Chriſtians vnprofitably lingered the tyme in debatyng this matter, the Soldan in the meane tyme got intelligence of the compact betwene the Tribune of Kayra, and the French kyng: wherupō he ſent in all haſt to the citie of Kayra to apprehend the Tribune, till the truth were fully tryed. Which ſeemed to him more apparent, for that the Chriſtiā priſoners were already deliuered. Hereupon the Soldan being in ſome better hope, and leſſe feare, refuſed that which before he had offered to the Chriſtians, albeit they with great inſtaunce afterward ſued to the Soldan, and could not obteine it. Then the Soldan being wholy bent to try the matter by the ſword, ſent to the Eaſt partes for an infinite multitude of ſouldiours, geuing out by Proclamation, that whoſoeuer could bryng in any Chriſten mans head, ſhould haue x. talentes, beſides his ſtandyng wages. And whoſoeuer brought his right hād, ſhould haue fiue. He that brought his foote, ſhould haue ij. talentes for his reward.

The Chriſtians refuſing good offers could not haue them when they would.

A cruell proclamation of the Saracēs againſt the Chriſtians.

After theſe thynges thus prepared on both ſides to the neceſſitie of warre, the kyng commeth to the great Riuer Nilus, hauyng gotten together many boates, thinkyng by them to paſſe ouer, as vpō a ſure bridge. On the other ſide ŷ Soldā pitcheth himſelf to withſtād his commyng ouer. In the meane tyme happened a certaine feaſt amongſt the Saracens, in which the Soldan was abſent, keepyng his tentes by the water ſide. Which beyng forſene by a certaine Saracen lately conuerted to Chriſt, ſeruyng with the Earle Robert the kynges brother, and ſhewyng them withall a certaine ſhalow forde in the Riuer of Nilus, where they might more eaſely paſſe ouer, the ſayd Earle Robert & the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſtemed to the third part of the army, iſſewed ouer the Riuer, after whom alſo folowed William Longſpath with his band of Engliſh ſouldiours. Theſe beyng together ioyned on ŷ other ſide of the water, encoūtered the ſame day with the Saracens remainyng in the tentes, and put them to the worſe. After this victory gotten, the French Earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needes forward, diuidyng himſelfe frō the mayne hoſt, thinkyng to wynne the ſpurres alone. To whom certaine ſage men of the Temple, geuyng contrary counſell aduiſed hym not ſo to do, but rather to returne and take their whole cōpany with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure agaynſt all deceites & daungers, which there might be layd priuely for thē. The maner of that people (they ſaid) they better knew, and had more experience therof then he: Alledging moreouer their wearied bodyes, their tyred horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiours, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemyes, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to cōſiſte either in winnyng all, or loſing all: with other ſuch lyke wordes of perſuaſion. Which when the proude Earle dyd heare, beyng inflated with no leſſe arrogācie then ignorāce, with opprobrious tauntes reuiled them, callyng them cowardly daſtardes, and betrayers of the whole countrey, obiectyng vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd that the land of the holy Croſſe might ſoone be wonne to Chriſtendome were it not for the rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitularies and their felowes. &c.

The Earle of Artoys with the third part of the Chriſten army paſſeth ouer the riuer Nilus.

W. Longſpath.

Victory of the Chriſtians agaynſt the Saracens.

Good counſell geuen but not folowed.

The deſpitefull rebukes of Earle Robert to them that gaue hym good counſell.

To theſe contumelious rebukes when the Maſter of the Tēple anſwered agayne for him and his felowes, biddyng him diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to folow him, as he to go before them: then begā William de Longſpath the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiryng the Earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countreys and people, then had he, commendyng alſo their counſel to be diſcrete & holeſome: and ſo turnyng to the Maſter of the Temple began with gentle wordes to mitigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle ta-

The aunſwere of the Templaries to Earle Robert.

king his wordes out of his mouth began to fume & ſweare, crying out of theſe cowardly Engliſhmẽ with tayles. What a pure armey (ſayd he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tayles, & tayled people were purged from it: with other like wordes of great vilany and much diſdayne. Whereunto the Engliſh Knight aunſwering agayne: Well Earle Robert (ſayd he) where ſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall goe as farre as yours: and as I beleue, we go thys day where you ſhall not dare to come neare the taile of my horſe, as in the euent it proued true. Ibid. fol. 236.

The worthy aunſwere of an Engliſhe knight to Earle Rob. the kinges brother.

In this meane tyme, the French kyng intendyng to aduaũce forward his army, thought beſt to ſend away ſuch as were feeble and lacked armour, to Damiata by boates. The Soldan hearyng thereof, prepared a great number of boates to be caryed by wayne and carte to the water ſide, which meeting them by the way, drowned and deſtroyed by wildfire euery one, ſo that of all that company of our Chriſtians, of whom ſome were burned, ſome ſlayne, ſome drowned, not one eſcaped alyue, ſaue one onely Engliſhe man named Alexander Giffard, who although he was ſore wounded in the chaſe in fiue places in his body, yet eſcaped to the Frẽch campe, bringing word to the king what was done. And this was vpon the water.

A number of Frẽch ſouldiours ſent to Damiata, drowned & ſlayne by the way.

Now vpon the land, ſeeyng Earle Robert woulde needes ſet forward, weenyng to get all the glory to hymſelfe before the commyng of the hoſte: firſt they inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre of, called Manſor. The countrey boores and pagans in the villages by, ſeeing the Chriſtians come, ranne out wyth ſuch a mayne cry and ſhout, that it came to the Soldans hearyng, which was nearer then our men did thinke. In the meane whyle the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtoode aboue, wherby a great number of our men were loſt, and the army ſore maimed and almoſt in deſpaire. Then immediatly vpon the ſame commeth the Soldã with all hys mayne power, who ſeeing the Chriſtians army to be deuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with thẽ a cruell fight. Then the Earle began to repent hym of hys heady raſhnes, but it was to late, who then ſeeing William the Engliſh Knight dowtely fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemyes, cryed vnto hym moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſayd he) doth fight agaynſt vs. To whom the Knight aunſwering agayne, God forbid (ſayd he) that my fathers ſonne ſhood runne away from the face of a Saracen. The Earle then turning hys horſe fled away, thinking to auoyd by the ſwiftnes of hys horſe, & ſo taking the riuer of Thaſmis, oppreſſed wyth harnes, was there ſonken & drowned. Thus the Earle beyng gone, the French men began to diſpayre and ſcatter. Then William de Longaſpatha, bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtoode agaynſt them as lõg as he could, woundyng and ſlaying many a Saracen, till at length hys horſe being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer ſtand: who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much ſorow, till at laſt after many blowes & woũdes, beyng ſtoned of the Saracens, he yelded hys life. After the death of hym, then the Saracens ſetting vpon the reſidue of the army, whom they had compaſſed on euery ſide, deuoured and deſtroyed them all, in ſo much that ſcarſe one man eſcaped alyue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitular, and one poore raſcall ſouldiour, which brought tydinges hereof to the king.

The village and caſtle of Manſor aſſaulted by the Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen diſcomfited at the ſiege of Mãſor.

Earle Roberts army incloſed by the Soldan of Babylon.

The cowardly flying away of the Earle Robert.

Earle Rob. the kynges brother drowned.

The manly courage of William Longſpath.

W. Longſpath ſlayne in battaile.

The Frenchmen ouerthrowne.

Theſe thynges beyng knowen in the French campe to the kyng and his ſouldiours, firſt of their drowning which were ſent to Damiata, then of the ruine and ſlaughter of the army, with the kynges brother, by the towne of Manſor, there was no litle ſorow and heauines on euery ſide, with great feare, and doubt in themſelues, what was beſt to do. At laſt when they ſawe no remedye, but they muſt ſtand manfully to reuenge the bloud of their brethren, then the kyng with hys hoſt paſt ouer the floud of Nilus, and commyng to the place where the battayle had bene, there they beheld their felowes and brethren pitifully lying with their heades and handes cut of. For the Saracens for the reward before promiſed by the Soldan or Sultan, to them that could bring the head and hand of any Chriſtian, had ſo mangled the Chriſtians, leauing their bodyes to the wilde beaſtes. Thus as they were ſorowing and lamenting the rufull caſe of their Chriſten felowes, ſodenly appeareth the commyng of the Sultan, with a multitude of innumerable thouſandes. Agaynſt whom the French men eftſoones prepare themſelues to encounter, and ſo the battayle beyng ſtrocken vp, the armyes began to ioyne. But alacke for pitie, what could the French men here do, their number firſt ſo maymed, their hartes wounded already with feare and ſorow, their bodies cõſumed with penurie and famine, their horſes for feeblenes not able to ſerue them. In concluſion, the French men were ouerthrowen, ſlayne, and diſparcled, & ſeing there was no flying, happy was he that firſt coulde yelde hymſelfe. In which miſerable conflict, the king with his two brethren, and a few that claue vnto hym, were taken captiues, to the confuſion of all Chriſten realmes, and preſented to the Soldan. All the reſidue were put to the ſword, or els ſtoode to the mercy of the Saracens whether to be ſlayne, or to remayne in wofull captiuitie.

The ſorowes in the Frẽch campe for loſſe of their brethren.

The heades and handes of the Chriſtiãs cut of.

The battayle betwene the french kyng and the Soldan.

The French army ouerthrowne.

The pitifull ſlaughter of the French men.

The French K. with hys two brethren taken captiue by the Soldan.

And this was the end of that ſorowfull battaile, wherin almoſt all the nobilitie of Fraunce was ſlayne, neyther was there one man welneare in all that multitude which eſcaped free, but either was ſlaine, or taken priſoner. Furthermore, they that were ſlayne or left halfe aliue, had euery one hys head and hand cut of, vpon the Soldans proclamation aboue mentioned.

The Sultan or Soldan, after the taking of ẏ French kyng, fraudulently ſuborning an army of Saracens, to the number of the French army, with the armes and enſignes of them that were ſlayne, made toward Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundy, with the Frẽch Queene, & Odo the Popes Legate, and other byſhops and their garriſons were remaynyng, ſuppoſing vnder ẏ ſhew of French men to be let in, but the captaines miſtruſting their haſty commyng, and miſdoubting their viſages not like to ẏ French men, ſhutte the gates agaynſt them, and ſo returned they fruſtrate of their intent.

The purpoſe of the Soldan was, if he might haue gotten Damiata, to ſend the French king hyer vp in the Eaſt countryes to Calipha the chiefe Pope of Damaſcus, to encreaſe the titles of Mahomet, and to be a ſpectacle or gaſing ſtocke to all thoſe quarters of the world. The maner of which Calipha was neuer to let any Chriſten priſoner come out, whoſoeuer came once in hys handes. But for ſomuch as the Soldan miſſed hys purpoſe, he thought by aduiſe of counſell, to vſe the kyngs life for hys owne aduauntage in recoueryng the citie of Damiata, as in the ende it came to paſſe. For although the kyng at the firſt was greatly vnwilling, and had rather die then ſurrender Damiata agayne to the Saracens, yet the concluſion ſo fell out that the kyng was put to hys raunſome, and the Citie of Damiata was alſo reſigned: which citie being twiſe wonne, and twiſe loſt by the Chriſtians, the Soldan or Saladine afterward cauſed vtterly to be raſed downe to the ground. The raunſome of the kyng, vpon condition that the Soldan ſhould ſee hym ſafely conducted to Achon (which I take to be Ceſaria) came to 60000. markes. The number of French men, and others which miſcaryed in that warre by water and by land came to 80000. perſons. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſi. fol. 237. 238.

Damiata reſigned to the Saracens.

The ſumme of the kynges raunſome.

The number of the Frẽch men ſlayne.

And thus haue ye the briefe narration of this lamentable peregrination of Lewes the French kyng. In which when the French men being once or twiſe well offered by the Soldan, to haue all the kyngdome of Jeruſalem, and much more in free poſſeſſion, they not contented with that which was reaſonable and ſufficient, for gredines to haue all, loſt all, hauing at length no more then their naked bodies could couer, lying dead vpõ the ground: and all through the originall cauſe of the Pope and Odo hys Legate. By whoſe ſiniſter meanes and peſtilent pride, not onely ẏ liues of ſo many Chriſtians were then loſt, but alſo to the ſayde Pope is to be imputed all the loſſe of other Cities & Chriſtian regions bordering in the ſame quarters: for aſmuch as by the occaſion hereof, the hartes of the Saracens on the one ſide were ſo encouraged, and the courage of ẏ Chriſtians on ẏ other ſide ſo much diſcomfited, that in ſhort ſpace after, both the dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other poſſeſſions belonging to the Chriſtians, were loſt, to the great diminiſhing of Chriſtes Church.

During the tyme of thys good kyng lying at Achon or Ceſaria, almighty God ſent ſuch diſcorde betwene ẏ Soldan of Halapia, and the Soldan of Babylon, for letting the kyng ſo eſcape, that the ſayd Soldan or Saladin of Babylon, to winne the kyng vnto hys ſide, entred league wyth him (whom both hys brethren and all his nobles almoſt at home had forſaken) and remitted his ranſome, and alſo reſtored vnto hym ſuch priſoners, as were, in the ſayd battayle found to be alyue. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forſaketh. Math. Pariſ. fol. 261.

The two Soldans at variaũce about the French king.

An other cauſe moreouer, why the ruine of this french army may worthely be imputed to the Pope, is this: for that when Lewes the French king perceiuing what a neceſſary frend and helper Fredericke the Emperour might be to hym in theſe hys affaires agaynſt the Saracens, and

What miſchiefe hath come to Chriſtendome and by what meanes.

there

How Fredericke the Emperour might haue serued in good ſtead agaynſt the Saracens, but the pope would not ſuffer hym.

therefore was an earneſt ſuter for hym to the Pope to haue hym releaſed, yet neyther he, nor the kyng of England by any meanes could obtayne it. And although the Emperor hymſelfe offred to Pope Innocent wyth all humble ſubmiſſion to make ſatiſfaction in the Councell of Lyons, promiſing alſo to expugne all the dominions of the Saracens, and neuer to returne into Europe agayne, and there to recouer whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had loſt, ſo that the pope would onely graunt hys ſonne Henry to be emperour after hym: yet the proude Pope woulde not be mollified, but would needes proceede agaynſt hym with both ſwordes, that is, firſt wyth the ſpirituall ſword to accurſe him, and then with the temporall ſword to depoſe hym frõ his Emperiall throne. Through the occaſion wherof, not only the French kyngs power went to wracke, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchiefe was kindled agaynſt all Chriſtendome, as yet to thys day can not be quenched. For after this ouerthrow of the French kyng and his army, the Chriſtians of Antioch and of other Chriſten regions thereaboutes, being vtterly diſcouraged, gaue ouer their holdes and cities. Whereby the Saracens, and after them the Turkes, got ſuch an hand ouer Chriſtendome, as to this day we all haue great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where diuers Chriſtians were croſſed to go ouer and helpe the French kyng, the Pope for money diſpenſed wyth them to tarry ſtyll at home.

The tyranny and deuiliſhe miſchiefe of the pope agaynſt the Emperour.

But as I ſayd, the greateſt cauſe was, that the Emperour, which could haue done moſt, was depoſed by the Popes tyranny, whereby all thoſe Churches in Aſia were left deſolate. As touching the which Emperour Fredericke, becauſe we haue diuers and ſundry times made mẽtion of hym before, and for that hys ſtory is ſtraunge, hys actes wonderous, and hys conflictes tragicall, which he ſuſtayned agaynſt iiij. or v. Popes one after an other, I thought not out of ſtory in a whole narration to ſet forth the ſame, for the reader to conſider, what is to be iudged of thys Cathedrall Sea of Rome, which hath wrought ſuch abominable miſchiefe in the world, as in the ſequele of the ſtory folowing faithfully tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſhe is to be ſeene.

¶ The whole tragicall hiſtory of Fredericke.2. Emperour, tranſlated out of the Latine booke of Nic.Ciſnerus.

What houſe Fredericke came of.

FRidericke the ſecond, came out of the auncient houſe of the Weblines or Gibillines: which Gibellines came of the moſt famous ſtocke of the french kynges & Emperours.

What father and mother.

He had Fridericke Barbaroſſa to his graundfather, whoſe ſonne Hẽricus the 6. was emperour after him: who of Conſtantia, the daughter (or as ſome wright the neece) of Roger the firſt, kyng of Sicile: begatte this Fridericke the ſecond.

The tyme and maner of his birth.

This Cõſtãtia was 50. yeares of age before ſhe was conceiued with him: whome the Emperour Henry 6. to auoyde all doubt and ſurmiſe that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the perill of the empire enſue: cauſed his regall tẽt to be pitched abroade in a place where euery man might reſort. And when the time of his queenes trauaile approched, Cõſtantia (in preſence of diuers ladies, matrons, & other Gentle womẽ of the empire, a great number) was brought a bedde & deliuered of thys Friderik: the vij. day befor the Calendes of January, in yͤ yeare of Chriſtes incarnation, 1193. who by inheritaunce was kyng of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia.

Henricus his father ſhortly after he was borne, obtained of the princes electors: that by their othe to him geuen, they would chuſe his ſonne Fridericke for their emperour after his deceaſe, and ſo did, and immediatly called him Ceſar, being yet but in his cradele.

What patrones he had.

This Henry when he dyed (which was ſhortly after yͤ birth of Fridericke) committed the protection of him to Cõſtantia his wyfe, to Philip his brother chiefe gouernour of Hetruria, and to the Byſhop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Conſtantia, not long after the death of Henry her huſband being ſickly and growinge into age, and thereby not ſo well able to gouerne the troubles and vnquiete ſtate of yͤ Empire, reſigned, and willed by her teſtament, the ſafetye both of her ſonne Fridericke and alſo of his dominions, to the protection and gouernment of Innocẽt the 3. thinking thereby ſafely to haue prouided, &c.

The conſpiracies of Pope Innocent againſt Fredericke during his minoritie.

The 1. conſpiracy.

This pope Innocent, aſſone as he had the protection of the young emperour and his Segniories: became in ſteade of a patron and protector, to him and to his dominions both an enemy and conſpiratour. The examples are many: One is, he perſwaded Sibil the late wyfe of Tancredus (whõ Henry put from the kingdome of Sicile) to recouer yͤ ſame agayne, and that ſhe ſhould thereunto require Philip the French kynges ayde: Whereupon, one Waltherus being of the noble houſe of the earles of Brenno, which in yͤ prouince of Barrencecis had great lyuing, and mariyng with Aleria the eldeſt daughter of Tancredus once kyng of Sicile as is ſayd, now by the inſtigation, counſell, and ayde of yͤ French kyng with the pope (well hoping to recouer the kyngdom) entred and inuaded with great power Cãpania, and Apulia. At whiche tyme alſo, the ſame worthy protectour Innocentius the third, ſent his legates with letters of excommunication againſt al thoſe that would not admit and take the ſayd Waltherius for their kyng.

The 2. cõſpiracie.

An other was, that where the princes Electours and other nobles as before is ſayd had promiſed by their othe to Henricus, that they would make Friderick his ſonne emperour after his deceaſe (whome yͤ pope ſaw to put their indeuour therunto to bryng it to paſſe) abſolued thẽ all frõ the othe which they had taken and geuen for the election of Fridericke the emperour, as one not content he ſhould obtaine the ſame: And further, he rayſed ſlaunders and defamations againſt Philip, whom the electours had choſen to gouerne the empire during the minority of Fridericke hys nephew.

The 3 cõſpiracie.

He wrote his epiſtle (which is yet extant) to the duke Barthold of Zaringia to be emperor: who, for that he gaue place to Philip, he went about to procure, that Otho the ſon of Henry Leo ſhould be made emperour, and yͤ the princes and lordes electors of Germany, would crowne him forthwith after yͤ maner of Aquiſgraue.

The 4. cõſpiracie.

He depriued al ſuch byſhops as he knew to fauour Philip as emperour, in the defence of his nephewes right. But Philip, whoſe cauſe was better, his ſkill in martiall affaires greater, & in power & ſtrength mightier: after diuers & great conflicts to the marueilous diſturbaunce and vaſtation of the whole empire, by gods help put yͤ other to yͤ worſe. Al which calamities & miſchiefes Conradus Lichtenanus at that tyme lyuing, in his Annales moſt pitifully complaineth of: and accuſeth the B. of Rome & his adherentes to be the chiefe authors and deuiſours of this great & lamentable miſchiefe: as ſuch, that for to make themſelues rich by the ſpoyle thereof, ſought by all meanes and deſired the ſame.

The 5. cõſpiracie.

Philip ſlayne.

Not long after a peace was concluded betwene Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled againe to the pope: who within a while after betwene Otho and hym was murdered in hys chamber and ſlayne. And then was Otho agayne brought to the Imperiall ſeat, and new elected for Emperour, with the counſel and conſent of thys Innocent the thyrd: and ſo continued till that a great variaunce and diſcorde chaunced to riſe betwene the ſaid Otho & the pope. Wherupõ, Innocentius ſought by all meanes, how againſt hym likewiſe, he myght worke miſchiefe and bring hym to hys end. The occaſion of this ſodayne chaunge and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now beyng of great power) inuaded and deſtroyed theſe dominions of Fredericke, as Flamminia, Picenum, Vmbria, Hetruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, for that thoſe properly appertayned to the inheritaunce of Fredericke.

Variance betwene Otho & the pope.

Thus you ſee, how firſt by the counſell and conſent of Pope Innocentius and by his inſtigation, beſide hys ſecret conſpiracies: thys good Fredericke and hys dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then agayne, through hys default what damage he ſuſtayned by Otho, who by hym and hys meanes was made ſo ſtrong as he was: notwithſtanding, the great truſt he was put in for the protection both of Fredericke and his dominions.

What learning & knowledge he was of.

At this tyme, Fredericke was come to the age of xx. yeares: who in hys youth by the prouiſion of Conſtantia hys mother, was ſo well inſtructed in letters, and in other artes and vertues ſo imbued: that at theſe yeares there appeared and did ſhyne in hym, excellent giftes both of wyſedome and knowledge.

What vertues he was indued wyth.

He was excellently well ſeene in the Latine & greeke tongue: although at that tyme learnyng began to decay, & barbarouſnes to increaſe. He had alſo the Germain tõgue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He dayly exerciſed and put in practiſe thoſe vertues which nature had planted in hym, as pietie, wiſedome, iuſtice, and fortitude: in ſo much, that well he might be compared and accompted amongeſt the worthieſt and moſt renowned Emperours his predeceſſours.

Fazelius (the hiſtorician of Sicilia in thys tyme) writeth, that Fredericus was agayne after thys had in great honour and eſtimation wyth Innocentius: but yet notwithſtanwithſtanding,he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of Fredericke his graundfather often in remembraunce,and for that occaſion was much deſirous to haue him farre from Italy.

Fred.ſuſpected for hys graundfathers ſake.

When Fridericke had gathered his power,he purpoſed to ſet vpon Otho his enemy:of which thyng Otho hearyng (as he was paynefull in trauell) came out of Italy with his army into Germany,thinkyng to haue met Fridericke at the riuer of Rhene,and to haue ſtopped his paſſage: but he was deceyued of his expectation, and Fridericus was crowned as ẏ maner of Aquiſgraue is,before he came. And after that Fridericke in the Winter tyme tooke his iourney to Francofert,and after many meetynges in Norico had,& that Otho was dead,he ſet the Empire in ſtay,& the whole coūtrey of Germany he in a maner appeaſed: And thē with all his nobles and princes he returned to Rome,and of Honorius the third was with great ſolemnitie cōſecrated and called Auguſtus. Which Honorius ſucceded Innocentius 3.in the Papall ſea: and was a great helpe to Fridericke (although he loued him not)in this behalfe,to reuenge him ſelfe vpon Otho.

The coronatiō of Fredericke.

The death of Otho.

The conſecration of Fred.the Emperour.

After the conſecration of Fridericke the ſecond,he gaue many great and liberall giftes, as well to the Byſhop of Rome himſelfe,as alſo to the Court of Rome beſides. Alſo he gaue & aſſured,by his Charter to the Church of Rome, the Dukedome of Fundanum. For by the vnſatiable couetouſnes of the Romiſh Byſhops, this wicked vſe and cuſtome grew: that vnleſſe the Emperours elect and crowned would geue vnto them ſuch like great and large giftes: they could not obtaine of them their conſecration or confirmatiō, which for that intent they deuiſed.

The liberall munificence of Fred. to the pope and church of Rome.

Furthermore, Fridericke the Emperour, willyng to ſhew himſelfe more bountifull and liberall to the Church: neither yet to reſtrayne any priuiledge that might benefite the ſame, gaue and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the Pope himſelfe would deſire, and are yet extant in their Ciuill law: By which his doynges, he deliuered to their hands a ſword as it were, to cut his owne throte. For the byſhops of Rome,now hauyng euen what they liked, and all in their owne handes: might by the payne of proſcription, bryng what Emperour or Kyng vnder coram nobis that them liſted,& keepe them by their owne lawes,as if it were bound in a certaine bandes out of the which they might not ſtart. For whatſoeuer he were, which for the diminutiō of the liberties of the Church were excommunicate, and ſo continued a yeares ſpace: then, he ſhould be within the daunger of this proſcript,& ſhould not be releaſed before he had made ſatiſfaction, and were admitted by the Pope to the Church and congregation of good men agayne. Whereby it came to paſſe, that whatſoeuer Emperour in the gouernemēt of his dominions, ſhould in any point diſpleaſe or do contrary to the luſt of the Byſhop of Rome: he then as an enemy to the Church,was excommunicate. And vnleſſe within a yeare he were reconciled to them agayne (by this their principall law) he was in the proſcript. And often it chaunced, that Princes to auoyde the payne of this proſcript, were ready to do whatſoeuer the Pope would haue them, and commaund them to do.

Fred.gaue through his liberalitie a ſworde to cut his owne throte.

The canon of proſcriptiō graūted & confirmed by Fred.

After the conſecration of Fridericke was with great ſolemnitie finiſhed, and that the Pope & Church of Rome in all ample maner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confirmed: he departed from Rome and went into Italy,there to ſet in order & ſtay the Cities and great townes, for the better tranquilitie of himſelfe and ſafetie of his ſubiectes, and from thence into his owne prouinces and dominions: where he heard of certaine, that began to rayſe and make new factions agaynſt hym. Amōgeſt whom,were found Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocentius the third,Earles of Aquinos,that held certayne caſtels in the kyngdome of Neopolitanes from hym by force: which caſtels, he beſieged & beate downe,and tooke from them all that,he in them found. Richard he tooke,& ſent as a priſoner into Sicilia: But Thomas eſcaped and came ſpeedely to Rome, whether alſo repayred certaine Byſhops and others that were conſpiratours agaynſt Fridericke,as alſo ſuch other as the feare of the Emperours lawes,& their owne gilty conſciences cauſed to flee: and were (that notwithſtandyng,) of this Byſhop of Rome Honorius 3. (to gratifie agayne the liberalitie of the Emperour beſtowed vpō him) vnder his noſe ſuccored,maynteined and defended. Which thyng when Fridericke vnderſtode, he began to expoſtulate with the Byſhop, cōſideryng the vnſemelynes of that his fact. Agaynſt whō, the Pope on the other ſide was ſo chafed and vexed, that he immediatly without farther delay thundereth out agaynſt hym like a tyraunt, his curſes and excommunications.

Fred.after hys conſecration directeth his prouinces and dominions.

The liberalitie of Fred. well recompenſed of Honorius.3.

Fred.expoſtulateth.the pope curſeth.

Thomas Fazellus declareth, this deteſtation or deſiaunce to happen betwene them ſomwhat otherwiſe. There were ſayth he, amongeſt thoſe which were found traytors to the Emperour certaine Byſhops, which fleyng to the Pope,requeſted his ayde: wherupō,the Pope ſent his Legates to the Emperour, and requeſted hym that he would admit and receaue to fauour thoſe Byſhops, which he had baniſhed and put frō their offices,and that he would not entermedle with any Eccleſiaſticall charge wherewith he had not to do: And ſayd further, that the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertained to the Byſhop of Rome, & not to him: and moreouer,that the ouerſight of thoſe Churches in that kyngdome, from the which he had expelled the Byſhops,pertained and belonged to him.

Wherunto Fridericke thus replieth: That for as much as now.400.yeares and more (from the tyme of Carolus Magnus) all Emperours and Kynges in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the ſame, ſuch Eccleſiaſticall functions and charges as within their territories and kyngdomes fell: That he looked to haue the like priuiledge and authoritie alſo, that other his predeceſſours before him had. And farther ſayd, that he had the ſame and like authoritie in the Empire that his father Henry,& Fridericke his graundfather, and other his predeceſſours before them had: neither had he ſo deſerued at the handes of the Church of Rome,either of Honorius himſelfe,to be depriued of thoſe priuileges which his aunceters before him had had,and kept. And further, Fridericke beyng chafed & moued with theſe demaundes of the Pope, breaketh forth and ſayth: how long will the byſhop of Rome abuſe my pacience? when will his couetous hart be ſatiſfied? wherunto will this his ambitious deſire grow? with ſuch like wordes more,repeatyng certaine iniuries and conſpiracies, both agaynſt him and his dominiōs,as well by Honorius as Innocentius 3.his predeceſſour, as alſo other lyke iniuries of Popes to his aunceters practiſed. What man ſayth he, is able to ſuffer and beare this ſo incredible boldnes and intolerable inſolencie of ſo proud a Byſhop. Goe ſayth he (vnto the Legates) and tell Honorius, that I will hazarde both the ſeignory of my Empire, and crowne of my kingdome, rather then I will ſuffer hym thus to diminiſh the authoritie of our maieſty. Thomas Facellus Lib.8.

The Emperour replyeth to the Popes demaunde.

The Emp. ſpeaketh but reaſon howſoeuer it pleaſeth the pope to take it.

The ſtrife betwene the Pope & the Emperour for the election and depriuation of byſhops.

Now,becauſe much diſquietnes and controuerſie hath ariſen (for the moſt part through all Chriſtendome in euery kyngdome and Realme ſeuerally) for and about the authoritie of chuſing and depriuyng of Byſhops (as may be ſene by the example of this Fridericke) which the Pope onely & arrogantly chalengeth to himſelfe, and not to appertaine to any other: I thought good not with ſilēce to ouer paſſe but ſomwhat to ſay: & to proue the authoritie of Chriſten kings and princes in this behalfe, to be both ſufficient and good: which thyng,not onely by the holy Scriptures is right eaſie to be done,but alſo by Synodall decrees and cōcels (diuers and ſondry) to be eſtabliſhed and confirmed may eaſly be proued: as alſo by the auncient cuſtome and maner of the primitiue Church, may farther be corroborated and made good.

Wherunto appertaineth certaine places collected & gathered out of the decrees by Gratianus, & ſpecially in theſe canons.12.13.14.26.27.31.and 63. diſtinction. Farthermore, when Chriſtian kynges and princes began to embrace Chriſt his Religion, both for honor and orders ſake it was graunted: that when the people deſired ſuch miniſters as were conuenient & by them thought meete: that they which were then in the Eccleſiaſticall function and chiefeſt in authoritie, ſhould either cōfirme ſuch as were preſented, or els themſelues to place fit men in their Churches as neede required. So did the Emperours of Conſtantinople (receiuyng the order and maner from Conſtantine the great) vſe and giue the right of Eccleſiaſticall function, with the conſent both of the people and eccleſiaſticall perſons, and lōg ſo retayned they the ſame. As Honorius the Emperour vnto Boniface.canon.8.diſt.79.& canon.1.diſt.97. Alſo of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus: of the which, one in the reigne of Iuſtinian the Emperour (and Totila gouerning Italy) the other in the tyme of Mauritius the Emperour (when the Lombardes poſſeſſed Italy) were appointed Byſhops to the Church of Rome.can.15.21.24.

Autorities, for the election of Byſhops to be in the princes and their ſubiectes.

Autorities of electiō of the B.of Rome to be in the Emperour.

And where, as Gratianus in the beginnyng of the 96. and 97. diſtinction doth declare, that the reſcript of Honorius the Emperour is voyde and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the Biſhop of Rome,contrary to the authoritie of the holy canōs: when as yet, neither to the ciuill magiſtrate, nor to any of the eccleſiaſticall order can be read of any licence geuen them for to diſpence withall: ech man may playnly ſee and diſcerne his great foly and want

Gratianus in his diſtinction,reproued for the electiō of biſhops to be in the Pope.

of vnderſtādyng. As though at that tyme any decrees were made, which ſhould debarre Emperours for the conſtitutyng of the eccleſiaſticall miniſters. Or that it were doubtfull, whether the Emperours at that time had paſt any cōſtitutions touchyng the cauſes of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and the ſame lawes then put in vre: when the cōtrary moſt manifeſtly (both by the lawes and hiſtoryes of that age and tyme, as well of yͤ Church as of the Empire) may appeare. And that we neede not ſeeke farre for the matter: this thing is ſufficiently proued by theſe titles, *De ſacroſanctis Eccleſijs, Epiſcopis, Clericis,* beſide other eccleſiaſticall chapters, & matters touchyng Religion. All which are to be ſene in the bookes of the principall and chief conſtitutions, collected and ſet forth by Juſtinian. Amongeſt the which, many of the chapiters are ſayd to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodoſius. So in lyke caſe, the 21. can. in the 63. diſtinction, doth declare, that the Grecian Emperours that next inſued after Juſtinian, dyd obſerue that maner of ordeinyng and election of the Byſhop of Rome: although then at that tyme *interpellatum erat* it was ſomwhat ſporned at. Amongeſt whom mention is made of Conſtantinus the fourth which was ſurnamed Pogonatus.

The titles of Juſtinian for the election.

The Grecian Emperours, electours of Byſhops.

Carolus Magnus in lyke maner followed their ſteps and maner in the ſame, as in the 22. canon, and the ſame diſtinction is declared. And farther it was at a Synodal councell in Laterane (Adrian beyng high Byſhop where were conuented and aſſembled 153. other Biſhops) decreed: that the power and authoritie of creatyng the Byſhop of Rome, and ordainyng of all other prelates and eccleſiaſticall orders, ſhould be in the power and will of Carolus Magnus, as well in Italy as other his dominions and prouinces: & that whoſoeuer was not promoted & allowed by hym, ſhould not be conſecrated of any: And that thoſe, which repugned and diſobeyed this decree, ſhould incurre the moſt ſharpe payne of proſcription and publicatiō of law. The worthy example hereof, is extant in the 18. can. and 18. title. Yet notwithſtādyng, Stephanus the 4. author of this reſcript agaynſt the ſayd decree and without the Emperours cōſent, was made Byſhop of Rome. Who to that intent he might delude the decreed and ſolempniſed penalty, thereby to excuſe himſelfe: went into Fraunce to Ludouicus Pius the ſonne of Carolus Magnus, and at Rhemis crowned he him with the Imperiall diademe. Neither coulde this Byſhop here ſtay himſelfe, but ſpying the great lenitie of the Emperour, aſſayed to make fruſtrate the foreſayd conſtitution. For his purpoſe was, & ſo brought it to paſſe, (as in the 27. canon & the ſame diſtinction appeareth:) that it might be lawfull for the eccleſiaſticall order, with the people and ſenate of Rome (without the authoritie of the Emperour) to chuſe the byſhop of Rome: reſeruyng, that he ſhould not be conſecrated without the will and conſent of the Emperour. Thus is it manifeſt, that the Byſhops of Rome thēſelues, not regardyng but deſpiſing the ſtraite penalty and ſanction of the foreſayd decree of the Laterane Coūcell: were not onely the firſt that brake the ſame, but alſo by contrary reſcriptes and conſtitutions laboured and endeuoured to extoll and ſet vp themſelues aboue all other.

The election decreed by 153. byſhops in the councell of Laterane to be in the Emperour.

Stephan the 4. firſt alterer of this election.

The Biſh. of Rome the firſt breaker of the decrees of the councell.

Wherupon, Lotharius afterward being Emperour and nephew to Carolus Magnus, commyng into Italy there to diſſolue the conſpiracie and confederacie of Leo the fourth about the trāſlation of the Empire: renewed and ſtabliſhed agayne the Synodall decree of Laterane, touchyng the iuriſdiction of the Emperour for the election of the Biſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſticall perſons. And hereof it came, that thoſe Epiſtles were writtē of Leo in the 16. & 17. canon, and the ſame diſtinction, which alſo as in the 9. canon and 10. diſtinction, made a profeſſion, that the ſame Imperiall preceptes ſhould be kept in all ages. This Leo when he was reproued of treaſon & other euils, pleaded his cauſe before Ludouicus the 2. Emperour of Rome, and ſonne of Lotharius aboue recited. 2. q. 7. canon 40.

Lotharius reneweth the Lateran decree for election of Byſhops.

But after this as tyme grew on, the byſhops of Rome nothyng relinquiſhyng their ambitious deſires: Otho the firſt Emperour of that name, depriued and put from the ſea of Rome that moſt filthy and wicked Byſhop John the xiij. both for diuers and ſundry wicked and haynous actes by him committed, as alſo for his great treaſons and cōſpiracies agaynſt his royall perſon: and did ſubſtitute in hys place Leo the 5. Who callyng a Synode at Laterane in the ſame temple and place where the other before was kept: did promulgate a new conſtitution with conſent of the Senate and people of Rome, concernyng the Emperours iuriſdiction in the foreſayd election: which in the 23. canon is contained and 63. diſtinction. Whereby, the old right and power of the Emperour in the electiō of the Byſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſtical prelates, was agayne with more ſharper and ſtraighter ſanction confirmed & ratified. Agayne, John the 18. whō Creſſentius the Romaine (vſurpyng the Imperiall crowne) had made Byſhop by the conſent of the people of Rome and the Eccleſiaſticall order: hauyng his noſe cut of, and his eyes put out, and ſo thruſt out of the capitall: was agayne of Otho 3. eſtabliſhed and made biſhop. But when as yet notwithſtandyng, the biſhops of Rome would not alter their olde accuſtomed diſpoſition, but with al their induſtry indeuored to abrogate that iuriſdiction of the Emperour ouer the biſhop of Rome (as a people loth to be vnder ſubiection) Henry the 3. (then Leo the 9. beyng conſtituted biſhop) did once agayne ratifie the ſame, and cauſed the biſhop which extolled hymſelfe before all hys fellow biſhops, to ſtoupe and geue place to Moguntinus.

Otho depoſeth John the 14 and ratifieth a new decree of election. Leo the 5. was inſtituted by Otho the Emper. The election once agayne ratified to be in the Emperours iuriſdiction.

Henry the 3. and Leo the 9.

So, after the death of Hēry yͤ 3. Emperour, Nicholas the 2. although in his decree (which in the firſt canon & 23. diſtinction is recited) gaue the primacie for the election of yͤ biſhop of Rome by the meanes of the prieſtes and people of Rome, vnto the Cardinals: yet he would after that, that yͤ prerogatiue therin ſhould be reſerued to Henry 4. the yong Emperor, from whom the Empire afterward was for a tyme wreſted and taken.

Henry the 4. and Nicholas the 2.

But now after this, when Hildebrand which was called Gregory the 7. was Pope: This prerogatiue of the Emperours in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the biſhop was neglected and broken. The Biſhops of Rome not onely did ſeeke to diminiſh yͤ authoritie therof, but alſo to euacuate, and quite vndoe the ſame. For he, not only aſpired to that dignitie without the conſent and appointment of the Emperour: but alſo made reſtraint that no Emperour, kyng, duke, marques, erle, or any other ciuile Magiſtrate: ſhould aſſigne and appoint to any man any eccleſiaſticall function and charge, neither that any of his prelates ſo hardy, ſhould take them at any of their handes, as q. 16. canon 7. 9. and 10. may be ſene.

The election hitherto in the Emperours and now beginneth to fayle, by Hildebrand.

Yet notwithſtandyng, after that this horrible monſter Hildebrand was proſcript and thruſt out of the Papal ſeat and Clement the 3. put in hys ſtede: Henry agayne chalenged hys Imperiall prerogatiue of election. But yet, when the biſhops which ſucceded after this Hildebrand and led by his example, began to derogate from the Imperial prerogatiue of electiō: and Henry on the other ſide by all meanes poſſible, ſought to defend and maintayne the ſame: By the ſubtile fraude and miſchieuous pollicie of the biſhops which ſet the ſonne agaynſt the father, and found meanes, to ſteale from hym the hartes of hys nobles and ſubiectes and to ſet them all agaynſt hym, and eſpecially the princes of Germany: was depoſed and diſappointed of his purpoſe.

Henry 4. agayne chalengeth the election.

And although Henry the v. (cōming to Rome) brought Paſchalis the ſecond to that poynt, that he both in publique concion, and in writing ſealed, and alſo by othe confirmed: reſtored agayne to the Emperors of Rome the prerogatiue of election, and of geuyng eccleſiaſticall dignities: yet notwithſtandyng, after that Henry the Emperour was gone from Rome: Paſchalis the Pope, greatly repentyng and ſorowyng that he had done (in allowyng and confirming the priuileges of emperors through feare) touching the geuing and diſpoſing of eccleſiaſticall functions, excommunicated the Emperor: And in a Sinodall councell at Laterane ordeined and decreed, that he ſhould be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any Eccleſiaſticall function or preferment at the handes of a ciuile Magiſtrate, wherupon were made theſe decrees qu. 16. chap. 7. 13. 14. 15. and 16.

Henry the 5. alſo ſtriueth for the electiō & fayleth.

Prieſtes accurſed that take any benefice at the handes of a lay man.

Therfore, when theſe decrees touchyng the deſignatiō of biſhops, in ſpight and contempt of the Emperour were practiſed and put in vre: and when that now (eſpecially by the meanes and procurement of the biſhops) inteſtine and ciuile warres began to riſe in the Empire: their Imperiall iuriſdiction in this matter was not onely weakened and much debilitate, but alſo in maner vtterly broken and loſt. For when Henry the v. Emperour was ſharply of Lotharius and hys vaſſals the biſhops, beſet and layd vnto by the prouocation of the Pope, and was mightely by the biſhops that toke hys part on the other ſide requeſted and intreated (in hope of publique peace and tranquillitie) that he would condeſcend and ſomewhat yeld to the Popes demaundes: He at length (the more was the pitie) that he might be reconciled and haue peace with Pope Calixtus the 2. In the citie of Wangio departed from & with, that hys prerogatiue or iuriſdictiō of geuing eccleſiaſtical preferments to the pope and hys prelates: now more then 300. yeres (from yͤ tyme of Carolus Magnus) in the handes of the Emperours of Rome, and vntill this tyme with great fortitude & princely courage, conſerued and kept: which reſignation turned to no ſmall detriment both of the church of Chriſt, and chri-

Henry 5. compaſſed by ciuile diſſention for the prerogatiue of election as hys father was.

Henry the 5. reſigneth his prerogatiue of electiō.

ſtian common wealth.

The electiō gotte to the Byſhops of Rome.

Then firſt and neuer before, obteined the Biſhop of Rome, and quietly enioyed that prerogatiue of election, and beſtowyng of benefices: which he ſo long before with ſuch great pollicies (now ſecretly now openly, and now wyth force) had ſought for. And with what ſufficient and good authoritie Gratianus wyll proue, that before this tyme the ſame authoritie was geuen to the city of Rome for the election of the Pope without the conſent of the Emperour he ſheweth: as in the 29. and 30. canon: and what good ſtuffe he putteth in the latter, and how ſubtilly that Papiſticall flatterer or pontificall Paraſite hath forged the ſame: Both Carolus Molineus ſufficiently in diuers places hath noted, and by the obſeruation of tymes may of a meane Hiſtoriographer that hath read the French and Germaine hiſtories, ſoone be ſpied and diſcerned. For firſt, fiue biſhops one after another ſucceded this Gregory the 4. vpon whom the 29. canon is entituled or fathered: that is, Sergius 2. John 8. Adrian 2. John. 9. and Adrian the 3. Which Adrian by force wreſting the authoritie of the election from the people, was made Pope: When, as this Gregory (ſpecially to bee noted) would not take on hym the Papacie, before that the Emperour had conſented to hys election. After this, Molineus compareth Raphael Volateranus with the 30. canō, which agayne is ſuſpected: For why, whē Eugenius was biſhop which was the Succeſſor of this Paſchalis, wyth whom Ludouicus Pius is ſayd to haue made a league or paction: The ſame Ludouicus Pius with hys ſonne Lotharius together with the helpe of the king of Romaynes, at Rome made lawes both to all hys ſubiectes in the Empire, as alſo to the Romaines themſelues: ſpeakyng nothyng of yͤ renuing of yͤ decree made by Lotharius. Thē agayne, how coulde Leo the fourth, wryte to Lotharius and Ludouicus Emperours, that counterfeyt or forged decree, beginning with Conſtitutio. &c. when in the ſame, mention is made of Hēricus Aucupes and Otho the 1. which raygned more then 80. yeres after them, and Leo the 4. byſhop of Rome.

Gratianus foūde a forger of the Canons.
Sergius. 2.
John. 8.
Adrian. 2.
John. 9 and
Adrian 3.
The ſecond fault found wyth Gratianus.

The third fault found wyth Gratianus.

How ſhameles & impudent Gratianus is in forging the decrees.

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Otho the firſt to be authour of the 31. Canon, when as Otho depriued the ſame John the xij. of the Papacie: And not onely toke nothyng from the Imperiall iuriſdiction concernyng the election, nor from the Citie of Rome, nor any other biſhops ſubiect to the Romain Empire: but added ſomewhat more therunto, as was ſayd before. And yet notwithſtandyng, ſo ſhameles and ſenſeleſſe was this Graciā, that he durſt obtrude and lay before the Reader, ſo manifeſt fraud and euident legerdemayne (fayned and made of hys owne braynes in the compylyng of this decree) beyng ſo neceſſary as he thought for the dominion and Primacy of the Romayne Biſhops, in the ſtede of good and true lawes: neither fearyng that the ſame myght be after his dayes reprehended, neyther to hys great ſhame and diſcredite vnto hym attributed. Where alſo by the way is to be noted, that as thys graceleſſe Gratianus to pleaſe theſe holy fathers and to erecte theyr kyngdome, would geue ſo impudent an attempte to the blyndyng and deceiuyng of all poſterities: inſertyng for grounded truthes and holy decrees ſuch loude lyes and deteſtable doctrine: what may be thought of the rabble of the reſt of wryters in thoſe dayes, what attemptes hope of gayne myght cauſe them to worke: By whom and ſuche lyke is to be feared, the falſifying of dyuers other good workes now extante, in thoſe perillous tymes wrytten.

The corrupting of many good workes to be feared.

The election wraſted from the Emperour.

What Rome once catcheth, that ſhe kepeth.

Thus, when the Biſhops had once wraſted this autoritie out of the Emperours handes: they then ſo fortified & armed themſelues and their dominion, that although afterwardes Friderike the firſt, graundfather vnto thys good Emperour, Friderike the ſecond, as alſo Ludouicus Boius, and Henricus Lucelburgenſis (as men moſt ſtudious and carefull for the dignities of the Empire: vnfeined louers and maynteiners of the vtilitie of the common weale: and moſt deſirous of the preſeruation and proſperitie of the Church) did all their indeuors wyth ſingular wiſedom and ſtrength, as much as in them lay, to recouer agayne from the Byſhop of Rome this the authoritie of the Imperiall iuriſdiction loſt, moſt cruelly and wickedly abuſing yͤ ſame, to the deſtruction both of the Empyre, vndoyng of the common welth, and vtter ſubuerſion of the Churche of God: yet could they not be able to bryng the ſame to paſſe in thoſe darcke and ſhadowed tymes of peruerſe doctrine and errours of the people, and moſt miſerable ſeruitude of Ciuile Magiſtrates.

Not without good cauſe deſired they to noſell the people in ignoraunce.

The ſame and lyke priuilege alſo in the election of their Byſhops and Prelates, and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſticall offices, as the Emperour of Rome had: Euery Prince and King in their ſeuerall dominions had the lyke. For by the decree of the Councell of Toletane, which in the 25. canon and 63. diſtinction is mentioned: the authoritie of creatyng and chuſing Biſhops and Prelates in Hiſpane, was in the power of the kyng of Hiſpane. The lyke alſo by the Hyſtories of Clodoueus, Carolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus Auguſtus, Philippus pulcher, Carolus. 5. Carolus 6. Carolus. 7. Kinges of Fraunce, is apparaunt and well knowen: that all theſe Kynges had the chiefe charge and gouernment of the French Church, and not the Byſhops of Rome.

Euery king & Prince in their ſeuerall kyngdoms had alſo till that time the prerogatiue of election. Hiſpane had the ſame. Fraūce had the ſame.

And by our Engliſh hiſtories alſo as you haue heard, it is manifeſt: that the autoritie of chuſing eccleſiaſticall miniſters and biſhops, was alwayes in the kinges of England, till the raigne of king Henry the 1. who by the labour & procurement of Anſelmus Archb. of Cant. was depriued and put from the ſame.

England had the election.

Alſo the princes of Germany and electors of the Emperour, till the tyme of Henry the v. had all (euery Prince ſeuerally in hys owne dition and prouince) the ſame iuriſdiction and prerogatiue: to geue and diſpoſe eccleſiaſticall functions to their Prelates at their pleaſure: and after that it apparteyned to the people and prelates together. And howe in the raigne of Fridericke, the prelates gate vnto thēſelues alone this Immunitie: Ioannes Auentinus in his 7. booke of the Annales of the Boiores doth deſcribe.

Germanie had the election.

Alſo it is probable, that the Kinges of Sicilia had the ſame facultie in geuyng and diſpoſing their Eccleſiaſticall promotions and charge of churches. Andreas de Iſtmia ad 1. conſtit. Neap. nu. 12. And that becauſe Fridericke defended hym agaynſt the tiranny of the biſhop of Rome, therfore as Fazellus ſayth, he was excommunicated of Honorius. But that Platina and Blondus allege other cauſes wherfore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorāt: Howbeit, he that wyll compare their writinges with others that write more indifferently betwene Honorius and hym: ſhall eaſily finde, that they more ſought the fauour of yͤ Romaine biſhops, then to write a veritie. But now agayne to the hiſtory of Friderike.

Sicilia had the election.

Nicholaus Ciſnerus affirmeth, that whileſt Friderike the Emperour was in Sicilia, his wyfe Conſtantia dyed at Catrana or Catana. In the meane tyme, the Chriſtians which with a great nauy ſayled into Egipt and tooke the city Heliopolis, commonly called Damatia, and long agoe named Pelucinum, beyng in good hope to haue driuen Sultanus the Sowdan out of Egipt: had a great and meruelous ouerthrow, by the conueying of the water of the floud Nilus (which then ouerflowed into theyr Campe): and were fayne to accord an vnprofitable truce with the Sowldane for certayne yeares, and to deliuer the Citie agayne: and ſo departyng out of Egipt, were fayne to come to Acones and Tyrus, to the no ſmall detriment and loſſe of the Chriſtian army. Wherupon, kyng John ſurnamed Brennus (beyng kyng of Jeruſalem) arriued in Italy, and prayed ayde of the Emperour agaynſt hys enemies in whō he had great hope to finde remedy of the euils and calamities before declared: and from thence he went to Rome to the Pope, declaryng vnto hym the great diſcomfite and ouerthrow paſt, as alſo the preſent perill and calamitie that they were in, deſiryng alſo hys ayde therein. By whoſe meanes (as Ciſnerus ſayeth) the Emperour was reconciled agayne to the Pope, and made friendes together: to whome alſo Kyng John gaue Joell hys daughter in mariage, whiche came of the daughter of Conradus Kyng of Jeruſalem, and Marques of Mounte Ferrat: wyth whome he had for dowrye, the inheritaunce of the kyngdome of Jeruſalem, as right heire thereunto by her mother. By whome alſo, he after obteyned the kyngdomes of Naples and Sicill, and promyſed that wyth as much expedient ſpeede as he myght, he would prepare a power for the recouerie agayne of Hieruſalem, and be there hymſelfe in proper perſon: whiche thyng to doe, for that vppon dyuers occaſions he deferred, whereof ſome thynke one, ſome an other: Honorius, vnto whome he was lately reconciled, purpoſed to haue made agaynſt hym ſome greate and ſecrete attempte, had hee not bene by deathe before preuented, vppon whome were made theſe Verſes.

The death of Conſtātia the wife of Fredericke.

A great ouerthrow of the Chriſtians in Egipt.

Fredericke & the pope made frēdes.

Honorius the pope dyeth before he put his practiſe in vre againſt Fred.

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,
Eſt tibi decori viuere, vade mori.

After whom ſucceded Gregorius the ix. as great an enemy to Friderike as was Honorius: which Gregory, came of the race whome the Emperour (as before ye hearde) condemned of Treaſon whiche they wroughte agaynſte hym. This Gregory was ſcarcely ſetled in hys Papacye,

Gregorius ye as great an enemy to Fred. as Honorius.

when that he threatned hym and that greatly with excommunication, vnleſſe he would prepare hymſelfe into Aſia, accordyng to hys promiſe as ye heard before to king John. And what the cauſe was, why the Pope ſo haſtened the iourney of Frederike into Aſia, you ſhall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not wel bring that to paſſe, which in his miſchiuous mynd he had deuiſed, vnleſſe the Emperour were farther from hym. Notwithſtandyng, Fridericke it ſhould ſeme ſmellyng a ratte, or miſtruſtyng ſomwhat (as well he might) alleged diuers cauſes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Fredericke refuſeth to go into Aſia at the popes bidding, the pope is angry.

Fazellus a Sicilian writer ſayth, that the ſpeciall cauſe of the Emperours ſtay was: for the othe of truce and peace duryng certaine yeres, which was made betwene the Saracens and Chriſtians as you heard, which tyme was not yet expired.

The cauſe of the ſtay of the Emperours iourney into Aſia.

The ſame alſo Fazellus, writeth thus of King John of Jeruſalē: that when hys daughter was brought to Rome, the Emperour and the pope were reconciled together. And being called vp to Rome to celebrate ẏ mariage, Pope Gregory (as the maner of thoſe proud prelates is) offered hys right foote vnto the Emperour to kyſſe. But the Emperour not ſtoupyng ſo low, ſcarcely with hys lippe, touched the vpper part of hys knee and would not kiſſe his foote: which thyng the Pope toke in very euil part and was therwith meruelouſly offended. But for that no opportunitie at that tyme ſerued to reuenge hys conceyued grudge and old malice, he diſſimuled ẏ ſame as he might for that tyme, thinkyng to recompence it at the full as tyme would ſerue, and fall out therfore.

The pope diſſembleth his grudge.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperour hearing how the Chriſtians were oppreſſed by the Souldane in Syria, and that from Arſacida there came a great power agaynſt the chriſten princes: he made the more haſt, and was wyth more deſire incouraged to ſet forward his iourney into Aſia. Wherfore, aſſemblyng the Nobilitie of the Empire at Rauenna and Cremona: he gaue in commaundement to Henry his ſonne (whom not long before he cauſed to be created Ceſar) that he ſhould perſwade the nobles and princes of the Empire: that they all, would be ready to put to theyr helpyng handes, in furtheryng this his iourney and enterprice. Thus writeth Fazellus: howbeit, ſome other affirme that theſe things were done in the tyme of Honorius. But howſoeuer the matter is, this thyng is manifeſt: that Friderike to ſatiſfie the Popes deſire, which neuer would lin but by all meanes ſought to prouoke hym forward, gaue hym at length hys promiſe: that by a certen tyme he would prepare an army and fight hymſelfe agaynſt thoſe, which kept from hym the city of Jeruſalem (which thyng he alſo confeſſeth hymſelfe in his epiſtles, and alſo how he deſired, & obteyned of the peeres and nobility of the Empire, their aide therunto) as alſo, to haue appointed a conuenient tyme whē they ſhould be at Brunduſium.

The preparation of the viage of Frederike to Jeruſalem, and ſtay therof.

In the meane ſeaſon, he with all hys power and indeuour made haſty and ſpedy preparation for the warres: he rigged and manned a puiſſant nauy, he had the picdeſt men and beſt ſouldiours that were in euery countrey, and made warlike prouiſiō and furniture, for euery thyng that to ſuch a voiage and expedition apperteyned. Neyther was the matter ſlacked, but at the tyme appoynted: Great bandes aſſembled and muſtered both of Germaine ſouldioures and others, and vnder their Captaines appoynted ſet forth and marched to Brunduſium. Their generals were, Thuringus and Sigebertus, and Auguſtanus the biſhop: where they, long tyme lyeng and attendyng the Emperours commyng (beyng let by infirmitie and ſicknes) great peſtilence and ſondry diſeaſes moleſted them, by reaſon of the greate heate and intemperaunce of that countrey: and many a ſouldiour there loſt his lyfe, among whome alſo dyed Thuringus one of their Generals. The Emperour, when he had ſomewhat recouered his health, wyth all hys nauy launched out and ſet forward to Brunduſium. And when he came to the ſtraites of Peliponnences & Creta (being Ilādes lying in the Sea) and there, for lacke of conuenient wynde was ſtayed: ſodaynly the Emperour (hys diſeaſes growyng vppon hym agayne) fell ſicke: and ſendyng before, all or the moſt part of hys bandes and ſhyppes into Paleſtina, promiſyng them (moſt aſſuredly) to come after and follow them ſo ſoone as he might recouer and get neuer ſo litle helth: he hymſelfe with a few ſhyps, returned and came to Brunduſium, and from thence, for want of helth, went into Apulia.

The preparation of the Emperours warre agaynſt the Turke.

Great ſickenes in the Emperours armye.

The Emperour, himſelfe ſicke.

When tidinges herof came to the Popes eare: he ſent out hys thundryng curſes and new excommunications agaynſt the Emperour. The cauſes wherfore, I find noted and mentioned by his owne letters, that is, how that when he had robbed and taken from Brunduſius, Prince of Tiryng, hys horſes, hys money, and other rich furniture of hys houſe at the tyme of hys death, he ſayled into Italy: not for the entent to make warre agaynſt the Turke, but to conuey this pray that he had ſtolen and taken away frō Brunduſius, who neglectyng hys othe and promiſe which he had made, and feynyng hymſelfe to be ſicke, came home agayne. And that by his default alſo, Damieta was loſt, & the hoſte of the Chriſtians ſore afflicted. Fazellus, beſides theſe cauſes ſpoken of before, doth write that the Pope alleged theſe alſo. That he defiled a certen Damoſell, which was in the Quenes nurſery: and that he ſlew hys wyfe when he had whipped her in the priſon, for declaryng this miſcheuous acte to her father kyng John. But all the writers, and alſo Blondus hymſelfe doth declare, that this Joell, dyed after the Publication of the proſcript and excommunication: wherfore, ẏ pope couldnot without great ſhame allege that cauſe vpon the death of Joell: For vndoubtedly the truth is, that ſhe of her ſonne Conradus, dyed in childbed. Then Friderike, to refell and auoyd the foreſayd ſlaunders, ſendeth the biſhop of Brundis, and other Legates to Rome: whom the Pope would not ſuffer to come to hys preſence, neither yet to the Councell of the Cardinals to make hys purgation. Wherfore the Emperour to purge hymſelfe of the crimes, which the Pope dyd ſo falſly accuſe hym of: both to all Chriſten kings and ſpecially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the Empire, he writeth his letters (which are to be ſene) that thoſe things are both falſe and alſo fayned, and of the popes own head inuented. And ſheweth, how that his Embaſſadours with hys purgatiō, could not be ſuffred to come to the popes preſence: alſo doth largely intreate how vnthankefull & vngratefull the biſhops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits which both he & alſo his predeceſſors had beſtowed vpon them and the Romain church: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, conſidering the diſcourſe of the hiſtory is ſomwhat long, the ſumme of hys purgation is this.

The pope excommunicateth the Emperour for ſtaying his viage.

He layeth falſe accuſations to hys charge.

The Emperour purgeth himſelfe of thoſe crimes the pope layd agaynſt hym by his letters dedicated to all Chriſten princes.

He proteſteth and declareth vniuerſally, that he had alwayes great care for the chriſten common wealth, and that he had determined euen from his youth, to fight againſt the Turke and Saracens. And for that occaſion he made a promiſe to the Princes electours of Aquiſgraue, how that he would take that warre vpon hym: Afterward, he renewed his promiſe to Rome, when he was conſecrated of Honorius: Then, when he maried the daughter of the king of Jeruſalem, which was an heyre of the ſame: And for becauſe that kyngdome might be defēded and kept from the iniuries of the enemies, and that he fauored it euē as he did his own: he prepared an huge nauy, and gathered together a ſtrong army of men: neither did he neglect any thing that belōged to the furniture of the warre. But when the tyme was come, and hys band was gathered together: hys ſickneſſe would not ſuffer hym to be there. And afterward when he had recouered the ſame, and came to Brunduſium, and from thence without any diſturbance went forthwyth to the ſea: he fell into ẏ ſame ſicknes agayne, by the which he was let of his purpoſe: which thyng (ſaith he) he is able to proue by ſufficient teſtimony. How the Pope alſo doth lay the looſing of Damieta, and other thynges which proſpered not well with hym, vniuſtly to hys charge: when as he had made great prouiſion for the ſame iourney both of ſouldiours and other neceſſary thynges. But he that will vnderſtand thinges more plainely among other epiſtles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Fredericke, let hym read theſe eſpecially, which begin thus: In admirationem, & iuſticiam & innocentiam: & Leuate oculos. And truely euen as Fredericus the Emperour declareth in his letters, concerning thys matter, all the old writers of Germany, do accord and agree in the ſame.

The effect of the Emperours letters.

The Emperours purgation.

The Emperours epiſtle beginnyng thus. *In admirationem & iuſticiam,* and agayne, *Leuate oculos.*

Math. Pariſienſis alſo briefly collecteth the effect of an other letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaynyng vnto hym of the excommunication of the pope againſt hym. Whoſe wordes are theſe. And amongſt other Catholicke princes (ſayth he) He alſo wrote hys letters vnto the kyng of England, embulled with golde: Declaryng in the ſame, that the biſhop of Rome ſo flamed wyth the fire of auarice and manifeſt concupiſcence: that not beyng contented with the goods of the Church which were innumerable, but alſo that he ſhamed not to bring princes, Kinges and Emperours: to be ſubiectes, and contributors to hym, and ſo to diſherite them and put them frō their kingly dignities. And that the kyng of England hymſelfe had good experiment therof, whoſe father (that is king Iohn) they ſo long held excōmunicate til they had brought both him and his dominions vnder ſeruitude and to pay vnto

A letter of the Emperour to the kyng of England abſtracted by *Math. Pariſ.*

Many kingdomes haue experience of the popes practiſes.

hym tribute. Alſo,that many haue experience of the ſame by the Earle of Tholouſe and diuers other Princes, which ſo long held their perſons and landes in interdict, tyll they might bryng them into lyke ſeruitude.I pretermit ſayth he, the Symonies and ſondry ſortes of exactions(the like wherof was neuer yet heard) which daily are vſed amongeſt the eccleſiaſticall perſons, beſides their manifeſt vſury (yet ſo cloked and coloured to the ſimple ſorte) that therewithall they infect the whole world. They be the ſugred & embalmed Simoniſtes,the inſatiable horſeleaches or bloudſuckers ſaying,that the Church of Rome is our mother and nurce, where as it is in dede the moſt polyng Courte in the vniuerſall world,the roote and right mother of all miſchiefe: vſing and exerciſing no motherly doyngs or deeds but bringyng forth the right exerciſes of a wicked ſtepdame: making ſufficient proofe therof by her manifeſt fruites to all the world apparaunt. Let the Barons of England conſider whether this be true or not,whō pope Innocēt by his buls wyth one conſent encouraged,to ryſe & rebell againſt their ſoueraigne lord & prince king Iohn your father, as an obſtinate enemy to the Church of Rome.But after that the king (farre out of ſquare) remembryng himſelfe, had crouched vnto hym and obliged both hymſelfe and kingdome to the Church of Rome,more lyker a woman then a man: & that the wiſe Barons whom the Pope had firſt mainteyned and ſtirred vp, without all ſhame eyther of the world or feare of God,had done the ſame:ſought how he might with gaping mouth deuour and conſume the ſwete fat from them, whom he had miſerably to death betrayed and diſherited, as the maner of the Romaine biſhops is.By whoſe gredy auarice it came to paſſe, that England the Prince of prouinces was brought vnder miſerable ſubiection & tribute. Behold the maners and conditions of our Romaine Byſhops: behold the ſnares wherwith theſe prelates do ſeeke to intangle men withall: to wype their noſes of their money: to make their children bondmen: to diſquiet ſuch as ſeeke to lyue in peace: beyng clothed with ſhepes clothing, when in dede they be but rauenyng Wolues, ſendyng theyr Legates hither and thither to excommunicate and to ſuſpend: as hauyng power to puniſh whom they liſt:not ſowing the ſede,that is the word of God to fructifie:but that they may bribe and pole mens purſes, and reape that which they neuer did ſow. Thus commeth it to paſſe,that they ſpoyle the holy churches and houſes of God,which ſhould be the refuge for the poore,and the manſion houſes of ſaintes:which our deuout and ſimple parentes to that purpoſe builded & ordeyned,to the refection of poore men and pilgrimes, and to the ſuſtentation of ſuch as were well diſpoſed and religious.But theſe degenerate varlets,whom onely letters hath made both mad and malipert,do ſtriue and gape to be both kings and Emperours.

The Church of Rome,the mother of miſchiefe.

King Iohns ſubmiſſion to the pope blamed by the Emperour.

Who be the rauenyng Wolues in ſheepes clothyng.

The treaſure of the Church belongeth to the pope.

Doubtles the Primatiue church was builded and layd in pouerty and ſimplicitie of lyfe,and then as a fruitful mother begate ſhe thoſe her holy childrē,whom the Cataloge of ſaintes now maketh mention of: and verily no other foūdation can be layd of any other church, then that which is layd by Ieſus Chriſt. But this Church as it ſwimmeth and waloweth in all ſuperfluitie of riches, and doth builde and rayſe the frame in all ſuperfluous wealth and glory: So is it to be feared,leaſt the walles therof in tyme fall to decay, & when the walles be downe, vtter ruine and ſubuerſion follow after. Agaynſt vs,he knoweth that is the ſearcher of all hartes,how furiouſly theſe Catholikes rage & go to worke: Saying, therefore excommunicatyng me that I wyll not take vpon me the iourney I haue promiſed beyond the ſeas: wheras inemicable and moſt vrgēt cauſes and perils,as wel to the Church of God as alſo to the Empire, beſides the anoyaunce of myne infirmitie and ſickneſſe,do detayne me at home,and ſtay the ſame,but eſpecially,the inſolencie of the rebellious Sicilians.For why,neither do we thinke it ſafety to our Empire,nor expedient to the chriſtian ſtate: that we ſhould now take our iourney into Aſia,leauyng behynd vs at home ſuch inteſtine and ciuill warres: no more then for a good ſurgeon,to lay a healyng plaiſter to a greuous woūd new ſtriken with the ſword,and made. In concluſion, alſo to this he addeth:admoniſhing all the princes of the world that they would beware and take hede (by their auaricious iniquitie) of lyke perill and daunger to themſelues: Becauſe that as the prouerbe is: It behoueth him to loke about,that ſeeth hys neighbours houſe on fire. Thus much out of Pariſienſ.pag.69.

Chriſtes Church was builded in humilitie: The popes Church is all ſuperfluitie, Ergo, the popes Church is not Chriſtes Church

But now,that Fridericus the emperour myght in very dede ſtop the ſlaunders of the cruel Pope,which did perſiſt and go forward ſtill in excommunication agaynſt hym: And that he might declare to the whole world, how that ỹ laſt yere he forſlowed not his iourney by his owne voluntary will,but by neceſſitie: When he had deuiſed and prepared all thing mete for the warre, and that he had gathered together and leuied a great army of men: He departed from thence to Brundiſium,committyng the gouernment of his kyngdom to Renaldus the ſonne of duke Spoletus,and to Anſelmus a Baron of Inſtigenſis and came by ſea to Cyprus with hys hoſte.

An other iourney of the Emperor to Ieruſalē.

From Cyprus, the Emperour with his whole nauy ſayled into Ioppa,which city he fortified, for that the paſſages by land were ſtopped and kept of the enemies: And by ſea might he not paſſe nor trauayle, by meanes of the extreme weather and tempeſt: whereby it came to paſſe, that within ſhort ſpace they lacked vitayles and were ſore afflicted with famine. Then fell they to prayer and made theyr humble ſupplication to God, with whoſe teares hys wrath beyng appeaſed: the great tempeſt and long continued foule weather ceaſed,wherby (the ſeas now beyng calme) they had both vitaile great plenty,and all other neceſſary things for their nede,brought vnto them: wherby immediatly it came to paſſe,that both the Emperor and hys army as alſo the inhabitaunts of Ioppa were greatly refreſhed and animated: and on the other ſide their enemies beyng diſappoynted of their purpoſe, were greatly diſcouraged. In ſo much,that the kyng of Egipt who with a great power(accompanied with Scarapho his brother prince of Gaza, and the Prince of Damaſcus their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles) hauyng incamped themſelues within one dayes iourney of Ioppa, thinkyng to haue beſieged the ſame: were contented vpon the commyng of the Emperors Haroldes vnto them to intreat of a peace. Wherupon,Embaſſadours were ſent vnto them with the Emperours demaundes right profitable to the Chriſtian common weale. The Saraſins (immediatly conſultyng vpon the ſame) graunted therunto: ſo that a peace for x. yeres was concluded,and was confirmed by ſolempne othe on the behalfe of both princes accordyng to their ſeuerall vſages and maner: the forme and condition of which peace, briefly collected are theſe.

The Emperour oppreſſed by famyne and by prayer myraculouſly releued.

A concluſion of a profitable peace during x. yeres betwene the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

Firſt, that Fridericke the Emperour, ſhould be crowned and annoynted king of Ieruſalem accordyng to ỹ maner of the kyngs of Ieruſalem before hym.

Secondly, that all the landes and poſſeſſiōs which were ſituate betwixt Ieruſalem and Ptolomaida, & the greateſt part of Paleſtina,and Cities of Tyrus and Sydon which were in Syria,and all other territories which Baldwinus the 4. at any tyme had and occupied there: ſhould be deliuered vnto hym,onely certaine caſtles reſerued.

The articles of the peace agreed vpon.

Thirdly that he might fortifie and build what fortreſſes and caſtles he thought good, cities and townes: in all Syria and Paleſtina.

Fourthly that all the priſoners which were in the Saracens handes,ſhould be raunſomed freely and ſent home: and agayne,that the Saracens myght haue leaue without armour to come into the Temple where the Lordes ſepulcher is,to pray:and that they ſhold hold and kepe ſtil Charatum,and the kings mount.

Friderike now for that he thought the concluſiō of this peace to be ſo neceſſary as alſo profitable for all Chriſtians, and had alſo gotten as much therby, as if the warres had continued he ſhould: he ſent hys Legates with letters into the Weſt,to all Chriſtian kinges, princes, and potentates, as alſo to the biſhop of Rome:declaryng vnto them the circumſtance and ſucceſſe of his iourney and warres,as partly ye haue heard: Requiryng them,that they alſo would praiſe and geue God thankes for this good ſucceſſe and profitable peace concluded: And deſireth the Pope that for as much as he had now accompliſhed hys promiſe, neither that there was any cauſe now wherfore he ſhould be with hym diſpleaſed,that he might be reconciled and obtaine his fauour.

The letters of Frederick to the princes & pope of his ſucceſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon,the Emperour with all his army marcheth to Ieruſalem: where, vpon Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lord,1229.he was with great triumphe and comfort of all hys nobles,and alſo the Magiſtrates of that kyngdome (onely the Patriarch of Cyprus the kings Legate,and Oliuer the maiſter or captayne of the Tēple with hys company,excepted) ſolemnely and with great applauſe crowned kyng.

The Emperour crowned kyng of Ieruſalem.

After this, he reedifieth the Citie and walles therof which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that,he furniſheth it with munition, he buildeth vp the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazarethum and Ioppen with ſtrong garriſons, vitayle, and all other things neceſſary.

Now ſee and behold I pray you, whileſt that Frede-

rike

ricke was thus occupied in the kyngdome of Ieruſalem, what practiſes the Pope had in Italy: Not I warrant you any whit at all carefull in the affayres of the Chriſtian common wealth, but ſtudying and laboring what miſchiefe and ſpite he might worke agaynſt the Emperour: whom of a ſet purpoſe he had ſo occupyed (partly for hate, and partly to enrich himſelfe) in Aſia and Ieruſalem, ſo farre out of Italy, ye may be ſure. Firſt, he cauſed ẏ ſouldiours which the Emperour ſent for out of Germany to the mayntenaunce of the holy warres, to be ſtayde as they paſſed through Italy: letting them of their iourney, and tooke from them, and ſpoyled them of all ſuch prouiſion as they had. And not onely this, but he ſent ſecretly alſo hys letters into Aſia, to thoſe that were of hys owne faction: that is, to the Patriarch of Ieruſalem, and ſouldiors that kept the temple and hoſpitall, intiſing and inciting them to rebell agaynſt the Emperour: which thing, Blondus hymſelfe that popiſh Paraſite or hiſtoriographer diſſimuleth or hydeth not. But that he furthermore diſſwaded the Princes of the Saracens, that they ſhould make no league nor take any truce wyth Fredericke, neyther deliuer vp vnto hym the crowne and kingdome of Ieruſalem. Which letters as they were manifeſt teſtimonies of hys trecherie and treaſon towardes hym whom God had inſtituted and made hys liege Lord and ſoueraigne, and mightieſt potentate vpon earth: ſo was it hys will, that he ſhould come to the knowledge therof, and that thoſe letters ſhoulde fall into hys handes. And that he kept the ſame letters for the more credible teſtimony therof: in the ſame his laſt Epiſtle vnto the Chriſtian Princes he proteſteth. The copye of which letter amongeſt hys other Epiſtles, you ſhall haue expreſſed.

The firſt and ſecret practiſe of Pope Gregory.9.

Neither were the Popes letters written to that leauened ſecte and factious in vayne. For the Patriarche and hys Collegioners which tooke their name of the temple, did mightely repugne agaynſt Fredericke. They rayſed a tumult in Ptolomaida agaynſt hym: they accuſed him and hys Legates openly of treaſon: and did malipertly & boldly wythſtand the right worthy and good order he made amongeſt them. But as God would, by the helpe of the inhabitantes of Piſa and the Genowayes, and the Dutche ſouldiours: both their falſe accuſations were refelled, and alſo their ſeditious purpoſe & tumult expreſſed. And thys was the cauſe, that when all other men reioyced and were glad of the Emperours coronation, they as wicked confederatours were heauy therfore, and obtrectours of hys worthy laude and fame.

The Emperour wythſtandeth the ſecret treaſon which the pope had wrought agaynſt him at Ieruſalem.

The Pope, when he had thus conſpired agaynſt Fredericke, and had betrayed hym to the publicke enemy of all Chriſten men, the Turke: he could not diſſemble thys his miſcheuous fact, nor content himſelfe therwith, but that he would deuiſe and practiſe yet an other. For by reaſon of thoſe ſclaunders (which a litle before I touched) of the death and ſlaughter of hys wyfe Iola: he incited Iohn Brennus his father in law to make warre agaynſt hym, who cauſed the ſubiectes of his empyre to withdraw from him their allegeance, as alſo the inhabitãtes of Picẽnum, & inhabitantes of Lumberdy. And thus ioyning themſelues together, craued farther ayde of the French kyng, wherby they made a great power. That done, they deuided their hoſt in two armyes, inuading wyth the one the Empire, and wyth the other the proper territories and ditions belonging to the inheritaunce of Frederick: Iohn Brennus and Pandolphe Saucilianus, leadyng the one (as Generals) into Campania & the kyngdome of Naples: and the other (wyth Iohn Columna Cardinalis hys legate, and that Thomas before conuicted of treaſon, beyng hys Lieftenantes) he ſendeth into Picenum.

The ſecond & manifeſt treaſon of the Pope agaynſt Fredericke.

Brennus, Pãdolphus, Iohannes Columna & Thomas the traytor, the popes generalles & leaders of hys hoſte.

Of thys treaſon of the Pope agaynſt Fredericus, doth alſo Mat.Pariſ. make mention during his warres in Aſia. Who (ſayth he) purpoſed to haue depoſed hym, & to haue placed alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientiæ loco eius ſubrogare: that is, any other he cared not whom (ſo that he were the childe of peace and obedience) in hys ſtede. And for the more certaintie therof, the ſayd Math.Pariſ. pag.71: repeateth the letter which a certayne Earle of Siria wrot vnto hym concerning the ſame, which letter here vnder inſueth word for word.

To the high and mighty prince Fredericus by the grace of God Emperour of Rome, and euer Auguſtus and moſt puiſant kyng of Siciliæ: Thomas Earle of Actran his faythfull and truſty ſubiect in all thyng humble ſalutation. After your departure moſt excellent Prince, Gregory the byſhop of Rome, and publique enemie to your magnificence, gathering together a great power and hoſte of men: By Iohannes Brennius late kyng of Ieruſalem and other ſtout captaynes whom he hath made generals of the ſame hys hoſt: As a foreine enemie inuading your dominions & poſſeſſions of your highnes ſubiectes againſt the law of Chriſtianitie: hath purpoſed and determined, to vanquiſhe and ſubdue you wyth the materiall or tẽporall ſworde, whom he cannot maiſter and ouercome with the ſpirituall ſword, he ſaith. For, the foreſayd Iohn Brennus gathering out of Fraunce and other prouinces neare adioynyng, a great armie: geueth vnto them of the treaſure he hath gotten (by what meanes together I cannot tell) great wages, in hope to recouer and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the ſame Iohn and others (the captaines of the ſee Apoſtolicall inuading your land) burne and deſtroy all as they go, driuing away and takyng for their booties, all that they cã come by, as well cattell as other thynges: And ſuch as they take priſoners, they conſtrayne by inflicting them with greuous puniſhments to raunſome thẽſelues for great ſummes of money: neither ſpare they man, woman, nor childe, but take and keepe your townes and caſtels, hauing no regarde that you be in the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt. And further, if any make mention of your maieſtie vnto him, he ſaith there is none other Emperour but himſelfe. Your frendes & ſubiectes moſt excellent Prince, much maruell hereupon: yea and alſo the clergie themſelues of the Empire, doe maruel wyth what conſcience or vpon what conſideration, the B. of Rome can do the ſame, making ſuch bloudy warres and ſlaughter vpon Chriſtian men: eſpecially, ſeeing that Chriſt commaunded Peter, when he ſtroke wyth the materiall ſword to put vp the ſame into the ſcabberd, ſaying: all that ſtrike wyth the ſword ſhall periſh wyth the ſword. Or els by what law, he dayly can excommunicate ſuch pirates, burners of mens houſes, and robbers: when he hymſelfe is the patron and maintayner of ſuch hymſelfe: hereat, they greatly muſe and maruell. Wherfore moſt mighty and renowined Emperour, I beſeeche your highnes to conſider your owne ſafetie: for that the ſayde Iohn Brennus, hath layd and fortified all the portes and hauens wyth no ſmal company of men and ſouldiours: that if (not knowing therof) your grace ſhould ariue in any of them: the ſame gariſons of his ſhould apprehend and take you as a priſoner: which thing to chaunce God forefend.

Thus whileſt the hoſt of this hoſtile enemy the Pope was encamped in the dominions of Fridericke, he receaued the letters which Fridericke by his legates ſent into Europa as you heard: wherby, he vnderſtode the good ſucceſſe he had in Aſia. Who not onely tooke no delectatiõ at all therin, but was alſo in a vehemẽt perturbatiõ therwith: wherby manifeſtly it may appeare, what was the cauſe and meanyng of the Pope, that he was ſo ſolicitous and vrgent to haue Fridericke the Emperour make a viage into Aſia. Doubteleſſe euen the ſame, that Pelias had when by his inſtigation he procured Iaſon with all the choſen youth and floure of Grecia, to ſayle into Colchus to fetch away the golden fleaſe: and that by the opportunitie of his abſence he might vſe, or rather abuſe his power and tyranny: And that Fridericke, might either be lõg afflicted and moleſted in the Aſian warre, or that he might periſh and looſe his life therin, was that he ſought and all that he deſired.

What meanyng the pope had to ſend Fredericke to fight agaynſt the Turke.

And when he ſaw, that fortune neither fauored his fetches, nor ſerued to his longyng luſt, he was as a man bereft his wittes, ſpecially at theſe tidyngs of the proſperous ſucceſſe of ẏ Emperour. He teare and threw his letters on the ground: and with all opprobrious wordes rebuked and reuiled the legates for the Emperour their maſters ſake: which thyng alſo Blõdus himſelfe denyeth not, although he write all together in the fauour of the Pope. And to the intent that he might couer this his rage and vnbridled fury with ſome cloke and colour of iuſt deſerued dolour: he fained himſelfe therfore ſo much to miſlike therewith, as though the Emperour therin, had onely reſpected his owne priuate cõmoditie, not regarding the vtilitie of the Chriſtiãs: for that, the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon) to haue repayre vnto the ſepulcher of Chriſt, & had left for them ſomwhat neare the ſame an hoſterie or lodgyng place: For which occaſion ſayth Blondus, his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperours legates by the name of traytours and ſuch like other opprobrious wordes. Now go to frend Blondus, by what ſtrong argumentes proue you and your Lord Pope, that the peace which the Emperour hath concluded, to be either agaynſt the Chriſtian common wealth, or that the Emperour was a traytour. But who is it that ſeeth not theſe thynges either by readyng of old and aũcient writers, or els partly by me that haue gathered and collected the ſame out of diuers monumentes and hiſtoryes: & plain-

How the Pope chafeth & fretteth at the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Emperour.

Blondus reproued that wrote ſo greatly in the popes fauour.

ly perceiueth not, the conſpiracies and treaſons, of your good Lord the Pope ſo notable and filthy, as alſo his manifeſt ſhame and infamie. What? there be diuers that write, how the Pope commaunded theſe Legates of Fridericke, to be made ſecretly out of the way: and alſo how he commaunded diuers ſouldiours returnyng out of Aſia to be ſlayne, to the intent yͤ none ſhould heare the report of thoſe good newes which were in Aſia, nor none go thether to tell yͤ fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more thẽ of thoſe thynges which all yͤ writers with moſt conſent agree vpon: This is moſt certaine, that the Pope cauſed this rumour to be ſpread of the death & takyng of the Emperour vpon this cõſideratiõ, that he might allure vnto him the fidelitie of thoſe Cities in the kyngdome of Naples, which yet kept their allegeaunce vnto Fridericke, of whom they ſhould now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth yͤ Emperour in his Epiſtle intituled Leuate oculos, greatly agaynſt him complayne.

The third practiſe of pope Gregory agaynſt the Emperour.

The pope ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father, as a good father of peace.

Henry Ceſar at the Popes intiſement putteth frõ him his truſty counſailer Ludouicus.

Great are theſe iniuries of the Pope agaynſt Fridericke, and moſt wicked treaſons: but herewith could not the cruell and tyrannicall mynde of hym be cõtented, nor yet his luſt ſatiſfied: but ſo farre exceeded, as ſcarce is credible that it could. For he preſumed not onely to ſet variance betwene Henry (whom Fridericke his father had cauſed to be made kyng of Germany) and him: but alſo by his allurementes, cauſed hym to become an enemy vnto hym. To whõ, when his father had aſſigned the duke of Bauaria (named Ludouicus) to be his ouerſeer and counſeller: neither knew he amongeſt all the princes of Germany a man more faythfuller to hym in his office and duty, or els more vertuous, or els more grauer and apt to be in authority: Henry, fearyng leaſt he ſhould vnderſtand & know of theſe ſecret counſels which he with his conſpiratours had in hand agaynſt his father: or that he ſhould vtter the ſame vnto hym, or that he ſhould go about to diſſwade hym from that he was purpoſed to do: by authority of the Court and Senate of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all their pollicie: that together and at one inſtaunce (but in diuers and ſundry places farre one from an other) ſharpe and cruell warre might be made agaynſt the Emperour: ſo that his power beyng diſtract to the appeaſing of variable contention, might be hym ſelfe the eaſlyer oppreſſed of a few.

The Emperour hearing of the popes practiſes returneth ſecretly out of Aſia.

Iohn Brennus remoued frõ the ſiege of Calatia.

God proſpereth Fredericke in all hys affayres.

Fredericke entreateth for the Popes fauour although he haue no neede.

When the Emperour now vnderſtode what ſtyrre the Pope kept in all his dominions in his abſence, and that he had ſomwhat reformed and appeaſed the troubles which he ſecretly had wrought hym in the kyngdome of Ieruſalem: thinkyng to preuent the Popes purpoſe in that he went about, and alſo to confirme the frendſhyp towardes hym of them, whom in his abſence he foũd his truſty ſubiectes: He left in Aſia Renaldus with his gariſons, commaundyng all the other bandes to be vnder his appointment, and with all ſpeede came with certaine Galleys to Calabria. Duryng the tyme of his there beyng, which vnlooked for came thether: he aſſembled his power and made with his frendes all the ſpeedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to Barleta, where he taryed. xx. dayes: to whom came the Duke of Spolitanum with all his garriſons. And ſo from thence, with all his power he came into Apulia, & remoued Iohn Brennus his father in law, from the ſiege of Calatia: and within ſhort tyme by Gods helpe, recouereth agayn all his holdes and dominions there. And from thence goyng into Campania, he wynneth Beneuentum, and as many other townes and holdes as the Pope had there, euen almoſt to Rome, and ſo after that, Vmbria and Picena. And now, although the Emperour (beyng moued therinto vpõ good occaſion and vpõ the Popes worthy deſert) had gotten and recouered this ſo likely an entrance vpon the Popes dominions, wherby he might haue reuenged hym of all the iniuries done to hym: yet notwithſtandyng, for that he preferred nothyng before the Chriſtian and publique tranquilitie (for the loue of which, he reſtraynyng his wrath ſo vehemently vrged & kyndled) ſendeth vnto him his Legates to intreate a peace: declaring vnto him, that if no other cõceiued grudge towardes hym were, then that he ſimuled and pretended: he promiſeth that he would make to hym an accompt voluntarely, of all thynges that euer he had done in his lyfe, and that he would, and was contented to ſubmit hymſelfe vnto the Church: and alſo that for this cauſe he willyngly offered vnto hym both duty and obſeruaunce. Furthermore, to the intreatyng of this peace and decidyng of all controuerſies, he ſent to the Pope eight or x. of the nobleſt and chiefeſt about him, that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire. As Bartoldus the Patriarche of Aquileia, and his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia and Hiſtria, Eberhardus Iuuauenſis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgenſis, Sibottus Auguſtanus, a worthy Prelate, Leopoldus of Auſtria and Stiria, and Bernhardus beyng all dukes, beſides others of the nobilitie to accompany them.

The Pope refuſeth a peace wyth the Emperour.

The price of the Emperours abſolution.

Vnſhamefaſt Blondus.

Cuſpinianus pretely grateth the Pope.

But yet ſo great was the inſolency & pride of that ſtubburne Pope, that by no gentlenes or beneficence, he of thoſe Princes could be brought that peace to the profitable concord of the Church and Chriſtian common weale. O worthy head, that chalẽgeth all authoritie to himſelf in yͤ church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of his owne wilful reuenge, ſetteth nothyng by the health and vtility of all Chriſtendome. Then therfore, when nothyng could be done in the matter, and the moſt part of theſe noble men departed from Rome: the next yeare after (with much ado) a peace was made and concluded betwene them, by the helpe and induſtry of Leopoldus of Auſtrea, Hermannus capitaine of the Duche ſouldiours, and the Preſident of Meſſanea. The Pope then abſoluyng the Emperour Fridericus of his excommunication, tooke therfore of hym an hundreth and twenty thouſand ounces of gold: reſtoryng vnto hym agayne the titles both of hys Empire, and alſo of his kyngdomes. Now, conſideryng the vncurteous dealyng of the pope with Fridericke the Emperour herein: Who can ſufficiently muſe and maruell at the vnſhamefaſtnes of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the Pope (yet notwithſtandyng) had delt more gently and curteouſly with Fridericke then was meete, or beſeemed him to do. Who is it that doth not ſee his manifeſt flattery, coulored neither with reaſon, nor ſecret diſſimulation. But, much more truly & better writeth Cuſpinianus concernyng this matter which ſayth, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable marchaundiſe, which for ſomuch money ſelleth that he receaued freely paying nothyng therfore, if he had receaued it of Chriſt in deede, as he ſayth he had.

What beneficence the Emperour vſeth to haue the Popes frendſhip which he ſhall neuer gette.

A well recompenced good turne of the Pope to the Emperour.

And yet although the Emperour Fridericke, concluded with the Pope this vnprofitable peace for hymſelfe: yet he performed thoſe thynges that were agreed vpõ faythfully & diligently. But the Pope, which thought it but a trifle to breake his promiſe, would not ſtand to the conditions of the peace he made. For by yͤ way to paſſe ouer other things, neither hath he reſtored as he promiſed the cuſtomes in the land of Sicill, neither yet the citie Caſtellana, which he before the peace cõcluded betwene them dyd occupy and enioy. And that doth both Fridericke in his Epiſtles teſtifie, and alſo Fazellus in his. 8. booke, writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet that notwithſtãdyng: Fridericke, for the quietnes and vtility of the common wealth, purpoſed with himſelfe to beare and ſuffer theſe ſmall iniuries. And further ſtudied in all that he might, as well by liberall giftes as otherwiſe, to haue the Pope to be to hym a truſty frend. As when, the Romanes & other of the Eccleſiaſtical number made warre agaynſt the Pope for certaine poſſeſſions which he kept of theirs: he commyng to hym at Reate, and as one that tendred the vnity of the church, and thinkyng to helpe the pope at his earneſt requeſt in theſe matters: ſent his legates vnto them, willyng them to lay downe their armour which agaynſt the pope they bare. And when that would not ſerue, at the popes further requeſt and deſire he leuyed an army agaynſt them at hys owne charge, and draue them from the ſiege of Viterbium: with other ſuch like aſſured tokens of amitie & frendſhyp he ſhewed hym. Who notwithſtandyng, ſo ſoone as the Emperour was departed with a ſmal company which he tooke with hym into Sicilia, leauyng with hym the greater and moſt part of his army for the mayntenaunce of his warres: concluded a peace with the Romanes (vnknowyng to the Emperour) whom he had procured to trauell and labour therein with great expenſes: aſſumyng that without his will and commaundement, the Emperour had expelled them, and driuen them out of the territories of Viterbiũ. And hereof, doth Fridericke alſo hymſelfe make mention in his ſecond and thyrd Epiſtle, where he complaineth of the iniuries of the Popes towardes hym.

Blondus taken wyth vntruth.

Therfore, greater commendation had Blondus deſerued if he had written of theſe trecheries of the Pope, then that forgettyng himſelfe (as vnto lyers often it chaunceth) in that he writeth both cõtrary to himſelfe in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the veritie of Fridericus his hyſtorye which ſayth, that the Romanes were incited to theſe new tumultes by his entiſing and ſettyng on. As though ſimple men of vnderſtandyng, could not both by the offeryng of his ſonne in hoſtage, by the great preparatiõ of the warres, and by the euent eſpecially of the thyng it ſelfe gather the cõtrary. But to impudent will Blondus neuer ſhew hymſelfe.

The Emperours ſonnes no longer ſuborned, make manifeſt rebellion agaynſt their father.

Whileſt that theſe thyngs were done in Italy and Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany agaynſt the Emperour by Henricus Ceſar and Fridericke of Auſtria, his ſonnes beyng the chief authors therof. For Henry, beyng diſappoynted and ſhaken of from his Lord Pope and other cõſpiratours by reaſon of the peace betwene his father and hym as ye heard : began now to make open chalenge to the Empire. And for that cauſe, he as before is ſayd, put frō hym Ludouicus whom he knew to be vnto the Emperour his father ſo louyng and an aſſured frend: who as willyngly (perceyuing and ſmellyng what miſchief he went about) forſooke his court and came to Boioria: who had not there remayned a yeare, but was as he walked abroad at a certaine tyme ſtabbed in with a dagger of one Kelhemius and preſently dyed, hys ſeruauntes beyng not farre from hym. Of whoſe death diuers diuerſly write. Notwithſtandyng the ſequell doth ſhew them to write trulyeſt, that affirme the ſayd ſtriker to be ſuborned by Henry Ceſar: who commyng vnto him in the habite of a meſſenger, deliuered vnto hym certaine letters which he fayned to be ſent frō the emperour. And whileſt Ludouicus was in readyng the ſame, he ſtrake hym in with a dagger and gaue hym hys mortall wound: & with ſpede fled vpō the ſame. After whoſe death, ſucceeded in that Dukedome his ſonne Otho, who when ſolemnly accordyng to the maner of the Boiores he ſhould haue bene created, was alſo let by the ſame Henry Ceſar: who forbad the aſſembly of the magiſtrates and Citizens of the ſame. They notwithſtandyng, neglectyng his vniuſt reſtraint created him: wherfore, he firſt beſieged Reginoburgh & with an other company, ſacked, brent, & waſted Boioria: with many moe ſuch great outrages and rebellions.

A wicked murther of Henry Ceſar for true and faithfull ſeruice.

The outrage of H. Ceſar againſt the Emperour hys father.

When intelligence was brought of theſe thynges to the Emperour, he ſent his Legates and commaūded that both the Ceſar his ſonne and other Princes of Germany, which had aſſembled their armyes ſhould brake vp and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw and perceaued now manifeſtly that hys ſonne made ſo apparante rebellion agaynſt him, and fearyng greater inſurrections to inſue in Germany, he thought good to preuent the ſame with all expeditiō: wherfore he determined to go in all haſt into Germany with hys army, (from whence he had bene abſent now xiiij. yeares) and hereunto he maketh the pope priuy. The Pope promiſed the Emperour hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalfe to all the Princes of Germany: but perſwaded hym to the vttermoſt of hys power, that he ſhould in no caſe go into Germany hymſelfe. For why, his conſcience accuſed hym that he had written to the nobles of Germany euen from the begynnyng of his Papacy (for the hate and grudge he had agaynſt the Emperour) that they ſhould ſuffer hym, neither any of his heyres to enioy the empyre, & farther had ſtirred them all vp to rebell agaynſt him: and had moued Henry the Emperours ſonne by his bribes and faire promiſes, to conſpire agaynſt his father. And to conclude, he was the autor & procurer of the conſpiracie which the Lombardes made then agaynſt hym: and fearing leaſt theſe thynges ſhould come now to the Emperours eare, he was greatly troubled and carefull. But the Emperour not thinkyng it good at ſo needefull a tyme to be abſent: he (all doubt ſet apart) wyth his ſecond ſonne Conradus, went ſpedely into Germany. And aſſembling there a councell in the citie of Nureburgh: Henry Ceſar hys ſonne, after hys conſpiracie was manifeſtly detected, which he had in practiſe wyth the Longoberdes (wherof, the Pope was chiefe autor) was by iudgement and ſentence of 70. princes, condempned of high treaſon. And beyng commaunded by hys father to be bound, was as a priſoner brought to Apulia: where not long after in priſon he dyed. In whoſe ſtede, he ordayned Conradus hys ij. ſonne Ceſar, by conſent of all the piers and princes. Furthermore, by publique commaundement he renounced Fredericke Auſtriacus for his ſōne, and for an enemy to the publique weale he cauſed him to be proclaymed. And further, when he ſawe that neyther that puniſhment could cauſe hym to remember himſelfe and acknowledge his abuſe, the Emperour wyth a great armye (accompanyed with diuers of the noble men of Germanie) tooke from him all Auſtria and Stiria, and brought them againe vnder his owne obedience and fidelitie.

The Emperour 14 yeares out of Germany.

The pope feareth that hys treaſon ſhould be ſpied by the Emperour goyng into Germanie.

Hēry Ceſar condemned of treaſon, and dyeth in priſon.

Fredericus Auſtriacus proclaymed an open enemy to hys father, and diſherited.

The ſame yeare, maryed he his third wife named Iſabell, the daughter of kyng Iohn of England. Then, when he had ſet Germanie in a ſtay and quietnes, he left there Conradus Ceſar his ſonne: and wyth hys hoſte returneth agayne into Italie, there to puniſh ſuch as had with Henry his eldeſt ſonne conſpired agaynſt him: whoſe treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Ceſar, hys ſonne, chiefly ſet on by the Pope. When the Pope had vnderſtanding that the Emperour, with warlike furniture marched toward Italie: although he fayned himſelfe recōciled, and to be a frend to Fredericke, yet was he notwythſtanding to him a moſt ſecret and infeſtiue enemy. And vnderſtanding, that he brought with him ſuch a power, both of horſemen and footemen, to do execution of ſuch as he vnderſtoode to haue bene conſpiratours agaynſt him in yͤ late tumulte and rebellion: Thoſe which were faultie herein & guiltie (and all other that tooke their partes) he admoniſhed to ioyne thēſelues together: and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cities wyth garriſons: that they ſende for ayde to their frendes, and that with all the force they were able, they ſhould prepare them for the warre. The reſt of the Cities alſo in Italy, whether they were the Emperours or hys owne, he indeuoureth to make them all hys, and proper to himſelfe.

The Emperour maryeth kyng Iohns daughter of England.

The pope agayne beginneth to play his part.

Furthermore, vnto the Emperour he ſendeth his embaſſadours: to whom, vnder the pretence of nouryſhing a peace, he had geuen ſecret commaundemēt: that they ſhould interdict him and his hoſte, ſo ſoone as he came within the borders of Italy. To the preſeruation of which peace, ſaith he, he had (but late ſence) promulgate a ſubſidie to be gathered amongeſt the Chriſtians, when he began the holy warre. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreatie, but commaundingly) that what cauſe of controuerſie he had wyth the Longobardes: the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to his arbitrement. Whereunto, the Emperor replying, maketh his Legate this aunſwere.

The Popes embaſſage to the Emperour.

Shortly after ſayth he, the peace was made betwene the pope and me: he called me for a chiefe defence both of the Church and himſelfe, agaynſt the Romanes which made warre with hym: & at hys requeſt, with myne owne proper charge I maintayned that hys warre, and gaue his enemies the ouerthrow. And further ſayd, that he ſhould not do well through the pretence of peace, to be a let to hym frō that which both by law and right he might and ought to do: But rather ſo he ought to diſpoſe hymſelfe, with force to reſtrayne and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels thinking to exclude themſelues from the ſubiection both of hym and the Empire. And that, ſuch rebels as both had reſtrayned the ſouldiours which the Emperor ſent for when he was in Aſia, & diuers others alſo (which for neceſſary cauſes he had called to hym) they had ſo wickedly delt with & abuſed: He, as they had deſerued, ſhoulde rather deſire to ſee puniſhed and reformed, then to maintaine them (vnder colour of peace) beyng ſo wicked and manifeſt euill doers. And touchyng that he demaundeth of hym, that he ſhould commit and deferre ſo great a cauſe wherein the wealth and ſafty of the Empire conſiſteth, to his arbitrement by hym to be determined: without either aſſignement of any tyme when, or addyng thereunto any condition or exception for not doyng the ſame: neither the diminiſhyng and vnpayring the dignitie and regalitie of his Empire conſidered, he could not but maruell: Seyng that neither it appertained to his calling and facultie, nor to the benefite or commoditie of the Empire. To this effect alſo writeth Fridericke in his laſt Epiſtle to the Pope: the effect wherof amongeſt other Epiſtles you may read.

The Emperour agayne vnto the Pope.

And in the ſame his letters he ſheweth, that when the Emperour, at a certaine tyme had bene with the Pope: At his goyng away, he requeſted that when he came agayne he would come into Italie, but with his houſhold bande and familie: For that, if he ſhould come as before he dyd accuſtome with his army, he ſhould terrifie them ouermuch: amongeſt whom ſayth he, you may aſſure your ſelfe to be in great ſafty, and finde all thynges in reſt and quyet: when quyte contrary (as the Emperour for a certainty had tryed) he had there all thynges ready and prepared for his deſtruction. So that, when he pretended vnto him greateſt frendſhyp, he was buſieſt in conſpiryng his death. The certaine tyme, when the Pope had this exerciſe in hand agaynſt the Emperour I cānot ſearch out, neither may it be in his epiſtles vndated, eaſly foūd out: But yͭ of yͤ certainty therof no man neede to doubt, I haue aſſigned you to the Emperours Epiſtle where he maketh mention of the ſame.

A ſecret conſpiracie of the pope agaynſt the Emperour.

The Emperour then, as he had determined, proſecuteth his purpoſe & marcheth into Italy: where he brought vnder his ſubiectiō, thoſe Cities that agaynſt hym rebelled: as Mantua, Verona, Terniſium, Patauium and others. And then, he afterward ſet vpon the great hoſt of the Mediolanenſes, the Brixians, the Placentines and other confederatours, vnto whom the Popes Legate Georgius Longomantanus had ioyned hymſelfe: of whom he tooke 1000. priſoners, and alſo their generall beyng the chief Magiſtrate in the Citie of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the Dukes ſonne of Venice, and ſlue diuers Capitaines moe and tooke all their enſeignes. And in this battell ſpecially at the recoueryng of Marchia and Terniſſana he vſed the frendly ayde of Actiolinus.

The Emperour marcheth into Italie, notwithſtanding the popes forbiddyng.

The Pope now ſomwhat diſmayed at this ouerthrow of his cōfederates and mates (though not much) began yet ſomwhat to feare the Emperour: and whereas before, that which he dyd he wrought ſecretly and by others, now he

The Emperour loth to breake the peace, of late concluded.

goeth to worke (with might and mayne) to ſubdue and depriue the Emperour. And although the Emperour ſaw & perceiued what inward hate and mortall malice he bare towardes hym: not onely by that he ſo apertly ſtode with his conſpiratours agaynſt hym, but alſo that on euery ſide he heard, and from all partes was brought him certaine word, how greatly he laboured agaynſt hym: as with opprobrious wordes, naughty reportes, and ſlaunders, to the entent to pull from hym the hartes and fidelitie of his ſubiectes, and make thoſe that were his frendes his enemies, neither that he meant at any tyme to take vp and ceaſe from ſuch euill and wicked practiſes: yet notwithſtandyng, for that there ſhould be no default in hym foũd, for the breach of the league and peace betwene them a litle before concluded: he ſendeth foure Legates to the Byſhop of Rome which ſhould aunſwere vnto and refute, thoſe crimmous obiections which he layde vnto hym: as alſo make hym priuy to his purpoſe and what he ment to do, therby to declare his innocẽcie towardes hym (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicitie.

The pope refuſeth to ſpeake with the Emperours Legates.

The new ſentẽce of proſcription agaynſt the Emp.

The Pope wageth and hyreth 35. Galleyes to ſpoyle the coaſtes of the Emperour.

The Biſhop, when he vnderſtode theſe Embaſſadours to be not farre of from Rome, & knew the cauſe of their cõmyng: he thought with hymſelfe, that in hearing the excuſe and reaſonable aunſwere of the Emperour, perhaps might be prouoked to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and ſo degenerate from other of hys predeceſſours: refuſeth to ſpeake with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the ſentence of proſcriptiõ agaynſt him, depriuyng hym of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatiues, kyngdomes and whole Empire. And that he had no occaſion hereunto, as well Pãdolphus and Colonutius, as the letters of the Emperour hym ſelfe do both right well declare. For it may appeare, he dedicated as it were hymſelfe to his vtter ruine and deſtruction, when he did ſollicitate agaynſt Fridericus, Iacobus Tewpolus the Venetian Duke: whom, for the diſpleaſure he tooke with ẏ Emperour in the impriſoning of his ſonne, was in good hope he ſhould allure vnto hym, he beyng in ſo troublous a tyme ſuch a comfort and ayder vnto hym: that as Blondus writeth, in a certaine Epiſtle gratulatory he calleth hym Lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and Lord of the halfe of the Romane Empire. And callyng vnto hym the Venetian and Genuetian Legates, made a peace betwixt them (which for certaine cauſes about their ſea coſtes were at variaunce) and couenaunted with them vpon this condition: that at their publique charges, they ſhould rigge and man 35. galleys, which ſhould ſpoyle and burne all alongeſt the Sea coaſtes of the kyngdomes and dominions of Fridericke.

The Popes edict agaynſt the Emperour, *Aſcendit de mari bellica beſtia.*

Albertus Behamus the popes one hand.

The pope threatneth to curſe all thoſe that wiſhe well to the Emperour.

But the Pope, when he ſaw the good will and fidelitie which the Duke of Venice bare vnto the Emperour, and ſaw alſo what ayde the Emperour had of him, neither that he was like to wynne hym to hys purpoſe: then had he recourſe agayn to his old crafty practiſes and ſubtilties. And further deuiſed, to put forth an Edict at Rome to the vniuerſall Church and people, the begynnyng wherof is Aſcẽdit de mari bellica beſtia: wherein, he declareth the cauſes wherfore he curſeth and geueth the Emperour to the deuill of hell, & hath deiect hym from all his princely dignitie. He in the ſame, accuſeth hym of ſo many & ſo huge a heape of miſchiefes, as to nominate them my hart deteſteth: And beſides that, he reſtrayneth his ſoueraigne Lord & emperour of ẏ appellation which euery priuate man by law may haue. He ſlaundereth hym of treaſon, periury, cruelty, ſacrilege, killyng of his kynde, and all impietie: he accuſeth hym for an hereticke, a ſchiſmatike, and a miſcreant: And to be brief, what miſchief ſoeuer the Pope can deuiſe, with that doth he charge hym and burden hym. All this doth he ſayth the Pope, that when he hath brought our holynes, and all the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate to beggery, he might ſcoffe at and deride the Religion of Chriſt, which as a miſcreant he deteſteth. And now for that the Pope had a great and ſpeciall truſt in Albertus Behemus of ẏ noble houſe called Equeſtri (as crafty a poſtle as the beſt) as one whom he ſaw ready to leane to hys luſt: To hym the Pope deliuered two other mandates in ſeuerall letters ſealed, in which he commaundeth all Biſhops, Prelates, & other of the Clergy: that they ſhould ſolemnly recite the ſame in their Churches in ſtede of their Sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicate Fridericke out of the felowſhyp of Chriſten men: put hym from the procuration or gouernement of the Empire: and that he had releaſed all his ſubiectes of their allegeaunce and fidelity towardes hym. And farthermore, chargeth them, & all other Chriſten men vnder the paine of curſing & damnation, that neither they ſuccour ẏ Emperour, nor yet ſomuch as wiſh hym well. Thus he, beyng the popes ſpeciall & truſty ſeruiture & made to his hand, cauſed a moſt horrible cõfuſion & Chaos of publike quietnes, as ſhall after appeare.

Otho with diuers other princes of Germany by the popes meane doe forſake the Emperour.

Amongeſt all other noble men of Germany at that tyme towardes the Emperour, was Otho the gouernour of Rhenus and duke of Boioria, both moſt ſeruiceable and alſo a Prince of great honour, riches and eſtimation. This Prince, both with fayre promiſes & alſo rewardes, he entiſed from hym: for that beyng made by hym to beleue, ẏ Ludouicus hys father of whom we ſpake before, was by the Emperour murthered and ſlayne. And the ſame Otho agayne, cauſed iij. other Princes & Dukes, to reuolte from the emperour to the Pope, which were neighbours & neare adioynyng vnto hym: as Vuenceſlaus, and Belus, Princes of the Vngarians, and Henry Duke of Polonia. To whom came alſo Fridericus Auſtriacus his ſonne: who becauſe he was proſcript or outlawed of his father, and had his dukedome waſted and brent as you heard, was eaſly wonne vnto the Pope. Theſe, gatheryng a Councell (when they had thought to haue tranſlated, the Empire vnto the Kynges ſonne of Denmarke) deſired to haue the Popes Legates to be ſent from hym, to the effect of that election.

What great good the oration of Peter de Vineis did in the Emperours behalfe.

The Emperour was at Patauium when theſe newes were brought vnto hym, what the pope had done at Rome. Therfore, he commaunded Peter de Vineis his Secretary (vpon Eaſter day) to make an Narration to the people, of his great and liberall munificence to the Byſhops & church of Rome, and agayne of the iniuries of them towardes hym in recompence therof: of his innocency alſo in that wherof he had accuſed hym: and of the vnſeemelynes of ſuch an act or deede: of the right vſe of the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, and of the errours and abuſe of the Church of Rome. By which Oration of his, he ſo remoued the cloude from many mens hartes of blynde ſuperſtition, and the conceaued opinion of holynes of the Church of Rome, and Byſhops of the ſame, and alſo of their vſurped power and ſubtill perſwaſiõ: that both they playnly ſaw and perceaued the vices and filthynes of the Church of Rome and Biſhops of that ſea, as alſo their fraudulent deceites and flagitious doyngs: moſt vehemently lamentyng and complaynyng of the ſame. Albertus maketh mention of certaine verſes which were ſent & written betwene the Byſhop of Rome and the Emperour. The which verſes in the latter end of this preſent hiſtory of Fridericke you ſhall finde.

The Emperour moreouer both by hys letters and Legates, geueth intelligence to all Chriſten Kynges, to the Princes of his owne Empire, to the colledge of Cardinals, and people of Rome: as well of the fayned crimes wherewith he was charged, as alſo of the cruelty of the Biſhop of Rome: agaynſt him. The copy of which letter or epiſtle followeth here vnder inſerted.

❡ The Emperour to the Prelates of the world.

The Emperours letter to all prelates to bridle the pope & reſtraine hym of hys will.

Man being made of two partes hath two ſeuerall regimentes Gods worde and the materiall ſword.

The Apologie of the Emperour to the popes edicte *Aſcendit de mari &c.*

IN the begynnyng and creation of the world: the ineffable foreknowledge and prouidence of God (who aſketh counſell of none) created in the firmament of heauen two lightes (a greater and a leſſe) the greater he created to gouerne the day, and the leſſe to gouerne the night: which two, ſo do their proper offices and duties in the Sodiake, that although often tymes the one be in an oblique reſpect vnto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other: but rather doth the ſuperiour, communicate his light with the inferiour. Euen ſo, the ſame eternall foreknowledge hath appoynted vpon the earth two regimentes: that is to wyt, Prieſthode and Kyngly power: the one for knowledge and wiſedome, the other for defence. That mã, which was made of two partes (ouer wanton and diſſolute) might haue two raignes to gouerne & bridle him withall, that peace therby & loue, might dwell vpõ the face of the earth. But alas, the B. of Rome ſitting in the chayre of peruerſe doctrine or peſtilence, that Phariſie annoynted with the oyle of iniquitie aboue the reſt of his conſortes in this our time, which for his abominable pryde is fallen from heauen: indeuoureth with his power to deſtroy and vndoe all, and thinketh (I beleue) to ſtellifie agayne himſelfe there from whence he fell. His purpoſe is to darken and to ſhadow the light of our vnſpotted life, whileſt that (alteryng the veritie into lyes) hi Papal letters ſtuft with all vntruthes, are ſent into ſundry partes of the world: of his own corrupt humour, and vpon no reaſonable cauſe, blemiſhyng the ſynceritie of our Religion. The Lord Pope hath compared vs, vnto the beaſt riſing out of the ſea, full of names of blaſphemy, and ſpotted lyke a Lybert. But we ſay, that he is that mõſtrous beaſt of whom it is ſayd, and of whom we thus read: And there ſhall come an other red horſe out of the ſea: & he that ſhall ſit on him, ſhall take peace away out of the earth: let them therfore that dwell vpon the earth deſtroy him. For ſince

the

Antechriſt long agone deſcried to the world by the Emp.

The confeſſiõ of the Emperours fayth whereof he was accuſed by the Pope.

The Pope vnder pretence of hys holynes deceaueth ſimple ſoules & ignoraunt men.

the time of his promotiõ, he hath not ben the father of mercy, but of diſcord: A diligent ſteward of deſolation in ſtede of conſolation, and hath intiſed all the world to commit offence: And to take the wordes in right ſenſe and interpretation, he is that great Dragon that hath deceaued the whole world: he is that Antechriſt, of whom he hath called vs the forerũner: he is that other Balaam hired for money to curſe vs: the prince of darknes, which hath abuſed the Prophetes. This is the Angell leaping out of the ſea, hauyng his phials fild with bitternes, that he may both hurt the ſea and the land: the counterfet Vicar of Chriſt, that ſetteth forth hys owne imaginations. He ſayth that we do not rightly beleue in the Chriſtian fayth, and that the world is deceiued with three maner of deceauers (which to name God forbyd we ſhould open our mouth) ſeyng that openly we cõfeſſe onely Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour to be the euerlaſtyng ſonne of God, coequall with his father and the holy ghoſt, begotten before all worldes, and in proceſſe of tyme ſent downe vpon the earth, for the ſaluation of mankynd: Conceaued, not by the ſeede of mã, but by the holy ghoſt: which was borne of the glorious virgin Mary, and after that ſuffered and dyed as touchyng the fleſh: and by his Godhead the thyrd day, he rayſed frõ death that other nature which he aſſumpted in the wombe of his mother. But we haue learned, that the body of Machomet hãgeth in the ayre, and that his ſoule is buryed in hell: whoſe workes are damnable and contrary to the law of the moſt hygheſt. We affirme alſo, that Moyſes was the faythfull ſeruaũt of God, and a true teacher of the law: and that he talked with God in mount Sinay, vnto whom the Lord ſayd, Rubrum. &c. By whom alſo, God wrought miracles in Egypt, & deliuered the law writtẽ to the Iſraelites, and that afterwardes with the elect he was called to glory. In theſe and other thynges our enemy and enuier of our ſtate, cauſing our mother the Church to accuſe her ſonne, hath written agaynſt vs venemous and lyeng ſclaunders, and ſent the ſame to the whole world. If he had rightly vnderſtode the Apoſtles meaning, he would not haue preferred hys violent wyll before reaſon, which beareth ſuch ſway with hym: neyther would he haue ſent out hys Mandates to the ſuggeſtion of thoſe whiche call lyght darkeneſſe, and euill good: which ſuſpect hony to be gall, for the great good opinion they haue conceiued of that holy place, which in dede is both weake and infirme, and conuerteth all truth into falſhoode, and affirmeth that to be that is not.

The imperiall dignitie ſpurned at alwayes by the Pope.

The aunſwere of Symondes applyed.

The Emperour propheſieth of the Popes fall.

The Emperour vtterly reiecteth the Pope and church of Rome.

Truly, my opinion (ſo indifferent on euery ſide) ought not in any caſe to be infringed and auerted from the faith, to ſuch enemies of ſo corrupt a conſcience. Wherfore we greatly are inforced not a little to merueill, which thing alſo doth much diſquiet vs to ſee: that you which be the pillers and aſſiſtents in office of righteous dealyng, the Senatours of Peters Citie, and the principall beames in Gods buildyng: haue not qualified the perturbation of ſo fierce a Iudge: as doth the planets of heauen in their kynde: which, to mitigate the paſſing ſwyft courſe of the great orbe or ſphere of heauen, draw a contrary way by their oppoſite mouinges. In very dede, our Imperiall felicity, hath bene (almoſt euen from the beginnyng) ſpurned agaynſt, and enuied at, of the papall ſee and dignitie: As Simonides beyng demaunded why he had no mo enemies and enuiers of his ſtate, aunſwered and ſayd: *quia nihil fœliciter geſſi*: for becauſe (ſayth he) I haue had no good ſucceſſe in any thyng that euer I tooke in hande. And ſo, for that we haue had proſperous ſucceſſe in all our enterpriſes (the Lordes name be bleſſed therefore) eſpecially in the ouerthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies the Lombardes, to whome in their good quarell he promiſed life and abſolution and remiſſion of their ſins, is the cauſe wherfore this Apoſtolicall biſhop mourneth & lamenteth: And now, not by your councels, I ſuppoſe he laboureth to impugne this our felicitie, but of hys own power of bindyng and looſing, wherof he glorieth ſo much, he impugneth it. But preſently where power and habilitie wanteth to redreſſe, there doth abuſe take place. We ſee in hym which was ſo mighty a kyng, and the worthieſt Prince amongſt all the Prophets, to deſire and craue the reſtitution of Gods holy ſpirit, when he had polluted the dignitie of hys office. But the prouerbe is, *Vti indiſſolubilia non ſoluuntur ita inligabilia non ligantur*. As thinges indiſſoluble are not to be loſed, ſo things that cannot be bounde, are not to be bound. Which thyng manifeſtly is proued in him. For why, the ſcriptures of God do inſtruct men how to liue. they mortifie our ſoules which are immortall, and quicken the ſame which are dead for want of lyfe. And doubtles, he is able to humble and bryng down thoſe that are vnworthy of dignitie, as much as hym pleaſeth, and when hym pleaſeth. Doubtles, if the biſhop of Rome were a true Biſhop in dede, innocent, impolute, and not aſſociate with wicked lyuers and euill men, his lyfe ſhould declare hym ſo to be. He would not then be an offerer of diſſentious ſacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of loue and charitie, and would cenſe, not with the incenſe of griefe and hatred, but with the ſweete ſmellyng incenſe of concorde and vnitie: neither yet would alter ſuum pontificium in malificium? That is, make of a ſanctified office an execrable abuſe. If he were ſuch a Byſhop as he ought to be, he would not wreſt or abuſe the preachyng of the word, into the fruit and gayne of hys owne diſſentiõ: neither ſhould we be accuſed for ſuch an enemy of our mother the true church, as is layde vnto her ſonnes charge by ſuch a Biſhop. Which true and mother Church, with all reuerence we honour, and benignitie embrace, ſo beautified & adourned with Gods moſt holy Sacraments. Some ſingular perſons notwithſtãdyng, fainyng thẽſelues to be our brethrẽ by that mother and yet are not, but of a ſtrumpet begot: ſuch I ſay as are ſubiect and ſlaues to corruptible things (puttyng them from amõgſt vs) we vtterly reiect: Eſpecially for that iniuries by them done, are not onely tranſitorie and mũdane, wherwith our maieſty is ſo moleſted, vexed, & greued. Wherfore, we cannot ſo eaſily mitigate our moode, neither ought we in very dede ſo to do: and therfore are we inforced the more, to take the greater reuenge of them. You therfore that are men of graue and deliberate counſail, hauyng the excellent gift (as from God) of wiſdom and vnderſtandyng: Refuſe you that roring enemy of ours in theſe hys procedynges whoſe beginnings are ſo wicked and deteſtable: wiſely comparyng things paſt, with thoſe to come. Otherwiſe, you that are vnder our ſubiection, as well of the Empire as other our dominions ſhall feele and perceyue (both of my chiefe enemy and perſecutour, as alſo of the princes that are hys fautors and adherents) what reuenge by ſword Fridericus Auguſtus ſhall take vpon them, God ſo permitting.

The Emperour calleth a parliament or councell to expelle the popes malice.

The godly Byſhops of Germany are obedient to the kyng and Princes.

This done, he denounceth a ſolemne parliament or coũcell of all the princes and other nobilitie of the empire at Aegra: whether came, Conradus Ceſar, Moguntinus Preſul, the Saxon dukes, the Lordes of Brandeburgh, Miſin. Thuringus, and the Legates of all the nobles of Brabant to ayde the Emperour. But the princes of Boemus and Palatinus, beyng diſſuaded by the legates vnto whom the Auſtrians had ioyned themſelues, refuſed to come to the Councell holden at Aegra. And beyng at their wittes endes not knowyng well what they might do: Forſoke at laſt the Emperour and toke part with the Pope and the other conſpiratours. Then Fridericus Auſtriacus the Emperours ſecond ſonne (whom he diſherited as ye heard) by the ayde of the Boiars and Bohemians, recouered agayne the dukedomes of Auſtria and Styria: puttyng to flight and diſcomfityng, the Emperours bandes and garriſons which he had there. And although the Cardinals (eſpecially that honeſt man Albertus Boiemus) had allured vnto the Pope Otho the duke of Boioria as ye heard, and diuers other noble men of Germany: yet notwithſtandyng, certaine biſhops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Iuuauenſis, and Sigrefridus Regenoburgenſis, beyng at that tyme the Emperours Chauncelor, Rudigerus Patheuienſis, Conradus Friſingenſis, & others) left not or yet forſoke the Emperor. All which, the foreſayd Albertus not onely did excommunicate, but alſo by proceſſe ſought to bryng them vp to Rome before the Pope: Geuyng commaundemẽt to their Collegioners and cloyſterers, that they ſhould depriue them of their offices, & chuſe ſuch others in their ſtede as would obey the pope. All which thinges the Pope vnderſtandyng by Albertus, and of they their fidelity to the Emperor, corroborated and confirmed ỹ ſame hys doynges, commaundyng them to chuſe other Byſhops in their ſtedes.

But the biſhops and prelates with one conſent cõtemnyng the Popes mandates and writs, and alſo the curſes & threatnings of Albertus, accuſed, reproued, and greatly blamed hys temeritie and alſo tirãny which he vſurped agaynſt the churches of Germany, and eſpecially agaynſt the good Emperour: that without hys conſent he durſt be ſo bold as to meddle in churches committed to the Emperors gouernment, agaynſt the old & auncient cuſtomes: and ỹ he had excommunicated the emperor without iuſt cauſe: that he had condemned the Emperors faithfull ſubiectes, as enemies to the Church, for ſtandyng with their liege & ſoueraign prince (which allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquitie they might not) and had ſo ſought to diſquiet them likewyſe in their charges and adminiſtrations, and had alſo in that quarell geuen ſuch defiance to the Emperor. They accuſed and condemned the ſame Albertus alſo, for a moſt impudent impoſtor, and wicked varlet, and for a moſt peſtiferous botch &

ſore

The byſhops of Germanie excõmunicate the Popes Legate and Cardinall.

ſore of the Chriſtian common weale: and geue him to the deuil they do, as a ruinous enemy, as well of the Church as of hys naturall countrey: and further thinke hym worthy to haue hys reward, with the reſt of the popes purſuiuants beyng the moſt wicked inuentors and deuiſers of miſchief that were in all Germany. This done, they make relation hereof to the Emperor by their letters: and further, they aduertiſe all the princes of Germany (eſpecially thoſe which were of the Popes faction or rebellion and were the fauorers of Albertus) that they ſhould take hede (and beware in any caſe) of hys ſubtile deceites and pernitious deceiuable allurements: nor that they ſhould aſſiſt ỹ Pope for all hys wordes, againſt the Emperor. And doubtles by the counſail of the high prelate or Archbiſhop of Boioria (whoſe name was Iuuauenſis) and by his induſtry and perſuaſion: Fridericus Auſtriacus was agayne reconciled vnto the Emperour his father, from whoſe ayde and obedience after that (by no promiſes, threatnings, bribes, nor paynes, no not for the execrable curſes of the Popes owne holy mouth) he would be induced or remoued. But Albertus proſecuteth ſtyll his purpoſed miſchief alluryng & inciting by all meanes poſſible (& that not amongſt the worſt but the beſt) frendes to the Pope, and enemies to the Emperour: To ſome, he gaue their tithes to fight agaynſt the Emperor, to other ſome he gaue the glebe landes of benefices: and to other ſome he gaue the ſpoyle of ſuch Colleges and monaſteries as tooke not part wyth the pope: and to ſome other alſo, he gaue the Colleges and monaſteries themſelues. And aſſuredly I finde by Iohannes Auentinus lib.7. annalium Boiorum: that there were certen of the popes owne birdes, that had their eccleſiaſticall tithes taken from them: and other ſome, had the rentes and reuenews of their colleges pluckt away by force to the maintenaunce of the popes quarell agaynſt the Emperour. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they liſted (euery man accordyng to his rauenyng and deteſtable luſt) and all things lay open vnto their gredy and inſatiable deſires. Who liſteth to heare more hereof, let him read Auentinus in hys booke before noted, and there ſhall he ſee what vaſtation grew therby to the whole ſtate of Germany, who largely entreateth of the ſame.

Iuuauenſis the byſhop, a true ſubiect to his prince.

The pillage of the Pope to maintayne the warre agaynſt hys Lord and maiſter.

While theſe thynges were thus in workyng in Germany, Fredericke leauing in Lumbardy Acciolinus wyth a great part of hys hoſte (he paſſing with the reſt by Apeninum) came to Hetruria and ſet the ſame in a ſtay, after that he had alayd certayne inſurrections there: and from thence to Pyſas, where he was with great amitie and honour receaued and welcomed. This citie was alwayes aſſured and faythfull to the Emperours of Germany. The Pope vnderſtanding of the Emperours comming into Hetruria, and knowing what power the Emperour had alſo left in Lumbardie, he wyth a great army beſiegeth the citie Ferraria, that alwayes loued the emperour full wel: which citie, when the popes Legate had aſſaulted ſharpely the ſpace of v. monethes and could not winne the ſame: he deuiſed wyth himſelfe to ſende for Salingwerra out of the towne by way of a parlie, promiſing hys fayth and truth to hym for his ſafe returne. Who, by the perſwaſion of Hugo Rambartus, that ſayd without perill he myght doe ỹ ſame (beyng but by way of Parley) was comming to the legate: who preuenting him in his iorney tooke hym as priſoner, contrary to hys truth and fidelitie. And thus gat he Ferraria, and deliuered the keeping therof to Azones Atenſis. And that the Popes Legate thus falſified hys trouth, and circumuented the capitaine and olde mã Salingwerra: the ſame is confeſſed of the Popes frendly Hiſtoriographers, to be but a Stratagem or warlyke policie. But to returne agayne: About the ſame tyme alſo the Venetian nauy, at the mount Garganum chaſed xij. gallies of the Emperours which were appointed to the keeping of that coſte, & ſpoyled, brent, and waſted all the region: and farther tooke one of the Emperours great ſhips, being driuen by tempeſt and weather into the hauen Sipontinum, fraught wyth men and munition.

The pope beſiegeth Ferraria.

The fidelitie of papiſtes learned by this example.

The Emperours Gallies chaſed, & one of his ſhips taken by the Pope.

Fridericus agayne getting on his ſide the Lucenſes, the Volateranes, the Genenſes, the Aretines, and diuers Cities beſides in Hetruria to helpe that countrey: came to Piſas and Viterbium, which tooke part with him. Some ſay, that the names and factions of the Gibellines & Guelphes, ſprang from Fredericke: that by them he might ſpye and know (hauing recourſe to all the townes and cities in Italie) which tooke part with and fauoured the Pope, and which the Emperour: and called the one by the name of Gibellines, and the other by the name of Guelphes. But for that, both Blondus, and Platina, and ſome others, bring no ſufficient proofe therof, but onely by ſlender coniecture, I rather cleaue to the opinion of Nauclerus, Hermannus, Antonius, Florentinus, and other ſuch writers, which ſay: that theſe Guelphes and Gibellines in Italie, tooke their beginning of Cõradus.3. Fridericus hys great vncle, beyng Emperour. And that theſe Guelphes were dedicated to the Pope, of Guelphus the younger brother of Henry the prowde: and that thoſe which were called Gibellines were appointed eyther of Conradus hymſelfe or els of his ſonne, being brought vp in the Lordſhip of Wayblingen. But to our purpoſe.

The Gibellines and Gwelphes from whence they came.

The pope afrayd of the Emperours comming into Italy.

The Pope, when he vnderſtood that Frederick was come to Viterbium, he was very heauy: for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which Citie the Pope much miſtruſted. He therfore cauſed a ſupplication to be drawne, portraying about the ſame the heads of Peter and Paule, and wyth a ſharpe and contumelious oratiõ he much defaced the Emperour: promiſing them euerlaſtyng life, and gaue them the badge of the croſſe, as many as would arme themſelues and fight agaynſt the Emperour, as againſt the moſt wicked enemy of God and the Church. Now when the Emperour marchyng ſomewhat neare to Rome gates, beheld thoſe whom the Pope had wyth his goodly ſpectacle of S. Peter, and S. Paule, and wyth hys alluring oration ſtirred vp agaynſt hym & marked with the badge of the croſſe to come forth in battell agaynſt him: Diſdaynyng to be accompted for the enemy of the Church, who had bene therunto ſo beneficiall, geuing a fierce charge vpon them, put them ſoone to flight: & as many as he tooke (cutting of that badge from them) he cauſed to be hanged. From thence he marchyng into Campania and hys owne kyngdomes: leuied a great maſſe of money, & muſtred new bandes, and augmented hys army: and in theſe bandes he retayned the Saracens alſo. And to the intent he myght finde the Saracens the more truſty vnto hym: he appoynted them to inhabite in a Citie named Luceria. For which thyng, although the papiſticall writers do greatly blame & opprobriouſly write of Fredericke: yet notwithſtandyng, Nicholaus Machiuellus doth write, that therfore he retayned them: leaſt that through the Popes execrable curſes, he ſhould be quite deſtitute of ſouldiours as was Fredericus Barbaroſſa a litle before, hys graundfather, when that of Alexander the Pope he was excommunicated, as ye haue heard.

The Emperour hãgeth al the croſſed ſouldiours.

The Emperour retayneth the Saracens in his warres agaynſt the Pope.

After this, when the Emperour had greatly afflicted by battaile the Popes Eccleſiaſticall conſorters, ſuch as cõſpired wyth the Pope agaynſt hym: and that he had waſted and deſtroyed Beneuentum, the mount Caſenum and Sora, for that they tooke part with the Pope agaynſt him: Fredericke, when he had manned the Citie Aquila, marched forth wyth a great hoſte both of horſemen and footmen to Picenum, that he myght vanquiſhe hys enemyes in Italie. And by the way, he beſieged ỹ ſtrong town of warre named Aſculinum, which was alſo conuerted to the popes faction and rebellion. He there hauing vnderſtanding what the Popes aſſiſtentes had done wyth the princes electours and other princes of Germanie, eſpecially with Wenſeſlaus kyng of Bohemia, and Otho Palatinus: wryteth hys letters vnto them. In the which, firſt he ſheweth how that thoſe contumelyes and ſpitefull wordes which the Pope bluſtered out agaynſt him, are light vpon himſelfe: And how the Biſhops of Rome haue taken to them of late ſuch hart of grace and are become ſo loftie, that not onely they ſeeke to bryng Emperours, Kynges, and Princes, vnder their obedience, but alſo ſeeke how to be honoured as gods: And ſay, that they cannot erre, neyther yet be ſubiecte or bounde to any religion: and that it is lawfull for them to do all thynges what they liſt, neyther that any accoumpt is to be ſought or demaunded of their doynges, or els to be made of them to any, ſo impudent are they in theſe their affirmations. And further, as princes they commaunde (and that vnder payne of curſing) that men beleue euery thyng they ſay, how great a lye ſoeuer it be.

The effect of a letter ſent by the emperour to the princes of Germany.

In ſo much that by this couetouſnes of hys, all things goe backeward and the whole ſtate of the common weale is ſubuerted: neyther can there any enemy be founde more hurtfull or perillous to the Church of God then he. He wrote vnto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greateſt charge and dignitie was in the whole common weale appointed and committed) ſeeyng and perceauing to hys great perill, their good harts, willes, & practiſes towardes hym: would wyth all the power and habilitie that God had geuen hym, do hys indeuour: that he which in the likenes of the ſhepheard of the flocke, & the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, and chiefe prelate in the Church, ſheweth hymſelfe ſo very a wolfe, perſecutour, and tyraunt: may be remoued frõ that place, and that a true and carefull ſhepheard of Gods flock, may be appointed in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth

No enemie more hurtful to the church of God then is the pope.

The Emp. voweth to remoue the pope & put an other more carefull ſhepheard into the church of God.

> them, that if they deſire the ſafety and preſeruation of the whole ſtate of the common weale and Empire: that they be vnto hym no hinderers, but furtherers of hys purpoſe and proceedinges: leaſt otherwiſe, they alſo ſhould happen to fall into the ſame ſnare of ſeruitude with the Biſhop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wit, that if he ſhould aſpire to that he ſought for (that is to be an Emperour and kyng ouer kynges) yet ſhould that be no ſtay of hys inſatiable deſire, but would be as greedy and rauenous as now he is. Therfore, if they be wiſe, to withſtand hym betymes: leaſt hereafter whē they would it ſhould be to late, neither were able to withſtand his tyranny. The effect of this Epiſtle I tooke out of Auētyne which more largely dilateth the ſame: who alſo writeth, that the Emperour (by his legates) ſent the ſame to Wenſeſlaus.

Boiemus relenteth at the Emperours letter.

Boiemus ſomwhat relentyng at this letter, promiſeth to accompliſh the Emperours biddynges and preceptes: and forthwith gathereth the aſſembly of princes and nobles at Aegra: where, by common conſent they thinke to renouate with the Emperour a new league and couenaūt. And furthermore, they finde Otho Boius (which was abſent, and would not be at this their aſſembly) to be the author of this defection, and an enemy to the cōmon weale. Otho, then ſeyng hymſelfe not able to ſtand agaynſt Caeſar, and the other princes with whom he was aſſociate, deſiryng ayde of the Pope by his letters, came with all ſpede to Boiemus his kynſman: whom, when he could not perſwade vnto him agayne, neither he would vnto their partes alſo be wonne: obtayneth notwithſtandyng yet thus much at their handes, that the league and couenaunt (which they were in hand to make with the Emperour) might for a tyme be deferred, & that an other aſſēbly might be made: whereat he alſo would be, and ioyne hymſelfe with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched alſo his ſonne: and brought hym to be both a rebell and traytor: In the meane ſeaſon, the Pope ſent his reſcript vnto the kyng of Boiemia and to Otho, tendyng to this effect: that in no caſe they ſhould either forſake him, or els the Church, to take yͤ Emperours part. And ſomuch preuayled he by the meanes of Bohuſlaus and Budiſlaus (which were the chiefeſt of the Senate regall) and by his fayre promiſes and bribes to ſuch as he before had made to hym: that agayne at Libuſſa by Boiemus and Boius new aſſemblies were gathered for the creatiō of a new Emperour, in deſpite of Auguſtus the Emperour, & Ceſar his ſonne. And whileſt that this was thus in hand, Cōradus Ceſar caſteth Landſhuta the wife of Otho (beyng abſent) in the teeth for great benefite and poſſeſſions which her huſband had and poſſeſſed by the aunciters of hym: and that vnleſſe her huſband tooke a better way with hymſelfe, and ſhewed hys obedience to the Emperour his father: that he ſhould not enioy one foote of that land, which now he had by his predeceſſours. The promotion & dignities which Otho had by the aunciters of Conradus Ceſar came thus. Fridericus Barbaroſſa in the yeare of our Lord. 1180. at a Parliament holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of hygh treaſon: & depriued hym of hys dominions of Boiora and Saxonie: and gaue Boiora to Otho Wittelſpachius: for that he had done hym ſo faythfull ſeruice in hys Italian warres. After that, Ludouicus the ſonne of this Otho, obtained of this Emperour Fridericus the ſecond, in recompence of his aſſured and truſty fidelitie the dition of Palatinatum Rheni ſo called: which gaue alſo Agnetes the daughter of Henry earle of Palatine to Otho his ſonne in mariage. This Henry was the ſonne of Henry Leo the traytor: vnto whom Henry the. 6. the father of Fridericke gaue in mariage Clementia his brothers daughter Conradus Palatine of Rhenus, & gaue vnto hym the keepyng of the palace of the ſame. And as touchyng the inheritaunce of Boiora, that he had alſo long now poſſeſſed by the heires of Otho Wittelſpachius. But to our purpoſe agayne.

The practiſe of Otho with the pope agaynſt the Emp.

The Popes reſcript daſheth all the matter agayne.

By what meanes Otho attained ſo great poſſeſſions by the Emp. & hys Aunceſtors.

The gouernour of Agrippina reuolteth to the Pope.

At the ſame tyme alſo the gouernour of Colonia Agrippina, reuolteth to the Pope: who not lōg after in a ſkirmiſh betwene Brabantinus and hym, was vanquiſhed and takē priſoner. And doubtles, Fridericus Auſtriacus after he was receaued into fauour agayn with the Emperour (keepyng moſt conſtauntly his promiſe and fidelity renued) duryng this tyme, made ſharpe warre vpon the Ungarians which tooke part with the Pope, and greatly annoyed thē. As theſe thynges thus paſſed in Germany: the Emperour, when he had gotten Aſcalum and led hys hoſt into Flamminia, hauyng Rauenna at his commaundement: frō thence came to Fauentia, which Citie neuer loued the Emperour: the circuite of whoſe walles is fiue myles in compaſſe, and pitched his campe round about the ſame. And although the ſiege was much hindered by auſterity of the tyme and weather (beyng in the dead tyme of winter) yet notwithſtandyng, through his great fortitude and courage, ſo animatyng his ſouldiours in the paynefulneſſe of the laborious ſiege, he indured out the ſame: who thought it no litle ſhame hauyng once made that enterpriſe, to come frō thence without any aſſault geuen. And therfore, when now the wynter (ſo extreme cold & hard) was welneare ended, & the ſpryng tyme now hard at hand, and by long battery had made the ſame in diuers places ſautable: The Citizēs (beyng greatly diſcouraged, and in no hope of the defēce therof) ſent their Legates to the Emperour, crauyng pardon for their offēce, and that he would graunt vnto them their lyues, and ſo yelded themſelues vnto his mercy.

The Emperours great lenitie and clemency, but where meruelouſly enforced.

The Emperour hauyng agaynſt them good and ſufficient cauſe of reuenge: yet for that his noble hart thought it to be the beſt reuenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquiſhed men: he thought it better to graunt them their requeſtes, to ſaue the citie, and Citizens therof, with innumerable people: then by armes to make the ſame his ſouldiours pray, to the deſtruction both of the City, & great number of people therin. So doth this good Emperour in one of his Epiſtles Adacta nobis cōfeſſe hymſelfe: which Epiſtle, to declare the lenitie & mercyful hart of ſo worthy a prince, if that with great and maruelous prouocation and wronges he had not bene incited, I thought good in the middeſt of hiſtory here to haue placed. But thus I haue kept you long herein, and yet not finiſhed the ſame.

The Emp. enforced to make hys money of leather

In this ſiege the Emperour hauyng ſpent and conſumed almoſt all his treaſure both gold and ſiluer: cauſed other money to be made of leather, which on the one ſide had his Image, and on the other ſide the ſpread Egle (the armes of the Empire) and made a proclamation that the ſame ſhould paſſe from man to man for all neceſſaries in ſtede of other money: and therewithall promiſed, that whoſoeuer brought the ſame money vnto his Eſchecour when the warres were ended, he would geue them gold for the ſame accordyng to the value of euery coyne limited: which thyng afterward, truly and faythfully he performed, as all the hyſtoriographers do accord.

Thus, when the Pope as before is ſayd, had ſtopped hys eares and would not heare the Emperours Legates that came to intreat for peace, but reiected and deſpiſed hys moſt courtious and equall demaundes: neither yet had left any wily policie vnattempted or force vnpractiſed, that with hys confederates he thought hymſelfe either able to reuenge or els reſiſte: He by his Legates calleth to a Councell at Rome, all ſuch Prelates out of Italy, Fraunce, and England, as he thought to fauour hym and hys procedynges: that hereby as his laſt ſhift & onely refuge, he by their helps might depriue Fridericke of his Empire, as an vtter enemy to God and to the Church. All which thynges Fridericus hauing vnderſtanding of, & knowing that theſe aſſemblies ſhould be but to the deſtruction & ſupplantyng of him: determined to ſtoppe and let their paſſages to Rome, as well by ſea as by land in all that euer he might. So that, all the paſſages by land beyng now ſtopped and preuented, he commaūded hys ſonne Henry with certaine Gallyes to go and keepe the coaſtes of Sardinia, which kyngdome the Italians call Entimum: and from thence to Piſas and with the Piſans to rigge out a nauy to meete with (if it were poſſible) ſuch as ſhould come to ayde the Pope at Rome. The Popes champions vnderſtandyng, that by land they could not ſafely repayre to Rome: they procured of Gallyes and ſhyps of Genua (hauyng Gulielmus Braccius for theyr chief Capitaine or Admirall) for forty ſayle their defence: thinkyng hereby, that if they ſhould fortune to meete with any of the Emperours ſhyps or galleyes, which ſhould lye for them in wayt, they ſhould be able to make their part in good, and geue them alſo the repulſe. Encius in like maner and Huginus (beyng Captaine and admirall of the Piſan nauy for the Emperour) lanched forth to Sea with 40. ſhyps and galleys: and betwixt the Iles of Lilium & Mōs Chriſti which lye betwene Liburnium and Corſica, they met with the Genewyſhyps: and ſtraightwayes fiercly began to graple with them and bourde them, in which fight at length, were three of the Genewes ſhyps bouged & ſonke, and xxij. taken and brought away, with all the riches and treaſure in them. In theſe were taken three Legates of the Popes, wherof were two Cardinals, Iacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, & Gregorius de Romania, (all cruell enemyes agaynſt the Emperour) and many other Prelates moe: beſides a great number of Legates and procuratours of Cities, with an infinite number of Monkes & Prieſtes, beſide of Genewes ſouldiours, vj. thouſande with diuers others.

The pope ſeeketh for forrein ayde & is preuented.

The Emp. riggeth forth a nauy to the ſea.

A great victory on the ſea againſt the Popes confederates by the Emperors nauy.

Pandolphus Colonutius in deſcribyng the circumſtances of the great loſſe and miſfortune of theſe champiõs of the Pope by ſea, amongeſt the reſt declareth: that beſides the great pray and booty which the takers had from them, they alſo found many writynges and letters agaynſt Fridericke, which much holpe hym in the defence of thoſe cauſes, wherin they had laboured agaynſt hym. The lyke miſchaunce alſo, almoſt about that time happened on the popes ſide, by the Emperours ſouldiours which lay in garriſon at Ticinum, thus. There went forth vpon a tyme out of Ticinum into the borders of Genewes certaine bãdes, to geue them larums in the countrey: which bandes, the ſcuriers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garriſon of the Popes) diſcryeng: told the Captaine of the towne, that now a very oportune and fit time was to geue an aſſault to Ticinum: for that ſay they, the greateſt part are now gone a forragyng. Wherupon, they immediatly callyng together the captaines and ſuch as had charge, ſet their ſouldiours in aray & marched forward to Ticinum. And now, whẽ they were come almoſt thether, the Ticinian bandes (whom they thought to haue bene farre a forragyng) were returned and met with them, and fierſly gaue a full charge vpon them: who, beyng diſmayed at the ſodennes of the matter, fought not long but gaue ouer and fled. In which ſkirmiſh was taken (beſides thoſe that were ſlayne) 350. captaines and brought priſoners into Ticinum with all their enſignes with them.

The Emp. obtaineth an other victory by land at Ticinum agaynſt the pope and hys confederates.

Newes hereof was brought to the Emperour not long after, who then was remouyng from the ſiege of Fauentia as ye heard to the Citie of Bononium thinking to haue deſtroyed ỷ ſame. But vpon the hearing of theſe good newes, he altereth his purpoſe, & thinkyng to haue hereafter a more conuenient tyme thereunto, leadeth his army towardes Rome: and in the way, he reconciled to hym the Citie Piſaurum. But Fanum, for that the townes men ſhut theyr gates and would not ſuffer the Emperour to come in, he tooke by force and deſtroyed. For the Emperour, ſeing that neither by petition made to the Pope, nor yet by his lawful excuſation he could do any good with hym: thought, that by his ſodayne commyng thether, and with feare of the perill imminent, he might be brought to ſome vniformitie, and cauſed to leaue of his accuſtomed pertinacie. And although the Emperour was to ſtrong for hym, yet for that he regarded nothyng more then the publique trãquillity of the Empire, and that he might then take the Tartarian warres in hand: if he could by any meanes conclude, he refuſed not ſo to intreat a peace with hym as though he had bene both in force and fortune much his inferiour.

The Emp. thinketh to make the pope affrayde.

Whileſt that this ruffle was betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, Ochodarius the Emperour of the Tartarians his ſonne, with a great power and prouiſiõ made and inuaded the borders next adioynyng vnto hym, and there wanne Roxolanum, Bodolium, Mudanum, with diuers other cities, townes, and villages: deſtroying, waſting, and burning the countreys all about, killyng and ſlayeng, man, woman, and child, ſparyng none of any ſexe or age. At whoſe ſodeyne inuaſion, the people beyng in ſuch feare and perplexitie (hauyng no Citie, no refuge, nor ayde to ſtãd in defence for thẽ) were fayne to leaue all that euer they had and diſperſe them ſelues into woodes, and fle into maryſhes and mountaines, or whereſoeuer any ſuccour els, dyd offer it ſelfe to them. And by this tyme, the Tartarian hoſte was come as farre as Uratiſlauia, where Henricus of Polonia and the Duke of Sileſia with their army met with them: who for the inequalitie of the nomber and ſmall ſtrength they were of, had ſoone an ouerthrow, and almoſt all their ſouldiours beyng ſlayne, they themſelues were taken and put to the ſword. From thence, they came to Morauia, and frõ thence to the kyngdome of Boemia: which cõtrey, while the kyng kept hymſelfe in ſtrong defenced fortes, & durſt not come abroad: he inuaded and deſtroyed all Ungary, puttyng to fight and vanquiſhyng Colmannus the brother of Belus the fourth, kyng of Ungary: by whom alſo, was great ſpoyle made in both the Pannonias, Meſiarum, Bulgaria, and Seruia. When Belus the K. of Ungary had gottẽ to Pola (which is a Citie of Hiſtria) vnto Otho the Duke of Dalmatia: He ſent his Legates to Fridericke the Emperour, promiſing that if he would ſend hym ayde that the Tartarians might be expelled: that Ungary ſhould euer after be vnder the iuriſdiction of the Emperour: which thyng if he refuſed to do, that then the ſame were in great dãger to be ſubiect to the Tartariãs to the no litle perill of the whole Empire. And ſayd further, that ỷ cauſe wherfore he with more inſtance required the ſame, was: That ſo many Chriſtian men and countreys, made ſuch pitifull lamentation in this their great calamitie and miſery, and that there was none able to helpe them: which ſayth he, is as great ſhame as may be to the whole Chriſtian common ſtate and Empire, And alſo ſayd, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not ſuppreſſed, that then he thought they would make inuaſion vpon the Empire and prouinces of the ſame.

The Turke inuadeth Chriſtẽdom with a great and mightye power.

The vnmercifull crueltie and the great ſlaughter of Chriſten men by the Turke.

The kyng of Ungarie craueth ayd of the Emp. for the which he offreth hym hys land.

The Emperour, although he thought it very requiſite, that with all conuenient ſpeede this miſchief ſhould be remedyed and preuented: yet notwithſtandyng, his great enemy the Pope with his confederates, was the onely let and hynderaunce therof. For when he ſaw and perceiued that he hymſelfe could do no good, and onely laboured in vayne in ſeekyng peace with the Pope: he gaue commaundement to Boicmus and Boius, to intreat and perſuade with hym: And (conſideryng the imminent perill like to enſue by reaſon of ſuch ciuile diſſention to the whole ſtate of Chriſtendome) that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigate ſomewhat his fierce and wrathfull moode. Wherefore, whẽ he ſaw furder that nether by that meanes of intreatye nor any other, the Pope would deſiſte from hys ſtubburne and malicious froward purpoſe: He writeth againe to the king of Hungary, that he was right ſory and greatly lamented their miſerable ſtate, and that he much deſired to relieue ỷ neede and neceſſitie he and all the reſt ſtoode in. But why that he could not redreſſe the ſame, nor ſtand him then in any ſtead, he blamed greatly the Biſhop of Rome: who refuſing all intreatye of peace, could not without great peril to himſelf depart out of Italie: leaſt ỷ whẽ he ſhould come to the ayde of hym (by the Popes miſcheuous Imaginations) he ſhould be in perill of loſyng all at home. Notwithſtandyng, he ſent Conradus Ceſar kyng of Bohemia and other princes more of Germany to reſiſt and withſtand the enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The greate army & nomber of ſuch ſouldiours, as ware the croſſe by the popes aſſignement, deferred their iourney agaynſt ỷ Tartarians and had commaundement giuen them by that Albertus (the popes procurator) to tary and abyde at home till they ſhould be called for, in battaile to fight agaynſt the Emperour. This was the louing zeale and affection of the pope and his adherentes (to conclude) in this tyme of calamitie towardes the Chriſtian ſtate and common wealth: That he had rather bend his force and reuenge his malice vpon the chriſtian & good Emperour, then eyther he himſelf to withſtand, or ſuffer and permitte by concluſion of any proficable peace: that this moſt bloudy and cruell Tartarian, ſhould be let and reſtrayned from ſo great hauock, ſpoyle, & ſlaughter of the Chriſten men. And yet forſooth theſe men wyll ſeeme to haue the greateſt regard of all other to the chriſtian preſeruation, and thynke to haue the ſupremacy geuen therin: what thyng els is this, then manifeſt mockery and deceiuyng of the people? But notwithſtanding, euen in the midſt of this ſpoyle and hauocke of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined: that at Libuſſa, the princes confederate ſhould be aſſembled about the depoſing of the Emperour and creation of another.

The pope will graunt to haue no peace.

The popes fault that the Turk is not reſiſted.

The Pope had rather fight agaynſt the Emp. then agaynſt the Turke.

But now, notwithſtãding the prouident foreſight & wiſe pollicy of the Emperour (as you heard before) in reſtraynyng the paſſages both by the ſea and land, who had ſpeciall regard therunto, and gaue moſt ſtraight charge that none ſhould paſſe without priuy ſearch and examination, as one hauyng ſufficient triall as well in hys own perſon as by the example of hys predeceſſours, what great miſchiefe and diſſention by their Legates euery way ſent out they had procured, both to the Imperiall ſtate and dignitie and to the whole countrey of Germany: yet found they ſuch meanes, and wrought ſuch pollicies, that they had not onely ſecret paſſage and repaſſage with their letters and Spials into all places of chriſtendome where they liſted, but alſo ſo laboured the matter and handled the ſame: that the long continued league of amitie betwene the French kyng and the Emperor whoſe predeceſſors as alſo they themſelues had many yeres reuerently obſerued in chriſtian concord & vnitie: was by this ſeditious prelate and arrogant vicar of ſathan, now either vtterly infringed or els in variable ſuſpẽce: as by their letters ech to other, and here vnder enſuyng, are to be red and ſene: which for the more probabilitie of this hiſtory of Fridericke (not beyng long or greatly tedious) I thought mete here to intext and place.

The Emp. as well in hys owne perſon, as hys predeceſſors haue triall of the popes ſubtill practiſes.

¶ The Epiſtle of the Frenche King to Fridericke the Emperour touchyng the impriſonyng of certayne Cardinals of Fraunce.

HEtherto noble Emperour, hath the good opinion and great confidence (many yeares in mutuall loue eſtabliſhed betvvixt vs) laſted & cõtinued: vvel hoping, that no ſuch cauſe ſhould riſe betvvixt vs, to hatch either hatred or other occaſion offẽſiue betvvene your highnes empire & our kingdome, The great amitie & long continued league betwene the Empyre & kingdome of Fraunce.

The French K. not without great allurement of the Pope would ſo haue written to the Emp.

Here it ſhould ſeeme the Emp. found the fault of contradiction.

dome. Eſpecially, ſeyng that all our predeceſſours Kinges of France, late of moſt worthy memory (til theſe our daies) haue bene ſo zelouſly affected to the moſt high and regall ſtate of your Empire: As that alſo we, after whō God hath placed ſucceſſiuely to raigne as kyng, haue bene none otherwyſe mynded nor affected towardes the ſame. None otherwiſe alſo on their behalfe, haue the auncient and renoumed Emperours of Rome our neighbours and your predeceſſors ſhewed themſelues towardes vs (eche other eſtemyng the Empire and kyngdome of Fraunce as one) and faythfully conſeruyng together the vnitie of peace and concord. In ſo much, that there hath not chaunced betwene them theſe many yeares, ſo much as one ſparke of diſcord and diſſentiō. But this notwithſtãdyng, we for our part cannot but greatly maruell, and not without good cauſe are troubled and vexed: That without deſert or any offence, you haue taken the Prelates of our realme vpon the ſea, making their repayre to the ſee Apoſtolicall: to the which, as well by their fayth as their obedience they ſtand bounde and are obedient, neither could they withſtand the Pope hys commaundement: theſe haue you impriſoned, and ſo ſtill deteine the ſame. Wherat (we do your maieſtie to weete) we are not well pleaſed, neither yet take it in ſo good part as you peraduenture thinke we do. For by their owne letters we vnderſtand, they had excogitate nothyng preiudiciall to your imperiall eſtate and celſitude, although the Pope had proſecuted therin more then became hym to do. Wherfore, ſeyng that there is no cauſe why ye ſhould detayne them: it is mete and becommeth no leſſe your magnificẽce, but that you reſtore vnto vs and ſet at liberty, the ſayd Prelates of our realme: wherin alſo you ſhall appeaſe our grudge and kepe vs your friend, which accompt the diſpleaſure you do to them, as our owne and proper iniury. For why, it were a great diſhonor to our realm and kingly eſtate, if we ſhould wincke hereat and ouerpaſſe the ſame with ſilence. Wherfore, if you wil conſider and reſpect the thing that we haue ſayd, we doubt not but that you will releaſe the biſhop of Peneſtrum, with the other Legates and Prelates of the Church, which you to our preiudice do detayne. In deſiryng of our ayde doubtleſſe, we gaue vnto them a manifeſt nay: neyther could they obtayne in our kyngdom any thing at all which ſeemed to be agaynſt or preiudiciall to your maieſtie. Let therefore your imperiall prouidence ponder in the ballance of iuſtice, thoſe thinges which we write vnto you, neither let our lawfull requeſt vnto you, be fruſtrate or made in vayne. For our realme and kingdome of Fraunce is not ſo debilitate or empoueriſhed, that it wil be ſpurned at, or troden vnder your feete. Fare ye well.

The reſcript of the Emperour to the ſame letter of the kyng of Fraunce.

The French kinges letters contrary to themſelues.

A good Apoſtolicall father wyth a ſome ſword.

120000. ounces of golde, as before you heard.

OVr Imperiall magnificence hath peruſed your Kingly letters: wherein, if we had not found manifeſt contradiction, they might peraduenture haue obteyned at our handes all that they required. But euen as wyth a little leauen a whole lumpe of dow is ſowred: ſo a manifeſt vntruth alleaged, hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and vnſauery. It is apparaunt that you wanted the vertue of mediocritie in the concluſiō of the ſame your graces letters: For that, they themſelues bewray no leſſe, then we giue you manifeſtly to vnderſtand, and many mo beſides doth know. It is notorious alſo, and to all the world reuealed, in what ſorte that Apoſtolicall father hath impugned our innocency, as well with the one ſword as with the other. And howe that whileſt we at hys commaundement tooke our iourney beyond the ſeas: the ſame our enemy & hoſtile aduerſary, inuaded our kingdome of Sicilia: and the ſame not in one place or two, but in diuers and ſondry parts therof hath waſted, ſpoyled, and deſtroyed. After this whē with great intreaty at our returne from Aſia, we had concluded a peace with hym: which with vs at his owne pleaſure he made. And had taken and receiued our deuotion for the ſame, which in ſeruiceable maner we graunted him: The ſayd Apoſtolicall father (that notwithſtandyng) hath ſince that tyme, rather aggrauated hys diſpleaſure towardes vs, then any thyng at all qualified the ſame: & further hath to our depriuation and ſubuerſion, excogitate and deuiſed agaynſt vs, all the miſchiefe he myght or hath bene able, no cauſe in all the world geuen of vs to prouoke the ſame. And farther hath promulgated to our great diffamation & ſhame (as well by his letters as Legates) the ſentẽce of excommunication agaynſt vs vnto all nations. Laſtly, he aſpiryng to our imperiall ſtate, and conſpiring our ſupplantation, hath made warre agaynſt vs as agaynſt king Dauid gods annoynted: and hath vnto a priuate Councell for that purpoſe, called all the Prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to ſet the whole world together by the eares. But ſuch is the maruelous wiſedome of God by whome we lyue and raigne, beholding the wicked purpoſe he went about (confoundyng the crafty in their craftineſſe) hath geuen into our handes as well your Prelates of the realme of Fraunce, as alſo of other regions and prouinces: all which, we impriſon and detayne, as enemies and aduerſaries to our Imperiall crowne and perſon. For where there deſiſted not to be a perſecutour, there hath there not wanted alſo a ſufficient withſtander and defender. Let not therfore your kingly highneſſe maruell, although Auguſtus detayneth in priſon your French Prelates, which haue indeuoured themſelues to conſpire and ſo to diſturbe our imperiall eſtate and regiment. Fare ye well.

The craftie compaſſed in their craftines.

When Frederike now ſaw there was none other remedy, and that in vayne he laboured to haue peace wyth the Pope, he proſecuteth hys warre to the vttermoſt: & when he had gotten Tudertum and reconciled the ſame, he deſtroyed the towne of Geminum and Narnia, and geueth the ſpoyle of them vnto hys ſouldiors: He gently receiued the yeldyng vp of Sıburnum, and waſteth all the countrey round about Rome. The Pope herewith diſmayed and troubled with ſuch as otherwiſe diſſuaded and counſailed hym, and that thinges not ſo well proſpered with hym and agaynſt the Emperour as he wiſhed and deſired: beyng in diſpaire of obteynyng hys purpoſe, dyed for very anger and thought.

Gregory 9. dyeth for thought and curſe hart.

What opinion the Prelates of Germany at that tyme had of this Gregory, is extant and to be ſene by the oration of Eberhardus Biſhop of Iuuauence that he made to the nobilitie of Boioria in the Parliament at Reginoburgh written by Iohannes Auentinus in hys 7. booke. Doubtles he not onely brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole chriſten common weale and alſo Empire: whileſt he ſought thus to depreſſe & bridle the Emperour, & aduaunce his papall ſea and dignitie: but alſo brought into the church of God much horrible impietie, blaſphemie and wickednes, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Baleus & others make mention: And amongſt others that moſt deteſtable Cantilene Salue Regina in the which he attributeth the honor & worſhip onelye due to Jeſus Chriſte, vnto the virgin his mother. This is he in whoſe name the booke of yͤ decretals was ſet out, which (to omit the opinion of diuers other lerned men) Iohannes Baleus calleth it the ſinke or puddle of foliſhnes and impietie. Doubtles Charolus Molineus a man both of ſingular iudgement in that law, which in trybunall courtes and iudgemẽts is vſed: as alſo in this painteth forth the decree of this Gregory in his booke of annotations vnto Platina, whoſe wordes thereof are theſe. Certum eſt, multa capita in ijs mutila & decurtata eſſe, vt inuidioſum argumentum lateret, &c. That is, Doubtleſſe, diuers chapters in the ſame booke of decretals be mangled and vnperfect, that many contentious argumentes therein might lurke. For when the ambitious deſire of raignyng lyke kinges toke them, they ſtudied nothyng els but how to enlarge and aduaunce their ſee and dominion with the empire it ſelfe and other kingdomes (oft ſhaken and weakened through contention) and thus purpoſe and end had they and none other, in all their conſtitutions. The profe whereof, Molineus declareth in hys booke de regibus Galliæ & Angliæ. But many moe examples by the Emperoures, Princes, and Lordes Electours of the Empire may be gathered: whereof to ſpeake more conuenient place ſhall ſerue hereafter.

What horrible impietie Gregory brought into the Church.

Carolus Molineus vpon the decretals of pope Gregory 9.

In the ſteade of this Gregory, was placed Coeleſtine borne in Mediolanum amongſt the Caſtellians: who as Blondus declareth, by fayned promiſes offred a league with Fridericus: and the xviij. day after he was created Pope, he alſo dyed.

The creation and death of pope Coeleſtinus.

Thus when the author of all this conſpiracy was gone, Fridericus now thinkyng hymſelfe free and voyde of that feare which before he had, and durſt not be abſent out of Italy: with all hys indeuour leuieth an army and prepareth hys furniture and other neceſſaries for the deliuery of the Chriſtians, ſo mightely oppreſſed as ye heard by the Turkes or Tartarians. Who hearyng of the commyng of the Emperour, left the ſtrayght way thorough Hungary whiche they came and returned by the riuer of Danubiū to Taurica, and ſo thorough the fennes of Meotida: and by the riuer Tanaum, into Sarmatia Aſiatica. When the Cardinals had now a long tyme protracted the creatiō of yͤ Pope

The Emperour prepareth an army to fight wyth the Tartarians, the Tartarians flye.

and would not agree vpon the ſame: The Emperor put thē in remembraunce of their duety, and blameth them for their diſagreeyng and exhorteth them to be more carefull for the chriſtian common wealth. His two epiſtles touchyng thys matter are extant. Wherby appeareth that only for the care and deſire of peace he had to the chriſtian vnitie and ſtate, he dyd the ſame: and for that (peraduenture) the cardinals refuſed to make peace with hym, before they had created a new Pope. The one for more breuitie, I haue omitted, and here the other inſerted.

¶An Epiſtle Inuectiue of the Emperor vnto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree vpon the creation of the Pope.

VNto you I write oh you children of Ephraim,' which euil haue bent your bowes, and worſe haue ſhot your arrowes, filthely turnyng your backes in the day of battayle. Vnto you I ſpeake O you children of Belial and diſperpled flocke. You inſenſible people and aſſiſtentes of the great iudge. Vnto you I write O you diſſentious Cardinals, whō the world for your deſertes doth hate: for whoſe cauſes the whole world beyng at variaunce is euill ſpoken of. Doubtleſſe, I cannot ſpeake vnto you, but to your detractation, becauſe I am worldly and you ſpirituall. I am vnperfect, wherfore I muſt do as the vnperfect world doth: neither can the parte be diſſonant to the whole, nor I contrary to my ſelfe that writeth. Attend ye therfore my rude epiſtle, wantyng the dignity of rhetoricall ſtile. My prouoked tong braſteth forth into wordes before my conceiuyng ſpirit hath deliuered the ſame: and ſo not attendyng to the higher regiment, hath haſtened to expreſſe my wordes not fully conceiued or premeditate. Thus I ſay, a troubled mynd oftentymes doth beget vnordered talke, and vntymely vttereth the ſame. This therfore is, that our hart hath conceyued, that we beleue & all men confeſſe, that Ieſus Chriſt the mediatour betwene God and man, which came from heauen to make peace vpō the earth, is not deuided & at variance, beyng alſo the maiſter and Lord of the Apoſtles. But Sathan being deuided in hymſelfe, that bluſtering prince is amongeſt you, as thoſe to whom he miniſtreth: He, euen he, the perſwader of diſcord and diſſention, that mankiller, father of lies, and ſpirite of darkeneſſe, that hath deuided your tonges, and ſet diſſentiō amōgſt your ſelues: Neither ye do good one to another, nor yet to the world, beyng by you in ſo perilous a ſtate broght. And the little ſhip of Peter, which is toſſed vpō the ſea by vehement wyndes, you nothyng regard: which ſhip, though it nede not in dede vtterly to feare drownyng, yet ſuffereth it by your negligēce many great ſtormes and perilous tempeſtes. Doubtleſſe, if ye would diligently conſider how the nations and people whom ye were wont to iudge in ſcorn, ſhake their heades at you: euery one of you would be aſhamed of an other. And to ſay the truth, they cannot doe to much to detect your ſo deteſtable opprobry: for whileſt euery one of you aſpireth to the chaire, euery one is at variance with hys fellow: and whileſt one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted, and whilſt none is promoted, the Cathedrall dignity vaniſheth; And thus by your diſcord, the peaceable ſtate and concorde of the Churche is confounded, & the perfection of the fayth & religion wherby ye ſhould liue, periſheth. And ſurely, through your default it periſheth, ſo that where as nature hath placed the ſenſe and vnderſtandyng to be: that part lyke a monſter remayneth with you, both ſenſeleſſe and headleſſe. And no maruell, for why your hearing is impaired, and that ſounde of the mouth that ſhrilly was heard throughout the whole earth, is vtterly dombe, & become a ſcoffing Eccho. For why the thundrings of Peter and Paule are now no more heard the preachers are become dumme dogs, and are cōmaunded to ſilence. Perhappes you haue handes redy to receiue, but there be no bribes: For why, thoſe that were wont to come from Saba, and bryng gold with them, now come no more: ſeyng the Lord is not in the manger, and the celeſtiall ſhinyng ſtarre refuſing to be their guide. Moreouer, ye want feete to walke withall, for ſeyng there is no mā to geue you ought, you will not remoue one foote for any mans pleaſure. Fie ſhameleſſe people, the leaſt and ſimpleſt beaſt may learne you obedience, for the birdes haue theyr Captayne, and the ſilly Bee their kyng, but you will come vnder no gouernment. &c.

Fredericke agaynſt the Cardinalles.

Peters ſhip by the diſſentious Cardinals greatly afflicted.

Peters ſhrill voyce turned into a ſcoffing Eccho.

The Emperour yet after this, at the requeſt of Baldwinus the Emperor of Conſtantinople, who came to Fridericus to Parma, releaſed the Cardinals out of pryſon: thinking therby not onely to gratifie the Emperor Baldwinus, but alſo thinking that therby thinges would haue the better growne to publique tranquillitie on euery ſyde. When the Cardinals were all aſſembled at Auigna: they made Sinibaldus a Geneues Pope: whome by a contrary name for that he had determined (as I ſuppoſe) to be hurtfull to the common wealth, they called Innocentius the 4. Of which election, when Fridericke vnderſtoode, he was well pleaſed therwith: And for that he had in all this troublous tyme bene hys friend, he well hoped that the Chriſtian common wealth, ſhould by hym haue bene brought to much peace and concord. Wherfore, he ſent both his legates and letters gratulatorie vnto hym, lettyng hym to vnderſtand: how well it contented and pleaſed hym that he was made pope, & what peace & quietnes therby he promiſeth (as it were to hymſelfe) he maketh full relation therof: offring agayne vnto him obſeruaunce, helpe, and ayde in all things, commēdyng his dignitie to the publique ſtate and quietneſſe of the chriſtian common weale and empire, &c.

The Emperour releaſeth the Cardinals out of priſon.

Innocentius the .4. created pope.

The Emperour reioyceth of the popes election but without cauſe why.

He alſo wrote his letters to Otho Duke of Boioria, who a litle before was reconciled to the Emperour: that hee which was elected pope was a good man, a louer of peace, and ſtudious aſwell for the tranquilitie of the chriſtian common wealth as of the Empire.

The Legates of Fridericke alſo with the furtherance of Baldwinus the Emperour of Conſtantinople, laboured very diligently for the concluſion of the promiſed peace: And to be briefe, euery man was in good hope and looked for noe leſſe. But farre otherwiſe fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectations. For the Pope (ſet on and incouraged by the Cardinales and other againſt Frederick) ſecretly and amongeſt them ſelues wrought contrary to that they openly pretēded: and not a litle diſappointed both Frederick and others, of their expectation and good opinion they had in the Popes holines. For whileſt the Emperours legates attended the anſwer of their peace before promiſed, Rainerus the cardinall went ſecretly to Viterbium with a certen number of ſouldiors, and toke the towne which before was on the Emperors part.

The pope taketh Viterbium whileſt the Emperour hoped after peace.

The Emperor hauing vnderſtandyng hereof, muſtereth his bandes, and with a ſufficient power entreth the popes dition, agayne to recouer Viterbium. But yet, takyng this war ſo in hand (not thinkyng therby to expell all conditions of peace) at the requeſt of certain of the Cardinals was cōtented to leaue Viterbium, beyng furniſhed by the Emperor of warlicke prouiſion before, and came to Aqua. From thence he ſent agayne other Embaſſadors to Rome, & with them alſo the emperour of Conſtantinople with the Erle of Tholouſe, who he thought were able to do much wt ẏ pope in the proſecutyng of this peace. And although at the tyme of Eaſter the matter ſemed to haue bene through, & peace concluded, for that hys Legates had ſworne in the behalfe of the Emperor (and as he willed them) that he would ſubmit himſelfe to the Pope. And againe for that the Cardinals and others, commonly called and named hym Fridericus the chriſtian prince, yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpoſe. Not for that they ment in dede to conclude any peace with him, or to go through therwithall, but ẏ through thys diſſimulatiō and likelihood of peace which they vnderſtood the Emperor much deſired: he ſhould ſet free & opē the paſſages which he ſtraitly kept that no man could paſſe and come to Rome, whether a great multitude daily reſorted and flocked for religions ſake. But whē all came to all, and that the Legates perceyued no concluſion of peace, was ſimply purpoſed on their behalfe: they began to diſpayre of the matter, lettyng the Emperor ſo to vnderſtand. The Emperor yet notwithſtandyng doubted not, but if he myght hymſelfe ſpeake with the Pope, he vpon reaſonable conditions, ſhould well enough accord with hym: wherfore, he by his Legates and letters deſired hym to appoint a place where the Emperor might reſort to hym. The Pope ſeemed to be contented herewithall, and appoynted a day at Feſcennia where they would talke together: and that the pope would be there before hym: and accept the Emperors commyng. But ẏ Pope in this whyle, had made a confederacie with the French K. agaynſt Fridericus: who whē he knew thoſe 3. Galleys to be ready and brought to Centincellas, which he before had ſpoken for vnto the Geneweſ: ſecretly in the night with his company (haſtenyng thether in poſt ſpede) toke ſhip, & firſt came to Genua, and from thence to Liōs in France: where he (callyng a Councell) with a loude voyce ſummoneth Friderike, and appointyng him a day commaunded hym there perſonally to plead hys cauſe.

The diſſimulation of the ſubtil pope Innocent.4.

The Emperour hath to much confidence in the pope.

The pope mocketh the Emperour and goeth to Lyōs where he proſtrateth the Emperour.

And yet, although he vnderſtood the ſodein departyng of hym out of Italy, made playne demonſtration of no concluſion, or meanyng of a peace: and alſo knew the Councel which

The Emp. commyng to make hys apparãce before the pope.

The extremitie of the pope to the Emperour.

the Pope had called, wherin he was hymſelfe both plaintife and Iudge: and at the ſame Councell thoſe which he had by bribes allured, pretended the deſtruction of the Emperour: with many other ſuch euident demonſtrations, both of hys enuious and hatefull hart towardes hym: yet the moſt modeſt emperor vſing ỷ innocẽcy & vprightnes of his cauſe, & as one moſt deſirous of peace & chriſtiã concord: ſent the Patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the biſhop of Panormia, and Thadeus Sueſſanus the preſident of his Court (a moſt ſkilfull and prudent Ciuilian) to the councel at Lions: which ſignified vnto them that the Emperour would be there for the defence of hys owne cauſe: & for that the day was very ſhort, required a tyme more conuenient for hym thither to make hys repayre. The Emperour alſo, beyng onward on his way and come as far as Taurinum, ſent before other meſſengers (as the maiſter of the Flemiſh order, and Peter de Vincis) to geue them vnderſtanding of the Emperors commyng, and that he would prorogue the day of hearyng, till that he might conueniently trauail thither. But for any thing that could be either ſayd or done, or vpon how iuſt cauſe ſo euer required: the pope would not geue ſo much as three dayes ſpace in the which tyme the Embaſſadors aſſured them of the Emperors preſence: As though there had bene no common prouiſo for euery man in that caſe, by the law to haue vſed vpon any reaſonable let. What ſhould I longer protract the tyme: when the day by them appointed was come, the Pope with hys confederates (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that Councell) agaynſt gods law, agaynſt Chriſtian doctrine, agaynſt both the preſcript of the law of nature and reaſon, agaynſt the rule of equitie, agaynſt the order of law appointed, agaynſt the conſtitutions of Emperors, and alſo the decrees of the Empire, without any obſeruation of the law, or grauntyng dilatorie dayes, without probation of any crime, or hys cauſe ſuffered to be pleaded vnto, or heard what might be aunſwered therein: takyng vpon hym to be both aduerſary & iudge, cõdemned ỷ emperour beyng abſent. What more wicked ſentence was euer pronounced, what more crueller fact (conſideryng the perſon) might be committed: Or what thyng more brutiſhe & beaſtly could haue ben imagined or deuiſed. And yet hereat, were theſe Biſhops nothyng aſhamed: but meanyng to leaue their doynges in wrytyng (as an impudent teſtimony to their poſteritie) eſtabliſhed the ſame for a law to continue.

Vengeance falleth vpon the pope for hys falſe iudgement.

But marke what vengeance God toke vpon this wycked iudge. The writers of the Annales recorde, that when Fridericus the Emperor and Conradus hys ſonne beyng Ceſar were both dead: He gapyng for the inheritaunce of Naples and Sicile, and thinkyng by force to haue ſubdued the ſame, came to Naples with a great hoſt of men: where was heard in the Popes court manifeſtly pronounced this voyce, Veni miſer ad iudicium dei. Thou wretch, come to receyue thy iudgement. And the next day after: the Pope was found in hys bed dead, all blacke and blew as though he had bene beaten with bats, as before in the hiſtory of king Iohn is declared.

When the Emperor had vnderſtanding of this cruel and tyrannicall ſentence of the Pope, paſſed and pronounced agaynſt hym (conſidering his furious purpoſe and mynd therein) thought good by his letters to let all chriſtiã princes and potentates vnderſtand, as well what iniuries and manifold diſpleaſures he had ſuſteined by the foure Popes in all their tymes, as alſo the crueltie and tyranny of this Pope in pronouncyng the ſentence of iudgement and condemnation agaynſt him (paſſing the boundes both of iuſtice, equitie, and reaſon) which letter as he wrote the ſame, here vnder followeth to be ſene.

¶ The letter of the Emperour to the French King and other princes for the ſentence geuen agaynſt hym in the Councell of Lyons by the Pope and Cardinalles.

ALthough we ſuppoſe not the contrary, but that both by true certificat and common rumor you haue heard of the indifferencie of our cauſe and good handling thereof: yet for that more credite is commonly geuen to that the eye ſeeth then to that the eare receaueth: we thought good to preſent vnto you the naked truth of ſuch thinges, which the Popes ſucceſſiuely haue put forth, and forged agaynſt vs. To the peruſing and conſideratiõ of which my caſe and letter, I beſeech your gentlenes amongeſt other tymes of layſure, you will ſpie out ſome fit and conuenient time therfore. And all other whatſoeuer that ſhall haue deſire to heare princes counſels and affayres, let them in lyke ſort attentiuely conſider. Firſt, whether our predeceſſours haue bene deſtitute or not of godly zeale, iuſt dealyng, & righteouſnes: or whether we may not lawfully reuẽge our ſelues beyng ſo much prouoked, of ſuch euils and iniuries as haue bene wrought agaynſt vs. Secõdly, let them cõſider whether Chriſtes vicare doth follow Chriſtes ſteps or not, and whether Peters ſucceſſours do follow his example or not: and alſo, by what law, equitie, & right, that ſẽtẽce which they haue pronounced againſt vs, may be mayntayned and allowed. As alſo what name they may iuſtly geue it, and whether that may be ſayd to be a ſentence which is geuen by an vnſufficient iudge or not. For, although we acknowledge that the Lord hath geuen full power in ſpirituall thynges vnto hys Church: that whatſoeuer the ſame byndeth in earth is bounde in heauẽ, and whatſoeuer the ſame looſeth, is alſo looſed: yet we read neyther by Gods lawe nor by any law of man that we ought of dutie to be ſubiect vnto hym: or that an Empire ought at hys pleaſure to be transformed and tranſpoſed: or that he may geue any ſuch ſentence or iudgement to puniſhe Princes temporally, and depriue them of their kyngdomes. For why, although our conſecration belongeth vnto hym by right and cuſtome (as he chalengeth) yet our depoſing & depriuyng doth no more belong to hym then doth that preſumption belong to any other prelate of other Realmes, which do conſecrate and annoynt their kinges, as the cuſtome and maner is. Or put caſe it were ſo (we nothing hindered thereby) that he had ſuch power: Hath he that power to the intent to reuenge hymſelf vpon whomſoeuer his malicious minde cõſenteth, and without all equitie and lawe to bring them vnder hys iuriſdiction: He hath proceeded of late againſt vs as is ſaid, but not by the order of accuſation: for ſo much as neyther was there any ſufficient accuſer, neyther wẽt there out any inſcriptiõ or proces before. Neither yet by denunciation, for ſo much as there lacked a lawfull denouncer: neither yet by the way of inquiſitiõ, for that there wẽt before it no manifeſt accuſation. But he peraduẽture will ſay, that all things that he layeth againſt vs were manifeſt and notorious, but that doe we deny, and nothyng to be notorious but that, which may by a ſufficient nũber of witneſſes be approued & tryed. For ſo may euery iudge hymſelfe (contemning the order of law) affirme what he liſt to be notorious, and thus condemne whom he liſt. There were againſt vs (as well it may be ſayd in counſell) certayne falſe witneſſes although not many: of whom, the Byſhop of Calin was one, whoſe neare kinſman or nepheue (by our lawes condemned for treaſon to be hanged) maketh alſo to vs an infeſtiue enemy. Wyth ſuch lyke effect proſecutyng the reſt of his epiſtle, which for breuitie ſake I omit.

Altogether in hurly burly through the popes malicious minde.

This pollicie vſed the Pope to vexe and diſturbe both the country of Germany and the whole Empire, and not ſo onely, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and ſubuert the ſame: by the ruinous decay whereof, the Pope and hys prelates thought to make vp their mouthes. And thus, whileſt that Germany was now newly agayne deuided, ſome takyng part with Fredericke the emperour, and Cõradus Caeſar hys ſonne and other nobles and princes of the empyre: ſome with thoſe that ſhould by the Popes procurement be the electours of the new emperour: otherſome, with neyther of both, as men not myndyng nor tendyng the publique vtilitie, but to ſerue their owne purpoſes, armed themſelues: And thus was the publicke peace and quiet broken and diſturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurleburley. For whyleſt the one part laboured by all force to retayne the dominion by publique and common conſent firſt to hym committed: the other part in like ſort indeuored thẽſelues with all their force and power to vſe and occupy the ſame, accordyng to the decree of the biſhop of Rome, and to take it from Fredericke, and thus great conflicts grew on all partes.

Germany ſpoyled by ciuile diſſention through the popes only practiſe agaynſt the Emperour.

By theſe ciuill warres, Germany ſuffered no litle calamitie: In euery place was manſlaughter and murder, the countrey ſpoyled, the townes and villagies ſet on fire and brent, the Churches and temples violated & robbed, wherein the huſbãd mẽ had put their goods & ſubſtaunce: houſes were pulled downe, the goods deuided, & euery mans cattell driuen away. To conclude, in this turmoyle & contention of depoſing & chuſing an other emperor, in this factiõ of princes, in this liberty of wearing armour, in this licẽce of hurting & ſinning: The impudent boldnes of diuers priuate ſouldiours, & eſpecially of ſuch as were the horſemẽ thẽ couted ỷ better ſort of ſouldiours, was ſo great: and their vnbridled & vnſatiable deſire in robbing, ſpoyling, and taking of booties, catching and ſnatching all that came to hand, ſo much: that nothyng coulde be ſure and in ſafetie that any good mã enioyed. Wherfore, a little before the death of Wilhelmus the kyng, 60. Cities and townes, which were belongyng to Ludouicus Palatinus Duke of Boioria and Rhenus, The robbers and rebels chaſed out of Germany.

and to Otho his ſonne, and other princes, whoſe names Auentinus in hys 7. booke of ÿ Annales of the Boiores maketh mention of: ioyned themſelues in a league for the expelling of theſe rebels, & repreſſing of their ſo great iniurious rapines and ſlaughter of men. Of which armye, the ſayde Ludouicus beyng capitayne, chaſed and draue the whole route of them to the vttermoſt partes of Germany, and puld downe and ouerthrew their caſtels and fortreſſes, and euery other place where they had intrenched themſelues.

The fidelitie of Otho to the Emperour.

Otho Bouis yet notwithſtanding, kepeth his promiſe and fayth moſt conſtantly made before to the emperor Fredericke and Conradus hys ſonne. Whereupon, Philipus Iuuauenſis, Albertus and others, callyng a councell at Mildorſius (by the Popes commaundement) ſent for Otho vnto them, vnto whom they opened the Popes pleaſure & commaundement. To all which, when he had heard, Otho aunſwered: I can not maruell at ſome of you inough, that when as heretofore you perſwaded me to leaue and forſake the part I tooke wyth the Byſhop of Rome, whom ye your ſelues affirmed to be Antichriſt, and that I ſhould take part with the emperour: why that you your ſelues wyll not keepe your fidelitie & promiſe made to thoſe good Princes: And ſayd that he perceaued in them a great inconſtancie and leuitie, both in their wordes and deedes, which now call that wicked, vniuſt, and violent wrong, but lately that they thought equall, iuſt, and right. He ſayd further, that they were ouercome wyth pleaſures, corrupted wyth ſuperfluitie, wonne wyth bribes, gaping for honour and eſtimation: and that they neyther regarded honeſty, godlynes, nor their dutie and office, but ſtudied how to make diſſention and commotions, and longed after warre and bloudy battell.

The aunſwere of Otho to the Legates.

He ſayd farther, that for hys part he would obey God and his prince to whom he had ſworne fidelitie, and that he naught eſteemed the fayned holines and deteſtable practiſes of ſuch prelates: He ſayd he beleued in Chriſt and woulde truſt in his mercy, & that he beleued how thoſe whom they curſed and gaue to the deuill, were in greateſt fauour with god. Howbeit & notwithſtanding thoſe prelates toke in good part this expoſtulatiō with him, & ſemed to beare Otho no malice or grudge for that he had ſayd, but to be deſirous of peace and vnitie: yet not long after, Otho was curſed as blacke as all the reſt, and counted as bad as was the beſt.

Otho excōmunicated for turnyng from the Pope to take the Emperours part.

Albertus the Popes champion now in Germany playeth not rex onely amongeſt the citizens: But alſo bethought hym of a miſcheuous deuiſe agaynſt Conradus Ceſar the Emperours ſonne. When by fraude and ſuttletie he had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgiſes and Citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the Emperour good will and had ſent them priſoners to Staffum, Conradus ioyninge with other noble men of the Empire (after he had ſpoyled and waſted much of his landes and others his companions) draue him ſo neare, that vpon certaine other conditions he deliuered againe the Citizens. And ſhortly after comminge againe to Reginoburgh, and being receaued and welcōmed into the Colledge of D. Haimeranus: Albertus with certaine of his confederates by the meanes of Vlricus a chiefe officer of the monkes, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Ceſar with a few other aboute hym did lie: And falling vpon them ſome they tooke, and other ſome they ſlewe, and finding no other body in the chābers or lodginges, they thought that Ceſar had bene ſlaine amongeſt the reſt. But he hearing the noyſe, forſooke hys bed & hyd himſelf vnder a bench and ſo eſcaped their handes. The next day he outlawed or praſcribed the biſhop and his mates, and alſo the monke baily of treaſon, and ſeaſed vpon all the goodes of the houſe. But at the ſute of the giltleſſe monkes, he releaſed all to them againe, taking by way of fine one hundreth pound. Vlricus loſt hys office and Albertus therby to eſcape daunger of puniſhment, tooke vpō him ÿ habit of a monke. Conradus Hochenfolſeus which was the murderer of theſe men (although he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand) yet the vengeaunce of God for ÿ fact, he eſcaped not: For as he ryd in the day time abroad, he was ſodenly ſtroken with a thonderboult and dyed.

Caeſar in daūger by Albertus.

Albertus to eſcape puniſhment taketh the order of monkery.

During all this buſie and contentious tyme, it may wel be gathered, Friderike the Emperor lay not ſtil, but had his handes full: who notwithſtandyng (by Gods helpe) ouercōmyng and ſuppreſſing theſe or greater part of theſe rebellious papiſh tumults, and had done ſtraite execution (of thoſe eſpecially) that had conſpired agaynſt his perſon: callyng a Councell and ſettyng in ſome ſtay the troubleſom affaires of hys kingdome, came to Cremona with Fridericus Prince of Antioche, Richardus erle of Vmbria, the gouernour of Flamminia, and Encius kyng of Sardinia, with a great nomber beſides of ſouldiors and men of war. And beſides, he toke with hym (which he ſent for out of euery part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt learned men that there was: thinkyng with them to haue gone hymſelfe to Lions to the Pope, and there to haue had with hym communication as well concernyng the ſentence diffinitiue, as alſo about the concluſion of any peace, if by any meanes he might. And whē all things was prepared & ready, he toke ÿ iourney in hand & came to Taurinum, hauyng with hym both a great army of ſouldiors & alſo a great company of Legates and Embaſſadors. From thence ſendyng his cariages before, within three dayes iorney of Lions: he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlawes of diuers and ſundry factiōs of the Pope: hys nere neighbors and frendes: as by ÿ popes legate, and other citizens as of Brixia, Placentia, and ſuch lyke. Which thyng when he vnderſtood, and that the Pope herein was the onely and chiefe doer: he ſawe manifeſtly it ſhould little preuaile, to attempt any further the thyng he went about: & thē at lēgth, when he ſaw none other remedy puttyng from him all hope of peace, determined himſelf to the warrs with all hys force and might. Thus altering his purpoſe and iourney, he toke the ſtraighteſt way into Lumbardy: and with an army of 60. M. men, he beſieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly and neare the towne, plant hys ſiege and battry, without diſturbance: firſt he entrenched hys campe and fortefied the ſame about with bulwarkes and other defencible munition: After that, he cauſed diuers vitailing houſes & tauernes in hys cāpe to be ſleightly builded of tymber: and without the campe he appoynted the place where the market ſhould be kept, and all vitailers reſort that would. He appointed places for their churches & temples, and in ſemely maner adourned the ſame: and for the moſt part their tentes were builded with woode, ſo that it was lyke an other Parma. All which things when he had finiſhed, which was not long in doyng: for this happy and proſperous ſucceſſe he called and named it Victoria, & had thought to haue made the ſame to be in the ſtead of the Citie Parma, which he purpoſed to haue made leuell with the ground. And in the beginning both there and els where, all thing proſpered well with Friderick & had good ſucceſſe: for he ſharply layd vnto their charges that defēded and kept the citie Parma. And further Robertus Caſtilioneus which was the Emperors lieftenant in Picenum, nere vnto Auximum: diſcomforted the Popes army, and ſlue of them more then 4000. and toke many ſuch as were of the confederate cities priſoners. And when the factions or companies of the Gibellines and Gwelphes in Florentia were at controuerſie: whē Fridericus of Hetruria came to the Gibellines to whom they had ſent for ayde: The Guelphes therewyth diſmayed fled from thence to Bononia, whoſe goods & ſubſtance came all to the Emperors cofers, and Florentia alſo it ſelfe to the Emperors obedience. But this good ſucceſſe and proſperous fortune laſted not long: for as at a tyme Fridericus to recreate hymſelfe (which ſeldome had hys helth) rid about the fieldes with certaine of hys horſemen to hauke & hunt: Many alſo of the Emperors ſouldiors thinkyng nothyng leſſe then of ſuch a matter to be attempted of a many ſtaruelings within the towne Parma, wandred and ranged vnarmed out of their Citie Victoria about the fieldes. The ſouldiors in Parma hauyng this occaſion offered, with all force and ſpede poſſible entred the Emperors campe or town Victoria, which beyng not very ſtrongly fenced nor hauyng gates to ſhut agaynſt them, was a thyng eaſie enough to do. The ſodaine ſtraungeneſſe of the matter much abaſhed the ſouldiors, and rang out their larum bel. The firſt aſſault was geuen vpon Marcus Malaſpina hys charge, whome when the Emperor returnyng in all haſt found to be hard beſet, had thought to haue reſcued hym. But when that was perceyued of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on ÿ ſide. In ſo much, that the Emperor was inforced to take the trench, leſt he ſhould haue bene of the enemy enuironed, and frō thēce he retired into ÿ citie or cāpe where he had thought to haue gathered further ayde. But the enemy geuyng not ſo much tyme therunto, with all force entred the City Victoria. The Emperor now, when the enemies were entered: left the campe and came to Dominum, who when they had killed and ſlayne a great number of the Emperors ſouldiors and had burnt and deſtroyed the ſame campe Victoria, came agayne to Parma. The Emperor thē ſuſpectyng this thing to be wrought by treaſon, wherby the enemy had vnderſtādyng as well of the Emperors abſence, as alſo of the negligence of hys ſouldiors: impriſoned certayne of the chiefeſt about hym, amongſt whome alſo was Petrus de Vincis, yet whileſt he was at Dominum gatheryng together hys ſouldiors and reſidue of hys bandes: Encius getteth a great victory of the Manſuanos, who commyng to the reſcue of Parma, loſt fifty of theyr ſhips and all that they had in thē.

The Emperor whē he had ſomwhat ſuppreſſed theſe tumultes came to Cremona.

The Emp. thinketh to goe to Lions to the Pope.

Parma taken & kept by the popes legats and other frendes of his.

The Emp. altereth hys iourney from Lions to the ſiege of Parma.

The Emp. named his campe and ſiege about Parma Victoria.

The popes army diſcomfited by the Emperours Lieftenant at Auximū.

The negligence of the ſouldiours offreth an occaſion to the enemy.

The diſcomfiture of the Emp. at the ſiege of Parma.

The Emp. vpon ſuſpition of treaſon impriſoneth diuers of his Captaynes.

After this alſo, Richardus in another conflict in Picenū diſcomforted the Popes ſouldiors, and ſlew their Captaine Hugolinus, beſides 2000. others ſlayn and takē pryſoners. When now Fridericus had gathered agayne, & new muſtered hys bandes at Dominum, he marcheth forth to Cremona: and notwithſtandyng, that there he vnderſtood of yͤ good ſucceſſe and victory that Encius had at Rhegium: yet for that he perceiued the defection and backſlidyng of all or moſt part of Lumbardie from hym: he determined to take his iorney into Apulia, and when he had there leuied a ſtrong and ſufficient power, he purpoſed to make hys ſpeedy returne agayne into Lombardie. Therfore, in his iorney through Hetruria into Apulia, he ioyned with hys ſonne Fridericus, which beſieged Capras, and toke the ſame: and led with him dyuers of the chiefeſt captaynes priſoners, & after that ſubduyng vnto the obedience of the empire Miniatum, he came into Apulia.

Capras beſieged & takē of the Emp.

When newes was brought hym thether, that Encius hys ſonne (commyng to ayde the Mutinenſes agaynſt the Bononiens) was taken priſoner, two myles of from Mutina: and that in hys abſence, the Popes capitaines & their bandes and garriſons went throughout all Lumbardy, Aemilia, Flamminia, and Hetruria, to ſtirre and procure the Cities to reuolte from the obedience of the Emperour: And the ſame, partly workyng by ſubtile pollicies, & partly by force and ſiniſter meanes to bryng them to hys purpoſe: determined with hymſelfe, that with all the force and power he might by any meanes procure and make, to haue begonne a freſh and proſecuted this warre to the vttermoſt. Neither was it to be doubted as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth, but that he would haue wrought ſome meruelous exploit & great attempt, but that he was of this hys purpoſe (wherunto he was both willyng and bent) preuented by vnlooked for death. For when he fell in this ague, beyng at a certayne caſtle of hys in Apulia called Florentinum, and ſaw by the extremity therof, his days to be but ſhort: he remembred that which was once ſhewed hym, how he ſhould dye at Florēce. Wherupon, he made and ordeyned hys teſtament: and when vnto Conradus and other of hys children he had geuen and appoynted the great and innumerable maſſe of money which he had collected and leuied for the maintenaunce of his wars (and godly purpoſe as it is called) And vnto them alſo had geuen all other hys kingdoms and dominions (to euery one accordyng to their ages and yeares) departed this wretched and miſerable world.

The Emp. purpoſeth to make ſome great attēpt.

The Emp. preuented by death.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fridericus was very willing to dye, and as they made certayne report to him which were preſent at his death, that his mynde was altogether ſet and bent vpō the heauenly ioy and felicitie. Which thing alſo Gulielmus Putranus, Andreas Pādalus, and Manardus the biſhop, beyng Italian writers do all affirme: of whom thys laſt writeth, that he aſſuredly beleueth Friderike to be one of the number of Gods elect.

Fred. one of Gods elect.

The writers notwithſtanding are of ſundry iudgements and opinions touching this good Emperours death: Some write that he was traiterouſly poyſoned by his cup bearer, beyng hyred therunto. Some other, that he was ſtrangled with a pillow of Manfredo the ſonne of Pherus. But Pādolphus as good a writer as yͤ beſt, maketh no mention of any poyſon that was geuen hym, but onely that he died of an ague. The laſt opinion of Manfredus, he manifeſtly refuteth and that there is no maner of lykelihood of the ſame: & further, that the contrary is affirmed by diuers other wryters that were of that tyme. He died in the yere of our lord. 1268 the 13. day of December, in the 57. yere of hys age, & 37. yere of his raigne, whoſe corps was brought to Panormum, and there intombed.

Sundry opinions of the death of Fredericke Emp.

Friderike had iij. wyues: the firſt was Conſtantia, the daughter of the kyng of Arragon: of whom he begat Henry the Duke of Sueuia and king of the Romains: The other Iole the daughter of Iohannes Brennus, kyng of Ieruſalem, by whom he had the inheritaunce of Ieruſalē, Naples, and Sicile: of whom he begate Conradus Duke of Sueuia, kyng of Ieruſalē and Naples beyng Ceſar. The third, Iſabell the daughter of king Iohn of Englād, by whom he had a ſōne named Hēry, which is ſaid to die in his childhood. This Fridericus had not hys peere in Marſhall affaires to be compared vnto hym and warlike pollicies amongſt all the princes of that age: A wiſe and ſkilfull ſouldior he was: a great indurer of painefull labours and trauels: moſt boldeſt in greateſt perils: prudent in foreſight: Induſtrious in all his doinges: prompt & nymble about that he tooke in hand: and in aduerſitie moſt ſtout and couragious. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attayne perfection: neyther yet is there any prince almoſt of ſuch gouernment and godly inſtitution, both in life and doctrine as is required of them: So neither was this Fredericke, without hys fault and humane fragilitie. For the writers impute to him ſome fault of concupiſcence, wherwith he was ſtayned and ſpotted. And it appeareth that he was not all cleare therof, for as much as by ſundry Concubines he had ſundry children: As Encius, the kyng of Sardinia: Manfredus, the prince of Sarentinum: And Friderick, kyng of Antioche. And this is all that I finde of the deſcription of Friderick by Colonucius, which he affirmeth to haue gathered out of good and probable autors. But as touching the haynous actes and flagitious deedes, which the pope burdeneth him withall, and in hys ſentence agaynſt hym, maketh mention of: Fridericus not onely purgeth himſelfe therof, but alſo diuers hiſtoricians (as well Germaine writers as Italians) affirme the ſame to be falſe and of the Popes owne braynes, to do hym ſkare and teene withall, inuented. Of which matter, thoſe thynges which Pandolphus (touchyng the commendation or diſpraiſe of Fredericus writeth) I thought good out of Italian, to tranſlate, whoſe wordes be theſe.

The iſſue of Fridericke the Emp.

Fred. a moſt puiſant prince in marſhal affaires.

Fred was not without hys fault of humane fragilitie.

Albeit the emperour Fredericus was indued wyth many goodly giftes and vertues, yet notwithſtanding was he accompted an enemy of the Church and a perſecutor of the ſame: of which, both Innocentius the 4. in his ſentence hath pronounced hym giltie, and the ſame ſentence haue other popes regiſtred in their ſixe bookes of Decretals, and ſtabliſhed the ſame for a law, how that he ought to be taken for no leſſe. Therfore peraduenture it ſhould not become me to falſefie or call in queſtion that, which other haue confirmed, or els to diſpute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwythſtanding, as much as his actes & deedes in writing declare, and the bookes of yͤ chiefeſt autors affirme, as alſo hys owne Epiſtles do teſtifie: I cannot preciſely ſay, whether the byſhops of Rome ſo call hym and iudge hym therfore: Or els for that, he was ſomewhat to bold in ſpeakyng and tellyng them but the truth, and reprouyng the eccleſiaſticall order of their great abuſes. Or els, whether for that, he would haue had them gone ſomewhat more nere the conditions & lyues of the auncient fathers of the primitiue Church and diſciples of Chriſt: Or whether for that, he defended and ſtoode with them for the prerogatiue and dignities belongyng to the empire or not: Or els, whether that they ſtood in feare and awe of the great power he was of in Italy (which thing in deede Gregory the 9. in a certein Epiſtle of hys, cōfeſſeth.) But of theſe things let them iudge and diſcerne, that ſhall reade the monumentes and hiſtories of Fridericke. Truly (ſayth he) when I conſider with my ſelfe that Chriſt (whoſe vicar the Romane biſhops boaſt them ſelues to be) ſayd vnto his diſciples, that they ſhould follow hym and alſo imitate hys exampl as of their maiſter and teacher: and commaunded, the farther more, how they ſhould not draw the ſworde, but put vp the ſame into the ſcaberd: and farther gaue them in precepe, that they ſhould not onely forgeue iniuries ſeuen tymes but 70. tymes ſeuen tymes to thoſe that offended them: And whē I now compare the lyues of the biſhops of Rome, how nere they follow hym whoſe vicar they ſay they be: And conſider ſo many and great conſpiracies, treaſones, rebellions, diſloyalties, lyenges in wayte, and treacherous deuiſes: So many Legates of the Popes (beyng Eccleſiaſtical perſons) which will nedes be called the ſhepeherdes of Chriſtes flocke, to be ſuch warriours and Captaines of ſouldiours in all the partes of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (being the Emperors dominions) in Picenum, Aemilia, Flamminia, and Lumbardy, to be ſent out againſt him. And alſo whē with my ſelfe I meditate, the deſtruction of ſo many great & famous Cities, the ſubuerſion of ſuch common weales, the ſlaughter of ſo many men, and the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud: And laſtly when I behold, ſo victorious, proſperous, and fortunate Emperors to be: and ſo many miſerable vnfortunate, and vanquiſhed Popes put to flight: I am perſwaded with myſelfe to thynke and beleeue, that the iudgemēts of God are ſecret & meruelous, & that to be true which Aeneas Syluius, in hys hiſtory of Auſtria writeth: That there is no great & meruelous clade, no notorious & ſpeciall calamity, yͭ hath happened eyther to yͤ publike weale, or els to yͤ church of God, of the which the biſhops of Rome haue not bene the authors. Nicolaus Machiauellus alſo ſayeth, that all the ruinous calamities & miſerable chaunces yͭ the whole chriſtiā common weale and alſo Italy hath ſuffred: haue ben brought in, by the popes and biſhops of Rome.

The wordes of Pandolphus touchyng the prayſe and diſprayſe of the Emp. Fredericke.

The popes church compared with Chriſt hys Church are as lyke as blacke & white.

Many Epiſtles of Fridericus there be, which he wrote vnto the Biſhops of Rome, to the Cardinals, and to diuers other Chriſtiā Princes, all which I haue read: and in them is to be ſene nothyng contrary vnto Chriſtian doctrine, nothyng wicked & vngodly, nothyng iniurious to the Church of God, nothyng cōtumelious or arrogācly written of Fridericke. But in deede I deny not, that they be fraught and full of pitifull complaintes, and lamentations, touchyng the auarous ambition of the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and pertinacie of the Byſhops of Rome: and that he would receiue & take no ſatiſfactiõ nor yet excuſe in the defẽce of the right and priuiledge of the Empire, which he maintained: alſo of their manifold and infinite conſpiracies which they practiſed both ſecretly and openly agaynſt him: And of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order Eccleſiaſticall, to attend vpon and diſcharge their functions and charges. And who, that farther is deſirous to know and vnderſtand the truth, and coueteth to ſearch out the renowmed vertues of magnificent Princes: let thẽ read the Epiſtle of Fredericke dated to all Chriſtian Princes which thus begynneth: Colligerunt principes, pontifices & Phariſæi cõcilium: and an other, wherin he perſwadeth the colledge of Cardinals to take vp the diſſention betwene the Emperour and the Pope, which begynneth: In exordio naſcentis mundi, and alſo an other which thus begynneth Infallibilis veritatis teſtem, beſides yet an other: Ad Reges & principes orbis Chriſtiani, with diuers other moe wherin may well be ſene the princely vertues of this ſo worthy a piere: all whiche Epiſtles collected together in the Latin toung, the learned ſort I wiſh to read, whereout they may picke no litle benefite and commoditie to themſelues: In his Epiſtle laſt recited theſe are his wordes: Non exiſtimetis id me a vobis ideò contendere, ac ſi ex ſententia pontificia priuationis maieſtas noſtra ſit perculſa: Cum enim nobis ſit rectæ voluntatis conſcientia, cumq́; deum nobiſcum habeamus, eundem teſtem inuocamus id nos ſpectaſſe, cum totum ordinem Eccleſiaſticum tum præſertim primores, neruis potentiæ, dominationiſq́; eorum ſucciſis extirpatiſq́; tyrannidis radicibus ad primitiuæ Eccleſię conditionem & ſtatum reuocaremus: That is. Thinke ye not that we ſo earneſtly deſire or craue this peace at your hand, as though our maieſty were terrified with the Popes ſentence of depriuation: When as God (vpon whom we truſt and inuocate) is our witnes, and iudge of our conſcience: that when we went about to reforme the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, but eſpecially the ringleaders of the ſame: and ſhould reſtrayne their power & extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the ſame to the ſtate and condition of the primatiue Church: we looked for no leſſe at their hands. For theſe cauſes peraduenture, thoſe which had the gouernement of the Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, decreed and pronounced Fridericke to be an enemy to the Church: which (as I haue ſayd) I leaue to others to iudge therof. Hetherto Pandolphus Colonutius.

Deſerued cõmendation vpon the Epiſtles of Fred.

Frederick purpoſed with the hazard of the imperiall ſtate to reforme the church of Rome.

And doubtles examples to the contrary doth appeare, that Fridericke was an enemy to the Church of Rome, for that he both gaue large and great giftes therunto, and alſo franchiſed the ſame with great priuileges and immunities: which thynges, by his owne conſtitutions, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes may be perceaued and vnderſtode. But rather contrarywiſe, that the Byſhops of Rome moſt filthely recompenced the ſame his great liberalitie and princely beneuolẽce agayne, which he gaue and beſtowed vpõ the ſame, as partly in the diſcourſe of this hiſtory you haue heard: Who notwithſtandyng, they ſo moleſted and tyred hym with ſuch & ſo many iniuries as you haue ſene: he neuertheleſſe, forgiuyng and pardonyng all the ſame, for the great zeale he had to the common Chriſtian wealth (wherof he more forced, then els of any other thyng) ſought by all the meanes he might for to haue peace, although it were to his own great hynderaũce. Therfore, ſeyng he was of neceſſitie by the byſhops of Rome prouoked to that warre: if he dyd them any ſkath in reuenge of his Imperiall dignity, let them thanke their owne ſelues, which might otherwiſe haue remedyed the ſame. Notwithſtãdyng, vpon this occaſion diuers (both Italian and Germaine writers, which at that tyme ſought for fat benefices, and euer ſince euen vnto theſe our dayes haue done the lyke, by flattery rather to obtaine that which they hunted for, then to beare true and faythfull teſtimony of thynges as they were in dede) tooke great occaſion to write, and ſclaunder this good Emperour. But let vs paſſe ouer theſe Paraſites, and returne to thoſe, which although they themſelues were of that callyng, I meane of the Eccleſiaſticall order: yet notwithſtandyng, for that they rather preferred the ſtudy of veritie, and to reuerence the truth before Popiſh authoritie, and flattering ſeruitude: greatly extolled and commẽded this good Emperour Fridericke. So did Nicholaus Cuſanus a cardinall, in his writing affirme thys emperour to be an alter Carolus Magnus: both for hys wiſedome and alſo diligent regard to the commõ weale. So alſo writeth Ægidius Biturigum the Biſhop, in hys bookes of the inſtitution & bringyng vp of a prince, which he wrote to the French kyng: exhortyng hym and all others, to take a patterne of this moſt worthy and excellent Prince. In commendation of whoſe worthy prayſe and vertue theſe verſes are written on his tombe.

Fred. ſhewed hymſelfe no enemy but a frende to the Church of Rome.

Selfe doe, ſelfe haue, the prouerb is.

Hope of gayne allureth many to flatter and to write vntruthes.

Si probitas, ſenſus, virtutum gratia, cenſus,
Nobilitas orti poſſent reſiſtere morti:
Non foret extinctus, Fridericus qui iacet intus.

Wherfore, in as much as it appeareth by the approued writers of whom I haue made mention: who & what maner of prince Fridericke this Emperour was: And, for that he diligently laboured as well in the preſeruatiõ of the chriſten common weale, as in the conſeruation of the Imperiall dignitie: procured to hymſelfe the great hatred and diſpleaſure of the Romane byſhops (who haue bene, to all the good Emperours for the moſt part vtter foes and enemies) and with what wicked ſlaunders and other iniuries both by them & by their miniſters they continually moleſted hym withall: This leſſon ought to be ours: that hauing the ſame in our memory, we imitate and folow his vertues, hatyng & deteſtyng the wicked and flagitious doynges of thoſe holy fathers that will ſo be called, and Byſhops of Rome: deſiryng God that he will ſo guyde the hartes of all Kynges and Princes, that they may by his grace aduaunce and ſet forth his glory, and reforme the corrupt and vicious maner and order of the Church, to all ſinceritie and puritie both of lyfe and doctrine.

Theſe verſes which here inſue were ſent and written betwene the Emperour & Pope Innocẽtius the 4. which for that to the learned are both commodious and profitable at the end of this hiſtory I thought good to place.

¶ Fridericus Imp. Innocent. Papæ.

Fata mouent ſtellæq́; docent, auiúmq; volatus
Totius ſubitò malleus orbis ero.
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi deſinet eſſe caput.

¶ Innocent. Papa Frederico Imp.

Fata ſilent, ſtellæq́; tacent, nil prædicat ales:
Solius eſt proprium noſſe futura Dei.
Niteris in caſſum nauem ſubmergere Petri,
Fluctuat: at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, Scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur:
Quòd tibi vita breuis, pœna perennis erit.
Quod diuina manus potuit, ſenſit Iulianus:
Tu ſuccedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.
Fre. fremit in mundo, de deprimit alta profundo:
Ri. mala rimatur, cuſ. cuſpide cuncta minatur.

¶ Fredericus Innocentio.

Fata mouent ſtellæq́; docent auiúmq; volatus
Lapſurum te mox ad ſtigis antra nigræ.
Cymba Petri non eſt, ſed Chriſti, quæ natat vndis:
Fluctuat, at nuſquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua ſcripta docent, peccata nefanda
Interitum oſtendunt, exitiumq́; tuum.
Stangulat Adrianum muſca, annon ira tonantis?
Cogitat & de te ſumere ſupplicium?
Carcere ſuſpendit ſeſe Benedictus, & alter
In ſtupro captus, ſaucius enſe perit.
Silueſtrum extinguit Sathan ſceleratior ipſe:
Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.
Innocuum te voce notas cum ſis nociturus
Orbi terrarum Chriſtianóq; gregi.

¶ Fredericus Innocentio de integro.

Eſſes ſi membrum non te caput orbis & vrbis
Iactares cum ſis orbis & vrbis onus.
Nunc membrum non es, ſed putre cadauer & vlcus,
Enſe recidendum ridiculúmq; caput.
A Daniele βδελυγμα, nefaſq; caputq́; malorum
Diceris, a Paulo filius exitij.
Nos ſolum Chriſtum noſtrum caput eſſe, malorum
Totius orbis te caput eſſe facis.
Et caput eſt vnum, quod Paulus dicit vbiq;,
Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corporis ergo caput monſtroſi monſtra pariſq́;
Monſtra paris monachos, ſcorta nefanda foues.
Eſt tua religio ſtuprum, Ira ſuperbia, cædes,
Error, deliciæ, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergò liquet Chriſtum te ſpernere: Chriſto
Hoſtem eſſe inuiſum, dedecoriq́; Deo.
Rex tandem veniet cœlo delapſus ab alto
Tunc non defendent te, ſacra, miſſa, cruces
Non in ſublimi ſurgentes vertice criſtæ,
Non diploma potens, non tua ſacra cohors

Nec diadema triplex, nec ſedes ſanguine parta,
  Nullus honos ſolij, purpura nulla tui.
Triginta argenteis Chriſtum vendebat Iudas,
  Tu Chriſti vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Chriſti paruo ære, polumq́;
  Cæleſtes genios, ſidera, Iura, deos.

Certayne preachers in Sueuia.

As ye haue heard of the iniquitie & ragyng pride of the popiſh Church agaynſt their lawfull Emperour now ſhall ye heare (Chriſt willyng) how God begynneth to reſiſte & withſtand the corruption of that whoriſh Church, by ſtyrryng vp certaine faythfull teachers in ſondry countreys: As in the countrey of Sueuia, about the tyme of this Emperour. an. 1240. or neare vpon the ſame, where were many preachers, mētioned in the Chronicle of Vrſpergenſis, and alſo in Crantzius Lib.8.cap.16. & 18. which preached freely agaynſt the Pope. These preachers (as Crantzius ſayth) ryngyng the Belles, and callyng the Barons in Hallis of Sueuia: there preached that the Pope was an hereticke, & that his Biſhops and Prelates were ſimoniacke and heretickes. And that the inferiour Prieſtes and Prelates had no authoritie to bynde and looſe, but were all ſeducers. Itē that no Pope, Byſhop, or Prieſt, could reſtrayne men from their dewty of ſeruyng and worſhipping of God. And therfore ſuch Cities or coūtreys, as were then vnder the popes curſe, might notwithſtandyng lawfully reſort to the receauyng of Sacramētes, as well as before. Item that Friers Dominicke, and Frāciſcane, did ſubuert the Church with their preachyng. And as the indulgence of the Pope, & hys Popelyngs was of no regard: ſo that remiſſion, which they dyd preach vnto them, they preached it not from the Pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appeare, how the reſiſtyng of the Popes vſurped power & corrupt doctrine, is no new thyng in theſe dayes in the Church of Chriſt. &c.

Ex Chrō. Aba. Vrſperg. Crātz. lib.8.cap.10.

Reſiſtance agaynſt the Pope no new thyng in Chriſtes Church.

And not long after theſe aforeſayd, roſe vp Arnoldus De noua villa, a Spenyard, and a man famouſly learned, and a great writer. an. 1250. whom the Pope with his ſpiritualtie, condemned among heretickes, for holdyng and wrytyng agaynſt the corrupt errours of the popiſh Church. His teachyng was, that Sathā had ſeduced all the world from the truth of Chriſt Ieſus. Item that the fayth (which then Chriſten men were commonly taught) was ſuch a fayth as the deuils had: meanyng belike (as we now affirme) that the papiſtes do teach onely the hiſtoricall fayth, which is the fayth Hiſtoriæ nō fiduciæ. Itē, that Chriſten people (meanyng belyke for the moſt part) are led by the Pope vnto hell. Item, that all cloyſterers are voyde of charity, and damned: And that they all do falſefie the doctrine of Chriſt. Item, that the Diuines do euill in mixtyng Philoſophy with Diuinitie. Item, that Maſſes are not to be celebrated. And that they ought not to ſacrifice for the dead. Certaine other opinions there be, which the ſlaunderous ſectes of Monkes and Friers do attribute vnto hym: but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather vpon enuious talkyng, then of any iuſt cauſe geuen.

Arnoldus de noua villa **cōdemned of hereſie.**

Vide librum de teſtibus veritatis.

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, ſo alſo the ſame tyme Ioannes Semeca, the gloſe writer of the Popes decrees, and Prouoſt of Halberſtate was excōmunicated, and depriued of his Prouoſtſhyp: for reſiſtyng Pope Clement the fourth, gatheryng certaine exactions in Germany. And therfore he appealed from the Pope to a generall Councell, and had many great fauorers on his ſide, till at laſt both the Pope and he dyed.

Ioānes Semeca **the gloſe writer to the popes decrees excōmunicated.**

Conſequently in this order & number, foloweth the worthy and valiant champion of Chriſt and aduerſary of Antichriſt Gulielmus de S.Amore, a maſter of Paris, & a chief ruler thē of that Vniuerſitie. This Gulielmus in his tyme had no ſmall a do wrytyng agaynſt the Friers, and their hipocriſie. But eſpecially agaynſt the beggyng Friers, both condemnyng their whole order, and alſo accuſing them as thoſe that did diſturbe & trouble all the Churches of Chriſt by their preachyng in Churches agaynſt the will of the ordinaries and paſtors, by their hearyng of confeſſions, and executyng the charges of Curates and paſtours in their Churches. All the teſtimonyes of Scripture that make agaynſt Antichriſt, he applyeth them agaynſt the Clergy of Prelates, and the Popes ſpiritualtie. The ſame Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the booke, which is attributed to the ſchole of Paris, and intituled: De periculis Eccleſiæ. Where he proueth by xxxix. argumentes, that Friers be falſe Apoſtles.

Gulielmus de S.Amore.

Moreouer, he doth well expounde this ſaying of Chriſt (if thou wilt be perfect, go and ſell away all thou haſt, and come follow me) declaryng there pouertie to be inioyned vs of Chriſt, non actualem, ſed habitualem: not in ſuch ſorte as ſtandeth in outward action, when no neede requireth, but in inward affection of hart, when neede ſhall require: As though the meanyng and precept of our Lord were not that we ſhould caſt away actually all that we haue, but that whē the confeſſion of the name of God & the glory of Chriſt ſhall ſo require: that then we be ready to leaue & relinquiſh what thynges ſoeuer, for ÿ ſake of hym. &c. As whē he requireth in vs, after lyke phraſe, ÿ hatred of father & mother, & of our owne liues: he biddeth vs not to diſhonour father or mother, much leſſe to hate them: but that then, when caſe ſhall require, we ſet all thynges behynde the loue of Chriſt. Many other worthy workes he compiled, wherein albeit he vttered nothyng but what was truth, yet notwithſtandyng he was by Antichriſt & his rable, condemned for an hereticke, exiled, & his bookes brent: whoſe hereticall argumentes as they called them, that thou mayeſt better iudge therof, here vnder I thought good to place.

The place of the Goſpell expounded, Goe, & ſell all & come folow me.

Guliel de S. Amore condemned of the pope for an hereticke.

Agaynſt falſe Prophetes with ſignes to know them by in theſe his wordes do follow. For becauſe theſe ſeducers ſayth he, name themſelues to be Apoſtles, and that they are ſent of God to preach, to abſolue & diſpenſe with the ſoules of men, by meanes of their miniſtery. Read the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, the xi. chap. For ſuch Apoſtles are ſubtile and crafty workemen, diſguiſing themſelues to be lyke the Apoſtles of Chriſt: Therfore, we meane to ſhew ſome certaine infallible tokēs, and probable, by the which falſe Apoſtles may be diſcerned from the true preachers and Apoſtles of Chriſt.

The firſt ſigne or marke is: that ſuch as be true preachers do not enter into ſimple womens houſes laden with ſinne and take them as it were captiue, as many of the falſe preachers do: as in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paule to Timothy the 3. chapter is manifeſt, ſaying: Of theſe ſortes are they, which enter into womens houſes. &c. Therfore, thoſe preachers which come into womens houſes, to the intent they may take them captiue, be not true preachers, but falſe Apoſtles.

The firſt ſigne and token to know a falſe Frier and prophet by.

The ſecond ſigne and token is, that thoſe that be true preachers do not deceiue ſimple men with painted and flatteryng wordes, whereby they preferre their owne traſh and traditions, as all falſe Prophetes do, as in the laſt Chapter to the Romanes appeareth, ſaying: By their pleaſaunt and ſugred talke, and by their bleſſyng and croſſing they deceiue and beguile the hartes of innocent men and women. Glo. With gay glorious wordes they extol and ſet forth their traditions, whereby they deceiue ſimple men. Very greatly do they deceaue the ſoules of ſimple men, which cauſe them to enter into their ſect, which they terme Religion. And they which before led a naughty lyfe, by reaſon of their ignorāce or ſimplicitie: after their entrance become ſubtile falſe deceiuyng hypocrites, entryng together with the reſt poore into mens houſes: yea and oftentymes become worſe then the other. Wherupō Math. 22. wo be vnto you Scribes & Phariſeis, hypocrites which go about. &c. Therfore they which do this, are no true meſſengers, but falſe Apoſtles.

True preachers do not deceiue mē with painted flatteryng wordes.

The thyrd ſigne is, that the true Apoſtles if they be reproued, ſuffer the ſame paciently. 2. Cor. 12. ſaying: the tokens of my Apoſtleſhyp are accompliſhed among you, in all patience and ſufferaunce. He writeth, that pacience which pertaineth to the maners of the preachers. Therfore they which ſuffer not correction or puniſhment, be no true Apoſtles, but rather ſhew themſelues to be no Chriſtians at all. 1. Cor. 12. No man can ſay that Ieſus is the Lord, but by the holy ghoſt. Gloſſa. It is meete that Chriſtiās ſhould be humbled, to the intent that they may ſuffer themſelues to be reproued, and not to be holden vp with yea and nay. And alſo ſuch men do ſhew themſelues to be carnall, and not ſpirituall at all, although they fayne themſelues to be ſpirituall. Gal. 3. Therefore am I become an enemy vnto you? Notwithſtandyng the Gloſſa, ſayth: no carnall man will be reproued although he erre. Wherfore, thoſe preachers which ſuffer not correction, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 3. is that true Apoſtles take in good part when they be reproued.

The fourth ſigne is, that true Apoſtles commend not themſelues. 2. Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne our ſelues nor yet compare our ſelues vnto others which commende and boaſt many of their actes, whē God alloweth none of them at all. Alſo true preachers although they be in deede prayſe worthy for their good desertes: In the conſciences of men are they prayſe worthy, and not to the outward ſhew alone. 2. Cor. 3. We commend our ſelues ſayth the Apoſtle to the conſciences of all men: Then they do not commende them ſelues in compariſon of other. Wherfore the gloſe ſayth vpō the ſame place: thoſe that deſerue no commendation but in compariſon of other, do chalenge to themſelues other mens desertes and prayſe: wherefore in the ſecond Epiſtle of S.

The 4. ſigne is that true preachers commēd not them ſelues.

Peter the laſt chapter it is ſayd. Euen as our welbeloued brother Paule according to the wiſedome that God hath geuen vnto hym, hath written vnto you: Gloſſa. The chiefeſt of the Apoſtles hath here forgotten hys papall authoritie, and alſo hys keyes that were deliuered vnto hym: For he is aſtonied as it were at the great wiſdome geuen vnto hys brother Paule. For in deede, it is the maner of the elect children of God, to be more in loue wyth the vertues of other men, then wyth their owne: wherefore in the ſecond chap. to the Philip. is writtẽ. Let thoſe that are ſuperiours eſteeme of themſelues in all humilitie. They therfore that do the contrary, ſaying that their ſtate or doynges be better then other mens, although they be preaches, yet are they no true Apoſtles, but in deede falſe prophetes.

Signe 5. is that true preachers neede no letters commendatorie.

The fift ſigne is, that true Apoſtles neede no letters of commendation: nor yet deſire to haue themſelues prayſed of men: as in the 2. Cor. 3. chap. the Apoſtle ſayth, we neede not the letters of commendation of any man: that is to ſay of falſe prophetes.

Signe 6. is that true Apoſtles preach not vnles they be ſent.

The ſixt ſigne is, that true Apoſtles, do not preach vnleſſe they be ſent, as in the 10. chap. to the Rom. how ſhall they preach vnleſſe they be ſent, Gloſſa. There be no true Apoſtles but thoſe that be ſent. For they haue no neede of Signes which are true witnes bearers, but thoſe that be not ſent and do preach, are falſe prophetes.

Signe 7. is when thoſe falſe prophets preach that were neuer ſent.

The ſeuenth ſigne is, for as much as falſe Prophetes haue their autoritie in their owne names: wherfore, in the 2. epiſt. of S. Paule to the Cor. it is written.. For we dare not boaſt our ſelues or make compariſon, Gloſſa. That is to ſay, wyth thoſe that be falſe prophetes: not takyng their autoritie from God, but vſurpyng the ſame deſirous to beare rule, claymyng in their owne name their autoritie. And therefore although peraduenture by preſumption they ſay that they are ſent of God, as all heretickes wyll ſay: yet notwithſtanding, vnleſſe they ſhall proue their ſendyng, eyther by ſpirituall prophecie as Iohn Baptiſt did, ſaying: I am the voyce of a cryer in the deſert: As out of the prophet Eſay in the firſt chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell is alleged: Or els by myracles, as Moyſes dyd which turned hys rodde into a Serpent, and agayne from a Serpent to a rod, as in the 7. chap. of Exodus: they ought to be excommunicated, tyll ſuch tyme they ceaſe frõ preaching: yet notwithſtanding, a myracle ought not to be a ſufficient teſtimonie of their ſending, for as much as they be done oftentimes and that of euill and wicked men. 1. q. 1. we may perceaue towardes the end. But myracles ought to be ſuſpected, for as much as our Sauiour ſayth in the 23. of Mathew. The ſhall falſe prophetes ariſe. &c. Therfore, they which do chalenge authoritie in their owne name, for as much as they haue not their authoritie from God, they are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe 8. is that falſe prophetes pretend great holynes in ſuperſtition.

The viij. ſigne is, that falſe prophetes pretending great wyſedome and holynes to be in ſuperſtition, haue named their owne traditions to be religion, the which are rather to be counted ſacrilege or Church robberie, and doe vſurpe vnto themſelues the due deſertes of other men by boaſting and bragging among ſtraũge and vnknowen people. Wherfore, the Apoſtle ſpeaking of falſe Prophets in the 2. chap. to the Coloſſ. ſayth: According to yͤ preceptes of men, which hauyng a face of wyſedome conſiſte in ſuperſtition, interlaced wyth humilitie. Gloſe. That is to ſay, myngled wyth faynèd religion that it might be called religion, when in very deede, it is nothyng els but ſacrilege, becauſe it is cõtrary to all authoritie: that is contrary to God hymſelfe: that any man ſhould deſire to haue gouernement of a multytude wythout publique commaundement, as in Deutronomium 23. chap. Thou heſt entred into thy neighbours vyneyard. Gloſe. that is to ſay, into the Church of an other byſhop. May a man warne and admoniſhe others, or els correcte that congregation which is not lawfull for hym to gouerne, nor yet to take ſo great a charge vpon hym: no. And that it is not lawful to enter into an other byſhops dioces, it is apparent: becauſe it is not lawfull for the Archbyſhop ſo to do. To thys effect appertayneth that which is red. 6. q. 3. And alſo it is written 9. q. 2. through out. Therefore thoſe preachers which agaynſt God and his diuine Scriptures doe call their owne traditions religiõ, are not true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 9. is, that when they neyther preach nor miniſter, yet lyue vpon other mens labours.

The ix. ſigne is by the authoritie which they haue. For as much as they be no preachers of the Goſpel or miniſters of the Sacramentes, yet they will lyue by the Goſpell, and not by the labour of their owne handes, agaynſt the text in the. 2. Theſſ. 3. neither haue we eaten any mans bread for naught, or of free coſt. Gloſſa. Then, thoſe falſe Prophetes ought much more to lyue by their labour, which haue not that authoritie which we ought to haue, that is to ſay to lyue by the Goſpell. And S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of this more expreſly in his booke De opere monachorum, by theſe wordes. Thoſe our brethren do clayme to themſelues (very raſhly as me thinketh) that they haue any ſuch authoritie, to lyue by the Goſpell. If they be preachers of the Goſpell, I graunt that in deed they haue ſuch authoritie: if they be miniſters of the aulter, if they be diſpoſers of the Sacramentes: they cannot well but take to thẽſelues this authoritie, as alſo manifeſtly to chalenge the ſame, if at the leaſt they haue not where with all to ſuſtaine this preſent lyfe, without labour of their handes. &c. As though he would haue ſayd, if they be not ſuch maner of men, then haue they no authoritie to lyue by the Goſpell. Therfore thoſe preachers, which haue not authoritie to lyue of the Goſpell, or els miniſter the Sacraments, becauſe they haue no congregation whereby to take charge of ſoules, yet for all that will needes lyue vpon the Goſpell, they be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 10. is, that falſe prophetes take that to them which pertayneth to the worde of God.

The x. ſigne is, that falſe teachers, reioyce more to be commended themſelues, then the word of God to haue the commendatiõ and prayſe. But they that are true preachers and Apoſtles, are farre otherwiſe mynded as to the Theſſ. 2. not ſeekyng the prayſe of men. &c. And herein he toucheth thoſe falſe Prophetes, which deſire rather to be commẽded themſelues, then that the word of God which they preach ſhould haue the commendatiõ. But he is an Apoſtle, which not ſeekyng the glory of this preſent world, but for the glory to come, doth abaſe himſelfe to the intent that yͤ preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therfore which deſire to haue prayſe and to be commẽded of others, rather then that the word of God ſhould haue the prayſe, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 11. is, that falſe prophetes do preach for gayne & not for Gods cauſe.

The xj. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do preach onely for Gods cauſe, and for the health of ſoules, and for no temporall gayne as in the. 2. Cor. 4. ſaying, we preach not our ſelues. &c. Gloſe. Our preachyng tendeth not to our glory and gayne, but onely to the glory of Chriſt. But the preachyng of Chriſt by thoſe that are falſe Prophetes, tendeth to the contrary. Wherupõ in the Phil. 1. is ſayd: Whether it be vpõ occaſion geuen, or els for the verities ſake, let Chriſt be preached. &c. Gloſſe. Falſe Prophetes do preach the Goſpell vpon ſome occaſion, as either by ſeekyng ſome commoditie at the handes of men, or els becauſe of gettyng goodes, honour, or prayſe among men. Which notwithſtandyng, that they be ready and willyng as it ſhould ſeeme to beare and ſuſtaine iniuries: yet they ſeeke not ſo much the health of hym to whom they preach, as in very deede they do their owne commoditie and gayne. Wherupon. 2. Cor. 12. Gloſſe. Becauſe I ſeeke not the things that be yours, that is to ſay, not your treaſure as gold and ſiluer, but onely you your ſelues. Gloſſe. For otherwayes it could by no meanes be gathered, that they ſhould vnderſtand hym to ſpeake or meane of their ſubſtaunce, becauſe he more eſteemeth them then their money, to the intent that they might vnderſtand his great good will toward them. Therfore, theſe euill and naughty preachers which preach for worldly gayne, or honor, or els for the prayſe & commendation of men, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes. But it may be aſked, how ſhall men vnderſtand when theſe good felowes preach for their owne vayne glory ſake? It may be aunſwered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the. 2. Cor. 11. Whoſoeuer boaſteth let hym boaſt and reioyce in the Lord. Gloſſe. Which thyng to do, cannot he by any meanes, that hath not his authoritie from God. For if any ſuch Prophet preach, he ſeeketh his owne glory: and that may eaſly be perceaued. Becauſe he is not called of God he hath no ſuch authoritie of hym, that is to ſay, of his Churche or congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to hymſelfe any dignitie, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. The Gloſſe. He is called of God that is lawfully choſen of the congregation.

Signe 12. is, that falſe prophetes do counterfaite to loue where they hate.

The xij. ſigne or token of a falſe Prophet is: Becauſe ſuch Prophetes do counterfait themſelues to haue greater care, and loue to mens ſoules, then thoſe that be their very gouernours & paſtours haue, although they haue no charge at all of them, agaynſt whom the Gloſe ſpeaketh, and the. 1. Theſſ. 2. we are become meeke and louyng towardes you, euen as the nurſe which geueth her child ſucke. Gloſſe. A woman nurſeth other mens children for wages and not for loue alone, but ſhe geueth her owne ſucke of very loue without reſpect of money. Therefore, thoſe preachers whiche fayne themſelues, to haue a greater loue and affection to the ſoules of men, then they that haue the charge ouer thẽ, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles. The Apoſtles ſtudy not for eloquence nor for the curious placyng of their wordes, but falſe Prophetes do them both. As in the. 2. Cor. 11. If the ſimple and vneloquent man. &c. Gloſſe. The Apoſtle were not eloquent, but falſe Prophetes are full of curious eloquence. Alſo vpon the ſame an other Gloſſe. The Corinthiãs were led away from the Goſpell by ouer nyce eloquence. The. 2. Cor. 7. Let vs ſhew our ſelues before all men as the miniſters of God. Gloſſe. The miniſters of God, do not flatter as falſe Prophetes do. And for this occaſion thoſe that be true Apoſtles haue not their abiding in Princes Courtes, and noble mens houſes, knowyng this ſaying of Chriſt in S. Mathewes Goſpel. Behold thoſe that are clothed with ſilkes, dwell in Kynges Courtes. And therfore true Apoſtles are not conuerſaunt in Princes Courtes and noble mens houſes. Gloſſe. Hard & ſtrait lyfe with the preachyng of the Goſpell, loueth not to come neare Princes pallaces, and noble mens houſes. Often tymes it commeth to paſſe, that Courtiers are found great flatterers. Therfore thoſe preachers that haue their abode in Courtes, or that in any other place do vſe to flatter, are no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 13. is, that falſe prophets do circumuent men to haue their goods, & care for no thyng els.

The xiij. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles or meſſengers, do not circumuent or ſubtilly go about to deceaue men, that they ſhould giue vnto them their goodes, either in their lyfe tyme, or els at the tyme of their death: as in the 2. Cor. 7. We haue falſly deceaued no man. Gloſſe. By the ſubtill and deceitfull gettyng away of your ſubſtaũce as falſe Prophetes do, which get away from you thoſe thynges that be yours, vnder pretence of great frẽdſhyp. Alſo Mat. 22. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis you hipocrites which ſpoyle widowes houſes, by your long prayers: which meane nothyng els by your ſuperſtition, but that you may ſpoyle and robbe the people as in Luke. 20. Which deuoure widowes houſes by diſſemblyng of your long prayer. Gloſſe. The which make euer long prayers, to the intent they may ſeme more deuout, & that they may get both money & great commendation of all ſuch as be ſicke and troubled with the burden of their ſinnes: whoſe prayers be turned into ſinne, which neither are profitable for themſelues nor any other. But rather ſhall haue for makyng thoſe prayers greater damnation, for as much as by the ſame they deceaue others. For by this that they receaue and take both golde and ſiluer, it appeareth that they preach not for ſoule healthes ſake, but onely for filthy lucre and gayne ſake. Math. 10. Be ye poſſeſſours neither of gold nor ſiluer. Gloſſe. If they then haue theſe thynges, they can not ſeeme, or be thought to preach for the health of ẏ ſoule, but for lucres ſake. And ſo ſayth Hierome vpon the Prophet Malachy. Becauſe ſome Prophetes tooke money, their Prophecy became diuinatiõ: that is to ſay, their Prophecy appeared not to be Prophecie but diuination, or inchauntement: that is, that ſuch Prophecy proceedeth not frõ God, but from the deuill. And this appeared in, 1. q. 1. hauyng this beginnyng Nunquam diuinatio. &c. Therfore theſe preachers which circumuent and beguile men, to the intent that they ſhould giue them their goodes, eitheir in their life time or after their death: are not true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 14. is, that falſe prophetes cannot abide to haue the truth preached.

The xiiij. ſigne is, that falſe Prophetes, when any verity is preached, which for ẏ moſt part they are not acquainted with all, or that toucheth them: then begyn they to chafe and barke agaynſt the ſame, wherupon the Apoſtle in the 3. chapter to the Philippiãs ſayth: behold the dogges. Gloſſa. Vnderſtand you that they are not dogges by nature, but by their vſages & conditions, barkyng agaynſt the truth, which they were neuer acquainted with. And ſo he compareth thẽ right well to dogges, becauſe dogges folow rather cuſtome, then reaſon: So, falſe Apoſtles do keepe the cuſtome of the law, & do byte and barke agaynſt the truth, as though they were without the gift of reaſon. And alſo in the ſecõd Epiſtle to Timothy the iiij. chapter, ſaying: They get them inſtructors accordyng to their owne deſires. Gloſſa. Which may teach them what thynges they themſelues are willing to heare, becauſe the truth ſeemeth nothyng pleaſaunt vnto them. Therfore, thoſe preachers which barke agaynſt the late reuealed truth, which toucheth them very neare, & therfore cauſe the ſame to be hiddẽ and kept vnder: are not true Apoſtels, but falſe prophetes.

Signe 15. is, that falſe prophets do inforce them to heare that are not willing to heare

The xv. ſigne is, that the true Apoſtels do not enforce any to receaue or heare them, which be vnwillyng therevnto: but ſend them away rather, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſeeke after ſome earthly and tranſitory thing. Math. 10. Who ſoeuer will not receiue you, get you out of that Citie, and ſhake the duſt from of your feete. &c. Gloſſa. That you may thereby ſhew, that the deſire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therfore, thoſe preachers which wraſtle & ſtriue as it were to that intent they would be receaued and heard, are no true Apoſtles: For as much as the Apoſtle ſayth. Corinth. 11. If any man appeare among you to be aner contentious or full of ſtrife: ſuch cuſtome, haue we none nor yet the congregation of Chriſt.

Signe 16. is, that falſe prophetes do cauſe princes to hate & puniſhe them that wyll not heare them.

The xvi. ſigne is, that the Apoſtles did not procure the indignation of thoſe princes with whom they were eſteemed and regarded, agaynſt ſuch perſons as would not receaue them and heare them, accordyng as we read in the life of Simon and Iude the Apoſtles: The chiefe ruler beyng very angry, commaunded a very great fire to be made, that the byſhops myght be caſt into the ſame, and all other which went about to defame the doctrine of ẏ Apoſtles of Chriſt: But the Apoſtles fell downe before the Emperour, ſaying: we beſeech you ſyr, let not vs be the authors or cauſers of thys deſtruction or calamitie: Nor that we which are ſent to be the preſeruation of men, and to reuiue thoſe that are dead through ſinne, may ſeeme to be killers of thoſe that be aliue. Therefore, thoſe preachers which ſeeke to ſtyrre vp the diſpleaſure of Princes agaynſt them, (whoſe fauours now they enioy) that will not receaue and heare them, or rather whom they themſelues hate, are no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 17. is, that falſe prophets do not know neyther what God hath done, nor yet will doe as true prophets do.

The xvij. ſigne is, that the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue not onely the knowledge of thoſe thynges which God hath already done, but alſo of thoſe thynges which he will hereafter doe, as in the Apoc. 3. The beaſtes were full of eyes both behinde and before. Gloſe. Obtaynyng the knowledge of thoſe thinges which God had done, as alſo what he would hereafter do in the end of the world. Therfore thoſe that ſay they know not the perils of the Church in the latter tyme which are propheſied afore: or that they care not for them, or els if they know thẽ not, they haue not eyes behinde and before: be no true Apoſtles. Therfore, what tyme as they call themſelues Apoſtles, they are falſe prophetes.

Signe 18. is, that falſe prophetes preach for monie and are not to be diſcerned from Wolues.

The xviij ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doe not deſire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are diſcerned from wolues, that is to ſay, from falſe Prophetes. Act. 20. I haue deſired no mans golde nor ſiluer: Gloſe. By thys are wolues diſcerned, for they deſire ſuch thinges. And agayne, in the ſame place: For thoſe thynges which I had neede of, and to thoſe which were wyth me, theſe handes haue miniſtred. Gloſe. Thys example alſo of labouring, is a ſpectacle for Byſhops, whereby they are diſcerned from wolues. For ſuch as aſke or beg of thoſe to whom they preach, or ſet any other to aſke or beg in their names: do ſeeme to commit ſimony: Like Gyezi, of whom it is red in the third booke of kynges the fift chapt. that craued certayne apparell of Naaman the Sirian, to whom his maiſter Elizeus had reſtored ẏ benefit of health. Notwithſtanding, he had gotten thoſe garmentes, vnwittyng to hys maiſter. Wherupon Gregory. Nazianzenus ſayth, 1. q. 1. Qui iſti debetur. But ſome man perhaps will ſay: Cannot the preacher aſke money or money worth of thoſe to whõ he preacheth? Or at the leaſt, may not he beg? To this may be aunſwered. If the preacher by authoritie preach, and doth feede hys flocke as a true paſtor with the foode of Gods word, he may take money, or money worth: but then it is not beggyng or crauing, but it is by autoritie: as the ſecond to Timothe the ſecond chapter: It is meete that the huſband man that tylleth the ground, ſhould firſt and afore other receaue the cõmoditie of his increaſe. Gloſe. He putteth the vertuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make marchaundiſe of the Goſpell, and geueth hym to vnderſtand: that it is lawfull for him to take of them whom he feedeth as hys flocke, what thynges ſoeuer he hath neede of: and doth it not in begging or crauing, but by good autority. It is manifeſt, that it cannot in any place of the holy ſcripture be found, that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and is abhorred of Salomon, Saint Auguſtine, and reproued by diuers other holy men. Therfore, it is manifeſt, that true Apoſtles do not deſire the temporall goods of them to whom they preach, neyther do they beg or craue the ſame: They therefore that require any thyng of them to whom they preach, or els that any other man aſketh for them, or in their names: doe not ſeeme to be true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers.

If the preacher do his duetie in preaching, he may take lawfully for his neceſſary thynges.

Signe 19. is, that true Apoſtles do not render euill for good as falſe doe.

The xix. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles are patient in tribulation, neyther doe they render euill for good, Mathew 10. Behold I ſend you as ſheepe among Wolues. Gloſe. They that occupy the place of preachyng, ought not to procure any euill towarde their brethren, as the example of Chriſt teacheth, 1. Peter. 2. ſaying: who when he was reuiled, reuiled not agayne, but did ſubmit hymſelfe to hym that iudged him vniuſtly. They therefore that ſuffer not iniury, but rather do wrong themſelues, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Apoſtles.

The xx. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles at their firſt commyng are euill interteyned, as the Lord ſayth in the xxiij.

chap.

Signe 20.is, that true Apoſtles are not ſo well interteyned as falſe prophetes be.

chap.of Mathew. ye ſhall be hated of all mē for my names ſake: but yet at the length ſuch get the victory: According to that ſaying of the firſt of Saint Iohn the v. Chapiter. Euery thyng that is of God ouercōmeth the world. They therefore that in the beginning reioyce and are well interteyned, but in the ende are reiected, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 21.is, that true preachers build not vpon an others mans foundation.

The xxi.ſigne is, that true preachers goe not to preach vnto thoſe which haue preachers appointed vnto them, becauſe they haue not to reioyce of a company belongyng to an other mans charge, as to the Romaines the xv.chapter. I haue preached the Goſpell where Chriſt was not before preached, leaſt I ſhould build vpon an other mans foundation. And in the ſecond Epiſtle of S.Paule to the Corinthians the x.chapter, he ſayth: We are no boaſters, nor buſie in other mens matters. Gloſe. Where an other man had layd the foundation. Likewiſe in the ſame chapt. Not hauyng pleaſure to boaſt of other mens labours, that is to ſay, of thoſe which be committed to the gouernement of an other man. Likewiſe Auguſtinus ſaith. Honour ought to ſeeke thee, and not thou honour. Alſo Chriſoſtome: Authoritie is in loue with ſuch a man, as refuſeth her, and yet abhorreth her not.

Authoritie loueth them that refuſe her, and yet abhorre her not.

They therefore that procure and haue deſire to preach vnto the people committed to an other mans charge, which is an office of honour: eſpecially in councels, Synods, and great aſſemblies, alſo in kynges and princes courtes, and Prelates palaces, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe teachers.

Signe 22.is, that true prophets are not proud & vaine glorious as falſe prophetes be.

The xxij.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles when they know themſelues to do much good in the church and congregatiō of God: yet notwithſtandyng, are not puffed vp with pride, Ezech.3. O ſonne of man, I haue made thy face as an Adamants ſtone. The Adamant ſtone when it draweth iron vnto it, is not therby either lifted vp or altered. Likewiſe, a true preacher when he draweth ſinners vnto hym by hys preachyng (whoſe hartes were as hard as iron) is neuer the more lifted vp or higher mynded therefore. But as in Luke the 18.chapiter: when ye haue done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruauntes. Pſalme. Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy name be geuen the glory. They therefore that do arrogantly boaſt themſelues of the fruite and benefite that they haue done in the church of God, ſaying: we haue geuē light to the vniuerſall church, which was blynd before our tyme, and we haue put out the flame of ſinne in the church of God (when perhaps they haue more furthered hypocriſie, then either truth or veritie) they are not true prophets but falſe, of whom it is ſpoken in the Pſalmes. The mouth of them that ſpeake proud things. &c.

Signe 23 is, that falſe prophets be alwayes men pleaſers.

The xxiij.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not ſeke the fauor of the world, nor yet how to pleaſe men: As to the Gal. 1. If I ſhould pleaſe men, that is to ſay, if I had a deſire to pleaſe men, I ſhould not be the ſeruaunt of God, wherupon to Tim. the 1.epiſtle & 2.chap. Not as men pleaſers. Gloſe. Sekyng to pleaſe, becauſe we haue not the pleaſing ſpirite. Therfore thoſe preachers that ſeke the fauor of the world, & do labour to this intent that they might pleaſe men, are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 24.is, that true prophets eat what is ſet before them & geue God thākes, but that do not the falſe prophetes.

The xxiiij.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles when they haue meate and drinke they are contented, neither doe they deſire ouer dainty fare, accordyng to the ſaying of Math.10. chap. Eating and drinkyng thoſe things that are ſet before them. Gloſe. The Goſpell condemneth not altogether coſtly and delicate fare, yet ſo alloweth the ſame, that if we haue meate and drinke, we ought not to grutch, but to be therwith contented. Therfore, thoſe preachers which although that neither they be ſent, nor haue authoritie to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine and delicate fare, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers.

Signe 25.is, that falſe prophets do loue more theyr owne eſtimation, then that the worde of God ſhould be truely taught.

The xxv.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do loue more the law of God, then their owne eſtimatiō amongſt their neighbors: Accordyng to that in the 7.chapter of the Prouerbs. Kepe my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the ſame vpon thy fingers, and write the ſame in the table of thy hart: wherupon in the 119.Pſalm. The law of thy mouth is derer vnto me then thouſands of gold and ſiluer. Gloſe. Charitie doth more loue the law of God, then the deſire of golde and ſiluer a thouſand fold. He therfore that ſeeth the goſpell of Chriſt troden vnder the foote, which is the eternall glad tidings to be taken away by that curſed one, and doth neglect and contemne the ſame, or els peraduenture conſenteth vnto the ſame, to the outward appearance of the world: And yet becauſe he will kepe hys temporall dignitie and eſtimation, refuſeth not to ſtirre vp ſtrife and contention about the ſame, and ſo to be euill ſpoken of: ſeemeth not to be an Apoſtle of Chriſt, but rather a falſe prophet, if he be a preacher.

Signe 26 is that falſe prophetes are not contented wyth neceſſary thinges, but looke after ſuperfluous.

The xxvj.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles ſeeke not after ſuch fine lodginges and wealthy habitations, where they may haue all thinges at their commaundementes: but rather ſuch honeſt reſtyng places, where they may haue neceſſary thinges for themſelues, with their good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothyng of ſuch, whom they ſee to be ſo redy and liberall in geuyng: as that thinke the one doth hym more pleaſure in receiuyng the gift then the other doth in geuyng hym the ſame. Accordyng to that in the x. chapter of Mathew, ſaying: Into what city or towne ſo euer ye ſhall enter, enquire out thoſe that be of good report in the ſame: and abide you with them, ſo long as you tary in the ſame city or towne. Gloſe. Your hoſte with whome ye lodge, ought to be choſen by the good report of neighbours, leſt your preachyng be euill ſpoken of by reaſon of his infamy. Neither ought ſuch men to runne from houſe to houſe. But whom ſhall we call worthy, or of goood report. Gloſe. Him, who knoweth better to do other men good, then to receyue a good turne of an other: and this is he which geueth willingly for Chriſtes cauſe, and not in reſpect of any commoditie. Alſo true Apoſtles receiue nothyng of ſuch men as lie waltering in their ſins, but rather of thoſe that are waſhed and clenſed from their ſinnes whereupon the 2. to the Cor. the 7.chap. They haue geuen themſelues firſt to the Lord. Gloſe. Becauſe they now amendyng their old errors and vicious maners haue bowed themſelues vnto the lord, and afterward gaue of that which they had to their brethrē. For otherwyſe, they ought not to haue taken any thyng of them, becauſe gifts do blynd the eyes. But thoſe that geue where there is no cauſe of reproofe in their doyng, haue no iuſt cauſe to geue. Therfore thoſe preachers that ſeeke how to come by dainty fare, and do receiue bribes and rewards of naughty men, that haue this world at will: to the entent that thoſe preachers may couer and hyde their faultes, and get of others what they can by ſubtletie, which geue in dede rather to remoue the ſhameleſſe importunitie of the crauer, or els for auoyding of preſent ſhame, then for any loue they haue to God: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets, accordyng to that in the 2.to the Cor. the 9.chap. The Lord doth loue a willyng geuer. Gloſe. He that geueth for preſent ſhame, or els for that he may be free from the importunacie of hym that aſketh, doth looſe both hys ſubſtaunce and merite: wherefore he that hath reſpecte to theſe thinges, doth not ſeke the fruit and profite of the geuer, but the gift it ſelf, as the Apoſtle to the Philip. the 4.chap. ſayth. Seeke not the gift but the fruite or benefite of the geuer.

Signe 27.is, that thoſe that be falſe prophetes, their belly is their God.

The xxvij.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not endeuour themſelues to ſeke and enioy the fruit of other mens labors that they may be fed therby: becauſe that the belly is ſuche mens God, accordyng to that in the 1. to the Theſ. the 3. chap. We haue heard of ſome amongſt you which walk vnordinately: not labouryng at all, but liuing delicately or idlely. Gloſe. of other mens labours, and deſerue they to be fed? The diſcipline of the Lord cannot away with that doyng: for the belly is their God, which prouide to haue more then neceſſary diſhes of meate. Therfore thoſe preachers which ſo do, are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 28.is, that true prophets reioyce not in miracles as falſe prophetes do.

The xxviij.ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not reioyce onely of the miracles, or other excellent workes, which the Lord doth by them: but they reioyce rather of the ſaluation which they loke for from the Lord, then that by doyng thoſe miracles they deſire any honor. Accordyng to that which is written in Luke x. ſaying: Reioyce ye not for that the ſpirites be ſubiect vnto you, but becauſe your names are regiſtred in heauen. They therfore that boaſt of their owne miracles, or of any that belong vnto them, for this cauſe that they are ſaued by the doyng of them, as many do ſay, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 29.is, that true prophetes ſeeke not their owne glory as falſe prophetes doe.

The xxix.ſigne is, that the true Apoſtles do neuer ſeke their owne glory in this lyfe, but the glory of Chriſt, as in Iohn. 7. He that ſpeaketh of himſelf doth ſeke his own glory. But he that ſeketh the glory of hym which ſet him (that is of whom he is ſent) is a true Apoſtle. Therfore thoſe which ſeke the thinges that pertayne to the glory of thys world, of the which one is: To be aſſiſtent to thoſe ẏ beare rule and authoritie, accordyng to that ſaying of Boetius De conſolatione. Thoſe that do deſire to be extolled, either they raigne and beare rule themſelues, or els do deſire to be nere about them, that haue ſuch dominiō. Another is, they deſire to haue the fame and victory, of that which they haue nothyng at all deſerued before God. Wherupon is written that ſaying of the Apoſtle in the Gal. 5. Let not vs become deſirous of vayne glory. Gloſe. To be deſirous of vayne glory is, to haue victory without any merite or deſert: and thoſe I ſay that doe ſuch thinges, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 30. is, that true prophetes do not force vpon the ſolemne ſalutations of men as falſe prophets do.

The xxx. ſigne is, That true Apoſtles care not for the ſolemnities of men, neyther their ſalutations, nor feaſtings, nor any other benefite of theirs. They therfore which loue and ſeke the cōpany and fellowſhip of men, theyr feaſtings, and other their commodities, do not ſeme to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 31. is, that falſe prophets do reſort to other mens bordes, & flatter them for a meales meate which true prophetes doe not.

The xxxi. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not commonly reſort to other mens tables, leſt that they ſhold for a meales meat become flatterers, as in the 2. Theſſalon. 3. That we ſhould geue you an example to follow vs. Gloſe. He that cōmeth oftentymes to an other mans table, beyng geuen to idlenes, cannot chuſe but flatter hym, which fedeth him: but Chriſtes religion calleth men to libertie, and to no ſuch bondage. They therfore that reſort oftentimes, and that of their owne myndes to other men tables (liuyng idlely) are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 32. is, that true prophets do not hate their enemies as falſe prophets do.

The xxxii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not hate their enemies, and ſuch as hate them: which doctrine the Lord taught Mathew 5. ſaying. Loue your enemies, do well to them which hate you. But falſe Prophets do both hurt & defame their neighbors, accordyng as S. Ierome 14. ſayth The Prophets of Ieruſalem haue defiled the whole earth. Gloſſa. They are not contented onely to hurt their neighbors, but alſo whom they before this tyme haue hated: they diffame and ſpeake euill of, in euery place they come. Therfore thoſe preachers which hate them whome they thinke are their enemies, and do diffame them, are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe 33 is, that true prophets do not perſecute men as the falſe prophetes doe.

The xxxiii. ſigne is, that falſe Prophets when they are examined, and proued whether they be true Apoſtles or lyers, take that very greuouſly. And perſecute all thoſe that can proue them to be ſo. And alſo do ſtirre vp and prouoke other to perſecute the ſame men. Which alſo ioyne thēſelues together by ſecular power euen as certayne falſe Prophets dyd in the primatiue Church, agaynſt the biſhop of Epheſus: to whom the Lord ſayd in the Apoc. 2. I know, that is to ſay: I do alowe thy workes and thy labour: that is thy tribulatiō, becauſe thou canſt not away with thoſe yͭ be euill men. Gloſſa. But that thou haſt a deſire to amende them, or els to expell them, and haſt examined thoſe, which ſay that they are Apoſtles, and are but lyers: and alſo haſt ſuffered this patiently. Gloſſa. The euils, which theſe falſe Prophetes ioyned together by ſecular power doe bryng in: Are not the doynges of true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes.

Signe 34 is, that true prophetes preach to thoſe which be not yet conuerted, which the falſe prophetes doe not.

The xxxiiii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles go not to preach to thoſe which are conuerted already by other men, but rather do conuert thoſe which are not yet conuerted: leſt that they ſhould build vpon an other mans foundation, as S. Paule, Rom. 15. ſayth: I haue laboured ſo, that from Ieruſalem to Illiricus I haue repleniſhed the Goſpell in euery place. Gloſe. That is, I haue preached the ſame aboundauntly, in whom the great vertue of the holy ghoſt appeareth: becauſe ſo many nations, that is, the Gentiles haue receyued the Goſpell by my preachyng. But I haue preached the Goſpell there, where Chriſt was not preached before, leaſt I ſhould build vpon another mans foundation. Gloſe. I ſhould not preach to thoſe that were conuerted by an other man. Alſo 2. Corinth. 10. We are not ſuch as boaſt and glory in other mens laboures. Gloſe. Where an other man layd the foundation: for that ſhould be to boaſt, inordinately. Alſo in the ſame place: not thinkyng to boaſt, where an other man hath gouernment, but in thoſe thinges which are put in experience. Gloſe. Of other preachers. Becauſe the Apoſtle did preache vnto thoſe to whom the Goſpell was neuer preached, that he might get prayſe by hys owne proper labour. Therfore, thoſe preachers which go not to that people which haue neede to be conuerted, but to thoſe which are conuerted already, which haue Apoſtles of their owne: that is to ſay, Byſhops, and Prieſtes, and yet do boſt ouer an other mans flocke: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 35. is, that true prophetes chiefly preach in their owne dioces, and not in other mens.

The xxxv. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles when they are ſent, go to their own dioceſſe, and not to an other mans dioceſſe: euen as Paule beyng ſent, went to the Gentiles whē he purpoſed to preache: Actes. 13. Separate Paule and Barnabas, for the buſineſſe whiche I haue choſen them vnto. Gloſe. Accordyng to the appoyntment and decree of Iames, Cephas, and Iohn. wente he foorth to bee a teacher vnto the Gentyles. But thoſe Preachers that ſtande vppon their feete: That is to ſay, thoſe Preachers which haue but ſmall worldly ſubſtaunce, for which cauſe they are more readier to go which way ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Lorde to ſende them: I ſay, the Lord hath ſente them to preach, not to thoſe which be ſufficiently learned, but to thoſe that are infidels, as we read in Ezech. 2. After that, the ſpirit of the lord ſet Ezechiel vpon hys feete, in qua ſpem ſitus vnus tangitur, and he ſayd vnto hym: O ſonne of man behold I ſend thee to the nations which haue ſtart backe from their profeſſion: Which haue gone from me, that is to the Iewiſh heretikes, and to thoſe nations which ſomtime haue bene Chriſtians: as the Egiptians, the Babilonians, and all thoſe that obſerue the law of Mahomet. Therfore, if ſuch go to thoſe that are already inſtructed, and hauyng both Apoſtles, biſhops, and prieſtes of their owne: they go not into their owne dioceſſe, but into an other mans dioceſſe: and are not true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, leaſt the Church be in hazard and daunger by ſuch, vnleſſe they be thruſt out of the ſame betyme: Euen as Ionas which when he was ſent to Niniuie of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wyde, and leadeth to the hill: that is to the Infidels we ſpake of before. They go not to thoſe Infidels accordyng to the commaundement of the Lord, but they turne an other way, take their iourney into Tharſis, which is interpreted ſekyng after ioy & pleaſure: That is, they go vnto thoſe which receiue thē wyth ioy and gladnes, and do well prouide for them, that is to ſay, to godly and deuoute Chriſtians: And therfore it is to be feared leaſt the ſhip in which they be (that is the church) be in great perill, vnleſſe they be thrown forth. And therfore the Apoſtle ſpake of ſuch falſe prophetes not without good cauſe. 2. Timoth. 2. And ſhonne thou thoſe. Gloſe. That is, ſuch men as thoſe be.

Signe 36. is, that falſe prophets do attribute vnto themſelues that which they neuer did.

The xxxvi. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles do not boaſt, neither do they attribute vnto themſelues any other thyng, but in that God hath wrought the ſame by them. Paule, Romaynes 15. ſayth: I dare not ſay any thyng, but that which Chriſt hath wrought and accompliſhed by me. Glo. That is, I ſpeake onely thoſe thyngs (which by me) that is by my miniſtery, Chriſt hath wrought. They therfore that boſt of many thynges, and do attribut much vnto thēſelues, which they neuer did, are not true apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 37. is, that falſe prophets do cleaue & leane to logicall & philoſophicall reaſons.

The xxxvii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doe not apply themſelues, or leane to Logicall or Philoſophicall reaſons. Therfore thoſe preachers which do indeuour themſelues to ſuch kynde of reaſons, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 38 is, that falſe prophetes do loue carnally and not ſpiritually.

The xxxviii. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not loue carnally or after the fleſh, but hate what thyng ſo euer doth reſiſt them in the ſeruice of God, as Luke 14. He that doth not hate hys father and mother, hys ſonne and ſiſter, and alſo hymſelfe, he cannot be my diſciple. Gloſe. That is, he that doth not hate whatſoeuer doth reſiſt or let hym in the ſeruice of God, is not worthy to be a Diſciple, neither can he abyde in that office. Therefore, for as much as true Preachers are the true Diſciples of the Lord, it muſt nedes follow: that thoſe Preachers which do promote their nephewes and kinſfolkes (how vnworthy ſo euer they be) to Eccleſiaſticall promotions and liuinges, contrary to the will of God: or do any other thyng that letteth or hindreth them in the ſeruice of God, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 39 is, that falſe prophets do hunt after the frendſhip of the world.

The xxxix. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not hunt for the frendſhip of this world: for he that is the friend of thys world, is the enemy of GOD. Therfore thoſe preachers which purchaſe the frendſhip of this world, are not true Apoſtles but falſe prophetes. Therefore, for as much as the Scripture is infallible, as in the 24. chapter of Mathew, ſaying: Heauen and earth ſhall periſh, but my wordes ſhall endure for euer. And the holy ghoſt which ſpake in the Apoſtle can not lie: for prophecy (for the moſt part) is not ſpoken by the wyll of man, but the holy men of God ſpake by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, as it is read in the firſt Epiſtle of Peter the 5. chapter. It remayneth that all men which are bound to defend the Church, may ryſe vp in the defence of the ſame, accordyng to that in the 24. chapter of the Prouerbes. Deliuer thoſe that are ledde to death, and ceaſe thou not to reſcue thoſe which are drawne to deſtruction. Neither may he alleage vayne accuſations, becauſe it is ſayd in the ſame place: If he ſay he is not able, or ſtrong inough, he that beholdeth the thoughtes of mens hartes, ſhall know it, &c. What ſo euer periſheth in the Church of God for want of preachers: all that ſhall be demaunded of them at the day of iudgement: As Iacob confeſſeth to Laban, whoſe ſheepe he fedde. Geneſis. 31. I dyd reſtore all thy loſſe, and that which was ſtollen I made aunſwer for. I will demaund his bloud at thy handes. Ezechiell. 3. Thys is ſayd, to the Paſtor or Prelate. But if the [illegible] thinges which we haue ſpoken of before could not moue the Prelates, and Cardinals: this at the leaſt ſhould moue them: Becauſe that then, the ſpirituall power which doth conſiſt

Whatſoeuer doth periſh in the church of God for want of preachers ſhall be required.

for the moſt parte in ẏ exerciſe of preachyng, in hearing confeſſions, & enioynyng of penaunce: ſhall be takē away frō thē by little and little. For, by piece mele doth the wolfe deuour the poore and needy man. 3.q.1.cap.1. When the authoritie Eccleſiaſticall therfore ſhall be quite taken from them, and diſpoſed to other, ſuch as eyther by their order, or Apoſtolicall graunt, do chalenge to haue the ſame: Then doubtles, ſhall neither the iuriſdiction of ciuile cauſes and pleadings, nor any authority that ſuch Prelates haue yet remaynyng, neyther yet the poſſeſſions of the temporall goodes of the Church, any longer remayne amongeſt them. Shall ſuch haue the temporall goodes of the church which miniſter not the ſpirituall treaſure therof? 1.Cor.9. Know ye not that they which kill the ſacrifice ought to eate of the ſacrifice, & they that ſerue at the aulter are partakers of the alter? For as the body without the ſoule cannot ſtande, ſo corporall thinges without ſpirituall thinges cannot continue. 1.q.1. if any ſhal take away the ſame. Thus haue you had the 39. arguments, for the which both he was condemned, and hys bookes burned.

A deteſtable booke of the fryers called *Euangelium æternum.*

In the dayes of this Gulielmus, there was a moſt deteſtable and blaſphemous booke ſet forth by the Friers, (mentioned alſo in Math. Pariſienſ.) which they called Euangelium æternum, or Euangelium ſpiritus ſancti. That is, the euerlaſtyng Goſpell, or the Goſpell of the holy Ghoſt. In which booke, many abhominable errours of the Friers were conteyned, ſo that the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt was vtterly defaced: which this booke ſayd, was not to be compared with this euerlaſtyng goſpell, no more then the ſhell is to be compared with the carnall: then darkenes to light, &c. Moreouer that the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhall be preached no longer but fifty yeares, and then this euerlaſtyng goſpell ſhould rule the Church. &c. Item, that whatſoeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the ſayd Goſpell conteyned. At length this Friers Goſpell was accuſed to the Pope, and ſo vj. perſons choſen of the whole vniuerſitie to peruſe and iudge of the booke: as Chriſtianus Canonicus, Beluacenſis: Odo de Doaco: Nicholaus de Baro: Ioannes de Sicca Vella Anglus. Ioannes Belim, Gallus: Among whom, this Gulielmus was one, who mightely impugned this peſtiferous and diueliſh booke. Theſe vj. after the peruſing of the boke were ſent vp to Rome. The Friers likewiſe ſent their meſſengers withall: where they were refuted, and the errours of the boke condemned: but ſo, that the pope with the Cardinals commaunded the ſayd booke to be aboliſhed and condemned not publikely (tenderyng the eſtimation of the religious orders, as of his owne moſt chiefe champions) but that they ſhould be burned in ſecret wiſe: and the bookes of the foreſayd Gulielmus to be burnt with all.

The eternall and ſpirituall Goſpel of the Friers cōdemned wyth much a do of the Pope.

Beſides other his bookes, two ſermons we haue of his yet remaynyng, one vpon the Goſpell of S. Luke, of the Phariſie and the Publicane: the other vppon the Epiſtle, redde in the Church on May day. Where in the firſt he reſembleth the Phariſeis to our Monkes, and that he proueth by all the properties of the Phariſeis deſcribed in the Goſpell. The Publicane he reſembleth to the Laitie, ſuch as for becauſe the ſooner they are reduced to acknowledge their ſinnes, the more hope they haue of mercy. The other, becauſe they ſtand confident in their owne righteouſneſſe, are therfore farther from their iuſtification. In the latter ſermon he ſetteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers are lyke to fall vpon the Church by theſe religious orders of Monkes and Friers.

Laurentius Anglicus condemned of the pope.

Among the other beſides of that age which withſtoode the biſhops of Rome and his Antechriſtian errors, was one Laurence an Engliſhman, and maiſter of Paris. An other was Petrus Ioannes a Minorite. Of whome the foreſayd Laurence was about the yeare of our Lord. 1260. Who in his teaching, preaching & writyng, did ſtoutly defend ẏ part of the foreſayd Gulielmus & the reſt of hys ſide agaynſt the friers. Agaynſt ẏ which friers he wrote two bookes: One in ẏ defence of William afore mentioned: the other vpō thys argument and title: To beware of falſe prophetes. &c. Certayne other things alſo he wrote, wherin by diuers proofes, and teſtimonies he argued and proued, that Antichriſt was not farre of to come.

Defenſio Gulielmi. Cauendum a pſeudoprophetis.

The pope Antichriſt.

The ſynagogue of Rome to be great Babylon.

Ex Nicolao Emerico in libro ſuarum inquiſitionum.

Petrus Joannes burned after his death.

The other, Petrus Ioannes was about the yeare of our Lord. 1290. which taught and maintayned many things agaynſt the Pope: prouing that he was Antichriſt, and that the ſinagogue of Rome was great Babilone. He wrote vpon Mathew, vpon the Epiſtles, and vpon the Apocalips. Mention of this Petrus Ioannes is made in Nicolaus Emericus in [illegible] inquiſitionū. &c. And ſayth moreouer, that Michael Ceſenas (of whom Chriſt willyng ſhall follow hereafter) toke of him a great part of hys opinions. And becauſe the Pope could not burne hym aliue, after hys death he cauſed hys bones to be taken vp and burned.

Robertus Gallus propheſieth agaynſt the Pope.

To theſe and with, theſe aboue ſpecified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who beyng borne of a right noble parentage, for deuotion ſake, was made a Dominicke Frier, about the ſame yeare of our Lord aboue touched, an. 1290. This man, as appeareth by hys writing, had diuers and ſondry viſions: whereof part is annexed wyth the viſions and propheſie of Hildegardis. His viſions all tende agaynſt the ſpiritualtie of Rome. Where, in the fift chapter, he calleth plainely the Pope an Idole: which hauyng eyes ſeeth not, neyther luſteth to ſee the abhominations of hys people, nor the exceſſiue enormitie of their voluptuouſnes. But only to ſee to the heapyng vp of hys owne treaſure: & hauyng a mouth, ſpeaketh not, but ſayth: I haue ſet good men ouer them, (which is ſufficient for me) to do them good eyther by my ſelf, or by ſome other. And followeth in the ſame chapiter, Wo to that Idole: woe to the mighty & proude, who ſhall be equall in all the earth to that Idole. He hath exalted vp hys name in earth, ſaying: who ſhall bryng me vnder? Is not my houſe compared with the mighty Potentates of the land? I am hygher then Dukes: Knightes on theyr horſeback do ſeruice vnto me. That which my fathers had not before me, that haue I done to me. My houſe is ſtrowd with ſiluer: Gold and pearle are the pauement of my palace. &c.

The pope deſcribed.

The viſions of Robertus Gallus.

The ſtate of the Church of Rome deſcribed.

Agayne, in the xij. chapter and alſo in the firſt, vnder the name of a Serpent he paynteth out the Pope: whom he declareth, to extoll hymſelf aboue meaſure, and to oppreſſe the few that be godly, and to haue many falſe Prophets about hym, which neglectyng the word and the name of Chriſt, do preach & extoll hym onely, obſcuryng the name of Chriſt. The Church of Rome and the Pope he deſcribeth in theſe wordes: I was praying (ſayd he) on my knees, lookyng vpward to heauen, nere to the aultar of S. James in Paris, on the ryght ſide of ẏ aultar: and ſaw in ẏ ayre before me the body of a certayn high Biſhop all clothed in white ſilke, who turnyng hys backe on the Eaſt, lyft vp hys hand toward the Weſt, as the Prieſtes are wont in theyr Maſſe turnyng to the people, but hys head was not ſene. And as I was conſideryng aduiſedly whither he had any head or no: I perceaued a certayne head in hym all dry, leane, & withered, as though it had bene a head of wood. And the ſpirit of the Lord ſayd to me: This ſignifieth the ſtate of ẏ church of Rome.

The ſcholemen and the friuolous queſtions deſcribed.

Moreouer, the ſame author in his viſions well deſcribing the maner of the ſchole ſophiſters, and Sorboniſtes, addeth in this wiſe. In other day, as I was in like contēplation as before, I beheld in ſpirite: and behould I ſaw a man appareled like to the other before: which went about, hauing fine bread, and excellent wine, that hanged aboute hym on both ſides. And the ſame hauing in hys hand a lōg and an harde flinte ſtone, was knawing hungerly vpon the ſame, as one being hungry is wont to byte vpon a loafe of bread. Out of the which ſtone came two heades of two ſerpentes, the ſpirite of the Lorde inſtructing me, and ſayinge: This ſtone purporteth the friuolous, intricate, and curious queſtions, wherein the hungry do trauaile and labour, leauing the ſubſtantiall foode of their ſoules. And I aſked, what theſe two heads did meane. And he ſayd, The name of the one is vayne glory, the name of the other is the marring and diſſipation of religion.

The reformation of the Church prefigured.

Alſo, concerning reformation of the church, this viſion he declareth: It happened as I was (ſaith he) in the ſame citye in the houſe of a certaine noble man (a Britayne) and was there ſpeaking with certaine: I ſaw a croſſe of ſiluer very bright, much like to the croſſe of the Earle of Thoulouſe. But the 12. appels which dyd hange beſide in the armes of the croſſe, were very vyle, like to the appels which the ſea is wont to caſt vp. And I ſayd: what is this Lord Jeſu? and the ſpirit anſwered me: This croſſe which thou ſeeſt is the church, which ſhall be cleare and bright in pureneſ of lyfe, and ſhall be heard and knowen all ouer through the ſhrill voyce of the preaching of ſincere verity. Then being troubled with the apples, I aſked, what theſe apples ſo vyle did ſignifie? and he ſayd: it is the humiliation of the church, &c.

The ſimonie and auarice of the clergie to be puniſhed.

This godly man did forewarne (as in a certain chronicle is declared) how God would puniſh the ſimony and auarice of the clergy with ſuch a plage, that riuers ſhould runne with bloud, &c. It is ſayd, that there is remaynyng a great volume of hys viſions, which are not yet abroade: for theſe that be abroad, are but a briefe extracte out of hys viſions and reuelations.

After ẏ we haue thus long ſtraied in theſe forein ſtories of Frederick, and in the tractation of other matters pertainyng to other countreys: Now after this ſufficient diſgreſſion, it is tyme that we returne to our own countrey agayne. where, in folowyng the cōtinuation of tyme, & courſe of the Church: we will now adioyne to theſe good fathers and writers, the hiſtory of the learned Byſhop of Lincolne named Robert Groſted, a man famouſly learned (as that tyme ſerued) in the three toungues, both Latin, Greeke, and Hebrue, alſo in all liberall ſciences. Whoſe workes & Sermons, yet to this day are extant, which I haue ſene in the Queenes Maieſties Library at Weſtminſter. Wherein is one ſpeciall Sermon written and exhibited in foure ſondry ſkroles, to the Pope, and to other foure Cardinals, begynnyng Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. &c. Nicolas Triuet in his Chronicle writyng of this Byſhop, affirmeth that he was borne in Suffolke, in the Dioces of Norfolke: who geuyng hym the prayſe to be a man of excellent wiſedome, of profound doctrine, and an exāple of all vertue: witneſſeth, that he beyng maiſter of Arte, wrote firſt a Commentary in librum poſteriorū of Ariſtotle. Alſo that he wrote Tractatiōs De ſphera, & de arte comput. And that he ſet forth diuers bookes concernyng Philoſophie. Afterward beyng Doctour in Diuinitie, & expertly ſene in all the iij. toungues, drew out ſundry treatiſes out of the Hebrue gloſes: alſo tranſlated diuers workes out of the Greeke, as namely the Teſtamentes of the xij. Patriarches, & the bookes of Dioniſius, cōmentyng vpon the new tranſlation with his owne gloſe. Hæc ille. Many other workes and volumes beſides were written by the ſayd Groſted, as De oculo morali, de Dotibus, De ceſſatione legalium, paruus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De poteſtate paſtorali, Expoſitiones in Geneſ. in Lucam, with a nūber moe, beſides diuers Epiſtles, Sermons, and Inuections ſent to the Pope, for his vnmeaſurable exactions, wherwith he ouercharged and oppreſſed the Church of England.

The ſtory of R. Groſtede Byſhop of Lincolne.

Ex Nic. Triuet. Rob. Groſtede a Southfolke man borne.

The commendation of R. Groſtede.

The bookes and workes of R. Groſt.

This godly and learned Byſhop after diuers conflictes and agonyes ſuſteined agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome: after the exāple of Fridericke: of Guliel. de ſācto amore, of Nico. Gallus and other after minded: at lēgth after great labours and trauailes of lyfe, finiſhed his courſe, and departed at Buckdone in the moneth of Octob. an. 1253. Of his deceaſe thus writeth Mat. Pariſienſ. pag. 278. Out of the priſon and baniſhment of this world (which he neuer loued) was takē the holy biſhop of Lincolne Robert, at his maner of Buckdone, in the euen of S. Dionyſe: who was an open reprouer of the Pope and of the kyng: a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the Monkes, director of the Prieſtes, inſtructor of the Clerkes, fautor of ſcholers, a preacher to the people, perſecutor to the incontinent, a diligent ſearcher of the Scriptures. A maulle to the Romaines, and a contemner of their doynges. &c. Hæc Mat. What a maulle he was to the Romaines, in the ſequel hereof (Chriſt willyng) ſhall better appeare. The ſtory is this.

1253.

The death of R. Groſted.

Malleus Romanorum Groſthedus.

It ſo befell, among other dayly and intolerable exactions wherein Pope Innocent was greuous and iniurious (manifold wayes) to the Realme of England: he had a certaine coſin or nephew (ſo Popes were wont to call their ſonnes) named Fridericke, being yet yōg & vnder yeares: whom the ſayd Innocent the Pope would needes preferre to be a Canon or prebendarie in the Church of Lyncolne, in this tyme of Robert Byſhop of the ſayde Church. And vpō the ſame directed downe letters to certaine his factors here in England for the executiō therof. The copy of which letter, by chaunce, yea not by chaunce, but by the opportune ſendyng of God, came to my hādes, as I was pennyng this preſent ſtory, written in the end of an old parchment booke, and otherwiſe rare I ſuppoſe to be found. As is this.

The trouble of R. Groſt. wyth the Pope.

Dilectis filijs Archidiacono Cant. & magiſtro Innocent. ſcriptori noſtro in Anglia commoranti: ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noſter G. Sanct. Euſtachij Diaconus Cardinalis dilecto * filio Friderico de Lauania, clerico nepoti noſtro, de ſpeciali mandato noſtro Canonicatum Lincolnienſ. cum plenitudine iuris canonici duxerit conferēdum, ipſum per ſuum anulum corporaliter, & præſentialit. inueſtiens de eodem, vt extunc canonic. Lyncolnienſis exiſtat, & plenum nomen & ius Canonici conſequatur ibidem, ac præbendam, ſi qua vacauerit in Eccleſia Lincol. a tempore quo dudùm literę noſtræ ſuper receptione, ac prouiſione facienda ſibi in Eccleſ. eadem, de præmiſſis venerab. fratri noſtro Epiſcopo Lincoln. præſentatæ fuerunt: alioqui poſt vacaturam conferendam ſibi donationi Apoſtolicæ reſeruarit: decernendo irritum & inane, ſi quid de præbenda huiuſmodi a quoq; fuerit attentatum: nec non & in contradictores & rebelles excommunicationis ſentētiam vbique promulgando, prout in literis eiuſdem exindè de * cōſtitutis plenius contineatur. Nos ipſius Friderici deuotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem Cardin. factum eſt ſuper hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem autorit. Apoſtolic. duximus confirmandum. Quocirca Diſcretioni veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fridericum, vel procuratorem ſuum eius nomine in corporalem poſſeſſionē prædictorum Canonicatus & præbēdæ, autoritate noſtra inducatis, & defendatis inductum; contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione poſtpoſita compeſcendo. Non obſtantibus aliquibus conſuetudinibus vel ſtatutis, iuramentis, vel confirmationibus ſedis Apoſtolicæ, ſeu quacunq; alia infirmitate roboratis: vel quòd dictus Frider. præſens non fuerit ad pręſtandum iuramentum de obſeruandis conſuetudinib. eiuſdem Eccleſ. conſuetis. Siue ſi prædicto Epiſcop. vel Capitulo ipſius Eccleſiæ communiter vel ſingulatim: ſeu alijs quibuſcunque perſonis a dicta ſede indultum exiſtat, quòd ad receptionem, vel prouiſionem alicuius compelli nequeant, ſiue quòd nullus alius in eorum Eccleſia nemini prouidere valeat: vel quod interdici, ſuſpendi, aut excommunicari non poſſint, per literas apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborū obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamſi totus tenor indulgētiarum huiuſmodi de verbo in verbum in iiſdem literis ſit inſertus: ſiue quibus alijs indulgentijs quibuſcunque perſonis, dignitati, vel loco, ſub quacunque forma verborum conceſſis a ſede apoſt. vel etiam concedendis: per quas effectus huiuſmodi prouiſionis poſſet impediri aliquatenus vel differri: Tamen volumus ea de certa ſcientia, quantum ad prouiſionem factam & faciendam Friderico prædicto in Eccleſia Lincoln. viribus omnino carere. Cæterum ſi aliqui prædicto Friderico, vel procuratori ſuper præmiſſis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum, aliquatenus duxerit apponendum: Illos ex parte noſtra citari curetis, vt peremptoriè infra duorum mēſium ſpacium poſt citationem veſtram perſonaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Friderico ſuper præmiſſis legitimè reſponſuri. Non obſtantibus priuilegijs, ſiue quibuſlibet indulgentijs perſonis regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuiuis alij perſonæ, vel dignitati, vel loco ſpecialiter a prædicta ſede ſub quacunque forma verborum conceſſis: Quòd non poſſunt vltra mare, ſeu extra ciuitatem vel Diœceſin ſuam in iudicium euocari per literas apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborū obtentas, quod priuilegium & indulgentias eiſdē perſonis de certa ſcientia nullatenus volumus ſuffragari, & conſtitutione ædita de duabus dictis in cōcilio generali non obſtāte. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, veſtris literis tenorem præſentium continētibus fideliter intimetis. Quòd ſi non ambo his exequendis intereſſe poteritis alter veſtrū nihilominus exequatur. Datum Peruſ. 7. Cal. Febr. Pontificat. noſtri anno decimo.

An vnreaſonable letter of the Pope.

* Recte dictum fortaſſis filio.

* confectis.

Which letter to be Engliſhed is this.

Unto our welbeloued ſonnes the Archdeacon of Cant. and to maiſter Innocent our ſcribe abidyng in England: greetyng and Apoſtolicall benediction. For ſo much as our welbeloued ſonne G. of S. Euſtace Deacon Cardinal, vpō our ſpeciall cōmaundement hath giuen and graunted to our welbeloued ſonne Fridericke de Lauania (a Clerke & our nephew) a Chanonſhyp in the Church of Lincolne with full power and graunt of the ſame: Inueſtyng him alſo corporally, and preſently with his owne ryng in the ſayd Chanonſhip to be from henceforth Canon of Lincolne, & to haue full power of the ſayd Chanonſhyp in the Church & a prebend when any ſhall fall in the Church of Lincolne: From that tyme, ſince which our former letters of late, concernyng this receiuyng and prouiſion to be giuen to hym in the ſayd Church were preſented and exhibited to our reuerend brother Byſhop of Lincolne: Or els after the next auoydyng the ſayd prebendſhyp to be reſerued to the Apoſtolicall donation & to be giuen to hym, makyng it voyde and fruſtrate if the ſayd prebendſhyp ſhall be geuen to any other man beſide, and alſo denounceyng the ſentence of excommunication agaynſt all them that ſhall rebell and gaynſay the ſame as in the letters of the ſayd Cardinall is more fully contained.

The popes vnreaſonable letter.

Excommunication abuſed.

We therfore graciouſly inclined by the deuoute ſupplication of the ſayd Fridericke, ratifieng and gratfully approuyng that which hath bene done by the ſayd Cardinals in the premiſſes haue thought good by the authoritie Apoſtolicall to confirme. Wherfore we geue in commaundement by our letters Apoſtolicall to your wiſedomes, that you will ſee the ſayd Fridericke (or his proctour in his behalfe) to be really & corporally poſſeſſed in the ſayd Chanonſhyp or prebend by our authoritie, and alſo defend the ſayd partie being therin poſſeſſed, denounceyng the ſentence of excommunicatiō agaynſt all ſuch as ſhall withſtand the ſame: All maner of cuſtomes, or ſtatutes to the contrary notwithſtandyng, corroborated either with othe, or confirmatiō of the ſea Apoſtolicke, or by what ſtay or let ſoeuer: Or whether ẏ the ſaid Fridericke be not preſent to take ẏ oth accuſtomed to be geuen for obſeruing the cuſtomes of the ſayd church: Or whether it be geuen and graunted by the ſayd ſea to the foreſayd Byſhop, or to the Chapter of the ſayd Church ioyntly and ſeuerally, or to what perſon or perſons els, that no man by compulſion ſhould haue admiſſion or prouiſion for any perſon in their Church whereby they cannot be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicate by the letters Apoſtolicall obtayned, or to be obtained hereafter, vnder what forme or wordes ſoeuer: yea although the whole tenour of the ſaid indulgence be inſerted word for word in the ſayd your letters or by any other indulgẽces to what perſon or perſons ſoeuer, of what eſtate, dignitie or place ſoeuer, vnder any maner or forme of wordes graunted hereafter by the ſea Apoſtolicke: by the which indulgences the effect of the ſayd prouiſion may be by any maner of wayes hindered or deferred: yet of our certaine knowledge we will that they ſhall want their ſtrẽgth in the prouiſion made or to be made for the ſayd Fridericke in the Church of Lincolne: And if any vpon the premiſſes or any of them ſhall alledge againſt the foreſayd Fridericke, or his procurator: That you will cauſe them to be cited on our behalfe, ſo that they beyng cited perẽptorily ſhall within the ſpace of two monethes of your citation, perſonally appeare before vs there accordyng to the law to make aunſwere to the ſayd Fridericke, vpõ the premiſſes: Any priuiledges or indulgencies what ſoeuer, geuen and graunted either generally to the kyngdome of England, or peculiarly to any other perſon of what ſtate, degree, and place ſoeuer, graũted by the foreſayd ſea, vnder what ſoeuer maner and forme of wordes for them not to be called vp beyond the ſea, or out of their owne Citie or Dioces by letters Apoſtolicall, vnder what ſoeuer forme of wordes obtained, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtandyng: All which priuiledges and indulgences, we will in no caſe ſhall ſtand in any force or effect to the ſayd parties. Moreouer, the day and forme of the citatiõ, we will that ye faythfully do intimate vnto vs by your letters contaynyng the tenor therof. And if both of you can not be preſent at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithſtandyng that one of you do execute the ſame without fayle. Dated the vij. Kal. Febr. the 10. yeare of our Popedome.

As there is no man which hath any eyes to ſee, but may eaſely vnderſtand in readyng this letter of the Pope, how vnreaſonable his requeſt is, how impudently he commaundeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppreſſeth and racketh the Church of God, in placyng boyes and ſtraungers in the miniſtery & cure of ſoules, and alſo in makyng them his prouiſours, to rauen vp the Church goodes: So is it no great marueil, if this godly biſhop Robert Groſted was offended therewith. Who in my mynde, deſerueth herein a double commendation, not onely that he ſo wiſely did diſcerne errour from ſinceritie and truth: but alſo that he was ſo hardy and conſtaunt to ſtand to the defence therof agaynſt the Pope, accordyng as in this his aunſwere to the Pope agayne may appeare, as foloweth.

A double commendation of B. Groſted.

¶ The aunſwere of Robert Groſted.

The aunſwere of R. Groſted to the Pope.

SAlutem. Pleaſeth it your wiſedome to vnderſtand, that I am not diſobedient to any the Apoſtolike preceptes: but both deuoutly and reuerently with the naturall affection of a ſonne obey the ſame: And alſo am an vtter enemy to all thoſe that reſiſt ſuch Apoſtolicke preceptes, as a child zelous of his fathers honour. And truly I am no leſſe then bound therunto by the precept and cõmaundement of God. For the apoſtolicke preceptes are none other nor can be, thẽ conſonãt and vniforme to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of our Sauiour Chriſt beyng the maiſter and Lord of all the Apoſtles: whoſe type and perſon, ſpecially in the conſonant and vniforme hierarchie of the Church, the Lord Pope ſemeth to beare (the ſame our Lord and ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ſaying) who ſoeuer is not with me, the ſame is agaynſt me. Therfore, agaynſt hym, neither is nor can be, the moſt diuine ſanctitie of the ſea Apoſtolicall. The tenour then of your foreſayd Apoſtolicall letter is not conſonant to true ſanctitie but vtterly diſſonaunt and diſagreyng to the ſame. Firſt, for that vpon the clauſe of this your letter and many ſuch other letters like, which clauſe alwayes ye ſo much do vrge (Non obſtante) induced and brought in vpon no neceſſitie of any naturall law to be obſerued: doth ſwarme, and floweth withall inconſtancie, boldnes, pertinacy, impudency, lying and deceauing, and is alſo a ſea of miſtruſt in geuing credit to no man. Which as it ſwarmeth with theſe, ſo in lyke maner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend vpon the ſame: mouyng and diſturbyng the puritie of Chriſtian religion and lyfe agreable to the ſame, as alſo the publique tranquillity of men. Moreouer, next after the ſinne of Lucifer (which ſhalbe in the latter tyme, to wit, of Antichriſt the chyld of perdition, whom the Lord ſhal deſtroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kynde of ſinne ſo repugnant and contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles and holy ſcripture & to our ſauiour Chriſt him ſelfe more hatefull, deteſtable and abhominable: then to deſtroy and kill mens ſoules by defrauding them of the myſtery of the paſtorall office which by the miniſtery of the paſtorall cure ought to ſaue and quicken the ſame. Which ſinne, by moſt euident places of the Scripture ſuch men are deemed and knowen to commit: which beyng in the autoritie of the Paſtorall dignity, do ſerue their owne carnall deſires and neceſſaries, with the benefite of the mylke and wooll of the ſhepe and flocke of Chriſt: and do not miniſter the ſame Paſtorall office and charge to the benefite and ſaluation of thoſe their ſhepe. The ſame therfore by the teſtimony of the Scripture, is not the adminiſtration of the Paſtorall miniſtery but the killyng and deſtruction of the ſhepe. And that theſe two kynd of vices be moſt vyle and wicked (although after a differryng ſort) and farre exceedyng all other kynde of wickedneſſe, hereby it is manifeſt: For that the ſame are directly contrary to two vertues moſt chiefly good (although differryng in themſelues) and vnlike together. For that is called moſt wicked which is contrary to a thing moſt beſt. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offẽces is directly againſt the deitie, which of himſelf is always eſſentially and ſupernaturally good: The other is againſt the deification and the Image of God in man, which is not alwayes but only by the participation of Gods lightſome grace eſſentially and naturally God. And foraſmuch as in things beyng good, the cauſe of good is better then the effect: & like as agayn in euil things the cauſe of euil is worſe then the effect of euill procedyng therof: hereby it is manifeſt: That the inducers of ſuch wicked deſtroyers of gods Image and deificatiõ in the ſhepe of Chriſt (that is the church of God) are worſe thẽ thoſe chief deſtroyers, to wit, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

And as in theſe degrees of wickednes how much more excellent ſuch be, who hauing a great charge committed to them of God (to edificatiõ, and not to deſtruction) are more bound to kepe away and exclude ſuch wicked deſtroyers frõ the Church of God: So much is it alſo of that, that this holy ſeate Apoſtolicall to whom the Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath geuen all maner of power (to edification as the Apoſtle ſayth, and not to deſtruction) can commaund, or will to go about any ſuch thyng, vrging vnto ſo great wickednes, ſo odible, deteſtable, and abhominable to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt & alſo ſo pernicious to mankynd. For this ſhould be a great defection, corruption, and abuſe of the ſayd ſeat and fulneſſe of power, and an vtter ſeparation from the glorious throne of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and a neare neighbourhode vnto the two moſt principall princes of darckeneſſe, ſitting in the chayre of peſtilence, prepared to the paynes of hell. Neither can any man which is ſubiect and faithfull to the ſayd ſee (and not cut away from the body of Chriſt, & frõ the ſayde holy ſee) with ſincere and vnſpotted conſcience, obey ſuch manner of preceptes and commaundementes, or what ſo euer other attemptes procedyng, yea though from the hygh order of aungels themſelues: but rather ought of neceſſitie with all their ſtrength to withſtand and rebell agaynſt the ſame. Wherfore my reuerend Lord, I am lyke an obedient chyld vpon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity, which I owe to both the * parents of this holy Apoſtolike ſee, and partly for loue of vnity in the body of Chriſt ioyned wyth the ſayd ſee: do not obey but withſtand and vtterly rebell agaynſt theſe things in the ſayd letter contayned, and eſpecially which vrge and tend to the foreſayd wickedneſſe: ſo abhominable to the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo repugnaunt to the holineſſe of the holy Apoſtolicke ſee, and ſo contrary to the vnitie of the catholike fayth. Neither for this cauſe can your diſcretion determine any extremity vnto me, becauſe all my doing and gainſaying in this matter is no reſiſtaunce, nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the deuine precept and honour due both to * father & mother. Briefly therfore repeating my wordes I ſay: that this holy Apoſtolicke ſee cannot do any thyng but to edification, and nothyng at all to deſtructiõ. For this is the fulnes of power, to be able to do all thynges to edification. But theſe which you call prouiſions, be not to edification, but to manifeſt deſtruction. The holy Apoſtolicke ſee therfore cannot nor ought to attempt any ſuch thyng, becauſe that fleſh and bloud which cannot enter into the kyngdom of God hath reuealed the ſame, and not the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt which is in heauen.

Power geuen to miniſters to edification only, not to deſtruction.

Two principall princes of darknes, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

*He meaneth either Chriſt & the church, or els Peter and Paule.

*Id eſt, both to Chriſt & hys church.

Then

In Mathæo Pariſ. ad verbū.

Then followeth it in the ſtory both of Matthæus Pariſienſis and of Florilegus, in theſe wordes: That when this Epiſtle came to the knowledge of the Pope, he fumyng and fretting, with anger and indignation anſwered, with a fierce looke and proud mynde ſaying: what olde doting frantyke wretch is this ſo boldly, and raſhly to iudge of my doynges? By ſwete S. Peter and Paule, were it not but that vpon our owne clemency and good nature we are reſtrayned, we would hurle hym downe to ſuch confuſion, that we would make hym a fable, a gaſing ſtocke, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our vaſſall? and to ſay more, our mancipie or page (to vſe the very wordes of myne author) which may at our pleaſure & becke both hamper him, and impriſon hym and put hym to vtter ſhame? This when the Pope in hys great fury and rage had vttered amongſt his brethren the Cardinals, who were ſcarce able to appaiſe the furious violence of the pope, with milde moderation of wordes, they ſayd vnto him: that it was not expedient for them to procede agaynſt that biſhop in ſuch rigorous maner. For ſayd they to confeſſe the truth to your holineſſe, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemne hym therfore. He is a catholike man, yea alſo a holy mā: more holy and alſo religious then we our ſelues: a man of excellent witte and excellent lyfe, ſo as it is thought among all the Prelates he hath not his better nor yet his like. This is not vnknowen both to ye french & Engliſh clergy vniuerſally, neither can our contradiction preuaile agaynſt hym: The truth of this his epiſtle perhaps is knowen now to many and ſhall ſtirre vp many agaynſt vs: for he hath the name to be a great Philoſopher and ſingularly ſene in all the tonges both Greke, Latine and Hebrue: zelous in iuſtice, a reader of diuinitie in the ſcholes, a preacher amongſt the people, a louer of Chaſtitie, and a perſecutor of Simony. Theſe wordes ſpake L. Giles a Spaniſh Cardinall to the Pope and other mo moued by their conſcience to ſpeake. And this counſayle they gaue to the Pope, that he ſhould diſſemble and wincke at theſe thinges as one not ſeyng or regarding them: leaſt otherwiſe perhappes, ſome tumult might riſe and ſpring therof: Eſpecially ſeyng this is manifeſt and knowen to all men, that once muſt nedes come a defection and partyng from the Churche of Rome.

Well ſworne maiſter pope

Giles Cardinall defendeth Robert Groſted to the pope.

Not long after this (about the canicular dayes) this reuerend and godly Robert biſhop of Lincolne lying at hys maner place in Bugden fell greuouſly ſicke: and therupon within few dayes departed. In the tyme of his ſickneſſe he called to hym a certaine Frier, of the preachyng order named M. John Giles, a mā expert & cunnyng both in phiſik and Diuinitie: partly to receiue of hym ſome comfort of his body, and partly to conferre with hym in ſpiritual matters. Thus vpon a certayne day, ye ſaid B. cōferring wt the foreſayd M. John, & recityng to hym ye doynges & procedings of the Pope: did greuouſly rebuke & reprehend hys fellow brethren the preachyng Friers, and the other order alſo of the Minorites. That for ſo much as their order beyng planted in wilfull pouerty of the ſpirit, to the entent they ſhould more frely carpe and reproue the vices of the mighty, & not to flatter or ſpare them, but ſharply to rebuke and reprehend the ſame: The ſayd Friers contrary to their profeſſion dyd not boldly enough cry out and inuey agaynſt the abuſes of their ſuperiors and men of power, nor did vncouer nor detect their faultes and wickednes. And therfore ſayd the biſhop, I iudge them to be no better then manifeſt heretikes: And addeth moreouer (demaūdyng of maſter John) what is hereſie? and that he ſhould geue hym the true definition therof. Wherat, when the Frier did ſtay and pauſe, not remembryng the ſolemne definition of that matter: the Byſhop therupon inferreth, geuyng this definition in Latine, by the true interpretation of the Greke word: Hereſis Græce, electio Latine, eſt ſententia humano ſenſu electa, Scripturæ ſacræ cōtraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defenſa. That is. Hereſy is a ſentence taken and choſen of mans owne brayne, contrary to holy Scripture, openly mainteyned, and ſtifly defended. And this definition geuen, conſequently he inferred ſharpely reprehending the Prelates of the church, but eſpecially the Romaines: which commit the charge of ſoules vnto their kinſfolkes beyng both in age vnworthy, and in learning vnſufficient. To geue ſayth he, the charge of ſoules to a boy is a ſentence of a prelate choſen and taken of mans owne head, only for carnall and earthly reſpect: and alſo is contrary to holy ſcripture the which forbiddeth any ſuch to be made miniſters or paſtors, which are not ſufficient to driue away the wolues. And moreouer it is alſo openly maintayned, becauſe it is manifeſtly borne abroad and commaunded, with chartes imbulled both with waxe and lead. And finally, it is ſtifly defended; for if any man ſhall dare or preſume to withſtand the ſame, he is ſuſpended and excommunicated and open warre cryed out agaynſt hym: Therfore to whom the whole definition of an heretike doth agree, he is a very heretike. But euery faithfull Chriſtian man ought to ſet hymſelfe agaynſt an heretike as much as he may: Wherfore he that can reſiſt hym and doth not, he ſinneth and ſemeth to be a fautour therof according to the ſaying of Gregory. He lacketh not conſcience of ſecret ſocietie which ceaſeth to reſiſt open impietie. But the Friers both Franciſcanes and Dominikes, are moſt chiefly bound to withſtand ſuch, ſeyng both of them haue the gift of preachyng committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the ſayd office, by reaſon of their pouerty: And therfore, do not onely offend in not reſiſting ſuch, but alſo are to be coūted maintayners of the ſame, accordyng to the ſentence of the Apoſtle to the Romanes ſaying: Not onely they which commit ſuch things, but alſo they that conſent are worthy of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the Pope (vnleſſe he ceaſe from that vice) as alſo the ſame Friers, vnleſſe they ſhew themſelues more earneſt and ſtudious in repellyng the ſame, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetuall damnation. Item ſayth the Canon decretall, that vpon this vice of hereſie the Pope both may and ought to be accuſed.

The godly talke of R. Groſted in time of hys ſickenes.

Hereſis quid.

Definition of hereſie.

The pope proued here an heretike.

The ſaying of Gregory.

The pope accuſed of hereſie.

After this, the vehemency of his diſeaſe more and more increaſing and becauſe the nightes were ſomethyng longer: the third night before his departure, the biſhop feeling hys infirmity to grow vpon hym willed certaine of his clergy to be called vnto him, therby to be refreſhed with ſome conference or communicatiō: Unto whom the biſhop mourning and lamenting in his mynd for the loſſe of ſoules thorough the auarice of the Popes court ſayd on this wiſe, as by certaine Aphoriſmes.

Certaine Aphoriſmes or articles ſayd of R. Groſted agaynſt the B. of Rome.

1. Chriſt came into the world to ſaue and win ſoules: Ergo, he that feareth not to deſtroy ſoules, may he not worthely be counted Antichriſt?

2. The Lord created the whole world in ſixe dayes, but in reſtoring of man he laboured more then 30. yeres. Wherfore he that is a deſtroyer of that, about which the Lord ſo long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichriſt?

3. The Pope ſhameth not impudently to adnihilate and diſanull the priuilegies of hys holy predeceſſours Romane Byſhops, by this obſtacle (Non obſtante) which is not done without the preiudice and manifeſt iniurye of them: For in ſo doing he doth reproue and deſtroy that which ſo many and ſo holy men haue builded vp before, and thus ſemeth he to be a contemner of the Saintes: Worthely therfore he that contemneth ſhalbe contemned, according to the ſaying of Eſay: Wo to thee that doeſt deſpiſe, for ſhalt not thou thy ſelfe be deſpiſed? And who ſhall keepe his priuilegies which ſo breaketh the priuilegies of others.

The pope accuſed for his wicked clauſe (nō obſtāte.)

4. The pope anſwering hereunto thus defendeth perhaps hys errour. He that is equall, hath no ſuperioritie ouer hys equall. Therefore, no pope hath power to bynde me beyng pope as well as he. To thys I aunſwere agayne (quod the Byſhop) It ſemeth to me, that he that now preſently is ſayling in the daungerous ſeas of this world: and he that is ſafely arriued in the hauen, hauing paſt all ieopardies, are not both like and equall. Graunt that ſome Popes be ſaued (God forbid any ſhould ſay contrary.) Then ſayth our ſauiour: He that is leaſt in the kyngdome of heauen, is greater then John Baptiſt, a greater thē whom did neuer riſe amongeſt the children of men. Is not therfore ſome Pope greater being a geuer and cōfirmer of priuilegies then this that is aliue? Truely me thinkes he is greater. Therfore he hath dominion ouer his inferiour.

The pope accuſed for arrogatyng more then is due to him, & proued not to be equall but inferiour to his predeceſſours.

5. Doth not the Pope, thus ſay, ſpeaking of all his predeceſſours for the moſt part: This our predeceſſour, and this our predeceſſour of moſt worthy memory. &c. And agayne, we (ſayth he) cleauing to, or folowyng the ſteppes of our predeceſſours. &c. And why then doe ſuch Popes as come after, deſtroy theſe foundations which their predeceſſours haue layd?

The pope accuſed for vndoing the actes & foundations of his predeceſſours.

6. Many Apoſtolicke men comming after, haue confirmed ſome priuilege beyng graunted by other before: And be not many Byſhops being already ſaued by the grace of God, to be counted greater and better then one Byſhop which hath not yet attained, but ſtandeth in daunger to obteine, that which the other haue got already?

Proued that the pope aliue is inferiour to his predeceſſours before him. And therfore to haue no autoritie to infringe the priuilegies of other Popes.

7. Alſo our former fathers byſhops of the Apoſtolicall ſea, in preferment of tyme go before the other, which in tyme come after. And thoſe whom the eſtimation of ancient time doth aduance, ſuch are we bound to eſteeme and to haue in more reuerence. Thys did ye holy man Benedict wel cōſider who in his rule preferreth ſuch as came firſt in time, what ſo

Proued by example of Benet that men more auncient in time ought to be preferred in higher reuerence.

euer men they were, before them, which (albeit beyng more auncient in yeares) come after them into the order: & commaundeth them to be their ſuperiors, and to haue the preheminence. Which beyng ſo (as it is) true and certayne: how commeth then this iniurious and raſhe preſumption, which dare repeale and diſanull, the old priuileges of many auncient holy Biſhops, in tyme and in reuerence, goyng before them.

The pope accuſed for mayntaynyng of vſury.

8. Moreouer, and though many Popes haue bene grieuous to the Church, yet this Pope moſt ſpecially hath brought it moſt into ſeruitude & manifold wayes hath damniſed the ſame. For theſe Caurſini, theſe open vſurers, whom our holy forefathers and doctors (whome we haue ſene) and namely our learned maiſter in Fraunce preacher: alſo the Abbot of Flaya Ciſtercian: maiſter Iacobus de veteri, and maiſter Steph. Archbiſhop of Cant. in the tyme of hys baniſhment: And alſo maiſter Rob. Curcun, with hys preachyng, baniſhed out of Fraunce (for before that tyme theſe kynde of vſurers were neuer knowen in England) the ſame Caurſini, theſe wicked vſurers (I ſay) were by this Pope induced, ſupported, and mainteyned: ſo that if any do ſpeake agaynſt them, he is miſerably toſſed and troſſed for his labour, wherof partly Roger biſhop of London hath ſome experience.

Agaynſt vſurers.

9. The world doth know, that vſury is counted a deteſtable thyng in both the Teſtamentes, and is forbidden of God. But now, the Popes vſurers or exchaungers (the very Iewes cryng out agaynſt them) be openly ſuffered in London to exerciſe their vſury, to the great damage and detriment of all eccleſiaſticall perſōs (but eſpecially houſes of religion) compelling ſuch as be in pouerty, to counterfet, and to put to their ſeales vnto forged wrytinges: which is no leſſe then to commit idolatry, and to abrenounce the veritie which is God him ſelfe. As for example, I borow a C. markes for a yeare, in ſteade of a C. poundes. I am compelled to make [illegible] wryting, and to ſeale the ſame, cōfeſſing that I haue receaued in borow an C. pounds to be repayed agayne at the yeares end to ſuch a man. &c. And if it ſhall chaunce that your occupying be ſuch, that within a moneth you bryng agayne the principall to the Popes vſurer, he will receaue no leſſe notwithſtanding, then his full hundreth poundes: which cōdition of vſury is much worſe then that of the Iewes. For to the Iewe what principall you bryng, he will require no more then proportionally, for the commenſuration of ſo much tyme, wherein his money hath bene out of his handes.

The crafty practiſe of vſurers.

The Popes vſurers worſe then the Iewes.

Craftie ſubtiltie of the pope to get money.

10. Moreouer, we haue ſene & knowen the pope to haue geuen in charge and commaundement to the Fryers preachers, and minorites: to enquire diligently for ſuch as lye ſicke and lyke to dye, and ſo comming to them diligently to perſwade them, to make their wils and Teſtamentes fauorably to the profite and ſubſidie of the holy land, and to take the croſſe vpon them, that if they do amende, they may wryng them in the law. And if they die, they may wraſt the money from their executors.

Men ſigned to the holy lād, ſolde for money like ſheepe by the Pope.

Remiſſiō of ſins, ſold for money.

11. We haue knowen likewiſe and ſene men that haue takē the vow and ſigne of the croſſe vpon them, to be ſolde to lay men, as ſheepe and oxen were wont in tyme paſt, to be ſold in the temple.

We haue ſeene wyth our eyes, the Popes letter, in which we haue founde thys to be written: that they which bequeath any thyng to the behoofe or ſubſidie of the holy land, ſhall receaue ſo much indulgence, as they haue diſburſed money.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to Churches in hys prouiſions and reſeruations.

12. Ouer and beſide all this, the Pope in diuers and ſundry his letters, hath willed and commaunded Prelates to receaue into eccleſiaſticall benefices, and to prouide ſome ſuch lyuing in their churches, as ſhall be ſufficient to ſuch and ſuch a ſtraunger, (beyng both abſent, and alſo vnworthy) which haue neyther learning, nor yet the language of the countrey: whereby they are neyther able to preach, nor to heare confeſſions, nor to keepe reſidence for to refreſhe the poore and wayfarers.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to the Abbot of S. Albons.

13. Item, we know and haue ſeene our ſelues, that the Pope hath written to the Abbot of S. Albane, to prouide for one called Iohn de Camezian, whom he neuer ſawe, in ſome competent benefice. Wherupon in fewe dayes after, when prouiſion was made for hym in a certayne Church, worth xl. markes by the yeare, and more: the partie beyng not therewith contented, complayned to the Pope. Who then writyng to the foreſayd Abbot, commaunded hym to prouide for the foreſayde mayſter Iohn in ſome better thyng, reſeruing notwithſtandyng the gyft of the former benefice, to himſelfe.

The pope accuſed for violent exaction.

14. Agayne, not long after, came alſo to the houſe of ye foreſayde Abbot ij. other perſons like begging vagabondes, bringing with them the Popes letters: in the tenour whereof the Abbot was commaunded, that incontinent vpon the ſight thereof, he ſhould geue and diſburſe to the ſayd perſōs for the expedition and diſpatch of hys affayres x. markes in hand, without any delay or ſticking: The which perſons vttering to the Abbot proud and threatening wordes, he was fayne to agree with them and ſend them away.

The pope accuſed for troubling & corrupting learned men of the ſpiritualtie wyth his temporall affayres.

15. Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which haue left the world for the following of God in ſuch order, as they ought not to turne backe agayne, the Pope of them maketh hys Tolners and bankers to get in hys money: The which charge they are compelled againſt their willes to take vpon them, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to be diſobedient: and ſo of ſpirituall men, are made more ſecular then the moſt ſecular. And ſo, the baſenes of their chimmers and ſcapillers which they weare, doth proue them to be lyers: whileſt vnder the habite of pouertie and humiliation, lurketh the ſpirite of pride and elation. And becauſe no Legate may be ſent into England but being firſt required of the kyng: the Pope ſendeth ſophiſticall Legates and ſuch as be diſguiſed in counterfet apparell, and are garded wyth great might and power: neyther is it hard to bryng forth examples therof. For ſo many ſuch dayly do come into the realme, that to heare the names of thē recited, it would be tedious for any man to heare.

The pope accuſed for vnlawfull diſpenſation.

16. Furthermore (as we haue ſeene our ſelues) the pope graunteth for ſecular fauour, that a man may haue a Byſhopricke, and yet be no Byſhop conſecrated, Sed electus ſempiternus, that is, electe for euer. Which is as much to ſignifie, to haue the mylke and the wolle of the ſheepe, and not to keepe the wolues away from the ſheepe: To retaine the rentes of a Byſhop, and not diſcharge the function of a Byſhop.

And when thys godly Biſhop had thus reproued theſe and ſuch other deteſtable enormities of the court of Rome: as all kindes of auarice, their vſurie, their ſimonie, their extortion, all kindes of filthines, fleſhly luſt, glottonie, and their ſumptuous apparell raigning in that court: then ſaith he, this old verſe may be truely verified vpon it.

Eius auariciæ totus non ſufficit orbis,
Eius luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.

All the worlde cannot ſuffice their greedie auarous minde,
Nor all the drabs & naughty packes their filthy luſting kinde.

Afterwarde he went about more to proſecute, how the foreſayd court lyke a gulph neuer ſatiſfied euer gapyng (ſo wide, that the floud of Iordane myght runne into hys mouth) aſpired how to vſurpe the goods of them that dye inteſted, and of Legacies bequeathed wythout forme of law, and whereby more licentiouſly to bryng thys to paſſe, they vſed to ioyne the kyng to be fellow and partaker wyth them in their ſpoyles, extortions, and robbinges. Neither ſayth he, ſhall the Church be deliuered from the ſeruitude of Egipt but by violence and force, and wyth the bloudy ſword. And albeit ſayth he, theſe be yet but light matters, yet ſhortly more great and greuous things then theſe ſhall be ſeene.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

The death of R. Groſted Biſh. of Lincolne.

And in the end of this hys propheciyng which he ſcarſly could vtter, with ſighing, ſobbing and weepyng, hys toung and breath began to fayle, and ſo the organ of hys voyce beyng ſtopped, made an end both of his ſpeach and lyfe. Ex Math. Pariſienſ.

And for as much as mention hath bene made before, of the inſatiable auarice of the Popes court by his inordinate prouiſions and reſeruations, it is teſtified by the ſayde author Math. Pariſ. that the foreſayd Robert Groſted beyng Byſhop of Lincolne, cauſed to be vewed and conſidered diligently of hys clearkes, what the reuenewes of forriners and ſtraungers within England ſet in by the Pope, came to by the yeare: and it was founde and euidently tryed, that thys Pope now preſent, to wit, Innocentius. 4 did empouerishe the vniuerſall Church throughout Chriſtendome, more then all his predeceſſours from the tyme the Pope firſt began: So that the reuenewes of forriners and clerkes placed by hym here in England, mounted to the ſumme of 70000. markes and aboue, whereas the mere reuenues of the crowne came not to 30. thouſend.

What the reuenues of the popes clarkes here in England came to by yeare.

Ex Ceſtrenſi lib. 7.

Of this Robert Groſted writeth Ceſtrenſis in hys 7. booke of his hiſtory: that partly for that it greeued hym to ſee the intollerable exactions of the Pope in thys realme, partly becauſe he refuſed to admitte a certayne younge nephew of the Pope to be canon of hys Church (as hath ben before recited). He therfore writing to the Pope, and ſignifying that he could not admitte any ſuch perſons into his Church, which neyther knew themſelues nor the tounge

of

The Pope ſtroken with the ſtaffe of Groſt. byſh. of Lincolne.

1254.

Ex Matheo Pariſ. Ex Flor. hiſt. Senibalde papa miſerrime.

The Popes new & true ſtile geuē by Groſt. Biſh. of Lincolne.

The Pope diſquieted in hys mynde.

of the people, nor the charges committed vnto them: was called vp to Rome, and there excommunicated, who then appealing from the pope, ſhortly after departed, which was an.1253. It chaunced within two yeares after his deceaſe, the ſayd Pope Innocent beyng a ſleepe: a certayne byſhop appareiled byſhop like appeared vnto hym, & ſtriking him with his ſtaffe on hys left ſide, ſayd: Surge miſer veni in iudicium. That is. Riſe wretch and come to thy iudgement. The next day after, the Pope was found amaſed as a man ſtroken on the ſide with the ſtroke of a ſtaffe. This Rob. though he was greatly commended for his ſanctimony, and as Ceſtrenſis ſayth, for his miracles: yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to be aſcribed in the Cataloge of Saintes. And thus much out of Ceſtrenſis concernyng this matter. But Math Pariſ. and the author of Flores hiſtoriarum proſecuting this ſtory more at large, addeth thys more vnto it and ſayth. That pope Innocēt the next yeare folowing, which was an.1254. being paſſing angry: contrary to the mynde of his brethren the Cardinals, woulde haue the bones of the foreſayd byſhop of Lincolne caſt out of the Church: and purpoſed to bring him into ſuch ſpite and hatred of the people that he ſhould be counted an ethnike, a rebell, and diſobedient perſon through the whole worlde. And therupon cauſed hys letters to be written and ſent downe to the kyng of England, knowyng that the kyng would gladly ſerue hym therin to haue the ſpoyle of the biſhop and of hys church. But the night followyng, the ſayd B. of Linc. appeared vnto him as commyng in his pōtificalibus, and with a ſeuere countenance and ſterne looke & terrible voyce ſpeaketh vnto him beyng in his reſt, and ſmityng hym on the ſide with a vehement ſtroke with the ende of hys croſſeſtaffe thus ſayd. O thou ſcourfie, lepre, old, bald, louſie, wretched, dotyng Pope. Haſt thou purpoſed to caſt out my bones out of the Church to the ſhame and ſlaunder of me? How commeth this raſh wilfulneſſe in thy head? It were more mete for thee beyng thus aduaunced by God & honoured, to make much of the zelous ſeruauntes of God, although departed. The Lord will not ſuffer thee hēceforth to haue any more power ouer me. I haue written vnto thee in the ſpirite of humilitie and loue, that thou ſhouldeſt correct thy manifold errors. But thou with a proude eye and diſdainfull hart haſt deſpiſed my wholeſome admonitions. Woe to thee that deſpiſeſt, ſhalt not thou alſo be deſpiſed? And ſo the Biſhop departyng from the Pope ſtroken as is ſayd on the ſide, left hym for halfe dead, and ſo lyyng in ſorow and lamentation. wherupon hys chamberlaines being amaſed hearing theſe things, came running to the pope to know what him ayled. To whom the Pope much troubled & vexed in his ſpirite, ſayd: that great terrors in hys ſleepe, vehemently diſturbed and moleſted hym in ſuch ſorte, that hee thought he ſhould neuer recouer it, nor be reſtored to hymſelfe agayne. Oh (ſayth he) how ſore is my ſide, and how egerly it vexeth me, as beyng runne through with a ſpeare. Neither did the pope eate or drinke all that day, but faynyng hymſelfe to be ſicke of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the irefull hand of God (ſayth the ſtory) ſo left hym not.

The reuenge of God vpō pope Innocent.

The Popes army vanquiſhed and confounded

The death of pope Innocent.4.

1255.

For after theſe wholeſome admonitions geuen to hym by the ſeruaunt of God: the Pope not regarding them, but all ſet vpon warre, ſuppreſſion of hys enemies, and ſecular affaires, gaue his mynd wholy vnto them. And yet all hys labours, counſailes, and expences beſtowed vpon thē, could neuer proſper after that day, in that he went about. For the Pope the ſame tyme hauyng warre with the Apulians, all his army fighting vnder the Popes nephew their captaine, were ſlayne and cōfounded the number of many thouſandes, whoſe lamentable ſlaughter all ÿ country of the Romains dyd much bewayle. The Pope not yet quiet in his mynde, directeth his iorney toward Naples, although ſore vexed in his ſide like a man ſicke of a pluriſie, or ſmitten rather with a ſpeare. Neither could any phiſicke of his Cardinals helpe hym. For Robert of Lincolne (ſayth the ſtory) did not ſpare hym. And he that would not heare hym gently correctyng him, beyng aliue, his ſtripes did he feele when he was dead. So that he neuer after that enioyed any lucky or proſperous day, till tyme of hys death: nor yet any proſperous or quiet night vntill the mornyng. And ſo continued he vnto hys death, which ſhortly after enſued, he beyng at Naples. an.1255. or as N. Triuet recordeth. an.1254. And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe betwene Robert Groſted and Pope Innocent.

A note to the reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

¶ In the which ſtory is to be noted (gentle reader) that although in the ſtory of Ceſtrenſis, of Mathew Paris, and of Flor. hiſtor. it is expreſly teſtified and reported, that the pope was ſmitten with the ſtaffe of Robert the foreſayd byſhop of Lincolne: yet thou muſt wiſely vnderſtand, that how ſo euer Gods hand dealeth here in this world in puniſhing his enemies, or how ſo euer the Image of thinges not ſeene but phātaſed, offer themſelues to the ſecrete cogitation of man (his ſenſes beyng a ſleepe) by the operation or permiſſion of God, workyng after ſome ſpirituall influence in our imaginations: certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer riſe agayne or appeare, before the iudgement day, to any man with hys ſtaffe or without his ſtaffe, to worke any feate, after he haue once departed this lyfe.

Diſſētiō betwene the Archb of Cāt. & the church of Lincolne.

Excommunication abuſed.

Appellation made to Rome.

Henry Lexinton B. of Lincolne.

After the death of this Robert Groſted biſhop of Lincolne, great diſſention fell betwene the Archb. of Cant. Boniface, and the canons of the ſayd church of Lincolne, about the right of geuing prebendſhips, and about the reuenewes of the ſayd church, in tyme of the biſhops ſee being now vacant. which right and power the Archbiſhop claimed to himſelfe, but the canons of that church (maintainyng the contrary ſide) ſtood againſt hym, and for the ſame were excommunicated of the Archbiſhop. Among whom, one M. wolf reſiſting the Archb. to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made vp his appeale to Rome, where much money on both ſides was ſpent. At length, after this Groſted, was elected Henry Lexinton in the ſee of Lincolne.

A childe crucified of the Iewes at Lincolne.

Ex Nic. Triuet. Ex Ceſtrenſ. lib.7. cap.34. Ex Flor. hiſt.

The Iewes expulſed out of Fraunce.

A child circumciſed of the Iewes, and kept a whole yeare to be crucified.

The Iewes aske leaue to depart the realme of England.

Ex Eulogio.

Iewes burned at Northampton.

A Iewe fallen into a priuey, would not be taken out for kepping hys Sabboth day.

About which tyme, the wicked Iewes at Lincoln had cruelly crucified, whipped, & tormēted a certain child named Hugo of ix. yeres of age. an.1255. in ÿ moneth of Auguſt. Ex Gualt. Gilburn. At length the chyld beyng ſought & found by the mother, beyng caſt in a pit. 32. of thoſe abhominable Iewes were put to execution. wherof Mathew Paris reciteth a long ſtory. The ſame or like fact was alſo intended by the like Iewes at Norwich xx. yeares before vpon a certaine childe, whom they had firſt circumciſed, and deteyned a whole yeare in cuſtody, intending to crucifie hym. For the which the Iewes were ſent vp to the tower of London, of whom 18. were hanged, and ÿ reſt remayned long in priſon. Ex Ceſtrēſ. lib.7. Of this wicked Iewiſh people I find alſo in the booke of Flor. hiſt. that about this yeare of our Lord. 1255. they began firſt to be expelled out of Fraunce, by the commaundement of the French kyng, beyng then in Paleſtina, warryng agaynſt the Turkes: By the occaſion that it was obiected then by the Turke againſt hym and other Chriſtian princes, for the reteynyng the Iewes amongſt thē which did crucifie our ſauiour, and warring againſt them which dyd not crucifie hym. Ex Flor. hiſt. Of theſe Iewes moreouer king Henry the ſame yere. 1255. exacted to be geuen vnto hym 8000. markes in payne of hanging. who beyng much agreued therwith, and complainyng that ÿ kyng went about their deſtruction, deſired leaue to be geuen them of the kyng, that they might depart the realme, neuer to returne agayne. But the king committed the doyng of that matter vnto Erle Richard his brother, to enforce thē to pay the mony whether they would or no. Moreouer, of the ſame Iewes mention is made in the ſtory intituled Eulogiū. Of the Iewes in Northampton, who had among themſelues prepared wild fire, to burne the city of Londō. For ÿ which diuers of them were taken, and burned in the tyme of Lent, in the ſayd citie of Northampton, which was two yeres before, about the yeare of our Lord. 1253. Ex Eulogio. And for ſo much as mention here is made of the Iewes, I cannot omit what ſome Engliſh ſtories write of a certaine Iew who not long after this tyme about the yeare of our Lord. 1257. fell into a priuey at Teukeſbury vpon a Saboth day which for the great reuerence he had to hys holy Saboth, would not ſuffer hymſelf to be plucked out. And ſo lord Richard Erle of Glouceſter, hearing therof, would not ſuffer him to be drawn out on ſonday for reuerence of the holyday. And thus ÿ wretched ſuperſtitious Iew remaynyng there till Monday, was found dead in the dong.

Superſtitious faſting noted in Walter Archb. of Yorke.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

Superſtition in ſeeking ſaluation by wrong meanes.

And to note the blynd ſuperſtition of that tyme, not onely among the Iewes, but alſo among the chriſtians, to omit diuers other ſtories as of Walter Gray, Archbiſh. of Yorke, who commyng vp to the Parliament at Londō. an.1255. by vnordinate faſting, did ſo ouercharge nature, & pyned himſelf, & (as the ſtory mētioneth) did ſo dry vp his brayne: that he loſing therby all appetite of ſtomacke, goyng to Fulham, there within 3. dayes died, as in the compiler of Flor. hiſtor. is both ſtoried and reprehended. Let this alſo be adioyned, which the forenamed author, and in the ſame yeare is recorded of one named Peter Chaceporce, who dying in France. an.1255. left in bequeſt of his teſtament 600. Markes for landes to be purchaſed to the houſe of Merton. for God to be ſerued there perpetually pro anima eius, & omnium fidelium. i. for his ſoules health, and all faythful ſoules. As who would ſay, Chriſtian fayth were not the ordinary meanes ſufficient to ſaluation of faythfull ſoules, without the quire ſeruice of the Monkes of Merton.

Ye haue heard it often complayned before, how the vſur-

The pope iniurious to the church of England.

A prebendſhip of Paules geuen both of the pope and of the king at one time to two ſeuerall perſons.

The popes donation preferred before the kinges.

Two Romaine clarkes goyng to complayne were ſlayne by the way.

ped power of the Pope hath violently and preſumptuouſly encroched vpon the Church of England, in geuyng & conferryng benefices and prebendes to his Italians & ſtraungers, to the great damage and ruine of Chriſtes flocke manifold wayes. This violent iniury and oppreſsiō of the pope as by no lawfull and gentle meanes could be reformed: ſo by occaſion and meanes inordinate about this tyme, it began ſomwhat to be bridled. The matter wherof was this, as it is in the collector of Flor. Hiſt. recited. In the dayes of the raigne of this kyng 44. The Byſhop of London named Fulco, had geuen a certaine prebend in the Church of S. Paul, to one maiſter Ruſtandus the Popes meſſenger here in Englād. who entryng into the profeſsiō of the gray Friers, and ſhortly after dying on the other ſide of the Sea: the Pope immediatly conferred the ſayd prebend to one of his ſpecials, a lyke ſtrāger, as the other was before. About the ſame inſtant it befell, that the Biſhop alſo of London deceaſed, wherby the byſhopricke now vacant fell into the kings handes. who hearyng of the death of the forenamed Ruſtādus, gaue the ſayd prebendſhyp (geuen of the Pope before) to one Iohn Crakehale his vnder treaſurer. who with all ſolemnitie tooke his inſtallation, vnknowyng as yet that it was beſtowed of the pope before. It was not long after as tyme grew, but this beyng noyſed at Rome, forthwith commeth downe a certaine Proctor named Iohn Gras with the Popes embulled letters, to receaue the collation of the benefice by his commiſſion procuratory, geuen by the pope: wherin Iohn Crakhale had bene already inſtalled, as is aforeſayd, by the kynges donation. This matter commyng in trauiſe before Boniface Archbyſhop of Canterbury, he inquiryng and ſearchyng which donation was the firſt, findyng the popes graunt to be the former, gaue ſentence with him agaynſt the kyng: ſo that in concluſion, the Romane clerke had the aduauntage of the benefice, although the other had long enioyed the poſſeſsiō therof before. Thus the popes man beyng preferred, and the Engliſhman excluded, after the partie had bene inueſted and ſtalled after the vſe & maner, he as thinkyng to be in ſure poſſeſsion of his place, attempted with the reſt to enter the Chapter houſe, but was not permitted ſo to do: wherupon the Popes clerke geuing place to force and number, went toward the Archbyſhop to complayne. This beyng knowne, certaine recluſes purſued hym, and ſo beyng compaſſed about, one in the thickneſſe of the throng beyng neuer after knowne, ſodenly ruſhing vpon hym, a litle aboue his eyes ſo pareth of his head, that he fell downe dead. The ſame alſo was done to an other of his felowes in flying away. This haynous murder beyng famed abroad, ſtraite inquirie therof was made, but the deede doer could not be knowen. Although great ſuſpition was layde vpon Crakhale the kynges Chaplen, yet no proofe could be brought. But moſt men thought, that bloudy fact to be done by certaine ruffines, or other light perſons about the Citie or the Court, diſdainyng belike, that the Romanes were ſo enriched with Engliſhmens liuynges, by whom neither came relief to any Engliſhman, nor any godly inſtruction to the flocke of Chriſt. And therfore, becauſe they ſaw the Church and Realme of England in ſuch ſubiection, and ſo much to be troden downe by the Romanes and the Popes meſſēgers: they thought therby ſomthing to bridle, as with a ſnaffel, the Popes meſſengers, from their vntemperate rangyng into this land. Ex Flor. Hiſto.

The ſtory of Math. Paris. here endeth.

Where by the way is to be noted, that vnto the death of this foreſayd Fulco Byſhop of London, continueth the hiſtory of Mathew Paris mōke of S. Albons, which was to the yeare of grace. 1260. The reſidue was continued by an other Monke of the ſame houſe, but not with ſuch lyke commendation, worthy to make any autentike ſtory, as I haue ſene it noted in a written booke.

Pope Alexander 3. maketh warre.

The popes armie ſlaine.

It were to tedious and curious in order to proſecute what happened in euery yeare, through this kinges raigne: as how it was prouided by the king, that who ſoeuer could diſpend. xv. li. land by yeare, ſhould be bound to make to the kyng a ſouldiour: that watch ſhould be kept euery night in Cities: that who ſoeuer was robbed or otherwiſe dammified in any countrey, he that had the cuſtody, ſhould be compelled to make vp the loſſe agayn, or els to purſue the malefactor, which was. an. 1253. witneſſyng Flores Hiſt. Item, how the kyng makyng his viage into Gaſcone, his expenſes were reckened to mount to. xxvij. hundreth thouſand Markes, beſide. xxx. thouſand Markes beſtowed vpon his brethren by the mother ſide, and beſide other great giftes geuen abroad. By reaſon wherof, great taxes and tolonies and tenthes were required of his ſubiectes, eſpecially of the Churchmen: who were wont to receaue tythes of other, now were cōſtrained to geue tythes to the laity. Flores Hiſt. an. 1254. Item, how in the yeare next folowing, the Londoners offring a. C. li. for a gift to the kyng with a precious cup of gold, at his returne out of Fraunce, were ſhortly after compelled by the kyng to pay. 3000. Markes, for the ſcape of a certaine priſoner being a clerke condemned: which clerke beyng graunted of the kyng to the byſhop, and he hauyng no priſon ſufficient for him, borowed of the Londiners to haue him kept in the priſon of Newgate, who eſcappyng thereout, they as is ſayd, were demaunded this recompence aforeſayd. an. 1255. Item, how the kyng greatly complaynyng of his debt, the ſame yeare required the whole tenthes, which ſhould be gathered in. 3. yeares, to be taken vp all at once. To whoſe requeſt, the nobles and commons agreed to ſtrayne themſelues, ſo that the charter of their liberties and cuſtomes might be ratified, and fully by him cōfirmed. And ſo for that yeare they were. Flores Hiſt. Item, how Pope Alexander the 3. to deſtroy the Citie Michera, with kyng Mēfrede the ſonne of Fridericke the Emperour, ſent forth the ſame yeare Octauianus his Cardinall with a puiſſaunt army: who commyng to the Citie with his ſiege, through the coūſayle of Marchiſius one of the chief Captaines, diſcharged a great part of his hoſt, wherby the moſt of ẏ popes army was ſlayne and deſtroyed, almoſt all, ſaue onely the familie of Marchiſius. an. 1255. Flor. Mat. Pariſienſ.

Lewlinus K. of Wales warreth agaynſt the kyng. Lewlinus & the king cōcorded.

Ex Polychronico. lib. 7.

Many other thynges duryng the tyme of this kyng might be congeſted, as the riſing of Lewlynus kyng of Wales and of the Welſhmen againſt the kyng and waſting the land vnto the towne of Cheſter, who deſtroyed diuers of the Engliſhmen horſemen, taken in the Marches, with whom at length they fell to agrement by the meanes of Octobonus: that his ſucceſſours ſhould be called princes only of Wales, and ſhould do the kyng his homage. And the king of hym to receaue. 3000. Markes. And this beyng ſtabliſhed in writyng, was cōfirmed by the popes ſeale. an. 1257. Ex Polychron.

Ex autore Eulogij.

1257.

About the ſame tyme, ſuch famine oppreſſed the land and lacke of victuals, that a ſumme of corne was then ſold for 26. ſhillings: in ſomuch, that the pouerty were forced to eate nettle rootes, thyſtell rootes, & whatſoeuer they could get. Ex Eulogio. Although ſome referre this to the yeare. 1262.

Pope Alexander to make ſhifte for money maketh the king beleue hys ſonne ſhould be kyng of Apulia.

Richard the kynges brother made kyng of Almayne.

Hereunto moreouer might be adioyned, how Pope Alexander abuſing and mockyng the kynges ſimplicity, made him beleue that he would make his ſonne Edmund king of Apulia, ſo that he would ſuſtaine the charges and coſtes therof, to maintayne the warre which thereto ſhould appertaine. whereby the kyng caſt in a ſodaine hope, cauſed his ſonne incontinent to be proclaimed kyng of Apulia. And vpon the ſame ſent vp to the pope all the riches he could well make in his Realme. And thus was the Realme manifold wayes miſerably impoueriſhed to enrich the Pope. Ex Flor. Hiſt. About which ſeaſon, Rich. Earle of Exeter the kings brother, was made kyng of Almaine by the Electours.

What ciuill diſcorde worketh.

Reſignation of the earledome of Normandy and Angeow

Here might be ſhewed moreouer, and added to the ſtories aboue, how the yeare next folowing, which was. 1259. (as Nicolas Triuet writeth) the K. entryng into Frāce, required the reſtitution of ſuch landes in Normandy & Angew as of old right was due vnto him & wrōgfully withholden from him. But the French kyng agayne alledged, ſaying: that the countrey of Normādy by old tyme was not geuen away from the crowne of Fraunce, but vſurped, and by force extorted by Rollo. &c. In concluſion, the kyng fearyng and ſuſpectyng the hartes of his nobles, and lookyng for none other but for rebellion at home, durſt not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them vpon ſuch peace and cōditions as he could get, which was this. That he ſhould haue of the French kyng. iij. hundreth thouſand of Turen poundes, with ſomuch landes els, as came to the value of. xx. thouſand pound in yearely rent: ſo ſhould he reſigne fully and purely to the handes of the French kyng, all ſuch landes and poſſeſſions which he had in Frāce. wherby the kyng geuyng ouer his ſtile and titles which he had in thoſe partes, ceaſed then to be called Duke of Normādy, or Earle of Angew.

Ex Gual. Giſburn.

Albeit if it be true that Giſburne writeth, the kyng afterward repentyng of his deede, did neuer receaue the money in all his lyfe, neither did he ceaſe duryng his lyfe, to entitle himſelfe Duke of Normādy. But after him, his ſonne Edward and his ſucceſſour in their ſtile left out the title, to be called Duke of Normandy. &c. Ex Giſburn.

The cōflicte & ſkirmiſhe betwene the Northern Welchmē, & the Southerne men in Oxford.

Beſide many other matters omitted, here I ouerpaſſe alſo the ſore and vehement conflict, not betwene the Frogs & the Myſe which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field fought in the yeare of our Lord. 1259. betwene the young ſtudentes and ſcholers of the Vniuerſity of Oxford, hauing no other occaſion (as I read in Mat. Pariſienſ.) but onely the diuerſitie of the countrey where they were borne. For the Northern men ioyning with the Welſhmen, to try their manhode agaynſt the Southern part: fell both partes together in ſuch a broyle, with their enſignes & warlike aray, that in concluſiõ diuers on both ſides were ſlayne. This heauy & bloudy cõflict duryng & increaſing amõg thẽ, the end was this: that the Northern lads with the Welſh had the victory. After that fury and fiery fierceneſſe had done what it could, the victorers bethinkyng at length with thẽ ſelues, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers: and fearyng due puniſhment to fall vpõ them, eſpecially ſeyng the brother of Leoline prince of Wales, and ſonne of Giffine, was newly dead in priſon, drawyng their counſaile and helpes together: they offer to kyng Henry foure thouſãd Markes, to Edward his ſonne iij. hundreth, and to the Queene two hundreth, to be releaſed of their treſpas. But the kyng aunſweryng thẽ agayne, that he ſet more price by the lyfe of one true ſubiect, then by all, which by them was offered: would in no wiſe receaue their money. And ſo the ſtudentes without hope of peace, went home with ſmall triumphe, learnyng what the common Prouerbe meaneth: Dulce bellũ inexpertis. Notwithſtandyng, the kyng beyng then occupyed in great affaires & warres, partly with Leoline and the Welſhmen, partly inwrapped with diſcord at home with his nobles: had no leyſure to attend to the correction of theſe Vniuerſitie men, which was an. 1259. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. Likewiſe concernyng the diſſention folowyng the next yeare after, in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, betwene the ſtudentes there & the Friers: the number of whom then did ſomuch increaſe, that the cõmõs vnneth was able to ſuſteine them with their almes. Alſo betwene the Vniuerſities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certaine priſoner taken out of priſon by ſtrẽgth, and brought into ſanctuary the ſame yeare, as is teſtified in Mathew Paris. an. 1259. In like maner, touching the variaunce betwene the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Chapter of Lincolne. Agayne, betwene the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Chapter and Byſhop of London: & how the ſayd Byſhop at his conſecration would not make his profeſſion to the Archbiſhop but with this exception, Saluis iure & libertate Eccleſiæ Lõdinẽſ. quæ pro poſſe meo defendam in omnibus, &c. recorded in Flores Hiſt. All which wranglynges and diſſentions, with innumerable other raignyng dayly in the Church at thoſe dayes, if I had ſo much leaſure to proſecute them, as I finde them in ſtories remaynyng: might ſufficiently induce vs to vnderſtãd what ſmall peace and agrement was then ioyned with that doctrine and Religion in thoſe dayes, during the ſtate and raigne of Antichriſt.

Variance betwene the ſtudentes & the Friers in Paris.

Variance betwene the Vniuerſitie of Oxford and Cambridge.

Variance betwene the Archb. of Cant. & the chapter of Lincolne.

Variance betwene the Archbiſh. of Cant. & the chapter of London. *Ex Flor. hiſt.*

Litle peace in the popes Church.

These with many ſuch other matters mo, which here might be diſcourſed and ſtoried at large, beyng more forreine then Eccleſiaſtical, for breuitie I do purpoſely contract and omit, cuttyng of all ſuch ſuperfluities as may ſeeme more curious to write vpon, then neceſſary to be knowen.

Hiſtories profitable for example.

This that foloweth concernyng the pitifull & turbulent commotion betwene the kyng and the nobles, which laſted a long ſeaſon: becauſe it is lamentable, and conteineth much fruitfull example, both for Princes and ſubiectes to behold and looke vpon, to ſee what miſchief & incõuenience groweth in cõmon weales, where ſtudy of mutuall concorde lacketh, that is: where neither the Prince regardeth the offendyng of his ſubiectes, and where the ſubiectes forget the office of Chriſtian pacience, in ſufferyng their Princes iniuries, by Gods wrath inflicted for their ſinnes. Wherfore, in explanyng the order and ſtory therof, I though it not vnprofitable to occupy the Reader with a litle more tariaunce in peruſing the full diſcourſe of this ſo lamentable a matter, & ſo pernicious to the publicke weale.

The occaſiõs of commotiõs betwene the kyng and the nobles.

And firſt to declare the occaſions and firſt begynnynges of this tumult, here is to be vnderſtode, which before was ſignified: how kyng Henry maried with Alinor daughter of the Earle of Prouince, a ſtraunger, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1234. Wherupõ, a great doore was opened for ſtraungers, not onely to enter the land, but alſo to repleniſh the court: to whom the kyng ſeemed more to incline his fauour, aduauncing them to more preferment, then hys owne naturall Engliſh Lordes, which thyng was to them no litle greuaunce. Moreouer, before was declared, how the kyng by Iſabell his mother who was a ſtraunger, had diuers brethren: whom he nouriſhed vp with great lyuinges and poſſeſſions, and large penſions of money, which was an other hartes ſore to diuers, and alſo an hinderaunce. Ouer and beſide hath alſo bene declared, what vnreaſonable collectiõs of money from tyme to time, as quindecimis, ſubſidies, tenthes, merſementes, fines, paymentes, lones and taxes: haue bene leuied by the kyng, as well of the ſpiritualty: as of the lay ſort, partly for maintaynyng the kyngs warres agaynſt Wales, agaynſt Scotland, and Fraunce, to recouer Normandy: partly for helpyng the kynges debtes, dirges and other expenſes: partly for the kingdome of Apulia, which was promiſed the kynges ſonne by the Pope: partly for mainteynyng and ſupportyng the Pope in his warres agaynſt the Emperour. By reaſon of all which ſundry and importable collections, the common wealth of the Realme was vtterly excoriate, to the great impoueriſhmẽt of poore Engliſh men. Neyther did it a litle vexe the people to ſee the kyng call in ſo many Legates from Rome euery yeare, which did nothyng els but tranſport the Engliſhe money vnto the Popes cofers. Beſides all thys, what variaunce and altercation hath bene betwene the kyng and his ſubiectes about the liberties of Magna charta, and de foreſta, graunted by kyng Iohn, and after confirmed by thys kyng, in the former councell holden at Oxford, hath bene afore declared.

Perhaps this might be alſo ſome peece of a cauſe, that the kyng conſidering and bearing in mynde the olde iniuries done of the Lordes and Barons to hys father kyng Iohn before hym: did beare ſome grudge therfore, or ſome priuy hatred vnto the nobilitie, to reuenge hys fathers quarell. But of thynges vncertayne I haue nothyng certaynely to affirme. This is certayne, by truth of hiſtory, that the yeare next enſuing, which was 1260. thus writeth Nicho. Triuet, that the kynges Iuſtices called Itinerarij, beyng ſent thether to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cauſe beyng alledged for that they were agaynſt the kyng in proceedyng and enterpriſing againſt the forme of the prouiſions enacted and ſtabliſhed a litle before at the towne of Oxford.

An.1260.

It befell moreouer the ſame yeare, aboue other tymes (as Gualt. Hemmingford writeth) that a great number of aliens comming out of Fraunce and other prouinces, reſorted into England: and had here the doing of all principall matters of the realme vnder the kyng. Unto whom the rewardes and reliefes, and other emolumentes of ỹ land did moſt chiefly redound, which thyng to ſee did not a litle trouble and vexe the nobilitie and baronage of Englãd. In ſo much, that Simon Montfort Earle of Leyceſter, offeryng to ſtand to death for the liberties and wealth of the Realme, conferred together wyth other Lordes and Barons vpon the matter. Who then comming to the kyng after an humble ſort of petition, declared to him how all the doinges of hys Realme and his owne affayres, were altogether diſpoſed by the handes and after the willes of ſtraũgers, neyther profitable to hym, nor to the weale publicke: for ſo much as his treaſures beyng waſted and conſumed, he was in great debt, neyther was able to ſatiſfie the prouiſion of hys owne houſe, but driuen to take for hys owne cates, to no ſmall diſhonour to hys owne ſtate. And now therfore ſayd they, pleaſeth your highnes to be informed by our adiuiſe, and to commit your houſe to the guiding and gouernment of your owne faythfull and naturall ſubiects. And we will take vpon vs to diſcharge your whole debt within one yeare, of our owne proper goodes and reuenues, ſo that we within v. yeares may cleare our ſelues agayne. Neyther will we diminiſh your family, but rather increaſe it wyth a much greater retinue. Prouidyng ſo for the ſafety and ſeying to the cuſtody of your royall perſon, as your highnes ſhal finde and vnderſtand our diligence moſt truſty and faythfull vnto you in the end.

Straungers hauing all the wealth of the realme vnder the kyng. *Ex Gualt. Giſburnenſ.*

The wordes of the nobles to the K.

To theſe wordes ſo louingly declared, ſo humbly pretenſed, ſo hartely and freely offred, the kyng as willingly condeſcended: aſſignyng to them both day and place, where to conferre and to deliberate farther vpon ỹ matter, which ſhould be at Oxford, the xv. day after Eaſter. At which day and place, all the ſtates and Lordes, wyth the biſhops of the realme were ſummoned to appeare at the ſaid towne of Oxford, for the behalfe of the kyng, and the Realme conuented together. Where firſt of the kyng hymſelfe, then of the Lordes an oth was taken: that what decrees or lawes in the ſayd aſſembly ſhould be prouided to the profite of the kyng and of the realme, the ſame vniuerſally ſhould be kept and obſerued to the honour of God, & vtilitie of his church, and wealth of the Realme. Beſides theſe Lordes and the kyng, were alſo ix. Biſhops, which ſwearing to the ſame, dyd excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould gaynſtand the ſayde prouiſions there made, the kyng holding a burnyng taper in his hand, and the Lordes openly proteſting, to riſe wyth all their force, agaynſt all them that ſhall ſtand agaynſt the ſame.

The king graunteth to his lordes.

A ſitting of the king and Lordes at Oxford.

The prouiſions or lawes made at Oxford.

The kyng ſweareth to the prouiſions made at Oxford.

There were at that preſent in the Realme, foure brethren of the kyngs (moſt part of them by the mothers ſide) which would in no caſe agree hereunto, but in anger departed priuely vnto Wint. The nobles hearing therof, in all ſpeedy wiſe purſued them, fearing leaſt they ſhould take

The kynges brethren agaynſt the prouiſions of Oxford.

the citie of Wint. and forcably keepe the ſame. Wherfore, the Lordes preuenting their purpoſe, and ſeeing them ſtiffely to perſiſt in their ſtubburne ſentence: wrought no other violence agaynſt thẽ, but returnyng to Oxford agayne, preſcribed to them theſe conditions, that they departyng the Realme ſhould repayre to their owne landes and poſſeſſiõs, which they had beyond the Sea. And that forthwith they ſhould put this iniunction in execution. Notwithſtandyng that the kyng made for them great interceſſion, yet it tooke no place. And becauſe this ſhould ſeeme to proceede of no ſpeciall diſpleaſure agaynſt them, they enacted moreouer, that all ſtraungers and aliens of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhould forthwith auoyde the Realme in payne of death. Diuers other prouiſions the ſame tyme were ordeyned and ſtabliſhed: that if any did hold of the kyng in whole or in part, and ſhould chaunce him to depart (his heyre being vnder age) the wardſhyp of him ſhould belong to the kyng, as hath partly before bene ſpecified.

The prouiſions of Oxford.

Ex hiſtoria Gualteri Giſburnenſis.

Moreouer it was there decreed, that the woolle of England ſhould be wrought onely within the Realme, neither ſhould it be tranſported out to ſtraungers.

God graunt thys law might take place agayne.

Item, that no man ſhould weare any cloth, but which was wrought and made onely within the Realme.

God graunt the like law agayne for the wealth of the realme.

Item, that garmentes to ſumptuous, ſhould not be brought in nor worne.

Item, that all exceſſiue & prodigall expenſes waſted vpon pleaſure & ſuperfluitie, ſhould be eſchued of all perſons.

Diuers in thys counſayle impoyſoned.

Many other lawes and decrees (ſayth the author) in this aſſẽble were ordeined, wherin they continued the ſpace of .xv. dayes: And many of them were impoyſoned, of whom was the Abbot of Weſtminſter, a man in that order much commended. Alſo William brother to the Earle of Gloceſter. Alſo the Earle himſelfe beyng empoyſoned hardly eſcaped with life, his heare & nayles falling of his body, wherof the author not long after was taken, and duely executed at Wincheſter. In the meane tyme, the nobles conſideryng thoſe daungers and ieopardies, were conſtrayned to breake of for that tyme, appointyng the xiiij. day of October next followyng, to conuent together at London with weapon & harnes: to proſecute and finiſh the reſidue, that was in the ſayd counſaile to be concluded. All which at the time & place appointed was fully accõpliſhed, and the actes therof in order of writyng promulged, and ſo committed to execution.

The kyng repenteth of hys othe.

After the promulgation wherof, many thinges therin diſpleaſed the kyng, and it began to repent him of his othe. But becauſe he could not at that preſent otherwiſe chuſe, he diſſimuled for a ſeaſon. Thus tyme paſſing on, within a yeare followyng, which was 1261. the kyng ſeyng himſelfe more and more to grow in debt, and not to be releued accordyng to promiſe made, but eſpecially beyng egged (as may be thought) by his brethren: takyng it to ſtomache, ſent vp to the Pope both for him, and his ſonne Edward, to be releaſed of their othe made before at Oxford. The benefite of which abſolution beyng eaſely obtained (or rather bought at the Popes hand) the kyng ſteppyng backe from all that was before concluded, calleth an other Parliament at Oxford. Where, he before the Lordes and nobles declared: how in the late counſaile of Oxford they had agreed among them ſelues for the commõ vtilitie of the Realme and of the kyng (as they pretended) for the increaſing of his treaſure, & his debt to be diminiſhed. And therupõ bound themſelues with an othe, cauſing alſo himſelfe, and his ſonne Edward to be bound to the ſame. But now by experience prouing and tryng the matter to be otherwiſe then their promiſe was: and that they, contrary to their couenaunt made, ſought not ſo much the profite of him and of the Realme as their own, takyng him not as their Lord, but goyng about to bring hym vnder their ſubiection as an vnderlyng: and for that moreouer his treaſure greatly decreaſing, his debtes encreaſed, and his princely liberalitie was cut ſhort and troden vnder foote: They ſhould not maruell therfore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counſaile, but would prouide himſelfe of ſome other remedy, ſuch as he might. And moreouer, as touchyng the othe wherewith he & his ſonne ſtode bound vnto them, he had ſent already vnto Rome, and had obtained abſolution and diſpenſation of the ſame, both for him, and his ſonne Edward alſo, and for all other that would take his part. And therfore, he required of them to be reſtored agayne to that ſtate and condition, he had enioyed in tymes paſt.

An. 1261.

The king ſueth to the pope to releaſe him of hys othe.

The popes abſolution abuſed.

The aunſwere of the nobles again to the king.

To this agayne gaue aunſwere the ſtate of nobilitie on the other ſide, beyng in the ſame place preſent. In the number of whom was Simon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, Richard Clare Earle of Gloceſter, Humfrey Ronne earle Ferrence. with a great number of Barons: as Lord John Fitz, John, L. Haſtynges, L. Geoffrey Lucy, L. John Veſcy, L. William Segraue, Hug. Spencer, L. Robert Veſpoynt, with diuers and many mo, whoſe aunſwere to the kyng agayne was this. That the prouiſiõs made at the counſaile of Oxford (wherunto they were ſworne) they would hold, defend, and mainteyne to their lyues end: for ſo much as they did ſound, and alſo were agreed vpon, both to the honor of God, to the profite of the prince, & ſtable wealth of the Realme. &c. And thus parties on both ſides, diſcordyng among themſelues, would ſo haue departed, had not certaine of the Byſhops commyng betwene both, laboured betwene thẽ to take vp the matter. By whoſe meane (ſayth Gualt. Giſburn.) and procurement, the determinatiõ of the cauſe was brought in compromis, and referred to Lodowick the French kyng to iudge betwene them, who hearing both the allegations (ſayth he) like no equall iudge, but a partiall frend: inclined wholy and fully to the kynges ſentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores Hiſt. ſayth, that by the mediatiõ of certaine diſcret men, two were choſen: one for one ſide, the other for the other. To whom the thyrd alſo was adnexed, who hearyng as well what was brought of the kynges part, as alſo what was aunſwered of the other, ſhould define betwene them both. And ſo peace was betwene them cõcluded, till the commyng of Edward. All this while as yet, the popes abſolution for the kyng, although it was graunted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought downe in ſolemne writyng, neither was prince Edward, as yet returned out of Fraunce to England.

The controuerſie betwene the kyng & the nobles put in compromis.

At length, the writyng of the kynges abſolution beyng brought from Rome, the kyng eftſoones commaunded the ſame to be publiſhed through out the Realme, and ſendeth to the French kyng and other ſtraungers for helpe. Moreouer, ſeiſeth all his Caſtels into his own hand, reiectyng the counſaile of the Lordes, to whoſe cuſtody they were before committed. Alſo remouyng the former officers, as iuſtices, & the Chauncelour: with other placed afore by the Lordes, he appointed new in their ſtede.

The pope releſeth the k. of his oth.

To this foreſayd abſolution procured from Rome for the kyng and his ſonne: Edward returnyng out of Fraunce, at that time did not giue his cõſent, but held with the Lordes. Who then puttyng themſelues in armes, with a great power repayred vp to London (keepyng there, in the ſuburbes & places about) while the kyng kept within the tower, cauſing the citie gates to be watched and locke, and all within the ſayd citie beyng aboue the age of xij. yeares to be ſworne vnto him. But at lẽgth through the meanes of certaine cõmyng betwene, this tumultuous perturbation was ſomewhat appeaſed, (at leaſt ſome hope of peace appeared) ſo that the matter was take vp for that tyme without warre or bloudſhed. Notwithſtandyng, ſome falſe pretenſed diſſemblers there were, which ſecretly diſcloſing all the counſailes and doynges of the Lordes vnto the kyng, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the meanes of whom, the purpoſe the Lordes came not to ſo good effect, as otherwiſe it might. Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Wicked makebates.

Ex Flor. hiſt. in An. 1261.

In this preſent yeare (as affirmeth the forenamed author) it was rumored abroad, that all the Byſhops of England went about to recouer agayne out of the handes of religious men, all ſuch Churches and benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated: And that they, for the expeditiõ of the ſame had ſent vp to Rome, both meſſengers and money, nothyng miſdoubtyng to obteyne their purpoſe. But as a litle good fruite in thoſe dayes vſed to ſpryng out of that ſea: ſo I do not finde, that godly ſute and labour of the Biſhops to take any fruitfull effect. The ſame yeare dyed Pope Alexander, after whom ſucceded Pope Urban the fourth.

Biſhops goyng about to recouer benefices appropriate from religious houſes. *Ex Florilego ibid.*

Pope Alexander dieth. Pope Urbane.

1262.

Of the which pope Urbane the kyng alſo obtayned, or rather reuiued a new releaſemẽt from his othe, made to the prouiſions and ſtatutes of Oxford. Which beyng graunted, he commaundeth incontinent all the foreſayd lawes and prouiſions through England to be diſſolued and broken. This done, the kyng with the Queene taketh his viage into Fraunce, where he fell into great infirmitie of ſicknes, and the moſt part of his family taken with the feuer quartane, of which many dyed. In the number of whom beſide other, dyed Richard the worthy Earle of Gloceſter and Herford, after whom ſucceded Gilbert Clare, his ſonne.

A new releaſe of the kynges othe from Rome, wyth thys epitaph: Hic pudor Hypoliti. Paridis gena, ſenſus Vliſsis. Eneæ pietas, Hectoris ira iacet.

The Welſhmen this yeare, breakyng into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the landes of Roger Lord Mortimer: but mightely agayne by him were expulſed, not without great ſlaughter of the inuaders. About which tyme, the kyng through ſome diſcret counſaile about hym, inclined to peace and concord with his nobles, grauntyng of his mere voluntary will, the conſtitutions and prouiſions of Oxford to take place in the Realme, directyng his commaundement to euery ſhyre. Albeit, the Realme yet

The Welchmen rebell.

The prouiſions of Oxford agayne graunted by the kyng.

was not altogether pacified for all that.

The kinges palace at Weſtm. brēt wyth fire.

In the latter end of this yeare, the kings palace at Weſtminſter was brent, and for the moſt part was all conſumed with fire, which ſemed to many an euill prognoſticate agaynſt the kyng. Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Vſury puniſhed for takyng aboue ij.d. a weeke in a pounde.

In ſome Engliſh Chronicles it is alſo recorded, that the ſame yeare. 500. Iewes at London were ſlayne for takyng vſury more thē .ij. pence a weke for .xx.s. beyng before forbid by the kyng to take aboue that rate by the weeke.

1263.

The nobles riſing agaynſt the ſtrangers hauyng the cōmodityes of the realme Peter of Hereford a Burgundian a rich byſh.

After this foloweth the yeare. 1263. in which, the Barons of England confederatyng themſelues together, for maintaynyng the ſtatutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly moued with the old grudge conceiued agaynſt the ſtraungers (maintayned by the Kyng, and the Queene, and Edward their ſonne, in the Realme of England,) ioyned powers in all forceable wiſe: and firſt inuaded the ſayd ſtraungers, namely thē which were about the kyng. Their goods and manors they waſted and ſpoyled, whether they were perſons eccleſiaſticall or temporall. Among whom beſides other, was Peter a Burgundian (Byſhop of Hereford, a rich prelate) with all his treaſure apprehended and ſpoyled: alſo his countreymen, whom he had placed to be Canons of the ſame Church. With like order of handlyng other alienes alſo, to whom was cōmitted the cuſtody of diuers Caſtels, as of Glouceſter, of Worceſter, of Brignorth: were ſpoyled, impriſoned, and ſent away. Briefly, what ſoeuer he was in all the land that could not vtter the Engliſh toung, was of euery raſcall diſdayned, and happy if he might ſo eſcape. By reaſon wherof it ſo came to paſſe, that a great number as well of other foreners, as eſpecially religious men and rich Prieſtes (which here had gathered much ſubſtaunce) were vrged to that extremitye, that they were glad to flie the land. In the cataloge of whom, was one moſt principally named John Maunſel, a Prieſt notoriouſly growen in riches and treaſures not to be told: hauing in his hād ſo many and rich benefices, that neare no Biſhop of the Realme might compare with him in riches. Who notwithſtādyng he kept with the kyng at Lōdon, yet was compelled priuely to voyde the Realme, & was purſued by Henry the ſonne of Rich. kyng of Almaine. Certaine other ſtraungers there were, to the number of. 200. and more, which hauing the caſtell of Winſore there immured and intrenched themſelues, to whom at length prince Edward alſo adioyned himſelfe.

John Maūſell a riche prieſt.

The kyng agayne agreeth wyth the nobles.

The queene a great cauſe of this debate.

The forme of peace concluded betwene the king and the nobles.

In the meane tyme while this ſturre was abroad, the kyng keeping thē in the Tower, and ſeyng the greateſt part of his nobles and commons with the Lōdoners to be ſet agaynſt him: agreed to the peace of the Barons, & was contented to aſſent agayne to the ordinaunces and prouiſions of Oxford. Albeit the Queene, by all meanes poſſible went about to perſwade the kyng not to aſſent thereto. Who as ſemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of diſcord betwene the kyng and the baronage. In ſomuch, that when the ſayd Queene Alinore ſhould paſſe by barge from the Tower to Winſore: the Lōdoners ſtanding vpō the bridge with their exclamations, curſinges and throwyng of ſtones & dirt at her: interrupted her courſe, cauſing her to returne to the Tower agayne. Notwithſtanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the forme therof was this. Firſt, that Henry ſonne of Richard king of Romanes, ſhould be deliuered by the Kyng & Queene. Secondly, that the Caſtels agayne ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of Engliſhmen, not of ſtraungers. Thirdly, that the prouiſions and ſtatutes decreed at Oxford, ſhould as well by the kyng, as by all other inuiolably be obſerued. Fourthly, that the Realme henceforth ſhould be ruled and gouerned not by foreners, but by perſonages borne within the land. Fifthly, that all alienes and ſtraungers ſhould voyde the land, not to returne agayne, except onely ſuch, whoſe abode ſhould by the common aſſent of the kynges truſty ſubiectes be admitted and alowed.

The caſtle of Winſor recouered out of the hādes of ſtrāgers.

Thus the Kyng and the nobles ioynyng together after this forme of peace aboue prefixed, although not fully with hart, as after appeared: put themſelues in armes with all their power to recouer the Caſtell of Windſore out of the ſtraungers handes. But Edward in the myd way betwene Londō and the Caſtell, metyng with his father and the barons, entred communication vpon the matter. Which beyng finiſhed, and he thinkyng to returne into the Caſtell agayn, by the policie of the Earle of Leyceſter, & William Byſhop of Worceter: was not permitted to reenter. Wherupon, the ſtraungers within the hold (deſtitute of all hope to withſtand the great force approchyng) rendred the Caſtell vnto the kyng and barons, vpon this conuention: That with horſe and harnes they might be ſuffered ſafe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Which beyng graunted, certaine of the barons conducted them in their iourney toward the Sea ſide, and there they left them.

Manet alta mente repoſtum iudicium Paridis, &c. Virg.

In the ſame yeare about the begynnyng of October, the Kyng and Queene made ouer to Fraunce, wyth Simon Montfort and other nobles, to heare and ſtand to the arbitrement of Lewes the French kyng, concernyng the controuerſie betwene the ſtates of England, and all through the procurement of Alinor the Queene. For ſhe not forgetting the old contumely of the Londiners, exclamyng agaynſt her vpon the bridge, wrought alwayes what reuenge ſhe could agaynſt them. Concerning the arbitremēt of thys matter put to the French king, part hath bene ſaid before, more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Some ſtories do adde moreouer, that the kyng continuing long in France: word was ſent to hym out of England, that vnleſſe he returned agayne to the Realme, they would elect a new kyng. Wherupon the kyng returnyng out of France to Douer, would haue entred the caſtell, but he was ſtopped. Wherfore the kyng in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power toward London: where, Simon Montfort the worthy Earle of Leyceſter, through ſubtile trayne, was almoſt betrayed and circumuented in Southwerke, by the ſodaine purſuing of the kings army, had not the Londiners with more ſpede breaking barres & cheines, made way to reſcue him. By ỹ meanes of whom the Erle at that tyme eſcaped the daunger.

The ſentence of the French king, with the king of England agaynſt the Barons.

Ex Flor. hiſt. ex Giſbur. & alijs.

Now to come to the ſentence of the French kyng: for ſo much as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before bene ſpecified: he in a great frequency, both of French and Engliſh perſons about hym, conſidering and peaſing the cauſe on both ſides betwene ỹ kyng and the nobles: clearely and ſolemnely pronounced on the kynges ſide agaynſt the Barons, ordaynyng that the kyng of England all thys while had ſuffered wrong and that he ſhould be reſtored agayne to hys priſtine ſtate, notwithſtāding the prouiſions made at Oxford, which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated. Ex Flor. hiſt. Giſburn.

Warre betwene the kyng & the Barons beginneth.

Vniuerſitie of Oxford, remoued for a tyme to Northampton.

An. 1264.

The ſentence of the French kyng thus awarded: as it gaue to the kyng of England, with hys retinue no litle incouragement, ſo it wrought in the nobles hartes great indignation: Which, notwithſtanding that partiall decrement of the French kyng, ſped themſelues home out of Fraunce to defend themſelues with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after, foloweth alſo ỹ kyng: by whoſe trayne, Simon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter (as is aboue recited) was well neare circumuented in Southwerke. Then the kyng calling hys counſaile together at Oxford (from whence he excluded the vniuerſitye of ſtudentes for a ſeaſon, who were then at Northampton) there conſulted, conferring with hys frendes and counſailours, what way was beſt to be taken. And hearing that ỹ Barons were aſſembled in a great nūber at the towne of Northampton, went thether wyth his hoſte, & wyth hys banners diſplayed, accompanyed wyth Richard hys brother kyng of Almayne: Alſo with Edward hys ſonne, John Comyn of Scotland, with many Scots, John of Dalliolo, Lord of Galewaye, Robert of Bruſe, Lord Walter of Iuand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmyon, John of Waus, Roger of Layburne, Henry Percy, Philip Baſſet, Roger of Mortymer, and William of Walance, & many other. Therfore the kyng commaunded the Barōs that were within to yeld vnto him preſently the Citie and the pledges, or els he would immediatly deſtroy them. But they counſeling with the younger Simon de monte forti, which by his fathers commaundement had got the reſidue thether to take counſell together (for his father and ỹ Erle of Gloceſter were not yet come) boldly and with one minde aunſwered: that they would not obey the kynges will, but would rather defend themſelues and the citie if neede were euen to the death. Which the noble men of the kinges part hearing, ſent word agayne, that at ỹ leaſt they ſhould come to the walle of the citie to ſpeake to the king, if by any meanes peace might be made. And they ſuſpecting no deceipt, folowed their counſell: and leauing their holdes, came to the walle towardes the medow, for there laye the kyng & hys ſtrong hoſt hard by. But in the meane ſpace, whileſt diuers matters were reaſoned and intreated of betwene the kyng and the Lordes: the Lord Philip Baſſet (which before was appointed to worke that feat) with mattockes & other inſtrumentes of yron and men prepared for the nonce: neare to the monaſtery of S. Andrew, did vndermyne the walle of the Citie. And by this meanes, the wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great plaine, ſo that in one forefront there might haue gone in together on a row forty horſemen. And of this ſubtelty, the alian Monkes that were there, were thought to be the workers: becauſe they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when

The nobles takē at Northamptō.

they

Simon Mountfort the younger taken priſoner.

The ſcholers of Oxford ſtont agaynſt the kyng.

The ſtudentes of Oxford ſpared.

they yͭ paſſed by ſaw this, ⁊ the kings bãners were erected, ready to enter in: There was a great howlyng made, ⁊ the noyſe of the people came to the eares of the Barons, ⁊ they made ſpeede to reſiſt them, but it was all in vayne, becauſe they were already preuented of a great cõpany of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the yõger, after he had valiauntly fought a while in the middeſt of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with hym: when Edward the kynges ſonne came, was by his commaundement taken and led away priſoner. But the Clarkes of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford (which Uniuerſitie by the Barons commaundement was tranſlated thether) did worke againſt the kynges men, more hurt then the other Barons, with their ſlynges, long bowes, and croſſebowes: for they had a banner by themſelues, and that was ſet vp a hye againſt the kyng. Where with all the kyng being greatly moued, ſware at his entring in, that they ſhould all be hanged. Which whẽ they heard many of thẽ ſhaued their crownes, and they that were able ran away as faſt as they could. And when the kyng entred the Citie, many fled in their armour into the Caſtell: other left their horſe and harnes and ranne into Churches, and a few were ſlayne, and thoſe were of the cõmon people. But there was not much bloudſhed, becauſe all thynges were done as vpon a ſodaine. When the Citie was at the length ſet in a quiet, the kyng commaunded his othe to be executed vpon the Clarkes. But his counſellers ſayd vnto him: this be farre from thee, O kyng, for the ſonnes of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy kyngdome were there gathered together into the Uniuerſitie: whom if thou wouldeſt cauſe to be hanged or ſlayne, euen they that now take thy part would ryſe vp agaynſt thee, not ſufferyng to the vttermoſt of their powers the bloud of their ſonnes and kinſfolkes to be ſhed. And ſo the kyng was pacified, and his wrath agaynſt the Clarkes was ſtayed.

The Lords taken at Northamton.

In the ſame day, after litle more then an houre, the kynges hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtell, and the new hold keepers were afrayde, for that they had not victuals ⁊ other things neceſſary for their reſiſtaunce: therfore they ſent immediatly meſſengers vnto the kyng, and yelded themſelues to the kynges mercy. There were taken that day theſe knightes and Barons vnder written: Lord Williã de Ferrers, Lord Peter Mountfort, companion of the ſayd Simon de Mõtforte the younger, Lord Baldwyn de Wake, Lord Adam de Newmarche, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon the ſonne of Simon a valiaunt warriour, which firſt erected his banner againſt the kyng, Lord Berengarius de Waterwyle, Lord Hugo Gubiam, Lord Thomas Maunſell, Lord Roger Botemlam, Nicolas Wake, Lord Robert de Newton, Lord Philip de Drby and Grimbald de Paſſefoote. All theſe afore hand did the kyng take priſoners and many more, of whom he committed ſome to the Lord Nicolas of Hauerſam to be kept in the ſame Caſtell well defẽſed: ſome he led away with him, and ſome he ſent to diuers Caſtels, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be caſt into Windſore Caſtell. And all theſe thynges, as touchyng the takyng of Northamton, were done on the Sabboth day in paſſion weeke, beyng the third of April, in the yeare of our Lord. 1264. And the kyng went forward euen to Notingham, burnyng and waſtyng the maners of the Lordes and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increaſed his number.

Earle Simon Mountfort fayneth himſelfe ſicke.

Rocheſter beſieged of the Barons.

The kyng ſhunneth London.

When this ill lucke was told of them that were runne away to the Earle Simõ, which was commyng towardes Northampton with a great hoſt: he was in a great rage, and yet was not diſcouraged. But immediatly goyng to London, cauſed a chariot to be made him after the maner of lytters or couches, wherein he might ride as though he were ſicke: for he fayned himſelfe to be feable and weake, whereas he was in deede a ſtout and valiaunt warriour. And there gathered to him other noble men that were confederate with him, Earles and Barons, euery one bringing with them their ſeuerall armies. And preparing their ingynnes of wood, they went to beſiege Rocheſter, for the Earle of Worceſter in the kynges behalfe, kept both the towne and caſtell. When they had gotten the firſt gate, and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to returne, ⁊ there that valiaunt knight Roger de la Bourne was wounded and very ill handled: And whileſt they continued ſiege there a while, it was told them that the king was cõmyng toward London with a mighty hoaſt. And they ſayd one to an other: if the kyng at his cõmyng ſhould take London, we ſhall be ſhut in as it were in a ſtraight corner. Let vs therfore returne to London that we may keepe in ſafety both the place and the people. Therfore, appointyng certain perſons to keepe the ſiege, they returned to Lõdon. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the Citizens to meete him, not with flowres and palmes in their handes, but ſwordes and ſpeares. The kyng ſhunned them, and after he had the Caſtell of Kingſton, which was the Earle of Gloceſters, he went from thence to Rocheſter: where after he had killed a few, he brake that ſiege, and frõ thence the kyng went to Tunbridge. And the towne and caſtell now beyng geuen vp to him, he tooke there the Coũteſſe of Gloceſter, and put her into an Abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at libertie whether ſhe would: And he left for the cuſtody of the Caſtell and Citie a great part of his hoaſt to the nũber of aboue. xx. picked out enſignes, for that it was commonly ſayd that the Earle of Gloceſter would come out of hand to aſſault them. Which being done, he continued on his iourney to Winchelſee, where he receiued to peace, the ſeamen of the hauen townes. And three dayes after vpon the Monday followyng he came to the Towne of Lewes, and was receiued into the Abbey, ⁊ his ſonne Edward into the caſtell. Then the Barons ſent letters to the kyng the. xij. day of May, the tenor wherof followeth.

The letter of the Lordes to the kyng.

To their moſt excellẽt Lord Henry by the grace of God kyng of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitania: his Barons and other his faithfull ſubiectes, beyng willyng to keepe their othe and fidelitie to God and hym, ſend gretyng and due obedience with honour and reuerence. Whereas by many experimentes it is manifeſt, that ſome of your graces aſſiſtaunces haue reported to your maieſtye many lyes of vs, workyng miſchief, as much as in thẽ lyeth, not onely agaynſt vs, but agaynſt you alſo and your whole Realme: Be it knowen to your highnes, that we haue bene alwayes willing to defend the health and ſafegard of your perſon with all our power and fealty due to your grace: purpoſing to vexe to the vttermoſt of our power and eſtate not onely our yll willers, but alſo your enemyes, and the enemyes of your whole Realme. If it be your good pleaſure geue no credite to them, we ſhall be alwayes found your faythfull. And we the Earle of Leyceſter and Gilbert of Clare at requeſt of the other, for vs and them haue put to our ſeales.

These letters beyng read and heard, there was a counſell called, and the kyng writ backe to them, and ſpecially to the two Earles of Leyceſter and Gloceſter, in maner and forme folowyng.

The anſwere of the kyng to the Lordes.

Henry by the grace of God kyng of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitanie. &c. To Simon Moũtfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. For as much as by the warre and generall diſquietnes by your meanes rayſed vp in our whole Realme, and alſo the burnynges and other hurtfull enormities: it appeareth manifeſtly that you keepe not your fidelity to vs ward, nor care any thyng for our health or ſafety: And for that ye haue inorderly greued our nobles, and other our faythfull ſubiectes, ſtickyng faithfully and conſtantly to vs (as you haue certified vs) we accoũtyng their loſſe as our owne, and their enemies as ours. And ſeing theſe my aforeſayd faythfull ſubiects for the keepyng of their fidelity, do aſſiſt vs manfully and faithfully againſt your vnfaythfulnes, we therfore care not for your fidelity or loue, but defie you as our and their enemies. Witnes my ſelfe at Lewes the day and yeare aboueſayd.

The letter of Richard k. of Almaine and prince Edward to the Barons.

Alſo Richard kyng of Almaine, and Lord Edward the ſonne of kyng Henry writ alſo to the Barons in this wiſe. Richard by the grace of God, kyng of the Romaines alwayes Auguſtus, and Edward the eldeſt ſonne of the noble kyng of England, and all the other Baronnes and nobles conſtantly and faythfully in hart and deede cleauing to the foreſayd kyng of England: to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare and to all and ſingular other their adherẽtes in their conſpiracie. By your letters which you ſent to our Lord the noble kyng of England we haue vnderſtandyng that you defie vs, although before any ſuch word, your defiaunce towardes vs was apparaunt inough by your cruell perſecution in burnyng our poſſeſſions and ſpoylyng our goodes: we therfore geue you to witte, that we all and euery one of vs, as your enemyes, do defie you all as our open enemies. And farther that we will not ceaſe where ſoeuer it ſhall lye in our power, to the vttermoſt of our force and might, to ſubuert your perſons and all that you haue. As touchyng that you lay to our charge, that we geue neither faythfull nor good counſell to our Lord the kyng, you ſay not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirme the ſame in our Lord the kynges Court: we are ready to get ſafeconduit for you to come to the ſayd Court to try, and declare the truth of our innocencie and the falsehode of you both, as forsworne traytors, by some mā equall with you in nobility and stocke. All we, are contented with the seales of the aforesaid Lordes, the Lord Richard, and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforesayd.

The battaile of Lewes betwene the kyng and the Barons begynneth.

Both which letters beyng read, they drew neare to the kyng, for they were not farre distaunt from the place which is called Lewes. And for that there wanted to the kynges store prouisiō for their horses, it was commaunded them, on Teusday to go forth to seeke for hay and prouender. Which when they were gone forth, were preuented most of them, of their enemies and killed: but the residue returnyng, saw their enemies cōmyng very early, on the Wednesday mornyng, & making outcries styrred vp the kyng, and his host to arme themselues. Then the Barons commyng to the full playne descended there, and gyrding and trimmyng their horses made fit their harneis to them. And there the Earle Simon made the Earle of Glocester, and Robert Deuer, and many other new knightes. Which beyng done, he deuided and distincted his host into foure seuerall battails: And he appointed noble men to guide and gouerne euery battaile. And ouer the first battaile were ordeined Captaines, Henry Mountfort the eldest sonne of the Earle Simon, & Guido his brother, Lord John de Burgh the younger, & Lord Humfrey de Boun. Ouer the second battaile, Lord Gilbert Clare Earle of Glocester, Lord John the sonne of Lord Fi. John and Lord William of Mounchensi. And ouer the third, in which the Londiners were at their request, the Lord Nicolas Segraue was assigned. Which required also very instauntly, that they might haue the first stroke in the battaile, at the aduenture come what come would. But ouer the fourth battaile, the Earle himselfe was Captaine with the Lord Thomas of Pleuestone. In the meane season came forth the kynges host, preparyng themselues to the field in three battailes: of which Edward the kyngs sonne led the first, with the Earle of Warwicke and Valence the kynges brother: and the second the kyng of Almaine guided, with his sonne Henry: but the kyng with his nobles guided the third. And the fourth legion the kyng appointed not, by reason that he had left many of his chief souldiours behynde him, to kepe the Castell and towne of Tunebridge agaynst the Earle of Glocester. And the most part of the kynges army were but young men, for the kyng thought not that his Barons, had bene come so nigh hand. Their armies beyng on both sides set in aray and order, they exhorted one an other on either party to fight valiauntly: and after they buckled together, the battaile was great, and many horsmen were ouerthrowne euen in a moment. But by and by Edward the kynges sonne with his band, as a fierce young gentleman, and valiaunt knight fell vpō the Londiners with such force, that he compelled them to recule backe a great way: so that the hindmost (thinkyng by reason of their gyuing backe, that the foremost were slayne) ran many away of them, and takyng water to passe ouer, were almost threscore souldiours drowned, & a few of them beyng slayne, all the rest fled. Straight way the Londiners which had asked the first fight, knowyng not how the battaile went tooke them to their heeles: whom Edward pursued with his band killyng the hindmost of them, by the space of two or three myles. For he hated them because they had rebelled agaynst his father, and disgraced his mother when she was caried by barge vpon the Temse, from the tower to Westminster, as is aboue touched. pag. 415.

Richard K. of Almaine wyth hys sunne taken prisoners.

Whiles that prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the vaward of the Barons battail: In the meane tyme the mayne battaile of the Barons set vpon the kyngs mayne battell, of the which the kyng of Almaine the brother of kyng Henry had the leadyng: which beyng soone discomfited, and he with his sonne Henry and Robert de Brus, John Comin, with diuers other Captaines taken prisoners: the rereward wherin the kyng himselfe fought, beyng immediatly so hardly beset, and seyng his knightes & souldiours on euery side about him beaten down and slayne, and diuers other of his souldiours to forsake the field and shift for themselues: thought good to take agayne the town, & so retired into the Abbey from whence he came, shuttyng and rampering vp the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with souldiours. To be briefe, the Barons thus gettyng the field after long fight, and many men on either side slayne: entred also the towne of Lewes, pursuyng in chase such souldiours as thether fled for succour.

The kynges mayne battaile at Lewes discomforted, & the K. fayne to take the Abbey.

Prince Edward returnyng from the first chase, vnderstandeth altogether lost.

In the meane tyme, Prince Edward returnyng from the chase of the Londiners as ye heard, who beleued to haue the first victory: and there espying the chariote of the earle Simon (which he caused purposely to be made for him) & the horses in the same, without either waggoner or any other to gouerne the same: fell immediatly vpon the chariote, and brake it all in pieces, & slew two Burgeses that were within the same. But when he came nere to the place where the bloudy battell had bene fought, and sawe the great discomfiture and ouerthrow which in his absēce with great mortalitie and slaughter had happened: his hart was much dismayd, and his countenaunce altered. Yet notwithstandyng comfortyng and couraging his knightes and souldiours, of whom he had a valiaunt company, in battell aray marched toward the towne. Agaynst whome, came the Barons agayne with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh field and new battell, and many men slayne on either side. But at length, the Erle de Warenna, wyth the Kinges two brethren, forsooke the field and fled: after whō went more then seuen hundred chosen souldiours, which were of their house and family: who the same day came to Peuensie, and there tooke shippyng ouer the sea. Also Hugh Bigot with diuers other fled, and left the valiaunt Prince fightyng in the field: which thyng he also perceauyng, tooke the towne. And when he found not the kyng his father at the Castle, he went frō thence to the Abbey where he was. In the meane season the town was deuided in partes: some fightyng, some spoylyng, some gettyng of booties, neyther could scarcely one of them know and decerne an other whether he were his friend or enemy. But whē within a while the Barons had assembled some company, they gaue an assault vpon the Castell, thinking to haue rescued John Gifford and others whom the kings souldiours had taken prisoners and put therin. But the souldiors within defended manfully the same, and in throwyng out balles of wyld fire, as for the defence therof they had, they also fired part of the towne. Then the Barons retired and left the Castle, and purposed to haue set vpon the Abbey where the Kyng and prince Edward hys sonne was, which also was set on fire by the assault geuen to the castle. But yet it was shortly recouered and quenched. Then Edward the kinges son perceiuing the bold enterprise of the Barons, prepared wyth couragious knightes and souldiours as were yet remaynyng and within the Abbey, to haue issued out, and to haue geuen a new charge vpon them. But that perceiuyng the Barons, sent vnto the kyng Messengers to entreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talke & conclude of a further peace betwene them. This battel was fought vpon the 19. day of May, beyng the yere of our Lord. 1264.

The prince setteth a new battel.

Prince Edw. also put to the worse, and faine to take the towne.

The castell of Lewes besieged.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two preachyng Friers betwene the kyng and the Barons, with certen articles and demaundes of peace: so that with certaine others, these conditions were agreed on: that on the morow beyng Friday the prince should geue himselfe in hostage for the kyng his father and other of his parties. And Henry the Kinges sonne of Almayne also should geue himselfe the lyke for hys father. That those thynges which should be concluded vppon for the benefite and commoditie of the realme, and peaceable quietnes therof might be performed: and that all such prisoners as were taken on eyther syde, should be freely raunsomed and sent home.

A peace intreated betwene the king and Barones.

The two princes geuen in hostage.

The next day which was Saturday, the king discharged all his souldiours, and other that were wyth hym in the Abbey, licensing them to depart whether them liked. And furthermore, by the aduise of his sonne and the Barons: he gaue commaundement to those which he had appoynted to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the preiudice or hurt of the Barons, but in hope of ye peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart euery man to their houses and habitations. But they goyng out [illegible] therupon, went with their furniture to Winchelse, where they kept themselues in garrisō, [illegible] the commyng of Edward the kynges sonne out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the kyng was vanquished at Lewes, and that the Londiners in the forward were put to flight by prince Edward (by a messenger that escaped from the same) and that also the same Londiners were at Crowdowne: they set vpon them in the euenyng tyde, and takyng from them much spoyle, slew also many of them.

The kinges souldiours in Tunbridge after they had spoyled the Londiners at Crowdown, kept themselues in garison at Winchelsey.

But when Roger Mortimer [illegible] the earles part on the otherside to [illegible]: he bare himselfe more stouter, for that both the kyng and ye kyng[illegible] [illegible] vpon the [illegible] of the Earle: [illegible] the Kinges sonne [illegible] as he thought to be most strongest. [illegible] in hys handes [illegible] and kept the hostages more straightly then he was wont to do. Insomuch that when it was [illegible] abroad that the Kinges sonne was kept as a prisoner [illegible]

Earle Simon after this victory beareth himselfe so stout, that he imprisoneth the hostages of the kynges.

priſoner, diuers counſailed hym that were hys frendes that he ſhould deſire to diſporte himſelfe at the barriers, that the people might haue a ſight of hym: but he beyng narrowly garded as he knew, & fearing ſome tumult to ariſe, thought good to refuſe their counſail and ſo did.

In this troubleſome yeare, which was 1264. as the Londiners with the Nobles were thus occupied in warre and diſſention: the malignaunt Jewes thinkyng to take vantage of the tyme, with priuy treaſon conſpired agaynſt the whole Citie and ſtate of the Nobles. who beyng taken with the maner, were almoſt all ſlayne that dwelt in the city of London.

The death of Pope Urbane. Pope Clemēt. 4. Pope Clement firſt a maried mā, and had wife and children.

In this yere after the death of Pope Urbane, ſucceded the ſayd yere of our Lord. an. 1264. Pope Clement the 4. Which Clement, as affirmeth Nich. Triuet, was firſt a maried man, and had wife and children, and was the ſolicitor and counſailor to the French kyng. Then after the death of his wyfe was biſhop [illegible] Podienſis. After that archbiſhop of Narbone. And at laſt made Cardinall. who being ſent of Pope Urbane in legacie for reformation of peace, in hys abſence was elected pope by ẏ Cardinals. About thys tyme floriſhed Thomas of Aquine, reader at Paris among the Dominike Friers, and Bonauenture among ẏ Franciſ Friers. Ex Nich. Triuet.

Thomas Aquine Bonauēture readers at Paris.

An.1265.

Diſſention betwene Earle Simon & the Earle of Gloceſter.

As this paſſed on, the ſonnes of Simon the Earle, to wit, Henry, Simon, Guido, and Henry beyng puft vp, and with the pryde of this ſucceſſe eleuated, did that which nothing contented the Erle of Glouceſter. In ſo much, that he chalenged Henry the eldeſt ſonne of the erle Simond Montfort, at the barriers, to be tryed at Northampton. But that challenge was taken vp, leaſt ſome further inconuenience might haue riſen therof. But the Earle of Glouceſter beyng moued therewith in his mynde, ſent vnto hys father the Erle that he ſhould deliuer hym ſuch priſoners beyng Noble men, as he tooke at the battaile of Lewes. Amongeſt whome, the kyng of Almayne was named firſt. But he by countenaunce anſwered hym and ſayd: that it might content and ſatiſfie hym, for that he had ſaued and preſerued to hym hys landes, that day the battell was fought at Lewes. And that furthermore he would not ſend him ſuch priſoners as he demaunded: But that he himſelfe kept more nobler then they in the Caſtle of Douer: among whō was John Baſſet, which vndermined and brake down the walles of Northhampton, at that conflict as is ſayd before and ſpecified.

The Earle of Gloceſter & Roger Mortimer conſpire together agaynſt Earle Symon.

The Erle of Glouceſter beyng herewith diſpleaſed, as ſoone as he heard this anſwere: ſent incontinently to the Lord Roger Mortimer, which alwayes tooke the kynges part, deſiring that they two might talke together touchyng the benefite and commoditie of the kyng. Who, doubtyng ſome deceit, deſired ſureties and pledges for hys ſafe returne, and he would come and talke with hym, and ſo had. When they met, and had a whyle talked familiarly: the erle of Glouceſter ſhewed hym all that he was purpoſed to do: and that further he lamented, he had ſo much and greatly offended the kyng: And that he would with all hys power and habilitie make amendes for that offence in the reſtitution of the K. agayne to his kingly dignity, as much as he poſſible might. Therfore, they ſent ſecretly to Robert, the brother of the Erle of Glouceſter, which was nere about the Erle Symon, and made hym to conſent with them therin. And to worke this thyng more circumſpectly, to be opportunely ſerued therunto: Roger Mortimer ſent vnto the kynges ſonne a horſe excellyng all other in footemanſhip, vpon whom he might be ſure to truſt, when he ſaw conuenient tyme therunto. After which thinges thus concluded, Prince Edward deſired leaue of the Earle to proue hys courſer agaynſt ſuch tyme he ſhould ryde at the Tilt, as they might, when they liſted. Aſſoone as he had gotten leaue, and that with galloping and chaunging the horſe he had wearied diuers of theyr horſes: at the laſt getting vp vpon the horſe which for that purpoſe was ſent, and ſpying a ſeruaunt on horſeback comming toward hym with two ſwordes, the one he put about hym, to his keper, whoſe name was Robert de Roſe, and to other his playfellowes that were with hym, ſaying: My louyng lordes, thus long haue I kept you company, and haue bene in your cuſtodie. And now not purpoſing to vſe your companies any longer, I bidde you to God: And quickly turnyng hys horſe about, put to the ſpurres and away went he. The other purſued after a pace, but yet came far much behynde, and ouertake hym they could not. At laſt when they ſawe Roger Mortimer commyng from hys Caſtle of Wygmore, accompanied with many armed men to meete hym, and becauſe it was appoynted they returned agayne home, as wiſe as when they came forth. And when this the Princes eſcape was diuulgated, much people came vnto hym out of euery quarter, with great ioy therof. Amongſt whō, the firſt was the Erle of Glouceſter, and the other ſouldiours of the kings, which had long time lien at Briſtow, and there abouts. And within a ſhort ſpace he had a great and mighty hoſt.

Prince Edward eſcapeth out of the cuſtody of Earle Symon by a trayne.

The Earle Simon ſendeth about, & in all haſt gathereth a power.

Which thing when the Erle Symond vnderſtoode, he much doubted and miſtruſted hymſelfe: And ſendyng into Wales, he gate from thence a great many men, and augmented hys power as ſtrongly as he might, from euery part of England. He ſent alſo Simon hys ſonne to the Noble men of the North partes, that with all poſſible ſpede he might bryng them with hym: who with a great company came with hym, and at Kenelworth a while they ſtayd, and there pitched their tentes. But leauyng Kenelworth for a certen tyme they went to Winchester, and ſpoyled the ſame, and then returned agayne to Kenelworth. And when this by a certen ſpiall was declared to Edward the kinges ſonne, who then was at Wiceſter, which he had gotten after he came from Glouceſter a little before: prepared hymſelfe with hys ſouldiours, in the night ſeaſon to go to the place where the ſpye ſhould bring hym, which was into a deepe valley nere vnto the place, where Simon and hys company had pitched. And when in the mornyng they were very carefully about to arme themſelues, and prepare their horſes: they heard a great noyſe of their enemies commyng towardes them. Then thinkyng, that they had prepared themſelues agaynſt their commyng, and ſo had bene betrayed: they ſet forth in battell aray marching forward, till that they mette certen of their enemies ſtraggling in long wynges, thinking to haue gone a foragyng and to haue ſought for vitailes: whom they take, & with their freſh horſes, new horſed their ſouldiours that had their horſes tired with long trauell. And ſo marching forward, came very early in the mornyng vpon their enemies, whom for the moſt part they found ſleeping: and laying luſtily about them: they ſlew diuers, ſome they toke, the reſt they put to flight: and xv. of their chiefeſt enſignes they toke, and many other rich ſpoyles. But yōg Simon himſelfe lodged in the caſtell, who with a few with him eſcaped and fled. And this was the 4. day before the Nones of Auguſt. an. 1265.

The firſt enterpriſe of prince Edw. after his eſcape by the meanes of a ſpie.

But when Edward, heard that Erle Simon was cōmyng toward Kenelworth, to ioyne with his ſonnes battel: he marched forward to meete hym, the third day after at Euſham. where he deuided his hoſt into iij. battels, he himſelfe hauyng the leadyng of one, the Earle of Glouceſter the ſecond, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came vppon their backes. The kings ſonne Edward came Northward as though he came from Kenelworth to Euſham, and becauſe he would not be diſcride, he cauſed his own ſtanderds and enſignes to be taken downe, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be aduaunced. But the Erle Simons [illegible], whoſe name was Nicholas, ſhewed the erle that ſuch bandes and companies were marching towardes him: who thinkyng the ſame to haue bene Simon hys ſonnes power, not knowing of the ouerthrow which he had before, gaue ſmall credite therunto: till that the ſayd Nicholas the better to view and deſcrie them, went vp to the Abbey ſteple of Euſham, where he might playnly diſcerne them all and their ſtanderds: For by this tyme, they were mounted the hyll which they laboured to attayne, thinkyng to haue that vauntage, when they ſhould geue their charge as they had purpoſed: and had alſo aduaunced agayne his owne ſtanderdes, and pulled downe Simons, whereby they were the more eaſelier diſcried and knowne. Then he cryed aloude to the Earle Simon and ſayd, we are all but dead men: For it is not your ſonne as you ſuppoſe that commeth, but it is Edward the kinges ſonne, that commeth from one parte: and the Erle of Glouceſter from an other part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part. Then ſayd the Erle, The Lord be mercifull vnto our ſoules, for aſmuch as our bodies and lyues are now in their handes: commaundyng that euery man ſhould make hymſelfe redy to God, and to fight out the field: for that it was their wylles to dye for their lawes and in a iuſt quarell: And ſuch as would depart, he gaue leaue to go their wayes, that they ſhould be no diſcomfiture to the reſt.

The diſpoſing of the princes battayle againſt the Earle Simond fought at Euſham.

Prince Edwardes hoſt deſcried, whereat the Earle was much abaſhed.

Then came vnto hym his eldeſt ſonne Henry & comforted hym, deſiring hym to haue no diſpaire nor yet miſtruſt in the good ſucceſſe of their victory, with other ſuch cheerfull wordes. No ſonne (ſayth he) I do not diſpaire: but yet it is thy preſumption and the pryde of the reſt of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end ye ſee. Notwithſtandyng yet I truſt, I ſhall dye to God and in a righteous quarell. After wordes of comfort geuen to all his hoſt, and the oration made in this maner, they all armed themſelues. The K. alſo (whome the Erle alwayes kept with him) he armed in an

The wordes of Earle Simond to hys ſonne.

armoure of hys owne. And then deuiding theyr battailes, they marched toward their enemies: but before they ioyned, the Welchmen ran their wayes, and thinkyng to ſcape ouer the riuer of Dee, were there ſome drowned, & ſome ſlayne. Then when the battels ioyned and came to handy ſtrokes, within ſhort ſpace, many of the Earles part fell and were ſlayne. And the kyng himſelfe beyng ſtroken at, cryed with a loud voyce to them, ſaying: kill me not, I am Henry your kyng. And with theſe the kings wordes yͤ lord Adam Mõhaut knew hym, and ſaued hym. At whoſe voyce & cry came alſo Prince Edward hys ſonne, and deliuered hym to the garde and cuſtody of certayne knightes. In the meane ſeaſon, the Erle Symon was hard beſtead and beaten downe, & alſo ſlayne before Edward the prince came at hym. Howbeit, before he fell, when as yet he fought for his lyfe, & Henry his ſonne and other Noble men on hys part were about hym, he brake out in theſe wordes vnto hys enemies ſaying: What, is there no mercy and compaſſion with you? Who agayne aunſwered, what compaſſion ſhould there be ſhewed to traytors? Then ſayd he, the lord be mercifull to our ſoules, our bodies are in your handes. And as ſoone as theſe wordes were ſpoken, they mangled his body, and deuided hys members, and cut of hys hed, which hed Roger Mortimer ſent vnto his wyfe. And not far of from hym alſo was ſlayne Henry his eldeſt ſonne, the Lord Hugh Spencer, the Lord Radulph Baſſet, the Lord Thomas de Heſtele, the Lord William Maundeuile, the Lord John Beachampe, the Lord Guido Badleſer, the Lord Roger Rowley, and many other noble men beſides, with a great multitude of people the Lord knoweth how many. This battayle was fought in the month of Auguſt and continued from one of the clock til it was night: in the which, was not ſo much as one man on yͤ erles part of any eſtimation, fortitude, & courage, but in that battayle loſt hys lyfe: more then the Lorde John, who by the great grace of God eſcaped death. Neyther is this to be forgotten, that the ſame day beyng Tueſday, at that inſtant houre, when the battell begā, which was at one of the clocke at after noone: there was ſuch a darkeneſſe ouer all, ſuch thunder and ſuch tempeſt: that the lyke before that tyme was neuer ſene, beyng very fayre & calme weather both immediately before and after, which ſeemed (ſayth mine author) to geue a playne demonſtration of that which afterward chaunced and followed.

K. Henry almoſt ſlaine in the battel, at length knowen by hys voyce & reſkued by his ſonne.

Erle Simõ, his ſonne, & many mo Lords & barons ſlaine at this battel of Eueſham.

1266.

A parliamēt ſummoned at Wincheſter, where K. Henry was againe reſtored to his regalitie.

After this great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, there was a Parliament ſummoned at Wincheſter by the Earle of Glouceſter, and other of hys part. Here by the way is to be conſidered, that the kyng although he was in the campe of the Erle of Leiceſter, beyng then in cuſtody, and hys ſonne Edward with the Erle of Glouceſter, yet the kyng was in that ſide agaynſt his will, and therfore in the ſayd Parliament, the kyng was reſtored to hys kingly dignity which was before that tyme vnder the cuſtody of the Barones. But after the battaile was ended and done, certen of them that loued the Earle: vppon an olde ladder, gathered vp ſuch partes of his body as remayned, and couering the ſame wyth an olde gowne brought it to Eueſham: where they puttyng the ſame in a fayre linnen clothe, buried it in the Church. But not long after, by ſuch as thought not themſelues ſufficiently reuenged with hys death (to wreke them of the dead corpes) tooke vp the ſame and threw it in an other place, ſaying: that he which was both accurſed, & a traitor, was not worthy of Chriſten buriall.

The Earles carkas vntombed and caſt forth of Chriſten Buriall.

The ſame yere alſo, died M. Walter Cantilupus biſhop of Wincheſter, after whom ſucceded M. Nicholas of Ely, the kings Chauncellor.

The ſame yere the kyng perceiuyng, that vnleſſe yͤ Caſtle of Kenilworth were recouered, and the boldnes of them reſtrayned that kept the ſame: many euils and inconueniences might enſue therupon, to the preiudice of his kingdome: for that the nomber increaſed euery day more and more, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey all about. Therfore, he gathered an army and came to Warwike, where he a whyle taryed expecting the meeting and aſſembling of his Marqueſſes and Lordes, with engines and other munition ſuitable. Who when their bandes were furniſhed and muſtred, and all things redy, the morrow after Midſommer day he diſplayed hys banner, and began hys voyage marchyng towardes Kenilworth and beſieged the ſame. During which ſiege, by the aduiſe and counſayle of the King, the Popes Legate, and other noble men xij. perſons were choſe which ſhould haue the diſpoſing of thoſe things that pertayned to the ſtate of the Realme, and of thoſe that had loſt their landes and inheritaunces: who amongſt other thinges, made and eſtabliſhed this one prouiſo, that was commonly called Kenilworth decree. That all thoſe which had loſt their landes by attaynder (although not yet attainted) ſhould fyne therfore at the kinges pleaſure, and take their landes of him agayne: paying ſome thre yeres, ſome foure yeres, ſome two yeres reuenues of the ſame, accordyng to the qualitie of the crime and offence committed. All which prouiſos or prouiſions, were eſtabliſhed and confirmed as well by the corporall othe, as by ſignment of the ſame with the handes and ſeales of all the Prelates and Clergy of England, there aſſembled for that purpoſe by the Popes Legate vppon the feaſt of all ſainctes. When theſe thynges were thus finiſhed, meſſengers were ſent on the Kings behalf, as well to thoſe that kept the caſtle of Kenilworth, as alſo to thoſe that were aſſembled in the Jle of Ely: willyng them to come vnder the protection of the Kinges peace, and yeld to the foreſayd prouiſos eſtabliſhed by the twelue commiſſioners. Who altogether aunſwered and ſayd: that they would in no wyſe condeſcend therevnto: both for that it was done wythout theyr conſents not beyng called vnto it, and alſo for that the ſayd decree was ouer ſtraight and intollerable. Within ſhort ſpace after, great famine and peſtilence chaunced amongeſt them which kept the caſtle, in ſo much as they were without all hope of kepyng the ſame: wherfore, ſone after the kyng ſendyng agayne to them to yeld the Caſtle and take their pardons, they conſulting together of their own eſtate: thus aunſwered the kinges meſſengers, If it pleaſe yͤ kyng and hys counſayle to permit vs to ſend our Meſſenger vnto the Lord Symon Mountfort which is beyond the ſea, that he may come by a certayne day to the defence of this his garriſon and fort: and that in the meane ſpace, we be not diſturbed by the kings army that hath enuironed vs, tyll the returne of our meſſengers: If by the day appointed he come not, we will yeld vp the ſame, ſo that we may be pardoned of lyfe, limme and mouables.

Kenilworth caſtle beſieged of the K.

Kenilworth decree againſt the diſherited.

Kenilworth decree gaynſayd by diuers.

When the meſſengers were returned, and had declared to the kyng their aunſwere: he conſultyng with his nobles about the matter, agreed to their petitions. And cauſed the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his camp, after that ſufficient hoſtages were on either ſide giuen for the performaunce of the ſame: wherupon, they ſet forward their meſſengers, as before was ſayd they would. But after that, many of them within the Caſtell beyng very greuouſly vexed with the bloudy flixe and other diſeaſes, in ſo much that the whole men might not abyde the corruption, and annoyaunce of thoſe that were diſeaſed: deliuered vp the Caſtell before the returne of the meſſengers agayne, and were permitted to go whether they would to refreſh themſelues, as men moleſted with great vexation and miſeries. After the rendryng vp of the Caſtell, the kyng committed the cuſtody therof to his ſonne Edmund, and ſo with his hoſt departyng from the ſiege, came vpon Chriſtmas euens euen to Oſney: where, he with great ſolemnitie and triumph kept his Chriſtmas duryng ſeuen dayes, and from thence with his hoſt came to Windſore, from whence after a few dayes he marched towardes Ely: In which Iland he beſieged thoſe, which were diſherited, & ſharply aſſaulted them.

Kenilworth caſtle yelded vp to the king before the returne of the meſſengers out of Fraunce.

The ſame yeare, pope Clement the iiij. promoted maiſter Walter Giffard Byſhop of Bathe, to be Archbiſhop of yorke.

In which yere alſo the church of England begā to pay yͤ tenths of all their reuenues as well ſpiritual as temporall, to the king: to continue for 3. yeres ſpace, and this was done by the authoritie Apoſtolicall.

The tithes graunted to the K. by autoritie Apoſtolicall.

Within a whyle after, the Barons which were yet remaynyng, gathered themſelues together agayne: Amongſt whome John Daywile (beyng a ſubtile and ſtoute man of warre) began to haue a name and was well eſtemed amongeſt them: who altogether did what miſchiefe they myght, and in the month of May, they aſſembled at Cheſterfield, vnder the ſaid John Daywile and the Erle Ferarence, vpon whom the kings ſouldiors, commyng ſodenly in yͤ night toke them ſleping, and ſlue many of them. Then the ſayde John Daywile quickly armyng hymſelf, came forth: thynking with more defence both to ſaue himſelfe, and to eſcape. Who in the way, ſtroke the Lord Gilbert Humford ſuch a blow with his dimilance, that he feld both him and his horſe to the ground, & ſo fled with a few more after him. And thus whilſt the poore ſouldiors fought & were ſlaine, the Barõs fled away & ſaued themſelues. Alſo the erle Ferarence fled, & hid himſelf in a church. But being bewrayed by a womā he was taken forth, and led away priſoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northampton, where he diſherited all thoſe, that toke any part with the erle Simon, and al their children. Where alſo the Popes Legate Octobonus held a conuocation and excommunicated all ſuch biſhops, as had take any part with Simon, againſt the king: of whom diuers he ſent vp to Rome, to be abſoyled of the pope, & farther yͤ ſaid Legate cauſed to be proclaimed certaine decrees,

A new aſſembly of the Barons at Cheſter field, where they had the ouerthrow.

All the confederates of Symon Mountfort, with their children diſherited by the K. Symon Mountfort & his confederates excommunicated by the popes Legate.

Tenthes graunted by the pope to the kyng and Queene for vii. yeares.

which he hymſelfe had made: And alſo the new graunt of Pope Clement, to the Kyng and Queene, of all the tenthes for ſeuen yeres to come. And ſhortly after a taxe alſo was fined vpon ẏ countrey of Northfolke: to the gathering whereof, Maiſter Walter the biſhop of Norwich was appointed. Ex Scala mundi.

An.1267.

The caſtell of Kenilworth agayne beſieged.

An other aſſembly of the Barõs at Axiolme & diſcomfiture of them.

The Jewes ſpoyled and ſlayne at Lincolne.

The Barons fortefied the Jland of Elye.

The Jle of Elye aſſaulted & entred by prince Edw.

The king kept out of Londõ 40. day. by the Barons & Citizens.

A peace concluded betwene the Barons & the kyng.

After this, in the yere of our Lord.1267. King Henry beſieged agayne the Caſtle of Kenelworth, from the 7. day before the firſt day of July, vntill the begynnyng of December: whether came Octobonus ẏ Popes Legate, by whoſe intreaty Henry Haſtings, deliuered the ſame vnto the king which ſtoutly had defended the ſame and reſiſted the King, hauyng pardon graunted both for hym and hys, of his lyfe, landes, goodes, and catteis. In which tyme alſo the Barons agayne aſſembled, with John Dayuile in the Jle of Axiolme, and ſo proceded till they came to Lincolne: Which alſo they tooke, and ſpoyled the Jewes, and ſlue many of them: And entring their Synagoge teare and rent the boke of their law, and burnt the ſame, and all other writinges and obligations which they could come by. Which thyng when the kyng heard, he ſent thither hys ſonne prince Edward: but as ſoone as they heard that, they fled into the Jle of Ely, and fortified the ſame with bulwarkes as ſtrongly as they might, at euery entraunce into the ſame. This was in the month of Aprill when Edward the kinges ſonne came thither. Who for the great aboundaunce of waters in the ſame, could by no meanes enter the Jland, till at length by the counſaile of the inhabitauntes of that prouince, he cauſed with a nomber of workemen great trenches and diches to be made, ſomewhat to conuey away the water: And ſo long vſed he the counſaile of them, in makyng bridges with plankes and hurdles, till at laſt they entred the Jland. Who as ſoone as they were entred, the Barons fled to London, where they were of the Londiners well intertayned. The reſt which were in the Jland, yelded themſelues (amongſt whom was Roger Wake, Simon the yonger, and Pecher) ſauyng their liues and members. After this, both the King and Edward his ſonne came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the City, by the Barones and Citizens, for the ſpace of 40. dayes. And Octobonus the Legate (who for feare was fled into the Tower) they narowly layd for, that he ſhould not eſcape. At the length by the intreaty of the Earle of Glouceſter and other Earles that were hys friendes: both the Barones and the Citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kinges fauour. And 4. Biſhops and 8. other noble men were choſen, ſuch as were at Couentry firſt nominated: that they ſhould order and diſpoſe all matters betwene the kyng and ſuch as had loſt their inheritaunce, as alſo the forme of their peace and raunſome. And proclamation was made vpon the feaſt of all Saintes, of perfect peace and concord through all the Realme.

The ſtatutes of Merleberge made at that parliament.

The 51. yere of this king Henries raigne 8. dayes after the feaſt of S. Martin, he held a parliament at Marlberge in the yere of our lord aboue recited: where, by the aduiſe of wiſe and diſcrete men, and with all the conſentes of the Nobles, he ordeined and enacted diuers good and profitable ſtatutes for the reformation & bettering of the ſtate of ẏ realm & execution of common iuſtice, which are called the ſtatutes of Marleberg.

A conuocation holden at Lõdon by Octobonus the popes Legat.

The ſame yere vpon S. Gregories day, Octobonus the Legat called a Councell at London, where were v. Archbiſhops, and a great number of Biſhops, Abbots, & other Prelates: which Councell alſo, within three dayes brake vp agayne.

The legates departing out of England.

Valuation taken of all Churches by Octobonus the popes legate.

Penſions out of Cathedrall & cõuentual churches paid to the popes clarkes.

The ſame yere vpon S. Johns day the Baptiſt, Edward the kings ſonne & diuers other noble men of England toke vpon them the croſſe by the legates handes at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the holy land, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt. Which done, the legate the ſame yere went out of Englãd, not purpoſing after that to returne agayne. This holy Legate (ſayth myne author) which might well be reſembled to Lynx the monſtrous beaſt whoſe quicke ſight penetrateth euery thing: enrolled to perpetuall memory the valuation of all the churches in ẏ realm of England ſo narowly, as by any meanes poſſible he might enquire the certainty therof. The ſame was he, that made all the Cathedrall and Conuentuall Churches to pay penſions: ſo that thoſe Churches which gaue not the vacancie of their benefices to their Clerkes and ſtraungers ſhould pay vnto them a certen yerely pencion during the vacancy of the benefices which they ſhould haue.

Pope Clement the 4. dyeth. Pope Gregory the 10.

The ſame yere died Pope Clement 4. after whoſe deth the Church of Rome was two yeres vacant: and then was choſen an Archdeacon Cardinal, whoſe name was Theardus, as he was taking his iourny into the holy land, & called him Gregory the x.

The mariage of Edmund Erle of Lancaſter.

Then alſo dyd Edmund Erle of Lancaſter and Leiceſter, and 2. ſonne of king Henry, take to wyfe the Erle of Albemarle his daughter, and the Nece of the Erle of Gloceſter: at which mariage was the King and the Queene, and all the Nobilitie of England.

Edward the kyng & confeſſour ſhrined.

The ſame yere was the body of S. Edward the king & Confeſſour, by Walter Gifford Archb. of Yorke & other Biſhops intombed in a new & rich Schrine of gold and ſiluer, beſet with precious ſtones in the preſence of Henry the king of England: In which yere alſo fell great rayne & inundation of waters, ſuch as hath not lightly be ſeene, which increaſed and continued the ſpace of xl. dayes and more.

The Biſhop of Sarū put from his conſecratiõ.

The ſame yere dyed Walter de Lawile Biſhop of Sarum the third day before the nones of January. After whõ ſucceded Maiſter Robert of Northampton the Deane of the ſame Church. And becauſe the ſee of Cant. was then vacant, he was confirmed by the Chapter of Canterbury: which Chapter had alwayes the iuriſdiction in ſpirituall cauſes, during the vacancy of that ſee, in as ample manner as the biſhop hymſelfe had beyng alyue. After this, the Biſhop elect commyng thither, thinkyng to haue had hys conſecration, was notwithſtandyng put backe for two cauſes: one was, for that there was preſent then no more but one biſhop: the other was, for that all the other biſhops had appealed, that he might not be conſecrated to their preiudice, ẏ is, by the authority of the Chapter of Cant. ſaying, that they would not be vnder the obedience of the monkes.

After this, ſolempne Meſſengers were for this cauſe ſent to the Cardinals of Rome, for that the the ſee of Rome was vacaunt: who receyued aunſwer, that duryng the vacation of that ſee, the confirmation and conſecration of the Byſhop elect, pertayned to the foreſayd Chapter of Caunterbury.

During this kinges raigne, there was made a great and generall expedition of diuers and ſundry Chriſtian princes to Jeruſalem, taking vpon them the lordes character: that is the croſſe: among whom alſo was Edward the Kinges ſonne one, to the which expedition was graunted him a ſubſidie throughout all the realme. And in the month of May, the yere of our Lord 1270. or as ſayth Florilogus, an.1169 he ſet forward on his iourny.

1270.

The death of Boniface Archbiſh. of Cant.

Adam Chelindene elected Archb. of Cant.

Appellation from the K. to the Pope by the monkes of Cant.

Adam Chelindene goeth vp to Rome.

About the tyme when Prince Edward was preparing hys iourney toward Aſia, Boniface the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ended his lyfe, in the countrey of Sebaudia, goyng belyke to Rome or commyng thence. After whoſe deth, the Monkes of Canterbury proceding to a new election graunted by the Kyng, agreed vppon the Prior of their houſe named Adam Chelendene. But the Kyng and his ſon Prince Edward conſenting and ſpeakyng in the behalfe of Robert Burnell their Chauncellour: did ſollicite the matter with the Monkes, partly entreating, partly threatnyng them, to chuſe the ſayd Robert to be Archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding the Monkes beyng ſtoute, would neyther relent to their curteous requeſt, nor yet bow to their boyſtrous threates, but conſtauntly perſiſting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the Pope. Prince Edward beyng now on hys iourney, and ſeyng himſelfe thus fruſtrated of the Monkes, wryteth backe to the King his father: deuoutly praying and beſechyng in no wyſe to admit the election of the foreſayd Monkes. And ſo paſſing to Douer with Henry the ſonne of Rich. hys vncle king of Romanes, with their wiues toke their paſſage in the month of Auguſt. After this the prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the king to be Archb. went vp to Rome.

Variance betwene the official of Cant. and the prior of Douer.

Appellation to Rome.

In the meane tyme, the monkes (in the abſence of their elect) ordeyned one Geoffrey Pointnall to be their Official: who ſeyng hymſelf aduaunced to that dignity, and bearyng belike ſome olde grudge agaynſt the Prior of Douer, cauſed him to be cited vp to appeare in the Chapterhouſe of Canterbury. The Prior of Douer ſeyng this citation to be preiudiciall to hym and to the Church of Douer, where as the Monkes of Cant. haue no ſuch iuriſdiction (the ſee of Cãterbury beyng vacant) but that all thinges apperteynyng to that Church, ought to be reſerued whole to the conſecratiõ of the new Archb. therfore, for the ſtate both of hym & of hys Church, he appealed vp alſo vnto Rome. But to return to the Archb. agayne.

Adam Chelindon reſigneth to the Pope. Rob. Kilwarby archb. of Cant.

The ſecond yeare after, Adam Chelindon the foreſayde Archb. elect, remaynyng all this while at Rome: at laſt reſigned vp his election to the popes hand, beyng Gregory. 10. who then gaue the ſame to Rob. Kilwarby. Who then commyng to Douer, reſtored agayne the Prior of that houſe, being before excluded vpõ certaine cauſes. By theſe contentions, iudge good reader, of the religion of theſe men, and of theſe times. And now to returne to our former ſtory.

About which tyme came out the great concordaunces by an Engliſh Frier, called John Derningthon. Ex Eulogio.

It was aboue declared, how a generall voyage beyng proclaymed to warre agaynſt the Turkes, and a ſubſidie beyng collected in England vpon the ſame: prince Edward with other was appoynted to take their voyage, and now were onward in their iourney. who at Michaelmas folowyng, with his company came to Egermorth, which is from Marſilius 8. leagues weſtward: and there takyng ſhip agayne (hauyng a mery winde and proſperous) within x. dayes arriued at Sunes Tunicum, where he was with great ioy welcommed and interteined of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French kyng, whoſe father Ludouicus, died a little before: of Carolus the kyng of Sicilia: and the two kings of Nauarre and Aragon. And as this lord Edward came thether for his father the kyng of England, thether came alſo Henry the ſonne of the kyng of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage, was ſlaine in a chappell at Viterbium hearyng maſſe, by the Lord Simon and Guido, the ſonnes of Lord Simon Mountfort Erle of Leyceſter.

When Prince Edward demaunded of theſe kyngs and Princes what was to be done, they aunſwered him agayne and ſayd: The Prince of this Citie ſayd they, and the prouince adioyning to the ſame, hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the kyng of Sicile euery yeare. And now, for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of vij. yeares denyed and more, therfore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon hym. But the kyng knowyng the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demaunded, hath now accordyng to our owne deſires ſatiſfied for the tyme paſt, and alſo payed his tribute beforehand.

The great expeditiō to inuade the Turke ſtayed by the concluding of a peace. The great viage of the French kyng agaynſt the Turkes turned to a money matter.

Then ſayd he: My Lordes what is this to the purpoſe? Are we not here all aſſembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lordes Character to fight agaynſt the Infidels & enemies of Chriſt? what meane you then to conclude a peace with them. God forbid we ſhould do ſo: for now the land is playne and hard, ſo that we may approch the holy Citie Ieruſalem. Then ſayd they, now haue we made a league with them, neyther is it lawfull for vs to breake the ſame: But let vs returne agayne to Sicilia and when the winter is paſt, we may well take ſhippyng to Acra. But this counſaile nothyng at all liked hym, neither did he ſhew hymſelfe well pleaſed therwith: But after that he had made them a princely banket, he went into his cloſet or priuy chamber, from amongſt them: neyther would be partaker of any of that wicked mony which they had taken. They notwithſtandyng continuyng their purpoſe: at the next mery wind tooke ſhippyng, and for want of ſhips, left CC. of their men a ſhore crying out and piteouſly lamentyng for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward beyng ſomewhat mooued with compaſſion, came backe agayne to the land and receiued and ſtowed them in his owne ſhippes, beyng the laſt that went aborde. Within vij. dayes after, they arriued in the kyngdome of Sicilia ouer agaynſt the Citie Trapes, caſtyng their anchors a league fro thence within the ſea, for that their ſhips were of great burden and throughly fraught. And from the hauen of the Citie they ſent out barges and boates to receiue and bryng ſuch of the Nobilitie to lande as would: but their horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtill within bourd. At length towardes the euenyng, the ſea began to be rough and encreaſed to a great tempeſt and a mighty: In ſo much, that their ſhips were beaten one agaynſt an others ſides, and drowned there was of them at that tempeſt lyyng at anchor, more then 120. with all their armour and munition with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked mony alſo which they had taken before likewiſe periſhed and was drowned. But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of Prince Edwardes, who had in number xiij. nor yet had one man loſt therby: for that as it may be preſuppoſed, he conſented not to the wicked counſayle of the reſt. When in the mornyng the Princes and kynges came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw all their ſhips drowned: and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt vpon the land drowned, they had full heauy hartes, as well they might. For of all their ſhips and mariners, which were in number a 1500. beſides the common ſouldiours: there was no more ſaued, then the Mariners of one onely ſhippe, and they in this wyſe. There was in that ſhippe a good and wyſe Matrone (a Counteſſe or an Earles wyfe) perceiuyng the tempeſt to grow, and fearyng her ſelfe, called to her the Maiſter of the ſhip: and aſked whether in attemptyng to the ſhore, it were not poſſible to ſaue themſelues: who anſwered, that to ſaue the ſhip it was impoſſible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſayd the Counteſſe, for the ſhippe force no whitte: ſaue the ſoules therin, and haue to thee double the value of thy ſhip. Who immediatly hoyſing the ſayles, with all force ran the ſhip a ground ſo neare the ſhore as poſſible was. Thus with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withall, braſt the ſhippe and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as the maiſter had ſhewed and ſayd before.

The clemēcie of prince Edward toward the poore ſouldiers.

A great ſhipwracke of the Chriſtiās lying at anchor a litle from Trapes. Money euill got, as euill loſt. *Non habet euentus ſordida præda bonos. Ex ſcala mūdi. Ex Gualt. Giſburn. Ex Flor. hiſt.*

Prince Edward and his mē preſerued from the tempeſt. The integritie of Prince Edward rewarded of god.

Then the kinges and princes (alteryng their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne landes: Onely Edward the kinges ſonne remayned behynd with his men and ſhips, which the Lord had ſaued and preſerued. Then Prince Edward (renuyng his purpoſe) tooke ſhippyng agayne, and within xv. dayes after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and went a land takyng with him a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiours and moſt expert, and taried there a whole month, refreſhing both his men and horſes and that in this ſpace he might learne and know the ſecretes of the land. After this, he tooke with him vi. or vij. thouſand ſouldiours and marched forward twenty myles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth: and thoſe he there found he ſlew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies followyng after them, thinkyng to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtraight or other aduantage: were by the Prince preuented therof, and returnyng agayne vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlue many of them and the reſt they put to flight. After this about Midſomer, when the prince had vnderſtandyng that the Saraſens began to gather at Cakhow, which was 40. miles from Acra: he marchyng thether, ſet vpon them very early in the mornyng, and ſlew of them more then 1000. the reſt he put to flight, and toke rych ſpoyles, marchyng forward till they came to a Caſtle named Caſtrum Peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the Sea coſt, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acra. In the meane ſeaſon, the kyng of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the noble men of Cypres, deſiryng them with ſpeede that they would come and ayde the Chriſtians: but they would not come, ſaying: they would kepe their owne land and go no further. Then Prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at hys requeſt they would come & ioyne in ayde with hym. who immediatly therupō came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the warres, ſaying: that at hys commaundement they were bound to do no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometymes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to ſhew their fidelitie to the kings of England. Then the Chriſtians beyng herewith animated, made a third voiage or rode, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: and when they had ſlayne certaine there, not findyng any to make reſiſtence agaynſt them, they retired again from whence they came.

Prince Edward arriueth at Acra and taketh Nazareth.

The noble mē of Cyprus ſhewe their fidelitie to the prince and kings of Englād.

When thus the fame of Prince Edward grew amongeſt his enemyes, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of hym: they deuiſed amongeſt themſelues, how by ſome pollicie they might circumuent him and betray hym. Wherupon, the great prince and Admirall of Ioppa, ſent vnto him: faynyng himſelfe vnder great deceit to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with hym a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honorably interteyned and vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſhe the thyng, he had ſo well begunne, by writing agayne: who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto hym, diuers times about the ſame matter, wherby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring. This meſſenger, ſayth myne author, was one ex cauce nutritis, one of the ſtony harted that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fift tyme when this meſſenger came, and was of the princes ſeruauntes ſearched, accordyng to the maner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo hys purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be founde about hym: he was had vp into the Princes chamber, and after hys reuerence done, he pulled out certayne letters, which he deliuered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitſontide vpon a Teuſday, ſomewhat before night: at which time the Prince was layd vpon his bed bare headed in his Ierkin, for the great heate and intemperature of the weather.

A guileful deceipt of the Saracens practiſed agaynſt prince Edward. *Ex Gib. Scala mundi.*

The meſſenger ſearched before he came to the princes preſence.

When the prince had red the letters, it appeared by them ÿ vpō ÿ ſaterday next folowing, his lord would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of this newes by the prince to the ſtanders by liked them well, drawyng ſomewhat backe to conſult therof amongeſt themſelues. In the meane time, the meſſenger kneelyng & makyng his obeiſance to ÿ prince (queſtionyng further with hym

hym) put hys hand to hys belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecret letters: and ſodenly he pulled out an inuenemed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken him into ẏ belly therwith as he lay: But the prince liftyng vp hys hand to defend the blow, was ſtricken a great wound into ẏ arme. And beyng about to fetch an other ſtroke at him, the prince agayne wyth his foote tooke him ſuch a blow, that he felde hym to the ground: wyth that the Prince gat hym by the hand, and with ſuch violence wraſted the knife from hym, that he hurt himſelfe therwith on the forehead, and immediatly thruſt the ſame into the belly of the meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him. The princes ſeruauntes being in the next chamber not farre of, hearing the buſkling, came with great haſt running in: and finding the meſſenger lying dead in the floure, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and bet out hys braynes: wherat the prince was wroth, for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof as it was ſtraunge, ſo it ſoone went thorowghout all the court, and from thence amongeſt the common people: wherfore they were very heauy and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Capitayne of the temple and brought him a coſtly and precious drinke agaynſt poyſon, leaſt the venem of the knife ſhould penetrate ẏ lyuely bloud, and in blaming wiſe ſaid vnto hym: Did I not ſhew your grace before of the deceipt & ſubtiltie of thys people? Notwithſtanding, ſayth he, let your grace take a good hart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraight wayes, the ſurgions & phiſitiōs were ſent for, & the prince was dreſſed: and within few dayes after the wound begā to putrifie, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke, wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter amongeſt themſelues, and were very ſad & heauy. Which thing he hymſelfe perceauing, ſayd vnto them: why mutter you thus amongeſt your ſelues? what ſee you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not affrayde. Wherupō one ſayd vnto hym: and like your grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt it not, but yet it will be very painefull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering, ſaith he, agayne reſtore health? Yea ſayth the other, on payne of loſing my head. Then ſayd the Prince, I commit my ſelfe to you, do wyth me what you thinke good. Then ſayd one of the Phiſitions, is there any of your nobles in whom your grace repoſeth ſpeciall truſt? To whom the Prince aunſwered yea, naming certayne of the noble men that ſtoode about hym. Then ſayd the Phiſicion to the two whom the prince firſt named, the Lord Edmund, and the L. Iohn Voyſie: And doe you alſo faithfully loue your Lord and Prince? who aunſwered both, yea vndoubtedly. Then ſayth he, take ye away this gentlewoman and Lady (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her Lord and husband, till ſuch time I will you therunto. Wherupon they tooke her out of the princes preſence, crying out and wringing her handes. Then ſayde they vnto her, be ye contented good lady and Madame. It is better that one woman ſhould weepe a little while, then that all the Realme of England ſhould weepe a great ſeaſon. Then on the morow, they cut out all the dead and inuenemed fleſh out of the Princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſayd vnto him: how cheereth your grace, we promiſe you within theſe fifteene dayes you ſhal ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſe backe, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promiſe he made the Prince, it came to paſſe, to the no litle comfort & admiration of all his ſubiectes. When the great Soudan heard hereof, and that the Prince was yet aliue, he would ſcarſly beleue the ſame: and ſending vnto him three of hys nobles and Princes, excuſed himſelfe by them, calling hys gods to witnes, that the ſame was done neither by hym, nor hys conſent. Which Princes and meſſengers ſtanding a loofe of from the kinges ſonne, worſhipping hym, fell flat vpon the ground. You ſayth the Prince do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtoode hym not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſhe vnto them, ſpeakyng by an interpreter. Neuertheles, he honorablie intreated them, and ſent them away in peace.

Prince Edward wounded & hurt wyth an inuenemed knife of the Turkes meſſenger.

The prince in peril of death by reaſon of his hurt, is comforted of the phyſitions.

The prince reſtored to health, and the Soldan forſweareth himſelf.

Thus when Prince Edward had bene xviij. monethes in Acra, he tooke ſhipping about the aſſumption of our lady, as we call it, returning homeward, & after vij. weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes: and from thence traueling through Paleſtina and Methines, and ſo through the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honourably entertayned. From thence he came into Fraunce, whoſe fame and noble prowes was there much bruted among the common people: and enuied of the nobilitie, eſpecially of the Earle de Chalons: who ſent vnto him and required him, that he might breake a ſtaffe with hym at the Tilte in his countrey: Which thyng to doe, for that the prince would not diminiſhe his honour and fame (although he might haue well alleaged a ſufficient cauſe and excuſe by meanes of his trauell) yet he would not, but willingly conſented therunto. Wherupon it was proclaymed, that prince Edward by ſuch a day, with thoſe that were with him, had chalenged all commers at the Tilt and Barriers. Wherupon great aſſemblies were made in the countrey all about: and diuers as well horſemen as footemen had coniured amongſt themſelues, and conſpired agaynſt the Engliſhmen, ſelling their horſes and armour aforehand, and drinking one to an other in bon viage of the ſpoyle of them whom they ſhould take as their priſoners. Prince Edward in the meane time, ſent into England for diuers Earles and Barons which came vnto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more then 1000. horſmen, which were knightes, beſides hys footemen. But yet there was as many mo on the other ſide both in horſemen and footemen. When the parties ſhoulde meete: The french footemen which had before conſpired: began both to ſpoyle, rifle, & kill. The Engliſhmē reſiſted & defended themſelues both with bowes and ſlinges: Many of them they ſlue and draue them to the gates of theyr citie, the other they chaſed ouer a riuer, where many of them were drowned. In the meane ſeaſon, the Earle wyth fiftie of hys knightes which folowed hym, came forth & ioyned together ſo many for ſo many, and a long time together they tryed it with their ſwordes, laying one at an other. At the laſt, the Earle perceauing hymſelf not able to match wyth him at the armes ende: encloſed wyth hym, and taking him about the necke held hym with hys armes very ſtraite. What meane you my Lord, ſaith the prince, thynke you to haue my horſe? Ye marie quoth the Earle, I meane to haue both thee and thy horſe. Herewith Prince Edwarde being aſtonied, lifted vp himſelfe, and gaue him ſuch a blow that therwithall he forſaking his horſe, hong ſtill about the Princes necke, till that he ſhooke hym of to the grounde. Herewith the Prince, being ſomewhat in a heat, lefte the preaſe to take ſome ayre, thereby to refreſhe hymſelfe. But when he ſaw the malice of the Frenchmen towardes hys men, and how they had ſlayne many of them: he then ſayde vnto them, that they vſed rather the exerciſe of battaile thē of Torney: Spare you not therfore, ſaith he, from hēceforth none of them all, but geue thē againe as good as they bring. Then they aſſayed to kill ech other freely on either part, & let their ſwordes walke. And when by this time the Engliſhe footemen were agayne returned, and ſaw the conflicte of horſemen and many other Engliſhmē ouerthrowne: they put themſelues amiddes the preaſe, ſome paunching ẏ horſes, ſome cutting a ſonder the gyrthes of the Frenchmens ſadels, ouerthrew the riders and gaue them halfdeath. Thē when the foreſayd Earle was horſed againe by ſome of his men and amongeſt the throng, Prince Edward alſo ruſhed in amōgſt the thickeſt and coped againe with him: to whom he often ſpake and cryed, that he ſhould yelde himſelfe as vanquiſhed: but that he would not do. Notwithſtanding, when his ſtrength began to faile him, he was faine to yeld hymſelfe vnto a ſimple Knight, according as Prince Edward him bad: and all the reſt of his horſemen and knightes fled and ſaued themſelues: Howbeit, many of them in that place were ſlaine, and our men returned hauing the victorie. But when after this they thought themſelues to be quiet and at reſt: they were killed by two and by three at once, as they went in the ſtreates of the Citizens. Which thyng, when the Prince heard, he ſent for the Maior and Burgeſes, commaunding them to ſee the ſame redreſſed, and that immediatly: for otherwiſe, of hys knighthoode, he aſſured them, that vpon the morow he would fire the citie, and make it leuell with the ground. Wherupon they went their wayes, and ſet watchmen in diuers places of ẏ ſame to keepe the peace: by which meanes the Prince and hys men were in ſafetie and quiet. Thus in this paſtime of Torneing and Barriers, much bloud was ſpilte, wherupon the name of the place was chaunged: ſo that it is not called Torniamentum de Chalons, but paruum bellum de Chalons. From thence the Prince came to Paris, & was of the French kyng honorably entertayned: and after certaine dayes, he went from thence into Vaſconia, where he taryed till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

The prince returneth out of Turky toward England againe.

A day of ſport in Fraunce appointed, which turned to good earneſt.

A conſpiracy of the Frēch men agaynſt the Engliſhmen.

Exerciſe of battaile vſed in ſtede of Barriors & Torney.

The victorie of the prince and Engliſh men againſt the Earle of Chalons & Frenchmen.

Prince Edward was in Vaſconia at the time of hys fathers death.

In the yeare of our 1272, dyed Pope Clement the 4. After whom ſucceeded Pope Gregory the 10. who in the next yeare folowing, which was ẏ yeare of our Lord 1273. called a generall councell at Lions, about the controuerſie betweene the Greeke Church and the Latine church, and for the vacancy of the ſea apoſtolicall. &c.

1272.

Pope Clement the 4. dyeth.

Pope Gregory the 10.

This yeare alſo in the moneth of April, Richard king of Almaine died at the caſtell of Barckhamſted, and was buryed at the Abbey of Hayles, which he built out of the ground. The ſame yeare alſo at Norwich, there fell a great controuerſie, betwene the monkes and the Citizens, about certaine tallagies and liberties. At laſt, after much altercation and wrangling wordes, the furious rage of the Citizens ſo much increaſed and preuayled, and ſo litle was the feare of God before their eyes, that altogether they ſet vpō the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the Church and Byſhops palace. When this thyng was heard abroad, the people were very ſory to heare of ſo bold & naughty an enterpriſe, & much diſcommended the ſame. At the laſt, K. Hēry calling for certayne of his Lordes, and Barons, ſent them to the Citie of Norwich, that they might puniſhe and ſee execution done of the chiefeſt malefactours: in ſo much that ſome of them were condemned and burnt, ſome of them hāged, and ſome were drawen by the heeles with horſes throughout the ſtreates of the Citie, and after in much miſerie ended their wretched liues. The ſame yeare, Adam the prior of Canterbury, & Byſhop elect: in the preſence of pope Gregory the. 10. refuſed to be archbyſhop, although he was elect. Wherfore, the Pope gaue the ſame Archbyſhopricke, to Frier Robert Kilwardby the Prouinſt of the preaching Friers: a man of good lyfe and great learnyng. He was cōſecrated at Canterbury, the fourth day of March by ſixe Biſhops of the ſame prouince. The ſame yeare alſo at Michelmas, the Lord Edmund, the ſonne of kyng Richard of Almaine, maried the ſiſter of Gilbert Earle of Gloceſter. Alſo in this yeare of our Lord. 1273. the xvi. day before the Calendes of December vpon S. Edmundes day the Archbyſhop and confeſſour: dyed kyng Henry, in the. 56. yeare of his raigne, & was buried at Weſtminſter: leauing after him two ſonnes and two daughters, to wit Edward the prince, & Edmund Earle of Lancaſter & Leyceſter, Beatrice, and Margaret. Which Margarete was maryed to the kyng of Scottes. This kyng Henry in his lyfe tyme beganne the buildyng of the Church and ſteple at Weſtminſter, but dyd not throughly finiſh the ſame before his death.

Richard K. of Almayne dyeth.

A great variaunce betwene the Monkes and citizens of Norwich.

Execution done at Norwich by the commaundement of king Henry the 3.

Adam Prior of Cant. refuſeth to be Archb. of Cant.

Rob. Kilwerbye Archb. of Cant.

The death of K. Henry the 3.

¶King Edward the firſt.

King Edward. 1.

7

IN the tyme of the death of king Henry, Edward hys eldeſt ſonne was abſent in Vaſconia, as a little before you heard: yet notwithſtandyng, by Robert Kilwardby Archb. of Caunt. and other biſhops and nobles, he was ordeyned heire and ſucceſſour after hys father: who, after he heard of hys fathers death, returned home to hys countrey, and was crowned the yeare of our Lord. 1274. Who then layd downe hys crowne, ſaying: he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the landes pertaynyng to the ſame. This Edward as he had alwayes before bene a louyng and naturall chylde to hys father, whome he had deliuered out of priſon & captiuitie: ſo afterward hearing both together of ẏ death of hys ſonne, & of hys father, wept and lamented much more for hys father, then for his ſonne, ſaying to the French kyng (which aſked the cauſe therof) that the loſſe of hys childe was but light, for children might after encreaſe and be multiplied, but the loſſe of hys parent was greater, which could not be recouered: Robert Aueſbury. So almighty God for the ſame hys pietie to his father ſhewed, rewarded hym agayne with great ſucceſſe, felicitie, and long raigne. In ſo much, that he beyng yong as he was playing at Cheſſe with a certayne ſouldior of his, ſodainly hauyng no occaſion geuen: roſe vp and went his way, who was not ſo ſoone voyded the place, but incontinent fell down a mighty ſtone from the vawte aboue directly vpon ẏ place where he ſate, able to haue quaſhed hym in pieces, if he had taried neuer ſo little more. In the preſeruation of whome as I ſee, the preſent hand and mighty prouidence of the liuyng God: ſo in the kynges order agayne, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehenſion: For that he receiuyng ſuch a liuely benefite at the hand of the lyuing Lord, goyng therfore on pilgrimage to Walſingham, gaue thankes not onely to our Lady, but rather to a rotten blocke. Ibidem. Of the gentle nature of this couragious prince, ſufficient proofe is geuen by this one example: that what tyme he being in his diſport of haukyng, chaunced ſharply to rebuke the negligence of one of hys gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell about hys hauke: the gentlemen beyng on the other ſide of the riuer, hearyng his manaſſing wordes was glad (as he ſayd) that the riuer was betwene them. With this anſwer the couragious bloud of this Prince beyng moued, vpon preſent heat, he leaped ſtraight into the floud, both of a ſwift ſtreame and of a daungerous depeneſſe, and no leſſe hard in gettyng out. Notwithſtandyng either forgettyng his owne lyfe, or neglectyng the daunger preſent, but hauyng a good horſe, ventreth hys owne death, to haue the death of his man. At length with much difficultie recouering the banke, with hys ſword drawn purſueth hys prouoker. Who hauing not ſo good an horſe, and ſeyng himſelfe in daunger of takyng, reyneth hys horſe: and returnyng backe bare hed vnto the Prince, ſubmitteth hys necke vnder hys hande to ſtryke. The prince, whoſe feruent ſtomacke the water of the whole riuer could not quench, a little ſubmiſſion of hys man did ſo extinct that the quarell fell, hys anger ceaſed, and his ſworde put vp, without any ſtroke geuen. And ſo both returned to their game, good frendes agayne. Aueſb. Nich. Triuet.

Pietie to Parents rewarded of God.

Ex Chron. Rob. Aueſburienſis.

A miracle of God in preſeruing king Edward.

Falſe worſhip reprehended.

God geueth the benefite, and a dūme blocke hath the thankes.

Example of princely clemencye to be learned of kinges & princes.

Ex Chron. Nic. Triuet. & R. Aueſb.

In the firſt beginnyng of hys reigne, thys king had much a do in Wales, where he had diuers conflictes wyth the Welſhmen: whom at laſt he ſubdued & cut downe their woodes, ſuppreſſed rebellions, & vanquiſhing their kings, Lewline and his brother, ordayned his eldeſt ſonne Edward, borne in the ſame countrey to be Prince of Wales. This Lewline Captayne of the Welchmen here mentioned, rebelling agaynſt kyng Edward: aſked counſaile by way of coniuration, what euent ſhould come vpon hys attempt. To whom it was told, that he ſhould go forward boldly: for doubtleſſe, he ſhould ryde through Chepeſide at London, with a crowne on hys head. Which ſo came to paſſe. For he beyng ſlayne, hys hed was caried through Chepe, wyth a crowne of ſiluer to London bridge: wherby men may learn not to ſeeke nor ſticke to theſe vayne propheſies: whiche though they fall true, yet are but the traynes of the deuill to deceyue men.

Wales ſubdued.

The kings ſonne firſt prince of Wales.

Vayne propheſies not to be ſought to.

About this tyme was a great earthquake, and ſuch a rotte, that conſumed a great multitude of ſhepe, in the land, through the occaſion as they ſay, of one ſcabbed ſhepe that came out of Spayne. The king returnyng from Wales to England, ordred certayne new lawes for the wealth of the realme. Among many other this was one: that authoritie was geuē to all Maiors, Baliffes, and other officers to ſee execution & puniſhment of all bakers makyng bread vnder the ſiſe, with pillory. Of Milners ſtealyng corne wyth the tumbrel. &c. And within ij. yeres after, the ſtatute of Mortmayne was firſt enacted, which is to meane that no man ſhould geue vnto the church any landes or rentes, without a ſpeciall licence of the kyng.

Puniſhment for Bakers & Milners.

The ſtatute for Mortmaine firſt enacted.

An. 1279.

About which tyme alſo, beyng the 7. yere of hys reigne. 297. Iewes for money clippyng were put to execution. In which ſame yeare began firſt the foundation of the blacke Friers by Ludgate. And the towne of Boſten was greatly waſted the ſame yere with fire. The halfepeny and farthings began firſt to be coyned the ſelfe tyme, which was the 8. yere of hys reigne. The great conduit in Chepe begā the fourth yeare after to be made. anno 1284. And the yeare next followyng the new worke of the Church of, Weſtminſter. (begon, as is afore premoniſhed in the thirde yeare of Henry. 3.) was finiſhed, which was 66. yeres in edifying. The Iewes were vtterly baniſhed this realme of England the ſame tyme, for which the commons gaue to the kyng a fiftene. an. 1291.

Blacke Fryers by Ludgate builded.

Boſten blemiſhed with fire.

The great conduit in Cheape.

Weſtminſter Church finiſhed.

The Iewes baniſhed the realme.

After that the countrey of Wales, was brought in a ful order and quiet, by the hewyng downe of their woodes, and caſtyng downe their old holdes, and buildyng of new, which all was brought to perfect ende, about the 24. yeare of this kings reigne: then enſued an other broyle as great or greater with Scotland: to the great diſquiet of the kyng and the realme of England, many yeares after. This trouble firſt began by the death of Alexander king of Scots, who dyed without iſſue left aliue behynd hym. Although Fabiane in ẏ vij. booke of hys Chronicle affirmeth, that he left 3. daughters, the eldeſt maried to ſir Iohn Bailol: the ſecōd to Robert Bruze, the third to one Haſtings. But this in Fabian, is to be corrected as which neyther ſtandeth with it ſelfe, & is clearely conuinced by the witneſſe and hiſtory of Rob. Aueſbury, and alſo of Gilburne.

A place in Fabian corrected.

Ex Rob. Aueſb. & Gualtero Giſburnenſ.

For firſt, if kyng Alexander had left hys eldeſt daughter maried to ſir Iohn Bailol. thē what controuerſie might riſe among the Lordes about ſucceſſion, nedyng ſo diligent and anxious decidyng by the kyng of England. Secondly, what clayme or title could the king of Norway haue to the crowne of Scotlād, which was one of the chalengers, claimyng the ſayd crowne in the behalfe of Margaret the nece of the foreſayd king Alexander her grandfather, if the eldeſt daughter of ẏ father had bene left aliue? Thirdly, what can be more plaine, whē by the affirmaunce of the foreſayd ſtory is teſtified, that K. Alexander had two wyues. Of ẏ ſecond wherof he had no iſſue. Of the firſt he had two children: Alexander which died before his father, and Margaret maried to the kyng of Norway, which dyed alſo before her father, of whom came Margaret the Nece of Alexander, and daughter to the kyng of Norway afore mentioned. And ſhe alſo dyed in the iourney betwene Norway and Scotland.

Lacke of ſucceſſion what diſturbance it worketh in a Realme.

The K. of Englãd proued by old recordes, chiefe head & ſoueraigne of Scotland.

An. 1291.

the fourth yeare after the deceaſe of her grandfather. Wherfore, as this matter ſtandeth moſt cleare, ſo let vs now returnyng from whence we digreſſed, proſecute the reſt that foloweth. After that Alexãder thus as is ſayd, departed without iſſue, & alſo Margaret his Niece in Norway was deceaſed: the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (eſpecially xij. by name) to whom the right of the crowne ſhould next pertaine. After much variaunce among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the iudgement of kyng Edward of England: who after ſufficient proofe made to the Scottes and firme euidence, brought out of all the auncient hiſtoryes both of England, and Scotland, teſtifying from tyme to tyme that he was chief head and ſoueraigne of the Realme of Scotland: firſt by neceſſitie of the law, and by all their conſentes tooke full poſſeſſion of the ſame. And that done, adiudged the right of the crowne to John Baliol, who deſcended of the daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to Dauid kyng of Scotlãd in the dayes of king Henry the ſecond. This Earle Dauid had three daughters, Iſabell maryed to Robert Bruſſe, Margaret to Allen Earle of Galeway, and Ellen to Henry Lord Haſtynges: Allẽ Earle of Galeway had Ellẽ maryed to Roger Quincy Earle of Wincheſter & Cõſtable of Scotlãd, & Dornagile maryed to John Baliol father to Edward kyng of Scots.

Sir John Bayloil made king of Scotland by K. Edward.

K. of Scots doth homage to the K. of England.

When theſe thynges were thus finiſhed in Scotland, and Syr John Baliol as moſt rightfull inheritour had receaued the crowne of Scotland at the handes of kyng Edward thãkfully: and for the ſame in the preſence of the Barony of England and of Scotland, did vnto the ſayd kyng Edward his homage, and ſware to him fealtie: the Scottes with their new kyng returned into Scotland, & kyng Edward remoued agayne to England.

The falſenes of the Scottiſh K.

The towne and caſtle of Barwicke wonne of Engliſhmen.

Falſenes iuſtly puniſhed.

The Scots rebel agayne.

The ſecond viage of K. Edward into Scotland.

An. 1298.

But not long after, the falſenes of this Scottiſh kyng ſoone appeared: who repẽtyng him of his homage done, vntruly forſoke his former othe and promiſe, and made warre agaynſt kyng Edward, through the counſaile of the Abbot of Menros. Wherfore, the kyng with a great hoſt ſped him into Scotland, & in proceſſe layd ſiege to the towne of Berwicke: which the Scottes did egerly defend, not onely to the diſconforture, but alſo to the deriſion of the kyng & his Engliſh hoſt. But in concluſion, the Engliſhmen preuayled and wanne the town, where were ſlayne of the Scottes the number of xxv. thouſãd. And while the kyng was there buſied in winning other holdes about the ſame, he ſent part of his hoſt to Dunbarre, where the Engliſhmẽ agayne had the victorie and ſlew of the Scottes xx. thouſand, Giſburne ſayth but x. thouſand, ſo that very few were loſt of the Engliſh company. The king with a great number of priſoners returnyng into his realme, ſhortly after ſped him ouer vnto Flãders, where he ſuſtained great trouble by the French kyng, til truſe for certaine ſpace was betwene them concluded. But in the meane while that king Edward was thus occupyed beyond the Seas: the French kyng (reſortyng to his practiſed maner) ſet the Scottes ſecretly agaynſt the Engliſhmen to keepe the kyng at home. Which Scots makyng themſelues a Captaine named William Walleis: warred vpon the borders of Northumberland, where they dyd much hurt. At length the kyng returnyng from Burdeaux into England, ſhortly vpon the ſame tooke his iourney into Scotland. Where meetyng at Yorke with his hoſt, marched into the Realme of Scotland, winnyng as he went, townes and Caſtels, till at length commyng to the towne of Fankyrch on Mary Magdalens day, he met with the power of Scotland: and had with them a ſore fight, but through Gods prouidence the victorie fell to the right cauſe of Engliſhmen: ſo that of the Scottes were ſlayne in the field, as it is of diuers writers affirmed, ouer the number of xxxij. thouſãd: and of Engliſhmen but barely xxviij. perſons. Wherupon, the kyng agayne takyng poſſeſſion & fealtie of the whole land, returned home.

Ex Fabiano.

A notable victory againſt the Scots.

The third viage of K. Edward into Scotland.

An. 1299.

The Scots ſworne to the kinges allegeance.

And yet the falſe vntroth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but roſe vp in a new broyle: ſo that the kyng was enforced to make his power agayne the yeare folowyng into Scotland, where he ſo ſuppreſſed the rebelliõ of the Lordes and of the commons, that they ſwearyng to the kynges allegiaunce, preſented themſelues by great companies, and put them wholy in the kynges grace and mercy: ſo that the king thinking himſelfe to be in peaceable poſſeſſion and in a great ſuretie of the land, cauſed to be ſworne vnto him the rulers of the boroughes, cities and townes, with other officers of the land, and ſo returned vnto Barwicke, and ſo into England, and laſtly to Weſtminſter.

Ex Chron. Rob. Aueſburienſ

The popes meſſage to the kyng.

The kinges aunſwere to the Pope.

The Pope chalengeth the Realme of Scotland.

Theſe martiall affaires betwene England and Scotland, although they appertaine not greatly to the purpoſe of our ſtory Eccleſiaſticall: yet ſo much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby the better it might be vnderſtanded by theſe premiſſes, that which foloweth in the ſequele hereof. As the Scots were thus warryng and ragyng agaynſt the kyng, and ſaw they could not make their party good, they ſent priuely to Pope Boniface for his ayde and counſaile: who immediatly ſendeth down his precept to the kyng, to this effect, that he ſhould hereafter ſurceaſe to diſquiet or moleſt the Scottes, for that they were a people exempt and properly pertaining to his Chappell. And therfore it could not otherwiſe be, but that the Citie of Ieruſalem muſt needes defend his owne Citizens: & as the mount Syon, maintayne ſuch as truſt in the Lord. &c. Whereunto the kyng briefly maketh aunſwere agayne, ſwearyng with an othe that he would to his vttermoſt keepe & defend that which was his right, euidently knowen to all the world. &c. Thus the Scottes bearyng thẽſelues bold vpon the popes meſſage, & alſo confederatyng themſelues with the Frenchmẽ, paſſed ouer that yeare. The next yere after that (which was xxix. of the kynges raigne) the ſayd pope Boniface directeth his letters agayne to the kyng, wherin he doth vendicate the kingdome of Scotlãd, to be proper to the Church of Rome, & not ſubiect to yͤ K. of England. And therfore it was againſt God, againſt iuſtice, and alſo preiudiciall to the Church of Rome, for him to haue or hold any dominion vpon the ſame, which he proued by theſe reaſons.

Reaſõs why the pope claymeth the Realme of Scotland to be free from the dominiõ of England.

Firſt, that when kyng Henry the father of this kyng, receaued ayde of Alexãder kyng of Scots in his warres agaynſt Simon Mountfort: he recogniſed & acknowledged in his letters patents, that he receaued the ſame of kyng Alexander, not of any duty, but of ſpeciall fauour.

Item, when the ſayd kyng Alexander commyng to England, did homage to the ſayd kyng Henry: he did it not as kyng of Scotland, but onely for certaine landes of Tyndall and Penreth lying in England.

Item, where the ſayd kyng Alexander left behynd him Margarete his heyre, beyng Niece to the kyng of Englãd, and yet vnder age: yet the tuitiõ of the ſaid Margaret was committed not to yͤ king of England, but to certaine Lordes of Scotland deputed to the ſame.

Moreouer, when any legacie was directed downe from Rome to the realme of England, for collecting of tenthes or other cauſes: the ſayd legacy tooke no place in the realme of Scotland, and might well be reſiſted (as it was in king Alexander his dayes) except an other ſpeciall commiſſion touchyng the Realme of Scotlãd, were ioyned withall. Whereby it appeareth, theſe to be two ſeuerall dominions, and not ſubiect vnder one.

Addyng furthermore, that the kyngdome of Scotland firſt was conuerted by the reliques of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter: through the diuine operation of God: to the vnity of the catholique fayth.

Wherfore vpon theſe cauſes and reaſons, Pope Boniface in his letters to the kyng, required him to geue ouer his clayme, and ceaſe his warres agaynſt the Scottiſh nation: And to releaſe all ſuch both of the ſpiritualty and laytie, as he had of them priſoners. Alſo to call home agayne his officers and deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the greuaunce of that nation, to the ſclaunder of all faythfull people, & no leſſe preiudice to the Church of Rome. And if he would clayme any right or title to the ſayd Realme or any part therof: he ſhould ſend vp his procurators ſpecially to the ſame appointed, with all that he could for himſelfe alledge, vnto the ſea Apoſtolike, there to receaue what reaſon and right would require.

1301.

The K. replyeth to the Pope.

Scotland all one wyth England.

,,

,, Brutus. Locrinus. Albanactus. Camber.

The kyng, after he had receaued theſe letters of the Pope, aſſembled a cõcell or Parliament at Lyncolne: by the aduiſe of which councell and Parliament, he addreſſed other letters reſponſall to the Pope agayne: wherin firſt, in all reuerend maner he deſireth him not to geue light eare to the ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of falſe reporters, and imaginers of miſchief. Then he declareth out of old recordes and hiſtories frõ the firſt tyme of the Britaines, that the realme of Scotland hath alwayes from time to tyme bene all one with England, begynnyng firſt with Brutus in the tyme of Hely and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus commyng from Troye to this Ile called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three ſonnes: Locrinus to whom he gaue that part of yͤ land called then of him Logria, now Anglia: Albanactus his ſecond ſonne, to whom he gaue Albania, now called Scotia: and his third ſonne Camber, to whom he gaue Cambria, now called Wales. &c.

And thus much concerning the firſt diuiſion of this Ile. ,,
as in auncient hiſtories is found recorded. In which matter ,,
paſſing ouer the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dun- ,,
wold, kyng of this Realme, the diuiſion of Belyn & Brene, ,,

the victories of Kyng Arthur, we will reſort (ſayth the kyng) to more nearer tymes, teſtified and witneſſed by ſufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmeſbery: Roger Abyndon: Henry Huntyngton: Radulph de Bizoto & other. All which make ſpeciall declaration, & geue manifeſt euidence, of the execution of this our right (ſayth he) & title of ſuperioritie, euer continued and preſerued hetherto.

Alias. 907.

And firſt to begyn with Edward the Seniour, before the conqueſt, ſonne to Aluerede kyng of England, about the yeare of our Lord. 900. it is playne & manifeſt, that he had vnder his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as Maryan the Scot writing that ſtory in thoſe dayes, graũteth, confeſſeth and teſtifieth the ſame: and this dominion cõtinued in that ſtate. xxiij. yeare. At which tyme, Athelſtane ſucceded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battaile conquered Scotland, he made one Conſtantine kyng of that party, to rule & gouerne the countrey of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely word: That it was more honour to him to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

XXIIII. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lord. 947. Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelſtanes brother, tooke homage of Iriſe then kyng of Scots.

XXX. yeares after that, which was yͤ yeare of our Lord 977. kyng Edgar our predeceſſour tooke homage of Rynalde K. of Scots. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martyr, deſtroyed by the deceite of his mother in law: but yet within memory.

XL. yeares after the homage done by Rynald to kyng Edgar, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord. 1017. Malcolme the kyng of Scots did homage to Knute our predeceſſour. After this homage done, the Scottes vttered ſome peece of their naturall diſpoſition, wherupõ (by warre made by our progenitour S. Edward the cõfeſſour. 39. yeare after that homage done, that is to ſay, the yeare of our Lord. 1056) Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquiſhed, and the realme of Scotlãd giuen to Malcolme his ſonne by our ſayd progenitour S. Edward: vnto whom the ſayd Malcolme made homage and fealty.

Within xi. yeares after that, William Conquerour entred this realme, wherof he accompted no perfect conqueſt, vntill he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scottes: and therfore in the ſaid yeare (which was in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1068) yͤ ſayd Malcolme, kyng of Scots did homage to yͤ ſayd Williã Cõquerour, as his ſuperiour by cõqueſt kyng of England.

XXV. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1093. the ſayd Malcolme did homage and fealty to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſayd William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place: who likewiſe fayled in his duety, and therfore was ordeyned in that eſtate by the ſayd William Rufus, Edgar brother to the laſt Malcolme, and ſonne to the firſt, who did his homage and fealty accordyngly.

VII. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1100. the ſayd Edgar kyng of the Scottes, dyd homage to Henry the firſt our progenitour.

XXXVII. yeare after that, Dauid kyng of Scots did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter & heyre to Henry the firſt. wherfore beyng after required by Stephen, then obtaynyng poſſeſſion of the Realme, to make his homage: he refuſed ſo to do, becauſe he had before made it to the ſayd Matilde, and therupon forbare. After which Dauids death, which enſued ſhortly after, the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid made homage to the ſayd kyng Stephen.

XIIII. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1150. William kyng of Scots, and Dauid his brother, wyth all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the ſeconds ſonne, with a reſeruation of their dutye to Henry the ſecond his father.

XXV. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1175. William kyng of Scotland, after much rebellion and reſiſtance, according to their naturall inclinatiõ (kyng Henry the ſecond then beyng in Normandy) knowledged finally his errour, and made hys peace and compoſition, confirmed wyth hys great Seale, and the ſeales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therwyth hys homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lord 1190. the ſayd William king of Scots came to our citie of Canterbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour king Richard the firſt.

XIIII. yeares after that, the ſaid William dyd homage to our progenitour king Iohn, vpon a hill beſides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the croſſe of Hubert then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being there preſent, and a meruelous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe.

XXVI. yeare after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1230. Alexander kyng of Scots maryed Margaret the daughter of our progenitour Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmas: at which tyme the ſayd Alexander did his homage to our ſaid progenitour: who reigned in this realme 56. yeares. And therfore, betwene the homage made by the ſayde Alexander kyng of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſaid king of Scots, to vs at our coronatiõ at Weſtminſter, there was about fiftie yeares: At which time, the ſaid Alexander king of Scots repayred to the ſaid feaſt of our coronation, and there did he his dutie as is aforeſayd.

¶ Beſides theſe letters of the kyng, the Lordes temporall alſo in the name of the whole communaltie and Parliament, wrote an other letter to the pope, aunſwering to that, where as the Pope arrogated to him to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, which the king of England claymed to himſelfe: which letter I thought alſo here to annexe contaynyng, as in the wordes of the ſame here foloweth, to be read and ſeene.

¶ The Lordes temporall, and the whole Baronie of England to the Pope.

A letter of the Lordes temporall to the Pope.

THe holy mother Church, by whoſe miniſtery the Catholicke ſee is gouerned: in her deedes (as we throughly beleue & holde) proceedeth with that rypenes in iudgement, that ſhe wyll be hurtfull to none: but lyke a mother would euery mans right to be kept vnbroken as well in other, as in her ſelfe. Whereas therfore in a generall Parliament called at Lincolne of late by our moſt dread Lord Edward by the grace of God the noble kyng of England: the ſame our Lord cauſed certayne letters receaued from you to be read openly, and to be declared ſeriouſly afore vs, about certayne buſineſſes touching the condition and ſtate of the realme of Scotland: We did not a litle muſe & maruaile with our ſelues, hearing the meaninges concernyng the ſame, ſo wondrous and ſtraunge, as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holy father, and it is well knowen as well in this Realme of England (as alſo not vnknowen to other perſons beſides) that from the firſt beginning of the Realme of England: the certayne and directe gouernement of the Realme of Scotland in all temporall cauſes, from time to time belonged to the kynges of the ſame realme of Englãd, and realme of Scotland: as wel in the times both of the Britaines, as alſo Engliſhmen. Yea rather, the ſame realme of Scotland of olde tyme was in fee to the auncetours of our foreſayd Lordes kynges of England, yea and to himſelfe. Furthermore, the kinges of Scottes and the realme haue not beene vnder any other then the kinges of England, and the kinges of England haue aunſwered, or ought to anſwere for their rightes in the foreſayd realme, or for any his temporalities afore any iudge eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of his royall dignitie and cuſtome kept without breach at all tymes. Wherfore, after treatie had and diligent deliberation of the contentes in your foreſayd letters, this was the common agreing and conſent wyth one mynde, and ſhall be without fayle in tyme to come by Gods grace: that our foreſayd Lord the king, ought by no meanes to aunſwere in iudgement in any caſe, or ſhoulde bring his foreſayd rightes into doubt: nor ought not to ſend any proctors or meſſengers to your preſence: ſpecially, ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the playne ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſayd realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes of our fathers: For the keeping and defence of which, we are bounde by the duety of the othe made. And we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend thẽ (by Gods helpe) with all ſtrẽgth. And farther we will not ſuffer our foreſayd Lord the king to do, or by any meanes to attempt the premiſſes beyng ſo vnaccuſtomed, vnwont, and not heard of afore. Wherfore, we reuerently and humbly beſeech your holynes, that ye would ſuffer the ſame our Lord kyng of England (who among other Princes of the worlde, ſheweth himſelfe Catholicke and deuoute to the Romiſhe Church) quietly to enioy his rightes, liberties, cuſtomes and lawes aforeſayd: wythout all empayring, and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnes whereof we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſents, aſwell for vs, as for the whole comminaltye of the foreſayde Realme of Englande. Dated at Lyncolne in the yeare of our Sauiour 1301 et anno Edwardi primi. 28.

The

An. 1303.

The pope ſtirreth kyng agaynſt king.

Ex R. Aueſb.

The yeare folowing, which was frō Chriſt, an. 1303. the ſayd Pope Boniface the eight of that name, takyng diſpleaſure wyth Philip the French kyng: did excite kyng Edward of England, to warre agaynſt him, promiſing him great ayde thereunto. But he (as myne author ſayth) litle truſtyng the Popes falſe vnſtable affectiō toward him well proued before, put him of wͭ delayes. Ex Rob. Aueſb. Wherupō, the French kyng fearing the power of kyng Edward, whom the pope had ſet agaynſt his frendſhyp: reſtored vnto him agayne Vaſcone, which he wrongfully had in his handes deteined. Concernyng this variaunce here mentioned betwene the Pope and the French kyng, how it began firſt, & to what end it fell out: the ſequell hereof (Chriſt willyng) ſhall declare, after that firſt I haue finiſhed the diſcourſe begon betwene England and Scotland.

An other Scottiſhe rebellion ſuppreſt.

The Pope diſpēſeth wyth due & true obedience of ſubiectes toward their prince.

The popes inhibition neglected in England.

An other rebelliō of the Scots repreſſed.

The Scots agayne ſubdued.

In this yeare. 1303. the foreſayd Williā Waleys, which had done ſo many diſpleaſures, to the kyng before (continuyng ſtill in his rebellion) gathered great multitudes of the Scottes to withſtand the kyng: till at length, the yeare folowyng he was taken, and ſent vp to London, and there executed for the ſame. After which thyngs done, the kyng thē held his Parliament at Weſtminſter, whether came out of Scotland the Byſhop of S. Andrewes, Robert Bruſe aboue mentioned, Earle of Dunbarre, Earle of Arles, and Syr Iohn Cōmyng, with diuers other: The which, volūtaryly were ſworne to be true to the kyng of England, and to keepe the land of Scotland to his vſe agaynſt all perſōs. But ſhortly after the ſayd Robert Bruſe, who as is ſayd maried the ſecond daughter of Earle Dauid, forgettyng his othe before made vnto the king: within a yeare or two after this, by the counſell of the Abbot of Stone, and Byſhop of S. Andrewes: ſent vp vnto pope Clement the fift, for a diſpenſation of his othe made: inſinuatyng to him, that kyng Edward vexed and greued the Realme of Scotland wrōgfully. Wherupon the Pope wrote vnto the kyng, to leaue of ſuch doynges. Notwithſtandyng which inhibition of the Pope, the kyng proſecuting his owne right, after he had the vnderſtādyng of the doings of ẏ Scots, & of the miſchief of Robert Bruys (who had ſlayne with his owne hādes Syr Iohn Comyng, for not conſentyng with him and other Lordes at his Parliament) areared his power and ſtrēgth of men preparyng himſelfe toward Scotlād: where he ioynyng with the ſayd Syr Robert and all the power of Scotland in a playne neare vnto S. Iohns towne, put hym to flight and ſo chaſed the Scots, that of them were ſlayne to the number of vij. thouſād. In the which victory, ſuch Byſhops and Abbots as were takē, he ſent them to the Pope: the temporal Lordes and other Scottes he ſent vnto London. &c. Syr Robert Bruys after this diſcomfiture, when he had thus loſt both the field and chief frendes, ſeyng himſelfe not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept his abode duryng the tyme while kyng Edward liued. Whē this noble Edward had thus ſubdued the Scots, he yelded thankes to God for his victory, and ſo ſettyng the land in a quyet, and an order, he returned vnto Lōdon, which was the xxxv. yeare and laſt of his raigne. &c.

A greuous variance betwene Philip the Frēch king & pope Boniface.

Pope Nicolas. 4

Popedome vacāt 2. yeares.

Pope Celeſtinus 5.

Now returnyng to that which I promiſed before touchyng the variaunce and greuous diſſention betwene Philip the French kyng, and Pope Boniface the eight of that name. After the Byſhopryke of Rome had bene long voyde through the diſſention of the Cardinals, for the ſpace of two yeares and iij. monethes: at length, Pope Celeſtinus was choſen, ſucceſſour to pope Nicolas the fourth. Which Celeſtinus in his firſt conſiſtorie, began to reforme the Clergy of Rome, thinkyng to make it an example to all other churches. Wherfore, he procured to himſelfe ſuch hatred among his Clergymē, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, ſpeakyng through a read by his chamber wall nightly admoniſhed him, as it had bene a voyce from heauen, that he ſhould geue ouer his Papacie, as beyng a burden bygger then he could wild. Ex Maſſeo.

Crafty iugling among popes & Cardinalles. *Ex Maſſeo.*

The eight Nero.

This pope Celeſtine after he had ſet vj. monethes, by the trechery and falſehode of this Boniface, was induced to geue vp & reſigne his Byſhopryke, partly for the voyce ſpoken of before, partly for feare: beyng told of certaine craftely ſubornated in his chāber, that if he did not reſigne, he ſhould loſe his life. Who then after his reſignation goyng to liue in ſome ſolitary deſert (beyng a ſimple man) was vildly takē, and thruſt in perpetuall priſon by Pope Boniface: craftely pretendyng that he did it not for any hatred vnto Celeſtine, but that ſeditious perſōs might not haue him as their head, to rayſe vp ſome ſtryfe in the church. And ſo was brought to his death. Wherfore, this Boniface was worthely called the eight Nero: of whō it was rightly ſayd, he came in like a Fox, he reigned like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dogge.

Pope Boniface. 8

This Pope Boniface ſucceedyng, or rather inuadyng after Celeſtinus, behaued himſelfe ſo imperiouſly, that he put downe princes, excommunicated kyngs, ſuch as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Diuers of his Cardinals he draue away for feare, ſome of them as ſchiſmatickes he depoſed and ſpoyled them of all their ſubſtaunce. Philip the French kyng he excommunicated, for not ſufferyng his money to go out of the Realme, and therfore curſed both his and him, to the fourth generation. Albertus the Emperour not once nor twiſe, but thriſe ſought at his handes to be cōfirmed, and yet was reiected, neither could obtaine, vnleſſe he would promiſe to driue the French kyng out of his Realme. The factious diſcord in Italy betwene the Guelphes, and Gibellines, which the part of a good Byſhop had bene to extinct: ſo litle he helped to quench the ſmoke, that he of all other was chiefeſt firebrande to encreaſe the flame. In ſo much that vpon Aſhwedenſday, when Porchetus an Archbyſhop came and kneeled downe before him to receaue his aſhes: Pope Boniface lookyng vpon him, & perceauyng that he was one of the Gibellines part, caſt his handfull of aſhes in his eyes, ſaying: Memento homo quòd Gibellinus es, &c. That is: remember man that a Gibeline thou art, and to aſhes thou ſhalt go. This Pope moreouer ordeined firſt the Iubilei in Rome: in the ſolemniſing wherof, the firſt day he ſhewed himſelfe in his pontificalibus, and gaue free remiſſion of ſinnes to as many as came to Rome out of all the partes of the world. The ſecond day (being arayed with Imperiall enſignes) he commaunded a naked ſword to be caried before him and ſayd with a loud voyce: Ecce poteſtatē vtriuſq; gladij. That is, Loe here the power and authoritie of both the ſwordes. &c.

The miſchief of Pope Boniface deſcribed.

Guelphes & Gibelines 2. factions in Rome.

Iubilei firſt begonne in Rome.

The Pope clayineth & practiſeth power of both ſwordes

Pope Boniface 8. author of the booke of decretals.

Romiſhe pardons firſt begunne by Pope Boniface. 8.

By this ſayd Pope Boniface, diuers conſtitutions extrauagantes of his predeceſſours were collected together, with many of his owne newly added therto, and ſo made the booke called Sextus decretaliū. &c. By whō alſo firſt ſprang vp pardons and indulgences from Rome.

Ex hiſt. Nic. Triuet.

Philip the Frēch king excommunicated.

These thynges thus premiſed of Boniface the Pope, now will I come to the occaſion of the ſtrife betwene him, and the French kyng: Concernyng which matter, firſt I finde in the hiſtory of Nicholas Triuet, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1301. the Byſhop of Oppanuham beyng accuſed for a conſpiracie agaynſt the French kyng, was brought vp to his Court, and ſo cōmitted to priſon. The Pope hearyng this, ſendeth word to the kyng by his Legate to ſet hym at liberty. The French kyng not daryng to the contrary, looſeth the Byſhop: but whē he had done, he diſchargeth both the Byſhop and the Legate commaundyng them to voyde his Realme. Wherupon, Pope Boniface reuoketh all the graces and priuilegies graunted either by him or his predeceſſours before to the kyngdome of Fraunce: alſo, not long after thunderyng out the ſentence of his curſe agaynſt him. Moreouer, citeth all the Prelates, all diuines, and lawyers both ciuile and canon, to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, at a certaine day, which was the firſt of Nouember. Agaynſt this citation, the kyng agayne prouideth and commaundeth by ſtraite proclamation, that no maner of perſon ſhould export out of the Realme of Fraunce either gold, or ſiluer, or any other maner of ware or marchaundiſe, vpon forfeyting all their goodes, and their bodyes at the kynges pleaſure: prouidyng with all, the wayes and paſſages diligently to be kept that none might paſſe vnſearched. Ouer and beſides, the ſayd French kyng defeited the Pope in geuyng and beſtowyng prebendes, and benefices, and other eccleſiaſticall liuynges, contrary to the Popes profite. For the which cauſe, the pope writeth to the foreſayd kyng in forme and effect as followeth.

¶Boniface Byſhop and ſeruaunt to Gods ſeruauntes to his beloued ſonne Philip by the grace of God, kyng of Fraunce, greetyng and Apoſtolicall bleſſing.

Ex lib. Stephani Aufreri.

BOniface the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes. &c. feare God, and obſerue his commaundementes. We will thee to vnderſtand, that thou art ſubiect to vs both in ſpirituall things, and temporall. And that no gift of benefices or prebendes belongeth to thee: and if thou haue the keepyng of any beyng vacant, that thou reſerue the profites of them to the ſucceſſours. But if thou haue geuen any, we iudge the gift to be voyde: and call backe, how farre ſoeuer thou haſt gone forward. And, who ſoeuer beleueth otherwiſe, we iudge them heretickes.

Unto this letter of the Pope, kyng Philip maketh aunſwere agayne in maner and order as followeth, which is this.

¶ Philip by the grace of God king of Fraũce, to Boniface not in deedes, behauyng himſelfe for Pope, litle frendſhyp or none.

A letter of K. Philip of Fraunce to Pope Boniface.

TO Boniface bearyng hymſelfe for chief Byſhop, litle health or none. Let thy fooliſhnes know that in temporall thynges we are ſubiect to no man, and that the giftes of prebendes, and many benefices made and to be made by vs were and ſhall be good both in tyme paſt and to come. And that we will defend manfully the poſſeſſours of the ſayd benefices, and we thinke them that beleue or thinke otherwiſe, fooles and mad men. Geuen at Paris the Wedenſday after Candlemas, an.1301.

After theſe aforeſayd and other writinges paſſing to and fro, betwene the French kyng and the pope: within a yeare and a halfe after, the kyng ſommoneth a Parliament, ſendyng downe his letters to his Shiriffes & other officers, to ſummon the Prelates & Barons of the Realme, vnto the ſayd Court of Parliament, accordyng to the tenour of the kynges letters here followyng.

A Parliament ſummoned by K. Philip at Paris.

Philip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce, &c. Whereas we would take counſaile with the Prelates, Barons and other our faythfull, about weighty matters and hard, and ſuch as belong greatly to our right touchyng our honour, ſtate, liberties and lawes of this our Realme, Churches, and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and would alſo go forward and procede in the foreſayd matters accordyng to their counſayle: We cõmaunde you, that ye diligently in our behalfe require and ſtraitly charge all the Prelates in your balywicke, and alſo all and ſingulare Abbotes and Priors of the ſame your foreſayd balywicke, (to certaine of the which, we haue directed downe our ſpeciall letters for the ſame cauſe) that as they fauour our honour, the good ſtate both of the realme, of themſelues, and of the church: they repayre to vs in their owne perſons, all lets & delayes ſet aſide, & all other buſines left of. Shewyng to them moreouer, that we can iudge none of them to be either to vs faithful ſubiects, or frends to the Realme, which ſhal fayle herein, or withdraw himſelfe in the foreſayd buſines, cõſailes, and helpes in tyme. Wherin if peraduenture any ſhall ſlacke or refuſe to reſort and come toward vs within 8. dayes from the time of this charge geuen by you, or your commaundement: That then, you to ſeiſe all his temporall goodes into our hand, and ſo ſeiſed to hold them vntill you receaue other commaundement from vs. Geuen at Paris, the Monday before the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the yeare of our Lord.1303.

¶ A declaration of maiſter William Nagaretꝰ, made agaynſt Pope Boniface the eight, with hys appellation alſo made at Paris, afore the kyng and his counſaile in the Church of Paris.

The appeale of Nagareta made againſt Pope Boniface the 8.

In Regiſtro.

IN the name of God Amen. In the yeare of our Lord. 1303. Indictione ſecunda, the 12. day of March, and the ix. yeare of the Popedome, of the moſt holy father the L. Boniface the viij. by Gods prouidence pope: and in the preſence of vs common notaries, and witneſſes written vnder, the noble man maiſter William Nagareta knight (a worſhypfull profeſſour of the lawes) ſtandyng afore the moſt excellent Prince the Lord Philip, by the grace of God moſt noble kyng of Fraunce: ſpake with liuely wordes, and gaue in writynges theſe thynges that folow.

There haue bene falſe Prophetes among the people: as there haue bene alſo among you falſe teachers. &c. S. Peter the glorious prince of the Apoſtles, ſpeakyng to vs by the ſpirite, told vs thinges to come: that likewiſe as there were falſe Prophetes afore tyme, ſo there ſhould come amõg you falſe teachers, bringyng in ſectes of deſtructiõ: by the which the way of truth ſhall be defaced, and couetouſly they ſhall make marchaundiſe of you with fayned wordes: and further addeth, that ſuch maſters do follow the way of Balaam of Boſor, which loued the reward of wickednes, and had his bridled Aſſe to correct his madnes, which ſpeakyng in a mãs voyce did ſtop the fooliſhnes of the Prophet. All which thynges as they be ſhewed to vs by the greateſt Patriarch himſelfe: your eyes ſee them fulfilled this day accordyng to the letter. For there ſitteth in S. Peters chaire the maiſter of lyes, cauſing himſelfe to be called Boniface. i. a well doer, where he is notable in all kynde of euill doyng: And ſo both he hath taken to himſelfe a falſe name, and where he is not a true ruler and maiſter, he calleth himſelfe the Lord, iudge, and maiſter of all men. And continuing in contrary to the common order appointed by the holy fathers, and alſo cõtrary to the rules of reaſon, and ſo not entryng in at the doore into the Lordes ſhepefold, is not a ſhepheard nor hyrelyng, but rather a theef and robber. For he (the true huſband of the Romiſhe Church yet lyuing) deceiued hym that was delighted in ſimplicitie, and entiſed hym wyth fayned flatteryngs and giftes to let hym haue hys ſpouſe to be hys wife, agaynſt truth, which cryeth, thoſe whom God hath coupled, let no man ſeparate: and at length laying violent handes vpon him, perſwading hym falſly that thyng which the deceiuer ſayd to come from the holy ſpirite: was not aſhamed to ioyne to himſelfe wyth wicked practiſe that holy Church, which is maiſtreſſe of all Churches, calling hymſelfe to her huſband, where as he can not be: For Celeſtinus the true Romiſhe Byſhop, agreed not to the ſayd deuorce, being deceiued by ſo great ſubtiltie, nothing is ſo contrary to agreeing as errour and deceite, as mans lawes beare witnes, that I neede not to ſpeake of his violence. But becauſe the ſpirite inſpireth where he will, and he that is led with the ſpirit, is not vnder the law, the holy vniuerſall Church of God, not knowing the craftes of that deceiuour, ſtumbling and doubtyng whether it came frõ the holy Ghoſt, that Celeſtinus ſhould leaue of his gouernement, and the ſinnes of the people deſeruing it, for feare of a ſchiſme, ſuffred the forſaid deceauer: although accordyng to the doctrine of our Lord, by his fruites he might be knowen, whether he came to the ſayd regiment by the holy ghoſt or otherwiſe: his fruites (as it is playnely here written beneath) are now manifeſt to all men, by which it is apparaunt to the worlde, that he came not in by God but other wayes: and ſo came not in by the ſhepefolde. His fruites are moſt wicked, and his ende is death, and therfore it is neceſſary that ſo euill a tree (accordyng to the Lordes ſaying) ſhould be cut downe and caſt into the fire. This cannot auaile to his excuſe, which is ſayd of ſome men, that is: that the Cardinals did agree vpon hym againe after the death of the ſayd Celeſtinus the pope, ſeeing he could not be her huſband, whom it is manifeſt that he defiled by adultery, her firſt huſband yet liuyng, and ſhe being worthy to haue the promiſe of mariage kept vnto her. Therfore, becauſe that which is done agaynſt yͤ Lord, turneth to the wrong of all men: and ſpecially in ſo great a miſchiefe, by reaſon of the conſequence by which ſhe is iudged of the people both a woman adultreſſe or defamed: I like a bridled Aſſe by the power of the lord, and not by yͤ voyce of a perfect man, being able to beare ſo great a burden, take in hand to rebuke the madnes of the ſayd falſe prophet Balaam, which at the inſtance of king Balac. i. of the prince of deuils, whom he ſerueth, and ready to curſe the people bleſſed of the Lord. I beſeche you moſt excellent Prince, and Lord Philip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce: that lyke as the Aungell of God in tyme paſt mett in the way wyth a drawen ſworde, the Prophet Balaam goyng to curſe Gods people: ſo you (which are vnwillyng to execute iuſtice, and therfore lyke the Aungell of the Lord, and miniſter of power and office) would mete wyth a naked ſword this ſayde wicked man: which is farre worſe then Balaam, that he performe not that euill which he intendeth to the people.

An inuection againſt the placing of Boniface 8. in the papal ſea

The pope well compared to Balaam which was wont to curſe Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded againſt pope Boniface.

1. Firſt, I propound that the forſayd man, that nameth himſelfe Boniface is no Pope, but wrongfully kepeth the ſeat which he hath in deede to the great damage of all the ſoules of Gods holy Church. I ſay alſo, that his entryng was many wayes faulty, and he entred not in at the doore, but otherwayes, and therfore is to be iudged a theefe and a robber.

2. I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface is a manifeſt hereticke, and vtterly cut of from the body of yͤ holy church, becauſe of many kindes of hereſies, which are to be declared in conuenient time and place.

3. I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface is an horrible ſimoniacal, and ſuch a one as hath not bene ſithens the beginning of the world: and the miſchiefe of thys ſinne in hym is ſo notorious to all the worlde (which thing is manifeſt to all that wyll plainely vnderſtand) in ſo much that he beyng openly ſlaundered, ſaid openly that he could not commit ſimonie.

4. I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface beyng wrapt in infinite manifeſt heinous ſinnes, is ſo hardened in them, that he is vtterly not poſſible to be corrected: and lying in doungeon of miſchiefe ſo deepe, that he may not be ſuffered any longer without the ouerthrow of the ſtate of yͤ church. Hys mouth is full of curſing, his feete and ſteps are ſwift to ſhed bloud. He vtterly teareth in peeces the Churches, which he ought to cheriſhe, waſting wickedly the goodes of the poore, and making much of wicked mẽ that geue him rewardes, perſecuting the righteous, and among the peo-

The nature of this pope and all popes by hys image painted out.

ple

The Pope thinkes himſelfe equall wyth Chriſt.

Abhominatio deſolationis Papa.

ple not gatheryng but ſcattering, bringing in new ſectes of deſtruction that haue not bene heard of. Blaſphemyng the way of truth: and by robbery thinking hymſelf equal to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt which is bleſſed for euer. And he being moſt couetous thirſteth for gold, coueteth gold, and by ſome deuiſe getteth gold of euery people: & vtterly not regardyng the worſhypping of God, with fayned wordes ſomtymes by flattering, ſomtymes by threatnyng, ſometyme by falſe teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh marchandiſe of vs all: enuiyng all thynges but his owne, louyng no man, nouriſhing warre, perſecutyng and hatyng the peace of his ſubiectes. He is rooted in all vnſpeakeable ſinnes, contraryng and ſtriuyng agaynſt all the wayes & doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abhomination of the people which Daniel the Lordes Prophet deſcribed.

Therfore I aunſwere that lawes, weapons, and all the elementes ought to riſe agaynſt him, which thus ouerthroweth the ſtate of the church: for whoſe ſinnes God plagueth the whole world. And finally, nothing remaineth to him beyng ſo vnſatiable to ſatiſfie him withall, but onely the vnſatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuyng for euer. Therfore, ſeyng that in a generall councell it ſo becommeth, and I ſee this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men. I aſke and require, as inſtantly as I can, and beſech you my Lord and kyng aforeſayd, that ye would declare to the prelates, doctours, people, and princes your brethren in Chriſt, & chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a Councell. In the which (when this foreſayd wicked man is condemned) by the worſhipfull Cardinals: the Church may be prouided of a ſhepheard, & for that Councell I offer my ſelfe ready, lawfully to purſue the foreſayd thinges. And where as the ſayd man being in higheſt dignitie in the meane time cannot be ſuſpended of his ſuperiour, therfore he ought to be taken ſuſpended in deede for the thynges aforeſayd, ſeyng his ſtate is called into iudgement by the meanes aforeſayd.

I beſech and require the ſayd Cardinals by you, and I preſently require them & the Church of God, that this wicked man beyng put in priſon, the Church of Rome may be prouided of a Uicar, which may miniſter thoſe thyngs that ſhall appertaine, vntill the Church of God be prouided of a Byſhop, vtterly to take away all occaſion of a ſchiſme. And leaſt the ſayd wicked man ſhould let and hynder the proſecutyng therof, I require theſe thyngs of you my Lord king aforeſayd, affirmyng you to be bound to do this for many cauſes. Firſt for fayths ſake. Secondly, for your kyngly dignity, to whoſe office it belongeth to roote out ſuch wicked men. Thirdly, for your othe ſake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realme, which the foreſayd rauener vtterly teareth in peeces. Fourthly, becauſe ye be the patron of the Churches, and therfore ye are not bound onely to the defence of them, but to the callyng for agayne of their goodes, which the foreſayd man hath waſted. Fiftly, ye followyng the footeſteps of your aunceſtors, ought to deliuer your mother the Romiſh Church, from ſo wicked a band, wherein by oppreſſion ſhe is tyed bound. I require that a publicke inſtrument may be made of theſe requeſtes by the Notaries here preſent, vnder the witnes of the worſhypfull men that be here preſent. Theſe thynges were done and ſpoken as is aforeſayd at Paris in the Kynges houſe of Lupara.

After this proteſtation of maiſter Nagareta, immediatly iſſued the appeale of the kyng, pronounced and publiſhed agaynſt the ſayd Boniface, in forme as foloweth.

¶ The appeale made by the kyng and the louers of the Realme agaynſt Boniface.

The appellation of the French K. & nobles agaynſt pope Boniface. 8

IN the name of God. Amen. In the yeare of our Lord. 1303. Indictione prima. 13. day of June, and the. 9. yeare of the Popedome of Boniface pope the. 8. By the tenour of this preſent publique inſtrument, be it vnto all men knowen: that the moſt noble Prince and Lord Philip by the grace of God, kyng of Fraunce, the famous and reuerend fathers in Chriſt, Archbyſhops and Byſhops, religious men, Abbots and Priors here vndernamed, in the preſence of vs common Notaries here vnder written, ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe, as it is contained in the ſubſcriptions here vnder, the famous and noble men, the Lord Lewes, ſonne of the French kyng Guido of S. Paule, and John Drocem Earles, and William of Pleſiano Lord of Uilenob. knight: Moued as they ſayd with a feruent fayth, with affection of ſincere loue and zeale of charitie to be ſhewed to the holy Romiſh Church, and hauyng pitie from their hart on their mother the vniuerſall Church, which as they ſayd is oppreſſed dangerouſly vnder the rule of the ſayd Lord Boniface, and ſuffereth outragious defacing and loſſe: and pityeng the right faith (as they ſay) in which ſtandes the ſaluation of ſoules, & which (alas for pitie) in their tymes miſerably pyneth away, and periſheth for the lacke of wholeſome gouernement of the Church through all Chriſtendome: and earneſtly taking paynes as they ſayd, for the repayring and inhaunſing of the Catholicke fayth: ſpecially, ſeyng it was neceſſary for the ſame Church, for the foundation of the fayth, and the health of the ſoules, that none ſhould rule the fold of the Lordes flocke, but the true & lawfull ſhepheard: and alſo becauſe the ſame church was the ſpouſe of Chriſt that hath no ſpot nor wrincle, all errour, offence, wickednes and wrong ſhould be put away, and ſaluation, peace, & quietnes through Gods mercy might be procured to the whole world, which they ſay lyeth in warres and darknes by the wicked deedes, curſed workes, and hurtful examples of the ſayd Boniface: They ſaid and layd agaynſt the ſayd Boniface, hereſie, and other diuers horrible and curſed faultes, wherin they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriouſly reported, the kyng himſelfe beyng preſent, with Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other Prelates & Churchmen (which were aſſembled for to entreate of their owne matters, and matters of their Churches) beſide Barons, Earles, & other noble men, whoſe names are vnder written.

The ſayd William propounded and obiected againſt him, ſwearing by the holy Goſpell of God which he corporally touched, that he could proue all and euery the premiſſes to be true. And the ſayd William of Pleſiano ſware further thys othe, that he beleued he could proue the premiſſes, and that he would purſue to the full ende agaynſt the ſayd Boniface in the generall Councel where, when and afore whom ſo euer of right it ought to be done: requiring earneſtly the ſayd Lord king as a champion of the fayth, and defendor of the Churche: that for declaryng of this truth to the prayſe of Gods name, to the increaſe and promotyng of the catholike fayth, to the honour and wealth of the vniuerſall church and of all Chriſten people, and the congregation of the ſaid generall councell: that he would helpe and beſtow his profitable labour, with ſouldiours and other lyke, for the loue of men, and zeale to iuſtice (becauſe hys kingly houſe was euer a ruler of the truth) and that he woulde earneſtly require the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, and that he would be effectually inſtant wyth them. The Earles and knyghtes themſelues beſought earneſtly many of the ſame prelates (as they were pillers of the church and the faych) that they would helpe and effectually beſtow their labour to the callyng, and aſſembling of the ſayd councell, by all wayes and meanes lawfull accordyng to the ordinaunces of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelates heard and fully vnderſtode ſuch obiections, oppoſitions, and requeſtes, as is aforeſayd: and conſidered that ſuch a matter not onely was moſt hard but needed wiſe counſell: they departed out of the ſame place. But on the Friday next following. i. the 14. day of the ſame moneth of June, the foreſayd Lord kyng beyng preſent and alſo the Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and many witneſſes here vnder written the ſame tyme beyng preſent, & in the preſence of vs common Notaries here ſubſcribed, and beyng ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe: the foreſayd William of Pleſiano Knight ſayd, propounded, affirmed, obiected, and read, as was contained more fully in a certaine paper which he held in his hand, whoſe tenour was after this ſort.

I William of Pleſiano Knight, ſay, propound, and affirme, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apoſtolicall ſea is a rancke hereticke in hereſies, and by hereſies, outragious deedes, & wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which thinges to be true I beleue I am able to proue: or els ſuch thinges as theſe ſhall be ſufficient to proue him a full hereticke, in a conuenient place and tyme, & afore whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I ſweare on the holy Goſpell of God preſently touched of me.

Pope Boniface had rather be a dogge then a French man.

Firſt that he beleueth not the immortalitie of man and of Chriſtẽ ſoules, but thinkyng much like as the Saduceis did beleue, that there is no euerlaſtyng life, and that men cã not get at the length vp, but all the lot and part of comfort and gladnes to be in this world: and by this meanes he affirmeth, that it is no ſinne for the body to liue daintely in all daintie. And out of the aboundaunce of this leuen he was not aſhamed to ſay and openly to cõfeſſe, that he had rather be an aſſe or a dogge or any other brute beaſt, rather than a Frenchman, which thyng he would not haue ſayd, if he beleued a Frenchman had a ſoule that could enioy euerlaſtyng life. This thyng he taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common reporte goeth on him thus in theſe thinges.

2. Alſo, he beleueth not faithfully, that by the wordes ordayned of Chriſt and ſpoken ouer the hoſte after the faſhion of the Church by a faythfull prieſt that is lawfully ordered, the body of Chriſt to be there: & therfore it cõmeth to paſſe, that he geueth no reuerence to it (no not a litle) when it is lifted vp of the Prieſt, yea he riſes not to it, but turneth his backe to it, and makes himſelfe and his ſtate to be honored where he ſitteth, rather then the altare where the hoſte is conſecrate: and he is commonly reported to do this.

3. Alſo, he is reported to ſay that whoredome is no ſinne, no more then rubbyng of the handes together, and thus cõmonly runnes the voyce and brute.

4. Alſo, he ſayd often, that to thruſt downe the Kyng and Frenchmen (if it could not be otherwayes done) he would ouerthrow himſelfe the whole world, & the whole Church. And whẽ he had ſayd ſo, ſome ẏ ſtode by ſaid, God forbid, he aunſwered God graũt. And when good men that heard the wordes replyed agaynſt him, that he ſhould not ſay ſo, becauſe the Church of God & all Chriſtenmen ſhould ſuffer great ſlaunder ſo: he aunſwered, I care not what ſlaunders ſoeuer come, ſo that the Frenchmen and their pride be deſtroyed: for it is neceſſary that ſlaunders & offences come.

5. Item, he called agayne & allowed a booke made by M. Arnold of Newton, conteynyng and ſmellyng of hereſie, condemned by the Byſhop of Paris and reproued by the maiſters of Diuinitie, and burned openly by Boniface himſelfe: and in the full conſiſtorie of Cardinals beyng likewiſe reproued, condẽned, and burned, yet he allowed it beyng written agayne, and conteinyng the ſame fault.

6. Item, that he might make the moſt damnable remembraunce of him perpetuall, he cauſed his Images of ſiluer to be ſet in the Church, by this meanes bryngyng men to Idolatrie.

7. Item, he hath a priuate deuill, whoſe counſell he vſeth in all thinges and through all thinges.

8. Item, he ſayd once that if all men were on one ſide, and he on another, they could not deceaue him neither in law nor in deede, which thyng could not be done except he vſed a deuiliſh arte: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9. Item, he is a witch aſking counſel at ſoothſayers both men and women, and thus he is commonly iudged.

10. Item, he ſayd openly that the Romiſh pope could not commit ſimonie, which is hereticall to ſay. This is a ſinne reproued aſwell in the old Teſtament, as in the new and generally in the holy Coũcels. Alſo he is wont to make marchaundiſe of Prelates liuynges, dignities, ſuperiorities, and benefices, to the which holy orders be neceſſarely ioyned: & of abſolutions & diſpẽſations, like as vſurers & marchaũtes vſe to buy and ſell cõmon thynges in the market, and of this the common brute reportes him.

11. Item, he letteth with all his might among Chriſtian men the ſpeciall Embaſſade of Chriſt, made to his owne ſonnes, ſaying: peace I leaue to you, and ſoweth diſcord and warres: wherfore ones it was ſayd afore him, that certain parties would frendly agree after a good ſort, but he letted ẏ peace: & when the other part did humbly beſeech him, that he would geue licence to agree (he ſayd) he would not: yea if the ſonne of God or Peter the Apoſtle would come downe into the earth and commaund him: he would ſay, I will not beleue thee.

12. Item, becauſe the French nation (being manifeſtly a moſt Chriſtian nation) followeth not his errours in the fayth: he reckeneth and openly calleth all and euery of them, Paterniani.

13. Itẽ, he is infect with ſodomiticall ſinne, kepyng with him boyes for concubines, and of this fault he is moſt commonly and openly reported.

14. Item, he hath cauſed many murthers of Clerkes to be done in his preſence, and commended it reioyſing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the firſt by his ſeruaũtes, as oft as he ſaw them ſmityng, he ſayd, ſmite, ſmite: by which exaumple many were ſlayne.

15. Itẽ, when he had condemned a certaine noble man, he forbad the Sacramẽt to be geuen him at the point of death, deſiryng it and beyng penitent: ſaying, that the Sacrament of penaunce was not neceſſary to ſaluation.

16. Item, he compelled certeine Prieſtes to ſhew vnto him the confeſſions of men, and he publiſhed them openly afterward contrary to the will of them, that were confeſſed to their ſhame and confuſion, and compelled them to redeme their ſinnes. In ſo much that ones he depoſed a certaine Biſhop of Spayne, for the faultes that he confeſſed to a certaine Cardinall, confeſſing vnto him a certaine very horrible fault vnder Benedicite, and compelled the Cardinall agaynſt his will to declare his confeſſion: and yet afterward he reſtored the ſame Byſhop agayne to his place for a litle money. Wherfore he is thought to play the hereticke in the Sacrament of penaunce.

15 Item, he faſteth not on the faſting dayes, nor Lẽt, but eateth fleſh indifferẽtly, and without cauſe ſuffreth his houſhold and frendes to eate, ſaying it is no ſinne. Doing in this thing againſt the generall ſtate of the holy church.

16 Item, he oppreſſed the order of the Cardinals, and hath oppreſſed the order of blacke and white monkes, of gray friers and preachers: & ſayd oft, that the world was deſtroied by them, and that they were falſe hypocrites, and that neuer good could chaunce to any that would be confeſſed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would kepe thẽ in their houſe, and he neuer ſayd good worde of any prelate, religious man, or clarke: but euer rebuketh and ſlaundereth them, taking away their good name, and to compell them to redeme their faultes, he is glad of their accuſations: & this is the common voyce and report of hym.

Item, of old tyme he goyng about to deſtroy the fayth, conceiued a hate agaynſt the French kyng, euen to the abhorring of the fayth: becauſe of the light of fayth which is there, and becauſe of the great witnes and example of Chriſtianitie, is & hath bene there. And before he had this ſeat he is proued to haue ſayd, that if he were pope: he would rather ouerthrow all chriſtendome, but he would ouerthrow & deſtroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of French.

Alſo the is reported, that when the Embaſſadours of the kyng of England, in the name of the ſayd king did require and entreat for the tenth of the realme of England to be geuen hym: he aunſwered, that he would not geue them the tenth, but on this condicion, that he would make warre with them agaynſt the French kyng. And beſide this, he is reported to haue geuen great ſommes of money to certaine perſons, to hinder that peace ſhould not be betwixt the ſayd kings. He hymſelf alſo with all hys myght hath letted it, by meſſengers, letters, and otherways that he could, yea by geuyng bribes.

19 Item, he is reported alſo to haue commaunded Fridericke which kepeth the Ile of Cicill, that if he would betray Charles the kyng and breake the peace which he made, and ſweare that he would kepe with him, and would ſtirre agaynſt the king, and kill the Frenchmen: that thẽ he would geue him ayde, helpe, and counſaile, & for doing ſo he would geue and graunt hym the ſayd kingdoms.

20 He confirmed alſo the kyng of Almaine to be Emperor and ſayd openly that he did it to deſtroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of the French men: which ſay, that they are ſubiect to none in temporall thinges. Wherin ſayth he, they lyed on their heds, declaring moreouer, that whoſoeuer (yea if it were an Aungel from heauen) would ſay that all kings of the world were not ſubiect to the ſame king of Almaine, he were accurſed.

Pope Boniface enemy to the French men.

21 Further, he brake the agrements of peace betwixt ẏ K. of Almaine and the French king: in which, eyther of them ſhould haue their owne ſaued. And what encrochings ſo euer had bene on either ſide, ſhould be brought to a due ſtate, and vnder an othe orderly geuen and taken: he is reported to haue commaunded the ſame kyng of Almayne, that he ſhould not kepe theſe conditions of peace, but be an enemy and go about to ſow debate among chriſten men.

Pope Boniface an enemy to peace.

22 Item, he is openly reported, that the holy land was betrayed through his fault, & came to the enemies of God and of fayth: & that he ſuffred this for the nonſt, & denied to geue ayde to the Chriſtians which defended it: ſpending the treaſures and mony of the church, (which ſhould haue bene beſtowed on that vſe as the patrimony of Chriſt) in perſecutyng of faythfull Chriſtians & frendes of the church, & therwith would enrich hys friendes.

23 Item, he is openly reported to vſe ſimony, not onely in beſtowyng of benefices, but in geuyng of orders, and making diſpenſations. He hath ſet to ſale all benefices of the church, and would beſtow the church commonly on him that would offer moſt: and he made hys ſeruauntes Prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the faith, nor to thruſt down Infidels, but to oppreſſe the faythfull, and to enriche his kinred by the church goodes and of the patrimony of hym that was crucified: and preſumed to make them Marqueſſes, Erles, and Barons, and was not afraid to build the ſtrong holdes, rooting out & oppreſſing many noble men & other.

23 Item, it is cõmonly reported, that he hath deuorced many mariages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, & ſlaunder of many: and he did promote hys nephew to a Cardinalſhip, beyng maried, vnlearned, and all together vnworthy to liue: and openly maried one that was diuorced and compelled hym to make a vowe of chaſtitie: and after that

he is reported to haue had two baſtardes by her, and ſo goeth the common bruite of hym.

25 Item, he is commonly reported that he handled vnrightly his predeceſſor Celeſtinus of holy memory, leadyng a holy lyfe (peraduenture knowyng in conſcience that he could not forſake hys popedome, & therfore Boniface hymſelfe had no lawful entrance to the ſea) and priſoned hym, & there quickly & priuely cauſed hym to die. And of this the common bruite and report is through all the world, that he cauſed many & great learned men liuyng a regular lyfe (which diſputed of this, whether he might renounce the Popedome or not) to be ſet in priſon and there to die.

Pope Boniface a murderer of his predeceſſour.

26 Item, he is reported to haue rayled at religious perſons leadyng a regular lyfe without a reaſonable cauſe to the world, to the ſlaunder of many.

27 Item, he is reported to haue ſayd that he would within ſhort tyme make all the Frenchmen eyther Martirs or forſakers of their fayth.

28 Item, he is commonly reported, that he ſeketh not the helth of the ſoules, but the deſtruction of them.

These things beyng propounded & red, the ſame Williā proteſted, ſayd, declared, appealed, and added theſe wordes, readyng them in writyng.

I William of Pleſiano knight, proteſt that I do not propound nor ſpeake the foreſayd things for any ſpeciall hate of Boniface hymſelfe (for I hate not hym, but his foreſayd euill dedes) nor I ſeke not hys iniury nor ſlaunder, nor any mans els: But I ſpeake it for the zeale of the fayth, and for the deuotion that I haue to the holy church of God, and the holy Romiſh ſee, aſwell for thoſe thinges that I haue ſeene and heard of credible men of hys doynges, and by likely preſumptions gathered of the foreſayd thinges, and many diuers other thinges to be declared in his due place and tyme. And I ſweare by the holy Goſpell of God (which I touch with my hand) that I beleue hym to be a verie heretike, & that I alſo beleue that the foreſayd thinges and ſuch other may proue agaynſt him ſuch thinges as ſhall be ſufficient to proue hym an heretike, accordyng to the ſtate of the holy fathers. I ſweare alſo that I will purſue agaynſt hym by the lawes, the foreſayd things in the generall councell that ſhall be aſſembled, in a place that ſhall be ſafe & ſure for me, to the honour of God, & increaſe of the chriſtian fayth, ſauyng the right, honor & ſtate of the holy Apoſtolicall ſee, in all things. Wherfore, earneſtly and with reuerence I require you my Lord the kyng (to whom belongeth the defence of the holy mother the church, and the Catholike fayth, for of that ye ſhal make accompt in the laſt iudgement) and you my lordes the Prelates which be the pillers of the fayth, and which ought to be iudges of the foreſayd thinges, together with other reuerent fathers, the Catholike Prelates of the holy church, in the generall councell to be aſſembled: that ye wold procure and take diligent payne that a generall councell may be gathered in a fit and ſafe place, and conuenient tyme, afore which the foreſayd things may be propounded, broght forth, and proued agaynſt the ſayd Boniface, as is premiſed. And I earneſtly alſo require you my Lord king, that ye would require the ſame prelates preſent and abſent, in what countrey ſo euer they be, or to whom it belongeth: & that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labour, and to require other faithfully, that the foreſayd counſaile by the foreſayd matters might be gathered in ſuch ſort as is foreſayd. And becauſe ſo long as this is deferred to proue, I ſuſpect Boniface hymſelfe, leſt he beyng angry & moued for ÿ foreſayd things agaynſt me and my partakers, procurers & helpers, my friendes and familiars: ſhould go about by ſome meanes, whereby to ſtay and ſtop my good purpoſe & theirs for goyng forward. Therfore, by theſe writings afore you my lord the kyng, & diuers prelates, and afore your cōmon notaries here preſent: I prouoke & appeale to ÿ ſayd holy general councell Apoſtolicall and Catholike that ſhall be, & to the holy Apoſtolicall ſee, and to hym and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earneſtly require, once, twice, and thrice, that teſtimoniall letters may be geuen me from you: ſuppoſing my ſelfe, my followers, fauourers, familiars, friendes, my procurers, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection and keping of S. Peter and Paule, and the ſayd holy Councell to be aſſembled by the holy Romiſh ſee, and the catholike Apoſtolicall Pope that ſhall be: ſtickyng neuertheleſſe and willyng to ſticke to the appellation and appellations, proceſſe and proceſſes made hereupon, by the noble man Maiſter William of Nagareta knight, in as much as they ſhall be found and made lawfull, and yet not forſakyng this preſent appellation.

The proteſtation of W. Pleſiano.

Pope Boniface proued an heretike.

When theſe thinges were thus red and done, the ſayd kyng anſwered and required the foreſayd Prelates, prouokyng and appealing and makyng requeſt, prouocation and appellation, as is conteyned in the paper vnderwritten, both there and then with other Prelates: which things all are more fully conteyned in theſe writings followyng, and were red to them that heard it, whoſe tenor is ſuch.

We Philip by the grace of God, hearyng and vnderſtandyng the obiections propounded by our beloued faythfull knight William of Nagareta, agaynſt Boniface now hauyng the regiment of the Romiſh Churche: although we would gladly couer with our owne cloke, ÿ filthy partes of ſuch a father: yet for the loue of the Catholicke fayth and great deuotion that we beare to ÿ holy Romiſh & vniuerſal Churche our mother, and all faythfull men and ſpouſe of Chriſt, followyng the ſteps of our aunceſtors, which doubted not to ſhed their owne bloud for the encreaſe and defence of the Churches liberty and the fayth: & couetyng to prouide for the puritie of fayth and the ſtate of the Church, as alſo to auoyde the hurt of ÿ generall ſlaunder, beyng not able to paſſe ouer any longer ÿ premiſſes with winckyng & diſſemblyng, and my conſcience bindyng to the ſame, ſeyng this eſtimate and opinion of hym in theſe matters, is not raſhly of vs conceiued, but vehemently and plainly increaſed by many and continuall cryings of credible men, and great authoritie oft and oftentymes beaten vnto vs, fearing moreouer the deſtruction of the fayth, both of vs and of all other ſubiectes, and ſpecially of kings and princes of the world, which ought to remoue negligence, which acknowledge that we haue receyued power geuen vs from the Lord, to the promoting & increaſement of it, we agree to your requeſts in this behalf, and to the callyng and aſſemblyng of a councell for the glory of God (ſauyng the honour and reuerence that is due to the holy Romiſh church in all thinges) whereby the truth may appeare in the premiſſes, and all errour auoyded: that the ſtate of the vniuerſall Church and all chriſtianitie and the matters of fayth, and the holy land may be prouided for, and the ſlaunders and ieoperdies hanging ouer vs may be withſtanded: we be redy and offer our ſelues gladly, as much as in vs is, to beſtow our labour & diligent payne therabouts. Earneſtly requiring and beſechyng in the mercifull bowels of Jeſu Chriſt, you Archbiſhops and other Prelates here preſent, as children of the church and pillers of fayth, called of the Lord to the promotyng, encreaſe and preſeruing thereof, to care for the ſame: that with all diligence ye would geue hede, as becommeth you, and effectually you would labor by all wayes and fit meanes, to the callyng and aſſemblyng of this Councell, in which we intend to be perſonally preſent. And leſt the ſayd Boniface, which hath boldly and wrongfully many tymes threatned to procede agaynſt vs, ſtoppyng and hindryng our purpoſes and intent: leſt any of his workes of darkeneſſe (if there be any) ſhould come to light, directly or indirectly hindering the callyng and gatheryng of thys councell: or leſt any ſtate beyng in the ſame realme that will in dede procede agaynſt vs, or our ſtate, churches, Prelates, Barons, and other faithfull vaſſals, our ſubiectes, our landes or our realm, and the ſtate of the realme: by abuſing any ſpirituall ſword, in excommunicating, ſuſpendyng, or otherwiſe by any meanes for vs and our welwillers, and thē that will follow vs: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foreſayd generall councell (which we inſtantly deſire to be called) and to one lawfull chiefe biſhop that ſhalbe, or to any other to whom we ſhould appeale: and yet not goyng from the appellation made by Maiſter William of Nagareta, to whom we ſticked thē, and alſo yet ſticke: requiring earneſtly, a witneſſe of our appellation of you Prelates and Notaries, expreſſedly to renue ſuch prouocation and appellation, when and afore whom it ſhall be thought meete to you.

The kyngs anſwere.

The appeale of Philip the French kyng from the Pope.

Then the Archbyſhops within written, byſhops, Abbots, and Priors, anſwered the premiſſes (as it is founde in the actes) prouoked and appealed, agreed to, and proteſted, and made prouocation, and appellation, agreement and proteſtation, as is conteyned more fully in a certayne paper there openly and plainely red, whoſe tenor followeth wyth theſe wordes.

We Archbyſhops of Nicoſien, Remen, Senoren, Narbonen, Turonen, and byſhops of Landuiren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antiſiodoren, Meldunen, Nnmen, Carnotē, Aurelianen, Ambianen, Morinen, Silanen, Andegauen, Abricen, Conſtant, Ebroicen, Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Auicen, Maſticoren. And we Abbots of Cluniac, promoſtraten of the greater monaſtery of the court of S. Dioniſe in Fraunce, Camped S. Victors, S. Genoueue, S. Martē, Lādunen, Figiacen & Bellicē in Lemocindo, & Frier Hugh

The proteſtation of prelates.

viſiter of the houſes of the order of knightes of the temple of S. John in Jeruſalem in Fraũce, and the father Prior of S. Martin in the fieldes, hearyng theſe thinges which were ſayd, propounded, and obiected yeſterday, and to day, by you the Lordes, Erles, and William aforeſayd, agaynſt the Lord Boniface the 8. and Pope, beyng moued with ſuch ſayings, purpoſes, aſſertatiõs, and your othes, your requeſt and other lawfull cauſes: and were compelled by nede conſideryng that the matter of our fayth which is Chriſtes is handled in the premiſſes. we that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenaunce of the fayth of ſoules of the realme, although vnworthy, yet couetyng to withſtand the ieoperdies that hang ouer vs by reaſon of the premiſſes and other cauſes, thinkyng the callyng and gatheryng of the ſayd Councell profitable and neceſſary, that the innocency of the Lord Boniface hymſelfe may clearely be diſcuſſed, as we deſire (our conſciences bearyng witneſſe) that it may be determined on hym by the Councell, touchyng ſuch thinges as are layd agaynſt hym, and that may be done which they decree accordyng to the Canons. We aunſwere you our Lord kyng, and you our Lordes, Erles, and William, that (the honour and reuerence of the holy Romiſh church ſaued in all poyntes) we agree to your due requeſtes in thys behalfe for the callyng of the Councell, and are redy to geue helpe and diligent labour to the callyng and gatheryng of the ſayd Cõucell according to the decrees of yͤ holy fathers and to the lawfull orders of the Canons: not intendyng by any meanes, to make parties of this matter, nor to ſticke to any that maketh parties. yet leſt the ſayd Boniface beyng moued or prouoked by theſe things, as we feare by likely coniectures and threatnings made, agaynſt vs for the foreſayd thynges, that he will procede agaynſt our pariſh churches and our ſubiects by ſome meanes, or cauſe to procede againſt vs by ſome authoritie of his owne or others by excommunication, ſuſpenſiõ, interditing, depoſing, depriuing, or by ſome other meanes and colour ſought to ſome impeachement or trouble of the ſayd Councell, and that we may ſit in yͤ ſame Councell to iudge and do all other thinges, that belong to the office of Prelates: that our friendes that ſticke to vs and would ſticke to vs in all thinges may remayne ſafe, for our ſelues, our pariſh Churches, our ſubiectes and them that ſticke to vs, or would ſticke to vs, in this behalfe: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foreſayd Councell, that is to be gathered, and to him that ſhall be the true and lawfull higheſt Biſhop, and to him or them to whom of right we ſhould appeale to, and earneſtly require our appellations, committing vs, our pariſhe churches, our ſubiectes frendes, and them that ſticke to vs, our ſtate and theirs, our right and their goodes, to the godly defence of the foreſayde cõucel, & of him that ſhalbe the true and lawful higheſt biſhop: and we proteſt to renew this appellation, where, when, and afore whom, it ſhall be thought meete.

The biſhops of Fraunce appeale frõ pope Boniface to a generall councell.

Thys was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the ſayd Lord our king, Indictione prima the 9. yeare of hys Popedome, the dayes of thurſday and friday aforeſaid theſe noble men being preſent the Lordes of Auia and Bolone, the Lordes Martins and other earles named afore, Mathew Dotera, Peter the Lord chamberlate, Philip yͤ Lord of Wirtinos, and Henry of Bolone knight, and alſo maſter Philip archdeacon of Bengem, Nicholas archdeacon Remiem, William treaſurer of Aniope, Philip Beaſpere, Rainolde of Burbon and John Montagre, & many moe bothe clerkes and other ſpecially required and called to be witnes to this.

After theſe thinges thus in the Parliament decreed, & agreed, the prelates of the clergie conſulting with them ſelues what was to be done in ſo doutfull a matter: and dreding the popes diſpleaſure, for this which was done already, to cleare them ſelues in the matter contriued among them ſelues a letter to the Pope partly to certify him, what there was done, and partly alſo to admoniſh him what he ſhoulde doe: the tenour of which their letter conteined theſe wordes following.

The forme of a Letter, which the Prelates of Fraunce aſwell ſecular as religious ſent to Boniface, that he ſhould ceaſe his enterpriſe, wherin he proceded agaynſt the kyng.

¶To the moſt holy Father and their deareſt beloued Lord, the Lord Boniface the chiefe Biſhop of the holy Romiſh church and the vniuerſall church: his humble and deuout Archbiſhops, Abbotes, Priors, Conuentuals, Deanes, Prouoſtes, Chapters, Couentes and Colledges of the Cathedrall and collegiate churches, regular and ſecular of all the realme of Fraunce, beyng gathered together, do offer moſt deuout kiſſinges of your bleſſed feete.

The letter of the French prelates to pope Boniface.

WE are compelled not without ſorow of hart and bitter teares to ſignifie vnto your holineſſe, that the moſt famous prince our moſt deare Lord Phillip, by the grace of God, the noble kyng of France: when he heard and ſaw the Apoſtolicall letters ſealed, which were ſent to hym of late, from your behalfe by the worſhipfull man the Cardinall of Narbo your Notarie and meſſenger, and were preſented by the ſame Cardinall to hym, and certayne other of his barons. Vpon the ſight and peruſing of which ſo bloudy letters beyng read and declared to them ſitting by hym: both our Lord the kyng and the barons themſelues were highly moued with great maruelyng and great trouble. In ſo much that the ſayd our Lord the kyng by the aduice of hys barõs, commaunded to be called afore hym the other barons then abſent, and vs alſo that is to wete: all Archbiſhops, biſhops Abbots, Priors, conuentuals, deanes, prouoſts, chapters, conuentes and Colledges as well of Cathedrall as collegiate churches, regular and ſecular, and alſo all the vniuerſities & communalties of the townes of hys realme: that we Prelates, Barons, Deanes, Prouoſtes, and two of the learnedſt of euery collegiate and cathedral church, ſhould appeare perſonally, and ſhould procure, the reſt likewyſe to appeare, by their ſteward, officers and ſufficient proctors, with full and ſufficient commiſſion at the appoynted place & terme. Further, when we and the other Eccleſiaſticall perſons aforeſayd, and alſo the barons, ſtewards, officers, and proctours, & other of the cõmonaltie of the townes that were thus cald: and when accordyng to the forme of the foreſayd callyng by the kings commaundement, we ſtode afore the king this wedneſday, the tenth of this preſent of Aprill, in S. Maries church in Paris: Our Lord the kyng cauſed to be propounded openly and plainly to all men, that it was ſignified to hym, from you among other things by the foreſayd Cardinall and letters: that for his kingdome (which he and hys aũcetors hitherto do acknowledge they hold of God only) now ought in temporalties to be ſubiect to you and hold of you, and that ye were not content with theſe ſo meruelous and ſtraunge wordes, and not heard of from the beginnyng of the world of any dwellers within the ſame realme, but that ye went about to put thẽ in practiſe. And that ye cald to appeare afore you, the prelates of the ſayd realme, & doctors of diuinitie, & ſuch profeſſours of both lawes, as were borne within the ſaid realme, for the correcting and amending of ſuch exceſſes, faults, arrogãcies, wrongs, & harmes, as ye pretend to be done to the eccleſiaſtiall Prelates and perſõs eccleſiaſticall both regular & ſecular, abidyng within the realme & els where, by our lord the king himſelf & his officers or baylifs, by his peeres, erles, barons and other nobles, with the communaltie and people of the ſayde Realme: To the intent by this meanes, the foreſayd realme might be made ſtrong, with precious iuels & durable treaſures, which are to be preferred before the bucklers or any armour of ſtrong men, that is to ſay, by the wyſedome of Prelates, and wiſe men, and others: throughe whoſe ripe faythfull counſell, and circumſpect foreſight, the realme might be ruled and gouerned, the faith might be ſtabliſhed, the eccleſiaſtical Sacramentes might be miniſtred, iuſtice might be executed: which by them being robbed of their goods and riches and vtterly ſpoyled, is in a doubtful caſe, and in ieopardy of miſerable decay and for euer to be deſtroyed. Among theſe and diuers other griefes which were done by you and the Romiſhe church, to him, to his realme and the Frenche church, both in reſeruing and wilfull ordering of Archbiſhoprickes, Biſhoprickes, and beſtowing of great benefices of the Realme vpon ſtrange and vnknowen perſons, yea and oft vpon ſuſpect perſons, neuer being at the churches or benefices aforeſayd. By reaſon wherof the decay of gods worſhip enſued, the godly wils of the founders and geuers are defrauded of their godly purpoſe: the accuſtomed almes geuing is withdrawn frõ the poore of the ſayd realm, the pouerihing of the realme followeth, and churches run in dãger to be defaced, while they remaine deſtitute of ſeruice: the prophets being taken away, and the fruites of thẽ that ſerue them, be appointed to the commoditie of ſtraungers. And while prelates haue not to geue, yea to reward men for their deſertes: noble men (whoſe auncetors founded the Churches) and other learned mẽ, cãnot haue ſeruantes: and that for theſe cauſes, deuotion began to be colde, there was none at theſe dayes that wold ſtretch out a liberal hãd towardes the Churches, & farthermore by the premiſſes an euill example was geuen. Alſo he complayned of new taxes of penſions, newly layd on the Churches, of immeaſurable bondages, exactions, and diuers extortions wyth other preiudiciall and hurtfull nouelties, by which the generall ſtate of the Church is chaunged, in geuyng ſuffraganes, as helpers to the higher prelates, whereby neyther the Byſhops themſelues nor the ſuffraganes can doe theyr dueties, but for them they might runne with giftes to the Apoſtolicall ſee. He complayned alſo of diuers cauſes and ſome articles long ſince, but true in the time that they wer preſented, that were done and be done continually: and alſo not purpoſing to ſuffer ſo great a diſherityng of hym & hys ſucceſſours from the realme, and ſo manifeſt a griefe, they could not ſuffer any longer the euident loſſe of the honour of hym and the realme, and ſayd: that he was certayne, that it was knowen to the whole world, and that he did maintayne in this matter a iuſt cauſe as he had learned by the agreable ſentence of doctors in Diuinitie and maiſters of both Lawes, that were borne within hys realme & others, which among the Doctors and cunnyng men of the world were counted of the learned ſort and more famous. Therfore he required vs, all and euery one, both prelates, and Barons, and other, earneſtly as our Lord: he prayed & gently begged as a friende: to conſult and take diligent payne, that he might ordeyne wholeſome things, both for the kepyng of their old libertie, the honour and ſtate of the realme and of the inhabitauntes therof, for the eaſing of the griefes aforeſayd, for redreſſing of the realme and the French Church, by our counſayle and hys Barones to the prayſe of Gods name, the encreaſe of the Catholike fayth, the honour of the vniuerſall church, & promoting of Gods religion: ſpecially ſeing ſuch griefes were done by his officers and others of the realme, to the churches and churchmen, for the which he purpoſed a remedy of wholeſome correction, afore the comming of the foreſayd Cardinall, & would now haue put it in execution effectually, but that he might be thought to ſome to haue done that for feare, or at your commaundement, which thing ye cannot aſcribe to your ſelfe. Furthermore he would ſpend not onely his goods but alſo his realme, yea his childrẽ if the caſe required: and therfore we ſhould regard to be ready with couſell and helpe in ſeaſon as we are bound by the duty of fidelitie in theſe thinges: wherein it is manifeſt that as all & euery mannes caſe is handled, generally and particularlye their cauſe is promoted, and euery mannes owne intereſt is touched. And then he demaũded by and by to be anſwered plainely and finally in theſe things, of all and euery one.

Then the Barons ſitting aſide with the officers & Proctors aforeſayd, at the length after they had taken counſell comming to our foreſayd lord the king, and prayſing greatly and hartely thanking hym for hys laudable purpoſe and good will, anſwered with one voyce: that for thoſe thyngs they were redy, not only to ſpend their goodes, but offered the ſame goods, riches, and alſo their perſons to death, and not to flee any kind of torment: And ſayd further with one voyce, that if our foreſayd Lord the kyng would (as God forbid) ſuffer, or els willingly paſſe ouer thoſe, they them ſelues would in no caſe ſuffer it.

Then whẽ anſwer was aſked of vs afterward, although we deſired longer reſpite of deliberation of the kyng hymſelfe our Lord, and of the greateſt of the foreſayd Barons, and that for this intent: that in the meane whyle the popes letters might haue comen to our Lord the kyng, we anſwered that we would not offende agaynſt the liberty of the realme, or by ſome meanes to innouate thinges contrary to the kings honour in this behalfe.

We went about alſo to informe him with many godly wordes with earneſt perſuaſions, and many kindes of helpe and by ſundry wayes, to bring hym to kepe the ſpeciall bãd of vnitie, which is knowen to haue continued to theſe preſent dayes, betwixt the holy Romiſh Church, and hys predeceſſours. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mynd, frõ thenceforth he ſhould be manifeſtly counted for an enemy of the kyng and the Realme: We conſidering warely, and ſeeyng plainely, that except our Lord the king, and the Barons aforeſayd were content with our aunſwere, beſide other daungers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and that the deuotion both of the Romiſhe and Frẽch Church, and alſo the whole obedience of the laitie and all the people from thence forth ſhould be taken away without recouery, not without great feare and doubt we thought good to aunſwer thus.

That we would helpe our Lord the king with due coũſaile and conuenient helpe for the preſeruyng of his perſon & of his earthly honour, and the libertie & lawes of the ſaid realme, like as we were (certayne of vs) by the dutie of allegiaunce bound to hym, which holde of him Dukedomes, Earledomes, Baronies, fees, and other noble partes of the ſayd realme, by the fourme of the othe, as all other doe: yet we made humble ſute to the ſame our Lord the kyng, that ſeeing we were bound to obey the Popes holynes and your holy feete, he would ſuffer vs to goe according to the tenour of your foreſayd calling.

Then on the kings and Barons behalfe followed aunſwere, that in no caſe they would ſuffer vs to go out of the realme: & that by no meanes they would beare to be hãdled ſo daungerouſly, yea rather to be altogether waſted.

Then we conſideryng ſo great an anger, and trouble ſo ieopardous, and ſo great that none could be greater, both of the kyng, the Barons and other lay people of the Realme: and now knowyng playnly, that the olde enemy of peace, which goeth about from the beginnyng of hys fall, wyth ſowyng of Darnell, to breake the vnitie of the Church, by troublyng of peace: would breake charity, and infect the ſweetenes of good workes, wyth the poyſon of bitter enuy, and would ouerthrow mankynd vtterly, & would trouble with wickedneſſe the band of louely vnity, and ſingular friendſhip, which hitherto haue had a happy encreaſe betwixt the Romiſh Church and our Lord the Kyng, and hys predeceſſours, and the realm: to the prayſe of the higheſt God, the encreaſe of Chriſtian fayth, and the ſettyng forth the honour of the Church, of the kyng and the realm. But now (alas) a doore was open to the lamentable breakyng and pitifull ſeparatyng of great offences to ryſe on euery ſide, daungers are attempted agaynſt Churches and Churchmen, to ſpoyle their goodes and riches, with ieopardy of lyfe, ſeyng that the laitie now do abhorre & vtterly fle the obedience of clerkes, vtterly baniſhing them from their counſayles and doyngs, and haue taken courage to condemn the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure and proceſſe. All which ieopardies wyth other ſundry and diuers daungers (which neither toung is able to tell, nor wrytyng can declare) we ſeyng at hande: thought good in this poynt of greateſt neceſſity to runne with weping voyce, and lamentable ſighes to the circumſpect wiſdome of your holyneſſe. Beſeechyng your fatherly mildenes, and humbly praying you: that ſome wholſome remedy may be prouided in the premiſſes. By which, the ſounde profitable agreement and mutuall loue, which hath continued ſo long tyme betwixt the church, the kyng, and the realme, might be maintayned in that old ſwete cõcord: the ſtate of the French church might cõtinue in godly and quiet peace: that ye would vouchſafe to foreſee how to withſtand the daungers and offences aforeſayd: that we and our ſtates may be prouided for, by the foreſayd cõmaũdement of your callyng, by the ſtudy of your Apoſtlicall wiſdom, and fatherly loue. The almighty preſerue your holineſſe to hys holy church a long tyme.

These thinges thus diſcourſed and done, then followed the yeare of our Lord. 1304. In the which yeare about the natiuity of our Lady, came a gariſon of harneſſed ſouldiours well appointed, ſent partly by the French king, partly by ỹ Cardinalles of Columpna, whom the Pope before had depoſed, vnto the gates of Anagñ, where the Pope did hide him ſelfe, becauſe he was borne in the towne. The captaine of which army was one Schaira brother to the foreſayde Cardinalles: And an other William de Longareto, high ſteward to the French king. who inuading the popes town and finding the gates open, gaue aſſault to the popes frontyre: where the pope with hys nephew a Marques, and .3 other Cardinalles were immured. The townes men ſeeing all their intent and ſtrength to be bent againſt the pope: cauſed the common bell to be rong and ſo aſſembling them ſelues in a common counſayle, ordeyned Adulphus one of the chiefeſt rulers of the towne for their captaine, who (vnknowing to them) was a great aduerſary to the pope. This Adulphus bringing with him Reginaldus de Supine a greate Lord in Campania, and the two ſonnes of John Chitan a noble man, whoſe father the Pope had then in priſon: at length ioyned hym with the French companye againſt the pope, and ſo beſet hys palace on euery ſide. And firſt, ſettinge vpon the palacies of the three Cardinalles which were the chief about the pope, rifled and ſpoyled all their goodes. The Cardinalles, by a backdoore hardly auoyded their handes: but the popes palace, through munition and ſtrength of the Marques was ſomething better defended. At length, the Pope perceauynge hym ſelfe not able to make hys partye good, deſired truce with Schaira and his companye, which was to hym graunted, from one tyll nyne. Durynge which

1304.

Pope Boniface beſieged.

tyme of truce, the Pope priuily ſendeth to the townſmen of Aruagium, deſiring them to ſaue his life: which if they would doe, he promiſed ſo to enrich them, that they ſhould al haue cauſe neuer to forget or repent their benefite beſtowed. To this they made anſwere againe, excuſing themſelues, ẏ it lay not in their habilitie to doe him any good, for that the whole power of the towne was with the Captaine. Then the Pope all deſtitute and deſolate, ſendeth vnto Schaira, beſeching him to draw out in articles, wherin he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the vttermoſt. Schaira to this maketh a plaine anſwere, ſignifiyng to him againe: that he ſhould in no wiſe eſcape with his life, except vpon theſe 3. conditions. Firſt to reſtore againe the ij. Cardinals of Columpna his brethrē whom he had before depriued, with all other of their ſtock and kinred: ſecondly, that after their reſtitution, he ſhould renounce his papacie, thirdly, his body to remaine in his power and cuſtody. Theſe articles ſeemed to the Pope ſo hard, that in no caſe he woulde agree vnto them: wherfore the time of treuce expired, the captaines and ſouldiers in all forceable meanes bending thēſelues againſt the Biſhop, firſt fiered the gates of the Pallace, whereby the army hauing a full entraunce, fell to rifle and ſpoyle the houſe. The Marques vpon hope to haue his life, and ẏ life of his children, yeldeth him to the handes of Schaira and the other captain: which when the Pope heard he wept and made great lamentation. After this through windowes and dores, at length with much a doe they braſte into the Pope, whom they intreated with wordes & threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choiſe, whether he would preſently leaue his life, or geue ouer his Papacie. But that he denyed ſtifly to doe, to dye for it: ſaying to them in his vulgar tongue. Eccle col, eccle cape. That is, loe here my necke, loe here my head: proteſting, that he would neuer while he liued renounce his Popedome. Then Schaira went about and was redy to ſlay him, but by certaine that were about him he was ſtayd: whereby it happned that the Pope receaued no harme, although diuers of his miniſters and ſeruantes were ſlaine. The ſouldiars which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes houſe, did lade themſelues with ſuch treaſure of golde, ſiluer, plate and ornamentes: that the wordes of my autor (whome I follow) do thus expreſſe it. Quòd omnes reges mundi non poſſent tantum de theſauro reddere infra vnum annum, quãtum fuit de papali palatio aſportatum, & de palatiis trium Cardinalium, & Marchionis. That is, that all the kinges of the earth together were not able to diſburſe ſo muche out of their treaſury in a whole yeare: as then was taken and caryed out of the Popes pallace, and of the pallace of the three Cardinals, and the Marques. Thus Boniface bereued of all his goods, remained in their cuſtodye iii. dayes. Duringe the which ſpace, they had ſet him on a wilde and vnbroken colte, his face turned to the horſe tayle, cauſing the horſe to runne and courſe, whyle the Pope was almoſt breathleſſe. Moreouer, they kept hym ſo without meate, that he was therby nere famiſhed to death. After the iij. day: the Aruagians and people of the towne muſteryng themſelues together (to the number of x. thouſand) ſecretly braſt into ẏ houſe where the Pope was kept, and ſo ſlaying the kepers, deliuered the Pope by ſtrong hand. Who then beyng brought into the middle of the towne, gaue thankes with weepyng teares to the people for his lyfe ſaued: promiſing moreouer, that for ſo much as he was out of all hys goodes, hauyng neither bread nor drinke to put in hys mouth, Gods bleſſing and his, to all them, that now would relieue hym wyth any thyng, either to eate or to drinke. And here now to ſee what pouerty and affliction can worke in a man. The Pope before, in all hys pompe and moſt ruffling wealth was neuer ſo proud, but now was as humble & lowly: that euery poore ſimple man (as myne author teſtifieth) might haue a bold and free acceſſe to hys perſon. To make the ſtory ſhort, the Pope in that great diſtreſſe of famine was not ſo gredy of their vitayles, as they were gredy of his bleſſing. Wherupō, the women & people of ẏ towne came ſo thicke, ſome wyth bread, ſome with wyne, ſome wyth water, ſome with meat, ſome with one thyng, ſome with an other: that the Popes chamber was to litle to receyue the offring, in ſo much that when there lacked cups to receyue the wyne, they poured it downe on the chamber flore, not regardyng the loſſe of wine, to win the Popes holy bleſſing. Thus Pope Boniface beyng refreſhed by the towne of Aruagium, tooke his iourney from thence accompanied with a great multitude of harneſſed ſouldiours to Rome: where he ſhortly vpon the ſame, partly for feare which he was in, partly for famine, partly for ſorrow of ſo ineſtimable treaſure loſt, died. After whome ſucceded Benedictus the xi. of whom theſe verſes are written. A re nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem peruerte maledic, malefac, maledicte. &c. And thus haue ye the whole ſtory of Pope Boniface the eight, author of the Decretales. Which ſtory I thought the more diligently to ſet forth, that all the Latine Church myght ſee, what an author he was, whoſe lawes and decretals ſo deuoutly they follow.

Pope Boniface brought to a ſtraight.

Three conditions put to the Pope.

Here may all kinges by the Frēch king learne how to handle the pope. Boniface chuſeth rather to dye then to geue ouer his popedome.

Ex R. Auesb.

The exceſſiue treaſures of the popes houſe noted.

A pretty handling of the pope.

The pope deliuered out of priſō.

What pouertie & affliction cā do in plucking downe the pride of mā.

Pope Benedictus. 11.

Now after the long debatyng of this matter betwene the French king and pope Boniface, let vs procede in our Engliſh ſtory. About this tyme in the dayes of king Edward, the Church of Rome began daily more and more to ryſe vp and ſwell ſo hygh in pride and worldly dominion: that no kyng almoſt in his owne countrey coulde do any thyng, but as pleaſed the Pope: who both had and ruled all, in all countreys, but chiefly here in England: as partly by his intollerable tallage and pillage before ſignified may appeare, partly by his iniunctions and commaundementes ſent downe, alſo by his donations and reſeruations of benefices and church liuings: alſo in depoſing and diſpoſing ſuch as hym liſted, in place and office to beare rule. In ſo much, that when the kyng and the church of Canterbury in their election had choſen one Robert Burnell biſhop of Bathe, to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Pope Boniface of hys owne ſingular preſumptuous authoritie, rulyng the matter after hys pleaſure, fruſtrated their election, and thruſt in an other named Iohn Pecham. For amōg all other, this hath alwayes bene one practiſe of the court of Rome: euer to haue the Archbiſhop of their owne ſettyng, or ſuche one as they might be ſure of on their ſide, to weigh agaynſt the K. and other, whatſoeuer nede ſhould happen. To this Iohn Peckham, Pope Boniface directed downe a ſolemne Bull from Rome, as alſo vnto all other quarters of the vniuerſall church. In the which bull was conteyned and decreed, directly agaynſt the rule of Scripture and Chriſtian obedience: that no church, nor eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould henceforth yeld to his kyng or temporall Magiſtrate, either any geuyng or lendyng, or promiſing of tribute or ſubſidie, or portion whatſoeuer, of the goodes and poſſeſſions to hym belongyng: but ſhould be clearely exempted and diſcharged from all ſuch ſubiection of tallage or ſubuention to be exacted of them in the behoofe of the Prince and hys affaires. Which decree manifeſtly rebelleth agaynſt the commaunded ordinaunce of God, and the Apoſtolicall canon of S. Peter and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there is no worde in the Scripture that excludeth ſpirituall men more then temporall from obedience and ſubiection of princes: ſo if it chaunce the Prince in hys exactyng to be to rigorous, or cruell in oppreſſion: that is no cauſe for the clergy to be exempted: but to beare the common burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turne and moue the Princes mynde, and ſo (with prayer and patience, not wyth pryde and diſobedience) to helpe and amende that which is amiſſe. Concernyng the Bull of Boniface, if any there be that eyther do no credite the ſame, ſo to contayne, or would for hys mynde ſee and read the ſame, the wordes therof here folow.

The kinges election in hys owne realme fruſtrated.

Iohn Peckham Archb. of Cant.

A point of practiſe in the court of Rome.

Eccleſiaſticall perſōs exempted by the pope, for not paying tribute to the kyng.

The pope proceedeth agaynſt the manifeſt worde, in ſetting the clergie free from the kinges tributes.

The copy of the Popes Bull, wherin the Clergy is exempted from geuyng tribute to kynges and Princes.

Bonifacius. &c. Ad ſempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis laicos infeſtos oppidò tradidit antiquitas. Quod & præſentium experimenta temporum manifeſtè declarant, dum ſuis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & ad illicita ſua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo ſit eis in clericos eccleſiaſticáſue perſonas, & bona interdicta poteſtas. Quinimo eccleſiarum prælatis, eccleſiis eccleſiaſticiſq; perſonis regularibus & ſecularibus imponũtur onera grauia, ipſos talliant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipſius ſuorumq; prouentuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, ſeu viceſimã, uel quamuis aliam portionem, quo tam exigunt & extorquẽt eoſq; moliuntur multipharie ſubiicere ſeruituti, ſuæq; ſubdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli eccleſiarum prælati, eccleſiaſticæque perſonæ trepidantes, vbi trepidandum non eſt, tranſitoriam pacem quærentes: plus timẽtes maieſtaiem temporalem offendere, quàm æternam, talium abuſibus non tam temerariè, quàm improuidè acquieſcũt ſedis apoſtolicæ authoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obuiare volentes, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio * Apoſtolica authoritate ſtatuimus: quòd quicũq; prælati, eccleſiaſticæue perſonæ, vel ſeculares quorũcunque ordinũ conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, viceſimam, ſeu centeſimam ſuorum & eccleſiarum ſuarum prouentuum vel bonorum laicis ſoluerint, vel promiſerint, vel ſe ſoluturos exceſſerint, aut quamuis aliam quantitatem, porcionem, aut quicquam ipſorum prouentuum vel bonorum æſti-

Ex chron. Rob. Giſb.

** Apoſtolica autoritas fruſtra obtenditur, vbi Apoſtolica ſcriptura cōtemnitur.*

æſtimationem vel valorem ipſorum ſubuentionis, ſubſidij, vel doni nomine, ſeu quoui, alio timore, vel modo, vel quæſito colore abſque autoritate ſedis eiuſdem: Nec non imperatores, reges, ſeu principes, duces, ſeu comites, vel barones, poteſtates, capitaneas, officiales vel rectores quocunque nomine cenſeantur, ciuitatum, caſtrorum, ſeu quorumcũque locorum conſtitutorum vbilibet, &* quis alius cuiuſcunq; præeminentiæ, conditionis & ſtatus, qui talia impoſuerint & exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes ſacras depoſita eccleſiarum vel eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum vbilibet * areſtauerint ſayſierint ſeu occupare præſumpſerint, vel areſtari, ſayſiri, aut occupari mandauerint, aut * occupata, ſayſita, ſeu areſtata receperint: nec non omnes qui ſcienter in prædictis dederint conſilium, auxilium, vel fauorem, publicè vel occultè, eo ipſo ſententiam excommunicationis * incurrunt. Vniuerſitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint, eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus interdicto: prælatis, & perſonis eccleſiaſticis ſupradictis in virtute obedientiæ & ſub pœna depoſitionis diſtrictè mandantes, vt talibus abſque licentia expreſſa dictæ ſedis nullatenus acquieſcant. A ſupradictis autem excommunicationis & interdicti ſententijs nullus abſolui valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo abſque ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate & licentia ſpeciali. &c.

* Quiuis, pro quiſquis, barbariſmus Apoſtolicus.
* Flores Attici ex ipſo helicone deſumpti.
* ἐπίφωσις, rhetorica.
* Tanti corum.

Ware the bulles horne.

The clergy denyeth to geue tribute to the king.

This Bull beyng directed (as is ſayd) from Rome to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lykewiſe throrough the whole vniuerſall Church, vnder the Popes authoritie: It chaunced not long after, the kyng held his Parliament at S. Edmundes bury, where was graunted to hym of all cities and boroughes an eight, and of the commõs a twelfe of their goods. Only the Clergy by vertue of this Bull, ſtood ſtout: denying to pay any thyng to the kyng. This aunſwere not well pleaſing the kyng, he willeth them to deliberate better wyth themſelues vpon the matter: and after long aduiſement ſo to geue hym aunſwer therof agaynſt the next Parliament, which ſhould be holden the next Hillary terme at London.

The clergy ſecluded from the kinges protectiõ.

In concluſion, the Parliament came: the Clergy perſiſteth ſtill in deniall of their ſubſidie, alleging the Popes bull for their warrant and diſcharge. Wherupon the king likewiſe ſecludeth them from vnder hys protection & ſafegarde of hys lawes. And as concerning the Archb. of Cant. aboue mentioned, becauſe he was found more ſtubburne then the reſt, and was the inciter to the other: he ſeaſoned vppon all hys goods, and cauſed an inuentory of the ſame to be enrolled in the Exchequer. Notwithſtanding, diuers of the other biſhops releuted ſoone after to the kyng, and cõtributed the fift of their goodes vnto hym, and were receiued agayne to fauour.

The Archb. of Cant. for his ſtubbernes had his goods conſiſcate to the kyng.

The variance betwene K. Edw. and his Barons and commons.

In the lyfe of this kings father, it was declared before how the ſayd king Henry the third, father to this king, after diuers warres and commotions had with his Barons, had graunted certaine liberties and freedomes written and conteyned in Magna charta, and in Charta de foreſta. Concernyng which matter, much buſines happened in this kinges dayes alſo in the realme, betwene the kyng and his Barons & commons. The occaſion was this. A packe of wooll which before payd but a marke to the kyng, was now by this kyng rayſed vp to xl.s. After this the kyng hauyng a iourney to make vnto Flaunders, ſent to hys Barons and dyuers other, to geue their attendaunce and ſeruice in the ſame, which they refuſed and denyed to do. Notwithſtandyng (the king perſiſting in hys purpoſe) with ſuch a power as he had, prepareth toward his iourney. To whome beyng in his way at Winchelſey, the foreſayd Erles and Barons and commons ſent certen petitions conteined in writing vnder the name of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, Erles and Barons, with the communaltie of the realme. In which writing firſt lamenting and complainyng of their afflicted ſtate and miſery, after humble maner they deſired their Lord the kyng to redreſſe and amend certayne greuances among them. And firſt declared in ÿ name of the whole commons, that the premonition or writtes directed to them for their attendaunce vppon hys grace into Flaunders, was not ſufficient: for that there was no certaine place in the ſayd writtes ſpecified vnto them whether to come for makyng their prouiſion, and preparing money & other things according to the ſame. And if the place had ben to them ſignified, yet becauſe none of their aunceters euer ſerued the kyng ouer into Flaunders before, the commons therfore thought themſelues not bounde to any ſeruice in that countrey. And albeit they had bene ſo bounde therunto, yet they were not able to do it, beyng ſo heuily oppreſſed with ſo many tallages, taxes, tolles, cuſtomes, and prices of corne, Otes, Tinne, Wood, Lether, Oxen, Kyne, Fleſh, Fiſh, &c. And beſides all this, hauyng no peny of wages geuen them to relieue their charges: Ouer and beſides the lacke of the kinges wages not payd them, their owne pouertie lyke an heauy burden did ſo miſerably lye vpon them, that ſome of them had no ſuſtentation, ſome of them were not able to till their owne ground. They alleged moreouer, that they were not now handled after the olde lawes and cuſtomes of the land, as their aunceters were wont. Many alſo found themſelues greued in that they were not vſed accordyng to the Articles conteyned in Charta magna, nor agayne that the Charta de foreſta, was not obſerued nor kepte as it was wont to be. Wherfore, moſt humbly they beſeched the kyng both for hys owne honour and for the wealth of hys people, that of theſe thinges they might finde redreſſe. For the cuſtome moreouer of wooll, the whole commons bewayled to the kyng their griefe: in that, for euery packe of wooll was fined to the kyng xl.s. and for euery ſacke of toſed wooll vij. markes. The which wooll of England, as it doth ryſe to the value of halfe the realme: ſo the tollage of the ſame ſurmounteth to the fift part of the valuation of the whole lãd. And becauſe therfore the commons wiſhed the honour and preſeruation of their kyng (as they were bound to do) they thought it not good for hys grace to ſayle ouer to Flaunders, vnleſſe he had better aſſuraunce of their fidelitie, eſpecially at this tyme the Scottes beyng ſo buſie: Who if they began to rebell, he beyng at home in hys lande, much more were they lyke to ſtyrre, he beyng abroade out of the lande. And that not onely for the Scottes: but alſo for that the lyke perill was to be doubted of other forraine nations and kyngdoms, which as yet were in no firme peace with England, &c.

Magna Charta.
Charta de foreſta.

Cuſtome for Wolle.

The kynges aunſwere to the petitions of the Barons & the commons.

To theſe petitions, the king ſayd that he could as yet make no reſolute anſwere, for that his counſaile, ſome was gone ouer already to Flaunders, ſome were yet at Londõ. Notwithſtanding, at his returne agayne from Flaunders (which he truſted ſhould be ſpeedely) they ſhould thẽ heare his aunſwere and know more of his mynde concerning the ſame. In the meane tyme, this he required of them, to keepe good rule at home while he was forth. What aunſwere the king had mynded to make them at his returne, it is vncertayne, which peraduenture had turned to a bloudy aunſwere: but occaſion ſerued otherwiſe, and turned all to agreement. For the Scots with their captayne William Waleys aboue ſpecified, in the time the kyng being abſent, inuaded the realme with ſuch violence: that Prince Edward the kinges ſonne, who was left to rule in his fathers ſtead, was forced to aſſemble a Parliament, and to call for the Earle of Hereford, the Erle of Northfolke high Marſhall of England, Earle of Eſſex high Conſtable, with other Earles, Barons, Knightes and Eſquires, to entreat peace and concorde betwene his father and them. Who commyng vp to London with a M.CCCCC. well armed souldiours, and obtaynyng the gates of the citie with their owne men, fell at length to agreement wyth the prince, vpõ compoſition to haue the articles of magna Charta and of Charta de foreſta, confirmed, and that by his meanes and mediation they might be aſſured of the kings diſpleaſure to be remoued frõ them. The which foreſayd articles of Magna Charta with the other articles adioyned withall, here follow vnder written.

Humfrey Bonne.
Roger Bigot.

The articles conteyned in Magna Charta.

Firſt, no tollage or ſubſidie by the king or his heires to be impoſed or leuied hereafter within the realme of England, without the common aſſent of the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbots & other prelates, Earles, Barõs, Knights, Burgeſſes, and Commons of the Realme.

Item, no taker or ſeruiture of the king or of his heires hẽceforth within this realme, to take graine, wolle, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and conſent of hym which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any packe of wolle.

Item, to be graunted by the kyng and his heires after hym, both to the clergie and laitie of this foreſayd Realme: to haue and to enioye their lawes, liberties and cuſtomes, in as ample maner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or ſtatutes ſhall hereafter be made, and ſet forth contrary to theſe foreſayd articles: the ſame to ſtand voyd and of no effect for euer.

Agreement concluded & ſealed betwene the K. & his barõs.

Beſides theſe articles, alſo in the ſame compoſition was conteyned: that all grudge and diſpleaſure betwene ÿ king and the Barons for not goinge to Flanders, ceaſinge: the Earles and Barons might be aſſured to be receiued againe into the kynges fauour.

The moderate & good nature of K. Edward noted.

Theſe thinges thus agreed vpon, and by mediation of the Prince alſo confirmed and ſealed wyth the kynges ſeale hys father: ſo was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no leſſe ſtrength of the Realme agaynſt their enemies: And moſt chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and wiſe nature of the kyng: who as he was gentle in promyſing hys reconcilement with his ſubiectes, ſo no leſſe conſtant was he in keeping that which he had promiſed.

Rob. Winchelſey archb. of Cāt.

After the death of John Peckham Archbiſhop of Cāterbury aboue mentioned, who in the Parliament had reſiſted the kyng in the right of certayne liberties pertaynyng to the crowne, touching patronages and ſuch Church matters: ſucceeded Robert Winchelſei, with whom alſo ỷ kyng had like variance: and accuſed hym to the Pope for breakyng the peace, and tooke part wyth them that rebelled agaynſt the kyng about vſages and liberties of the Realme. Wherfore, the kyng being cited vp to the court of Rome, was there ſuſpended till he had purchaſed his abſolution agayne. And as this kyng was troubled in hys tyme wyth both the Archbyſhops, John Pecham, and alſo Robert Winchelſey: ſo it happened to all other kynges for the moſt part, from the tyme of Lancfrancus (that is from Pope Hildebrand) that euery king in hys time had ſome buſines or other wyth that ſee. As William Rufus, and Henry the firſt were troubled wyth Anſelmus: Henry the ſecond wyth Thomas Becket: King Richard and all England, wyth William Byſhop of Ely the Popes Legate: Kyng John wyth Stephen Langhton: Kyng Henry the third wyth Edmunde Archbyſhop, called S. Edmund. Polic. lib. 7. Likewiſe this kyng Edward the firſt, wyth John Peckham and Robert Winchelſey aforeſayd. And ſo other kynges after him, wyth ſome Prelate or other: whereby ye haue to vnderſtand, how and about what tyme ỷ church of Rome which before tyme was ſubiecte to kynges and Princes, began firſt to take head aboue, and againſt kings and rulers, and ſo haue kept it euer ſince.

K. Edward was troubled with two Archb. of Cant.

The church of Rome, & Romiſhe prelates ſet againſt kinges and rulers.

Kinges of England commonly troubled with Archb. of Cant.

By this John Peckam afore mentioned, was ordayned: that no ſpirituall miniſter ſhould haue any mo benefices then one, which alſo was decreed by the conſtitutions of Octo and Octobonus, the popes Legates the ſame time in England.

Prieſtes to haue but one benefice.

About the beginning of this kynges reigne, after the deceaſe of Walter Archbyſhop of Yorke: William Wycewanger ſucceeding in that ſea, mynding to go on viſitation: came to Dureſme to viſite the Church and Chapter there. But the clergie and the people of the citie, ſhoot the gates agaynſt him, and kept him out, wherupon roſe no ſmall diſturbance. The Archbiſhop let flie his curſe of excommunication and interdiction agaynſt them. The Byſhop of Dureſme agayne wyth his clergie, deſpiſed all his curſinges, grounding themſelues vpon the conſtitution of Innocentius the fourth, De cenſibus & actionibus. And ſo they appealed to Rome, ſaying: that he ought not to be receaued there, before he had firſt begon to viſite his owne Chapter and dioces, which he had not done. For to ſay the wordes of the conſtitutiōs: We ordayne and decree that euery Archbyſhop, that will viſite his prouince, firſt muſt procure to viſite his owne Church, citie, and dioces. &c.

Variance betwene the Archbiſh. of Yorke & the clergie of Dureſme.

Among other thinges in this kyng to be noted, that is not to be paſſed ouer: that where complaint was made to him of his officers, as Juſtices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes, Excheters, and ſuch other: who in their offices abuſing themſelues, extortioned and oppreſſed the kynges liege people, otherwiſe then was according to right and cōſcience: the ſayd king not ſuffering ſuch miſorder to be vnpuniſhed, did appoint certaine officers or inquiſitors to the number of xij. which inquiſition was called Trailbaſton, or Trailbaſtoun: by meane of which inquiſition, diuers falſe officers were accuſed, & ſuch as were offenders were eyther remoued from their place, or forced to buye agayne their office at the kynges hand: to their no ſmall loſſe, and great gayne to the kyng, and much profite to the common wealth.

Inquiſition made againſt all rulers and falſe officers.

Trailbaſtoun.

In the Chronicle of Robert Ameſbury it is recorded of the ſayd kyng, that he beyng at Ameſbury to ſee hys mother (who was then in that monaſtery profeſſed) there was a certayne man that fained himſelfe blynd a long time, brought to the preſence of the ſayde Alinore the kyngs mother: ſaying, how that he had his ſight agayne reſtored at ỷ tombe of kyng Henry her late huſband, in ſo much that ſhe was eaſely perſwaded in the miracle to be very true. But kyng Edward her ſonne, knowing the man a long time to be a vile diſſembler, and a wicked perſon, vſed to lying and craftie deceauing: diſſwaded his mother not to geue credite to the vile vagabon, declaring that he knew ſo well of the iuſtice of his father, that if he were aliue, he would twiſe rather plucke out both hys eyes: then once reſtore him one. Notwithſtanding, the Queene the mother remaynyng ſtill in the former fond perſwaſion, would heare or beleue nothyng to the contrary, but was ſo in anger with her ſonne, that ſhe bid him depart her chamber, and ſo he did. By the example whereof may eaſily be conceaued, how and after what ſort theſe blynde myracles in thoſe dayes and ſince haue come vp amōg the blynd and ſuperſticious people. For had not the kyng here bene wiſer then the mother, no doubt but this would haue bene rong a miracle, and percaſe king Henry bene made a Saint.

Ex Chron. Rob. Aueſburienſis.

A falſe miracle wel ſpied out of the K.

But as this was a fayned miracle and falſe no doubt, ſo in the ſame autor we read of an other maner of myracle, ſounding more neare the truth, and ſo much the more likely, for that it ſerued to the conuerſion vnto chriſtian fayth: to which vſe properly, all true myracles do appertaine. The myracle was this. In the reigne of this kyng, and the latter yeare of his reigne, Caſſanus king of the Tartarians (of whom commeth theſe whom now we call Turkes) which fighting againſt the Souldan kyng of the Saracens, in the playne of Damaſcus, ſlew of them C. thouſād of Saracens: and agayne at Babylon fighting wyth the ſayde Souldain: ſlew him in the field, and CC. thouſand of his Saracens, calling vpon the helpe of Chriſt, and therupō became Chriſtiā. This Caſſanus I ſay, had a brother a Pagane, who being in loue wyth the daughter of the kyng of Armenia a Chriſtian woman, deſired of her father to marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, vnles he promiſed to be a Chriſtian. Notwithſtanding, the other being ſtronger in power and threatning to get her by warre: the king at lēgth was forced to agree. In concluſion, it happened that the childe being borne betwixt them was ouergrowen and all rough wyth hayre, like the ſkin of a Beare. Which child beyng brought to the father, he commaunded it to be throwen in the fire and burned. But the mother deſiryng firſt to haue the chylde baptiſed, cauſed all things therunto to be prepared. The infant beyng 3. tymes in water plunged, after the Sacrament of holy Baptiſme receyued: incontinent was altered and turned from all his hairy roughnes, and ſeene as fayre and ſmooth ſkinned, as any other. The which thyng after the father ſawe and beheld, was Chriſtened hymſelfe and all hys houſe, &c.

Ex eodem chron.

A true miracle.

Victory agaynſt the Saracens.

In the raigne of this kyng, Walter Merton Biſhop of Rocheſter, builded Merton colledge in Oxford. In whoſe reigne alſo lyued, Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de villa noua, Dantes and other mo. And Scotus called Dūs. Who in hys 4. booke of Sent. Diſt. 18. complaineth of the abuſe of excommunication and of the Popes keys. Where as before, excommunication was not vſed, but vpon great and iuſt cauſes, and therfore was feared: now ſayth he, it is brought forth for euery trifling matter, as for not paying the prieſts wages &c. and therfore ſayth he, it groweth in cōtempt. Vnder the ſame kyng about the beginnyng of hys reigne, was the yeare ſo hote and ſo dry: that from the month of May vntill the mōth nere of September fell no rayne, in ſo much that many died for heat, & the vulgar people in their reckenyng of yeres, did counte the tyme from the ſayd dry yeare long after.

Merton colledge builded in Oxford.

I. Scotus, duns.

After Pope Benedictus aboue mētioned, ſucceded pope Clement the v. who tranſlated the Popes court to Auinion in Fraunce, where it remayned the terme of 74. yeares after. At the coronation of this Clement, was preſent Philip kyng of Fraunce, Charles hys ſonne and Duke John Duke of Britany, with a great number of other men of ſtate and Nobilitie. At which coronation, they beyng in the middle of the pompe or proceſſion, a great wall brake downe and fell vpon them: by the fal wherof, Duke John with xij. other were ſlayne, king Philip hurt and wounded, ỷ Pope ſtroken from hys horſe, and loſt out from hys mitre vpō his hed a Carbuncle, eſteemed to the value of 6000. florence. Plat. de vit. pont. By this Clemēt was ordeyned, ỷ the emperour, though he might be called kyng of the Romans before, yet he might not enioy the title and right of the Emperour, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperours ſeat beyng vacant, the Pope ſhould reigne as Emperor, till a new Emperor was choſen. By him the orders of the Templaries (who at that tyme were to abhominable) was put downe at the Councell of Vienne, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared. He alſo ordeyned and cōfirmed the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, aſſignyng indulgences to ſuch as heard the ſeruice therof. And as Pope Bonifacius afore heaped vp the booke of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium, ſo this Clement compiled the 7. booke of the decretals, called of the ſame Clement the Clementines. In the tyme of this pope, Henricus the 6. of that name Emperor, was poyſoned in receiuing the Sacrament by a falſe diſſembling Monke called Bernard, that feigned hymſelf to be his familiar friend, which was thought to be done not

Pope Clemēt. 5. The popes court tranſlated to Fraunce.

A ſlaughter of nobles at the pompe of the popes coronatiō.

A Carbuncle in the popes myter valued at 6000. Florence.

Emperour no Emperour except he were cōfirmed by the pope.

The Templaries put downe.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti.

Septimus decretalium. called the Clementines.

Henricus 6. Emperour poyſoned in the hoſt.

without the conſent of the Popes legate. The Emperour perceiuing himſelfe poyſoned, warned him to flee and eſcape away, for els the Germaines would ſure haue ſlayne him, who although he eſcaped himſelfe, yet diuers of his order after that with fire and ſword were ſlayne.

Paleologus Emp. of Cõſtantinople excõmunicated with all his adherents by pope Clement, for not ſuffering the Grecians to appeale to Rome

An. 1327.

Note the practiſe of the Romiſhe prelates.

As this Pope Clement the v. had well prouided now (as ye haue heard) agaynſt the Empire of Rome to bryng it vnder his girdle: inſomuch that without the Popes benediction, no Emperour might take the ſtate vpon him. &c. Now he proceedeth farther to entermedle with the Empire of Conſtãtinople. Where he firſt exerciſeth his tyranny and power of excommunication, agaynſt Andronicus Paleologus Emperour of Conſtantinople, an. 1327. declaryng him as a ſchiſmatike, and hereticke, becauſe he neither would nor durſt ſuffer the Greciãs to make their appeale from the Greeke Church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his ſuperiour. &c. Whereby it may appeare, that the Greeke Church did not admitte the Popes ſuperioritie, as yet nor at any tyme before. Saue onely about the tyme of Pope Innocent the iij. an. 1202. at what tyme the French men with their Captaine Balduinus Earle of Flaũders, ioyned together with the Venitians: were ſet agaynſt the Grecians, to place Alexius to the right of the Empire of Conſtãtinople, vpõ condition (as writeth Platina) to ſubdue the Greeke church, vnder the Church of Rome. Which Alexius beyng reſtored, and ſhortly after ſlayne: the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the ſpace of lviij. yeares, till the commyng of Michael Paleologus in the dayes of pope Gregory the x. Who reſtored the Empire frõ the Frenchmen, vnto his priſtine ſtate agayne. Duryng all which tyme of the French Emperours, the Greke Church was ſubiect to Rome, as by the Decretals of pope Gregory the x. may appeare. Then folowed after this, that the foreſayd Michael Emperour of Conſtantinople beyng called vp to a Councell at Lions by Pope Gregory the x. about the controuerſie of procedyng of the holy Ghoſt (as is aboue ſpecified) and obedience to the Church of Rome: there, becauſe the ſayd Michael the Emperour did ſubmit himſelfe and the Greciãs, to the ſubiection of Rome (as teſtifieth Baptiſt Egnat.) he thereby procured to himſelfe ſuch grudge and hatred among the Greeke Monkes and Prieſtes: that after his death they denyed him the due honour & place of buriall. The ſonne of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus aboue mentioned: who, as ye haue heard before, bicauſe he was conſtrained by the Grecians not to admit any appellation to the Byſhop of Rome: was accurſed by the popes cenſures for an heretike. Wherby appeareth, that the Greciãs recouering their ſtate agayne, refuſed all ſubiection at this tyme vnto the Church of Rome, which was the yere of our Lord. 1327. &c. After this Clement the v. folowed Pope Iohn the xxij. with whom Ludouike the Emperour had much trouble. After whom next in courſe ſucceded Pope Benedict the xij. Which Benedict vpon a time beyng deſired to make certaine new Cardinals to this aunſwereth againe: that he would gladly ſo do, if he alſo could make a new world. For this world (ſayd he) is for theſe Cardinals that be made already. Ex ſcripto Engethuſenſis. And thus much of the Popes, now to returne a litle backe to the kynges ſtory agayne.

Platina in vit. Innocentij.

When & how lõg the Greeke church was ſubiecte to Rome.

Ex Baptiſt. Egnat. Rom. princ. lib. 7.

The Greeke church denyeth ſubiection to the church of Rome.

Ex chro. Nic. Triuet.

The popes exactions complayned of in the parliament.

Ex hiſt. quæ incipit ab Henrico tertio.

The popes gettyng in one yeare. W. Teſta the popes Legate ſent into Englãd.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1307. Which was xxxiiij. of the reigne of this kyng, in the beginnyng of Hillary terme: the kyng kept a Parliament at Carliel, where great complaintes were brought in by the nobles & auncientes of the Realme, concernyng the manifold and intolerable oppreſſions of Churches and Monaſteries, and exactiõs of money by the Popes Legate William Teſta (otherwiſe termed Mala Teſta) lately brought into the Realme of England. The commyng of which William Teſta was vpon this occaſion, as foloweth. Pope Clement, who as ye heard before, had tranſlated his Court from Rome into Fraunce, where he had bene Archbiſhop before, becauſe he contẽned to come and remaine at his owne ſea: the Princes of Rome thought him therfore vnworthy to enioy Peters patrimony. And ſo by that meanes fallyng in barrenes and pouertie, liued onely of ſuch money of Byſhops, as came to him to be confirmed, and with ſuch other ſhiftes and giftes. So that by this meanes, partly of Biſhops and other religious men and perſõs, partly vnder the name of courteſie and beneuolence, partly vnder the pretenſe of borowyng: he had within the firſt yeare ix. thouſand and fiue hundreth markes of ſiluer, all his other charges & expenſes, which he largely that yeare beſtowed, clearely borne. Beſides this, he ſent moreouer the foreſayd Legate William Teſta into Englãd with his Bulles: in the which he reſerued the firſt fruites of the firſt yeare of all Churches beyng vacant, at any tyme, or by any man within the Realme of England, Scotlãd, Wales, and Ireland, and alſo the fruites of Abbayes and Priories within the ſayd Realmes. &c. Wherupon, the king with his nobles ſeyng the incõuenience and harme therof enſuyng to the whole Realme: In the foreſayd Parliament holden at Carliell withſtode the ſayd Legate, chargyng and cõmaundyng him by the aſſent of the Earles & Barons, that hẽceforth he ſhould abſteine from all ſuch exactions. And as cõcernyng his Lord the Pope, he would direct certaine his meſſẽgers vnto him, purpoſely for the ſame matter appointed: by the which Ambaſſadours, the kyng wrote vnto the foreſayd Pope declaryng, and moniſhing the Pope, as right and reaſon was: that he ſhould not exact the firſt fruites of Churches and Abbayes, by his predeceſſours and noble mẽ of the land founded for the honour & maintenaunce of Gods ſeruice, for almes and hoſpitalitie: which otherwiſe in ſo doyng, ſhould all be ouerthrowen. And ſo by this meanes, the Pope at that tyme chaunged his purpoſe as cõcernyng Abbayes. But after that, the fruite of Engliſh churches was graunted to the king for two yeares: In which ſpace he obtained the fruites of the foreſayd Churches. &c.

Firſt fruites firſt brought in by the Pope.

King Edw. withſtãdeth the Pope & his Legate.

Firſt fruites of Abbeyes denyed to the pope.

Firſt fruites for ij. yeares graunted to the kyng.

During the which Parliament afore ſpecified, as men were talkyng many things of the Popes oppreſſiõs, which he began in the Engliſh Church, in the full of the Parliament: ſodenly fell downe, as ſent from heauen, among them a certaine paper, with this ſuperſcription.

An Epiſtle of Caſsiodorus to the Church of England, concernyng the abuſes of the Romiſh Church.

Ex vetuſto Chronico Albanenſ.

TO the noble Church of England ſeruyng in clay and bricke as the Iewes did in tymes paſt vnder the tyranny of the Egyptians: Peter the ſonne of Caſſadore a Catholike ſouldiour and deuout champion of Chriſt, ſendeth gretyng and wiſhyng to caſt of the yoke of bondage, and to receaue the reward of libertie.

To whom ſhall I compare thee, or to whom ſhall I liken thee O daughter Ieruſalem: to whom ſhall I matche thee, O daughter of Sion. Great is thy perturbation, like vnto the ſea. Thou ſitteſt alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and conſumed with heauynes. Thou art geuen vp into the handes of hym from whence thou canſt not riſe without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Phariſies ſittyng vpon the chayre of Moyſes, thy enemyes the Romanes are as thy heades and rulers, enlargyng their garded philacteries, and ſeekyng to be enriched with the marie of thy bones, laying heauy burdens, and not able to be borne, vpõ thy ſhoulders & of thy miniſters, and they ſet thee vnder tribute (which of old tyme haſt bene free) beyond all honeſty or meaſure. But maruell not thereat, for thy mother, which is the Lady of people, like a widow hauyng maryed and coupled her ſelfe to her ſubiect, hath appointed him to be thy father, that is to ſay, the Byſhop of Rome, who ſheweth no point of any fatherly loue towardes thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermoſt his authoritie ouer thee: And by experiẽce declareth himſelf to be the huſbãd of thy mother. He remẽbreth oft with himſelfe the propheticall ſaying of the Prophet, and wel diſgeſteth the ſame in the inward part of his breſt. Take to thee a great booke, and write therein quickly with the penne of a man, take the ſpoyle, robbe quickly: But is this it, which the Apoſtle ſayth, that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Euery Byſhop taken from among men, is appointed for men in thoſe thynges that belong to the Lord: not to ſpoyle, not to lay on them yearely taxes, not to kill mẽ, but to offer giftes and ſacrifices for ſinnes: and to ſorrow with them, that be ignoraunt and do erre. And ſo we read of Peter the fiſher (whoſe ſucceſſor he boaſteth himſelfe to be) that after the reſurrectiõ of Chriſt he returned with other Apoſtles, to the office of fiſhyng: who whẽ he could take nothyng of the left ſide of the ſhyp, at the biddyng of Chriſt, turned to the right ſide, and drew to the land a net full of fiſhes. Wherfore the profitable miniſtery of the Church is to be exerciſed on the right ſide, by the which the deuill is ouercome, and plentie of ſoules be lucrified and wonne to Chriſt. But certeinly, the labourer on the left ſide of the ſhyp, is farre otherwiſe: for in it the faith ſtumbleth, heauines beareth rule, when that thyng that is deſired by ſeekyng, is not found. For who is ſo fooliſh to thinke that he can both at one tyme ſerue God and mã, and to ſatiſfie his owne will, or to ſticke to the reuelations of fleſh and bloud, and to offer worthy giftes to Chriſt? And doubteles, that ſhepheard that watcheth not for the edifyeng of the flocke, prepareth an other way to the roryng Lyon, and ſeekyng whom he may deuour. And now behold, I ſay, O daughter, the deedes of him that is called thy father, ſuch as haue not bene heard of before: he driueth away the good ſhepheards from the ſhepefold, and placeth in their ſtead Byſhops, to rule, but not to profite (his nephewes, coſines, and parentes) ſome that know no letters, and other ſome dum & deafe, which vnderſtand not the playne voyce of the ſheepe, nor curyng their woundes that be hurt of the Wolues: but like hyrelinges pluckyng of the fleeſe a paſe, and reaping that which other men haue ſowen, whoſe hāds moreouer be alwayes ready in their baſkets and powches, but their backes are turned frō their burdēs. By which thynges it is manifeſt, that the Prieſthode is cleane chaūged at theſe dayes, the ſeruice of God decayed, almes diminiſhed and brought to nought, the whole deuotion of kyngs, princes, and Chriſtians is baniſhed. May not this be thought wonderfull in the eyes of all men, that where as Chriſt cōmaunded tribute to be payed to kynges for him and for Peter, he now goeth about dominion of his ſtile, to ſubdue to hym, both Realmes and princes of realmes (agaynſt his wil, whoſe Vicare he ſayth he is, and who refuſed the Realmes and iudgementes of the world) which this Byſhop contrarywiſe chalengeth, clayming all that which he in his ſtyle writeth to be his. Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more agaynſt thee: marke, he draweth from thee what ſoeuer pleaſeth him, and yet he thinketh not himſelfe content, to haue the tenth part onely of thy goods from thee: except he haue alſo the firſt fruites of the benefices of the Miniſters, whereby he may get a new patrimonie aſwell for him ſelfe as for his kynred, contrary to the godly wils of the firſt founders. Ouer and beſide all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and ſtipends for his Legates and meſſengers, whom he ſendeth into Englād, which not onely take away the feedyng and clothyng of thee and thyne, but alſo teare in peeces like dogs your fleſh & ſkinnes. May not this prince be compared to kyng Nabugodonoſer, which deſtroyed the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the ſiluer and golden veſſels therof? The very ſame doth this man alſo: he robbed the miniſters of GOD his houſe, and left deſtitute of due helpe. In like maner doth he: Truly they be better that are killed with the ſword, then they which be pined with hunger: for they are dead ſtraight, but theſe are waſted with the barennes of the earth. O daughter, all they that paſſe by the way, let them haue pity and compaſſion on thee, for there is no ſorrow like thy ſorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales through much ſorrow and weepyng, and thou art no more knowen in the ſtreetes: thy foreſayd ruler hath placed thee in darknes, and hath geuen thee wormewood and gall to drinke. O Lord heare the ſorrow and ſighynges of thy people, behold Lord, and diſcende, for the hart of this foreſayd man is more indurate, then the hart of Pharao. For he will not ſuffer thy people to depart, except in the fortitude onely of thy hand. For he ſcourgeth them, not onely miſerably vpon the earth, but alſo after their death he intendeth to incroche the goods of all Chriſtians vnder the name and title to dye inteſtate or making no wil. Therfore let the chiualry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in tymes paſt, directyng their greedy eyes on the Realme of England, laboured with all their power how to bryng the ſame vnder their ſubiection. But it is to be feared, leaſt the new deuiſes and practiſe of this new enemy, ſupply that which hetherto hath bene lacking in them. For in diminiſhyng of the treaſure of the realme, and ſpoylyng the churches goodes: the Realme ſhalbe brought into ſuch inabilitie, that it ſhall not be able to helpe it ſelfe againſt the enemy. Therfore O daughter, & you the miniſters therof, ſuffer not your ſelues to be led any more into ſuch miſerable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thyne, that the Chriſtian kyng and the powers of the Realme which haue indued thee with great benefites, and you alſo which are indued with their benefites, do labour with all your power how to reſiſt the deuiſes, conſpiracies, arrogancie, preſumption, and pride of the foreſaid perſon: who not for any zeale of God, but for the enrichyng of his parentes and for hys owne kynred (exaltyng himſelfe like an Eagle) by theſe and ſuch other exactions goeth about after a new kynde of extortion to ſcrape vp and deuour all the money and treaſure of England. Now leaſt the diſſembled ſimplicitie of the realme in this behalfe do bryng vtter ſubuerſion, and afterward be compelled to ſeeke remedy when it is to late: I beſech the Lord God of hoſtes to turne away the vale frō the hart of that man, and to geue him a contrite and an humble mynde, in ſuch ſort as he may acknowledge the wayes of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darckneſſe, and be enforced to relinquiſh his old ſiniſter attemptes: and that the vyneard which the Lordes hand hath planted, may be repleniſhed continually with true preachers of the word. Let the wordes of the Lord propheſied by the mouth of Ieremy, ſtirre vp your myndes to withſtand and reſiſt the ſubtile practiſes of this man, by the which wordes the Lord ſpeaketh: O thou Paſtor which haſt ſcattered my people, and haſt caſt them out of their habitations, behold I will come and viſit vpon thee, and vpō the malice of thy ſtudies: neyther ſhall there be any of thy ſeede which ſhall ſit vpon the ſeat of Dauid, neither which ſhall haue power any more in Iuda. So that thy neaſt ſhall become barren, and vtterly ſubuerted like Sodome and Gomer.

And if he being terrified by theſe wordes do not leaue of from this which he beginneth, and doth not make reſtitution of thoſe thinges which he hath receaued: then let all and ſingular perſons ſing for him being indurat, to hym that ſeeth all thynges, the Pſalme. 108. Deus laudem. &c. For truely as fauour, grace, and beneuolence, remitteth & neglecteth many thinges: ſo agayne the gentle benignitie of man being too much oppreſſed and greeued, ſeeking to be deliuered and freed from the ſame, ſtriueth & ſearcheth to haue the truth knowen, and caſteth of that yoke by all meanes poſſible that greeueth him. &c. Hæc Caſsiodorus.

A parliament in Fraunce aſſembled, wherein is diſcuſſed, the iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall, how farre it extendeth.

An. 1329.

What effect this letter wrought in them, to whom it was directed, is not in ſtory expreſſed. This by the ſequel may be coniectured, that no reaſon nor perſwaſion could preuayle, but that the pope retained here ſtill hys exactions, what ſoeuer was ſayde or written to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And thus much being written hetherto of theſe actes and doinges here in England, now to ſlip a litle into the matters happening the ſame tyme in Fraunce, vnder the raigne of the foreſayd king Philip aboue mentioned: forſomuch as about thys time, an. 1329. was commenſed a parlement, by the ſayde kyng of Fraunce, agaynſt the Pope, touching the iuriſdiction both temporall, perteining to princes, and eccleſiaſticall belonging to the Church: I thought it not vnprofitable for the reader, to heare and learne ẏ full diſcourſe and tractation hereof, according as we haue cauſed it to be excerpt faythfully out of the true copye and recordes of Peter Bertrand Byſhop of Eduenen, and chiefe doer and prolocutor in the ſaid parliament vpon the Popes ſide, agaynſt the king and ſtate temporall.

For ſo much as the high Prelate of Rome, otherwyſe called Antichriſt, being then in his chiefe ruffe, extolling himſelfe aboue all princes and poteſtates of the world, as in other countries, ſo alſo in Fraunce extended his vſurped iuriſdiction aboue the princely authoritie of the king, claymyng to hymſelfe full gouernement of both the ſtates, as well ſeculare as alſo eccleſiaſticall. The kyng therefore not ſufferyng the exceſſiue proceedinges of Pope Clement the fift aboue ſpecified, directeth hys letters mandatorie to the prelates & Barons of ẏ realme of Fraūce, to conuent & aſſemble themſelues together at Paris about the beginning of December, the yeare aboue prefixed. The tenour of which letters of the kyng directed to the Prelates, foloweth in thys forme and maner.

The ſommons of a Parliament by Philip the French kyng.

The letter of Philip king of Fraunce, to the byſhops and prelates.

PHilip by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce, to our welbeloued Byſhop of Eduens, greeting and ſalutation. Reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. The more ſight and knowledge you haue in diuinitie and the holy Scriptures of God, wyth the practiſe and experience of other good qualities and vertues: you know the better a great deale, how that the clergie & laytie of this our realme (as members of one body) ought to cleaue and ſticke together: and how by their helping hand, vnitie and peace ſhould be maintayned of all, and the contrary eſchued and auoyded, euery ſtate contenting it ſelfe, and not incroching one vpon an other. And becauſe we are aduertiſed, how that our Barons and officers (as well in tyme paſt as of late) haue diuerſely in diuers pointes iniuried you, as ſemblably you and yours in many cauſes haue wrongfully damaged them: by occaſion wherof, the knot of vnitie and concorde which ought to haue floriſhed among you, is quite looſed and vndone. To the ende therefore by Gods grace ſome good reformation & redreſſe may be had herein: We moſt, ſtudious of vnitie and concorde require you, and by theſe our letters commaunde you, to appeare perſonally before vs at Paris the xv. day of December next enſuing the date hereof: and there before vs to make relation of ſuch wrong as ye haue receiued at the laities handes. And we in likewiſe ſtraightly charge and commaunde you, our Barons, Bailiffes, and officers not to faile, but to make your perſonall appearaunces before vs, the day and place aboue written, and there to exhibite before vs a bill, of ſuch complayntes wherewyth you burden our Prelates and clergie with their officials: that we wyth our counſell conſulting thereupon, wyth due regarde may ſee redreſſe therin: wherby perpetuall loue and charity may euer hereafter raigne and remayne among thē for euer. Geuen at Paris the firſt day of September. an. 1329.

The Parliament conuented.

At the day in the letters aboue ſpecified, the prelates and Clergy aſſembled thēſelues before the kyng at his palace in Paris, that is to witte: The L. Bituricen. the L. of Auxitan. the L. Turonen. the L. Rothom. and the L. Senon. all Archbiſhops: The L. Beluacen. the L. Cathalan. the L. Laudun. the L. of Pariſ. the L. Nouionen. the L. Carnoten. the L. Conſtan. the L. Andegauen. the L. Pictauen. the L. Melden. the L. of Cameracen. the L. of S. Flori. the L. of Brioce, the L. of Cabilion, & the L. of Eduen. all Byſhops. Where, after due reuerence done vnto the kynges grace, there ſittyng in his owne perſon, with his Barons and counſell about him: a certaine noble and wiſe perſon Lord Peter de Cugnerijs (beyng one of the kynges counſell) roſe vp and openly in the Parliament houſe ſpake in the kynges behalfe on this wiſe, taking for his Theame. Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei Deo: which is to ſay: geue and render vnto Ceſar which is his, and vnto God which is Gods: which he very artificially proſecuted and applyed, deuidyng it into two partes. Firſt that obedience and reuerence is due vnto the kyng: Secondly that there ought to be a difference betwene the iuriſdictiō of the clergy and laitie, ſo that ſpirituall matters ſhould be defined and ordered by the Prelates and ſpirituall men: and temporal cauſes ruled and determined by the king, his Barons, and temporall men. Which all he proued by many reaſons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the aunſwere of the Byſhop of Eduen: finally he concluded, that the clergy ought onely to deale and haue to do with ſpirituall matters: in defence wherof, the kynges highnes would ſtand their good Lord and mainteiner. His Oration beyng ended, he repeted certaine wordes in the Frēch tong which imported that the kynges will and pleaſure was in ſome pointes to renew the temporall ſtate and iuriſdiction: & therwith exhibited a certaine bill in Frēch, wherof alſo he gaue a copy to the Prelates, conteinyng certaine pointes and articles vnder written, the contentes wherof he affirmed not to apperteine to the order and iuriſdictiō of the ſpiritualtie, but onely to the temporalty: complainyng that the clergy had wrongfully proceded in the ſame. But notwithſtandyng the premiſſes, and for all this his complaint, he ſayd that the Prelates ſhould haue tyme to conſult and deliberate thereupon with the kyng. The copy of which articles, with aunſwere enſuyng vpon the ſame, and the greuaunces of the kingdome of Fraunce, wrought by the clergy, and exhibited to the kyng, hereafter foloweth.

L. Peter ſpeaketh in the Parliamēt.

The theame of his oration.

The oratiō deuided in two parts. Obedience to the kyng.

Difference betwene the iuriſdiction of the ſtate temporall & eccleſiaſticall.

Articles in the parliament propounded, conteyning the iuſt complaintes of the laitie againſt the clergie.

Cauſes reall.

1. Firſt, the cognition of cauſes reall, whether they touch poſſeſſion or their proprietie or not, by common law apperteineth to the iuriſdictiō temporall. But the Prelates with their officials to the end to infring the temporall iuriſdictiō, take vpon them the determination of ſuch cauſes reall, eſpecially concernyng poſſeſſion and all other interdictes.

2. Item, when a temporall man is ſued by any Clerke or ſpirituall man, for the poſſeſſion of his land, obtainyng an adiornament of the ſecular power, in the cauſe of nouite or otherwiſe: The prelates officials ſtoppyng hereby the temporall iuriſdictiō, at the inſtaūce of ỹ clerke calleth by proces before them, both the ſecular iudge and the partie: inhibiting them to procede any farther in the cauſe, vnder payne of excommunication and forfaiture of a certaine ſumme.

Prelates intermedle in temporall mens matters.

3. Item, although the ſecular iudge haue the cognition of all lay mens matters (except in ſpirituall cauſes) yet wil the Byſhops Officials at the inſtaunce of any partie, call ſuch before them. And if the tēporall men do except agaynſt their iuriſdiction, alledgyng the incompitencie of the iudge, or els if they require the cauſe to be remitted to them (vnder whō they are) as the right iudges, yet doth the Officials refuſe this to do, yea and by excommunication compell the parties to procede before them.

4. Item, the Byſhops Officials at the inſtaunce of the clerkes, alledgyng ỹ they are iniuried in matters of inheritaunce by a lay man, call by proces the layte. And if it be alledged that thoſe cauſes ſtand vpō realtie, beyng ſo in dede, and for that conſideration the cauſe to be remitted to the tēporall law: This notwithſtandyng the Officials prohibite them vnder payne of excommunication or ſome great forfet, not to procede but before them.

5. Item, the Byſhops Officials take vpon them to heare the plea of ſuch cōtractes as either be conceiued in writings or made by word of mouth in the temporall law: ſēdyng out their monition of excommunication agaynſt them that ſtand bound concernyng the ſame contractes.

6. Item, the Byſhops and Prelates decree prouinciall councels and Sinodal Statutes, enacting & ordering therin many thinges to the high and great preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction, wherein they ought to haue no cognition at all neither to intermeddle themſelues therwith.

7. Item, the foreſayd Officials take vpon them, before Notaries to ſweare perſons for performaūce of contractes and bargaynes (made by them in places vnder the iuriſdiction temporall) concernyng the ſale of inheritaunce or otherwiſe: incrochyng therby vpon their iuriſdiction, when hereby they haue nothyng to do with any contractes and obligations, but with ſuch as are made and agreed vpon within the compaſſe of their owne ſeat and iuriſdiction.

Ex Officio.

8. Item, the ſayd Officials of their meere office, call before them the laitie, to aunſwere to ſuch matters of correction as ſhalbe layde to their charge, the cognition whereof as they ſay doth appertayne to them. And when the ſayd perſons do appeare before them, and deny the crime obiected agaynſt them: the Officials deteyne them and put them in priſon, although in ſuch caſes, they are to be releaſed: & that impriſonment appertaineth onely to the temporall power, and not to them.

Impriſonment perteineth not to the clergie.

9. Item, in the caſes aforeſayd, although by makyng of their purgations and other the proces therein, they be found cleare of that which is layd to their charge and are acquitted: theſe yet the ſayd officials will in no wiſe diſcharge and diſmiſſe them before they haue to the vttermoſt payd for the writynges and proces in the behalfe, a good peece of money: when by law it ought to be done gratis and for nothyng.

10. Item, it muſt not be forgotten to talke of ỹ ſentence of excōmunication, which is decreed by vertue of one onely Citation, ſo often tymes as a man fayleth in his apperaunce.

11. Item, mention is to be made of thoſe kynde of obligations De niſi, wherby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able ſo to do.

12. Item, whoſoeuer by vertue of excommunicatiō in the Biſhops court is excommunicate, and he ſo excommunicate do not ſatiſfie the ſumme due about the excommunication: by & by the ſumme is doubled: And the ſecular power charged by the Biſhops or their officials, that they vnder payne of excommunication compell the excōmunicate by attaching their goodes to pay the ſayd ſumme, and not to miſſe a iote: which monition if the laitie refuſeth to put in executiō, they themſelues are then excōmunicate and in no wiſe to be abſolued before they diſburſe that money the which the principall excommunicate perſon ſhould haue payd.

13. Item, if the Baylyffes, Hedborowghes, or other the kynges officers and iudges of the temporaltie, receauyng the foreſayd monitions do put the ſame in execution, & finde thoſe that be excōmunicate to be beggerly & nothing worth: the ſayd officers are bound at their owne proper coſtes and charges, to reſort to the Byſhops ſea or conſiſtorie, whereſoeuer it is, & there to take a corporall othe, that the parties excōmunicate are nothyng worth. This if they fayle, thoſe officers are ſure to be excommunicate and thereby inforced to diſburſe the due of the firſt excommunicate perſons.

Action real perſonall.

14. Item, if two lay men be in ſute together before a temporall iudge about an action either reall or perſonall, and one of them after conteſtation of law and great proces therin, do appeale vnto an Eccleſiaſticall iudge: he will preſume then to deteyne before him the plea of ſuch caſes, and actiōs, both reall and perſonall, cauſing by vertue of his monitions & authoritie, the temporall iudge to ceaſe and leaue of from medlyng therein: which if the ſecular iudge obeyeth not, he is pronounced excommunicate and compelled to make ſatiſfaction: by occaſions wherof, the temporall iuriſdictiō is much annoyed, and cleane loſeth the prerogatiue therof: becauſe by law no man may appeale frō a ſpiritual iudge to the temporall law.

No mā may appeale frō a ſpirituall iudge to the temporall law by the popes diuinitie.

15. Item, if a lay mā inhabiter of any the kynges townes, procureth his debter, beyng alſo a lay man, to be arreſted by vertue of ſecular iuſtice in that place: and he which is ſo arreſted appealeth, and cauſeth alſo his crediter to be arreſted, the officials will take vpon them to heare this matter: And if any thyng be attempted concerning the appeale, they miſſe not to demaund coſt and ſatiſfaction both of the iuſtice, and alſo of him to whom the arreſt was made. And if any of the Princes retinue compelleth them to reſiſt this iniury, they

are ſtraightwayes pronounced excommunicate.

Deanes of the clergie.

16. Item, the ſayd Byſhops haue a number of Officials vnder them, whom they terme Deanes of the clergy, which vſually cauſeth all ſortes of people through the kynges dominions onely by word of mouth to come afore them, & that ſometyme without commiſſion: when that in euery Dioces there ought onely to be but one ſeate or Conſiſtory, wherin matters ſhould be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers tymes, that many are wrongfully and without cauſe cited, & to the ende: that they may pay money inough, to ryd themſelues therof: which is to the no ſmall preiudice of the Kynges Maieſties ſubiectes and the temporall iuriſdiction.

17. Item, the ſayd rulers of the clerkes, ſealeth vp the houſes of their clergy, which are ſituate in ẏ kyngs townes and other of his noble mens villages, to the preiudice of the Kynges Maieſties iuriſdiction, and other of his nobilitie: for that in ſuch kynde of places the Byſhops haue no ſuch kynde of iuriſdiction.

Maryed clearkes.

18. Item, the ſayd prelates or their officials, do preſume to ſeaſe vp the moueable goodes of maryed clerkes, and of marchauntes: where in ſuch caſes, the order therof appertaineth to the temporall law.

19. Item, they compell the laity to put in ſurety to anſwere clerkes before them in the ſpiritual court, yea & chiefly the kynges owne ſeruitures.

20. Item, they preſume to heare and haue the cognition of actions: which are reall or at leaſt wiſe mixt, that is both reall and perſonall.

21. Item, the ſayd prelates go about to haue cognition of ſuch temporal mens matters as dwell in hoſpitals, almous houſes, and the kings peculiars, and in villagies of his ſubiectes, although the plea therof appertaineth to the Kyng himſelfe, and his ſubiectes: forbiddyng vnder payne of excommunication and great forfets, no mā ſo hardy to commence any ſute agaynſt any of them, but before thēſelues in payne of a great ſumme of money.

22. Item, to the end the Clergy and Eccleſiaſticall rule ſhould be multiplied, they conferre a number of Tonſures to children vnder age, ſome of them beyng ſonnes of bondmē, other ſome baſtardes borne, yea and to many more maried folkes inſufficient, vnable and vnlearned.

23. Yet, they do cauſe by the gouernours of their clerkes, widow women to be inforced and defiled, and will haue the diſcuſſyng therof: as in lyke maner, they will determine the matters of Pupilles, applying their goodes whē they dyed, as they do the goodes of them which dye inteſtate to their owne vſe, the cognition wherof belongeth to the kyng himſelfe: becauſe thoſe kynde of perſons with their goodes are ward to the kyng and vnder his tuition.

Crymes to get money.

24. Item, they procure through the ſayd Deanes of the clergy of malice, temporall men of the kynges dominions or other where (without all order of law) to be apprehended: obiectyng agaynſt them that they haue ſtrayed from ſome article of Chriſtian feyth, & therewith ſhut them vp: when that their impriſonment appertaineth to the kyng, while they be conuicted therof.

25. Item, they exerciſe their iuriſdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neither to the kynges peculiar townes nor yet to his ſubiectes: but runneth in euery hole, when by law they ought to haue no iuriſdiction, without their owne limites and precinct.

26. Item, when theſe prelates or their officials by vertue of their monitions do charge the kyngs officers and his iuſtices to execute any thyng: if they do not performe that, which is preſcribed vnto them, the forfet (which the monition containeth) is taken: yea and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention ſprong vp of late amongeſt them, much to the preiudice of the Kyng and hys ſubiectes.

27. Item, when the Byſhops or their officials do proſecute a matter of office before themſelues agaynſt any temporall man, and haue no profe therof: They compell many of the laitie to be depoſed therin what they know, hauyng no reſpect whether they be the kyngs burgeſſes, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allow any charges & expenſes for their paynes taken in that behalfe. But if they appeare not at their day, they are ſure to be excommunicate.

28. Item, if malefactors be apprehended by any of the kynges iuſtices, and indicted of theft, and he (whoſe goodes they were which were ſtollen) commeth before the Kynges Shiriffes and proueth them to be his, and therfore the matter to be ordered by them: if afterwardes the Byſhops or their officiall affirme the ſayd felon or malefactor to be a Clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees of monition compell the Kynges Shiriffes to reſtore and bryng in the ſtollen goodes: and if they do it not, they are pronounced excommunicated.

29. Item, if it happen the kynges Shiriffe or Bayliffe to take an offender for hys offence, and he affirmeth hymſelfe to be a clerke: although he neuer tooke any kynde of tonſures or orders, wearing no habite apperteining therunto, yet the Byſhops or their Officials will cauſe the deteyners of them by their cenſures to deliuer vnto them the ſayd malefactor as their clerke.

30. Item, if it happen the kyngs Shiriffe or other his iuſtices to take a theefe or murderer which beareth a clerkes marke and tonſure, and therfore deliuereth him to the clergy to be ordered: It ſhal not be long before he be acquited by them, although he afterward recogniſe his fact: yea & notwithſtanding his fellowes and partners of that offence being mere temporall, receiued iuſtice for the ſame, and appeacheth him therof. And ſo the like malefactors to be incouraged therby to commit after the like.

31. Item, if any complayneth and ſayth that he is ſpoiled: by and by the Officials will decree a monition agaynſt the ſpoyler: by vertue whereof, ſome one of the Deanes of the clergie ſhall moniſhe hym, to reſtore the thynges compriſed in the monition, and alſo to miniſter him an othe whether he hath not ſpoyled the plaintife of ſuch thynges, as he ſayth he was ſpoyled of. But if he refuſe to take an othe before hym, then the Deane will ſtraightwayes ſeale vp the monition, and excommunicate him: and by no meanes ſhalbe abſolued before he reſtore and ſatiſfie the contentes in the monition, whereof the plaintife ſayd firſt he was ſpoyled of.

32. Item, if any for his offence be caſt into priſon by the ſecular power, although at the tyme of his takyng he ware temporall habite, and was in no orders, but all the dayes of his life liued like a temporall man: yet if he ſhall auouch & vow hymſelfe to be a clerke, to the entent to haue more expedition at the clergies handes, and to eſcape vnpuniſhed: The clergie will incontinent, geue to the laitie in commaundement to reſtore vnto them the malefactor, or els ſuſpenſion to be denounced throughout the whole townſhip where the ſayd malefactor ſhalbe ſo impriſoned. And for auoyding the ieopardy which might ariſe of the ſayd Denouncement: the ſecular iudge of neceſſitie is compelled to deliuer them ẏ offender, to the great preiudice of the kynges temporall iuriſdiction, to whom the cognition therof might appertaine, in caſe of reſort and prerogatiue.

Referrum.

33. Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporall Magiſtrates to the clergie, as their clerke: his frendes will make ſute to the Byſhops Officials for him, and compounde with them: by reaſon wherof, they demiſſe them vnpuniſhed and ſo do worſe and worſe, although theyr facte was neuer ſo notorious.

34. Item, ſo ſoone as any maryed clerke beyng a marchaunt, or of whatſoeuer other ſcience he be of, for any hys offence by him committed, is called before the ſecular iudge: The ſayd clerke obtayneth of the Officials a monitiō, bringyng with them ſome prieſt, who doth inhibite the ſecular iudge, vnder payne of one hundreth or CC. markes, yea & of excommunication to, not to procede farther, nor to meddle in ſuch cauſes, and not to moleſt ſuch parties neither in body nor in goodes. But if the iudges obeieth not, they ſhalbe ſuſpended from hearing of Maſſe in that place, although the matter concerneth the fact of marchaundiſe.

35. Item, the ſayd Officials graunt citations wythout number agaynſt the laitie in caſes of warranties perſonally to aſcite before them perſons vnknowen. But if they be knowen, it is conteyned in the citation that in no wyſe, & that vnder a great paine, he cauſe hys aduerſary to be called before a ſecular iudge, duryng the returne of the citatiō.

36. Item, when one is excommunicated in any place: the Officials graunt out perſonall citations agaynſt them, which do participate and are conuerſaunt wyth the excommunicate: cauſing a whole countrey by the ſpace of 8. miles about to be cited together. And further the frendes and acquaintaunce of the partie ſo excommunicate (ſometyme by xl. ſometime three ſcore, yea and ſometime a hundreth at once) are compelled to make their purgatiō before them: that they do not participate nor keepe cōpany with their frendes the excommunicates. Whereby enſueth, that many honeſt olde and auncient men for auoyding of troubles and expenſes do pay ſome xij.d. ſome ij.s. By occaſion wherof, many vines are vndreſſed to, much ground vntilled: yea and many good men conſtreyned to lay the key vnder the doore, and runne away.

37. Item, the ſayd Officials do burden many perſons of good name and fame, to be vſurers, whereby they are conſtrayned to agree with them, for auoyding the infamy, that thereby might enſue.

38. Item, the foreſayd Officials call by Citation afore them, the honeſt wedded (aſwell man as woman) chargyng them, that they haue committed adultery to the perpetuall infamy of their huſbandes and wiues. And for nothyng els but by extortion to wryng money from them.

39. Item, mention muſt be made of the multitude & number of Proctors, which eate and deuoure vp all the world with their Citations: catchyng vp clientes, and keepyng abroad in the countreys courtes and Aſſiſes, who for money returne not the Citations, which by extortion they receaue of them which are cited.

40. Item, there be many other griefes and enormities, which the Chapiters, Abbots, Priors, Prouoſtes and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons in the Realme of Fraunce, practiſe agaynſt the people. As when they cauſe to be cited before them, many of the kynges burgeſſes, & other in diuers places beyng priuiledged: that is to ſay, Beluacenſes, Manencetans in Britanie, Lugdons, Maſſicons, with other more. But ſpecially the Prouoſt of Hoſpitals, vſe more cōmonly this tricke, then any other do: Wherby, the people is much endamaged, and wilbe euery day more and more, if remedy be not had therin.

41. Item, eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates labour to haue cognition of cauſes of iniury, in whatſoeuer cauſe it be: whether the iniury be committed by word or fact. Likewiſe, they take vpon them to heare the cauſes of maried Clerkes, and of their wiues although they both vſe marchaundiſe. And if at any tyme ſuch couples be taken by the ſecular Magiſtrates, the Officiall cauſeth a ſuſpenſion to be denounced in that Pariſh, by force of the Councell Siluanecten.

42. Item, they challenge to haue cognition concerning widowes goodes, both mouable and vnmouable. And if it happeneth at any tyme that a Marchaunt widow, in any the kynges peculiars by way of reſt, procureth any temporall man to be conuented before the ſecular iudge: and the matter ſo farre trauiſed, that he ſhould haue bene condemned by the ſentence of the ſecular iudge, and then come to the care of the Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates, how and before whom the widow did cōuent hym: The ſayd temporall iudge ſhall be conſtrayned, to withdraw the ſame. And by their monitions and cenſures to correct the ſame, and this often times happeneth.

43. Item, many of the tenauntes & inhabitours of the byſhops landes, calleth one an other to the court of ẏ Officials by a kynde of appellation: By vertue wherof, the Officials take vpon them, to procede in the ſame and to haue cognitiō therof: to the preiudice of the temporal iuriſdiction of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng.

44. Item, if any man be apprehended by ſecular iuſtice in ſheddyng of bloud: by them if he be Lay, he is to be ordered: If he be a Clerke he is to be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſticall iudge. But whether he be a temporall man or Clerke that is ſo taken, and appealeth to the Officials court: They will be ſo bold to haue cognition therof, requiryng herewith amendes of the ſecular court, which enterpriſed the foreſayd apprehenſion. If this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhall neuer be puniſhed: For by and by they wil appeale, and immediatly after the appellation fly and auoyde away.

The clergie preiudiciall to commō iuſtice.

45. Item, when they cauſe many of Office, to be cited before them, they will admit them to haue no Proctors: To whom when they come at the day of appearaunce, they obiect the crime of vſury. And except they aunſwere as the Promotor will themſelues, they are troden vnder feete (although they be mere lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed, before they fine euē as the Officials liſt themſelues although they be no vſurers. But if any be vſurers, they take of them ſatiſfaction and bribes: and ſo be permitted to vſe their vſury, no leſſe then before. So that, they may haue their old fees and bribes.

Ex Officio.

Vſury craftely obiected by the cleargie againſt lay men.

46. Item, they procure their officers to apprehēd clerkes in whatſoeuer ſorte they be foūde: albeit by iuſtice, they may appeale therefro. But if by any they be let of their will, herein they do forthwith by ſentence of excommunication, cauſe them to deſiſt therfore.

47. Item, as often tymes as any temporall Magiſtrate, doth apprehend any perſon, which afterward beyng required of ẏ clergy, is quietly deliuered vnto thē: yet for all that, the Officials cauſeth thoſe Magiſtrates to be denounced excommunicate by law.

The prelates man: the church a denne of theeues.

48. Item, the Prelates geue order of Tonſures aſwell to men of .xx. yeares as vpward, as alſo to maryed men, when they come vnto them: for feare of impriſonmēt and puniſhment due vnto them for their criminal offences, before committed: And this is often tymes put in practiſe.

49. Item, if it happen any of the kynges ſeruauntes or any other to be excommunicate, and would fayne be abſolued, beyng glad to pay reaſonably for the ſame: The Clergy will not receiue but ſuch ſatiſfactiō, as ſhall pleaſe them: whereby many of them remaine ſtill excommunicate.

50. Item, when two perſons haue bene at ſtrife and law together for the poſſeſſion of land, and the matter contentious be put into the handes of the kyng by ſome ſeruaunt or officer of the kyng, for the takyng vp of the matter: then do the Prelates admoniſh the one part, not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwiſe if he do, they do excommunicate him.

51. Item, the foreſayd Prelates, Deanes, Chaplins, and other the route of the Clergy, putteth the kyngs officers to ſo much trauayle and expenſes in tryyng out the kynges vſurped iuriſdiction, as they terme it: that often tymes many of them ſpende and conſume in the trauayle of the right and title therof, all that they haue and more to.

52. Item, if any ſecular iuſticer in a true and iuſt cauſe, at the requeſt of the party, putteth in his helpyng hand cōcernyng the inheritaunce of Clerkes: the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges and their Miniſters, ſendeth out monitions in writing agaynſt the ſayd Iuſticer: yea vnder payne of excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leaue of: Enioynyng hym further to ſuffer the other party quietly to enioy the ſayd thynges. Otherwiſe they denounce hym excommunicate, & ſhall not be abſolued before he haue well payed for it, euen as pleaſeth maiſter Official, to the high preiudice of the authoritie of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng.

53. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, ſo ſoone as they heare any ritch or fat Cob to dye, or thinke that he will not liue long: ſend out forthwith letters vnder ſeale to their Chaplen, commaundyng hym in any wiſe not to preſume to bury hym, although he made his Teſtament, and receaued the rites of the Church. And when afterward, the frendes and kinſfolkes of the dead reſorte vnto them to know the cauſe of their inhibitiō: they declare vnto them that he was an vſurer, and that he kept not the commaundementes of holy Church: And ſo long keepe they the corps of the dead vnburyed, while the frendes of hym buy it out with good ſtore of money, heapyng & hordyng by theſe meanes aboundaunce of riches.

Note the practiſe of officials to get money.

54. Item, if there be any violent ſheddyng of bloud in any Churchyard, wherby the interdict taketh place: the Clergy cauſeth a certaine impoſitiō to be leuyed of the pariſhoners there, for the ſalarie towardes ẏ reſtoryng therof. Although ſome of the pariſhners be of an exempt iuriſdiction: yea and although he which ſhed the bloud be able to pay the whole taxe which they leuyed and more to.

55. Item, certaine Chaplaines affirme to haue certayne Apoſtolicall priuileges, by vertue wherof they may appoint what Iudges they will (yea and often tymes of their owne houſe) & ſo be Iudges in their owne cauſe, which is playne agaynſt the law. Wherby often tymes it happeneth, that after great proces and expenſes had & made in any great cauſe of Inqueſt (more often about reality then otherwiſe) when they haue notice by the Proctors and Aduocates that they ſhall haue the foyle therein: they reuoke forthwith thoſe named Iudges, and ſo the kyngs ſubiectes are damaged, and can haue no iuſtice nor redreſſe at their handes.

56. Item, if any temporal man call a Clerke before a ſecular iudge in a caſe of inheritaunce: the eccleſiaſticall Iudge procureth a ſtop to be made therein, attributyng to themſelues the cognition therof: and ſo by adiournyng & remouyng, the lay man is conſtrayned to make ſatiſfaction.

57. Item, the Clergy chalengeth the cognitiō of ſuch cauſes as maryed Clerkes beyng marchauntes and artificers do commence: whē by law it doth appertaine to the temporalty, eſpecially about the trade of Marchaundiſe.

58. Item, they often tymes make Interdictions in many of the kynges townes and holdes, and cauſe the diuine ſeruice to ceaſe: agaynſt the priuileges graunted by many of the high Byſhops of Rome to our ſoueraigne Lord and Maiſter the Kyng.

59. Item, to and for the maynetenaunce & keepyng of their temporalties, they appoint Bayliffes & other officers: who if they do offende, may not cōdignely be puniſhed accordyng to law and iuſtice.

60. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges haue promoters belongyng vnto them: who when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to be made, that no man ſhall worke or do any thyng for him that is excommunicate: wherby the landes and vynes are often tymes vnlooked to and vntylled, to the no ſmall preiudice of the kyng and his common people.

61. Item, the foreſayd Promoters cauſe Citations to be made out, by vertue wherof they call in one Citatiō, xx. xxx. or .xl. perſons to appeare, for participatyng with ſuch Inter-

terdicted perſons: takyng of ſome.x.of other ſome, xx.s. as much as they be able to make: whereby, the common people are much oppreſſed.

62. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges cauſe all the Aduocates of their courtes to be ſworne, that none ſhall retayne them of their Counſell agaynſt any of them, without their licence. Whereby often tymes, the poore man quite leeſeth hys right, and the Kynges cauſe is delayed: Becauſe, his Sollicitors cannot freely retayne counſell, without ſpeciall licence.

63. Item, they will make Inuentories of their goodes which dye inteſtate, or without makyng of will: And will haue the poſſeſſion of their goods, as well moueable as vnmoueable in their owne handes to diſtribute to the heyres, or to whom they lyſt.

64. Item, the execution alſo of Teſtamentes they take to their own hands, takyng inuentories of dead mens goodes, and keepyng and diſpoſing them to the heyres after their pleaſure. And haue officials properly deputed for the execution therof.

65. Item, they will not geue credite (ſometymes) to teſtamentes made before wytneſſe, vnleſſe they be firſt by their owne Officials approued.

B. Eduen & Archb. of Senon elect Prolocutor for prelates.

After he had thus ſpoken, the prelates required to haue tyme to aunſwere thereunto. Whereupon was appoynted for the ſame the Friday next enſuyng. On the which day, the Byſhop Eduen, & Archbyſhop of Senon elect in the name of the whole Clergy aunſwered for them all before the kyng, holdyng his Parliament as that day at Vicenas, and thus he there propounded. For ſomuch as the Lord Peter Cugner of late propoundyng agaynſt the Church of Fraunce, tooke to his Theame that is writtẽ in the.22.of Mathew: Render vnto Ceſar, that which is Ceſars and vnto God, that which is Gods: by which wordes he ſayd, two pointes were to be noted: Firſt, the reuerence and ſubiection of the Prelates, that they ought to haue to the kyng their ſoueraigne: Secondly, the diuiſion of the temporall iuriſdiction from the ſpirituall. The which firſt part he proued out of the firſt Epiſtle of Peter in the ſecond Chapter, where it is written. Submit your ſelues vnto euery creature, for the Lordes ſake, whether it be vnto the kyng, as vnto the ſuperiour: or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are ſent of hym: for the puniſhment of euill doers, and for the prayſe of them that do well. The ſecond poynt he proued by the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt in the xxij. Chap. of Luke, where the Apoſtle ſayth: Lord behold, here are ij. ſwordes: And he ſayd vnto them it is inough, ſignifying by the two ſwordes the two iuriſdictions. And in likewiſe out of the xvij. of Math. where Chriſt would pay tribute for him and Peter. Geuyng hereby an example, how that Eccleſiaſticall perſons were bound to pay and yeld to the temporall power the tẽporalities, which alſo is proued in the,11.queſt. prim.cap.Si tributum,& cap.Magnum.

Repetitiõ of the L. Peters oration aboue touched pag.358

Luke.22.

Math.17.

Two giftes geuen. Prieſthode, Empire.

And further, becauſe this is proued by mans law, where it is ſayd, ij. great gifts are beſtowed, Prieſthode and Empire: The Prieſthode to rule ouer matters diuine: the Empire to beare domination ouer humayne matters. Whereby he concluded, that when theſe iuriſdictions are diſtincted of God: The one beyng geuen and limited to the Church, and the other to the temporaltie: That in no wiſe the Church ought to entermeddle, or to haue any thyng to do with the temporall iuriſdiction. For it is written in the .xxij. of the Prouerb. you ought not to paſſe the old limites & boundes, which the forefathers haue ſet. And well by the way he bryngeth in this word, old and aũcient: Becauſe cuſtomes brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are counted abuſes and corruptions. Neither can preſcription take place, for that ius fiſci is impreſcriptible: neither can the kyng abrogate from hymſelfe ſuch law, nor renoũce his right: prouyng the ſame by many Chapters contained in the x. Diſt. Wherfore ſeyng the Kyng at what tyme he was crowned, ſware not onely not to alienate or infryng ẏ lawes of his realme, but alſo to call in ſuch lawes as were alienated and vſurped either by the Church or by any other: the kyng was bound by hys othe to reuoke the ſame abuſes.

Prou.22.

Diſt.10.

In eſpeciall he dyd exhibite many articles in writyng wherin (as he ſayd) the Church dyd vſurpe vpon the iuriſdiction temporall. To aunſwere theſe premiſſes with conciſyng of the places (vnder proteſtation whatſoeuer I ſay or ſhall ſay) it is not to ground or make any finall iudgement or determination herein: but onely to informe the conſcience of our ſoueraigne Lord the Kyng, and his aſſiſtaũtes here aſſembled, alledgyng the firſt Epiſtle of Peter the 2. chap. where he ſayth: Feare God & honour the kyng. By which wordes, the holy Apoſtle S. Peter teacheth vs ij. thynges. Firſt that loue, feare, and obediẽce, is due vnto God, for the mightineſſe and puiſſaunce of hys Maieſtie: ſaying, Feare God. Secondly, how ſpeciall honour and reuerence is due to the Kyng, for the excellency of hys dignity: ſaying, Honor the Kyng. But note you by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth hys wordes: Firſt he ſayeth, that feare is due vnto God: becauſe principally and in chiefe we ought to feare GOD: For if the Kyng or any other ſhould commaunde thinges contrary to God, we ought to haue no regard therof: but to contemne the Kyng and feare God. For it is written in the v. of the Actes of the Apoſtles. We ought rather to obey God then men: and alſo in the 7. chapter of Machabes the 2. booke: where it is ſayd. I will not obey the commaundementes of the Kyng but the law.

1.Pet.2.

Actes.5.

2.Mach.7.

The reaſon wherof, S. Auguſtine geueth both in the gloſe vpon the Romanes, and alſo in the 11.queſt.1. He that reſiſteth the ſuperiour power, reſiſteth the wyll and ordinaunce of God. But put caſe thou art commaunded to doe that which thou mayeſt not do, or to do not that which thou oughteſt to do. Doubtleſſe, thou muſt neglect the leſſer power, and feare the hygher, learnyng the degrees of worſhip thinges.

11.q.1.

As for example be it ſo, that a Proctor commaundeth thee any thyng, which (if the ſame be agaynſt the Proconſull:) thou oughteſt not to follow it, yea and further, put caſe the Proconſull commaundeth one thyng, the Emperour an other, and God wylleth the third: Thou muſt not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power: For they may threaten thee with priſon, but GOD may threaten thee with hell fire: they may ſlay and kill thy body, but God may ſende both body and ſoule to perpetuall hell fire. And therfore worthely it is put firſt, Feare God: And here the place in the laſt of Eccleſiaſticus is to be adioyned: where it is written: Feare God and kepe his commaundementes.

And me thinketh that man is bound to feare God, chiefly in three ſortes. That is to ſay: Firſt in the bountifull beſtowyng of hys giftes and benefites. Secondly, in the euident promotyng of hys ſeruauntes. And laſtly, in the full rendryng and reſtoryng vnto man that is his.

Firſt, I ſay in the bountifull. &c. and for this cauſe the Emperour Iuſtinian writeth: although there is nothyng to be accompted good which doth exceede and is to great, yet for a prince to beſtow accordingly vpon the Church, it is very good. For why, the Kyng and Emperour is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtaunce, how much the more God hath geuẽ to him: and to beſtow the ſame both franckly, and eſpecially to famous Churches, wherin the beſt and greateſt meaſure is of the Lordes giftes, that is a great gifte. And to this ende Gregory enacteth a law. cap.i.extra de donationibus, that nobilitie ought in maner to preſcribe this law to hymſelfe: to thinke hymſelfe bound to geue, when he geueth freely: and vnleſſe he increaſe in geuing ſtil, to thinke that he hath geuen nothyng.

Wherfore, Abell as appeareth in the 4. chapter of Geneſis, who offered of the beſt to the Lord, was bleſſed of God. And therfore other Kynges, the more they offred to God, the more they were both ſpiritually and temporally bleſſed of hym: As we read of Ioſua, Dauid, Salomon and other in the booke of the Kynges: and therefore it is ſo written in the xviij. of Numbers. And ye ſhal ſeparate vnto the Lordes treaſury, thinges that be chiefeſt and moſte principall. As likewyſe Dauid ſayeth in the firſt of Paralipomenon laſt chapter. I haue geuen all this with a glad harte, euen with a good wyll, and now haue I had ioye to ſee thy people which here are preſent, offer with a free wyll vnto thee. And no merueyle, for Dauid ſayth in that place: For of thy hande we haue receyued all, and to thee we geue. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that becauſe the Kynges of Fraunce and Barones of the ſame, more then any other hath geuen to GOD and hys Church: therefore they were happy and bleſſed aboue all other Kynges, and the more they dyd geue to God, the more they receyued at hys handes.

Num.18.

1.Paral.cap.vlt.

What benefite commeth by geuing to the church.

Examples wherof, we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewes: the more one geueth to God, the more he receyueth of hym: For he in the vj. of Luke hath promiſed, geue and it ſhall be geuen vnto you. Wherfore, a gift that a Prince beſtoweth vppon the Church is rendered agayne wyth triple increaſe, and that no leſſe in tyme of warre then in tyme of peace. I ſay in warre tyme: becauſe victory proceedeth of no other but onely of God, for it is written in the j. Machabees the iij. chapter. The victory of the battayle ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoſte, but the ſtrength commeth from heauen. And likewyſe, in the xvij. chapter

Luke 6.

Tyme of warre.

1.Mach.3.

Exod. 17.
2. Mach. 2.

of Exodus it is declared, that when Moſes helde vp hys hande, Iſraell had the victory: but when he let downe, hys hande Amalec had the victory. To thys ende alſo ſerueth the laſt chapter Machabees ij. Where Iudas beyng at the poynte to haue the victory, thought he ſaw Amon and Ieremy (which had bene high Prieſtes and very vertuous men) holdyng vp their handes towarde heauen, and praying for theyr people and all the whole city. &c.

Time of peace.
Prouerb. 16.
1. Eſor 6.
Eccle. 2.

In peace tyme, becauſe the long dayes of the Kyng of hys ſonnes, peace, proſperitie, and obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is maintayned and ſupported in the realme. For as long as Salomon was bent and geuen in buildyng the houſe of God ſo long he had peace: who thus in the xvj. chapter of the Prouerbes teacheth vs. When a mans wayes pleaſeth the Lord, he maketh hys very enemies to be hys friendes: And alſo in j. Eſdras vj. chapter, where it is red, how the Prieſtes were commaunded to offer ſweete ſauours to the God of heauen, & pray for the kinges life & his children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both fauorable and irreuocable, whereby victory is geuen, life grāted, and peace with ſecuritie conſerued. To ſerue therefore god, & liberally to geue toward ẏ worſhipping of him: is the chiefeſt ſigne and token of deuine feare and loue. Eccl. cap. ij. O ye that feare the Lord beleue hym, and your reward ſhal not be empty.

The 2. part of fearing God.
Heb. 12.
Honoring of ſpirituall fathers.
4. Reg. 6.
Luke 10.
1. Theſſ. 4.
11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus.
Exod. 22.
Malach. 2.
Honour to be geuen to prieſtes.
Two powers temporall & ſpirituall, and what difference betwene them both.

Secondly, concernyng the feare of God, I do you to vnderſtand, that among the precepts of the Lord, the firſt and chiefeſt commaundement of the ſecond table is, To honour thy father. Which precept is very well expounded to the Hebrews in the xij. chapiter. Where it is not onely ment of the fathers of our bodies, but alſo of the father of ſpirites. For as ſpirituall thynges farre exceedeth temporall matters: ſo much more a great deale the ſpirituall ſonne is bound to reuerence the ſpirituall father, and to be in ſubiection vnto him that he may lyue. And that the Prieſtes and Prelates be the ſpirituall fathers, it is proued in the fourth booke of the Kynges the vj. chapiter. Where the Kyng of Iſraell called Elizeus father, ſaying: my father, ſhall I ſmite them? Vnto this effect ſerueth the x. of Luke, where our ſauiour ſayd to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſors the Biſhops are) he that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. Alſo in the firſt to the Theſſalonians iiij. chapiter. He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth not men, but God. Wherfore, Iuſtinian the Emperour in an other place ſaith: We haue great care to the Church of God, that therin may be true doctrine and integritie of Prieſtes lyfe. Which hauyng, we truſt that for our great giftes we ſhall receyue ſuch rewardes at Gods handes, both as be durable, and ſhall remayne: yea and alſo that hetherto hath not happened. Bleſſed Saint Hierome in hys Regiſter wrytyng to a certayne Emperour, which is alſo to be ſene in the decrees decr. xi. q. j. ſayth: Let not the Emperour diſdayne prieſtes, but haue ſpeciall regarde on them for hys ſake whoſe ſeruauntes they be: and ſo let hym rule ouer them, that due and condigne reuerence be geuen vnto them. For they in deuine Scriptures are ſometyme termed Gods, ſomtymes named Angels, Exodus xxij. Then ſhall both their cauſes come before the Gods. Alſo Malachy the ſecond, the Prieſtes lippes ſhould be ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeeke the lawe at hys mouthe: For he is a Meſſenger of the Lord of hoſtes. And therefore is it no meruayle, if we ſhoulde vouchſafe to honour them, when God hymſelfe in hys ſpeeche attributyng to them honour, termeth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted, how Conſtātine the Emperour, when certayne of hys ſubiectes preſented vnto hym libels accuſatory agaynſt the Byſhops, receyued them at theyr handes. But calling before him thoſe biſhops which were accuſed therin, caſt in their ſight thoſe libels into the fire, ſaying: depart you hence and diſcuſſe theſe matters within your ſelues: For it is not conuenient and meete that we iudge gods, becauſe it is written: God ſtoode in the ſinagoge of gods, and in the middeſt of them he dyd iudge gods: in which chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans who worſhipped golde and wooden gods, attributed great honor to the prieſtes. What maruell is it then, if the godly & great and chriſtian Emperors do honor and reuerence the prieſtes of the true God? And doubtleſſe, it is their duety ſo to do. And it is reaſon which the Lord Peter the laſt day ſayd, in this poynt. That there are two powers, prieſthode, and dominion, the one ſpirituall, the other temporall: which no leſſe differeth one from the other, then the ſunne from the moone, the heauen from the earth, and gold from lead. And therfore if honor is due to be geuē to ẏ leſſer power, by them that be vnderneath him: he ẏ is chiefe of the higher power, of right good duety is to be honoured, and reuerenced of all vnder him, as expreſſely is declared Cap. Solit. De ma. & ob. In which chapter, anſwer is fully made to the allegatiō of ẏ lord Peter (alleged by hym to make for his purpoſe) ẏ is to ſay: Be ye ſubiect to all creatures for Gods ſake, &c. There he ſpeaketh of the ſubiection which ſtandeth vpō the merite of vertue, & not vpon the duty of neceſſity. For els if he ſhould ſpeake of ẏ ſubiection which is by duty of neceſſity, then muſt it nedes follow, that euery biſhop ought to be ſubiect to euery beggerly raſcal in ẏ city of Paris. For the text is, be ye ſubiect to all humain creatures: but a raſcall is a humain creature: ergo, biſhops muſt be ſubiect to a raſcal. Of the dignity of a B. Ambroſe talketh in his paſtoral. The honor ſaith he, & the maieſty of a B. is without all compariſon: If you compare it to the royalty of a king, it is euen as you would compare mettal or lead to the beauty of gold. For ẏ is to be ſene, that kings & princes ſtouping vnder ẏ knees of prieſtes, & kiſſing their right hand: thinke themſelues to be defended by their prayer. And becauſe ẏ kings of France haue more thē other, honored & reuerenced ẏ Prelates: they haue aboue all other floriſhed & proſpered. It is ſayd in Eccle. 4. he ẏ honoreth his father, ſhal reioice in his ſons. And it foloweth there, he ẏ honoreth his father, ſhal liue a lōg life. This is therfore ẏ ſign of ẏ feare of god. And as it is writtē in Eccl. 4. He that feareth god, honoreth his parents.

De mai. & obed. cap. Solite.
Double ſubiection, vpon merite of vertue, and vpon dutie of neceſſitie.
The authoritie of a byſhop and a king compared.
The pride of the prelacye. Stoupe kynges.
Eccle. 4.
Eccle. 4.

The third part of fearing God.
Eccle. 18.
A thyng made nyne diuers wayes.
6. Proofes.
1. Diuine law.
2. by the law of nature.
3. by canon law.
4. by ciuill law.
5. by cuſtome.
6. by priuiledge.
Formes being diſlike & not cōtrary, may be compatible in one ſubiect.

Thirdly I ſay, that a man ought to feare God, in the full reuerencing and reſtoring vnto man that is his: For he that doth not geue to an other that is his, but goeth about to vſurpe, doubtleſſe he feareth not God. Contrary, he that reſtoreth all agayne, he is ſayd to loue and feare God. Eccleſiaſt. 18. He that feareth God will do good thynges. And in the Pſalme, I haue bene afeard of thy iudgementes, and haue done iudgement and iuſtice. For as the Lawiers ſay which is true: A thyng may be made nyne diuers wayes, as by ſucceſſion, commutation, preſcription, or any other acquiſition, either by law or cuſtome. And ſo of the reſt. And where as the Lord Peter the laſt day, by diſtinction of iuriſdiction temporall and ſpiritual, endeuored to proue, that he which had ſpirituall iuriſdiction, ought not to haue temporall: Otherwiſe there were no diſtinction therof, but rather a confuſion of iuriſdictions. I will therefore proue the contrary, that theſe iuriſdictiōs are compatible both in one perſon, eſpecially in an eccleſiaſticall man. And thys I will proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, canon law, ciuill law, by cuſtome, and priuiledge. But firſt I alleage, that accidentall formes ſome of them are ſo diſtincted, that they are not cleane contrary, but diſalike: as whitenes and ſwetenes. Other formes there be which are ſo diſtincted, ẏ they are cleane contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one ſubiect. For one cōtrary expels an another, and emporteth the negatiue of the other. Wherefore, thoſe thinges be contrary, which one from an other are moſt of all diſtant and diſagreeing, & in one ſuſceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philoſopher teacheth in the Predicamentes. But thoſe formes which are ſo diſtincted, that they be not contrary but diſalike: are compatible in one ſubiect, as quantitie & qualitie, which beyng diſtincted in reſpect of their Genus generaliſſimum: yet may be in one perſon. And fortitude and temperance beyng vnder one kynd of morall vertue, are found to be in one mā, as Logike and Grammer, which are alſo ſpecies & kyndes in one genus, viz. of intellectus. Therfore it is no good argument: Theſe formes be diſtincted, Ergo, they be not compatible in one ſubiect. And therfore that the iuriſdictions temporall & ſpirituall are ſo diſtincted, that they are not contrary but cōpatible it is euident hereby, becauſe thyngs contrary bee ſo that the one cannot be ordayned to concurre with the other, but rather confoundeth and deſtroyeth the other: but in this caſe iuriſdiction temporall is ordayned for the ſpirituall: and contrary, the ſpirituall for the temporall. Or rather, the one ſo dependeth of the other, as the clearenes of the moone doth of the brightnes of the Sunne: Alſo the one iuriſdiction ſo helpeth and comforteth the other, that there is no cōtrariety in them. And therfore it is no good conſequēce, becauſe they are diſtincted. Ergo, they are not compatible in one perſon: This alſo is to be proued de facto. For the earth is the lordes, and the plenty of the whole vniuerſall worlde, and all that dwell therin. It is proued in likewyſe by this reaſon. For if the iuriſdictions were not compatible: it ſhould folow, that no eccleſiaſticall perſō ſhould haue any iote of temporall iuriſdiction, neither land, tower, caſtle, Lordſhip, or any thyng els, whiche is moſt abſurd: and ſo by this meanes it ſhould folow, that no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould be in ſubiection vnto the king, which were to the great derogatiō of the kinges maieſties crowne and dignitie. It muſt nedes be therfore that theſe iuriſdictions be compatible, notwithſtādyng the diſtinction of them one from an other. And thus for aunſwer to all theſe reaſons, by the which Lord Peter proued the diſtinction of theſe iuriſdictions.

These things premiſed, thus I procede further to proue that a perſon Eccleſiaſticall, which hath iuriſdiction ſpirituall, may alſo haue temporall iuriſdiction: and that the iuriſdiction temporall may be in an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, I will proue it by the Scriptures: and firſt out of the olde teſtament, to the euident probation wherof, it is to be vnderſtand: That God, after the creation of the world & man, vntill vnto Noes tyme, would gouerne the world hymſelf as K. by the miniſtery of aungels. By reaſon wherof he gaue and pronounced ſentence hymſelfe agaynſt Cayne. Gen. 4. Noe alſo, which offred burnt offringes vnto the Lord and built an altare, as teacheth the 8. of Gen. (which thyng appertayned onely vnto the prieſtes) had the gouernement and rule of all thynges, as well ſpirituall as temporall, which were in the Arke of Noe. Melchiſedech in likewyſe, the which was the prieſt of the moſt hygh God, and alſo Kyng of Salem, as appeareth in the 14. of Gen. and had both the iuriſdictions in hys owne handes. For Magiſter Hiſtoriarũ, in the ſayd 14. of Geneſis declareth, that all the firſt begot of Noe, euen to Aarons tyme were prieſtes: which at meales and offringes bleſſed the people, and which onely had the Ius primogenituræ, wherby the regimẽt of others was due vnto them. Moſes in lyke maner (of whome it is ſayd in the Pſalme, Moſes & Aaron in ſacerdotibus eius) conſecrated Aaron and hys children to be prieſt, which Aaron did iudge the whole people in temporall matters, yea & that in cauſes of inheritaunces and mere reall, as appeareth in the 27. chapiter of Num. and many other places. To which purpoſe ſerueth the 17. chap. of Deut. where it is ſayd, if a matter be to hard for thee in iudgement betwixt bloud and bloud, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plage and plage: then ſhalt „ thou ryſe and go vp to that place, that the Lorde thy God „ hath choſen. And ſhalt come to the prieſtes, the Leuites, and „ to the Iudge then beyng, and ſhalt aſke who ſhall ſhew vn„ to vs the truth of the iudgement: and follow their ſentence. And if any man preſumptuouſly ſhall refuſe to obey ÿ prieſtes commaundementes and decree of the iudge, the ſame ſhall die. Behold how manifeſtly it doth appeare, how not onely the iudgement appertayneth to a prieſt, betwene plage and plage, concernyng the circumſtaunces and irregularitie of the law: but alſo betwixt bloud and bloud, in matters criminall: yea and betwixt plea and plea in ciuile matters: which thyng doth appeare to be in many iudges out of the booke of Iudges. For Samuell, which was both a prophet & prieſt, was appoynted iudge of long tyme ouer ÿ people, in matters temporal: And when the people deſired a kyng, the Lord was highly offended with them, and ſayde vnto Samuell: they haue not refuſed thee but me, that I ſhould not be kyng ouer them. Furthermore, as long as kyngs amongeſt the people of God, vſed the aduiſe & counſaile of prieſts and byſhops: it was well with them and their kyngdome: But when they forſoke and left the counſayle of Byſhops and prieſtes, then was theyr kingdome deuided, and finally, they brought into captiuity. In which captiuitie, the people were altogether gouerned and ruled by the Prieſts & Prophets, as by Eſdras and Neemias: And laſt of all by the meanes of the Machabees, the kyngdome and gouernment was deuoluted and brought vnto the prieſtes handes, who were the kyngs and capteynes ouer the people: and had the gouernment as well of ſpirituall matters as of temporall, as is read in the firſt booke of Machab. 2. cha. Of Mathatia and hys ſonnes videlicet of Iuda, Machabie, Ionatha, Symon, and Iohn the ſonne of Symon: which in all ſpirituall and temporall matters, were gouernors ouer the people of God. Moreouer the 1. chap. of Ier. declareth, which was one of the prieſtes, after this maner: I haue ſet thee ouer the people and kyngdomes, that thou mayeſt roote out, breake, deſtroy, and make waſt, and that thou mayeſt build vp and plant. Iere. capite primo. Beſides this, in the tyme of iudge Eliach: a prieſt in lyke manner had the iudgement of temporall matters. And ſo much concernyng the proofe hereof, out of the old Teſtament.

Proofes out of the olde Teſtament.

Melchiſedech was both king & prieſt, Ergo the pope may haue both iuriſdictions. Gen. 14.

Deut. 17.

Samuell was iudge in temporall matters. Ergo, the Pope may haue both iuriſdictions

1. Mach. 2.

Ierem, 1.

Proofes taken out of the new Teſtament.

Apoc. 19. Chriſt by his humaine nature had both powers.

Secondly, I proue my former propoſition by authorities taken out of the new Teſtament. For Chriſt had not onely by deuine nature both the powers, wherby he created all things of nothyng, and by conſequence was God of all, but alſo by his humanitie had both powers. For he was the prieſt, ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech (as it is ſayd in the Pſalmes, and alſo is alleged to the Hebr.) which had both in hys veſture and thigh written, kyng of kynges, and lord of lordes. By this veſtiment or thigh was ment his humanitie, which was ioyned to hys deuinitie, as the garment is to hym that weareth it. He ſaid of himſelf in the laſt of Mathew: I haue geuen vnto me all the power both in heauen and earth: As alſo to the Hebrues the firſt chapter: whom he made and conſtitute, heyre of all vniuerſall thinges. And likewyſe in the ij. chap. to the Hebrues. He hath made hym not much inferior to Angels: he hath crowned hym with glory and honour, and hath ſet hym aboue the workes of hys handes: Thou haſt put all thynges in ſubiection vnder hys feete, ſhepe and oxen, & all the whole cattell of the field. When therefore it is ſayd, he made all things ſubiect to him: he excludeth nothyng as the Apoſtle there ſayth. Whereby it is apparent, that as concernyng hys humaine nature, in the which he was made leſſe then the Aungels, all thynges were ſubiect to hym. Alſo this appeareth in the 2. chap. to the Philippians, he humbled hymſelfe, wherfore God exalted hym, &c. And it followeth, that in the name of Ieſus ſhould euery knee bow, both of thinges in heauen, and of thynges in earth, and of thinges vnder the earth. Beholde here that by nature by which he dyd humble hymſelfe, he was exalted: becauſe euery knee ſhould bow downe to hym. This in lyke maner hath S. Peter in the x. chapter of the Actes where he ſaith, he was conſtituted of God the iudge ouer the quick and the dead: And he ſpeaketh of that nature which God rayſed vp the third day, as the whole Scripture proueth. And likewyſe S. Peter had this power geuen him whom Chriſt conſtituted and made his vicar, who alſo cõdemned by ſentence iudicially Ananias and Saphira for lying and ſtealyng. Act. cap. 5. Paule alſo condemned a fornicator conuicted. 1. Cor. 5. And that Chriſt would the correction and iudgement of ſuch matters to appertayne to his Church, a text in the 18. of Mathew expreſſely declareth, where it is ſayd. If thy brother treſpaſſe agaynſt thee, goe and tell hym hys fault betwene hym and thee: if he heare thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother. But if he heareth not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or thre witneſſes all thynges may be eſtabliſhed: if he heare not then, tell it vnto the congregation: if he heare not the congregation, take hym as a heathen man and as a Publican. Verily I ſay vnto you, whatſoeuer you bynd on earth, the ſame ſhall be bounde in heauen, and whatſoeuer you loſe on earth, the ſame ſhalbe loſed in heauen. Beholde how expreſſely it is commaunded, that whenſoeuer in any matter one offendeth the other, he beyng firſt charitably admoniſhed, the matter muſt be publiſhed and referred to the order of the Church and congregation. But if the offender do not obey and heare the admonition, he is to be taken as an heathen and a Publican: which is as much to ſay, like one that is excommunicate by the Church and congregation, ſo that he may haue no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Chriſt, thys ſeemeth much to proue it, where in geuyng the reaſon hereof he immediatly addeth. Verily I ſay vnto you. Whatſoeuer, &c. (where note thys terme diſtributiue) whatſoeuer, ſo as the Apoſtle argueth to the Hebrews the 2. chapter, that if he ordayned all thyngs to be ſubiect vnto hym, he excludeth nothyng vnſubiected. Wherefore thus I may argue: If all thinges that the church and congregation doth loſe be loſed, and euery thyng that the Church byndeth is bound. There is nothyng that the church may not loſe & binde. Or by Logicke thus I may reaſon: There is nothyng bound by the church, that is not bound in heauen, which argumẽt is good by a certayne rule of Logicke which ſayth: that contraries if the negation be put after, are equiualent. For euery thyng and nothing, whatſoeuer thing, and no maner of thing: be contrary one to the other. And ſo nothing not, is as much to ſay, as all thinges. Secondly, I do proue it out of another text of S. Luke cap. xxij. which place alleadged to make for his purpoſe, I will ſtrike him with his owne weapon. For where he ſayd, that by the two ſwordes the two powers temporall and ſpirituall were to be vnderſtood, it was ſo in dede. but to whoſe handes would he (I praye you) haue theſe two ſwordes committed? Truely to the handes of Peter and other the Apoſtles, &c. But the holy father the Pope ſucceeded Peter, and the other Apoſtles, the Biſhops, diſciples, curates, perſons as in the gloſe appeareth, Luke 10. wherby thus I argue, that by ÿ two ſwords ÿ two powers are ment. But Chriſt willed thoſe two ſwordes to bee put in the churches handes, Ergo he would likewyſe the two powers. But you may reply and ſay, that Chriſt did reprehend Peter becauſe he ſtrake with a temporall ſword and cut of an eare, ſaying vnto hym put vp thy ſword. &c. which reaſon is of no force. For Chriſt did not will Peter to caſt away quite frõ him the ſword, but to put it into the ſcabard and to kepe it, geuing to vnderſtand therby, that ſuch power although it be in the churches handes: yet the execution therof (as much as appertayneth to bloudſhedyng in ÿ new law) he would haue to appertaine to the ſecular iudge: not-

A.

Pſal. 8.
Heb. 2.

Phil. 2.

Act. 10.

B.

C.

Act. 5.

D.

Math. 8.

E

Omnia terminus diſtributiuus.

F

Luke. 22.

G.

H

withſtandyng yet perhaps, accordyng to the diſcretion and will of the Clergy.

1.Cor.6.

I.

Thirdly, I proue this by the intent of S. Paule in the 1.Cor.6. where he ſayth: that they which haue ſecular buſines, and contend one agaynſt an other, ought to be iudged by the ſaintes. And that they ſhould iudge therin, therfore he made this argumẽt: Know you not that the ſaintes ſhal iudge the world? and if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good inough to iudge ſmal trifles? As though ye would ſay, do ye not know how that ye ſhall iudge the Angels? How much more then may you iudge thinges ſecular. And it followeth: If you haue iudgement of ſecular and worldly matters, take them which are deſpiſed in the Church and congregatiõs, and make them iudges: neyther doth it make any thyng agaynſt, becauſe the Apoſtle in the ſame place inferreth. Ad verecundiã veſtram dico. I ſay it to your ſhame. For that is to be referred to thoſe, where he ſayth, Appoint thoſe which are deſpiſed. wherfore the apoſtle ſpeaketh ironiouſly in this matter as meanyng thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to runne to the iudgement of the deſpyſed which be in the church, thẽ to the iudgement of thoſe which be out of the Church.

Ergo, the rather to reſort to the iudgement of the wyſe, who remayne in the Church and congregation. wherefore, the Apoſtle by and by added when he ſayd, I ſpeake to your ſhame: What not one wyſe man amongſt you, that cã iudge betwene brother and brother? Meanyng therby that there was ſome. By theſe therfore and many other lyke reaſons it appeareth (which for breuity I omit) that both the powers may be in an eccleſiaſticall mans hand: And that an eccleſiaſticall man is Capax both of the temporal and ſpirituall iuriſdiction.

K.

21.q.1.cap.futuram.

Nor is it any matter if it be obiected, that Peter and other apoſtles and Chriſt himſelfe, vſed litle this temporall power. For in them was not the lyke reaſon as now is in vs, as is proued in the xxij.q.1.ca. and in many other places of the lawe. The Apoſtles at the firſt beginning tooke no receipt of landes and poſſeſſions, but the price onely therof, which now the Church with very good reaſon doth receyue. And that to the great merite both of the geuer and offerer, as it appeareth of Conſtantine and others: In the which foreſayd 1.cap. the reaſon of diuerſitie is well proued: For that the Apoſtles dyd foreſee, that the Church ſhould be among Gentiles, and not onely to be in Iuda. &c.

L.

And further at the beginnyng, Chriſt and hys Apoſtles were wholy bent and geuen, to our health, ſaluation and erudition: litle ſtickyng or ſtandyng vppon the exerciſe of euery Churches iuriſdiction, hauyng regarde to that which is written in the 6.chapter to the Corinthians. All thynges are lawfull vnto men, but all thinges are not expedient. And likewyſe in the 8. chapter of Eccleſiaſtes it is read, that euery thing hath his tyme. But now (through the grace of God) the whole people of the realme of Fraunce haue ſubmitted themſelues to the chriſtian fayth, worthely therefore the Church is occupied about miniſtryng of Iuſtice, and puniſhing of vyce:

Eſay.33.

For peace ſhalbe the worke of Iuſtice, Eſay the 33.chap. And in theſe iudgementes this onely is to be conſidered, that the lyfe of men be reformed.&c. Thus you ſee, how this our concluſion ſomewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures.

M.

Probation by ciuill law and reaſon.

1.Pet.2.

Now will I proue it by naturall law and reaſon, and firſt after this maner. He ſemeth moſt fitteſt to play a good iudges part, which followeth neareſt God: For properly God is the ruler and directer of all iudgementes, who ſayth Prouerb.capite octauo. By me the law maker ſhall decree iuſtice and iuſt thynges: But Eccleſiaſticall perſons, follow next to God, and be neereſt hym. For that they be elected of God into a peculiar people: whereof it is ſayd 1.Peter.2. you are a choſen generation, a royall prieſthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that you ſhould ſhew the vertues of hym that called you.&c. Ergo, it is moſt fitteſt that perſons Eccleſiaſticall, and churchmen, ſhould iudge of ſuch matters. Moreouer none doubteth, but that the correction and puniſhyng of ſinne, belongeth to eccleſiaſticall perſons: wherfore when ſuch thinges be not committed without ſinne and offence of the one partie, it is euident that the Church may haue cognition therof. Alſo, who ſo hath power to iudge of the ende, hath alſo power to iudge of thinges ordeyned to the ende: for the conſideration of the thinges ordeyned to the ende ryſeth of the ende. When therfore the body is ordeyned for the life and ſoule, and temporal thynges for ſpirituall, as to the ende: The Church which doth iudge of ſpirituall thinges, may in lyke maner lawfully iudge of temporall thynges. All which is ſufficiently confirmed In extra c. Iudicijs. Where it is ſayd that the Acceſſarie followeth the nature of the principall. which appeareth ſufficiently by example. For ſo much therfore as theſe two iuriſdictions be compared to two lightes, that is to ſay, to the Sunne, and to the Moone: and all the whole clearnes and brightneſſe of the Moone both in forme and vertue, depẽdeth of the Sunne, and in the Sunne. And ỹ the brightnes of the Sunne is not of the Moone or in the Moone, it is playne: that ſpirituall iuriſdiction which is compared to the Sunne, hath in it both in forme & vertue, the iuriſdiction temporall: and not contrary. Many other like reaſons myght be brought in. But for that the tyme wareth ſhort, I will omit them.

Thirdly, I proue it by the ciuill law, Auth. Diffe. Iud. ¶Si tamen ix.col. where it is ſaid: If a ſecular iudge be ſuſpected, let the Biſhop of the city be ioyned vnto hym. But if he be negligent, then let the whole iudgement be referred to the biſhop. In lyke ſort, Theodoſius the Emperor enacted ſuch a law, that whatſoeuer ſuter beyng plaintife in any kynd of matter, whether at the beginnyng thereof, or after conteſtation of law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to ſentence: If the plaintife had once choſen the court & iuriſdiction of the holy ſee: there without all doubt, thogh the defendant reſiſted and diſſented, the matter before the biſhops and other eccleſiaſticall Iudge ſhould be determined and ended. Which law afterward Carolus the great, who was kyng of Fraunce, confirmed in theſe wordes: we will & commaunde that all our ſubiectes, as well Romanes and Frenchmen, as others vnder our dominion whatſoeuer, be by law and cuſtome henceforth bound and charged to kepe this for a perpetuall and preſcript law: That whoſoeuer began or commenced a ſute.&c. as is aboue mentioned.&c.xi.q.1.Quicunque.&c.2. But you may obiect and ſay that thys law is abrogated, as the gloſe ſemeth there to touch. But all this wyll not ſerue: For although this law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But ſurely it is a priuilege honorably graunted to ỹ whole vniuerſall Church which the Emperour cannot take away no more then any other liberty of the Church.

Probation by the Canon law.

N.

By the canon law alſo this ſame priuilege is confirmed. extra.de iud.c.timor.Nouil. and moreouer ſemeth to be confirmed by ỹ ciuill law. C.de ſacroſ.Si.eccl.priuilegium: although it be not expreſſely, but generally named. And ſo it is cleare by the ciuill law, that ſuch iuriſdiction doth pertayne to Eccleſiaſticall perſons. By canon law in lyke maner in places infinit. Diſt.xxij.cap.Omnes Patriarchæ.2.queſt.5.ca.Si quis præſbyter.xi.quæ 1.cap.relatum.xxv.diſtinct.cap.ecce.Extra de iudicijs. Nouit.De competenti foro.cap.licet. With many other places infinite: yea and further the canon law ſo far proceedeth that whoſoeuer goeth about by cuſtom to interrupt or hynder any hauyng ſuch iuriſdiction, encurreth ſentence (ipſo facto) of excommunication, as is proued cap.quoniam intelleximus de immunitate eccl.li.ſext.

Cuſtome.

O.

which is moſt playne by notorious cuſtome, tyme out of mynd, in the dayes of ỹ good and chriſtian princes, where to violate ſuch cuſtome, it is playne ſacrilege.11.queſt.1.cit.1.&c.2. For by law, cuſtome wynneth and gayneth iuriſdiction, eſpecially to hym that is Capax therof: yea and further, cuſtome (tyme out of mynd) is amongſt all perſons in place of written & confirmed law. Now ſeyng the church of France, hath in common vſed to the temporalty to iudge and decree both of actions perſonall and reall touchyng the Church: it is playne, that ſuch cuſtome wynneth iuriſdiction to it. Ergo &c. But the Lorde Peter auouched, that the cuſtome could not preuayle in this caſe, becauſe here lacked true dealyng. Beſides, the ſaid law is called impreſcriptible: for that it is Ius fiſci: But this maketh nothyng agaynſt vs. For the Church of Fraunce rather chalengeth this law by cuſtome, then by preſcription. Which cuſtome, ſemeth rather to be brought in of the fre will and election of the people, frequentyng more the eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtories, then the ſecular courtes.

Iudicium contradictorium,

Beſides this, cuſtome in that it hath bene oftentymes decided in iudgement contradictory, (many of the Barons diſſentyng, & not conſentyng therunto) is much therby confirmed. This cuſtome I ſay of the church, hath bene faſt eſtabliſhed by the conſent and aſſent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the kings of Fraunce your predeceſſors, and ſo peaceably obſerued of the Church.

Three thinges pertaynyng to preſcription.

1.Titulus, 2. bona fides 3. Temporum continuatio.

And yet may the church chalenge this by preſcription: For that there are but 3. things which are required in preſcription: that is to ſay, title, true dealyng, and continuaunce of tyme. And it is without doubt that the Churches both purely hath and in tyme paſt had a good title, as appeareth by the priuilege graunted of Theodoſius the Emperour, & confirmed by Charles: Who gaue in commaundement, to kepe the ſame inuiolably. Which title it hath both by diuine naturall, and humayne law, as before is mentioned. Wherfore it muſt needes haue true dealyng, when ſo many great and cleare titles are knowen to condiſcend therunto. Alſo con-

Ius fiſci.

The church not ſubiecte to the kyng.

concurreth ſuch continuaunce of tyme, that euen agaynſt Ius fiſci, it is preſcriptible. For it hath not onely continued by the ſpace of an C. yeres, but alſo more then vj. C. yeares laſt paſt. Neyther is this alwayes true, that this law is inpreſcriptible, eſpecially of the Church: the which in as much as it appertaineth to the ſpiritualtie, is not ſubiect to the kyng, but is much more noble, and farre excelleth: Euen no leſſe then the Sunne doth the Moone, gold, lead, & heauē, the earth. And this is certayne and no leſſe reaſon, that the higher and equall may duely preſcribe law agaynſt him, that is eyther equall or lower in degree. As one kyng may do to an other. Wherfore, it appeareth, that the Church may preſcribe this, although it were Ius fiſci, as in dede it is not.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Finally, this is proued by priuilege graunted by Carolus the great, kyng of Fraunce, as before, and by Ludouike the ſecond, and by Phillip your vncle, and Ludouike and Phillip your kinſmen, which priuiledges we haue here redy to ſhow. But perhappes one will ſay, that theſe thynges cannot agree: that the Church hath this iuriſdiction, both by law, cuſtome, and priuilege, which all cannot well hang together. For if the Church haue it by one of theſe, it ſhould folow that the Church lacketh it by an other. But this may I aunſwer two manner of wayes. Firſt, that yͤ priuiledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: The other as a confirmatiue and declaratiue of the old law: and this way it may well be agreed which diſtinction may alſo take place in cuſtome. Wherefore it may thus be aunſwered: that although this iuriſdiction is due vnto the Church by law, it appertayneth alſo vnto the ſame by priuilege and cuſtome: but yet not by ſuch kynd of cuſtome and priuiledge, which induceth new lawe: but which declareth and confirmeth the olde law.

The French k. more bleſſed thē other in 3. thinges. 1. Fayth to God. 2. Honor to the Church. 3. Iuſtice to the people.

And if any will reply, demaundyng wherfore the Church of Frāce ſhould more chalenge this, then any other churches in other realmes, which haue no ſuch prerogatiue? I can ſoone anſwer them. If the kynges of Fraunce (whom God wyth ſingular grace, honour, and priuilege, farre aboue all other Princes, hath bleſſed and endued them for thre ſpeciall cauſes, to wit, for their great fayth and deuotion vnto God, for their honor and reuerence to the Church, and for their good iuſtice ſhewed vnto the people) hath graunted to the church, ſpeciall liberties, or haue permitted thoſe which before were graunted, peaceably to be kept and obſerued? why then they ſhould haue them, it is no meruayle. Yea and further, their deuotion vnto the Church hath bene ſuche, that the nerer the Churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enioyed: and yet had theſe Princes neuertheleſſe therfore, but rather the more: which is euident and redoundeth to the great honor and nobilitie both of the kyng, and hys realme.

5. thinges doth nobilitate the realme of Fraunce.

I haue oftentymes heard of other, how that foure or fiue thynges doth eſpecially habilitate & adorne this realme.

Firſt, their ſincere and inuiolable fayth: for it was at no tyme red, that the kings of France (ſince the receauyng of the fayth) did euer ſwarue from the ſame.

The bloud of Frāce came out of Priamus K. of Troy.

Secondly, the nobility of bloud which deſcended from Priamus the kyng of the Troianes, and ſucceſſiuely, from Carolus and other royall kinges.

Thirdly, the vnity and peace of concord, which eſpecially aboue all other reigned and floriſhed in the Realme of Fraunce.

Fourthly, the ſolemnitie and pompe of the prelates and Clergy.

Fiftly, the good diſpoſed readines of the Barons and ſubiects to obey.

If therfore, the Prelates of this realme ſhould not haue this law and priuiledge, but ſhould be depriued therof: then ſhould the kyng and hys realme loſe one of his noble eſtates wherby they are highly magnified (I meane the brauery, ſolemnitie, & royaltie of the Prelates) For then, they ſhould not onely be neyther pompeous nor royall, but more beggerly and miſerable then any other, the moſt part of their liuyng conſiſtyng herein. I do conclude therfore, to be proued both by diuine law, naturall law, canon law, ciuill law, cuſtome, and priuiledge: that the right of determinyng ſuch temporall matters of the Churche, may of right appertayne to the Church of Fraunce, and ſo I returne the Lord Peters theame agaynſt hymſelfe. Beſides this, will I propounde that which is moſt playne and manifeſt: that what ſo euer thynges be offered vp to the Church, and are conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the ſame, be Gods and appertayneth to hym: For ſo much as they are ſayd, to be dedicated and ſanctified by hym, as ſufficiently throughout the Leuites may appeare: as is declared in the 21. cap. primo Regum, concernyng the bread offered to God, where it is ſayd: I haue no common bread vnder my handes to eate, but holy bread. Wherfore, it was not lawfull for the Laitie to eate of the ſame bread, but in tyme of great neceſſitie: which is alſo proued in Daniell v. chapter, where it is read.

1. Reg. 21.

Daniel. 5.

Becauſe kyng Balthazar and hys Lordes with hys Quene, dronke in the golden and ſiluer veſſels, which hys father Nabuchodonoſer had taken out of the temple of Ieruſalem: In the ſame very houre, there appeared fingers as it had bene of a mans hand, writyng right ouer the candleſticke vpon the playne walle in the kinges pallace: And the kyng ſawe the palme of the hand that wrote, and that which was written was, Mane, Thetel, Phares, the interpretation wherof is this, as there it appeareth: Mane, God hath numbred this kyngdome and brought it to an ende: Thetel, thou art weyed in a ballaunce and art found to light: Phares, thy kyngdome is delt in partes, and geuen to the Medes and Perſes. The very ſelfe ſame night was Balthazar the king of the Caldes ſlayne, and Darius ſucceeded in the kyngdome of the Medes: the monarchy of the Aſſirians beyng then tranſlated vnto the Medes. Wherby it appereth, that thoſe thinges which are offred vp to the Church, belong to God, and ſo dedicated to him, that no lay man may vſe thē: which if they do, they muſt looke to receyue vengeaunce at Gods hand, as Balthazar dyd. Theſe thinges now ended, I will argue out the L. Peters theame (which was) Geue vnto the Emperour, that is the Emperours, and vnto God, that is Gods. But this iuriſdiction, which (as I proued before) is diuerſly conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the French Church, is now Gods: and therefore, to be reſerued to and by hym. Wherfore, when ſo euer any goeth about to take away the ſame: the good and godly ought to anſwer as Ambroſe did to the Gothen ſouldiours ſent to him by the Emperour, which was to this effect.

Ambroſe in caſe denieth to obey the Emperour.

If the Emperour (quoth he) had requeſted that which had bene myne, I would not haue denyed hym, albeit that whatſoeuer I haue, all is the poores: But becauſe he demaundeth thoſe thynges which belong to God (wherin he hath no right or intereſt) I had rather he ſhould impriſon me, yea & cutte of my hed, then to condeſcend to hys requeſt therin: alluding to the hiſtory of Nabaoth, which is to be ſene in the 21. chap. 3. Reg. How Nabaoth the holy man, poſſeſſor of hys vineyarde, was requeſted by the kyng to geue vp hys vineyarde: who made aunſwer, I wyll not geue vnto thee the inheritaunce of my fathers: at which anſwer the king was marueiouſly offended:

3. Reg. 21.

Nabaoth denieth to the kyng hys vineyarde.

wherfore (quoth Ambroſe) if Nabaoth would not deliuer his vineyard, ſhall we deliuer to you the Church of Chriſt? No, God forbid that I ſhould deliuer you Chriſtes heritage. Nabaoth did not deliuer the vineyard, nor ſurely will I deliuer Chriſtes Church. And further he addeth a good ſaying: I can neyther diminiſh, nor adde any thyng to the Church of God, for that I toke not vpon me the charge of kepyng of it: beſides this, it is my duety and office to conſult with the hyghe Emperour of ſaluation, in thys matter what is to be done: And doubtleſſe, I may not deliuer any thyng to hym, nor yet he receyue any thyng of me, as is proued. 24. quæſtione vltimo capite conuenior. qu. Wherefore, by theſe and the lyke reaſons it appeareth, that not onely iuriſdiction ſpirituall (as the Lorde Peter falſely hath ſuggeſted) doth belong to God: but alſo, all other kynde of iuriſdiction what ſo euer touchyng the Churche: whether it be by lawe, cuſtome, or priuiledge: in ſo much that neither may we ſurrender the ſame to any, nor yet may the king at our handes take the ſame. Further the Lord Peter affirmed, that Chriſt for example ſake did pay tribute, which is vntrue as appeareth in Gen. 48. chap. For the land of prieſtes were free from payng of all kind of toll and tribute. And if the lord Peter well conſidered the 17. of Mathew: he ſhould haue found there, how that Chriſt did not onely pay tribute for example ſake: but rather proued, how he was not bound to pay any at all.

Gen. 48.

Math. 17.

To conclude therefore, the children be free: but ye pay, to auoyde ſlaunder and offence: wherefore the Texte ſayeth. Leaſt we ſhould offende them go to the ſea. &c. But peraduenture it may be anſwered, that we by the example of Chriſt (to auoyd offence) ought to pay. But this is vntrue, becauſe there is double offence of yͤ weaklinges & of the Phariſees: for as concernyng yͤ offence of the weaklinges, which cometh of ignoraunce & not of malice, ſome things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better inſtructed: as the Apoſtle ſaith to the Romaines in the xiiij. chap. But for the offence of the Phariſees, which commit and offende of a pretenſed malice: there is nothing to be omitted, as Chriſt ſayth in Math. the 16. where, to his diſciples ſaying: Doe you not know how that yͤ Phariſies hearing this worde are offended? anſwered. Behold, ſuffer thē, they are blind, & leders of the blind: For that in yͤ tyme of Chriſt, yͤ offence thē was of litle ones. But now is yͤ offence of the Phariſeis: wherfore,

Offence how it ought to be auoyded.

Rom. 14.

Math. 16.

fore, then it was not to be payed for auoyding of offence: but now not ſo. Now therfore it is apparant that the third token of the feare of God conſiſteth in the whole true reſtoring of goodes: And of him, which hath ſuch feare, wherby he reſtored to God his owne, it is ſpoken of in Eccle. xv. chap.

Eccle. 15.

The ſeede of ẏ man ẏ feareth God ſhalbe brought to honor: but the ſeede which tranſgreſſeth the commaundement of the Lord ſhalbe ſhamed. And thus it fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience is due vnto God, for ẏ excellency of hys maieſtie: becauſe the wordes be: feare God.

Honour of the kyng.

Secondly I do ſay, that eſpeciall honour and reuerence is due vnto the kyng, for hys dignitie ſake: which foloweth in the theame. Now it is ſayd, honour the king: I will alledge the x. of Eccleſiaſt. where it is ſpecified:

Eccle. 10.

In the middes of the brethren, the ruler is holden in honor among them. Wherfore it ſeemeth to me, that there are ij. kyndes of honours: one which proceedeth from the lippes, and that is named flattery, whereof it is ſpoken in Math. the xvij. chap:

Two kinde of honour.

Math. 17.
Double honour with lippes and with hart.

This people doth honour me with their lippes, but their hartes are farre from me. There is an other kinde of honor, which is reall, and commeth from the hart. And this is the very true honour in deede, wherwith the king ought to be honoured. But me thinketh that he doth really, and de facto in very deede honor the kyng: which wiſheth and counſaileth him, to keepe and doe thoſe thynges, whereby his dominion is beloued, his royaltie not diminiſhed, his honour and fame preſerued, and his conſcience not burdened: And he that perſwadeth him contrary to theſe, I thinke doth not honour the king. To proceede therfore further. I ſay firſt, that he doth de facto honor the king, who perſwadeth hym thoſe thinges, wherby he may be beloued of hys ſubiectes.

A prince rather to be beloued thē feared.

Seneca de clementia ad Veronem.

A ſentence.

For a Prince ought to ſtudy rather to be beloued, then feared. And what more greater treaſure can a Prince wiſhe: then to haue the hartes of his ſubiectes. According to the ſaying of Seneca. The loue of the Citizens, is a fortreſſe inuincible, and a bulwarke not ſautable, What thing is more to be wyſhed for? what better then to lyue and raigne, euery man willyng and reioyſing thereof. And in my opinion, there is no thing which cauſeth more a Prince to be beloued, then if he keepe and maintayne hys auncient liberties, and bring in no alterations: Wherefore it is ſayd in the 22. chap. of the Prou.

Prou. 22.

Thou ſhalt not remoue ẏ land markes, which thy fore elders haue ſet. This place the Lord Peter alleged to make for himſelfe: which I will proue to make agaynſt hym, and that by this reaſõ, ye ought not to tranſgreſſe the olde limittes and boundes which the fathers haue ſet: For nouitie and alteration doth engender diſcorde.

In alteration what is to be cõſidered.

And for this cauſe in making of new alterations, there ought to be both euident vtilitie, and vrgent neceſſitie. If therfore, the Prince will abrogate & take away the liberties graũted by his forefathers and predeceſſors: he ſhall not be of his realme beloued, as it appeareth by Roboam in the xi. chap. of the 3. Reg.

3. Reg. 11.

All which likewiſe is to be ſeene in the Chronicles, how that by theſe meanes many kingdomes and dominions were tranſlated from nation to nation, & from their owne natiue regimẽt to ẏ rule of ſtraũge people. And now for this tyme certaine it is, ẏ your graund predeceſſors Charles ẏ great S. Ludowicke, Philip the fayre, Ludowicke and Philip his ſonnes, with many others, haue ſealed and confirmed this libertie of the Church. Wherefore, for a man to counſell and perſwade your highnes, to ſpoyle the Church of any thing: it is euen the next way to ſpoyle and vndoe your ſelfe, and to bereue you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And for thys cauſe I thought good to put your grace in remembraunce of the 20. of Math. where it is written:

Math. 20.

Remember the workes of youre forefathers, which they haue done in their generations, and you ſhall receiue great glory and renowne for euer. Note here your highnes by the way, how that king Philip graundfather to S. Lewys: foſtered and kept in hys Realme S. Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury: who for that he ſtoutly defended the lybertyes of hys Church, was baniſhed out of England. How much more therefore are you bounde to defende and maintayne your owne Prelates, in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predeceſſours, according to the ſaying of Gregory in xxv. queſt. 2. cap. Si.

25. Quaeſt. 2. cap. Si.

If I ſhoulde deſtroy and pull downe thoſe thinges which my predeceſſours haue built and ordayned: I ſhould not be called a builder and maker, but iuſtly accompted a ſtroy good and puller downe, as the voyce of the Lord ſayth: Euery kyngdome deuided within it ſelfe ſhalbe confounded: All knowledge and learnyng deuided one agaynſt the other, ſhalbe deſtroyed. In an other place he ſayth: It is ouer ſharpe, and agaynſt all good maner and ciuilitie (vpon what reaſon and excuſe ſo euer) to breake and ſubuert thoſe things which are well ordayned: or by his example, to teach other at their pleaſures to diſſolue olde conſtitutions.

Marke here a fable.

Marke here a ſtory about a caſtell which was geuen to Saint Remige, to the Churches vſe: by Clodoui the king, which afterward king Pipine deſired to haue by exchaunge and recouery. To whom the ſayd Saint Remige appeared in hys dreame, and highly blamed hym therefore, ſaying: a better man then thou gaue it me, and yet wilt thou take it away frõ me? And with that he ſmote hym, who the next day was found all blacke.

A [illegible] fable.

Since which tyme, no kyng of Fraunce durſt euer lye in that caſtel. Verely therfore, he doth not honour the kyng, which geueth him counſell to paſſe the olde limites that hys olde fathers did ſet. yea rather, the kynges Maieſtie ought to ſay vnto them, which is written in S. John 8. chap.

John. 8.

I do honour and glorifie my father, that is, in keeping the libertyes of the Church, as they did which graunted them: but you haue diſhonoured me, in counſelling me that, which ſeemeth beſt to pleaſe your ſelues, as it is written in Eccleſi. 4.

Eccle. 4.

The worſhip of a mans father is hys owne worſhip, and where the father is without honour, it is the diſhonor of the ſonne.

Secondarily I ſay, that he truely doth honour ẏ king, who counſayleth him: whereby hys power and dignitie is not diminiſhed. For as it is great honour to the kynges highnes to encreaſe and augment his power: ſo is it as much diſhonour for him to diminiſhe any iote thereof. And therefore, the Emperours, were wont to call themſelues victorious, of augmenting and encreaſing their common wealth. And to ſay that you and your predeceſſours could not graunt theſe thinges to the Church, it were to to abſurde, and to the too much derogation of your Maieſties moſt honourable eſtate. And therfore you (moſt ſoueraigne Lord) who holdeth and poſſeſſeth ſo ample right and tytle in the realme of Fraunce, both by election and inheritaũce; not to graunt and leaue this to your poſteritie, it were to ẏ great debaſing of your Maieſties honour, crowne and dignitie. yea if it were (as God forbid) it would folow, that your predeceſſours lyued continually in ſinne: yea and further, it were as much to ſay (which were too vile) that bleſſed S. Lewes, by whom all Fraunce is beautified, could not be iuſtly canonized.

For as the Lord ſpeaker declared, if he tooke hys othe at hys coronation both to alienate nothing, and alſo to call in ẏ which was before alienated, which is inſeparable frõ the Crowne: it ſhould folow that he was forſworne, and conſequently committed deadly ſinne, and ſo could neuer be canonized, which is to to abſurde to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he myght haue repented: It is ſoone to be aunſwered: That his ſinne is read of, but of his repentaunce it is not found, as is ſayd of Salomon. But put caſe it be true that the Lord Peter ſayd, then it muſt nedes folow, that your grace could beſtow nothing, neither countrey, towne, nor tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receiue them, notwithſtanding their allegiaunce and homage, which they pretend to your highnes: Keepe therefore and confirme (moſt renowmed Prince) that which was graunted by your noble progenitors: otherwiſe, your royall honor ſhall decreaſe, that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the xi. to the Rom. I will honor my miniſtery.

Rome. 11.

Who honoreth the K.

Thirdly I do affirme, that he rightfully honoreth the kyng, which perſwadeth hym that, wherby his honor and renowne is preſerued. For in matters of weight, and of great importaunce, next after conſcience we muſt haue regarde to name and fame, as it is written the 22. of Prou.

Prouerb. 22.

It is better to haue a good name, then riches. A good name farre paſſeth all thynges, & is aboue ſiluer and gold.

Conſcience & good name.

And S. Auguſtine ſayth two thinges are neceſſary for thee, conſcience and name: Conſcience for God, & name for thy neighbour. And therfore it is written in ẏ 4. chap. of Eccleſ.

Eccle. 4.

Labour to get a good name, for that will continue ſurer by thee then a thouſand great treaſures of gold. A good lyfe hath a number of dayes. Which renowne and name, the lord (who annointed your grace wyth the oyle of gladnes) hath in ſo litle tyme more aboundauntly bleſſed you withall, then any other Prince, wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and carefull, how to keepe and enioy the ſame ſtill: For it is no leſſe vertue, to ſeeke and get, then to keepe that which is gotten: wherby not onely while you liue, but alſo when you are dead, your glorious renowne may liue for euer: yea and farther, that by you nothyng be done, whereby any blotte or ſoyle ſhoulde creepe into that your ſo great renowne: alluding that to your grace, which is ſayd in the tenth of the Prouerb. &c. The memoriall of the iuſt ſhall haue good report. &c. Beware therfore moſt noble Prince,

& take hede that in your dayes and tyme, the liberties of the Church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminiſhed in any iote. For if your glorious name ſhould be blotted therwith, there be thouſandes, which would chronicle the ſame to perpetuall memory. wherfore moſt chriſtian prince, if ſuch (as truſted after their death for no other lyfe, but onely for fame and renowne) lyued a life moſt godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Chriſtians, which loke after another lyfe, by our well doynges here, to win vs a perpetuall name and memory after our death. And you beſides, if you ſhould diſhonour your name and fame: what a matter were it, conſidering how the kinges of Fraunce, were euer counted the moſt chriſtian Princes, and moſt bountifull towardes the church, geuyng examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches and liberties therof. And now eſpecially, if your grace, the church in ſome places being in great perſecution (which God forbid) ſhould ſhew light to other to pull and take away that which was geuen by your forefathers to the Church: what might the world ſay. For thē by the lyke reaſon, might the Emperour depriue the church of all which was geuen to it by Conſtantine yͤ Emperour. Alſo other kinges would do the lyke in their realme. God forbid that your highnes ſhould geue ſuch example. And for my part, I would rather wiſh my ſelfe to be dead, thē geue you ſuch counſell, that in ſo pernitious and naughty a matter, you ſhould be example to other: Eſpecially, when the kinges of Fraunce your predeceſſors, were defenders alwais agaynſt ſuch that went about to take away the liberties from the church: which is the office of a king. Iheronymus ſayth vpon Ieremy, which is found alſo in the 24.queſt.5. cap.Regum & C.Princeps. After this maner let the princes of the world know and vnderſtand, how they are bounde to make an accompt to God for the church which they take vpon them to kepe. Note you alſo and read ſome examples out of ſtories & commentaries, what regard the kings of Frāce had in obſeruyng thoſe things, and ſee you by their example, to follow and do the lyke: And then ſhall it be verified in your grace, which is written in the 37. chap. of Ecclesi. A wiſe man ſhall obtayne honour amongſt his people: As alſo in the iij. of the ſame. He that honoureth hys mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure together.

24.q.5.cap. Regum.

Eccle. 37.

Eccle. 3.

The 4 honoryng of the kyng.

Fourthly I ſay, that he in dede doth honor the kyng, which perſwadeth hym to do that wherby his conſcience is not hurt. For aboue all thinges, a chriſten man ought to beware how to do that thing, which ſhould be a grudge vnto hys conſcience, becauſe the life is more thē is meate. Math. the 6.chap. And aſſuredly I beleue, that your grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherwith your conſcience ſhould be burdened, for all the worldes good: and that iuſtly. For the more miraculouſly God hath called your highneſſe to the ſtate of a kyng and hath indued you with hys grace: So much the more you ought to haue and take hede that you offend hym not. For it is to be doubted, whether in doyng the contrary, he will not be the more greuouſly diſpleaſed with you, as he was with Saule 1.Reg.chap.15. Conſider therfore moſt ſoueraigne Lord, that at what tyme you were crowned, you ſware only theſe thinges followyng and no other. Firſt, that you would defend and maintayne the canonicall law, priuilege, and iuſtice, graunted to the Byſhops and the church: and as much as in you did lye, to enlarge and amplifie the ſame. Alſo that by your arbitrement, all chriſtian people at all tymes ſhould kepe the true peace of God and hys Church. Alſo that you ſhould forbid to all nations, all kynd of ſacrileges, ſpoylings, and iniquities. Alſo that in all kynde of iudgementes, you ſhould will and commaund equity and mercy. Alſo that throughout your whole territory and iuriſdiction, you ſhould ſincerely with all your indeuour ſtudy, to exterminate and cut of from the Church, the noted heretikes: which all and no other your Maieſtie ſware to fulfill, at the tyme of your coronation: vnder the leaue and correction of yͤ Lord Peter which affirmed, you were ſworne to none other thyng beſides. Now therfore, ſeyng it is a canonicall priuilege of the church, and in the hart of the whole Cano. 6.qu.1.Quicunq; litem habens, incorporate: when alſo by cuſtom which is canonicall, it came in: that the Church, and ſpiritualtie, may haue cognition in a number of caſes, agaynſt which diuers articles haue bene here layd in: If this amongſt the Laitie ſhould not be obſerued in the Church, your graces conſcience therby might ſomewhat be burdened. In like maner if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole Chriſtendome ſhould keepe the true peace of God and hys church: much more haue you to procure the ſame amongeſt your owne Barons and people, who euermore were all one with the Church. And alwayes where any church was in honor and eſtimation, there were belongyng to it ix. ſtoute Barons and knightes: whoſe office, as it was to defend yͤ Church, ſo was it the part of the Church to pray for thē and to offer ſacrifice for them vnto God. And to this ende, yͤ bleſſed S. Lewes ſo much laboured in his tyme: who whē the greateſt Barons of hys realme had confederate to ſuppreſſe theſe liberties of the Church, and had conſulted to geue hym (to that ende) the hundreth part of their goods, would neuer condeſcend therunto, but alwayes diſſuaded thē therefro: and finally by his autoritie, ſealed and confirmed theſe liberties of the Church. Conſider here your maieſtie, howe that pope Innocentius at that tyme proceded againſt thoſe Barons. &c. I dare be bold to ſay, that if there ſhold be now diſſention betwene the Prelates and Barons: it would not be long before the communalty would vſurpe to rule & beare domination. As by experience it hath bene ſene in many places and likewyſe by practiſe, we of late might haue ſene: at what tyme the people ſtomaking the ſpiritualty in the parties of Campania and Burgundy, at laſt roſe and made in euery towne a kyng: & therwithall cauſed the officers which brought Citations and abſolutions from the pope & other, to be wel hanged: & not long after, made inſurrectiō againſt yͤ lordes temporal, and ſerued them with the lyke ſauce: vntill that by the kinges power they were ſuppreſſed, and many of them hanged. And this doubtles was in the dayes of Lewys laſt kyng of that name. Truly the noble men ought not to be greued with that that the Church is poſſeſſed withall. For that there be few of them, who haue not their brothers and kinſfolkes, which lyueth and are mainteyned by the goods and reuenues of the Church. Amongſt whom if they ſhould deuide their inheritaunce, perhaps they would bryng a little to nothyng at all. Let the Barons alſo conſider how that there is but few which beleue not in yͤ church. For the church is one, as in the 6. of Canticū: My Doue & derling is one. wherfore without great peril of tranſgreſſion can they not perſwade and counſail ſuch liberties of the church to be abrogated and taken away.

Math. 6.

1 Reg. 15.

The oth of the French kinges.

Arg. by the poſſeſſiōs of the church many brethren & kinſmen of the nobles be mayntayned. Ergo, ſuch poſſeſſions are not to be grudged at. To beleue in the Church, is not in our fayth.

That therfore your Maieſties conſcience may remaine pure and immaculate: pleaſeth it your highnes by your autoritie, to ſeale and confirme this good ancient and canonical priuiledge. And contrary attempts (if any be made by waye of proclamation or otherwiſe) to reuoke and call them in. And further, to kepe your mother the church of France in her auncient franke choyce, liberty, and cuſtomes. And then by you in all thinges God ſhalbe glorified and honoured, to whom be honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen. Who then will honour you as is ſayd. 1. Reg. 21. whoſoeuer ſhal honour me, I will crowne hym with that glory, in whiche conſiſteth the true honour, and is graunted to none vnworthy. wherunto alſo none is admitted but worthy, as bleſſed S. Auſten ſayth: which honour, graunt he vnto you & vs, who is bleſſed world without ende. Amen. And becauſe a bill of many articles was exhibited, wherof part did infringe the whole eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction: to the defence therof, we will accordyng to the 4. chap. of Eccleſiaſticus ſtand euen to the death, where it is ſaid: for yͤ truth ſtriue thou vnto the death, and God ſhall fight for thee agaynſt thine enemies. Some other of them conteine onely abuſe, which we beleue none ſuch to be. But if there be, we will ſee redreſſe therin. Therfore, for the honour of God, for the vnburdening of our conſciences, for the kings maieſties reuerence, and for yͤ peoples profite and peace: All we here aſſembled, haue concluded to ſee remedy, that the aforeſayd abuſes, if any ſuch be, ſhalbe left to the quietneſſe of the people, and prayſe of almighty God. To whom be honor and glory world without ende. Amen.

1. Reg. 21.

To the bill of articles exhibited.

Another ſitting in the Parliament.

An other dayes ſitting in the parliament.

The next Friday followyng, beyng the 29. of December: the prelates aſſembled themſelues agayne together at the kinges palace in Paris. Where, the reuerend father the Lord Peter Bertrand, by gods permiſſion biſhop of Eduē ſpake openly there before the kyng, ſittyng with his Counſailours and Barons about hym: takyng to hys theame yͤ which is written in the 18. of Geneſis. O Lord be not angry, that I ſpeake yet more. &c. The which he applyed to this ende: that for the maieſty of the king, the prudency of hys Counſell, and inſufficiencie of hymſelfe (conſidering yͤ waightines of the cauſe) he trembled and was afrayde to ſpeake: yet neuertheles, truſting vpon hys accuſtomed clemency, toke to him audacitie, and preſumed that which was appoynted to hym by the prelates. Beginning with the 89. Pſalme: Lord thou art our refuge, &c. which he proſecuted in extolling the kyng his perſon, and his miraculous atteynyng to the crowne of Fraunce: preaching further, how he ought to be the champion and defender of the faith: all which he proued in few wordes by many reaſons and authorities.

Biſhop of Eduē againe ſpeaketh.

Afterward he touched thoſe propoſitions which were propounded by the foreſayd Lord Peter of Cugner, and for no other onely cauſe as he proteſted, but to informe the conſcience of his ſoueraigne Lord and Kyng, & to aduiſe his grace concernyng the ſame: Not goyng about to make any finall iudgement, determination, or aunſwere, wherby either Sentence, Order, Statute, right to any man, or other proceſſe, might therof enſue or be grounded. And namely he firſt beginnyng with the Theame of the Lord Peter: firſt affirmed (render vnto the Emperour, which is the Emperours, & vnto God which is his: * Mark. 12.) By which wordes was ſignified the obedience and ſubiection to the kyng, with the difference of the ſpiritualtie from the temporaltie, wherof the firſt mẽber is proued by the 1. Pet. 2. where is ſayd: be ye ſubiect to euery humaine creature, &c. Alſo by the Cap. ſolite, extra. de maio. & ob. And by the c. nouit extra. de iudicijs. cap. de ſacerdotibus 10. q. 1. with the notes about the ſame. Moreouer, as touchyng the diſtinction of both iuriſdictions: whereof the Lord Peter proued the temporall iuriſdiction to pertayne to ſeculare men, the ſpirituall to the clergy by the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt. Luke. 22. where he ſayd: Behold two ſwordes. Alſo for that Chriſt did pay tribute: Teachyng thereby, how that the temporalties were to be reſerued to the temporall men: Math. xvij. 11. q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.

Math. 22.
Marke. 12.

In like maner by the law of Iuſtiniã: where it is written, that two great giftes were ordeined & grãted of God: a Byſhopricke, and a kyngdome: The firſt to beare rule ouer Gods matters, the other ouer worldly thynges. &c. And ſayd moreouer, that theſe two be the caſes which in no wiſe could be altered or chaunged. Prou. xx. de Tiõ. mo. lib. 1. & vlt. And affirmed alſo that of ſuch Princely right, the kyng could not abrogate and depriue hymſelfe. For that it was impreſcriptible, appertainyng to the crowne and his regall ſeat, (conſideryng how he tooke his othe at tyme of his coronatiõ) not onely not to breake or alienate the lawes of his Realme, but alſo to reſtore and reuoke ſuch as were broken and alienated. To which theſe his reaſons it was aunſwered, that the iuriſdiction and determination of ciuill cauſes (where about the controuerſie now ſtandeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods law and mans law. By Gods law it proued was, euen from Adams tyme to Chriſtes commyng: per. Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe. And frõ Chriſtes comming, to Peters tyme and his ſucceſſors. xxij. di. c. omnes patriarchæ. Math. cap. xvi. But how the church in the Realmes of Catholike Princes, attained vnto this right and intereſt which at this preſence it doth inioy, the law proueth. 2. q. ca. 5. Si quis Preſbiter. xi. q. 1. Relatum 25. diſt. Ecce. Which alſo is confirmed by the Emperours in the body of the law. ff. 3. § ſi. cauſam. col. 9. 23. q. vlt. c. his & a quibus. The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. Peter commaunded all the Princes of the earth and others, to obey and giue place to the Biſhops. c. omnes, extra. de maior. & ob. 16. diſt. duo ſunt: Wherfore it was concluded, that in no wiſe this right is to be ſeparated and taken away from the Church. And albeit in the Realmes of tyrãnous Princes, this ſtate of the Church is violated and not kept: yet in this bleſſed Realme of Fraunce, it hath bene alwayes euen to theſe dayes duely obſerued: c. nouit. extra. de iudicijs. This iuriſdictiõ, the lawes of Theodoſius the Emperour, and Carolus the great, hath alſo confirmed. extra. de iudicijs. c. nonne. all. 11. q. 1. quęcunq. & c. ſc. iuriſdictio. c. expreſſe. where it is mẽtioned, that the ſame Carolus K. of Frãce (and Emperour) eſpecially conſtituted the ſayd law. And likewiſe to ſpeake of cuſtome, it hath bene knowen frõ tyme out of mynde, the ſame to haue belonged to the Church of Fraunce: He therfore which ſhall go about to violate this law: committeth ſacrilege. 11. q. 1. ca. 1. & 2. And let not the kynges maieſtie maruell, if that in this moſt noble Realme of Fraunce this prerogatiue be due vnto the Church: As when hereby, his power and nobilitie is bewtified. Anth. vt iud. ſine quoquo ſuffra. ſi. in principio Col. 2. Beſides this: our ſoueraigne Lorde and Kyng, at what tyme he was crowned, was ſworne by the Euangeliſtes to keepe and obſerue this Canonicall priuiledge of the Church. Further, the Barons who in a maner all are ſworne to the Church, ſwore fidelitie to the ſame: by which othe of fidelitie they are bound to keepe theſe liberties and rightes of the Church. When therfore euery othe which tendeth not to the perditiõ of the ſoule, is to be kept: a fortiori that othe which is takẽ in the fauour of the Church, is much more to be obſerued. c. Si vero extra. de iure iurando. xxij. queſt. iiij. c. vlt. Beſides this bleſſed Ludouicke, Philip of Arragõ, Philip ẏ faire, Ludouicke, Carolus the great, and Philip, cõfirmed theſe priuiledges, cuſtomes, and liberties of the Church, which all were ſworne at their coronations as before. &c. Theſe thynges conſidered, who can aduiſe the kyngs maieſtie without dampnyng of his owne ſoule, contrary to theſe liberties graunted and ſo confirmed to the Church: To whom belongeth great reward, whoſoeuer beſtoweth any thyng vpon the Church: Anth. de non alie. at permut. re. ecc. § ſi minis col. iij. neither maketh it agaynſt vs where it is ſayd, that there are two ſwordes, &c. Neither yet the diſtinction betwene the Byſhopricke and kyngdome. Becauſe it is true that there are two ſwordes, the power wherof is left to the Churches had, although the executiõ of the materiall ſword is committed to the temporall and ſecular men, Math. xxvi. where Chriſt ſayth to Peter: conuert and put vp thy ſword into the place. But as touchyng the diſtinction betwixt the Byſhopricke and kyngdome, in deede it is true: aſmuch as appertaineth to the ende & to the executiõ of bloud, but not cõcernyng the begynnyng and ſubiect: for that in one ſubiect, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proued. To that point where it is ſayd that Chriſt payed tribute: it is aunſwered, that not therfore he payed it, becauſe he ought or was bound thervnto: becauſe it is certainly true, that the ſonnes of the king (as he was ought not to pay) but this he dyd to auoyde offence: yea alſo the Clergy is not bound hervnto Eſdræ. primo. & vlt. Wherfore, ſuch thynges do not inferre a conſequence. Neither yet maketh that agaynſt vs, where it is ſayd: that the kyng our ſoueraigne Lord & maiſter can not abdicate from hymſelfe this right, eſpecially for that he was ſworne thervnto at the tyme of his coronation, &c. for it is aunſwered, that he may well abdicate the ſame. And how doth he abdicate the ſame from hymſelfe, which he geueth and beſtoweth to God and the Church? The land is the Lordes. And doubtles, to geue is nothyng els, but to render to God and the Church their own: for then by that reaſon, the gift geuen to ẏ church by Cõſtantine is naught & nothing worth, which is falſe, & this is proued xvi. diſt. ca. Cõſt. Wherby it appeareth, that an Emperour & Kyng may alienate thynges of the Empire. ff. de legatis i. l. apud Iulianum §. vlt. nor yet hereby the Empire or kyngdome is damaged: for that the thyng returneth to the priſtinate ſtate ff. de pactis l. vnus §. pactus. 35. diſt. ab exordio. Furthermore by this reaſon propounded: all the kynges of Fraunce which euer were (and eſpecially bleſſed Ludouike) ſhould be ſpotted: for if that were true (as God forbyd) then all they were periured and dyed in mortall ſinne, which is to too abſurde. Laſt of all, it hurteth not where it is ſaid: that ſuch thynges are impreſcriptible: It is true in deede, they cannot of ſubiectes, or otherwiſe then of the Church be preſcribed: but in this cauſe we talke not of ſubiectes. Alſo, ſeyng they may be alienated, they may be preſcribed, eſpecially (the kynges thus conſentyng who confirmed the ſame ſo long a tyme) which excludeth all right both fiſcall and eccleſiaſticall. The prelates therfore all with one conſent, agreeth and affirmeth to the ſame as a veritie to be maintained and defended. Beſechyng the kynges maieſty their Lord, both for his ſoule health, and peace of the Church: to mayntayne the ſame, and keepyng the liberties of the Church. Deſiryng hym to conſider what commoditie dayly he receiueth by the Church, & that his Church neuer fayled hym yet, when he had neede of the laytie, ſhewyng the daungers and examples of them who dyd to the contrary. Further, he beſeeched his highnes to way how entierly his Lord the pope doth and hath loued his perſon and realme: Affirmyng, that neuer any placed in the ſeate of Peter, loued better his realme, then he doth. Alledgyng the text of Eccl. vj. where it is ſayd: Stand in the multitude of the Prieſtes, and beleue them with thy hart.

11. q. 1. cap. 1. & 2.

22. q. 4. cap. Si vero.

Math. 26.

Why Chriſt payd tribute.

16. Diſt. cap. Conſtantinus. 35. diſt. cap. ab exordio.

Eccle. 6.

After this in the ſayd Seſſion: The foreſayd Byſhop of Eduen prolocutor inferred many thynges beſide, and aunſwered particularly to the articles aboue ſpecified, and exhibited by the Lord Peter in writyng to the kyng and Parlament. Which, becauſe they touch more the ſubtiltie of the law and ſtyles of the Courts, then are neceſſary to this our hiſtory, and becauſe we would not burden the volume with all, cõteinyng no great profite in them: we haue here of purpoſe for breuities ſake omitted them, paſſyng to the next ſittyng, which was the next Friday next after folowyng the ſame, as enſueth.

Speciall aunſweres to the articles premiſed by B. Eduen.

The next Friday after this, the Prelates aſſembled at Vicenas, before the Kyng, to heare their aunſwere: where, the foreſayd Lord Peter of Cugner (beyng prolocutour for the kyng) ſpake on this wiſe, takyng for his theame. I am peace vnto you, doe not feare. &c. Which he proſecuted, moniſhyng that they ſhould not be troubled in any thing that there had bene ſpoken. For that the intent and mynde of the ſoueraigne Lord their Kyng was, to kepe the rites of the Church and Prelates, which they had by law, and by good and reaſonable cuſtome: Where, betwene the firſt and ſecond concluſion, he went about to proue: that

An other dayes ſitting in the parliament.

86.diſt.ca. cum ad verum.
Shauing of prieſtes crownes wherfore.
12.q.1.

the cognition of ciuill cauſes ought not to appertaine to the Church. For that ſuch thynges were temporall and ought to pertaine to the temporaltie, as ſpirituall thynges to the ſpiritualty. And beſides his other reaſōs he alleged the. 86. diſt. declaryng for a truth, that for this intent firſt ẏ clarkes crownes were ſhauen: in ſigne that they ſhould be free from all worldlynes, and forſake all temporall thyngs. Alledgyng to that end the. xij. q. 1. Furthermore he declared, that the Byſhops had cognition in certaine caſes expreſſed by law. Wherfore, theſe ſayd caſes miniſtred a certaine rule agaynſt them, alledgyng for the proofe therof De reg: iuris. ff. de lega. 1. L. ticie textoris. Alſo he affirmed that by reaſon of ſinne, the Decretall Nouit, could not make for them. For the ſame dyd ſpeake of the kyng of Fraunce his ſtate, which hath no ſuperiour: but in other perſons it was (he ſayd) otherwiſe. And theſe thynges thus being proued, then ſayd he, and cōcluded: That neuertheles, their Lord and Kyng was ready to heare the information of them, which would inſtruct hym of any cuſtome: and thoſe cuſtomes which were good and reaſonable he would obſerue. Which aunſwere, becauſe it dyd not ſeeme to pleaſe and ſuffice the Prelates, incontinently the Byſhop Eduen aunſwered for them all in maner folowyng. Firſt, commendyng the good and generall aunſwere, he ſpake in this wiſe: The Prince of the people (ſayd he) ſhalbe prayſed, for the prudence of his talke, commēdyng therewith as touchyng the former good generall aunſwere of the king, his purpoſe and talke propounded. But as concernyng the wordes of the Lord Peter, which engendred and brought darknes and obſcuritie, and might geue occaſion to other temporall Lordes, to breake and infringe the rytes and cuſtomes of the Church. Wherfore his aunſwere ſeemed not full and playne to the Prelates. Speaking more ouer to the ſaid Peter, he alluded to the wordes of the Virgine ſpeakyng in the Scripture thus to her ſonne: Sonne why did you ſo to vs? And ſo proſecuted ẏ ſame, both maruelyng with hymſelfe, and yet couertly complaynyng of his aunſwere. Afterward aunſweryng to theſe thynges which the Lord Peter affirmed, and firſt to the chapter. Ad verū he ſayd, that it was before aunſwered: touchyng the diuiſiō of the two iuriſdictions, that they may be in one ſubiect as before is proued. Neither doth it let which the Lord Peter ſayd, theſe two iuriſdictions could not be in one ſubiect, becauſe ẏ thyngs which be in themſelues diuers, and be vnder one Genus, as a man & an aſſe cannot be in one ſubiect. But if they were vnder diuers kyndes, as whitenes and ſweetenes in milke, they might be well in one ſubiect. It was anſwered that this rule was not true: becauſe iuſtice and tēperaunce are two diuers vertues, and vnder one kynde, and yet be in one ſubiect. Beſides theſe differyng ſpecies, a man and an Aſſe be not compatible in one ſubiect. Alſo to that which was ſpoken concernyng the ſhauyng of the crowne, it was aunſwered that the crown dyd betoken rule and excellency: and the ſhauyng did ſignifie: that they ought not to heape vp ſtore of temporall thynges, ſo to apply their hartes thereunto. But that the temporall thyngs ought to be ſubiect to them, and not they to the temporaltie, as is proued in the ſayde chapter duo ſunt genera. Alſo as concernyng the thyng, which was talked of de regula: he aunſwereth, that that maketh for the Church, as before was proued. Yea alſo, the cuſtome doth make the rule for the Church. Alſo lawes in all kynde of ſenſe doth alwayes except the cuſtome. And therfore, his ſaying makes nothyng agaynſt it. And now to that place which the Lord Peter ſpake about the Decretall Nouit. That the caſe was onely in the kynges perſon, yet for all that it is expreſly ſayd in the ſame text of euery Chriſten man. And although their law doth ſpeake onely of the Pope, yet the ſame is applyed to all Byſhops in their Dioces. Wherfore the ſayd Byſhop concluded and beſeched the kyng that it would pleaſe his grace to geue vnto them a more playner and comfortable aunſwere: and that they might not depart from his preſence all penſiue & ſad, whereby occaſion might be geuen to the laytie to impugne the rites and liberties of the Church. And that they doubted nothyng hereof in the good nature and cōſcience of their ſoueraigne Lord and Kyng: In the end it was aunſwered to them in the behalfe of the kyng, that his mynde and intent was not to impugne the cuſtomes of the Church.

The Biſh. findeth fault with the kinges aunſwere.

The Monday followyng, the Byſhops aſſembled them ſelues agayne before the kyng at Vicenas, where the Lord Byſhop of Eduen repealed their laſt ſupplication, with the laſt aunſwere made vnto them in the behalfe by the kyng, when the Byſhop of Byturien, had geuen them to vnderſtand how the kyng willed them not to feare. For that they ſhould ſuffer no hinderaunce or damage in his tyme, yea and would defend them to their rightes and cuſtomes becauſe it ſhould not be ſayd that he would geue enſample to other to impugne the Church, aſſuryng them that euen the kynges grace hym willed ſo to declare vnto them. The ſayd Lord Byſhop of Senon in the name of the whole Prelates gaue humble thankes to the kyng therefore, and the ſayde B. of Senon beſeched that ſuch proclamations which wer made to the preiudice of the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction myght be repealed, and called in. Hereunto the kyng hymſelfe anſwered with hys owne mouth that they were not publiſhed at hys commaundement neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the biſhop propoſed ẏ thoſe abuſes which the temporalty complained of, ſhould be ſo ordered and reformed: that euery man ſhould be well contented therewyth. Laſt of all, he beſeched the kinges highneſſe, that he would of hys gracious goodneſſe geue them a more comfortable & fuller aunſwer. Then anſwered the Lord Peter in ẏ name of the kyng: That if the prelates and biſhops would ſee reformation of thoſe thinges which were to be amēded (wherabouts he would take reſpect betwene this and Chriſtmas next followyng) hys grace would innouate nothing in the meane ſeaſon. And if in the foreſayd ſpace they woulde not correct and reforme that which was amiſſe, his maieſty would appoynt ſuch order and remedy that ſhould be acceptable both to God and his ſubiectes. After this, the Prelates had leaue of the kyng to depart and went home.

The gentle aunſwere of the king to byſhops.

The finall aunſwere of the kyng to the prelates.

¶A briefe recapitulation of the Biſhops aunſwere, with certaine notes aunſwering to hys popiſhe reaſons vnto the reader.

Notes vpon the Biſhops aunſwere.
Pag. 361. col. 1.

THe aunſwere of Byſhop Eduen in the name of the other prelates, to the oration and articles before obiected by the Lord Peter conſiſteth in two partes. Firſt in declaring the feare due to God. Secondly, the honor due to the kyng. Wherof the firſt is, the feare of God (he ſaith) conſiſteth in iij. thinges. 1. In geuing to God. 2. In honoring hys miniſters. 3. In reſtoring that, which hath bene taken away &c. The 2. which is, the honoring of the king, he ſaith, conſiſteth in a double ſort, that is. In wordes onely, wherein is flattery: And in deede: which againe he deuideth in iiij. members: firſt, when a man counſaileth a kyng to that, wherby his dominion is loued. 2. When the king is counſailed to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminiſhed. 3. Thirdly, when the king is counſailed to that, whereby his fame and renowne is mayntayned. 4. Fourthly, when a king is counſailed to that, wherby his conſcience is not woūded. &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remayneth with like breuity to recite the reaſons and argumentes in order, wherby he proueth the premiſſes, with the ſubdiuiſion of euery member and part thereof. Wherein the ſtudious reader, may note both the ſubtile proceedinges of theſe popiſhe prelates, and alſo the feeble and impotent ground wherupon they builde. Whoſe building (as by this diſcourſe and many other may appeare) wholy and finally tendeth to this, to maintayne their liberties, pompe, and eſtimation aboue all other ſecular princes and perſons.

Feare of God cōſiſting in three thinges.
1. In geuing.
2. In honoring.
3. In reſtoring.
Honour to the king, double.
In worde flattering, in deede effectuall.
Honour effectuall ſtandeth in 4. pointes.
1. in maintaining the kinges loue.
2. in maintaynyng his dignitie.
3. in maintaynyng his good name.
4. in maintaining his conſcience.
Pag. 361. col. 2.

Firſt, as concerning feare to be geuen to God, which he deuideth in three partes, in geuing, in honouring and reſtoring: for the firſt, he proueth that princes ought to geue largely and without meaſure to the Church by theſe argumentes.

Pag. 361. col. 2.

By the teſtimony of Iuſtinian: although nothing is good which is to much, yet. &c. pag. 361. col. 2. I aunſwere that in the tyme of Iuſtinian, goodes then geuen to the Church, were the goodes of the poore. Wherein was vſed faythfull diſtribution, voluntary geuyng, and neceſſary charity. But now in our popiſh churches, reuenues and landes geuen, neither are diſtributed to the poore: and yet are mē compelled againſt their will to geue ſtill. And agayne, ſo little neceſſitie is now to geue to ſuch, that the moſt wealthes of realmes almoſt is in their handes and houſes: in ſo much that they flowing in ſuch wealth are now waxed ſo proud, that kinges can ſcarſe beare any rule for them, as was proued before pag. 330. col. 2. that the popes reuenues here in England mounted to more then three times double the ſtint of the kinges crowne. Wherefore, by the counſaile of Iuſtinian, it was ſo then, and then might ſtād, quòd Religio peperit diuitias: but now as the tyme is altered, ſo that counſaile holdeth not, poſtquam nunc filia deuorauit matrem. That is, after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally cōcerning mēs geuing to the Church in theſe our popiſhe dayes, foure faultes I note.

Religio peperit diuitias, nunc filia deuorauit matrem.

First, that they geue ſuperfluouſly more then ſufficient is to neceſſitie of life.

Secondly, that they geue to ſuch as abuſe it wickedly.

4 incommodities that come in geuing to the church

Thirdly,that in geuing to them that neede not, noble men in meane time defraude their poore neighbors, which neede in deede,and yet do not complayne.

Fourthly,becauſe of this title of geuyng,men haue vſed and yet do vſe to put great hope of ſaluation therin,contrary to the Teſtament of God in Chriſtes death, wherof exãples are before.

Pag.361.col.2.

Pag.361.col.2. Abell offered of the beſt to the Lord,and was bleſſed of God. Ergo, euery great man,that would be bleſſed of GOD, muſt offer of the beſt, he hath vnto the Church. Aunſ.This argument as it is farre fet: ſo it is ſoone aunſwered,wherin three notes are to be obſerued.

3.Thinges to be noted, in offering to God & to the church.

Firſt, that he which offereth vnto the Church of God, doth not therin offer vnto God immediatly as Abell dyd.

Secondly, neither is this to be graunted, that he which offereth to all Churchmẽ,offereth by and by to the church of God. For many tymes the Churchmen are one: and the Church of God is an other. Laurence the Martyr ſhewyng forth the Church of God,brought out the poore of the Pariſh,and not the Prieſtes of the Church.pag.72.col.1.

Rom.12.

Pag.361.col.1.

The thyrd note is this: that if noble perſons ſhould offer vnto God (by the example of Abell) that which is the beſt and fatteſt of the flocke: thẽ ſhould they offer vnto the Lord,of their flocke onely,and not of their landes. Yea and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattell nor landes, but that which is the very beſt,that is,their owne bodyes for a liuely ſacrifice to God. He that offered vp to God a proude hart and killed it with the axe of humilitie, geueth vnto him the beſt and fatteſt bullocke he hath in all his flocke. With lyke reaſon I aunſwere alſo the place of Numeri.18.and of Paral.cap.vlt.that to offer vp, or to ſeparate vnto the Lordes treaſurie, is not now to geue to Prieſtes and Chapleines of the Church, which peraduenture haue more then they do well occupy: but to giue liberally to the communion of Saintes, which are needy and are the true treaſury of the Church in deede, as Laurence the true treaſurer ſayd,ſupra,pag.72.

Pag.362.col.1.

1.Tim.5.

2.Thinges to be noted in geuing honour, wherein conſiſteth honour geuing to prieſtes

Pag.362. col.1. By Gods commaundement we are bound of duety to honour our temporall fathers. Ergo, by the ſame duty we are boũd much rather to honour our ſpiritual fathers,that is Prieſtes and Prelates. Aunſwere. A father in common ſpech is diuerſly taken as by age, by nature, by office. And to all theſe we of duty,are bound to yeld honour,reuerence,obedience and ſubmiſſion,albeit not all after one ſort,nor in lyke degree. For as we are bound to honour our father and mother: ſo aged men and elders haue alſo their honour and name of fathers. So Magiſtrates and ſpirituall teachers in their kynde,haue their honour and reuerence. And S.Paule ſayth,that ſuch are worthy of double honour,qui benè præſunt,& qui laborant in ſermone. But in this two thynges are to be noted wherin this honour conſiſteth,and how farre it extendeth. Theſe ſpirituall fathers of the Church, thinke they be not honoured inough, vnleſſe Kynges and Emperours geue and ſurrender vnto them all the temporall rule and gouernement,to do what they lyſt, and none to controle them. And vnles noble men and ſubiectes indue them with temporall landes and poſſeſſions, ſo much as they would haue. And this they call honor,which they define onely by geuyng temporally: where in deede it rather conſiſteth in geuing ſpiritually,as to haue a reuerent opinion of their miniſtration, to yeld a prompt obediẽce to their doctrine, to reuerence them as the miniſters of God, and not to deſpiſe,diffame,or moleſt their perſons, wherof S.Paule alſo about the ſame place ſpeaketh, writyng to Timothe. Let no man deſpiſe thy youth. &c. Alſo to Titus.2. Let no man deſpiſe thee.&c. And this is to honour our ſpirituall fathers.

1.Tim.5.
Titus.2.

Qui benè præſunt.

How far honor geuen to prieſtes extendeth.

Secondly to conſider how farre this honour extendeth: as no mã doth deny,but theſe paſtors are worthy their double honour,which rule well: ſo if they adminiſter not their office well,they are vnder the ouerſight of the king bearing the temporall ſword, worthy of double puniſhment. And yet to conſider this double honour in them that rule well, how farre it doth extẽd: if it be compared to the honour due to our parentes,caſe of neceſſitie will ſoone decide it. For be it,that our parents,on the one ſide, and paſtor on the other, ſtand in extreme neede of the ſonnes ſupportation, wherein he can helpe but the one: nature, I ſuppoſe,will and ought ſooner runne,and the word of Chriſt will ſooner driue vs to our father,then to the Prieſtes Corban. Marc.7. So that this diſtinction here may haue place: that as the one ſtandeth vpon merite of vertue,ſo the other ſtãdeth vpon mere duty of neceſſity.

Marke 7.

Pag.362.col.1.

Pag.362.col.1. theſe iuriſdictiõs temporall and ſpirituall are compatible in one perſon. Aunſwere, I graunt pro ratione ſubiecti. That is,in the ſubiect it ſelf there is no cauſe to the contrary, but theſe two vocations may be exerciſed both of one perſon,as they haue bene of the Pope,one after the other (and ſo may contrary formes alſo) and yet the Popes perſon hath bene able to ſuſteine thẽ both. But now here is to be conſidered, not what the nature of the ſubiect is able to beare by Logicke, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whoſe order is this: That they, whiche with Peter,are called to the feedyng of the flocke, ſhould leaue their fiſhyng nettes, and fiſh for men: and that they which labour in the warfare of the Lord, ſhould not intangle themſelues with the buſines of this lyfe, whereby they may be more free to pleaſe hym, whoſe ſouldiours they are. Tit.2.&c.

Tit.2.

Pag.362. col.1.
2.formes not contrary may be compatible in one ſubiect.

Pag.362.col.1. The iuriſdictions temporall and ſpirituall are ſo diſtincted that they are not contrary.&c. Aũſwere. And what let is there thẽ,but our Queene now,and other kynges hereafter may haue the gouernement of both ſtates as well Eccleſiaſticall, as temporall? Seyng both the formes being compatible,may concurre both in one ſubiect: why not as well in the perſon of the kyng, within the Realme,as in the perſon of the Pope without the Realme?

pag.363.col.1

Pag.363.col.1. God after the creation of the worlde, &c.vnto Noes tyme.&c. Aunſwere. If God vnto Noes tyme gouernyng the world as kyng, gaue ſentence hymſelfe agaynſt Cain (as ye ſay) how then did he that by the miniſtery of aungels? If he did it by the aungels his miniſters: Whether is more lyke then that to make for the Pope, or rather for kynges and princes,whom the Scripture thriſe in one chapter,calleth the miniſters of god to execute puniſhment to him,that doth euill. Rom.13.

Rom.13.

pag.363.col.1

Noe was a prieſt,and had both iuriſdiction in the Arke.

Pag.363. Noe alſo which offered.&c. Aunſwere. If offeryng of burnt ſacrifices to God do make a Prieſt, then was Cain alſo,Abell,Abrahã,Iſaac, and all Patriarches Prieſts. If he had both tẽporall and ſpiritual iuriſdiction vpõ them, which were in his Arke: I maruell why he did not curſe the the diſobedient crow that returned not to him agayne.

Pag.363. col.1. Melchiſedech likewiſe.&c. Aunſwere. Melchiſedech properly dyd beare a figure of Chriſt, both kyng and prieſt,and of none other.

pag.363.col.1
A

Pag.363.col.2.A.I haue geuen to me.&c. Aũſwere. That Chriſt hath all power geuen him,no man doubteth: but yet the ſame Chriſt ſayth, that his kyngdome is not of this world. Neither would he be made a kyng in this world.&c. Nec eripit mortalia,qui regna dat cæleſtia,hymn.

pag.363.col.1
B.

Pag.363.col.1.B. Whom Chriſt made his vicar. &c. Aunſwere. Here in one line be.ij.lyes. For neither had Peter the very ſame power in heauẽ and earth as Chriſt had, neither was he the vicar of Chriſt.

pag.363.col.1
C.

Pag.363.col.1.C. As the offence of Ananias and Saphira was not temporall but ſpirituall: ſo dyd Peter kill them not iudicially,that is,as a temporall iudge,but ſpiritually, that is,by the power of the ſpirit,which ſpirit wrought by him, not as by a iudge,but as a miniſter. And although this act of Peter was extraordinary,for a ſingular exãple: yet notwithſtandyng let any prelate with the like power of ſpirit,ſo do, and none will blame hym.

pag.363.col.1
D.

Pag.363. col.1.D. And ſo likewiſe the condemnation of Paule agaynſt the Corinthian was onely ſpirituall and not temporall.

E.

Pag. 363.1.E. muſt be referred to the order.&c. Aunſwere. Chriſt would theſe cauſes to be referred to the hearyng of the Church,for ſpirituall admonition,but not for temporall iuriſdiction of the Prelates.

Pag.363.col.1.F. All thinges that the true Church doth truely bynde are bound. I graũt: but firſt let the Pope proue his Church to be the true Church, and himſelfe to be the vniuerſall head therof,and then let him clayme the keyes.

pag.363.col.1

Ibid. The two ſwordes do as much ſignifie the two regimentes: as do the two fiſhes wherewith Chriſt did feede foure thouſand perſons.

Ibid. Chriſt bad Peter vp his ſword and not to caſt it away. Ergo, the Church may haue the temporall ſword. Aunſwere. God geue you good morow, I haue brought you a capon.

pag.364.col.1

Pag.364.col.1.I. Know ye not the Saintes,&c. Aunſwere. S.Paule here willing the Corinthians to pleade their matters not before the heathen,but before the Saints: meaneth the faythfull of the congregation,not onely Prelates.

1. In them was not the like reaſon.&c. Aũſwere. I graũt, for Chriſt and true Chriſtians is one thyng: Antechriſt and his Church is an other thyng.

Ibid. As ye ſay,the Apoſtles had no layſure to take lands and poſſeſſions,for preachyng: but now, for Lordly loyteryng you haue layſure inough.

pag.364.col.1

Pag.364.col.1. M. They are moſt fitteſt to beare temporall rule, which follow nereſt to God. Prelates of the clergy follow nearer to God. Ergo, Prelates of the Clergy are more meeteſt to beare temporall rule.

Reſp. If God here be taken for that God, which is called the belly. I graunt they ſeeme to follow nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their owne fruite, life, and doctrine, and Eſay alſo would deny their minor, and ſay, that this people draweth neare to me with their lyps, but their hart is farre from me.

pag.364.col.1

Pag.364. col.1. You are a choſen generation, a royall Prieſthode. &c. Aunſwere. This place of Peter was written not onely to perſons Eccleſiaſtical, but to the whole cōgregation of the Saintes diſparſed, as the wordes followyng may declare. Qui eratis quondam non populus. &c.

And thus much concernyng French matters, which becauſe they be Eccleſiaſticall, and beare with them ſome vtilitie to the diligent reader (ſuch as liſt to ſearch, note and obſerue the actes of men, and courſe of religion) I thought therfore here to place and adioyne next after, the other contention before proceedyng betwene Philip the French kyng and Pope Boniface. Albeit as touchyng the perfect keepyng of yeares and tyme, I am not ignoraūt that this foreſayd Parliament thus ſummoned and commenced agaynſt the French prelates, fallyng in the yeare of our Lord. 1329. was to be referred rather to the raigne of kyng Edward the ij. Of whom now remayneth (by the grace of Chriſt) in order of hiſtory to proſecute, declaryng firſt the inſtructions and informations of his father geuen to him in the tyme of his departyng.

1307.

The ſicknes and death of king Edw.

The yeare of our Lord. 1307. and the laſt yeare of the kyng, the foreſayd kyng Edward in his iourney marchyng toward Scotland: in the North fell ſicke of the flixe, which increaſed ſo feruently vpon him, that he diſpayred of life. Wherfore, callyng before him his Earles and Barons, cauſed them to be ſworne, that they ſhould crowne his ſonne Edward in ſuch conuenient tyme after his death as they might, & keepe the land to his vſe, til he were crowned.

Godly leſſōs & preceptes geuen to the yong prince.

That done, he called before him his ſonne Edward, informyng and leſſonyng him with wholeſome preceptes, and charged him alſo with diuers points vpon his bleſſing: firſt that he ſhould be courteous, gentle, vpright in iudgement, fayre ſpoken to all men, conſtaunt in deede and word, familiar with the good: and eſpecially, to the miſerable to be mercyfull.

The king commaundeth hys bones to be caryed in the field againſt the Scottes.

After this, he gaue him alſo in charge, not to be to haſty in takyng his crowne, before he had reuenged his fathers iniuries ſtoutly agaynſt the Scottes: but that he ſhould remaine in thoſe parties to take with him his fathers bones, beyng well boyled from the fleſh, and ſo incloſed in ſome fit veſſell, ſhould cary them with him till he conquered all the Scots: ſaying, that ſo lōg as he had his fathers bones with him, none ſhould ouercome him. Moreouer, he willed & required hym, to loue his brother Thomas, and Edmund: alſo to cheriſh and tender his mother Margaret the Queene.

The fatherly care of kyng Edward in excluding wicked company from his ſonne.

Ouer and beſides, he ſtraitly charged him vpon his bleſſing (as he would auoyde his curſe) that he ſhould in no caſe call to him agayne, or ſend for Peter Gaueſton: which Peter Gaueſton the kyng before had baniſhed the Realme, for his naughty and wicked familiaritie with his ſonne Edward, and for his ſeducyng of him with ſiniſter counſaile. For the which cauſe, he baniſhed both Peter Gaueſton vtterly out of the Realme, and alſo put the ſayd Edward his ſonne in priſon. And therfore ſo ſtraitly charged his ſonne, in no wiſe to ſend for this Gaueſton, or to haue him in any caſe about him.

A raſhe vow of king Edward.
The kinges hart to be caryed to the holy land.

And finally, becauſe he had conceaued in himſelfe a vow to haue returned his owne perſon to the holy lād (which for his manifold warres with the Scottes he could not performe) therfore he had prepared xxxij. thouſand poundes of ſiluer, for the ſendyng of certaine ſouldiours with his hart vnto the holy land. Which thyng he required of his ſonne to ſee accōpliſhed. So that the foreſayd money, vnder his curſe and maledictiō, be not employed to other vſes. But theſe iniunctions and preceptes, the diſobedient ſonne did nothyng obſerue or keepe, after the deceaſſe of his father. Who forſakyng and leauyng of the warre with the Scottes, with all ſpede haſted him to his coronatiō. Alſo, cōtrary to the minde of his Nobles and agaynſt the precept of his father he ſent for the foreſayd Peter Gaueſton, and prodigally beſtowed vpon him all that treaſure which his father had bequeſted to the holy land. He was moreouer a proude deſpiſer of his peeres and nobles. And therfore raigned infortunatly, as by the ſequell of the ſtory here folowing, by the grace of Chriſt, ſhalbe declared. Thus kyng Edward firſt of that name, leauyng behynd him three ſonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his thyrd wife, and Edward by his firſt wife, whom he had ſufficiently thus with preceptes inſtructed, departed this mortall lyfe an.1367. after he had reigned neare xxxv. yeares. Of whom this Epitaph was written.

The epitaphe of king Edward.

Dum viguit rex, et valuit tua magna poteſtas:
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honeſtas.

In the time and reigne of this king, many other thinges happened, which here I omit to ſpeake of: as the long diſcorde and ſtrife betwene the Prior of Cant. and the Prior of Douer, which continued aboue 4. yeares together: with much wrangling and vnquietnes betwene them. Likewiſe an other like contention growing betwene Iohn Romain Archb. of Yorke, and the Archb. of Cant. vpon the occaſiō: that whē Ihon Archb. of Yorke after his cōſecratiō returning from the pope and comming to Douer, contrary to the inhibition of Cant. paſſed through the middle of Kēt, with hys croſſe borne vp: although the ſtory reporteth, that he had the kinges conſent therunto. An.1286.

Item, betwene Thomas Biſhop of Herford, & Iohn Pecham Archb. of Cant. fell an other wrangling matter, in the time of this kyng. Which Byſhop of Herford appealing from the Archb. to the Pope, went vp to Rome, & in his iourney dyed. Who with leſſe coſt might haue taryed at home. 1282.

King Edward the ſecond.

King Edward the ſecond.

EDward the ſecond of that name, ÿ ſonne of Edward the firſt, borne as is aforeſaid at Carnaruā in Wales: after the departure of his father, entred the gouernment of the land, an.1307. But was crowned not before ÿ yeare next folowing, an.1308.

An.1308.

Which Edward as he was perſonable in body and outward ſhape, ſo in conditions and euill diſpoſition much deformed. As vnſtedfaſt of worde, and light to diſcloſe ſecrets of great counſaile: Alſo refuſing the company of hys Lordes and men of honour: He much haunted among villaines and vile perſonages: Geuē moreouer, to ouermuch drinking, and ſuch vices as therupō be wont to enſue. And as of his owne nature he was to the ſayd vices diſpoſed, ſo was he much worſe by the counſaile and familiaritie of certayne euill diſpoſed perſons, as firſt of Peter or Pierſe Gaueſton before touched.

King Edward led by wicked counſaile.

Then after him of the two Spenſers and other, whoſe wanton counſayle he folowing, gaue hymſelfe to the appetite and pleaſure of the body: nothyng ordering hys common weale by ſadnes, diſcretion & iuſtice: which thyng cauſed firſt great variance betwene hym and hys nobles, ſo that ſhortly he became to them odible, and in end was depriued of hys kyngdome. In the firſt yeare, he tooke to wife Iſabell daughter of Philip king of Fraunce: wyth whom (the yeare after) he was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the Byſhop of Wincheſter: for that, Robert Wincheiſey Archbyſhop of Canterbury, was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithſtanding, the Barons and Lordes made firſt their requeſt to the king to put Peter Gaueſton from hym, or els they would not conſent to hys coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to graunt them at the next parliament, to haue their requeſtes accōpliſhed, and ſo was crowned.

Peter Gaueſton or Gauerſton a wicked doer about the kyng.

In the meane ſeaſon, the foreſayd Peter or Pierſe bearyng hymſelfe of the kynges fauour bold: continued triumphing and ſetting at light all other ſtates and nobles of the realme, ſo that he ruled both ÿ king and the realme, and all thinges went as he would. Neyther had the kyng any delight els, or kept company ẘ any, but with him: with him onely he brake all his minde, and conferred all hys counſailes. This as it ſeemed ſtraūge vnto the Lordes and Earles, ſo it inflamed their indignation the more agaynſt hys alliance, this Peter I meane.

An. 1310.

Thus the tyme proceeded, and at length the Parliament appoynted came, an. 1310. which was the fourth of this kynges raigne. The articles were drawne by the nobles to be exhibited to the kyng, which articles were the ſame conteined In magna charta, and de foreſta aboue ſpecified: with ſuch other articles as his father had charged hym with before: to wyt, that he ſhould remoue frō hym and his Court, all alienes and peruerſe counſelours. And that all the matters of the common wealth ſhould be debated by common counſayle of the Lordes both temporall and ſpirituall: and that he ſhould ſtyrre no warre out of England in any other foreine Realme, without the common aſſent of the ſame. &c. The kyng perceauyng their intēt to be, as it was in deede, to ſonder Peter Gaueſton from his company: and ſeyng no other remedy: but needes muſt yeld and graunt his conſent, agreed that the ſayd Gaueſton ſhould be baniſhed into Ireland. And ſo the Parliament breakyng vp, the Lordes returned to their owne, well appeaſed: although of the other articles they could not ſpeede, yet that they had driuen Peter Gaueſton out of the Realme, at this tyme, it did ſuffice them.

Peter Gaueſton.

This Peter Gaueſtõ was a certaine Gentlemãs ſonne of Waſconie: whom beyng young, kyng Edward the firſt (for ỹ good ſeruice, his father had done hym in his warres) receaued to his Court: and placed hym with his ſonne Edward now reignyng. Who, in proceſſe of tyme growyng vp with him, incenſed and prouoked hym to much outrage and wantonnes. By whoſe occaſiõ firſt he began in his fathers dayes, to breake the parke of Walter Biſhop of Cheſter, thẽ Chauncelour of England, and after executor to the kyng. For the which ſo doyng, the kyng (as is partly touched before) impriſoned his ſonne, and condẽned this Peter to perpetuall baniſhment. Notwithſtandyng the young kyng, after the death of his father (as ye haue heard) ſent for this Gaueſton agayne. And with all, ſo perſecuted this foreſayd Byſhop, that he clapt him in the Tower, and ſeiſed vpon all his goodes. Moreouer, cauſed moſt ſtraite inquiſition to be made vpon hym for guidyng his office, wherein if the leaſt crime might haue bene founde, it would haue coſt hym his lyfe. And thus much of Peter Gaueſton, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The inordinate affection of the kyng to Peter Gaueſton.

The kyng thus ſeparated from his old compere (that is from the company of Peter Gaueſton, now exiled into Ireland) cõtinued in great mournyng and penſiuenes, ſekyng by all meanes poſſible, how to call him home agayne, & conferryng with ſuch as were about hym vpon the ſame. Who dyd inſinuate to the kyng, that for ſomuch as the Earle of Glouceſter was a man well loued and fauored in all the Realme, if a mariage might be wrought betwixt his ſiſter and Peter Gaueſton: It might be a meane both for him to obtaine more frendſhyp and for the kyng to haue his deſire. To make ſhort, Peter Gaueſton in all haſt was ſent for, & the mariage through the kyngs procuryng, proceded betwen the Earles ſiſter, and the foreſayd Peter, albeit ſore agaynſt the Earles mynde. Gaueſton thus reſtored and dignified, was ſo ſurpriſed in pride and exaltation, more then euer before: that he diſdayned and derided all other, whoſe rule and power more and more encreaſed. In ſomuch, that he hauing the guidyng of all the kynges iewels and treaſure, conueyed out of the kynges iewell houſe at Weſtminſter a table and a payer of treſſels of gold, vnto certaine marchaũdes beyond the Sea, with other iewels mo to his behoofe: to the great impoueriſhyng both of the Kyng and Queene, & of the land. And ouer all that, brought the kyng (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as aduoutry, and ſuch other like. Wherfore, the Lordes ſeyng the miſchief that dayly increaſed by occaſion of this vnhappy mã: tooke their cõſaile together at Lyncolne, & there concluded to voyde him agayne out of England, ſo that ſhortly after he was exiled agayne: and went into Flaunders: for in Fraunce or in his owne countrey he durſt not appeare, for feare of Philip the French Kyng, to whom the Queene of Englãd his daughter had ſent ouer great complaintes, of the ſayd Gaueſton: who had ſo impoueriſhed her and the whole Court, that ſhee had not wherewith to maintayne her ſtate. Vpõ which complaint, the French kyng through all his dominiõs layd ſtraite watch to apprehend the ſayd Gaueſton: but he not vnwarned therof, ſecretly coſted into Flaũders, frõ whence it was not long, but he was ſet agayne by the kyng, as in further proceſſe followeth: ſomuch was the kyngs hart infatuated by this wicked perſon.

The pride of Peter Gaueſton.

Peter Gaueſton ſpoyleth the kinges treaſure.

The queene complayneth to the French king her Father of Peter Gaueſton.

Gaueſton againe excluded out of the land.

About this yeare, or the next before came in firſt the crowched Friers. And alſo began firſt the Knightes of the order of S. Iohn Baptiſt, otherwiſe called the Knightes of Rhodes: for that they, by manly knighthode put out the Turkes from the Iſle of Rhodes.

The crowched Friers.
The knightes of S. Iohn, called the knightes of the Rodes.

In the hiſtory of kyng Edward this kyngs father before precedent, mentiõ was made of Pope Clement the fift, who ſucceded after Benedict: alſo of puttyng downe of the templaries, which in this yeare happened by the meanes of the French kyng: who as he cauſed to be burned in the Citie of Paris this yeare.liiij. Tẽplaries, with the great maiſter of the ſame order: ſo by his procuremẽt the foreſaid pope Clement called a Councell at Vienna, where the whole order and ſect of Templaries beyng condemned, was ſhortly after by the conſent of all Chriſten kynges depoſed all in one day. After whom, the French kyng thought to make his ſonne kyng of Ieruſalem, and to conuert to him all the landes of the ſaid templaries: but Clemẽt the Pope would thereto not agree, transferryng all their landes to the order of hoſpitulers, for the great ſumme of money geuen for the ſame. The cauſe why theſe impious Templaries were put downe was ſo abhominable and filthy, that for the reuerẽce of chaſt eares it were better not told if it be true that ſome write.

Templaries burned at Paris, to the number of.54

The order of the Templaries put downe.
The horrible ſect of the Tẽplaries.

In the ſame Cõcell alſo was decreed by the ſayd Clement, that all religious orders exempted, ſhould be ſubiect vnder the common lawes as other were. But Ciſtercian Monkes with money and great giftes, redemed their priuileges and exemption of the pope, and ſo had them graunted. Tho. Walſ.. Theſe Ciſtercians ſped better herein, then did ỹ Minorites or Frãciſcans in their ſute. Of the which Frãciſcans, whẽ certaine of them had offered vnto the ſayd Pope Clement xl. thouſand florences of gold, beſide other ſiluer, that the Pope would diſpence with them to haue landes & poſſeſſions agaynſt their rule: the Pope aſked thẽ where was that money? They anſwered, in the marchaunt mens handes. So the ſpace of three dayes beyng geuẽ them to bryng forth theſe marchãts: the pope abſolued the marchauntes of their bond made to the Friers, and commaunded all that money to be employed and reuerted to his vſe. Declaryng to the Friers, that he would not infryng or violate the rule of S. Fraunciſ lately canoniſed: neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggerly rich Friers loſt both their money & their indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

Ciſtercian monkes for money redeme their exemptions of the pope.

The Friers minorites deceiued of pope Clement.

Ex Chrõ. Tho. VValſ.
One thiefe beguileth an other.

Concernyng this pope Clement the v. Sabellicus writeth that he excommunicated the Venecians, for aydyng and preferryng of Azoda, vnto the eſtate of Ferrary: and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemnyng them as enemyes of the Church, and geuyng their goodes as a lawfull pray vnto all men, which cauſed them to ſuſtaine great harme. But Fraunciſ Dandulus a noble man of Venice, beyng Embaſſadour from the Venecians to the ſayd Clement, for the obtaynyng of their abſolution and ſafegard of their City and countrey, and for the pacifieng of the Popes fury toward them: was fayne ſo to humble hymſelfe before this proud tyrannicall Prelate, that he ſuffered a chayne of yron to be tyed about his necke, and he to lye downe flat before his table, and ſo to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had bene a dog, till the Popes fury was toward them aſſwaged: So that after that, he in reproch, (becauſe he ſo humbled hymſelfe for the behalfe and helpyng of his cõtrey) was of ſome called a dog. But the Citie of Venice ſhewed themſelues not vnkynd agayne to Dandulus for his gentle good wil declared to his countrey. For as he had abaſed himſelfe before to the vyle and ignominious condition of a dog for his cõtreys ſake: ſo they extolled him with as much glory agayn beyng returned home, deckyng & adournyng him after the beſt aray, with the chief princely ornamentes of the Citie, to make him amendes for his former reproch receiued. Sabel. Ennead.9. Lib.7.

Pope Clement excommunicateth the Venetians for making a duke.

The pride & tyranny of Pope Clement.5.
Fraunciſ Dandulus humbleth himſelfe for his cõtrey.
Out of Sabellic. and is alleaged in the booke named the Image of tyranny.
The pietie of Dãdulus to his cõtrey.
Piety thankfully rewarded.

Concernyng the conſtitutions of this Pope Clement, and of his decretals and Clementines: and how Henricus the Emperour in his dayes was poyſoned in receauyng of the Sacrament, ye haue heard before. About this time Robert Winchelſey Archbyſhop of Caunterbury (whom this kynges father had baniſhed before) was releaſed and returned home from Rome.

Rob. Winchelſey returned home from baniſhment.

1311.

Theſe thynges thus declared, let vs procede (by the Lordes grace) to the next yeare, which is of the Lord.1311. & the fifth yeare of this kinges raigne. In the which yeare, comptyng the yeare from Michaelmaſſe, to the ſame feaſt agayne, as then the vſage of the Realme was: Peter Gaueſton, who had wandered the countreys about & could finde no ſafe reſtyng place (notwithſtandyng he was vtterly baniſhed, vpon forfeityng life and goodes out of the realme, yet truſtyng vpon the kynges fauour, and the good will of the Earle of Glouceſter, whoſe ſiſter he had maryed) ſecretly returnyng into England with a certaine company of ſtrãgers: preſented himſelfe to the kynges ſight. At the beholdyng of whom, the kyng for ioy ran to him, and embracyng him, did not onely retaine hym: but alſo for his ſake vndyd all ſuch actes as had bene in the Parliament before, enacted. The Queene and the whole Court ſeyng this doting of the kyng, made an heauy Chriſtẽmas. After this returne of Gaueſton was noyſed among the commons, the Peeres and Nobles of the Realme were not a litle ſtyrred, caſtyng with themſelues, what way were beſt to take. If he were ſuffered ſtill they ſaw not onely themſelues reiected, but alſo that the Queene could not enioy the loue of the Kyng, neither could there be any quietnes in the Realme. Agayne, to ſtyrre vp warre in the land, it were not the beſt: to vexe or diſquiet the kyng, alſo they were afrayd. But for aſmuch as they could not abyde, all the nobilitie ſo to be thruſt out and diſpended for the loue of one ſtraunger, and alſo the realme ſo to be ſpoyled and impoueriſhed by the ſame: This way they tooke, that Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, ſhould be elected among them the chieftayne and chief doer in that buſines: to whom all other Earles and Barons, and Prelates alſo did concordly condeſcend and conſent, except onely Walter Byſhop of Couentry, whom Robert the Archbyſhop ther-

The counting of the yeare was in the olde time frõ Michaelmas to the ſame day agayne.

Ex Chron. Tho. VValſ.

The Archb. of Cant. excommunicateth the B. of Couentry for holdyng with Peter Gaueſton.

therfore afterward did excommunicate. Which Thomas of Lancaſter by the publike aſſent of the reſt ſent to the kyng (lyyng then at Yorke) humble petitions, in the name aſwell of the whole Nobilitie, as of the commons: Deſiryng his grace to geue the foreſaid Gaueſton vnto them, or els accordyng to the ordinaunce of the Realme, that the land might be auoyded of him. But the tyrannous kyng, who ſet more by the amour of one ſtrāger then by his whole Realme beſide: neither would harken to their coūſayle, nor geue place to their ſupplications: But in all haſty fury, remoued from Yorke to Newcaſtell, where he remained almoſt till midſommer.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Barons had gathered an hoſt of ſufficient and able ſouldiours, commyng toward Newcaſtell: not entendyng any moleſtation agaynſt the kyng, but onely the execution of the lawes vpon wicked Gaueſton. The kyng not hauyng wherewith to reſiſt their power: remoueth in all ſpeedy manner to Thinmouth, where the Queene lay. And hearyng there that Newcaſtell was taken: taketh ſhypping and ſayleth frō thence (notwithſtandyng the Queene there beyng great with child, with weepyng teares and all inſtaunce, deſireth him to tary with her, as ſafely he might) but he nothyng relentyng to her, tooke Peter his cōpere with him, and coaſted ouer to the Caſtell of Scarbrough, where he leauyng Peter Gaueſton to the ſafe keepyng of his men, himſelfe iournieth toward the coaſt beſide Warwike. The Lordes hearyng where Peter was, bendeth thether all their power: ſo that at length Gaueſton ſeing no remedy but he muſt needes come into their handes, yeldeth and ſubmitteth himſelfe: requiryng none other conditiō, but onely that he might talke but a few wordes with the kyng in his preſence. Thus Gaueſton beyng apprehended, the kyng hearyng therof, ſendeth vnto the Lordes, requiryng his lyfe to be ſpared: and that he might be brought to his ſpeech, and ſo promiſed, that in ſo doyng he would ſatiſfie their myndes and requeſtes, what ſoeuer. About this, aduiſemēt was taken: but then the Earle of Pēbroke hearyng the kynges promiſe, perſwaded the Barons to grāt vnto his petition: promiſing hymſelfe, vpon looſing all his landes to take the charge vpon hym to be brought vnto the kynges ſpeech, and ſo to be recommitted to them agayne. Which when he had obtayned, he taketh Peter Gaueſton with hym, to bryng him where the kyng lay. And ſo cōming to Dedington, not farre from Warwike, leaueth hym in the keepyng of his ſouldiours, while he that night went to his wife, beyng from thence not farre of.

Peter Gaueſton taken of the nobles.

The king entreateth for Gaueſton.

The ſame night it chaunced, Guido the Earle of Warwike to come to the ſame place where Gaueſton was left: who takyng hym out of the handes of his keepers, caryeth hym to the Caſtell of Warwike, where incontinent they would haue put hym to death: but doubtyng and fearyng the kyngs diſpleaſure, a litle they ſtayed. At what tyme one of the company, (a man of ſage and wiſe counſaile as myne author writeth) ſtandyng vp among them with his graue Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednes of his condition, the Realme by him ſo greatly endamaged, the nobles deſpiſed and reiected, the pride and ambition of the man intollerable, the ruine of thynges lyke to enſue by him, and the great charges ⁊ expenſes they had bene at in ſo long purſuyng and gettyng of him. And now being gotten and in their handes, he exhorted them ſo to vſe and take the occaſiō now preſent: that hereafter beyng out of their handes, they afterward might ſeeke, and ſhould not finde it.

Guy of Warwike.

Peter Gaueſton agayne apprehēded by Guy of Warwike.

Briefly, in ſuch ſort he perſwaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by cōmō agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow, which place in other ſtoryes I finde to be called Gaueſhed, but that name (as I thinke) was deriued vpon this occaſion, afterward. And thus he, that before had called the Earle of Warwike the blacke dog of Ardeyne: was thus by the ſayd dogge worowed, as ye haue heard. &c. His carkas, the Dominicke Friers of Oxford had in their Monaſtery interred the ſpace of .ij. yeares: but after that, the kyng cauſed the ſayd carkas to be taken vp and buried within his owne Manour of Langley.

Peter Gaueſton beheaded.

The corpes of Peter Gaueſton buried in the kinges Manor of Lāgley.

After this, great diſturbance began to riſe betwene the Kyng and the Lordes: who hauyng their power lying about Dunſtable, ſent ſtoute meſſage vnto the kyng at London, to haue their former actes cōfirmed. Gilbert Earle of Glouceſter the kyngs nephew (who neither did hold agaynſt the Kyng nor yet agaynſt the Nobles) with the Byſhops and Prelates of the Realme: went betwene both parties with great diligence, to make vnitie. At which tyme, alſo came ij. Cardinals from Rome, with letters ſēt vnto them from the Pope. The nobles aūſwered to the meſſage of the Cardinals, lying then at S. Albans: that as touchyng themſelues they ſhould be at all tymes welcome to them: But as touching their letters (for aſmuch as they were men vnlettered, and onely brought vp in warre and feates of armes) therfore they cared not for ſeyng the ſame. Then meſſage was ſent agayne, that they would graunt at leaſt but to ſpeake with the popes legates, which purpoſely came for yͤ intēt to ſet quyet ⁊ vnitie in the realme. They aunſwered agayne, that they had Byſhops both godly and learned, by whoſe counſaile they would be ledde onely: and not by any ſtraungers, who knew not the true cauſe of their commotion. And therfore they ſayd preciſely, that they would no forreners or aliens to be doers in their buſines, and affaires appertainyng to the Realme. Yet notwithſtanding, through the mediation of the Archbyſhop, and of the Earle of Glouceſter: the matter at length was ſo taken vp, that the Barons ſhould reſtore to the Kyng, or his attorney of S. Albans, all the treaſure, horſes, and iewelles of the foreſayd Gaueſton taken at Newcaſtell, and ſo their requeſtes ſhould be graunted. And ſo was the matter for that tyme compoſed.

The nobles of England cared not for the popes letters.

The popes legates not admitted of the nobles of England.

Shortly vpon the ſame, Iſabell the Queene was deliuered of a fayre child at Windſore, whō Lewes the French kyngs ſonne (the Queenes brother, with other Frenchmē there preſent) would to be called by the name of the French kyng: but the Engliſh Lordes were contrary, willyng him to be called by the name of Edward his father. At the byrth of which Edward, great reioyſing was through all the land, and eſpecially the kyng his father ſo much ioyed therat: that he began dayly more and more to forget the ſorow and remembraūce of Gaueſtons death, and was after that more agreable to the will of his nobles.

An. 1312.

The K. ruled by forreine counſayle. Makebates about the kyng.

This peace and concord betwene them began to be in a good towardnes: which more ⁊ more might haue bene confirmed in wearyng out of tyme, had not Sathan the author and ſower of all diſcord, ſtyrred vp his inſtruments (certain Frenchmen, Titiuyllars, and makebates about the kyng) which ceaſed not in carpyng and deprauyng the nobles, to inflame the kynges hatred ⁊ grudge agaynſt them. By the excityng of whom, the old quarels beyng renued a freſh, the kyng in his Parliament called vpon the ſame: began to charge the foreſayd Barons and Nobles with ſedition and rebelliō, and for ſlaying Peter Gaueſton. Neither were the nobles leſſe ſtoute agayne in defēdyng their cauſe, declaryng that they in ſo doing had deſerued rather thanke and fauour with the kyng then any diſpleaſure, in vanquiſhyng ſuch a publique enemy of the Realme, who not onely had ſpoyled ⁊ waſted the kynges ſubſtaunce, but alſo rayſed much diſturbaunce in the Realme. And for aſmuch as they had begon with the matter to their ſo great labours and expenſes: they would procede further, they ſayd, not ceaſing til they ſaw an end therof. To be ſhort, great threates there were on both partes, ⁊ a foule matter like to haue followed. But agayne through the diligent mediatiō of the Queene, the Prelates, and the foreſayd Earle of Glouceſter: the matter was takē vp and brought to reconcilement vpon theſe cōditions, that the Lordes and Barons openly in Weſtmynſter hall ſhould humble themſelues before the kyng, and aſke pardon there of their doynges, and euery man there to receaue a letter of the kynges pardon, for their indemnitie, and aſſurāce. And ſo paſſed ouer that yeare, within the which yeare dyed Robert Winchelſey Archb. of Cant. In whoſe roome, Thomas Cobhā was elected by the kyng and Church of Cant. to ſucceede: but the pope, caſſating that election, placed Walter Reynalde Biſhop of Worceter.

Mediation for making peace.

The king reconciled agayne wyth hys nobles.

An. 1313.

What diſcorde doth in a commō weale.

The Scots rebell againſt the realm of England.

In the meane tyme, the Scots hearyng this ciuill diſcord in the Realme, began to be buſie and to rebell of new, through the meanes of Robert Bruys: who beyng chaſed out of Scotlād, by kyng Edward the firſt, as is aboue premiſed, into Norway, was now returned agayn into Scotlād: where he demeaned him in ſuch ſort to yͤ Lordes there, that in ſhort proceſſe he was agayne made kyng of the Realme: And warred ſo ſtrongly vpon them that tooke the kynges part, that he wanne from them many Caſtels and ſtrong holdes, and inuaded the borders of Englād. The K. hearyng this, aſſembleth a great power, and by water entreth the Realme of Scotland. Agaynſt whom, encountred Robert de Bruys with his Scots at Eſtriualm, where was fought a ſtrong battaile: in the end wherof, the Engliſhmē were diſcomfited, ⁊ ſo egerly purſued by the Scots, that many of the Noble men were ſlayne, as the Earle of Glouceſter, Syr Robert Clifford, Syr Edmund Maule with other Lordes to the number of xlij. and Knightes and Barons lxvij. beſide xxij. men of name, which were taken priſoners: of common ſouldiours x. thouſand, or after the Scottiſh ſtory fifty thouſand ſlayne. After which tyme, ſyr Robert Bruys reigned as kyng of Scotland.

Engliſhmē ouercome by the Scots.

About which tyme and in which yeare, dyed pope Clement, who keepyng in the Realme of Fraunce, neuer came to the ſea of Rome: after whoſe death the Papacie ſtoode voyde two yeares.

Pope Clement neuer ſate in the ſea of Rome.

An. 1314.

The Scots after this exalted with pride and fearcenes, inuaded the Realme of England ſo ſore killing and deſtroying man, woman, and childe: that they came wynnyng and waſtyng the Northpartes as farre as to Yorke. Beſides this, ſuch dearth of victuals, and penury of all thynges ſo oppreſſed the whole land, ſuch morayne of ſhepe and oxen: as men were fayne to eate horſefleſh, dogges, cattes, myſe, and what els they could get. Moreouer, ſuch a price of corne followed withall, that the kyng hardly had bread, for the ſuſtentation of his owne houſhould. Moreouer, ſome there were that ſtal children and did eate them, and many for lacke of victuall dyed. And yet all this amended not the kyng of his euill liuyng.

Miſerable death and famine in England.

The cauſe and origene of this great dearth was, partly the warres and diſſention betwene them and the Scottes: whereby a great part of ẏ lãd was waſted. But the chiefeſt cauſe was, the vntemperate ſeaſon of the yeare, which contrary to the common courſe, was ſo moyſt with aboundance of rayne: that the grayne layd in the earth could haue no ripyng by heate of the Sunne, nor grow to any nouriſhment. Whereby, they that had to eate, could not be ſatiſfied with ſaturitie, but eftſoones were as hungry agayne. They that had nothyng, were driuen to ſteale and robbe: the riche were conſtrayned to auoyde and diminiſh their houſholdes: the poore for famine dyed. And not ſomuch the want of vitayle which could not be gottẽ, as the vnwholeſomnes of the ſame when it was taken, ſo conſumed the people: that the quick were not ſufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meates, by reaſon of the vnſeaſonables of the ground, was ſo infectious: that many dyed of the fluxe, many of hote feuers, diuers of the peſtilence. And not onely the bodyes of men therby were infected, but alſo the beaſtes by the putrifaction of the herbes and graſſe fell in as great a morayne: ſo farforth, as the eatyng of fleſh was ſuſpect and thought cõtagious. A quarter of corne and of ſalt, from the moneth of Iune to September grew from xxx. s. vnto xl. s. The fleſh of horſes was then precious to the poore. Many were driuen to ſteale fat dogges and to eate them: ſome were ſayde in ſecret corners to eate their owne children. Some would ſteale other mens children to kill them and eate them priuely. The priſoners and theeues that were in bandes, ſuch as newly were brought in vnto them, for hunger fell vpõ them, and tearyng them in peeces did eate them halfe a liue. Briefly, this extreme penury had extincted and conſumed (as it was thought) the greateſt part of the people of the land: had not the kyng by the ſtatute of the Lõdiners geuen forth cõmaundement through all his land, that no corne ſhould at that tyme be turned to the makyng of drinke. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is diſpoſed to ſtrike. And yet we miſerable creatures, in our wealth & aboũdance will not ſurceaſe dayly to prouoke his terrible maieſty.

A deſcriptiõ of an horrible famine in the Realme of England.

Ex chron. Tho. VValſ. in vita Edwardi. 2.

But let vs returne to the order agayne of our ſtory. After ẏ Scots had thus plagued miſerably (as ye haue heard) the Realme of England: they inuaded alſo Ireland, where they kept and continued warre the ſpace of foure yeares. But in fine, the Iriſhmen (by ayde ſent to them from England) quitte themſelues ſo well: that they vanquiſhed the Scottes, and ſlew Edward le Bruys, and many of the nobles of Scotland with many other, and droue the reſidue out of the countrey.

The Scots driuẽ out of Ireland.

An. 1317.

The kyng about the xi. yeare of his raigne, aſſembled a new hoſt and went into Scotland, where he layd ſiege to Barwike. But in the meane tyme, the Scottes by an other way, inuaded the marches of Yorkeſhyre, robbing and harieng the countrey, that they ſlew much people. Wherfore, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and other Abbotes, Priors, clerkes, with huſbandmen: aſſembled a great company, & gaue them battell at a place called Mytton, where the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited and many of them ſlayne: but the Archbiſhop, and the Abbot of Selby, and diuers other, there eſcaped. But becauſe there were ſo many ſpirituall men there ſlayne, it was called therfore the white battaile. By reaſon wherof, the kyng hearyng of this, and partly becauſe wynter did approch, was conſtrained to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned not without great daunger.

The white battaile of the ſpirituall men in Yorkeſhire.

At thys time the two Spenſers (Syr Hugh Spenſer the father, and Hugh Spenſer the ſonne) were of great power in England, and by the fauour of the king practiſed ſuch crueltie, and bare themſelues ſo haughtely and proud: that no Lord of this land might gainſay them in any thing that they thought good, wherby they were in great hatred and indignation both wyth the nobles and the commons, no leſſe then Peter Gaueſton was before.

The 2. Spenſers.

Soone vpon this came two Legates from Rome, ſent by Pope Iohn the xxij. vnder pretenſe to ſet agreement betwene England and Scotland: who for their charges and expenſes, required of euery ſpirituall perſon iiij. d. in euery marke. But all their labour nothing auayled: For the legates as they were in the North partes (about Derlington) with their whole familie and trayne: were robbed and diſpoyled of their horſes, treaſure, apparell, and what elles they had, and ſo with an euill fauoured handling, retired backe agayne to Dureſme, where they ſtayde a while waityng for an aũſwere from the Scottes. But when neither the popes Legacy nor his curſe would take any place with the Scottes: they returned agayne to London, where they firſt excommunicated and curſed as blacke as ſoote, all thoſe arrogant and preſumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for ſupplyeng of the loſſes receaued, they exacted of the Clergy to be geuen and payd vnto them, viij. d. in euery marke. But the Clergy therunto would not agree, ſeing it was their owne couetouſnes (as they ſay) that made the venter farther then they needed. Onely they were cõtẽted to releeue them after. iiij. d. in a marke, as they promiſed before, further they would not graunt. And thus the foreſayd Cardinals takyng what they could get, and ſettyng a peace (ſuch as it was) betwene the kyng and the Earle of Lancaſter: ſo departed they ſoone after to the Popes Court agayne. But this peace betwene the kyng and the Earle of Lancaſter, did not long endure: which the kyng by his own default did breake, ſendyng to the Scots a priuy meſſenger (which was taken in the way) to haue the foreſayd Earle of Lancaſter by their meanes, made away. &c.

Two legates ſent from Rome.

The popes pillage.

The Popes legates ſpoyled of all their ill gottẽ treaſure.

The Popes curſe cõtemned of the Scots.

The clergie of England denyeth to contribute to the popes legates.

In the meane tyme, the Lordes and nobles of England deteſtyng the outragious pride of the Spẽſers, wherby they wrought dayly both great diſhonour to the kyng, and hinderaunce to the cõmon weale: in ſuch wiſe conſpired againſt them, that gatheryng their power together, they made a requeſt to the kyng, that he ſhould remoue the Spenſers frõ his perſon. For the which, there was a Parliament called at London, & the Barons came together with a great company. At which Parliament, both the Spenſers were baniſhed the land for terme of their lyues: and they tooke ſhippyng at Douer and ſo voyded the land. But it was not lõg after, but the kyng (contrary to that ordinaunce made in the Parliament) ſent for the Spenſers agayne, and ſet them in hygh authoritie, and ruled all things after their ſenſuall appetites, nothyng regardyng iuſtice nor the common wealth. Wherfore, the Barõs entendyng agayn to reforme this miſchief, aſſembled their powers: but the kyng (makyng ſo haſty ſpeede, and gatheryng his people ſo ſoone) was ſtronger then they, & purſued them ſo in diuers places: that the Barons not fully ioyned together (ſome flyeng, and ſome departyng to the kyng, ſome ſlayne by the way) in the end were chaſed ſo egerly: that in ſhort ſpace, the foreſayd Thomas Earle of Lancaſter was taken & put to death with ẏ reſt of the nobilitie, to the number of xxij. of the greateſt men, and chiefeſt Captaines of this Realme. Of whom onely, Thomas Earle of Lancaſter for the nobilitie of his bloud, was beheaded: All the other Lordes and Barons, were hanged, drawen & quartered. &c. Which bloudy vnmercyfulnes of the kyng toward his naturall ſubiectes, not onely to him procured great diſhonour within the realme, but alſo turned afterward to his much more greater harme & hinderaunce, in his foreine warres agaynſt the Scottes: And finally wrought his vtter confuſion and ouerthrow of his ſeat royall, as in the ſequell of his end appeared, and worthely.

The pride of the Spẽſers.

1321.

That Thomas earle of Lancaſter came of Edmund, yonger ſonne of K. Henry. 3. 22. of the greateſt nobilitie of the realme, put to death by the kyng.

After the ruine of theſe noble perſonages: the kyng as though he had gotten a great cõqueſt (who then in deede began firſt to be ouercome and conquere himſelfe, when he ſo oppreſſed and cut of the ſtrength and ſinewes of his chiualrye) began to triumphe not a litle with his Spenſers: And to count himſelfe ſure as though he were in heauen, to exerciſe more ſharpe ſeueritie vpon his ſubiectes, truſtyng and committyng all to the counſaile onely of the foreſayd Spenſers: in ſomuch, that both the Queene and the reſidue of the other nobles could litle be regarded. Who as they grew euer in more contempt with the kyng: ſo they increaſed in more hatred agaynſt the Spenſers: but ſtrength and habilitie lacked, to worke their will.

1322.

The cruell reioyſing of the kyng.

The next yeare, the kyng beyng at Yorke, after he had made Syr Hugh Spẽſer Earle, and Syr Iohn Baldocke a man of euill fame to be Chauncellour of England: he then arered a mighty hoſt agaynſt the Scottes. But for lacke of ſkilfull guidyng, expert Captaines, and for want ſpecially of due prouiſion of vitayles neceſſarie for ſuch an army: the great multitude, to ẏ number reckened of an hũdreth thouſand (wãdering through Scotland, frõ whence the Scots, had conueyed all their goodes and cattell into mountaines,

1323.

The K. diſtreſſed agayne in Scotland.

and mariſhes) were ſo pinched and ſtarued wyth famyne, that a great part of the army, there preſently periſhed: and they that returned home, as ſoone as they taſted of meates, eſcaped not. The kyng, neyther hauing any reſiſtaunce of hys enemyes, and ſeyng ſuch a deſtruction of his ſubiectes: was forced without any acte done to retire. But in hys retyring, Sir Iames Duglas and the Scottes hauyng knowledge therof, purſued him in ſuch wyſe: that they ſlue many Engliſhe men, and had well neare taken the king hymſelfe. After which diſtreſſe, the kyng thus beaten and wearyed wyth the Scottes, was fayne to ioyne in truce wyth them for xiij. yeares.

Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writer of our Engliſhe ſtories.

Polidorus Virgilius amõg other hiſtories of our Engliſhe nation which he intermedleth withall, proſecuting alſo the actes and life of this preſent king, and comming to write of the Queenes going ouer into Fraunce: inferreth much varietie and diuerſitie of autours and ſtory writers, concerning the cauſe therof. Otherwiſe, he geueth hymſelfe no true certeinty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cauſe in deede. By reaſon partly, that he being an Italian and a forener, could not vnderſtand our Engliſh toung. And partly againe being but one man, neither could he alone come to the ſight of all our Latine autours. One I am ſure came not to his peruſing, an olde auncient Latine hiſtory fayre written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the library of William Cary citizen of London. In which ſtory, the truth of this matter without all ambiguitie is there fully and with all circumſtaunces expreſſed, as here briefly is excerpted.

1324.

The Queene put to her penſion.

The Queene ſent to Fraunce.

Prince Edward made Duke of Aquitaine, and Earle of Pontine.

The Queene & the Prince refuſe to returne into England.

The Queene & the Prince proclaymed traytours in England.

The kyng of England had beene diuers and ſundry tymes cited vp to the court of Fraunce, to do homage to the French king, for the Dukedome of Aquitanie and other landes, which the kyng then helde of Fraunce. Which homage becauſe the king of England refuſed to tender: the French king began to enter all ſuch poſſeſſions as the king then did hold in Fraunce. Wherupon, great contẽtion and conflictes there were on both ſides. At length in this yeare now preſent, a parliament was called at London. Where (after much altercatiõ) at laſt it was determined: that certaine ſhould be ſent ouer, to witte, the byſhops of Wincheſter, and Norwich, and the Earle of Richemond, to make agreement betwixt the two kynges. For the better helpe & fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward: that Queene Iſabell, ſiſter to Charles then the French kyng, ſhould be ſent ouer. Where is to be noted firſt that the Queenes landes, poſſeſſions, and caſtles a litle before vpon the breach betwene the French king and the king of England, were ſeiſed into the kynges handes, and the Queene put to her penſion. &c. Thus the queene being ſent ouer with a very few, to attend vpon her, onely Sir Iohn Cromwell Baron, and 4. knightes, tooke their paſſage into Fraunce: by whoſe mediation, it was there concluded, that the king of England (if he would not himſelfe come to do his homage) he ſhould geue to his ſonne Edward, the Dukedome of Aquitanie, and the Earledome of Pontine, and ſo he to come to make his homage to the kyng, and to poſſeſſe the ſame. Thys beyng in Fraunce concluded, was ſent ouer by meſſage to the king of Englãd, with ỹ kinges letters patentes adioyned for the ſafe conduct of him or of hys ſonne. Vpon this, deliberation was taken in the counſaile of England. But the two Spenſers fearyng to take the ſeas eyther wyth the kyng, or els wythout the king to remayne behinde for feare of the nobles: ſo appointed, that Prince Edward the kynges ſonne was ſent, which happened after to their vtter deſolation, as it foloweth. For all things beyng quieted & ordered accordyng to the agreement in Frãce: kyng Edward of England ſoone after Michaelmas, ſendeth for his wife and hys ſonne agayne out of Fraunce. But ſhe ſending home moſt part of her familie, refuſeth her ſelfe to returne. For what cauſe it is not fully certayne, whether for indignation that her poſſeſſions and landes were ſeiſed to the king, as is afore premiſed: or whether for feare and hatred of the Spenſers, as is likely: or els for loue and familiaritie of Syr Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the ſayd Sir Roger Mortimer, wyth diuers other of the Barõs part, which had broken priſon in England, were fled before into Fraunce, and now reſorted vnto the queene. The kyng ſeeing this, geueth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certayne day to ỹ Queene and hys ſonne to returne: or els to be proclaymed traytours to the kyng and to the Realme. Notwithſtandyng, ỹ queene perſiſting in her purpoſe, denieth to returne, vnleſſe the other nobles which were fled, might be permitted ſafely alſo to returne wyth her. Whereupon, the kyng immediatly cauſed them both to be proclaymed traytours, and all them that tooke their partes.

The king conſpireth priuely the death of the Queene and of hys ſonne.

An. 1325.

Prince Edward betrothed to the earle of Heynawdes daughter.

The queene returneth to England.

The landing of the Queene.

An. 1326.

The king deſtitute of helpe and ſouldiors.

Here then began great hatred betwene kyng & king, betwene the kyng & the Queene, much preparation of warre, great ſpoilyng on the ſea, much ſendyng betwene the pope & them but that would not ſerue. Then the king (by the counſaile of the Spenſers) ſendeth priuely to procure the death of the Queene and of his ſonne: which ſhould be wrought by the execution of the Earle of Richmõd, the Queenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imaginatiõ was preuented and vtterly fruſtrate. Albeit, the Queene yet notwithſtãdyng, whether miſdoubtyng and fearyng what corruptiõ of money might do in the Court of Frãce: or whether the French kyng beyng threatned by the kyng of England and by the Pope, durſt not deteine her: ſhe remoued from thence, & was receaued with Edward her ſonne ioyouſly and honorably, in the Court or countrey of the Earle of Henawde. Where by meanes of ſuch as were about her a mariage was concluded betwene the ſayd Edward her ſonne beyng of the age of xiiij. yeare, and Philip the foreſayd Earles daughter. Whẽ this was noyſed in Englãd, diuers men of honour & name came ouer to the queene. And ſoone after the Earle of Hanawde prepared a crew of fiue hundred men of armes to ſet ouer the young Prince with his mother into England. Of this, the fame ſprang ſhortly through the realme. Wherfore, the kyng in all defenſable wiſe made prouiſiõ to haue the hauens and portes of his land ſurely kept, for to reſiſte the landyng of his enemyes. On the contrary ſide, the Queene with no leſſe preparation prouideth all thynges to her expedition neceſſary. Who when ſhe ſaw her tyme, ſpeedyng her ſelfe to the Sea coaſt with Prince Edward her ſonne, Lord Edmund Earle of Kent the kynges brother, Syr Roger Mortymer, the Lord Wygmore and other exiles of Englãd, accompanied alſo with the foreſayd Hainawders, of whom ſir Iohn Henawde the Earles brother was Captaine. Of Engliſhmen & ſtraungers hauing with her, the nũber of. 2757. ſouldiours, ſhe tooke ſhipping in thoſe partes, & had the winde ſo fauorable, that they landed in England at a porte called Orwell beſide Harwich in Suffolke, in the dominion of the Earle Marſhall, the moneth of September. To whom after her landyng reſorted Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Leyceſter, with other Barons, knightes, and Byſhops alſo: namely of Lyncolne, Hereford, Dureſme, and Ely. The Archbyſhop of Cãterbury though he came not himſelfe, yet ſent his ayde & money. Thus the Queene well furniſhed with plenty both of men and vitaile, ſetteth forward toward London: ſo that the further ſhe came the more her number dayly increaſed, and the kynges power contrary, decreaſed. In ſomuch, that as myne author affirmeth, not one almoſt in all the Realme could be hyred with any wages to fight on the kynges behalfe agaynſt the Queene. Neither did the Queenes army hurt any man or child, either in goodes or in any other thyng, by the way.

The aunſwere of the Londoners to the kyng.

The liberties of the citie of London in going out to warre.

The kynges proclamation.

At the arriuyng of the Queene, the kyng was then in London, which firſt would not beleue it to be true. Afterward (ſeyng and perceauyng how it was) he aſketh helpe of the Londoners. Who after mature aduiſement, rendred this aunſwere to the kyng agayne: that as touchyng the kyng, the Queene, and their ſonne (the lawfull heyre of the kyngdome) they were ready with all dutty and ſeruice to honour and obey. As for ſtraungers and traytors to the realme, they would receaue none ſuch within their Citie gates. Farthermore, to go out of the Citie to fight, that they ſayd they would not, vnles it were ſo, that accordyng to the liberties of their Citie, they might returne home agayne before ſunne ſet. The kyng hearyng this aunſwere (which liked him not well) fortifieth the Tower of London with men & vitaile: committing the cuſtodie therof to Iohn Eltham his younger ſonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenſer his niece. And leauyng Walter Stapletõ byſhop of Exeter behinde him to haue the rule of the citie of Lõdon: he himſelf hearing dayly the great recourſe of the people ỹ drew to the Queene: For more ſauegard of himſelfe, fled with a ſmall company weſtward toward Wales. But before his departing frõ London, he cauſed a proclamatiõ to be made: wherin, all and ſingular perſons were charged vpon forfeit of lyfe and goodes: euery mã with all his power to riſe and inuade the rebelles & deſtroy them all, onely the life of the Queene, his ſonne, and his brother reſerued. Alſo that no man, vpon payne pretorate, ſhould helpe, reſcue, or relieue the ſayd rebels, with goodes, vitailes, or any otherwiſe. Item, it was alſo proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would bryng to the kyng the head and body either dead or aliue of ſir Roger Mortimer: ſhould haue out of the kinges coffers a M. pound.

The queenes proclamation.

In contrarywiſe, the Queene ſetteth forth an other proclamation, wherein it was forbidden, to take or ſpoyle violently the value of any mans goodes agaynſt the will of the owner, vnder payne of loſing his fingar, if it were iij. d. Of his hand, if it were vj. d. Of his head, if it were xij. d. Moreouer who ſoeuer would bryng to the Queene the head of Hugh Spenſer the yonger chopt from his body: ſhould receaue for ſo doyng of the Queene two thouſand poundes. This done, the Queene ſendeth her letters to the Citie of London for ayde and ſuccour to ſubdue the oppreſſor of the Realme, to the which letters firſt no aunſwere was made. Agayne, ſhe wrote the ſecond letter, which was then tacked vpon the croſſe in Cheape, which was then called the new croſſe. The copy and tenour of which letter was this.

The copie of a letter that the Queene ſent vnto the Maior and Citizens of London.

The Queenes letter.

ISabell by the grace of God, Queene of England, Lady of Ireland, and Counteſſe of Pountif. And we Edward the firſt ſonne of the kyng of England, Duke of Guyan, Earle of Cheſter, of Pontif, and of Mounſtrell, to the Maior and all the comminaltie of London ſendeth greetyng. For aſmuch as we haue before this tyme ſent to you by our letters, and how we come into this land in good array and good maner, for the profite of holy Church and of our right deare Lord and kyng, and all the Realme with all our might and ſtrength, to keepe and maintaine the Realme as all good people ought for to do. Vpō that we pray you and deſire you that ye would be helpyng to vs for the health and profit of the Realme, and we haue had none aunſwere of you, nor know not your will in that party. Wherfore we ſend to you agayne and pray you, and charge you, that ye beare you ſo agaynſt vs, that ye haue nor make no cauſe vs to greue, but that ye be to vs helpyng in all the wayes that you may. And wete ye well in certaine that we and alſo all thoſe that commeth with vs into this Realme, nothyng for to done, but that ſhalbe pleaſing to God, and common profite to all the Realme. Not els, but for to deſtroy the Spenſers, enemyes to the Realme as ye well know. Wherfore we pray and charge you, in the fayth that ye owe to our Lord the kyng to the crowne and to vs, and vpon all that ye may forfeite, that if Hugh Spenſer both the father and the ſonne our enemies come within your power, that ye do thē haſtely to be take, and ſafly kept, till we haue ordeined for them our wil. And as ye deſire profit and honour of vs, and of the Realme. Vnderſtandyng well if it be ſo that ye do our deſire and prayer, we ſhall the more be beholden to you. And alſo we ſhall do you profite and worſhyp if that ye ſend vs haſtely word agayne of our will. Geuen at Baldocke the vj. day of October.

The byſhop of Exceter beheaded of the commons at the ſtanderd in Chepe.
This B. of Exceter builded in Oxford 2. colledges, Exceter colledge, & Hart hall, whoſe name was Gualter Stapleton.

These foreſayd letters beyng publiſhed and peruſed, the Byſhop of Exceter, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the rule of the Citie: ſent to the Maior for the keyes of the gates, vſing ſo ſharpe wordes in the kynges name: that variaunce began to kindle betwene him and the Citizens, ſo farre forth that the commons in their rage tooke the foreſayd Byſhop and beheaded him and two of his houſhold at the Standerd in Cheape. Then the king went to Briſtow, and ordained ſir Hugh Spēſer the father there to keepe the Caſtell and the towne: And the kyng with Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and ſir Robert Baldocke Chauncelour, and the Earle of Arondel went into Wales. And ỹ Queene ſo purſued them, that firſt they tooke the towne yelded vp to her: Then they tooke ſir Hugh Spenſer the father, whom beyng drawen, and torne, they at laſt hanged vp at Briſtow, in chaynes of yron. As the kyng was thus flyeng, ỹ queene cauſed to be proclaimed through her army, that the kyng ſhould come and appeare, and ſo to receaue his kyngdome agayne if he would be cōformable to his liege ſubiectes. Who when he did not appeare, prince Edward his ſonne was proclaimed high keeper of the Realme.

Hugh Spenſer the father, taken and hanged in chaynes.

The king take in Wales.
Hugh Spenſer the ſonne taken and executed.

In the meane tyme Henry Earle of Lancaſter, & brother to the good Earle Thomas which before was beheaded, alſo Lord William Souch, and M. Upphowell were ſent by the Queene into Wales to purſue the kyng: & there tooke him, and ſent him to the Caſtell of Kenelworth: And tooke Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and ſir Robert Baldocke Chauncelour, and ſir John Earle of Arundel, and brought them all to the towne of Hereford. And anone after, Hugh Spenſer the ſonne was drawen and hanged on a gallowes fifty foote hye, and after headed and quartered, whoſe quarters were ſent into iiij. quarters of the Realme. Syr John of Arūdell was beheaded. Syr Robert Baldocke was put in Newgate at Lōdon, where ſhortly after he pyned away and dyed amōg the theeues. This done, a Parliament was aſſembled at London, from whence meſſage was ſent to the kyng, that if he would reſigne vp his crowne, his ſonne ſhould haue it after him: If not, an other ſhould take it to whō the lot would geue it. Wherupon, the kyng beyng conſtrayned to yelde vp his crowne to his ſonne, was kept in priſon and after had to Barkley: where he is ſayd to take great repentaunce. After this meſſage beyng ſent, and the kyng halfe condiſcendyng therunto (the Parliament notwithſtandyng proſecutyng and goyng forward) there was a bill exhibited and put vp contaynyng certaine articles agaynſt the ſayd kyng, then in priſon in the caſtle of Barkley, touchyng his miſbehauiour and vnprudent gouernyng of the Realme: which bill, openly before all the Lordes and commōs by the ſpeaker of the Parliament houſe was read. After long conſultation therof had amongeſt thē, aſwell touchyng thoſe articles, and alſo for the better and more circūſpect gouernement of the Realme from that tyme forth: it was conſulted and agreed vpō by the Lordes ſpirituall and temporal, and commōs there aſſembled: that the ſayd Edward was a man not meete to be their kyng, nor from that tyme forth any more to beare the crowne royall or title of a kyng. But that Edward his eldeſt ſonne, who there in the ſame Court of high Parliament was preſent, as he was rightfull heyre and inheritour therunto: ſo ſhould be crowned kyng therof in his fathers ſteade, with theſe conditions therunto annexed: That he ſhould take wiſe, ſage, & true counſellers vnto him. That the realme might be better and more circumſpectly gouerned, thē before in the tyme of Edward his father it was: That the old king his father ſhould be honourably prouided for and kept, ſo long as he liued, accordyng as vnto his eſtate it apperteined. &c. Theſe & other thynges thus finiſhed and ended, the Parliament breaketh vp, and all thynges neceſſary to the coronation of a Prince appertaynyng were in ſpeedy wiſe prepared, wherof more hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe ſpecified.

A bill exhibited in the parliament houſe agaynſt kyng Edward the ſecond.

K. Edward depoſed by cōſent of the parliament houſe, & his ſonne Edw. choſen king.

In the meane tyme as touchyng the kyng which was yet in priſon, it is thought by ſome writers: that the next yeare followyng by the meanes of ſir Roger Mortymer, he was miſerably ſlayne, with a ſpyt (as is ſayd) beyng thruſt vp into his body, and was buryed at Glouceſter, after he had raigned xix. yeares.

Michael houſe in Cambridge founded.
Henry Staunton founder of Michael houſe in Cambridge.

In the tyme and raigne of this kyng, the Colledge of Cambridge called Michaell houſe was founded and builded by ſir Henry Stanton Knight, to the vſe and encreaſe of learnyng: a thing in a commō wealth very profitable and neceſſary to be had, the want and neede wherof many and ſondry tymes, is ſooner felt in this Realme of ours, and other Realmes abroad, then is the diſcommoditie therof, of moſt men commonly vnderſtode.

Nicolaus de Lyra.
Gulielmus Ocham.

About the ſame tyme alſo, was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinary gloſe of the Bible. Alſo Gulielmus Ocham, a worthy diuine, & of a right ſincere iudgemēt, as the tymes then would either geue or ſuffer.

Tyranny odious to the people.

In the tractation of this kyngs hiſtory before was declared, what grudge did kindle in the hartes of the Barons agaynſt the kyng, for reuokyng ſuch actes and cuſtomes, as had bene before in the Parliament eſtabliſhed, both for Peter Gaueſton, and for the two Spenſers. Alſo what ſeuere puniſhment the kyng did execute vpon them for the ſame, in ſuch cruell and rigorous ſort, that as he ſpared none of them, whom he could there finde: ſo he neuer ceaſed all his life after to inquire out and to be reuenged of all ſuch, as had bene in any part or cōſentyng to that matter. For the which his extreme and implacable tyranny, he was in ſuch hatred of all the people: that as is ſayd, he could not finde one of all the commons to take his part, when neede required. Amōg all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam Byſhop of Hereford: who being impeached of treaſon with other mo, was at length arreſted in the Parliament, to appeare and aunſwere to that ſhould be to him obiected. Many thynges there were layd agaynſt him, for takyng part with them that roſe agaynſt the kyng, with many other matters mo and haynous rebukes. &c. Wherunto, the Byſhop a great while aunſwered nothyng.

A ſpirituall biſhop called & arreſted before a ſecular iudge.

Ex Tho. Walſ.

The forme of wordes, when any biſhop doth challenge the priuiledge of the church agaynſt a ſecular iudge.

At length, the Byſhop claymyng the liberties and priuileges of the church, aunſwereth to the kyng in this forme. The due reuerence of your Princely maieſty euer ſaued, Ego Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Dei miniſter humilis, membrum eius, & Epiſcopus conſecratus licet indignus ad tam ardua nequeo reſpondere nec debeo, abſq; D. Cant. Archiepiſcopi poſt ſummum pōtificem mei directi iudicis, cuius etiam ſum ſuffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Epiſcoporum conſenſu. That is, I an humble miniſter and member of the holy Church of God, and Byſhop conſecrate (albeit vnworthy) can not, neither ought to aunſwere to theſe ſo hye matters without the authoritie of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury my direct iudge, next vnder the high B. of Rome, whoſe ſuffragane alſo I am, and the conſent lykewiſe of yͤ other my felow byſhops. After which wordes by hym pronounced, the Archbiſhop and other biſhops wyth him were ready to make humble interceſſion for hym to the kyng, and dyd. But when the kyng would not be wonne nor turned wyth any ſupplication: the ſayd byſhops together with the Archbyſhop and the clergy, comming wyth their croſſes: tooke hym away, chalenging hym for the Church, without any more aunſwere making: charging moreouer, vnder the cenſures of the Church and excommunication, none to preſume to lay any further handes vpon hym. The kyng moued wyth this boldnes and ſtoutnes of the clergy: cõmaundeth notwithſtanding to proceede in iudgement, and the iury of xij. men to go vpon the enquiry of hys cauſe: who finding and pronouncing the byſhop to be giltie, the king cauſed immediatly all hys goods and poſſeſſions to be confiſcate vnto himſelfe: moreouer, made his plate & all his houſholde prouiſion to be throwne out of his houſe into yͤ ſtreete, but yet he remayned ſo ſtill vnder the protection and defence of the Archbyſhop. &c.

The Biſhop reſkued by the clergie.

The kyng proceedeth in iudgemẽt agaynſt the B. the priuileges of the church notwithſtãding to the contrary.

Thys archbiſhop was Walter Winchelſey, after whom ſucceeded Simon Mepham in the ſame ſee of Canterbury. an. 1327. Ex Thom. Walſingham.

Simon Mepham Archb. of Cant.

After Pope Clement the 5. by whoſe deceaſe yͤ Romiſh ſee ſtood vacant (as ye heard) two yeres & three monethes: next was elected pope Iohn. xxij. a Ciſtercian monke, who ſat in that papacy 18. yeares. He was ſtout and inflexible, geuen ſo much to the heaping vp of riches: that he proclaymed them heretikes, which taught that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had no poſſeſſions of their owne in this world.

Pope Iohn 22. a monke Ciſtercian. A new found hereſie. Hereſie with the pope to ſay that Chriſt & the Apoſtles had no proper poſſeſſions here.

At this time was Emperour Ludouicus Bauarus, a worthy man: who with thys pope and other that folowed hym, had no leſſe contention, then had Fridericus before mentioned in the tyme of king Henry the third. In ſomuch, that thys contention and variance cõtinued the ſpace of 24. yeares. The cauſe and firſt origene of this tragical conflict, roſe vpon the conſtitution of Clement the fift, predeceſſor to thys Pope, by whom it was ordayned as is afore mentioned, that Emperours by the Germayne princes elected, myght be called kynges of the Romaynes, but might not inioy the title or right of the Empire to be nominated Emperour, without their confirmation geuen by the Pope. Wherfore, this foreſayd Emperour becauſe he vſed the emperiall dignitie in Italy, before he was authoriſed by the pope: the ſayd pope therefore excommunicated the Emperour. And notwithſtanding, the Emperour oftentimes did profer hymſelfe to make intreaty of peace and concorde, yet the pope inflexible would not bend. The writinges of both parties yet be extant, wherin the ſayd biſhop doth make his auaunt: that he had full power to creat and depoſe kynges and Emperours at hys pleaſure. In the ſame time were diuers learned men, which ſeeyng the matter: did greatly diſalow the Byſhop of Romes doynges, among whom was Guillerne Ockam, whoſe tractations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for wrytyng agaynſt the temporall iuriſdictiõ of their ſee. And an other named Marſilius Patauius, which wrote the booke intituled Defenſor pacis, geuen vp to the handes of the ſayd Emperour, wherin the controuerſie of popes vnlawfull iuriſdiction in thinges temporall is largely diſputed, and the vſurped authoritie of that ſee ſet forth to the vttermoſt. It is found in ſome wryters, that a great cauſe of thys variaunce firſt began, for that one of the Emperours ſecretaries, vnknowing to the Emperour: in certayne of hys letters, had lykened the papall ſee to the beaſt ryſing out of the ſea in the Apocalips. At length, when the Emperour after much ſute made to the Pope at Auinion, coulde not obtayne hys coronation: commyng to Rome, was there receyued wyth great honour, where he wyth hys wyfe were both crowned, by the full conſent of all the Lordes and Cardinals there, and moreouer, an other Pope there ſet vp, called Nicholas the fift. After which thinges done, the Pope not long after departed at Auinion in Fraunce, after whome ſucceeded then Benedictus. 12. a Monke of Benedicts order, and raygned vij. yeares. Who by the counſaile of Philip the French Kyng, confirmed and proſecuted the cenſures and curſinges that Iohn hys predeceſſor had publyſhed agaynſt Lewes the Emperour: Moreouer, depriued hym both of hys Emperiall crowne, and alſo of hys Dukedome of Bauaria. The Emperour vpon this, commeth to Germanie, and aſſemblyng the Princes electors, Dukes, Byſhops, nobles, and the learned in a councell at Francforde: there declared before them out of the auncient lawes and cuſtomes of the Empire, how it ſtãdeth onely in the Princes Electours, and in none other to elect the K. or the emperor of the Romanes (for in both theſe names was no difference) ſo that the ſame Electors in chuſing the kyng of the Romaines, dyd alſo elect and chuſe the Emperour. Which Emperour ſo by them conſtitute had lawfull right, without any confirmation of the Apoſtolicall ſee, to exerciſe the adminiſtration of the Empire. And if he were lawfully elect, ought to be annoynted of the Romaine Byſhop: which if he do refuſe, then might he be annoynted and declared Emperour and Auguſtus by any other catholicke biſhop therunto appoynted (as by the olde maner & cuſtome hath bene) eſpecially ſeyng theſe iniunctions, are but certain ſolemnities added and inuented by the biſhops, onely for a token of vnity betwene the Church and Empire, to gouern and defend the fayth together. Wherfore in that the Emperour ſweareth to yͤ biſhop of Rome: in that, is to be vnderſtand no homage or fealtie made to the biſhop, but onely is a Sacrament and a promiſe geuen to defend the fayth. The which othe or ſacrament ſo geuen, geueth no maioritie to the Pope in any temporall rule, but onely byndeth the Emperour to be preſt and redy to defend the fayth and Church of Chriſt, when nede ſhal require obediẽce. Wherfore, where as the Pope leaneth onely to the electors autoritie to make the king of Romaines, and taketh vppon himſelfe alone to make the Emperor: that as it is newly brought in, and deuiſed a late by Pope Clement the v. ſo is it contrary both to all auncient order, and alſo derogatorie to the liberty and maieſty of the ſacrate Empire. Agayne, neither is that alſo leſſe abſurd and contrary to all right and reaſon: that yͤ pope in tyme of the imperiall ſeat beyng vacant, taketh vpon hym to haue the whole and full doyngs of the Empire, as lawful Emperour for the tyme. Which prerogatiue and function, by auncient order of forelders, ſhould properly and only appertayne to the Palatine of Rhene, the conſtitution Clementine of the foreſayd Pope Clement to the contrary notwithſtandyng. Then in the ende for hys owne excuſe, he in the preſence of them all reciteth the publike confeſſion of hys fayth, to aunſwer and purge himſelfe of thoſe obiectiõs layd to hym by the Pope. This dyd the meke Emperour Ludouike in that Councell: yet all this notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Emperour remayned ſtill excommunicate, tyll tyme variaunce fell betwene this Pope Benedict and Philip the French kyng. Wherfore to make hys party good, at leaſt to haue ſome friendes to flee to: he beganne to pretend fauour and abſolution, rather for neceſſity, then for any good will to the Emperour. But not long after, this Pope died: of whõ this Epitaph was made.

Strife betwene the pope & the Emperour.

Ockam. Marſilius Patauinus *Defenſor pacis.*

The Emperour crowned agaynſt the will of the pope. Pope Benedictus 12. a mõke of Benedictes order. Ludouicus the emperor depriued & depoſed by pope Benedict. 12. A councell at Frankford. The Emperours proteſtatiõ to the councell of Germany.

Ex Hieron. Marib. Et ex Crãtz. io.

Hic ſitus eſt Nero laicis, mors vipera clero,
 Deuius a vero, cupa repleta mero.

Ex Chrõ. de 6. mundi ætatibus, intitulat: Rudimentum nouitiorum.

After whom followed Pope Clement the ſixt, a man moſt furious and cruell. Who renuyng agayne the former excommunications of hys former predeceſſours, cauſed hys letters to be ſet vp on Church dores, wherin he threatened and denounced moſt terrible thunderbolts agaynſt the ſayd Lewes the Emperour, vnleſſe within three dayes he ſhould ſatiſfie to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperial poſſeſſion of the crowne. The Emperour vpon this, commeth to Franckford, and there redy to ſtand in all things to the ordinaunce of the Pope: ſendeth hys Orators to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope of his fauour and good will towardes hym. To the which meſſengers the Pope aunſwered agayne, that he would neuer pardon the Emperor, before he gaue ouer and confeſſed hys errors & hereſies: and reſigning vp his Empire to hys handes, would ſubmit hymſelfe, hys children, and all hys goodes to the will & pleaſure of the biſhop, promiſing that he ſhould not receiue again any part of the ſame, but vpon his good grace, as his wyll ſhould be to reſtore them.

Pope Clement 6.

The trouble of Ludouicke the Emperour.

The hereſie here mentioned, which was to this Emperour obiected by the pope was this: becauſe (as is aboue touched) he vſed and executed the Imperiall dignitie after his election, before he was of the Pope confirmed. Ouer and beſides, the Pope ſendeth to the Emperour by the ſayd Orators, a certayne forme of a byll conteyned in wrytyng wyth certayne conditions, which he commaunded to be geuen to the handes of the Emperour. Here if the Emperour Lewys had had as much minde to ſet vpon the Pope with dint of ſworde, as he lacked neyther occaſion nor power ſo to do: what bloud might here haue bene ſpilled? But the good Emperour ſparyng the effuſion of bloude, receiueth gently the byll: and not onely with his ſeale doth confirme it, but alſo ſweareth to obſerue all the condicions therof. Which the pope hearing of, doth greatly maruell. But yet all this wold

Hereſie of the popes making obiected agaynſt the Emperour.

The proud hart of the pope.

nothyng helpe to mollifie the modeſt hart of thys Pharao.

The Princes and electors ſeing the bill with the articles and conditions, wherof ſome ſounded to malicious defacing and deſtruction of the Empire, abhorring the wickednes thereof: deſired the Emperour to ſtand to the defence of the Imperiall dominion, as he had begon: promyſing that their aſſiſtaunce & ayde, to the vttermoſt therunto ſhould not lacke. Vpon that other orators were ſent to pope Clement from the Princes, deſiring hym to abſtayne from ſuch maner of articles conceaued agaynſt the ſtate and maieſtie of the Empire. The pope ſurmiſing all this to ſpring from Lewes the Emperour, to the vtter ſubuerſion of him and all hys poſteritie: on Maundy thurſday bluſtereth out moſt blacke curſes agaynſt hym, alſo renueth all the former proceſſes of hys predeceſſor agaynſt hym, as agaynſt both an hereticke and a ſchiſmaticke, commaunding moreouer the princes electors to proceede in chuſing a new Emperour. The Archbiſhop of Mentz ſeeing the innocency of the emperour, would not conſent to the violatyng of hys maieſtie, wherfore was depriued by the pope of all his dignities. The other Byſhops electors, as the Archbiſhop of Colē, which tooke viij. thouſand markes, wyth the Duke of Saxonye, which tooke ij. thouſand markes, beyng corrupted wyth money by John kyng of Boheme: elected Charles yͤ ſonne of the ſayd John, whom pope Clement eftſoones in his cōſiſtory did approue. Who ſeeth not here what matter was miniſtred by the pope of warre and bloudſhed betwene theſe two Emperours, if the patience of Ludouike had not bene more prudent to quench the fire, then the pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new Emperour elect, ſped hym to Aquiſgraue, according to the cuſtome, there to be crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the Empreſſe (Ludouicus wyfe keeping there about) was repelled. All thys happened in the tyme and reigne of Edward the 3. kyng of England, wyth whom the ſayd Charles, wyth the French king, and kyng of Boheme, ſet on by the pope, encountred in warre: where the kyng of England, had agaynſt them a noble victory, and ſlue a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaynes, and put Charles the new Emperour to flight. In the meane tyme, among the princes and cities of Germanie what ſorow and what cōplayntes were agaynſt pope Clement and thoſe Electors, it can not be expreſſed. For as they were altogether at Spires congregated in a generall aſſembly, ſo there was none among them all: that allowed yͤ election of Charles, or that cared for yͤ popes proceſſe, promiſing all to adhere & cōtinue faythfull ſubiects to Ludouik their lawfull Emperour. But Ludouicke remembryng his oth made before to the popes bill, voluntarie and wyllingly gaue ouer hys Emperiall dignitie, and went to Burgrauia, where ſhortly after, through the procured practiſe of pope Clement (as Hieronimus Marius doth write) poyſon was geuen hym to drinke. After the which being dronke, when he would haue vomited out, and could not: tooke hys horſe and went to hunt the Beare, whereby through the chaſing and heat of hys body to expell the venime. And there yͤ good and gentle Emperour wickedly perſecuted and murdered of the pope, fell downe dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt. For if the cauſe being righteous doth make a martyr, what Papiſt can iuſtly diſproue his cauſe or fayth? if perſecution ioyned thereunto cauſeth martyrdome, what martyr could be more perſecuted then he: who hauing iij. popes, lyke iij. bandogs vpon hym, at length was deuoured by the ſame. The princes then hearing of his death, aſſembled themſelues to a new election: who refuſing Charles aforeſayd, elected an other for Emperour, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who ſhortly after fallyng ſicke at Franckford through hys phiſitions ſeruaunt was likewyſe poyſoned, whom the foreſayd Charles had hyred with money to worke that feate. Gunterus taſting of the poyſon, although he did partly caſt it vp agayne, yet ſo much remayned within hym, as made hym vnable afterward to ſerue that place. Wherfore for cōcordes ſake beyng counſayled thereto by the Germaines, gaue ouer hys Empire to Charles. For els, great bloudſhed was lyke to enſue. This Charles thus ambitiouſly aſpiring to the Emperiall ſeat contrary to the myndes of yͤ ſtates and peres of the Empire, as he did wickedly and vnlawfully come by it: ſo was he by hys ambitious guiding, the firſt and principall meane of the vtter ruine of that monarchie. For that he to haue hys ſonne ſet vp Emperour after hym, conuented and graunted to the princes electours of Germanie, all the publicke taxes and tributes of yͤ Empire. Which couenaunt beyng once made betwene the Emperour & them, they afterward held ſo faſt: that they cauſed the emperour to ſweare neuer to reuoke or call backe againe the ſame. By reaſon whereof, the tribute of the countreis of Germanie, which then belonged onely to the Emperour, for the ſuſtentation of hys warres: euer ſince to thys day is diſperſed diuerſly into the handes of the princes, and free cities within the ſayd monarchie. So that both yͤ Empyre being diſfurniſhed and left deſolate, and the Emperors weakened thereby: haue neyther bene able ſufficiently ſince to defend themſelues, nor yet to reſiſt the Turke, or other forein enemyes. Wherof a great part, as ye haue heard, may be imputed vnto the popes. &c. Hieronimus Marius.

Lewes the Emperour accuſed by the pope for an hereticke.

A good and faithfull Archb. of Mentz.

Bribers corrupted with money.

The pope ſower of diſcord and bloudſhed.

The pope agayne ſtirreth vp warre.

Charles the new Emperor put to flight by the Engliſhmen.

Ludouike the right Emperour reſigneth vp hys Empyre.

Ludouike the Emperour impoyſoned.

Ludouicus Emperour & martyr.

Gunterus de monte nigro made Emp.

Gunterus the right Emperour poyſoned.

The ruine of the Germaine Empire, and the firſt cauſe therof.

Thys Pope Clement firſt reduced the yeare of Iubiley to euery L. yeare, which before was kept but on the hundreth yeare. And ſo he beyng abſent at Auinion (which he then purchaſed wyth his money to the ſea of Rome) cauſed it to be celebrated at Rome, an. 1350. In the which yeare were numbred of peregrines going in, and comming out euery day at Rome, to the eſtimation of fiue thouſand. Præmonſtrat. The bull of pope Clement geuen out for this preſent yeare of Iubiley, proceedeth in theſe wordes as followeth. What perſon or perſons ſoeuer for deuotion ſake: ſhall take their peregrination vnto the holy citie, the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of hys houſe, he may chuſe vnto hym what confeſſor or cōfeſſours either in yͤ way or where els he luſteth. Vnto the which confeſſours we graunt, by our auctoritie plenary power to abſolue all caſes papall, as fully as if we were in our proper perſon there preſent. Itē, we graunt, that whoſoeuer beyng truely confeſſed, ſhall chaunce by the way to die, he ſhall be quite and abſolued of all his ſinnes. Moreouer, we commaunde the Aungels of Paradiſe, to take hys ſoule out of his body beyng abſolued, and to cary it into the glory of Paradiſe. &c. And in an other bull, we will (ſayth he) that no payne of hell ſhal touch him, graunting moreouer to all and ſingular perſon and perſons ſigned wyth the holy croſſe, power and auctoritie to delyuer and releaſe iij. or iiij ſoules, whom they liſt themſelues, out of the paines of purgatory. &c.

The yeare of Iubilei reduced to the L. yeare.

Pilgrimes in the yeare of Iubilei at Rome.

The abhominable and blaſphemous bull of pope Clement.

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The pope cōmaundeth the aungels.

O blaſphemy of the Pope.

Thys Clement (as myne autor affirmeth) tooke vpon hym ſo prodigally in hys popedome, that he gaue to hys Cardinals of Rome, Byſhopricks and benefices, which then were vacant in England: and began to geue them new titles for the ſame lyuynges he gaue them in England. Wherwith the kyng (as good cauſe he had) was offended, and vndid all the prouiſions of the pope within his realme: Commaunding vnder payne of priſonment and life, no man to be ſo hardy, as to induce and bring in any ſuch prouiſions of the Pope, any more within hys land. And vnder yͤ ſame puniſhment charged the two Cardinals to voyde the realme an. 1343. In the ſame yeare all the tenthes as well of the Templaries as of other ſpirituall men, were geuen & payde to the kyng through the whole realme. an. 1343. And thus much cōcernyng good Ludouicke Emperour & Martyr. & Pope Clement the 6. hys enemy. Wherin, becauſe we haue a litle exceeded the courſe of yeares wherat we left, let vs returne ſomewhat backe agayne, and take ſuch thinges in order as belong to the Church of England and Scotland, ſetting forth the reigne of kyng Edward the iij. and the doynges of the Church, which in hys tyme haue happened, as the grace of Chriſt our Lord, wyll aſſiſte and able vs thereunto.

Ex bulla Clementis.

Ex Chron. VValſin vit. Edw. 3.

The kyng reſiſteth the Pope.

The tenthes of Church goods geuen to the kyng.

1326.

Thys foreſayd kyng Edward the ſecond, in hys tyme builded ij. houſes in Oxford for good letters: to wit, Oriall colledge and S. Mary Halle.

Oriall colledge & S. Mary hall in Oxford builded by K. Edw. 2.

Here I omit alſo by the way the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the tyme of thys kyng, a litle before hys death, an. 1326. betwene the townſmen and the Abbey of Bury, wherein the townſmen gathering themſelues together in a great multitude (for what cauſe or olde grudge betwene them, the Regiſter doth not declare) inuaded and ſackt the monaſtery. And after they had impriſoned the Monkes, they rifled the goodes and treaſures of the whole houſe, ſpoyling and carying away their plate, money, copes, veſtimentes, ſenſers, croſſes, chalices, baſens, iewels, cups, maſers, bookes, wyth other ornamentes and implementes of the houſe, to the value vneſtimable. In the which conflict certeine alſo on both ſides were ſlayne. Such was the madnes then of that people, that when they had gathered vnto them a great concourſe of ſeruauntes & light perſons of that countrey to the number of xx. thouſand, to whom they promyſed libertie & freedome: by vertue of ſuch wrytes which they had out of that houſe, firſt they got into their handes all the euidēces, copyes, and inſtruments, that they coulde finde: then they tooke of the lead, that done, ſetting fire to the Abbey gates they brent vp neare the whole houſe. After that they proceeded further to the farmes and granges belonging to the ſayd Abbey, whereof they waſted, ſpoiled and brent to the number of xxij. manour places in one weeke: tranſporting away the corne, horſes, cattell, and o-

A ſtory of the commotion betwene the towne & abbay of Bury.

Ex latino quodam Regiſtro.

ther moueables belongyng to the ſame, the price whereof is regiſtred to come to 922.li.v.s.ſi.d. beſides the valuation of other riches and treaſure wythin the Abbey, which cannot be eſteemed.

The Abbot all this ſpace was at London in ẏ Parliament, by whoſe procurement at lēgth ſuch reſcue was ſent downe, that 24. of the chiefe of the towne (ſubmittyng themſelues) were committed to warde: 30. cartes full of the townesmē were caried to Norwich, of whom 19. wer there hanged, dyuers were put in cōuict priſon. The whole townſhip was condemned in 140000. pound, to be payd for damages of the houſe. John Berton Alderman, W. Herlyng with 32. prieſtes, 13. womē and 138. other of the ſaid towne were outlawed. Of whom diuers, after grudging at ẏ Abbot for breakyng promiſe with them at London, did confederate themſelues together, and priuely in the night commyng to the manour of Chennington, where the Abbot did lye: braſt open the gates, who then entryng in, firſt bounde all hys family: and after they had robbed all hys plate, iewels and mony, they tooke the Abbot and ſhaued hym, & ſecretly with them conueyed hym away to London: where they remouyng hym from ſtreete to ſtreete vnknowen, from thence had hym ouer Thamis into Kent, at lēgth ouer the ſea they ferried hym ouer to Diſt in Brabāce: where they a ſufficiēt tyme kept hym in much penury, miſery and thraldome, till at length the matter beyng ſearched, they were all excommunicate, firſt by the Archb. of Caut. then by the Pope. And at laſt beyng knowen where he was by hys friends, was deliuered & reſcued out of the theues hands, & finally brought home with proceſſion, and reſtored to his houſe again. And thus was that abbey with the Abbot of the ſame (for what demerites I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this tyme, as more largely I haue ſene it in their latine regiſter. But this much briefly, touchyng the reſt I omitte here. About the latter ende of this Edward the 2. ceaſeth the hiſtory of Nic. Triuet, and of Flor. Hiſt. paſſing ouer to the raigne of the next kyng.

The Abbot robbed.

The Abbot ſtolne away to Brabance

The Abbot reſtored agayne.

¶King Edward the 3.

CONcernyng the actes and ſtory of king Edward the ſecond, hys depoſing, and cruel death, wrought by the falſe and counterfet letter of ſir Roger Mortimer, ſent in the kings name to the kepers (for the which he was after charged, and hanged, drawen, and quartered.) I haue written ſufficiently before, and more peraduenture then the profeſſiō of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory wil well admit. Notwithſtandyng for certayne reſpectes and cauſes, I thought ſomewhat to extende my limites herein the more, whereby both kings and ſuch as clyme to be about them, may take ẏ better example by the ſame, the one to haue the loue of hys ſubiectes, the other to learne to flee ambition, & not to beare themſelues to brag of their fortune and ſtate, how hie ſo euer it be. Conſidering with themſelues nothing to be in this world ſo firme and ſure, that may promiſe it ſelfe any certain continuance, and is not in perpetuall daunger of mutation, vnles it be faſtened by God hys protection.

King Edward. 3.

1327.

After the ſuppreſſion of this king, as is aboue expreſſed, Edward hys ſonne was crowned king of England, beyng about the yeres of 15. and raigned the ſpace of 50. yeres, who was a prince of much and great temperaunce. In feates of armes very expert, and no leſſe fortunate and lucky in al his warres, as hys father was infortunate before hym. In liberalitie alſo and clemency worthely commended, briefly in all princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concernyng the memorable actes of which prince, done both in warres and peace, as how he ſubdued the Scots, had great victories by the ſea, how he conquered France, an. 1332. wanne Calice, an. 1348. and tranſlated the ſtaple thither, toke the French king priſoner, and how the French armes firſt by him was brought in, and conioyned with the engliſh armes, alſo how the order of the Garter firſt by the ſayd kyng was inuented and ordeyned, an. 1356. Alſo an. 1357. How the king in hys parliament at Notingham, decreed, that all ſuch in Flaunders or other where, that had ſkill in makyng cloth, ſhould peaceably inhabite the land and be welcome. For 3. yeres before that, it was enacted, that no wool ſhould be tranſported ouer the ſea. Which was to bridle the pride of ẏ Flemings, who then loued better the ſackes of wooll, then the natiō of Engliſhmen. All theſe with other noble actes of this worthy prince, although in other chronicles be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begun (ſaying ſomwhat of eche kings raigne, although not pertinent to our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory) I haue here inſerted the ſame, makyng haſt to other matters, ſhortly and compendiouſly abridging the out of diuers and ſundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wyſe.

The coronation and ſolemnitie of king Edward ẏ third and all the pompe therof was no ſooner ended: but Robert of Bruſe kyng of Scotland, vnderſtādyng the ſtate and gouernment of the realme to be (as it was in dede) in ẏ queene, the yong king, the Erle of Kent, and ſir Roger Mortimer: And that the Lordes and Barons, as he was enformed, did ſcarcely well agree amongſt themſelues (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the fallyng diſeaſe:) yet thought he this a mete tyme for hys purpoſe, to make inuaſion. Hopyng for as good ſucceſſe and like victory now, as but lately before he had at the caſtle of Eſtriuelin. Wherupō about the feaſt of Eaſter, he ſent his Embaſſadours wyth Heraldes and letters of defiance to the yong king Edward the 3. the Queene, and counſaile: declaryng that his purpoſe was with fire and ſword to enter and inuade the realme of England &c. The king, queene, & counſail hearing this bold defiance, commaunded in all ſpedy preparation Muſters to be made throughout all ẏ realme: appointyng to euery band captains conuenient, & at the city of yorke by a day aſſigned thē, cōmaundyng euery mā to be with all their neceſſary furniture redy and throughly prouided. They directed their letters alſo with all ſpede to ſir John of Heynalt, requiryng hym with ſuch ſouldiors and men at armes as he might cōueniently prouide in Flaunders, Heynalt, and Brabant: to mete the King and Queene vpon the Aſcention day next inſuyng at their city of yorke.

The defiance of the kyng of Scots.

The kyng and queene made ſpedy preparation for thys expeditiō: The noble men prouided themſelues of all things neceſſary therunto: The Engliſh captaynes and ſouldiors (their bandes throughly furniſhed) were redy at their appoynted tyme and place: Sir John of Heynalt, lord Bedmount muſtring hys mē as faſt, was redy to take ſhipping: where at wyſant (in Engliſh Bothoms there lying for him redy) he went aboord, and with a mery wynd lāded at Douer, trauelling from thence by ſmall iourneys daily, tyll he came within 3. dayes after the feaſt of Pentecoſt to the city of yorke: where the king & queene with a great power of 60000. men (within and about the city of yorke) expected his commyng: Before whom, in curteous wyſe he preſented hymſelfe, and muſtred hys troupe, wherin he had to the number of 500. good men at armes well appoynted & mounted. His commyng and furniture was well liked both of the king and queene, and was by the Harbinger, appointed to be lodged with his houſehold retinue in the Abbey of whyte monkes. To be briefe, ſuch grudge and variance fell betwene ſome of the kings ſouldiors and his, within the ſuburbes of the towne beyng together lodged: That from the little to the more, whileſt the kyng and queene with dyuers other of the nobles, (ſtraungers and others) were at diner: the ſaid fray ſo greatly increaſed, that the whole army as many as were in the towne then lodged, ſtood to their defence: ſo that there was ſlayn of ẏ Engliſh archers in ſhort ſpace by ẏ ſtrāgers to the number of 300. men. Wherupon grew (after the fray was with much difficulty both of the kyng & queene ended) ſuch hartburnyng betwene the parties: as that the number of 6000. conſpired together againſt them, thinking to haue burnt them in their lodgings, had they not bene by the great grace of God and diſcrete handlyng, otherwyſe preuented & let. Wherupon, the Heinolders were fame to take and kepe the field, vſing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had bene among their hoſtile enemies. After this, the kyng ſet forward his army toward Durham, and incamped hymſelf nere about the ſame: who alſo ſent the Lord Wlford & the Lord Moumbry to Carlell with a ſufficient company to kepe that entrance: and alſo the Lord marſhall of England to kepe the towne of Newcaſtle with a ſufficiēt company to defend the ſame, and the country adioynyng. For well knew the King, that by one of theſe two entries, the Scots muſt paſſe into England, ſtandyng both of them vpon the ryuer of Tyne, 24. miles diſtant.

The K. & Queene at Yorke, with an army of 6000. mē. ready to meet the K. of Scots entring the realme.

The great fray in Yorke.

Carliſle & new caſtel thē the keyes of England Northward kept wyth garriſons.

But the Scots priuily with their army paſſed ẏ riuer betwixt the two towns into England, few vnderſtandyng therof, till that the great fiers which the Scots had kindled and made in England bewrayed them: who came burnyng and deſtroying the country all about as far as Stānop parke. This thing beyng declared to the king, he commaundeth his hoſt with all ſpede to march towards thē, which ſo long trauailed that they came in ſight ech of other. The K. alſo commaunded the paſſages of the riuer to be ſo ſtraitly & narowly garded, that by no meanes the Scots could retire and haue eſcaped back agayne into Scotland, without battail geuen thē of the kyng. But the Scots vnderſtanding the great power the kyng was of, kept alwayes the aduantage of the hils retiring in the nightes from one to another: that without great oddes and aduauntage of the one ſide &

The Scots priuely paſſe ouer the riuer of Tine, burning & ſpoylyng the countrey all about.

hazerd to the other, the kyng could not ſet vpon them.

The kings armie & the Scots are ſo neare that eche ſeeth other.

Thus in the day tyme the Scots keeping the aduantage of the hilles, and in the night tymes retiring to the aduauntage of ſuch other like, came neare agaynſt that riuer where they firſt paſſed ouer, where they made a ſhow to offer battaile to the kyng vpon the morow. Wherupon the K. beyng buſied in puttyng his men and battailes in a readines to fight the next mornyng, being almoſt forwearied in purſuyng the Scots from place to place: the Scots in the meane ſeaſon gat ouer the riuer and eſcaped the daunger of the K. Which thyng as it could not be done: without great treaſon of ſome neare about the kyng: ſo ſir Roger Mortimer was greuouſly ſuſpected therof, and after was layd vnto his charge. But to be ſhort, by this meanes the Scottes eſcaped the riuer, after whom it ſhould haue preuayled the kyng very litle to haue made purſute as the wyly Scottes knew full well. For the ioy wherof, ẏ L. Williã Douglas one of ẏ Scots Generals, with 200. horſes gaue a larum in ẏ kynges campe: and came ſo neare, that he cut certaine of ẏ lines of the kyngs tent in ſunder with his ſword, & retired to his company without great loſſe of any of his mẽ. Then on the morow the kyng perceauyng the Scottes to be gone, came to the place where ouer night they lodged, where was foũd fiue hundred great Oxen and Kyne ready killed: fiue hundred Caudrons made of beaſts ſkinnes full of fleſh, ouer the fire ſeething: a thouſand ſpits full of fleſh ready to be roſted, and more then. 10000. ſhoes of raw leather (the heare ſtill vpon the ſame) which the Scottes had left behinde them: and fiue poore Engliſh priſoners tyed to trees & their legs broken. All which ſeyng the kyng, returned with his army (and left any further purſuyng the Scottes) to Durham: where he diſmiſſed his army, and came agayne to London, ſending with ſir Iohn of Heynalt ij. hundred men at armes for their better ſafegard agaynſt the Engliſh archers (with whom at Yorke as you heard they fraped) till they had takẽ ſhipping, and ſo returned home.

The Scots thorough treaſon eſcape out of England vnfought withall.

The prouiſiõ left in the Scottes campe.

The king returneth to Lõdon.

The kyng then beyng at London, confirmed the liberties of the Citizens, and ordained that the Maior ſhould ſit in all places as chief Iuſtice within the liberties of ẏ ſame. And that what Alderman ſoeuer had bene Maior before, ſhould be a Iuſtice of peace within his owne ward.

Then the Kyng, the Queene, and counſell ſent ouer to the Earle of Heynault certaine Embaſſadours, touchyng the ſolemniſation of the mariage betwene the kyng and the Lady Philip his daughter: who in ſuch ſort ſped their meſſage, that ſhe was ſoone after conueyed ouer to Englãd very honorably, and at Douer arriued. And frõ thence came to London (ſome Chronicles affirme to Yorke) where vpõ the day of the conuerſion of S. Paul, the yeare aboue ſpecified, the mariage and coronation of the Queene was with much triumph durying the ſpace of iij. weekes, ſolemniſed.

The mariage of K. Edward ſolemniſed.

After which coronation and mariage, the kyng let ſommon his Parliament to be kept at Northampton: whereat by the meanes of ſir Roger Mortimer and the old Queene, a peace was purchaſed for the Scottes (who had for that purpoſe ſent their Embaſſadours) for foure yeares to endure. Alſo the king (then beyng within age) graunted to releaſe the Scottes of all their homage and fealty which vnto the realme of England by their Charter enſealed they were bound: as alſo their indenture which was called the Ragman Role, wherein was ſpecified the foreſayd homage and fealtie to the king and crowne of England, by the ſayd kyng of Scottes, nobles and prelates to be made: hauing all their ſeales annexed to the ſame. Alſo there was then deliuered vnto them, the blacke croſſe of Scotland, which kyng Edward before for a rich Iewel and relique had conquered and brought from Scone Abbey: with al ſuch rights and titles as any the Barons els, had enioyed in the ſayd Realme of Scotland: with many other thynges more, to the great preiudice both of the Realme and diſcontẽtatiõ of all the nobles and barons for the moſt part more then the old Queene, ſir Roger Mortimer, and the Biſhop of Ely. Who in ſuch ſort ruled the roſt, ẏ all the reſt of the nobles & barons, caſt with thẽſelues how beſt they might redreſſe & remedye the great incõueniences, that vnto ẏ realme by meanes of them grew and happened. Wherupon, the Kyng and Queene and ſir Roger Mortimer, cauſed an other Parliament to be called at Saliſbury, where the ſayd ſir Roger Mortimer was made Earle of March agaynſt all the barons wils, to preuent and diſapoynte the foreſayd purpoſe of them, but the Earle Henry of Lãcaſter with others, would not be at the ſame: wherfore it was layd vnto their charges, that they went about to conſpire the kynges death.

A parliament at Northampton.

The Ragmã role deliuered vp to the Scots.

The blacke croſſe of Scotland.

The Barõs gene vp their titles in Scotland.

A parliament at Saliſbury.

Earle Henry of Lancaſter refuſeth to come to the parliament.

And further, for that the kyng was as well vnder the gouernmẽt of ẏ earle of Kent his vncle, as the Queene his mother, and the Earle of Marche: and for that, they could not do in all thynges as they liſted for the ſayd Earle the kynges vncle, who loued the kyng and the Realme: Enuie began to riſe betwene the Earle Mortymer and hym, and by Iſabell the Queenes practiſe, he found the meanes to perſwade the kyng: that the Earle of Kent (to enioy the crowne as next heyre vnto the kyng) went about to poyſon him. Wherupõ the kyng giuyng light credit, cauſed his ſayd vncle to be apprehended: and without aunſwere makyng to his accuſation and accuſers, to be beheaded at Wincheſter, the third of October and 3. yeare of his raigne. But the iuſt iudgement of God not permittyng ſuch odious crimes in him to be vnpuniſhed nor vndetected, ſo in fine fell forth: that Iſabell the olde Queene the kynges mother, was found and vnderſtode to be with child by the ſayd Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the kyng, as alſo the killyng of kyng Edward his father, and of the conſpiracy of him agaynſt the Earle of Kent the kynges vncle before put to death: Wherupon, diuers other articles layd agaynſt him, and manifeſtly read in ẏ court, he was araygned & indighted, and by verdict found gilty: hauyng his iudgement as in caſes of high treaſon, and ſuffered death accordyngly at Lõdõ, where vpõ Lõdõ bridge next vnto Spenſers, his head obtained a place. The Queene his mother alſo (by good aduiſe of his counſel) was reſtrained of her libertie, and within a certaine caſtell not permitted once to come abroad: Unto whom the kyng her ſonne, once or twiſe a yeare would reſort and viſite.

The Earle of Kent put to death giltles.

The queene with childe by ſir Roger Mortimer. Syr Roger Mortimer Earle of March arrained, condemned and put to execution. The queene put in priſon and ſo kept a long time.

The birth of prince Edwarde.

This yeare, prince Edward was borne at Woodſtocke, who in proceſſe of tyme and yeares grew, to be a moſt valiaunt Prince, and was before he dyed, accompted throughout the world the folower of chiualry.

The expedition of king Edward into Scotland.

After this, the kyng prepared an other army into Scotlãd in the yeare prefixed. But firſt he ſommoned kyng Dauid of Scotland, who had (in the laſt truce iiij. yeares to cõtinue as you heard, his father then liuyng) maried the Lady Iane, ſiſter to the kyng: termed Iane make peace, to do his homage to the kyng but that he refuſed. Wherupon, not forgettyng there withall the ſcoffing rymes, which dayly from that tyme of truce the Scots had in their mouthes: he did ſomuch that with an army well furniſhed, he entred Scotland by the riuer of Twede, for the Scots then had the poſſeſſion of the town of Barwicke: the Scottiſh Gigges and rymes were theſe. Long beardes hartles, Paynted hoodes witles, Gay coates graceles, Makes England thriftles. To be ſhort, the kyng waſted the land, burnt, deſtroyed, and tooke townes and caſtels with ſmall reſiſtaũce or none: and the ſpace of vj. monethes together did in that land what him liſted without any battaile offered vnto him. For the kyng of Scots was but a child & not aboue the age of xv. yeares, and wanted good Capitaines that ſhould haue defended the realme: in ſomuch that they were all fayne ſauing thoſe that kept in holdes for their defence to take the foreſt of Godworth, & there to keepe themſelues ſo long as the kyng remained in Scotland: who at length when he had ſufficiently waſted, ſpoyled, & brent the ſame, returned toward Barwicke, about the which he bent his ſiege, vowyng not to remoue the ſame, till he had gotten the towne.

The ſcottiſh rimes.

K. Edward waſteth and deſtroyeth the realme of Scotland.

Barwick beſieged and yeelded vp to the king.

The Scottes that kept the ſame, after a certaine tyme and many aſſaultes made, were contented vpon certaine cõditions to haue deliuered vp the towne: But that the kyng refuſed, vnles that all conditiõs ſet a part, they would with bag and bagage depart. Wherupon, they condeſcended to the kyng, that if by a certaine tyme they were not by the kyng of Scottes reſcued, they would render vp the towne and with bag and bagage depart: & ſo the tyme expired fruſtrate of all hope and reſcue, at the day appointed they dyd. The kyng then entred the towne and taried there the ſpace of xij. dayes: who after he had appointed ſir Edward Ballewe Captaine ouer the towne and leauyng alſo behind him other Knightes, Squiers, and ſouldiours as well to keepe the ſame as other holdes the Kyng had conquered in Scotlãd & fronters therof: he returned with his people towards London, permittyng euery man to departe and go what way them liked.

The king entreth the towne of Barwicke & appointeth the captaine thereof.

Then ſir Robert de Artoys, a noble man of Fraunce, and which deſcended of the bloud royall, beyng in England with the kyng: ceaſed not often tymes to aduertiſe the kyng and put him in memory of his good and right title to the inheritaunce of the crowne of Fraunce. This ſir Robert, for a certaine diſpleaſure that Philip the French kyng tooke agaynſt him for a certaine plea which by him was moued before the kyng: was fayne for the ſafegard of his lyfe to flee the Realme of Fraunce, and ſo came to the kynges Court. Kyng Edward was not vnwillyng at all to heare therof, but tooke delight often tymes to reaſon & debate that matter with him concernyng his right, title, and inheritaunce to

Sir Rob. de Artois a noble man of Fraũce inciteth the K. to proſecute his title in Fraunce. The king deliberateth with his counſel cõcerning the title of Fraunce.

the

Embaſſadors are ſent to the Earle of Heynalt concernyng the title.

the crowne of Fraunce. But yet notwithſtandyng, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without aduiſed and circumſpect counſaile, for that it conteyned matter of no ſmall, but moſt difficult importaunce: neither yet he thought it to deſerue the fame either of wiſedome or prowes to let ſo good a title to dye, or ſo fit opportunitie to paſſe. Wherfore, he callyng together certaine of his counſaile, vſed their deliberate aduiſes touchyng the ſeriouſneſſe of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the kyng ſhould ſend certaine Embaſſadours ouer to the Earle of Heynault, whoſe daughter he had maried, as well to heare his aduiſe and counſaill herein: as alſo of what frendes and ayde, by him and his meanes in this ſo great an expedition to be begon in the empire, to him might be procured. The kyng hereunto condeſcended, and appointeth for this Embaſſage the byſhop of Lyncolne with two other Barons, and two Doctours, who in ſuch ſpedy wiſe made their voyage, that in ſhort ſpace they returned agayne to the kyng with this anſwere: That not onely the Earle his counſaile and aduiſe, ſhould be herein ayde to the kyng of England their maiſter, but alſo the whole countrey of Heynault. And further, for that to ſuch an expedition as appertained he ſayd, the prouince of Heynault was but a ſmall matter to make account of: he would procure for the kyng greater ayde and frendſhyp in the Empire, as the Duke of Brabant his couſin Germaine, and a puiſſaunt Prince, the Duke of Gelres, the Archbiſhop of Colayne, the Marques of Juliers, &c. which are all good men of warre, and able to make x. M. fightyng men ſayth he. Which anſwere well liked the kyng, and made him ioyous therof. But this counſell of the kyng as ſecrete as it was, came to Philip the French kynges eares: wherupon, he ſtayed the voyage of ẏ Croiſe which the he had in hand, ſendyng forth countermaundes to ſtay the ſame, till he knew farther the purpoſe of the kyng of England.

The Embaſſadours returne wyth anſwere frõ the earle thus pleaſyng the kyng.

K. Philip of Fraunce heareth of the kynges purpoſe, and ſtayeth hys viage of the Croiſye.

The kyng hereupon himſelfe taketh ſhippyng accompanied as to a kyng appertained, and when he had conſulted with all the foreſayd Lordes of the Empire in this matter & vnderſtode their fidelitie: he made his repayre to the Emperour at whoſe handes he was well intertained and honorably receaued, whom the Emperour appointed to be his Lieftenaunt generall, hauing thereby more authority both to will and commaund ſuch as for this his expedition he truſted vpon, and had made conuention with. This hearyng Philip, prepared his army and rigged his nauy, that ſo ſoone as the kyng ſhould enter the dominion of Fraunce, they alſo might enter England, requiryng like for like.

K. Edward aſſigned lieftenaunt Generall of the Empyre.

The firſt viage of kyng Edward into Fraunce.

The kyng of England after the feaſt of S. John Baptiſt, accordyng to his purpoſe, prepared all thynges ready to ſuch an expedition, conductyng his army & gatheryng greater ſtrength in the Empire, as before to him was promiſed, vſing the Emperours authoritie therin, as his lieftenaunt generall, howbeit at the charge altogether of the K. of England. The French kyng as ſoone as kyng Edward had landed his army at Macline in Flaunders, and hearyng of the defiaunce, which the kyng and other Noble men of the Empire had ſent vnto him: ſent certaine ſhyps lying ready thervnto, and waytyng for ſuch opportunitie vpon the coſt of England, dyd ſo much that vpon a Sonday, whileſt the townes men were at the Church litle lookyng for any ſuch matter, entered the hauen of Southampton, tooke the towne and ſpoyled the ſame, defloured maydens, enforced wiues, brent, kild, tooke captiues, and caried away rich ſpoyles and great booties to their ſhyppes, and ſo agayne departed into Fraunce. Further, as the kyng of England had allied himſelfe with the noble men of the Empire, and had the frendly fauour of the Emperour alſo thereunto: ſo the French kyng made the like leage and aliance with Dauid the kyng of Scots, whom the kyng had ſo hardly delt with all in Scotland (as partly before you heard) and kept the moſt part of Scotland vnder his ſubiection: Bindyng the ſayd Dauid as well by writing, as othe & pledge, that without his conſent he ſhould make no peace nor conclude any truce with the kyng of England, who agayne aſſured him of ayde, reſcue, and helpe, and to recouer his kyngdome & dominion to his vſe: and forthwith ſent certaine garriſons and bandes into Scotland to keepe playe with the Engliſhemen and there to fortifie diuers places till further opportunitie ſerued. He alſo fortified with men, money, vitayle, and munitiõ, the towne of Cambrey: which he ſuſpected would be beſieged, lying ſo neare vpõ ẏ Empire as in deede it came to paſſe. For kyng Edward departyng from Machelyne, ſet forward his hoaſt towardes Heynault, and by the way aſſembled ſuch power as in the Empire he looked for, marchyng forward ſtill till that they came to Cãbrey and it beſieged with 40000. men: while that with an other company the Flemynges, Brabanders, and Hollanders, went to S. Quentin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambrey nor els where: any thyng notorious was achieued, but the ſummer beyng well ſpent and litle preuaylyng in the ſiege of Cambrey, beyng of ſituation ſtrõg and well defẽced therewithall & vitayled & munitiõ: brake vp the ſiege, & marched further into the hart of Fraunce towardes Mutterell. Which thyng the French kyng hauing vnderſtandyng of, prepared himſelfe to giue battaile to the kyng of England, who with an other great army came to Vironfoſſe, where dayes were appointed to meete in battaile: but in the end, nothyng was done nor attempted betwene the princes. And the kyng of England (without any battaile either geuing or takyng) returned with his army from thence to Gaunt. Concernyng the cauſe of the ſodaine remouyng of the K. out of Fraunce, ſeemeth moſt ſpecially to riſe of the Pope: which at the ſame tyme ſent downe his Legates, for the order of a peace to be take betwene the kynges. At Gaunt was gathered by the kynges appointment all the nobles as well of England, as of the Empire in counſaile together what was beſt to be done. Where playne anſwere was made to the kyng of England, that vnles he would take vpon him the clayme and title of Fraunce, as his lawfull inheritaunce and as kyng thereof proſecute his warres: It might not be lawfull for them any further, to ayde the kyng of England, or to fight with him agaynſt the French kyng: for that the Pope had bound them in two millions of Florenes of gold, and vnder peyne of excommunicatiõ, that they ſhould not fight agaynſt the lawfull kyng of Fraunce. Wherupon, the kyng thought good therfore preſently to make open chalenge to the realme and crowne of Fraunce: and further, to quarter and intermingle the armes of Fraunce, with the armes of England in one Scoutchen. Wherupõ eftſoones kyng Edward made anſwere vnto the Pope agayne, directyng vnto him his letters wherin he declareth at large his right and title vnto the crowne of Fraunce, purgyng thereby himſelfe and his cauſe vnto the Byſhop. The copy and tenure of which letter, becauſe it is to long to expreſſe, it is to be founde in the ſtory of Thom. Walſingham remainyng in the Library of I. Stephenſon Citizen of London, who ſo hath liſt or leaſure to peruſe the ſame. Beſides this letter to the pope, he directed an other to the Piers and Prelates of Fraunce, (he remaining yet at Gaunt) in tenure as followeth.

Southampton burnt of the French men.

The Scots ſtyrred vp agaynſt England by the French K.

The pope cauſe of the kinges remouyng out of Fraunce.

An. 1340.

The K. of England taketh the title of Fraunce.

The letter of kyng Edward to the nobles and commons of Fraunce.

K. Edward to the nobles & commõs of Fraunce.

EDward by the grace of God kyng of Fraunce and of England, Lord of Ireland: Vnto all Prelates and the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, to the Pieres, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and to the Commons of Fraunce, greetyng. The hygh Lord and Kyng aboue, to whom although his will be in his owne power, yet would that power ſhould be ſubiect vnto law: commaundyng euery thing to be geuen to him which is his, declaryng therby that iuſtice and iudgemẽt ought to be the preparation of the kynges ſeate. Wherfore, ſeyng the kyngdome of Fraunce through the prouidence of God by the death of Charles laſt kyng of Fraunce of famous memory, brother Germaine to our Lady mother, is fallen vnto vs by playne and manifeſt law: And for ſomuch that Lord Philip de Valoys, beyng the ſonne of the Vncle of the foreſayd K. and ſo beyng farther from the crowne by a farther degree of conſanguinitie: Through force and vſurpatiõ hath intruded himſelfe in the foreſayd kyngdome (whileſt we were yet in our Minoritie) and ſo cõtrary both to God and to Iuſtice doth detaine and occupy the ſame: And leaſt we ſhuld ſeeme to neglect our owne right and the gift geuen vs of God, or not to ſubmit our will to Gods diuine ordinaunce: We haue thought good to acknowledge the title of Frãce, and by ſupportation of the almighty kyng haue taken vpon vs the defence and regiment of the ſayd kyngdome: Firmely purpoſing with our ſelues (as euery good mã ought to do) graciouſly to miniſter iuſtice to euery one, accordyng to the rites and laudable cuſtome of the foreſayd kyngdome. Alſo to renue the good lawes and cuſtomes which haue bene in the tyme of Ludouike our progenitour, addyng to moreouer, that which ſhall ſeeme expedient accordyng to the condition and qualitie of the tyme. As by any chaunge of coyne or any other inordinate exactions, we entend not to ſeeke our profite by your detrimentes, when as (the almighty be praiſed therfore) we abounde and haue inough. And as concerning the affaires of the realme, our purpoſe is not to procede raſhly or by our owne will, but by the diſcrete aduiſe and Counſell of the Pieres, Prelates, Nobles, and other our faithfull ſubiectes of the kyngdome to ſame forth as ſhall make for the honour of God, the defence and aduauncemẽt of the Church (which in all ſignes of deuotion we do reue-

The title of Fraunce how it came to kyng Edward.

rence) and to the profite both publicke and priuate of all the ſubiectes therof, with full execution of iuſtice by the grace of God to be executed vpon all and ſingular perſons, beyng earneſtly carefull for the honour, profite, and trāquilitie of you all. For as the Lord knoweth, nothyng ſhall be more gratefull to vs, thē that by our careful ſolicitude peace may be engendred, ſpecially betwixt vs and vniuerſally among all Chriſten men: ſo that by our concorde, the force and ſtrength of all Chriſtian Princes may be ioyned together for the recouery of the holy land, which our Sauiour and redemer hath dedicated with his owne proper bloud, whereunto we will indeuour our ſelues through the grace of the holy Ghoſt. And for aſmuch as we haue offered to the foreſayd Lord Philip diuers frendly and reaſonable cōditions of peace, wherunto he would neither condeſcende, neither agree to any reaſonable conformation: yea rather moueth agaynſt vs vniuſt warre, to the vtter ſubuerſion of our ſtate: we are inforced of neceſſitie to the vttermoſt of our power (for the defence both of vs, and recouery of our right) to defende our ſelues by force of battaile: not ſeekyng any ſlaughter of good and humble ſubiectes, but deſiryng their ſafegard and profit. For the which cauſe, all and ſingular ſuch ſubiectes of the kyngdome of Fraunce, which ſhall ſubmit themſelues to vs as the true kyng of Fraunce, within the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuyng: profeſſing vnto vs their fealtie, and doyng to vs as to the kyng of Fraunce by duty appertaineth, ſo as our beloued ſubiectes of Flaunders haue done already, or be ready to offer thē ſelues ſo to do: all ſuch we willingly admit and receaue to our peace and grace vnder our protection to be defended, them to maintayne as is conuenient, from all moleſtation and diſquietnes whatſoeuer, in perſon or goods hereafter to be inforced either by vs or by our officers, vpon what ſoeuer occaſion of rebellion afore paſſed. And for as much as the premiſes, cannot eaſely be intimated to all and ſingular perſons: we haue prouided the ſame to be fixed vpon Church doores and other publike places, whereby the manifeſt notice therof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to vs deuout, and to the true information of them, which through ſiniſter ſurmiſes of our enemies are otherwiſe informed of vs. Dated at Gaūt the. 8. day of February the yeare of our kyngdome of Frāūce the firſt, of England the xiiij.

Note the groſnes of thys tyme when the bloud of Chriſt was thought but only dedicated to the holy land.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the tyme ſerued, of farther doyng good: the kyng thought beſt for a ſeaſon to returne agayne to England with his cōpany, giuyng ouer the warres vntill the next ſpryng and ſo did, takyng ſhippyng and ſo arriued at Douer. When he came to London, it was declared vnto him, of the great ſpoyle the Frenchmen had made at Southhampton: Who aunſwered agayne that within one yeare, he doubted not the ſame to be well payd for and recompenced. And accordyng to the ſame purpoſe of his, he lingered no tyme but calling a Parliament at Weſtminſter: with much grudge & euil will of his ſubiectes, was for the maintenaunce of his warres graunted to him a great ſubſidie. Which was the fift of euery mans goodes, and alſo the cuſtome of his woolles ij. yeares before hand, and the 9. ſheefe of euery mans corne. At the ſpryng, the kyng agayne prepared his army, & rigged his nauy purpoſing to land in Flaunders. But the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury, the Lord Chauncelour hauing vnderſtandyng of the French power vpō the Sea lyeng for the kyng, gaue him aduertiſement therof willyng him more ſtronglier to go or els not to aduēture. But the kyng not credityng the Archbyſhop, and beyng angry with him therfore, ſayd that he would go forward: wherupon, the Byſhop reſigned the Chauncelourſhyp, and remoued him ſelfe frō his counſell. Then the kyng conſultyng hereupon farther with the Lord Morley, his Admirall, and others (hearyng alſo the ſame of them) furniſhed himſelfe with ſtronger power, and committed him to his ſhyp: and did ſo much, that a few dayes before midſommer, he was vpon the Sea with a great fleet. Before ÿ town of Sluſe, the Frēch kyng to ſtop his paſſage, had layd ready a great nauy well neare to the nūber of xx. ſcore ſayle: and had made the Chriſtopher of England (which before the Frenchmen tooke at Southamptō) their Admirall: betwixt which two nauies, was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the victory by Gods grace fell to the kyng of England, in which fight he himſelfe was perſonally. So that of the number of thirtie thouſand Frenchmen, few or none were left & eſcaped aliue, and two hūdreth ſayle of ſhippes taken: in one of the which, were found 400. dead bodies.

Southhampton burnt & ſpoyled by the Frenchmen.

Counſaile of the Archb. geuen to the kyng.

Battell vpon the ſea betwene kyng Edward and French men.

The French men beaten vpon the ſea.

After this great ſlaughter of the Frenchmen (of whom many for feare of the ſword lept into the Sea) when no man durſt bryng tydynges therof to the French kyng: They which were next about the kyng, did ſuborne his foole, to inſinuate the vnderſtandyng therof by ſubtiltie of couert wordes, which was thus. As the foreſayd foole beyng in the kynges preſence, and was talkyng of many thynges: among other talke, he ſodenly braſt out (beyng prompt by others) into a vehement raylyng of the Engliſhmen, calling them cowardes & daſtardes, with many ſuch opprobrious wordes tendyng to that effect. The kyng not knowyng wherevnto the wordes of the foole did appertaine: aſked the foole, why he called the Engliſhmen ſuch weaklinges and cowardes. &c. Why, ſayth the foole: Becauſe the fearefull and cowardly Engliſhmen had not the hartes to leape into the Sea ſo luſtily, as our Normandes and Gentlemen of Fraunce did. Wherby the French kyng began to vnderſtand the victory of his part to be loſt, and the Engliſhmen to be victours.

The wordes of the foole to the French kyng.

This victory atchieued, ÿ fame therof ſpreadyng abroad in England, firſt was not beleued till letters therof came from ÿ kyng to prince Edward hys ſonne, beyng thē at Walthā, directed to the biſhops and prelates of the realme, the effect of which letters here followeth vnder written.

The letters of K. Edw. to the Biſhops of England.

THe bountifull benignitie of Gods great clemency powred vpō vs of late, for your true certification, & reioycyng, we thought good to intimate vnto you. It is not vnknowen (we ſuppoſe) to you, and to other our faythfull ſubiectes, which alſo haue bene partakers with vs of the ſame, wyth what ſtormes of boyſterous warres of late we haue ben toſſed and ſhaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the riſing ſurgies of the ſea be marueulous, yet more marueulous is the Lord aboue: who turnyng the tempeſt into calme, in ſo great daungers, ſo mercifully hath reſpected vs. For where as we of late did ordayne our paſſage vpon vrgent cauſes, into Flaunders: the Lord Phillip de Valoys our bitter enemie vnderſtandyng thereof, layde agaynſt vs a mighty nauy of ſhips, entendyng therby either to take vs, or at leſt to ſtoppe our voyage. Which voyage if it had bene ſtayd, it had bene the cuttyng of, of all the great enterpriſes by vs intended and taken in hand, and moreouer we our ſelues brought to a great confuſiō. But the God of mercies ſeyng vs ſo diſtreſſed in ſuch perils and daungers hath gratiouſly and beyond mans expectation ſent to vs great ſuccor & ſtrength of fightyng ſouldiours, and a proſperous wynd after our owne deſires. By the meanes and helpe wherof, we ſet out of the hauen into the ſeas, where we eſtſones perceyued our enemies well appoynted and prepared with a mayne multitude to ſet vpon vs, vpon Midſomer day laſt paſt. Agaynſt whō notwithſtandyng, Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour hath rendered to vs the victory, through a ſtrong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict, a mighty number of our enemies were deſtroyed, and well neare all their whole nauy was taken: with ſome loſſe alſo of our part, but nothyng like in compariſon to theirs. By reaſon wherof, we doubt not but our paſſage by the ſeas hereafter ſhalbe more quiet and ſafe for our ſubiects, and alſo many other commodities ſhall enſue therof, as we haue good cauſe to hope well of the ſame. For which cauſe we deuoutly conſidering the heauenly grace ſo mercifully wrought vpon vs, do render moſt humble thākes and prayſe to Chriſt our Lord and ſauiour. Beſechyng hym, that as he hath bene, and always is redy to preuent our neceſſities in tyme of oportunitie, ſo he will continue hys helpyng hand euer toward vs, and ſo to direct vs here temporally, that we may raigne and ioy with hym in heauen eternally. And in like ſort we require your charitie, that you alſo with vs riſing vp to the prayſe of God alone, who hath begon ſo fauourably to worke with vs to our goodneſſe, in your prayers and diuine ſeruice do inſtantly recommend vs vnto the Lorde, trauelling here in theſe forreine countreys, and ſtudieng to recouer not onely our right here in Fraunce: but alſo to aduaunce the whole Catholike church of Chriſt and to rule our people in iuſtice. And that alſo ye call vpon the Clergy and people, euery one through his dioces to do the ſame, inuocating the name of our ſauior, that of hys mercy he will geue to vs his humble ſeruaunt a docible hart, ſo to iudge and rule hereupon rightly, doyng that whiche he hath commaunded: that at length we may attayne to that which he hath promiſed. &c. Which letter was written to the Biſhops and prelates an. 1340.

After this foreſaide victory vpon the ſea, & newes therof with due thankes to our Sauiour ſent into England: the kyng ſettyng into Flaunders, came to Gaunt in Brabance where he had left the Queene, who ioyfully receaued hym, beyng a litle before purified or churched as we terme it of her fourth ſonne, whoſe name was Iohn and commonly called

A councell at Uillenorth.

called Jhon of Gaunt, and was earle of Richmounde, and Duke of Lancaſter. At Uillenorth the king aſſembled hys councell, wherat were all the noble men of Fraunce. Brabant and Heynalt conioynyng together in moſt firme league the one to helpe and defende the other, with the king of England, againſt the French king, purpoſing and determining from thence to march towardes Turney and it to beſiege. But the French king vnderſtanding their counſel, fortified and victualed the ſame before their comming thether. Furthermore the ſaide French king the ſame time to ſtop the ſiege of king Edwarde, ſent with king Dauid of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make inuaſion in England, therby the ſooner to cauſe the king to remoue his ſiege. In the meane while king Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Ualois, making vnto him certaine requeſtes, as in the ſame his letter here folowing is to be ſeene: who for that he wrote not vnto him as king of Fraunce, but by the name of Philip de Ualois, refuſed to anſwere him touching yͤ ſame as by their letters here placed may be ſeene.

Flaunders, Brabant & Heynalt take part wyth kyng Edward.

The letter of the kyng of England, to Phillip de Valois the French kyng, goyng to the ſiege of Turney.

The letters of K. Edw. to the french kyng.

PHillip de Valoys, of long tyme we haue gently requeſted you by our Embaſſadours (by all the reaſonable meanes we myght) to that intent you ſhould haue rendered vnto vs our lawfull right and inheritaunce to the croune of Frãce which from vs a long tyme you haue by great wrong and force deteined. And for that we wel perceiue you meane to perſeuere in the ſame your purpoſe and iniurious detinue, without makyng any reaſonable aunſwer to our demaund: We let you vnderſtand, that we are entred into the country of Flaunders, as the ſoueraign Lord of the ſame, and ſo paſſe through the country: & further ſignifie vnto you, how that by the helpe of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and our righteous cauſe therin, and with the power of the ſayd countrey, our people, & allies: we purpoſe to recouer the right which we haue to that inheritaunce you detayne from vs by your iniurious force, and therfore approche we towardes you to make a ſhort ende of this our rightfull chalenge if you alſo will do the lyke. And for that ſo great an hoſte aſſembled which we bryng with vs on our part (ſuppoſing you alſo on the other part to do the lyke) cannot long remayne together without great deſtruction both to our people and country, which thyng euery good chriſtian ought to eſchue: eſpecially Princes and others which haue the gouernment of the ſame, auoyding by as ſhort an ende as may be, the mortality of Chriſten men, accordyng as the quarell is apparaunt betwene you and me. For the which cauſes here touched, let the chalenge (if you thinke meete) be betwene our owne perſons & bodies diſcuſſed, that the great nobility & prowwe of ech other, may of euery one be ſene. And if you refuſe this way, then let there (to finiſh this chalenge) be an hundreth of the beſt ſouldiours you can chuſe out of your part, matched with ſo many of our liege ſubiects to try the ſame. And if of theſe two wayes you refuſe both the one and the other, then that you will aſſigne vnto vs a certaine day before the towne of Turnay, to fight with vs power agaynſt power, which may be within ten dayes next inſuyng after the date of theſe our letters: offryng the ſayd conditiõs vnto you aboue ſpecified, (as we would all the world to know and vnderſtand) not vpon any orgoile, preſumption or pride we take therin but for the cauſes before alleged, and to the end that (the will of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt betwixt vs two herein declared and ſhewed) reſt & peace might grow amongſt Chriſten men: The power and force of gods enemies abated: and in fine, the limites of chriſtianitie enlarged and enfranchiſed. And therfore hereupõ conſider with your ſelfe what way you will take cõcernyng our foreſaid offers, and by the bearers of theſe our letters ſende vnto vs herein quicke and ſpedy aunſwer. Geuen vnder our great ſeale at Chyn in the playne of Leece the xxvij. day of this preſent month of July.

The aunſwer of the Lord Phillip de Valois vnto the letter aforeſayd.

The aunſwere of the French K. to K. Edward.

PHilip by the grace of God king of France, to Edward king of England. We haue ſene the letters which you haue ſet vnto our court to Phillip de Valois, wherin are contayned certayne requeſtes which you make to the ſayd Phillip de Valois: But for that the ſayd letters come not as directed vnto vs, neither yet the ſayd requeſtes ſeme to be made vnto vs (which thing clerely by the tenor of the ſayd letters appeareth) we therfore write vnto you no aunſwer touchyng the ſame. Notwithſtanding, this ſuffiſeth that we vnderſtãd by the ſayd letters of yours, as alſo otherwayes, that you are entred into our realme of Fraunce, to the great damage both vnto vs, our realme and people (more procedyng of wil, then reaſon) and not regarding that which a liege man ought to do vnto his Lord. For you are entred into our homage by you lieged vnto vs, acknowledgyng your ſelfe as reaſon is, a liege man vnto the kyng of Fraunce: and haue promiſed vnto vs ſuch obeyſance as men are wont to do vnto their liege Lordes (as more plainly by your letters patentes appeareth, enſealed with your great ſeale, the which we haue wyth vs) for the which thyng we wyll you to vnderſtand: that our purpoſe is (when it ſhall ſeme good vnto vs) to dryue you out of our realme, to the honor both of vs & our kingdome, and to the profite and commodity of our people. And this thyng to do we haue firme and aſſured hope in Ieſus Chriſt, frõ whom we haue all our power & ſtrength. For, by your vnreaſonable demaund more wilfull then reaſonable, hath ben hindred and ſtaid the holy voiage to thoſe partes of beyond the ſeas, where a great number of Chriſten men haue bene ſlaine: the deuine ſeruice diminiſhed, & the ſeruice of the church leſſe reuerenced. And as touchyng that where you ſay, ye intend to haue the obeyſance of the Flemmings, we thinke & beleue that the good people and cõmõs of that cõutry will behaue thẽſelues in ſuch ſort toward our Coſin the Countes of Flaunders their Lady, as it be not to their reproch, & to vs their ſoueraigne lord, they will reſpect their honour & loyalty. And that thyng wherin they haue done otherwiſe thẽ wel hitherto, hath bene by the euil counſaile of ſuch people, as neither regard the weale publike, nor honour of their cõutry, but their owne onely gaine & cõmoditie. Geuẽ in the field nere adioyning to the Priory of S. Andrew vnder our priuy ſeale, in abſence of our great ſeale, the xxx. day of July, an. 1340.

The Scots inuade England.

Mention was made a litle before of Dauyd Kynge of Scots whom the French king had ſupported and ſtirred vp againſt the king and Realme of england: which Dauid (with the ayde of the Scots and Frenchmen) did ſo muche preuaile yͭ they recouered almoſt agayne all Scotlãd which before he had loſt, and was conſtrayned to liue in the forreſt of Gedworth many yeares before. Then inuaded they England, and came with theyr army waſtyng and burning the country before them, tyll they came as farre as Durham, & then returned agayne into Scotland, where they recouered all theyr holdes agayne, ſauyng the towne of Barwike. Edenborough they toke by a ſtratagem or ſubtile deuiſe practiſed by Douglas and certayne other: who apparailing thẽſelues in poore mens habites, as vitailers wyth corne and prouender and other things, demaunded the Porter early in the mornyng what nede they had therof. who nothyng miſtruſtyng opened the outward gate, where they ſhould tary till the Captain roſe: and perceiuyng the Porter to haue yͤ kayes of the inward gate, threw down theyr ſackes in the outward gate, that it might not be ſhut agayn, and ſlew the Porter, takyng from hym the kayes of the towne. Then they blew theyr horne as a warnyng to the bandes, which priuily they had layd not far of: who in haſty wyſe cõming, and findyng the gates redy opened entred vpon the ſodaine and killed as many as them reſiſted, and ſo obtayned agayne the city of Edenborough.

Edenborough recouered from the Engliſhmen by the Scottes.

The Scots thus being buſy in England, the Frẽch K. in the meane ſeaſon gathered together a puiſſaunt power purpoſing to remoue the ſiege from Turnay: and among other, ſent for the kyng of Scots, who came to hym wͭ great force, beſides diuers other noble men of France: in ſo much that the French kyng had a great army, and thought hymſelf able inough to rayſe the ſiege, and thither bent hys hoſt. But the Frẽch K. for all this his foreſayd huge power and force, durſt not yet ſo neare approch the kyng, as eyther to geue hym battaile, or els remoue hys ſiege: but kept himſelf with his army aloofe, in a ſure place for hys better defence. And notwithſtandyng the king of England waſted, burnt, ſpoyled, and deſtroyed the country xx. miles in maner compaſſe about Turnay, and tooke diuers and ſundry ſtrong townes and holdes as Ortois, Urſes, Creney, Archis, Odent, S. Amand, and the towne of Liſle, where he ſlew aboue 300. men of armes, and about S. Omers, he ſlue and kild of noble men, the Lord of Duſkune, of Mauriſſelou, of Rely, of Chaſtillon, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamclar, of Mounfaucon, and other Barons to the number of 14. and alſo ſlue and killed aboue 130. Knightes, beyng all men of great poſſeſſions and prowerſſe, and toke other ſmall Cities and townes to the number of 300. yet for all this, Philip de

Tourney beſieged.

de Valois the french king durſt neither reſcue his townes, nor relieue his own mẽ: but of his great army he loſt (which is to be marueiled at being in the middeſt of his owne countrey) by famine and other inconueniences and for wante of water more thẽ 20000. mẽ without any battaile by him geuẽ. Whereupon at the treatie of the ſayde Philip by his embaſſadours to the king ſent, and by the mediation of the Ladye Iane, ſiſter to the ſayd Philip, and mother to the earle of Henault, whoſe daughter king Edward as you heard had maryed: A truce containing the number of 15. articles for one yeare was concluded, the king of England being very vnwilling and loth thereunto. Yet notwithſtanding, partlye by the inſtance of the foreſayd Lady, but ſpecially for that the kyng was greatly diſappoynted, through the negligence of hys officers in England, which ſent hym not ouer ſuch mony as he neded, for the continuance of hys warres and payment of his ſouldiors wages (the articles beyng ſomewhat reaſonable) he agreed to the truce therof, the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow vnder written.

Articles of truce.

1. Firſt, that duryng the ſayd truce, no tales or miſtruſt of eyther part ſhall be a detriment or cauſe of breache of the ſame.

2. Item, that duryng the ſayd reſpite or truce, eyther of the Princes, their helpers, coadiutors, and allies whatſoeuer: ſhall remayne and be in the quiete poſſeſſion of all ſuch poſſeſſions, holdes, territories, and landes, as at this preſent day, they kepe and enioy within the realme and dominion of France, in what maner ſo euer they haue atchieued ÿ ſame, duryng the ſayd truce.

3. Item, that the ſayd princes their aiders, coadiutors, and allies whatſoeuer: ſhall paſſe ſafely from one countrey to an other, and all merchaunts with their merchaundiſe, as well by ſea as by land as accuſtomably they haue bene wont: except ſuch baniſhed men as haue bene baniſhed out of the ſaid realmes, or any of them for other cauſes, thẽ the warres betwene the ſayd princes.

4. Item, that the ſayd two princes ſhal not procure either by themſelues or any other, any practiſe or other moleſtation to be made the one to the other, by the biſhop of Rome or any other belongyng to the holy Church whatſoeuer: eyther for the wars begon, or any other cauſe, nor for the ſeruice of any of their allies, coadiutours, and ayders, or any of them. And that our holy father the Pope nor any other, ſhall diſturbe or moleſt eyther of the ſayd two Kinges duryng the ſayd tyme.

5. Item, that immediatly after the truce be proclaimed in both the hoſtes: that they may ſtand bound of eyther ſide, to kepe and obſerue all and euery ſuch article as ſhalbe therein conteyned.

6. Item, that within xx. dayes next and immediatly enſuyng, ech of the princes ſhal cauſe to be proclaimed in Gaſcoyne and Guyen, and other their landes theſe articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obſerued, kept, and knowne.

7. Item, if by any the ſayd Princes, their allies, people, or coadiutours, any ſiege be layd in Gaſcoyne, or the Dutchy of Guyen, or any other Iles of the Sea Gierneſey or Gerſey, or any other: that the ſame ſieges be rayſed, ſo ſoone as they ſhall heare of this truce.

8. Item, that ſuch as are theeues and fugitiues out of the countrey of Flaunders, ſhall not returne duryng the truce: and if they do, that then ſuch as apprehend them, ſhall ſee iuſtice done vpon them, and forfaite all the goodes they haue in Flaunders.

9. Item, it is accorded, that the debtes due to Arras, Treſponois, or other titles of Fraunce, ſhall neither be demaunded nor executed during the ſayd truce.

10. Item, that all ſuch priſoners as haue bene taken duryng theſe warres, ſhall be releaſed out of priſon & ſent home vpon their fayth and othe to returne, if they be not raunſomed duryng the ſaid truce. And if any ſhall refuſe ſo to do, ÿ then the Lord vnder whom he is, ſhall conſtraine him to returne agayne to priſon.

11. Item, that all the bandes whatſoeuer they be, which be made before this ſayd truce in the tyme of warre (whether they be of goods ſpirituall or tẽporal) be releaſed without reſtitution, duryng the ſayd truce.

12. Alſo, that theſe conditions of truce immediatly may take effect betwene the Engliſhmen & Scots, their Lords, ayders and allies: and the ſame to endure vntill the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt. And that certaine perſons be appointed by a certaine day to be at the marches of England and Scotland to confirme the ſame truce, vnder ſuch conditions as haue bene accuſtomed in thoſe partes. And if the ſayd Scottes refuſe ſo to do, that then they to haue no ayde out of Fraunce, duryng the ſayd truce.

13. Item, that this ſayd truce be proclaimed in England, and in Scotland, within xxvj. dayes after the date therof.

14. Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contained Eſpaincls, Chatillon, Geneuois, the Byſhop and the towne of Cambrey, and Caſtels of the ſame. &c.

In witnes wherof, we Iohn by the grace of God kyng of Bohemia, and Earle of Luxenburgh, Adulphe Byſhop of Liege, Raoule Duke of Loreine, Aymes Earle of Sauoy, & Iohn Earle of Darminacke on the one partie: And B. Duke of Brabance, C. Duke of Gelre, D. Marques of Iuliers, ſir Iohn of Heynault, and ſir Beaumount on the other partie, betwixt the high & puiſſaunt princes of Frãce and England: Haue ſealed this inſtrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the ſame accordyngly in the Church of Eſpleteline, on Monday the. 25. day of September, the yeare of grace. 1340.

K. Edward returneth from Tourney.

This truce thus finiſhed, kyng Edward brake vp his campe, remouyng his ſiege from Tourney, and came agayn to Gaunt. Frõ whence (very early in the mornyng) he with a ſmall company tooke ſhipping, and by long Seas came to the Tower of London, very few or none hauyng vnderſtãdyng therof. And beyng greatly diſpleaſed with diuers of his counſell and high officers (for that through their default he was conſtrained agaynſt his will, not hauyng money to maintaine his warres, to condeſcend vnto the foreſayd truce) he commaunded to be apprehended and brought vnto him to the Tower, the Lord Iohn Stonhore chief Iuſtice of England, & Syr Iohn Poulteney with diuers others. And the next mornyng, he ſent for the Lord R. Byſhop of Chicheſter and the Lord Wake, the Lord Treaſurer and diuers other ſuch that were in authoritie and office, and cõmaũded them all to be kept as priſoners in the ſayd tower, onely the ſayd Byſhop excepted: whom for feare of the conſtitution of Pope Clement, which commaunded that no Byſhop ſhould be by the kyng impriſoned, he ſet at libertie & ſuffered him to go his way, & in his place ſubſtituted ſir Roger Bourcher Knight, Lord Chauncelour of England.

The king deceiued by hys officers.

No byſhop muſt be impriſoned by the popes lawes.

The hiſtory intreatyng of this matter, reporteth thus that the kyng had this tyme vnder him euill ſubſtitutes, and couetous officers: who attendyng more to their own gayne then to the publike honour and commoditie of the Realme, left the kyng deſtitute and naked of money. With whiche crime, alſo Iohn Stratford Archbyſhop then of Caunterbury, was vehemently noted and ſuſpected, whether of his true deſeruyng, or by the ſettyng on of other hereafter ſhall more appeare. In ſo much that the kyng ardently incenſed agaynſt hym, charged him with great falſehode vſed againſt his perſon, as by theſe his letters written and directed to the Deane and Chapter of Paules agaynſt the ſayd Archbiſhop manifeſtly appeareth, the tenour of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Couetous officers.

Iohn Stratford Archb. of Cant.

Edward by the grace of God kyng of England and Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland. To his welbeloued in Chriſt the Deane and Chapter of the Church of S. Paule in London, greetyng in the Lord.

The kynges letter to the Deane and chapter of Paules.

IT is manifeſt by aũcient hiſtories, but more plainly appeareth by thoſe which dayly are practiſed amõgeſt vs: that many men abuſyng (through pryde) the fauour of Princes, and honour beſtowed vpon them, haue maliciouſly gone about to deprauе the laudable endeuour of kynges. And now that the wordes which we ſpeake may be more manifeſt vnto our ſubiectes: we ſuppoſe that neyther you nor they haue forgottẽ, that we being eſtabliſhed in our kingly throne in yonger yeares, and coueting euen then to guide thys our regall charge taken vpon vs wyth holeſome counſayles, haue called vnto vs Iohn the Byſhop of Wincheſter now Archbyſhop of Canterbury, whom we ſuppoſed for hys fidelitie and diſcretion to exceede others: whoſe counſaile in matters appertayning vnto the health of our ſoule, as in matters alſo reſpecting the augmentyng and conſeruation of our kyngdome both ſpiritually and temporally, we vſed: he was receaued of vs into all familiaritie. We found in hym alſo ſuch humanitie, that he was ſaluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the king had in honour. Now afterwardes, when by right of ſucceſſion the kyngdome of Fraunce ſhould haue deſcended vnto vs, and was by violent iniury by the Lord Philip of Valois holden from vs: the ſayd Archbiſhop by his importune inſtancye, perſwaded vs to enter league of amitie wyth the princes of Almanye, agaynſt the ſayd Philip, and to commit our ſelfe and ours vnto the hazard of warres: promyſing and affirmyng that he woulde bryng to paſſe, that the reuenues of our landes and other helpes by hym deuiſed, ſhould ſuffice aboundauntly for the maintenaunce of our ſayde warres. Adding moreouer, that our onely care ſhoulde be for the furniture of ſtrong and able ſoldiours, ſuch as were fit for the purpoſe, and expert in warfare: for the reſt, he hymſelf would effectually procure, for money conuenient to ſuffice our neceſſitie, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (entendyng great exploytes) we conueyed our armye beyonde the ſeas, and wyth maruelous great charges (as behoued) we ſet forward: we became alſo bound in great ſummes of money, makyng ſure accompt of the ayde aforeſayd promiſed vnto vs. But alas, vnhappy is that man that repoſeth cōfidence in mans deceiptfull ſtaffe of brittle reede: whereunto (as ſayth the prophet) if a man leane, it breaketh and pearceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for ſubſidy, for very neceſſities ſake, we were conſtrayned to take vpon vs importable charges of debts by greuous vſury. And ſo, our expedition beyng ſtayed, we were compelled to retyre into England, deſiſting from our enterpriſes ſo valyantly begun. Now, when we were returned into England, we layde before our Archbyſhop our manifolde calamities and miſfortunes before rehearſed, and thervpon called a parliament: wherein the prelates, noble men and other the faythfull ſubiectes of our dominions, graunted vnto vs a new ſubſidie of corne, lambe, wool.&c. beſides the tenth graunted by the Clergie: which ſubſidie (if it had bene faithfully collected and obtayned in due tyme) had greatly auayled for the expedition of our ſayd warres, the payment of our debts, and confuſion of our enemies. Our ſayd Archbyſhop promiſed diligently to do hys endeuour, as well in collecting the ſame, as alſo in procuring other neceſſaries to ſerue to our purpoſe. Whereupon, truſting vnto theſe fayre promiſes, hauyng all thynges in a readynes both men and furniſhed ſhips, we made ſayle towards Flaunders, and by the way vpon the daungerous ſeas buckeled wyth our enemies (ſworne to the deſtruction of our Engliſhe nation) of whom we triumphed and were victors, not by our merites (their multitude far exceeding ours) but by the mercifull clemency of hym that ruleth both wynde and ſea. Which beyng done, we paſſed from thence with a mighty power for the recouery of our right, and pitched our tentes neare vnto the puiſſant citie of Tornaye: where beyng deteyned for a time in the ſiege therof, wearied with continuall toyle, our charges ſtyll encreaſing, awayting wyth ſilence our promiſed ayd: day by day we hoped from our Archbyſhop to receaue ſuccor in theſe ſo great our neceſſities. At length being fruſtrate of all conceaued hope, we ſignified vnto our ſayd Archbyſhop, and other his adherentes, by diuers meſſengers and ſundry letters, our great neceſſitie and perilles which we were in for lacke of the ſayd ſubſidie graunted vnto vs. We added alſo the vtilitie and honour, which we ſaw myght be atchiued if we had receaued mony in tyme. All thys notwithſtandyng, we receaued from them no ſuccor at all, for that, preferring their priuate buſines and proper commodities, they cloked their ſlothe, or rather (as I may call it) their fraude and malice wyth vayne excuſes: and painted gloſing wordes, lyke vnto the deceitfull, which (as ſaith Eſay) vſe to deride wyth theſe wordes: Manda remanda, &c.

By meanes whereof (alas for ſorow) it came to paſſe, that whiles good hope of ſubduing our enemyes gratiouſly ſmiled vpon vs, we were conſtrayned (penury preuaylyng agaynſt vs) to take truce to our ſhame, the hinderaunce of our expedition, and no ſmall reioyſing of our euill willers: and ſo we returned into Flaunders all voyde of money, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neyther had we in our treaſuries wherwith to diſcharge our neceſſities, nor yet to pay our ſouldiours wages: in ſo much, that we were compelled to enter into the deuouring goulfe of vſurie, and to ſuſtaine on our ſhoulders great burdens of debts, heape vpō heape. Thys beyng done, our faithfull frendes, companions in warres, and partakers of our tribulations came vnto vs, with whom we conſulted diligently by what meanes we might beſt deliuer our ſelues from thys daungerous ſtorme of euill fortune. They all agreed affirmyng certaynely, that the protracting of our warres, and cauſe of our manifolde neceſſitie happened vnto vs through the fault and negligēce (or rather the malice) of the ſayd Archbiſhop (vpō whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of the whole kyngdome ſeemed to depend) and other officers whom we had ioyned in coūſayle wyth him touching the affayres of our kyngdome: vehemently ſwearing and murmuring amongeſt themſelues (for that we had left ſo long vncorrected the inſolencie of the byſhops and other officers) that if remedy in theſe caſes were not had with ſpeede: they would wythdraw themſelues from our allegeance, and the couenaunt which they had ſworne vnto: to the vtter ſubuerſion of our kyngdome, our perpetuall ignominie, and the euerlaſting ſhame of our Engliſh nation (which God our moſt mercifull father forbid, ſhould come to paſſe in our dayes, in whom is fixed immoueably the anchor of our hope.) Wherupon entēding the due correction of our officers, we remoued from offices (as ſeemed good to our wiſedome) diuers perſons, whome we ſuſpected in cauſes euident of euill adminiſtration of iuſtice, of ſubuerſion, and oppreſſion of our ſubiectes, of corruption, of bribes, and other haynous offences. Others alſo of inferior degree offending in the premiſſes, we cauſed to be deteyned in ſafe cuſtodie, leaſt by their liberty, iuſtice might be troden vnder foote, and the inquiſition of the truth concernyng the premiſſes not to come to light. Foraſmuch therfore as the knowledge of the truth in theſe caſes might of none more certainely be knowen, then from the ſecret breſt of our ſayd Archbyſhop, for that nothyng pertaynyng to our information ought to lye hyd from him, vnto whom of ſo long a time had beene committed the adminiſtration of our whole common weale, and ſumme of all our buſines: we ſent vnto hym our faithfull ſubiect Nicholas de Cantilupe wyth ſpeciall commaundement from vs (all delayes ſet a part) that he ſhould forthwyth make his perſonall appearance before vs at our citie of London. But he (as one alwayes timerous aſwell in proſperitie as in aduerſitie, and fearing where no feare was) vntruely allegeth that ſome of our aſſiſtents had threatned him, and laid waite for hys lyfe, if at any time he departed frō the church of Canterbury: which (God we take to witnes and a pure conſcience) we neuer ment nor any of our aſſiſtentes.

Archb. of Cant. falſe to the kyng.

Euil officers diſplaced by the kyng.

We ſuppoſe he touched therby our Coſin, although to all others aſwell of the clergie as communaltie through his malicious miſdemeanors he was become odious.

Archb. of Cant. odious to all the clergie.

Wherfore, intending the ſafegarde of our ſubiectes by letters or otherwiſe called before vs, we appointed our truſtie and welbeloued Ralfe Stafford, our Harbynger, to offer vnto hym ſafeconduct: and moreouer to preſent vnto hym our letters patentes vnder our ſeale, willing and commaunding him therby againe perſonally to come before vs, that we might be enformed what of ſo long a time he had done touching the affayres of the kyngdome. Whereunto, contemning our commaundement and gentle requeſt, he anſwereth, that neither he would in perſon appeare, neyther yet in any matter conferre with vs, except it were in a full Parliament which for diuers reaſonable cauſes coulde not then be called. Thus may you ſee thys Archb. (whom our royall benignitie had amplified wyth large honours, admitted into all familiaritie, receaued into the bonde of vnanimitie and frendſhip, vpon whom as on a father our whole hope did conſiſt: who, ſo long as we accomplyſhed hys will in all thynges, pretended towards vs a face of coūterfet loue cloaked with diſſembling beneuolence, euen as though he had bene a louing father) how cruelly agaynſt reaſon he hath now forſaken vs, requiting benefites wyth ingratitude, oppreſſing hys benefactor with the arrogancie of feare: and finally (according to the vulgare prouerbe) rewarded vs as a horſe in a ſatchel, a Snake in a mans boſome & fire cheriſhed next the ſkinne rewardeth their receauers. When we were firſt exalted vnto the throne of our kingdome, deſcended vnto vs by right of inheritaunce (Gods diuine prouidence ſo working) we thought and alwayes thinke it a deteſtable thing to abuſe ſo high authoritye, but rather deſire to gouerne with clemency, lenitie, and moderation of iuſtice, that peace of all men deſired might firmely take place.

The Archb. of Cant. denyeth to come to the king.

The Archb. charged with diſſembling and ingratitude.

Neuertheles, our ſayd Archbyſhop hath gone about to defame our innocency, and the fidelitie and diligence our faythfull counſailers proſecutours of true iuſtice: openly declaryng in his letters patente, and publiſhyng abroad in diuers places, that he was oppreſſed by the kyngs power cōtrary to iuſtice, the Clergy and communaltie cōfoūded, and the church ouercharged with diuers greuous taxes and exactions. He ſubtilly vſurped the name of a good paſtor, whē in deede he was nothyng leſſe, but rather (as it ſhould ſeme by his own confeſſion, and the cōmon opinion had of him) a very hyrelyng. He cloked his crafty ſubtilnes with the zeale of defendyng the church, although he himſelfe in very deede was the onely cauſe, by his euill coūſaile and crafty deuiſes, of the tribulatiōs of the ſame. He alſo fayned that not long ago, certaine writyngs were brought vnto hym to be ſealed, containyng in effect the defence and excuſation of all ſuch in generall that were violaters of the liberties of the Church: hopyng thereby to defame the opinion had of vs and of our faythfull counſailors, to ſtirre vp ſedition a-

The Archb. diffamet of the king.

The Archb. abuſeth his office.

mongeſt the people, and finally to withdraw from vs the hartes of our nobilitie. He gaue commaūdement by his letters, that theſe thynges ſhould be proclaimed in all places of great reſort by diuers ſpeciall articles contrary to his former order in his prouinciall Coūcell. Wherfore, reſpecting the integritie of our fame, entending to preuent the malice of the ſaid Archbiſhop, and alſo to decline frō vs the ſnares prepared for vs and ours: we haue thought good at this preſent (ouer and beſides thoſe which before are rehearſed) amongeſt ſo many which we omitte, to declare vnto you ſome of his peruerſe and wicked actes. When in our minoritie we were conſtituted ouer our dominions, he cauſed vs through his vnaduiſed coūſaile and raſh perſuaſiō (therby to winne exceſſiue fauour) to geue away ſo many waſtfull giftes, and ſo many vnlawfull alienations that now by meanes therof our treaſure is cleane conſumed, the reuenewes of our Exchequer without all order diminiſhed, & he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes alſo without cauſe why, when neither neceſſitie nor vtilitie ſo required, onely through his perſuaſion we forgaue diuers men great ſummes of money due vnto vs, yea and the rentes and reuenewes which ought to haue bene cōſerued for our neceſſitie and profite we applyed to the vſe of his frendes largely beſtowyng vpon ſuch as euill deſerued it. Moreouer (accepting aſwell perſons as money) cōtrary to our minde, and his othe of fidelitie made vnto vs: he admitted vnto publique offices throughout our dominiōs, perſons vnworthy, neglecting thoſe that had well deſerued. Many other thinges he raſhly tooke in hand, to the detriment of our ſtate, the hurt of our dignitie royall, and no ſmall dammage of our ſubiectes, by abuſing his authoritie and office cōmitted vnto him. But if he perſiſte in his proude obſtinacie and ſtoute rebellion, we ſhall hereafter in conuenient tyme and place, cauſe it to be more openly knowen: willing and commaunding you to publiſh and cauſe to be publiſhed, all and ſingular the premiſſes opēly and diſtinctly in places where you ſhall thinke it expedient, and to ſet forth (as ſhall ſeme beſt to your godly wiſedomes) our good entēt for the ſuppreſſing of incommodities, & furtheryng of the cōmodities of our ſubiectes, that we may worthely commēde your circumſpect care herein.

Teſte meipſo apud Weſtm. x. die Februa. Anno regni noſtri Angliæ. xv. Regni verò Franciæ ſecundo.

By theſe foreſayd obiections and accuſatiōs of the king premiſed, and layd agaynſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: what is to be thought of the doynges of the ſayd Archbiſhop, I leaue it to thy iudgement gentle reader (as I ſayd before) to be coniected: For ſo much as our hiſtories ſomewhat bearyng with the ſayd Archbyſhop, ſeeme either to be vncertaine of the truth of the matter, or els couertly to diſſemble ſome part of that they knew. And eſpecially of Polydor. Vergil. I meruaile, who hauyng ſo good occaſion to touche the matter, doth ſo ſleightly paſſe it ouer without any word of mention. In which matter if probable coniecture (beſide hiſtory) might here be heard, it is not vnlike: But that ſome old practiſe of prelates hath herein bene put in vre, through ſome crafty conſpiracie betwene the Pope and the Archbiſhop. And the rather to be gathered, for that as the Pope was enemie vnto the kyng in this his chalēge to the crowne of Fraunce: So the Archbiſhop agaynſt his Prince (as for the moſt part alwayes they haue bene) was a frend, as no man neede to doubt thereof, vnto the Pope. Which thyng alſo more probable may be ſuppoſed, becauſe of the cōmyng downe of the two Cardinals the ſame tyme, from the Pope to the kyng of England, about the matter of farther truce: whereof (Chriſt willing) more hereafter ſhall folow. Albeit, the Archbiſhop (this yet notwithſtandyng) ſubtely and feately excuſeth himſelfe to the kyng of the foreſayd obiections, & cunningly handleth the matter in wordes by his letter directed to the kyng, as foloweth.

The letter of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury to the Kyng.

The letter of the Archbiſhop to the kyng.

Good counſailers neceſſary about a kyng.

Excommunication in his own priuate cauſe abuſed.

REdoubted Syr, may it pleaſe your maieſty to vnderſtand: that the moſt chiefeſt and ſpeciall thyng that keepeth Kynges and Princes in the fauour of God, and beſt preſerueth them in their eſtate: is ſage, wiſe, and deliberate coūſaile. And therfore ſayth the wiſe man, cōcernyng counſell in this wiſe: Good men haue therby their ſafetie. And it is written in the booke of Kynges, how Salomon which was the wiſeſt Prince that euer was, tooke vnto him the moſt auncient and ſage men of his Realme to be his coūſailours: By whoſe aduiſement and diſcretion, he alwayes kept the land of Iſraell in quyet and in peace, and beſides that had all other kynges and princes that bordered vpon him at his will and commaūdement. After whoſe death raigned Roboham his ſonne, who neglecting the good counſell of his father, and good aduiſe of his ſage and diſcret counſailours: harkened to ſuch counſell as lighter and younger men perſwaded him vnto, that ſought rather how to pleaſe & flatter him, then the quiet ſtate of his Realme: whereby he loſt all the whole land of Iſrael, the. xij. part onely excepted. In like maner haue many kynges of Iſraell and other kyngdomes beſide, by raſh and euill counſell come to great ruine and miſchief. And ſir (ſauyng your princely pacience) you may call to remembraunce your own tyme: for by the wicked and ſiniſter counſell to our late ſoueraigne Lord your father geuen (whom God forgeue) which he tooke and folowed: both agaynſt the law of his land, and graund charter of the peeres and other his people of the land: ſome he put to ſhamefull death, from other ſome he tooke their goodes, and ſuch as fled, he put vnto their raunſome, and what enemies he purchaſed therby, your grace well vnderſtandeth. And after this ſir, you know (euen in your owne tyme) how by folowing and beleuing ouer light counſell: you your ſelfe loſt the hartes of many of your ſubiectes, frō the which God deliuer you, if it be his will. And after that tyme agayne vntill now, by the good aduiſement of your Prelates, Peeres, and ſage counſeilours of your land, your graces buſines and affaires haue bene ſo demained and ordered: that you haue had the hartes agayne of all your ſubiectes, as well ſpiritual as tēporall, as much or rather more, then any of your graces predeceſſours, kynges of England haue had. So that, by meanes of the ſayd good counſell, the good will and ayde of your people, and ſpeciall grace of God: you haue had the victory ouer all your enemyes, as well in Scotland as in Fraunce, and all other places beſides: That vnto this day (Gods name be bleſſed therfore) your grace hath bene eſtemed as one of the moſt nobleſt Princes in all Chriſtendome. And now your grace (by the euill and peruerſe counſaile of ſome ſuch within this Realme, which are not ſo wiſe as they might be, and ſuch alſo as conſider and reſpect rather their owne priuate cōmoditie, then your graces honour and ſafety of your Realme) beginneth to apprehend diuers Clerkes, Pieres, and other people of the lād, and to direct proces agaynſt them, not beſeemyng: but contrary to the law of the land, which to keepe and maintayne you are bound by the othe you tooke at your coronatiō: and contrary to the graund charter, wherof all the Realme are witneſſes, and all the Prelates of the ſame: and contrary to the ſentence confirmed by the Bull of our holy father the Pope, which we haue to ſhew. All which thynges, as they are to the great perill and daūger of your ſoule: ſo are they alſo to the vtter debaſing of your regall ſtate and honour. And ſir, although ſuch as be your graces gouernours and counſailers (beyng a callyng aboue their degree) do geue your grace to vnderſtād that their enterpriſes and yours do pleaſe and content your ſubiectes and commons: yet your grace ſhall know for certaine, and proue it your owne ſelfe to be farre other wiſe, then that they beare you in hād. And that vnleſſe God do remedy the ſame if you proſecute your purpoſe begon in this order: you will leſe the hartes of all your ſubiectes, as alſo your good and rightful enterpriſe, and ſhall ſee ſuch diſcorde about the ſame: that you ſhall not be able to performe that you haue begon, but rather enforce your enemyes to ſeeke your deſtruction, to looſe your noble and renowmed fame, and in the end your kyngdome it ſelfe, which God forbyd. Wherfore ſoueraigne Lord and Kyng, I beſech you: that for the ſafegard of your honor and realme, and enterpriſe begon: that you will take vnto you the moſt diſcret and wiſeſt men, within your Realme, and worke by their aduiſe and counſell, as before this tyme you haue bene accuſtomed: without the ayde and counſell of whom you can neither mainteine your enterpriſe, nor gouerne your realme. And for that, ſome ſuch as are about your grace falſly deuiſe agaynſt vs, treaſon and ſuch like troubles (and therfore are of vs excōmunicate, and as perſons excommunicate do ſo eſteme of them) as your ſpirituall paſtour, we alſo deſire you ſo to eſteme and thinke of them: which alſo, make like report of other that haue bene with your grace beyond the Seas, that they haue naughtely and falſely ſerued you, whereby you haue loſt the Towne of Tourney, and much honour els, which you might haue wonne and gottē there. May it pleaſe your grace to call before you, the Prelates and Pieres of your Realme in ſome conuenient place, where we and other mo, may ſafely come and reſort: and there alſo to make ſearch and enquirie, in whoſe handes after the begynnyng of your warres, the money and what thing els ſo euer, whiche was graunted vnto you in ayde of the ſame your warres, vntill this preſent day, doth remayne and is not layd out agayne, as alſo by whoſe default you were ſo enforced to leaue the ſayd ſiege of Tourney: and thoſe which ſhalbe found in any point faulty and gilty therein agaynſt you as a good Iuſticer, your grace will cauſe to be puniſhed accordyng to the law: and in ſomuch as appertaineth vnto vs therin, we aſke iudgement of our Peeres (the ſtate alwayes of holy Church, of vs, and of our order reſerued inuiolate) accordyng as we haue writtē vnto you herein. And for gods ſake Syr, beleue not either of vs or any other your true ſubiectes elſ, more then that you ſhall vnderſtand the veritie of: for if men ſhould bee puniſhed without making aunſwer to that, which is obiected againſt them, there ſhould be then no difference in iudgement betwixt the good doer and the bad.

And ſir, may it pleaſe you well to conſider, of the great enterpriſe you haue in hand, the great good wil which you haue neede of for this cauſe, and of your great enemyes the Scottes, and the great ieoperdy of your realme beſides. For, if your Prelates, your nobles, and all the wiſemen of your Realme, were of one mynde and will (without any diſcord or diuiſion amōgeſt them) to diſpoſe and ſet in order thoſe thynges, which are needefull in ſo great affaires and buſines: they ſhould haue all inough to beate their heads about, for the maintenaūce of your great enterpriſe begon, the honour of you, and ſauegarde of your Realme. And Syr, may it pleaſe your grace, not to be diſpleaſed that ſo rudely and groſly we declare vnto you the veritie: for why, the great loue and affection which we beare vnto you and alwayes haue done the ſame; the preſeruatiō of your honour & ſauegarde of your realme, as alſo for that we are (although vnworthy) the primate of the whole realme of Englād: which thyng appertaining vnto vs by our office, & beyng your ſpiritual father, doth incite vs the rather both to ſay & commaūde that, which may turne to the benefite of your ſoule, & profite of your Realme and kyngly eſtate. Thus the holy ſpirite ſaue you both body & ſoule, and giue your grace both to heare & beleue good coūſaile, & further giue you victory ouer all your enemies. Written at Caunterbury, the firſt day of Ianuary. By your graces Chaplein the Archbyſhop of the ſame.

The returne of the kings army from Tourney.

And thus ſtode the caſe betwene the kyng and the archbyſhop of Canterbury, who commyng thus (as is ſayd) in ſecret wiſe into England, from the ſiege of Tourney, his army in the meane while, by ſhyps was conueyed to litle Britaine. Of whom a great number, through vnſeaſonable and inconuenient meates and drinkes, was there conſumed. To whom alſo no leſſe daunger happened by the ſeas commyng out of Britayne into England, by tempeſt, thunder, and lightenyng ſtirred vp, as is thought by the Necromanſers of the French kyng.

1341.

Truce taken for 3. yeares betwene K. Edw. & the Frēch king.

About whiche ſeaſon, approchyng to the yeare of our Lorde 1341. were ſent from the Pope two other Cardinals to entreate with Kyng Edward for thre yeares truce to be concluded more with the Frenche Kyng, beſyde the former truce taken before for one yere, and all by the Popes meanes. For here is to be vnderſtanded, that as it was not for the Popes purpoſe to haue the Kyng of England to raigne ouer ſo many countreys, ſo his priuy ſupportation lacked not by all meanes poſſible, both by Archbyſhops and Cardynals, and alſo by the Emperour to maintain the ſtate of the French king, and to ſtabliſh hym in his poſſeſſion. Ex Tho. Walſing. ex chron. Albanenſ.

In the ſayd hiſtoryes where theſe things bee mentioned it is alſo noted, that the ſame yeare ſuch plentye there was here in the Realme of victuals, that a quarter of wheat was ſolde for ij.s. a fat oxe for a noble, and as ſome ſay a ſheepe for iiij.d. And thus farre endureth the hiſtorye of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis called Polychronicon.

1342.

The next yeare folowyng, which was 1342. Ludouicus Bauarus the Emperour, who before had ſhewed great curteſie to Kyng Edwarde as in his firſt vyage ouer, in ſo much that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent generall, and offered hym alſo ayde againſt the French king: Now (eyther turned by inconſtancie, or ſeduced by the pope) writeth to him contrary letters, wherein he reuoketh agayne the Vicegerentſhip graunted to him, and ſeeketh all meanes in the fauour of the French king, agaynſt king Edwarde: as by his letters here vnder written may better appeare.

The letter of the Emperour vnto the kyng of England.

LVdouicus by the grace of God Emperor of the Romaines alwayes Auguſtus, &c. To Edward kyng of England his beloued brother, greting & vnfained loue. Although great and vrgent buſines of our owne do oppreſſe vs, and about the ſame our waighty affaires are daily incombred, yet with the diſcord and variaunce betwene your kingly dignity and the renowmed Phillip the king of Fraunce our coſine, for your ſake wee are not a litle troubled. And the rather the great charges which may herafter grow both to you and to your kingdome, therby conſidered both of men and money vnleſſe the ſame be taken vp: doeth more earneſtly prouoke vs to geue our ſelfe to the carefull ſtudye of your affayres. Wherefore we geue you to vnderſtande that the foreſayde Philip (at our requeſt) hath geuen vnto vs by his letters, authoritie and power to intreate and conclude a peace betweene you, touching the variance begon: which peace (all the ſtate diligently conſidered both of your ſelfe your kyngdome and ſubiectes) we take and beleeue to be right expedyent for you: mouing therewithall your charitie, and earneſtlie deſiring you that to this alſo you wil geue your conſent: wherby we may bring you both to concorde & vnitye, and eſtabliſh betwene you a firme peace to endure, whereunto with willing minde we would apply our ſelfe and beſtow our painfull labour in proſecuting of the ſame. And herein if you will condeſcend and agree vnto our counſaile, as we truſt you will. It may pleaſe you by your letters to geue vnto vs the lyke authoritie as is aboueſayd, to entreate peace or ordering of a truce for one yeare or two at leaſt to continue. Neither let it mooue you, that betwene vs and the ſayd Phillip of Fraunce a truce is taken. For ſeyng that you without our conſent tooke truce with him: we by the aduice of our princes which know the bondes, dedes, and couenauntes betwixt vs, who alſo thought no leſſe but that ſauyng our honour we might do the ſame, haue alſo made a league with the ſayd Phillip king of Fraunce, and for certayne cauſes do reuoke and call backe the Lieftenantſhip which we aſſigned vnto you by our letters: Neuertheleſſe geuyng you for a certayne to vnderſtand, that in our ſayde treaties and peace concluded we haue ſo brotherly conſidered you, that if you will agree and condeſcende vnto our counſel: your cauſe (by our meane & helpe) ſhalbe brought to good paſſe and effect. About which thinges farther to confer with your brotherhode herin, we haue ſet a deuoute and Religious man Eliarhardus reader and brother of the order of the Heremites of Saynt Auguſtine, and Chaplaine of our Court: whom aboute the premiſſes we deſire wythe ſpeedye expedition to be ſent to vs agayne. Dated at Frāckforde the xiiii. day of Iune in the xxiiii. yeare of our reygne, and xiiii. of our Empyre.

The aunſwer of the king of England to the Emperour.

TO the high and mightie Prince Lord Ludouicke, by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes, alwayes Auguſtus, Edward by the ſame grace Kyng of Fraunce, and England, and Lord of Ireland: ſalutation and proſperous ſucceſſe.

We haue reuerently receaued your highneſſe letters, amongſt other thinges conteynyng, that the noble Phillip de Valois (to the intent a peace and concord betwene vs and hym might be concluded) hath geuen vnto you by his letters full power and authority therunto at your highnes requeſt: And that if the ſame myght content vs to do in lyke ſort, your highnes would trauayle to bryng the concord to paſſe: And that it would not moue vs any whit at all, that your highnes and the ſayd Phillip are in league together. For in ſo much as we without your aſſent and conſent (you ſay) toke truce with the ſaid Phillip you alſo haue done the like with him (which thing you might well do ſauing your honour, by the counſaile of all your nobles and princes) and for certayne cauſes reuoke agayne the Lieftenauntſhippe which you committed vnto vs. Doubtleſſe, the zeale and good wyll you haue to make this concorde and agrement, we much commend: letting you to vnderſtand, that we alwayes haue bene deſirous and ſtill are, to haue a reaſonable peace with the ſayd Phillip: which peace, as much as to vs (our honour ſaued) appertayned, we haue in iuſtice and by law proſecuted: and in very dede, it ſhould be to vs acceptable, and as we would wiſh, if by ſuch a Mediator as your Celſitude is, it might be brought to paſſe. But foraſmuch as we vnderſtand the ſame our right and title to the kingdom of Fraunce, to be manifeſt & cleare inough: we purpoſe not to cōmit the ſame by any of our letters to doutfull arbitremēt. But while we well conſider and reuolue wyth our ſelues, how your highnes vpon circumſpect conſideration (manifeſtly beholding our iuſt and rightful doyng, and the ſtraight dealing and obſtinate purpoſe & iniury of the ſayd Phillip) with vs and in our behalf againſt the ſayd Philip, your graces highnes made a ſpeciall league: adopting vs of your great and bountifull loue towardes our perſon, to be one of your ſonnes: Wherfore thus againe to alter and breake the ſame, we cannot ſufficiently marueill. Seeing your inuincible highnes being inſtituted of God to the laude and commendation of good men, and reuenge of euill and wicked doers, hath made a league againſt vs with the ſayd Philip de Valois our notorious and iniurious enemye. And as touching that which you ſay, without your aſſignement & conſent we tooke a truce or dayes of reſpite with the ſaid Philip which we ought not to haue done: If your grace well conſider the circumſtance of the matter, we haue done but as we might therein. For when we layd our ſiege to Tourney, it was requiſite we followed their aduiſe whoſe ayde and ſocietie therein we had. Beſides, the ſoden and imminent neceſſitie which we there ſtoode in, and the diſtance of the place betwixt your highneſſe and vs further more was ſuch, as that by no meanes we might attayne the ſame nor vſe your aſſent therin. Yea & further, if your grace wel remember your ſelfe, your graunt vnto vs was ſuch: that whenſoeuer oportunitie therunto ſhould ſerue, we myght entreat of any peace, & graunt what time we thought mete therunto, without your conſent therin. So that to conclude any finall peace wyth the ſayd Philip de Valois, without eyther your conſent or otherwiſe makyng your highnes priuie therunto, it might not be lawful for vs. Which thing without your ſayd counſaile, conſent and aduiſe, we neuer mynded or purpoſed to do. But haue in all our doings done that which vs beſeemed, ſo farre as by any meanes our power would ſtretch: hoping likewiſe, that your brotherly beneuolence for a time would haue more louingly ſupported vs. It is thought alſo by ſome, that the reuoking backe againe or reſtraint of your foreſaid *Lieftenantſhip*, was prematurate or done all out of time: whē as accordyng to your promiſe made to vs herein by your letters imperiall, you ought not ſo to haue done before the realme & kyngdome of Fraunce (or at the leaſt the greateſt part therof) were of vs obtayned and quietly in peaceable wyſe enioyed. Theſe premiſed therfore we deſire you, according to your nobilitie duely to conſider, and hereafter to do that which ſhalbe thought both meete and conuenient: becauſe that (God willing) we meane to recompence and gratifie both you & yours, according to the meaſure of your beneuolence beſtowed vpon vs. The almightie graunt vnto your Celſitude ſo much felicitie as your hart deſireth. Dated at London the xviij. day of Iuly in the 2. yere of the raigne of our kingdome of Fraunce, and of England. 15.

Pope Clement. 6.

In this meane tyme dyed Pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a little before: after whom ſucceded in that roume Pope Clement the 6. Of whom it is reported in ſtories, that he was very liberall and bountifull to hys Cardinals of Rome, in riching and heapyng them with goods and poſſeſſions, not of hys owne, but with the Eccleſiaſticall dignities and preferments of the Churches of England. For ſo recordeth the author, that he beſtowed vpon his Cardinals the liuynges and promotions, ſuch as were or ſhould be vacant in churches of England, and went about to ſet vp new titles for his Cardinals, here within this realm. But the kyng beyng offended therewith made voyd and fruſtrate all thoſe foreſayd prouiſions of the Pope, chargyng moreouer and commaundyng no perſon whatſoeuer, to buſy hym ſelf with any ſuch prouiſions, vnder payne of impriſonment & loſing his lyfe. Which law was made the next yere followyng which was an. 1344.

Ex chron. Albanẽſ.

The king diſanulleth the popes prouiſion.

It followed then, that the ſayd Pope Clement agayne began to make new prouiſions for two of his Cardinals of benefices and Churches that ſhould be next vacant, beſide Biſhoprickes and Abbotſhips, to the extent of two thouſand Markes. Wherupon, the procuratours of the ſayd Cardinals were ſent down for the ſame. But the kyng and nobility of the realme not ſuffryng that, vnder payne of impriſonment cauſed the ſayd procuratours forthwith to depart the realm: wherupon, the nobles and commons ſhortly after, writeth a fruitfull Epiſtle to the Pope for the liberties and the maintenaunce of ÿ Engliſh Church: wherunto, as ſayth the author, the Pope and the Cardinals wer not able to aunſwer. The argument and tenor of which letter out of French, we haue cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, as foloweth.

The Popes procuratours driuen out of England.

The letter of the king of England and nobles of the ſame, to the Pope, agaynſt the reſeruations and prouiſions which he had in England.

A letter of the Nobles and commons of England to the Pope.

TO the moſt holy father in God, Lord Clement by the grace of God of the holy Church of Rome, and of the vniuerſall church, chiefe and high biſhop: His humble & deuout children, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Citizens, Burgeſes, and all the comminaltie of the realm of England, aſſembled at the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter the 15. day of May laſt paſt: Deuout kiſſings of his holy feete, with all humble reuerence and humility. Moſt holy father, the holy diſcretion, gouernment and equity which appeareth to be in you and ought of duety ſo to be (beyng ſo high and holy a prelate, and head of the holy church) by whom the holy vniuerſal church and people of God, ought to be, as by the ſunne beames inlightened: Geueth vs good hope and lykelyhode, that the iuſt petitions (to the honour of Ieſus Chriſt and holy Church, and your holines alſo) by vs declared: ſhalbe of you graciouſly heard and conſidered. And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remoued: in ſtede therof, fruitfull exploites and neceſſary remedies (by the grace of the holy ſpirite, which you in ſo high an eſtate haue receiued) may be by you likewiſe graciouſly ordeyned and diſpoſed. Wherfore moſt holy father, all we (vpon great deliberation and common aſſent) come vnto your holynes: ſhewyng and declaryng that the noble kyngs of England our progenitours, our aunceitours, and we (accordyng to the grace of the holy ſpirite to them and vs geuen, euery one accordyng to his deuotion) haue eſtabliſhed, founded, and endowed within the realme of England: Churches Cathedrals, Colleges, Abbeys, Priories, & other diuers houſes of religion in the ſame ordayned: and to the Prelates and gouernours of the ſame places, haue geuen landes, poſſeſſions, patrimonies, franchiſes, aduowſons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, with many and diuers other benefices vnto them geuen: wherby the ſeruice of God and fayth of Chriſt might haue ben honoured and had in reuerence: that the Hoſpitals & almes houſes that are made, with all the churches and edifices, might be honeſtly kept and maintayned: and that deuout prayers might in thoſe places be made for the founders, & the poore pariſhioners ayded and comforted. And ſuch only ought to haue the cure therof, as are able to heare confeſſions, and in their owne naturall toung otherwiſe mete to informe and teach their pariſhioners. And for ſo much as (moſt holy father) that you cannot well come to the notice of diuers ſuch errours and defaultes, neither yet vnderſtand the condition of the places beyng ſo farre of, vnles your holines be enformed and aduertiſed. We hauyng the perfect intelligence and vnderſtanding of the ſaid errours and defaults, of the places aboueſayd, within the ſayd realme: haue thought mete to ſignify the ſame vnto your holines. That diuers reſeruatiōs, prouiſions and collations, by your predeceſſours Apoſtolike of Rome, and by you moſt holy father in your tyme haue bene graunted (and that more largely then they haue bene accuſtomed to be) vnto diuers perſons, as well ſtraungers & of ſundry nations, as vnto ſome ſuch as are our enemies, hauyng no vnderſtandyng at all of the tong and conditions of them, of whom they haue the gouernment and cure. Wherby, a great number of ſoules are in perill, a great many of their pariſhioners in daunger, the ſeruice of God deſtroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminiſhed, the hoſpitals periſhed, the churches with their appurtenaunces decayed, charity withdrawen, the good and honeſt perſons of our realme vnaduaunced, the charge and gouernment of ſoules not regarded, the deuotion of the people reſtrayned, many poore ſcholers vnpreferred, and the treaſure of the realme caried out againſt the myndes and intents of the founders. All which errours, defaults, and ſlaunders moſt holy father we neyther can nor ought to ſuffer nor indure. We therfore moſt humbly require your holynes, that the ſlaunders, errors and defaultes, which we haue declared vnto you, may be through your great diſcretion conſidered: and that it may pleaſe you that ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations may be vtterly repelled, that from henceforth the ſame be no more amongſt vs vſed. But to take ſuch order and remedy therin, that the ſayd benefices, edifices, rightes, with their apertinents, may be to the honour of GOD by our owne countreymen cured, defended & gouerned. And that it may further pleaſe your holines, by your letters to ſignify vnto vs without delay & other detract of tyme, what your pleaſure is touchyng this our lawfull requeſt and demaund: and that we may do our indeuour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of thoſe enormities aboue ſpecified. In witnes wherof, vnto theſe letters patentes

Decay of the Church of England by the Pope.

we haue ſet our ſeales. Geuen in the full Parliament at Weſtminſter the 18. day of May, an. 1343.

The popes meſſage to the kyng.

The kynges aunſwere to the popes meſſage.

After theſe thinges thus paſſed ouer, the kyng ſhortly after ſent ouer hys Procuratours, Erle of Lancaſter and Darby, Hugh Spencer, L. Rafe Stafford, with the Biſhop of Exeter and diuers other, to the Popes court to diſcuſſe and plead about the right of hys title, before the Pope. Unto whom the ſayd Pope Clement the vj. not long after, ſent downe this meſſage: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie, the Emperour whom the Pope had before depoſed, had ſubmitted hymſelfe to hym in all thinges, and therefore deſerued at his handes the benefite of abſolution: And how the Pope therfore had conferred and reſtored vnto him iuſtly and gratiouſly the Empire, which he before vniuſtly dyd hold. &c. Which meſſage when the kyng did heare, beyng therwyth moued to anger, aunſwered agayne ſaying: That if he did agree and compounde alſo with the Frenche kinge, he was readye to fight with them both. &c. Ex chro. Albanenſ.

1344.

The caſtle in Windſore enlarged. The rounde table builded in Windſore.

Within the time of this yeare pence, halfepence, and farthinges began to be coyned in the tower. And the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1344. the caſtle of Winſore (where the king was borne) began to be repaired: and in the ſame, ye houſe called the round table was ſituate, the diameter wherof from the one ſide to the other, contained 200. feete, to the expences of which houſe weekly was allowed an hundreth pound for the maintening of the kinges chiualrye: til at lēgth by the occaſion of the French warres, it came down to nine pound a weeke. By the example wherof, the French king being prouoked began alſo the like round table in Fraunce, for the maintaining of his knighthoode. At which time the ſayd French king moreouer gaue free libertie thorough hys realme to fell downe trees for making of ſhips and maintaynynge of hys nauye, whereby the Realme of England was not a little dammified.

Tenthes graunted to the king by the clergie for 3. yeares. Priuileges graunted by the king to the clergie.

By this it is lyke that prieſtes had wyues.

During the ſame yeare the Cleargie of England graunted to the king tenthes for three yeares: for the which ye king in recompence againe graunted to them his Charter contayning theſe priuileges: that no archbiſhop nor biſhop ſhoulde be arreigned before his Iuſtices, ſiue ad ſectam ſuam, ſiue partis, if the ſayd clarke doe ſubmit and claime his cleargye, profeſſing himſelfe to be a member of holy Church, who ſo doing ſhall not be bounde to come to hys anſwere before the Iuſtices. And if it ſhall be layd vnto them to haue maryed two wiues, or to haue maryed a widow: the Iuſtices ſhall haue no power to proceede againſt them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cauſe ſhall be reſerued to the ſpirituall court. &c.

Prince Edward firſt prince of Wales.

1345.

Henry Erle, after made duke of Lãcaſtle ſent ouer to Gaſcoine.

A rare example of a liberall captaine to his ſouldiours.

The liberall hart & conſtant hope of a worthy captayne.

About this preſent time at the ſetting vp of the round table, the king made Prince Edward his eldeſt ſonne the firſte Prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betweene the two kinges. Albeit it is likely to be thought that the French king gaue many attemptes to infringe ye ſame. Wherupon Henry earle of Lancaſter with 600. men at armes, and as many archers was ſent ouer to Gaſcoin, ye year after, an. 1345. who there ſo valiantly is ſayd to behaue himſelfe, that he ſubdued 55. townſhips vnto the king. 23. noble men he tooke priſoners, encountring with the Frenche men at Allebrone. So curteouſly and liberally he dealte with his ſoldiars, that it was a ioy to them and a preferment to fighte vnderneath him. His maner was in winning any towne, litle or nothing to reſerue to himſelfe, but to ſparſe the whole ſpoyle to his ſoldyars. One example in the author (whom I follow) is touched: how the foreſayd Earle at the winninge of the towne of Bryers, where he had graũted to euery ſoldyar for his bootie, the houſe with all the implementes therin, which he by victorye ſhould obtaine: amonge other hys ſoldiars to one named Rch, fell a certaine houſe with the implementes thereof, wherin was contayned the mint & mony coyned for that countrey, to the valure of a great ſubſtaunce: Which when the ſoldyar had found, in breakyng vp a houſe, where firſt the groſſe mettal was not yet perfectly wrought he came to the earle declaring to him the treaſure to knowe what was hys pleaſure therein. To whom the Earle aunſwered that the houſe was hys, and whatſoeuer hee founde therein. Afterwarde the ſoldyar finding a whole mynte of pure ſiluer readye coyned, ſignified the ſame to the Earle, forſomuch as he thought ſuch treaſure to be to greate for hys portion, to whom the ſayde Earle agayn anſwering declared that he had once geuen him the whole houſe, and that he had once geuen he would not call backe agayne as children vſe to play. And therfore bad him inioy that which was graunted to hym: And if the mony were thrice as much, it ſhould be hys owne. Ex chron. Albanenſ. Which ſtory whither it was true or otherwiſe in thoſe dayes, I haue not to affirme. But certes, if in theſe our couetous wretched dayes now preſent, any author ſhould report the lyke act to be practiſed, I would hardly beleue it to be true.

The Scots partly a meane of breaking truce.

As the Erle of Lancaſter was thus occupied in Gaſcony the Scots were as buſy here in England, waſting & ſpoyling without mercy. Which were thought (& not vnlyke) to be ſet on by the French king. And therfore was iudged both by that, & by other diuers wayes to haue broken the couenants of truce betwene hym and the king of England.

An. 1346.

The 2. viage of K. Edward into Fraunce.

The battell at Cardoin.

Wherfore the next yere inſuyng, an. 1346. king Edward firſt ſendyng his letters to the court of Rome, & therin complaynyng to the Pope of Philip de Valois, how he had trãſgreſſed, and broken the truce betwene them made, which by euident probations he there made manifeſt: about the mõth of July made his voyage into Normandy in ſuch ſecret wiſe that no man well knew whither he intended. Where firſt he entred the towne of Hogs, from thence proceded vnto Cardone. Where, about the 17. of July by the riuer of Cardone he had a ſtrong battail, with the Normandes & other French men, which to ſtop hys paſſage, defended the bridge. At the which battail were taken of the Lordes of France, ye Erle of Ewe, ye Erle of Tankeruile. And of knightes with other mẽ of armes, to ye number of an 100. of footemen 600. & the town & ſuburbes beaten down to ye hard wals. And all that coulde be borne away tranſported to the ſhips.

A little before, mention was made how the French kyng began firſt to infringe the truce takẽ, and how ye Erle of Lancaſter, vpon the ſame was ſent vnto Gaſcony. Now for the more euidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French king from the league and other his wronges and vntrue dealing: It ſhall better in the kings letter appeare, who hearing word that the Lord Philip de Valois (cõtrary to the forme of truce taken at Vanes) had apprehended certayn of his nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to be impriſoned & put to death: beſide other ſlaughters and ſpoilings made in Britaine, Gaſcony, & other places mo. He therfore ſeyng the truce to be broke of ye French kings part, and beyng therto of neceſſity compelled: In the yeare aboue prefixed, the 14. of the month of June, did publiſh and ſend abroad hys letter of defiaunce, conteynyng this effect.

The kings letters of defiaunce agaynſt the French kyng.

The kinges letters of defiaunce agaynſt the French king.

TO all and ſingular, to whom theſe preſentes ſhall come, publike gretyng. We thinke it is not vnknowen vnto you all, that after the deceaſe of Charles late kyng of Fraunce of famous memory, brother to our redoubted Lady mother Quene Iſabell, Queue of England. That the crowne of Fraunce, by iuſt inheritaunce hath fallen vnto vs, as to the next heyre male now liuing after the ſayd king. Now Philip de Valois, beyng ſonne but only to the vncle of the foreſayd kyng Charles, & therfore by degre of cõſanguinitie beyng further of remoued frõ the ſame (we beyng in the tyme of our minoritie) hath violently by force & power contrary to God and iuſtice vſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupy the ſame, inuading further and ſpoyling our landes in the dukedome of Aquitania, and ioyning himſelfe with our rebellious enemies the Scottes, ſekyng our ſubuerſion both by land and by ſea, to the vttermoſt of his endeuour. And although we to preuent the damages which might ryſe by warre, haue offred to the ſayd Phillip diuers frendly wayes of peace: to the entent we might better intend our purpoſed voyage againſt Chriſtes enemies the Turkes: Yet could nothing preuail with him in obteinyng any peaceable way of reformation, driuing vs of by crafty diſſimulatiõ, through falſe pretenſed wordes, but performyng nothyng with hart and dede. Wherupon, we not neglecting the grace and the gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritaunce, and to repulſe the iniuries of our enemy: haue not refuſed by force of armes, commyng downe to Britany to encounter wyth hym in open field. And ſo we beyng occupied in our wars, there repayred vnto vs the reuerend father biſhop of Preueſt, and of Tuſculane Cardinals, and legates frõ Pope Clement 6. to entreat ſome reformation of peace betwene vs. At whoſe requeſt we conſented, agreyng to ſuch formes & conditions of peace as then were taken betwene vs, ſendyng moreouer our Embaſſadours to the court of Rome, ſpecially to intreat of the ſame matter. And thus while ſome hope of truce ſemed betwene vs to appeare: Newes ſodẽly came vnto vs, which not a little aſtonied our mynd, of the death of certayne of our nobles and adherents, whom the ſayd Phillip vniuſtly, and cruelly at Paris commaunded to be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoylyng our landes and ſubiects in Britany, Gaſcony, and other places with other innumerable wronges and iniuries deceitfully intended agaynſt vs both by ſea and land. By reaſon wherof, the truce on hys part beyng notoriouſly broken, it is moſt manifeſt to haue bene lawfull for vs, forthwith to haue ſet vpon hym with open warre. Yet notwithſtanding to auoyd thoſe incommodities that come by warre, we thought firſt to proue, if by any gentle meanes ſome reformation might be had touching the premiſſes. And therfore ſondry times, haue ſent our Embaſſadours to the Popes preſence for treatiſe of peace, and reformation to be had in thoſe aforeſayd exceſſes: requiryng alſo for the tractation therof, certayne termes of tyme to be appoynted, alwayes reſeruyng to our ſelues notwithſtãding free liberty to reſume warre at our pleaſure, accordyng as the doyngs of the ſayd Phillip ſhall conſtrayne vs therunto. And now forſomuch as the foreſayd termes be already expired, and yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, neyther will the ſayd Phillip come to any conformitie, beyng required and moniſhed notwithſtandyng by the Popes letters therunto, (as the Pope by his letters hath written to vs) but alwayes hath multiplied his conſpiracy and obligations vſing all extremities agaynſt vs, to omit here to ſpeake of the exceſſiue enormitie of the Popes Legate, who beyng ſent by the biſhop of Rome for the kepyng of truce, and whoſe part had bene rather to haue quenched and ſtayed the diſcorde: hath ſtirred vp our enemy more egerly agaynſt vs. In the which doyng, neyther hath the biſhop of Rome (ſauyng his reuerence) as yet prouided any remedy, albeit he hath bene diuers tymes required of vs ſo to do. Which things being ſo, we ought to be excuſed both before God and man, if for the defect of other remedy to be had, we ſhalbe conſtrained our ſelues to finde remedy agaynſt ſuch wrongs and iniuries: the caſe of iuſtice and neceſſitie conſtreining vs to geue out theſe our letters of defiaunce, agaynſt the violator of the truce, and the vniuſt inuader of our kyngdome. Proteſtyng that this we do, not vpon any diſpleaſure to the biſhop of Rome, or to the Apoſtolike ſea, but onely for the moderation of equitie, ſtandyng vpon the defence of our owne right and lawful inheritaunce, intendyng alwayes rather to haue peace, if by any reaſonable way it might be had. And thus much for the ſtoppyng of ſlaunderous fame and the mouthes of backebyters: We thought good to ſignifie firſt to the high biſhop of Rome, and the foreſayd Cardinals: that by them as perſons indifferent, and mediators, the ſame may be inſinuated to the contrary part, and alſo vnto your whole vniuerſitie in generall: recommendyng vnto you all the innocency of my cauſe and the communitie of iuſtice. Dated at Weſtminſter the 14. of Iune, the xix. yeare of our raigne in Englande, and of Fraunce the vj.

The popes legate ſtyrreth vp warre

Lyke Legate lyke Pope.

And thus much for the kynges letter. Now let vs agayn returne to his paſſage from whence a litle we haue digreſſed. Concerning the which paſſage of the king, with ye order of his actes atchieued in the ſame, from the winning of Cadame or Cordoyne, vnto the towne of Puſiack, is ſufficiently deſcribed by one of the kinges chaplaines and hys confeſſour, who being a Dominick fryar, and accompanying the king through all his iorney, writeth therof as foloweth.

A letter of the kynges confeſſor touchyng his actes doyng at Cardoyn.

Benedicere debemus Deum Cœli. &c. Great cauſe we haue to praiſe and laud the God of heauẽ, and moſt worthely to confeſſe his holy name, who hath wrought ſo his mercy to vs. For after the conflict had at Cadaine, in ye which many were ſlaine, and the Citie take and ſackt euen to the bare walles, the Citie of Baia immediatly yealded it ſelfe of his owne accorde, fearing leaſt their counſailes had beene bewrayed. After this the L. our king directed his progreſſe toward Roane, who being at ye towne of Lexon, there came certaine Cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which Cardinals being curteouſly entertained of the king, for the reuerence of the popes ſea, it was thus aunſwered to them agayne. That the king being much deſirous of peace, had aſſaide by all wayes & meanes reaſonable how to maintaine the ſame. And therfore hath offred cõditions and manifolde wayes of peace to be had to the no ſmall preiudice of his own cauſe. And yet is ready to admit any reaſonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it may be ſought. &c. With this anſwere the Cardinals going to the French king ye kinges aduerſary, to perſwade with him in lyke maner: returned to kyng Edward agayne, offryng to him in the French kings name the Duckedome of Aquitania, in as full aſſuraunce as hys father before hym euer had it, beſides further hope alſo of obtaynyng more, if entreatie of peace might be obteyned. But for ſo much, that contented not enough the kynges mynde, neyther dyd the Cardinals finde the French kyng ſo tractable and propenſe to the ſtudy of peace as they loked for, the Cardinals returned, leauyng the matter as they founde it. And ſo the kyng ſpedyng forward, by the way as hys iourney did lye, he ſubdued the countrey and the great townes, without any reſiſtance of the inhabitants, who did all flie and run away. Such feare God ſtroke vnto thẽ, that it ſemed they had loſt their hartes. In the ſame voyage, as the kyng had gotten many townes and villages, ſo alſo he ſubdued caſtles and munitions, very ſtrong, and that with little ſtreſſe. His enemy beyng at the ſame tyme at Roane had reared a great army, who notwithſtandyng beyng well manned, yet euer kept on the other ſide of ye riuer Sequane, breaking downe all the bridges, that we ſhould not come ouer to hym. And although the countrey round about continually was ſpoyled, ſackt, and with fire conſumed by the circuit of xx. myles round about: yet the French king beyng diſtant ſcarſe the ſpace of one myle from vs, eyther would not, or els durſt not (when he might eaſily haue paſſed ouer the riuer) make any reſiſtaunce for the defence of his countrey and people. And ſo our kyng iourneying forward came to Puſiacke or Poiſie, where the French kyng had lykewiſe broke downe the bridge, and keping on the other ſide of the ryuer, would reſt in no place.

The Cardinals agayne entreate for peace.

The kynges anſwere to the Cardinals.

The French kyng ſheweth no carefull ſtudy of peace.

The kynges commyng to Puſacke.

After whoſe commyng to Poiſie, the foreſayd chaplaine and confeſſour to the kyng, named Michaell Northburgh, deſcribing the kings voyage and the actes of the Engliſhmen from the towne of Poiſie, to his commyng to Calis, in hys letters writeth on this wyſe.

A letter of W. Northburge the kyngs confeſſour, deſcribing the kinges viage into Fraunce.

SAlutations premiſed, we geue you to vnderſtãd, that our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng came to the towne of Poyſie the day before the Aſſumption of our Ladie, where was a certayne bridge ouer the water of Sceane broken downe of the enemy, but the kyng taryed there ſo long till that the bridge was made agayne. And whyles the bridge was in repayring, there came a great number of men at armes and other ſouldiours well armed, to hinder the ſame. But the Earle of Northampton iſſued out agaynſt them and ſlew of them more then a M. the reſt fled away thankes be to God. And at an other time our men paſſed the water, although with much trauaile, and ſlew a great number of the common ſouldiours of Fraunce, about the Citie of Paris, and countrey adioyning, being part of the French kinges armie, & throughly well appointed: ſo that our people haue now, made other good bridges vpon our enemyes, God be thanked without any great loſſe and damage to vs. And on the morow after the Aſſumption of our Lady, the kyng paſſed the water of Sceane, and marched towarde Poyſie, which is a towne of great defence and ſtrongly immured, & a maruelous ſtrong caſtle within the ſame, which our enemyes kept. And when our vaundgard was paſſed the town, our reregard gaue an aſſault therunto and tooke the ſame: where, were ſlayne more then CCC. men at armes of our enemyes part. And the next day folowing, the Earle of Suffolke and ſir Hugh Spenſer marched forth vpon the cõmons of the countrey aſſembled and wel armed, and in fine diſcomfited them, and ſlewe of them more then CC. and tooke lx. gentlemen priſoners, beſides others. And after that, the kyng marched toward Graund Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kinges vaundgard was diſcried by the men at armes of the king of Bename: wherupon, our men iſſued out in great haſt, and ioyned battell with them, but were inforced to retyre. Notwithſtanding, thankes be vnto God, the Earle of Northampton iſſued out and reſkued the horſemen with the other ſouldiours: ſo that fewe or none of them were eyther taken or ſlayne ſauing only Thomas Talbot, but had agayne the enemy in chaſe wythin ii. leagues of Amians: of whom we tooke 8. and ſlewe 12. of their beſt men at armes, the reſt beyng well horſed, tooke the towne of Amyans. After thys, the kyng of England marched toward Pountiſe vpõ Bartholmew day, and came vnto the water of Som, where the French kyng had layde 500. men at armes, and M.M.M. footmen, purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thankes be to God, the king of England and his hoſte entred the ſame water of Som, where neuer man paſſed before, without the loſſe of any of our men: and after that encountered with the enemy and ſlew of them more then two thouſand, the reſt fled to Abuyle, in which chaſe was taken many knightes, ſquires, and men at armes. The ſame day, ſyr Hugh Spenſer tooke the towne of Croylay, where he and his ſouldiours ſlewe CCCC. men at armes, and kept the towne, where they founde great ſtore of vitailes. The ſame night, encamped the kyng of England in the Foreſt of Creſſy vpon the ſame water, for that the French kyngs hoſte came on the other ſide of the towne neare vnto our paſſage: But he woulde not take the water of vs, and ſo marched toward Abuile. And vpon the Friday next following, the kyng beyng ſtill encamped in the ſayd Foreſt, our Scuriers diſcried the French kyng, which marched toward vs in 4. great battels: And hauyng then vnderſtanding of our enemies (as Gods wil was) a litle before the euenyng tyde we drew vnto the playne field, and ſet our battels in araye: and immediatly the fight began, which was ſore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemyes behaued themſelues right noblye. But thankes be geuen to God, the victory fell on our ſide, and the king our aduerſary was diſcomfited wyth all hys hoſte, and put to flight: where alſo was ſlayne the kyng of Bename, the Duke of Loren, the Earle of Dabeſon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Earle of Harcot, wyth his two ſonnes, the Earle of Damerley, the Earle of Nauiers and hys brother, the Lord of Tronard, the Archbyſhop of Myemes, the Archb. of Saunds, the high Prior of Fraunce, the Earle of Sauoy, the Lord of Morles, the Lord de Guis, Segniour de S.Nonant, Segniour de Roſingburgh, wyth 6. Earles of Almaine, and diuers other Earles, Barons, knightes, and Squires, whoſe names are vnknowen. And Philip de Valoys himſelfe, wyth an other Marques which was called Lord Elector among the Romaynes, eſcaped from the battell. The number of the men at armes whiche were found dead in the field, beſide the common ſouldioures and footemen, were 1542. And all that night the king of Englād with his hoſte abode armed in the field where the battayle was fought. On the next morow before the ſũne roſe, there marched towards vs an other great hoſte, mighty and ſtrong, of the Frenchmen. But the Erle of Northhampton, and the Erle of Norfolke iſſued out agaynſt them in 3. battels, and after long and terrible fight, them in likewyſe they diſcomfited by gods great helpe and grace (for otherwiſe it could neuer haue bene) where they toke of knightes and ſquiers a great number, and ſlue aboue 2000. purſuyng the chaſe three leagues from the place where the battaile was fought. The ſame night alſo the king encamped himſelf againe in the foreſt of Creſſy, and on the morow marched toward Boleyne, and by the way he tooke the towne of Staples: and frō thēce he marched toward Calys where he entendeth to plant his ſiege and lay his battery to the ſame. And therfore our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng willeth and commaundeth you in all that euer you may, to ſend to the ſayd ſiege vitailes conuenient. For after the tyme of our departyng from Chaam, we haue trauailed through the countrey with great perill and daunger of o[illegible] people, but yet always had of victuall plenty thankes be to God therfore. But now as the caſe ſtandeth, we partly nede your helpe to be refreſhed with victuals. Thus fare ye well. Written at the ſiege before the towne of Calys the 14. day of September.

1346.

Siege of Calys.

After the ſiege and winning of Poyſie, the third daye of September an. 1346. the king through the middeſt of Frāce directed his paſſage vnto Callys, as by the tenor of this letter you heare, and beſieged yͤ ſame: which ſiege he cōtinued from the third of September aforeſayd, tyll the third day of Auguſt the yeare next enſuing, vpon the which day it was rendered vp vnto the ſayd king Edward the third, and ſubdued vnto the crowne of England, as after the Lorde willing ſhall more appeare.

Dauid kyng of Scots inuadeth England.

In the mean time during the ſiege of Callis, Dauid the Scottiſh king at the requeſt of yͤ French king, with a great army braſt into the North partes of England, and firſt beſieging the towne of Lidell, within ſixe dayes obtayned the greateſt part of the towne, and there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Salby a valiant knight which was the keeper of the hold, cauſed him vncurteouſly to be put to the ſworde, and ſo from thence proceeded further into Englande, till at length being met with all by William Surche archbiſhop of Yorke, and the L. Percie, and the L. Neuell, with other nobles of thoſe parties (calling & gathering their men together) in the plain nere to Durham, the xvij. day of October in the yeare aboueſayde through the gratious hāde of Chriſt, there were ſubdued and cōquered. In the which conflict, the Earles of Murriſe and Stratheron, with the flower of all the chiualrie and principall warriors of Scotland were ſlaine. Alſo the foreſayde king Dauid, with the Earles of Mentif and Fiffes, and other Lords, and Williā Douglas Maſkline, fleming and William Douglas, and other many moe men of armes were taken priſoners, and ſo the miſchiefe which they intended to other, fell vpon theire owne heades.

The Scots ouerthrowē.

Dauid the Scottiſhe K. taken priſoner.

During moreouer the ſayde ſiege of Callis, the foreſaide pope Clement the ſixt, writing to the king of Englād, went about vnder the pretence of peace, to ſtoppe his proceedings whoſe letters here follow vnder written.

¶ The letter of the Pope to the kyng of England, in the behalfe of the Frenchmen.

Clement the biſhop, ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruaunts: To hys welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Edward the puiſſaunt kyng of England: Salutation and Apoſtolicall bleſſing. If you diligently conſider deare ſonne (as ought a catholike Prince to do) the ſlaughter of ſuch an innumerable ſort, bought with the precious bloud of Chriſt our redemer: the loſſe of their ſubſtaunce and ſoules, and the lamentable perils, which the diſſentions and warres ſtirred vp betwene you and our welbeloued ſonne Philip, the noble king of France haue broght vpon vs, and yet daily do without intermiſſion: And alſo the bewayling of ſo many poore people, crying out of Orphans and pupils, lamentation of widowes, and other miſerable people, which be robbed and ſpoyled, and almoſt famiſhed: what exclamation they make with teares running downe their chekes, yellyng and crying vnto God for helpe, as alſo the deſtruction of churches, monaſteries, & holy places, holy veſſels, and other ornamentes vnto Gods ſeruice dedicated: the ſacrilegious robberies, takings, & impriſonings: the ſpoiling of holy churches and religious perſons, with many other ſuch innumerable, deteſtable, execrable miſchiefes, offending the eies of the deuine maieſty: All which, if your princely hart would conſider and well remember, with this alſo that the Catholike fayth (eſpecially in the Eaſt partes) and the chriſtians there abidyng by meanes of the ſame diſſentions and warres, deſtitute of the helpes of ſuch catholike men as are in the Weſt parties, are ſo afflicted of the Infidels ſeyng the other partes of Chriſtendome ſo troubled, wyth cruell perſecutions, yea and more crueller then euer yet hath bene (although in theſe tymes to amplifie this our fayth in the ſayd Eaſt partes is cruell perſecution ſhewed more then hath bene of many yeares paſt) doubtles we beleue it would pitie your hart. And to the end that ſuch and ſo great euils ſhoulde no farther proceede, nor yet that ſo greate good as might be doone by delatinge of our foreſayde faith in theſe times ſhould be let & hindred, we deſire you that ye would apply your minde to make ſome agreement and peace with the foreſayde king. For if (my welbeloued ſonne) God hath geuen vnto you proſperous ſucces and fortune, ye ought rather to humble then to extoll your ſelfe: and ſo muche the more readier to incline to his peace, and to indeuoure youre ſelfe to pleaſe God which loueth peace, and delighteth in peaceable mē, and to eſchew the foreſaid euils which without doubt do greeuouſly offend him. Furthermore, we maruell greatly that vnto our reuerend brother Anibaldus Byſhop of Tuſculane, and our beloued ſonne Stephen of the title of S.Iohn, and Paule, prieſt and cardinal of the apoſtolical ſea, being ſent as Legates by vs and the ſame ſee Apoſtolical to intreat a peace, who diligently and faithfully labouryng for the ſame as louers of veritie, iuſtice and equity, and therwithall regarders of your honour: could not be ſuffred touching the intreaty of the ſame peace, to come vnto your graces preſence.

Wherfore, we deſire your kingly highnes more earneſtly, and for the mercy of God with more vehemence require the ſame: that you takyng vp the foreſayd horrible euils & preuenting the ſwetenes of pietie and cōpaſſion, may eſcape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you ſhould perſeuer in your former euils as God forbid. And as touchyng the intreaty of peace, for which our foreſayd Cardinals were ſent vnto you (howbeit ſecretly leaſt it ſhould be any derogation to your honour) we deſire you to condeſcend therunto, & with all your affection you will incline your mynd to the ſame, ſo pleaſaunt vnto God, ſo deſired of the world, as alſo to you, the foreſayd king, and vnto the catholike faith profitable. And that the ſame peace by Gods helpe and grace eſtabliſhed and made perfect, you might aſſay your puiſſaunt ſtrength about Gods buſines in the foreſayd Eaſt partes (ſo good occaſion ſeruing as before is ſayd in theſe our tymes) beyng ſo apt aduauncementes of your honour, and happy increaſing of your princely name: for feruētly we haue heard of you reported to behaue your ſelfe, in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write vnto vs agayne touching the premiſſes, and the purpoſe of your intention touchyng the ſame. Dated at Auinion the 18. of February, and 5. yere of our Papacy.

¶ The aunſwere of the kyng of England, to the foreſayd letter of the Pope.

K. Edward aunſwereth to the Pope.

Moſt holy father, we vnderſtand by the letters of the reuerend fathers in God the Biſhop of Tuſculan, and Stephen of the title of S. Iohn Prieſt, Cardinals and Legates of the Court of Rome, as alſo by the letters of your holyneſſe ſent vnto vs, that ye maruell greatly for that your ſayd Legates were of purpoſe ſent vnto vs and commaunded to entreate of a peace betwene our aduerſary of Fraunce and vs, that we would not ſuffer them ſecretly to talke with vs, for the ſafegard of our honour: The intention of your hart to make the foreſayd peace, complainyng and bewayling therin the death of Chriſten men, the loſſe of their goodes, the perill of their ſoules, the lamẽtable waylings of the poore, of the orphanes, the widowes, and deſtructiõ of other pitefull perſons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other miſchieues innumerable, and namely the diminiſhyng of Chriſten fayth in the Eaſt parts, which by the warre betwene our aduerſary of Fraunce and vs is ſore decayed, as the ſayd letters plainly do importe: And that for aſmuch as God hath geuen vs triumphaunt fortune, that ſo much the more we ought to abaſe and humble our hart and to be the readyer to make and encline to a peace. As touchyng theſe thinges holy father, we geue your holines to vnderſtand that aſwell vnto your foreſayd Legates as other meſſengers ſent from you vnto vs, we haue offered vnto euery of them reaſonable wayes of peace, and euery day declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly but opẽly: For we doubt not to let our purpoſe be vnderſtode, for he that is the high iudge both of him and vs, in whoſe diſpoſition all thing lyeth, hath geuen vnto vs the crowne of Fraunce to our right and proper heritage. The which right, our foreſayd aduerſary hath by force, of long tyme detayned from vs we ſeekyng to obtaine the ſame in peaceable wiſe and yet do, if we might obtaine the ſame in any good maner: rather for the benefit of chriſten men, and that the foreſayd euils might ceaſe, which by his wrongfull meanes onely haue increaſed and growen. Yet notwithſtandyng as before this tyme you know we aſſented to a truce with certaine articles conteined in the ſame writyng, all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong ſuffice him which he offereth vs in our foreſayd heritage, but endeuoreth himſelfe during the ſayd truce to inuade our Realme of Englãd and other our landes: and further maintayneth the Scottes and aydeth them to the vtter deſtruction of vs, our people, and landes aforeſayd: wherby we were inforced for the ſafegard of our people and lands, by ſuch lawfull meanes as we may, to defend our ſelues and put him from his wicked purpoſe. And furthermore, for the ſame our quarell beyng in the handes of God, haue we cõmen agaynſt him to conquere our inheritaunce of Frãuce ouer whom God hath geuen vs diuers victories as we haue truſted he would by his rightwiſe iudgement and power, which thyng he hath ſhewed vpon vs (all chaunce of fortune ſet a part) in reſpect of our rightfull title therein, and without our deſertes: Wherfore with all humilitie of hart we geue him thankes alwayes therefore, moſt deuoutly night and day prayſing his holy name, for we acknowledge the ſame commeth not by our ſtrength and force. Wherfore moſt holy father we deſire your holines, and ſomuch as in vs lyeth require the ſame, that you that ſupply the place of the ſonne of God in earth, and hath the gouernement of the ſoules of all Chriſten men and ought to be vpright and equall towardes all men without acceptiõ of perſons: that ye will receaue good information and true, of the obiections aboue ſayd, and will put to your holy helpyng hand, as much as in you is, that our ſayd aduerſary of Fraunce may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to vs herein, and may be by your ayde redreſſed, and that he in this hys wrong haue no maintenaunce and ayde at your hand. For if it be ſo, we then appeale vnto the iudge of iudges which ſuffereth for a tyme wronges to be done for the ſinfull default of man, but in the end he redreſſeth the ſame, leauyng no good deede vnrewarded, nor euill vnpuniſhed: moſt hũbly requiryng him to be to vs a true and vpright iudge of all our controuerſies, for his mercyes ſake, as in the meane tyme we repoſe our full truſt and confidence in him. The holy ſpirite of God. &c.

The kyng appealeth from the Pope to God.

Moreouer duryng yet the ſiege of Callis, the French kyng had ſent certaine offers to the men of Flaunders, that if they would relinquiſh the kyng of England and adhere to him.

Firſt he would remit all their former tranſgreſſions.

Secondly, he would vnburden them of their interdict.

Thirdly, he would ſend vnto them ſuch plenty of corne, that what was ſold for xij.s. with them, ſhould be ſold for iiij.s. and that for vj. yeares.

Offers made to the mẽ of Flaunders to forſake K. Edward.

Fourthly, he would ſtore them with plenty of French woll, to make cloth for a ſmall price, & that they might ſell the ſayd clothes both in Flaunders and in Fraunce: & that the Frẽch men ſhould vſe the ſame cloth, for ſo much as all other maner of cloth ſhould be forbid in Fraunce, ſo long as any of that (made of French woll) might be found.

Fiftly, he would reſtore to them theſe three Cities, Inſulam, Rowacum, and Betonie.

Sixtly, he would defend them from all their aduerſaries. And in pledge of the ſame, would ſend them money before hand.

Seuenthly, ſuch as were able and forward men among them, he would reteine and promote them. &c.

But theſe offers ſeming to proceede more of fayre wordes to ſerue the preſent turne, then of any harty truth, were not receaued. Thẽ the Lord Iohn, Prince & heyre to the Frẽch kyng, duryng the foreſayd ſiege of Calys aboue mentioned, commyng with a mighty army of French men, ſet vpõ the men of Flaunders and Engliſh men in the towne of Caſſels. In the which conflict during from mornyng to noone, the French men were vanquiſhed and the young Dolphin driuen backe from whence he came. Of whoſe number diuers were ſlayne, and taken priſoners. Where on the other ſide (through the Lordes defence) not one is reported to be greuouſly wounded.

The Dolphin wyth the French diſcomfited at Caſſeles.

1347.

As this paſſed on, not lõg after about ye vij. day of Iune an. 1347. kyng Edward continuyng ſtill his ſiege agaynſt Calys, Philip the French king came downe with a mighty army purpoſing to remoue the ſiege: where not farre of from the Engliſh hoſt, he incamped himſelfe. Which done, ij. Cardinals, Anibaldus, and Stephanus (procured for the ſame purpoſe) goyng betwene the two kynges, gaue to the kyng of England thus to vnderſtand: that if he would condeſcend to any reaſonable way of peace, the French kyng was ready to offer ſuch honeſt profers vnto him, as to reaſon & to his contentation ſhould ſeeme agreable. But in cõcluſion when it came to talke, the nobles could not agree vpon the conditions. Wherfore, the French kyng ſeyng no other remedy, did it to be ſignified to kyng Edward: that betwen that preſent Teuſday, & the next Friday, if he would come forth into the field, he ſhould haue battaile geuen him. Thus the place beyng vewed of foure Captaines of either hoſt, for the battaile to be fought: it ſo fell, that the French K. on Wedneſday at night before the battaile ſhould ioyne, ſecretly by night ſetting his pauiliõs on fire, returned backe with his army, out of the ſight of the Engliſh men.

The French K. flieth before the battaile.

Upon the Friday folowyng, they which were beſieged in the towne of Calys, ſeyng the kyng to be retired (vpon whoſe helpe they truſted, beyng alſo in great penury and famine for lacke of victuals, and otherwiſe in much miſery vehemently diſtreſſed) ſurrendered the towne to the kynges handes: who like a mercyfull Prince onely deteynyng certeine of the chief, the reſt with the whole commons he let go with bagge & baggage, diminiſhing no part of their goods, ſhewyng therein more Princely fauour to them, then they did of late in Queene Maries dayes vnto our men, in recouering the ſayd towne of Calys agayne.

The towne of Calice wonne.

After the winning thus of Calys as hath bene premiſed, kyng Edward remainyng in the ſayd towne a certaine ſpace, was in conſultation concernyng his viage and proceedyng farther into Fraunce. But by meanes of the foreſayd Cardinals, truce for a certaine time was taken, and inſtrumentes made (ſo prouided) that certaine noble men as well for the French K. as for the kyng of England, ſhould come to the pope there to debate vpõ the articles. Unto the which kyng Edward, for peace ſake was not greatly diſagreyng. Which was. an. 1347. Ex Rob. Aueſ.

Truce concluded betwene England & Fraunce.

1348.

The next yeare folowyng which was. an. 1348. fell a ſore plague, which they call the firſt generall peſtilence in the Realme of England. This plague (as they ſay) firſt ſpringyng frõ the Eaſt, & ſo ſpreading Weſtward, did ſo mightly preuaile here in this land, begynnyng firſt at Dorceſter & the countreys there about: that euery day lightly xx. ſome dayes xl. ſome lx. and mo dead corſes were brought and layd together in one pitte. This begynning the firſt day of Auguſt: by the firſt of Nouember it came to Lõdon. Whereas the vehement rage therof was ſo hoate, and did increaſe ſo much: that from the firſt day of February, till about the beginnyng of May in a Churchyard then newly made by Smithfield about CC. dead corſes euery day were buried, beſides them which in other Churchyardes of the Citie were laid alſo. At lẽgth by the grace of Chriſt, ceaſing there, it proceded from thence to the Northpartes. Where alſo the

A vehement peſtilence in England.

Now called the Charterhouſe church yard.

next yeare after.an.1349.it ſwaged.

1350.
Calice almoſt loſt by treaſon.
The death of the French kyng.

After this, in the next yeare inſuyng.an.1350.the towne of Calys was by treaſon of the keper of the Caſtle, almoſt betrayed and wonne from the Engliſh men. Within the compaſſe of which yeare, dyed Philip the French kyng. After whom kyng Iohn his ſonne ſucceeded in the crowne. Who the next yeare after vnder falſe pretence of frendſhyp, cauſed the Conſtable of Fraũce Earle of Ewe to be beheded: who beyng taken priſoner before in warre by Engliſh men, and long deteined in priſon in England, was licenſed by kyng Edward to viſite his countrey of Fraunce. In the ſame yeare the town of Gwines was taken by Engliſhmẽ, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and a ſleepe.

1351.
The towne of Gwynes taken.

1352.
Victory of ſir Roger Bentele.

The yeare next folowyng, the Marſhall of Fraunce with a great army was put to flight, by Syr Roger Bentele Knight and Captaine in Britanie, hauyng but onely 600. ſouldiours with him. In this battaile were taken ii. Knightes, Eſquiers and Gentlemen. 140. The French men and Britanes, by this victory were exceedyngly diſcouraged, and their pryde cut downe.

Firſt Duke of Lãcaſter.

In the yeare after, was Henry firſt made Duke of Lancaſter, which before was Earle of Derby and Lancaſter. Alſo diuers good ordinaunces were appointed in the Parliament at Weſtminſter. Which after by auarice, and partiall fauour of the head men, were agayne vndone.

1354.
Pope Innocent.6.

Concorde and agreement about the yeare.1354. began to come well forward, & inſtrumentes were drawen vpon the ſame, betwene the ij. kynges. But that the matter beyng brought vp to Pope Innocent 6. partly by the quarelyng of the French men, partly by the winkyng of the pope, which euer held with the French ſide, the conditions were repealed, which were theſe: That the kyng of England, all the Dukedome of Aquitanie with other landes there, ſhould be to him reſtored, without homage to the French kyng. And that kyng Edward agayne ſhould ſurrender to him all his right and title, which he had in Fraunce: wherupon roſe the occaſion of great warre and tumulte, which folowed after betwene the two Realmes.

Chron. Adami Murimouth canonici D. Pauli de geſtis Edward.3.

1355.

It folowed after this, the yeare of our Lord.1355. that kyng Edward hearyng of the death of Philip the French kyng, & that king Iohn his ſonne, had graunted the Dukedome of Aquitanie to Charles his eldeſt ſonne and Dolphin of Vienna; ſent ouer Prince Edward with the Earle of Warwike, of Saliſbury, of Oxford, and with them a ſufficient number of able ſouldiours, into Aquitania. Where he beyng willingly receaued of diuers, ỹ reſt he ſubdued: partly by force of ſword, partly receaued, ſubmittyng themſelues to his protection.

The third viage of K. Edward into Fraunce.

The French king refuſeth to ioyne in battaile wyth kyng Edward.

Not long after this in ỹ ſame yeare, word being brought to kyng Edward that Iohn the Frẽch kyng was ready to meete him at S. Omers there to geue him battaile, gathered his power & ſet ouer to Calys with his ij. ſonnes Leonelle Earle of Vlton: and Iohn of Gaunt, Earle of Richmond: and with Henry Duke of Lancaſter. &c. Who beyng come to S. Omers, the French kyng with a mighty army of his frenchmen hearing of his comming, the nearer he approched to them the further retired they backe: waſtyng and deſtroying behind them, to the entent that the Engliſh army in purſuyng them ſhould finde no vitails. By reaſon wherof, kyng Edward folowing him by the ſpace of ix. or x. dayes vnto Haden (whẽ neither he could finde his enemy to fight, nor victuals or forage for his army) he returned vnto Calys: where warre agayne beyng offered in the name of the kyng vpon vnſtable conditions, and yet the ſame not performed, kyng Edward ſeyng the ſhunnyng of his enemy, from Calys croſſed the Seas into Englãd: where he recouered agayne the towne of Barwicke, which the Scottes before by ſubtile trayne had gotten. At which tyme was graũted vnto the king in Parliament 50.s. for euery ſacke or packe of wooll that ſhould be caried ouer, for the ſpace of vj. yeares together. By the which graunt, the kyng might be ſped euery day by eſtimation aboue a C. markes ſterling. And for as much as euery yeare C. M. ſackes of wooll were thought to be exported out of the Realme: the ſumme therof for vj. yeares ſpace was eſteemed to mount to xv. hundred thouſand pound ſterling.

Fifty ſhillinges for euery ſacke of wool caryed out of England.

The cuſtome of wool for 6 yeares 15000. poundes ſterling to king Edward.

1356.

The ſame yeare, when kyng Edward had recouered Barwicke, and ſubdued Scotland: Prince Edward beyng in Gaſcoine, made toward the French king. Who notwithſtandyng by the way all bridges were caſt downe, and great reſiſtaunce made: yet the victorious Prince makyng way with his ſword, after much ſlaughter of the Frenchmen, & many priſoners taken: at length ioynyng with the French kyng at Poytiers, ſcarſe with two M. gaue the ouerthrow to the French kyng with vij. M. men of armes and mo. In which conflict the French kyng himſelfe, and Philip his ſonne wyth L. Iames of Bourbon, the Archb. of Senon, xi. Earles, 22. Lordes were taken. Of other warriors and men of armes 2000. Some affirme in this conflicte were ſlayne 2. Dukes, of Lordes and noble men 24. of men of armes 2002. of other ſouldiers aboue viij. M. The common report is, that mo French men were there taken priſoners, then was the number of them which tooke them. This noble victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no litle admiration to all men.

The French K. taken priſoner by prince Edward.

It were too long, and litle pertaynyng to the purpoſe of thys hiſtory to comprehend in order all the voyages of thys kyng, wyth the circumſtances of his victories, & the bringing in of the French K. into England, of hys abode there, of the raunſome leuied on hym and of Dauid the Scottiſhe kyng, of which the one was rated at 3. millions of Scutes, the other at C. thouſand markes to be payd in x. yeres: how the ſtaple was after tranſlated to Calys, with ſuch like, I referre them that would ſee more, to the Chronicle of Tho. Walſing. of S. Albans, of Iohn Froyſard, Adam Merimouth, who diſcourſe all this at large.

Euery Scute valuing 6. ſhillinges 8. pence.

In writing the ſtorie and actes of Ludouicus the emperour, a litle aboue mention was made, pag. 377. of certayne learned men which tooke the emperours part againſt the Pope. In number of whom, was Marſilius Patauinus, Gulielmus Ockam, Ioannes Gandauenſis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landenſis, Vlricus Hangenor treaſurer to the Emperour, Dantes, Aligerius, &c. Of whom Marſilius Patauinus compiled and exhibited vnto the Emperour Ludouike, a worthy worke intituled Defenſor pacis: written in the Emperours behalfe agaynſt the Pope. Wherin (both godly and learnedly diſputing agaynſt the Pope) he prooueth, all Byſhops and Prieſtes to be equall: And that the pope hath no ſuperioritie aboue other Byſhops, much leſſe aboue the Emperour. That the worde of God ought to be onely the chiefe iudge in decidyng and determinyng cauſes eccleſiaſticall: That not onely ſpirituall perſons, but lay men alſo beyng godly and learned, ought to be admitted into generall counceles: That the Clergye and the pope ought to be ſubiect vnto Magiſtrates: That the Church is the vniuerſitie of the faythfull, and that the foundation and head of the Church is Chriſt, and that he neuer appoynted any vicare or pope ouer hys vniuerſall church: That Byſhops ought to be choſen euery one by their owne Church and Clergie: That the maryage of prieſtes may lawfully be permitted: That S. Peter was neuer at Rome: That the Clergye and Synagoge of the pope is a denne of theeues: That the doctrine of the pope is not to be folowed, becauſe it leadeth to eternall deſtruction: And that the corrupt maners of the Chriſtians doe ſpring and flow out of the wickednes of the ſpiritualtie. &c. He diſputeth moreouer in an other worke of free iuſtification by grace: And extenuateth merites, ſaying that they are no cauſes efficient of our ſaluation, but onely ſine qua non, that is to ſay, that workes be no cauſe of our iuſtification, but yet our iuſtification goeth not wythout them. For the which his doctrine moſt ſounde and Catholike, he was condemned by the pope. an.1324. by the popes decree extrauagant, cap. Licet intra doctrinã. Concernyng the which man & hys doctrine: I thought good thus much to commit to hiſtorie, to the entent men may ſee, that they which charge thys doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of noueltie or newnes, how ignoraunt & vnſkilfull they be in the hiſtories and order of tymes forepaſt.

Marſilius Patauinus, autor of the booke called *Defenſor pacis.*

Articles of Marſilius againſt the Pope.

Merites cauſe of ſaluation, *ſine qua non.*

Marſilius condemned of the pope.

Extrauag. cap. Licet intra doctrinam.

In the ſame part of condemnation at the ſame tyme, alſo was Ioannes de Gunduno. an.1330. and conteyned alſo in the foreſayd Extrauagant, wyth Marſilius Patauinus. Which Ioannes wrote much vpon Ariſtotle and Auerrois, and are yet remaynyng. And no doubt, but he wrote alſo of diuinitie, but not vnlike that theſe workes haue bene aboliſhed.

Ioannes Gandauenſis condemned by the pope.

In the ſame number and cataloge, commeth alſo Guilielmus Ockam, who was in the yeare of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned pag. 377. and wrote likewiſe in defence of Ludouicus the Emperour agaynſt the Pope: and alſo in defence of Michael Generall of Grayfryers, whom the pope had excommunicated and curſed for an hereticke. Diuers treatiſes were by the ſayd Ockam ſet forth, wherof ſome are extant and in print, as his queſtions and diſtinctions: ſome are extinct and ſuppreſſed (as Aſcentius reporteth) quòd eſſent aliquando aſperiora. Some agayne be publiſhed vnder no name of the autor, being of hys doyng: as the dialogue betwene the ſouldiour and the clarke: wherin it is to be coniected, what bookes and workes this Ockam had collected agaynſt the pope. Of this Ockam Iohn Sleidane in his hiſtory inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whoſe wordes be theſe: William Ockam in time of Ludouicus. 4. Emperour did floriſhe, about the yeare

Guilielmus Ockam, wrote agaynſt the pope.

Michael generall of the gray friers excommunicated for an hereticke.

Aſcentius in præfatione eius autoris.

The dialogue betwene the ſouldier and the clarke, of Ockams making.

of our Lord 1326. who among other thynges wrote of the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome. In the which booke he handleth theſe 8. queſtions very copiouſly: whether both yͤ adminiſtrations of the Byſhops office, and of the Emperours may be in one man. 2. whether the Emperour taketh hys power and authoritie onely of God, or els of the Pope. 3. whether the Pope and Church of Rome haue power by Chriſt, to ſet and place kynges and Emperours, and to cõmit to them their iuriſdiction to be exerciſed. 4. whether the Emperour being elected, hath full authoritie vpon the ſayd his election, to adminiſter hys empire. 5. whether other kyngs beſides yͤ Emperour & kyng of Romaynes, in yͭ they are conſecrated of prieſtes, receaue of them any part of their power. 6. whether the ſayd kyngs in any caſe be ſubiect to their conſecrators. 7. whether if the ſayde kynges ſhould admit any new ſacrifice, or ſhould take to themſelues the Diademe wͭout any further conſecration, they ſhoulde thereby loſe their kyngly right and title. 8. whether the ſeuẽ princes electors geue as much to the election of the Emperour, as ſucceſſion rightfull geueth to other kynges. Upon theſe queſtions he diſputeth and argueth with ſundry argumentes and ſundry reaſons on both ſides, at length deciſeth the matter on the part of the ciuill magiſtrate: and by occaſion therof, entreth into the mentiõ of the popes decrees Extrauagant, declaring how litle force or regard is to be geuen therunto.

8. Queſtions diſputed by Ockam.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminẽſis a learned and a famous and right godly man: who not much differing from the age of thys Ockam, about the yeare of our Lord 1350. diſputed in the ſame doctrine of grace and free wyll, as we doe now, and diſſented therein from the Papiſtes and Sophiſters, counting them worſe then Pelagians.

Gregorius Ariminenſis mainteineth the ſame doctrine now receaued.
Ex Trithemio.

Of the like iudgement, and in the ſame tyme was alſo Andreas de Caſtro, as appeareth ſuper lib. 1. Sentent. diſt. 45. and Burdianus vpon the Ethiques of Ariſtotle: which both maintayned the grace of the Goſpell, as is now in the Church receaued, aboue 200. yeares ſince.

Andreas de Caſtro and Burdianus both goſpellers 200. yeares agoe.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Duke of Burgundy named Eudo, who at the ſame tyme, an. 1350. diſſwaded the French kyng not to receaue in his land the new founde cõſtitutions, decretall and Extrauagãt, within his realme: whoſe ſage counſaile then geuen, yet remayneth among yͤ Frẽch kings Recordes, as witneſſeth Charol. Molineus.

Eudo duke of Burgũdy againſt the popes decrees about 200 yeares ſince.
Ex Charolo Molinæo.

Dantes an Italian writer a Florentine, lyued in the time of Ludouicus themperour, about the yeare of our lord 1300. and tooke his part with Marſilius Patauinus agaynſt three ſortes of men, which he ſayd were enemyes to the truth: That is, the Pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count thẽſelues the children of yͤ church, when they are children of the deuill their father: Thirdly, the Doctors of decrees and decretals. Certaine of his writinges be extant abroad, wherein he prooueth the Pope not to be aboue the Emperour, nor to haue any right or iuriſdiction in the empyre. He refuſeth the Donation of Cõſtantine to be a forged and a fayned thyng, as which neither did ſtand with any law or right. For the which, he was taken of many for an heretike. He complayneth moreouer very much, the preaching of Gods word to be omitted: and in ſtede therof, the vayne fables of Monkes and Friers to be preached & beleued of the people: and ſo the flocke of Chriſt to be fed not wyth the foode of the Goſpell, but with wynde. The pope ſaith he, of a paſtor is made a wolfe, to waſt the Church of Chriſt, and to procure with his Clergie not the worde of God to be preached, but his owne decrees. In his canticle of purgatory, he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon. And to her miniſters, to ſome he applyeth ij. hornes, to ſome iiij. As to the Patriarches, whom he noteth to be the tower of the ſayd whore Babilonicall. Ex libris Dantes Italice.

Dantes an Italiã writer againſt the pope.

Donation of Conſtantine a thyng forged.

The pope the whore of Babilõ.

Ex lib. Iornandi.

Pope Antichriſt.

Herevnto may be added the ſaying out of the booke of Iornandus imprinted, with the foreſayd Dantes: that forſomuch as Antichriſt commeth not before the deſtruction of the Empire, therefore ſuch as go about to haue the empire extinct, are forerunners and meſſengers in ſo doing of Antichriſt. Therefore let the Romaynes (ſayth he) and their Byſhops beware, leaſt their ſinnes and wickednes ſo deſeruing by the iuſt iudgement of God, the prieſthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germany take hede, &c.

An admonitiõ to the Romaynes.

And becauſe our aduerſaryes which obiecte to vs the newenes of our doctrine, ſhall ſee the courſe and fourme of this religion now receaued, not to haue bene, eyther ſuch a new thyng now, or a thyng ſo ſtraunge in tymes paſt: I wyll adde to theſe aboue recited, maiſter Taulerus a preacher of Argentine in Germany, an. 1350. Who contrary to the Popes proceedynges, taught openly agaynſt all mens merites and agaynſt inuocation of Saintes, and preached ſincerely of our free iuſtification by grace, referring all mans truſt onely to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all ſuperſtition.

Taulerus of Germany, a preacher againſt the popes proceedinges.

With whom alſo may be adioyned Franciſcus Petrarcha, a writer of the ſame age, who in his workes and his Italian meter ſpeakyng of Rome: calleth it the whore of Babylon, the ſchole and mother of errour, the temple of hereſie, the neſt of traychery growyng and increaſing by the oppreſſing of others: and ſayth farther that ſhee, (meanyng the Popes Court) extolleth her ſelfe agaynſt her founders that is, the Emperours, who firſt ſet her vp and did ſo enriche her: And ſeemeth playnly to affirme that the pope was Antichriſt, declaring that no greater euill could happen to any man then to be made Pope. This Franciſcus was about the yeare of our Lord. 1350.

Franciſcus Petrarcha.

Vide ſex epiſtolam Franciſci Petrarchæ.

Rome the mother and ſchole of errour.

And if time would ſerue vs to ſeeke out old hiſtories, we ſhould finde plenty of faithfull witneſſes of old and auncient time, to geue witneſſe with vs agaynſt the Pope beſide the other aboue rehearſed: as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa. an. 1340. Who for rebukyng the ſpiritualtie for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duety, was caſt in priſon.

Ioannes de rupe ſciſſa.

John caſt into priſon.

Illiricus a writer in our dayes teſtifieth, that he found & read in an old Pamphlet, that the ſayd Ioannes ſhould call the Church of Rome, the whore of Babilon: and the Pope to be the miniſter of Antichriſt, and the Cardinals to be the falſe Prophetes. Being in priſon he wrote a booke of propheſies, bearyng the title: Vade mecum in tribulatione: in which booke (which alſo I haue ſene) he propheſied & admoniſhed affliction and tribulation to hang ouer the ſpiritualtie. And pronounceth plainly that God will purge his Clergy, and will haue Prieſtes that ſhalbe poore, godly, and that ſhall faythfully feede the Lordes flocke: moreouer, that the goods of the Church ſhall returne agayne to the lay mẽ. He propheſied alſo the ſame time, that the French king and his army ſhould haue an ouerthrow. Which came likewiſe to paſſe during the time of his impriſonment. Of this Ioannes de rupe, writeth Froyſard in his time, and alſo Wickliffe, of whoſe propheſies, more may be ſayd at more leaſure (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

Church of Rome, the whore of Babilon.

The reformatiõ of the Church before propheſied.

Cõradus Hager.

About the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1340. in the Citie Herbipoli, was one named maiſter Conradus Hager. Who (as appeareth by the old Bulles and regiſters of Otho byſhop of the ſayd Citie) is there recorded, to haue maintained and taught the ſpace of xxiiij. yeares together, the Maſſe to be no maner of ſacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man either quicke or deade, and that the money geuen of the dead for Maſſes, be very robberies & ſacrilege of Prieſtes, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poore. And ſayd moreouer, that if he had a ſtoue full of gold and ſiluer, he would not geue one farthyng for any Maſſe. For the ſame his doctrine, this good preacher was condemned and incloſed in priſon: what afterward became vpon him, we do not finde.

The Maſſe to be no ſacrifice.

Conradus caſt in priſon.

Ex bullis quibuſdam Othonis Epiſ. Herbipolẽ.

There is among other old and auncient recordes of antiquitie belonging to this preſent tyme, a certaine monument in verſes Poetically compiled, but not without a certaine morall, intituled, Pœnitentiarius Aſini, the Aſſes confeſſor: bearing the date & yeare of our Lord in this nũber, Cõpletus an. 1343. In this treatiſe be brought forth the Wolfe, the Foxe, & the Aſſe comming to ſhrift & doyng penaunce. Firſt the Wolfe cõfeſſeth him to the Foxe, who eaſely doth abſolue him from all his faultes, and alſo excuſeth him in the ſame. In like maner the Wolfe hearyng the Foxes ſhrift, ſheweth to him the like fauour agayne. After this commeth the Aſſe to confeſſion, whoſe fault was this: that he beyng hungry, tooke a ſtraw out from the ſheafe of one that went in peregrination vnto Rome. The Aſſe although repentyng of his fact, yet becauſe he thought it not ſo heynous as the faultes of the other, the more he hoped for his abſolutiõ. But what followed? After the ſely Aſſe had vttered his crime in auricular cõfeſſion, immediatly the diſcipline of the law was executed vpõ him with ſeueritie: neither was he iudged worthy of any abſolution, but was apprehended vpon the ſame, ſlaine and deuoured. Who ſoeuer was the author of this fabulous tale, had a myſticall vnderſtandyng in the ſame, for by the Wolfe no doubt was ment the Pope. But the Foxe was reſembled to the Prelates, Curtiſans, Prieſtes, and reſt of the ſpiritualtie. Of the ſpiritualtie, the Lord Pope is ſoone abſolued, as contrary, the Pope ſoone doth abſolue them in like maner. By the Aſſe is ment the poore laitie, vpon whoſe backe the ſtraite cenſure of the law is ſharpely executed: eſpecially when the Germaine Emperours come vnder the Popes Inquiſition, to be examined by his diſci-

Pœnitentiarius Aſini.

The pope and his ſpiritualtie cõfederate agaynſt the laitie.

The pope maketh the Emperour a lay Aſſe.

pline,

plint, there is no abſolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haſt he muſt be depoſed, as in theſe ſtories may partly appeare before. And though the matter be not the weight of a ſtraw, yet what ſayth the holy father the Wolfe, if it pleaſe him to make any matter of it.

Immenſum ſcelus eſt, iniuria quam peregrino
Feciſti, ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.
Non aduertiſti quòd plura pericula paſſus
Plurima paſſurus, quòd peregrinus erat.
Non aduertiſti, quòd ei per maxima terræ
Et pelagi ſpacia, ſit peragranda via.
Non aduertiſti, ſanctos, nec limina ſancta,
Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.
Ille retranſiuit eadem loca, tam violentum
Ex inopinato ſenſit adeſſe malum.
De Papa taceo, cuius protectio talem
Conduxit, cuius tu vilipendis opem.
Totius Eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,
Pertulit abſtracto gramine damna viæ. &c.

And thus they aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the vttermoſt, flye vpon the poore Aſſe & deuoure him. By the which Apology, the tyrãnicall and fraudulent practiſes of theſe ſpirituall Romaniſtes are liuely deſcribed.

Gerhardus Ridder, a writer agaynſt monkes and Friers.

Not long after theſe aboue rehearſed, about the yeare of our Lord. 1350. Gerhardus Ridder, wrote alſo againſt the Monkes and Friers a booke intituled, Lachrima Eccleſiæ: wherin he diſputeth agaynſt the foreſayd religious orders, namely agaynſt the beggyng Friers: prouyng that kinde of life to be farre from Chriſtiã perfection, for that it is againſt charitie to liue vpõ other, when a man may liue by his owne labours. And affirmeth them to be hipocrites, filthy liuers, and ſuch as for mãs fauour, and for lucre ſake, do mixt with true Diuinitie: fables, Apochryphas, and dreames of vanitie. Alſo, that they vnder pretence of long prayer, deuoure widdowes houſes: and with their confeſſions, ſermons, and burials do trouble the Church of Chriſt manifold wayes. And therfore perſwaded the Prelates to bridle and keepe ſhort the inordinate licence and abuſes of theſe Monaſticall perſons. &c.

Michael Ceſenas, Petrus de Carbaria, condemned of the Pope. Ioannes de Poliaco.

Yet I haue made no mention of Michael Ceſenas, prouinciall of the Gray Friers, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Autoninus, in quarta parte ſummæ & ſayth, they were condemned in the Extrauagant of Pope Iohn, with one Ioannes de Poliaco. Their opinions ſayth Antoninus were theſe: That Peter the Apoſtle was no more the head of the Church, then the other Apoſtles: And that Chriſt left no Vicare behind him or head in his Church: And that the Pope hath no ſuch authoritie to correct and puniſh, to inſtitute or depoſe the Emperour. Item, that all Prieſtes of what degree ſo euer, are of equall authoritie, power, and iuriſdiction by the inſtitution of Chriſt: but by the inſtitution of the Emperour, the Pope to be ſuperiour, which by the ſame Emperour alſo may be reuoked agayne. Item, that neither the Pope nor yet the Church may puniſh any man, punitione coactiua. That is, by externe coaction: vnleſſe they receaue licence of the Emperour. This foreſayd Michael, generall of the gray friers, wrote againſt the tyranny, pride and primacie of the Pope, accuſing him to be Antichriſt: and the church of Rome, to be the whore of Babylon dronke with the bloud of Saintes. He ſayd there were two Churches, one of the wicked, floriſhyng, wherin reigned the pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the veritie was almoſt vtterly extinct: And for this cauſe he was depriued of his dignitie and condemned of the Pope. Notwithſtanding, he ſtode conſtant in his aſſertions. This Michael was about the yeare of our Lord. 1322. And left behind him many fautours and folowers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were ſlayne by the Pope: Some were condemned, as William Ockam, ſome were burned as Ioannes de Caſtilione, and Franciſcus de Arcatara. In Extrauag. Ioan. 23.

The opinions of Michael againſt the Pope. Michael Ceſenas depriued and condemned of the pope.

Martyrs, Ioannes de Caſtilione, Franciſcus de Arcatara, burned.

With him alſo was condemned in the ſayd Extrauagãt Ioannes de Poliaco, aboue touched, whoſe aſſertions, were theſe: That the Pope could not geue licence to heare confeſſions to whom he would, but that euery paſtour in his owne Church ought to ſuffice. Item, that paſtours and byſhops had their authoritie, immediatly from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and not from the Pope. Item, that the conſtitutiõ of pope Benedict the xj. wherin he grãteth larger priuileges to the Friers aboue other paſtours, was no declaratiõ of the law, but a ſubuerſiõ. And for this he was by the ſayd Friers oppreſſed about the yeare of our Lord. 1322.

After Symon Mepham Archbyſhop of Canterbury before mentioned, who liued not lõg: ſucceded Iohn Stretford. After whom came Iohn Offord, who lyued but x. monethes. In whoſe rowme ſucceded Thomas, and remained but one yeare. an. 1350. And after him Symõ Iſlep was made Archbyſhop of Canterbury, by Pope Clement the vj. who ſat. xvij. yeares. and builded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford. Which Symon Iſlyp ſucceded the Byſhop of Ely named Symon Langham, who within two yeares was made Cardinall. In whoſe ſtede Pope Vrbane the fift ordeined William Wittleſey Byſhop of Worceter to be Archbyſhop of Cãterbury. an. 1366. In which yeare, William Byſhop of winchester erected and founded the new colledge in Oxford.

Archbiſhops of Cant. the one ſucceeding the other.

New colledge in Oxford founded an. 1366.

Agayne in the order of the popes, next vnto Pope Clement the vj. before mẽtioned, about the ſame time. an. 1353. ſucceded pope Innocent the vj. In the firſt yeare of which Pope two Friers Minors or Franciſcans were burned at Auinion Pro opinionibus (as myne author ſayth) erroneis, prout D. Papæ & eius Cardinalibus videbatur. i. For certain opinions, as ſeemed to the Pope and his Cardinals, erroneous, Ex Chron. Walſ. Of the which two Friers, I finde in the Chronicles De actis Rom. põtificum, and in the hiſtory of Præmonſtratenſis, that the one was Ioannes Rochetaylada. Or rather as I finde in Catal. teſtiũ cited out of ỹ Chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hapabalus. Who beyng (as he recordeth) a Frier Minorite, began firſt in the tyme of Pope Clement the vj. an. 1345. to preach and affirme openly that he was by Gods reuelation charged and commaunded to preach: that the Church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and the Pope with his Cardinals to be very Antichriſt. And that Pope Benedict & the other before him his predeceſſours were dãned, with other ſuch like wordes, tendyng much agaynſt the Popes tyrannical maieſty. And that the foreſayd Hapabalus being brought before the Popes face, conſtauntly did ſtand in the ſame, ſaying, that he was commaunded by Gods reuelation ſo to ſay, & alſo that he would preach the ſame, if he might. To whom it was then obiected that he had ſome hereticall bookes, and ſo was committed to priſon in Auiniõ. In the tyme of his accuſation it happened, that a certain Prieſt cõmyng before the Pope, caſt the Popes Bull downe before his feete, ſaying: Lo here, take your Bull vnto you, for it doth me no good at all. I haue laboured now theſe 3. yeares withall, and yet notwithſtandyng for all this your Bull I cannot be reſtored to my right. The Pope hearyng this, commaunded the poore Prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to be layd in priſon with the foreſayd Frier. What became of them afterward, the foreſayd writer Henricus de Herfordia maketh no mentiõ. But I may probably coniecture this Prieſt, and this Frier Rochetapladus, or rather Hapabalus were the two, whom myne author Tho. Walſingham, writeth to be burned at this tyme in Auinion, about the firſt beginnyng of this Pope Innocentius the vj. Of this Rochtaylada, I thought good here to inſerte the teſtimony and mention of Iohn Froyſayd, written of him in his firſt volume, chap. 211. in theſe wordes.

Pope Innoc. 6. Two Franciſcanes burned at Auinion.

Ioan. Rochtaylada Martyr.

Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia.

The church of Rome declared to be the whore of Babilon by gods reuelation.

Rochtaylada with an other Frier, Martyrs.

A prieſt for caſting the popes bull before the popes feete ſcourged, caſt in priſon, and after burned at Auinion.

An. 1354.

There was (ſayth Froyſard) a Frier Minor full of great Clergy in the Citie of Auinion, called Frier Iohn of Rochetaylada, the which Frier pope Innocent the vj. held in priſon in the Caſtell of Baignour for ſhewyng of many meruailes after to come, principally he ſhewed many things to fall on the Prelates of the Church for the great ſuperfluitie and pride, that was as then vſed among them. And alſo he ſpake many thinges to fall of the Realme of Frãuce and of the great Lordes of Chriſtendome, for the oppreſſiõs that they did to the poore common people. This Frier ſayd he would proue all his ſayinges by the authoritie of the Apocalips & by other bookes of holy Saintes and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the holy ghoſt: he ſhewed many thynges hard to beleue, & many thyngs fell after as he ſayd. He ſayd thẽ not as a prophet but he ſhewed them by authoritie of aũcient Scriptures and by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, who gaue him vnderſtandyng to declare the auncient prophesies & to ſhew to all Chriſten people the yeares and tymes when ſuch thyngs ſhould fall, he made diuers bookes founded on great ſciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the yeare of our Lord. 1346. wherein was written ſuch meruailes that it were hard to beleue them howbeit many thynges accordyng thereto fell after. And when he was demaunded of the warres of Fraunce he ſaid that all that had bene ſene was not like that ſhould be ſene after. For he ſayd that the warres in Fraunce ſhould not be ended till the Realme were vtterly waſted & exiled in euery part. The which ſaying was wel ſene after, for the noble Realme of Frãuce was ſore waſted and exiled: and ſpecially in the terme that the ſayd Frier had ſet. The which

Ex Ioan. Froſſardo volu. 1. cap. 211.

was in yͤ yeares of our lord 1356.57.58.& 59. He ſayd in thoſe yeares the Princes & gentlemen of the realme ſhould not for feare ſhew themſelues agaynſt the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all countries without head or captayne, and they ſhould do as they liſt in the realme of Fraunce, the which fell after as ye haue heard, how the companions aſſembled them together, and by reaſon of their robbery & pillage waxed rich and became great captaynes.

Ex ſcripto Godfri. de Fontanis.

A contention in Fraunce betwene the prelates and the Friers there.

About the ſame tyme happened in Fraunce a certaine contention betwene the French prelates, and the Friers of Paris, teſtified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis, the briefe effect of which ſtory is this. The prelates of Fraũce conuenting and aſſembling together in the Citie of Paris, after a long deliberation among themſelues: cauſed by the Bedels to be called together all the Studentes, maiſters & Bachalers of euery facultie, with the chiefe heades alſo of all the religious houſes and friers in the vniuerſity of Paris. Who being all there congregated together in the biſhop of Paris his houſe, where there were preſẽt 4. archbiſhops and 20. byſhops: firſt ſtoode vp the Biſhop of Biturecẽſe, who there making his Sermon, tooke for his theame the place of S. Paule to the Epheſians. Fratres vt ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, et profunditas charitatis. &c. and concluded therupon, firſt that true charitie woulde compell them to ſee and prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigore of charitie would arme them, to withſtand errours. Thirdly he concluded, that by the dutie of charitie, they were bound to geue their liues for the ſoules of their flocke committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by yͤ ſame charitie euery man to holde himſelfe content with that which was his owne, and not to intermedle or buſie hymſelfe further then to him apperteined or belonged to his office: For there (ſayth he) all order eccleſiaſticall is diſſolued, where as men not containing themſelues in their own precinctes, preſume in other mẽs charges, where they haue nothyng to do. But this charitie (ſayth he) now a dayes waxeth colde, and all Eccleſiaſticall order is confounded and vtterly out of order. For many there be, which now a dayes preſume to thruſt in themſelues where they haue nothing to do, ſo that now the Church may ſeeme a monſter. For as in a naturall body appeareth a monſter, where one member doth the office of an other: ſo in yͤ ſpirituall body which is the Church, may be thought likewiſe. As whẽ our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers Maiors and Minors, do take vpon them to vſurpe and occupye the office to vs ſpecially appertaynyng: namely, where as the ſcripture warneth vs all, none to take vpon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Wherfore we haue heretofore oftentymes cauſed the ſayd Friers, both by the king hymſelfe in his owne perſon, and alſo by other nobles to be ſpoken to and deſired: to ſurceaſe from doing and intermedling in our office, & yet they would not, but haue preached agaynſt our willes through all our dioceſſes, and haue heard confeſſiõs, ſaying that they haue the Popes priuilegies to beare them out therin. For the which cauſe we come to you, and not we here preſent onely, but alſo we haue the handwriting and the full conſent of all other our fellow Byſhops throughout the kyngdome of Fraunce, to complayne to you of thys ſo great inſolencie and preſumption of the Friers. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither do I thinke to be any of vs prelates here now, which haue not ſometyme bene taken out of thys vniuerſitie of yours. We haue deſired moreouer, & cauſed to be deſired the foreſayd Friers, to ſend their priuilegies to the Apoſtolike ſee, to be interpreted and expounded more playnely by yͤ Lord Pope: which they refuſed alſo to do. Wherfore, to the intent you may the better vnderſtãd and ſee what their priuilegies be, and how farre they do extend: we haue appointed the ſaid priuilege here openly to be read vnto you.

A ſermon of the Biſh. of Byters to the ſtudents of Paris againſt the Friers.

That is, the Dominicke Friers & the Franciſcane Friers.

Then ſtoode vp an other in the publike place, and there read the priuilegies of both the orders: and afterwarde read alſo the conſtitution of Pope Innocent iij. written in the v. of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, &c. Which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to yͤ foreſayd priuilegies, as he there manifeſtly proued, declaring how both the ſayd priuilegies were derogatorie to that conſtitution.

The cõſtitutiõ of pope Innocent. 3. *Omnis vtriuſque ſexus.*

The Friers priuilegies proued contrary to the popes cõſtitutiõ. The Biſh. Ambianenſis.

This done, then roſe vp the Byſhop Ambianenſis, a great Lawyer: who diſcourſing from article to article, there proued by good law, that the ſaid conſtitution ſtoode in his full force and vigore, and ought not to be infringed by the Friers priuilegies in no part. And therfore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the Friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelues in hearing confeſſions, in inioynyng of penaunce, and in preaching in Churches and Dioceſſes without ſpeciall licence of the Byſhop of the Dioces, & Curate of the Pariſh: vnto whoſe wordes, neuer a Frier at that tyme replyed agayne. And ſo the Byſhop proceedyng to his concluſion, deſired the vniuerſitie to aſſiſte them in that caſe, wherein they were all determined (ſaith he) to ſtand firmely to the ſheddyng of their bloud, in reſiſtyng that miſorder and iniurie of the Friers. This happened the vj. day of December which they dedicate to S. Nicholas.

Friers ought not to preach in Churches without ſpeciall licence of them to whom the church belongeth.

The Friers reply againſt the prelates.

The next day beyng Sõday, one of the order of the Minorites or Franciſcanes, went to the Church of the Maiorites or preachyng Friers: where he made a Sermon (which was neuer ſene before, the one order to come and reſort with the other) begynnyng in the foreſayd matter to reply, and to expound in order through euery article as well as he could: addyng moreouer and ſaying, that they wẽt not ſo farre in their priuileges, as they lawfully might. And ſaid moreouer, that what tyme the ſayd priuileges were in obtaynyng at Rome: the Byſhop Ambianenſis was there preſent himſelfe, reſiſtyng the ſame with all his power, yea all the Prelates alſo of Fraunce ſent and wrote vp to the Court agaynſt the ſame, and yet did not preuaile. For when the Friers there preſently declared and opened to the pope in what maner and how farre they had vſed priuilegies: the Pope the ſame tyme ſayd, Placet: That is, agreed vnto the ſame. And now (ſayth he) the Prelates require & demaund of vs to ſend vp our priuilegies to the Court, which were great folly in vs: For in ſo doyng, what ſhould we els but geue place & occaſion, to reuoke agayn the authoritie which is geuen in our handes already. Furthermore, our Warden and maiſter is now lately dead, and the maiſter here of the Dominike Friers, is not now preſent. Wherefore, we dare not determine in ſuch a weighty cauſe (touchyng the priuilegies of our order) without the preſence of them. And therfore we deſire you of the Vniuerſitie to hold vs therin excuſed, and not to be ſo lightly ſtyrred agaynſt vs, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the Vniuerſitie. &c.

The next day beyng the viij. day of the ſame moneth, which is alſo dedicate to the conception of our Lady, vpon which day it was determined likewiſe: that one of the Dominicke Friers, ſhould preach in the Church of the Franciſcane or gray Friers, and ſo he did: tendyng to the ſame end, as the other Frier in the other church had done before. Whereby it may ſeeme the prouerbe well aunſwered vnto, wherof we read in the Goſpell: Facti ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.

Herode and Pilate were made frends in crucifying of Chriſt.

It was not long after, that the feaſt of S. Thomas the Apoſtle folowed, in whoſe Vigile all the heades of the Vniuerſitie agayne, were warned the third day after to cõgregate together in the Church of S. Bernard at the ſermon tyme. Which beyng done, and the aſſembly meetyng together, an other Sermon was made by a Diuine of the Vniuerſitie, whoſe Theame was: Prope eſt Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate. &c. Wherein he with many wordes and great authorities argued agaynſt them, that would not be obedient to their Prelates. &c. The Sermon beyng ended, then roſe vp agayne the Byſhop Ambianenſis, who proſecuting the reſt of the Theame, and commyng to the word in veritate: diuided it in three partes, accordyng to the common gloſe of the decretals.

An other ſermon againſt the Friers.

Biſhop Ambianenſis.

In veritate &c.

Eſt verum vitæ, doctrinæ, iuſticiæque,
Primum ſemper habe, duo propter ſcandala linque.

Shewyng and declaryng by many authorities both of canonicall Scriptures and out of the law, and by euidẽt demonſtration of experience: that the Friers firſt had no veritie of life, becauſe they were full of hypocriſie: neither had they veritie of doctrine, becauſe in their hart they bare galle, and in their toung hony: neither veritie of iuſtice, becauſe they vſurped other mẽs offices. And thus concludyng with the ſame, cauſed agayne to be read the ſayd priuilegies, with the conſtitutiõ aboue ſpecified. And ſo expoundyng place by place, did argue and proue that the ſayd conſtitution, in no part was euacuat or infringed by the priuilegies aforeſayd. Which thing beyng declared he added moreouer, that where as the Friers ſay (ſayd he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obteinyng of the priuilegies, I graunt it to be true. & when word came to me thriſe therof, I went to the Pope reclaymyng and requiring the ſayd priuilegies to be reuoked. But the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the Pope to ſend me out abroad vpon weyghty affaires, ſo that then the matter had no end. After that, we ſent alſo other meſſengers with our letters, for the ſame cauſe vnto the Court of Rome, whom the friers ſay not to haue preuailed, but they lye therin. For the ſayd meſſengers agayne brought vs letters, from the chief of the Court of Rome, ſealed with their ſeales which

Verity in 3. partes conſiſteth.

The Friers proued with a lye.

let=

letters, we haue diuers tymes preſented to our kyng, & will ſhortly ſhew them vnto you all. In the which letters, the Lord Pope hath promiſed the ſayd priuiledgies, either to be vtterly abrogate, or els to be mitigated with ſome more playne interpretation, of the which we truſt ſhortly to haue the publique Bulle or writ from the Pope.

The friers priuilegies confuted in diſputation at Paris.

At laſt, the ſayd Byſhop required and deſired of all there of what Dioces or countrey ſo euer they were: that they would copy out the foreſayd priuiledgies, and ſend them abroad into their cōtreys, that all men might ſee what they were, and how farre they did extend. In fine, the matter cōmyng into open diſputation, it was cōcluded by maiſter Giles one of the Auguſtyne Friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all ẏ other Friers, in this wiſe) that after his ſentēce, the Prelates were in the truer part. &c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

¶ Concernyng this wranglyng contention betwene the Vniuerſitie and Friers of Fraunce heretofore mentioned, wherof partly the originall cauſe there may be vnderſtand by that which hath bene ſayd to riſe vpon certaine priuilegies graũted by popes to the Friers, to intermedle in matters of Pariſh Churches: As to heare cōfeſſions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houſes, and to receaue impropriations. &c: becauſe it were long here to deſcribe the full circumſtaunces therof, alſo becauſe the ſayd contention dyd endure a lōg time not onely in Fraũce but alſo came ouer to England: The whole diſcourſe therof more amply (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared in the begynnyng of the next booke folowyng, when we come to the ſtory of Armachanus.

A ſeditious commotion betwene the townes men and the ſcholers in the vniuerſitie of Oxford.

About what tyme & yeare, this brawle was in the Vniuerſitie of Paris betwene the Friers and Prelates there, as hath bene declared: the like contention happened alſo in the vniuerſitie of Oxford in the yeare aboue prefixed. 1354. ſaue onely that the ſtrife among the maiſters of Paris as it roſe vpon Frierly ceremonies, ſo it went no farther, then brawling wordes and matter of excommunication: but this tumulte riſing of a dronken cauſe, proceeded further vnto bloudy ſtripes. The firſt originall whereof began in a tauerne, betwene a ſcholer and the good mã of the houſe. Who fallyng together in altercatiõ, grew to ſuch heate of wordes, that the ſtudent (contra ius hoſpitij) poured the wine vpon the head of the hoſt and brake his head with the quarte pot. Vpon this occaſion geuen, eftſoones partes began to be taken betwene townes men and the ſcholers. In ſomuch that a greuous ſedition & conflict folowed vpon the ſame: wherin many of the townes men were woũded, and to the number of xx. ſlayne. Diuers alſo of the ſcholers greuouſly hurt.

Proceſſion for peace. The holy proceſſion would bring no peace.

The ſpace of two dayes, this hurly burly continued. Vpon the ſecond day, certaine religious and deuout perſons ordeined a ſolemne proceſſion generall, to pray for peace. yet notwithſtandyng, all that proceſſiõ as holy as it was, it would not bryng peace. In the which proceſſion (the ſkirmiſh ſtill waxyng hoate) one of the ſtudentes beyng hardly purſued by the townesmen, for ſuccour in his flight, came runnyng to the Prieſt or Frier which caried about (as the maner was) the pixe: thinking to finde refuge at the preſence of the tranſubſtãtiated God of the aulter there caried and inbored.

Tranſubſtãtiation wyll not helpe in time of neede.

Notwithſtandyng, the God there not preſent, or els not ſeyng him, or els peraduenture beyng a ſlepe: the ſcholer foũd there ſmall helpe. For the Townesmen in the heate of the chaſe, forgettyng belike the vertue of the popes tranſubſtãtiation, folowed him ſo hard, that in the preſence of the pyxe they brake his head, & wounded him greuouſly. This done, at length ſome peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morow folowyng, other townesmen in the villagies about, ioyning with the townesmen of Oxford: confederated together in great force and power to ſet vpon the Students there, and ſo did, hauyng a blacke flag borne before thẽ, and ſo inuaded the Vniuerſitie men. Wherupon, the ſcholers beyng ouermatched and compelled to flee into their haules and hoſtles, were ſo purſued by their enemies, that xx. of the doores of their haules and chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded, and (as it is ſayd) ſlayne and throwen into priuies: their bookes with kniues and byls cut all in peeces, and much of their goodes caryed away.

A conqueſt of the ſcholers of Oxford.

And thus the Studentes of that Vniuerſitie beyng conquered by the townesmen of Oxford, and of the countrey about, departed and left ẏ vniuerſitie. So that for a tyme, the ſcholes there, and all ſchole actes did vtterly ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudy, except onely Merton Colledge haule, with a few other remaynyng behinde.

The vniuerſitie of Oxford diſſolued for a tyme.

This beyng done the xij. day of February, the Queene at the ſame tyme being at Woodſtocke, was brought to bed, and purified on the firſt Sonday in Lent with great ſolemnitie of Iuſtyng: About which tyme, the Byſhop of Lyncolne their Dioceſane hearing of this exceſſiue outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all Parſons and Prieſtes forbiddyng them throughout all Oxford, none to celebrate Maſſe or any diuine ſeruice in the preſence of any lay perſon within the ſayd Towne of Oxford, interdictyng withall the whole Towne. Which interdiction endured the ſpace of a whole yeare and more.

The towne of Oxford interdicted.

The kyng alſo ſent thether his Iuſtices to examine and enquire of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men and of the Clergy were indicted. And foure of the chief burgeſſes of the ſayd towne were indicted, and by the kynges commaundement ſent to the Tower of London, were there impriſoned. At length through much labour of the nobles, the kyng ſo tooke vp the matter, that ſendyng his writinges vnto all Shriues in England, offered pardon to all & ſingular Studentes of that Vniuerſity, (whereſoeuer diſperſed) for that tranſgreſſion. Wherby, the Vniuerſitie in ſhort tyme was repleniſhed agayne as before. Moreouer was graunted to the Vicechauncelour or Commiſſary (as they terme hym) of the towne and Vniuerſitie of Oxford, to haue the aſſiſe of bread, ale, wyne, and all other victuals, the Maior of the ſayd town beyng excluded. Alſo was graunted and decreed, that the cõmons of Oxford ſhould geue to the vniuerſitie of Oxford CC. pound ſterlyng in part of ſatiſfaction for their exceſſes: reſerued notwithſtandyng to euery one of the ſtudentes his ſeuerall action agaynſt any ſeuerall perſon of the townesmen. &c.

Graunted to the commiſſary of Oxford to haue the aſſiſe of bread & ale & other priuilegies aboue the Maior of the towne.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1354. The kyng with the conſent of his counſaile, reuoked home agayne out of Flaũders the Staple of Wolle, withall thinges thereunto appertaynyng, & ſtabliſhed the ſame in ſondry places within the Realme, namely in Weſtminſter. Canterbury, Chicheſter, Briſtow, Lyncolne, and in Hulle. Which Staple after. an. 1362. was tranſlated ouer into Calyce.

Of Simon Iſlyp Archbiſhop of Canterb. mentioned a litle before, pag. 395. I read in the ſaid author aboue ſpecified, that he by his letters patẽt directed to all perſons and vicares within his prouince: ſtraitly charged them & their Pariſhioners vnder payne of excommunication, not to abſtaine frõ bodely labour, vpõ certaine Saintes dayes, which before were wont to be hallowed and cõſecrated to vnthrifty idlenes. Item, that to Prieſtes ſhould be geuen no more for their yearely ſtipend, but iij. pound vj. s. viij. pence, which made diuers of them to robbe and ſteale. &c. an. 1362.

An holſome decree of a good Archb. not to abſtaine from bodely labour vpõ certayne holy dayes.

A parliament.

The next yeare followyng, which was. 1363. the foreſayd kyng Edward kept his Parliament at London in the moneth of October: wherein was prohibited, no gold nor ſiluer to be worne in kniues, gyrdles, brouches, rynges, or in any other ornament belongyng to the body, except the wearer might diſpend. x. pound by yeare. Item, that none ſhould weare either ſilkes or coſtly furres, except ſuch as might diſpend C. pound by yeare. Alſo that Marchaunt venterers ſhould not export ouer any marchaundiſe out of the realme, or ſeke for wynes in other countrey: wherby other nations ſhould be conſtrayned rather to ſeeke to vs. &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Iſelyp as is aboue recorded, folowed Symon Langham, then W. Wyttelesey, after whom next in the place ſucceded Symon Sudbury.

Simon Sudbury Archb. of Cant.

Much about the ſame tyme, the Nunnes of S. Brigittes order began firſt. About which tyme alſo was builded the Queenes College in Oxford, by Queene Phillip of England, wife to kyng Edward the third. Circa annũ Domini. 1360.

The Nunnes of S. Bridgets order.

Moreouer in the tyme of this Pope Innocent, Frier Iohn Lyle Byſhop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady Blanche, made his complainte to the Pope. Who ſendyng downe his curſe to the Byſhop of Lyncolne, and other Prelates to be executed vpon the aduerſaries of the Byſhop of Ely: commaunded them, that if they dyd know any of the ſayd aduerſaries dead and buryed (that notwithſtandyng) they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be taken vp: which alſo they performed accordyngly, of whom ſome had bene of the kynges counſaile. Wherfore the kyng beyng diſpleaſed and not vnworthely, did trouble and moleſt agayne the ſayd Prelates.

This Lady Blanch was Ducheſſe of Lancaſter.

Dead men excommunicated by the Pope.

This commyng to the Popes hearyng, certaine were directed downe from the Court of Rome in the behalfe of the foreſayd Byſhop of Ely: who meetyng, with the Byſhop of Rocheſter the kynges treaſurer, deliuered vnto hym beyng armed, letters from the Byſhop of Rome, the tenour wherof was not knowen. Which done, they incontinent auoyded away. But certaine of the kynges ſeruauntes purſuyng, dyd ouertake them: of whom ſome they impriſoned, ſome they brought to the Iuſtices, and ſo were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appeare what reuerence the

The popes meſſengers hanged.

Popes letters in this kinges dayes had in this realme of England. Ex Chro. Walſing. This Pope Innocent ordeyned the feaſt of the holy ſpeare, and of the holy nayles.

The feaſt of the ſpeare and of the holy nailes.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now remayneth after our order & cuſtome before begō, to proſecute the race of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, in this foreſaid fourth booke conteyned, beginning where before we left. pag. 172. at Lanfrancus.

¶A table of the Archbiſhops of Cant. in this fourth booke conteyned.

34. Lanfrancus. 19.	Polyd. Virg. lib. 9. numbreth this Lanfrancus to be the 33. Archb. But by the count of other autors (namely by ẏ chronicle of the monke of Douer) ſeemeth to be deceyued as he was in the 28. yeares of Dunſtane, which in deede did ſit but 19. or 20. at the moſt. This error of Pol. ſeemeth to come by leauing out either Elſius, which was the 23. or by leauyng out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in ſome authors I finde. Moreouer here is to be noted, that although the ſayd Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be 33. Note alſo, that in the table of the 3. booke before, after Siricius to put in Sanctus Alurcdus. Which in the order of archbiſhops I left out in the end of the 3. booke. pag. 172. This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a ſtout champion of the Pope. After his ſtubburn diſſention with Thomas Archb. of yorke, he wrote agaynſt Berengarius, intituling hys booke Opus Scintillarum, pag. 176. Alſo the ſame Lanfranke buylded the new Churche at Canterbury, and pluckt down the olde. By hym was buylded the church of S. Gregory. At length he was expulſed by K. Wil. Rufus.
35. Anſelmus. 20.	Of this Anſelmus, and the ſtrife betwene him and ẏ king, loke in the pag. 187
36. Radulphus. 8.	Under Rad. the order of Ciſtercians began.
37. Gulielmus Curboil. 13.	By this W. the new worke of the church of S. Martines at Douer was buylded.
38. Theobaldus 24.	By this Theobald, mōkes were firſt broght into ẏ church of Douer. He was expulſed by kyng Stephen. In his tyme the church of S. Gregory was burned at Cant.
39. Tho. Becket 9.	Of the lyfe and death of this Becket. ſee the pag. 207. Ex Crikeladenſi. Magnates in Anglia interdixerūt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret ne quis eius miracula prædicaret, interminantes minas mortis ſeu maximarum pœnarum omnibus confitentibus cum fuiſſe martyrem, & miracula eius prædicantibus. &c.
40. Richardus. 10.	This Richard was a mōke: in his tyme Chriſtes church at Canterbury was burned.
41. Baldwinus. 7.	Betwene this Baldwine & the monkes was great diſcord. He ſuſpended the Prior from hys priorſhip, and 22. Monkes from all ſeruice. He cauſed the ſubprior with all his adherentes to be excommunicate thorough all Kent.
42. Hubertus. 14.	In the tyme of this Hubert the chappell of Lamheth was pluckt downe. Alſo the church of Douer was burned.
43. Stephanus Lāghton. 22	This Stephen wyth the monkes of Canterbury, were expulſed by kyng John. This Stephen intending to geue orders in the Chappell of Lamheth, was ſtopped by the monkes of Cant. through their appeale & prohibition. Wherfore he required Euſtace biſhop of London, to miniſter the ſame orders in the Church of Saint Paule. In his tyme fell great variance betwene the monkes of Rocheſter, and the Monks of Cant. for the election of their B. which election the monkes of Cant. would not admit, before the Rocheſter monks had preſented the biſhops ſtaffe in the church of Cāt. ſo that both the churches ſent their meſſengers to the court of Rome.
44. Richardus Magnus. 4.	At the conſecration of this Richard, contention roſe betwene the biſhop of Rocheſter and biſhop of Bath, who ſhold conſecrate hym. Item, betwene the ſaid Richard and the monkes of Canterbury fel a greuous diſcord about certayne liberties belonging to the Archb. The ſayde Archbiſhop for certayne quarels agaynſt the king, went vp to Rome, who dyed in Tuſcia. After this Richard, the election of 3. Archb. was caſſate at Rome: of Rodulphus de noua villa, of John prior of Cant. of John Blund.
45. Edmund of Abenden. 7.	This Edmund was called S. Edmund. At whoſe election the Prior of Douer thinkyng to be preſent, as at ẏ mariage of his mother, was not permitted by the Monkes of Can. For which iniury he appealed & went to Rome to cōplaine not againſt the elect, but againſt ẏ electiō: where he obteined of ẏ pope for all ẏ Priors & ſucceſſors of Douer, to haue full intereſt in the election of ẏ archb. beſides other priuileges which he obtayned, percaſe not without ſome good ſtore of mony. Afterward the Monkes of Cant. accuſed him to the archbyſhop as though he ſtoode agaynſt the perſon of the elect, & ſo obtained of the Archb. being angry wt him, to haue brought him vnder the chapter of Cāt. there to be puniſhed. Wherupō the prior ſeing him ſo deſtitute of all helpe of Lawiers, was conſtrained in the foreſaid chapter to cry peccaui. Then beinge ſuſpended from his priorſhippe was at lēgth ſent home to Douer, being compelled firſt to ſet his hand to a certaine compoſition betweene hym and the forſayd Monkes. The ſayd Edmunde archb. alſo hauing ſome quarell againſt the king went vp to Rome, & dyed before his comming home.

Ex hiſtor. Crikladenſi.

46. Bonifacius. 25.

In the time of this Boniface pope Gregorye wickedlye graunted to K. Henry 3. (for yͤ getting of yͤ kingdom of Sicile which belonged not to hym to geue, nor to the other to take,) tenthes of goods temporall and ſpirituall, for v. yeares. Item, all the firſt yeares fruites of churches that ſhould be vacãt for v. yeares. Item, halfe of all the goods of beneficed men not reſident at their benefices. Item, all legacies not diſtinctly geuen. And yet the kingdom of Sicile neuer came to his hãds which belonged to Manfredus, ſonne of Frederike Emperour. Strife betwene thys Boniface, & the prior of Cant. Item, betwene him and biſhop of Roch. Item, betwene him & the Chapter of Lincolne, all which was after agreed. Chr. Doueren. fol. 20. pag. 1.

Strife in Winchester about chooſing the biſhop after yͤ deth of Aymerus yͤ kings brother.

Strife in the conuocation which Boniface dyd holde at Lambhyth. In the which councell were recited the ſtatutes of Othobonus and other new ſtatutes made: Agaynſt which, J. Bemingford the Kynges chaplaine with other mo, and prince Edward on the kinges behalfe did appeale. Chro. Douer. fol. 31.

Under this Boniface archb. Tunbridge & Hadlo firſt came under the cuſtody of the archb. of Cant.

Walter John of Exeter bought the byſhopricke of Winchester for 6000. markes: which being knowen, he was fayne to pay the ſame ſumme agayn to yͤ Pope, and ſo was ſent home.

Boniface the Archb. being in the parties of Sebaudia, an. 1262. fell an other alteration betwene the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of Douer on the other part, which two houſes almoſt were neuer in quiet, and all about certayne liberties and priuileges: as for making the ſubprior, for receiuing in of monkes, and for viſitations of the Church of Douer.

An. 1268. Boniface Archb. interdicted the citie of London, becauſe in the ſame City the Archb. of Yorke did holde up his croſſe, the Archbyſhop of Cant. beyng there preſent, the kyng holdyng the his Parliament at Weſtminſter.

This Archb. died in the parties of Sebaudia.

John Prior of Canterbury was elected by yͤ monkes agaynſt the kinges mynd, but by the Pope refuſed.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he reſigned hys election to the Pope.

47. Robert Kilwarby Frier. 6.

In the tyme of this Robert Kilwarby, appeale was taken agaynſt the Chapiter of Canterbury by the biſhop of Winchester, of Worceter, and Exceter: for the which cauſe yͤ ſayd biſhops went up to Rome to proſecute yͤ appeale. The matter was becauſe they dyd not their obedience to the monkes of Canterbury, the ſee beyng empty.

Walter Giffard archb. of Yorke, goyng toward yͤ generall cõcell, bare up his croſſe through the middle of Kent, in the tyme of this Robert Archbyſhop of Canterburye. an. 1272.

By Pope Gregory x. in the generall Councel at Lyons, all the orders of fryers were put downe. 4. orders onely except, that is Dominicks, Franciſcans, Carmelites, and Auguſtines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commaundemẽt of Pope Nicholas was made Cardynall of Rome, Byſhop Portuenſis.

Where is to be noted an untruth in Polid. Virgill, which ſayth that he was made cardinal by pope Gregory, which could not be.

An untruth in Polyd. Virgil.

48. John Peckham. 13

Robert Burnell biſhop of Bathe was elected, but by the Pope refuſed: For whõ John Peckham a grey Frier, was placed by Pope Nicho.

In the firſt yeare of thys Frier Peckham, Wil. Wickewane Archbiſhop of Yorke cõming from hys conſecration at Rome to Douer, bare up hys croſſe through the middeſt of Kent, where as was no little adoe.

Robert Germine archdeacon of Cant. went to law at Rome for the liberties & poſſeſſions of hys archdeaconſhip 3. yeares and there dyed.

In his tyme alſo another wrangling fell betwene the monkes of Cant. & the monkes of Douer, in yͤ tyme of this J. Peckhã for admitting certaine Nouices of Douer into orders. Ex chr. Monach. Douer. fol. 42

This Peckham holding a councell at Lambeth ordeyned dyuers ſtatutes, and cauſed the ordinances of the councell of Lyons, and of Boniface Archb. of Cant. his predeceſſor to be obſerued.

Great ſtrife and hatred was betwene this Peckham and Thomas byſhop of Hereford. who beyng excommunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, & went to the Pope.

The prior and couent of Cãt. made their appeale agaynſt this archb. Peckham, that he ſhould not cõſecrate Walter le Schamel new elect byſhop of Saleſbury, in any other place, except onely in the church of Cant. but by their leaue and licence firſt obtained. Notwithſtanding the archb. nothing regarding their appeale, proceeded in the conſecration of the ſayd byſhop nere to the towne of Readyng, whereupon the prior and the couent ceaſed not to proſecute their appeale agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Betwene Richard Ferrings archdeacõ of Cãt. of the one party, and the Barons of Douer of yͤ other party, the ſame yeare fell an other like wrangling, for that the archdeacon claymed to viſite the Church of Douer, contrary the barons affirmed, that none had nor ſhould haue to do there to order or diſpoſe in ſpirituall matters but only the archb. and the prior and couent of S. Martin. Ex eod. chron. fol. 46.

After the death of Wyllyam Wickwane archb. of Yorke, Jhon de Roma ſucceeding after hym and cõming from his conſecratiõ at Rome to Douer, bare hys croſſe through the midle of Kent, contrary to the inhibytion of Jhon Peckham.

48. Rob. Winchelſey. 19

This Rob. which was archb. in yͤ latter tyme of K. Edward the 1. for certen diſpleaſure of yͤ K. conceiued againſt him, departed yͤ realm, & in his baniſhmẽt remained 2. or 3. yeres. And about the beginning of the raign of K. Edw. the 2. was reſtored again, an. 1309. Ex chro. Rich. 2. Thus few Archb. of Cant. we find, with whõ kings haue not had ſome quarell or other. The cauſe betwene the K. and him (ſayth myne author) was this: yͭ the K. accuſed hym to pope Clement to diſturbe hys realme, and to take part wyth rebels. &c. Ex chro. S. Albani.

This Robert alſo excommunicated Walter Byſhop of Couentry for holding with the King and Peter Gaueſton agaynſt the ordinances of the barons wherefore the ſayd Byſhop appealed to the Pope, agaynſt whom the archb. ſent Adam Mirimouth.

This Adam Mirimouth was compiler of the ſtory of K. Edw.

In the time of this Robert Archbyſhop, the order of Templaries were aboliſhed by Pope Clement v. in the councell of Vienna wyth this ſentence diffinitiue. Quanquam de iure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinẽ poteſtatis dictũ ordinẽ reprobamus.

50. Gualter Reynald. 15.

After the deceaſe of Rob. Winchelſey, who departed an. 1312. Thomas Cobham a learned man, was elected by full conſent of the Monkes: who came to Auinion, to haue hys election confirmed. But ÿ pope reſeruyng the vacaunt ſeat to his own handes put in Walter Reynald B. of Worceſter Chācelor of England, who gouerned the ſeat xv. yeres.

The chronicler of S. Albans, recordeth alſo how in the dayes of this Archb. an. 1319. certayne Lepers conſpiryng with the Turkes and Iewes went about to impoyſon and infect all Chriſtendome, by inuenomyng their fountaynes, lakes, pits, barels, and ſuch other places. Of the which crime diuers of thē beyng conuict, were worthely burned in Fraunce. About the which yeare, the ſayd author maketh alſo relation, how in the realm of England much morain fell among the beaſtes: in ſo much, that the dogs eatyng vpon their fleſh (infected belike by the waters and fountaynes) fell downe dead incontinent. Neyther durſt men for that cauſe almoſt taſt of any biefe. an. 1318. 1319. Ex Chron. Alban.

This Walter Archb. takyng part with Queene Iſabell agaynſt K. Edward her huſband, dyed the ſame yere in which he was depoſed. an. 1327. Ex chr. S. Albani.

After Walter the Archb. as affirmeth the chron. of S. Alban, ſucceded Simon Mepham. Of whom I marueil that Polydor maketh no word mention: belike he ſate not long, after folowed I. Stratford.

51. Iohn Stratford. 19.

In the ſtory of Adam Mirimouth is recorded that this I. Stratford intendyng to viſite the dioces of Norfolk was not receyued by the biſhop, the chapter & clergy there, allegyng that he obſerued not the ordinary canon therein. To whom the Archb. ſayd agayne, he had the Popes letters and ſhewed the ſame. But the other aunſwered, that thoſe letters were falſly obteyned and tended to ÿ ſuppreſſion of the Clergy, and therfore they would not obey: wherfore the Archb. excōmunicated the biſhop, & ſuſpended the Prior, and interdicted the couent, an. 1343.

52. Io. Offord, 10. monthes.

M. Iohn Offord Chancellor of England was elected & confirmed Archb. of Cant. but not conſecrated, and ſate but x. monthes, about the yeare of our lord. 1350. Peſtilētia in Anglia.

53. Tho. Braidwarden. 1.

This Tho. Bradwarden followyng after I. Stratford, ſate not long but dyed within x. monthes of the plage, as they ſay, which was called then the firſt great plague in England, rageing ſo ſore in all quarters, ÿ it was thought ſcarce the tenth part of men to be left aliue.

The firſt great plague in England.

54. Simō Iſlepe. 17.

In the time of Simon Iſlepe which folowed after Bradwarden. K. Edward, an. 1362. is reported after the blynd ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes, to offer in ÿ church of Weſtminſter ÿ veſtiments wherein S. Peter did celebrate maſſe, which belike were kept wel frō mothes, to laſt ſo long. Ex Chrō. Albā.

The veſtiments wherin S. Peter ſayd Maſſe, or els the papiſtes do lye.

The ſame Simon Iſlepe, among other conſtitutiōs appoynted through all churches and chappels vnder payne of excommunication: that no man ſhould abſtayne from bodily labour vpon certayne Saintes dayes, as is before touched. Which fact of his is not a little noted in our monkiſh hiſtories.

This Simon builded Cant. colledge in Oxford.

The concluſion of this fourth booke.

The concluſion of thys booke.

¶ For ſo much as Sathan beyng cheyned vp all this while, for the ſpace of a thouſande yeares, beginneth about this tyme to be loſed and to come abroad, according to the forewarnyng of S. Iohns reuelation. Therfore to conclude this fourth booke, wherin ſufficiently hath bene deſcribed the exceſſiue pride and pompe of Antichriſt, floriſhing in his ruffe and ſecuritie, from the tyme of William Conquerour hitherto: now (Chriſt willing and aſſiſting vs therunto) we mynde in theſe latter bookes hereafter followyng, in order of hiſtory to expreſſe the latter perſecutions and horrible troubles of the church, rayſed vp by Satanas in hys miniſter Antichriſt, with the reſiſtance agayne of Chriſtes church agaynſt him. And ſo to proſecute (by the mercifull grace of Chriſt) the proceeding and courſe of tymes till we come at length to the fall and ruine of the ſayd Antichriſt. To the intent that if any be in ſuch errour to thinke that Antichriſt is yet to come, let hym conſider and ponder well the tragicall rages, the miſerable and moſt ſorowfull perſecutions, murders, & vexations of theſe latter 300. yeres now followyng, and I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt to know, that not onely Antichriſt is already come, but alſo to know where he ſitteth, and how he is now fallyng apace (the Lord Chriſt be thanked for euer) to his decay and confuſion.

Antichriſt in hys pride.

The looſing out of Sathan.

The fift booke conteyning the laſt 300. yeares from the looſing out of Satan.

The fourth booke.

THus hauyng diſcourſed in theſe former bookes, the order and courſe of yeres, from the firſt tying vp of Sathan, vnto the yere of our Lord. 1360. I haue a litle ouerpaſſed the ſtint of tyme in the ſcriptures appointed, for the looſing out of him again. For ſo it is written by S. Iohn Apoc. 20. that after a M. yeares, Satanas the old dragon ſhall be let looſe agayne for a ſeaſon, &c.

The yeares and tyme of looſing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the which myſtery, let vs firſt conſider the context of the Scripture: afterward, let vs examine by hiſtory and courſe of tymes, the meanyng of the ſame. And firſt to recite the wordes of the Apocal. the text of the Prophecy is this, cap. 20

Apoc. 20.

And I ſaw an Aungell deſcendyng from heauen, hauyng a kay of the bottomleſſe pitte, and a great chayne in hys hande. And he tooke the Dragon the olde Serpente, which is the deuill and Satanas, and bound him for a thouſand yeares, and put hym in the bottomleſſe dungeon and ſhutte hym vp, and ſigned hym with hys ſeale, that hee ſhould no more ſeduce the Gentiles, till a thouſand yeares were expired. And after that, he muſt be loſed agayn for a little ſpace of tyme. And I ſaw ſeates, and they ſate vpon them: and iudgement was geuen vnto them, and the ſoules I ſawe of them which were beheaded for the teſtimony of Ieſus. &c.

By theſe wordes of the reuelation here recited, 3. ſpeciall tymes are to be noted.

1. Firſt, the beyng abroade of Sathan to deceyue the world.
2. The byndyng vp of hym.
3. Thirdly, the loſing out of hym again, after a M. yeres conſummate, for a tyme.

The place of the Apocal. 20. Expounded, for the looſing out of Satan.

Concernyng the interpretation of which tymes, I ſee the common opinion of many to be deceyued by ignoraunce of hiſtories, and ſtate of thinges done in yͤ church: ſuppoſing that the cheyning vp of Sathan for a thouſand yeares, ſpoken of in the reuelation, was ment from the tyme of Chriſt our Lord. Wherin I graunt that ſpiritually the ſtrength and dominion of Sathan in accuſing and condemnyng vs for ſinne, was caſt downe at the paſſion and by the paſſion of Chriſt our ſauiour, and locked vp not onely for a thouſand yeares, but for euer and euer. Albeit as touchyng the malitious hatred and fury of that Serpent, againſt the outward bodies of Chriſtes poore ſaintes (which is the heele of Chriſt) to afflict and torment the church outwardly: That I iudge to be ment in the reuelation of Saint Iohn, not to be reſtrayned tyll the ceaſing of thoſe terrible perſecutions of the primitiue Church. At what tyme it pleaſed God to pity the ſorrowfull affliction of hys poore flocke, beyng ſo long vnder perſecution, the ſpace of 3. hundred yeares, and ſo to aſſwage their griefes and tormentes. Which is ment by byndyng vp of Sathan, worker of all thoſe miſchiefs: vnderſtandyng therby, that for ſo much as the Deuill prince of this worlde had now by the death of Chriſt the ſonne of God loſt all his power and intereſt againſt the ſoule of mã, ſhould turne hys furious rage & malice which he had to Chriſt againſt the people of Chriſt, (which is ment by the heele of the ſeede. Geneſis 3.) in tormentyng their outward bodies. Which yet ſhould not be for euer, but for a determinate tyme, when as it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to bridle the malice, and ſnaffle the power of the old Serpent, and geue reſt vnto hys Church for the terme of a thouſand yeares. which tyme beyng expired, yͤ ſaid ſerpent ſhould be ſuffred looſe agayne for a certayne or a ſmall tyme. Apoc. 20

What the looſing of Satan doth meane in Scripture.

And thus to expound this propheticall place of ſcripture I am led by three reaſons.

Three reaſons. The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, for that the byndyng vp of Sathan, and cloſyng hym in the bottomles pit by the Aungell, importeth as much that he was at liberty, ragyng and doyng miſchief before. And certeſſe thoſe ſo terrible & ſo horrible perſecutions of the primitiue tyme vniuerſally through the whole world, durying the ſpace of three hundreth yeares of the Church, do declare no leſſe. Wherin it is to be thought and ſuppoſed, that Sathan all that tyme, was not faſtened and cloſed vp.

The 2. reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon mouyng me to thinke that the cloſing vp of Sathan was after the ten perſecutions of yͤ primitiue Church, is taken out of the xij. chap. of the Apocalips. Where we read, that after the woman (meanyng the Church) had trauayled forth her man childe, the olde Dragon the deuill, the ſame tyme beyng caſt downe from heauen, drawing the third part of the ſtarres wyth hym: ſtoode before the woman wyth great anger, and perſecuted her (that is the Church of God) wyth a whole floud of water (that is, wyth aboundaunce of all kyndes of tormentes) and from thence went moreouer to fight agaynſt the reſidue of her ſide, and ſtoode vpon the ſandes of the ſea, wherby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The. 3. reaſon.

Apoc. cap. 13.

xlij. monethes in the Apocal. cap. 13 examined.

The third reaſõ I collect out of yͤ Apocalips xiij. chapter, where is written of the beaſt, ſignifiyng the Emperiall Monarchie of Rome: that he had power to make warre fourty and two monethes. By yͤ which monethes is ment no doubt, the tyme that the Dragon, and the perſecutyng Emperours, ſhould haue in afflicting the Saintes of the primitiue Church. The computation of which xlij. monethes (countyng euery moneth for a Sabbat of yeares, that is for ſeuen yeares, after the order of Scripture) riſeth to the ſumme, countyng from the paſſion of the Lord Chriſt, three hundred yeares lacking ſix, at what tyme Maxentius the laſt perſecutour in Rome fighting agaynſt Conſtantinus, was drowned wyth hys ſouldiours, lyke as Pharao was drowned perſecuting the children of Iſraell, in the red ſea. Vnto yͤ which xlij. monethes, or Sabbothes of yeares, if ye adde the other ſixe yeares wherein Licinius perſecuted in the Eaſt: ye ſhall finde iuſt three hundred yeares, as is ſpecified before in the firſt booke of thys volume. pag. 102.

What tyme Satan was tied vp.

After the which xlij. monethes beyng expired, manifeſt it is that the fury of Sathan, that is, his violent malyce and power ouer the Saintes of Chriſt, was diminiſhed & reſtrayned vniuerſally through the whole world.

About what time and yeare Satan was let out, by the count of the Apocalips.

Thus then the matter ſtandyng euident, that Sathan after 300. yeares, countyng from the paſſion of Chriſt, began to be chayned vp, at what tyme the perſecution of the primitiue Church began to ceaſe: Now let vs ſee, how long this byndyng vp of Sathan ſhould continue, which was promiſed in the booke of the reuelation, to be a thouſand yeares. Which thouſand yeares, if ye adde to the xlij. monethes of yeares, that is, to 294. yeares: they make 1294. yeares, after the paſſion of yͤ Lord. To theſe moreouer adde the thirty yeares of the age of Chriſt, and it commeth to the yeare of the Lord 1324. which was the yeare of the lettyng out of Sathan, accordyng to the prophecie of the Apocalips.

A Table contayning the tyme of the perſecution both of the primitiue, and of the latter church, with the count of yeres from the firſt bynding vp of Sathan, to hys looſing agayne, after the mynde of the Apocalyps.

The firſt perſecution of the primitiue church, beginnyng at the 30. yeres of Chriſt, was prophecied to continue 42. monthes, that is, an.	294.
The ceaſing of the laſt perſecution of the primitiue church by the death of Licinius the laſt perſecutour, began an. 324. from the natiuitie of Chriſt, which was frõ the thirty yere of hys age. 294.	294.

The ceaſing of perſecution in the primitiue church

The bindyng vp of Sathan after peace geuen to the church countyng from the 30. yeres of Chriſt, began an. 294.

The byndiing vp of Sathan.

And laſted a thouſand yeres, that is, countyng from the thirty yeare of Chriſt, to the yeare. 1294.

The tyme of looſing of Sathan.

About which yeare Pope Boniface the 8. was Pope, and made the vj. booke of the decretals: confirmed the orders of Friers, & priuileged them with great fredomes, as appeareth by his conſtitution: Super cathedram. an. 1294.

The tyme of Antichriſt, examined.

Vnto the which count of yeares doth not much diſagree that I found in a certayne olde Chronicle propheſied and written in the latter end of a booke, which booke was written as it ſemeth, by a monke of Douer, & remayneth yet in the cuſtody of William Cary a citizen of London: alledgyng the propheſie of one Hayncardus a gray Frier, grouͤded vpoͤ the autoritie of Ioachim the Abbot, propheſiyng that Antichriſt ſhould be borne the yere from the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1260. Which is, countyng after the Lordes paſſion, the very ſame yere and tyme, when the orders of Friers both Dominickes and Franciſcans began firſt to be ſet vp by Pope Honorius 3. and by pope Gregorius ix. which was the yeare of our Lord countyng after his paſſion. 1226.

And countyng after the Natiuitie of the Lord, was the yeare. 1260.

Whereof theſe verſes in the author was written.

Verſes propheſiyng of the comming of Antichriſt.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies ſeni, poſt partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichriſtus naſcetur dæmone plenus.

And theſe verſes were written, as appeareth by the ſaid author. an. 1285.

These things thus premiſed for the looſing out of Satan, according to the propheſie of the Apocal. now let vs enter (Chriſt willing) to the declaration of theſe latter times, which folowed after the letting out of Satan into ẏ world Deſcribing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tiranny ſtirred vp by him againſt Chriſtes Church. Alſo the valeant reſiſtance of the church of Chriſt agaynſt him and Antechriſt, as in theſe our bookes here vnder following may appeare.

The argument of the bookes after folowyng.

The argument of which booke conſiſteth in two parts, firſt to entreate of the raging fury of Satan now louſed, & of Antechriſt: Agaynſt the ſayntes of Chriſt fightyng and trauellyng for the maintenance of the truth, and reformatiõ of the Church: Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the ſayd Antechriſt, through the power of the worde of god beyng at length (eyther in a greate parte of the worlde) ouerthrowen or at leaſt vnyuerſally in the whole worlde detected.

An. 1360.

A briefe rehearſall of faythfull learned men, which withſtoode the procedinges of the Pope.

Thus then to begin with the yeare of our Lorde. 1360. wherein I haue a litle as is aforeſayd, traͤſgreſſed the ſtint of the firſt louſing out of Satan: wee are come now to the time wherin the Lord, after long darcknes beginneth ſome reformation of his Church, by the dilygent induſtrye of ſoͤdry his faythfull and learned ſeruantes: of whome dyuers already we haue foretouched in the former booke before, as namely Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marſilius Patauinus: Ockam: Robertus Gallus: Robertus Groſted: Petrus de Cugnerijs: Ioannes Rupeſciſſanus: Conradus Hager: Ioannes de Poliaco, Ceſenas, with other mo: which withſtode the corrupt errours, and intollerable enormities of the Biſhop of Rome. Beſide them which about theſe tymes were put to death by the ſayd biſhop of Rome, as Chaſtilion, & Franciſcus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: alſo the two Franciſcanes, Martyrs, which were burned at Auinion, mentioned pag. 395.

Now to theſe (the Lord willing) we will adde ſuch other holy Martyrs and confeſſors, who following after in the courſe of yeares with like zeale and ſtrength of Gods word, and alſo with like daunger of their liues, gaue ẏ lyke reſiſtaunce agaynſt the enemie of Chriſtes religion, & ſuffered at his handes the lyke perſecutions. Firſt beginning wyth that godly man Iohn Wickliffe and hys felowes, taking by order of yeares as I go, ſuch thinges by the way as both happened before the ſaid tyme of Wicleffe, and alſo may the better prepare the minde of ẏ reader, to the entring of that ſtory. Where firſt I thinke it not inconuenient to inferre a propheticall parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the author morally applyeth vnto the Byſhop of Rome. To what author this prophecie or morall is to be aſcribed, I haue not certainly to affirme. Some ſay, that Rupeſciſſanus (of whom mention is made before pag. 394.) was ẏ author therof, & alleadge it out of Froyſard. But in Froyſard, as yet I haue not found it. In the meane ſeaſoͤ, as I haue found it in Latin expreſſed, becauſe it painteth out the Pope ſo rightly in his fethers and colours, as I thought the thing not to be omitted, ſo I tooke thys preſent place, as moſt fit (although peraduenture miſſing the order of yeares a litle) to inſert the ſame. The effect of which parable foloweth here vnder written.

In the tyme of Pope Innocent the vi. aboue ſpecified, this Ioannis de Rupe ſciſſa, a Frier, among other his propheſies merueilouſly foreſpake (as alledgeth Froyſard, who both hard and ſaw hym) of the taking of Iohn the French kyng priſoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations and chaungynges in the Church to come. And at what tyme the Pope kept hym at Auinion in priſon (where Froyſard is ſayd to ſee hym and to ſpeake with him) the ſayde Froyſard heard in the Popes court this example and parable, recited by the foreſayd Frier Rupeſciſſanus, to ij. Cardinals, to wit, Cardinall Hoſtienſis, and Cardinall Auxercenſis. Which foloweth in theſe wordes.

A parable propheſiyng the deſtruction of the Pope.

When on a certaine time, a byrde was brought into the world all bare and without fethers, the other byrdes hearing therof, came to viſite her: and for that they ſaw her to be a merueilous fayre and beautifull byrde, they counſailed together how they might beſt doe her good, ſith by no meanes without fethers, ſhe might eyther flee or liue commodiouſly. They all wiſhed her to liue for her excellent forme and beauties ſake, in ſo much that among them all there was not one, that would not graunt ſome part of her owne fethers to decke thys byrde wythall: yea, and ẏ more trim they ſaw her to be, the more fethers ſtill they gaue vnto her, ſo that by this meanes ſhee was paſſing well penned and fethered, and began to flee. The other byrdes that thus had adourned her wyth goodly fethers, beholding her to flee abroad, were marueilouſly delighted therwith. In ẏ end, this byrde ſeeing her ſelf ſo gorgiouſly fethered, & of all the reſt to be had in honour: began to ware proude & hauty, in ſo much that ſhe had no regard at all vnto them, by whoͤ ſhe was aduaunced: yea, ſhee pugned them with her beak, plucked them by the ſkinne and fethers, and in all places hurted them. Wherupon, the byrdes ſitting in councell agayne, called the matter in queſtion, demaunding one of an other what was beſt to be done touching this vnkynd bird whom they louingly wyth their owne fethers had decked & adourned: Affirming, that they gaue not their fethers to ẏ intent that ſhe therby puft vp wyth pride, ſhould contemptuouſly deſpiſe them all. The Pecocke therfore aunſwereth firſt. Truely, ſayth he, for that ſhe is brauely ſet forth with my painted fethers, I will againe take them froͤ her. Then ſayth the Falcon, and I alſo will haue mine againe. This ſentence at length tooke place among them all, ſo that euery one plucked from her thoſe fethers which before they had geuen, chalenging vnto them their owne againe. Now this proud byrde ſeeing her ſelfe thus to be dealt wythall, began forthwith to abate her hauty ſtomacke, and humbly to ſubmit her ſelfe openly, confeſſing and acknowledging ẏ of her ſelfe ſhe had nothyng: but that her fethers, her honor and other ornamentes was their gifte: ſhe came into the world all naked & bare, they clad her wyth comely fethers, and therfore of right may they receaue them againe. Wherfore in moſt humble wiſe ſhe deſireth pardon, promiſing to amend all that is paſt, neither would ſhe at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride ſhee might looſe her fethers agayne. The gentle byrdes that before had geuen their fethers, ſeeing her ſo humble and lowly, being moued wyth pitie, reſtored agayne the fethers which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition. We will gladly, ſay they, behold thy fleyng amoͤg vs, ſo long as thou wilt vſe thine office with humblenes of minde, which is the chiefeſt comlyneſ of all the reſt: But this haue thou for certainty, that if at any tyme hereafter thou extoll thy ſelfe in pride, we wil ſtraight wayes depriue thee of thy fethers, and reduce thee into thy former ſtate wherin we found thee. Euē ſo oh you Cardinals (ſayth Iohannes Rupeſciſſanus) ſhall it happen vnto you. For the Emperour of Romaines and Almayne, and other Chriſtian kynges, potentates, & princes of the earth, haue beſtowed vpon you goodes, landes,

The Pope compared to a byrde fethered with other birdes fethers.

The firſt riſing of the pope.

The proud proſperitie of the Pope.

The decay of the Pope deſcribed.

and riches, that you ſhould ſerue God, but you haue poured it out and conſumed it vpon pride, all kynde of wickednes, ryot and wantonnes.

Armachanus.

The life and ſtory of Armachanus archb. and primate of Ireland.

IN the Catalogue of theſe learned and zelous defenders of Chriſt agaynſt Antichriſt aboue rehearſed, whom the Lord about thys tyme began to rayſe vp for reformatiō of hys Church, beyng then farre out of frame, I cānot forget nor omitte ſome thyng to write of the reuerend prelate, and famous clerke Richard Armachanus, primate & archbyſhop of Ireland: A man for his life and learning ſo memorable, as the condition of thoſe dayes then ſerued, that the ſame dayes then as they had but few good, ſo had none almoſt his better. Hys name was Richard Fizraf, made primate & archbyſhop as is ſayd, of Ireland. Firſt brought vp in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, in the ſtudye of all liberall knowledge, wherin he did exceedingly profite vnder John Bakenthorpe hys tutor and inſtructor. In this tyme the begging Friers beganne greatly to multiply and ſpreade, vnto whome this Bakenthorpe, was euer a greate enemie. Whoſe ſteppes the ſcholer alſo folowing, beganne to do the lyke. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of thys Fizraf, that he being commended to kyng Edward the 3. was promoted by hym, firſt to be Archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commiſſary of the vniuerſitie of Oxford. At length, to be Archbyſhop of Armach in Ireland. He being Archbyſhop, vpon a tyme had cauſe to come vp to London: At what tyme here in the ſayd citie of London was cōtention betwene the Friers and the clergie about preachyng, and hearing confeſſions. &c. Wherupon, this Armachanus beyng requeſted to preach, made 7. or 8. ſermons. Wherein he propounded ix. concluſions agaynſt the Friers, for the which he was cited vp by the Friers before this pope Innocent the 6. to appeare. And ſo he did, who before the face of the Pope valiantly defended, both in preachyng and writyng the ſame concluſions, and therin ſtood conſtantly vnto the death, as the wordes of John Wickliffe in his Trialogo do wel teſtify in this wiſe: Ab Anglorum Epiſcopis cōductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione concluſiones coram Innocentio 6. & ſuorum Cardinalium coetu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicauit, verbóque ac ſcriptis ad mortem vſque defendit. The like alſo teſtifieth of him Waldenus in faſcilo zizanniorum. Alſo Volateranus reporteth the ſame. Gulielmus Botonerus teſtifying of hym in like maner, ſayth: that Armachanus firſt reproued the begging Friers for hearing the confeſſiōs of profeſſed nonnes, without licence of their ſuperiours, and alſo of maried women without knowledge of their huſbandes. What dangers and troubles he ſuſtayned by his perſecutors, and how miraculouſly the Lord deliuered hym from their handes: In ſo much, that they metyng hym in the open ſtreates and in cleare day light, yet had no power to ſee hym, nor to apprehend hym. In what perill of theues and ſearchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered hym, yea and cauſed his mony beyng take from him, to be reſtored agayne to hym by portions, in tyme of hys neceſſity and famyne. Alſo from what dangers of the kings officers, which cōmyng with ỹ kyngs letters layd all the hauens for hym: yet how the lord Jeſus deliuered hym, ſhewing him by what wayes how to eſcape them. Moreouer, what appeals were laid agaynſt hym, to the number of xvi. & yet how ỹ lord gaue hym to triumph ouer all hys enemies. How the Lord alſo taught him & brought hym out of the profound vanities of Ariſtotles ſubtletie, to the ſtudy of ỹ ſcriptures of God. All this with much more, he hymſelf expreſſeth in a certaine prayer or cōfeſſion made to Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, in which he deſcribeth almoſt the whole hiſtory of hys own life. Which prayer I haue to ſhew in old written hand, and hereafter (Chriſt willing) intend as tyme ſerueth to publiſh the ſame. The beginnyng of the prayer in Latin is thus.

The commēdation of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the Friers to appeare before the pope.

The troubles and perſecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus preſerued manifold wayes by the Lord.

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Ieſu piiſſime, Ieſu potentiſſime, Ieſu dulciſſime: qui dixiſti, Ego ſum via, veritas & vita. Via ſine deuio: veritas ſine nubilo: & vita ſine termino. Quod tute viam mihi oſtendiſti. Tu te veritatem me docuiſti. Et tute vitam mihi promiſiſti: Via eras mihi in exilio. Veritas eras in conſilio. Et vita eris mihi in præmio. With the reſt that followeth in the foreſayd prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cyted vp by ỹ fryers to the pope, you haue partly heard: Now what were his reaſons and argumentes wherwith he defended his cauſe in the popes preſence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation wherof firſt I muſt put the reader in remembrance of the controuerſie mentioned before in the ſtorye of Guliel de ſancto Amore. Pag. 321. Alſo in the ſtorye of the vniuerſitie of Paris contendyng agaynſt the fryers. pag. 396. For ſo long did this cōtrouerſie continue in the Church, from the yeare. 1240. whē the Oxford men began firſt to ſtand againſt the fryers to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeare 1360. and after his time yet more encreaſed. So it pleaſed the ſecrete prouydence of God (for what cauſe he beſt knoweth) to ſuffer his Churche to be entangled and exerciſed ſometimes wyth matters and controuerſies of no great importance. Eyther to keepe the vanytye of mens wits thus occupyed from idlenes, or els to prepare their myndes by theſe ſmaller matters, to the conſideration and ſearching out of other thinges more graue and weightye. Like as now in theſe our queenes dayes, we ſee what tragedyes be rayſed vp in England about formes & faſhions of miniſters wearinges, what troubles grow, what placing and diſplacyng there is about the ſame: Euen ſo at this time happened the lyke ſtyrre about the liberties and priuilegies of the fryers, which not a litle troubled and occupyed all the Churches & Diuines almoſt through Chriſtendome. The which controuerſie, to the entent it may better be vnderſtāded (al the circumſtances thereof beyng explayned) we will firſt begin from the orygynall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and courſe of yeares, vpon what occaſion this varyance firſt riſing, in contynuance of time increaſed & multiplyed in gatheryng more matter, and braſt out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therfore this preſent matter, firſt it is to be vnderſtand, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1215. vnder pope Innocent the 3. was called a generall councel at Laterane, mentioned before. Pag. 251. in the dayes of King John. In the which councell among many other things, was conſtituted a certayne lawe or Canon, beginning Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. &c. the tenor of which canon in Engliſh is thus.

Can. omnis vtriuſque ſexus. Sex. xx. de Pe & re.

Be it decreed, that euery faythfull Chriſtian, both man and woman commyng to the yeares of diſcretion, ſhal confeſſe hymſelfe alone of all his ſinnes, to the prieſt of hys owne proper pariſh, once in the yeare at leaſt: and that he ſhall endeuour by his owne ſelfe to fulfill the penaunce, whenſoeuer he receyueth the ſacrament of Euchariſtie, at leaſt at the tyme of Eaſter. Vnleſſe by the aſſent of his Miniſter, vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe, for the tyme to abſtain. Otherwiſe doing, let hym both lacke the communiō of the Church beyng aliue, and Chriſtian buriall whē he is dead. Wherfore be it decreed, that this holeſome conſtitutiō ſhalbe publiſhed cuſtomably in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blyndnes make to hymſelfe a cloke of excuſe. And if any ſhall confeſſe himſelfe to any other prieſt then of hys owne pariſh vpon any iuſt cauſe, let him aſke and obtayne firſt licence of his owne Prieſt: Other els, the prieſt to haue no power to binde him or to looſe hym. &c.

Note here he calleth not the ſacrament of the altar.

In the tyme of this Innocentius, and of this Laterane councell, was Dominicke, the firſt authour and founder of the preaching fryers: who laboured to the ſayd Pope Innocent, for the confirmation of hys order, but dyd not obteyne, in his lyfe tyme.

Frier Dominicke in the tyme of Pope Innocent the 3. obtayned not the confirmation of his order.

The next yeare after this Laterane councel, dyed Pope Innocent. an. 1216. after whom came Honorius 3. who in the firſt yeare of his Popedome confirmed the order of the fryer Dominicke, and gaue to him and hys fryers authoritye to preach and to heare confeſſyons, with dyuers other priuilegies moe. And vnder this pope which gouerned ten yeares, lyued Domynicke fiue yeares after the confirmatiō of his order and dyed an. 1221. About which yeare, the order of the Franciſcane fryers began alſo to bread, and to ſpread in the world, through preachyng and hearing confeſſions.

The order of Frier Dominicke firſt cōfirmed by pope Innocent. 3.

The order of the Franciſcanes, cōfirmed ſhortly after the Dominikes.

After this Honorius next folowed Pope Gregory ỹ 9. about the yeare of our Lord 1228, who for the promoting of the foreſayd order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as foloweth.

The bull of pope Gregory in the behalfe of the Dominick friers.

Gregorius biſhop ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, to hys reuerent brethren, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and to his welbeloued children, Abbots, Priors, and to all Prelates of churches, to whom ſo euer theſe preſents ſhall come, gretyng, & Apoſtolicall bleſſing. Becauſe *iniquity hath abounded, and the charity of many hath waxt cold: Behold, the Lord hath rayſed vp the order of our welbeloued childrē the preching Friers, who not ſeking thyngs of their owne, but perteining to Ieſus Chriſt, to the extirping as well of hereſies as to the rootyng out alſo of other pernitious peſtilencies: haue dedicate themſelues to the preaching of the *worde of God.

***Iniquitie hath abounded at Rome.**

***Nay to the preaching rather of mens traditions agaynſt the word of God.**

We therfore myndiug to aduaunce their ſacrat purpoſe.&c and foloweth: commaundyng you to ſee the ſayd perſons, gentlely to be receaued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge do receaue deuoutly the ſeede of Gods word out of their mouth, and do confeſſe their ſinnes vnto them, all ſuch as lyſt, whom we haue authoriſed to the ſame, to heare confeſſiō, and to enioyne penaunce.&c. Dat. Peruſij.an.Pont.noſtri.8.

The Friers autoriſed to heare confeſſions & to enioyne penaunce.

Pope Innocent the 4. againſt the Friers.

This pope Honorius dyed about the yeare of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celeſtinus the fourth and ſat but xviij. dayes, then came Innocentius the fourth and ſat xj. yeares and vj. monethes. Who although he began firſt to fauour the friers: yet afterward being altered by certaine Diuines of vniuerſities, Prelates of Churches and Curates: debarred them of their liberties and priuilegies, & gaue out agayne preceptes and excommunications, as well agaynſt the friers, as all other religious perſons. And not long after the ſame he was diſpatched.

Pope Alexander the 4. vndoeth the actes of Pope Innocent the 4. hys predeceſſor.

Innocentius beyng thus remoued out of the way, about the yeare of our Lord.1353. Then ſucceded Pope Alexander the fourth a great mainteiner of the Friers, and ſat vij. yeares. He reuoked and repealed the Actes and wrytynges of pope Innocent his predeceſſour, geuen forth agaynſt the Friers: wherewith the Diuines and ſtudentes of Paris beyng not well contented, ſtyrred vp foure principall Doctours: The firſt and chief Captaine was Guliel. de ſancto Amore, mentioned before, pag. 321. agaynſt whom wrote Albertus Magnus, & Thomas Aquine. And at laſt he was condemned by this foreſayd Pope Alexander iiij. in the Extrau. Non ſine multa. The ſecond was Simon Tornacenſis, the third, Godfridus de Fontibus, the iiij. Henricus de Gandauo. Theſe foure with other their complices, compiled a certaine booke agaynſt ẏ begging order of Friers, both Dominicans, and Franciſcans intituled, De periculis Eccleſię, conteinyng xiiij. chapters. Wherof the 14. which is the laſt, with 39. articles agaynſt the Friers we haue already trāſlated and expreſſed, pag. 321. Beſide theſe. 39. articles, be other vij. articles moreouer to the ſaid booke annexed, vnder the name of the ſtudentes of Paris againſt the Friers, prouyng why the ſayd Friers ought not to be admitted into their ſocietie. Which vij. articles becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here better to place, then to omit them.

Extrau. non ſine multa. Gul. de S. Amore, Simō Tornalenſis. Godfridus de fontibus. Hen. de Gandauo, foure champions agaynſt the Friers.

¶ Certaine articles geuen out by the Studentes of Paris, agaynſt the Friers, why they ſhould not be admitted to their ſocietie.

Articles of the ſtudentes of Paris agaynſt the Friers.

FIrſt we ſay, they are not to be admitted to the ſocietie of our ſchole, but vpon our will and licence. For our company or felowſhyp ought not to be coactiue, but voluntarie and free.

Secōdly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, for ſomuch as we haue oft proued their community, manifold wayes to be hurtfull and incommodious vnto vs.

Thirdly, ſeyng they be of a diuers profeſſion from vs (for they are called regular, and not ſcholaſtical) therfore we ought not to be ioyned and aſſociate together in one ſcholaſticall office. For as much as the Councell of Spayne doth ſay, thou ſhalt not plough with the Oxe, and with the Aſſe together. Which is to ſay: Men of diuers profeſſions ought not together to be matched in one kynde of callyng, or ſtandyng, for their ſtudies and conditions be diſagreyng and diſſeuered from ours, and can not frame or couple together in one communion.

Concilium Hiſpan.

The Friers make diſſentions.

Fourthly we affirme, by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted, becauſe they worke diſſenſions and offences: For ſo ſayth the Apoſtle Rom. vlt. we deſire you brethren, that ye obſerue, and take heede of ſuch as make diſſenſions and offendicles about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apoſtles, and auoyde them. For ſuch ſerue not the Lord, but their owne belly. Gloſe. Some they flatter, ſome they backbyte, whereby they may feede their belly. That through their ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes, and by theyr benedictions, they may deceaue the harts of the ſimple. Gloſe. That is, with their fine ſugered, and trimme couched wordes, they ſet forth their own traditions, wherwith they beguile the hartes of ſimple innocentes.

Friers deuoure mens houſes.

Fiftly, we ſay they are not to be admitted. For that we feare leaſt they be in the number of them, which go about and deuoure mens houſes. For they thruſt in themſelues into euery mans houſe, ſearchyng and ſiftyng the conſciences and ſtates of all perſons. And whom they finde eaſie to be ſeduced, as women: ſuch they do circumuent, and lead them away from the counſailes of their Prelates, byndyng them either in acte or othe: from ſuch we are warned by the Apoſtle to auoyde.

Penetrantes domos.

Sixtly, we ſay they are to be auoyded: becauſe we feare they are falſe Prophetes. Which being neither Biſhops, nor Pariſh Prieſtes, nor yet their Vicares, nor ſent by them: yet they preach (not ſent) agaynſt the mynde of the Apoſtle, Rom. 10. ſaying: How ſhall they preach vnles they be ſent? For els there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seyng therfore that ſuch are ſo daungerous to the Church, they ought to be auoyded.

Friers preach vncalled.

Seuenthly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearchyng and inquiryng of other mens doynges, and ſpirituall demaynour. And yet be they neither Apoſtles, nor yet ſucceſſours of ẏ Apoſtles, as byſhops: nor of the number of the 72. Diſciples of ẏ Lord: nor their ſucceſſours, ẏ is pariſh prieſtes: nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherfore, ſeing they lyue ſo in no order, by ẏ ſentence of the Apoſtle we are commaūded to auoyde them. 2. Theſ. vlt. Where he ſaith: we admoniſh and denounce vnto you (O brethren) in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: that is, as the Gloſe, ſayth, (we commaunde you by the authoritie of Chriſt) that you withdraw your ſelues frō euery brother, that walketh inordinatly, and not after the tradition, which you haue receaued of vs.&c. Looke vpon the cōmon gloſe of this place, and you ſhall finde, that ſuch are to be auoyded till tyme they amende from ſo doyng.&c.

Friers haue no order of any calling in the church

Certaine concluſions in vniuerſitie of Paris to be diſputed of agaynſt the Friers.

Beſide theſe articles aboue rehearſed, certaine propoſitions or concluſions were alſo propounded in the ſcholes of Paris the ſame tyme, ſolemnely to be diſputed and defended agaynſt the Friers: which in a brief ſumme of wordes to collect, were theſe:

Firſt, that the beggyng Friers were not in the ſtate of Saluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labour with their handes that could, and not to begge.

Thirdly, that they ought not to exerciſe the office of preachyng, or to heare the confeſſions of them that will come to them, although beyng licenſed thereunto by the Byſhop of Rome, or by the Dioceſane: for ſomuch as the ſame is preiudiciall to the miniſters and Prieſtes of the Pariſhes.

Pope Alexander the 4. a great fauourer of the Friers.

All theſe foreſayd articles & concluſions, with ẏ booke ſet forth by theſe Paris men: this Pope Alexander the iiij. condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, wrytyng his preceptes to the Frēch kyng, & alſo the vniuerſitie of Paris, in the fauour of the Friers: willyng and commaundyng the ſayd friers to be reſtored to all their priuilegies & liberties, in as ample maner as in Pope Gregories tyme before.

An other geuen to the Friers by Pope Clement 4. *Ex Clement. Quidā temerè.*

Not long after Pope Alexander the iiij. folowed Clement the iiij. an. 1263. and ſate iij. yeares. Who alſo gaue the priuiledge to the friers, begynnyng: Quidam temere.&c. In which priuiledge he condemneth them that ſay, that no man without licence of his Curate or Miniſter, ought to cōfeſſe him to the friers, or that a ſubiect ought to aſke licence of their miniſters ſo to do, whiche was agaynſt the Canon Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, made by the Pope Innocent the 3. before recited.

Pope Martin the 4. holdeth with curates againſt the Friers.

After this Clement, agayne came pope Martine the iiij. an. 1281. who renewed againe the Canon. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: in the behalfe of the Curates againſt the friers.

Pope Boniface holdeth with the Friers agaynſt. *Ex Clemēt. ſit. Bonif. Super cathedram.*

Then Pope Boniface the viij. began to ſit, an. 1294. viij. yeares, ix. monethes. Who takyng ſide with the friers, gaue to them an other priuiledge, begynnyng: Super Cathedram. &c. In the which priuiledge he licenſeth the friers, that without licence of Vicares of Churches, they ſhall firſt preſent themſelues to the Prelates to be admitted: by whom if they be refuſed the ſecond tyme, then they vpon ſpeciall authoritie of this Pope, ſhalbe priuileged: without either Byſhop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to heare confeſſions who ſoeuer will come to them, reuokyng all that was decreed by his predeceſſours before to the cōtrary notwithſtandyng.

Pope Benedict the 5. holdeth with prieſtes agaynſt the Friers. *Ex Clement. inter cunctas.*

Ioan. Monach. reuoketh hys gloſe.

By this Pope Boniface, a certaine Dominicke frier was made Cardinall named Nicholaus de Teruiſio, and after the death of Boniface, was made alſo Pope. an. 1303. ſurnamed Pope Benedictus xj. Who ſeing the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſour to gender diſſenſion betwene the Prieſtes and friers, made an other conſtitution, begynnyng: Inter cunctas.&c. reuokyng the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſour. Upon which conſtitution of Pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, makyng a Gloſe, reuoked alſo his other Gloſe made vpon the conſtitution of Boniface before.

Pope Clement the 5. holdeth with the Friers & repealeth the cōſtitutiō of Benedictus. *Ex Clement. cap. dudum.*

Agayne after this Benedictus the xj. folowed pope Clement the v. an. 1335. and ſat ix. yeares. Who in his generall Councell holden at Vienna, reuoked the conſtitution of Benedictus his predeceſſour, and renewed agayne the former decree of Boniface, by a new conſtitution of his, begynnyng: Dudum a Bonifacio. 8. &c. Which conſtitution

more=

moreouer was confirmed afterward by Pope Iohn the xxij. an. 1316. which Pope alſo cauſed Ioannes de Poliaco to recant.

Upon this variable diuerſitie of the Popes (one diſſentyng and repugnyng from an other) roſe among the Diuines and Schoolemen in Uniuerſities great matter of contention, as well in the Uniuerſitie of Paris, as the Uniuerſitie of Oxford about the beggyng friers, ſome holdyng one way, ſome an other way. But eſpecially v. principall opinions be noted of learned men, who then diſputyng agaynſt the friers, were condemned for heretickes, and their aſſertions reproued.

Fiue diuerſe opinions of learned men in this age holdyng agaynſt the Friers.

The firſt was the opinion of them which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the Byſhop of Rome and of the Prelates, preach in Pariſhes, and heare confeſſions. And of this opiniõ was Gulicl. de Sancto Amore, with his felowes, who as is ſayd, were condemned.

The 2. opinion.

Bernardus ſuper cap. Omnis vtriuſque.

The ſecond opinion was this, that friers, although not by their owne authoritie, yet by priuiledge of the Pope and of the Byſhop, might preach and heare confeſſions in Pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the Pariſh Prieſtes. Of this opinion was Bernardus gloſing vpon the Canõ. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, aboue mentioned.

The 3. opinion.

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confeſſions, without licence of the Pariſh Prieſtes: but yet the ſayd pariſhners notwithſtandyng were bound, by the Canon: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: to repete the ſame ſinnes againe, if they had no other, to their own proper Curate: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridius de Fontibus: Henricus de Gandauo: Ioannes Monachus Cardin: Ioannes de Poliaco. Which Ioannes de Poliaco, Pope Iohn the xxij. cauſed openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

Ioan. de Poliaco.

Ex libro fratris Egelberti.

This Ioannes de Poliaco Doctor of Diuinitie in Paris, beyng complained of by the friers for certaine articles or aſſertions, was ſent for to the Pope: where tyme and place beyng to hym aſſigned, he in the audience of the Pope and of many Cardinals and other doctors, was ſtraitly examined of his articles. To make the ſtory ſhort, he at length ſubmitting himſelfe to the authoritie of the terrible ſee of Rome: was cauſed to recant his aſſertions openly at Paris. His aſſertions which he did hold, were theſe.

The three aſſertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, which he was cauſed by the Pope to recant at Paris.

John de Poliaco cauſed to recant by pope John the 22.

His three aſſertions.

Whereof the firſt was, they which were confeſſed to friers, although hauyng a generall licence to heare confeſſions: were bound to confeſſe agayne their ſinnes to their own Pariſh Prieſt, by the conſtitution. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c.

The 3. aſſertions of Ioan. de Poliaco againſt the Friers.

The ſecond was, that the ſayd conſtitution, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, ſtanding in his force, the Pope could not make: but pariſhners were bound once a yeare, to confeſſe their ſinnes to their Prieſt. For the doyng otherwiſe inferreth a contradiction in it ſelf.

The iij. was, that the pope could not geue generall leaue to heare confeſſions ſo, but ỹ the pariſhners ſo cõfeſſed were bound to reiterate ỹ ſame confeſſion made, vnto his owne Curate. Which he proued by theſe places of the Canon law. 25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Thoſe thinges which be generally ordeined for publique vtilitie, ought not to be altered by any chaunge. &c. Item, the decrees of the ſacred Canons, none ought to keepe more then the Byſhop Apoſtolicall. &c. Ibidem. But, to alter or to ordeine any thyng agaynſt the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authoritie or power, no not of the Apoſtolicall ſea. Ibidem.

25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra ſtatuta patrum condere vel mutare aliquid, nec huius quidem ſedis poteſt autoritas.

The 4. opinion.

The fourth opinion was, that the Friers by the licence of the Pope and of the Byſhops, might lawfully heare confeſſions, and the people might be of them confeſſed and abſolued. But yet notwithſtandyng, it was reaſon, conuenient, honeſt, and profitable, that once in the yeare they ſhould be confeſſed to their curates (although beyng confeſſed before to the friers) becauſe for the adminiſtration of Sacramentes, eſpecially at Eaſter. Of which opinion was Gulielmus de monte Landuno: Henricus de Gandauo alſo holde, not onely to be conuenient, but alſo that they were bound ſo to doe.

Gulielmus de mõte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo.

The fift opiniõ.

The fift opinion was, that albeit the Friers might at all tymes, and at Eaſter alſo, heare confeſſions as the curates did: yet it was better and more ſafe, at the tyme of Eaſter to confeſſe to the curates, thẽ to the Friers. And of thys opiniõ was thys our Armachanus, of whom we preſently now entreat.

And thus haue ye, as in a briefe ſumme opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betwene the friers and the Church men. what Popes made with the friers: and what Popes made againſt thẽ. Moreouer, what learned mẽ diſputed againſt them in Paris, and other places, and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the Friers, ſtoode in foure pointes. Firſt preaching without licence of Curates. Second, in hearing cõfeſſions. Third, in burying. Fourth, in begging and taking of the people.

Popes that mainteined the Friers.

Were	Honorius.	3.
	Gregorius.	9.
	Alexander.	4.
	Clemens.	4.
	Boniface.	8.
	Clemens.	5.

Popes that mainteined Curates.

Were	Innocentius.	3.
	Innocentius.	4.
	Martinus.	4.
	Benedictus.	11.

The learned men that diſputed agaynſt the Friers.

Were
Gulielmus de S.Amore.
Bernardus ſuper capitulum, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus.
Godfridus de Fontibus.
Henricus de Gandauo.
Gulielmus de Landuno.
Ioannes Monachus Cardinal.
Ioannes de Poliaco.
Armachanus.

All theſe were condemned by the Popes, or els cauſed to recant.

Ex libro cui titulus Defenſorium curatorum.

Theſe conſiderations and circumſtancies hetherto premiſed, for the more opening of thys preſent cauſe of Armachanus ſuſteined agaynſt the idle beggerly ſectes of friers, in whom the reader may well perceaue Antichriſt plainly reigning, and fighting agaynſt the Church: Now remayneth, that as I haue before declared the trauayles & troubles of diuers godly learned men in the Church ſtriuing agaynſt the ſayd friers, continually from the tyme of Guliel. de Amore, hetherto: So now it remayneth, that for ſomuch as thys our Armachanus labouring and in the ſame cauſe, ſuſteined the like conflict wyth the ſame Antichriſt: we likewiſe collect and open hys reaſons and argumentes vttered in the conſiſtory and in the audience of the Pope hymſelfe, wherewith he mainteyneth the true doctrine and cauſe of the Church agaynſt the peſtiferous canker crepyng in, by theſe friers after ſubtile wayes of hypocriſie, to corrupt the ſincere ſimplicitie of Chriſtes holy fayth & perfect Teſtament. The which reaſons and argumentes of hys, wyth the whole proceſſe of hys doinges: I thought good and expedient for the vtilitie of the Church, more amply and largely to diſcourſe and proſecute, for that I note in the ſectes, inſtitutions, and doctrine of theſe friers, ſuch ſubtile poyſon to lurke: more pernitious and hurtfull to the religion of Chriſt and ſoules of Chriſtians, then all men peraduenture do conſider.

This Armachanus beyng wyth the clergie of England, diſputed and contended wyth the friers here of England, an. 1358. about a double matter. Whereof the one was concernyng confeſſion and other [illegible] which the friers encroched in pariſhe churches agaynſt the Curates, and publique paſtors of Churches. The other was concernyng wilfull beggery and pouertie, which the friers then tooke vpon them, not vpon any neceſſitie being otherwiſe ſtrong inough to worke for their liuinge, but onely vpon a wylfull and affected profeſſion. For the which cauſe the friers appealed hym vp to the court of Rome. The occaſiõ wherof thus did riſe.

It befell, that Armachanus vpon certaine buſines commyng vp to London, found there certayne Doctours diſputyng and contendyng about the beggyng of Chriſt our Sauiour. Whereupon (he beyng greatly vrged and requeſted oft tymes thereto) at requeſt, made ſeuen or eight Sermons vnto the people at London, wherin he vttered. ix. concluſions. Whereof the firſt and principall concluſion was, touchyng the matter of the friers priuileges, in hearyng confeſſions. His concluſion was this.

Firſt, that if a doubt or queſtion be moued for hearyng cõfeſſion, which of ij. places is rather to be choſen. The pariſh church is to be preferred before the church of the friers.

Secondly, beyng demaunded whether is to be taken (to heare the confeſſion of the Pariſhners the Parſon, or the Curate, or of the frier) It is to be ſayd, rather the Parſon or the Curate.

Thirdly, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his humaine conuerſation was alwayes poore, but not that he loued pouertie, or coueted to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt dyd neuer beg, wilfully profeſſing to be poore.

Fiftly, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did neuer teach wilfully to beg, or to profeſſe wilfull beggery.

The ſixt cõcluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord did contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purpoſely without meere neceſſitie to beg.

Seuenthly, that there is neither wiſedome nor holynes, for any man to take vpon hym wilfull beggery, perpetually to be obſerued.

The eight, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the Obſeruantes or Friers Minorites, to obſerue wilful pouerty.

The laſt concluſion was, touchyng the Bull of Pope Alexander the fourth, which cõdemned the libell of the maiſters of Paris: that the ſame Bull toucheth none of theſe vij. laſt concluſions.

Armachanus cited vp to the pope by the friers.

The proteſtation of Armachanus.

Upon theſe .ix. concluſions premiſed, Armachanus beyng appealed, cited, and brought vp to the preſence of the Pope: began to proue the ſame his foreſayd concluſions or aſſertions vnder proteſtation made, that his intention was not to affirme any thyng contrary to the Chriſtian fayth, or to the Catholicke doctrine, or that ſhould be preiudiciall or deſtructiue to ẏ orders of the beggyng friers, ſuch as were approued by holy Church, or confirmed by the hygh Byſhops: But onely his intentiõ was, to haue the ſayd orders reduced to the puritie of their firſt inſtitution. Concernyng which matter, he deſired his reaſons to be heard, which if they ſhould be found weaker then the reaſons of the friers, the puniſhment ſhould be his. If otherwiſe, that then the friers iuſtly to be rewarded, for their ſlaunderous obtrectation and publique cõtumelies, and iniurious dealynges both priuatly and publikely wrought and ſought agaynſt hym: And ſo takyng for his Theame: Nolite iudicare ſecundum faciem, ſed iuſtum iudicium iudicate. &c. That is. Judge not after the outward face, but iudge true iudgement, &c. John. 7. he entreth to the probation of his concluſiõs: Firſt beginnyng with the former concluſion, that the Pariſh Church was a place more fit and conuenient, for the confeſſions or burials of the Pariſhners to be vſed, then any other exempt Church or place of the friers. Which he proued by three cauſes: Firſt, for the more ſurenes or certeintie to the conſcience of the Pariſhner cõfeſſed. Secondly, for the more vtilitie and profite of him. Thirdly, for the leſſe incommoditie enſuing by confeſſions taken in Pariſh Churches, then in friers Churches.

His theame.

John. 7.

The firſt concluſion propoſed. Probation.

Certaintie.

Vtilitie.

Commoditie.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſiõ confirmed. Deut. 12.

Leuit. 4. 5.

As touchyng the firſt, for the more aſſuredneſ and certeintie, thus he argued vpon the place of Deut. xij. Unto that place, which the Lord your God ſhall aſſigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therin: thether ſhall you reſort, to offer vp your oblations, tithes. &c. And in the ſame place God ſayth: See thou offer not thy ſacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place alone which ẏ Lord hath elect in one of the tribes, & thou ſhalt do in all thynges as I commaund thee. Alſo vpõ the wordes of Leuit. 4. and 5. which be theſe. Whoſoeuer ſinneth of ignoraunce, ſhall offer to the Prieſt, and he ſhal pray for hym, and he ſhalbe forgeuen. &c. Upõ theſe places thus he argued: that forasmuch as the Sacramentes of the Church are to be frequented and vſed in no other place but onely in that, which by God hym ſelfe peculiarly is aſſigned and commaunded for the ſame: And ſeyng that elect place in the law repreſenteth the pariſh churches: neither can it be proued that the Friers Church is the place preſcribed of God, but onely permitted by Byſhops of Rome: he concluded therfore, that pariſh churches for confeſſions and burials, were more ſure and certaine to the conſcience of the Pariſhners, then the exempt places of the friers.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſion, cõfirmed by an other reaſon.

By an other reaſon alſo he confirmed the ſame, for that the pariſh Church commonly ſtandeth free from the popes interdict, ſo do not the Churches of the friers. As which ſtand not ſo cleare, but that they are vnder ſuſpition, and doubt of the Popes interdict: by the Decretall. De ſepulturis in ſexto. cap. Animarum periculis. In which decretall, all ſuch conuentuall Churches and Churchyeardes of friers be interdicted, which do induce any perſon or perſons, either by othe or promiſe made, to chuſe their buryng places in their Churches, as commonly the friers are reported to do. For els, what pariſhner would forſake his owne Church & pariſh where his aunceſters do lye, to be buryed among the friers, if the friers did not induce them ſo to do?

The ſecond part of the firſt concluſion confirmed.

Moreouer for the ſecond part, concernyng the vtilitie of the place, that he confirmed doublewiſe. Firſt, for that confeſſion made within the pariſh church, hath a double merite of obedience, both for obeying the commaundement of God in openyng his cõfeſſion (This he ſpeaketh according to the blyndnes of that tyme, for that auricular confeſſion hath any commaundemẽt of God, cannot be proued:) and alſo in obeying the commaundement of God in obſeruyng the place by hym appointed, the which ſecõd merite of obedience lacketh in the friers part. Secondly, he proued to be greater vtilitie for a Pariſhner to confeſſe hym in his pariſh Church, then with the friers. Becauſe commonly the number of Chriſten people praying, is ten tymes more in pariſh Churches. Whereby is to be thought, that ech ſingular perſon may better be helped through moe prayers, then in the Oratories of the friers, &c.

An other confirmation of the ſecond part of the firſt article.

The third part of the firſt concluſion proued.

Farther as touchyng the thyrd part of the firſt concluſion or article he proued, that it had fewer incommodities to reſort euery man to his pariſh Church, then to the friers: for that both greater vtilitie, and more certeintie (as hath bene proued) did enſue therof: which two beyng take away, (as muſt neede, in reſortyng to the friers Church) the two ſpeciall commodities ſhould be hindered, and ſo great incommodities therof ſhould follow. And thus much for the place of the friers.

The 2. concluſion or article.

Now to the ſecond concluſion or article touchyng the perſon of the frier, and of the ordinary Curate. If the queſtion be, which of theſe two is to be preferred in the office of Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary Curate was better then the extraordinarie frier, and that for the three foreſayd reſpectes, to witte, for certaintie or aſſuraunce, for vtilitie, and for incommoditie to be auoyded.

3. reſpectes or cauſes to be proued.

Firſt that it is more ſafe and ſure for the pariſhners to reſort to their ordinary, or pariſh Prieſt, he argued by three reaſons: firſt becauſe the perſon of the lawfull ordinary or prieſtes is expreſſely of God commaunded, where the perſon of the frier is not, and therfore is forbyd. Secondly, becauſe the pariſhner may more truſt to his ordinary Curate, as who is more bound and obliged to prouide and to be carefull for hym, then any other extraordinary perſon. Thirdly, becauſe in the perſon of the ordinary Curate, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bynde hym: whereas contrary in the friers behalfe, there is good matter to doubt, whether he ſtand bound vnder the popes cenſure of excommunication, or not, and that for diuers cauſes, as by the cap. Religioſi, in Clementinis de decimis. Where it is decreed, that all ſuch religious men, which hauyng no benefices nor cure of ſoule, preſume to appropriate vnto them glebe land or other tithes due vnto Churches, and not appertaynyng to them (by any maner of colour or fraudulent circumuention) do incurre the ſentence of excommunication, ipſo facto. Alſo by an other cap. Religioſi, De priuilegijs. in Clement. Where it is ſayd, that all ſuch religious men are excommunicated De facto, whoſoeuer do abſolue any, agaynſt whom the ſentence of excommunication hath bene denounced by ſtatute prouinciall, or ſinodall: as it is commonly ſayd, that the friers hearing mens cõfeſſions are accuſtomed to do, in looſing them whom the cenſure of Prelates, or their Officials haue bound. Whereof the ſayd Armachanus bryngeth forth example of his owne Dioces: For I (ſayd he) in myne own Dioces of Armachan, haue as good as two thouſand vnder me, who by the cenſure of excommunication euery yeare, denounced agaynſt wilfull murtherers, cõmon theeues, burners of mens houſes, and ſuch lyke malefactors, ſtand accurſed: Of all which number notwithſtandyng, ſcarcely. 14. there be, which come to me or to any about me for their abſolution. And yet all they receyue the Sacramentes as other do, & all becauſe they be abſolued, or becauſe they fayne themſelues to be abſolued by none other then by the friers: who in ſo doyng, are proued to be vnder the daunger of excommunication, both the friers, and alſo the pariſhners, if they knowyng therof do conſent to their errour.

Ca. Religioſ. Clemẽt. de decimis.

In Clementinis de priuilegijs cap. Religioſi.

The friers proued to be excommunicate by the popes law.

Alſo out of the ſayd Clementines, by three other places in one chapter, he proueth the friers to be excommunicate, to

wyt

cap.Cupientes de pænis.Clement.

wryt in the chap. Cupientes, De pænis in Clement. In the which chapter: Firſt, all ſuch religious men are excommunicate, which in their Sermōs preſume to withdraw their hearers from their tythes paying, due vnto churches. Secondly, in the ſayd chapter all ſuch friers are ſuſpended from preaching, and ſo are excommunicate, which within a certayne tyme do not make a concion to ſuch as come to theyr confeſſions, in paying their tythes truly and duely to the Church. Thyrdly, in the foreſayd chapter alſo, all ſuch religious perſons be bound in excommunication, which induce men by any maner of meanes, either by vow, othe, or promiſe, to chuſe theyr burials within their Churches, or not to chaunge the ſame, if they haue made any ſuch promyſe before. In all which three poyntes, he proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

The Friers proued to be excommunicated by the popes lawe.

An other proofe, that the pariſhner may more ſafely goe to his curate, then to the friers.

Moreouer, for the more ſurer way for the pariſhners to reſort to their appoynted curates, then to ÿ friers, he argued thus. For that the pariſh Prieſt or Curate beyng better acquaynted with his owne pariſhner then is a ſtraunger, can better iudge of the nature and diſpoſition of his diſeaſe, and miniſter to hym due Phiſicke of penaunce for the ſame, and alſo wilbe more carefull in curyng hym.

The ſecond part of the ſecond cōcluſion proued.

Thus the firſt part of the ſecond cōcluſion or article beyng proued and argued, Armachanus procedeth farther to proue the ſecond part: that it is better for the pariſhners to leaue the friers, and to reſort to their owne paſtors. Which he proued by eight or nyne reaſons.

Firſt, for that the ordinary paſtor, is properly appoynted of God vnto that miniſtery: whereas the frier, is but onely permitted of man therunto.

Secondly, for that in reſortyng to the ordinary of the pariſh, is a double reward of merite, whereas in commyng to the friers there is but one.

Thyrdly, becauſe the ordinary is more bound to his own flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a ſtraunger.

Fourthly, becauſe to reſort to the perſon of his owne ordinary, there is more aſſuraunce and certaintie, (as is aboue declared) then to an other.

Innocent cap. Si animarum.

Fiftly becauſe (as Innocentius, Cap. Si animarū, ſayth) the commyng to ÿ curate or paſtor ordinary, is more eaſie and light, both in the night and in neceſſity.

Sixtly, for ſomuch as ÿ pariſhner muſt needes come to his Curate at ſome tyme, and eſpecially beyng in neceſſity: It is expedient and profitable, that his former lyfe before were knowen to hym, rather then to the other.

Seuenthly, for that (as the ſayd Innocentius affirmeth) it ſtriketh more ſhame of his ſinne to the pariſhner to be cōfeſſed to hys curate whom he ſeeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowen.

Eightly, becauſe it is more profitable eſpecially for them that lyue in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confeſſion of the one, ſhould heare alſo the confeſſion of the other. So that one hearyng the confeſſion of them both as a ſpirituall Phiſitian takyng two cures in one body, may better know what ſpirituall counſaile is to be miniſtred to the one, after he hath cured the other. &c.

The third part of the ſecond cōcluſiō argued.

These thynges thus proued before, then Armachanus conſequently procedeth to the thyrd part: Arguyng, how that greater detrimentes and inconueniencies do enſue by confeſſions, burials, and other Eccleſiaſticall functions exerciſed by the friers thē by paſtors and ſecular curates, ſeruyng in pariſhes. About the which matter, the ſayd Armachanus learnedly and worthely inferreth a long diſcourſe, prouyng and inferryng how pernicious theſe orders of friers are to the whole ſtate of the church: And what miſchief commeth by the priuiledgies of certaine Popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermedle in the office and function of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, to preach, and to take almes and tythes of the people, and impropriations from the Church. All which hys reaſons & argumētes to proſecute in order as he hath left them in writyng, it would make a matter of a large booke. Notwithſtandyng, becauſe it ſhall not be vnfruitefull both for the tyme preſent & the poſteritie, to know the manifold detrimentes and diſcommodities receaued by theſe friers, and to know what benefite God hath done for vs in vnburdenyng the Church of this monſtruous generation: And eſpecially becauſe the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwiſe to be founde, intituled, Defenſorium Curatorum: I haue briefly therfore contracted out of the ſame, certaine of his reaſons, ſuch as ſeemed moſt apperteinyng and moſt worthy of notyng.

Defenſorium Curatorum Armachani.

And firſt, alledgyng the authoritie of Innocent the 4. He inporteth foure incōueniēces riſing by the friers, which be theſe: Contempt of the people againſt their ordinaries, decreaſing of deuotion, takyng away of ſhame from the people by confeſſing to the friers, detraying of oblations, ſuch as the people are wont to geue at their confeſſion & burials, and which by right belong to the pariſh churches.

Cap. Dudum.

Item, by the ſayd priuiledgies of the Popes, graunted to the friers, many other great enormities do riſe. As firſt becauſe therby, the true ſhepherdes do not know the faces of their flocke.

The harmes that come to the world by the friers, declared.

Item, by the occaſion of theſe priuilegies geuen to the Friers, great contention, and ſometymes blowes riſe betwene the friers and ſeculare curates, about tythes, impropriations, and other auayles.

Item, by the occaſion of the foreſayd priuiledgies, diuers young men as well in vniuerſities as in their fathers houſes, are allured craftely by the friers their confeſſours, to enter their orders: from thence afterward, they can not get out though they would, to the great griefe of their parentes, and no leſſe repentaunce to the young men themſelues. The example wherof, Armachanus in the ſayd his treatiſe inferreth, of a certayne ſubſtantiall Engliſhe man beyng with him at his Inne in Rome: who hauyng a ſonne at the vniuerſitie of Oxford, which was entiſed by ÿ friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after releaſe hym out. But when his father & hys mother would come vnto hym, they could not be ſuffered to ſpeake wyth hym, but vnder the friers cuſtody. Wheras the Scripture commaundeth plainely, that who ſo ſtealeth any man & ſelleth him (being therof conuicted) ſhalbe put to death. Exod. 21. And for the ſame cauſe, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to ſeeke remedy for his ſonne. And thus ſayth Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detrimentes come, by theſe friers vnto the common people.

Example of the friers theft in Oxford.

Friers hinderers of Vniuerſities.

And no leſſe inconuenience and daunger alſo by ÿ ſayd friers, riſeth to the Clergie: for ſo much as lay men ſeeyng their childrē thus to be ſtollen frō thē in ÿ vniuerſities by ÿ friers, do refuſe therfore to ſend them to their ſtudies: Rather willyng to keepe them at home to their occupation, or to folow the plough, then ſo to be circumuented and defeated of their ſonnes at the vniuerſitie, as by dayly experience (ſayth he) doth manifeſtly appeare. For where as in my time (ſaith Armachanus) there were in the vniuerſitie of Oxford xxx. thouſand ſtudentes: now are there not to be found vi. thouſand. The occaſion of which ſo great decay, is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe, but to this circumuention onely of the friers aboue mentioned.

30. thouſand ſtudents in Oxford, in the time of Armachanus.

The Friers a great cauſe of decay of learning.

Ouer and beſides this, an other inconuenience as great or greater, the ſayd Armachanus inferred to proceede by ÿ friers, through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all maner faculties and liberall ſciences, which thus he declared. For that theſe begging friers through their priuilegies obteyned of the Popes, to preach, to heare confeſſions, and to bury: and through their charters of impropriations, did grow therby to ſuch great riches and poſſeſſions by theyr begging, crauing, catching, and intermedling with Church matters, that no booke could ſtirre of any ſcience, either of Diuinitie, lawe, or Phiſicke, but they were both able and ready to buy it vp. So that euery couent hauing a great librarie full ſtuffed and furniſhed with all ſortes of bookes, and beyng ſo many couents within the realme, and in euery couent ſo many friers increaſing dayly more and more: by reaſon therof, it came to paſſe, that very few bookes or none at all remayne for other ſtudentes. Which by his owne experience he thus teſtifieth, ſaying: that he hymſelf ſent forth to the vniuerſitie foure of hys owne prieſtes or chapleynes, who ſendyng hym word agayne ÿ they could neither finde the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitie meete for their ſtudy, therefore were mynded to returne home to their country: and one of them, he was ſure, was returned by this tyme agayne.

Bookes not to be gotten for the Fryers.

Example what lacke of bookes commeth by the Friers.

The fryers giltie in 3. faultes.
1. Diſobedience.
2. Auarice.
3. Pride.

Furthermore, as he hath proued hetherto, the Friers to be hurtfull both to the laity, and to the clergie: ſo proceedyng farther, he proueth them to be hurtfull alſo to themſelues. And that in 3. pointes, as incurring the vice of diſobedience againſt God, againſt their owne rule: The vice of auarice: and the vice of pride. The probation of all which pointes, he proſecuted in a long diſcourſe.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with diſobedience.

Firſt (ſaith he) they are diſobedient to the law of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe, Oxe nor Aſſe, nor any thing that is his: In that they procure the Popes letters to preach in Churches, and to take burials from churches, with licence annexed withall to receaue the auailes which riſe of the ſame, which properly belongeth to the right of pariſh prieſtes.

Item, they are diſobedient to thys rule of the Goſpell:

So do to other, as thou would haue done to thee.

Itē, they be diſobedient agaynſt their owne rule, which beyng founded vpon ſtraight pouerty and beggery, this licēce obtained for them to require neceſſary for their labours of the people, is repugnyng agaynſt the ſame foundation.

Friers diſobedient to the rule of Scripture.

Item, they be diſobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which ſayth: let no man take honour vnto hym, except he be called, as Aarō. Alſo ſayth S. Paul, how ſhall they preach, vnleſſe they be ſent? And how obſerue they this rule of obedience, who profeſſyng to keepe the perfection of the Goſpell, yet contrary to the Goſpell, procure to themſelues priuiledgies to runne before they be ſent?

Item, to their own rule they are diſobediēt: For where their chapter ſayth, that if any will take vpon them this order, and will come to our brethrē: let our brethren firſt ſend them to the prouincials to be examined of the Catholicke fayth and Sacramentes of the Church. &c. Cōtrary wherunto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onely the prouinciales, but other inferiours alſo may take vnto them indifferently, whom they can catch: ſo farre without all examination, that almoſt at this day there is no notable houſe of friers, wherein is not either a whole, or halfe a couent of lads and boyes vnder x. yeare old, beyng circūuented, which neither can ſkill of the Creede nor Sacramentes.

Friers diſobedient to their own profeſſion.

Agayne, the rule of Fraunciſe ſayth: that his brethren Obſeruauntes, muſt obſerue not to preach in the Dioces of any byſhop, without the conſent of the Byſhop. And moreouer the ſayd Fraunciſe in his teſtament ſayth: that if he had as much wiſedome as Salomon, and founde poore ſecular prieſts in the pariſhes where they dwel: yet he would not preſume to preach without their will, and alſo would feare, loue, & honour them, & all other as his maiſters, & ſo they be. Hæc ille. Agaynſt which rule, how the friers do diſobey, how litle they reuerence Byſhops or ſecular Prieſtes: what priuilegies, exemptions, and immunities they procure agaynſt them, the world may ſee and iudge.

Item, when none may be admitted to preach, or to heare confeſſions, vnles they be entred into orders: and ſeyng by the common law of the Church, none muſt be admitted into holy orders, except he haue ſufficient title of lyuing and clothyng: The friers therfore hauyng no ſuch title (beyng wilfull beggers) do diſobey in both reſpectes, that is, both in entryng into ſuch orders without conuenient title, and in exerciſing the office of preachyng without ſuch lawfull orders.

Moreouer, the foreſayd Fraunciſe in his teſtament cōmaundeth thus: I commaund (ſayth he) firmely by vertue of obedience, to all and ſingular my brethren wherſoeuer they be: that none of them preſume to obtayne in the Court of Rome any letter or writyng, either by hymſelfe or by any other meanes, neither for the Church nor for any other place, nor vnder any coulour of preachyng, nor yet for the perſecuting of their owne bodyes. &c. Agaynſt which teſtament of Franciſe, the Franciſcans in procuryng their priuiledgies from the Byſhop of Rome, haue incurred manifeſt diſobedience, as all the world may ſee. Neither will this obiection ſerue them, becauſe the Pope hath diſpenſed with Franciſe rule. For if the teſtament of Franciſe as he ſayth came from GOD, (and ſo ſhould God haue three teſtamentes) how then can the Pope repeale his precept, or diſpenſe with his rule, when by the rule of the law, Par in parem non habet imperium.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with auarice.

Secondly, concernyng the vice of auarice, manifeſtly it may be proued vpon them (ſayth Armachanus) for els, ſeyng ſo many charges belong to the office of a ſecular pariſh prieſt, as to miniſter the Sacrament at Eaſter, to viſite the ſicke with extreme vnction, to baptiſe children, to wed, with ſuch other wherein ſtandeth as great deuotion: how then happeneth that theſe friers making no labour for theſe, onely procure to themſelues priuiledgies to preach in churches, to heare confeſſions, and to receaue licence to bury from pariſh churches: but becauſe there is lucre and gayne in theſe to be looked for, in the other is none.

An other proofe.

Which alſo may appeare by this: for otherwiſe if it were for mere deuotion onely, that they procure licence to bury from pariſh churches, and to preach: why then haue they procured withall, licence to take offeryngeſ, oblations and legacies for their funerals. And for their preachyng, why haue they annexed alſo licēce to require and take of the people neceſſaries for their labour, but that onely auarice is the cauſe therof.

An other proofe.

Likewiſe for hearyng of confeſſiōs: when all good men haue inough to know their owne faultes, and nothyng lyſt to heare the faultes of other: It is probably to be ſuppoſed by this their priuilege of hearyng all mens confeſſions, that they would neuer haue bene ſo deſirous of procuryng that priuilege, were it not that theſe friers dyd feele ſome ſweetnes and gayne to hang vpon the ſame.

An other proofe.

Item, where the rule of frier Franciſe forbiddeth them to company with any women, to enter into Monaſteries, to be Godfathers and Goſſyps to men and women: how commeth it, that they contrary to their rule, enter into the ſecret chambers of Queenes and other women, and make to know the moſt ſecret counſayles of their doynges, but that auarice and commoditie haue ſo blynded their eyes, and ſtyrred their hartes.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with pride.

Thyrdly, that the friers fall into the vice of pride & ambition, the ſayd Armachanus proued thus.

To ſeeke or to procure any hygh place in the Church, is a poynt of pride & ambition. Chriſoſt. in opere perfecto: Nūquam ſine ambitione deſideratur primatus in Eccleſia.

The friers ſeeke and procure a high place in the church.
Ergo, the friers be proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proueth: To haue the ſtate of preaching and hearyng confeſſions, is in the church a ſtate of honour.

The friers ſeeke and haue procured the ſtate of preachyng and hearyng confeſſions.

Ergo, the friers ſeeke and procure an hygh place in the Church. &c.

The 3. concluſion or article.

His thyrd concluſion was, that the Lord Chriſt in his humane conuerſation was alwayes poore, not for that he loued or deſired pouerty for it ſelfe. &c. Wherin this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the friers in this that Chriſt was poore, and that he loued pouertye: but herein ſtode the difference, in maner of louyng, that is whether he loued pouerty for it ſelfe, or not. Wherin the foreſayd Armachanus vſed foure probations.

Firſt, for ſomuch as to be poore, is nothyng els but to be miſerable: and ſeyng no man coueteth to be in miſery for it ſelfe: Therfore he concluded, that Chriſt deſired not pouerty for it ſelfe.

Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 1.

His ſecond reaſon was deriued out of Ariſtotle. Nothyng (ſayth he) is to be loued for it ſelfe, but that frō which (all commodities beyng ſecluded, which folow therupon) is voluntarely ſought and deſired. But take from pouerty all reſpect of cōmodities folowing the ſame, it would be ſought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he cōcluded, Chriſt loued not pouerty for it ſelfe.

Thyrdly, agayne: No effect of ſinne, ſaid he, is to be loued for it ſelfe. But pouerty is the effect of ſinne. Ergo, pouerty was not loued of Chriſt for it ſelfe.

Fourth, Item, no priuation of the thyng that is good, is to be loued for it ſelfe. Pouerty is the priuation of the thyng that is good, that is of riches (for God hymſelfe is principally rich:) Ergo, pouerty for it ſelfe was not loued of Chriſt.

The 4. concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers.

The fourth concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour did neuer begge wilfully. Which he proued by ſondry reaſons.

1. Firſt, for that Chriſt in ſo doyng ſhould breake the law, which ſayth: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe, his wife, his ſeruaūt, his maid, his oxe, his aſſe, or any thing that is his. Exod. 20. In the daunger of which commaundement, he that beggeth voluntarely muſt needes incurre.
2. Item, if Chriſt had begged voluntarely, he ſhould haue committed agaynſt an other commaūdement, which ſayth. There ſhalbe no begger, nor needy perſon among you. &c. Deut. vj.
3. Item, Chriſt in ſo doyng ſhould haue tranſgreſſed the Emperours law, vnder which he would hymſelfe be ſubiect (as appeareth by geuyng, & byddyng tribute to be geuē to Ceſar) for aſmuch as the ſame Emperours law ſayth. There ſhall no valiaunt begger be ſuffered in the Citie.
4. Item, if Chriſt had bene a wilful begger, he had broke the law of louyng his neighbour: whō he had vexed, hauyng no neede. For who ſo without neede aſketh or craueth of his neighbour, doth but vexe hym, in ſuch ſorte as he would not be vexed hymſelfe. Which Chriſt would neuer do.
5. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had moued ſlaunder therby to hys owne Goſpell, which he with miracles dyd confirme. For then they that ſaw his miracle in feedyng 5000. in wildernes, would haue thought much with thēſelues how that miracle had bene wrought, if he in feedyng other, either could not, or would not feede hymſelfe.
6. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, then he had done that which hymſelfe condemneth by Paule: for ſo we read. 1. Timo. 6. That Paule condemneth them, which eſteeme pietie to be gayne and lucre. Which all they do that vnder the coulour of pietie, hunte or ſeeke for gayne, when otherwiſe they neede not.

7. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaryng an vntruth, in ſo doyng. For he that knoweth in his mynde, that he needeth not in deede that thyng which in word he aſketh of other: Declareth in hymſelfe an vntruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwiſe then he is in very deede, which Chriſt without doubt neuer did nor would euer do.

8. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, that is, hauyng no true neede therunto: then had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, ſeemyng to be that he was not, and to lacke whē he dyd not: or els to be a true begger in very deede, not able to ſuffice his neceſſity. For he is a true begger in dede, which beyng conſtrayned by mere neceſſity, is forced to aſke of other that which he is not able to geue to himſelfe. But neither of theſe two agreeth in Chriſt.

Ex vita S. Clementis.

9. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his diſciple, findyng her to ſtand amōg the beggers, whō he thought to be ſtrōg inough to labour with her handes for her lyuyng: If ſhe in ſo doyng had folowed the example of Chriſt?

Clementis example cōtrary to the Friers.

10. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully: And if the friers do rightly define perfection of the Goſpell by wilfull pouerty: then was Clement S. Peters ſucceſſor to blame, which laboured ſo much to remoue away beggery and pouerty frō among all them, that were conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt: and is ſpecially for the ſame commended of the Church?

13. quæst. cap. 2.

11. Agayne, why dyd the ſayd Clemēt, writyng to Iames Byſhop of Hieruſalem, commaunde ſo much to obey the doctrine and examples of the Apoſtles: who as he ſheweth in that Epiſtle, had no beggar nor needy perſon amongeſt thē, If Chriſtian perfection (by the friers Philoſophy) ſtādeth in wilfull beggery?

12. Item, if Chriſt the hygh Prieſt had begged wilfully, then dyd holy Church erre wittyngly, which ordeyned that none without ſufficient title of lyuing and clothyng, ſhould be admitted to holy orders. And moreouer, when it is ſayd in the canonicall decrees, that the byſhop or clerke that beggeth, bryngeth ſhame vpon the whole order of the clergy.

13. Item, if Chriſt had wilfully begged, then the example of wilfull pouerty had pertayned to the perfection of Chriſtian lyfe, which is contrary to the old law: which commaundeth the Prieſtes (which lyued then after the perfection of the law) to haue poſſeſſions & tythes, to keepe them from beggery.

14. Item, if Chriſt dyd wilfully begge, thē beggery were a point of Chriſtian perfection. And ſo the Church of God ſhould erre, in admittyng ſuch patrimonies and donations geuen to the Church, and ſo in takyng from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Agayne, what will theſe friers which put their perfection in beggyng, ſay to Melchiſedech: who without beggyng or wilfull pouerty, was the hygh Prieſt of God, and Kyng of Salem, and prefigured the order and Prieſthode of Chriſt?

16. And, if beggery be ſuch a perfection of the Goſpell (as the friers ſay) how cōmeth it, that the holy Ghoſt geuen to the Apoſtles, which ſhould lead them into all truth: told them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof through the whole Teſtament of God.

17. Moreouer, where the Prophet ſayth, I neuer dyd ſee the iuſt man forſaken, nor his ſeede go beggyng their bread: How ſtandeth this with the iuſtice of Chriſt, which was moſt perfectly iuſt, if he ſhould be forſaken, or his ſeede go begge their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abhominable doctrine of friers Franciſcan, which put theyr perfection in wilfull beggyng?

18. Finally, do we not read that Chriſt ſent his diſciples to preach without ſcrippe or wallet, and byd them ſalute no man by the way? Meanyng that they ſhould begge nothyng of no man? Dyd not the ſame Chriſt alſo, labour with his handes, vnder Ioſeph? Saint Paule lykewiſe dyd he not labour with his handes, rather then he would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth ſtate of perfection in wilfull beggyng.

The 5. cōclusion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers.

The fifth concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the friers was this: that Chriſt neuer taught any man wilfully to begge, which he proued thus. It is written Actes. 1. Chriſt began to do and to teach. If Chriſt therfore, which dyd neuer wilfully begge hymſelfe, as hath bene proued, had taught men otherwiſe to do, then his doyng and teachyng had not agreed together.

Item, if Chriſt which neuer begged hymſelfe wilfully, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull beggyng contrary to his owne doyng: he had geuen ſuſpition of hys doctrine, and miniſtred ſlaunder of the ſame, as hath bene proued in the fourth concluſion before.

Moreouer in ſo teaching, he had taught contrary to the Emperours iuſt law, which expreſly forbiddeth the ſame.

The 6. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the friers

The ſixt concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers was, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt teacheth vs, that we ſhould not beg wilfully, which he proueth by ſeuen or eight reaſons.

Firſt where it is written Luk. 14. When thou makeſt a feaſt call the poore, weake, lame, and blind: and thou ſhalt bee bleſſed, for they haue not wherewith to reward thee agayne.

To this alſo perteineth the decree of the apoſtle 2. Theſ. 3. He that will not worke let him not eate. Furthermore, ye ſame Apoſtle addeth in the ſame place: For you haue vs for example how we were burdenous to no mā, neyther did we eate our bread freely: but with labour and wearines, toiling both day and night, and all becauſe we would not burthen you. &c.

4 Item, where we read in the ſcripture, the ſlothful man reprehended Prou. 6. Why ſleepeſt thou O ſluggard, thy pouerty and beggery is commyng vpon thee lyke an armed man. &c. And agayne in the ſame booke of Prouerbes. The ſlouthfull man (ſayth the Scripture) for cold would not go to the plough, therfore he ſhall beg in Sommer, and no man ſhall geue hym. &c. Alſo in the ſayd booke of Prouerb. laſt chapter. The diligent labouring woman is commended, whoſe fingers are exerciſed about ye rocke and ſpindle. And all theſe places make agaynſt the wilfull begging of ſturdy Friers.

The rule of frier Fraunces.

5. Item, Frier Frances their owne founder in his owne teſtament ſayeth: And I haue laboured with myne owne hands, and will labour, and will that all my frierlings ſhall labour and liue of their labor, wherby they may ſupport thēſelues in an honeſt meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetouſneſſe to receyue for their labour, but for example of good workes, and to auoyde idleneſſe. And when the price of their labour is not geuen them, let them reſort to the Lords table, & aſke their almes from dore to dore. &c. Thus much in his Teſtament. And in hys rule he ſayth: Such brethren to whom ye Lord hath geuen the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and deuoutly. &c. Wherfore it is to be marueiled, how thoſe friers with their wilfull beggyng, dare tranſgreſſe the rule and obedience of frier Frauncis their great graundfathers teſtament.

6. Item, if Chriſt at any tyme did beg or did lacke, it was more becauſe he would vſe a miracle in his own perſon, thē becauſe he would beg wilfully: as when he ſent Peter to ye ſea to finde a groate in the fiſhes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to do, then to beg the groat of the people, which he might ſoone haue obteined.

Item, by diuers other his examples he ſeemeth to teach the ſame, as where he ſaith: The workmā is worthy of his hier. Alſo the workeman is worthy of his meate. Math. x. Luke x. And when he ſpake to Zache, that he would turne into his houſe. And ſo likewyſe in Bethanie and all other places he euer vſed rather to burden his frendes thē to beg of other, vnacquainted.

8 Item, with playn precept thus he ſendeth forth his diſciples, willing them not to go from houſe to houſe. Luke. x. ſo as Friers vſe now to go. Many other Scriptures there be, which reproue begging: as where it is ſayd. The foote of a foole is ſwift to the houſe of his neighbour, Eccl. 29. And in an other place: My child ſayth he, ſee thou wāt not in the tyme of thy life, for better it is to dye then to lack. Eccl. 21.

9 Item, where Chriſt counſailing the yong man, bad him go and ſell that he had and geue to the poore and folow him if he would be perfect: doth not there call him to wilful begging, but calleth hym to follow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The ſeuenth concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers.

The ſeuenth concluſion of Armachanus is: that no wyſe nor true holy man can take vppon hym wilfull pouerty to be obſerued alwayes, whiche he proueth by foure reaſons.

Firſt, that wilfull beggery was reproued both by the doctrine of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles, as in the concluſion before hath bene declared.

Wilfull beggery not to be promiſed.

2 Item, a man in takyng vpon him wilfull beggery, in ſo doyng ſhould lead himſelf into temptation, which were agaynſt the Lordes prayer. For as muche as Salomon Prouerb. 30. ſaith: O Lord, beggery and great riches geue me not, but onely ſufficiencie to lyue vpon: leaſt if I haue to much, I be driuen to deny thee, and ſay: who is the lord. Agayne, if I haue to little, I be forced therby to ſteale, and

to periure the name of my God. Wherfore ſayth Eccle. 27. For nede many haue offended. And therfore they that chuſe wilful pouertye, taketh to hym great occaſion of temptation.

3. Item, they that take wilfull pouerty vpon them when they nede not, induce themſelues voluntarily to breake the commaundement of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe.&c. Agayne, where it is commaunded, there ſhalbe no begger among you.&c.

4. Item, he that taketh vpon him nedeles and wilfully to beg, maketh himſelf vnapt to receaue holy orders, hauyng (as is ſayd) no ſufficient title therunto, accordyng to the lawes of the Church.

The 8.concluſion of Armachanus againſte the Friers.

The 8.concluſion of this matter. That it is not agreyng to the rule of the Friers obſeruant, to obſerue wilfull beggery. Which (ſayth he) may be proued, for that Frier Francis, both in hys rule and in hys Teſtament beyng left to his Franciſcans, both plainly preferre labour before beggyng.

The 9.concluſiō of Armachanus. Touching this booke of the maiſters of Paris condemned, looke pag.404. Ex Clement. Quia quorūdā. Pope Nicolas the 3.reuoketh the Bull of pope Alexander the 4.

The 9.and laſt concluſion of this matter is. That the bull of pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the maiſters of Paris, impugneth none of theſe concluſions premiſed; For the proofe therof, he thus inferred.

1. Firſt that Pope Iohn the xxiii. in his conſtitution, beginning thus: Quia quorundam, affirmeth expreſly, how Pope Nicholas the 3. reuoked and called backe the ſaid bul of pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all ſuch articles, which in the ſame foreſayd conſtitution of this Pope Iohn be conteyned and declared. Wherin alſo is declared, how ſtrait the pouerty of the Friers ought to be, which they call wilfull pouerty.

2. Item, it is manifeſt and notorious to all men, how the ſayd Pope Nicholas the 3. in hys declaration ſheweth, how the Friers both ought to labour with theyr handes, & how moreouer the ſayd Friers ought not to preach within the dioces of any biſhop, whereſoeuer they be refuſed. Which beyng ſo, the concluſion appeareth, that the bull of Pope Alexander the 4. as touchyng theſe articles, is voyde and of none effect. Beſide the which articles, there is nothyng els in the ſayd Bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of theſe concluſions premiſed.

The end and concluſion of this Oration of Armachanus before the Pope. Ex defenſoria curatorum.

Many things mo (ſayd he) I had beſide theſe, both to obiect and to aunſwer againe to the ſame: and to confirme more ſurely and firmely theſe my reaſons and aſſertiōs premiſed. But I haue alredy to much weried your holines, and your reuerend Lordſhips here preſent. Wherfore I cōclude and humbly and deuoutly beſech you, accordyng to my former petition premiſed in the beginnyng of this matter: that you iudge not after ẏ outward face, but iudge ye true iudgement. Iohn.7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus Defenſorium Curatorum.

Notes to be obſerued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be obſerued.

BY this oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, thus made before Pope Innocent and his Cardynals, diuers & ſundry thinges there be for the vtilitye of the church worthy to be obſerued. Firſt what troubles and vexations came to the church of Chriſt by theſe fryars. Alſo what perſecution folowed after by the meanes of them, againſt ſo manye learned men & true ſeruantes of Chriſt. Farthermore, what repugnance and contrarietie was among the popes, & how they could not agree among them ſelues about the fryers. Forthly what peſtiferous doctrine, ſubuerting welnere the teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt. Fiftly, what decay of miniſters in Chriſtes church, as appeareth pag.407. Sixtly, what robbing and circumuenting of mens children, as appeareth pag.407. Seuenthly, what decay of vniuerſities, as appeareth by Oxforde, pag.407. Eightly, what damage to learning, and lacke of bookes to ſtudētes came by theſe friars, as appeareth pag. 407. Ninthly, to what pride vnder colour of feined humility to what riches, vnder diſſimuled pouertye they grew vnto, here is to be ſeene. In ſo much that at length through theyr ſubtile and moſt dangerous hipocriſie they crept vp to bee Lordes, Archbiſhops, Cardinals, & at laſt Popes alſo, Chācelors of realmes, yea and of moſt ſecrete coūſel with kings and queenes, as appeareth, pag.408.

Contrarietie among the Popes.

Whether the fryers make vp the bodye of Antechriſt or not.

All theſe thinges wel cōſidered, now remaineth in the church to be marked: that forſomuch as theſe Fryers (wyth their new found teſtament of fryer Frances) not being contented with the teſtament of God in his ſonne Chriſt, begā to ſpring the ſame time, when as Satan was propheſied to be let loſe, by the order of the Scripture, whether therefore it is to be doubted, that theſe fryars make vp the bodye of Antechriſt, which is propheſied to come in the Churche, or not: ſo much more to be doubted, becauſe who ſo ſo liſt to try ſhal finde, that of all other enemyes of Chriſt, of whom ſome be manyfeſt, ſome be priuie, all be together cruell: yet is there no ſuch ſorte of enemies which more ſleightlye deceiueth the ſimple chriſtian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the Fryers.

The death of godly Armachanus. The teſtimony of a Cardinall vpon Armachanus.

But of this Oration of Armachanus enough. Which Oration what ſucceſſe it had with the Pope, by ſtory it is not certain. By his owne lyfe declared, it appeareth, that the Lord ſo wrought, that his enemies dyd not triumph ouer him. Notwithſtanding, this by ſtory appeareth, that he was 7. or 8. yeres in baniſhment for the ſame matter, and there died in the ſame at Auinion. Of whom a certayne Cardinall hearing of his death openly proteſted, that the ſame day, a mighty piller of Chriſtes church was fallen.

Ex Chron. [illegible] Richard.2.

After the death of Armachanus, the Friers had contention likewyſe with the monkes of Benedictus order, about the ſame yeare, 1360. and ſo remoued their cauſe both againſt the monkes and agaynſt the vniuerſitie of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome, wherin ſayth the author, they lacked another Richard. Ex Botonero. By this appeareth to be true, which is teſtified in the firſt tome of Wald. that lōg debate continued betwene the Friers and the vniuerſity of Oxford: Againſt whom firſt ſtood Robert Groſted biſhop of Lincolne, aboue mentioned: Then Seuallus of Yorke. Afterward Ioannes Bachothorp, and now this Armachanus, of whom here preſently we do entreat. And after hym agayne Iohn Wickliffe, of whom (Chriſt willyng) we will ſpeake hereafter. Ex Waldeno. Agaynſt this foreſayd Armachanus wrote diuers Friers, Roger Conaway a Frāciſcā, Iohn Heyldeſh a Carmelite, Galfridus Hardby frier Auguſtine. Alſo frier Engelbert a Dominican, in his boke intituled, Defenſorium priuilegiorum; and diuers other. I credibly heare of certaine olde Iriſhe Bibles tranſlated long ſince into the Iriſh toung, which if it be true, it is not other like but to bee the doyng of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and Archbyſhop of Ireland, a man worthy for his chriſtiā zeale of immortall commendation.

Friers agaynſt the vniuerſitie of Oxford. Engliſhe writers againſt the Friers. Friers that write againſt Armachanus.

Teſtified by certayne Engliſhmen which are yet aliue ẏ haue ſene it.

Pope Vrbane.5.

1360.

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in the ſea of Rome, pope Vrban the fift, who by the fathers ſide was an Engliſhman. This Vrbane had bene a long wayter in the court of Rome: and when he ſawe no promotion would light vpon hym, complaynyng to a certaine friend of hys, made to hym hys mone, ſaying: That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world ſhould fall, yet none would fall vpon hys head. The which friend after ſeeyng him to be Pope, and inthroniſed in his threfold crowne, cōmeth to hym, & puttyng hym in remembraunce of his words to hym before, ſayeth: that where hys holynes had moued hys fortune to hym, that if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpon hys hed: Now (ſayth he) God hath otherwiſe ſo diſpoſed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your head.&c.

Vrbane cōplaineth that no promotiō would fall vpon him.

An anſwere againe to Vrban being made pope.

Ex Sabel. Enn. ad.9.lib.8.

This Pope maintayned and kindled great warres in Italy, ſendyng Egidius hys Cardinall and Legate, and after hym Arduinus a Burgundian hys legate and Abbot with great puiſſaunce and much money againſt ſundry cities in Italy: By whoſe meanes, the townes and Cities which before had broke from the biſhop of Rome, were oppreſſed: alſo Bernabes and Galeaceus princes of Millain, vanquiſhed. By whoſe example other beyng ſore feared, ſubmitted themſelues to the Church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great poſſeſſiōs, which her patrons would nedes father vpon Conſtantine the godly Emperour.

How the church of Rome came by their [illegible] all poſſeſſiōs.

In the tyme of this Pope Vrbane the v. and in the ſecond yeare of his raigne, about the beginning of the yeare of our Lord. 1364. I finde a certayne Sermon of one Nicolas Orem, made before the Pope and his Cardinals on Chriſtemmas euen. In the which Sermon, the learned mā doth worthely rebuke the prelates and prieſtes of his tyme, declaring their deſtruction not to be farre of, by certayne ſignes taken of their wicked and corrupt lyfe. All the sayinges of the Prophets ſpoken agaynſt the wicked prieſtes of the Iewes, he doth aptly apply agaynſt the clergy of hys tyme, comparyng the Church then preſent to the ſpirituall ſtrumpet ſpoken of in the xvi. of the Prophet Ezechiel. And proueth in concluſion the clergy of the church then, to be ſo much worſe then the old Synagoge of the Iewes, by how much it is worſe to ſel the church & ſacraments, thē to ſuffer doues to be ſold in the church. With no leſſe iudgement alſo and learnyng he anſwereth to the old and falſe obiections of the papiſts: who albeit they be neuer ſo wycked, yet

Nicholaus Orem.

thinke themſelues to be the church which the Lord cannot forſake. All which thinges to ỹ entent they may the better appeare in his owne wordes, I haue thought here to tranſlate & exhibite the ſermon as it was ſpoken before ỹ pope.

A copy of a Sermon made before Pope Vrbane v, the fourth ſonday in Aduent, 1364.

by Nic. Orem.

A Sermon made before the Pope. Eſay 56.

The worlde deuyded into two ſortes of men before the incarnatiõ of Chriſt.

IVxta eſt ſalus mea, vt veniat, & iuſtitia. &c. that is: My ſauyng health is nere at hand to come, and my righteouſnes to be reuealed. &c. Eſay. 56. After the ſentence of S. Paul Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the Natiuitie of Chriſt: the whole world was deuided into two ſortes of men, the Iewes and Gentils. The Iewes who wayted for the openyng of the dore of Paradiſe, by the bloud of the ſauiour to come. The Gentils who yet ſittyng in darknes were to be called to light, and to be iuſtified by fayth, as is written. Rom. 5.

This ſaluation pertaynyng both to the Iew and Gentile, God promyſed before tyme to the fathers by the Prophets, to ſtir vp the deſire therof in their hartes the more: and to encreaſe their firme hope and fayth in the ſame. As firſt in Mich. 6. the voyce of the Lord cryeth: Health and ſaluation ſhall be to all men which feare my name. And Eſay 46. I will geue in Syon ſaluation, and in Ieruſalem my glory. &c. with diuers ſuch other places like. And forſomuch as hope many times which is deferred, doth afflict ỹ ſoule, and conceiueth wearines of long deferring: He therefore propheſiing of the nerenes of the commyng therof, ſaith moreouer. Eſa. 14. his tyme is nere at hand to come. Alſo Abac. 2. He will come and will not tary, with many ſuch other places mo. So then the holy fathers beyng in Limbo, looked and hoped that he ſhould bryng out them that ſate bound, and which in the houſe of priſon ſat in darknes, as is red Eſa. 41. Then the tyme drew on in which came the fulnes of the Gentils, and in which the lord would declare the riches of this myſtery beyng hidden from the world, and from generatiõs, Col. 1. Wherfore the lord in this text doth both certifie our fathers of the commyng of our ſauior, and doth comfort them touchyng the nerenes thereof, and alſo teacheth the iuſtification of the Gentils by faith approchyng now nere at hãd, accordyng to ỹ wordes of my text, Iuxta eſt ſalus mea. &c. Which wordes were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifeſt hys ſaluation, and dyd reueale hys righteouſnes in the ſight of all the Gentils. And is deuided in 3. partes. Of which the firſt ſpeaketh of the nereneſſe of his commyng, where is ſayd, Iuxta eſt ſalus. &c. The ſecond concerneth the myſtery of the Aduent of Chriſt and his incarnation, where he ſayth: Vt veniat. &c. Thirdly is conſidered the ſeueritie of God, his terrible reuengyng iudgemẽt to be reuealed, where he ſayth: Vt reueletur. &c. which is to be expounded of hys primitiue iuſtice: wherof ſpeaketh Amos v. ſaying: And iudgement ſhalbe reuealed like a floud, and righteouſnes lyke a ſtrong ſtreame. Wherfore for our contemplation let vs receaue with ioy the ſolemnities of his holy vigile, the word I ſay of God the father, ỹ is, Chriſt. To whom it is ſayd Eſay. 49. I haue geuen thee to be a light to the Gentils, and to be my ſaluation thorough the endes of the world. Agayne, Eſay. 46. My ſaluation ſhall not ſlacke. &c.

Diuiſion.

1 *Iuxta eſt.*

2 *Vt veniat.*

3 *Vt reueletur.*

Amos 5.

As touching the nerenes therof, it is in theſe days opened to vs by the goſpell, where we read in S. Math. When the virgin Mary was deſpouſed vnto Ioſeph, before they did come together: ſhe was found w̃ childe by ỹ holy ghoſt. By this it is euident to vnderſtand, that our ſauiour ought ſhortly to procede out of the chaſt wombe of the virgin, accordyng as the Prophet did foretell, ſaying: Behold a virgin ſhal conceaue, & bring forth a ſonne. &c. For lyke as the grape whẽ it waxeth great & full, is nere to the makyng of wyne, & the floure when it ſhooteth forth abroad, it haſteth to the fruit: So the ſaluation of the world in the ſwelling & growing of ỹ virgins womb, begã to draw nigh to mãkind. For then appeared the grace & benignity of our ſauior, whẽ his mother was found to haue in her wõbe by ỹ holy ghoſt as is declared in that as followeth by the aungell ſaying: for that which is borne of her, is of the holy ghoſt.

The ſeconde part of his theame.

Aggeus 2.

Touching the 2. part of that which is ſayd, vt veniat: this may be applyed to the contemplation of the myſtery of chriſtes comming in ỹ fleſh. Wherof ſpeaketh Aggeus the Prophet. 2. He ſhal come, who is deſired and loked for of all nations. &c. Albeit the ſame alſo may be applied to the ſecõd Aduent, ſpokẽ of ỹ 3. of Eſa. The Lord ſhal come to iudgement. &c. In memorial wherof, the 4. ſonday was dedicate, in the old tyme of ỹ holy fathers. And of this day of iudgement is written in ỹ prophet Sopho. cap. 1. The day of the lord is nere, great & mighty, it is approching at hand & wondrous ſhort. &c. And albeit not in it ſelf, yet it may be expounded in tribulatiõs ỹ go before, as preambles vnto the ſame: as Greg. ſaith: The laſt tribulatiõ is preuented w̃ many & ſondry tribulatiõs going before, although ỹ end of al be not yet.

The third part of his ſermon.

Wherfore commyng now to the 3. part of my Sermon, or theame, let vs ſee of thoſe tribulations that go before ỹ laſt commyng of Chriſt, if there be any ſuch tribulation approchyng nigh at hand, wherof this laſt part of my theame may be verified, where is ſayd: vt reueletur, that my righteouſnes ſhalbe reueled, to wit the righteouſnes primitiue, that righteouſnes may be brought, and the Propheſie of Daniel fulfilled Dan. ix. Concerning which matter, 4. thinges here come in order to be declared.

1. *Vt reueletur.*

Firſt concerning the reuelyng of tribulation, accordyng to that part of my theame. Vt reueletur. &c.

2. *Vt iuxta eſt.*

Secondly, concernyng the nerenes of the tribulation cõmyng accordyng to ỹ part of my theame. Quia iuxta eſt. &c.

3. *Vt veniat.*

Thirdly, of the falſe opinions of ſome, vpon this parte of my theame. Vt veniat. &c.

4. *Salus.*

Fourthly, what meanes and conſultation we ought to take. Vt iuxta ſit ſalus.

The firſt parte of the ſubdiuiſion.

Two rules to be noted.

The kingdome of Iſraell ſignifiyng the falſe Church.

The kingdome of Iuda ſignifieth the right church.

As for the firſt, it is ſo notorious and ſo common in the ſcriptures that the church ſhould ſuffer and abyde tribulation, that I nede not here to ſtãd in alleadging any thing touching either the cauſes to be ſhewde, or the terme to be cõietured therof. As concerning the which cauſes, I will here geue ij. rules to be noted before, for ỹ better opening of that to folow. The firſt rule is, that by the ij. kingdomes of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the olde time, to wit, by the kyngdome of Iſrael, whoſe head was Samaria, is ſignified in the prophets the erronious ſinagoge. And by ỹ ſecond kingdome of Iuda, of whoſe ſtock came Chriſt, whoſe hed metropolitane was Ieruſalẽ, is ſignified ỹ true church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authentike gloſe of S. Hierome, and alſo is the rule of Origene in the laſt Omely vpon the old teſtament: and is approued by the church.

The 2. rule.

The ſecond rule is, that by the brodell houſe and fornication mentioned in the Prophetes: is ſignified ſymony, and abuſed diſpenſations, and promotions of perſons vnworthy, for lukers ſake, or els for any other partiall fauour, which be vnlawfull wayes by all lawes of the worlde to come to office and honour. Merx dicitur namque a merendo, that is, for gayne or price is deriued of gaynyng: For the which gayne or price, that is ſoulde which by nature ought not to be ſould. Therfore, to geue any thyng for reſpect of gayne or hyer, which ought to be geuen freely for vertues ſake, is a kynde of ſpirituall corruption, and as a mã would ſay, an whoriſh thyng, wherof the prophet Eſay, complayneth ſpeaking of Ieruſalem, and ſaying: The citie which once was faithfull and full of iudgement, how is it now become an whoriſhe citie? And in like maner Oſee alſo ỹ prophet. chap. 9. Ieruſalem, thou haſt fornicated and gone an whoring from thy God. Thou haſt loued like an harlot, to get gayne in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of ſcripture, where fornicatiõ cã not otherwiſe be expoũded.

Eſay. 1.

Oſe. 9.

These two rules thus premiſed, now let vs marke the ſcriptures, and accordyng to the ſame iudge of the whole ſtate of the Church, both that is paſt, and that is to come: firſt intreating of the cauſes of tribulation to come: ſecõdly of the vicinitie of time of the ſayd tribulation to come.

Fiue ſtates of the church deſcribed.

And firſt, concernyng the ſtate of the Church, & of cauſes of tribulation. Thus ſayth the Lord in the prophet Ezechiell xvi. chap. ſpeaking to the Church vnder the name of Ieruſalem. In the day of thy byrthe I came by thee, and ſaw thee troden downe in thyne owne bloud. &c. Here he ſpeaketh of the tyme of the martyrdome of the church. The it followeth: After thys thou waſt clenſed from thy bloud, thou waſt growen vp, & waxen great: then waſhed I thee wyth water, I purged thy bloud from thee (ſpeakyng of ceaſing of perſecution) I annoynted thee wyth oyle, I gaue thee chaunge of raymentes, I gyrded thee wyth white ſilke, I decked thee wyth coſtly apparell, I put ringes vpon thy fingers, a chayne about thy necke, Spangs vpon thy forehead, and Earerings vpon thyne eares. Thus waſt thou deckt wyth ſiluer & golde, and a beautifull crowne ſet vpon thine head. Meruelous goodly waſt thou & beutifull, euen a very queene waſt thou: For thou waſt excellent in my beutie, which I put vpon thee, ſayth the Lord God. &c. Thys prophecie or rather hiſtory ſpeaketh of and declareth, the proſperitie of the Church.

1. The martirdome of the Church.

2. The proſperity of the Church.

3. The corruption of the Church.

And now heare the corruption and tranſgreſſion of the Church, for ſo it followeth: But thou haſt put confidence in thyne owne beautie, and playd the harlot, when thou hadeſt gotten thee a name. Thou haſt committed whoredome wyth all that went by thee, and haſt fulfilled their deſires: Yea thou haſt taken thy garmentes of dyuers colours and decked thyne altars therwith, wherupõ thou mighteſt fulfill thy whoredome of ſuch a faſhion as neuer was done, nor ſhall be. Which whoredome can in no wyſe be expounded for carnall, but ſpirituall whoredome. And therfore, ſee how liuely he hath paynted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

4. The correction of the church.

And therfore followeth now the correction and puniſhment of the Church. It followeth: Behold, I wil ſtretch out my hand ouer thee, and wyll diminiſh thy ſtore of foode, and deliuer thee ouer into the wyls of the Philiſtines, and of ſuch as hate thee: And they ſhall breake down thy ſtues, and deſtroy thy brodell houſes (that is, the place wherein thou didſt exerciſe this wickednes) they ſhall ſtrippe thee out of thy clothes: All thy fayre & beautifull iuels ſhall they take from thee, and ſo let thee ſit naked and bare, &c.

Ezech. 16.

Here is plainly to be ſene what ſhal happen to ỹ church and followeth more in the ſayd chapter. Thine eldeſt ſiſter is Samaria, ſhe and her daughters vpõ thy left hand: But thy yongeſt ſiſter that dwelleth on the right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whoſe ſinnes were theſe: pride, fulnes of meat, aboundaunce, and idlenes, neyther retched they their hand to the poore. And yet neyther Sodoma thy ſiſter with her daughters, hath done ſo euill as thou & thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is the ſinagoge) done halfe of thy ſinnes, yea thou haſt exceded them in wickednes. Take therfore and beare thine owne confuſion, &c.

Ezech. 23.

Agayne, in the 23. chap. of Ezech. After the Prophet had deſcribed at large the wickednes, corruption, and puniſhment of the ſinagoge, turnyng to the Church, ſayth: And when her ſiſter ſawe this, ſhee raged and was madde with luſt more then before: ſhe was mad, that is, wyth fleſhly luſt, loue of riches, and followyng voluptuouſnes. Her fornication and whoredome ſhe committed with Princes and great lordes, clothed with all maner of gorgeous apparell: ſo that her pappes were brooſed, and her breſtes were marred. And then ſpeakyng of her puniſhment, ſayeth: Then my hart forſoke her, lyke as my hart was gone from her ſiſter alſo. And moreouer repeating agayne the cauſe therof, addeth: Thy wickednes and thy fornications hath wrought thee all this. &c.

Oſee. 2.

Nahum. 3.

The lyke we finde alſo in Eſay, Ieremy, Ezechiel and in all the other Prophetes, who propheſying all together in one meanyng: and almoſt in one maner of wordes: Do conclude with a full agrement and propheſy to come, that the Church ſhall fall, and then be puniſhed for her great exceſſes, and to be vtterly ſpoyled except ſhe repent of all her abhominations. Wherof ſpeaketh Oſeas chap. 2. Let her put away her whoredom out of her ſight, and her adoutry frõ her breſtes, leaſt I ſtrippe her naked and ſet her euen as ſhe came naked into the world (that is in her primitiue pouerty) So if ſhe do not, it ſhall follow of her as is in the Prophet Nahum, chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication of the fayre and beautifull harlotte, which is a maiſter of witchcraft, yea and ſelleth the people through her whoredom, and the nations through her witchcraft. And followeth vpon the ſame: Behold I will vpon thee, ſayth ỹ lord of hoſtes, and will pull thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednes ſhall appeare among the heathen, and thy ſhame among the kyngdomes. &c.

5. The reformatiõ of the Church.

Wherfore by theſe it is to be vnderſtand, that vpon this church the primitiue iuſtice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the firſt of the foure members aboue fore touched.

Certaine notes & ſignes, that the tribulation of the Church draweth neare.

1. Signe.

2. Theſſ. 2.

Now to the ſecond member of my theame, Iuxta eſt: cõcernyng the nerenes of the tyme. Although it is not for vs to know, the momentes and articles of tyme: yet by certain notes and ſignes peraduenture it may be collected and gathered, that which I haue here to ſay. For the tractation wherof, firſt I ground my ſelfe vpon the ſaying of the Apoſtle Paule, 2 Theſſal. 2. where he writeth: That vnleſſe there come a defection firſt. &c. By the which defection, Ierome vltima quęſt. ad inquiſitionis Ianuarij, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the deſolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betwene the which deſolation, and the perſecution of ỹ Church by Antichriſt, he putteth no meane ſpace. And now what is the ſtate of that common wealth, if it be compared to the maieſty of that it hath bene, iudge your ſelues. An other gloſe there is that ſayth, how by that defection is ment: that from the Church of Rome ſhall come a departyng of ſome other churches.

Except there come a defection firſt: how it is to be vnderſtanded.

2 Note or token.

The Sinagogue and the church compared together in maners.

The ſecond note and marke is this, when the Church ſhalbe worſe in maners then was the ſinagoge: as appeareth by the ordinary gloſe vpon the 3. of Ierem. where it is written. The backſlider Iſraell may ſeme iuſt and righteous in compariſon of ſinfull Iuda. That is, the Synagoge in compariſon of the church of God. Wherof writeth Origenes ſaying: Thinke that to be ſpoken of vs what ỹ lord ſayth in Eze. 16. Thou haſt exceded thy ſiſter in thine iniquities. Wherfore now (to compare the one with the other) Firſt ye know how Chriſt rebuked the Phariſeis, who as Ierome witneſſeth were then the clergy of the Iewes: of couetouſnes, for that they ſuffred doues to be ſold in ỹ temple of God. Secondly, for that they dyd honour God wyth their lips and not with their mouth, & becauſe they ſaid, but did not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the firſt then let vs ſee, whether it be worſe to ſell both church and Sacramentes, then to ſuffer doues to be ſold in the temple or not. To the ſecond, where as ỹ phariſeis were rebuked for honoring God with their lips, and not with hart: There be ſome, which neither honour God with hart, nor yet with lips: And which neyther do well, nor yet ſay well, neither do they preach any word at all, but be domb dogs not able to barke, impudent & ſhameles dogs ỹ neuer haue inough: ſuch paſtors as haue no vnderſtãding declining and ſtraying all in their own way, euery one geuen to couetouſnes from the higheſt to the loweſt. And thirdly, as for hypocriſie there be alſo ſome, whoſe intollerable pride and malice is ſo manifeſt and notorious, kyndled vp lyke a fire: that no cloke or ſhadow of hypocriſie can couer it, but are ſo paſt all ſhame, that it may be well verified of them which the Prophet ſpeaketh: Thou haſt gotten thee ỹ face of an harlot, thou wouldeſt not bluſh, &c

3. Note or token.

The 3. ſigne and token of tribulation approchyng nere to the Church, may well be taken of the to much vnequall proportion ſene this day in the church. Where one is hũgry and ſtarueth, another is dronke. By reaſon of which ſo great inequalitie, it cannot be that the ſtate of the Church as it is now, can lõg endure. For lyke as in good harmony to make the muſike perfect, is required a moderate and proportionat inequalitie of voyces, which if it do much excede it taketh away all the ſwete melody: So according to the ſentence of the Philoſopher, by to much immoderate inequalitie or diſparitie of citiſens, the common wealth falleth to ruine. Cõtrary, where mediocritie, that is, where a meane inequalitie with ſome proportion is kept, that policy ſtandeth firme & more ſure to continue. Now amõg all the politike regimẽts of the gentiles, I thinke none more is to be found in hiſtories, wherin is to be ſene ſo great and exceedyng oddes, then in the policy of prieſts: Of whom ſome be ſo high, that they excede all princes of the earth, ſome agayne be ſo baſe, that they are vnder all raſcals, ſo that ſuch a policy or common wealth, may well be called Oligarchia.

Oligarchia, is where a fewe beare all the ſway, and all the reſt be nothing worth.

Thys may we playnely ſee and learne in the body of mã, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth ſemblably compare the common wealth. In the which body, if the ſuſtinaunce receaued ſhould all runne to one mẽber, ſo that that member ſhould be to much exceedingly pãpered, and all the other parts to much pyned, the body could not long continue: So in the body of the wealth eccleſiaſticall, if ſome who be the heads be ſo enormely ouergrowne in riches and dignitie, that the weaker mẽbers of the body be ſcant able to beare them vp, there is a great tokẽ of a diſſolution and ruine ſhortly. Wherupon commeth well in place the ſaying of the Prophet Eſay. Euery head is ſicke, euery hart is full of ſorow, of the which heads it is alſo ſpoken in the Prophet Amos. chap. vi. Wo be to the ſecure & proud wealthy in Sion, and to ſuch as thynke themſelues ſo ſure vpon the mount of Samaria, takyng themſelues as heads and rulers ouer other. &c. And moreouer in the ſaide prophet Eſay it foloweth: From the top of the head to the ſole of the foote, there is no hole part in all the bodye, to witte: In the inferiours, becauſe they are not able to lyue for pouertie: in the ſuperiours, becauſe for their exceſſiue riches, they are let from doyng good. And foloweth in ỹ ſame place: But all are woundes, botches and ſtripes, behold here the daunger commyng, the woundes of diſcorde and deuiſiõ, the botch or ſore of rancor and enuy, the ſwelling ſtripe of rebellion and miſchiefe.

Eſay. 1.

Amos.

4. Signe.

Pride of prelates noted.

The 4. ſigne is the pride of prelates. Some there haue bene which fondly haue diſputed of the pouerty of Chriſt, and haue inueyed agaynſt the Prelates, becauſe they lyue not in the pouerty of the ſaintes. But this phantaſy commeth of the ignoraunce of morall Philoſophy and diuinitie, and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all natiõs, and by common lawes, prieſtes haue had and oughte to haue wherewyth to ſuſtayne themſelues more honeſtly thẽ the vulgar ſorte, and Prelates more honeſtly then the ſubiectes. But yet hereby is not permitted to them theyr great horſes, their troupes of horſemen, their ſuperfluous pompe of their wayting men and great families, which ſcarcely cã be mainteyned without pride, neither can be ſuſteined with ſafe iuſtice, and many not without fighting and iniuryes inconuenient: not much vnlike to that as Iuſtine the hiſtorician wryteth of the Carthaginenſes. The family (ſayth he) of ſo great Emperours was vntollerable to ſuch a free citie. In ſemblable wiſe, this great pride in the Churche of God (eſpecially in theſe dayes) doth moue not ſo few to due reuerēce, as many to indignatiō: and yet mo to thoſe things aforeſayd, which thinke no leſſe but to doe ſacryfice to God if they may rob and ſpoile certayne fat prieſtes and parſons namely ſuch as neither haue nobilitie of bloud, & leſſe learning to beare themſelues vpon but are lyars, ſeruile & fraudulent, to whom the Lorde ſpeaketh by his prophet Amos iiij. Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, ye that doe poore men wronge, and oppreſſe the nedye, the day ſhall come vpon you. &c.

Amos. 4.

5. Signe.

Sap. 16.

The tyranny of prelates noted.

The fift ſigne is the tyranny of the prelates and preſidentes, which as it is a vyolent thing, ſo it cannot be longe laſting. For as Salomō ſayth, Sap. xvj. For it was requiſite that (without any excuſe) deſtruction ſhould come vpon thoſe which exerciſed tyranny. The propertye of a tirāt is to ſeeke the commoditie not of his ſubiectes, but onely hys will and profite. Such were the paſtors that fed not ẏ Lordes flocke, but fed themſelues: of whom and to whom ſpeaketh ẏ prophet Ezech. xxxiiij. Wo be vnto thoſe paſtors of Iſrael that fede themſelues. Should not the ſhepherds fede the flocks? With many other threatninges againſt the in the ſayd chapter. Wo be vnto them which reioyce at the tranſgreſſions of ſuch whom it lyeth in their power to condemne, neyther do they ſeek what he is able to pay, to whō cryeth Micheas the prophet iij. chap. ye hate the good, and loue the euyll, ye pluck of mens ſkinnes and the fleſh, from the bones: ye eate the fleſh of my people, and flay of theire ſkyn: ye breake their bones, ye chop thē in peeces as it were into a Caudron, and as fleſh into the pot. &c. And therefore the foreſayd Ezechiell pronounceth: Behold, I will my ſelf vpon the ſhepheardes, and require my ſheepe from theyr handes, and make them ceaſe from feeding my ſheep: yea ẏ ſhepheardes ſhall fede themſelues no more, for I will deliuer my ſheep out of their mouthes, ſo that they ſhall not deuour them any more.

Ezech. 34.

Micheas. 3.

Ezech. 34.

6. Signe.

Promoting of vnworthy miniſters.

The ſixt ſigne is the promotyng of the vnworthy, and of neglectyng them that be worthy. This as Ariſtotle ſayeth, is a great cauſe many times of the diſſolution of cōmon weales. And oftentymes it ſo hapneth in the wars of princes, that the contempt and ſmall regardyng of the valyant, and the exalting of others that be leſſe worthy, ingendreth dyuers kindes and kindlinges of ſedition. For by the reaſō partly of the ſame, partly of the other cauſes aboue recyted: We haue red not onely in bookes, but haue ſeene with oure eyes, diuers floriſhing Cities welneare ſubuerted. Where as good men be not made of, but are vexed with ſorow and griefe by the euill: the contention at length braſteth out vpon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This hath alwayes beene the peruers incredulitie of mans hard harte, that not onely in hearing, but alſo in ſeyng: yet will they not beleue that other haue peryſhed, vnleſſe they alſo peryſhe themſelues.

Haimo.

7. Signe.

Ierem. 4.

Ezech. 7.

The ſeuenth ſigne is the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part is now hapned already. And therfore foraſmuch as Seneca ſayth: Men do complaine commonly that euils onely come ſo faſt: It is to be feared leſt alſo the eccleſiaſticall policie be afflicted not onely outwardly but alſo in it ſelfe. And ſo be fulfilled in vs, that in Hieremy is propheſied cap. 4. Murther is cryed vpon murther, and the whole land ſhall periſh and ſodenly my tabernacles were deſtroied, and my tentes verye quicklie. And Ezec. 7. Wherefore I will bring cruel tirāts from among the heathen, to take their houſes in poſſeſſyon, I will make the pompe of the proud to ceaſe, and their ſanctuaries ſhall be taken. One miſchiefe and ſorow ſhall folow another, and one rumor ſhall come after another, then ſhall they ſeeke viſions in vayne at their prophets, the law ſhall be gone from their Prieſtes, and wyſedome from their Elders. &c.

8. Signe.

Zach. 7.

Refuſing of correction in the clergie.

Eſay. 30.

The eight ſigne is the refuſing of correction, neyther will they heare their faultes tolde them, ſo that it is hapned to the princes and rulers of the church, as it is wrytten in the prophet Zach. cap. 7. They ſtopped their eares ẏ they would not heare: yea they made their hartes as an Adamant ſtone, leaſt they ſhould heare the law & wordes which the Lord of hoſtes ſent in hys holy ſpirite by the Prophets aforetyme. Alſo Eſay witneſſyng after the ſame effect, cap. 30. ſayeth: For it is an obſtinate people, lying children and vnfaythfull, children that will not heare the law of ẏ Lord: which ſay to the Prophets, meddle with nothyng, and tell vs nothyng that is true and right, but ſpeake frendly wordes to vs. &c. All this ſhall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and haue knowledge, lyke vnto ſuch of whom Amos ſpeaketh, chapter 5. They beare hym euill wyll that reprooueth them openly, and who ſo telleth them the playne truth, they abhorre him. And therfore ſayth the Lord to the church of Ieruſalem, Oſe. 4. Seyng thou haſt refuſed vnderſtandyng, I haue refuſed thee alſo, that thou ſhalt no more be my prieſt. And for ſo much as thou haſt forgotten the law of thy God, I will alſo forget thy children, and change their honor into ſhame. And ſo ſhall it be like prieſt like people. &c. And many other ſayinges there be in the prophets, ſpeaking of the deiectyng and caſting downe of the prieſtly honor.

Truth ſhew.

Amos. 5.

Oſe. 4.

Lacke of learned prieſtes.

Beſides theſe foreſayd ſignes and tokens hitherto recited, there be alſo diuers other: As the backſlidyng frō righteouſnes, the lacke of diſcrete and learned prieſtes, promotyng of children into the church with ſuch other lyke. But theſe beyng already well noted and marked, you may eaſily iudge and vnderſtand, whether theſe tymes now preſent of ours be ſafe and cleare from tribulation to be loked for, and whether the worde of the Lord be true accordyng to my theame. Iuxta eſt iuſticia mea vt reueletur, my righteouſnes is nere at hand to be reuealed, &c. And thus much of the ſecond part.

The third part or member of the ſubdeuiſion.

Now to the third part or member of my ſubdeuiſion, which is concernyng the falſe and perilous opiniōs of ſome, vpon this word of my theame vt veniat. &c. which opinions principally be 4. repugning all agaynſt the truth of the canonicall Scripture.

The firſt opiniō.

The Church where it is, and in whom it conſiſteth.

Eccle. 40.

Iere. 7.

The firſt opinion is of ſuch men, who hauyng to much confidence in themſelues, do thinke and perſwade with themſelues, that the Prelates be the Church. Which the Lorde wyll alwayes kepe and neuer forſake as he hath promiſed in the perſons of the Apoſtles, Matthew. 28. ſaying: And I will be with you to the ende of the world. &c. But this is to be vnderſtanded of fayth, whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh Luc. 22. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhall not faile. Whereof we reade Eccleſiaſt. 40. faith ſhal ſtand for euer. &c. And albeit Charitie waxe neuer ſo colde, yet fayth notwithſtandyng, ſhall remayne in ſome, in all diſtreſſes of the worlde: of the whiche diſtreſſes, our Sauiour doth propheſye in many places to come. And leaſt peraduenture ſome ſhould thynke themſelues to be ſafe from tribulation becauſe they bee of the Churche, this opinion the Lorde hymſelfe doth contrary in Ieremy the 7. Truſt not (ſayth he) in falſe lyeng wordes, ſaying: the temple of the Lorde, the Temple of the Lorde, and a litle after, but you truſt in wordes and lyeng counſelles which deceaue you and do you no good.

The 2. opinion.

Thren. 5.

Ezech. 12.

Thren. 4.

The ſecond opinion is of them, which deferre tyme, for thys they well graunt, that the Church ſhall abide trouble, but not ſo ſhortly: thinkyng thus with themſelues, that theſe cauſes and tokens afore recited, haue bene before at other tymes as well in the Church. For both by Gregory and Bernard holy doctors, in tyme paſt the prelates haue bene in lyke ſort reprehended, both for theyr bribynges, for theyr pompe and pryde, for the promootyng of perſons and children vnfitte vnto eccleſiaſticall functions, and other vyces moe, which haue reigned before this in the Church of God more then now, and yet by God hys grace, the Church hath proſpered and ſtande. Doe ye not ſee, that if an houſe haue ſtand and continued ruinous a long ſeaſon, it is neuer more neare the fall thereby, but rather to bee truſted the better? Moreouer, many tymes it commeth ſo to paſſe in realmes and kyngdomes, that the poſteritie is puniſhed for the ſinnes of the predeceſſoures. Whereof ſpeaketh the booke of Lamentations the 5. chapter. Our fathers haue ſinned, and are now gone, and we muſt beare their wickednes, &c. Agaynſt this cogitation or opinion, wel doth the Lord aunſwer by the Prophet Ezech. cap. 12. ſaying: Behold thou ſonne of man the houſe of Iſraell ſayeth in thys maner. Tuſh as for the viſion that he hath ſene, it wyll be many a day or it come to paſſe: It is farre of yet, the thing that he propheſieth. Therfore ſay vnto them, thus ſayth the Lord God: The wordes that I haue ſpoken ſhall be deferred no longer, loke what I haue ſayd, ſhall come to paſſe ſayth the Lord. &c. We haue ſeene in our dayes thinges to happen, whiche ſeemed before incredible. And the lyke hath bene ſene in other tymes alſo: as we read written in the booke of Lament. cap. 4. The kinges of the earth, nor all the inhabitaunce of the world would not haue beleued, that the ennemy and aduerſary ſhould haue come in at the gates of the Citie, for the ſinnes of her prieſtes, and for the wickednes of her elders that haue ſhed innocentes bloude within her, &c. by Hieruſalem, as is ſayde, is ment the Church.

The third opinion or errour is very perilous & peruerſe, The third opinion, or errour.

Sap. 2.

Prou. cap. 1.

of all ſuch as ſay, veniat, let come that will come: Let vs conforme our ſelues to this world, and take our tyme with thoſe Temporiſers which ſay in the booke of Wiſedome. Sap. 2. Come let vs enioy our goods and pleaſures that be preſent, and let vs vſe the creature as in youth quickly, &c. Such as theſe be, are in a daungerous caſe, and be greatly preiudiciall to good men in the Church: And if the heades and rulers of the Church were ſo vile to haue any ſuch deteſtable cogitation in them, there were no place in hell to depe for them. This Church founded by the Apoſtles in Chriſt, conſecrated with the bloud of ſo many Martyrs, enlarged and increaſed with the vertues and merites of ſo many ſaintes, and indued ſo richly with the deuotion of ſo many ſecular princes, and ſo long proſpered hitherto: If it now ſhould come into the handes of ſuch perſons, it ſhould fall in great daunger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickednes well deſerued of God to be curſed, yea here alſo in this preſent worlde to incurre temporall tribulation and deſtruction, which they feare more: by the ſentence of the Lord ſaying to them in the booke of Prouerbes cap. 1. All my counſayles ye haue deſpiſed, and ſet my correction at naught. Therfore ſhall I alſo laugh in your deſtruction, when tribulation and anguiſh ſhall fall vpon you.

The fourth opinion, or errour.

Ierem. 8.

Ierem 13.

Ierem. 17.

Ezech. 21.

Ionas. cap. 3.

Ierem. 26.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of ſuch as beyng vnfaythfull, beleue not any ſuch thyng to come. And this errour ſemeth to haue no remedy, but that as other thinges and other kingdomes haue their endes and limites ſet vnto them, which they cannot ouerpaſſe: So it muſt nedes be, that ſuch a domination and gouernmēt of the Church haue an ende, by reaſon of the demerites and obſtinacies of the gouernours prouokyng and requiring the ſame: lyke as we read in the Prophet Ieremy cap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentaunce for hys ſinne, that will ſo much as ſay, wherfore haue I done this. But euery mā runneth forth ſtil lyke a wylde horſe in a battayle. And the Prophet Ieremy in the 13. chap. of hys prophecy: Lyke as the man of Inde may chaunge hys ſkin, and the cat of mountayne her ſpots, ſo may ye that be exerciſed in euyll, do good. Wherunto alſo accordeth that which is written of the ſame Prophet. cap. 17. ſpeakyng of Iuda ſignifiyng the Church: The ſinne of Iuda (ſayth he) is written in the table of your hartes, and grauen ſo vpon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and wyth an Adamant claw, which is as much to ſay, as indelible, or which cannot be raſed out: as alſo Ezechiell ſpeakyng of the puniſhment. cap. 21. ſayth: I the lord haue drawen out my ſworde out of the ſheth, and can not be reuoked. Notwithſtandyng, all theſe ſignifie no impoſſibility, but difficulty, becauſe that wycked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwyſe the Scripture imputeth no ſuch inflexibilitie wyth God, but if conuerſion come, he wil forgeue. So we read in the prophet Ionas cap. 3. who can tell? God may turne and repent, and ceaſe from hys fierce wrath that we periſh not. And to the lyke effect ſayth the ſame Lord in Ieremy, cap. 26. Looke thou kepe not one word backe, if peraduenture they wyll harken and turne euery man from hys wycked way, that I alſo may repent of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon the, becauſe of theyr wycked inuentions, &c. For the further proofe wherof, Niniuy we ſee conuerted, and remained vndeſtroyed, &c. Likewyſe, the Lord alſo had reueled deſtruction vnto Conſtantinople by ſondry ſignes and tokens, as Auguſt. in a certayne Sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my deuiſion.

The fourth part or member of the ſubdiuiſion.

Ierem. 18.

Eſay. 5.

Fourthly and laſtly remayneth to declare, ſome wholeſome concludyng now vpon the cauſes precedyng: That is, if by theſe cauſes and ſignes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the Church, then let vs humble our myndes mildly and wyſely. And if we ſo returne wyth hart and in dede vnto God, verily he wyll reſcue and helpe after an ineſtimable wiſe: and wyl ſurceaſe frō ſcouryng vs, as he promiſeth by hys Prophet Ieremy 18. If that people agaynſt whom I haue thus deuiſed, conuert frō theyr wyckednes: immediately I wyll repent of the plage that I deuiſed to bryng vpon them: ſpeakyng here after the maner of men. &c. Now therfore, for ſo much as tribulation and affliction is ſo nere commyng toward vs, yea, lyeth vpon vs already, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercy. For I thinke verily, theſe many yeres there hath not bene ſo many and ſo deſpightfull haters and euill willers, ſtout, and of ſuch a rebellious hart againſt ẏ church of God, as be now adayes: neyther be they lackyng that would worke all that they can againſt it, and louers of new fanglenes: whoſe hartes the Lord happily will turne that they ſhall not hate hys people and worke deceyte agaynſt hys ſeruaunts, I meane agaynſt prieſtes whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all: Albeit many yet there be, through gods grace, good and godly. But yet the fury of the Lord is not turned away, but ſtill hys hand is ſtretched out. And vnleſſe ye be conuerted, he ſhaketh hys ſword, he hath bent hys bow, and prepared it redy. Yet the Lord ſtandeth waytyng, that he may haue mercy on you. Eſay 30. And therfore as the greatnes of feare ought to incite vs, ſo hope of ſaluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, eſpecyally now toward this holy and ſacrat tyme and ſolemnitie of Chriſtes natiuitie: For that holy & contynuall prayer without intermiſſion is profitable and ẏ inſtant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iuſt man, is of great force. And if terrein kinges in the day of celebration of their Natiuitie, be wont to ſhew them ſelues more lyberall and bounteous, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heauenly kyng of nature moſt benign, now at his natall and birth day, will not deny pardon and remiſſiō to ſuch as rightly call vnto him.

Eſay. 30.

Ioſue. 7.

1. Reg. 15.

Eſay. 66.

Pſal. 71.

And now therfore as it is writtē in Ioſue chap. 7. Be you ſanctified agaynſt to morow. &c. And ſay vnto hym as it is written in the firſt booke of kinges chap. 15. Now let thy ſeruantes I pray thee finde fauour in thy ſight, for we come to thee in a good ſeaſon. Moreouer ye may finde that ye aſke, if that ye aſke that which he brought in the day of his Natiuitie, that is, the peace of the church, not ſpirituall onely but alſo temporall, which the angelycall noiſe did ſound, and experience the ſame tyme did proue, teſtyfied by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen ſtorywryters, which al marueyled thereat ſaying: that ſuch an vniuerſall peace as that could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For ſo God did forepromiſe in the Prophet Eſay. chap. 66. Behold I will let peace into Ieruſalem lyke a waterfloud. &c And in the Pſalme. 71. In hys tyme righteouſneſſe ſhall floriſh, yea and aboundaunce of peace. &c.

Eſay. 51.

Therfore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) and you here in this preſent aſſemblie, behold I ſay the day of lyfe and ſaluation: Now is the opportune tyme to pray vnto God, that the ſame thing which he brought into ẏ world at hys byrth, he wil now graūt in theſe dayes to his church that is, hys peace. And lyke as Niniuie was ſubuerted ouerturned, and not in members but in maners: ſo the ſame wordes of my theame, Iuxta eſt iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iuſtice, but of our ſanctification by grace, ſo that: As to morow is celebrated the natiuitie of our ſauiour, our righteouſnes may ryſe together with hym, and hys bleſſing may be vpon vs, which God hath promiſed, ſaying: My ſauyng health is neere at hand to come. &c. Wherof ſpeaketh Eſay the Prophet, chapiter. 51. My ſauyng health ſhall endure for euer. &c. Thys health graunt vnto vs the father, ſonne, and holy Ghoſt. Amen.

This Sermon was made by maiſter Nicholas Orem before Pope Urbane and hys Cardinals, vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of the Lord, beyng the fourth ſonday of Aduent, in the yeare of our Lord. 1364. and the ſecond of hys Popedome.

The order of Ieſuites.

1367.

The chiefe offices of the realme tranſlated from the clergie, to the Lordes temporall.

In the v. yere of this forenamed Pope Urbane, began firſt the order of the Ieſuites. And vnto this tyme which was about the yere of our Lord, 1367. the offices here in England, as the lord Chauncellor, Lord Treaſurer, and of the priuy ſeale: were wont to be in the handes of the clergy. But about this yeare through the motion of the lordes in the Parliament, and partly (as witneſſeth myne author) for hatred of the clergy: all the ſayd offices were remoued from the clergy, to the Lordes temporall.

Pope Gregory. xi.

1370.

The papacie reduced agayne from Fraunce to Rome.

After the death of Pope Urbane, next ſucceeded Pope Gregory the xj. who among hys other actes, firſt reduced agayne the papacie out of Fraunce vnto Rome, which had from thence bene abſent, the ſpace now of 70. yeares, beyng therto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the aunſwer of a certayne biſhop, whom as the Pope ſaw ſtandyng by him aſked, why he was ſo long from hys charge and Church at home, ſaying: not to be the part of a good paſtor, to kepe him from hys flocke ſo long. Wherunto the biſhop aunſweryng agayne, ſayd: And you your ſelfe beyng the chiefe Byſhop, who may and ought to be a ſpectacle to vs all: why are you from the place ſo long where your Church doth lye? By the occaſion wherof, the Pope ſought all meanes after that to remoue and to rid hys Court out of Fraunce againe to Rome, and ſo he dyd.

Militzius a Bohemian, for the truth perſecuted by the pope. *Ex Bulla Gregory. 11.*

This xj. Gregory in a certayne Bull of hys ſent to the Archb. of Prage, maketh mention of one named Militzius a Bohemiā, & ſaith in ẏ ſame bull ẏ this Militzius ſhould hold opiniō, and teach. an. 1366. that Antichriſt was already come. Alſo that the ſayd Militzius had certaine congregations following hym: and that in the ſame congregatiō were certain harlots, who beyng conuerted from their wickednes were brought to a godly lyfe. which harlots beyng ſo conuerted, he vſed to ſay were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgins. And therfore commaunded the Archbiſhop to excommunicate and perſecute the ſayd Militzius, which in fore tyme had bene a religious man of Prage, and after forſoke his order, and gaue hymſelfe to preaching, and at length was by the foreſayd Archb. impriſoned.

Iacobus Miſnenſis a learned man and a writer in yͤ time of I. Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, and calleth hym a worthy and a famous preacher. Alſo citeth many things out of hys writings: In the which writyngs this good Militzius thus declareth of himſelf how he was moued and vrged by the holy Ghoſt to ſearch out by the ſacred Scriptures, concernyng the commyng of Antichriſt. And that he was compelled by the ſame holy ſpirite at Rome publikely to preach, and alſo before the Inquiſitor there to proteſt plainly, that the ſame great Antichriſt which is propheſied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreouer hys ſaying was, that the church through negligence of the paſtors was deſolate, dyd abounde in temporall riches, but in ſpirituall riches to be empty. Alſo that in yͤ Church of Chriſt, were certayne Idols which deſtroyed Ieruſalem, & defaced the Temple, but hypocriſie cauſed that theſe Idols could not be ſene. Alſo that many there were which denyed Chriſt, becauſe that knowing the truth, yet for feare of men they durſt not confeſſe their conſcience. &c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuyng in yͤ time of Gregory xi. and kyng Edward the third. an. 1370

The commyng of Antichriſt propheſied.

The which kyng of England holdyng a Parliament in the 3. yere of thys Pope, ſent hys Embaſſadours to hym, deſiryng hym: that he from thenceforth would abſtayne from hys reſeruatiõs of benefices vſed in the court of England. And that ſpirituall men within hys realme promoted vnto biſhopprikes, might freely enioy theyr elections within the realme, and be confirmed by their Metropolitanes, accordyng to the auncient cuſtome of the realme. Wherfore, vpon theſe and ſuch other lyke wherin the kyng and the realme thought themſelues greued, he deſired of the Pope ſome remedy to be prouided. &c. Wherunto the Pope returned a certayne aunſwer agayne vnto the kyng, requiryng by his meſſengers to be certified agayne of the kyngs mynd cõcernyng the ſame. But what anſwer it was, it is not in yͤ ſtory expreſſed, ſaue that the yere followyng, which was 1374. there was a tractation at Burges vpon certain of the ſaid articles betwene the kyng & the Pope, which did hang two yeares in ſuſpence, ſo at length it was thus agreed betwen them: that the pope ſhould no more vſe his reſeruations of benefices in England, and lykewiſe the kyng ſhould no more conferre and geue benefices vpon the writ, Quare impedit. &c. But as touching the freedome of elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitane, mentioned in the yere before, therof was nothing touched.

K. Edward complaineth of the popes reſeruatiõ of benefices.

The Pope put from his reſeruing of benefices in England. *Quare impedit.*

As touching theſe reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, with the elections of Archbiſhops, Byſhops, beneficed men and other, wherwith the Pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue heard. The kyng by yͤ conſent of the Lordes and commons, in the xxv. yeare of hys raigne enacted: that according to a ſtatute made in the 30. yeare of hys graundfather Edward the firſt, wherin was made an acte agaynſt the rauenous pillage of the pope, through the ſame prouiſions, reſeruations, and collations. &c. but not put in execution. By the which prouiſions, yͤ ſtate of the realme decreaſed more and more, the kinges royaltie and prerogatiue greatly obſcured and diminiſhed, innumerable treaſure of the realme tranſported, Aliens & ſtraungers placed in the beſt and fatteſt byſhopricks, Abbeyes, and benefices within the realme. And ſuch, as eyther for their offices in Rome, as Cardinalſhips and ſuch like could not be here reſident, or if reſident, yet better away for cauſes infinite, as partly haue bene touched before: Not onely reuiued the ſayd ſtatute made by Edward the firſt hys graundfather, but alſo inlarged the ſame. Adding therinto very ſtrait and ſharpe penalties agaynſt the offenders therin, or in any part therof, as exemption out of the kyngs protection, loſſe of all their landes, goodes, and other poſſeſſions, and their bodies to be impriſoned at yͤ kings pleaſure: And farther, who ſo euer was lawfully conuict, or otherwiſe for want of appearance by proces directed forth, were within the lappes of thys ſtatute or premunire (for ſo bare the name therof) ſhould ſuffer all and euery ſuch moleſtation and iniuries, as men exempted the protection of yͤ kyng. In ſo much, that who ſo euer had killed ſuch men, had bene in no more daunger of law therefore, then for the killyng of an outlaw, or one not worthy to lyue in a commõ weale. Lyke vnprofitable members were they then in that tyme, yea of ignoraunce eſteemed in thys common weale of England, as would offer themſelues to the wilfull ſlauery and ſeruile obedience of the Pope: which thyng in theſe dayes, yea and that amõgeſt no ſmall fooles, is counted more then Euangelicall holynes. He that liſt to peruſe the ſtatute, and would ſee euery braunch and article therof at large diſcuſſed and handled, wyth the penalties therfore due: Let hym read the ſtatute of prouiſion and premunire, made in the 25. yeare of thys kynges dayes. And let hym read in the ſtatutes made in the parliamentes holden the 27. yeare, and 38. yeare of hys raigne: And vnder the ſame title of prouiſion and premunire ſhall finde, the popes primacie and iuriſdiction wythin thys Realme more nearely touched, and much of hys papall power reſtrayned: In ſo much, that who ſoeuer for any cauſe or controuerſie in law, either ſpirituall or temporal, the ſame being determinable in any of yͤ kyngs courtes (as all matters were) whether they were perſonall or reall, citations or other: or ſhould eyther appeale or conſent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or ſee of Rome: ſhould incurre the ſayd penaltie and daunger of premunire. Diuers other matters wherin the Pope is reſtrained of hys vſurped power, authoritie and iuriſdiction within this realme of England: are in the ſayd titles and ſtatutes expreſſed, & at large ſet forth, who euer liſt to peruſe the ſame, which for breuities ſake I omitte, haſtening to other matters.

The law of premunire with the penalty therof.

The popes primacie here in Englãd bridled.

S. Bridget.

Ex lib. reuelationum Diua Bridgitta.

About thys tyme, beyng the yeare of our Lord. 1370. lyued holy Briget, whom the Church of Rome hath canoniſed not onely for a ſaint, but alſo for a Propheteſſe: who notwithſtanding in her booke of reuelations, which hath bene oft times imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of hys clergie, callyng hym a murtherer of ſoules, a ſpiller, and a pyller of the flocke of Chriſt: more abhominable then Iewes, more crueller then Iudas: more vniuſt then Pilate, worſe then Lucifer hymſelfe. The ſee of the Pope ſhe propheſieth, ſhalbe throwne downe into the depe, lyke a myliſtone. And that hys aſſiſter ſhall burne wt brimſtone: Affirmyng, that the prelates, byſhops, & prieſts are the cauſe, why the doctrine of Chriſt is neglected, and almoſt extincted. And that the clergie haue turned the ten commaundementes of God into two wordes, to wyt, Da pecuniam, that is, Geue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that ſhe agaynſt them writeth. Among the reſt which I omit, let thys ſuffice for all, where as the ſayde Briget affirmeth in her reuelations, that when the holy Virgine ſhould ſay to her ſonne, how Rome was a fruitfull and fertile field: yea, ſayd he, but of weedes onely and cockle. &c.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fertile grounde of weedes and cockle.

Catherina Senenſis.

Ex Antonino 3. part. 3. hiſtor.

To thys Briget I will ioyne alſo Catherina Senenſis, an holy virgin, which lyued much about the ſame tyme, an. 1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus. part. hiſtoriæ. 3. Thys Katherine hauyng the ſpirite of propheſie, was wont much to complaine of the corrupt ſtate of the church, namely of the prelates of the court of Rome, and of the pope: propheſying before of the great ſchiſme, which then folowed in the Church of Rome, and dured to the Councell of Conſtance, the ſpace of xxxix. yeares. Alſo of the great warres and tribulation, which enſued vpon the ſame. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this ſo excellent reformation of religion in the Church now preſent. The wordes of Antoninus be theſe. After this Virgin in her going to Rome, had tolde her brother of the warres and tumultes that ſhould riſe in yͤ countries about Rome, after yͤ ſchiſme of the two popes. I then curious to know of thynges to come, and knowing that ſhe vnderſtoode by reuelatiõ what ſhould happen, demaunded of her: I pray you (good mother) ſayd I, and what ſhall befall after theſe troubles in the Church of God? And ſhe ſayd: By theſe tribulations and afflictions, after a ſecret maner vnknowen vnto man, God ſhall purge hys holy Church, and ſtyrre vp the ſpirit of hys elect. And after theſe thynges ſhall follow ſuch a reformation of the holy Churche of God, and ſuch a renouation of holy Paſtors, that the onely cogitation and remẽbraunce therof maketh my ſpirite to reioyce in the Lord. And as I haue oft tymes tolde you heretofore, the ſpouſe which now is all deformed and ragged, ſhalbe adorned and deckt wyth moſt rich and precious ouches, and brouches. And all the faythfull ſhall be glad and reioyce to ſee themſelues ſo beutified wyth ſo holy ſhepheardes. Yea, and alſo the Infidels then allured by the ſweete ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the catholique folde, and be conuerted to the true Byſhop and ſhepheard of their ſoules. Geue thankes therfore to God, for after thys ſtorme, he wyll geue to hys a great calme. And after ſhe had thus ſpoken, ſhee ſtayed, and ſayd no more.

The reformatiõ of religion propheced of before.

The prophecie of Katherine.

Note.

Beſide theſe aforenamed, the Lord which neuer ceaſeth to worke in hys Church: ſtirred vp agaynſt the mali-

Mathias Pariſienſis a writer againſt the pope.

Antichriſt already come.

The doctrine & proteſtation of Mathias.

gnant Church of Rome, the ſpirites of diuers other good & godly teachers, as Matthias Pariſienſis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of the Lord. 1370. wrote a large booke of Antichriſt, and proueth hym already come, and noteth the Pope to be the ſame. which booke one Illiricus a writer in theſe our dayes hath, and promiſeth to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inueygh agaynſt the wickednes and filthynes of the Clergy, and agaynſt the neglectyng of their duety in gouernyng the Church. The Locuſtes mentioned in the Apocalips, he ſayth, be the hypocrites raignyng in the Church. The workes of Antichriſt he ſayth be theſe, the fables and inuentions of men raygnyng in the Church: the Images & fayned reliques that are worſhypped euery where. Item, that men do worſhyp euery one his proper Saint and Sauiour beſide Chriſt, ſo that euery mā and City almoſt hath his diuers and peculiar Chriſt. He taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlynes and true worſhyp of God, are not bounde to place, perſons, or tymes, to be heard more in this place, then in an other, at this tyme more then at an other. &c. He argueth alſo agaynſt the cloyſterers which leauyng the onely and true Sauiour, ſet vp to them ſelues theyr Franciſcanes, theyr Dominickes, and ſuche other: and haue them for theyr Sauiours, gloryeng and triumphyng in them, and faynyng many forged lyes vpon them. He was greatly and much offended with mōkes and friers, for neglectyng or rather buryeng the word of Chriſt, and in ſteede of hym, for celebratyng & ſettyng vp theyr own rules and Canons, affirmyng it to be much hurtfull to true godlynes, for that Prieſtes, Monkes, and Nunnes do account themſelues onely ſpirituall, and all other to be lay and ſecular, attributyng onely to themſelues the opinion of holynes, and cōtemnyng other men, with all their politicke adminiſtration, & the office as prophane in compariſon of their owne. He further writeth that Antichriſt hath ſeduced all Vniuerſities & Colleges of learned men, ſo that they teach no ſincere doctrine, neither geue any lyght to the Chriſtians with theyr teachynge. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to paſſe, that God yet once agayne will rayſe vp godly teachers, who beyng feruent in the ſpirite and zeale of Helias, ſhall diſcloſe and refute the errours of the Antichriſt, and Antichriſt hymſelfe, openly to the whole world. This Mathias in the ſayd booke of Antichriſt alledgeth the ſayinges and writynges of the Vniuerſity of Paris, alſo the writynges of Gulielmus de ſancto amore, and of Militzius aforenoted.

Joannes Mountziger proteſtant againſt the pope.

An.1384.

About the ſame tyme, or ſhortly after. an. 1384. we read alſo of Joannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Vniuerſity of Vlme, who openly in the ſchooles in his Oration propounded that the body of Chriſt was not God, and therfore not to be worſhypped as God with that kynde of worſhyp called Latria, as the Sophiſter termeth it, meanyng thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he alſo defended by writyng: affirmyng alſo that Chriſt in his reſurrection tooke to hym agayne all hys bloud which in hys paſſion he had ſhed. Meanyng thereby to inferre, that the bloud of Chriſt which in many places is worſhypped, neither can be called the bloud of Chriſt, neither ought to be worſhypped. But by and by he was reſiſted and withſtode by the monkes and friers: who by this kynde of Idolatry were greatly enriched, till at length the Senate & Councell of the city was fayne to take vp the matter betweene them.

Nilus the Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica.

Nilus was Archbyſhop of Theſſalonica, & lyued much about this tyme. He wrote a long worke agaynſt the Latins, that is, agaynſt ſuch as tooke part and held with the Church of Rome. His booke firſt beyng written in Greke, was after trāſlated into Latin, & lately now into Engliſh, in this our tyme. In the firſt chap. of his boke, he layeth all the blame & faulte of the diſſention and ſchiſme betwene the Eaſt and the weſt Church vpon the Pope. He affirmeth that the Pope onely would commaunde what hym lyſted, were it neuer ſo contrary to all the old and auncient Canōs. That he would heare and folow no mans aduiſe: that he would not permit any free Cōncels to be aſſembled. &c. And that therfore it was not poſſible, that the controuerſies betwene the Greeke Church and Latin Church, ſhould be decided and determined.

In the ſecond chapter of his booke, he purpoſedly maketh a very learned diſputation. For firſt he declareth that he no whyt at all by Gods commaundement, but onely by humane law hath any dignity, more then hath other Byſhops: which dignity, the Councels, the fathers, & the Emperours haue graunted vnto hym: Neither dyd they graūt the ſame for any other conſideration more, or greater ordinaunce: then for that the ſame City then had the Impery of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter eyther was there, or not there.

Secōdarily he declareth, that the ſame primacy or prerogatiue is not ſuch and ſo great as he and his Sicophants do vſurpe vnto themſelues. Alſo he refuteth the chiefeſt propoſitions of the Papiſtes one after an other. He declareth that the Pope hath no dominion more then other Patriarches haue, and that he hymſelfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that he is ſubiect both to lawes & Councels, as well as other Byſhops. That it belonged not to hym, but to the Emperour, to call generall Councels: and that in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes he could eſtabliſh and ordayne no more then all other Byſhops might. And laſtly, that he getteth no more by Peters ſucceſſiō, then that he is a Byſhop, as all other Byſhops after the Apoſtles be. &c.

Jacobus Miſnenſis and Militzius.

I can not among other, folowyng here the occaſion of this matter offered, leaue out yͤ memory of Jacobus Miſnenſis, who alſo wrote of the commyng of Antichriſt. In the ſame he maketh mention of a certain learned mā, whoſe name was Militzius, which Militzius (ſayth he) was a famous and worthy preacher in Parga. He lyued about the yeare. 1366. long before Huſſe, and before Wickleffe alſo. In the ſame his writynges he declareth, how the ſame good mā Militzius was by the holy ſpirit of God incited, and vehemetly moued to ſearch out of the holy Scriptures the maner and commyng of Antichriſt: and found that now in hys tyme he was all ready come. And the ſame Jacobus ſayth, that the ſayd Militzius was conſtrayned by the ſpirite of God to go vp to Rome, and there publickely to preach. And that afterward before yͤ Inquiſitour he affirmed the ſame. That the ſame mighty and great Antichriſt, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already comen.

He affirmed alſo, that the Church by the negligence of the Paſtours, ſhould become deſolate: and that iniquitie ſhould abound, that is, by reaſon of Mammon, maiſter of iniquitie. Alſo, he ſayd that there were in the Church of Chriſt Idols, which ſhould deſtroy Jeruſalem, and make the temple deſolate, but were cloked by hypocriſie. Further, that there be many which deny Chriſt, for that they keepe ſilence: neither do they heare Chriſt, whom all the world ſhould know and confeſſe his verity before men, which alſo wittyngly do detayne the verity and iuſtice of God.

Militzius perſecuted by the pope.

There is alſo a certayne Bull of Pope Gregory xi. to the Archbiſhop of Praga: wherin he is commaunded to excommunicate and perſecute Militzius and hys auditours. The ſame Bull declareth, that he was once a Chanon of Praga, but afterward he renounced his Canonſhyp, & began to preach: who alſo for that he ſo manifeſtly preached of Antichriſt to be already come: was of John Archbyſhop of Praga put in priſon, declaryng what his errour was. To wit, how he had hys company or congregation to whom he preached, and that amongeſt the ſame were certayne conuerted harlots, which had forſaken theyr euill lyfe, and dyd lyue godly and well: which harlots he accuſtomed in his Sermons to preferre before all the bleſſed virgines that neuer offēded. He taught alſo openly, that in the Pope, Cardinals, Byſhops, Prelates, Prieſtes, and other religious mē: was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that onely he, and ſuch as held with hym, taught the true way of ſaluation. His Poſtill in ſome places is yet to be ſene. They alledge vnto hym certaine other inconuenient articles, which notwithſtandyng I thinke, the Aduerſaries to depraue him with all, haue ſclaunderouſly inuented agaynſt hym. He had as appeared by the foreſayd Bull, very many of euery ſtate and condition, as wel riche as poore, that cleaued vnto hym.

Henricus de Haſſia.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1371. lyued Henricus de Iota, whom Gerſon doth much commend, and alſo his companion Henricus de Haſſia, an excellent learned and famous man. In Epiſtle of this Henricus de Haſſia which he wrote to the Byſhop of Normacia, Iacobus Cartſienſis inſerted in hys booke De erroribus Chriſtianorum. In the ſame Epiſtle, the author doth greatly accuſe the ſpirituall men of euery order, yea and the moſt holyeſt of all other the Pope hym ſelfe, of many and great vices. He ſayd, that the Eccleſiaſticall gouernours in the primatiue Church, were compared to the Sunne ſhynyng in the day tyme, and the politicall gouernours, to the Moone, ſhynyng in the night. But the ſpirituall men he ſayd, that now are, do neither ſhyne in the day tyme, nor yet in the night tyme, but rather with their darknes do obſcure both the day and night, that is: with theyr filthy lyuyng, ignoraunce, and impiety. He citeth alſo out of the propheſie of Hildegaris theſe wordes: Therfore doth the deuill in hymſelfe ſpeake of you Prieſtes: Dainty banketts & feaſtes, wherin is all voluptuouſnes do I finde amongſt theſe men: In ſomuch that myne eyes, myne eares, my belly, and my braynes, be euen filled with the froth of them. and my prieſtes ſtand aſtrut with the riches of them. &c. Laſtly, ſayth he, they euery day more and more as Lucifer dyd, ſeeke to clymbe hygher and hygher: till that euery day with hym more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

The citizens of Moguntia.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1390. there were burned at Bringa 36. Citizens of Moguntina, for the doctrine of Waldenſes, as Bruſhius affirmeth: which opiniõ was nothyng contrary to that they held before, wherin they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antichriſt, which ſhould come: Unleſſe peraduenture, the Pope ſeemed then to be more euidently conuicted of Antichriſtianitie then at any other tyme before, he was reuiced to be.

A briefe rehearſall of ſuch as were put to death for holding againſt the byſhop of Rome before the tyme of Wickliffe.

For the lyke cauſe, many other beſide theſe, are to be founde in ſtories, which ſuſteyned the lyke perſecutiõ by the Pope, if layſure would ſerue to peruſe all that might be ſearched. As where Maſſeus recordeth of diuers to the nũber of 140. which in the prouince of Narbone choſe rather to ſuffer whatſoeuer greuous puniſhment by fire, thẽ to receaue the decretals of the Romiſh Church, contrary to the vpright truth of the Scripture.

What ſhould I here ſpeake of the 24. which ſuffered at Paris. an. 1210? Alſo in the ſame author is teſtified that an. 1211. there were 400. vnder ẏ name of heretiques burned, 80. beheaded: Prince Aimericus hanged, and the Lady of the Caſtle ſtoned to death.

Moreouer in the Chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers be recited, a merueilous number, which in the coũtreys of Fraunce, were burned for heretiques. Of whom, ſome were called Publicans, ſome Catharites, ſome Paterines, and other by others names. What their aſſertions were, I finde no certaine reporte worthy of credite.

Eckardus a frier burned.

In Tritemius is ſignified of one Eckhardus a Dominican Friar, who not long before Wickleffes tyme, was condemned and ſuffered for hereſie at Hedelberge. an. 1330. who as he differeth not much in name, ſo may he be ſuppoſed to be the ſame, whom other do name Beghardus, and is ſayd to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albingenſes becauſe ſufficient mention is made before of whom a great number were burned about the tyme of kyng John, I paſſe them ouer.

An Heremit diſputing agaynſt the popes ſacrament.
Ranulphus.

Lykewiſe I let paſſe the heremite, of whom John Bacon maketh relation, in his 2.Diſt.Queſt.1. who diſputyng in Paules Church, affirmed that thoſe Sacramẽts, which were thẽ vſed in the church: were not inſtituted by Chriſt an. 1306. Peraduenture it was the ſame Ranulphus, mẽtioned in the floure of hyſtories, and is ſayd to dye in priſon: for the tyme of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the Pope ſhould ſomuch commend a certaine kyng, becauſe for one man, he had ſlayne. 400. cuttyng away the genitals from the reſt, I can not iudge, except the cauſe were that, which the Pope calleth hereſie.

Ex Archiuis Regiæ Maieſtatis.

But to let theſe thynges ouerpaſſe that be vncertaine, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehend all them which haue withſtãd the corruption of the popes ſea: neither haue we any ſuch firme teſtimony left of theyr doynges, credibly to ſtay vpon: we wil now (Chriſt willyng) conuert our ſtory, to thynges more certaine and vndoubted, groundyng vpon no lyght reportes of feble credite, nor vpõ any fabulous Legendes without authoritie: But vpon the true and ſubſtantiall copyes of the publique recordes of the Realme, remaynyng yet to be ſene vnder the kyngs moſt ſure & faythfull cuſtody. Out of the which recordes, ſuch matter appeareth agaynſt the popiſh Church of Rome, and agaynſt his vſurped authoritie, ſuch open ſtandyng & cryyng agaynſt the ſayd ſea, and that not priuely, but alſo in open Parliamẽt, in the dayes of this kyng Edward the thyrd: that neither will the Romiſh people of this our age eaſely thinke it to be true when they ſee it, neither yet ſhall they be able to deny the ſame, ſo cleare ſtandeth the force of thoſe recordes.

Parciall diſſimulation in our hyſtories of the Church of England.

Ye heard a litle before, pag. 385. how John Stratford Archbyſhop of Canterbury, beyng ſent for and required by the kyng to come vnto hym, refuſed ſo to do. What the cauſe was why he denyed to come at the kynges ſendyng, is neither touched of Polidore Virgil, nor of any other Monkiſh Chronicler, writyng of thoſe actes and tymes. Whoſe part had bene, faythfully to haue diſpenſed the ſimple truth of thynges done to theyr poſteritie. But that which they diſſemblyngly and coulorably haue concealed, contrary to true law of ſtory, the true cauſe therof we haue found out by the true Parliament roles, declaryng the ſtory thus.

Ex anno. 6. reg. Edw. 3. tit. 4.

Kyng Edward the 3. in the vj. yeare of hys reigne, hearyng that Edward Bailol had proclaymed hymſelfe kyng of Scotland: Required counſell of the whole eſtate to wyt, whether were better for hym to aſſayle Scotland, and to clayme the demeſing or demeynes of ẏ ſame: or els by makyng hym party to take hys aduauntage. And thereby to enioy the ſeruice, as other hys aunceſters before hym had done. For this cauſe he ſommoned a Parliament of all eſtates to meete at Yorke, about the begynning of December. Where the kyng was already come, waytyng for ẏ commyng of ſuch as were warned therunto. For the want of whoſe commyng, the parliament was reiourned till Monday, and from thence to Tueſday next enſuing. But foraſmuch as moſt of the ſtates were abſent, the aſſembly required the continuance of the parliament, vntill the vtas of S. Hillary then enſuyng at Yorke. Which was graunted. And ſo a new ſommons was eſpecially awarded to euery perſon with ſpeciall charge to attend, ſo that the affayres of the kyng and the realme myght not be hindered, becauſe of the debate betwene the Archbyſhop of Cant. and Archbyſhop of Yorke, for the ſuperiour bearing of their croſſe.

The Archb. of Cant. came not to the parliament at Yorke, and all for bearing the croſſe.

In concluſion, for all the kynges ſommoning, none other of all the clergy came, but onely the Archb. of Yorke, the byſhop of Lincolne, and of Carliel, & Abbots of Yorke & Seleby. So that hereunto came not the Archb. of Canterbury, nor any other of hys prouince, and all for bearing the croſſe. Wherby the ſame was not onely a loſſe to the oportunitie to Scotland: but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a new reaſſembly. And thus much out of ẏ recordes. Wherby thou mayeſt eaſely iudge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of theſe pope holy Catholique Churchmen (beyng of the Popes broode and ſettyng vp) whom ſuch friuolous cauſes of contention ſtirre vp to ſuch diſquietnes, both among themſelues, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience agaynſt their Prince: excuſe them who can. Ex an. 6. Regis Edwardi. 3.

Ex anno. 17. reg. Edwardi. 3. tit. 59.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame recordes, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouiſions: how that the commons finde great default at prouiſions cõmyng frõ Rome, wherby ſtraungers were enabled within this realme to enioy eccleſiaſticall dignities, and ſhew diuers inconueniences enſuing therby, namely the decay of dayly almoſe, the trãſporting of the treaſure to nouriſhe the kyngs enemies, the diſcouering of the ſecrets of the realme, and the inabling and impouerishing of the clerkes within this realme.

The popes prouiſions reſtrained. tit. 59.

The church of England ſpoyled by the pope and his forreiners.

They alſo ſhew how the pope had in moſt couert wyſe graunted to two new Cardinalles wythin thys Realme (and namely to Cardinall Peragotz) aboue ten thouſand markes of yearely taxes: They therfore required the kyng and nobles to finde ſome remedy, for that they neuer coulde ne would any longer beare thoſe ſtraunge oppreſſions, or els to helpe them to expell out of thys realme the popes power by force.

The acte of K. Edward the firſt, renued for premunire, tit. 60.

Hereupon, the kyng, Lordes, and commons, ſent for the acte made at Carliel, in ẏ xxxv. yeare of kyng Edward the firſt, vpon the lyke complaynt: therby forbiddyng, that any thyng ſhould be attempted or brought into the realme, which ſhould tend to the blemiſhyng of the kynges prerogatiue, or to the preiudice of hys Lordes or commons. And ſo at thys tyme, the ſtatute called the acte of prouiſion was made by common conſent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any bulles, or ſuch trinckets from the court of Rome, or ẏ vſing, enioying, or allowyng of any ſuch bill, proceſſe, inſtrument, or ſuch ware, as thereby at large doth appeare, whereof ſufficiently is touched before pag. 356.

Anno Reg. Edwardi. 3. 18 titul. 32.

The penaltie of which ſtatute afterward followed in the next Parliament, an. reg. Ed. 18. tit. 32. the which penaltye was this: the tranſgreſſors therof to lye in perpetuall priſon, or to be foriured the land. And that all Juſtices of aſſize, Gaile deliuery, and Oyer and determiner, may determine the ſame. Required withall, that the ſame acte of prouiſion ſhould continue for euer.

Preſentation within 4. mõthes an. reg. 18 tit. 34.

Item, that the ſayd 18. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, tit. 34. it was moreouer propounded: that if any archbiſhop, or any perſon religious or other, do not preſẽt within 4. monthes ſome able clerke to any dignitie, where any perſon hath obtayned from Rome any prouiſion, Bull. &c. but ſurceaſe the ſame: that then the king may preſent ſome able clerke.

No elections to be taken by the pope, but onely by the K. an. reg. 18 tit. 35.

Item, propounded in the ſayd Parliament, an. 18. Reg. Ed. 3. that if any Byſhop elect, ſhall refuſe to take any ſuch byſhopriks, other then by ſuch bull: that then ſuch elect, ſhall not enter ne enioy hys temporalties wythout his ſpeciall licence.

Diſpoſitions of benefices onely in the kyngs hand. an. 18. Ed. 3. tit. 36

Alſo, that the kyng ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch benefices and dignities of ſuch aliens his enemies, as remayne in the coũtrey of his enemyes, and employ the profites thereof to the defence of the realme.

Buls frõ Rome forbidden. an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.

Moreouer, propounded, that commiſſyoners be ſent to all the kinges portes, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhall bring in any ſuch inſtrument frõ Rome, and to bring them forthwith before the counſaile to anſwere therto.

The Deanrie of Yorke taken frõ the Cardinal. an. 28. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 38.

Propounded farthermore, that the Deanry of Yorke which is to be recouered by iudgement in the kyngs court, may be beſtowed vpon ſome able man within the Realme, who will maintayne the ſame agaynſt hym (meanyng the Cardinall, who holdeth the ſame by prouiſiõ from Rome, beyng the enemy to the kyng and to the realme) and that the profites may be employed to the defence of the Realme.

The kings aunſwere & agreemẽt to the foreſayd petitions.

The kynges aunſwere. To all which petitions aunſwere was made, in forme folowyng: It is agreed by the kyng, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, & other wiſe men of the Realme, that the petitions aforeſayd, be made in ſufficient forme of law, accordyng to the petitions aforeſayd.

Note, that the byſhops be not here named, and yet the parliamẽt ſtãdeth in force.

¶ Note in this aunſwere of the kyng (good reader) that at the graunt hereof, the conſent of the Byſhops is neither named, nor expreſſed, with the other Lordes of the Parliament: and yet, the Parliament ſtãdeth in his full force, notwithſtandyng.

¶ Notes of the Parliament holden in the xx. yeare of kyng Edward 3.

Alien mõkes to auoid. an. 20. Ed. 3. tit. 30.

TO paſſe farther to the 20. yeares of the kyngs reigne in the Parliament holden the ſame yeare, it was propounded: that all Alien Monkes ſhould auoyde the Realme by the day of S. Michael, and that their lyuynges ſhould be diſpoſed: to young Engliſh ſcholers. The lyuyngs of theſe the kyng tooke to his handes.

Item, that the kyng may take the profites of all others ſtraũgers lyuyngs, as Cardinals and others, duryng their lyues. The profites of whõ were alſo in the kyngs handes.

The liuinges of ſtraungers benefiſed taken into the kings handes. tit. 21.

The liuinges of Romiſh ſtraungers diſpoſed to Engliſh men. tit. 32. tit. 33.

That ſuch aliens enemyes, as be aduaunced to lyuinges here in England (beyng in their owne countreys, ſhoemakers, taylers, or chamberlaines to Cardinals) ſhould depart before Michaelmas, and their lyuynges diſpoſed to poore Engliſh ſcholers. The lyuynges alſo of theſe remayned in the kynges handes.

The commons denied to pay any payment, to any Cardinals lyeng in Fraũce, to entreat of warre or peace: which alſo was graunted of the kynges part as reaſonable.

Cardinals depriued of their lyuinges in England. tit. 34.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduauncement of two thouſand markes (grãted by the pope to two Cardinals, out of the prouincies of Canterbury and Yorke) ſhould be reſtrayned, and ſuch as ſhall purſue therfore to be out of the law.

Lykewiſe enacted & agreed, that no Engliſh mã ſhould take any thyng in ferme of any Alien religious, ne buy any of their goodes, nor be of their counſaile, on payne of perpetuall impriſonment.

Enacted further, that no perſon ſhould bryng into the realme to any Byſhop or other, any Bull, or any other letters frõ Rome, or from any Alien: vnleſſe he ſhew the ſame to the Chauncelour or Warden of the Cinque portes, vpon loſſe of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſayd Parliament, the byſhops were commaunded before the next conuocation, to certifie into the chauncery the names of ſuch Aliens, of their benefices, and the values of the ſame.

¶ Notes of the 25. yeare of kyng Edward the thyrd.

Ex Arch. 25. an. reg. Ed. 3.

The popes firſt fruites & reſeruations more hurtful to the realme thẽ all the kings wars. tit. 14.

To breake of all appeales to Rome, tit. 14.

THe Parliament of the 25. yeare, was begon the 6. day of February, the xxv. yeare of kyng Edward 3. In the which Parliament beſide other matters mo, was propounded: that remedy might be had agaynſt the Popes reſeruations, by which brocage and meanes the Pope receaued the firſt fruites of all Eccleſiaſticall dignities: A more cõſumption to the Realme, then all the kynges warres.

Alſo the lyke remedy might be had agaynſt ſuch, as in the Court of Rome preſume to vndoe any iudgement geuen in the Kynges court, as if they enforced to vndoe the lawes of the Realme.

Wherunto it was aunſwered, that there was ſufficient remedy prouided by law.

¶ Notes of the 38. yeare of kyng Edward the thyrd.

The requeſt of the K. for cauſes not to be determined at Rome. tit. 7.

IN the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the 38. yeare of Edward iij. in the vtaues of Hillary (Symon Biſhop of Ely beyng Lord Chauncelour) it was required by the kynges owne mouth, & declared to the whole eſtates: How dayly citations & falſe ſuggeſtions were made to the Pope, for matters determinable in his Courtes within the Realme, and for procuryng prouiſions to Eccleſiaſticall dignities, to the great defacing of the aũcient lawes, to the ſpoylyng of his crowne, to the dayly conueyng away of the treaſure, to the waſtyng of eccleſiaſticall lyuynges, to the withdrawyng of diuine ſeruice, almoſe, hoſpitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the dayly increaſe of all miſchiefes: wherfore, in perſon and by his own mouth, the kyng required the whole eſtate to prouide hereof due remedy.

What miſchiefes come by tranſporting cauſes to Rome, tit. eod.

To be noted finally in this Parliamẽt of the 38. yeare, that the Acte of prouiſions, brought in this Parliament, although in the printed copy. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. doth agree with the recorde, in maner; yet in the ſayd recordes vnprinted, are mo bytyng wordes agaynſt the pope: a miſtery not to be knowẽ of all men.

The printed ſtatute of prouiſiõs not agreeing in all termes agaynſt the pope, with the recorde. tit. 9.

Ex an. reg. Ed. 40. tit. 7. videlicet.

¶ Notes of the 40. yeare of kyng Edward the thyrd.

IT followeth moreouer in the ſayd Actes of kyng Edward the 3. & in the 40. yeare of his raigne, an other parliament was called at Weſtminſter the 3. of May. an. 1366 the Byſhop of Ely beyng Lord Chauncelour and ſpeaker. Who on the ſecond day of the ſayd aſſembly in the preſence of the Kyng, Lordes, and commons, declared: how the day before, generally they vnderſtode the cauſe of this their aſſẽbly, and now more particularly ſhould vnderſtand the ſame: ſpecially how that the kyng vnderſtode, that the Pope (for the homage which kyng Iohn made to the ſea of Rome for the Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the tribute by him grãted) ment by proceſſe to cite the kyng to Rome, to aunſwere thereto. Wherein, the kyng required their aduiſes, what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thyng were attempted. The Biſhops by their ſelues required reſpite of aunſwere, vntill the next day. So did the Lordes and commons euery of them by their ſelues.

The pope mindeth to ſend for the kyng by proceſſe.

The ſame next day, the whole eſtates reaſſembled together, and by common conſent enacted in effect folowyng. viz. For aſmuch as neither K. Iohn nor any other kyng, could bryng his Realme and people in ſuch thraldome and ſubiection, but by common aſſent of Parliament, the which was not done; and therfore done agaynſt his othe at his coronatiõ (beſides many other cauſes) If therfore the pope ſhould attempt any thyng agaynſt the kyng, by proceſſe or other matter in deede: That the kyng with all his ſubiects, ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt the ſame.

K. Iohn could not without cõſent of parliament become tributarie to the pope. tit. 8.

Agreed by parliament, that the K. by force ſhould reſiſt the pope.

Braule betwene the 4. orders of friers & the two vniuerſities. Ex tit. 10.

Here moreouer is not to be omitted, how in the ſayd preſent Parliament, the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one ſide, and the Friers of the foure orders mẽdicantes in the ſayd vniuerſities on the other ſide: Made long complayntes the one agaynſt the other, to the Kyng in Parliament, and in the end ſubmitted themſelues to the kynges order.

After which, the kyng vpon full digeſtyng of the whole matter (by aſſent of Parliamẽt) tooke order: that aſwell the Chauncelour and ſcholers, as the Friers of thoſe orders in the ſayd Vniuerſities: ſhould in all graces and other ſchole exerciſes, vſe ech other in frẽdly wiſe, without any rumour as before. That none of thoſe orders, ſhould receiue any Scholers into theyr ſayd orders, beyng vnder the age of xviij. yeares.

That the ſayd Friers ſhall take no aduauntage, ne procure Bulles or other proceſſe from Rome, agaynſt the ſayd vniuerſities, or procede therin.

The friers ſubiect to the K. order only in all their cõtrouerſies. parliam. tit. 11.

And that the kyng haue power to redreſſe all controuerſies, betwene them from thence forth. And the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the kyng, and of the counſayle.

¶ Notes of the 50. yeare of kyng Edward the thyrd.

Ex Archiuis Regiæ maieſtatis, an. 50. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 94.

1. IN proceſſe of the foreſayd Actes and rolles, it followeth more, that in the 50. yeare of the reigne of kyng Edward the 3. the yeare of our Lord. 1376. an other great parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 24. of April: where, Syr Iohn Knyuett beyng Lord Chauncelour of England, a certaine long Bill was put vp agaynſt the vſurpations of the Pope, as beyng the cauſe of all the plagues, murrions, famine, and pouertie of the Realme, ſo as thereby was not left the thyrd perſon, or other commoditie within the Realme that lately was.

Againſt the vſurpation of the pope.

2. That the taxes payed to the Pope of Rome for Eccleſiaſticall dignities, do amount to fiue fold as much, as the taxe of all profites as appertaine to the kyng by the yeare of his whole Realme: And that for ſome one Byſhopricke or other dignitie, the Pope by way of tranſlation and death, hath three, foure, or fiue, ſeuerall taxes.

The pope cauſe of all miſchiefes in England.

3. That the Brokers of that ſinnefull Citie, for money promote many Caytiffes (beyng altogether vnlearned and vn-

worthy) to a thouſand markes liuyng by yeare, where the learned and worthy can hardly obteine xx. markes, whereby learnyng decayeth.

The treaſure of the Realme conueied away by the popes meanes tit. 97.

4. That Aliens (enemies to this land) who neuer ſaw nor care not to ſee their pariſhioners, haue thoſe liuyngs whereby they deſpiſe Gods ſeruice, and conuey away the treaſure and are worſe then Iewes or Saraſens.

5. Alſo it was put vp in the ſayd Bill to be conſidered, that the lawes of the Church, would ſuch liuyngs to be beſtowed for charitie, onely without prayeng or payeng.

6. That reaſon would that liuynges geuen of deuotion, ſhould be beſtowed in hoſpitalitie.

7. That God had committed his ſheepe to the Pope, to be paſtured and not ſhoren or ſhauen.

The pope geueth example to ſel benefices. tit. 99.

8. That lay patrones perceauyng the couetouſnes and ſimony of the pope, do thereby learne to ſell their benefices to beaſtes, none otherwiſe thē Chriſt was ſold to the Iewes.

9. That there is none ſo riche a prince in Chriſtendome, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as the Pope hath out of this Realme, for churches moſt ſinfully.

Ineſtimable that the pope hath here out of England. tit. 100.

10. Ouer and beſides in the ſayd Bill, repetyng agayne the tenderyng zeale, for the honor of the Church was declared & particularly named, all the plagues which haue iuſtly fallen vpon this Realme, for ſufferyng the ſame Church to be ſo defaced, with declaratiō that it will dayly encreaſe without redreſſe.

Reformation of the church of England deſired in the Parliamēt. tit. 111.

11. Whereupon with much perſuaſion this was deſired, to helpe to rectifie the ſame: and the rather for that, this was the yeare of Iubiley, the fifty yeare of the kynges reigne the yeare of ioy and gladnes, then the which there could be no greater.

12. The meanes how to begyn this, was to write two letters to the Pope: the one in Latin vnder the kynges ſeale, the other in French vnder the ſeales of the nobles, importyng their particularities, & requiryng redreſſe, of the which letter of the Lordes, mention was made, and the copy thereof drawne out of the French, pag. 388.

Actes made for no money to be tranſported. tit. 103.

13. And for a further accompliſhment hereof to enact, that no money were caryed forth of the Realme by letter of Lumbardy or otherwiſe, on payne of forfaiture & impriſonment, and to enact the articles hereafter enſuyng.

14. The kyng hath heretofore by ſtatute prouided ſufficiēt remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the holy father the Pope, and ſo myndeth to do from time to tyme, vntill he hath obteined aſwell for the matters before, as for the articles enſuyng beyng in a maner all one.

Agaynſt the Popes lyger ſpies & collectors tit. 104

The popes collection what it commeth to. tit. 105.

15. That the popes collector & other ſtrāgers the kings enemyes, and onely lyger Spies for Engliſh dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecretes of the realme, may be touched.

16. That the ſame collector beyng alſo receauour of the Popes pence, kepeth a houſe in London with Clerkes and officers therto, as it were one of the kynges ſolēne courtes, tranſportyng yearely to the Pope xx. M. markes and moſt commonly more.

The beſt dignities in England, in the Cardinals. tit. 106.

17. That Cardinals & other Aliens remaining at Rome, whereof one Cardinall is Deane of Yorke, an other of Saliſbury, an other of Lyncolne, an other Archdeacon of Canterbury an other Archdeacon of Dureſme, an other Archdeacon of Suffolke, an other Archdeacon of Yorke, an other prebendary of Thame and Naſſington, and other prebēdary of Buckes in the Church of Yorke: Haue diuers of the beſt dignities in Englād, and haue ſent ouer to them yearely. xx. thouſand markes ouer and aboue that which Engliſh brokers lying there, haue.

The Pope maintaineth the kinges enemies with the kinges money. tit. 107.

18. That the Pope (to raunſome the Frenchmen the kynges enemyes, who defend Lumbardy from him) doth alwayes at his pleaſure leuy a ſubſidy of the whole Clergy of England.

The popes practiſe in England to make money. tit. 108.

The law of premunire to be renued.

19. That the Pope for more gayne maketh ſundry tranſlations of all the Byſhoprickes and other dignities within the Realme.

20. That the popes collector hath this yeare taken to his vſe the firſt fruites of all benefices, by collation or prouiſiō.

21. To renue all the ſtatutes agaynſt prouiſors frō Rome, ſith that the Pope reſerueth all the benefices of the world for his own proper gift, and hath this yeare created xij. new Cardinals, ſo as now there are thirty, where was wont to be but xij. and all thoſe Cardinals, except two or three, are the kynges enemyes.

Agaynſt the popes vſurpatiō tit. 112.

22. That the Pope in tyme, will geue the temporall manors of thoſe dignities to the kyngs enemyes, ſith he ſo dayly vſurpeth vpon the Realme, and the kynges regalities.

23. That all houſes and corporations of Religiō, who vnto the kynges raigne now had free election of heades, now the Pope hath encroched the ſame to himſelfe.

24. That in all legacies from the Pope, whatſoeuer: the Engliſh clergie beareth the charge of the legates, and all for the goodnes of our money.

Engliſh money payeth the popes legacies tit. 113.

No good money in the realme for the pope & Card. tit. 114.

25. And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the realme were as plentifull as euer it was: the Collectors aforeſayd, wyth the Proctors of Cardinals, would ſoone conuey the ſame.

The popes collectors or proctors driuen out of the realme. tit. 115.

26 For remedye hereof it may be prouided, that no ſuch Collector or Proctor doe remayne in England, on payne of lyfe and member. And that no Engliſhe man on the like payne, become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remaine at Rome.

The popes collector to be examined.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touchyng the Popes Collector, for that the whole clergie beyng obedient to hym, dare not diſpleaſe hym: It were good, that ſyr John Strenſale parſon of S. Botulphes in Holborne, may be ſent to come before the Lordes and commons of thys parliament. Who being ſtraightly charged, can declare much more, for that he ſerued the ſame Collector in houſe fiue yeares.

¶ And thus much of thys byll touching the popes matters: whereby it may appeare, not to be for nought that hath bene vpon vs reported by the Italians & other ſtrāgers, which vſed to call Engliſh men good Aſſes: for they beare all burdens that be layd vpon them.

Engliſh men good aſſes.

Item, in the ſayd Parliament it was prouided alſo, that ſuch order as is made in London agaynſt the horrible vice of Vſury, may be obſerued throughout the whole realme.

Order taken in London agaynſt vſury tit. 158.

Complaint agaynſt the B. of Yorke & his officers for their exceſſiue taking for their admiſſion. tit. 171.

The commons of the dioces of Yorke complayne of the outragious taking of the Biſhop and hys Clarkes, for admiſſion of prieſtes to their benefices.

To theſe recordes of the parliament aboue prefixed of yͤ 50. yeare of thys kyng Edward: we will adioyne alſo other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yeare next following, which was 51. and laſt yeare of this kinges lyfe and raigne, an. 1377. the 27. of January: Although in the printed booke, theſe ſtatutes are ſaid to be made at the parliament holden, as aboue, in the 50. yeare which is much miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yeare, as by the recordes of the ſayd yeare, manifeſtly doth appeare.

Ex Archiuis Reg. Edou. 3. an. regni. 51. tit. 36.

Agaynſt the popes prouiſiōs from Rome. an. reg. 51. tit. 36.

In which Parliament, the Byſhop of S. Dauids beyng Lord Chauncelour, makyng a long oration, takyng his theame out of S. Paule: Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes. &c. Declaryng in the ſayd Oration many thynges, as firſt, in ſhewyng the ioyfull newes of the old kinges recouery: then declaring the loue of God toward the kyng and realme, in chaſtiſing hym wyth ſicknes: Afterwarde ſhewyng the bleſſing of God vpon the kyng, in ſeeyng hys childrēs children: Then by a ſimilitude of the head and members, exhortyng the people as members to conforme themſelues to the goodnes of the head. Laſtly, he turned his matter to the Lordes and the reſt, declaring the cauſe of that aſſembly: that for ſomuch as the French Kyng had allyed hymſelfe wyth the Spanyardes and Scottes the kynges enemyes, which had prepared great powers cōſpiring to blot out the Engliſh tongue & name: the kyng therfore was willing to haue therin their faithfull counſaile.

The effect of the Chauncelors Oration.

Thys beyng declared by the byſhop: Sir Robert Aſhton kynges Chamberlaine, declared that he was to moue them from the kyng, for the profite of the realme (the which wordes percaſe lay not in the Byſhops mouth, for that it touched the pope) viz. By proteſtyng firſt, that the kyng was ready to do all that ought to be done for the pope. But for that diuers vſurpations were done by the Pope to the Kyng, hys Crowne, and Realme, as by particular bylles in thys parliament ſhould be ſhewed, he required of them to ſeeke redreſſe.

The cauſe of this parliament chiefly for the Popes vſurpatiō againſt the king.

In this preſent parliamēt petition was made by the cōmōs, that all prouiſors of things from Rome, and their miniſters, ſhould be out of the kynges protection.

Againſt the pope his prouiſiōs frō Rome. an. reg. 51. tit. 35.

The kinges anſwere.

Wherunto the kyng aunſwered, that the Pope had promyſed redreſſe, which if he did not, the lawes then ſhould ſtand.

It was alſo in that Parliament required, that euery perſon of what ſex ſoeuer, beyng profeſſed of any religion, continuyng the habite of xv. yeares, may vpon the triall of the ſame in any of the kyngs courtes, be in law vtterly forbarred of all inheritaunce, albeit he haue diſpenſation from the Pope. Agaynſt which diſpenſation, is the chief grudge. Wherunto the kyng and the Lordes anſwered, ſaying, that they would prouide.

Againſt the pope his diſpenſatiōs tit. 62.

Item, in the ſayd Parliament was propounded, that the ſtatute of prouiſors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had agaynſt ſuch Cardinals, as haue, wythin the prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, By this *Anteferri* that is, premunire is ment, the Preeminẽce aboue the kyng.

The popes law of preminere, which now we corruptly call premunire, debarred by [illegible]

purchaſed reſeruations, with the clauſe of Anteferri, to the value of .xx. or .xxx. thouſand Scutes of gold agaynſt the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an Engliſhmã, and now is a mere French, reſidyng at London, and conueyeth yearely to the Pope .xx. thouſand markes, or .xx. thouſand pound. who this yeare gathereth the firſt fruites whatſoeuer. Alledgyng the meanes to meete with theſe reſeruatiõs and nouelties, are: to commaund all ſtraungers to depart the Realme duryng the warres, that no Engliſh mã to become their farmour, or do ſend to them any money without ſpeciall licence, on payne to be out of the kynges protection: Wherunto was aunſwered by the kyng, that the ſtatutes and ordinaunces therfore made, ſhould be obſerued.

Ex Actis parliamẽti in an.reg.Ed.tertij. 25.art.24.

In theſe rolles and recordes of ſuch Parliamentes as was in this kynges tyme continued, diuers other thynges are to be noted much worthy to be marked, & not to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Wherin the Reader may learne and vnderſtand, the ſtate of the kynges iuriſdiction here within this Realme, not to be ſtraightened in thoſe dayes (although the Pope then ſeemed to be in his chief ruffe) as afterward ſince in other kynges dayes was ſeene. As may appeare in the Parliamẽt of the .xv. yeare of this kyng Edward the third, and in the .14. article of the ſayd Parliament: where it is to be read, that the kynges officers and temporall Iuſtices did then both puniſh vſurers, and impeached the officers of the Church for bribery, and for takyng money for temporall payne, probate of wylles, ſolemnitie of Mariage. &c. all the pretenſed liberties of the Popiſh Church to the contrary notwithſtandyng.

Puniſhment of the clergie in the temporall mens handes.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the .15. yeare, appeareth: that the liberties of the Clergy and their exemptions in claymyng the deliueraunce of men by their booke vnder the name of Clerkes, ſtode then in litle force, as appeared by one Hauketyne Honby Knight: who for impriſonyng one of the Kynges ſubiectes, till he made fine of .xx. pound, was therfore executed, notwithſtandyng the libertie of the Clergy, which by his booke would haue ſaued hym, but could not.

Clarkes ſubiect to temporall law.

The like alſo appeared by iudgement geuen agaynſt a Prieſt at Notyngham, for killyng of his maiſter.

And likewiſe, by hangyng certaine Monkes of Combe

Ex Parlam.an.25.Ed.3.

Item, in the Parliament of the .15. yeare, by apprehendyng of I. Stratford, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and his arraynment: concernyng which his arraignement, all thyngs were committed to ſir William of Kildiſby.

The raynement of the Archb. of Cant. an.15.Ed.3. tit.49.

Beſides theſe truthes and notes of the kyngs Parliaments, wherin may appeare the toward proceedyngs of this kyng and of all his commõs agaynſt the pretenſed Church of Rome: This is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the kyng, how in the booke of the actes and rolles of the king appeareth. That the ſayd king Edward the third, ſent alſo Iohn Wickleffe, reader then of the Diuinitie lector in Oxford, with certaine other Lordes & ambaſſadours to ye duke of Millã to entreat a mariage betwene his daughter, & Leonel kyng Edwardes ſonne. By the which it is to be noted, what good will the kyng then bare to the ſayd Wickleffe, & what ſmall regard he had to the ſinfull ſea of Rome.

Iohn Wickliffe ſent with the kings Ambaſſadours by the K.

Of the which Iohn Wickleffe, becauſe we are now approched to his tyme: remaineth conſequently for our ſtory to entreate of, ſo as we haue here tofore done of other like valiaunt ſouldiours of Chriſtes Church before him.

Iohn Wickleffe.

Here beginneth the ſtory of Iohn Wickliffe.

After all theſe heretofore recited, by whõ (as ye haue heard) it pleaſed the Lord ſomethyng to worke agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome, and to weaken the pernitious ſuperſtition of the Friers. Now remaineth conſequently followyng the courſe of yeares, orderly to enter into the ſtory and tractation of Iohn Wickleffe our countreyman, and other mo of his tyme, and ſame countrey, whom the Lord (with the lyke zeale and power of ſpirite) rayſed vp here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poyſon of the Popes doctrine, and falſe Religion ſet vp by the Friers. In whoſe opinions & aſſertions, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted: yet ſuch blemiſhes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, then which directly did fight agaynſt Chriſt our Sauiour, as the popes procedyngs and the Friers did. And what Doctor or learned man hath bene from the prime age of the church, ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whom no opinion hath ſometyme ſwarued awry? And yet be the ſayd articles of his, neither in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſſe in themſelues and ſo Cardinall, as thoſe Cardinall enemies of Chriſt perchaunce do geue them out to be: if his bookes whom they aboliſhed, were remaynyng to be cõferred with thoſe blemiſhes, which they haue wraſted to the worſte, as euill will neuer ſayd the beſt.

The blemiſhes of Wickliffe made worſe then they be.

This is certaine and can not be denyed, but that he beyng the publike Reader of Diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: was for the rude tyme wherin he liued, famouſly reputed for a great Clerke, a deepe ſcholemã, and no leſſe expert in all kynde of Philoſophie. The which doth not onely appeare by his owne moſt famous and learned wrytynges and monumentes, but alſo by the confeſſion of Walden his moſt cruell and bitter enemy. who in a certain Epiſtle written vnto pope Martin the fift ſayth, that he was wonderfully aſtoniſhed at his moſt ſtrong argumentes, with the places of authoritie whiche he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reaſons. &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by ſuch as haue obſerued the order & courſe of tymes, that this Wickleffe flouriſhed about the yeare of our Lord. 1371. Edward the third raignyng in England: for thus we do finde in the Chronicles of Caxtõ. In the yeare of our Lord. 1371. (ſayth he) Edward the third, kyng of Englãd in his Parliament, was agaynſt the Popes Clergy: He willyngly harkned and gaue eare to the voyces and tales of heretickes, with certaine of his counſell: conceauyng and followyng ſiniſter opinions, agaynſt the Clergy. Wherfore (afterward) he taſted and ſuffred much aduerſitie and trouble. And not lõg after, in the yeare of our Lord (ſayth he) 1372. he wrote vnto the Byſhop of Rome, that he ſhould not by any meanes entermeddle any more ſe in his kyngdome as touchyng the reſeruation, or diſtribution of benefices: And that all ſuch Biſhops as were vnder his dominion, ſhould enioy their former and auncient libertie, and be confirmed of their metropolitanes, as hath bene accuſtomed in times paſt. &c. Thus much writeth Caxton: But as touching the iuſt number of the yeare and tyme, we will not be very curious or carefull about, at this preſent.

1371.

The tyme of Iohn Wickleffe.

1372.

This is out of all doubt, that at what tyme all the world was in moſt deſperate and vile eſtate, and that the lamentable ignoraunce and darknes of God his truth had ouerſhadowed the whole earth: This man ſtepped forth like a valiaunt champion, vnto whom it may iuſtly be applyed that is ſpoken in the booke called Eccleſiaſticus of one Simon the ſonne of Onias. Euen as the mornyng ſtarre beyng in the middeſt of a cloud, & as the Moone beyng full in her courſe, and as the bright beames of the Sunne, ſo doth he ſhyne and gliſter in the temple and Church of God.

Thus doth almighty God continually ſuccour & helpe, when all thynges are in diſpayre: beyng alwayes (accordyng to the Prophecy of the Pſalme) a helper in tyme of neede. The which thyng neuer more playnly appeared, then in theſe latter dayes and extreme age of the Church: when as the whole ſtate and condition (not onely of worldly thynges, but alſo of Religion) was ſo depraued and corrupted. That like as the diſeaſe named Lethargus amongeſt the Phiſicians, euẽ ſo the ſtate of Religion amongſt the Diuines, was paſt all mens helpe and remedy. The onely name of Chriſt remained amongeſt Chriſtians, but his true and liuely doctrine was as farre vnknowen vnto the moſt part, as his name was cõmon vnto all men. As touchyng fayth, conſolation, the end & vſe of the law, the office of Chriſt, of our impotency and weaknes, of the holy ghoſt, of the greatnes and ſtrength of ſinne, of true workes, of grace and free iuſtification of libertie of a Chriſtian man, wherein conſiſteth and reſteth the ſumme and matter of our profeſſion: there was no mention nor any word almoſt ſpokẽ of. Scripture, learnyng, & diuinitie, was knowne but vnto a few, and that in ye ſcholes onely: & there alſo turned & conuerted almoſt all into ſophiſtry. In ſtede of Peter and Paule, men occupied their tyme in ſtudying Aquinas and Scotus, and the maiſter of ſentẽce. The world leauyng and forſakyng the liuely power of Gods ſpirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and humaine traditions, wherein the whole ſcope, in a maner of all Chriſtian perfection did cõſiſte and depend. In theſe was all the hope of obteinyng ſaluation fully fixed: hereunto all thynges were attributed. In ſomuch, that ſcarſly any other thyng was ſene in the temples or Churches, taught or ſpoken of in Sermõs, or finally intended or gone about in their whole lyfe, but onely heapyng vp of certaine ſhadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was there any end of this their heapyng.

A deſcription of Wickleffes time.

The people were taught to worſhyp no other thyng but that which they did ſee, and did ſee almoſt nothyng which they did not worſhip.

The Church beyng degenerated from the true Apoſtolicke inſtitutiõ aboue all meaſure (reſeruyng onely the name of the Apoſtolicke Church, but farre from the truth therof in very dede) did fall into all kynde of extreme tyranny: Where as the pouerty and ſimplicity of Chriſt was chaunged into cruelty and abhomination of lyfe. In ſtede of the Apoſtolicke giftes and continuall labours and trauailes, ſlouthfulnes & ambition was crept in amongeſt the prieſts. Beſides all this, there aroſe and ſprōg vp a thouſand ſortes and faſhions of ſtraunge religiōs, beyng the onely roote and well head of all ſuperſtition. How great abuſes and deprauations were crept into the Sacramentes, at what tyme they were compelled to worſhyp ſimilitudes and ſignes of thynges, for the very thynges themſelues: and to adore ſuch thynges as were inſtituted and ordeined onely for memorials? Finally what thyng was there, in the whole ſtate of Chriſten religion ſo ſincere, ſo ſounde and pure, which was not defiled & ſpotted with ſome kynde of ſuperſtition? Beſides this, with how many bondes and ſnares of dayly new fangled ceremonies, the ſely conſciences of men redeemed by Chriſt to libertie, were ſnared & ſnarled? In ſomuch, that there could be no great difference almoſt perceiued betwene Chriſtianitie and Iuiſhnes, ſaue onely that the ſtate & condition of the Iewes, might ſeeme ſomwhat more tolerable, then ours. There was nothyng ſought for out of the true fountaynes, but out of the dirty puddles of the Philiſtians. The chriſtiā people were wholy caried away as it were by the noſes, with mere decrees & conſtitutions of mē, euē whether as pleaſed the byſhops to leade them, & not as Chriſtes will dyd direct them. All the whole world was filled and ouerwhelmed with errours and darknes. And no great maruell, for why the ſimple and vnlearned people beyng farre from all knowledge of the holy Scripture: thought it ſufficient inough for them, to know onely theſe thynges which were deliuered them by their paſtors and ſhepheardes, and they on the other part taught in a maner nothyng els, but ſuch thynges as came forth of the Court of Rome. Wherof the moſt part tended to the profite of their order more then to the glory of Chriſt.

All good thinges defiled & ſpoted with ſuperſtition.

The Chriſtian fayth was eſteemed or counted none other thyng thē, but that euery mā ſhould know that Chriſt once ſuffred, that is to ſay, that all men ſhould know & vnderſtād that thyng which the deuils themſelues alſo know. Hypocriſie was counted for wonderfull holynes. All men were ſo addict vnto outward ſhewes, that euen they themſelues which profeſſed the moſt abſolute & ſingular knowledge of the Scriptures, ſcarſly did vnderſtād or know any other thing. And this euidently did appeare, not onely in the common ſort of Doctours and teachers, but alſo in the very heades and captaines of the Church: whoſe whole Religion and holynes, conſiſted in a maner in the obſeruyng of dayes, meates, and garmentes, and ſuch lyke rethoricall circumſtaunces, as of place, tyme, perſon. &c. Hereof ſprang ſo many ſortes and faſhions of veſtures and garmentes: ſo many differences of colours and meates: with ſo many pilgrimages to ſeuerall places, as though S. Iames at Compoſtella could do that, which Chriſt could not do at Cāterbury: Or els that God were not of like power and ſtrength in euery place, or could not be founde but beyng ſought for by runnyng and gaddyng hether and thether. Thus the holynes of the whole yeare was tranſported and put of vnto the Lent ſeaſon. No coūtrey or land was counted holy, but onely Paleſtina, where Chriſt had walked himſelfe with his corporall feete. Such was the blindnes of yͤ tyme, men dyd ſtriue and fight for the croſſe at Hieruſalem, as it had bene for the chief and onely force and ſtrength of our fayth. It is a wonder to read the monumentes of the formore tymes, to ſee and vnderſtand what great troubles and calamities this croſſe hath cauſed almoſt in euery Chriſtian common wealth. For the Romiſh champions neuer ceaſed, by writyng, admoniſhyng, and counſailyng, yea and by quarellyng: to moue and ſtyrre vp Princes myndes to warre and battaile, euen as though the fayth & beleife of the Goſpell, were of ſmall force or litle effect without that woodē croſſe. This was the cauſe of the expedition of the moſt noble Prince K. Richard vnto Hieruſalem. Who beyng taken in the ſame iourney, and deliuered vnto the Emperour: could ſcarſly be raunſomed home agayne, for thirty M. markes. pag. 251. In the ſame enterpriſe or iourney, Fridericus the Emperour of Rome a man of moſt excellēt vertue, was much endamaged, in the ſame iourney. an. 1179. And alſo Philip the kyng of Fraunce, ſcarſly returned home agayne in ſafety, not without great loſſes: ſo much dyd they eſteme the recouery of the holy citie and croſſe.

The captaines of the church ſeduced as well as the inferiour ſort.

Paleſtina deemed holy for Chriſtes walking there.

Richard K. of England.

Fredericke the emperor of Rome.

Philip K. Fraunce.

Vpon this alone, all mens eyes, myndes, and deuotions, were ſo ſet and bent: as though either there were no other croſſe but that, or that the croſſe of Chriſt were in no other place but onely at Hieruſalē. Such was the blyndnes and ſuperſtitiō of thoſe dayes, which vnderſtoode or knew nothing but ſuch as were outwardly ſene: where as yͤ profeſſion of our religiō ſtandeth in much other higher matters and greater myſteries. What was the cauſe why that Vrbanus dyd ſo vexe and torment hymſelfe? Becauſe that Antioche with the holy croſſe, was loſt out of the handes of the Chriſtians. For ſo we do finde it in the Chronicles, at what tyme as Ieruſalem with kyng Guido, and the croſſe of our lord was taken, and vnder the power of Sultan: Vrbanus toke the matter ſo greuouſly, that for very ſorow he died. In whoſe place ſucceded Lambertus which was called Gregory the 8. by whoſe motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (ſettyng apart all riches and voluptuouſnes) they ſhould preach the croſſe of Chriſt, and by their pouerty and humility firſt of all ſhould take the croſſe vpon them, and go before others into the land of Ieruſalē. Theſe are the wordes of the hiſtory. Wherby it is euident vnto the vigilant reader, vnto what groſenes the true knowledge of the ſpirituall doctrine of the Goſpell was degenerate and growen vnto in thoſe dayes: how great blindnes & darkenes was in thoſe dayes, euen in the firſt primacy, and ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome: as though the outward ſucceſſion of Peter and the Apoſtles, had bene of greater force and effect to that matter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man ſhould labour and ſtudy with all their endeuour to follow the lyfe and confeſſion of Peter: And that mā ſeemeth vnto me to be yͤ true ſucceſſor of Peter, againſt whom the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle. For if that Peter in the Goſpell do beare the type and figure of the chriſtian church (as all men in a maner do affirme) what more fooliſh or vayne thyng can there be: then through priuate vſurpation, to reſtrayne and to bynde that vnto one man, which by the appoyntment of the Lord, is of it ſelf free and open to ſo many?

Pope Vrbanus.

Lambert Pope.

The knowledge of the Goſpell groſely expounded by the Romaniſtes.

Thus in theſe ſo great and troublous tymes and horrible darkenes of ignoraunce, what tyme there ſeemed in a maner to be no one ſo little a ſparke of pure doctrine left or remaynyng: This foreſayd Wickliffe by Gods prouidence ſprang and roſe vp: through whom, the Lord would firſt waken and rayſe vp agayne the worlde, which was ouer much drowned and whelmed in the depe ſtreams of humain traditions. Thus you haue here the tyme of Wickliffes originall.

The riſing vp of Wickliffe in a troublous tyme.

Which Wickliffe after he had now by a long tyme profeſſed diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and perceiuing the true doctrine of Chriſtes Goſpell to be adulterate and defiled with ſo many filthy inuentions of Biſhops, ſectes of monkes, and darke errours: And that he after long debatyng and deliberatyng with hymſelfe (with many ſecret ſighes and bewaylyng in hys mynde the generall ignoraunce of the whole world) could no longer ſuffer or abide the ſame but that he at the laſt, determined with hymſelfe to helpe and to remedy ſuch things as he ſaw to be wyde and out of the way. But for ſo much as he ſaw that this daungerous medlyng, could not be attempted or ſtirred without great trouble, neyther that theſe thinges which had bene ſo long tyme with vſe and cuſtome rooted and grafted in mens myndes, could not be ſodenly plucked vp or taken away, he thought with him ſelfe yͭ this matter ſhould be done by litle & litle. Wherfore he takyng his originall at ſmale occaſions, thereby opened himſelfe a way or meane to greater matters. And firſt he aſſayled his aduerſaries in logical & metaphiſical queſtions, diſputyng wͭ them of the firſt forme and faſhiō of thinges, of the increaſe of time, and of the intelligible ſubſtāce of a creature, wͭ other ſuch like ſophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithſtanding did not a litle helpe and furniſh him, which minded to diſpute of greater matters. So in theſe matters, firſt began Kenyngham (a Carmelite) to diſpute and argue agaynſt Iohn Wickliffe.

Wickliffe a deuine in Oxford

By theſe originals, the way was made vnto greater poyntes, ſo that at the length he came to touch the matters of the ſacramentes, and other abuſes of the Church. Touchyng which thinges this holy man tooke great paynes, proteſtyng (as they ſayd) openly in the ſchooles, that it was hys chiefe and principall purpoſe and intent: to reuoke and call backe the Church from her Idolatry to ſome better amendment, eſpecially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. But this byle or ſore could not be touched without the great griefe and payne of the whole world. For firſt of all, the whole glut of Monkes and beggyng Friers were ſet on a rage or madnes, which (euen as Hornets with their ſharpe ſtinges) did aſſayle this good man on euery ſide: fightyng (as is ſayd) for their aultars, paunches and bellies. After them the prieſtes, and then after them the Archb. toke the matter in hand beyng then S. Sudbury, who for the ſame cauſe depriued him of

Wickliffe depriued of hys benefice at Oxford by S. Sudbery. *Ex Chro. D. Albani.*

his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwithſtãding he beyng ſomwhat frended and ſupported by the kyng, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the Archb. all this while of his firſt beginnyng, till about the yeare of our Lord. 1377. After which tyme now to proſecute likewyſe of his trauailes and conflict, firſt I muſt fetch about a little compaſſe, as requiſite is, to inferre ſome mention of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter the kynges ſonne, and lord Henry Percy, which were his ſpecial maintayners.

Duke of Lancaſter. & Lord H. Percy, great maintayners of I. Wickliffe.

As yeares and tyme grew on, kyng Edward the third, which had reigned now about 51. yeares, after the deceaſe of prince Edward his ſonne, who departed the yere before: was ſtroken in great age, and in ſuch feblenes withall, that he was vnweldy through lacke of ſtrength to gouerne the affaires of the realme. Wherfore, a parliament beyng called the yere before hys death, it was there put vp by yͤ knightes and other the burgeſſes of the Parliament (becauſe of the miſgouernment of the realme by certaine gredy perſons about the kyng, rakyng all to themſelues, without ſeyng any iuſtice done) that 12. ſage and diſcrete Lordes and Peeres, ſuch as were free frõ note of all auarice, ſhould be placed as tutors about the kyng, to haue the doyng & diſpoſing vnder him (vj. at one time, & in their abſẽce vj. at an other) of matters pertinent to the publique regimẽt. Here by the way I omit to ſpeake of Alice Perris the wicked harlotte, which (as the ſtory geueth) had bewitched the kynges hart, & gouerned all & ſate vpon cauſes her ſelfe through the diueliſh helpe of a Frier Dominicke: who by the Duke of Lancaſter was cauſed to be take, and was conuicted, and ſhould haue ſuffred for the ſame, had not the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Friers (more regardyng the liberty of their Church, then the puniſhyng of vice) reclaymed hym for theyr owne priſoner. This Alice Perrys, notwithſtãdyng ſhe was baniſhed by this Parliament from the kyng, yet afterward ſhe came agayne, & left him not: till at his death ſhe tooke all his ringes vpon his fingers and other iewels from him, and ſo fled away like an harlot. But this of her by the way.

Alice Perris, the kings concubine. The K. bewitched by a womã thorough the helpe of a Frier.

The propertie of an whore.

12. Gouernours aſſigned about the kyng.

These 12. gouernours by the parliament aforeſayd beyng appointed to haue the tuition of the kyng, and to attẽd to the publike affaires of the realme: remained for a certaine ſpace about hym, till afterward it ſo fell out, that they being agayne remoued, all the regiment of the realme next vnder the kyng, was committed to the Duke of Lancaſter the kings ſonne. For as yet Richard the ſonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very yong and vnder age.

Ex Chron. Monaſterij Albani.

This Duke of Lancaſter had in his hart of long tyme conceyued a certayne diſpleaſure agaynſt the popiſh clergy: whether for corrupt and impure doctrine ioyned with like abhominable exceſſe of lyfe, or for what ſome other cauſe, it is not preciſely expreſſed. Only by ſtory yͤ cauſe therof may be geſſed to riſe by William Wickam biſhop of Wincheſter. The matter is this.

A practiſe of the prelates agaynſt the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter (as the ſaying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foreſayd Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, was not the ſonne of king Edward nor of the Quene. Who being in trauail at Gaunt, had no ſonne (as he ſayd) but a daughter: which the ſame tyme by lying vpon of the mother in the bed, was there ſmothered. Wherupon, the Quene fearyng the kinges diſpleaſure, cauſed a certayne manchild of a woman of Flaunders (borne the very ſame tyme) to be conueyed and brought vnto her in ſtead of her daughter aforeſayd. And ſo brought vp the child whõ ſhe bare not, who now is called Duke of Lancaſter. And this (ſayd the Biſhop) did the Queene tell hym, lying in extremes on her deathbed vnder ſeale of confeſſion: chargyng him if the ſaid duke ſhould euer aſpire to get yͤ crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes ſhould fall vnto hym, he then ſhould manifeſt the ſame, and declare it to the world, that the ſaid Duke of Lancaſter was no part of the kinges bloud, but a falſe heyre of the kyng. This ſlaunderous report of the wicked biſhop, as it ſauoureth of a contumelious lie, ſo ſemeth it to procede of a ſubtile zeale toward the popes religion, meanyng falſehood. For that the foreſayd duke by fauouring of Wickliffe, declared himſelfe to be a profeſſed enemy againſt the Popes profeſſion. Which thing was then not vnknowen, neyther vnmarked of the Prelates and biſhops then in England. But the ſequele of the ſtory thus followed.

This ſlaunderous vilany of the Byſhops reporte being blaſed abroad, and comming to the Dukes eare: hee therewith being not a litle diſcõtẽted (as no maruel was) ſought agayne by what meanes he could, to bee reuenged of thys forenamed Byſhop. In concluſion, the Duke hauing now all the gouernment of the realme vnder the king his father, in his owne hand: ſo purſued the biſhop of Wincheſter, that by acte of parlyament he was condemned and depryued of al his temporall goods, which goods were aſſigned to prince Richard of Burdeux, the next inheritour of the crown after the king, and furthermore inhibyted the ſayd byſhop not to approch nere to the court by xx. miles. Further as touching this byſhop, the ſtory thus proceedeth. Not long after in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1377. a Parliament was called by the meanes of the Duke of Lancaſter, vpon certayne cauſes & reſpectes: in which parliament great requeſt, and ſute was made by the clergy, for the deliuerance of the biſhop of Wincheſter. At length when a ſubſidie was aſked in the kings name of the clergy, & requeſt alſo made in the kings behalfe for ſpedy expedition to be made for yͤ diſſoluyng of the Parliamẽt: The Archb. therfore accordingly, conuented yͤ Biſhops for yͤ tractatiõ therof. To whõ the B. with great lamentation cõplained for lack of their felow & brother B. of Winc. whoſe iniury ſaid they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: And therfore denied to ioyne thẽſelues in tractation of any ſuch matters, before all the members together were vnited with the head: And (ſeyng the matter touched them altogether in cõmon, as wel hym as thẽ) would not otherwiſe do. And ſemed moreouer to be moued againſt yͤ archb. for that he was not more ſtout in the cauſe, but ſuffered hym ſo to be cited of the Duke.

W. Wickham B. of Winc. depriued.

Byſhops holde together.

Liberties of the Church a great matter.

B. of Winc. ſent for to the conuocation.

The Archb. although hauyng ſufficient cauſe to excuſe himſelfe, wherfore not to ſend for hym (as alſo he dyd) becauſe of the perils which might enſue therof: yet beyng enforced and perſuaded therunto, by the importunitie of the biſhops, directed downe his letters to the foreſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter, willyng hym to reſort vnto the conuocation of the Clergy. Who beyng glad to obey the ſame, was receiued with great ioy of yͤ other biſhops. And at lẽgth by yͤ meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramour, aboue mẽtioned, (geuyng to her a good quantitie of money) the ſayd Wincheſter was reſtored to his temporalities agayne.

I. Wickliffe ſent for by the Duke of Lancaſter.

As the Biſhops had thus ſent for Wincheſter, yͤ duke in the meane tyme had ſent for Iohn Wickliffe: who as is ſayd, was then the diuinitie reader in Oxford, and had commenced in ſondry actes and diſputations, contrary to the forme and teachyng of the Popes church in many thinges: who alſo for the ſame had bene depriued of his benefice, as hath bene afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, firſt in his lectures, and ſermons to entreat of, and wherfore he was depriued were theſe. That the Pope had no more power, to excommunicate any man, then hath an other. That if it be geuen by any perſon to the Pope to excõmunicate, yet to abſolue the ſame is as much in the power of an other prieſt, as in his. He affirmed moreouer, that neither the king nor any temporall Lord could geue any perpetuitie to the church, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon: for that when ſuch eccleſiaſticall do ſinne, *habitualiter*, continuyng in the ſame ſtill, the temporall powers ought and may meritoriouſly, take away from them, that before hath bene beſtowed vpon them. And that he proued, to haue bene practiſed before here in Englãd by William Rufus. Which thing (ſayd he) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame alſo be practiſed now? if he did it vnlawfully, then doth the church erre (ſaith he) and doth vnlawfully in praying for him. But of his aſſertions more ſhall follow (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. The ſtory which aſcribeth to hym theſe aſſertions beyng taken out (as I take it) of the monaſtery of S. Albõs addeth withall: that in his teachyng and preaching he was very eloquent, but a diſſembler (ſayth he) and an hypocrite. Why he ſurmiſeth hym to be an hypocrite, the cauſe was this:

Example of W. Rufus.

Ex hiſto. Monaſtery D. Albani.

First, becauſe he reſorted muche to the orders of the beggyng Friers, frequentyng and extolling the perfection of their pouertie.

Secondly, becauſe he and his fellowes vſually accuſtomed in their preaching to go barefoote, and in ſimple ruſſet gownes.

By this I ſuppoſe, may ſufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from yͤ ambition & pride, which in the ſlãderous pen of Polidore Vergil, reportyng in his xix. booke of him, yͤ becauſe he was not preferred to higher honours and dignities of the Church (conceauing therfore indignation againſt the clergie) became their mortall enemie. How true thys was, he only knoweth beſt, that rightly ſhall iudge both the one and the other.

The ſlaunderous penne of Polydore.

In the meane time, by other circumſtãcies & partes of hys life, we may alſo partly cõiecture what is to be thought of yͤ mã. But how ſoeuer it was in him either true or falſe: yet it had bene Polidors part, either not ſo intemperatly to haue abuſed his pen, or at leaſt to haue ſhewed ſome greater

Wickliffe falſely charged with ambition by Polydore.

ter authoritie and ground of that hys report. For to follow nothyng els but flying fame, ſo raſhely to diffame a man whoſe lyfe he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful ſtory writer.

Wickliffe beginneth to touch the matter of the ſacramēt.

The latter writers of the Church to be miſdoubted.

The accidences not to be in the ſacrament without the ſubſtaunce.

But to returne from whence we digreſſed. Beſide theſe hys opinions and aſſertions aboue recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to be brought in order: He beganne alſo then ſomethyng nerely to touche the matter of the Sacrament, prouyng that in the ſayd Sacrament, the accidences of bread remayned not without the ſubiect, or ſubſtaunce: both by the holy Scriptures, and alſo by the authoritie of the doctors, but ſpecially by ſuch as were moſt auncient. As for the latter writers, that is to ſay ſuch as haue written vpon that argument vnder the thouſand yeres ſince Chriſtes tyme, he vtterly refuſed: ſaying, that after theſe yeres Sathan was loſed and ſet at liberty. And that ſince ẏ time the lyfe of man hath bene moſt ſubiect and in daunger of errours: the ſimple and playne truth to appeare and conſiſt in the Scriptures, wherunto all humaine traditions what ſoeuer they be, muſt be referred, and ſpecially ſuch as are ſet forth and publiſhed now of late yeares. This was the cauſe why he refuſed the latter writers of decretals, leaning onely to the Scriptures & auncient doctors: moſt ſtoutly affirmyng out of them that in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrate, with bread the accidence not to be preſent without the ſubſtaunce. That is to ſay, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent without the bread, as the common ſort of Prieſtes in thoſe dayes did dreame. As for hys argumentes what they were: we will ſhortly at more opportunitie by Gods grace, declare them in an other place. But herein the truth (as the Poet ſpeaketh very truly) had gotten Iohn Wickliffe great diſpleaſure and hatred, at many mens handes: and ſpecially of the Monkes and richeſt ſort of Prieſts.

1376.

Wickliffe cited to appeare before the biſhops.

Albeit through the fauour and ſupportation of ẏ duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henry Percy, he perſiſted hitherto in ſome meane quiet agaynſt their woluiſh violence & cruelty: Till at laſt about the yeare of our Lord. 1376. the biſhops ſtill vrgyng and incityng their Archbiſhop Symon Sudbery, who before had depriued hym, and afterward prohibited hym alſo not to ſtirre any more in thoſe ſortes of matters: had obtayned by proceſſe and order of citation to haue hym brought before them. Wherunto both place and tyme for hym to appeare after their vſuall forme was to hym aſſigned.

The Duke hauyng intelligence, that Wickliffe his client ſhould come before the Biſhops, fearyng that he being but one, was to weake agaynſt ſuch a multitude: calleth to hym out of the orders of Friers, foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, out of euery order one, to ioyne them with Wickliffe alſo for more ſuretie. When the day was come aſſigned to the ſayd Wickliffe to appeare, which day was Thurſday, the xix. of February: Iohn Wickliffe accompanied wyth the foure Friers aforeſayd, and with them alſo the Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marſhall of England, the ſayd Lord Percy alſo goyng before them to make roume and way where Wickliffe ſhould come.

Ex hiſt. Monachi. D. Albani ex accommodato D. Math. Archiepiſ. Cant.

Thus Wickliffe (through the prouidence of God) being ſufficiently garded, was commyng to the place, where the Biſhops ſate: whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor ſhrinke a whit at the company of the biſhops there preſent, who were all vnlearned (ſayd they) in reſpect of hym. For ſo procede the wordes of my foreſayd author, whom I follow in this narration: neyther that he ſhould dread the concourſe of the people, whom they would themſelues aſſiſt and defend, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould take no harme. With theſe wordes, and with this aſſiſtaunce of the nobles: Wickliffe in hart encouraged, approcheth to the church of S. Paule in London. Where a mayne preaſe of people was gathered to heare, what ſhould be ſayd & done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the Lordes (for all ẏ puiſſance of the high Marſhall) vnneth with great difficultie could get way through. In ſo much, that the biſhop of London (whoſe name was William Courtney) ſeyng the ſtirre that the lord Marſhall kept in the church, among the people, ſpeakyng to the Lord Percy, ſayd: that if he had known before what maſtries he would haue kept in the church, he would haue ſtopped hym out, from commyng there.

Striuing for the Lords to paſſe by the people.

W. Courtney Biſhop of London.

The words of the B. of London to the L. Percy.

At which wordes of the Byſhop, the Duke diſdaynyng not a little, aunſwered to the Byſhoppe agayne, and ſayd: that he would keepe ſuch maſterie there, though he ſayd nay.

At laſt after much wraſtlyng they pierced through and came to our Ladies chappell. Where the Duke and Barons were ſittyng together with the Archbiſhops and other Biſhops. Before whom the foreſayd Iohn Wickliff accordyng to the maner, ſtode before them, to know what ſhould be ſayd vnto hym. To whom firſt ſpake the Lord Percy, bidding him to ſit downe, ſaying: that he had many thinges to anſwer to, and therfore had nede of ſome ſofter ſeat. But the biſhop of London caſt eftſoones into a fumiſh chafe by thoſe wordes ſayd: he ſhould not ſit there. Neither was it ſayd he, accordyng to law or reaſon, that he which was cited there to appeare to aunſwer before his ordinary, ſhould ſit downe during the tyme of his aunſwer, but ſhould ſtād. Vpon theſe words a fire began to heat and kindle betwene them. In ſo much that they began to rate and to reuile one the other, that the whole multitude therwith diſquieted, began to be ſet on a hurrey.

Iohn Wickliffe bid to ſit downe before the byſhops.

Wickliffe denyed by the Byſhop of London to ſit downe.

Strife betwene the L. Marſhall and B. of Lōdō. The people ſet in a ſtirre.

Strife betwene the Duke of Lācaſter and biſhop of London.

The B. ouergoeth the Duke in ſcoulding.

This B. of London was Williā Courtney, ſonne to the Earle of Deuonſhyre.

The Duke threateneth to draw out their B. by the heare out of the Church.

Londiners take part wyth their Byſhop.

Then the Duke takyng the Lord Percies part wyth haſty wordes began alſo to take vp the biſhop. To whome the Biſhop agayne nothyng inferiour in reprochful checkes and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought: but alſo did ſo farre excell him in this railing arte of ſcoldyng, that to vſe the words of myne author, Erubuit Dux quòd non potuit preualere litigio. i. that the duke bluſhed and was aſhamed, becauſe he could not ouerpaſſe the Biſhop in brawlyng and raylyng, and therefore fell to playne threatning, manaſing ẏ Biſhop, that he would bring downe the pride not onely of him, but alſo of all the prelacie of England: And ſpeakyng moreouer vnto hym: Thou (ſayd he) beareſt thy ſelfe ſo brag vpon thy parentes, which ſhall not be able to helpe thee: They ſhall haue enough to do to helpe themſelues. For hys parentes were the Earle and counteſſe of Deuonſhire. To whom the Biſhop again aunſwered, that to be bold to tell truth, hys confidence was not in hys parentes, nor in any man els, but onely in God in whom he truſted. Then the duke ſoftly whiſperyng in the eare of hym next by him, ſayd that he would rather plucke out the Biſhop by the heyre of hys head out of the church, then he would take this at hys hand. This was not ſpoke ſo ſecretly, but that the Londiners ouerheard hym. Wherupon beyng ſet in a rage, they cried out, ſaying: that they would not ſuffer their biſhop ſo contemptuouſly to be abuſed. But rather they would looſe theyr lyues, then that he ſhould ſo be drawen out by the heyre. Thus that Councell beyng broken with ſcoldyng and brawlyng for that day, was diſſolued before ix. of the clocke. And the Duke wyth the Lord Percy went to the Parliament. Where the ſame day before diner a bill was put vp in the name of the Kyng by the Lord Thomas Woſtocke, and Lord Henry Percy, that the Citie of London ſhould no more be gouerned by a Mayor, but by a Captaine, as in tymes before. And that the Marſhall of England ſhould haue all the ado in taking the Arreſtes within the ſayd city, as in other cities beſide, with other petitions mo, tendyng to the lyke derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill beyng read, ſtandeth vp Iohn Philpot burgeſſe then for the City, ſaying to them which read the bill, that that was neuer ſene ſo before: and adding moreouer that the Mayor would neuer ſuffer any ſuch things or other areſt to be brought into the city, with mo ſuch wordes of like ſtoutnes.

Petitions put vp in the Parliament againſt the Citie of London.

Haſty counſaile of the Lōdiners.

The next day following, the Londiners aſſembled thēſelues in a councell, to conſider among them vpon the bil for chaūging the Mayor, and about the office of the Marſhal, alſo concernyng the iniuries done the daye before to their Biſhop.

In which meane tyme they beyng buſie in long conſultation of this matter, ſodenly and vnawares entred in ẏ place two certaine Lordes, whether to come to ſpy, or for what other cauſe the author leaueth it vncertaine, the one called Lord Fyzwalter: the other Lord Guy Brian. At the firſt commyng in of them, the vulgare ſort was ready forthwith to flee vppon them, as ſpies, had not they made their proteſtation with an othe, declaryng that their cōmyng in was for no harme toward them. And ſo were compelled by the citizens to ſweare to the city their truth and fidelitie, contrary to the which othe if they ſhould rebell, contented to forfeit whatſoeuer goodes and poſſeſſiōs they had within the citie.

The Oration of Lord Fyzwalter to the Londiners.

This done, then began the Lord Fyzwalter in this wiſe to perſwade and exhort the citizens: firſt declaryng how he was bound and obliged to them and to their Citie, not for the othe onely now newly receyued, but of olde and auncient good wyll from hys great graundfathers tyme. Beſide other diuers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principall fautors: for ſo much as what ſoeuer tended to theyr damage and detriment, redounded alſo no leſſe vnto hys owne, for which cauſe he could not otherwyſe chuſe, but that as he did vnderſtand to be attempted agaynſt the publike profite and liberties of the Citie, he muſt nedes communicate the ſame to them. who vnleſſe they with ſpedy circumſpection do occurre and preuent perils that may and are like to enſue, it would turne in yͤ ende to their no ſmale incommoditie. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligēce, ſo one thyng there was, which he could in no wiſe but admoniſh them of: which was this, neceſſary to be conſidered of them all, how the Lord Marſhall Henry Percy in hys place within himſelf had one in ward and cuſtody, whither with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the ſayd lord Marſhall was not alowed any ſuch ward or priſon in his houſe, within the liberties of the city. Which thyng if it be not ſene to in tyme, the example therof being ſuffered, would in fine bread to ſuch a preiudice vnto their cuſtoms and liberties, as they ſhould not hereafter, when they would reforme the iniurie therof.

The Citizens of London breake vp the L. Percies houſe at Sauoy.

These wordes of the Lord Fizwalter were not ſo ſone ſpoken, but they were as ſoone taken of the raſhe citizens, who in all haſty fury running to their armour and weapōs, went incontinently to the houſe of the Lord Percy, where breakyng vp the gates, by violence they toke out the priſoner, and burned the ſtockes wherin he ſate, in the midſt of London. Then was the Lord Percy ſought for (whome ſayth the ſtory) they would doubtleſſe haue ſlayne if they might haue found him. With their bils and iauelins, all corners and priuy chambers wer ſearched, beds and hangings torne a ſunder. But the Lord Percy (as God would) was then with the Duke, whom one John yper the ſame day with great inſtance had deſired to dinner. The Londiners not findyng hym at home, and ſuppoſing that he was wyth the Duke at Sauoy, in all haſty heate turned their power thither, runnyng as faſt as they could to the Dukes houſe. Where alſo in lyke manner they were diſappointed of theyr cruell purpoſe. In the meane while as this was doyng, commeth one of the dukes men runnyng poſt haſt, to the duke & to the Lord Percy, declaryng what was done. The Duke beyng then at his oyſters, without any further taryng, and alſo breakyng both hys ſhinnes at the forme for haſte, tooke boate with the Lorde Percy, and by water went to Kingſton, where thē the princeſſe with Richard the young Prince did lye. Who there declared vnto the princeſſe all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the Londiners as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed agayne, ſuch an order to be taken in the matter, as ſhould be to his contentation. At what tyme the commons of London, thus, as is ſayd, were about the dukes houſe at Sauoy, meteth with them a certaine prieſt, who maruelyng at the ſodain rage & concourſe, aſked what they ſought. To whome aunſwer was geuen agayne of ſome, that they ſought for the Duke and Lorde Marſhall, to haue of them the Lord Peter de la Mare, whō they wrongfully had deteined in priſon. To this the Prieſt aunſwered agayne more boldly then opportunely. That Peter (ſayd he) is a falſe traytour to the Kyng, and worthy long ſince to be hanged. At the hearing of theſe wordes, the furious people with a terrible ſhoute cryed out vpon hym, that he was a traytour, and one that toke the Dukes part and ſo fallyng vppon hym with their weapons ſtriued who might firſt ſtrike at hym. Who after they had wounded hym very ſore, ſo beyng wounded they had hym into priſon, where within few dayes vpon the ſorenes of his woundes he dyed.

Gods prouiſion in ſauing hys ſeruauntes.

The houſe of the Duke of Lancaſter ſearched of the Londiners.

The Duke and L. Percy flye to the Prince.

A prieſt in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe cruelly killed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus haue ceaſed had not the biſhop of London leauing his diner come to thē at Sauoy, and putting them in remembrance of the bleſſed tyme (as they terme it) of Lent, had perſwaded thē to ceaſe and to be quiet.

The villany of the Londiners agaynſt the Duke.

The Londiners ſeyng that they could get no vauntage agaynſt the Duke: who was without their reach: To wreake their anger they toke his armes, which in moſt deſpitefull wiſe, they hanged vp in the open places of the citie, in ſigne of reproch, as for a traitour. In ſo much that when one of his gentlemen came through the city with a plate cōteining the dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his neck: the citizens not abiding the ſight therof, caſt him from hys horſe, and pluckt his ſcutchine from hym, & were about to worke yͤ extremitie againſt him, had not the Mayor reſcued him out of their handes, and ſent him home ſafe vnto yͤ duke his maiſter. In ſuch hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of London.

The meſſage of the princeſſe to the Londiners.

After this, the princeſſe vnderſtanding the hartes and broyle of the Londiners ſet agaynſt the foreſayd duke, ſent vnto London 3. Knightes, ſir Albred Lewer, ſir Symon Burle, and ſir Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The Londiners anſwered: that they for yͤ honor of the princeſſe, would obey and do with all reuerence, what ſhe would require. But this they required and enioyned the meſſengers to ſay to the Duke, by worde of mouth, that he ſhould ſuffer the biſhop of Wincheſter aforementioned and alſo the Lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their aunſwer, and to be iudged by theyr pieres. Wherby either they might be quite if they were giltles: or otherwiſe, if they be found culpable, they might receyue accordyng to their deſertes after the lawes of the realme. What grief and diſpleaſure the Duke conceyued and reteyned in his mynde hereof: Agayne what meanes and ſute the Londiners for theyr part made to the olde kyng for their liberties: What rymes and ſonges in London, were made againſt the duke: How the biſhops at the dukes requeſt were moued to excommunicate thoſe malitious ſlaunderers: And moreouer, how the duke at laſt was reuenged of thoſe contumelies & iniuries: How he cauſed them to be brought before yͤ king: How ſharpely they were rebuked for theyr miſdemeanour, by the worthy oration of the Lord Chamberlayne, Robert Aſton in the preſence of the kyng, Archbiſhops, Byſhops, with diuers other ſtates, the kings children, and other nobilities of the realme: In concluſion, how the Londiners were compelled to this at length, by the common aſſent, & publike charges of the city, to make a great taper of ware, which with the Dukes armes ſet vpon it, ſhould be broght with ſolemne proceſſion to the church of S. Paule, there to burne continually before the Image of our Lady: And at laſt, how both the ſayd Duke and the Londiners were reconciled together, in the beginnyng of the new kyng, wyth the kiſſe of peace, and the ſame reconcilement publikely denounced in the church of Weſtminſter, and what ioy was in the whole city thereof: Theſe becauſe they are impertinent, & make to long a digreſſion from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut of with breuitie, referryng the reader to other hiſtories, namely of S. Albones, where they are to be founde at large.

The Duke reuenged of the Londiners.

The Londiners cauſed to beare a Taper of waxe in proceſſion, in honour of the Duke.

A ſtory of the Byſhop of Norwich.

Example of pride in the popes clergie.

As theſe aforeſayd for breuitie ſake I paſſe ouer, ſo will I not be long and yet cannot omitte that, which happened the ſame tyme and yeare, to the biſhop of Norwige, to the intent that this poſteritie now may ſee, to what pryde the clergy then of the Popes church was grown to. The ſame tyme as this broyle was at Londō, the biſhop of Norwige a little after the tyme of Eaſter commyng to the towne of Lennam, belongyng to his Lordſhip: beyng not contented with the old accuſtomed honour due vnto hym, and vſed of hys predeceſſours before in the ſame towne, required moreouer with a new and vnuſed kynd of magnificēce to be exalted: In ſo much, that when he ſaw the chiefe Magiſtrate or Mayor of that towne to go in the ſtretes with his officer goyng before hym, holding a certayne wande in hys hande tipped at both endes with blacke horne, as the maner was: He reputyng himſelf to be Lord of that towne (as he was) and thinking to be higher then the higheſt, commaunded yͤ honour of that ſtaffe due to the Mayor, to be yelded & borne before his lordly perſonage: The Mayor or Bayliffe, with other the townesmen, courteouſly aunſwered to him again: that they were right willyng and contented with all theyr hartes to exhibite that reuerence vnto hym, and would ſo do, if he firſt of the kyng and counſail could obtayne that cuſtome, and if the ſame might be induced after any peaceable way with the good wils of the commons and body of the towne: Other els, ſaid they, as the matter was dangerous ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch new alteratiō of ancient cuſtomes and liberties, leaſt the people (which is alwayes inclinable and prone to euill) do fall vpon thē wyth ſtones, and driue them out of the towne. Wherfore kneelyng on their knees before hym, humbly they beſought him, that he would require no ſuch thing of them: that he would ſaue hys owne honor and their lyues, who otherwiſe if he intended that way, were in great danger. But yͤ Biſhop youthfull and hauty, taking occaſion by their humblenes, to ſwell the more in hymſelf, anſwered that he would not be taught by their counſaile, but that he would haue it done, though all the commons (whom he named Ribals) ſaid nay. Alſo rebuked the Mayor and his brethren for mecockes and daſtards, for ſo fearyng the vulgar ſort of people.

The courteſie of the townesmen toward the Byſhop.

The ſtout anſwere of the biſhop to the townſhip.

The citizens perceiuing the wilfull ſtoutnes of the Biſhop, meekly anſwering again, ſayd, they minded not to reſiſt him, but to let him do therin what he thought good, onely deſired him that he would licence them to departe, and holde them excuſed for not wayting vpon him, and conductyng hym out of the towne wyth that reuerence which hee requyred. For if they ſhould be ſeene in his companye, all the ſuſpicion thereof would be vpon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in daunger, ſo much as their liues were worth. The biſhop not regarding theyr aduiſe and counſaile, commaūded one of his men to take yͤ rod borne before yͤ Maior, and to carry the ſame before him, which being done, and perceiued of the commons: the Biſhop after that maner went not farre, but the rude people running to ſhutte the gates, came out with their bowes, ſome with clubbes and ſtaues, ſome with other inſtruments, ſome with ſtones, & let driue at the Biſhop and his men, as faſt as they might: in ſuch ſort, that both ẏ biſhop and his horſe vnder him with moſt part of his mē were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this ioly prelate, ruffling in hys new ſcepter, was receiued and welcomed there. That is, was ſo pelted with battes and ſtones, ſo wounded with arrowes and other inſtruments fit for ſuch a ſkirmiſh, that the moſt part of his men, with his mace bearer, and all running away frō him, the poore wounded biſhop was there left alone, not able to kepe his olde power, which went about to vſurpe a new power more then to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true ſtill, ſo is it well exemplified here, which is cōmonly ſayd, and as it is commonly ſeene, that pride will haue a fall, and power vſurped will neuer ſtand. In like maner if the citizens of Rome, followyng the example of theſe Lēnam men, as they haue the lyke cauſe, and greater to do, by the vſurped power of their Biſhop, would after the ſame ſauce handle the Pope, and vnſcepter him of his mace and regalitie which nothing perteyneth to him: They in ſo doyng both ſhould recouer their owne liberties, with more honour at home, and alſo win much more cōmendation abroad Ex chron. mon. D. Albani.

The towne of Lennam ryſeth agaynſt the Byſhop.

Pride wyll haue a fall. Power vſurped will neuer ſtand.

The vſurped power of the pope would haue a bridle.

This tragedy with all the partes therof, beyng thus ended at Lennam, which was little after Eaſter (as is ſaid) about the month of Aprill. an. 1377. the ſame yere, vpon the 21. day of the month of Iune next after, dyed the worthy and victorious prince king Edward the 3. after he had raigned yeres 51. a Prince no more aged in yeres then renowmed, for many ſingular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſingular mekenes and clemency toward hys ſubiects and inferiours, rulyng them by gentlenes and mercy, without all rigour or auſtere ſeueritie. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthely and copiouſly ſet forth of many, thus he is deſcribed of ſome, which may briefly ſuffice for the comprehenſion of all the reſt. Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris condolens, oppreſſos releuans, & cunctis indigētibus impēdens auxilia opportuna. That is, To the orphans he was as a father, compacient to the afflicted, mournyng with the miſerable, releuyng the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted an helper in tyme of nede. &c. But chiefly aboue all other thinges, in this prince to be commemorate, in my mind is this: that he aboue all other kinges of this realme vnto ẏ tyme of K. Henry 8. was the greateſt bridler of the Popes vſurped power and outragious oppreſſiōs during all the time of which king, neither the Pope could greatly preuaile in this realme, & alſo Ihon Wickleffe was mainteined with fauour and aide ſufficient.

1377.

The death of K. Edward.

The commēdation of K. Edward.

King Richard the ſecond.

K. Richard 2.

After K. Edward 3. ſucceeded his ſonnes ſonne Richard the 2. beyng yet but yong, of the age of eleuen yeares: who in the ſame yeare of his fathers deceaſe with great pompe and ſolemnitie was crowned at Weſtminſter, an. 1377. who following his fathers ſteps, was no great diſfauorer of the doctrine and way of Wickliffe: albeit at the firſt beginnyng, partly through the iniquitie of time, partly through the Popes letters, he could not doe that he would. Notwithſtanding ſome thing he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in the end hee had thanke for of the Papiſtes, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appeare. But as times doe chaunge, ſo changeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of men. The byſhops ſeeing now the aged king to bee taken away, during ẏ time of whoſe olde age all the gouernment of the Realm depended vpon the Duke of Lancaſter. And now the ſayd byſhops agayne ſeeing the ſayde Duke, with the Lord Percy, the Lord marſhal to geue ouer their offices, and to remaine in their priuate houſes without intermedlinge, thought now the time to ſerue them, to haue ſome vauntage agaynſt Ihon Wickliffe, who hetherto vnder the protection of the foreſayd Duke, and Lord Marſhall had ſome reſt and quiet. Cōcernyng the ſtory of which Wickliffe, I truſt (gentle reader) it is not out of thy memory what wēt before. pag. 423. col. 2. how he beyng broght before the biſhops, by the meanes of the duke and lord Henry Percy, the councell was interrupted, and brake vp before ix. of the clocke. By reaſon wherof, Wickliffe at that tyme eſcaped without any further trouble. Who notwithſtandyng being by the Byſhops forbyd to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his felowes goyng barefoote, and in long friſe gownes preaching diligentlye vnto the people. Out of whoſe ſermons theſe articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

The byſhops take vauntage of tyme.

The firſt article collected out of Wickliffes ſermons.

That the holy Euchariſt after the conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figurally.

That the church of Rome, is not the head of all Churches more then any other Church is: Nor that Peter hath any more power geuen of Chriſt, then any other Apoſtle hath.

Item, that the Pope of Rome hath no more in the keyes of the Church, then hath any other within the order of Prieſthode.

Item, if God be: the Lordes temporall may lawfullye and meretoriouſly take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall Lord do know the Church ſo offending, he is bound vnder payne of damnation, to take the temporalities from the ſame.

Item, that the Goſpell is a rule ſufficient of it ſelfe to rule the life of euery Chriſtyan man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules vnder whoſe obſeruances diuers religious perſons be gouerned, do adde no more perfection to the goſpell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the Pope nor any other Prelate of the church, ought to haue priſons wherein to puniſh tranſgreſſours.

Beſide theſe articles, diuers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of his writinges and preachinges by the biſhops of England, which they ſent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome: where the ſayd articles being red and peruſed, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by 23. Cardinals.

The articles of Iohn Wickliffe ſent to the pope. Pope Gregory the xi.

In the meane tyme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſendyng forth his citations, as is aforeſayd: called before him ẏ ſayd Iohn Wickliffe in the preſence of the Duke of Lencaſter and lord Percy, who vpon the declaration of ẏ Popes letters made, bound hym to ſilence, forbiddyng hym not to entreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbaunce of the Biſhop of London and the Duke, and lord Percy that matter was ſoone diſpatched, as hath bene aboue recorded, pag. 423. And all this was done, in ẏ dayes & laſt yeare of kyng Edward the third, and Pope Gregory the eleuenth.

Wickliffe called before the Archbiſhop of Cant.

The next yeare followyng, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1378. being the firſt yeare of king Richard the ſecond. The ſayd Pope Gregory taking his tyme, after the death of king Edward, ſendeth his Bull by the handes & meanes (peraduenture) of one maiſter Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the vniuerſity of Oxford, rebukyng them ſharply, imperiouſly and like a Pope, for ſuffring ſo long the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe to take roote, and not pluckyng it vp with the crooked ſickle of their Catholicke doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited vnto their handes, by the Popes meſſenger aforeſayd: the Proctors and maiſters of the Vniuerſitie ioyning together in conſultation ſtood long in doubt deliberatyng with themſelues, whether to receyue the Popes Bull with honour, or to refuſe and reiecte it with ſhame.

An. 1378.

Edmund Stafford bringer of the popes Bull.

The maſters of Oxford doubt whether to receiue or reiecte the popes bull.

I cannot here but laugh in my minde to behold the authors of this ſtory whom I folow: what exclamations, what wonderinges and maruels, they make at theſe Oxford men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo playne, ſo manifeſt of it ſelfe, (as they ſay) whether the popes bul ſent to them frō Rome was to be receaued or contrary. Which thing to our monkiſh wryters ſeemed then ſuch a prodigious woonder, that they with bluſhing cheekes are fayne to cut of the matter in the middeſt with ſilence.

The copye of this wilde Bull, ſent to them from the Pope, was this.

Gregory the biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruauntes, to his welbeloued ſonnes, the Chauncellour and Vniuerſitie of Oxford, in the dioceſſe of Lincolne greetyng, and Apoſtolicall benediction.

We are compelled not onely to maruel, but alſo to lamēt that you (conſidering the Apoſtolicall ſeate hath geuen vnto your vniuerſitie of Oxford ſo great fauour and priuiledge & alſo for that you flowe as in a large ſea in the knowledge of the holye Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the auncient and catholicke faythe,

The popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

The pope complaynyng of John Wickliffe.

(wythout the which there is no ſaluation) by your great negligence and ſlouthe, wyll ſuffer wylde cockle, not onely to grow vp amõg the pure wheate of the floriſhing fielde of your Vniuerſitie, but alſo to waxe more ſtrong & choke the corne. Neyther haue ye any care (as we are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the ſame vp by the rootes, to the great blemyſhing of your renowmed name, the perill of your ſoules, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the auncient fayth. And further (which greueth vs) the encreaſe of that filthy weed was more ſharply rebuked and iudged of in Rome, then in England where it ſprang. Wherfore let there be meanes ſought by the helpe of the faythful, to roote out the ſame. Greuouſly it is come to our eares, that one Iohn Wickliffe, parſõ of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a profeſſor of diuinitie (would God he were not rather a maiſter of errours) is run into a kynde of deteſtable wickednes, not onely and openly publiſhyng, but alſo vomitting out of the filthy dungeon of hys breſt, diuers profeſſions, falſe and erronious concluſions, & moſt wicked and damnable hereſies. Wherby he might defile the faythfull ſort, and bring them from the right pathe, headlong into the way of perdition, ouerthrow the ſtate of the Church, and vtterly ſubuert the ſecular policy. Of which hys miſcheuous hereſies, ſome ſeeme to agree (onely certayne names and termes chaunged) wyth the peruerſe opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marcilius of Padua, and Iohn of Gandune, of vnworthy memorye: whoſe bookes were vtterly abolyſhed in the realme of England, by our predeceſſor of happy memory Iohn.xxii. Which kingdome doth not onely floriſh in power, and aboundaunce of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhyning in purenes of fayth: Accuſtomed alwayes to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, rype in grauetie of maners, men notable in deuocion, and defenders of the Catholique fayth. Wherfore we will and commaunde you by our writyng Apoſtolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon payne of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priuilegies graunted vnto you and your vniuerſitie, from the ſayd ſee Apoſtolicall: that hereafter ye ſuffer not thoſe peſtilent hereſies, thoſe ſubtile and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruing the right ſenſe of fayth and good workes (how ſoeuer they terme it, or what curious implication of wordes ſo euer they vſe) any longer to be diſputed of, or brought in queſtion: Leaſt if it be not wythſtood at the firſt, and plucked vp by the rootes, it myght perhaps be to late hereafter to prepare medicine when a greater number is infected wyth that contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediatly or cauſe to be apprehended the ſayd Iohn Wickliffe, and delyuer him to be deteyned in the ſafe cuſtody of our welbeloued brethrẽ, the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the byſhop of London or eyther of them. And if you ſhall finde any gayneſayers, corrupted wyth the ſayd doctrine (which God forbid) in your ſayd vniuerſitie wythin your iuriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſayd errours: that then in lyke maner ye apprehend them, and commit them to ſafe cuſtody, and otherwiſe to do in this caſe as it ſhall appertayne vnto you: So as by your carefull proceedinges herein, your negligence paſt concernyng the premiſſes, may now fully be ſupplyed & recompenſed wyth preſent diligence. Wherby you ſhall not onely purchaſe vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the ſeat Apoſtolicall, but alſo great rewarde and merite of almighty God.

Marſilius Patauinus, Ioan. de Gandune, noted.

Here the wylde bull fretteth.

Yeuen at Rome at S. Maries the greater. xi. Kalen. of Iune, and in the ſeuẽth yeare of our conſecration.

Simon Sudbury Archb. of Cant. W. Courtney Byſhop of London.

¶ Beſide thys Bull ſent to the vniuerſitie of Oxford, the ſayd Pope Gregory directed moreouer his letters the ſame tyme, to the Archb. of Cant. Simon Sudbury: and to the Byſhop of London named William Courtney, with the concluſions of John Wickliffe therin incloſed, cõmaunding them, by vertue of thoſe hys letters Apoſtolicall, and ſtraitly inioynyng them to cauſe the ſayd John Wickliffe to be apprehended, and caſt in priſon: And that the kyng and the nobles of England ſhould be admonyſhed by them, not to geue any credite to the ſayd John Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wiſe. &c.

Three ſundry letters of the pope to one perſon, about one matter.

¶ Beſide this bill or bull of the Pope, ſent vnto the Archbyſhop of Cant. and to the Byſhop of London, bearing the date. 11. Kalend. Iuni. and the 7. yeare of the raigne of the Pope: I finde moreouer in the ſayd ſtory, two other letters of the Pope concernyng the ſame matter, but differing in forme, ſent vnto the ſame Byſhops, and all bearing the ſame date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of ỹ reigne of the ſayd pope Gregory. Wherby it is to be ſuppoſed, that the Pope eyther was very exquiſite and ſollicitous about the matter, to haue Wickliffe to be apprehended which wrote 3. diuers letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſines: or els that he did ſuſpect the bearers therof, the ſcruple wherof I leaue to the iudgement of the reader.

Furthermore beſide theſe letters written to the Vniuerſitie, and to the biſhops, he directeth alſo an other Epiſtle bearyng the ſame date vnto K. Edward (as one of my ſtories ſayth) but as an other ſayth, to king Richard, which ſoundeth more neare to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yeare of Pope Gregory the 11. which was the yeare of our Lord. 1378. K. Edward was not aliue. The copy of his letters to the king here followeth.

¶ The copy of the Epiſtle ſent by the biſhop of Rome to Richard king of England, to perſecute Iohn Wickliffe.

The popes letter to K. Richard againſt J.W.

VNto hys welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Richard the moſt noble kyng of England health. &c.

The kyngdome of England which the moſt hygheſt hath put vnder your power and gouernaunce, being ſo famous and renowmed in valiancy and ſtrength, ſo aboundant and flowing in all kynde of wealth and riches: but much more glorious reſplendent and ſhyning through the brightnes and clearenes of all godlynes and fayth: hath accuſtomed alwayes to bring forth mẽ endued wyth the true knowledge and vnderſtanding of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, and defenders of the catholicke fayth: The which haue not only directed and inſtructed their owne people, thorow their holſome doctrine and preceptes into the true pathe of Gods commaundementes, but alſo as we haue heard by the report and information of many credible perſons (to our great griefe and hart ſorow) that Iohn Wickliffe parſon of Lutterworth, in the dioces of Lincolne, profeſſor of diuinitie (I would to God he were no author of hereſie) to be fallen into ſuch a deteſtable and abhominable madnes: that he hath propounded & ſet forth diuers and ſundry concluſions full of errours and conteining moſt manifeſt hereſie, the which doe tende vtterly to ſubuert and ouerthrow the ſtate of the whole Church. Of the which, ſome of them (albeit vnder coloured phraſe and ſpeche) ſeeme to ſmell and ſauour of peruerſe opinions, and the fooliſhe doctrine of condemned memory of Marſilius of Padua, and Iohn of Ganduno, whoſe bookes were by Pope Iohn the 22. our predeceſſor, a man of moſt happy memory reproued and condemned. &c.

¶ Hetherto gentle reader, thou haſt heard how Wickliffe was accuſed by the Biſhop. Now you ſhall alſo heare the Popes mighty reaſons and argumentes, by the which he did confute hym to the kyng. It followeth.

Here is purſuing, but no teaching.

Therfore, for ſo much as our reuerend brethrẽ the archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the Byſhop of London haue receiued a ſpeciall commaundement from vs by our authoritie, to apprehend and commit the forenamed Iohn Wickliffe vnto priſon, and to tranſporte hys confeſſion vnto vs: If they ſhall ſeeme in the proſecution of thys their buſines to lacke your fauour or helpe, we require and moſt earneſtly deſire your maieſty euen as your moſt noble predeceſſors haue alwayes bene moſt earneſt louers of the Catholicke fayth (whoſe caſe or quarell in thys matter is chiefly handled) that you would vouchſafe euen for the reuerence of God, and the fayth aforeſayd, and alſo of the Apoſtolicke ſeat, and of our perſon, that you wyll wyth your helpe and fauour, aſſiſt the ſayd Archbyſhop and all other that ſhall goe about to execute the ſayd buſines. Wherby beſides the prayſe of men, you ſhall obtayne a heauenly rewarde and great fauour, and good will at our hand, and of the ſea aforeſayd. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kal. of Iune, in the 7. yeare of our byſhoprike. Anno. 1378.

¶ The Articles included in the Popes letters which he ſent to the Biſhops, & to the kyng, agaynſt Wickliffe, were theſe as in order do follow.

¶ The concluſions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited in the conuocation of certayne biſhops at Lamheth.

ALl the whole race of mankynde here on earth beſides Chriſt, hath no power ſimply, to ordayne that Peter &

all hys offpting ſhould politikely rule ouer the world for euer.

Certayne concluſions of John Wickliffe.

2 God cannot geue to any man for him and his heires any ciuill dominion for euer.

3 All writings inuented by men, as touchyng perpetuall heritage, are impoſſible.

4 Euery man being in grace iuſtifiyng, hath not only right vnto the thyng, but alſo for his tyme hath right in dede aboue all the good things of God.

5 A man can but onely miniſtratoriouſly geue any temporall or continuall gift, eyther as well to hys naturall ſonne, as to his ſonne by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the riches from the church whẽ they do offend, habitualiter.

7 We know that Chriſtes Vicar cannot, neither is able by his Buls, neyther by his owne will and conſent, neither by the conſent of his colledge, eyther make able or diſable any man.

8 A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoyng, except he be firſt and principally excommunicate by hymſelfe.

9 No man ought, but in Gods cauſe alone, to excommunicate, ſuſpend, or forbid, or otherwyſe to procede to reuenge by any eccleſiaſticall cenſure.

10 A curſe or excommunication doth not ſimply bynd, but in caſe it be pronounced and geuen out agaynſt the aduerſary of Gods law.

11 There is no power geuen by any example, eyther by Chriſt or hys Apoſtle, to excommunicate any ſubiect, ſpecially for the denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwyſe.

12 The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power to exact by any ciuill authority, temporalties by cenſures.

13 It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Chriſtian, doe pretende by any meanes to bynde or to looſe, that therby he doth ſo bynde and looſe.

14 We ought to beleue that the Vicar of Chriſt, doth at ſuch tymes onely bynd and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the law and ordinaunce of Chriſt.

15 This ought vniuerſally to be beleued that euery prieſt rightly and duly ordred, according vnto the law of grace, hath power accordyng to his vocation, wherby he may miniſter the ſacramentes, and conſequently abſolue any man confeſſing hys faulte, beyng contrite and penitent for the ſame.

16 It is lawfull for kings (in cauſes licenced by the law) to take away the temporalties frõ the ſpiritualty, ſinning habitualiter, that is, which continue in the cuſtome of ſinne, & will not amend.

17 Whether they be temporall Lordes or any other men whatſoeuer they be, which haue endowed any Churche with temporalties: It is lawfull for them to take away the ſame temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to auoyde ſinne, notwithſtanding any excommunication or other eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for ſo much as they are not geuẽ but vnder a condition.

18 An eccleſiaſtical miniſter, and alſo the biſhop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of hys ſubiectes, and for the profite of the Churche, be accuſed either of the Cleargy or of the Laitie.

These letters with the articles incloſed beyng thus receyued from the Pope, the biſhops toke no little hart, thinkyng and fully determynyng with themſelues and that in open profeſſion, before their prouinciall Councell, that all maner reſpectes of feare or fauour ſet apart, no perſon neither high nor low ſhould let them, neither would they be ſeduced by the entreaty of any man, nor by any threatninges or rewardes, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely vpright iuſtice and equity: yea albeit preſent daunger of lyfe ſhould follow therupon. But theſe ſo fierce brags & ſtout promiſe, with the ſubtile practiſes of theſe Byſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before: the Lord (againſt whõ no determination of mans counſaile can preuaile) by a ſmall occaſion, did lightly confound and ouerthrow. For the day of examination beyng come: a certayne perſonage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the Biſhops: commaunded them that they ſhould not procede with any diffinitiue ſentence agaynſt John Wickliffe. With which wordes all they were ſo amaſed, and their combes ſo cut, that (as in the ſtory is mentioned) they became ſo mute and ſpeachleſſe, as men hauyng not one word in their mouth to aunſwer. And thus by the wonderous worke of God hys prouidence, eſcaped John Wickliffe the ſecond tyme out of the Biſhops handes, and was by them clearely diſmiſſed vpon hys declaration made of his articles as anone ſhall follow.

The ſtout brags of the Byſhops ouerthrowne.

Wickliffe agayne called before the Byſhops. Lewes Clifford.

John Wickliffe againe deliuered frõ the byſhops.

Moreouer here is not to be paſſed ouer, how at ẏ ſame tyme, and in the ſayd chappell of the Archb. at Lambeth, where the biſhops were ſitting vpon John Wickliffe, the ſtory writing of the doyng therof, addeth theſe wordes, ſaying: Non dico ciues tantùm Londinenſes, ſed viles ipſius ciuitatis ſe impudenter ingerere præſumpſerunt in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem, & iſtud negotium impedire, confiſi, vt reor, de ipſorum præmiſſa negligentia prælatorum. &c. That is, I ſay not only, that the citizens of Lõdon, but alſo the vile abiectes of the city, preſumed to be ſo bold in the ſame chappell at Lambeth, where the Biſhops were ſitting vpon John Wickliffe: both to entreat for him, and alſo to let and ſtoppe the ſame matter, truſtyng as I ſuppoſe, vpon the negligence which they ſaw before in the Biſhops, &c.

Ouer and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how ẏ ſaid John Wickliffe, the ſame tyme of hys examination, offered and exhibited vnto the Biſhops, in wrytyng a proteſtation, with a declaration or expoſition of hys owne mynde, vpon the ſaid his articles, the effect wherof here followeth.

The proteſtation of Iohn Wickliffe.

The proteſtatiõ of John Wickliffe.

FIrſt I proteſt (as I haue often tofore done) that I doe mynde and intend with my whole hart (by the grace of God) to be a true Chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhall remayne in me, to profeſſe and defend the law of Chriſt. And if it ſhall happen that through ignoraunce or otherwiſe, I ſhall faile therin, I deſire my Lord God of pardon and forgeuenes. And now agayne as before alſo, I do reuoke and make retractation, moſt humbly ſubmitting my ſelfe vnder the correction of our holy mother ẏ church. And for ſo much as the ſentence of my fayth, which I haue holden in the ſcholes and els where, is reported euen by children, & moreouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome: Therefore leſt my deare beloued brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I will ſet forth in wrytyng the ſentence and Articles, for the whiche I am now accuſed and impeached: the which alſo euen vnto the death I will defend. As I beleue all chriſtians ought to do, and ſpecially the Byſhop of Rome, and all other prieſtes and miniſters of the Church. For I do vnderſtand the concluſions after the ſenſe & maner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures and holy doctours, the which I am ready to expounde: And if they ſhall be found contrary vnto the fayth, I am ready to reuoke and ſpeedily to call them backe agayne.

¶ An expoſition vpon the concluſions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited by hym to the Biſhops.

1. ALl the race of mankinde, here in earth beſide Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordaine, that Peter. &c.

Expoſition of John Wickliffe vpon his concluſions.

This concluſion of it ſelfe is euident, for as much as it is not in mans power to ſtop the comming of Chriſt to hys finall iudgement, but he muſt needes come, according to the article of our Creede, to iudge both the quicke and the dead. And then (as the Scripture teacheth) ſhall ſurceaſe all ciuill and politicke rule here, I vnderſtand the temporall and ſecular dominion, pertaynyng to men here dwelling in thys mortall lyfe. For ſo do the philoſophers ſpeake of ciuill dominion. And although the thyng which is terminable, and hath an ende, is called ſometymes perpetuall: yet becauſe in holy Scripture, and in vſe of the Church, and in ẏ bookes of Philoſophers moſt commonly that is taken to be perpetuall, which hath no ende of tyme hereafter to come: accordyng to the which ſenſe, the Church ſingeth Gloria patri, &c. nunc & in perpetuum. I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this word (perpetually) and ſo is this cõcluſion conſonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to ordayne the courſe and viage of the Church, here perpetually to laſt.

2. God can not geue to any man. &c.

¶ To the ſecond concluſion I aunſwere, vnderſtandyng ciuill dominion, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I holde, that God, firſt by his ordinate power cannot geue to any perſon ciuill dominion here for euer: Secondly, by his abſolute power it is not probable for him ſo to doe. For ſo much as he cannot euer detayne hys ſpouſe in perpetuall priſon of thys lyfe, nor alwayes differ the finall beatitude of hys Church.

Expoſitiõ of the ſecond concluſiõ.

3. To the third concluſion. Many wrytynges or chartes inuented by men, as touchyng perpetuall hereditage ciuile, be vnpoſſible.

☞ The veritie of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not canonize all maner of Chartes, what ſoeuer, as Catholicke, or vniuerſall: for thē it were not lawful by any meanes to take away or ſequeſter thynges geuen by charte or charter, when any doth vniuſtly occupy the ſame. And ſo, if that ſtand confirmed & ratified by the fayth of the Church, great occaſion thereby ſhould be miniſtred to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporall chartes, and ſo might grow thereby much libertie and licence to ſinne. For like as by what ſuppoſition euery truth is neceſſary: ſo by the ſame ſuppoſitiō, euery falſ thyng is poſſible, as it is playne by ŷ teſtimony of Scripture, and of holy Doctours ſpeakyng of neceſſitie of thynges to come.

In gratia gratificāte finaliter.

4. Euery mā being in grace iuſtifying finally, hath not onely right vnto the thyng, but alſo for his tyme hath right in deede, ouer all the good thynges of God.

☞ The veritie hereof is euidēt, by holy Scripture Math. 24. Where veritie promiſeth to euery man entring into his ioy: verely (ſayth he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet and place him ouer all the goodes he hath. For the right and title belonging to the communiō of Saintes in their countrey (he meaneth in the kyngdome of heauen) Fundatur obiectiue ſuper vniuerſitatem bonorum Dei: That is: hath his relation, as vnto his obiect, to all the goodes and poſſeſſion of God.

Note here he ſpeaketh onely of the right of thinges in the country to come: and not in thys exile.

5. A man can but onely miniſtratoriouſly, geue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall ſonne, as to his ſonne by imitation.

☞ It is euident. For euery mā ought to recogniſe himſelfe in all his workes and doynges, as an humble ſeruaunt, and miniſter of God. As the wordes of Scripture doth teach vs. Let a man ſo eſteme of vs as the miniſters of Chriſt. yea ſo Chriſt himſelfe did teach his chief Apoſtles to miniſter, but in their countrey the Saintes ſhall geue vnto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goodes vt pater de ſuis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura accordyng to the wordes of Luke. 6. They ſhall geue you and put into your boſomes a good meaſure and perfect, well filled & heaped vp, and runnyng ouer.

6. If God be, temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goodes of fortune from the Churche when they do offend, habitualiter?

☞ This concluſion is correlatiue with the firſt article of our fayth: I beleue in God the father almighty. &c. Where I vnderſtand this word (may) in this concluſion after the maner of autentique Scripture, which ſaith and graunteth that God is able, of theſe ſtones to rayſe vp children to Abraham, for otherwiſe all Chriſtian Princes were heretiques. For this concluſiō, thus ſtandeth the reaſon: If God be, he is omnipotent: and if he be almighty, he is able to commaunde the Lordes temporall ſo to do: and if he may ſo cōmaunde, then may they lawfully ſo take away ſuch Godes. &c. And ſo by the vertue of the ſame principle, Chriſtian Princes haue practiſed the ſayd ſentence vpon the Church men heretofore, as did William Rufus. &c. But God forbyd that any ſhould beleue hereby my intentiō to haue bene, that ſecular Lordes may lawfully take away what goodes ſoeuer and by what meanes ſoeuer, by their own naked authoritie at their pleaſure: but onely by ŷ authoritie of the church may ſo do, in caſes and forme limited by the law.

7. We know that it is not poſſible that the vicare of Chriſt is able by his pure Bulles. &c.

☞ This is manifeſt by the Catholique fayth, for aſmuch as the Church doth fully beleue that the ablyng of any mā, ought firſt to procede and come of God: wherfore, no man beyng Chriſt his Vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as Vicar in ŷ name of the Lord ſo farre forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notifie vnto the Church whom God hath enabled. Wherfore if any man do any thyng not as Vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethinke to be his author and head: It is a preſumption of Lucifer, for ſomuch as Chriſt by his Apoſtle ſayth. 1. Cor. 3. all our habilitie or ſufficiency cōmeth of God. And ſo conſequently, it commeth not purely by the miniſtery of his Vicarſhip, that he is inhabled, but the hableneſſe or vnableneſſe of him beyng the Vicar of Chriſt, commeth to him an other way from aboue.

8. A man can not be excommunicate to his hurt or vndoyng, except he be excommunicate firſt and principally, of himſelfe.

☞ It is euident, foraſmuch as all ſuch excommunication ought to procede & begyn originally of his owne ſinne which is dammified: wherupon Auguſtine ſayth De verbis Domini, Sermone 51. Do not thou conculcate thy ſelfe, and man ouercōmeth thee not. And moreouer the fayth of the church doth teach, quòd nulla ei nocebit aduerſitas, ſi nulla dominetur iniquitas, that is to ſay. No aduerſitie ſhall hurt, if no iniquitie haue the vpper hand. And yet notwithſtandyng, euery excommunication for many cauſes is alſo to be feared, although that the excommunication of the Church to the humble man beyng excommunicated, be not damnable but wholeſome.

9. No man ought but in Gods cauſe alone to excommunicate, ſuſpende. &c.

☞ It is cleare, for aſmuch as euery iuſt cauſe is the cauſe of God, whoſe reſpect ought chiefly to be wayed and pondered, yea the loue of the perſon excommunicate ought to ſurmount the zeale of reuengement, and the deſire of all temporall goodes whatſoeuer, for otherwiſe he that doth excōmunicate, doth dāniſie himſelfe. To this. ix. concluſion notwithſtandyng it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cauſe alſo of man, ſo that his principall reſpect in ſo doing be had to the iniury done to his God, as appeareth 13. quæſt. 4. cap. Inter querelas.

10. No curſe or excommunication can bynde ſimply, but in caſe it be geuē out agaynſt the aduerſary of Chriſtes law.

☞ And it appeareth thus, becauſe that God doth bynde ſimply euery one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for tranſgreſſion of his law. Wherunto it is conſonant notwithſtādyng, that the cenſure of the church doth not bynde ſimply, but ſecondarely in that caſe and reſpect, as it is denounced agaynſt the aduerſary of the members of the Church.

11. There is no example of Chriſt which geueth power to his diſciples to excommunicate any ſubiect (eſpecially for denying of any temporalties) but contrary.

☞ Which is thus declared by the fayth, whereby we beleue that God is to be beloued aboue all thinges, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloued aboue all temporall goods of this world neceſſarely, for the law of God cannot be contrary vnto it ſelfe.

12. The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exact temporall thinges by their cenſures.

☞ This appeareth by the fayth of the Scripture. Luke. 23. Where Chriſt dyd forbyd his Apoſtles ciuilly to raigne or to beare any Lordſhyp. The kyngs (ſayth he) of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them, but you not ſo. And after this ſenſe it is expounded of S. Bernard, of S. Chriſoſtome, and other holy men: which concluſion notwithſtandyng, yet may they exact temporall thynges by eccleſiaſticall cenſures incidently, if caſe be that it appertaine to the reuengement of their God.

13. It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Chriſtian do pretend to bynd or loſe at their pleaſure, by what meanes ſoeuer, that thereby he doth ſo bynde and loſe.

☞ The contrary of this concluſion will deſtroy the whole catholicke fayth, importyng no leſſe but him to be a blaſphemer which ſo vſurpeth ſuch abſolute power of the Lord. And yet by this concluſion I entend not to derogate frō the power of the Pope or of any other Prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head ſo bynde and loſe. But do vnderſtand the conditionall of this negatiue (to be impoſſible) after this ſenſe: that it cannot be that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himſelfe to bynde or loſe (how and after what maner he lyſt himſelf) except in ſuch ſort, that he do in deede ſo bynde and loſe before God as he doth pretend to do.

14. We ought to beleue, that the Vicare of Chriſt doth at ſuch times onely binde and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the law, and ordinaunce of Chriſt. &c.

☞ The reaſō therof is this, becauſe otherwiſe it is vnlawfull for him ſo to do, except he ſhould do it in the vertue of that law, and ſo cōſequently, vnleſſe it be conformable to the law and ordinaunce of Chriſt.

The power of all prieſts toward God equall.

Ordo ſacerdotalis non ſuſcepit maius & minus.

Poteſtas ordinis.

Poteſtas regiminis.

15. To this cōcluſion, this ought vniuerſally to be beleued, that euery Prieſt rightly and duely ordered, hath power accordyng to his vocation. &c.

☞ The reaſon hereof is this, becauſe that ŷ order of prieſthode in his owne nature and ſubſtaunce, receaueth no ſuch degrees, either of more, or of leſſe. And yet notwithſtandyng, the power of inferiour Prieſts, in theſe dayes be vpon due conſideration reſtrained, and ſome tymes agayne in tyme of extreme neceſſitie releaſed. And thus accordyng to the Doctours, a Prelat hath a double power, to witte, the power of order, & the power of iuriſdictiō or regiment. And accordyng to this ſecond power, the Prelates are in an hygher maieſtie, and regiment.

16. It is lawfull for princes and kyngs (in caſes by the law limited) to withdraw temporal commodities, from Church

men abuſing the ſame,habitualiter.

☞ The reaſon therof is playne, for that temporall Lordes ought rather to leane to ſpirituall almes, which bryngeth with it greater fruite, then to corporall almes the caſe ſo ſtandyng, that ſome tyme it were a neceſſary worke of ſpirituall almes, to chaſtiſe ſuch Clerkes by takyng from them their temporall lyuynges, which vſe to abuſe the ſame to the damnifyeng both of their ſoule and body. The caſe, which the law doth limite in this matter, were the defect of correcting his ſpirituall head or els for lacke of correctyng the fayth of yͤ Clerke which ſo offendeth, as appeareth.16. q.7.filijs. Diſt. 40.cap.Si Papa.

16.q.7.filijs.

27. Whether they be temporall Lordes, or any other men whatſoeuer, which haue endued any Church with temporalties.&c.

☞ The truth herof is euidently ſene, for that, nothyng ought to ſtoppe a man from the principall workes of charitie neceſſarily, becauſe in euery action and worke of man is to be vnderſtand a priuy condition neceſſary of God his good will cõcurring with all, as it is in the ciuil law de c.Conradi cap.5.in fine collat.x. And yet God forbyd, that by theſe wordes occaſion ſhould be geuen to the Lordes temporall to take away the goodes of fortune from the Church.

18. An Eccleſiaſticall miniſter, yea the Byſhop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of hys ſubiectes, and for the profite of the Churche be accuſed, either of the Clergy, or of the laytie.

☞ The proufe of this is manifeſt hereby, becauſe the ſayd Byſhop of Rome is ſubiect to fall into the ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, as may be ſuppoſed, ſauyng the ſanctitude, humilitie and reuerence due to ſuch a father. For ſo long as our brother is ſubiect vnto the infirmitie of fallyng, he lyeth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole Colledge of Cardinals may be ſlouthfull in miniſtring due correction for the neceſſary proſperitie of the Church: it is apparent yͭ the reſidue of the body of the church, which poſſibly may ſtand moſt of lay men, may wholeſomely correct the ſame, accuſe and bryng hym to a better way. The poſſibilitie of this caſe is touched. Diſt.40.Si Papa. If the pope do erre from the right fayth. &c. For like as ſuch a great fall ought not to be ſuppoſed in the Lord Pope without manifeſt euidence; ſo agayne ſuch an obſtinacie ought not to be ſuppoſed in hym, poſſibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receaue the wholeſome medicine of his ſuperiour, correctyng him in the Lord. The practiſe of which concluſion alſo is teſtified in many Chronicles. Farre be it from the Church of Chriſt that veritie ſhould be condemned, which ſoundeth euill to tranſgreſſours and other ſlouthfull perſons, for then the whole fayth of the Scripture were in a damnable caſe.

Thus John wickleffe in geuyng his expoſitiõ vnto his foreſayd propoſitions and concluſions, as is aboue prefixed, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, either ſhifted of the Byſhops, or els ſatiſfied them ſo: that for that tyme he was diſmiſſed and ſcaped clearely away, onely beyng charged and commaunded by the ſayd Byſhops, that he ſhould not teach or preach any ſuch doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man beyng eſcaped from the Byſhops, with this charge aforeſayd, yet notwithſtandyng, ceaſed not to procede in his godly purpoſe, labouryng and profiting ſtill in the Church as he had begon.

The death of Pope Gregory.11.

Vnto whom alſo (as it happened by the prouidence of God) this was a great helpe and ſtay, for that in the ſame yeare, or in the begynnyng of the next yeare folowyng, the foreſayd Pope Gregory xj. which was the ſtyrrer vp of all, this trouble agaynſt hym, turned vp hys heeles and dyed. After whom inſued ſuch a ſchiſme in Rome, betwene two Popes, and other ſucceedyng after them, one ſtriuyng agaynſt an other: that the ſchiſme therof endured the ſpace of.xxxix.yeares, vntill the tyme of the Councell of Conſtaunce.

Vrbanus.6. Pope.

A ſchiſme in Rome.

The occaſioner of which ſchiſme firſt was Pope Vrbane the 6. who in the firſt begynnyng of hys Popedome was ſo proude and inſolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queenes, and ſo ſet to aduaunce his Nephew and kyndred, with iniuries to other Princes: that the greateſt number of his Cardinals and courtyours by litle & litle ſhronke from him, and ſet vp an other French Pope againſt him, named Clement, who reigned xj. yeares. And after hym Benedictus the 13. who reigned yeares 26. Agayne of the contrary ſide after Vrbanus the 6. ſucceded, Boniface the 9. Innocentius the viij. Gregorius the xij. Alexander the fift, John.13.

Papa.	*yeares.*	*mon.*	*Antipapa.*	*yeares.*
Vrbanus.6.	11.	8.	Clẽment.	11.
Bonifacius.9.	14.	9.	Benedictus.13.	26.
Innocẽtius.8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius.12.	2.	7.		
Alexander.5.	0.	11.		
Iohannes13.	5.	10.		

As touching thys peſtilent and moſt miſerable ſchiſme, it would require here an other Ileade to comprehend in order all the circumſtances and tragicall partes therof, what trouble in the whole church, what partes takyng in euery country, what apprehending and impriſonyng of Prieſtes and prelates, taken by land and ſea, what ſheddyng of bloud did folow therof. How Ottho Duke of Brunſewyke and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered. How Joane Queene of Hieruſalem and Sicilia hys wyfe, who before had ſent to Pope Vrbane, beſide other gyftes at his coronation, xl. thouſand Duckets in pure golde: after by yͤ ſayd Vrbane was cõmitted to priſon, and in the ſame priſon ſtrangled. What Cardinals were racked, and miſerably wythout all mercy tormented on gibbets to death, what ſlaughter of men, what battayles were fought betwene the two Popes, whereof 5000. on the one ſide were ſlaine, beſide the number of them which were taken priſoners. Of the beheadyng of v. Cardinals together after long tormẽts, and how the byſhop Aquilonenſis, beyng ſuſpected of pope Vrbane, for not rydyng faſter wyth the pope, hys horſe beyng not good, was there ſlayne by the Popes commaundement, ſendyng hys ſouldiours vnto him, to ſlay hym, & cut hym in peeces. All which thynges, with other diuers mo actes of horrible cruelty, happenyng in the tyme of this abhominable ſchiſme, becauſe they are aboundantly diſcourſed at full, by Theodorike Niem, who was neare to the ſayd Pope Vrbane, and preſent at all hys doynges: therfore as a thyng needles, I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certified more amply herein, vnto the 3. bookes of the ſayd Theodorike aboue mentioned.

Was not here a holy agreement?

Theodoricus a Niem, de ſchiſmate.

About the ſame tyme, alſo about iiij. yeares after, there fell a cruell diſſention in England, betwene the cõmon people and the nobilitie, the which did not a litle diſturbe and trouble the common wealth. In thys tumult, Simon of Sudbury Archbyſhop of Canterbury, was taken by the ruſticall & rude people, and was beheaded. In whoſe place after ſucceded william Courtney, which was no leſſe diligent then his predeceſſor had bene before hym, in doyng his diligence to roote out heretickes. Notwithſtanding, in the meane ſeaſon wickliffes ſecte increaſed priuely, and dayly grew to greater force, vntill the tyme that William Barton Vicechaunceller of Oxford, about the yeare of our lord 1380. had the whole rule of that vniuerſitie: who callyng together viij. monaſticall Doctours, and iiij. other, with the conſent of the reſt of hys affinitie, puttyng the commõ ſeale of the vniuerſitie vnto certaine writinges: he ſet forth an edict, declaryng vnto euery man, and threatnyng them vnder a greuous penaltie, that no men ſhould be ſo hardye, hereafter to aſſociate themſelues with any of wickliffes fautors or fauourers: and vnto wickliffe hymſelfe, he threatned the greater excommunication, and farther impriſonment, and to all hys fautors, vnles that they after iij. dayes canonicall admonitiõ or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent & amend. The which thyng whẽ wickliffe vnderſtood, forſakyng the pope and all yͤ clergye, he thought to appeale vnto the kynges maieſtie: but the Duke of Lancaſter commyng betwene, forbad hym that he ſhoulde not hereafter attempt or begyn any ſuch matters, but rather ſubmit hymſelfe vnto the cenſure and iudgement of hys ordinary. Whereby wickliffe beyng beſet wyth troubles and vexations, as it were in the middeſt of the waues, he was forced once agayne to make confeſſion of his doctrine: in the which his confeſſion, to auoyde the rigour of thynges, he aunſwered as is aforeſayd, makyng hys declaration, and qualifyng hys aſſertions after ſuch a ſort, that he did mitigate and aſſwage the rigour of hys enemies.

Rebellion in England by Jacke Straw. Simon the archbiſhop beheaded.

W.Courtney Archb.of Cant.

Barton Chauncelour of Oxford.

An.1380.

An edict agaynſt the Wicliuiſtes.

The next yeare after, which was 1382. by the commaundement of william Archbyſhop of Canterbury, there was a conuocation holden at Lõdon, where as John wickliffe was alſo commaunded to be preſent. But whether he there appeared perſonally, or not, I finde it not in ſtory certaynely affirmed. The mandate of the Archbyſhop William Courtney (ſent abroad for the conuentyng together of thys councell) here foloweth vnder written, truely copied out of his owne regiſters.

An.1382.

Memorandum, that where as well amongeſt the nobles as commons of thys realme of England, there hath a

The mandate of the Archbiſhop.

Ex Regiſtro archb. W. Courtney.

certaine bruite bene ſpread of diuers cõcluſions both erroneous, & alſo repugnaunt to the determination of the Church: which tende to the ſubuerſion of the whole Church, and to our prouince of Canterbury, and alſo to the ſubuerſion of the whole Realme, being preached in diuers and ſundry places of our ſayd prouince, generally, commonly, and publikely: we William by Gods permiſſion Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall, beyng mynded to execute our office and duty herein: haue conuocated or called together, certaine our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well Doctours and Bachelers of diuinitie, as Doctours of the Canon and Ciuill law, and thoſe whõ we thought to be the moſt famous men, ſkilfulleſt men, and men of ſoundeſt iudgement in religion, that were in all the Realme, whoſe names here vnder enſue. And the ſame beyng (the. xvij. day of the moneth of May) in the yeare of our Lord. 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priory of the Friers preachers of Londõ before vs and our foreſayd fellow brethren aſſembled, then and there perſonally preſent: After that the ſayd concluſions (the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth) were openly propoſed, and diſtinctly and playnly read: we burdened our foreſayd fellow brethrẽ, Doctours, and Bachelers, in the fayth wherein they ſtode bound to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and as they would aunſwere before the hygh iudge in the day of iudgement, that they ſhould ſpeake their opinions touchyng the ſayd concluſions and what euery of thẽ thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had vpon the premiſſes, the foreſayd our brethren the Byſhops, Doctours, and Bachelers, reaſſẽbled before vs the xxj. day of the ſame moneth in the foreſayd chamber, the foreſayd cõcluſions beyng agayne and agayne repeated and playnly read: By vs and by the common conſentes of vs all it remaineth publiſhed and declared, that ſome of the ſayd concluſions are hereticall, and other ſome erroneous and cõtrary to the determination of the Church, as hereafter moſt manifeſtly ſhall appeare. And for as much as by ſufficient information we finde and perceaue, that the ſayd concluſions in many places of our ſayd prouince, haue bene as is ſayd, both taught and preached: and that diuers other perſons do hold and maynteine the ſame, and be of hereſie vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected: haue thought good as well generally as ſpecially, to ſend out this proceſſe vnder written.

¶The names of the Iurers were theſe.

In primis viij. Byſhops, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Durram, Exeter, Herford, Sarum, Rocheſter, & Frier Botleſham. B.

Item. iij. Friers preachers, Syward, Parris, Lãgley.

Itẽ. iiij. Minorites, Foluile, Carlel, Friſley, Bernwell.

Item, Auguſtine Friers. iiij. Aſhborne, Bowkyn, Wolſley, Horyngton.

Item, Carmelites. iiij. Glanuile, Dis, Loney, Kynnyngham.

Itẽ, Monkes. iiij. Wels, Ramſey, Bloxam, Marton.

Item, Doctours of the Canon and Ciuill law. xiiij. Appelby, Waltram, Baketon, Chadeſden, Tregiſyon, Stow, Blãchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flaynburgh, Motrum, Brandon, and Prophet.

Item, Bachelers of Diuinitie vj. Humbleton, Pickweche, Lindlow, Wich, Chiſelden, Tomſon.

The Articles of Iohn Wickleffe here* aboue ſpecified, wherof ſome were x. which were by theſe Friers condemned as hereticall, the reſt as erroneous: here in order follow, and are theſe. Although it may be thought, that ſome of thẽ were made worſſe by their ſiniſter collectyng, then he ment them in his owne workes and writynges.

¶The articles of Iohn Wickliffe
condemned as hereticall.

1. The ſubſtãce of materiall bread & wyne, doth remaine in the Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecration.
2. The accidentes, do not remaine without the ſubiect in the ſame Sacrament, after the conſecration.
3. That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporall perſon.
4. * That if a Byſhop or a Prieſt be in deadly ſinne, he doth not order, conſecrate, nor baptiſe.

*This article either is ſlaunderouſly reported, or els can hardly be defended.

5. That if a man, be duely and truely contrite and penitẽt: all exteriour and outer confeſſion, is but ſuperfluous and vnprofitable vnto him.
6. That it is not founde or ſtabliſhed by the Goſpell, that Chriſt did make or ordayne Maſſe.
7. If the pope be a reprobate and euill man, & conſequently a member of the deuill: he hath no power by any maner of meanes geuen vnto him ouer faythfull Chriſtians, except peraduenture it be geuen him from the Emperour.
8. That ſince the tyme of Urbane the vj, there is none to be receaued for Pope, but to lyue after the maner of the Greckes, euery man vnder his owne law.
9. * To be agaynſt the Scripture, that eccleſiaſticall miniſters ſhould haue any temporall poſſeſſions.

*He meaneth church goodes not to be ſo geuen to miniſters but that they may be taken away if they ſo deſerue.

¶The other articles of Iohn Wickleffe,
condemned as erroneous.

10. That no Prelate ought to excõmunicate any mã, except he knew him firſt to be excõmunicate of God.
11. That he which doth ſo excõmunicate any mã, is thereby himſelfe either an hereticke or excommunicated.
12. That a Prelate or Byſhop excommunicatyng any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the kyng or to the counſell, is therby himſelfe, a traytor to the kyng and Realme.
13. That all ſuch which do leaue of preachyng or hearyng the word of God or preachyng of the Goſpell, for feare of excommunication: they are already excommunicated, & in the day of Iudgement, ſhalbe counted as traytors vnto God.
14. That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or prieſt, to preach the word of God, without the authoritie or licence of the Apoſtolicke ſea or any other of his Catholickes.
15. ¶That ſo long as a man is in deadly ſinne, he is neither Byſhop nor Prelate in the Church of God.

¶This article peraduenture was ſo ſtraightly ment of him as it was gathered of them as is aforeſayd.

16. * Alſo that the tẽporall Lordes, may accordyng to their owne will and diſcretion, take away the temporall goodes from the Church men, whenſoeuer they do offend.

*This article expoundeth the ix. article aboue.

17. That tenthes are pure almoſe, and that the Pariſhioners may for the offence of their Curates, deteine and keepe them backe, and beſtow them vpon others, at their own will and pleaſures.
18. Alſo, that all ſpeciall prayers applyed to any priuate or particular perſõ, by any prelate or religious mã: do no more profite the ſame perſon, then generall or vniuerſall prayers do profite others, which be in like caſe or ſtate vnto him.
19. Moreouer, in that any man doth enter into any priuate Religion, what ſoeuer it be, he is thereby made, the more vnapt and vnable to obſerue and keepe the commaundementes of God.
20. That holy men which haue inſtituted priuate Religions, whatſoeuer they be (as well ſuch as are indowed and poſſeſſed, as alſo the order of beggyng Friers, hauyng no poſſeſſions) in ſo doyng, haue greuouſly offended.
21. That religious men, beyng in their priuate religions, are not of the Chriſtian Religion.
22. That Friers are bounden to get their liuing, by the labour of their handes and not by beggyng.
23. That whoſoeuer doth geue any almoſe vnto Friers, or to any beggyng obſeruaunt, is accurſed or in dãger therof.

¶The letter of the Archbiſhop directed
to the Byſhop of London, agaynſt Wickleffe and hys adherentes.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. againſt Wickliffe.

William by Gods permiſſion Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and of the Apoſtolicall ſea Legate: To our reuerend brother by the grace of God Byſhop of London, ſalutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be ſo much the more vigilant and attentiſe about the charge of the Lordes flocke committed vnto them: how much the more they ſhall vnderſtand the Wolues beyng clothed in ſheepes apparell, fraudulently to go about to woory and ſcatter the ſheepe. Truly, by the continuall cry and bruted fame (which it greueth me to report) it is come to our knowledge: that although by the canonicall ſanctions, no man beyng forbydden or not admitted, ſhould either publickely or priuely without the authoritie of the Apoſtolicall ſea, or Byſhop of that place, vſurpe or take vpon him the office of a preacher: Some notwithſtandyng, ſuch as are the children of damnatiõ, being vnder the vale of blynd ignoraunce, are brought into ſuch a dotyng mynde, that they take vpon them to preach, and are not afrayde to affirme and teach diuers and ſundry propoſitions and concluſions here vnder recited, both hereticall, erroneous, and falſe, condempned by the Church of God: and repugnaunt to the decree of holy Church, which tend to the ſubuertyng of the whole ſtate of the ſame, of our prouince of Canterbury, and deſtruction and weakenyng of the tranquility of the ſame: and that as well in the Churches, as in the ſtreetes, as alſo in many other prophane places of our ſayd prouince, generally, commõly, and publikely, do preach the ſame, infecting very many good Chriſtiãs, cauſing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the catholicke Church, without which there is no ſaluation. We therfore conſidering, that ſo pernicious a miſchief which may creepe amongeſt many, we ought not to ſuffer and by diſſimulation to paſſe ouer, which may with deadly contagion ſlea the ſoules of men, leaſt their bloud be required at our handes: are willing ſo much as God will permit vs to do, to extirpate the ſame. Wherfore, by the counſayle and conſent of many of our brethren and Suffraganes, we haue conuented diuers and ſundry Doctours of Diuinitie, as alſo profeſſours and other Clerkes of the Canon and Ciuil lawes, the beſt learned within the Realme, and of the moſt ſoundeſt opiniõ and iudgemẽt in the Catholicke fayth, to geue their opinions and iudgementes concerning the foreſayd concluſions. But for as much as the ſayd concluſions and aſſertiõs, beyng in the preſence of vs, and our fellow brethren and other connocates, openly expoũded, and diligently examined and in the end found by common counſaile and conſent, as well of thẽ as of vs, and ſo declared that ſome of thoſe concluſions were hereticall, and ſome of them erroneous and repugnaũt to the determination of the Church, as here vnder are deſcribed: We will and commaund your brotherhode, & by vertue of holy obedience ſtrayghtly enioyne, all and ſingular our brethren and Suffraganes of our body and Church of Canterbury that with all ſpedy diligence you poſſible can, you likewiſe enioyne them (as we haue enioyned you) and euery of them. And that euery of thẽ in their Churches and other places of their Citie and Dioces, do admoniſh and warne, and that you in your Church and other Churches of your citie and dioces, do admoniſh and warne, as we by the tenour of theſe preſentes, do admoniſhe and warne the firſt tyme, the ſecond tyme, and the thyrd tyme: and yet more ſtraightly do warne, aſſignyng for the firſt admonition one day, for the ſecond admonition an other day, and for the third admonition canonicall and peremptorie, an other day: That no man from hence forth of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer, do hold, preach or defend the foreſayd hereſies and errours or any of them: nor that he admitte to preach any one that is prohibited or not ſent to preach, nor that he heare or harkẽ to the hereſies or errours of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto him either publiquely, or priuely: But that immediatly he ſhonne him as he would auoyde a Serpent puttyng forth moſt peſtiferous poyſon, vnder paine of the greater curſe, the which we cõmaunde to be thũdered agaynſt all & euery one which ſhal be diſobedient in this behalfe, & not regardyng theſe our monitiõs, after that thoſe three dayes be paſt which are aſſigned for the canonical monitiõ, and that their delay, fault or offence, committed require the ſame: That thẽ according to the tenour of theſe writynges, we commaund both by euery one of our felow brethrẽ and our ſuffraganes in their Cities and Dioces, and by you in your Citie and Dioces (ſo much as belõgeth both to you and them) that to the vttermoſt, both ye and they cauſe the ſame excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore we will and commaunde our foreſayd fellow brethren, and all and ſingular of you a part by your ſelues, to be admoniſhed, and by the aſperſion of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt we likewiſe admoniſhe you: that accordyng to the inſtitution of the ſacred Canons, euery one of them in their Cities and Dioces, be a diligent inquiſitour of this hereticall prauitie, and that euery one of you alſo in your Cities and Dioces, be the like inquiſitour of the foreſayd heretical prauitie: And that of ſuch like preſumptions they and you carefully and diligẽtly inquire, and that both they and you (accordyng to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect do procede agaynſt the ſame, to the honour and prayſe of his name that was crucified, and for the preſeruation of the Chriſtian fayth and Religion.

Had ye tryed them by the truth, you ſhould haue found them otherwyſe.

Bruta Fulmina.

He that killeth you, ſhall thinke he doth God good ſeruice.

Yea rather for the honor of your pope, and deſtruction of Chriſtian faythe.

Here is not to be paſſed ouer, the great miracle of Gods diuine admonition or warnyng: for when as the Archbyſhop and ſuffraganes, with the other Doctours of Diuinitie, and lawyers with a great company of bablyng Friers, & religious perſons were gathered together to cõſult, as touchyng Iohn Wickleffes bookes, and that whole ſect: when as they were gathered together at the Gray Friers in Londõ, to begyn their buſines, vpon S. Dunſtons day after dinner, about two of the clocke the very houre and inſtaunt that they ſhould go forward with their buſines: a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell, through out all England: Wherupon, diuers of the ſuffraganes beyng feared, by the ſtraunge and wonderfull demonſtration, doubtyng what it ſhould meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpoſe. But the Archbyſhop (as chiefe captayne of that army, more raſhe and bolde then wyſe) interpretyng the chaunce which had happened, cleane contrary to an other meaning or purpoſe, did confirme and ſtrengthen their hartes & myndes, which were almoſt daunted with feare, ſtoutly to procede, and go forward in their attẽpted enterpriſe. Who then diſcourſing Wickliffes articles, not accordyng vnto the ſacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but vnto their owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue ſentence, that ſome of them were ſimply and playnely hereticall, other ſome halfe erroneous, other irreligious, ſome ſeditious, and not conſonant to the Church of Rome.

An earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined.
Ex chron. mo. Albanenſi.

Item, the xij. day of Iune, in the yeare aforeſayd, in the chamber of the Friers preachers: the foreſayd M. Robert Rigges Chauncelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, & Thomas Brightwell profeſſours of diuinitie, beyng appointed the ſame day and place, by the foreſayd reuerend father in God Archbyſhop of Canterbury: appeared before hym, in the preſence of the reuerend father in God, Lord William, by the grace of God Byſhop of Wincheſter, and diuers other doctours and Bachelers of Diuinitie and of the Canon and ciuill law, whoſe names are before recited. And firſt the ſayd Chauncelor by the ſaid Lord Archb. of Cant. beyng examined what hys opinion was touching the foreſayd articles: Publiquely affirmed and declared, that certayne of thoſe concluſions were hereticall, and certayne erroneous, as the other doctours and clerkes afore mentioned had declared: And then immediatly next after him, yͤ foreſayd Thomas Brightwel was examined, which vpõ ſome of the concluſions at firſt ſomewhat ſtaggered, but in yͤ end beyng by the ſayd Archbyſhop, diligently examined vpon yͤ ſame, did affirme and repute the ſame to be hereticall and erroneous, as the foreſayd Chauncelour had done. An other Bacheler of Diuinitie alſo there was named N. ſtãmeryng alſo at ſome of thoſe cõcluſions, but in the end affirmed that hys opinion therein was, as was the iudgemẽt of the foreſayd Chauncelour and Thomas as is aboue declared. Wherupon, the ſayd Lord Archb. of Cant. willing to let and hinder the perill of ſuch hereſies and errours: Deliuered vnto the foreſayd Chauncelour there beyng publiquely read hys letters pattentes, to be executed, the tenour whereof in theſe wordes doth folow.

Determination vpon the articles of Wickliffe.

William by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee: To our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt the Chauncelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, within the dioces of Lincolne, greetyng, grace, and benediction. The prelates of the Church, about the Lordes flocke committed to their chardge, ought ſo much to be more vigilant as that they ſee the Wolfe clothed in ſheepes attire fraudulently go about to worow and ſcatter the ſheepe. Doubtles, the common fame and brute is come vnto our eares. &c. Vt in mandato præcedenti. We wyll therefore and commaund, ſtraightly enioyning you, that in the Church of our bleſſed Lady in Oxforde, vpon thoſe dayes the which accuſtomably the ſermon is made, as alſo in the ſchooles of the ſayde vniuerſitie vpon thoſe dayes the Lectures be read, ye publiſh & cauſe by others to be publiſhed to the clergie and people, as wel in their vulgare tounge, as in the Latine toung, manifeſtly and plainly without any curious implicatiõ the ſame heretical & erronious cõcluſions, ſo repugnaunt to the determinatiõ of holy Church, as is aforeſayd: to haue bene and be condemned, and which concluſions alſo we declare by theſe our letters to be vtterly condemned: And that farthermore you forbyd, and canonically admoniſhe, and cauſe to be admoniſhed, as we by the tenour of theſe preſentes do forbyd and admoniſhe you, once, twiſe, and thriſe, and that peremptorily: that none hereafter holde, teach, preach, or defend the hereſies and errours aboueſayde, or any of them either in ſchoole or out of ſchoole by any ſophiſticall cauillation or otherwiſe: or that any admit to preach, heare, or harken vnto Iohn Wickliffe, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppindon chanon reguler, or Iohn Aſhton, or Laurence Readman, which be vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, or els any other whatſoeuer, ſo ſuſpected or defamed: or that eyther priuely or publiquely, they eyther ayde or fauour them or any of them, but that incontinently they ſhun and auoyde the ſame as a ſerpent which putteth forth moſt peſtiferous poyſon. And farthermore, we ſuſpend the ſayd ſuſpected perſons from all ſcholaſticall act, till ſuch tyme as they ſhall purge themſelues before vs in that behalf, and that you denounce the ſame publiquely by vs to haue bene & be ſuſpended, & that ye diligently and faythfully inquire,

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. to the Chauncelor of Oxford.

of

[illegible] ſure worke.

of all their fautours and fauourers, and cauſe to be inquired throughout all the haules of the ſayd vniuerſitie. And that whē you ſhal haue intelligēce of their names & perſōs, that ye compell all and euery of them to abiure their outragies by Eccleſiaſticall cēſures and other paynes canonicall whatſoeuer vnder payne of the greater curſe, the which agaynſt all and ſingular the rebellious in this behalfe, and diſobeyng our monitions we pronounce: ſo that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalfe, deſerue the ſame (the ſayd monition of ours being firſt ſent) which in this behalfe we exteme and alow canonicall, that then and agayne accordyng to the effect of theſe our letters. &c. The Abſolution of all and ſingular ſuch, which ſhall incurre the ſentence, of this inſtrument by vs ſent forth (which God forbyd) We ſpecially reſerue vnto our ſelues: exhortyng you the Chauncelour by the aſperſion of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, that to the vttermoſt of your power hereafter you do your indeuour, that the Clergy and people beyng ſubiect vnto you, if there be which haue ſtrayed from the Catholique fayth by ſuch errours, may be brought home agayne, to the laude and honour of his name that was crucified, and preſeruation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatſoeuer you ſhall do, in the premiſſes in maner and forme of our proceſſe in this behalfe, to be had and done: that you for your parte, when you ſhalbe required thereunto, playnly and diſtinctly do certifie vs by your letters patentes, hauing the tenour hereof.

The concluſions and articles here mentioned in this letter, are aboue prefixed. Of which ſome were condemned for hereticall, ſome for erroneous, pag. 430.

After this, within few dayes the foreſayd Archbyſhop W. Courtney, directed downe his letters of Admonitiō to Robert Rigge Commiſſary of Oxford, for the repreſſing of this doctrine. Which yet notwithſtandyng both then, and yet to this day (God be prayſed) doth remayne. The copy of his monition to the Commiſſary here out of his owne Regiſter, foloweth.

The Monition of the Archbyſhop, vnto the foreſayd Chauncelour.

An other letter of the Archb. to the commiſſary of Oxford.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Where as we William by the permiſſion of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury Lord Primat of England and Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſea, by the conſent of our ſuffraganes, haue cauſed to be aſſembled together diuers Clerkes both ſecular and regular of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, within our prouince of Canterbury and other Catholicke perſons to informe vs of, and vpon, certaine concluſions hereticall and erroneous generally and commōly preached and publiſhed in diuers places of the ſayd prouince of Canterbury to the ſubuerſion of the whole ſtate of the Church, and our ſayd prouince: And alſo mature deliberation had vpon the ſame: by the common counſaile of the ſayd our ſuffraganes and their conuocates, it was declared, that certaine of the ſayd concluſions, to haue bene and be cōdēned, ſome for heretical, & ſome for erroneous, & notoriouſly repugnant to the determinatiō of the church, which we alſo our ſelues haue declared to be damnable: And haue vnderſtode by credible information, and partly by experiēce that thou Robert Rigge, Chauncelor of the Vniuerſitie aforeſayd, haſt and doeſt incline partly to the foreſayd damnable concluſions, whom alſo we in this part haue partly ſuſpected, doeſt intend to moleſt theſe our Clerkes aboue ſpecified, and others adheryng vnto vs in this behalfe, as they ought to do: through thy ſubtill and ſophiſticall imaginations, ſondry and manifold wayes, therfore we admoniſh thee M. Robert Chauncelour aforeſayd, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily that thou doeſt not greue, let, or moleſt, iudicially or extraiudicially, apertly or priuely, or cauſe to be greued, let and moleſted, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy ſelfe or any other, as much as in thee lyeth to be greued, the foreſayd Clerkes ſeculare or regulare or ſuch, as fauour them in the premiſſes, in their ſcholaſticall actes or in any other cōdition whatſoeuer: And that thou ſuffer none hereafter to teach, maintayne, preach, or defend any ſuch hereſies or errors in the ſaid Vniuerſitie, either within or without the ſcholes: Neither that thou do admitte Iohn Wickleffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, Iohn Ayſhton, or Laurence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, or any other ſo ſuſpected or defamed, vnto that office of preachyng. But that thou denoūce the ſayd perſons to be ſuſpended, whom we haue ſuſpended from all ſcholaſticall act, whileſt they cleare their innocēcy in this part before vs, vnder the payne of the greater curſe, which we here in theſe writynges denounce agaynſt thy perſon if thou ſhalt not obey theſe our admonitions, with effect, as thy crime, ſubteltie and offence in this behalfe ſhall require accordyng to this our admonition premiſed, which we repute in this part for canonicall, as well then as now, and now as well as then, reſeruyng the abſolution of this ſentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light vpō thee, as (God forbyd) ſpecially vnto our ſelues. Teſtified with the handes of the Iurers, aboue in the page. 430. before ſpecified.

The examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, and Iohn Ayſhton.

THe. xviij. day of the moneth & yeare aforeſayd in the chamber of the preachyng Friers afore mentioned, before the foreſayd Archbyſhop in the preſence of diuers Doctours & Bachelers of Diuinitie, and many Lawyers both Canon and Ciuill, whoſe names are vnder written: Appeared M. Nich. Herford, Philip Repindon, and Iohn Ayſhton Bachelers of Diuinitie. Who after a corporal othe take to ſhew their iudgementes vpon the concluſions aforeſayd, were examined ſeuerally eche one by hymſelfe, before the Archbyſhop. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpō the concluſions aforeſayd, and to geue their aunſwere vnto the ſame in writyng. And alſo required to haue a copy of the ſayd concluſions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy, the ſayd Nicholas and Philip (beyng openly read vnto them) receaued. Alſo the foreſayd M. Iohn Ayſhton lykewiſe was examined, and iudicially admoniſhed by the ſayd Archbyſhop by vertue of his othe, that he ſettyng aſide all ſophiſticall wordes & ſutteltie, he fully and playnly would ſay his mynde vpon the concluſions aforeſayd. And beyng aſked moreouer by the ſayd Archbyſhop whether he would haue a further day to deliberate vpon his aunſweres, as the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip had before: ſayd expreſly that he would not, but would aunſwere preſently to thoſe cōcluſions. And ſo for finall aunſwere ſayd, as concernyng all theſe concluſions (conteynyng them all together) that his iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherfore the foreſayd Archbyſhop reputyng the ſayd Iohn herein to be ſuſpected, admoniſhed him in forme of wordes as foloweth: We admoniſh thee Iohn Ayſhton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, the firſt, the ſecond, and thyrd tyme: that in our prouince of Canterbury hereafter, thou do not preach publickely or priuately without our ſpeciall licence, vnder payne of the greater curſe, which we denounce here by theſe preſentes agaynſt thy perſon, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And conſequently, for as much as the ſayd Iohn beyng aſked of the Archbyſhop confeſſed that he had heard before of the publication of the Archbyſhops Mandate, wherein was inhibited that no perſon prohibited or not ſent, ſhould preach hereafter: the foreſayd Archbyſhop aſſigned to him Friday next followyng, which was the. xx. day of the ſame moneth, after dyner to appeare before him, either at Lambeth, or in the ſame place: to ſay for himſelfe, wherfore he might not be pronounced for an hereticke, and for ſuch a one to be denoūced through his whole prouince. Alſo the ſayd Archbyſhop aſſigned to the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip, the ſayd day and place to aunſwere peremptorily, and to ſay fully & plainly to the concluſions aforeſayd, all ſophiſtication of wordes and diſputation ſet a part.

M. Iohn Aſhton examyned.

The aunſwere of I. Aſhton.

M. Aſhton monished to kepe his peace.

The names of the Friers that ſat vpon them.

Friers preachers. 7.

Thom. Barnwell, William Sywynherd, William Picworth, Thom. Whatley, Laurēce Grenham, Iohn Leygh, Iohn Haber.

Carmelites. 3.

Walter Diſh, Iohn Kynynyngham, Iohn Louey.

Augustine Frier.

Thomas Aſhborne Doctour.

In the. xx. day aforeſayd of the ſayd moneth of Iune, the yeare and place aboue prefixed, before the foreſayd Archbyſhop, ſittyng in his tribunall ſeate, in the preſence of diuers Doctours of Diuinitie, and Lawyers, both Ciuill and Canon: perſonally appeared M. Nicholas Herford, and Philip Repindon, Bachelers of Diuinitie, and Iohn Ayſhton maiſter of Arte. Where, the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip, beyng required by the ſayd Archbyſhop to aunſwere & ſay fully and playnly their iudgementes vpon the concluſions prefixed, whereunto the ſayd Archbyſhop had aſſigned to the

xx. of Iune.

Herefoꝛd & Repington agayne appeare.

ſayd Nicholas and Philip the ſame terme; did exhibite to the ſayd Archbyſhop there iudicially ſittyng, certaine aunſweres in wryting contained, after the maner of Indenture, the tenour whereof here vnder is cōteined, and after the ſame forme aunſwered to the ſayd concluſions. The tenour of which Indenture contayning the foreſayd concluſions vnto them moued as afore, foloweth in theſe wordes.

The proteſtation of Nicholas, Philip, and Iohn, with their Articles and aunſweres to the ſame.

The proteſtation of Herford, Repington, & Aſheton exhibited to the Archb.

WE proteſt here as before, publiquely in theſe preſentes: that we intende to be humble & faythfull children to the Church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all thynges the determinations of the Church. And if it ſhall chaunce vs at any tyme which God forbyd, to ſwarue from this our intention, we ſubmit our ſelues humbly to the correctiō of our reuerend father Lord Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and primate of all England: and of all other, which haue intereſt to correct ſuch ſwaruers. This proteſtatiō premiſed, thus we aunſwere to the concluſions aforeſayd.

Articles wyth the aunſweres.

That the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread & wine, remaineth in the Sacrament of the aulter after conſecration.

After the ſenſe contrary to the Decretall, begynnyng Firmiter credimus, we graunt that it is hereſie.

That the accidentes do not remaine without the ſubiect after conſecration in the ſame Sacrament.

After the ſenſe contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, we graunt that it is hereſie.

That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament, the ſelfe ſame truly and really in his owne corporall preſence.

Although this concluſion as the wordes ſtand ſounde to be probable & intelligible; yet in the ſenſe contrary to the Decretall in Cle. Si dudum. We graūt that it is hereſie. And briefly concernyng this whole matter of the Sacrament of the aulter as touchyng alſo all other thynges, we profeſſe that we will both in word and ſenſe, hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy Church and sayinges of the holy Doctours.

Obſtinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Goſpell that Chriſt ordained the Maſſe.

We graunt that it is hereſie.

That God ought to obey the deuill.

In this ſenſe that God in his owne perſon or eſſence, ought to obey the deuill with the obedience of neceſſitie.

We graunt that it is hereſie.

If a man be duely contrite, that all externall confeſſion is to him ſuperfluous and vnprofitable.

We graunt that it is hereſie.

If the Pope be a reprobate and an euill man, and conſequētly a mēber of the deuill; he hath no power ouer þ faithfull of Chriſt giuen to him of any, vnleaſt it be of Ceſar.

We graunt that it is hereſie.

That after Pope Vrbane the. 6. none is to be receiued for Pope, but that we ought to lyue after the maner of the Grecians vnder our owne lawes.

We graunt that it is hereſie.

To ſay that it is agaynſt the holy Scripture for eccleſiaſticall perſons to haue temporall poſſeſſions.

If obſtinacy be ioyned withall: we graunt that it is hereſie.

That no Prelate ought to excōmunicate any man, vnles he know him before to be excommunicate of God.

We graunt that it is an errour. Vnderſtandyng this knowledge to meane an experimentall knowledge: ſo that herewith may ſtand the Decree of the Church. 11. q. 3. Nemo Epiſco.

That he which doth ſo excommunicate, is thereby an hereticke or excommunicate.

After the ſenſe agreeyng with the other before, we graunt to be an errour.

That a Prelate excommunicating a Clerke, which appealeth to the kyng or counſell of the Realme, in ſo doyng is a traytor to God, the kyng and the realme.

We graunt it is an errour.

That they which leaue of to preach, or to heare the word of God and the Goſpell preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate: and in the day of iudgement ſhalbe counted for traytors to God.

Vnderſtādyng this concluſion vniuerſally ſo, as ſcripture and lawes do vnderſtand ſuch indefinite propoſitions: We graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that it is vnlawfull for any Deacon or Prieſt, to preach the word of God without the authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolique or catholique Byſhop, or of any other whoſe authoritie he knoweth ſufficient.

We graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that there is no ciuile Lord, no Biſhop nor Prelate whileſt he is in mortall ſinne, we graunt it is an errour.

That temporall Lordes may at their pleaſure take away the temporall goodes from Churches offendyng habitualiter: We graunt it is an errour, after this ſenſe that they may ſo take away temporall goodes of the churches without the caſes limited in the lawes of the Church and kyngdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lordes offendyng at their pleaſure: vnderſtandyng by this worde may, that they may do it by the lawe: We graunt it is an errour, becauſe that ſubiectes haue no power ouer their Lordes, but contrary.

That tithes be pure almes, and that pariſhioners may for the offences of their Curates detayne the ſame and beſtow them to others at their pleaſure: vnderſtandyng by this worde may, as before, to may, by the law: we graunt it is an errour.

That ſpeciall prayers applied to any one perſon by prelates or religious men, do no more profite then the generall prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them vnlyke: Vnderſtanding this concluſion vniuerſally negatiuely, and vnderſtanding by ſpeciall prayers, the prayers made vppon ſpeciall deuotion and generall prayers of generall deuotion: then after this ſenſe, no ſuch ſpeciall prayers applied to any one perſon, by ſpeciall oratours do profite more ſpecially the ſayd perſon, then generall prayers do, which are made of the ſame and for the ſame perſons, we graunt it is an errour.

He that geueth almes to the friers or to any Frier that preacheth, is excōmunicate both he that geueth, and he that taketh: Vnderſtanding this propoſition vniuerſally or conditionally as is aforeſayd: We graunt to be an errour.

That who ſo entreth into any priuate religion what ſo euer, is thereby made more vnapt and vnmeete to obey the cōmaundementes of God: We graunt it is an errour.

That ſuch holy men as did inſtitute any priuate religions whatſoeuer, as well of ſecular hauing poſſeſſions, as of friers hauyng none, in ſo inſtituting did ſinne: Vnderſtanding this reduplicatiuely or vniuerſally: We graunt it is an errour. After this ſenſe, that what Saint ſoeuer did inſtitute priuate religions inſtituting the ſayd religion vpō that conſideration as they did, did ſinne.

That religious men liuyng in priuate religions, be not of the religion of Chriſt: Vnderſtanding the propoſitiō vniuerſally as is aforeſayd: We graunt it is an errour.

That friers are bound to get their liuinges by the labour of their handes and not by begging: Vnderſtādyng this propoſition vniuerſally as before: We graunt it is an error.

These thinges haue we ſpoken reuerend father and lord, in all humilitie, vnder your gracious ſupportatiō and benigne correction, accordyng to our abilities and ſlender capacities for this preſent (the honour of God, the veritie of our beliefe, and ſafe conſcience in all poyntes reſerued) more humbly yet beſeching you: that if any other thyng there be that ſeemeth meete vnto your excellēcy and diſcretion to be more or otherwiſe ſaid and ſpoken: that your gracious fatherhood would vouchſafe to informe vs as children by the ſacred ſcriptures by the determination of the church, or authorities of the holy Doctours. And doubtles, with redy wils, and obedient mindes we ſhall conſent and agree vnto your wholſome doctrine. May it therfore pleaſe your fatherhoode, right reuerend in God, accordyng to the accuſtomed maner of your benignitie, fauourably to accept theſe our wordes and ſayings, forasmuch as the foreſayd concluſions were neuer by vs eyther in ſchooles affirmed, or els in Sermons publikely preached.

Further examinations and procedinges agaynſt the foreſayd Nich. Herford, Phillip Repingdon, and Io. Aiſhton.

Further examinations agaynſt the ſayd Nic. Phil. and John. Nic. Herford, Phil. Repington John Aſheton. examined. 20. Iunij. an. 1382

WHen all theſe aunſwers were made vnto the ſayd Lord Archb. of Canterbury, the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip, for that they aunſwered not vnto the meaning and wordes of the firſt concluſion expreſly: but contrary to the ſenſe of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudicially examined what their ſenſe and meaning was, but they would not expreſſe the ſame. Then was it demaunded of them accordyng to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion declared on the behalfe of the ſaid lord of Cāterbury whether the ſame materiall bread in numero, which before the conſecration is layde vppon the aulter, remayne in the proper ſubſtaunce and nature, after the conſecration in the ſacrament of the aulter, as lykewiſe of the wyne? To this the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip aunſwered, that for that tyme they could ſay no more therin, then that they had already aunſwered, as is afore alleged in writyng. And for that vnto the ſenſe and wordes of the ſecond concluſion they aunſwered not fully and expreſſely, but in a ſenſe contrary to the decretall Cum Marthe, beyng aſked what was the meanyng, would not expreſſe the ſame. Therfore it was demaunded of them accordyng to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion, declared in the behalfe of the ſayd L. of Caunterbury, whither thoſe corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the conſecration of them: after the conſecration were in the ſame breade and wyne, or els were ſubiected in any other ſubſtaunce? To this they aunſwered, that better to aunſwere, then before in their writinges they already had, for that tyme they could not. To the meanyng alſo and wordes of the third concluſion, for that they aunſwered not plainly and expreſly, but in ſenſe contrary to the decretal in ẏ Clementines Si dudum, beyng aſked what was that ſenſe and meanyng, would not declare the ſame: wherfore it was then demaunded of them accordyng to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſiõ, declared on the behalfe of the ſayd Lord of Cantrrbury. Whither the ſame body of Chriſt which was aſſumpted of the Virgine, be in the ſacrament of the aulter, ſecundum ſeipſum, euen as he is really in carnall ſubſtaunce, proper eſſence, and nature. To this they aunſwered, that for that tyme they coulde ſay no more then that they had ſayde, as before is ſpecified in writyng.

Furthermore, to the ſenſe and text of the ſixt concluſion, for that they aunſwered not fully and expreſly, beyng aſked whither God ought any maner of obedience to the Deuill or not: they ſaid yea, as the obedience of loue, becauſe he loueth hym, and puniſheth hym as he ought. And to proue that God ought ſo to obey the deuill, they offred themſelues to the fire.

To the xi. concluſion, for that they anſwered not expreſly, beyng aſked whither a prelate might excommunicate any man beyng in the ſtate of grace: ſayd yea.

Unto the xx. concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully, ſimply and expreſly, beyng demaunded whether ſpeciall or generall prayers did moſt profit, & were of greater force? They would not ſay but that ſpeciall.

Unto the laſt concluſion, for that they aunſwered neyther ſimply nor expreſly, and beyng demaunded particularly, whether any frier were bound to get his liuyng with hys manuall labour, ſo that it might not be lawfull for them to liue by beggyng? They would make no aunſwer at all.

The iudgement of the doctors vpon these articles.

After that, the foreſayd Lord Archb. of Cant. demaunded of all the foreſayd Doctors, what their iudgement was touching the aunſwers that were made vpon all and ſingular ſuch concluſions. All which doctors and euery of them ſeuerally, ſayd: ẏ there all the aunſweres geuen vnto ẏ firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixt concluſions (as is before recited) were inſufficient, hereticall and ſubtill: and that all the aunſwers made ſpecially to the tenth, ninth, and laſt concluſions, as is aboue mentioned: were inſufficient, erroneous, & peruerſe. Whereupon, the ſayd lord Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, conſidering the ſayd anſwers to be hereticall, ſubtill, erroneous and peruerſe, accordingly as the ſayd Doctors (as is aforeſayd) had weyed and conſidered: admoniſhed the ſayd Nicholas and Philip ſufficiently vnder theſe forme of wordes.

Admonition and citation of the Archb. against the examinates.

The name of Chriſt beyng called vpon: we William by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee, and through all our prouince of Canterbury, Inquiſitour of all hereticall prauitie: Do ſufficiently and lawfully admoniſh and cite you Nicholas Herford and Philip Repingdon profeſſours of Diuinitie, hauyng this day and place aſſigned you by your owne conſent and our prefiction, peremptorily to aunſwer and to ſay, fully and plainly your opinions touchyng theſe concluſions wherevnto we do referre you (all ſubtill, ſophiſticall, and Logicall wordes ſet apart) beyng therunto ſworne, cited, & commaunded: Which thing to do, without cauſe reaſonable or any licence geuen therevnto, you neyther haue bene willyng nor are willyng, nay rather ye contemptuouſly refuſe to aunſwer to ſome of thoſe concluſions before vs iudicially, accordyng to the effect of our monition, citation, and commaundement beforeſayde. But for that, ye haue aunſwered vnto ſome of them heretically, and to other ſome erroneouſly, although not fully, we admoniſh and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily: that plainly and fully (all ſubtile, ſophiſticall and logicall wordes ſet apart) you and euery of you, anſwer vnto the ſame concluſions, and vnto that ſenſe and meanyng by vs limited: vnder the payne that otherwiſe ſuch concluſiõs deſerue by you confeſſed, and that for the ſame concluſions you ought to haue.

An other day assigned for the examinates to appeare.

Which admonition beyng made and done, for that ẏ foreſayd Nicholas and Philip would make none other anſwer: The ſaid Lord Archb. of Cant. concluded that buſines, prefixing and aſſignyng vnto the foreſayd Nicholas and Philip 8. dayes ſpace, that is to ſay, vntill the xxvij. day of the ſame month: And that then they ſhould appeare before the ſayd lord Archb. of Caunterbury whereſoeuer within the ſame his prouince of Cant. he ſhould fortune to be, to heare his decree that ſhould be made in that behalfe. This done, the foreſayd Archb. of Cant. moniſhed and cited lawfully and ſufficiently, Iohn Ayſhton vnder the tenour of theſe wordes followyng.

Processe made by the Archb. against Iohn Asheton.

In the name of God: we William by Gods permiſſion, Archb. of Cant. Primate of all England, Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicall, and through all our prouince of Cant. of all hereticall prauitie chiefe Inquiſitour: doe moniſhe & cite thee, Iohn Aſheton maiſter of arte, and ſtudent in diuinitie appearing before vs, iudicially to ſay and ſpeake the playne veritie touchyng theſe concluſions to the which we doe referre thee: and to the which we haue cauſed thee to ſweare, laying thy hand vpon a booke: as beyng alſo otherwyſe by vs moniſhed and commaunded to keepe thys daye and place by vs appoynted, for the thirde tyme peremptorily, to propone ſuch reaſonable cauſe (if thou haſt any) wherfore thou oughteſt not to be pronounced an hereticke. And ſufficiently and lawfully we moniſhe and cite thee, the firſt, ſecond, and third tyme, and that peremptorily, that thou, fully and playnely (all ſubtill, ſophiſtical, and logicall wordes ſet apart) do aunſwere vnto the ſame concluſions, vnder the payne that vnto ſuch concluſions belong and on thy part confeſſed, and that thou for ſuch concluſions oughteſt to ſuffer. Which monition, beyng thus premiſed: The ſayde Archbyſhop read the firſt concluſion, and of the ſayd Iohn inquired what was hys opinion and meanyng therein. and hereupon he ſayd hys mynde concernyng the foreſayd monition.

I. Ashton generally examined.

The Archb. and hys fellowes do flee the Englishe tongue for the people.

Then, the foreſayd Iohn Aſheton being often required by the Archbyſhop that he would aunſwere in the Latine tounge to thoſe queſtions which were demaunded of hym, becauſe of the lay people that ſtoode about hym: he cryng out in the Engliſhe tounge, vttered friuolous and opprobrious contumelies to moue and excite the people agaynſt the ſayd Archbyſhop as it ſhould ſeeme. Neither did he vnto the firſt concluſion nor vnto any of theſe other concluſions, effectually and pertinently ſeme to them to aunſwere: but rather by ſubtelties & ſhiftes, ſaying oftẽtimes and expreſſely as Luke ſayd, it was ſufficient for hym to beleue as the holy Church beleued.

Whether materiall bread remayne in the sacrament.

Then the ſayd Archbyſhop examined hym vpon the firſt concluſion touchyng ẏ Sacrament of the aulter: whether, that after the wordes of conſecration, there remayned materiall bread, particuler bread, or vniuerſall bread? he ſayd that that matter paſſed hys vnderſtandyng, and therfore ſayd: he woulde in that forme and maner aunſwere and otherwiſe not. But amongeſt other thynges, he ſpake in deridyng wyſe vnto ẏ ſayd Archbyſhop, agaynſt thys worde Materiall, ſaying, you may put that in your purſe if you haue any. Whereupon, the ſayd Archbyſhop, calling that an vnwiſe and fooliſhe aunſwere as the reſt of the doctors did (of whom mention was made before) the rather for that he was a graduat in the ſchooles, farther proceeded agaynſt the ſayde Iohn Aſheton in this wiſe.

And thou Iohn Aſheton moniſhed and commaunded by vs as is aforeſayd, after thyne othe taken: without any reaſonable cauſe or any other licence, neither wouldeſt thou nor yet wilt, but refuſeſt and yet dooſt contemptuouſly, to aunſwere vnto ſuch concluſions before vs, iudicially accordyng to our monition and commaundement aforeſayd: we hold all ſuch concluſions by thee confeſſed, and thee the foreſayd Iohn with all thy ſayd concluſions, conuicted. And therfore we do pronounce and declare by ſentence geuyng, that thou Iohn Aſheton cõcernyng thoſe concluſions, which by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelates our ſuffragans, & alſo diuers & ſundry profeſſours of diuinitie, and other wiſe men and learned in the law accordyng to the Canonicall ſanctions, beyng condemned and declared for an hereticke and hereticall: to haue bene and ſtill is, an hereticke, and thy concluſions hereticall. And as touchyng thy other concluſions by vs heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned: we do pronounce and declare ſententially by theſe our writynges, that both thou haſt erred and dooſt erre.

Vpon the ſame xx. day of Iune in the yere & place aboue
recited

M. Tho. Hilmā ſuſpected to be a fauourer of J. Aſhton. The 20. day of Iune.

Dayes geuē to T. Hilmā to aunſwere.

recited: the foreſayd Lord of Canterbury beyng deſirous, as he pretended to be informed by M. Thomas Hilmā bacheler of diuinitie there beyng preſent and ſomewhat fauoryng the ſayd M. John Aſhton what hys iudgement and opinion was touchyng the foreſayd concluſions: prefixed and aſſigned vnto the ſayd Thomas (for that tyme demaūdyng the ſame) deliberation and day 8. dayes after, that is to ſay, the 28. of the ſayd month: that he appeare before the biſhop of Cant. whereſoeuer within his ſayd prouince of Cant. he ſhould then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what hys iudgement and opinion was, touching the foreſayd concluſions. Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

¶ The names of Friers and Doctors aſſiſtent at the examination aforeſayd.

Friers Obſeruantes, Botleſham B. of Nanaton, frier John Langley, William Suard.

Friers of Dominickes order, John Kynghā, John Louey, Peter Stokes, Walter Diſh.

Friers Carmelites, Thomas Aſhburn, Bankine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and friers Auguſtines, M. Joh. Barnet, M. Thomas Backton, M. John Blanchard, M. Joh. Shillingford, M. Lydford, M. Thomas Southam.

28 day of June. an. 1382.

The Friday next following, that is to ſay, the 28. day of June: the foreſayd M. Nicholas, Philip, and Tho. Hilman, appeared before the ſayd Archb. and lord Inquiſitour of Canterbury, in the chappell of hys manor of Otfurd, in the dioces of Caunterbury, there ſitting in his Tribunall ſeat. To whom the ſayd biſhop of Canterbury ſaying, that for becauſe at that tyme he had not the preſence & aſſiſtence of the doctors in diuinitie, and of the Canon and ciuill law: he continued the ſayd buſines touching the ſayd Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the ſame ſtate wherin thē it was till Tueſday next and immediately enſuyng: that is to ſay, the firſt day of July, the yeare of the Lord aboueſayd, and prefixed vnto the ſayd Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas Hilman the ſame day to appeare before hym, whereſoeuer within hys prouince of Cant. he ſhould then chaunce to be, to do that which vpon the ſayd 28. day, they were purpoſed to do together or a part.

The 1. day of July. an. 1382.

Which Tueſday beyng come, the foreſayd Archb. in the chiefe houſe of his church at Canterbury, before the houre of 9. with the doctours, whoſe names are vnder conteined and other clarkes a great multitude: Expected the foreſayd Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, long time by the bedle callyng them and lokyng after them, who neuertheleſſe appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the ſame day, continuyng the foreſayd buſines in the priſtine ſtate till the ſame houre. At which houre the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Cant. hauyng aſſiſtentes, the doctors, and clerkes vnder recited: examined the foreſayd maiſter Thomas Hilman, then and there iudicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foreſayd concluſions: who at them and the meanyng of them ſomewhat ſtammeryng, at laſt, to all and ſinguler the ſame concluſions then to hym red and expounded thus aunſwered. I ſuppoſe and iudge all and ſinguler thoſe concluſions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counſaile and conſent of hys clerkes: to be hereticall and erroneous, euen as the ſame my Lord of Caunterbury, and other doctours of diuinitie of the Canon and ciuill law, by common conſent and counſaile haue ſuppoſed and thought. And that the ſame (beyng for hereſies and errours as before is ſayd condemned) doe as much as in me is condemne: proteſtyng that I will holde and affirme the contrary of thoſe concluſions, & in the ſame fayth lyue and dye. Then the ſayd Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, then and there ſitting as Tribunall or iudge, pronounſyng the ſayd maiſters Nicholas and Phillip (long in court called before and taried for, and yet not appearing) guilty of contumacy and diſobedience: excommunicated them for the penaltie of this their contumacie, in tenor of theſe wordes followyng.

The anſwere of T. Hilmā.

Nic. Herford & Phil. Repington for not appearing excommunicated.

Excommunication pronounced by the Archb.

We William by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of England, Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee, and thorough all our prouince of Caunterbury, of all hereticall prauitie chiefe Inquiſitour: Do pronounce maiſter Nicholas Herford, and maiſter Phillip Repingdon, profeſſours of diuinitie, hauyng this day and place by our prefixion appointed to heare and decree in this buſines of hereticall prauitie (beyng in court by our Bedle long called and taried for, and yet not appearyng) to be ſtubburne and diſobedient perſons: and for the penalty of this their contumacie, we do excommunicate them and eyther of them by theſe preſentes.

¶ The denouncing of the excommunication agaynſt Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Reppington.

The 12. day of July. an. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Paules croſſe.

William by Gods permiſſion Archb. of Canterbury. &c. To our beloued ſonne in Chriſt, whoſoeuer he be, that this inſtaunt Sonday ſhal preach at Paules croſſe in London, Salutatiō, grace and bleſſing. For as much as we prefixed a certaine competent day and place to maiſter Nicholas Herford, and maiſter Phillip Reppington, Canon Regular of the Monaſtery of our Lady of Leyceſter, beyng Doctours of Diuinitie and of hereticall prauitie, vehemently ſuſpected: After certayne aunſweres not fully made, but impertinently and nothyng to the purpoſe, as alſo heretically and erroneouſly made vnto diuers concluſions hereticall and erroneous: In diuers places of our ſayd prouince commonly, generally, and publiquely taught and preached, and therefore that they ſhould iudicially appeare before vs, to do and to receyue peremptorily in that behalf, what thyng ſo euer the qualitie of that buſineſſe ſhoulde moue vs vnto: and that we haue for their contumacie in not appearyng before vs at the day and place iudicially appoynted as right therein required: We by theſe preſentes commaund and commit vnto you, firmely enioynyng you, that when all the multitude of people ſhalbe gathered together to heare your ſermon: that in the day and place appointed, you publiquely and ſolemnely denounce the foreſayde Nicholas and Phillip, holdyng vp a croſſe, and lightyng vp a candle, and then throwyng downe the ſame vppon the ground, to haue bene ſo and in ſuch maner excommunicated and ſtill be.

Fare ye well. In our Manour houſe at Lambeth, the xij. day of July, the yeare of our Lord, 1382. and firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

The Citation agaynſt the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip.

William by the grace of God. &c. To our welbeloued ſonne M. Robert Rigge chauncellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford ſalutation. &c. For as much as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to M. Nicholas Herford, and M. Phillip Reppington, &c. as before. We ſtraightely charge & commaund you that you publikely and ſolemnly denounce in the Church of our Lady, and in the ſcholes of the Vniuerſitie, the foreſayd Nicholas and Phillip, to haue bene by vs excommunicated and ſtill is. And that you further cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily, the foreſayde Nicholas and Phillip, that they & euery of them appeare before vs within xv. dayes after the date of this citation, wherſoeuer it ſhal fortune vs, within our ſayd prouince of Caunterbury then to be: To heare and ſee how we meane to procede agaynſt them, and euery of them concerning the foreſaid hereticall and erroneous concluſions, according to the forme of retroactions and qualitie of the buſines in this behalfe had and vſed. And that both of the day of the receipt of this preſent citation, of the maner and forme therof, or that if you ſhall apprehend by perſonall citation the ſayd Nicholas & Phillip, or either of them, or whither they ſhall be abſent and hide themſelues, as of euery thing els, which in this behalfe you ſhall thinke mete to be done: that betwene this & the feaſt of S. Laurēce, you clerely certifie vs by your letters patentes contayning the effect of theſe thinges.

Fare ye well. At our Manour of Lambeth the 13. day of Ioly, the yeare of our Lord 1382. and firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

The names of the Doctours and Friers aſſiſtentes at this ſitting.

Seculars, M. William Blankpayne. M. Wil. Barton.

Friers Carmelites, Robert Euery prior, John Kenningham, prior, and John Lunne.

Friers Minors, William Barnwel, John Rydin, and William Brunſcombe.

Friers Auguſtines, John Court, Patrington, Tomſon and Reepes.

The excommunication of Herford & Repingtō, denounced at Paules croſſe.

Against this blynd excommunication of the Archb. the parties excommunicate, commenced and exhibited their appeale vnto the Biſhop of Rome. Which appeale of theirs, as inſufficient, or rather to him vnpleaſaunt, the ſayd Archbiſhop vtterly reiected (as might many tymes ouercommeth right) proceedyng in his preconceaued excommunication agaynſt them, and wrytyng moreouer hys letters to him that ſhould preach next at Paules croſſe, as is aforeſayd, to denounce and to publiſh openly the ſayd Nicholas Herford, & Philip Repington to be excommunicate, for their not appearing and their terme aſſigned, which was in the 13. day of the month of July.

Xiij. day of July an. 1382.
Other letters of the Archb. ſent to the Chauncellor of Oxford.

Which Archbiſhop moreouer the ſayd yeare, month and day aforeſayd, ſent alſo another letter to M. Rigge Commiſſary of Oxford, ſtraitly enioynyng and chargyng hym, not onely to denounce the ſayd ſentence of excommunicatiõ, and to geue out publique citation agaynſt them, but alſo to make diligent ſearch and inquiſition through all Oxford for them, to haue them apprehended and ſent vp to hym, perſonally before him to appeare, at a certaine day preſcribed for the ſame. Wherby may appeare how buſie this biſhop was in diſquietyng and perſecutyng theſe poore men, whom rather he ſhould haue nouriſhed and cheriſhed as hys brethrẽ. But as his labour is paſt, ſo hys rewarde will follow, at what day the great Archbiſhop of our ſoules, ſhall iudicially appeare in his tribunall ſeat, to iudge both the quick and the dead.

The Archb. yet not contented with this, doth moreouer by all meanes poſſible, ſollicite the king to ioyne withall, the power of hys temporal ſword, for the correction of theſe mẽ. Wherupon, the king beyng yet but yong, and vnder yeres of rype iudgement, partly induced or rather ſeduced by the importune ſute of the Archbiſhop, partly alſo either for feare of the biſhops (for kinges alwais cannot do in their realms what they will) or els perhaps intiſed by ſome hope of ſubſidie to be gathered of the Cleargy: at the inſtaunce of the Archb. directed out theſe letters: the tenour whereof, here vnder followeth.

The kinges letters patentes to the Archbiſhop.

The kinges letter agaynſt the fauourers of Wickliffe.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and Lord of Ireland: To all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. By the petition of the reuerend father in God, William Archb. of Canterbury, Primate of England exhibited vnto vs, I we right well vnderſtand: That diuers & ſondry concluſions very contrary to holeſome doctrine & redoundyng both to the ſubuerſiõ of the catholique fayth, the holy church, and his prouince of Cant. in diuers and ſundry places of the ſame his prouince haue beene openly and publiquely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which concluſions, ſome as hereſies, other ſome as erroures haue been condemned: but not before good and mature deliberation firſt therein had and vſed, and by common counſayle of the ſayd Archb. his ſuffraganes and many doctors in diuinity and other clarkes & learned men in the holy ſcriptures, were ſententially and holeſomely declared. Wherupon the ſayd Archb. hath made his ſupplycation vnto vs: that both for the coertion and due caſtigation of ſuch as ſhall henceforth of an obſtinate minde preach or maintayne the foreſayd cõcluſions, that we would vouchſafe to put to the arme & helping hãd of our kingly power. We therfore moued by the zeale of the catholick faith, wherof we be and wil be defendours, and vnwilling that any ſuch hereſies or errors ſhould ſpring vp within the limits of our dominion: Geue and graunt ſpeciall licence and authority by the tenour of theſe preſentes, vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop, and to his Suffraganes, to areſt and impriſon either in their own priſons or any other, all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons as ſhall either priuely or apertly preach or maintayne the foreſayd concluſions ſo condemned, and the ſame perſones ſo impriſoned there at their pleaſures to detayne, till ſuch tyme as they ſhall repent them and amende them of ſuch hereticall prauities, or els ſhall be of ſuch areſtes by vs and our counſayle otherwiſe determined and prouided. Further chargyng and commaundyng all and ſingular our liegemen miniſters, and ſubiectes, of what ſtate and condition ſo euer they be, vpon their fidelitie and allegeaunce wherein they ſtand bound to vs: that by no meanes they either fauour, counſayle, or helpe the preachers or els mainteyners of the ſayd concluſions ſo condẽned or their fauourers, vpon paine and forfaiture of all that euer they haue: But that they obey and humbly attend vpon the ſayd Archbiſhop, hys ſuffraganes, and miniſters in the execution of theſe preſentes, ſo that due and manifeſt publication agaynſt the foreſayd concluſions and their mainteyners, without any perturbation may be done & executed, as for the defence of our realm and catholike fayth ſhal be thought moſt meete and requiſite. In witneſſe wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made.

The 16. day of June an. 1382.

Witnes our ſelf, at Weſtminſter the 16. day of Iune, & vj. yere of our reigne.

The kinges letters patentes to the Vicechauncelor.

An other letter of the K. to the Vicechauncelor.

THe kyng: To the Chauncellor and procurators of the vniuerſitie of Oxford which now be, or for the tyme beyng ſhalbe: Gretyng. Moued by the zeale of chriſtiã faith, wherof we be and alwayes will be defendours, and for our ſoules health induced therunto, hauing a great deſire to repreſſe, and by condigne puniſhment to reſtrayne the impugners of the forſayd faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and preſume to ſow their naughty and peruerſe doctrine within our kyngdome of Englãd, and to preache and holde damnable concluſions ſo notoriouſly repugnant and contrary to the ſame faith, to the peruerting of our ſubiects and people as we vnderſtand: Before they any further proceede in their malicyous erroures, or els infect others: Wee haue by theſe preſentes appoynted you to bee inquiſitour generall (all the chyefe diuynes of the ſayd vnyuerſitie beyng your aſſiſtentes) and the ſame likewyſe to be done of all and ſingular the Graduates, Dyuines, and Lawyers of the ſame vnyuerſitie. And if they ſhall know any which bee of the iuriſdiction of the ſayd Vnyuerſitie of Oxforde, which be probablie of them to be ſuſpected in the fauour, belyefe, or defence of any hereſie or errour, and eſpecyally of any of the concluſions publiquely condemned by the reuerend father, Wyllyam Archbyſhop of Canterbury, by the counſaile of his Cleargie, or els of any other concluſion like vnto any of them in meaning or in wordes: & that if henceforth you ſhall finde any that ſhall beleeue, fauoure, or defend any of the foreſayd hereſies or erroures or any other ſuch lyke, or els which ſhall be ſo bold to receaue into their houſes and Innes M. Iohn Wickliffe, M. Nich. Herford, M. Philip Repingdon, or M. Iohn Aſhton, or any other noted by probable ſuſpitiõ of any the foreſaid hereſies or errours, or any other like vnto thẽ in meaning or in worde: Or that ſhall preſume to communicate with any of them, or els to defend or fauour any of ſuch fauourers, receiuers, communicantes and defendours: within 7. dayes after the ſame ſhal appeare and be manifeſt vnto you, to baniſh and expel them from the vniuerſitie and towne of Oxford, till ſuch time as they ſhall declare their innocency before the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury for the time beyng, by manifeſt purgation. So notwithſtandyng, that ſuch as be compelled to purge themſelues, you certifie vs and the ſayd Archbiſhop vnder your ſeales, from tyme to tyme within one month, that they be ſuch maner of men. Cõmaunding furthermore, that thorough all the halles of the ſayd vniuerſitie, ye cauſe diligently to be ſearched and inquired out of hand: If any man haue any booke or tractation of the Edition or compilyng of the foreſayd M. Iohn Wickliffe, or Nicholas Herford: & that when and whereſoeuer ye ſhall chaunce to finde any ſuch booke or tractation, ye cauſe the ſame to be areſted and taken, and vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatſoeuer) worde for worde, and ſentence for ſentence, to be brought and preſented. And therfore we ſtraightly enioyne & commaund you, vpon your fidelitie and allegeaunce wherein ye ſtand bound vnto vs, and on payne of forfaiture of all & ſingular your liberties and priuileges of your ſayd vniuerſitie, and of all that euer you haue beſides: that you geue your diligent attendance vpon the premiſſes, and that well and faithfully you execute the ſame in maner & form aforeſaid. And that you obey the foreſayde Archbiſhop, and his lawfull and honeſt mandates, that he ſhall thinke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe, as it is mete ye ſhould. And we geue in charge vnto the Vicechancellor and Mayor of Oxforde for the tyme beyng, and to all and ſingular our Shiriffes, vndershiriffes, bayliffes, and ſubiectes, by theſe preſents: that they ayde, obey, and be attendaunt vpon you in the execution of the premiſſes. In witnes whereof, &c. Witnes the Kyng at Weſtminſter, the xiij. day of Iuly, the ſixte yeare of his raigne.

The 13. day of July. an. 1382.
An other ſharpe letter of K. Rich. ſent to Oxford agaynſt Wickliffe & his felowes.
The effect of the kinges letter briefly comprehended.

Beſides theſe letters patents the ſayd young king moued by the vnquiet importunity of the Archbyſhop: ſendeth moreouer an other ſpecyall letter to the Vicechauncelour and proctors of the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde. Wherein vnder a pretenſed zeale of defence of chriſtyan faythe, he ſtraightlye and ſharpely inioyneth & aſſigneth them (for the better aboli-

The perſons with their bookes to be areſted.

The 14. day of July.an.1382.

ſhing of thoſe concluſions and opinions) to make a generall Inquiſition through the whole vniuerſitie as well for the parties aforeſaid, John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herforde, Phillip Repington, John Aſhton, and ſuch other, as alſo for all other whom they know or iudge to be ſuſpected of that doctrine, or to be maintayners, receauers, and defenders of the foreſayd partyes, or their concluſions any maner of way, to the entent that they being ſo apprehended through their diligent ſearch, may be within vij. dayes of their admonitiõs, expulſed the vniuerſitie, and cited vp to the Archb. of Cant. before him to appeare, and to ſtand to their anſweres. Wylling moreouer and commaundyng the ſayd vicechancelor and proctors with other regentes their aſſiſters, that if any perſon or perſons in any houſe, hall, or colledge, or in any other place ſhall be found to haue any of their bookes, or treatiſes compiled by the ſaid John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford &c. they will cauſe without delay the ſayd perſon or perſons, & theyr bookes to be areſted and attached, and preſented with in one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foreſayd Archb. vpon their fayth and allegiance, as they will auoyde the forfayture of all and ſingular the lyberties & priuileges to the vniuerſitie appertayning. And that they will be obedient to the Archb. aforeſaid in the ordering hereof, and all other hys iniunctions to be obayed in all thinges lawfull and honeſt. Geuyng moreouer in theſe our letters charge and commaundement to the Maior, Bayliffes, and other the inhabytantes of Oxford, to be aſſiſtant and attendant vnto the foreſayd vicechanceler and proctors, touchyng the execution of the premiſſes, bearyng the date of the fourteenth day of Julye: whych was the yeare of our Lord.1382.

❡ Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vicechauncellor of Oxford, Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington, with other.

Rob. Rigges Vicechaũcelor of Oxford.

Nic. Herford preaching on the Aſcenſiõ day defended Wickliffe.

Repington firſt Chanon of Leyceſter, after B. of Lincolne.

Repington commenſed Doctor.

The vicechanceler the ſame time in Oxford was M. Robert Rigges. The two procters were John Huntman, and Walter Diſhe, who then as farre as they durſt, fauoured the cauſe of John Wickliffe and that ſide. In ſo much yͭ the ſame tyme and yeare, which was an.1382. when certayne publicke ſermons ſhould be appointed cuſtomably at the feaſt of the Aſcenſiõ, and of Corpus Chriſti, to be preached in the cloyſter of S. Frideſwyde (now called Chriſtes church) before the people, by the vicechanceler aforeſayd and the proctoures (the doynges thereof the. vicechauncellor aforeſaid and proctoures had committed to Phillip Repington, and N. Her. ſo yͭ N. Her. ſhould preach on the Aſcẽſiõ day, and Repington on Corpus Chriſti day) Firſt Herford beginnyng was noted to defend John Wickliffe, openly to be a faythfull, good, and innocẽt man: for the which no ſmall adoe with outcries was among the Friers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured and maintayned Wickliffes parte, grew firſt in ſuſpicyon amongſt the enemyes of the truth. For aſſoone as he began ſomewhat liberally and freely to pronoũce and vtter any thyng which tended to the defence of Wickliffe, by and by the Carmelytes, and all the orders of relygion were in hys top, and layd not a few hereſies vnto hys charge, the which they had ſcraped here and there out of hys ſermons, & had compyled together in a certayne forme, by the handes of certayn notaries, through the induſtry and dyligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite: a kynde of people prone & ready to all kinde of miſchiefe, vprores, debate, & diſſẽſiõ. After this yͤ feaſt of Corpus Chriſti drue neare, vpon which day it was looked for, that Repington ſhould preach. This man was a canon of Leiceſter, and had before taken hys firſt degree vnto Doctorſhip: who preachyng the ſame tyme at Bradgate for the ſame Sermon he became firſt ſuſpected, and hated of the Phariſaical broode of the Friers. But through the great and notable dexteritie of hys wit, (which all men did behold and ſee in hym) accompanied with lyke modeſty and honeſty: he dyd ſo ouercome, or at the leaſt aſſuage this cruelty and perſecution which was towardes hym, that ſhortly after, by the conſent of the whole fellowſhip, he was admitted doctour. Who as ſoone as he had taken it vpon hym, by and by he ſtepped forth in the ſchooles, and began immediatly to ſhew forth and vtter, that which he had long hidden and diſſembled. Proteſtyng openly, that in all morall matters, he would defend Wickliffe. But as touching the ſacrament he would as yet holde hys peace, vntill ſuch tyme as the Lord ſhall otherwiſe illumynate the hartes and myndes of the cleargy.

Now the day of Corpus Chriſti aforeſayd approaching neare, when the Fryers vnderſtoode that this man ſhould preach ſhortly, fearing leſt that hee would rub the galles of their relygion, they conuented with the Archb. of Canterburye, that the ſame day a litle before that Phillip ſhoulde preach: Wickliffes concluſions which were priuately condẽned, ſhould be openly diffamed in the preſence of the whole vniuerſity. The doing of which matter, was committed to Peter Stokes Frier, ſtanderd bearer and chiefe champion of that ſide agaynſt Wickliffe.

Peter Stokes ſtanderd bearer to the papiſtes.

There were alſo letters ſent vnto the commiſſary, that he ſhould helpe and ayde him in publiſhing of the ſame concluſions, as is before declared.

Theſe thynges thus done and finiſhed, Repingdon at yͤ houre appointed proceaded to his ſermon. In the which ſermon among many other thinges, hee was reported to haue vttered theſe ſayinges, or to this effect.

Notes of the Sermon of Repington.

That the Popes or Byſhops ought not to be recommẽded aboue temporall Lordes.

Alſo that in all morall matters he would defend maſter Wickliffe as a true catholick doctor.

Moreouer that the Duke of Lancaſter was very earneſtly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all ſuch ſhould be receaued vnder his protection: Beſides many thinges mo which touched the prayſe and defence of Wickliffe.

And finally, in concluding his ſermon, he dimiſſed the people with this ſentẽce: I will (ſayd he) in the ſpeculatiue doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the Sacrament of the aulter, kepe ſilence and hold my peace, vntill ſuch time as God otherwiſe ſhall inſtruct and illuminate the hartes of the Clergy.

When the Sermon was done, Repingdon entred into Saint Frideſwides Church, accompanied with many of his friendes: who, as the enemies ſurmiſed, were priuily weaponed vnder their garmentes, if nede had bene. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforeſayd, ſuſpectyng all this, to be agaynſt hym, and beyng afrayd of hurt, kept himſelf within the ſanctuary of the Church, not daring as then to put out hys hed. The Vicechauncellor and Repington, friendly ſalutyng one another in the church porch, ſent away the people, and ſo departed euery man home to his owne houſe. There was not a litle ioy through the whole vniuerſitie for that ſermon, but in the meane tyme, the vnquiet & buſie Carmelite, ſlept not hys matter. For firſt by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbiſhop, exaggerating the perils and daungers that he was in, requiring and deſiring hys helpe and ayde, pretermitting nothyng, wherby to moue & ſtirre vp the archbiſhops minde, which of hys owne nature was as hote as a toſte as they ſay, and ready inough to proſecute the matter of hys owne accorde, though no man had prickt hym forward thereunto. Beſides all this (iij. dayes after) wyth a fierce and bolde courage, the ſayd Frier breathing out threatninges and hereſies agaynſt them, tooke the way vnto the ſchooles: minding there to proue, that the Pope and the Biſhops ought to be prayed for before the Lordes temporall. Whiles thys Frier was thus occupyed in the ſchooles, he was mocked and derided of all men, and ſhortly after he was ſent for by the Archbyſhop to London: whom immediatly after, the Vicechauncelor and Brightwell followed vp, to purge and cleare themſelues and their adherentes from the accuſations of thys Frier Peter. At the length they beyng examined vpon Wickliffes concluſions that were cõdemned: they did all conſent, that they were worthely condemned. The Vicechauncelor being afterward accuſed for the contempt of the Archbyſhops letters, when as he perceaued & ſaw, that no excuſe would preuayle to auoyde that daunger, hũblyng hymſelfe vpon hys knees, he deſired pardon. The which when he had, now agayne (as is aforeſayd) albeit very hardly obtayned: By the helpe of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſent away agayne wyth certayne cõmaundementes, and ſuſpenſions of heretickes. Then began the hatred on eyther part ſomewhat to appeare and ſhewe, and ſpecially all men were offended, and in the toppes of theſe Friers and religious men, vpon whom, whatſoeuer trouble or miſchiefe was rayſed vp, they did impute it as to the authours and cauſers of the ſame. Amongeſt whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Ciſtertian, a well learned deuine, which afterward was accuſed by the Byſhops of hereſie. He at that tyme was openly ſuſpected by the Commiſſary, becauſe in hys lectures he called the heretickes Lollardes, from his actes (as they terme them) in the ſchoole. Then he commyng by and by vp to London, made hys complaynt vnto the Archbyſhop, and to the kynges counſell.

The vniuerſitie reioyſeth.

Whether the Lordes temporall were to be prayed for before the Pope and Byſhops.

The frier derided and mocked in the ſchooles.

Religious men firſt cauſers of this trouble.

Henry Crompe firſt an accuſer of other, after accuſed himſelfe for hereſie.

Wherupon he obteyning the letters of the kyng, and of hys counſaile, by yͤ vertue therof (returning agayne to the vniuerſitie) was releaſed and reſtored agayne to his former ſtate: the wordes of which letter here followeth vnder written.

The copy of the kinges letter.

The kynges letter to the Vicechauncelor & procurators of Oxford. Henry Crompe complayneth to the kynges counſayle of the moſt ſecular maiſters of Oxford.

THe Kyng to the Vicechauncelour and procuratours of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, greetyng. Where as we alate vnderſtādyng by the greuous complaynt of Henry Crompe monke and regent in diuinitie wythin the ſayd vniuerſitie, how that he, beyng aſſiſted by the reuerend father in God the Archb. of Cant. and by other clerkes and diuines in the citie of London, to proceede in the condemnation of certayne concluſions erroneous and hereticall, hath bene therfore moleſted by you: And that you, through ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of ſome aduerſaries (pretending the peace of the ſayd vniuerſitie) to haue bene broken by the ſaid Henry in his laſt lecture, did therfore call him before you to appeare and aunſwere: and for hys not appearing, did therfore pronounce him as obſtinate, and conuicte of peace breakyng: alſo haue ſuſpended the ſayd Henry from hys lectures, and all ſcholaſticall actes. And where as we, by our writte did call you vp for the ſame, to appeare and aunſwere before our counſayle, vnto the premiſſes: ſo that all thynges beyng well tryed and examined by the ſayd counſayle, it was found and determined, that all your proceſſe agaynſt the ſayde Henry, was voyde and of none effecte: and commaundement geuen, that the ſayd Henry ſhould be reſtored and admitted agayne to his former lectures and ſcholaſticall actes, and to hys priſtine ſtate as you know. To the intent therfore that this decree aforeſayde ſhould be more duely executed of your part, we here by theſe preſentes ſtraightly charge and commaunde you: That you ſpeedely reuoking agayn all your proces againſt the ſaid Henry in the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, wyth all other that folowed therof: do admit and cauſe to be reſtored agayne the ſayd Henry to his ſcholaſticall actes, hys accuſtomed lectures and priſtine eſtate, without all delay, accordyng to the forme of the decree and determination aforeſayd. Enioyning you moreouer and your commiſſaries or deputies and your ſucceſſors, and all other maiſters regent and not regent, and other preſidentes, officers, miniſters, and ſcholers of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, vpon your fayth and legeance you owe vnto vs: that you do not impeach, moleſt, or greue, or cauſe to be greued (any maner of way, priuely or apertly) the ſayde Frier Henry for the cauſes premiſed, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occaſion of hys abſence from the vniuerſitie, or Frier Stephen Packyngton Carmelite, or any other religious or ſecular perſon fauouring them vpō the occaſion of any either worde or deede whatſoeuer, concernyng the doctrine of maſter Iohn Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford and Philip Repindon, or the reproſe and condemnation of their hereſies and errours, or the correction of their fauourers: But that you do procure the peace, vnitie, and quiet, within the ſayd vniuerſitie, and chiefly betwene the religious and ſecular perſons: and that you wyth all diligence nouriſhe, encreaſe, and preſerue the ſame to the vttermoſt of your ſtrength. And that you in no caſe omitte to doe it accordingly, vpon the forfaitures of all and ſingular the liberties and priuiledgies of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 14. day of Iuly.

Henry Crompe, Peter Stokes, Carm. Stephen Patkington Carm. reſtored by the K. to theyr ſcholaſticall actes.

Mention was made, as you heard a litle before, how M. Rigges Vicechauncelor of Oxford, commyng vp with M. Bryghtwell to the Archb. of Cant. was there ſtraitly examined of the concluſions of Wickliffe. Where he notwythſtanding through the helpe of the B. of Winc. obtayned pardon, and was ſent away againe wyth commaundementes and charges, to ſeeke out all the fauourers of Iohn Wickliffe. Thys commaundement beyng receaued, Nicholas Herford, & Philip Repyngtō (beyng priuely warned by the ſayd Vicechauncelor) in the meane ſeaſon conueyed them out of ſight, and fled to the Duke of Lancaſter for ſuccour and helpe. But the Duke, whether for feare, or for what cauſe els, I can not ſay, in the ende forſoke his poore and miſerable clientes.

Herford and Repingtō fled to the Duke of Lancaſter.

In the meane tyme, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great ſearch and inquiſition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them where ſo euer they myght be found. Wherupon the Archbyſhop W. Courtney directed out hys letters firſt to the Vicechauncelor of Oxford, then to the Byſhop of London named Rob. Braybroke: chargyng them not onely to excommunicate the ſayd Nicholas and Philip, wythin their iuriſdiction, and the ſaid excommunication to be denounced lykewiſe throughout all the dioces of his ſuffraganes: but alſo moreouer, that diligent ſearch and watch ſhould be layd for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might be apprehended: requiryng moreouer by thē to be certified agayne, what they had done in the premiſſes. And this was written the 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382. Ex Regiſt.

Letters of the Archb. to the Vicechauncelor. Letters of the Archb. to the B. of London. Rob. Braybroke B. of London.

The 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382.

Vnto theſe letters receaued from the Archbiſhop, diligent certificat was geuen accordingly, as well of the Byſhop of London hys part, as alſo of the Vicechauncelor, the tenour wherof was thys.

The letter certificatorie of the Vicechauncelor to the Archbyſhop.

The letter of Rob. Rygges Vicechaunc. to the Archb.

TO the reuerend father in Chriſt, Lord W. Archbyſhop of Cant. Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee, Rob. Rygges profeſſour of Diuinitie, and Vicechauncelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of Iuly I haue receaued: By the autoritie wherof, I haue denounced and cauſed to be denounced effectually, the foreſayde Nicholas and Philip, to haue bene and to be excommunicate publiquely and ſolemnly in the Church of S.Mary, & in the ſchooles, and to be cited alſo perſonally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commaunded. But after diligēt ſearch layd for them of my part to haue them perſonally cited and apprehended, I coulde not finde neyther the ſayd M.Nicholas, nor M.Philip: who haue hyd or conueied themſelues, vnknowing to me, as here is well knowen. wherof I thought here to geue ſignificatiō to your Fatherhood. Sealed & teſtified with the ſeale of myne office. From Oxford the 25. of Iuly.

The 25. day of Iuly an. 1382.

In the meane tyme Nicholas Herford, and Repyngton beyng repulſed of the Duke, and deſtitute (as was ſayd) of hys ſupportation, whether they were ſent, or of their owne accorde went to the archbiſhop, it is vncertaine. Thys I finde in a letter of the foreſayd Archbyſhop, conteyned in hys regiſter: that Repyngton in the 23. day of October the ſame yeare 1382. was reconciled againe to the Archbyſhop, and alſo by hys generall letter was releaſed & admitted to hys ſcholaſticall actes in the vniuerſitie. And ſo was alſo Iohn Aſhton, of whom (Chriſt willing) more ſhall follow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while I finde no ſpeciall relation.

Herford and Repington repulſed by the Duke of Lancaſter.

The 23. day of October. Repington releaſed by the Archb. J. Aſhetō reconciled by the Arch.

In ye meane tyme, about the 23. of the moneth of September the ſayd yeare, the kyng ſent hys mandate to the Archbyſhop for collecting of a ſubſidie, and to haue a conuocatiō of the clergie ſummoned, agaynſt the next parliament, which ſhould begyn the 18. day of Nouember. The Archbyſhop lykewiſe on the 15. day of October, directed his letters monitorie (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke Byſhop of London, to geue the ſame admonition to all hys ſuffraganes & other of the clergie wythin hys prouince for the aſſemblyng of the conuocation aforeſayd. All which done and executed, the parliament began beyng holden at Oxford the 18 day of Nouember, where the conuocatiō was kept in the monaſtery of Friſdeſwyde in Oxford. In the which conuocation, the Archbyſhop wyth the other byſhops there ſittyng in their Pōtificalibus, declared two cauſes of ye their preſent aſſembly, wherby (ſayth he) to repreſſe hereſies, which began newly in the realme to ſpryng, and for correctyng other exceſſes in the Church. The other cauſe (ſayde he) was to ayde and ſupport the kyng wyth ſome neceſſarye ſubſidie of money to be gathered, which thus declared, the conuocation was continued till the day folowing, which was the 19. of Nouember.

A parliamēt ſummoned. The 15. of Octob. 1382.

The conuocation of S. Friſeſwide in Oxford. The 18. day of Nouemb.

At the ſayd day and place, the Archbyſhop wyth the other Prelates aſſemblyng themſelues as before: The archbyſhop after the vſed ſolemnitie, wylled the procuratours of the clergie appointed for euery dioces, to conſult wythin themſelues, in ſome conuenient ſeuerall place, what they thought for their parts touching ye redreſſe of things, to be notified and declared to hym and to hys brethren. &c.

The 19. day of Nouem. an. 1382.

Furthermore, for ſo much (ſayth he) as it is ſo noyſed through all the realme, that ther were certayne in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, which did holde and mayntayne concluſions (as he called them) hereticall and erroneous condemned by hym, and by other lawyers and Doctours of Diuinitie: He therfore aſſigned the Byſhops of Sarum, Herford and Rocheſter, wyth William Rugge then Vicechaūcelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford (for belyke Robert Rigge was then diſplaced) alſo wyth William Berton, & Iohn Middleton Doctors: geuyng them hys full authoritie with curſing and bannyng, to compell them to ſearch and to inquire wyth all diligence and wayes poſſible, ouer all and ſingular what ſoeuer, eyther Doctours, Bachelers, or ſcholers of the ſayd vniuerſitie, which did holde, teach, mayntayne

Rob. Rigge diſplaced frō Vicechauncellorſhip.

Inquiſition made at Oxforde.

tain and defend, in ſcholes or out of ſcholes, the ſayd concluſions hereticall (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to geue certificate truly and plainly touching the premiſſes. And thus for that day the aſſemble brake vp to the next, and ſo to the next, and the third beyng monday, the 24. day of Nouemb. Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

The 24. day of Nouemb. an. 1382.

On the which day, in the preſence of the Prelates and the Clergy in the Chapter houſe of Saint Frideſwyde, came in Phillip Repington (otherwiſe called of the brethren afterward Rampington) who their abiured the concluſions and aſſertions aforeſayd, in this forme of wordes as followeth.

The abiuration of Phillip Repington.

In Dei nomine. Amen. I Phillip Repington, canon of the houſe of Leiceſter, acknowledging one Catholique and Apoſtolike fayth do curſe and alſo abiure al hereſy, namely theſe hereſies and errours vnder written, condemned and reproued by the decrees canonicall, and by you moſt reuerẽd father, touching which hither to I haue bene diffamed: cõdemnyng moreouer and reprouyng both them and the authors of them, and do confeſſe the ſame to be catholically cõdemned: And ſweare alſo by theſe holy Euangelies, which here I hold in my hand, and do promiſe, neuer by any perſwaſions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the ſayd concluſions vnderwritten: but doe and will ſtand and adhere in all thinges, to the determination of the holy Catholike Church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Ouer and beſides, all ſuch as ſtand contrary to this fayth, I do pronounce them with their doctrine & followers worthy of euerlaſting curſe. And if I my ſelfe ſhal preſume at any tyme to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premiſſes, I ſhal be content to abide the ſeueritie of the canons. Subſcribed with mine owne hand, and with mine own accord. Phillip Repington. And thus the ſayd Rampington was diſcharged, who afterward was made biſhop of Lincolne, and became at length the moſt bitter and extreme perſecutor of this ſide, of all the other biſhops within ỹ realme, as in proces hereafter may appeare.

Ph. Repington after his abiuration became a terrible perſecutor.

After the abiuration of this Repington, immediately was brought in Iohn Ayſhton, ſtudent of Diuinitie: who beyng examined of thoſe concluſions, and willed to ſay hys mynde, aunſwered: that he was to ſimple and ignoraunt, and therfore would not, and could not aunſwer any thyng clearely or diſtinctly to thoſe concluſions. Wherupon, the Archb. aſſigned to hym Doctor W. Rugge the Vicechaunceler, and other diuines ſuch as he required himſelf to be inſtructed in the myſtery of thoſe concluſions agaynſt the after noone: who then appearyng agayne after dinner before the Archbiſhop and the prelates, did in like ſorte and forme of wordes abiure as did Repington before.

A ſhort time my Lord, for a mã in one forenoone to learne a fayth agaynſt his cõſcience.

The abiuration of Iohn Ayſhton.

Of this Iohn Ayſhton we read, that afterward by Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant. he was cited and condemned, but whether he dyed in priſon, or was burned, we haue yet no certentye to ſhewe. This is certayne by the plaine wordes of the cronicle of S. Albans, that when the arch. with his doctors and fryers ſat in examination vpon thys ſayd Iohn Ayſhton, in London: the Londiners brake open the dore of the conclaue, ipſumq́; Archiepiſcopum in ciuitate ſedentem impediuerũt, cum proceſſum feciſſet contra Iohannem Aſhton. &c. That is and did let the Archbyſhoppe himſelfe ſitting in the Citie of London, when hee would haue made proceſſe agaynſt Iohn Ayſhton. an. 1382. And thus much of Iohn Ayſhton.

Ex chron. Monaſt. D. Albani.

I. Aſheton.

The Londiners opẽ the dore where the Archb. ſate agaynſt I. Aſheton.

As touching Nicholas Hereforde during the tyme of this conuocation he dyd not appeare: and therfore had the ſentence of excommunycation. Agaynſt which hee put hys appeale from the Archb. to the king and his counſell. The Archb. would not admit it, but finding ſtayes and ſtoppes, cauſed him to be apprehended and encloſed in pryſon. Notwithſtandyng through the will of God, and good meanes, he eſcaped out of the pryſon returning agayne to his former exerciſe, and preaching as he did before, albeit in as couerte and ſecrete maner as he could. Whereupon the Archbiſhop thundring out his boltes of excommunication againſt hym, ſendeth to all paſtors and miniſters, willing thẽ in all churches, and all feſtiual dayes, to diuulge the ſayd his excõmunycation agaynſt him, to all men. Wryteth moreouer and ſendeth ſpecyall charge to all and ſingular of the laitye, to beware that their ſimplicitie be not deceaued by hys doctryne, but that they like catholick children will auoyd him, & cauſe hym of all other to be auoyded.

Nic. Herford would not apeare.

Nic. Herford appealed frõ the Archb.

Nic. Herford caſt in priſõ.

Herford eſcapeth out of pryſon.

Furthermore, not contented with this, addreſſeth alſo hys letters vnto the king, requiring alſo the ayde of his temporall ſword to chop of his necke, whom he had already caſt downe. See and note reader, the ſeraphicall charitie of theſe prieſtly prelats towards the poore redemed flock of Chriſt. And yet theſe be they which waſhing their handes wyth Pylate, ſay and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam: i. It is not our partes to kill any man. The copy of ỹ letter written to the kyng, is this.

¶ The letter of the Archbiſhop to the Kyng.

The cruell letter of the Archb. agaynſt N. Herford to the kyng.

TO the moſt excellent prince in Chriſt, &c. William. &c. gretyng in hym by whom kinges do reigne, and princes beare rule. Vnto your kingly celſitude by the tenor of theſe preſentes we intimate, that one maiſter Nich. Herford D. of diuinitie, for his manifeſt contumacie and offence in not appearing before vs beyng called at the day and place aſſigned, therfore is inwrapped in the ſentence of the greater curſe, publikely by our ordinary autority. And in the ſame ſentence hath cõtinued now forty dayes, & yet ſtill cõtinueth with indurate hart, wickedly contemnyng the keyes of the church, to the great perill both of his ſoule, and to the pernitious example of other. For ſo much therfore, as the holy mother the Church hath not to do or to procede any further in this matter: we humbly deſire your kingly maieſty, to direct out your letters for the apprehendyng of the ſayd excommunicate according to the cuſtome of this realm of England, wholeſomely obſerued and kept hitherto: to the intent, that ſuch whom the feare of God doth not reſtrayne from euill, the diſcipline of the ſecular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offendyng. Your princely celſitude the Lord long continue. From Lamheth the xv. of Ianuary.

¶ This is not to ſeeke agayne that which is loſt by the rule of Ezechiel.

¶ To this letter of the Archb. might not the king (gentle reader) thus aunſwer agayne, and aunſwer well?

Proſopopoia. What the kyng myght haue aunſwered agayne.

YOur letters with your complaynt and requeſtes in the ſame conteyned, we haue receiued and well conſidered. For the accompliſhing wherof, ye ſhall vnderſtãd that as we are redely bent to gratifie and ſatiſfie your mynd in this behalfe on the one ſide: ſo we muſt beware agayne on the other, that our autoritie be not abuſed either to oppreſſe before we know, or to iudge before we haue tryed. Wherfore, for ſo much as you in your letters do excite and ſharpen the ſeuere diſcipline of our ſecular ſword, againſt one Nich. Herford, for his not appearing before you: & yet ſhewing in the ſaid your letters no certayne cauſe to vs what you haue to charge him withall: we therfore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equitie in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part, as the other: do aſſigne both to him, when as he may be found, and to you whẽ you ſhalbe called a terme to appeare before vs. To the intent that the controuerſie betwene you and him, ſtanding vpon pointes of religion, beyng tried by the true touchſtone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may be miniſtred according as the offence ſhall be found. In the meane tyme, this we cannot but ſomething maruell at in your ſaid letters: Firſt, to ſee you men of the church, and aungels of peace to be ſo deſirous of bloud. Secondly, to conſider you agayne ſo fierce in proſecutyng the breache of your lawe: and yet ſo colde in purſuyng the breach of the expreſſe law of God and his cõmaundements. Thirdly, to behold the vnſtable doublenes in your proceedings, who pretendyng in your publike ſentence, to become as intreaters for them to vs in the bowels of Ieſus Chriſt, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our ſeueritie, & yet in your letters you be they which moſt ſet vs on. If not appearyng before you be ſuch a matter of contumacie in caſe of your law, that is in no caſe to be ſpared: what ſhould then our princely diſcipline haue done to men of your calling: Henry Spencer B. of Norwich, being at Cant. was ſent for by our ſpeciall commaundement to come to our ſpeach, denied to come, and yet we ſpared him. Iohn Stratford Archb. your predeceſſour, beyng required of our progenitor kyng Edward the third to come to him at York, would not appeare: by the occaſion wherof, Scotland the ſame time was loſt, and yet was he ſuffred. The like myght be ſaid of Robert Wynchelſey in the dayes of king Edward the firſt, and of Edmund Archb. of Cant. in the dayes of K. Henry 3. Steuen Langhton was ſent for by K. Iohn to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket toward K. Henry 2. Alſo in Anſelme toward K. Henry 1. All theſe for their not appearing before their princes, ye do excuſe, who notwithſtanding might haue appeared without daunger of lyfe. This one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthy of death: whoſe lyfe you would haue condemned

Biſhops of Cãt. appeared not before their kinges, and yet they were not perſecuted.

notwithſtandyng, if he had appeared. It is no reaſon if the Squirill climyng to the tree from the Lyons clawes, would not appeare, beyng ſent for to be deuoured: that the Eagle therfore ſhould ſeiſe vpon him without any iuſt cauſe, declared agaynſt the partie. Wherefore accordyng to this, and to that aforeſayd when he ſhall appeare, and you be called, and the cauſe iuſtly wayed, due execution ſhal be miniſtred.

And thus farre concernyng Nicholas Herford, and the other aforeſayd, but all this meane while what became of Iohn Wickleffe it is not certaynely knowen. Albeit ſo farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was baniſhed, and driuen to exile. In the meane tyme it is not to be doubted, but he was alyue duryng all this while, whereſoeuer he was as by his letter may appeare, which he about this tyme wrote to Pope Vrbane the vj. In the which letter he doth purge himſelfe, that beyng commaunded to appeare before the Pope at Rome, he came not: declaryng alſo in the ſame a brief confeſſion of his faith. The copy of which Epiſtle here followeth.

The Epiſtle of Iohn Wickleffe ſent vnto Pope Vrbane the 6. An. 1382.

The Epiſtle of Iohn Wickleffe to pope Vrbane.

Verely I do reioyce to open and declare the fayth which I do hold vnto euery mã. And ſpecially vnto the Biſh. of Rome, the which for ſo much as I do ſuppoſe to be ſounde and true, he will moſt willyngly confirme my ſayd fayth, or if it be erroneous amende the ſame.

Firſt I ſuppoſe, that the Goſpell of Chriſt, is the whole body of Gods law, & that Chriſt which did geue that ſame law himſelfe, I beleue him to be very mã, and in that point, to excede the law of the Goſpel, and all other partes of the Scripture. Agayne I do geue and hold, that the Byſhop of Rome, for ſo much as he is the Vicare of Chriſt here in earth, to be bound moſt of all other men vnto that law of the Goſpell. For the greatneſſe amongeſt Chriſtes Diſciples, did not conſiſte in worldly dignitie or honours, but in the neare and exact folowyng of Chriſt, in his life and maners: wherupon I do gather out of the hart of the law of the Lord, that Chriſt for the tyme of his pilgrimage here, was a moſt poore man, abiecting and caſtyng of all worldly rule and honour, as it appeareth by the Goſpell of Math. the 8. and the ij. Cor. 8. chapter.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to folow, neither the Pope himſelfe, neither any of the holy men, but in ſuch pointes, as he hath folowed the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. For Peter and the ſonnes of Zebede by deſiryng worldly honour, contrary to the folowyng of Chriſtes ſteppes did offende, and therfore in thoſe errours, they are not to be folowed.

The true diſciples of Chriſt ſeeke no honour.

Hereof I do gather, as a Councell, that the Pope ought to leaue vnto the ſecular power, all temporall dominiõ and rule, and thereunto effectually to moue and exhorte his whole Clergy: for ſo did Chriſt, and ſpecially by his Apoſtles. Wherfore, if I haue erred in any of theſe points, I will moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe vnto correction, euẽ by death if neceſſitie ſo require: And if I could labour accordyng to my will or deſire in my own perſon, I would ſurely preſent my ſelfe before the Byſhop of Rome: but the Lord hath otherwiſe viſited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. For ſo much then, as God hath geuen vnto our Pope, iuſt and true Euangelicall inſtinctiõs, we ought to pray, that thoſe motiõs be not extinguiſhed by any ſubtle or crafty deuiſe.

And that the Pope and Cardinals, be not moued to do any thyng, contrary vnto the law of the Lord. Wherfore let vs pray vnto our God, that he will ſo ſtyrre vp our pope Vrbane the ſixt as he began, that he with his Clergy may folow the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in lyfe and maners: & that they may teache the people effectually, and that they lykewiſe may faithfully follow them in the ſame. And let vs ſpecially pray, that our Pope may be preſerued from all maligne and euill counſell, as whiche do know that euill and enuious men of his houſhold would geue him. And ſeyng the Lord will not ſuffer vs to be tẽpted aboue our power, much leſſe then will he require of any creature to do that thyng whiche they are not able: for ſomuch, as that is the playne condition and maner of Antichriſt.

The pope occupyed ſo in ſchiſmaticall that he had no leyſure to other matters.

Thus much wrote Iohn Wickliffe vnto Pope Vrbane: but this pope Vrbane otherwiſe termed Turbanus, was ſo hote in his warres agaynſt Clement the French Pope his aduerſary, that he had no leaſure, and leſſe lyſt, to attend vnto Wickleffes matters. By the occaſion of which ſchiſme, God ſo prouided for poore Wickleffe, that he was in ſome more reſt & quietnes. Cõcernyng which ſchiſmaticall warres of theſe popes, for as much as we haue here entred into the mention therof, it ſhall not be impertinent from the order of our ſtory, diſgreſſing a litle frõ the matter of Iohn Wickleffe, to touch ſomethyng of the tragicall voyages of theſe two holy Popes ſtriuyng for the triple crowne: to the intent that the Chriſtian reader (iudgyng by their fruites and proceedynges) may ſee and vnderſtand what difference is betwene theſe Popes, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For though in the ſtory of the Goſpell it is read, that certaine of the diſciples dyd ſtriue which ſhould be the greater, yet neither do we read that one of them tooke euer weapõ agaynſt the other: and moreouer in the ſayd ſtory of the Goſpell it doth appeare, that they in ſo ſtriuing as they did, were therfore ſharply rebuked of our Sauiour Chriſt, & were taught by him an other leſſon.

Difference betweene the Apoſtles and the Popes in ſtriuing for preeminence.

1383.

About the beginning of the next yeare followyng, which was an. 1383. Pope Vrbane ſettyng all his ſtudy how to repreſſe and conquere the contrary Pope his aduerſary, beyng then at Auinion (ſeyng all his other meanes to fayle, and that his croſſe keyes could do no good) tooke to hym the ſword of Romulus, & ſet vpon him with open warre. And firſt deuiſing wt himſelfe whom he might beſt chuſe for his chief champion: thought none meeter for ſuch affaires then Henry Spenſer beyng then Byſhop of Norwiche, a yõg and a ſtoute Prelate, more fitter for the campyng cure, then for the peaceable church of Chriſt, as partly alſo might appeare before by his actes done at Lenam in ſtriuyng for the Maiors Mace, mentioned before, pag. 424. Vnto this biſhop of Norwyche, the Pope had ſent his bulles about this tyme, to Croyſie whoſoeuer would go wt him into Frãce, to deſtroy the Antipope which named himſelfe Clement, & to make warre agaynſt all thoſe that tooke his part. Which Bulles, for that they gaue vnto him ſo great authoritie, he cauſed to be publiſhed in the Parliament houſe, and cauſed the copies of the ſame to be ſent all about, and to be ſet vp & faſtened vpon all church doores & monaſtery gates that all men might read them. In the which Bulles theſe priuileges were graunted, the copy wherof here followeth.

The pope ſet to warre.

1. In primis, that the ſayd Byſhop of Norwich may vſe his ſword agaynſt the Antipope, & all his adherents, fauourers, and counſellers, and with violence put them to death.

The very fruites of Antichriſt.

2. Item, that he hath ful power to inquire of all and ſingular ſuch ſchiſmatikes and to put them in priſon: and to confiſcate all their goodes mouable and immouable.

3. Item, that he hath power and authoritie to depriue all lay men that are ſuch ſchiſmatickes of all maner ſecular offices whatſoeuer, and to geue their offices to other fitte and conuenient perſons.

4. Item, that he may depriue all ſuch Clerkes, and declare them to be ſchiſmatikes, and in this behalfe to geue and beſtow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities, perſonages or offices, to other perſons more meet for the ſame.

5. Item, he hath power & authoritie ouer lay perſons that are exempt, and Clerkes both ſecular and regular, yea although they be Friers mendicantes, or maiſters and profeſſours of other houſes or hoſpitals of S. Iohnes of Ieruſalem, or S. Mary of Flaunders, or profeſſours of what orders ſoeuer els.

6. Item, he hath power to diſpenſe with what ſecular Clerkes ſoeuer, beyng beneficed either with cure or without cure, and alſo with ſuch as haue dignities, perſonages, or offices, beyng regulers either exempt or not exempt, that euery one of them may be abſent with him from their dignities & benefices, &c. vnder the ſtanderd of the croſſe, without licence of any of their Prelates required, and yet to receaue and take the intire commodities of their benefices, as though they had bene perſonally reſident vpon the ſame.

7. Itẽ, there is graunted to all that paſſe the Seas in this quarell, either at their owne expenſes, or at the expẽſes of any other, full remiſſion of their ſinnes: & as large priuileges are grauted to all thoſe that go ouer the ſea with him, as to any that pay their money, or go to fight for the holy land.

8. Alſo, all ſuch as with their proper goods and ſubſtãce ſhall geue ſufficient ſtipend to able ſouldiours, at the diſcretion of the foreſayd Lord Byſhop muſtered, or by any other his deputie, although he himſelfe be not perſonally at this buſines aforeſayd: yet ſhal he haue like remiſſion and indulgence, as they which haue bene perſonally with him in this expedition.

9. Itẽ, all they are partakers of this remiſſion, which ſhall geue any part of their goods to the ſayde Byſhop to fight agaynſt the ſayd ſchiſmatikes.

10. Item, if any ſhall chaunce to dye in the iourney, that are ſouldiours vnder the ſayd ſtandard of the croſſe, or els before the quarell by ſome meanes be finiſhed: ſhall fully and wholy receiue the ſayd grace, and ſhall be partakers of the foreſayd remiſſion and indulgence.

11. Item, he hath power to excommunicate, ſuſpend, and interdict what perſons ſoeuer be rebellious or diſturbers of him in the executiō of his power and authoritie committed vnto him: of what dignitie, ſtate, degree, preheminēce, order, place, or condition ſoeuer they ſhall be: whether they ſhalbe either of regall, queenly, or imperiall dignitie, or of what dignitie els ſoeuer either eccleſiaſticall or mundane.

12. Item, he hath power and authoritie to compell and inforce what religious perſons ſoeuer, to appoint them and ſend them ouer Sea, if it ſeme good to him: yea although they be profeſſours of the Friers mendicantes, for the execution of the premiſſes.

¶The Popes abſolution by the Byſhop pronounced.

BY the authoritie Apoſtolicall to me in this behalfe committed, we abſolue thee A.B. from all thy ſinnes confeſſed with thy mouth, and beyng contrite with thy hart, and whereof thou wouldeſt be cōfeſſed if they came vnto thy memory: and we graunt vnto thee, plenary remiſſion of all maner of ſinnes, and we promiſe vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iuſt men, and of euerlaſtyng ſaluation. And as many priuileges as are graunted to them that go to fight for the holy land, we graunt vnto thee: & of all the prayers & benefites of the Church the vniuerſall Synode, as alſo of the holy Catholicke Church, we make thee partaker of.

Chriſtes paſſion hath here no place.

This couragious or rather outragious Byſhop, armed thus with the Popes authoritie, and prompt with his priuileges, in the yeare aforeſayd. 1383. about the time of Lent, came to the Parliament, where great conſultation and contention, & almoſt no leſſe ſchiſme was about ye viage of this Popiſh Byſhop in the Parliament, then was betwene the Popes themſelues. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not ſafe to cōmit the kyngs people & ſubiectes, vnto a rude and vnſkilfull Prieſt. So great was the diuerſitie of iudgementes in that behalfe, that the viage of the ſayd Byſhop was protracted vnto the Saterday afore Paſſion Sonday. In the which Sōday was ſong the ſolemne Antheme Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduerſæ. That is: Beholde the croſſe of the Lorde: Fley away all you aduerſaries. After which Sonday, the parties ſo agreed amongeſt themſelues by common decree, that the byſhop ſhould ſet forward in his viage, hauyng to him geuen the fiften which was graunted to the kyng in the Parliament before. Which thynges thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Byſhop preparyng before all thynges in a readynes ſet forward in his Pope holy iourney. Who about the moneth of May, beyng come to Canterbury, and there taryng for the wynde, in the Monaſtery of S. Auguſtine, receiued a writte from the kyng that he ſhould returne to the kyng, & to know further of his pleaſure. The Byſhop fearyng that if he turned agayne to the kyng, his iourney ſhould be ſtayd, & ſo all his labour and preparaunce loſt with great deriſion and ſhame vnto him: thought better to commit himſelfe to fortune with that litle army he had, thē by taryng to be made a ridicle to his aduerſaries. Wherfore, he ſent word backe agayne to the kyng, that he was now ready prepared, well forward on his iourney. And that it was not expediēt now to protract the tyme, for any kynde of talke which peraduenture ſhould be to no maner of purpoſe: and that it was more conuenient for him to haſten in his iourney to Gods glory, & alſo to the honour of the kyng. And thus he callyng his men vnto hym, entred forthwith the Seas, & went to Calys: where he waytyng a few dayes for the reſt of his army, after the receipt of them, tooke hys iourney firſt to the towne of Grauenynge which he beſieged, ſo deſperatly without any preparaunce of engines of warre or counſell, or of politicke men ſkilful in ſuch affaires: that he ſemed rather to flye vpon them, then to inuade them. At length through the ſuperſtitiō of our men, truſtyng vpō the Popes abſolution, he ſo hardily approched the walles and inuaded the enemyes, that a great nūber of them were pitiouſly ſlayne with ſhot & wild fire: till at the end (the inhabiters beyng oppreſſed & vanquiſhed) our men entred the towne with their Byſhop, where they at his commaundement deſtroying both man, woman and child, left not one aliue of all them which remained in the whole towne. Sicq; crucis beneficio factum, vt crucis hoſtes ita delerentur, quòd vnus ex eis non remanſit. That is. And ſo it came to paſſe by the vertue of the croſſe, that our men croyſed ſo preuayled agaynſt the enemyes of the croſſe, that not one of them remayned alyue. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloudines of Antichriſt.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Richard. 2.

From Grauenyng this warlike Byſhop ſet forward to Dunkyrke, where not long after the Frenchmen metyng with him, ioyned with them in battaile: in which battaile (if the ſtory be true) xij. thouſand of the Frenchmen were ſlayne in the chaſe, and of our men but ſeuen onely miſſing. It would require a lōg tractatiō here to diſcourſe all thyngs done in theſe Popiſh warres. Alſo it would be no leſſe ridiculous to vew & behold the glorious temeritie of this new vpſtart captaine. But certes, lamētable it is to ſee the pitifull ſlaughter & murther of Chriſten people, by ye meanes of theſe pitileſſe Popes, duryng theſe warres in Fraūce: As when the Byſhop commyng from Dunkyrke to the ſiege of Ypres a great nomber of Engliſhmen there were loſt, and much money conſumed, and yet nothyng done in effect, to the great ſhame and ignominie of the Byſhop. Agayne, after the ſiege of Ypres (thus wyth ſhame broke vp) ye ſayd Byſhop proceedyng wyth a ſmall power, to fight with the French kynges campe, contrary to the counſell of hys captaynes, which counted hym raſh and vnſkilfull in hys attempt, was fayne to breake company wyth them, wherby part of the army went vnto Burburgh, and the Byſhop wyth hys part returned to Grauenyng, which both townes ſhortly after were beſieged by the Frēch army, to the great loſſe both of the Engliſhe and French men. In fine, when the Byſhop could kepe Grauenyng no longer, the ſayd byſhop wyth hys Croiſes, croſſing the ſeas, came home agayne as wiſe as he went, & thus makyng an end of thys Pontificall warre, we wyll returne agayne from whence we digreſſed, to the ſtory and matter of Iohn Wickliffe.

Which Iohn Wickliffe returnyng agayne within ſhort ſpace, either from hys baniſhemēt, or from ſome other place where he was ſecretly kept, repayred to hys pariſh of Lutterworth, whereof he was parſon, there quietly departyng thys mortall lyfe, ſlept in peace in the Lord, in the beginnyng of the yeare 1384. vpon Siluesters day.

Here is to be noted the great prouidence of the Lord in thys man, as in diuers other: whom the Lord ſo long preſerued in ſuch rages of ſo many enemies, from all their hādes, euen to hys olde age. For ſo it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writyng agaynſt him in hys tomes entituled: De Sacramentis contra Wicleuum, that hee was well aged before he departed: by that which the foreſayde Walden writeth of hym in the Epiloge, ſpeakyng of Wickliffe, in theſe wordes: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat. &c. That is: ſo that ye ſame thyng pleaſed him in his old age, which did pleaſe hym beyng young. Wherby it ſeemeth that Wickliffe lyued, till he was an olde man, by thys report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will haue kept, nothing can hurt.

VValdenus 3. tomo de Sacramentis.

Thys Wickliffe, had written diuers and ſundry workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the Abbot of Shrewſburye beyng then Commiſſary, and ſent to ouerſee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme, lykewiſe the bookes of the ſayd Wickliffe were ſet on fire, by one Subincus Archbyſhop of Prage, who made diligent inquiſition for the ſame, and burned them: The number of the volumes, which he is ſayd to haue burned moſt excellently written, and richely adorned wyth boſſes of golde, and rich couerynges (as Eneas Syluius writeth) were aboue the number of two hundreth.

The number of Wickliffes bookes came to 200. volumes.

Eneas Syluius.

Ioannes Cocleus in hys booke De hiſtoria Huſsitarum, ſpeakyng of the bookes of Wickliffe, teſtifieth: that he wrote very many bookes, ſermons, and tractations. Moreouer, the ſayd Cocleus ſpeakyng of hymſelfe, recordeth alſo: that there was a certayne Byſhop in England which wrote vnto hym, declaryng, that he had yet remaynyng in hys cuſtody two huge and myghty volumes of I. Wickliffes workes, which for the quantitie thereof might ſeeme to be equal wyth the workes of S. Auguſtine. Hæc Cocleus.

The bookes of Wickliffe

Amōgſt other of his treatiſes I myſelf alſo haue found out certayne, as de cenſu & veritate ſcripturæ. Itē De eccleſia. Itē, de Euchariſtia confeſſio Wicleui, which I entend hereafter, the Lord ſo grauntyng, to publiſhe abroad.

As concernyng certayne aunſweres of Iohn Wickliffe which he wrote to kyng Richard the 2. touchyng the right and title of the kyng, and of the pope: becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here to annexe them. The effect whereof here foloweth.

¶Iohn Wickliffes aunſwere vnto K. Richard the ſecond, as touchyng the right and title of the kyng, and the pope.

IT was demaunded, whether the kingdome of England, may lawfully in caſe of neceſſitie for his owne defence, deteyne and keepe backe the treaſure of the kyngdome, that it be not caryed away to forreine and ſtraūge nations, the pope hymſelfe demaundyng and requiryng the ſame vnder payne of cenſure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickleffe ſetting a part the myndes of learned mē, what might be ſayd in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of Englād or the ciuill law, it reſteth (ſayth he) now onely to perſwade and proue, the affirmatiue part of this doubt, by the principles of Chriſtes law. And firſt I proue it thus. Euery naturall body hath power geuen of God to reſiſte agaynſt his contrary, and to preſerue it ſelfe in due eſtate, as the Philoſophers know very well.

In ſomuch, that bodyes without lyfe, are endued with ſuch kynde of power (as it is euident) vnto whom hardnes is geuen to reſiſte thoſe thynges that would breake it, and coldnes to withſtād the heate that diſſolueth it. For ſomuch then, as the kyngdome of England (after the maner and phraſe of the Scriptures) ought to be one body: & the Clergy with the communaltie, the members therof, it ſemeth that the ſame kyngdome hath ſuch power geuē him of God, and ſomuch the more apparaunt: by how much the ſame body is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. For ſomuch then as there is no power geuen of God vnto any creature: for any end or purpoſe, but that he may lawfully vſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe: It foloweth, that our kyngdome may lawfully keepe backe and deteyne their treaſure, for the defence of it ſelfe, in what caſe ſo euer neceſſitie do require the ſame.

The Popes riches is but the almes of good men.

Secondarely, the ſame is proued by the law of the Goſpell. For the pope cānot chalenge the treaſure of this kingdome, but vnder the title of almes, and conſequently vnder the pretence of the workes of mercy, accordyng to the rule of charitie.

But in caſe aforeſeyd, the title of almes ought vtterly to ceaſe, Ergo, the right and title of chalengyng the treaſure of our Realme, ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſitie. For ſomuch as all charitie hath his begynnyng of himſelfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnes, to ſend away the treaſures of the realme vnto forreine natiōs, whereby the Realme it ſelfe may fall into ruine, vnder the pretēce of ſuch charitie.

Neceſſitie taketh away the popes almes.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt the head of the Church, whom all Chriſten Prieſts ought to follow: liued by the almes of deuoute women. Luke. vij. viij. He hungred and thyrſted, he was a ſtraunger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not onely in his members, but alſo in his owne body, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth. Cor. viij. He was made poore for your ſakes, that through his pouertie, you might be rich: wherby, in the firſt endowyng of the Church, whatſoeuer he were of the Clergy that had any temporall poſſeſſions, he had the ſame by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both writynges and Chronicles do witneſſe.

Wherupon S. Bernard, declaryng in his ij. booke to Eugenius, that he could not chalenge any ſecular dominion by right of ſucceſſiō, as beyng the vicare of S. Peter, writeth thus: that if S. John ſhould ſpeake vnto the pope himſelfe, as Bernard doth vnto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it paciently? But let it be ſo, that you do chalenge it vnto you, by ſome other wayes or meanes: but truely by any right or title Apoſtolicall, you cā not ſo do. For how could he geue vnto you that, which he had not himſelfe? That which he had he gaue you, that is to ſay, care ouer the church, but did he geue you any lordſhips or rule? Harke what he ſaith: Not bearing rule (ſaith he) as Lordes in the Clergy, but behauyng your ſelues as examples to the flocke. And becauſe thou ſhalt not thinke it to be ſpoken onely in humilitie, and not in veritie, marke the word of the Lord himſelfe in the Goſpell. The kynges of the people do rule ouer them, but you ſhall not do ſo.

Note well the ſaying here of Bernard.

Here Lordſhyp & dominion, is playnly forbidden to the Apoſtles: and dareſt thou then vſurpe the ſame? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou ſhalt loſe thyne Apoſtleſhyp, or if thou wilt be an Apoſtle, thou ſhalt loſe thy Lordſhyp. For truely thou ſhalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or els thinke thy ſelfe to be of that number, of whom God doth ſo greatly complayne, ſaying: They haue raigned, but not through me. They are become Princes, & I haue not knowen it. Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou haſt thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is ſayd: he that is the greateſt amongeſt you (ſayth Chriſt) ſhalbe made as the leaſt, and he which is the hygheſt, ſhalbe as the miniſter: and for example, ſet a child in the middeſt of them. So this then is the true forme and inſtitution of the Apoſtles trade. Lordſhyp and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſeruice cōmaunded. By theſe wordes of this bleſſed man whō the whole Church doth reuerence and worſhyp, it doth appeare that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goodes as Lord therof, but as miniſter, and ſeruaunt, and proctour for the poore. And would to God that the ſame proude and gredy deſire of rule & Lordſhip, which this ſeate doth chalenge vnto it, be not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antichriſt. For it is euident by ẏ Goſpel, that Chriſt through his pouertie, humilitie, & ſufferyng of iniury, got vnto hym the children of his kyngdome.

The pope muſt leaue his lordſhip or els Apoſtleſhip, let hym chuſe whether.

The maner of the Apoſtles.

How the pope ought to occupy the Church goodes

The way to obtayne the kyngdome of Chriſt.

And moreouer, ſo farre as I remember, the ſame bleſſed man Bernard in his iij. booke writeth alſo thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poyſon to happen vnto thee, then gredy deſire of rule and dominion.

This Wickleffe albeit in his lyfe tyme, had many greuous enemyes, yet was there none ſo cruel vnto him, as the Clergy it ſelfe. yet notwithſtandyng, he had many good frendes, men not onely of the baſe and meaneſt ſorte, but alſo nobilitie, amōgeſt whom theſe mē are to be numbred: John Clēdon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Neuell, John Mountegew, who plucked downe all the Images in his Church. Beſides all theſe, there was the Earle of Saliſbury, who for cōtempt in him noted towardes the Sacrament, in carying it home to his houſe: was enioyned by Radulph Ergom Byſhop of Saliſbury, to make in Saliſbury a croſſe of ſtone, in which all the ſtory of the matter ſhould be written, and he euery Friday duryng his life to come to the croſſe barefoote and bareheade in his ſhyrt, & there kneelyng vpon his knees: to do penaunce for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

J. Clendon, Lewes Clifford, Rich. Sturius. Tho. Latimer, W. Neuell, J. Monteyne.

The earle of Saliſbury.

The penaunce of the earle of Saliſbury.

The Londiners at this tyme ſomewhat boldly truſtyng to the Maiors authoritie, who for that yeare was John of Northampton: Tooke vpō them the office of the Biſhops, in puniſhyng the vices (belongyng to Ciuill law) of ſuch perſons as they had found and apprehended in committyng both fornication and adultery. For firſt they put the womē in the priſon which amongeſt them then was named Doliū. And laſtly bringing them into the market place, where euery mā might behold them, & cuttyng of their golden lockes from their heades: they cauſed them to be caryed about the ſtreetes, with bagpypes and trumpets blowen before them, to the intent they ſhould be the better knowne and their cōpanyes auoyded: accordyng to the maner then of certaine theeues that were named Appellatores, (accuſers or peachers of others ẏ were giltles) which were ſo ſerued. And with other ſuch lyke opprobrious and reprochfull contumelies did they ſerue the men alſo that were taken with them in committyng the forenamed wickednes and vices. Here the ſtory recordeth how the ſayd Londiners were incouraged herevnto by John Wickleffe and others that folowed his doctrine to perpetrat this act, in the reproch of the Prelates beyng of the Clergy. For they ſayd, that they dyd not ſomuch abhorre to ſee the great negligence of thoſe to whom that charge belonged, but alſo their filthy auarice they dyd as much deteſt: which for gredynes of money were choked with bribes and winkyng at the penalties due to ſuch perſons by the lawes appointed, ſuffered ſuch fornicatours and inceſtuous perſons fauorably to continue in their wickednes. They ſayd furthermore, that they greatly feared, leaſt for ſuch wickednes perpetrated within the Citie and ſo apparantly diſſimuled: that God would take vengeaunce vpō them and deſtroy their Citie. wherfore they ſayd, that they could do no leſſe then to purge the ſame: leaſt by the ſufferaunce therof, God would bryng a plague vpon them, or deſtroy them with the ſword, or cauſe the earth to ſwallow vp both them and theyr ſayd Citie. Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

The fruites of good and true doctrine

Ex chron. Monaſt. D. Albani.

This ſtory (gentle Reader) albeit the author therof whom I folow, doth geue it out in reprochfull wiſe, to the great diſcōmendation of the Londiners for ſo doyng, yet I thought not to omitte, but to commit the ſame to memory, which ſeemeth to me rather to tend vnto ẏ worthy commendation both of the Lōdiners that ſo did: and to the neceſſary example of all other Cities to folow the ſame. After theſe thynges thus declared, let vs now adioyne the teſtimoniall of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, of John Wickleffe.

The publike teſtimonie geuen out by the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, touchyng the commendation of the great learnyng and good life of Iohn Wickleffe.

VNto all and ſingular the childrē of our holy mother the Church, to whō this preſent letter ſhall come: the Vicechauncelour of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the maisters, wish perpetuall health in the Lord. For somuch, as it is not commonly sene, that the actes and monumentes of valiant men, nor the prayse and merites of good men should be passed ouer and hidden with perpetuall silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in straūge and farre distant places, both for the witnesse of the same, and example of others: For somuch also as the prouident discretion of mans nature beyng recompensed with cruelty, hath deuised and ordayned this buckler and defence, agaynst such as do blaspheme and slaunder other mens doynges, that whensoeuer witnesse by word of mouth can not be present, the penne by writyng may supply the same.

Ex tomo 2. operum Ioh. Hussi fol. xvii.

Hereupō it foloweth, that the speciall good will & care which we bare vnto I. Wicliffe, sometyme childe of this our vniuersitie, and professour of Diuinitie: mouyng and styrring our myndes (as his maners and conditions required no lesse) with one minde, voyce and testimony, we do witnesse all his conditions and doynges throughout his whole lyfe, to haue bene most sincere and commendable: whose honest maners and conditions, profoundnesse of learnyng, & most redolent renowme and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and knowen vnto all faithfull, for that we vnderstand the maturitie and rypenes of his conuersation, his diligent labours and trauailes to tend to the praise of God, the helpe and saueguarde of others, and the profite of the Church.

Great learnyng ioyned wyth good lyfe and godlynes.

Wherfore we signifie vnto you by these presentes, that his conuersation (euen from his youth vpwardes, vnto the tyme of his death) was so prayse worthy and honest, that neuer at any tyme was there any note or spot of suspition noysed of him. But in his aunswering, readyng, preachyng, and determinyng, he behaued himselfe laudably, and as a stoute and valiaunt champion of the fayth: vanquishyng by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilfull beggery blasphemed and sclaundered Christes Religion. Neither was this sayd Doctour conuict of any heresie, either burned by our Prelates after his buriall. God forbyd that our Prelates should haue condemned a man of such honesty, for an hereticke: who amōgest all the rest of the vniuersitie, had written in Logike, Philosophy, Diuinitie, Moralitie, and the Speculatiue art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singular thynges, we do desire to testifie and deliuer forth: to the intent, that the fame and renowne of this sayd Doctour, may be the more euident and had in reputation amongest them, vnto whose handes these present letters testimoniall shall come.

The bones of Wickliffe were not yet commaūded by the counsel of Const. to be burned.

Ex 2. tomo operum I. Hussi fol. vii.

In witnesse wherof, we haue caused these our letters testimoniall to be sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the fift day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1406.

¶ The testimony and wordes of Maister Iohn Hus, as touchyng maister Iohn Wickleffe.

The testimony & iudgement of M. John Hus concerning J. Wickliffe.

Verely as I do not beleue neither affirme, that M. John Wickleffe is an hereticke: so do I not deny, but firmely hope that he is no hereticke. For somuch as in all matters of doubt I ought, as neare as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherfore I surely trust, that M. J. Wickleffe is one of the number of them which are saued. The wordes of Christ moueth me thereunto, saying Mathew vij. Do ye not iudge, ẏ ye be not iudged, and Luke the vj. Do not condēne, ẏ ye shall not be condemned, and the wordes of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 4. Do ye not iudge before the Lord himselfe do come, the which shall open those thynges that are hid in darknes, to manifest the priuities of all hartes.

Secondly, the loue and charitie which I ought to beare vnto my neighbour (louyng him as my selfe) doth moue me thereunto. Luke. x.

Thirdly, his good fame & report moueth me, the which he hath of the good Priestes of the vniuersitie of Oxford, & not of the wicked, & commonly of the vulgare sort, although not of the couetous, proude, and luxurious Prelates.

Fourthly, his owne workes and writynges do stirre me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole endeuour, to reduce all men vnto the lawe of Christ, and specially the clergie: that they should forsake the pompe and dominion of this world, and wyth the Apostles leade the lyfe of Christ.

Fiftly, hys owne protestations which he doth oftentymes vse in hys sentences, often repeatyng the same, doth not a little moue me.

Sixtly, his earnest desire and affection which he had vnto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me thereunto, disputing of the veritie therof, the which cannot perishe in any one iote or title. Wherupon he made a booke of the veritie of the holy Scripture, approuyng euen vnto the vttermost, the truth of Gods law.

Lib. de sensu & veritate scripturæ per I. VVickleuum.

Wherfore it were too foolishe a consequent to say, that because the number of the prelates and clergie in England, Fraunce, and Boheme do count John Wickliffe for an hereticke, that therfore he is an hereticke. &c. Like is the reason for burnyng of the bookes, for it is written in the first booke of Machabees first chapter: that they did burne the bookes of the Lord, tearing them in peeces, and whosoeuer was found to haue kept any bookes of the Testament or will of the Lord, or the which obserued and kept the lawe of the Lord, they were by the kynges commaundement put to death. If then the burnyng of these bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilnesse of the bookes, then was the law of God euill and naught.

True iudgement standeth not vpō number and multitude.

So likewise the burnyng of S. Gregories bookes, and diuers other saintes and good men, should argue and proue that they were euill and naughty men. Wherupon as it doth not folow, that because the Byshops, Scribes and Phariseis, wyth the elders of the people, condemned Christ Jesus as an hereticke, that therfore he is an heretick: So likewise doth it not folow of any other man. The Byshops, maisters of diuinitie, monkes and prelates, condemned this man as an hereticke. Ergo, he is an hereticke. For this cōsequent is reproued by John Chrisostome, which was twise condemned as an hereticke by the Byshops and the whole clergie. Likewise S. Gregory in hys bookes, was condemned by the Cardinals.

Burnyng of bookes proueth not by and by an hereticke.

A false consequēt reproued by J. Chrisostome.

By like proofe also as they affirme, M. John Wickliffe to be an hereticke: John Duke of Lācaster (a mā of worthy memory and progenitor of Henry King of England) should also be an heretick. For the sayd Duke defended, fauoured, and greatly loued M. John Wickliffe, Ergo, ẏ sayd Duke is or was an hereticke, the consequent is good. The Minor is well knowen vnto the Englishmen. The Maior appeareth in the Canon, where it is sayd, he which defendeth an hereticke. &c.

John Duke of Lancaster defender of J. Wickliffe.

But these thynges set a part, I demaunde of the aduersary, whether M. John Wickliff be damned for euer or no? If he say that he is damned because he is an hereticke: I propounde thys vnto hym, whether M. John Wickliffe whiles he lyued helde any false doctrine contrary to the holy Scripture: If he do affirme it, let him then shew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he helde it obstinatly: And he shall finde, that in hys bookes he alwayes wrote most commendable protestations agaynst obstinacie and stubbernesse. And by and by after, M. John Stokes in hys intimation, sayth, that M. John Wickliffe in England, is counted for an hereticke. This semeth also false by the letter testimoniall of the Uniuersitie of Oxford: vnto ẏ which there is more credite to be geuē, then vnto hym. And thys shall suffice for thys present.

J. Wickliffe proued no hereticke.

¶ Now as we haue declared the testimony of the Uniuersitie of Oxford, and of John Hus, concerning the praise of John Wickliffe: It foloweth lykewise, that we set forth and expresse the contrary censure and iudgementes of hys enemyes, blynded wyth malicious hatred and corrupt affections agaynst hym: especially of the Popes Councel gathered at Constance, proceedyng first in condemnyng hys bookes, then of hys articles, and afterward burnyng of his bones. The copy of which their sentence geuen agaynst him by that councell here foloweth.

The councell of Constāce agaynst J. Wickliffe.

¶ The sentence geuen by the Councell of Constance, in condemnyng the doctrine and xlv. articles of Iohn Wickliffe.

The most holy and sacred councell of Constance, makyng and representing the catholike Church for the extirpation of thys present schisme, and of all other errours and heresies, spryngyng and growing vnder the shadow and pretence of the same: and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, beyng lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, for the perpetuall memory of the tyme to come.

The sentence of the councell of Constāce against J. Wickliffe.

We are taught by the actes and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholicke fayth (without the which, as the holy Apostle S. Paule sayth, it is vnpossible to please God) hath alwayes bene defended by the faithfull and spirituall souldiours of the Church, by the shielde of fayth, agaynst the false worshippers of the same fayth, or rather peruerse impugners: which through their proude curiositie will seme to know more, and to be wiser then they ought to be, & for the

the deſire of the glory of yͤ world, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the ſame. Theſe kyndes of warres and battayles haue bene prefigured to vs before in thoſe carnall warres of the Iſraelites agaynſt the Idolatrous people. For in thoſe ſpirituall warres the holy catholicke Church, through the vertue & power of fayth, beyng illuſtrate with the beames of the heauenly light, by the prouidence of God, and beyng holpen by the helpe and defence of the Saintes & holy men, hath alwayes continued immaculate, & (the darkenes of errours, as her moſt cruell enemyes beyng put to flight) ſhe hath moſt gloriouſly triumphed ouer all. But in theſe our dayes, the old and auncient enemy hath rayſed vp new cõtentions & ſtrifes, that the elect of this world might be knowen, whoſe prince and captaine in tyme paſt was one Iohn Wickleffe a falſe Chriſtian. who duryng his lyfe tyme, taught and ſowed very obſtinatly many articles, contrary and agaynſt the Chriſtian Religion, and the Catholicke fayth. And the ſame Iohn Wickleffe wrote certaine bookes which he called a Dialogue, & a Trialogue, beſides many other treatiſes and workes, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforeſayd, and many other damnable & execrable articles: The which his bookes for the publication and aduauncement of his peruerſe doctrine, he dyd ſet forth openly for euery man to read. Whereby, beſide many offences, great hurt & damages of ſoules, hath enſued in diuers regions and countreys, but ſpecially in the kyngdomes of England and Boheme. Agaynſt whom, the maiſters and Doctours of the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Prage, riſing vp in the truth and veritie of God, accordyng to the order of the ſcholes, within a while after did reproue and condemne the ſayd Articles.

The Dialoge & trialoge of I. Wickliffe.

The bookes of Wickliffe condemned to be burned.

Moreouer, the moſt reuerent fathers, the Archbyſhops, and Biſhops, (for that tyme preſent) of Cãterbury, Yorke and Prage, Legates of the Apoſtolike ſea, in the kyngdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the ſayd Wickleffe to be burnt. And the ſayd Archbyſhop of Prage, commiſſary of the Apoſtolicke ſea, dyd likewiſe in this behalf determine & iudge. And moreouer he did forbyd, that any of thoſe bookes which did remaine vnburned, ſhould be not be hereafter any more read. And agaynſt theſe things being brought to the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the generall Councell: The Biſhop of Rome in his laſt Councell, condemned the ſayd bookes, treatiſes and volumes, commaundyng them to be openly burned. Moſt ſtraitly forbiddyng, that any man which ſhould beare the name of Chriſt, ſhould be ſo hardy either to keepe, read, or expound any of the ſayd bookes or treatiſes, volumes, or workes, or by any meanes to vſe or occupy them: either els to alledge them openly or priuely, but to their reproofe and infamy. And to the intent that this moſt daungerous and filthy doctrine ſhould be vtterly ſwepte away out of the Church, he gaue commaundement through out all places: that the Ordinaries ſhould diligently enquire and ſeeke out by the Apoſtolicke authoritie and Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for all ſuch bookes, treatiſes, volumes, and workes. And the ſame ſo beyng found, to burne and cõſume them with fire: prouidyng withall, that if there be any ſuch found, which will not obey the ſame: proceſſe to be made agaynſt them, as agaynſt the fauourers and maintayners of hereſies. And this moſt holy Synode hath cauſed the ſayd xlv. Articles to be examined and oft tymes peruſed by many moſt reuerend fathers of the Church of Rome, Cardinals, Byſhops, Abbots, maiſters of Diuinitie, and Doctours of both lawes, beſides a great number of other notable men: the which Articles beyng ſo examined, it was found (as in truth it was no leſſe) that many, yea a great number of them to be notoriouſly for hereticall reproued and condemned by the holy fathers: other ſome not to be Catholicke, but erroneous: ſome full of offence and blaſphemy: Certaine of them offenſiue vnto godly eares, and many of them to be raſhfull and ſeditious. It is found alſo, that his bookes do containe many Articles of like effect and qualitie, and that they do induce and bryng into the Church, vnſound and vnwholeſome doctrine, contrary vnto the faith and ordinaunce of the Church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, this ſacred Synode, ratifieng and approuyng the ſentences and iudgementes of the Archbyſhops & Councell of Rome: do by this their decree and ordinaunce, perpetually for euermore condemne and reproue, the ſayd Articles and euery one of them, his bookes which he entituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other bookes of the ſame author, volumes, treatiſes and workes, by what name ſo euer they be entituled or called, the which we will here to be ſufficiently expreſſed and named. Alſo we forbyd the readyng, learnyng, expoſition, or alledgyng of any of the ſayd bookes, vnto all faythfull Chriſtians, but ſo farreforth as ſhall tend to the reproofe of the ſame: forbiddyng all and ſingular Catholicke perſons vnder the payne of curſe, that from henceforth they be not ſo hardy openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any meanes to alledge the ſayd Articles or any of them, except (as is aforeſayd) that it do tend vnto the reproofe of them: commaundyng all thoſe bookes, treatiſes, workes, and volumes aforeſayd to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synode at Rome, as is afore expreſſed. For the execution whereof duely to be obſerued and done, the ſayd ſacred Synode doth ſtraitly charge and commaund the ordinaries of the places, diligently to attend and looke vnto the matter, accordyng as it appertaineth vnto euery mans duty, by the Canonicall lawes and ordinaunces.

Wordes of autoritie without due probation.

Aske my fellow if I be a theefe.

So we heare you ſay.

Vnwholſome, becauſe they teach againſt the pompe of the pope.

So thought the ſouldiours perpetually to keepe downe Chriſt from riſing.

O meruellous ſacred Synode.

Rub a galde horſe on the backe and he will winſe.

At Rome ye neither can tell better hering.

Though the ſepulchre be watched Chriſt will riſe.

What were theſe Articles here condemned by this Councell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to the ſayd Councell, to the number of xlv. The copy of them followeth vnder written.

Certaine other articles gathered out of Wickleffes bookes by his aduerſaries, to the number of xlv. exhibited vp to the Councell of Conſtance, after his death, and in the ſame Councell condemned.

Other articles of Wickliffe to the number of 45. condemned by the councell of Conſt.

Beſides the xxiiij. Articles aboue mentioned, there were other alſo gathered out of his bookes, to the number of xlv. in all, which his malicious aduerſaries peruerſly collectyng, and maliciouſly expoundyng, did exhibite vp to the Councell of Conſtance: which to repete all, though it be not here needefull, yet to recite certaine of them as they ſtand in that Councell, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous.

25. All ſuch as be hyred for temporall liuyng to pray for other, offend and ſinne in ſimonie.

26. The prayer of the reprobate preuayleth for no man.

27. Hallowyng of Churches, confirmation of children, the Sacrament of orders, be reſerued to the Pope and byſhops onely for the reſpect of temporall lucre.

28. Graduations, and Doctorſhyps in Vniuerſities and Colleges as they be vſed, conduce nothyng to the Church.

29. The excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates, is not to be feared, becauſe it is the cenſure of Antichriſt.

30. Such as found and build Monaſteries, do offend and ſinne, and all ſuch as enter into the ſame, be members of the deuill.

31. To enrich the Clergy, is agaynſt the rule of Chriſt.

32. Syluester the Pope, and Conſtantine the Emperour were deceiued in geuyng and takyng poſſeſſions into the Church.

33. A Deacon or Prieſt may preach the word of God without the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke ſea.

34. Such as enter into order, or religion monaſticall, are therby vnable to keepe Gods commaundementes, and alſo to attaine to the kyngdome of heauen, except they returne from the ſame.

35. The Pope with all his Clergy, hauyng thoſe great poſſeſſions as they haue, be heretiques in ſo hauyng, and the ſecular powers in ſo ſufferyng them do not well.

36. The Church of Rome is the Synagoge of Sathan, neither is the Pope immediatly the vicare of Chriſt, nor of the Apoſtles.

37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apocrypha and ſeduce from the fayth of Chriſt, and the Clergy that ſtudy them, be fooles.

38. The Emperour and ſecular Lordes be ſeduced, which ſo enrich the Church with ſuch ample poſſeſſions.

39. It is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue the Church of Rome to be ſupreme head ouer all Churches.

40. It is but folly to beleue the Popes pardons.

41. All othes which be made for any cõtract or ciuill bargaine betwixt man and man, be vnlawfull.

42. Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, Bern. with all ſuch as haue bene patrones of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with ſuch alſo as haue entred into the ſame: be in a damnable ſtate, and ſo from the Pope to the loweſt Nouiſe they be all together heretickes.

Beſides theſe Articles to the number of xlv. condemned (as is ſayd) by the Councell of Conſtance: Other articles alſo I finde diuerſly collected or rather wraſted out of the bookes and writynges of Wickleffe: ſome by William Wodford, ſome by Walden, by Frier Tyſſington and other, whom they in their bookes haue impugned rather then cõfuted. In the number of whom, William Wodford eſpecially ſifteth out theſe Articles, and writeth agaynſt the ſame, to the number of xviij. as here vnder followes.

W. Wodford, Tho. Walde. Tyſſington writers againſt I. Wickliffe.

1. The

Articles againſt Wickliffe by W. Woodford.

1. The bread remayneth in his owne ſubſtaunce, after the conſecration thereof vpon the aultar, and ceaſeth not to be bread ſtill.

2. As John was figuratiuely Helias, and not perſonally, ſo the bread figuratiuely is the body of Chriſt, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue ſpeach, to ſay: this is my body, as to ſay: This John, is Helias.

3. In the Decree, Ergo Berengarius, the Court of Rome hath determined that the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, is naturally true bread.

4. They which do affirme, that the infantes of the faythfull departyng without the Sacramẽt of Baptiſme are not to be ſaued: be preſumptuous, and fooles in ſo affirmyng.

5. The adminiſtration of the Sacrament of confirmation, is not onely reſerued to Byſhops.

6. In the tyme of S. Paule, onely two orders of Clerkes did ſuffice in the Church: Prieſtes, and Deacons. Neither was there in the tyme of the Apoſtles any diſtinction of Popes, Patriarches and Archbyſhops, and Byſhops, but theſe the Emperours pride did finde out.

7. Such as in tymes paſt either for couetouſnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall ſuccour by kindred, or for cauſe to excuſe their luſt (although they diſpayred of iſſue) were maryed: were coupled together, not by true Matrimony.

8. The cauſes of diuorcement, either for ſpirituall conſanguinitie or for affinitie, be not founded in Scripture, but are onely ordinaunces of men.

9. Theſe wordes I will take thee to wife, are rather to be taken in contract of matrimony, then theſe wordes I do take thee to wife. And the contract with any partie by the wordes of the future tence, ought not to be fruſtrate for the contract with any partie afterward made, by the wordes of the preſent tyme.

10. There be xij. diſciples of Antichriſt, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deanes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, and Pardoners.

11. In the booke of Nombers the xviij. chapter and in Ezechiel xliiij. chapter it is commaunded ſimply, that neither the Prieſts of Aaron, nor the Leuites ſhould haue any part of inheritaunce with other tribes, but ſhould liue merely of tithes and oblations.

12. There is no greater hereticke or Antichriſt, then that Clerke which teacheth that it is lawfull for Prieſtes and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall poſſeſſions. And if there be any heretickes, Apoſtates, or blaſphemers, theſe Clerkes be ſuch.

13. It is not onely lawfull for the Lordes temporal to take away goodes of fortune from the Churchmen, ſinnyng vſually: but alſo are bound ſo to do, vnder payne of eternall damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more ſeruiceable to the Church, and more enamoured with the loue of Chriſt, he is in the Church militant, the greater and the more neareſt Vicar of Chriſt.

15. If corporal vnction or anelyng were a Sacrament (as now it is fayned to be) Chriſt and his Apoſtles would not haue left the ordinaunce therof vntouched.

16. Vnto the true dominion ſecular, is required vertuous lyfe of hym that ruleth.

17. All thynges that happen, do come abſolutely of neceſſitie.

18. What ſoeuer the Pope or his Cardinalles can deduce clearly out of the Scripture: that onely is to be beleued, or to be done at their monitiõ: and whatſoeuer otherwiſe they do commaunde is to be condemned as hereticall.

Tractatus frat. W. Wodford contra trialogũ Wickleuo.

Beſides this W. Woodford afore mentioned, diuers other there were which wrote agaynſt theſe articles of Wicleffe aforeſayd, maynteynyng the Popes part, as ſeemeth for flattery, rather then folowyng any iuſt cauſe ſo to do, or ſhewyng forth any reaſon or learnyng in diſprouyng the ſame. Notwithſtandyng, on the contrary part ſome there were agayne both learned and godly, which takyng the part of Wicleffe, without all flattery defended the moſt of the ſayd Articles, openly in ſcholes and other places, as appeareth by the workes of John Hus: who in his publike determinations in the vniuerſitie of Prage, ſtode in defence of the ſame agaynſt all his aduerſaries. Whoſe reaſons and diſputations becauſe they aſke a lõg tyme here to diſcourſe, I ſhall therfore referre the Reader to the firſt Edition of theſe actes and monumentes, where the contentes therof are to be found more fully and at large ſet forth.

Wherfore cuttyng of the tractation herof, becauſe the matter hath bene handled already in the former booke, we wyll now returne to the ſayd Councell of Conſtance again, declaryng what cruelty they vſed not onelye agaynſt the bookes and articles of John Wickliffe, but alſo in burnyng his body and bones, commaundyng them to be taken vp. 41 yeares after he was buried, as appeareth by ẏ decree of the ſayd Sinode, the forme wherof, we thought hereunto to annexe as followeth.

The decree of the Synode of Conſtance touching the taking vp of the body and bones of Iohn Wickliffe to be burned 41. yeares after he was buried in his owne pariſh at Lutterworth.

The decree of the councell for the burning of Wickliffes dead bones.

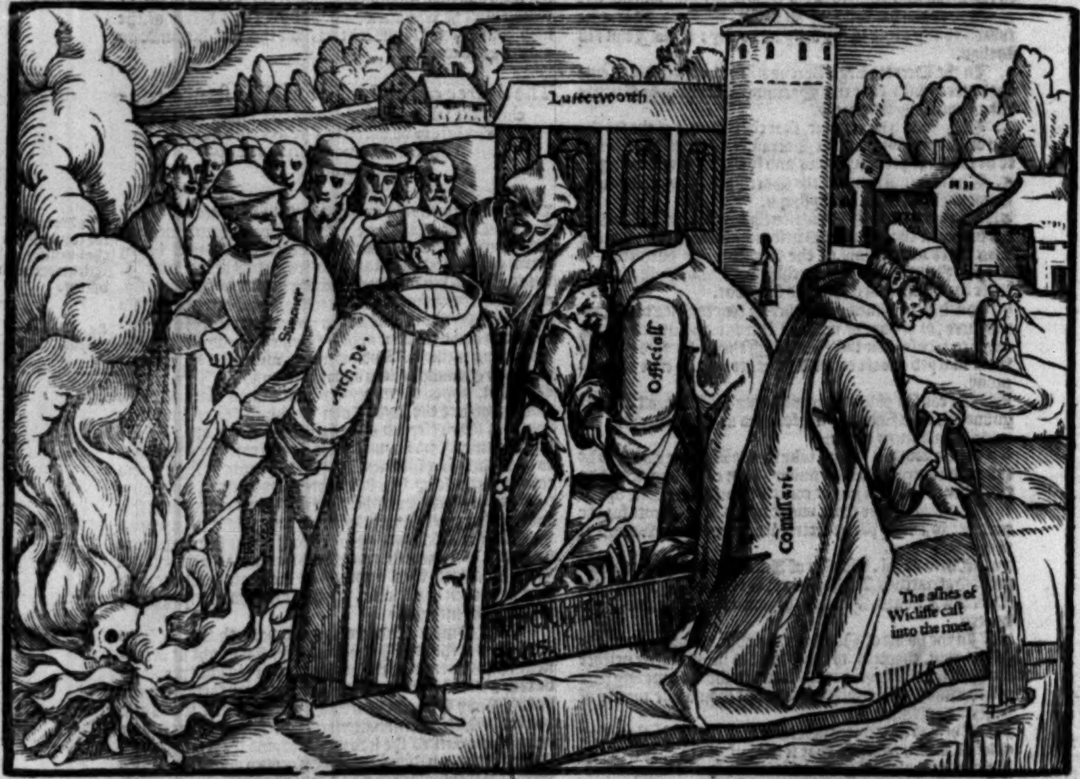
Ex Actis concilij Conſtant.

Forſomuch as by the authoritie of the ſentence and decree of the Councell of Rome, and by the commaundement of the Church and the Apoſtolike ſee after due delayes beyng geuen, they proceded vnto the condemnation of the ſayde J. Wickliffe, and his memory: hauyng firſt made proclamatiõ, and geuen commaundement to call forth whoſoeuer would defend the ſayd Wickliffe, or his memory (if there were any ſuch) but there did none appeare, which would either defẽd hym or his memory. And moreouer witneſſes beyng examined by Commiſſioners appoynted by Pope John & thys Councell, vppon the impenitencie and finall obſtinacie and ſtubburnnes of the ſayd John Wickliffe (reſeruyng that which is to be reſerued, as in ſuch buſines, the order of the law requireth) and his impenitencie and obſtinacy euen vnto hys end, beyng ſufficiently proued by euident ſignes and tokens, and alſo by lawfull witneſſes of credite, was lawfully geuen thereunto. Wherefore at the inſtaunce of the ſteward of the treaſury, proclamation being made to heare and vnderſtand the ſentence againſt this day: the ſacred Sinode declareth, determineth, and geueth ſentence, that the ſayde John Wickliffe was a notorious obſtinate hereticke, and that he dyed in hys hereſie, curſing and condemnyng both him and his memory.

This Sinode alſo decreeth and ordeyneth, that the body and bones of the ſayd John Wickliffe, if it might be decerned and knowen from the bodies of other faithfull people, to be taken out of ẏ ground, and throwne away farre from the buriall of any Church, accordyng vnto the canon lawes and decrees. Which determination and ſentence definitiue beyng red and pronounced, the lord preſident, and the foreſayd preſidents of the 4. nations being demaunded and aſked whether it did pleaſe them or no? They all aunſwered (and firſt Hoſtienſis the preſident, and after hym the other preſidents of the nations) that it pleaſed them very well, and ſo they alowed and confirmed all the premiſſes, &c.

¶ What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not wepe, to ſee theſe ſo ſage and reuerẽd Catos, to occupy their heades to take vp a poore mans body, ſo long dead and buried before, by the ſpace of xlj. yeres? and yet peraduenture were not able to find hys right bones, but toke vp ſome other body, and ſo of a Catholike made an heretike. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had ſome cauſe to geue them thankes that they would at leaſt ſpare hym ſo long tyll he was dead, and alſo to geue hym ſo longe reſpite after his death xlj. yeres to reſt in hys ſepulcher before they vngraued hym, and turned hym from earth to aſhes: which aſhes alſo, they toke and threw into the riuer. And ſo was he reſolued into 3. elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby vtterly to extinct and aboliſh both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for euer. Not much vnlyke to the example of the old Phariſeis and ſepulcher knightes, which when they had brought the lord vnto the graue, thought to make him ſure neuer to riſe agayne. But theſe and all other muſt know, that as there is no counſaile agaynſt the Lord: ſo there is no keppyng downe of veritie: but it wyll ſpryng and come out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged vp his body, burnt hys bones, & drowned hys aſhes, yet ẏ word of God and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit & ſucceſſe therof they could not burne: which yet to this day for the moſt part of his articles do remayne. Notwithſtandyng, the tranſitory body and bones of the man was thus conſumed and diſperſed, as by this picture here ſet forth to thyne eyes (gentle reader) may appeare.

¶ The order and maner of taking vp the body of Iohn Wickliffe and burning his bones xli. yeares after his death.



Ex Th. VValden. lib. de ſacrament.

These thinges thus finiſhed and accompliſhed, which pertayne to the ſtory and tyme of Wickliffe: let vs now (by the ſupportation of the Lord) procede to entreat and write of the reſt, which eyther in his tyme or after his tyme, ſpringyng out of the ſame vniuerſitie, and rayſed vp (as ye would ſay) out of hys aſhes were pertakers of the ſame perſecution. Of whom ſpeaketh Thomas walden in hys booke, De ſacramentis & ſacramentalibus. cap. 53: where he ſayth, that after Wickliff many ſuffred moſt cruell death, and many mo did forſake the realme.

In the number of whome was William Swinderby, walter Brute: John Puruey: Richard White: william Thorpe: Raynold Pecock B. of S. Aſſaph, and afterward of Chicheſter.

Laurence Redman, Dauid Sawtre, John Aſchwerbe, William James, Tho. Brighewel, Williā Hawlam, Rafe Grenhurſt, J. Seut, Phillip Norice, Peter Payne, Lord Cobham.

To this Catalogue alſo pertayneth, mentioned in auncient writers, Laurence Redman maiſter of Arte, Dauid Sawtre deuine, John Aſchwarby vicar as they call him of S. Mary Church at Oxford, William James an excellent yong man well learned, Thomas Brightwell, and William Haulam a ciuilian, Rafe Grenhurſt, John Scut: & Philip Norice: which beyng excommunicate by Pope Eugenius the 4. in the yeare of our lord. 1446. appealed vnto a generall or œcumenicall Councell.

Peter Paine, who flying from Oxford into Boheme, did ſtoutly contend agaynſt the Sophiſters, as touchyng both kyndes of the Sacrament of the laſt ſupper. Who afterward amongeſt the reſt of the Orators was one of the 14. that was ſent vnto the Councell at Baſill: where as by ẏ ſpace of 3. dayes, he diſputed vpon the 4. article, which was as touching the ciuil dominion of the clergy, an. 1438. Alſo the Lord Cobham. &c.

To theſe Oxford men aboue rehearſed, and other fauourers of Wickliffe within this our countrey of England we may adde alſo the Bohemians: for ſo much as the propagation of the ſayd doctrine of Wickliffe, in that countrey alſo tooke roote, commyng from England to Boheme, by this occaſion as in ſtory here followeth.

The occaſion how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Boheme.

There chaunced at that tyme a certaine ſtudent of the country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a welthy houſe and alſo of a noble ſtocke. Who returnyng home from the vniuerſitie of Oxford, to the vniuerſitie of Prage: caried with hym certaine bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus vniuerſalibus, De ciuili iure, & Diuino: De eccleſia, De quæſtionibus varijs contra clerum, &c. It chaunced the ſame tyme, a certayn noble man in, the City of Prage, had founded and builded a great Church of Mathias and Matheus, which Church was called Bethleem: geuyng to it great landes, & findyng in it two preachers euery day, to preach both holyday and workingday to the people. Of the which two preachers, this John Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently fauoured for his worthy life amongeſt them. This John Hus hauyng familiaritie wyth this yong man, in readyng and peruſing theſe bookes of Wickliffe: toke ſuch pleaſure and fruite in reading therof, that not onely he began to defend this author openly in the ſchooles, but alſo in his ſermons: commending him for a good man, an holy man and heauenly man, wiſhing himſelfe when he ſhould die, to be there placed where as the ſoule of Wickliffe ſhould be. And this for the ſpreadyng of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

VVicleuus vir bonus, ſanctus cœlo dignus.

The great affection of J. Hus to J. Wickliffe.

And thus much briefly concernyng the fauourers & adherents of John Wickliffe, in generall. Now particularly & in order let vs (by Chriſtes grace) proſecute the ſtories and perſecutions of the ſaid parties aforenamed, as the courſe of theyr tymes ſhal require, firſt beginnyng with the valiaunt champions Wil. Swinderby, and Walter Brute.

The hiſtory of William Swinderby.

1389.

Ex Regiſtro Epiſcopi Herfordenſis.

W. Swinderby firſt examined.

Denouncers of W. Swinderby 3. Friers. Friſby, Hinkby, Blaxton.

IN the yeare 1389. William Swinderby prieſt within the dioceſſe of Lincolne beyng accuſed and detected vpon certayn opinions, was preſented before John Biſhop of Lincolne, and examined vpon certayne articles in the Church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the Popes law, accordyng to theyr vſual rite obſerued. hys denoūcers were theſe: Frier Friſby obſeruāt, Frier Hincley Auguſtine: & Tho. Blaxton Dominican. The Articles wherewith they charged hym, although in forme of wordes as they put them vp, might ſeeme ſomethyng ſtraunge here to bee recited: yet

Willm Jame

yet to the entent that all men may ſee the ſpitefull malice of theſe ſpider Friers, in ſuckyng all things to poyſon, and in forging that is not true, as in proceſſe (Chriſt willing) here of ſhal better appeare by his anſwers, I thought here good to notifie the ſame.

That men may aſke their debtes by charitie, but in no maner for debt to empriſon any man: and that he ſo impriſonyng is accurſed.

That if pariſhioners do know their Curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man: they ought to withdraw from hym their tithes, or els they be fautours of hys ſinnes.

That tithes purely be almoſe, and in caſe that Curates be euill men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an euill Curate to curſe hys ſuget for withholding of tithes: is nothing els, but to take with extortion wickedly and vnduely from them their money.

That no Prelate may curſe a man, except he know before that he is curſed of God.

That euery prieſt may abſolue any ſinner beyng cōtrite and is bound (notwithſtanding the inhibitiō of the biſhop) to preach the Goſpell vnto the people.

That a prieſt takyng any annuall penſion vpon couenant, is in ſo doyng a ſimoniacke and accurſed.

That any prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, if he geue hymſelfe to conſecrate the body of the Lord, he committeth idolatry, rather then doth conſecrate.

That no prieſt entreth into any houſe, but to euill entreat the wife, the daughter, or mayde. And therefore he admonyſhed the goodmā of the houſe, to take heed what prieſt he let into his houſe.

An other concluſion falſly to hym obiected. That a child is not truely baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, or the Godfather or Godmother be in deadly ſinne.

Item, that no man liuing agaynſt the law of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordeined prieſt of any biſhop.

W. Swinderby cōpelled by the Friers to abiure articles, which he neuer taught.

These Articles or concluſions vntruely collected, were as cruelly exhibited againſt him by the Friers in the biſhop of Lincolnes court. The which Articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any tyme defended, as appeareth more in the proceſſe folowing: yet the Friers with their witneſſes ſtandyng forth agaynſt hym, declared him to be conuict: bringing alſo dry woode with them to the towne to burne hym, and would not leaue him, before he made them promiſe and ſware for feare of death neuer to hold them, teach them, nor preach them priuily, nor apertly vnder payne of relapſe: and that he ſhould go to certaine churches to reuoke ŷ foreſayd concluſions, which he neuer affirmed. As firſt in the Church of Lincolne, then in Saint Margaretes Church at Leyceſter. Alſo in Saint Martines Churche in Leyceſter, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other pariſh Churches alſo, of Melton Moubray, of Haloughton, Harburgh, and Lenthburgh. Which penance beyng to him enioyned, he did obediently accompliſh: with this forme of reuocation, which they bounde hym vnto, vnder theſe wordes.

The reuocation of William Swinderby wherevnto he was forced by the Friers.

The forced abiuration of W. Swinderby.

I William Swinderby prieſt, although vnworthy, of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true catholique, and Apoſtolique fayth of the holy church of Rome, do abiure all hereſie and errour repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, wherof I haue ben hitherto infamed, namely the concluſions and articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of thē to me iudicially obiected, by the Cōmiſſary of the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, L. Iohn by the grace of God Biſhop of Lincolne: and do reuoke the ſame, and euery one of them, ſome as hereticall, ſome as erroneous, and falſe, and do affirme and beleue them to be ſo, and hereafter will neuer teach, preach, or affirme publikely or priuely the ſame. Neither will make any ſermon within the dioceſſe of Lincolne, but aſking firſt and obteynyng the licence, of the foreſayd reuerend father and lord the byſhop of Lincolne. Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter, to ſay or do, to hold or preach: I ſhall be content to abide the ſeueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the neceſſitie of the law, ſworne, and do ſweare, &c.

Thus haue you the concluſiōs and articles of this good man, falſely obiected to him by the malitious and lying Friers: and alſo the retractation, wherunto they by force compelled hym: wherby it may likewiſe be coniectured, what credite is to be geuen to the articles and concluſions which theſe cauelyng Friers wraſting all things to the worſt, haue obiected & imputed both to Wickliffe and all other of ŷ ſort, to whom they falſly do infame, ſo ſlaunderouſly do bely, and ſo maliciouſly do perſecute. After theſe thinges thus done and wrought in the dioces of Lincolne: it ſo befell, the ſayd W. Swinderby to remoue to the dioceſſe and countrey of Hereford, where, he was as much or more moleſted by the friers agayne, and by Iohn Treſnant biſhop of Herford, as by the proceſſe and ſtory here enſuing, ſet out at large out of their owne regiſters may appeare.

¶ Here followeth the proceſſe of Iohn Treſnant biſhop of Hereforde had againſt the aforeſayde William Swinderby in the cauſe of heretical prauitie as the popiſh heretikes call it.

The proces of the B. of Hereford agaynſt W. Swinderby.

The florishing inuocation of Gods name.

The glorious name of the prince of peace, and his counſaile (whoſe counſailour no man is, and whoſe prouidence in his diſpoſition is neuer deceyued) beyng inuocated: To all and ſinguler beleuers of Chriſt, which ſhal ſee or heare this our proceſſe vnderwritten, Iohn by the ſufferaunce of God biſhop of Hereford: greeting, and peaceable charitie in the Lord. For as much as god the creator of all things, the keper of iuſtice, the louer of right, and the hater of malice, beholdyng from the highe throne of his prouidence the ſonnes of men, now through the fall of their firſt father, prone and declinyng to diſhoneſt and filthy and deteſtable miſchiefes, and to kepe vnder their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſion did firſt gender) hath appoynted diuers preſidentes of the world ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrees, by whom and their circumſpect prouidence, mans audacitie ſhould be reſtrayned, innocency ſhould be nouriſhed amongſt the good, and terror ſhould be ſtriken into the wicked not to deceaue: alſo that their power to hurt, and their inſolencie ſhould be brideled in all places. And wheras amōgſt many kinds of cares which come to our thoughtes, by the duety of the office committed vnto vs, we are ſpecially bound to extend our ſtrēgth, chiefly that the Catholike fayth may proſper in our tymes, and hereticall prauity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithfull: we therefore beyng excited through the information of many credible and faithfull Chriſtians of our dioces, to roote out peſtiferous plantes, as ſhepe diſeaſed with an incurable ſickneſſe, goyng about to infect the whole and ſound flocke, are by the care of the ſhepeheard to be remoued from the flocke, that is to ſay, Preachers, or more truely execrable offenders of the newe ſect, vulgarely called lollardes, which vnder a certaine cloked ſhew of holyneſſe, runnyng abroad through diuers places of our dioceſſe, and endeuoring to cut a ſunder the Lordes vnſowed coate, that is to ſay, to rent the vnitie of the holy church, and of the Catholike faith, and alſo to teare in peeces with their tempeſtious blaſts ŷ power of S. Peter, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrength of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holy Church, haue wickedly preſumed & doe preſume from day to day to ſpeake, to teach, to maintaine (and that which is more horrible to be vttered) to preach openly many things hereticall, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, and ſclaunderous diffaminges, euen quite contrary to the ſacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers: ſo that they know not to direct their pathes in the wayes of righteouſnes and truth, in that, that they expounde to the people the holy ſcripture, as the letter ſoundeth, after a Iudaicall ſort, otherwiſe then the holy Ghoſt will needes haue it: where as the wordes wander from their proper ſignifications, and appeare to bring in by geſſing new meanings: whereas the wordes muſt not be iudged by the ſenſe that they make, but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, where as the conſtruction is not bound to Donates rules: where as faith is farre placed from the capacitie of reaſon: But they labour by their pernicious doctrines & teachings publike and priuie, to boyle out the poyſon of ſchiſmes betwene the Clergie and the people. We to encounter agaynſt ſuch kynde of preachers, nay rather deceiuers, and horrible ſeducers amongſt the people, aduauncing and rowzing vp our ſelues in Gods behalfe, and holy mother Churche, wyth the ſpirituall ſworde, which may ſtrike them wiſely, and wounde them medicinably, for their health and welfare: and namely William Swynderby Prieſt (ſo pretendyng himſelfe to be) as a teacher of ſuch kynde of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amōgſt the people: to whom perſonally appearing before vs on the wedenſday, to wit, the xiiij of the moneth of Iune, in the pariſhe Church of Kington of our dioceſſe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

Lollardes by the popes interpretation, is a word deriued of Lollium.

They counterfait in the prophets wordes as Apes do in princes apparell.

Who expoundeth the ſcripture more after the letter, let the reader iudge by *Hoc eſt corpus meum*.

If ſuch medicines ſhould be miniſtred to you, ye would can your Phiſition litle thanke.

An.1391.

he beyng vehemently diſſamed to vs of hereſie, ſchiſme, and his peruerſe doctrines both manifeſt and priuy: We therefore haue cauſed many caſes and articles concerning the catholike fayth to be miniſtred vnto hym, that he ſhould anſwer to the ſame at a day and place for hym meete and conuenient, of hys owne choyce and freewill: that is to ſay, on the Friday, beyng the laſt of the ſame month of Iune, next folowyng aſſigned to him, at the church of Bodenham of the ſame our dioceſſe. Of which caſes and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Chriſtes faithfull people, * zelous followers of the catholike fayth to make information to our office (which caſes and articles alſo were by vs adminiſtred, as is before ſayd, to the ſame William Swinderby) the tenor therof followeth, and is thus.

*Such as were in Queene Maries dayes, as Iohn Beard, Iohn Soales, Robin Papiſt, & other like muttherers.

¶ Reuerend father and high Lord, Lord Iohn by gods ſufferaunce biſhop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared to your reuerend fatherhood on the behalf of Chriſtes faithfull people your deuout children of your dioceſſe of Herford: that notwithſtandyng the miſbeliefe of very many lollardes, which hath ſo long a tyme ſprong vp here in your dioceſſe, there is newly come a certaine chylde of wickednes, named William Swinderby: Who by his horrible perſuaſions, & miſchieuous endeuours, and alſo by his open preachynges, and priuate teachings, doth peruert as much as in hym is, the whole eccleſiaſticall ſtate, and ſtirreth vp with all hys poſſible power, ſchiſme betwene the Clergy and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what maner of man the ſame William Swinderby is: there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your fatherhood on the behalfe of the ſame faithful people of Chriſt againſt the ſame William Swinderby, caſes and articles. Which if the ſame William ſhall deny, then ſhall the ſame caſes and articles moſt euidently be proued againſt him by credible witneſſe worthy of beliefe, and by other lawfull proofe and euidences to the ende that thoſe beyng proued, the ſame fatherhood of yours, may do & ordeyne therin, as to your paſtorall office belongeth.

Lord, Lord, a latin word of their owne making. The denunciatis of the promoters to the B. of Hereford.

¶ In primis, The ſame William Swinderby pretendyng himſelfe prieſt, was openly and publikely conuicted of certayne articles and concluſions beyng erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, and hereticall, preached by hym at diuers places & times before a multitude of faythfull chriſtian people. And ye ſame Articles and concluſions did he by force of law reuoke and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and ſome as erroneous and falſe. Auouching and beleuing them for ſuch, as that frō thenceforth he would neuer preach, teach, or affirme openly or priuily any of the ſame concluſions. And if by preaching or auouchyng he ſhould preſume to do the contrary: that then he ſhould be ſubiect to the ſeueritie of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporall othe, iudicially vpon the holy Goſpels.

Matter articulated agaynſt W. Swinderby.

2. Alſo the concluſions, which by the ſame William were firſt openly taught and preached, and afterward abiured and reuoked as is aforeſaid: are contened before in the proceſſe of the B. of Lincolne, euen as they be there written worde by word. And as for the caſes and articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithfull chriſtian people againſt the ſaid William Swinderby together, with the concluſions beforeſayd, & hereafter written: of which caſes and Articles, the tenour hereafter enſueth.

3. Item, the ſayd William, contrary to the former reuocation and abiuration, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerted from ill to worſe, and geuē vp into a reprobate ſenſe: came into your dioceſſe, where, he running about in ſondry places hath preſumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his owne raſhneſſe many heretical, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlaunderous thinges contrary and repugnant to the ſacred Canons and the determination of the holy Catholike Church. What thoſe thinges were, at what place and at what tyme, it ſhall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, the ſame William, notwithſtandyng your commaundementes and admonitions ſealed with your ſeale, and to all the Curates of your dioceſſe directed: conteinyng amongſt other thinges, that no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he were, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach or els to expound the holy ſcripture to ye people, either in hallowed or prophane places, within your dioces, without ſufficient authoritie, by any maner of pretenſe that could be ſought, as in the ſame your letters monitorie and of inhibition (the tenor whereof hereafter enſueth) is more largely cōteined: which letters the ſame William did receyue into hys handes, and did reade them word by worde in the towne of Monemouth of your dioces, in the yere of our Lord. 1390 ſo that theſe your letters and the contentes therof came to true and vndoubted knowledge of the ſame William: yet notwithſtandyng hath the ſame William preſumed in diuers places and tymes to preach within the ſame your dioceſſe, after and agaynſt your commaundementes aforeſayd. The tenour of the ſame letters before mentioned followeth and is thus.

IOhn by the ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford, to the Deane and Chapter of our Church of Hereford, and to all and ſingular Abbots, Priors, Prouoſtes, Deanes rurall, Parſons and Vicares, of Monaſteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges and Pariſhes, and to other hauyng cure of ſoules within the Citie and dioceſſe of Hereford, and to all and euery other beyng within the ſame Citie and dioceſſe, Greeting, grace, and bleſſing. Foraſmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctorall, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift, neither is the office of preachyng graunted, ſaue to ſuch as are called, and ſpecially by the Church admitted therunto: we do admoniſh and require you all and ſingular Clerkes aforeſayd, and do ſtraightly enioyne you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the Catholicke ſayth, ſauyng ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the authoritie Apoſtolicall or els your Biſhop be ſpecially committed vnto: but that as much as in you ſhall lie, you do by worde and deede, labour to let thoſe that would attempte the contrary. And you Lordes, Ladies, Knightes, Barons, Eſquires, and all and ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degree, preheminence, or condition ſoeuer he be, remaynyng within the Citie and dioceſſe of Herford, we do beſech and exhort in our Lord, that following the wordes of our Sauiour, you beware of the leauen of the Phariſies.

The letter monitory of the B. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without hys licence.

Would God both they & all men did beware of that leauen.

Item, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, be not ye caried away with diuers and ſtraunge doctrines: and that in the meane while (as ſayth the Apoſtle) you be not remoued from the ſenſe of the holy auncient fathers, leaſt that any man by any meanes ſhould ſeduce you, but you agreyng together in one mynd ſee that you honour GOD with one mouth. But if any men to whom that thyng is not ſpecially (as is aforeſayd) committed, ſhall attempt to inſtructe or in this your lyfe to direct you into the Catholicke faith: do ye denie to geue them audience, and refuſe you to be preſent at their aſſembles, and ſhun ye their teachings, becauſe they be wicked and peruerſe? And as for vs we will not omit to procede accordingly to the ſacred canons and preceptes of the holy fathers, againſt ſuch as do the contrary. Dated at London in the houſe of our habitation vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of December, in the yeare of our lord, 1389 and of our conſecration the firſt.

5. Item, the ſame William in his preaching to the people, on Monday beyng the firſt of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord 1390. in the pariſh of Whitney of your dioceſſe, dyd hold and affirme: That no prelate of the world of what eſtate, preheminence or degre ſo euer he were of, hauing cure and charge of ſoule, he beyng in deadly ſinne, & hearyng the confeſſion of any vnder his hand in geuyng hym abſolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth loſe hym frō his ſinne, nor in correcting or excommunicatyng him for his demerits doth bynd him by his ſentence, except the prelate ſhall be free himſelfe from deadly ſinne, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gaue power to bynd and to loſe.

This is one of wickliffes blaſphemies.

6. Item the ſame William in many places ſayd & affirmed in the preſence of many faithful chriſtian people, that after the ſacramentall wordes vttered by the Prieſt hauyng the purpoſe to conſecrate: there is not made the very body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aulter.

7. Item, that accidencies cannot be in the ſacrament of the aulter without a ſubiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread there to ſuch as be partakers communicant with ye body of Chriſt, in the ſame ſacrament.

Bread he meaneth in ſubſtaunce.

8. Item, that a Prieſt being in deadly ſinne, cannot be hable by the ſtrength of the Sacramentall wordes, to make the body of Chriſt, or bring to perfection any other Sacrament of the Church, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the Church.

9. Item, that all prieſtes are of like power in all thinges, notwithſtanding that ſome of them, in this worlde are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10. Item that onely contrition putteth away ſinne, if ſo be that a man ſhalbe duely contrite: and that all auricular and outward confeſſion is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitie to ſaluation.

11. Item, inferiour Curates haue not their power of byndyng

byng and loſing mediatly from the Pope or the byſhop, but immediatly from Chriſt. And therfore, neyther can ỹ pope nor biſhop, reuoke to themſelues ſuch kynd of power, when they ſee tyme and place at their luſt and pleaſure.

11 Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kynd of annual and yerely pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeres to the day of iudgement, as are in the Popes bulles or pardons conteyned. Wherby it followeth, that the pardones are not of ſuch like value as they ſpeake of, and prayſed to be.

13 Item, it is not in the Popes power to graunt vnto any perſon penitent, forgeueneſſe of the puniſhment or of the faulte.

14 Item, that perſon that geueth hys almes to any, which in hys iudgement is not in neceſſitie, doth ſinne in ſo geuyng it.

15 Item, that it ſtandes not in the power of any Prelate, of what religion ſoeuer he be of, priuately to geue letters for the benefite of his order, neither doth ſuch benefite graunted, profite them to the ſaluation of their ſoule, to whō they be graunted.

16 Item, that the ſame William vnmyndfull of hys owne ſaluation, hath many and oftentymes come into a certain deſert wood, called Derualdwood of your dioceſſe, and there in a certaine chappell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cotage: hath in contempt of the keyes preſumed of hys owne raſhnes to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17 Item, the ſame William hath alſo preſumed to doe ſuch thynges in a certayne prophane chappel beyng ſituate in the parke of Newton nigh to the towne of Leyntwarden of the ſame your dioces.

¶Vpon Friday beyng the laſt of the moneth of Iune, in the yeare aboueſayd, about 6. of the clocke, in the ſayde pariſh church of Bodenhon, hath the ſayd William Swinderby perſonally appeared before vs. And he willing to ſatisfie the terme to hym aſſigned as is before ſpecified, hath reade out, word by word, before all the multitude of faithful chriſtian people, many aunſwers made and placed by the ſame William (in a certain paper booke of the ſhete folded into foure partes) to the ſayd articles, and the ſame aunſwers for ſufficient hath he really to vs exhibited: aduouching them to be agreable to the lawe of Chriſt. Which thyng beyng done, the ſame William (without any mo with hym) dyd depart from our preſence, becauſe that we, at the inſtaunce of certain noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame William free acceſſe, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibityng of thoſe aunſwers, and alſo free departyng wythout prefixing of any terme, or without citatiō, or els any other offence or harme in body or in goodes.

¶As for the tenour of the ſame aunſwers, exhibited vnto them by the ſame William, as is before ſpecified: we haue here vnder annexed word for word, and in the ſame old language, vſed at that tyme, when it was exhibited. And followeth in theſe wordes.

The proteſtation of W. Swinderby with hys aunſwers to the articles by the promoters, layd againſt him to the biſhop of Herforde, taken out of the Regiſters in the ſame olde Engliſhe wherin he wrote it.

The proteſtation of W. Swinderby wyth his aunſweres.

IN the name of God Amen. I William Swinderby prieſt vnworthy, coueting and purpoſing wholy with all my hart to be a true chriſtian man, with open confeſſion knowledgyng myne owne defaultes and vnwyſe dedes: makyng openly this proteſtation, cleppyng God to recorde here before our worſhipfull biſhop Iohn, through the ſufferance of god biſhop of Hereford, with witneſſe of all this people: that it is not myne entent any thing to ſay or affirme, to maintaine or to defend, that is, contrary to holy writ, againſt the beliefe of holy church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of Chriſtes Church, or the true ſentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through myne vncunnyng, bene vnordered, or by euill counſaile bene deceyued, or any thyng ſayd, preached, holden, mainteyned or taught, contrary to the law of God: wholy and fully for that tyme for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich chriſten man ſhould: Praying and beſeeching eche chriſten man, to whom this writyng ſhall come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I do) or euer erred in any point, contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſayd. And all the trothes that I haue ſayd accordyng with the law of God, that they maintayne them, and ſtand by them for life or death to gods worſhip, as a true chriſten man ſhould, ſubmitting me meekely to the correction of our Biſhop that here is, or of any other chriſten man, after chriſtes lawes and holy writ: In wil euer redy to be amended, and with this proteſtation I ſay & anſwer to theſe concluſions and articles that here followen after, the which bene put to me to aunſwer to.

1. Obiection.

The firſt is this: that I William of Swinderby pretendyng (he ſayth) my ſelfe a prieſt, was iudicially conuicted of certayn articles, and concluſions of errour, falſe, ſchiſmatike and hereſie, by me in diuers places and tymes preached (he ſayth) before multitudes of the true chriſten men: & the ſame articles and concluſions by nede of law reuoked & forſworne ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errours and falſe: and ſuch I affirmed and beleued them to be. And that none of them from that tyme forth I ſhould preach, teach or affirme, openly or priuily, ne that I ſhould make no ſermon to the people, ne preach but by lawfull leaue aſked and gotten. And if I ſhould preſume in doyng or affirming the contrary then to the ſeueritie of the law, I ſhould be buxom, as by nede of the law I ſwore.

To this I ſay, witneſſing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderſtanding, that I neuer preached, helde, ne taught theſe concluſions and articles, the which falſely of Friers were put vpon me, and of lecherous prieſtes to the Byſhop of Lincolne. For I was ordeyned by proceſſe *yet ſayd, of their law, by the Byſhop and his commiſſaries, ſo as I graunted them to bring my purgation of 13. Prieſtes of good fame. And ſo I did, with a letter, & xij. ſeales thereby, from the Mayor of Leyceſter, and from true Burgeſſes and xxx. men to witnes wyth me, as the Duke of Lancaſter knew and heard, the Earle of Darby, and other many great men that werne that tyme in the towne, that I neuer ſayd them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I ſhould haue made my purgation, there ſtooden forth fiue friers or moe, that ſome of them neuer ſawe me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous prieſtes openly knowen, ſome lyuing in their lechery twenty yeare (men ſayden) or more, as by their childer was openly knowen. Some of theſe they cleppeden, denounciations, and ſome weren clepped comprobations, that weren there falſely forſworne, they ſuyng buſily and crying with many an other Frier, with great inſtance to geue the dome vpō me, to burne me: and boughten dry wood before, as men tolden in that towne: and theſe ſleightes, and ſwearing, and money geuing as men ſayden, in fauour of the byſhop (by what law I wot not, but ſothly not by Gods law) they ſayden they helde me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I fully forſooke them, and neuer graunted that I ſayd them. Ouer this they made me ſweare neuer to holde them, teach them, ne preach them, priuely ne apertly: and that I would goe to certayne Churches to reuoke the concluſions that I neuer ſayd, in ſclaunder of my ſelfe, by great inſtance of the Friers. And ſo for dred of death and for fleſhly counſell that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they maden me to ſweare, that I ſhould not preach (by inſtance of the Friers) within that dioceſſe, withouten licence aſked & graūted, and neuer ſithen I did. And now the ſame concluſions bene rehearſed to me againe: whether by Friers counſell I will not deme, God wot, but in ſclaunder of me it is: and therfore I will aunſwere now (with Gods helpe) to the concluſions. Of the which the firſt is this.

*Yet ſayd, that is, beforeſayd.

Witneſſes wyth W. Swinderby 13. prieſtes & 30. other wyth the letter of the mayor of Leyceſter, and Burgeſſes with 12. ſeales.

The chaſtitie of Votaries to be noted.

1. Concluſion.

That men mowen aſken their debts by charitie, but in no maner for debt to empriſon any man: and that he ſo empriſoning, is accurſed.

Aunſwere. How det is to be purſued.

So I ſayd not: but thus I haue ſayd, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before: that who ſo purſues hys brother wyth malice, priſoneth him cruelly for debt wythout mercy that faine would pay it if he might: he ſinneth agaynſt Chriſtes teaching, eſtote miſericordes, ſicut pater veſter miſericors eſt.

2. Concluſion.

The 2. concluſion, that falſe friers and lecherous prieſtes putten vpon me was this: that if the parochiens knowen her curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man: they owen to withdraw from hym tithe, and els they bene fautors of his ſinnes.

Aunſwere.

Thus I ſayd not but on this wyſe, and yet I ſay with proteſtation put before: that if it be knowen openly to the people, that perſons or Curates come to her benefice by ſimony, and liuen in notory fornication, and done not their office and her dueties to her parochiens by good enſample of holy lyfe, in true preaching, lyuing and reſidence, wendyng away frō his cure, occupied in ſecular office: he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offringes, ne hem owes not to holde him for her Curate, ny hem owes not to geuen him tithes, leſt they bene gyltie to GOD of conſent and mainteining of her open ſinne. Nemo militans deo, implicat ſe negotijs ſecularibus,1.q.1.ca.quiſquis per pecuniam, & diſt.80.ca.Si quis.

3. Concluſion.

The third concluſion was this, that friers and prieſtes putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almeſſes: And in caſe that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefullye be geuen to other men, by temporall Lordes, and other temporalties bene done away from men of the Church, actually and openly treſpaſſing.

Aunſwere.

Thus I ſayd not in theſe termes, but thus I ſay with proteſtation made before: that it were medefull and leefull to ſecular Lordes by way of charitie, and power geuen to hem of God, in default of prelates that amende not by gods law, curſed curates that openly miſuſen the goods of holy church, that bene poore mens goods and cuſtomably againſt the law of God: the which poore men, Lordes bene holden to maintayne and defend, to take away and withdraw from ſuch curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offeringes, and their bodely almes deedes, and geue them to ſuch that duely ſerue God in the Church, and bene needye in vpbearing of the charge that prelates ſhoulden doe, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate & ſic adimplebitis legem Chriſti. And as anentes taking away of temporalties, I ſay thus wyth proteſtation made before: that it is leefull to Kynges, Princes, Dukes, and Lordes of the world to take away fro Popes, Cardinals, fro Byſhops & Prelates, poſſeſſions in the Church, their temporaltyes, and their almes that they haue geuen them, vpon condition they ſhoulden ſeruen God the better, when they verely ſene that their geuing and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Chriſtes liuing and hys Apoſtles: and namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles in poorenes & mekenes) to be ſecular Lordes: agaynſt the teaching of Chriſt and Saint Peter. Luc.xxij. Reges gentium. Et 1.Pet.v. Neq; dominantes in clero. And namely when ſuch temporalties maken them the more proud, both in hart and in araye, then they ſhoulden bene els, more in ſtrife and debate againſt peace and charitie, and in euill enſample to the worlde more to be occupyed in worldly buſines. Omnem ſolicitudinem proiicientes in eum. And drawes them from the ſeruice of God, from edifying of Chriſtes Church, in empoueriſhing and making leſſe the ſtate and the power of kynges, princes, Dukes, and Lordes that God hath ſet them in: in wrongfull oppreſſing of commons for vnmightfulnes of realmes. For Paule ſayth to men of the Church (whoſe lore, Prelates ſhoulden ſouerainly followen) Habentes victum, & veſtitum, hiis contenti ſimus.

4. Concluſion.

The fourth concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſts putten vpon me falſly: that an euill Curate curſing hys Soget for wythholdyng of tithes, is nought els, but to take with extortion wickedly and vnduely money frō them.

Aunſwere. Here may you ſee the falſhode of the papiſtes gathering articles againſt good men, which they neuer ſayd nor ment.

Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayd, and yet doe wyth proteſtation made before: that an euill Curate curſing hys parochiens, vnmighty to pay their tithyng, wyth vengeance wythout pitie, for hys ſingular worldly winning agaynſt charitie, and not for neede of their ſoules, there he is holde by his power reaſonably to helpe hys needy parochiens, and doth nought of the goods of the Church: wickedly and vnduely he wythholdes from them, that which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis: verùm mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

5. Concluſion.

The fift concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſtes falſely putten vpon me: that no man may curſe any mā, but if he were him curſed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into ſentence of curſing in any manner.

Aunſwere.

Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayd, and ſay with proteſtation put before: that no man ought to curſe any man, but for charitie and wyth charitie. Omnia veſtra cum charitate fiant. And ſikerly I ſay, that no wrongfull curſing of Pope or any prelate in earth, bindes * anentes God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſen men, for that men will not do their ſingular will, vnreaſonable bidding, wyth highnes of hart and cruelty (ſtandyng pacience & charitie in them that they curſen wrōgfully) he is bleſſed of almighty God, and they themſelfe bene curſed. Math.5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines. &c. Et in Pſalmo: Maledicent illi, et tu benedices. Et Auguſtinus.xi.q.iii.cap.illud.

* Agaynſt.

6. Concluſion.

The ſixt concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that eche Prieſt may aſſoyle hym that ſinneth, contrition had: and notwythſtandyng forbiddynges of the Byſhop, is * holden to preach to the people the Goſpell.

* holden, that is, bound.

Aunſwere.

Thus I ſayd not, but thus I ſayd, and yet ſay wyth proteſtation made before: that eche true prieſt may counſaile ſinfull men, that ſhewen to hym her ſinnes, after the witte and cunning that God had geuen hym, to turne fro ſinne to vertuous lyfe. And as touching preaching of the Goſpell, I ſay that no B. owes to let a true prieſt, that God had geuen grace, witte, and cunning to do that office: for both prieſtes and deacons, that God had ordeynet deacons and prieſtes, ben holden by power geuen hem of God to preach to the people the Goſpell, and namely and ſomely, popes, byſhops, prelates, and curates: For this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aſke of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it. Math.5. Luc.5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Math.16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum. Et Math.5. Euntes autem predicate. Et diſt.21.ca. In nouo teſtamento. Et Yſidor. de ſummo bono.44. Et Chriſoſt. diſtinc.34.ca. Nolite. Et Auguſt. diſtinc.34.ca. Quiſquis. Et. Greg. in ſuo paſtorali.ca.38. Et in Tollitano.ca.ignorantia. Et Ierom. diſtinc.95.cap. Ecce Ego.

7. Concluſ.

The vij. concluſion is thus, that Friers and Prieſtes falſely putten vpon me, that a Prieſt takyng any thynge for annuell, through couenaunt: in that, he is ſchiſmaticke and curſet.

Aunſwere.

Thus ſayd I, neuer in theſe termes: But thus I ſayd, and yet ſay with proteſtatiō put before: that no prieſt owes to ſell by bargaynyng and couenaunt, hys goſtlye trauayle, ne hys maſſes, ne hys prayers, ne Gods worde, ne hallowinges, baptiſme, ne confirming, order geuing, for weddinges, for ſhrifte, for houſell, or for enoynting, any worldly mens reward to aſke or take for theſe or for any of theſe, or for any goſtlye thyng, he erres and doth ſimonie. Vt patet 1.q.2.ca. Nullus. Et ex conſilio Triburenti.capit. Dictum eſt. Et Chriſtus in euangelio vendentes, et ementes eiecit de templo. Math.22.

8. Concluſ.

The viij. concluſion is thys, that Fryers and Prieſtes putten vnto me falſely, ſaying that I beleue ſadly as my ſelf ſayes: that yche Prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, yet he put hym to make Chriſtes bodye, rather he dos idolatrye then makes it.

Aunſwere.

Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayde, and yet ſay wyth a proteſtation put before: that what Prieſt that puts himſelfe preſumptuouſly and vnworthely in deadly ſinne, wittingly to miniſter and to receaue that holy ſacrament, and ſo recordes hit curſedly and dannably, he receaues hys dome. Qui manducat et bibit indignè, iudicium ſibi manducat & bibit. 1.Corin.11.

9. Concluſ.

The ix. concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſtes falſely putten vpon me: that no Prieſtes entres into any houſe but euill for to treate the wyfe, the daughter, or the wenche: and therfore they ſaydē, that I prayed the people that their huſbandes ſhould beware, that they ſuffer no prieſt to enter into her houſe.

Aunſwere.

And if I had ſayd thus, then I had prayed agaynſt my ſelfe, for I come oft into mens houſes: But thus I ſayde, and yet I do, praying Chriſten mē to beware that they nouriſhe nor mayntayne no lecherous Prieſtes in their ſinnes: for there be where (as men well knowen) they ben maintained in many places, continuyng homely wyth her women. And iche man there ſayn they payen therfore a certayne to the B. almes. Et ideo ait Yſodo.xi.q.4. Qui conſentit peccantibus et defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deum et homines.

10. Cōcluſ.

The x. concluſion is this, that friers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that a childe is not verely baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, the godfather, or the godmother, ben in deadly ſinne.

Aunſwere.

God wot in heauen they ſayd full falſe: but thus I ſayd and yet I ſay: that the prayers that an euill Prieſt prayes (lyuing in lechery or other deadly ſinne) ouer ẏ childe whē it ſhal be volowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben ẏ prayers of a good prieſt. And the better and clenner the prieſt is, the Godfather, and the Godmother: the more gratiouſly God will heare hem, if all they been not greateſt nor moſt riche in this world. Vnde gg.xiii.q.vii.cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui diſplicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

11. Cōcluſ.

The xi. concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that no man, liuing agaynſt the lawe of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordayned Prieſt of any Byſhop.

Aunſwere.

Certes this is falſe, for I ſayd neuer thus in theſe termes: but thus I ſayd, and thus I ſay with a proteſtation put before, that what euery Pope, or Cardinall, Byſhop, or Prieſt, or any prelate of the Church comes to his ſtate or dignitie by Simony, and in Simony occupies that office, & holy churches goodes: I ſay that he is a theefe, and that by the dome of God, and comes but to ſteale and kill. Joh.10. Fur non venit niſi vt furetur, & mactet, & perdat. And furthermore I ſay, that what Pope, Cardinal, biſhop, prelate, or prieſt, in maner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes makyng, contrary to Chriſtes liuing and his lawes, or any other ground put in ruling of the church of Chriſt, but by Chriſt & his lawes: is very Antichriſt, aduerſary to Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Aliud fundamentum nemo poteſt ponere, præter id quod poſitum eſt, quod eſt Chriſtus. Et patet 1.q.3.c. Si quis. Et 1.q.6.c. Ego autem. Quicunq;.

The true deſcriptiō who was Antichriſt.

But this worſhipfull father B. of Hereford, that here is, ſayes thus in his writyng: that I William of Swinderby, notwithſtanding the foreſayd reuocation and abiuration (not ſettyng at hart, but from euil to worſe he ſayes, peruerted ſo hys dioces) he ſayes I come running about by diuers places: and by mine owne folly he ſayes that I haue preſumed to preache many hereſies, errours, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, and other diffames, and to holy canons and determination of holy church contrary and repugnaunt, whiche where and when withinforth more ſpecially it ſhalbe ſhewed, that ye bene falſe enformed that I haue preſumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach hereſies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes and other diffames. And ſir, all the countrey knowes whether this be ſooth or not: for ſire I preſume not, ſithen it is the office of a prieſt by ÿ law of Chriſt to preach the goſpel: ne nought I did it for preſumption, but for the charge ÿ I haue of God by prieſthood (if all I be vnworthy) & to ÿ worſhip of God, and helpe of chriſtē ſoules, frely without gathering of here goodes for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will be amended. And ſire touching your maundement that ye ſendē to me, there was ſent none. And ſire I made neuer yet diſobedience vnto you, ne to your miniſters: and yet all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrary to Chriſtes bidding. And ſire as ye ſayne, that I had no mynde of my hele, it is to lightly deemed: for God forbid, but yet there lye hele more then in your bidding. For God wote for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my mynde. But ſire it ſemes me that ye charge not by euidence, of the puniſhing ſo greatly the breaking of Gods heſtes, as ye done of your own. And ſire, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted, you to teach hem (and her curates did not) by the deſire of the people that weren hungry and thirſty after gods worde, ichone to beare vp others charge as Gods law bids: I preached, not for diſobedience to you, but ſir in fulfilling of the obediēce, that Gods law bids me do in excuſing of my ſelfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open ſhewyng to holy church, with the proteſtation that I firſt made, I anſwer thus to the Articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article.

1390.

Note here how the papiſtes vſe falſely to wraſtle good mēs ſayings and articles.

The firſt is this, that I William of Swinderby, the Monday the firſt of Auguſt, the yeare of our Lord, 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of Wittency of your dioces, held and affirmed (as ye ſayne) that no Prelate of the world, of what ſtate or degree that he be, hauing cure of ſoules, beyng in deadly ſinne, and hearyng confeſſion of hys ſuget, does nought in aſſoyling hym, ne he aſſoyles hym not of hys ſinne: and alſo in amendyng his ſuget openly ſinning and him for his deſertes curſing, his ſentence byndes not, but if that Prelate be as cleane out of deadly ſinne as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of byndyng and vnbindyng.

Anſwere.

I neuer thought this ne ſpake this, ne heard it to the tyme that I ſaw it written in our booke, and that wil witnes the Lord of the towne that has the ſame ſermon written, and many gentils and other that hearden me that day: But thus I ſaid, and thus I ſay with proteſtation put before: that there is no man, Pope, ne biſhop, prelate ne Curate, that byndes ſoothly, verily and ghoſtly, but in as much as his byndyng or vnbindyng accordes with the keyes of heauen, that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Gregory ſayes that power han they onely, that hold together the enſample of the apoſtles with here teaching. Illi ſoli in hac carne poſiti ligandi atque ſoluendi poteſtatem habent, ſicut ſancti Apoſtoli qui eorum exempla ſimul cum doctrina tenent: ggli. quarto ſententiarum.

The popes byndyng how far it extendeth.

Greg. lib. 4. Sēt.

2. Article.

And what if he had ſayd it?

The ſecond article that is put vpon me, is this, that I ſhould haue ſaid, preached, and affirmed in many places before many true men of Chriſt: that after the Sacramental wordes ſayd of the prieſt, hauing entention of conſecration: That in the Sacrament of Gods body, is not veray Gods bodye.

Anſwere.

This ſayd I neuer God wote, and true men that haue heard me.

3. Article.

The third article is this, that our biſhop puts vpon me, that I ſhould haue ſaid in many places, and affirmed, that accidentes mow not be in the ſacrament of the aulter without ſubiect, and that material bread leues not therwith gods body in the ſacrament.

Anſwere.

This concluſion haue I not holden, ne taught, ne preached: for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit ſuffiſeth not therto. But here I tell my beliefe with proteſtation put before: that the Sacrament of the aulter made by vertue of heauenly wordes, that Chriſt himſelfe ſayd in the Cene, when he made this ſacrament, that it is bread & chriſtes body, ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſayes in the Goſpell, and S. Paule ſayes, and as doctours in the common law haue determined to this ſentence. Math. 26. Mar. 14. Lu. 22. Pa. 1. Corin. 10. & 11. de con. diſtinct. 2. panis, & de cōſecra. diſt. 2. Corpus. Iohn. 6. verus panis.

Bread & Chriſtes body in the ſacrament.

4. Article.

The 4. article is this, that our Biſhop accuſeth me of, that I ſhould haue preached about and ſayd: that a Prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, may not by the ſtrength of the Sacramentall wordes make gods body, or none other Sacrament of the Church, either perforine to miniſter them to members of the ſame.

Anſwere.

Thus I neuer ſaid, thought it, preached it, ne taught it, for well I wot, the wickednes of a Prieſt may appaire no veray ſacrament: but the wickednes of the prieſt appaires himſelfen, and all that boldnes and example of his ſinne cauſen the people to liuen the worſe againſt Gods lawe. Vnde Greg. Et ſi ſacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.

The wickednes of the prieſt impayreth no ſacrament.

5. Article.

The 5. article is this, that our biſhop puts vnto me: that all prieſtes ben of euen power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome in this world bene of higher dignitie or more paſſing in highnes of degree.

Anſwere.

Equalitye of prieſtes.

Certes, no man would ſay thus as I ſuppoſe, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wote of: But thus I ſay with proteſtation made before, that what prieſt liues moſt holily next followyng the law of God, he is moſt louer of God, and moſt profitable to the Church. If men ſpeaken of worldly power and Lordſhips and worſhips, wyth other vices that raignen therin, what Prieſt that deſires and has moſt hereof (in what degree ſo he be) he is moſt Antichriſt of all the prieſts that ben in earth. Vnde Auguſtinus ad Valerium ſcribens ait. Nihil eſt in hac vita, & maximè hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Epiſcopi, præſbiteri aut decani, officijs: ſed ſi profunctoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miſerabilius aut triſtius & dampnabilius.

Aug. ad Valerium.

6. Article.

The ſixt article is this, that onely contrition does away ſinne, if a man be duely contrite: and all outwarde confeſſion by worde is ſuperfluous and not requiret of neede of health.

Anſwere.

This concluſiō ſayd I neuer that I know of. But this I ſay with proteſtation put before, that veray contrition of hart, that is neuer without charitie and grace: dos away all ſinnes before done of that man that is verely contrite. And all true confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe prieſt, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is nedefull and helping, that men ſhew their lyfe to ſuch, truſting fully to gods mercy, and that he forgeues thy ſinne. Vnde Auguſt. de conſe. diſtinct. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi niſi ſolus Chriſtus, qui eſt agnus, tollens peccata mundi.

Confeſſion.

God forgeueth ſinne.

Aug. de cōſe. diſt. 4.

7. Article.

The 7. article is this, that I ſhould ſay that lower Curates haue not here power of byndyng and aſſoiling, by mean of pope and biſhop, but of Chriſt without mony. And therfore neither Pope ne biſhop may reuoke ſuch maner power, for tyme and place at her will.

Anſwere.

Thus ſayd I not, but * not for thy it ſeemes me thus, that no man ſhould graunt any thing after his owne will, ghoſtly, ne bodily. But euerich man ſhould be well aduiſet, that he graunt nothyng but if it be the will of God that he ſo graunt it. And it is no doubt that ne God grauntes * by meane perſons, as does Antechriſt to torment Chriſtes people. Vnde et Ioh. xix. ait Pilatus. Neſcis quia poteſtatem habeo dimittere te. Et Chriſtus. Non haberes poteſtatem aduerſum me vllam, niſi eſſet tibi datum deſuper.

* Not for thy, that is, notwithſtanding.

* Some thing here lacketh in the copy.

8. Article.

The 8. article that our biſhop puts me to is this: that I ſhould ſay that the pope may not graunt ſuch maner indulgence of yeres, for there ſhall not be ſo many yeres vnto the day of doome, as bene conteined in his bulles, or in ÿ Popes indulgences: wherof it followes that indulgences bene not ſo much worth as they ſemen and bene preached.

Anſwere.

This article I ſayd not thus: but I ſay that the pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeares, all ſo farre forth as he may graunt hym in Gods law, ſo farre to graunt, and farther not: yeares may he graunt no moe then God hath ſet. Yf indulgence ben forgeueneſſe of ſinne, I wot well all onely God forgeues ſinne. Yf it be releaſing of paynes in Purgatory or deynct of God, if God haue bidden hym releaſe ſo many, or ordayned that he ſhould releaſe ſo many, he may then releaſe hym: if it be in his owne diſpo-

Agaynſt pardons.

ſing to releaſe whom hym likes, and how much, then he may deſtroy Purgatory and let none come there and releaſe his owne payne, as charitie wotten. So it ſemes he may be ſiker to be ſaued, if himſelfe liſt. If any go to Purgatory, then it ſemes he full fayles charitie. If Bulles bene the indulgence that men bryngen from the Court, then bene they not ſomuch worth, as they coſten there: for lightly they might be loſt, drenched, or brend, or a rat might eaten them: his indulgence then were loſt. Therfore ſir haue me excuſed, I know not theſe termes: teach me theſe termes by Gods law, and truly I will learne hem.

9. Article.

The ix. Article is this that I ſhould haue ſayd: that it is not in the popes power to graunt to any man (doyng penaunce) remiſſion from payne, ne from blame.

Aunſwere.

The pope proued a blaſphemer.

Leude I am, but this Article ſayd I not thus leudly: But thus I ſay, that ſithen it is onely due to God to geue and to graunt plenary remiſſion from paines & from blame: that what euer he be, Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtakes vpon him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in hym is) he makes himſelfe Chriſt, & blaſphemeth in God, as Lucifer dyd, when he ſayd: Aſcendam & ero ſimilis altiſſimo. Farther I ſay, if the pope hold men of armes, in maintaynyng his temporalties and Lordſhyp to venge him on hem that gilten and offēden him, and giues remiſſion to fight & to ſlay hem that contraryen hem, as men ſayden he did by the byſhop of Northwich, not puttyng his ſwerde into his ſheath, as God commaunded Peter. Mitte. &c: he is Antichriſtus, for he dos contrary to the commaundements of Ieſus, that bad Peter forgeue to his brother ſeuenty ſithe ſeuen ſithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies &c. Et Chriſtus: non dico tibi ſepties, ſed ſeptuageſies ſepties.

Of this Henry Spenſer B. of Norwich ſee the pag. 440.

10. Article.

The x. Article is this, that our Byſhop puttes to me that I ſhould haue ſayd: that a man geuyng his almes to any man after his dome (not hauyng neede) ſinnes, in ſo geuyng.

Aunſwere.

This article ſothly I ſayd not in theſe termes: But of this matter I haue ſpoken, & will with proteſtation made before on this wiſe: that it is medefull to geue almes to yche man that asketh it bodely or goſtly, but not to geue to yche ſhamles begger, ſtrong and mighty of body, to get his lyfelode leuefull and will not, in what degree ſo he be. mē owen not to geue it to ſuch a one, that he vnreaſonably asketh, for if he geue it to him wittingly, he ſinnes as fautor of his idlenes. Vnde Sap. 12. Si benefeceris, ſcito cui benefeceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

He meaneth of begging friers.

11. Article.

The xj. Article is this, that is put to me, that I ſhould haue ſayd, that it is not in the power of any prelate of what euer priuate Religion, to graunt letters of the good deedes of her order, ne ſuch benefices grauntet profites not to hele of ſoules to hem that they ben grauntet to.

Aunſwere.

I ſayd neuer thus in theſe termes: but thus I ſay with proteſtation, that prelates of priuate religion mowen graūt letters of the good deedes of her order: But the goſtly mede that comes of good deedes, they mowe not graunt, for that is onely proppret to God. And if they blynde the people in miſbeleue for her worldly winning, wittingly behetyng hem of her owne graunt goſtly medes in heuen by her letters and her ſeale (vncertaine, who ſhalbe damned) but make the people bolder to ſinne by truſt of here prayers: hit is none heal to the ſoules, but harmes to that one and to that other. For God ſhall yeld to echone after here werkes. Ipſe reddet vnicuique ſecundum opera ſua.

Good deedes of the order profite nothyng.

12. Article.

The xij. Article is this: that our Biſhops puttes to me, that I mony tymes and oft haue come (he ſayes) to a deſert woode, cleped Derwaldſwode of his Dioces: and there in a Chappel not hallowed, but accurſet * ſheperdes hulke, by myne owne folly he ſayes haue preſumed to ſing (but rather to curſe) in contempt of the keyes.

* Or ſhepcotte.

Aunſwere.

Hereto I ſay, that this is falſly put vpon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a prieſt ſinges certaine dayes in the yeare, with great ſolemnitie: and certes I neuer ſong therin ſeth I was borne into this world.

The accuſers proued with a lie.

13. Article.

The xiij. Article is this, that I ſhould alſo preſume to ſing in an vnhallowet Chappell, that ſtondes in the parke of Newton, beſides the towne of Leyntwardy of this ſame Dioces.

An other lye.

Aunſwere.

Truly I wote not where that place ſtondes.

14. Article.

The xiiij. article is this, that I ſhould ſay that no man owes to ſweare for any thyng, but ſimply withouten oth to affirme or to deny, and if he ſweare he ſinnes.

Aunſwere.

To ſweare by no creature.

This article ſayd I not that I haue mynde of, in this maner: But oft I haue ſayd and yet will, that men ſhould not ſweare by any creature by the law of God, and that no man ſhould ſweare in idell, as wellnigh all the people vſeth, and therfore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in ſwearyng. For from the old vnto the yong, and namely men of holy Church, breken this heſte, and few Byſhops purſuen hem therfore.

15. Article.

The xv. Article is this, that I ſhould haue taught to true men of Chriſt, that on no maner they ſhould worſhyp the Image of him that was done on the croſſe, or the Image of the bleſſed mayde his mother, or of other Saintes in to honour and worſhyp of the ſame ordeinet in the minde of them. And oft ſithes, the worſhypper of ſuch Image, he has repprouet, ſaying and ſtrongly affirmyng, that Church men ſinnen and done Idolatry.

Aunſwere.

This concluſion haue I not ſayd in theſe termes. But this I ſay with proteſtation, that God commaundes in his law in diuerſe places, Exodi. 20. Leuit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobiæ. 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corinth. 10. Eſay. 45. Iere. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & vltimo. Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & poſtremo: that men ſhould not worſhyppen grauen Images that bene werkes of mens hādes: And alſo he bidden that men ſhould not make to hem grauen Images in lykenes of the thynges that bene in heauen, to that end to worſhyppen hem: ſethen neither God ne Chriſt by his manhode gaue neuer commaundement to make thes Images, ne expreſſe counſaile, ne his Apoſtles in all his law, ne to worſhyp ſuch that bene made. But well I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue miſbeleuet in hem, that many men ſinnē in maumetrie worſhyppyng ſuch dead Images: Not for thy, to tho men bene Images good to whom they bene but kalendars, and through the ſight of hem they knowen the better and worſhyppen oft God and his Saints. And to ſuch men they done harme that ſetten her hope and truſt in hem or done any worſhyp to hem againſt Gods law and his heſt. Vnde ait Gregorius in Regiſtro libro. 10. in Epiſtola ad Serenū Epiſcopum. Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc ſollicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex viſione rei geſtæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius trinitatis proſternantur.

Images not to be worſhypped.

* Not for thy, that is notwithſtanding.

Greg. Regiſt. lib. 10.

These concluſions, pointes, and articles that I haue vnder proteſtation, in this booke affirmed: I will ſtand by hem, and maintayne hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the tyme that the contrary be prouet deuly by Gods law: And this proteſtation I make for my fayth and my beleſe as I dyd the begynnyng: that whenſoeuer this worſhypfull or any other Chriſten man ſhewes me veraly by Gods law the contrary of this, I will holy forſake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better vnderſtandyng of wiſer men, redy to be amended by the law of Ieſu Chriſt, and be a true Chriſten man & faythfull ſonne of holy Church: And of theſe I beſech you all here witnes where ye commen.

Subſequenter verò, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus poſſet in propria perſona citari ipſum, Gulihelmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad inſtar albi prætoris in Eccleſia noſtra cathedrali Herfordenſi & parochialibus eccleſijs de Kington Croſte, & Whitney noſtræ dioceſis: vbi idem Guilhelmus ſolebat cōmorari citari fecimus, prout & quēadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

W. Swinderby keping himſelf from the B. was cited as followeth.

The Citation.

The tenor of the citation.

IOhn by Gods permiſſion Byſhop of Hereford, to his deare ſonnes our Dene of Lemmſter, and to the perſons of Croft, Almaly, and Whytney, and alſo to the Vicares of Kynſton, Iarderſley, Wyggemore, and Mormouth Cliſford, & of S. Iohns aulter in our cathedrall church of Herford, and to the reſt of the Deanes, Perſons, Vicars, Chaplenes, pariſh prieſtes, and to other, whoſoeuer in any place are appointed through our Citie and Dioces of Hereford: ſendeth gretyng, grace, and benediction.

We byd and commaunde, charging you ſtraitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily (and vnder the payne of excommunication) William Swynderby, pretendyng himſelfe to be a Prieſt: That he appeare before vs, or our Commiſſaries the xx. day of this preſent moneth of Iuly, at North Lodebury within our Dioces, with the continuaunce of the dayes followyng, in other places alſo to be aſſigned vnto him if it be expedient, till ſuch thynges as haue bene and ſhalbe layd agaynſt him be fully diſcuſſed, to aunſwere more at large to certaine poſitions and articles, touchyng the Catholicke fayth, and the holy mother Churches determinatiō, that haue bene exhibited and miniſtred vnto the ſayd William. And to ſee and heare alſo many thynges that haue opēly in iudgemēt before vs and a great number of faythfull Chriſtians by him bene euen in wrytyng confeſſed, to be condemned as hereticall, falſe, ſchiſmaticall & erroneous. And to ſee & heare poſitions and articles denied by the ſayd Williã, to be proued by faythfull witneſſes and other lawful trials agaynſt the ſayd William. And to receiue for his falſe, hereticall, erroneous, and ſchiſmaticall doctrine that iuſtice ſhal appoint, or els to ſhew cauſes why the premiſſes ſhould not be done.

And if the ſayd William lyeth priuely, or els can not be ſo cited in his proper perſon: we will that in your Churches, when moſt people ſhall then come together to diuine ſeruice, you openly with a loude voyce, and that may be vnderſtanded, cauſe the ſayd William peremptorily to be cited vnto the premiſſes: certifiyng the ſame William, that whether he ſhall appeare the day and place appointed or no, we notwithſtãdyng will procede vnto the premiſſes agaynſt the ſayd William accordyng to the canonicall decrees by forme of law, in the abſence or contumacy of the ſayd William notwithſtandyng. We will moreouer if the ſayd William ſhall appeare at the ſayd day and place as is aforeſayd before vs, frendly heare him, and honeſtly and fauourably, as farre as we may with Gods leaue, deale with him: grauntyng free licence to come and to go for his naturall libertie without any hurt either in body or goodes. And ſee that you fully certifie vs of the thynges that you or any of you ſhall do about the execution of this our commaundement, and that by your letters patentes ſigned with your ſeale autenticall: geuyng alſo faythfully to the ſayd William, or to his lawfull Proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our preſent commaundement.

Geuen at our houſe of Whitburne vnder our ſeale the firſt day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

¶ The acte of the firſt day.

The firſt ſitting agaynſt W. Swinderby.

1391.

On Thurſday, the. xx. of Iuly, in yͤ yeare of the lord aforeſayd: We in the pariſh church of North Lydebury afore ſayd, about vj. of the clocke, ſittyng in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs how the foreſayd Williã was perſonally taken, and lawfully cited: Cauſed the ſayd William then and there openly in iudgement to be called out, to do, heare, and receiue ſuch thynges, whereto he was afore cited, & to do otherwiſe that which Iuſtice ſhould perſwade. And the ſayd William appeared neither by himſelfe, nor by Proctor: but onely by a ſeruaunt (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certaine ſchedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuſe him. After which ſchedule ſene, read, and with ripe deliberation wayed, and in any wiſe notwithſtanding, we adiudged the ſayd William, after he was often called, and lõg euen to the due houre taried for, & by no meanes appearing: worthely for his obſtinacie, and for his ſtubburnes aſſigned vnto him the. 29. day of Iuly in the Church of Ponſley, to appeare before vs with the foreſayd ſauegard, to aunſwere more fully to ſuch articles, and otherwiſe to heare, receiue, and do as before is noted.

¶ The ſecond dayes acte.

The 2. ſitting agaynſt W. Swinderby.

Vpon Saterday beyng the. 29. of Iuly, and in the yeare of the Lord aforeſayd, we Iohn by Gods permiſsiõ the fore remembred Biſhop, in the Church of Ponteſbury, of our Dioces, at ſixe of the clocke, or there about, ſittyng in iudgement: made the ſayd William Swynderby to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and aſſigned) he ſhould appeare before vs, to aunſwere to the foreſaid articles more fully, and to declare the ſayd articles as the darkenes of his aunſweres did worthely require. And that the ſayd William beyng called & long, for a due tyme looked for, did make no meanes to appeare: and ſo we pronounced him to be obſtinate, and for his obſtinatnes (to ouercome his malice, and of our exceedyng fauour) thought good to appoint and dyd appoint the. viij. of Auguſt, then next folowyng, at Cleobury Mortemere of the ſame our Dioces, vnto the ſayd William, for the ſame thyng.

¶ The thyrd dayes acte.

The 3. ſitting agaynſt W. Swinderby.

Vpon Tewſday, the. viij. of Auguſt, the yeare aforeſayd, I Iohn by Gods permiſsion Byſhop of Hereford aforeſayd, in the Church of Cleobury Mortemere, about. vj. of the clocke, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the foreſayd William Swynderby, to be called many times openly to do and receiue about the premiſſes, accordyng to the appointment of the ſame day that iuſtice ſhould aduiſe, which William did not appeare at all. wherupõ, we after that the ſayd William was called, and often proclaymed, and long looked for but not appearing at all, did iudge him worthely (as of right apperteined) obſtinate: and for his obſtinatnes, aſſigned him the. xvj. day of the ſame moneth of Auguſt next folowing, in the pariſhe Church of Whitborne of the ſame our dioces, to bryng forth, or to ſee brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kyndes of proofes, & to ſee alſo witneſſes brought forth, admitted and ſworne, by whom and which thynges we intend to proue the foreſayd articles, or at leaſt wyſe ſome of the ſame.

The fourth dayes acte.

The 4. ſittyng agaynſt W. Swinderby.

Of this proces mention is made before pag. 447.

Vpon Wedneſday the. xvj. day of the moneth of Auguſt, the yeare aforeſayd: we Iohn the Byſhop, in the pariſhe Church of Whitborn aforeſayde of our dioces, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the ſayd William Swinderby oftẽ times to be called, who (as is aforeſayd) appeared not at all: whõ after that he was ſo called, proclaymed, and long looked for, and yet by no meanes appearing, we pronounced to be obſtinate. We receiued alſo by certayne faithfull Chriſtians, and zealous men for the catholicke fayth of our dioces, a certayne proces made and had at an other tyme againſt yͤ ſame William, before the reuerend father in God and Lord, Lord Iohn, by the grace of God, byſhop of Lincolne, confirmed by the hanging on of the ſeale of the ſame reuerend father, the Lord Byſhop of Lincolne. The tenour wherof worde for word is contayned before. And theſe faythfull Chriſtians moreouer agaynſt the obſtinatenes of the ſayd William Swynderby brought forth diſcrete men, M. William Leuet, parſon of the pariſh Church of Kyuerſly, and alſo Edmunde Waterdon pariſhe Chapleine of the Chappell of N. and Roger Newton, and Hew Sheppert, lay men of the dioces of Lincolne, aſking inſtantly that they might be receiued for witneſſes, to proue ſome of the foreſayd articles who agaynſt the obſtinatenes of the ſayde William Swinderby we thought good to receiue and did receiue, and their othes to the holy Goſpels of God being layd handes on corporally in our hand. And did diligently examine them in proper perſon ſeuerally in forme of law: whoſe ſayinges & depoſitions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtance of yͤ ſame faythfull Chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of September then next folowing, to the ſaid William Swinderby, to ſay and alledge agaynſt the ſayd proces, witneſſes, and their ſayinges, in the ſayd Church of Whythorne: decreeing, that a copy ſhould be made for hym of theſe thinges that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the witneſſes.

*Here we fayle in our Copy, tyll the Regiſter come to our handes agayne.

by the dore, but wendithe vp an other halfe, he is a nyght theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth how he that flieth from their flocke, is not the ſheppard but a hired man, and it perteineth not to him of the ſhepe.

2. Concluſion.

☞ To the ſecond concluſion that he ſaith is errour or hereſie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of Lordſhips of prieſtes that bene euill liuers:

Declaration.

I ſay me ſeemeth that the concluſiõ is true, and is this: that it were medefull and leefull to ſeculare Lords by way of charitie, and by power geuen to them of God, in default of prelates that amend naught by Gods law: curſed Curates, that openly miſuſe the goodes of the holy Churche, that ben poore mens goodes: and cuſtomable ayens the law of God, (the which poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend) to take away and to draw from ſuch curates poore mens goodes in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilfull offringes, and their bodely almoſe deedes of worldly goodes, and geue them to ſuch as duely ſeruen God in the Church: and ben ready in vpbearing of the charge that prelates ſhoulden do and done it not. And as anentes taking away of temporalties: I ſay thus, that it is leefull to Kynges, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lordes of the world, to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, fro Byſhops, Prelates, and poſſeſsioners in the Church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue geuen them vpon condition, that they ſhoulden ſerue God the better: whẽ they verily ſeen that their geuing and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſtes liuing, and his Apoſtles, and namely in that that they take vpon them, that they ſhoulde be next folowers of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, in poorenes and meekenes, to be ſecular Lords againſt the teaching of Chriſt, and of S. Peter. Truely me ſeemeth that all Chriſten men, and namely Prieſtes ſhoulden take keepe, that their doing were accordyng with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Prieſtes of the olde lawe werne forbidden, to haue Lordſhippes amonge their bretherne: for God ſayd, that he would be their parte and their heritage. And Chriſt that was the higheſt Prieſt of yͤ new Teſtament, forſooke worldly Lordſhippe, and was here in forme of a ſeruaunt, and forbad his Prieſtes ſuch Lordſhips,

Euery gift geuen vpon condition is fruſtrate vpon the breach of euery ſuch condition.

ſhyps, and ſayd, Reges gentium dominantur eorum. &c. vos autem non ſic. That is. The kynges of the heathen, beare dominion and rule. &c. But you ſhall not do ſo. And as S. Peter ſayth. Neque dominantes in clero. &c. Not bearyng rule and dominion ouer the Clergy. &c. So it ſemeth me: that it is agaynſt both lawes of God, that they haue ſuch Lordſhyps, and that their titell to ſuch Lordſhyps is not full good: And ſo it ſemeth me, that zif they bene thereto of euill liuyng, it is no great perill to take away frō them, ſuch Lordſhyps but rather nedefull, if the takyng away were in charitie, and not for ſingular couetouſnes ne wrath. And I ſuppoſe that if Friers, that be bounden to their founders, to liue in pouertie, would breake their rule and take worldly Lordſhyps: might not men lawfully take from them ſuch Lordſhyps, and make them to liue in pouertie as their rule would? And forſoth it ſemeth me, that Prieſtes oughten alſo well to keepe Chriſtes rule, as Friers owne to keepe the rule of their founder. Ieremy witneſſeth, how God commended Rachabs children, for they would not breake their faders byddyng in drinckyng of wyne. And yet Ieremy profered thē wyne to drincke. And ſo I trow, that God would commende his Prieſtes, if they woulden forſake worldly Lordſhyps, and holden them a payde with liſelot, and with clothyng: and buſie them faſt about their heritage of heauē. And God ſayth. Numeri 18. In terra eorum nihil poſſidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas veſtra in medio filiorum Iſrael &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis ſacerdotes & Leuitæ & omnes qui de eadem tribu eſtis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Iſrael, quia Sacrificia Domini & oblationes eius comedent, & nihil accipient de poſſeſſione fratrum ſuorum. Dominus enim ipſe eſt hæreditas ipſorum, ſicut locutus eſt illis. Et Lucæ. 14 Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ poſſidet, non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus. Et Ieronimus in Epiſtola. 34. Et Bernardus libro 20. ad Eugenium Papā. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte. 2. libri Secūdi, cap. vij. Et 12. q. pri. cap. duo ſunt. Et ca. clericus. Et Bernardus in Sermone de Apoſtolis, ſuper illud. Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chriſoſt. Super Math. & vetus teſtamentū. That is. you ſhall haue no inheritaunce in their land, nor haue no part amongſt them: I wilbe your part and inheritaunce amongeſt the children of Iſraell &c. Deut. 18. The Prieſtes and Leuites, and all that be of the ſame tribe ſhall haue no part nor inheritaunce with the reſt of Iſraell: becauſe they ſhall eate the ſacrifices of the Lord and his oblations, and they ſhall take nothyng of the poſſeſſion of their brethren. The Lord hymſelfe is their poſſeſſiō, as he ſpake vnto them. And the 14. chap. of Luke: Euen ſo euery one of you, which forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cannot be my diſciple. And Hierome in his 34. Epiſtle hath the lyke wordes. And Bernard in his 20. booke to Eugenius the pope. And alſo Hugo in his booke De Sacramentis, the ſecond part of his ſecōd booke the. 7. chap. Alſo in the 12. q. firſt, chap. Duo ſunt, and in the chap. Clericus. And agayn. Bernard in his booke De ſermone de Apoſtolis, vpon this place: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Behold we leaue all &c. and Chriſoſtome vpon the Goſpell of S. Math. &c.

If the pope may take from the friers to cauſe them keepe S. Fraunces rule, may not the Emperour take from the pope to cauſe him keepe Chriſtes rule?

3. Concluſion

☞ The thyrd concluſion toucheth the matter of preachyng of Prieſtes, withouten leaue of Byſhops, and is this that ſuch true Prieſtes may counſell ſinnefull men: that ſhewen to them their ſinnes, after ỹ wit and connyng that God hath giuen, to tourne hem frō ſinne to vertuous lyfe, and as touchyng preachyng of the Goſpell.

Declaration.

I ſay, that no Byſhop oweth to let a trew Prieſt, that God hath giffen grace, witte and connyng to do that office. For both Prieſtes and Deacons that God hath ordeined Deacons or Prieſtes bene holden by power giuen to them of God, to preach to the people the Goſpell: and namely, and ſouerēly Popes, Byſhops, Prelates and Curates: for this is due to the people and the pariſheners, to haue it and aſke it. And hereto ſemeth me, that Chriſt ſayd generally to his Diſciples: Ite & prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ, Go and preach the Goſpell to all creatures, as well as he ſayd Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Go and baptiſe all nations, that alſo as well longeth preachyng to Prieſtes without leaue of a Byſhop as doth baptiſing: and then why may he not preach Gods word withouten a Byſhops leaue. And ſithen Chriſt bad his Prieſtes preach, who ſhould forbidden them preachyng? The Apoſtles were forbidden of a byſhop at Ieruſalem to ſpeake more of the name of Ieſus, but Peter ſayd: Si iuſtum eſt in conſpectu Dei, vos potiùs audire quàm Dominum iudicate. That is. whether it be iuſt in the ſight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord: be your ſelues Iudges. A Byſhop may not let a Prieſt of geuyng bodily almes in his Dioces: much more may he not let the doyng of ſpirituall almes in his Dioces by Gods law. A Prieſt may ſay his Mattines withouten the Byſhops leaue: for the Pope that is aboue the Byſhop, hath charged Prieſtes therewith: And me thincketh that Chriſtes byddyng ſhould be all ſomuch of charge as the Popes. Math. 10. Euntes autem prædicate, Ite ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum. &c. Lucæ. 10. Et Anacletus pap. diſ. 21. cap. In nouo Teſtamento. Et Beda ſuper illud: Meſſis quidem multa. Et Iſodorus de ſummo bono, ca. 44. Et Gregorius in canone diſ. 43. Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit &c. & Chriſoſt. diſ. 34. Nolite timere. Et Aug. diſ. 34. ca. quiſquis. & Gregorius in ſuo paſtorali. ca. 38. qui enim eſt. Et Chriſoſt. om. 31. & in Tollitano concilio: Ignorantia. & Aug. in Prologo ſermonum ſuorum. & Ieronimus diſ. 9. Ecce ego. Et Aug. ſuper id: Homo quidā peregrinus. That is. Go you forth & preach. And agayne: Behold, I ſend you. &c. Marc. 16. Go you into all the world. &c. and Luke 10. cap. in nouo Teſtamento. And Beda vpon this place. Meſſis quidē multa: the harueſt is great. Alſo Iſodorus, De ſummo bono ca. 44. And Gregorius in the Canon diſt. 43. Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit. &c. and Chriſoſtome in his 34. diſtinction: Nolite timere. And Auguſtine in the 34. diſtinction cap. Quiſquis. And Gregorius in his Paſtorall cap. 38. Qui enim eſt. And Chriſoſtome in his 31. Homely. Et in Tollitano concilio ignorantia. And Auguſtine in the Prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95. diſtinct. Ecce ego. And Auguſtine vpon this place. Homo quidam peregrinus. A certaine traueler.

A prieſt admitted ought to preach, though the prince & biſhop forbid, ſo that he preach the word.

☞ The fourth concluſion toucheth the Sacrament of the altar, and is this.

4. Concluſiō.

Declaration.

That wholy I beleue that the Sacramēt of the aultar made by vertue of heauenly wordes, is bread and Chriſtes body, ſo as Chriſt himſelfe ſayth in the Goſpell and as S. Paule ſayth, and as Doctours in the common law haue determined: To this ſentence Iohn. 6. Moſes hath not giuē you breade from heauen, but my Father wyll geue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen and giueth lyfe vnto the world. My father geueth vnto you bread in deed: the very true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and giueth lyfe vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The breade which I will gaue is my fleſh. And in the Canon of the Maſſe Panē ſanctum vitæ æternæ: the holy bread of lyfe. And Corinth. the 10. chap. and firſt Epiſtle. The bread which we breake, is it not the communicatyng of the body of the Lord? Let a mā proue hymſelfe and ſo eate of that bread. &c. And Canon De conſecratione diſtinctiō 2. Vnder the authoritie of Hilarius the Pope: Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari. &c. And Auguſtine in the foreſayd diſtinction. That which is ſene, is bread. &c. That which fayth requireth, is the bread and is the body of Chriſt. And in the foreſayd diſtinction. cap. Omnia quæcunque. &c. By theſe two ſentences it is manifeſtly declared, that that bread and this, be not two but one bread and one fleſh. Note the wordes for that he ſayth, the bread and fleſh. And the author, De diuinis officijs, and alſo Auguſtine in his booke De remedijs pœnitentiæ: why prepareſt thou thy teeth. &c. And Ambroſe, De Sacramentis: de cōſecratione: diſtinct. 2. Reuera mirabile eſt. &c. This meate which you receaue, & this bread of one which deſcended frō heauen: doth miniſter the ſubſtaunce of eternall lyfe, & who ſoeuer ſhall eate the ſame ſhall not dye euerlaſtyngly, & is ỹ body of Chriſt. Note how he ſayth, & is the body of Chriſt.

☞ The v. article telleth of forgiuenes of ſinnes, & is this. That very contrition withouten charitie and grace, do away all ſinnes before done of that man, that is verely contrite, and all true confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe Prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a man and it is nedefull & helpyng, that men ſhew their lyfe to ſuch, truſtyng fully to Gods mercy, that he forgeueth the ſinne.

5. Concluſiō.

Declaration.

And hereto I ſay, that there bene ij. remiſſiōs of ſinnes: one that longeth onely to God: And that remiſſion is the clenſing of the ſoule from ſinne. And the other remiſſion, a certefiyng that one man certifieth an other, that his ſinnes bene forgeuen of God, if he be ſory with all his hart for the: and is in full will to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgiuenes longeth to Prieſtes. Of the firſt maner of forgiuenes, Dauid ſayth: And I ſayd I will confeſſe my vnrighteouſnes vnto the Lord, and thou forgaueſt me my miſdeede. And Zachary ſayth. And thou O child ſhalt be called the prophet of the hygheſt. &c. To giue knowledge of ſaluation vnto his people for the remiſſion of their ſinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercy. And Iohn Baptiſt, Behold the lābe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And S. Iohn the Euangeliſt ſayth in his epiſtle: If we cōfeſſe our ſinnes, he is faythfull and iuſt to forgiue vs our ſinnes and clenſe vs from all our iniquitie. And it followeth. If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Ieſus Chriſt and he it is that is the propitiatiō for our ſinnes.

Remiſſion double.

And of the other remiſſion of ſinnes Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell, and ſayth. Whoſe ſinnes ye forgiue, they ſhalbe forgiuen. And mans forgiueneſſe auayleth litle, but zif God forgiue our ſinnes through his grace.

6.Concluſiõ.

☞ The vj. concluſion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the Pope graunteth in his Buls, and men callen it an abſolution A pœna & a culpa.

Declaration.

Eyther there is purgatory, or els the pope is cruel and vncharitable.

The popes power can keepe none from bodely payne. Ergo, much leſſe from ſpirituall.

Of this maner of ſpeach I cannot finde in the Goſpell, ne in no place of holy write, ne I haue not read, that Chriſt vſed this maner of remiſſion, ne none of his Apoſtles. But as me ſemeth, if the pope had ſuch a power, ſithẽ the paynes after a mãs death bene much greater thẽ any bodely paynes of the world: me thinketh he ſhould of charitie keepe me out of ſuch paynes, and then men needed not to finde ſo many vicious Prieſtes after theyr lyfe, to bryng their ſoules out of Purgatory. An other thyng me thincketh, that ſithe the Popes power ne may not keepe vs in this world fro bodely paynes as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from ſorrow, and other ſuch paynes, how ſhould his power helpe vs from ſpirituall paynes, when we bene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell vs the ſoothe in what payne they bene, men mowe tell therof what hym luſt. S. John ſayth in the Apocalips, that he ſaw vnder the aultar, the ſoules of them which were ſlayne for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they had. And they dyd cry with a loude voyce, ſaying: how long Lord holy and true, doeſt not thou reuenge our bloud of them which dwell on the earth. And whyte ſtoles were geuẽ to euery of thẽ, to reſt a while, till the number of their fellow ſeruauntes & brethren ſhould be fulfilled, which alſo remayned to be ſlayne as they were. &c. Here ſemeth it, that theſe ſoules were not aſſoyled a pœna, that is from payne: for their deſire was not fulfilled. And they were bidden abyde a while, and that is a payne. And if Martyrs were not aſſoyled from payne, it is hard for any mã to ſay, that he aſſoyleth other mẽ a pœna. Alſo good mẽs ſoules haue not but ſpirituall blyſſe, and they want bodely blyſſe, vntill their reſurrection in the day of dome. And after they deſiren to haue that blyſſe, and abyden it, and that is payne to them. And I cannot ſee that the Pope hath power to bryng hym from this payne. But if any man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power graunted in the troth of holy write, I will gladly leeſen it.

If the Martyrs beyng dead be not aſſured from griefe of tarying, much leſſe cã they aſſoyle other frõ paynes of purgatory.

The pope hath no power groũded vpon ſcripture, to bring frõ paine of purgatory.

7.Concluſiõ.

☞ The.vij. point ſpeaketh of the Pope and is this: Sith it is onely due to God, as I haue ſayd before, to geue and to graunt plener remiſſion, from payne, and from blame: that what euer he be Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtaketh vpon him the power that onely is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh himſelfe euen with Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God, as Lucifer did, whẽ he ſayd: Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis altiſſimo, That is, I will aſcend, and be lyke the higheſt. &c.

The pope maketh himſelfe euen with Chriſt.

Declaration.

The Biſhop of Norwich Hen. Spenſer the popes warriour ſet vp of the pope to ſlay his enemies, pag. 440.

For that I ſay, if the Pope hold men of armes in maintaynyng of his temporall Lordſhyp, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden hym, and geueth remiſſion to fight and to ſlay them, that contrarien hym, as men ſayden he did by the Byſhop of Norwich, not puttyng hys ſword in hys ſheath, as God commaũded to Peter: he is Antichriſt. For he doth the cõtrary of the cõmaundement of Jeſus Chriſt, that bad Peter forgeuen to his brother. 70. ſithe. 7. ſithe. Well I finde in the Goſpell, that when Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to Samary, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them. And ſome of them bidden Chriſt, that he ſhould make a fire come downe from heauen, to deſtroy the Citie. And he blamed them and ſayd: Neſcitis cuius ſpiritus eſtis: Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, ſed ſaluare. That is, ye know not of what ſpirite ye are: The ſonne of man is not come downe to deſtroy, but to ſaue ẏ lyues & ſoules of men. &c. If Chriſt thẽ come to ſaue men, & not to ſlea them: who that doth the reuers hereof, is agaynſt Chriſt, and then he is Antichriſt. Chriſt bad Peter put his ſword in his ſheath and ſayd: Omnes qui gladium acceperunt, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword. And I cannot finde that Peter drew out his ſword after that tyme, but ſuffered as Chriſt ſayd: Cum ſenueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quò tu non vis. That is: when thou ſhalt waxe old, an other ſhal gyrd thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not. And therfore ſayd Peter, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauyng vs example that we ſhould folow his ſteps. And Paule ſayth: Not defendyng your ſelues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuengyng to me, and I ſhall reward them. &c. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much agaynſt Chriſtes lore, that his Vicar ſhould be a fighter, ſithen that he mote be a ſhepheard, that ſhould go before his ſheepe, and let them come after him, and not with ſwordes to driue thẽ away from him. For as Chriſt ſayth, a good ſhepheard ſhal put his lyfe for his ſheepe. And zif all that Chriſt had two ſwordes when that he was taken of the Jewes, he ſayd hymſelfe, it was for that the Scriptures moten zit be fulfilled: Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus eſt, that is: he was reputed among the wicked: and not to figure two ſwordes, that men ſayen the Pope hath to gouerne wyth the church. And when I ſee ſuch doings of the Pope, and many other that accorden not with Chriſtes lore, ne his liuyng: And when I read diuers ſcriptures of holy writ, I am foule aſtoned whether they ſhoulden be vnderſtanded of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods loue tell me the ſooth. Chriſt ſayth: Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying: I am Chriſt, and ſhall ſeduce many. &c. Chriſt (I wot well) is as much to ſay, as he that is annointed, and two annointinges there weren in the law, one of kynges, an other of Prieſtes. And Chriſt was both king and prieſt, and ſo the Pope ſayth that he is. And if all that haue ben Emperors of Rome, and other heathen kinges haue bene Antichriſts, they come not in Chriſtes name. But who ſo commeth in Chriſtes name, and fayneth him Chriſtes frend, and he be priuely his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. S. Paule ſaith: before there commeth a defection firſt, and the ſonne of perdition ſhalbe reuealed, which is the aduerſary, and is extolled aboue all that is named God, or which is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing hymſelfe as God. And it followeth in the ſame place: And now ye know what holdeth till he be reuealed in his tyme, for he worketh already the miſtery of iniquitie. Onely he that holdeth, let him holde till he come abroad, and then that wicked one ſhall be reuealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the ſpirite of hys mouth. &c. And S. John ſayth in the Apocalips: I ſaw an other beaſt aſcending out of the earth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He ſpake like the Dragõ, and had the power of the firſt beaſt. Many ſuch authorities aſtonieth me oft ſithes: and therfore I pray you for the loue of God, to tell me what they meane.

The pope contrary to Chriſt.

The pope againe proued Antichriſt.

2. Swordes neuer geuen to the Pope.

Two ſortes of annointinges in Scripture.

A defectiõ in Antichriſtes time.

☙ The ſentence.

Mention was made of this ſchedule before in the firſt dayes Acte pag. 451.

The which ſchedule afore mencioned, with the contentes therof diligently of vs peruſed, we conſidering that diſeaſes which be not eaſely cured with gentle remedye, muſt haue harder plaiſters. Conſidering moreouer theſe his articles wyth his aunſweres to the ſame, and to other articles alſo laſtly agaynſt him produced, firſt mature deliberation had before vpon the whole matter with the foreſayde maiſters and Doctours, as well ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſeruing in the ſame all things to be obſerued in this behalfe, haue geuen ſentence againſt the ſayde W. in forme as foloweth.

The ſentẽce geuẽ agaynſt hym.

The name of Chriſt being inuocated, we John, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Hereford, ſitting in tribunall ſeate, hauing God before our eyes, weying and conſidering the Articles by the foreſayd faithfull Chriſtians put vp agaynſt the ſayd Swinderby, pretẽding himſelfe to be prieſt, with hys aunſweres vpon the ſame, Actis et Actitatis before vs in the cauſe of hereticall peruerſitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with maiſters and doctours of diuinitie, and alſo of other faculties, with their counſell and conſent: Do pronounce, decree, and declare the ſayd W. to haue bene and to be an hereticke, ſchiſmaticke, and a falſe informer of the people, and ſuch as is to be auoyded of faithfull Chriſtians. Wherefore we admoniſh, vnder payne of the law, all and ſingular Chriſtians, of what ſex, ſtate, condition, or preeminence ſoeuer: that neither they, nor any of thẽ within our dioces, or any other, do beleue, receaue, defend, or fauour the ſaid W. till he ſhall deſerue fully to be reconciled to the boſome againe of holy Church.

☙ The appeale of W. Swynderby from this ſentence of the Biſhop prefixed, vnto the king and his counſaile.

The appeale of W. Swinderby from the B. to the K. and hys counſaile.

IN nomine patris, et filij, et ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. I W. Swynderby prieſt, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the Biſhop of Herefords, the third day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to aunſwere to certayne cõcluſions of the faith that I was accuſed of. And myne aunſwere was this, that if the Biſhop or any man couthe ſhew me by Gods law, that my concluſions or mine aunſweres were errour or hereſie, I woulde be amended, and openly reuoke them before all the people. *Knowes in any of my concluſions, but ſayden ſingly with worde, that there was errours in them, and bidden me ſubiect me to ẏ byſhop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errour, and ſhewed me nought by Gods lawe ne reaſon, ne proued which they weren. And for I woulde not knowledge me giltie,

*Some thing there lacketh in the copy.

gilty, ſo as I knew no errour in them, of which I ſhould be gilty, therfore the Byſhop ſate in dome in myne abſence, and demed me an hereticke, a ſchiſmaticke, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to correction of the Church. And therfore for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kynges Iuſtices for many other cauſes.

The kinges court aboue the Biſhops court.

One cauſe is, for the kynges Court, in ſuch matter is aboue the Byſhops court: For after that the Byſhop has accurſed, he may no feare by his law, but then mote he ſech ſuccour of the kyngs law, and by a writte of Significauit, put a man in priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of hereſie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be geuen without the kynges Iuſtices. For the Byſhop will ſay: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam, That is: It is not lawfull for vs to kill any man: as they ſayden to Pilate, when Chriſt ſhould be demed. And for I thinke that no Iuſtice will geue ſodenly and vntrue dome as the Byſhop did, and therfore openly I appeale to hem and ſend my concluſions to the Knightes of the Parliament, to be ſhewed to the Lordes, and to be taken to the Iuſtices, to be well auiſet or that they geuen dome.

What is an heretike.

The thyrd cauſe is, for it was a falſe dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he, that maiſterfully defendes his errour or hereſie and ſtifly mainteynes it. And myne anſwere has bene alway cõditionall, as the people openly knowes, for euer I ſayd, and yet ſay & alway will: that if they cannen ſhew me by Gods law that I haue erret, I will gladly ben amendet, and reuoke myne errours and ſo I am no hereticke, ne neuer more with Gods grace will ben en no wiſe.

The biſhops law of cõdemnation full of hereſies and errours.

The fourth cauſe is. For the Byſhops law, that they deme men by, is full of errours and hereſies, contrary to the truth of Chriſtes law of the Goſpell.

For there as Chriſtes law byddes vs loue our enemies, the Popes law geues vs leaue to hate them & to ſley them, and grauntes men pardon to werren agayne hethen men, and ſley hem. And there as Chriſts law teach vs to be mercyfull, the Byſhops law teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greateſt wrech that men mowen done on hym that guilty is.

There as Chriſtes law teaches vs, to bleſſen him that diſeaſen vs, and to pray for him: the Popes law teacheth to curſe them, and in their great ſentence that they vſen, they preſume to damne hem to hell that they curſen. And this is a fowle hereſie of blaſpheme, there as Chriſtes law byddes vs be pacient, the Popes law iuſtifies two ſwordes, that wherewith he ſmiteth the ſheepe of the Church. And he has made Lordes and Kynges to ſweare to defend him and his Church.

There as Chriſtes law forbiddeth vs lechery, the popes law iuſtifies the abhominable hordome of common women, and the Byſhops in ſome place haue a great tribute or rent of hordome.

The contrarietie betwen the pope and Chriſt.

There as Chriſtes law byddes to miniſter ſpirituall thynges freely to the people: the Pope with his law ſelles for money, after the quãtitie of the gift, as pardons, orders, bleſſing, and Sacraments, & prayers, and benefices, & preachyng to the people, as it is knowen amonges them.

There as Chriſtes law teaches peace: the Pope with his law aſſoiles men for mony to gader the people, Prieſtes, and other, to fight for his cauſe.

There as Chriſtes law forbyds ſwearyng: The popes law iuſtifieth ſwearyng, and compels men therto.

Whereas Chriſtes law teacheth his Prieſts to be pore, the Pope with his law, iuſtifies and mainteynes Prieſtes to be Lordes.

The cauſes why Swinderby forſooke the Pope.

And yet the v. cauſe is, for the Popes law that byſhops demen men by is the ſame vnrighteful law that Chriſt was demet by of the Byſhops, with the Scribes and with the Phariſes. For right as at that tyme they gauen more credens to the ij. falſe witneſſes that witneſſed agaynſt Chriſt then they deden to all yͤ people that witneſſeden to his trew preachynge and his miracles: ſo the Byſhops of the Popes law geuen more leeuen by their law to two heretickes & Apoſtatas, or two comen wymen that woulden witneſſeden agaynes a man in the cauſe of hereſie, than to thouſandes of people that weren trew and good. And for the Pope is this Antichriſt and his law contrary to Chriſtes law, fully I forſake this law and ſo I reed all Chriſten men. For thus by an other point of this law, they mighten conquere much of this world: For whan they can by this law preſent a man an hereticke: his goodes ſhulen be forfet from hym & from his heyres and ſo might they lightly haue 2. or 3. falſe witneſſes to recorde an hereſie agayne what true man ſo hem liked. Herefore me thinkes, that whatſoeuer that I am a Chriſten man I may lawfully appeale frõ a falſe dome of the law, to be righteouſly demet by the trouth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not ſerue, I appeale openly to my Lord Ieſu Chriſt that ſhall deme all the world, for he I wot well, will not ſpare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therfore I pray G O D almighty with Dauid in the Sauter booke Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iuſticiam tuã filio regis: Iudicare populum tuũ in iuſticia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is. O God geue thy iudgemẽt to the kyng, and thy iuſtice to the kynges ſonne: to iudge thy people in iuſtice, and thy pore ones in iudgement. &c.

A letter ſent to the nobles and burgeſſes of the Parliament, by M. William Svvynderby.

Swinderbies letter to the Lordes and Burgeſſes of the Parliament.

IEſu that art both God and man helpe thy people that louen thy law, and make knowen through thy grace thy teachyng to all Chriſten men. Deare ſirs, ſo as we ſeen by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bene forth brought of Adãs kynde into this world ſhulen come togeder at domeſday riche and pore, ichone to geue accompt and receyue after hys deedes, ioy or paynen for euermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abydes, and be ye ſtable and true to God, and ye ſhulen ſee hys helpe about you. Conſtantes eſtote & videbitis auxilium Domini ſuper vos. This land is full of goſtly cowardes, in goſtly battayle few dare ſtãd. But Chriſt the cõforter of all that falleth (to that his hart barſt for our loue) agaynſt the fiend that doughty Duke comforteth vs thus: Eſtote fortes in bello. &c. Be ye ſtrõg in battaile, he ſayes, and fight ye with the old adder. State in fide, viriliter agite, &c. Wake ye and pray ye, ſtond ye in beleue, do ye manly and be ye comforter, and let all your thynges be done with charitie: For S. Poule biddes thus in his Epiſtle, that ſaw the preuities of God in heauen: Euigilate iuſti. &c. Awake ye that bene righteous men, be ye ſtable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and ſleepe nought, and ſtõd now ſtrongly for Gods law. For S. Iohn in yͤ Apocalips ſays, bleſſet be he that awakes: for nought to ſlepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the hower is now as Paule ſayth to vs, from ſlepe for to ariſe, for he that early awakes to me, he ſhall finde me ſayth Chriſt him ſeluen. This wakyng goſtly is good liuyng out of ſinne: this ſleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans hart frõ goſtly cõfort & to ſtand in yͤ ſame through a deceauable ſlepe is this that lets a man of the bliſſe of heauen: the fende makes man bold in ſinne and ferd to do worſhyp to God: death is a likenyng to a theefe that preuely ſteales vpõ a man that now is riche, and full of wele, anone he makes him a needy wreche: therfore ſayd God by S. Iohn in the Apocalips in this wiſe: Be thou wakyng, for if thou wake nought, I ſhal come to thee as a theefe, and thou ſhalt not wytte what houre. And if the huſbandman (ſayes Chriſt) wiſte what houre the theefe ſhould come, he ſhould wake and ſuffer him not to vndermine his houſe. S. Peter therfore warneth and ſayth: wake and be ye ware, ſuffer ye no man (he ſays) as a theefe, but wilfully for Gods loue, for it is tyme (as Peter ſayes) that dome begyn from the houſe of God: ye bene the body of Chriſt (ſays Poule) that needes muſt ſuffer with the head, or els your bodyes bene but dead and departed from Chriſt that is the head. And therfore curſet be he (ſays Poule) that loues not Ieſu Chriſt. And who it is that loues him, Chriſt himſelfe tells in the Goſpell: he that has my heſtes, and kepes them, he it is that loues me. Curſed be he therfore (ſays Poule) that doth Chriſtes workes deceauably. Be ye not therfore (ſays Poule) aſhamed of the true witnes of Ieſu Chriſt, for Chriſt our God ſays in his Goſpell he yͭ ſhames me, and my wordes, him ſhal mans ſonne aſhame when he ſhal come for to ſet in the ſiege of his maieſty. And eche man he ſayes, that knowes me and my wordes before men in this ſinfull generation and whoryſh, mans ſonne ſhall knowledge him before my father ſayes Chriſt himſelfe, when he ſhall come with his Aungels in the glory of his father: Sith ye therfore bene Chriſtenmen, that is to ſay, Chriſtes men, ſhew in deede that ye bene ſuch as ye daren ſhew you the kynges men: for hit had bene, as Peter ſayes, better not to haue knowen the way of truth, then after the knowyng therof to be cõuert backward therefrõ. We knowẽ Chriſt, that is trought, we ſayn all through our beleefe if we turne frõ him for dred, truely we deny the troth: And therfore ſith our tyme is ſhort, how ſhort no mã knowes but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worſhyp, when we haue tyme: Be true (ſayes God) to the death and you ſhall haue the crowne of lyfe: And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight, that cõforted hartely Gods true people, to be the folowers of his law. And geue ye, he ſayd, your liues for the Teſtament of your fathers. And ye ſhulen wynne, he ſayd, great ioy, and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham, he ſayd, in temptation founden true, and was * arectet vnto him euermore to righteouſnes. Ioſeph in tyme of his anguiſh he kept truly Gods heſte, he was made by Gods prouidence Lord of Egypt, for his trouthe. Phinees our fadure louing, he ſayth, the zeale of God tooke the teſtament of euerlaſtyng Prieſthode. Ioſue for he fulfillet the word of God was domes man in Iſraell. Caleph that witneſſed in the Church, he tooke therfore the heritage, he ſayth: Dauid in his mercy he gat the ſiege of the kyngdome in worldes. Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods law, was taken vp into heauen. Ananie, Azarie, & Miſaell, he ſayes, wern deliueret thorow through true beleue out of the hot flame of fire. True Daniell in his ſimplenes was deliueret from the Lyons mouth. Bithinke ye therfore, he ſayes, by generatiō and generation, and thou ſhalt neuer finde that he fayled that man that truely truſted in him. And therfore drede you nought, he ſayes, of the wordes of a ſinfull man: his glory is, he ſayes, but wormes and tordes; he is to day, he ſayth, & made hye, to morow he ſayes he is not founden for he is turned, he ſayes, into his earth agayne, & the mynde of him is periſhet. Sonnes therfore, he ſayes, be ye comfortet, and dye manly in the law: for when ye han done that that Gods commaundes you to do, ye ſhulen be glorious in him. And Dauid the kyng ſayes alſo on this wiſe in the Pſalter booke: bleſſet be they (Lord) that kepen thy law, in worldes of worldes they ſhall prayſe thee. And in Leuiticus ſayes God thus, gif that ye wendē in myne heſtes and kepen my commaundementes, and done hem, I ſhall bryng forth their fruite, and trees ſhall be fulfilled w̄ apples. And ye ſhallen eate your bread in fulnes, ye ſhouln dwell in your land without drede. I ſhall geue peace in your coſtes, ye ſhal ſleepe & no mā ſhall feare you. Euill beaſtes I ſhall done away from you, & ſword ſhall not paſſe your termes, ye ſhuln purſue your enemyes, and they ſhall fall before you, fifty of yours ſhulne purſue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thouſand of theirs: your enemies, he ſayth, ſhulen fall through ſword, and your ſute. I ſhall he ſayes behold you and make you to waxe, and ye ſhal be multipliet: And I ſhall ſtrength with you my couenant, ye ſhal eate the aldeſt, and the new ſhull come in theron. And ye ſhuln caſt forth the old, I ſhall dwell in the myddeſt of you. And I ſhall wende amonges you, and ſhalbe your God, and ye ſhulne be my people. If that ye heare me not, ne done nought all my heſtes but diſpiſen my law and my domes, and that ye done not tho thynges that of me bene ordenet, and breken my commaundementes and my couenaunt: I ſhall do theſe thynges to you. I ſhall viſite you ſurely in nede and brennyng, which ſhall dimme your eghenen, and ſhall waſt your liues about nought: ye ſhulne ſow your ſede for hit ſhalbe deuouret of enemies, I ſhall put my face agaynſt you, and ye ſhall fall before your enemies. And ye ſhulen be vnderlynges to them that han hatet you, ye ſhall flee, no man purſuyng. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I ſhall adde therunto thornes and ſeuenfold blame. And I ſhall all to braſt the hardynes of you, I ſhall geue the heauen aboue you as yron, and the earth as braſſe. About nought ſhall your labour be, for the earth ſhall bryng you forth no fruite, ne tree ſhall geue none appels to you. If that ye wenden agaynſt me, and will not heare me, I ſhall adde hereto ſeuenfold woundes for your ſinnes, I ſhall ſend amongeſt you beaſtes of the field that ſhall deuour you and your beaſtes, I ſhall bryng you into a field, and wayes ſhuln be deſart. And if that ye will not receaue lore, but wenden agaynſt me, I will alſo wenden agaynſt you, and I ſhall ſmite you ſeuen ſithes for your ſinnes. I ſhall leade in vpon you, ſword, venger of me couenaunt: and vpon the fleen into Cities, I ſhall ſende peſtilence in the myddeſt of you. So that ten women ſhould bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them agayne by waight, and ye ſhall eate, and not be fillet. If that ye heare me not by theſe thynges, but wenden agaynſt me, I ſhall wende in agaynſt you in a contrary wodneſſe, and blame you with ſeuen plagues for your ſinnes, ſo that they ſhoulen eate the fleſhe of your ſonnes and of your daughters. And in ſo much my ſoule ſhall lothe you, that I ſhall bryng your Cities into wildernes, and your Sanctuaries I ſhall make deſart, ne I ſhall not ouer that receiue ſweete oder of your mouth. And I ſhall diſperple your land, and enemyes ſhulen maruell thereon. When they ſhulen inhabite it, I ſhall diſperpel you among Heathen, and draw my ſword after you. Theſe vengeaunces and many moe, God ſayd ſhould fall on them that breake his bidding, and deſpiſeth his lawes, and his domes. Then ſith he Chriſt became man, and bought vs with his hart blood, and has ſhewed vs ſo great loue, and geuen vs an eaſie law, of the beſt that euer might be made, and to bryng vs to the ioy of heauen, and we deſpiſe it and loue it nought: what vengeaunce will be taken here on, ſo long as he has ſuffered vs, and ſo mercifully abidden, when he ſhall come that righteous iudge in the cloudes to deeme this worlde? Therfore turn we vs to hym, and leaue ſinne that he hates and ouer all thing maintayne hys lawe that he confirmed with hys death. For other lawes that men had made, ſhould be demed at that day by the iuſt lawe of Chriſt, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne that long lyfe and that ioy that Paule ſpeaketh of, that eye ne ſaw not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans harte aſcended not, the bliſſe and ioy that God hath ordeyned to them that louen hym and hys lawes.

*reckened.

Daniel.14.

Pſal.119.

Leuit.26.

Deare worſhipfull ſirs in this world I beſeech you for Chriſtes loue, as ye that I trow louen Gods law & trouth, (that in theſe dayes is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchſafe theſe thynges that I ſend you written to gods worſhip, to let them be ſhewed in the Parliament as your wittes can beſt conceiue, to moſt worſhip to our God, and to ſhewyng of the trouth and amending of holy Churche. My concluſiōs and myne appeale and other true matters of gods law (gif any man can find therin errour, falſenes, or defaulte, prouet by the law of Chriſt, clerely to chriſten mens knowledge) I ſhall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by gods law be amendet: euer redy to hold with Gods law openly and priuely with gods grace, and nothing to holde, teache, or maintayne that is contrary to his law.

The faithfull requeſt of William Swinderby.

Of the proces, anſweres, and condemnation of this worthy prieſt and true ſeruant of Chriſt, William Swinderby, you haue heard. What afterward became vpon him, I haue not certainly to ſay or affirme, whether he in priſon dyed, or whether he eſcaped their handes, or whether he was burned there is no certaine relation made. This remayneth out of dout, that during the tyme of this kyng Richard 2. no great harme was done vnto hym. Which was to the yere. 1401. at what tyme king Richard beyng wrongfully depoſed, Henry the 4. inuaded the kingdome of England. About the begynnyng of whoſe reigne we read of a certaine Parliament holden at London, mentioned alſo of Thomas Walden (as is aboue ſpecified) in which parliament it was decreed: that who ſo euer ſhewed themſelues to be fauourers of Wickliffe they ſhould be apprehended, who at that tyme were called Lollardes, and if ſo be they did obſtinately perſeuere in that doctrine, they ſhould be deliuered ouer vnto the biſhop of the dioces, and from hym ſhould be committed to the correction of the ſeculer magiſtrate. This law (ſayth the ſtory) brought a certen Prieſt vnto puniſhment the ſame yeare, who was burned in Smithfield in the preſence of a great nūber. This we haue drawen out of a piece of an old ſtory, and it is moſte certen, that there ſuch a prieſt was burned for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appeare by the ſtory, what this prieſtes name was. Notwithſtandyng, by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me that his name was Swinderby, that was forced to recant before by the Biſhop of Lincolne. Wherby what is to be coniectured by the premiſſes, let other men iudge what they thinke, I haue nothyng hereof expreſly to affirme. This is playne for all men to iudge, (which haue here ſene and reade his ſtory) that if he were burned, then the Biſhops, Friers and prieſtes, which were the cauſers thereof, haue a great thyng to aunſwere to the Lord, when he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, & ſeculum per ignem.

¶ The ſtory and proceſſe agaynſt
Walter Brute.

After the ſtory of William Swinderby, I thoughte good and conuenient, next to adioyne the actes and doynges of Gualter Brute hys ioynte fellowe and companion, beyng a lay man, and learned: brought vp as it ſeemeth in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, beyng there alſo graduate. The tractation of whoſe diſcourſe as it is ſomethyng long, ſo therein may appeare dyuers thynges worthy to be read and conſidered.

The ſtory of Walter Brute a Briton.

Firſt, the mighty operation of gods ſpirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modeſt ſimplicity, his valiant cōſtācy, his learned tractations and manifold conflictes ſuſteined agaynſt Gods enemies. On the contrary part in his aduerſaries may appeare, might againſt right, mans authoritie againſt playne veritie: againſt which they hauyng nothyng directly to anſwer, procede in condemnation againſt whom they are able to bryng forth no confutation. The chiefeſt occaſion that ſemed to ſtirre vp the harte and zeale of this Walter agaynſt the Pope: was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Vrban, graunted to Henry Spenſer Biſhop of Norwich,

Ex Regiſtro Epiſc. Herford.

to fight agaynſt Pope Clement,mentioned before,pag.545 Secondlye, the wrongfull condemnation of the Articles and concluſions of William Swinderby, the whole order whereof, in the proceſſe here followyng more playnely may appeare.

¶ The proceſſe had by Iohn Biſhop of Hereford,againſt Walter Brute lay man,& learned, of the dioceſſe of Hereford, touching the cauſe of hereſie, as they called it, ſet forwarde by the way of the biſhops office.&c.at the inſtructiō of certaine faithfull Chriſtians,as he termed them, but in dede cruell and falſe promooters.

Murdring harts lurking vnder louing wordes.

IN the name of God. Amen. To all maner of faythful chriſtian people that ſhall ſee and heare this our preſent proces, Iohn by the ſufferaunce of God biſhop of Hereford ſendeth greetyng, and continuall charitie in the Lord. We would that you all ſhould know,that of late by many faythfull Chriſtian people,and ſpecially zealous followers of the Catholicke fayth,it was lamentably done vs to vnderſtande by way of complaint: that a certayne ſonne of ours goyng out of kynd, named Walter Brute lay perſon,learned,of our dioces, hath vnder a cloked ſhew of holynes, damnably ſeduced the people: and ſetting behynd hym the feare of God,doth ſeduce thē as much as he can,from day to day,informyng and teachyng openly and priuely, as well the nobles as the commons, in certayne concluſions hereticall,ſchiſmaticall, and erroneous and alſo heretofore condemned. And they haue alſo probably exhibited agaynſt the ſame Walter,articles vnder written,in maner and forme as followeth.

¶ Articles exhibited and denounced to the biſhop,againſt Walter Brute.

Articles denounced agaynſt W. Brute by prieſts and Friers.

REuerend father and Lorde, we the faythfull people of Chriſt,and zelous louers of the catholike fayth, and alſo your humble and deuout children: do miniſter and exhibite to your reuerend fatherhood,the articles vnderwritten,touching the Catholike fayth, contrary and agaynſt malicious perſons,and detractours of the ſame fayth,and the determinations of holy mother church,and namely agaynſt the child of Beliall,one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt the people. Humbly beſechyng,that you would vouchſafe to haue regard to the correction of the enormities vnder written,accordyng vnto the Canonicall conſtitutions, euen as to your office paſtorall doth lye and belong.

The firſt article.

In primis,we do geue and exhibite,and entend to proue, that the ſame Walter Brute beyng vnmyndfull of hys ſaluation , hath bene by many and diuers faithfull Chriſtian people ſundry tymes accuſed of the curſednes of hereſie: As by the ſwift report,ſlaunder,and rumour of the people, proceedyng before the moſt reuerend father and Lord,Lord William Archb.of Caunterbury, and alſo before the reuerende father and Lord,Lord Iohn late B. of Herford,your predeceſſour,and now biſhop of S. Aſſe, hath bene teſtified, and alſo hath bene many and diuers tymes cited to anſwer vnto articles by hym agaynſt the Catholike fayth auouched, and openly and publiquely taught: But he in this matter of hereticall curſednes (ſo greuouſly and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath neuer regarded to purge hys innocency, but lurkingly and runnyng into corners, hath many and ſundry yeres laboured to aduance thinges erroneous,ſchiſmaticall, and alſo hereſies, and to emprint them in the harts of faythfull people.

2.Article.

Item,the foreſayd Walter Brute hath openly,publikely,and notoriouſly auouched,and commonly ſayd and taught and ſtubburnely affirmed:that euery Chriſten man(yea and woman)being without ſinne may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as a prieſt.

3.Article.

Item,the ſame Walter hath notoriouſly,openly,& publiquely auouched and taught,that in the Sacramēt of the alter there is not the very body, but a ſigne and a memoriall onely.

4.Article.

Item, the foreſayd Walter hath ſayd commonly and auouched,and alſo hath laboured to informe men and companyes , that no man is bound to geue tythes, nor oblations: and if any man will needes geeue, he may geue hys tythes, and oblatyons to whom he will, excludyng therby their curates.

5.Article.

Item,that ſuch as do preach and prefer croſſed matters, and pardons (graunted by the high Byſhop,to them ẏ helpe the purpoſe of the reuerend father Lord Henry by the grace of God Byſhop of Norwich, when as he tooke his iorney vpō him to fight for ẏ holy father the pope)are ſchiſmatickes and heretiques, and that the Pope cannot graunt ſuch maner of pardons.

6.Article.

Item, the ſayd Walter hath oftentimes ſayd, and commonlye auouched, that the Pope is Antichriſt,and a ſeducer of the people, and vtterly agaynſt the lawe and lyfe of Chriſt.

7 Article

Item, whereas of late your reuerence dyd (at the inſtāce of faythfull Chriſten people)procede in forme of law againſt Willyam Swinderby,and that the ſayd William Swinderby had vnto the ſayd articles obiected agaynſt him,geuen vp his anſweres in writing, cōteyning in them errors,ſchiſmes and hereſies,euen as you with the mature counſell of maſters and doctors in diuinitie,and other faculties haue determined and geuen ſentence,and haue pronounced the ſame Willyam Swinderby to be an heretick,and a ſchiſmatick,and an erroneous teacher of the people: Neuertheles the forenamed Walter hath openly,publickly,and notoriouſly ſayd, auouched,and ſtubburnly affirmed, that the ſayd Willyams anſweres(whereof notice hath beene geuen before,)are good, righteous and not able to be conuinced,in that that they conteyne none errour,and that your ſentence beforeſayde, geuen agaynſt the ſame Willyam,is euill,falſe, & vniuſt: And that your aſſiſtants haue wickedly,naughtely,peruerſly,and vniuſtly condemned the anſweres aforeſayd.

Otherwiſe bloudy promoters.

Now therupon immediately, thoſe ſame faithfull chriſtian people haue inſtantly required that we would vouchſafe that other articles geuen by the ſame faithfull chriſtiās againſt the ſaid William Swinderby,together with ẏ writings and aunſweres of the ſame william therunto : ſhould be admitted againſt Walter Brute,mētioned of in this matter of curſed hereſie: of which Articles and anſwers, the tenours do follow in theſe wordes.

These concluſions & articles of W. Swinderby here repeted, and obiected to Walt. Brute are to be found before pag.449.and 450.

In primis, that one William Swinderby pretendyng himſelfe prieſt,was of certayne articles and concluſions erroneous,falſe ſchiſmatical and heretical,by him preached,at diuers places & tymes,before a great multitude of faithfull Chriſtians,iudicially conuinced: and the ſame Articles and concluſions did he(inforced by neceſſitie of law) reuoke and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and other as erroneous & falſe: and for ſuch did he auouche them euer afterward promiſing ſo to take and beleue them & that from thenceforth he would openly or priuely preach,teach,or affirme none of them : nor that he ſhould make ſermon nor preach within your dioces without licence demaunded and obteyned . And in caſe he ſhould to the contrary preſume,by preachyng or auouching: that then he ſhould be ſubiect to the ſeueritie of the Canons euen as he iudicially ſware accordingly as the law inforced. Alſo the concluſions abiured by the ſayd William do follow, and are ſuch.

1.Cōcluſion.

1. In primis,that men by the rule of charitie, may demaund debtes,but by no meanes impriſon any man for debtes : and that the partie ſo impriſoning a body, is excommunicated, before pag.449.
2. Item, that if the pariſhioners ſhal know their curate to be incontinent and naughty: they ought to withdraw from hym their tithes,&c.pag.449.
3. Item,that tithes are mere almoſies,and in caſe that the curates ſhall be ill, they may be lawfully beſtowed vpon others by the temporall owners,&c.pag.450.
4. Item,that an euill curate to excommunicate any vnder hys iuriſdiction for withholdyng of tithes,is nought els.&c. pag.450.
5. Item,that no man may excommunicate any body,except that firſt he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do thoſe that communicate with ſuch a one,incurre the ſentēce of excommunication by any maner of meanes.ibid.
6. Item, that euery Prieſt may abſolue euery ſinner beyng contrite, and is bounde to preache the Goſpell vnto the people, notwithſtandyng the prohibition of the Biſhops. pag.450.
7. Item,that a prieſt receiuyng by bargaine any thyng of yerely annuitie,is in ſo doing a ſchiſmaticke,and excommunicate.pag.450.
8. Item,he doth aſſuredly beleue (as he auoucheth) that euery prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne, if he diſpoſe hymſelfe to make the body of Chriſt,doth rather commit Idolatry then make Chriſtes body.pag.450.
9. Item, that no prieſt doth enter into any houſe, but to handle ill the wife,the daughter,or the mayde,and therfore, &c.pag.450.
10. Item,that the child is not rightly baptiſed,if the prieſt. &c. Ibid.

11. Item, that no maner of perſon if he lyue againſt Gods law. &c. ibid.

12. Item, the ſame William agaynſt the thinges premiſed, and hys reuocation and abiuration (not to hys hart conuerting, but from euill to worſe peruertyng) did turne aſide into our dioces: where runnyng to and fro in diuers places, hath of hys owne raſh head preſumed to preach or rather to peruert, &c. pag. 451. col. 1.

13. Item, after that we had heard diuers rumours, and ſlaunders of very many, we directed diuers monitions and commaundementes comminatory, to be ſent abroad by our Commiſſaries to ſondry places of our dioces: that no perſon of what eſtate, degree, or condicion ſo euer he were of, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach the ſacred ſcripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our dioces, &c. pag. 449. col. 1.

14 Item, that the ſame ſort of monitions, inhibitions, and preceptes confirmed by our ſeale, came to the true and vndouted knowledge of the ſayd William.

Infandum facinus ſcilicet.

15. Item, the ſame William vnmyndefull of his owne ſaluation hath ſithens and agaynſt thoſe monitions, inhibitiõs, and preceptes, and (that which is more abhominable to be ſpoken) in contempt of the high biſhops dignitie, and to the ſlaunder and offence of many people, preſumed, in diuers places of our ſayd dioces, to preach or rather to peruert and to teach the forementioned, and other hereticall, erroneous and ſchiſmaticall deuiſes.

16. Item, the ſame William in preachyng to the people: on Monday, to wit, the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare of our lord 1390. in the Church of Whitney in our dioces, held and affirmed: that no Prelate of the world, of what ſtate, preheminence or degree ſoeuer he were of, hauing cure of ſoule and beyng in deadly ſinne. &c. pag. 451. col. 1.

A pariſhons doore to open.

17. Item, the ſame William in many places ſayd and affirmed in the preſence of many faythfull Chriſtian people, after the ſacramentall wordes vttered by the prieſt, hauyng the intent to conſecrate, there is not made yͤ very body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt. pag. 451. col. 1.

18. Item, that accidences cannot be in the ſacrament of the aulter without their ſubiect: and that there remayneth materiall bread Concomitanter with the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. Vide ſupra, pag. 451.

19. Item, that a prieſt beyng in deadly ſinne cannot by the power of the ſacramentall wordes, make the body of Chriſt, &c. pag. 451.

20. Item, that all prieſtes are of lyke power in all poyntes, notwithſtanding that ſome of thẽ are in this world of higher dignity, degre, or preheminence. pag. 451. col. 2.

21. Item, that contrition onely putteth away ſinne, if a mã ſhall be duely contrite: and that all vocall confeſſion and exerciſe, is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitie to ſaluation. Ibidem.

22. Item, that inferiour Curates haue not their power of byndyng and looſing mediatly from the Pope or biſhop, but immediatly of Chriſt, &c. pag. 451. col. 2.

23. Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kynd of annuall pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeares to the day of iudgement as is conteyned in the popes bulles or pardones. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not ſo much worth as they are noyſed and prayſed to be. Ibid.

24. Item, that it is not in the popes power to graunt to any penitent body, forgeuenes of the payne or of the treſpaſſe. pag. 452.

25 Item, that one geuyng his almes to any body which as he iudgeth hath no neede thereof, doth ſinne in ſo geuyng it. pag. 452. col. 1.

26. Item, that it ſtandes not in the power of any prelate, of what priuate religion ſoeuer he be, to geue by letters benefites of their order. Neither do ſuch kynd of benefites geuen profite them to whom they be geuen for the ſaluation of ſoules. Vide ſupra. pag. 452. col. 1.

A foule fault forſoothe.

27. Item, that the ſame William vnmyndefull of his owne ſaluation, hath many tymes and often reſorted to a certayne deſert wood called Derwalſwood of our dioces, and there in a certayne vnhallowed Chappell (nay a prophane cottage) hath preſumed of his owne proper raſhneſſe, to celebrate, &c. pag. 452.

28. Item, the ſame William hath alſo preſumed to doe the lyke thinges in a certayne prophane chappell, ſituate in the parke of Newton nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the ſame our dioces. pag. 452.

Walter Pryde promoter, or rather a proud promoter.

¶ Which thynges beyng done, the ſame faythfull Chriſten people, and ſpecially, ſir Walter Pryde the penitentiarie of our Cathedrall Church of Herforde, perſonally appearyng before vs, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate in the Pariſh Church of Whiteborne of our dioceſſe: brought foorth and exhibited, two publique inſtrumentes agaynſt the ſame Walter Brute, in yͤ caſe of curſed hereſie aforeſayd, of which inſtrumentes here followeth the tenours and Articles in this ſorte.

The firſt inſtrument exhibited by certaine Chanons of Hereford, agaynſt Walter Brute.

In the name of God Amen. Be it euidently knowen to all perſons by this preſẽt publike inſtrumẽt: that in yͤ yeare frõ yͤ incarnatiõ, after the courſe and cõputation of yͤ church of England. 1391. the indiction xv. of the pontificall office of our moſt holy father and Lord in Chriſt, Lord Boniface the ix. by Gods wiſedome Pope, the ſecond yeare, the xv. day of the month of October, in the dwellyng houſe of the worſhipfull man maiſter Iohn Godemoſton, Chanon of the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, in the preſence of me the publique Notary vnder written, and of witneſſes ſubſcribed: Walter Brute lay man learned, of Herforde dioceſſe, perſonally appearyng, ſayde, auouched, and ſtifly mainteyned: that the ſayde Biſhop of Herforde and hys aſſiſtauntes, which were with hym the third day of the foreſayd moneth of October, the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, in the Church of Hereford: dyd naughtely, wickedly, peruerſly, and vniuſtly condemne the aunſweres of ſir William Swinderby Chaplaine, geuen by the ſame ſir William to the ſame Lord biſhop in writyng, and alſo the articles miniſtred by the ſame ſir William.

B. of Herford vniuſtly condemned the articles of ſir W. Swinderby.

And furthermore he ſayd, held, and auouched, that the ſame concluſions geuen by the ſame ſir Williã, euen as they were geuen, are true and catholike.

Matters obiected agaynſt Walter Brute.

Item, as touchyng the matters obiected agaynſt hym by them that ſtood by, concernyng the ſacrament of the aulter: he ſayd, that after the ſacramentall wordes: there doth remaine very bread, and the ſubſtance therof after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt, and that there do not remayne accidencies without ſubſtance or ſubiect after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt. And touching this matter, the doctors hold diuers opinions.

The pope Antichriſt.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he ſaid, held, and auouched: that he is the very Antichriſt, becauſe that in life and maners he is contrary to the lawes, doctrines, & deedes of Chriſt our Lord.

Witneſſes agaynſt Walter Brute.

All and euery of theſe thinges were done, euen as they be aboue writtẽ and reherſed in the yeare of our Lord, pontificall office, month, day, and place aforeſayd, at ſupper tyme of the day aforenamed, thẽ and there beyng preſent the worſhipfull and diſcrete men, ſir Walter Ramſbury, chief chaunter of the ſayd Cathedrall Churche of Herforde, Roger Hoore Chanon of the ſame Church, Walter Wall, Chaplain of yͤ ſaid church of Hereford, beyng a vicar of yͤ Chorall, & certaine other worthy witneſſes of credite, that were ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes. Ex Regiſt. Herford.

Richard Lee Regiſter and writer hereof.

And I Richard Lee Whelar, clerke of Worceter, beyng a publike notarie, by the authoritie Apoſtolike: was perſonally preſent at all and ſinguler the premiſſes, whileſt that (as is before reherſed) they were done and a doyng, in the yere of our lord. 1391. pontifical office, month, day, place, and the houre aforeſaid: & I did ſee, write, and heare all and ſinguler thoſe things thus to be done, and haue reduced thẽ into this publike maner and forme: and beyng deſired truly to teſtifie the premiſſes, haue ſealed the ſayd inſtrument, made hereupon, with mine accuſtomed ſeale and name.

The forme of the ſecond inſtrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly knowen to all perſons, by this preſent publike inſtrument: that in the yere from the incarnation of our lord after the courſe and computation of the church of England. 1391. the indiction fiftene, in the 3. yere of the pontificall office of the moſt holy father in Chriſt, and our Lord, Lord Boniface Pope by the prouidence of God the 9. & in the 19. day of the month of Ianuary, Walter Brute layman, of Herford dioces, perſonally appearing before the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord Iohn by gods grace B. of Herford, in the preſence of me beyng a publike notarie, & one of the witneſſes vnder written, Did ſay, hold publiſh, & affirme, the cõcluſiõs hereafter written, yͤ is to ſay: that chriſten people are not bõd to pay tithes neither by the law of Moſes nor by the law of Chriſt.

Matters and concluſions miniſtred agaynſt Walter Brute. This concluſion ſemeth to be falſely collected, as were before the articles of W. Swinderby. This concluſion alſo is not rightly gathered.

Item, that it is not lawfull for chriſtians for any cauſe in any caſe, tõ ſweare by the creator neither by the creature.

Item, he confeſſed openly and of his owne accorde: that within the ſame month of Ianuary, he did eate, drinke, and communicate with William Swinderby, not beyng ignoraunt of the ſentence of the ſayd reuerend father: whereby the ſame William Swinderby was pronounced an heretique, ſchiſmatique, and a falſe ſeducer of the common people. Which cõcluſions, the ſame reuerend father cauſed to be written, and in writing to be deliuered to the ſame Walter. Which when he had ſeene and red, he ſayd alſo that he did maintayne and iuſtifie them accordyng to the lawes aforeſayd. Theſe thinges were done in the chamber of the ſayd biſhop of Hereford, at hys manor of Whitborne of the ſayd dioces of Hereford: then beyng there preſent the ſame Biſhop aboueſayd, M. Reynold of Wolſten, Canon of Hereford, ſir Philip Dileſke parſon of the pariſh church of Blamuworin, Thomas Guldefeld parſon of the Church of Engliſbyknore. John Creſſet parſon of the Churche of Whitborne, and Thomas Wallewayne houſhold ſeruant, for witneſſes ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes of the dioceſſes of Hereford and S. Aſſe.

Witneſſes againſt W. Brute.

And I Benedict Come clerke of the dioces of S. Aſſe, publique notary by the Apoſtolike authoritie for the dioceſſe of S. Aſſe, was perſonally preſent together with the witnes before named, at all and ſinguler theſe and other thinges here premiſed, whileſt they were ſo done and a doing, and did ſee, heare, and write thoſe thinges ſo to be done, as is before mentioned: and dyd write the ſame and reduce them into this publike forme, and with my wonted & accuſtomed ſeale and name haue ſealed it, beyng deſired and required truly to teſtifie the premiſſes.

Benedict Come Regiſter, witnes and writer of this inſtrument againſt W. Brute

At the laſt, the aforeſayd Walter Brute, did preſent and cauſe to be preſented to vs (at diuers places and tymes aſſigned by vs to the ſame Walter, to aunſwer to the former concluſions and articles) diuers ſcrowles of paper written with hys owne proper hand, for hys aunſwers to the ſame Articles and concluſions aboue written: he partly appearing by his owne ſelfe, before vs ſitting in our iudgement ſeat, and partly by his meſſẽgers, ſpecially appoynted to that purpoſe: of which ſcrolles, the tenors doe follow in order worde by worde, and be on this maner.

In the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, Amen: I Walter Brute, ſinner, layman, huſbandmã and a Chriſtian (hauing mine ofſpring of the Britons, both by my father and mothers ſide) of the Britons, haue ben accuſed to the B. of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the catholike Chriſten faith: by whom I am required, that I ſhould write an anſwer in Latine to all thoſe matters. Whoſe deſire I will ſatiſfie to my power, proteſtyng firſt of all, before God & before all the world: ẏ like as it is not my mynd through Gods grace, to refuſe the knowẽ truth, for any rewarde greater or ſmaller, yea be it neuer ſo bigge, nor yet for the feare of any temporall puniſhment: euẽ ſo it is not my mynde to maintayne any erroneous doctrine for any cõmodities ſake. And if any man, of what ſtate, ſect or condition ſo euer he be, wyll ſhewe me that I erre in my writinges or ſayinges by the autthoritie of the ſacred ſcripture, or by probable reaſon grounded in the ſacred ſcripture, I will humbly and gladly receiue his information. But as for the bare wordes of any teacher (Chriſt only excepted) I wil not ſimply beleue, except he ſhalbe hable to ſtabliſh them by the truthe of experience, or of the Scripture: for becauſe, that in the holye Apoſtles elected by Chriſt, there hathe ben found errour by the teſtimonie of the holy ſcripture, becauſe that Paule himſelf doth confeſſe that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Galat. the .2. chapiter. There hath ben error found in the holy Doctors, that haue been before vs, as they them ſelues confeſſe of them ſelues. And often times it falleth out, that there is errour founde in the teachers in our age: who are of contrarye opinions amonge themſelues, and ſome of them doo ſometimes determine one thyng for truth, and others doe condemne the ſelfe ſame thyng to be hereſye or errour. Which proteſtation premiſed, I will here place .ii. ſuppoſitions or caſes for a groũd and a foundation of all things that I ſhall ſay, out of which I would gather two probable concluſions ſtabliſhed vppon the ſame, and vpon the ſacred Scripture. By which concluſions, when as they ſhall be declared after my manner and faſhion, it ſhall plainly appeare what my opinion and iudgement is concernyng all matters that I am accuſed of. But becauſe I am ignorant and vnlearned, I will get me vnder the mighty defences of the Lord. O Lord I will remember thine onely righteouſnes.

Certaine exhibites of Walter Brute in writing preſented to the B. for his defẽce. Walter Brute a Britone borne.

Proteſtation made.

No writer or doctor without his errour, the Scripture onely excepted. Errour in the Apoſtles. Errour in the Doctours.

Errours and contrarieties among the popiſh writers.

Brute modeſtly excuſeth hys learning.

God the father almighty vncreate, the maker of heauen and earth, hath ſent his ſonne (that was euerlaſtingly begotten) into this world: that he ſhould be incarnated, for the ſaluation and redemption of mankynd, who was conceyued by the holy ghoſt euerlaſtingly proceedyng from the father and the ſonne, and was borne of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be borne a new. He ſuffered Paſſion vnder Pontius Pilate for our ſinnes, laying downe his lyfe for vs, that we ſhould lay downe our lyfe for our brethren. He was crucified, that we ſhould be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that he might redeeme vs from death, by purchaſing for vs forgeueneſſe of ſinnes. He was buried, that we beyng buried together with hym into death by Baptiſme, and that we dead to ſins, ſhould lyue to righteouſnes. He deſcended into hel, therby deliueryng man from thraldome, and from the bondage of the Deuill, and reſtoring hym to hys inheritaunce, which he loſt by ſinne. The third day he roſe from the dead, through the glory of hys father, that we alſo ſhould walke in newneſſe of lyfe. He aſcended vp to the heauens, to which no body hath aſcended, ſauyng he that deſcended from heauen, euen the ſonne of mã which is in heauen. He ſitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty, vntill hys enemies be made hys footeſtoole. He beyng in very deede ſo much better then the Aungels, as he hath obteyned by inheritaunce a more excellent name then they. From thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the deade, accordingly to their workes, becauſe the father hath geuen all iudgement to the ſonne. In whoſe terrible iudgement we ſhall aryſe agayne, and ſhall all of vs ſtande before hys iudgement ſeate, and receyue ioy as well bodily, as ſpiritually for euer to endure, if we be of the ſheepe placed at the right hande: or els puniſhment both of bodye and ſoule if we ſhall be found amongſt goates, placed on the left hande, &c.

The firſt caſe or ſuppoſition.

Jeſus Chriſt the ſonne of God, very God and very mã a kyng for euer, by ſtabliſhing an euerlaſtyng kyngdome, breakyng to powder all the kingdomes of the world: Dan. 2. a prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech, wherby alſo he is able euermore to ſaue ſuch as by hym come vnto god and alwayes liueth to intreat for vs. Hebr. 7. He offryng one ſacrifice for our ſinnes, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, thoſe that be ſanctified, Heb. 10. Beyng the wiſedom that cannot be deceiued, and the truth that cannot be vttred: he hath in this world taught the will of the godhead of hys father, which will he hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully inſtruct vs, and hath geuen the law of charitie to be of hys faythfull people obſerued, which he hath written in the hartes and myndes of the faythful with the finger of God, where is the ſpirite of God, ſearching the inward ſecretes of the Godhed. Wherfore hys doctrine muſt be obſerued aboue all other doctrines, whither they be of aungels or of men, becauſe that he could not nor would not erre in his teachyng. But in mens doctrines there chanceth oftentymes to be errour, and therfore we muſt forſake their doctrines if cloſely or expreſly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt. Mens doctrins beyng made for the peoples profit muſt be alowed and obſerued, ſo that they be grounded vpon Chriſtes doctrine, or at the leſt be not repugnaunt to hys wordes.

The ſecond caſe or aſſertion.

If the high biſhop of Rome, calling himſelfe the ſeruant of the ſeruauntes of God, and the chiefe vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make and maintaine many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Jeſu Chriſt: then is he of thoſe that haue come in Chriſtes name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, & haue ſeduced many a one, by the teſtimony of our Sauiour in Math. cap. 24. and the idoll of deſolation ſittyng in the Temple of God and takyng away from hym the continuall ſacrifice for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme. Which idoll muſt be reueled to the chriſtian people by the teſtimony of Daniell. Wherof Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell. When you ſhall ſee the abhomination of deſolation that was tolde of by Daniell the Prophet, ſtanding in the holy place: let hym that readeth, vnderſtand, and he is the peſtiferous mountayne infectyng the whole vniuerſall earth, as witneſſeth, Jeremy, chap. 51. and not the hed of Chriſtes body. For the auncient perſon in yeres, and honourable in reuerence, he is the hed, and the prophet teaching lies, is the tayle, as Eſay alledgeth, chapter. 9. And he is that wicked, and ſinnefull Capitaine of Iſraell, whoſe forappoynted day of iniquitie is come in tyme of iniquitie, who ſhall take away Cidarim, and take away the crowne. Ezech. chap. 21. to whom it was ſayd: Foraſmuch as thy hart was exalted, and didſt ſay, I am a God, and ſitteſt in the ſeat of God, in the hart of the ſea, ſeyng thou art a man and not God, and haſt geuen thyne hart, as if it were the hart of God: therfore behold I will bring vpon thee the moſt ſtrong and mighty ſtraungers of the nations, and they ſhall draw their ſwordes vpon the beauty of thy wiſedom, & ſhall defile thy commaundementes and kill thee, and pul thee out, & thou ſhalt die in the deſtruction of the ſlayne, and it followeth.

The firſt concluſion.

The Pope an idole of deſolation ſitting in the temple of God.

The pope & his lawes be contrary to Chriſt is the peſtiferous mountayne, infecting the whole earth. Jerem. 51.

The pope, the ſinfull captaine of Iſrael, ſpoken of Ezech. 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, & of ẏ iniquities of thy merchandiſe, ẏ haſt defiled thy ſanctificatiõ. I will therfore bring forth a fire, frõ the midſt of ẏ whole earth, & will make thee as aſhes vpõ earth. Thou art become nothing, & neuer

Antichriſt deſcribed.

Ezech. 28.

The Pope an idle ſhepherd. Zach 11.

The beaſt horned like the lambe.

The pope ſignifieth the beaſt aſcending out of the earth.

Terrible ſcriptures agaynſt the the pope.

ſhalt thou be any more. Ezech. chap. 28. Furthermore he is the idle ſhepeheard forſakyng hys flocke, hauyng a ſword on hys arme, and an other ſword in hys right eye. Zach. 11. and ſittyng in the temple of God, doth aduaunce hymſelfe aboue all thyng that is called God, or whatſoeuer is worſhipped, by the teſtimony of Paule to Theſ. 2. epiſt. 2. chap. And in the defection or fallyng away ſhal the man of ſinne be reuealed, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of hys mouth. For euery kingdom deuided in it ſelf, ſhalbe brought to deſolation. He is alſo beſides, the beaſt aſcendyng vp out of the earth, hauyng two hornes lyke vnto a Lambe, but he ſpeaketh like a dragon, and as the cruell beaſt aſcendyng vp out of the ſea, whoſe power ſhall continue 42. monethes. He worketh the thinges that he hath geuen to the image of the beaſt. And he compelled ſmall and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondſlaues, to worſhip the beaſt, and to take hys marke in their forehead or their handes. Apoc. the 13. chapter. And thus by the teſtimony of all theſe places is he the chiefe Antichriſt vpon the earth, and muſt be ſlayne with the ſword of Gods word, and caſt with the Dragon, the cruell beaſt and the falſe Prophet that hath ſeduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented world without ende.

Rome Babylon.

Apoc. 17.

1290. dayes figured in Dan.

The fall of Babylon. Apoc. 14.

If the city of Rome do allow hys traditions, and do diſallow Chriſtes holy commaundementes, and Chriſtes doctrine, that it may confirme hys traditions: then is ſhe Babilon the great, or the daughter of Babilon, and the great whore ſittyng vpon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitantes of the earth are become dronken with the wyne of her harlotry lying open to baudry, with whoſe ſpirituall whoredom enchauntmentes, witchcraftes and Symon Magus merchaundiſes, the whole round world is infected and ſeduced: ſaying in her hart, I ſit as Queene, and widow I am not, neyther ſhall I ſee ſorrow and mournyng. Yet is ſhe ignoraunt that within a litle while ſhal come the day of her deſtruction and ruine, by the teſtimony of the Apoc. chap. 17. Becauſe that from the tyme that the continuall ſacrifice was taken away, and the abhomination of deſolatiō placed, there be paſſed 1290. dayes by the teſtimony of Daniell, and the Chronicles added do agree to the ſame. And the holy Citie alſo hath bene troden vnder foote of the heathen for 42. monethes, and the woman was nouriſhed vp in the wilderneſſe (vnto which ſhe fled for feare of the face of the ſerpent) taryng 1260. dayes, or els for a tyme, tymes, and half a time which is all one. All theſe thynges be manifeſt by the teſtimony of the Apocalips, and the Chronicles therto agreeyng. And as concernyng the fall of Babilon aforeſayd, it is manifeſt in the Apoc. where it is ſayd: In one day ſhall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and ſhe ſhall be burned wyth fire. For ſtrong is the Lorde which wyll iudge her. And agayne, Babylon that great City is fallen, which hath made all nations to drynke of the wyne of her whoredome. And thirdly, one mighty Aungell tooke vp a myll ſtone that was a very great one, and did caſt it into the ſea, ſaying: with ſuch a violence as this is, ſhall that great Citie Babylon be ouerthrowen, and ſhal no more be found. For her merchauntes were the princes of the earth, & wyth her witchcraft all nations haue gone aſtray, and in her is there found, the bloud of the Saintes and Prophetes. And of her deſtruction ſpeaketh Eſay in the xiij. chapiter. And Babilon that glorious Citie, beyng ſo noble amongſt kyngdomes in the pryde of the Caldeans, it ſhall be: that lyke as the Lord dyd ouerturne Sodome & Gomorre vpſide downe, it ſhall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation layd in no age, from generation to generation. Ieremy ſayeth: your mother that hath borne you, is brought to very great confuſion, and made euen with the ground. And agayne: The Lord hath deuiſed and done as he hath ſpoken agaynſt the inhabiters of Babilon, which dwell richly in their treaſures vppon many waters, thyne ende is come. And thirdly: Drouth ſhall fall vpon her waters, and they ſhall beginne to be dry, for it is a land of grauen Images, and boaſteth in her prodigious wonders: It ſhall neuer more be inhabited, neyther be builded vp in no age nor generation. Verely, euen as God hath ſubuerted Sodome and Gomorre wyth her cities.

Eſay. 13.

Ierem. 15.

Pardon me (I beſech you) though I be not plentiful in pleaſaunt wordes: For if I ſhould runne after the courſe of this wicked world, and ſhould pleaſe men, I ſhould not be Chriſtes ſeruaunt. And becauſe I am a poore man, and neyther haue nor can haue notaries hyred to teſtifie of theſe my writinges: I call vpon Chriſt to be my witneſſe, which knoweth the inward ſecretes of my harte, that I am redy to declare the thynges that I haue writtē after my faſhion, to the profite of all Chriſtē people, & to ỹ hurt of no mā liuing, & am redy to be reformed, if any man wyll ſhew me where I haue erred: beyng redy alſo (miſerable ſinner though I be) to ſuffer for the confeſſion of the name of Chriſt & of his doctrine, as much as ſhall pleaſe hym by hys grace and loue to aſſiſt me a miſerable ſinner. In witnes of all theſe things, I haue to this writyng ſet the ſeale of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which I beſech hym to imprint vppon my forhed, and to take frō me all maner of marke of Antichriſt. Amen.

¶ Theſe two ſuppoſitions (as they are termed in the ſcholes) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto the Biſhop, although they conteyned matter ſufficient eyther to ſatiſfie the Biſhop if he had bene diſpoſed to learne, or els to haue prouoked hym to reply agayne, if hys knowlege therin had bene better then his: yet could they worke neyther of them effect in hym. But he receyuyng and peruſing the ſame when he neyther could confute ỹ which was ſayd, neyther would reply or aunſwer by learnyng to that which was truth, finding other bycauillations, ſayd that this his wrytyng was to ſhort and obſcure, and therefore required hym to write vpon the ſame agayne more playnely and more at large. Whervpon the ſayd Maiſter Walter (ſatiſfiyng the Byſhops requeſt, and ready to geue to euery one an accompt of his faith) in a more ample tractation renueth hys matter agayne before declared, writing to the Byſhop in wordes and forme, as followeth:

An other declaration of the ſame matter before after a more ample tractation, exhibited by Walter Brute to the B.

Reuerend father, foraſmuch as it ſeemeth to you that my motion, in my two ſuppoſitions or caſes, and in my two concluſions, is too ſhort and ſomwhat darcke: I will gladly now ſatiſfie your deſire, accordyng to my ſmall learning, by declaring the ſame concluſions. In opening whereof, it ſhall plainely appeare, what I doe iudge in all matters, that I am accuſed of to your reuerence: deſiring you firſt of all, that your diſcretion would not beleue that I do enterpriſe of any preſumption to handle the ſecretes of the ſcriptures, which the holy and iuſt, and wiſe doctours haue left vnexpounded. It is not vnknowen to many, that I am in all pointes farre inferiour to them, whoſe holynes of lyfe & profoundnes in knowledge, is manifolde wayes allowed. But as for myne ignoraunce, and multitude of ſinnes, are to my ſelfe and others ſufficiently knowen: wherefore, I iudge not my ſelfe worthy to vnlooſe or to cary their ſhooes after them. Do you therfore no otherwiſe deme of me, then I doe of myne owne ſelfe. But if you ſhall finde any goodnes in my writinges, aſcribe it to God onely: who accordyng to the multitude of hys mercy, doth ſometymes reueale thoſe thynges to Idiotes and ſinners, which are hidden from the holy and wyſe, accordyng to this ſaying: I will prayſe and confeſſe thee O father, for that, thou haſt hidden theſe thinges from the wyſe and prudent, and haſt diſcloſed them to the litle ones. Euen ſo O father, becauſe it hath thus pleaſed thee. And in an other place. I am come to iudgement into this world, that they which ſee not may ſee, and that they which ſee, may be made blinde. And Paule ſaith: that God hath choſen the weake thinges of the world, to cōfound the mighty, that no man ſhall boaſt in him ſelfe, but that all men ſhould geue the honour to God.

They that ſo humbly iudge of them ſelues and do not ſo careleſly continue, are of God.

It was commaunded to Eſay, bearing the type of Chriſt: Goe and ſay to thys people: Heare ye wyth your hearing, and do not vnderſtand? Beholde ye the viſion, & yet know ye not the thyng that ye ſee? Make blynde the hart of thys people, and make dull their eares, & ſhut their eyes, leaſt that perchaunce with their eyes they ſhould ſee, and with their eares they ſhould heare, & wyth their harts they ſhould vnderſtand and be conuerted, and I ſhould heale them. And I ſayd, how long Lord? And he ſayd, vntill that the cities be made deſolate without inhabitantes, and the houſe without any perſon within it. Alſo in Eſay thus it is written: And the multitude of all nations, which ſhall fight agaynſt Ariel, and all perſons that haue warred, and beſieged & preuailed agaynſt it, ſhall be as a dreame that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, but when he ſhall awake out of hys ſleepe, hys ſoule is empty. And lyke as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he ſhall awake, he is ſtill weary and thyrſtye, and hys ſoule voyde of nouriſhment: euen ſo ſhall it be with the multitude of all nations that haue fought agaynſt the mount Sion. Be you amaſed, and haue great wonder: reele ye to and fro, and ſtagger ye: be ye druncken, and not wyth wyne: ſtagger, but not through drunkennes: for the Lord hath mingled for you the ſpirite of drouſines, he ſhall ſhut your eyes, he ſhall couer your Prophetes and Princes that ſee viſions.

Eſay. 6.

Eſay.

And a viſion ſhalbe to you all together, lyke the wordes of a ſealed booke, which when he ſhal geue to one that is learned, he ſhall ſay: Read here, and he ſhall aunſwere, I cannot, for it is ſealed. And the booke ſhalbe geuen to one, that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters, and it ſhalbe ſaid vnto him, Read. And he ſhall aunſwere, I know not the letters, I am vnlearned, wherfore yͤ lord ſaith: For aſmuch as this people draweth nigh me wt their mouths, & glorifieth me wt their lips, but their hart is farre from me, & they haue rather feared yͤ cōmaundementes of men, & haue cleaued to their doctrines: Behold therfore I will ad beſids, and bring ſuch a muſe & maruel vpon this people which ſhall make me amaſed & marueling. For wiſedome ſhal periſhe from their wiſe mē, & the vnderſtādīg of their prudent perſons ſhalbe hidden. And ſoon after it foloweth in the ſame place, yet a litle while and Lybanus ſhall be turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a cops or groue, and in the ſame day ſhall the deafe folkes heare the word of this booke, & the eyes of the blinde (changed from darckneſſe and blindneſſe) ſhall ſee.

Eſay 29.

Libanus and Charmel, two hils, the one in Phoenicia, fruitfull & pleaſaunt: the other in the borders of Iewry, barren & vnpleaſaunt, which is Charmel.

Daniel. 2.

Nabuchodonoſer enquiring of Danyell ſayd. Thinkeſt thou that thou canſt truely declare me the dreame that I haue ſeene, and the meaning thereof. And Danyell ſayd: As for the maſtery wherof the king doth aſke, neither the wyſe men, magicians, ſouthſayers, nor inchanters can declare to the kyng: But there is a God in heauen, that diſcloſeth miſteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonozor) what thynges ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt tymes of all. To me alſo is this ſacrament or myſterie diſcloſed (not for any wiſedome that is in me more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretation myght be made manifeſt to the kyng, and that thou ſhouldeſt know the cogitations of thy mynde.

Daniel 12.

It was alſo ſayd to Daniell, and thou Daniell, ſhut vp the wordes, ſeale vp the booke, vntill the tyme appointed. Very many people ſhall paſſe ouer, & manifolde knowledge ſhall there be: And Daniell ſayd to the man yͭ was clothed wt linnen garments, who ſtoode vpon yͤ waters of yͤ floud: How long will it be before the end ſhall come of theſe marueilous thynges? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparell, who ſtoode vpon the waters of yͤ flouds, when he had lifte vp his right hand and his lefte hand into heauen, and had ſworne by him that liueth for euermore: that for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme. And when the ſcattering abroad of the hand of the holy people ſhalbe accompliſhed: then ſhall all theſe thinges be finiſhed. And I heard and vnderſtoode not, and I ſayd: O my Lord, what ſhall be after theſe thynges, and he ſayd: Goe thy wayes Daniell, for this talke is ſhut and ſealed vp, vntill the tyme that is before appoynted.

All theſe thinges haue I written to ſhew, that he that hath the key of Dauid, who openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth: doth (when and how long it pleaſeth hym) hide the myſteries, and the hid ſecretes of the Scriptures, from the wiſe, prudent, and righteous: and other whiles at hys pleaſure, reuealeth the ſame to ſinners and lay perſons, and ſimple ſoules, that he may haue yͤ honor and glory in all thinges. Wherfore as I haue before ſaid, if you ſhall finde any good thyng in my writinges, aſcribe the ſame to God alone: If you ſhall finde otherwiſe, thinke ye the ſame to be written of ignoraunce, and not of malice. And if any doubt or errour be ſhewed me in all my writynges, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why that ſuch maner of matters are moued touching the diſcloſing of Antichriſt in thys kyngdome, more then in other kingdomes, and in this tyme alſo more then in tyme paſt: the aunſwere, as concerning the tyme of the motion is, that it is the laſt coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the ſigne of the * Twins, which is the houſe of Mercury, being the ſignifier of yͤ Chriſtian people: which coniunction ſeemeth to me to betoken the ſecond comming of Chriſt, to reforme hys Church, and to call men agayne by the diſcloſing of Antichriſt, to the perfection of the Goſpell, from their Hetheniſh rites and wayes of yͤ Gentiles. By whom the holy citie was trampled vnder foote, for 42. monethes, euen as the coniunction of the ſayde two planetes beyng incloſed in the ſigne of the Virgine, which is alſo the houſe of Mercury: did betoken the firſt comming of Chriſt, for the ſaluation of all people that were periſhed of yͤ houſe of Iſraell, whereby to call them through the ſame comming, to the full perfection of the Goſpell. As touching this calling of the Heathen, ſpeaketh Chriſt in the Goſpell. I haue alſo other ſheepe, that are not of this folde, and thoſe muſt I bring, and they ſhall heare my voyce, and there ſhall be one ſheepefold, and one ſhepherd. For although the Gentiles be conuerted, from the infidelitie of their idolatry, to the fayth of Chriſt: yet are they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Chriſt. And therfore did the Apoſtles in the primitiue Church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles, but that they ſhould abſtaine from haynous things, as from things offred to idols, and from bloud, and ſtrangled, and fornication. As touching this ſecond comming, ſpeaketh Eſay: On that day, the roote of Ieſſe which ſtandeth for a ſigne or marke to the people, to hym ſhall the heathen make their homage and ſupplication, and hys ſepulchre ſhall be glorious: and in that day ſhall it come to paſſe, that the Lord ſhal the ſecond time put to hys hand, to poſſeſſe the remnant of hys people, &c. And he ſhall lift vp a token toward the nations, and he ſhall aſſemble the runnagate people of Iſraell that were fled, and thoſe that were diſperſed of Iuda ſhall he gather together from the foure quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim ſhall be broken to peeces, and the enemyes of Iuda ſhall come to nought. Paule to the Theſſalonians ſayth: We beſeech you brethren, by yͤ commyng of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and of our gathering together before hym: that you be not ſoone remooued from your vnderſtanding, neither that you be put in feare, as though the day of the lord were at hand, neither as it were by letter ſent by vs, neyther by ſpirite, nor yet by talke. Let not any bodye by any meanes leyng you out of the way, or ſeduce you: For except there ſhall firſt come a departing, & that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition ſhalbe diſcloſed, which maketh reſiſtance, and is aduaunced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worſhipped: ſo that he doth ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as if he were God. Doe ye not remember that whileſt I was as yet with you, I tolde you of this: and now you know what kepeth hym backe, that he may be vttered in hys due tyme: For euen now doth he worke the myſterie of iniquitie, onely that he which holdeth, may holde ſtill vntill he be come to lyght: and then ſhall that wicked one be diſcloſed, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlaye with the breath of hys mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightnes of hys comming, euen him: whoſe comming is according to the working of Sathan, in all power, wyth ſignes and lying wonders, and in all deceitfull leading out of the truth towards thoſe that doe periſh, becauſe that they receiued not hartely the loue of truth, that they might be ſaued.

* In ſigno Gemini.

Marke here (good Reader) by this aſtronomicall coniunction of theſe two planets in Gemini, he meaneth couertly the ſchiſme betwene the two popes which laſted 39. yeares, by the which coniunction, his meaning is, that God would haue Antichriſt to be diſcloſed, & his Church to be reformed.

By this perfectiō (I ſuppoſe) he meaneth the reformation of the church being out of the way.

Eſay. 11.

The reueling of Antechriſt.

Chriſt being demaunded of the Apoſtles, what ſhould be the token of hys comming, and of the ende of the worlde: ſayd vnto them. There ſhall come many in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many. Alſo he telleth them of many other ſignes, of battayles, famyne, peſtilence, and earthquakes. But the greateſt ſigne of all he teacheth to be this. When you ſhall ſee (ſayth he) the abhomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth, let hym vnderſtand. But Luke 21. in hys Goſpell ſpeaketh more playnely hereof. When you therefore ſhall ſee Ieruſalem to be compaſſed about with an army, thē know ye that the deſolation therof ſhal draw nigh. And afterward it followeth: And they ſhall fall by the face of the ſword, and ſhalbe led away captiue to all nations, and Ieruſalem ſhalbe troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the tymes of the nations be fulfilled. Now, in Daniell thus it is written of thys matter. And after 72. weekes, ſhall Chriſt be ſlayne, neyther ſhall that be his people, that will deny hym. And as for the Citie and ſanctuary, ſhall a people (with his captayne that will come wyth them) deſtroy the ſayd citie and ſanctuary, and hys ende ſhalbe to be waſted vtterly, till it be brought to naught, and after the ende of the warre, ſhall come the deſolation appointed. In one weeke ſhall he confirme the couenant to many, and within halfe a weeke ſhall the offering and ſacrifice ceaſe. And in the temple ſhal there be the abhomination of deſolation, and euen vnto the ende ſhall the deſolation cōtinue. And els where in Daniell, thus it is written: From the tyme that the continuall ſacrifice ſhalbe offered, and that the abhomination ſhalbe placed in deſolation, there ſhall be 1290. dayes. Now, if any man will beholde the Chronicles, he ſhall finde, that after the deſtruction of Ieruſalem was accompliſhed, and after the ſtrong hand of the holy people was fully diſperſed, and after the placing of the abhomination, that is to ſay, the Idol of deſolation of Ieruſalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had paſſed 1290. dayes taking a day for a yeare, as commonly it is taken in yͤ Prophetes. And the tymes of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whoſe rites and cuſtomes God ſuffered the holy citie to be trampled vnder foote for 42. monethes. For although the Chriſtian Church, which is the holy citie, continued

The abhomination of deſolation.

Luke. 21.

Deſtruction of the Iewes temple.

1290. dayes, in Daniell expounded.

For theſe 42. monethes, looke. pag. 401.

in the fayth from the Aſcention of Chriſt, euē till this time: yet hath it not obſerued and kept the perfection of the fayth all this whole ſeaſon. For ſoone after the departure of the Apoſtles, the fayth was kept with the obſeruation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moyſes law, nor of the law of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt. Wherfore ſeyng that this tyme of the errour of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Chriſt ſhal call the Gentiles from the rites of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Goſpell, as he called the Jewes from the lawe of Moyſes to the ſame perfection, in hys firſt commyng: that there may be one ſhepefolde of the Jewes and Gentiles, vnder one ſhepherd Chriſt. Seyng therfore that Antichriſt is known which hath ſeduced the nations: then ſhall the elect after that they haue forſaken the errours of their Gentilitie come, through the light of gods word, to the perfection of the Goſpell, and that ſame ſeducer ſhalbe ſlayne with the ſword of gods word. So that by theſe thyngs it doth partly appeare vnto me, why that at this tyme rather then at an other tyme, this matter of Antichriſt is moued.

Why rather at this time, then any other, the matter of Antichriſt is moued: and why rather in this kingdome, thē in an other.

And why that this motion is come to paſſe in this kingdome, rather then in other kyngdomes: me thinkes there is good reaſon, becauſe that no nation of the Gentiles was ſo ſoone conuerted to Chriſt as were the Brytons the inhabitaunts of this kyngdome. For, to other places of ẏ world there were ſent preachers of the fayth, who, by the working of miracles and continuall preachyng of the worde of God, and by greeuous paſſion and death of the body, did conuerte the people of thoſe places: But in this kingdome, in the time of Lucius kyng of the Britons, and of Eleutherius biſhop of the Romains did Lucius heare of ẏ Romains that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Chriſtian faith, which was preached at Rome. Who beleued ſtraightwais, & ſent to Rome to Eleutherius for men ſkilfull to informe hym more fully in the very fayth it ſelf: at whoſe comming he was ioyful, and was baptiſed with hys whole kingdom. And after the receiuing of the fayth, they neuer forſoke it, neither for any maner falſe preaching of other, neither for any maner of torments, or yet aſſaultes of the Paynims, as in other kyngdomes it hath come to paſſe. And thus it ſeemeth to me the Britons amongeſt other nations, haue ben, as it were by the ſpirituall election of God, called and conuerted to the fayth.

The firſt receiuing the faith in thys realme by the Britons.

Britaines by the ſpeciall election of God called to fayth.

Of them as me ſemeth, did Eſay prophecie, ſaying: For they did ſee to whom there was nothyng told of hym, & they did behold, that had not heard of hym. And agayne, beholde, thou ſhalt call a nation which thou knoweſt not: and nations that haue not knowen thee, ſhall runne vnto thee: for the Lord thy God, & the holy one of Iſrael, ſhal glorifie thee.

The calling of the Gentiles to faith.

Of this kyngdome, did S. John in the Apocalips prophecy (as me ſemeth) where he ſayd. The Dragon ſtode before the woman, which was about to be deliuered of chylde, to the intent that whē ſhe had brought it forth into ẏ world, he might deuoure vp her ſon: and ſhe brought forth her child which was a manchild, who ſhould gouerne all natiōs with an yron rod. And the ſame ſonne was taken vp to God, and to hys throne. And the womā fled into the wildernes, whereas ſhe hath a place prepared of God, that they may feede her, 1260. dayes. And agayne in the ſame chapter, after that the Dragon ſaw that he was caſt out vpō the earth, he did perſecute the woman, which brought forth the manchilde. And there were geuen to the woman two winges of a great Egle, that ſhe myght flee into the wildernesse into her place, where as ſhe is foſtred vp for a tyme, tymes, and half a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did caſte as it were a floud of water after the woman, to the intent that he might cauſe her to be drawen by the floud: and the earth openyng her mouth did helpe the woman, and did ſwallow vp the floude which the Dragon did caſt out of hys mouth. Let vs ſee how theſe ſayings may be applied vnto this kingdome rather, then to other kingdoms. It is well known that this kyngdome is a wildernes or a deſert place, becauſe that the Philoſophers and wiſemen did not paſſe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernes and deſert, becauſe it is placed without the clymates.

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the deſert. 1260. dayes.

This place of the deſert in the ſcripture ſeemeth here ſomething hardly expounded.

Unto this place fled the woman, that is to ſay, ẏ Church (which by fayth did ſpiritually bring forth Chriſt into the world) where as ſhe was fed with the heauenly bread, the fleſh and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, for 1260. dayes, ſeyng that for ſo many dayes, takyng a day for a yere, the Brytons continued in the fayth of Chriſt, which thyng cannot be found ſo of any Chriſten kyngdome, but of this deſert: and well is it ſayd, that ſhe flew to this place. For, from the Eaſt came the fayth into Britayne, not by walkyng in iourney, nor yet by ſayling: for then ſhould it haue come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, France, which cannot be found: and therfore ſhe flew ouer thoſe places, and reſted not in them, euen as a bird flying ouer a place, reſteth not in the ſame: but reſted in this wyldernes for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, that is, 1260 yeres from the firſt commyng of the fayth into Britaine vntill this preſent.

Faith came into Britānie frō the Eaſt, not from Italy or Rome.

In ſaying for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, there is a goyng forward from the greater to the leſſe. The greateſt tyme that we name, is a M. yeres, there is a tyme: and the next tyme that is leſſe in the ſinguler number, is one hundred yere. In the plurall number tymes ſignifie that there be mo hundrethes thē one, at leſt two hundreth yeres. Wherfore if they be put vnder a certayne number, it muſt nedes be that they be two but the ſame two cannot fitly be called ſome tymes, except they be hundrethes. For in that, that there is a goyng downe from the greater to the leſſe, when as it is ſaid a tyme, tymes, and half a tyme, and that the number of a M. is likely aſſigned for a tyme: it muſt nedes follow that tymes muſt be taken for hundrethes, and half a tyme for 60. becauſe it is the greater halfe of an hundreth yeres, though that 50. be the euen halfe. And when that the ſerpent ſent the water of the perſecution after the woman to cauſe her to be drawen of the floud: then dyd the earth, that is to wit, the ſtableneſſe of fayth helpe the woman, by ſupping vp the water of tribulation. For in the moſt cruell perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximiane agaynſt the Chriſtians, when as chriſtianitie was almoſt euery where roted out: yet did they in this kingdome ſtand continually in the fayth, vnmoueable. And ſo, conſideryng that the Britons, were conuerted to ẏ faith of Chriſt, as you would ſey, by an election and piking out amongſt all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receyued the fayth, they did neuer ſtart backe from the fayth for no maner of tribulation: It is not to be meruayled if in theyr place the calling of the Gentiles, be made manifeſt to the preaching of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, by the reuealing of Antichriſt.

A time, tymes, & halfe a time expounded.

Perſecution in Diocleſians tyme ſwalowed vp, looke page. 78.

But beſides this, me ſemeth that Ezechiell doth ſpecially ſpeake of them, whereas he ſpeaketh of the fal of the prince of Tyre, ſaying: for aſmuch as thy hart is lifted vp as if it were the hart of God, therfore behold: I will bring vpon thee, ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the heathen, and they ſhal draw their naked ſwordes vpon the beauty of thy wiſdome, and they ſhall defile thy comelines, and they ſhall ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt dye in the ſlaughter of the ſlayne perſons, in the hart of the ſea.

This prince who ſayth, that he himſelfe is God, & doth ſit in Gods chayre in ẏ harte of the ſea, doth ſignifie (as moſt likely it ſeemeth to me) that Antichriſt ſhall be deſtroyed by the moſt mighty perſons of the Gentiles folke, through the ſword of the word of God. Becauſe that amongeſt the other Gentiles, there haue beene none more ſtronge then the Britones, either in their body or their fayth, and in their bodely warres there haue been none more mightye then they. For neuer in warres haue they bene vanquiſhed, but by their owne ſedition or treaſon. But how many kingdomes haue they conquered? yea, and nother by the moſt mightye citye of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God ſent vpon them peſtilence and famine: wherby they being waſted, were compelled to leaue their country which thing, I haue not heard of any other people. Now, in the fayth, haue they ben amongeſt all the people, the ſtrongeſt, as before is ſayd, becauſe that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forſake the fayth. Wherefore of them, this ſeemeth to me to be vnderſtanded. Then I will bring vpon thee, ſome of the moſt ſtrongeſt people, and they ſhall draw their naked ſwordes. &c. By theſe things it may plainly appeare, why at this time (rather then in tyme paſt) this matter is ſtyrred vp: and why in this kingdome (rather then in other kyngdomes) the callyng of the Gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Goſpell, through the diſcloſing of Antichriſt.

A frend to the Welchmen.

The ſtrong fayth of the Britons.

But foraſmuch as many tales and fables are tolde of Antichriſt and hys commyng, and many thynges which do rather ſeduce then inſtruct the hearers, are applyed to hym out of the ſcriptures of the prophetes: we will briefly write thoſe thinges which are ſpoken of hym, and we will ſhew that the ſame fable ſprang from the errour of people imagening, and frō no truth of the ſcriptures propheſiyng. Now then they do ſay, that Antichriſt ſhall be borne in Babilon of the tribe of Dan, and conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in ſinne, becauſe that Chriſt was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy ghoſt. They ſay, that he ſhall be an ill fauoured perſonage, becauſe that it is written of Chriſt: comely and beautifull is he, beyonde the ſonnes of men. They ſay, that he ſhall preach three yeres and an halfe where Chriſt preached, and that he ſhall circumciſe himſelf, and ſay ẏ he is Chriſt, & the Meſſias ſent for the ſaluatiō of the Jewes. And they ſay, that he ſhal three maner of wayes

Tales of Antichriſt.

A falſe imagination of Antichriſt.

ſeduce the people by falſe miracles, giftes and tormẽtes. So that whom he ſhall not be able to ouercome with miracles nor with giftes, thoſe ſhall he go about to ouercome with diuers kindes of tormentes. And thoſe that he ſhall ſeduce, will he marke with his tokens in their forhead or handes. He ſhall ſit in the temple of God, and cauſe himſelfe to be worſhipped as God. He ſhall fight (as they ſay) with the two witneſſes of Chriſt, Enoch & Hely, and ſhall kill them, and he himſelfe ſhall finally be ſlayne with lightenyng. To this imagined man of their owne imagination, but of none of the Prophetes foreſhewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wiſe as they is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of Daniel: When ẏ cõtinuall ſacrifice ſhall be taken away, & abhomination ſhal be placed to deſolatiõ: That is (ſay they) when the worſhipping of God ſhall be taken away, and deſolatiõ (to wit, Antichriſt) ſhall abhominably ſhew forth himſelfe to be worſhypped, then ſhall there be. 1290. dayes: that is to ſay, three yeares and a halfe. And this tyme do they ſay is the tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme. And when it is ſayd in Daniell: Bleſſed is he that looketh for, and cõmeth to a. 1335. dayes. This do they ſay, is thus to be vnderſtanded. 45. dayes of repentaunce to ſuch as haue worſhipped Antichriſt: which 45. dayes added to the. 1290. make. 1335. dayes. Which dayes they that ſhall reach vnto, ſhall be called bleſſed.

The ſcripture ẏ prophetes not rightly vnderſtanded, touching Antichriſt.

They apply alſo to this Antichriſt, this ſaying of the Apocalips: I ſaw a beaſt riſing vp out of the Sea, hauyng vij. heades, and x. hornes, who had power geuẽ him to make 42. monethes. Which monethes (as they ſay) do make three yeare and an halfe, in which Antichriſt ſhall raigne. And many other thinges are there told, and applyed vnfitly to this imagined Antichriſt, that are not truly grounded vpon the Scriptures.

Touching theſe 42. monethes, ſee aboue pag. 401.

Now, let vs ſhew the errours of this fable. Firſt of all if there ſhall come ſuch one (ſaying expreſly that he is Chriſt) what Chriſtian would be ſeduced by him, though he ſhould do neuer ſo many miracles: neither ſhall he come after the maner of a ſeducer, which ſhal ſhew himſelfe an expreſſe aduerſarie. Neither is it likely that the Iewes can be ſeduced by ſuch a one, ſeing ẏ Chriſt is not promiſed vnto the of ẏ ſtock of Dan by any of ẏ Prophets, but of ẏ ſtock of Iuda: nor yet is he promiſed to them to be a kyng warlyke, but peaceable, taking warre away, and not making warre. For of Chriſt ſayth Eſay: And in the laſt dayes, ſhall there be prepared the mountaine of the houſe of the Lord, in the top of the mountaines, and it ſhall be exalted aboue the hils: and to it, ſhall all the nations haue great recourſe, and many people ſhall go and ſay: Come, let vs go vp to the mountaine of the Lord, and to the houſe of the God of Iacob, and he ſhall teach vs his wayes, and we ſhall walke in his pathes. For out of Syon ſhall there go a law, and the word of the Lord from Ieruſalem, and he ſhall iudge the nations, and reproue much people. And they ſhall turne their ſwordes into plowſhares, and their ſpeares into ſithes. There ſhall not a nation lift vp it ſelfe agaynſt an other nation, nor yet ſhall they be any more exerciſed to warre. And agayne: A litle babe is borne to vs, and a ſonne is geuen to vs, and hys Imperiall kyngdome vpon hys ſhoulder, and his name ſhall be called: The great counſailour: The mightye God: The father of the world to come: The Prince of peace. His Empire ſhall be multiplied, and there ſhall be no end of his peace. He ſhall ſit vpon the ſeate of Dauid, and vpon his kingdome: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in iudgement, and in iuſtice from henceforth and for euermore. Zachary doth ſay of Chriſt: Reioyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, be thou exceding mery, O daughter Ieruſalem: Behold thy kyng ſhall come a righteous perſon, and a Sauiour vnto thee, and yet he a poore man, and gettyng vp vpon an Aſſe, euen vpon a young colt of the ſhe Aſſe. And I will ſcatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horſe of Ieruſalem. And the bow of warre ſhall be diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeake peace to the nations, and his power ſhall be from the ſea to the ſea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

The old imagination touching Antichriſt confuted.

Antichriſt commeth not ſo groſſely as the papiſtes imagine.

Eſay. cap. 2.

Eſay. 2.

Eſay. 9.

Zach. 9.

By which thynges it is manifeſt, that the wiſe Iewes knew well inough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the ſtocke of Iuda and not of the ſtocke of Dan: & that he was geuen, all to peace and not to warre: Therfore it is not likely, that they cã be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould haue bene in tyme to come ſome ſuch ſingular Antichriſt, then would Chriſt (ſeyng he loued his) haue ſayd ſomwhat vnto thẽ of him. Now, of one ſingularly doth he not ſpeake: but of many, ſaying: Many ſhall come in my name, and ſay, I am Chriſt: and they ſhal ſeduce many perſons. But now let vs ſee, how the prophecies in Daniel, and the Apocalips (aforeſayd) be falſly and erroneouſly applyed to the ſame imagined Antichriſt. For in Daniel the ix. chapter thus it is written. And after 72. weekes ſhall Chriſt be ſlayne, and they which will deny him ſhall not be his people. And the Citie and ſanctuary ſhal a people, with their Captaine that ſhall come with them deſtroy, whoſe end ſhalbe vtter deſolation, and after the end of the warre a determined deſtruction. Now, he ſhall in one weeke confirme his couenaunt towardes many, and in the halfe weeke ſhall the offeryng & ſacrifice ceaſe, and in the temple ſhall there be an abhomination of deſolation and euen to the fulfillyng vp of all, and to the end, ſhall the deſolatiõ continue. It is playne and manifeſt that this prophecie is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their Captaine, deſtroyed Ieruſalem euen to the ground, and the people of the Iewes was ſlayne & ſcattered. And the abhomination, that is, the Idoll of deſolatiõ was placed of Adrian, in the laſt deſtruction in Ieruſalem in the holy place, that is to ſay, in a place of the temple. And frõ that time hetherto haue paſſed neare about. 1290. dayes, takyng a day for a yeare, as Daniell takes it in his prophecies, and other prophetes likewiſe. For Daniell ſpeakyng of 62. weekes, doth not ſpeake of the weekes of dayes but yeares. So therfore when he ſayth: From the time that the continuall ſacrifice was taken away. &c. 1290. dayes muſt be taken for ſo many yeares, from the tyme of the deſolation of Ieruſalem, euen vnto the reuelyng of Antichriſt: and not for iij. yeares and an halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall reigne. And agayne, whereas Daniell ſayd, How long till the end of theſe marueilous matters? it was aunſwered him. For a tyme, and tymes, and halfe a tyme. Behold alſo, how vnfitly they did aſſigne this tyme, by iij. yeares and a halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall reigne. For when as it is ſayd, a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme: there is a goyng downeward from the greater to the leſſe: from the whole to the part, becauſe it is from a time to halfe time. If therfore, there be a goyng downeward from the whole to the part, by the myddeſt (which is greater thẽ the whole it ſelfe) the goyng downward is not meete nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is ſayd, that a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme is a yeare, two yeares, and halfe a yeare. Wherfore more fitly it is ſayd, that a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, doth ſignifie. 1290. yeares, as as is before ſayd in the chapter precedyng. Thus therfore is the prophecie of Daniell falſly applyed to that imagined Antichriſt.

Antichriſt cãnot come of the tribe of Dan.

Daniel. 9.

The abhomination of Idoll of deſolation ſtãding in the holy place.

Antichriſt to raigne onely iij. yeares & halfe is falſe.

Likewiſe is the proces of the Apocalips applyed to the ſame imagined Antichriſt, to much erroneouſly. Becauſe that the ſame cruell beaſt which came vp out of the ſea, hauyng vij. heades, and x. hornes, to whom there was power geuen ouer euery tribe, people, and toung, and the power geuen for the ſpace of 42. monethes: This beaſt doth note the Romane Emperours, which moſt cruelly did perſecute the people of God, aſwell Chriſtians as Iewes. For when as the condẽnation of the great whore ſitting vpon the many waters was ſhewed to Iohn: he ſaw the ſame woman ſittyng vpon the purple coloured beaſt full of the names of blaſphemy, hauyng vij. heades, and x. hornes: and he ſaw a woman beyng dronken with the bloud of the Saintes and Martyrs of Ieſu. And the aungell expoundyng and telling him the miſterie of the woman and the beaſt that caried her, ſayd: The vij. heades are vij. hils, and are vij. kynges: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he ſhall come, he muſt reigne a ſhort tyme. And the x. hornes which thou ſaweſt, are x. kynges, who haue not yet taken their kingdome, but ſhall receaue their power as it were in one houre, vnder the beaſt. And finally he ſayth, the womã whõ thou ſaweſt, is the great Citie, which hath the kyngdome ouer the kyngs of the earth. And it is manifeſt that the Citie of Rome, at the tyme of this prophecie, had the kingdome ouer the kinges of earth. And this Citie was borne vp and vpholde by her cruell and beaſtly Emperours: who by their cruelty and beaſtlynes did ſubdue vnto themſelues in a maner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue Lordſhyp ouer others, and not vertuouſly to gouerne the people that were their ſubiectes, ſeyng that they thẽſelues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the fayth and from vertue.

Looke before in the ſtory of the x. firſt perſecutions.

Apoc. 17.

The beaſt in the 13. of the Apoc. expounded.

The purple beaſt in the Apoc. meaneth Rome.

Wherfore, that cruell beaſt commyng vp out of the ſea, doth rightly note the Romaine Emperours, who had power ouer euery language, people and countrey. And the power of this beaſt was for. 42. monethes: becauſe that from the firſt Emperour of Rome, that is to ſay, Iulius Ceſar, vnto the ende of Fridericke the laſt Emperour of Rome there were. 42. monethes, takyng a moneth for. xxx. dayes, as the monethes of the Hebrues and Grecians are, and takyng a day alwayes for a yeare, as commonly it is taken in the Prophetes. By which thynges it may plainly appeare, how vnfitly this prophecy is applyed to that imagined Antichriſt, and the. 42. monethes taken for three yeares and an halfe, which (they ſay) he ſhall reigne in, agaynſt the ſaying

For theſe 42. monethes looke before pag. 401.

of

Apoc.1.

Apoc 9.
The beginning & end of the valiant beggarly Friers ſpoke of, in the Apoc. expounded of Armachanus, looke before pag.406.

Non concordat Pſalterium cum cithara.
Whether Antichriſt be already come.

of the Prophetes, becauſe that dayes are taken for yeares. As in ẏ firſt of ẏ Apocalips: They ſhalbe troubled .x. dayes. Which do note the moſt cruell perſecution of Diocletian agaynſt the Chriſtians that endured .x. yeares. And in an other place of the Apocalips, it is written of the ſmoke commyng vp out of the bottomles pit. Out of which pyt there came forth Graſhoppers into the earth: and to them was power geuen, as ſcorpions haue power, to vexe and to trouble men fiue monethes. Now it is manifeſt, that from the begynnyng of the Friers minours & preachers, to the tyme that Armachanus, began to diſcloſe and vncouer their hypocriſie, and their falſe foundation of valiaunt beggyng vnder the pouertie of Chriſt, were v. monethes, takyng a moneth for .xxx. dayes, and a day for a yeare. And to Ezechiell, were dayes geuen for yeares. Wherfore it is an vnfit thyng to aſſigne the 42. monethes beyng appointed to the power of the beaſt, vnto iij. yeares and a halfe, for the reigne of that phantaſticall and imagined Antichriſt: ſpecially ſeyng that they do apply to his reigne, ẏ 1290. dayes in Daniel, which make 42. monethes, and in the Apocalips they aſſigne him 42. monethes. It is plaine that the Pſalterie and the harpe agree not. And therfore ſeyng that it is ſufficiently ſhewed, that the ſame fablyng tale of that imagined Antichriſt to come, is a fable and erroneous: Let vs go forward to declare whether Antichriſt be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and muſt be opened and diſcloſed within a litle while, accordyng to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the ſaluation of the faythfull.

The pope proued Antichriſt.

Annointing double in ſcripture.

Kynges and prieſtes annointed.

And becauſe that in the firſt concluſion of myne aunſwere, I haue cōditionally put it, who is that Antichriſt lyeng priuy in the hid Scriptures of the Prophetes: I will paſſe on the declaration of that concluſion, bryngyng to light thoſe thinges, which lay hid in darkenes, becauſe nothyng is hid which ſhall not be diſcloſed, and nothyng couered that ſhall not be knowen: And therfore, the thyng that was ſayd in the darkenes, let vs ſay in the light: and the thyng that we haue heard in the eare, let vs preach vpō the houſe tops. I therefore as I haue before ſayd, ſo ſay, that if the high Byſhop of Rome, callyng himſelfe the ſeruaunt of God, and the chief Vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make and iuſtifie many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt: thē is he the chief of many, which cōming in the name of Chriſt, haue ſayd, I am Chriſt, who haue ſeduced many. Which is the firſt part of the firſt concluſion ẏ is manifeſt. For Chriſt is called of Hebrues the very ſame, that we call annoynted. And amongeſt them there was a double ſort of legall annoyntyng by the law, the one of Kynges and the other of Prieſtes. And aſwell were the kynges, as the prieſtes, called in the law, Chriſtes. The kynges: as in the Pſalme. The kynges of the earth ſtode vp together, and the princes aſſembled themſelues in one agaynſt the Lord and agaynſt his Chriſt or annoynted. And in the bookes of the kynges very often are the kynges called Chriſtes. And our Sauiour was Chriſt, or annoynted king, becauſe he was a king for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures do very oftentimes witnes. The Prieſtes alſo were called annoynted, as where it is written: Do not ye touch my Chriſtes, that is, mine annoynted ones, & be not ye ſpitefull agaynſt my Prophets. And ſo was our Sauiour Chriſt, a Prieſt for euer accordyng to the order of melchiſedech.

The popes make themſelues prieſts and kynges.
The pope maketh himſelfe Chriſt.

The pope commeth in the name of Chriſt.

Popes proued principal Antichriſtes.
The pope an outward frende, and a priuy enemy to Chriſt.

Seyng then, that the Byſhops of Rome do ſay, that they are the hygh Prieſtes: they ſay alſo therein that they are kynges, becauſe they ſay that they haue the ſpirituall ſword perteinyng to their prieſthode, and the corporall ſword which agreeth for a kynges ſtate. So is it playne, that really and in very deede, they ſay that they are Chriſtes, albeit that expreſly they be not called Chriſtes. Now, that they come in the name of Chriſt, it is manifeſt, becauſe they ſay that they are his principall Vicares in this world, ordeined of Chriſt ſpecially for the gouernement of the Chriſtian Church. Therefore, ſeyng they ſay, that really and in very deede they are Chriſtes, and the chief frendes of Chriſt: If they make and iuſtifie many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt, then is it playne that they themſelues in earth are the principall Antichriſtes, becauſe there is no worſe plague and peſtilence, then a familiar enemy. And if in ſecrete they be agaynſt Chriſt, and yet in open appearaunce they ſay that they are his frendes: they are ſomuch the more meete to ſeduce and deceiue the Chriſtian people, becauſe that a manifeſt enemy ſhall haue much a do to deceaue a man, becauſe men truſt him not: but a priuey enemy pretendyng outward frendſhyp, may eaſly ſeduce, yea theſe that be wiſe.

But that this matter may the more fully be knowen, let vs ſee what is the law and doctrine of Chriſt, that ought to be obſerued of all faithfull people: which beyng knowen, it ſhalbe an eaſie thyng to ſee, if the Byſhop of Rome do make or maintayne any lawes, contrary to the law of the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt.

Whether the pope doth maintayne any lawes againſt the lawes of Chriſt.

The law of loue commaunded in the Goſpell.

John.13.

John.15.

1.Pet.4.

1.Iacob.2.

I ſay then, that the law of Chriſt is charitie, which is the perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. This thing is playne and manifeſt. For Chriſt beyng demaunded of a certaine Doctour of the law: What is the greateſt cōmaundement in the law? aunſwered. Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God withall thy hart, and with all thy ſoule, and with all thy mynde: This is the principall and greateſt cōmaundement. And as for the ſecond, it is like vnto this: Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thyne own ſelfe. In theſe two cōmaundementes, doth the whole law and Prophetes depend. And in an other place Chriſt ſayth: All maner of thinges therfore, that you would that men ſhould do to you, the ſame alſo do ye vnto them. For this is the law and the Prophetes. And in Iohn the 13. chap. ſayth Chriſt. And now do I ſay vnto you, I geue you a new cōmaundement, that you ſhould loue ech other: As I haue loued you, in like maner that you alſo ſhould loue one an other. In this ſhall all men know that you are my Diſciples, if you ſhall haue loue one towardes an other. And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commaundement that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this, hath no body, that a man ſhould geue his lyfe for his frendes. The Apoſtle Peter ſayth in his firſt Epiſtle 4. chapter: Aboue all thinges, hauing continually charitie one towardes an other, for charitie couereth the multitude of ſinnes. Be ye harborers, and intertaine ye one an other without grudgyng: euery one as he hath receaued grace, ſo let him beſtow it vpon an other man, as the good ſtewardes of the manifold grace of God. If any mā ſpeake, let him ſpeake as the word of God. If any man do ought for an other, let it be done with ſingleneſſe and vnfayned veritie, miniſtred of God to vs ward, that in all thinges God may be honoured through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Iames in his Epiſtle the ij. chapter. If ye performe the royall law accordyngly to the ſcriptures (thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour) ye do well: But if ye be parciall in receauyng and preferring mens perſonages, ye worke wickednes beyng blamed of the law as tranſgreſſours. And agayne, ſo ſpeake ye, and ſo do ye, as ye ſhould now beginne to be iudged by the law of lybertie. What ſhall it auayle (my brethren) if a man ſay he haue fayth, and haue no workes. Neuer ſhall that faith be able to ſaue hym. For if a brother or a ſiſter be naked, and haue neede of dayly foode, and ſome of you ſay to them, goe ye in peace, be ye made warme and ſatiſfied: and if ye ſhall not geue thoſe thynges that are neceſſary for the body, what ſhall it auaile? Euen ſo faith, if it haue not workes, is dead in it ſelfe.

1.John.3.

1.John.4.

Rom.13.

John in his firſt epiſtle the 3. chap. This is the tidings which you haue heard from the beginning, that you ſhould loue one an other. And againe, we know that we are tranſlated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And agayne, herein do we know the loue of God, becauſe that he hath layde downe hys lyfe for vs, and we ought to lay downe our lyues for ẏ brethrē. He that ſhall haue the ſubſtaunce of this worlde, and ſhall ſee his brother haue neede, and ſhall ſhut vp his bowelles from him: how abydeth the loue of God in hym? My litle children, let vs not loue in worde nor tounge, but in deede and truth. And againe 4. chap. Moſt dearely beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, he that loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In this thing hath the loue of God appeared in vs, that God hath ſent his onely begottē ſonne into the world, that we ſhould liue by him. Herein is loue: not that we haue loued God, but that he hath firſt loued vs, & hath ſent his ſonne an atonement for our ſinnes. Moſt dearely beloued, if God haue loued vs: we ſo ought to loue together. No man hath ſeene God at any time: if we loue together, God abideth in vs, and his loue is perfect in vs. And agayne, let vs loue God, for he hath firſt loued vs. If a man ſhall ſay, I loue God, and do hate his brother, he is a lyar. For he that loueth not hys brother whom he ſeeth, how can he loue God whom he ſeeth not? And this cōmaundemēt haue we of God, ẏ who ſo loueth God, ſhould loue his brother. Alſo Paule the Apoſtle in his epiſtle to ẏ Rom. 13. chapter. Owe ye nothyng to no body, ſauing ẏ ye ſhould loue together, for he ẏ loueth his brother, hath fulfilled ẏ law. For yͧ ſhalt not cōmit adultery, yͧ ſhalt not murther, yͧ ſhalt not ſteale, thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes, yͧ ſhalt not couet thy neighbours good: & if there be any other cōmaundemēt, it is plentifully fulfilled vp in this word: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Wherfore the fulfilling of the law is loue.

1.Cor.5.

Paule to the Corinthes. 5. ſayth: If I ſhoulde ſpeake with the tounges of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie,

ritie, I am become as it were a pece of ſounding mettal or tinkling Cimball. And if I ſhall haue all prophecie, & know all miſteries, and all knowledge, and ſhall haue all faith, ſo that I myght remoue mountaines, and yet ſhall not haue charitie: I am nothing. And if I ſhall geue abroad all my goods to feede the poore, and ſhall geue vp my bodye to be burned, and yet haue not charitie: it profites me nothyng. To the Galathians 5. ſayth Paule: For you my brethren, are called vnto liberty: doe not ye geue your libertie for an occaſion of ye fleſh, but by charitie of the ſpirite, ſerue ye one an other. For all ye law is fulfilled in one ſaying: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thyne owne ſelf. To the Ephe. 4. chap. he ſaith: I therfore yt ſuffer bonds in ye Lord, do beſeech you, yt you would walke worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humblenes and mildenes, with patience forbearing one an other in loue, being carefull to keepe the vnitie of the ſpirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one body, & one ſpirit, euẽ as you be called in one hope of your calling. And agayne in the 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as moſt deare children, and walke ye in loue as Chriſt alſo hath loued vs, and hath deliuered vp hymſelfe for vs, an offering and ſacrifice to God of a ſweete ſauour. To the Philippiãs thus he ſpeaketh in the firſt chapter: Onely let your conuerſation be worthy of the Goſpell of Chriſt, that eyther when I ſhall come and ſee you, or els in myne abſence I may heare of you, that you ſtand ſtedfaſt in one ſpirit, labouring together wyth one accorde for the fayth of the Goſpell. And in nothyng be ye afrayde of the aduerſaries, which is to them a cauſe of damnation, but to you of ſaluation, and that of God. For to you it is geuẽ, not onely that you ſhould beleue in him, but alſo that you ſhould ſuffer wyth him, you hauing the like fight and battaile that both you haue ſeene in me, and alſo now do heare of me. If therfore there be any conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of charitie, if any felowſhyp of the ſpirite, if any bowels of compaſſiõ: fulfill you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one & the ſelf ſame charitie, being of one accord, of one maner of iudgement, doyng nothing of contention, nor of vayne glory, but in humblenes, accomptyng other amongeſt you, euery one better then your ſelues, not euery bodye lookyng vpon the thynges that be his owne, but thoſe that belong vnto others. And to the Coloſſians. 3. chapter thus he writeth: You therefore as the electe of God, holy, and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercy, gentlenes, humblenes, lowlines, modeſty, pacience, bearyng one with an other, & geuing place to your ſelues (if any haue a quarell agaynſt any body) euen as the Lord forgaue you, ſo do you alſo. Aboue all thynges haue ye charitie, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Chriſt triumph in your hartes, in whiche peace you alſo are called in one body. And be ye kinde & thankefull. And to the Theſſalonians thus Paule writeth in the 4. chapter. As concernyng brotherly charitie, we haue no neede to write vnto you: for you your ſelues haue learned of God, that you ſhould loue one an other. And the ſame thyng ye do towardes all the brethrẽ through out all Macedonia.

Gal. 5.

Ephes. 4.

Ephes. 5.

Philip. 1.

Colos. 3.

Thes. 4.

Out of all theſe and many other places of the holy ſcripture it ſufficiently appeareth, that the law of Chriſt is charitie, neither is there any vertues commaunded of Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles to be obſerued of the faythfull people, but that it commeth out of charitie, or els doth nouriſh charitie.

Many thinges obſerued in the old law, which be not obſerued now.

Many thinges vnlawfull in the old law, which be lawfull now.

How Chriſt did looſe and not looſe the law.

The law is geuen by Moſes, and the truth by Chriſt. Chriſt came not to vnloſe the law and the Prophetes, but to fulfill them. But yet many thyngs were lawfull & might haue bene obſerued in the time of the law, which in the time of grace muſt not be obſerued. And many things were vnlawfull to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawfull inough. After what ſort then he did not looſe the law, but did fulfill it, it is neceſſary to declare, for thoſe thinges which hereafter muſt be ſayd. For amongeſt Chriſtians, many thinges are iudged to be lawfull, becauſe in the former Teſtament in the law, they were lawfull: and yet they be expreſly contrary to Chriſtes Goſpell. But the authors of ſuch thinges do argue and reaſon thus: Chriſt came not to looſe the law of the prophetes. Now after what ſort he did not vnlooſe thẽ, it is manifeſt by the holy Scripture: that the law geuen by Moyſes, was written in tables of ſtone, to declare the hardnes of the peoples hart towardes the loue of God, or of Chriſt. But Chriſt hath written his law in the hartes and in the myndes of his, that is to ſay, the law of perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. Which law whoſoeuer obſerueth, he doth obſerue the law of Moyſes, and doth much greater workes of perfection, then were ye workes of the law. Thus therfore were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Chriſt, and not vnlooſed: becauſe they are much more perfectly obſerued, then of the Iewes. This I ſay, if the Chriſtians do obſerue the commaundemẽtes of Chriſt in ſuch ſort, as he commaunded the ſame to be obſerued. Chriſt hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old Teſtament, becauſe that the morals and iudicials were ordained, that one perſon ſhould not do iniury to an other, and that euery man ſhould haue payd him that is his. Now, they that are in charitie, will do no iniury to others, neither do they take other mens goodes away from them. Nay it ſeeketh not her owne thinges. For charitie ſeeketh not the thinges that be her owne. Wherfore, much leſſe by a ſtronger reaſon it ought not to ſeeke for other mens goods. And when as the iudicials & morals were ordained: Chriſt did not by the workes of the law iuſtifie the beleuers in him, but by grace iuſtified them from their ſinnes. And ſo did Chriſt fulfill that by grace, that the law could not by Iuſtice.

Free iuſtification, by fayth onely.

Grace, that is free fauor, mercy, & goodnes of God.

Paul to the Romaines declareth in a godly diſcourſe, & to the Galathians likewiſe: that none ſhall be iuſtified by the workes of the law, but by grace, in the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt. As for the morals & ceremonies of the law, as Circumciſion, ſacrifices for offence and for ſinnes, firſt fruites, tenthes, vowes, diuers ſortes of waſhynges, the ſprinkling of bloud, the ſprinklyng of aſhes, abſtainyng from vncleane meates which are ordeined for the ſanctifieng and clenſing of the people frõ ſinne, no nor yet the prayers of the prieſtes, neither the preachynges of the Prophetes, could clenſe a mã from his ſinne. For death raigned euen frõ Adam to Moyſes, and ſinne from Moyſes to Chriſt, as Paule declareth to the Romaines in the. v. chapter. But Chriſt, willyng to haue mercy, and not ſacrifice, beyng a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech, and an high prieſt of good things to come: did neither by the bloud of Goates or calues, but by his owne bloud enter in once vnto the holy places, when as euerlaſtyng redemption was found: neither did Ieſus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true thinges, but into the very heauen, that now he may appeare before the countenaunce of God for vs. Nor yet did he ſo, that he ſhould offer vp himſelfe often times, as the high Byſhop entred into the holy place euery yeare with ſtrange bloud (for otherwiſe he muſt nedes haue ſuffered oftẽtymes ſithẽs the beginning of the world) but now in the latter end of the world hath he once appeared by his owne ſacrifice, for the deſtruction of ſinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to dye, and after that commeth iudgement: euen ſo was Chriſt once offered vp to cõſume away the ſinnes of many. The ſecond tyme ſhall he appeare without ſinne, to the ſaluation of ſuch as looke for him. For the law hauing a ſhadow of good thinges to come, and not the very image or ſubſtaunce it ſelfe of the thinges: can neuer, by thoſe ſacrifices which they offer (of one ſelfe ſame ſort cõtinually yeare by yeare) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwiſe men would leaue of offeryng, becauſe that thoſe worſhyppers beyng once clenſed, ſhould haue no more pricke of conſcience for ſinne afterwardes. But in them is their remẽbraunce made of ſinnes euery yeare. For it is impoſſible, that by the bloud of goates & bulles, ſinnes ſhould be taken away. Wherfore, he entryng into the world, doth ſay, as for ſacrifice and offering thou wouldeſt not haue, but a body haſt thou framed vnto me. And ſacrifices for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee, then ſayd I, behold I come. In the head or principall part of the booke it is written of me, that I ſhould do thy will, O God. Whereas he ſayd before, that ſacrifices, oblations, and burnt offerynges, and that for ſinne thou wouldeſt not haue: neither were thoſe thynges pleaſaunt to thee which are offered accordyng to the law: thẽ ſayd I, behold I come, that I may do thy will O God: he taketh away the firſt, that he may ſtabliſh that that followed. In which will, we are ſanctified and made holy by the offeryng vp of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, ones. And verely euery Prieſt, is ready euery day miniſtring, and often tymes offering the ſelfe ſame ſacrifices, which neuer cã take away ſinnes. But this man offeryng one ſacrifice for ſinnes doth for euer and euer ſit at Gods right hand, lookyng for the reſt to come till that his enemyes be placed to be his foote ſtoole. For with one offering hath he for euer made perfect thoſe that be ſanctified. By which thynges it playnly appeareth, that Chriſt by one offering hath clẽſed his frõ their ſinnes: who could not be clenſed from the ſame, by all the ceremonies of the law, and ſo did fulfill that which the Prieſthode of the law could not. Wherfore onely the morals and iudicials he fulfilled by the law of charitie, and by grace: and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of his body in the altar of the croſſe. And ſo it is playne, that Chriſt fulfilled the whole law.

Rom. 5.

Hebr. 9.

Chriſt entreth not into the temple made by man, but to very heauẽ.

The ſacrifice of Chriſt not many tymes offered, but once for all.

Hebr. 10.

Wherfore ſithens that the holy thinges of the law, were a ſhadow of thoſe thinges that were to come in the tyme of

All ſhadowes ought to ceaſe amōg Chriſtians.

Heb. 7.

Where the prieſthode is remoued, there alſo the law is remoued.

* Bound, as a matter of religion, or as by the neceſſitie of Gods law & not mans: but now tithes ſtand by mās law, and not by the old law.

grace: it were meete that all thoſe thinges ſhould vtterly ceaſe amongeſt Chriſtians, which ſhould either be agaynſt charitie, or the grace of Chriſt. Although in the tyme of the law, they were lawfull, and not vtterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Chriſtes fayth: yet it were meete that they ſhould ceaſe at the commyng of the perfectiō which they did prefigurate: as circumciſion, the eatyng of the paſchall lambe, and other ceremoniall pointes of the law. Wherupon alſo Paul to the Hebrues the vij. chapter ſayth thus, If therfore the makyng vp of the perfectiō of all was by the Leuitical Prieſthode (for the people receiued the law vnder him) why was it neceſſary beſides, that an other Prieſt ſhould riſe vp after the order of Melchiſedech, & not be called after the order of Aaron? For whē the Prieſthode is remoued, it muſt nedes be, that the lawe alſo be remoued. For he, in whom theſe thinges are ſpoken, is of an other tribe, of which, none ſtode preſēt at the aulter. Becauſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord had his offſpring of Iuda: in which tribe Moyſes ſpake nothing of the Prieſts. And beſides this, it is manifeſt: if accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech there do riſe vp an other Prieſt, which was not made accordyng to the law of the carnall commaundement, but accordyng to the power of the life that cannot be loaſed. For thus he beareth witnes, that thou art a prieſt for euer, after the order of Melchiſedech: ſo that, the commaundement that went before, is diſalowed for the weakenes and vnprofitablenes therof. For the law hath brought no body to perfection. By which thynges it appeareth that Chriſt makyng an end of the Prieſthode of Aaron, doth alſo make vp a full end of the law belongyng to that Prieſthode. Wherupon I marueill that your learned men do ſay, that Chriſten folkes are bounde to this ſmall ceremonie of the payment of tythes, & care nothyng at all for other aſwel the great as the ſmall ceremonies of the law.

The cauſe ceaſing, the effect alſo ceaſeth.

He meaneth that neceſſitie of tithes, which ſtandeth by the neceſſitie of the olde law to ceaſe.

It is playne, that the tythes were geuen to the ſonnes of Leui, for their ſeruyng in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as ẏ firſt fruites were geuen to the prieſts, and alſo part of the ſacrifices, & ſo were the vowes for their miniſtery, as it appeareth in ẏ booke of Numbers the xviij. chapter. But for aſmuch as the labour of thoſe ſacrifices did ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt: how ſhould thoſe things be demaunded, which were ordayned for that labour? And ſeyng that the firſt fruites are not demaunded of Chriſtiās, which firſt fruites were then rather and ſooner demaūded then the tythes: why muſt the tythes be demaunded, except it be therfore peraduenture becauſe that the tythes be more worth in value then be the firſt fruites?

If tithes be claymed by force of the olde law, by the ſame law prieſtes are bounde to haue no temporalties.

Secondly, why are the lay people bound to the payment of tythes, more then the Leuites and Prieſtes were to the not hauing of poſſeſſions of realties & Lordſhyps amongeſt their brethren, ſeing that the ſelfe ſame law in the ſelfe ſame place (where he ſayth that the tythes ought to be geuen to Leuites) ſayth alſo to the Leuites, you ſhall be contented with the offeryng of the tythes and haue none other thyng amongeſt your brethren. Wherfore ſeyng that the Prieſtes be not bound, to the not hauynge of temporall Lordſhypps: how are the lay people bound, by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of tythes?

He proueth not cōtrary, but that tithes be due, by the poſitiue law of man: Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moſes.

Circumciſiō ceaſeth: Ergo, the ceremonies do ceaſe.

Galat. 4.

Thirdly as touchyng circumciſion, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was geuen before the law, and was an vniuerſall ceremonie, concernyng the couenaunt betwen God and his people and was ſo much regarded in the lawe, that therof it was ſayd: The ſoule, whoſe fleſh ſhall not be circumciſed in the foreſkinne, ſhall periſh from amongeſt his people: yet did this ceremonie vtterly ceaſe at the commyng of Chriſt, although that certaine of the Iewes did ſay in the primatiue Church, that the Chriſtians muſt needes keepe the commaundement of circumciſion with the fayth: whom Paule reproueth wrytyng thus to the Galathians the iiij. chapter, where he ſpeaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which do ſignifie the ij. Teſtamentes. But we (O brethren) are the children of the promiſe after Iſaac, but like as at that tyme he that was borne after the fleſh, did perſecute him, which was after the ſpirite: euen ſo it is now alſo. But what ſayth the Scripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her ſonne. The ſonne of the bondwoman, ſhall not be heyre with the ſonne of the freewoman. Wherfore brethren, we are not the ſonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye ſtedfaſt in the libertie, wherewith Chriſt hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden agayne vnder the yoke of ſlauery. Beholde I Paule ſay vnto you, if you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall nothyng profite you. For I teſtifie agayne to euery man that circumciſeth himſelf, that he is bounde to keepe all ẏ whole law. Ye are vtterly voyde of Chriſt: whoſoeuer will be iuſtified in the law, are fallen from grace.

Chriſtian libertie from the bondage of the law.

Bound in one thing (he meaneth) bound in all.

Either bound to all, or to none.

* Here he expreſſeth his meaning plainely.

In like maner, we may reaſon, if we be bounde to tythyng, we are debters, & bound to keepe all the whole lawe. For to ſay that men are bound to one ceremonie of the law, and not to the others, is no reaſonable ſaying. Either therfore we are bounde to all them, or to none. Alſo, that by the ſame * olde lawe, we are not bound to pay tythes, it may be ſhewed by many reaſons, which we nede not any more to multiply and encreaſe, becauſe the thinges that be ſayd, are ſufficient. Wherupon ſome do ſay, that by the Goſpell we are bound to pay tythes, becauſe Chriſt ſayd to the Phariſies, Math. 23. chapter: Woe be you Scribes and Phariſies, which pay your tythe of mynt, of Anets ſeede, and of commyn: and leaue iudgement, mercy, and truth vndone, beyng the weightier thinges of the law, both ſhould ye haue done theſe thinges, and alſo not haue left the other vndone. O ye blinde guides, that ſtraine out a gnat, and ſwallow vp a Camell. This worde ſoundeth not as a commaundement or manner of biddyng, whereby Chriſt did commaūde tythes to be geuen: but it is a word of diſalowing the hypocriſie of the Phariſies, who of couetouſnes did rather weigh & eſteme tithes, becauſe of their owne ſinguler commoditie, rather then other great and weighty commaundementes of the law. And me ſemeth that our men are in the ſame predicament of the Phariſies, which do leaue of all ẏ ceremonies of the olde law, keping only the commaundement of tythyng. It is manifeſt and plaine inough by the premiſſes, and by other places of the Scripture, that Chriſt was a prieſt, after the order of Melchiſedech, of the tribe of Iuda, not of the tribe of Leuy: who gaue no new commaundement of tithing of any thing to hym & to his prieſtes whom he would place after hym: but when his Apoſtles ſayd to him: Behold, we leaue all thynges and haue folowed thee, what then ſhal we haue, he did not aunſwere them thus: Tythes ſhall be paid you, neither did he promiſe them a temporall but an euerlaſting reward in heauen. For he, both for foode, and alſo apparell taught his diſciples not to be careful. Be ye not carefull for your life, what ye ſhall eate, or for your body what ye ſhall put on. Is not the lyfe of man more worth then the meate? and the body more worth then apparell? Behold ye the birds of heauen, which do not ſow, nor reape, neither yet lay vp in barnes, and yet your heauēly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why ſhould you be carefull? Conſider the Lylies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they ſpinne. &c. In cōcluſion he ſaith, be not ye carefull, ſaying, what ſhall we eate, or what ſhall we drinke, or wherwithall ſhall we be couered? For all theſe thynges do the Gētiles ſeeke after. For your father knoweth, that you haue neede of all theſe thinges. Firſt therfore ſeeke ye for the kingdome of God and the righteouſnes therof, and all theſe thynges ſhalbe caſt vnto you. And Paule right well remembring this doctrine, inſtructeth Timothe and ſayth thus. But we hauing foode and wherwithal to be couered, let vs therwith be contented. And as the actes of the Apoſtles do declare: In the firſt cōuerſion of the Iewes at Ieruſalem, they had all thynges common, and to euery one was diuiſion made, as nede required. Neither did the prieſtes make the tythes their owne proper goodes. For like as it was not meete that the lay people being conuerted, ſhould haue proprietie of goods: euē ſo neither that prieſtes ſhould haue proprietie of tithes. So that if the Prieſtes ſtarted backe from feruent charitie in challenging to themſelues the proprietie of tithes: it is no merueil of departing backward (as do the Prieſtes, from the perfection of charitie) alſo of the laitie to be willing to appropriate to themſelues the ix. partes remaynyng after the tithes. Wherfore, ſeeing ẏ neyther Chriſt, nor any of the Apoſtles, commaunded to pay tithes: it is manifeſt & plaine, neyther by the law of Moſes, nor by Chriſtes law, Chriſten people are bounde to pay the tythes: but by the tradicion of men, they are bound.

The one is diſalowed, the other is not commaunded.

Prieſts wraſt religion to their owne profite.

Tithes not expreſſely cōmaūded a new by Chriſt in the Goſpell.

Math. 6.

1. Tim. 6.

Tythes not required in the primitiue Church.

Tythes due to be payde by the poſitiue law of men.

By the premiſſes now it is playne, that Chriſt did not vndoe the law, but by grace did fulfill it. Notwithſtanding, in the law many thinges were lawfull, which in the time of grace are forbidden, and many thinges were then vnlawfull, which now are lawfull inough. For nothing that is contrary to charitie, is lawfull to a Chriſtian.

Let vs now heare what maner of commaundementes Chriſt hath geuen vs in the Goſpell, without the obſeruation of which commaundementes, charitie ſhall not perfectly be kept. By which cōmaundements, Chriſt did not vndo the olde lawe, but did fulfill it. By the obſeruation alſo of which commaundementes, he teacheth vs to paſſe and go beyond the righteouſnes of the Scribes and phariſeis, who moſt perfectly thought themſelues to keepe the lawe. This abſolute and perfect righteouſnes, which we are bounde to haue beyond the righteouſnes of the Phariſies & the Scribes, he teacheth in Math. v. vj. and vij. chap. which beyng heard, and compared to the traditions made end commaunded by the Romane Prelates: it ſhall plainly appeare, whether they be contrary or no. Chriſt therfore ſayth, You haue heard, that it was ſayd to them of the old tyme, Thou ſhalt not kill. For he that killeth ſhalbe giltie of iudgement. But I ſay vnto you, that euery one that is angry with his brother, ſhalbe in daūger of iudgement. In this he doth teach, that we ought not to be angry with our brethren: not that he would vndoe this old commaundement (thou ſhalt not kill) but that the ſame ſhould be the more perfectly obſerued. Agayne he ſaith: you haue heard that it was ſayd, thou ſhalt loue thy frend, and hate thyne enemy: But I ſay vnto you, Loue your enemyes, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that perſecute and ſlaunder you, that you may be the childrē of your father which is in heauen: Which maketh his ſunne to aryſe vpon the good and the euill people, & rayneth vpon the iuſt & vniuſt. For if you loue them which loue you, what reward ſhall you haue? Do not the Publicanes thus? And if you ſhall ſalute your brethren onely, what great thyng do ye? Do not the heathen thus alſo? Be you therfore perfect, as alſo your heauenly father is perfect.

The doctrine of Chriſt, whether it be cōtrary to the traditions of the pope or not. Math. 5.

Agayne Chriſt ſayth, you haue heard that it is ſayd: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth: but I ſay vnto you ſee that you reſiſte not euill. But if any man ſhall ſtrike you vpon the right cheke, geue him the other to. And to him that will ſtriue with thee for thy coate in iudgement, let him haue thy cloke alſo. And whoſoeuer ſhall conſtrayne thee one myle, go with him alſo two other. He that aſketh of thee geue him: and he that will borrow of thee, turne not thy ſelfe from him.

The doctrine of Chriſt and of the pope compared.

By theſe thynges it may playnly appeare, how that Chriſt the kyng of peace, the Sauiour of mankynd, who came to ſaue and not to deſtroy, who gaue a law of charitie to be obſerued of his faythfull people: hath taught vs not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, not to render euill for euill, nor to reſiſte euill. For all theſe thynges do foſter and nouriſh peace and charitie, and do procede and come forth of charitie, and when they be not kept, charitie is loſed, & peace is broken. But the Byſhop of Rome approueth and alloweth warres, and ſlaughters of men in warre, aſwell agaynſt our enemies, that is, the infidels, as alſo agaynſt the Chriſtians for temporall goodes. Now, theſe thynges are quite contrary to Chriſtes doctrine, and to charitie, and to peace.

In the decres, 23. q. 1. cap. Paratus, it is taught, that the preceptes of pacience muſt alwayes be retained in purpoſe of the hart, ſo that pacience with beneuolence muſt be kept in the mynde ſecrete. But apparantly and manifeſtly, that thing ſhoulde be done, whiche ſeemeth to doo good to thoſe, whom we ought to wiſhe wel vnto. wherein they geue to vnderſtande, that a Chriſtian may freely defende hymſelfe. And for confirmation of this ſaying, they do ſay: That Chriſt whē he was ſtroken in the face of the high Biſhops ſeruaunt did not fulfill (if we looke vpon the wordes) his owne commaundement: becauſe he gaue not to the ſmiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he ſhould not do it, to double his iniurie. For he ſayd, if I haue ſpoken euill, beare witnes of euill, but if well, why doeſt thou ſtrike me? I do meruaile of this ſaying: for firſt if thoſe commaūdementes of pacience muſt be kept in ſecret in the mynde: & ſeyng, the body doth worke at the motion of the mynde, and is and ought to be moued and ruled by the ſame: It muſt then needes be, that if pacience be in the mynde, it muſt appeare alſo outwardly in the body.

The gloſe of Gratianus vpō the *cap. Paratus, 23 q. 1.* diſproued. Chriſt in anſwering to his ſtriker, did not breake his rule of pacience outwardly.

The precept of Chriſt to turne the other cheeke hath a priuy compariſon: as if ye would ſay, rather be you content to ſuffer two blowes, thē to reuenge one.

Secondly I meruaile that it is ſayd, that Chriſt did not fulfill his owne precept of pacience. For it is manifeſt, that albeit he teachyng alwayes as a good ſcholemaiſter, thoſe thinges which were fit for the ſaluation of ſoules, ſpeaking the wholeſome word of inſtructiō to the high Byſhops ſeruaunt, ſmyting him vniuſtly: did neither by word forbid an other ſtroke to be geuē on the other cheke, neither did he defend himſelfe bodely from ſtrikyng on the ſame cheke: But ſpeakyng to him, it is likely ẏ he gaue him the other cheke, he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheke away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he ſpeaketh to, or whom he informeth but layeth open before him all his face: Euen ſo do I beleue that Chriſt did, that he might fulfill in very deede that, which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Chriſt by his word or by his deede, ſhew any thyng of defence, or of bodely reſiſtaunce.

This article of Brute muſt haue a relation euer to the doctrine of the clergie.

Thirdly, I meruaile why wiſe men leauyng the playne & manifeſt doctrine of Chriſt, whereby he teacheth pacience: do ſeeke corners of their imaginyng, to the intent they may approue fightynges and warres. Why marke they not after what maner, Chriſt ſpake to Peter ſtrikyng the high Byſhops ſeruaunt, ſaying: Put vp thy ſword into the ſheath, for euery one that ſhall take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword. But in an other caſe we muſt make reſiſtaunce: which caſe may be ſo righteous, as it is for a mans Lord and maiſter beyng a moſt righteous mā, and yet ſuffering iniurie of miſchieuous perſons.

The caſe here agayne of Chriſt was priuate, and his doctrine is to be vnderſtanded in priuate caſes.

Warre in caſe allowed of W. Brute.

Fourthly, I maruell ſeyng that we are bound of charitie & by the law of Chriſt to geue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow ſuch maner of diſſenſions and reſiſting. For when thy brother ſhall maliciouſly ſtrike thee, thou mayſt be ſure, that he is manifeſtly fallen from charitie, into the ſnare of the deuill. If thou ſhalt keepe pacience, he ſhalbe aſhamed of his doyng, and thou mayſt bow and bend him to repentaunce, and take him out from the ſnare of the deuill, and call him backe agayne to charitie. If thou reſiſt, and perchaunce by reſiſtyng doeſt ſtrike agayne, his fury ſhalbe the more kindled, and he beyng ſtirred vp to greater wrath, peraduenture ſhall either ſlay thee, or thou him. Touchyng thy ſelfe, thou art vncertaine, if thou go about to make reſiſtaunce, whether thou ſhalt fall from charitie, and then ſhalt thou go backward from the perfectiō of Chriſtes commaūdement: Neither doeſt thou know but that it may happen thee ſo greatly to be moued, as that by the heate and violēce of wrath, thou ſhalt ſlay him. Whereas if thou wouldeſt diſpoſe thy ſelfe to pacience (as Chriſt teacheth) thou ſhouldeſt eaſly auoyde all theſe miſchieues, aſwel on the behalfe of thy brother, as alſo of thine own part. Wherfore, the obſeruyng of charitie is the precept of pacience to be obſerued.

He meaneth reſiſtance for priuate cauſes, or for worldly goods.

Patience cōmended in priuate cauſes among Chriſtē brethren.

The inconuenience of priuate reſiſtance amōg chriſtē brethren.

Fifthly, I do maruell why that for the allowing of this corporall reſiſtaunce, he doth ſay in the ſame chapter: that Paule did not fulfill the precept of the pacience of Chriſt, when as he beyng ſtroken in the place of iudgement by the commaūdement of the high Prieſt, did ſay, God ſtrike thee, O thou painted wall: Doeſt thou ſit to iudge me accordyng to the law, and doeſt thou cōmaunde me to be ſtriken agaynſt the law? It is manifeſt that Paul made reſiſtaunce in nothyng, though he ſpake a word of inſtruction to the Prieſt, who agaynſt the law commaunded him to be ſtriken. And if Paule had ouerpaſſed the boundes of pacience, through the grief of the ſtroke: what of that? Muſt the deede of Paules impacience for this cauſe be iuſtified, and the commaundement of paciēce taught by Chriſt, be left vndone for Paules deede, and corporall reſiſtaunce be allowed? God forbid. For both Paule and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Chriſt there may be found no errour. Wherfore, we muſt geue more credence and belief to Chriſtes ſayinges, then to any liuyng mans doynges. Wherfore, although Paule had reſiſted, which I do not perceiue in that Scripture: it followeth not therof, that corporall reſiſtaunce muſt be approued, which is of Chriſt expreſly forbidden. I much maruell that alwayes they ſeeke corners and ſhadowes to iuſtifie their deedes. Why do they not marke what great thynges Paule reciteth himſelfe to haue ſuffered for Chriſt? And where I pray you haue they found, that he after his conuerſion, ſtroke any man that did hurt him? Or where do they finde that he in expreſſe word doth teach ſuch a kynd of corporall reſiſtaunce? But as touchyng pacience, he ſayth in playne wordes to the Romaines: Be not wiſe in your own cōceites: Render ill for ill to no body: prouidyng good things not onely before God, but alſo before all men, if it be poſſible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not defendyng your ſelues, my moſt dearely beloued, but geue you place vnto anger. For it is written, vengeaunce is myne and I will recompence them, ſayth the Lord. But if thyne enemy ſhall be an hūgred, geue him meate. If he be a thirſt, geue him drinke. For thus doyng, thou ſhalt heape coales of fire vpon his head. Be not ouercomen of euill, but ouercome thou euill with good.

Paule beyng ſtriken, did not breake the rule of Chriſtē patience, neither made any bodely reſiſtance.

The facte either of Paul or of any other doth not derogate to the doctrine of our Sauiour.

Rom. 12. Rules of Chriſtē patience.

To the Corinthians the v. as touching iudgement and contentiō, which are matters of leſſe weight then are fightynges, thus he writeth: Now verely is there great fault in you, that you be at law amongſt your ſelues. Why rather take ye not wrong? why rather ſuffer ye not deceit? And generally in all his Epiſtles he teacheth, that pacience ſhould be kept, and not corporall reſiſtaūce by fighting, becauſe charitie is pacient, it is curteous, it ſuffereth all thinges. I maruell how they iuſtifie and make good the warres by Chriſtians, ſayyng onely the warres agaynſt the deuil and ſinne. For ſeing that it is playne, that thoſe thyngs that were in the old Teſtament, were figures of thynges to be done in the new Teſtament: Therfore we muſt needes ſay, that the corporall warres beyng then done, were figures of the Chriſtiā warres agaynſt ſinne and the deuill, for the heauenly countrey, which is our inheritaunce. It is playne that it was written thus of Chriſt. The mighty Lord, & of great power in battaile, hath gyrded vp himſelfe in force and manlynes to the warre: and he came not to ſend peace into the earth,

1. Cor. 5.

He meaneth ſuch wars of Chriſtiās, as the pope alloweth: riſing rather of priuate reuenge of princes, for worldly glory or affection, then for any publike neceſſitie.

but warre. In this warre ought Chriſtian people to be ſouldiours according to that maner which Paule teacheth to the Epheſiās the laſt. Put vpō you the armour of God, that you may be hable to ſtand agaynſt the deceites of the deuill. For we haue not to wraſtle agaynſt fleſh and bloud, but agaynſt princes and poteſtates, agaynſt the rulers of theſe darkenes of the world, agaynſt the ſpirituall wickednes in heauēly thinges, which are in the high places. Wherfore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be hable to reſiſt in the euill day, & to ſtād perfectly in all thyngs. Stand you therfore girded vp about in truth vpō your loynes, hauyng put vpon you the breſt plate of righteouſnes, and your feete ſhod in a readynes to the Goſpell of peace, in all thynges takyng the ſhield of fayth, wherewith you may quench all the firie dartes of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of ſaluation, and the ſword of the ſpirite, which is the word of God.

What be the warres moſt proper to Chriſtians.

By theſe thynges it is playne, what are the warres of Chriſtians, & what are the weapons of their warfare. And becauſe it is manifeſt, that this Teſtamēt is of greater perfection then the former: we muſt now fight more perfectly then at that tyme. For now ſpiritually, thē corporally: now for an heauenly euerlaſtyng inheritaunce: then for an earthly and temporall: now by pacience, then by reſiſtaunce. For Chriſt ſayth, bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecutiō for righteouſnes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauē. He ſayth not, bleſſed are they that fight for righteouſnes. How can any ſay, that they may lawfully make warre, and kill their brethren for the temporall goodes, which peraduenture they vniuſtly occupy, or vniuſtly intend to occupy. For he that killeth an other, to get theſe goods which an other body vniuſtly occupyeth: doth loue more the very goodes, then his owne brother. And then he fallyng from charitie, doth kill himſelfe ſpiritually. If he go forward without * charitie to make warre: then doth he euill, and to his owne damnation. Wherfore he doth not lawfully nor iuſtly in proceedyng to the damnation of hys owne ſelfe & hys brother, whom though he ſee vniuſtly to occupie his goodes, yet he doth intende to kill. And what if ſuch kynde of warres were lawfull to the Iewes: this argueth not, that now they are lawfull to Chriſtians, becauſe that their deedes were in a ſhadow of imperfection, but the deedes of Chriſtians in the light of perfection. It was not ſayd vnto them, All people that ſhall take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword. What if Iohn the Baptiſt, diſallowed not corporall fightynges, and corporall warfare, at ſuch tyme as the ſouldiours aſked him ſaying. And what ſhall we do? who ſayth to them, See that you ſtrike no man, neither picke ye quarels againſt any, and be ye contented with your wages. This ſaying of Iohn alloweth not corporall warfare amongeſt Chriſtians. For Iohn was of the Prieſts of the old Teſtament, and vnder the law, neither to him it apperteineth to folow the law, but to warne the people to the perfect obſeruation of the law. For he beyng likewiſe demaunded of the publicanes, what they ſhould do, ſayd vnto them, Do no other thyng then is appointed vnto you. But Chriſt ẏ author of ẏ new Teſtament and of greater perfection, then was the perfectiō of the old law, which gaue new thyngs, as it playnly appeareth by the Goſpell. So that, Chriſtians ought to receiue information of Chriſt, not of Iohn. For of Iohn alſo doth Chriſt ſpeake: Verely I ſay vnto you, there hath not riſen amōgeſt the children of women, a greater then Iohn Baptiſt: but he that is leſſe in the kyngdome of heauen, is greater then he. In which ſaying Chriſt ſheweth, that thoſe that be leſſe in the kyngdome of heauen in the tyme of grace, are placed in greater perfection, then was Iohn, which was one of them that were the elders, & he liued alſo in the tyme of the law in greater perfectiō. And when as certaine of Iohns diſciples ſayd vnto him, maiſter, he that was beyond Iordan, to whō thou gaueſt witnes, behold he baptiſeth, and all people come vnto him. Iohn aunſwered & ſayd: A man cannot take any thing vpō him, vnleſſe it ſhall be geuen him from aboue. You your ſelues doe beare me recorde, that I ſayde I am not Chriſt, but that I was ſent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegrome, as for the bridegromes frende, who ſtandeth and heareth him: reioyceth with great ioy to heare the voyce of the bridegrome. This therfore my ioy is fulfilled: he muſt increaſe, & I muſt be diminiſhed. He that commeth from an hye is aboue all. He that is of the earth, is earthy, and ſpeaketh of the earth. He that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes: that which he hath ſene & heard, the ſame doth he witnes, and yet his witneſſing doth no body receiue. But he that receiueth his witneſſing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For he whō God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the wordes of God.

All thys taketh not away the lawfulnes of warres, in caſe of publike neceſſitie, but onely in priuate caſe for temporall goods.

*Note this worde without charitie

Such kynde of warrs, that is, ſuch kynde as be for priuate reuenge or temporall goods.

How Iohn Baptiſt alowed war.

They that be leſſe in the kingdome of heauē, greater thē Iohn Baptiſt, expounded.

By which thynges it playnly appeareth, that credence is to be geuen neither to Iohn, nor yet to aungell, if he teach any thing that is not agreable to Chriſtes doctrine. For Chriſt is aboue the Aungels, becauſe that God infinitely paſſeth them in wiſdome. Now if Moſes the ſeruaunt of God a miniſter of the olde teſtament was ſo much to be beleued, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminiſhed from the commaundementes that were geuen by him (for ſo Moſes had ſayd the thyng that I commaund thee that do thou onely to the Lord, neither adde thou any thyng nor diminiſh) How much more ought we not to adde nor to take away from the commaundementes geuen by God himſelfe, and alſo the ſonne of God? In ẏ primitiue church becauſe the Chriſtians had feruent loue and charitie, they obſerued theſe preceptes as they were geuen: but their feruēt charitie afterward waxing luke warme, they inuented gloſes by drawyng the commaundementes of God backe to their owne deedes, which they purpoſed to iuſtifie & mayntayne, that is to ſay, warres agaynſt the Infidels. But that they by warres ſhould be conuerted to the fayth, is a fact faithleſſe inough: becauſe, that by violence or vnwillingly, no bodye can beleue in Chriſt nor be made a chriſtian, neither did he come to deſtroy them by battaile, that beleued not in hym: for he ſayd to his diſciples, you know not what ſpirite you are of. The ſonne of man came not to deſtroy mens liues, but to ſaue them. Then to graunt pardons and forgeuenes of ſinnes, to thoſe that kill the infidels, is to much an infidels fact, ſeducing many people. For what greater ſeducing can there be, then to promiſe to a mā forgeuenes of ſinnes, and afterward the ioy of heauen, for ſetting hymſelf agaynſt Chriſtes commaundemēts in the killyng of the Infidels, that would not be conuerted to the fayth: where as Chriſt doth ſay, not euery one that ſayth to me Lorde, Lorde, ſhall enter into the kyngdome of heauen: but he that doth the will of my father which is in heauen, this perſon ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now the will of the father is, that we ſhould beleue in hys onely ſonne Ieſu Chriſt, and that we ſhould obey hym by obſeruyng of thoſe things which he hymſelfe hath cōmaunded. Wherfore Chriſtes preceptes of pacience muſt be fulfilled. Warres, fightings, and contentions muſt be left, becauſe they are contrary to charitie.

He meaneth of thoſe warrs agaynſt infidels ſtirred vp & procured by the pope vpon blynde ſuperſtition, to fight for the holy land, & not taken by princes in the neceſſary defence of themſelues and of their countrey.

But peraduenture ſome man will thus reaſon agaynſt Chriſt: The ſainctes by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow warres as well agaynſt the faythfull people, as alſo agaynſt the Infidels. And the holy Kinges were warriours, for whoſe ſakes alſo miracles haue bene ſhewed, as well in their death as alſo in their lyfe, yea in the very tyme wherin they were a warfare. Wherfore it ſemeth that their factes were good and lawfull. For otherwiſe, God would not haue done miracles for them.

Obiection.

To this agayne I ſay, that we for no miracles muſt do contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt. For in it can there be no errour, but in miracles there oftentymes chaunceth errour as it is playne as well by the olde as by the new teſtament: God forbidde then, that a Chriſtian ſhould for deceiuable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Chriſt. In Exodus the vij. chapter it is manifeſt, how that the wicked wyſe men of the Egiptians, through the inchauntementes of Egipt, and certayne ſecret workinges, threw their wandes vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euen as Aaron before tyme in the preſence of Pharao threw his wande vpon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a ſerpent. In the third of the kinges the 22. chap. Micheas did ſee the Lord ſitting vpon his throne, and all the hoſte of heauen ſtanding about hym on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord ſayd, who ſhall deceyue Achab the kyng of Iſraell, that he may go vp and be ſlayne in Ramoth Galaad. And one ſayd this way, and an other otherwyſe: now, there went forth a ſpirit, and ſtode before the Lord and ſaid, I will deceiue hym. To whom the Lorde ſpake: by what meanes? And he ſayd, I will go forth, and be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all hys prophetes. And the Lord ſayd, thou ſhalt deceyue hym and preuayle, go thy wayes forth, and do euen ſo. Thus alſo is it written in Deuteronomium. If there ſhall ariſe a Prophet amongeſt you, or one that ſhall ſay hee hath ſeene a dreame, and ſhall foretell a ſigne and a wonder: and if ẏ thing ſhal come to paſſe that he hath ſpokē, and he ſhall ſay vnto thee: Let vs goe and followe ſtraunge Goddes (whom thou knoweſt not) and let vs ſerue them: thou ſhalt not harken vnto the wordes of that Prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it knowne whether ye loue hym or no, with all your hart, and with all your ſoule.

Aunſwere.

Legibus agendum non exemplis.

True myracles here of holy men be not diſproued, but ſpeaking vniuerſally, the ſtable doctrine & word of God, is the ſure rule for mē to follow.

3 Reg. 22.
Achab deceiued by falſe prophetes.

Iere. 23. Prophets muſt be tryed by doctrine.

Marke. 13.

2. Cor. 11.

Falſe prophets.

In Ieremy the 23. chap. Are not my wordes euen like fire, ſayeth the Lord? and lyke an hammer, that breaketh the ſtone? Therfore behold, I will come agaynſt the Prophetes which haue dreamed a lye (ſayth the Lord) which haue ſhewed thoſe thinges, and haue ſeduced the people through their lyes and their miracles, whē as I ſent them not, neyther commaunded them, which haue brought no profit vnto this people (ſayth the Lord.) In Marke the 13. chapter ſayth Chriſt. For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophets, and ſhall ſhew great ſignes and wonders to deceiue if it were poſſible euen the very elect. Paul in hys ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians the xi. chap. Such falſ Apoſtles are deceitfull workers, transformyng themſelues into the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and no meruaile: For euen Sathan transformeth hymſelfe into an Aungell of light: therfore it is no great thyng, though his miniſters transforme themſelues, as though they were the miniſters of righteouſnes, whoſe end ſhalbe accordyng to their workes.

Apoc. 13.

In the Apocalips the 13. chap. Iohn ſaw a beaſt aſcending vp out of the earth, and it had two hornes like a lambe but he ſpake lyke the Dragon, and he dyd all that the firſt beaſt could do before hym: and he cauſed the earth and the inhabitauntes therof to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, ſo that he made fire come downe from heauen on the earth, in yͤ ſight of men, and deceiued them that dwell on the earth, by meanes of the ſignes which were permitted to him to do in the ſight of the beaſt.

Myracles are to be tryed.

Mat. 7.

By all theſe thinges is it moſt manifeſt and plaine, that in miracles this manifold errour, ofttymes happeneth through the working of the deuill, to deceiue the people withall. Wherfore, we ought not for the workyng of miracles, to depart from the commaundementes of God. I would to God that they which put confidēce in miracles would geue hede vnto the word of Chriſt, in the vij. chap. of Math. thus ſpeaking: Many ſhall ſay vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name propheciedʔ and in thy name caſt out deuilsʔ and in thy name done many great workesʔ &c. I will profeſſe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie.

The ſeruauntes of Chriſt diſcerned by workyng not of myracles, but of vertues.

Men or women, are not raſhly to be iudged Saintes.

By this ſaying it is moſt manifeſt, that the ſeruauntes of Chriſt are not diſcerned by the workyng of miracles, but by the working of vertues, in departyng from iniquitie, and obeying the commaundementes of God. Wherfore it is wonderfull, that any in this lyfe dare preſume to preuent the day of the iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that ſome are Saintes whome men ought to worſhip, whom peraduenture God will in the laſt iudgement condemne, ſaying: depart from me all ye which worke iniquity. If any man could here on earth iudge ſinners to be condemned, then if this iudgement were certayn, Chriſt ſhould not iudge the ſecond tyme, and whatſoeuer ſuch iudges bynde in earth, the ſame ought to be bound in heauen. But if ſuch a iudgement be vncertayne, then it is perilous and ful of deceite, when as by it men on earth may in ſtede of ſaintes, worſhip ſuch as are damned with the fellowſhip of the deuils, and in prayer require their ayde, who euen lyke as the deuils their companions are more ready and more of myght to euill then to good, more to hurt then to profite. I wonder they marke not what Chriſt ſayd, when his kinſwoman came vnto hym, deſiring and requiring ſomethyng of hym, and ſaying: Commaund that theſe my two ſonnes may ſit, one vpon thy right hand and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Ieſus aunſwering ſayd: ye know not what ye aſke, can ye drinke of the cuppe which I ſhall drinke ofʔ they ſayd vnto him, we can. He ſayd vnto them. Of my cup in dede ye ſhall drinke, but to ſit at my right hād or at my left, it is not mine to geue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father. Chriſt, beyng equall vnto the father accordyng to his Godhead, excedyng all manner of men, according to hys manhode, namely in goodnes and wiſdom, ſayd: to ſit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to geue but vnto whom it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to geue to ſit at the right hand, or at the left. &c. How then is it in the power of any ſinnefull man to geue vnto any man, a ſeate either on the right hand, or on the left in the kyngdome of GOD: which ſinnefull man knoweth not whether ſuch haue any ſeate prepared for them of the father in hys kyngdome. They much extoll themſelues which exerciſe this iudiciall power in geuyng iudgement: that there are ſome ſayntes, which ought to be honoured of men, by reaſon of the euidency of dreames, or of deceitfull miracles, of which men they are ignorant whether God in his iudgement wyll condemne them or not together with the deuils for euer to be tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfallible truth ſayth, that euery one that exalteth hymſelfe ſhall be brought low.

This propoſition of Walter Brute, concerning the warre of Chriſtians not to be lawfull: is not to be taken vniuerſally, but in particular caſe as he meaneth, which is this: that ſuch wars alowed of the pope, not for the neceſſary defence of publike peace, libertie & ſauegard of our countries or againſt publike iniuries offred: but onely to goe and kill the infidels, becauſe they beleue not hauing no other cauſe: thoſe wars of the pope he liketh not.

By theſe thinges is gathered, that the warres of Chriſtians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and lyfe of Chriſt they are prohibited, by reaſon of the euidency of the deceitfull miracles of thoſe, which haue made warres amongeſt the Chriſtians, as well agaynſt the Chriſtians, as alſo againſt the infidels. Becauſe Chriſt could not erre in his doctrine for as much as he was God: And for as much as heauen and earth ſhall paſſe away, but the wordes of Chriſt ſhall not paſſe away. He therefore which eſtabliſheth hys lawes, allowyng warres and the ſlaughters of men in the warre, as well of Chriſtians, as of Infidels: doth he not iuſtifie thoſe thinges which are contrary vnto the Goſpell and lawe of Chriſtʔ Therefore in this he is agaynſt Chriſt, and therfore Antichriſt: ſeducyng the people, makyng men beleue that to be lawfull and meritorious vnto them, which he is expreſſedly prohibited by Chriſt.

¶ And thus much concernyng the firſt part, touchyng peace and warre, wherin he declareth Chriſt and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be geuen all to peace, the other all to warre, and ſo to proue in concluſion the Pope to be Antichriſt. Where in the meane tyme thou muſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly: not that he ſo thinketh, no kynd of warres among the Chriſtians in any caſe to be lawfull, for he himſelfe before hath openly proteſted the contrary. But that his purpoſe is to proue, the Pope in all his doyngs and teachings, more to be addicted to warre, then to peace, yea in ſuch caſes, where is no neceſſity of war. And therin proueth he yͤ Pope to be contrary to Chriſt, yͭ is to be Antichriſt. Now he proceedeth further to the ſecond part which is of mercy.

Doctrine of Chriſtian mercy declared.

Math. 5.

Math. 6.

Math. 7.

Math. 18.

Mercy and pitie commended among Chriſtians.

In the which part he ſheweth how Chriſt teacheth vs to be mercifull, becauſe mercy (as he ſayth) proceedeth from charity, and nouriſheth it. In which doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the law of righteouſnes, for he himſelf by mercy hath clenſed vs from our ſinnes, from which we coulde not by the righteouſnes of the law, be cleanſed. But whome he hath made clean by mercy, vndoubtedly it behoueth thoſe ſame to be alſo mercifull. For in the v. chapiter of Mathew he ſayeth: Bleſſed are the mercifull, for they ſhall obtayne mercy. And againe in the 6. of Mathew: If ye forgeue vnto men their ſinnes, your father will forgeue vnto you your ſinnes. And againe in the vij. chapter of Mathew: Iudge not, and ye ſhall not be iudged, condemne not, and ye ſhall not be condemned, and wyth what meaſure ye meaſure, wyth the ſame ſhall it be meaſured vnto you agayne. In the xviij. chap. of Mathew, Peter aſked the Lord, ſaying: Lord how often ſhall my brother ſinne agaynſt me, and I ſhall forgeue hym, ſeuen tymesʔ Ieſus ſayd vnto hym: I ſay not vnto thee ſeuen tymes, but ſeuentie tymes ſeuen tymes. Therefore, is the kyngdome of heauen lykened vnto a certayne kyng, which would take accompt of hys ſeruauntes. And whē he had begun to reckē, one was brought vnto hym which ought hym tenne thouſand talentes: And becauſe he had nothyng wherwithall to pay, hys mayſter commaunded hym to be ſolde, and hys wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be payd. The ſeruaunt therfore fell downe and beſought hym, ſaying: haue pacience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that ſeruaunt, and looſed hym, and forgaue hym the debt. But when the ſeruaunt was departed, he found one of hys fellow ſeruauntes, which ought him an hundred pence, and he layd handes on hym, and tooke him by the throte, ſaying: Pay me that thou oweſt, and hys fellow fell downe and beſought hym, ſaying: Haue pacience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and caſt him into priſon, till he ſhould pay the debt. And whē hys other fellowes ſaw the thynges that were done, they were very ſory, and came and declared vnto their maiſter all yͭ was done. Then hys maiſter called hym, and ſayd vnto hym: O thou vngracious ſeruaunt, I forgaue thee all that debt whē thou deſiredſt me: Oughteſt not thou alſo to haue had pitie on thy felow, euē as I had pitie on theeʔ And hys lord was wroth, and deliuered hym vnto the Iaylers, tyll he ſhould paye all that was due vnto hym. So likewiſe ſhall my heauenly father do vnto you, except ye forgeue from your hartes eche one to hys brother their treſpaſſes.

Mercy and compaſſion neceſſary to all Chriſtians.

By this doctrine it is moſt playne and manifeſt that euery Chriſtian ought to be merciful vnto hys brother, how often ſo euer he offendeth agaynſt hym. Becauſe we ſo often as we offende, do aſke mercy of God. Wherfore for as much as our offence agaynſt GOD is farre more grieuous then any offence of our brother againſt vs: it is playne, that it behoueth vs to bee mercifull vnto our brethren, if we

wyll

The pope contrary to Chriſt, in ſhewing mercy. 23.q.5.

The foundation of the foreſayd 5. queſt. cauſ. 23. in the popes decrees, taken onely out of the old Teſtament, and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the popes law follow not the perfect rule.

Iohn. 3.

Iohn. 8.

wyll haue mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this doctrine of mercy, the Romiſhe biſhop maketh and confirmeth many lawes, which puniſhe offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is playne by the proceſſe of ẏ decrees. Diſtin.23.queſt.5. It is declared and determined, that to kyll mẽ ex officio, that is, hauing authoritie and power ſo to doe, is not ſinne. And agayne: the ſouldiour which is obedient vnto ẏ higher power, and ſo kylleth a man, is not giltie of murther. And agayne, he is the miniſter of the Lord. which ſmiteth the euill in that they are euill and killeth them. And many other ſuch lyke thinges are throughout the whole proceſſe of that queſtion determined. That for certaine kyndes of ſinnes men ought by the rigour of the law, to be puniſhed euen vnto death: But the foundation of their ſaying, they tooke out of the olde lawe, in which for diuers tranſgreſſions were appointed diuers puniſhmentes. It is very much wonderfull vnto me, why that wiſe men beyng the authors and makers of lawes, do alwayes for the foundation of their ſayings looke vpon the ſhadow of the law, & not the light of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, for they geue not heede vnto ẏ figure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the 3. of Iohn? God ſent not his ſonne into ẏ world to iudge the world, but to ſaue the world by hym. In Ioh. the 8. chap. The ſcribes and phariſeis bring a woman takẽ in adultery, and ſet her in the middeſt, & ſayd vnto Chriſt: Maſter euen now this womã was taken in adultery. But in the lawe, Moſes hath commaunded vs to ſtone ſuch. What ſayeſt thou therfore? Thus they ſayd to tempt hym, that they might accuſe hym. But Ieſus ſtouped downe, and wyth his finger wrote on the grounde. And while they continued aſkyng hym: he lyft hymſelfe vp, and ſayd vnto them, let hym that is among you wythout ſinne, caſt the firſt ſtone at her. And agayne he ſtouped downe, and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldeſt: ſo Ieſus was left alone, and the woman ſtanding in the midſt. When Ieſus had lift vp hymſelfe agayne, he ſayd vnto her: where be they which accuſed thee, hath no man condemned thee? Shee ſayd, no man Lord. And Ieſus ſayd vnto her: Neither doe I condemne thee? Go thy way and ſinne now no more.

Here is ment, & to be vnderſtand, not what publike magiſtrates may doe, in caſes of righteouſnes, but what eccleſiaſticall perſons according to the office of their profeſſion ſhould do.

Whether the iudiciall law of Moyſes, fully (now after the comming of Chriſt) ſtandeth in force, or not.

The law of Moſes of all lawes moſt iuſteſt.

It is manifeſt by the ſcriptures, that Chriſt was promyſed in the ſcriptures, ẏ he ſhould be kyng of the Iewes, and vnto the kynges pertayned the iudgementes of the law: but becauſe he came not to iudge ſinners according to the rigor of the lawe, but came according to grace, to ſaue that which was loſt, in calling the ſinner to repentaunce: it is moſt playne, that in ẏ cõming of the law of grace, he would haue the iudgementes of the law of righteouſneſſe to ceaſſe: for otherwiſe he had dealt vniuſtly wyth the foreſayd woman, forasmuch as the witneſſes of her adultery, bare witneſſe agaynſt her. wherfore, ſeing ẏ ſame king Chriſt was a iudge, if it had bene hys wil that ẏ righteouſnes of the law ſhould be obſerued, he ought to haue adiudged the woman to death, according as the law cõmaunded, which thing forasmuch as he did not, it is moſt euident that the iudgementes of the righteouſnes of the law are finiſhed in the commyng of ẏ king, beyng kyng of the law of grace: euen as the ſacrifices of the prieſthoode of Aaron, are finiſhed in the commyng of the prieſt, according to the order of Melchiſedech, who hath offred hymſelfe vp for our ſinnes. Becauſe as it is before ſayd, neither the righteouſnes of the law, nor ſacrifices for ſinne, brought any man to perfection. wherfore it was neceſſary that the ſame (by reaſon of their imperfection) ſhould ceaſe in the comming of the abſolute perfection. And ſeyng amongeſt all the lawes of the world, the law of Moſes was moſt iuſteſt, forasmuch as the author therof was God, who is the moſt iuſt iudge: and by that lawe alwayes looke, what maner of iniury one had done vnto an other, contrary to the commaundement of the lawe, the lyke iniury he ſhould receaue for his tranſgreſſion, according to the vpright iudgement of the lawe. As death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burnyng, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, & moſt iuſt puniſhmentes were ordayned according to the quãtitie of the ſinnes. But if this lawe of righteouſnes be cleane taken away in the commyng of the law of grace, how then ſhall the law of the Gẽtiles remayne among Chriſtians, which was neuer ſo iuſt? Is not thys true, that in them, which are conuerted vnto the faith, there is no diſtinction betwene the Iew & the Greciã? For both are vnder ſinne, & are iuſtified by grace in ẏ fayth of Chriſt, beyng called vnto fayth and vnto the perfection of the Goſpell.

If therfore ẏ Gẽtiles conuerted, are not bound to play the Iewes, to follow the law of the Iewes: why ſhould the Iewes conuerted follow the lawes of the Gentiles whiche are not ſo good? Wherfore it is to be wondred at, why theues are among Chriſtians for theft put to death? where after the lawe of Moſes they were not put to death. Chriſtians ſuffer adulterers to lyue, Sodomits, and they which curſe father and mother, & many other horrible ſinners: And they which according to the moſt iuſt law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death: So we neyther kepe the law of righteouſnes geuen of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Chriſt.

This meruell is not ſo much, why theeues are put to death: but why the Iudiciall law of Moſes in this point is broken, and in other pointes is ſtreightly kept: Marke his meaning.

Take his meanyng wiſely (gentle reader) his mynde is not ſo, that no magiſtrate, being not without ſinne, may puniſh a tranſgreſſour, but he ſpeaketh againſt ſuch churchmen, who profeſſing the rule of mercy, ſhew no mercy at all, but all rigour.

Wherfore the law makers and iudges, do not geue hede vnto the aforeſayd ſentẽce of Chriſt vnto the Scribes and Phariſeis, who ſayd: He which amongeſt you is without ſinne, let hym caſt the firſt ſtone at her. What is he that dareth be ſo bold as to ſay he is without ſinne? yea and without a grieuous ſinne, when as the tranſgreſſion of the cõmaundement of God is a greuous ſinne. And who cã ſay that he neuer tranſgreſſed this commaundement of God. Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe: Or the other commaundement which is of greater force. Thou ſhalt loue the Lorde thy God with all thy harte, &c. Wherfore, thou whatſoeuer thou art that iudgeſt thy brother vnto death, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt eſcape the iudgement of God, which peraduenture haſt offended more greuouſly then hath he whom thou iudgeſt? How ſeeſt thou a mote in thy brothers eye, and ſeeſt not a beame in thyne owne eye? Knoweſt thou not ẏ with what meaſure thou meaſureſt, the ſame ſhall bee meaſured vnto thee agayne? Doth not the Scripture ſay: Unto me belongeth vengeaunce, and I will render agayne ſayth the Lord? How can any man ſay that theſe men can with charitie kepe theſe iudgementes of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and deſireth of God iuſt iudgement for hys offence? He deſireth not iudgement but mercy. If he deſire mercy for hymſelfe, why deſireth he vẽgeaunce for his brother offendyng? How therfore loueth he hys brother as hymſelfe? Or how doeſt thou ſhew mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bounde by the cõmaundemẽt of Chriſt) which ſekeſt the greateſt vengeaunce vpon hym that thou canſt inferre vnto hym? For death is the moſt terrible thing of all, and a more grieuous vengeance then death, can no man inferre. Wherfore, they which will kepe charitie, ought to obſerue the commaundementes of Chriſt touching mercy: and they * which liue in the law of charitie, ought to leaue the law of vengeance and iudgements. Ought we to beleue, that Chriſt in hys commyng, by grace abrogated the moſt iuſt lawe which he himſelfe gaue vnto the children of Iſraell by Moſes hys ſeruaunt, and eſtabliſhed the lawes of the Gentiles beyng not ſo iuſt for to be obſerued of his faythfull? Doth not Daniell expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonozer the king concernyng the image whoſe hed was of gold, the breſt & armes of ſiluer, ẏ belly & thies of braſſe, the legs of irõ, one part of ẏ feete was of irõ, & the other part of clay. Nabuchodonozer ſawe that a ſtone was cut out of a mountaine wout hands, & ſtrake the Image in his feete of iron & of clay, and brake thẽ to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſſe, the ſiluer and golde broken altogether, and became lyke the chaffe of the ſommer flower, which is caried away by the winde, and there was no place found for them: and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountayne, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therfore 4. kingdoms vnto the 4. partes of the Image, namely. The kyngdome of the Babilonians vnto the head of gold: The kyngdome of the Medes and Perſians vnto the breſt and armes of ſiluer: The kyngdome of the Grecians vnto the belly and thighes of braſſe: But ẏ fourth kyngdome which is of the Romaines, he applyeth vnto the legges and feete of iron. And Daniell addeth: In the dayes of their kingdomes, ſhall God rayſe vp a kingdome which ſhall neuer be deſtroyed: And his kingdome ſhall not be deliuered vnto an other, but it ſhall breake and deſtroy thoſe kyngdomes: and it ſhall ſtand for euer, accordyng as thou ſaweſt, that the ſtone was cut out of the mountayne wythout hands, & brake in pieces the clay and yron, braſſe, ſiluer & gold. Seyng therfore it is certayne ẏ this ſtone ſignifieth Chriſt whoſe kyngdom is for euer: it is alſo a thyng moſt aſſured, that he ought to raygne euery where, and to breake in pieces the other kingdoms of the world. Wherfore if terreſtriall kynges and the terreſtriall kyngdome of the Iewes, and their lawes and iudgements haue ceaſed by Chriſt the king, callyng the Iewes vnto the perfection of hys goſpell, namely, vnto Fayth and Charitie?

* He meaneth of the pope and of the clergie.

He ſpeaketh agaynſt the deſire of reuẽge: not againſt the execution of neceſſary lawe done by magiſtrates.

The Iudiciall neceſſitie of thoſe lawes, he meaneth to ceaſe, notwithſtãding Chriſtẽ princes may borrow both out of thoſe lawes, & out of all other, what they thinke good and expedient for their common weale.

It is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles which is more imperfect ī their lawes, ought to ceaſe among the Gentiles, departing from their gentilitie vnto the perfection of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt. For there is no diſtinction betwene the Jewes and the Gentiles beyng conuerted vnto the fayth of Chriſt, but all of them abydyng in that eternall kyngdome ought to be vnder one law of charitie and of vertue. Therfore they ought to haue mercy, and to leaue the iudgementes of death, and the deſire of vengeaunce. Wherfore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Chriſt ſaying: The kingdome of heauen is lyke vnto a man which ſowed good ſeede in his field: but when men were on ſleepe, the enemy came and ſowed Tares in the midſt of the wheat, and went his way. But when the herbe was growen and brought forth fruite, then appeared the Tares. And the ſeruauntes came vnto the good mā of ÿ houſe and ſayd vnto hym: Lord didſt not thou ſow good ſede in thy field? Frō whēce thē come theſe Tares? And he ſaid vnto them: The enemy hath done this. And the ſeruauntes ſayd vnto hym: Wilt thou that we go and gather them vp? And he ſayd no: leaſt peraduenture gatheryng vp the tares ye plucke vp the wheate by the rootes: Suffer them both to grow vntill the harueſt, and in the tyme of the harueſt, I will ſay vnto the harueſt men, gather firſt the Tares, and bynde them in bundels that they may be burnt, but gather the wheate into my barne. Chriſt hymſelfe onely expoundeth this parable in ÿ ſelfe ſame chapiter, ſaying: He which ſoweth the good ſeede is the ſonne of man, but the fielde is the world: and the good ſeede, thoſe are the children of the kingdome. But the Tares are the noughty children. And the enemy which ſoweth them is the deuill, and the harueſt is the ende of the world, and the harueſt men are the Aungels. Euen as therfore the Tares are gathered and burnte with fire, ſo ſhall it be in the end of the world. The ſonne of man ſhall ſend hys angels, and they ſhall gather out of hys kingdome all offenders, and thoſe which commit iniquitie, & ſhall put them into a furnace of fire, there ſhall be weepyng and gnaſhing of teeth.

His purpoſe is not that no euill doer ſhould be puniſhed in a cōmō wealth, but his relation is, to the 23. q. 5. aforeſaid, noting cauſes of religion, which the Pope and his prelates are wont to puniſh with death taking many tymes for Tares, that which in deede is pure wheate.

By which playne doctrine it is manifeſt, that Chriſt will haue mercy ſhewed vnto ſinners, euen vnto the end of the world, and will haue them to remayne mingled with the good: Leaſt peraduenture when a man thinketh that he doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a ſinner ſoeuer a man be, we knowe not whether his ende ſhalbe good, and whether in ÿ end he ſhall obtayne mercy of God: Neither are we certaine of the tyme, wherin God will by grace iudge hym whom we abhorre as a ſinner. And peraduenture ſuch a one ſhall more profite after hys conuerſion in the Church, then he whome we thinke to be iuſt, as it came to paſſe in Paule. And if God iuſtifieth a man by grace (although at his ende) why dareſt thou be ſo bold to be hys iudge, and to condemne him? yea, rather although a man ſeeme to be obſtinate and hardened in hys euill, ſo that he is not corrected by a ſecret correction (correct him before one alone) if he do not receiue opē correctiō beyng done before two or thre witneſſes, neither paſſeth vpon a manifeſt correction when hys ſinne is made knowen vnto the Churche: Chriſt doth not teach to puniſh ſuch a one with the puniſhment of deth. yea rather he ſayth, if he harken not vnto the church, let him be vnto thee as an Ethnicke and Publicane. And Paule followyng this doctrine in the 1. Corin. 5. chap. ſayth: There goeth a common ſaying that there is fornication among you, and ſuch fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles that one ſhould haue his fathers wyfe. And ye are puffed vp, and haue not rather ſorrowed: that he whiche hath done this dede, might be put from among you. For I verily as abſent in body, but preſent in ſpirite, haue already determined, as though I were preſent: that he which hath done this thing (when ye are gathered together and my ſpirite, in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt) that ſuch one, by the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be deliuered vnto Sathan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirite may be ſaued in the day of the Lord Jeſus. Paule teacheth not to kill this man (as ſome gather by this texte) but to ſeparate hym from the other faithful, and ſo from Chriſt, which is the head of the Church of the faythfull, and ſo is he deliuered vnto Sathan, which is ſeparated from Chriſt: that the fleſh may be killed, that is, that that carnall concupiſcence, wherby he luxuriouſly luſted after the wyfe of his father, may be deſtroyed in him, by ſuch a ſeparation, that the ſpirite may be ſaued, and not that his body ſhould be killed, as ſome ſay, as it is moſt manifeſt in the ſelfe ſame chapiter, where he ſayth: I wrote vnto you in an Epiſtle, that ye ſhould not keepe company with fornicatours, and I meant not of all the fornicatours of this world, eyther of the couetous, or extorcioners or Idolaters, for then muſt ye nedes haue gone out of the world. But now I haue written vnto you, that ye keepe not company together, if any that is called a brother be a fornicatour, or couetous perſon, or a worſhipper of Images, eyther a curſed ſpeaker, or dronkard, or an extorcioner: with hym that is ſuch, ſee that ye eate not.

1. Cor. 5.

By which it is manifeſt, that Paule would haue the foreſayd fornicatour ſeparated from the fellowſhippe of the faythfull: that his carnall concupiſcence might be mortified, for the health of the ſpirite, and not that the body ſhould be killed. Wherfore, they do ill vnderſtand Paule, which by this ſaying do confirme the killyng of men. And foraſmuch as hereſie is one of the moſt greuous ſinnes (for an heretike leadeth men in errours, wherby they are made to ſtray from fayth, without whiche they cannot be ſaued) it doth moſt great hurt in the Church.

Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter toucheth onely the caſes of hereſie and opinions in religion.

Further as concernyng ſuch a wicked man, Paul thus ſpeaketh, flye from the man that is an heretike after ÿ firſt and ſecond correction, knowyng that ſuch a one is ſubuerted and ſinneth, foraſmuch as he is by his owne iudgement condemned. Behold Paule teacheth not to kill thys man, but wyth Chriſt to ſeparate hym from the fellowſhip of the faythfull. But ſome ſay, that Peter in the primitiue church ſlewe Ananias and Saphyra for theyr ſinnes, wherefore they ſay it is lawfull for them, to condemne wycked men to death. We will declare in ſhewyng the whole proceſſe how falſly they ſpeake in allegyng of Peter, for to iuſtifie their errour.

By this it appeareth agayne, that his reſpect is onely to the pope & his prelates of the church and not to ciuill magiſtrates.

Actes. 4.

The example of Peter ſlaying Ananias & Saphira falſly wraſted of the papiſts.

In the 4. chap. of the Actes it is written, that as many as were poſſeſſours of landes or houſes, they ſold them and offred the prices of that which they ſold and layd it before the feete of the Apoſtles: and it was deuided vnto euery one as he had nede therof. But a certayne man Ananias with Saphira his wyfe ſold a piece of land, and kept backe a part of the price of the field, his wyfe beyng priuy vnto it, and bryngyng a certayne part therof, he layd it at the feete of the Apoſtles. But Peter ſayd vnto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Sathan tempted thy hart that thou ſhouldſt lye vnto the holy ghoſt, to kepe backe a part of the price of the land? Did it not whileſt it remayned, remayne vnto thee: and beyng ſold, was it not in thine owne power? why haſt thou conceiued this thyng in thyne hart? Thou haſt not lyed vnto men, but vnto God. And whē Ananias heard theſe wordes, he fell downe and gaue vp the ghoſt, and great feare came on all them that heard theſe thinges. And the yong men roſe vp and tooke hym vp, and caried hym out and buried him. And it came to paſſe about the ſpace of thre houres after, that his wyfe came in beyng ignoraunt of that which was done. And Peter ſayd vnto her, Tell me woman, ſold ye the land for ſo much? And ſhe ſayd, yea for ſo much. But Peter ſaid vnto her, why haue ye agreed together to tempt the ſpirit of the Lord. Behold, the feete of them which buried thy huſbande are at the doore, and ſhall cary thee out. And ſtraight way ſhe fell downe before hys feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt. And the yong men entring in, found her dead, and they caried her out and buried her by her huſband. And great feare came on all the church, and all thoſe which heard theſe things. It is meruail that any man that is wiſe, will ſay that by this proceſſe Peter ſlue Ananias or his wyfe. For it was not his act but ÿ act of God, who made a weddyng to his ſonne, & ſent his ſeruant to call them, that were bidden vnto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then ſent forth his ſeruauntes, to the outcorners of the hie wayes, to gather all that they could find, both good and euill. And ſo they did. And the mariage was full furniſhed wyth geſtes. Then came in alſo the kyng to vewe and ſee them ſitting. Among whom he perceaued one there ſitting hauing not a weddyng garment, and ſayth vnto hym: frend, how cameſt thou hether? And he beyng dumme, had not a worde to ſpeake. Then ſaid the king to the ſeruitures, take and bynde him hand and foote, and caſt him into outwarde darckenes, there ſhal be weping and gnaſhing of teeth. Many there be called, but few choſen. &c.

Peter not the cauſe of the death of Ananias & Saphyra.

It is manifeſt, that this weddyng garment is charitie, without which, becauſe Ananias entred into the mariage of Chriſt, he was geuen to death, that by one many might be informed to learne and vnderſtand: that they which haue fayth and not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue yet it can not be priuie to the ſpirite of God, that they doe fayne. Such there is no doubt, but they ſhalbe excluded frō the mariage of Chriſt, as we ſee this here exemplified in the death of Ananias & hys wife by the hand of God, & not by the hand of Peter. And how ſhould Peter thē haue iudged

The wedding garmēt what it is.

The death of Ananias & his wyfe, what information it geueth to the church.

Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the olde law? For why, by the law he had not bene guilty of death, for that part, which they fraudulently & diſſemblingly did reſerue to themſelues. Yea, and if they had ſtolne as much from an other man, which was greater, neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therfore by the law of iuſtice bene found gilty of death. Wherfore, if he did not cōdemne hym by the lawe of iuſtice, it appeareth that he condemned hym by the lawe of grace and mercy, which he learned of Chriſt. And ſo conſequently it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore to ſay that Peter put hym to death by the meere motion of his owne will, and not by authoritie of the olde law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and ſlaunderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter dyd kill him, why then doth the Byſhop of Rome which pretendeth to be ſucceſſor of Peter, excuſe him ſelfe and his prieſtes frō the iudgement of death agaynſt heretiques and other offenders, although they themſelues be conſenting to ſuch iudgementes done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reaſonably excuſe him and his felow prieſtes from the ſpot of crime. Actes 5. It is manyfeſt that there was another which did more greuouſly offend then Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more ſharpe wordes: but yet he commaunded him not to be put to death. For Symon Magus alſo remaynyng at Samaria, after that he beleued and was baptyſed, he ioyned hymſelfe with Philip: And when he ſawe that the holy ſpirite was geuen by the Apoſtles (laying their handes vpon mē) he offered the money, ſaying geue vnto me this power, that vpon whom ſoeuer I ſhall lay my hande, he ſhall receyue the holy Ghoſt. To whom Peter aunſwered: Deſtroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou ſuppoſeſt the gifte of God to be bought with money, thou ſhalt haue neyther part nor fellowſhippe in this doctrine. Thy hart is not pure before God, therfore repent thee of thy wickedneſſe, and pray vnto God that this wicked thought of thy hart may be forgeuen thee: for I perceiue thou art euen in the bitter gall of wickednes and bande of iniquitie. Beholde here the greeuous offence of Symon, Peters hard & ſharpe rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Wherby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforeſayde, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all theſe things it is to be gathered ſeeing the iudgementes of death are not grounded vpon the expreſſe and playne ſcriptures, but only vnder the ſhadow of the old law: that they are not to be obſerued of Chriſtians becauſe they are contrarye to charitie. Ergo the Biſhop of Rome approuing ſuch iudgements, alloweth thoſe that are contrary to the law and doctrine of Chriſt, as before is ſayd of warres, where hee approueth & iuſtifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of prieſthoode, albeit it doth iuſtifie the iudgementes to death of the laitie, whereby offenders are condemned to dye, yet are they themſelues forbidden to put in execution the ſame iudgementes. The prieſtes of the old law beynge vnperfect, whē Pylate ſayd vnto thē concerning Chriſte (whō they had accuſed worthy death) take him vnto you and according to your law iudge him, anſwered: that it was not lawfull for them to put to death any man.

Peter not the cauſe of Ananias death.

Actes. 8.

Whereby it appeareth that our prieſts being much more perfect, may not lawfully geue iudgement of death agaynſt any offenders: yet notwithſtanding, they claime vnto them the power iudiciall vpon offenders: Becauſe ſay they, it belongeth vnto them to know the offences by the auricular confeſſion of the offenders, and to iudge vpon the ſame beyng knowne, and to ioyne diuers penances vnto the parties offendyng, accordyng to the quantitie of their offences committed, ſo that the ſinner may make ſatiſfactiō ſay they vnto God for the offences which he neuer committed. And to cōfirme vnto thē this iudiciall power, they alleage the ſcriptures in many places, wreſtyng it to ſerue theyr purpoſe.

Joh. 18.

Firſt they ſay that the Biſhop of Rome (who is the chief prieſt and iudge among them) hath full power and authoritie to remit ſinnes. Wherupon they ſay, that he is able fully and wholy to abſolue a man a pœna & culpa, ſo that if a man at the tyme of hys death had this remiſſion, he ſhould ſtraightwayes flie vnto heauen without any paine of Purgatory. The other biſhops (as they ſay) haue not ſo great authoritie. The prieſtes conſtituted vnder euery Byſhop, haue power, ſay they, to abſolue the ſinnes of them that are confeſſed, but not all kynd of ſinnes: becauſe there are ſome grieuous ſinnes reſerued to the abſolutions of the Byſhops, and ſome agayne to the abſolution onely of the chiefe and high Biſhop. They ſay alſo that it behoueth the offēders, for the neceſſitie of their ſoule health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifeſt the ſame with all the circumſtances therof, vnto the prieſt in auricular confeſſiō, ſupplying the place of God, after the maner of a Iudge: and afterward humbly to fulfill the penaunce enioyned vnto hym by the prieſt for his ſinnes, except the ſayd penance ſo enioyned, or any part therof be releaſed by the ſuperiour power. All theſe thinges (ſay they) are manifeſtly determined, as well in ẏ decrees, as decretals. And although theſe thynges haue not expreſſely their foundation in the playne and manifeſt doctrine of Chriſt, nor any of the Apoſtles: yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning thys matter, haue grounded the ſame vpon diuers places of the ſcriptures, as in the proces of Chriſt in ẏ Goſpell of Saint Mathew the xvi. chapter. Wherupon they ground ẏ popes power iudiciall, to ſurmount the powers of other Prieſts, as where Chriſt ſayd vnto his diſciples: whom doe mē ſay that I am? And they aunſwered: ſome ſay that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome Elias, and ſome Ieremy, or one of ẏ Prophetes. To whom he ſayde: but who ſay you that I am? Symon Peter making aunſwere, ſayde: Thou art Chriſt, the ſonne of the liuing God. And Ieſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto hym: Bleſſed art thou Symon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſh and bloud hath not opened this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauē. And I ſay vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon thys rocke wyll I buylde my Church: and hell gates ſhall not preuayle agaynſt it. And I wyll geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpon earth, ſhall alſo be bound in heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt looſe vpon earth, ſhal be looſed alſo in heauen.

Like a puſled ſonne.

Math. 16.

The Popes vſurped power falſely founded vpon ſcriptures.

Out of this text of Chriſt, diuers expoſitions haue drawen diuers errours. For when Chriſt ſayd: And I ſay vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wyll I builde my Church: Some therupon affirme, that Chriſt ment he would build his church vpon Peter by autoritie of that text, as it is writtē in the firſt part of ẏ decrees, Diſt. 19. cap. Ita dominus noſter. The expoſition hereof, is aſcribed to Pope Leo, the errour wherof is manifeſtly knowen. For the Church of Chriſt is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confeſſion, for that he ſayd: Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the lyuing God, and for that Chriſt ſaid ſingularly vnto Peter: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde, &c. By this ſaying they affirme, that Chriſt gaue vnto Peter ſpecially, as chiefe of the reſt of the Apoſtles a larger power to bynde and to looſe, then he did vnto the reſt of the apoſtles or diſciples. And becauſe Peter anſwered for himſelf & all ẏ Apoſtles, not onely confeſſing the fayth which he had chiefly aboue the reſt, but alſo ẏ fayth which the reſt of the apoſtles had euen as himſelfe, by the reuelation of the heauenly father: It appeareth that as the fayth of all the Apoſtles was declared by the aunſwere of one: ſo by thys that Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter: whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde, &c, is geuen vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles the ſame power & equalitie to bynde & to looſe, as vnto Peter. Which Chriſt declareth in the Goſpell of Saint Mathew the 18. chapter, in theſe wordes: Uerely I ſay vnto you, what thynges ſoeuer you ſhal bind vpō earth, ſhalbe bound in heauē, & whatſoeuer you ſhall loſe vpō earth, ſhalbe alſo looſed in heauen. And further he addeth: And agayne I ſay vnto you: that if two of you ſhall conſent vpon earth, and requeſt whatſoeuer it be: it ſhall be graunted vnto you of my father which is in heauen. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the middeſt of them. And in Ioh. the xx. chapter, he ſayth generally vnto them: Receyue ye my ſpirit. Whoſe ſinnes ye ſhall remit, ſhal be remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retayne, ſhal be retayned.

Diſt. 9. ca. Ita Dominus noſter.

The place of Chriſt geuing the keyes to Peter Mat. 16. aptly expounded

Math. 18.

John. 20.

By thys it appeareth, that the power to bynde and to looſe is not ſpecially graunted to Peter as chiefe and head of the reſt: and that by him the reſt had their power to binde and to looſe, for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Chriſt, and the head of Chriſt is God. Peter and the reſt of the Apoſtles, are the good members of ẏ body of Chriſt, receiuing power & vertue of Chriſt: whereby they doe confirme and glew together the other members (aſwell the ſtrong and noble as the weake and vnable) to a perfecte compoſition and ſeemelines of the body of Chriſt: that all honour from all partes and members may be geuen vnto Chriſt as head and chiefe, by whom as head, all the members are gouerned. And therefore Paule 1. Corinthians chap. 3. When any man ſayth, I holde of Paule, and an other ſayth I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? For what is Apollo? what is Paule? The miniſter of hym in whom ye haue beleued, & yet he geueth as God vnto euery man. I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath geuē ẏ increaſe. Therfore neither he ẏ planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that geueth the increaſe.

Chriſt onely the head of the Church.

1. Cor. 3.

Galath. 2.

Actes. 9.

And Paul to the Gal. chap. 2. God hath no reſpect of perſons. Thoſe that ſemed to be great and to do much, auayled or profited me nothyng at all: But contrarywiſe, whẽ they ſaw that the Goſpell of the vncircumciſion was committed vnto me, as the circumciſion vnto Peter (for he ẏ wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, wrought with me alſo among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was geuen me, Peter, James, & John ſtraight wayes ioyned themſelues with me and Barnabas: that we among the Gentils, and they in circumciſion onely, might be myndfull of the poore, the which to do I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paule had not his authoritie of Peter to conuert the Gentiles, to baptiſe them, and to remit their ſinnes, but of hym which ſayd vnto hym. Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me. It is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricke. Here is Paul the head of the church and not Peter: By which head they ſay, that all the members are ſuſteined and made liuely.

The third error.

The third errour (which the authors of the canõs conceiueth in the ſayd text of Chriſt) which was ſayde to Peter: Unto thee will I geue the keyes. &c. is this. They ſay that in this ſentence which was ſayd to Peter of the authoritie to bynd and looſe was ment: that as Chriſt gaue vnto Peter aboue all the reſt of the Apoſtles a ſpeciall, and as it were an excellent power aboue all the Apoſtles: euen ſo ſay they, he gaue vnto the Biſhops of Rome (whome they call Peters chiefe ſucceſſours) the ſame ſpeciall power and authoritie, exceedyng the power of all other Byſhops of the worlde.

Other Apoſtles had like power to bynd & looſe, as Peter had.

Actes 2.

The firſt part of this ſimilitude and compariſon, doth appeare manifeſtly by the premiſſes to be erroneous: wherin is plainly ſhewed, that the other Apoſtles, had equal power with Peter to bynde and looſe. Wherfore, conſequently it followeth, the ſecond part of the ſimilitude, grounded vppon the ſame text, to be alſo erroneous: But and if the firſt part of the ſayd ſimilitude were truth as it is not, yet the ſecond part muſt nedes be an errour, wherein is ſayd that the Biſhops of Rome are Peters chiefeſt ſucceſſors. For although there be but one Catholike chriſtian Church, of all ẏ faithfull ſort conuerted: yet the firſt part therof and firſt conuerted was of the Jewes, the ſecond of the Grekes, & the third part was of the Romaines or Latines. Wherof, the firſt part was moſt perfectly conuerted vnto the fayth, for that they faithfully obſerued the perfection of charitie, as appeareth in the Actes of the Apoſtles by the multitude of the beleuers. They were of one hart, and one ſoule, neither called they any thing that they poſſeſſed their owne, but all was cõmon amongſt them.

Rom. 1.

Peter ruled thre churches.

Actes. 1.

Actes. 2.

Act. 3. 4. 5.

Peter gouerned the church at Jeruſalem 4. yeares before he gouerned Antioche.

Galat. 2.

Hereupon Paul to the Romaines: Salutation to euery beleuer, firſt to the Jew, & to the Grekes after ẏ Jewes. The Grekes were the ſecond, and after the Jewes, beſt conuerted, and after them the Romaynes, takyng their information of the Grekes as appeareth by the Chronicles, although in dede ſome Romaines were conuerted vnto the fayth, by Peter and Paule. And as Chriſt ſayd thriſe vnto Peter, fede my ſhepe, ſo Peter ruled theſe three Churches as witneſſeth the Chronicles. But firſt he reformed the Church of the Jewes in Jeruſalem and Judea, as appeareth by the teſtimony of the Actes of the apoſtles: For Acts 1. It is manifeſt how Peter ſtandyng vp amongſt his brethren ſpake vnto them concernyng the election of an Apoſtle in the place of Judas the traytor, alleagyng places vnto them out of the ſcripture, that an other ſhould take vpõ hym hys Apoſtleſhip. And ſo by lotte was Mathias conſtituted the xij. in the place of Judas, Actes. 2. After ẏ the holy ghoſt was come vpon the Apoſtles, and that they ſpake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were aſtonied at the miracle. And ſome mocked thẽ ſaying, theſe men are ful of new wine: But Peter ſtoode vp and ſpake vnto them, ſaying, that it was fulfilled in them that was propheſied by Joel the prophet, and he preached Chriſt vnto the people, whom they of ignoraunce had put to death. To them was a Sauiour promiſed by the teſtimony of the Prophets. And when they heard the wordes of Peter, they were pricked at the harte, ſaying vnto hym and the reſt of the Apoſtles: what ſhal we then do? And Peter ſayd vnto them: Repent, and let euery one of you be baptiſed in the name of Jeſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of your ſinnes, and ye ſhall receiue the holy ghoſt. And there were ioyned vnto them the ſame day about three M. ſoules. And Actes 3. 4. 5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the reſt did thoſe thinges which belonged to the miniſtery of the Apoſtleſhip, as well in preachyng as in anſwering. Wherupon ſome Chronicles ſay, that Peter gouerned the Church of the Jewes at Jeruſalem foure yeares, before he gouerned Antioche. And by the teſtimony of Paul to the Gal. as before is ſayd: The Goſpell of the vncircumciſion is committed to Paul euen as the circumciſion to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhip of circumciſion wrought with Paul amongſt the Gentiles. Whereby it appeareth, that the church of the Jewes was committed to the gouernment of Peter. And in the places of the Actes of the Apoſtles it appeareth, that Peter beleued that the fayth of Chriſt was not to be preached vnto thoſe Gẽtiles, which alwayes liued in vncleannes of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppe, Cornelius a Gentile ſent vnto hym, that he would come and ſhew hym the way of life: But Peter (a little before the commyng of the meſſengers of Cornelius) beyng in his chamber, after he had prayed: fell in a traunce, and ſaw heauen open, and a certayne veſſell deſcending euen as a great ſheete, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth: In the which were all maner of foure footed beaſtes, ſerpentes of the earth, and foules of the ayre. And a voyce ſpake vnto hym ſaying, Ariſe Peter, kill and eate: and Peter ſayd, not ſo Lord, becauſe I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thyng: This was done thriſe. And Peter deſcended (not knowyng what the viſion dyd ſignifie) and found the meſſengers of Cornelius.

The keyes of Chriſtes kyngdome.

Abſolution.

Three thinges required in popiſhe abſolution.
Contrition.
Confeſſion.
Satiſfactiõ.

Two thinges required on his part that geueth popiſhe abſolution.

Decret. de Pænitentia.

John. 5.

As concerning the authoritie iudiciall of the clergie, many thynges are written thereof in the Canons of decrees, greatly to be maruailed at, and farre from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the Canons ſay, that Chriſt gaue vnto the prieſtes, power iudiciall ouer ſinners that cõfeſſed their ſinnes vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Chriſt: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and what ſoeuer thou looſeſt. &c. And theſe keyes of the kingdome of heauẽ they cal ẏ knowledge to diſcerne, and the power to iudge, which they ſay onely belongeth vnto the prieſtes, except in caſe of neceſſitie, then they ſay a lay man may abſolue a man from ſinne. And as touching abſolution they ſay, there are three thynges to be required on the ſinners part: firſt harty contrition, whereby the ſinners ought to bewaile their offending of God, through ſinnes: the ſecond is, auricular confeſſion, whereby the ſinner ought to ſhew vnto the Prieſt his ſinnes, & the circumſtances of them: The third is ſatiſfaction, through penaunce enioyned vnto hym by the Prieſt for hys ſinnes committed. And of his part that geueth abſolutiõ, there are two thynges (ſay they) to be required: that is to ſay, knowledge to diſcerne one ſinne from an other, wherby he ought to make a difference of ſinnes, and appoint a conuenient penaunce, according to the quantitie of the ſinnes: The ſecõd is authoritie to iudge, whereby he ought to ioyne penaunce to the offender. And further they ſay, that he that is confeſſed, ought with all humilitie to ſubmit himſelfe to this authoritie, and wholy and voluntarily to do thoſe penaunces which are commaunded hym by the prieſt, except the ſayde penaunce be releaſed by a ſuperiour power: for all prieſtes (as they ſay) haue not equall authoritie to abſolue ſinnes. The chiefe prieſt whom they call Peters ſucceſſour, hath power fully and wholy to abſolue. But the inferiour prieſtes haue power, ſome more, ſome leſſe. The more as they are neare him in dignitie: The leſſe, as they are farther from the dignitie of hys degree. All this is declared by proceſſe in the decrees, but not by the expreſſe doctrine of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles. For although Chriſt abſolued men from their ſinnes, I do not finde that he did it after the maner of a iudge, but of a ſauiour. For Chriſt ſaith, God ſent not hys ſonne into the world to iudge ſinners, but that the worlde ſhould be ſaued by him. John chap. 3. Wherupon he ſpake vnto him whom he healed of the palſie: Beholde, thou art made whole, go thy wayes and ſinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Chriſt ſaid, woman where be thy accuſers, hath no man condemned thee? who ſayd: No man Lord. To whom then Jeſus thus ſayd: No more will I condemne thee, Go, and now ſinne no more.

John. 3.

Math. 25.

The ſaintes ſhall iudge with Chriſt.

By which wordes and dedes of Chriſt and many other places of the ſcripture, it appeareth he was not as a Judge at his firſt coming to puniſh ſinners according to the quantitie of their offences: but ẏ day ſhall come hereafter, wherin he ſhall iudge all men according to their workes, as in Mat. 25. where he ſaith: When the ſonne of man ſhall come in his maieſty, and all hys Angels with hym: then ſhall he ſit vpon the ſeat of his maieſtie, and all nations ſhall be gathered together before hym, and he ſhall ſeparate them one from an other, as a ſhepheard ſeparateth the ſheepe from the Goates. &c. Neither ſhall he iudge alone, but his Saintes alſo wyth hym. For he ſaith, you that haue followed in me regeneration, when the ſonne of man ſhall ſit in the ſeat of hys maieſtie, ſhall ſit alſo vpon xij. ſeates, and iudge the xij. tribes of Iſraell. If then ſith Chriſt came not as a Judge, why doe the Prieſtes ſay that they ſupplye the roome of Chriſt on earth, to iudge ſinners according to the quantitie of their offences. And yet not onely thys, but it is more to be marueiled at, how the Byſhop of Rome dareth to take vpon him to be a Iudge before the day of iudgement, and to preuent the tyme, iudgeyng ſome to be ſaintes in heauen, & to be honoured of men, and ſome agayne to be tormented in hell eternally with the deuils. Would God theſe men would wey the ſaying of Saint Paule. Cor. 4. Iudge ye not before the time, vntill the commyng of the Lord, who ſhall make light the darcke and ſecrete places, and diſcloſe the ſecretes of hartes, and then euery one ſhall haue his praiſe. Let the byſhop of Rome take heede, leaſt that in Ezechiell be ſpoken by him: Becauſe thy hart is eleuate, and ſayeſt vnto thy ſelfe I am God, I haue ſitten in the ſeat of God, in the hart of the ſea, when thou art but man and not God. It is manifeſt, that the remiſsiō of ſinnes principally belongeth to God, who through grace waſheth away our ſinnes. For it is ſaid, the lambe of God taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And vnto Chriſtians it belongeth as the Miniſters of God. For in the xx. of Iohn Chriſt ſaith: Receaue vnto you the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes you ſhall remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhal retaine, they are retained. Seing therefore, that all Chriſtians that are baptiſed in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, receaue the holy Ghoſt: it appeareth, that they haue power geuen vnto them of Chriſt, to remit ſins miniſterially. Hath not euery Chriſtian authoritie to baptiſe? and in the baptiſme all the ſinnes of the baptiſed are remitted? Ergo, they that do baptiſe, do remit ſinnes. And thus miniſterially all ſuch haue power to remitte ſinnes. Therfore, to ſay that one man hath more authoritie to remit ſinnes then all other Chriſtians haue, is to much to extoll hym and to place him euen in Gods ſeate. I pray you, how are the ſinnes remitted him that is baptiſed of the Prieſt (yea although he were of the Pope hymſelfe baptiſed) more then if he were baptiſed of an other Chriſtian? Surely I thinke no more. For ſeing that before baptiſme he remayneth a ſinner and of the kingdome of the deuill by ſinne, after baptiſme he entreth into yͤ kingdome of heauen: It appeareth, that he yͭ doth baptiſe, openeth the gate of the kingdome of heauen to hym that is baptiſed: the which he cannot doe, without the keyes of yͤ kingdome of heauē. Therfore euery one that doth baptiſe: hath the keyes of yͤ kyngdome of heauen, as well the inferiour Prieſt as the Pope. But theſe keyes are not the knowledge to diſcerne, and power to iudge, becauſe theſe doe nothing auayle in baptiſme: Ergo, there are other keyes of the kingdome of heauen then theſe. Wherfore, it ſeemeth, that the authors of the Canōs erred in miſtakyng the keyes, wherupon they ground yͤ authoritie iudiciall of the clergie.

Cor.4.

Iohn.20.

The miniſteriall power to remit ſin, belongeth as well to one prieſt as to another.

The keyes of the kingdome of heauen.

The keyes miſtaken in the Popes Chanons.

Now a litle errour in the beginning graunted, groweth to great inconuenience in the ende. Wherfore in my iudgement it ſeemeth, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are fayth and hope. For by fayth in Ieſus Chriſt, and hope in hym for the remiſsion of ſinnes, we enter the kingdome of heauen. This fayth is a ſpirituall water, ſpringing from Ieſus Chriſt the fountaine of wiſdome, wherin the ſoule of the ſinner is waſhed from ſinne. With thys water were the faithfull Patriarches baptiſed before the lawe, and the faythfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faithfull Chriſtians after the law. Wherfore I greatly maruell of that ſaying in the decrees, which is aſcribed vnto Auguſtine: that litle children that are not baptiſed, ſhall be tormented wyth eternall fire, although they were borne of faithfull parentes, that wiſhed them wyth all their hartes to haue bene baptiſed: as though the Sacrament of Baptiſme in water were ſimply neceſſary to ſaluation, when neuertheles many Chriſtians are ſaued without thys kynde of Baptiſme, as Martyrs. If that kinde of Sacrament be not neceſſary, to one of elder yeares, how then is it neceſſary to an infant borne of the faythfull? Are not all baptiſed wyth the holy Ghoſt and wyth fire? But yet not wyth materiall fire, no more is the lotion of water corporally neceſſary to waſhe away ſinnes, but onely ſpirituall water, that is to ſay, the water of fayth. Are not the quicke baptiſed for them that are dead, as witneſſeth Paule. 1. Cor. 15. If the dead ariſe not at all, why are the liuing then baptiſed for them? If the liuyng be baptiſed for the dead? why then is not the infant ſaued by the baptiſme of hys parentes: ſeeing the infant it ſelfe is impotent at the tyme of death, and not able to require baptiſme? Chriſt ſayth, he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. He ſayth not, he that is not baptiſed: but he that beleueth not ſhall be damned. Wherfore in the xi. chap. of Iohn. Chriſt ſayth, I am the reſurrection and lyfe, he that beleueth in me, yea although he were dead, ſhall lyue. The faith therfore is neceſſary which the infant hath in his faithfull parentes, although he be not waſhed wyth corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormented wyth eternall fire? Were not they that were before the cōmyng of Chriſt, and dead before hys death by a thouſand yeres, ſaued alſo by his death & paſsion? All that beleued in hym, were baptiſed in hys bloud, and ſo were ſaued and redeemed from ſinne and the bondage of the deuill, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in the time of grace, ſhall the infant be damned that is borne of faythfull parentes, that do not deſpiſe, but rather deſire to haue their children baptiſed? I dare not conſent to ſo hard a ſentence of the decrees: but rather beleue, that he is ſaued by vertue of the paſsion of Chriſt in faith of his faithfull parentes, and the hope which they haue in Chriſt. Which faith and hope are the keyes of the heauenly kingdome. God were not iuſt and mercifull, if he would condemne a man that beleueth not in hym, except he ſhewed vnto hym the fayth which he ought to beleue. And therfore Chriſt ſayth: If I had not come and ſpoken vnto them, ſinne could not haue bene layd vnto their charge, but now they haue no excuſe of ſinne. Therfore, ſeying the fayth of Chriſt is not manifeſt vnto the infant departing before baptiſme, neither hath he denyed it: how then ſhall he be damned for the ſame? But if God ſpeaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as he ſpeaketh vnto Aungels: who then knoweth (ſaue God alone) whether the infant receiueth or not receiueth the fayth of Chriſt?

Fayth and hope be the keyes of heauen.

Decret. de Pœnitentia.

1. Cor. 15.

Iohn. 11.

Children departing before baptiſme not condemned.

What is he therfore, that ſo raſhly dare take vpon him to iudge the infantes begotten of faythfull parentes dying without baptiſme, to be tormented with eternal fire? Now let vs conſider the 3. things which the canons of decrees affirme to be requiſite for the remiſsion of the ſinnes of thoſe that ſinne after baptiſme: that is to ſay, contrition of hart, auricular confeſsion, and ſatiſfaction of the dede through penaunce enioyned by the prieſt for the ſinnes committed. I cannot finde in any place in the Goſpell, where Chriſt commaunded that this kynd of confeſsion ſhould be done vnto the prieſt: nor I cannot finde that Chriſt aſsigned any penaunce vnto ſinners for their ſinnes, but that he willed them to ſinne no more. If a ſinner confeſſe that he hath offended God through ſinne, and ſorroweth hartely for his offences, mynding no more hereafter to ſinne: then is he truely repentaunt for hys ſinne, and then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If he ſhal then humbly and with good hope craue mercy at God, and remiſsion of his ſinnes: what is he that can let God to abſolue that ſinner from hys ſinne? And as GOD abſolueth a ſinner from hys ſinne, ſo hath Chriſt abſolued many, although they confeſſed not their ſinnes vnto the prieſtes, and although they receiued not due penāce for their ſinnes. And if Chriſt could after that maner once abſolue ſinners: how is he become now not able to abſolue? Except ſome man will ſay, that he is aboue Chriſt, and that his power is miniſhed by the ordinaunces of hys owne lawes? How were ſinners abſolued of god in the tyme of the Apoſtles, and alwayes heretofore, vnto the tyme that theſe Canons were made? I ſpeake not theſe thinges as though confeſsion to prieſtes were wicked, but that it is not of neceſſitie requiſite vnto ſaluation. I beleue verily that the confeſsion of ſinnes vnto good prieſtes, and likewiſe to other faithfull Chriſtians, is good, as witneſſeth S. Iames the Apoſtle: Confeſſe ye your ſelues one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be ſaued: for the continuall prayer of the iuſt auaileth much. Helias was a man that ſuffred many thinges lyke vnto you, and he prayed that it ſhould not rayne vpon the earth, and it rayned not in 3. yeres and vi. monethes. And agayne he prayed, and it rayned from heauen, and the earth yelded forth her fruite. This kinde of confeſsion is good, profitable, and expedient: for if God peraduenture heareth not a mans owne prayer, he is helped with the interceſsion of others: yet neuertheleſſe the prayers of the prieſtes ſemeth to much to be extolled in the decrees, where it entreateth of penitence, and that ſaying aſcribed vnto Pope Leo. Cap. multiplex miſericordia dei. &c. And it followeth: So is it ordeyned by the prouidence of Gods diuine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obteined but by the prayer of yͤ prieſtes &c. The prayer of a good prieſt doth much auayle a ſinner confeſſing his faultes vnto hym. The counſaile of a diſcrete prieſt is very profitable for a ſinner, to geue the ſinner counſaile to beware hereafter to ſinne, and to inſtruct hym how he ſhall puniſh hys body by faſting, by watching, and ſuch like actes of repentaunce, that hereafter he may be better preſerued from ſinne.

Auricular confeſsion.

Iames.5.

De pœnit. diſt. 1. cap. Multiplex miſericordia dei.

After this maner I eſteme confeſsion to prieſtes very expedient and profitable to a ſinner. But to confeſſe ſinnes vnto the prieſt as vnto a iudge, and to receaue of hym corporall penaunce for a ſatiſfaction vnto God for his ſinnes committed, I ſee not how this can be grounded vpon the truth of the Scripture. For before the commyng of Chriſt, no man was

Eſay.53.

ſufficiēt or able to make ſatiſfactiō vnto God for his ſinnes, although he ſuffered neuer ſomuch penaunce for his ſinnes. And therfore it was needefull, that he that was without ſinne ſhould be puniſhed for ſinnes, as witneſſeth Iſayas, chap.53. where he ſayth: he tooke our griefes vpon him, & our ſorowes he bare. And agayn: He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickednes. And agayne: The Lord put vpon him our iniquitie. And agayne: for the wickednes of my people haue I ſtriken him. If therfore, Chriſt through his paſſion hath made ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes, whereas we our ſelues were vnable to do it, then through him haue we grace and remiſſiō of ſinnes. How can we ſay now, that we are ſufficient to make ſatiſfaction vnto God by any penaunce enioyned vnto vs by mens authoritie? ſeyng that our ſinnes are more greuous after Baptiſme: then they were before the commyng of Chriſt. Therfore, as in Baptiſme the payne of Chriſt in his paſſion was a full ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes; euen ſo, after Baptiſme if we confeſſe that we haue offended, and be harty ſory for our ſinnes, and mynde not to ſinne agayne afterwardes.

1.John.1.

Confeſſion vnto God.

Auriculer confeſſion not truely grounded vpō the Scripture. Luke.17.

The autors of the Canon law reproued.

Ioh.3.

Hereupō John writeth in his firſt epiſtle, chap.1. If we ſay we haue not ſinne, we deceaue our ſelues, & the truth is not in vs. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, God is faythfull and iuſt, he will remitte them, and clenſe vs from all our iniquities. If we ſay we haue not ſinned, we make him a lyar, and his word is not in vs. My welbeloued children, this I write vnto you that ye ſinne not: but if any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, and not for our ſinnes onely, but for the ſinnes of ẏ whole world. Therfore, we ought to confeſſe our ſelues chiefly vnto God euen from the hart, for that he chiefly doth remit ſinnes, without whoſe abſolution litle auayleth the abſolution of man. This kynde of confeſſion is profitable and good. The authors of the Canons ſay, that although auricular confeſſion made vnto the Prieſte, be not expreſly taught by Chriſt, yet, ſay they, it is taught in that ſaying, which Chriſt ſayd vnto them diſeaſed of the leproſie, whom he commaunded: Go your wayes, and ſhew your ſelues vnto the Prieſtes, becauſe as they ſay, the law of clenſing lepers, which was geuen by Moſes, ſignified the confeſſion of ſinnes vnto the Prieſt. And whereas Chriſt commaūded the lepers to ſhew them ſelues vnto the Prieſtes, they ſay that Chriſt ment, that thoſe that were vncleane with ẏ leper of ſinne, ſhould ſhew their ſinnes vnto the Prieſtes by auricular confeſſion. I maruell much at the authors of the Canons, for euen from the beginning of their decrees vnto the end, they ground their ſayinges vpō the old law, which was the law of ſinne and death, and not (as witneſſeth Paule) vpon the wordes of Chriſt, which are ſpirite & lyfe. Chriſt ſayth, the wordes which I ſpeake vnto you, are the ſpirite and lyfe. They ground their ſayinges in the ſhadow of the law, & not in the light of Chriſt. For euery euill doer hateth the light, & commeth not into it, that his deedes be not reproued: but he that doth the truth, cōmeth into the light, that his workes may be openly ſene, becauſe they are done in God. Iohn.3.

Luke.5.

The ſtory of the leapers expounded to make nothing for auricular confeſſion.

The clenſing of the leprey, & the clenſing of the prieſt in auricular confeſſion agree not.

Now let vs paſſe to the wordes that Chriſt ſpake to the leper. Lord if thou wilt, thou canſt make me cleane. And Ieſus ſtretching forth his hand, touched him, ſaying: I will, be thou cleane: and ſtraight wayes he was cleanſed of his leper. And Ieſus ſayd vnto him: See thou tell no man, but go and ſhew thy ſelfe to the Prieſt, & offer the gift that Moſes commaunded for a witnes of theſe thynges. This Goſpell witneſſeth playnly that the diſeaſed of lepers were clenſed onely by Chriſt, and not by the Prieſtes, neither did Chriſt commaunde the leper to ſhew himſelfe vnto the Prieſtes, for any helpe of clenſing that he ſhould receaue of the Prieſtes: but to fulfill the law of Moſes, in offeryng a ſacrifice for his clenſing, & for a teſtimony vnto the Prieſtes, who alwayes of enuie accuſed Chriſt as a tranſgreſſour of the law. For if Chriſt after he had clenſed the leper, had licenſed him to communicate with others that were cleane, before he had ſhewed himſelfe clenſed vnto the Prieſtes, then might the Prieſtes haue accuſed Chriſt, as a tranſgreſſour of the law: Becauſe it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was clenſed, ſhould ſhew himſelfe vnto the Prieſtes. And they had ſignes in the booke of law, wherby they might iudge whether he were truely clenſed or no. And if he were clenſed, then would the Prieſtes offer a gift for his clenſing. And if he were not clenſed, then would they ſegregate him from the cōpany of others that were cleane. Seyng euery figure, ought to be aſſimuled vnto the thyng that is figured: I pray you then, what agreement is there betwene the clenſing of lepers by the law, and the confeſſion of ſinnes? By that law the Prieſt knew better whether he were leprouſe then he himſelfe that had the leper. In cōfeſſion the prieſt knew not the ſinnes of him that was confeſſed, but by his owne confeſſion. In that law the Prieſt dyd not clenſe the leprouſe: how now therfore ought the prieſts to clenſe ſinners from their ſinne, and that without thē they cānot be clenſed. In this law the prieſt had certaine ſignes, by the which he could certainely know, whether a mā were clenſed from his leper or not. In cōfeſſion, the Prieſt is not certaine of the clenſing of ſinnes, becauſe he is ignoraunt of his contrition: He knoweth not alſo whether he will not ſinne any more, without the which contrition and graunting to ſinne no more, God hath not abſolued any ſinner. And if God hath not abſolued a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confeſſion figured vnder that law? Doubtleſſe ſo it ſeemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunicatiō, and reconciliatiō of him, that hath bene obſtinate in his ſinne, and is reconciled agayne. For ſo it appeareth by the proceſſe of the Goſpell, that when as the ſinner doth not amende for the priuate correction of his brother, yet for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publicke correction of the whole Church: Then is he to be counted as an Ethnike, and a Publicane and as a certaine Leper to be auoyded out of the cōpany of all men. Which ſinner notwithſtandyng, if he ſhall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, becauſe he is then clenſed from his obſtinacie.

The popes power in abſoluing from ſinnes not founded in ſcripture.

The Pope can abſolue none from puniſhment.

The Pope in his pardons deceiueth men 3. maner of wayes.

The pope promiſing pardons for ſinne, intiſeth men to ſinne in ſimonie.

But he which pretendeth himſelfe to be the chief vicare of Chriſt, and the high Prieſt, ſayth: that he hath power to abſolue A pœna & culpa: which I do not finde how it is founded in the ſcripture, but that of his owne authoritie, he enioyneth to ſinners, penaūce for their ſinnes. And graūte ẏ frō their ſinnes he may well abſolue them, yet frō the payne (which they call a pœna) he doth not ſimplely abſolue, as in his indulgences he promiſeth. But if he were in charitie, and had ſuch power, as he pretendeth, he would ſuffer none to lye in Purgatory for ſinne, for ſomuch as that payne doth farre excede all other payne which here we ſuffer. What mā is there beyng in charitie, but if he ſee his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will helpe him, and deliuer him? Much more ought the Pope then, to deliuer out of paynes of Purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he ſell to the rich his indulgēces, double wiſe, yea triple wiſe he ſeduceth them. Firſt, in promiſing to deliuer thē out of the payne from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliuer thē: And ſo maketh thē falſely to beleue that, which they ought not to beleue. Secondly, he deceaueth thē of their money, which he taketh for his indulgence. Thirdly, he ſeduceth them in this, that he promiſing to deliuer them from payne, doth induce them into greuous puniſhment in deede, for ẏ hereſie of ſimonie, which both of them do cōmit, & therfore are worthy both of great payne to fall vpon them: for ſo we read, that Ieſus caſt out byers and ſellers out of his temple. Alſo Peter ſayd vnto Symon ẏ firſt author of this hereſie. Thy money, ſayd he, with thee be deſtroyed, for that thou haſt thought, the gift of God to be poſſeſſed for money. Moreouer whereas Chriſt ſayth, freely you haue receaued, freely geue, and where as the Pope contrary doth ſell that thyng, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth greuouſly deſerue to be puniſhed, both he that ſelleth, and he that byeth, for the crime of ſimonie, which they commit. Ouer and beſides, by many reaſons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proued, that he doth not abſolue a man, contrite for his ſinne, although he do abſolue him from the gilt.

Deadly ſinnes and debte. The pope ſaith, he can remitte the debte to God: And yet can not remitte the debte to mā.

But this marueileth me, that he in his indulgences promiſeth to abſolue men from all maner of deadly ſinnes: and yet cannot abſolue a man from debt: for aſmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importaūce, then is the debt of our brother. Wherfore, if he be able to remitte the debt due to God, much more it ſhould ſeeme, that he is able to forgeue the debt of our brother.

The pope harder to pardon a prieſt leauing hys mattens vnſaid, then for breaking the cōmaundemēt of God.

An other thing there is, that I maruell at: for that the Pope ſheweth himſelfe more ſtraite in abſoluing a prieſt for not ſaying, or negligently ſaying his mattens: then for trāſgreſſing the commaundement of God: conſideryng that the tranſgreſſion of the commaundement of God, is much more greuous then the breach of mans commaundement.

Abſolution is to be ſought at the handes of god onely.

For theſe and many other errours concurryng, and in this matter of the Popes abſolutions, bleſſed be God, & honour be vnto him for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And let vs firmely beleue and know, that he doth and will abſolue vs from our ſinnes, if we bee ſory from the bottome of our hartes that we haue offended hym hauyng a good purpoſe and wyll to offende hym no more. And let vs be bold to reſort vnto good and diſcrete Prieſtes, who with wholeſome diſcretion and ſounde counſaile can inſtructe vs, how to auoyde the corruptiō of ſinne hereafter. And which, becauſe they are better then we, may pray to God for vs: wherby, we may both obtaine more ſooner the remiſſion of our ſinnes paſt, and alſo may learne better how to auoyde the daunger of ſinne to come. Ex Regiſtro Latino Epiſc. Hereford.

Ex Regiſt. latino Epiſc. Herford.

Notes.

☞ And thus much concernyng the iudgement and doctrine of this Walter, for Chriſtian peace, charitie and mercy, which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Chriſtianitie, ſo the ſayd Walter Brute makyng cōpariſon herein, betwene Chriſt and the Pope, goeth about purpoſely to declare and manifeſt, whereby all men may ſee, what cōtrarietie there is betwene the rule of Chriſtes teachyng, and the proceedyngs of the Pope: betwene the examples and life of the one, & the exāples of the other. Of which two, as the one is altogether geuen to peace: ſo is the other on the contrary ſide as much diſpoſed to warres, murder, & bloudſhed, as is eaſie to be ſene, who ſo lookyng not vpō the outward ſhewes and pretenſed wordes of theſe Romiſhe Popes, but aduiſing and conſideryng the inward practiſes, and ſecret workes of them, ſhall eaſily eſpye, vnder their viſour of peace what diſcorde, & debate they worke. Who bearyng outwardly the meeke hornes of the Lambe mētioned in the Apocalips, within, do beare the bowels of a wolfe, full of crueltie, murder, and bloudſhed which if any do thinke to be ſpoken of me contumeliouſly, would God that man could proue as well the ſame to be ſpoken of me not truely. But truth it is, I ſpeake it ſincerely, without affection of blynd partialitie, accordyng to the truth of hiſtoryes both old and new. Thus vnder In Dei nomine. Amen, how vnmercifully doth the Pope condemne his brother: And while he pretendeth not to be lawfull for him to kill any mā, what thouſandes hath he killed of men? And likewiſe in his ſentence, pretendyng, in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, as though he would be a mediatour to the magiſtrate for the partie: yet in deede will he be ſure to excommunicate the Magiſtrate, if he execute not the ſentence geuen. Who be true heretiques, the Lord when he commeth ſhall iudge: but geue them to be heretiques, whom he condemneth for heretiques, yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothyng, but burnyng, fagotyng, drownyng, priſonyng, cheynyng, famiſhyng, rackyng, hangyng, tormentyng, threatnyng, reuilyng, curſing, and oppreſſing, and no inſtructyng, nor yet indifferent hearyng of them, what they can ſay. The like crueltie alſo may in their warres appeare, if we conſider how Pope Vrbane 5. beſide the rackyng and murderyng of 7. or 8. Cardinals, ſet vp Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwich to fight againſt the French Pope. Innocentius 4. was in warre himſelfe agaynſt the Apulians. Likewiſe Alexāder 4. his ſucceſſour ſtyrred vp the ſonne of kyng Henry 3. to fight agaynſt the ſonne of Fridericke 2. Emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which ſtode to be Emperour) to driue Philip the French kyng out of his Realme. Gregorius 9. excited Ludouike the Frēch kyng iij. ſondry tymes, to mortall warre agaynſt the Earle Raimundus & Citie of Tholouſe, and Auinion, where Lewes the ſayd French kyng dyed. Honorius 3. by ſtrēgth of warre many wayes reſiſted Fridericke 2. and ſent out 35. Galleys agaynſt the coaſtes of the Emperours dominions. The ſame Pope alſo beſieged Ferraria, to paſſe ouer the warre at Ticinū, with many other battailes and conflictes of Popes, agaynſt the Romanes, Venetians, and diuers other nations. Innocentius 3. ſet vp Philip the French kyng to warre agaynſt kyng Iohn. What ſtyrre Pope Gregory the 7. otherwiſe named Hildebrand, kept agaynſt the Emperour Henricus 4. it is not vnknowē. And who is able to recite all the warres, battailes, & fieldes fought by the ſtirring vp of the pope? Theſe with many other lyke examples conſidered, did cauſe this Walter Brute to write in this matter ſo as he did, makyng yet therof no vniuerſall propoſition: but that Chriſtiā Magiſtrates, in caſe of neceſſitie, might make reſiſtaunce, in defence of publique right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

John. 6.

Touchyng the matter (ſayth he) of the Sacramēt of the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, diuers mē haue diuers opinions, as the learned do know. As cōcernyng my iudgement vpon the ſame, I firmely beleue whatſoeuer the Lord Chriſt Ieſus taught implicite or expreſly to his Diſciples and faythfull people to be beleued: for he is (as I beleue and know) the true bread of God, which deſcēded from heauen, and geueth life to the world. Of which bread who ſoeuer eateth, ſhal liue for euer, as it is in the vj. of S. Iohn declared. Before the cōmyng of Chriſt in the fleſh, although men did liue in body, yet in ſpirite they did not lyue, becauſe all men were then vnder ſinne, whoſe ſoules therby were dead: from the which death, no man by the law, nor with the law was iuſtified: for by the wordes of the law ſhall no fleſh be iuſtified. Galat. 2. And agayne in the ſame epiſtle cap. 3. that by the law no man is iuſtified before God it is manifeſt: for the iuſt man ſhall lyue by his faith. the law is not of fayth, but whoſoeuer hath the workes therof, ſhall liue in them. And agayne in the ſame chap. If the law had bene geuen, which might haue iuſtified, then our righteouſnes had come by the law. But the ſcripture hath concluded all vnder ſinne, that the promiſe might be ſure by the faith of Ieſu Chriſt to all beleuers. Moreouer, before that fayth came, they were kept and concluded all vnder the law, vntill the commyng of that fayth which was to be reuealed. For the law was our ſchoolemaiſter in Chriſt Ieſu, that we ſhould be iuſtified by faith. Alſo the ſayd Paule Rom. 5. ſayth: that the law entred in the meane time, wherby that ſinne might more abūd. Where then ſinne hath more aboūded there hath alſo grace ſuperabounded, that like as ſinne hath raigned vnto death: ſo that grace might raigne alſo by righteouſnes vnto eternall life, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Whereby it is manifeſt, that by the fayth which we haue in Chriſt, beleuing hym to be the true ſonne of God, which came downe from heauen to redeeme vs from ſinne: we are iuſtified from ſinne, and ſo do liue by him, which is the true bread and meat of our ſoule. And the bread which Chriſt gaue, is hys fleſh geuē for the life of the world. Ioh. 6. For he beyng God, came downe from heauen, and being true carnall man, did ſuffer in the fleſh for our ſinnes, which in his diuinitie he could not ſuffer. Wherefore, like as we beleue by our fayth that he is true God: ſo muſt we alſo beleue, that he is true man. And then do we eate the bread of heauen, and the fleſh of Chriſt. And if we beleue that he did voluntarily ſhed hys bloud for our redemption, then doe we drinke his bloud.

Galath. 2. Iuſtification by fayth and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

John 6.

True eating of Chriſt, is true beleuing in him.

And thus, except we eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and ſhall drinke hys bloud: we haue not eternall lyfe in vs. Becauſe the fleſh of Chriſt verely is meate, and hys bloud is drinke in deede: and who ſoeuer eateth the fleſh of Chriſt and drinketh hys bloud, abydeth in Chriſt & Chriſt in him, Ioh. cap. 6. And as in this world ÿ ſoules of ÿ faithful liue, and are refreſhed ſpiritually with thys heauenly bread, and with the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt: So in the world to come, the ſame ſhall liue eternally in heauen, refreſhed wyth the deitie of Ieſus Chriſt, as touching the moſt principal part therof, that is to wit, intellectū: For as much as this bread of heauē, in that it is God, hath in it ſelfe all delectable pleaſantnes. And as touching the intelligible powers of ÿ ſame (as well exteriour as interiour) they are refreſhed wyth the fleſh (that is to ſay) with the humanitie of Ieſus Chriſt: which is, as a queene ſtanding on the right hand of God, decked in a golden robe of diuers coulours: for this queene of heauen alone by the worde of God, is exalted aboue the company of all the aungels: that by her, all our corporal power intellectiue, may fully be refreſhed as is our ſpirituall intelligence, with the beholdyng of ÿ deitie of Ieſus Chriſt, and euen as the Aungels, ſhall we be fully ſatiſfied. And in the memory of this double refectiō, preſent in this world and in the world to come: hath Chriſt geuen vnto vs (for eternall bleſſednes) the Sacrament of hys body and bloud, in the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, as it appeareth in Mathew. chap. 26. As the diſciples ſat at ſupper, Ieſus tooke bread and bleſſed it, brake it, & gaue it vnto his diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup, and thancked, and gaue it them, ſaying: Drinke ye all of thys, this is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which ſhall be ſhed for many, for ÿ remiſſion of ſinnes. And Luke in his Goſpell chap. 22. of this matter thus writeth. And after he had taken the bread, he gaue thankes, he brake it, and gaue it vnto them, ſaying: This is my bodye which ſhall be geuen for you: doe you this in my remembraunce. In like maner he tooke the cup after ſupper, ſaying: This is the cup of the new Teſtament in my bloud, which ſhalbe ſhed for you. That Chriſt ſayd, this is my body, in ſhewing to them the bread, I firmely beleue & know that it is true: That Chriſt (for ſo much as he is God) is the very truth it ſelfe: and by conſequence, all that he ſayth is true. And I beleue that the very ſame was his body, in ſuch wiſe as he willed it to be his body: for in that he is almighty, he hath done what ſo euer pleaſed him. And as in Cane of Galile, he chaunged the water into wyne, really, ſo that after the tranſubſtantiation it was wyne and not water: ſo when he ſayd, Thys is my body: If he woulde haue had the bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into hys very body, ſo that after thys chaunging it ſhould haue bene hys naturall bodye, and not bread as it was before: I know, that it muſt needes

Eating of the fleſh of Chriſt what it is.

Math. 26.

Luke. 22.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well gentle Reader.

haue bent ſo. But I finde not in the Scripture, that his will was to haue any ſuch reall tranſubſtantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God omnipotent in his perfection eſſentiall beyng the ſonne of God, doth excede the moſt pureſt creature, and yet when it pleaſed him, he tooke vpō him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, & was really made mā: ſo that after this aſſumptyng of our ſubſtaūce he was really very God and very mā: Euen ſo if he would, when he ſayd: This is my body: He could make this to be his body really, the bread ſtill really remaynyng as it was before. For leſſe is the differēce of the eſſence, betwene bread and the body of a man, then betwene the deitie and humanitie: becauſe that of the bread, is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made bloud: of the bloud, naturall ſeede: and of naturall ſeede, the naturall ſubſtaunce of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man: This is an action ſupernaturall. Wherfore, he that could make one man to be very God and very man: could if he would make one thyng to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not finde it expreſly in the Scripture, that he would any ſuch Identitie or coniunction to be made. And as Chriſt ſayd, I am very bread, not chaungyng his eſſence or beyng, into the eſſence or ſubſtaunce of bread: but was the ſayd Chriſt, which he was before really, and yet bread by a ſimilitude or figuratiue ſpeach: So if he would, it might be, that when he ſayd: This is my body: That this ſhould really haue bene the bread as it was before, and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this ſeemeth vnto me, moſt nearest to agree to the meanyng of Chriſt, for as much as he ſayd: do this in the remembraunce of me. Then, for as much as in the ſupper it is manifeſt, that Chriſt gaue vnto his Diſciples the bread of his bodye which he brake, to that intent to eate with their mouthes: in which bread, he gaue himſelfe alſo vnto them as one in whom they ſhould beleue (as to be the foode of the ſoule) & by that fayth they ſhould beleue him to be their ſauiour which tooke his body, wherin alſo he would it to be manifeſt, that he would redeme them from death: So was the bread eaten with the Diſciples mouthes, that he beyng the true bread of the ſoule, might be in ſpirite receaued and eaten ſpiritually, by their fayth, which beleued in him.

Bread by ſimilitude.

Bread ſubſtantially and the body by Sacramentally.

The bread which in the Diſciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth paſſed to the ſtomack: For as Chriſt ſayth: whatſoeuer cōmeth to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thēce into the priuy. Math. chap. 15. But that true and very bread of the ſoule, was eaten of the ſpirite of the Diſciples, and by fayth entred their myndes, and abode in their intrailes through loue. And ſo the bread broken, ſeemeth vnto me to be really ẏ meat of the body, & the bread which it was before: but Sacramentally to be the body of Chriſt, as Paule. 1. Cor. 10. The bread which we breake, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So, the bread which we breake, is the participation of the Lordes body. And it is manifeſt, that the heauenly bread is not broken, neither yet is ſubiect to ſuch breaking: Therfore, Paul calleth the materiall bread, which is broken, the body of Chriſt which the faythfull are partakers of. The bread therfore chaungeth not his eſſence, but is bread really, and is the body of Chriſt Sacramētally. Euen as Chriſt is the very vyne, abidyng really and figuratiuely the vyne: So, the temple of Ieruſalem was really the materiall temple: & figuratiuely it was the body of Chriſt: Becauſe he ſayd, deſtroy you this temple, and in three dayes I will repayre the ſame agayne. And this ſpoke he of the temple of his body, where as others vnderſtode it to be the materiall temple, as appeared by their aūſwere: For ſaid they, 47. yeares hath this temple bene in buildyng, and wilt thou build it vp in three dayes?

The bread which the Lord gaue entreth not into the bodies, but the body which he gaue entreth into the mindes of the diſciples.

Paule calleth it materiall bread.

Note Reader.

Euen ſo, may the conſecrated bread be really bread as it was before, and yet figuratiuely the body of Chriſt. And if therfore, Chriſt would this bread to be onely ſacramentally his body and would not haue the ſame bread really to be tranſubſtātiated into his body, and ſo ordained his Prieſtes to make this Sacrament as a memoriall of his paſſion: Then do the Prieſtes greuouſly offende, whiche beſeche Chriſt in their holy Maſſe, that the bread which lyeth vpō ẏ aultar may be made really the body of Chriſt, if he would not haue the ſame to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceaued themſelues, and alſo doe greatly deceaue others. But whether the bread be really tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, or is onely the body of Chriſt ſacramentally: No doubt, but that the people are marueilouſly deceaued. For, the people beleue that they ſee the body of Chriſt, nay rather Chriſt himſelfe betwene the handes of the Prieſtes (for ſo is the common othe they ſweare.) By him whō I ſaw this day betwene the prieſtes handes. And the people beleue that they eate not the body of Chriſt but at Eaſter, or els when they lye vpon their death bed, and receaue with their bodely mouth the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. But the body of Chriſt (admitte the bread be tranſubſtantiated really into the body) is in the Sacrament, indiuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be deuided, and ſo immēſurabiliter, that is, not able to be meaſured: Ergo, inuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be ſene. To beleue therfore that he may be ſene corporally in the Sacrament, is erroneous. And for as much as the body of Chriſt, is the ſoules foode and not the foode of the body in this world, for that whoſoeuer beleueth, doth eate ſpiritually, and really, at any tyme when he ſo beleueth: It is manifeſt, that they do greatly erre whiche beleue that they eate not the body of Chriſt, but when they eate with their teeth the Sacramēt of the body of Chriſt.

The vayne prayer of the Prieſtes at their Maſſe.

The people greatly deceaued in the ſacramēt.

And although it ſhould be to the great honour of prieſtes, that the bread really were chaūged into the body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the Sacramentall wordes pronounced: yet if Chriſt would not haue it to be ſo, then they deſiryng to do this contrary to the will of Chriſt, and informyng the people, that is to be done, ſo contrary to the will of Chriſt: are in great perill, moſt daūgerouſly ſeducing both themſelues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a litle worldly and tranſitory honour for a ſhort tyme: It is to be feared, leaſt perpetuall ſhame finally ſhall follow and inſue vpon the ſame. For Chriſt ſayth, euery one that exalteth himſelfe, ſhall be brought low. Let them therfore take heede, leaſt they extollyng themſelues for this Sacrament, aboue the company of Aungels which neuer ſinned, for the errour which they be in, for euermore be placed with the ſinfull aungels vnder the earth.

The prieſtes ſeeke their owne honour in their tranſubſtātiatiō.

Marke here ye good prieſtes.

Let euery man therfore thinke lowly of himſelfe in what ſtate or degree ſoeuer he be, neither let him preſume to do that which he is not able to do: Neither deſire to haue that thyng done, which God would not haue done.

I greatly marueile at thoſe which were the makers of the Canons, how variably and cōtrary one to an other they write of this Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. In the laſt part of the decrees where this matter is touched: not onely in the text, but alſo in the proces of the matter, diuers do diuerſly write, and one contrary to an other. For in the chapter that thus begynneth Prima inquit hæreſis, it is thus written: You ſhal not eate this body which you ſee, nor ſhal drinke this bloud which they ſhall ſhed, which ſhall crucifie me: I will commend vnto you a certaine Sacrament ſpiritually vnderſtode that quickneth you, for the fleſh profiteth you nothyng at all. And in the end of the ſame chapter, it is thus written: Till the world ſhall haue an end, the Lordes place is in heauen: yet notwithſtandyng, the veritie of the Lord is here abidyng with vs. For the body wherewith he roſe, ought to be in one place, but his verity is in euery place diffuſed and ſpread abroad. And in the chapter folowyng which thus begynneth, Omnia quæcunq; voluit. &c. it is written: Although the figure of the bread & wyne ſeeme to be nothyng: yet notwithſtādyng they muſt after the wordes of conſecration be beleued, to be none other thing then the very fleſh of Chriſt and his bloud. Wherupon, the veritie himſelfe ſayd vnto his Diſciples: This is ſaith he, my fleſh, which is geuen for the life of the world: and to ſpeake yet more marueilouſly, this is none other fleſh, then that which was borne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered vpō the croſſe, and roſe out of the ſepulchre.

The makers of the Canō law, cōtrary to themſelues.

De conſe. 2. cap. Prima quidem inquit.

De cōſe. diſt. 2. cap. Omnia quæcunque voluit.

Contrarietie in the popes Canons.

See how farre this chapter differreth frō the firſt. And in the chapter which begynneth Ego Berengarius. &c. This is the confeſſion which Berengarius himſelfe cōfeſſed touchyng this Sacrament, and his confeſſion is of the Church allowed. I confeſſe (ſayth Berengarius) that the bread and wyne which is layd vpon the aultar after the conſecration, is not onely a Sacrament: but alſo that it is the very body and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: And the ſame not onely ſenſually to be a Sacrament, but alſo verely to be handled with the Prieſtes handes and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faythfull men. This confeſſion doubtleſſe is hereticall: for why, if the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is ſo determined: it is there then Multiplicatiuè, and ſo indiuiſibiliter, wherfore not ſenſualiter. And if it be there indiuiſibiliter, that is, in ſuch ſort as it cannot be deuided or ſeparated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken nor with the teeth of men chewed.

De conſecrat. diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The recantation of Berengarius is hereticall.

The writers of this tyme and age do affirme: that if by the negligence of the Prieſt, the Sacrament be ſo negligētly left, that a Mouſe or any other beaſt or vermine eate the ſame: then they ſay, that the Sacrament returneth agayne into the nature and ſubſtaunce of bread. Whereby, they muſt

The Sacrament left by the prieſtes negligence to be eatē of a mouſe returneth agayne frō body to bread.

nedes

needes confeſſe, that a miracle is as wel wrought by the negligence of the Prieſt, as firſt there was made by the conſecration of the Prieſt in making the Sacrament. For either by the eatyng of the Mouſe, the body of Chriſt is tranſubſtantiated into the nature of bread, which is a tranſubſtantiation ſupernaturall: Or els of nothyng by creation is this bread produced. And therfore, either of theſe operations is miraculous and to be marueiled at. Now conſideryng the diſagreyng opinions of the Doctours, and for the abſurdities which folow, I beleue with Paule, that the bread whiche we breake, is the participation of the body of Chriſt: and as Chriſt ſayth, that the breade is made the body of Chriſt for a memoriall and remembraunce of him. And in ſuch ſort as Chriſt willed the ſame to be his body, in the ſame maner & ſort do I beleue it to be his body.

Whether externall ſignes in a prieſt, be the ſigne of Antichriſt or els be grounded vpon Chriſt.

But whether women may make the body of Chriſt, & miniſter vnto the people: or whether that Prieſtes be deuided from the lay people, for their knowledge, preeminence, and ſanctitie of lyfe, or els by externall ſignes onely: Alſo whether the ſigne of tonſure and other externall ſignes of holyneſ in Prieſtes, be ſignes of Antichriſt and his characters, or els introduced & taught by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: conſequently it remayneth next to ſpeake of vnto the faythfull ſort (accordyng to the proces of the holy Scripture) firſt of the three kyndes of the Prieſtes. I remember that I haue read, the firſt of them to be Aaronicall, legall, and temporall: The ſecond to be eternall and regall accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech: The third to be Chriſtian. The firſt of theſe ceaſed at the commyng of Chriſt: for that as S. Paul to the Hebrues ſayth. The Prieſthode of Aaron was tranſlated to the Prieſthode of the order of Melchiſedech. The legall ſort of Prieſtes of Aaron, were ſeparate frõ the reſt of the people, by kynred, office, and inheritaunce. By kynred, for that the children of Aaron onely were Prieſtes. By office, for that it onely pertained to them to offer ſacrifice, for the ſinnes of the people, and to inſtruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritaunce, becauſe the Lord was their portion of inheritaũce: neither had they any other inheritaunce amongeſt their brethren, but thoſe thynges which were offered vnto the Lorde, as the firſt fruits, partes of the ſacrifices, and vowes, except places for their manſion houſes for them and theirs, as appeareth by the proceſſe of Moyſes law. The Prieſthode of Chriſt, did much differre from this Prieſthode, as Paule doth witnes to the Hebrues chapter, 1.8.9.10.

Three orders or ſortes of prieſtes.
1. Aronical.
2. Eternall.
3. Chriſtian.

Leviticall prieſtes deuided from the people, by kindred, office, & inheritance.

The prieſthoode of Chriſt differeth frõ the Leviticall prieſthoode, how, and wherin.
1. In kindrede.
2. In othe taking.
3. In durabilitie.

First in kynred, becauſe that our Lord & Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, came of the ſtocke and tribe of Juda: of whiche tribe none had to do with the aultar: and in which tribe nothyng at all was ſpoken of the Prieſtes of Moſes.

The ſecond, for that other were made Prieſtes without their othe taken, but he by an othe by him whiche ſayd: The Lord ſwore, and it ſhall not repent him: Thou art a Prieſt for euer accordyng to the order of Melchiſedech.

Thirdly, by durabilitie, for that many of the were made Prieſts but duryng the terme of their lyues: but he, for that he remaineth for euer, hath an eternall Prieſthoode. Wherfore he is able to ſaue vs for euer, hauing by himſelfe acceſſe vnto God, which euer liueth to make interceſſion for vs.

The law made alſo ſuch men Prieſtes as had infirmities, but Sermo (that is, the word which accordyng to the law is the eternall ſonne and perfect) by an othe.

4. In matter of ſacrifice.

5. In place of ſacrificing.

The Prieſthode of Chriſt alſo did differre frõ the Prieſthode of Aaron and the law, in the matter of the ſacrifice: and in the place of ſacrificing. In the matter of the ſacrifice: becauſe they did vſe in their ſacrifices ſtraunge bodyes for the matter of their ſacrifices, and did ſhed ſtraũge bloud for the expiation of ſinnes: But he, offering himſelfe vnto God his father for vs, ſhed his owne bloud, for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. In the place of ſacrificyng, becauſe that they did offer their ſacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: But Chriſt ſuffering death without the gates of the Citie, offered himſelfe vpon the aultar of the croſſe to God his father, & there ſhed his precious bloud. In his ſuppyng chamber, alſo he bleſſed the bread and conſecrated the ſame for his body, & the wyne which was in the cup, he alſo cõſecrated for his bloud: deliueryng the ſame to his Apoſtles to be done, for a commemoration and remembraunce of his incarnation and paſſion. Neither did Jeſus enter into the ſãctuarie made with mans handes, which be examples & figures of true thyngs: but entred into heauen it ſelfe, that he might appeare before the maieſtie of God for vs. Neither doth he offer himſelf oftẽtymes, as the chief prieſt in the ſanctuarie did euery yeare with ſtraunge bloud (for then ſhould he often tymes haue ſuffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to deſtroy ſinne by his peace offeryng, hath he entered. And euen as it is decreed, that mã once ſhal dye and then commeth the iudgement: ſo Chriſt hath bene once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. The ſecond tyme he ſhall appeare without ſinne to them that looke for hym, to their ſaluation. For the lawe hauing a ſhadowe of good thynges to come, can neuer by the Image it ſelfe of thynges (which euery yeare without ceaſing they offer by ſuch ſacrifices) make thoſe perfect that come therunto, for otherwyſe that offeryng ſhould haue ceaſed: Becauſe that ſuche worſhippers beyng once cleanſed from their ſinnes, ſhould haue no more conſcience of ſinne. But in theſe, commemoration is made euery yeare of ſinne: for it is impoſſible that by the bloud of Goates and Calues, ſinnes ſhoulde be purged and taken away. Therfore commyng into ÿ worlde he ſayd: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldeſt not haue, but a bodye haſt thou geuen me, peace offeringes for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee: Then ſayd I, behold I come. In the volume of the booke it is written of me, that I ſhould do thy wyll O God: Saying as aboue, becauſe thou wouldeſt haue no ſacrifices, nor burnt offeringes for ſinne, neyther doeſt thou take pleſure in thoſe things that are offred accordyng to the law. The ſayd I, beholde I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the firſt, to ſtabliſhe that which followeth. In which will, we are ſanctified by the oblation of the body of Jeſus Chriſt, once for all. And euery prieſt is ready dayly miniſtring, and oftentymes offeryng lyke ſacrifices, which can neuer take away ſinnes. But thys Jeſus offering one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the tyme tyll hys enemyes be made hys footeſtoole. For by his owne onely oblation, hath he conſummated for euermore thoſe that are ſanctified.

The law bryngeth none to perfection.

All theſe places haue I recited which Paule writeth, for the better vnderſtandyng and declaration of thoſe thinges I meane to ſpeake. By all which it appeareth manifeſtly, how the prieſthoode of Chriſt, differeth from the legal prieſthoode of Aaron: and by the ſame alſo appeareth, how the ſame differeth from all other prieſthoode chriſtian, that immitateth Chriſt. For, the properties of the prieſthoode of Chriſt aboue recited, are founde in no other Prieſt, but in Chriſt alone. Of the third prieſthoode, that is, the Chriſtiã prieſthoode: Chriſt by expreſſe wordes ſpeaketh but litle, to make any difference betwene the prieſtes and the reſt of the people, neither yet doth he vſe this name of Sacerdos or preſbiter in the Goſpel. But ſome he calleth diſciples, ſome apoſtles, whõ he ſent to baptiſe & to preach, & in his name to doe myracles. He calleth them the ſalt of the earth, in which ÿ name of wyſdome is ment: and he calleth them the lyght of the world, by which good lyuing is ſignified. For he ſaith, So let your lyght ſhyne before men, that they may ſee your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen. And Paule ſpeakyng of the Prieſtes to Timothe, & Titus, ſeemeth not to me to make any diuerſitie betwixte the Prieſtes and the other people, but in that he woulde haue them to ſurmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth prieſthoode, is the Romayne prieſthoode, brought in by the Church of Rome: which Church, maketh a diſtinction betwene the clergie and the lay people: and after that, the clergie is diuided into ſundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals.

The prieſthoode of Chriſt differeth from all other prieſthoods.

The third prieſthoode.

The name of Sacerdos or prieſt not vſed in the new Teſtament of Chriſt.

The fourth prieſthoode, which is the Romane prieſthoode.

Thys diſtinction of the clergie from the laitie, with the tonſure of clerkes, beganne in the tyme of Anacletus, as it doth appeare in the Chronicles. The degrees of the clergie, were afterward inuented & diſtincted by their offices, and there was no aſcention to the degree of prieſthoode, but by inferiour orders and degrees. But in the primatiue church it was not ſo: for immediatly after the conuerſion of ſome of thẽ to the fayth & baptiſme receaued: they were prieſts & biſhops made, as appereth by Ananias, whõ Marcus made of a Taylor or Shomaker, to be a byſhop. And of many others it was in like caſe done, accordyng to the traditions of the church of Rome. Prieſtes are ordayned to offer ſacrifices, to make ſupplication and prayers, and to bleſſe & ſanctifie. The oblation of the prieſthoode, onely to prieſtes (as they ſay) is congruent: whoſe duties are, vpon the aultar to offer for the ſinnes of the people the Lordes body, which is cõſecrated of bread. Of which ſaying I haue great meruell, conſideryng S. Paule his wordes to the Hebrewes before recited. If Chriſt offering for our ſinnes one oblation for euermore, ſitteth on the right hand of God, and wyth that one oblation hath cõſummated for euermore, thoſe that are ſanctified? If Chriſt euermore ſitteth on ÿ right hand of God, to make interceſſion for vs, what nede he to leaue here any ſacrifice for our ſinnes, of the Prieſtes to be dayly offered? I do not finde in the ſcriptures of God nor of hys Apoſtles, that the body of Chriſt ought to be made a ſacrifice for ſinne: but onely as a Sacrament and commemoration

The office of prieſtes after the popes order.

The body of Chriſt not left to be a ſacrifice for ſinne, but onely for a ſacrament.

tion of the ſacrifice paſſed, which Chriſt offered vpon the aulter of the croſſe for our ſinnes. For it is an abſurditie to ſay, that Chriſt is now euery day really offered as a ſacrifice vpon the aultar by the Prieſtes: for then the Prieſts ſhould really crucifie him vpon the aulter, which is a thyng of no Chriſtian to be beleued. But euen as in his ſupper, his body and his bloud he deliuered to his Diſciples, in memoriall of his body that ſhould be crucified on the morrow for our ſinnes: So after his Aſcention, did his Apoſtles vſe the ſame (when they brake bread in euery houſe) for a Sacrament, and not for a ſacrifice, of the body and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And by this meanes were they put in remembraunce of the great loue of Chriſt, who ſo entirely loued vs, that willyngly he ſuffered the death for vs, and for the remiſſiō of our ſinnes. And thus did they offer themſelues to God by loue, beyng ready to ſuffer death for the confeſſion of his name, and for the ſauyng health of their brethren, fulfillyng the new commaundement of Chriſt which ſayd vnto them: A new cōmaundemēt do I geue vnto you, that you loue one an other, as I haue loued you. But when loue begā to waxe cold or rather to be froſē for cold, through the anguiſh & anxietie of perſecution for the name of Chriſt: then Prieſtes did vſe the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, in ſteede of a ſacrifice. And becauſe many of them feared death, ſome of them fled into ſolitarie places, not daryng to geue themſelues a ſacrifice by death vnto God through the confeſſion of his name, and ſauyng health of their brethren: Some other worſhypped Idols, fearyng death, as did alſo the chief Byſhop of Rome, and many other mo in diuers places of the world. And thus it came to paſſe, as that which was ordained and inſtituted for a memorial of the one and onely ſacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realitie of the ſacrifice it ſelfe.

How the memoriall of the ſacrament came to the realtie of the ſacrifice it ſelfe.

¶ After theſe thynges thus diſcuſſed, he inferreth conſequētly vpō the ſame, an other brief tractatiō of womē & lay men, whether in defect of the other, they may exerciſe the action of prayer, and adminiſtration of Sacramentes belongyng to Prieſtes: wherein he declareth the vſe receaued in the Popes Church, for womē to Baptiſe, which, ſayth he, cannot be without remiſſion of ſinnes, wherfore ſeyng that women haue power by the Pope to remit ſinne, and to baptiſe, why may they not aſwell be admitted to miniſter the Lordes Supper, in like caſe of neceſſitie? Wherein alſo he maketh relation of Pope John. 8. a woman Pope, mouing certaine queſtions of her. All which for breuitie I pretermitte, proceedyng to the miniſtration of prayer, and bleſſing or ſanctification, appropriate to the office of Prieſtes as foloweth.

The order and office of prayer.

The Lordes prayer.

Math. 6.

Furthermore, as touchyng the function & office of prayng and bleſſing, whereunto Prieſtes ſeme to be ordeined (to omitte here the queſtion whether women may pray in Churches, in lacke of other meete perſons) it remayneth now alſo to proſecute. Chriſt beyng deſired of his Diſciples to teach them to pray, gaue them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my eſtimation, no other is to be compared. For in that firſt, the whole honour due vnto the deity is cōprehended. Secondly, whatſoeuer is neceſſarie for vs, both for the tyme preſēt, or paſt, or for tyme to come, is there deſired & prayed for. He informeth vs beſides to pray ſecretly, and alſo briefly: ſecretly to enter into our cloſe chamber, and there in ſecrecy he willeth vs to pray vnto his father. And ſayth moreouer, when ye pray, vſe not much babling, or many wordes, as do the heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe prayyng to be heard. Therfore be you not like to them. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away from the errours of the heathen Gētiles: from whom procede theſe ſuperſtitious maner of artes (or rather of ignoraunces) as Necromancy, the arte of diuination, and other ſpiſes of coniuration, not vnknowen to them, that be learned: for theſe Necromanſers beleue, one place to be of greater vertue then an other, there to be heard ſooner, then in an other. Like as Baalam beyng hyred to curſe yͤ people of God, by his arte of ſouthſaying, or charmyng, when he could not accompliſh his purpoſe in one place, he remoued to an other, but he in the end, was deceaued of his deſire. For he intending firſt to curſe them, was not able to accurſe thē whom the Lord bleſſed, ſo that his curſe could not hurt any of all that people. After like ſort the Necromancers turne their face to yͤ Eaſt, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Alſo the Necromāſers beleue, that the vertue of the wordes of the prayer, and the curioſitie therof, cauſeth them to bring that to effect, which they ſeeke after, which is alſo an other point of infidelitie, vſed much of Charmers, Sorcerers, Inchaūters, Southſayers and ſuch like. Out of the ſame artes (I feare) procedeth the practiſe of exorciſing, whereby deuils and ſpirites be coniured to do that, whereunto they are inforced by the Exorciſt. Alſo wherby other creatures likewiſe are exorciſed or coniured, ſo that by the vertue of their exorciſme, they may haue their power and ſtrength exceedyng all naturall operation.

The artes of Necromancie, Southſayings witchcraftes, how and from whom they came.

Againſt exorciſing of prieſtes.

In the Church of Rome, many ſuch exorciſmes & coniurations be practiſed, & are called of them benedictions, or halowinges. But here I aſke of theſe Exorciſers, whether they beleue the thynges and creatures ſo exorciſed and halowed haue that operation and efficacie geuen them, which they pretend? If they ſo beleue, euery child may ſee that they are farre beguiled. For holy water beyng of them exorciſed or coniured: hath no ſuch power in it, neither cā haue, which they in their exorciſme do cōmaunde. For there they inioyne and commaunde, that whereſoeuer that water is ſprinkled, all vexatiō or infeſtatiō of the vncleane ſpirit, ſhould auoyde, and that no peſtilēt ſpirite there ſhould abyde. &c. But moſt playne it is, that no water, be it neuer ſo holy, can haue any ſuch power ſo to do, as it is commaunded, to wyt, to be an vniuerſall remedy to expell all diſeaſes.

Coniuryng or halowing in the popiſhe church.

Holy water coniured.

This I would aſke of theſe Exorciſtes: whether in their commaundyng, they do coniure or adiure the thynges coniured, to be of an hyer vertue and operation, then their owne nature doth geue: Or els whether they in their prayers deſire of God, that he will infude into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commaundyng do ſo beleue, then do they beleue that they haue that power in thē, to the which the inferiour power of the thing exorciſed muſt obey, in receauyng that which is commaunded. And ſo doyng, are much more deceaued, for aſmuch as they ſee themſelues, that they which are ſo authoriſed to the office of exorciſing, ſay to the deuil beyng coniured: Go, and he goeth not: And to an other come, and he cōmeth not, and many thinges els they commaūde the inferiour ſpirite their ſubiect, to do, and he doth not. So in like caſe, when they pray to God to make the water to be of ſuch vertue, that it may be to them health of mynde and body, and that it may be able to expulſe euery vncleane ſpirite, and to chaſe away all maner of diſtēperature and peſtilence of the ayre (beyng an vnreaſonable petition aſked, and ſore diſpleaſing to God) it is to be feared leaſt their benediction, their halowyng and bleſſing, is chaunged into curſing, accordyng to that ſaying that foloweth. And now O you Prieſtes, I haue a meſſage to ſay vnto you: If you will not heare and beare well away in your myndes, to geue the glory vnto my name ſayth the Lord God of hoſtes, I will ſend ſcarcitie amongeſt you, & I will curſe your bleſſynges. What thyngs and how many are bleſſed, or halowed in the Church, that in the halowyng therof diſpleaſe God, and are accurſed? And therfore accordyng to the ſaying of S. James, they aſke & are not heard, becauſe they aſke not as they ſhould, that they in their owne deſires may periſh. Let a man behold the bleſſyng or halowyng of their fire, water, incenſe, waxe, bread, wyne, the church, the aulter, the Churchyard, aſhes, belles, copes, palmes, oyle, candels, ſalt, the halowing of the ring, the bed, the ſtaffe, and of many ſuch like thinges: & I beleue that a man ſhall finde out many errours of the heathē Magiciās, witches, ſouthſayers, and charmers. And not withſtandyng the auncient and old Magicians in their bookes, commaunde thoſe that be coniurers that they in any wiſe lyue deuoutly (for otherwiſe as they ſay the ſpirites will not obey their commaūdementes, and coniuratiōs) yet the Romane coniurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy wordes, becauſe they be they, which worke, and not the holyneſſe of the coniurers. How commeth it to paſſe that they ſay, the thynges conſecrated of a curſed and vicious Jauell, ſhould haue ſo great vertue in pronouncyng (as they ſay) the holy and myſticall wordes: as if they were pronoūced of a Prieſt neuer ſo holy. But I maruell that they ſay ſo, readyng this ſaying in the Actes of the Apoſtles: becauſe the charmers pronouncyng the name of Jeſus (that is aboue all names) would haue healed thoſe that were poſſeſſed with deuils, and ſayd. In the name of Jeſus whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of them. And the poſſeſſed with deuils aunſwered, Jeſus we know, and Paule we know, but what are ye: and they all to be beate the coniurers.

Exorciſts.

The abſurditie & abhomination in the popiſhe exorciſmes detected.

Where was the popes holy water then in the great peſtilence in the tyme of K. Edward. 3.

James. 4.

Romiſhe coniurers.

The good lyfe of a prieſt, a great matter to deale in Gods myſteries.

And now conſideryng this and many ſuch like thyngs, I maruell wherfore the vicious Prieſts, do ſell their prayers and bleſſinges dearer (as alſo their Maſſes & trentals of Maſſes) then thoſe that be deuout lay men, and holy women: which with all their hartes deſire do flee from vices, & take hold of vertue. For as much as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promiſe, that he will not heare ſinners and wicked perſons: Neither ſhould he ſeme to be iuſt, if he ſhould ſooner heare the prayers of his enemyes, then of his faithfull frend. How I pray you ſhall a ſinnefull Prieſt deliuer an other man from ſinne by his prayers, or els from the puniſhment of ſinne: when he is not able to deliuer hym ſelfe by his prayer from ſinne. What then doth God ſo much accept in the Maſſe of a vicious Prieſt: that for his maſſe, his prayer, or oblation, he might deliuer any mã either from ſinne, or from the payne due for ſinne? No, but for that that Chriſt hath once offered himſelfe for our ſinnes, & now ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwayes ſhewyng vnto him what and how great thynges, he hath ſuffered for vs. And euery prieſt alwayes maketh mention in his maſſe of this oblation: Neither do we this, that we might bryng the ſame oblation into the remembraunce of God: becauſe that he alwayes in his preſence ſeeth the ſame. But that we ſhould haue in remembraunce this ſo great loue of God, that he would giue his owne ſonne to death for our ſinnes, that he might cleanſe & purifie vs from all our ſinnes. What doth it pleaſe God, that the remembraunce of ſo great loue is made by a Prieſt, which more loueth ſinne then God? Or how can any prayer of ſuch a prieſt pleaſe God, in what holy place ſoeuer he be, or what holy veſtiments ſoeuer he put on, or what holy prayers ſoeuer he maketh? And where as Chriſt and his Apoſtles do commaũde the preaching of the word of God: the Prieſtes be now more bounde to celebrate the Maſſe, and more ſtraitly bounde to ſay the Canonicall houres: whereat I cannot but greatly maruell. For why, to obey the preceptes of mẽ, more then the commaũdementes of God, is in effect to honour mã as God, and to beſtow the ſacrifice vpon man, which is due vnto God, and this is alſo ſpirituall fornication. How therfore are Prieſtes bounde at the commaundement of man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, at whoſe cõmaundement they are not bounde to leaue the celebration of the Maſſe, or ſinging of Matines? Therefore as it ſeemeth, Prieſtes ought not at the commaundement of any man to leaue the preachyng of the word of God, vnto the which they are bound both by diuine and Apoſtolicall preceptes. With whom agreeth the wrytyng of Hierome vpon the Decretals, ſaying in this wiſe: Let none of the Byſhops ſwell with the enuie of deuiliſh temptation, let none be angry, if the Prieſtes do ſometyme exhorte the people, if they preach in their Church. &c. for to him that forbiddeth me theſe things I will ſay, That he is vnwillyng that Prieſtes ſhould do thoſe thynges, which be commaunded of God. What thyng is there aboue Chriſt? or what may be preferred before his body and his bloud? &c.

The prayer of a vicious prieſt, little auayleth before God.

Remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion, needeth not to God, but to man.

Prieſtes more bound to ſay Maſſe commaunded by man: then to preaching commaunded of God.

Spirituall fornication.

Ieronymus.

Do Prieſtes therfore ſinne or not, which bargayne for money to pray for the ſoule of any dead man? It is well knowen that Ieſus did whip thoſe that were buyers and ſellers out of the temple, ſaying: My houſe ſhalbe called the houſe of prayer, but you haue made the ſame a denne of theeues. Truly he caſt not out ſuch Marchaunts from out of the Church, but bicauſe of their ſinnes. Whereupon Hierome vpon this text ſayth. Let the Prieſtes be diligent and take good heede in this Church, that they turne not the houſe of God into a denne of theeues. He doubtles is a theef which ſeeketh gayne by Religion, and by a ſhew of holynes ſtudyeth to finde occaſion of marchaundiſe. Hereupon, the holy Canõs do make accurſed Symoniacall hereſie, and do commaunde that thoſe ſhould be depriued of the prieſthode, which for the paſſing of marueilous ſpirituall grace, do ſeeke gayne of money. Peter the Apoſtle ſayd to Symon Magus. Let thy money and thou go both to the deuill, which thinkeſt that the giftes of God may be bought for money. Therefore, the ſpirituall giftes of God ought not to be ſolde.

Whether prieſtes may bargen to ſing for ſoules departed.

Ieronymus.

Verely prayer is the ſpirituall gift of God, as is alſo the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of handes, or the adminiſtration of other Sacramentes. Chriſt ſendyng forth his Diſciples to preach, ſayd vnto them: Heale ye the ſicke, Caſt out deuils, Rayſe the dead, Freely haue ye receaued, freely giue ye agayne. If the Prieſts haue power by their prayers to deliuer ſoules beyng in Purgatory, from greuous paynes: without doubt, he hath receaued that power freely from God. How therfore can he ſell his act, vnles he reſiſt the commaundementes of God, of whom he hath receaued that authoritie? This truly cannot be done without ſinne, which is agaynſt the commaundement of God.

Selling of prayer abhominable.

How playnly ſpake Chriſt to the Phariſies, & Prieſts ſaying, wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſies hypocrites, becauſe ye haue eaten the whole houſes, of ſuch as be widowes, by makyng long prayers, and therfore haue you receaued greater damnation. Wherein I pray you do our Phariſies and Prieſts differre from them? Do not our Prieſts deuour widowes houſes and poſſeſſions, that by their long prayers they might deliuer the ſoules of their husbandes frõ the greuous paynes of Purgatory? How many Lordſhips, I pray you, haue bene beſtowed vpon the religious mẽ and women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliuer thoſe dead men from the payne (as they ſay) that they ſuffer in purgatory, grieuouſly tormented and vexed? If their prayers and ſpeakyng of holy wordes, ſhall not be able to deliuer themſelues frõ payne, vnleſſe they haue good workes: How ſhall other men be deliuered from payne, by their prayers, which whileſt they liued here, they gaue ouer themſelues to ſinne? Yea peraduenture thoſe Lordſhips or landes which they gaue vnto the prieſtes to pray for them, they themſelues haue gotten by might from other faythfull men, vniuſtly and violently. And the Canons do ſay, that ſinne is not forgeuen, till the thing takẽ away wrongfully, be reſtored. How thẽ ſhall they be able (which do vniuſtly poſſeſſe ſuch Lordſhippes or landes) to deliuer them by their prayers from payne, which haue geuen to them theſe lordſhips or landes, ſeyng God from the beginnyng hath hated all extortion in hys burnte ſacrifices? Not euery one that ſayth vnto me Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kyngdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauen. And agayne, not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law ſhall be iuſtified.

Religious men & women, deuourers of wydowes houſes.

Praying for ſoules in Purgatory.

Euill gotten landes as euill beſtowed, for praying for ſoules in Purgatory.

If therefore the wordes of him that prayeth, do not deliuer himſelfe from ſinne, nor from the payne of ſinne: how do they deliuer other men from ſinne or from the payne of ſinne when no man prayeth more earneſtly for an other man then for him ſelfe? Therefore many are deceiued in buying or ſelling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons that they might be deliuered from payne: when as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of proud and vicious prelates, then for the prayers of deuoute women and deuoute men of the laye people. But out of doubt, God doth not regarde the perſon of him that prayeth, nether the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparrell, nor the curiouſnes of his prayer, but the humilitye and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Phariſie and the Publican goe vp into the temple to praye? The Publicanes prayer for his humilitye and godly affection is heard. But the Phariſies prayer, for his prid and arrogancye is contemned. Conſider that nether the perſon, nor the place, nor the ſtate, nor the curiouſnes of his prayer doth helpe the Phariſey: Becauſe the Publicane not thinkinge himſelfe worthy to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, for the multitude of his ſinnes, ſaying (O God be mercifull vnto me a ſinner) is iuſtified by his humilitye, and his prayer is heard. But the Phariſye boaſting in his righteouſnes is deſpiſed, becauſe God thruſteth downe the prowde, and exalteth the humble and thoſe that be meeke. The rich glotton alſo, that was clothed with purpull and ſilke, and fared euery day daintelye, prayed vnto Abraham, and is not hearde, but is burned in paynes and tormẽtes of hell fire. But Lazarus which lay begging at his gate (being full of ſores) is placed in the boſome of Abrahã. Behold that neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciouſnes of his banquets, nor the gorgiouſnes of his eſtate, neither the aboundaunce of his riches, doth helpe any thing to prefer the prayers or peticions of the rich glotton, nor yet diminiſh his tormentes, becauſe that mighty men in their mightynes ſhall ſuffer tormentes mightely. How dare any man by compoſition demaund or receyue any thing of an other mã for his prayers? If he beleue that he can by his prayer deliuer hys brother from greuous pain, he is bound by charitie to releue hys brother with his prayers, although he be not hyred thereunto, but and if he will not pray vnles he be hyred, then hath he no loue at all. What therfore helpeth hys prayer, which abideth not in charitie? Therfore let hym firſt take compaſſion of himſelfe by prayer, that he may come into charitie, and then he ſhall be the better able to helpe others. If he beleueth not, or that he ſtandeth in doubt to be able to deliuer hys brother by his prayer: wherfore doth he make with hym an aſſured bargayne, and taketh hys mony and yet knoweth not whether he ſhall releue hym euer a whit the more or not, from his payne? I feare leaſt the wordes of the Prophete are fulfilled ſaying: From the leaſt to the moſt all men apply themſelues to couetouſneſſe, and from the Prophete to the prieſt all worke deceitfully. For the poore prieſtes excuſe themſelues, of ſuch bargaynyng and ſelling of their prayers, ſaying: The yong cock learneth to crow of the olde cocke. For ſayeth he, thou mayſt ſee that the Pope himſelf in ſtalling of Biſhops and Abbots, taketh the firſt fruites: In the placing or beſtowing of benefices, he alwayes taketh ſomwhat, and ſpecially if the benefices be great. Alſo he ſelleth pardons or buls, & to ſpeak more playne he taketh money for them. Biſhops in geuyng orders, in halowing churches and churchyardes, do take mony: In eccleſiaſticall correction they take mony for the mi-

Bying and ſelling of prayers in the popes Church.

Bying & ſellyng of pardons.

Parſon, place, apparell, curioſitie or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

The prayer of the phariſie and of the Publicane compared.

Prayer that doth more for money then for charitie deſpiſed.

Selling of pardons.

Selling of orders.

Selling of church halowinges.

Selling of diſcipline.
Selling of fraternitie.
Selling of Dirige, fere minds, confeſſions, weddinges, buryinges.
Selling of Sermons, &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

tigation of penaunce: In the grieuous offences of conuict perſons, mony is required, and cauſed to be payd. Abbots, Monkes, and other religious men that haue poſſeſſion, will receiue no man into their fraternitie, or make them partakers of their ſpirituall ſuffrages, vnleſſe he beſtow ſomewhat vpon them, or promiſe them ſomewhat. Curates and vicares hauyng ſufficient liuinges, by the tythes of theyr pariſhioners, yet in dirges and yeares myndes, in hearyng confeſſions, in weddinges and buryings, do require & haue money. The Friers alſo of the foure orders of beggers, which thinke themſelues to the moſt perfiteſt men in the Church, do take mony for their prayers, confeſſions and buryings of the dead: and when they preach, they beleue that they ſhall haue eyther money or ſome other thyng worthy money. Wherfore then be the poore prieſtes blamed? ought not they to be held excuſed, although they take mony for their prayers by compoſition? Truely, me thinketh that this excuſe by other mens ſinnes, doth not excuſe them: foraſmuch, as to heape one miſchief vpon anothers hed, is no ſufficient diſcharge. I would to God that all the buyers and ſellers of ſpirituall ſuffrages, would with the eyes of their harte behold the ruine of the great Citie, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they ſhall ſay after that fall. Doth not the Prophet ſay: And the merchauntes of the earth ſhall wepe and mourne for her becauſe no man ſhall buy any more their marchaundiſe, that is, their marchaundiſe of gold and ſiluer and of precious ſtone and of pearle, and of ſilke and purple: And agayne he ſaieth. And the merchauntes which were made rich by her, ſhall ſtand aloufe for feare of her tormentes, weepyng, mournyng, and ſaying, Alas, Alas, that Citie Babilon, that great Citie which was wont to weare purple, white ſilke, crimſin, gold, pearle, and precious ſtone, becauſe that in one houre all thoſe riches are come to noughte: And agayne: And they caſt duſt vpon their heads and cryed out weping and mourning and ſaying, Alas, Alas, That great and mighty city Babilon, by whom all ſuch as had ſhippes vpon the ſea were made rich by her rewardes: Becauſe that in one houre ſhe is become deſolate.

The citie of Rome, Babylon Apoc. 18.

This Babilon, this great Citie, is the Citie of Rome, as it appeareth by the proceſſe of the Apoſtle. Becauſe the aungell which ſhewed vnto Saint John the deſtruction of the mighty harlote ſitting vpon many waters, with whom the kinges of the earth haue committed fornication, and all they which dwell vpon the earth are made dronke with the wyne of her whoredome, ſayd vnto hym: And the woman which thou ſaweſt, is the great city which hath dominion aboue kinges, &c. And in dede in the dayes of ſaint John the whole world was ſubiect to the temporall Empire of the Citie of Rome, and afterwardes it was ſubiect to the ſpiritual Empire or dominion of the ſame. But touching the temporall gouernment of the Citie of Rome, it is fallen already: and ſo that the other alſo, for the multitude of her ſpirituall fornication ſhall fall. The Emperours of this city gaue themſelues to Idolatry, and would haue that men ſhould honour them as Gods, and put all thoſe to deth that refuſed ſuch idolatry, and by the cruelty of their tormentes, all infidels gate the vpper hand.

The temporall dominion of the citie of Rome.

The ſpirituall dominion of the citie of Rome.

The fourth beaſt in the propheſie of Daniel meaneth Rome.

The beaſt wyth 7. heades in the Apoc. ſignifieth Rome.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonoſor, the empire of the Romaynes is lykened to yron, which beateth together, and hath the maſterie of all mettals. And in the viſion of Daniel, wherin he ſawe the foure wyndes of heauen to fight in the mayne ſea, and foure great beaſtes commyng out of the ſea: The kyngdome of the Romaynes is likened to the fourth terrible and marueilous beaſt, the whiche had great iron teeth, eatyng and deſtroying, and treading the reſt vnder his feet: and this beaſt had ten hornes, and as Daniel ſayth he ſhal ſpeake wordes agaynſt the moſt higheſt, and ſhall teare with hys teeth the ſaintes of the moſt higheſt: and he ſhall thinke, that he may be able to chaunge tymes and lawes, and they ſhall be deliuered into his power, vntill a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme. In the Apocalips, S. John ſaw a beaſt commyng out of the ſea, hauing 7. heades and 10. hornes, and power was geuen to hym to make monthes 42. So long tyme endured the Empire of the Romaynes, that is to ſay, from the beginnyng of Julius Ceſar, which was the firſt Emperour of the Romaines, vnto the ende of Fridericus, which was the laſt emperor of yͤ Romains. Under this empire Chriſt ſuffred, and other Martyrs alſo ſuffred for his names ſake. And here is falle Rome as Babilon (which is all one) according to the maner of ſpeaking in the Apoc. as touching the temporall and corporall power of gouerning. And thus ſhall ſhe fall alſo touching the ſpirituall power of gouernyng, for the multitude of the iniquities and ſpirituall fornication and merchaundiſe that are committed by her in the Church.

The feete of the image in the dreame of Nabuchodonozar ſignifieth Rome.

The fete of the image which Nabuchodonozor ſaw, dyd betoken the Empire of Rome, and part of them were of yron, and part of clay and earth. That part that was of yron fell, and the power therof vaniſhed away, becauſe the power therof was at an ende after certayne monthes. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it ſhall vaniſh away by the teſtimony of the Prophetes: whereupon ſaint John in the Apocalips: After that, he ſaw the part made of yron riſing out of the ſea, to which eche people, tribe, and tong ſubmitted themſelues. And he ſaw an other beaſt comming out of the earth, which had two hornes, lyke to the hornes of a Lambe, and he ſpake like a Dragon, and he vanquiſhed the firſt beaſt in his ſight.

The beaſt with two hornes lyke the Lambe, ſignifieth the ſpirituall dominion of Rome.

Jeſus is Chriſt two maner of wayes, as king & prieſt.

The double ſword of the Pope.

This beaſt as ſeemeth me, doth betoken the claye and earthen part of the feete of yͤ image, becauſe he came out of yͤ earth. For that by terrene helpe he is made the high & chiefe prieſt of the Romaines, in the church of Chriſt, and ſo from alow he aſcended on hygh. But Chriſt from heauen deſcended, becauſe that he which was God and author of euery creature, became man: and he that was Lord of Lordes, was made in the ſhape of a ſeruaunt. And although that in the heauens the company of aungels miniſter vnto hym, he himſelfe miniſtred or ſerued in earth, that he might teach vs humilitie, by which a man aſcendeth into heauen, euen as by pride a man goeth downe into the bottomleſſe pit. Thys beaſt hath two hornes moſt lyke a Lambe, becauſe that he chalengeth to hymſelfe both the prieſtly and kingly power, aboue all other here in earth. The Lamb yͭ is Chriſt which is a kyng for euer vpon the kingly ſeat of Dauid, and he is a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech: but hys kyngdome is not of this world, but the kingdome of thys beaſt is of this world, becauſe thoſe that be vnder him, fight for hym. And as Jeſus is Chriſt two maner of wayes, becauſe that Chriſtus is as much to ſay as Vnctus, he verily was annoynted king, and annointed prieſt: ſo this beaſt ſayeth that he is chiefe kyng and prieſt. Wherfore doth he call hymſelfe Chriſt? becauſe that Chriſt knowyng that afore, ſayd: Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying I am Chriſt, and ſhall deceyue many. And thus becauſe that he is both kyng and prieſt, he chalengeth to hymſelfe the double ſword, that is the corporall ſword and the ſpirituall ſworde. The corporall ſword is in his right hand, and the ſpirituall ſword is in his right eye, by the teſtimony of Zachary. But he ſpeaketh ſubtilly lyke a Dragon, becauſe that by the teſtimony of Chriſt he ſhall deceiue many, as the Apoc. witneſſeth. He did great wonders, that alſo he might make more fire to come from heauen into the earth in the ſight of men, that he might deceyue thoſe that dwell vpon the earth, becauſe of the wonders that are permitted hym to doe in the ſight of the beaſt, and he ouercame the firſt beaſt which aſcended out of the ſea. For that beaſt chalenged vnto hymſelf authoritie of gouernment of the whole worlde. He hath put to death and tormented thoſe that reſiſt hys commaundementes, and would be honoured as a God vpon the earth. The biſhop of Rome ſayth, that the whole world ought to be in ſubiection vnto him, thoſe that be diſobedient vnto his commaundementes, he putteth in priſon, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commaundeth them to be caſt into the deuils dungeon. But he that hath no power ouer the body, much leſſe hath he power ouer the ſoule. And truely his excommunication, nor the excommunication of any prieſt vnder hym, ſhall at that tyme little hurt hym that is excommunicate, ſo that the perſon of hym that is excommunicate, be not firſt excommunicate of God through ſinne.

The Biſh. of Rome ſeeketh to be worſhipped as God.
The commaundementes of the pope more regarded thē Chriſtes.

And thus it ſeemeth a trouth vnto me, that God thus turneth their bleſſings into curſings, becauſe they geue not due glory vnto hys name. So when that they vniuſtly excommunicate and curſe, he turneth their curſings into bleſſinges. Alſo the byſhop of Rome doth make me to worſhip hym as God, becauſe that yͤ ſpeciall ſacrifice that God doth require of vs, is to be obedient vnto hym in keeping of hys commaundementes. But now the Popes commaundementes be commaunded to be kept, and be kept in very dede, but the commaundementes of Chriſt are contemned and reiected. Thus ſitteth the Byſhop of Rome in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as God, and extolleth hymſelfe aboue all that which is called God, or worſhypped as God. But in hys fall he ſhalbe reuealed, becauſe that euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe, ſhall be made deſolate. He teachyng a truthe, is the heade of the Churche, but the Prophet teachyng a lye, is the tayle of the Dragon. He ſeducyng the worlde, ſhall be acknowledged to bee the veritie of the doctrine of Chriſt, but after he is knowne, he ſhall bee reiected and naught eſteemed. He geueth to ſmall and great, riche and poore, free and bonde, marckes in their right handes, and in their foreheades: that no man ſhould buy or ſell, but thoſe that ſhall haue the markes of the name of the beaſt, or that looketh to haue of hym ſome recompence, ſmall, meane, or great, or els the number of hys name, which number is 300. The Pope ſayeth that in ẏ adminiſtration of euery ſacrament, he doth imprint a certayne character or marke into the ſoule of hym that receiueth. In baptiſme he ſaith that he doth imprinte into the ſoule of hym that is baptiſed, a marcke that cannot be wiped out, and ſo lykewyſe in other Sacramentes. And I know that in a Sacrament are two thinges, that is, the ſacramentall ſigne, and ſpirituall grace repreſented by the ſame ſigne: the ſacramentall ſigne is geuen to man of man, but the ſpirituall grace is geuen of Chriſt.

In euery Sacrament 2. thinges conteyned.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty prieſt doth baptiſe any man, if he that is baptiſed or hys parentes (if he be a child) do aſke with faithfull meaning baptiſme, and doe meane faithfully hereafter to obſerue the wordes of baptiſme: is as well baptiſed, as if he were baptiſed of neuer ſo vertuous a Prieſt. So alſo the ſinner which with all his hart is ſory for his ſinnes, and doth aſke faithfully mercye of God, is as well abſolued of a vicious prieſt, as of a vertuous. Becauſe the Lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, wipeth away inwardly our ſinnes by his grace, becauſe that he is the biſhop and paſtor of our ſoules. All other prieſtes do outwardly worke abſolutiō, which know not for a certainty whether they haue abſolued or not. So alſo is it in the other, becauſe that the grace of the ſacrament is geuen of God, and the ſacramentall ſigne, of man. In geuing of orders, the chiefe biſhop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the ſpirituall markes, I know none: vnles a man will ſay, that by receiuing the order he hath ſome beliefe that he may worke ſome thinges pertaininge to that order, the which before the receauing of the order he could not. But this one thinge is, that none in the churche ought to ſell ſpirituall marchandiſe (of which thinges we haue ſpoken before) vnles he haue the marke of the beaſte. My counſell is, let the byar beware of thoſe markes: becauſe that after the fall of Babylon, if any man hath worſhipped the beaſt and her image, and hath receiued the mark vpon his forehead, and vpon his hand, he ſhall drinke of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and he ſhalbe tormented in fire and brimſtone in the ſight of the holy aungels, and in the ſight of the Lambe: and the ſmoke of their tormentes ſhall euer more aſcend, although he looke for a recompence, ſmall, meane, or great, of the beaſt, or els the number of his name. The beaſt doubtles doth recompence his friendes, with his ſmaller reward, that is, with great giftes and benefices corporall: with a meane rewarde, that is, with great ſpirituall giftes, in authoritie of bleſſing, loſing, binding, praying, and exerciſing other ſpirituall workes: and with his greateſt reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honoured in earth among the ſaintes. The number of his name according to the opinion of ſome men, is Dux Cleri, the captayne of the clergie, becauſe by that name he is named, & maketh hys name known, and that name is 666.

Caueat emptor.

The rewardes of the beaſt.

The number of the name of the beaſt.

Dux cleri.

This is my opinion of the beaſt aſcendyng out of the earth, and ſhall vntill ſuch tyme as I ſhall be of the ſame beaſt better inſtructed. And although that this beaſt doth ſignifie the Romayne biſhops: yet the other cruell beaſt aſcending out of the ſea, doth ſignifie the Romaine Emperours. And although that the Dragon beyng a cruell beaſt, and the falſe Prophet geuyng the marke, muſt be throwen into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented for euer: I woulde haue no man to iudge, but I leaue ſuche thinges altogether to the finall iudgement of Chriſt to be determined. But Martine the Popes confeſſour whiche maketh the Chronicle of the Emperours and Popes, reciteth many errours of the Popes, more horrible and abhominable then of the Emperours. For he ſpeaketh of the idolatrous Popes, hereticall, ſimoniacall, and Popes that were murderers, that vſed nigromancie, and witchcraft, that were fornicatours, and defiled with all kynde of vyce. But I haue partly declared howe that the Popes law is contrary to Chriſtes law, and how that he ſayth, that he is the chiefe vicar of Chriſt in earth: and in his deedes is contrary to Chriſt, and doth forſake both his doctrine and lyfe. I can not ſee who els may be ſo well Antichriſt, & a ſeducer of the people. For there is not a greater peſtilence, thē a familiar enemy.

Martinus pænitentiarius.

Mo wicked popes then Emperours

As concerning idoles, and the worſhipping of them, I thinke of them as Moſes, Salomon, Iſayas, Ieremy, and the reſt of the Prophets, which all ſpake agaynſt the making of Images, as alſo the worſhipping of Images. And faithfull Dauid full of the ſpirit of God, ſayeth: Let all thoſe be confounded that worſhip images, and that reioyce in Idols: And againe he ſaith: Let them be made lyke vnto thē that make thē, and all ſuch as put their truſt in them. Wherfore, I pray God that this euill come not vpon me, which is the curſe of God pronounced by Dauid the prophet. Nor I will be by gods grace, neither a maker, nor els a worſhipper of Images.

Matters of Idolatry.

Images.

As concerning othes, I beleue and obey the doctrine of almighty God, and my maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, which teacheth: that Chriſtian men in affirmation of a truth, ſhould paſſe the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſes of the old Teſtament, or els he excludeth them from the kingdome of heauen. For he ſayth: Unleſſe your righteouſnes exceede the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſies, ye cannot enter into the kyngdome of heauē. And as concerning othes he ſayth. It hath bene ſayd to them of olde tyme, thou ſhalt not forſweare thy ſelfe, but ſhalt performe vnto the Lorde thoſe things which thou voweſt. But I ſay vnto you thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, neither by the heauen nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your cōmunicatiō be yea, yea, nay, nay, for what ſo euer ſhalbe more then this, proceedeth of euil. Therfore, as the perfection of the auncient men of the olde Teſtament was, not to forſweare themſelues: ſo the perfection of Chriſtian men is not to ſweare at all, becauſe they are ſo cōmaunded of Chriſt, whoſe commaundement muſt in no caſe be broken: although that the Citie of Rome is contrary to this doctrine of Chriſt euen as in many things ſhe is found contrary to her ſelfe.

Othes how farre they are tollerable.

As touching the taking away of temporall goods frō thoſe that are eccleſiaſticall perſones offendyng habitualiter: by ſuch as are temporall Lordes, I will not affirme any thing to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreable to charitie: And that for becauſe, it is a hard matter for a man to take an other mans goodes from hym without breakyng of charitie, becauſe peraduenture he that taketh away, is the more moued to ſuch maner of takyng away by reaſon of the deſire he hath to thoſe goodes, which he indeuoureth to take away: or els, becauſe of ſome diſpleaſure or hatred to the perſon, from whom he goeth about to take away thoſe goodes, then that he from whome thoſe goods be taken, ſhould be amended. Therfore, vnleſſe he that taketh away, be onely moued of charitie to ẏ takyng away of ſuch goods, I dare not affirme that ſuch takyng is lawfull. And if ſuch taking away proceede of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: becauſe that the Biſhop of Rome which receiued his temporall dominion of the Emperour, when the Emperour rebelled and was not obedient vnto hym, he depriued hym from hys temporall iuriſdictiō: How much more then may temporall Lordes doe the ſame which haue beſtowed vpon them many temporall dominions and lordſhips, onely to the intent that they might the better intend to ſerue God and kepe his commaundements. Now if they perceiue that they be agaynſt the lawes of God, & that they be ouer buſily occupied about worldly matters: I can not ſee but that they may well inough take from them thoſe temporall goods, which to a good purpoſe they gaue them. But if in tyme to come after this, thoſe that be temporall lordes ſhall take from eccleſiaſticall perſons ſuch temporalties: let hym that deſireth to vnderſtand this, read the prophet Ezechiell in the chapiter of the ſhepherdes of Iſraell, which fedde themſelues in ſtead of their flocke: and alſo let hym read the Apocalips of the fall of Babilon. Let hym alſo read the Popes decretals agaynſt heretikes, and in thoſe he ſhall finde, that the takyng away of the temporalties from the Clergy, ſhall come to paſſe for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Whether temporall goods may be taken away from eccleſiaſticall perſons offending.

Popes take frō Emperors their benefactors, temporall dominion when they offend: Ergo, much more may Emperors take frō popes temporall dominiō, whē they offend.

A prophecie of Walter Brute, that temporall goods ſhall be taken away frō the clergie for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Thus reuerend father haue I made myne aunſwer of the matter wherof I am accuſed: beſechyng you, that as I haue bene obedient to your deſire, and that euen as a ſonne declaryng vnto you the ſecretes of my hart in plain wordes (although rudely) ſo I deſire to knowe your opinion, and craue your fatherly beneuolence: that now your labour may be for my inſtruction and amendment, and not to accuſation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I haue promiſed you, that if any man of what ſtate, ſecte, or condition ſoeuer he be, can ſhewe me any errour in any of my writings by the authoritie of holy ſcripture, or by any probable reaſon grounded in the ſcriptures: I will receiue hys information willingly and humbly.

After that all the foreſaid thinges were exhibited and geuen by the foreſaid Walter Brute, vnto the foreſayd B. of Herford: he further appointed to the ſame Walter, the third day of the month of October, at Herford, with the continuaunce of the dayes followyng to heare hys opinion. Which third day now at hande, beyng Friday in the yeare of our

Walter Brute againe commaunded to appeare.

Byſhops & Abbots, with 20. Bachelors of diuinitie, 10. mõkes & 2 Doctors of law ſitting vpon Walter Brute.

Nicholas Herford there alſo preſent.

Lord God.1393. the ſayd Walter Brute, appeared before hym, ſitting in Commiſſion in the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, at ſixe of the clocke or therabout: hauyng for hys aſſiſtentes in the ſame place, diuers Prelates and Abbottes, and xx. Bachelers of Diuinitie, wherof xij. were Monkes, and two doctours of the law. Amongſt theſe was Nicholas Hereford, accompanied with many other Prelates and worſhipfull men and wiſe Graduates in ſundry faculties. Now was the foreſayd Walter apposed of his writings aforeſayd, and the conteĩts therin. Earneſt were they in picking out of thoſe writings, his hereſies, and in ſhewyng his ſchiſmes, ſundry errours and diuers other thinges. Now, after that they had continued all that day and the two dayes folowyng (that is Friday, Saterday, and Monday) in their informations and examinations agaynſt the ſame Walter Brute. The ſame Walter Brute ſubmitted hymſelfe to the determination of the church and to the correction of the ſayd John Biſhop, as it appeareth worde for worde in a ſcrole written in the Engliſh tong: The tenour of which ſcrole, is as followeth.

The writinges of Walter Brute examined.

The tenor of the ſubmiſſion of Walter Brute.

¶ I Walter Brute ſubmit my ſelfe principally to the Euangely of Ieſus Chriſt, and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the general Counceels of holy kirke. And to the ſentence and determination of the foure Doctours of holy write, that is Auſten, Ambroſe, Ierome, and Gregory. And I mekely ſubmit me to your correction, as a ſubiect ought to hys Byſhop.

The ſubmiſſion of Walter Brute openly read at Herford.

Which ſcrole as afore is recited in the Engliſh tong, the foreſayd Walter Brute read, with a loude and intelligible voyce, at the Croſſe in the Churchyard on Monday, that is to ſay, the 6. day of the ſayd moneth of October, before the ſermon made vnto the people in preſence of the ſaid Biſhop of Herford and other aboue written, as alſo other Barons, knightes and noble men and clergie, and alſo a great multitude of people. After which readyng of the ſcrole, the foreſaid Tho. Crawlay bacheler of diuinitie, made the Sermon vnto the people, & toke for his theame the wordes of the Apoſtle to the Rom. the xj. chap. that is as followeth. Be not ouer wiſe in your owne conceites but ſtand in feare, &c.

☞ Out of theſe declarations and writinges of Walter Brute, the Biſhop with the Monkes and Doctors aboue rehearſed, did gather and draw out certayne articles, to the number of 37. which they ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge to be confuted, vnto two learned men, M. Colwill, & M. Newton, Bachelers of diuinitie. Which M. Colwill, & Newton did both labour in the matter, to the vttermoſt of their cunning, in replying and aunſwering to the ſayde 37. articles.

Beſides them alſo W. Woodford a Frier (who wrote likewyſe againſt the articles of Wickliffe) labouryng in the ſame cauſe, made a ſolemne and a long tractation, compilyng the articles of the ſayd Brute, to ẏ number of 29. All which treatiſes, as I wiſh to come to the readers hande, that the ſlenderneſ of them might be knowen: ſo it may happen percaſe, that the ſame beyng in my handes may hereafter be further publiſhed, with other like tractations moe, as conuenient tyme for the prolixitie therof may hereafter, better ſerue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I finde it not regiſtred: but lyke it is, that he for this tyme eſcaped. Certain other writings I find moreouer, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter, nor of any certain author: yet becauſe they are in ẏ ſame regiſter adioyned to the hiſtory of him, I thought therfore moſt fit here to be inſerted. Of ẏ which ẏ one was a letter ſent to Nicholas Hereford a little aboue ſpecified: who beyng at the firſt a great folower of John Wickliffe, as appeareth before pag. 437. was now in the number of them which ſate vpon this Walter, as is in the next page aboue recorded. The copy of this letter, bearing no name of any ſpeciall author, but onely as ſent by a certaine Lollard (as ẏ regiſter doth terme him) is written in maner and forme as followeth.

¶ Here followeth the Copy of a letter ſent to maiſter Nicholas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the Regiſter it is ſayd.

FOr as much as no man that putteth hys hande to the plough and looketh backe, is mete for the kyngdome of God, as our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: What maruell is it, although maiſter Nicholas Herford, which at the firſt (by the viſitation of the ſpirit of God peraduenture) put hys hand, that is, gaue his diligence, vnto the plough, that is, to the ſowyng of the word of God and holy ſcripture, as well in preaching as in doyng good workes: is now ſo blynde and vnſkilfull to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderſtood by the kyngdome of heauen. Truely it is no maruayle, O thou that art maiſter of the Nicholitanes, which like Nicholas the moſt falſe deacon, haſt left or forſaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is ſhut vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicholitanes followyng thy conditions, for as much as thou goeſt not in by the dore to expound the ſame Euangelicall veritie. Therefore when thou dydſt recite this other day, firſt, the phariſaicall and hypocritical woe (nothing at all to any purpoſe) thou ſhouldiſt haue ſayd iuſtly in this ſort, both of thy ſelfe, and others thy followers and religious Antichriſtes: Wo be vnto vs Scribes and Phariſies, which ſhut vp the kyngdome of heauen, that is to ſay, the true knowledge of the holy Scripture, before men by our falſe gloſes and crooked ſimilitudes: and neither we our ſelues enter into the ſame kingdome or knowledge, nor ſuffer other to enter into it. Wherfore, it ſeemeth vnto the faithfull ſort, that wrongfully, falſly, and without any reuerence, ye haue expounded that text of Gregory. 1.q.1. that is to ſay, Quicunque ſtudet. &c. For this is the true vnderſtãding of the ſame. Knowing firſt that there be ſome prieſtes after the thyng, and name onely, and doth ſhew that this is true: that whoſoeuer ſtudieth to receiue the holy order by geuing of mony: He is not a prieſt, ſecundum rem, & nomen. But to ſay the truth, he deſireth to be called a prieſt, that is to be a prieſt Secundum nomen tantũm. And ſuch a prieſt which is a prieſt in name onely, is no prieſt. No more then S. Mary paynted is S. Mary: Nor a falſe doctour a doctour, but no doctour: And a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus ſuch a prieſt in name only, is not a prieſt. Becauſe that all faythfull men do firmly beleue with S. Gregory that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a prieſt as he ſayth, 1.q.1. They that buy or ſell holy orders can be no prieſtes. Whereupon is written. Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi. That is Simoniacall hereſie. And it followeth, how therfore, if they be accurſed and not bleſſed, can they make others bleſſed? And when that they be not in the body of Chriſt, how can they either receiue or deliuer the body of Chriſt? He that is accurſed, how can he bleſſe? as though he would ſay. It is impoſſible. As Pope Vrbanus ſayth. 1.q.1. Si qui a Simoniacis. &c. Where he ſayth thus. They that willingly know and ſuffer them ſelues to be conſecrated, nay rather execrated of thoſe that are infected with Simony: we iudge that their conſecration is altogether voyde. Alſo Pope Leo in 2. q.1. ſayth in this wyſe. Grace, if it be not freely geuen or receiued, is not grace. Spirituall vſurers do not receiue freely: Therfore, they receiue not the ſpirituall grace, which ſpecially worketh in the eccleſiaſticall orders. If they receiue it not, they haue it not: if they haue it not freely, they cannot geue it frely. And by this it is more clearer then the lyght, that they which know ſo much and receiue orders by ſpirituall vſury or ſymonie: Are neither prieſtes nor deacons, neither after the maner nor character. For if ſuch character or marke were otherwiſe geuen in geuing orders, it were requiſite alwayes that there ſhould be a certayne grace imprinted in the man, but there is no ſuch grace geuen or imprinted as afore is manifeſt: Therfore there is no ſuch Character to be ſayned. Therfore, ſuch Character or marke abydeth not in hym, for as much as he neuer had nor hath the ſame. And yet furthermore in the ſame place. What then do the ſimonicall prelates geue? And he maketh aunſwer truly euẽ that which they haue, as the ſpirit of lying. How proue we this? Becauſe that if it be the ſpirite of veritie, as the ſame veritie doth teſtifie from whom it cõmeth, it is freely receaued. And it foloweth for the whole purpoſe no doubt: It is conuicted to be the ſpirite of lying, which is not freely receaued.

Nicolaitae.

1.q.1.ca. Quicunque ſtudet.

1.q.1. Si quis a Simoniacis.

Ex Leone Papa.2.q.1.

By this it appeareth manifeſtly to the faythfull ſorte, that thoſe which weetingly & ſimonically ar made prieſtes, for as muche as they receiue not the Character of the Lord but onely the ſpirite of lying, and the marke of Symon Magus, and of Iudas the traytor, that they bee not prieſtes neyther according to the marke nor manners. Nor ſuch doe no more make the ſacramentes of the Churche, then other laye men may in the tyme of neceſſitye, nor yet ſo truely, duringe their hereticall naughtyneſſe. And yet in deede (brother myne,) vniuocè natura, but yet æquiuocè in moribus. I doe not wryte thus ſharpely vnto you, throughe anger, or any vnperfect hate: but through the perfect hate of your horrible hereſie, and denying the faith of Chriſt, that I may ſay with Dauid in the Pſalm: Perfecto odio oderam. &c. And I am very ſory for you, that you which in tymes paſte haue excel-

Brother in nature. In maners no brother.

excellently well,and fruitfully preached the Goſpell in the pulpit, do now as well ſayle in the congruitie of the Latine tounge, as in the other ſcience naturall. For as it was heard,thriſe in one lecture you ſayd appetitis,that is to ſay pronouncyng the middle ſyllable long, which thyng not onely the maiſters,but alſo the yong ſcholers vnderſtoode. And many other faultes there in your Grammer, whiche for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend vnto you theſe fiue concluſions.

5.Concluſions ſent.

The firſt concluſion. It is an infallible veritie that the wordes of the foure chiefe doctours, expounding the holye ſcripture according to the veritie which the wordes do pretend,are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond: He which importeth any equiuocation out of any of the Doctours expounding, for the coulouryng of his text,his equiuocation is alwayes to be left.

The thirde: No peruerſion of any reprobate is able to turne the congregation of the elect from the faith, becauſe al thinges that ſhal come to paſſe,are eternally in God deuiſed and ordayned for the beſt, vnto the Elect Chriſtians.

The fourth: Like as the myſticall body of Chriſt is the congregation of al the Elect: ſo Antichriſt myſtically is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.

The fift: The concluſions of Swinderby, be agreeable to the fayth in euery part.

¶ This letter was thus ſubſcribed.
By the ſpirite of God,ſometyme viſityng you.

☞ Beſides this epiſtle aboue prefixed,there is alſo found annexed with the ſame, a deuiſe of an other certayne letter counterfeyted vnder the name of Lucifer prince of darkenes: wrytyng to the Pope and all popiſh Prelates, perſecutyng the true and right Church (with all might and mayne) to maintayne their pride and domination in this earth,vnder a colourable pretence and viſor of the catholique Church, and ſucceſſion Apoſtolicall. Which letter although it ſeemeth in ſome authors to be aſcribed to Ockam,aboue mentioned:yet becauſe I find it in the ſame Regiſter of the church of Hereford conteyned,and inſerted among the tractations of Walter Brute,and deuiſed (as the Regiſter ſaith) by the Lollardes: I thought no meter place,then here to annexe the ſame, the tenour wherof thus procedeth in wordes as followe.

The deuiſe or counterfaite of a certayne letter fayned vnder the name of Lucifer Prince of darckneſſe, writing to the perſecuting prelates of the popiſh clergy.

The epiſtle of Lucifer to the proud prelates of the popes clergie.

I Lucifer prince of darcknes and profound heauineſſe, Emperour of the high myſteries of the Kyng of Acharont, Captayne of the dungeon, Erebus kyng of hell,and comptroler of the infernall fire: To all our children of pryde,and companions of our kyngdome,and eſpecially to our princes of the Church of this latter age and tyme (of which our aduerſary Ieſus Chriſt,accordyng to the Prophet, ſayeth: I hate the Church or congregation of the wicked) ſend gretyng,and with proſperitie to all that obey our commaundements,as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the lawes of Sathan already enacted,and that are diligent obſeruers of our beheſtes,and the preceptes of our decree. Know ye that in tymes paſt certayne vicars or vicegerentes of Chriſt,folowyng his ſteppes in miracles and vertues, liuyng and continuyng in a beggerly life, conuerted (in a maner) the whole world from the yoke of our tiranny vnto their doctrine & maner of lyfe: To the great deriſion and contempte of our priſon houſe and kyngdome: and alſo to the no little preiudice and hurt of our iuriſdiction and authoritie, not fearing to hurt our fortified power and to offend the maieſtie of our eſtate. For then receiued we no tribute of the world, neyther did the miſerable ſort of common people, ruſhe at the gates of our deepe dungeon as they were wont to doe with continuall pealyng and rappyng, but then the eaſie, pleaſaunt,and broad way,which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noyce of trampelyng trauailers, neyther yet was trode with the feete of miſerable men. And when all our courtes were without ſuters,Hell then began to houle: And thus continuyng in great heauines and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoyled. Which thyng conſidered,the impaciēt rage of our ſtomack could no longer ſuffer, neyther the ougle retchelous negligence of our great Captayne generall could any longer indure it. But we,ſekyng remedy for the tyme that ſhould come after, haue prouided vs of a verye trimme ſhift: For in ſtead of theſe Apoſtles and other their adherentes whiche drawe by the ſame lyne of theyrs, as well in maners as doctrine,and are odious enemies vnto vs: We haue cauſed you to be their ſucceſſours,and put you in theyr place,which be Prelates of the Church in theſe latter tymes,by our great might and ſubtletie,as Chriſt hath ſayd of you they haue raigned but not by me. Once we promiſed vnto hym all the kyngdomes of the world if he would fall downe and worſhip vs,but he would not: ſaying: my kyngdome is not of this world,and went his way,when the multitude would haue made hym a temporall kyng. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of grace, and that ſerue vs in the earth: is that my promiſe fulfilled, and all terrene thinges by our meanes which we haue beſtowed vpon you,are vnder gouernment. For he hath ſayd of vs as ye know: The prince of the world cōmeth &c. and hath made vs to raigne ouer all children of vnbeliefe. Therfore our aduerſaries before recited, did paciently ſubmitte themſelues vnto the princes of the worlde, and dyd teache that men ſhould do ſo,ſaying: Be ye ſubiect to euery creature for Gods cauſe,whether it be to the Kyng as moſt chiefeſt. And agayne: Obey ye them that are made rulers ouer you &c. For ſo theyr maiſter commaunded them, ſaying: The kinges of the heathen haue dominion ouer them.&c. But I thinke it long till we haue powred our poyſon vppon the earth,and therfore fill your ſelues full. And now be ye not onely vnlike thoſe fathers,but alſo altogether contrary vnto them in your lyfe and conditions, and extoll your ſelues aboue all other men. Neyther do ye geue to God that which belongeth to hym,nor yet to Ceſar that which is his: But exerciſe you the power of both the ſwordes, accordyng to our decrees,makyng your ſelues doers in worldly matters, fightyng in our quarell,intangled with ſecular labours and buſines. And clyme ye by little and litle from the miſerable ſtate of pouerty, vnto the higheſt ſeates of all honours, and to the moſt princely places of dignitie by your deuiſed practiſes,and falſe and deceitfull wyles and ſubtlety: that is by hypocriſie,flattery,lying,periury,treaſons,deceites,ſimony,and other greater wickednes then which our infernal furies may deuiſe. For after that ye haue by vs bene aduaunced thither where ye would be: yet that doth not ſuffice you,but as gredy ſtaruelings more hungry then ye were before,ye ſuppreſſe the poore, ſcratch and racke together all that comes to hand, peruertyng and turnyng euery thyng topſie toruey: ſo ſwollen,that redy ye are to burſt for pride, liuyng lyke Lechers in all corporal delicatenes,and by fraud directing all your doynges. You chalenge to your ſelues names of honour in the earth, callyng your ſelues Lordes, holy,yea and moſt holy perſons.

The difference betwene the byſhops of the primitiue church and of the latter church

Humilitie edifieth. Pride deſtroyeth.

Placing of proud prelates the cauſe of all miſchiefe.

The Church neuer well gouerned ſince the Deuils officers were taken of the Churchmen.

Pride in prelates noted.

Popiſh prelates neither geue to God nor to Ceſar,that which belongeth to God and Ceſar

The double iuriſdiction of the popes 2. ſwordes commeth of Lucifer.

The outrage of the popes clergye deſcribed.

Dominos.
Sanctos.
Sanctiſſimos.

Thus,eyther by violence ye rauen, or els by ambition, ſubtilly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wraſt, and by falſe title poſſeſſe thoſe goods which for the ſuſtentation of the poore members of Chriſt (whom frō our firſt fall we haue hated) were beſtowed and geuen: conſumyng them as ye your ſelues lyſt,and therwith ye cheriſh and maintayne an innumerable ſort of whoores,ſtrumpets,and bawdes, with whom ye ryde pompouſly lyke mighty princes,farre otherwiſe goyng,then thoſe poore beggerly prieſtes of the primatiue Church. For I would ye ſhould build your ſelues riche and gorgeous palacies,ye fare like princes, eatyng and drinking the moſt daintieſt meates,and pleaſaunteſt wines that may be gotten: ye hoord and heape together an infinite deale of treaſure,not lyke to him that ſayd,gold and ſiluer I haue none,ye ſerue and fight for vs according to your wages. O moſt acceptable ſocietie or fellowſhip,promiſed vnto vs by the Prophet,and of thoſe fathers long ago reprooued: Whileſt that Chriſt called thee the Sinagogue of Sathan, and lykened thee to the mighty whore which committed fornication with the kinges of the earth,the adulterous ſpouſe of Chriſt,and of a chaſte perſon made a ſtrompet. Thou haſt left thy firſt loue and haſt cleaued vnto vs,O our beloued Babylon,O our citizens,which from the tranſmigration of Ieruſalem,come hether: we loue you for your deſertes,we reioyce ouer you,which contemne the lawes of Symon Peter,and imbrace the lawes of Symon Magus our frend,and haue them at your fingers endes,and exerciſe the ſame publiquely, buying and ſellyng ſpirituall thynges in the Church of God, and agaynſt the commaundement of god. Ye geue benefices and honors by petitiō,or els for mony,for fauor,or els for filthy ſeruice. And refuſing to admit thoſe that be worthy to eccleſiaſtical dignities,& preferring thoſe that are vnworthy,you cal vnto the inheritāce of gods ſanctuarie,baudes,liers,flatterers,your nephues,& your own children,& to a childiſh boy,ye geue many prebends: the leſt wherof ye deny to beſtow vpon a poore good mā: ye eſteme the perſon of a man & receiue giftes, ye regard money and haue no regard of ſoules. Ye haue made the houſe of God

The laſciuious and whoriſhe lyfe of the Romiſhe clergie.

The whoriſhe latter Church of Rome.

Popes ſucceſſors not of Simon Peter,but of Simon Magus

Wicked and vnworthy miniſters admitted in the Popes church.

Vnworthy beſtowing of benefices.

a denne of theeues. All abuſe, all extortion, is more exerciſed a hundreth folde in your iudgement ſeates, then wyth any ſeculare tyraunt. Ye make lawes & keepe not the ſame, and ye diſpence wyth your diſpenſations as it pleaſeth you, you iuſtifie the wicked for rewardes, and ye take away the iuſt mans deſart from him. And briefly ye perpetrate or cōmit all kynde of miſchiefe, euen as it is our wyll ye ſhould. And ye take much payne for lucres ſake in our ſeruice, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Chriſtian fayth. For now the lay people are almoſt in doubt what they may beleue, becauſe that if ye preach any thing to them at ſometimes (although it be but ſeldome ſeene, and that negligently inough, euen as we would haue it) yet notwithſtanding they beleue you not, becauſe they ſee manifeſtly that ye do cleane contrary, to that ye ſay. Wherupon, the common people, doyng as ye do, which haue the gouernement of them, and ſhould be an example to them of well doing: now many of them leaning to your rules, do runne hedlong into a whole ſea of vices: And ſo continually a very great multitude flocketh at the ſtrong and well fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtles, ye ſend vs ſo many day by day of euery ſort and kynde of people, that we ſhould not be able to entertayne them, but that our inſatiable chaos wyth her thouſande rauening iawes is ſufficient to deuoure an infinite number of ſoules. And thus the ſoueraintie of our Empire, by you hath bene reformed, and our intollerable loſſe reſtored. Wherefore, moſt ſpecially we commende you, and geue you moſt hartie thanke: Exhorting all you, that in any wiſe ye perſeuere and continue, as hetherto ye haue done: neither that you ſlacke henceforth your enterprice. For why, by your helpes we purpoſe to bring the whole world againe vnder our power and dominion. Ouer and beſides this, we commit vnto you no ſmall authoritie, to ſupply our places in the betraying of your brethren, and we make and ordayne you our vicares, and the miniſters of Antichriſt our ſonne, now hard at hand, for whom ye haue made a very trimme way and paſſage. Furthermore, we counſell you which occupy the higheſt roomes of all other, that you worke ſubtilly, and that ye (faynedly) procure peace betwene the princes of the worlde, and that ye cheriſhe and procure ſecrete cauſes of diſcorde. And lyke as craftely ye haue deſtroyed and ſubuerted the Romaine Empire: ſo ſuffer ye no kyngdome to be ouermuch enlarged or enriched by tranquilitie and peace. Leaſt perhappes in ſo great tranquilitie (all deſire of peace ſet aſide) they diſpoſe themſelues to vew and conſider your moſt wicked workes, ſuppreſſing on euery ſide your eſtate: and from your treaſurers take away ſuch ſubſtance, as we haue cauſed to be reſerued and kept in your handes, vntyll the commynge of our welbeloued ſonne Antichriſt. We would ye ſhould do our commendations to our entirely beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, auarice, bellichere, and lechery, and to all other my daughters: and eſpecially to Lady Symony, which hath made you men and enriched you, and hath geuen you ſucke with her owne breſtes, and weaned you, and therfore in no wiſe ſee that you call her ſinne. And be ye lofty and proude, becauſe that the moſt high dignitie of your eſtate doth require ſuch magnificence. And alſo be ye couetous, for whatſoeuer ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the Crucifixe, and therefore ye may lawfully doe it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the higheſt ſeat of dignities wythout any let in all the worlde, in ſtopping the mouth of our aduerſary Ieſus Chriſt, and alledging agayne: that he preferred hys kinſfolkes (being but of poore and baſe degree) vnto the Apoſtleſhip, but do not you ſo, but rather call, as ye do, thoſe that lyue in arrogancy, in hautines of mynde, and filthy lechery, vnto the ſtate of welthy riches & pride, and thoſe rewardes and promotions, which the followers of Chriſt forſooke, do ye diſtribute vnto your frends. Therfore as ye ſhall haue better vnderſtanding, prepare ye vices cloked vnder the ſimilitude of vertues. Alleadge for your ſelues the gloſes of the holy ſcripture, and wreſt them, directly to ſerue for your purpoſe. And if any man preach or teach otherwiſe then ye will, oppreſſe ye them violently wyth the ſentence of excommunication, and by your cenſures heaped one vpon an other, by the conſent of your brethren. Let hym be condemned as an hereticke, and let hym be kept in moſt ſtraight priſon, and there tormented tyll he die, for a terrible example to all ſuch as cōfeſſe Chriſt. And ſetting all fauour apart, caſt hym out of your temple; leaſt peraduenture the ingraffed worde may ſaue your ſoules, which worde I abhorre, as I doe the ſoules of other faythfull men. And do your indeuour, that ye may deſerue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the moſt wicked foundation of our dwelling place. Fare ye well, with ſuch felicitie as we deſire and intend finally to reward and recompence you with.

Acception of perſon.

Bribery.

Loue of lucre.

Extortion.

Peruerting of Iuſtice.

Deſtruction of true fayth.

The life of papiſtes contrary to their teaching

The Pope encreaſeth hell.

Antichriſt.

The pope a fayned procurer of peace betwene princes.

The Romayne empyre craftely ſubuerted by the pope.

Symonie the popes nurſe.

Promoting of proud and rich Cardinals.

Cloked holynes.

Wreſting of ſcripture.

Tyrannie & crueltie by the pope.

¶ Geuen at the centure of the earth, in that our darke place, where all the rablement of Deuils were preſent, ſpecially for thys purpoſe called vnto our moſt dolorous Conſiſtory, vnder the Character of our terrible ſeale, for the confirmation of the premiſſes.

Ex Regiſtro Herfordenſi ad verbum.

Ex Regiſtro Hereford.

Who was the true author of thys poeſie or epiſtle aboue written it is not euidently knowne: neither yet doth it greatly ſkill. The matter beyng well conſidered of their part, which here be noted: may miniſter vnto them ſufficient occaſion of holſome admonition, eyther to remember themſelues what is amiſſe, or to bethinke with themſelues what is to be amended. Diuers other writynges of like argumēt both before and ſince, haue bene deuiſed: as one bearing the title Luciferi ad malos principes Eccleſiaſticos, imprinted firſt at Paris in Latin. And vnder the writyng therof, bearing thys date. Anno a palatij noſtri fractione, conſortiumq; noſtrorum ſubtractione. 1351. Which if ye count from the Paſſion of the Lord: reacheth well to the tyme of Wickliffe 1385. which was aboue ſixe yeares before the examination of this Walter Brute.

There is alſo an other epiſtle of Lucifer prince of darknes, ad prælatos, mentioned in the Epiſtle of the ſchoole of Prage, to the vniuerſitie of Oxford, ſet forth by Huldericus Huttenus, about the yeare of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which ſemeth to be written before this epiſtle.

Epiſt. Lucif. ad prælatos.

Alſo Vincentius in Speculo hiſto. lib. 25. cap. 89. inſerteth like mention of a letter of the fiendes infernall, vnto the clergie mē as in a viſion repreſented before. 400. yeares. In which the deuils geue thankes to the ſpirituall men, for that by their ſilence and not preaching the Goſpell, they ſend infinite ſoules to hell. &c.

Vincent. ſpec. hiſt. lib. 25. ca. 89.

Diuers other letters alſo of like deuiſe, haue bene written, and alſo recorded in authors. Wherunto may be added, that one Iacobus Cartuſienſis, writynge to the Byſhop of Wormes, allegeth out of the prophecie of Hildegardis in theſe wordes: Idem et diabolus in ſemetipſo do vobis ſacerdotibus ait: Eſcas epulantium, communia et omnes voluptates in iſtis inuenio, ſed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venæ meæ, de ſpumis illorum plenæ ſunt, et vbera mea plena ſunt diuitijs illorum. &c. i. Therfore, ſayth he, the deuill may ſay of you prieſtes in hymſelfe: The meates of banketting diſhes, and feaſtes of all kynde of pleaſure, I finde in theſe men: yea alſo, myne eyes, mine eares, my belly, and all my vaynes be full of theyr frothyng, and my breſtes be full ſtuffed with their riches. &c. Furthermore, ſayth he, they labour euery day to riſe vp higher with Lucifer, but euery day they fall wyth hym more deepely.

Ex prophetia Hildegardis.

Hereunto alſo appertayneth a ſtory written, & commonly founde in many olde written bookes. In the yeare of our Lord 1218. at Paris in a Synode of the clergie, there was one appointed to make a Sermon, who beyng much carefull in hys minde and ſolicitous what to ſay, the deuil came to hym, and aſkyng why he was ſo carefull for his matter, what he ſhould preach to the clergie ſay thus, quod he: The princes of hell ſalute you (Oh you princes of the Church) and gladly geue you thankes, becauſe through your default and negligence, it cōmeth to paſſe, that all ſoules go downe to hell. Adding moreouer, that he was alſo enforced by the commaundement of God to declare the ſame, yea and that a certayne token moreouer was geuen to the ſayd clerke for a ſigne, wherby the ſinode might euidently ſee, that he did not lye. Ex catall. Illyr. Fol. 546.

The deuill geueth thankes to clergie men.

The ſilence of prelates not preaching the Goſpell dāneth many a ſoule.

¶ The Bull of Pope Bonifacius the ix. againſt the Lollardes.

The popes letter to the B. of Hereford.

BOnifacius Biſhop, ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God: To the reuerend brother Iohn Biſhop of Hereford, ſendeth greeting and Apoſtolicall benediction. We meane to write vnto our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt (Richard the renowmed King of England) in forme encloſed within theſe preſentes. Therefore we will and commaunde your brotherhood, that as much as ye may, ye ſtudy and endeuour your ſelfe to exhorte and induce the ſame Kyng, to doe thoſe thinges which we haue written vnto hym, as it is ſayd before. And notwithſtanding, that now many a day you ought to haue done it of your ſelf, and not to looke that we ſhould perſwade you to that effect by vs written: you may proceede as well by our authoritie, as by your owne, for as much as it was geuen you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeale your deuotion beareth vnto the Catholike fayth, and to the conſeruyng of the eccleſiaſticall honour, and alſo to the execution of their paſtorall office.

¶Geuen at Rome, at S. Peters the xv. Kalendes of October, the 6. yere of our biſhoplike dignitie.

En Regiſtr. Hereford.

¶ The tenour of the Bull, to the renowmed prince Richard by the grace of God kyng of Englande and of Fraunce: wherof mention is made aboue, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

TO our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Richard the noble kyng of England, we ſend greeting &c. It greueth vs frō the bottome of our hartes, and our holy mother the church in all places through Chriſtendome lamenteth. We vnderſtand that there be certayne hereſies ſprong, and do without any cōdign reſtraint raunge at their owne libertie, to the ſeducing of the faythfull people, and do, euery day with ouermuch libertie enlarge their vndiſcrete boundes. But howe much the more carefully we labour for the preſeruation both of you and your famous kyngdome, and alſo the ſinceritie of the fayth: and do with much more ardent deſire couet, that the proſperous ſtate of the ſame ſhould be preſerued and enlarged: the ſting of greater ſorow doth ſo muche the more penetrate and moleſt vs, for as much as we ſee (alas the while) in our time, and vnder the regall preſidence of your moſt chriſtian gouernment: a certayn crafty & hairbrain ſect of falſe Chriſtians, in the ſame your kingdome, to grow and increaſe, which call themſelues the poore men of the treaſury of Chriſt and his diſciples, & whom the common people by a more ſounder name call Lollardes (as a man would ſay withered darnell) accordyng as their ſinnes require: & perceiue, that they waxe ſtrong, & as it were preuayle againſt the dioceſanes of ſome places, and other gouernors as they mete together not courageouſly addreſſing themſelues againſt them as they ought to do (wherof chiefly and not vndeſeruedly I geue them admonition) for that they take therby the more bolder preſumption and ſtomack among the vnlearned people. And for as much as theſe whō we cannot call men, but the damnable ſhadowes or ghoſtes of men, do riſe vp agaynſt the ſound fayth, and holy vniuerſall church of Rome: and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confuſion & eternal damnation of ſome of them) they got ſittyng vppon their mothers lap the ſayd Church of Rome, doe riſe vp or inueye againſt the determination of the holy fathers, with to much preſumptuous boldnes, to the ſubuerſion of the whole eccleſiaſticall order and eſtate: Haue not bene afrayd, nor are not yet afrayd, publikely to preach, very many erroneous deteſtable, and hereticall articles, for that they are not put to ſilence, reproued, driuen out, rooted out or otherwiſe puniſhed, by any that hath authoritie and the feare and loue of God. And alſo they are not afrayd, openly to write the ſame articles, and ſo beyng written to deliuer them to your kingly parliament, and obſtinately to affirme the ſame. The venemous and diſdainfull recitall of which articles, vpon good aduiſement at this preſent we paſſe ouer: leſt the ſufferance of ſuch ſenſualitie, might fortune to renue the wound that reaſon may heale. Yet notwithſtanding, leaſt ſo great and contagious an euill ſhould eſcape vnpuniſhed, and that without deſerued vexation, and alſo that it might not gette more hart and waxe ſtronger: we therfore (according to that our office and duetie is, where ſuch negligence and ſluggiſhnes of our prelates beyng preſent, where this thing is) do commit and geue in commaundement to our reuerend brethren, Canterbury, and Yorke, Archbiſhops by other our letters: that they ſtand vp in the power of God agaynſt this peſtilent and contagious ſect, and that they liuely perſecute the ſame in forme of law: roote out and deſtroy thoſe, that aduiſedly and obſtinately refuſe to withdraw their foote frō the ſame ſtumbling block, any reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. But becauſe the aſſiſtaunce, counſaile, fauour, and ayde of your kingly eſtate and highnes, are requiſite to the execution of the premiſſes: we require, exhorte, and beſech the ſame your princely highnes, by the bowels of the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, by his holy fayth, by your owne ſaluation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the proſperitie aſſured to euery man and woman: that not onely your kingly ſeueritie may readily ſhew and cauſe to be ſhewed vnto our Archbiſhops and their Commiſſaries (in this behalfe requiring the foreſayd due execution) conuenient ayd and fauour, as otherwiſe alſo to cauſe them to be aſſiſted: But that alſo you will enioyne your Magiſtrates and Iuſtices of aſſiſe, & peace more ſtraightly, that of their owne good wils, they execute the authoritie committed vnto thē, with all ſeueritie againſt ſuch damned men, accordyng as they are bounde by the office which they are put in truſt with: Againſt thoſe I meane, which haue determined obſtinately to defile thēſelues in their malice and ſinnes, thoſe to expell, baniſh, and impriſon, and there ſo long to keepe them: till condigne ſentence ſhal pronounce them worthy to ſuffer puniſhment. For your kingly wiſdome ſeeth, that ſuch as they be, do not onely deceiue poore ſimple ſoules (or at the leaſt do what they can to deceiue thē) but alſo bring their bodies to deſtruction, and further prepare confuſion & ruinous fall vnto their temporall Lordes. Go to therfore my ſwete ſonne, and indeuour your ſelf to worke ſo in this matter, as vndoubtedly we truſt you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming ouer ſore) began vnder your preſident or gouernment: ſo vnder your ſeuere iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and ayde: not one ſparke remayne hid vnder the aſhes, but that it be vtterly extinguiſhed and ſpedely put out.

The popes wylde Bull let looſe agaynſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt.

Alack good hart what ſorow the pope taketh.

Epiſt. Lucif. ad prælatos.

Vincent ſpec. hiſt. lib. 23. ca. 89.

Ex prophetia Hildegardis.

As though [illegible] were but in the church of Rome.

The dragon here ſpoweth out his floudes of water to drowne the Chriſtians.

Behalde the ſpirit of the popes meke holynes.

The bowels of Ieſus Chriſt be full of mercy: the bowels of the pope full of tyranny.

Helpe the pope at a pinch: or els he is like to take a fall.

¶Geuen at our palace of S. Peter at Rome, the xv. Calendes of October, in the ſixt yeare of our pontificalitie.

The kinges Commiſſion.

RIchard by the grace of God, kyng of England, and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland. To all thoſe vnto whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greting. Knowe ye, that where as lately at the inſtāce of the reuerend father William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolical ſeat: we for the redreſſe and amendemēt of all thoſe which would obſtinatly preach or mayntayne, publiquely, or priuely, any concluſions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the Church, & notoriouſly redounding to the ſubuerſion of the Catholique faith, or contayning any hereſie or errour, within the prouince or biſhopricke of Cāterbury: Haue by our ſpeciall letters pattēts, in the zeale of the faith, geuen authoritie & licence vnto the foreſayd Archbyſhop & to all and ſingular his ſuffraganes, to areſt all and euery of them that will preach or maintaine any ſuch cōcluſions, whereſoeuer they may be founde, and to cōmit them eyther to their owne priſons or any others at their owne pleaſure: and to keepe thē in the ſame, vntill they repēt thē of the errours and prauities of thoſe hereſies: or till that, of ſuch maner of areſtes, by vs or by our counſaile it ſhould be otherwiſe determined, that is to ſay, to euery one of them & their miniſters throughout their cities & dioceſſe. And now the reuerēd father in god Iohn B. of Herford, hath for a certaintye informed vs: that although the ſame B. hath according to iuſtice cōuinced a certain felow named W. Swinderby, pretending himſelf to be a chaplaine, & one Stephē Bell a learned mā, and hath pronounced them heretikes and excommunicate, and falſe informers amongſt the commō people, and hath declared the ſame by the definitiue ſentence of the aforeſaid biſhop for that they haue preſumed to affirme and preach openly in diuers places within the dioceſſe of Herford, many concluſions or naughty opinions notoriouſly redoundyng to the ſubuerſion of the Catholike ſound fayth, and tranquillitie of our kyngdome. The ſame Byſhop notwithſtanding, neither by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, neither yet by the force and ſtrength of our commiſſion was able, to reuoke the foreſaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacie of them: For that they, after that they were vpon ſuch hereticall prauitie conuict by the ſame biſhop (to the intent they might delude his iudgement and iuſtice) conueyed themſelues by and by, vnto the borders of Wales, with ſuch as were their factours and accomplices, in kepyng themſelues cloſe, vnto whom the force of our ſaid letters doth in no wiſe extend. Whereupon, the ſayd biſhop hath made ſupplication vnto vs, that we wil vouchſafe to prouide a ſufficient remedy in that behalfe. We therfore which alwayes (by the helpe of almighty God) are defendours of the fayth, willing to withſtande ſuch preſumptuous and peruerſe enterpriſes by the moſt ſafeſt way and meanes we may, geue and commit full power and authoritie to the foreſayde biſhop and to his miniſters, by the tenour of theſe preſentes, to areſt or take, or cauſe to be areſted or taken, the foreſayd William and Steuen, in any place within the Citie and dioces of Hereford and our dominion of Wales, with all the ſpeede that may be, and to cōmit thē either to our priſon or els to the priſon of the ſame biſhop,

The boat complaynyng that it is of the B. of Herford.

W. Swinderby and Steuen Bel complayned of to the kyng.

Furioſo ne committas gladium.

Byſhop,or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch neede be,and there to keepe thẽ ſafe:And afterwardes, vnles they will obey the commaundementes of the Church,with diligence to bryng them before vs and our counſell,or els cauſe them to be brought.That we may determine for their further puniſhment,as we ſhall thinke it requiſite conuenient to be done by the aduiſe of our coũſell,for the defence and preſeruation of the Catholicke faith.And that the foreſayd William and Stephen,beyng ſuccoured by the ayde of their factours or fauourers, ſhould not be able to their accuſtomed ſtartyng holes: and that the ſharpnes of their paynes ſo aggrauated, may giue them ſufficient cauſe to returne to the lap agayne of their holy mother the Church: we ſtraightly charge and commaunde all and ſingular our Shrifes, Bailiffes, Barones, and all other our officers, in the Citie and Dioces of Hereford,and in any other place beyng within our dominion of Wales, by the tenour of theſe preſentes: that from time to time (where they thinke it moſt meete)they cauſe it openly to be proclaymed in our name, that none,of what ſtate,degree,preeminẽce,kinde, or other conditiõ he ſhalbe of,do cheriſh opẽly or ſecretly,the foreſayd William and Steuen, vntill the tyme that they repent them of their hereſies and errours,and ſhalbe recõciled vnto the holy Church of God:Neither that any perſon or perſons,be beleuers,fauorers,or receauers,defendours,or in any caſe wittyngly inſtructours,of the ſayd William or Stephẽ, or any other of the reſidue of the heretickes that are to be cõuinced: vpõ the forfaiture of all that euer they haue.And that alſo they giuyng their attendance,be obedient and aſſwerable to the foreſayd byſhop & his deputies in this behalfe,for the execution of the premiſſes: and that they certifie vs and our counſell diſtinctly,and playnly,from time to tyme,of the names of all and ſingular perſons, which ſhall fortune to be foũde culpable in this behalfe, vnder their ſeales. In witnes wherof,we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made. Witneſſe our ſelfe,at Weſtminſter the ix.day of March, in the xv.yeare of our reigne.

Pſende catholice fidei.

Farrington.

¶An other letter of the ſayd kyng agaynſt Walter Brute.

An other letter of king Richard agaynſt Walter Brute.

RIchard by the grace of God kyng of England and of Fraunce and Lord of Ireland: To his beloued and faythfull Iohn Chaundos knight, Iohn Eynford knyght, Renold de la Bere knight, Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Barre knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight,and to the Maior of the Citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcaſtle,Richard Naſhe, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Wayllwayne,Iohn Skydmore,Iohn Vp Harry,Henry Motton,and to the Shriffe of Hereford, ſendeth ſalutations.

Walter Brute.

For aſmuch as it is aduertiſed vs,that one Walter Brute, and other ſuch children of iniquitie, haue damnably holdẽ, affirmed,and preached,certaine articles and concluſions beyng notoriouſly repugnaunt agaynſt the holy Scripture (of the which,ſome of them as hereſies, and the reſt as errours, are finally by the Church condẽned)and that in diuers places within the Dioces of Hereford and partes neare adioyning,both priuely,openly,and obſtinatly: which thyng we perceaue not onely to redound to the ſubuerſion (in a maner)of the Catholicke faith,which as well we,as other Catholicke Princes ought of duety to maintaine, but alſo to forewarne vs of the ſubuerſion of our faythfull Dioceſans. And that the ſayd Byſhop,vpon the good deliberation and aduiſement of a great number of Doctours in Diuinitie,and other learned and ſkilfull men in the Scriptures,of ſpeciall deuotion,accordyng to his bounden duety, purpoſed to begyn and make diuers and ſundry proceſſes by law to be ſent vnto the foreſayd Walter and his accõplices,to appeare perſonally before him and other the Doctours aforeſayd,in the cathedrall Church of Hereford,the morrow after the trãſlation of Saint Thomas of Hereford next enſuyng, and to procede in the ſame place agaynſt the ſame Walter, in the foreſayd articles and concluſiõs, for the amendement of his ſoule.Now a freſh(becauſe that the ſayd Walter and others of their retinue,cleauing and cõfederatyng with him,might not ſuffer cõdigne paynes accordyng to their demerites)indeuour thẽſelues to make voyde and fruſtrate the ſaid godly purpoſe of the ſame Byſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould haue bene done: and with force do reſiſte and let the ſame with all the power they may,to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne,and to the breakyng and hurtyng of our peace,and pernicious example of others: Do appoint you and euery of you, immediatly as ſoone as this our commiſſion ſhall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the Dioces and partes aforeſayd, where ye ſhall thinke it moſt meete and conuenient: That no man be ſo hardy henceforth,of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer he ſhall be,within the Dioces and partes aforeſayd,vpon payne of forfaiture of all that euer he hath,to make or leauy any conuenticles, aſſembles, or confederacies,by any coulour: or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thyng, wherby our peace may be hurt or brokẽ,or that the ſame Byſhop and Doctours aforeſayd, may be by any meanes moleſted or let in the execution of ſuch correction as is to be done, accordyng to the Canonicall ſanctions, and to areſt all thoſe which ye ſhall finde or take offendyng in this behalfe, or that keepe themſelues in any ſuch conuenticles.And that they being cõmitted to priſon,be there kept,till you ſhall haue other commaundemẽt from vs and our counſell for their deliueraunce:And that ye diſtinctly and plainly certifie vs and our ſaid counſell,of all your doyng in this behalfe vnder your ſeales, or elles the ſeales of ſome of you. And therfore we ſtraightly charge and commaunde you and euery of you:that ye diligently attend vpon the premiſſes,and that in your deedes ye execute the ſame with all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and maner aforeſayd.And further, we geue ſtraight charge and commaundement to all and ſingular Shriffes, Maiors,Bailiffes, Conſtables, and other our faythfull ſubiectes,by the tenour of theſe preſentes: that they be attendant vpon you,coũſelling and ayding you and euery of you, as is meete and conuenient in the doyng and execution of the premiſſes.In wytnes wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patẽtes to be made.Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the xxij.day of September,in the xvij.yeare of our raigne.

Whether the doctrin of Brut was euer againſt reſiſtance,how is this like to be true.

¶By the ſame Kyng and Counſell.

¶Thus kyng Richard by the ſettyng on of W. Courtney Archbyſhop of Canterbury and his fellowes, takyng part with the Pope, and Romiſh Prelates: waxed ſomething ſtraite and hard to the poore Chriſtians of the contrary ſide of Wickleffe, as by theſe letters aboue prefixed may appeare. Albeit,duryng all the lyfe of the ſayd kyng, I finde of none expreſly by name that ſuffered burnyng. Notwithſtandyng, ſome there were which by the foreſayd Archbiſhop W.Courtney,and other Byſhops, had bene condemned and diuers alſo abiured,and did penaunce as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leyceſter as followeth here to be declared,out of the Archbyſhops regiſter and recordes.

K. Richard ſet agaynſt the Goſpellers by the Archb. and the prelates.

At what tyme the ſayd Archbyſhop W.Courtney was in his viſitation at the towne of Leyceſter, certaine there were accuſed and detected to him,by the Monkes and other Prieſtes in the ſayd towne. The names of which perſons there detected,were one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagſtaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, Williã Parchmenar, and Roger Goldſmith, inhabitauntes of the ſame towne of Leyceſter: Theſe with other mo, were denounced to the Archbyſhop for holdyng the opinion of the Sacrament of the aulter, of auricular confeſſion, and other Sacramentes,contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and obſerue. All which parties aboue named,and many other mo whoſe names are not knowen,did hold theſe hereſies and errours, here vnder written and are of the Romiſh Church condemned.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Archb. Cant.

Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Rich. Wagſtaffe, Mich. Scriuener, W. Smith, Joh. Henry, W. Parchmenar, Roger Goldſmith accuſed.

1. That in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration,there remaineth the body of Chriſt with the materiall bread.
2. That Images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, nor that no man ought to ſet any candels before them.
3. That no Croſſe ought to be worſhypped.
4. That Maſſes,and Mattines ought not with an high and loude voyce to be ſayd in the Church.
5. Item,that no Curate or Prieſt taken in any crime can conſecrate,heare cõfeſſions,nor miniſter any of the Sacramentes of the Church.
6. That the Pope & all Prelates of ẏ church,cãnot binde any man with the ſentence of excommunicatiõ, vnleſſe they know him to be firſt excommunicated of God.
7. That no prelate of the Church, can grãt any pardõs.
8. That euery lay man may in euery place, preach & teach the Goſpell.
9. That it is ſinne to giue any almes or charitie,to the Friers preachers,Minorites,Auguſtines,or Carmelites.
10. That no oblation ought to be vſed at the funerals of the dead.
11. That it is not neceſſary to make cõfeſſion of our ſinnes to the Prieſt.
12. That euery good man although he be vnlearned is a Prieſt.

Theſe

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michell, Willia, and Roger, accurſed with booke, bell, and candell.

These Articles, taught, preached, and affirmed they, manifeſtly in the towne of Leyceſter & other places adioyning: wherupon, the ſayd Archbyſhop moniſhed the ſayd Roger, and Nicholas with the reſt, on the next day to make aunſwere vnto him in the ſayd Monaſtery to the foreſayd articles. But the foreſayd Roger and Nicholas with the reſt, hid themſelues out of the way and appeared not. Wherupō, the Archbyſhop vpon all hallow day, beyng the firſt day of Nouember, celebratyng the high Maſſe at the high aulter in the ſayd Monaſtery, beyng attired in his pontificalibus: denounced the ſayd parties, with all their adherentes, fautors, fauourers, and cōſellers, excommunicate and accurſed which either held taught or maintained the foreſayd concluſions hereticall and erroneous and that in ſolemne wiſe, by ringyng the belles, lightyng the candels and puttyng out the ſame agayne, and throwyng them downe to the grounde with other circumſtaunces therunto belongyng. Vpon the morow after (beyng all ſoulne day) he ſent for all the curates and other lay men of the towne of Leyceſter, to inquire more diligently of the veritie of ſuch matter as they knew, & were able to ſay agaynſt any perſons whatſoeuer, concernyng the foreſayd articles, as alſo agaynſt the parties before named & ſpecified vpon their othes: denouncyng euery one of them, ſeuerally by their names to be excommunicated and accurſed, & cauſed them alſo in diuers Pariſh Churches in Leyceſter, alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſayd Archbiſhop interdicted the whole towne of Leyceſter, and all the Churches in the ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſayd excommunicate perſōs ſhould remayne or be within the ſame, and till that all the Lollardes of the towne, ſhould returne and amende from ſuch hereſies and errours, obtaining at the ſayd Archbiſhop his handes the benefite of abſolution.

The whole town of Leiceſter interdicted.

Matild an Anchoreſs, cited to appeare

At length it was declared and ſhewed to the ſayd Archbyſhop that there was a certaine anchoreſſe whoſe name was Matild, incloſed within the Churchyarde of S. Peters Church of the ſayd towne of Leyceſter, to be infected (as they ſayd) with the peſtiferous cōtagion of the foreſayd heretiques & Lolardes: wherupon, after that the ſayd Archbyſhop had examined the foreſayd Matild, touchyng the foreſayd concluſions, hereſies, and errours, and found her not to aunſwere playnly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtelly: gaue & aſſigned vnto her a day peremptory, perſonally to appeare before him in the Monaſtery of S. Iames at Northampton, more fully to aunſwere to the ſayd articles, hereſies, and errours, which was the 6. day of the ſayd moneth of Nouember: commaundyng the Abbot of the Monaſtery of Pratis aforeſayd, that the doore of the recluſe in which the ſayd Matild was, ſhould be opened, & yͭ till his returne he ſhould cauſe her to be put in ſafe cuſtody. That done, he ſent forth his mandate, agaynſt the Lolardes vnder this forme.

The kinges proces ſent by the B. to arreſt the a. forenamed.

William by the permiſſion of God, &c. To his welbeloued ſonnes, the Maior & Bayliffes, of the towne of Leyceſter Dioces, greetyng. We haue lately receiued, the kynges letters graciouſly graunted vs for the defence of yͤ catholike fayth, in theſe wordes folowyng. Richard by the grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce &c. We on the behalfe of our holy mother the Church, by the kynges authoritie aforeſayd, do require you: that you cauſe the ſayd Richard, William, Roger, and the reſt, to be areſted, and ſent vnto vs, that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of God. &c. Giuen vnder our ſeale. &c.

Margaret Caly a Nun conſtrained agaynſt her will to take againe her habite.

By an other inſtrument alſo in the ſame regiſter, is mētion made of one Margaret Caily Nonne, which forſaking her order, was by the ſayd Archbiſhop, conſtrayned agaynſt her will, agayne to enter the ſame, as by this inſtrument here vnder inſuyng may appeare.

William by the grace of God. &c. To our reuerend brother in God, Iohn by the grace of God, Byſhop of Ely greetyng. &c. In the viſitation of our Dioces of Lincolne accordyng to our office: amongeſt other enormities worthy reformation, we founde, one ſheepe out of our fold ſtrayed and amongeſt the briers tangled, to witte, Margarete Caily, Nunne profeſſed, of the Monaſtery of S. Radegōde within your Dioces: who caſtyng of the habite of her religion, was founde in ſecular attire, many yeares beyng an Apoſtata, and leadyng a diſſolute lyfe. And leaſt her bloud ſhould be required at our handes, we haue cauſed her to be taken, and brought vnto you beyng her paſtour: and ſtraitly inioynyng you by theſe preſentes do commaunde, that you admit the ſame Margarete agayne into her foreſayd Monaſtery (although returned agaynſt her will) or els into ſome other place, where for her ſoules health you ſhall thinke moſt conuenient: and that from henceforth ſhee be ſafely kept, as in the ſtraight examination of the ſame you wyll yelde an accompt. Geuen vnder our ſeale. &c.

Matild recanteth.

By ſundry other inſtrumentes alſo in the ſame regiſter recorded I finde, that the foreſayd Matilde yͤ Anchoreſſe, vpon the ſtraight examination and handlyng of the foreſayd Archbyſhop, before whom peremptorily ſhee was enioyned to appeare, and till that day of apparance taken out of the recluſe and committed to ſafe cuſtodye as you heard: retracted and recanted her foreſayde articles and opinions. For the which ſhee beyng enioyned 40. dayes penaunce, was againe admitted into her foreſayd recluſe in Leyceſter. The Byſhops letter to the magiſtrates of the towne thus beginneth. Willielmus permiſſione diuina, &c. dilectis filiis. &c.

William Smith Roger Dexter, & Alice his wife abiure.

Alſo, by an other letter of the foreſayd Archbyſhop to yͤ Deane of the Cathedrall church of our Lady of Leyceſter beyng regiſtred, I finde: that of the number of thoſe viij. perſons before recited, whom the Archbyſhop hymſelfe at high Maſſe, did in his pōtificalibus ſo ſolemnly curſe with booke, bell, and candle: After certeine proces being ſent out agaynſt them, or els in the meane tyme beyng apprehended and taken: two of them recanted their opinions, to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the meane tyme Alyce the wyfe of the ſayd Roger Dexter, takyng holde of the foreſayd articles wyth her huſband alſo, together wyth the ſayd W. Smith, abiured the ſame. For theſe be yͤ wordes of the inſtrumēt Subſequenter verò, præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, et Alicia reatus ſuos reſpicientes, ſe noſtro conſpectui præſentarunt. &c. Notwithſtanding, whether they preſēted themſelues willingly, or els were brought agaynſt their wils (as moſt like it was) hard penaunce was inioyned them before they were abſolued. Theſe be the wordes of the inſtrument.

Sancta mater eccleſia. &c. i. Beyng our holy mother the Church, denyeth not her lap to any penitēt childe returning to the vnitie of her, but rather proffereth to them the ſame: We therfore do receiue agayne the ſayd William, Roger, & Alice to grace. And further haue cauſed them to abiure all and ſingular the aforeſayd articles and opinions before they receiued of vs the benefite of abſolution, and were looſed frō the ſentence of excommunication wherin they were ſnarled: inioynyng vnto them penaunce, accordyng to the quantitie of the crime, in forme as foloweth, that is to ſay. That euery one of them, the ſonday next after their returning to their proper goodes: they the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, holding euery one an image of the crucifix in their right handes, and in their left handes euery one of them a taper of waxe, waying halfe a pound waight, in their ſhirtes (hauing none other apparell vpon them) doe goe before the Croſſe three tymes, during the proceſſion of the Cathedrall Church of our Lady of Leceſter: that is to ſay, in the beginning of the proceſſion, in the middle of the proceſſion, and in the latter ende of the proceſſion: to the honour of hym that was crucified, the memoriall of his paſſion, and to the honour of the virgin hys mother: who alſo deuoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſſe the ſame crucifix ſo helde in theyr handes. And ſo with the ſame proceſſion, they entryng agayne into the Church: ſhall ſtand during all the tyme of yͤ holy Maſſe, before the image of the Croſſe wyth their tapers and croſſes in their handes. And when the Maſſe is ended, the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, ſhall offer to hym that celebrated that day the Maſſe. Then vpon the Saterday next inſuing: the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, ſhall in the full and publique market, within the towne of Leiceſter, ſtand in lyke maner in their ſhyrtes, wythout any more clothes vpon their bodyes, holding the foreſayde croſſes in their right handes, which croſſes, thre times they ſhall (during the market) deuoutly kiſſe reuerently kneelyng vpon their knees: that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the ſayd William (for that he ſomewhat vnderſtandeth the Latine tounge) ſhall ſay this Antheame with the collet Sancta Katharina: and the foreſayd Roger and Alice, being vnlearned, ſhall ſay deuoutly a Pater noſter, and an Aue Maria. And thyrdly, the Monday next immediatly after yͤ ſame, the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, in theyr pariſhe Church of the ſayd towne of Leiceſter, ſhall ſtand and do as vpon the Sonday before, they ſtoode and did in the cathedrall Church of our Lady aforeſayde, in all thinges. Which done, the foreſayd William, Roger, and Alice, after Maſſe, ſhall offer to the prieſt or chaplayne that celebrated the ſame, with all humilitie and reuerence the waxe tapers, which they ſhall cary in their handes. And becauſe of the

The maner of their penaunce enioyned.

An. 1389.

3. kiſſes of the croſſe.

The collect of Katherine. The Pater noſter, & Aue Maria.

colde

Cold weather graciouſly conſidered.

cold wether that now is, leaſt the foreſayd penitentes might peraduenture take ſome bodely hurt ſtanding ſo long naked (beyng myndefull to moderate partly the ſayd our rigour) we giue leaue: That after their entraunce into the Churches aboue ſayd, whileſt they ſhalbe in hearyng the foreſayd Maſſes: that they may put on neceſſary garmentes to keepe them from cold, ſo that their heades and feete notwithſtandyng, be bare and vncouered. We therefore will and commaunde you together and a part, that you denounce the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, to be abſolued and reſtored agayne to the vnitie of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penaunce in maner and forme aforeſayd. Geuen at Dorcheſter, the xvij. day of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord God. 1389. and the ix. yeare of our tranſlation.

Peter Pateſhull agaynſt the friers.

Londiners agaynſt the friers.

Peter Pateſhull.

The Friers accuſed with horrible crimes.

Ex chron. D. Albani.

Unto the narration of theſe aboue ſayd, we will adioyne the ſtory of one Peter Pateſhul an Auſten Frier, who obtaynyng by the Popes priuilege (through the meanes of Walter Dis, confeſſour to the Duke of Lancaſter) libertie to chaunge his coate and religion, and hearyng the doctrine of John Wickleffe & other of the ſame ſort: began at length to preach openly and to detect the vices of his order, in ſuch ſorte as all men wondred to heare the horrible reciting therof. This beyng brought to the eares of his order, they to the number of xij. (cōmyng out of their houſe to the place where he was preachyng) thought to haue withſtode hym perforce. Among whom one eſpecially for the zeale of his religion, ſtode vp openly in his preachyng, and contraried that which he ſayd, who then was preachyng in the Church of S. Chriſtopher in London. This when the faithfull Londoners did ſee, takyng grief hereat, were moued with great ire agaynſt the ſayd Frier, thruſtyng him with his other brethren out of the Church, whom they not onely had beaten and ſore wounded, but alſo folowed them home to their houſe, myndyng to haue deſtroyed their manſion with fire alſo, and ſo would haue done, had not one of the Shriffes of London, with two of the Friers of the ſayd houſe well knowen and reported amongeſt the Lōdoners, with gentle wordes mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateſhull thus diſturbed as is aforeſayd, was deſired by the Londoners (for ſo much as he could not well preach amongeſt them) to put in writyng that, which he had ſayd before and other thynges more that he knew by the Friers: who thē at their requeſt writing the ſame, accuſed the Friers of murther, committed agaynſt diuers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant and credible, he declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names alſo of their tormentours. And named moreouer, tyme and place where and when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further, that they were Sodomites and traytours both to the kyng and the Realme with many other crimes, which myne author for tediouſnes, leaueth of to recite. And for the more confutatiō of the ſayd Friers, the Londoners cauſed the ſayd Bill, to be openly ſet vp at S. Paules Church doore in London. Which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the yeare of our Lord. 1387. and in the x. yeare of kyng Richard ſecond. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanenſis. Cuius eſt exordium. Anno gratiæ milleſimo. &c.

Few or none burned in king Richards time.

Kinges many tymes brought in too much feare of the pope.

This it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Goſpell of Chriſt preached by John Wickleffe and others, began to ſpread and fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the Realme: and more would haue done no doubt had not William Courtney, the archbyſhop and other Prelates with the kyng, ſet them ſo forceably with might and mayne, to gaynſtand the courſe therof. Albeit as is ſayd before, I finde none which yet were put to death therfore, duryng the raigne of this kyng Richard the ſecond. Whereby it is to be thought of this kyng, that although he can not be vtterly excuſed for moleſting the godly and innocent preachers of that tyme, (as by his briefes and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he ſo cruell agaynſt them, as other that came after him: And that which he did ſeemed to procede by the inſtigation of the Pope and other Byſhops, rather then either by the conſent of his Parliament, or aduiſe of his counſaile about him, or els by his own nature. For as the decrees of the Parliamēt in all his time, were conſtant in ſtopping out the Popes prouiſions, and in bridlyng his authoritie as we ſhall ſee (Chriſt willyng) anone: ſo the nature of the king was not altogether ſo fiercely ſet, if that he folowyng the guidyng therof, had not ſtand ſo much in feare of the Byſhop of Rome and his Prelates, by whoſe importune letters and callyng on, he was continually vrged to do contrary to that, which both right required, & will perhaps in him deſired. But how ſoeuer the doynges of this kyng are to be excuſed, or not, vndoubted it is that Queene Anne his wife moſt rightly deſerueth ſingular cōmendatiō: who at the ſame tyme liuyng with the kyng had the Goſpels of Chriſt in Engliſh, with iiij. Doctours vpō the ſame. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and ſiſter to Wincelaus kyng of Boheme before: who was maried to kyng Richard about the v. (ſome ſay, the vj.) yeare of his reigne, and cōtinued with him the ſpace of xi. yeares. By the occaſion wherof it may ſeeme not vnprobable, that the Bohemians commyng in with her, or reſortyng into this Realme after her, peruſed & receaued here the bookes of John Wickleffe, which afterward they conueyed into Bohemia, wherof partly mention is made before, pag. 446.

Commendation of Queene Anne wife to kyng Richard.

1394.

The mariage of Queene Anne to K. Richard.

The occaſion how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Bohemia.

The death of Queene Anne.

Ex fragmento Libri cuiuſdā VVigornienſis bibliothecæ. Ex accommodato D. Math. Archb. Cant.

Queene Anne had the 4. Goſpels, with the Doctors in Engliſhe.

Tho. Arundell, Archb. breaketh his owne promiſe.

The ſayd vertuous Queene Anne, after ſhe had lyued with kyng Richard about xj. yeares, in the xviij. yeare of his reigne chaunged this mortall lyfe, and was buryed at Weſtminſter. At whoſe funerall, Thomas Arundell then Archbyſhop of Yorke, & Lord Chauncelour, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the Library of Worceter recorded) he entreatyng of the commendation of her, ſayd theſe wordes: that it was more ioy of her, then of any woman that euer he knew. For notwithſtandyng that ſhe was an Alien borne, ſhe had in Engliſh all the iiij. Goſpels, with the Doctours vpō them: affirming moreouer and teſtifying, that ſhe had ſent ye ſame vnto him to examine. And he ſayd they were good and true. And further with many wordes of prayſe did greatly commende her, in that ſhee beyng ſo great a Lady, & alſo an Alien, would ſtudy ſo lowly ſo vertuous bookes. And he blamed in that Sermō ſharpely the negligēce of the Prelates, and other men. In ſo much that ſome ſayd, he would on the morow, leaue vp the office of Chauncelour, and forſake the world, & geue him to fulfill his paſtorall office, for that he had ſene and read in thoſe bookes. And then it had bene the beſt Sermon that euer they heard. Hæc ex libro Wigor. In the which Sermon of Thomas Arundell, three pointes are to be conſidered, firſt the laudable vſe of thoſe old tymes receaued to haue the Scripture and Doctours in our vulgare Engliſh toung. Secondly, the vertuous exerciſe and alſo example of this godly Lady, who had theſe bookes not for a ſhew hangyng at her girdle: but alſo ſeemeth by this Sermon to be a ſtudious occupyer of the ſame. The third thyng to be noted is, what fruite the ſayd Thomas Archbyſhop declared alſo himſelfe to receaue at the hearyng and readyng of the ſame bookes of hers in the Engliſh toung. Notwithſtandyng, the ſame Thomas Arundell, after this Sermon and promiſe made, became the moſt cruell enemy that might be agaynſt Engliſh bookes, and the authors therof as foloweth after in his ſtory to be ſene.

Tho. Arundell & the B. of London, go to Ireland to the kyng to complain of the fauourers of gods worde.

Ex histor. D. Albani.

1395.

Cōcluſions offered vp in the parliament houſe.

For ſhortly after the death of Queene Anne, ye ſame yere (the kyng beyng then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Yorke, & Biſhop of London, Robert Braybrocke (whether ſent by the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, & the Clergy, or whether goyng of their owne accorde) croſſed the Seas to Ireland, to deſire the king in all ſpedy wiſe to returne and helpe the fayth & Church of Chriſt, agaynſt ſuch as holding of Wickleffes teaching, went about (as they ſayd) to ſubuert all their procedynges, and to deſtroy the canonicall ſanctions of their holy mother Church. At whoſe complaint the kyng hearing the one part ſpeake, and not aduiſing the other, was in ſuch ſort incenſed: that incontinent leauyng all his affaires incomplet, he ſped his returne toward England. Where he kept his Chriſtmas at Dublyne, in the which meane tyme, in the beginning of the next yeare folowyng, which was an. 1395. a Parliament was called at Weſtminſter, by the commaundement of the kyng. In which Parliament, certaine Articles or Concluſions were put vp by them of ye Goſpell ſide, to the nūber of 12. Which Concluſions moreouer were faſtened vp vpon the Church doore of S. Paule in Lōdon, and alſo at Weſtminſter: The copy of which Concluſions with, the wordes and contentes therof, here vnder enſueth.

¶ The booke of Concluſions, or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and ſet vp at Paules doore and other places, in the xviij. yeare of the raigne of kyng Richard the ſecond, and in the yeare of our Lord. 1395.

Cōcluſions exhibited in the parliament.

The firſt concluſion, when as the Church of Englād begā firſt to dote in temporalities after her ſtepmother the great Church of Rome, and the Churches were authoriſed by appropriations: fayth, hope, and charitie, began in diuers places to baniſh and flye away from our Church, for ſo much as pride with her moſt lamentable and dolorous Genealogie of mortall and deadly ſinnes, did challenge that place by title of heritage, and this concluſion is generall and approued by experience, cuſtome and maner, as ye ſhall hereafter heare.

Papiſticall prieſthoode.

The ſecond concluſiō, that our vſuall Prieſthode which tooke his originall at Rome, & fayned to be a power higher then aungels, is not that Prieſthode which Chriſt ordeined vnto his Diſciples. This concluſion is thus proued, for ſo much as the Romiſh prieſthode is done with ſignes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither hauyng any ground in Scripture, for ſo much as the Byſhops ordinall and the new Teſtament do nothyng at all agree, neither do we ſee that the holy Ghoſt doth geue any good gift through any ſuch ſignes or ceremonies: becauſe that he together with all noble & good giftes, can not conſiſte and be in any perſon with deadly ſinne. The corolary or effect of this concluſion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery vnto wiſe men, to ſee the Byſhops mocke and play with the holy Ghoſt in the geuing of their orders: becauſe they geue crownes for their caracters and markes, in ſtede of white hartes, & this caracter is the marke of Antichriſt, brought into the holy Church to cloke and colour their idlenes.

The ſingle lyfe of prieſtes.

The third concluſion, that the law of chaſtitie enioyned vnto Prieſthode, the which was firſt ordeined to the preiudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the Church: but we do excuſe vs by the Bible, becauſe the ſuſpect decree doth ſay, that we ſhould not name it. Both reaſon and experiēce proueth this concluſion. Reaſon thus, for ſo much as the delicate feedyng and fare of the Clergy, will haue either a naturall purgation, or ſome worſe. Experience thus, for ſo much as the ſecret triall and proofe of ſuch men is, that they do delite in women. And when ſoeuer thou doeſt proue or ſee ſuch a man, marke him well, for he is one of that nūber. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that theſe priuate religions with the begynners therof, ought moſt chiefly to be diſanulled as the originall of that ſinne and offēce: But God of his might, doth of priuye ſinnes ſend open vengeaunce.

He doth very excellently paint out the lechorous clergie.

He prophecieth agaynſt monkery.

The fayned miracle of tranſubſtantion.

The fourth concluſion, that moſt harmeth the innocent people is this: that the fayned miracle of the Sacrament of bread, induceth all men, except it be a very few, vnto Idolatry: For ſomuch as they thinke that the body which ſhall neuer be out of heauen, is by the vertue of the Prieſtes wordes eſſentially included in the little bread, the whiche they doe ſhew vnto the people. But would to God they would beleue that which the Euangelicall Doctour teacheth vs in his Trialoge, Quòd panis altaris eſt accidentaliter Corpus Chriſti. i. that the bread of the aulter is the body of Chriſt accidentally: for ſo much as we ſuppoſe that by that meanes, euery faythfull man and woman in the law of God, may make the Sacrament of that bread without any ſuch miracle. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that albeit the body of Chriſt be endowed with the eternall ioy, the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti made by Frier Thomas, is not true, but paynted full of falſe miracles, neither is it any marueil: for ſo much as Frier Thomas at that tyme takyng part wt the Pope, would haue made a miracle of a hennes egge, and we know it very well that euery lye openly preached and taught, doth turne to the rebuke and opprobry of him which is alwayes true without any lacke.

He meaneth here Wickliffe.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inuented by Tho. Aquinas.

The exorciſmes and bleſſinges of Prieſtes.

The fift cōcluſion is this, that the exorciſme and halowynges, conſecrations and bleſſyngs ouer the Wyne, Bread, Waxe, Water, Oyle, Salte, Incence, the Aulter ſtone, and about the Church walles, ouer the Veſtment, Chalice, Miter, Croſſe, and Pilgrimſtaues, are the very practiſes of Nigromancie, rather then of ſacred Diuinitie. This concluſion is thus proued, becauſe that by ſuch exorciſmes, the creatures are honored to be of more force and power then by their owne proper nature, for we do not ſee any alteration, or chaunge in any creature ſo exorciſed, except it be by falſe fayth which is the principall point of deuiliſh art. The corolarie of this is, that if the booke of exorciſation or coniuryng of holy water which is ſprinkled in the Church, were altogether faythfull and true: we thinke certainly that holy water vſed in the Church, were the beſt medicine for all kynde of ſicknes and ſores, Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary wherof dayly experience doth teach vs.

The difference betwene the eccleſiaſtical and politike eſtate.

The ſixt concluſion which mainteyneth much pride, is, that a kyng and Byſhop both in one perſon, a Prelate and iuſtice in temporall cauſes, a Curate and Officer in worldly office, doth make euery kyngdome out of good order. This concluſion is manifeſt, becauſe the temporaltie and the ſpiritualtie, are two partes of the holy vniuerſal Church, and therfore he which addicteth himſelfe to the one part, let him not intermedle with the other, Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſeruire. Wherfore to be called Amphrodite, which are men of both kyndes or Ambidexter, which is ſuch as can play wyth both handes, were good names for ſuch men of double eſtates. The Corolary of thys concluſion is, that therupon we the procuratours of God in thys caſe, doe ſue vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all ſuch as be of the clergie (as well of the higheſt degree as of the loweſt) ſhould be fully excuſed, and occupy themſelues with their owne cure and charge, and not wyth others.

The foundation of Maſſes for the dead.

The ſeuenth concluſion that we mightely affirme is, that ſpirituall prayers made in the Church for the ſoules of the dead (preferryng any one man by name, more then an other) is a falſe foundation of Aulmes, wherupon all ỹ houſes of Aulmes in England are falſly founded. Thys concluſion is proued by two reaſons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceedyng from meere charitie: and perfecte charitie accepteth no perſō, becauſe thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. Wherby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift beſtowed and geuen vnto prieſtes and houſes of almes, is the principall cauſe of any ſpeciall prayers, the which is not farre different from Simony. The other reaſon is, that euery ſpeciall prayer made for men condemned to eternall puniſhment, is very diſpleaſaunt before God. And albeit it be doubtfull, yet is it very likely vnto the faithfull Chriſtian people, that the founders of euery ſuch houſe of Aulmes for their wicked endowing of the ſame, are for the moſt part paſſed by the broad way. The corolary is, that euery prayer of force and effect proceedyng of perfect charitie, would comprehend generally all ſuch, whom God would haue ſaued, and to liue. The marchaundiſe of ſpeciall prayers now vſed for the dead, maketh mendicant poſſeſſioners and other hieryng prieſtes, which otherwiſe were ſtrong enough to worke and to ſerue the whole realme: And mainteyneth the ſame in idlenes, to the great charge of the realme, becauſe it was proued in a certayne booke which the kyng hath, that a hundreth houſes of aulmes, are ſufficient for the whole realme. And therby might peraduēture greater increaſe and profite come vnto the temporaltie.

A hundred houſes of almes ſufficient for England.

Pilgrimages & oblations.

The viij. concluſion needefull to tell to the people beguiled, is, that pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made vnto blynde Croſſes or Roodes, or to deafe Images made either of wood or ſtone: are very neare of kynde vnto Idolatry, and farre different from Almes. And albeit that theſe thynges which are forbidden and imagined, are the booke of errour vnto the common people: notwythſtandyng, the vſuall and common image of the Trinitie is moſt eſpecially abhominable. Thys concluſion God hymſelfe doth openly manifeſt, commaundyng Aulmes to be geuen to the poore and needy man, for he is the image of God in more perfite ſimilitude and lykenes thē any blocke or ſtone. For God did not ſay, let vs make a blocke or ſtone vnto our likenes & image, but let vs make man, for ſo much as the ſupreme and higheſt honor which ỹ clergie calleth Latria, pertayneth onely to the Godhead, and the inferior honour which clergie call Dulia, pertayneth vnto men and Angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corolarie is, that the ſeruice of ỹ croſſe celebrate twiſe euery yeare in our church, is full of idolatry: For if roode, tree, nayles, and ſpeare, ought ſo profoundly to be honoured and worſhypped, then were Iudas lyppes (if any man could get them) a marueylous goodly relique. But thou Pilgrime, we pray thee tell vs, when thou doeſt offer to the bones of the Saintes and holy men which are layd vp in any place: whether doeſt thou relieue thereby the holy man which is already in ioy, or that aulmes houſe that is ſo well endowed, whereas they are canonized (the Lord knoweth how) and to ſpeake more playne, euery faythfull Chriſtian may well iudge and ſuppoſe, that the ſtrokes of that ſame man, whom they call S. Thomas, were no cauſe of Martyrdome, nor yet be.

The image of the Trinitie an abhominable thyng.

A poore man the perfect image of God.

Latria.
Dulia.

Iudas lippes.

The death of Tho. Becket of Caunt. is not to be counted for martyrdome.

Auricular confeſſion.

Confeſſion the miniſter of luſt.

The ix. concluſion that keepeth the people low, is, that auricular confeſſion which is ſayd to be ſo neceſſary for ſaluation, and the fayned power of abſolution: exalteth & ſetteth vp the pride of prieſtes, and geueth them opportunitie of other ſecret talkes, which we will not at thys tyme talke of, for ſo much as both Lordes and Ladies doe witnes that for feare of their confeſſors, they dare not ſpeake the truth: and in tyme of confeſſion is good opportunitie miniſtred, of wooyng, or to play the baudes, or to make other ſecret conuentions to deadly ſinne. They affirme and ſay, that they are commiſſaries ſent of God to iudge & diſcerne of all maner ſinne, to pardon and clenſe what ſoeuer pleaſe them. They ſay alſo, that they haue the keyes of heauen and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curſe and bleſſe, bynde & looſe, at theyr owne wyll and pleaſure: in ſo much, that for a ſmall rewarde, or for .xii.d. they wyll ſell the bleſſing of heauen by charter and clauſe of warrantiſe ſealed by theyr common ſeale. Thys concluſion is ſo common in vſe, that

The impudent boldnes of prieſtes.

it

The pope treaſurer of the church, in ſteede of treaſure layeth vp coales.

it needeth not any probation. The corolarie hereof is, that the Pope of Rome which fayned himſelfe to be the profound treaſurer of the whole Church, hauyng that ſame worthy Iewell which is the treaſure of the paſſion of Chriſt in his owne keepyng and cuſtody, together with the merites of all the Saintes in heauen, wherby he geueth fayned indulgences and pardons a pœna & culpa: he is a treaſurer almoſt baniſhed out of charitie, wherby he may deliuer all captiues beyng in Purgatory at his pleaſure, and make them not to come there. But here euery faythfull Chriſtian may eaſely perceiue, that there is much falſhode hid in our Church.

How war is lawfull, the proofe by experience.

The tenth, that manſlaughter (either by warre or by any pretenſed law of iuſtice, for any temporall cauſe, or ſpirituall reuelation) is expreſly cōtrary vnto the new Teſtament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This concluſion is euidently proued by the examples of the preaching of Chriſt here in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemyes, and haue compaſſion vpon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reaſon is thus, that for the moſt part when as men do fight, after the firſt ſtroke, charitie is broke: and whoſoeuer dyeth without charitie, goeth the right way to hell. And beſide that, we do well vnderſtand and know that none of the Clergy, neither by any other lawfull reaſon, can deliuer any man from the puniſhment of death, for one deadly ſinne, and not for an other: but the law of mercy which is the new Teſtament, forbiddeth all maner of murther. For in the Goſpell it is ſpoken vnto our forefathers, thou ſhalt not kill. The corolarie is: It is a very robbyng of the people, when Lordes purchaſe indulgences and pardons a pœna & culpa, vnto ſuch as do helpe their armies to kill and murther the Chriſtian people in forreine countreys for temporall gayne, as we do ſee certaine ſouldiours which do runne amongeſt the Heathen people to get thēſelues fame and renowme by the murther & ſlaughter of men. Much more do they deſerue euill thankes at the handes of the kyng of peace, for ſo much as by humilitie and peace, our fayth is multiplied and increaſed: for murtherers and manquellers, Chriſt doth hate and manaſeth: he that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.

Nunnes & widowes which vow ſingle lyfe.

The xj. concluſion is, which is ſhame to tell: that the vow of chaſtitie made in our Church by women which are frayle and vnperfite in nature, is the cauſe of bryngyng in many great and horrible offences and vices, accident vnto the nature of man. For albeit, the murther of their children borne before their tyme, and before they are Chriſtened, and the deſtruction of their nature by medicines are filthy & foule ſinnes: yet they accompanyeng amongeſt themſelues, or with vnreaſonable beaſtes, or with any creature not hauyng lyfe, to paſſe to ſuch vnſemelyneſſe, that they are puniſhed by infernall tormentes. The corolarie is, that widowes and ſuch as take the mantell and the ring deliciouſly fed, we would that they were maryed, becauſe that we can not excuſe them from priuate offence of ſinne.

The xij. that the multitude of Artes not neceſſary (vſed in this our Church) cauſeth much ſinne and offēce in waſt, curioſitie, and diſguiſing in curious apparell: experience and reaſon partly doth ſhew the ſame, for ſo much as nature with a few artes, is ſufficient for mans vſe and neceſſitie.

This is the whole tenor of our ambaſſade which Chriſt hath commaunded vs to proſecute at this time, moſt fit and conuenient for many cauſes. And albeit that theſe matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithſtandyng, they are more at large declared in an other booke with many other more in our owne proper toung, which we would ſhould be common to all Chriſtian people. Wherfore, we earneſtly deſire and beſech God for his great goodnes ſake, that he will wholy reforme our Churche (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of his firſt begynnyng and originall. Ex Archiuis Regijs.

¶These verſes followyng, were annexed vnto the concluſions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert horum ſunt idola cauſa malorum,
Surgunt ingrati Gyezite Simone nati,
Nomine prælati hoc defenſare parati,
Qui Reges eſtis populis quicunque præeſtis,
Qualiter his geſtis, gladios prohibere poteſtis?

¶The which verſes are thus Engliſhed.

The Engliſh natiō doth lament, of Sodomites their ſinne,
which Paule doth playnly ſignifie, by Idols to begyn.
But Gierſites full ingrate, from ſinfull Symon ſprung,
This to defēd (though Prelates in name) make bulwarkes great and ſtrong.
ye princes therfore which to rule, ẏ people God hath placed
with iuſtice ſword why ſee ye not, this euill great defaced?

ſi

After theſe concluſions were thus propoſed in the Parliament, the kyng not long after returned home from Dublyne into England, toward the latter end of the Parliament. Who at his returne, called certaine of his nobles vnto him, Richard Stury, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, Iohn Mountacute, &c. whom he did ſharply rebuke, & did terribly threaten for that he heard them to be fauourers of that ſide: chargyng them ſtraightly, neuer to hold, maintaine, nor fauour any more thoſe opinions and concluſions. And namely of Richard Stury, he tooke an othe, that he ſhould neuer from that day, fauour or defend any ſuch opinions: which othe beyng taken, the kyng then aunſwered. And I ſweare (ſayth he) agayne to thee, that if thou doeſt euer breake thyne othe, thou ſhalt dye for it a ſhamefull death. &c. Ex Chron D. Albani.

Rich Stury, Lewes Clifford, Tho. Latymer, I. Mountacute, good fauourers.

Pope Vrbane 6. dead.

1389.

Pope Boniface. 9.

All this while W. Courtney Archbyſhop of Canterbury was yet alyue, who was a great ſtyrrer in theſe matters. But yet Pope Vrbane the great maiſter of the Catholicke ſect was dead and buryed vj. yeare before. After whom ſucceded in the ſchiſmaticall ſea of Rome pope Boniface 9. who nothyng inferiour to his predeceſſour in all kynde of cruelties, left no diligence vnattempted to ſet forward that which Vrbane had begon, in ſuppreſſyng them that were the ſetters forth of the light of the Goſpell: and had written ſundry tymes to kyng Richard as well for the repealyng of the Actes of Parliament agaynſt his prouiſions, Quare impedit, and premunire facias: as alſo that he ſhould aſſiſte the Prelates of England in the cauſe of God (as he pretended) agaynſt ſuch, whom he falſly ſuggeſted to be Lollardes and traytors to the Church, to the kyng, and the Realme. &c. Thus the curteous Pope, whom he could not reach with his ſword, at leaſt with cruell ſlaunder of his malitious toung, would ſtryke his poyſon agaynſt them. Which letter he wrote to the kyng in the yeare of our Lord. 1396. Which was the yeare before the death of W. Courtney Archbyſhop of Canterbury. After whom ſucceded in that ſea, Thomas Arundell brother to the Earle of Arundell, beyng firſt Byſhop of Ely, afterward Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncelour of Englād, and at laſt made Archbyſhop of Canterbury about the yeare of our Lord 1397. The next yeare followyng, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1398. and the 9. yeare of the pope, I finde in certaine Recordes of the Biſhop of Dureſme, a certaine letter of K. Richard 2. written to the ſayd pope Boniface: which becauſe I iudged not vnworthy to be ſene, I thought here to annexe the ſame, procedyng in forme as foloweth.

The letters of pope Boniface 9. to K. Richard.

1396.

The death of W. Courtney Archb. of Cant. Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant.

1398.

To the moſt holy father in Chriſt and Lord,

Lord Boniface the ix. by the grace of God high Pope
of the moſt holy Romiſhe and vniuerſall Church,
his humble and deuoute ſonne Richard by the
grace of God kyng of England, and Fraunce,
Lord of Ireland, gretyng, and deſiryng to
helpe the miſeries of the afflicted
Church, and kiſſyng of that his
bleſſed feete.

A letter of K. Richard 2. to pope Boniface. 9.

WHo will giue my head water, and myne eyes ſtreaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which haue chaūced to her by her own children, in the diſtreſſe of this preſent ſchiſme and diuiſiō. For the ſheepe haue forgotten the proper voyce of their ſhepheardes, and hyrelynges haue thruſt in themſelues to feede the Lordes flocke, who are clothed with the apparell of the true ſhepheard, chalengyng the name of honour and dignitie, reſemblyng ſo the true ſhepheard, that the poore ſheepe cā ſcarſe know whom they ought to folow, or what paſtour as a ſtraunger they ought to flee, and whom they ſhould ſhunne as an hyrelyng: Wherfore we are afrayd, leaſt the holy ſtandard of the Lord be forſaken of his hoſt, and for that Citie being full of riches become ſolitary and deſolate, and the land or people which was wont to ſay (flouriſhing in her proſperities) I ſat as a Queene, and am not a widow, leaſt it be deſtitute of the preſence of her huſband, and as it were ſo bewitched that ſhe ſhal not be able to diſcerne his face, & ſo wrapped in mazes, that ſhe ſhall not know where to turne her, that ſhe might more eaſely finde him, and that ſhe ſhall with weepyng ſpeake that ſaying of the ſpouſe: I ſought him whom my ſoule loueth, I ſought him and found him not: For now we are compelled ſo to wander, that if any mā ſay, behold here is Chriſt, or there, we may not beleue hym ſo ſaying: and ſo many ſhepheardes haue deſtroyed the Lordes vyneyard, and made his amiable portion a waſt wildernes.

Theſe multitude of ſhepheardes is become very burdenous to the Lordes flocke, For when two ſtriue to be chief, the ſtate of both their dignities ſtandes in doubt, and in ſo doyng they geue occaſion to all the faythfull of Chriſt, of a ſchiſme and diuiſion of the Church. And although both parties go about to ſubdue vnto their power the whole church militant, yet cõtrary to both their purpoſe, by workyng this way, there beginneth to riſe now a diuiſion in the body of the Church. Like as when the diuiſiõ of the quicke innocent body was aſked, when the two harlots did ſtriue afore Salomon: like as the ten tribes of Iſraell folowed Ieroboham the intruder, and were withdrawen frõ the kyngdome for Salomons ſinne: euen ſo of old tyme the deſire of rulyng hath drawẽ the great power of the world from the vnitie of the Church. Let your ſelues remember, we beſech you, how that all Greece dyd fal from the obedience of the Romiſh Church in the tyme of the factiõ of the primarche of Conſtantinople, and how Mahomet with his felowes by occaſion of the ſupremacie in Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, deceaued a great part of Chriſtiãs, and withdrew them from the Empire & rulyng of Chriſt. And now in theſe dayes, where as the ſame ſupremacie hath withdrawen it ſelfe from the obedience of it, in ſo much that now in very few Realmes the candle that burnes afore the Lord remayneth, and that for Dauides ſake his ſeruaunt. And although now remayne few countreyes profeſsing the obediẽce of Chriſtes true vicare: yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his own libertie, he would doubt of the preferryng of your dignitie, or that is worſe, would vtterly refuſe it by ſuch doubtful euidence alledged on both ſides: and this is the ſubtille craft of the croked Serpent, that is to ſay, vnder the pretenſe of vnitie, to procure ſchiſmes: as the ſpider of a wholeſome flower gathers poyſon, and Iudas learned of peace to make warre. Wherfore, it is liuely beleued of wiſe mẽ, that except this peſtilent ſchiſme be withſtand by and by, the keyes of the Church will be deſpiſed, and they ſhall bynde the conſciences but of a few? and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault or to reforme thynges contrary to Gods law, ſo by this meanes at length temporal Lordes will take away the liberties of the Church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take away their place, people and landes: they will ſpoyle their poſſeſsions and bryng the mẽ of the Church into bondage, and they ſhall be contemned, reuiled and deſpiſed: becauſe the obedience of the people and deuotions towardes them will almoſt be taken away, when the greater part of the Church left to their owne libertie ſhal waxe prouder thã they be wont, leauyng a wicked example to them that do ſee it. For when they ſee the Prelates ſtudy more for couetouſnes than they were wont, to purſſe vp money, to oppreſſe the ſubiectes, in their puniſhynges to ſeeke for gayne, to confound lawes, to ſtyrre vp ſtrife, to ſuppreſſe truth, to vexe poore ſubiectes with wrõg corrections, in meate and drinke intemperate, in feaſtynges paſt ſhame: what maruell is it if the people deſpiſe them as the fouleſt forſakers of Gods law? but all theſe thynges do folow if the church ſhould be left long in this doubtfulnes of a ſchiſme, and than ſhould that old ſayying be verified: in thoſe dayes there was no kyng in Iſraell, but euery one did that that ſeemed right and ſtraight to himſelfe. Micheas did ſee the people of the Lord ſcattered in the mountaines as they had bene ſheepe without a ſhepheard: for whẽ the ſhepheard is ſmitten, the ſheepe of the flocke ſhall be ſcattered, the great ſtroke of the ſhepheard is the miniſhyng of his iuriſdiction, by which the ſubiectes are drawen from his obedience. Whan Iaſon had the office of the higheſt Prieſt, he chaunged the ordinaũce of God, and brought in the cuſtomes of the heathen, the prieſts leauyng the ſeruice of the holy alter and applying themſelues to wraſting other exerciſes of the Grecians, and deſpiſing thoſe thyngs that belõged to the Prieſts, did labour with all their might to learne ſuch thynges of the Greciãs, and by that meanes the place, people, and holy oyntyng of Prieſtes which in tyme paſt were had in great reuerence of kynges, was troden vnder foote of all men, and robbed by the kynges power and was prophaned by thruſtyng in for money. Therefore, let the higheſt vicare of Chriſt looke vnto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority aboue others. If you marke well moſt holy father, you ſhall finde that Chriſt rebuked ſharpely two brethren, couetyng the ſeate of honour: he taught them not to play the Lordes ouer the people, but the more grace they were preuented with, to be ſo much more humble then other, and more lowly to ſerue their brethren. To him that aſked his coate, to geue the cloke: to hym that ſmote him on the one cheke, to turne the other to hym. For the ſhepe that are geuen to his kepyng, he muſt forſake al earthly things, & to ſhed hys owne bloud, yea & if nede required to die. Theſe things I ſay be thoſe that adorne the higheſt Biſhop if they be in hym, not purple, not his white horſe, nor his Imperiall crowne, becauſe he among all men is moſt bound to all the ſhepe of Chriſt. For the feare of God therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which ye guide, conſider theſe thinges diligently, and do them wiſely, and ſuffer vs no longer to wauer betwixt two: although not for your owne cauſe, to whõ peraduenture the fulneſſe of your owne power is knowen: yet in pitieng our weakenes, if thou be he, tell vs openly, and ſhew thy ſelfe to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to vs a bloudy biſhop, leaſt by your occaſion mans bloud be ſhed, leaſt hell ſwalow ſuch a number of ſoules, and leaſt the name of Chriſt be euill ſpoken of by Infidels, thorough ſuch a worthy perſonage. But peraduenture ye will ſay, for our righteouſnes it is manifeſt inough, and we will not put it to other mens diſputations. If this bald aunſwer ſhould be admitted, the ſchiſme ſhould continue ſtill, ſeyng neyther part is willyng to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally deuided betwixt them, neyther part can be cõpelled to geue place to the other without much bloud ſhed. The incarnation of Chriſt and his reſurrection was wel inough knowen to hymſelfe and his Diſciples, yet he aſked of his father to be made knowen to the world. He made alſo the Goſpell to be written, and the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and ſent hys Apoſtles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the ſame thyng might be knowen to all men. The foreſayd reaſon is the ſubtlety of Mahomet, the which knowyng himſelfe guilty of his ſect, vtterly forbadde diſputations. If ye haue ſo full truſt of your righteouſneſſe, put it to the examination of worthy perſones in a generall councell, to the which it belongeth by right to define ſuch doubtes, or els commit it vnto able perſons, and geue thẽ full power to determine all thinges concernyng that matter, or at the leaſt by forſakyng the office on both parties, leaue the Church of God free, ſpeedily to prouyde for a newe ſhepeheard.

Deſire to rule in the Church.

The kyng ſeemeth here to propheſie.

Byſhops taught by Chriſt not to play the Lordes.

The right ornament of a true Byſhop.

A bald aunſwer.

We finde, kinges haue forſaken their temporall kyngdomes, vpon onely reſpect of deuotion, and haue taken the apparell of Monkes profeſſion. Therfore let Chriſtes Vicar (beyng a profeſſour of moſt high holynes) be aſhamed to continue in hys ſeat of honour, to the offence of all people, and the preiudice and hurt of the Romiſhe Church, and the deuotion of it; and cutting away kingdomes from it. But if you ſay, it is not requiſite that the cauſe of Gods Church ſhould be called in controuerſie, and therfore we cannot ſo eaſely go from it, ſeing our conſcience gainſayth it. To the which we aunſwere, if it be the cauſe of God & the churche, let the generall councell iudge of it: but if it be a perſonall cauſe (as almoſt all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the follower of Chriſt, ye woulde rather choſe a temporall death, then to ſuffer ſuch a wauering, I ſay not, to the hurte of ſo many, but to the endleſſe deſtruction of ſoules, to the offence of the whole world, and to an euerlaſtyng ſhame of the Apoſtolical dignitie. Did not Clemence named (or that I may more truly ſpeake) ordeyned of S. Peter to the Apoſtolike dignitie and to be Biſhop, reſigne hys right, that hys dede might be taken of his ſucceſſours for an example? Alſo Pope Siricius gaue ouer his Popedome to be a comfort of the 11000. Virgins. Therfore much more ought you (if nede require) geue ouer your Popedome, that you might gather together the children of God which be ſcattred abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the cõmon right, euen to bloudſhed: ſo is it ſomtymes neceſſary for a man to winck at his owne cauſe, & to forſake it for a greater profit, & by that meanes better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a deuill and Chriſtes enemy of all men, that would agree to an election made of hym for the Apoſtolicall dignitie and Popedome, if it ſhould be to the deſtructiõ of chriſtians, diuiſion of the church, the offence & loſſe of all faithfull people? If ſuch miſchiefes ſhould be knowen to all the world by Gods reuelation, to come to paſſe by ſuch receyuyng of the Popedome and Apoſtolicall dignitie: then by the lyke reaſon, why ſhall he not be iudged of all men an Apoſtata and forſaker of his fayth, which chuſeth dignitie, or rather worldly honour, then the vnitie of the Churche? Chriſt dyed that he might gather together the children of God which were ſcattered abroade: but ſuch an enemy of God and the Church, wiſheth his ſubiectes bodily to dye in battayle, and the more parte of the worlde to periſhe in ſoule, rather then forſakyng to be Pope, to lyue in a lower ſtate, although it were honourable. If the feare of GOD

Publike reſpect to be preferred before priuate.

Aunſwere to a popiſhe obiection.

Hard counſell for the pope.

Vnitie of the church to be preferred before worldly dignitie.

the deſire of the heauenly kingdome, and the earneſt loue of the vnitie of the church do moue your ſtart, ſhew in dede that your workes may beare record to the truth.

The pope wyll not looſe his dignitie for any publique tranquilitie.

Wicked flatterers about the pope.

Clement and Siricius moſt holy Popes, not only are not reproued, but rather are reuerenced of all men, becauſe they gaue ouer their right for profitable cauſes, and for the ſame cauſe al the church of holy mē ſhew forth their praiſe. Likewyſe, your name ſhould lyue for euer and euer if ye woulde do the lyke for a neceſſary cauſe, that is to ſay, for the vnitie of Gods Church. Geue no heede to vnmeaſurable cryinges of them that ſay, that the right chuſing of Popes is loſt, except ye defend your part manfully; but be afrayd, leaſt ſuch ſtirrers vp of miſchiefe looke for theyr owne commodity or honour, that is to ſay, that vnder your wyng they myght be promooted to riches and honour. After this ſort Achitophel was ioyned and Abſolon in perſecutyng hys owne father, and falſe vſurpyng of his kyngdome.

Better that the order of the popes election ſhould ceaſe: the the church ſhould ſuffer any diuiſion.

Biſhops of Rome appointed their ſucceſſours to the tyme of pope Hillary.

Furthermore, there ſhould be no ieopardy to that election, becauſe both parties ſticke ſtifly to the old faſhion of election, and eyther of them couet the preheminence of the Romiſh Church, counſailyng all Chriſtians to obey them. And although through their geuing ouer the faſhiō of chuſing the Pope ſhould be chaunged for a tyme: it were to be borne, rather then to ſuffer any longer this diuiſion in Gods church. For that faſhion in chuſing is not ſo neceſſary required to the ſtate of a Pope, but the ſucceſſour of the Apoſtle as neceſſary cauſe required, might come in at the dore by an other faſhion of chuſing, and that Canonicall inough. And this we are taught manifeſtly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the Apoſtle appointed after him Clement, & that not by falſe vſurpyng of power, as we ſuppoſe. And it was thought, that that faſhion of appointing of Popes, was lawfull vnto the tyme of Pope Hillary. Which decreed that no Pope ſhould appoynt hys ſucceſſour.

Election of the pope not as was before.

Good counſayle loſt.

Chriſtes ſeameles coat broken.

The popes cōpared to the ſouldiours that curſed Chriſt.

Afterward, the election of the Pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the Emperours counſaile agreyng therto, as it appeareth in the election of the bleſſed Gregory. But Martinus Pope with the conſent of the holy Synode graunted Charles the power to chuſe the Pope. But of late Nicholas the 2. was the firſt whom Martine makes mention of in hys councels, to be choſen by the Cardinals. But all the Biſhops of Lumbardy (for the moſt part) withſtoode thys election, and choſe Cadulus to be pope, ſaying that the pope ought not to be choſen, but of the precinct of Italy. Wherefore, we thinke it not a ſafe way ſo earneſtly to ſticke to the traditions of men, in the faſhion of chuſing the Pope, and ſo oft to chaunge, leſt we be thought to breake Gods traditions concernyng the vnitie of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordayne a new faſhion of hys election, and meeter for hym as it hath bene afore. But all thinges concernyng the ſame election might be kept ſafe, if Gods honour were looked for afore your owne, and the peace of the Church were vprightly ſought: for ſuch a diſhonouryng ſhould be moſt honour vnto you, and that getting place ſhall be the getting of a greater dignitie, and the willyng depoſing of your honour, ſhould obtaine you the entry of euerlaſting honour, & ſhould procure the loue of the whole worlde toward you, and you ſhould deſerue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humblyng hymſelfe. O how monſtrous a ſight and how foule a monſter is a mans body diſfigured wyth two heads? So if it were poſſible, the ſpouſe of Chriſt ſhould be made ſo monſtrous, if ſhe were ruled wyth two ſuch heads: but that is not poſſible, ſhe is euer altogether faire, in whom no ſpot is foūd, therfore we muſt caſt away that rotten mēber, and thruſter in of his ſecond head: We cannot ſuffer any longer ſo great a wickednes in gods houſe, that we ſhold ſuffer Gods cote that wantes a ſeame, by any meanes to be torne by the handes of two, that violently draw it in ſonder For if theſe two ſhould be ſuffred to raigne together, they would ſo betwixt them teare in pieces that little cote of the Lord, that ſcarſe one piece wold hang to another. They paſſe the wickedneſſe of the ſouldiors that curſed Chriſt: For they willyng to haue the coate remayne whole, ſayd: Let vs not cut it, but let vs caſt lots for it whoſe it ſhall be. But theſe two popes ſuffring their right and title to be tryed by no lot nor way (although not in wordes yet in deedes) they pronounce this ſentence: It ſhall neyther be thyne nor myne, but let it be deuided, for they choſe rather as it appeareth to be Lordes (though it be but in a little part, and that to the confuſion of vnitie of the Church) then in leauyng that lordyng to ſeke for the peace of the church. We do not affirme this, but we ſhew almoſt the whole iudgemēt of the world of them beyng moued ſo to thinke by likely coniectures. We loked for amendment of this intollerable confuſion, by the ſpace that theſe two inuentors of this miſchiefe liued. But we loked for peace and behold trouble: for neither in their lyues nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a dout betwixt ij. wayes, left to their ſucceſſors matters of contention continuall. But now for the ſpace of 7. yeres of their ſucceſſors, that which we deſired & loked for afore (that is, they ſhould beare good grapes and they bring forth wyld grapes) in this matter we fall into a deepe diſpayre. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lord, which promiſed that miſerably he would deſtroy thoſe wicked men, and let his vineyard to other huſbandmen which will bring hym fruite at their tymes apointed, he hath promiſed faithfully that he wil help his ſpouſe in her nede, to the end of the world: and we leaning on the ſure hope of this promiſe, and in hope contrary to hope beleuing, by gods grace will put our helping handes to eaſing of this miſery, when a conuenient tyme ſhall ſerue, as much as our kingly power is able, although our wit doth not perceiue how theſe thinges afore rehearſed may be amended: yet we beyng couraged to this by the hope of gods promiſe, will do our endeuor, like as Abraham beleued of his ſonne beyng ſlaine by ſacrifice, that the multitude of his ſede ſhold encreaſe to the number of the ſtarres, accordyng to gods promiſe. Now therfore the tyme drawes nere to make an end of this ſchiſme, leſt a third election of a ſchiſmaticke agaynſt the Apoſtles ſucceſſor make a cuſtome of the doyng, and ſo the pope of Auinion ſhalbe double Romiſh Pope, and he ſhall ſay with his partakers, as the Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſayd vnto Chriſtes vicare when he forſoke hym: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with vs. And is much to be feared of all chriſten men. For that Phariſie begins now to be called the Pope of Auiniō among the people. But peraduenture it would be thought of ſome men, that it belongeth not to ſecular princes to bridle outrages of the popes: to whom we aunſwer, that naturally the members put them ſelues in ieopardy for to ſaue the head, and the partes labour to ſaue the whole. Chriſt ſo decked his ſpouſe, that her ſides ſhould cleaue together, and ſhould vpholde themſelues, by courſe of tyme and occaſion of thinges, they ſhould correct one another and cleaue together tunably. Did not Moſes put downe Aarō, becauſe he was vnfaythfull? Salomon put doun Abiather, who came by lineall diſſent from Anatoth, and remoued his prieſthood from his kinred to the ſtocke of Eliazar in the perſon of Sadocke which had his beginnyng from Ely the prieſt? 3. Reg. 2. Otho Emperor, depoſed Pope Iohn the 12. bicauſe he was lecherous. Henry the Emperour put down Gratianus, becauſe he vſed Simony in buying and ſelling ſpirituall liuings. And Otho depoſed Pope Bennet the firſt, becauſe he thruſt in hymſelfe. Therfore by lyke reaſon, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romiſh Pope in default of the church: if the quality of his fault require it, or the neceſſitie of the Church by this compell to helpe the Church oppreſſed by tiranny. In old tyme ſchiſmes whiche roſe about makyng of the Pope, were determined by the power of ſecular princes: as the ſchiſme betwixt Symachus and Laurence was ended in a counſail afore Theodoricus K. of Italy. Henry the Emperour when two did ſtriue to bee Pope, he depoſed them both, and receiued the third beyng choſen at Rome to be Pope, that is to ſay, Clement the ſecond, which crowned him with the Imperiall crowne. And the Romains promiſed hym that frō thenceforth, they wold promote none to be Pope without his conſent. Alexander alſo ouercame 4. popes ſchiſmatikes, all which Friderike the Emperor corrected.

A godly purpoſe if it had bene put in execution.

Seculare princes are to bridle the outragies of the pope.

Popes put downe by princes.

Thus looke on the regiſter of Popes and their deedes, and ye ſhall finde that ſchiſmes moſt commonly haue bene deciſed by the powers of ſeculare princes, the ſchiſmatickes caſt out, and ſometimes new popes made, and ſometymes the olde ones caſt out of their dignities, & reſtored to their olde dignitie agayne. If it were not lawful for ſecular princes to brydle the outrages of ſuch a pope lawfully made, & afterward becomming a tyrant: In ſuch a caſe he might oppreſſe ouer much the Church, he might chaunge Chriſtendome into Heathenes, and make the labour of Chriſt crucified to be in vayne, or els truely God ſhould not haue prouided for hys ſpouſe in earth by all meanes as much as is poſſible by ſeruice of men to withſtand daungers. Therfore we counſell you with ſuch a louing affection as becomes childrē, that ye cōſider in your hart wel, leaſt in working by this meanes ye prepare a way to Antichriſt, through your deſire to beare rule, and ſo by this meanes as we feare the one of theſe twoo ſhal chaunce: Either ye ſhal cauſe all the princes of the worlde to riſe againſt you to bryng in a true follower of Chriſt to haue the ſtate of the Apoſtolical dignitie, or that is worſe, the whole world deſpiſing the ruling of one ſhepeheard ſhal leaue the Romiſh church deſolate.

Lawful that princes ſhould wythſtand the tyranny of the pope.

The king ſeemeth here to propheſie of the deſolation of the Romaine pope.

But God kepe thys from the world, that the deſire of honour of two men ſhould bring ſuch a deſolation into the church of God: for then that departing away which the Apoſtle prophecied, ſhoulde come afore the comminge of Antichriſt, were at hand: which ſhoulde be the laſt diſpoſition of the worlde, peaceablye to receaue Antichriſt with honour. Conſider therefore the ſtate of your moſt excellent holines, how ye receaued power from God to the building of the Church and not to the deſtruction, that Chriſt hath geuen you wine and oyle to heale the woũded, and hath appoynted you his vicar in theſe things as pertayne to gentlenes, and hath geuen vs theſe thynges which ſerue to rigour. For we beare not the ſword without a cauſe to the puniſhment of euill doers, the which power ordayned of God we haue receiued, our ſelues beyng witnes: beſeching you to receiue our counſel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places frõ whẽce they came, and ſo the waters may beginn to be made ſweete with ſalt: leaſt the axe ſwimme on the water and the wod ſincke, and leaſt the fruitfull olyue degender into a wilde oliue, & the leaproſie of Naaman that noble mã, cleaue cõtinually to the houſe of Giezy, and leaſt the pope and the Phareſeis crucifye Chriſt agayne. Chriſt the ſpouſe of the church which was wõt to bring the chiefe byſhop into the holyeſt place, encreaſe your holynes, or rather reſtore it being loſt. Writtẽ, &c. Ex Fragmento libri cuiuſdam Dunelm.

The pope & Phariſeis, new crucifiers of Chriſt

¶ This Epiſtle of K. Richard 2. written to pope Boniface the ix. in the tyme of the ſchiſme, about the yere as appeareth 1397. As it contained much good matter of wholeſome counſell to be followed: ſo how little it wrought wyth the Pope, the ſequell afterward declared. For the ſchiſme notwithſtanding continued long after, in which neyther of the Popes would geue ouer their hold, or yeld any thyng to good counſayle geuen them, for any reſpect of publike welth. Such a ſtroke beareth ambition in this Apoſtolicall ſee, which we are wont ſo greatly to magnifie. But of this inough, which I leaue and referre to the conſideration of the Lord, ſeyng men will not looke vpon it.

The popes vſurped iuriſdiction neuer receiued in England, before a late yeares

Drawyng now toward the latter end of kyng Richards raigne, it remayneth, that as we did before in the tyme of K. Edward the third, ſo here alſo we ſhewe forth a ſummary recapitulation of ſuch parliamentall notes and proceedynges, as then were practiſed by publike parliament in this kings tyme, agaynſt the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome: to the intẽt, that ſuch (if any ſuch be) that thinke, or haue thought the receiuyng of the Popes double authoritie to be ſuch an aũcient thyng within this realme, may diminiſh their opinion: As euidently may appeare by diuers argumentes heretofore touched, concernyng the electing and inueſtyng of biſhops, by the kyng. As where kyng Oſwyn commaunded Cedde to be ordeyned Archbiſhop of Yorke. Alſo where king Egfride cauſed Cuthbert to be conſecrated Biſhop of Durelme. Where as Edmund alſo beyng nominate by the myracle of Cuthbert, was brought to king Canute and at his cõmaundemẽt was inſtituted biſhop of the ſame ſee. Ex lib. Malmeſb. de geſtis pontif. Anglorum. And likewyſe Math. Pariſienſis teſtifieth, that kyng Henry the 3. gaue the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury, to Radulphus then Byſhop of London, and inueſted hym with ſtaffe and ryng. Alſo the ſame kyng gaue the biſhopricke of Wint. to W. Gifforde: and moreouer followyng the ſteppes both of hys father and brother before hym, endewed hym with the poſſeſſions pertaynyng to the ſayd Biſhopricke (the contrary ſtatute of Pope Vrbane, forbiddyng that Clerkes ſhould receyue any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie at the hand of Princes, or of any lay perſon to the contrary notwithſtandyng) &c. Innumerable examples of lyke ſorte are to be ſeene in auncient hyſtories of this our Realme. As alſo out of the Parliament rolles in the tyme of king Edward hath ſufficiently bene touched a little before. Wherunto alſo may be added the notes of ſuche Parliaments, as haue bene holden in the raigne of this preſent kyng Richard the ſecond, the collection wherof in part here followeth.

Ex lib. Guliel. Malmeſb. de geſtis pontif. Anglorum.

Ex Mat. Pariſ. lib. de vita Henr.

¶ Notes of certayne Parliamentes holden in the raigne of kyng Richard 2. makyng agaynſt the Pope.

Ex Archiuis parlamẽtarijs. An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 66.

IN the firſt yere of K. Richard 2. in the parliament holden at Weſtminſter, it was requeſted and graunted: that the popes collector be willed no longer to gather the firſt fruites of benefices within this realme, beyng a very noueltie, and that no perſon do any longer pay them.

Tit. 67.

Item, that no man doe procure any benefice by proviſion from Rome, on payne to be out of the kynges protectiõ.

Tit. 68.

Item, that no Engliſhman do take to farme of any alien, any eccleſiaſticall benefice or Prebẽde, on the like paine. In which byll was rehearſed, that the French men had 6. thouſand poundes yearely of ſuch liuinges in England.

Tit. 77.

Item, that remedy might be had againſt the popes reſeruations to dignities electiue, the ſame being done againſt the treaty of the Pope, taken with king Edward. 3.

Ex Anno. 2. Tit. 70.

In the ſecond yeare of the ſaid kyng Richard the ſecond, it was by petition requeſted: that ſome order might be take touching Aliens, hauing the greateſt part of the Church dignities in their handes. Whereunto the kyng aunſwered, that by aduiſe of the Lordes he will prouide therfore.

Tit. 71.

Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals and others rebels, to Pope Vrbane that now is, ſhall be ſeaſed into the kynges handes.

Tit. 78.

An acte that Pope Vrbane was true and lawful pope, and that the lyuinges of all Cardinals and other rebels to the ſayd Pope, ſhould be ſeaſed into the kynges handes, and the kyng to be aunſwered of the profites thereof: And that whoſoeuer within this Realme, ſhall procure or obtayne any prouiſion or other inſtrumẽt from any other pope then the ſaime Vrbane, ſhall be out of the kinges protection.

Ex 3. Anno Reg. Rich. 2.

Moreouer, in the thyrd yeare of kyng Richard the ſecond, the Prelates and Clergie made their proteſtation in thys Parliament, expreſſely agaynſt a certayne new graũt, to witte, their extortions: That the ſame neuer ſhould paſſe wyth their aſſent and good will, to the blemiſhyng of the liberties of the Churche, if by that worde extortion, they ment any thyng largely to precede agaynſt Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they ment none otherwiſe to deale hereafter therein, then before that time had bene done, then would they conſent. Whereunto it was replied for the kyng, that neyther for the ſame their ſayde proteſtation, or other wordes in that behalfe, the kyng woulde not ſtay to graunt to hys Juſtices in that caſe and all other caſes, as was vſed to be done in tymes paſt, and was bound to do by vertue of hys oth done at hys coronation.

Here note well a ſtraunge proceding.

But marke the ſtraunge euent.

Tit. 44.

Furthermore, in the fourth yeare of the ſayd kyng Richard. 2. it was requeſted, that prouiſiõ might be had againſt the Popes collectors, for leuiyng of the firſt fruits of eccleſiaſticall dignities within the realme.

Tit. 46.

Item, that all Priors, Aliens myght be remoued out of their houſes, and licenſed to depart, & neuer to returne. And that Engliſh men may be placed in their lyuinges, aunſweryng the kyng as they did.

Ex 9. Anno eiuſdem Regis. Tit. 4.

And in the ix. yeare of the foreſayd king, touching matter of the Staple: the ſpeaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought beſt the ſame were placed within ẏ realme, conſidering that Calis, Bruges, and other townes beyond the ſeas, grew very rich thereby, and good townes here very much decayed, and ſo much for the commũ profite. Touching the king, he affirmed, that the ſubſidie and cuſtome of wool more yelded to the king when the ſtaple was kept in England by one thouſand markes yearely, then it did now, beyng holden beyond the ſeas.

Tit. 36.

Item: that inquiſitiõ and redreſſe myght be had agaynſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the licence to purchaſe x. li. yearely, do purchaſe. lxxx. li. or. C. li.

Tit. 54.

Item, that all Clarkes aduaunced to any eccleſiaſticall dignitie or lyuing by the king, will graunt to the king ẏ firſt fruites of their lyuinges, none otherwiſe then they woulde haue done to the Pope beyng aduaunced by hym.

Tit. 26.

In the xi. yeare of K. Richard. 2. it was put vp by the petitions of the commons, that ſuch impoſitions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus and imponimus of ẏ tranſlations of B. B. and ſuch lyke: might be imployed vpon the kynges wars againſt the ſchiſmatikes of Scotland. And that ſuch as bring into the realme the lyke bulles and nouelties may be reputed for traytors.

An. 13. Reg. Rich. 2. Tit. 24.

In the 13. yeare of hys reigne, folowed an other parliament, in which, although the Archb. of Canterbury and Yorke, for them & the whole clergie of their prouinces, made their ſolemne proteſtations in open Parliament, that they in no wiſe ment or would aſſent to any ſtatute or law made in reſtraint of the Popes authoritie, but vtterly withſtoode the ſame, willing thys proteſtation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the ſayde proteſtation of theirs at that tyme tooke no great effect.

Tit. 34.

Item, in the ſame Parliament was put vp by publike petition, that the Popes collector ſhould be commaunded to auoyde the Realme within xl. dayes, or els to be taken as the kynges enemie, and that euery ſuch collector from hence forth, may be an Engliſhman and ſworne to execute the ſtatutes made in thys Parliament.

Ex titu.9.

Moreouer in the ſayd parliament, the yere aboueſaid of the king, the 16. of January, M. John Mandour Clarke, was charged openly in the parliament, that he ſhould not paſſe, ne ſend ouer to Rome, ne attẽpt or do any thing there touching the Archdeaconry of Durham in preiudice of the king or of hys lawes, or of the party preſented thereto by the kyng, on perill that might enſue.

Ex an.14. regis Richardi ſecundi, tit.6.

The next yere folowing which was the 14. of this kings raigne, it was enacted firſt touchyng the ſtaplers, that after the feaſt of the Epiphany next enſuing, ỷ ſtaple ſhould be remoued from Calice into England, in ſuch places as are cõteined in the ſtatute made in 27. Edw.3. the which ſtatute ſhould be fully executed: and further, that euery Alien that bringeth merchandiſe into the realme, ſhould finde ſufficient ſuretie to buy and cary away commodities of the realme, to halfe the value of his ſayd merchaundiſe.

Titul.24. Agaynſt vſury.

Item, in the ſame parliament petition was made, that agaynſt the horrible vice of vſury then termed ſhiftes, practiſed as well by the clergy as laitie, the order made by John Notte, late Mayor of London, might be executed throughout the realme.

Ex tit.29.

Moreouer in the xv. yere of the raigne of the foreſayd K. it was accorded: for that ſir W. Brian knight, had purchaſed from Rome a Bull directed to the Archb. of Cant. and Yorke, to excommunicate ſuch as had broken vp his houſe, and had taken away diuers letters, priuiledgies, and charters. The ſame Bull beyng red in the parliament, was adiudged preiudiciall to the kings crowne, and in derogation of the laws, for the which he was by the king and aſſent of the Lordes committed to the Tower, there to remayne at the kinges will and pleaſure.

Vide Articulum. Tit.29.

In the ſaid parliament alſo, W. Archb. of Cant. maketh his proteſtation in the open parliament, ſaying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any biſhop, or to entermeddle, for, or touching any preſentment to any eccleſiaſticall dignity recorded in any the kings courtes. He further proteſted, that the pope ought to make no tranſlations, to any biſhopricke, within the realme agaynſt the kinges will: for that ỷ ſame was to the deſtruction of the realme and crowne of Englãd which hath alway bene ſo free, as the ſame hath had none earthly ſoueraign, but onely ſubiect to god in all things touching regalties, and to none other. The which proteſtation he prayd might be entred.

Ex An.17. Reg.Rich.2. Titul.33.

In the 17. yere of the reigne of the king aforeſayd, it was deſired that remedy might be had, againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villains or vnderlings to mary fre women inheritable, wherby the landes came to thoſe religious mens hands by colluſion.

43. Item, that ſufficient perſons might be preſented to benefices who may dwel on the ſame ſo as their ſtock for want therof do not periſh.

46. Item, that remedy might be had againſt the Abbotes of Colcheſter and Abinton, who in their townes of Colcheſter and Colnham claime to haue ſanctuary.

Ex an.20. Reg. Rich.2. tit.22.

Here the Archb. of Cant. goeth contrary to hym ſelfe.

To come to the parliament holden in the xx. yeare of this kings raigne, we find moreouer in the ſayd rolles: how that the Archb. of Cant. and Yorke, for themſelues and the clergy of their prouinces, declared to the king in open parliamẽt, that foraſmuch as they were ſworne to the Pope and ſee of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in reſtraint of the ſame, they would in no wiſe aſſent therto, but verily withſtand the ſame, the which their proteſtation they require to be enrolled.

Titu.32.

Upon the petition of the begging Friers there at large, it was enacted: that none of that order ſhould paſſe ouer the ſeas, without licence of hys ſoueraigne, nor that he ſhould take vpon hym no order of M. of Diuinitie, vnleſſe he were firſt apposed in his Chapter prouinciall, on paine to be out of the kings protection.

Tit.36.

Item, that the kinges officers for making areſtes or attachements in churchyardes, are therfore excommunicated, wherof remedy was required.

Ex 21. An. Reg. Rich.2. tit.15.

In the yeare of the ſame Kinges raigne. xxj. the Parliament beyng holden at Weſtminſter, we find how the commons in full Parliament, accuſed Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, for that he as Chauncellour procured, and as chiefe doer executed the ſame commiſſion, made trayterouſly in the tenth yeare of the King. And alſo that he the ſayde Archbiſhop procured the Duke of Glouceſter and the Erles of Arũdel and Warwike, to encroch to themſelues royall power, and to iudge to death Symon de Burley, and Sir John Barners without the Kynges aſſent. Whereon, the Commons required that the ſame Archebyſhop myght reſt vnder ſafe kepyng: whereunto, for that the ſame impeachments touched ſo great a perſon, they would be aduiſed.

Ex tit.16.

Item, the xxv. day of September, the Commons prayed the Kyng to geue iudgement agaynſt the ſayde Archbiſhop, accordyng to hys deſertes. The kyng aunſwered, that priuately the ſayd Archbiſhop had confeſſed to hym, how he miſtooke hymſelfe in the ſayde Commiſſion, and therefore ſubmitted hymſelfe to the Kynges mercy. Wherefore, the Kyng, Lordes and ſir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergy: adiudged the facte of the ſayd Archbiſhop to be treaſon, and hymſelfe a traytour, and therfore it was ordered: that the ſayde Archbiſhop ſhould be baniſhed, his temporalties ſeaſed, hys landes and goods forfeyted, as well in vſe as in poſſeſſion.

Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant. proued a traytour by Parliament.

Ex tit.17.

The king further preſcribed, that the ſaid Archb. ſhould take hys paſſing on Friday within 6. weekes of Michaelmas, at Douer, towardes the partes of Fraunce.

1399.

The depoſing of kyng Rich the 2. The ſtory ſtraunge & lamentable.

Thus hauyng hitherto ſufficiently touched and comprehended ſuch thinges as haue happened in the raigne of this King, neceſſary for the Churche to know, by courſe of ſtory: we come now to the xxij. yeare of King Richardes raigne, which is the yere of our Lord. 1399. In the which yeare happened the ſtraunge and alſo lamentable depoſing of this Kyng Richard the ſecond aforeſayd, from his kingly ſcepter. Straunge, for that the lyke example hath not often bene ſene in ſeates royall. Lamentable, for that it can not be but grieuous to any good mans hart, to ſee hym eyther ſo to deſerue, if he were iuſtly depoſed: or if he were vniuſtly depriued, to ſee the kingly title there not able to hold hys right, where by force, it is compelled to geue place to might.

Vices and vertues mixt in K. Richard.

What it is to forſake the maintenaunce of the Goſpell.

Articles 33. layd agaynſt K. Richard.

As concernyng the order and proceſſe of whoſe depoſing for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is ſufficiently conteyned in Robert Fabian, and in the kings recordes, in the Chronicle of S. Albons, and in other hiſtories at large, it were here tedious and ſuperfluous to intermedle with repetyng therof. What were the conditions and properties of this kyng, partly before hath been touched. In whõ as ſome good vertues may be noted: ſo alſo ſome vices may ſeeme to be mixed withal. But eſpecially this, ỷ he ſtarting out of ỷ ſteps of his progenitors, ceaſed to take part wͭ them, which tooke part with the Goſpell. Whereupon, it ſo fel, not by the blinde wheele of fortune, but by the ſecret hand of hym, which directeth all eſtates: that as he firſt began to forſake the maintayning of the Goſpell of God, ſo the Lord began to forſake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fayle, there can lack no cauſes to be charged withall, whom God once geueth ouer to mans puniſhment. So that to me, conſidering the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other cauſes alledged in ſtories againſt hym: none ſeemeth ſo much to be wayed of vs, or more hurtfull to him, then this forſaking of the Lord and his worde. Although to ſuch as liſt more to be certefied in other cauſes concurring withall, many and ſondrye defectes in that king may appeare in ſtories to the number of 33. articles alleged or forced rather agaynſt hym.

In which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame: ſo to be diſplaced therfore from his regall ſeat, and rightfull ſtate of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the cauſes not to be ſo rare or ſo materiall in a prince, which either could or els would haue ſerued: had not he geuen euer before to ſerue the Lorde and hys worde, chuſing rather to ſerue the humour of the Pope and bloudy Prelates, then to further the Lordes proceedynges in preachyng of hys woorde. And then as I ſayd, howe can enemies lacke where GOD ſtandeth not to friende? or what cauſe can bee ſo little, which is not able enough to caſt downe, where the Lordes arme is ſhortened to ſuſtayne? Wherefore, it is a poynte of principall wiſedome in a Prince not to forget, that as he ſtandeth alwayes in nede of God his helpyng hand: ſo alwayes he haue the diſcipline and feare of hym before his eyes, accordyng to the counſaile of the godly Kyng Dauid. Pſal.2.

Gods ſpeciall fauour neceſſary for princes. Pſal.2.

The K. led with lewde counſayle.

And thus much touching the tyme and race of this K. Richard, with the tragicall ſtory of his depoſing. The order and maner wherof purpoſely I pretermitte, onely contented briefly to laye together, a few ſpeciall thinges done before his fall, ſuche as may be ſufficient in a briefe ſomme, both to ſatiſfie the Reader inquiſitiue of ſuch ſtories, and alſo to forewarne other princes to beware the lyke daungers. In ſuch as write the lyfe and Actes of this prince, thus I read of him reported, ỷ he was much inclined to the fauouryng and aduancing of certain perſons about him, & ruled al by their counſell, which were thẽ greatly abhorred & hated in the realme: The names of whom were Rob. Veer, whõ the Kyng had made Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuile

Archbiſhop of Yorke, Michael Attepoole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Triſilian Lord chiefe Juſtice, Nicholas Brambre with other.

The nobles vp in armes agaynſt certayne of the kyngs counſaylors.

Theſe men beyng hated and diſdayned of diuers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king alſo by fauouring thẽ, was leſſe fauoured hymſelfe. In ſo much, that the Duke of Glouceſter, named Thomas Woodſtocke the kinges Vncle, with the Erle of Warwike, and Erle of Darby: ſtode vp in armes agaynſt thoſe counſaylors and abuſers (as they named thẽ) of the kyng. In ſo much that the kyng for feare was conſtrained agaynſt his mynde to remoue out of hys court, Alexander Neuile Archbiſh. of Yorke, John Foorde Biſhop of Dureſme, Frier Thomas Ruſhoke Biſhop of Chicheſter the kinges Confeſſor, wyth the Lord Haringworth, Lorde Burnell, and Bemond, Lord Weer, and diuers other.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the ſame yeare folowyng, Robert Triſilian the Juſtice was hanged and drawen. Alſo Nicholas Brambre Knight, James Saliſbury alſo, and James Barniſe both Knightes, John Beuchampe the kinges Steward, and John Blake Eſquire in lyke maner. All theſe by the counſayle of the lordes beyng caſt in the Parliament againſt the kinges mynd, dyd ſuffer, which was in the xj. of his raigne, he beyng yet vnder gouernours: But conſequently after the ſame, the Kyng claymyng his owne liberty, beyng come to the age of xx. began to take more vpon hym. And this was one thyng that ſtirred vp the Kynges ſtomacke agaynſt the Nobles. Ex Chron. Alban.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

The ſecond preparatiue to the kings depoſing.

2. An other thyng that ſtirred him vp as much agaynſt the Londiners was this: for that he would haue borrowed of them a M. pound, and they denied him, to their double & triple diſauauntage, as after enſued vpon it. Ibidem. An other occaſion beſide this, betwene the king and the Londoners happened thus, by reaſon of one of the Biſhop of Saliſburies ſeruauntes, named Roman, and a Bakers man: who then carying a basket of horſebread in Fleteſtreete, the foreſayde Roman tooke a horſeloſe out of the basket. The Baker aſkyng why he did ſo, the Biſhoppes luſty yeoman turned backe agayne and brake hys head: whereupon the neighbours came out, and would haue areſted this Roman, but he eſcaped away into the Biſhops houſe. Then the Conſtable would haue had hym out, but the Byſhops men ſhutte faſt the gates, that they ſhould not approche. Thus, much people gathered together, threatnyng to bruſt open the gates and fire the houſe, vnleſſe they had the foreſayd partie to them brought out. Wherby much ado there was, tyll at length the Mayor and Shiriffs came and quieted the rage of the commons, and ſent euery mã home to hys houſe, charging them to kepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the Biſhop for hys part had bene quiet, and not haue ſtirred the coles of debate, which were well ſlaked already, all had bene ended without further perturbation. But the ſtomacke of the Biſhop not yet digeſted (although hys man had done the wrong) hauyng no great cauſe ſo to doe, whoſe name was John Waltam, beyng thẽ Treaſourer of England: went to Thomas Arundell Archbiſh. the ſame tyme of Yorke, and Lord Chauncelour of England, to complayne of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather reueled by the way a priuy myſterie, which althoughe be not in this ſtory touched of the writers: yet it touched the harts of the Biſhops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriouſly known to be fauourers of Wickliffes ſide, as partly before is to be ſene, and in the ſtory of S. Albones more plainly doth appeare: where the author of the ſayd hiſtory writing vpon the xv. yere of Kyng Richardes raigne, reporteth in theſe wordes of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in Deum & traditiones auitas, Lollardorum ſuſtentatores, religioſorum detractores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores. &c. that is, not right beleuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers: ſuſteyners of the Lollardes: deprauers of religious men: withholders of tythes: and impoueriſhers of the common people. &c.

J. Waltam B. of Saliſb. makebate.

Tho. Arundell Archb. of Yorke.

Londiners fauourers of Wickliffes doctrine.

Ex hiſtor. D. Albani cuius ſic habet initium, Anno gratiæ, &c.

Londiners complayned of to the king, by the Byſhops.

Beati pacifici.

Thus the Londoners being noted and ſuſpected of the byſhops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the ſayd byſhops, which were the more ready to finde and take all occaſions to worke agaynſt them, as by their doing herein may well appeare. For the byſhop of Saliſbury, & archbyſhop of Yorke, hauing no greater matter agaynſt them, then was declared: wyth a greeuous complaynt went to the king, complaynyng of the Maior and Shiriffes of London. What treſpaſſe the Mayor and Shiriffes had done, as ye haue heard before, ſo may you iudge. Now what followed after let vs heare. The king incenſed not a little with the complainte of the Byſhops, conceyued eftſoones agaynſt the Maior and Shiriffes, and agaynſt the whole Citie of London, a great ſtomache. In ſo much, that the Maior & both the Shiriffes were ſent for, and remoued from their office. Sir Edward Darlynton then was made warden & Gouernour of the Citie, who alſo for hys gentlenes ſhewed to the Citizens, was alſo depoſed, and an other named ſir Baldwyn Radington, placed in that roome. Moreouer, ſo much grew the kynges diſpleaſure agaynſt the citie, that he alſo remoued from London the courtes, and termes to be kept at Yorke, that is to ſay, the Chauncery, yͤ Eſchequer, the Kings bench, the hamper, & the cõmon place: where the ſame continued from Mydſommer, till Chriſtenmas, to the great decay of the Citie of London: which was. an. 1393.

The court remoued from Lõdon to Yorke.

The 3. preparatiue to the kings depoſing.

Thirdly, an other great cauſe which purchaſed yͤ kyng much euill wyll among hys ſubiectes, was the ſecrete murthering of hys owne Vncle named T. Woodſtocke, Duke of Glouceſter, of whom mention was made before, where was declared how the ſayd Duke, wyth the Earle of Arũdell, the Earle of Warwike, and the Earle of Darby, with other, were vp in armour agaynſt certayne wicked Counſaylours about the kyng. Whereupon, the kyng watchyng afterward hys tyme, came to Chelſford, and ſo to the place neare by, where the Duke lay: where wyth hys own handes he areſted the ſayd Duke hys Vncle, & ſent him downe by water immediatly to Calice. And there through yͤ kynges commaundement, by ſecrete meanes was put to death, beyng ſtrangled vnder a fetherbed, the Earle Marſhall beyng then the keeper of Calis. Whereby great indignation roſe in many mens hartes agaynſt the kyng.

The king areſting hys owne Vncle, cauſed him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the ſame Duke of Glouceſter, alſo about the ſame time, was areſted & impriſoned the Earle of Warwike, and the Earle of Arundell: who being condẽned by Parliamẽt, were then executed. Wherby great grudge and indignation roſe in the hartes of many againſt the king. an. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blanke chartes ſent ouer all the land by the kyng: and how the kyng was ſayd to let out hys realme to ferme: Ouer and beſide all theſe aboue premiſed, fell an other matter, which was the principall occaſion of thys miſchiefe: The baniſhment I meene, of Henry Earle of Derby, and made Duke of Hereford a litle before, beyng ſonne of John of Gaunt the Duke of Lãcaſter (who dyed ſhortly after the baniſhment of his ſonne, and lieth buryed in the Church of S. Paule in London) and the Duke of Northfolke: Who was before Earle of Notingham, and after by this kyng, made Duke of Northfolke the yeare before. At which tyme, the king made v. dukes, a Marques, and foure Earles, to wit: Duke of Hereford, which was before Earle of Darby: Duke of Awmerle, which was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Exeſter, which was before Earle of Huntington, and this duke of Northfolke, beyng before Earle of Notingham, as is aforeſayd. &c. The occaſion of baniſhing theſe foreſaid dukes was this.

Earle of Notingham made duke of Northfolke.

About thys preſent time, the Duke of Hereford did appeach the Duke of Northfolke vpon certaine wordes to be ſpoken againſt the king. Wherupõ, caſting their gloues one agaynſt the other, they appointed to fight out the quarell, a day being for the ſame appointed at Couentry. But yͤ kyng tooke vp the matter in his owne handes, baniſhing the duke of Northfolke for euer, which after dyed at Venice: and the other Duke which was the duke of Hereford, for x. yeares. Beſide theſe, alſo was exiled into Fraunce, Thomas Arũdell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by acte of Parliament, in the ſame yeare, for pointes of treaſon, as ye haue heard before expreſſed, pag. 496. col. 2. All which turned to the great inconuenience of thys kyng, as in the euent folowyng may appeare.

The duke of Northfolke, and duke of Hereford baniſhed.

Tho. Arundel baniſhed as a traytor.

An. 1399.

Theſe cauſes and preparatiues thus premiſed, it folowed the yeare after, which was. an. 1399. and laſt yeare of this king, that the kyng vpon certaine affaires to be done, tooke his viage into Ireland. In which meane tyme: Hẽry of Bolingbroke, Earle of Darby, and duke of Hereford, and with him the foreſayd Archbiſhop Thomas Arundell, (which before were both exiled) returning out of Fraunce to Calice, came into England, chalenging the dukedome of Lancaſter, after the death of his father. With them alſo, came the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundel, being yet but young. Theſe together ſetting out of Calice, arriued at Rauenſpur in the North. At the knowledge whereof, much people gathered vnto them.

In this meane time, as yͤ duke was houering on yͤ ſea to enter the land: L. Edmund duke of Yorke yͤ kings Vncle, to whom the king cõmitted the cuſtodie of this realme (hauing intelligẽce therof) called to him yͤ B. of Chicheſter named Edmund Stafford Chauncelor of the realme, and W. Scroupe earle of Wiltſhire lord treaſurer, alſo J. Buſhey,

W. Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Ruſchel, wyth diuers other, conſultyng wyth them what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Who then gaue their aduiſe (whether wilfull or vnſkilfull, it is not knowen, but very vnfruitfull) that he ſhould leaue London, and go to S. Albons, there to wayte for more ſtrength able to encounter wyth the Duke. But as the people out of diuers quarters reſorted thether, many of them proteſted that they would do nothyng to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lācaſter, who they ſaid was vniuſtly expulſed. The reſt then of the Counſaile, J. Buſſhey, W. Bagot, Henry Grene, Wylliam Scroupe treaſurer, hearyng and vnderſtandyng how the commons were mynded to ioyne wyth the Duke of Herford, left the Duke of Yorke, and the Lord Chauncelor, and fled to the Caſtell of Briſtow. Where is to be vnderſtand, that theſe foure were they to whom the common fame ran, that the K. had let out hys Realme to farme: and were ſo hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more then for the kyng, thys commotion was among the people.

What euill company doth about a kyng.

K. Richard returneth from Ireland to Milford hauen.

As thys broyle was in England, the noyſe therof ſoundyng to the kynges eares, beyng then in Ireland, for haſty ſpeede of returnyng into England, left in Ireland both hys buſines, and moſt of hys ordinaunce alſo behynde hym. And ſo paſſing the ſeas, landed at Milford hauen, not daryng as it ſeemed to come to London.

On the contrary ſide, vnto Henry Duke of Herford, beyng landed as is ſayde, in the North, came the Earle of Northumberland, Lord Henry Percy, & Henry his ſonne: the Earle of Weſtmerland, Lord Radolfe Neuyle, and other Lordes moe to a great number, ſo that the multitude roſe to 60000. able ſouldiours. Who firſt makyng toward the caſtle of Briſtow, tooke the foreſayd Buſſhey, Grene, Scroupe, and Bagot: of whom, three incontinent were beheaded. Bagot eſcapyng away fled to Ireland.

K. Richard forſaken of hys ſubiectes.

What it is for a Prince to be beloued of hys ſubiectes.

K. Richard agreed to reſigne hys crowne.

The kyng committed to the Tower.

The kyng in thys meane whyle, lying about Wales, deſtitute and deſolate wythout comfort or counſayle, who neither durſt come to London, neyther woulde any man come to hym, and perceauing moreouer, the commons that were vp in ſuch a great power agaynſt hym, woulde rather dye, then geue ouer that they had begunne, for feare of thēſelues: Seyng therfore no other remedy, called to hym L. Thomas Percy Earle of Worceſter, and ſtuard of his houſhold, willyng hym wyth other of hys familie, to prouide for themſelues in tyme. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commaundyng euery man to ſhifte for hymſelfe. Although Fabian and ſome other ſay, that he did thys of hys owne accorde, contrary to his allegeance. The kyng compaſſed on euery ſide wyth myſeries, ſhifted from place to place, the Duke ſtill folowyng hym, till at lēgth beyng at the Caſtle of Conewey, ẏ kyng deſired to talke with Tho. Arundell Archb. and the Earle of Northumberland: To whō he declared, that he would reſigne vp his crowne, in condition that an honourable liuing might be for him prouided, and lyfe promyſed to viij. perſons, ſuch as he woulde name. Which beyng graunted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the caſtle of Flint, where (after talke had wyth the Duke of Lancaſter) he was brought the ſame nyght by the Duke and hys armye to Cheſter: And from thence was conueyed ſecretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next Parliament. By the way as he came nere to London, diuers euill diſpoſed mē of the citie being warned therof, gathered themſelues, thynking to haue ſlayne hym, for the great crueltie he had vſed before toward the citie. But by the policies of the Maior and rulers of the citie, the madnes of the people was ſtayd. Not long after folowed the Duke, and alſo began the Parliament. In which Parliament, the Earle of Northumberland wyth many other Earles and Lordes were ſent to the kyng in the tower, to take of hym a full reſignatiō accordyng to hys former promyſe, and ſo they did. Thys done, diuers accuſations and articles were layd and engroſſed agaynſt the ſaid kyng, to the number of 33. ſome ſay 38. which for the matter not greatly materiall in them contayned, I ouerpaſſe. And the next yeare after was had to Pomfret Caſtle, and there famiſhed to death.

¶ King Henry the fourth.

The wordes of Henry Duke, claymyng the crowne.

AND thus Kyng Rychard by common aſſent beyng depoſed from hys rightfull crowne: The Duke of Lancaſter was led by Thomas Arundell the Archbyſhop, to the ſeat royall: who there ſtandyng vp, and croſſing hymſelfe on the forehead and the breſt, ſpake in wordes as foloweth.

¶ In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaſter, clayme the realme of Englād and the crowne, with all the appurtenaunces, as I that am deſcended by right lyne of the bloud comming from that good Lord K. Henry 3. And thorough the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me with the helpe of my kinne & of my frends to recouer the ſame, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernaunce and due iuſtice. &c.

K. Henry 4. inthroned & crowned.

¶ After which wordes, the Archb. aſking the aſſent of the people, beyng ioyfull of their new kyng: tooke ẏ duke by the hand, & placed hym in the kyngly throne, which was an. 1399. and ſhortly after by the foreſayd Archb. he was crowned alſo for kyng of England. Ex chron. D. Alban.

1400.

W. Sautre Martyr.

W. Sautre brought before the byſhops in the conuocation

The next yeare after, followed a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in which Parliament, one William Sautre, a good man and a faythfull Prieſt, inflamed wyth zeale of true religion, required he might be heard for the commoditie of the whole realme. But the matter beyng ſmelt before by the Byſhops, they obtayned that the matter ſhould be referred to the conuocation: where the ſayd William Sautre beyng brought before the Byſhops and Notaries therunto appoynted, the conuocation was differred to the Saterday next enſuyng.

When Saterday was come, that is to ſay, the xij. day of February, Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of hys counſayle prouinciall beyng aſſembled in the ſayde Chapiter houſe, agaynſt one Syr William Sautre, otherwyſe called Chatris, Chaplayne, perſonally then and there appearing by the commaundement of ẏ foreſayd Archb. of Canterbury, obiected: that the ſayde Syr William before the Byſhop of Norwiche, had once renounced and abiured diuers and ſundry concluſions heretical and erroneous: and that after ſuch abiuration made, he publiquely and priuely, held, taught, and preached, the ſame cōcluſions or els ſuch lyke, diſagreyng to the catholique faith, and to the great peril and pernitious example of others. And after thys, he cauſed ſuch lyke concluſions holden and preached as is ſayd, by the ſayd Syr William wythout renunciation, then and there to be read vnto the ſayd Archbiſhop, by Maiſter Robert Hall, Chauncelour vnto the ſayd byſhop in a certayne ſcrole, written, in tenour of wordes as foloweth.

Syr William Chatris otherwyſe called Sautre, pariſhe Prieſt of the Church S. Scithe the virgine in London, publiquely and priuely doth hold theſe concluſions vnder written.

The articles of W. Sautre.

¶ In primis, he ſayth, that he wyll not worſhip the croſſe on which Chriſt ſuffered, but onely Chriſt that ſuffered vpon the croſſe.

2. Item, that he would ſooner worſhip a temporall kyng, then the foreſayd wodden croſſe.

3. Item, that he would rather worſhip the bodyes of the Saintes, then the very croſſe of Chriſt, on which he hong, if it were before hym.

4. Item, that he would rather worſhip a man truely contrite, then the croſſe of Chriſt.

5. Item, that he is bound rather to worſhip a man that is predeſtinate, then an aungell of God.

6. Item, that if any man would viſite the monuments of Peter and Paule, or go on pilgrimage to the Toumb of S. Thomas, or els any whether els, for the obtaynyng of any temporall benefite: he is not bounde to keepe hys vowe, but that he may diſtribute the expenſes of hys vowe vpon the almes of the poore.

7. Item, that euery Prieſt and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to ſay the canonicall houres.

8. Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall wordes of the body of Chriſt, the bread remayneth of the ſame nature that it was before, neither doth it ceaſe to be bread.

To which concluſions or articles beyng thus read, the Archb. of Canterbury required the ſayde Syr William to aunſwere. And then the ſayd William aſked a copye of ſuch articles and concluſions, and a competent ſpace to aunſwer vnto the ſame. Wherupon, the ſayd Archbiſhop cōmaunded a copye of ſuch articles or concluſions to be deliuered then & there vnto the ſayd Syr William, aſſignyng the Thurſday then next enſuyng to hym to deliberate and make aunſwere in. When Thurſday the ſayd day of apparance was come, Maiſter Nicholas Riſhton, auditour of the cauſes and buſines belonging to the ſayd Archbiſhop (then beyng in the Parliament houſe at Weſtminſter otherwiſe let) cōtinued the ſayde conuocation wyth all matters riſing, dependyng and appartinent therunto, by commaundement of the ſaid Byſhop, vntil the next morow at eight of the clocke.

when the morow came,beyng Friday. The foreſayde Sir William Sautrie,in the chapter houſe before the ſayd Byſhop and his counſaile prouinciall then and there aſſembled, making his perſonall appearaunce,exhibited a certain ſcrole conteynyng the anſwers vnto certaine articles or concluſiõs geuen vnto him as is aforeſayd by the ſayd Biſhop: & ſayd, that vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop,he deliuered the ſame as his anſwer in that behalfe,vnder the tenour of ſuch wordes as follow.

The anſwere of W.Sautre geuen vp in writyng.

I William Sautrie prieſt vnworthy, ſay and aunſwer that I will not,nor intend not to worſhip the croſſe wheron Chriſt was crucified,but onely Chriſt that ſuffered vpon the croſſe: ſo vnderſtandyng me that I will not worſhip the materiall croſſe, for the groſſe corporall matter: yet notwithſtandyng I will worſhip the ſame as a ſigne, token,and memoriall of the paſſion of Chriſt Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worſhip a temporall Kyng, then the foreſayd wooden croſſe,as the materiall ſubſtaunce of the ſame. And that I wyll rather worſhyp the bodies of Saintes,then the very croſſe of Chriſt wheron he hong: with this addition, that if the very ſame croſſe were afore me,as touchyng the materiall ſubſtaunce. And alſo that I will rather worſhip a man truly confeſſed and penitent, thẽ the croſſe on which Chriſt hong,as touchyng the materiall ſubſtaunce.

The croſſe materially not be worſhipped.

And that alſo I am bounde, and will rather worſhyp hym whom I know to be predeſtinate, truly confeſſed and contrite,then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanitie of Chriſt,and ſo is not a bleſſed Angel. Notwithſtanding I will worſhip both of them,accordyng as the will of God is I ſhould.

A mã predeſtinate rather to be worſhipped than an Angell: that is to ſay,neither can be worſhipped without idolatry.

Alſo, ẏ if any man hath made a vow to viſite the ſhrines of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, or to goe on pilgrimage vnto Saint Thomas tombe,or any whither els to obtayne any temporall benefite or commoditie: he is not bound ſimply to kepe hys vow,vpon the neceſſitie of ſaluation. But that he may geue the expences of hys vow in almes amongeſt the poore,by the prudent counſayle of hys ſuperiour, as I ſuppoſe.

And alſo I ſay,that euery Deacon and Prieſt is more bound to preach the word of God,then to ſay the canonicall houres,accordyng to the primitiue order of the church.

Alſo touching the interrogation of the Sacrament of the aulter: I ſay,that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall wordes of the body of Chriſt,there ceaſeth not to be very bread ſimply,but remayneth bread, holy, true, and the bread of lyfe: and I beleue the ſayd ſacrament to be the very body of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall wordes.

How bread remayneth in the Sacrament.

When all theſe aunſweres were throughly by Maiſter Robert Hall,directly and publikely there read: the foreſayd Archb.of Cant.inquired of the ſayd ſir William,whither he had abiured the foreſayd hereſies and errors obiected againſt him,as before is ſayd, before the biſhop of Norwich or not: or els had reuoked and renounced the ſayd or ſuch lyke concluſions or articles,or not? To which he anſwered and affirmed,that he had not. And then conſequently (all other articles,concluſions and aunſwers aboue written,immediatly omitted) the ſayd Archb.examined the ſame ſir W.Sautrie,eſpecially vpon the ſacrament of the aulter.

Firſt, whether in the ſacrament of the aulter after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes, remayneth very materiall bread or not. Unto which interrogation the ſame ſir W.ſomwhat waueringly,ſayd,& anſwered,that he knew not that. Notwithſtanding he ſayde, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the bread of lyfe which came downe from heauen.

After that the ſayd Archb.demaunded of hym, whither in the ſacrament after the ſacramentall wordes rightly pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread remayneth,which dyd before the wordes pronoũced or not? And to this queſtiõ the foreſayd William aunſwered in lyke maner as before, ſaying,that there was bread,holy, true,and the bread of life.&c.

After that the foreſaid Archb. aſked hym, whether the ſame materiall bread before conſecration,by the ſacramental wordes of the prieſt rightly pronounced,be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread,into the very body of Chriſt,or not? Whereunto ſir William ſayd,that he knew not what that matter ment.

The conuocation continued.

And then the ſaid Archb.aſſigned vnto the ſayd ſir William,tyme to deliberate,and more fully to make hys anſwer till the next day: and continued this conuocation then and there till the morow. Which morow to wit,the xix.day of February beyng come: the foreſayd Archb.of Cant. in the ſayd chapter houſe of S.Paule in London, before his coũſayle prouinciall,then and there aſſembled,ſpecially aſked & examined the ſame ſir William Sawtrie there perſonally preſent,vpon the ſacrament of the aulter,as before. And the ſame ſir William agayne in lyke maner as before,anſwered.

W.Sawtre agayne examined.

After this,amongſt other things the ſayd biſhop demaũded of the ſame William if the ſame materiall breade beyng vpon the aulter after the ſacramentall wordes beyng of the prieſt rightly pronounced,is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt,or not? And the ſayd ſir William ſayd he vnderſtood not what he ment.

Then the ſayd Archb.demaunded,whether that materiall bread beyng round and white,prepared and diſpoſed for the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt vpon the aulter, wantyng nothyng that is meete and requiſite thereunto, by the vertue of the ſacramentall wordes being of the prieſt rightly pronounced,be altered and chaunged into the very body of Chriſt,and ceaſeth any more to be materiall and very bread or not? Then the ſayd ſir William deridingly aunſweryng, ſayd he could not tell.

Then conſequently the ſayd Archb. demaunded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy church or not,which affirmeth: that in the ſacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, beyng rightly pronounced of the Prieſt, the ſame bread which before in nature was bread,ceaſeth any more to be bread. To this interrogation, the ſaid ſir William ſayd: that he would ſtand to the determination of the church,where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God.

Determination of the Church ſo to be folowed as it is ioyned to the will of God.

This done, he demaunded of hym agayne, what hys iudgement was concernyng the Sacrament of the aulter: Who ſayd and affirmed,that after the wordes of conſecration by the prieſt duely pronounced, remayneth very bread, & the ſame bread which was before the wordes ſpoken. And this examination about the ſacrament, laſted from viij. of the clocke of the ſame day,vntill a xj.of the clocke or there aboutes: in ſo much,that during all this tyme, the foreſayde W.would no otherwyſe aunſwer: neither yet touchyng the ſame ſacrament,receiue Catholike information, accordyng to the inſtitutiõ of the Popes Church & hys Chriſtiã faith. Wherfore,the ſayd Cant.by ẏ coũſaile & aſſent of hys whole couent then and there preſent: did promulgate and geue ſentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, agaynſt the ſame Sir William Sautrey (beyng perſonally preſent,and refuſing to reuoke hys hereſies,that is to ſay his true doctrine, but cõſtantly defendyng the ſame) vnder the tenour of wordes as followeth.

The ſentence agaynſt W.Sautre.

IN the name of God Amẽ: We thomas by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England & Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall,by the authoritie of God almightye and bleſſed ſaint Peter and Paule ,and of holy Churche,and by our own authoritie ſitting for tribunall or chiefe iudge, hauing God alone before our eyes: By the counſel and conſent of the whole cleargie, our fellow brethren, and ſuffraganes aſſiſtants vnto vs in this preſent counſell prouinciall, by this our ſentence difinitiue,doe pronounce,decree and declare by theſe preſentes,thee williã Sautree, otherwiſe called Chawtrey pariſh Prieſt pretenſed, perſonallye appearing before vs, in and vpon the cryme of hereſie iudycyallye and lawfullye conuicte as an herytycke, and as an hereticke to be puniſhed,

Which ſentence diffinitiue beyng thus read: the foreſayd Archb.of Cant. continued the ſame prouinciall counſayle, till Wedneſday next,and immediatly enſuyng,to wit,the 24 day of the ſame moneth of February: which beyng expired, the biſhop of Norwich,accordyng to the commaundement of the ſayd Archb.of Canterbury,preſented vnto the foreſayde William Sawtry by a certaine friend of hys, beyng preſent at the ſame Councell, a certayne proceſſe incloſed and ſealed with hys ſeale,geuyng the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeales: The tenour wherof followeth in this wyſe.

A certayne proceſſe agaynſt W.Sawtre preſented by the Biſh. of Norwiche.

Memorandum, that vpon the laſt day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1399.in the 7,indiction and 10. yeare of the papacie of Pope Boniface the 2. In a certayne chamber within the manour houſe of the ſayd B.of Norwich, at South Helmham (where the regiſter of the ſayd Biſhop is kept) before the houre of ix.in a certayne chappel within the ſayd manour ſituate,and the j.day of May, then next & immediately enſuyng: in the foreſayd chamber, ſir Wil. Chatris,pariſh prieſt of the church of S.Margaret in the town of Linne,appeared before the B.of Norwich,in the preſence of John de Derlington, Archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, Frier Walter Diſſe,and John Rikinghall profeſſours in diuinitie, William Carlton,doctor of both lawes;

and W. Friſbey, with Hugh Bridlã publike Notaries: and there publikely affirmed and held, the concluſiõs, as before is ſpecified.

All and ſingular the premiſſes the foreſayd William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwardes to wyt, the xix. day of May in the yeare, Indiction, and Papacie aforeſayd, in the Chappell within the manour houſe of the ſayd Henry Byſhop of Norwich, ſituate at South Helmham: The foreſayd Syr William, reuoked and renoũced all and ſingular the foreſayd his concluſions: abiuryng and correctyng all ſuch hereſies and errours, takyng his othe vpon a booke before the foreſayd Henry Byſhop of Norwiche, that from that tyme forward he would neuer preach, affirme, nor hold, priuely nor apertly the foreſayd concluſions. And that he would pronounce accordyng to the appointmẽt of the ſayd Byſhop, the foreſayd concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, in the Pariſh Churches of Lynne and Tilney and in other places at the aſſignement of the ſayd Byſhop. And farther ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinaunce of the ſayd Byſhop, touchyng the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcret & worſhipfull men afore recited with diuers others moe.

As concerning the firſt concluſiõ that he ſayd he would not worſhyp the croſſe, &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred and that the article was erroneous and ſubmitted himſelfe. Alſo as touchyng the ſecond article, that he ſayd he would rather worſhyp a kyng, &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred and the article to be erroneous and ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then next after this, vpon the xxv. day of May in the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, in the Churchyard of ỹ Chapell of S. James within the towne of Lynne. The foreſayd William, in preſence of the foreſayd Biſhop and Clergy & the people of the ſayd towne of Lynne ſtandyng round about: publiquely declared in his Engliſh toung, the foreſayd concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, as was contained in a certaine ſcrole. And after this, the xxvj. day of May in the yeare aboueſayd, in the Church of the Hoſpitall of S. Johns of the ſayd towne of Lynne: The ſayd Syr William, before the ſayd Byſhop ſittyng as iudge, ſware & tooke his othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes that he would neuer after that time preach openly and publiquely the foreſayd concluſions, nor would heare the confeſſions of any of the ſubiectes of his Dioces of Norwich, without the ſpeciall licence of the ſayd Byſhop, &c. In the preſence of Frier John Smeruen, M. John Rikynghale, Doctour of Diuinitie, W. Carlton Doctour of both lawes, and Thomas Bulton officer of the libertie of Lynne aforeſayd with diuers others.

The tenour of the ſcrole and recantation.

1. IN primis, touchyng the firſt and ſecond, where I ſayd,
2. that I would adore rather a temporall Prince, and the liuely bodyes of the Saintes thẽ the wooden Croſſe, wherupon the Lord did hang, I do reuoke and recant the ſame, as beyng therin deceaued.

3. To this I ſay, that the article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information, I held it, the which I renoũce and aſke forgeuenes therof, & ſay that it is a precious relique, & that I ſhall hold it while I liue and that I sweare here.

4. I know well that I erred wrongfully, by falſe information: for I wot well, that a Deacon or a prieſt is more boũd to ſay his Mattines and Houres, then to preach, for thereto he is bounden by right, wherfore I ſubmit me. &c.

5. Touchyng that article, I know well that I erred by falſe information. Wherfore I aſke forgeuenes.

As concernyng vowes, I ſay, that opinion is falſe and
6. erroneous, and by falſe information I held it, for a man is holden to hold his vow. &c.

7. To the 7. article I ſay, that I did it, by authoritie of Prieſthode, where through I knowledge well that I haue gilt and treſpaſſed, wherfore I ſubmit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, ſwearyng that I ſhall neuer hold it more.

8. To the 8. I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wrong information. But now I know well that it is hereſie, and that bread anone as the word of the Sacrament is ſayd, is no lõger bread materiall, but that it is turned into very Chriſtes body and that I sweare here.

9. I ſay that this is falſe and erroneous. &c.

10. I ſay as I ſayd. &c.

Proces agaynſt W.Sautre.

This beyng done, the xij. day of February aforeſayd in the yeare of our Lord. 1400. in the Chapter houſe of S. Paule in London aforeſayd: The foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury, in the conuocation of his Prelates and Clergy and ſuch like men there beyng preſent, cauſed the fore recited proces of the Byſhop of Norwich to be read openly & publiquely to Syr William Sautre otherwiſe called Chatris. And afterward, he aſked the ſayd Syr William, whether he plainly vnderſtode & knew ſuch proces and the contentes within the ſame, and he ſayd yea. And further he demaũded of him, If he would or could ſay or obiect any thing agaynſt the proces, and he ſayd no. And after that incontinent, the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury demaunded and obiected agaynſt the ſayd Syr Williã as diuers others more did: That after he had before the biſhop of Norwiche, reuoked and abiured Iudicially diuers errours & hereſies, that among other errours, and hereſies by him taught, holden, & preached, he affirmed: That in ỹ ſame Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecration made by the Prieſt as he taught, there remained materiall bread: which hereſie amongeſt others as errours he alſo abiured before the foreſayd Byſhop of Norwiche. Herunto the foreſayd William aunſwered ſmilyng or in mockyng wiſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſſes. Notwithſtãdyng, he publiquely affirmed that he held & taught the foreſayd thinges after the date of the ſayd proceſſe made by the ſayd Byſhop of Norwich, and that in the ſame councell alſo he held the ſame. Then finally, it was demaunded of the ſayd Syr William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a mã fallen into hereſie, and further to procede vnto his degradatiõ, accordyng to the canonicall ſanctiõs: wherunto he aunſwered nothyng, neither could he alledge any cauſe to the contrary.

Ex Regiſt. Cantuar.

Whereupon, the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury by the counſaile and conſent of the whole Cõcell, and eſpecially by the counſaile and aſſent of the reuerend fathers and Byſhops, as alſo, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other worſhipful Doctours and Clerkes then and there preſent in the councell: Fully determyned to procede to the degradation, and actuall depoſing of the ſayd William Sautre, as refallen into hereſie, and as incorrigible, accordyng to the ſentence definitiue put in writyng, the tenour wherof is in wordes as foloweth.

Sentence of relapſe.

In the name of God Amen: We Thomas by the grace of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall and Metropolitane of all England: do finde and declare, that thou William Sautrie otherwiſe called Chatris Prieſt, by vs with the counſaile and aſſent of all & ſingular our felow brethẽ and whole Clergy, by this our ſentence diffinitiue declared in writing, haſt bene for hereſie cõuict and condemned, and art (beyng agayne fallen into hereſie) to be depoſed and degraded, by theſe preſentes.

And from that day beyng Wedenſday, there was in the ſayd councell prouinciall nothyng further proſecuted, but was continewed with all dependentes, till the Friday next inſuyng. Which Friday approchyng, M. Nicholas Rishtõ, by the commaundement of the ſayd Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, beyng then buſied as he ſayd in the Parliamẽt houſe: contineweḋ this councell & conuocation with all incidentes, dependentes, and occaſions, growing and annexed therunto, to the next day to wit Saterday, next and immediatly after inſuyng. Upon Saterday beyng the xxvj. of the ſayd month of February, the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Canterbury, ſate in the Byſhops ſeate of the foreſayd Church of S. Paule in London, and ſolemply appareled in his Põtificall attire, ſittyng with him as his aſſiſtentes theſe reuerend fathers and Byſhops, of London, Lyncolne, Harford, Exeter, Meneuenſis & Roffenſis Epiſcopi, aboue mentioned: cõmaunded and cauſed the ſayd ſir Williã Sautry appareled in Prieſtly veſtimentes, to be brought and appeare before him. That done, he declared and expounded in Engliſh to all the Clergy, and people there, in a great multitude aſſembled: that all proces was finiſhed and ended agaynſt the ſayd Syr William Sautry. Which thyng finiſhed, before the pronoũcyng of the ſayd ſentence of the Relapſe agaynſt the ſayd ſir William as is premiſed, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he ſaw the ſayd William in that behalfe, nothyng abaſhed: He proceded to his degradation and actuall depoſition in forme as foloweth.

Sentence of degradation.

IN nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. We Thomas by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of Cãterbury Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſea: do denoũce thee William Sawtre otherwiſe called Chautris, Chaplein fayned, in the habite and apparell of a Prieſt, as an heretique and one refallen into hereſie by this our ſentẽce definitiue, by cõſaile, aſſent, and authoritie, to be cõdemned: And by concluſiõ alſo of all our fellow brethren, fellow Byſhops, Prelates, councell prouinciall, and of the whole clergy: do degrade and depriue thee of thy Prieſtly order. And in ſigne of degradation and actuall depoſition frõ thy prieſtly dignitie, for thyne incorrigibilitie & want of amendement: we take from thee the patẽt and chalice, and do depriue thee of all power and authoritie of celebratyng Maſſe: & alſo we pull from thy backe, the Caſule, and take from thee the veſtiment, and depriue thee of all maner of Prieſtly honour.

The patent and chalice taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas the aforeſayd Archbyſhop by authoritie, counſell, and aſſent, which vpon the foreſayd William we haue, beyng Deacon pretenſed, in the habite and apparell of a Deacon, hauyng the new Teſtament in thy hãdes, beyng an heretique and twiſe fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſayd: do degrade and put thee from the order of a Deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition we take frõ thee the booke of the new Teſtamẽt, and the ſtole, and do depriue thee of all authoritie in readyng the Goſpell, & of all and all maner of dignitie of a Deacon.

The booke of a new Teſtamẽt taken frõ him.

Item, we Thomas Archbyſhop aforeſayd, by authoritie, cõuſell, and aſſent, which ouer thee the foreſayd William we haue, beyng a ſubdeacon pretenſed, in the habite and veſtiment of a ſubdeacon, an heretique, and twiſe fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſayd: do degrade and put thee from the order of a ſubdeacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſitiõ, we take from thee the Albe and Maniple, and do depriue thee of all & all maner of ſubdiaconall dignitie.

The Albe taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas, Archbyſhop aforeſayd, by counſaile, aſſent, and authoritie which we haue ouer thee the foreſayd William, an Accolite pretenſed, wearyng the habite of an Accolite, and heretique, twiſe fallen, by our ſentence as is aforeſayd condemned; do degrade and put thee from all order of an Accolite: And in ſigne and token of this thy degradation, and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the Candleſticke and taper, and alſo Vrceolum, and do depriue thee of all and all maner dignitie of an Accolite.

The candleſticke & taper taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas, Archbyſhop aforeſayd by aſſent cõſell and authoritie which vpõ thee the foreſayd William we haue, an Exorciſt pretenſed, in the habite of an Exorciſt or holy water clarke, beyng an heretique, twiſe fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſaid condemned, we do degrade & depoſe thee from the order of an Exorciſt: and in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſitiõ, we take from thee the booke of coniurations, and do depriue thee of all and ſingular dignitie of an Exorciſt.

The holy water bucke coniured from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas Archbyſhop aforeſayd, by aſſent, cõſaile, and authoritie, as is aboue ſayd, do degrade and depoſe thee the foreſaid William, reader pretenſed, clothed in the habite of a reader, an hereticke, twiſe fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſayd, condẽned: from the order of a Reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſitiõ, we take from thee the booke of the deuine lections (that is the booke of the Church Legende) and do depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of dignitie of ſuch a reader.

He meaneth the legend booke, as ſayth the Regiſter.

Item, we Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury aforeſayd, by authoritie, counſaile, and aſſent, the which we haue as is aforeſayd, do degrade and put thee the foreſayd William Sawtre, Sexten pretenſed, in the habite of a Sexten, and wearyng a Surplice, beyng an heretique, twiſe fallen, by our ſentence diffinitiue condemned, as aforeſayd: from the order of a Sexten. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition, for the cauſes aforeſayd, we take frõ thee the keyes of the Church doore, and thy Surplice, and do depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of commodities of a doore keeper.

The Surplice taken from hym.

The church doore keyes taken from hym.

And alſo, by the authoritie of omnipotẽt God the father, the ſonne, and holy ghoſt, and by our authoritie, cõſaile, and aſſent of our whole councell prouinciall aboue written, we do degrade thee and depoſe thee beyng here perſonally preſẽt before vs, from orders, benefices, priuilegies, and habite in the Church, & for thy pertinacie incorrigible, we do diſgrade thee, before the ſecular Court of the high Conſtable and Marſhall of England, here beyng perſonally preſent, and do depoſe thee from all and ſingular clerkely honours and dignities whatſoeuer, by theſe writynges. Alſo in token of thy degradation and depoſitiõ, here actually we haue cauſed thy crowne and eccleſiaſticall tonſure in our preſence to be raſed away, and vtterly to be aboliſhed, like vnto the forme of a ſecular lay man: and here do put vpon the head, of thee the foreſayd William, the cap of a lay ſecular perſon: beſeechyng the court aforeſaid, that they wil receaue fauorably the ſayd William vnto them thus recommitted.

Priuilege of the clergie taken from him.

The prieſtes cap taken from hys head, maketh vp all in all.

Thus William Sawtre the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, beyng vtterly thruſt out of the Popes kyngdome, and metamorphoſed from a Clerke to a ſecular lay man, was committed (as ye haue heard) vnto the ſecular power. Which ſo done, the Byſhops yet not herewith contented, ceaſe not to call vpon the kyng, to cauſe him to be brought forth to ſpedy execution. Wherupon the kyng, ready inough and to much to gratifie the Clergy, and to retayne their fauours, directeth out a terrible decree agaynſt the ſayd William Sawtre, and ſent it to the Maior and Sheriffes of London to be put in execution, the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth.

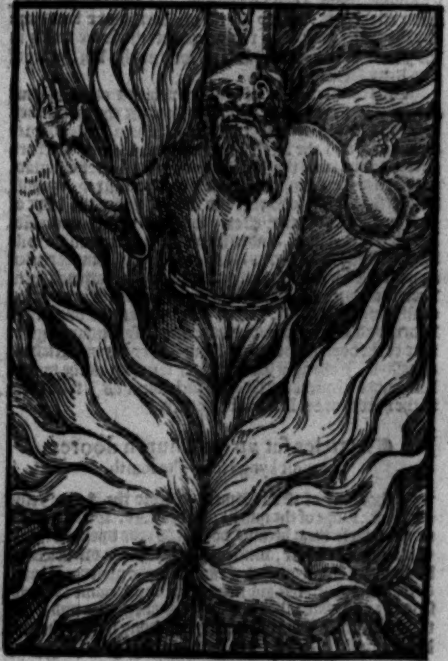
The decree of the kyng agaynſt William Sawtre.

The cruell decree of the king agaynſt Sawtre.

The decree of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng and his counſell in the Parliament, agaynſt a certaine new ſprong vp hereticke. To the Maior & Sheriffes of Lõdon. &c. Whereas the reuerend father Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, by the aſſent, conſent, and counſell of other Byſhops, & his brethren Suffraganes, and alſo of all the whole Clergy within his prouince or Dioces, gathered together in his prouinciall councell, the due order of the law being obſerued, in all pointes in this behalfe: hath pronounced and declared by his definitiue ſentence, W. Sawtre ſomtime chaplaine, to be fallẽ againe into his moſt damnable hereſie, the which before time the ſayd Williã had abiured, therupon to be a moſt manifeſt heretike, and therefore hath decreed, that he ſhould be diſgraded, & hath for the ſame cauſe really diſgraded him frõ all prerogatiue & priuilege of yͤ clergie, decreing to leaue him vnto the ſecular power: and hath really ſo left him, accordyng to the lawes & canonicall ſanctions ſet forth in thys behalfe, and alſo that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premiſſes. We therfore beyng zelous in religion, and a reuerent louer of the catholike fayth, wyllyng and myndyng to maintaine and defend the holy church, & the lawes & liberties of the ſame, to roote all ſuch errours & hereſies out of our kingdome of Englãd, & with condigne puniſhmẽt to correcte & puniſhe all heretiques or ſuch as be cõuict: Prouided alwayes, that both accordyng to the lawe of God & mã, and the canonical inſtitutions in this behalfe accuſtomed, that ſuch heretickes conuict & cõdemned in forme aforeſayd, ought to be burned with fire. We commaund you as ſtraightly as we may or can, firmely enioynyng you, that you do cauſe the ſayd William being in your cuſtody, in ſome publique or opẽ place within the liberties of your citie aforeſayd (the cauſe aforeſayd being publiſhed vnto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the ſame fire really to be burned, to the great horrour of his offence, and the manifeſt example of other Chriſtians. Faile not in the execution hereof, vpon the perill that will fall therupon.

Prepoſterous zeale wythout knowledge.

The burning of William Sawtre.



Admonition to Princes.

Thus it may appeare how kynges and princes haue bene blynded and abuſed by the falſe Prelates of the Church, in ſo much that they haue bene their ſlaues and butchers, to ſlay Chriſtes poore innocent members. See therfore what daunger it is for Princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderſtanding themſelues, but to be led by other mens eyes, & ſpecially truſting to ſuch guides, who through hipocriſie both deceiue them, and through crueltie deuour the people.

K. Hẽry the firſt of Engliſh kinges that tormented the Chriſtians wyth fire.

As king Henry the fourth who was the depoſer of K. Richard, was the firſt of all Engliſhe kings that begã the vnmercifull burning of Chriſtes ſaintes, for ſtãding againſt the pope: ſo was thys W. Sautre the true & faithfull martyr of Chriſt, the firſt of all them in Wickliffes tyme, which I finde to be burned in ỷ raigne of the foreſayd king, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1400.

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the reſt of the ſame company began to kepe themſelues more cloſely, for feare of the kyng, who was altogether bent to holde wyth the Popes prelacy. Such was the raigne of this Prince, that to the godly he was euer terrible, in hys actions immeſurable, to few men hartely beloued, but Princes neuer lacke flatterers about them. Neither was the tyme of his raigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of bloud, and miſerie. Such was their deſire of K. Richard agayne, in the raigne of this kyng, that many yeares after he was rumored to be alyue (of them which deſired belike that to be true, which they knew to be falſe) for the which, diuers were executed. For the ſpace of ſixe or vij. yeares together, almoſt no yeare paſſed without ſome conſpiracie agaynſt the kyng. Long it were here to recite the bloud of all ſuch Nobles and other, which was ſpilt in the raigne of this kyng, as the Earle of * Kent, Earle of Saliſbury, Earle of Huntyngton, named John Holland. &c.. as writeth the ſtory of S. Albans. But the Engliſh writers differre ſomethyng in their names, and make mention of foure Earles, of Surrey, of Excester, of Saliſbury, and Lord Speſer Earle of Glouceſter. Ex Lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

Much murder & beheading in K. Henries time the 4.

* It is doubted.

Ex calendario Bruti.

And the next yeare followyng, Syr John Clarendon knight, with two of his ſeruauntes, the Priour of Laund, with 8. Friers, were hãged and quartered. And after theſe Henry Percy the yonger, the Earle of Worceſter, named Thomas Percy his Uncle, L. of Kynderton, and L. Richard de Uernoua. The Earle of Northumberland ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon, an. 1403. In the which yeare, the priſon in Cornhil called the tonne, was turned into the conduit, there now ſtandyng.

An. 1403.

To let paſſe other moe hanged and quartered the ſame tyme, as Bloſit knight, and Benet Kely knight, and Thomas Winterſel Eſquier. Alſo the ſame yeare was taken and executed ſir Bernard Brokes knight, ſir John Shilley knight, Syr John Maudelyn, and William Frierby. After all theſe L. Henry Earle of Northumberland, and L. Bardolfe conſpiring the kynges death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the viij. yeare of this kyng Henry.

Archb. of Yorke. and L. Moubray againſt kyng Henry. 4.

L. Bardolfe, Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland agaynſt the kyng.

Ex hiſtor. de Scala mundi.

Articles ſet vpõ church dores agaynſt K. Hen. 4.

An. 1405

This ciuill rebellion of ſo many nobles & other agaynſt the kyng, declared what grudgyng hartes the people then bare toward this kyng Henry. Amõg whom I cannot pretermit here alſo the Archbyſhop of Yorke named Richard Scrope, who with the L. Moubrey Marſhall of Englãd, gathered a great company in the North countrey, agaynſt the foreſayd kyng, to whom alſo was adioyned the helpe of L. Bardolfe, and Henry Percy Earle of Northumberlãd. Ex; Chron. D. Albani. And to ſtyrre vp the people more willingly to take their partes, they collected certaine Articles agaynſt the ſayd kyng, to the nũber of x. and faſtened them vpon the dores of Churches and Monaſteries, to be read of all men in Engliſh. which articles if any be diſpoſed to vnderſtand, and for ſomuch as the ſame alſo containe a great part of the doynges betwene kyng Henry & kyng Richard aforeſayd, I thought for the better openyng of the matter here vnder to inſert the ſame, in ſuch forme as I found them in the hiſtory of Scala mundi expreſſed.

¶Articles ſet vp on Church doores agaynſt kyng Henry the fourth.

IN the name of God. Amen. Before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, iudge of the quicke and dead. &c. We A.B.C.D. &c. not long ſithens became bounde by othe vpon the ſacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our ſoueraigne Lord Richard, late kyng of England and Fraunce, in the preſence of many Prelates, potentates, and nobilitie of the Realme: that we ſo long as we liued, ſhould beare true allegeance and fidelitie towardes him and his heyres ſuccedyng him in the kingdome by iuſt title, right, and lyne, accordyng to the ſtatutes and cuſtome of this Realme of England: By vertue wherof, we are bound to foreſee that no vices or haynous offences ariſe in the common weale, do take effect or wiſhed end, but that we ought to geue our ſelues and our goodes to withſtand the ſame, without feare of ſword or death what ſoeuer, vpon payne of periurie, which payne is euerlaſtyng damnation. Wherfore, we ſeyng and perceauyng diuers horrible crimes, and great enormities dayly without ceaſſyng to be committed, by the children of the deuill and Sathans ſouldiours agaynſt the ſupremacy of the Church of Rome, the libertie of the Church of England, & the lawes of ỷ realme, agaynſt the perſon of kyng Richard and his heyres, againſt the Prelates, noble men, religion, and communaltie, and finally agaynſt the whole weale publike of the realme of England, to the great offence of the maieſtie of almightie God, and to the prouocation of his iuſt wrath and vengeaunce towardes the realme and people of the ſame. And fearyng alſo the deſtruction both of the Church of Rome and England, & the ruine of our countrey to be at hand, hauing before our eyes the iuſtice & kingdome of God, calling alwayes on ỷ name of Jeſus, hauing an aſſured confidence in his clemencie, mercy and power: haue here taken vnto vs certaine articles ſubſcribed in forme folowing, to be proponed, tried, and heard before the iuſt Judge Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole world, to his honour, the deliuerie of the Church, the Clergy and communaltie, and to the vtilitie & profite of the weale publicke. But if (which God forbid) by force, feare or violence of wicked perſons we ſhalbe caſt in priſon, or by violent death preuented, ſo as in this world we ſhall not be able to proue the ſayd articles as we would wiſh, then do we appeale to the high celeſtiall iudge, that he may iudge & diſcerne the ſame, in the day of his ſupreme iudgement.

A bill of Articles ſet vp agaynſt K. Henry 4.

1. ¶ Firſt, we depoſe, ſay, except, and entend to proue agaynſt the Lord Henry Derby, ſonne of the Lord John of Gaunt late Duke of Lancaſter, and commonly called kyng of England (himſelfe pretendyng the ſame, although without all right and title therunto) and agaynſt his adherentes, fautours, and complices: that euer they haue bene, are, and wilbe, traytors, inuaders, and deſtroyers of Gods Church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our ſoueraigne Lord Richard late kyng of England, his heyres, his kyngdome, and common wealth, as ſhall hereafter manifeſtly appeare.

2. Secondarely we depoſe &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, for that he had conceaued, deuiſed, & conſpired certaine haynous crimes and trayterous offences agaynſt his ſayd ſoueraigne Lord Richard his ſtate and dignitie, as manifeſtly did appeare in the contention betwene the ſayd Lord Henry, and the Lord Thomas Duke of Northfolke begon at Couentry, but not finiſhed throughly. Afterwardes he was ſent in exile, by ſentence of the ſayd kyng Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord John Duke of Lancaſter, by the voyce of diuers of the Lordes temporall, & nobilitie of the realme, and alſo by his owne conſent: there to remaine for a certaine tyme appointed vnto him by the ſayd Lordes, and withall he was bounde by othe not to returne into Englãd before he had obtained fauour and grace of the kyng. Not lõg after, when the kyng was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that countrey apperteinyng to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling agaynſt the ſame: the ſayd Lord Henry in the meane tyme contrary to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited vnto him was expired: with all his fautours and inuaders, ſecretly entred into the Realme, ſwearyng and proteſtyng before the face of the people, that his commyng into the Realme in the abſence of the kyng was for none other cauſe, but that he might in humble ſorte with the loue and fauour of the kyng and all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritãce deſcẽdyng vnto him of right after the death of his father: which thyng as it pleaſed all men, ſo cried they: Bleſſed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord: But how this bleſſing afterwardes turned into curſing, ſhall appeare in that which foloweth: and alſo ye ſhall vnderſtand his horrible and wicked conſpiracie agaynſt his ſoueraigne Lord kyng Richard, and diuers other Lordes aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, beſides that his manifeſt periurie ſhall well be knowen, and that he remaineth not onely forſworne and periured, but alſo excommunicate, for that he conſpired agaynſt his ſoueraigne Lord our kyng. Wherfore we pronounce him by theſe preſentes, aſwel periured as excommunicate.

K. Henry periured.

3. Thirdly we depoſe &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that he the ſayd Lord Hẽry, immediatly after his entry into England, by crafty and ſubtile policie: cauſed to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenthes of

K. Henry charged wyth vntruth.

the Clergy, fifteenes of the people, ſealyng vp of cloth, dimimition of woolle, impoſt of wyne, nor other extortions or exactions whatſoeuer, ſhould hereafter be required or exacted: hopyng by this meanes to purchaſe vnto him the voyce and fauour of the Prelates ſpirituall, the Lordes temporall, the Marchauntes, and communaltie of the whole Realme. After this, he tooke by force the kyngs Caſtels and fortreſſes, ſpoyled and deuoured his goodes whereſoeuer he found it, crying hauocke, hauocke. The kyngs maieſtie ſubiectes aswell ſpirituall as temporall he ſpoyled and robbed, ſome he tooke captiue and impriſoned them, and ſome he ſlew & put to miſerable death: wherof many were Biſhops, Prelates, Prieſtes, and religious men. Wherby it is manifeſt, that the ſayd Lord Henry is not onely periured, in promiſing and ſwearyng that there ſhould be hereafter no more exactions, paymentes, or extortions within the realme, but alſo excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to Prelates and Prieſts. Wherfore by theſe preſentes we pronounce him as afore, aswell periured as excommunicate.

K. Henry charged with treaſon agaynſt hys ſoueraigne.

4. Fourthly we depoſe &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that he hearyng of the Kynges returne from Irelãd into Wales, roſe vp agaynſt his ſoueraigne Lord the kyng with many thouſandes of armed men, marchyng forward with all his power towardes the Caſtle of Flynt in Wales, where he tooke the kyng and held him priſoner, and ſo led him captiue as a traytor vnto Leyceſter: from whence he tooke his iourney towardes Londõ, miſuſyng the kyng by the way both he and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious contumelies and ſcoffes. And in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a Parliament, the kyng beyng abſent and in priſon, wherein for feare of death he compelled the kyng to yeld and reſigne vnto him all his right and title of the kyngdome and crowne of England. After which reſignation beyng made, the ſayd Lord Henry ſtandyng vp in the Parliament houſe, ſtoutly and proudly before them all, ſayd & affirmed: that the kyngdome of Englãd and crowne of the ſame with all thereunto belongyng, did pertaine vnto him at that preſent as of very right, and to none other: for that the ſayd kyng Richard by his owne deede was depriued for euer of all the right, title, & intereſt that euer he had, hath or may haue in the ſame. And thus at length by right and wrong, he exalted himſelfe vnto the throne of the kyngdome: ſince which time, our common weale neuer floriſhed nor proſpered, but altogether hath bene voyde of vertue, for that the ſpiritualtie was ſo oppreſſed, exerciſe and warlyke practiſes hath not bene maintained, charitie is waxed cold, and couetouſnes and miſerie hath taken place, & finally mercy is taken away & vengeaunce ſupplieth the rowme. Whereby it doth appeare (as before is ſayd) that the ſayd Lord Henry is not onely periured and falſe by vſurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to an other, but alſo excommunicate for the apprehendyng, vniuſt impriſoning, and depriuing his ſoueraigne Lord the kyng of his royall crowne and dignitie. Wherfore as in the articles before, we pronounce the ſayd Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

5. Fiftly we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that he the ſame Lord Henry with the reſt of his fauourers and complices, heapyng miſchief vpon miſchief, haue committed and brought to paſſe a moſt wicked and miſchieuous fact, yea, ſuch as hath not bene heard of at any tyme before. For after that they had taken and impriſoned the kyng, and depoſed him by open iniurie againſt all humane nature, yet not content with this: they brought him to Pomfret Caſtle, and there impriſoned him, where xv. dayes and nightes they vexed him with continuall hunger, thirſt, and cold, and finally bereft him of life, with ſuch a kynde of death as neuer before that tyme was knowen in England, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. Who euer heard of ſuch a deed, or who euer ſaw the like of him? Wherfore O England ariſe, ſtand vp, auenge the cauſe, the death, and iniurie of thy kyng and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will deſtroy thee by ſtrãge inuaſions and forene power, and auenge himſelfe on thee for this ſo horrible an act. Whereby doth appeare, not onely his periurie, but alſo his excommunicatiõ moſt execrable: ſo that as before we pronounce, the ſayd Henry not onely periured, but alſo excommunicate.

K. Henry charged wyth murdering of hys prince.

6. Sixtly we depoſe, &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that after he had attayned to the crowne and ſcepter of the kyngdome, he cauſed forthwith to be apprehended diuers Lordes ſpirituall, Biſhops, Abbats, Priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he areſted, impriſoned, and bound, and agaynſt all order brought them before the ſeculare iudges to be examined: not ſparyng the Byſhops whoſe bodies were annoynted with ſacred oyle, nor Prieſtes, nor religious men, but commaunded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithſtãdyng the priuiledge of the Church, and holy orders, which he ought to haue reuerẽced and worſhipped if he had bene a true and lawfull kyng: for the firſt and chiefeſt othe in the coronation of a lawfull kyng is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rightes of the Church, and not to deliuer any Prieſt or religious man into the handes of the ſeculare power, except for hereſie onely, and that after his degradation accordyng to the order of ẏ church. Contrary vnto all this hath he done, ſo that it is manifeſt by this article as afore in the reſt, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

K. Henry charged wyth the [illegible] of the church.

7. Seuenthly we depoſe, &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lord Henry that not onely he cauſed to be put to death the Lordes ſpirituall and other Religious men, but alſo diuers of the Lordes temporall and nobilitie of the Realme, and chiefly thoſe that ſtudyed for the preſeruatiõ of the common weale, not ceaſing as yet, to continue his miſchieuous enterpriſe, if by Gods prouidẽce it be not preuented and that with ſpede. Amongeſt all other of the Nobilitie, theſe firſt he put to death: the Earle of Saliſbury, the Earle of Huntyngton, the Earle of Glouceſter, the Lord Roger Clarendon the kynges brother, wyth diuers other knightes and Eſquiers: and afterwardes, the Lord Thomas Percy Earle of Worceſter, and the Lord Henry Percy ſonne and heyre to the Earle of Northumberland, the which Lord Henry he not onely ſlewe, but to the vttermoſt of hys power agayne and agayne he cauſed hym to be ſlayne. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the Lord of Furnyuale to be buryed (who committed hys body to holy ſepulture, wyth as much honour as myght be, commendyng his ſoule to almightie God, wyth the ſuffrages of the bleſſed maſſe & other prayers) the ſayd Lord Henry moſt lyke a cruel beaſt ſtill thirſting hys bloud, cauſed hys body to be exhumate & brought forth agayne, and to be repoſed betwene two mylſtones in the towne of Shreuſbury, there to be kept wyth armed men: And afterwardes to be beheaded & quartered, commaundyng hys head and quarters to be caryed vnto diuers cities of the kingdome. Wherfore, for ſo deteſtable a fact neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him as in the former articles excommunicate.

K. Henry charged with tyranny.

8. Eightly, we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſayd Lord Henry, for that after hys attaynyng to the crowne, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approued a moſt wicked ſtatute ſet forth & renued in the Parliament holden at Wincheſter. The which ſtatute is directly agaynſt the Church of Rome, the power, and principallitie therof geuẽ by our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt & vnto bleſſed S. Peter & hys ſucceſſours byſhops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free diſpoſing of all ſpirituall promotions aswell ſuperiour as inferiour: which wicked ſtatute, is the cauſe of many miſchiefes vid. of ſimonie, periury, adultery, inceſt, miſorder, and diſobedience, for that many byſhops, Abbots, priors, and prelates (we will not ſay by vertue, but rather by errour of thys ſtatute) haue beſtowed the benefices vacant vpon yõg mẽ, rude and vnworthy perſons, which haue compacted wyth them for the ſame, ſo that ſcarce no one prelate is found that hath not couenaunted wyth the partie promoted for the halfe yearely, or at the leaſt the third part of the ſayd benefice ſo beſtowed. And by thys meanes, the ſayd ſtatute is the deſtruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome, and England, the clergie and vniuerſities, the maintenaunce of wars, and the whole common wealth. &c.

The K. charged with euill gouernement.

9. Ninthly, we ſay and depoſe, &c. agaynſt the ſayd Lorde Henry, that after he had tyranneuſly taken vpon hym the gouernement of the Realme: England neuer floriſhed ſince, nor proſpered, by reaſon of his continuall exactions of money and oppreſſions, yearely of the clergie and communaltie: neither is it knowen how thys money ſo extorted is beſtowed, when as neither his ſouldiours, nor hys gentlemen, are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges & wonderfull toyle and labour, neither yet the poore countrey people are ſatiſfied for the victuall taken of them: And neuertheles, the myſerable clergie, and more miſerable communaltie, are forced ſtill to pay, by menaces & ſharpe threatnings. Notwithſtanding he ſware whẽ he firſt vſurped ẏ crowne, that hereafter there ſhould be no ſuch exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor laytie. Wherfore, as afore, we pronounce hym periured. &c.

K. Henry charged wyth oppreſſion & periury.

10. In the x. and laſt article, we depoſe, ſay, and openly proteſt by theſe preſentes, for our ſelues and all our aſſiſtentes in the cauſe of the Church of Rome & England, and in the cauſe of kyng Richard, hys heires, the clergie, and communaltie of the whole Realme: that neyther our entention is, was, nor ſhalbe, in word nor deede to offend any ſtate, either of the prelates ſpirituall, Lordes temporall, nor commons

of the realme: but rather foreſeyng the perdition & deſtruction of thys Realme to approche, we haue here brought before you certayne articles concerning the deſtruction of the ſame, to be circumſpectly conſidered of the whole aſſembly, aſwell of the Lordes ſpirituall as temporall, and the faythfull commons of England: beſeechyng you all in the bowels of Ieſus Chriſt, the righteous iudge, & for merites of our bleſſed Lady the mother of God, and of S. George our defender, vnder whoſe diſplayed banner we wiſhe to liue and dye, and vnder payne of damnation, that ye will be fauourable to vs and our cauſes which are three in number. Whereof the firſt is, that we exalte vnto the kyngdome the true & lawfull heyre, and hym to crowne in kingly throne wyth the diademe of England. And ſecondly, that we reuoke the Welſhe men, the Iriſhe men, and all other our enemyes vnto perpetuall peace and amitie. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our natiue countrey from all exactiõs extortions, and vniuſt paymentes: Beſeeching our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to graunt hys bleſſing, the remiſſion of theyr ſinnes, & life euerlaſting to all that aſſiſte vs to theyr power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all thoſe that are againſt vs, we threaten ye curſe of almighty God by the authoritie committed vnto vs by Chriſt and his holy Churche, and by theſe preſentes wee pronounce them excommunicate.

Three cauſes declared.

These Articles beyng ſene and read, much concourſe of people dayly reſorted more and more to the archbyſhop. The Earle of Weſtmerland beyng then not farre of, with Iohn the kynges ſonne (hearyng of this) muſtered his ſouldiours with all the power he was able to make, & bent toward the Archbyſhop: but ſeyng his part to weake to encoũter with him, vſeth practiſe of policie, where ſtrength would not ſerue. And firſt commyng to him vnder colour of frendſhyp diſſembled, laboureth to ſeeke out the cauſes of that great ſtyrre: To whom the Archbyſhop agayne aunſweryng, no hurt to be entended thereby, but profite rather to the kyng and common wealth, and maintenaunce of publicke peace: but for ſo much as he ſtode in great feare and daunger of the king, he was therfore cõpelled ſo to do: And withall ſhewed vnto him the contentes of the Articles aforeſayd, whiche when the Earle had read, ſettyng a fayre face vpon it, ſemed highly to commend the purpoſe and doynges of the Biſhop: promiſing moreouer that he would helpe alſo forward in ye quarell, to the vttermoſt of his power. And required vpon the ſame, a day to be ſet, when they with equall number of men, might meete together, in ſome place appointed to haue farther talke of the matter. The Archbiſhop eaſely perſwaded, was content, although much agaynſt the counſaile of the Earle Marſhall, and came. Where the Articles beyng openly publiſhed and read, the Earle of Weſtmerland & his company, pretended well to like vpon the ſame, and to ioyne their aſſents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbiſhop, that for ſomuch as his garriſon had bene now long in armour, & from home, he would therfore diſcharge the nedeles multitude of his ſouldiors, & diſmiſſe them home to their worke and buſines, and they would together drinke and ioyne handes in the ſight of the whole company. Thus they ſhaking handes together, the Archbyſhop ſendeth away his ſouldiours in peace, not knowing himſelfe to be circumuented, before he was immediatly areſted by the handes of the foreſayd Earle of Weſtmerland, and ſhortly after the kyng comming with his power to Yorke, was there beheaded the Monday in Whitſonweeke, and with him alſo Lord Thomas Moubray Marſhall, with diuers other moreouer of the citie of Yorke, which had take their partes. After whoſe ſlaughter, the kyng procedeth farther to perſecute the Earle of Northumberland, and Lord Thomas Bardolphe. Who then did flye to Barwicke. From thence they remoued to Wales. At length within two yeares after, fighting againſt the kynges part, were ſlayne in the field. an. 1408. In the which yere, diuers other alſo in the Northparts, for fauouring the foreſayd Lords, were likewiſe cõdemned by ye king and put to death. Among whom the Abbot of Hales, for the like treaſon was hanged.

Earle of Weſtmerland againſt the Archb.

Falſehoode in felowſhip.

The Archb. of Yorke craftely circumuented.

The Archb. of Yorke, L. Tho. Moubray wyth many Yorkeſhire men executed.

The Earle of Northumberland, L. Tho. Bardolfe ſlaine.

An.1408

Abbot of Hales hanged.

The kyng after the ſheddyng of ſo much bloud, ſeyng himſelfe ſo hardly beloued of his ſubiectes, thought to keepe in yet with the Clergy, and with the Byſhop of Rome, ſeking alwayes his chiefeſt ſtay at their handes. And therfore was compelled in all thynges, to ſerue their humour, as did appeare as well in condemnyng William Sawtre before, as alſo in other, which conſequently we haue now to intreate of. In the number of whom commeth now by the courſe of tyme to write of one Iohn Badby a Taylour and a lay mã, who by the crueltie of Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings reigne, an. 1409. according as by their own regiſters appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be ſene.

Iohn Badby Artificer.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1409. on Monday beyng the firſt day of March, in the after noone: The excommunication followyng of one Iohn Badby Taylour, beyng a lay man, was made in a certaine houſe or haull within the precinct of the preaching Friers of Londõ, in an vtter cloyſter: vpon the crime of hereſie and other articles, repugnaũt to the determinatiõ of the erroneous Church of Rome, before Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury and other his aſſiſtants, as the Archbyſhop of Yorke, of London, of Wincheſter, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Saliſbury, of Bath, of Bangor, Et meneuenſis Epiſcopi, and alſo Edmũd Duke of Yorke, Thomas Beuford, the Chauncelour of England, Lord de Roos, the Clerke of the rolles, & a great number of other Lordes, both ſpirituall and temporall beyng then at the ſelfe ſame tyme preſent: Maiſter Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, accordyng as it is conteined in the inſtrument read by the foreſayd M. Morgan, the tenour wherof followeth and in effect is ſuch.

Iohn Badby martyr.

Ex Regiſt. Tho. Arundel.

In the name of God. Amen: Be it manifeſt to all men by this preſent publike inſtrument, that in the yeare after the incarnation of our Lord, accordyng to the courſe and cõputation of the Church of England, otherwiſe in the yeare 1409. in the ſecond indictiõ, in the third yeare of the Popedome of the moſt holy father in Chriſt & Lord, Lord Gregory xi. by the diuine permiſſion Pope, the ſecõd day of Ianuary, in the Chappell Caruariæ of S. Thomas Martyr, nigh vnto the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter, beyng ſituate in the ſayd Dioces, in the preſence of me the publicke Notary, and of the witneſſes vnder written: the foreſayd Iohn Badby a lay man, of the ſayd Dioces of Worceſter, appearyng perſonally, before the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God Byſhop of Worceſter, ſittyng in ye ſayd Chappell for chief Iudge, was detected of and vpon the crime of hereſie, beyng heretically taught, and openly maintayned by the foreſayd Iohn Badby. That is, that the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated by the Prieſt vpon the aulter, is not the true body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the wordes of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramentall wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt to make the body of Chriſt: the materiall bread doth remaine vpon the aulter as in the beginnyng, neither is it turned into the very body of Chriſt after the Sacramentall wordes ſpoken of the Prieſt. Which Iohn Badby, beyng examined and diligently demaunded by the foreſayd reuerẽd father cõcernyng the premiſſes, in the end did aunſwere: that it was impoſſible that any Prieſt ſhould make the body of Chriſt, & that he beleued firmely that no Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt by ſuch wordes Sacramentally ſpoken in ſuch ſort. And alſo he ſayd expreſſely, that he would neuer while he liued beleue, that any Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt Sacramentally, vnles that firſt he ſaw manifeſtly the like body of Chriſt to be handled in the handes of the Prieſt vpon the aulter, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he ſayd, that Iohn Rakier of Briſtoll had ſomuch power & authoritie to make the like body of Chriſt, as any prieſt had. Moreouer he ſayd, that whẽ Chriſt ſat at ſupper with his diſciples: he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to diſtribute it to his diſciples: & he ſayd expreſly, that he did not this thing. And alſo he ſpake many other wordes teachyng and fortifieng the hereſie in the ſame place, both greuous, and alſo out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, ſoundyng agaynſt the Catholicke fayth.

The articles read.

The Sacrament of Chriſtes body.

Vpon which occaſion, the ſame reuerend father admoniſhed and requeſted the ſayd Iohn Badby oftentimes, and very inſtantly to charitie: for ſomuch as he would willingly that he ſhould haue forſaken ſuch hereſie and opiniõ, holden, taught, and maintayned by him, in ſuch ſort agaynſt the Sacramẽt, to renounce and vtterly abiure them, and to beleue other thyngs which the holy mother the Church doth beleue. And he informed the ſayd Iohn on that behalfe both gently, & alſo laudably. Yet the ſayd Iohn Badby, although he were admoniſhed and requeſted both often and inſtantly by the ſayd reuerend father: ſayd and aunſwered expreſſely, that he would neuer beleue otherwiſe then before he had ſayd, taught, and aunſwered. Wherupon, the foreſayd reuerend father Byſhop of Worceſter, ſeyng, vnderſtãdyng, and perceauyng the foreſayd Iohn Badby to maintaine & fortifie the ſayd hereſie, beyng ſtubburne, and proceedyng in the ſame ſtubburnes: pronounced the ſayd Iohn to be before this tyme conuicted of ſuch an hereſie, & that he hath bene, & is an hereticke, and in the end declared it in theſe wordes.

I can not blame ye that ye are ſo angry, for it was not for your profite.

The ſentẽce of the B. of Worceſter againſt Joh. Badby.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas Byſhop of Worceſter, do accuſe thee John Badby beyng a lay man of our Dioces, of and vpon the crime of hereſie before vs, ſittyng for chief iudge, beyng oftentymes confeſſed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou haſt taught and openly affirmed as hetherto thou doeſt teach, boldly affirme, and defend: that the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt conſecrated vpõ the aulter by the Prieſt, is not the true body of Chriſt: But after the Sacramentall wordes to make the body of Chriſt by vertue of the ſayd Sacramẽtall wordes pronounced, to haue bene in the crime of hereſie: and we do pronounce thee, both to haue bene and to be an hereticke, and do declare it finally by theſe writynges. Theſe thynges were done accordyngly as is aboue written and are recited in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day and place aforeſayd, beyng preſent the ſame tyme, John Malune Prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter, John Dudle Mõke, and John Haule the Supprior of the ſayd Church, Thomas Penynges of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenhã of the order of the preachyng Friers, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, beyng profeſſours and maiſters in Diuinitie, William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew beyng publique Notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Geruis beyng Knightes, Richard Wiſhe of Tredington, Thomas Wiſhe of Hembury, John Weſton of Yewley, beyng parſons of Churches, and Thomas Baleingtõ the maiſter of Saint Wolſtone in Worceſter, and alſo Henry Haggely, John Penerell, Thomas Trogniorton and Williã Waſſeborne Eſquiers of the Dioces of Worceſter and Norwich, and many other worſhypfull and honeſt men being witneſſes and called ſpiritually to the thynges aforeſayd.

A rable of monkes & Friers about the condemnation of John Badby.

Quare fremuerunt gentes. Pſal. 2.

Scribes with Phariſes.

And I John Chew Clerke, of the Dioces of Bath and Welles and by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, publique Notarie of the ſayd Byſhop: haue in teſtimonie of the premiſſes, put my hand and ſeale to the examination, interrogatiõ, monition, and aunſwere of the ſame John Badby, and to his obſtinacie: & alſo to the proceedings and all and ſingular other doynges as is aforeſayd, which agaynſt him before the ſayd byſhop were handled and done, in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforeſaid, which with the forenamed witneſſes was perſonally preſent: and the ſame, euẽ as I heard them and ſaw them to be done (beyng occupyed with other matters) cauſed them to be written and publiſhed, and into this publique forme haue compiled the ſame. I the foreſayd Notary am alſo priuy, vnto the wordes and examinatiõs interlyned betwene vij. or viij. lynes of the beginning of this inſtrument, which lynes I alſo the foreſayd Notary do approue and make good.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the Dioces of Worceſter, and by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, publique Notarie: to all and ſingular the foreſayd thyngs as afore by the foreſayd Notary is recited, & in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, & place aforeſayd were handled and done, beyng with other the fore recited witneſſes perſonally preſent: and to all and euery of the ſame (as I ſaw and heard them to be done beyng therunto faythfully deſired & required.) In teſtimony of the premiſſes, haue ſigned & ſubſcribed accordyng to the accuſtomed maner. Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

The aunſwere of J. Badby to the articles.

And when the articles, in the foreſayd inſtrument contained, were by the Archbyſhop of Canterbury publiquely and vulgarly read and approued: he publiquely cõfeſſed and affirmed, that he had both ſayd and maynteined the ſame. And then the Archbyſhop to conuince the conſtant purpoſe of the ſayd John Badby, commaunded the ſame articles agayne to be read, often inſtructyng hym both by wordes and examples, informyng, and exhortyng him that thereby he might be brought the ſooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the ſayd Archbyſhop ſayd and affirmed there openly to the ſame John: that he would (if he would liue accordyng to the doctrine of Chriſt) gage his ſoule for him at the iudgement day. And after that agayne he cauſed thoſe articles in the ſayd inſtrument expreſſed, to be read by the foreſayd Philip Morgã, and the ſayd Archbyſhop, himſelfe expounded the ſame in Engliſh as before: Wherunto John Badby aunſwered. As touching the firſt article concernyng the body of Chriſt, he expreſly ſayd, that after the conſecration at the aulter, there remaineth materiall bread, & the ſame bread which was before: notwithſtandyng (ſayd he) it is a ſigne or Sacrament of the liuing God.

Alſo, when the ſecond article was expounded vnto him, that it is impoſſible for any Prieſt &c. To this article he aunſwered and ſayd, that it could not ſinke into his mynde that the wordes are to be taken as they litterally lye, vnles he ſhould deny the incarnation of Chriſt.

Alſo, beyng examined of the third Article concernyng Jacke Roker he ſayd: That if Jacke Roker were a man of good liuing, and did loue and feare God, that he hath as much power ſo to do, as hath the Prieſt: and ſayd further, that he hath heard it ſpoke of ſome doctors of diuinity, that if he ſhould receiue any ſuch conſecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in ſo doyng.

The ſubſtance of bread not chaunged in the Sacrament.

Furthermore he ſayd that he would beleue the omnipotent God in trinitie, and ſayd moreouer that if euery hoſt beyng conſecrated at the aulter were the Lordes body, that then there be 10000. gods in England. But he beleued (he ſaid) in one God omnipotent, which thyng the foreſaid Archb. of Cant. denied not.

And when the other concluſion was expounded. That Chriſt ſitting with his Diſciples at ſupper. &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid that he would greatly maruel: that if any man had a loafe of bread, and ſhould breake the ſame & geue to euery man a mouthfull, that the ſame loafe ſhould afterwardes be whole.

When all theſe thinges were thus finiſhed, and that all the ſayd concluſions were often red in the vulgare tong: the foreſayd Archb. demaunded of hym, whither he would renounce and forſake hys opinions and ſuch lyke concluſions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Chriſt and Catholicke fayth? He anſwered, that accordyng to that he had ſayd before, he would adhere and ſtand to thoſe wordes, which before he had made anſwer vnto. Then the Archb. oftentimes required the ſaid John in the bowels of Jeſu Chriſt that he would forſake thoſe opinions and concluſions, & that henceforth he would cleaue to the chriſtian fayth: which thing to do in the audience of all the lordes and others that were preſent, he expreſly denied and refuſed.

The cõſtancy of J. Badby before the Archb.

The biſhops make fine worke.

The Archb. both Judge & Jaylor.

After all this, when the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Cant. and the Biſhop of London had conſulted together, to what ſafe kepyng the ſayd John Badby (vntill the Wedneſday next) might be committed: It was concluded, that he ſhold be put in a certayne chamber or ſafe houſe within the Manſion of the Frier preachers, and ſo he was: and then the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury ſayd, that he himſelfe would kepe the key therof, in the meane tyme. And when the foreſayd Wedneſday was expired beyng the 15. day of Marche, and that the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with hys fellow brethren and Suffraganes were aſſembled in the Church of S. Paule in London: The Archbiſh. of Canterbury takyng the Epiſcopall ſeate, called vnto hym the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Richard London, Henry Wincheſter, Robert Chicheſter, Alexãder Norwich, and the noble prince Edmond the Duke of Yorke, John Erle of Weſtmerland, Thomas Beauford Knight Lord Chauncellour of England, and the Lord Beamond with other noble men as well ſpirituall as temporall, that ſtood and ſate by, whõ to name it would be long: Before whom the ſaid John Badby was called perſonally to aunſwer vnto the Articles premiſed in the foreſayd inſtrument. Who when he came perſonally before them, the articles were read by the Officiall of the court of Cant. and by the Archb. (in the vulgare tong) expounded, publikely and expreſly: and the ſame Articles, as he before had ſpoken and depoſed, he ſtill held and defended, and ſayd, that whileſt he lyued, he would neuer retract the ſame. And furthermore he ſayd ſpecially to be noted, that the Lord duke of Yorke perſonally there preſent as is aforeſayd, and euery man els for the tyme beyng: is of more eſtimation and reputation, then the Sacrament of the aulter, by the prieſt in due forme conſecrated. And whileſt they were thus in hys examination, the Archbiſhop conſideryng and waying that he would in no wiſe be altered, and ſeyng moreouer his countenaunce ſtout and hart confirmed, ſo that he begã to perſuade other as it appeared in the ſame: Theſe thynges conſidered, the Archprelate when he ſaw that by hys allurementes it was not in hys power, neyther by exhortations, reaſones, nor argumentes, to bryng the ſayd John Badby from his cõſtant truth to hys Catholique fayth (executyng and doyng the office of hys great maiſter) proceded to confirme and ratifie the former ſentence geuen before by the Biſhop of Worceſter agaynſt the ſayd John Badby, pronouncyng him for an open and publique hereticke. And thus ſhiftyng theyr handes of hym, they deliuered hym to the ſecular power: and deſired the ſayd temporall Lordes, then and there preſent very inſtauntly, that they would not put the ſame J. Badby to death for that hys offence, nor deliuer hym to be puniſhed or put to death, in the preſence of all the Lordes aboue recited.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ & principes conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus &c. Pſal. 2.

Note here murdring wolues in ſhepes clothing.

Theſe thynges thus done and concluded by the biſhops in the forenoone: in the afternoone, the Kynges writte was not far behynd. By the force wherof, J. Badby ſtill perſeueryng in hys conſtancy vnto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there beyng put in an empty barell was bound with iron chaynes faſtened to a ſtake, hauyng dry wood put about hym.

And as he was thus ſtandyng in the pipe or tonne (for as yet Cherillus Bull was not in vre among the biſhops) it happened that the prince the kings eldeſt ſonne, was there preſent. Who ſhewyng ſome part of ẏ good Samaritane, began to endeuour and aſſay how to ſaue the lyfe of hym, whō the hypocriticall Leuites and Phariſeis ſought to put to death. He admoniſhed and counſailed hym, that hauyng reſpect vnto hymſelfe, he ſhould ſpedely withdraw himſelf out of theſe dangerous Laberinthes of opinions, addyng oftentymes threatnings, the which might haue daunted any mās ſtomacke. Alſo Courtney at that tyme Chauncellor of Oxford, preached vnto hym, and enformed hym of the fayth of holy Church.

The prince laboureth to turne Badby.

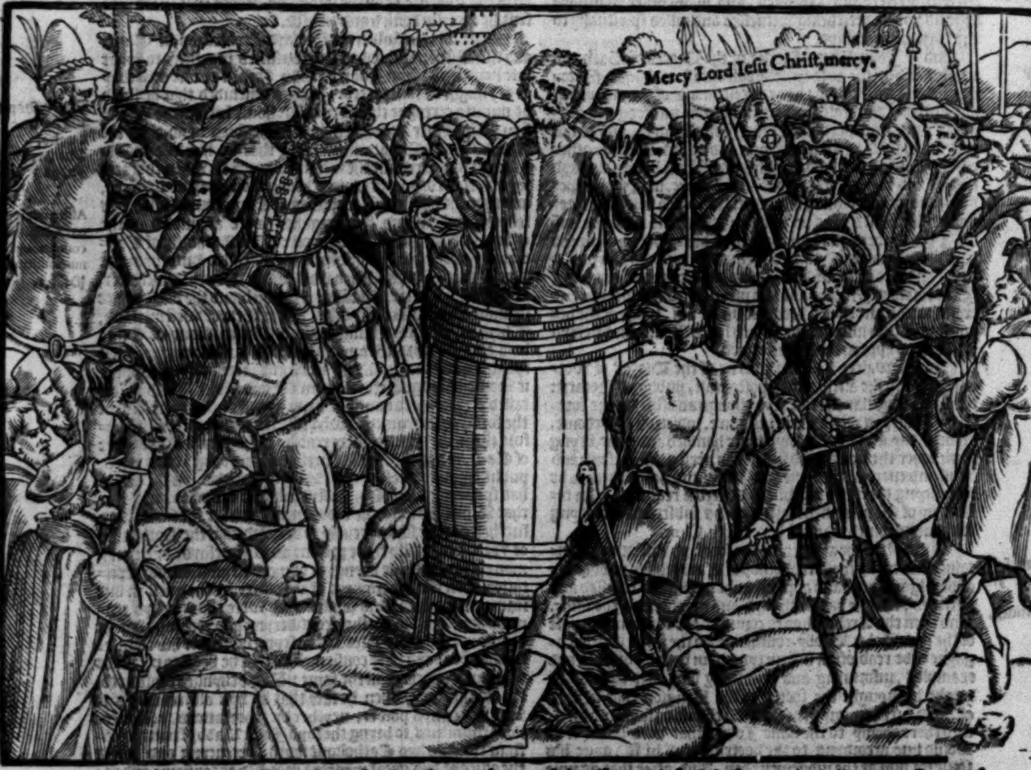
In this meane ſeaſon, the Prior of S. Bartlemewes in Smithfield, brought with all ſolemnitie the Sacrament of Gods body, with twelue torches borne before, & ſo ſhewed the Sacrament to the poore man beyng at the ſtake. And then they demaunded of hym how he beleued in it, he anſweryng: that he knew well it was halowed bread, & not gods body. And then was the tunne put ouer hym, and fire put vnto hym. And when he felt fire, he cryed, mercy (calling belyke vpon the Lorde) and ſo the Prince immediately commaunded to take away the tunne, and quenche the fire. The Prince hys commaundement beyng done, aſked hym if he would forſake hereſie to take hym to the fayth of holy Church: which thyng if he would do, he ſhould haue goodes inough, promiſing alſo vnto hym a yearely ſtipend out of the kings treaſury, ſo much as ſhould ſuffice hys contentation.

The ſacrament ſolemnely brought to Smithfield at the burning of Badby.

But this valiaunt champion of Chriſt, neglectyng the princes fayre wordes, as alſo contemnyng all mens deuiſes: refuſed the offer of worldly promiſes, no doubt, but beyng more vehemently inflamed with the ſpirit of God then with any earthly deſire. Wherfore, when as yet he continued vnmoueable in his former mynd, the prince commaunded hym ſtraight to be put agayne into the pipe or tunne, and that he ſhould not afterward looke for any grace or fauour. But as he could be allured by no rewardes, euen ſo was he nothing at all abaſhed at their tormentes, but as a valiaunt champion of Chriſt, he perſeuered inuincible to the end. Not without a great and moſt cruell battayle, but with much more greater triumph of victory:, the ſpirit of Chriſt hauing alwayes the vpper hande in hys members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifeſtation of which torment, we haue here ſet forth the picture of hys burning, in ſuch maner as it was done.

Joh. Badby conſtant to the end.

¶ The deſcription of the horrible burnyng of Iohn Badby, and how he was vſed at hys death.


Mercy Lord Ieſu Chriſt, mercy.

This godly martyr John Badby hauing thus conſummate his teſtimony and martyrdome in fire, the perſecutyng Biſhops yet not herewith contented, and thinkyng themſelues as yet eyther not ſtrong enough, or els not ſharpe enough agaynſt the poore innocent flocke of Chriſt: to make all thinges ſure and ſubſtanciall on their ſide, in ſuch ſorte, as this doctrine of the Goſpell now ſpringing ſhould be ſuppreſſed for euer: layd their conſpiring heades together, and hauing now a king for their owne purpoſe, readye to ſerue their turne in all pointes (during the time of the ſame Parliament aboue recited yet continuing) the foreſayd Biſhops and clergye of the realme, exhibited a Bill vnto the kinges maieſtie: ſubtilly declaring, what quietnes hath bene maintayned within this realme by his moſt noble progenitours, who alwayes defended the auncient rites and cuſtomes of the Church, and enriched the ſame with large giftes, to the honor of God and the realme: and contrarywiſe, what trouble and diſquietnes was now riſen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerſe men teaching & preachyng openly and priuily, a certaine new, wicked, & hereticall kinde of doctrine, contrary to the Catholike faith & determination of holy church: wherupon the kyng alwayes oppreſſed with blynd ignoraunce by the crafty meanes and ſubtile pretenſes of the clergy, graunted in the ſayd Parliament (by conſent of the nobility aſſembled) a ſtatute to be obſerued called Ex officio as followeth.

All the power of man ſet agaynſt the Goſpell.

The Goſpel of Chriſt counted as wicked and hereticall.

The Statute Ex officio.

That

The cruell ſtatute, ex officio.

That is to ſay, that no man within this Realm or other the kinges maieſties dominions, preſume or take vpon hym to preach priuily or apertly, without ſpeciall licence firſt obteyned of the ordinary of the ſame place (Curates in theyr owne pariſh churches, and perſons heretofore priuileged, and others admitted by the Canon law, onely excepted) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintayne, teach, informe openly or in ſecret, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholike fayth, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter make any conuenticles or aſſemblies, or kepe and exerciſe any maner of ſcholes touchyng this ſecte, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further that no mā hereafter ſhall by any meanes, fauour any ſuch Preacher, any ſuch maker of vnlawfull aſſemblies, any ſuch booke maker or writer, and finally any ſuch teacher, informer, or ſtirrer vp of the people. And that all and ſinguler perſons hauyng any the ſayd bookes, writinges, or cedules contayning the ſayd wicked doctrines and opinions, ſhall within forty dayes after this preſent proclamation and Statute, really and effectually deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered all and ſingular the ſeid bookes and writinges, vnto the ordinary of the ſame place. And if it ſhall happen any perſon or perſons of what kynd, ſtate, or cōdition ſoeuer he or they be, to do or attēpt any maner of thing cōtrary to this preſent proclamatiō & ſtatute, or not to deliuer the ſame bookes in forme aforeſayd: That thē the Ordinary of the ſame place in hys owne dioceſſe by authoritie of the ſayd proclamation and ſtatute, ſhall cauſe to be areſted and deteyned vnder ſafe cuſtody, the ſayd perſon or perſons in this caſe diffamed, and euidently ſuſpected or any of them, vntill he or they ſo offendyng haue by order of law purged hym or themſelues as touchyng the articles layd to hys or their charge in this behalfe: or vntill he or they haue denied and recanted (accordyng to the lawes Eccleſiaſticall) the ſayd wicked ſect, preachinges, teachinges, and hereticall and erroneous opinions. And that the ſayd Ordinary by himſelfe or hys Commiſſaries procede openly and iudicially to all the effecte of lawe agaynſt the ſayde perſons ſo areſted and remaining vnder ſafe cuſtody, and that he end and determine ẏ matter within 3. monethes after the ſayd areſt, (all delayes and excuſes ſet a part) accordyng to the order and cuſtome of the Canon law. And if any perſon, in any cauſe aboue mentioned, ſhal be lawfully conuicted before the Ordinary of the dioceſſe or his Commiſſaries: that then the ſayd Ordinary, may lawfully cauſe the ſayd perſon ſo conuicted (accordyng to the maner and qualitie of hys fact) to be layd in any of hys owne priſons, and there to be kept ſo long as to hys diſcretion ſhall be thought expedient.

A bloudy law of K. Henry. 4.

And further the ſayd Ordinary (except in caſes by the which according to the Canon law, the party offēding ought to be deliuered to the ſecular power) ſhall charge the ſayd perſon with ſuch a fine of mony to be payd vnto the kinges maieſty, as he ſhal thinke competent for the maner and quality of his offence. And ẏ ſayd dioceſan ſhalbe bound to geue notice of the ſayd fine, into the kyngs maieſties Eſchequer, by his letters patent vnder hys ſeale: to the entent that the ſayd fine may be leuied to ẏ kings maieſties vſe, of the goods of the perſon ſo conuict.

And further, if any perſon within this realme and other the kinges maieſties dominion, ſhall be conuicted before the Ordinary of the place, or his Commiſſaries, of the ſaid wicked preachyngs, doctrines, opinions, ſcholes, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them: and wyll refuſe to abiure and recant the ſayd wicked ſect, preachyngs, teachings, opinions, ſcholes, and informations: Or if, after hys abiuration once made, the relapſe be pronounced againſt hym by the dioceſan of the place, or hys Commiſſaries (for ſo by the Canon law he ought to be left to the ſecular power, vpon credite geuen to the Ordinary or hys Commiſſaries) That then, the Shirife of the ſame Countie, the Mayor, Shiriffes, or Shirife, or the Mayor or Bayliffes of ẏ ſame Citie, village or borough of the ſame Countie, and nereſt inhabiting to the ſayd Ordinary or hys ſayd Commiſſaries: ſhall perſonally be preſent, as oft as they ſhalbe required, to conferre with the ſayd Ordinary or hys Commiſſaries in geuyng ſentence agaynſt the ſayd perſons offendyng or any of them. And after the ſayd ſentence ſo pronounced, ſhall take vnto them the ſayde perſones ſo offendyng, and any of them, and cauſe them openly to be burned in the ſight of all the people: To the intent that this kynde of puniſhment may be a terrour vnto others, that the like wicked doctrines and hereticall opinions, or the authours and fauourers therof be no more maintayned within this Realme and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbidde) of Chriſtian religion, and decrees of holy Church. In which all and ſingular the premiſſes, concernyng the ſtatute aforeſayd: Let the Shiriffes, Mayors, and Bayliffes of the ſayd Counties, Cities, Villages, and Boroughes, be attendaunt, aydyng, and fauouryng, the ſayd Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries.

A bloudy ſtatute.

By this bloudy ſtatute ſo ſeuerely and ſharpely enacted agaynſt theſe ſimple men, here haſt thou (gentle Reader) a little to ſtay with thy ſelfe: and to conſider the nature and condition of this preſent world, how it hath bene ſet & bent euer from the begynnyng, by all might, counſayle, and wayes poſſible, to ſtriue agaynſt the wayes of God, and to ouerthrow that which he wyll haue ſet vp. And although the world may ſee by infinite ſtories and examples, that it is but in vayne to ſtriue agaynſt hym: yet ſuch is the nature of this world (all ſet in malignitie) that it wyll not ceaſe ſtill to be like it ſelfe.

The law of Maximinus & the ſtatute ex officio compared.

The lyke law and ſtatute in the tyme of Diocleſian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, pag. 84. & for the more ſtrength were written alſo in tables of braſſe to the entent that the name of Chriſt ſhould vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet, the name of Chriſt remayneth, where that braſen law remayned not thre yeres. The which law written then in braſſe, although it differ in maner and forme, from this our ſtatute Ex officio, yet to the ende and cruelty, to ſpill the bloud of ſaintes, there is no difference betwene the one and the other. Neither is there any diuerſitie touchyng the firſt originall doer and worker of them both. For the ſame Sathan which then wrought hys vttermeſt agaynſt Chriſt, before he was bound vp: the ſame alſo now after hys loſing out, doth what he can, though not after the ſame way, yet to the ſame intent. For then, with outward violence as an open enemy, he dyd what he could: Now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the Church, he impugneth the Church of Chriſt, vſing a more ſubtile way to deceaue, vnder gay pretenſed titles: but no leſſe pernicious in the end, whereto he ſhooteth, as well appeareth by this bloudy ſtatute Ex officio, the ſequell wherof coſt afterward, many a Chriſten mans lyfe. As in proceſſe of ſtory remayneth more hereafter, (Chriſt willyng) to be declared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this ſtatute of the kyng aforeſayd, concurreth alſo an other conſtitution made much about the ſame tyme by the Archb. of Canterb. Thomas Arundell. So that no induſtry nor policy of man here did lack to ſet the matter forward, but eſpecially on the biſhops partes, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to ſubuert the right wayes of the Lord.

Firſt, in moſt diligent and exquiſite executiō of the kings ſtatute ſet forth: the execution wherof they did ſo exactly apply, that meruell it is to conſider, all other lawes of kinges (commonly, be they neuer ſo good) to be ſo coldly kept, and this onely among all the reſt ſo nerely followed. But herein is to be ſeene the diligence of the Romiſh Prelates, which neuer let any thyng to fall, that maketh for the dignity of their eſtate.

Secondly, beſide their vigilant care, in ſeyng the kinges ſtatute to be executed: No leſſe induſtrious alſo were they, in addyng therunto mo conſtitutions of theyr owne, as from tyme to tyme appeareth as well by other Archbiſhops hereafter, and by Pope Martine, as alſo by this conſtitutiō here preſent made by Thomas Arundell the Archb. The ſtyle and tenour wherof, to the entent the rigour of the ſame may appeare to all men, I thought here vnder to adioyne, in wordes as followeth.

¶The conſtitution of Thomas Arundell,
against the followers of gods truth.

A cruell conſtitutiō by the Archb. againſt the Goſpellers wyth 13. articles.

Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicke: To all and ſingular our reuerend brethren, fellow Biſhops, and our Suffragans. And to Abbots, Priours, Deanes of Cathedrall Churches, Archdeacōs, Prouoſtes and Canons: alſo to all perſons, vicars, chaplains, & clerkes in pariſh churches, and to all lay men whom & where ſoeuer, dwelling within our prouince of Caunterbury, gretyng: and grace to ſtand firmely in the doctrine of the holy mother church. It is a manifeſt and plaine caſe, that he doth wrong and iniury to the moſt reuerend councell, who ſo reuolteth from the things, beyng in the ſaid councell once diſcuſſed & decided. And whoſoeuer dare preſume to diſpute of the ſupreme or principall iudgement here in earth, in ſo doing incurreth the payne of ſacrilege, accordyng to the authority of ciuil wiſdom and manifeſt tradition of human law. Much more then they who truſtyng to theyr owne wittes, are ſo bold to violate and with contrary doctrine to reſiſt, and in

Blaſphemy.

He meaneth here of Tho. Becket his predeceſſour, who had his braynes bet out in the time of K. Hen. 2. Scripture clarkly applyed.

This geare hangeth together lyke germanes lyppes.

κιφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, marke this you Grammarians.

Marke well the popes diuinitie.

An argument far fet: that true doctrine conſiſteth in making one head of the Church.

How aptly he painteth the proceedinges of his owne popiſh Church.

Apoc. 6.

The figure of the blacke horſe in the Apoc. doctorly expounded.

word and dede to continue the preceptes of lawes and Canons, rightly made and procedyng from the kaybearer and porter of eternal lyfe and death, bearyng the rowme and perſon, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: which alſo haue beene obſerued hytherto, of the holy fathers our predeceſſours, vnto the glorious effuſion of their bloud, and voluntary ſprinklyng out of their braynes: Are worthy of greater puniſhment, deſeruyng quickly to be cut of, as rotten members, from the body of the Churche militant. For ſuch ought to conſider, what is in the old Teſtament written: Moſes and Aaron amongeſt his prieſtes, that is, were chiefe heades amongeſt them. And in the newe Teſtament among the Apoſtles there was a certayne difference: And though they were all Apoſtles, yet was it graunted of the Lorde to Peter, that he ſhould beare preeminence aboue the other Apoſtles: And alſo the Apoſtles them ſelues woulde the ſame, that he ſhoulde be the chiefetayne ouer all the reſt. And beyng called Cephas, that is, head: ſhould be as prince ouer the Apoſtles. Unto whom it was ſayde: Thou beyng once cōuerted, cōfirme thy brethren: as though he would ſay, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chaunce to erre and ſtraye out of the way of fayth, of iuſt lyuyng, or ryght conuerſation: Doo thou confirme and reduce hym in the right way agayne. Which thyng no doubt the Lorde would neuer haue ſayd vnto hym, if he had not ſo mynded, that the reſt ſhould be obedient to hym. And yet all this notwithſtandyng we knowe and dayly proue, that we are ſory to ſpeake, howe the olde Sophiſter, the enimie of mankynde (foreſeeyng & fearyng leaſt the ſounde doctrine of the church determined from aūcient tymes by ẏ holy forefathers, ſhoulde withſtande his malices, if it myght keepe the people of God in vnitie of fayth vnder one head of ẏ churche) doth therefore endeuour by all meanes poſſible, to extirpe the ſayde doctrine, feynyng vices to be vertues. And ſo vnder falſe pretences of veritie diſſimuled, ſoweth diſcord in catholique people, to the intent, that ſome goyng one way, ſome an other: He in the meane time may gather to him ſelfe a church [illegible] the malignant, deſſeryng wickedly from the vniuerſal mother holy church. In the which, Satan transformyng him ſelfe into an angel of lyght, bearyng a lying and deceptful balaunce in his hand, pretendeth great righteouſneſſe, in contraryng the auncient doctrine of ẏ holy mother church, & refuſing ẏ traditions of the ſame determined & appoynted by holy fathers: perſwadyng mē (by faincd forgeries) the ſame to be nought:, and ſo inducing other new kindes of doctrine, leadyng to more goodnes, as he by his lying perſuaſions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor myndeth any goodneſſe, but rather that he may ſowe ſchiſmes, wherby diuers opinions and contrary to themſelues beyng rayſed in the Church: fayth therby may be diminiſhed, and alſo the reuerend holy myſteries through the ſame contention of wordes may be prophaned with Paganes, Iewes, and other infidels, and wicked miſcreantes. And ſo that figure in the Apoc. 6. is well verified, ſpeakyng of him that ſate on the blacke horſe bearing a payre of balaunce in his hand, by the which heretikes are vnderſtand. Who at the firſt appearaunce lyke to weightes or balaunce, make as though they would ſet forth right and iuſt thinges, to allure the hartes of the hearers. But afterward, appeareth the blacke horſe, that is to ſay, their intention, full of curſed ſpeakyng. For they vnder a diuers ſhew and colour of a iuſt balance, wyth the tayle of a blacke horſe ſprinckelyng abroade hereſies and errours, do ſtrike. And beyng poyſoned themſelues, vnder colour of good, rayſe vp infinite ſlaunders, and by certayne perſons fitte to do miſchiefe, do publiſh abroad as it were, the ſugred taſt of hony mixt with poyſon, therby the ſooner to be taken: workyng & cauſing through their ſleight & ſubtleties, that errour ſhould be taken for verity, wickedneſſe for holines, and for the true will of Chriſt. yea and moreouer the foreſayd perſons thus picked out, do preach before they be ſent, and preſume to ſow the ſede, before the ſede diſcretly be ſeperate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the conſtitutions and decrees of the Canons, prouided for the ſame purpoſe againſt ſuch peſtilent ſowers, do preferre ſacrifice Diabolicall (ſo to terme it) before obedience geuen to the holy Church militant.

Behold the true image of Wolues vnder ſheepes clothing.

We therfore conſideryng and weping, that errour which is not reſiſted, ſeemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth hys boſome to wyde, which reſiſteth not the viper thinkyng there to thruſt out her venome: And willyng moreouer to ſhake of the duſt from our feete, and to ſee to the honour of our holy mother Church, whereby one vniforme holy doctrine may be ſowen and planted in the Church of GOD, (namely in this our Prouince of Caunterbury) ſo much as in vs doth lye, to the encreaſe of fayth and ſeruice of GOD, firſt rootyng out the euill weedes and offendicles which by the meanes of peruerſe preachyng, and madde doctrine, haue ſprong vp hitherto, and are lyke more hereafter to growe: purpoſing by ſome conuenient way with all diligence poſſible to withſtand in tyme, and to prouide for the perill of ſoules, which we ſee to ryſe vnder pretence of the premiſſes: alſo to remoue all ſuch obſtacles, by which the ſaid our purpoſe may be ſtopped, by the aduiſe and aſſent of all our Suffraganes and other prelates, beyng preſent in this our conuocation of the Cleargy, as alſo of the procuratours of them that be abſent: and at the inſtaunt petition of the procuratours of the whole clergy within this our prouince of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, addyng therunto puniſhment and penalties condigne as be here vnder written, we will and commaund, ordayne and decree.

The firſt conſtitution.

That no maner of perſon ſecular or regular, beyng authoriſed to preach by the lawes now preſcribed, or licenced by ſpecial priuiledge: ſhal take vpō hym the office of preachyng the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergy or Laitie, eyther in the Churche or without, in Latine or in Engliſh, except he firſt preſent hymſelfe, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And ſo beyng found a fitte perſon, as well in maners as knowledge: he ſhall be ſent by the ſayd Ordinary, to ſome one Church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient by the ſaid Ordinary, accordyng to ẏ qualitie of the perſon. Nor any perſon aforeſayd ſhall preſume to preache, except firſt he geue faythfull ſignification in due forme of his ſendyng and autoritie, that is: That he that is authoriſed, do come in forme appoynted hym in that behalfe: and thoſe that affirme they come by ſpeciall priuiledge, do ſhew theyr priuiledge vnto the Parſon or Uicare of the place where they preach. And thoſe that pretend themſelues to be ſent by the Ordinary of the place, ſhall likewyſe ſhew the Ordinaries letters made vnto hym for that purpoſe, vnder hys great ſeale. Let vs alwayes vnderſtand, the Curate (hauyng the perpetuitie) to be ſent of right vnto the people of hys owne cure. But if any perſon aforeſayd, ſhall be bidden by the Ordinary of the place, or any other Superiour to preach, by reaſon of hys errors and hereſies which before peraduenture he hath preached and taught: that then and from thenceforth, he abſtayne from preachyng within our prouince: vntill he haue purged hymſelfe, and be lawfully admitted agayne to preach, by the iuſt arbitremēt of hym that ſuſpended and forbad hym. And ſhall alwayes after that, cary with hym to all places where ſo euer he ſhall preach, the letters teſtimoniall of hym that reſtored hym.

No prieſtes to preach, but by limitation of the prelates.

Moreouer, the pariſh Prieſts or Uicars temporall, not hauyng perpetuities, nor beyng ſent in forme aforeſayd, ſhall ſimply preach in the Churches where they haue charge, only thoſe thynges which are expreſſely contayned in the prouinciall conſtitution ſet forth by Iohn our predeceſſour of good memory, to helpe the ignoraunce of the Prieſts, which beginneth: Ignorantia Sacerdotum. Which booke of conſtitutions, we would ſhould be had in euery pariſh Church in our prouince of Caunterbury, within thre monthes next after the publication of theſe preſentes, and (as therin is required) that it be effectually declared by the Prieſtes themſelues yearely, and at the tymes appoynted. And leaſt thys wholeſome ſtatute myght be thought hurtfull of ſome, by reaſon of paymēt of mony, or ſome other difficultie: we therfore wyll and ordayne, that the examinations of the perſons aforeſayd, and the makyng of theyr letters by the Ordinary be done gratis and freely without any exaction of mony at all, by thoſe to whom it ſhall appertayne. And if any man ſhall willingly preſume to violate this our Statute grounded vpon the old law, after the publication of the ſame: he ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto: whoſe abſolution we ſpecially reſerue by tenour of theſe preſentes, to vs and our ſucceſſours. But if any ſuch Preacher deſpiſing this wholeſome Statute, and not waying the ſentence of greater excommunication doe the ſecond tyme take vppon hym to preach: ſaying and alledgyng, and ſtoutly affirmyng that the ſentence of greater excommunication aforeſayd, can not be appoynted by the Church in the perſons of the Prelates of the ſame: That then, the Superiours of the place, do worthely rebuke hym, and forbidde hym from the Communion of all faythfull Chriſtians.

A holy meane to bring the world into ſuch darkenes.

And that the ſayd perſon hereupon lawfully conuicted (except he recant and abiure after the manner of the Churche) be pronounced an hereticke by the Ordinary of the place.

And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an hereticke and ſchiſmaticke, and that he incurre (ipſo facto) the penalties of hereſie and ſchiſmatye, expreſſed in the lawe: And chiefly that his goods be adiudged confiſcate by yͤ law, and apprehended and kept by them, to whom it ſhal appertayne. And that his fautours, receyuers, & defenders beyng conuicted, in all caſes be likewiſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not of within one moneth, beyng lawfully warned thereof by their ſuperiours.

Conſtit. 2.

Furthermore, no clergy man, or parochians of any pariſh or place within our prouince of Canturbury, ſhal admit any man to preach within their churches, churchyardes, or other places whatſoeuer, except firſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of his autoritie, priuiledge, or ſendyng thyther, accordyng to the order aforeſaid: Otherwiſe the church, churchyarde, or place whatſoeuer, in which it was ſo preached, ſhal ipſo facto, receiue the Eccleſiaſtical interdict, and ſo ſhall remayne interdicted, vntyl they that ſo admitted and ſuffered hym to preache, haue refourmed them ſelues, and obtayned the place ſo interdicted, to be releaſed in due fourme of lawe, eyther frō the Ordinary of the place, or his ſuperiour.

Conſtit. 3.

Moreouer, like as a good houſholder caſteth wheate into the grounde (wel ordered for that purpoſe) thereby to get the more encreaſe: euen ſo we wyll and commaund, that the preacher of Gods word, commyng in forme aforeſayd, preachyng eyther vnto the Clergie or Laitye, accordyng to his matter proponed: ſhall be of good behauiour, ſowyng ſuch ſeed as ſhalbe cōuenient for his auditory. And chiefly preachyng to the clergie, he ſhal touche the vices commonly vſed amongeſt them, and to the Layty he ſhal declare the vices commonly vſed among them, and not otherwiſe: But if he preach cōtrary to this order, thē ſhal he be ſharply puniſhed by the ordinary of that place, accordyng to the qualitie of that offence.

What tyranny is this to bynde the preachers mouth what to ſay.

Conſtit. 4.

Item, foraſmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole: we do decree & ordayne, that no preacher aforeſayde, or any other perſon whatſoeuer, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concernyng the ſacrament of the aultar, matrimonye, confeſſion of ſinnes, or any other ſacrament of the churche, or article of the fayth, then that already is diſcuſſed by the holy mother church, nor ſhal bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church: nor ſhal to his knowledge priuily or apertly pronounce blaſphemous wordes concernyng the ſame, nor ſhall teache, preach, or obſerue any ſect, or kynd of hereſie whatſoeuer, cōtrary to the wholeſome doctrine of the church. He that ſhal wittyngly & obſtinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of theſe preſentes, ſhall incurre the ſentence of excōmunication ipſo facto: Frō the which (except in poynt of death) he ſhal not be abſolued, vntyl he hath reformed him ſelf by abiuration of his hereſie, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, in whoſe territory he ſo offended, & hath receiued wholſome penitence for his offences. But if the ſecond tyme he ſhal ſo offend, beyng lawfully cōuicted, he ſhalbe pronounced an heretique, & his goodes confiſcate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertayne. The penance before mentioned, ſhalbe after this manner: If any man contrarye to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our conſtitutions prouincial, do openly or priuyly teach or preache any kinde of hereſie or ſect, he ſhall in the pariſh church of the ſame place, where he ſo preached, vpon one ſunday, or other ſolemne day, or more, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, and as his offence is more or leſſe, expreſſely reuoke that he ſo preached, taught or affirmed, euen at the tyme of the ſolemnitie of the Maſſe, when the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhal effectually and without fraude preach, and teache the very truth determined by the churche: and further ſhalbe puniſhed after the qualitie of his offence, as ſhalbe thought expediēt to the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

A barre for the preachers.

Conſt. 5.

Item, for as much as a newe veſſel beyng long vſed, ſauoreth after the head, we decree and ordayne, that no ſchoolmaiſters and teachers whatſoeuer, that inſtruct chyldren in grammer, or others whomſoeuer, in primitiue ſciences, ſhal in teachyng them, intermingle any thyng concernyng the catholique fayth, the Sacrament of the aultar, or other ſacramentes of the churche, contrary to the determinations of the Church. Nor ſhall ſuffer their ſchollers to expound the holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath bene vſed of auncient tyme,) nor ſhall permyt them to diſpute openly or priuyly concernyng the catholique fayth, or Sacramentes of the Churche. Contrarywiſe, the offender herein ſhalbe greuouſly puniſhed by the Ordinary of the place, as a fauourer of errours and ſchiſmes.

A caueat for ſchoolemaſters.

Conſt. 6.

Item, for that a newe way doth more frequently leade aſtraye, then an olde way: we wyll and commaunde, that no booke or treatiſe made by Iohn Wickliffe, or other whomſoeuer, about that tyme or ſithence, or hereafter to be made: be from henceforth read in ſchooles, halles, hoſpitalles, or other places whatſoeuer, within our prouince of Canterbury aforeſayde, except the ſame be firſt examined by the vniuerſitie of Oxforde or Cambrige, or at the leaſt by twelue perſons, whom the ſayde vniuerſities or one of them ſhal appoynt to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſours: and the ſame beyng examined as aforeſayde, to be expreſſely approued and allowed by vs or our ſucceſſours, and in the name and authoritie of the vniuerſitie, to be deliuered vnto the Stationers to be copyed out, and the ſame to be ſolde at a reaſonable price, the originall thereof alwayes after, to remayne in ſome cheſt of the vniuerſitie. But if any man ſhall reade any ſuche kynde of booke in ſchooles or otherwiſe, as aforeſayde: he ſhalbe puniſhed as a ſower of ſchiſme, and a fauourer of hereſie, as the qualitie of the fault ſhal require.

Books of Iohn Wickliffe forbidden.

Conſtit. 7.

Item, it is a daungerous thyng (as witneſſeth bleſſed S. Hierome) to tranſlate the text of holy Scripture out of one tongue into an other: for in the tranſlation, the ſame ſenſe is not alwayes eaſily kept, as the ſame ſaint Ierome confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet oftentymes in this he erred. We therefore decree and ordayne, that no man hereafter by his owne authoritie, tranſlate any text of the Scripture into Engliſhe, or any other tongue, by waye of a booke, libel, or treatiſe: & that no man reade any ſuch boke, libell, or treatiſe, nowe lately ſet foorth in the tyme of Iohn Wickleffe, or ſithence, or hereafter to be ſet foorth, in parte or in whole, priuily, or apertly: vpon payne of the greater excommunication, vntyll the ſayde tranſlation be allowed by the Ordynarye of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the Councell prouinciall: He that ſhall doo contrarye to this, ſhall likewiſe be puniſhed as a fauourer of errour and hereſie.

He confeſſeth that S. Ierome erred in his tranſlation.

And yet the ſayd Archb. commended Queene Anne, for hauing the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

Conſtit. 8.

Item, for that almighty God can not be expreſſed with any Philoſophicall termes, or otherwiſe inuented of man: And S. Auguſtine ſayth, That he hath oftentymes reuoked ſuch concluſions as hath beene moſt true, becauſe they haue bene offenſiue to the eares of the religious: We doo ordeyne and ſpecially forbyd, that no maner of perſon, of what ſtate, degree, or condition, ſo euer he be, doo allege or propone any concluſions or propoſitions in the catholique fayth, or repugnaunt to good manners, (except neceſſary doctrine perteynyng to their facultie of teachyng or diſputyng in their ſchooles or otherwiſe) although they defende the ſame with neuer ſo curious termes and wordes. For as ſayth bleſſed S. Hugh of the Sacramentes, that whiche oftentymes is wel ſpoken, is not wel vnderſtood. If any man therefore after the publication of theſe preſentes, ſhalbe conuict wittyngly to haue proponed ſuch concluſions or propoſitions, except (beyng moniſhed) he reforme him ſelf within one moneth, by vertue of this preſent conſtitution: He ſhal incurre the ſentence of greater excommunicatiō ipſo facto, and ſhalbe openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntil he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meanyng of the ſayd concluſion or propoſition in one church or more, as ſhalbe thought expedient to the Ordinary.

Termes & propoſitions in diſputing to be obſerued.

Conſtit.

Item, no maner of perſon ſhal preſume to diſpute vpon the articles determined by the church, as is conteyned in the decrees, decretals, our conſtitutions prouinciall, or in the general Councels. But onely to ſeeke out the true meanyng thereof, and that expreſſely, whether it be openly or in ſecret: nor none ſhall cal in doubt the authoritie of the ſayde decretals or conſtitutions, or the authority of hym that made them, nor teach any thyng cōtrary to the determinatiō thereof: And chiefly concernyng the adoration of the holy croſſe, the worſhipping of Images, of Saintes, goyng on pylgrimage to certayne places, or to the reliques of Saintes, or agaynſt the othes in caſes accuſtomed to be geuen in both cōmon places, that is to ſay, ſpiritual and temporal: But of all it ſhalbe commonly taught and preached, that the croſſe and Image of the Crucifixe, and other Images of Saintes in the honour of them whom they repreſent, are to be worſhipped with proceſſion, bowyng of knees, offeryng of franke incenſe, kyſſinges, oblations, lightyng of candles, and pilgrimages,* and with all other kynde of ceremonyes and maners that hath beene vſed in the tyme of our predeceſſours: And that geuyng of othes in caſes expreſſed in the lawe, and vſed of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſte. Contrarye vnto this whoſo euer dooth preache, teache, or obſtinatly affirme (except he recant in maner and fourme aforeſayd) ſhal forthwith incurre the penaltie of hereſie, and ſhalbe pronounced an heretique, in al effect of lawe.

Autoritie of the popes decretals not to be doubted vnder payne of hereſie.

Adoration of the croſſe.

*With all abhomination.

Conſtit. 10.

Item, we do decree and ordayne, that no Chapleyne be admitted to celebrate in any dioces within our prouince

No prieſt to celebrate wythout their letters of orders.

of Canterbury, where he was not borne, or not receaued orders: except he bring wyth him hys letters of orders, and letters commendatory from hys ordinary, and alſo from other Byſhops in whoſe dioces of a long tyme he hath bene conuerſaunt, wherby his conuerſatiō and maners may appeare: So that it may be knowen, whether he hath bene defamed with any new opiniōs touching ye catholique faith, or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwiſe, aſwell he that celebrateth as he ye ſuffreth hym to celebrate, ſhalbe ſharpely puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Ordinarie.

Conſt. 11.

Finally, becauſe thoſe thynges which newly and vnaccuſtomably creepeth vp, ſtandeth neede of new and ſpeedie helpe: and where more daunger is, there ought to be more wary circumſpection and ſtronger reſiſtaunce, & not without good cauſe, ye leſſe noble ought diſcretly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed: Conſidering therfore, and in lamentable wiſe ſhewing vnto you, how the auncient Vniuerſitie of Oxford, which as a fruitfull vyne was wont to extēd forth her fruitful braunches to the honor of God, the great perfection, and defence of the Church: now partly being become wylde, bryngeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiſcretly eaten of auncient fathers that thought themſelues ſkilfull in the lawe of God, hath ſet on edge ye teeth of their children: and our prouince is infected with diuers and vnfruitefull doctrines, and defiled wyth a new and damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproſe and offence of the ſayd Vniuerſitie beyng knowen in foreine countryes, and to the great yrkeſomnes of the ſtudentes there, and to the great dammage and loſſe of the Church of England, which in times paſt by her vertue as wyth a ſtrong wall, was wont to be defended, and now lyke to runne in ruine not to be recouered. At the ſupplication therfore of ye whole clergie of our prouince of Cāterbury, and by the conſent and aſſent of all our brethren & ſuffraganes, and other the prelates in thys conuocation aſſembled, and the proctours of them that are abſent: leaſt the riuer beyng clenſed, the fountayne ſhould remayne corrupt, and ſo the water commyng from thence ſhould not be pure, entendyng moſt holeſomely to prouide for the honour and vtilitie of our holy mother the Church and the vniuerſitie aforeſayd: We do ordeine and decree, that euery Wardē, Prouoſt, or maiſter of euery College, or principall of euery hall within the vniuerſitie aforeſayd: ſhall once euery moneth at the leaſt, diligently inquire in the ſayd College, hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether any ſcholer or inhabitant in ſuch colledge or hall. &c. haue holden, alleaged, or defended, or by any meanes propoſed, any concluſion, propoſition, or opinion, concernyng the catholique fayth, or ſoundyng contrary to good maners, or contrary to the determination of the Church, otherwiſe then apperteineth to neceſſary doctrine. And if he ſhall finde any ſuſpected or defamed herein, he ſhall accordyng to his office admoniſhe hym to deſiſte. And if after ſuch monition geuen, the ſayd partie offend agayne in the ſame or ſuch lyke, he ſhal incurre Ipſo facto (beſides the penalties aforeſayd) the ſentence of greater excommunication. And neuertheles, if it be a ſcholer that ſo offendeth the ſecond tyme, whatſoeuer he ſhall afterwardes doe in the ſayd vniuerſitie, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he be a Doctour, a Maſter, or a Bachteler, he ſhall forthwyth be ſuſpended from euery ſcholers acte, and in both caſes ſhall loſe the right that he hath in the ſayd Colledge or hall wherof he is, Ipſo facto: and by the Warden, Prouoſt, Maiſter, principall, or other to whom it apperteyneth, he ſhall be expelled, and a Catholique, by lawfull meanes forthwith placed in hys place. And if the ſayde Wardens, Prouoſtes or Maiſters of Colledges or principalles of halles, ſhall be negligent concerning the inquiſition and execution of ſuch perſons ſuſpected and diffamed by the ſpace of x. dayes, from the time of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of the publication of theſe preſentes, that then they ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication: and neuertheles ſhalbe depriued Ipſo facto, of all the right which they pretend to haue in the Colledges, halles, &c. and the ſayd Colledges & halles. &c. to be effectually vacant: And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhal apperteine, new Wardens, Prouoſtes, Maiſters, or principals, ſhalbe placed in their places, as hath bene accuſtomed in Colledges and halles, beyng vacant in the ſayd vniuerſitie. But if the Wardens themſelues, Prouoſtes, Maiſters or principals aforeſayd, be ſuſpected and diffamed of and concernyng the ſayd concluſions or propoſitions, or be fauourers and defenders of ſuch as doe therein offend, and doe not ceaſe, beyng therof warned by vs, or by our authoritie, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by law they be depriued, aſwell of all priuiledge ſcholaſticall within the vniuerſitie aforeſayde, as alſo of their right and authoritie in ſuch Colledge, hall. &c. Beſides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the ſayd ſentence of greater excommunication.

Oxford famous for ſyncere religion.

Inquiſition to be made through Colledges and halles of Oxford.

I would the like were vſed now for the baniſhing of papiſtry.

Conſt. 12.

But if any man in any caſe of thys preſent conſtitution or any other aboue expreſſed, do raſhely, and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our ſtatutes in any part thereof (although there be an other penaltye expreſſely there limited) yet ſhall he be made altogether vnhable and vnworthy by ye ſpace of three yeares after, without hope of pardon to obteyne any eccleſiaſticall benefice within our prouince of Cāterbury: and neuertheles accordyng to all his demerites and the qualitie of hys exceſſe, at the diſcretion of his ſuperiour, he ſhalbe lawfully puniſhed.

Conſt. 13.

And further, that the maner of proceeding herein be not thought vncertayne: conſidering with our ſelues, that although there be a kynde of equalitie in the crime of hereſie and offendyng the Prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the fault is much vnlyke, and to offend the diuine maieſtie requireth greater puniſhment, then to offend the Princes maieſty. And where it is ſufficient (for feare of daunger that myght enſue by delayes) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the Princes maieſtie proceeding againſt him fully and wholy, with a citation ſent by meſſenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proofe by witneſſes, and ſentence definitiue to be: We do ordeine, will, and declare, for the eaſier puniſhement of the offenders in the premiſſes, and for the better reformation of the Church deuided and hurt, that all ſuch as are diffamed, openly knowen, or vehemently ſuſpected in any of the caſes aforeſayd, or in any article of the catholique fayth ſounding contrary to good maners: by authoritie of the ordinary of the place or other ſuperiour, be cited perſonally to appeare, either by letters, publique meſſenger beyng ſworne, or by edicte openly ſet at that place where the ſayd offender commonly remayneth, or in his pariſh church, if he hath any certayne dwelling houſe. Otherwiſe, in the Cathedrall Church of the place where he was borne, and in the pariſhe Church of the ſame place where he ſo preached and taught: And afterwardes certificat being geuen, that the citation was formally executed agaynſt the partie cited beyng abſent and neglecting his appearaunce, it ſhalbe proceeded agaynſt him fully and playnely wythout ſounde or ſhew of iudgement, and without admitting proofe by witneſſes and other canonicall probations: And alſo after lawfull information had, the ſayd ordinary (all delayes ſet apart) ſhall ſignifie, declare, and puniſh the ſayd offender, accordyng to the qualitie of hys offence, and in forme aforeſayd: and further, ſhall do accordyng to iuſtice, the abſence of the offender notwithſtanding.

Eaſier to offend agaynſt the princes law then agaynſt the byſhops.

Geuen at Oxford.

¶ Who would haue thought by theſe lawes and conſtitutions ſo ſubſtantially founded, ſo circumſpectly prouided, ſo diligently executed: but that the name and memory of this perſecuted ſort, ſhould vtterly haue bene rooted vp, and neuer could haue ſtand. And yet ſuch be the workes of ye lord, paſſing all mens admiration, all this notwithſtanding ſo far was it of, that the number and courage of theſe good men was vanquiſhed, that rather they multiplyed dayly and encreaſed. For ſo I finde in Regiſters recorded, that theſe foreſayd perſons, whom the kyng and the Catholique fathers, did ſo greatly deteſte for heretickes, were in diuers countryes of thys Realme diſperſed and encreaſed: eſpecially at London, in Lincolneſhire, in Northfolke, in Herefordſhire, in Shrewſbery, in Calice, and diuers other quarters mo, wyth whom the Archb. of Canterbury Thomas Arundell, the ſame tyme had much a do, as by his owne regiſters doth appeare. Albeit ſome there were, that did ſhrinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for daunger of the law. Among whom was John Puruey, which recanted at Paules croſſe, of whom more foloweth (the Lord willyng) to be ſayde in the yeare 1421. Alſo John Edward prieſt, of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the grene yarde at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot willy of London: alſo John Becke, who recanted at London. Itē, John Seynons of Lincolneſhiere, who was cauſed to reuoke at Canterbury. The articles of whom which commonly they did holde, and which they were conſtrayned to abiure, moſt ſpecially were theſe as folow.

John Puruey.
John Edward.
John Beket.
John Seynons abiured.

Their Articles.

The Articles.

First, that the office of the holy croſſe (ordeyned by the whole Church) celebrated, doth conteine idolatry.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, that all they which do reuerence and worſhip the ſigne of the croſſe, do commit idolatry.

trie, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they ſaide and affirmed that the true fleſhe and blood of our lord Ieſus Chriſt, is not in the ſacramẽt of the aulter, after the wordes ſpoken by the prieſt truly pronounced.

Item, they ſaid and affirmed, the ſacrament of the aultar to be ſacramentall bread, not hauing life, but onely inſtituted for a memorial of Chriſtes paſſion.

Item, they ſaide and affirmed, that the body of Chriſte which is takẽ on the aultar, is a figure of the body of Chriſt, as long as we ſee the bread and wine.

Item, they ſaid and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergie in the prouince of Canterbury, in their laſt conuocation, with the conſent of the kyng and the nobles in the laſt parliament againſt him that was brent lately in the citie of London, was not ſufficient to chaunge the purpoſe of the ſaid Iohn, when the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread is euen as before in the ſacrament of ye aular it was, no change beyng made in the nature of bread.

*Their article comonly was thus, that who ſo taketh vpon him the office of a prieſte though he haue no cure of ſoules, nor licence of hys ordinary, is bound to preach the Goſpell.

* Item, that any lay man may preache the Goſpel in euery place, and may teache it by his owne authoritie, without the licence of his Ordinary.

Item, that it is ſinne, to geue any thing to the preaching fryers, to the Minorites, to the Auguſtines, or to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funeralls of the dead.

Item, that the confeſſion of ſinnes to the people, is vnneedful.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a prieſt.

Item, that the infant (though he dye vnbaptiſed) ſhalbe ſaued.

Item, that neyther the Pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary can compel any man to ſweare by any creature of God, or by the Bible booke.

Item, that as well the Biſhop, the ſimple man, the prieſt, and the lay man, be of like authoritie (as long as they lyue wel.)

Item, that no man is bounde to geue bodyly reuerence to any prelate.

William Thorpe.

The examination of the conſtant ſeruaunt of God Williã Thorpe.

This much briefly beyng ſignified by the way, touching theſe whiche haue bene forced in tyme of this king, to open abiuration: Next commeth to our hãdes the worthy hiſtorie of maiſter Williã Thorpe, a warriour valiaunt, vnder the triumphant banner of Chriſt, with the proceſſe of his examinations, before the foreſaide Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury, written by the ſayde Thorpe, and ſtoryed by his owne pen, at the requeſt of his freendes, as by his owne wordes in the proceſſe hereof may appeare. In whoſe examination (which ſeemeth firſt to begyn. an. 1407.) thou ſhalt haue, good reader, both to learne and to marueyle. To learne, in that thou ſhalt heare truth diſcourſed and diſcuſſed, with the cõtrary reaſons of the aduerſary diſſolued. To marueyle, for that thou ſhalt beholde here in this man, the marueylous force and ſtrength of the Lordes might, ſpirite and grace, workyng and fighting in his ſouldiers, & alſo ſpeaking in their mouthes, accordyng to the worde of his promiſe. Luke. xxi. To the text of the ſtory we haue neyther added nor diminiſhed: But as we haue receyued it, copied out, & corrected by maiſter William Tindal (who had his owne hand writing) ſo we haue here ſent it, and ſet it out abroade. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wiſhed it in his owne naturall ſpeache, wherein it was firſt written. Notwithſtandyng, to put away al doubt & ſcruple herein, this I thought before to premoniſhe and teſtifie to the reader, touchyng the certaintie hereof: that they be yet alyue which haue ſene the ſelfe ſame copy in his owne old Engliſh, reſembling the true antiquitie both of the ſpeache, and of the tyme: The name of whom as for record of the ſame to auouche, is M. Whitehead, who as he hath ſeene the true auncient copie in the handes of George Conſtantine, ſo hath he geuen credible relation of the ſame, both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore the ſaid maiſter Tindal (albeit he dyd ſomwhat alter and amend the Engliſhe thereof, and frame it after our maner,) yet not fully in all wordes, but that ſomthing doth remayne, ſaueryng of the olde ſpeache of that tyme. What the cauſes were why this good man and ſeruant of Chriſt, W. Thorpe dyd write it, and pen it out hym ſelfe, it is ſufficiently declared in his owne preface, ſet before his booke, whiche here is prefixed in maner as foloweth.

This hiſtory firſt ſet forth & corrected by M. W. Tyndall.

The Preface of William Thorpe.

The preface.

The Lord God that knoweth all thinges, wotteth well that I am right ſorowfull for to write or make knowne this ſentence beneath written, whereby of mine euen chriſten ſet in high ſtate & dignity, ſo great blindnes & malice may be knowen: that they which doe preſume of them ſelues to deſtroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, nether dreade to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe hym as their workes do ſhewe. For certes the bidding of God and his law, which in the prayſinge of his moſt holye name he commaundeth to be knowen and kept of all men and women, yong and old, after the cunning and power that he hath geuen to them: The Prelates of this land and their miniſters, with ye couent of prieſtes chiefly conſenting to them, enforce them moſt buſilye to withſtand and deſtroye the holye ordinaunce of God. And there through, God is greately wroth and moued to take hard vengeaunce, not onely vpon them that do the euil but alſo on them that conſent to theſe Antichriſtes limmes: which know or might know, their malice and falſhoode, and dreſſe them not to withſtand their malice and their great pride. Neuertheles 4. things moueth me to write this ſentence beneath.

Gods lawes muſt be knowen and folowed.

Foure cauſes of ſetting forth his examination.

The firſt thing that moueth me hereto is this, ye where as it was knowen to certaine freends, that I came frõ the priſon of Shrewſbery, and as it befel in dede that I ſhould to the priſon of Canterbury: then diuers freendes in diuers places, ſpake to me ful hartfully and full tenderly: and commaunded me then, if it ſo were that I ſhoulde be examined before the Archb. of Cant. that if I might in any wiſe, I ſhoulde write mine apposing, and myne anſwearyng. And I promiſed to my ſpecial frendes, that if I myght, I wold gladly doo their byddyng as I might.

The ſecond thyng that moueth me to write this ſentence, is this: diuers frendes which haue heard that I haue bene examined before the Archbiſhop, haue come to me in priſon, and counſelled me buſely, and coueted greatly that I ſhould doe the ſame thyng. And other brethren haue ſent to me, and required me on Gods behalfe, that I ſhould write out and make knowen, both mine apposing and myne aunſweryng, for the profite that (as they ſay) vpon my knowledgyng, may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I ſhould be buſie in all my wits, to go as neare the ſentẽce and the wordes as I could, both that were ſpoken to me & that I ſpake: Peraduenture this writing may come an other tyme, before the Archbyſhop and his counſell. And of this counſellyng I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moued to do this thyng, & to aſke hetherto the ſpeciall helpe of God. And ſo than I conſideryng the great deſire of diuers frendes of ſondry places, accordyng all in one: I occupyed all my mynde & my wits ſo buſely, that through Gods grace I perceiued by their meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profite might come there through. For ſouthfaſtnes and truth hath theſe conditiõs: where euer it is impugned, it hath a ſweete ſmell, and thereof commeth a ſweete ſauour. And the more violently the enemyes dreſſe themſelues to oppreſſe and to withſtand the truth, the greater and the ſweeter ſmell commeth therof. And therfore, this heauenly ſmell of Gods word, will not as a ſmoke paſſe away with the wynde: but it will deſcende and reſt in ſome cleane ſoule, that thyrſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deale by this writyng, may be perceiued through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the truth (ſtandyng boldly in their malice) inforce them to withſtand the freedome of Chriſtes Goſpell, for which freedome Chriſt became man, and ſhed his hart blood. And therfore it is great pitie and ſorow, that many men & women do their owne weyward will: nor buſie them not to know nor to do the pleaſaunt will of God.

The 2. cauſe.

Truth leaueth alwayes a ſweete ſmell behynde it.

The men and womẽ that heare the truth and ſouthfaſtnes, and heare or know of this (perceauyng what is now in the Church) ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to ſet leſſer price by themſelues, that they without tariyng: forſake wilfully and bodely all the wretchednes of this life, ſince they know not how ſoone, nor whẽ, nor where, nor by whõ God will teach them, and aſſay their pacience. For no doubt, who that euer will liue piteouſly, that is charitably in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer now here in this life perſecution, in one wiſe or an other. That is, if we ſhal be ſaued, it behoueth vs to imagine full buſely, the vility and foulnes of ſinne, and how the Lord God is diſpleaſed therfore: and ſo of this vilitie of hidouſnes of ſinne, it behoueth vs to buſie vs in all our wits, for to abhorre and hold in our mynde a great ſhame of ſinne euer, & ſo then we owe to ſorow hartely therfore, and euer fleyng all occaſion therof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs ſharpe penaũce, cõtinuyng therin, for to obtaine of the Lord

Godly counſell geuen, if it may be followed.

Perſecution foloweth the true Church.

forgeuenes of our foredone ſinnes, and grace to abſtaine vs hereafter from ſinne. And but if we inforce vs to do this wilfully and in conuenient tyme, the Lord (if he will not vtterly deſtroy and caſt vs away) will in diuers maners moue tyraunts agaynſt vs, for to conſtrayne vs violently to do penaunce, which we would not do wilfully. And truſt that this doyng is a ſpeciall grace of the Lord, and a great token of life & mercy. And no doubt, who euer will not apply him ſelfe (as is ſayd before) to puniſh himſelfe wilfully, neither will ſuffer paciētly, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howſoeuer that he will puniſh him: their wayward wils & their impacience, are vnto them earneſt of euerlaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faythfully to grace, for to liue here ſimply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudgyng, herefore the louers of this world hate and purſue them that they know pacient, meeke, chaſte, and wilfully poore, hatyng and fleyng all worldly vanities and fleſhly luſtes. For ſurely, their vertuous conditions are euen contrary to the maners of this world.

The cauſe why perſecution is ſuffered to come.

The third cauſe.

The thyrd thyng that moueth me to write this ſentẽce is this, I thought I ſhall buſie me in my ſelfe to do faythfully, that all men and women (occupying all their buſines in knowyng and in keepyng of Gods commaundementes) able them ſo to grace, that they might vnderſtand truely the truth, and haue and vſe vertue and prudence, and ſo deſerue to be lightened from aboue with heauēly wiſedome: ſo that all their wordes & their workes may be hereby made pleaſaunt ſacrifices vnto the Lord God: and not onely for helpe of their own ſoules, but alſo for edificatiõ of all holy church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to haue this foreſayd buſines, ſhall profite full mekill both to frẽdes & foes. For ſome enemies of the truth through the grace of God, ſhall through charitable folkes be made aſtonied in their conſcience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and alſo, they that labour to know and to keepe faythfully the biddynges of God, and to ſuffer paciently all aduerſities, ſhall hereby comfort many frendes.

Edification of other neceſſary to be conſidered.

The 4. cauſe.

And the fourth thyng that moueth me to write this ſentẽce is this: I know by my ſodein & vnwarned apposing and aunſweryng, that all they that will of good hart without faining, able themſelues wilfully and gladly after their cunnyng and their power, to folow Chriſt paciently, trauelyng buſily, priuely and apertly in worke and in word, to withdraw whom ſoeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comfortyng them & furtheryng them that ſtand in grace, ſo that therewith they be not borne vp in vayne glory, through preſumption of their wiſedome, nor inflamed with any worldly proſperitie: but euer meeke and paciẽt, purpoſing to abyde ſtedfaſtly in the will of God, ſuffering wilfully and gladly without any grutchyng what ſoeuer rod the Lord wil chaſtiſe thẽ with: That then, this good Lord will not forget to comfort all ſuch men and women in all their tribulations, and at euery poynt of temptation that any enemy purpoſeth for to do agaynſt them. To ſuch faithfull louers ſpecially, & pacient followers of Chriſt, the Lord ſẽdeth by his wiſedome frõ aboue, to them: which the aduerſaries of the truth, may not know nor vnderſtand. But through their old and new vnſhamefaſt ſinnes, thoſe tyraunts and enemyes of ſouthfaſtnes, ſhalbe ſo blinded and obſtinate in euill, that they ſhall weene themſelues to do pleaſaunt ſacrifices vnto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongfull perſewyng and deſtroying of innocent mens and womens bodyes: which men and women, for their vertuous liuyng, and for their true knowledgyng of the truth and their pacient wilfull and glad ſuffering of perſecutiõ for righteouſnes, deſerue through ỹ grace of God, to be heyres of the endles bliſſe of heauen. And for the feruent deſire and the great loue that theſe men haue, as to ſtand in ſouthfaſtnes and witnes of it, though they be ſodeinly & vnwarnedly brought forth to be apposed of their aduerſaries: the holy Ghoſt yet that moueth and ruleth them through his charitie, will in that houre of their aunſweryng, ſpeake in them and ſhew his wiſedome, that all their enemies ſhall not agayne ſay nor agaynſt ſtand, lawfully.

The aſſiſtence of God neuer fayleth them that are perſecuted.

And therfore, all they that are ſtedfaſt in the fayth of God, yea, which through diligent keepyng of his commaundemẽtes, and for their pacient ſufferyng of whatſoeuer aduerſitie that commeth to them, hope ſurely in his mercy, purpoſing to ſtand continually in perfect charitie. For thoſe mẽ and womẽ, drede not ſo the aduerſities of this life, that they will feare (after their cunnyng and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods word, when, where, and to whom they thinke their knowledgyng may profite. Yea, and though therefore perſecution come to them in one wiſe or an other, certes they paciently take it, knowyng their conuerſation to be in heauen. It is an high reward and a ſpeciall grace of God, for to haue and enioy the euerlaſtyng inheritaunce of heauen, for the ſufferyng of one perſecution in ſo ſhort tyme as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heauenly heritage & endles reward, is the Lord God himſelfe, which is the beſt thyng that may be. This ſentence witneſſeth the Lord God himſelfe where as he ſayd to Abrahã, I am thy meede. And as the Lord ſayd, he was and is the meede of Abraham: ſo he is of all his other Saints. This moſt bleſſed and beſt meede, he graunt to vs all for his holy name, that made vs of naught, and ſent his onely moſt deare worthy ſonne, our Lord Jeſu Chriſt for to redeme vs with his moſt precious hart bloud. Amen.

¶ The examinatiõ of William Thorpe, penned with his owne hand.

Examinatiõ of Wylliam Thorpe before Tho. Arundell Archb.

KNowen be it to all men, that read or heare this writing, that on the Mõday next after the feaſt of S. Peter, that we call Lammeſſe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1407. I Williã Thorpe beyng in priſon in the Caſtle of Saltwode, was brought before Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Chauncellour then of England. And when that I came to him, he ſtode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that he ſaw me, he went faſt into a cloſet biddyng all ſecular men that followed him to go forth from him ſoone, ſo that no man was left than in that cloſet, but the Archbyſhop himſelfe & a Phiſitian that was called Malueren, perſon of S. Dunſtanes in London, and other two perſons vnknowen to me which were miniſters of the law. And I ſtandyng before thẽ, by and by the Archbyſhop ſayd to me: William, I know well that thou haſt this xx. Winter and more, traueled about buſily in the North countrey and in other diuers countreys of England, ſowyng about falſe doctrine, hauyng great buſineſſe if thou might with thyne vntrue teachyng and ſhrewd will, for to infect & poyſon all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withſtãded and brought into my ward, ſo that I ſhall now ſequeſter thee from thyne euill purpoſe, and let thee to enuenime the ſheepe of my prouince. Neuertheles S. Paul ſayth: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we ought to haue peace & all men. Therfore Williã, if thou wilt now meekely and of good hart, without any faynyng, kneele down and lay thy hãd vpon a booke and kiſſe it, promiſing faythfully as I ſhall here charge thee, that thou wilt ſubmit thee to my correction, and ſtand to myne ordinaunce, and fulfill it duely by all thy cunnyng and power, thou ſhalt yet finde me gracious vnto thee. Than ſayd I to the Archbyſhop. Syr, ſince ye deme me an heretike & out of beleue, will ye geue me here audiẽce to tell my beleue. And he ſayd, yea tell on. And I ſayd.

Loytering prelates, cã not abyde trauelyng preachers.

The grace of God and of my Lord of Cant. be 2. thynges.

Your ordinaunce, and why not to Gods ordinaunce if it pleaſe your grace?

I beleue that there is not but one God almighty, and in this Godhead, & of this Godhead, are three perſons, that is, the father, the ſonne, and the ſothfaſt holy Ghoſt. And I beleue, that all theſe three perſons are euen in power and in cunnyng, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnes. For whatſoeuer that the father doth or can or will, that thyng alſo the ſonne doth and can and will: and in all their power, cunnyng and will, the holy Ghoſt is equall to the father and to the ſonne.

Ouer this I beleue, that through counſell of this moſt bleſſed Trinitie, in moſt cõuenient tyme before ordained for the ſaluation of mankynde, the ſecond perſon of this Trinitie, was ordained to take the forme of mã, that is, the kinde of mã. And I beleue, that this ſecõd perſon our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, was conceiued through the holy ghoſt, in the wõbe of the moſt bleſſed virgin Mary, without mans ſeede. And I beleue, that after ix. monethes Chriſt was borne of this moſt bleſſed virgin, without any payne or breakyng of the cloſter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginitie.

And I beleue, that Chriſt our Sauiour was Circumciſed in the eight day after his byrth, in fulfillyng of the law, and his name was called Jeſus, which was ſo called of the Angell, before that he was conceiued in the wombe of Mary his mother.

And I beleue that Chriſt, as he was about xxx. yeare old, was Bapiſed in the floud of Jordane of John Baptiſt: and in the likenes of a Doue the holy Ghoſt deſcended there vpon him, & a voyce was heard from heauen, ſaying: Thou art my welbeloued ſonne, in thee I am full pleaſed.

And I beleue, that Chriſt, was moued then by the holy ghoſt, for to go into deſart, and there he faſted fourty days and fourty nightes without bodely meate and drinke. And I beleue, that by and by after his faſtyng, when the mãhode of Chriſt hungered, the feend came to him, and tempted him in glottony, in vayne glory, & in couetiſe: but in all thoſe tẽptations, Chriſt cõcluded the feend, and withſtode him. And then without tarying, Jeſu began to preach and to ſay vnto the people: do ye penaunce, for the Realme of heauen is now at hand.

I beleue that Chriſt in all his tyme here liued moſt holily, and taught the will of his father moſt truly: and I beleue that he ſuffered therfore, moſt wrongfully, greateſt repriſes and deſpiſinges.

That is, vnder the creatures of bread and wyne.

And after this, when Chriſt would make an end here of this tẽporall life, I beleue that in the day next before that he would ſuffer paſſiõ on the morne: In forme of bread and of wyne, he ordained the Sacrament of his fleſh and his bloud, that is, his owne precious body, and gaue it to his Apoſtles for to eate: commaũdyng them, and by them all their after commers, that they ſhould do it in this forme that he ſhewed to them, vſe themſelues, and teach and comon forth to other men and womẽ this moſt worſhypfull holyeſt Sacramẽt, in myndfulnes of his holyeſt liuyng, and of his moſt true teachyng, and of his wilful and patient ſufferyng of the moſt paynfull paſſion.

And I beleue, that this Chriſt our Sauiour, after that he had ordained this moſt worthy Sacrament of his owne precious body: he went forth wilfully agaynſt his enemies, and he ſuffered them moſt paciently to lay their handes moſt violently vpon him, and to bynde him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, and to ſcorne him, and buffet him, and all to blow or ſile him with their ſpyttynges. Ouer this, I beleue that Chriſt ſuffred moſt meekely and paciently his enemies, for to dryng out with ſharpe ſcourges the bloud yͤ was betwene his ſkinne and his fleſh: yea, without grudgyng Chriſt ſuffered the cruell Iewes to crowne him with moſt ſharpe thornes, and to ſtrike him with a reede. And after, Chriſt ſuffered wicked Iewes to draw him out vpon the croſſe, & for to nayle him therupon hand and foote. And ſo through his pityfull naylyng, Chriſt ſhed out wilfully for mãs lyfe, the bloud that was in his vaynes. And than Chriſt gaue wilfully his ſpirit into the hãds or power of his father, & ſo, as he would, & whẽ he would, Chriſt dyed wilfully for mãs ſake vpon the croſſe. And notwithſtãdyng that Chriſt was wilfully, paynefully, and moſt ſhamefully put to death, as to the world: there was left bloud and water in his hart as before ordained, that he would ſhed out this bloud and this water for mãs ſaluation. And therfore he ſuffred yͤ Iewes to make a blynd Knight to thruſt him into the hart with a ſpeare, and this the bloud and water that was in his hart, Chriſt would ſhed out for mans loue. And after this, I beleue that Chriſt was taken downe from the croſſe and buried. And I beleue that on the third day by power of his Godhead, Chriſt roſe agayne from death to lyfe. And the xl. day therafter, I beleue that Chriſt aſcẽded vp into heauen, and that he there ſitteth on the right hand of the father almighty. And the fifty day after this vp goyng, he ſent to his Apoſtles the holy Ghoſt, that he had promiſed them before. And I beleue that Chriſt ſhall come & iudge all mankynd, ſome to euerlaſtyng peace, & ſome to euerlaſtyng paynes.

And as I beleue in the father and in the ſonne, that they are one God almighty, ſo I beleue in the holy Ghoſt that he is alſo with them the ſame God almighty.

What is the holy church.

And I beleue an holy Chruch, that is, all they that haue bene, and that now are, and alwayes to the end of the world ſhalbe, a people the which ſhall endeuour them to know and to keepe the commaundementes of God, dreadyng ouer all thyng to offend God, and louyng and ſeekyng moſt to pleaſe him. And I beleue, that all they that haue had and yet haue, and all they that yet ſhall haue the foreſayd vertues, ſurely ſtandyng in the belief of God, hopyng ſtedfaſtly in his mercyfull doynges, continuyng to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, paciently and gladly ſufferyng perſecutions, by the example of Chriſt chiefly and his Apoſtles, all theſe haue their names written in the booke of life.

The true notes of the true church.

Therfore I beleue, that the gatheryng together of this people, lyuyng now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth agaynſt the feend, the proſperitie of the world, and their fleſhly luſtes. Wherfore ſeing that all the gatheryng together of this Church before ſayd, and euery part therof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor ſeeketh any thing but to eſchew yͤ offẽce of God & to do his pleaſing will: meekely, gladly, and wilfully wͭ all myne hart, I ſubmit my ſelf vnto this holy church of Chriſt, to be euer buxſome & obedient to yͤ ordinaunce of it, and of euery member therof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Therfore I knowledge now and euermore ſhall, if God will, that with all my hart and with all my might, I will ſubmit me onely to the rule and gouernaunce of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the hauyng and vſing of the before ſayd vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherfore, theſe articles of belief and all other (both of the olde law and of the new, which after the commaundement of God any man ought to beleue) I beleue verely in my ſoule, as a ſinfull deadly wretch of my cunning and power, ought to beleue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to encreaſe my beliefe, and to helpe my vnbeliefe.

What hereſie is this beliefe, I pray you my Lorde.

And for becauſe to the prayſing of Gods name, I deſire aboue all thynges to be a faithfull mẽber of holy church, I make this proteſtation before you all foure that are now here preſent, couetyng that all men and women that now be abſent, knew the ſame: that is, what thyng ſoeuer before thys tyme I haue ſayd or done, or what thyng here I ſhall do or ſay, at any tyme hereafter. I beleue, that all the olde law and the new law geuen and ordeyned by the counſaile of the three perſons of the Trinitie, were geuen and written to the ſaluatiõ of mankinde. And I beleue, that theſe lawes are ſufficient for mans ſaluation. And I beleue euery article of theſe lawes, to the entent, that theſe articles ordeined and commaunded of theſe iij. perſons of the moſt bleſſed trinitie, are to be beleued.

The olde Teſtament and new.

And therfore to the rule & the ordinaunce of theſe, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfully, I ſubmit me with all myne hart: that whoſoeuer can or wyll by authoritie of Gods law, or by open reaſon, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any tyme hereafter ſhall erre in any article of beliefe (from which inconuenience God keepe me, for hys goodneſſe) I ſubmit me to be reconciled and to be buxum & obedient vnto thoſe lawes of God, and to euery article of them. For by authoritie, ſpecially of theſe lawes, I wyll, thorow the grace of God, be vnited charitably vnto theſe lawes. Yea ſir, and ouer this, I beleue & admit all the ſentences, authorities and reaſons of the ſaintes & doctours, accordyng vnto holy ſcripture, and declaryng it truely.

I ſubmit me wilfully and meekely to be euer obedient after my cunning and power, to all theſe ſaintes and Doctours, as they are obedient in worke and in worde to God and to hys law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or ſtate, thorow the helpe of God. But ſir I pray you tell me, if after your biddinge, I ſhall lay my hand vpon the booke, to what entent: to ſweare thereby? And the Archb. ſayd to me, yea, wherefore els? And I ſayd to him. Syr a booke is nothyng els but a thing coupled together of diuers creatures, and to ſweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is againſt it.

Doctours ſo to be folowed, as they folow the worde.

To ſweare by a booke whether it be lawfull.

How, where, & whẽ to ſweare.

But Syr, thys thing I ſay here to you before theſe your clerkes, with my foreſayd proteſtatiõ, that how, where when, and to whom, men are bound to ſweare or to obey in any wyſe after Gods law, and ſaintes, and true Doctours, accordyng wyth Gods law: I will thorow Gods grace be euer ready thereto, with all my cunnyng and power. But I pray you ſir for the charitie of God, that ye wyll before yͤ I ſweare (as I haue here rehearſed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I ſhall ſubmit me: and ſhew me wherof that ye will correct me, and what is the ordinaunce that ye wyll thus oblige me to fulfill.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me: I wyll ſhortly that now thou ſweare here to me, that thou ſhalt forſake all the opinions which the ſecte of Lollardes holde, and is ſclaundered wyth: ſo that after thys tyme, neither priuely nor apertly, thou holde any opinion which I ſhal (after thou haſt ſworne) rehearſe to thee here. Nor thou ſhalt fauour no mã nor woman, young nor olde, that holdeth any of theſe foreſayd opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou ſhalt force thee to withſtand all ſuch diſtroublers of holy church in euery dioces, that thou commeſt in: and them that will not leaue their falſe and damnable opinions, thou ſhalt put them vp, publiſhing them and their names, and make them knowen to the byſhop of the dioces that they are in, or to the byſhops miniſters. And ouer this I will, that thou preach no more vnto yͤ tyme that I know by good witnes & true, that thy conuerſation be ſuch, that thy hart and thy mouth accorde truely in one, contraryng all the leude learnyng that thou haſt taught here before.

☞ And I hearing theſe wordes, thought in my hart, that thys was an vnleefull aſking: and demed my ſelfe curſed of God, if I conſented hereto, & I thought how Suſan ſayd: Anguiſhe is to me on euery ſide. And in that I ſtoode ſtill and ſpake not, the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Anſwere one wiſe or other. And I ſayd: Syr, if I conſented to you thus as ye haue here before reherſed to me, I ſhould become an appealer, or euery byſhops eſpye, ſomoner of all Englãd. For and I ſhould thus put vp, and publiſhe the names of men and women, I ſhoulde herein deceiue full many perſons: yea ſyr, as it is lykely by the dome of my conſcience, I ſhould herein be cauſe of the death both of men and women, yea both bodely and ghoſtly. For many men and womẽ that

Beholde the popiſhe proceedinges whereto they tende.

ſtand now in the way of ſaluation: if I ſhould for the learnyng and readyng of their beleue, publiſh them therfore vp to Byſhops or to their vnpiteous miniſters. I know ſome deale by experiēce, that they ſhould be ſo diſtroubled and diſeaſed with perſecution or otherwiſe, that many of them (I thinke) would rather choſe to forſake the way of truth thē to be trauailed, ſcorned, ſclaundered, or puniſhed, as byſhops and their miniſters now vſe for to conſtraine men and women to conſent to them.

No maruell why: for Chriſt and Antichriſt how can they agree.

But I finde in no place in holy Scripture, that this office that ye would now enfeaffe me with, accordeth to any Prieſt of Chriſtes ſect, nor to any other Chriſtē man. And therefore to do this, were to me a full noyous bende to be boūdē with, & ouer greuous charge. For I ſuppoſe, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea Syr, might iuſtly vnto my confuſion ſay to me, that I were a traytour to God and to them: ſince (as I thinke in myne hart) many men & women truſt ſo mickell in this caſe, that I would not for ſauyng of my life, do thus to them. For if I thus ſhould do, ful many men and women would (as they might full truly) ſay, that I had falſly and cowardly forſaken the truth, and ſclaundered ſhamefully the word of God. For if I conſented to you to do here, after your will, for boncheſe or miſchief that may befall to me in this life: I deme in my cōſcience, that I were worthy herefore to be curſed of God and alſo of all his Saintes: fro which inconuenience, keepe me and all Chriſten people, almighty God now and euer for his holy name. And thē the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me. Oh, thyne hart is full hard indurate as was the hart of Pharao, and the deuill hath ouercaught thee and peruerted thee, and he hath ſo blinded thee in all thy wittes, that thou haſt no grace to know the truth nor the meaſure of mercy that I haue profered to thee. Therfore, as I perceiue now by thy fooliſh aunſwere, thou haſt no will to leaue thine old errours.

It is pretty when Pharao iudgeth Moſes hard harted.

Where learned you my Lord to call your brother Racha.

He meaneth Gods Martyr Williā Sautry.

But I ſay to thee lewde loſell, either quickly cōſent thou to myne ordinaunce and ſubmit thee to ſtand to my decrees: or by S. Thomas, thou ſhalt be diſgraded, and folow thy felow in Smithfield. And at this ſaying, I ſtode ſtill and ſpake not, but I thought in myne hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bryng me to ſuch an end. And in myne hart I was nothyng afrayde with this menaſing of ȳ Archbyſhop. And I cōſidered there two thynges in him. One, that he was not yet ſorowfull for that he had made William Sawtre wrongfully to be burnt: and as I cōſidered, that the Archbyſhop thirſted yet after more ſhedyng out of innocent bloud. And faſt therfore I was moued in all my wittes, for to hold the Archbyſhop neither for Prelate nor for Prieſt of God. And for that myne inward man was thus altogether departed from the Archbyſhop, me thought I ſhould not haue any dread of him. But I was right heauy and ſorowfull, for that there was no audience of ſecular men by: but in my hart I prayed the Lord God, for to comfort me and ſtrength me agaynſt them that there were agaynſt the ſothfaſtneſſe. And I purpoſed to ſpeake no more to the Archbyſhop and his clerkes then me nede behoued: and all thus I prayed God for his goodnes to geue me then and alway grace to ſpeake, with a meke & an eaſie ſpirit: and whatſoeuer thing that I ſhould ſpeake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures or open reaſon. And for that I ſtode thus ſtill and nothyng ſpake, one of the Archbiſhops Clerkes ſayd vnto me. What thyng muſiſt thou? Do thou as my Lord hath now commaunded to thee here.

The order and maner of hys bringing vp.

And yet I ſtode ſtill and aunſwered him not: And then ſoone after the Archbyſhop ſayd to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I haue ſayd to thee? And I ſayd then to him: Syr, my father and my mother, on whoſe ſoules God haue mercy (if it be his will) ſpent mikle money in diuers places about my learnyng, for the intent to haue made me a Prieſt to God. But whē I came to yeares of diſcretion, I had no will to be Prieſt, and therfore my frendes were right heauy to me, and then me thought their grudgyng agaynſt me was ſo painfull to me, that I purpoſed therfore to haue left their company. And when they perceiued this in me, they ſpake ſometime full fayre & pleaſaunt wordes to me: But for that they might not make me to conſent of good hart to be a Prieſt, they ſpake to me full often tymes very greuous wordes, and manaſſed me in diuers maners, ſhewyng to me full heauy chere. And thus one whyle in fayre maner, an other while in greuous, they were long time (as me thought) full buſie about me, or I conſented to them to be a Prieſt.

But at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer mine excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhould euer beare their indignation, yea, their curſe (as they ſayd.) Then I ſeyng this, prayed them that they would geue me licence for to go to them that were named wiſe Prieſtes, and of vertuous conuerſation to haue their counſell, and to know of them the office and the charge of Prieſthode. And hereto, my father and my mother cōſented full gladly, & gaue me their bleſſing, and good leaue to go, and alſo money to ſpend in this iourney. And ſo that I wēt to thoſe Prieſtes whom I heard to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy liuing, and beſt learned, and moſt wiſe of heauenly wiſedome: and ſo I communed with them vnto the tyme that I perceiued by their vertuous and continuall occupations, that their honeſt and charitable workes paſſed their fame which I heard before of them.

Wherfore Syr, by the example of the doctrine of them, and ſpecially for the godly and innocent workes which I perceiued then of them, and in them: After my cunnyng and power, I haue exerciſed me then and in this tyme, to know perfectly Gods law, hauing a will and deſire to liue thereafter, which willeth that all men and women ſhould exerciſe themſelues faythfully there about. If than Syr, either for pleaſure of them that are neither ſo wiſe nor of ſo vertuous conuerſation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mans knowledge in this land, as theſe men were of whom I tooke my counſaile and informatiō: I ſhould now forſake thus ſodenly and ſhortly, and vnwarned, all the learnyng that I haue exerciſed my ſelfe in this xxx. winter and more, my conſcience ſhould euer be therewith out of meaſure vnquieted: and as Syr I know well, that many mē & women ſhould be there through greatly troubled and ſclaundered: And as I ſayd ſir, to you before, for myne vntruth and falſe cowardnes, many a one ſhould be put into full great reproſe, yea ſir, I dread that many a one (as they might then iuſtly) would curſe me full bitterly: and ſir I feare not, but the curſe of God, which I ſhould deſerue herein, would bryng me to a full euill end, if I continued thus. And if through remorſe of conſcience I repented me any time, returnyng into the way, which you do your diligence to cōſtraine me now to forſake: yea ſir, all the Byſhops of this lād, with full many other Prieſtes, would defame me, and purſue me as a relapſe: and they ȳ now haue (though I be vnworthy) ſome confidence in me, hereafter would neuer truſt to me, though I could teach & liue neuer ſo vertuouſly, more thē I can or may. For if after your counſel I left vtterly all my learnyng, I ſhould hereby firſt wound and defile mine own ſoule, and alſo I ſhould here through, geue occaſion to many men and women of full ſore hurtyng, yea ſir as it is likely to me, if I cōſented to your will: I ſhould herein by mine euill example in it, as farre as in me were, ſlea many folke ghoſtly, ȳ I ſhould neuer deſerue for to haue grace of God, to the edifieng of his church, neither of my ſelfe, nor of none other mans life, and vndone both before God and man.

But ſir, by exāple chiefly of ſome whoſe names I will not now rehearſe, of H. of I.P. and B. and alſo by the preſent doyng of Philip Rampenton, ȳ is now become B. of Lincolne: I am now learned (as many mo hereafter through Gods grace ſhalbe learned) to hate and to flee all ſuch ſclaūder that theſe foreſayd men chiefly haue defiled, principally themſelues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenimed all the Church of God, for the ſclaūderous reuokyng at the croſſe of Paules, of H.P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampenton purſueth Chriſtes people. And the faynyng that theſe men diſſemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their preachyng and communyng within the bondes and termes (which without blame may be ſpoken and ſhewed out to the moſt worldly liuers) will not be vnpuniſhed of God. For to the point of truth ȳ theſe mē ſhewed out ſometime, they will not now ſtretch forth their liues. But by example, eche one of them as their wordes and their workes ſhew, buſie them through their faynyng, for to ſclāder and to purſue Chriſt in his members, rather then they will be purſued.

Phil. Repingtō made biſh. and a perſecutour.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Theſe men the whiche thou ſpeakeſt of now, were fooles and heretickes, whē they were counted wiſe men of thee and other ſuch loſels. But now they are wiſe men, though thou and ſuch other deme them vnwiſe. Neuertheleſſe I wiſt neuer none that right ſayd, that any while were enuenimed with your cōtagiouſnes, that is, contaminated and ſpotted doctrine.

☞ And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Syr, I thinke wel that theſe men & ſuch other are now wiſe as to this world: But as their wordes ſounded ſometime, and their workes ſhewed outwardly, it was like to moue me that they had earneſt of the wiſedome of God, and that they ſhould haue deſerued mikle grace of God, to haue ſaued their own ſoules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilful pouerty, and in other ſimple vertuous liuing: and ſpecially, if they had with theſe foreſayd vertues continued in their bu-

Happy be they that cōtinue to the ende.

ſie fruitfull ſowing of Gods word: as to many mē knowledge they occupyed them a ſeaſon in all their wits, full buſily to know the pleaſaunt will of God, traueling all their members full buſily for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the prayſing of the moſt holy name of God, and for grace of edification and ſaluation of Chriſten people. But wo worth falſe couetiſe, and euill counſaile and tyranny, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an euill end.

Wo worth falſe couetiſe.

It is pitie theſe prelats cannot ſweare.

Couetouſnes ioyned with popiſhnes.

¶ Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Thou and ſuch other Loſels of thy ſect, would ſhaue your beardes full neare for to haue a benefice. For by Jeſu, I know none more couetous ſhrewes then ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to John Puruay a benefice but a myle out of this Caſtle, and I heard more complaintes about his couetouſnes for tythes and other miſdoynges, then I did of all men that were auaunced within my dioces.

☞ And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: ſir, Puruay is neither with you now for the benefice that ye gaue him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that hee taught and writ before time: and thus he ſheweth himſelf neither to be whot nor cold, and therfore he and his fellowes, may ſore dread, that if they turne not haſtely to the way that they haue forſaken: peraduenture they be put out of the number of Chriſtes choſen people.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd: Though Puruay be now a falſe harlot, I quite me to him: But come he more for ſuch cauſe before me (or we depart) I ſhal know with whom he holdeth. But I ſay to thee: which are theſe holy men and wiſe, of whom thou haſt taken thine information?

A worthy commēdatiō of M. John Wickliffe.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, Maiſter John Wickleffe was holden of full many men, the greateſt clerke that they knew thē liuing, and therwith he was named a paſſing ruely man, and an innocent in his liuing: and herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loued ſo his learnyng, that they writ it, & buſily inforced them to rule themſelues there after. Therfore ſir, this foreſayd learning of M. John Wickleffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the moſt agreable learning vnto the liuing and teachyng of Chriſt & of his Apoſtls, and moſt openly ſhewing and declaryng how the Church of Chriſt hath bene and yet ſhould be ruled and gouerned. Therfore, ſo many men and women couet this learnyng and purpoſe, through Gods grace, to conforme their liuing like to this learnyng of Wickleff. Maiſter John Aſton taught and writ accordyngly, & full buſily, where & when, and to whom that he might, and he vſed it himſelfe right perfitely vnto his liues end. And alſo Philip of Rampington while he was a Chanō of Leiceſter, Nicolas Hereford, Dauy Gotray of Pakryng Monke of Byland and a Maiſter of Diuinitie, and John Puruay and many other which were holden right wiſe men and prudēt, taught and writ buſily this foreſayd learnyng, & conformed them thereto. And with all theſe men, I was oft right homely and cōmuned with them long time and oft: and ſo before all other men I choſe willingly to be informed of them and by them, and ſpecially of Wickleffe himſelfe, as of the moſt vertuous and godly wiſe man that I heard of or knew. And therfore of him ſpecially and of theſe men I tooke the learnyng that I haue taught: and purpoſe to liue there after (if God wil) to my liues end. For though ſome of theſe men be contrary to the learnyng that they taught before, I wote well that their learnyng was true which they taught: and therefore with the helpe of God I purpoſe to hold and to vſe the learnyng which I heard of them, while they ſat on Moyſes chaire, & ſpecially while that they ſat on the chaire of Chriſt. But after ỹ workes that they now do, I will not do with Gods helpe. For they feyne, and hyde, & contrary the truth, which before they taught out playnly and truly. For as I know well, when ſome of theſe men haue bene blamed for their ſclaunderous doyng: they graunt not that they haue taught a miſſe or erred before tyme, but that they were conſtrained by payne to leaue to tell out the ſoth, and thus they chuſe now rather to blaſpheme God, then to ſuffer a while here perſecutiō bodely, for ſothfaſtneſſe that Chriſt ſhed out his hart bloud for.

M. John Aſton.

Phil. Rampingtō, Nic. Herford, Dauy Gotray, John Puruay.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd. That learnyng that thou calleſt truth and ſothfaſtnes, is open ſlaunder to holy church, as it is proued of holy Church. For albeit, that Wickleffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy Church, but many ſentences of his learnyng are damned as they well worthy are. But as touchyng Philip of Rampington, that was firſt Chanon, and after Abbot of Leyceſter, whiche is now Byſhop of Lyncolne: I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he faſted the euen. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold, the learnyng that he taught, when he was a Chanō of Leyceſter. For no byſhop of thys land perſueth now more ſharpely them that hold thy way, then he doth.

The teſtimony for Wickliffe, out of the mouth of his owne aduerſary.

Many ſuch vigils haue our popiſhe kalender.

Repington became a perſecuter, after he was made byſhop.

☞ And I ſayd. Sir full many men and women wondereth vpon him, and ſpeaketh him mekle ſhame, and holdeth him for a curſed enemy of the truth.

¶ And the Archbiſh. ſayd to me. Wherfore tarieſt thou me thus here with ſuch fables, wilt thou ſhortly (as I haue ſaid to thee) ſubmit thee to me or no?

☞ And I ſayd. Sir I tell you at one word, I dare not for the dread of God ſubmit me to you, after the tenour & ſentence that ye haue aboue rehearſed to me.

And thus as if he had bene wroth, he ſayd to one of hys clarkes. Fetch hether quickly, the certification that came to me from Shreuſbury vnder the Bailiues ſeale, witneſſing the errours and hereſies, which this Loſel hath venemouſly ſowen there.

Then haſtely the clarke tooke out and layde forth on a cupbord, diuers rolles and writinges, among which there was a litle one, which the clarke deliuered to the Archbyſhop. And by and by, the Archbyſhop red thys roll conteynyng this ſentence.

The third ſonday after Eaſter, the yeare of our Lord 1407. William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewſbury, and thorow leaue graunted vnto hym to preach: he ſayd openly in S. Chaddes Church in his ſermon, that the ſacrament of the aultar, after the conſecration, was materiall bread. And that images, ſhould in no wyſe be worſhipped. And that men ſhould not go on pilgrimages. And that prieſtes haue no title to tithes. And that it is not lawful for to ſweare in any wiſe.

The ſacrament after conſecratiō material bread. Articles obiected againſt William Thorpe.

¶ And when the Archbiſhop had red thus this rolle, he rolled it vp agayne, and ſayd to me. Is this wholeſome learnyng to be among the people?

Wholeſome inough for mans ſoule though not for your kitchin.

☞ And I ſayd to hym. Sir I am both aſhamed on theyr behalfe, and right ſorowfull for them that haue certified you theſe things thus vntruly: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus, priuely nor apertly.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me, I will geue credence to theſe worſhipfull men which haue written to me, and witneſſed vnder their ſeales there among them. Though now thou denieſt thys, weneſt thou that I will geue credence to thee? Thou Loſell, haſt troubled the worſhipfull communaltie of Shreuſbury, ſo that the Bailiues and communaltie of that towne haue written to me, praying me that am Archbyſhop of Cant. primate and Chauncellor of Englād, that I will vouchſafe to graunt them: that if thou ſhalt be made (as thou art worthy) to ſuffer open iourneſſe for thine hereſies, that thou may haue thy iourneſſe openly there among them: So that all they whom thou and ſuch other Loſels haue there peruerted, may thorow feare of thy dede, be reconciled agayne to the vnitie of holy Church. And alſo, they that ſtand in true fayth of holy Church, may thorow thy deede be more ſtabliſhed therein. And as if this aſking well pleaſed the Archbiſhop, he ſayd. By my thriſt, this hartie prayer, and feruent requeſt, ſhall be thought on.

O Shreuſbury, thou haſt a cauſe to repent thee, in that thou wouldeſt not receiue the truth, whē it was offered thee.

The Romiſhe church muſt be ſtabliſhed by perſecuting of true preachers.

But certainly, nother the prayer of the men of Shreuſbury, nor the manaſſing of the Archbyſhop made me any thing afrayd. But in rehearſing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my hart greatly reioyſed, & yet doth. I thanke God for the grace, that I then thought, and yet thinke ſhal come to all the Church of God here thorow, by the ſpeciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrantes, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpoſe for to knowledge the ſothfaſtnes, and to ſtand thereby after my cunning and power: I ſayd to the Archbiſhop, Sir if the truth of Gods word myght now be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to proue by likely euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the fayth of holy Church in Shreuſbury, and in other places alſo, are in the true faith of holy Church. For as their wordes ſound, and their workes ſhew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faythfully God) their wil, their deſire, their loue, and their buſines are moſt ſet to dread to offend God, and to loue for to pleaſe him in true and faithfull keeping of his cōmaundementes. And agayne, they that are ſayd to be in the faith of holy Church in Shreuſbury and in other places, by opē euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule wordes & workes: nother know, nor haue will to know, nor to occupy their wits truely and effectuouſly in the right fayth of holy Church. Wherefore all theſe, nor none that folow their maners, ſhall any tyme come verely in the faith of holy church, except they enforce them more truely to come in the way which now they deſpiſe. For theſe men and women that are now called faythfull and holden iuſt, nother know, nor will exerciſe themſelfe

A ſure truſt in Gods truth, confoundeth the malice of tyrantes.

If the touchſtone might try: truth ſhould bee knowne.

The deſcription of the right chriſtiās in Shreuſbury.

The Catholikes of Shreuſbury.

Shreuſbury, except thou turne from thy wicked wayes, thou canſt not receiue the truth.

to know (of faithfulnes) the commaundement of God.

And thus full many men and women now, and ſpecially mē that are named to be principall limmes of holy church, ſtirre God to great wrath, & deſerue his curſe for that they call or hold them iuſt men, which are full vniuſt, as their vicious wordes, their great cuſtomable ſwearyng, and their ſlaunderous and ſhamefull workes ſhew openly and witnes. And therfore, ſuch vicious men and vniuſt in their own confuſion, call them vniuſt men & women, which after their power and cunnyng buſie themſelues to liue iuſtly after the commaūdement of God. And where ſir ye ſay, that I haue diſtroubled the cōmunaltie of Shrewſbury, and many other men and women with my teachyng: If it thus be, it is not to be wondred of wiſe men, ſince all the communaltie of the Citie of Jeruſalem was diſtroubled of Chriſtes owne perſon, that was very God and man, and moſt prudent preacher that euer was or ſhall be. And alſo, all the Sinagoge of Nazareth was moued agaynſt Chriſt, and ſo fulfilled with ire towardes him for his preaching, that the men of the Sinagoge roſe vp and caſt Chriſt out of their Citie, & led him vp to the top of a moūtaine for to caſt him downe therehedling. Alſo accordingly hereto, the Lord witneſſeth by Moſes, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and purſueth his people. who ſir is he, that ſhall preach the truth of Gods word to the vnfaithfull people, and ſhall let the ſothfaſtnes of the Goſpell, and the prophecie of God almightie, to be fulfilled?

Jeruſalem troubled by the preaching of Chriſt.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. It followeth of theſe thy wordes, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt: that ye do right well for to preach and teach as ye do, without authoritie of any Biſhop. For ye preſume, that the Lord hath choſen you onely for to preach, as faythfull diſciples and ſpeciall followers of Chriſt.

The word of God ought truely to be preached

☞ And I ſayd. Syr by authoritie of Gods law and alſo of Saintes and Doctours I am learned to deme, that it is euery Prieſtes office and duetie for to preach buſily, freely & truely the word of God. For no doubt, euery Prieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in his ſoule, & couet to take the order of prieſthode chiefly for to make knowen to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power: approuing his wordes euer to be true by his vertuous workes, and for this entent we ſuppoſe that Byſhops & other Prelates of holy church, ſhould chiefly take and vſe their prelacie, and for the ſame cauſe Byſhops ſhould geue to Prieſtes their orders. For Byſhops ſhould accept no man to Prieſthode, except that he had good will and full purpoſe, and were well diſpoſed, & well learned to preach. Wherfore ſir, by ẏ bidding of Chriſt, and by the example of his moſt holy liuing, & alſo by the witneſſing of his holy Apoſtles and Prophets, we are bounde vnder full great payne, to exerciſe vs after our cunning and power (as euery Prieſt is likewiſe charged of God) to fulfill duely the office of prieſthode. We preſume not here of our ſelues for to be eſtemed (neither in owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull diſciples, and ſpeciall folowers of Chriſt. But ſir, as I ſayde to you before, we deme this by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is ẏ chief duetie of euery prieſt, to buſie them faithfully to make the law of God knowen to his people, and ſo to cōmune the commaundemēt of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, when, and to whom that euer we may, is our very duetie. And for the will and buſines that we owe of due debt to do iuſtly our office through the ſtyrring and ſpeciall helpe (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercy: we deſire to be the faithfull diſciples of Chriſt, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy name, that he make vs able ſo to pleaſe him with deuout prayers, & charitable Prieſtly workes, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankfully.

If this leſſon had bene wel folowed, the world had not bene brought to ſuch darknes by blynde & dumme prieſtes.

An effectuous prayer, God graunt in all miniſters.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Lewd loſell, whereto makeſt thou ſuch vayne reaſons to me? Asketh not Saint Paule, how ſhould Prieſtes preach, except they be ſent? But I ſent thee neuer to preach. For thy venemous doctrine is ſo knowen through out England, that no Byſhop will admitte thee to preach by witneſſing of their letters. Why then lewd Idiot, willeſt thou preſume to preach, ſince thou art not ſent nor licenſed of thy ſoueraigne to preach. Sayth not S. Paul, that ſubiectes ought to obey their ſoueraignes, and not onely good and vertuous: but alſo tyrauntes that are vicious?

Why he preached wythout the byſhops licence.

He anſwereth to the queſtion concerning the letter of licence.

☞ And I ſayd to the Archbyſhop. Syr, as touchyng your letter of licence or other Byſhops, which ye ſay we ſhould haue to witnes that we were able to be ſent for to preach? We know wel that neither you ſir, nor any other Byſhop of this land, will graunt to vs any ſuch letters of licence, but if we ſhould oblige vs to you, and to other Byſhops by vnlefull othes, for to paſſe not the bondes and termes which ye ſir, or other byſhops will limit to vs. And ſince in this matter your termes be ſome to large, & ſome to ſtraite: we dare not oblige vs thus to be bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limite to vs, as you do to Friers, & ſuch other preachers. And therfore, though we haue not your letter ſir, nor letters of other Byſhops written with inke vpon parchment: we dare not therfore leaue the office of preachyng (to which preaching, all Prieſtes after their cunnyng and power are bounde, by diuers teſtimonies of Gods law, and great Doctours) without any mention makyng of Byſhops letters. For as mekell as we haue taken vpon vs the office of Prieſthode (though we are vnworthy therto) we come and purpoſe to fulfill it with the helpe of God, by authoritie of his own law, and by witneſſe of great doctours and Saintes, accordingly here to truſtyng ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. For that he commaundeth vs to do the office of Prieſthode, he will be our ſufficient letters and witnes, if we by example of his holy liuing and teachyng, ſpecially occupy vs faithfully to do our office iuſtly: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or vnfaithfull) ſhall be our letters, that is our witnes bearers: for the truth where it is ſowen, may not be vnwitneſſed. For all that are cōuerted & ſaued by learning of Gods word, & by working there after: are witneſſe bearers: that the truth and ſothfaſtnes which they heard and did after, is cauſe of their ſaluation. And agayne, all vnfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do there after: alſo all they that might haue heard the truth, & would not heare it, becauſe that they would not do there after:

The inconueniences of ſeeking of the byſhops letters of licence.

The witnes of the preachers, is the good lyfe of the folowers.

All theſe ſhall beare witnes agaynſt themſelues, and the truth which they would not heare, or els heard it and deſpiſed to do there after, through their vnfaithfulneſſe, is & ſhalbe cauſe of their damnation. Therfore ſir, ſince this aforeſayd witneſſing of God, and of diuers Saintes and Doctors, & of all the people good & euil, ſufficeth to all true preachers: we thincke that we do not the office of Prieſthode, if that we leaue our preaching, becauſe that we haue not, or may not haue duely Byſhops letters, to witneſſe that we are ſent of them to preach. This ſentence approueth Saint Paul, where he ſpeaketh of himſelfe, & of faithful Apoſtles and diſciples ſaying thus. We neede no letters of commendation as ſome preachers do, which preach for couetouſneſſe of temporall goodes, and for mens prayſing. And where ye ſay Syr, that Paule biddeth ſubiectes obey their ſoueraignes, this is ſoth, and may not be denyed. But there is two maner of ſoueraignes, vertuous ſoueraignes and vicious tyrauntes. Therfore, to theſe laſt ſoueraignes, neither men nor women that be ſubiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous ſoueraignes and charitable, ſubiectes owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearyng of their good counſel, in conſenting to their charitable biddinges, and in workyng after their frutefull workes.

Two maner of ſoueraignes.

He meaneth prelates that be vnuertuous.

This ſentence Paul approueth where he ſayth to ſubiectes. Be ye myndefull of your ſoueraignes, that ſpeake to you the word of God, and folow you the fayth of thē, whoſe cōuerſation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul ſayth, after theſe ſoueraignes, to whom ſubiectes owe to obey in folowyng of their maners: worke beſely in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtand and deſtroy vices, firſt in themſelues, and after in all their ſubiectes, and how they may beſt plant in them vertues. Alſo theſe ſoueraignes, make deuout and feruent prayers for to purchaſe grace of God, that they and their ſubiectes may ouer all thyng, dread to offend him, and to loue for to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe ſoueraignes to whō Paule biddeth vs obey, as it is ſaid before, liue ſo vertuouſly: that all they that will liue well, may take of them good example, to know & to keepe the commaundementes of God. But in this foreſayd wiſe, ſubiectes ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrauntes, while they are vicious tyrauntes, ſince their will, their counſell, their biddynges, and their workes are ſo vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though ſuch tyrauntes be maiſterfull and cruell in boſtyng and manaſing, in oppreſſions and diuers puniſhings: S. Peter byddeth the ſeruauntes of ſuch tyrauntes, to obey mekely ſuch tyrauntes, ſufferynges patiently their malitious crueltes. But Peter counſelleth not any ſeruaunt or ſubiect, to obey to any Lord or Prince, or ſoueraigne in any thyng that is not pleaſing to God.

Two maner of obeying: 1. In folowing their doinges and examples. 2. In ſuffering their wronges.

Wicked rulers are not to be followed in euill.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me. If a ſoueraigne byd his ſubiect do that thyng that is vicious, this ſoueraigne herein is to blame: but the ſubiect for his obedience, deſerueth meede of God. For obedience pleaſeth more to God, then any ſacrifice.

Well reaſoned my lord and lyke a clarke.

☞ And I ſayd. Samuell the Prophet ſayd to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleaſed with the obediēce of his commaundement, then with any ſacrifice of beaſtes. But Dauid ſayth, and S. Paule, and S. Gregory accordyngly together, that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation: but alſo they that conſent to euill doers. And ſir, the law of holy Church teacheth in the decrees, that no ſeruaunt to his Lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her huſbād, nor monke to his Abbot, ought to obey, except in lefull thinges, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be geuen, but in things lefull & lawfull.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me. All theſe alledgings that thou bringeſt forth, are not els but proude preſumptuouſneſſe. For hereby thou inforceſt thee to proue, that thou and ſuch other are ſo iuſt, that ye ought not to obey to Prelates. And thus agaynſt the learnyng of S. Paule that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were ſent: of your owne authoritie, ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye liſt.

All is preſumption that ſtādeth againſt your maiſterfull ambition.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, preſenteth not euery Prieſt the office of the Apoſtles, or the office of the diſciples of Chriſt? And the Archbiſhop ſayd, yea.

Prieſtes in that they take prieſthood, they are ſent to preach. Math. 10. Marke. vlt. Luke. 10.

And I ſayd. Syr, as the x. chapt. of Mathew, and the laſt chap. of Marke witneſſeth: Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles for to preach. And the x. chapter of Luke witneſſeth, that Chriſt ſent his two and ſeuenty diſciples for to preach, in euery place that Chriſt was to come to. And S. Gregory in the cōmon law ſayth, that euery man that goeth to prieſthode, taketh vpon him the office of preachyng: For as he ſayth, that Prieſt ſtirreth God to great wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voyce of preachyng. And as other more gloſes vpon Ezechiell, witneſſe: that the Prieſt that preacheth not buſily to the people, ſhall be partaker of their damnation that periſhe through his defaulte. And though the people be ſaued by other ſpeciall grace of God then by the Prieſtes preachyng, yet the Prieſtes, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manſlears. For as farre as in them is, ſuch Prieſtes as preach not buſily and truely, ſleyeth all the people ghoſtly: in that they withhold from them the worde of God, that is lyfe and ſuſtenaunce of mens ſoules. And S. Iſidore ſayd, Prieſtes ſhalbe damned, for wickedneſſe of the people, if they teache not them that are ignoraunt, or blame not them that are ſinners. For all the worke or buſines of Prieſtes, ſtandeth in preachyng and teachyng, that they edifie all men, as well by cunnyng of fayth, as by diſcipline of workes, that is vertuous teachyng. And as the Goſpel witneſſeth: Chriſt ſayd in his teaching. I am borne and comen into this world, to beare witneſſe to the truth, & he that is of the truth, heareth my voyce.

The office of prieſthoode, is the office of preaching.

Prieſtes that preach not, be ſlayers of the people. *Iſidorus.*

Doctrine of fayth. Diſcipline of workes.

Thē Syr, ſince by the word of Chriſt ſpecially, that is his voyce, Prieſtes are commaunded to preache: whatſoeuer Prieſt that it be, that hath not good wil and full purpoſe to do thus, and ableth not himſelfe after his cunnyng and power to do his office by the example of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles: whatſoeuer other thyng that he doth diſpleaſeth God. For loe, S. Gregory ſayth, that thyng left, that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatſoeuer other thyng that a man doth: it is vnthankefull to the holy ghoſt: and therfore ſayth Lyncolne. That Prieſt that preacheth not the word of God, though he be ſene to haue none other default, he is Antichriſt and Sathanas, a night theef, and a day theefe, a ſlayer of ſoules, and an aungell of light turned into darkenes. Wherfore Syr, theſe authorities and other well conſidered, I deme my ſelfe damnable, if I either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any creature, apply me not diligētly to preach the word of God. And in the ſame damnation I deme all thoſe Prieſtes, which of good purpoſe and will, enforce thē not buſily to do thus, and alſo all them that haue purpoſe or will to let any Prieſt of this buſines.

Prieſts not onely ſent to preach, but commaūded to preac. *Gregorius.*

Lincolnienſis.

Whatſoeuer a man doth leauing that vndone which he is chiefly bounde to do, is ſinne.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd to thoſe iij. Clarkes that ſtode before him. Lo Syrs, this is the maner and buſineſſe of this Loſell and ſuch other, to picke out ſuch ſharpe ſentences of holy Scripture and Doctours, to maintaine their ſect and lore agaynſt the ordinaunce of holy Church. And therfore Loſell, it is thou that coueteſt to haue agayne the Pſalter that I made to be taken from thee at Canterbury, to record ſharpe verſes agaynſt vs. But thou ſhalt neuer haue that Pſalter, nor none other booke, till that I know ỹ thy hart and thy mouth accord fully, to be gouerned by holy Church.

Yet this byſhop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth not of his hand, as Boner did.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, all my will and power is, & euer ſhalbe (I truſt to God) to be gouerned by holy Church.

Holy church

¶ And the Archbyſhop aſked me, what was holy Church.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, I told you before, what was holy Church. But ſince ye aſke me this demaūde: I call Chriſt and his Saintes holy Church.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto me. I wote well that Chriſt and his Saintes are holy Churche in heauen, but what is holy Church in earth?

2. partes of the Church.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, though holy Church be euery one in charitie, yet it hath two partes. The firſt and principall part, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchedneſſe of this life, and raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in earth, buſily and continually fighting day and night agaynſt temptations of the fiend: forſakyng and hatyng the proſperity of this world, deſpiſing and withſtanding theyr fleſhly luſtes, which onely are the pilgrimes of Chriſt, wandering toward heauē by ſtedfaſt faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For theſe heauenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpoſe, by ỹ reaſō of any doctours diſcording frō holy ſcripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the winde of any pride, of boaſt, or of manaſing of any creature: For they are all faſt groūded vpon ỹ ſure ſtone Chriſt, hearing his worde, and louing it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wittes to doe therafter.

And the Archbyſhop ſayd to his Clerkes. See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is trauailed wyth the deuill occupying hym thus buſily to alledge ſuch ſentences to maintayne his errours and hereſies? Certaine, thus he would occupy vs here all day, if we would ſuffer hym.

One of the clerkes aunſwered, Sir, he ſayd right now, that this certification that came to you from Shrewſbury, is vntruly forged agaynſt him. Therfore ſir, appoſe you him now here in all the pointes which are certified agaynſt him, and ſo we ſhall heare of hys owne mouth his aunſwers, and witneſſe them.

Well helpt forward M. Clarke.

And the Archb. tooke the certification in his hand, & looked theron a while, and then he ſayd to me.

Loe here it is certified agaynſt thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewſbery, that thou preacheſt there openly in S. Chads church: that the Sacrament of the aulter was material bread after the conſecration, what ſayſt thou? Was this truly preached?

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, I tel you truely ỹ I touched nothing therof the ſacrament of the aulter, but in this wiſe, as I wil with Gods grace tell you here. As I ſtood there in the pulpit, buſieng me to teach the commaundement of God: there knilled a ſacring bel, and therfore mickle people turned away haſtily, and with noyſe ran fro towardes me. And I ſeyng this, ſayd to them thus: Good men ye were better to ſtande here ſtill, and to heare gods word. For certes, the vertue and the mede of the moſt holy Sacrament of the aulter ſtandeth mikle more in the belief therof, that ye ought to haue in your ſoule, then it doth in the outward ſight therof. And therfore, ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to heare gods worde, becauſe that through the hearing therof, mē come to very true belief. And otherwiſe ſir, I am certain I ſpake not there, of the worthy ſacrament of the aulter.

The foreſayd articles renued agaynſt Thorpe.

The vertue of the ſacrament ſtandeth in the beliefe, more thē in the outward ſigne.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me: I beleue thee not what ſo euer thou ſayſt, ſince ſo worſhipfull men haue witneſſed thus agaynſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſaydeſt thus there, what ſayſt thou now? Reſteth there after the conſecration in the hoſt, materiall bread or no?

Materiall bread.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir I know in no place in holy Scripture, where this terme materiall bread is written: and therfore ſir, whē I ſpeake of this matter, I vſe not to ſpeake of materiall bread.

¶ Than the Archb. ſayd to me: How teacheſt thou men to beleue in this ſacrament?

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, as I beleue my ſelfe, ſo I teache other men.

¶ He ſayd, tell out plainly thy beliefe therof.

☞ And I ſayd with my proteſtation: Sir, I beleue that the night before that Chriſt Ieſu would ſuffer (wilfully) paſſion for mankynd on the morne after: he toke bread in his holy and moſt worſhipfull handes, liftyng vp hys eyes, and geuyng thankes to God hys father, bleſſed this breade and brake it, and gaue it to hys diſciples, ſaying to them: Take and eate of this all you, this is my body. And that this is and ought to be all mens beliefe, Mathew, Marke, Luke and Paule witneſſeth. Other beliefe Sir haue I none, nor will haue, nor teach: for I beleue, that this ſufficeth in this matter. For in this beliefe with Gods grace I purpoſe to lyue and dye, knowledging as I beleue and teach other mē to beleue that the worſhipfull ſacrament of the aulter, is the Sacrament of Chriſtes fleſh and hys bloud, in fourme of bread and of wyne.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me. It is ſooth that this Sacrament is very Chriſtes body in forme of bread. But thou and thy ſect teacheſt it to be ſubſtance of bread. Thinke you this true teachyng?

☞ And I ſayd: Neither I, nor any other of the ſect that ye damne, teache any otherwyſe then I haue tolde you, nor beleue otherwiſe to my knowyng. Neuertheleſſe ſir, I aſke of you for charitie, that ye wyll tell me here playnely, how ye ſhall vnderſtand this text of Saint Paule, where he ſayth thus: This thyng fele you in your ſelf that is in Chriſt Jeſu, whyle he was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the ſubſtance or kinde of God? Alſo ſir, ſayth not the church in the houres of yͤ moſt bleſſed virgin accordingly herto, where it is written thus: Thou author of helth remember, that ſometyme thou toke of the vndefiled virgin, the forme of our body. Tel me for charity therfore, whether the forme of our body, be called here the kynde of our body or no?

The papiſtes haue none other defence for them but onely the church, the church.
Euery ordinãce of Church men byndeth not our fayth.

¶ And the Archb. ſaid to me: wouldeſt thou make me to declare this text after thy purpoſe, ſince the Church now hath determined: that there abideth no ſubſtance of bread after the conſecration, in the ſacrament of the aulter? Beleueſt thou not this ordinaunce of the church?

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, whatſoeuer Prelates haue ordeyned in the Church, our beliefe ſtandeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinaunce of men vnder beleef, ſhould be put into beliefe.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me: If thou haſt not learned this before, learne nowe to knowe that thou art out of beliefe. If in this matter and other, thou beleueſt not as the holye Church beleueth. What ſay Doctours treating of this Sacrament?

The greateſt Doctors of the church be Apoſtles.
S. Paule calleth it bread.
The Canon of the maſſe calleth it bread.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, S. Paule that was a great doctor of holy church, ſpeaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this moſt holy ſacrament: calleth it bread that we breake. And alſo in the Canon of the maſſe after the conſecration: this moſt worthy Sacramẽt is called holy bread. And euery prieſt in this lãd, after that he hath receiued this ſacrament, ſayth in this wyſe: That thing that we haue takẽ with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and cleane mynd. That is as I vnderſtand, we pray God that we may receiue throw very beliefe, this holy Sacrament worthely. And Sir, Saint Auguſtine ſayth: that thyng that is ſene, is bread: but that mens fayth aſketh to be informed of, is very Chriſtes body. And alſo, Fulgence an ententiſe Doctour ſayeth: As it were an errour to ſay that Chriſt was but a ſubſtaunce, that is, very man, and not very GOD: or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not very man: ſo is it (this Doctour ſayeth) an errour to ſay, that the Sacrament of the aulter is but a ſubſtaunce: And alſo Sir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecret of the midde Maſſe on Chriſtmas day, it is written thus: Idem refulſit deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod diuinum eſt: which ſentence ſir, with the ſecret of the fourth fery, quatuor temporum Septembris: I pray you ſir declare here openly in Engliſh.

S. Auſten calleth it bread.

The ſecreat of the maſſe on Chriſtmas day, nameth it a terrene ſubſtaunce.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me, I perceyue well enough where about thou art, and how the deuill blyndeth thee, that thou may not vnderſtand the ordinaunce of holy Churche, nor conſent therto. But I commaund thee now, aunſwere me ſhortly: Beleueſt thou that after the conſecration of this foreſayde Sacrament: there abideth ſubſtaunce of breade, or not?

My Lord can cauile apace, he can declare but a litle.
Choke him vp my Lord.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, as I vnderſtand it is all one to graũt or beleue, that there dwelleth ſubſtance of bread, and to graũt and to beleue that this moſt worthy ſacrament of Chriſtes owne body is accident without ſubiect. But Sir, for as mikle as your aſkyng paſſeth mine vnderſtanding, I dare neither deny it nor graunt it, for it is ſchole matter, about which I buſied me neuer for to know: and therfore I commit this terme accidens ſine ſubiecto, to thoſe Clerkes which delight them ſo in curious and ſubtile ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtrange matters, and wade & wander ſo in them from argument to argument, with pro & cõtra, til that they wot not where they are, and vnderſtand not thẽſelues. But the ſhame that theſe proud Sophiſters haue to yeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles and to be concluded ſhamefully before God.

To graunt the reall beyng of the body without bread, is as much as to graunt, the accident to be without the ſubiect.

Againſt proud Sophiſters.

¶ And the archb. ſayd to me: I purpoſe not to oblige thee to the ſubtle arguments of clerkes, ſince thou art vnable therto: but I purpoſe to make thee obey to the determinatiõ of holy Church.

Templum domini, Templum domini.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, by open euidence and great witneſſe, a M. yeare after the incarnation of Chriſt: the determination which I haue here before you rehearſed, was accept of holy Church as ſufficient to the ſaluation of all them that would beleue it faythfully, and worke thereafter charitably. But ſir, yͤ determinatiõ of this matter which was brought in ſince the fiend was looſed by Frier Thomas againe, ſpecially callyng the moſt worſhipfull Sacrament of Chriſtes owne body an accident without ſubiect: which terme, ſince I know not that Gods law approueth it in this matter, I dare not graunt, but vtterly I deny to make this Friers ſentence, or any ſuch other, my beliefe, do with me god what thou wilt.

The church ſtoode ſounde till the fiende broke loſe.

Tranſubſtantiation brought in by Frier Thomas Aquine.

¶ And the archb. ſayd to me: Well, wel, thou ſhalt ſay otherwiſe or that I leaue thee. But what ſayeſt thou to this ſecond point that is recorded againſt thee by worthy men of Shrewsbury, ſaying: that thou preachedſt there, that Images ought not to be worſhipped in any wyſe.

It is happy he did not ſpit in his face as Boner did.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, I preached neuer thus, nor through Gods grace I will not any tyme cõſent to thinke nor to ſay thus, neither priuely nor apertly. For loe, the Lord witneſſeth by Moſes, that the thynges which he made were right good, and ſo then they were, and yet they are & ſhall be good, and worſhypfull in their kinde. And therfore, to the end that God made them to, they are all prayſable and worſhipfull, & ſpecially man that was made after the image and likenes of God, is full worſhypfull in his kynde, yea this holy image that is man, God worſhippeth. And herefore, euery man ſhould worſhyp other, in kynde, and alſo for heauenly vertues that men vſe charitably. Alſo I ſay, wood, tyn, gold, ſiluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all theſe creatures are worſhypfull in their kinde, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruyng, caſtyng, or payntyng of any imagery, made with mans hand, albeit that this doyng be accept of man of higheſt ſtate and dignitie, and ordained of them to be a Calender to lewd men, that neither can nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull & diuers workinges: yet this imagery ought not to be worſhypped in fourme, nor in the likenes of mans craft. Neuertheleſſe that, euery matter the painters paint with, ſince it is Gods creature, ought to be worſhypped in the kinde, and to the end that God made and ordained it to ſerue man.

The 2. point touching images.
Thorpe charged with an vntruth.

Man a worſhipfull image of God.

Though men accept the painting of or caruing of images, yet is it not the right way to learne to ſerue God.

¶ Then the Archbyſhop ſayd to me, I graunt well that no body ought to do worſhyp to any ſuch images for themſelues. But a Crucifixe ought to be worſhypped for the paſſion of Chriſt that is painted therein, and ſo brought there through to mans mynde: and thus the images of the bleſſed Trinitie, and of the virgine Mary Chriſtes mother, & other images of ſaints, ought to be worſhypped. For loe, earthly Kynges and Lordes whiche vſe to ſend their letters enſealed with their armes, or with their priuy ſignet to them that are with them, are worſhypped of theſe men. For when theſe men receiue their Lordes letters, in which they ſee and knowe the willes and biddynges of their Lordes, in worſhyp of their Lordes they doe of their cappes to theſe letters. Why not then, ſince in Images made with mans hande, we may reade and knowe many diuers thyngs of God & of his Saints, ſhal we not worſhyp their images?

The image of the Trinitie.

A ſimilitude of the kings ſeale or letters, to proue the worſhip of images.

☞ And I ſayd, with my foreſayd proteſtation I ſay, that theſe worldly vſages of temporall lordes that ye ſpeake now of, may be done in caſe without ſinne. But this is no ſimilitude to worſhip Images made by mans hande, ſince that Moyſes, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch, and other ſaintes in the Bible, forbid ſo plainely the worſhipping of all ſuch Images.

No ſimilitude to be made betwene earthly thinges & ſpirituall, namely, whẽ Gods word doth expreſſe to the contrary.

¶ Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Lewd loſell, in the olde law before that Chriſt tooke mankynd, was no lykeneſſe of any perſon of the trinity, neyther ſhewed to man nor knowen of men: But now ſince Chriſt became man, it is lefull to haue images to ſhew hys manhoode. Yea, though many men which are right great Clerkes and other alſo, held it an errour to paynte the Trinitie: I ſay it is well done to make and to paynt the Trinity in Images. For it is great mouyng of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie and other images of Saintes, carued, caſt, and paynted. For beyond the ſea, are the beſt paynters that euer I ſaw. And ſirs I tell you, this is their maner, and it is a good maner. When that an Image maker ſhall carue, caſt in moolde, or paynt any Images, he ſhall go to a Prieſt, and ſhriue hym as cleane, as if he ſhould then dye: and take penaunce, and make ſome certayne vowe of faſtyng or of praying, or pilgrimages doyng, praying the Prieſt ſpecially to praye for hym, that he may haue grace to make a fayre and a deuoute Image.

So you ſay my Lord, but God ſaith cõtrary in his commaundemẽts.

Painters deuotion & the popes diuinitie doe well agree.
Preparatiõ of the painters to make a faire & a deuoute Image.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, I doubt not, if theſe paynters that ye ſpeake of, or any other paynters vnderſtood truly the text of Moyſes, of Dauid, of the wyſe man, of Baruch, and of other ſaintes and doctours: Theſe paynters ſhould be moued to ſhriue them to God with ful inward ſorow of hart, takyng vpon them to do right ſharpe penaunce for the ſinfull & vaine craft of payntyng, caruyng, or caſting they had vſed: Promiſing God faythfully, neuer to do ſo after, knowledging openly before all men their reprouable learnyng. And alſo Sir, theſe prieſtes that ſhriue (as you do ſay) paynters, and enioyne them to do penaunce, & pray for their ſpeede, promiſing to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their ſinful craftes: ſinne herein more greuouſly, then the paynters.

For theſe prieſtes do comfort and geue them counſail to do that thyng, which of great payne, yea vnder the pain of gods curſe, they ſhould vtterly forbid them. For certes ſir, if the wõderfull working of God, and the holy liuing and teachyng of Chriſt, and of hys Apoſtles and Prophetes, were made knowen to the people by holy liuyng and true, and buſie teachyng of Prieſtes: theſe thinges (ſir) were ſufficient bokes and Kalenders to know God by, and his Saintes, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vicious liuyng of prieſtes and their couetouſnes, are chiefe cauſe of this errour, and all other viciouſnes that raigneth among the people.

The true bookes and kalenders to know God.

¶ Then the Archbiſh. ſayd vnto me, I hold thee a vicious Prieſt and a curſt, and all them that are of thy ſect for all prieſtes of holy church, and all images that moue men to deuotion, thou and ſuch other go about to deſtroy. Loſel, were it a fayre thyng to come into a Church and ſee therein none Image?

A better ſight my Lord, than to ſee blinde ſtocks there to be worſhipped.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, they that come to the church for to pray deuoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wittes be the more feruent, that all their outward wits be cloſed fro all outward ſeing and hearing, and fro all diſtroublance & lettings. And ſince Chriſt bleſſed them that ſaw him not bodily and haue beleued faithfully in him: it ſuffiſeth then to all men (thorough hearing and knowyng of gods word, and to do therafter) for to beleue in God, though they ſee neuer images made with mans hand after any perſon of the Trinitie, or of any other ſaint.

The right ſeruice of a Chriſtian.

¶ And the Archb. ſaid to me, with a feruent ſpirit: I ſay to thee loſell that it is right well done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie. yea, what ſaieſt thou? is it not a ſtirring thyng to behold ſuch an image?

My Lord, your yea, will not anſwere Gods nay.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, ye ſayd right now that in the old law or Chriſt toke mãkynd, no likenes of any perſon of the Trinity was ſhewed to men: wherfore ſir, ye ſaid it was not the lefull to haue images, but now ye ſay, ſince Chriſt is becomen man, it is lefull to make & to haue an image of the Trinitie, and alſo of other ſaintes. But ſir, this thing would I learne of you: ſince the father of heauen, yea and euery perſon of the Trinity was without beginning God almighty, and many holy Prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and alſo many men and women then dyed Confeſſors: why was it not then as lefull and neceſſary, as now to haue made an Image of the father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of Martirs, Prophets, and holy Confeſſors, to haue bene Kalenders to aduiſe men and moue them to deuotion, as ye ſay that images now do?

Note this ye worſhippers and mainteyners of Images.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd: The ſinagogue of the Iewes had not authoritie to approue thoſe thinges as the Church of Chriſt hath now.

The Synagoge of Antichriſt wyll haue authoritie.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, S. Gregory was a great man in the new law, and of great dignity, and as the common law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a Biſhop, in that he forbadde vtterly the Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped.

¶ And the archb. ſayd: Vngracious loſell, thou ſauoureſt no more truth then an hound. Since at the rood at the Northdore at London, at our Lady at Walſingam, and many other diuers places in England, are many great and prayſable miracles done: ſhould not the images of ſuch holy Saintes and places, at the reuerence of God and our lady & other Saintes be more worſhipped then other places and images, where no ſuch miracles are done?

Great myracles done by images, but my Lord doth not tell by whoſe power.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, there is no ſuch vertue in any imagery, that any images ſhould herefore be worſhipped. Wherfore I am certayne that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, becauſe that any Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped. And herefore ſir, as I preached openly at Shrewſbury and other places, I ſay now here before you: That no body ſhould truſt that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hande, and therefore no body ſhould vow to them nor ſeke them, nor knele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thyng to them, nor kiſſe them, nor enſence them. For lo the moſt worthy of ſuch images, the braſen Serpent (by Moſes made, at Gods biddyng) the good K. Ezechie deſtroied worthely & thankfully, and all becauſe it was enſenced. Therfore ſir, if men take good heede to the writyng and to the learnyng of S. Auguſtine, of ſaint Gregory, and of Saint Iohn Chryſoſtome, and of other Saintes and doctors, how they ſpake and write of myracles, that ſhall be done now in the laſt end of the worlde: It is to dread, that for the vnfaythfulneſſe of men and women, the Fiende hath greate power, for to worke many of the myracles that nowe are done in ſuche places, For both men and women delight nowe more for to heare and know myracles, then they do to knowe Gods word, or to heare it effectuouſly. wherfore, to the great confuſion of all them that thus do Chriſt ſayth: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, myracles and wõders. Neuertheles as diuers ſaintes ſay, now when the faith of God is publiſhed in Chriſtendome, the worde of God ſufficeth to mans ſaluation, without ſuch miracles; and thus alſo the worde of God ſufficeth to all faithfull men and women, without any ſuch images. But good ſir, ſince the father of heauen that is God in his Godhead, is ẏ moſt vnknowen thing that may be, and the moſt wonderfull ſpirite, hauing in it no ſhape or likenes of any members of any deadly creature: in what likenes or what image may God the father be ſhewed or painted?

Myracles importing worſhip to be done to Images may well be ſuſpected not to come of God.

A Chriſtian man ought not to vow, ſeeke, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer nor kiſſe an Image.

For the vnfaythfulnes of men, the deuill may worke myracles.

The word of God ſuffiſeth vs to ſaluation, without myracles.

That which is of nature vnknowne, cannot be reſembled by any viſible creature knowne.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid: as holy church hath ſuffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted & ſhewed: it ſufficeth to them that are mẽbers of holy church. But ſince thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church: thou fauoreſt not the ordinaunce therof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leaue we this matter.

Holy church of your owne building.

AND then he ſayd to me: what ſayeſt thou to the third point, that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly in Shrewſbury, that pilgrimage is not lefull: and ouer thys, thou ſaydeſt that thoſe men and women that goe on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beuerley, to Karlingtõ, to Walſingam, and to any ſuch other places, are accurſed and made fooliſhe, ſpending their goods in waſte.

The 3. article.

Pilgrimage.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, by this certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I ſaid neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and ful pleaſaunt to God: and therfore ſir, howſoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I tolde at at Shrewſbury of two maner of pilgrimages.

Two maner of Pilgrimage.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid to me, whom calleſt thou true pilgrimes?

☞ And I ſaide: Sir, with my proteſtation, I call them true pilgrimes traueling toward the bliſſe of heauen, which in the ſtate, degree, or order ẏ God calleth them to, do buſie them faithfully for to occupie all their wits bodely & ghoſtly, to know truely, and to keepe faithfully the biddinges of God, hating and fleeyng all the ſeuen deadly ſinnes, and euery braunch of them: Ruling them vertuouſly (as it is ſayd before) with all their wits, doing diſcretely, wilfully & gladly, all the workes of mercy, bodely & ghoſtly, after their cunning and power, abling them to ẏ gifts of the holy ghoſt, diſpoſing them to receiue them in their ſoules, and to holde therin, the right bleſſinges of Chriſt: Buſiyng them to know and to keepe, the vij. principall vertues, and ſo then they ſhall obtaine here thorow grace, for to vſe thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then, they ſhall be moued with the good ſpirite of God, for to examine oft and diligently their cõſcience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they erre in any article of beliefe, hauing continually (as frailtie will ſuffer) all their buſines, to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to loue ouer all, and to ſeeke euer to do his pleaſaunt will. Of theſe pilgrimes I ſayd, whatſoeuer good thought that they any tyme thinke, what vertuous word that they ſpeake, and what fruitfull work that they worke: Euery ſuch thought, worde and worke is a ſteppe numbred of God, towarde hym into heauen. Theſe foreſayd pilgrimes of God, delight ſore when they heare of Saintes or of vertuous men and women, how they forſooke wilfully the proſperitie of this life, how they withſtoode the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, how they reſtrayned their fleſhly luſtes, how diſcrete they were in their penance doing, how pacient they were in all their aduerſities, how prudent they were in counſelyng of men and women, mouing them to hate all ſinne, and to flie them, and to ſhame euer greatly therof, and to loue all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Chriſt and his folowers by example of him, ſuffered ſcornes and ſclaunders, and how paciently they abode & tooke the wrongfull manaſing of tyrauntes: how homely they were and ſeruiſable to poore men, to relieue and comfort them bodelye and ghoſtly, after their power and cunning, and how deuoute they were in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly deſires, and how they abſented them from ſpectacles of vayne ſayinges and hearinges, and how ſtable they were to let and to deſtroy all vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were, to ſowe and to plante vertues. Theſe heauenly conditions and ſuch other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue: whoſe pilgrimage God accepteth.

The true pilgrimage is to trauel in heauenly thynges.

Euery good worke, is a good ſteppe to heauen

The maner and examples of Saintes.

And agayne, I ſayde, as their workes ſhewe, the moſt parte of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, haue not theſe foreſayde conditions, nor loueth to buſie them faythfully for to haue. For as I well know.

ſince I haue full oft aſſayde, examine whoſoeuer will xx. of theſe pilgrimes: and he ſhall not finde iij. men or women that know ſurely a commaundement of God, nor can ſay their Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, nor their Creede readely in any maner of language. And as I haue learned and alſo know ſomewhat by experience of theſe ſame pilgrimes, tellyng the cauſe, why that many men and women go hether and thether now on pylgrimages: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their ſoules: more for to haue riches and proſperitie of thys world, then for to be enriched with vertues in their ſoules: more to haue here worldly & fleſhly frendſhip, then for to haue frendſhip of God, and of hys ſaintes in heauen. For whatſoeuer thyng man or woman doth, the frendſhip of God nor of any other Saint can not be had, without keeping of Gods commaundementes. Further, with my proteſtation I ſay now as I ſaide in Shreuſbury, though they that haue fleſhly willes, trauell farre their bodyes and ſpend mekell money, to ſeeke and to viſite the bones or Images (as they ſay they doe) of thys Saint or of that: ſuch pilgrimage going is neither praiſable nor thankfull to God nor to any ſaint of God, ſince in effect, all ſuch pilgrimes deſpiſe God and all hys cōmaundementes and Saintes. For the commaundemēts of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor cōforme them to liue vertuouſly by example of Chriſt and of his Saintes. Wherfore ſir, I haue preached and taught openly, and ſo I purpoſe all my life time to doe with Gods helpe, ſaying that ſuch fond people waſte blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, ſpending their goods vpon vitious hoſtelars, which are oft vncleane womē of their bodies: and at the leaſt, thoſe goods with the which they ſhould do workes of mercy after Gods bidding, to poore nedy men and women.

Pilgrimage diſpleaſaunt to god.

Goods euill beſtowed in pilgrimage.

These poore mens goods and their lyuelode, theſe runners about, offer to riche Prieſtes which haue mekill more liuelode then they neede. And thus thoſe goodes they waſte wilfully, and ſpend them vniuſtly agaynſt Gods biddyng vpon ſtraungers, with which, they ſhould helpe and releue, after Gods will, their poore nedy neighbours at home: ye and ouer this folly, oft tymes diuers men and women, of theſe runners thus madly hether and thither into pilgrimage: borow hereto, other mens goodes, ye and ſometyme they ſteale mens goodes hereto, and they pay them neuer agayne. Alſo ſir, I know well that when diuers men & women will go thus after theyr owne wils, and findyng out one pilgrimage: they will ordeine with them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can well ſing wanton ſonges, and ſome other pilgrimes, will haue wyth them bagge pipes: ſo that euery towne that they come through, what with the noyſe of their ſinging, and with the ſound of their pipyng, and with the ianglyng of their Caunterbury bels, and with the barkyng out of dogges after them, that they make more noyce, thē if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minſtrels. And if theſe men and women be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of thē ſhall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, tale tellers, and lyers.

The inconuenience that cōmeth by pilgrimage.

¶ And the archb. ſayd to me: Leud loſell, thou ſeeſt not farre inough in this matter, for thou conſidereſt not the great trauaile of pilgrimes: therfore, thou blameſt that thyng that is prayſable. I ſay to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrimes haue with them both ſingers and alſo pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoote, ſtriketh hys toe vpon a ſtone, and hurteth hym ſore, and maketh hym to blede: it is well done that he or hys felow begin then a ſong, or els take out of hys boſom a bagpipe, for to driue away with ſuch mirth, the hurte of hys felow. For with ſuch ſolace, the trauayle and wearines of pilgrimes, is lightly and merily borne out.

Well ſpoken my Lord for Lincolnſhire bagpipes. And why then blamed Boner Philpot for ſinging in the ſtockes?

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, S. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that wepe.

¶ And the archb. ſayd, What iangleſt thou againſt mens deuotion. Whatſoeuer thou or ſuch other ſay, I ſay that the pilgrimage that now is vſed, is to them that do it, a prayſable and a good meane to come the rather to grace: But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforceſt thee to let the deuotion of the people: ſince by authoritie of holy Scripture, men may lefully haue and vſe ſuch ſolace as thou reproueſt. For Dauid in his laſt Pſalme, teacheth me to haue diuers inſtrumentes of muſike for to prayſe therwith God.

A new found way to grace of the byſhops making.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, by the ſentence of diuers Doctours expounding the pſalmes of Dauid: that muſike and minſtrelſie that Dauid & other ſaintes of the old law ſpake of, ought now nother to be taken nor vſed by the letter, but theſe inſtrumentes with their muſike ought to be interpreted ghoſtly: For all thoſe figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues, men ſhould pleaſe god, and prayſe his name. For S. Paul ſayth: all ſuch things befell to them in figure. Therfore ſir, I vnderſtand, that the letter of this pſalme of Dauid and of ſuch other Pſalmes and ſentences doth ſlay them that take them now litterally. This ſentēce as I vnderſtand ſir, Chriſt approueth himſelfe, putting out the minſtrels, or that he would quicken the dead damſell.

Inſtrumentes ẏ muſike of the old teſtament, how they are to be applyed and vſed in the new teſtament.

¶ And the archb. ſaid to me. Leud loſell, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organes in the Church for to worſhip therwithall God? And I ſaid, ye ſir, by mans ordinance: But by the ordinance of God, a good ſermon to the peoples vnderſtādyng, were mekill more pleaſant to God.

☞ And the archb. ſayd, that Organes and good delectable ſongs, quickned and ſharpened more mens wits then ſhould any ſermon.

Organes in the Church. A fit compariſon my lord, ẏ lyke your ſelf.

¶ But I ſayd: ſir, luſty men and worldly louers, delite and couet and trauail to haue all their wittes quickned & ſharpned with diuers ſenſible ſolace: But all the faythfull louers and followers of Chriſt, haue all their delite to heare Gods worde, and to vnderſtand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offende God, and to loue to pleaſe hym in all thyng, quickeneth and ſharpeneth all the wittes of Chriſtes choſen people: and ableth them ſo to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdrawe their eares and all their wittes and members frō all worldly delite and from all fleſhly ſolace. For S. Ierome (as I thinke) ſayth. No body may ioy with this world and raigne with Chriſt.

The ſaying of Ierome.

☞ And ẏ archb. (as if he had ben diſpleaſed with myne anſwer) ſaid to his clerkes. What geſſe ye that this Idiot will ſpeake there, where he hath no dread: ſince he ſpeaketh thus now here in my preſence? Well, wel, by God thou ſhalt be ordained for. And then he ſpake to me all angerly.

You ſweare my Lord.

What ſaieſt thou to this fourth point, that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewſbury, that prieſtes haue no title to tithes.

The 4. article concerning prieſts tythes.

And I ſayd. Syr, I named there no worde of tithes in my preaching. But more then a moneth after that I was areſted: there in priſon, a man came to mee into the priſon, aſking me what I ſayd of tithes. And I ſayd to hym. Syr, in this towne are many clerkes and prieſtes, of which ſome are called religious men, though many of them be ſeculars. Therefore, aſke ye of them this queſtion. And this man ſayde to me. Syr, our prelates ſay, that we alſo are obliged to pay our tithes of all thinges that renne to vs: and that they are accurſed, that withdraw any part wittinglye fro them of their tithes. And I ſayd (ſir) to that man, as in my proteſtation I ſay now before you: that I wonder that any prieſt dare ſay, men to be accurſed, without the ground of Gods word. And the man ſayd. Sir, our prieſtes ſay, that they curſe men thus by authoritie of Gods law. And I ſaid. Sir I know not where this ſentence of curſing is authoriſed now in the Bible. And therfore ſir, I pray you that ye will aſke the moſt conning clerke of this towne, that ye may know where this ſentence curſing thē that tithe not, is now written in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But ſhortly this man would not go from me, to aſke this queſtion, of an other body: But required me there, as I would aunſwer before God, if in this caſe, that curſing of prieſtes were lawfull and approued of God? And ſhortly herewith came to my mynde the learnyng of S. Peter, teachyng prieſtes ſpecially to halow the Lord Chriſt in their hartes: beyng euermore redy (as farre as in them is) to aunſwer through fayth and hope to them that aſke of them a reaſon. And this leſſon Peter teacheth men to vſe with a meke ſpirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherfore ſir, I ſayd to this man in this wyſe. In the olde law, which ended not fully, till the tyme that Chriſt roſe vp agayn from death to lyfe: God commaunded tithes to be geuen to the Leuites, for the great buſines and daily trauayle that pertained to their office. But prieſts, becauſe their trauel was mekil more eaſy & light, then was the office of the Leuites: God ordayned that prieſts ſhould take for their liuelode to do their office, the x. part of thoſe tithes that were geuen to the Leuites. But now (I ſaid) in the new law, nether Chriſt nor any of his apoſtles tooke tithes of the people nor commaunded the people to pay tithes, nother to Prieſts nor to deacons. But Chriſt taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercy, to poore nedy mē (of ſurplus, that is ſuperfluous of their tēporall goods) which they had, more then them neded reaſonably to their neceſſary liuelode. And thus (I ſayd) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Chriſt liued & his apoſtles: when they were ſo buſy in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they might not trauel otherwiſe for to get their liuelode. But after Chriſtes aſcenſion, and when the apoſtles had receyued the holy ghoſt:

A paradox without Gods word.

A difference to be put betwixt the old law and the new.

Prieſts had the x. part of the tithes geuen to the Leuites.

Chriſt commaundeth almes, not tythes, except tythes be almes.

Ghoſt: they trauailed with their handes, for to gette theyr liuelode, when that they might thus do for buſie preaching. Therfore by example of hymſelfe, S. Paule teacheth all the prieſtes of Chriſt for to trauaile with their hand, when for buſie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus, all theſe Prieſtes whoſe prieſthode God accepteth now, or will accept, or dyd in the Apoſtles tyme, and after theyr diſceaſe: will do to the worldes end. But (as Ciſtercienſis telleth) in the thouſand yeare of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, 211. yeare, one Pope the x. Gregory ordeyned new tithes firſt to be geuen to prieſtes now in the new law. But Saint Paul in his tyme, whoſe trace or example all prieſtes of God enforce them to follow, ſeyng the couetouſnes that was among the people, deſiring to deſtroy the foule ſinne thorough the grace of God and true vertuous liuyng and example of himſelfe: wrote and taught all prieſtes for to follow hym as he followed Chriſt, paciently, willingly, and gladly in high pouerty. Wherfore, Paul ſayth thus. The Lord hath ordeyned that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall lyue of the Goſpell. But we (ſayth Paul) that couet and buſie vs to be faythfull folowers of Chriſt, vſe not this power. For lo (as Paul witneſſeth afterward) when he was full poore and needy, preachyng among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them, but with hys handes he trauailed not onely to get his owne liuyng, but alſo the liuyng of other poore & needy creatures. And ſince the people was neuer ſo couetous, nor ſo auarous (I geſſe) as they are now: It were good counſayle that all prieſtes toke hede to this heauenly learnyng of Paul followyng him here in wilfull pouerty, nothing chargyng the people for their bodily liuelode. But becauſe that many Prieſtes do contrary to Paule in this foreſayde doctrine: Paul biddeth the people take hede to thoſe Prieſtes that folow hym as he had geuen them example. As if Paul would ſay thus to the people: Accept ye none other Prieſtes then they, that lyue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certain, in whatſoeuer dignity or order that any Prieſt is in, if he conforme him not to follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles in wilfull pouerty, and in other heauenly vertues, and ſpecially in true preaching of Gods word: though ſuch a one be named a Prieſt, yet he is no more but a prieſt in name, for the worke of a very Prieſt, in ſuch a one wanteth. This ſentence approueth Auguſtine, Gregory, Chryſoſtome, & Lincolne plainly.

Tithes by whom and when they were firſt cōmaunded in the new law.

Paule hauing power to take, yet vſed it not. Paule would not be chargeous.

If prieſtes were couetous than, what be they now? This rule, with the rule of begging Friers, can not ſtand together.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me. Thinkeſt thou this wholeſom learning for to ſow openly, or yet priuily among the people? Certein, this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers which haue ordeyned, graunted, and licenced prieſtes to be in diuers degrees, and to liue by tithes and offrings of the people, and by other duties.

Holeſome inough my Lord if your taſt were to ſauour it. But it contrarieth not the ordinaunce, neyther of God nor of hys worde.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, if prieſts were now in meaſurable meaſure and number, and liued vertuouſly, and taught buſily & truly the word of God, by example of Chriſt and of his apoſtles, without tithes, offrings, and other duties that prieſtes now chalenge and take: the people would geue them freely, ſufficient liuelode.

If prieſtes would not ſlacke in their duetie, they ſhould not lacke in hauing ſufficient.

¶ And a clerke ſayd to me. How wilt thou make this good, that the people will geue freely to prieſts their liuelode: ſince that now by the law euery prieſt can ſcarcely conſtrayne the people to geue them their liuelode.

Fallax argumentum ſecundū, non cauſam vt cauſam.

☞ And I ſayd. Sir it is now no wonder though the people grudge to geue prieſts the liuelode that they aske: Mekill people know now, how that prieſtes ſhould liue, and how that they liue contrary to Chriſt and to hys Apoſtles. And therfore, the people is full heauy to pay (as they doe) theyr temporall goods to parſons and to other vicares and prieſtes, which ſhould be faythfull diſpenſatours of the pariſhes goodes: takyng to themſelues no more, but a ſcarce liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinaunce of the commō law. For whatſoeuer prieſtes take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or ſeruice) the Prieſtes ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuyng: and to depart the reſidue to the poore men and women ſpecially of the pariſh of whom they take this temporall liuyng. But the moſt dele of Prieſtes now waſteth their pariſhes goodes, and ſpendeth them at their owne will after the world, in their vain luſtes: So that in few places poore men haue duely (as they ſhould haue) their owne ſuſtenance, nother of tithes nor of offrings, nor of other large wages and foundations that prieſts take of the people in diuers maners aboue that they nede for nedefull ſuſtenaunce of meate and clothyng. But the poore nedie people are forſaken and left of Prieſtes to be ſuſtayned of the pariſhens, as if the prieſts toke nothing of the pariſhens for to helpe the people with.

The euill demeanor of the prieſtes, is the cauſe why the people be ſo ſlacke in their tithes.

Prieſtes being content with ſufficiency, and a bare liuing, ought to part the reſidue to the poore.

Prieſtes did ſo than, but our prieſtes doe not ſo now.

And thus ſir, into ouer great charges of the pariſhens they pay their temporall goods twiſe where once might ſuffice, if Prieſts were true diſpenſatours. Alſo ſir, the pariſhners that pay their temporall goodes (be they tithes or offerings) to Prieſtes that do not their office among them iuſtly, are parteners of euery ſinne of thoſe Prieſtes: becauſe that they ſuſtayne thoſe Prieſtes folly in their ſinne, with theyr temporall goods. If theſe things be well conſidered, what wonder is it than ſir, if the pariſhners grudge agaynſt theſe diſpenſators?

Whether tithes are to be payd to prieſtes doing not their dueties.

¶ Than the Archb. ſaid to me, Thou that ſhouldeſt be iudged and ruled by holy Church, preſumptuouſly thou demeſt holy church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes and other dueties to be payd to prieſts. It ſhall be long or thou thriue Loſell, that thou deſpiſeſt thy ghoſtly mother. How dareſt thou ſpeake this (Loſell) among the people? Are not tithes geuen to prieſtes for to liue by?

Goſtly mother? nay, an vngoſtly ſtepdam, to all Gods children.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir S. Poule ſayth, that tithes were geuen in the old law to Leuites and to Prieſtes, that came of the linage of Leuy. But our prieſtes he ſayeth, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promiſed to be geuen. And therfore Paul ſayth, ſince the prieſthode is chaunged frō the generation of Leuy to the generation of Juda: It is neceſſary that changing alſo be made of the law. So that prieſts liue now, without tythes and other duety that they now clayme, followyng Chriſt and hys Apoſtles in wilful pouerty, as they haue geuen them example. For ſince Chriſt lyued (all the tyme of hys preaching) by pure almes of the people. And by example of hym, his Apoſtles liued in the ſame wyſe, or els by the trauaile of their handes as it is ſayd aboue. Euery Prieſt, whoſe prieſthode Chriſt approueth, knoweth well, and confeſſeth in worde and in worke, that a diſciple ought not to be aboue his maiſter, but it ſufficeth to a diſciple to be as hys maiſter, ſimple, and pure, meke and pacient: and by example ſpecially of his maiſter Chriſt, euery prieſt ſhould rule hym in all hys liuing, and ſo after his cunning & power, a Prieſt ſhould buſie him to enforme and to rule, whome ſo euer he might charitably.

By the law none could chalenge tithes, but onely the ſeede of Leuy.

Our prieſtes be not of the ſeede of Leuy. Ergo by the law our prieſtes cannot chalenge tithes.

As the prieſthood is chaunged, ſo is the law chaunged.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid to me with a great ſpirit, Gods curſe haue thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldeſt hereby, make the olde law more free and perfect thā the new law. For thou ſaieſt, that it is lefull to Leuites and to prieſtes to take tithes in the old lawe, and ſo to enioy theyr priuileges: but to vs prieſtes in the new law, thou ſayeſt it is not lawfull to take tithes. And thus thou geueſt Leuites of the old law, more freedome than to prieſtes of the new law.

Bleſſe but curſe not ſaith S. Paule.

He goeth neare you my Lord, whē he toucheth your tithes.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, I merueill, that ye vnderſtand this playne text of Paule thus. ye wotte well, that the Leuites and prieſtes in the olde lawe that tooke tithes, were not ſo free nor ſo perfect, as Chriſt and his apoſtles that tooke no tithes. And ſir, there is a Doctor (I thinke that it is ſaint Jerome) that ſayth thus. The prieſtes that chalenge now in the new law, tithes: Say in effect, that Chriſt is not become man, nor that he hath yet ſuffered death for mans loue. Wherfore, this Doctor ſaith this ſentence. Since tythes were the hires and wages limitted to Leuites and to prieſtes of the olde law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for ſlaying and fleing of beaſtes, and for burning of ſacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoſte of Iſraell, and other diuers obſeruaunces that pertayned to their office: Thoſe prieſtes that will chalenge or take tithes, deny that Chriſt is commen in fleſhe, and doe the prieſtes office of the olde law, for whom tithes were graunted: for els (as this Doctor ſaith) prieſts take now tithes wrongfully.

The difference of the freedomes betwene the olde and new lawes.

For what cauſe tithes were geuē in the olde lawe.

¶ And the archb. ſaid to his clarkes. Heard ye euer Loſell ſpeake thus? Certaine, this is the learning of them all, that whereſoeuer they come, & they may be ſuffered: they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, why call you the taking of tithes, and of ſuch other duties that prieſts chalenge now (wrongfully) the freedome of holy church: Since nother Chriſt nor his apoſtles, chalēgen nor tooke ſuch duties. Herefore theſe takings of prieſtes now are not called iuſtly ẏ freedome of holy church, but all ſuch geuing & taking ought to be called & holden, the ſlaunderous couetouſnes of men of the holy church.

If you take away tithes, you vndoe the church.

¶ And the archb. ſayd to me. Why Loſell, wilt not thou and other that are confedered with thee, ſeke out of holy Scripture, and of the ſentence of doctors, all ſharpe authorities agaynſt Lordes, knightes, and ſquiers, and againſt other ſecular men, as thou doeſt againſt prieſtes.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, whatſoeuer men or women, lordes or ladies, or any other that are preſent in our preaching ſpecially, or in our commoning after our cunning, we tell out to them their office & their charges: But ſir, ſince Chryſoſtom ſayth, that prieſts are the ſtomack of ẏ people, it is nedefull in preaching, and alſo in commoning, to be moſt buſie about this

Thorpe, preach agaynſt whom thou wilt, ſo thou touch not this ſcabbe.

The vicioſnes and pride of prieſtes infecteth all the world.

prieſthode: Since by the vicioſnes of prieſtes both Lordes and commons are moſt ſinfully infected and led into ỹ worſt And becauſe that the couetouſnes of prieſtes and pryde, and the boaſt that they haue and make of their dignity and power: deſtroyeth not onely the vertues of prieſthood in prieſtes themſelues, but alſo ouer this, it ſtirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the Lordes, and vpon commōs, which ſuffer theſe prieſtes charitably.

A ſpiteful meekenes that is in ſkarlet gownes.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me. Thou iudgeſt euery prieſt proud that wil not go arayed as thou doeſt. By god I deme him to be more meke that goeth euery day in a ſcarlet goune, than thou in thy thred bare blew gowne. Wherby knoweſt thou a proud man?

The ſignes and markes of proud prieſtes.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir a proud prieſt may be known, whē he denieth to follow Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, in wilfull pouerty and other vertues: and coueteth worldly worſhip, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleting, manaſing, or with flattering, or with ſimony any worldly goodes: And moſt, if a prieſt buſy him not chiefly in himſelfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power, to withſtand ſinne.

Paule ſaith, god ſhall iudge all fornicatours, what ſay you my Lord?

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me. Though thou kneweſt a prieſt to haue all theſe vices, and though thou ſaweſt a prieſt louely lye now by a woman, knowyng her fleſhly: wouldſt thou therfore deme this prieſt dānable? I ſay to thee that in the turnyng about of thy hand, ſuch a ſinner may be verily repented.

Prieſtes ought to be examples of good lyuing.

☞ And I ſayd. Sir I will not damne any man for any ſinne that I know done or may be done, ſo that the ſinner leaueth hys ſinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that ſinneth thus openly as ye ſhew here, is damnable for doyng of ſuch a ſinne: and moſt ſpecially, a prieſt that ſhould be example to all other for to hate and flie ſinne. And in how ſhort tyme that euer ye ſay that ſuch a ſinner may be repēted: he oweth not of hym that knoweth his ſinning, to be iudged verily repentant, without open euidence of great ſhame and harty ſorow for his ſinne. For whoſoeuer (and ſpecially a prieſt) that vſeth pride, enuy, couetouſnes, lechery, ſimony, or any other vices: ſheweth not as open euidence of repentāce as he hath geuen euil example and occaſion of ſinning, if he cōtinue in any ſuch ſinne as long as he may: it is likely that ſinne leaueth hym, and he not ſinne. And as I vnderſtand, ſuch a one ſinneth vnto death, for whome no body oweth to pray as S. Iohn ſayth.

Clarkly ſpoken and like a Paraſite.

¶ And a Clerke ſayd then to the Archb. Sir, the lenger that ye appoſe hym, the worſe he is: and the more ye buſie you to amend hym, the waywarder he is. For he is of ſo ſhrewd a kynde, that he ſhameth not onely to be hymſelfe a foule neſt, but without ſhame he buſieth hym to make hys neſt fouler.

Forget nothing I pray you my Lord.

☞ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to hys Clarke. Suffer a while, for I am at an ende with hym, for there is an other poynte certified agaynſt hym, and I wyll heare what he ſayth therto.

¶ And ſo then he ſayd to me. Loe it is here certified agaynſt thee, that thou preachedſt opēly at Shrewſbury, that it is not lawfull to ſweare in any caſe.

Not lawfull to ſweare by any creature. Men ought not to ſweare when without an othe he may excuſe himſelfe that is compelled to ſweare.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir I preached neuer ſo openly, nor I haue taught in this wiſe in any place. But ſir, as I preached in Shrewſbury, with my proteſtatiō I ſay to you now here: that by the authoritie of the Goſpell of S. Iames, and by witnes of diuers Saintes and doctors: I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any cauſe to ſweare by any creature. And ouer this Sir, I haue alſo preached and taught by the foreſayd authorities: that no body ſhould ſweare in any caſe, if that without othe in any wiſe he that is charged to ſweare might excuſe hym to them that haue power to compell him to ſweare, in lefull thinges lawfull. But if a man may not excuſe him without othe, to them that haue power to compell him to ſweare, than he ought to ſweare only by God, taking him only that is ſoothfaſtneſſe, for to witnes the ſoothfaſtnes.

Well ſaid Sir Iohn of you, your holy mother ſl toke your head.

¶ And then a Clarke aſked me if it were not lefull to a ſubiect at the biddyng of hys Prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Goſpell booke, and kiſſe it, ſaying: So helpe me God and this holydome, for he ſhould after hys cunnyng and power, doe all thinges that hys Prelate commaundeth hym.

☞ And I ſaid to them: Sirs, ye ſpeake here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commaunded his ſubiect to do an vnlawfull thing, ſhould he obey therto?

These prelates wold be thought to be good, be they neuer ſo bad.

¶ And the Archbiſh. ſaid to me: A ſubiect ought not to ſuppoſe, that his prelate will bid him do an vnlawfull thing. For a ſubiect ought to thinke that his Prelate will bid hym do nothing but that he will aunſwer for before God, that it is lefull: And then, though the bidding of the prelate be vnlefull, the ſubiect hath no perill to fulfil it, ſince that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatſoeuer thing his prelate biddeth him doe, that it is lefull to hym for to doe it.

☞ And I ſayd, ſir I truſt not thereto. But to our purpoſe: Sir I tell you, that I was once in a gētlemās houſe, and there were then two Clarkes there, a maiſter of diuinitie, and a man of law, which man of lawe was alſo communing in diuinitie. And among other thinges, theſe men ſpake of othes, and the mā of law ſayd: at the bidding of his ſoueraigne, which had power to charge hym to ſweare, he woulde lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his vnderſtanding were vnlefull, he would haſtely withdraw his hand vpon the booke, takyng there onely God to witnes, that he would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the maiſter of diuinitie ſayde then to hym thus. Certayne, he that layeth his hand vpon a booke in this wyſe, and maketh there a promiſe to doe that thyng that he is commaunded: Is obliged therby, by booke othe, then to fulfill hys charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth hym to lay his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, and ſwearing by it, and kiſſing it, promiſing in this forme to do this thing or that) will ſay and witnes, that he that toucheth thus a booke, and kiſſeth it, hath ſworne vpon that booke. And all other men that ſee that man thus do, and alſo all thoſe that heare hereof, in the ſame wiſe wyll ſay and witnes, that this man hath ſworne vpon a booke. Wherfore, the maiſter of diuinitie ſayd, it was not leful neither to geue nor to take any ſuch charge vpon a booke: for euery booke is nothing els, but diuers creatures, of which it is made of. Therfore, to ſweare vpō a booke, is to ſweare by creatures, and this ſwearing is euer vnlefull. This ſentēce witneſſeth Chriſoſtome plainly, blamyng them greatly that bring forth a booke for to ſweare vpon, charging Clarkes, that in no wiſe they cōſtraine any body to ſweare, whether they thinke a man to ſweare true or falſe.

A communication betwixt a lawyer and a diuine.

To ſweare by a booke is to ſweare by creatures.

Chriſoſtom blameth booke oth.

¶ And the Archbiſhop and his Clarkes, ſcorned me, and blamed me greatly for this ſaying. And the Archbiſhop manaſſed me with great puniſhment and ſharpe, except I left thys opinion of ſwearing.

Here now lacked Boner, to ſcratch hym by the face.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, this is not myne opinion, but it is the opinion of Chriſt our ſauiour, and of S. Iames, & of Chriſoſtome, and other diuers ſaintes and doctours.

¶ Than the Archbiſhop bad a clarke read this Homely of Chriſoſtome: which Homely, this Clerke held in his hand written in a role: which role, the Archbiſhop cauſed to be taken from my fellow at Canterbury. And ſo then this clarke read this role, till he came to a clauſe where Chriſoſtome ſayth, that it is ſinne to ſweare well.

And then a clarke, Maluern (as I geſſe) ſaid to ỹ archbiſhop: Sir, I pray you wete of him, how he vnderſtandeth Chriſoſtome here, ſaying it to be ſin to ſweare well.

Ether Maluern, or els Syr Bryan Blowcole.

And ſo the Archbiſhop aſked me, how I vnderſtoode here Chriſoſtome.

Chriſt promiſeth ỹ gouerneth mouth & vtteraunce.

And certaine, I was ſomwhat afrayd to aunſwere hereto: For I had not buſied me to ſtudy about the ſenſe thereof, but lifting vp my mynde to God, I prayed him of grace. And as faſt as I thought how Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles: When for my name ye ſhall be brought before iudges, I ſhall geue into your mouth, wiſdome that your aduerſaries ſhall not agaynſt ſay. And truſting faithfully in the word of God, I ſayd: Sir, I know well that many men and women, haue now ſwearing ſo in cuſtome, that they know not, nor will not know, ỹ they do euill for to ſweare as they do: But they thinke and ſay, that they do well for to ſweare as they doe, though they know well that they ſweare vntruely. For they ſay, they may by their ſwearing (though it be falſe) voyde blame or temporall harme, which they ſhoulde haue, if they ſweare not thus. And ſir, many men and women maintayne ſtrongly that they ſweare well, when that thing is ſooth that they ſweare for. Alſo, full many mē and women ſay now, that it is well done to ſweare by creatures, when they may not (as they ſay) otherwiſe be beleued. And alſo, full many men and women now ſay, that it is well done to ſweare by God, and by our Lady, and by other ſaintes, for to haue them in mynde. But ſince all theſe ſayinges are but excuſations, and ſinne: me thinketh ſir, that this ſenſe of Chriſoſtome may be alleaged well againſt all ſuch ſwearers: witneſſing, that all theſe ſinne greuouſly, though they thinke themſelues for to ſweare in thys foreſayd wiſe, well. For it is euill done and great ſinne, for to ſweare truth, when in any maner, a man may excuſe hymſelfe without othe.

The place of Chriſoſtome expounded, how it is ſin to ſweare well.

What it is to ſweare well.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd, that Chriſoſtome might be thus vnderſtand.

And then a Clerke ſaid to me: Wilt thou tary my Lord no lenger, but ſubmit thee here meekely to the ordinaunce of

Pope holy Church.

holy Church, and lay thy hand vpon a booke touchyng the holy Goſpell of GOD, promiſing not onely wyth thy mouthe, but alſo with thine harte to ſtand to my Lordes ordinaunce?

☞ And I ſaid: Sir haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maiſter of diuinitie ſay: that in ſuch caſe it is all one to touch a booke, and to ſweare by a booke?

To touch a booke is to ſweare by a booke.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd: There is no maiſter of diuinitie in England ſo great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I ſhall puniſh hym as I ſhall do thee, except thou ſweare as I ſhall charge thee.

It is happy that he called not for a candle, and made a Scæuola of him, as Boner did of Tomkins.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, is not Chriſoſtome an ententife Doctour?

¶ And the Archb. ſayd, yea.

☞ And I ſayd: if Chriſoſtome proueth hym worthy great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to ſweare vpon: it muſt nedes follow, that he is more to blame that ſweareth on that booke.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd: if Chriſoſtome ment accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept hym.

It is happy that Chriſoſtome was not here, or els he would haue had him by the backe. But that word cannot be touched, Thorpe refuſeth not to ſweare.

☞ And then ſayd a clerke to me. Is not the word of God & God himſelf equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

¶ And I ſayd, yea.

☞ Then he ſaid to me, why wilt thou not ſweare then by the goſpell of God, that is Gods word, ſince it is all one to ſweare by the word of God, and by God himſelfe.

¶ And I ſayd: Sir, ſince I may not now otherwiſe be beleued, but by ſwearing: I perceiue (as Auſten ſaith) that it is not ſpedefull that ye that ſhould be my brethrẽ ſhould not beleue me: therfore I am redy by the word of God (as the lord commaunded me by his word) to ſweare.

☞ Then the Clearke ſayd to me. Lay then thine hand vpon the booke, touchyng the holy Goſpell of God and take thy charge.

¶ And I ſaid: Sir I vnderſtand that the holy Goſpell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

☞ And the Clearke ſayde I fonded, and that I ſayde not truth.

¶ And I aſked this clerk whether it were more to read the Goſpell or to touch the Goſpell.

☞ And he ſaid it was more to read the Goſpell.

Whether the booke be the Goſpell.

¶ Then I ſayd: Sir, by authoritie of S. Hierome, the goſpell is not the goſpell for reading of the letter, but for the beleſe that men haue in the word of God. That it is the Goſpell that we beleue, and not the letter that we read: for becauſe the letter that is touched wich mans hand, is not the Goſpell, but the ſentence that is verily beleued in mãs hart, is the Goſpel. For ſo Hierome ſayth. The Goſpell, that is ỹ vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaues of the boke, but it is in the roote of reaſon. Neyther the Goſpell (he ſayth) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the Goſpell is in the markyng of the ſentence of Scriptures. This ſentence approueth S. Paule, ſaying thus. The kingdome of God is not in word but in vertue. And Dauid ſayth: The voyce of the Lord that is his worde, is in vertue. And after Dauid ſayth: Through the word of God the heauēs were formed, and in the ſpirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I pray you ſir, vnderſtand ye well how Dauid ſayth, then in the ſpirit of the mouth of the Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men?

Jerom ſaith the goſpel is not the goſpell for reading, but for beleuing. The goſpell is not the leaues of the booke, but the roote of reaſon.

S. Paule.

Dauid.

And the clerke ſayd to me. Thou wouldeſt make vs to fond with thee. Say we not that the Goſpels are written in the Maſſe booke?

This clarke was well ſeene in the Maſſe boke.

☞ And I ſayd. Sir, though men vſe to ſay thus, yet it is vnperfect ſpeech. For the principal part of a thing is properly ỹ whole thyng. For lo, mans ſoule ỹ may not now be ſene here, nor touched with any ſenſible thyng, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the roote thereof that may not be ſene, for do away the roote, and the tree is deſtroyed. And ſir, as ye ſayd to me right now, God and hys word are of one authoritie: And ſir, S. Hierome witneſſeth, ỹ Chriſt (very God and very mã) is hid in the letter of his law: thus alſo ſir, the goſpell is hid in the letter. For ſir, as it is ful likely, many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Chriſt and ſaw him, and knew his bodily perſon, which neither touched, nor ſaw, nor knew ghoſtly his godhead: Right thus ſir, many men now touch and ſee, and write, and read the ſcriptures of gods law, which neither touch, ſee, nor read effectually the goſpell. For as the Godhed of Chriſt (that is the vertue of God) is known by the vertue of beleſe, ſo is the Goſpell, that is, Chriſtes word.

The goſpell is not the letter but hid in the letter.

¶ And a clerke ſayd to me. Theſe be full miſty matters and vnſauery that thou ſheweſt hereto vs.

Miſty matters for your blynde eyes.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, if ye that are maiſters, know not plainly this ſentence, ye may ſore dread that the kingdom of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the princes of prieſts and from the elders of the Jewes.

¶ And then a Clerke (as I geſſe) Maluerén, ſayd to me. Thou knoweſt not thyne equiuocations: for the kyngdome of heauen hath diuers vnderſtandinges. What calleſt thou the kyngdome of heauen in thys ſentence, that thou ſheweſt here?

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, by good reaſon and ſentence of doctors the Realme of heauen is called here, the vnderſtandyng of Gods word.

The kingdom of God taken for the vnderſtãding of Gods word.

¶ And a clerke ſayd to me. From whom thinkeſt thou that this vnderſtanding is taken away?

☞ And I ſayd: Sir (by authoritie of Chriſt himſelfe) the effectuall vnderſtanding of Chriſtes worde is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and preſume to vnderſtand high things, and will be holden wiſemen and deſire maiſterſhip and high ſtate and dignitie: but they will not conforme them to the liuyng and teachyng of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles.

This ſalte was ſomewhat too ſharpe for their rotten fleſhe to abyde.

¶ Thã the Archb. ſaid. well, wel, thou wilt iudge thy ſoueraignes. By God, the king doth not his duety, but he ſuffer thee to be condemned.

☞ And than an other Clerke ſayd to me. Why (on Friday that laſt was) counſailedſt thou a man of my Lordes, that he ſhould not ſhriue hym to no man but only to God?

Helpe downe with hym ſir John.

¶ And with this aſkyng I was abaſhed: And then by and by I knew that I was ſubtilly betrayed of a mã that came to me in priſon on the Friday before, communyng wyth me in this matter of confeſſion. And certayne, by his wordes I thought, that this man came then to me, of full feruent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuſe me, God forgeue him if it be his will. And with all myne hart when I had thought thus, I ſayd to this clerke. Sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hether: and all the wordes as nere as I can repete them, which that I ſpake to him, on Friday in the priſon, I will rehearſe now here before you all, and before hym.

Note here the crafty practiſe of thys holy church

☞ And (as I geſſe) the Archbiſhop ſaid then to me. They that are now here, ſuffice to repete them. How ſaydeſt thou to hym?

¶ And I ſayd: Sir, that man came and aſked me in diuers thinges, and after his aſking, I aunſwered hym (as I vnderſtoode) that good was: And as he ſhewed to me by his wordes, he was ſory of hys liuyng in court, and right heauy for hys owne vicious liuyng, and alſo for the viciouſneſſe of other men, and ſpecially of prieſtes euill liuyng: and herefore he ſayd to me with a ſorowfull hart (as I geſſed) that he purpoſed fully within ſhort tyme for to leaue the court, and to buſie hym to know Gods law, and to conforme all his life therafter. And when he had ſayd to me theſe wordes & moe other which I would reherſe and he were preſent, he prayed me to heare hys confeſſion. And I ſayd to him, ſir, wherfore come ye to me, to be cõfeſſed of me, ye wote wel that ỹ Archb. putteth and holdeth me here, as one vnworthy either to geue or to take any ſacrament of holy church.

A falſe brother.

☞ And he ſayd to me. Brother I wote well, and ſo wote many other mo, that you and ſuch other are wrongfully vexed, and therfore I common with you the more gladly.

And I ſayd to hym. Certayne I wote well that many mē of this court, and ſpecially the prieſtes of this houſhold would be full euill apayd both with you and with me, if they wiſte that ye were confeſſed of me. And he ſayd, that he cared not therfore, for he had full little affection in them: And as me thought, he ſpake theſe wordes and many other, of ſo good will and of ſo high deſire, for to haue knowen and done the pleaſaunt will of God. And I ſayd then to hym, as with my foreſayd proteſtation I ſay to you now here: Sir, I counſaile you, for to abſent you from all euill company, & to draw you to them that loue and buſie them to know and to keepe the preceptes of God: And then the good ſpirite of God will moue you for to occupy buſily all your wittes in gatheryng together of all your ſinnes, as farre as ye can bethinke you, ſhamyng greatly of them and ſorowing hartely for them: yea ſir, the holy ghoſt will then put in your hart a good wyll and a feruent deſire for to take and to hold a good purpoſe, to hate euer and to flie, (after your cunnyng and power) all occaſion of ſinne: and ſo then, wiſedome ſhall come to you from aboue, lightenyng (with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly deſire) all your wittes, enfourmyng you howe ye ſhall truſt ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of the Lord: knowledging to hym onely all your vicious liuyng, praying to hym euer deuoutly of charitable counſell and continuance. Hopyng without doubt, that if ye continue thus, buſiyng you faithfully to know and to keepe his biddings, that he wyll (for he onely may) forgeue you all your ſinnes. And thys man ſayd to me. Though God forgeue men their ſinnes, yet it behoueth men to be aſſoyled of prieſtes, and to doe the penaunce

A crafty trayne of a popiſhe diſſembler.

Auricular confeſſion.

naunce that they enioyne them.

And I ſayd to him. Syr, it is all one to aſſoyle men of their ſinnes, & to forgeue men their ſinnes. Wherfore, ſince it pertaineth onely to God to forgeue ſinne: It ſuffiſeth in this cauſe, to counſell men & women for to leaue their ſinne, and to comfort them that buſie them thus to do, for to hope ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. And agaynewarde, Prieſtes ought to tell ſharply to cuſtomable ſinners, that if they will not make an end of their ſinne, but cõtinue in diuers ſinnes while that they may ſinne, all ſuch deſerue paine without any end. And herefore, Prieſtes ſhould euer buſie them to liue well and holyly, and to teach the people buſely and truly the word of God, ſhewyng to all folke in open preachyng and in priuy counſeling that the Lord God onely forgeueth ſinne. And therfore, thoſe prieſtes ý take vpõ them to aſſoile men of their ſinnes, blaſpheme God: ſince that it perteineth onely to the Lord, to aſſoyle men of all their ſinnes. For no doubt, a thouſand yeare after that Chriſt was mã, no prieſt of Chriſt durſt take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuely nor apertly, that they behoued needes to come to be aſſoyled of them, as Prieſtes now do. But by authoritie of Chriſtes word: Prieſtes bounde indurate cuſtomable ſinners, to euerlaſting paines, which in no time of their liuing, would buſie them faithfully to know the biddinges of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy all their wittes to hate and to flye all occaſiõ of ſinne, dreadyng ouer all thyng, to offend God, and louing for to pleaſe him continually: to theſe men and women, Prieſts ſhewed, how the Lord aſſoyleth them of all their ſinnes. And thus Chriſt promiſed to confirme in heauen, all the binding & looſing that Prieſtes by authoritie of his word, binde men in ſinne that are indurate therin, or looſe them out of ſinne here vpon earth, that are verely repentaunt. And this man hearing theſe wordes ſayd, that he might well in conſcience cõſent to this ſentence. But he ſayd, Is it not needefull to the lay people that cã not thus do, to go ſhriue them to Prieſts? And I ſayd, If a man feele himſelfe ſo diſtroubled with any ſinne, that he cã not by his own witte auoyde this ſinne without counſell of them that are herein wiſer that he: In ſuch a caſe, the counſell of a good Prieſt is full neceſſarie. And if a good Prieſt fayle as they do now commonly, in ſuch a caſe S. Auguſtine ſayth, that a man may lawfully common and take counſell, of a vertuous ſecular man. But certaine, that man or womã is ouerladen and to beaſtly, which can not bring their owne ſinnes into their minde, buſieng them night and day for to hate & to forſake all their ſinnes, doing a ſigh for them after their cunning and power. And ſir full accordingly to this ſentence vpõ Midlenton Monday (two yeare as I geſſe now agone) I hard a Monke of Feuerſam that men called Moredome, preach at Canterbury at the croſſe within Chriſt Church Abbey, ſaying thus of confeſſion. That as through the ſuggeſtiõ of the feend without counſell of any other body, of themſelues many men and women, can imagine and finde meanes & wayes inough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other diuers vices: In contrary wiſe this Monke ſaid. Since the Lord God is more ready to forgeue ſinne than the feende is or may be of power, to moue any body to ſinne: thã whoſoeuer wil ſhame and ſorow hartely for their ſinnes, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cũning, without counſell of any other body than of God and himſelfe (through the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may finde ſufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and ſo to be cleane aſſoyled of all their ſinnes. This ſentence I ſaid ſir to this man of yours, and the ſelfe wordes as neare as I can geſſe.

God onely forgeueth ſinne, mã onely can counſell to leaue ſin.

Shrift & confeſſion to prieſtes.

A good ſecular man may be coũſeller, where a prieſt faileth by S. Auguſtine.

Morden Mõke of Feuerſam preaching of confeſſion.

Harty repẽtaũce to God, needeth no confeſſion to a prieſt.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſayd. Holy Churche approueth not this learning.

No nor nothing els that is good.

☞ And I ſaid. Syr, holy Church of which Chriſt is head in heauen and in earth, muſt needes approue this ſentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know & to keepe the commaundementes of God, and to hate & to flye cõtinually all occaſion of ſinne, and to loue and to ſeeke vertues buſily, and to beleue in God ſtably, and to truſt in his mercy ſtedfaſtly, and ſo to come to perfect charitie & continue therin perſeuerantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, ſince Jeſu Chriſt died vpon the croſſe, wilfully to make men free: Men of the Church are to bold and to buſie, to make men thrall, binding them vnder the paine of endles curſe (as they ſay) to do many obſeruaunces and ordinaũces, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Chriſt nor of his Apoſtles, approueth.

Chriſt geueth freedome, the pope geueth thraldome.

And a Clerke ſayd thẽ to me: Thou ſheweſt plainly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that trauell to ſow popple mixing ý wheat. But I counſell thee to go away cleane from this learning, & ſubmit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou ſhalt finde him yet to be gracious to thee.

¶ And as faſt then, an other Clerke ſayd to me: How waſt thou ſo bold at Paules Croſſe in London, to ſtand there harde with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reproue in his Sermon the worthy Clerke Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mighteſt: yea, and the ſame day at after noone, thou meetyng the worthy Doctour in Watlyng ſtreete, calledſt him falſe flatterer and hipocrite.

☞ And I ſaid: Syr, I thinke certainly that there was no man nor womã that hated verely ſinne, and loued vertues (hearing the Sermõ of the Clerke at Oxford, and alſo Alkertons Sermon) but they ſaid, or might iuſtly ſay, that Alkerton reproued that Clerke vntruly, and ſlaundered him wrongfully and vncharitably. For no doubt, If the liuing and teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his Apoſtles be true, no body that loueth God and his law, will blame any ſentence that the Clerke then preached there: ſince by authoritie of Gods word, and by approued Saintes & Doctours, and by open reaſon, this Clerke approued all thinges clearely that he preached there.

¶ And a Clerke of the archbyſhops ſayd to me, his Sermon was falſe, and that he ſheweth openly, ſince he dare not ſtand forth and defend his preachyng that he then preached there.

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, I thinke that he purpoſeth to ſtand ſtedfaſtly thereby, or els he ſclaundereth fouly himſelfe, and alſo many other that haue great truſt that he will ſtand by the truth of the Goſpell. For I wote well, this Sermon is written both in Latin and Engliſh, and many men haue it, & they ſet great price therby. And ſir, If ye were preſent with the archbiſhop at Lambeth when this Clarke appeared and was at his aunſwere before the archbiſhop, ye wote well that this Clerke denied not there his Sermon, but two dayes he maintained it before the archbiſhop and his Clerkes.

And then the archbiſhop or one of his Clerkes ſaid (I wote not which of them) that harlot ſhalbe met with, for that Sermon. For no man but he and thou, and ſuch other falſe harlots, prayſeth any ſuch preaching.

¶ And then the archbiſhop ſayd. Your curſed ſect is buſie, and it ioyeth right greatly to contrary and to deſtroy the priuilege and fredome of holy Church.

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, I know no men that trauell ſo buſily as this ſect doth (which you reproue) to make reſt and peace in holy Church. For pride, couetouſnes, and ſimony, which diſtrouble moſt holy Church: this ſect hateth and fleeth, and traueleth buſily to moue all other men in like maner, vnto meekenes and wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free miniſtring of the Sacraments: this ſect loueth and vſeth, and is full buſie to moue all other folkes thus to do. For theſe vertues, owe all members of holy church, to their head Chriſt.

The true freedome of holy church not deſtroyed but increaſed by true preachers.

Then a Clerke ſaid to the archbiſhop: Sir, it is farre dayes, and ye haue farre to ride to night: therfore make an end with him, for he will none make. But the more, ſir, that ye buſie you for to draw him toward you, the more cõtumax he is made, and the farther fro you.

¶ And then Malueren ſaid to me: William, kneele downe, and pray my Lord of grace, and leaue all thy phãtaſies, and become a child of holy Church.

Take my Lords bleſſing & ſtand vp.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, I haue prayed the archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Chriſt, that he will leaue his indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he will ſuffer me after my cunning & power, for to do mine office of Prieſthode, as I am charged of God to do it. For I couet nought els, but to ſerue my God to his pleaſing in the ſtate that I ſtand in, and haue taken me to.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: If of good hart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counſell, obeyng meekely and wilfully to mine ordinaunce, thou ſhalt finde it moſt profitable and beſt to thee for to do thus. Therfore tary thou me no lenger, graũt to do this that I haue ſayd to thee now here ſhortly, or denie it vtterly.

My Lord hath haſt, for being benighted.

☞ And I ſayd to the Archbyſhop: Syr, owe we to beleue that Jeſu Chriſt was and is, very God and very man?

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd: yea.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, owe we to beleue that all Chriſtes liuing and his teaching is true in euery point?

¶ And he ſayd, yea.

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, owe we to beleue, that the liuing of the Apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt, and all the Prophetes, are true whiche are written in the Bible, for the health and ſaluation of good people?

¶ And he ſayd, yea.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, owe all Chriſten men & women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing, to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and liuing of his Apoſtles and of Prophetes, in all things that are pleaſaunt to God, and edification of his Church?

¶ And he ſayd, yea.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counſell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto: except this doctrine, theſe biddinges, or this counſell, may be graunted and affirmed by Chriſtes liuing and his teaching ſpecially, or by the liuing and teaching of his Apoſtles and Prophetes?

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Other doctrine ought not to be accepted, nor we owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counſell except we can perceiue that his bidding or counſell, accordeth with the life & teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophetes.

And why compel you this mā to the contrary

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, is not all the learnyng, and biddinges and counſels of holy Churche, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withſtand the priuye ſuggeſtions, and the aperte temptations of the feend? and alſo wayes and healefull remedies, to ſlea pride and all other deadly ſinnes, and the braunches of them, and ſoueraigne meanes to purchaſe grace, for to withſtand and ouercome all the fleſhely luſtes and mouynges?

Thorpe content to ſubmit himſelfe to the ordinaunce of councels.

¶ And the Archbyſhop ſayd yea.

☞ And I ſaid: Syr, whatſoeuer thyng ye or any other body bid or counſell me to do, accordingly to this foreſayd learning, after my cunning & power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my hart obey thereto.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſaid to me: Submit thee than now here meekely and wilfully, to the ordinaunce of holy church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.

☞ And I ſaid: ſir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearſed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Chriſt the head of the holy Church, & to the learning and biddinges, and counſels of euery pleaſing member of him.

¶ Then the archbiſhop ſtriking with his hand fiercely vpō a cupborde, ſpake to me with a great ſpirite ſaying: By Ieſu, but if thou leaue ſuch additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinaunce (or that I go out of this place) I ſhall make thee as ſure, as any theefe that is in the priſon of Lanterne. Aduiſe thee now what thou wilt do. And then as if he had bene angred, he went fro the cupborde where he ſtode, to a windowe.

If Bonet had bene here, he would not haue broken the cupbord.

¶ And then Malueren and an other Clerke came nearer me, and they ſpake to me many wordes full pleaſantly: and an other while, they manaſed me, and counſelled full buſily to ſubmit me, or els they ſayd I ſhould not eſcape puniſhing ouer meaſure: For they ſaid, I ſhould be degraded, curſed, and burned, and ſo then damned. But now they ſayd, thou mayeſt eſchew all theſe miſchiefes, if thou wilt ſubmit thee wilfully and meekely to this worthy prelate, that hath cure of thy ſoule. And for the pitie of Chriſt (ſaid they) bethinke thee, how great Clerkes the Biſhop of Lyncolne, Hereford, and Puruey were, and yet are, and alſo B. that is a well vnderſtanding man, which alſo haue forſaken and reuoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and ſuch other hold. Wherfore, ſince eche of them is mikle wiſer then thou art, we counſel thee for the beſt: that by the example of theſe foure Clerkes, thou follow them, ſubmitting thee as they did.

The multitude is not to be folowed in euill.

And one of the Biſhops Clerkes ſaid then there, that he heard Nicoll Hereford ſay: that ſince he forſoke & reuoked all the learning & Lolardes opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delite to hold agaynſt them, then euer he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

See what mā is, God geuing him vp to himſelfe.

And therfore Malueren ſaid to me: I vnderſtand and thou wilt take thee to a Prieſt, and ſhriue thee cleane, forſake all ſuch opinions, & take thy penaūce of my Lord here, for the holding and teaching of them: within ſhort tyme, thou ſhalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

As cleane from thrift as frō ſin.

☞ And I ſayd to the Clerkes, that thus buſily counſelled me to follow theſe foreſayd men: Sirs, if theſe men of whom ye counſell me to take example, had forſaken benefices of temporall profite, and of worldly worſhip, ſo that they had abſented them, and eſchewed from all occaſions of couetouſnes & of fleſhly luſtes, and had taken vpō them ſimple liuing, and wilfull pouertie: they had herein geuen good example to me and to many other, to haue folowed them. But now, ſince all theſe foure men, haue ſclaunderouſly and ſhamefully done the contrary, conſentyng to receiue and to haue and to hold temporall benefices, liuing now more worldly & more fleſhly then they did before, conformyng them to the maners of this world: I forſake them herein, and in all their foreſayd ſlaunderous doing. For I purpoſe with the helpe of God (into remiſſion of my ſinnes, and of my foule curſed liuing) to hate and to flee priuely and apertly, to follow theſe men, teaching and counſelling whom ſo euer that I may, for to flee and eſchew ẏ way that they haue choſen to go in, which will lead them to the worſt end, (if in conuenient tyme they repent them not) verely forſaking and reuoking openly the ſlaunder that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Chriſtes Church. For certayne, ſo open blaſphemy and ſlaunder as they haue ſpoken and done, in their reuoking & forſaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuely be amended, duely. Wherfore ſirs, I pray you that you buſie not for to moue me to folow theſe men, in reuoking and forſakyng the truth, and ſothfaſtnes as they haue done, and yet doe: wherein, by open euidence they ſtirre God to great wrath, and not onely agaynſt themſelues, but alſo againſt all them that fauour them, or conſent to them herein, or that cōmuneth wyth them, excepte it be for their amendement. For, where as theſe men firſt were purſued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by othe for to ſlaunder and purſue Chriſt in his members. Wherfore (as I truſt ſtedfaſtly in ẏ goodnes of God) the worldly couetouſnes, and the luſty lyuing, and the ſliding from the truth of theſe runnagates: ſhall be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to ſtand more ſtifly by the truth of Chriſt.

Other mens examples are ſo to be folowed, as they be the folowers of Chriſt.

For certayne, right many men and women, do marke and abhorre the foulenes and cowardnes of theſe foreſayde vntrue men, how that they are ouercome and ſtopped with benefices, and withdrawen from the truth of Gods worde, forſaking vtterly to ſuffer therfore bodely perſecution. For by this vnfaithfull doyng and apoſtaſie of them (ſpecially that are great lettered men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: and now, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of tyrauntes, haue taken hyer and temporall wages to forſake the truth and to holde agaynſt it, ſclaundering and perſuinge them that couete to follow Chriſt in the way of righteouſnes, many men and women therefore are now moued. But many mo through the grace of God, ſhalbe moued hereby for to learne the truth of God, and to doe therafter, and to ſtand boldly thereby.

Promotiōs commonly and great liuinges, choke truth.

Men folowing the wayes of Balaam.

¶ Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to his clearkes. Buſie you no lenger aboute him, for he and other ſuch as he is, are confedered ſo together, that they will not ſweare to be obedient, & to ſubmit them to prelates of holy Church. For now ſince I ſtoode here, his fellow alſo ſent me word that he will not ſweare, and that this fellow counſelled hym that he ſhoulde not ſweare to me. And loſell, in that thing that in thee is, thou haſt buſied thee to loſe this young man, but bleſſed be God, thou ſhalt not haue thy purpoſe of hym. For he hath forſaken all thy learning, ſubmitting him to be buxum and obedient to the ordinaunce of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curſeth thee full hartely for the venemous teaching which thou haſt ſhewed to him, counſelling him to do thereafter.

Thorpes felow refuſeth to ſweare to the prelates.

And for thy falſe counſelling of many other and him, thou haſt great cauſe to be right ſory. For long tyme thou haſt buſied thee to peruert whomſoeuer thou mighteſt. Therfore, as many deathes thou art worthy of, as thou haſt geuen euill counſels. And therfore by Ieſu, thou ſhalt go thether, where Nicoll Harford and Thom. Puruay were harbered. And I vndertake, or this day viij. dayes, thou ſhalt be right glad for to do what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And Loſell, I ſhall aſſay, if I can make thee there as ſorowfull (as it was tolde me) thou waſt glad of my laſt goyng out of England. By S. Thomas, I ſhall turne thy ioy into ſorow.

Vide ſupra. pag. 497

☞ And I ſayd. Sir there can no body proue lawfully that I ioyed euer, of the maner of your going out of this land.

Arundel the Archb. going out of England.

But Sir, to ſay the ſoth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone: for the byſhop of London in whoſe priſon ye left me, found in me no cauſe for to holde me lenger in his priſon, but at the requeſt of my frendes, he deliuered me to them, aſkyng of me no maner of ſubmitting.

The gentlenes of the B. of Lō. dō to Thorpe.

¶ Then the archbiſhop ſaide to me. Wherfore that I yede out of England, is vnknowen to thee: But be thys thyng well knowen to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to deſtroy thee and the falſe ſecte that thou art of: as by God, I ſhall purſue you ſo narowly, that I ſhall not leaue a ſlip of you in this land.

So promiſed Wincheſter in Queene Maries time, but that paſſed his power to performe.

☞ And I ſaid to the archbiſhop. Sir, the holy Prophet Ieremy ſaid to the falſe Prophet Anany. When the worde that is the prophecie of a Prophet, is knowen or fulfilled: then it ſhall be knowen, that the Lorde ſent the Prophet in truth.

A notable anſwere of Thorpe to the byſhop, promiſing to deſtroy all the Goſpellers.

¶ And the archbiſhop (as if he had not bene pleaſed with my ſaying) turned him away ward hether and thether, and ſayd, By GOD, I ſhall ſet vpon thy ſhinnes a payre of

Such pearles would better beſeeme my Lord your golden ſhoes.

pearles, that thou ſhalt be glad to chaunge thy voyce.

These and many mo wonderous & conuicious wordes, were ſpoken to me, manaſſing me and all other of the ſame ſect, for to be puniſhed and deſtroyed vnto the vttermoſt.

At illi clamabant dicentes tolle, tolle, crucifige eum. Luke. 23.

And the Archbiſhop called then to him a Clerke, and rowned with him: and that Clerke went forth, and ſoone he brought in the Conſtable of Saltwode Caſtell, and the Archbiſhop rowned a good while with hym: And then the Cōſtable went forth, and then came in diuers ſeculers, and they ſcorned me on euery ſide, and manaſſed me greatly. And ſome counſelled the archbiſhop to burne me by and by, and ſome other counſelled hym to drowne me in the Sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a Clerke ſtandyng beſide me, there kneeled downe to the archbyſhop, praying him that he would deliuer me to him, for to ſay Mattines with him: & he would vndertake: that within three dayes I ſhould not reſiſte any thyng that were commaunded me to do of my Prelate.

And the archbyſhop ſayd, that he would ordaine for me hymſelfe.

And then after, came agayne the Conſtable and ſpake priuily to the archbyſhop: And the archbiſhop commaūded the Conſtable to lead me forth thence with him, & ſo he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were ſent after agayne. And whē I came in agayne before the archbiſhop: a Clerke bad me kneele downe and aſke grace, and ſubmit me lowly, and I ſhould finde it for the beſt.

Obedience to God and to hys laws would not ſerue.

☞ And I ſayd thē to the archbyſhop. Syr, as I haue ſaid to you diuers tymes to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and ſubmitte me to be ordeined euer after my cunnyng and power, to God and to his law, and to euery member of holy Church, as farre forth as I can perceiue that theſe members accord with their head Chriſt, and will teach me, rule me, or chaſtiſe me by authoritie, ſpecially of Gods law.

¶ And the archbiſhop ſayd. I wiſt well he would not without ſuch additions ſubmit him.

In patience and ſilence poſſeſſe your ſoules.

And then I was rebuked, ſcorned and manaſed on euery ſide: and yet after this, diuers perſons cried vpon me to kneele downe and ſubmit me, but I ſtode ſtill and ſpake no word. And then there was ſpoken of me and to me many great wordes, & I ſtode and heard them manaſe curſe, and ſcorne me: but I ſayd nothyng.

Then a while after, the archbiſhop ſayd to me. Wilt thou not ſubmit thee to the ordinaunce of holy Church?

☞ And I ſayd. Syr, I will full gladly ſubmit me, as I haue ſhewed you before.

¶ And then the archbiſhop bad the Conſtable, to haue me forth thence in haſt.

Thorp caſt in priſon.

Thorpe comforted & ſtrengthned of the Lord, after his conflict with the byſhop.

And ſo then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vnhoneſt priſon, where I came neuer before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, & had ſparred faſt the priſon doore after them: By and by after, I therin by my ſelfe, buſied me to thinke on God, and to thāke hym of his goodneſſe. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a tyme from the ſight, from the hearyng, from the preſence, from the ſcornyng, and from the manaſing of myne enemies: but much more I reioyſed in the Lord, becauſe that through his grace he kept me ſo, both among the flatteryng ſpecially, and amōg the manaſing of myne aduerſaries, that without heauineſſe and anguiſh of my cōſcience I paſſed away from them. For as a tree laid vpon an other tree, ouerwharte or Croſſe wiſe, ſo was the archbiſhop and his three Clerkes alwayes contrary to me, and I to them.

Now good God for thyne holy name, and to the praiſing of thy moſt bleſſed name: make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authoritie of thy word, that is true perfite charity) and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this writyng read or heare, pray hartely to the lord God, that he for his great goodneſſe that can not be with toung expreſſed, graunt to vs and to all other, which in the ſame wiſe, and for the ſame cauſe ſpecially, or for any other cauſe be at diſtaunce, to be knit & made one in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfite charitie. Amen.

¶ Beſides this examinatiō here aboue deſcribed, came an other treatiſe alſo to our handes of the ſame W. Thorpe, vnder the name and title of his teſtament: which rather by the matter and handlyng thereof, might ſeme to be counted a cōplaint of vicious Prieſtes: which treatiſe or teſtament, in this place we thought not meete to be left out.

Chriſt dwelleth in a faithfull ſoule.

MAthew an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and his goſpeller, witneſſeth truely in the holy Goſpell, the moſt holy liuing and the moſt holeſome teachyng of Chriſt. He rehearſeth how ẏ Chriſt likeneth them that heare his wordes and keepe thē, to a wiſe man that buildeth his houſe vpon a ſtone, that is a ſtable & a ſad ground. This houſe is mans ſoule in whom Chriſt deliteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is ſtabliſhed faythfully in his liuyng and in his true teachyng, adourned or made fayre with diuers vertues, which Chriſt vſed and taught without any medlyng of any errour, as are chiefly the conditions of charitie.

Chriſt is the ſtone wheron we muſt build.

This foreſayd ſtone is Chriſt, vpon which euery faythfull ſoule muſt be builded, ſince vpon none other ground thē vpon Chriſtes liuyng and his teachyng, no body may make any buildyng or houſing, wherin Chriſt will come & dwell. This ſentence witneſſeth S. Paule to the Corinthians, ſhewyng to them that no body may ſet any other grounde thē is ſet, that is, Chriſtes liuing and his teachyng. And becauſe that all men and women ſhould geue all their buſineſſe here in this lyfe, to builde them vertuouſly vpon this ſure foundation: S. Paule knowledgyng the feruent deſire, and the good will of the people of Epheſie, wrote to them comfortably ſaying: Now ye are not ſtraungers, geſtes, nor yet comelynges, but ye are the Citizens and of the houſhold of God, builded aboue vpon the foundement of the Apoſtles and Prophetes. In which foundement, euery buildyng that is builded or made through the grace of God, it encreaſeth or groweth into an holy temple, that is: Euery body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teachyng and liuyng of Chriſt, is there through, made the holy temple of God.

How we are made the temple of God.

Marke what we haue by Chriſt.

This is the ſtable ground & ſtedfaſt ſtone Chriſt, which is the ſure corner ſtone, faſt ioynyng and holdyng mightely together, two walles. For through Chriſt Ieſu, meane or middell perſon of the Trinitie: the father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mākynd. And through dread to offend God, and feruēt loue to pleaſe him, men be vnſeparably made one to God & defended ſurely vnder his protectiō. Alſo, this foreſayd ſtone Chriſt, was figured by the ſquare ſtones of which ẏ tēple of God, was made. For as a ſquare ſtone, where ſoeuer it is caſt or layd, it abydeth and lyeth ſtablye: ſo Chriſt and euery faithfull member of his Church by exāple of him, abydeth and dwelleth ſtablye in true fayth, and in all other heauēly vertues in all aduerſities that they ſuffer in this valley of teares.

The propertie of a ſquare ſtone.

For loe, when theſe foreſayd ſquare ſtones were hewen and wrought for to be layd in the walles or pillers of Gods temple, none noyſe or ſtroke of the workemen was heard. Certaine this ſilence in workyng of this ſtone, figureth Chriſt chiefly and his faythfull members, which by example of him, haue bene and yet are, and euer to the worldes end ſhall be ſo meeke and pacient in euery aduerſitie, that no ſounde nor yet any grudgyng ſhall any tyme be perceiued in them.

Chriſt is an example of all perfect meekenes.

Neuertheleſſe, this chief and moſt worſhypfull corner ſtone which onely is ground of all vertues, proude beggers repriued: but this deſpite and repreſe, Chriſt ſuffered moſt meekely in his owne perſon, for to geue exāple of all meekeneſſe and pacience to all his faithfull folowers. Certaine, this world is nowe ſo full of proude beggers which are named prieſtes: but the very office of workyng of prieſthode which Chriſt approueth true, and accepteth, is farre from the multitude of Prieſtes that now reigne in this world.

Prieſtes ſeeke the pleaſure of this world.

Great oddes betwixt the life of popes and Chriſt & his Apoſtles.

For from the higheſt Prieſt to the loweſt all (as who ſay) ſtudy, that is, they imagine and trauell buſily, how they may pleaſe this world and their fleſh. This ſentence & many ſuch other dependeth vpon them, if it be well conſidered, other God the father of heauen hath deceaued all mankynd by the liuing ſpecially & teachyng of Ieſu Chriſt, & by the liuyng and teachyng of his Apoſtles and Prophets: or els all the Popes that haue bene, ſince I had any knowledge or diſcretion, with all the college of Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, Monkes, Chanons, and Friers, with all the contagious flocke of the communaltie of Prieſthode, which haue (all my lyfe tyme and michell lenger) reigned and yet reigne, and increaſe damnably frō ſinne into ſinne: haue bene and yet be, proude, obſtinate heretickes, couetous ſimoners, and defouled adulterers in the miniſtryng of the Sacraments, and ſpecially in the miniſtryng of the Sacrament of the aulter. For as their workes ſheweth whereto Chriſt biddeth vs take heede: the higheſt Prieſts and Prelates of this Prieſthode, challenge and occupie vnlefully, temporall Lordſhips. And for temporal fauour and meede, they ſell and geue benefices to vnworthy and vnable perſons, yea theſe ſimoners ſell ſinne, ſufferyng men and women in euery degree and eſtate, to lye, and continue, from yeare to yeare, in diuers vices ſlaunderouſly. And thus by euill example of hygh Prieſtes in the Church, lower Prieſtes vnder them are not onely ſuffered, but they are maintained to ſell full deare (to the people for temporall meede) all the Sacramētes.

While prieſts forget Gods truth, ye ſee whether they runne hedlong.

The great infecte the ſmall.

And thus all this foreſaid Prieſthode, is blowen ſo high

Fleſhly prieſtes cannot away with thoſe thinges.

and borne vp in pride and vayne glory of their eſtate and dignitie, and ſo blinded with worldly couetouſnes: That they diſdaine to follow Chriſt in very meekenes and wilfull pouertie, liuing holily and preachyng Gods word truly, freely and continually, takyng their liuelyhode at the free will of the people of their pure almoſe, where and whẽ they ſuffiſe not for their true & buſie preachyng to get their ſuſtenaunce with their hands. To this true ſentẽce grounded on Chriſtes owne liuyng and teachyng of his Apoſtles, theſe foreſayd worldly and fleſhly Prieſtes will not conſent effectually. But as their workes & alſo their wordes ſhew: boldly and vnſhamefaſtly theſe forenamed Prieſtes and Prelates, couet, and enforce them mightely and buſily, that all holy ſcripture were expounded & drawen accordingly to their maners, and to their vngrounded vſages & findinges. For they will not (ſince they hold it but folie and madnes) conforme their maners to the pure and ſimple liuyng of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, nor they will not folow freely their learning. Wherfore, all the Emperours and Kynges, and all other Lordes and Ladyes, and all the common people in euery degree and ſtate, which haue before tyme knowẽ or might haue knowẽ, & alſo all they that now yet know or might know this foreſayd witnes of Prieſthode, and would not nor yet will, enforce them after their cunnyng and power, to withſtãd charitably the foreſayd enemies and traytors of Chriſt, and of his Church: all theſe ſtriue with Antichriſt agaynſt Jeſu. And they ſhall heare the indignatiõ of God almighty without end, if in conueniẽt tyme they amende them not, and repent them verely, doyng therfore due mournyng and ſorow, after their cũnyng and power. For through preſumptuouſneſſe and negligence of Prieſtes and Prelates (not of the Church of Chriſt, but occupyeng their prelacie vnduely in the Church) and alſo by flatteryng and falſe couetouſnes of other diuers named Prieſtes: Louſengers and lounderers, are wrongfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraude poore and needy creatures of their liuelode, and to liue by their falſe winnyng and beggyng, in ſlouth and in other diuers vices. And alſo of theſe Prelates, theſe coker noſes, are ſuffered to liue in pride and hypocriſie, and to defoule themſelues both bodely and ghoſtly. Alſo by the ſufferyng and counſell of theſe foreſayd Prelates and of other Prieſtes, are made both vayne brotherhodes & ſiſterhodes, full of pride and enuy, which are ful contrary to the brotherhode of Chriſt, ſince they are cauſe of mickell diſſention, and they multiply and ſuſteine it vncharitably: for in luſty eating and drinkyng, vnmeaſurably and out of tyme, they exerciſe themſelues. Alſo this vayne confederacie of brotherhodes, is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

They hunt after thys with tothe & nayle.

An exhortation to all degrees, to ſee prieſthood amended.

Prelates & prieſtes negligent in their duties.

And in all theſe vngrounded & vnlefull doynges, prieſtes are parteners and great medlers and counſellers. And ouer this viciouſnes, Heremites and Pardoners, Ankers, and ſtraunge beggers, are licenſed and admitted of prelates and Prieſtes, for to beguile the people with flatterynges & leaſinges ſlaunderouſly agaynſt all good reaſon & true beleue, and ſo to encreaſe diuers vices in themſelues, and alſo amõg all them that accept them or conſent to them.

And thus, the viciouſneſſe of theſe foreſayd named Prieſtes and prelats, haue bene long tyme, & yet is, and ſhal be cauſe of warres both within the Realme & without. And in the ſame wiſe, theſe vnable Prieſtes haue bene, and yet are, and ſhalbe chief cauſe of peſtilence of men, and morein of beaſtes, and of barẽnes of the earth, & of all other miſchiefs, to the tyme that Lordes and commons able them through grace, for to know and to keepe the cõmaundement of God, inforcyng them than faithfully and charitably by one aſſent, for to redreſſe and make one this foreſayd Prieſthode, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teachyng, ſpecially of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Cipr. 1. q. 1. cap. *Si quis inquit.*

Therfore, all they that know or might know, the viciouſnes that reigneth now curſedly in theſe Prieſtes and in their learnyng, if they ſuffiſe not to vnderſtand this contagious viciouſneſſe: let them pray to the Lord hartly for the health of his church, abſteinyng them prudently from theſe indurate enemyes of Chriſt and of his people, and from all their Sacramentes, ſince to them all that know thẽ or may know, they are but fleſhly deedes and falſe: as S. Cyprian witneſſeth in the firſt queſtion of decrees, and in the firſt cauſe. Ca. Si quis inquit. For as this ſaint and great doctor witneſſeth there, ỷ not onely vicious Prieſtes, but alſo all they that fauour them or conſent to them in their viciouſnes: ſhall together periſh with them, if they amend them not duely, as all they periſhed that conſented to Dathan & Abiron. For nothing were more confuſion to theſe foreſayd vicious Prieſtes, than to eſchewe them prudently in all their vnlefull Sacramentes, while they continue in their ſinfull liuyng ſlaunderouſly, as they haue long tyme done and yet do. And no body neede to be afrayde (though death did folow by one wiſe or other) for to dye out of this world without takyng of any Sacrament of theſe foreſayd Chriſtes enemyes: ſince Chriſt will not fayle, for to miniſter himſelfe all lefull and healefull Sacramentes and neceſſary at all tyme (and ſpecially at the end) to all thẽ that are in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfect charitie.

But yet ſome mad fooles (for to eſchew ſlaunder) they will be ſhriuen once in the yeare, and cõmuned of their proper Prieſtes, though they know them defouled with ſlaunderous vices. No doubt, but all they that thus do or conſent priuely or apertly to ſuch doyng, are culpable of great ſinne: ſince S. Paule witneſſeth, that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation, but alſo they ỷ conſent to euill doers. Alſo (as their ſlaunderous workes witneſſe) theſe aforeſayd vicious Prieſtes, deſpiſe and caſt from them heauenly cunnyng, that is geuẽ of the holy ghoſt. Wherfore, the Lord throweth all ſuch deſpiſers from him, that they vſe nor do any Prieſthode to him.

No doubt than, all they that wittingly or wilfully, take or conſent that any other body ſhould take any Sacrament of any ſuch named Prieſt, ſinneth openly and damnably agaynſt all the Trinitie, and are vnable to any Sacrament of health.

And that this foreſayd ſentence is altogether true, into remiſſion of all my ſinnefull liuing, truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God, I offer to him my ſoule.

And to proue alſo the foreſayd ſentence true with the helpe of God, I purpoſe fully for to ſuffer meekely & gladly my moſt wretched body to be tormẽted, where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, & what temporall payne he will and death, to the prayſing of his name, and to the edification of his Church.

And I that am moſt vnworthy and wretched caytife, ſhall now throw the ſpeciall grace of God, make to hym pleaſaunt ſacrifice with my moſt ſinfull and vnworthy body. Beſeeching hartely all folke that read or heare this end of my purpoſed teſtament, that throw the grace of God, they diſpoſe verely and vertuouſly all their wittes, and able in like maner all their members for to vnderſtand truely, & to keepe faithfully, charitably, and continually all the commaundementes of God, and ſo than to pray deuoutly to all the bleſſed Trinitie, that I may haue grace with wiſdome and prudence from aboue, to ende my life here in this foreſaid truth and for this cauſe, in true fayth and ſtedfaſt hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

The end of W. Thorpe vncertayne.

What was the ende of this good man and bleſſed ſeruaunt of God Williã Thorpe, I finde as yet in no ſtory ſpecified. By all coniectures it is to be thought, that the archbiſhop Thomas Arundell being ſo hard an aduerſary agaynſt thoſe men, would not let hym goe. Much leſſe it is to be ſuppoſed, that he would euer retracte his ſentence and opinion, which he ſo valiantly maintayned before the Byſhop, neither doth it ſeeme that he had any ſuch recantyng ſpirite. Agayne, neither is it founde, that he was burned. Wherfore it remayneth moſt like to be true, that he beyng committed to ſome ſtraight priſon (according as the Archbyſhop in his examination before, did threate him) there (as Thorpe confeſſeth himſelfe) was ſo ſtraightly kept, that eyther he was ſecretly made away, or els there he dyed by ſickenes.

Iohn Puruey.

John Puruey.

Furthermore, in the ſayd examinatiõ of Williã Thorpe, mention was made (as ye heard) of Iohn Puruey, of whom alſo ſomething we touched before: promiſing of the ſayd Iohn Puruey, more particularly to entreate in order and proces of tyme. Of this Puruey, Tho. Walden writeth thus in his ſecõd tome, Iohn Purucy ſaith he, was the Library of Lollordes, and gloſer vpon Wickliffe. He ſayd, that the worſhipping of Abrahã was but a ſalutatiõ. And in his third Tome, he ſayth: this Iohn Puruey & Harford a doctour of diuinitie, were greuouſly tormented, and puniſhed in the priſon of Saltwood, and at the length recanted at Paules croſſe at London (Tho. Arundell being then Archb. of Canterbury.) Afterward agayne, he was empriſoned vnder Henry Chicheley Archb. of Canterbury, in the yeare of our Lord 1421. Thus much writeth Walden. The workes of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauingam hys aduerſary, which I thinke worthy to be remembred. Firſt, as touching the Sacramẽt of the laſt ſupper, the Sacrament of penaunce, the Sacrament of orders, the power of the keyes, the preaching of the Goſpell, of Mariages, of Vowes, of poſſeſſions, of the puniſhing and correcting of the Clergie, of the lawes and de-

John Puruey priſoned after his recantation.

crees of the Church, of the ſtate and cōdition of the Pope and the clergie: Of all theſe generally, he left diuers monumentes grauely and exactly written, part whereof, here in the ende of his ſtory we thought to exhibite, being tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recāt at Paules croſſe, were theſe hereafter folowing.

Articles of John Puruey recāted.

1. That in the Sacramant of the aulter after the conſecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the ſubiect: But there verely remaineth the ſame ſubſtāce and the very viſible and incorruptible bread, and likewiſe the very ſame wine the which before the conſecration were ſet vpon the aultar to be conſecrate by the Prieſt: likewiſe as when a Pagan or infidell is baptiſed, he is ſpiritually conuerted into a member of Chriſt through grace, and yet remayneth the very ſame mā which he before was in his proper nature and ſubſtaunce.

2. Auricular confeſſion or priuate penaunce, is a certayne whiſpering, deſtroying the libertie of the Goſpell, and newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergie, to intangle the conſciences of men in ſinne, & to draw their ſoules into hell.

He ſpeaketh of prieſtes here, & not of publique miniſters appointed in the Church.

3. Euery lay man being holy, and predeſtinate vnto euerlaſting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Prieſt before God.

4. That diuers Prelates and other of the Clergie, doe liue wickedly cōtrary to the doctrine and example, of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Therfore they which ſo liue, haue not the keyes, neither of the kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hel: neither ought any Chriſtiā to eſteeme his cēſure any more, then as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the Pope ſhould peraduenture interdite the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profite vs, for ſo much as thereby we ſhould be diſmiſſed from the obſeruation of his lawes, and from ſaying of ſeruice accordyng to the cuſtome of the Church.

Vowes.

5. If any man do make an othe or vow, to keepe perpetuall chaſtitie, or do any thyng els whereunto God hath not appointed him, geuyng him grace to performe his purpoſe: the ſame vowe or othe, is vnreaſonable and vndiſcrete, neither can any Prelate compell him to keepe the ſame, except he will do contrary vnto Gods ordinaunce. But he ought to commit him, vnto the gouernaunce of ÿ holy ghoſt, and of his owne conſcience: forſomuch as euery man which will not fulfill his vow or othe, can not do it for that cauſe.

The charge of prieſtes.

6. Whoſoeuer taketh vpon him the office of Prieſthode, although he haue not the charge of ſoules cōmitted vnto him, accordyng to the cuſtome of the Churche: Not onely they may, but ought to preach the Goſpel freely vnto the people otherwiſe he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

Againſt tranſſubſtantiation.

7. That Innocentius the thyrd Pope, and vj. hundreth Byſhops, and a thouſand other Prelates, with all the reſt of the Clergy, which together with the ſame Pope agreed and determined: that in the Sacrament of the aulter, after the conuerſion of the bread and wyne into the body & bloud of Chriſt, that the accidentes of the ſayd bread and wyne do remaine there, without any proper ſubiect of the ſame: the which alſo ordeined, ÿ all Chriſtians ought to confeſſe their ſinnes once a yeare vnto a proper prieſt, & to receiue the reuerent Sacrament at Eaſter, & made certaine other lawes at the ſame time: All they ſayth he, in ſo doyng were fooles and Blockheades, heretickes, Blaſphemers and Seducers of Chriſtian people. wherfore, we ought not to beleue their determinations, or of their ſucceſſours, neither ought we to obey their lawes or ordinaūces, except they be playnly grounded vpon the holy Scripture, or vpon ſome reaſon which can not be impugned.

¶Other Articles drawen of Purueyes
bookes more at large by Ry. Lauyngham.

Articles out of Purneys books collected by R. Lauingham.

AS touching the Sacramēt of thankes geuing, he ſayth: That that chap. of repentaunce and remiſſion: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, wherin it is ordained, that euery faythful mā ought once euery yeare at the leaſt, that is to ſay, at Eaſter, to receaue the Sacrament of Euchariſt: is a beaſtly thyng, hereticall, and blaſphemous.

The Sacrament of the popiſhe aultar.

Item, that Innocentius the 3. Pope, was the head of Antichriſt, who after the lettyng looſe of Sathan, inuented a new article of our fayth, and a certaine fayned verity touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar: That is to ſay, that the Sacramēt of the aultar is an accident without a ſubſtāce, or els an heape of accidences without a ſubſtaunce. But Chriſt and his Apoſtles do teach manifeſtly, that the Sacrament of the aultar is bread, and the body of Chriſt together after the maner that he ſpake: And in that he calleth it bread, he would haue the people to vnderſtand as they ought with reaſon, that it is very and ſubſtaunntiall bread, and no falſe nor fayned bread.

Pope Innocentius head of Antichriſt.

And although Innocētius that Antichriſt doth alledge, that in the Councell at Lions where this matter was deciſed were 600. Byſhops with him, and 1000. Prelates, which were of one opinion in this determination: All thoſe notwithſtand, he calleth fooles accordyng to that ſaying of Eccleſ. 1. Of fooles there are an infinite number. And ſo in like maner he calleth them falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophetes, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh the 24. of Math. Many falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophetes ſhal ariſe and deceaue many: And therfore, euery Chriſtian man ought to beleue firmely that the Sacramēt of the aultar is very bread in deede, and no falſe nor fayned bread. And although it be very bread in deede, yet notwithſtādyng, is it the very body of Chriſt in ÿ ſorte he ſpake and called it his body: and ſo is it very bread, and the very body of Chriſt. And as Chriſt concernyng his humanitie, was both viſible and paſſible, and by his Diuinitie was inuiſible and impoſſible: So likewiſe, this ſacrament in that it is very bread, may be ſene with the corporall eye, and may alſo abyde corruption. But although a man may ſee that Sacrament, yet notwithſtandyng, cannot the body of Chriſt in that Sacrament be ſene with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Chriſt in that maner he ſpake it: For that notwithſtandyng, the body of Chriſt is now incorruptible in heauē. So the Sacrament of the cup, is very wine, and the very bloud of Chriſt, accordyng as his maner of ſpeakyng was. Alſo, Innocentius 3. with a great multitude of his ſecular Clerkes, made a certeine new determination: that the Sacrament of the aultar is an accidence without a ſubſtāce, where as, neither Jeſus Chriſt nor any of his Apoſtles, taught this fayth (but openly and manifeſtly to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctours, for the ſpace of a thouſād yeres and more, taught this fayth openly.

The ſacrament in ſubſtāce bread: in ſignification the body of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiation not openly taught 1000. yeares after Chriſt.

Therfore, when Antichriſt or any of his ſhauelynges doth aske of thee that art a ſimple Chriſtian, whether that this Sacrament be the very body of Chriſt or not? affirme thou it manifeſtly ſo to be. And if he aſke of thee, whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread els? ſay thou, that it is ſuch bread as Chriſt vnderſtode and ment by his proper word: and ſuch bread, as the holy ghoſt ment in S. Paule when he called that to be very bread whiche he brake, and wade thou no further herin. If he aſke thee, how this bread is the body of Chriſt: Say thou, as Chriſt vnderſtode the ſame to be his body which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no vntruth. Say thou alſo, as the holy Doctours do ſay: that the terreſtriall matter or ſubſtaunce, may be conuerted into Chriſt, as the Pagan or infidell may be Baptiſed, and hereby ſpiritually to be conuerted and to be a member of Chriſt, and ſo after a certeine maner to become Chriſt, and yet the ſame man to remayne ſtill in his proper nature. For ſo doth S. Auguſtine graunt, that a ſinner forſakyng his ſinne and beyng made one ſpirite with God by fayth, grace, and charitie: may be conuerted into God, and to be after a maner, God: as both Dauid, and S. John do teſtifie, and yet to be the ſame perſon in ſubſtaunce and nature, and in ſoule and vertue to be altered and chaūged. But yet, men of more knowledge and reaſon, may more playnely conuince the falſitie of Antichriſt both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy ghoſt workyng in them. Notwithſtandyng, if thoſe that be ſimple men will humbly hold and keepe the manifeſt and apparaunt wordes of the holy ſcripture, and ÿ playne ſenſe and meaning of the holy ghoſt, and procede no farther, but humbly, to committe that vnto the ſpirite of God whiche paſſeth their vnderſtandyng: Then may they ſafly offer thēſelues to death, as true Martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Sacrament both bread, and the body in diuers reſpectes.

Auricular confeſſion & penaunce.

As touchyng the Sacrament of penaunce: That chapter Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, by which a certaine new founde auricular confeſſion was ordayned: is full of hypocriſie, hereſie, couetouſnes, pride, and blaſphemy he ſayth, and reproueth the ſame chapter verbatim, and that by the ſentences of the ſame proces. Alſo, that the penaunce and paynes limited by the Canons, be vnreaſonable and vniuſt, for the auſteritie and rigorouſnes which they conteine, more then are taxed by Gods law. He alſo doth exemplifie, of the ſolemne and publike deniall of penitentes to be receaued into orders, accordyng to the decree of the generall Councell Diſtinctione. 50. cap. Ex pœnitentibus. Alſo of the ſeuenfold penitence of a Prieſt committing fornication, accordyng to the chapter. Præſbiter. Diſtinct. 82. And farther ſheweth, an other example of the penitence of Prieſtes accordyng to that chapter Qui preſbiterum, &c. Where as the decretall of the generall Councell ſayth, that ſuch a one ought to remayne continuyng his life, in the warres, and not to mary. Alſo, how Innocentius 3. brought in a new found confeſſion: whereby, the Prieſtes do oppreſſe the ſimple lay men. And that many other thynges they do, compellyng them to confeſſe themſelues to blind and ignoraunt Prieſtes, in whom is nothyng els then pride and couetouſnes, hauyng ſuch in contempt as are learned and wiſe. Alſo, that the Decretall of Innocentius 3. touchyng the foreſayd auricular or vocall confeſſion: was brought in and inuented, to intricate and intangle mens conſciences with ſinne, & to draw them downe to hell. And furthermore, that ſuch maner of confeſſion, deſtroyeth the Euangelicall libertie, and doth let men to inquire after, & to retaine, the wiſe counſaile & doctrine of ſuch as be Gods Prieſts: which know faithfully how to obſerue his preceptes and commaundementes, & which would willyngly teach the people, the right way to heauen. For which abuſe, all Chriſten men and ſpecially all Engliſhmen, ought to exclayme agaynſt ſuch wicked lawes.

As touchyng the Sacrament of order he ſayth: That all good Chriſtians, are predeſtinate and be ordained of God, & made true Prieſtes to offer Chriſt in themſelues, and to Chriſt themſelues: as alſo to teach and preach the Goſpell to their neighbours, as wel in word as in example of liuing. But the worldly ſhauelinges do more magnify the naked & bare ſignes of prieſthood (inuented by ſinfull men) then the true & perfect prieſthoode of God, grounded by a true & liuely faith, annexed with good workes. Alſo, if it were nedefull to haue ſuch ſhauelinges, God knoweth how, and can make when it pleaſeth hym, prieſtes (without mans workyng and ſinfull ſignes, that is to ſay, without either Sacramentes or characters) to be knowen and diſcerned of the people, by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For ſo made he the firſt made prieſtes & elders before the law of Moyſes: and ſo made he Moyſes a prieſt before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all: And euen ſo hath God made all ſuch as are predeſtinate, to be hys prieſtes. But ſuch as be true Chriſtians, receyue none ſuch as Prieſtes, but vnleſſe they follow Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, neither do they beleue that they make the ſacrament of the aulter (which they affirme to be Gods body) when it pleaſeth them: leaſt happely God be not with them, foraſmuch as that they do this thing for couetouſnes ſake, or els to brag of their owne power. And therfore ſuch as be ſimple men, will worſhip that Sacrament in this doubtfulnes, with a ſilent condition, that is, if it be made by Gods authoritie, and to haue their deuotion to the body of Chriſt in heauen. Alſo, that as ſuch be Elders, if they be Gods prieſtes, be Biſhops, Prelates, and Curates of their Chriſtian brethren, whom they may lead to heauen by the example of their holy conuerſation, and by preachyng of the Goſpell, although they make no ſacrifice to that Antichriſt of Rome for their confirmation: neither be they dedicated to the world by ſecular deuine thinges, and by conſumyng the liuinges of the poore: as be thoſe ſecular byſhops, prelates and curates. Alſo, that although there wer no pope accordyng as the cuſtome of the church is: yet Chriſt which is the hed of his Church, doth ordeyne ſuch a Pope as pleaſeth hym: and that is, whomſoeuer is moſt humble & lowly, and beſt doth the office of a true Prieſt, although he be vnknown to the world. And although there were no ſuch proud biſhop aboue all the reſt, as the church doth vſe: yet all the prieſtes might well gouern the Church by common aſſent, as once they did, before ſuch worldly pride crept in amongeſt the Biſhops, &c. And admit that no ſuch Prieſtes were, accordyng to the accuſtomed vſe now of receauyng of order & tonſure, by ſuch a mitered Byſhop and his tonſure: yet Chriſt knoweth both how to make and chuſe ſuch as ſhall well pleaſe him, both in conuerſation of lyfe, and ſincere preachyng of the Goſpell, in miniſtryng to his people all neceſſary Sacramentes. And euery holy man which is a miniſter of Chriſt, although he be not ſhauen, is a true Prieſt ordained of God, although no mitred Byſhop euer lay his character vpon him: So, that the Pope and his Prelates, do make more eſtimation of their Characters (as tonſures and crownes by them inuented) then of the true and perfect prieſthode ordained of God: where as, all thoſe that are predeſtinate, are true Prieſtes made of him.

The order of Prieſthood.

He meaneth of priuate preaching to their neighbours.

True miniſters may be made without ſhauing.

Prieſts here haue a priuate, not a publique vnderſtanding

What if there were no Pope knowen, yet the Church could ſtand.

Tonſure maketh not a Prieſt.

As touchyng the authoritie of the keyes and cenſures, no Chriſtian man ought to eſteeme Sathan (whom men call the pope) and his vniuſt cenſures: more then the hiſſyng of a Serpent, or the blaſt of Lucifer. Alſo, that no mã ought to truſt or put confidence in the falſe indulgences of couetous Prieſtes, which indulgences do draw away the hope which men ought to repoſe in God, to a ſorte of ſinfull men, and do robbe the poore of ſuch almes as is geuen to them: Such Prieſtes be manifeſt betrayers of Chriſt and of the whole Church, and be Sathans owne ſnaredes to beguyle Chriſten ſoules by their hypocriſie and fained pardons. Alſo, for as much as thoſe prelates and clergy men lyue ſo execrable a lyfe, contrary to the goſpell of Chriſt, and examples of hys Apoſtles, & teach not truely the goſpell, but only lies and the traditions of ſinful wicked men: It appeareth moſt manifeſtly that they haue not the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, but rather the keyes of hell. And they may be right well aſſured, that God neuer gaue vnto them authoritie to make and eſtabliſh ſo many ceremonies & traditions, which be contrary to the liberty of the Goſpell, and are blockes in Chriſten mens wayes, that they can neither know nor obſerue the ſame his Goſpel, in liberty of conſcience, and ſo attain a redy way to heauen.

The Popes cẽſures, like the blaſt of Lucifer.

Popiſhe prieſtes haue not the keyes of heauen but rather of hell.

Alſo, that all maner of religious men, notwithſtandyng the chapter Religioſi, touching the priuilegies in the Clementines: may lawfully miniſter all ſacraments to the that are worthy the ſame. For as much as the ſame is a worke of charitie, which onely the will and ordinaunce of the pope and hys fautours in this caſe is to hinder and let. Item, if the Pope ſhall interdict this our realme: that cannot hurt vs, but much profite vs: Becauſe that therby he ſhould ſeperate vs from all hys wicked lawes, and from the charges of ſuſtainyng of ſo many thouſand ſhauelings, which with ſmal deuotion or none at all, patter and chatter a new found ſong ſecundum vſum Sarum. So that not whatſoeuer the Pope in hys generall councell byndeth in earth, is bound of God in heauen: either for that he bindeth vnreaſonably, and contradictorily doth agaynſt himſelfe, or els for that he hath forſake the iudgement of God.

The popes curſe hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the Goſpell: whoſoeuer receiueth or taketh vpõ him ỹ office of a prieſt or of a biſhop, and diſchargeth not the ſame by the example of his good conuerſation and faythfull preaching of the Goſpell: is a thiefe, excommunicate of God, and of holy Church. And further, if the Curates preach not the word of God, they ſhalbe damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to reſigne their benefices: So that thoſe prelates which preach not the Goſpell of Chriſt (although they could excuſe themſelues from the doyng of any other euill) are dead in themſelues, are Antichriſts, and Sathans, transfigured into angels of light, night theues, manquellers by day light, & betrayers of Chriſt his people.

Concerning the ſacrament of Matrimony: Notwithſtanding any ſpirituall kinred or goſſipry, a man and woman may lawfully mary together by the law of God, without any diſpenſatiõ papiſtical. And in the ſame place he ſaith, that if our realm do admit one not borne in matrimony or illegitimate to the imperiall crowne, ſo that he doth well diſcharge the office of a king: God maketh hym a kyng, and by conſequence doth reiect an other kyng or heyre of the kyngdome, beyng borne in matrimony and legitimate: So, for ſuch ſpirituall kindred there ought no diuorſe to be made. Alſo notwithſtanding the Cap. Si inter de ſponſalibus: If any man ſhall make any contract with any woman by the wordes of the future tence, by an othe taken: & afterwardes ſhall with an other woman make the lyke contract by the wordes of the preſent tence: that then the ſecond contract ſtandeth. Alſo if a man make a contract with a womã by ỹ wordes of the future tence, vpõ his oth taken: & maketh afterwardes the lyke contract with another not alteryng the wordes, and hath carnall copulation vpon the ſame: the firſt contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the ſecond. Alſo, if a man before witnes aſſure himſelfe to a woman by a contract made in the preſent tence, and hath childe by the ſame woman: and afterward the ſame man marieth another woman, with the lyke wordes in the preſent tence, before witneſſe: Although the firſt witneſſes be dead, or els by bribes corrupt, and the ſecond bring his witneſſes before the iudge to proue the ſecond contract: the firſt contract yet ſtãdeth in force, although the Pope (allowyng the ſecond contract) doth compell them to lyue in adultery agaynſt the cõmaundement of God. Alſo, he condemneth the decretall of the reſtitution of thinges ſtollen Cap. Literas tuas: which willeth, that a man and woman hauyng carnall copulation in the degree of conſanguinitie forbidden, and hath no witnes hereof: If the womã will depart from the man, ſhe ſhal be compelled by the cenſures, to remayne with him, and to yelde her debt. Alſo, in caſe where a man hath made cõtract with two women, with one ſecretely hauing no witnes, and with the other openly hauing witnes: Then were it better to acknowledge the inſufficiency of the law, and to ſuffer men to be ruled by their owne conſciences, then by the cenſures to compell them, to committe and lyue in adultery.

Goſſopry not ſufficient cauſe to reſtraine matrimony.

The firſt mariage lawfully before witnes made ſtandeth.

As touching the keping and makyng of vowes: That vow or othe is beaſtly, and is without all diſcretion made: which

Keeping and making vowes.

which to performe and kepe, a man hath no power but by grace geuen hym of God. Becauſe that ſome ſuch there be, whom God doth not accept to perſeuer in the ſtate of chaſtitie and perpetuall virginitie: and ſuch a one cannot kepe his vow, although he make the ſame. Alſo that euery one makyng a vow of continency or chaſtitie, when in makyng the ſame he ſhall not be accepted of God: doth very vndiſcretly, and as one without all reaſon maketh the ſame, whē he is not able of himſelf without the gift of God to fulfil his promiſe: accordyng to that ſaying of the wiſe mā, cap. 8. No man hath the gift of continency, vnles that God geue it vnto him. For otherwiſe, if god helpe not ſuch a one to perform the vow or othe which he hath made and taken: No prelate can compell him, vnles he do contrary to Gods ordenaunce: but he ought to commit himſelf to the gouernment of Gods holy ſpirit, and his own conſcience.

Poſſeſſions of the Church.

For the poſſeſſions of the Church: In another treatiſe it is declared, how the kyng, the Lordes and commons may without any charge at all, kepe 15. garriſons, & find 15000 ſouldiours, (hauyng ſufficient landes and reuenues to lyue vpon) out of the temporalties gotten into the handes of the Clergy & fayned religious men: which neuer do that, which pertayneth to the office of curates to do, nor yet to ſecular lordes. And moreouer, the king may haue euery yere 20000 pound to come frely into his cofers and aboue. Alſo, may find or ſuſtayne 15. Colledges more: and 15000. prieſtes and clerkes, with ſufficient liuyng: and a 100. hoſpitals for the ſicke, & euery houſe to haue one hundreth markes in landes. And all this may they take of the foreſayde temporalties, without any charge to the realme: whereunto, the kyng, the Lordes, and the commons are to be inuited. For otherwiſe there ſeemeth to hang ouer our heades, a great and marueilous alteration of this realme, vnleſſe the ſame be put in execution. Alſo, if the ſecular Prieſtes and fayned religious, which be ſimoniackes and heretiques, which fayne themſelues to ſay Maſſe, and yet ſay none at all, accordyng to the Canons, which to their purpoſe they bring and alledge. 1.q. 3. Audiuimus. & cap. Pudenda. et cap. Schiſma: By which chap. ſuch prieſtes and religious do not make the Sacrament of the aultar: That then all Chriſtians, eſpecially all the founders of ſuch Abbeyes and indowers of biſhoprickes, priories, and chaunteries: ought to amende this fault and treaſon committed againſt their predeceſſors, by takyng frō them ſuch ſecular dominions which are the maintenaūce of all their ſinnes. And alſo, that Chriſtian Lordes & princes are bound to take away from the clergie, ſuch ſecular dominion as noſeleth and nouriſheth them in hereſies: & ought to reduce them vnto the ſimple and poore life of Chriſt Ieſus, and his Apoſtles.

1.q.3.&q.1. Cap. pudenda.

And further, that all Chriſtian Princes (if they will amend the malediction and blaſphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalties from that ſhauē generation, which moſt of all doth nouriſhe them in ſuch malediction: And ſo in likewiſe, the fat tithes from Churches appropriat to rich monkes & other religions fayned by manifeſt lying, & other vnlawfull meanes likewiſe ought to debarre their golde to the proud Prieſt of Rome, which doth poyſon all Chriſtendome with Simony and hereſie. Further, that it is a great abhomination that Biſhops, mōkes, and other prelates, be ſo great Lordes in this world, where as Chriſt with his Apoſtles, and diſciples, neuer tooke vpon them ſecular dominion, neither did they appropriate vnto them churches as theſe men do: but led a poore life, and gaue a good teſtimony of their prieſthood. And therfore all Chriſtians ought to the vttermoſt of their power and ſtrength, to ſweare that they will reduce ſuch ſhaulinges, to the humilitie and pouertie of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: And whoſoeuer thus doth not, conſenteth to their hereſie. Alſo, that thoſe two chapiters of the immunitie of Churches, are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Aduerſus. Becauſe they do decree, that temporall Lordes may neither require tallages nor tenthes, of any Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

Belly cheare of ill diſpoſed prelats, and of Monaſteries not to be nouriſhed with temporalties and appropriations.

Correction of the clergie.

Now to the correction of the clergie: By the law of god and by reaſon, the kyng and all other Chriſtians may take reuenge of Italie, and of all the falſe Prieſtes and clerkes within the ſame, and to reduce them vnto the humble ordinaunce of Ieſus Chriſt. Alſo, that the lawe of Silueſter the Pope, which is declared in 2.q.5.cap. Præſul, & cap. Nullam, is contrary to the law of Chriſt & either teſtamēt. And that proud and ambitious Silueſter by this law, ſo defēded two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Chriſt: that by no meanes they might be conuinced, although they were both vicious & euil. And although Chriſt ſuſtained and ſuffered the iudgemēt of vniuſt temporal iudges: Our mitered prelates in theſe dayes, ſo magnifie themſelues beyond Chriſt and hys apoſtles, that they refuſe and will none of ſuch iudgementes. Alſo, that thoſe decretals of accuſations cap. Quando & Qualiter. Which do prohibite that any clerkes ſhould be brought before a ſecular iudge to receiue iudgement: do contayne both hereſie, blaſphemy, and error, and bringeth great gayne and commoditie to Antichriſtes cofers.

2.q.5. Præſul. Ibid. Nullam.

Furthermore, that all Chriſtian kinges and Lordes, ought to exclayme agaynſt the Pope and thoſe that be hys fautors, and baniſh them out of their landes, till ſuch tyme as they will obey God, and his Goſpell, Kinges and other miniſters of Gods iuſtice. Alſo, that Biſhops and their fauourers, that ſay it appertayneth not to kinges and ſecular Lordes (but vnto them and their Officials) to puniſh adultry and fornication: do fall into manifeſt treaſon agaynſt the king, and hereſie agaynſt the ſcripture. Alſo, that it appertaineth to the king, to haue the order both of prieſtes and biſhops, as theſe kings Salomon and Ioſaphat had.

Puniſhing of adultery belongeth to ſecular magiſtrates rather then to prelates.

Furthermore, that chapter Nullus iudicum de foro cōpetenti, by the which ſecular Iudges are forbiddē without the Biſhops commaundement to condemne any Clerke to death: Is manifeſtly againſt the holy ſcripture, declaryng that kings haue power ouer clerkes and prieſtes to puniſh them for their deſerued crimes. Alſo that the decre of Boniface de pœnis in 6.cap. fœlicis, made yͤ perſecutors, ſtrikers, and impriſoners of Cardinals, is contrary both to the holy ſcripture and to all reaſon. Alſo, that by the law of God and reaſon, a ſecular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinall & put hym in priſon for committyng the crime of open ſimony, adultry, and manifeſt blaſphemy. Alſo that the chapter Si Papa diſt. 40. which ſaith that the Pope ought to be iudged of none, vnles he be deuius a fide, is cōtrary to the goſpel which ſayth: If thy brother ſinne agaynſt thee, correct hym. Alſo where as S. Gregory and S. Auguſtine called themſelues the ſeruaunts of Gods ſeruaunts: this proude Biſhop of Rome which wyll not be iudged by hys ſubiectes (which be in very dede hys lordes, if they be iuſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humilitie, and doth extoll himſelfe aboue God and hys Apoſtles. Alſo, that chriſtian kings ought, not onely to iudge this proud Biſhop of Rome, but alſo to depoſe hym, by the example that Ceſtrenſis lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth, of Otho the Emperour, which depoſed Iohn the xij. and did inſtitute Leo in hys place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to iudge the Church of Rome, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrompet, of whom S. Iohn writeth in the Apocalips, chap. 17.

Good kings ought to depoſe wicked Popes.

Laſtly, touching the lawes and determinations of the church: Chriſtians haue reaſonable excuſes and cauſes, to repell the ſtatutes of the pope and of hys ſhaulings, which be not expreſſely grounded in the holy ſcriptures, or els vpon reaſon ineuitable. Alſo he ſayth that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration diſtinctione 2. cap. Seculares, & cap. Omnis homo, & cap. Et ſi non frequentius, & cap. In cœna domini: That ſuch ſecular men as do not receiue the ſacrament of the aultar at Chriſtmas, Eaſter and whitſontyde, are not to be counted amongſt the number of Chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as chriſtians: wherby it followeth, that all Clerkes and laymen that obſerue not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtraight to hel. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtome and vſe in receiuyng is contrary to the ſame: then may we bleſſe ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to yͤ pope and hys law, for otherwyſe we ſhould flee to hell without any ſtay or let. Wherby we may conclude, that all Chriſtians ought well to practiſe this ſchole of diſobedience agaynſt the Pope and all his lawes (not founded vpon the holy Scripture) which do let men to clyme to heauen by the kepyng of charity, and the liberty of the Goſpell. Alſo, that Chriſtian men haue great cauſe to refuſe the lawes and ſtatutes of theſe worldly clerkes, which the people call the papall lawes, and biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the couetouſnes and voluptuouſnes of them: without the which, the church and cōgregation of God might ſafely run towards heauen by yͤ ſwete yoke of the Lord, as it did 1000. yeres before the ſaid lawes were preſcribed and ſent to the Vniuerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudiyng of yͤ holy ſcripture, for the deſire of benefices and worldly goods. Alſo that ſimple men do reuerently receiue the ſentences of the Doctors and other lawes, ſo farre forth as they be expreſly grounded vpon the holy ſcripture or good reaſon. Alſo, that where as the Popes lawes, & lawes of his miniſters & clerkes be both contrary to themſelues, and haue not their foundation neither vpon yͤ ſcripture, nor yet vpon reaſon: ſimple men ought to bid the farewell. Alſo, that whē all the apoſtles faith fayled them in the tyme of the lordes paſſiō, fayth then reſted in the bleſſed virgin: much more might that proude prieſt of Rome with all

hys

De conſecratione, id eſt. 2. cap. Seculares.

The popes lawes contrary to themſelues.

The pope & his Cardinals no part of the true Church.

The Canon lawe full of hereſie.

hys rabble eaſily erre in the fayth, and yet is the Chriſtian fayth preſerued whole and ſafe, in the faythfull members of Chriſt, which are his true Church: But the Pope and all his rablement, cannot proue that they be any part of this church. Alſo, that the Pope with all his fautors, may as well be deceaued by a lying ſpirite, as was Achab and all his prophetes: and that one true prophete, as was Micheas, may haue the verity ſhewed vnto him *contra cōcilium*, Alſo, that all good Chriſtians ought to caſt from them the Popes lawes, ſaying: Let vs breake their bandes in ſonder, and let vs caſt from our neckes thoſe heauy yokes of theirs. Alſo, that where theſe prelates do burne one good booke, for one errour perhappes contayned in the ſame: they ought to burne all the bookes of the Canon law, for the manifold hereſies contayned in them.

¶ And thus much out of a certaine olde written booke in parchment borowed once of I.B. which booke conteyning diuers aūcient recordes of the vniuerſitie: ſemeth to belong ſometimes to the library of ẏ Vniuerſitie, bearing the yeare of the compilyng therof. 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of hym or that he recanted before Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop at Salwood, where he was impriſoned.

Vide ſupra, pag 429.

Vrbanus 5.

Bonifacius. 9.

Innocentius 7.

Gregorius. 12.

The Cardinals deuiſe to ceaſe the ſchiſme.

The vowe & othe of the Cardinals made for the ſchiſme.

The oth and vow of pope Gregory. 12.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Wherefore to continue and procede further in our ſtory, after the examination of W. Thorpe, & the martyrdome of W. Sawtrey, and of John Badby thus deſcribed (as ye haue heard) which was about the yeare 1409. By ẏ way here is to be cōſidered, at leaſt to be admoniſhed, that al this while the ſchiſme in the Church of Rome did yet continue, and ſo endured till the councell of Conſtance, which was in whole, the ſpace of xxix. yeares. The origine whereof (as was ſayd pag. 429.) firſt beganne at Vrbanus. 5. which Vrbanus being dead, an. 1389 next folowed Pope Boniface the 9. who ſat. 14. yeares. He in ſelling his pardons was ſo impudent and ſo paſt ſhame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as ſayth Platina) in contempt. After him ſucceded Innocētius. 7. and ſat 2. yeares: who being dead, the Cardinals conſulting together, and ſeing the foule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious ſchiſme in their Church of Rome (minding to prouide ſome remedy for the ſame after the beſt deuiſe they could) in their conclaue where they were aſſembled for a new election of ẏ Pope, tooke this order: promiſing among themſelues with a ſolemne vow made to God, to Mary the bleſſed virgine, to Peter & Paul, and to all the bleſſed company of ſaintes: That if any of them within the colledge or without the colledge, ſhould be called to that high place of Apoſtolicall preeminence: he ſhould effectuouſly renounce the iuriſdiction & title of his Popedome, if or whenſoeuer the contrary Pope for the time being, would in lyke maner renounce his place and title, and his Cardinals in like maner to condeſcend to the other Cardinals of Rome. So that both theſe two colledges of Cardinals agreeing together: one chiefe Byſhop might be choſen and taken out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Prouided moreouer, that none ſhould ſeeke any releaſement or abſolution from the ſayd promyſe, vow, and bond, once paſſed among them: Unto all which things furthermore, euery one ſubſcribed wyth hys hand. Theſe thynges thus prefixed and ratified vpon the ſame, they proceeded to the election. In which was choſen Gregorius ẏ xij. who the ſame day of hys election, in the preſence of all the Cardinals: confirmed the vow, ſacrament and promiſe made, ſubſcribing the ſame wyth hys hand in forme as foloweth. And I Gregory, this day being the laſt of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord 1407. choſen and elected for Byſhop of Rome: do ſweare, vow, and promiſe, & confirme all the premiſſes aboue conteyned. &c. Thys being done, ſhortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80. yeares. As the tyme thus paſſed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, wayting when the Pope according to hys othe would geue ouer, wyth the other pope alſo. And not long after, the matter beganne in dede betwene the two Popes to be attempted, by letters from one to another: aſſigning both day and place; where and when they ſhould meete together: but yet no effect did folow.

The pope falſely periured.

Cardinals leaue the periured pope.

This ſo paſſing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals, to ſee their holy periured father, ſo to neglecte hys othe, and vow aforenamed. In ſo much, that at length, diuers of them did forſake the Pope, as beyng periured (as no leſſe he was) ſending moreouer to kinges and princes of other landes, for their counſell and aſſiſtaunce therin, to appeaſe the ſchiſme. Amongeſt the reſt, Cardinall Biturienſis was ſent to the kyng of England: who publiſhyng diuers propoſitions and concluſions (remaynyng in the regiſters of Thomas Arundell) diſputeth, that the pope ought to be ſubiect to lawes and councels. Then K. Henry (moued to write to Gregory the pope) directeth this letter here vnder enſuing, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1409. The contentes of the letter be theſe.

1409.

¶ The letter of king Henry the fourth, to Pope Gregory. 12.

King Henry 4. to pope Gregory. 12

2. hundred thouſand ſlayne by ſchiſme of Rome.

30 thouſand ſlaine in campe fighting for the biſhopricke of Leodium.

Moſt bleſſed father, if the diſcrete prouidence of the Apoſtolike ſea, would call to mynd, with what great perils the vniuerſall world hath bene damnified hitherto, vnder pretence of this preſent ſchiſme: and eſpecially would conſider, what ſlaughter of Chriſten people to the number of two hundreth thouſand (as they ſay) hath ben through the occaſion of warre rayſed vp in diuers quarters of the world, and now of late, to the nūber of xxx. thouſand ſouldiours which haue bene ſlayne through the diſſention moued about the biſhopricke of Leodium, betwene two ſet vp: one by the authoritie of one Pope, the other by the authoritie of the other pope, fighting in campe for the title of that Biſhoprike: Certes ye would lament in ſpirite, and be ſore greued in mynd for the ſame. So that, with good conſcience you would relinquiſh rather the honour of the ſea Apoſtolike, then to ſuffer ſuch horrible bloudſhed hereafter to enſue, vnder the cloke of diſſimulation, folowyng herein the example of the true mother in the booke of kinges: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, then the chyld ſhould be parted by the ſword. And although it may be vehemently ſuſpected by the new creation of 9. Cardinals, by you laſt made contrary to your othe (as other men do ſay) that you do but little hede or care for ceaſing the ſchiſme: Yet far be it frō the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumſpect ſeat ſhould euer be noted and diſteyned with ſuch an inconſtancy of mynde: wherby the laſt errour may be worſe, then the firſt. Ex Chron. D. Albani. part. 2.

King Henry the 4. to the Cardinals.

King Henry 4. to the Cardinals.

Concilium Piſanum.

And to the Cardinals likewyſe, the ſayd king directeth another letter with theſe contents here followyng: We deſiring to ſhew what zeale we haue had and haue, to the reformation of the peace of the church: by the conſent of the ſtates of the realme, haue directed to the Biſhop of Rome our letters after the tenour of the copy herewith in theſe preſents encloſed, to be executed effectually. Wherfore, we ſeriouſly beſech your reuerend colledge, that if it chance the ſayd Gregory to be preſent at the councell of Piſe, & to render vp his Popedome, according to your deſire, and his own othe: you then ſo ordayne for his ſtate totally, that chiefly God may be pleaſed therby, and that both the ſayd Gregory, and alſo we which loue intierly his honour and commodity, may haue cauſe to geue you worthely condign thanks for the ſame. Ibid.

Ex chro. D. Albani.

An. 1410.

Concilium Piſanum.

Pope Alexāder. 5

3. popes together

The vaine remiſſion by the popes indulgence.

Pope Alexander dead.

Pope John 23.

Thys beyng done in the yeare of our Lord 1409. afterward in the yere next followyng, an. 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to witte, of Gregorius, and Benedictus: By common aduiſe aſſembled together at the city of Piſe, for the reformation of vnitie and peace in the Church. To the which aſſembly, a great multitude of Prelates and biſhops being conuented, a new Pope was choſen, named Alexander. 5. But to this electiō, neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. Wherby there were 3. Popes together in the Romaine church (that is to vnderſtand) not 3. crownes vpon one Popes hed, but 3. heds in one Popiſh church together. This Alexander beyng newly made pope, ſcarcely had well warmed his triple crowne: but ſtraight geueth out full remiſſion, not of a few, but of all maner of ſinnes whatſoeuer: to all them that conferred any thing to the monaſtery of S. Bartlemew by Smithfield, reſortyng to the ſayd church any of theſe dayes followyng: to wit, on Maundy thurſday, good Friday, Eaſter euen, the feaſt of the Annunciatiō, from the firſt euenſong, to the latter. But this Pope which was ſo liberall in geuing remiſſiō of many yeres to other, was not able to geue one yere of life to himſelfe: for within the ſame yere he died. In whoſe ſtead ſtept vp Pope John. 23.

Ex Ioan. Choclaeo. De hiſtoria Huſſitarum, lib. 1.

The Goſpell beginneth to take roote in Bohemia.

In the time of this Alexander, great ſtirre began in the countrey of Bohemia, by the occaſion of ẏ bookes of John Wickliffe, which then comming to the handes of J. Huſſe, and of other both men & womē, eſpecially of the lay ſort, and artificers: beganne there to doe much good. In ſo much, that diuers of them not onely men, but women alſo, partly by readyng of thoſe bookes tranſlated into their toung, partly, by the ſettyng forwarde of John Huſſe, a notable learned man, and a ſingular preacher at that tyme in the Vniuer=

Uniuerſitie of Prage: were in ſhort tyme ſo rype in iudgement, and prompt in the ſcriptures, that they began to moue queſtions, yea and to reaſon with the prieſts, touching matters of the Scriptures.

The letter of pope Alexander 5. to the Archbiſh. Swinco of Bohemia.

By reaſon wherof, complaynt was brought to the ſayd Pope Alexander the fift, who cauſed eftſoones the forenamed John Huſſe to be cited vp to Rome. But whẽ he came not at the Popes citation, then the ſayd Pope Alexander addreſſed his letters to the Archbiſhop of Suinco. Wherin he ſtraightly charged hym to prohibite and forbid, by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, all maner of preachings or ſermons to be made to the people, but onely in Cathedrall Churches or colleges, or pariſh churches, or in monaſteries, or els in their churchyardes. And that the articles of Wickliffe, ſhould in no caſe of any perſon of what ſtate, condition or degree ſo euer, be ſuffred to be hold, taught, or defended, either priuily or apertly. Commaundyng moreouer and charging the ſayde Archb. that he with foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctors of the Canon law ioyned vnto hym: would procede vpon the ſame, and ſo prouide that no perſon in Churches, ſcholes, or any other place, ſhould teach, defend, or approue any of the foreſayd Articles. So yͭ who ſo euer ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be accounted an hereticke. And vnles he ſhall reuoke ſolemnly & publikely the ſayd articles, and ſhall for euer abiure the bookes wherin the foreſayd articles be contayned, ſo that they may be vtterly aboliſhed out from the eyes of the faythfull: the ſame to be apprehended & impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the helpe alſo of the ſecular arme beyng called thereunto, if nede ſhall require. &c. Theſe were the contentes of this mighty and fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

The Popes cruel Bull agaynſt J. Huſſe.

J. Huſſe obiecteth agaynſt the popes cruell bull

Agaynſt the which bull on the other ſide John Huſſe iuſtly complayning, excepteth agayne and obiecteth many thinges, as appeareth in hys boke intituled De Ecclesia, cap. 18. Where he declareth this mandate of the Pope to ſtand directly agaynſt the doynges and ſayinges both of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles: Conſidering, how Chriſt himſelfe preached to the people, both in the ſea, in the deſert, in fieldes, in houſes, in Synagoges, in villages: and the Apoſtles alſo in all places did the ſame, the Lord mightely workyng with thẽ. He declared moreouer, the ſayd mandate or bull of the pope, to redound vnto the great detriment of the Church, in byndyng the word of God, that it might not haue hys free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to be preiudiciall vnto Chappels newly erected for the worde of God to be preached in them. Wherefore (ſayth he) from this commaundement or mandate of Pope Alexander, I did appeale vnto the ſayd Alexander, beyng better informed and aduiſed. And as I was perſecutyng my appeale, the Lord Pope (ſayth John Huſſe) immediatly died.

The popes Bull contrary to Chriſt.

The notable iudgemẽt of God in ſtriking the aduerſaryes of the Goſpell.

Then the Archbiſhop of Suinco aforeſayd, to whome this preſent bull was directed, whẽ he ſaw the proceſſe, buls and mandates of the biſhop of Rome, to be thus contemned of John Huſſe, and hys fellowes, neyther hauyng any hope of redreſſe in Winceſlaus the kyng: which ſemed to neglect the matter, went out of hys countrey into Hungary, to complayne vnto Sigiſmonde kyng of Hungarie, and brother to the ſayd Winceſlaus. But this quarellyng Archbiſhop, whether before (as the Bohemmians ſay) or after (as Syluius ſayth) that he had ſpoken with Sigiſmond: immediately there (by the iuſt iudgement of God) died in Hungary, as the ſtory ſayth for ſorow. Whereby a little more libertie and quiete was geuen by the Lord vnto hys Goſpell, newly beginning to take roote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquilitie there, did not long continue wythout trouble and perſecution, neither could it in thoſe furious dais and raigne of Antichriſt. For after this Alexander aforeſayd ſucceded Pope John 23. Who likewiſe playing hys part in this tragedy, bent all his might and mayne to diſturbe the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared in further proceſſe of our hiſtory, comming to the yere of our Lord. 1413.

The Goſpell ſeldome tymes long quiet.

Pope John. 23.

Thus the poore Chriſtians (as ye ſee) lyke to the ſeely Iſraelites vnder the tyranny of Pharao, were infeſted and oppreſſed in euery place, but eſpecially here in England: and that ſo much the more here, becauſe that the kyng not lyke to Winceſlaus, went full and whole with the Pope and hys prelates agaynſt the Goſpellers.

The pride & glory of the clergie of England in thoſe dayes.

By reaſon wherof, the kyngdome of the Pope and hys members here in this realm began to be ſo ſtrong, that none durſt ſtirre or once mute againſt them. The Biſhops hauyng the kyng ſo full on their ſide, armed moreouer wyth lawes, ſtatutes, puniſhmentes, impriſonmentes, ſword, fire and fagot: raigned and ruled as they liſted, as kinges and princes within themſelues. So ſtrong were they of power, that no humayne force was able to ſtand agaynſt them: ſo exalted in pride and puft vp in glory, that they thought all thinges to be ſubiect to their reuerent maieſties. What ſo euer they ſet forth or decreed, it muſt of all men be receyued and obeyed.

And ſuch was their ſuperſtitious blindnes and curious vanitie, that whatſoeuer toy came once in their fantaſie: it was ſtraightwayes determined and ſtabliſhed for a law of all men to be obſerued, were it neuer ſo friuolous or ſuperſtitious. As well appeareth by Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and other, who hauyng now a little laiſure from ſlaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confeſſors of the Lord, and hauyng now brought their enemies (as they thought) vnder feete: began to ſet vp themſelues, and to inuent new cuſtomes, as the guiſe is of the Popes church, euer to intrude into the church of God, ſome ceremony or cuſtome of their owne makyng, whereby the Church of Chriſt hath bene hitherto excedingly peſtred. So likewyſe this Thomas Arundell, thinkyng the Church yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed wyth ceremonies and vayne traditions of men: bringeth in a new found gaude, commonly called the tollyng of Aues, in honour of our Lady, wyth certayne Aues to be ſayd, and dayes of pardon to be geuen for the ſame. For the ratification wherof, vnder the pretence of the kinges requeſt, he directed his mandate to the Byſhop of London, well ſtuffed with wordes of Idolatry, as by the readyng thereof may appeare, in forme of termes as followeth.

xl. dayes of pardon geuẽ by Tho. Arũdel Archb.

¶ A mandate of Tho. Arundel directed to the Biſhop of London, to warne men to ſay certain prayers at the tollyng of the Aues, or ringing of Curphew.

Ringing of Curphew.

Thomas. &c. To the right reuerend our brother, the Lord Robert, by the grace of God biſhop of London, greeting. &c. While we lift our eyes round about vs, and behold attentiuely with circumſpect conſideration, how the moſt high word that was in the beginnyng with God, choſe to hym an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly ſtock: in whoſe wombe he toke true fleſh by inſpirall inſpiration, that the mercifull goodnes of the ſonne of God that was vncreate, might aboliſh the ſentence of cõdemnation, which all the poſteritie of mankind that was created, had by ſinne incurred. Amongſt other labours in the vyne of the Lord of Sabaoth, we ſong to God our ſauiour with great ioy in hart: carefully thinking, that though all the people of the chriſtian religion did extoll with voyces of prayſes ſo worthy a virgin, by whom we receyued the beginnings of our redemptiõ, by whom the holy day firſt ſhined to vs, which gaue vs hope of ſaluation. And although all the ſame people were drawen to reuerence her, which beyng a happy virgin, conceiued the ſonne of God, the kyng of heauen, the redemer and Sauiour of all nations, miniſtring lyght to the people that were miſerably drowned in the darknes of death: We truely as the ſeruauntes of her owne * inheritaunce, and ſuch as are written of, to be of her peculiar dowre, as we are by euery mans confeſſion acknowledged to be: we I ſay, ought more watchfully then any others, to ſhew the endeuours of our deuotion in prayſing her. Who being hetherto mercifull to vs, yea being euen cowardes, would that our power being, as it were ſpred abroad euery where through all yͤ coaſtes of the world, ſhould with a victorious arme, feare all foreyne nations. That our power being on all ſides ſo defẽded with the buckler of her protection, did ſubdue vnto our victorious ſtandardes, and made ſubiecte vnto vs, nations both nere at hand and farre of.

* If this be not blaſphemous & derogatory to Chriſt: let the reader iudge.

Theſe men make a Bellona of our Lady.

Likewiſe our happy eſtate (all the time that we haue paſſed ſince the beginning of our lyues) may be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: to whom alſo we may worthely aſcribe now of late in theſe our times vnder yͤ mighty gouernment of our moſt Chriſtian king, our deliueraunce from the rauenyng wolues, and the mouthes of cruell beaſtes: which had prepared againſt our bankets a meſſe of meate mingled full of gall, and hated vs vniuſtly, ſecretly lyyng in wait for vs, in recompence of the good will that we ſhewed to them. Wherfore, that ſhee being on high ſitting before the throne of the heauenly maieſtie, the defendreſſe and patroneſſe of vs all, being magnified with all mens prayſes: may more plentifully exhibite to vs the founts of adoption the teates of her * grace, in all thoſe thinges that we ſhall haue to doe. At the requeſt of the ſpeciall deuotion of our Lord the kyng himſelfe, we commaunde your brotherhoode, ſtraightly enioyning you: that you commaunde the ſubiectes of your Citie and dioceſſe, and of all other ſuffraganes, to worſhip our Lady Mary the mother of

False helpe ſought, and ſet vp of Idolaters.

* The papiſtes would ſucke our Ladies pappes.

* Will you ſtand to this doctrine ye Catholikes.

God

*Popiſhe blaſphemy fighting againſt the grace of Chriſt.

Ringing of Curphew.

God, and our * patroneſſe and protectreſſe, euermore in all aduerſity: with ſuch like kynde of prayer and accuſtomed maner of ringing, as the deuotion of Chriſtes faythfull people is wont to worſhip her at the ringing of courele ſeu. And when before day in the mornyng ye ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with lyke maner of prayer and ringing, ſhe be euery where honoured deuoutly by the aforeſayd our and your ſuffragans and their ſubiectes as well religious as ſecular, in your and their monaſteries and collegiate churches: That we ſo humbly callyng vpon the mercy of the heauenly father, the right hand of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe the protection and defence of the ſame our Lord the kyng, who for the happy remedy of quietnes, and for our ſuccour frō tempeſtuous floudes, is redy to apply his handes, to worke, & his eyes with all hys whole deſire to watching. We therfore coueting more earneſtly to ſtirre vp the myndes of all faythfull people to ſo deuout an exerciſe of God. &c. we graunt by theſe preſentes, to all & euery mā. &c. that ſhal ſay the Lordes prayer and the ſalutation of the Aungell fiue tymes at the mornyng peale with a deuout mynde, totiens quotiens, (how oft ſo euer) xl. dayes of pardon by theſe preſents. Geuen vnder our ſeale in our manor of Lambeth the x. day of February, an. noſtræ tranſ. 9. Ex Regiſt. Thom. Arundell.

xl. dayes pardon, for v. Aues.

Heaping vp ceremonies in the church.

By this friuolous and barbarous conſtitutiō with many other of lyke ſort heaped into the Church by the papiſts: appeareth the proper nature and condition of this catholicke generation. Who beyng themſelues not greatly exerciſed nor experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpirituall matter (as ſemeth) take vpon them to gouerne the ſpirituall church of Chriſt, wherof in dede they haue no ſkill or very little. And therfore accordyng to their vnſkilful handling, they lead and rule the church after ſuch outward ſightes and ceremonies, ſemely perhaps to their owne groſſe affection: but not agreyng (nay rather cleane contrary) to the right nature & condition of the ſpirituall houſe and kyngdome of the Lord. And like as in their inuentions they ſwarue vtterly from ẏ right handlyng of all ſpirituall gouernment: ſo in their maners & forme of lyfe likewyſe, they do reſemble little or no part almoſt, of ſuch as are and ought to be, true paſtors and miniſters of the myſticall body of Chriſt.

The pompe of the popes Church noted.

Examples hereof are plenty and playne, in theſe Romaine prelates to be noted: who ſo well conſideryng the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirit which ought to be in paſtorall leaders of the Church, will compare the ſame with the viſuall pompe of theſe glorious poteſtates.

As for example, what can be more conuenient for a true paſtor eccleſiaſticall, then humility of hart and ſpirit, accordyng to the example of the head biſhop hymſelfe? So, what greater ſhew of arrogancy and pryde could there be, then in this: whom I haue oft named before, Th. Arundell, archb. of Canterbury, who paſſing by the high ſtreate of London, did not only loke and waite for the ringyng of the bels, for a triumph of hys commyng, but tooke great ſnuffe and dyd ſuſpend, all ſuch Churches in London (not onely with the ſteple and bels, but alſo with the organes) ſo many as did not receiue his commyng with the noyſe of bels: accordyng as out of his owne regiſters may appeare, the wordes whereof written to his owne Somner, I haue hereto annexed in hys owne forme as followeth.

¶ A Commiſſion directed to the Somner, to ſuſpende certayne Churches of London, becauſe they rong not their bels, at the preſence of my Lord the Archb. of Canterbury.

Churches of Londō ſuſpended for not ringing at the comming of the Archb.

Thomas by the permiſſion of God, &c. To our welbeloued Thomas Wilton our Somner ſworne, health, grace, and bleſſing. The comelines of our holy Church of Canterbury, ouer which we beare rule: deſerueth and requireth, that while we paſſe through the prouince, of the ſame our church (hauyng our Croſſe caried before vs) euery pariſh Church in their turnes, ought and are bounden in token of ſpecial reuerence that they beare to vs, to ring their bels. Which notwithſtandyng, ye on Tueſday laſt paſt, when we betwixt 8. and 9. of the clocke before diner, paſſed openly on foote as it were, through the midſt of the City of London, with our Croſſe caried before vs: Diuers Churches whoſe names are here beneth noted, ſhewed towardes vs willingly (though they certainly knew of our commyng) vnreuerence rather then reuerence, and the duety that they owe to our Church of Caunterbury, ringyng not at all at our commyng. Wherfore, we beyng willyng to reuenge this iniury, * for the honour of our ſpouſe as we are bounden: commaund you, that by our authoritie, you put all thoſe Churches vnder our interdiſement, ſuſpendyng Gods holy organes and inſtruments in the ſame. Which we alſo ſuſpend by the tenour of theſe preſents, till the miniſters of the aforeſayd Churches be able hereafter to attayne of vs the benefite of more plentifull grace. Geuen. &c.

*Oh iniurious enemies to Chriſt his ſpouſe.

What great reaſon was in this, why this Archbiſhop either ſhould thus looke for the ringing of the bels, or why he ſhould be ſo diſpleaſed with not ringing, I doe not ſee. Belike his mynd in the meane time was greatly occupied with ſome great muſe, as ſeyng of Gods feare, with repentaunce and remembraunce of his ſinnes, with zelous care and ſollicitude for hys flocke, with the earneſt meditation of the paſſion and lyfe of our ſauiour, who in this world was ſo deſpiſed: or els was ſet vpon ſome graue ſtudy, while he ſo wayted for the ryngyng of the bels, which are wont to be ſo noyſome to all ſtudents. And why were not the trumpetters alſo ſhent as well, becauſe they did not ſound before hys perſon? But and though the bels did not clatter in the ſteples, & therfore hys thunderbolt ſhould haue fallē vpō the ſteples which had deſerued: why ſhould the body of the church therfore be ſuſpended? At leaſt, the poore organes (me thinketh) had ſome part of wrong to be put to ſilence in the quier, becauſe the bels rang not in the tower.

Organes ſuſpended in the Church becauſe the belles did not ring.

Of the lyke matter alſo we read in the ſaid regiſters, falling betwene the B. of Worceſter, and the Priory of the ſame town, for not ringing at ẏ biſhops comming into the church. Wherupon much ſute and contention was betwene them, til at length the Archb. of Cant. tooke vp the matter, moderatyng it, as in the ſaid regiſters, fol. 441. appeareth to be ſene as followeth.

Ex Regiſt. Tho. Arundels.

Variaunce betwene the B. and Prior of Worceſter for not ringing at the Biſhops comming.

VNiuerſis. &c. Thomas &c. Where as there hapned variance lately betwene our reuerend brother the Lord B. of Worceſter on the one party, and the religious and diſcret men the Prior and couent of the ſame church on the other party, for not ringing of bels at the commyng of our ſayd brother to his foreſayd church, at length the parties (conſidering the great inconuenience that might come therof) at our inſtance and requeſt did agree on this maner: that as often as it ſhall happen our reuerend brother to go to hys aforeſayd church, eyther to celebrate orders, or to viſite his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the ſame Church: alſo in the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which is the chiefeſt feaſt in the Abbey aforeſayd: then the Prior and the couent, and their ſucceſſors for the tyme beyng, ſhall ring ſolemnly agaynſt his commyng or ſhall cauſe to be rong ſolemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaymyng hereafter to be made agaynſt ẏ ſame. Which agrement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all vnderſtand by theſe preſents, ſealed with our ſeale. Geuen at our palace of Caunterbury, xij. July, the x. yeare of our gouernment.

The like ſtirre for belringing and for proceſſions had almoſt hapned betwene the Archb. of Cant. ſucceſſor to thys Tho. Arundell named Henr. Chichley on the one perty, and the abbey of S. Albons on the other party, had not the Abbot in tyme ſubmittyng himſelf to the Archb. ſo prouided, ẏ the ringing of their bels at his comming, might not rebound to any derogation of their liberties. Wherunto the Archbiſh. graunted by theſe his letters as followeth.

Ringing to the Archb. at S. Albons.

Ex Regiſt. Henr. Chichley fol. 365.

HEnry &c. to the religious men, the Abbot and Couent of the Monaſtery of S. Albons in the dioceſſe of Lincolne, health. &c. When as of late there hapned a matter of variāce betwene vs, and you the Abbot and Couent, by reaſon of not geuyng reuerence to vs, beyng due to our prouince of Caunterbury, that is, for not ringyng the bels and meting vs wyth proceſſions when we paſſed by diuers places of our prouince as well due of common cuſtome as of olde vſe, and for the prerogatiue of the Church of Canterbury, as alſo being due of euery one beyng within the compaſſe of this our ſayde prouince, when and as often as we ſhall paſſe by their places: at length you Lord Abbot (commyng perſonally to vs) did graunt both for you and the Couent aforeſaid, to do and to geue of your gentleneſſe all reuerence and honour, wyth ſuch reuerence both to vs and our church of Canterbury, as often as we paſſe by your monaſtery, or the places nigh or adioynyng therto, or ſhall hereafter go by: So that it myght not be preiudiciall to your exemption and nothyng bee attempted to the violating of your priuiledge: & that it might not be chalenged for duety hereafter. Wherefore, we deſiring to kepe you from dammage, let you vnderſtand by theſe preſents, that it is not our entent to derogate your exemptions or priuiledge whatſoeuer herein: nor by any meanes to bee preiudiciall to you by theſe your reuerences or other

duetie,

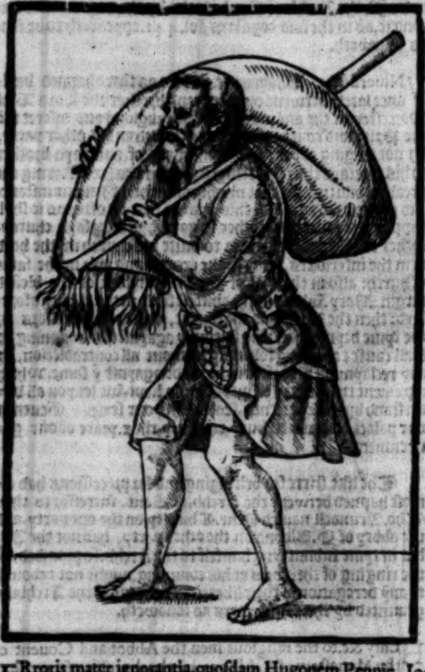
ductie, whatſoeuer you haue or ſhall graunt to vs of your deuotion and liberalitie, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In witneſſe wherof, &c. Dated the xxviij. of Ianuary. 1425. at S. Albons, the xij. yere of our gouernmēt.

W. Courtney Archb. of Cant.

To expreſſe moreouer and deſcribe the glorious pompe of theſe princelike prelates in theſe blynde dayes of Popiſh religion reignyng then in the church: I thought to adioyne hereunto an other example not much vnlyke, neyther differyng much in tyme, concernyng certayne poore men cyted vp, and enioyned ſtraight penaunce by W. Courtney predeceſſour of the ſayd Tho. Arundell for bryngyng litter to hys horſe, not in waynes as they ſhould do, but in priuy ſackes, in a ſecret maner vnder their clokes or cotes. For the which ſo haynous and horrible treſpaſſe, the ſayd Archbiſhop ſittyng in hys tribunall ſeate, did call and cite before hym the ſayd perſons (pro litera i. for lytter, after hys owne latine) and after their ſubmiſſion enioyned them penaunce, which penance, what it was, and what were the names of yͤ foreſayd parties, here followeth out of the ſaid Arch b. regiſters, both by his own wordes, and by picture of the perſons in the ſame regiſters annexed and painted, in all reſemblaunce, as there ſtandeth and here is alſo to be ſene.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

❡ A deſcription of the poore men doyng theyr penaunce, with their ſtraw on their backe.



The picture of them drawen in all proportion according to the exemplar ſtanding in the Regiſter.

Ex Regiſtro W. Courtney.

Marke ye Grāmarians *litera* for littour.

ERroris mater ignorantia, quoſdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengam taliter obcæcauit, quòd ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiſcopi ad palatium ſuum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominicæ in ramis palmarū, anno domini milleſimo trecenteſimo nonageſimo, de cariando & ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, ſtramen, ſiue literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura ſuorum quas & quę tenent de domino & eccleſia ſua Cantuariæ aſtringuntur per balliuum domini ibidem iuſſi & legitimè premoniti debita ſeruitia more ſolito impendere dedignantes, ſtramen huiuſmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in ſufficienti quātitate, ſed modice in ſaccis ſub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt, in vilipendium domini ac ſubtractionem iurium eccleſiæ ſuæ Cantuar. Vnde ſuper hoc euocati coram domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paſchæ in caſtro ſuo de Statewode pro tribunali ſedente perſonaliter comparentes, ipſius iudicio in hac parte ſe humiliter ſubmiſerunt, veniam & miſericordiam pro cōmiſſis deuotè petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, de ſtando mandatis eccleſiæ, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos abſoluit in forma iuris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœna ſalutari: videlicet, quòd die dominica tunc proximè ſequente, prædicti pœnitentes nudi capita & pedes, proceſſionem apud eccleſiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum ſingulis ſaccis ſuper humeris ſuis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & ſtramine) ita quòd ſtramen & fœnum huiuſmodi ad ora ſaccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis inceſſibus procederent humiliter & deuotè. In Engliſh.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Arch. Cant.

IGnoraunce the mother of errour ſo much hath blinded and deceaued certayne perſons, to witte, Hugh Penny, Iohn Forſtal, Iohn Boy, Iohn Wanderton: Williā Hayward, and Iohn White, tenauntes of the Lord of Wengham: that agaynſt the commyng of the aforeſayd Archbyſhop to hys palace of Canterbury on Palmes Sonday euen, the yeare of our Lord. 1390. where they being warned by the Bayliffe, to conuey and cary hay, ſtraw, and other littour to the aforeſayd palace, as they were bounde by the tenour of their landes, which they hold of the ſea of Canterbury: refuſing and diſdaynyng to doe their due ſeruice, as they were accuſtomed, brought their ſtraw and other littour, not in cartes and waynes openly and ſufficiently, but by peece meale, & cloſely in bagges or ſackes, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the right and title of the ſea of Canterbury. Whereupon they being aſcited and preſented before the archbyſhop, ſitting in iudgement at his manour of Statewood, yelded and ſubmitted themſelues to his lordſhips pleaſure, humbly crauing pardon of their treſpaſſe. Then the aforeſayd Archbiſhop abſolued the aboue named Hugh Penny, &c. they ſwearing to obey the lawes and ordinaunce of holy Church, and to do the puniſhment that ſhould be appointed them for their deſertes, that is: that they going leyſurely before the proceſſion, euery one of them ſhould cary opēly on his ſhoulder, his bag ſtuffed with hay and ſtraw, ſo that the ſaid hay and ſtraw ſhould appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the ſackes being open.

Penaunce enioyned by bringing ſtraw to my lordes horſe.

Excommunication and abſolution abuſed.

❡ Notes of certaine parliament matters paſſed in thys kynges dayes.

Notes of this kynges parliamentes.

To proceede now further in the raigne of this king, and to intreate alſo ſome thyng of his Parliamētes, as we haue done of other before, firſt we will beginne with the Parliament holden in the firſt yeare of his comming in.

Moreouer, forſomuch as our Catholike papiſtes wyll not beleue yet the contrary, but that the iuriſdiction of their father the Pope hath euer extended throughout all yͤ world, as well here in England as in other places: here therefore ſpeaking of the parliamentes holden in this kings dayes concerning this matter, I referre them to the Parliament of yͤ ſayd king Henry in his firſt yeare holden, and to the 27. article of the ſame. Where they may read in the 27. obiectiō layd agaynſt king Richard in playne wordes: how that, for as much as the crowne of this realme of England, and the iuriſdiction belonging to the ſame, as alſo the whole Realme it ſelfe, at all tymes lately paſt, hath bene at ſuch libertie, & enioyed ſuch prerogatiue, that neither the Pope, nor any other out of the ſame kingdome, ought to intrude hymſelfe, nor intermedle therein: it was therefore obiected vnto the forenamed king Richard the ſecōd for procuring the letters Apoſtolicall from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certaine ſtatutes of his, & that his cenſures might be proſecuted agaynſt the breakers thereof. Which ſeemed then to the Parliament, to tende agaynſt the crowne and regall dignitie, as alſo agaynſt the ſtatutes and liberties of the ſayd this our Realme of England. Act. Parl. an. 1. Reg. Henrici. 4. Act. 27.

The popes iuriſdiction excluded out of thys realme.

Ex Anno. 1. Reg. Henrici. Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the ſecond yeare of the ſaid king, thys was in the Parliament required, that all ſuch perſons as ſhalbe areſted by force of the ſtatute made agaynſt the Lollardes, in the 2. yeare of Henry. 4. may be bayled, and freely make their purgation: That they be areſted by none other then by the Sheriffes or ſuch like officers, neither that any hauocke be made of their goodes. The king graunted to take aduiſe therein.

An. 2. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 19.

In the viij. yeare moreouer of this kings raigne, it was likewiſe propounded in the Parliament, that all ſuch perſons as ſhall procure or ſue in the court of Rome any proces touching any benefice, collation, or preſentation of the ſame, ſhall incurre the payne of yͤ ſtatute of prouiſors, made in the 13. yeare of Richard. 2. Whereunto the kyng graunted, that the ſtatutes heretofore prouided ſhould be obſerued.

An. 8. Reg. Henri. 4. Act. 116.

Item, in the ſayd Parliament, there it was put vp by petition, that the king might enioy halfe the profites of euery parſons benefice, who is not reſident thereon. Therun-

An. 8. Reg. Hen. 4. Act. 116.

to the king aunſwered, that the ordinaries ſhould doe their duties therein, or els he would prouide further remedy, to ſtay their pluralities.

Ibid. Act. 37.

Item, in the ſayd Parliament, it was required: that none do ſue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but onely in the kinges courtes.

¶ In the next yeare folowing, which was the ix. of thys King, an other petition of the Commons was put vp in Parliament againſt the court of Rome, which I thought good here to expreſſe as foloweth.

Ex Rotulo Parlamenti. an. 9. Henrici. 4.

The wickednes of the popes prouiſors in citing & depriuing beneficed men in England, their citation being not knowen in the realme.

The Commons do beſeech, that forasmuch as diuers prouiſors of the benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the Court of Rome, through their ſingular couetouſnes now newly imagined to deſtroy thoſe that haue bene long tyme incumbents in diuers their benefices of holy church peaceably, ſome of them by the title of the king, ſome by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by coulor of prouiſions, collations, and other grauntes made to ỹ ſayd prouiſors by the Apoſtoill, of the ſayd benefices, doe purſue proceſſes in the ſayd Court by citation made beyond the Sea, without any citations made within the Realme in deede againſt the ſame incumbentes, whereby many of the ſaid incumbents through ſuch priuy and crafty proceſſes & ſentences of priuation and inhabilitation, haue loſt their benefices, and others put in the places of the ſayd incumbentes before the publication of the ſame ſentẽces, they not knowing any thing, and many are in great haſard to loſe their benefices through ſuch proceſſes, to their perpetuall deſtruction and miſchiefe: and forasmuch as this miſchiefe cannot be holpen without an eſpecial remedy be had by parliament: pleaſeth it the king to conſider the great miſchiefe and daunger that may ſo come vnto diuers his ſubiectes without their knowledge through ſuch citations out of the Realme, and thervpõ to ordaine by the aduiſe of the Lords of this preſent parliament, that none preſented, be receaued by any ordinary vnto any benefice of any ſuch incumbẽt for any cauſe of priuation or inhabilitation whereof the proceſſe is not founded vpon citation made within the Realme, and alſo that ſuch incumbents may remayne in all their benefices, vntill it be proued by due enqueſt in the Court of the King, that the citations wherupon ſuch priuations and inhabilitations are graunted, were made within the realme: and that if ſuch Ordinaries, or ſuch preſented or others, do purſue the contrary, that thẽ they and their procuratours, fauourers and counſellours do incurre the paynes conteyned in the Statute made againſt prouiſors in the xiij. yeare of the raigne of the late Richard King of England the ſecond, by proceſſes to be made as is declared in the ſtatute made againſt ſuch prouiſours in the xxvij. yeare of the raigne of K. Edward, predeceſſor to our Lord the king that now is, any royall licences or grauntes in any maner to the cõtrary notwithſtanding, and that all other ſtatutes made againſt prouiſors and not repealed before this preſent parliament, be in their full force and be firmely kept in all pointes.

That the kinges Counſell haue power by authoritie of Parliament, in caſe that any man finde himſelfe greeued in particular, that he may purſue: and that the ſaid Counſell by the aduiſe of the Iuſtices do right vnto ỹ parties. This to endure vntil the next parliament, reſeruing alwayes vnto the King his prerogatiue and libertie.

Anno. 9 Regis Henrici. 4. Act. 43.

Item, that no Popes collector thenceforth ſhould leuie any money within the Realme for firſt fruites of any eccleſiaſticall dignitie, vnder payne of incurring the ſtatute of prouiſions.

Ex Chronic. D. Albani, Fabiano. & alijs.

Beſides in the ſayd Parliament holden the xi. yeare of thys king, is to be noted: how the commons of the land, put vp a Bill vnto the kyng, to take the temporall landes out from ſpirituall mens handes or poſſeſſion. The effecte of which Bill was, that the temporalities, diſordinatly waſted by men of the Church, might ſuffice to finde to the K. xv. Earles, xv.C. Knightes, vj.M.CC. Eſquires, and a C. houſes of almoſe, to the reliefe of poore people, moe then at thoſe dayes were within England: And ouer all theſe foreſayd charges, the King might put yearely in his coffers xx.M. poundes.

Prouided, that euery Earle ſhould haue of yearely rent iij.M. marke, and euery Knight C. marke, and iiij. plough landes: Euery Eſquier xl. marke by yeare, with ij. plough landes, and euery houſe of almoſe c. marke, with ouerſight of two true ſeculars vnto euery houſe: And alſo with prouiſion, that euery townſhip ſhould keepe all poore people of their owne dwellers, which might not labour for their liuing: with condition, that if moe fell in a towne then the towne might maintaine, than the ſayd almes houſes to releue ſuch townſhips.

A computatiõ of Church good, to how much they do mount.

And for to beare theſe charges, they alleadged by their ſaid Bill, that the tẽporalties, being in ỹ poſſeſſion of ſpirituall men, amounted to iij.C. and xxij.M. marke by yeare, whereof they affirmed to be in the ſee of Canterbury, wyth ỹ Abbayes of Chriſtes church, of S. Auguſtines, Shreuſbury, Coggeſhale, and S. Oſiis xx.M. marke by yeare. In the ſee of Durham and other Abbeyes there xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Yorke and Abbeyes there xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Winchester, & Abbayes there xx.M. marke. In the ſee of London, with Abbayes and other houſes there, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Lincolne, wt the Abbays of Peterborow, Ramſey, and other. xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Norwich, with the Abbays of Bury & other xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Ely, Spaldyng and other xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Bathe, with the Abbey of Okinborne and other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Worceter, with the Abbayes of Eueſham, Abingdon and other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Cheſter with the precinct of the ſame, with the ſees of S. Dauid, of Saliſbury, and Exceter, with their precinctes xx.M. marke. The Abbayes of Rauens or Reuans of Fountaines, of Gernons and diuers other to the number of v. mo xx.M. marke. The Abbays of Leiceter, Walthan, Goſborn, Merton, Ciceter, Oſney, and other, vnto the number of vj. mo, xx.M. marke. The Abbays of Douers, Batill, Lewys Couentry, Dauentre, and Tourney, xx.M. marke. The abbays of Northhampton, Thorton, Briſtow, Killyngworth, Winchcombe, Hailes, Parchiſſor, Frideſwide, Notty, and Grimmiſby, xx.M. marke.

The which foreſayd ſommes amount to the full of iij.C. M. marke. And for the odde of xxij.M. marke, they appoynted Hardford, Rocheſter, Huntingdon, Swineſhed, Crowland, Malmeſbury, Burtõ, Teukeſbury, Dunſtable, Shirborne, Taunton and Biland.

And ouer this they alleaged by the ſayd Bill, that ouer and aboue the ſayd ſumme of iij.C. and xxij.M. marke, diuers houſes of religion in England, poſſeſſed as many temporalties as might ſuffice to finde yercly xv.M. prieſtes and clerkes, euery prieſt to be allowed for his ſtipend vij. marke by the yeare.

To the which Bill no aunſwer was made, but that the kyng of this matter would take deliberation and aduiſement, and with that, aunſwer ended, ſo that no further labour was made.

An. 1413.

These thinges thus hither to diſcourſed, touchyng ſuch actes and matters as haue bene incident in the lyfe tyme of this kyng, followeth next the xiiij. yeare of his raigne. In the which yeare, the ſayd kyng Henry the 4. after that he had ſent a little before a certayne company of Captaines & ſouldiours to ayde the duke of Burgundy in Fraunce (among whom was the Lord Cobham) keping his Chriſtenmas at Eltham, fell greuouſly ſicke. From thence, he was conueyed to London, where he began to call a parliament, but taried not the end. In the meane tyme, the infirmity of the king more and more increaſing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a fayre chamber at Weſtminſter. And as he lay in hys bed, he aſked how they called the ſame chamber: and they anſwered and ſayde, Ieruſalem. And then he ſayde it was hys prophecie, that he ſhould make hys end in Ieruſalem. And ſo diſpoſing hymſelfe toward hys ende, in the foreſayd chamber he died: vpon what ſicknes, whether of leproſie, or ſome other ſharpe diſeaſe, I haue not to affirme. Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium, That all men called. The like prophecy we read, that Pope Siluester, 2. pag. 180. to whõ beyng inquiſitiue for the tyme and place where he ſhould die it was anſwered, that he ſhould dye in Ieruſalem. Who then ſaying Maſſe in a Chappel (called likewiſe Ieruſalem) perceiued his ende there to be nere, and dyed. And thus K. Henry the 4. ſucceſſour to the lawfull K. Richard 2. finiſhed hys lyfe at Weſtminſter, and was buried at Cant. by the tomb of Thomas Becket, &c. an. 1413.

The king had a prophecie, that he ſhould die in Ieruſalem.

Prophecies deceaueable.

Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium est: **That all men called.**

The prophecie of pope Siluester. 2.

¶ King Henry the fift.

King Henry. 5.

After this Henry the 4. reigned Henry the 5. his ſonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whoſe other vertues and great victories gotten in France, I haue not greatly to intermeddle: Eſpecially, ſeing the memory of his worthy prowes, beyng ſufficiently deſcribed in other writers in this our tyme, may both content the reader and vnburden my labour herein. Eſpecially, ſeyng theſe latter troubles and perturbaciõs of the church offer me ſo much that vnneth any vacant laiſure ſhall be left, to intermeddle with matters prophane.

Great tempeſte at the coronation of the new kyng.

After the coronation then of this new kyng, which was the 9. day of April, called then paſſion Monday, which was an exceding ſtormy day, and ſo tempeſtuous, that many dyd wonder at the portent therof:not lōg after the ſame,a Parliament began to be called and to be holden after the feaſt of Eaſter,at Weſtminſter an.1413. At which time, Thomas Arundell the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury, collected in Paules Churche at London, an vniuerſall Synode of all the biſhops and clergie of England. In that Synode among other weyghty matters and ponderous, was determined: that the day of S.George,and alſo of S. Dunſtane ſhould be double feaſt,called Duplex feſtum in holy kitchyng,in holy Church I would ſay.

A ſynode called at London.

S. George and S. Dunſtanes day made double feaſt.

And becauſe the order and maner of thoſe Pope holy feaſtes, either yet is not ſufficiently knowen to ſome rude & groſſe capacities,or may peraduēture grow out of vſe, and to be ſtrāge & vnknowen to our poſteritie hereafter: Therfore to geue a litle memorandum therof (by the way for erudition,of tymes hereafter to come) touchyng this miſticall ſcience of the Popes deepe and ſecret Diuinitie: here is to be noted,that the feaſtes of the Popes holy mother Catholique Church,be diuided in ſondry members: Like as a plētifull roote in a frutefull field riſeth vp and burgeneth into manifold armes,and the armes agayne do multiplie into diuers and ſondry braunches, out of the which moreouer although no frute do come,yet both leaues and flowers do bud & bloſſome in moſt copious wiſe,right beautifull to behold: Euen ſo this Feſtum,cōteinyng a large matter of great varietie of dayes and feaſtes,groweth to it ſelfe & multiplieth, beyng thus diuided: firſt into Feſtum duplex,and into Feſtū ſimplex,that is into feaſt double,and to feaſt ſimple. Agayn, this Feſtum duplex brauncheth foure fold wiſe,to wit,into Feſtum principale duplex:into Maius duplex:into Minus duplex,and inferius duplex,that is,in principall double,in greater double,in leſſer double,& inferiour or lower double. Unto theſe ſeuerall ſortes of feaſtes, what dayes were peculiarly aſſigned,it were to lōg to recite. For this preſent purpoſe it ſhall ſuffice to vnderſtand: that as vnto the principall double feaſt onely belōged viij. dayes in the yeare: ſo the Maius duplex feſtum,had geuen vnto him by this conuocation, the day of S. George,and of S. Dunſtane, as is afore remembred: albeit by conſtitution it was ſo decreed,yet by cuſtome it was not ſo vſed. Item,to be noted, that theſe two feaſtes,to witte,Principale duplex,and Maius duplex, dyd differre and were knowen from all other by foure notes, by ſeruice in the kitching,and by ſeruice in the Church,which was both double: by ringyng in the ſteple,which was with double peale: by copes in the quier,and by thuriſyng or cenſing the aultars. For in theſe two principall & greater double feaſtes,the vij. viij. and ix. leſſon muſt be read with ſilken copes. Alſo at the ſayd feaſtes in the time of the leſſons, the aultars in the church muſt be thuriſied, that is,ſmoked with incenſe.&c. And likewiſe the Minus duplex, & Inferius duplex had alſo their peculiar ſeruice to them belongyng.

The feaſt of the popes church, deſcribed and deuided.

Feſtum duplex.
Principale duplex.
Maius duplex.
Minus duplex.
Inferius duplex.

Conſtitution againſt councell.
Ex tab. feſtorum.

Secondly the Simplex feſtum, which is the ſecond arme ſpringyng of this diuiſion, is thus diuided: Either hauyng a triple inuitorie, or a double, or els a ſingle inuitorie. Of the which moreouer, ſome haue three leſſons, ſome haue ix. &c.

Simplex feſtum. in the popes Church.

And thus much by occaſion for Popiſh feaſtes, not that I do ſo much deride them, as I lament, that ſo much & manifeſt Idolatry in them is committed to the great diſhonour of our Lord our God, which is onely to be honoured.

The trouble and perſecution of the Lord Cobham.

BUt to let this by matter paſſe, agayne to returne to the foreſayd vniuerſall Synode aſſembled by Thomas Arundell at S. Paules church in London,as is before remembred: the chief and principal cauſe of the aſſemblyng therof (as recordeth the Chronicle of Saint Albons) was to repreſſe the growyng and ſpreadyng of the Goſpell, and eſpecially to withſtand the noble & worthy Lord Cobham: who was thē noted to be a principall fauourer, receauer, & mainteiner of them,whom the Byſhop miſnamed to be Lollardes,eſpecially in the Dioceſſes of London,Rocheſter,and Hereford: ſettyng them vp to preach whō the Byſhops had not licenſed, and ſendyng them about to preach, which was agaynſt the conſtitution prouinciall, before remembred,pag. 508, holdyng alſo and teachyng opinions of the Sacraments,of images,of pilgrimage, of the keyes and Church of Rome,contrary and repugnaunt to the receaued determination of the Romiſh church. &c.

Trouble of the Lord Cobham.
Ex Chron. Monac. Albanenſi.

Vid. pag. 508.

In the meane tyme, as theſe were in talke amongeſt thē, concernyng the good Lord Cobham: reſorted vnto them the twelue Inquiſitours of hereſies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the yeare afore, to ſearch out heretikes, with all Wickleffes bookes) who brought ij. hundreth. xlvj. concluſions,which they had collected as hereſies out of the ſaid bookes. The names of the ſayde Inquiſitours were theſe,

VValden in faſciculo. Ziz. anterum VVicleui.

1. Iohn Witnam,a maiſter in the new Colledge.
2. Iohn Langedon, Monke of Chriſt church in Cant.
3. William Vfford,regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton,regent of the Dominickes.
5. Robert Gylbert.
6. Richard Earthiſdale.
7. Iohn Lucke.
8. Richard Snediſham.
9. Richard Flemming.
10. Thomas Rotborne.
11. Robert Ronbery.
12. Richard Grafdale.

These thynges thus done, & the Articles beyng brought in: further they proceded in their communication,cōcludyng amōg themſelues, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chriſtes coate without ſeame (meaning therby their patched Popiſh ſinagoge) vnleſſe certaine great men were brought out of the way whiche ſemed to be the chief maintainers of the ſaid Diſciples of Wickleffe. Among whō this noble knight ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, was complayned of by the general proctours,to be the chief principall. Him they accuſed firſt for a mighty maintainer of ſuſpected preachers in the Dioces of London,Rocheſter, and Hereford,contrary to the myndes of their Ordinaries. Not onely they affirmed him to haue ſent thether the ſayd preachers,but alſo to haue aſſiſted them there by force of armes, notwithſtandyng their Sinodall conſtitution made afore to the contrary. Laſt of all,they accuſed hym, that he was farre otherwiſe in beliefe of the Sacrament of the aultar,of penaunce, of pilgrimage,of image worſhyppyng,and of the Eccleſiaſticall power, then the holy Churche of Rome had taught many yeares before.

The L. Cobham accuſed for maintaynyng the Goſpell of Chriſt.

The L. Cobham accuſed for his Chriſten beleue.

In the end it was concluded amōg them, that without any further delay, proceſſe ſhould be awarded out agaynſt hym,as agaynſt a moſt pernitious hereticke.

Proceſſe againſt him.

Some of that felowſhyp which were of more crafty experiēce then the other: thought it not beſt to haue that matter ſo raſhly handled, but by ſome preparation made thereunto before. Conſideryng the ſayd Lord Cobham was a man of great byrth,and in fauour at that tyme with the K. their counſaile was to know firſt the kyngs mynde, to ſaue all thynges vpright. This counſaile was well accepted,and thereupon the Archbyſhop Thomas Arundell with his other byſhops,and a great part of the Clergy, went ſtraight wayes vnto the kyng,then remaynyng at Kenningſton. And there,layd forth moſt greuous cōplayntes agaynſt the ſayd Lord Cobham,to his great infamie and blemiſh, beyng a man right godly. The kyng gently heard thoſe bloud thirſty Prelates, and farre otherwiſe then became his princely dignitie: notwithſtandyng requiryng, and inſtauntly deſiryng them, that in reſpect of his noble ſtocke and knighthode,they ſhould yet fauourably deale with him. And that they would if it were poſſible,without all rigour or extreme handlyng,reduce him agayne to the Churches vnitie. He promiſed them alſo, that in caſe they were not contented to take ſome deliberatiō, his ſelfe would ſeriouſly common the matter with him.

A ſpirituall practiſe.

The kyng ſpeaketh for him.

His gentle promiſe.

Anone after,the kyng ſent for the ſayd Lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called him ſecretly, admoniſhyng him betwixt hym and him,to ſubmit himſelfe to his mother the holy Church,and as an obedient child, to acknowledge himſelfe culpable. Unto whom the Chriſten knight made this aunſwere: you moſt worthy Prince,ſaith he, I am alwayes prompt and willyng to obey,for ſomuch as I know you a Chriſtē kyng,and the appointed miniſter of God,bearyng the ſword to the puniſhment of euil doers,and for ſaferegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience,and ſubmit therunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, either of fortune or nature,ready at all tymes to fulfyll whatſoeuer ye ſhal in the Lord commaunde me. But as touchyng the Pope and his ſpiritualtie, I owe them neither ſute nor ſeruice,for ſomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichriſt,the ſonne of perditiō,the open aduerſary of God, and the abhomination ſtandyng in the holy place. When the king had heard this,with ſuch like ſentēces more,he would talke no longer with him,but left him ſo vtterly.

The kinges admoniſhment to the L. Cobham.

The aunſwere of the L. Cobham to the kyng.
Rom. 13.
1. Pet. 2.

L. Cobham obedient to the king.
A moſt Chriſten obedience.
2. Theſſ. 1.
Math. 24.

The L. Cobham forſaken of the king.

And as the Archbyſhop reſorted agayne vnto him for an aunſwere,he gaue him his full authoritie to cite him, examine him, & puniſh him accordyng to their deuiliſh decrees, which they called the lawes of holy Church. Then the ſayd Archbyſhop by the counſaile of his other Byſhops & Clergy, appointed to cal before him ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and to cauſe him perſonally to appeare, to aunſwere to ſuch ſuſpect Articles as they ſhould lay agaynſt him. So ſent he forth his chief Sommoner, with a very ſharpe citation vnto the Caſtle of Cowlyng, where as he at that tyme dwelt for his ſolace. And as the ſayd Sommoner was come thether, he durſt in no caſe enter the gates of ſo

Lord Cobham ſommoned by the Archb.

noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home agayne, his meſſage not done.

John Butler playeth Iudas part.

The called the Archbiſhop one John Butler vnto him, which was then the doore keeper of the kynges priuy chamber: and with hym he couenaunted through promiſes and rewardes, to haue this matter craftely brought to paſſe, vnder the kynges name. Whereupon, the ſayd John Butler tooke the Archbyſhops Sommner with him, and went vnto the ſayd Lord Cobhã: ſhewyng hym, that it was the kinges pleaſure that he ſhould obey that Citation, and ſo cited him fraudulently. Than ſayd he to them in few wordes, that he in no caſe would conſent to thoſe moſt deuiliſhe practiſes of the Prieſtes. As they had informed the Archbiſhop of that aunſwere, and that it was for no man priuately to cite him after that, without peril of life: he decreed by and by to haue hym cited by publique proceſſe or open cõmaundement. And in all the haſt poſſible, vpon the Wedneſday before the Natiuitie of our Lady in Septẽber: he cõmaũded letters Citatory, to be ſet vpon the great gates of the Cathedrall church of Rocheſter (which was but three Engliſh myles from thence) charging him to appeare perſonally before him at Ledys the xj. day of the ſame moneth & yeare, all excuſes to the contrary ſet apart. Thoſe letters were taken downe anone after, by ſuch as bare fauour vnto the Lord Cobham & ſo conueyed aſide. After that cauſed the Archbyſhop new letters to be ſet vp on the Natiuitie day of our Lady, which alſo were rent downe and vtterly conſumed.

Citation ſet vp againſt the Lord Cobham.

The citatiõs takẽ downe.

Then forſomuch as he did not appeare at the day appointed at Ledys (where as he ſat in Conſiſtorie, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with his court of hypocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced hym, and condemned him, of moſt depe contumacie. After that, when he had bene falſly informed by his hyred ſpies, & other gloſing glauerers: that the ſayd Lord Cobham had laughed him to ſcorne, diſdayned all his doyngs, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignitie of a Byſhop, and the order of Prieſthode (for all theſe was he than accuſed) in his moodie madnes without iuſt profe, dyd he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this, his fierce tyranny ſatiſfied: but commaunded him to be cited a freſh, to appeare afore him the Saterday before the feaſt of S. Mathew the Apoſtle, with theſe cruell threatnynges added therunto: that if he dyd not obey at the day, he would more extremely hãdle hym. And to make himſelfe more ſtrong towardes the performaunce therof, he compelled the lay power by moſt terrible manaſinges of curſes and interdictions: to aſſiſte hym agaynſt that ſeditious apoſtata, ſchiſmatike, and heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the Realme, and great aduerſarie of all holy Church, for al theſe hatefull names dyd he geue hym.

Falſe accuſatiõs agaynſt the Lord Cobham.

L. Cobham excommunicated.

L.Cobham againe cited.

This moſt conſtaunt ſeruaunt of the Lord and worthy knight ſir John Oldcaſtle, the Lord Cobham, beholdyng the vnpeaceable fury of Antichriſt, thus kyndled agaynſt hym: perceiuyng himſelfe alſo compaſſed on euery ſide with deadly daungers: He tooke paper and penne in hand, and ſo wrote a Chriſten cõfeſſion or rekenyng of his fayth (which followeth hereafter) both ſignyng and ſealyng it with hys owne hand. Wherein he alſo aunſwered to the foure chiefeſt articles that the Archbyſhop layd agaynſt him. That done, he tooke the copie with hym, and went therewith to the kyng, truſting to finde mercy and fauour at his hãd. None other was that confeſſion of his, than the common beleue or ſumme of the Churches fayth, called the Apoſtles Creede, of all Chriſten men than vſed, with a brief declaration vpon the ſame, as here vnder enſueth.

L.Cobham confeſſeth his God before men.

The Apoſtles fayth.

¶The Chriſten belief of the Lord Cobham.

The commõ creede of Chriſtians.

I Beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth. And in Jeſu Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord, which was conceiued by the holy ghoſt, borne of the virgine Mary ſuffered vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified dead and buried, went downe to hell, the thyrd day roſe agayne from death, aſcended vp to heauen, ſitteth on the right hãd of God the father almighty, and from thence ſhall come agayne to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beleue in the holy ghoſt, the vniuerſal holy Church, the communion of Saintes, the forgeuenes of ſinnes, the vpriſing of the fleſhe, and euerlaſtyng lyfe. Amen.

A declaratiõ of his belief.

And for a more large declaration (ſayth he) of this my fayth in the Catholike Churche: I ſtedfaſtly beleue, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whoſe Godhead, are theſe three perſons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, and that thoſe three perſons are the ſame ſelfe God almighty. I beleue alſo, that the ſecond perſon of this moſt bleſſed Trinitie, in moſt conuenient tyme appointed thereunto afore, tooke fleſhe and bloud of the moſt bleſſed virgine Mary, for the ſauegarde and redemption of the vniuerſall kinde of man, which was afore loſt in Adams offence.

1.John.5.
Galla.4.
John 1.
Luke.1.

Chriſt is the onely head of hys Church.

Moreouer I beleue, that the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord thus being both God and man, is the onely head of yͤ whole Chriſtian Church, and that all thoſe that hath bene or ſhalbe ſaued, be members of this moſt holy Church. And this holy Church I thinke to be deuided into three ſortes or companyes.

The church deuided in thre partes.

Whereof the firſt ſort be now in heauen, and they are the ſaintes from hence departed. Theſe as they were here conuerſaunt, conformed alwayes their liues to the moſt holy lawes and pure examples of Chriſt, renouncing Sathã, the world, and the fleſh, with all their concupiſcences and euils.

Contrary wrote he, *ad Parliamentum, Ex VValdeno.*

The ſecond ſort are in Purgatory (if any ſuch place be in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God and a full deliueraunce of payne.

The third ſort are here vpon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend againſt the crafty aſſaultes of the deuill, the flattering proſperities of this world, and the rebellious filthynes of the fleſhe.

The church militant deuided in three.

This latter congregation by the iuſt ordinaunce of God, is alſo ſeuered into three diuers eſtates, that is to ſay, into prieſthode, knighthode and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one ſhould ayde the other, but not deſtroy the other. The Prieſtes firſt of all ſecluded frõ all worldlynes, ſhoulde conforme their lyues vtterly to the examples of Chriſt & his Apoſtles. Euermore ſhould they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in geuing wholeſome examples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More modeſt alſo, more louyng, gentle, and lowly in ſpirit, ſhoulde they be, then any other ſortes of people.

What the prieſtes ſhould be.

In knighthode are all they, which beare ſworde by lawe of office. Theſe ſhould defend Gods lawes, and ſee that the Goſpell were purely taught, conforming their liues to the ſame, and ſecluding all falſe preachers: yea theſe ought rather to haſard their liues, then to ſuffer ſuch wicked decrees as either blemiſheth the eternall Teſtament of God, or yet letteth the free paſſage therof, whereby hereſies & ſchiſmes might ſpring in the Church. For of none other ariſe they as I ſuppoſe, then of erronious conſtitutions, craftely firſt creeping in vnder hypocriticall lies, for aduauntage. They ought alſo to preſerue Gods people from oppreſſours, tyrauntes, and theeues, & to ſee the clergie ſupported ſo long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the Sacramentes freely. And if they ſee them do otherwiſe, they are bound by the law of office to compell them to chaunge their doynges, and to ſee all things performed according to Gods preſcript ordinaunce.

Knighthode what it ſhould do.

Marke here a moſt Chriſten hart.

The latter fellowſhip of this Church, are the common people: whoſe dutie is, to beare their good myndes and true obedience, to the aforeſaid miniſters of God, their kynges, ciuill gouernours and Prieſtes. The right office of theſe, is iuſtly to occupy euery man in his facultie, be it marchaundiſe, handicraft, or the tilthe of the grounde. And ſo one of them to be as an helper to an other, folowing alwayes in their ſortes the iuſt commaundementes of their Lord God.

What the commõ people ought to doe.

Ouer and beſides all this, I moſt faithfully beleue, that the Sacramentes of Chriſtes Church are neceſſary to all Chriſten beleuers: this alwayes ſeene to, that they be truly miniſtred according to Chriſtes firſt inſtitution and ordinaunce. And forasmuch as I am maliciouſly and moſt falſly accuſed of a miſbeliefe in the Sacrament of the aulter, to the hurtfull ſclaunder of many: I ſignifie here vnto all mẽ, that this is my faith concerning that. I beleue, in that Sacrament to be contayned very Chriſtes body and bloud vnder the ſimilitudes of bread and wine, yea, the ſame body yͭ was conceiued of the holy ghoſt, borne of the virgine Mary, done on the croſſe, dyed, that was buryed, aroſe the third day from the death, and is now glorified in heauen. I alſo beleue, the vniuerſall law of God to be moſt true and perfect, and they which doe not ſo folow it in their fayth and workes (at one time or other) can neuer be ſaued: where as he that ſeeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in loue, ſhall taſt for it the felicitie of euerlaſting Innocencie.

Beliefe of the L. Cobham concerning the ſacramentes.

The Sacrament of the aulter.

Finally, this is my faith alſo, that God will aſke no more of a Chriſten beleuer in this life, but onely to obey the preceptes of that moſt bleſſed lawe. If any Prelates of the Church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be vſed: he contemneth Chriſt, exalting himſelf aboue God, and ſo becommeth an open Antichriſt. All the premiſſes I beleue particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I ſhould beleue. Inſtauntly deſiring you my liege Lord and moſt worthy king, that this confeſſion of mine, may be iuſtly examined by the

Gods law to be preferred before mans lawe.

A Chriſten deſire of the L. Cobhã.

moſt

This requeſt was lawfull.

moſt godly wiſe and learned men of your Realme. And if it be founde in all pointes agreeyng to the veritie, then let it be ſo allowed, and I thereupon holden for none other then a true Chriſtian. If it be proued other wiſe, then let it be vtterly condemned: prouided alwayes, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God, and I ſhall moſt reuerently at all tymes obey thereunto.

Obedience vnto his kyng.

The Chriſten ſtomacke and manhoode of the L. Cobham.

No reaſonable offer would ſerue.

L. Cobhā appealeth from the Archb. to the Pope.

Straight handling of the kyng.

L. Cobhā would not obey the beaſt.

This brief confeſſion of this fayth, the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and ſo tooke it with hym to the court, offeryng it with all meekeneſſe vnto the kyng to read it ouer. The kyng would in no caſe receiue it, but commaunded it to be deliuered vnto them that ſhould be his iudges. Then deſired he in the kynges preſence, that an hundred Knightes and Eſquiers might be ſuffered to come in vpon his purgation, which he knew, would cleare hym of all hereſies. Moreouer he offered hymſelfe after the law of armes, to fight for lyfe or death with any man liuyng, Chriſten or Heathen, in the quarell of his fayth, the kyng and the Lordes of his Councell excepted. Finally with all gentlenes he proteſted before all that were preſent, that he would refuſe no maner of correction that ſhould after the lawes of God be miniſtred vnto him, but that he would at all tymes with all meekenes obey it. Notwithſtandyng all this, the kyng ſuffered him to be ſommoned perſonally in his owne priuy chamber. Then ſayd the Lord Cobham to the kyng, that he had appealed from the Archbyſhop to the Pope of Rome, & therfore he ought he ſayd, in no caſe to be his iudge. And hauyng his appeale there at hand ready written, he ſhewed it with all reuerence to the kyng. Wherewith the kyng was then much more diſpleaſed then afore, and ſayd angerly vnto him, that he ſhould not purſue his appeale: but rather he ſhould tary in hold, till ſuch tyme as it were of the Pope allowed. And thē, would he or nylde he, the Archbyſhop ſhould be his iudge. Thus was there nothyng allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forſomuch as he would not be ſworne in all thynges to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church, & ſo to take what penaunce the Archbyſhop would enioyne him: He was areſted agayne at the kynges commaundement, and ſo ledde forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day (ſo was it then ſpoken) that the Archbyſhop had appointed him afore, in the kynges chamber.

The confeſſion & aunſwere of the Lord Cobham newly copyed.

Cayphas ſitteth in Conſiſtory.

Then cauſed he the foreſayd confeſſion of his fayth to be copyed agayne and the aunſwere alſo (which he had made to the foure Articles propoſed agaynſt hym) to be written in maner of an Indenture in two ſheetes of paper: That when he ſhould come to his aunſwere, he might geue the one copie vnto the Archbyſhop, and reſerue the other to him ſelfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saterday before the feaſt of S. Mathew: Thomas Arundell the Archbyſhop, ſittyng in Cayphas rowme in the Chapterhouſe of Paules, with Richard Clifford Byſhop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke Byſhop of Wincheſter: ſir Robert Morley knight & Lieftenaunt of the Tower, brought perſonally before hym the ſayd Lord Cobham, and there left him for the tyme, vnto whom the Archbiſhop ſayd theſe wordes.

¶ The firſt examinatiō of the Lord Cobham.

Antichriſt was here in ful power

A ſigne of Gods true ſeruaunt.

SIr John, in the laſt generall conuocatiō of the Clergy of this our prouince, ye were detected of certaine hereſies, & by ſufficient witneſſes founde culpable. Whereupon ye were by forme of ſpirituall law cited, & would in no caſe appeare. In concluſion, vpon your rebellious contumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithſtandyng we neuer yet ſhewed our ſelues vnready to haue geuen you your abſolutiō (nor yet do not to this houre) would ye haue meekely aſked it. Vnto this the Lorde Cobham ſhewed, as though he had geuen no eare, hauyng his mynde otherwiſe occupyed, & ſo deſired no abſolutiō. But ſayd, he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearſall of that fayth which he held and entended alwayes to ſtand to, if it would pleaſe them to licence him thereunto. And thē he tooke out of his boſome a certaine writyng endented, cōcernyng the articles whereof he was accuſed, and ſo openly read it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbiſhop, as he had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the copy.

The Sacramēt of the Lordes body.

I John Oldcaſtle knight Lord of Cobham, will that all Chriſten men weete and vnderſtād: that I clepe almighty God into witneſſe, that it hath bene, now is, and euer with the helpe of God, ſhall bee myne entent and my will, to beleue faythfully and fully all the Sacramentes that euer God ordained to be do in holy Churche: and moreouer to declare me in theſe foure pointes, I beleue that the moſt worſhypfull Sacrament of the aulter is Chriſtes body in forme of bread, the ſame body that was borne of the bleſſed virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the croſſe, dead and buried, the thyrd day roſe from death to lyfe, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

Penaunce.

Alſo as for the Sacrament of penaunce I beleue, that it is needefull to euery mā that ſhalbe ſaued to forſake ſinne and do due penaunce for ſinne before done, with true confeſſion, very contrition, and due ſatiſfaction as Gods law limitteth and teacheth, & els may he not be ſaued: which penaunce I deſire all men to do.

Images.

And as of Images I vnderſtand, that they be not of beleue, but that they were ordained ſith the beleue was ȝeue of Chriſt, by ſufferaunce of the Church to be Calenders to lewed men, to repreſent and bryng to mynde the paſſion of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, and Martyrdome and good liuyng of other Saintes: And that who ſo it be, that doth the worſhyp to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth ſuch hope or truſt, in helpe of them, as he ſhould do to God, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doth in that, the great ſinne of maumetry.

Pilgrimage.

Alſo I ſuppoſe this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrime toward bliſſe, or toward payne: & that he that knoweth not, ne wil not know ne keepe the holy commaundementes of God in his liuyng here (albeit that he be go on Pilgrimages to all the world, & he dye ſo) he ſhalbe damned: and he that knoweth the holy cōmaundementes of God, and keepeth them to his end, he ſhalbe ſaued though he neuer in his life go on pilgrimage, as men vſe now to Canterbury or to Rome or to any other place.

The aūſwere examined. Quarel picked where none was geuen.

The Chriſti aunſwere of the Lord Cobham vnto their quarellings.

This aunſwere to his articles thus ended and read, he deliuered it to the Byſhops as is ſayd afore. Than counceled the Archbyſhop with the other two Byſhops, and with diuers of the Doctours, what was to be done in this matter: commaundyng him for the tyme to ſtand aſide. In concluſion by their aſſent & information, he ſayd thus vnto him: Come hether Syr John. In this your writing are many good things contained, & right Catholicke alſo, we deny it not: but ye muſt conſider that this day was appointed you to aunſwere to other pointes concernyng thoſe Articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your Bill. And therfore ye muſt yet declare vs your mynde more playnly.

The Wolfe was hūgry, he muſt nedes be fed with bloud.

As thus: whether that ye hold, affirme, and beleue, that in the Sacrament of the aulter, after the cōſecration rightly done by a prieſt, remaineth materiall bread, or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme and beleue, that as concernyng the Sacrament of penaunce (where as a competent nomber of Prieſtes are) euery Chriſten man is neceſſarely bounde to be confeſſed of his ſinnes to a Prieſt ordained by the Church, or not?

A tyrannous whore is that mother.

This aūſwer not to their mindes.

After certaine other communication, this was the aunſwere of the good Lorde Cobham, That none otherwiſe would he declare his mynde, nor yet aunſwere vnto his articles, then was expreſly in his writyng there contayned. Then ſayd the Archbyſhop agayne vnto hym: Syr John, beware what ye do. For if ye aunſwere not clearely to thoſe thynges that are here obiected agaynſt you (eſpecially at the tyme appointed you onely for that purpoſe) the law of holy Church is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an hereticke. Vnto whom he gaue this aunſwere: Do as ye ſhal thincke beſt, for I am at a point. What ſoeuer he or the other Byſhops did aſke him after that, he bad them reſorte to his Bill: for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other aūſwere would he not geue that day. Wherewith the Byſhops and Prelates were in a maner amaſed and wonderfully diſquieted.

Antichriſt ſetteth men aboue God.

The Lord Cobham reſorteth vnto Chriſt.

At the laſt, the Archbyſhop counceiled agayne with his other Byſhops and Doctours, and in the end thereof declared vnto him, what the holy Church of Rome (folowyng the ſaying of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and of other holy Doctours) had determined in theſe matters, no maner of mention once made of Chriſt. Which determination (ſayth he) ought all Chriſten men both to beleue and to folow.

What could be more reaſonably ſayd if they had reaſon to craue it.

Then ſayd the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleue and obſerue whatſoeuer holy Church of Chriſtes inſtitutiō had determined, or yet whatſoeuer God had willed him either to beleue or to do. But that the Pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbyſhops, Byſhops and other Prelates of that Church had lawfull power to determine ſuch matter as ſtode not with his worde throughly: that would he not (he ſayd) at ẏ time affirme. With this, the Archbyſhop bad him to take good aduiſement till the Mōday next folowyng (which was the .xxv. day of September) and then inſiſty to aunſwere, ſpecially vnto this poynt: whether there remayned materiall bread in the Sacramēt of the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, or not? He promiſed hym alſo, to ſend vnto him in wrytyng thoſe matters clearely determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his aunſwere makyng. And all this was nought els, but to blynd the multitude with ſomwhat. The next day folowyng, accordyng to his promiſe, the Archbiſhop ſent vnto him into the tower, this fooliſh and blaſphemous wrytyng made by him and by his vnlearned Clergy.

A doctrine of deuils to blynde the ſimple.

❡The determination of the Archbyſhop and Clergy.

Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arundel.

The firſt Article.

THe fayth and determinatiō of the holy Church touchyng the bleſſefull Sacrament of the aultar, is this: that after the Sacramental wordes be once ſpoken by a Prieſt in his Maſſe, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chriſtes very bloud. And ſo there remaineth in the Sacrament of the aulter, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wyne, which were there before the Sacramentall wordes were ſpoken: How beleue ye this article? Holy Church hath determined, that euery Chriſten man liuyng here bodely vpon earth, ought to be ſhriuen to a prieſt ordeined by the Church, if he may come to hym. How feele ye this article?

The ſecond Article.

The third Article.

The ſeede of the Serpēt.

Chriſt ordained S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicare here in earth, whoſe ſea is the holy Church of Rome: And he graunted, that the ſame power which he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſuccede to all Peters ſucceſſours, which we call now Popes of Rome: By whoſe power in Churches particular, be ordained Prelates, as Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Parſons, Curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whom Chriſten men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. How feele ye this article?

The fourth Article.

Holy Churche hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Chriſten man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places: And there ſpecially to worſhyp holy reliques and Images of Saints, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all other Saintes beſides, approued by the Church of Rome. How feele ye this article?

He ſeeth their ignoraunce and malice.

He putteth his life in Gods hand.

In vtroque exemplari.

And as the Lord Cobhā had read ouer this moſt wretched wrytyng, he marueiled greatly of their mad ignoraūce. But that he conſidered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer for their vnbeliefes ſake, into moſt deepe errours and blyndnes of ſoule. Agayne, he perceiued hereby, that their vttermoſt malice was purpoſed agaynſt hym, howſoeuer he ſhould aunſwere. And therefore he put his lyfe into the handes of God, deſiryng his onely ſpirite to aſſiſte him in his next aunſwere. When the ſayd xxv. day of September was come (which was alſo the Monday before Michaelmas) in the ſayd yeare of our Lord. 1413. Thomas Arundell the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, commaunded his iudiciall ſeate to be remoued from the chapter houſe of Paules, to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at Londō. And as he was there ſet with Richard Byſhop of London: Henry the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Benet the Byſhop of Bangor: he called in vnto him his counſell and his officers, with diuers other Doctours and Friers, of whom theſe are the names here folowing. Maiſter Hēry Ware, the Officiall of Canterbury: Philip Morgan, Doctour of both lawes: Howell Kiffin, Doctour of the Canon law. Iohn Kempe, Doctour of the Canon law. Williā Carleton, Doctour of the Canon law. Iohn Witnam, of the new College in Oxford. Iohn Whighthed, Doctour Oxford alſo. Robert Wōbewell, Vicar of S. Laurence in the Iewry. Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors. Robert Chamberlayne, Priour of the Dominickes. Richard Dodyngton, Priour of the Auguſtines. Thomas Walden, Priour of the Carmelites, all Doctours of Diuinitie. Iohn Stephens alſo, & Iames Cole, both Notaries, appointed there purpoſely to write all that ſhould be either ſayd or done. All theſe with a great ſort more of Prieſtes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, Pariſh Clerkes, Belryngers, Pardoners, diſdayned hym, with innumerable mockes and ſcornes, reckonyng him to be an horrible heretike, and a man accurſed afore God.

The counſell of Cayphas.

The phariſeis and Scribes.

A table of Antichriſtes.

Concilium malignantium.

For a falſe colour ſwore they.

Anone the Archbiſhop called for a Maſſe booke, & cauſed all thoſe Prelates and Doctours to ſweare there vpon, that euery man ſhould faythfully do his office and duty that day. And yͭ neither for fauour nor feare, loue nor hate of the one party nor yͤ other: any thyng ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpokē, or done, but accordyng to yͤ truth, as they would anſwere before God & all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foreſayd Notaries ſworne alſo, to write & to witneſſe yͤ proceſſe yͭ there ſhould be vttered on both parties, & to ſay their myndes (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould regiſter it. And all this diſſimulatiō was but to coulour their miſchiefes, before the ignoraunt multitude.

All done to deceiue the ignoraunt.

Conſider herein (gentle Reader) what this wicked generation is, & how farre wyde from the iuſt feare of God: for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them ſir Robert Morley Knight and Lieftenaunt of the Tower, and he brought with hym the good Lord Cobham, there leauyng hym among them as a Lambe among Wolues, to his examination and aunſwere.

Lord Cobham commeth agayne before them.

❡An other examination of the L. Cobham.

Ex veteri exemplari Londinenſium.

THen ſayd the Archbyſhop vnto him: Lord Cobhā ye be aduiſed (I am ſure) of the wordes and proceſſe which we had vnto you vpon Saterday laſt paſte in the chapterhouſe of Paules: which proceſſe were now to long to be rehearſed agayne? I ſayd vnto you then, that ye were accurſed for your contumacie and diſobedience to holy Church, thinking that ye ſhould with meekenes haue deſired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Then ſpake the Lord Cobham with a moſt chearefull countenaunce, and ſayd: God ſayth by his holy Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris, which is as much to ſay as I ſhall curſe where as you bleſſe.

Malachi. 2.

The Archbyſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, ſaying: Sir, at that time I gently profered to haue aſſoyled you if ye would haue aſked it. And yet I do the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due forme and manner, as holy Church hath ordeyned.

A woluiſhe offer of gentleneſſe.

Then ſaid the Lord Cobham. Nay forſothe wil I not, for I neuer yet treſpaſſed agaynſt you, and therfore I will not doe it. And with that he kneeled downe on the pauement, holding vp his handes towardes heauen, and ſayde. I ſhriue me here vnto thee my eternal liuing God, yͭ in my fraile youth I offended thee (Lord) moſt greuouſly, in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in coueteouſnes, and in lechery. Many men haue I hurt in myne anger, and done many other horrible ſinnes, good Lord I aſke thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he ſtoode vp agayne and ſayd with a mighty voyce. Loe, good people lo. For the breaking of Gods law and his great commaundementes, they neuer yet curſed me. But for their owne lawes and traditiōs, moſt cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And therfore, both they and their lawes, by the promiſe of God, ſhall vtterly be deſtroyed.

L. Cobham confeſſeth himſelfe vnto God.

Mans law before Gods law preferred.

Hiere. 51.

At this the Archbiſhop and his company were not a litle blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding, he tooke ſtomacke vnto him againe after certaine wordes, had in excuſe of theyr tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of hys Chriſten beleue.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham made this godly aunſwere. I beleue (ſaith he) fully and faithfully the vniuerſall lawes of God. I beleue that all is true which is conteined in the holy ſacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleue, all that my Lord God would I ſhould beleue. Then demaunded the Archbiſhop an aunſwere of that Bill which he and the clergie had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the Church concerning the iiij. articles whereof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the ſacrament of the aultar, how he beleued therein.

The Chriſten beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham ſaid, that with that Bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he ſayd) concerning the Sacrament. That his Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt deare diſciples, the night before he ſhould ſuffer, tooke bread in his hand. And geuing thankes to his eternall father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Take it vnto you, and eate thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembraunce. This do I thoroughly beleue (ſaith he) for this faith am I taught of the Goſpell in Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Math. 26.
Mark. 14.
Luke. 22.
1. Cor. 11.

Then aſked the Archbiſhop, if he beleeued that it were bread after the conſecration or ſacramentall wordes ſpoken ouer it.

Antichriſt alloweth not this faith.

The Lord Cobham ſayd. I beleue that in the Sacrament of yͤ aultar is Chriſtes very body in fourme of bread, the ſame that was borne of the virgin Mary, done on the croſſe, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in heauen.

Then ſayd one of the Doctors of the law. After the ſacramentall wordes be vttered: there remayneth no bread, but onely the body of Chriſt.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

The

John Whithead, gone from hys opinion.

All this would not helpe.

The Lord Cobham ſaid then to one M. John Whitehead: you ſaid once vnto me in the caſtell of Couling, that the ſacred hoſt was not Chriſtes body. But I helde then agaynſt you, and proued that therein was his body, though the ſeculars and Friers could not therein agree, but helde ech one agaynſt other in that opinion. Theſe were my wordes then, if ye remember it.

A blaſphemous woorde.

Then ſhouted a ſorte of them together and cryed with great noyſe, we ſay all that it is Gods body.

Quarell pickers.

And diuers of them aſked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the conſecration or not?

Then looked the L. Cobham, earneſtly vpon the Archbiſhop, and ſaid: I beleue ſurely that it is Chriſtes body in forme of bread. Sir beleue not you thus?

And the Archbyſhop ſayd yes mary do I.

The ſacramēt of Chriſtes body is both the body & bread.

Neither will ſcripture nor reaſon ſerue.

Then aſked him the Doctours, whether it were onely Chriſtes body after the conſecration of a Prieſt, and no bread or not?

And he ſayd vnto them it is both Chriſtes body & bread I ſhall proue it as thus. For lyke as Chriſt dwelling here vpon the earth, had in him both Godhead and manhode, and had the inuiſible Godhead couered vnder that manhode, which was onely viſible and ſene in him: So in the Sacrament of the aulter, is Chriſtes very body and bread alſo, as I beleue the bread is the thyng, that we ſee with our eyes, The body of Chriſt (whiche is his fleſh and his bloud) is there vnder hyd and not ſene, but in fayth.

This opiniō hath S. Auguſtine.

Gelaſius contra Eutichen.

And moreouer, to proue that it is both Chriſtes body and alſo bread after the conſecration, it is by playne wordes expreſſed by one of your owne Doctours wrytyng agaynſt Eutiches, whiche ſayth: Lyke as the ſelfe ſame Sacramentes, do paſſe by the operation of the holy ghoſt, into a Diuine nature, and yet notwithſtādyng keepe the property ſtill of their former nature: So, that principall myſtery declareth to remaine, one true and perfect Chriſt. &c.

The popes diuinitie.

Then ſmiled they eche one vpon other, that the people ſhould iudge him taken in a great hereſie. And with a great brag diuers of them ſayd. It is a foule hereſie.

Then aſked the Archbyſhop what bread it was? And the Doctours alſo inquired of hym whether it were materiall or not?

Materiall.

John 6.

The Lord Cobham ſayd vnto them. The Scriptures maketh no mention of this word materiall, and therfore my fayth hath nothing to do therwith. But this I ſay and beleue, that it is Chriſtes body and bread. For Chriſt ſayd in the vj. of Johns Goſpell. Ego ſum panis viuus, qui de cœlo deſcendi. I which came downe from heauen, am the lyuyng and not the dead bread. Therfore I ſay now agayne as I ſayd afore, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God & very man: ſo in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the aulter, is Chriſtes very body and bread.

Then ſayd they all with one voyce. It is an hereſie.

An hereſie after the papiſtes making.

One of the Byſhoppes ſtode vp by and by, and ſayd. What? it is an hereſie manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the Sacramentall wordes be once ſpoken, but Chriſtes body onely.

1. Cor. 10.

The ſacrament is called bread.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: S. Paule the Apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wiſe as you be now, & more godly learned. And he called it bread, wrytyng to the Corinthians. The bread that we breake, ſaith he, is it not the partakyng of the body of Chriſt? Lo, he calleth it bread and not Chriſtes body, but a meane whereby we receiue Chriſtes body.

Then ſayd they agayne. Paule muſt be otherwiſe vnderſtand. For it is ſurely an hereſie to ſay that it is bread after the conſecration, but onely Chriſtes body.

The Lord Cobham aſked, how they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

The determination of the church muſt ſtand, whatſoeuer Paule ſayth.

They aunſwered hym thus. For it is agaynſt the determination of holy Church.

Then ſayd the Archbyſhop vnto him. Syr John, we ſent you a wrytyng concernyng the fayth of this bleſſed Sacrament clearly determined by the Churche of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctours.

A moſt chriſtian aunſwere.

The iudgement of Lord Cobham concerning the determination of the Church.

Then he ſayd agayne vnto hym. I know none holyer then is Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it ſtandeth not with the Scriptures, but manifeſtly agaynſt them. If it be the churches, as ye ſay it is, it hath bene hers onely ſince ſhe receiued the great poyſon of worldly poſſeſſions, & not afore.

Then aſked they him, to ſtop his mouth therewith, If he beleued not in the determination of the Church?

The Doctours confounded in their owne queſtion.

And he ſayd vnto them. No forſoth, for it is no God. In all our Crede, this word (in) is but thriſe mentioned, concernyng beleue. In God the father, in God ẏ ſonne, in God the holy Ghoſt three perſons and one God. The byrth, the death, the buriall, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (in) for beleue, but in hym. Neither yet hath the Church, the Sacramentes, the forgiuenes of ſinne, the latter reſurrection, nor yet the lyfe euerlaſtyng any other (in) then in the holy Ghoſt.

Then ſayd one of the Lawyers. Tuſh, that was but a word of office. But what is your belief concernyng holy Church?

The L. Cobham beleueth not in the Pope.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. My beleefe is (as I ſayd afore) that all the Scriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All that is grounded vpon them I beleue thoroughly. For I know, it is Gods pleaſure that I ſhould ſo do. But in your Lordly lawes and idle determinations, haue I no belief. For ye be no part of Chriſtes holy Church, as your open deedes doth ſhew: But ye are very Antichriſtes, obſtinately ſet agaynſt his holy law and will. The lawes that ye haue made, are nothyng to his glory, but onely for your vayne glory and abhominable couetouſnes.

An hereſie after the papiſtes.

This they ſayd, was an exceedyng hereſie (and that in a great fume) not to beleue the determination of holy church.

Then the Archbyſhop aſked hym, what he thought of holy Church?

Holy church defined.

Conſider him to be then in ſhrewde handling.

He ſayd vnto hym: My beliefe is, that holy Church is the member of them, which ſhall be ſaued, of whom Chriſt is the head. Of this Churche, one part is in heauen with Chriſt, an other in Purgatory (you ſay) and the thyrd is here in earth. This latter part ſtandeth in three degrees in knighthode, prieſthode, and the communaltie, as I ſayd afore playnly in the confeſſion of my belief.

Then ſayd the Archbyſhop vnto him: Can you tell me, who is of this Church?

The Lord Cobham aunſwered: yea truly can I.

VValden contra VVicleuiſtas, li. ar. 2, Cap. 67.

How we may iudge or not iudge by the ſcriptures.

Then ſayd Doctour Walden the Prior of the Carmelites: It is doubt vnto you who is therof. For Chriſt ſayth in Mathew: Nolite iudicare, preſume to iudge no man. If ye be here forbidden the iudgemēt of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your ſuperiour.

Math. 7.

John. 1.
John. 7.
Deut. 16.
Pſal. 36.

The Lord Cobham made him this aunſwere: Chriſt ſayth alſo in the ſelfe ſame chapter of Mathew, that like as the euill tree is knowen by his fruite, ſo is a falſe Prophet by his workes, appeare they neuer ſo glorious: But that ye left behynd ye. And in John he hath this text: Operibus credite, beleue you the outward doynges. And in an other place of John: Iuſtū iudicium iudicate, when we know the thyng to be true, we may ſo iudge it, & not offend. For Dauid ſayd alſo: Rectè iudicate filij hominum. Judge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your ſuperioritie, were ye of Chriſt, ye ſhould be meeke Miniſters, and no proude ſuperiours.

Diuerſitie of iudgementes.

Then ſayd Doctour Walden vnto him: ye make here no difference of iudgementes. Ye put no diuerſitie betwene the euill iudgementes, whiche Chriſt hath forbidden, and the good iudgements, which he hath commaunded vs to haue. Raſh iudgement & right iudgemēt, all is one with you. So ſwift iudges alwayes are the learned ſcholers of Wickleffe.

A perfite aunſwere.

Eſay. 5.

Eſay. 55.

VValdē in præfatione doctrina. 7.

Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus aunſwered: It is well ſophiſtred of you, forſoth. Prepoſterous are your iudgementes euermore. For as the Prophet Eſay ſayth, ye iudge euill, good, and good, euill. And therfore the ſame prophet concludeth, that your wayes are not Gods wayes, nor Gods wayes your wayes. And as for that vertuous man Wickleffe, whoſe iudgementes ye ſo highly diſdayne: I ſhall ſay here for my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that deſpiſed doctrine of his, I neuer abſtained from ſinne. But ſince I learned therein to feare my Lorde God, it hath otherwiſe I truſt ben with me: ſo much grace could I neuer finde in all your glorious inſtructions.

A great aduerſary.

Hieroni. in breuiari in minori.

Then ſayd Doctour Walden agayne yet vnto him: It were not well with me (ſo many vertuous men liuing, and ſo many learned men teachyng the Scripture, beyng alſo ſo open, and the examples of fathers ſo plenteous) If I then had no grace to amēde my lyfe, till I heard the deuill preach. Saint Hierome ſayth, that he which ſeeketh ſuch ſuſpected Maiſters, ſhall not finde the mydday light, but the midday deuill.

Luke 11.
John. 10.

Doctours when the ſcripture faile, they begin to raile.

The clergie to ſit on life or death, hath no ground in ſcriptures.

Followers of Cayphas.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: your fathers the old Phariſeis, aſcribed Chriſtes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the deuill. And you as their naturall children, haue ſtill the ſelfe ſame iudgement, concernyng his faythfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuyng muſt nedes be heretickes, and that muſt your Doctours proue, when you haue no Scripture to do it. Then ſayd he to them all: To iudge you as ye be, we nede no further go, then to your owne proper actes. Where do ye finde in all Gods law, that ye ſhould thus ſit in iudgement of any Chriſten man, or yet geue ſentence vpon any other man vnto death, as ye do here dayly? No grounde haue ye in all the Scriptures ſo Lordly to take it vpon you, but in Annas and Cayphas, which ſat thus vpon Chriſt, and vpon his Apoſtles after his Aſcenſion. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chriſtes mēbers as ye do, and neither of Peter nor Iohn.

Then ſayd ſome of the Lawyers: yes forſoth Syr, for Chriſt iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: No, Chriſt iudged him not, but he iudged himſelfe: and therupon went forth, and ſo did hang himſelfe. But in deede Chriſt ſayd, wo vnto hym, for that couetous act of his, as he doth yet ſtill vnto many of you. For ſince the venime of him was ſhed into the church, ye neuer followed Chriſt: neither yet haue ye ſtād in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked him, what he ment by that venime?

36. Biſhops of Rome together martyrs ſaue onely 4.

A compariſō betwene the martyrs and the Popes tyme.

A compariſō betwene Chriſt and the Pope.

Rome is Antichriſtes neaſt.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: your poſſeſſions and Lordſhyps. For then cryed an Angell in the ayre (as your owne Chronicles mentioneth) wo, wo, wo: this day is venime ſhed into the Church of God. Before that tyme, all the Biſhops of Rome were Martyrs in a maner. And ſince that time, we read of very few. But in dede ſince that ſame time, one hath put downe an other, one hath poyſoned an other, one hath curſed an other, and one hath ſlayne an other, and done much more miſchief beſides, as all the Chronicles telleth. And let all men conſider well this, that Chriſt was meeke & mercyfull. The Pope is proude, & a tyrant. Chriſt was poore and forgaue. The Pope is rich and a malicious manſlear, as his dayly actes do proue him. Rome is the very neaſt of Antichriſt, and out of that neaſt, commeth all the diſciples of him. Of whom Prelates, Prieſtes, and Monkes, are the body, and theſe pilde Friers are the tayle which couereth his moſt filthy part.

Then ſayd the priour of the friers Auguſtines: Alacke ſir, why do you ſay ſo? That is vncharitably ſpoken.

Eſay 9.

Friers proued ſeditious and yet found no traytors.

And the Lord Cobham ſayd. Not onely is it my ſaying: but alſo the Prophet Eſayes, long afore my tyme. The prophet ſaith he, which preacheth lyes, is ẏ taile behind. For as you friers and monkes be (like Phariſeis) deuided in your outward apparell and vſages, ſo make ye diuiſion amōg the people. And thus, you with ſuch other, are the very naturall members of Antichriſt.

Math. 23.

The religion of Byſhops.

Then ſayd he vnto them all: Chriſt ſayth in his Goſpell, wo vnto you Scribes & Phariſeis, Hypocrites. For ye cloſe vp the kyngdome of heauen before men. Neither enter ye in your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer any other that would enter into it. But ye ſtop vp the wayes therunto with your owne traditions, and therfore are ye the houſhold of Antichriſt: ye will not permit Gods veritie to haue paſſage, nor yet to be taught of his true miniſters, fearyng to haue your wickednes reproued. But by ſuch vayne flatterers as vphold you in your miſchiefes, ye ſuffer the cōmon people moſt miſerably to be ſeduced.

Note I pray you how thoſe are counted traitours & ſeditious, that teach or cauſe Gods truth to be taught.

Then ſayd the Archbyſhop. By our Lady ſir, there ſhal none ſuch preach within my Dioces (and God will) nor yet in my iuriſdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh diuiſion or yet diſſention among the poore commons.

Luke. 23. Iohn. 19. Math. 24.

Prophecy.

Prophecy. Prieſtes. Deacons.

The Lord Cobham ſayd. Both Chriſt and his Apoſtles were accuſed of ſedition makyng, yet were they moſt peacable men. Both Daniell and Chriſt prophecied that ſuch a troublous tyme ſhould come, as hath not bene yet ſince the worldes beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your dayes & doynges. For many haue ye ſlayne already, and more will ye ſlea hereafter, if God fulfill not his promiſe. Chriſt ſayth alſo, if thoſe dayes of yours were not ſhortned, ſcarſly ſhould any fleſh be ſaued. Therefore looke for it iuſtly, for God will ſhorten your dayes. Moreouer, though Prieſtes and Deacons for preachyng of Gods worde, and for miniſtring the Sacramentes, with prouiſion for the poore, be grounded in Gods law: yet haue theſe other ſectes no maner of grounde hereof, ſo farre as I haue read.

Marke this working of Sathan.

Act. 6.

Then a Doctour of law, called maiſter Iohn Kempe, plucked out of his boſome a copy of the byll which they had afore ſent him into the Tower, by the Archbiſhops counſell, thinkyng therby to make ſhorter worke with him. For they were ſo amaſed with his aunſweres (not all vnlike to them which diſputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupy the tyme, their wits and ſophiſtrie (as God would) ſo fayled them that day.

The firſt Article.

Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body.

My Lord Cobhā (ſayth this Doctour) we muſt briefly know your mynde concernyng theſe foure poyntes here followyng. The firſt of them is this. And than he read vpō the bill: The fayth and determination of holy Churche touchyng the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter is this. That after the Sacramentall wordes be once ſpoken of a Prieſt in his Maſſe, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned to Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wyne is turned into Chriſtes bloud. And ſo there remayneth in the Sacrament of the aulter frō thenceforth no materiall bread nor materiall wine which were there before the ſacramentall wordes were ſpoken. Sir, beleue ye not this?

The L. Cobhās beliefe in the ſacrament.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: This is not my beliefe. But my fayth is (as I ſayd to you afore) that in the worſhipfull ſacrament of the aulter, is very Chriſtes body in forme of bread.

Then ſayd the Archbiſhop: Sir Iohn ye muſt ſay otherwyſe.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: Nay, that I ſhall not, if god be vpō my ſide (as I truſt he is) but that there is Chriſtes body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The 2. Article.

The ſecond point is this. Holy church hath determined that euery chriſtian man liuyng here bodily vpō earth, ought to be ſhriuen of a prieſt ordeyned by the Church, if he may come to hym: ſir what ſay you to this?

Confeſſion of ſinne to God onely.

Malachi. 2.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered and ſayd: A diſeaſed or ſore wounded man, hath nede to haue a ſure wyſe Chirurgian and a true, knowyng both the ground and the danger of the ſame. Moſt neceſſary were it therfore to be firſt ſhriuen vnto God which onely knoweth our diſeaſes & can help vs. I deny not in this the goyng to a prieſt, if he be a man of good lyfe and learnyng. For the lawes of God are to be required of the prieſt, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiote or a man of vicious liuing that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from hym then to ſeke vnto hym: For ſooner might I catch euill of hym that is nought, then any goodnes towardes my ſoules health.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The 3. Article.

The third poynt is this, Chriſt ordeyned S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicar here in earth whoſe ſea is the church of Rome. And he graunted that the ſame power which he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſuccede to all Peters ſucceſſours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whoſe ſpeciall power in churches particular, be ordeyned Prelates & archbiſhops, parſons, Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Chriſten men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy Church. Sir, beleue ye not this?

Who is next vnto Peter.

Succeſſion not of place but of cōditions maketh Peters heyre.

To this he anſwered and ſayd: He that followeth Peter moſt nigheſt in pure liuyng, is next vnto hym in ſucceſſion. But your Lordſhip other eſtemeth not greatly the lowly behauiour of poore Peter, whatſoeuer ye prate of hym. Neither care ye greatly for the humble maners of them that ſucceded hym, till the tyme of Siluester, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you afore. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your ſelues wyth them at all. All the world knoweth this well inough by you and yet ye can make boaſt of Peter.

With that one of the other doctors aſked him: then what do ye ſay of the Pope?

Antichriſtes head, body and tayle.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. As I ſayd before. He & you together maketh whole the great Antichriſt. Of whō he is the great head: you biſhops, prieſtes, prelates & monkes are the body: and the begging Friers are the tayle, for they couer the filthines of you both, with their ſubtile ſophiſtry. Neither will I in conſcience obey any of you all, till I ſee you with Peter follow Chriſt in conuerſation.

The 4. Article.

Pilgrimage.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The 4. poynt is this. Holy church hath determined that it is meritorious to a Chriſten man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places. And there ſpecially to worſhip ẏ holy reliques & images of Saintes, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſours and all other ſaintes beſides, approued by the church of Rome. Sir, what ſay ye to this?

What is to be done with Images.

Wherunto he aunſwered. I owe them no ſeruice by any commaundement of God: and therfore I mynd not to ſeke them for your couetouſnes. It were beſt ye ſwept them fayre from cobwebs and duſt, and ſo layd them vp for catchyng of ſcathe. Or els to bury them faire in the ground, as ye do other aged people which are Gods Images.

Saintes are become now couetous beggers.

A whelpe of the ſame heare.

It is a wonderfull thyng, that ſaintes now beyng dead, ſhould become ſo couetous and nedy, and therupon ſo bitterly begge: which all their lyfe tyme hated all couetouſneſſe, and begging. But this I ſay vnto you, and I would al the world ſhould marke it. That with your ſhrines and Idoles, your fayned abſolution and pardones, ye drawe vnto you the ſubſtaunce, wealth and chiefe pleaſures of all Chriſten realmes.

Why ſir (ſayd one of the clerkes) will ye not worſhip good images?

Images not to be worſhipped.

What worſhip ſhould I geue vnto them, ſayd the Lord Cobham.

Then ſayd Frier Palmer vnto hym. Sir ye will worſhip

ſhip the croſſe of Chriſt, that he dyed vpon?

Where is it, ſayd the Lord Cobham?

The Frier ſayd. I put you the caſe ſir, that it were here euen now before you?

The croſſe whether it is to be worſhipped.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. This is a great wyſe man, to put me an earneſt queſtion of a thyng, & yet he hym ſelfe knoweth not where the thing it ſelfe is. yet once againe aſke I you what worſhip I ſhould do vnto it?

A clerke ſayd vnto hym. Such worſhip as Paul ſpeaketh of, and that is this. God forbid that I ſhould ioy, but onely in the croſſe of Ieſu Chriſt.

Galat. 6.

Then ſayd the Lord Cobham and ſpread his armes abroad. This is a very croſſe, yea, & ſo much better then your croſſe of wood, in that it was created of God. yet will not I ſeke to haue it worſhipped.

Then ſayd the B. of London. Sir, ye wot well that he dyed on a materiall croſſe.

The materiall croſſe is not materiall to our fayth.

What it is to reioyce in the croſſe of Chriſt.

The Lord Cobham ſayd. Yea, and I wot alſo that our ſaluation came not in by that materiall croſſe, but alone by hym which dyed therupon. And well I wot that holy S. Paule reioyced in none other croſſe, but in Chriſtes paſſion and death onely, and in his owne ſufferinges of lyke perſecution with hym, for the ſame ſelfe veritie that he had ſuffered for afore.

Another clerke yet aſked hym. will ye then do none honour to the holy croſſe.

He aunſwered hym. yes, if he were myne I would lay hym vp honeſtly, and ſee vnto hym that he ſhould take no more ſcathe abroad, nor be robbed of hys goods as he is now a dayes.

Slaundered with the truth.

Then ſayd the Archb. vnto hym. Sir Iohn, ye haue ſpoken here many wonderful wordes to the ſlaunderous rebuke of the whole ſpiritualty, geuyng a great euill example vnto the common ſort here, to haue vs in the more diſdain. Much tyme haue we ſpent here about you, and all in vayne ſo far as I can ſee. Wel, we muſt be now at this ſhort point with you, for the day paſſeth away: ye muſt either ſubmitte your ſelf to the ordinance of holy church, or els throwe your ſelfe (no remedy) into moſt depe danger. See to it in tyme, for anone it will be els to late.

Theſe men ſeeme to ſtand onely vpon their eſtimation amongeſt the people.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould otherwiſe ſubmit me. Much more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.

Then ſayd the Archb. agayne vnto him. We once again require to remember your ſelfe well, and to haue none other maner opinion in theſe matters, then the vniuerſall faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And ſo lyke an obedient child to returne agayne to the vnity of your mother. See to it I ſay in time, for yet ye may haue remedy, where as anone it wil be to late.

A wolueſhe offer of gentlenes.

The Lord Cobham ſayd expreſly before them all. I will none otherwiſe beleue in theſe pointes, then that I haue told ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally then the Archb. ſayd. well, then I ſee none other but we muſt nedes do the law: we muſt procede forth to the ſentence diffinitiue, and both iudge you, and condemne you for an heretike.

Bloudy murtherers.

And with that, the Archb. ſtode vp and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonets. And this was the tenour therof.

¶ The diffinitiue ſentence of hys condemnation.

IN the name of God. So be it. We Thomas by the ſufferance of God, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane, and primate of all England, and Legate from the apoſtolike ſee of Rome, willeth this to be knowen vnto all men. In a certayne cauſe of hereſie, and vpon diuers articles, wherupon ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquiſitiõ made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed, and preſented before vs in our laſt conuocation of all our prouince of Caunterbury, holden in the cathedral Church of Paules at London: At the lawfull denouncement and requeſt of our vniuerſall clergy in the ſayd conuocation, we proceded agaynſt hym according to the law (God to witnes) with al the fauour poſſible. And followyng Chriſtes example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue: we tooke vpon vs to correct hym, and ſought all other wayes poſſible to bryng him againe to the churches vnitie, declaryng vnto him what the holy and vniuerſall church of Rome hath ſayd, holden, determined and taught in that behalf. And though we foũd hym in the catholike fayth far wyde and ſo ſtifnecked, that he would not confeſſe his error, nor purge himſelf, nor yet repent hym therof: We yet pitieng him of fatherly compaſſion, and inticrly deſiring the health of his ſoule, appointed him a competent tyme of deliberation, to ſee if he would repent and ſeke to be reformed: but ſince that time we haue found him worſe and worſe. Conſidering therfore, that he is incorrigible: we are driuen to the very extremitie of the law, and with great heauines of hart, we now proceede to the publication of the ſentence diffinitiue, agaynſt him.

Suffered of God as a plague.

An heretike for confeſſing of Chriſt.

Ezec. xviij. Ezec. xxxiij.

The wolfe would apeare charitable.

See, if they ſhew not themſelues.

Then brought he forth another bill, conteyning the ſayde ſentence, and that he read alſo in his beggerly Latine. Chriſti nomine inuocato, ipſumq; ſolum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, &c. ſo forth. which I haue alſo tranſlated into Engliſhe, that men may vnderſtand it.

Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arundell.

Chriſt we take vnto witnes, that nothing els we ſeeke in this our whole enterpriſe, but hys onely glory. For as much as we haue found by diuers actes done, brought forth and exhibited by ſundry euidences, ſignes and tokens, and alſo by many moſt manifeſt proues: the ſayd Syr Iohn Oldcaſtell knight and L. Cobham, not onely to be an euident hereticke in his owne perſon, but alſo a mighty mayntainer of other herctickes againſt the fayth and religiõ of the holy and vniuerſall Church of Rome: namely about the two Sacramentes (of the aultar, and of penaunce) beſides the popes power, and pilgrimages. And that he as the childe of iniquitie and darckenes, hath ſo hardened his hart, that he will in no caſe attende vnto the voyce of his paſtor. Neyther will he be allured by ſtraight admoniſhmentes, nor yet be brought in by fauourable wordes. The worthynes of the cauſe firſt wayed on the one ſide, and his vnworthynes agayne conſidered on the other ſide, his faultes alſo aggrauated or made double through his damnable obſtinacy (we being lothe that he which is nought ſhould be worſe, and ſo with his contagiouſnes infecte the multitude) by the ſage counſell and aſſent of the very diſcrete fathers, our honorable brethren and Lords, Byſhops here preſent, Richard of London, Henry of Wincheſter, and Benit of Bangor, and of other great learned and wiſe men here, both doctors of diuinitie, and of the lawes canon and ciuill, ſeculers and religious, with diuers other expert men aſſiſting vs: we ſententially and diffinitiuely by this preſent writing, iudge, declare and condemne the ſayde Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, Knight, and Lord Cobhã, for a moſt pernitious and deteſtable hereticke, conuicted vpon the ſame, and refuſing vtterly to obey the Church agayne, committing him here frõ hẽceforth as a condemned heretike to the ſecular iuriſdiction, power and iudgement, to do hym therupõ to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accurſed, not onely this hereticke here preſent: but ſo many els beſides, as ſhal hereafter in fauour of hys errour, either receiue him or defende him, counſell him or helpe him, or any other way mayntaine him: as very fauterers, receiuers, defenders, counſaylers, ayders, and maintainers of condemned heretickes.

That church is an whore.

A true ſhepe heareth the voyce of a true paſtor.

A colour of deceit.

As Caiphas did Chriſt.

Chriſt is condemned in his ſpirituall members.

And that theſe premiſſes may be the better knowen to all faithfull Chriſten men: we commit it here vnto your charges, and geue you ſtraight commaundement therupon by this writing alſo: That ye cauſe this condemnation and diffinitiue ſentence of excommunication, cõcerning both this heretike and his fautors to be publiſhed throughout all dioceſſes, in cities, townes, and villages by your curates & pariſh prieſtes, at ſuch tyme as they ſhall haue moſt recourſe of people. And ſee that it be done after this ſort. As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let the curate euery where go into the pulpit & there opẽ, declare, & expoũd, this proceſſe in the mother tong, in an audible and intelligible voyce, that it may be perceiued of all men: and that vpõ the feare of this declaration alſo, the people may fall from their euill opinions conceiued now of late by ſeditious preachers. Moreouer we will, that after we haue deliuered vnto eche one of you biſhops which are here preſent, a copy hereof, that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out againe into diuers copies, and ſo to be ſent vnto the other biſhops & Prelates of our whole prouince, that they may alſo ſee the contentes therof ſolemnly publiſhed within their dioceſſes & cures. Finally we will that both you and they ſignifie again vnto vs ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fayned colour in euery point performed: the day wheron ye receiued this proceſſe, the tyme whẽ it was of vs executed, and after what ſort it was done in euery condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may know it to be iuſtly the ſame.

How ſpitefull theſe tyrantes be.

Keepe the ſepulchre neuer ſo ſurely, yet Chriſt will riſe.

None office left vndone pertaining to Antichriſt.

What care is here to hold vp their popery.

A copy of this writing ſent Thomas Arundel the Archb. of Caunterbury, afterward from Maydſtone the day of October

[illegible] faſciculo Ziz-aniorũ VVicleui.

October, within the ſame yere of our Lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the biſhop of Londō, which thus beginneth: Thomas permiſſione diuina. &c.

Richard Clifford.

The ſayd Richard Clifford ſent an other copy therof, encloſed within hys owne letters: vnto Robert Maſchall a Carmelite Frier, which was then biſhop of Herford in Wales, written from Hadham the 23. day of October in the ſame yere, and the beginning therof is this: Reuerende in Chriſto pater, &c.

Rob. Maſcall.

The ſayd Robert Maſchal directed an other copy therof from London the 27. day of Nouember in the ſame yeare encloſed in his owne commiſſion alſo, vnto his Archdeacon and deanes in Herford and Shrewſbury. And this is therof the beginning: Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris. &c. In like maner did the other biſhops wyth in their dioceſſes.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

After that the Archb. had thus red the bill of hys condemnation, with moſt extremitie before ỹ whole multitude: The Lord Cobham ſayd with a moſt cherefull countenāce. Though ye iudge my body which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certayne and ſure, that ye can do no harme to my ſoule, no more then could Sathan vppon the ſoule of Iob. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promiſe ſaue it, I haue therin no maner of doubt. And as cōcerning theſe articles before reherſed, I will ſtand to them euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

Math. 10. Iob. 1.

Math. 15.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, caſting his handes abroad, and ſaying with a very loude voyce: Good Chriſten people, for Gods loue be well ware of theſe men. For they will els beguile you, and lead you blyndlyng into hell with themſelues. For Chriſt ſaith plainly vnto you: If one blynd man leadeth an other, they are lyke both to fall into the ditch.

He prayeth for his enemyes.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holdyng vp both hys handes and his eyes towardes heauen and ſaying: Lorde God eternall, I beſeech thee for thy great mercies ſake, to forgeue my purſuers, if it be thy bleſſed will. And then he was deliuered to ſir Robert Morley, and ſo led forth again to the Tower of London. And thus was there an ende of that dayes worke.

Ex vetuſto exemplari Lōdinenſium.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the tower, he ſent out priuily vnto his frendes. And they at his requeſt wrote this little bill here following, cauſing it to be ſet vp in diuers quarters of London, that the people ſhould not beleue the ſlaunders and lies that his enemies the Biſhops ſeruants and Prieſtes, had made on hym abroade. And this was the letter.

A teſtimoniall made by his frendes.

FOr as much as Sir Iohn Oldcaſtell knight, and Lorde Cobham, is vntruly conuicted and impriſoned, falſly reported and ſlaundered among the common people by his aduerſaries, that he ſhould otherwiſe both thynke and ſpeake of the Sacramentes of the church, and ſpecially of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter, then was written in the confeſſion of his beliefe which was indented and taken to the clergy, and ſo ſet vp in diuers open places in the city of Londō. Knowen be it here to all the world, that he (neuer ſince) varied in any pointe therefro, but this is plainly his beliefe: that all the Sacramentes of the Church be profitable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall bee ſaued, takyng them after the intent that Chriſt and hys true Church hath ordeyned. Furthermore he beleueth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter is verily and truely Chriſtes body, in fourme of bread.

To ſtop lying lippes. A rehearſall of his beliefe. In forme of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.

The clergie in hate of the people.

A practiſe of falſe prieſtes.

After this the biſhops and prieſtes were in much great diſcredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partly for that they had ſo cruelly hādled the good Lord Cobham: and partly agayne, becauſe hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was perfect concerning the ſacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconuenience towardes them both wayes, wherfore they drew their heds together: and at the laſt conſented to vſe an other practiſe ſomewhat contrary to that they had done afore. They cauſed it by and by to be blowen abroad by their feed ſeruantes, frendes, and bablyng Sir Iohns: that the ſayd Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted himſelfe in all thinges vnto holy church, vtterly chaunging his opiniō concerning the Sacrament. And therupon, they counterfaited an abiuration in hys name, that the people ſhoulde take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had heard of hym before, and to ſtand ſo the more in awe of them. Cōſidering hym ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

These are their cōmon feates.

This is the abiuration (ſay they) of Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, ſometyme the Lord Cobham.

¶ An abiuration counterfaited of the Byſhops.

VValden in faſciculo Ziz. aduerſ. VVicleui.

IN Dei nomine Amen. I Iohn Oldcaſtle denounced, detected and conuicted, of and vpon diuers articles ſauoring both hereſie and errour, before the reuerēd father in Chriſt & my good Lord, Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expreſſely graunt and confeſſe: that as concerning the eſtate and power of the moſt holy father the Pope of Rome, of his Archbyſhops, his Byſhops and his other prelates, the degrees of the Church, and the holy ſacramentes of the ſame, ſpecially of the Sacramentes of the aultar and of penaunce and other obſeruaunces beſides of our mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I ſay) before the ſayde reuerende father Archbiſhop and els where, that I being euill ſeduced by diuers ſeditious preachers, haue greuouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly aunſwered, and obſtinatly rebelled. And therfore I am by the ſayd reuerend father, before the reuerend fathers in Chriſt alſo, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an hereticke.

Marke from whēce this geare commeth.

Fine workemanſhip I trowe.

Alas good man, thou art ſlaundered.

Neuertheles yet, I now remembryng my ſelfe, and coueting by this meane to auoyde that temporall payne which I am worthy to ſuffer as an hereticke, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent Chriſten prince and liege Lord, K. Henry the v. now by the grace of God moſt worthy kyng both of England and of Fraunce: Minding alſo to prefer the holeſome determination, ſentence, and doctrine of the holy vniuerſall Church of Rome, before the vnholeſome opinions of my ſelfe, my teachers, and my felowers: I freely, willingly, deliberately, and throughly, confeſſe, graunt, and affirme, the moſt holy fathers in Chriſt, S. Peter the Apoſtle and his ſucceſſours byſhops of Rome, ſpecially now at this tyme, my moſt bleſſed Lord Pope Iohn, by ỹ permiſſion of God, the xxiij. pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters ſeat (and each of them in their ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſtes vicare in earth, and the head of the Church militant. And that by the ſtrength of his office (what though he be a great ſinner, and afore knowne of God to be damned) he hath full authoritie and power to rule & gouerne, bynde and looſe, ſaue and deſtroy, accurſe and aſſoyle, all other Chriſten men.

And agreeably ſtill vnto this, I confeſſe, graunt, and affirme all other Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and Prelates in their prouinces, dioces, and pariſhes (appointed by the ſayd pope of Rome, to aſſiſte him in his doings or buſines) by his Decrees, Canons or vertue of his office: to haue had in tymes paſt, to haue now at thys tyme, and that they ought to haue in tyme to come: authoritie and power to rule and to gouerne, bynde and looſe, accurſe and aſſoyle, the ſubiectes or people of their aforeſayd prouinces, dioces, and pariſhes, and that their ſaid ſubiectes or people ought of right in all thynges to obey them. Furthermore, I confeſſe, graunt, & affirme, that the ſayd ſpirituall fathers, as our moſt holy father the Pope, archbyſhops, byſhops, and Prelates: haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, authoritie and power for the eſtate, order & gouernaunce of their ſubiectes or people, to make lawes, decrees, ſtatutes and conſtitutions, yea and to publiſhe, commaunde and compell their ſayd ſubiectes and people, to the obſeruation of them.

How proue ye that, by the ſcriptures.

No ſcriptures haue they to ſhewe.

Moreouer I confeſſe, graunt and affirme, that all theſe foreſayd lawes, decrees, ſtatutes and conſtitutions made, publiſhed and commaunded, according to the fourme of ſpirituall law, all chriſten people, and euery man in hymſelfe is ſtraightly bound to obſerue, and meekely to obey according to the diuerſitie of the foreſayd powers. As the lawes, ſtatutes, Canons and conſtitutions of our moſt holy father the Pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles and Extrauagantes ouer all the world: and as the prouinciall ſtatutes of Archbyſhops in their prouinces, the Synodall actes of Byſhops in their dioces, and the commendable rules & cuſtomes of prelates in their colledges, and Curates in theyr pariſhes, all Chriſten people are both bounde to obſerue, & alſo moſt meekly to obey. Ouer and beſides al this, I Iohn Oldcaſtell vtterly forſaking and renouncing all the aforeſayd errours and hereſies, and all other errours and hereſies lyke vnto them, lay my hand here vpon this booke or holy Euangely of God, & ſweare: that I ſhall neuer more from henceforth hold theſe foreſayd hereſies, nor yet any other like vnto them wittingly. Neither ſhall I geue counſaile, ayde, helpe, nor fauour at any time, to them that ſhall holde, teach, affirme, or maintaine the ſame, as God ſhall helpe me, and theſe holy Euangelies.

Intollerable yokes laye they.

Neuer made he ſuch an othe.

And that I ſhall from henceforth faithfully obey and inuiolably obſerue all the holy lawes, ſtatutes, Canons, And this maintaine they ſtill. The pope holy bible of papiſtes.

conſtitutions of all the Popes of Rome, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and prelates, as are cōteyned and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles, Summes papall, Extrauagantes, ſtatutes prouinciall, actes ſynodall, and other ordinary regules and cuſtomes conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe & all ſuch other, will I my ſelf with all power poſſibly apply. Beſides all this, the penaunce which it ſhal pleaſe my ſayd reuerend father the Lord Archbiſhop of Cant. hereafter to enioyne me for my ſinnes, I will meekely obey and faythfully fulfill. Finally, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, and all other beſides, whom I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of hereſy or errours: I ſhall effectually preſent, or cauſe to be preſented vnto my ſayd reuerend father, lord Archb. or to them which haue his autoritie, ſo ſoone as I can conueniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected to my vttermoſt power.

Marke thys handling.

This charge geue they commonly.

This abiuration neuer came to the handes of the Lord Cobham, neither was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but only therwith to bleare the eyes of the vnlearned multitude for a tyme. After the which lyke fetch and ſubtile practiſe, was alſo deuiſed the recantation of the Archb. Tho. Cranmer, to ſtoppe for a tyme the peoples mouthes. Which ſubtlety in like maner was alſo practiſed with the falſe recantation of W. Hoper, and diuers other, as in their places hereafter (Chriſt graunting) ſhalbe ſhewed.

For confirmation of thys hiſtory.

And thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of ſir John Oldcaſtle lord Cobham, with all the circumſtances of the true tyme, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame. Wherin I truſt I haue ſufficiently ſatiſfied all the parties, requiſite to a faythfull hiſtory, without corruption. For the confirmation wherof, to the entent the mynd alſo of the wrangling caueller may be ſatiſfied, and to ſtop the mouth of the aduerſary (which I ſee in all places to be ready to barke) I haue therfore of purpoſe annexed withall my ground & foundation taken out of the Archiues and Regiſters of the Archb. of Cant. Ex epiſt. Tho. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. Whereby may appeare, the manifeſt errour both of Polydorus and of Edward Hall, who beyng deceaued in the right diſtinction of the tymes, aſſigne this citatiō and examination of the lord Cobham, to be after the counſell of Conſtance: when as Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Canterbury at the Councel of Conſtance was not aliue. The copy and teſtimony of hys owne letter, ſhall declare the ſame, written and ſent to the biſhop of London, in forme as followeth.

Ex archiuis et Regiſt. Tho. Arund. Archiep. Cant.

Polydorus and Edw. Haull deceaued.

¶ The copy of the Epiſtle of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, written to the Biſhop of London, wherupon dependeth the ground and certaintie of this foreſayd hiſtory of the Lorde Cobham, aboue premiſed.

TO the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Robert by the grace of God biſhop of Hereford, Richard by the permiſſion of God biſhop of London, health and continuall increaſe of ſincere loue. We haue of late receyued the letters of the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Thomas by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolike ſee, to this effect. Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolike ſee, vnto our reuerend brother the Lord Richard biſhop of London, health and brotherly loue in the Lord. It was lately concluded before vs in the conuocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our prouince of Caunterb. laſt celebrate in our church of S. Paule, intreatyng amongeſt other things with the ſayd prelates and clergy vpon the vnion and reformation of the Church of England by vs, and the ſayd prelates and Cleargy: that it was almoſt impoſſible to amend the hole of our Lordes coate which was without ſeame, but that firſt of all certayne nobles of the realme, which are authors, fauourers protectors, defenders, and receyuers of theſe heretickes called Lollardes, were ſharply rebuked, and if neede were by the cenſures of the Churche, and the helpe of the ſecular power, they be reuoked from their errours. And afterward hauyng made diligent inquiſition in the conuocation amōgeſt the proctors of the Clergy and others which wer there in great number out of euery dioceſſe of our prouince: It was founde out amongeſt others, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, was and is the principall receyuer, fauourer, protector and defender of them: and that ſpecially in the dioceſſe of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, he hath ſent the ſayde Lollardes to preach, not beyng licenced by the ordinaries & biſhops of the dioceſſe or places, contrary to the prouinciall conſtitutions in that behalfe made, and hath bene preſent at theyr wicked ſermons, greuouſly puniſhing with threatenings, terrours, and the power of the ſecular ſword, ſuch as did withſtand hym: allegyng and affirmyng amongeſt others, that we and our fellow brethren Suffraganes of our prouinces had not, nether haue any power to make any ſuch conſtitutions. Alſo he hath holden, and doth holde opinion and teach as touchyng the ſacramentes of the aulter, of penance of pilgrimage, of the worſhipping of ſaints, and of the keyes contrary to that which the vniuerſal church of Rome doth teach and affirme.

A thing thought right neceſſary that the L. Cobham ſhould be made out of the way, or els not poſſible for papiſtry to flouriſhe.

Wherfore, on the behalfe of the ſayd prelates and clergy, we were then required that we wold vouchſafe to procede againſt the ſaid ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle vpon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding, for the reuerence of our Lord the king, in whoſe fauour the ſaid ſir Iohn at that preſēt was, & no leſſe alſo for the honour of his knighthood: we with our fellow brethrē & Suffraganes then preſent, with a great part of the Clergy of our prouince, cōmyng perſonally before the preſence of our ſayd Lord the kyng, beyng then at hys manour of Kenington, put vp agaynſt the ſayd ſir Iohn, a complaint, and partly recityng the defaults of the ſayd ſir Iohn. But at the requeſt of our ſayd Lord the king, we deſiring to reduce the ſayd ſir Iohn to the vnity of the church, without any reproche: we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great tyme. But at the laſt, for ſo much as our ſayd Lord the kyng after hys great trauailes taken about the conuerſion of hym, did nothyng at all profite, as our ſayd Lord the Kyng vouchſafed to certifie vs both by word and writing: We immediately decreed to call forth the ſayd ſir Iohn perſonally to aunſwer before vs at a certayne tyme already paſſed, in and vpon the premiſſes, and ſent our meſſengers wyth theſe our letters of citation to the ſayd ſir Iohn, then beyng at his caſtle of Cowling, vnto the which meſſēger we gaue commaundement that he ſhould in no caſe go into the Caſtle except he were licenced. But by the means of one Iohn Butler, porter of the kinges chamber, he ſhould require the ſayd ſir Iohn, that he would eyther licence the ſayd meſſenger to come into the Caſtle, or that he would cite hym, or at the leaſt that he would ſuffer himſelfe to be cited without his Caſtle. The which ſir Iohn openly aunſwered vnto the ſayd Iohn Butler, declaring the premiſſes vnto hym on the behalfe of our Lorde the kyng: that he woulde by no meanes be cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his citation. Then we beyng certified of the premiſſes lawfully proceeded further.

Sir J. Oldcaſtell in fauour with the kyng.

Firſt, hauyng faythfull report made vnto vs, that he could not be apprehended by perſonal citation, we decreed to cite hym by an edict, to be openly ſet vp in the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Rocheſter next vnto him, litle more then iij. Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſayd caſtle of Cowling. As we had thus cauſed hym to be cited, and our edicte aforeſayd to be publikely and openly ſet vpon the porches of the ſayd Church, that he ſhould perſonally appeare before vs the xj. day of September laſt paſt to anſwer vnto the premiſſes, and certayne other thinges concernyng hereſie: The which day beyng come, we ſitting in our tribunal ſeat in our greater chappell within the Caſtle of Leedes of our dioceſſe, the which we then inhabited, and where as we thē kept reſidence with our courte, and hauing taken an othe which is requiſite in the premiſſes, and the information by vs heard and receyued, as the common report goeth: In the partes wheras the ſayd ſir Iohn dwelleth (fortifiyng himſelfe in his ſayd caſtle, defending his opinions manifoldly, contemnyng the kayes of the Church and the Archbyſhops power.) We therfore cauſed the ſayd ſir Iohn cited, as is aforeſayd, to be openly with a loude voyce called by the cryer: and ſo beyng called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearing, we iudged hym (as he was no leſſe worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhment of his ſaid obſtinacy, we did thē and there excommunicate hym. And for ſo much as by the order of the premiſſes, and other euident tokens of hys doyngs, we vnderſtand that the ſaid ſir Iohn for the defence of his errour doth fortifie hymſelfe, as is aforeſayd agaynſt the kayes of the Church, by pretence wherof, a vehement ſuſpition of hereſie and ſchiſme riſeth agaynſt him: We haue decreed if he may be apprehended, againe perſonally to cite him, or els as before, by an edict that he ſhould appeare before vs the Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Mathew the apoſtle and Euangeliſt next commyng, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe if he can, why we ſhould not procede agaynſt hym, to more grieuous puniſhment, as an open hereticke, ſchiſmatike and open enemy of the vniuerſall church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhold not be pronoūced ſuch

The keyes of the church falſely vſurped.

The L. Cobham excommunicated.

a one, or that the aide of the ſecular power ſhould not be ſolemnly required agaynſt him. And further to aunſwer, do and receiue as touching the premiſſes, whatſoeuer iuſtice ſhal require. The which tyme beyng come, that is to ſay, the Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Mathew beyng the 24. day of September, ſir Rob. Morley knight Lieuetenaunt of the tower of London appeared perſonally before vs, ſittyng in the chapter houſe of the church of S. Paul at London, with our reuerent fellow brethren and Lordes, Richard by the grace of God biſhop of London, and Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and brought with him ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, & ſet him before vs (for a littel before he was taken by the kinges ſeruaunts and caſt into the tower) vnto which ſir I. Oldcaſtle ſo perſonally preſent, we rehearſed all the order of the proces, as it is contained in the actes of the day before paſſed with good and modeſt wordes and gentle meanes. That is to ſay, how he the ſayd ſir Iohn was detected and accuſed in the conuocation of the prelates and clergy of our ſayd prouince as is aforeſayd vpon the articles before reherſed, and how he was cited and for his contumacy excommunicate. And when we were come to that poynt, we offered our ſelues redy to abſolue hym. Notwithſtanding, the ſayd ſir Iohn, not regarding our offer, ſayde, that he would willingly reherſe before vs, and my ſayd fellow brethren, the fayth which he held and affirmed. So he hauing deſire and obtainyng licence, tooke out of hys boſome a certain Scedule indented, and there openly read the contentes of the ſame, & deliuered the ſame Scedule vnto vs, and the Scedule of the articles, wherupon he was examined, which was as in forme folowyng.

The L. Cobham caſt into the Tower. The teres of the Crocadile.

Popiſhe abſolution neglected.

¶ The catholike fayth and confeſſion of the Lord Cobham.

I John Oldcaſtle knight, Lord of Cobham, deſire to make manifeſt vnto all chriſtians, and God to be taken to witnes, that I neuer thought otherwiſe or would thinke otherwiſe (by Gods helpe) then with a ſtedfaſt and vndoubted fayth to imbrace all thoſe his ſacraments which he hath inſtituted for the vſe of hys church.

Furthermore that I may the more plainly declare my mynde in theſe iiij. poyntes of my fayth: Firſt of all I beleue the ſacrament of the aulter to be the body of Chriſt vnder the forme of bread the very ſame body which was borne of his mother Mary, crucified for vs dead and buried, roſe agayne the third day, ſitteth on the right hand of his immortall father, now beyng a triumphant partaker with hym of his eternall glory. Then as touching the ſacramēt of penāce this is my beliefe, that I do thinke the correction of a ſinfull lyfe to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaued and that they ought to take vpon them ſuch repentaunce of their former lyfe by true confeſſion, vnfayned contritiō, and lawfull ſatiſfaction, as the word of God doth preſcribe vnto vs. Otherwiſe there wyll be no hope of ſaluation.

The Sacrament of the aultar.

Of penaūce.

Thirdly, as touchyng images, this is my opinion, that I do iudge them no poynte of fayth, but brought into the worlde after the fayth of Chriſt by the ſufferaunce of the church, and ſo growen in vſe that they might ſerue for a kalender for the lay people and ignoraunt. By the beholdyng wherof they might the better call to remembraunce the godly examples and martyrdome of Chriſt and other holy mē: but if any man do otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentation, and geue the reuerence vnto thoſe Images, which is due vnto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather vnto him whō the holy men themſelues owe all their honour, ſettyng all theyr truſt and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be ſo affected toward theſe dombe Images, that they do in any behalfe addict vnto them, eyther be more addicted vnto one ſaint then another, in my mynd they do little differ from Idolatry, grieuouſly offending agaynſt God the author of all honor.

Of Images.

Laſt of all I am thus perſwaded that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we ſhall paſſe ſtraight eyther to lyfe or puniſhment: for whoſoeuer doth ſo order his lyfe that he ſtumble at the commaundementes of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vayne for hym to looke for ſaluation, although he run ouer all the corners of the world. Contrarywiſe, he which obſerueth his commaundementes cannot periſh, although in all his lyfe tyme he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Cāterbury, nor Compoſtella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accuſtomed to walke.

Of pilgrimages.

This Scedule with the articles therin conteined beyng read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſaid ſir John: we with our felow brethrē aforeſaid, & many other doctors and learned mē had conference vpon the ſame. And at the laſt by the counſaile and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe wordes followyng vnto the ſayd ſir John there preſent. Behold ſir Jo. there are many good and catholike things conteined in this Scedule. But you haue this time to anſwer vnto other matters which ſauor of errors and hereſies. Wherunto, by ẏ contents of this ſcedule, it is not fully anſwered, & therfore you muſt anſwer therunto, and more plainly expreſſe and declare your fayth & opinions as touching thoſe pointes in the ſame bill. That is to ſay, whither you hold, beleue and affirme, that in the ſacrament of the aulter, after the conſecration rightly done, there remaineth materiall bread or not.

See whether theſe men picke quarels where they nede not.

Item, whither you hold, beleue, & affirme, that it is neceſſary in the ſacrament of penance for a man to confeſſe his ſinnes vnto a prieſt appointed by the church.

The which articles in this maner deliuered vnto hym, amongſt many other thinges he aunſwered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or anſwer therunto then was conteyned in the ſayd Scedule. Wherupon we fauouring the ſayd ſir John, with benigne and gentle meanes we ſpake vnto hym in this maner. Sir John take hede, for if you do not plainly anſwer vnto theſe things, which are obiected againſt you within a lawfull tyme now graunted you by the iudges, we may declare you to be an hereticke, but the ſaid ſir John perſeuered as before, and would make no other aunſwer. Conſequently notwithſtanding, we together with our ſayd felow brethren and others of our counſail toke aduiſe, and by their counſail declared vnto the ſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle, that the ſayd holy Church of Rome in this matter followyng the ſaying of bleſſed S. Auguſtine Jerome, Ambroſe and other holy men, hath determined, the which determinations euery catholike ought to obſerue. Wherunto the ſayd ſir John anſwered, ẏ he would beleue and obſerue whatſoeuer the holy church determined, & whatſoeuer God would he ſhould obſerue and beleue. But that he would in no caſe affirme that our Lord the Pope, ẏ cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops or other prelates of the Church haue any power to determine any ſuch matters. Wherupon, we yet fauouring hym, vnder hope of better aduiſement promiſed the ſayd ſir John: that we would geue hym in writing certaine determinations vpon the matter aforeſayd. Wherunto he ſhould more plainly anſwer, written in Latin, and for his better vnderſtanding tranſlated into Engliſh: Wherupon, we commaunded and hartily deſired him that agaynſt Monday next followyng, he ſhould geue a playne and full anſwer, the which determinations we cauſed to be tranſlated the ſame day & to be deliuered vnto him the ſonday next followyng. The tenor of which determinations here folow in this maner.

Here is no mētiō made of the word of God.

Wolues clothed in ſheepes ſkins.

The fayth and determination of the holy Church vpon the holy Sacrament of the aulter is this. That after the conſecration done in the maſſe by the prieſt, ẏ material bread ſhall be chaunged into the materiall body of Chriſt, and the materiall wine into the materiall bloud of Chriſt. Therfore after the conſecration there remaineth no more any ſubſtāce of bread and wine, which was there before. What do you anſwer to this article.

The ſumme of the popiſhe beliefe.

Alſo the holy church hath determined that euery chriſtian dwelling vpon earth ought to confeſſe his ſinnes vnto a prieſt ordayned by ẏ church, if he may come vnto him. How thynke you by this article?

Confeſſion.

Chriſt ordeyned S. Peter his vicare in earth, whoſe ſeate is the church of Rome, geuinge and grauntinge the ſame authority which he gaue vnto Peter alſo to his ſucceſſours which are now called Popes of Rome, in whoſe power it is to ordeyne and inſtitute prelates in particular churches. As Archbiſhops, biſhops, curates and other Eccleſiaſticall orders, vnto whom the Chriſtian people ought obedience according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church. What thinke you by this article?

The popes ſupremacie.

Beſides this the holy church hath determined, that it is neceſſary for euery Chriſtian to go on pilgrimage to holye places, and there ſpecially to worſhip the holy reliques of the Apoſtles, martyrs, confeſſors & all ſaintes, whoſoeuer the church of Rome hath allowed. What think you of this article?

Pilgrimage.

Upon which Monday being the xxv. day of the ſaid moneth of September before vs and our felow brethren aforeſaid, hauing alſo taken vnto vs our reuerend brother, Benedict by the grace of God, Biſhop of Bangor, and by our cōmaundement our counſellers and miniſters, Maiſter Henry Ware officiall of our court of Cant. Philip Morgan D. of both lawes, Howell Kiffin Doctor of the decretals, John Kempe and William Carlton Doctors of law, Joh. Witnā Thomas Palmer, Rob. Wombewell, Jhon Whithe and Robert Chamberlayne. Richard Dotington and Thomas Walden profeſſors of diuinity. Alſo James Cole, & J. Stevens our notaries appointed on this behalfe. They all and

Conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus dominum & Chriſtum eius. Pſal. 2.

euery one beyng ſworne vpon the holy goſpell of God, laying their handes vpon the booke that they ſhould geue their faythfull counſaile in, and vpon the matter aforeſayd, and in euery ſuch cauſe and to the whole world. By and by appered ſir Robert Morley knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with hym the foreſayde Sir J. Oldcaſtle ſettyng hym before vs. Unto whome we gently and familiarly reherſed the actes of the day before paſſed. And as before we told hym that he both is and was excommunicate, requiryng and entreatyng hym that he would deſire and receyue in due forme the abſolution of the Church. Unto whom the ſayd Sir John then and there plainly anſwered, that in this behalfe he would require no abſolution at our handes but onely of God. Then afterward by gentle and ſoft meanes we deſired and required hym to make a playne aunſwer vnto the articles which were layd agaynſt hym. And firſt of all, as touching the Sacrament of the aultar. To the which article, beſides other thinges he anſwered and ſayd thus: That as Chriſt beyng here in earth had in hym both Godhed and manhoode. Notwithſtandyng the Godhead was couered and inuiſible vnder the humanitie, the which was manifeſt and viſible in hym: ſo lykewiſe in the Sacrament of the aultar there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do ſee, the body of Chriſt hidden vnder the ſame which we do not ſee. And plainely denied, that the fayth as touchyng the ſayd Sacrament determined by the Romiſh Church and holy doctors and ſent vnto hym by vs in the ſayd Schedule, to be the determination of the holy Churche. But if it be the determination of the Church he ſayd that it was done contrary vnto the Scriptures, after the Church was endowed, and that poyſon was poured into the Church and not afore. Alſo as touchyng the Sacrament of penaunce and confeſſion, he plainly ſayd and affirmed then and there: that if any man were in any greuous ſinne, out of the which he knew not how to riſe, it were expedient and good for hym to go vnto ſome holy and diſcrete prieſt to take counſaile of hym. But that he ſhould confeſſe hys ſinne to any proper Prieſt, or to any other although he might haue the vſe of hym, it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, for ſo much as by only contrition ſuch ſinne can be wyped away, and the ſinner hymſelf purged. As cõcerning the worſhipping of the croſſe, he ſayd and affirmed that the only body of Chriſt which did hang vpon the croſſe is to be worſhipped. For ſo much as that body alone was & is the croſ, which is to be worſhipped.

The ſacrament both bodye and bread in diuers reſpectes.

How confeſſion is to be alowed.

And beyng demaunded what honor he would doe vnto the Image of the croſſe. He aunſwered by expreſſe wordes that he would only do it that honor that he would make it cleane and lay it vp ſafe. As touchyng the power and authoritie of the keyes, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates, he ſayd that the Pope is very Antichriſt, that is the head: the Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other prelates to be hys members, and the Friers to be his tayle. The whiche Pope, Archbiſhops and Biſhops a man ought not to obey, but ſo far forth as they be followers of Chriſt and of Peter, in their life, maners and conuerſation, and that he is the ſucceſſor of Peter, which is beſt and pureſt in life and maners. Furthermore, the ſayd ſir John ſpreadyng his handes with a loude voyce, ſayd thus to thoſe which ſtoode about him. These men which iudge and would condemne me, will ſeduce you all and themſelues, and will lead you into hel, therfore take hede of them. When he had ſpoken thoſe wordes, we agayne as oftentymes before with lamentable countenaunce, ſpake vnto the ſayd ſir John, exhortyng hym with as gentle wordes as we might that he would returne to ẏ vnity of the church, to beleue and hold that which ẏ church of Rome doth beleue and hold. Who expreſly anſwered that he would not beleue or holde otherwiſe then he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiuyng as it appeared by hym that we could not preuayle: at the laſt with bitterneſſe of hart, we proceded to the pronouncing of a diffinitiue ſentẽce in this maner.

What honor is to be done to the croſſe.

The pope is Antichriſt, the biſhops are his members, and fryers his tayle.

The bold talke of the L. Cobhã.

¶ In the name of God Amen: We Tho. by the permiſſion of God Archb. and humble miniſter of the holy Church of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolike ſee, in a certaine cauſe or matter of hereſie vpon certaine articles, wherupon ſir John Oldcaſtle knight, Lord Cobham, before vs in the laſt conuocation of our Clergy of our prouince of Caunterbury holden in the church of S. Paul in London after diligent inquiſition therupon made, was detected and accuſed, and by our ſayd prouince notoriouſly and openly diffamed. At the requeſt of the whole Cleargy aforeſayd therupon made vnto vs in the ſayd conuocation: with all fauour poſſible that we might (god we take to witnes) lawfully procedyng agaynſt him, following the footeſteppes and example of Chriſt which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be cõuerted and liue, we haue endeuoured by all wayes and meanes we might or coulde to reforme him, and reduce him to the vnitie of the Church: declaring vnto hym what the holy vniuerſall Church of Rome doth teach, holde, and determine in thys behalfe. And albeit that we found hym wandring aſtray from the Catholike fayth, and ſo ſtubburne & ſtifnecked that he would not confeſſe hys errour or cleare hymſelfe thereof, or deteſt the ſame: Notwithſtanding we fauouring hym with a fatherly affection, and hartely wiſhing and deſiring his preſeruation, prefixed hym a certayne competent tyme to deliberate with himſelfe, and if he woulde to repent & reforme hymſelfe. And laſt of all, for ſomuch as we perceiued him to be vnreaſonable: obſeruing chiefly thoſe thynges which by ẏ law are required in this behalfe, with great ſorow and bitterneſſ of hart, we proceded to the pronouncing of the definitiue ſentence in this maner.

They call them ſelues humble which rule ouer kynges, and exerciſe the tyranny of the world.

Following Chriſtes foteſteps cleane contrary.

The vniuerſall church meaning by a figure the part for the whole.

The name of Chriſt being called vpon ſetting him onely before our eyes. For ſomuch as by actes enacted, ſignes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, beſides ſundry kindes of proofes, we finde the ſayd ſyr John to be, and haue bene an hereticke, and a folower of heretickes in the fayth & obſeruation of the ſacred vniuerſall Church of Rome, & ſpecially as touching the ſacramentes of the Euchariſt and of penaunce. And that as the ſonne of iniquitie and darkenes, he hath ſo hardened hys hart, that he wil not vnderſtand the voyce of hys ſhepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or conuerted wyth any faire ſpeche. Hauing firſt of all ſearched and ſought out, and diligently conſidering the merites of the cauſe aforeſayd, and of the ſayd ſyr John, his deſertes and faultes aggrauated through his damnable obſtinacy: Not willing that he that is wicked, ſhould become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion, by the counſell and conſent of the reuerent men of profound wyſdome and diſcretion, our brethren the Lordes Richard byſhop of London, Henry Byſhop of Winchester, and Benedict byſhop of Bangor, and alſo of many other doctours of diuinitie, the decretals and ciuill lawe, and of many other religious and learned perſons our aſſiſtantes, we haue iudged and declared ſententially, and diffinitiuely condemned ẏ ſayd ſyr John Oldcaſtell knight, Lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpon that moſt deteſtable gilt, not willing penitently to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church, & in thoſe thinges which the ſacred vniuerſall church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and ſhew forth. And ſpecially as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauing hym from henceforth as an hereticke vnto the ſecular iudgement.

They call light darknes, & darknes lyght.

Lyke will to lyke.

Moreouer we haue excommunicated, and by theſe writinges do pronounce and excommunicate hym as an hereticke, and all other which from henceforth in fauour of hys errour, ſhall receiue, defend, or geue hym counſell or fauour, or helpe him in thys behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of heretickes. And to the entent theſe premiſſes may be knowen vnto all faythfull Chriſtians, we charge & commaunde you, that by your ſentence definitiue, you doe cauſe the Curates which are vnder you, with a loud and audible voyce in their Churches, when as moſt people is preſent, in their mother toung, through all your Cities and dioces to publiſhe and declare the ſayd ſyr John Oldcaſtell as is before ſayd, to be by vs condemned as an hereticke, ſchiſmaticke, and one erring in the articles aboue ſayd: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of hys errours ſhall receiue or defend him, geuyng hym any counſell, comfort or fauour in this behalfe, to be excõmunicate as receiuers, fauourers, & defenders of hereticks. As is more effectually cõtayned in the proces. That by ſuch meanes the erroneous opinions of the people (which peraduenture hath otherwiſe conceiued the matter) by thoſe declarations of ẏ truth, how the matter is, may be cut of. The which thyng alſo we will and commaunde to be written and ſignified by you, word for word, vnto all our fellow brethren: that they all may manifeſt, publiſhe, and declare throughout all their cities and dioces, the maner and forme of this our proces, and alſo the ſentence by vs geuen, and all other and ſingular, the contentes in the ſame. And lykewiſe cauſe it to be publiſhed by their Curates which are vnder them as touching the day of the receipt of theſe preſentes, and what you haue done in the premiſſes, how you and they haue executed this our commaundement. We will that you and they duely and diſtinctly certifie vs the buſines being done, by you and their letters patentes, according to this tenour. Dated in our maner of Maidſtone, the x. of October, an. 1413. and in the xviij. yeare of our tranſlation.

So did the Phariſies deliuer Chriſt vnto Pilate.

Thus haue you here the iudiciall proceſſe of the byſhops agaynſt thys moſt noble Chriſten knight, deſcribed by their

owne

Syr Rob. Morley.
The L. Cobhā returned agayne to the Tower.

owne letters and ſtile. After all this, the ſentence of death beyng geuen, the Lord Cobham was ſent away, ſyr Robert Morley carying hym agayne vnto the Tower, where as after he had remayned a certayne ſpace, in the night ſeaſon, (it is not knowen by what meanes) he eſcaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the ſpace of iiij. yeares.

¶ A defence of the Lord Cobham, agaynſt Alanus Copus.

Alanus Copus Anglus, with his ſixe Dialogues.
Eroſtratus to get him a fame ſet Dianas temple on fire.

AS I was entring into thys ſtory of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former hiſtories, hetherto paſſed, hauing next to ſet vpon this preſent matter, luckely, and as God would, in ſuch opportunitie of ſeaſon, as may ſeeme, God to worke himſelf for defēce of his ſaintes: cōmeth to my hands a certayne booke of new found dialoges, written in latine by one Alanus Copus Anglus, an Engliſhe man, a perſon to me vnknowen, and obſcure hetherto vnto the worlde, but now to purchaſe hymſelfe a name wyth Eroſtratus, or with the ſonnes of Enachim, cōmeth out not wyth hys fiue egges, but with his ſixe rayling dialoges. In the which dialoges the ſayd Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he vnder the armour of other, or other vnder the title of his name, I know not, nor paſſe not) vncourteouſly behauing himſelfe, intemperatly abuſing his tyme, ſtudy, and pen, forgettyng himſelfe, neglectyng all reſpect of honeſty, and mylde modeſtye, neyther dreading the ſtroke of God, nor paſſing for ſhame, neither fauouring the lyuing, nor ſparing the dead, who beyng alyue as they neuer offended hym, ſo now cannot aunſwere for themſelues beyng gone: thus prouokyng both God & man againſt him, after an vnſeemely ſort, & wyth a foule mouth, & a ſtinking breath, rageth and fareth agaynſt dead mens aſhes, takyng now the ſpoyle of their good name, after their bodyes lye ſlayne in the field. Hys gall & choler beyng ſo bitter againſt them, that he cannot abyde any memory after them to remayne vpon the earth. In ſo much that for the hatred of them, he ſpurneth alſo agaynſt me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my Actes and Monumentes, deſcribyng the hiſtory of the Church, I would ſay any thyng in the fauour of them, whom the Romiſhe Catholikes haue ſo vnmercifully put to death. The aunſwere to whoſe booke although it would require a ſeuerall tractation by it ſelfe (as if Chriſt graūt ſpace & leyſure, hereafter it ſhall not be forgotten) yet becauſe ſuch opportunitie of the booke is offred to me at thys preſent, commyng now to the matter of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton and other, wyth whom he firſt beginneth to quarell, it ſhall be requiſite a little by the way to cope wyth this Cope, whatſoeuer he be, ſo much as truth ſhall geue me for their defence to ſay ſomethyng. And here to cut of all the offals of hys rayling talke and vnhoneſt rebukes, which I leaue to ſcoldes and men of his profeſſion agaynſt they liſt to brawle, let vs briefly and quietly conſider the matter, for diſcuſſing of the truth. Wherein firſt I ſhall deſire the Reader wyth equall indifferencie to heare both ye partes to ſpeake, as well what the Martyrs hence gone & ſlayne could ſay for themſelues, if they were preſent, as alſo what thys man here doth obiecte agaynſt them now beyng gone. And ſo according to the ſame to iudge both vpon them as they deſerue, and of me as they ſhall pleaſe.

Alanus Copus Anglus, intemperately abuſeth his penne.

Copus a barker agaynſt dead men.

Aunſwere to Alanus Copus.

Indifferēcye of the reader craued.

Now to the ſcope of maiſter Copes matter, which is thys, whether thys foreſayd ſyr John Oldcaſtell, L. Cobham (firſt to beginne wyth him) is rather to be commēded for a Martyr, or to be reproued for a traytor. And whether that I in writing of hym and of ſir Roger Acton, wyth other moe in my former edition, haue delt fraudulently & corruptly in commending them in theſe Actes & Monuments or no. Touching the diſcuſſion wherof, firſt I truſt ye gētle M. Cope my frend, neither will, nor wel cā deny any part of all that hetherto, touching ye ſtory of ye L. Cobhā hath bene premiſed. Who yet all this while was neither traytor to hys countrey, nor rebell to his prince, as by the courſe of his hiſtory hetherto the reader may well vnderſtand. Firſt in the time of king Henry the fourth, he was ſent ouer to Frāce to the Duke of Orleance, he did obey. Afterward K. Henry the fift, comming to the crowne, he was of him likewiſe well lyked and fauoured, vntill the time that Tho. Arundel with his clergie, complaining to the king, made bate betwene thē. Then the Lord Cobham beyng cited by the Archbyſhop, at hys cytatyon, woulde not appeare. But ſent for by the kyng, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly ſubiection he ſhewed there to the king, the pag. 536. declareth. After he preſented an obedient confeſſiō of his faith, it would not be receiued. Then did he appeale to the byſhoppe of Rome, for the which the king toke great diſpleaſure with him, and ſo was he repealed by the kyng to the Archb. and committed to the tower, which alſo he did obey. From thēce he was brought to hys examination once or twiſe: there like a conſtant martyr and witneſſe of the truth, he ſtood to hys confeſſion and that vnto the very ſentence of death defined agaynſt hym. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let Alanus Copus ſay what he will, or what he can. This I ſay, at leaſt I doubt, whether the ſayd Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like triall himſelfe, would venter ſo narow a point of martyrdome for his religion, as this chriſtiā knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

Whether the L. Cobham be to be iudged a traytor or a martyr.

The Lord Cobhā true and obedient to K. Henry. 4
The Lord Cobham in the beginning fauoured of kyng Henry the. 5
The kynges diſpleaſure procured agaynſt the L. Cobham by popiſhe prelates.

The L. Cobhā obedient to the K.

The L. Cobham conſtant in hys fayth, to the ſentence of death.

To procede after this deadly ſentence, was thus awarded againſt him, the ſayd Lord Cobham was then returned agayne vnto the tower, which he with patience and mekenes did alſo obey: from the which tower if he afterward by the Lordes prouidēce did eſcape, whether hath Alanus Copus, herein more to prayſe God for offering to hym the benefite, or to blame the man for takyng that which was offred. What Catholike in all Louain hauing hys houſe ouer hys hed on fire, will not be glad to haue if he might, the dore ſet open to flee the perill? or els why did Alanus Copus flie his country hauing ſo little nede, if this man, bleedyng almoſt vnder the butchers axe, might not enioy ſo great an offer of ſo lucky deliuerance?

Thus hitherto I truſt, the cauſe of the lord Cobham, ſtandeth firme and ſtrong agaynſt all daunger of iuſt reprehenſion. Who beyng (as ye haue heard) ſo faythfull and obedient to God: ſo ſubmiſſe to his kyng: ſo ſound in his doctrine: ſo conſtant in his cauſe: ſo afflicted for the truth: ſo ready and prepared to death: as we haue ſufficiētly declared not out of vncertaine and doutfull chronicles, but out of the true originals & inſtruments remaynyng in ancient recordes: what lacketh now, or what ſhould let to the contrary, but that he declaring himſelf ſuch a martyr, that is a witnes to the verity (for the which alſo at laſt he ſuffred ye fire) may therfore worthily be crowned with the title of a martir, which is in Greke as much as a witnes bearer.

The L. Cobham worthy the name of a Martyr.

The name of a martyr what it ſignifieth.

But here now ſteppeth in Dame ἡ διαβόλη, with her coſen ſcold Alecto, &c. who neither learning to hold her tōg, nor yet to ſpeake well, muſt nedes find here a knot in a ruſh and beginning now to quarell, inferreth thus: But after (ſayth he) that the Lord Cobham was eſcaped out of the tower, his fellowes and confederates conuented themſelues together, ſeditiouſly againſt ye king & againſt their country: A great crime no doubt M. Cope, if it be true, ſo if it be not true, the greater blame returneth vnto your ſelf, ſo to enter this action of ſuch ſlaunder, vnles the ground wherupon ye ſtād, be ſure. Firſt what felowes of ye L. Cobhā were theſe you meane of? Sir Roger Acton ye ſay, maiſter Browne & John Beuerley, with 36. other hanged and burned in the ſayd field of S. Giles. A maruelous matter, ye ſuch a great multitude of xx. M. ſpecified in ſtory, ſhould riſe againſt the kyng, & yet but iij. perſons only knowen and named. Thē to procede further, I would aſke of maiſter Cope what was the end of this conſpiracy, to rebell agaynſt the kyng, to deſtroy their country, and to ſubuert the Chriſtian fayth, for ſo purporteth the ſtory. As lyke true the one as the other. For euen as it is like, that they being Turkes went about to deſtroy the fayth of Chriſt wherin they dyed, and to ſubuert their country wherin they were bred: euen ſo like it is that they went about to deſtroy the kyng, whom God and their conſcience taught to obey.

Calumnia.

Syr Roger Acton knight.
M. John Brown Eſquire.
John Beuerley preacher.

Yet further procedeth this fumiſh promoter in his accuſation, and ſayth moreouer: that theſe foreſayd fellowes and adherents of the Lord Cobham, were in the field aſſembled and there incamped in a great number agaynſt the king, and how is this proued? by Robert Fabian. Which appeareth to be as true, as that which in the ſaid Robert Fabian followeth, in the ſame place where he affirmeth that Jo. Cledon, and Richard Turmin, were burnt in the ſame yere, beyng 1413. When in dede by the true Regiſters, they were not burnt before the yere of our lord, 1415. But what wil maiſter Cope ſay, if the originall copy of the inditement of theſe pretenſed conſpirators do teſtifie, that they were not there aſſembled or preſent in the field as your accuſation pretendeth? But they purpoſed (will you ſay) and intended to come. The purpoſe and intent of a mans mynde is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no fact appeareth. But geue their intent was ſo to come: yet might they not come to thoſe thickets nere to the field of Saint Giles, hauing Beuerley their Preacher wyth thē (as ye ſay your ſelf) as wel to pray & to preach in that woody place, as wel as to fight? Is this ſuch a ſtrange thing in the church of Chriſt, in time of

Rob. Fabian proued with an vntruth.

An vntruth in Alanus Copus.

Praying & preaching in backe corners a common thing in tyme of perſecution.

of perſecution for Chriſtians to reſort into deſolate woodes, and ſecrete thickes, from the ſight of enemyes, when they would aſſemble in praying and hearyng the word of God? In Queene Maryes tyme was not the ſame colour of treaſon obiected agaynſt George Egle and other moe, for frequentyng and vſing into backſides and fieldes, and ſuffered for that, wherof he was innocent and giltles? Did not Adam Damlipe dye in lyke caſe of treaſon, for hauyng a French crowne geuen hym, at his departure out of Rome, by Cardinall Poole? What can not cankered calumnia inuent, when ſhe is diſpoſed to cauill? It was not the Cardinals crown that made hym a traytor, but it was the hatred of his preachyng, that ſtyrred vp the accuſer.

Ill wyll taketh all thinges to the worſt meaning.

In Fraunce what aſſemblies haue there bene in late yeares of good and innocent Chriſtiās, congregatyng together in backfieldes, and courtes in great routes to heare the preachyng of Gods holy word, & to pray: yea and not without their weapon alſo, for their owne ſafegard, and yet neuer intended nor mynded any rebelliō agaynſt their king. Wherfore, in caſes of Religion it may & doth happen many tymes, that ſuch congregations may meete without intent of any treaſon ment. But howſoeuer the intent and purpoſe was of theſe foreſayd cōfederates of the Lord Cobham, whether to come, or what to do (ſeyng this is playne by recordes, as is aforeſaid, that they were not yet come vnto the place) how will M. Cope now iuſtifie his wordes, ſo confidently affirmyng, that they were there aſſembled ſeditiouſly together in the field of S. Giles agaynſt the kyng? And marke here I beſech thee (gentle Reader) how vnlikely and vntydely the pointes of this tale are tyde and hange together (I will not ſay without all ſubſtaunce of truth, but without all faſhion of a cleanely lye) wherin theſe accuſers in this matter ſeeme to me, to lacke ſome part of Sinons arte, in conueyng their narration ſo vnartificially. Firſt (ſay they) the kyng was come firſt with his garriſon, vnto the field of S. Gyles. And then after the kyng was there incamped, conſequently the felowes of the Lord Cobham (the Captaine beyng away) came & were aſſembled in the ſayd field where the kyng was, agaynſt the kyng: & yet not knowyng of the kyng, to the number of xx. thouſand: and yet neuer a ſtroke in that field geuen. And furthermore of all this xx. thouſād aforeſayd, neuer a mans name knowen, but onely three, to witte, ſir Roger Acton, ſir John Browne, and John Beuerley, a preacher. How this geare is clamperd together let the reader iudge, and beleue as he ſeeth cauſe.

An other vntruth in Alanus Copus.

An vnlikely tale.

But geue all this to be true, although by no demonſtration it can be proued, yet by the Popes diſpenſation (which in this earth is almoſt omnipotent) be it graunted: that after the kyng had take S. Gyles field before, the companiōs of the Lord Cobham afterward commyng and aſſemblyng in the thickets neare to the ſayd field, to fight ſeditiouſly agaynſt the kyng, agaynſt their countrey, & agaynſt the fayth of Chriſt, to the number of xx. thouſād, where no ſtroke beyng geuen, ſo many were taken, that all the priſons of Lōdō were full, and yet neuer a mans name knowen of all this multitude, but onely three: All this I ſay, beyng imagined to be true, then foloweth to be demaūded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here preſent with this company in the field, or not? Not, in perſon (ſaith Cope) but with his mynde and with his counſaile he was preſent, and addeth this reaſon, ſaying: And therfore he beyng brought agayne, after his eſcape, was conuict both of treaſon and hereſie, and therfore ſuſteinyng a double puniſhmēt was both hanged and brent for the ſame. &c. And how is all this proued? By Robert Fabian, he ſayth. Wherunto briefly I anſwere, that Rob. Fabian in that place maketh no ſuch mention of the Lord Cobham aſſiſtyng or conſentyng to them either in mynde or in counſaile. His wordes be theſe: That certaine adherentes of ſir John Oldcaſtle aſſembled in the field neare to S. Gyles, in great number: of whom was ſir Roger Acton, ſir John Brown, and John Beuerley. The which with 36. mo in number were after conuict of hereſie and treaſon and for the ſame were hanged and brent, within the ſayd field of S. Gyles. &c. Thus much in Fabian touchyng the commotion and condemnatiō of theſe men: but that the Lord Cobham, was there preſent with them in any part, either of conſent or of counſayle, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not founde in Fabian, but is added of his liberall cornu copiæ, wherof he is ſo copious and plentyfull, that he may keepe an open ſhop of ſuch vnworthē vntruthes, whiche he may afforde very good cheape I thinke, beyng ſuch a plentyfull artificer.

The L. Cobham no traytor.

Alanus Copus pag 833. lin. 11.

Alanus Copus taken with an other vntruth.

But here will be obiected agaynſt me the wordes of the ſtatute made the ſecond yeare of kyng Henry the fift, wherupon this aduerſary triumphyng with no litle glory, ὥσπερ ἐν ὀλυμπιάδα ἀγαλλόμενος, thincketh hymſelfe to haue double vantage agaynſt me: firſt in prouyng theſe foreſayd complices and adherents of the Lord Cobham, to haue made inſurrection agaynſt the kyng, and ſo to be traytours. Secondly, in conuictyng that to be vntrue, where as in my former booke of Actes and Monumentes I do reporte: how that after the death of ſir Roger Acton of Browne and Beuerley, a Parliament was holden at Leyceſter, where a ſtatute was made to this effect: that all and ſingular, ſuch as were of Wickliffes learnyng, if they would not geue ouer (as in caſe of felony and other treſpaſſes, looſing all their goodes to the kyng) ſhould ſuffer death in two maner of kindes, that is, they ſhould firſt be hanged for treaſō againſt the kyng, and then be burned for hereſie agaynſt God. &c.

En ſtatuto Reg. Hen. 5. an. 2. cap. 7.

The former edition of Actes and Mon. pag. 173.

Wherupon, remayneth now in examinyng this obiectiō, and aunſweryng to the ſame, that I purge both them of treaſon, and my ſelfe of vntrouth, ſo farre as truth and liberlitie in Gods cauſe ſhal aſſiſt me herein. Albeit in begynning firſt my hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical matters, wherin I hauing nothyng to do with debatement of cauſes iudiciall, but onely followyng the ſimple narration of thynges done and executed: neuer ſuſpected that euer any would be ſo captious with me, or ſo nice noſed, as to preſſe me with ſuch narrow pointes of the law, in tryīg and diſcuſſyng euery cauſe and matter ſo exactly, & ſtraining (as ye would ſay) the bowels of the ſtatute law ſo rigorouſly agaynſt me. yet for ſo much as I am thereunto conſtrained now by this aduerſary, I will firſt lay open all ẏ whole ſtatute made the ſecond yeare of this foreſayd Henry the fift, after the death of the foreſayd ſir Roger Acton and his felowes, at the Parliament holden at Leyceſter. an. 1415. That done, I will note vpon the wordes therof, ſo as by the circumſtaunces of the ſame may appeare what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocencye, or for the accuſation of this aduerſary. The tenour and purport of the ſtatute here vnder enſueth.

The wordes and contentes of the ſtatute made. an. 2. Henrici. 5. cap. 7.

For aſmuch as great (A) rumours, congregatiōs, and inſurrections here in Englād by diuers of the king his maieſties leege people haue bene made here of late, as well by thoſe which were of the ſect of hereſie called Lolardy, as by others of their cōfederatiō, excitatiōs, & abetment: to ẏ intēt (B) to adnulle & ſubuert ẏ Chriſtian faith & the law of God within the ſame Realme, as alſo to (C) deſtroy our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng himſelfe and (D) all maner of eſtates of the ſame his Realme, as wel ſpirituall as temporall, (E) and alſo all maner policie, and the lawes of the land. Finally the ſame our Lord the kyng, to the honour of God, in cōſeruation and fortification of the Chriſtian fayth, & alſo in ſaluation of his royall eſtate, and of the eſtate of all his realme, willing to prouide a more open and more due puniſhment agaynſt the malice of ſuch hereticks and Lolardes, thē hath bene had or vſed in that caſe heretofore, ſo that for the feare of the ſame lawes, and puniſhment, ſuch hereſies and Lolardies may the rather ceaſe in tyme to come:

The preface or preamble of the ſtatute.

(A)
(B)
(C)
(D)
(E)

By the aduiſe and aſſent aforeſayd, & at the prayer of the ſayd commons hath ordained and eſtabliſhed: that eſpecially the Chauncelour, the Treaſurer, the Juſtices of the one bench and of the other, Juſtices of Aſſiſe, Juſtices of peace, Shriffes, Maiors, and Bayliffes of Cities and Townes, and all other officers hauyng the gouernement of people, either now preſent or which for the tyme ſhalbe, do make an othe in takyng of their charge and offices, to extend their whole payne and diligence to put out, to do to put out, ceaſe and deſtroy, all maner of hereſies and errours cōmonly called Lolardies within the places in which they exerciſe their charges and offices, from tyme to tyme, with all their power: and that they aſſiſte, fauour, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commiſſaries ſo often as they or any of them ſhall be therunto required by the ſayd ordinaries or their cōmiſſaries: So that the ſayd officers & miniſters, when they trauell or ryde to areſt any Lolarde or to make any aſſiſtēce at the (F) inſtaunce and requeſt of the ordinaries or their cōmiſſaries, by vertue of this ſtatute: that ẏ ſame ordinaries and cōmiſſaries do (G) pay for their coſtes reaſonably. And that the ſeruices of the kyng (vnto whō the officers be firſt ſworne) be preferred before all other ſtatutes for ẏ libertie of holy Church and the miniſters of the ſame: And eſpecially for the correction and puniſhment of heretickes & Lolards, made before theſe dayes and not repealed, but beyng in their force. And alſo that all perſons conuicte of hereſie of whatſoeuer eſtate, condition or degree they be, by the ſayd ordinaries or their commiſſaries left vnto the ſecular power according to the lawes of holy Church, ſhall leeſe & forfeit

Here it appeareth at whoſe ſute and ſupplication thys ſtatute was ſet forward as alſo the cauſe why.

Aſſiterunt reges & Phariſæi.

(F)

(G)

faite all their landes and tenementes, whiche they haue in fee ſimple in maner and forme as foloweth: That is to ſay, that the kyng ſhal haue all the landes & tenementes, which the ſayd conuictes haue in fee ſimple & which be immediatly holden of hym, as forfaited: And that the other Lordes of whom the landes & tenementes of ſuch conuictes be holden immediatly, after that the kyng is therof ſeiſed and aunſwered (H) of the (H) yeare, day, & waſt: ſhall haue lyuery therof out of the handes of the kyng of the landes & tenementes aforeſayd ſo of them holden, as hath bene vſed in caſe of attaynder of felonies, except the landes and tenementes, which be holden of the ordinaries or their cōmiſſaries, before whō (I) any ſuch empeached of hereſie be conuict, (I) which landes and tenements ſhall wholy remaine to the kyng as forfaite; And moreouer, that all the goodes and cattalles of ſuch cōuicted, be forfaict to our right ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, ſo that no perſon conuict of hereſie & left vnto the ſecular power (according to the lawes of holy Church) do forfaict his landes before that he be dead. And if any ſuch perſon ſo cōuicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine, or by deed, or without deede, in landes and tenementes, rentes, or ſeruices, in fee or other wiſe in whatſoeuer maner, or haue any other poſſeſſions or cattels by gift or graunt of any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of any other then onely to the vſe of ſuch cōuictes: That the ſame landes, tenements, rentes, nor ſeruices, nor other ſuch poſſeſſions nor cattels ſhall not be forfait vnto our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng in no maner wiſe.

And moreouer, that the Iuſtices of the kynges bench, the Iuſtices of peace, & Iuſtices of Aſſiſe, haue full power to inquire of all ſuch, which hold any errours or hereſies, as Lolardes and who be their maintainours, receiuours, fautours and ſuſtainers, common writers of ſuch bookes, as well of their Sermons as ſcholes, conuenticles, congregations and confederacies, & that this clauſe be put in the cōmiſſions of the Iuſtices of peace. And if any perſons be indited of any of the pointes aboue ſayd, that the ſayd Iuſtices haue power to award agaynſt them a Capias, and that the Shriffe be bound to areſt ye perſon or perſons ſo endited as ſoone as he can finde them, either by himſelfe or by his officers. And forſomuch as the cogniſaūce of hereſies, errours, or Lolardeis, appertaine to the Iudges of holy church, and not vnto the ſecular Iudges, that ſuch perſons indited (K) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their Commiſſaries by Indentures betwene them to be made, within .x. dayes after their areſt, or ſooner if it may be done, to be therof acquited or conuict by the lawes of holy church, in caſe ſuch perſōs be not indited of any other thyng, the cogniſaunce wherof appertaineth to the Iudges and ſeculare officers, in which caſe after they ſhalbe aquited or deliuered before ye ſecular iudges of ſuch thyngs as appertaineth to ye ſecular Iudges, they ſhal be ſent in ſafe cuſtody vnto ye ſayd Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures as is aforeſayd, to be acquited or cōuicted of the ſame hereſies, errours, and Lolardies, as is aforeſayd, according to the lawes of holy Churche, and that within the terme aboueſayd. Prouided, that ye ſayd indightmentes be not taken in euidence (L) but onely for information before the Iudges ſpirituall, agaynſt ſuch perſons indighted: but that the Ordinaries begin their proces agaynſt ſuch perſons indited, in the ſame maner, as though no ſuch iudgement were, hauyng no regarde to ſuch inditementes. And if any be indited of hereſie, errour, or Lolardy, and take by the Shiriffe or any other officer of the kyng, he may be let to maynpriſe within the ſayd ten dayes, by good ſurety, for whom the ſayd Shiriffes or other officers will aunſwere, ſo that the ſayd perſon ſo indighted be ready to be deliuered vnto the ſayd Ordinaries, or to their Commiſſaries, before the end of ye tēth day aboue recited, if he may by any meanes for ſicknes. And that euery Ordinary haue ſufficiēt Commiſſaries or Commiſſary, abidyng in euery Coūtie in place notable, ſo that if any ſuch perſon indited be taken, that the ſayd Commiſſaries or Commiſſary may be warned in the notable place of his abidyng, by the Shiriffe or any of his officers, to come vnto the Kynges Gayle within the ſayd County, there to receaue the ſame perſon ſo indighted by Indenture as is aforeſayd: And that in the Inqueſtes in this caſe take, the Shiriffes and other officers vnto whom it appertaineth, do impanell good and ſufficient perſons not ſuſpected nor procured, that is to ſay, ſuch as haue at the leaſt euery one of them that ſhall be ſo enpanelled in ſuch inqueſtes, within the Realme, a hundred ſhillynges by the yeare of landes, tenements, or of rent, vpon payne to leeſe to the kyngs vſe .xx. pound. And that thoſe which ſhalbe enpanelled vpon ſuch enqueſtes at Seſſions and gayles, haue euery one of them to the value of .xl. ſhillynges by the yeare. And if any ſuch perſon areſted, whether it be by the Ordinaries or the officers of the kyng, (M) eyther eſcape or breake priſon before he be therof acquit before the Ordinary: that then all hys goods and cattels, which he had at the day of ſuch areſt, ſhall be forfeit to the kyng: And his landes and tenements which he had the ſame day, be ſeized alſo into the kynges handes, and that the kyng haue the profites thereof from the ſame day, vntill he render himſelfe to the ſayd priſon, from whence he eſcaped. And that the aforeſayd Iuſtices haue full power to inquire of all ſuch eſcapes and breaking of priſons, and alſo of the landes, tenementes, goods and cattels of ſuch perſons indighted. Prouided, that if any ſuch perſon endighted, do not returne vnto the ſayde priſon, and dyeth (not beyng conuict) that then it ſhall be lawfull for hys heyres, to enter into the landes and tenements of hys or their anceſter without any other ſute made vnto the kyng for thys cauſe. And that all thoſe which haue liberties or fraunchiſis royall in England, as the countie of Cheſter, the countie and libertie of Durhā and other lyke: And alſo all the Lordes which haue iuriſdictions and franchiſes royall in Wales where the kyngs writs doe not run, haue lyke power to execute and put in execution in all poyntes, theſe articles by them or by their officers in lyke maner, as doe the Iuſtices and other the kynges officers aboue declared.

(H)

(I)

(K)

(L)

(M)

Notes touching the ſtatute prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the wordes of the ſtatute, now let vs conſider the reaſons and obiections of this aduerſary, who grounding peraduenture vpon the preface or preamble of thys foreſayd ſtatute: will proue therby the L. Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, wyth the reſt of their abettours, to haue bene traytors to their kyng and their countrey. Whereunto I aunſwere, firſt in generall, that although the face or preface prefixed before the ſtatute, may ſhew and declare the cauſe and occaſion originall why the ſtatute was made: yet the making of the ſtatute importeth no neceſſary probation of the preface alwayes to be true that goeth before, which beyng but a colour to induce the making therof: geueth no force materiall thervnto, nor is any neceſſary part of the body of the ſayd ſtatute. But onely adhereth as a declaration of the circumſtaunce therof, and ſometime is cleane omitted and differeth much from the ſubſtaunce of the ſame. For as ſtatutes in ciuile policie moſt commonly doe tende to a publike end and are generall: ſo prefaces before ſtatutes, which moſt commonly declare the cauſe or beginnyng thereof, are priuate: and do ſtand onely but vpō particular factes, which eyther of ill will and diſpleaſure may be ſuggeſted, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for feare may be beleued, at leaſt ſuſpected, as many ſuſpicions doe oftymes riſe in princes heades, through falſe ſurmiſes, and malicious complaintes of certayne euill diſpoſed about them, whereby many cruel lawes riſing vpon a falſe ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent bloud. Example wherof we haue not onely in thys preſent ſtatute, an.2.Reg.Hen.5. but alſo in ye lyke ſtatute, commonly called the ſtatute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by thys kynges father and predeceſſour, an.2.Henr.4.cap.5. In the preface of which bloudy ſtatute, is conteyned an other like complaynt of the Prelates & clergie, not ſo haynous, as alſo moſt ſhamefully falſe & vntrue agaynſt the poore Lollardes, as by the wordes of the complaynt may appeare, beginning: Excellentiſſimo & Gratioſiſ. principi. &c. Wherein, moſt falſely they ſlaunder and miſreporte the true ſeruauntes of Chriſt to be Lollardes, heretiques, ſubuerters of the common wealth, deſtroyers of the Chriſtian fayth, enemyes to all good lawes, and to the Church of Chriſt. The wordes of which ſtatute proceeding much after the like courſe as doth thys preſent ſtatute, may eaſely bewray the vntruth and falſe ſurmiſe thereof, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the wordes according as they are there to be read and ſene, as followeth: Conuenticulas & confederationes faciunt, ſcholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atq; ſcribunt, populum nequiter inſtruunt & informant, & ad ſeditionem ſeu inſurrectionem excitant, quantum poſſunt, & magnas diſſentiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuerſa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & eccleſiæ ſubuerſionem, diuiniq; cultus diminutionem, ac etiam deſtructionem ſtatus, iurium, & libertatum dictæ eccleſiæ Anglic. And after a few wordes: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinem atq; regimē, penitus deſtruendum. &c. He that is or ſhalbe acquainted wyth olde hiſtories, and wyth the vſuall practiſes of Sathan the old enemy of Chriſt, from the firſt beginnyng of the primitiue Church vnto this preſent tyme, ſhal ſee thys to be no newes, but a common and (as ye would ſay) a quotidian feuer among Chriſtes children, to be vexed wyth falſe accuſations,

Notes vpon the ſtatute aforeſayd.

Prefaces before ſtatutes not to be regarded in triall of truth.

Statut. an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 15.

The preface before the ſtatute *De comburendo*.

Ex vetuſtis inſtrumentis.

Falſe accuſation no newes in Chriſtes church.

ſations, and cruell ſlaunders.

Example of Nemeſion Martyr. pag 62.

Nemeſion the Egyptian and true Martyr of Chriſt, was he not firſt accuſed to be a felon? And when that could not be proued, he was cōdemned at the ſame iudgement for a Chriſtiā: and therfore beyng caſt into bandes, was ſcourged, by the commaundement of the Preſident double to the other felons: & at length was burned with the theeues, although he neuer was found theef nor felon vide.pag.62.

Example of Cyprian, pag.70.

Agaynſt Cypriā in lyke ſorte it was ſlaunderouſly obiected by Galerius Maximus proconſull: Quòd diu ſacrilega mente vixerit, & nephariæ ſibi conſpirationis homines adiunxerit. That he had long continued with a mynde full of ſacrilege, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conſpiracie, pag.70.

Example of Iuſtine the Martyr. Example of Cornelius Biſh. of Rome pag 66.

So Iuſtinus martyr, what falſe and criminous accuſations ſuffered he by Creſcēs? Cornelius byſhop of Rome and Martyr, was accuſed of Decius, quòd ad Cyprianū literas daret contra remp. i. That he wrote letters vnto Cyprian agaynſt the common wealth vide.pag.66.

Lawes & ſtatutes grounded vpon falſe cauſes agaynſt the Chriſtians.

The perſecuting ſtatutes in the primitiue church and of the latter church compared.

To conſider the lawes and ſtatutes, made by tyraunts and Emperours in the firſt perſecutions of the primatiue Church, agaynſt the innocent ſeruauntes of Chriſt, and to compare the ſame with the lawes and ſtatutes in this latter perſecution vnder Antichriſt: A man ſhall finde, that as they agreed all in like crueltie, ſo was there no great difference in falſe forgyng of pretenſed cauſes and crimes deuiſed. For as then, the Chriſtians were wrongfully accuſed of the Gentiles for inſurrections and rebellions agaynſt the Emperours and Empire, for beyng enemyes to all mankynde, for murdering of infātes, for worſhyppyng the ſunne (becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt) for worſhyppyng alſo the head of an Aſſe, &c. vide.pag.55.37. vpon the rumors wherof, diuers and ſundry lawes and ſtatutes were enacted, ſome engrauen in braſſe, ſome otherwiſe wrote, agaynſt them: So in this foreſayd ſtatute, an.2. Henr.5.cap.7. alſo, an.2. Hēr.4.cap.15. and in ſuch other ſtatutes or inditemēts made and conceaued agaynſt the Lolardes: the caſe is not ſo ſtrāge but it may credibly be ſuppoſed, that the makyng therof did riſe rather vpon malice & hatred agaynſt their religion conceaued, then vpon any iuſt cauſe miniſtred of their parties, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuſe. Like as in tyme of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids ſtocke, all the nephewes of Iude the Lordes brother in fleſhe, were accuſed to the Emperour, pag.37. And alſo the like feare & hatred ſtyrred vp other Emperours, and the Senate of Rome, to procede with perſecuting lawes agaynſt the Chriſtian flocke of Chriſt. Euſeb. Lib.5.cap.21. wherupō, roſe vp thoſe malitious ſlaunders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lyes, and wrongfull accuſations agaynſt the Chriſtians: ſo that what crimes ſoeuer either malice could inuente, or raſh ſuſpition could miniſter, that was imputed agaynſt them, vide.pag.37.

Feare & hatred, cauſers of perſecution.

Vide ſupra.pag.37.

Not vnlike alſo it may ſeeme, that the Pope with his Prelates fearyng and miſdoubtyng leaſt the procedyng of the Goſpell preached by theſe perſons ſhould ouerthrow the ſtate of their maieſtie: Did therfore by ſiniſter accuſations, inflame the hartes of Princes agaynſt them, & vnder ſome colour couert, to ſhadow their cloked hatred, diuiſed theſe & other lyke crimes which were not true, but which myght cleanely ſerue their purpoſe.

The matter debated by recordes, whether the L. Cobham and ſir Roger Actō were traytors or not.

This hetherto haue I ſayd as in a generall ſumme aunſweryng to the preamble of the foreſayd ſtatute, for the defenſe of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, and Syr Roger Acton and other, not as defining preciſely what was or was not (for here I may ſay with Paule, that as I was not preſent at the deede doyng, ſo with him I may alſo leaue the ſame at large.) But as one by traſing the foote ſteppes of the truth, as by all coniectures huntyng out in this matter, what is moſt like, would but onely ſay my mynde ſine ſtrepitu (as Lawyers ſay) & ſine figura iudicij.

Now conſequently it followeth, that we deſcend to the ſpeciall pointes and particulars of the foreſayd preamble: to conſider what therof may be collected, or neceſſarily is to be iudged, either for proofe or diſproofe, of this foreſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle and his felowes.

(A)

Rumors. Congregations. Inſurrections.

¶ (A) And firſt, where the prohem of this ſtatute begynneth with rumours, congregations, and inſurrections. &c. As it is not like, that if theſe men had intended any forcible entrees or rebelliō agaynſt the kyng, they would haue made any rumours therof before the deede done: ſo is it more credibly to be ſuppoſed, all theſe floriſhes of wordes to be but wordes of courſe, or of office, and to ſauer rather of the rankenes of the inditers penne, who diſpoſed either per amplificationem rhetoricam to ſhew his copy, or els per malitiam Papiſticā, to aggrauate the crime. And to make mountaines of mollhilles, firſt of rumours maketh congregations, and from congregations riſeth vp to inſurrections: where as in all theſe rumours, congregations, and inſurrections, yet neuer a blow was geuen, neuer a ſtroke was ſtroke, no bloud ſpilt, no furniture nor inſtrumēts of warre, no ſigne of battaile, yea no expreſſe ſignification either of any rebellious word, or malitious fact deſcribed, neither in recordes, nor yet in any Chronicle. Agayne, if theſe rumours were wordes ſpoken agaynſt the kyng, as callyng hym a tyrāt, an vſurper of the crowne, the Prince of Prieſtes. &c. why then be none of theſe wordes expreſſed in their inditementes or left in recordes? Doth M. Cope thinke for a man to be called a traytour, to be enough, to make hym a traytour, vnles ſome euident proofe be brought for him to be ſo in deede, as he is called? Rumours (ſayth he) congregations, and inſurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine: Congregations haue bene and may be among Chriſten men in daungerous tymes for good purpoſes, and no treaſon agaynſt their princes ment. The terme of inſurrections may be added ἐκ τοῦ περισσοῦ by practiſe, or ſurmiſe of the Prelates and penne men, who to bryng them the more in hatred of the kyng, might adde this rather of their owne gentlenes, then of the others deſeruyng. Certaine it is and vndoubted, that the Prelates in thoſe dayes beyng ſo mightely inflamed agaynſt theſe Lollardes, were not altogether behind for their partes, nor vtterly idle in this matter, but practiſed agaynſt them what they could, firſt to bryng them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kynde of practiſe among the Popiſh Clergy, haue not lacked neither before, nor ſince. Moreouer, if theſe men had made ſuch a rebellious inſurrection agaynſt the kyng, as is pretended in the preamble before this ſtatute, which were a matter of hygh treaſon: How chaunceth then, that the whole body of the ſtatute folowyng after the ſayd preface or preamble, runneth in all the partes and braunches therof both in maner of arreſt, of inditement, informatiō, requeſt, alowāce of officers, cognizance of ordinaries, of the forefact. &c. vpō caſes of hereſie & not of treaſon, as by particular tractatiō ſhall be (Chriſt willing) declared.

Inſurrection of the Lollardes agaynſt the kyng not lykely.

And for ſomuch as theſe mē be ſo greuouſly accuſed of Alanus Copus, for congregating and riſing againſt their K. and the whole Realme, if I had ſo much layſure to defend, as he hath pleaſure to diffame: there might be demaunded of him, to keepe him ſome further play (touchyng this mighty inſurrection where as they came in number of xx. thouſand agaynſt the kyng) in what order of battaile ray they marched, what Captaines, vnder Captaines, and pety Captaines they had to guide the wynges, and to lead the army? whether they were horſemen, or footemen. If they were horſemen (as is pretenſed) what ment they then to reſorte to the Thicketes neare to S. Gyles field, which was no mete place for horſes to ſtyrre? If they were footemen: how ſtandeth that with the author which reporteth them to be horſemen? Moreouer is to be demaunded, what inſignes or flagges, what ſhot, what pouder, what armour, weapons, and other furniture of warre: alſo what treaſure of money to wage ſo many, to the nūber of xx. thouſand, what trumpetes, drommes, & other noyſe neceſſary for yͤ purpoſe they had. All theſe preparations for ſuch an enterpriſe is requiſite and neceſſary to be had. And perauenture, if truth were well ſought, it would be found at length, that in ſtede of armes and weapon, they were commyng onely with their bookes, and with Beuerlay their preacher into thoſe Thickets. But as I was not there preſent at the fact (as is before ſayd) ſo haue I neither certeinely to define vpon their caſe, nor yet M. Cope to exclaime agaynſt them, vnles peraduenture he takyng an occaſion of the tyme, will thus argue agaynſt thē: That becauſe it was the hoate moneth of Ianuary, the 2. day after the Epiphany, therfore it is lyke, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle with xx. thouſād Lollardes camped together in the fieldes in all the heate of the wether, to deſtroy the kyng and all the nobles, and to make himſelfe Regent of England. And why not as well the kyng, as regent of Englād, ſeyng all the nobles ſhould haue bene deſtroyed, and he onely left alone to reigne by himſelfe?

(B)

A ſlaūder of the L. Cobham, that he intended to deſtroy Chriſten fayth.

¶ It followeth more in the preamble of the foreſayd ſtatute (B) to adnull, deſtroy, and ſubuert the Chriſten fayth, and the law of God, and holy church. &c. He yͭ was the forger & inuenter of this report, (as it appeareth to procede frō the Prelates) ſeemeth no cunnyng Dædalus, nor halfe hys craftes maiſter in lying for the whetſtone. Better he might haue learned of Sinon in Virgill, more artificially to haue framed and conueyed his narration. Which although in no caſe could ſound like any truth, yet ſome coulour of probabilitie ſhould haue bene ſet vpon it, to geue it ſome countenaūce of a lyke tale. As if he had firſt declared yͤ Lord Cobham to haue bene before in ſecret cōfederacie with the great

Turke,

Turk, or if he had made him ſome termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or ſome Herode out of Judea, or ſome Antichriſt out of Rome, or ſome graundpanch Epicure of this world: and had ſhewed, that he had receiued letters frō the great Souldan, to fight agaynſt the fayth of Chriſt and law of God: then had it appeared ſomewhat more credible, that the ſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle with his ſect of hereſie, went about to adnull, deſtroy, & ſubuert the Chriſten faith, and law of God within the Realme of England. &c.

But now, where will either he or M. Cope finde men ſo mad to beleue, or ſo ingenious that can imagine this to be true: that the Lord Cobham (beyng a Chriſtian) and ſo faithfull a Chriſtiā, would or did euer cogitate in his minde to deſtroy and adnull the fayth of Chriſt in the Realme of England? What ſoeuer the report of this purſuant or preface ſayth, I report me vnto the indifferent Reader, how ſtandeth this with any face of truth? That he which before through the reading of Wickliffes workes, had bene ſo earneſtly conuerted to the law of God, who had alſo approued himſelfe ſuch a faythfull ſeruaunt of Chriſt, that for the fayth of Chriſt he beyng examined and tried before the Prelates. pag. 437. not onely ventred his life: but ſtode conſtāt vnto ye ſentēce of death, defined agaynſt him: beyng a cōdēned & a dead man by law, Et qui, quantum ad eius deuotionem pertinet & timorem, paſſus ſit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion and feare apperteined, ſuffered already what he might or could ſuffer, as Cyprian ſayd by Cornelius. That he (I ſay) which a litle before in the moneth of September, ſtode ſo conſtaunt in defence of Chriſtes fayth, would now in the moneth of January riſe to deſtroy, adnull, and ſubuert Chriſtes fayth, and the law of God, and holy Church within the Realme of England?

Cyprian. lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.

How can it be not like onely but poſſible to be true that he which neuer denyed the fayth: whiche euer confeſſed the fayth ſo conſtantly, which was for the ſame fayth condemned: yea & at laſt alſo burned for the fayth, would euer fight agaynſt the fayth, and law of God, to adnull and to ſubuert it? Let vs procede yet further, & ſee whē ye he ſhould haue ſo deſtroyed and adnulled the Chriſten fayth & law of God in England, what fayth or law then could he or wyd he entende to bryng into the realme of England? The Turkes fayth? or the Jewes fayth? or the Popes fayth? or what fayth els, I pray you? For he that will be an enemie to the fayth of Chriſt, & will ſhew himſelfe frend to no other fayth beſide, I accompt him not out of his right fayth, but out of his right wittes.

(C) And therfore euen as it is true, that ſir John Oldcaſtle with his confederates & abettours were vp in armes to ſubuert, and extinguiſh the fayth of Chriſt and law of God in ye realme of England: ſo by the lyke truth it may be eſteemed, that the ſame perſons roſe alſo to deſtroy their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng and his brethren. Firſt thankes be to God, that neither the kyng, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, ſayth the preface, was to deſtroy his ſoueraigne Lord the kyng. Whereunto I anſwere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuily to haue deſtroyed him, or by open force of armes? If priuely, what needed then ſuch a great army of xx. thouſand men to atcheue that ſecret feate? Rather I would thinke, that he needed more the helpe of ſuch as were neare about the kyng: as ſome of the kynges priuy chamber, or ſome of his ſecret counſaile: whereof, neither Chronicle nor recorde doth inſinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to inuade the kyng: you muſt vnderſtand (M. Cope) that to withſtand a kyng in his owne Realme, many thynges are required, long tyme, great preparation, many frendes, great aſſiſtaunce, and ayde of kynred, money, horſe, men, armour, and all other thynges appertainyng for the ſame.

(C) The Lord Cobhā falſely ſlaundered for intendyng to deſtroy the kyng.

(I)

How vnlike it is that the L. Cobham did riſe agaynſt the kyng.

(X) Examples what an hard matter it is to ryſe agaynſt the kyng.

Earle Godwyn of Weſtſaxe, who had maried Canutus daughter beyng a man both ambitious, and as falſe a traytour, for all his fiue ſonnes and great alliaunce yet durſt not ſet vpon kyng Edward to inuade him within his Realme, although he ſought many occaſions ſo to do, yet neuer durſt enterpriſe openly that which his ambition ſo greedely preſumed vnto, pag. 166.

In the tyme of king Henry 3. Symon Montford Earle of Gloceſter, Gilbert Clare Earle of Leyceſter, Humfrey Rene Earle of Ferrence, with a great number of Lordes and Barons thought themſelues to haue great right on their ſides, yet durſt not for all their power openly aſſayle the king in his Realme, before great debatement and ſtrife firſt had betwene, pag. 334.

The nobles agaynſt K. Henry. 3.

(M)

Likewiſe what murmuryng and grudgyng was in the realme agaynſt kyng Edward the ſecond, among the peres and nobles and alſo prelates (onely Walter Byſhop of Couentry except) firſt for Gaueſton, then for the Spenſers, at what tyme Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, Guido Earle of Warwike, wyth the moſt part of all other Earles and Barons concordly conſentyng together to the diſplacing firſt of Gaueſton, then of the Spenſers, yet neither raſhely, nor without great feare durſt ſturre vp warre in the land, or diſquiet or vexe the king, but firſt by all meanes of moderate counſaile, and humble petition, thought rather to perſwade, then to inuade the kyng. pag. 373.

The nobles agaynſt K. Edward. 2.

In lyke maner, and wyth lyke grudging myndes, in the reigne of kyng Richard. 2. Thomas Wodſtocke Duke of Gloceſter the kynges vncle, & the Earles of Arūdell, of Warwike, and Darby, with the power almoſt of the whole commons ſtode vp in armes agaynſt the kyng: And yet notwithſtanding all their power ioyned together being ſo great, and their cauſe ſeeming to thē ſo reaſonable, yet were they not ſo hardy, ſtraight wayes to flee vpon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accompliſhe that which their purpoſe had conceaued, and ſo did, without any warre ſtrikyng agaynſt the king. pag. 496.

The nobles agaynſt K. Rich. 2.

After kyng Richard. 2. was depoſed, and was in priſon yet liuyng, diuers noble men were greatly inflamed agaynſt K. Henry the fourth, as Sir John Holland Earle of Huntington, Thomas Spenſer Earle of Gloceſter, the Earles likewiſe of Kent, and of Saliſbury, with ſir John Cheney and other moe, whereof diuers had bene Dukes before, and now depoſed by King Henry. 4. although they hed conceaued in their hartes great grudge and malice agaynſt the ſayd King Henry: yet had they neither hart nor power openly with mans force to aſſayle the kyng, but ſecretly were cōpelled to atchieue their conceiued intent, which notwithſtanding they could not accompliſh. Ex hiſt. D. Alban.

The nobles agaynſt K. Hēry. 4.

This, you ſee (maiſter Cope) to gaynſtand a kyng, & with open force to encounter wyth him in his owne land, and in his owne chamber of London, where he is ſo ſure & ſtrong, what a matter of how great cheuaunce it is, wherin ſo many and ſo great difficulties do lye, the attempt ſo daungerous, the chaunces ſo vncertayne, the furniture of ſo many thynges required, that ſcarce in any kynges dayes heretofore, any peeres or nobles of the realme, were they neuer ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted with power, wit, or counſaile, yet either were able, or els well durſt euer enterpriſe vpon the caſe ſo daungerous, notwithſtanding were they neuer of thēſelues ſo farre from all feare of God, and true obedience. And ſhal we then thinke, or can we imagine (maiſter Cope) that Syr John Oldcaſtle, a mā ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods worde, being but a poore Knight by his degree, hauing none of all the peeres & nobles in all the world to ioyne with him, beyng priſoner in the tower of London a litle before in the moneth of December, coulde now in the moneth of January, ſo ſodenly, and in ſuch an hoat ſeaſon of the yeare, ſtart vp an army of xx. thouſand fighting men to inuade the kyng, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnulle Chriſten fayth, to deſtroy Gods law, and to ſubuert holy church? And why doth not he adde moreouer, to ſet alſo all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fiſhepole? Belike theſe men which geue out theſe figmentes of Syr John Oldcaſtle, did thinke hym to be one of Deucalions ſtocke, who in caſting of ſtones ouer his ſhoulder, coulde by and by make men at his pleaſure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to ſowe, to make ſo many harneſt men to ſtart vp at once.

The inſurrection of the L. Cobhā againſt the kyng iudged by circumſtaunce.

But let vs conſider yet further of theſe xx. M. ſouldiours ſo ſodenly without wages, without vitall, or other prouiſion congregated together, what they were, frō whēce out of what quarter, countrey, or countreyes they came. In all other Kings dayes, whēſoeuer any rebelliō is againſt the kyng, moued by the commons, as when Jacke Straw and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Eſſex roſe in the tyme of kyng Richard. 2. when William Mandeuill of Abyngdon, Jack Cade of Kent, in the tyme of King Henry the 6. In the tyme of King Hēry the 8. when the commotion was of rebels in Lyncolnſhyre, then in Yorkeſhyre. When in kyng Edward the 6. tyme Humfrey Arundell in Deuonſhyre, Captayne Ket in Northfolke made ſtyrre agaynſt ye kyng, the countrey and partes frō whence theſe rebels did ſpring, were both noted and alſo diffamed. In this ſo trayterous cōmotion therfore let vs now learne, what men theſe were, and from what countrey or countreyes in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chroniclers declare what countreyes they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Outopia, where belyke this figment was firſt forged, and inuented. Wherfore ſeyng neither the countreys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all theſe xx. thouſand do appeare what they were eyther in Chronicle or in recorde, but remayne altogether vnknowen, I leaue it (gentle reader) to

A rebellion to be of xx. thouſand, & yet no countrey to be knowen frō whēce they came, it is not like.

Neuer was any rebellion of commōs in England but the ſpeciall countrey from whēce they came was noted and knowen.

the

thy iudgement, to thinke thereupon, as thy wiſedome ſhall lead thee.

(D) An other falſe report of ſir John Oldecaſtle that he intended to kill all maner of eſtates in the realme.

(D) It foloweth more in the foreſayd preface: And to deſtroy all other maner of eſtates, of the ſame Realme of England, as well ſpirituall as temporall. &c. By the courſe of this preamble it appeareth, that the ſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle was a wonderfull cruell tyraunt and murderour, who beyng not yet ſatiſfied with the bloud of the king, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would alſo make hauoke and ſweepeſtake, of all maner of eſtates in the Realme of England. What, and leaue no maner of eſtate aliue? No, neither Lord ſpirituall nor temporall, but altogether ſhould be deſtroyed. And what had all theſe eſtates done, thus ſo miſerably to be deſtroyed? Although percaſe the moode of this mã might haue bene incenſed and kindled agaynſt the king, and the Lordes ſpirituall, by whom he had bene cõdemned, as is aforeſayd: yet why ſhould all other maner of other eſtates both ſpirituall and temporall be killed? If none of all the eſtates in Englãd, neither Duke, Earle, Baron, Lord, Knight or other gentleman had bene his frend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he hauyng all the eſtates, peres, nobles, and gentlemen of the Realme agaynſt hym, and none to ſtand with him, either could or durſt attempt any commotion agaynſt the whole power of the land, he beyng but one gentleman onely with ſir Roger Acton, and maiſter Browne left alone? At leaſt, good reaſõ yet would, that thoſe hundreth Knightes ſhould haue bene ſpared out of this bloudy ſlaughter, whom he offered to produce vnto the kyng before, for his purgation, pag. 538. And finally, if this was his purpoſe that all theſe eſtates both ſpirituall and temporall ſhould haue bene cut down, what needed then that he ſhould haue made himſelfe a Regẽt, when he might as well haue made himſelfe a kyng, or what els he would, beyng left then Prince alone?

(E)

An hard matter to deſtroy all policie and lawes of a land.

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, and continued in the ſame figure, heapyng one vntruth vpon an other: ſo now endeth with an other miſreport as vntrue as the reſt, ſhewing and declaryng, the intent of ſir John Oldcaſtle was alſo to deſtroy all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land, &c. We read of William Conquerer, otherwiſe named William Baſtard: who beyng a puiſſant Duke in his countrey, when that the crown of Englãd was alotted to him, and he commyng ouer with all his peres, nobles and barons of his whole land, into this Realme, & had with great difficultie obtained victory agaynſt kyng Harold: yet to alter and deſtroy the policie and the lawes of the land, it paſſed his power. In ſomuch that it had not bene permitted vnto him to haue proceded ſo farre as he did, vnleſſe he had firſt ſworne to the nobles of this land, to retaine ſtill the lawes of king Edward, as he founde them. And albeit he afterward forſware himſelfe, breakyng his othe in alteryng & chaungyng many of the foreſayd lawes, yet would he, nyld he, could not ſo deſtroy them all (for the whiche much warre and great commotions endured long after in the Realme) but that he was conſtrayned and alſo cõtented to allow and admit a great part of the ſayd lawes of kyng Edward, pag. 173. And if he beyng kyng and Conquerour with all his ſtrength of Normandes and Engliſhmen about him, was to weake and inſufficient to deſtroy all maner of policie, and lawes of this land, which he had conquered: how much leſſe then is it to be ſuppoſed, that Syr John Oldcaſtle beyng but a priuate ſubiect, and a poore Knight, and a condemned priſoner, deſtitute and forſaken of all Lordes, Earles, & Barons, who to ſaue his owne lyfe had more to do, thã he could well compaſſe, would either take in hand, or conceaue in his head any ſuch exploytes, after the ſubuerſion of Chriſtẽ fayth, and law of God, after the ſlaughter of the king, and of all maner of eſtates, as well ſpirituall as tẽporall, in the Realme of England, after the deſolation of holy Church, to deſtroy alſo all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land? Which monſtruous and incredible figment how true it may ſeeme to M. Cope, or to ſome other late Chroniclers of the like credulitie, I can not tell: Certaine to me, and as I thinke to all indifferent readers it appeareth as true, as is the Verſe of the Satyre, wherewith it may well be compared.

Nil intra eſt oleam, nil extra eſt in nuce duri.

Obiection.

But here will be ſayd agayne perhaps that the matter of ſuch preambles and prefaces beyng but purſuantes of ſtatutes, and containyng but wordes of courſe, to aggrauate, and to geue a ſhew of a thyng, which they would to ſeeme more odible to the people, is not ſo preciſely to be ſcanned or exquiſitely to be ſtand vpon, as for the grounde of a neceſſary caſe of trouth.

Aunſwere.

This is it (M. Cope) that I ſayd before, and now do well graunt & admit the ſame, that ſuch preambles or prefaces lyned with a non ſequitur, containyng in them matter but of ſurmiſe, and wordes of courſe (and rather monſters out of courſe) and many tymes riſing vpon falſe information, are not alwayes in themſelues materiall, or neceſſary probations in all poyntes to be followed: as appeareth both by this ſtatute, and alſo by the ſtatute of this kyngs father. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. begynnyng Excellentiſsimo. &c. And yet notwithſtandyng out of theſe ſame preambles, and forefrontes of ſtatutes, and other inditemẽtes, which commonly riſing vpon matter of informatiõ, runne onely vpon wordes of courſe of office, and not vpon ſimple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they inſert into their ſtoryes, hauyng no reſpect or examination of circumſtaunces to be compared, but onely followyng bare rumours, or els ſuch wordes as they ſee in ſuch fablyng prefaces, or inditementes expreſſed. Whereby it commeth ſo to paſſe, that the younger Chronicler followyng the elder, as the blind leadyng the blynd, both together fall into the pyt of errour. And you alſo (maiſter Cope) followyng the ſteppes of the ſame, do ſeeme likewiſe to erre together with them, for good felowſhyp. And thus cõcernyng the face of this ſtatute hetherto ſufficiently.

Ex originali ſtatut. Henr. 4. cap. 15.

The reaſon & cauſe, how chroniclers oft times be deceiued.

Alanus Copus deceiued by his chroniclers.

Now let vs conſider and diſcuſſe in like maner, firſt the coherence, then the particular contentes of the ſayd ſtatute. As touchyng the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man ſhall finde almoſt a Chimera of it. In which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the braunches of the ſtatute well agree with themſelues. Wherein he that was the drawer, or firſt informer therof, ſeemeth to haue forgot his Verſe and art Poeticall.

Horat. de Art. Poet.

Atque ita mentitur, ſic veris falſa remiſcet,
Primum ne medio, medium ne diſcrepet imo.

For where as the preface of the ſtatute ſtandeth onely vpon matter of treaſon, conceiued by falſe ſuggeſtion and wrong information. The body of the ſayd ſtatute whiche ſhould follow vpon the ſame, runneth onely vpon matter of hereſie, pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by euery braunch therof may appeare.

(F) The body of the ſtatute an. 1. Reg. Hen. 5. cap. 7 examined.

(F) For firſt where he ſaith, at the inſtaunce and requeſt of the ordinaries or their commiſſaries, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cauſe of treaſon, nor felony. For that euery man of duety is bounde, and by the lawes of the Realme may arreſt & apprehend a traytour, or a felõ, if he can: where otherwiſe by this ſtatute an officer is not bounde to arreſt him which offendeth in caſe of this ſtatute, without requeſt made by the ordinaries or their commiſſaries, and therefore this offence ſeemeth neither to be treaſon, nor felony.

(G)

(G) Secondly, where it foloweth that the ſame ordinaries and commiſſaries do pay for their coſtes. &c. This allowaunce of the officers charges in this caſe, proueth this offence neither treaſon nor felonie.

(H)

(H) Thirdly, where the ſtatute willeth the kyng to be anſwered of the yeare, day, & waſt. &c. By this alſo is proued the offence not to be treaſon. For els in caſes of treaſon, the whole inheritaũce (I trow, maiſter Cope, ſpeakyng as no great ſkilfull lawyer) is forfait to the prince.

(I)

(I) The fourth argument I take out of theſe wordes of the ſtatute, where as ſuch landes and tenementes which be holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholy to remaine to the kyng as forfait, &c. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occaſioners and procurers of this ſtatute: & therfore were barred of the benefites of any forfet ariſing thereby, as good reaſon was, they ſhould. And thus it is notorious, that the preface runnyng ſpecially and principally vpon treaſon, and the ſtatute runnyng altogether vpon pointes of hereſie, do not well cohere nor ioyne together.

(K)

(K) Fiftly, In that ſuch perſons indited, ſhalbe deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, &c. It can not be denyed, but that this offence, concerneth no maner of treaſon. Forſomuch as Ordinaries cannot be iudges in caſes of treaſon, or felonie, by the lawes of our Realme, Bracton, in fine, 1. Libri.

(L)

(L) Sixtly, by the inditementes prouided not to be taken in euidence, but onely for informatiõ, before the Iudges ſpirituall, &c. it is likewiſe to be noted, to what end theſe inditementes were taken, to witte, onely to informe the ordinaries, which can not be in caſes of treaſon.

(M)

(M) Laſtly, where it followeth toward the end of the ſtatute, touchyng eſcape or breakyng of priſon, &c. by this it may lightly be ſmelt, whereto all the purpoſe of this ſtatute driueth, that is, to the ſpeciall eſcape of the L. Cobham out of ỹ Tower, to this end to haue his landes & poſſeſſions forfait vnto the kyng. And yet the ſame eſcape of the Lord Cobham in this ſtatute conſidered, is taken by Maiſter Juſtice Stanford in Lib. primo of the pleas of the crowne. cap. 33.

Juſtice Stanford of the pleas of the crowne lib. 1 cap. 33.

cap.33. to be an eſcape of one arreſted for hereſie, where he ſpeaketh of the caſe of the Lord Cobham.

Moreouer as touchyng the partes of this foreſayd ſtatute, how will you ioyne theſe ij. braunches together, whereas in the former part is ſayd, that the landes of ſuch perſons conuict, ſhalbe forfait to the kyng not before they be dead: And afterward it foloweth, that their goodes and poſſeſſions ſhalbe forfait at the day of their arreſt, to that kyng. But herein ſtandeth no ſuch great doubt nor matter to be ſtayed. This is without all doubt, and notoriouſly, euidently & moſt manifeſtly may appeare, by all the argumentes and whole purporte of the ſtatute: that as well ỹ preamble and preface thereof, as the whole body of the ſayd ſtatute was made, framed, and procured onely by and through the inſtigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates, and the Popiſh Clergy, not ſo much for any treaſon committed agaynſt the kyng: but onely for feare and hatred of Lollardery, tendyng agaynſt their law, they more dreded and abhorred, then euer any treaſon agaynſt the Prince. And then to ſet the kyng and all ſtates agaynſt them, whereby the more readyly to worke their diſpatch, they thought it beſt and none ſo compendious a policie, as ſtretely to ioyne trayſon together with their Lollardery. Wherin the poore men beyng once intangled, coulde no wayes eſcape deſtruction. Pape concilium callidum.

The firſt procurers of this ſtatute.

Practiſe of prelates to couple treaſon with hereſie.

This, M. Cope, haue I ſayd, and ſay agayne, not as one abſolutely determinyng vpon the matter. At the doyng wherof as I was not preſent my ſelfe, ſo with your owne Halle, I may and do leaue it at large, but as one leadyng the reader by all coniectures and argumentes of probabilitie and of due circumſtaunces, to conſider with themſelues, what is further to be thought in theſe old accuſtomed practiſes and proceedynges of theſe Prelates. Proteſtyng moreouer (M. Cope) in this matter to you, that thoſe Chroniclers which you ſo much ground vpon, I take them in this matter, neither as witneſſes ſufficient nor as Iudges cõpetent. Who as they were not thẽſelues preſent at the deede done, no more then I, but onely folowyng vncertaine rumours, and wordes of courſe and office, bringing with them no certaine triall of that which they do affirme, may therein both be deceaued themſelues, and alſo deceaue you, and other which depend vpon them.

And hetherto concernyng this ſtatute enough. Out of which ſtatute you ſee (M. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great aduauntage, to proue any treaſõ in the Lord Cobham or in his felowes, as hath bene hetherto aboundauntly declared in the premiſſes.

It remaineth further, that for aſmuch as you in your ſixth Dialogue with your author Edward Halle, do alledge the recordes Ex publica iudicij Acta, to defame theſe men for traytours (although what recordes they be, you bring forth neuer a word) I therefore in their defence do aunſwere for them, whiche can not now aunſwere for themſelues. And becauſe you, to accuſe them do mention a certaine recorde, and yet do not ſhew vs what record it is, and peraduenture can not, if ye would: I haue take the paynes therfore, for the loue of them whom you ſo hate, to ſearch out ſuch Recordes, whereby any occaſion can be rayſed agaynſt them. And firſt will declare the commiſſion graunted, then the inditement commenced agaynſt them.

Alanus Copus. pag. 833 lin. 4.

The which commiſſion, and inditement, albeit in countenaunce of wordes will ſeeme to miniſter much ſuſpition agaynſt them, to the ſimple Reader, before he be better acquainted with theſe ſubtile dealynges and practiſes of Prelates: yet truſtyng vpon the goodneſſe of the cauſe, whiche I ſee here ſo falſely and ſleyghtly to be handled, I nothyng feare nor doubt, to produce the ſame out of the Recordes in Latine as they ſtand: to the intent that when the crafty handlyng of the aduerſaries ſhalbe diſcloſed, the true ſimplicitie of the innocent, to the true harted Reader, ſhall the more better appeare. The wordes firſt of the Commiſſion, here folow vnder written: whiche when thou ſhalt heare, let them not trouble thy mynde, gẽtle reader, I beſech thee, before thou vnderſtand further what packyng and ſubtile conueyaunce lyeth couered and hyd vnder the ſame.

¶ In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

The wordes of Commiſſion agaynſt the Lord Cobham. (A)

R. Dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere maiori Ciuitatis ſuæ London. Hugoni Huls, Iohanni Preſton, & Ioanni Mertin ſalutem. Sciatis quòd cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeſte dinoſcatur, quòd quam plures ſubditi noſtri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alij mortem noſtram contra ligeanciæ ſuæ debitum proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicę, quàm ſtatus dominorum & magnatum regni noſtri Angl. tam ſpiritualium quam temporalium deſtructionem propoſuerunt, ac diuerſas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando propoſito ſuo in hac parte per implend. fecerunt in noſtri exheredationem ac Regni noſtri deſtructionem manifeſtam: Nos huiuſmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte caſtigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumſpectione veſtris plenius confidentes: aſſignauimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres veſtrum, quorum vos præfati maior & Hugo, duos eſſe volumus Iuſtic. noſtros, ad inquirend. per ſacrum proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate prædicta & ſuburbijs eiuſdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infr. libertates, quam extr. per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit de omnibus & ſingulis proditionibus & inſurrectionibus per huius. Lollardos in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com. prædictis factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo proditionibus inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com. prædictis, per quoſcunq;, & qualitercunque factis ſiue perpetratis, & ad eaſdem proditiones inſurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem Regni noſtri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos. &c. quos. &c. quorum. &c. ad hoc prouideritis diligentes ſuper premiſſis fac. inquiſitiones & premiſſa omnia & ſingula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta facturi. &c. Saluis. &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus noſtris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos. &c. quos. &c. quorum &c. eius ſcire fac. venire facies coram vobis. &c. quorum &c. tot &c. de Balliua ſua, tam infr. libertates, quam extra per quos. &c. & inquiri. In cuius. &c. T. R. apud Weſtm. (B) x. die Ianuarij. Per ipſum Regem.

(B)

By theſe high and tragicall wordes in this commiſſion ſent downe againſt the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and their felowes: It may peraduenture ſeeme to the ignorant and ſimple reader, ſome haynous crime of treaſõ to reſt in them, for conſpiryng agaynſt God, the Church, the king & their countrey. But what cannot the fetching practiſe of ỹ Romiſhe Prelates bring about, where they haue once conceiued a malice? wherfore marueil not (good reader) at this nor iudge thou accordyng to the wordes which thou heareſt. But ſuſpend thy iudgemẽt a whyle, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Examples of like handling be not ſo rare, but thou mayſt ſoone iudge by other tymes the like alſo of theſe. George Egle of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of Queene Mary, & yet commiſſiõ was directed againſt him, as in caſe of rayſing vp a commotion agaynſt the Queene. Adã Damlyp in Calice did but preach, & the receauing of one poore crown 2. yeares before at Rome was inough to make him a traytor. In the time of K. Henry 8. one Cingleton chaplayne to Q. Anne, the Queenes Maieſties mother that now is, did but preach the Goſpell, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnes of his owne ſcoler that heard him ſpeake it being with him) and yet by vertue of commiſſion it was obiected to him, for rayſing vp cõmotion againſt the king yea and alſo for killing of Pakington, and ſuffered for the ſame as a traytor. So here, what matter of marueil is it, if the king incenſed, or rather circũuented by the wrong information of the prelates (whom he beleeued) gaue out his commiſſion, agaynſte thinges neuer wrought nor thought.

Examples of diuers falſely accuſed for treaſons.

Wherfore I exhort thee (Chriſtian Reader) as I ſayd before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the wordes of the Commiſſion: but iudge the wordes rather of the Commiſſion by the truth. Neither meaſure thou the line by ỹ ſtone: But the ſtone rather by the lyne. At leſt yet differ thy ſentence, till both the Commiſſion and the Inditement beyng layd together, thou mayeſt afterward ſee and perceiue more, what is to be iudged in the caſe.

In the meane ſeaſon marke well theſe wordes of the kyng in this Commiſſion, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur. &c. By the which wordes it is eaſie to be vnderſtand, that the kyng hymſelfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but onely by information of others, (of biſhops no doubt and prelates) and therupon gaue forth his Commiſſion aforeſayd. And then how will this ſtande with our Chroniclers and other Epitomes and Summaries whõ Maiſter Cope doth alledge. For if it be certayne that Robert Fabiã ſayth, that the kyng himſelfe beyng in the field tooke certayne of them, as Sir Roger Acton, maiſter Browne, and Iohn Beuerlay, & your owne Edw. Hall, alſo & your Epitome agreeth to the ſame, and ſayth moreouer that they were brought before the kyngs preſence. Tho. Couper alſo whõ you alledge, addeth further and ſayth, that the kyng there by

(A)

Our Engliſhe Chroniclers examined by the wordes of thys Commiſſion.

ſtrength did take them.

I pray you (Maiſter Cope) what neded the kyng to write this by information, when as he doth hymſelfe was preſent at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witnes of the dede? The which and if it be true, that the kyng heard this but by way of information, how will you then defende your Chronicos and your Epitomas. But herein I will neither greatly ſticke with you, nor contend with them: Deſiring thee reader this onely to beare in mynde the date of this preſent Cōmiſſion whē it was geuē, (B) which ſoundeth to be the x. day of January, & afterward to cōpare the ſame with the date of the Inditement here vnder followyng, which I will (the Lord willyng) alſo hereunto annexe, leauing nothing out: yea rather miniſtryng to the aduerſary all maner of helpes, whatſoeuer they can ſeke or require for theyr moſt aduauntage in this matter, to be deſired. So ſure and confident I am in the innocent cauſe of theſe good men nor fearing whatſoeuer blynde malice can cauill agaynſt them.

(B)

¶ The Inditement of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton and others, with notes followyng vpon the ſame.

PArliamenta coronæ coram domino rege apud Weſtm. de termino ſancti Hillarij, anno regni Regis Henrici quinti, poſt conque. primo Rot. vij. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Crowmere maiore ciuitatis London, Hugone Huls & ſocijs Iuſtic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per ſacram. proborū & legal. hominum de ciuitate domini regis London, & ſuburbijs eiuſdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & ſingulis proditionibus & inſurrectionibus per quamplures ſubditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com. predictis factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnibus proditionibus, inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com. predictis per quoſcunque & qualitercunq; factis, ſiue perpetratis, & ad eaſdem proditiones, inſurrectiones rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipſius domini Regis patentes, aſſign. apud Weſtm. die Mercurij (A) proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtum primo, (B) per ſacram. xij. Iur. extitit preſentatum: quod Iohannes Oldcaſtle de Coulyng in Com. Kanc. chr. & alij Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diuerſas opiniones hereticas, & alios errores manifeſtos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tennuerunt, opiniones & errores prædictos manutenere, at in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia poteſtas & tam ſtatus regal. domini noſtri regis, quam ſtatus & officium prelaciæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in proſperitate perſeuerarent, falſo & proditorie machinando, tam ſtatum regni, quam ſtatum & officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religioſorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare: Ac dominum noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos, prelatos, & alios magnates eiuſdem regni interficere, necnon viros religioſos, relict. cult. diuinis & religioſis obſeruancijs ad occupationes mundanas prouocare, & tam eccleſias cathedrales, quam alias eccleſias & domos religioſas de reliquis & alijs bonis eccleſiaſticis totaliter ſpoliare ac funditus ad terram proſternere, & dictum Iohannem Oldcaſtell (C) Regentem eiuſdem regni conſtituere, & quam plura regimina ſecundum eorum voluntatem infra regnum prædictū (D) quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem, tam fidei catholicæ & cleri quam ſtatus & maieſtatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falſo & proditorie ordinauerunt & propoſuerunt, quod ipſo inſimul cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diuerſis partibus regni Angl. modo guerrino arriat. (F) priuatim inſurgent. & die Mercurij proximo (G) poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis predicti predicto apud villam & parochiam ſancti Egidij (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem vnanimit. conuenirent & inſimul obuiarent pro nephando propoſito ſuo in premiſſis perimplend. quo quidē die Mercurij apud villā & parochiā predictas predicti I. Oldcaſtel & alij in huiuſmodi propoſito proditorio perſeuerantes, predictum dominum noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos, videlicet, (H) Thomam ducē Clarenciæ, Iohannē de Lācaſtre, & Humfredum de Lancaſtre, necnon prelatos & magnates predictos interficere, necnon ipſum dominū noſtrum Regē & heredes ſuos de regno ſuo predicto exheredare, & premiſſa omnia & ſingula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falſo & proditorie propoſuerunt & imaginauerunt (I) & ibidem verſus campum predictum modo guerrino arriati. proditorie modo inſurrectionis contra ligeancias ſuas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictū Dominum noſtrum Regem, niſi per ipſum manu forti gratioſe impediti fuiſſent. Quod quidem inditament Dominus Rex nunc, certis de cauſis coram eo venire fecit terminandū. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret. &c. quin caperet prefatum Iohannem Oldecaſtle, ſi &c. Et ſaluo. &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius coram Domino Rege, apud Weſtmonaſteriam ad hunc diem, ſcilicet die Mercurij proximo poſt octauas ſancti Hillarii iſto eodem termino ad reſpōdendum Domino Regi de premiſſis. &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram domino Rege vic. return. quod predictus Iohannes Oldecaſtle non fuit inuentus in balliua ſua. &c. per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quouſque vtlagetur ſi non. &c. Et ſi. &c. tunc eum caperet, & ſaluo &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram Domino Rege in octauas Sancti Iohannis Baptiſte ex tunc proximum ſequē. vbicunque. &c. ad reſpondendū domino Regi de proditionibus, & feloniis ſuperius ſibi impoſitis. Ad quas octauas ſancti Iohannis Baptiſte, an. regni R. Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtū ſecundo, Iohanne Sutton, & Io. Michell vic. Midd. coram domino Rege returnauerunt quod ad com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante feſtum ſancti Barnabe Apoſtoli, anno regni R. Henrici quinti poſt cōqueſtum ſecundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Iohannes Oldcaſtle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. comparuit. Ideo preſentibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis ſuis.

(A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H)

¶ Notes or conſiderations vpon the Inditement and Commiſſion aboue prefixed.

(A) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ. &c. ¶ Firſt here is to be noted and conſidered (good reader) the day and date of geuing out the Commiſſion, and then of the verdicte preſented by the Iurers, which was both in one day, that is, on the Wedneſday next after the Epiphanie, in the firſt yeare of the reigne of king Henry 5. which was the x. day of the moneth of January (as the date of yͤ Commiſſion ſayth) an. 1413. after the vſe of England, or after yͤ Romiſh vſe, an. 1414. So yͭ after yͤ vſe euer we count: whether it be an. 1413. or els an. 1414. the Dominical letter beginning at yͤ firſt day of January to chaūge, muſt nedes be G. for yͤ yeare: and ſo neceſſarily make Wedneſday next after the Epiphanie, to be the x. day of the ſayd moneth of January. Thus then this preſent Wedneſday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in mynde, on the which day both the Commiſſion was directed, and alſo the verdict preſented, let vs now procede further in the foreſayd Inditement. It foloweth.

(A) The firſt note concerning the date and day both of the Cōmiſſiō & of the verdicte of the Iurers concurring on one day.

(B) Per Sacramentum xij. iuratorum extitit præſentatum. &c. ¶ If there had bene true dealing in this, the Iurers ſhould haue bene named. But it is not lyke, that there was euer any ſuch Inditement founde by any Iurers, and therfore they did beſt, not to name the Iurours, leaſt they would haue denied this Inditement to be their Acte: it foloweth more in proces of the Inditement.

(B) The ſecond note of the names of the Iurers left out.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcaſtel Regentem Eiuſdem regni conſtituere. &c. ¶ If there were no other argument, this were ſufficient to diſproue the manifeſt vntruth of this ſurmiſed Inditement. When as the king was not yet gone to Fraunce, nor determined to go, how could they conſpire then to make a Regent? For the king went in July folowing, vidz. the ſecond yeare of his raigne, leauing behinde hym the Queene his mother in law, for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruely entred and ſtolen into the Recordes wyth an antedate, or els at the leaſt, there appeareth manifeſt vntruth, that they ſhould conſpire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnleſſe it were all ready runne into the heades of the Clergie, who ſhortly after fearing their temporalities (as Caxton ſayth) perſwaded the King to make warres in Fraunce. Thys word Regent therfore proceedeth of the ſecrete ſpirit of the clergy, and maketh the whole matter very ſuſpicious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the clergie, & their vntrue ſurmiſes. It foloweth moreouer.

(C) The 4. argument by making a Regēt, the king being not yet gone ouer.

(D) Quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem. &c. ¶ How doth this ſtand with that goeth before, that they conſpired to make a Regent, excepte you will ſay that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It foloweth.

(D) The 5. argument, by cōtrarietie.

(E) Cum quam pluribus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum. &c. ¶ A ſtraunge matter that they ſhould know of the conſpiracy of twenty thouſand

(E) The vi. argument, by the perſons vnknowen.

thouſand, and yet know of no moe names of the rebels, but the Lord Cobham onely, or one or two mo. And all the reſt were ignoti.

(F) The vij. argument by the vnſkilful penning.

(F) Priuatim inſurgentes.&c. ¶ This ſmelleth of the clergies own pennyng, without any great aduiſe of learned counſayle: for otherwiſe ſuch as had bene herein ſkilfull, would neuer haue put in priuatim inſurgentes.

(G) The viij. argument by the date and tyme.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ D. anno R.R.prædicto,&c. ¶ This wedneſday next after the Epiphany, was the x. day of the month of Ianuary, and yͤ ſame day when both the conſpiracy was put in execution, & the ſame day when the Commiſſion was geuen out to enquire, alſo when the fact was by enquiry preſented. Whereby it may ſeme a ſtraunge thyng that ſo great a conſpiracy knowen beforehand, was not ſuppreſſed nor enquired of by any Commiſſion, but only by a Commiſſion bearyng date of the ſame day, vpon which day by the purport of the Inditement, the conſpiracy ſhould haue bene put in execution, by open rebellion, as it is aforeſayd.

(H) The ix. argument, by error & wrong naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædictum D. noſtrum Regem fratres ſuos videl. Thomam Ducem Clarétiæ, Ioannem de Lancaſtre,& Humfredum de Lancaſtre,&c. ¶ If the kynges learned counſail had delt in this Inditement, as in caſe of treaſon they ſhold haue done, if it had bene a matter of trouth, they would neuer haue handled it ſo ſlenderly, and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford, and of Glouceſter: Iohn of Lancaſter, & Umfrey of Lancaſter, who were made Dukes in the 13. yere of the raygne of kyng Henry the 4. theyr father, as appeareth by Caxtones Chronicle.

(I) The x. note or argument by the abſence of the partie.

(I) Et ibidem verſus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo inſurrectionis, contra ligeantias ſuas equitauerunt ad rebellandum dictum D.noſtrum regem. &c. ¶ This is falſified by playne euidence of hiſtories. And Cope hymſelf confeſſeth no leſſe. For he ſo ſayth and confeſſeth pag,833, lyne 12. That Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle was not there in perſon, but onely, that hys conſent & good will was there.

The xj. note or argument

Agayne ſeyng this equitation or ridyng toward Saint Giles field was vpon the wedneſday next after the feaſt of Epiphany (as in this Inditement and proceſſe of outlawry is aboue teſtified) which was the x. day of Ianuary, and commiſſion alſo the ſame day was charged, and the Iewry moreouer vnpanelled yͤ ſame day, & yet no Iewrer named: Item, the verdict the ſame day preſented, how all theſe can concurre together, and all in one day, let the reader after he haue well conſidered the matter, vſe hys iudgement therein, not onely whether it be lyke, but alſo whether it be poſſible.

The xij. note or argumẽt.

The L. Cobham, ſir R. Acton, &c. proued no traytours.

Ouer and beſide all this, it is to be noted, that if this matter had bene truly and duely handled, as touching the treaſon, then had it not bene nedefull to haue brought ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle into the Parliament houſe, before the Lordes to haue had hys iudgemẽt. For by the outlawry (if it had bene true) he was attaynted, and without any more adoe ſhould haue had iudgement in the kyngs Bench as a traitor. But the chiefe Iuſtice knowyng yͤ handlyng of the matter, durſt not belyke enterpriſe ſo far. Wherfore it was deuiſed, that he ſhould certifie the record into the Parliament, which he did together, with the biſhops ſentẽce filed to the record, which was very ſtraunge.

And therupon the Lordes gaue ſuch a iudgement, as was not due for a traytor. For that they gaue no iudgemẽt, that he ſhould be drawn, hanged, and let downe alyue, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the iudgement of a traytor. And albeit the Parliament might haue attaynted him wͭout any more ado: And by the ſame Act of atteynder haue ordeyned a ſpeciall iudgement, as they ſhould thinke good: yet when he was before atteynted by the outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common iudgement of treaſon. At leſt how could or ſhould the iudgement of ſir Roger Acton, Maiſter Brown, and Iohn Beuerley, who were iudged in the Guildhall before and without the Parliament, vary from the ſayd common iudgement of traitors, if they had truly committed, and bene conuicted of ſuch high treaſon?

The xiij. note or argument.

Adde this moreouer to the foreſayd Notes: that if Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle after hys eſcape out of priſon, had ben culpable and ſo atteinted of that high treaſon, wherby his landes had ben immediately forfait vnto the kyng by the proceſſe of this outlawry: what neded the kyng then in the ſecond yere of hys raigne, in the parliamẽt after holdẽ at Leyceſter, haue made that prouiſo to haue his landes forfaite to hym by vertue of Parliament, vpon hys eſcape on the day of hys areſt: when as the landes and cattayl of hys had ben forfeite before, by the proceſſe of the outlawry, as is before ſpecified?

Thus you ſee (Maiſter Cope) how litle aduauntage you can wraſt out of this Commiſſion and Inditement agaynſt the Lord Cobham and hys fellowes to proue them traytors. And admitte the ſaid Lord Cobham was attainted of treaſon by the Acte, and that the Kyng, the Lordes, and the Commons aſſented to the Acte: yet it byndeth not in ſuch ſort (as if in dede he were no Traytour) that any man may not by ſearch of the truth vtter and ſet forth ſincerely and iuſtly the very true cauſe wherby his death hapt and followed.

Anſwere to the allegations of Fabian, Polydore, and Hall &c.

Thus then hauyng ſufficiently cleared the Lord Cobham and hys parteners, from all that you can obiect vnto them out of recordes and ſtatutes: let vs now come to your Engliſh Chroniclers, wherwith you ſeme to preſſe me, & to oppreſſe them whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Halle, Polydor. Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other briefe Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I haue not to ſay, but to theyr commendation in this place: for if that you had auouched the ſame, to the commendation rather then to the reproofe of other, I would better haue commended your nature, and beleued your cauſe. But now lyke a ſpider catcher ſucking out of euery one, what is yͤ worſt, to make vp your leyſtall, you heape vp a donghill of dirty Dialogues conteynyng nothyng in them but malicious raylyng, virulent ſlaunders, manifeſt vntruthes, opprobrious contumelies, & ſtinkyng blaſphemies, able almoſt to corrupt and infect the aire. Such is the malady and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write. Which penne of yours notwithſtandyng I do not here reproch nor contemne, as neyther do I greatly feare the ſame. God of his mercy kepe the ſword out of the Papiſts hand, it is not the penne of the Papiſtes I greatly paſſe vpon, though xx. Copes and ſo many ſurpleſſes, were ſet againſt the booke of Monumentes, were I ſo diſpoſed (Maiſter Cope) to dally, or as the Greekes do ſay ἀντιπαίζειν, and to repay agayne as I am prouoked. But in deſpightful rayling, and in this Satyricall ſort of barking I geue you ouer, and ſuffer you therin to paſſe not only your ſelfe, but alſo Cerberus hymſelfe if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto.

Modeſtie cõmẽded in writers.

Myldenes & humanitie rather beſeemeth and is the grace of the Latine phraſe. If ye could hit vpon the vaine therof, it would win you much more honeſty, with all honeſt men. But the Lord hereafter may cal you, which I beſech him to do, and to forgeue you that you haue done.

In the meane time ſeing this your pratling penne muſt nedes be walking, yet this you might haue learned of theſe your own authors whom you alledge, more ciuilly to haue tempered your fume, in exclaiming againſt thẽ, whoſe cauſe is to you not perfectly knowen. And now briefly to anſwer to theſe your foreſayd writers, as witneſſes produced againſt theſe men: there be two things (as I take it) in theſe chronicle writers to be cõſidered: Firſt the grounds which they follow: ſecondly in what place they ſerue.

Two thinges to be obſerued in ſtory writers.

As touchyng the order and ground of writyng among theſe Chroniclers, ye muſt conſider, and cannot be ignorant that as none of all theſe by you forenamed, was preſent at the dede, nor witnes of the fact, ſo haue they nothyng of themſelues herein certainly to affirme, but eyther muſt follow publike rumour and hearesay for theyr autor, or els one of them muſt borrow of another. Wherof neyther ſemeth to me ſufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certain: ſo one author may ſoone deceiue an other.

The ground of hiſtories to be conſidered.

By reaſon wherof it cõmeth oft to paſſe, yͭ as theſe ſtory writers hyt many times the truth, ſo agayne all is not the Goſpell that they doe write. Wherfore great reſpect is here to be had, either not to credite raſhly euery one that writeth ſtories, or els to ſee what groundes they haue whom we do followe.

All thinges not true, that be found in ſtories.

Now to demaund (maiſter Cope) of you, what authoritie or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, hath Polydore Virgil, Edw. Hall, and other of your authors to proue theſe men to be traytors? What authoritie do they auouch? what actes, what regiſters, what recordes, or out of what court do they ſhew? or what demonſtration do they make? And do you thinke it ſufficiẽt, becauſe theſe mẽ do onely affirme it, wͭout any further probation, with your αὐτὸς ἔφα, therfore we are bound to beleue it? Take me not ſo (maiſter Cope) yͭ I do here diminiſh any thing or derogate frõ yͤ credit of thoſe writers you alledge, whoſe labors haue deſerued wel, & ſerue to great vtility: but cõming now to trial of a mat ter, lying in controuerſie betwene vs, we are now forced to ſeke out the fountaine and bottom of the truth. where it is not enough to ſay, ſo it is, but the cauſe is to be ſhewed, why it is ſo affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgill, & Edw. Hall, ſhould all together (as they do not) agree in the treaſon of Sir John Oldcaſtle and of the reſt, yet neyther is this any ſufficient ſurety to proue them traytours. Conſidering that writers of ſtories for moſt part following either blynd report: or els one taking of an other, vſe commonly all to ſound together after one tune, tanquam Dodonæi lebetes, ſo that as one ſayth, all ſay, and if one erre, all do erre. wherfore you ſee M. Cope, how it is not ſufficient nor ſure to ſtick only to the names and authorities of Chronographers, vnleſſe the ground be found ſubſtantiall wherupō they ſtand themſelues. which yet in none of theſe whom you haue produced, doth appeare.

Wordes without probatiō are not ſufficient in ſtory matters.

Chroniclers how farre, and to what effect they ſerue.

Secondly, in alleaging and writing of Chronicles is to be conſidered to what place and effect they ſerue. If ye wold ſhew out of them the order and courſe of tymes, what yeres were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their Chriſtenmas, what conduites were made, what Maiors and Shiriffes were in London, what battailes were fought, what triumphes and great feaſtes were holden, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended &c. In ſuch vulgare and popular affaires, the narration of the Chronicler ſerueth to good purpoſe, and may haue his credite, wherin the matter forceth not much, whither it be true or falſe, or whether any liſteth to beleue them. But where as a thing is denied, and in caſes of iudgement, & in controuerſies doubtful, which are to be decided and boulted out by euidence of iuſt demonſtratiō: I take thē neyther for Judges of the Bench not for arbiters of the cauſe, nor as witneſſes of themſelues ſufficient neceſſarily to be ſticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but hiſtories are taken many tymes, and ſo termed for witneſſes of tymes, & glaſſes of antiquitie. &c. yet not ſuch witneſſes, as whoſe teſtimony beareth alwayes a neceſſary truth and bindeth beliefe.

Hiſtories not raſhely to be beleued.

The two witneſſes which came agaynſt Suſanna, beyng ſeniours both of auncient yeares, bare a great countenance of a moſt euident teſtimony, wherby they almoſt both deceyued the people, and oppreſſed the innocent: had not yōg Daniel by ÿ holy ſpirit of God, haue take them aſide, & ſeuerally examinyng them one frō the other, found thē to be falſe lyers both, leauyng to vs thereby a leſſon of wholeſome circumſpection, not raſhly to beleue euery one that cōmeth: and alſo teachyng vs how to try them out. wherfore (Maiſter Cope) followyng here the lyke example of Daniell in tryyng theſe your recordes whom ye inferre agaynſt theſe men we will in lyke maner examine them, ſeuerally one from an other, and ſee how their teſtimony agreeth: firſt beginnyng with your Robert Fabian. Whiche Robert Fabian beyng neither in the ſame age, nor at the dede doing, can of him ſelfe geue no credite herein, without due proofe, and euidēce conuenient.

The teſtimony of Fabian agaynſt the L. Cobham examined.

How thē doth Robert Fabian proue this matter of treaſon true? what probation doth he bryng? what authoritie doth he alleage? And doth Robert Fabian thinke, if he were not diſpoſed to conceyue of the Lord Cobham, and thoſe mē a better opinion but to be traytours, that men are bound to beleue hym onely at his word, without any ground or cauſe declared, why they ſhould ſo be, but only becauſe he ſo ſaith, and pleaſed hym ſo to write? And if ye thinke (M. Cope) the word only of this witneſſe ſufficient to make authoritie ſpeaking agaynſt the Lord Cobham, and prouing nothing: why may not I which followed ſo many yeres after hym: as well and much rather take the worde and teſtimony of Richard Belward a Northfolke man, and of the towne of Eriſam, who liuing both in his time, and poſſible knowinge the party, & puniſhed alſo for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded alſo in the regiſters of ÿ church of Norwich, to geue this teſtimony among other his articles, for the fore ſayd L. Cobham, that is, that Sir John Oldcaſtle was a true catholike man and falſely condemned, and put to death without a reaſonable cauſe. &c. Ex Regiſt Noruic.

The teſtimony of Rich. Belward for the L. Cobhā.

Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Noruic.

Againſt this man if you take exception and ſay, that one hereticke will hold with an other: why may not I with the like exception reply to you agayne, and ſay as well, one papiſt hold with an other, and both coniure together, to make and ſay the worſt againſt a true proteſtant.

Further, yet to examine this foreſayd Fabian, witnes againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle, as Daniell examined the witneſſes againſt Suſanna, I will not here aſke vnder what tree theſe adherentes of ſir J. Oldcaſtle conſpired agaynſt the king and ſubuerſiō of ÿ land, but in what time, in what yeare and moneth this conſpiracy was wrought? Fabian witneſſeth that it was in the month of January. Contrary Edward Hall and other our Abridgementers followyng hym, do affirme that they were condemned in the Guilde hall ÿ xij. of Decēb & that their execution vpon ÿ ſame was in January following. ſo ÿ by their ſentence the facte was done either in the month of December, or els before, and ſo Fabianus mentitus eſt in caput ſuum, vt cum Daniele dicam or if it were in the month of January as Fabian ſaith, thē is Hall and his followers deceiued, teſtifiyng the fact to be done in the month of December.

Witneſſes againſt the Lord Cobham agree not together.

And yet to obiect moreouer agaynſt the ſaid Fabian for ſo much as he is ſuch a raſh witneſſe agaynſt theſe burned perſons whom he calleth traytors: it would be demaunded further of him, or in his abſence of Maiſter Cope, in what yeare this treaſon was conſpired? If it were in the ſame yeare (as he confeſſeth hymſelfe) in which yeare John Claydon the Skinner, and Richard Turmine Baker were burned, then was it nether in the moneth of January, nor in the firſt yeare of king Henry the fift. For in the regiſter of Canterbury it appeareth playne, that John Claydon was condemned nether in the tyme of Thomas Arundell Archb. nor yet in the firſt nor ſecond yeare of king Henrye the fifth, but was condemned in the ſecond yeare of the trāſlation of Henry Chicheſley, Archbiſhop of Canterburye, the. 17. day of Auguſt, which was the yeare of our Lorde 1415. So that if this conſpiracye was in the ſame yeare (after the witnes of Fabian) in which yeare John Cleydon was burned, then doth the teſtimony of Fabian nether accord with other witneſſes, nor with him ſelfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witnes of Roberte Fabian.

Fabian conuict of a manifeſt vntruth in hys ſtory of the L. Cobham. Fabian. part. 7. in vita Henr. 5. pag. 390.

Ex Regiſt. Archiep. Cant.

Let vs next procede to Polydore Virgill, whoſe partiall and vntrue handling of our hiſtory in other places of his bookes, doth offer vnto vs ſufficient exception, not to admit his credite in this. And yet becauſe we will rather examine him, then exclude hym, let vs heare a little what he ſayth, and how he ſayeth, and in how many pointes, numbring ÿ ſame vpon my v. fingers.

The teſtimony of Polydore examined.

5. Vntruthes of Polydore noted in one ſtory.

1. Vntruth.

Firſt endyng with the lyfe of king Henry 4. he ſayeth, that he raigned xiiij. yeares and ſixe monthes and ij. dayes. Angl. hiſt. lib. 21. which is an vntruth, worthy to be puniſhed with a whole yeares baniſhment (to ſpeake after the maner of Apuleius) when as truth is he raigned by the teſtimony of the ſtory of S. Albons, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old Engliſh Chronicle, and of Scala mundi, but 13. & 6. monethes, lacking as ſome ſay v. dayes, Hall ſayth he raygned but xij. yeares.

2. Vntruth.

The ſecond vntruth of Polydore is this, where as he ſpeaking of this ſedition of ſir John Oldcaſtle and his adherentes, affirmeth the ſame to be done after the burnyng of John Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, which was ſaith he an. 1415. in which yere (ſayth he) Thomas Arundell dyed. His wordes be theſe: In eodem concilio damnata eſt Ioh. Wicliffi hæreſis, ac Ioan. Hus, & Hieronymus Pragenſis in ea vrbe combuſti ſunt. Quod vbi reliquis conſocijs, qui etiā tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furijs agitati primum coniurationes in omnes ſacerdotes, deinde in regē, &c. In which wordes he not onely erreth, falſly aſſigning the cauſe, and occaſion of this ſedition to the death of John Hus, and of Jerome, but alſo miſſeth as much in the order and computation of the yeres. For neither was ſir Roger Acton with hys foreſayde fellowes alyue at the tyme of the Councell, neyther doth he agree therein wyth any of our Engliſhe writers, except onely with Hall, who alſo erreth therin as wyde as he.

3.4 Vntruth.

For the third and fourth vntruth I note this, where he addeth and ſayth, that after this rebellion rayſed againſt the Kyng, the ſayde Sir John Oldcaſtell beyng there preſent hymſelfe, was taken and priſoned in the Tower, and afterward eſcaped out of the ſayde Tower by night, wherein is conteyned a double vntruth. For neither was Sir John Oldcaſtle there preſent himſelfe, if we beleue Fabian and Cope, Dial. 6. pag. 833. lin. 11. neyther yet did he euer eſcape out of the Tower after that conſpiracye, if euer any ſuch conſpiracy was.

Copus pag. 833 lin. 11.

5. Vntruth.

His v. but not the laſt vntruth in Polydore is this, that he ſayth, Tho. Arundell to haue dyed in the ſame yeare, notyng the yere to be an. 1415. where as by the true regiſters he dyed. an. 1413.

An other vntruth in Polydore noted

To this vntruth an other alſo may be ioyned, where he erryng in the computation of the yeares of the ſaid Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, reporteth him to ſit xxxiij. yeres. who was there Archbiſhop but only 18. yeres, as is to be ſene in the recordes of Caunterbury. The wordes of Polydore be theſe: Thomas Arundellus Cantuarituarienſis antiſtes annum iam tunc ſedens tertium & trigeſimum e vita exceſſit lib.22.Ang.hiſt. Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and peraduenture the aduerſary will find ſome eaſy ſhift for this matter.

The teſtimony of Hall againſt the L. Cobham examined.

But let vs paſſe now from Polydore, not (as they ſay) out of the hall into the kitchine, but out of the kitchine vnto the hall, examinyng and perpendyng what ſayth Edw. Hall an other witnes in this matter: vpon whom maiſter Cope byndeth ſo faſt, that he ſuppoſeth his knot is neuer able to be loſed. And moreouer ſo treadeth me downe vnder his fete in the dyrt (as a man would thinke hym ſome dirtdaubers ſonne) ſo that the ſpots therof he ſayth, will neuer be gotten out whyle the world ſtandeth, and a day longer. Notwithſtandyng I truſt maiſter Cope that your dyrty penne with your cockiſh brags hath not ſo bedaubed and beſpotted me, nor yet conuicted me to be ſuch a deprauer of hiſtories, but I hope to ſpunge it out. At leaſt way, with a little aſperges of the Popes holy water, I truſt to come to a dealbabor, well enough.

But Certes, maiſter Cope, your maiſterſhip muſt firſt vnderſtand, that if ye thinke ſo to depreſſe me, and diſproue me of vntruth in my hiſtory, you muſt go more groundly to worke, and bryng agaynſt me other authors then Edward Hall: you muſt conſider (Maiſter Cope) if you will be a controller in ſtory matters, it is not enough for you to bring a raylyng ſpirit, or a mynd diſpoſed to carpe and cauil where any matter may be picked, diligence is required, and great ſearchyng out of bookes and authors not onely of our time, but of all ages. And eſpecially where matters of religion are touched pertainyng to the Church: it is not ſufficient to ſee what Fabian, or what Hall ſayth, but the recordes muſt be ſought, the regiſters muſt be turned ouer, letters alſo and auncient inſtrumentes ought to be peruſed, and authours with the ſame compared, finally the writers among themſelues one to be conferred with another. And ſo with iudgement to be wayed, with diligence to be laboured, and with ſimplicitie pure frõ all addiction & partialitie to be vttered.

Cope a carper of ſtories whereof he hath no ſkill.

Thus did Auentinus, thus did Sleidanus write. Theſe helpes alſo the eldeſt and beſt hiſtoriciãs ſeemed to haue, both Titus Liuius, Saluſtius, Quintus Curtius, and ſuch like, as by their letters and recordes inſerted may well appeare. The ſame helpes likewiſe both in your Fabian and in your Edward Hall were to be required, but eſpecially in you (maiſter Cope) your ſelfe, which take vpon you ſo cockiſhly (rather then wiſely) to be a controller and maiſter moderatour of other mens matters. In which matters (to ſay the truth) you haue no great ſkill, and leſſe experience, neyther haue you either ſuch plenty of authors meete for that purpoſe, nor yet euer trauailed to ſearch out the origins and groundes of that whereof ye write. But onely contented with ſuch as commeth next to hande, or peraduenture receauing ſuch almoſe as ſome of your poore frendes beſtowe vpon you, thinke it ſufficient if you can alledge Fabyan and Hall for your purpoſe.

Now what purpoſe and affection herein doth leade you rather doth driue you to the carpyng and barkyng agaynſt the hiſtory of theſe good men, that be here gone and had their puniſhment, all men may ſee it to be no ſimple ſinceritie of a mynde indifferent, but the zeale onely of your ſect of popery, or rather of fury, which ſetteth your raylyng ſpirite on fire. But now out of the fiery kitchin, to come to the hall againe let vs ſee what matter lyeth in the teſtimonye of Edwarde Hall, to proue theſe men to be traitors. And here for ſomuch (maſter Cope) as you ſeeme neither ſufficiently acquainted with this your owne maſter and autor maſter Hall, nor yet wel experienced in þ ſearching out of hiſtories, I wil take a litle paynes for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concerning the ſtory of this author, whereof percaſe you your ſelfe are yet ignorant.

Aunſwere to Ed. Hall

The truth whereof is this, that as the ſayd Edwarde Hall, your great maſter and teſtis, was about the compiling of his ſtorye, certayne there were which reſorted to hym of whom ſome were knowers of his pettigree and biuent, ſome were grauers, the names of whom were Jhon Bets, and Tyrrall, which be now both dead. And other there were of the ſame ſodalitie, who be yet aliue, & were then in þ houſe of Richard Grafton, both the printer of the ſayd booke, and alſo (as is thought) a greate helper of the pẽning of þ ſame. It ſo befell that as Hall was entring into the ſtorye of ſir Jhon Oldcaſtle, of ſir Roger Acton, and their felowes, the booke of Jhon Bale touching the ſtory of the L. Cobham, was the ſame time newly come ouer. Which book was priuely conueied by one of his ſeruantes into the ſtudy of Hall, ſo that in turnynge ouer hys bookes, it muſte nedes come to hys handes. At the ſight whereof, when he ſaw the groundes & reaſons in that booke contayned, he turned to the autors in the foreſayd booke alledged, whereupon within two nightes after, moued by what cauſe I know not, but ſo it was, that he taking hys pen, raſed and cancelled all that he had written before, agaynſt Syr John Oldecaſtell and his fellowes, and was now ready to go to the print, cõtaynyng neare to the quantitye of three pages. And leaſt (M. Cope) you, or any other ſhoulde thinke me to ſpeake beſide my booke, be it therefore knowen both to you and to all other, by theſe preſentes, that the very ſelfe ſame firſt copy of Hall raſed and croſſed with hys owne penne, remaineth in my handes to be ſhewed and ſeene, as neede ſhal require. The matter which he cancelled out came to thys effect. Wherein he folowing the narration of Polidore, began with like wordes, to declare how the Sacramentaries here in England, after the death of John Huſſe, and Hierome of Prage, beyng pricked as he ſayth, with a demoniacall ſting, firſt conſpired agaynſt the Prieſtes, and after agaynſt the king, hauing to their Captaines ſir John Oldecaſtell the Lord Cobham, and ſir Roger Actõ knight, with many moe wordes to the lyke purpoſe and effect, as Polydore and other ſuch lyke Chroniclers do write againſt hym. All which matter notwithſtanding, the ſaid Hall with his penne at the ſight of John Bales booke, did vtterly extinct and aboliſhe. Adding in the place thereof the wordes of M. Bales booke, touching the accuſation and condemnation of the ſayd L. Cobham, before Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the ſayde Archbiſhop, as is in his owne ſtory to be ſene. In vita Henr. 5. pag. 2. b. lin. 30.

Hall raceth out his owne ſtorye written againſt the Lord Cobham.

Hal. in vita Henr. 5. pag. 2. b. lin. 30.

And thus Edward Hall your author, reuoking and calling backe all that he had deuiſed before agaynſt the Lorde Cobham (whereof I haue hys owne hand to ſhew, & witnes ſubſtantiall vpon the ſame) in hys printed booke recordeth of hym no more, but onely ſheweth the proces betwene the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and him for matters of religion. And ſo ending with ſir John Oldecaſtell, proceedeth further to the aſſemble of ſir Roger Acton (whom he falſely calleth Robert Acton) John Browne, and Beuerley, the narration whereof he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with truth it ſelfe. For where he excludeth the Lord Cobham out of that aſſemble, he diſcordeth therein from Polydore and other. And where he affirmeth the facte of that conſpiracie to be wrought before, or at the .xij. day of December, that is manifeſtly falſe, if the recordes before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this aſſemble to be after the burnyng of John Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, therein he accordeth wyth Polydore, but not with truth. Moreouer, ſo doubtefull he is and ambiguous in declaration of this ſtory, that no great certaintie can be gathered of him.

Hall in the ſtorie of the L. Cobham and ſir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other ſtories. Vntruth in Hall noted.

Firſt, as touching the confeſſion of them, he confeſſeth hymſelfe, that he ſaw it not, and therfore leaueth it at large. And as concerning the cauſes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth M. Cope) to define or pronounce any thing therof, but onely reciteth the ſurmiſes and myndes of diuers men diuerſly, ſome thinking it was for conueying the Lord Cobhã out of the tower, ſome that it was for treaſon and hereſie, and here commeth in the mention onely of a recorde, but what record it is neither doth he vtter it, nor doth he examine it: other ſome againe affirmyng (as he ſaith) that it was for fained cauſes ſurmiſed by the ſpiritualtie, more of diſpleaſure then truth. And thus your autor Hall hauing recited the variety of mẽs opinions, determineth himſelf no certaine thing therof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the coniectures of all men, nor to the writings of all men, referreth the whole iudgemẽt of the matter free vnto the reader. And ſo concludyng his narratiõ forſomuch as he was neither a witnes of þ fact, nor preſent at the dede, he ouerpaſſeth the ſtory therof.

Hall doubtefull in the ſtory of ſir R. Acton. &c.

Halle no witnes in ſir Roger Actons caſe.

And what witnes then will you, or can you (M. Cope) take of Edward Halle, which denyeth himſelfe to be a witneſſe? Will you compell him to ſay that he ſaw not? and to witneſſe that he can not? Wherfore like as Suſanna, in the ſtory of Daniell was quyte by right iudgement in the caſe of adultery, becauſe her accuſers and teſtes beyng examined a ſonder were founde to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees: So why may not in like caſe of treaſon, ſir Roger Acton, ſir John Oldcaſtle, Browne with the reſt, clayme the ſame priuiledge? ſeyng among the teſtes and witneſſe produced agaynſt them, ſuch diſcorde is founde, and ſuch haltyng among them, that neither do they agree in place, perſon, yeare, day, nor moneth.

Repugnaunce noted in the witnes agaynſt the L. Cobham and ſir Roger Acton.

1. For firſt where Fabian and his felowes ſay: that they were aſſembled together in a great company, in the fielde neare to S. Gyles, the forged inditement aboue alledged, ſayth, they were but riding toward the field.

1. Repugnaunce in the place.

2. Secondly, where the foreſayd inditemẽt and Polidore,

2. Repugnaunce in the place. Ala. Copus pag. 833. lin. 12.

grate the Lorde Cobham to be preſent perſonally in that aſſemble. Halle, and Alanus Copus Anglus, do exclude hys perſonall preſence from thence: and ſo doth Fabian alſo ſeme to agree, ſpeakyng onely of the adherentes of Syr John Oldcaſtle.

3. Repugnaunce in the yeare.

3. Thirdly, where Halle and Polydorus reporte this aſſemble to be after the burning of John Hus, & of Hierome at the councell of Conſtaunce, which was an. 1415. that cā not be, but if there were any ſuch conſpiracie in the firſt yeare of Henry. 5. it muſt nedes be an. 1413. And here by the way, why doe certaine of your Epitome writers ſpeakyng of the Lord Cobham committed firſt to the tower for hereſie, referre the ſayde his impriſonment to the yeare 1412. where as, by their owne counte, reckoning the yeare from the annunciation, it muſt needes be an. 1413. beyng done in harueſt tyme?

4. Repugnaunce in the month.

4. Fourthly, where Halle wyth hys followers affirme that Syr Roger Acton, Browne and Beuerley were condemned the 12. day of December, the recorde is euident agaynſt it, which holdeth the facte to be in workyng the 10. day of January.

5. Repugnaunce in the day.

5. Fiftly, where as the foreſayde recorde of the Inditement geueth the Wedneſday next after ẏ Epiphany, which was the 10. day of January that preſent yeare, both ẏ fact to be committed, the ſame day, the Commiſſion alſo to be graunted and deliuered to the Cōmiſſioners the ſame day. The ſayd Cōmiſſioners to ſit in Commiſſion the ſame day: The Shiriffes of Midleſex to returne a iurye out of the body of Midleſex the ſame day: and the Iurers to finde the inditement the ſame day, and yet no Iurer in the inditement named the ſame day.

Item, the Lord Cobham, the ſame day, to be found cōſpiring to make hymſelfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeare, was not yet paſſed into Fraunce: how all theſe can concurre and hang together and all in one day: I ſuppoſe it will coſt you two dayes, before you, with all your learned counſell will ſtudy it out. And whē you in your vnlawfull aſſemblies haue conſpired and conferred together, all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I thinke) three dayes, before you honeſtly diſpatch your handes of the matter.

Papiſtes can not ſee great beames in their owne eyes, which ſpye ſmall motes in other.

And where ye thinke, that you haue impreſſed in me ſuch a foule note of lying, neuer to be clawed of while the worlde ſtandeth, yet ſhall the poſteritie to come iudge betwene you and me, whether ſhall appeare more honeſt and true, my defence for that worthy Lord, then your vncourteous and viperous wrangling agaynſt him, moued with no other cauſe, but onely with the peuiſhe ſpirite of Popery, which can abide nothing, but that ſauoreth of your owne ſecte. For els how many lowde lying legens, yea what legion of lies are dayly vſed and receaued in the Popiſhe Church? what doltiſhe dreames? what fayned myracles? what blaſphemous tales, and ſcurrily fables, and idle inuentions, fighting againſt the ſincere Religion, doctrine and croſſe of Chriſt? And could you holde your penne from all theſe, and finde nothing els to ſet your wittes on worke, but onely to write agaynſt the Lord Cobham, Syr Roger Acton, Browne, Onley, Cowbrige, with a few other whom with much a doe, at length you haue ſought out, not ſo much for any true zeale to rebuke iniquitie, as craftely ſeeking matter by theſe to deface and blemiſhe the booke of Actes and Monumentes. Which ſeemeth belyke to make you ſcratche there where it itcheth not. And if I ſhould after the lyke dealing take in hand your Popiſhe portuos, and with like diligence excuſſe euery Popiſhe martyr and Saint there canonized: thinke you maiſter Cope, I coulde not make you out halfe doſen as ranke traytours and rebels to their kinges and princes, as euer were any of theſe of your picking out? What Pope almoſt hath there bene theſe laſt fiue hūdreth yeares, which hath not bene a traitour to his Emperour and Prince, and to his countrey? either openly rebelling againſt them, or priuely conſpiring their deſtruction, or proudly ſetting theyr feete vpon their neckes, or ſpurning their crownes of from their heads, or making the ſonne to fight againſt the father? How many haue they depoſed, & ſet vp other in their ſeats? how many Emperours and kinges haue they wrongfully curſed? What Conſulles of Rome haue they reſiſted, depoſed, and put to death? What warres haue they raiſed vp againſt their owne countrey of Rome? yea ẏ continuall holding of the Citie of Rome, from his lawfull Emperour, what is it but a continuall point of treaſon?

Popes traytours to their Emperours & princes.

What will you aunſwere me (maiſter Cope) to ẏ pope, which conſpired to let fall downe a ſtone vpon the Emperours head, kneeling at his prayers. pag. 170.

And though this treachery being as byg as a milſtone, ſeemed but a ſmall mote in your eye, that it could not be eſpyed: yet what will you ſay by the Monke of Swyneſtede, that poyſoned King John, who was both abſolued by hys Abbot before his treaſon committed, and after his treaſon had a perpetuall Maſſe ſonge for hym, to helpe him out of Purgatory?

The Popes ſainctes and confeſſours many were traytours.

And what thinke ye in your conſcience is to be ſayde of Thomas Becket, who did inough, and more then became him, to ſet the French kyng, and the king of England together by the eares? Of Anſelme likewiſe, and of Stephē Langhton, who departed both out of the Realme to complaine of their princes and ſoueraines? The like may be ſaid alſo of John Peckham. John Stratford Archbyſhop of the ſame ſea notoriouſly reſiſted the kynges commaundement, being ſent for by King Edward. 3. to come to ẏ parliament at Yorke, through the default of whoſe commyng, the preſent opportunitie of getting Scotland was the ſame tyme loſt.

Ric. Scrope Archb. of Yorke traytor and yet counted a holy man.

Richard Scrope Archb. of Yorke, was openly in armes to rebell and fight againſt K. Henry. 4. for the which he was condemned and put to death. And yet notwithſtādyng Cōmiſſion was ſent downe frō the Pope ſhortly after, to excōmunicate them which put him to death, his treaſon notwithſtanding. Read the ſtory ſincerely of pope Benedict 12. and of pope Clement 6. And ſee how the traiterous rebellion of theſe two popes againſt Ludouicus their rightfull Emperour can be defended: which Emperour at laſt was alſo empoyſoned, and that not without the practiſe of pope Clement, as doth Hieronimus Marius credibly witnes. pag. 377

Popes commonly traitours.

Tho. Lancaſter traytour & yet made a Saint by the Pope.

In the raigne of K. Edward the 2. mention was made before of Thomas Earle of Lācaſter, pag. 374. Who with a great number of other nobles & Barons of the Realme, roſe in armour againſt their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traytours. And yet notwithſtandyng this treaſon committed (M. Cope) if you be ſo ignoraunt in our ſtories, that you know it not, ſet your ſetters on to ſearch, and you ſhall finde it true, that certaine noble men went vp to Rome, for the canoniſing of the ſaid Thomas of Lancaſter to be made a Saint, and obtayned the ſame. In ſo much that in a certaine old Calender, the name of the ſaid S. Thomas of Lancaſter is yet extant to be ſene.

Edmunde Archbiſh. of Cant. rebelled agaynſt his prince, & yet made a Saint by the Pope.

In the former booke of theſe Actes and Monumentes aboue, about the pag. 366. or 367. mention was made of Edmunde of Abbenden Archb. of Cant. whom although I do not diſpraiſe, but rather commend in my hiſtory, for hys bolde and ſage counſaile geuen vnto K. Henry the 3. and alſo for offering the cenſure of excommunication againſt the king in ſo neceſſary a cauſe: yet notwithſtanding the ſame Edmund, afterward about his latter end, went vp wyth a rebellyng mynde to complayne of hys kyng vnto the pope, & in his iourney dyed, before his returne: who afterward for the ſame, was canoniſed by the pope, and now ſhyneth amōg the Saintes in the popes Calender.

Tho. Arūdel a ranck traitour agaynſt his king, & yet a great piller counted in the popes church.

Let vs come more neare to theſe dayes and times, and conſider the doinges of Tho. Arundell Archb. of Canterb. Who being firſt depoſed and exiled for his contemptuous deſertes againſt the king, and afterward comming in, wyth Henry Bolyngbroke Duke of Herford, in open armes and with maine force roſe againſt his natural and lawfull king: thinke you (M. Cope) this is not as great a poynt of treaſon, as that which was done in Thickets fieldes? And though he be not placed among the portuous Sainctes, yet I thinke nothing contrary, but in your hart you wyll not greatly ſticke to ſay, Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

All theſe things well conſidered, tell me (M. Cope) I pray you, is treaſon ſuch a ſtraunge and vnketh thyng in your popecatholike Church, that your burning zeale of obedience to kyngs and princes, can not read the ſtory of the L. Cobham and Sir Roger Acton, but your penne muſt nedes be inflamed to write againſt them, & yet ſo many traytours in your owne Calenders neither ſeene, nor once ſpoken of? And if the trayterous conſpiracie and rebellion of ſo many your Calender Saintes committed againſt Emperours, Kinges, and Princes, can not ſtirre your zeale, nor moue your pēne. Nor if the treaſon of pope Gregory 9. raiſing warre againſt his owne City of Rome, and cauſing 30. thouſand Citizens in one battaile to be ſlayne, pag. 288. deſerueth not to be eſpyed, and accuſed as much as this treaſon of the Lord Cobham: yet what wyll you or can your aunſwere to me (Maiſter Cope) as touching the horrible treaſon of Pope Gregory the vij. committed not againſt Emperour nor kyng, nor any mortall man, but agaynſt the Lord hymſelfe, euen againſt your God of your owne makyng, beyng therin as you ſay no ſubſtaunce of bread, but the very perſonall bodye, fleſhe, bloud, and bone of Chriſt hymſelfe, which body notwithſtandyng the foreſayde Pope Gregory the vij. tooke and caſt wyth hys owne handes into the burning fire, becauſe he would not aunſwere hym to

Pope Gregory 7. a traytor againſt the Lordes owne bodye.

Vide. ſupra. pag. 179.

a certaine doubt or demaund Benn. Card. pag. 179. Southly if ſir John Oldcaſtle had taken the body of king Henry the v. and throwne hym into the fire the fact beyng ſo notoriouſly certaine as this is, I would neuer haue beſtowed any word in his defence. And could this, and ſo many other haynous treaſons paſſe through your fingers (M. Cope) and no other to ſtick in your pen but the Lord Cobham.

Vide ſupra. pag. 358.

Finally and ſimply to conclude with you (M. Cope) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the procedings, actions, and practiſes of your religion, or hath bene almoſt theſe v. C. yeres, but a certaine perpetuall kynde of treaſon, to thruſt downe your princes and magiſtrates, to derogate from their right and iuriſdiction, and to aduaunce your owne maieſties and dominations: as hath bene ſufficiently aboue proued and laide before your faces in a parliament holden in Fraunce by the Lord Peter de Cugnerijs vid. pag. 358. Wherfore if the aſſemble of theſe forenamed perſons, either within or without S. Giles field be ſuch a great mote of treaſon in your eyes, firſt looke vpon ẏ great blocks and milſtones of your owne traytors at home, and when you haue well diſcuſſed the ſame, then after poure out your wallet of your trifling Dialogues or Trialogues if ye liſt agaynſt vs, and ſpare vs not. Not that I ſo thincke this to be a ſufficient excuſe to purge the treaſon of theſe men, if your papiſh Calenders and legendes be found ful of traytours. Multitudo enim peccatorũ non parit errori patrocinium. But this I thinke, that ẏ ſame cauſe which made them to ſuffer as traytors, hath made you alſo to rayle agaynſt them for traytors, that is, mere hatred onely againſt their religion, rather then any true affectiõ you haue to your princes and gouernors. Who if they had bene as feruent in your popery, and had ſuffred ſo much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother Churche of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had bene rong into your Romiſh Calender with a feſtũ duplex, or at leſt with a feſtum ſimplex of ix. leſſons, alſo with a vigill peraduenture before them.

Religion commonly maketh treaſon among the papiſtes

Now becauſe they were on the contrary profeſſion, and enemies to your Magna Diana Epheſiorum, you playe with them as the Epheſian caruers did with Saint Paule and worſe, ye thruſt them out as ſeditious rebels, not onely out of lyfe and body, but alſo can not abyde them to haue any poore harbour in their owne friendes houſes, among our Actes and Monumentes to be remembred. In the whiche Actes and Monumentes, and if gentle maiſter Irenæus, with hys fellow Critobulus in your clerkely Dialogues, will not ſuffer them to be numbred for Martirs: yet ſpeake a good word for them (M. Cope) they may ſtand for teſtes or witneſſe bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Aunſwere to the ſecond part of Copes accuſation, concerning his vntrue charging of the booke of Actes and Monum.

Now to the other part of hys accuſation, wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus in hys ἑξαπλᾶ or ſexfold Dialogues contendeth and chafeth againſt my former edition, to proue me in my hiſtory to be a lyer, forger, impudent, a miſreporter of truth, a deprauer of ſtories, a ſeducer of the world, and what els not? whoſe virulent wordes and contumelious termes, how well they become his papiſh perſon, I knowe not. Certes for my part I neuer deſerued this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. Maiſter Cope is a mã whom yet I neuer ſaw, and leſſe offended, nor euer heard of hym before. And if he had not in the fronte of hys booke intituled hymſelfe to be an Engliſh man, by hys writing I would haue iudged hym rather ſome wylde Iriſhman, lately crept out of Saint Patrikes Purgatory, ſo wyldely he writeth, ſo furiouſly he fareth.

But I ceaſe here, and temper my ſelfe conſidering not what M. Cope deſerueth to be ſayd vnto, nor how farre the pen here could run if it had hys ſcope, but conſidering what the tractation rather of ſuch a ſerious cauſe requireth. And therfore ſeriouſly to ſay vnto you (M. Cope) in this matter, where you charge my hiſtory of Acts and Monuments ſo cruelly, to be full of vntruthes, falſe lies, impudent forgeries, deprauations, fraudulent corruptions, and feyned fables, briefly and in one word to aunſwer you, not as the Lacones aunſwered to the letters of their aduerſary, with ſi, but with oſi. Would God (M. Cope) that in all the whole booke of Actes and Monumentes, from the beginnyng to the latter ende of the ſame, were neuer a true ſtory, but that all were falſe, all were lyes, and all were fables. Would god the cruelty of your Catholikes had ſuffred all them to lyue, of whoſe death ye ſay now that I doe lye. Although I deny not but in that booke of actes and monumentes conteyning ſuch diuerſitie of matter, ſome thing might overſcape me: yet haue I beſtowed my poore diligence. My intente was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The booke of Actes and Monum. ſo true, if it had pleaſed God otherwiſe.

If you (maiſter Cope) or any other can better my rude doyngs, and finde things out more finely or truely, with all my hart, I ſhall reioyſe with you and the common wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wyt, cunning, dexterity, fines or other indumentes required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I graunt that in a laboured ſtory, ſuch as you ſeme to require, conteyning ſuch infinite varietie of matter, as this doth, much more tyme would be required: but ſuch time as I had, that I did beſtow, if not ſo laboriouſly as other could yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I heare what you will ſay: I ſhould haue taken more leyſure and done it better. I graunt and confeſſe my fault, ſuch is my vice, I can not ſitte all the day (M. Cope) finyng and myniſing my letters, and combyng my head, and ſmoothing my ſelfe all the day at the glaſſe of Cicero. yet notwithſtanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinkes I ſhould not be reprehended, at leaſt not ſo much be rayled on at maſter Copes hãd. Who if he be ſo pregnant in finding faultes with other mens labours (which is an eaſie thing to do) it were to be wyſhed, that he had enterpriſed hymſelfe vppon the matter, and ſo ſhould haue proued what faultes might haue bene found in hym. Not that I herein doe vtterly excuſe my ſelfe, yea rather am readye to accuſe my ſelfe, but yet notwythſtanding thinke my ſelfe vngently delt withall at Maiſter Copes hand: who beyng myne owne countreyman, an Engliſh man as he ſayth, alſo of the ſame vniuerſitie, yea colleoge and ſchole that I was of: knowyng that the firſt edition of theſe Actes and Monumentes was begon in the far partes of Germany, where few frendes, no conference, ſmall information could be had. And the ſame edition afterward tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by others, while I in the meane tyme was occupied about other Regiſters. And now the ſayd Cope hearing moreouer and knowyng that I was about a new edition of the ſame Actes & Monuments, at this preſent tyme, to be ſet forth, for ẏ amẽding of diuers things therin to be reformed: if he had known any fault nedefull to be corrected, he might gentlely by letters admoniſhed me therof. Gentlenes ſo would haue required it. Tyme would wel haue ſuffred it. Neither was he ſo far of, but might ſooner haue written a letter to me, then a boke againſt me. Neither was I ſo ingratefull and inhumane, but would haue thanked him for his monition: neither yet ſo obſtinate, but beyng admoniſhed, would haue corrected willingly where any fault had bene committed.

Vngentlenes noted in Cope.

But herein your nature (maiſter Cope) doth right well appeare. Firſt in the ſayd booke of Actes and monumentes, where many other good thinges be conteyned, not vnfrutefull nor vnprofitable peraduenture for ẏ inſtruction of your conſcience, and wherin my labours perhaps might haue deſerued your thankes, all that you diſſemble and paſſe ouer, onely excerping thoſe matters which make for cauillation. Thus the blacke ſpider out of pleaſaunt flowres ſucketh his poyſon. And what booke is ſo pleaſaunt or fruitefull, though it were the Popes own Portous, yea his own Decretals, yea his own very maſſe booke, to the reading wherof if I brought the like mynde ſo diſpoſed to cauill, as you bryng to the reading of my hiſtorie, but I coulde finde out twiſe as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in theſe Actes and Monuments. And yet you haue done pretely well.

The nature of the Spider.

Beſides all this, yet better to marke the goodnes of your gentle nature: Be it ſo I had bene in ſome piece of my ſtory deceiued, as I do not iuſtifie my ſelfe in all pointes therin: yet you vnderſtanding that I was about the correction of my booke agayne, might either haue taken the beſt, and left the worſt: or els gently take the paynes to haue aduertiſed me of ſuch notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at leaſt might haue differred your Dialogues for a tyme, till the commyng out of my booke, to ſee firſt what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your gall was full, your haſt could not tary, your venim muſt nedes bruſt out.

Et ſi non aliqua nocuiſſes mortuus eſſes.

Seyng therfore the order of your doyngs to be ſuch, and diſpoſition of your nature ſo farre from all humanitie, dealyng with me ſo extremely, if I thus prouoked with your extremitie again, ſhould now after this your curriſh nature ſhape you a name accordingly, and inſtede of Cope gather you to be a perpetuall ſycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your ſycophanticall booke well deſerue it? or thinke you I could not repay you againe wt like extremity as you bring, to dreſſe your dronſie or rather louſie dialogues in their right colors, if I were ſo diſpoſed? But my purpoſe is with pacience to ſpare you, & rather to pray for you. God make you a good man. Peraduenture he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, then to ſting you.

Copus Sycophanta.

Leauyng therfore the conſideration of your ingratefull doynges, I will now conſider onely the pointes wherein you charge me in your booke, aunſweryng briefly vnto the ſame. Briefly I ſay, becauſe the greatnes of this volume, and aboundaunce of other more frutefull matter, geueth me litle layſure at this preſent to ſtand about brawlyng wordes.

The Calendare of the Actes and Mon. defended.

In proœmio ad lectorem.

Firſt he ſeemeth highly to be greued with me, for my Calendare prefixed before the booke of Monumētes. wherin he hath no cauſe either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himſelfe. As touchyng which Calendare I haue ſufficiently and expreſſely declared before ſomuch, as might quickly ſatiſfie this ſcruple of M. Cope if he either would haue taken the paynes, or els had had the layſure to read the wordes cōtained in the Latine preface before the booke prefixed, which are thus: Quanq̄ a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuum cuiuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad priuatum lectoris ſeruiret vſum.&c. In which wordes preuentyng before the cauillyng obiection of the aduerſary, I forewarned the Reader afore hand, touchyng the Calendare, wherfore it was ordeined and prefixed, for no other purpoſe, but to ſerue the vſe onely of the Reader, in ſtede of a Table, ſhewyng the yeare & moneth of euery Martyr, what tyme he ſuffered &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendare prefixed before the booke of Monuments, more then in the Table of maiſter Copes booke, ſet after his Dialogues? But maiſter Cope had no layſure to peruſe this place: it made not for this humour.

Obiection for martyrs in the Calendare.

Aunſwere.

But this greueth him in the Calendare, and that very ſore. For that I place in this Calēdar, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, ſir Roger Acton, Browne, Beuerley and other for Martyrs, and diſplace for them, other holy auncient Martyrs & Saintes, as Antholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus, Lucianus, Seuerinus. &c. Aunſwere: If maiſter Cope can not abyde the Lord Cobham, ſir Roger Actō, Browne, & Beuerley, whiche were hanged (as he ſayth for treaſon) to haue the name of Martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnes bearers, or teſtes of the truth, becauſe they were alſo burned for the teſtimonie of their fayth. Seyng there is no difference in the ſayd names, all is one to me by whiche they are called.

Vntruth noted in Ala. Copus.

Copus.pag.130.lin.18.

In præfatione ad d.ct. lectorem.lib. **Actes and Mon.**

And where he chargeth me for thruſtyng & ſhouldryng out the old and auncient holy Saintes aforenamed out of this Calendare, and placyng other new come Saintes in their rowmes: this is not the firſt vntruth that M. Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the leaſt, vnto whom I might therfore fitly aunſwere agayne with his owne familiar phraſe, or rather yͤ phraſe of Cicero, which he doth ſo much affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipſe Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit, inde ſibi ipſi ſempiternam ac ineluibilem turpiſsimi mendacij, ac ſingularis impudentiæ notam inurat. For why haue not I as iuſt cauſe to ſay this to him, as he to me? For ſomuch as in the firſt begynnyng and preface of the ſaid booke of Actes & Monuments, I ſo diligently and expreſſely do warne all men before, firſt that I make here no Calendare purpoſely of any Saintes, but a Table of good & godly men that ſuffered for the truth, to ſhew the day and moneth of their ſufferyng. My wordes be extant and euident, which are theſe: Neq; vero ideo inter diuos a me referuntur iſti, quòd inſeruntur in Calendarium. &c. And declaryng afterward how the ſayd Calendare doth ſtand but in ſtede of a table, my wordes do folow thus: Haud aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutū eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuum cuiuſq; Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, Lectori ad vſum atque ad manum ſeruiat.&c.

Agayne, neither did I receaue theſe men into that Calendare, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothæa, with other auncient holy Saintes ſhould be remoued out, as you do falſly and vntruly affirme, but becauſe the courſe of that ſtory teachyng but v. hundreth yeares, did not cōprehend thoſe former tymes of the ſuch auncient Martyrs, but onely of ſuch as ſuffered in theſe latter dayes: therefore requiſite it was that in the table ſuch ſhould be placed chiefly, of whom the whole booke did then principally and onely entreat, to demonſtrate thereby the tyme & day of their Martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new Calēdare, which were neuer inſerted in the ſame before, but onely becauſe both together could not there haue ſtandyng, neceſſitie ſo required theſe in no caſe to be omitted, and yet no iniury ment to the other to be excluded out of their own Calendars, wherto properly they did perteine. As for this Calendar or this table, becauſe they were not pertinent vnto it, they could not therin, neither was it neceſſary, they ſhuld be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) without due and ſolemne proteſtation omit the ſame in my foreſaid Catalogue, to preuent and ſtoppe all cauillyng mouthes: As by ſpeciall wordes in the ſayd proeme of my booke vnto the Reader doth appeare, folowyng in this wiſe: Interim nullius ego boni ſanctiq; viri (modo qui verè ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis à me collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari.&c. And where is now (M. Cope) this your reiectyng, expellyng, remouyng, expulſing, exemptyng deturbatyng and thruſtyng out of Anatholius, Sanct. Dorothæ and other holy Saintes out of Catalogues, faſtes, & Calēders? or what mā is that, or where dwelleth he, Qui veros Chriſti Martyres è Cœlo ad Tartara deturbat? That is, which tumbleth downe true Martyrs from heauen, into hell? Which if ye meane by me: In one word I aūſwere, ye falſely belye me maiſter Copus I had almoſt called you maiſter Capus, ſo like a Capon ye ſpeake. Neither haue you nor any other euer heard me ſo ſay. Neither haue I euer heard of any ſo madde to play ſo the gyantes with their mountaines to clime the heauens, to tumble downe Gods true and holy Martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnleſſe it were your ſelfe (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and ſuch other of your gylde and Popiſh fraternitie, which make of Gods true Saintes ſtinkyng dunghils, (for ſo ye terme them in your bookes) and not onely thruſt into heauē your Pſeudoſanctos, Saintes of your own makyng, whom God by his word doth not allow: but alſo depulſe downe from heauen, & make dunghils of Gods wel beloued ſeruauntes, his faythfull people, and bleſſed Martyrs, which haue died for the word of God. And what maruell then, if in your blaſphemous bookes, ye caſt down from heauen to hell, the poore Saintes of Chriſt, when in effect you deiect alſo the bloud & croſſe of the ſonne of God Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe, ſettyng vp in his office & place, tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quò Thomas aſcendit. Say, maiſter Cope, your conſciēce indifferētly, ſet all Popiſh parcialitie a part, where as the Scripture teacheth vs ſimplely Quòd citra ſanguinem nulla fit remiſſio. i. without bloud there is no remiſſiō: whether ye thinke, by this bloud of the new Teſtament is ment the bloud of Chriſt alone or the bloud of other mo beſides? If the bloud of one muſt ſtand alone, why do ye then with the gyantes builde vp your mountaines, and make a ladder of Beckets Popiſh bloud, for men to ſcale the heauens? Or in ſo doyng, how can you, but either with the Proteſtauntes wype out of your Calendar, Thomæ ſanguinem, or els demoliſh frō heauen Sanguinem Chriſti with the Papiſtes?

…s pag.161. lin.penultima.

Copus almoſt called Capus.

The papiſts would thruſt downe gods true ſaintes out of heauen to hell.

Beckets bloud ſet vp, to the iniury of Chriſtes bloud.

Papiſtes deuout to ſet vp Chriſtes croſſe in earth: but enemyes to Chriſtes croſſe in heauen.

And here by the way, I can not but muſe, why you are ſo deuoute in ſettyng vp the croſſe of Chriſt in your church, which are ſuch enemies to the true croſſe of Chriſt to ſtand in heauen. Looke vpon this (maiſter Cope) and tell me, vtra pars verius veros Chriſti Martyres è cœlo in tartara detrudat? And therfore as you falſely belye me in this, for detrudyng and tomblyng out of heauē Anatholus, Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, agaynſt whom I neuer yet ſpake any reprochyng word, but rather in this my volume haue ſet for their commendation: ſo is it vntrue likewiſe, where you affirme that in this my Calendare I make an ἀποθέωσιν, or Canoniſation of falſe Martyrs. I told you before, when ye were in England, I tell you agayne, beyng now in your tranſmigration, in wordes as playne as I could, Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidēter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus. Were not theſe wordes of my proteſtatiō manifeſt inough? Were they not ſufficiēt to ſatiſfie a reaſonable Momus? And to make the matter more playne, did I not adde moreouer, as followeth: Porrò neque eò ſpectat hoc Callendarium, vt nouam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam Eccleſiæ. &c. And not contented with this, foreſeyng before ſuch wrangling ſpirites to come, as now I ſee in you: I ſhewed alſo the cauſe why I needed not ſo to do, my wordes were theſe: Feſtorum dierū iam plus ſatis erat in mundo. &c. And yet further, becauſe no cauiller ſhould take hold here of any iniury done to the holy Saintes, either olde or new in the Churche, therfore in expreſſe wordes I remoued away all ſuſpition of any iniurie, preuentyng the obiection of the aduerſarie in theſe wordes. Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modò interim iidem ne adorentur, modo quàm ſint vetuſti, tam etiam verè ſancti ſint.&c.

A double vntruth in Copus.

Theſe places of my booke, if ye did ſee: why do you diſſemble them? If ye had not ſomuch leyſure to read them: how had you ſo much layſure to write agaynſt any mans booke, not knowyng what is in the booke contained? And how ſtandes it then with truth, that ſo like a Mome ye cry out ſo in your booke, agaynſt theſe new made Martyrs, qui non poſſunt niſi per aliorum iniuriam creſcere. &c. And agayne,

Copus Momus.

Copus pag.810 lin.20.

where

Vntruth in Cope.

Copus pag. 810. lin. 25.

where you exclaime agaynſt me, and ſay that I thruſt out the auncient Martyrs out from their ſeate and poſſeſſion, and place new in their rowmes. &c.

Alſo where you continuyng yet ſtill in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digreſſe) do charge me farther, that I do appointe out holy dayes and workyng dayes by colours of red and blacke, in my foreſayd Calendare to be obſerued: theſe leude notes of yours, if they had bene picked out of my Calendare by you, without myne owne ſpeciall declaration before made to the contrary, they might ſeeme to haue ſome bluſh of credite. Now what will the Reader ſay, or what may he iudge, conſideryng and conferryng this your cauilling, with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are all together ſet to play the perpetuall lyer. I had almoſt called you by your right name maiſter Cope. But God make you (as I ſaid) a good man. Readyng further in your booke I could not but ſmile and laugh at this your ridiculous and moſt loude lyeng Hyperboliſmum: where as you comparyng my makyng of Saintes, with the Popes makyng, can finde (as ye ſay) in the Pope no ſuch impudent arrogancie in preſumyng, as ye finde in me. &c. If the Pope had not abuſed his arrogant iuriſdiction in Canoniſing and deifyeng his Saintes, more then I haue done: the yeare ſhould not be combred with ſo many idle holy dayes, nor the Calendares with ſo many raſkall Saintes, ſome of them as good, as euer were they that put Chriſt to death.

Copus pag. 819. lin. 7.

Double abhomination in the popes Calendare.

The great Saint maker of Rome and who be his Saintes.

But where will you finde (M. Cope) any man to beleue this your hyperbolicall compariſon to be true, which ſeeth and knoweth the infinite and vnmeaſurable exceſſe of the Popes arrogancie, not onely in ſhrinyng ſuch a rable of blinde Saintes of his own creatyng: but alſo in preſcribing the ſame to be receaued vniuerſally in the whole worlde, and not to be receaued onely, but alſo to be inuocated for giftes and graces, alſo to be worſhipped for aduocates and mediatours. Wherein riſeth a double abhomination of the Pope, the one for his idolatrous makyng and worſhippyng of Saintes: the other for his blaſphemous iniurie and derogation to Chriſt, in repulſing him out of his office of mediation, & placyng other mediatours of his owne makyng. And now to conſider what Saintes theſe were, or what were the cauſes of their ſanctyng: what Saint almoſt among all the Popes Saintes ſhall you finde (M. Cope) made within theſe fiue hundreth yeares, but commonly he was either ſome Pope, or ſome rich Byſhop, and Prelate, or ſome fat Abbat, or ſome blynd Frier, ſome Monke, or Nunne, ſome ſuperſtitious regular, or ſome builder of monaſteries, or ſom geuer and benefactour to the Popiſh Clergy, or mainteiner agoniſing for the dignities & liberties of the Popiſh church? What poore lay man or lay woman, were their lyues neuer ſo Chriſtian, their fayth and confeſſion neuer ſo pure, their death neuer ſo agoniſing for the witnes of Chriſt, and truth of his word, ſhall finde any place or fauour in all the Popes πονηρόπολις, that is in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or els in blacke?

The great Godmaker of Rome.

But here (maiſter Cope) if ye had the witte, ſomuch to defend, as ye haue to ouerwhart, you might take me with the maner, and reply agayne for the defence of your great Saintmaker, or rather Godmaker of Rome: that he maketh moe martyrs & Saints of theſe foreſayd poore laymē, and laywomē, then euer he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hāgeth thē, he drowneth them, impriſoneth & famiſheth them, & ſo maketh truer martyrs of Chriſt, thē any other of his new ſhrined Saintes, whom he hath ſo dignified in his Calendare. For the one he doth rubricate, onely with his read letters, the other he doth rubricate with their own bloud. And therefore to aunſwere you (M. Cope) to your compariſon made betwene the Pope and me, for makyng of holy Martyrs and Saintes: Briefly I ſay, and report me to all the world, that herein is no cōpariſon. For if ye ſpeake of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? if ye ſpeake of falſe Martyrs, who doth make thē, but the pope? And farthermore, to compare together the cauſes of theſe Martyred Saintes in my Calendare, with them which ſhyne ſhrined in the Popes Calendare (takyng the ſame proportion of tyme as I do, within theſe laſt fiue hundreth yeares) why may not I haue as good cauſe to celebrate theſe in my Calendar, which loſt their lyues & were ſlayne, principally for the cauſe of Chriſt and of his word: as the Pope hath to celebrate his double & ſimple feaſted Saintes in his Calendar, who in their doynges, doctrine, and life, as they ſeemed rather to ſerue the Pope, thē Chriſt the Lorde ſo in their death appeared no ſuch cauſe, why they ſhould be ſanctified in the Churche, beyond all other. Let not the Church of Chriſt (M. Cope) be deluded with hypocriticall names, nor fayned apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceaued your ſelfe, but let vs reſort ſincerely to the word of God. What was in S. Fraunces, looke vpon hys ſuperſtitious life, & preſumptuous Teſtamēt, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminiſhe and obſcure the Teſtamēt of Jeſus Chriſt, why he ſhould be made a Saint, and not an enemy rather of Chriſt?

No cauſe why the popes new ſaintes ſhould be put in the Calendare.

Thomas Becket

Aldelmus.
Anſelmus.
Dunſtanus.
S. Elizabeth.

What was lykewiſe in Frier Dominicke, who before Fraunces x. yeares together perſecuted the poore Waldenſes to death and deſtruction, why he ſhould ſtand a Saincte and a piller of the Church? I pray you what ſee you in Thomas Becket, but that he dyed for the ambitious liberties of the Popiſhe Church? What in Aldelmus, and in Anſelmus, but onely that they chaſed away maryed prieſts from the Churches, and planted in idle Monkes in theyr ſteede? The like alſo did Dunſtanus, who was rubricated wyth a duplex feſtum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the Marques of Thuring, when ſhe had with much perſwaſions got out her huſband to fight againſt the Turkes, and was there ſlayne, ſhee afterward encloyſtered her ſelfe, and was made a nunne. And do you thinke theſe cauſes to be ſufficient, why they ſhould be made ſaintes, worſhipped in churches, and ſet in Calendares? Long it were to make rehearſall of all this riffraffe, and almoſt infinite. One example may ſuffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringhā, was the ſonne of Jocelyne a knight, who for his deformitie of his body was ſet to learning, and afterward made Chanon, and was authour of the Gilbertines, in the tyme of king John.

The canoniſatiō of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

Ex lib. de vita S. Gilberti Confeſſoris.

This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monaſteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterward laboured for vnto the Pope to be made a Saint: who hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterbury, in the behalfe of the foreſayd Gilbert, willing & commaundyng per Apoſtolica ſcripta, that the feaſt of the ſayd Gilbert ſhoulde be ſolemniſed through all the prouince of Canterbury. Vt meritis nimirum eius et precibus apud miſericordiſſimum iudicem miſericordiam conſequatur. &c.

The popes letter & the Archb. for the canoniſing of S. Gilbert.

Wherupon Hubert the Archbiſhop directeth downe hys writinges to all the Biſhops within his prouince, the contentes of which his writings do folow: Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiſcop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Chriſto frat. Epiſco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, ſicut ex literis ipſius manifeſtè perpenditur, de conuerſatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magiſtri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per teſtes & teſtimonia ſufficienter inſtructus, de conſilio fratrum Cardin. ipſū mag. Catalogo ſanctorum decreuit aſcribi, ſolemnitatem eius conſtituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciam ſolemniter celebrari. Inſuper & corpus eius cum requiſiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Veſtra igitur vniuerſitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, & ſecundum formam in ipſo mandato præſcriptam, prædicti confeſſoris Domini depoſitionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia & ſolemniter obſeruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo veſtra debeat & poſſit deuotio cōmendari, necnon & ipſius ſancti ſupplex interceſſio vobis proficiat ad ſalutem. Valete.

The ſumme of the which writing of the Archbiſhop tendeth to this effect. That forſomuch as the Pope hearyng of the life and myracles of Gilbert, Maiſter of the order of Sempringham, by ſufficient witnes and teſtimonies, hath in his letters commaunded him by the aduiſe of his Cardinals, that the ſayd Gilbert ſhould be canoniſed and aſcribed in the Catalogue of Saintes, and that his ſolemnitie ſhould be celebrate ſolemnely throughout all the prouince of Canterbury. And alſo his body to be taken vp and ſhrined to ẏ honour and glory of God: He therefore at the Popes commaundement writing vnto them, willeth all the Suffragans within his prouince of Caunterbury yearly to ſolemniſe, and cauſe to be ſolemnized reuerently the depoſition of the ſayd Saint Gilbert Confeſſor: to the entent that their deuotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And alſo, that the humble interceſſion of the ſaid Saint may profit them to their ſaluation.

Is this good doctrine M. Cope, in the Popes canoniſation?

The blaſphemous collect of the popes making for S. Gilbert.

Furthermore, for the more full canoniſing (coniuring I had almoſt ſayd) of this new made Saint, the ſayd pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforeſayd, adioyneth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this: Plenam in nobis æterne ſaluator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, vt qui præclara beati Gilberti confeſſoris tui merita veneramur, ipſius adiuti ſuffragiis a cunctis animarum noſtrarum languoribus liberemur. Qui viuis et regnas. &c. That is: worke in vs O eternall Sauiour full remedy of thy vertue, that we which worſhip the worthy merites of bleſſed Gilbert thy confeſſour, being ſuccoured by his ſuffrages, may be deliuered from all languors and diſeaſes of our ſoules, who liueſt and raigneſt. &c.

The conſecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was

Copus pag. 119. lin. 7

not the worſt) I thought here to commemorate, to the intent that the Reader meaſuring by this one, the Canoniſation of all the reſt, may iudge the better vpon this compariſon of maiſter Cope, whether of vs doth vendicate more impudent authoritie, the Pope in his Calendar, or I in myne: or to make the compariſon more fit, whether is more impudent the Pope in his Calendar, or els maiſter Cope in his Dialogues more doltiſh.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you to canoniſe or to authoriſe any Saintes, for man it is preſumptuous: to preſcribe any thyng here to be worſhypped, beſide God alone, it is idolatrous: to ſet vp any mediatours but Chriſt onely, it is blaſphemous. And whatſoeuer the Pope doth or hath done in his Calendare, my purpoſe in my Calendare was neither to deface any old Saint, or to ſolẽniſe any new. In my booke of Actes and Monumentes entreatyng of matters paſſed in the Church, theſe latter fiue hundreth yeares, I did regulate out a Calendare, not for any Canon to conſtitute Saintes, but onely for a table of them, which within the ſame tyme did ſuffer for the teſtimonie of the word, whom I did and do take to be good & godly men. If any haue other iudgement of them, I bynde no man to my opinion, as the Pope doth to his. The day will come which ſhall iudge both them and you. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall be beſt for you (M. Cope) in my iudgement to keepe a good toung in your head, and to quiet your raylyng mood. A hard thyng it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile and is vncertaine, the iudgement of God is alwayes ſure. Beſt is therfore either to be ſure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you do ſay, or els to ſay the beſt. Of ſuch ſlaunderous, and intemperate raylyng, can come no good, neither to them whom ye rayle vpon: nor to your ſelfe, which rayleth: nor to the Churche of God that heareth you rayle. For them you cã not hurt, they are gone. To your ſelfe and though your matter be true, yet litle honeſty it will bryng, to be counted a rayler, and if it be vncertaine, your ſtate is daungerous, and if be falſe, moſt miſerable: And as to the Church, what great edification can procede of ſuch contentious brawlyng and barkyng one agaynſt an other, I do not greatly ſee. And if the zeale of the byſhop of Romes Church haue ſo much ſwallowed you vp, that ye can not but ſtampe and ſtare at traitours when ye ſee them put in Calendars: firſt (M. Cope) be ye ſure firſt that they be traytours, wiſedome would, whom you call traytours. And if ye can ſo proue thẽ (as ye haue not yet) then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours, as hoate as Purgatory, burne out, & flame as well agaynſt your owne traytours, hauing ſo many in your owne Calendare and Church at home?

Cope counſailed to ceaſe his raylyng.

No good cometh of raylyng.

The zeale of M. Cope expended.

And if there be ſuch a Catholicke zeale in you, that hath ſet your gentle breaſt on ſuch a peltyng chaſe, why then is not this your Catholicke zeale equally indifferent? Why take ye on ſo fell on the one ſide agaynſt ſir John Oldcaſtle, ſir Roger Acton, M. Browne, &c? A man would thinke, you played Hercules furens in Orcheſtra. On the other ſide againe ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indifferencie (maiſter Cope) call you this? Or what zeale make you this to be? Albeit your zeale, I iudge not, as I know it not. Swift iudgement ſhall not become me, which go about to correct the ſame in you. But this I exhorte you, to beware (maiſter Cope) that by your owne fruites and doinges euident, ye do not bewray this zeale in you to be Non ſecundum ſciẽtiam, nor ſuch a zeale as fighteth Pro domo Dei, ſed pro domo Pontificis. As I ſayd I iudge you not. you haue your iudge to whom ye ſtande or fall. My counſaile is, that ye do not ſo zeale the Byſhop of Rome, that for his ſake, ye loſe your owne ſoule. ye remember the old vulgare voyce, it is not good Ludere cum ſanctis, worſe it is Illudere: worſt of all it is Debacchari in immerẽtes: Becauſe that Deus ipſe vltionũ Dominus many times taketh their cauſe in hand, accordyng as it is written: Opprobria opprobrantium tibi ceciderunt in me. i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And ſeldome haue I ſene any ſuch blaſphemous railers againſt the end or puniſhment of Gods Saintes & ſeruauntes, without great repentaunce, to come to any good end themſelues.

And admit this (as graunted vnto you M. Cope) that theſe mẽ had bene traytours, which ye are not able to proue. Well, they had their puniſhment therfore, the world can go no farther: and what would you haue more? who & if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Chriſtes kyngdome as your ſelfe? Now for ſomuch as the ſayd perſons alſo ſuffering a double puniſhment were ſo conſtant in the way of truth, & moſt principally for the ſame were perſecuted, and chiefly therfore brought to their death: that part of example, becauſe I ſaw it to pertaine to the profite of the Church, why might I not inſerte it with other Churche ſtories in my booke? Let the Church take that, which belongeth to the Churche. Let the world take that, which to the world pertaineth & go no farther. And if ye thinke it much, that I would exemplifie theſe, whõ you cal traitours in the booke of Martyrs: firſt ye muſt vnderſtand, that I wrote no ſuch booke bearing the title of the booke of Martyrs. I wrote a booke called the Actes & Monumentes, of thinges paſſed in the Church: &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beſide the Martyrs of Chriſt. But this peraduenture moueth your cholar, that in the Calendare I name them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendare call them by the name of Martyrs, whiche were faithfull witneſſes of Chriſtes truth and Teſtament, for the which they were alſo chiefly brought vnto their ende? Or why may I not call them holy Saintes, whom Chriſt hath ſanctified with his bleſſed bloud? And what if I ſhould alſo call the theefe and murderer hanging on the right ſide of the Lord, by the name of an holy Saint, and Confeſſour, for his witneſſing of the Lord, what can maiſter Cope ſay againſt it?

The name of Martyrs in the Calẽdare defended.

What is a Martyr.

Holy ſaints of Chriſt.

Martyrs in the Calendar coloured with red.

The painter coloureth with redde. The Pope coloureth with bloud.

And as for colouryng the names of certaine Martyrs in the ſayd Calendar in red or ſcarlet letters (although that perteineth nothyng to me, which was as pleaſed ẏ Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that ſo much breaketh his patience, why rather doth not he expoſtulate in this behalfe with the great Saint maker of Rome, who hath readed them much more then euer did I. For he did read and dyed them ẘ their owne bloud, whereas I did but onely colour them with redde letters. And thus for matter of my Calendare enough.

Proceedyng now out of the Calendare vnto the booke, where he chargeth me with ſo many lyes, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and vntruthes, it remaineth likewiſe I cleare my ſelfe, aunſwering firſt to thoſe lyes and vntruthes, which to the ſtory of ſir Roger Actõ, and ſir John Oldcaſtle do appertaine. And after to other particulars, as in order of my booke do follow. And firſt where he layeth againſt me whole heapes, and cartlodes, I cannot tell how many of lyes and falſities: I here briefly aunſwere maiſter Cope againe (or what Dutche body els ſoeuer lyeth couered vnder this Engliſh Cope) that if a lye be (after the definition of S. Auguſtine) whatſoeuer thing is pronounced with the intent to deceaue an other: thẽ I proteſt to you M. Cope, and to all the world, that there is neuer a lye in all my booke. What ẏ intẽt & cuſtome is of the papiſtes to do, I cã not tell: for myne owne, I wil ſay, although many other vices I haue, yet frõ this one I haue alwayes of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceaue any man or child, ſo neare as I could, much leſſe the church of God, whom I ẘ all my hart do reuerẽce, & with feare obey. And therfore among diuers other cauſes, that haue withdrawen my mynde frõ the Papiſtes faction, almoſt there is none greater then this, becauſe I ſee them ſo litle geuen to truth, ſo farre from all ſerious feeling and care of ſincere Religion, ſo full of falſe pretenced hypocriſie and diſſimulation ſo litle regarding the Churche of Chriſt in their inward hartes, which they ſomuch haue in their mouthes: ſo, as vnder the title therof they may hold vp their owne eſtate. Otherwiſe ſo litle reuerence they yeld to the true & honorable Church of Jeſus the ſonne of God, that what vnworthy and raſcall Miniſters they take into it they paſſe not, what fictions, what lyes and fables, what falſe miracles and abſurde forgeries they inuent to delude it, they care not. I ſpeake not of all.

The author cleareth him ſelfe of lyes & vntruthes layd agaynſt hym.

Some there be of that ſect vnfayned in conſciences, and more religious, and better diſpoſed natures, onely of ſimple ignoraunce deceiued. But ſuch commonly haue bene and be the chief guides and leaders of the Papiſtes Church, that litle true care and ſmal zeale hath appeared in them, toward the Church of Chriſt, not much regardyng what corruption increaſed therein, ſo that their commodities might not decreaſe. Thus out of this fõtaine haue guſhed out ſo many prodigious lyes in Church Legendes, in Saintes liues, in Monkiſh fictions, in fabulous miracles, in falſe and forged Reliques, as in peeces of the holy croſſe, in the bloud of hales, in our Ladies milke in the nayles of Chriſt, whiche they make to be a great number. Likewiſe in their falſe and blind errours, corrupt doctrines, abſurde inuentiõs repugnant to the truth of the word. Itẽ, in their baſtard bookes, forged Epiſtles, their Apocripha, & Pſeudopigrapha. Here commeth in their forged Canons, their foyſting & coggyng in auncient Cõucels & decrees, as in ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμου πέτρου in Canons of the Apoſtles (if thoſe Canons were the Apoſtles) Excepta Romana ſede, foyſted into the Decrees by

The lyes & fictions innumerable in the popes church.

Gra=

Gracianus, alſo the cogging in of a falſe canon into the counſell of Nice for the maintenaunce of the ſea of Rome, as appeareth in the vi. Synode of Carthage.

Vntruth in the popiſhe epiſtle decretall.

Vntruth in the popiſhe Lyturgies.

Vntruth in bookes counterfaite.

Gregories Dialogues.

Sermo ad Conuentum Sāctorum, in fine Euſeb. made by Conſtantine the Emperour.

Here commeth in alſo the Epiſtles of Clement, and other ſondry Epiſtles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falſly inſerted by other, ſo are they the welhead of many ſuperſtitious traditions, oppreſſing this day the Church of Chriſt. To ſpeake moreouer of the liturges of S. James, of Chryſoſtome and other, of the firſt Maſſe ſayd by S. Peter at Rome, and that S. Peter ſat xxv. yeares Byſhop of Rome. To ſpeake alſo of the workes of Auguſt. Ambroſe, Hierome, and Gregorie, what Doctour or famous writer hath there bene in the church, vnder whoſe name ſome counterfeited bookes haue not falſely bene fathered, and yet ſtand ſtill authoriſed vnder their patronage, to the great detrimēt of the Church. What ſhould I ſpeake of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionyſius Areopagita. The Dialogues of Gregorie, which falſely to this day haue bene aſcribed to Gregory the firſt, wherein deede they were firſt written in Greeke, by Gregory the 3. and afterward tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin, by pope Zachary. vide ſupra. pag. 130. Likewiſe that worthy and Imperiall Sermon intituled Euſebij pamphili Sermo ad Conuentū Sanctorum, hath to this day wrōgly borne the name of Euſebius. Where as in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Conſtantinus himſelfe in his owne heroicall ſtile in Latine, and afterward tranſlated out of Latin into Greeke by Euſebius, as he himſelfe cōfeſſeth in his worke De vita Conſtant. Lib. 4. But as touching this Sermon although the name be chaunged, ſo godly & truthfull it is, that it mattereth not much, vnder whoſe name it be read, yet worthy to be read vnder the name of none ſomuch, as of the Emperour Conſtantine himſelfe, who was the true author and owner therof.

Vntruth in the Popes doctrine.

Vntruth in the popes Legendes and Maſſe bookes.

Vntruth in the popes miracles & reliques.

Vntruth in the popes Sacramētes.

A maiſter lye.

Briefly except it be the bookes onely of the new Teſtament and of the old, what is almoſt in the Popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted, either by ſome additions interlaſed, or by ſome diminution mangled & gelded, or by ſome gloſe adulterate, or with manifeſt lyes contaminate. So that in their doctrine ſtandeth litle truth, in their Legendes, Portues, and Maſſebookes leſſe truth, in their miracles and Reliques leaſt truth of all. Neither yet do their Sacramētes remaine cleare and voyde of manifeſt lyes and corruption. And eſpecially here cōmeth in the maiſter bey, which bringeth in much ſweete hony into Popes hyues, the maiſter lye, I meane of all lyes, where the Pope leauing not one cromme of bread, nor droppe of wine in the reuerent communion, vntruly and idolatrouſly taketh away all ſubſtaunce of bread from it, turnyng the whole ſubſtaunce of bread into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes owne body: which ſubſtaunce of bread, if the Pope take frō the Sacrament, then muſt he alſo take the breakyng from it: for breakyng, and the body of Chriſt, can in no caſe ſtand litterally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proued by the worde of God to be a manifeſt lye: ſo thinke not much (good Reader) hereat, as though I paſſed the bondes of modeſtie in callyng it the Archlye or maiſterlye of all lyes. Becauſe vpon this one, an infinite number of other lyes & errours in the Popes Church, as handmaydes do wayte and depend.

But for ſomuch as I ſtand here not to charge other mē ſomuch, as to defend my ſelfe, ceaſing therfore to, or rather differryng for a tyme to ſtyrre this ſtinkyng pudle of theſe wilfull and intēded lyes and vntruthes, which in the popes Religion and in Papiſtes bookes be innumerable: I will now returne to thoſe vntruthes and impudent lyes, which M. Cope hath hunted out in my hiſtorie of Actes and Monumentes, firſt beginnyng with thoſe vntruthes whiche he carpeth in the ſtory of the foreſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle, and ſir Roger Acton, Browne and the reſt.

And firſt, where he layeth to my charge, that I call them Martyrs, which were traytours and ſeditious rebels agaynſt the kyng, and their cōutrey: to this I haue anſwered before ſufficiently.

Now here then muſt the reader nedes ſtay a litle at M. Copes requeſt, to ſee my vanitie and impudencie yet more fully and amply repreſſed in refuting a certaine place in my Latin ſtory, concernyng the kynges ſtatute made at Leyceſter, which place and wordes by him alledged be theſe, pag. 107. Quocirca Rex indicto Leceſtriæ concilio (quòd fortaſsis Lōdini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) propoſito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his, quicunq; deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus ſectarentur, vſq; adeo in eos ſeuerus, vt non modo hæreticos, ſed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proin[illegible] gemino eos ſupplicio, ſuſpendio ſimul & incendio afficiendos ſtatuerit. &c. Et mox, Adeo ille vires, rationeſque intendebat omnes aduerſus Wicleuianos. Wicleuiani id temporis dicebantur, quicunq; Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent. &c.

Cope cauilleth without cauſe.

Stat. an. 2. Henr. 5 cap. 7.

Upon theſe wordes out of my foreſayde Latine booke alledged, maiſter Cope perſwadeth hymſelfe, to haue great aduauntage agaynſt me, to proue me a notorious lyar, in three ſundry pointes. Firſt, in that, where as I ſay, that the kyng did holde his Parliamēt at Leyceſter, addyng thys by way of parentheſis (quod fortaſsis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum. &c.) here he concludeth therby ſimpliciter and preciſely, that the L. Cobham and ſir Roger Acton with his felowes, were traytours. &c. Whereby a man may ſoone ſhape a cauiller, by the ſhadow of Maiſter Cope. For where as my Dialyſis out of the texte ſpeaketh doubtfully and vncertainely by this word (fortaſsis) meanyng in deede, the kyng to be in feare of the Goſpellers, that he durſt not holde hys Parliament at London, but went to Leyceſter: he argueth preciſely therfore, that the L. Cobham, ſir Roger Acton, and hys felowes went about to kill the king. Secondly, where I affirme, that the kyng in that Parliament made a greuous lawe againſt all ſuch as dyd holde the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they ſhoulde be taken hereafter, not for heretiques, but alſo for felons, or rebelles, or traytours, and therfore ſhould ſuſtaine a double puniſhment, both to be hanged, and alſo to be burned. &c. Here commeth in maiſter Momus, wyth his Cope on hys backe, & prouing me to be a lyar, denyeth playnly ỳ the kyng made any ſuch ſtatute, vid. pag. 835. lin. 6. where his wordes be theſe: Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus & deinceps & geminatas pœnas ſuſpendij & incendij luerent, vt nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur. &c.

Copus. pag. 835. lin. 6.

Obiection.

The ſecte of Wickliffe made hereſie and treaſon by K. Hēry. 5

Polyd. Virgil. lib. 22

Firſt here woulde be aſked of maiſter Cope, what he calleth patriæ hoſtes, et proditores? if he call theſe traitors, then let vs ſee whether they that folowed the ſecte of Wickleffe, were made traitours & heretiques by the kinges lawe, or not. And firſt let vs heare what ſayth Polydore Virgil, hys owne witnes in this behalfe, whoſe wordes in hys xxij. booke, pag. 441. be theſe: Quare publice edixit, vt ſi vſpiam deinceps reperirentur, qui eam ſequerentur ſectam, patriæ hoſtes haberentur, quo ſine omni lenitate ſeuerius ac ocyus de illis ſupplicium ſumeretur. &c. That is, wherfore it was by publique ſtatute decreed, that who ſoeuer were founde hereafter to folow the ſecte of Wickleffe, ſhoulde be accounted for traytours, whereby without all lenitie, they ſhould be puniſhed more ſeuerely and quickly. &c.

Tho. VValden in tomo primo. Doctrinali, ad Mart. papam in prolog.

VValden tomo. 1. De doctrinali eccleſiæ, cap. 46. lib. 2.

Thus haue you (maiſter Cope) the playne teſtimonie of Polydore with me. And becauſe ye ſhall further ſee your ſelfe more impudent in carping, then I am in deprauing of hiſtories, you ſhall vnderſtand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden, one of your own catholique brotherhode, and who was alſo himſelfe a liue, & a voer in the ſame Parliament, being the prouinciall of the Carmelites, ſayth in thys matter writing to Pope Martine, whoſe very wordes in Latine here folow, written in his Prologue to the ſayd Martine, in this wiſe: Nec mora longa proceſſit, quin ſtatutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod omnes Wicleuiſtæ ſicut dei proditores eſſent, ſic proditores regis, proſcriptis bonis cenſerentur et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter deum, ſuſpendio propter regem. &c. That is. And it was not long after, but a publicke law and ſtatute came out, by the common aſſent of the general parliament of the whole Realme, that all Wicleuiſtes, as they were traytours to God, ſo alſo ſhould be counted traytours to the kyng and to the realme, hauing their goods loſt and confiſcate vnto the kyng. And therfore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the kyng. &c. And thus haue you (Maiſter Cope) not onely my ſentence, but alſo the very wordes of my ſtory confirmed by thys author: becauſe ye ſhall not thinke me to ſpeake ſo lightly or impudently without my booke. And moreouer to confirme the ſayd ſentence of Tho. Walden, it foloweth alſo in an other place of the foreſayde author, Tomo. 1. lib. 2. De doctrinali fidei Eccleſie Cathol. Cap. 46. where he writeth in theſe wordes. Et tamen iam cum regnare cœpiſſet Illuſtris rex Henricus. 5. qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, et de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos, legem ſtatui fecit, vt vbiq; per regnum Wicleuiſta probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine læſæ maieſtatis. &c. That is. And yet, when the noble king Hēry v. who as yet doth liue and raigne, began firſt to raigne, beganne to ſet forth a lawe, by his learned Catholiques which were about hym, agaynſt the falſenes of theſe men, ſo that whoſoeuer was proued to be a Wicleuiſt, through the whole realme, ſhoulde be puniſhed for a traitour. &c. What wordes can you haue M. Cope, more playne then theſe? or what authoritie can you require of more credite, which liued in the ſame tyme, and both did ſee and heare of the ſame thinges done? who alſo writing to pope Martine, was by the ſayde pope Martine

Either Walden writeth true or els the pope erreth.

tine allowed, approued, and ſolemnely commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epiſtle to him, wherein the Pope declareth, how he cauſed his bookes, Per ſolennes viros videri, & examinari. That is, by ſolemne perſons to be ſeene and examined. &c. So ỷ you muſt needes graunt, either this to be true, that Walden writeth: or els that the Pope (tanquam Papa) in allowyng his wrytynges may erre and be deceiued. Chuſe ye (maſter Cope) of theſe two options whether you will take.

Rog. VValha lib. de geſtis Hen. 5. fol. 10.

And if ye thinke this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently reſcued with theſe authorities aboue ſayd, I will alſo hereunto adioyne the teſtimonie of an other writer named Roger Walle, who writing De geſtis Henrici. 5. and ſpeakyng of the ſayd ſtatute of this Parliament ſome thyng more plainly then the reſt, hath theſe wordes: In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputans proditores, volẽs dare intelligere vniuerſis, quòd ipſe abſq; cuiuſcunq; fluctuationis dubio, q̃diu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Chriſtianæ fidei æmulator exiſteret: ſtatuit & decreuit, vt quotquot ipſius ſectæ, quæ dicitur Lollardorum, inuenirẽtur æmuli & fautores, eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maieſtatẽ regiam haberẽtur. &c. In Engliſh. Alſo in this Parliament, the noble kyng reputing Chriſtes enemies to be traytours to himſelfe, to the intent that all men ſhould know without all doubt, that ſo long as he liued, he would be a true and a perfect folower of Chriſten fayth: did enact and decree, that whoſoeuer ſhould be founde folowers and mainteiners of this ſect, which is called the Lollardes ſect, Ipſo facto, ſhould be counted and reputed giltie of treaſon agaynſt the Kinges maieſtie. &c.

By theſe hetherto alledged if M. Cope will not be ſatiſfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: Vtrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certaine, marke the clamatiõ of the ſayd Roger Walle, added to the ende of thoſe wordes aboue recited, wherby we haue to vnderſtand more clearely, both what were the proceedynges of the kyng in the ſayd Parliament, & alſo what was the blind affection of mõkes and Prieſtes at that time toward their kyng and Prince (which was then called princeps ſacerdotum) in condemnyng and deſtroying the poore Lollardes. The wordes of this Mõke be theſe: O verus amicus, qui amico illatam iniuriam ſibi inferri conſimiliter arbitratur, præiudiciũ illi intentum reputat eſſe ſuum, & ad eius onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros ſupponere non veretur. &c. That is: O true frend, who taketh and recketh that iniurie no leſſe done to himſelfe which is done to his frend: and that preiudice whiche is intended agaynſt him, reputeth to be as his owne. And to beare together the burdens of his frend, ſticketh not to lay to his own ſhoulders, for the eaſing and helping of him. &c.

K. Henry the 5. called Princeps Sacerdotum.

Rog. VVallus. ibid.

How can it now be denied (M. Cope) in reading theſe authors, and ſeing their teſtimonies, but that Lolarderie in this Parliament was made both treaſon and hereſie, and had therefore a double iudgement of puniſhment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other, accordyng as in my former Latin ſtory I recorded, and yet I truſt, I trifled not?

Copus Pag. 835. lin. 8

Obiection.
Aunſwere.

But you will ſay agayne (as ye do) that there is no mention made for hereſie to be made treaſon, nor of any double puniſhment to be inflicted for the ſame. In the body of the ſtatute (I graunt) there is no expreſſe mention in wordes of hereſie to be made treaſon, expreſly ſignified in rigour of wordes: but incluſiuely it is ſo inferred, that it can not be denied. For firſt where landes, goodes and cattell of the ſaid Lollardes were loſt and forfet to the kyng, what doth this importe els, but treaſon or felonie.

Stat. an. 2. Henr. 5. cap. 7.

Alſo where the Lord Cobham (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this ſtatute ſeemed to be made) did ſuſteine afterwarde both hanging and burning, by the vigor of the ſame ſtatute: what is here cõteined, but a double penaltie? Agayn where in the beginnyng of the ſtatute mentiõ is made of rumours and congregations, and after vpõ the ſame foloweth the ſeruices of the kyng, wherunto the officers be firſt ſworne, ſhould firſt be preferred for libertie of holy Church, and puniſhment of heretickes, made before theſe dayes and not repealed, vt ſupra, pag. 678. what meaneth this, but to make theſe congregations of the Lollardes, to be forcible entrees, riotes, great rydynges, vnlawfull aſſembles, affrayes of the people, armour, routes, & inſurrections, and ſo ſendeth them to the former ſtatutes not repealed, that is, to the ſtatute. an. 13. Henr. 4. chap. 7? where the puniſhment is left to the diſcretiõ of the kyng: or els to the ſtatute, an. 15. Richar. chap. 2. where the penaltie is made fine and raunſome: Or els to the ſtatute. an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 6. where ſuch aſſemblies be made playne treaſon, in fine ſtatuti.

Vid. Sat. an. 13. Henr. 4 cap. 7.
Vid. ſtat. an. 15. Rich. 2. cap. 2.
Vid ſtat an. 5. Rich. 2. cap.

And as here is matter of treaſon ſufficiently conteined, ſo for hereſie likewiſe the ſame ſtatute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the lawes, properly to hereſie appertainyng, as to the ſtatute. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. where the penaltie is burnyng. Alſo to the ſtatute. an. 5. Richar. 2. chap. 5. So that in this preſent ſtatute here mention is conteined, as ye ſee, although not in expreſſe wordes, yet incluſiuely (by referryng to other ſtatutes not repealed) both Lollardery which is puniſhed with burnyng, and forcible entrees which is puniſhed at the kynges pleaſure. And thus much concernyng the ſecond vntruth, which M. Cope vntruely noteth in me.

Vid. ſtat. an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15.
Vid. ſtat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

3. Obiection.

Aunſwere.

3. The third vntruth which he noteth in me concernyng this matter, is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I ſay, there was no other cauſe of deuiſing this ſharpe law & puniſhmẽt againſt theſe men, but onely for hauyng the Scripture bookes. And therfore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let M. Cope take heede, he deceaue not himſelfe and other. For my part I remember no ſuch place in this my Latine ſtory where I ſo ſay. Onely my wordes be theſe, added in the latter ende of the place aboue recited: Wicleuiani verò dicebantur quicunq; id temporis Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent. &c. That is. They were called Wicleuiſtes, whoſoeuer at that time read the Scripture in Engliſh or vulgare toũg. &c. I ſay not, that for the ſcriptures being read in the Engliſh toũg, therfore the law was enacted, but ſo is M. Cope diſpoſed to conſtrue it. What law & ſtatute were made agaynſt writing or reading of any booke in Engliſh or in any other toung cõtrary to the Catholicke (that is ỷ Romiſh) fayth, or to the determinatiõ of the holy Church (that is of Rome) read I beſech thee the bloudy ſtatute made. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. aboue ſpecified pag. 507. Alſo read the conſtitution prouinciall of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 509. lin. 9. where it was decreed, that the text of holy Scripture ſhould not be had or read in the vulgare toũg from the tyme of M. John Wickleffe for euer after, vnleſſe the ſayd tranſlation be approued firſt by the ordinary or by prouinciall councell, vnder payne and puniſhment of hereſie. Now let ỷ reader iudge whether the readyng of Scripture bookes in the Engliſh toung, by the makyng or tranſlating of Wickleffe, or from the tyme of Wickleffe downeward be counted hereſie not. As for the approuyng of the ordinary or of the prouinciall councell added in the end of the ſayd conſtitution, maketh more for a ſhew or pretence then for any iuſt exception, or any true intenciõ. For what mã hauing thoſe Scriptures trãſlated in Engliſh, would either preſent them to their ordinaries beyng ſo ſet agaynſt the readyng of ſuch bookes? or what ordinarie would or did euer yet ſince Arundels tyme approue any ſuch tranſlation, preſented vnto them? Or els why did the good Martyrs of Amerſam ſuffer death, in the begynnyng of kyng Henry the viij. for hauyng and readyng certaine bookes of Scripture, which were (as is ſayd) onely foure Epiſtles of S. Paul, with certaine other prayers. And the other which heard them but onely read, did beare fagottes, & the ſame tyme, the children compelled to ſet fagottes vnto their fathers, at which tyme Longland beyng then Byſhop of Lincolne, and preachyng to them at the ſtake, ſayd: that whatſoeuer they were, that did but moue his lippes in readyng thoſe chapters, were damned for euer: as when we come to that tyme, by the grace of Chriſt, ſhall hereafter more amply and notoriouſly appeare. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined agaynſt me, for crafty dealyng in my ſtory?

Reading of Scripture bookes contrary to the Romiſhe fayth made hereſie.

Statut. an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 14. Vide ſupra pag. 507.

The text of Scripture not to be tranſlated to the vulgare tounge vnder payne of hereſie.

Conſt. prouinc. Tho. Arund. Vid. ſupra pag. 509.

Children of Emerſham cauſed to ſet fagots to to their fathers.

Copus pag. 833 lin. 20.

Moreouer where M. Cope procedyng farther in this matter, aſketh me: how was the Lord Cobham obedient to the kyng, when as for the feare of him, the kyng durſt not then keepe his Parliament at London? To whom I anſwere agayne, aſkyng likewiſe of M. Cope, how was the kyng then afrayde to hold his Parliament at Londõ for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that tyme was in Wales? And here M. Cope, thinkyng to haue me at a narow ſtraite, and to hold me faſt, byddeth me tell him, how it could be otherwiſe, but the Lord Cobham muſt needes haue fautors. And who ſhould theſe fautors be (ſayth he) but ſir Roger Acton, Browne & their folowers. The which mighty queſtion of M. Cope, I aunſwere agayne, how can ſir Roger Acton, Browne, and their felowes be then fautors of the Lord Cobhã, for whom the kyng durſt not hold his Parliament at Londõ, when as the ſayd Roger Acton, Browne, and the reſt were put to death a whole yeare almoſt before the Parliament at Leyceſter began?

Copus. pag. 836 lin. 13.

And now as I haue hetherto briefly and truly aunſwered to your aſkynges (M. Cope) let me be ſo bold with you agayne, to propounde to you likewiſe an other Queſtion. For ſomuch as you haue put me to the ſearchyng of the

Statute of the vi. articles in the tyme of K. Henry. 8.
Statut. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.
Statut. de comburendo. an. 2. Hen. 4. ca. 15. Vid. ſupra pag. 507.
Statut. an. 2. Henr. 4. de comburendo, proued not ſufficient, to burne any man.

tutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted: now out of the ſame ſtatutes riſeth a doubtfull ſcruple or a queſtiõ, worthy to be ſolued. The caſe is this, yͤ, for aſmuch as ſo many good Martyrs and Saintes of God hetherto in this Realme of England haue bene burned, frõ the tyme of K. Henry 4. Hen. 5. Hẽ. 6. Henry 8. to the tyme and in the tyme of Queene Mary, my queſtion is that you with all your learned coũcell about you wil tell me, by what law or ſtatute of the realme were theſe men brent? I know the auncient cuſtome hath bene, that heretickes conuicted by a prouinciall councell were wont to be left to the ſeculare power. But how wil ye proue me, theſe heretickes were either conuicte by ſuch prouinciall councell, or that theſe ſeculare men ought to be your butchers in burnyng them, whõ ye haue committed to them? If ye allege the vj. Articles made in the reigne of king Hẽry the viij. thoſe Articles neither did ſerue before the tyme of kyng Henry viij. neither yet were they reuiued after his tyme. If ye allege the ſtatute made. an. 5. Richar. 2. chap. 5. In that ſtatute (I aunſwere) is cõteined no matter of burnyng, but onely of arreſt to be done at the certifications of the prelates, without any further puniſhment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye allege the ſtatute made. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. and reuiued in the reigne of Queene Mary, mẽtioned before, pag. 507. To that ſtatute I aunſwere, that although that pretẽſed ſtatute appeareth in forme of wordes in the Printed booke to geue vnto the temporall officers authoritie to bryng them to the ſtake, and to burne them, whom the Byſhop deliuereth: yet is it not to be proued, either by you, or any other, that ſtatute to be law or warrant ſufficient to burne any perſon or perſons committed to the ſeculare power by the Clergy. And that I proue thus, for although the ſame ſtatute of kyng Henry the fourth in the bookes Printed, appeare to haue law and authoritie ſufficient, by the full aſſent both of the king, of the Lordes, and of the commons: yet beyng occaſioned by M. Cope to ſearch further in yͤ ſtatutes, I haue founde that in the Rolles and firſt originals of that Parliament, there is no ſuch mention either of any petition, or els of any aſſent of the commons annexed or conteined in that ſtatute, accordyng as in the Printed bookes vſuall in the Lawyers handes is craftely and falſely foyſted in, as by the playne wordes therof may well appeare.

For where the ſayd ſtatute. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. beyng thus intituled in the Rolles: Petitio cleri contra hæreticos, and aſſented vnto in this forme: hath theſe wordes.

¶Statut. an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle thus: Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos, and aſſented vnto in this forme.

The printed ſtatute an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. falſely corrupted.

QVas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri ſuperius expreſſatas do. noſter Rex, de conſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerũ regni ſui, in præſenti Parliamento exiſtentium conceſſit, & in omnibus & ſingulis iuxta formam & effectum eorundem ordinauit & ſtatuit de cætero firmiter obſeruari, and ſo forth accordyng to the petition & mo wordes, are there not in the ſtatute Rolle. Wherefore where as the ſtatute booke Printed hath thus: Super quibus quidem nouitatibus & exceſſibus ſuperius recitatis (videlicet in the petition of the Prelates and Clergy) prælati & clerus ſupradicti ac etiam communitates dicti Regni in eodem Parliamẽto exiſten. dicto Domino Regi ſupplicarũt. &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex. &c. ex aſſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerũ eiuſdem Regni &c. conceſſit, ordinauit. &c. Theſe wordes Ac etiam communitates dicti Regni. &c. are put in further then the Rolle doth warrant, and ſemeth to be the practiſe of the Clergy, to make that as an Acte of Parliament, and to ſeeme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer aſſented vnto by the commons.

Ex conſtitutionibus prouincialibus oxonia celebratis. Ioan. Anthon.

And thus you ſee how this foreſayd ſtatute, Printed both in Engliſh and in Latin among the prouinciall councels of Oxford (by the vertue whereof ſo many good men haue bene burned ſo long in England) doth vtterly ouerthrow it ſelfe, for that it ſwarueth from the recorde both in forme and in matter, and lacketh the aſſent of the commons. Which doubt I thought at this preſent to propounde vnto you (maiſter Cope) for that you haue ſo vrged me to the ſearchyng out of the ſtatutes, by your declaimyng agaynſt the Lord Cobham.

Vid. Stat. an. 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5.

Ex Rotul. Parliam.

Moreouer vnto this ſtatute aforeſayd, ioyne alſo withall an other Memorandum of like practiſe done. an. 5. Rich. 2. In the which yeare, where as a ſtatute was cõcluded in yͤ parliamẽt. an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. agaynſt certaine preachers ſpecified in the ſame ſtatute, which goyng about in certaine habites frõ to place place, did draw the people, to heare their ſermons: And commiſſions were made & directed in yͤ ſayd parliament to the Shriues, to arreſt all ſuch preachers, and to impriſon the ſame, at the certifications of yͤ prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the ſame ſtatute. an 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5. was reuoked by the king in the parliament. an. 6. Ric. 2. vpõ the wordes of the commons beyng theſe: videl. Foraſmuch as the ſame ſtatute was neuer aſſented, ne graunted by the commons, but that which therin was done, was done without their aſſẽt, and now ought to be vndone: for that it was neuer their meaning to be iuſtified, and to bynd themſelues and theyr ſucceſſors to the Prelates, no more, then their anceſtors had done before them. Ex Rotul. And yet this foreſayd reuocation notwithſtandyng, in Queene Maries tyme, they inquired vpon that ſtatute.

The perſecutors in burning Gods people haue done againſt the lawe.

In ſearching of theſe ſtatutes, as you haue occaſioned me to find out theſe ſcruples: ſo beyng found out, I thoght here not to diſſemble them, for ſo much as I ſee and heare many now a dayes ſo boldly to beare themſelues vpon this ſtatute, and thinkyng ſo to excuſe thẽſelues do ſay, that they haue done nothing, but the law the law: to the intent that theſe men ſeyng now how inexcuſable they be both before God and man, hauing no law to beare them out, may the ſoner repent their bloudy and vnlawfull tiranny, exerciſed ſo long agaynſt gods true ſeruantes, yet in tyme before that the iuſt law of God ſhall find out their vniuſt dealinges, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will do hereafter.

A neceſſary admonition to the Commons of England.

In the meane tyme this my petition I put vp to the Commons, and to all other which ſhall hereafter put vp any petition to the Parliament: that they beyng admoniſhed by this abuſe, will ſhew themſelues hereafter more wyſe & circumſpect, both what they agree vnto in Parliamentes, and alſo what cõmeth out in their name. And as theſe good Commons in thys tyme of king Henry 4. would not conſent nor agree to this bloudy ſtatute, nor to no other lyke: For ſo we read that the Commons in that bloudy tyme of kyng Henry. 4. when an other lyke cruell byll was put vp by the Prelates in an. 8. Hen. 4. agaynſt the Lollardes, they neyther conſented to this, and alſo ouerthrew the other: So in lyke maner it is to be wiſhed, that the Commons in this our tyme, or ſuch other that ſhal haue to do in parliamẽtes hereafter folowyng the ſteppes of thoſe former tymes, wyll take vigilant hede to ſuch cruell bils of the Popes prelacy, beyng put vp, that neither their conſent do paſſe raſhly: nor that their names in any condition be ſo abuſed. Conſidering with themſelues that a thyng once beyng paſſed in the parliament, cannot afterward be called backe. And a little incõuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to miſchiefes that cannot be ſtopped. And ſomtyme it may ſo happen, that through raſh conſent of voyces, the end of things beyng not well aduiſed, ſuch a thyng may be graunted in one day, that afterward many dayes may cauſe the whole realme to rue. But I truſt men are bitten enough with ſuch blacke parliamentes to beware of afterclaps. The Lord Jeſus onely protector of his church, ſtop all crafty deuiſes of ſubtile enemies, and with his wiſdome direct our Parliamentes, as may be moſt to the aduancing of his word, and comfort of hys people. Amen.

Propoſition diſiunctiue.

Lib. Act. & Mon. 174.

And thus much hauyng ſayd for the defence of the lord Cobham, of ſir Roger Acton knight, maiſter J. Browne Eſquier, John Beuerley preacher, and of other their felowes agaynſt Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this preſent Interim, til further laiſure ſerue me hereafter (Chriſt willing) to pay hym yͤ whole Intereſt which I owe vnto hym. Addyng this in the meane tyme, and by the way: that if Maiſter Cope had bene a Momus any thyng reaſonable, he had no great cauſe ſo to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord Cobham and that worthely, for hys valiaunt ſtandyng by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop, ſo touchyng the matter of this conſpiracy, I dyd not affirme or define any thyng thereof in my former hiſtory ſo preciſely, that he could well take any vauntage of agaynſt me: who in wrytyng of this conſpiracy layd againſt ſir Roger Acton, and Sir John Oldcaſtle, do but diſiunctiuely or doubtfully ſpeake therof, not concludyng certainly this conſpiracy eyther to be true or not true, but onely prouyng the ſame not to be true at that tyme, as Polydore Virgill, and Edward Hall in their hiſtories do affirme: which ſay that this conſpiracie beganne after the burnyng of John Huſſe and Hierome of Prage. Which could not bee. And thereto tendeth my aſſertion. My woordes are playne, and are theſe. pag. 174. col. 1. lin. 13. Wherefore it is euident that there was eyther no conſpiracy at all agaynſt the kyng: or els that it was at ſome other tyme, or done by other Captaynes. &c.

Theſe be my wordes with other mo, in the pag. col. and line, aboue noted. In the which propoſition diſiunctiue, if eyther part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refell both, which he hath not done. But onely ſtandyng faſt vpon the one part, diſſimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that he ſhall come from Rome (whether he is now gone as I heare ſay) I truſt he will returne a better Logician home agayne in ſuam Angliam.

Syr Roger Actō contrary to the Byſh. of Rome.

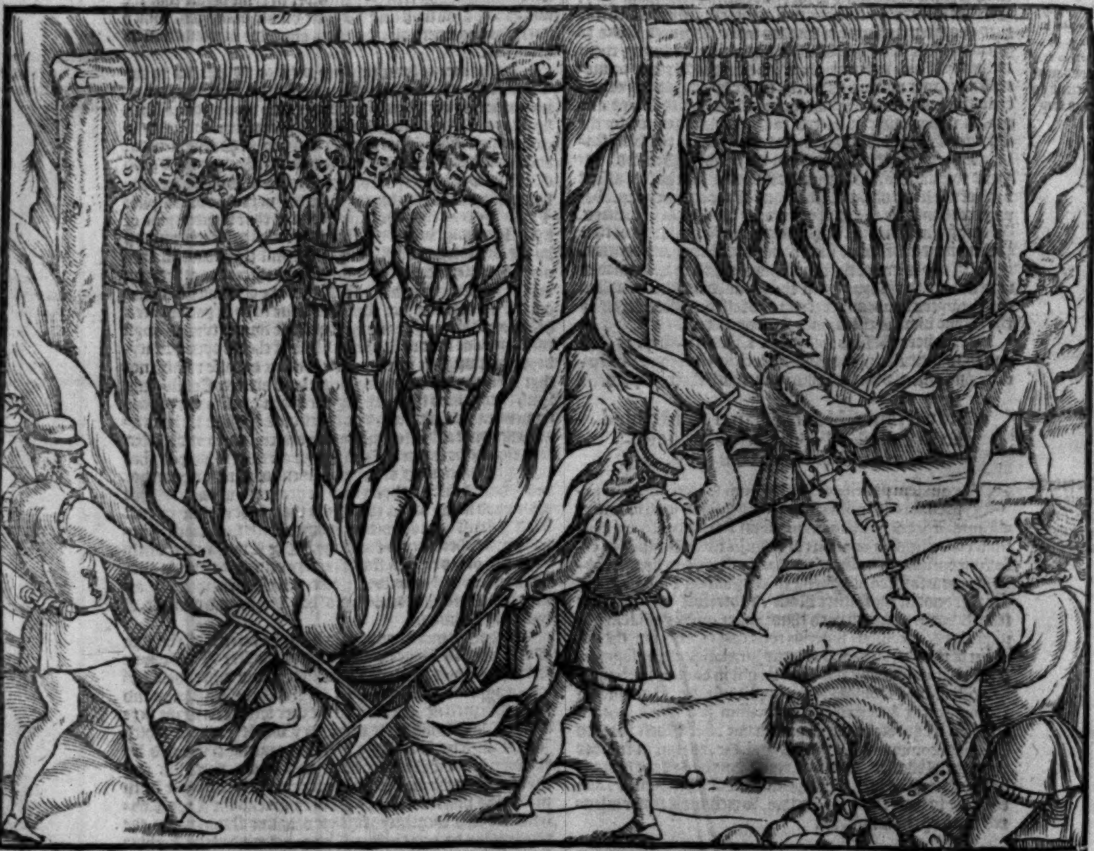
Cauſes coniecturall why Sir Roger Actō wyth the reſt, were put to death for traytours & Lollards.

But to the truth of our matter, as I ſayd before, ſo I ſay agayne, what ſo euer this worthy, noble and vertuous knight ſir Roger Actō was otherwiſe, this is certain, that he was alwayes of contrary mynd, and opinion to the Byſhop of Rome, & to that kynd of people, for the which cauſe he had great enuy and hatred at theyr handes: and could as little beare it: neither do I greatly diſſent from them, which do ſuſpect or iudge that the Lord Cobham, by his friendly helpe eſcaped out of the Tower, and that peraduenture was the cauſe why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to hys death. Other cauſes alſo there might be, that theſe good men percaſe dyd frequent among themſelues, ſome conuenticles (which conuenticles was made treaſō by yͤ ſtatute aforeſaid) either in thoſe Thickets or in ſome place els, for the hearing of gods word, & for publique prayer, and therfore had they this Beuerley their preacher with them.

But to conclude whatſoeuer this ſir Roger Actō was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Actes and thynges done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or Martyrdom, 3. yeres & more before the lord Cobham dyed. Likewyſe M. John Browne, and John Beuerley yͤ preacher, ſuffred with hym the ſame kynde of death (as ſome ſay) in the field of S. Giles with other mo, to the number of 36. if the ſtories be true. Which was in the moneth of January, an. 1413. after the computation of our common engliſh ſtories, countyng the yere from the annunciation: but after the Latin writers counting from Chriſtes natiuitie, an. 1414. accordyng as in this picture is ſpecified.

1414.

¶ The picture of the burning and hanging of diuers perſons counted for Lollardes, in the 1. yeare of the reigne of king Henry the fift.



Diuerſitie in authors.

An Engliſh ſtorie beginnyng thus. A table of all the kynges.

These men as is ſaid, ſuffred before the L. Cobhā about 3. yeres, of whoſe death diuers do write diuerſly. Some ſay they were hanged and burnt in S. Gyles field, of whome is Fabian, with ſuch as folow hym. Other there be which ſay that ſome of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus ſpeakyng only of their burnyng maketh no mention of hangyng. Another certaine Engliſh Chronicle I haue in my handes borowed of one M. Bowyer, who ſomwhat differyng from the reſt, recordeth thus of ſir Roger Acton, that hys iudgement before the iuſtice was thus, to be drawn through Londō to Tyborn, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked ſaue certaine partes of hym couered with a clothe. &c. And when certain dayes were paſt (ſayth the author) a Trumpetter of the kings called Thomas Clyff, gat graunt of the kyng to take hym downe, and to bury hym, and ſo he did. &c. And thus haue you the ſtory of ſir Roger Acton, and hys fellow brethrē. As touching their cauſe whither it were true or els by error miſtaken of the king, or by the fetch of the biſhops ſurmiſed, I referre it to the iudgement of him which ſhall iudge both the quick and the dead, & ſeculum per ignē. To whom alſo I commit you M. Cope, God ſpeede your iourney well to Rome, whether I heare ſay you are going, and make you a good man.

M. Cope gone to Rome.

After the deceaſe or martyrdome of theſe aboue mentioned, who were executed in the month of January an. 1414. in the next month folowing, and in the ſame yere, the 20. day of February, God toke away the great enemy of his word, and rebell to his kyng Thomas Arundel Archb. of Caunterbury. whoſe death followyng after the execution of theſe good men aboue recited, by the meruelous ſtroke of God ſo ſodenly, may ſeme ſomewhat to cleare their innocency, and that he was alſo ſome great procurer of their death, in that GOD would not ſuffer hym longer to lyue, ſtrikyng hym with death incontinently vppon the ſame. But as I dyd

the

The death of Thomas Arundell Archb. of Cant.

Ex hiſt. S. Albani.

Gods workes and puniſhmēts to be noted.

the other before, ſo this alſo I do referre to yͤ ſecret iudgement of the Lord, who once ſhall iudge all ſecrets openly.

Tho. Arundell geueth ſentence agaynſt the L. Cobham: and God geueth ſentẽce againſt Tho. Arundell.

The cõdemned man ouerliueth his condemner.

In the meane tyme this may ſeme ſtrange, that the ſame Tho. Arundell, who a little before ſittyng vpon iudgement agaynſt the Lord Cobham, and pronounced ſentẽce of death vpon hym, dyd hymſelf fele the ſtroke of death, and the ſentence of God executed vpõ hym before the other. Who would haue thought that the Lord Cobham beyng ſo caſt & condemned diffinitiuely by the Archbiſhops ſentence, but yͭ he ſhould haue dyed long before the Archbiſhop? But ſuch be the workes of gods almighty hand, who ſo turned yͤ whele yͭ this condemned lord ſuruiued his cõdemner 3. or 4. yeres.

Polydor Virgill erreth.

In the death of this Archb. firſt Polydor Virgil is deceyued, who in hys 22. booke, pag. 441. affirmeth hys death to be an. 1415. and in the ſecond yeare of kyng Henr. 5. alſo after the beginning of the councel of Conſtãce who in dede neuer reached the beginnyng therof, nor euer ſaw the ſecond yere of that kyng (vnleſſe ye count the firſt day for a yeare) but died before, an. 1414. Febr. 20. Ex hiſt. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore concernyng the death of this Arundell, & the maner therof, who had bene ſo heuy a troubler of Chriſtes ſaintes in hys tyme, becauſe the thyng ſemeth worthy of notyng, to behold the puniſhment of God vpon hys enemies, this is to report, as I haue foũd it alleged out of Thomas Gaſcoin in Dictionario Theologico: Whoſe playn wordes be theſe: An. 1414. Thom. Arundel Cant. Archiepiſcop. ſic lingua percuſſus erat, vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem ſuam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo, & ſic tandem obijt. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligaſſet, ne ſuo tempore prædicaretur. &c.

Tho. Gaſcoinus in Dictionario theologico.

The maruelous hand of God vpon Tho. Arũdell Archb. of Cant.

It is in vain to gainſtand Gods word.

That is, Thomas Arundell Archb. of Caunterbury, was ſo ſtriken in his tong, that neyther he could ſwalow, nor ſpeak for a certayn ſpace before his death, much lyke after the example of the rich glotton, and ſo dyed vpon the ſame. And this was thought of many to come vpon hym, for that he ſo bound the word of the lord, that it ſhould not be preached in his dayes. &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, theſe and ſuch other horrible exãples of gods wrath, may be terrible ſpectacles for ſuch as occupy their tongues and brains ſo buſily to ſtop the courſe of gods word, ſtriuing but agaynſt the ſtreame: agaynſt the force wherof, neyther are they able to reſiſt, & many tymes in reſiſting are ouerturned themſelues and drowned therin. And thus much for the death of Tho. Arundell, who continued Archb. in the ſee of Cant. the ſpace of 18. yeres.

Henry Chicheſley Archb of Cant.

After this Arundel, ſucceded next in the ſayd ſee of Cãterb. Henry Chicheſly made Archb. an. 1414. and ſate xxv. yeres. This Henry following lykewiſe the ſteps of his predeceſſor, ſhewed hymſelf no ſmall aduerſary agaynſt the fauourers of the truth. In whoſe tyme was much trouble, & great affliction in the church. For as the preaching and teachyng of the word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more, ſo on the contrary ſide, more vigilant care & ſtrait inquiſition followed and increaſed againſt the people of god, by reaſon wherof diuers did ſuffer, and were burned, ſome for feare fled the country. Many were brought to examination, and by infirmity conſtraynd to abiure. Of whom hereafter (Chriſt willyng) particularly in order of their tymes, we will entreat.

Sion and Bethleem builded.

As true piety, and ſincere preachyng of Chriſtes worde began at this tyme to decay: So idle monkery and vain ſuperſtitiõ in place therof began to increaſe. For about yͤ ſame yere the kyng began the foundation of two monaſteries, one of the one ſide of Thames of friers obſeruaunt, the other on the other ſide Thames called Shene and Syon, dedicated to Charter houſe monkes, with certayne Brigit nonnes or recluſes, to the number of 60. dwellyng within yͤ ſame precinct, ſo that the whole number of theſe with prieſts, monkes, deacons and nonnes ſhould equal the number of 13. Apoſtles and 72. diſciples. The order of theſe was accordyng to the deſcription of S. Paul the Apoſtle, Col. 1. Eate not, taſt not, touch not, &c. to eate no fleſh, to weare no linnen, to touch no mony. &c.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 535.

Fabian with others

A crafty practiſe of the prelates.

The king ſtirred vp to warres by the byſhops.

About Michaelmas, the ſame yere the kyng began hys Parliament at Leyceſter, aboue mentioned. In the which Parliament the commons put vp their byll agayne, which they had put vp before, an. 11. Henr. 4. yͭ the tẽporalties diſorderly waſted by men of the church, might be conuerted and employed to the vſe of the kyng, of hys Erles and knights, and to the relief of the poore people, as is before recited, pag. 535. In feare of which byll leaſt the kyng would geue eare therunto any comfortable audience (as teſtifieth Rob. Fabian and other writers) certaine of the Prelates and other headmen of the church put the kyng in mynd to claime hys right in France. Wherupon Henry Chicheſly Archbiſh. of Caunterbury made a long and a ſolemne oration before the kyng to perſwade hym to the ſame, offeryng to the kyng in the behalfe of the Clergie great and notable ſummes. By reaſon wherof (ſayth Fabian) the byll was agayne put of, and the kyng ſet hys mynde for the recouery of the ſame: ſo that ſoone after he ſent hys letters and meſſengers to the French kyng concernyng that matter, and receaued from hym agayne aunſwere of deriſion, & a pype of tenis balles (as ſome record) ſent from the Delphin, for hym to play wyth at home. Wherby the kyngs mynde was incenſed the more toward that viage. Who then furniſhing himſelf with ſtrength and armour, wyth pouder & ſhotte, and gunſtones to play wyth in Fraunce, and with other artillery for that purpoſe conuenient, ſo ſet ouer into Fraunce, where he got Harefleu wyth diuers other townes and caſtles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agyncourt had a great victory ouer the Frẽch armye, they beyng counted but vij. thouſãd. by pricking ſharpe ſtakes before them. &c. After that he wanne Cane, Towk, Rowan with other townes moe, as Meldune, or Meleen, and maryed wyth Katherine the French kynges daughter. And yet notwithſtanding the third tyme he made hys viage agayne into Fraunce, where at length at Bloys he fell ſicke and dyed. Concernyng all which viages, becauſe they are ſufficiently diſcourſed in Fabian, Halle, and other Chronographers, referring therfore the reader vnto them, I will returne my ſtory to other matters of the Church more effectuall.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 532.

The Bohemians receiuing the Goſpell.

I declared a litle before how by the occaſion of Queene Anne, which was a Bohemian and maryed to king Richard 2. the Bohemians commyng therby to the knowledge of Wickliffes bookes here in England, began firſt to taſt yͤ ſauour of Chriſtes Goſpell, till at length by the preachyng of John Hus, they increaſed more and more in knowledge. In ſo much that Pope Alexander the v. hearyng therof, began at laſt to ſtyrre coales, and directeth hys Bull to yͤ archbyſhop of Suinco, requiring him to looke to the matter, & to prouide that no perſon in Churches, Schooles, or other places ſhould maintaine that doctrine, cityng alſo J. Huſſe to appeare before him. To whom the ſayd John aunſweryng agayne, declared that mandate or Bull of the pope vtterly to repugne agaynſt the manifeſt examples and doings both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and to be preiudiciall to the libertie of the Goſpell, in byndyng the word of God not to haue free courſe. And therfore from this mandate of the Pope, he appealed to the ſame Pope better aduiſed. But whyle he was proſecutyng hys appeale, Pope Alexander dyed, as is aforeſayd, pag. 532. Ex Cochleo, in hiſt. Huſſit.

The pope againſt the Bohemians. John Hus cited of the Pope.

John Huſſe appealeth from the pope to the pope.

Pope John. xxiij.

John Hus accuſed to pope John.

John Hus excõmunicate by Cardinall de Collumna.

After whom ſucceded Pope John the xxiij. who alſo playing hys part here in thys matter lyke a Pope, ſought by all meanes poſſible how to repreſſe and keepe vnder the Bohemians, firſt beginnyng to worke hys malice vpõ the foreſayd John Huſſe their preacher. Who at the ſame time preachyng at Prage in the Temple of Bethleem, becauſe he ſeemed rather willyng to teach the Goſpell of Chriſt, thẽ the traditions of Byſhops, was therfore accuſed of certayne to the forenamed pope John yͤ xxiij. for an hereticque. The Biſhop committed the whole matter vnto Cardinall de Collumna, who when he had heard the accuſatiõ, he appointed a day to John Hus, that he ſhould appeare in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceſlaus kyng of yͤ Romayns and of Boheme, at the requeſt ſpecially of hys wyfe Sophia, and of the whole Nobilitie of Boheme, as alſo at the earneſt ſute and deſire of the towne and vniuerſitie of Prage: He ſent hys Ambaſſadours to Rome, to deſire the biſhop to quite and clerely deliuer John Huſſe from that ſentence and iudgement, and that if the Biſhop did ſuſpect the kyngdom of Boheme to be infected wyth any heretical or falſe doctrine, that he ſhould ſend his ambaſſadours the which myght correcte and amend the ſame, if there be any errour or fault in them. And that all thys ſhould be done at the onely coſtes and charges of the kyng of Boheme, and to promiſe in hys name that he would ayde and aſſiſte yͤ byſhops Legates wyth all hys whole power and authoritie, to puniſhe all ſuch as ſhould be taken or founde in any erronious doctrine. In the meane ſeaſon alſo John Huſſe before his day appoynted, ſent hys lawfull and meete procuratours vnto the court of Rome, and wyth moſt firme and ſtrong reaſons, did proue his innocency, wherupon he truſted ſo, that he thought he ſhould haue eaſely obtayned that he ſhould not haue bene compelled, by reaſon of the great daunger, to appeare at the day appoynted. But when as yͤ Cardinall de Collumna, (vnto whoſe will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would not admitte no defence or excuſe: John Hus his procurators, appealed vnto the high Byſhop: yet notwithſtanding, thys laſt refuge dyd not ſo muche preuayle wyth Cardinall de Collumna, but that he woulde openly excommunicate

John Hus as an obſtinate heretike, becauſe he came not at hys day appoynted vnto Rome.

Notwithſtandyng for ſo much as hys procurators had appealed vnto ẏ high biſhop, they had other iudges apointed vnto thẽ, as cardinal Aquileianus & cardinal Venetus wt certain others. The which iudges after they had prolonged & differred ẏ matter by the ſpace of one yere & a halfe at ẏ laſt they returned to the ſentence & iudgemẽt of cardinal de Columna, and confirmyng the ſame, commaunded John Hus hys Procurators, that they ſhould leaue of to defend hym any more, for they would ſuffer it no longer. Wherupon whẽ his Procurators would not ceaſe their inſtant ſute, certain of thẽ were caſt into priſon, & greuouſly puniſhed, the other leauyng their buſines vndone, returned into Boheme.

The Bohemians againſt the Pope and his doynges.

Ex Cochlæo in Hiſt. Huſſit. lib. 1.

The Bohemians notwithſtandyng little cared for all this, but continuyng ſtill as they grew more in knowledge, ſo the leſſe they regarded the Pope, complaynyng daily agaynſt hym and the Archb. for ſtoppyng the word of God, and the goſpell of Chriſt to be preached, ſaying that by their indulgences and other practiſes of the court of Rome, and of the biſhops Conſiſtory, they ſought theyr owne profit, & not of Jeſus Chriſt: that they pluckt from the ſheepe of Chriſt the wool and mylke, and dyd not fede them, neyther wyth the word of God nor with good examples. Teachyng moreouer and affirmyng, that the commaundements of the Pope and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but ſo far as they follow the doctrine and lyfe of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of the prelates as Paule iudged the workes of Peter in correctyng hym. Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongſt thẽ certayne notes and obſeruations, wherby they might diſcerne how far and wherin they might obey theyr prelates: they derided alſo and ſcorned the Popes iuriſdiction, becauſe of the ſchiſme that was then in the church, whẽ there were 3. Popes together one ſtriuyng agaynſt another for the papacy.

Three doubtes of John Hus propounded.

Ouer and beſides this, at the ſame tyme John Hus did propound publikely, and by the Notaries cauſed to be written, 3. doubtfull queſtions, the tenor wherof followeth here word for word & is this: For as much ſaith he as it is good for men beyng in doubt to aſke counſayle, wherby all dubitation remoued, they may be able the more firmly to adhere the truth, 3. doubtes here aryſe to be ſolued. The firſt doubt is whither we ought to beleue in the Pope. The ſecond, whither it be poſſible for any man to be ſaued, which cõfeſſeth not wyth hys mouth vnto a mortall prieſt. The third doubt is whither any of the doctors do hold or ſay that ſome of Pharoes hoſt being drowned in the red ſea, and of ẏ Sodomites beyng ſubuerted, be ſaued.

Credere in Deum.
Credero Deo.
Credere Deum.
Pet. Lomb. lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11.

Agaynſt Auricle confeſſion.

As concernyng the firſt, he dyd hold negatiuely, alledgyng the ſaying of Bede vpon this place of the Apoſtle: To hym that beleueth vpon hym which iuſtifieth the wycked, hys fayth is imputed to righteouſnes. Rom. 4. Vpon this place ſayth Bede: Aliud eſt credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum. &c. To the ſecond doubt ſayth he, the maiſter of the ſentence doth anſwer. lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11. in theſe wordes: What is then to be holden or ſayd herein? Certes, that without the confeſſion of the mouth, and aſſoylyng of the outward payne, ſinnes be forgeuen through contrition and humility of the hart. &c. For the third doubt he brought in the wordes of S. Jerome vpon the Prophet Naum, ſpeakyng of the Egiptians deſtroyed in the ſea, and of the Sodomites deſtroyed with fire, and of the Iſraelites deſtroyed in the deſert. Know you (ſaith Jerome) that God therfore puniſhed them for their ſinnes here temporally, becauſe they ſhould not be puniſhed hereafter, perpetually, and therfore becauſe they were here puniſhed, they ſhall not be puniſhed hereafter for els the ſcripture ſhould lye, which is not to be graunted. Theſe 3. queſtiõs belyke John Hus did bryng in to declare how the doctors do not agre in all thinges neyther wyth the church of Rome, neyther are to be followed in all poyntes of all men.

Councell of the prelates of Prage agaynſt the Goſpellers.

It followeth moreouer after the death of the Archbiſh. Swinco aboue mentioned, that one named Conradus was placed by ẏ pope there to be chiefe generall, which Cõradus conferryng with the deuines and doctours of the vniuerſitie of Prage, required their aduiſes and counſayles, what way they myght beſt take to aſſwage the diſſentions & diſcordes betwene the clergy and the people. Wherupon a certayne counſayl was deuiſed to be holdẽ after this ſort & maner as followeth.

1. Firſt, that all doctors and maiſters of the vniuerſitie of Prage ſhould be aſſembled in the court of the Archb. and in hys preſence that euery doctor and maiſter ſhould ſweare, not to hold or maintayn any of the xlv. articles of J. Wickliffe before condemned.

2. Item, concernyng the 7. ſacramentes of the Church, the keyes and cenſures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, cuſtomes, and liberties of the Church, concerning alſo the worſhippyng of reliques, and indulgences, the orders & religions of the Church, that euery one ſhall ſweare that he doth hold, beleue and maintayne, and wyll maintayn as doth the church of Rome and no otherwyſe, of the which church of Rome the Pope is the hed, and the colledge of Cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of bleſſed S. Peter prince of the Apoſtles, and of the colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt.

Purum bonum. Purum malum, Medium.

3. Item that euery one ſhall ſweare, that in euery Catholike matter belongyng to the Church that he wyll ſtand to the determination of the Apoſtolicall ſea, and that he wyll obey the prelates in all maner of thinges where ſo euer, the thyng which is pure good is not forbidden: or that which is mere ill, is not commaunded: but is meane or indifferent betwene both. Which meane or indifferent thyng, yet notwithſtandyng by circumſtances of tyme, place or perſon, may be eyther good or euyll.

4. Item, that euery one ſhall ſweare & confeſſe by his oth, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touchyng the vij. ſacramentes of the church and other thinges aboue notified, beyng contray to the ſayd church of Rome be falſe.

5. Item, that an othe be required of them all, that none of them ſhall hold, defend or maintayne any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe aforeſayd, or in any other matter catholike, and eſpecially of the 7. Sacramentes and other articles aboue ſpecified, but only as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwiſe.

6. Item, that euery ordinary in hys dioceſſe ſhal cauſe the ſayd premiſſes contayned in the 1. 2. 3. 4. articles aforeſayde to be publiſhed in hys Synodes, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kyngdom of Boheme.

7. Item, that if any Clerke, ſtudent, or lay man ſhal withſtand any of the premiſes, that the ordinary haue authoritie if he be conuicted therof to correct him, accordyng to the old lawes and Canons, and that no man ſhall defend ſuch one by any meanes, for none but the ordinary hath power to correct ſuch a man, becauſe the Archbyſhop is Chauncellour both of the kyngdome and vniuerſitie of Prage.

8. Item, that the ſonges lately forbidden, beyng odious, ſlaũderous and offenſiue to others fame, be not ſong neither in ſtreetes, tauernes, nor any other place.

9. Item, that maiſter John Hus ſhall not preach ſo long as he ſhall haue no abſolution of the court, neither ſhall hinder the preachyng in Prage by his preſence, that by this, his obedience to the Apoſtolicall ſea may be knowen.

10. Item, that this Counſell doth appeare to be good and reaſonable for the puttyng away of ill report and diſſention that is in the kyngdome of Boheme.

11. Item, if maiſter John Hus, with his complices will performe this, which is contained in the iij. former Articles, then we will be ready to ſay as they would wiſhe vs and haue vs, whenſoeuer nede ſhall require, that we do agree with them in matter of fayth, otherwiſe if they will not ſo do, we in geuyng this teſtimony ſhould lye greatly vnto our Lord the Kyng and to ẏ whole world. And moreouer, we will be content to write for them to the Court of Rome, and do the beſt we can for them, our honors ſaued.

This counſayle and deuiſe beyng conſidered amongeſt the hed of the vniuerſitie of Prage, the foreſayd adminiſtrator named Conradus, preſented to the kyng and to the barons of the realme, and alſo to the Senate of Prage. Whereof as ſone as word came to John Hus and his adherentes, they likewyſe drew out other Articles in maner and forme of a councell as followeth.

For the honour of God and the true preachyng of hys goſpel, for the health of the people, and to auoyd the ſiniſter & falſe infamy of the kyngdome of Boheme, and of the Marquiſhip of Morauia, and of ẏ city and vniuerſitie of Prage, and for the reformyng of peace and vnitie betwene the clergy and the ſcholers of the vniuerſitie.

1. Firſt, let the right and iuſt decrement of the princes and of the kinges counſayle, be holden and ſtand in force, which betwene the lord Archb. Suinco on the one partie, and betwene the rector and maiſter John Hus on the other party, was made, proclaymed, ſealed, and ſolemnly on both partes receyued and allowed in the court of our ſoueraigne lord the kyng.

2. Item, that the kyngdom of Boheme remayn in his former rites, liberties and common cuſtomes, ſo as other kingdoms and landes do enioy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other actes concernyng the holy mother vniuerſall church.

3. Item, that maiſter J. Hus, agaynſt whom the foreſayd Lord Swinco, could obiect no crime before the counſell, that the ſayd John Hus may be preſent in the cõgregation of the

Clergy, and there whoſoeuer will obiect to him either hereſie or errour, let him obiect, byndyng himſelf to ſuffer the like payne, if he do not proue it.

4. Item, if no man wil ſet himſelfe on the contrary part agaynſt him, then let the commaundement be made by our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng through all his Cities, and likewiſe let it be ordeined and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that maiſter Iohn Hus, is ready to render accompt of his fayth, and therfore if any will obiect vnto him any hereſie or errour, let him write his name in the chauncery of the Lord Archbyſhop, and to bryng forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5. Item, if no ſuch ſhalbe founde to obiect, or whiche will write his name, then let them be called for, which cauſed to be noyſed & rumored in the Popes Court, that in the kingdome of Boheme, in the Citie of Prage, and in the Marqueſdome of Morauia, many there be whoſe hartes be infected with hereſie and errour, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be puniſhed.

6. Item, that commaundemẽt be directed to ẏ Doctours of Diuinitie and of the canon law, and to the Chapter of Cathedrall Churches, and that it be required of them all and of euery one particularly, that they will bryng forth his name, if they know any ſuch to be an heretike or erroneous. And if they deny to know any ſuch, then let them make recognition therof, before the publike Notary, confirmyng the ſame with their ſeales.

7. Item, theſe things thus done & premiſed, then that our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, & alſo that the Archb. will geue commaundement vnder payne that no man ſhall call one an other heretike or erroneous, vnles he will ſtand to the probation of that hereſie or error, as it becommeth hym.

8. Item, after theſe things obtayned that our ſoueraigne lord the kyng, with the conſent of his Barons, will then leuy a ſubſidy, or collect of the clergye, & direct an honeſt ambaſſie to the popes court, with the which embaſſadours, let them alſo go vpõ theyr owne proper charges or expenſes for their purgation, which haue cauſed this kingdom falſly and greuouſly to be infamed in the Apoſtolicall court.

9. Item, in the meane ſeaſon for the preſence of maiſter I. Hus no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church. &c.

The Pope maketh warre.

As this matter was thus in alteration betwene the two partes, ẏ one obiecting, ẏ other anſwering in articles, as is aforeſaid: In the meane time it happened by the occaſion of Ladiſlaus king of Naples, who had beſieged the Popes townes and territories, that Pope Iohn raiſing vp warre againſt the ſayd Ladiſlaus, gaue full remiſſion of ſinnes to all them which would warre on his ſide to defend ẏ church. When this Bull of ẏ popes indulgẽce was come to Prage, and there publiſhed, the king Wenſelaus, who thẽ fauoured that pope, gaue commaundemẽt that no mã ſhould attempt any thing againſt the ſaid popes indulgẽces. But Hus with his followers, not able to abide the impietie of thoſe pardõs, began manifeſtly to ſpeake againſt them, of the which company were iij. certaine artificers, who hearing ẏ prieſt preaching of theſe indulgences, did opẽly ſpeake againſt them, & called the pope Antichriſt, which would ſet vp the croſſe to fight againſt his euenchriſtened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to warde. But the people ioyning themſelues together in armes, came to ẏ magiſtrates, requiring thẽ to be let looſe. The magiſtrates with gentle wordes and faire promiſes ſatiſfied the people, ſo that euery man returning home to his owne houſe, ẏ tumult was aſſwaged. But the captiues being in priſon, notwithſtanding were there beheaded, whoſe names were Iohn, Martine, and Staſcon. The death and martirdome of theſe three being knowen vnto the people, they tooke the bodies of them that were ſlaine, and with great ſolemnitie brought them vnto the church of Bethlem. At whoſe funerall diuers prieſtes fauouring that ſide, did ſing in thys wiſe: These be the Saintes which for the teſtament of God gaue their bodies. &c. And ſo their bodies were ſumptuouſly interred in ẏ church of Bethlem, I. Hus preaching at ẏ ſame funerall, much cõmẽding them for their conſtancy, and bleſſing God the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which had hid the way of his veritie ſo from the prudent of thys world, and had reuealed it vnto the ſimple lay people and inferiour prieſtes, which choſe rather to pleaſe God, then mẽ.

Iohn. Martine. Staſcon. Martyrs.

Steuen Paletz a great enemy to Iohn Hus.

Thus this Citie of Prage was deuided. The prelates with the greateſt part of the clergie, and moſt of ẏ Barõs, which had any thing to loſe, did hold with ẏ pope, eſpecially Steuen Paletz, beyng the chiefeſt doer on that ſide. On ẏ contrary part the commons, wyth part of the clergie & ſtudents of the vniuerſitie went with Iohn Huſſe. Wenſlaus the kyng fearing leaſt this would grow to a tumult, beyng moued by the doctours and prelates and councell of hys barons, thought beſt to remoue Iohn Huſſe out of the Citie, who had bene excommunicated before by the Pope: And further to ceaſe this diſſention riſen in the Church, committed the matter to the diſpoſitiõ of the doctours and the clergie. They cõſulting together among thẽſelues, did ſet forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the ſentence of the king, contayning the ſumme of xviij. articles, for the maintenaũce of the Pope and the ſee of Rome, agaynſt the doctrine of Wickliffe and Iohn Huſſe. The names of the doctours of Diuinitie were theſe: Steuen Paletz: Staniſlaus de Znoyma: Petrus de Ikoyma: Ioannes Heliæ: Andreas Broda: Iohannes Hildeſen: Mattheus Monachus: Hermannus Heremita: Georgeus Bota: Simon Wenda. &c. Iohn Hus thus departing out of Prage, went to his countrey, where he beyng protected by the Lord of the Soile, cõtinued there preaching, to whom reſorted a great concourſe of people, neither yet was he ſo expelled out of Prage, but that ſometimes he reſorted to his church of Bethlem, and there alſo preached vnto the people.

I. Huſſe baniſhed out of Prage.

Moreouer againſt the ſaid decree of the doctors, I. Hus with his company replied againe, and aunſwered to their articles, with contrary articles againe, as foloweth.

The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, agaynſt the decree of the Doctours.

First, the foundation of the doctours wherupõ they found all their writinges and counſels, is falſe, which foundatiõ is this, where as they ſay that part of the clergie in ẏ kingdome of Boheme is peſtilent and erroneous, and holdeth falſely of the Sacramentes.

2. The Doctours hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do raiſe vp new diſcordes.

3. Let them ſhew therefore thoſe perſons of the Clergye, whom they call peſtifer, and ſo let them verefie their report, binding themſelues to ſuffer the like paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4. Falſe it is ẏ they ſay, the pope & the Cardinals to be the true & manifeſt ſucceſſours of Peter & of the Apoſtles, neither that any other ſucceſſours of Peter or the Apoſtles, cã be found vpõ earth beſides thẽ. Whẽ as no mã knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of fauour. And all Byſhops & prieſts be ſucceſſours of Peter and of the apoſtles.

5. Not the Pope, but Chriſt onely is the head: and not the Cardinals, but all Chriſtes faithfull people be the body of the Catholicke church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do teſtifie and affirme.

6. And as touching ẏ Pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plaine that he is no head, no nor member alſo of the holy church of God, but of the deuill, and of his ſinagogue.

7. The clergie of the goſpellers agreeing with the ſaying of S. Auſten which they alledge, and according to the ſanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, doe ſay and affirme laudably: that the condemnatiõ and prohibition of the xlv. articles is vnlawfull, and vniuſt, and raſhly done: for that becauſe not onely the Doctors, but alſo all Byſhops and Archbiſhops, in ſuch great cauſes, namely, touching faith (as theſe articles doe) haue no authoritie at all, as appeareth. De baptiſmo et eius effectu. cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. diſt. cap. Hinc ſedi. &c.

8. The ſecond cauſe of the diſcord which they alleadge, alſo is moſt falſe: ſeeing the faith of whole Chriſtendome cõcerning the church of Rome, is deuided in iij. partes by the reaſon of iij. popes, which now together do raigne: And ẏ iiij. part is newtrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to ſtand in all things to the determination of the pope, and of ẏ Cardinals, but ſo farre forth as they do agree with ẏ holy ſcripture of the olde and new Teſtament, from whence the ſanctions of the fathers did firſt ſpring as is euident. De accuſationibus cap. qualiter. &c.

9. In the iiij. Article they braſt out into a certaine dotage, and are cõtrary to themſelues. By reaſon that they doltiſhly haue reprehended the Goſpellers, who in all their doings receaue the holy ſcripture (which is the lawe of God, the way of truth and life) for their iudge and meaſure: and afterward they themſelues do alledge the ſcripture Deut. 17. where al iudges both popes & cardinals are taught to iudge and diſcerne betwene leaper & leaper, & in euery eccleſiaſticall cauſe, onely after the rule of Gods law. And ſo are they cõtrary vnto their ſecõd article, wherin they ſay: that in euery catholique matter we muſt runne to the pope: which is cõtrary to the fooliſhe condemnation of the Articles aforeſaid.

10. Conſequently, lyke idiots they doe moſt falſly alledge for their purpoſe the Canon, vnder the name and authoritie of Ierome written. 24. q. 1. Hæc eſt fides papa. & cet. where

26.q.1.Hæc eſt fides.

they do apply the wordes of Jerome moſt impertinently to the Pope of Rome, which he writeth to S. Auſten, calling him a moſt bleſſed Pope.

Auſten called Pope.

11. By the which place of Jerome, it is manifeſt that the firſt article of thoſe doctors is falſe. Foraſmuch as by theſe wordes appeareth that other beſides the Byſhop of Rome and hys Cardinals, are called bleſſed Popes, holdyng the faith and ſeat of Peter, and are ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles as was Auſten and other holy Biſhops moe.

12. Wherof it followeth moreouer, that ẏ Church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principall ſea of his whole Church. For Chriſt, which was the head prieſt of all, did firſt ſit in Jeruſalem, and Peter did ſit firſt in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Alſo other popes did ſit ſome in Bonony, ſome at Peruſium, ſome at Auinion.

13. Item, the foreſayd Prelates are falſefiers of the holy Scriptures and Canons, and therfore are worthy to be puniſhed: Which affirme and ſay, that we muſt obey the pope in all thynges. For why, it is knowen that many Popes haue erred, and one Pope was alſo a woman. To whome not onely it was not lawfull to geue obedience, but alſo vnlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubrices, and infinite Canons do declare.

Pope Joane a woman.

14. Item, their vi.vij.viij.ix.x.xj. Articles do ſtand and are grounded vpon vntrue and falſe perſwaſions. And therfore are to be reiected and deteſted lyke the other before: Seyng they doe induce not to peace and veritie, but to diſſention and falſitie.

15. It is manifeſt alſo to the laitie, that this diſſention among the clergie riſeth for no other cauſe, but onely for the preaching of the Goſpell, which reprehendeth ſuch Simoniackes, and ſuch heretickes in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, ſpreading out their braunches abroad into all the world. Who deſerue to be remoued & extirpate not onely of the clergie Goſpellers, but alſo of the ſeculare power. And ſo theſe three vices, to witte, Simony, Luxurie, and Auarice (which is Idole worſhyppe) be the cauſes of all thys diſcention among the clergie in the kyngdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falſely aſcribe to the Goſpellers of Prage. Theſe three vices beyng remoued, peace and vnitie would ſoone be reformed in the Clergie.

Simonie, Luxurie, Auarice, three cauſes of diſſentiō in the clergie.

16. Moreouer, their laſt article is to much groſſe, and not onely is without all law, but alſo without all coulour of law: Where as they fondly and childiſhly doe argue thus: that the proceſſes made agaynſt M. John Hus ought to be obeyed, becauſe forſooth the common ſorte of the Clergie of Prage, hath receaued them: By the ſame reaſon they may argue alſo, that we muſt obey the deuil, for our firſt parents Adam and Eue obeyed hym. Alſo our fore auncetours before vs were Paganes, wherfore we muſt obey them, and play alſo the Paganes.

17. But let this friuolous opiniō go, this is certaine truth, that the ſaid proceſſes made agaynſt maiſter John Hus, by law are none. Forſomuch as they were obteyned, drawen, wrought, and executed contrary to the commiſſion of the Pope, againſt the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro, de Sententia excom. and a thouſand other lawes beſide.

18. Finally, whoſoeuer wittingly & obſtinatly doe defend and execute (the ſaide proceſſes made) or conſenteth vnto them, are all to be counted as blaſphemers, excommunicate, and heretickes, as hath bene afore written and exhibited to the Lord generall biſhop Olomucenſe. And more ſhalbe declared and proued, if audience may be geuen openly before all the Doctours. Ex Ænea. Sylui. & Chocleo.

¶ Unto theſe obiections of J. Hus & his part, the Catholique Doctors againe did anſwere in a long tedious proces: The ſcope wherof principally tended to defend the principalitie of the Pope, and to maintaine his obedience aboue all other potētates in the world: affirming & cōtēdyng, that although Chriſt is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are ſleeping in Purgatory, and which are labouring in the Church militant, and which are reſtyng in heauen: yet this letteth not, but the Pope is heade of the church here militant, that is of all the faithfull, which here in this world liue vnder his office. Like as Chriſt is kyng of all kinges, and yet Charles may be the king of Fraunce: So ſay they, Chriſt may be the vniuerſall head, and yet the Pope may be head vnder hym of the whole Church. And thus concluded they that the Pope is the head, and that the Colledge of Cardinals is the body of the Romiſh Church, which church of Rome is placed in the eccleſiaſticall office here ouer the earth, to know and define vpon euery eccleſiaſticall and catholike matter, to correct errours, and to purge them, and to haue care vpon all ſuch vniuerſall matters, and care vpon all vniuerſall churches, and vpon the vniuerſall flock of faythful chriſtians. For as much as in the regimēt of the church through the vniuerſal world, there muſt nedes remayne in ſuch office alwayes ſome ſuch manifeſt & true ſucceſſors of Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, and of the college of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt: neyther can there be found or geuen vpon earth any other ſucceſſors, but only the Pope which is the head, and the colledge of Cardinals, which is the body of the foreſayd church of Rome. And although the whole vniuerſall multitude of the faythfull do make the body of Chriſt, yet the ſame body of Chriſt is not placed here in office to exerciſe ſuch authoritie vpon earth. Becauſe that vniuerſal multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can be congregate together.

As Charles may be king of Fraunce: So alſo we graunt, the pope may be Biſh. of Italy, & ſo it is a good conſequent.

He may ſo be, if God had ſo appointed him but where doth he ſo appoint. *Ex Cochleo in hiſt. Huſſit.*

Catholique that is vniuerſall.

And therfore neceſſary it is, that ſome ſuch true and manifeſt ſucceſſors and iudges be appointed, to whom recourſe muſt be had, in all ſuch catholicke and eccleſiaſticall matters determinable. For lyke as in earthly regiments, euery caſe of diſcord is brought before his iudge, and hath his place aſſigned where to be decided: So like reaſon would require, that in principall matters and controuerſies of fayth, ſome ſuch preſidents and places be limited for the purpoſe to haue ſuch doubtes reſolued. And this beyng graunted, then the doctors procede, and here muſt nedes cōclude (ſay they) that there cannot be geuen in all the worlde any other place, but onely the church of Rome: the head wherof is the Pope, & the body is the colledge of Cardinals. For lyke as Chriſt departyng out of this world in his corporal preſence, left his body here with vs vnder the Sacrament in another forme, wherby he remayneth with vs (accordyng to his promiſe Mat. vlt.) vnto the conſummation of the world: Euen ſo while Chriſt walked here on erth in his bodily preſence, he was Pope himſelf and chief biſhop, and ſo hed of the church here militant in earth, corporally conioyned with the ſame, as the hed is to his body. But after that he departed out of the world, becauſe his body which is the church militant, vpon the earth ſhould not be hedleſſe, therfore he left Peter, and his ſucceſſors to his church, for an hed in his place, vnto the conſummation of the world ſaying to him: Thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke I will build my church. &c. Mat. 16. And agayne he ſayth, feede my ſhepe. Ioan. vlt. That is to ſay, be thou Peter the hed ouer thy brethren.

If ye go to humaine policie, who euer ſaw any priuate caſe of Englād brought to the Emperours court to be decided. If ye goe to gods policy, then ſhewe gods worde for it.

The promiſe of Chriſt doctourly applyed.

O deepe diuinitie of theſe doctours.

Tedious it were to recite all the bibbelbabble of theſe doctors in this theyr long reſponſall. Who ſo liſteth to ſee the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may reſort either to the hiſtory of Siluius, or els to M. Cochleus, in his firſt boke De hiſt. Huſſit.

Vid. Æneam Silui. & Cocleum De Hiſt. Huſſit. lib. 1.

Thus then M. John Hus beyng taken out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of theſe doctours, and moreouer beyng ſo excommunicate, that no Maſſe nor other muſt be ſayd there where he was preſent. The people began mightily to grudge and to cry out agaynſt the Prelates and other popiſh prieſts, which were the workers therof, accuſing them to be Simoniakes, couetous, whoremaiſters, adulterers, proud, ſparyng not to lay open theyr vices to theyr great ignominy and ſhame. And much crauing a reformatiō to be had of the clergy.

The kyng ſeyng the inclination of the people, beyng alſo not ignoraunt of the wickednes of the Clergy, vnder pretenſe to reforme the Church, began to require great exactions vpon ſuch Prieſtes and men of the Clergy, as were knowen and accuſed to be wicked liuers. Whereupon they on the other part, that fauoured John Hus, taking that occaſion preſent, complayned of all, accuſed many, and ſpared none, whom ſoeuer they knew to be of the Catholicke factiō, or enemies to John Hus. By reaſō wherof the prieſts of the Popiſh Clergy were brought, ſuch as were faultie, into great diſtreſſe, and ſuch as were not faultie, into great feare. In ſomuch that they were glad to fall in, at leaſt not to fall out with the Proteſtants, beyng afrayde to diſpleaſe them. By this meanes maiſter Hus began to take ſome more libertie vnto him, & to preach in his Church at Bethleem, and none to controlle him: by the ſame meanes the people alſo receaued ſome comfort, and the kyng much gayne and money by the reaſon.

The prieſtes of Boheme deſplayed & raked for their ill life.

And thus the popiſh Clergie, while they went about to perſecute John Hus, were inwrapped thēſelues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery ſide, as well of lay men, as of learned men of the clergy. In ſomuch that women alſo & children were agaynſt thē. And by ẏ ſame reaſon, wherwith they thought to intangle him, they were ouerthrown themſelues. For the Doctors which before condemned this doctrine in John Hus, for an intollerable hereſie, & cried out ſo much agaynſt him, for teaching ẏ tēporall lordes might take away temporal liuyngs frō the clergy ſinnyng habitualiter, that is, lyeng and continuyng ſtill in the cuſtome of iniquitie;

tie:now when the kyng and the Lordes temporall began to mearſe them and bereue them of their temporalties for their transgreſſions, the ſayd Doctours did keepe ſilence, & durſt ſpeake neuer a word. Agayne where the foreſayd doctours, before could not abyde in John Hus, that tithes were to be coũted for pure almoſe, now commyng to yͤ Guildhall, were faine to entreate, for their temporall goodes, not to be taken from them, pleadyng the ſame temporalties to be mere almoſe and deuotion of good men, geuen vnto the Church. Ex Cochleo.

The popiſhe doctours & prieſtes ouerthrowen in their owne reaſon

And thus now did they themſelues graunt the thyng, which before they did condemne. The more that the Popes clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cauſe therof, but onely their owne wicked deſeruynges, for the which cauſe Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they could not remedy the caſe, yet to eaſe their myndes, wrote ſharpe and cruell letters to Maiſter Hus. And to helpe the matter forward, the Pope alſo here muſt helpe at a pinche, who likewiſe writeth his letters to Wenceſlaus kyng of Bohemia, whiche was brother to Sigiſmund Emperour, for the ſuppreſſing of John Hus & of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and laſt yeare of his Popedome. an. 1414. The tenour of whoſe letters to kyng Wenceſlaus in this wiſe procedeth.

Steuen Paletz, Andr. Broda, write against John Hus.

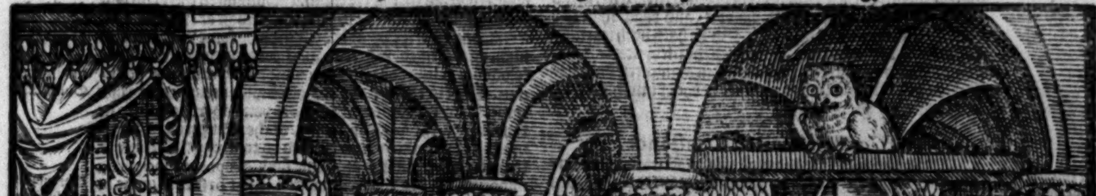
The letter of Pope Iohn to K. Wenceſlaus.

The letter of pope John to K. Wenceſlaus.

IOhn biſhop ſeruant of Gods ſeruantes, to his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt Wenceſlaus, King of Romanes and of Boheme, greeting and apoſtolicall benediction. Among other deſires and delites of our hart: who although vnworthy repreſent the roome of Chriſt here in earth: this doth chieflye redound to our ſingular comfort ſo often as we do heare of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concorde (by which concord kingdoms do encreaſe, as contrary by diſcord they are diminiſhed) which is betwene your honor, and our welbeloued in the Lord Sigiſmund your brother germane and coſin, for the noble kyng of the Romanes. &c. And furthermore it foloweth in theſe words. And as we haue cauſe to ioy at the premiſſes: ſo likewiſe agayne the heuy rumours which are here, do trouble and dampe our myndes. For we heare that in diuers places vnder your dominiõ, there be certain which do folow and leane to the errors of that archheretike Wicliffe, whoſe books haue bene long ſince cõdẽned in the general Romain cõſicel to be erroneous, heretical, & ſwaruyng frõ the catholike fayth. And furthermore which is worſt of all, the ſayd perſons cleauing to the opinions of the heretikes (leſt they ſhould be corrected of their ſuperior powers for their exceſſe, to couer their naughtines & ſtubburnnes in deſpiſing the commaundements of the Apoſtolicall ſeat) do openly teach diſobedience and contempt of the kayes and eccleſiaſticall cenſure, to the ſubuerſiõ of the Apoſtolical dignity, ſettyng at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and canõs. Wherfore we do exhort your worſhip for the mercy of our God, as hartely as we may or can, that it would pleaſe you as we deſire and hope you will (ſo effectuouſly to ſhew foorth your regall power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholike faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conſeruation of your kingly name, ſtate and honour, for the proſperous and ſafe gouernment of your kingdome and dominions, as it becommeth a catholike prince, wherby this blot of hereſie (which doth ſo lamentably and miſerably ſpring and crepe in thoſe parts and doth ſo infect the mynds of mortall men, to the deſtruction of their ſoules, and doth ſequeſter them from the congregation of the pure and catholike faith and truth) may be rooted out. &c. Geuen at Bononia in the Ides of Iune, in the v. yere of our popedome. &c.

In this epiſtle of Pope John aboue prefixed, for ſo much as mention is made of a certayne councell before holden at Rome (which was. iiij. yeares before) agaynſt the articles & bookes of John Wicliefe: it ſhall not be impertinent nor out of purpoſe to repeate a certain mery ſtory, & worthy otherwiſe to be noted at, writtẽ by Nicolas Clemangis of a certaine ſpirite, whiche ruled the Popiſh Cõcels, his wordes are theſe.

The deſcription of the Popes councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monſtrous Oule, to the vtter defacing of the Pope and all his Clergy.



The ſtory of an Owle appearing at the councell of Pope John.

Ex Nich. Clemangis.

The ſame pope called a Councell at Rome about foure yeares before, at the earneſt ſute of diuers mē. And a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt beyng ſayd at the entraunce into the ſayd Councell (according to the accuſtomed maner) the Councell beyng ſet, and the ſayd John ſittyng higheſt in a chayre prepared for him for that purpoſe: Behold a hougly and dreadfull Owle, or as the common prouerbe is, the euill ſigne of ſome miſchaunce of death to folow, commyng out of the backe halfe of him, flew to & fro, with her euill fauoured voyce, and ſtandyng vpon the middle beame of the Church, caſt her ſtaryng eyes vpon the Pope ſittyng, the whole cōpany began to maruell, to ſee the night Crow, whiche is wont to abyde no light, how ſhe ſhould in the midday come in the face of ſuch a multitude, & iudged (not without cauſe) that it was an ill fauoured token. For beholde ſayd they, (whiſperyng one in an others eare) the ſpirite appeareth in the ſhape of an Owle. And as they ſtode beholdyng one an other, and aduiſing the Pope, ſcarſly could keepe their coūtenaunce from laughter, John himſelfe, vppon whom the Owle ſtedfaſtly looked, bluſhyng at the matter, began to ſweat and to freat and fume with himſelfe, and not findyng by what other meanes he might ſalue the matter, beyng ſo confuſed diſſoluyng the Councell, roſe vp and departed. After that there folowed an other ſeſſion. In the whiche the Owle agayne, after the maner aforeſaid, although, as I beleue, not called, was preſent looking ſtedfaſtly vpon the byſhop, whom he beholdyng to be come agayne, was more aſhamed then he was before (and iuſtly) ſaying he could no longer abyde the ſight of her, & commaunded that ſhe ſhould be driuen away with battes and ſhottynges: but ſhe beyng afrayde neither with their noyſe, neither of any thyng els, would not away, vntill that with the ſtrokes of the ſtickes, which were throwne at her, ſhe fell downe dead before them all. This I learned of a faythfull frend, who at the ſame tyme came to Rome, the which thyng I ſcarſly credityng for the rarenes of the matter, he affirmed by his othe, that it was moſt certaine & true: addyng moreouer that all there preſent were much offēded, & did greatly deride that Councell called for ſuch a purpoſe, and by litle and litle the Councel was diſſolued, nothing done there, as he ſaith. Although it hath not bene alwayes ſene that ſuch ſpirituall Doues haue bene preſent with Popes and their Councels, and gouerned them: yet their euill doctrine declareth no leſſe. Read gentle reader the booke of Clemangis, and thou ſhalt not thincke thy labour euil beſtowed. For he hath both learnedly, truely, freely and godly, bewayled the filthynes of Antichriſt, and his miniſters, their wickednes, impietie and crueltie, and the miſerable ſtate and face of the Church. &c. And thus much for Pope John.

¶ The Councell of Conſtance.

The councell of Conſtance.

Three popes together ſtriuing for the popedome.

The prelates aſſembled in this councell were numbred together with their deputies. 1940.

Philip & Chelney. &c.

Gregorius in Epiſtola quadam.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderſtand, that duryng all this tyme of pope John, there were three popes raignyng together, neither was yet the ſchiſme ceaſed, which ſo long tyme had continued, the ſpace (as I ſayd) of. xxix. yeares. By the reaſon wherof a general Councell was ordained & holden at Conſtance in the ſame yeare, an. 1414. beyng called by Sigiſmund the Emperour, and pope John the. xxiij. for the pacifieng of the foreſayd ſchiſme, whiche was then betwene three Popes, ſtriuyng for the popedome. The firſt wherof was John, whom the Italians ſet vp. The ſecond was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen ſet vp. The third was Benedict, whom the Spanyardes placed. In this ſchiſmaticall ambicious conflict, euery one defended his Pope, to the great diſturbance of Chriſtian natiōs. This Councell indured foure yeares long, wherin all their matters were decided moſt by foure natiōs, to ſay the Engliſh, Germaine, French, and Italian natiō. Out of which foure nations were appointed and choſen foure Preſidents to iudge and determine the matters of the Councell. The names of whiche Preſidentes were theſe, John the Patriarke of Antioche for Fraunce, Anthony Archbiſhop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas Archbyſhop of Geneſuenſis for Germany, and Nicholas Byſhop of Bathe for England, by whom many great and profitable thynges to the glory of God, and publike profite, might haue bene concluded, if the rotten fleſh of the Churchmen could haue bidden the ſalt of the Goſpell, and if they had loued the truth: but as Gregorius Nazienzenus writeth, there lightly come few general Councels, but they end more with diſturbance, then tranquilitie. So it happened in this Cōcell, for where as John the. xxiij. in the firſt ſeſſion exhorteth them by theſe wordes taken out of the viij. of Zacharie, Veritatem diligite, that is to ſay: Loue the truth, further, moniſhyng them, and ſpecially the Deuines euery man to do his endeuour for the vnitie of the Church, and to ſpeake their mynde freely: but how ſoone this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared ſhortly after by the diſpiſing of the Prophetes, and perſecutyng of Chriſt in his members, as by the grace of Chriſt ſhal appeare hereafter in the proceſſe of this ſtory. Firſt thus John did reſigne his Papacie, the Emperour geuing him thākes kiſſed his feete.

Duke Fredericke of Auſtrich proclaymed traytour.

Pope John taken and caſt in priſ.

Afterward the ſayd John repentyng him that he had ſo done, ſaught meanes to flee, whereunto Fredericke Duke of Auſtrich did aſſiſte him, for he chaungyng his garmentes, fled by night with a ſmall company. And when he was now come vnto Schafhouſe to go into Italy, the Emperour purſuyng, tooke him, and proclaymed Fredericke traytour, and for that cauſe tooke away certaine Cities from him. At the laſt the maner was appeaſed vnder this condition, that Fredericke ſhould require grace of the Emperour, and reſigne all his poſſeſſions vnto him. Wherupō the Emperour receiued him agayn into fauour, & reſtored him to his dukedome. This Pope being thus depoſed, was committed vnto the County Pallatine, and by him caried to the Caſtle of Manheime, where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of iij. yeares. Afterward he was agayne by Pope Martine, admitted to the number of Cardinals.

Marke the good qualities of pope John.

This pope John was depoſed by the decree of the Cōcell, more then. 40. moſt greuous and haynous crimes beyng obiected and proued agaynſt him: as that he had hired Marcilius Permenſis a Phiſition, to poyſon Alexāder his predeceſſour. Further, that he was an hereticke, a ſimoniake, a lyer, an hypocrite, a murderer, an inchaunter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, and a ſodomite, and finally what crime is it, that he was not infected withall?

And now to returne vnto the Cōūcell firſt we will declare the order of their Seſſions, with thinges therein concluded, in generall: then we will (Chriſt willing) adioyne the ſpeciall tractation of ſuch matters, as perteine to the ſtory of the Bohemians, and John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, who in the ſame vngodly Councell were condemned and burned.

A writing ſet vp how the holy ghoſt had no layſure to come to the councell of Conſtance.

The worthy aunſwere of the Emperour touching the order of reformation.

This councell therfore of Conſtance, which was ſummoned by the Emperour Sigiſmund, and Pope John 23. about the natiuitie of our Lord Jeſus, an. 1414, began the ſame yeare to be aſſembled about the latter end of the yeare. Which firſt beginning as the maner is, with a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, as they were ſinging according to their cuſtome the Hymne, Veni ſancte ſpiritus, there was at the ſame time a certayne Bill ſet vp in the Church by ſome well diſpoſed man, as it ſeemed, wherein was conteyned theſe wordes folowing: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adeſſe vobis non poſſumus. That is to ſay. We are otherwiſe occupyed at thys tyme, we can not intend to come to you. Here is alſo to be remembred the worthy ſaying of the Emperour Sigiſmund, when talke was miniſtred as touching the reformation of the ſpiritualtie, and ſome ſayd ꝙ oporteat incipere a minoritis, that is, that reformation ought firſt to beginne at the Minorites. The Emperour aunſwering againe: Non a minoritis, ſed a maioritis, that is, not with the Minorites ſayth he, but with the Maiorites. Meanyng the reformation ought firſt to begyn with the Pope, Cardinals & Biſhops and other ſuperiour ſtates of the church, and ſo to diſcend after to the inferiours. Thus much by the way, & now to the purpoſe and order of the Seſſions as we promiſed. The which Cōūcell continued as is aforeſayd by the ſpace of iiij. yeares, and had in it 45. Seſſions, wherein many thynges were cōcluded, the which altogether were to long to be recited in this place: as the depoſition of three ſeuerall Popes, whiche were before ſpoken of, the hearyng of certaine Legates, yet I mynde to make ſome brief recapitulation of the moſt principall matters there done in the Seſſions orderly enſuyng.

1. Note by this example, the authoritie of councels preferred before the pope.

In the firſt Seſſion chiefly was cōcluded, firſt that this Councell was lawfully congregate.

2. Item, that the goyng away of the pope ſhould be no let or ſtay, but that the Councell might procede.

¶ Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authoritie of the generall Councell is aboue the Pope, contrary to their owne doctrine.

3. Item, this Councell ſhould not be diſſolued before the Church were reformed, as well in the ſuperiours, as inferiours.

4\.

1415.

In the iiij. Seſſion amongeſt other thynges, this was firſt concluded: That a Synode congregate in the holy Ghoſt, makyng a generall Cōūcell, repreſentyng the whole Catholicke Church here militāt, hath power of Chriſt immediatly, to the which power euery perſon, of what ſtate or dignitie ſoeuer he be: yea beyng the pope himſelfe, ought to be obedient in all ſuch thinges as cōcerne the generall reformatiō of the Church, aſwel in the heads, as in the ſubiects.

Item, the ſayd Pope ſhould not tranſlate the Court of Rome, and the officers of the ſame from the Citie of Conſtance. And that all his cenſures, doynges and workynges after the tyme of his departure, what ſoeuer he ſhould enterpriſe to do to the preiudice of this Councell, ſhould be of no effect.

5. In the 5. Seſſion the ſame Articles were repeted and concluded agayne.

6. In the 6. Seſſion procuration and citation was ſent out agaynſt the Pope.

Commiſſioners appointed to heare John Hus.

Item, commiſſioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of John Hus, which ſhalbe here after mentioned in his ſtory folowyng.

Item, the memorie of John Wickleffe was condemned, and the ſentence geuen in the Councell holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burnyng of Wickleffes bookes, was there confirmed.

Citation graunted agaynſt Jerome of Prage.

Item, in the ſame Seſſion, Citation was ſent out agaynſt Jerome of Prage. The tenor wherof foloweth after in the ſtory of the ſayd Jerome.

Item, in this Seſſion, was decreed agaynſt libelles of infamy.

7. In the vij. Seſſion nothyng was handled, but that the tenour of the citation agaynſt Pope John was recited.

8. Sentence geuen for the burning of Wickliffes bones.

In the viij. Seſſion, the ſentence and condemnation of John Wickleffe, and his 45. Articles was recited, and ſentence geuen agaynſt his memory & bones to be burned. The tenour wherof is rehearſed in the hiſtory of John Wickleffe before paſſed. fol. 551.

9. In the 9. Seſſion, The matter and cauſe of pope John was agayne intreated, and commiſſioners appointed to enquire vpon his cauſe, and iudges for the ſame.

10. In the 10. Seſſion, Suſpenſion was geuen out & read agaynſt the ſayd Pope.

11.12. In the 11. and 12. Seſſions: Notaries were aſſigned & definitiue ſentence geuen agaynſt the ſayd Pope, where alſo was decreed that none of them that contended before for the Papacie, ſhould be choſen Pope.

13. The people of Chriſt excommunicated from the communion of the holy cup.

In the 13. Seſſion was decreed, Quod nullus preſbiter ſub pena excommunicationis comunicet populo ſub vtraq; ſpecie panis & vini. This is, that no Prieſt vnder payne of excommunication ſhall communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes of bread and wyne.

14. In the 14. Seſſion, came in the reſignatiō of Pope Gregory the xij. which was one of the iij. before mentioned, ſtriuyng for the Papacie, with certaine other Articles concernyng the election of the Byſhop of Rome, and the ratification of their reſignyng, which gaue ouer the Papacie.

15. Then enſueth the 15. Seſſion, in the which ſilence was commaunded on all partes vnder payne of excommunicatiō, and the great curſe that no perſon or perſons high or low of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he were, Emperour, Kyng, Cardinall, or other ſhould diſturbe the ſayd Seſſion with any maner of noyſe, either by hand, foote, or voyce. This beyng done, the ſentence and cōdemnation agaynſt John Hus was read & publiſhed, which after in the ſtory of John Hus, foloweth to be ſene more at large.

The ſolemne publiſhing of the ſentence of cōdemnation agaynſt John Hus.

16. In the 16. Seſſion, Ambaſſadours were aſſigned by the Councell to go into Arragon to Benedictus the xiij. to entreate with him for the reſignation of his Papacie, as the other two had done before.

Item, power was geuen to iudges, to cyte vnder payne of depriuation, all ſuch as priuely departed away from the Councell, in the whiche Seſſion alſo the ſentence agaynſt John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

17. The Emperours iourney into Arragon.

In the 17. Seſſion, the Emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the kyng of Arragon, to entreate with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced agaynſt all ſuch as ſhould go about to empeche the Emperours iourney about that matter. &c.

Item, prayers and proceſſions were determined to be made by the Councell, euery Sonday for the ſame cauſe, with an hundred dayes of pardon geuen to them that would be preſent thereat, and that all Prelates ſhould be preſent at euery of theſe ſayd Maſſes and proceſſions in their Pontificalibus. Grauntyng beſides to euery Prieſt that ſayd one Maſſe, for the ſame a C. dayes of pardon. And to all other that once a day ſhould ſay one Pater noſter, and one Aue, for the ſafety of the Emperour xl. dayes of pardon.

Pardons were here dogge cheap.

18. In the 18. Seſſion, certaine iudges were aſſigned for the hearyng of matters, which the Councell had no leaſure to heare.

It was there alſo decreed that ſuch letters and Buls as were written in the name of that Councell, ſhould be receiued with no leſſe credite and authoritie, then the Buls procedyng from the Sea Apoſtolicall, and that the falſifyers of the ſame ſhould incurre no leſſe penaltie then the falſifyers of the other. Legates alſo and Ambaſſadours were ſent into Italy.

19. In the 19. Seſſiō which was the ſame yeare in the moneth of September, Jerome of Prage who was cited as is before ſayd, was accuſed of hereſie and caſt in priſon by ye ſayd Councel, and conſtrained to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter foloweth to be ſene in hys hyſtory.

Concilium Fœdifragum.

Item it was decreed: Quod non abſtantibus ſaluis cōductibus Imperatoris Regum. &c. poſſit per iudicem competentem de hæretica prauitate inquiri. &c. That is, notwithſtādyng the ſafe conducte geuen by the Emperour and kynges. &c. Inquirie may be made agaynſt a man for hereſie by a ſufficient iudge and proceſſe, to be made accordyng to the law.

The cauſes of hereſies were committed to certaine iudges and deputies.

And how chaunceth it that the charte of Conſtātines donation is not here mentioned.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Chartes and conſtitutions concernyng the liberties of the Church of Rome, beyng brought forth were approued and confirmed.

20. In the 20. Seſſion, letters and inſtruments were made and ſet vpō Church doores to require and admoniſhe duke Fredericke to reſtore agayne vnto George Biſhop of Auſtriche, ſuch landes, rentes, and reuenues as he deteyned & withhelde, vnder payne of interditement, ſuſpending and excommunication.

Prouide that the churchmen looſe nothing in no caſe.

During the time of this Seſſion, the Ambaſſadours returned out of Arragon from the Pope Benedict and were heard wyth great audience, whereas certaine Articles and conditions betwene the Pope & the Councel were brought forth and agreed vpon to the number of xij.

21.

An. 1416.

In the yeare of our Lord 1416. was ye 21. Seſſion beginnyng after their maner wyth a Maſſe of the holy ghoſt wyth proceſſions and ſuch other rites, in the tyme of which Maſſe, James Byſhop of Londy made a ſermon, taking for hys Theame theſe wordes. Exprobrauit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, the Lord rebuked their miſbelief and hardnes. &c. Thys ſermon beyng ended, Jerome of Prage which had abiured, as is ſayd the yeare before, beyng preſent thereat, ſtoode vp vpon a certayne bench or forme. Replying agaynſt the foreſayd James & hys ſermon, alledgyng and preachyng diuers and ſundry thinges, wherupon the Patriarch of Conſtātinople, one of the commiſſioners proceeded agaynſt hym, pronouncing the ſentēce definitiue, which he had in wrytyng agaynſt the ſayd Jerome, which ſentence beyng red and approued by the councell (the tenor wherof inſueth in his hiſtory) the ſayde Jerome was deliuered vnto the ſecular power, and burned.

Jerome of Prage replyed agaynſt the ſermon of the Byſhop of Lōdy

22.23. The 22. and 23. Seſſions containe no worthy matter, but onely the placing of the Ambaſſadours of Alphanſus K. of Arragon, & graunting them voyces in the Councell.

24. In the 24. Seſſion, citatiō was geuen out againſt Benedict, keeping with Alphonſus, king of Arragon.

25. The 25. Seſſion contayneth nothyng but a certaine Comendam geuen to the Church of Olemucenſis.

26. The 26. Seſſion, there was nothing els handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the Ambaſſadours of the kyng of Nauarre into the Councell, and alſo concerning the derogation of the priority of voyces.

27.28.

An. 1417.

After thys followed the 27. and 28. ſeſſions, which were in the yeare 1417. Wherein was intreated the relation and declaration, concerning the cauſe betwixt Duke Frederick, and the biſhop of Trident, and proceſſe geuen out agaynſt the ſayd Duke, accuſing him of ſacriledge, and alſo excommunicating hym, for not obeying the admonition of the cōcell concerning the vſurpation and deteyning, of the citie of Trident and other poſſeſſions from Byſhop George, as is afore ſpecified.

29.30. In the 29. and 30. Seſſions, Proctors and Notaryes were geuen out in the cauſe agaynſt Pope Benedict, and order decreed vpon hys obſtinacye, wherein alſo the withdrawing of the kyng of Arragon from the ſame Pope, was recited and approued by the Councell.

31. In the 31. Seſſion, certaine inſtrumentes, and ſpeciall letters monitory were directed from the Councell to a certayne Earle of Italy named Comes virtutum, for laying violent handes vpon Albert, Byſhop of Aſce, and for bryngyng hym to priſon, requiryng the ſayd Earle vnder paine of interdiction, and excommunication to ſet the ſayd Byſhop at libertie. Alſo an other decree was ſet forth for the reſtoring againe the liberties of the Church of Baron.

32.33. Pope Benedicts accuſed.

In the 32. and 33. Seſſions, the accuſation of pope Benedict was renued, and his obſtinacie accuſed, and wytnes brought in, at which thyng doyng, the Emperour Sigiſmund was preſent.

34. In the 34. Seſſion, the cauſe of the foreſayd Pope was heard, and proceſſe geuen out agaynſt hym.

35. In the 35. Seſſion, the Imbaſſadours of the kyng of Caſtle were brought in, and vnited to the Councell, and inſtrumentes therof made and read. Alſo that notwithſtandyng the othes made to the foreſayd Pope, men might lawfully forſake his obedience.

36. In the 36. Seſſion, a certaine citation was made and read agaynſt the Pope, conteinyng his depriuation and the ſentence agaynſt him, & inſtrumentes made vpon the ſame. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his curſes, depriuations and excommunications agaynſt them: The ſayd Synode did adnihilate all his doynges.

The pope curſeth the councell.

37. The 37. Seſſion did renue agayne the accuſation of the foreſayd pope, and the ſentence definitiue agaynſt him was publiſhed.

38. In the 38. Seſſiō certaine decrees were made touching the adnihilatyng of the penalties of the Imbaſſadours of kyng Henry ſonne of Alphonſus kyng of Arragon. Alſo an other decree was made touching the reuocation of ẏ voyces graunted to the Imbaſſadours of the kyng of Arragon.

39. Thus Pope Benedict beyng depoſed and excommunicated as is aforeſayd, in the next Seſſions folowyng, they addreſſed themſelues to the election of a new Pope, begynnyng firſt in the 39. Seſſion to geue out decrees cōcernyng generall Councels, & prouiſion, for the auoydyng of ſuch like ſchiſmes hereafter. Decreyng euery x. yeare to haue a generall Councell, after the two Councels that ſhould folow immediatly after this, of the whiche the one ſhould be kept within v. yeares, then next folowyng, and the ſecond within vij. yeares after that.

Decrees for generall councels.

Item, in the ſame Seſſion was drawen out a forme touchyng ſuch thynges as the Pope ſhould profeſſe and bynde himſelfe, to obſerue at tyme of his election, of the whiche forme the order and tenour is this.

I N. elected for Pope, profeſſe with hart and mouth vnto almighty God, whoſe Church I take vpon me to gouerne, by his helpe, and to bleſſed S. Peter the prince of the Apoſtles, ſo long as I ſhall endure in this frayle and brittle life, firmely to beleue and hold the holy Catholicke fayth after the traditions of the Apoſtles, of generall Councels, & of other holy fathers, and namely of the viij. generall Councels. Nicene the firſt, the ſecond of Conſtantinople, Epheſine the third, Calcedone the fourth, the fift and ſixt of them in Cōſtātinople, the ſeuenth of Nice, the eight of Conſtantinople. And alſo of the generall Cōūcels of Laterane, Lyons, and Vienne, willing to obſerue the ſame fayth vnuiolate euen to the vttermoſt, and to preach & defend the ſame, euen to the ſpendyng of my lyfe & bloud, & alſo by all meanes poſſible to proſecute & obſerue the rite of the Sacramentes canonically deliuered to the Catholicke Church. And this my profeſſion and confeſſion by my commaundement, beyng writtē out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy church of Rome, I haue ſubſcribed with myne owne hand. And ſincerely with a pure mynde and deuout conſcience I offer it vnto thee, almighty God vpon ſuch an aulter. &c. In the preſence of ſuch witnes. &c. yeuen. &c.

The profeſſion which the pope is bound to.

It was alſo decided in this Seſſion, that no Prelates ſhould be tranſlated agaynſt their wils.

40. The third of the ſame moneth, and the ſame yeare followed the 40. Seſſion, wherein certaine decrees were conſtitute and read, as touchyng reformations to be made thorough the whole Church by the Pope, that next ſhould be, with the Councell, before this Synode ſhould breake vp.

Item, that they ſhould ſo procede to the election of the Byſhop of Rome, notwithſtandyng the abſence of thoſe Cardinals whiche were with Pope Benedict in Spayne. This done, the order and maner was decreed for the electiō of the Pope.

41. After theſe thynges thus decreed, in the next Seſſion which was fourty one, the conſtitution of Clement the ſixt was read, concernyng the order and dyet of the Cardinals beyng in the Conclaue about the chuſing of the Pope, and vpon the ſame othes were miniſtred vnto the Cardinalles and other Electours, binding them to obſerue and keepe all ſuch thynges as they ſhould be bounde to, duryng the tyme of the election.

Firſt, that they ſhould enter into the Conclaue within x. dayes after the 40. Seſſion, which was this preſent day after ſunne ſet.

The order & maner of the Conclaue in chuſing the Pope.

Secondly, that euery Cardinall ſhould haue but two ſeruitours attendyng vpon him at the moſt, either of the Laity or Clergy, as they would themſelues.

Thirdly, that they ſhould remaine together in the ſayd Conclaue without any wall betwixt thē, or any other court, ſaue onely bare Curtains, if any were diſpoſed to ſleepe.

Fourthly, that the Conclaue ſhould ſo be ſhut vp, and the entry to the priuy chamber to be kept ſo ſtraightly, that none of them ſhould come in or out, nor any to haue recourſe vnto them to talke with them priuely or apertly, nor they to admitte any man to come to them, except by the conſent of them all, certaine ſhould be called about matters concernyng the election.

Fiftly, that no man ſhould ſend to them either meſſenger or writynges.

Sixtly, that a competēt window ſhould be aſſigned vnto them to receiue in their victuals, but that no perſō might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, that no day after their firſt ingreſſe into the Conclaue, beſide bread, wyne and water, they ſhould haue any more diſhes but one of one onely kynde, either of fleſhe or fiſh, egges, pottage, made of fiſhe or fleſhe, not after the deintieſt ſorte, beſides ſalades, cheeſe, fruite, and conſerues, whereof there ſhalbe no principall meſſe made but for ſauce and taſte.

Eightly, that not one ſhould be compelled to go into the Cōclaue: But if they did all refuſe to go in, then they ſhould be compelled therunto.

Nynthly, that ſuch as would go out, might, but if they would all go out before the Pope were elect, they ſhould be compelled to go in agayne, except ſuch whom infirmitie did excuſe, but without the excuſe of infirmitie, if any went out he ſhould no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that ſuch as went out by reaſon of infirmitie, for to be abſent, and recouer before the election be determined: may be admitted agayne into the Conclaue in the ſame ſtate wherin they ſhall finde the election to ſtand.

Further and beſides the keepers of the Cōclaue, ſhould alſo be ſworne to ſee all theſe premiſes obſerued and kept without fraude or guile, and that they ſhould not ſtreighten the Cardinalles and other Electours aboue the order here taken.

And if the king be there himſelfe ſittyng in his throne of eſtate, he ſhould receiue the ſame othe of the Cardinals.

Vpon this ſuch as ſhould be electours beſide the Cardinals, were choſen.

Furthermore for as much as the goodes and ſubſtāce of ſuch as were elect, were accuſtomed to be geuen & graunted vnto ſuch as could catch them: whereupon vnder the pretēce of the ſame, many did inuade the goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclaue, falſely faynyng them to be elected which were not to be elected. To ſtoppe the greedy rauenyng of ſuch a decree alſo was publiſhed in the ſame Seſſion.

Theſe were wiſe Cardinalles, they would not goe into the Cōclaue, but they would be ſure to haue their goods ſafe vnſpoyled.

Theſe thynges thus prepared and ſet in order, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople with the Cardinals and other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Doctours, with other electours entryng into the Conclaue vpon Monday, on Thurſday after they had hatched out a pope, being S. Martins eue, wherupō they named him Martin: This Martin thus beyng elected, was ſtraight forth brought in by the Emperour and the Councell, into the Church of Conſtance, and there intronized for Pope, not without great ſolemnitie and triumphe. The xxi. day of the ſayd moneth, this foreſayd Martin accordyng to their accuſtomed pompe was honorably brought in to be crowned with ſumptuous proceſſiō from the high Church of Conſtance vnto the Monaſtery of S. Auſtē. The Emperour on foote, leadyng his horſe by the bridle on the right hand: And the Marques of Bradenburge Prince Electour, likewiſe leadyng his horſe on the left hand, the Pope himſelfe ridyng in the middeſt vpon his palfrey.

Pope Martine hatched. The Emperour leadeth the Popes horſe by the bridle, on the right hand. The prince electour leadeth the popes horſe on the left hand.

And thus beyng brought into the Monaſtery aforeſayd, and ſo reduced rounde about agayne from thence to the hygh Churche of Conſtance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithſtandyng all this, yet all the triflyng and fond vanitie of this Councell more great then wiſe, did not ende thus, for in the next Seſſion which was the xlij. came out a decree in the name of the Pope and the Councell, diſchargyng the bonde of the Emperour and the County Palatine, touchyng the ſafe cuſtody of pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in ſafety. 42.

In the xliij. Seſſion, certaine other decrees and ſtatutes were made by pope Martin in the ſayd Synode. Annullatyng and reprouyng all the actes and proceedynges of the other Popes before duryng the tyme of the ſchiſme from the tyme of Gregory the xi. As in matters concernyng exemptions, vnions, fruites and profites of the Churche, benefices, ſimonie, diſpenſations, tithes and other burdens of the Churche. Alſo concernyng the apparell of the Clergy 43.

Apparell of the clergie.

and ſuch other thynges.

44. In the xliiij. Seſſion, the ſage fathers of this Councell were occupyed about the determinyng in what place the next Councell ſhould be kept in, the xlv. Seſſion brake vp and diſſolued this Synode.

45. Now to finiſh our tedious rehearſall of this Synode. The Cardinall Umbald by the cōmaundement of the pope and the Councell, with a high and loude voyce pronounced theſe wordes Domini ite in pace, which is, Lordes depart in peace, wherunto the ſtanders by aunſwered Amen.

Smell here reader, thys made well for the popes purſe.

Thus ẏ coūcel beyng diſſolued, Frier Iohn B. of Catthan by the conſent and commaundement of the Pope and the Councell, went vp into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, takyng for his theame: Vos autem triſtitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor veſtrum. You are now in ſadnes: I will ſee you agayn, and then your hartes ſhall reioyce. The which collation beyng ended, an other Cardinall named Anthony, was ſent vp by the Pope and the Councell, with this proclamation, firſt to dimiſſe the Synode, & to geue euery man leaue to depart home. Alſo to declare the popes indulgence vnto them, who by the authoritie of God almightie, had graunted to them all and euery one preſent at that Councell, full abſolution once in their lyfe, ſo that euery one within two monethes after the hearyng of this indulgence ſhould procure the ſame in forme of wrytyng. Alſo an other indulgence was graunted in lyke maner of plenary remiſſion at the houre of death, and that was vnderſtand aſwell of the houſhold, as of the maiſters themſelues. But vnder this condition, that from the tyme of notification of the ſame, they ſhould faſt by the ſpace of one whole yeare euery Friday, for the abſolution in their life tyme. And for the abſolution at the houre of death, to faſt the ſame Friday an other yeare, except they had ſome lawfull impediment to the contrary, ſo that after the ſecond yeare they ſhould faſt vnto their lyues end, or els to do ſome other good worke. The which beyng in this maner proclaimed, the Synode brake vp, and euery man departed home.

Ex paralipomeno Abbatis Vrſp.

The number of prelates in the councell of Conſtance.

The number of the Prelates aſſembled in this Councell as is before mentioned, was. 3940. wherof the number of Archbyſhops and Byſhops was. 346.

Abbots and Doctours. 564.

Secular men { Princes. Dukes. Earles. Knightes. Eſquiers. } 16000.

Common women in the councell of Cōſtance. The ſumme of 60500. ſtraungers at the councell of Conſtance.

Beſides common women, belongyng to the ſame Coūcell. 450.

Barbers. 600. Minſtrels, Cookes and Ieſters. 320.

So that the whole multitude which were vewed to be in the Towne of Conſtance betwene Eaſter and Whitſontyde, were numbred to be. 60500. ſtraungers and forreners at that Councell.

The generall councell aboue the pope. Communion in both kindes denyed by this coūcell.

Here is to be noted that in this Councell of Conſtance, nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this onely, that the Popes authoritie is vnder the Councell, and that the Councell ought to iudge the Pope.

And as touchyng the Communion in both kyndes, although the Councell did not deny, but that it was vſed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, yet notwithſtandyng by the ſame Councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Hetherto we haue cōprehended the order and diſcourſe of this Councell, with the actes and Seſſions concernyng the ſame: whiche Councell although it was principally thought to be aſſembled, for quietyng of the ſchiſme betwen the three Popes: yet notwithſtandyng, a great part thereof was for the cauſe of the Bohemiās, and eſpecially for Iohn Hus: As appeared by their preparation before the Councell. For before the Councell began, the Emperour Sigiſmund aforeſayd ſent certaine Gentlemen Bohemiās which were of his owne houſhold, geuyng them in charge to bryng Iohn Hus Bacheler of Diuinitie, vnto the ſayd Councell, and that vnder his ſafe conduict, the meanyng and intent therof was, that Iohn Hus ſhould purge and cleare hym ſelfe of the blame which they had layd agaynſt him: and for the more better aſſurāce, the Emperour did not onely promiſe him ſafe conduict that he might come frely vnto Conſtance: but alſo to returne agayne into Boheme without fraude or interruption, he promiſed alſo to receiue him vnder his protectiō & vnder ſauegard of ẏ whole Empire. For the ſame onely cauſe the Emperour ſent him afterwardes the ſayd ſafe conduictes double written, both in Latine and Almaine, the forme wherof doth hereafter enſue.

The ſafe conduct geuen to maiſter Iohn Hus.

Sigiſmund by the grace of God kyng of the Romaines, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia. &c: To all Princes aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Seculer, Dukes, Marqueſſes & Earles, Barrons, Captaynes, Borowmaiſters, Iudges and Gouernours, officers of townes, burgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the comminalty, and generally to all the ſubiectes of our Empyre, to whom theſe letters ſhal come, grace and all goodnes:

We charge and commaūde you all, that you haue reſpect vnto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come vnto the generall councell, the which ſhalbe celebrate and holden very ſhortly at the towne of Conſtaunce. The which Iohn Hus we haue receiued vnder our protection and ſafegard of the whole Empire, deſiring you ẏ you will chearefully receiue hym when he ſhal come towardes you, & that you intreate and handle hym gently, ſhewyng hym fauour and good wyll, and ſhew hym pleaſure in all thynges, as touchyng the forewardnes, eaſe and aſſuraunce of hys iourney, as well by land as by water. Moreouer, we wyll that he and all hys company wyth hys cariage and neceſſaryes, ſhall paſſe throughout all places, paſſages, portes, bridges, landes, gouernances, Lordſhippes, liberties, cityes, townes, bourgages, caſtels and villages, and all other your dominions, wythout paying of any manner of impoſition or dane money, peage, tribute, or any other maner of tolle whatſoeuer it be: we wyll alſo that you ſuffer hym to paſſe, reſt, tary, and to ſoiourne at liberty, without doyng vnto hym any manner of impeachment or vexation or trouble, and that if neede ſhall ſo require, you do prouide a faithfull company to conduct hym with all for the honour and reuerence which you owe vnto our imperiall maieſtye. Yeuen at Spire the xviij. of October, in the yeare of our lord God. 1414.

By this it may appeare that this ſafe conducte was graunted not in the tyme of the Councell by the Byſhops, but before the Councell by the Emperour: who was or ought to be the principall ordeyner and directer of the Coūcell vnder God. Now whether the biſhops in breakyng and adnullyng thys promiſe of the Emperour, agaynſt the Emperours mynde, becauſe the diſcuſſion therof belongeth, Ad materiam iuris, non facti, beyng a matter rather of lawe then of ſtory, I will differ to reaſon this caſe with maiſter Cope, to ſuch tyme, as may be more conuenient to the full tractation therof.

Alanus Copus. pag. 929.

Aunſwere to Alanus Copus.

Notwythſtandyng, briefly to touch and paſſe, let vs cōſider part of the reaſons of the ſaid Cope, how friuolous and falſe they be, and eaſie to be refelled. What (ſayth he) if he preached by the way comming vp? Firſt that is falſe, vide infra. pag. 582. What (ſayth he) if he ſtoode obſtinate in hys hereſie? What if he ſought to eſcape away after his cōming vp? To thys the Lordes of Boheme do aunſwere, that hys ſafeconducte was broken, and he impriſoned, not onely before he attempted to eſcape, or before he was condemned for an hereticke, but alſo before he was heard of the Councell what he was. Vide infra. pag. 582. Further, where Cope ſayth that the generall councell was aboue the Emperour, and hath power in caſe of hereſie to breake publique leages and grauntes: to that I ſay, that thys ſafe conducte ſtoode not onely vpon the Emperour, but alſo vpon the conſent of the Pope hymſelfe, vide infra. pag. 577. And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make thys decree, to breake promiſe wyth heretickes: yet thys cannot be denied, but that I. Hus was condēned and iudged before that decree in the xix. Seſſion was made. Finally, when Cope hath proued by what ſcripture the councels haue power to defeat the authoritie of their Emperours in ſuch ſecular cauſes touching ſafeconductes, and outward ſafetie: then will I anſwere hym more fully herein. But to the purpoſe againe of the ſtory.

John Hus taketh the Emperours ſafeconduct.

Iohn Hus ſeyng ſo many fayre promiſes, and the aſſurance whiche the Emperour had geuen vnto hym, ſent aūſwere vnto the Emperour that he would come vnto the councell: But before he departed out of the Realme of Boheme, and ſpecially out of the towne of Prage, he did write certayne billes long inough afore, aſwell in latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almayne, and cauſed them to be ſet and faſtened vpon the gates of the Cathedrall churches and pariſhe Churches, Cloyſters and Abbayes, ſignifyng vnto them all, that he would goe to the generall councell at Conſtaunce, whereof if any man haue any ſuſpition of his doctrine, that he ſhould declare it before the L. Conrade, or Byſhop of Prage, or if he had rather, at the generall councell, for there he would render and geue vp vnto euery one, and before them all, an accompt and reaſon of hys fayth. The example of his letters and intimations ſet vp were theſe, the copy wherof here followeth.

¶ The

The Letters of Iohn Hus, ſet vp in common places of the Citie of Prage.

Letters of Iohn Hus ſet vp.

MAiſter Iohn Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie, will appeare before the moſt reuerend father the Lorde Conrade, Archbyſhop of Prage, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſeate in the next cõuocation of all the Prelates and Clergy of the kyngdome of Boheme, beyng ready alwayes to ſatiſfie all men which ſhall require him to geue a reaſon of his fayth and hope that he holdeth. And to heare and ſee all ſuch as will lay vnto his charge either any ſtubburneſſe of errour or hereſie, that they ſhould write in their names there, as is required both by gods law and mãs. And if ſo be that they could not lawfully proue any ſtubbornes of errour or hereſie againſt him, that then they ſhould ſuffer the like puniſhmentes that he ſhould haue had, vnto whom altogether he will aunſwere at the next generall Councell at Conſtance, before the Archbyſhop and the Prelates, and accordyng to the decrees and Canons of the holy fathers, ſhew forth his innocencie in the name of Chriſt. Dated the Sonday next after the feaſt of Saint Bartholomew.

The Intimations folowyng, were drawen out of the Bohemian toung.

An other intimation of I. Huſſe ſet vp, for his going to Conſtance.

I Maiſter Iohn Huſnetz do ſignifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come and ſtand before the face of my Lord the Archbyſhop, and to aunſwere to all thynges whereof I am falſely accuſed in the next conuocation of Bachelers, & chiefly to this poynt, that in many places they do reporte me an hereticke, not hauyng reſpect vnto iuſtice or to law, neither yet to my merites or deſertes. Therefore ſince that you which do neuer ceaſe to ſclaunder and backebite me with your wordes do vnderſtand and know theſe thynges, come forth openly before the face and preſence of the Lord Archbyſhop, and with an open mouth, declare & ſhew forth what falſe doctrine or other thyngs you haue heard me teach contrary to Catholicke fayth, and if that I ſhall be found faultie in neuer ſo ſmall a matter contrary or agaynſt the fayth of Chriſt, or in any falſe doctine, and that I do choſe that or other thynges contrary to the fayth of Chriſt, then I will hold my peace and ſuffer puniſhment as an hereticke. And if there be no man that will reſiſte agaynſt me or accuſe me in this point, once agayne I ſay vnto you that I am ready to appeare at Conſtance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may ſtand in the company of the deuines euen before the face of the Pope. Therefore whoſoeuer knoweth any falſe doctrine contrary to the fayth of Chriſt in me, let him come thether & ſhew it forth boldly if he haue any thyng to lay agaynſt me, and for my part I will not be ſlacke if I may vnderſtand or know it, to aunſwere as wel to ſmall as great, as touchyng ỹ truth which I haue receiued of God, and deſire to be defended. All you good men therfore which loue the truth, ſay now whether by theſe my wordes I do thinke or go about any thyng, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it knowen and manifeſt vnto all mẽ that it happeneth not thorough my fault the ſame day.

The offer of I. Huſſe to hys enemyes.

This Epiſtle which followeth, was ſet vpon the gates of the Kynges Palace, tranſlated into Latin, out of the Bohemian toung.

A writing of I. Huſſe at the kynges gates.

VNto the kynges maieſtie, the Queene, and to all ſuch as are of his Councell, and to all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, which now are in the kynges Court, I Iohn Hus, do ſignifie and publiſh, that I haue vnderſtãd, not by any vayne rumor or tale, that there be letters brought from the Pope to the kynges maieſtie, the cõtentes wherof is this: That the kynges maieſtie ſhould bryng to paſſe, that the herettickes which were now lately ſprong vp in his kyngdome and dominions, ſhould not take any firme or ſtrong roote. For ſo much as without any deſerte, as I truſt by Gods grace, the fame or noyſe is ſprong and blowen abroad: it ſhall be our part to foreſee and take heede, that neither the kynges maieſtie, neither the noble kyngdome of Boheme, ſhould be driuen to beare or ſuffer any reproche or ſlaunder for me. Wherefore now of late I haue ſent my letters to and fro, which I haue with great labour and diligence, cauſed to be openly ſet vp, to this intent, that I might therby cauſe the Archbyſhop to be carefull and diligent about the matter, ſignifieng openly, that if there were any mã in all Boheme, which did know me to be a follower of any falſe or corrupt doctrine, that he ſhould profeſſe his name in the Archbyſhop his Court, and there to ſhew forth and declare what he thought. And for aſmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuſe me, the Archbiſhop cõmaũded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherfore I require and deſire the kinges maieſtie, which is the defender of the truth, alſo the Queene and their counſellers and all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, that they would geue me a faithfull teſtimoniall of this matter. For ſomuch as I haue oftentymes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accuſed me or troubled me. I do it moreouer to be knowen vnto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I will be preſent euen at the firſt tyme before the Councell of Cõſtãce, in the moſt famous place in the preſence of the Pope, the Pope beyng preſident. And finally, in the preſence of all others which wil come to that moſt famous place, and that whoſoeuer hath any ſuſpition of me, that I haue either taught or defended any thyng contrary vnto the fayth of Chriſt, let him come thether alſo, let him declare there before or in the preſence of the Pope, & all the doctors of Diuinitie, what erroneous or falſe doctrine I haue at any tyme followed or holden. More, if he ſhall cõuince me of any errour, or proue that I haue taught any thyng contrary vnto the Chriſtian fayth, I will not refuſe to ſuffer what ſoeuer puniſhment ſhall be due for an hereticke. But I hope and truſt euen from the bottome of my hart, that God will not geue the victory to vnfaithful & vnbeleuing men, the which do willyngly kicke and ſpurne agaynſt the truth.

The ſame tyme Iohn Hus ſent his procurers to the Lord Byſhop of Nazareth, ordeined by the Apoſtolicke ſea Inquiſitour of hereſie of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, requiryng him, that if he had found any errour in him, he would declare it openly. But the ſayd Byſhop before the ſayd procurour, and the publike Notary, with many other credible witneſſes anſwered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that he neuer knew any thyng in hym, but as becommeth a godly and faithfull man, and thus his teſtimonie of Iohn Hus he approued by his letters, the copy whereof is here vnder written.

The Byſhop of Nazareth his teſtimoniall.

The teſtimony of the good Byſh. of Nazareth

WE Nicholas by the grace of God Byſhop of Nazareth and Inquiſitor, ſpecially deputed by the Apoſtolicke ſeate for hereſies both of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, by theſe preſentes we do it to be knowen vnto all men that we in tymes paſt haue often communed and talked with that honorable man maiſter Iohn Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie of the famous vniuerſitie of Prage, and haue had diuerſe and ſondry confereces with him, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all his ſayinges, doinges, and behauiour, we haue proued and founde him to be a faythfull and a Catholicke man, findyng no maner of euill, ſiniſter, or by any meanes erroneous doinges in him vnto this preſent. We do witneſſe and proteſt, moreouer how the ſayd Iohn Hus, of late in the cathedrall Church of Prage, and in other both Collegiate and Pariſh Churches, and in the Colledges of the Vniuerſitie of Prage and in the gates and porches of the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenſlaus kyng of Romaines and of Boheme. Alſo in the gates of the reuerẽd father the Lord Cõrade Archbyſhop of Prage, Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea and Chauncelour of the Vniuerſitie of Prage, and of other Princes and Barons, then beyng in the Citie of Prage, hath ſet vp his letters written both in Latin and in the Bohemian toung, containyng ſẽtẽtially in effect, how the foreſaid maiſter Iohn Hus, would appeare before the reuerend father the Lord Conrade the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Clergy of the kyngdome of Boheme, that ſhalbe congregated and called together by the ſayd Archb. at the day appointed in the ſayd Citie of Prage, ready alwayes to ſatiſfie euery man that ſhall deſire and require him to ſhew a reaſon of his fayth and hope that he holdeth, and to ſee and heare all and euery one which could proue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie, lawfully agaynſt him, vnder the payne to receiue the like puniſhment: vnto whom altogether he would by Gods helpe, aunſwere in the Councell of Conſtance, which was now at hand, before the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop and vs with all other Prelates, and there in Chriſtes name accordyng to the decrees and Canons of the holy fathers to declare and ſhew forth his innocencie. After the which letters as is aforeſayd by the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus openly ſet vp, there did no mã appeare before vs, the which would accuſe the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus, of any errour, either of any hereſie. For the euident witneſſe of all whiche

The Byſh. of Nazareth witneſſeth with I. Hus.

thynges we haue commaunded theſe preſent letters to be made, and confirmed the ſame with the ſettyng to of our ſeale. Dated in Prage xxx, of Auguſt an. M.iiij.C.xiiij.

Upon which matter alſo a publicke inſtrument was drawen, teſtified with the hand & ſeale of the publicke Notarie, named Michel Pruthatitz. The copy wherof is to be read more at large in our former edition. pag. 193.

After this, as all the Barons of Boheme were aſſembled in the Abbay of S. James, about the affaires of the realme, where as the Archbyſhop of Prage was alſo preſent: There the ſayd John Hus preſented ſupplications: by the which he moſt humbly deſired the Barons, that they would ſhew him thus fauour towardes the ſayd Archbyſhop, that if the ſayd Archbyſhop did ſuſpect him of any errour or hereſie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and ſuffer correctiõ for the ſame at his handes. And if that he had found or perceiued no ſuch thyng in him, that he would then giue him a teſtimoniall therof, through the which he beyng as it were armed, he might the more freely go vnto Conſtance. The ſayd Archbyſhop confeſſed openly before all the aſſembly of Barons that he knew not that the ſayd John Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his onely Counſell, that the ſayd John Hus ſhould purge hymſelfe of the excommunication he had incurred: this report, which the Archbyſhop had geuen of John Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the Barons of Boheme ſent vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund by the ſayd Hus in the towne of Conſtance.

Conrade the Archb. cleareth J. Hus.

Finally all the Prelates and Clergy aſſembled together in the town of Prage in the Archbyſhop his Court, where as appeared perſonally the worſhypfull maiſter John Jeſenitz Doctour of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honorable man maiſter John Hus, requiryng that either the ſayd maiſter John Hus, or that he in the name and behalfe of hym, might be ſuffered to come into the ſayd Archbyſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbyſhop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, for ſomuch as maiſter John Hus is ready to ſatiſfie all men which ſhall require him to ſhew any reaſon of his fayth or hope, whiche he holdeth, and to ſee and heare all and ſingular, whiche were there gathered together, that is to ſay, the Lord Archbyſhop and Prelates or any of them, whiche would lay any maner of obſtinacie, or errour, or hereſie vnto him, that they ſhould there write in their names, and accordyng both vnto Gods law and mans, and the Canon law, prepare themſelues to ſuffer like puniſhment, if they could not lawfully proue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie agaynſt him: vnto whom altogether he would, by Gods helpe, aunſwere before the ſayd Archbyſhop and the Prelates in the next generall Councell holden at Conſtance, and ſtand vnto the law, and accordyng to the Canons and Decretals of the holy fathers, ſhewe forth and declare his innocencie in the name of Chriſt: Unto the which maiſter John of Jeſſenetz Doctour, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, Marſhall of the ſayd Archbyſhop, commyng forth of the ſayd Court, did vtterly deny vnto the ſayd maiſter Doctour and his partie all maner of ingreſſe and entrance into the Court, and to the preſence of the Archbyſhop aforeſayd, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretendyng that the Archbyſhop with the Prelates aforeſayd, were occupyed about the kynges affayres, requiryng the ſayd maiſter Doctour, that he would tary in ſome place without the ſayd Court, that when the Archbyſhop and the Prelates had finiſhed the kynges affaires, he might then returne, and haue libertie to come into the Court there. The ſayd maiſter John Hus, and the Doctour of law taried a while, intreatyng to be admitted into the Archbyſhops Court. But ſeyng he could preuayle nothyng, he made there a ſolemne proteſtation of his requeſt, that both he and alſo maiſter John Hus and his part, could not be ſuffered to come into the Archbyſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbyſhop and the Prelates. Requiryng of the foreſayd Notarie, publicke inſtrumentes to be made of the ſame. Which alſo was done.

John Hus required to geue teſtimony of hys fayth and could not be admitted.

And theſe were the thynges which were done, before John Hus tooke his iourney to the generall Councell of Conſtance, the which I minded briefly to rehearſe, whereunto I will alſo annexe ſomewhat, as touchyng his iourney thetherwardes. About the Ides of October. 1414. John Hus beyng accompanyed with two noble Gentlemen, that is to witte Wenceſlat of Duba, & John of Clum, he parted from Prage & tooke his iourney towardes Conſtance. And in euery place as he paſſed he notified his preſence by his letters which he ſent abroad, & eſpecially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenour wherof enſueth.

John Hus taketh hys iourney to Conſtance.

The copy of the letters which Iohn Hus ſet vp in the common places of the Cities which he paſſed thorow goyng to the Councell.

Maiſter Iohn Hus goeth now vnto Conſtance, there to declare his fayth which he hath hitherto holden, and euen at this preſent doth hold, and by gods helpe wyll defend and kepe euen vnto death. Therefore euen as he hath manifeſted throughout all the kyngdom of Boheme by his letters & intimations, willyng before his departure to haue ſatiſfied and geuen an accompt of his fayth vnto euery man which ſhould obiect or lay any thing agaynſt hym in the generall conuocation holden in the Archbiſhop of Prages court: So likewiſe he doth manifeſt and ſignifie that if there be any man in this noble and Imperiall city, the which will impute or lay any errour or hereſie vnto him, that he ſhould prepare himſelfe to come vnto the Councell, for ſo much as the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus is ready to ſatiſfie euery man at the ſayd Councell, which ſhal lay any thing vnto his charge as touching his fayth.

The letters which J. Hus ſet vp in cities as he paſſed to Conſtance.

In all Cities as he paſſed by, and principally when he was parted out of Boheme and entered into Almayne, a great number of people did come vnto him, and he was very gently receiued and entertayned of his hoſtes thorough all the townes of Germany, and ſpecially of the citizens and burgeſes, and oftentymes of the Curates. In ſo much as the ſayd Hus did confeſſe in a certaine Epiſtle, that he found in no place ſo great enemies as in Boheme. And if it happened that there were any bruite or noyſe before of his commyng, the ſtreetes were alwayes full of people, which were deſirous to ſee John Huſſe and gratifie hym: and amongeſt all other ſpecially at Nurrenberge, where as certayne Merchauntes which went before, certified the Citizens of hys commyng. In the ſame Citie there were many Curates which came vnto hym, deſiryng that they might talke with hym ſecretly aparte, vnto whome he aunſwered that he loued much rather to pronounce and ſhewe foorth hys mynde and opinion openly before all men, then in hugger mugger, for he would kepe nothyng cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner vntill it was night, he ſpake before the Prieſts and Senatours, and diuers other Citizens, inſomuch that they all had hym in great eſtimation and reuerence one onely doctor except, which was a Charter houſe Monke, and the Curate of S. Sebaulde, which did improue all that he had ſayd.

How John Hus was receaued by the way going vp to the Councell.

Nurrenburge.

A Charterhouſe monke agaynſt John Hus.

The xx. day after that, he parted out of the towne of Prage, which was the third day of Nouember, he came vnto Conſtance, and lodged at an honeſt matrons houſe beyng a widow named Fayth in ſaint Galles ſtreat. The morrow after the gentleman maiſter John de Clum, and M. Henry Latzenboge, went to ſpeake with the Pope and certified him that John Hus was come, whom they had brought to Conſtance to the generall councell vnder the Emperour his ſafe conduict, deſiryng hym alſo that he on hys parte would graunt the ſayd John Hus liberty to remayne in Conſtance without any trouble, vexation, or interruption: vnto whom the Pope aunſwered that albeit that J. Huſſe had killed hys brother, yet would he go about as much as in hym lay that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done vnto him duryng his abode in the towne of Conſtance. In this meane tyme the greateſt aduerſary that John Huſſe had, named maiſter Steuen Palletz, the which was alſo a Bohemian was come vnto Conſtance. But hys companion Maiſter Stamſlaus Znoma, was not yet paſſed ỷ borders of Boheme, when he was ſtriken with an impoſtume wherof he died. As ſoone as the ſayd Palletz was come to Conſtance, he did aſſociate vnto him one Michael de Cauſis, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſayd John Huſſe. And this may not be forgotten that the ſayde Palletz had bene familiarly conuerſaunt and acquainted with the ſayde John Huſſe from his youth vpward, but after that there was a bull brought vnto Prage from Pope John the 23. agaynſt the kyng of Pulia, named Ladiſlaus, the ſayd J. Hus withſtode it openly, for ſo much as he ſaw that it was wicked and nought.

John Huſſes hoſtes named Fayth.

The pope conſenteth to the ſafe conducte of John Hus.

Stanillaus Znoma Huſſes enemy, going to Conſtance, dyed by the way.

Steuen Palletz, Michaell de Cauſis, chiefe enemies to Hus.

And as touching the ſayd Palletz, albeit that he had cõfeſſed at a certaine banquet in the preſence of the ſayd John Hus that the ſayd Bull was contrary to all equity & right: yet notwithſtanding for ſo much as he was obliged & bound vnto the Pope by meanes of certayne benefices receyued at his hand, he maintayned and defended the ſayd bull agaynſt John Hus. And this was the cauſe of the diſcorde and fallyng out betwene them. As for Michaell de Cauſis the companion of maiſter Palletz, he was ſometyme the Curate of new

A Bull agaynſt Ladiſlaus kyng of Apulia.

Michaell de Cauſis.

new Prage, but he not beyng content therwith, but ſekyng after a further pray, dreamed and imagined out a new deuiſe how to attayne vnto it, for he made a ſemblaunce that he had found out a new inuention or meane, whereby the mynes of gold in Gilowy, which were periſhed and loſt, might be renued and ſet on worke agayne. By this meanes he dyd ſo much with the kyng Wenceſlaus, that he did put a great ſumme of mony into hys handes to do that withall which he had promiſed.

The wicked life of Mich. de Cauſis Huſſes enemye deſcribed.

This honeſt man after he had laboured and trauayled certayne dayes about it, and perceiuing that he brought nothing to paſſe, and that by that meanes he was vtterly in diſpayre of hys purpoſe, he conueyed hymſelfe priuily out of the realme of Boheme with the reſt of the mony, and withdrew hymſelf as a worthy bird for ſuch a neſt into the court of Rome. Such a man of ſuch conditions was eaſily corrupt with mony, and that by the aduerſaries of ẏ ſaid Hus, & promiſed them to do what he could for them, the which he did ſhortly after. The two iolly Royſters Steuē Palletz, & Michael de Cauſis drew out certayne articles agaynſt the ſayd Huſſe, ſaying that they had gathered them out of hys owne writinges, and ſpecially out of hys treatiſe, which he had written of the church. They trotted vp and downe, hither and thither, takyng great paynes to ſhew the ſayd articles vnto the cardinals, biſhops, monkes, and ſuch others of that ſort, doyng them alſo to vnderſtand, that there were other matter of greater importance which the ſayd J. Huſſe had committed and done againſt the holy conſtitutions and other ordinances of the Pope and the church: which if nede were, they ſayd they would propound before the Councell. Through the kindlyng of this their fire they did ſo incenſe the Cardinals & all the Prieſts, that all they with one mind and conſent thought to cauſe the good man to be taken and layd handes on.

The enemies of Hus practiſe againſt hym.

The 16. day after the ſayd Hus was come to Conſtāce, during all which tyme he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talke with his friendes, the Cardinals which through the inſtigation and motion of Palletz and Michael de Cauſis, ſent two biſhops, to wit, the biſhop of Auguſta, and of Trident, and with them the Borowmaiſter of the towne of Conſtance, & a certayne knight, to the place where John Hus lodged about dinner tyme, which ſhould make report vnto hym that they were ſent by the Pope and hys Cardinals, to aduertiſe hym that he ſhould come to render ſome knowledge or witnes of hys doctrine before them, as he had oftentymes deſired, and that they were ready for to heare hym.

John Hus deſired to plead hys cauſe before the whole councell.

Unto whom John Huſſe aunſwered, I am not come for no ſuch intent, as to defend my cauſe particulerly before the Pope and hys Cardinals: proteſting that I neuer deſired no ſuch thyng, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole aſſemble of the Councell, and there anſwer for my defence openly without any feare or doubt, vnto all ſuch thinges as ſhould be demaunded or required of me. Notwithſtanding ſaid he forſmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they euill entreat or handle me: yet neuertheles I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he will ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to dye for his glory ſake, then to deny the veritie and truth which I haue learned by his holy Scriptures. Wherfore it came to paſſe that the biſhops beyng inſtant vpon him, and not ſhewyng any outward ſemblaunce, that they bare any malice or hatred againſt hym in their hartes, albeit they had priuily layd garriſons both in the houſe, where they were aſſembled, and alſo in other houſes: John Hus tooke hys horſe which he had at his lodging, and went vnto the court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

J. Hus is come before the Pope & the Cardinals.

The wordes of the pope and the Cardinals to John Hus.

When he was come thither and had ſaluted the Cardinals, they began to ſpeake to hym in this ſort: We haue heard many reportes of you, the which if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffred. For men ſay that you haue taught great and manifeſt errours, and contrary and agaynſt the doctrine of the true church, and that you haue ſowed your errours abrode through all the realme of Boheme, by a long ſpace of tyme, wherfore we haue cauſed you to be called hether before vs, that we might vnderſtand and know how the matter ſtandeth.

The aunſwere of John Hus to the pope and the Cardinals.

Unto whom John Hus aunſwered in few wordes, reuered fathers you ſhall vnderſtand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I would rather chuſe to dye, then I ſhould be found culpable of one only error, much leſſe of many and great errours: for this cauſe I am the more willingly come vnto the generall Councell which is here appointed to ſhew my ſelfe ready euen with all my hart to receiue correction, if any man can proue any errours in me.

The Cardinals aunſwered him agayne ẏ his ſayings pleaſed them very well, and vpon that they went their way, leauing the ſaid John Hus with maiſter John de Clum, vnder the gard and kepyng of the armed men.

Dolus malus Cardinalium,

A Frier Minor putteth two queſtions to John Hus.

In the meane ſeaſon they did ſuborne and furniſhe out a certaine diuine, a Frier Franciſcane, a ſubtile and craftie man, and a malicious hypocrite, for to queſtion with the ſayd John Hus, which was compaſſed in rounde about wyth armed men. This man drawing neare in hys monkiſhe geſture ſayd, reuerend Maiſter, I a ſimple and rude ideot am come vnto you for to learne: for I haue heard many ſtraunge and contrary thinges agaynſt ẏ catholike faith to be aſcribed vnto you, the which doe diuerſly moue my mynde, beyng wholy inclined to the truth. Wherfore I do deſire you, euen for the loue which you beare vnto ẏ truth, and to all good and godly men, that you woulde teach me moſt ſimple and miſerable man, ſome certaintie and truth. And firſt men ſay that you holde opinion after the conſecration and pronunciation of the wordes in the Sacrament of the altar, there remayneth onely materiall bread. J. Huſſe aunſwered, that it was falſly attributed and imputed to hym. Then ſayd he: I pray you is not this your opinion? No verely ſayd John Hus, I do not ſo thinke of it. When the Monke aſked thys queſtion the third tyme, Maiſter John de Clum being ſomwhat moued with him, ſaid: Why art thou ſo importunate vpon hym? Verely if any mā had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once, I would haue beleued him. And thou, albeit he hath ſhewed thee his mynde ſo often, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſayd the Monke: gentle maiſter I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and ſimple Frier, ſurely I did it of a good mynde and intent, being willyng and deſirous to learne. This Frier put forth an other queſtion vnto him, proteſting his ſimplicitie and ignoraunce, what maner of vnitie of the Godhead and manhode was in the perſon of Chriſt? When J. Huſſe had heard this queſtion, he turned himſelfe vnto Maiſter John de Clum in the Bohemien language ſaid: truely this Frier is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded vnto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning hymſelfe to the Frier, he ſayd vnto hym: brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceiue very well, that you are double and crafty, and not ſimple. It is not ſo verely ſayd the Frier. Well, ſayde John Hus, I will cauſe you well to vnderſtand that it is ſo: For as touching the ſimplicitie of a man, it is required in thynges that concerne ciuilitie and maners, that the ſpirite, the vnderſtanding, the hart, the wordes, and the mouth ſhould agree together, and I do not perceiue that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certayne ſemblaunce of ſimplicitie, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and ſimple, but your deedes ſhewe plainely and euidently a great ſubteltie and crafte in you, with a great quicknes and liuelines of wit, in that you haue proponed vnto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion.

A frierly Judas.

M. John Clum ſpeaketh for John Hus.

A Wolfe in a Lambes ſkinne.

Notwithſtanding I will not feare to ſhew you my mynd in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the Monke gaue hym great thankes for hys gentlenes and ſo departed. After that, the Popes garriſon which were about the ſayd John Hus, told hym, that this Frier was called Maiſter Didace, who was eſtemed and counted the greateſt & moſt ſubtile diuine in all Lumbardy. Oh ſayd Hus that I had knowen that afore, I would haue handled hym after another ſort and faſhion, but I would to God they were all ſuch, then through the helpe and ayde of the holy Scriptures, I would feare none of them. In this maner the ſayd Hus and maiſter John de Clum, were left vnder the keeping of theſe men of Armes vntill iiij. of the clocke at after noone. After which tyme the Cardinals aſſembled agayne in the Popes court, to deuiſe and take counſail what they ſhould do with John Hus. Then Steuen Paletz and Michaell de Cauſis, with diuers other of their adherentes, made earneſt ſute that he ſhould not be let go at libertie agayne, and hauyng the fauor of the iudges on their part they bragged vp and downe in a maner as they had bene mad men, and mocked the ſayd John Huſſe: ſaying, now we wyll holde thee well enough, thou art vnder our power and iuriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart vntill ſuch tyme as thou haſt payd the vttermoſt farthyng.

Didace a crafty Frier.

Many a one beguiled vnder the cloke of ſimplicity.

J. Huſſes enemies triumphe ouer him when he was taken.

A little afore night they ſent the Prouoſt of the Romain court vnto M. John de Clum, to ſhew him that he myght returne to his lodging, for as for J. Hus, they had otherwiſe prouided for hym. When maiſter John de Clum heard theſe newes, he was wonderfully diſpleaſed, forſomuch as through their craftes, ſubtleties and gloſing wordes, they had ſo trayned this good man into their ſnares. Whereupon he went vnto the Pope, declaring vnto him all that was done, moſt humbly beſeching him that he would call to remembraunce the promiſe which he had made vnto him and maiſter Henry Latzenbog, and that he would not ſo lightly falſifie and breake his fayth and promiſe. The Pope anſwered that all theſe things were done without hys conſent or commaundement, and ſaid further to maiſter Clum a part, what reaſõ is it that you ſhould impute this dede vnto me, ſeing that you know well inough that I myſelfe am in the handes of theſe Cardinals and Biſhops.

The pope breaketh promiſe.

In myne opinion, for ſo much as pope Iohn feared that, which in dede dyd after follow, that he ſhould be depriued of his dignitie, he thought to win the fauour of theſe Herodiã Cardinals and Biſhops, by betraying this good man vnto them. So the ſayd maiſter Clum returned very penſifull & ſory: he complayned very ſore both priuely and openly, of the iniury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothyng. After this the ſayd Iohn Hus was led by the officers to the chapter houſe of the great church of Conſtance where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of 8. dayes, from thence he was caried vnto the Iacobines hard by the riuer of Rhine, and was ſhut vp in the priſon of the Abbey, the which was hard by the Bogardes.

The pope to pleaſe the councel was againſt I. Hus.

After he had bene incloſed there a certayne tyme, he fell ſore ſicke of an agew, by meanes of the ſtench of the place, and became ſo weake that they diſpayred of his lyfe. And for feare leaſt this good man ſhould die in priſon as others are wont to do, the Pope ſent vnto hym certayne of hys Phiſitions for to cure and helpe hym. In the middeſt of hys ſicknes hys accuſers made importunate ſute to the principals of the Councell that the ſayd Iohn Hus, might be cõdemned, and preſented vnto the Pope, theſe Articles here vnderwritten.

The impriſonment and ſickenes of Iohn Hus.

¶Articles preſented againſt I.Hus.

FIrſt, he doth erre about the ſacraments of the church, and ſpecially about the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, for ſo much as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be miniſtred openly vnto the people vnder both kyndes, that is to ſay, the body and bloud. This article is euident, forſomuch as hys diſciples at this inſtant in Prage, do miniſter yͤ ſame in both kindes. Moreouer it is affirmed by diuers that he hath taught both in the ſcholes & in yͤ church, or at yͤ leaſt yͭ he doth hold this opinion, that after the wordes of conſecration pronounced vpon the aulter, there remayneth ſtill materiall bread in the ſacrament, this article ſhall be knowen by his examination.

Articles againſt Iohn Hus.

The ſupper of the Lord.

Secondly, he doth erre, as touching the miniſters of the church, forſomuch as he ſaith that they cannot conſecrate or miniſter the Sacramentes when they are in mortall ſinne. This article ſhall likewyſe be knowen by hys examination. Notwithſtandyng all that, which is here conteyned, may be gathered by his writings De eccleſia, the which if he deny, let there then be ſome deuines and others appoynted to peruſe and loke ouer his ſayd writinges of the church. Moreouer he ſayth that other men beſide prieſts may miniſter the ſacraments, this article is euident, for ſo much as his diſciples do the ſame at Prage, the which of themſelues do violently take the ſacrament out of the treaſury, and communicate among themſelues, when the holy communion is denied vnto them by this and other things, alſo it is ſufficiently euident that he hath taught that euery man being without mortall ſinne, hath the power of orders or prieſthoode, for ſo much as ſuch only as hath taken orders, ought to miniſter the ſacraments vnto themſelues. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters vnto great and waightier, it doth conſequently appeare and follow, that thoſe which be in ſtate of grace, can bynd and looſe.

Of the adminiſtratiõ of Sacramẽts.

Thirdly he doth erre as touchyng the Church, and ſpecially for that he doth not allow and admit that the Church ſignifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops and the clergy vnderneath them, but ſayth that this ſignification was drawen out from the ſchole men. And in no caſe to be holdẽ or allowed, this article is manifeſt by his ſayd treatiſe vpon the Church.

Of the Church.

Moreouer he doth erre concernyng the Church in that he ſayth, that the Church ought not to haue any temporall poſſeſſions. And that the temporall Lordes may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence: this errour is euident, forſomuch as through hys doctrine and intiſements, many churches in the kingdom of Boheme and in the city of Prage are all redy ſpoyled and robbed of a great part of their temporalities and goodes. He ſayth alſo that Conſtantinus and other ſeculer princes erred by enriching and endwing churches and monaſteries. This Article is manifeſt by that which goeth next before.

Eccleſiaſticall reuenues.

Fourthly, he erreth as touchyng the church, in that he ſayth that all prieſtes are of like power, and therfore affirmeth that the reſeruations of the popes caſualties, the ordering of Biſhops, and the conſecration of the prieſts were inuented onely for couetouſneſſe. This Article doth ſomewhat appeare by thoſe afore goyng, but by his examination ſhall be more euident.

The byſhops power.

Fifthly, he erreth concernyng the church in that he ſayth that the church beyng in ſinne, hath no power of the keyes, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the prieſts & and clergy are in deadly ſinne, the which he ſayth is poſſible enough, this alſo doth appeare in hys treatiſe vppon the Church, in his firſt errour as touching the miniſters of the Church.

The power of the keyes of the Church.

Sixtly, he erreth touching the Church, for as much as through contempt he doth not feare excommunicatiõ. This doth notoriouſly appeare by his own doyngs, in that he dyd contemne and deſpiſe the Apoſtolike and ordinary cenſure, and in all the Apoſtolike excommunications and iniunctiõs he hath borne hymſelf vpon the deuine commaundementes, and in contempt of the keyes to the ſettyng out of his hypocriſie he hath ſaid maſſe all the wayes betwene this and the city of Prage, and therby hath prophanate the proceſſe and authority of the church.

Excõmunicatiõ.

Seuenthly he erreth agayne, as touching the Church, becauſe he kepeth not the inſtitutions and inueſtitures therof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authority to inueſt and appoynt any man to the cure of ſoules. This is euident by his own doings. For ſo much as many in yͤ kingdom of Boheme, by their defẽders and fauourers, or rather by himſelf were appointed and put into pariſh churches, the which they haue long ruled and kept, not beyng appoynted by the Apoſtolike ſea, neither yet by the ordinary of the citie of Prage.

In veſtitures.

Eightly, he erreth as touching the Church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man beyng once ordayned a Prieſt or a deacon can not be forbiddẽ or kept backe from the office of preaching, this is likewiſe manifeſt by his owne doings, for ſo much as he himſelfe could neuer be letted from preaching, neither by the Apoſtolicke ſea, neither yet by the Archbyſhop of Prage.

The office of preaching.

And to the intent that the ſayd Iohn Hus, who is clothed in ſheepes clothing, and inwardly a rauing wolfe, may be the better knowen by his fruites, for the better information of you moſt reuerend fathers; I ſay, that from yͤ firſt tyme yͭ he tooke in hand or went about to ſow his errours and hereſies, the which afterward he did in deede, he vnderſtanding and perceiuyng himſelfe to be withſtanded & gainſayd by the Germaines, which were in the vniuerſitie of Prage, for ſomuch as he coulde conclude nothing, becauſe they had iij. voyces, and he on his part, had but one onely voyce: he went about and brought to paſſe, and that by the ſecular power, that the Germaines ſhoulde haue but one voyce, and he and his partes iij. voyces, the which thyng, when yͤ Germaines once perceiued, rather then they would loſe or forſake any part of their right, which they had in voyces, or be in daunger in their perſons, the which would then haue enſued vpon it, to ſaue themſelues, they wholy with one conſent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this ſolemne and famous vniuerſity of Prage was made deſolate that had brought forth ſo many notable men in diuers ſciences. Behold this his firſt fruits which deuided that ſo famous vniuerſitie, for ſo much as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neither figs of brãbles.

Lupus agnum accuſat quod turbarit fontem.

A heaping together of many grieuous crimes.

The departure of the Germaines from the vniuerſitie of Prage.

Moreouer, when there were queſtions moued amongſt the deuines of the vniuerſitie of Prage vpon the xlv. articles of Iohn Wickliffe, and that they had called a conuocation, and all the deuines of Boheme, for the Germaynes were all ready departed, they concluded that euery one of thoſe Articles were either hereticall, ſeditious, or els erroneous. He alone held the cõtrary opinion, that none of thoſe articles were either heretical, ſeditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did diſpute, holde, and teach in the cõmon ſchooles of Prage, where by it is euidently inough foreſeene, that he doth affirme thoſe articles of Wickliffe, the which are not onely condemned in England, but alſo by the whole church, becauſe they were firſt inuented and ſet forth by the members of Antichriſt.

The xlv. articles of Wickliffe.

Moreouer, he beyng complayned of to the Archbiſhop of Prage, that he preached & ſet forth certain articles which were hereticall, falſe, and ſeditious, he was forbidden by the ſayd Archbiſhop to preach any more, and proceeded againſt hym, according to the canonical ſanctions, the which proces is confirmed by the Apoſtolike ſea, and publiſhed as well in the court of Rome, as without: the which Iohn Hus and

The edicte of preaching forbidden by the archb.

his adherentes haue diuers and manifolde wayes violate and prophanate. And whoſoeuer did ſpeake agaynſt hym, they were depriued of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet do rule the ſayd churches, and the flockes pertaynyng to ỹ ſame, not hauing any cure or charge of the ſoules committed vnto them, neither by the Apoſtolike ſea, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

Inſurrections feared in Boheme againſt the clergie.

Alſo as many, as well prieſtes as lay men in the city of Prage and kingdom of Boheme, which haue ſpokē againſt the doctrine of Hus, and ỹ prophanatiō of the proces aforeſayd, or at the leſt not allowyng the ſame, haue ſuffred moſt mortall hatred and perſecutions, and yet to this day do ſuffer. But that at this preſent it is diſſimuled vntill the ende of the proceſſe againſt John Hus. Wherfore if he be now let go againe, without doubt they ſhall ſuffer great perſecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Boheme, houſe ſhall be againſt houſe, and this miſchiefe will creepe, yea ſodeinly ſpring vp throughout all Germany, and innumerable ſoules ſhall be infected, ſo that there ſhall be ſuch perſecution of the clergy and faythfull, as hath not ben ſince the time of the Emperour Conſtantine to this preſent day, for he ceaſeth not to moue & ſturre vp the laitie, againſt the clergy and faythfull chriſtians. And when any of ỹ clergy would draw him away, or call hym from his hereſie, and for that cauſe doth forbid him to preach, that he do not teach no hereſies: Then ſayth he, and teacheth that the Clergie doth that of enuy and malice, becauſe he rebuketh their vices and faultes: that is to ſay, their ſimony and pryde, and couetouſnes.

Moreouer, he ſtirreth vp the ſecular princes agaynſt the prelates of churches, monaſteries, and vniuerſities, and generally againſt the whole Clergy. Goyng about by thys meanes he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporal goods or poſſeſſions, but only to liue vpon almes. And by this means he hath done alredy very much hurt, and anoyed diuers and many prelates, clerkes and churches in the kyngdome of Boheme and city of Prage. Forſomuch as therby they are alredy ſpoiled and robbed of their poſſeſſiōs. Yea, he teacheth alſo that it is lawfull for the lay people without ſinne, to withhold and kepe back the tithes and oblations, or to geue the church goods to any other miniſter: all the ſecular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but ſpecially ỹ laity, who followeth euery man his owne will.

He hath generally to lay for himſelfe all thoſe heretikes which do but very ſmally regard the eccleſiaſticall cenſures and hate the authoritie of the Romaine church, yea doe vtterly deteſt and abhorre the ſame, the which thing will more and more encreaſe, except it be effectually and manfully withſtand, and if he do by any meanes eſcape from the Councell, he and hys fauourers will ſay that his doctrine is iuſt and true, and that it is allowed by the authoritie of the vniuerſall ſacred Councell, and that all his aduerſaries are wycked and noughty men, ſo that he would do more miſchiefe, then euer any hereticke did ſince the tyme of Conſtantinus Magnus.

Cayphas propheſied.

Maiſter Palletz lyeth, for the holy ghoſt had no leaſure to come to that councell.

Wherfore moſt holy fathers prouide and take heede to your ſelues, and to the whole flocke, amongſt whom the holy Ghoſt hath placed you to rule the Church of Chriſt, the which he hath purchaſed with his owne bloud, and whileſt the diſeaſe is new and freſh, helpe and remedy it, as well touching him which doth ſo infect and trouble the Church of God, as alſo concerning the occaſions, through the which he hath preſumed, and might do the ſame: becauſe the Prelates do abuſe the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, and as well the Prelates as thoſe that are vnder them do not kepe and obſerue the order of the church which is appoynted them by God, wherby it commeth to paſſe, that whileſt they themſelues do walke the brokē and vnknowen pathes, their flocke falleth hedlong into the ditch.

Wherefore let our ſoueraigne Lord the Pope, and this moſt ſacred Councell ordaine and depute Commiſſioners, the which may examine the ſayd John Huſſe vpon all aforewritten, and other thinges in the preſence of them whiche know the matter. Let there be alſo certayne Doctours and Maiſters appoynted to read ouer and peruſe hys bookes which he hath written, whereof ſome are here preſent, that the Church may be ſpedily purged and cleanſed from theſe errours.

John Hus ſicke of an agew in priſon.

Upon this his accuſation, they ordeyned and appointed thre Commiſſioners or iudges, that is to ſay, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and the biſhop of Caſtle, and the biſhop of Lybuſſe. The which Prelates beyng thus deputed, herd the accuſatiō and the witnes which was brought in by certayne babling prieſts of Prage, confirmed by their othes, & afterward recited the ſaid accuſation vnto the ſaid Hus in the priſon, at ſuch time as his ague was feruent & extremely vpon him.

J. Hus debarred of his aduocate.

Upon this John Hus required to haue an aduocate to aunſwer for him, the which was plainly and vtterly denied hym. And the reaſon that the maiſters & Commiſſioners brought againſt it was this, that the plaine Canon doth forbid that any man ſhould be a defender of any cauſe of hys, which is ſuſpect of any kind of hereſie. The vanitie and folly of the witneſſes was ſuch, that if in caſe they had not ben both the accuſers and iudges themſelues, there ſhould haue neded no diſtinct confutation. I would haue reherſed the teſtimonies in this place but that I knew them to be ſuch, as the prudent and wiſe reader could not haue red without great tediouſnes. Howbeit ſome of thē ſhalbe declared, whē we come to the proces of his iudgement.

Afterward, when John Huſſe had recouered little ſtrength or helth by the commaundement of the three commiſſioners there was preſented vnto hym certaine Articles, many in number, which they ſayde they had gathered out of his booke which he made of the Church: of which Articles ſome were forged and inuented by Maiſter Paletz, and other ſome were gathered onely by halues, as ſhall be more plainly declared hereafter when we come to ſpeake of the iudgement pronounced and geuen agaynſt the ſayde Huſſe.

The bookes which John Hus wrot in priſon.

Thus John Hus remayned in the priſon of the couent of the Franciſcanes, vntill the wedneſday before Palme ſonday and certayne appoynted to kepe him, and in ỹ meane ſeaſon to employ and ſpend his tyme withall, he wrote certayne bookes: That is to ſay, of the x. commaundementes, of the loue and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penaunce, of the 3. enemies of mankynde, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the ſupper of our Lord.

Pope John fled out of Conſtance.

The ſame day Pope John the 23. changed his apparell and conueyed himſelfe ſecretly out of Conſtance, fearing the iudgement by the which afterward he was depriued of his papall dignitie, by meanes of moſt execrable and abhominable forfaites and doynges. This was the cauſe that John Hus was tranſported and caried vnto an other priſon: for the Popes ſeruauntes which had the charge and keepyng of John Hus, vnderſtādyng that their Maiſter was fled & gone deliuered vp the keyes of the priſon vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Maiſter the Pope. Then by the whole conſent of the Councell, the ſayd J. Hus was put into ỹ handes of the Byſhop of Conſtance, who ſent hym to a Caſtle on the other ſide of the Riuer of Rhine, not very farre from Conſtance, whereas he was ſhut vp in a Tower, with fetters on his legges, that he could ſcarſe walke in the day tyme, and at night he was faſtened vp to a racke agaynſt the wall hard by his bed.

Noble men of Boheme labour for John Hus.

In this meane ſeaſon certaine noble men and gentlemē of Pole and Boheme, did all their indeuor to purchaſe hys deliueraunce, hauing reſpect to the good renowne of all the realme, the which was wonderfully defamed and ſlaundered by certaine naughty perſons. The matter was growne vnto this pointe, that all they which were in the towne of Cōſtance, that ſeemed to beare any fauour vnto John Huſſe, were made as mocking ſtockes, and derided of all men, yea euen of the ſlaues and baſe people. Wherefore they tooke counſell and concluded together to preſent their requeſt in writyng vnto the whole Councell, or at the leaſt vnto the foure nations of Almaine, Italie, Fraunce, and England: this requeſt was preſented the 14. day of May. an. 1415. the tenour here enſueth.

¶The firſt ſchedule or Bill, which the nobles of Boheme deliuered vp to to the Ceuncell for the deliueraunce of Iohn Hus, the 14. day of May. An.1415.

The ſafeconduct of the Emperour chalenged.

MOſt reuerend fathers and Lordes. The Nobles and Lordes of Boheme and Pole here preſent, by this their preſent writinges doe ſhew and declare vnto your fatherly reuerences how that the moſt noble king and Lorde, the Lord Sigiſmund King of Romaynes, alwayes Auguſtus King of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c. hearing of the great diſſention that was in the kingdom of Boheme as heire, king and lord ſucceſſor, willing & myndyng to foreſee and prouide for hys owne honor, he ſent theſe noble mē M. Wenceſlate de Duba and John de Clum here preſent, that they would bring and aſſure M. John Huſſe vnder the kyng hys name & ſafe conduit. So that he would come to the ſacred generall councell of Conſtance, vnder the ſafe conduct of the ſayd kyng, and the protection of the ſacred Emperie, openly geuen and graunted vnto the ſaid maiſter John Hus, that he might purge himſelf and the kyngdome of Boheme from the ſlaunder that was rayſed vpon them, and there to make an open declaration of hys fayth to euery man that would lay any thyng to hys charge. The which the ſayd nobles with the forenamed Maiſter John Hus haue performed and done, accordyng to the kynges commaundement.

When as the ſayd maiſter John Hus was freely of his owne accord come vnto Conſtance, vnder the ſayd ſafe conduct, and greuouſly impriſoned before he was heard, and at this preſent is tormented both with fetters and alſo wyth hunger and thirſt. Albeit that in tymes paſt at the Councel holden at Pyſan. 1410. yeare of our Lord, the herytickes which were condemned, were ſuffered to remayne there at liberty, and to depart home freely: Notwithſtandyng this maiſter John Hus, neither beyng conuicted nor cōdemned, no not ſo much as once heard, is taken and impriſoned, whē as neither any kyng or any Prince elector, either any Embaſſadour of any vniuerſitie was yet come or preſent. And albeit the Lord the kyng together with the nobles & lordes here preſent moſt inſtātly required and deſired, that as touching hys ſafe conduct they would foreſee and haue reſpect vnto his honour. And that the ſayd Maiſter John Huſſe might be openly heard, for ſo much as he would render and ſhew a reaſon of his fayth, and if he were found or conuicted obſtinately to affirme or maintayne any thyng agaynſt the truth or holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the ſame, accordyng to the inſtruction and determination of the Councell: yet could he neuer obtayne this. But the ſayde Maiſter John Huſſe, notwithſtandyng all this, is moſt greuouſly oppreſſed with fetters and irons, & ſo weakened with thinne and ſlender diete, that it is to bee feared leſt that his power and ſtrength beyng hereby cōſumed and waſted, he ſhould be put in daunger of hys witte or reaſon.

The extremities John Hus ſuffered in priſon.

And although the Lordes of Boheme here preſent are greatly ſlaundered, becauſe they ſeyng the ſayd maiſter J. Hus, ſo to be tormented and troubled contrary to the kings ſafe conduct, haue not by their letters put the kyng in mynd of his ſayd ſafe conduct, that the ſayd Lord and king ſhould not any more ſuffer any ſuch matters, for ſo much as they tend to the contempt and diſregard of the kyngdom of Boheme, which from the firſt originall and beginnyng, ſince it receaued the Catholique fayth, it neuer departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of Rome: yet notwithſtādyng they haue ſuffred and borne all theſe things patiently hitherto, leaſt by any meanes occaſion of trouble or vexation of this ſacred Councell myght ariſe or ſpryng thereof.

Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes: The nobles and Lordes before named do wholy and moſt earneſtly deſire and require your reuerēces here preſent, that both for the honour of the ſafe conduct of our ſayd Lord the kyng, & alſo for the preſeruation and encreaſe of the worthy fame and renowme both of the foreſayd kingdome of Boheme, and your owne alſo, that you will make a ſhort ende about the affayres of M. John Hus: for ſo much as by the meanes of his ſtraite handlyng he is in great daunger by any longer delay, euen as they do moſt ſpecially truſt vpon the moſt vpright conſciences and iudgementes of your fatherly reuerences. But foraſmuch as moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the nobles and Lordes of Boheme here preſent, how that certayne backbiters and ſlaunderers of the moſt famous kingdom of Boheme aforeſaid, haue declared and told vnto your reuerences how that the Sacrament of the moſt precious bloud of our Lord is caried vp and down through Boheme in veſſels not conſecrated or halowed, and that Coblers doe now heare confeſſions and miniſter the moſt bleſſed body of our Lord vnto others: The Nobles therefore of Boheme here preſent require and deſire you that you will geue no credit vnto falſe promoters and tale tellers, for that as moſt wicked and naughty ſlanderers and backbiters of the kingdom aforeſayd, they do report and tell vntruthes: requiring alſo your reuerences, that ſuch ſlaunderous perſons of the kingdom aforeſaid, may be named and knowen. And the lord the kyng together with your reuerences ſhall well perceiue and ſee that the Lordes of Boheme will goe about in ſuch maner to refell and put away the falſe and friuolous ſlaunders of thoſe nauty perſons, that they ſhall be aſhamed to appeare hereafter before the Lord the king and your reuerences.

The confutation of certaine ſlaunders.

As ſoone as this their ſupplication was red, the biſhop of Luthonis riſing vp ſaid. Moſt reuerend fathers I well perceaue and vnderſtand that the laſt part of this wrytyng doth touch me, my familiars & friends, as though the kingdom of Boheme were ſlaundered by vs. Wherfore I deſire to haue tyme and ſpace of deliberation that I may purge my ſelfe from this crime that is layd againſt me. The principall of the counſail appointed him the 17. day of May, at ẏ which day the lordes of Boheme ſhould be preſent again, to heare both the aunſwer of the councell, and alſo the excuſe of the Biſhop of Luthonis, ẏ which thyng in dede was afterward performed: for the 17. day of May, which was the 4. day before the Whitſontide they met there agayne, where firſt of all a certaine biſhop in the name of the whole councel anſwered by the word to the nobles of Boheme, the contentes of whoſe aunſwer may eaſily be known by the ſecond ſupplication, which the Bohemians put vp to the coūcell. But firſt I haue here in theſe few wordes following, ſhewed how the biſhop Luthonis defended himſelf againſt that which is before written.

The Byſhop of Luthonis.

The aunſwer of the Biſhop of Luthonis, to the laſt part of the ſupplication, which the nobles of Boheme preſented vnto the Councell.

MOſt reuerend fathers and noble Lordes, as Peter de Mladoneywitz bacheler of Arte: in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdome of Boheme in hys writings, amongeſt other thynges did propounde how that certaine ſlaunderers and backebiters of the ſayde kyngdome haue brought to the eares of your reuerences, that the moſt precious bloud of Chriſt is caryed vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, and that coblers do heare confeſſions, and miniſter the body of Chriſt vnto others, whereupon moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes: Albeit that I together wyth the other Prelates, doctours, maiſters and other innumerable catholikes of ẏ ſayd kingdome, the which do deſire as much as in the lyeth to defend the fayth of Chriſt, haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that moſt wicked and deteſtable ſecte of Wickliffes, which now (alas for ſorow) beginneth to ſpring and riſe in the ſayd kyngdome, as it is well knowne. Notwithſtanding here in this my oratiō not for any ſhame or reproche, but for the honour of the kingdome aforeſaid, I haue propounded and declared a certaine new ſecte, which is now lately ſprong vp in the ſayd kingdome, the folowers whereof do miniſter and communicate the ſacramentes in many cities, townes, and places of the ſayde kingdome, vnder both kyndes both of bread and wyne, and do conſtantly teach the common people both men and womē that it is ſo to be communicated, obſtinately affirming the ſame, and that the clergie which do repugne or ſay nay vnto it, are to be counted church robbers, as by the writinges of their aſſertions being directed and preſented hether, ſhall openly appeare.

The aunſwere & accuſation of the Biſh. of Luthonis againſt John Hus.

Moreouer by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writinges which were ſent ouer vnto me, I haue propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the bloud of Chriſt is caryed about in veſſels not conſecrated, approuing the foreſaid erroneous aſſertion of ẏ Wicleuiſtes, that affirme it neceſſary for ſaluation, that the people ſhould communicate vnder both kyndes of bread and wyne, and that it is neceſſary, as the the body of Chriſt is caryed in the pixe or boxe, ſo the bloud of Chriſt ſhould be caryed in bottels, or other neceſſary veſſels from place to place, and ſpecially about the miniſtration of the ſicke. Alſo I declared not of my ſelfe, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible perſons, that there was a certaine woman a folower of that ſecte, the which taking by violence the body of Chriſt out of a Prieſtes handes, did communicate vnto her ſelfe, and affirmed that all men ought to do ſo, if the Prieſtes would deny them the communion. And the ſame woman amongeſt many other errors, of the which ſhee was conuicted, did affirme that a good lay woman might better conſecrate and geue abſolutiō, then an euill prieſt: affirming that an euill prieſt can neither conſecrate nor abſolue. But I know that neither I, neither any of my aſſiſtance in this matter haue brought this at any tyme into your eares, that coblers in the ſaid kingdome do heare confeſſion, or miniſter the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, as is alleaged by the ſayd Peter, in the behalfe of the ſayde ſupplicantes. Notwithſtanding that we did feare if meanes were not founde to recounter or ſtop the offences before named, that this woulde immediatly follow vpon it. Wherefore moſt reuerend fathers, leaſt that the kingdome myght be defamed any more by ſuch peſtiferous ſectes, and that the Chriſtian fayth myght happen to be indaungered: wyth all reuerence and charitie I do deſire you, euen by the bowels of mercy, of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this moſt ſacred Coūcell, would prouide ſome ſpeedy remedy for thys kyngdome, as touchyng the premiſſes.

Moreouer, whether be they backbiters and ſlaunderers, or wicked and falſe enuiers of the kyngdome of Boheme, the which do let the errours aforeſaid, & many others more, which are ſowen by the Wicleuiſtes in the ſayd kyngdome, and alſo els where, which alſo both doe labour and haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of thoſe errours out of the kyngdome aforeſayd, and as Catholicke mē, for the zeale of their faith haue manfully put forth themſelues agaynſt the maintayners of the ſayd errours or ſuch as doe mayntaine and defend the teachers of thoſe errours. Thys aunſwere I haue here preſented before your reuerences alwayes, wholy ſubmittyng my ſelfe & aſſiſtaunce vnto your iudgement, and to the diffinition of this moſt ſacred Councell of Conſtaunce.

¶The aunſwere of the nobles of Boheme.

The byſhop of Luthonius anſwere confuted.

The day before Whitſontide, the nobles of Boheme dyd confute this their aūſwere made two dayes before in the Councell to their former wrytyng, as here foloweth: Moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, for ſo much as vpon thurſday it was aunſwered in the behalfe of your reuerences to the requeſtes of the nobles and Lords of Boheme, that the ſayd Lordes were miſinformed of diuers pointes contayned in the declaration of their ſayd byll: therfore the foreſaid Lordes haue now determined and decreed to declare theyr former propounded requeſtes more at large vnto your reuerences, not myndyng hereby to argue or reproue your fatherly wiſdomes and circumſpections, but that your reuerēces (their deſires beyng partly on this behalfe fulfilled) might the more effectuouſly and diſtinctly diſcerne & iudge as touching thys matter.

The byſhops do quarell about the ſafe conducte of John Hus.

And firſt of all, where as the Lords alleadged and ſaid how that maiſter John Hus was come hether vnto Conſtance, freely of hys owne good will, vnder the ſafe conduict of the Lord the kyng, and the protection of the ſacred Empyre: It is aunſwered on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the ſayd Lordes are miſinformed, as touching the ſafe conduict, and that you haue vnderſtand by ſuch as are worthy credit, that the frendes & fauourers of the ſaid M. John Hus, did firſt procure and get his ſafe conduicte xv. dayes after hys impriſonment.

The ſafe conduct of John Hus obteyned and ſhewed before the impriſonment of John Hus.

The Lordes of Boheme, and ſpecially the Lord John de Clum here preſent, whome thys matter doth chiefly touch, doth aunſwere, that not onely the xv. day after, but euen the very ſame day that John Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerend father the Pope, in the preſence of all hys Cardinals, demaunded of M. John de Clum, whether M. John Hus had any ſafeconduict from the kyng his ſonne: he aunſwered, moſt holy father & Cardinals, know ye that he hath a ſafe conduict, and when he was aſked the queſtion agayne the ſecond tyme, he anſwered in lyke maner.

Yet notwithſtandyng none of them required to haue the ſafeconduict ſhewed vnto them: and agayne the thyrd day following, the Lord John de Clum complayned vnto our Lord the Pope, how notwithſtanding the ſafe conduict of our ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, he deteined and kept maiſter John Hus as priſoner, ſhewyng the ſayd ſafeconduict vnto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth hymſelfe vnto the teſtimonies and witneſſes of diuers Earles, Byſhops, knightes, gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the Citie of Conſtance, the which altogether at this preſēt dyd ſee the ſayd ſafe conduict, and heard it read, whereupon the ſayd John de Clum is ready to bynde hymſelfe vnder what penalty ſhalbe required, euidently to proue and confirme that which he hath promyſed, who ſoeuer ſay to the contrary.

Moreouer, the Lordes of Boheme referre themſelues vnto the knowledge of certayne Princes electors and other Princes, Biſhops, and many other noble men, which were preſent before the kings maieſtye, where and when as the ſayd ſafe conduict was graunted and geuen out by the ſpeciall commaundement of our ſaid Lord the kyng.

The byſhops of the councell falſly enformed touching the ſafe cōduct of J. Hus.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderſtand and perceiue that the ſayd Lordes of Boheme are not euill informed as touching the ſayd ſafe conduict: But rather they which by ſuch reportes haue falſly and vntruely informed your reuerences. And firſt of all they haue offended agaynſt the Lord our kyng, and his chauncellours. Secondarely, agaynſt the Lordes and nobles of Boheme, as though we had priuely and by ſtelth, purchaſed the ſayd ſafe conduict. Wherfore the Lordes aforeſayd moſt humbly require & deſire your reuerences that you will not ſo lightly beleue ſuch as be not worthy of credite, but rather hearyng the contrary part, to labour and diſcuſſe that the truth may the more euidently appeare.

John Hus, impriſoned before he was eyther condemned or heard. Alexander the v.

Secondly, where as the Lordes aforeſayd, alleadgyng how M. John Hus, cōming vnto Conſtance, of hys owne free-wyll, beyng neither condemned nor heard, was impriſoned, your reuerences haue made aunſwere therunto, that he the ſayd M. John Hus in the tyme of Alexander v. was infamed and ſlaundered vpon certaine hereſies, and therupon cited perſonally to appeare in the court of Rome, & there was heard by his procurers.

The aunſwere touching the citation of J. Hus to the court of Rome.

And for ſomuch as he refuſed obſtinatly to appeare, he was excommunicated, in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirme) by the ſpace of v. yeares, for the which he was iudged, and counted not onely a ſimple and plaine hereticke, but an hereſiarke, that is to ſay an inuenter and ſower of new and ſtraunge hereſies, and that he cōming toward Conſtance, did preach by the way opēly. To this the Lordes aforeſaid doe aunſwere, that as touching his ſlaunder and citation, they can affirme nothing, but by report. But as touching that he did not perſonally appeare, they ſay they haue heard both himſelf, and diuers other credible perſons ſay: yea euen the moſt famous Prince Wenceslaus king of Boheme, and almoſt all the whole nobilitie is witnes, ỹ he would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or els where, if he might ſafely haue cōme thether, and that deadly enmitie had not letted: and moreouer his procurers, which he ſent vnto the court of Rome, alleadging reaſonable cauſes for his non apparaunce, ſome of them were caſt into priſon, and others very euill intreated.

J. Hus hys procurers euill entreated at Rome.

As for the excommunication which he hath ſo long ſuſtained, they haue heard him often ſay, that he hath not reſiſted agaynſt the ſame by contumacy, or ſtubbernes, but vnder euident appellation, and therupon referreth himſelfe vnto the Actes of his cauſes, which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely conteyned, the which your reuerences may euidently perceiue and ſee in this our preſent publique tranſumpt, which we haue offred vnto you vpon certaine pointes aforeſaid.

J. Hus falſely reported to preach openly at Conſtance.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithall his enemies do report and charge, that M. John Hus did preach openly in the Citie of Conſtaunce: The Lordes aforeſayd and ſpecially the Lord John de Clum here preſent do aunſwere that he hath continually lodged with the ſayd maiſter John Hus here in Conſtaunce, and that whoſoeuer they be, that haue bene ſo bolde, or dare be ſo bolde to ſay & affirme that M. John Hus had preached (as is premiſed) or that which leſſe is, ſince the time of his comming vnto the citie, euen vnto the very day and time of his captiuitie and impriſonment, that he wēt but one ſteppe out of the houſe of his lodging, that the ſayd Lord John de Clum, will and is contēt to binde himſelfe with any ſuch, as ſhall affirme the ſame, vnder what penalty ſo euer it be, of money or otherwiſe, that ỹ which he hath falſely reported vnto your reuerences, he ſhall neuer be able iuſtly and truely to affirme and proue.

J. Hus falſely charged to preach comming to the councell.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do ſay, ỹ you doe not vnderſtand or know, what the Lords do meane, by the heretickes condemned, at the councell holden at Piſa, whether the mocking or deriding the pope, whoſe ambaſſadours came thither for vnitie or concorde, the which were ſuffered and gently entreated, as their Lordes were moſt enclined vnto vnitie and peace, or els that they did vnderſtand or meane the perticuler heretickes, which were there condemned adioyning thereunto: that the heretickes alſo comming vnto the councell, vnder the pretence of that vnitie, ſhould be gently handled and entreated. &c. Reuerend fathers and Lordes, whether they be counted the firſt, or that they be thought the ſecond or laſt, the Lords aforeſaid require none other thing, but that the ſaid M. John Hus may vſe ſuch libertie as they vſed: for ſo much as he came willingly vnto this moſt ſacred councel, not for any other purpoſe, but onely publikely to recogniſe his fayth. And in what point ſoeuer he ſhall ſeeme to varry from the word of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the Church, that in that point he will willingly be vnited and reconciled againe therunto, and not onely himſelfe, but alſo his fauourers and adherentes, he would moue and prouoke thereunto: of whom the greater number are in ỹ kingdome of Boheme. Alſo he is come hether that he might purge and cleare the noble kingdome of Boheme, from the ſiniſter and euill ſlaunder which was rayſed vpon it.

J. Hus had many welwillers in Bohemia.

Laſt of all moſt reuerend fathers and Lords, for ſo much as your reuerences haue moſt fauourably aunſwered vnto the principall requeſt made by the Lords aforeſayd, that the proceſſe of M. John Hus through Gods helpe, ſhould be determined and ended with all expedition & gentlenes: The

Lordes aforeſayd do render moſt hartie thankes vnto your reuerences, and when ſo euer their deſire by Gods helpe ſhall come to the ende or effect long wyſhed or looked for, they will not onely here, but alſo before the whole kingdom of Boheme, and in all other places wherſoeuer they come render moſt immortall thankes vnto your reuerences for euer.

¶ This declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may ſerue not only to the cõfutation of the biſhop Luthonius this Bohemian, but alſo againſt the cauillations of Alanus Copus Anglus. Dial.6.pag.929. touching the ſafe cõduct of John Hus, wherof ſufficiently before hath ben ſayd vide ſupra, pag.710.

When as the noble men of Boheme by long tyme could receiue no aunſwer of thoſe ſupplications, which they had alredy put vp, they determined the laſt day of May followyng by an other ſupplication beyng put vp vnto the principals of the Councell, to entreat that John Hus might be deliuered out of priſon, and defend hys owne cauſe openly: they alſo put the teſtimoniall of the biſhop of Nazareth, as touching John Hus. The copy wherof is expreſſed in the beginnyng of this hiſtory, word by word.

Vid. ſupra. pag.581.

¶ Another ſupplication of the nobles of Boheme.

An other ſupplication of the Bohemians for J. Hus.

MOſt reuerend fathers and Lordes in Chriſt, of late there was a ſupplication put vp vnto your reuerences on the behalfe of the Lordes and nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherin they moſt humbly deſired your reuerences to conſider how the informatiõs which were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the enemies of maiſter Iohn Hus, wer inſufficient. And with reuerence be it ſpokẽ, in many points vntrue, as in the ſafeconduict graunted by the kings maieſty, and alſo in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the ſcedule, which was then offred vnto you: vpon the whiche ſayd ſcedule and other things at that preſence beyng put vp they could as yet receyue no anſwer. Wherfore the Lordes aforeſayd, moſt humbly require your fatherly reuerences, that it would pleaſe you to conſider the ſayd ſupplication, and to geue ſome aunſwer to the Lordes aforeſayd therupõ and ſpecially hauyng reſpect vnto the great iniuries & griefs which are done vnto the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus, the whiche may be vnderſtand and knowen by the ſcedule aforeſayde, that you wyll mercifully conſider and foreſee, that all thoſe griefs and euils ſo far different from all brotherly loue and charity are done vnto him by his enemies euen for very malice and hatred.

The Lordes could haue no aunſwere of their ſupplication.

To the intent therfore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and ouerthrown, and the playne and euident truth appeare, it may pleaſe your fatherly reuerences to vnderſtand that it is notified and knowen vnto the Barones, Nobles, Citizens, Clergy and Laitie of the kyngdome of Boheme, that maiſter Iohn Huſſe in all hys Actes and doyngs as well ſcholaſticall as Eccleſiaſtical, and ſpecially in all his publike and open ſermons, he hath made and hath accuſtomed to make theſe maner of proteſtations, the which without any thyng to the contrary, he hath alwayes endeuoured to haue them ſtrong and firme, as by this hys proteſtation here followyng, which he made about the determination of a certayne queſtion, it may moſt euidently and playnely appeare vnto euery man which would behold and looke vpon the ſame: the forme and tenour wherof here foloweth and is ſuch.

¶ The proteſtation of Iohn Hus.

The proteſtation of John Hus.

FOr ſo much as aboue all thinges I do deſire the honor of God, the profite of the holy church, and that I my ſelfe may be a faythful member of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, which is the head and huſband of the holy church which he hath redemed: Therfore as heretofore oftentymes I haue done, euen ſo now agayne I make this proteſtation, that I neuer obſtinately ſayd, or hereafter will ſay any thing that, ſhall be contrary vnto the truth and verity: and moreouer that I haue always holden, do hold, and firmely deſire for to hold the very true and infallible truth and verity, ſo that before that I would defend and maintayn any error contrary therunto, I would rather chuſe by the hope and helpe of the Lord to ſuffer extreme puniſhment, euen vnto death: yea, and thorow the helpe of God I am ready, euen to offer this my miſerable lyfe vnto death for the lawe of Chriſt, the which I do beleue euery part and parcell therof to be geuẽ and promulgate for the ſaluation of mankynd, by the counſayle and determination of the moſt holy Trinitie, and the ſaintes of God. &c.

Vid. in priore edit. pag.207.

By the which his proteſtation, and alſo other proteſtations by the ſayd maiſter John Hus, beyng well obſerued and noted, it may be eaſily gathered and knowen that hys whole intẽt and purpoſe was and is, that he neither would nor will haue ſpoken or written any thing in hys bookes, treatiſes, doctrines, or publike ſermons, or els to haue affirmed any articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did vnderſtand or know to be either erroneous, offenſiue, ſeditious, hereticall, or offẽding the godly eare. Albeit that theſe and ſuch lyke thinges are falſly imputed vnto hym by hys enemies. But it hath alwayes bene hys chiefe intent and purpoſe, and ſo is, that euery poynt, concluſion or article cõtayned in hys bookes or articles, to haue put and affirmed them to this ende, accordyng to the truth of the Goſpell, the holy doctors and writers vpon the holy ſcriptures, and to that ende and purpoſe, as is before expreſſed in hys proteſtations: and if in any point, he ſhould be found to vary or go aſtray, or ẏ he were not well vnderſtanded of others by lyke informatiõ to be informed, vnderſtãded, corrected & amended, and that he will by no meanes ſuſtayne or defend any maner of article agaynſt the holy church of Rome, or the Catholike fayth.

Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers, the premiſſes notwithſtandyng, his enemies, thorough the extreme hatred which they beare vnto hym, hath picked and taken out by piecemeale certayne articles out of the booke of maiſter J. Hus, reiecting and not lookyng vpõ the allegations and reaſons, neither hauyng any relation vnto the diſtinction of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certayne falſe and fayned articles agaynſt him, to this ende, that all charity and loue beyng ſet apart, they might ẏ better ouerthrow hym, and bring hym vnto death, contrary vnto ẏ ſafe conduct vpon good and iuſt occaſion openly aſſigned, and geuen vnto the ſayd Maiſter John Hus, by the moſt noble prince the lord Sigiſmund kyng of the Romaines, and of Hungary, for his iuſt defence, againſt all the friuolous accuſations and aſſaultes of the enemies, not onely of the ſayd maiſter John Huſſe, but alſo of the famous kyngdome of Boheme, and for the quiete appeaſing of all ſuch tumultes and rumours, riſing and ſpringyng in the ſayd kyngdome of Boheme, or els where: the auoydyng of which moſt perilous errours, the ſayd kyng of Romaines doth greatly deſire and wiſhe, as the right heyre and ſucceſſour of the ſayd kyngdome.

Articles forged out of Huſſes bookes by enemies.

Wherupon the Barons and Nobles aforeſaid, moſt hũbly deſire and require, the premiſſes being cõſidered, and reſpect had vnto the great infamy and ſlaunder which may happen by the premiſſes vnto the ſayd kingdome and inhabitantes therof, that you will put to your handes, and take ſome order and meane, that maiſter John Hus may be diſtinctly heard by ſome famous men, deuines already deputed, or otherwyſe to be appoynted vpon all and ſinguler ſuch articles as ſhalbe layd vnto hym to declare his own mynde and intẽt, and alſo the mynd of the doctors alleadged for hys purpoſe, with the manifold diſtinctions and equiuocations: in ẏ which ẏ drawers out of ẏ moſt part of his articles haue alſo made equiuocatiõs, ẏ ſo accordyng vnto ẏ diſpoſition of witneſſes, of ẏ which a great nũber of them are and haue a long time ben hys mortal enemies, ẏ at ẏ friuolous inſtigatiõ of his enemies, whẽ he was miſerably det in to priſoner, ẏ he ſhould not be cõdemned vnheard. For ſo much as by ẏ ſayde declarations your fatherly reuerences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himſelfe is ready alwayes to ſubmit hymſelfe vnder the determination of thys moſt ſacred councell. For your reuerences, by the crafty and fayned perſwaſions of his enemies, are thus informed, that maiſter John Hus hath bene vncurably obſtinate by a long tyme in moſt perilous articles, the which your reuerences may now plainely perceiue to be vntrue, and for the more euidence herein to be ſhewed, there is preſented vnto your reuerences an inſtrument of publike recognition of the moſte reuerẽd father in Chriſt, the lord Nicholas B. of Nazareth and Inquiſitor of hereſies, ſpecially appointed by the Apoſtolike ſea in the dioces of Prage, the which by your reuerences is more diligently to be harkened vnto.

The councell euil informed againſt John Hus.

Wherfore it may pleaſe your fatherly reuerences to cõmaund the ſayd Maiſter John Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bondes and chaynes, in the which he is now moſt greuouſly deteyned & kept, and to put him into the handes of ſome reuerẽd lordes biſhops, or commiſſioners appointed or to be appointed by this preſent councell. That the ſayd Maiſter John Huſſe may ſomewhat be releued and recouer agayne his health, and be

The nobles required that John Hus not being conuicte nor condemned, ſhould be deliuered out of priſon.

A petitiõ for M. Iohn Huſſes deliueraunce out of priſon.

the more diligently and commodiouſly be examined by the Cõmiſſioners: and for the more aſſuraunce, the Barons and Nobles aforeſayd of the kyngdome of Boheme, will prouide moſt ſure and good ſureties, the which will not breake their fidelitie and fayth for any thyng in the world. Which alſo ſhall promiſe in his behalfe, that he ſhal not flee or depart out of their handes, vntill ſuch tyme as the matter be fully determined by the ſayd Commiſſioners. In the execution of the which promiſes we haue determined to prouide and foreſee vnto the fame and honour of the ſayd kyngdome of Boheme, and alſo to the ſafeconduct of the moſt worthy Prince, the Kyng of Romaines leaſt that the enemies and detractours of the honour and fame of the kyngdome aforeſayd, might not a litle ſlaunder and reproue the ſayd Lordes, pretending and ſhewing forth hereafter, that they had made vnreaſonable or vnlawful requeſtes: for the withſtãdyng of which miſchief, we require your fatherly reuerences, that you will decree and moſt graciouſly conſent that this our petition and ſupplication may be drawen out agayne by your Notary, and reduced into a publicke forme and order.

After this ſupplication was read before the deputies of the iiij. nations, the Patriarche of Antioch aunſwered in the name of them all vnto euery Article of the ſaid ſupplication, but it was done in few wordes.

The aunſwere of the councell to the ſupplication.

Firſt, as touchyng the proteſtation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or falſe, it ſhall be made euident in the proceſſe of his cauſe. Moreouer, whereas they ſay that the aduerſaries of Iohn Hus hath peruerſly drawen certaine thynges out of his bookes, that alſo the matter it ſelfe ſhall declare in the end. Where as if it ſhalbe foũd and decreed that Iohn is vniuſtly & vntruly accuſed, that then it ſhal come to paſſe, that his aduerſaries ſhall incurre perpetuall ignominie and ſlaunder. But as touchyng ſureties, albeit there might be a thouſand put in or bounde, yet can it not by any meanes be, that the deputies of the Cõſell with a ſafe conſcience may receiue or take them in this mans cauſe, vnto whom there is no fayth or credite to be geuen. Howbeit thus much they will do, vpon the.v. day of Iune next, Iohn Hus ſhall be brought agayne vnto Conſtance, and there haue free libertie to ſpeake his mynde before the Councell, and that they would louyngly and gently heare him: but the matter in the end fell out farre contrary to this promiſe.

I. Hus in no caſe muſt be baild.

No credite to be kept wyth an heretique.

Supplication to the Emperour Sigiſmund.

The ſame day the ſayd Barons and Lordes preſented a ſupplicatiõ of this tenour vnto the Emperour: Unto the moſt high and mighty Prince, the Lord Sigiſmund kyng of the Romaines alwayes, Auguſtus kyng of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our moſt gracious Lord faythfull and true ſeruice in all thynges, and at all tymes. Moſt noble Prince and gracious Lord, we ſignifie vnto your worthynes, that we all together with one mynde, conſent and accorde haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lordes, the deputies of the 4. nations, and to the whole ſacred Councel of Conſtance, this our ſupplication here vnder written, as reaſonable, iuſt, and worthy of conſideratiõ, the tenour wherof here followeth word by word, & is this.

¶ The copy of the ſupplication, which was preſented vnto the deputies of the Councell, is before written. Whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

The Barons ſupplication to the kyng for Iohn Hus.

WHerfore we moſt hũble require and deſire your princely maieſtie, that both for the loue of iuſtice, and alſo of the fame and renowme of that moſt famous kyngdome of Boheme, whereof we acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true Lord and heyre ſucceſſour, and alſo foreſeyng vnto the libertie of your ſafeconduct, that you will with your fauorable countenaunce, beholdyng theſe moſt reaſonable and iuſt ſupplications, which we haue put vp to the Lordes aforeſayd, put to your helpyng hand toward the ſayd moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, that they will effectually heare vs, in this our moſt iuſt petition, which we haue offered vp vnto them, as is aforeſayd: leaſt that the enemy of the renowme & honour of the famous kyngdome of Boheme, and ſuch as our ſclaunderers alſo hereafter may detract and ſclaunder vs, that we ſhould make vnreaſonable and vnlawfull requeſtes vnto the ſayd reuerend fathers and Lordes, and therfore we required and deſired of them that it would pleaſe them to decree by ſettyng to their publicke hãd and ſeale to authoriſe our ſaid ſupplicatiõ. Likewiſe we do moſt hartely require your highnes, that you would vouchſafe in like maner to geue vs your teſtimony of the premiſes.

But what aunſwere the Emperour made hereunto, we could neuer vnderſtand or know, but by the proceſſe of the matter a man may eaſily iudge, that this good Emperour was brought and lead euen vnto this poynt, through the obſtinate miſchief of the Cardinals and Biſhops, to breake and falſifie his promiſe and fayth, which he had made and promiſed, and this was their reaſon, whereby he was driuen therunto: that no defence could or might be geuẽ either by ſafe cõduct, or by any other meane vnto him, which was ſuſpected or iudged to be an hereticke. But by the Epiſtles & letters of Iohn Hus, a man may eaſily iudge: what the kynges mynde was. Now we will procede in the hiſtory.

The kyng forced by the importunitie of the Cardinals to breake promiſe.

The v. day of Iune, the Cardinals, Byſhops, and the reſt of the Prieſtes, all that were almoſt in Conſtance, aſſembled to a great number, at the Couent of the Franciſcanes in Conſtance, and there it was commaunded, that before Iohn Hus ſhould be brought forth, in his abſence they ſhould rehearſe the witneſſes and articles, which they had ſlaunderouſly gathered out of his bookes: the which articles with Iohn Huſſes aunſwere we will hereafter repeate. By chaunce there was then preſent a certaine Notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the which bare great loue and amitie vnto the ſaid Hus, who as ſoone as he perceiued that the Byſhops and Cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemne the ſayd Articles in the abſence of Iohn Hus, he went withall ſpeede vnto maiſter Wenceſlate de Duba, and Iohn of Clum, & told them all the matter: who incontinent made report therof to the Emperour. Who vnderſtandyng their intent, ſent Lewes the County Pallatine of Heydelberge, and the Lord Fredericke, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to ſignifie vnto them, whiche ruled the Councell, that nothyng ſhould be reſolued or done in the caſe of Iohn Hus, before that it were firſt heard with equitie: and that they ſhould ſend him all ſuch Articles as were layd agaynſt the ſayd Hus, which were either falſe or hereticall, and he would do ſo much, that the ſayd articles ſhould be examined by good and learned men. Then accordyng to the Emperours will, the iudgement of the principals of the Councell was ſuſpended, vntill ſuch tyme as Iohn Hus were preſent.

The miſchieuous councel of the popiſhe bande.

The crafty counſaile of the papiſtes ſtopped by the Emperour.

In the meane ſeaſon theſe Gentlemẽ, Maiſter of Dube and of Clum, did geue vnto the two Princes whiche the Emperour had ſent, certaine ſmall treatiſes which the ſayd Hus had made, out of ẏ which they had drawen certaine articles to preſent vnto them which ruled the Councell, vnder this conditiõ, that they would render them agayne, whẽ they ſhould demaunde them. The intent & meaning of theſe Barõs was, that by this meanes the aduerſaries of Iohn Hus might the more eaſily be reproued, ẏ which of a naughtie and corrupt conſcience, had picked out corrupt ſentences out of the ſayd bookes of Iohn Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the Cardinals and Byſhops, and that done, Iohn Hus was brought forth, and the Princes whiche were ſent by the Emperour, departed backe agayne. After they ſhewed the bookes vnto Iohn Hus, and he confeſſed openly before the whole aſſembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the ſame.

I. Hus forced to keepe ſilence by outrage of the byſhops & prieſtes.

Now harken a litle to the holy proceedynges of theſe reuerend fathers, for here happened a ſtraunge and ſhamefull matter. With much a do they had ſcarſly read one article, & brought forth a few witneſſes vpon the ſame agaynſt him, but as he was about to opẽ his mouth to aunſwere, all this madde heard or flocke began ſo to cry out vpon him, that he had not leaſure to ſpeake one onely word. The noyſe and trouble was ſo great and ſo vehement, that a man might well haue called it a bruite or noyſe of wilde beaſtes, and not of men, much leſſe was it to be iudged a congregatiõ of men gathered together, to iudge & determine ſo graue & weighty matters. And if it happened that the noyſe and cry did neuer ſo litle ceaſe, that he might aunſwere any thyng at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Eccleſiaſticall Doctours, by and by he ſhould heare theſe goodly replyes vpõ him: That maketh nothyng to the purpoſe.

The like practiſe in theſe latter dayes was vſed at Oxford agaynſt the godly fathers.

Beſide all this, ſome did outrage in wordes againſt him, and other ſome ſpitefully mocked him: ſo that he ſeyng himſelfe ouerwhelmed with this rude and barbarous noyſes & cryes, and that it profited nothyng to ſpeake, he determined finally with himſelfe to hold his peace & keepe ſilence. From that tyme forward all the whole route of his aduerſaries, thought that they had wonne the battaile of him, and cryed out all together, now he is dumme, now he is dumme. This is a certaine ſigne and token, that he doth conſent and agree vnto theſe his errours. Finally, the matter came to this poynt, that certaine of the moſt moderate and honeſt among them, ſeyng this diſorder, determined to procede no further, but that all ſhould be deferred & put of vntill an other tyme. Through their aduiſe the prelates & others departed from the Councel for that preſent, and appointed to mete there agayne

An outragious councel.

gayne the morrow after to procede in iudgement.

A great Eclipſe of the Sunne.

They went forth wyth ſwordes and ſtaues, as it had bene to take a theife.

Peter and John follow Chriſt into the Byſhops houſe.

The next day, which was the vij. of June, on whiche day the ſunne was almoſt wholy eclipſed, ſomewhat after about vij. of the clocke, this ſame flocke aſſembled agayne in the cloiſter of the Friers Minors, and by their appointmēt John Hus was brought before them, accōpanied with a great number of armed men. Thether went alſo the Emperour, whom the Gentlemen, Maiſter of Dube, & Clum, and the Notary named Peter, which were great frendes of the ſayd Hus, did folow to ſee what the end would be. When they were come thether, they heard that in the accuſation of Michael de Cauſis, they read theſe wordes folowyng: John Hus hath taught the people diuers and many errours both in the Chapell of Bethleem, and alſo in many other places of the Citie of Prage, of the whiche errours ſome of them he hath drawen out of Wickleffes bookes, and the reſt he hath forged and inuented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the ſame very obſtinatly and ſtifly:

Matter made againſt John Hus.

Falſe witnes agaynſt John Hus.

The aunſwere of J. Hus.

First that after the conſecration and pronunciation of the wordes, in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth materiall bread, and this is proued by the witneſſe of John Protiwate pariſh Prieſt of S. Clements in Prage, John Pecklow preacher at S. Gyles in Prage, Beniſe preacher in the Caſtle of Prage, Andrew Brod, Chanon of Prage, and diuers other Prieſtes. Unto this John Hus takyng a ſolemne othe, aunſwered that he neuer ſpake any ſuch word, but thus much he did graunt, that at what tyme the Archbyſhop of Prage forbad him to vſe any more that terme or word bread, he could not allow the Byſhops commaundement: for ſo much as Chriſt in the vj. chapter of John doth oftentymes name himſelfe the bread of aungels, which came down from heauen, to geue life vnto the whole world. But as touchyng materiall bread, he neuer ſpake any thyng at all. Then the Cardinall of Cambray takyng a certaine Bill in his hand, which he ſayd he receiued the day before, ſayd vnto John Hus, will you put any vniuerſalities a parte rei. i. as touchyng the thyng? When John Hus aunſwered, that he would, becauſe S. Anſelme, and diuers others had ſo done, the Cardinall did procede to gather his argument in this maner.

Naming of bread forbid by the archb.

The Cardinall ſophiſticateth wyth John Hus.

It foloweth then, ſayd he, that after the conſecration is made, there remaineth the ſubſtaunce of material bread, and that I do thus proue: That the conſecration beyng done, whiles the bread is chaunged and trāſubſtanciated into the body of Chriſt, as you ſay, either there doth remaine the cōmon ſubſtaunce of materiall bread, or contrarywiſe. If the ſubſtaunce do remaine, then is our purpoſe at an ende. If contrarywiſe, then doth it folow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularitie, the vniuerſall ceaſeth any more to be. John Hus aunſwered, truely it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular materiall bread, by meanes of this tranſubſtantion, when as it is chaūged and trāſubſtanciated into the body of Chriſt: but notwithſtanding in other ſingularities, it is made ſubiect.

The diſputation of the Engliſh mā.

Then a certaine Engliſh man by that argument would proue out of the firſt poſition, that there remained materiall bread. Thē ſayd John Hus, that is a childiſh argument, which euery boy in the ſcholes knoweth, and thereupō gaue a ſolution. Then an other Engliſh man would proue, that there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament, becauſe the bread after the conſecration was not anihilate. Unto whom John Hus aunſwered: Although, ſayd he, that the bread be not anihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by meanes of the alteration of his ſubſtaunce in to the body of Chriſt. Here an other Engliſh man, ſteppyng forth ſayd: John Hus ſeemeth vnto me, to vſe the ſame kynde of crafty ſpeach, which Wickleffe vſed, for he graunted all theſe thynges, which this man hath done, and yet in very deede was fully perſwaded that material bread remained in the Sacrament after the conſecration. The whiche when John Hus had denyed, ſaying that he ſpake nothyng but onely ſincerely & vprightly, accordyng to his conſcience, the Engliſh man proceded to demaūde of him agayne, whether the body of Chriſt be totally and really in the Sacrament of the aultar. Whereunto John Hus aunſwered: Uerely, I do thincke that the body of Chriſt is really and totally in the Sacrament of the aulter, ỷ which was borne of the virgine Mary, ſuffered, dyed, & roſe agayne, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almightie. When they had diſputed a good while to and fro, as touchyng vniuerſalities, the Engliſh man which before would proue that materiall bread remayned in the Sacrament, becauſe that the bread was not anihilate, interruptyng and breakyng their talke, ſayd: to what purpoſe is this diſputation vpon vniuerſalities, the whiche maketh nothyng to the purpoſe, as touchyng fayth: for as farre as I can perceaue or here, this man holdeth a good opinion, as touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter.

An Engliſhe man.

J. Hus agreeth wyth that blinde tyme in the ſacrament.

Stokes an Engliſhe man.

Then an other Engliſh man, named Stokes, ſayd: I haue ſene at Prage (ſayd he) a certaine treatiſe, the which was aſcribed vnto this man John Hus, wherein it was playnely ſet forth, that after the conſecration, there remayned materiall bread in the Sacrament. Uerely ſaid John Hus, ſauing your reuerence, that is not true.

Falſe witnes.

John Hus falſely accuſed for calling S. Gregory a rymer.

Then they returned agayne vnto the witneſſes of them which were ſpoken of a litle before, who euery mā for himſelfe affirmed wyth an oth, that which he had ſayd. Amongeſt whom John Protyway pariſhe prieſt of S. Clemēts in Prage, when he ſhould come to confirme his teſtimony, added more, that John Hus ſhould ſay, that S. Gregory was but a rimer, whē he did alleadge his authoritie againſt hym. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, that in this point they did him great iniury, for ſomuch as he alwayes eſteemed and reputed S. Gregory for a moſt holy Doctour of the Church.

The Cardinall of Florence.

Twenty witneſſes preuayled againſt J. Hus, but the teſtimony of al Boheme would not ſerue on hys part.

These contentions and diſputations beyng ſomewhat appeaſed, the Cardinall of Florence turned hymſelfe toward John Hus, and ſaid: Maiſter, you know well inough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all witnes is firme and ſtable: and here you ſee now almoſt xx. witneſſes agaynſt you, men of authoritie and worthy of credite, amongeſt the which ſome haue heard you teach theſe thynges themſelues, the other by report & common brute or voyce, do teſtifie of your doctrine, and altogether generally bring firme reaſōs and proufes of their witneſſe, vnto the which we are forced and conſtrained to geue credite, and for my part I ſee not how you can maintayne & defend your cauſe againſt ſo many notable & well learned men. Unto whom John Hus aunſwered in this maner: I take God and my cōſcience to witnes, that I neuer taught any thing, neither was it euer in my mynde or fantaſie to teach in ſuch ſort or maner, as theſe men here haue not feared to witnes agaynſt me, that which they neuer heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more eſteeme, yea and without cōpariſon regard the witnes of my Lord God, before ỷ witnes and iudgement of all mine aduerſaries, vpon whom I do in no point ſtay my ſelfe. Then ſayde the Cardinall agayne vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge accordyng to your conſcience, for we can not chuſe, but that we muſt nedes ſtay our ſelues vpon the firme and euident witnes of theſe men here. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred that theſe men do witnes this againſt you (as you doe alleadge) for they alleadge and bringe forth ſuch reaſons of thier witnes, that there is no man that can perceiue any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe be in doubt thereof. And as touching M. Steuen Paletz, whereas you ſay, you do ſuſpect hym that he hath craftely & deceitfully drawen out certaine pointes or Articles out of your bookes, for to betray them afterward: It ſeemeth that in thys poynt, you do him great wrong, for in myne aduiſe he hath vſed and ſhewed a great fidelitie and amitie towardes you, in that he hath alleuiated & moderated many of your articles much more then they are in your owne bookes. I vnderſtand alſo that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, & ſpecially you haue ſayd, that you do ſuſpect M. Chauncelor of Paris, then whom there is no more excellent and Chriſtian man in all the whole world.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

He meaneth Gerſon.

An other accuſation for defending of Wickliffes articles.

Then was there read a certaine article of accuſation in the which it was alleadged that John Hus had taught & obſtinately defended certeine erroneous Articles of Wickliffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus aunſwered, that he neuer taught any errours of John Wickliffes, or of any other mans. Wherfore, if ſo be that Wickliffe haue ſowed any errours in England, let the Engliſhe mē looke to that themſelues. But to confirme their Article, there was alleadged that John Hus did wythſtand the condemnation of Wickliffes Articles, the which was firſt condemned at Rome, & afterward alſo, when as the Archbiſhop Swinco with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prage for the ſame matter, when as they ſhould haue bene there condemned for this cauſe, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholicke faith or doctrine, but were either hereticall, erroneous or offenſiue: he aunſwered that he durſt not agree thereunto, for offending of hys conſcience, and ſpecially for theſe Articles: that Syluester the Pope and Conſtantine dyd erre in beſtowing thoſe great giftes and rewardes vpon the church. Alſo that the Pope or prieſt being in mortall ſinne, can not conſecrate nor baptiſe. This Article ſayd he, I haue thus determined, as if I ſhould ſay that he doth vnworthely cōſecrate or Baptiſe, when as he is in deadly ſinne, and that he is an vnworthy miniſter of the Sacramentes of God. Here his accuſers, with their witneſſes, were earneſt and in-

Certaine Articles of Wickliffe that John Hus ſtoode in.

A treatiſe againſt Steeuẽ Paletz.

inſtant, that that Article of Wickleffe was written by the very ſame wordes in the treatiſe which John Hus made agaynſt Stephen Paletz. Verely ſayd John Hus, I feare not to ſubmit my ſelfe, euen vnder the daunger of death, if you ſhal not finde it ſo, as I haue ſayd. Whẽ the booke was brought forth, they founde it written as John Hus had ſayd. He added alſo moreouer that he durſt not agree vnto them which had condemned Wickleffes Articles, for this Article: the tenthes were pure almes.

Whether tethes be pure almoſe.

Here the Cardinall of Florence obiected vnto him this argument, as touchyng almes: It is required that it ſhould be geuen freely without bond or duety. But tenthes are not geuen freely, but of bond and duety: therfore are they no almes. John Hus denying the Maior of this Sillogiſmus, brought this reaſon agaynſt him. For ſomuch as rich men are bounden vnder the payne of eternall damnation, vnto the fulfillyng of the vj. workes of mercy, which Chriſt repeateth in the xxv. chap. of Mathew: and theſe workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is alſo geuen by bonde and duety. Then an Archbyſhop of England ſteppyng vp, ſayd, if we all be bound vnto thoſe vj. workes of mercy, it doth folow that pore men, which haue nothyng at all to geue, ſhould be damned. I aunſwere, ſayd Hus, vnto your antecedent, that I ſpake diſtinctly of rich men, and of thoſe which had where withall to do thoſe workes: they I ſay were bound to geue almes vnder payne of damnation.

Almoſe ſtandeth of duetie.

He aunſwered moreouer vnto the Minor of the firſt argument, that tenthes were at firſt geuen freely, and afterward made a bonde and duety. And when as he would haue declared it more at large, he could not be ſuffered. He declared alſo diuers other cauſes, why he could not with ſafe cõſcience conſent vnto the condemnation of Wickleffes articles. But howſoeuer the matter went, he did affirme & ſay, that he did neuer obſtinatly confirme any Articles of Wickleffes, but onely that he did not allow and conſent that Wickleffes Articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation, & of the ſame mynde, ſayth John Hus, are a great many other Doctours and Maiſters of the vniuerſitie of Prage. For when as Sbinco the Archbyſhop commaunded all Wickleffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole Citie of Prage, and to be brought vnto him, I my ſelfe brought alſo certaine bookes of Wickleffes, which I gaue vnto the Archbyſhop, deſiring him that if he founde any errour or hereſie in them, that he would note and marke them, and I my ſelfe would publiſh them openly. But the Archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no errour nor hereſie in them, burned my bookes together with thoſe that were brought vnto him, notwithſtandyng that he had no ſuch cõmaundement from Pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithſtandyng by a certaine policie he obtained a Bull from the ſayd Pope by meanes of Jaroſlaus Biſhop of Sarepte of the order of Franciſcanes, that all Wickleffes bookes for the manifold errours contained in them (wherof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of all mens handes.

John Hus his minde touchyng the condemnatiõ of Wickliffes articles.

Wickliffes bookes burned in Prage by Archb. Sbinco.

A narration touching Wickliffes bookes.

The Archb. vſing the authoritie of this Bull, thought he ſhould bryng to paſſe that the kyng of Boheme and the Nobles ſhould conſent to the condemnation of Wickleffes bookes, but therin he was deceaued. yet neuertheles he callyng together certaine deuines, gaue them in commiſſion to ſit vpon Wickleffes bookes and to procede agaynſt them by a definitiue ſentence in the Canon law. Theſe men by a generall ſentence iudged all thoſe bookes worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctours, Maſters and Scholers of the vniuerſitie heard report of, they altogether with one cõſent and accorde, (none excepted but onely they, which before were choſen by the Archbyſhop to ſit in iudgement) determined to make ſupplication vnto the kyng to ſtay the matter. The kyng grauntyng their requeſt, ſent by and by certaine vnto the Archbyſhop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing as touchyng Wickleffes bookes contrary vnto the kynges will and pleaſure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burne them the next day after, yet for feare of the kyng, the matter was paſſed ouer.

The vniuerſitie of Prage maketh ſupplicatiõ to the king for ſauyng of Wickliffes bookes.

In the meane tyme Pope Alexander the fifth beyng dead, the Archbyſhop fearyng leaſt the Bull which he had receiued of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, priuely callyng vnto him his adherentes, and ſhuttyng the gates of his Court round about him, being garded with a number of armed ſouldiours, he conſumed and burned all Wickleffes bookes. Beſide this great iniurie the Archbyſhop by meanes of his Bull aforeſayd, committed an other leſſe tollerable. For he gaue out commaundement that no man after that tyme vnder payne of excõmunication ſhould teach any more in Chappels. Wherupon I did appeale vnto the Pope, who beyng dead, and the cauſe of my matter remaynyng vndetermined, I appealed likewiſe vnto his ſucceſſour John. xxiij. Before whom when as by the ſpace of two yeares, I could not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cauſe, I appealed vnto the hygh Judge Chriſt. Whẽ J. Hus had ſpoken theſe wordes, it was demaunded of hym whether he had receiued abſolution of the Pope or no: he aunſwered, no. Then agayne whether it were lawfull for him to appeale vnto Chriſt or no. Whereunto John Hus aunſwered: Verely I do affirme here afore you all that there is no more iuſt or effectuall appeale, then that appeale which is made vnto Chriſt, for aſmuch as ỹ law doth determine, that to appeale is no other thyng then in a cauſe of grief or wrong done by an inferiour iudge, to implore and require ayde and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge then Chriſt? Who I ſay can know or iudge the matter more iuſtly or with more equitie? When as in him there is founde no diſceit, neither can he be diſceiued: or who can better helpe the miſerable and oppreſſed thẽ he? While John Hus with a deuoute & ſober countenaunce was ſpeakyng and pronouncyng thoſe wordes, he was derided and mocked of all the whole Councell.

Wickliffes bookes burned in Prage agaynſt the kings will.

A decree that no man ſhould teach any more in chappels.

John Hus appealed to the pope and frõ the pope to Chriſt.

A queſtion of the councell, whether it be lawfull to appeale to Chriſt or no.

The popiſhe church derideth Chriſt.

Then was there rehearſed an other Article of his accuſation in this maner: that John Hus for to confirme the hereſie whiche he had taught the common and ſimple people out of Wickleffes bookes, ſayd openly theſe wordes, that at what tyme a great number of Monkes and Friers and other learned men, were gathered together in England in a certaine Church, to diſpute agaynſt John Wickleffe, and could by no meanes vanquiſh him or geue him the foyle, ſodenly the church doore was broke opẽ with lightnyng, ſo ỹ with much a do Wickleffes enemyes hardly ſcaped without hurt. He added moreouer that he wiſhed his ſoule to be in the ſame place where John Wickleffes ſoule was. Whereunto John Hus aunſwered: that a douſeine yeares before that any bookes of Diuinitie of John Wickleffes were in Boheme, he did ſee certaine workes of Philoſophie of his, the which, he ſaid, did meruelouſly delight & pleaſe him. And when he vnderſtode the good & godly life of the ſayd Wickleffe, he ſpake theſe wordes: I truſt ſayd he that Wickleffe is ſaued, & albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſh that my ſoule were in the ſame place where John Wickleffes is. Then agayne dyd all the company laugh and ieſt at him.

Hus accuſed for truſting that Wickleffes ſoule is ſaued.

It is alſo in his accuſation that John Hus did counſaile the people accordyng to the example of Moyſes, to reſiſt with the ſword agaynſt all ſuch as did gaynesay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the ſame, there were founde openly in diuers places certaine intimations that euery man beyng armed with his ſword about him, ſhould ſtoutly procede, and that brother ſhould not ſpare brother, neither one neighbour an other. John Hus aunſwered that all theſe thynges were falſely layde vnto his charge by his aduerſaries, for he at all tymes when he preached did diligently admoniſhe, and warne the people, that they ſhould all arme themſelues to defende the truth of the Goſpell, accordyng to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, with the helmet and ſword of ſaluation, and that he neuer ſpake of any materiall ſword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touchyng intimations of Moyſes ſword, he neuer had nothyng to do withall.

Sedition layd to his charge.

It is moreouer affirmed in his accuſation and witneſſe, that many offences are ſprong vp by the doctrine of Hus. For firſt of all he ſowed diſcord betwene the Eccleſiaſticall, and the politike ſtate, whereupon folowed the perſecution, ſpoylyng, and robbery of the clergy and Byſhops. And moreouer that he through his diſſention, diſſolued the Vniuerſitie of Prage. Hereunto John Hus briefly aũſwered that theſe thynges had not happened by his meanes or default. For the firſt diſſention that was betwene the Eccleſiaſticall and politike ſtate, ſprang and grew vpon this cauſe, that Pope Gregory the xij. of that name, promiſed at his electiõ that at all times at the will and pleaſure of the Cardinals, he would depart from, and geue ouer his ſeate agayne: for vnder that condition he was elect and choſen. This mã contrary and agaynſt Wenceſlaus kyng of Boheme, who was then alſo kyng of the Romaines, made Lewes Duke of Bauaria Emperour.

Hus accuſed for mouing certayne tumultes agaynſt the clergie and diuiſion in the vniuerſitie of Prage.

A ſtory of Popes.

A few yeares after it happened that when as pope Gregory would not refuſe and geue ouer his ſeate and office at the requeſt of the Cardinals, that the whole Colledge of Cardinals ſent letters to the kyng of Boheme requiryng him, that together with them he would renoũce and forſake his obedience vnto Pope Gregory, and ſo it ſhould come to paſſe that by the authoritie of a new Byſhop he ſhould recouer

uer agayne his Imperiall dignitie. For this cauſe the kyng conſented to the will of the Cardinals as touchyng a neutralitie, that is to ſay, that he would neither take part with Pope Gregory, neither yet with Benedict the xiij. Byſhop of Auinion, whiche was then named Pope as it doth appeare by Chronicles. In this cauſe then, for ſomuch as the Archbyſhop Sbinco with the Clergy, were agaynſt the kyng, and abſtaynyng from the diuine ſeruice many of them departed out of the Citie, and the Archbyſhop himſelfe breakyng downe the tombe of the Lord Wenceslate contrary and agaynſt the kynges will, did alſo take Wickleffes bookes & burned them: thereupon the kyng without any gaynſaying ſuffered that certaine goodes of theirs, which of their owne wils were fled away, ſhould be ſpoyled, bycauſe they ſhould not conſent or accord with the Byſhop. Wherupon it is eaſie to be vnderſtāded & knowne, that Iohn Hus was falſely accuſed for that matter. Howbeit a certaine man one Naſo riſing vp, ſayd: the Clergy (ſayd he) did not abſtaine from the diuine ſeruice becauſe they would not ſweare to conſent vnto the kyng, but bycauſe that they were ſpoyled and robbed of their goodes and ſubſtaunce. And the Cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the Iudges ſayd: here I muſt ſay ſomewhat, which is come into my mynde.

The cauſe why Sbinco and other of the Clergie did flie out of Prage.

This doctor Naſo was counſailer to kyng Wenceſlaus.

When as I came from Rome, the ſame yeare that theſe thynges were done, by chaunce I met on the way certaine Prelates of Boheme. Whom when I demaunded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they aunſwered that there was happened a wonderfull cruell and haynous fact, for all the Clergy were ſpoyled of all their ſubſtaunce, and very ill entreated and handled. Then Iohn Hus alledging the ſame cauſe which he did before, went forward vnto the ſecōd part of the Article which was obiected agaynſt him, denying alſo that it happened thorough his fault, that the Germaines departed from the Vniuerſitie of Prage. But when as the kyng of Boheme accordyng to the foundation of the Charles the 4. his father, graūted three voyces vnto the Bohemes, & the fourth vnto the Germaines, whereat the Germaines grudgyng, that they ſhould be exempted from their voyces, of their owne accorde departed & went their wayes, bindyng themſelues with a great othe and vnder a great penaltie, both of their fame and alſo money, that none of them ſhould returne agayne vnto Prage. Notwithſtādyng: I am not aſhamed to confeſſe that I did approue and allow the doynges of the kyng, vnto whom of duety I owe obedience for the commoditie and profite of my coūtrey. And becauſe you ſhall not thinke that I haue ſpoken any vntruth, here is preſent Albert Warren Trapius, which was Deacō of the faculties, who had ſworne to depart with the reſt of the Germaines: he, if that he will ſay the truth, ſhall eaſly cleare me of this ſuſpition.

A declaratiō how the Germaines departed frō the vniuerſitie of Prage.

The penaltie of money was 100. ſiluer ſhocke.

But when as Albert would haue ſpoken, he could not be heard. But the foreſayd Naſo, of whom before is made mention, after he had aſked leaue to ſpeake, ſayd, this matter do I vnderſtand well inough, for I was in the kynges court, when theſe thynges were done in Boheme, when as I ſaw the maiſters of the three nations of the Germaines, Bauarians, Saxons, and Sileſians, amongeſt whom the Pollonians were alſo numbred, moſt humbly come vnto the kyng, requiryng that he would not ſuffer the right of their voyces to be taken from them. Then the kyng promiſed thē that he would foreſee and prouide for their requeſtes. But Iohn Hus and Ierome of Prage with diuers others, perſwaded the kyng that he ſhould not ſo do. Whereat the kyng at the firſt beyng not a litle moued, gaue him a ſore check that he and Ierome of Prage did ſomuch entermedle them ſelues, and moued ſuch open controuerſies, in ſomuch that he threatned them, that except they would foreſee and take heede, he would bryng it to paſſe that the matter ſhould be determined and decreed by fire. Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers, you ſhall vnderſtand that the kyng of Boheme did neuer fauour with his heart, theſe men whoſe vnſhamfaſtneſſe is ſuch, that they feared not euen of late, to intreate me euill, beyng ſomuch in the kynges fauour and credite. After him ſtepped forth Paletz, ſaying, verely moſt reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but alſo of Boheme it ſelfe, are through the Councell of Iohn Hus & his adherents, baniſhed out of Boheme, of the which number ſome remaine yet in exile in Morauia. Hereunto Iohn Hus aunſwered, how can this be true, ſayd he, ſithens I was not at Prage at that tyme, when as theſe men you ſpeake of, departed and went away from thence? Theſe thynges were thus debated the day aforeſayd as touchyng Iohn Hus.

The ſlaunder of the vnſhamefaſt Sycophant.

Palletz ſpeaketh agaynſt Hus.

This done, the ſayd Iohn Hus was committed to the cuſtody of ÿ biſhop of Rigen, vnder whō Ierome of Prage was alſo priſoner. But before that he was lead away, the Cardinall of Cambray calling hym backe agayne in ÿ preſence of the Emperour, ſayd: Iohn Hus, I haue heard you ſay, that if you had not bene willing of your owne minde to come vnto Conſtance, neither the Emperour hymſelfe, neither the king of Boheme could haue compelled you to do it. Unto whom Iohn Hus aunſwered, vnder your licence moſt reuerend father, I neuer vſed any ſuch kynde of talke or wordes. But this I did ſay, that there was in Boheme a great number of gentle men and noble men, which did fauour and loue me, the which alſo might eaſely haue kept me in ſome ſure and ſecrete place, that I ſhoulde not haue bene conſtrayned to come vnto this towne of Conſtance, neither at the will of the Emperour, neither of the king of Boheme. With that the Cardinall of Cambray, euen for very anger began to chaunge his colour, & deſpitefully ſayd: do you not ſee the vnſhamefaſtnes of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whiſpering on all partes, the L. Iohn de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which Iohn Hus had ſpoken, ſayd: that Iohn Hus had ſpoken very well, for on my part (ſayd he) which in compariſon of a great many others am but of ſmall force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwayes if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended hym eaſely by the ſpace of one yeare, euen agaynſt all the force and power of both theſe great and mighty kinges. How much better myght they haue done it which are of more force or puiſſaunce then I am? and haue ſtronger Caſtles and places then I haue? After that the Lord de Clum had ſpoken, the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd, let vs leaue this talke. And I tell you Iohn Hus, & counſaile you, that you ſubmit your ſelfe vnto the ſentence and mynde of the Councell, as you did promiſe in the priſon, and if that you will do ſo, it ſhall be greatly both for your profite and honour.

Hus cōmitted to cuſtodie.
Ierome of Prage.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

Iohn de Clum.

And the Emperour himſelfe began to tell him the ſame tale, ſaying, Albeit that there be ſome which ſay that the xv. day after you were committed to priſon, you obtayned of vs our letters of ſafeconducte notwithſtanding I can well proue by the witnes of many Princes and noble men, that the ſayde ſafe conducte was obtayned and gotten of vs by my Lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prage, vnder whoſe garde we haue ſent for you, to the end that none ſhould do you any outrage or hurt, but ÿ you ſhould haue full libertie to ſpeake freely before all the Councell, and to aunſwere as touching your faith and doctrine, and as you ſee my Lordes the Cardinalles and Byſhops, haue ſo dealt wyth you, that we doe very well perceiue their good will towardes you, for the which we haue great cauſe to thāke them. And forſomuch as diuers haue tolde vs, ÿ we may not or ought not of right, to defend any man which is an hereticke or ſuſpecte of hereſie: therefore now we geue you euen the ſame Councell, which the Cardinall of Cambray hath geuen you already, that you be not obſtinate to maintayne any opinion, but that you do ſubmit your ſelfe vnder ſuch obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holy Councell in all thynges, that ſhalbe layd agaynſt you and cōfirmed by credible witneſſes. The which thing if you do accordyng to our Counſaile, we wil geue order that for the loue of vs and of our brother and the whole realme of Boheme, the Councell ſhall ſuffer you to depart in peace, with an eaſie and tollerable penaunce & ſatiſfaction. The which thing if you do contrariwiſe refuſe to do, ÿ preſidents of the Councell, ſhall haue ſufficient wherwithall to procede againſt you. And for our part be you fully aſſured, that we will ſooner prepare and make the fire wt our owne hands to burne you withall, then we wil endure or ſuffer any longer that you ſhall maintaine or vſe this ſtifnes of opinions, which you haue hetherto maintayned and vſed. Wherfore our aduiſe and councell is, that you ſubmit your ſelfe wholy vnto ÿ iudgement of the Coūcell. Unto whom I. Hus aunſwered in this ſort: O moſt noble Emperour, I render vnto your highnes moſt immortall thankes for your letters of ſafeconducte. Upon this L. Iohn de Clum did breake him of his purpoſe, and admoniſhed him, that he did in no point excuſe himſelfe of the blame of obſtinacie. Then ſaid I. Hus, O moſt gentle Lord, I do take God to my witnes, that I was neuer mynded to maintaine any opinion euer obſtinatly, and that for this ſame intent & purpoſe, I did come hether of myne owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine thē myne, that then I would chaunge mine opinion wythout any further doubt. After he had ſpoken & ſaid theſe things, he was ſent away with the Sergeants.

The Emperours oration to Iohn Hus.

The aunſwere of Iohn Hus vnto the Emperour.

The morow after, which was the viij. day of Iune, the very ſame company whiche was aſſembled the day before, aſſembled now agayne at the Couent of the Franciſcans. And in this aſſēbly were alſo Iohn Hus, his frēdes Lord de Dube and Lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thether was Iohn Hus alſo brought, & in his preſence there were read about xxxix. Articles, the which they ſayd, were drawen out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all thoſe that were faythfully and truely collected and gathered to be his, of the which ſort there were but very few. The reſidue were counterfaited and forged by his aduerſaries, and ſpecially by Stephen Palletz, the principall author of this miſchief, for they could finde no ſuch thyng in the bookes out of the which they ſayd they had drawen & gathered them, or at the leaſt if they were, they were corrupted by ſlaunders, as a man may eaſely perceiue by the number of Articles.

39. Articles layde to Iohn Hus.

These be the ſame Articles in a maner whiche were ſhewed before in the priſon vnto Iohn Hus, and are rehearſed here in an other order. Howbeit, there were more Articles added vnto them an other ſome corrected or enlarged. But now we will ſhew them one with an other, & declare what the ſayd Hus did aunſwere both openly before them all, as alſo in the priſon, for he left his aunſweres in the priſon briefly written with his owne hand in theſe wordes.

The aunſwere of Iohn Hus cōcerning his booke of the church.

I Iohn Hus, vnworthy miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt, maiſter of Art & Bacheler of Diuinitie do confeſſe that I haue written a certaine ſmal treatiſe intituled of the Church, the copy whereof was ſhewed me by the Notaries of the three Preſidentes of the Councell, that is to ſay, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, the Byſhop of Caſtle, and the Byſhop of Liuuſt, the which deputies or preſidentes in reproofe of the ſayd treatiſe, deliuered vnto me certaine Articles, ſaying, that they were drawne out of the ſayd treatiſe, and were written in the ſame.

The firſt Article. There is but one holy vniuerſall or Catholicke Church, which is the vniuerſall company of all the predeſtinate. I do confeſſe that this propoſition is myne & is cōfirmed by the ſaying of S. Auguſtin vpon S. Iohn.

S. Paule was neuer any member of the deuill.

The ſecond Article. Saint Paule was neuer any mēber of the deuill, albeit that he committed, and did certaine actes like vnto the actes of the malignant Church. And likewiſe S. Peter which fell into an horrible ſinne of periury and denial of his maiſter, it was by the permiſſiō of God, that he might the more firmely and ſtedfaſtly riſe agayne & be confirmed. I aunſwere, according to S. Auguſtine, that it is expedient that the elect and predeſtinate ſhould ſinne and offend.

Two maner of ſeparations frō the church.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two maner of ſeparations from the holy Church. The firſt is, not to perdition, as all the elect are deuided from the Church. The ſecond is to perdition, by the which certaine heretickes are through their deadly ſinne, deuided from the Church. yet notwithſtanding, by the grace of God they may returne agayne vnto the flocke and be of the fold of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, of whom he ſpeaketh himſelfe ſaying, I haue other ſheepe which are not of this fold. Iohn. xx.

The members of the church neuer fall finally away.

The third Article. No part or member of the Church, doth departe or fall away at any tyme from the body, for ſo much as the charitie of predeſtination, whiche is the bonde and chayne of the ſame, doth neuer fall. This propoſition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the Churche, procede out of the ſame, and yet are not as partes or mēbers of the ſame, forſomuch as no part or member of the ſame doth finally fall away, becauſe that the charitie of the predeſtination, whiche is the bond and chayne of the ſame, doth neuer fall away. This is proued by the xiij. chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians and to the Romaines the viij. chapter: All thinges turne to good to them which loue God. Alſo I am certaine that neither death nor life can ſeparate vs from the charitie and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

The predeſtinate is alwayes a member of the vniuerſal church, although not in preſent iuſtice.

The fourth Article. The predeſtinate although he be not in the ſtate of grace according to preſent iuſtice, yet is he alwayes a member of the vniuerſall Churche. This is an errour, if it be vnderſtand of all ſuch as be predeſtinate, for thus it is in the booke about the begynnyng of the v. chap. where it is declared, that there be diuers maners and ſortes of beyng in the Church, for there are ſome in the Churche according to a miſſhappen fayth, and other ſome according to predeſtination, as Chriſtians predeſtinate now in ſinne, but ſhall returne agayne vnto grace.

To be in the church: and a member of the church.

Predeſtination.

The fift article: There is no degree of honour or dignitie, neither any humaine election, or any ſenſible ſigne, that can make any man a member of the vniuerſall Churche. I aunſwere this article is after this maner in my booke. And ſuch ſubtilties are vnderſtanded & knowen by conſideryng what it is to be in the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church, and that predeſtinatiō doth make a man a member of the vniuerſall Church, the whiche is a preparation of grace, for the preſent, and of glory to come: & not any degree of dignitie, neither election of man, neither any ſenſible ſigne. For the accuſer Iudas Iſcarioth notwithſtandyng Chriſtes election, and the temporall graces which were geuē him for his office of Apoſtleſhyp, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apoſtle of Ieſus Chriſt, yet was he no true Diſciple but a wolfe couered in a ſheepes ſkynne, as S. Auguſtin ſayth.

Both good & bad in the Church.

The vj. Article: A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy Church. I aūſwere, it is in my booke with ſufficient lōg probation out of the xxvj. Pſalme, and out of the v. chap, to the Epheſiens, and alſo by S. Bernard ſaying: the Church of Ieſus Chriſt is more plainly and euidently his body, then the body whiche he deliuered for vs to death. I haue alſo written in the p. chapter of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of yͤ Lord, in yͤ which are both good and euill, predeſtinate and reprobate, the good beyng as the good corne or grayne, and the euill as the chaffe, and therunto is added the expoſition of S. Auguſtine.

The ſeuenth Article: Iudas was neuer no true Diſciple of Ieſus Chriſt. I aūſwere and I do confeſſe the ſame. This appeareth by the fifth Article, which is paſſed afore, and by S. Auguſtine in his booke of penaunce, where he doth expounde the meanyng of S. Iohn in his firſt Epiſtle and ſecond chapter, where he ſayd: They came out from amongeſt vs, but they were none of vs. He knew from the begynnyng all thē which ſhould beleue, and him alſo which ſhould betray him and ſayd: And therfore I ſay vnto you, that none commeth vnto me, except it be geuen him of my father. From that tyme many of the Diſciples parted from him: And were not thoſe alſo called Diſciples according to the wordes of the Goſpell? And yet notwithſtandyng they were no true Diſciples, becauſe they did not remaine and continue in the word of the ſonne of God, according as it is ſayd: If you remaine in my word, you be my Diſciples. For ſo much then as they did not continue with Chriſt as his true Diſciples, ſo likewiſe are they not the true ſonnes of God: although they ſeeme ſo, vnto him they are not ſo, vnto whom it is knowen what they ſhall be: That is to ſay: of good, euill. Thus much writeth S. Auguſtine. It is alſo euident yͭ Iudas could not be yͤ true Diſciple of Chriſt, by meanes of his couetouſnes, for Chriſt himſelfe ſayd in the preſence of Iudas, as I ſuppoſe, except a man forſake all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple. For ſomuch then as Iudas did not forſake all thynges, according to the Lordes will, and follow him, he was a theefe as it is ſayd, Iohn the xij. & a deuill, Iohn the 6. whereby it is euident by the word of the Lord, that Iudas was not his true, but fayned Diſciple, wherupon S. Auguſtine writyng vpon Iohn, declaryng how the ſheepe heare the voyce of Chriſt, ſayth, what maner of hearers, thinke we, his ſheepe were? Truly Iudas heard him and was a wolfe, yet followed he the ſhepheard, but beyng clothed in a ſheepes ſkynne he lay in wayt for the ſhepheard.

The eight article: The cōgregation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in the ſtate of grace or no, according vnto preſent iuſtice, is the holy vniuerſall Church, and therfore it is an article of fayth, and it is the ſame Church, which hath neither wrinkle neither ſpot in it, but is holy and vndefiled, the which the ſonne of God doth call his owne. The aunſwere. The wordes of the booke out of the which this Article was drawen are theſe: Thirdly, the Church is vnderſtand and taken for the congregation and aſſembly of the faythfull, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, according to preſent iuſtice or not. And in this ſort it is an Article of our fayth, of the which S. Paule maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Epheſiās: Chriſt ſo loued his Church, that he deliuered and offered himſelf for the ſame. &c. I pray you then, is there any faythfull man, the which doth doubt that the Church doth not ſignifie all the elect and predeſtinate, the which we ought to beleue to be the vniuerſall Church, the glorious ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt holy and without ſpot? Wherfore this article is an Article of fayth, the which we ought firmely to beleue according to our Creede, I beleue the holy Catholike Church, & of this Church doth S. Auguſtine, Saint Gregory, Saint Ierome, and diuers other make mention.

The Church is taken ſometime for the congregation of the elect & faithful, & ſo is the article taken in the Creede.

Peter neuer was head of the whole vniuerſall Church.

The ix. Article: Peter neuer was, neither is the head of the holy vniuerſall Church. The aunſwere. This Article was drawen out of theſe wordes of my booke. All men do agree in this poynt, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the Church (which is Chriſt) humilitie, pouertie, ſtedfaſtnes of fayth, and conſequently bleſſednes. Not as though the meanyng of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt was, when he ſayd vpon this rocke I will builde my Churche, that he would build euery Militant Churche vpon the perſon of Peter, for Chriſt ſhould build his Church vpon the rocke

The Church builded vpō Peter, how.

which is Chriſt himſelfe, from whom Peter receiued his ſtedfaſtnes of faith, forſomuch as Ieſus Chriſt is the onely head and foundation of euery Church, and not Peter.

10. The tenth Article: If he that is called the Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, do follow Chriſt in his life, then he is his true vicare. But if ſo be it, he do walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, and the enemy & aduerſary of S. Peter, & of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and alſo the vicare of Iudas Iſcarioth. I aunſwere, the wordes of my booke are theſe: If he which is called the vicare of S. Peter walke in the wayes of Chriſtian vertues aforeſayd, we do beleue verely that he is the true vicare and true Byſhop of the Church which ruleth: but if he walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, contrary both to S. Peter, and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. And therfore S. Bernard in his. 4. booke did write in this ſort vnto Pope Eugenie: Thou deliteſt & walkeſt in great pride and arrogancie, beyng gorgeouſly and ſumptuouſly arayde, what fruite or profite do thy flocke or ſheepe receiue by thee? If I durſt ſay it, theſe be rather the paſtures and feedyngs of deuils, then of ſheepe. S. Peter and S. Paul did not ſo, wherfore thou ſeemeſt by theſe thy doyngs to ſucceede Conſtantine, & not S. Peter. Theſe be the very wordes of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my booke, that if the maner and faſhion of his life and liuyng, be cõtrary to that which S. Peter vſed, or that he be geuen to auarice and couetouſnes, then is he the vicare of Iudas Iſcarioth, which loued and choſe the reward of iniquitie, and did ſet out to ſale the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. As ſoone as they had read the ſame, thoſe which ruled and gouerned the Councell, beheld one an other, makyng mockes and moes, they nodded their heades at him.

The vicare of Chriſt how he is to be taken.

Bernard. ad Eugeniũ. lib. 4.

11. The xj. article: All ſuch as do vſe Symonie, & Prieſtes liuyng diſſolutely and wantonly, do hold an vntrue opinion of the vij. Sacramentes, as vnbeleuyng baſtardes, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duety of the keyes or cenſures, rites and ceremonies, neither of the diuine ſeruice of the Church, or of veneration and worſhyppyng of reliques, neither of the orders cõſtituted and ordeined in the Church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I aunſwere, that it is placed in this maner in my booke. This abuſe of authoritie or power is committed by ſuch as do ſell and make marchaundiſe of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by Symonie, makyng fayres and markets of the holy Sacramentes, and liuyng in all kynde of voluptuouſnes and diſſolute maners, or in any other filthy or vilanous kynde of liuyng. They do pollute and defile the holy eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And albeit that they profeſſe in wordes that they do know God, yet do they deny it agayne by their dedes, and conſequently beleue not in God: But as vnbeleuyng baſtardes they hold a contrary and vntrue opinion of the ſeuen Sacramentes of the Church. And this appeareth moſt euidently, for ſo much as all ſuch do vtterly contemne and deſpiſe the name of God, accordyng to the ſaying of Malachy, the firſt chapter: Vnto you O Prieſtes be it ſpoken, which do deſpiſe and contemne my name.

Prelates makyng marchaundiſe of holy orders.

12. The xij. Article: The Papall dignitie hath his originall from the Emperours of Rome. I aunſwere, and marke well what my wordes are. The preeminence and inſtitutiõ of the Pope is ſprong and come of the Emperours power and authoritie. And this is proued by the. 96. diſtinction: for Conſtantine graunted this priuilege vnto the Byſhop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the ſame: That lyke as Auguſtus for the outward & temporall goods beſtowed vpon the Church, is counted alwayes the moſt hygh kyng aboue all others: ſo the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be called the principall father aboue all other Byſhops. This notwithſtandyng the Papall dignitie hath his originall immediatly from Chriſt, as touchyng his ſpirituall adminiſtration and office, to rule the Church. Then the Cardinal of Cambray ſayd: in the tyme of Conſtantine there was a generall Councell holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the hygheſt rowme and place in the Church was geuen to the Byſhop of Rome, for honours cauſe, it is aſcribed vnto the Emperour: Wherfore then do not you aſwell affirme and ſay that the Papall dignitie tooke his originall rather frõ that councell, then by the Emperours authoritie and power?

The pope taketh his originall from the Emperours. 96. diſt.

13. The xiij. Article: No man would reaſonably affirme (without reuelation) neither of himſelfe nor of any other, that he is the head of any particular Church. I aunſwere, that I confeſſe it to be written in my booke, and it foloweth ſtreight after: Albeit that through his good liuyng he ought to hope and truſt that he is a member of the holy vniuerſall Church, the ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt, accordyng to the ſaying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deſerued grace & fauour, or hatred. And Luke the 17. When ye haue done all that ye can, ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruaunts.

The pope is not the head of any particular church.

14. The 14. Article: It ought not to be beleued that the Pope, whatſoeuer he be, may be the head of any particular Church, vnleſſe he be predeſtinate or ordeyned of God. I anſwer, that I do acknowledge this propoſition to be myne. and this is eaſie to proue, forſomuch as it is neceſſary that the Chriſtian fayth ſhould be depraued, for ſo much as the Church was deceiued by N. as it appeareth by Saint Auguſtine.

15. The 15. Article. The Popes power as Vicare, is but vayne and nothing worth, if he do not confirme and addreſſe hys lyfe accordyng to Ieſus Chriſt, and do not follow the maners of S. Peter. I anſwer that it is thus in my booke that it is mete and expedient that he which is ordeyned vicar ſhould addreſſe and frame hymſelfe in maners and conditions, to the authoritie of him, which did put him in place. And Iohn Hus ſayd. Moreouer, before the whole councel, I do vnderſtãd that the power and authority in ſuch a pope as doth not repreſent the maners of Chriſt, is fruſtrate & voyde as touchyng the merite and reward, which he ſhould obtayne and get therby, and doth not get the ſame: but not as concernyng hys office. Then certayne others ſtandyng by aſked of him ſaying, where is that gloſe in your booke? I. Hus anſwered, you ſhall finde it in my treatiſe againſt M. Palletz, wherat all the aſſiſtance (lokyng one vpon another) began for to ſmile and laugh.

The popes power vayne.

Diſtinction of merite, and of office.

16. The 16. Article. The pope is moſt holy not becauſe he doth ſupply and hold the rowme and place of S. Peter, but becauſe he hath great reuenues. I anſwer, that my wordes are mutilate, for thus it is written: He is not moſt holy becauſe he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or becauſe he hath great and large poſſeſſions: But if he be the folower of Ieſus Chriſt in humility, gentlenes, pacience, labour and trauayle, and in perfect loue and charity.

Holynes cõmeth not by ſitting, but by following.

17. The 17. Article. The Cardinals are not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſors of the other Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt, if they liue not accordyng to the faſhiõ of the Apoſtles kepyng the commaundements and ordinances of the Lord Ieſus. I anſwer, that it is thus written in my booke, and it proueth it ſelf ſufficiently. For if they enter in by an other way then by the dore which is the Lord Ieſus, they be murtherers and theues.

The Cardinalles to count it hereſie that they ſhould be compelled to be followers of the Apoſtles.

Then ſayd the Cardinall of Cambray, beholde both in this and all other Articles before rehearſed, he hath written much more deteſtable thinges in hys booke, then is preſented in hys articles. Truly Iohn Hus thou haſt kept no order in thy Sermons and writinges. Had it not bene your part to haue applyed your ſermons accordyng to your audience? For to what purpoſe was it, or what did it profite you before the people to preach agaynſt the Cardinals, whẽ as none of them were preſent? It had ben meter for you to haue told them their faultes before them all, then before the laity. Then aunſwered Iohn Hus, reuerend father, for ſo much as I did ſee many prieſts and other learned men preſent at my ſermons for theyr ſakes I ſpake thoſe wordes. Then ſayd the Cardinall thou haſt done very ill, for by ſuch kynde of talke thou haſt diſturbed and troubled the whole ſtate of the Church.

18. The 18. Article. An hereticke ought not to be committed to the ſecular powers to be put to death, for it is ſufficient onely that he abide and ſuffer the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure. Theſe are my wordes: That they might bee aſhamed of their cruell ſentence and iudgement, ſpecially for ſo much as Ieſus Chriſt biſhop both of the olde and new Teſtament, woulde not iudge ſuch as were diſobedient by ciuill iudgement, neyther condemne them to bodily death. As touchyng the firſt poynt, It may be euidently ſeene in the xij. Chapiter of Saint Luke. And for the ſecond it appeareth alſo by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whome it is ſpoken in the 8. Chapter of Saint Iohn. And it is ſayd in the 18. Chapter of Saint Mathew: If thy brother haue offended thee. &c. Marke therfore what I do ſay: That an hereticke whatſoeuer he be, ought firſt to be inſtructed and taught with Chriſtian loue, and gentlenes by the holy ſcriptures, and by the reaſons drawen and taken out of the ſame, as S. Auguſtine and others haue done, diſputing agaynſt the heretikes. But if there were any, which after all theſe gentle and louing admonitions and inſtructions, would not ceaſe from, or leaue of their ſtifneſſe of opinions, but obſtinately reſiſt agaynſt the truth, ſuch I ſay ought to ſuffer corporall or bodily puniſhment.

I. Hus condemneth the crueltie of the prelates in ſeekyng the death of heretickes.

As ſoone as Iohn Hus had ſpoken theſe thinges, the iudges red in his booke a certaine clauſe, wherin he ſeemed grieuouſly to inuey agaynſt them which deliuered an heretick vnto the ſecular power, not beyng confuted or conuicted of hereſie, and cōpared them vnto the hygh Prieſtes, Scribes, and Phariſeis, which ſayd vnto Pilate, it is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Chriſt vnto him: And yet notwithſtandyng accordyng vnto Chriſtes owne witneſſe, they were greater murtherers then Pilate: for he ſayd Chriſt, which hath deliuered me vnto thee, hath committed the greateſt offence. Then the Cardinals and Byſhops, made a great noyſe and demaūded of Iohn Hus, ſaying, who are they that thou dooſt compare or aſſimule vnto the Phariſies? Then he ſayd, all thoſe whiche deliuered vp any innocent vnto the ciuill ſword, as the Scribes and Phariſies deliuered Ieſus Chriſt vnto Pilate. No, no, ſayd they agayne, for all that, you ſpake here of doctours. And the Cardinall of Cambray, accordyng to his accuſtomed maner ſayd: Truly, they which haue made & gathered theſe Articles, haue vſed great lenitie and gētlenes, for his wrytynges are much more deteſtable and horrible.

The betraying & condemning of innocentes.

And how coulde thys byſhop of Cambray vnderſtand the bookes of I. Hus beyng written in Bohemian ſpeach, which he vnderſtoode not.

19. The xix. Article. The nobles of the world ought to cōſtrayne and compell the miniſters of the Church to obſerue and keepe the law of Ieſus Chriſt. I aunſwere, that it ſtādeth thus word for word in my booke. Thoſe which be on our part do preach and affirme that the Church militāt accordyng to the partes, which the Lord hath ordained, is deuided and conſiſteth in theſe partes. That is to ſay: Miniſters of the Church, which ſhould kepe purely and ſincerely the ordinaunces and commaundementes of the ſonne of God, and the nobles of the world that ſhould compell and driue them to keepe the cōmaundementes of Ieſus Chriſt, & of the common people, ſeruing to both theſe partes & endes accordyng to the inſtitution and ordinance of Ieſus Chriſt.

The church militant ſtandeth in three partes.
1. Miniſtery.
2 Nobles.
3. Commons.

20. The xx. Article. The eccleſiaſticall obedience, is a kinde of obedience, which the prieſtes and monkes haue inuented without any expreſſe authoritie of ẏ holy ſcriptures. I anſwere and confeſſe, that thoſe wordes are thus writtē in my booke. I ſay, that there be three kindes of obedience, ſpirituall ſecular, and eccleſiaſticall. The ſpirituall obedience is that, which is onely due accordyng to the lawe and ordinaunce of God, vnder the which the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt dyd lyue, and all Chriſtians ought for to lyue. The ſecular obedience is, that which is due accordyng to the Ciuill lawes and ordinaunces. The eccleſiaſtical obedience is ſuch as the Prieſtes haue inuented without any expreſſe authoritie of Scripture. The firſt kinde of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill, as well on his part which geueth the commaundement, as on hys alſo which doth obey ẏ ſame. And of this obedience it is ſpoken in the 24. chapt. of Deut. Thou ſhalt do all that which the Prieſtes of the kindred of Leuye ſhall teach and inſtructe thee, accordyng as I haue commaunded them.

Three kindes of obedience.
1. Spirituall.
2. Secular.
3. Eccleſiaſticall.

True obedience ruled by Gods commaundemēt. Deut. 24.

21. The xxi. Article. He that is excommunicated by the Pope, if he refuſe and forſake the iudgement of the Pope, and the generall Coūcel, and appealeth vnto Ieſus Chriſt, after he hath made his appellation all the excōmunications and curſes of the Pope can not annoy or hurt hym. I aūſwere, that I doe not acknowledge this propoſition. but in deede I did make my complaint in my booke, that they had both done me and ſuch as fauoured me great wrong, & that they refuſe to heare me in the Popes court. For after the death of one Pope I did appeale to his ſucceſſour, and all that did profite me nothing. And to appeale from ẏ pope to the Councell, it were to long, and that were euē as much as if a man in trouble ſhould ſeeke an vncertayne remedy. And therfore laſt of all I haue appealed to the head of the church my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, for he is much more excellent and better, then any Pope to diſcuſſe and determine matters and cauſes, for ſo much as he cannot erre, neyther yet deny iuſtice to hym that doth aſke or require it in a iuſt cauſe, neither can he condemne the innocēt. Then ſpake the Cardinall of Cambray vnto hym and ſayd: wilt thou preſume aboue S. Paul, who appealed vnto the Emperour & not vnto Ieſus Chriſt? Iohn Hus anſwered: for ſo much then as I am the firſt ẏ do it, am I therfore to be reputed & counted an hereticke? And yet notwithſtandyng S. Paule did not appeale vnto the Emperour of his owne motion or will, but by the will of Chriſt, which ſpake vnto him by reuelation and ſayd: be firme and conſtant for thou muſt goe vnto Rome. And as he was about to reherſe his appeale agayne, they mocked hym.

Appealing vnto Chriſt.

Appealing to Chriſt, forbidden by the Cardinall of Cambray.

¶ For ſo much as mention here is made of the appeale of the ſayd Hus, it ſemeth good here to ſhew the maner and forme therof.

The copy and tenour of the appeale
of Iohn Hus.

The appeale of I. Hus from pope Iohn. 23. vnto Chriſt.

FOraſmuch as the moſt mighty Lord one in eſſence, 3. in perſon, is both the chiefe and firſt, and alſo the laſt & vttermoſt refuge of all thoſe which are oppreſſed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth thoroughout all generatiōs, doyng iuſtice to ſuch as be wrōged, beyng redy and at hand to all thoſe which call vpon hym in veritye and truth, vnbynding thoſe that are bond, and fulfilleth the deſires of all thoſe which honour and feare hym, defending and kepyng all thoſe that loue hym, and vtterly deſtroyeth and bringeth to ruine the ſtiffenecked and vnpenitent ſinner: and that the Lord Ieſus Chriſt very God and man, beyng in great anguiſh compaſſed in with the prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſes, wicked iudges and witneſſes, willyng by moſt bitter and ignominious death, to redeme the choſen children of God, before the foundation of the worlde, from euerlaſtyng damnation, hath left behynd hym this godly example for a memory vnto them which ſhould come after hym, to the intent they ſhould commit all their cauſes into the handes of God, who can do all thinges, and knoweth and ſeeth all thinges, ſaying in this maner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for myne enemy hath prepared hymſelfe agaynſt me, and thou art my protectour and defendor. O Lord thou haſt geuen me vnderſtandyng and I haue acknowledged thee: thou haſt opened vnto me all their enterpriſes, and for mine owne part I haue bene as a meeke Lambe, which is led vnto ſacrifice, and haue not reſiſted agaynſt them. They haue wrought theyr enterpriſes vpō me, ſaying: Let vs put wood in hys bread, and let vs baniſh him out of the land of the liuing that his name be no more ſpokē of, nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hoſtes which iudgeſt iuſtly and ſeeſt the deuiſes and imaginations of their hartes, haſten thee to take vengeaunce vpon them, for I haue manifeſted my cauſe vnto thee, for ſo much as the number of thoſe which trouble me is great, and haue counſayled together, ſaying: the Lord hath forſaken hym, purſue hym and catche hym. O Lord my God, behold theyr doynges, for thou art my patience: deliuer me from myne enemies, for thou art my God: do not ſeparate thy ſelfe far from me, for ſo much as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which wyll ſuccor me. My God my God looke downe vpō me, wherfore haſt thou forſaken me? So many dogs haue compaſſed me in, and the company of the wicked haue beſieged me round about, for they haue ſpoken agaynſt me with deceitfull tongues, and haue compaſſed me in with wordes full of deſpite, and haue inforced me without cauſe. In ſteade of loue towardes me, they haue ſlaundred me and haue recompenſed me with euill for good, and in place of charitie, they haue conceyued hatred agaynſt me.

The feruent complaint & prayer of Chriſt againſt wicked iudges.

After the example of Chriſt he maketh hys prayer to God.

Wherfore behold I ſtaying my ſelfe vpon this moſt holy and fruitefull example of my Sauior and redemer, do appeale before God for this my grief and hard oppreſſiō from this moſt wicked ſentence, and iudgement, and the excommunication determined by the Byſhops, Scribes, Phariſeis, and Iudges, which ſit in Moyſes ſeate, and reſigne my cauſe wholy vnto him, ſo as the holy Patriarke of Conſtantinople Iohn Chriſoſtome appealed twiſe from the Councell of the Byſhops and clergy. And Andrew Byſhop of Prage, and Robert Byſhop of Lyncolne, appealed vnto the Soueraigne and moſt iuſt iudge, the whiche is not defiled with cruelty, neither cā he be corrupted with giftes and rewardes, neither yet be deceiued, by falſe witneſſe. Alſo I deſire greatly that all the faithfull ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially the Princes, Barons, Knightes, Eſquiers, and all other which inhabite our countrey of Boheme, ſhould vnderſtand and know theſe thynges, and haue compaſſion vpon me whiche am ſo greuouſly oppreſſed by the excommunication which is out agaynſt me, the which was obtained and gotten by the inſtigation and procurement of Michaell de Cauſis my great enemy, and by the conſent and furtheraunce of the Canons of the Cathedrall Churche of Prage, and geuen and graunted out by Peter of S. Angelles Deane of the Church of Rome, and Cardinall and alſo ordeined iudge by Pope Iohn the xxiij. who hath continued almoſt theſe two yeares, and would geue no audience vnto my Aduocates and Procurators (which they ought not to deny, no not to a Iew or Pagan, or to any heretike, whatſoeuer he were) neither yet would he receiue any reaſonable excuſe for that I did not appeare perſonally, neither would he accept the teſtimonials of the whole vniuerſity of Prage with the ſeale hangyng at it, or the witneſſe of the ſworne Notaries, and ſuch as were called vnto witneſſe. By this all men may euidently perceiue that I haue not incurred any fault or crime of contumacie or diſobedience, for ſomuch as that I did not appeare in the Court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reaſonable cauſes.

A godly prayer of Iohn Hus.

Chriſoſtome.
Andrew of Prage.
Robert byſhop of Lincolne appealed from men to Chriſt.

I. Hus complaineth of Michaell de Cauſis, hys great enemy.

And moreouer, for ſomuch as they had layd embuſhmentes

mentes for me on euery ſide by wayes where I ſhould paſſe, and alſo becauſe the perils and daungers of others, haue made me the more circumſpect and aduiſed, & for ſo muche as my procurours were willing and contented to bind themſelues euen to abide the puniſhment of the fire, to aunſwere to all ſuch as would appoſe or lay any thing agaynſt me in the court of Rome, as alſo becauſe they did impriſō my lawfull procurer in the ſayd court, without any cauſe, demerite, or faulte as I ſuppoſe. Forſomuch then as the order and diſpoſition of all aūcient lawes, as well diuine of the olde and new teſtament, as alſo of the Canon lawes is this, that the iudges ſhould reſort vnto the place wher the crime or fault is cōmitted or done, and there to enquire of all ſuch crimes as ſhalbe obiected and layde agaynſt him which is accuſed, or ſlaundered, add that of ſuch men as by conuerſation haue ſome knowledge or vnderſtanding of the partye ſo accuſed, (the which may not be the euill willers or enemyes of him which is ſo accuſed or ſlaundered, but muſt be men of an honeſt conuerſation, no common quarrell pickers or accvſers, but feruent louers of the law of God) and finally that there ſhould be a fitte and meet place appoynted whether as the accuſed party might without danger or peril, reſort or come, and that the iudge and witneſſes ſhould not be enemies vnto hym that is accuſed. And alſo forſomuch as it is manifeſt that all theſe conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my apparance for the ſauegard of my life, I am excuſed before God, from all the friuolous pretended obſtinacye and excommunication. Wherupon I Iohn Hus do preſente, and offer this my appeale vnto my Lord Ieſu Chriſt, my iuſt Iudge, who knoweth, defendeth, and iuſtly iudgeth euerye mans iuſt and true cauſe.

The procurator of I. Hus layd in priſon at Rome.

The pope proued to do agaynſt hys owne canon lawe.

The 22. Article. A vicious and naughty man liueth viciouſly and naughtely: but a vertuous and godly man lyueth vertuouſly and godly. I aūſwer: my wordes are theſe. That the deuiſion of all humayne workes is in two parties, that is, that they be eyther vertuous or vicious: For ſo much as it doth appeare that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuouſly and godly. And contrarywiſe, if a man be vicious & naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice which is called cryme or offence, and thereby vnderſtande deadly ſinne, doth vniuerſally infect or depraue all the actes and doynges of the ſubiect, that is of the man which doth them: ſo likewyſe vertue and godlines doth quicken all the actes and doyngs of the vertuous & godly man: in ſo much that he beyng in the ſtate of grace, is ſayd to pray and doe good workes euen ſlepyng, as it were by a certaine meanes working: As Saint Auguſtine, Saint Gregory and dyuers others affirme. And it appeareth in the ſixt chapter of Luke: If thine eye that is to ſay, the mynd or intention be ſimple, not depraued wyth the peruerſenes of any ſinne or offence, all the whole body, that is to ſay, all the actes and doynges ſhall be cleare and ſhinyng, that is, acceptable and gratefull vnto God. But if thine eye be euill, the whole body is darckened. And in the ſecond to the Corin. x. chapter. All thinges that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewyſe in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and laſte chapter it is ſayd: Let all your doynges be done with charity. Wherfore all kynde of lyfe and lyuyng accordyng vnto charity, is vertuous and godly: and if it be without charitie, it is vicious and euill. This ſaying may well be proued out of the xxiij. chapter of Deuteronomy, where God ſpeaketh vnto the people that he that keepeth his commaundementes, is bleſſed in the houſe and in the field, out goyng & in commyng, ſleepyng and wakyng: but he that doth not kepe hys commaundement is accurſed in the houſe and in the fieldes, in goyng out and commyng in, ſleeping and waking &c. The ſame alſo is euident by S. Auguſtine vpon y Pſalme where he writeth, that a good mā in all his doings doth prayſe the Lord. And Gregory ſayth that the ſleepe of ſaintes and holy men doth not lack their merite. How much more then his doinges which procede of a good zeale, be not without reward and conſequently be vertuous and good? And cōtrarywiſe is it vnderſtāded of him, which is in deadly ſinne, of whom it is ſpoken in the law, that whatſoeuer the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane.

22.

A knot ſought in a ruſhe.

The tree that is good bringeth forth good fruite.

2.Cor.10.

1.Cor.vlt.

Deut.23.

To this end doth that alſo appertaine whiche is before repeated out of the firſt of Malachy. And Gregory in the firſt booke and firſt queſtion, ſayth: we do defile the bread, which is the body of Chriſt, when as we come vnworthely to the table, and when we beyng defiled, do drinke his bloud. And S. Auguſtine vpon the. 146. Pſalme, ſayth: if thou doeſt excede the due meaſure of nature, & doeſt not alwayes fle glottony, but gorge thy ſelfe by ſuch drōkennes, whatſoeuer laude or prayſe thy tounge doth ſpeake of the grace and fauour of God, thy life doth blaſpheme the ſame. When he had made an ende of this article, the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd: The Scripture ſayth that we be all ſinners. And agayne, if we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, and ſo we ſhould alwayes lyue in deadly ſinne. John Hus aunſwered the Scripture, ſpeaketh in that place of veniall ſinnes, the which do not vtterly expell or put away the habite of vertue from a man, but do aſſociate themſelues together. And a certayne Engliſhe mā whoſe name was W. ſayd: but thoſe ſinnes do not aſſociate themſelues wyth any acte morally good. John Hus alleaged agayne Saint Auguſtines place vpon 146. Pſalme, the which when he rehearſed, they all with one mouth ſayd, what makes this to the purpoſe?

Cardinall of Cambray obiecteth.

John Hus anſwereth.

The 23. Article. The miniſter of Chriſt liuyng accordyng to hys law, and hauing the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the Scriptures, and an earneſt deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithſtandyng the pretended excommunication of the Pope. And moreouer if the Pope or any other ruler, doe forbid any Prieſt or miniſter ſo diſpoſed, not to preach, that he ought not to obey hym. I aunſwere, that theſe were my wordes. That albeit the excommunication were eyther threatned or come out againſt hym, in ſuch ſort that a Chriſtian ought not to doe the commaundementes of Chriſt, it appeareth by the wordes of Saint Peter, and the other Apoſtles, that we ought rather to obey God, then mā. Wherupon it followeth that the miniſter of Chriſt lyuing according vnto this law. &c. ought to preach notwithſtanding any pretended excommunication. For it is euident that it is commaunded vnto the miniſters of the Church to preach the worde of God. Actes. v. God hath commaunded vs to preach and teſtifie vnto the people, as by diuers other places of the ſcripture, and the holy fathers, rehearſed in my treatiſe it doth appeare more at large. The ſecond part of this article followeth in my treatiſe in this maner.

23.

Forbidding to preach, whether it ought to be, obeyed.

Act 5.

By this it appeareth that for a miniſter to preach, and a rich man to geue almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commaundements. wherby it is further euidēt, that if the Pope or any other ruler of the Church do commaund any miniſter diſpoſed for to preach, not to preach, or a rich mā diſpoſed for to geue almes, not to geue, y they ought not to obey hym. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderſtand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is vniuſtly diſordered and geuen forth contrary to the order of the law and Gods commaundementes. For the whiche the meete Miniſter appointed thereunto, ought not to ceaſe from preachyng, neither yet to feare damnation.

Preaching and almoſe geuing be not workes indifferent, but duties and commaundementes.

To forbid a miniſter to preach: And to forbid a rich man to geue almoſe, is both one.

Then they obiected vnto him, that he had ſayd that ſuch kyndes of excommunications were rather bleſſynges. Verely ſayd Hus, euen ſo do I now ſay agayne, that euery excommunication, by the which a man is vniuſtly excommunicate: is vnto him a bleſſyng afore God, accordyng to the ſaying of the Prophet: I will curſe where as you bleſſe: and contrarywiſe, they ſhall curſe, but thou O Lord ſhalt bleſſe. Then the Cardinall of Florence, which had alwayes a Notary ready at his hand to write ſuch thynges as he commaunded him, ſayd: The law is, that euery excommunication, be it neuer ſo vniuſt, ought to be feared. It is true ſayd John Huſſe, for I do remember eight cauſes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then ſayd the Cardinal, is there no more but eight? It may be, ſaid John Hus, that there be more.

How the popes curſinges are bleſſinges.

The Cardinall of Florence with hys Notarie.

8. Cauſes why excommunicatiō ought to be feared.

The xxiiij. Article. Euery man which is admitted vnto the miniſtery of the Church, receiueth alſo by ſpeciall commaundement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfill that commaundement, notwithſtandyng any excommunication pretended to the contrary. The aunſwere. My wordes are theſe: For ſomuch as it doth appeare by that which is aforeſayd, that whoſoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the miniſtery, receiueth alſo by eſpecially commaundement, the office of preachyng he ought to fulfill that commaundement, any excommunication to the cōtrary pretended notwithſtanding. Alſo, no Chriſtian ought to doubt, but that a man ſufficiently inſtructed in learnyng, is more bounde to counſaile and inſtruct the ignoraunt, to teache thoſe which are in doubt, to chaſtiſe thoſe which are vnruly, and to remitte and forgeue thoſe that do him iniury, then for to do any other workes of mercy. For ſomuch then as he that is rich & hath ſufficient, is bounden vnder the payne of damnation to miniſter and geue corporall and bodely almes, as appeareth in the xxv. chap. of Mathew: how much more is he bounde to do ſpirituall almes?

24.

A miniſter once admitted is more bound to preach: then to doe any other worke of mercy, the popes prohibition notwithſtanding.

The xxv. article. The Eccleſiaſticall cenſures are Antichri-

25.

Cenſures of the popes Church, multiplyeth the popes couetouſnes.

chriſtian, ſuch as the clergy hath inuented for their owne preferment, and for the bondage and ſeruitude of the common people. Wherby if the Laity be not obedient vnto the Clergy at their wil and pleaſure, it doth multiply their couetouſnes, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for Antichriſt. Wherby it is an euident ſigne and token, that ſuch cenſures procede from Antichriſt, the which cenſures in their proceſſes they do call Fulminations or lightnings, wherby the clergy doth chiefly procede againſt ſuch as do manifeſt and open the wickednes of Antichriſt, which thruſt themſelues into the office of the Clergy. Theſe things are conteyned in the laſt chapter of his treatiſe of the church. I aunſwer, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certayne clauſes moſt contrary therunto. The which when they had red, the Cardinall of Cambray renewed his old ſong, ſaying: truely theſe are much more greuous & offenſiue, then the articles which are gathered.

26.

The 26. article. There ought no interditement to bee appoynted vnto the people, forſomuch as Chriſt the hye biſhop, neither for Iohn Baptiſt, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him did make any interditemēt. My words are theſe: when as I complayned, that for one Miniſters ſake, an Interditement was geuen out, and therby all good men ceaſed from the laud and praiſe of God. And Chriſt the high biſhop, notwithſtandyng that the Prophet was taken and kept in priſon, then whom there was no greater amongeſt the children of men, did not geue out any curſe or interditement, no not when as Herode beheaded hym, neither when he hymſelfe was ſpoyled, beaten, and blaſphemed of the ſouldiours, Scribes and Phariſes, he did not then curſe them, but prayed for them, and taught hys Diſciples to doe the ſame, as it appeareth in the fift chapter of S. Mathew, And Chriſtes firſt Vicar following the ſame doctrine and learnyng, ſayth in hys firſt Epiſtle of Saint Peter and the ſecond chapiter: Hereunto are ye called: For Chriſt hath ſuffered for vs, leauyng vs an example that we ſhould follow hys footeſteppes, who when he was curſed and euyll ſpoken of, dyd not curſe agayne. And Saint Paule followyng the ſame order and way in the xij. chapter of the Romaynes, ſayth: bleſſe them that perſecute you. There were beſides theſe many other places of ſcripture recited in that booke, but they beyng omitted, theſe were onely reherſed, which dyd helpe or preuayle to ſturre vp or moue the iudges myndes.

Chriſt interdicted none but prayed for al.

1. Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.

And theſe are the Articles which were alledged out of I. Hus his booke intituled Of the Church.

¶ Other Articles moreouer out of other his bokes were collected, and forced agaynſt him, firſt out of his treatiſe writen againſt Steuen Palletz, to the number of 7. Articles. Alſo 6. other Articles ſtreyned out of hys treatiſe agaynſt Stanislaus Znoyma. Wherunto his aunſwers likewiſe be adioyned, not vnfruitfull to be read. Which notwithſtādyng for breuitie, we here pretermit, referryng the reader to our former edition of Actes and Monum. in the pag. 222. And ſo will we paſſe to the 19. Articles, which beſide the reſt aforeſayd, were brought vnto hym beyng in priſon, with hys aunſwers likewiſe ioyned to the ſame. Of the which Articles, the firſt is this.

Actes & Monumen. pag. 222.

1. Article. Paule how he was both a blaſphemer, & alſo a member of Chriſt.

The firſt Article. Paule accordyng vnto preſent iuſtice was a blaſphemer and none of the church, and therewithall was in grace, accordyng vnto predeſtination of lyfe euerlaſting. The aunſwer. This propoſition is not in the booke, but this which followeth: Whereby it doth ſeme probable, that as Paule was both a blaſphemer according to preſent iuſtice, and therewithal alſo was a faythful child of our holy mother the church, and in grace accordyng to predeſtination of life euerlaſting. So Iſcariot was both in grace according vnto preſent iuſtice, and was neuer of our holy mother the church, accordyng to the predeſtination of lyfe euerlaſtyng, forſomuch as he lacked that predeſtination. And ſo Iſcariot albeit he was an Apoſtle, and a biſhop of Chriſt, which is the name of hys office, yet was he neuer no part of the vniuerſall church.

2. Article. Predeſtination.

The 2. Article. Chriſt doth more loue a predeſtinate man being ſinfull, then any reprobate in what grace poſſible ſo euer he be. The aunſwer. My wordes are in the 4. chapter of my booke intituled of the church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predeſtinate beyng ſinful, thē any reprobate, in what grace ſo euer he be for the tyme: for ſo much as he wil, that the predeſtinate ſhal haue perpetual bleſſednes, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherfore god partly infinitely louyng them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue the predeſtinate bicauſe he geueth hym greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to ſay, life euerlaſting, which is greater and more excellent then only grace, accordyng vnto preſent iuſtice. And the 3. Article of thoſe articles before, ſoundeth much nere vnto this, that the predeſtinate cannot fall frō grace, for they haue a certain radicall grace rooted in thē, although they be depriued of the aboundant grace for a tyme. Theſe thinges are true in the compound ſence.

3. Article.

The 3. Article. All the ſinnefull accordyng vnto preſent iniuſtice, are not faithfull, but do ſwerue from the true Catholike faith, for ſo much as it is vnpoſſible that any man can commit any deadly ſinne but in that poynt, that he doe ſwerue from the fayth. The aunſwer. I acknowledge that ſentence to be myne, and it appeareth, that if they did think vpon the puniſhment which is to be layd vpon ſinners, and did fully beleue, and had the fayth of the diuine knowledge and vnderſtandyng, &c. then vndoubtedly they would not ſo offend & ſinne. This propoſitiō is verified by the ſaying of ye Prophet Eſay. Thy rulers are vnfaithfull, miſbeleuers, felows & companiōs of theues, they all loue bribes, and follow after rewardes. Beholde the Prophet calleth the rulers of the Church infidels for their offences, for all ſuch as do not keepe their faith inuiolate vnto their principall Lord, are vnfaithfull ſeruauntes, and they alſo are vnfaithfull children which keepe not their obedience, feare, and loue vnto God their father.

Who ſo committeth deadly ſinne ſwarueth fro the fayth.

Item, this propoſition is verified, by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, the 1. chap. to Titus: They doe confeſſe that they know God, but by their workes they do deny him. And for ſo much as they which are ſinnefull, do ſwarue away from the meritorious work of bleſſednes, therfore they do ſwarue from the true faith grounded vpon charitie, for ſomuch as fayth without workes is dead. To this end doth alſo pertaine, that which the Lord ſpeaketh Math. 23. of the faithfull and vnfaithfull ſeruaunt.

Tit. cap. 1.

4. Article.

The 4. Article. Theſe wordes of Iohn in his 22. chap. Receiue the holy Ghoſt: And whatſoeuer you ſhall binde vpon earth, &c. And Mathew xvi. and xviij. chap. for lacke of vnderſtanding ſhall terrifie many Chriſtians, and they ſhalbe wonderfully afrayde, and others ſhalbe deceiued by them, preſuming vpon the fulnes of their power and authoritie. The aunſwere. This ſentence I do approue and allow, and therfore I ſay in the ſame place, that it is firſt of all to be ſuppoſed that the ſaying of our Sauiour is neceſſary, as touching the vertue of the word, forasmuch as it is not poſſible for a Prieſt to binde and looſe, except that binding and looſing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderſtanding of thoſe wordes, many ſimple Chriſtians ſhalbe made afrayde, thinking wyth themſelues that whether they be iuſt or vniuſt, the Prieſtes may at their pleaſures, whenſoeuer they will, binde them. And the ignorant Prieſtes do alſo preſume and do take vpon them to haue power to binde & looſe whēſoeuer they wyl. For many fooliſh and ignoraunt prieſtes do ſay that they haue power and authoritie to abſolue euery man confeſſing himſelfe, of what ſinne or offence ſo euer it be, not knowing that in many ſinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite do confeſſe him ſelfe, or ſuch one as is not contrite for hys ſinne, whereof proofe hath oftentymes been founde, and it is euident for ſomuch as the letter doth kill, but the ſpirite doth quicken.

The wordes of Chriſt for binding and looſing, vnles they be well vnderſtood, miniſter to much feare or preſumption.

7. Article.

The v. Article. The binding and loſing of God, is ſimply & playnly the chiefe and principall. The aunſwere. This is euident, for ſo much as it were a blaſphemous preſumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgeue an euill fact or offence done agaynſt ſuch a Lord, the Lord hymſelfe not approuing or allowing the ſame. For by the vniuerſall power of the Lord, it is neceſſary that he doe firſt abſolue and forgeue, before that hys vicare do the ſame, neyther is there any Article of our fayth, which ought to be more common or knowen vnto vs, then that it ſhould be vnpoſſible for any man of the militant Church to abſolue or bynde, except in ſuch caſe as it be conformable vnto the head of the Church Ieſu Chriſt. Wherfore euery faithfull Chriſtian ought to take heede of that ſaying: if the Pope or any other pretend by any maner of ſigne to binde or looſe, that he is thereby bound or looſed, for he that doth graunt and confeſſe that, muſt alſo conſequently graunt and confeſſe that the Pope is without ſinne, and ſo that he is a God, for otherwiſe he muſt needes erre, and doe contrary vnto the keyes of Chriſt. This ſaying proueth the fact of the Pope, who alwayes in his abſolution preſuppoſeth contrition and confeſſion. Yea moreouer, if any letter of abſolution be geuen vnto any offender, which doth not declare the circumſtaunces of the offence which ought to be declared, it is ſayd that thereby the letter of abſolution is of no force and effect.

Binding & looſing chiefly & principally belong to Chriſt.

It is alſo hereby euident, that many prieſtes do not abſolue thoſe which are cōfeſſed, becauſe that either through ſhamefaſtnes they do cloke or hide greater offeces, or els that they haue not due contrition or repentance, for vnto true abſolution there is firſt required contrition. Secondly a purpoſe & intent to ſinne no more. Thirdly, true confeſſiō. And fourthly ſtedfaſt hope of forgeuenes. The j. appeareth by Ezech. if the wicked do repent him. &c. The ij. in the v. & viij. of Iohn do thou not ſinne any more. The iij. part by this place of Luke: ſhew your ſelues vnto the Prieſtes. And the iiij. is confirmed by the ſaying of Chriſt: My ſonne beleue, & thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. I alſo added many other probations in my treatiſe out of the holy fathers. Auguſtine, Ierome, and the maſter of the ſentences.

To true abſolution 4. thinges are required.

6. Article.

Ex Gregorio.

Prieſtes more geuen to their own lucre & bely, then to the ſeruice of Chriſt.

The 6. Article. The Prieſtes do gather and heape vp out of the Scriptures thoſe thinges which ſerue for ẏ belly but ſuch as pertayne to the true imitation and followyng of Chriſt, that they reiect & refuſe as impertinent vnto ſaluation. The aunſwer. This Saint Gregory doth ſuffitiently proue in hys xvij. Homily, alledgyng the ſaying of Chriſt: The harueſt is great, the workemen are few, ſpeakyng alſo that which we cannot ſay without griefe or ſorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly heare good things, yet there lacketh ſuch as ſhould declare ẏ ſame vnto thē, for behold the world is ful of prieſtes, but notwithſtandyng there is ſcarcitie of workemen in the harueſt of the Lord. We take vpon vs willingly prieſthood, but we do not fulfill and do the workes and office of Prieſthood. And immediately after he ſayth, we are fallē vnto outward affaires and buſines, for we take vpon vs one office for honor ſake, and we do exhibite and geue an other to eaſe our ſelues of labour. We leaue preachyng, and as farre as I can perceiue we are called Biſhops to our payne, which do retayne the name of honour, but not the vertue.

And immediatly after he ſayth, we take no care for our flocke, we daily call vpon for our ſtipend and wages, we couet and deſire earthly thinges with a gredy mynd, we gape after worldly glory, we leaue the cauſe of God vndone, and make haſt about our worldly affaires and buſines, we take vpon vs the place of ſanctity and holines, and we are wholy wrapped in worldly cares and troubles. &c. This writeth ſaint Gregory with many other thinges more in the ſame place. Alſo in his Paſtorall, in his Morals, in hys regiſter. Alſo Saint Bernard wyth many other places. Likewyſe in hys xxxiij. Sermon vppon the Canonicals, he ſayeth, all friendes, and all enemies: all kinſfolkes and all aduerſaries, all of one houſeholde, and no peace makers: they are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerue Antichriſt: they go honorably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do honour. &c.

7. Article.

The popes power doing vngodly is not to be feared.

The 7. Article The power of the pope, which doth not follow Chriſt, is not to be feared. The anſwer. It is not ſo in my treatiſe, but contrarywiſe, that the ſubiects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and alſo thoſe which are wicked and euill. But notwithſtāding, if the Pope do abuſe hys power, it is not thē to be feared as by bondage. And ſo the lordes the Cardinals as I ſuppoſe, did not feare the power of Gregory the xij. before his depoſition, when as they reſiſted hym, ſaying that he did abuſe hys power contrary vnto hys owne othe.

8. Article.

The pope doing cōtrary to Chriſt is not the vicare of Chriſt, but Antichriſt.

The 8. Article. An euill and a wicked Pope is not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but of Iudas. The aunſwer. I wrote thus in my treatiſe: If the pope be humble and meke, neglecting and deſpiſing the honours and lucre of the world: if he be a ſhepeherd takyng his name by the fedyng of the flock of God (of the which feedyng the Lord ſpeaketh, ſaying: feede my ſheepe) if he feede the ſhepe with the worde, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen lyke hys flocke with hys whole hart and mynde: if he do diligently and carefully labour and trauell for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Vicar of Chriſt. But if he walke contrary vnto theſe vertues, for ſo much as there is no ſocietie betwene Chriſt and Beliall, and Chriſt himſelf ſaith: he that is not with me, is agaynſt me: how is he then the true vicar of Chriſt or Peter, and not rather the vicare of Antichriſt? Chriſt called Peter hymſelfe Sathanas, when he did contrary hym but onely in one word, and that wyth a good affection, euen hym whom he had choſen hys vicare, and ſpecially appoynted ouer his church. Why ſhould not any other then, beyng more contrary vnto Chriſt be truely called Sathanas, and conſequently Antichriſt, or at leſt the chiefe and principall miniſter or vicar of Antichriſt? There be infinite teſtimonies of this matter in S. Auguſtine, S. Ierome, Cyprian, Chriſoſtom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambroſe. &c

9. Article.

I thus neede not proue this article the pope will proue it himſelfe

The 9. Article. The Pope is the ſame beaſt of whome it is ſpoken in the Apoc. power is geuen vnto hym to make warre vpon the ſaintes. The anſwer. I deny this Article to be in my booke.

10. Article.

To preach agaynſt the popes cōmaundement.

The 10. Article. It is lawfull to preach, notwithſtādyng the Popes inhibition. The anſwer. The Article is euident, for ſo much as the Apoſtles did preach contrary to the commaundement of the biſhops at Ieruſalem. And S. Hillory did the like, contrary to the cōmaundement of ẏ pope which was an Arrian. It is alſo manifeſt by the example of Cardinals, which contrary vnto the commaundement of Pope Gregory the xij. ſent throughout all realmes ſuch as ſhould preach agaynſt him. It is alſo lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrary vnto the Popes commaundement. And finally he may preach which hath the commaundement of God, wherunto he ought chiefly to obey.

11. Article.

How farre prelates are to be obeyed.

Iſydorus.

The 11. Article. If the Popes commaundement be not concordaunt and agreable with the doctrine of the Goſpell or the Apoſtles, it is not to be obeyed. The anſwer. I haue thus written in my booke: The faithfull diſciple of Chriſt ought to way and conſider whither the Popes commaundement be expreſſely and plainly ẏ cōmaundement of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles, or whether it haue any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no: and that beyng once knowen or vnderſtand, he ought reuerently and humbly to obey the ſame. But if he do certeinly know that the Popes cōmaundement is contrary and againſt the holy Scripture, and hurtfull vnto the Church: then he ought boldly to reſiſt agaynſt it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by conſenting thereunto. This I haue handled at large in my treatiſe, and haue confirmed it by the authorities of Saynt Auguſtine, Hierome, Gregory, Chriſeſtome, Bernarde and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for breuities cauſe I do here paſſe ouer. I will onely reherſe the ſaying of Saint Iſidore, who writeth thus: He which doth rule, and doth ſay or commaund any thing contrary and beſides the will of God, or that which is euidently commaunded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a falſ witneſſe of God, and a Church robber. Wherupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in ſuch caſe as he doe commaund or take counſaile of the Councels and commaundements of Chriſt.

Concilia Precepta.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine vpon this ſaying: vpon the chaire of Moſes &c. ſayth: Secondly they teach in ẏ chaire of Moſes the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their owne inuentions, do not geue eare vnto them, neither do as they commaund you. Alſo in the ſaying of Chriſt, he that heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honeſt thinges be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Chriſtes ſaying: it is not you which doe ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father which ſpeaketh in you. Let therfore my aduerſaries & ſlaunderers learne that there be not only xij. Counſails in the Goſpell, in the which ſubiectes ought to obey Chriſt & hys appointed miniſters, but that there are ſo many Counſailes and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honeſt thynges ioyned with preceptes and cōmaundemētes of God binding vs therunto, vnder ẏ payne of deadly ſinne: for euery ſuch thyng doth the Lord commaunde vs to fulfill in tyme and place, with other circumſtaunces, at the will and pleaſure of their miniſter.

12. Article. The clergie and laitie may iudge of the workes of their prelates.

The xij. Article. It is lawfull for the clergie and laitie by their power and iuriſdiction to iudge and determine of all thinges pertaynyng vnto ſaluation, and alſo of the workes of the Prelates. The aunſwere. I haue thus written it in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergie and laity to iudge and determine of the workes of their heades and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the ſecret counſels of God, in the court of conſcience is one thyng, and the iudgement of the authoritie and power in the Church is an other. Wherefore ſubiectes firſt ought principally to iudge and examine themſelues 1. Corinthians 11. chapter. Secondly they ought to examine all thinges which pertaineth vnto their ſaluation, for a ſpiritual man iudgeth and examineth all thinges. And this is aleadged, as touching the firſt iudgement, and not the ſecond, as the enemy doth impute it vnto me. Wherupon in the ſame place I do ſay that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of hys Prelate, lyke as Paule doth iudge the doinges of Peter in blaming hym. Secondly to auoyde them according to thys ſaying: Beware of falſe Prophetes. &c. Thirdly to rule ouer the miniſtery: For the ſubiect ought by reaſon to iudge and examine the workes of the Prelates. And if they be good, to prayſe God therfore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought wyth patience to ſuffer them, and to be ſorry for them, but not to doe the lyke, leaſt they be damned wyth them: according to thys ſaying: If the blynde lead

Iudgement double.
Secret in the court of conſcience.
Open in the court of authoritie.

the blynd, both fall into the ditche.

13. Article.

To Godward all wicked miniſters be ſuſpended.

The 13. Article. God doth ſuſpend of himſelfe, euery wicked Prelate from his miniſtery, while he is actually in ſinne, for by that meanes that he is in deadly ſinne, he doth offend and ſinne whatſoeuer he do: and conſequently is forbidden ſo to do: therefore alſo is he ſuſpended from his miniſtery. The aunſwere. This is proued as touchyng ſuſpẽſion from dignitie, by Oſee the iiij. chapter, and Eſay, and Malachy the firſt. And Paule in the .1. Corinthians. xi. chapter, ſuſpendeth all ſuch as be ſinnefull or in any greuous crime or offence, from ỷ eatyng of the body of the lord, and the drinkyng of his bloud, and conſequently ſuſpendeth all ſinnefull Prelates from the miniſtration of the reuerent ſacramẽt. And God doth ſuſpend the wicked & ſinneful frõ the declaration of his righteouſneſſe. Pſalme. 49. For ſo much then as to ſuſpend in effect, is to prohibite ỷ miniſtery or any other good thyng for the offẽce ſake, or as the new lawes do terme or call it, to interdict or forbid: It is manifeſt by the Scriptures afore rehearſed, that God doth prohibite the ſinnefull, beyng in ſinne to exerciſe or vſe their miniſtery or office, which by Gods commaundement ought to be exerciſed without offence. Wherupon he ſayth by Eſay the Prophet: ye that cary the veſſels of the Lord, be ye clenſed and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is ſayd: Let all thynges be done with loue and charitie. &c. The ſame thyng alſo is commaunded by diuers and ſundry Canons, the which I haue alledged in my treatiſe.

14. Article.

The lay people ſupplanted by the Clergie.

The 14. Article. The aunſwere whiche he made to the xxv. Article in priſon ſufficeth for this, that is to ſay, that the Clergy for their owne preferment and exaltation, doth ſupplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increaſe and multiply their couetouſnes, cloketh and defendeth their malice and wickednes, and prepareth a way for Antichriſt.

The firſt part he proueth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himſelfe Benedict: by the example of Angelus Corarius, whiche named him ſelfe Gregory the xij. and alſo by the example of John xxiij. Likewiſe by the xiij. and xxiiij. of Ezechiell, and out of Gregory, which ſayth, what ſhalbe come of the flocke, when the ſhepheardes themſelues, are become wolues. &c. Alſo out of Oſee, Miche. and other of the Prophetes, and many places of S. Bernard.

The ſecond part is proued by the viij. chapter of Jeremy, Gregory in his xvij. Homely, and S. Bernard vpon the Canonicals.

The third part of this Article is alſo proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednes of any ſchiſme but onely the Clergy alledgyng Scriptures, and bringyng reaſons therfore? who excuſeth Simonie, but onely the Clergy? likewiſe couetouſnes in heapyng together many benefices, luxuriouſnes and fornication? For how many of the Clergy is there now a dayes whiche do ſay it is no deadly ſinne, alledging (albeit diſorderly) the ſaying of Geneſis, increaſe and multiply.

Hereby alſo is the. 4. part of the Article eaſely verified. For the way of Antichriſt is wickedneſſe and ſinne: of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to the Theſſalonians: Gregory in his regiſter Paſtoral & moralls: Alſo S. Bernard vpon the Canonicals playnely ſayth: wicked & euill Prieſtes prepare the way for Antichriſt.

15. Article.

The diſhoneſtye of ſuch as gathered falſe accuſations againſt John Hus.

The 15. Article. John Hus doth openly teach and affirme that theſe concluſions aforeſayd are true. The aunſwere is manifeſt by that which I haue afore written. For ſome of theſe propoſitions I did write and publiſhe, other ſome my enemy did fayne, now addyng, thẽ diminiſhyng and takyng away, now falſely aſcribyng & imputyng the whole propoſition vnto me: the whiche thyng the commiſſioners themſelues did confeſſe before me. Whom I deſired for the falſe inuention & faynyng of thoſe Articles, that they would puniſh thoſe, whom they themſelues knew and confeſſed to be myne enemyes.

16. Article.

The 16. Article. Hereby alſo it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article followyng: that is to ſay, that all the aforeſayd concluſions be falſe, erroneous, ſeditious, and ſuch as do weaken and make feable the power and ſtrength of the Church, inuented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Church. But if there by any ſuch, I am ready moſt humbly to reuoke and recant the ſame.

17. Article.

The 17. Article. There was alſo an obiection made againſt me as touching the treatiſes which I wrote againſt Paletz and Staniſlaus de Znoyma. The which I deſired for Gods ſake, they might be openly read in ỷ audiẽce of the whole Councell, and ſayd that I, notwithſtandyng my former proteſtation, would willyngly ſubmit my ſelfe to the iudgement of the whole Councell.

18. Article.

The 18. article. There was alſo an other article obiected agaynſt me in thys forme. Item, John Hus ſayde and preached that he ſhould go to Conſtance, and if ſo be that for any maner of cauſe he ſhould be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithſtandyng he neuer purpoſed to do it with his mynde: forſomuch as what ſoeuer he had before taught, was pure and true, and the ſound doctrine of Chriſt. The aunſwere. This article is full of lyes: to the inuenter wherof I ſuppoſe the Lord ſayth thus: All the day long thou haſt imagined miſchiefe and wickedneſſe, and wyth thy tongue as ẇ a ſharpe raſour, thou haſt wrought diſceite. Thou haſt delighted and loued rather to talke of wickednes and miſchiefe then of equitie and iuſtice. Verely I do graunt that I left behynd me a certayne epiſtle to be read vnto the people, the which did contayne that all ſuch as did wey and conſider my carefull labours and trauailes, ſhould pray for me, and ſtedfaſtly perſeuer and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, knowing for a certainty that I neuer taught them any ſuch errours as mine enemies do impute or aſcribe vnto me, and if it ſhould happen that I were ouercome by falſe witnes, they ſhould not be vexed or troubled in their mindes, but ſtedfaſtly continue in the truth.

19. Article.

The 19. article. Laſt it was obiected againſt me, that after I was come into Cõſtance, I did write vnto the kingdome of Boheme, that the Pope and the Emperour receiued me honourably and ſent vnto me two byſhops to make agreement betwene me and them, and that this ſeemeth to be written by me to this end and purpoſe, that they ſhould confirme and eſtabliſhe me and my hearers in the errours, which I had preached and taught in Boheme. This article is falſly alledged euen from the beginning. For how manifeſtly falſe ſhould I haue written ỷ the pope & the Emperour did honour me, when as otherwiſe I had written before, that as yet we knew not where ỷ Emperour was? And before the Emperour himſelfe came vnto Conſtance, I was by the ſpace of iij. weekes in priſon. And to write that I was honoured by my impriſonment, the people of ỷ kingdome of Boheme would repute ỷ honour as no great renowne and glory vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in deriſion ſay vnto me, that according to their willes & pleaſures, I am exalted and honoured. Wherfore this article is wholy throughout falſe and vntrue.

Articles 19. drawen out by the Pariſians againſt John Hus.

Unto theſe articles aboue prefixed, were other articles alſo to be annexed, which the Pariſians had drawen out agaynſt M. John Hus, to the number of xix. The chiefe author wherof, was John Gerſon Chauncelour of the vniuerſitie of Paris, a great ſetter on of the Pope agaynſt good men. Of theſe articles John Hus doth often cõplaine in hys Epiſtles that he had no tyme nor ſpace to make anſwere vnto them. Concerning the which xix. articles, here beyng omitted becauſe of breuitie, I referre the reader to the former edition of Actes and Monum. pag. 230.

John Gerſon Chauncelor of Paris.

By theſe thynges thus afore going, a man may eaſely vnderſtand that John Hus, was not ſo much accuſed for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our fayth, but becauſe he did ſtoutly preach and teach againſt the kingdome of Antichriſt for the glory of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of the Church.

The wordes of the Cardinall of Cambray vnto J. Hus after his accuſatiõ.

Now to returne vnto the ſtory: when as the firſt 29. articles, which I haue before rehearſed, were all read ouer together with their teſtimonies, the Cardinall of Cambray callyng vnto John Hus, ſayd: thou haſt heard what greuous and horrible crimes are layd agaynſt thee, and what a number of them there are: and now it is thy part to deuiſe wyth thy ſelfe what thou wilt doe. Two wayes are proponed and ſet before thee of the Councell, wherof the one of them, thou muſt of force and neceſſitie enter into.

A double inconuenience for J. Hus to fall in.

Firſt that thou doe humbly & meekely ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the iudgement and ſentẽce of the Councell, that whatſoeuer ſhalbe there determined by their common voyce and iudgement, thou wilt paciently beare and ſuffer the ſame. The which thyng if thou wilt doe, we of our part both for the honour of the moſt gentle Emperour here preſent, and alſo for the honour of his brother the kyng of Boheme, and for thy owne ſauegarde and preſeruation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue, and gentleneſſe, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defende any of thoſe articles which we haue propounded vnto thee, and doeſt deſire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and licence thereunto: but thys thou ſhalt well vnderſtand that here are ſuch maner of men, ſo cleare in vnderſtanding and knowledge, and hauing ſo firme and ſtrong reaſons and argumentes agaynſt thy articles: that I feare it will be to thy great hurt, detrimẽt and perill, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or deſire to defend the ſame.

Thys

This do I ſpeake and ſay vnto thee to counſayle & admoniſh thee, and not as in maner of a iudge.

J. Hus aunſwereth.

This Oration of the Cardinals many other proſecuting, euery man for hymſelfe did exhort and perſwade John Hus to the lyke: vnto whom with a lowly countenance he aunſwered: Moſt reuerend fathers I haue often ſaid that I came hither of myne owne free will, not to the entent obſtinately to defende any thyng, but if that in any thyng I ſhould ſeeme to haue conceiued a peruerſe or euill opinion, that I would mekely and paciently be content to be reformed and taught. Wherupon I deſire that I may haue yet further liberty to declare my mynd. Wherof except I ſhall alledge moſt firme and ſtrong reaſons, I wil willingly ſubmit my ſelfe (as you require) vnto your information.

Then there ſtart vp one, which with a loud voice ſaid: Behold how craftely this man ſpeaketh. He termeth it information and not correction or determination. Verily ſayd John Hus, euen as you will terme it, information, correctiō or determination: for I take God to my witneſſe, that I ſpeake nothyng but with my hart and mynd.

The Cardinall of Cambray appointeth J. Hus certaine conditions, wherby he may be deliuered.

Then ſayd the Cardinall of Cambray, forſomuch then as thou doeſt ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the information & grace of this councell, this is decreed almoſt by 60. doctors, wherof ſome of them are now departed hence, in whoſe Rome & place the pariſians, are ſucceeded: and alſo it is approued by the whole Councell, not one man ſpeaking the cōtrary therunto.

Firſt of all, that thou ſhalt humbly and mekely confeſſe thy ſelfe to haue erred in theſe Articles, which are alledged and brought againſt thee.

Moreouer, that thou ſhalt promiſe by an othe, that frō henceforth thou ſhalt not teache holde, or maintayne any of theſe Articles. And laſt of all that thou ſhalt openly recāt all theſe Articles.

The anſwere of J. Hus.

Upon the which ſentence, when as many others had ſpoken their myndes, at the length John Hus ſayd: I once agayne do ſay, that I am redy to ſubmit my ſelfe to the information of the Councell: but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, euen for his ſake, which is the God of vs all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing, which my conſcience doth repugne or ſtriue agaynſt, or the which I cannot do without daunger of eternall damnation: that is, that I ſhould make reuocation by othe to all the articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remember ẏ I haue red in the booke of vniuerſalities, that to abiure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And for ſo much as many of theſe Articles are ſayde to be myne, which were neuer in my mynd or thought to hold or teach, how ſhould I thē renoūce thē by an oth? But as touchyng thoſe articles which are myne in dede, if there be any man which can teach me contrarywiſe vnto them, I will willingly performe that which you deſire.

The Emperour exhorteth J. Hus to recant.

Then ſayd the Emperour, why mayeſt not thou without daunger alſo renounce all thoſe articles which thou ſayeſt are falſly alleged agaynſt thee by the witneſſes? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abiure all errours, neither doth it follow that therfore by and by I haue profeſſed any errour. To whom John Hus aunſwered: Moſt noble Emperour, this worde to abiure, doth ſignifie much otherwyſe then your maieſty doth here vſe it. Then ſayde the Cardinall of Florence: John Hus, you ſhall haue a forme of abiuration, which ſhall be gentle and tollerable inough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you will eaſily and ſone determine wyth your ſelf, whither you wyl do it or no.

The Emperour reherſeth the Cardinall of Cambrayes wordes.

Then the Emperour repeating agayne the wordes of the Cardinal of Cambray, ſaid: thou haſt heard that there are two wayes layd before thee. Firſt, that thou ſhouldeſt openly renounce thoſe thy errors, which are now condēned, and ſubſcribe vnto the iudgement of the Councell, wherby thou ſhouldeſt try and finde their grace and fauour. But if thou procede to defend thy opinions, the Councell ſhal haue ſufficient, wherby according to their lawes and ordinances, they maye decree and determine vpon thee. To whom John Hus aunſwered: I refuſe nothyng (moſt noble Emperor) whatſoeuer the Councell ſhall decree or determine vpō me. This onely one thyng I except, that I do not offend God and my conſcience, or ſay that I haue profeſſed thoſe errors which was neuer in my mynd or thought, for to profeſſe. But I deſire you all, if it may be poſſible, that you wil grāūt me further liberty to declare my mynd and opinion, that I may aunſwer as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touchyng thoſe things which are obiected againſt me, and ſpecially concernyng eccleſiaſticall offices, and the ſtate of the miniſtery.

The force of falſe witnes.

But when as other men began to ſpeake, the Emperor hymſelfe began to ſing the ſame ſong which he had ſong before. Thou art of lawful age ſayd the Emperor, thou mighteſt haue eaſily vnderſtand what I ſayd vnto thee yeſterday and this day: for we are forced to geue credit vnto theſe witneſſes which are worthy of credit: for ſo much as ẏ ſcripture ſayth, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, all truth is tried: How much more then by ſo many witneſſes of ſuch worthy men.

The Emperours to John Hus.

Wherfore if thou be wiſe, receiue penance at the handes of the Councell, with a contrite hart, and renounce the maniſeſt errors, and promiſe by an othe that frō henceforth thou wilt neuermore teach or preach againſt thē. The which if ẏ refuſeſt to do, there are lawes and ordinances, wherby thou ſhalt be iudged of the Councell.

An olde byſhop of Pole.

Obiection of a prieſt better fed then taught.

Here a certayne very old biſhop of Pole put to his verdict. He ſayd the lawes are euident as touchyng hereticks, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But John Hus conſtantly anſwered as before: in ſo much that they ſayd he was obſtinate and ſtubburne. Then a certayne well fed prieſt and gaily apparelled, cried out vnto the Preſidents of the Councell, ſaying: he ought by no meanes to be admitted to recantation: for he hath writtē vnto his frends, that although he do ſweare with his tong yet he wyll keepe hys mynde vnſworne without othe: wherfore he is not to be truſted. Unto this ſlaunder John Hus aunſwered as is ſayd in the laſt Article, affirmyng that he was not guilty of any errour.

Pallets agaynſt John Hus.

Then ſayd Palletz, to what end is this proteſtation, for ſo much as thou ſayeſt that thou wilt defend no error, neyther yet Wickliffe, and yet doeſt defend hym? When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he brought forth for witnes 9. Articles of John Wickliffes, and red them openly: & afterward he ſayd: When as I and M. Stanislaus in the preſence of Erneſtus of Auſtrich duke of Prage, preached againſt thē, he obſtinately defended the ſame not onely by his ſermons, but alſo by his bokes which he ſet forth. The which except you do here exhibite, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſayd the Emperor alſo. Unto whom John Hus anſwered, I am very well contented that not onely thoſe, but alſo all other my bookes be brought forth and ſhewed.

A new heape of ſlaunders.

In the meane time there was exhibited vnto the Coūcell a certaine Article, wherein John Hus was accuſed, that he had ſlaunderouſly interpreted a certaine ſentence of the Popes: the which he denyed that he dyd, ſaying, that he neuer ſaw it, but in priſon, when as the Article was ſhewed hym by the Commiſſioners. And when he was demaunded who was the authour thereof, he aunſwered that he knew not, but that he heard ſay that maiſter Jeſſenitz was the author therof.

J. Hus wareth faint and weary.

What (ſayd they) then do you thincke or iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then aunſwered John Hus, what ſhould I ſay therunto, when as I ſayd I neuer ſaw it, but as I haue heard it of you. Thus they were all ſo greuous and troubleſome vnto him, that he waxed faynt and weary, for he had paſſed all the night before without ſleepe, through the payne of his teeth.

An other quarell agaynſt J. Hus, touching theſe three men beheaded at Prage. *Vid. ſupra pag. 569.*

Then was there an other Article read, in the whiche was contayned that three men were beheaded at Prage, becauſe that through Wickleffes doctrine and teachyng, they were contumelious and ſlaūderous agaynſt the Popes letters: and that they were by the ſame Hus, with the whole pompe of the Scholers, and with a publike conuocation or congregation caryed out to be buryed, & by a publicke Sermon placed amongeſt the nomber of Saintes. And the ſame Doctour Naſo, of whom you haue heard certaine teſtimonies alredy recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and ẏ he himſelfe was preſent, when as the kyng of Boheme commaūded thoſe blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

John Hus belyed.

Ex puris affirmatiuis non conſiſtit argum. in 3. figura.

Then ſayd John Hus: both thoſe partes are falſe, that the kyng did commaunde any ſuch puniſhment to be done, and that the coarſes were by me conueyed with any ſuch pompe vnto their ſepulture or buryall: wherefore you do both iniury vnto me and the kyng. Then Palletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctour Naſo, his fellow, with this argument (for they both laboured to one end and purpoſe): That it was prouided by the Kynges commaundement, that no man ſhould once ſpeake agaynſt the Popes Bulles: And theſe three ſpake agaynſt the Popes Bulles: Ergo, by vertue of the kynges commaundement they were beheaded. And what John Huſſe his opinion and mynde was as touchyng theſe men, it is euident inough by hys booke intituled Of the Churche, wherein he writeth thus: I beleue they haue read Daniell the Prophet, where as is ſayd: And they ſhall periſh with ſword and fire, and with captiuitie, and many ſhall fraudulētly and craftely aſſociate themſelues vnto thē: And afterward he ſayth: how is this fulfilled in theſe two lay men, who not conſenting, but ſpeaking againſt the fayned lyes of Antichriſt, haue offered their lyues therfore, and many other were ready to do the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate vnto them, whiche beyng feared by the threatnynges of Antichriſt, are fled, and haue turned their backes. &c.

When theſe thynges were read, one lookyng vpon an other, as though they had bene all in a marueilous ſtraunge ſtudy, they held their peace for a certaine ſpace. For this Paletz, and the foreſayd Doctour Naſo had alſo added that John Hus in an open Sermõ had inflamed and ſtyrred vp the people agaynſt the Magiſtrates, in ſomuch that a great number of the Citizens dyd openly ſet themſelues againſt yͤ magiſtrates: and by yͤ meanes was it, that he ſayd, thoſe iij. were ready to ſuffer death for the truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefite, or helpe that the king could do. Then the Engliſhmen exhibited the copy of a certaine Epiſtle, which they ſayd was falſely conueyed vnto Prage, vnder the title of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, & that John Hus dyd read the ſame out of the Pulpit vnto the people, that he might commend and prayſe John Wickleffe vnto the Citizens of Prage. When they had read the ſame before the Cõcell, the Engliſhmen demaũded of John Hus, whether he had read the ſame openly or no. Which when he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thether by two ſcholers vnder the ſeale of the Vniuerſitie: they alſo inquired of him what ſcholers they were. He aunſwered: this my frend (meanyng Stephen Palletz) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

An other quarell picked by Engliſhe men agaynſt John Hus.

The teſtimoniall of Oxford, for Wikliffe brought to Prage.

Then they firſt enquired of hym, as touching the laſt man, where he was. John Hus aunſwered: I heard ſay (ſayd he) that in his returne into England, he dyed by the way. As touching yͤ firſt, Palletz ſaid, that he was a Bohemian, and no Engliſhe man, and that he brought out of England a certaine ſmall peece of the ſtone of Wickleffes ſepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at thys preſent, do reuerence and worſhip as a thyng moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe thinges were done, and that John Hus was the author of them al.

A peece of the ſtone of Wickleffes ſepulchre, brought for a relique to Prage.

Then the Engliſhe men exhibited an other Epiſtle, cõtrary to the firſt, vnder the ſeale of the Vniuerſitie, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the vniuerſitie, not without great ſorow and griefe hath experimented and found that the errours of Wickleffe are ſcattered & ſpread out of that vniuerſitie thorowghout all England. And to the entent that thorough their helpe & labour, meanes may be founde to remedy this miſchiefe, they haue appointed for that purpoſe twelue Doctours, men of ſinguler learnyng, and other maiſters, which ſhould ſit in iudgement vpon the bookes of Wickleffe.

Theſe men haue noted out aboue the number of CC. articles, the which the whole vniuerſitie haue iudged worthy to be burnt: but for the reuerence of the ſayd ſacred coũcell, the ſayd vniuerſitie hath ſent them vnto Conſtance, referring and remitting the whole authoritie of the iudgement vnto this Councell.

Here was great ſilence kept for a while. Then Palletz riſing vp as though he had finiſhed now his accuſatiõ, ſaid: I take God to my witnes before the Emperours maieſtie here preſent, and the moſt reuerend fathers, Cardinals and Byſhops, that in this accuſation of John Hus, I haue not vſed any hatred or euill will: but that I might ſatiſfie the othe which I tooke, when I was made Doctour, that I would be a moſt cruell and ſharpe enemy of all maner of errours, for the profite and commoditie of the holy Catholike Church. Michael de Cauſis did alſo the lyke. And I, ſayd John Hus, do commit all theſe thinges vnto the heauenly iudge, which ſhall iuſtly iudge the cauſe or quarell of both parties. Then ſayd the Cardinall of Cambray, I cãnot a little commende and prayſe the humanitie and gentleneſ of Maiſter Palletz, which he hath vſed in drawing out the articles againſt M. John Hus. For as we haue heard, there are many thyngs contained in hys booke, much worſe and deteſtable.

The oth of Palletz.

The oth of Michael de Cauſis.

J. Hus witneſſeth the Lord.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the Byſhop of Rygen vnto whom John Hus was committed, commaunded that yͤ ſayd John Hus, ſhould be caryed agayne ſafely vnto priſon. Then John de Clum folowing him, did not a litle incourage and comfort hym. No tounge can expreſſe what a courage and ſtomacke he receiued by the ſhort talke which he had wyth hym: when as in ſo great a broyle and greuous hatred, he ſaw himſelfe in a maner forſaken of all men. After that John Hus was caryed away, the Emperour began to exhort the preſidentes of the Councell in this maner, ſaying:

John de Clum doth comfort John Hus.

YOu haue heard the manifold and greuous crimes which are layd agaynſt Iohn Hus, which are not onely proued by manifeſt and ſtrong witneſſes, but alſo confeſſed by him: of the which euery one of them by my iudgement and aduiſe haue deſerued, and are worthy of death. Therfore, except he do recant them all, I iudge and thinke mete that he be puniſhed with fire: and albeit hee doe that whiche he is willed and commaunded to do: notwithſtandyng I do counſell you that he be forbid the office of preachyng and teachyng, and alſo that he returne no more into the kyngdome of Boheme. For if he be admitted agayn to teach and preach, and ſpecially in the kyngdome of Boheme, he will not obſerue and keepe that which he is commaunded, but hopyng vpon the fauour and good will of ſuch as be his adherẽtes and fautours there, he will returne agayne vnto his former purpoſe and intent, and then beſides theſe errours, he will alſo ſow new errours amongeſt the people, ſo the laſt errour ſhalbe worſe thẽ the firſt. Moreouer I iudge and thinke it good that his articles which are condẽned, ſhould be ſent vnto my brother the kyng of Boheme, & afterward into Pole and other prouinces, whereas mens myndes are repleniſhed with his doctrine, with this commaundement, that whoſoeuer do procede to hold or keepe the ſame, they ſhould by the common ayde both of the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuil power, be puniſhed. So at the length ſhall remedy be founde for this miſchief, if the bowes together with the roote, be vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the Byſhops and other Prelates, which here in this place haue laboured and trauayled for the extirpating of this hereſie, be cõmẽded by the whole voyces of the Councell vnto the Kynges and Princes, vnder whoſe dominion they are. Laſt of all, if there be any founde here at Conſtaunce, which are familiars vnto Iohn Hus, they alſo ought to be puniſhed with ſuch ſeueritie and puniſhment as is due vnto them, and ſpecially his ſcholer Hierome of Prage. Thẽ ſayd the reſt, whẽ the maiſter is once puniſhed, we hope we ſhall finde the Scholer much more tractable and gentle.

The Emperours oration to the preſidentes of the councell.

That which God planteth man ſhall neuer roote vp.

Hierome of Prage mentioned & promoted by the Emperour.

After they had ſpoken theſe wordes, they departed out of the Cloyſter, where they were aſſembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation which was the vj. of July, the Emperour Sigiſmond ſent vnto hym iiij. Byſhops, accompanyed with maiſter Wenceſlate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they ſhould learne and vnderſtand of him what he dyd intend to do. When as he was brought out of priſon vnto them, John de Clum begã firſt to ſpeake vnto hym, ſaying.

4. Byſhops ſent to John Hus.

MAiſter Iohn Hus I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to counſell or aduertiſe you, beyng a mã of learnyng and vnderſtandyng: notwithſtãdyng I do require you, if you know your ſelfe giltie of any of thoſe errours, whiche are obiected and layd agaynſt you before the Cõucell, that you will not be aſhamed to alter and chaũge your mynde to the will and pleaſure of the Councell: if contrarywiſe, I will be no author vnto you, that you ſhould do any thyng contrary or agaynſt your conſcience, but rather to ſuffer and endure any kinde of puniſhment then to deny that which you haue knowen to be the truth. Vnto whom Iohn Hus turnyng himſelfe with lamentable teares, ſayd: verely as before I haue often tymes done, I do take the moſt hygh God for my witnes, that I am ready with my whole hart and mynde, if the Councell can inſtruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture: I will be ready with all my hart to alter and chaunge my purpoſe. Then one of the Byſhops which ſate by, ſayd vnto him, that he would neuer be ſo arrogaunt or proude, that he would preferre his owne mynde or opinion before the Iudgement of the whole Councell. To whom I. Hus aunſwered, neither do I otherwiſe minde or intende. For if he which is the meaneſt or leaſt in all this Councell, can conuict me of errour, I will with an humble hart and mynde performe and do whatſoeuer the Councell ſhall require of me. Marke ſayd the Byſhops, how obſtinatly he doth perſeuer in his errours. And when they had thus talked, they commaunded the keepers to cary hym agayne vnto priſon, and ſo they returned agayne vnto the Emperour with their commiſſion.

The pitifull and louing oration of John de Clum vnto John Hus.

The marueilous conſtancie of J. Hus.

That is no right modeſtie that more regardeth to obey man, then manifeſt veritie.

J. Hus aunſwereth.

The next day after, which was Saterday and the vj. day of July, there was a generall Seſſion holden of the Princes and Lordes, both of the Eccleſiaſticall and Temporal eſtates in the head Church of the Citie of Conſtance, the Emperour Sigiſmund beyng Preſident in his Imperiall robes & habite: in the middeſt whereof there was made a certaine hyghe place beyng ſquare about like a table, and hard by it there was a deſke of woode, vpon the whiche the garmentes and veſtimentes pertainyng vnto Prieſthode were layd, for this cauſe, that before John Hus ſhould be

deliue=

deliuered ouer vnto the Ciuill power, he ſhould be openly depriued & ſpoyled of his Prieſtly ornaments. When Iohn Hus was brought thether, he fell downe vpon his knees before that ſame high place, and prayed a long tyme. In the meane while the Byſhop of Londy, went vp into the Pulpit and made this Sermon folowyng.

¶ The Sermon of the Byſhop of Londy,

before the ſentence was geuen vpon Iohn Hus.

The ſermon before the ſentence.

The theame.

His theame confirmed by Ariſtotle.

IN the name of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Truſting by humble inuocation vpon the Diuine helpe and ayde, moſt noble Prince, and moſt Chriſtiã Emperour, and you moſt excellent fathers, and reuerẽd Lordes, Byſhops, and Prelates, alſo moſt excellent Doctours and Maiſters, moſt famous and noble Dukes and high Counties, honorable Nobles, and Barons, and all other men worthy of remembraũce: that the intent & purpoſe of my mynde may the more playnly and euidently appeare vnto this moſt ſacred congregation, I am firſt of all determined to intreate or ſpeake of this whiche is read in the Epiſtle on the next Sonday, in the vj. chapter to the Romaynes. That is to ſay, let the body of ſinne be deſtroyed. &c. It appeareth by the authoritie of Ariſtotle in his booke intituled De cœlo & mundo, How wicked, daungerous and fooliſh a matter it ſemeth to be, not to withſtand peruerſe and wicked begynnynges. For he ſayth, that a ſmall errour in the begynnyng is very great in the end. It is very damnable & daungerous to haue erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Wherupon that worthy Doctour S. Hierome in his booke vpõ the expoſition of the Catholicke fayth, teacheth vs, how neceſſary a thing it is, that hereticks and hereſies ſhould be ſuppreſſed, eue at the firſt begynnyng of them, ſaying thus: the rotten and dead fleſh is to be cut of from the body, leaſt that the whole body do periſh and putrifie. For a ſcabbed ſheepe is to be put out of the fold, leaſt ẏ whole flocke be infected. And a litle fire is to be quenched, leaſt the whole houſe be conſumed and burned. Arrius was firſt a ſparke in Alexandria, who becauſe he was not at the firſt quenched, he preſumed and went about with his wicked and peruerſe imaginatiõs and phantaſticall inuentions to ſpot and defile the Catholicke fayth, which is founded and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, decked with the victorious triumphes of ſo many Martyrs, and illuminate and ſet forth with the excellent doctrines and writynges of ſo many men. Such therfore muſt be reſiſted: ſuch hereticks of neceſſitie muſt be ſuppreſſed & cõdemned.

Wherfore I haue truely propounded, as touchyng the puniſhment of euery ſuch obſtinate hereticke, that the body of ſinne is to be deſtroyed. Wherupon it is to be conſidered accordyng vnto the holy traditions of the fathers, that ſome ſinnes are aduerſe and contrary vnto an other. Other ſome are annexed or cõioyned together: other ſome are, as it were, braũches and members of others. And ſome are, as it were ẏ rootes & head of others. Amongſt all which, thoſe are to be counted the moſt deteſtable, out of ẏ which ẏ moſt & worſt, haue their originall and begynnyng. Wherfore albeit that all ſinnes and offẽces are to be abhorred of vs: yet thoſe are ſpecially to be eſchewed, which are the head and roote of the reſt. For by how much the peruerſneſſe of them is of more force and power to hurt, with ſomuch the more ſpeede & circumſpection, ought they to be rooted out and extinguiſhed, with apt preſeruatiues and remedyes. For ſomuch then as amongeſt all ſinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the miſchief of this moſt execrable Schiſme, therfore haue I right well propounded that the body of ſinne ſhould be deſtroyed. For by the long continuaunce of this Schiſme, great and moſt cruell deſtruction is ſpryng vp amongeſt the faythfull, and hath long continued, abhominable buddinges of hereſies are growen: theaſtrynges are increaſed and multiplyed: the confuſion of the whole Clergy is growen thereupon, and the opprobries and ſclaunders of the Chriſtian people are aboundantly ſpryng vp and increaſed. And truely it is no maruel, for ſomuch as that moſt deteſtable and execrable Schiſme, is as it were, a body & heape of diſſolution of the true fayth of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where as ſuch a peſtiferous Schiſme hath raigned ſo long a tyme? For as S. Bernard ſayth, lyke as in the vnitie and concorde of the faythfull, there is the habitation and dwellyng of the Lord, ſo likewiſe in the Schiſme and diſſipation of the Chriſtians, there is made the habitatiõ and dwellyng of the deuill. Is not ſchiſme and diuiſion the originall of all ſubuerſion, the nurſe of hereſies, & the nouriſher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace beyng once troubled and broken, there is free paſſage made for all ſtrife and debate. Couetouſnes is vttered in other for lukers ſake, luſt and will is ſet at libertie, and all maner of oppreſſed vnto ſlaughter. All right and equitie is baniſhed, the Eccleſiaſticall power is iniuried, and the calamitie of this Schiſme bringeth in all kynde of bondage, ſwordes & violence doth rule, the laytie haue the dominion, concorde & vnitie are baniſhed, and all preſcript rules of Religion vtterly contemned and ſet at nought.

They can not abide the laitie to rule in any caſe.

All the popiſhe religion lieth in landes, lordſhips, and liberties.

Note here the popes diuinitie, how the bloud of Chriſt ſerueth to purchaſe their patrimonie.

Conſider moſt gentle Lordes, how that durying this moſt peſtiferous Schiſme, how many hereſies haue appeared and ſhewed themſelues, how many hereticks haue ſcaped vnpuniſhed, how many Churches haue bene ſpoyled & pulled downe, how many Cities haue bene oppreſſed & regions brought to ruine, what confuſion hath there happened in the Clergy? what & how great deſtruction hath bene amongeſt the Chriſtian people? I pray you marke how the Church of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the mother of all faythfull, is contemned & deſpiſed. For who doth reuerence the keyes of the church, who feareth the cenſures or lawes, or who is it that doth defend the liberties therof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the ſame, or who doth not inuade it, or els what is he that dare not violently lay handes vpon the patrimony or heritage of Ieſus Chriſt? The goodes of the Clergy, and of the poore, and the relief of Pilgrimes and ſtraungers, gotten together by the bloud of of our Sauiour and of many Martyrs, are ſpoyled and taken away, behold the abhomination of the deſolatiõ brought vpon the Church of God, the deſtruction of the fayth, & the confuſion of the Chriſtian people, to the ruine of the Lordes flocke or fold, & all the whole company of our moſt holy Sauiour and redemer. This loſſe is more great or greuous thã any whiche could happen vnto the Martyrs of Chriſt, and this perſecution much more cruell then the perſecution of any tyrauntes, for they did but onely puniſh the bodyes, but in this Schiſme and diuiſion the ſoules are tormented. There the bloud of men was onely ſhed, but in this caſe the true fayth is ſubuerted and ouerthrowen. That perſecutiõ was ſaluation vnto many: but this Schiſme is deſtruction vnto all men. When the tyrauntes raged, then the fayth did increaſe: but by this diuiſiõ it is vtterly decayd. During their cruelty and madnes, the primatiue Churche increaſed, but through this ſchiſme it is confoũded and ouerthrowne. Tyrauntes did ignorauntly offende: but in this ſchiſme many do wittingly and willingly euen of obſtinacie offend. There came in hereticks, vſers of Symonie and hypocrites, to the great detriment and decay of the Church: vnder thoſe tyrauntes the merites of the iuſt were increaſed.

But duryng this Schiſme, miſchief and wickedneſſe are augmẽted, for in this moſt curſed and execrable diuiſion, truth was made an enemy vnto all Chriſtians, fayth is not regarded, loue and charitie hated, hope is loſt, iuſtice ouerthrowen, no kynde of courage or valiauntnes, but onely vnto miſchief: modeſty and temperaũce cloked, wiſedome turned into deceit, humilitie fayned, equitie and truth falſified, pacience vtterly fled, conſcience ſmall, all wickednes intended, deuotion counted folly, gentleneſſe abiect and caſt away, religion deſpiſed, obediẽce not regarded, and all maner of life reprochfull and abhominable. With how great and greuous ſorowes is the church of God repleniſhed and filled, whiles that tyrauntes do oppreſſe it, hereticks inuade it, vſers of Symonie do ſpoyle and robbe it, and ſchiſmatickes go about vtterly to ſubuert it? O moſt miſerable and wretched chriſtian people, whom now by the ſpace of xl. yeares, with ſuch inueterate and cõtinuall ſchiſme, they haue tormented and almoſt brought to ruine. O the litle barcke and ſhyp of Chriſt, whiche hath ſo long tyme wandred and ſtrayde now in the middeſt of the whirlepooles, and by and by ſticketh faſt in the rockes, toſſed to and fro with moſt greuous and tempeſtuous ſtormes. O miſerable and wretched boate of Peter, if the moſt holy father would ſuffer thee to ſinck or drowne, into what daungers and perils haue the wicked pyrates brought thee? amongſt what rockes haue they placed thee? O moſt godly and louyng Chriſtiãs, what faythfull deuout man is there, whiche beholding and ſeyng the great ruine & decay of ẏ church, would not be prouoked vnto teares? what good conſcience is there ẏ can refrayne weepyng? becauſe that contentiõ & ſtrife is poured vpõ ẏ eccleſiaſtical rulers, which haue made vs to erre in the way: becauſe they haue not founde or rather would not finde the way of vnitie and concorde: Whereupon ſo many hereſies and ſo great confuſion is ſpryng vp and growne in the flocke of Peter and the fold of our Lord.

This Schiſme continued xl. yeares.

He flyreth by the Emperour Sigiſmund.

Many Princes, Kynges and Prelates haue greatly laboured and trauailed for the rootyng out herof, but yet could they neuer bryng to paſſe or finiſh that moſt wholeſome and neceſſary worke. Wherfore moſt Chriſtian kyng, this moſt glorious and triumphaunt victory hath taryed onely for thee, the crowne and glory therof ſhalbe thyne for euer, &

this moſt happy victory ſhalbe continually celebrate to thy great honour and prayſe, that thou haſt reſtored agayne the Church which was ſo ſpoyled, thou haſt remoued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne Schiſmes and diuiſions, thou haſt troden downe vſers of Symony, and rooted out all heretickes. Doeſt thou not behold and ſee how great perpetuall and famous renowne & glory it will be vnto thee? For what can be more iuſt, what more holy, what more better, what more to be deſired, or finally what can be more acceptable then to roote out this wicked and abhominable Schiſme, to reſtore the Church agayne vnto her auncient libertie, to extinguiſh and put away all Symony, and to condemne and deſtroy all errours and hereſies from amongſt the flocke of the faythfull? Nothyng truly can be better, nothyng more holy, nothyng more profitable for the whole world, and finally nothyng more acceptable vnto God. For the performaunce of which moſt holy and godly worke thou waſt elect and choſen of God, thou waſt firſt deputed and choſen in heauen, before thou waſt elect & choſen vpon earth. Thou waſt firſt appointed by the celeſtiall and heauenly prince, before the electours of the Empire dyd elect or chuſe thee, and ſpecially that by thy Imperiall force and power, thou ſhouldeſt condemne and deſtroy thoſe errours and hereſies, which we haue preſently in hand to be condemned & ſubuerted. To the performaunce of this moſt holy worke, God hath geuen vnto thee the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of his diuine truth and veritie, power of princely maieſtie, and the iuſt iudgement of equitie and righteouſnes, as the moſt highest himſelfe doth ſay: I haue geuen thee vnderſtādyng and wiſedome, to ſpeake and vtter my wordes, and haue ſet thee to rule ouer nations and kyngdomes, that thou ſhouldeſt helpe the people, plucke down and deſtroy iniquitie, and by exerciſing of iuſtice thou ſhouldeſt, I ſay, deſtroy all errours and hereſies, & ſpecially this obſtinate heretike here preſent, through whoſe wickednes and miſchief, many places of the world are infected with moſt peſtilent & hereticall poyſon, and by his meanes and occaſiō, almoſt vtterly ſubuerted and deſtroyed. This moſt holy and godly labour, O moſt noble prince, was reſerued onely for thee, vpō thee it doth onely lye, vnto whom the whole rule and miniſtration of iuſtice is geuen. Wherefore thou haſt eſtabliſhed thy prayſe and renowne, euen by the mouthes of infantes and ſuckyng babes, for thy prayſes ſhalbe celebrate for euermore that thou haſt deſtroyed and ouerthrowen ſuch and ſo great enemyes of the fayth. The whiche that thou mayſt proſperouſly and happely performe and bryng to paſſe, our Lord Jeſu Chriſt may vouchſafe to graunt thee his grace and helpe, who is bleſſed for euer and euer. Amen.

Loripes rectum deridet, æthiopus album.

Note the vile flattery of theſe papiſtes when they would haue any thing of the Emperour for their purpoſe.

The proctor of the councell calleth for the ſentence.

When this Sermon was thus ended, the Procurer of the Councell riſing vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the proceſſe of the cauſe agaynſt John Hus might be continued and procede vnto the diffinitiue ſentence. Then a certaine Byſhop which was appointed one of the Judges, declared the proceſſe of the cauſe, whiche was pleaded long ſince in the Court of Rome and elſwhere, betwene John Hus and the Prelates of Prage.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe articles which we haue before remembred, amongeſt the which he rehearſed alſo one article that John Hus ſhould teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhead to be one Chriſt. John Hus went about briefly wyth a word or two to anſwere vnto euery one of them, but as often as he was about to ſpeake, the Cardinall of Cambray cōmaunded him to holde hys peace, ſaying: hereafter you ſhall anſwere to all together, if you will. Then ſayd John Hus, how can I at once anſwere vnto all thoſe thinges which are alledged agaynſt me, whē as I cannot remember them all? Then ſayde the Cardinall of Florence, we haue heard thee ſufficiently. But whē as J. Hus for all that, would not hold hys peace, they ſent the officers which ſhould force him thervnto. Then began he to intreat, pray, and beſeech them, that they would heare hym, that ſuch as were preſent might not credite or beleue thoſe thinges to be true which were reported of hym. But when all this would nothing preuaile, he kneeling downe vpon his knees committed the whole matter vnto God & the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for at their handes he beleued eaſely to obtayne that which he deſired.

The Cardinal of of Cambray cōmaunded J. Hus to keepe ſilence.

J. Hus could not be heard in the councell.

J. Hus committeth his cauſe to the Lord Chriſt.

When the articles aboueſaid were ended, laſt of all there was added a notable blaſphemy, which they all imputed vnto John Hus. That is, that he ſayd there ſhould be a fourth perſon in diuinitie, and that a certaine Doctour dyd heare hym ſpeake of the ſame. Whē John Hus deſired that the Doctour myght be named, the byſhop which had alledged the article, ſayd that it was not needefull to name him. Then ſayd John Hus, O miſerable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare ſuch blaſphemy and ſlaunder.

Marke the vile ſhamefulneſſe of them to faine what they liſt.

J. Hus agayne ſlaundered.

Afterward the Article was repeated how he appealed vnto Chriſt, and that by name, was called hereticall. Whervnto John Hus anſwered: O Lord Jeſu Chriſt whoſe word is openly condemned here in this Councell, vnto thee agayne I do appeale: which when thou waſt euill intreated of thyne enemies, diddeſt appeale vnto God thy father, committyng thy cauſe vnto a moſt iuſt Judge, that by thy exāple we alſo beyng oppreſſed with manifeſt wronges and iniuries, ſhould flee vnto thee. Laſt of all the Article was rehearſed, as touchyng the contempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Wherevnto he anſwered as before, that he was excuſed by his aduocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he dyd not appeare when he was cited: and alſo that it may be proued by the actes, that the excommunication was not ratified: and finally to the intēt he might cleare himſelfe of obſtinacie, he was for that cauſe come vnto Conſtance vnder the Emperours ſafeconduct. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, one of them whiche was appointed iudges, read the definitiue ſentence agaynſt him, whiche followeth thus word for word.

The councell doth call a hereticall to appeale to Chriſt.

Contempt of the popes excommunication layde to J. Hus.

The ſentence or iudgement of the Councell of Conſtance geuen agaynſt John Hus.

The ſentence read agaynſt John Hus.

THe moſt holy and ſacred generall Councell of Conſtāce, beyng cōgregate and gathered together, repreſentyng the Catholike Church for a perpetuall memory of the thyng, as the veritie & truth doth witneſſe, an euill tree bringeth forth euill fruite: hereupon it commeth that the man of moſt damnable memory John Wickleffe through his peſtiferous doctrine, not through Jeſu Chriſt by the Goſpell, as the holy fathers in tymes paſt, haue gotten faythfull children, but contrary vnto the holeſome fayth of Jeſus Chriſt, as a moſt venemous roote, hath begotten many peſtilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behynd him, ſucceſſours and followers of his peruerſe and wicked doctrine, agaynſt whom this ſacred Synode of Conſtance is forced to riſe vp, as agaynſt baſtardes and vnlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the ſharpe knife of the Eccleſiaſticall authoritie, to cut vp their errours out of the Lordes field as moſt hurtfull brambles and briers, leaſt they ſhould grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

For ſomuch then as in the holy generall Councell lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed that the doctrine of John Wickleffe of moſt damnable memory ſhould be cōdemned, and that his bookes which contained the ſame doctrine, ſhould be burned as hereticall, and this decree was approued & confirmed by the ſacred authoritie of the whole Councell: neuertheleſſe one John Hus here perſonally preſent in this ſacred Councell, not the Diſciple of Chriſt, but of John Wickleffe, an archeheretike, after, and contrary or agaynſt the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached and affirmed the Articles of Wickleff, which were condemned by the Churche of God, and in tymes paſt by certaine moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt, Lordes, Archbiſhops, and Byſhops, of diuers kyngdoms and Realmes, Maiſters of Diuinitie of diuers Vniuerſities: eſpecially reſiſtyng in his open Sermons, and alſo with his adherentes and complices in the ſcholes, the condemnation of the ſayd Articles of Wickleffe, oftentymes publiſhed in the ſayd Vniuerſitie of Prage, and hath declared him the ſayd Wickleffe, for the fauour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the Clergy and people, to be a Catholike man and a true Euangelicall Doctour. He hath alſo publiſhed & affirmed, certaine and many of his Articles worthy to be condemned to be Catholicke, the which are notoriouſly contained in the bookes of the ſayd John Hus.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full informatiō firſt had vpon the premiſſes by the reuerend fathers and Lordes in Chriſt of the holy Church of Rome, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbyſhops, Byſhops and other Prelates, and Doctours of Diuinitie and of both lawes in great number aſſembled and gathered together, this moſt ſacred & holy Councell of Conſtance declareth and determineth the articles aboue ſayd (the whiche after due conference had, are found in his bookes written with his own hand, the which alſo the ſayd John Hus in open audience before this holy Councell, hath confeſſed to be in his bookes) not to be Catholicke neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are erroneous, ſome of them to be wicked, other ſome to be offenſiue vnto godly eares, many of them to be temerarious and ſeditious, and the greater parte of them to bee notoriouſly hereticall, and euē now of late by the holy fathers and generall Councels, reproued and condemned. And for ſomuch as the ſayd Articles are expreſly contained in the bookes of

They ſhall bryng you before their councelles, they ſhall perſecute you, & caſt you in priſons, and bryng you before kynges & preſidentes for my name. &c. Luke. 21.

the ſayd John Hus, therefore this ſayd *ſacred Councell doth condēne and reproue all thoſe bookes, which he wrote, in what forme or phraſe ſoeuer they be, or whether they be tranſlated by others, & doth determine and decree, that they all ſhalbe ſolemnely and openly burned in the preſence of the clergy & people of ẏ city of Conſtance, & els where: adding moreouer for the premiſſes, that all his doctrine is worthy to be deſpiſed and eſchewed of all faythfull Chriſtians. And to the intēt this moſt pernicious and wicked doctrine, may be vtterly excluded and ſhut out of the Church, this ſacred Synode doth ſtraightly cōmaunde, that diligent inquiſition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for ſuch treatiſes and workes, and that ſuch as are founde, be conſumed & burned with fire. And if there be any founde, which ſhall contemne or deſpiſe this ſentence or decree, this ſacred Synode ordeineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places and the inquiſitours of hereſies, ſhall procede agaynſt euery ſuch perſon as ſuſpect of hereſie.

*The ſayd *concilium malignantium.*

Wherfore, after due inquiſition made agaynſt the ſayd John Huſſe, and full information had by the Commiſſaries and Doctours of both lawes, and alſo by the ſayinges of the witneſſes which were worthy of credite, and many other thinges openly read before the ſayd John Hus, and before the fathers and prelates of this ſacred Councell (by the which allegatiōs of the witneſſes it appeareth that the ſaid John Hus hath taught many euill and offenſiue, ſeditious, and perilous hereſies, and hath preached the ſame by a long tyme) this moſt ſacred and holy Synode lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, the name of Chriſt beyng inuocate and called vpon, by this their ſentence which here is ſet forth in writyng, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that John Hus was and is a true and manifeſt hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errours and hereſies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other ſeditious, temerarious, and offenſiue thynges to no ſmall offence of the Diuine maieſtie, and of the vniuerſall Church, and detriment of the Catholicke fayth and Church, neglectyng and deſpiſing the keyes of the Church and Eccleſiaſticall cenſures. In the which his errours he continued with a mynde altogether indurate and hardned by the ſpace of many yeares, much offendyng the faythfull Chriſtians by his obſtinacie and ſtubburnes, when as he made his appeale vnto the Lord Jeſu Chriſt, as the moſt hyghe iudge, omittyng and leauyng all Eccleſiaſticall meanes. In the which his appeale he alleged many falſe, iniurious, and offenſiue matters, in contempt of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and keyes.

Many ſhall come in my name & ſhall deceaue many. Math. 13

To appeale to Chriſt is derogatory to the popes holynes.

Wherupon both for the premiſſes & many other thyngs, the ſayd Synode pronoūceth John Hus to be an hereticke, & iudgeth him by theſe preſentes to be condemned and iudged as hereticke, & reproueth the ſayd appeale as iniurious, offenſiue, and done in deriſion vnto ẏ eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction, and iudgeth the ſaid Hus, not only to haue ſeduced the chriſtian people by his writynges and preachynges, and ſpecially in the kyngdome of Boheme, neither to haue bene a true preacher of the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto the ſayd people, accordyng to the expoſition of the holy Doctours: but alſo to haue bene a ſeducer of them and alſo an obſtinate and ſtifnecked perſon, yea and ſuch a one as doth not deſire to returne agayne to the lappe of our holy mother the Churche, neither to abiure the errours and hereſies whiche he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this moſt ſacred Councell decreeth and declareth that the ſayd John Hus, ſhalbe famouſly depoſed and degraded from hys Prieſtly orders and dignitie, &c.

Veritie condemned for hereſie.

Whileſt theſe thynges were thus read, John Hus, albeit he were forbidden to ſpeake, notwithſtanding he did often interrupt them, and ſpecially when he was reproued of obſtinacie, he ſayd with a loude voyce: I was neuer obſtinate, but as alwayes heretofore, euen ſo now agayne I deſire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I do profeſſe my ſelf to be ſo deſirous of the truth, that if I might by one onely word ſubuert the errours of all heretickes, I would not refuſe to enter into what peril or danger ſoeuer it were. When as his bookes were condēned, he ſayd: wherfore haue you condemned thoſe bookes, when as you haue not proued by any one Article, that they are cōtrary to the Scriptures or Articles of fayth? And moreouer, what iniury is this that you do to me, that you haue cōdēned theſe bookes written in the Bohemian toung, which you neuer ſaw, neither yet read? And oftē tymes looking vp vnto heauē he prayed.

J. Hus cleareth himſelfe of obſtinacy.

They condemne the bookes written in the Bohemian tounge, which they neuer read.

When the ſentence and iudgement was ended, kneelyng downe vpon his knees, he ſayd: Lord Jeſu Chriſt, forgeue mine enemyes, by whom thou knoweſt that I am falſly accuſed, and that they haue vſed falſe witnes and ſlaunders againſt me: forgeue them I ſay, for thy great mercies ſake. This hys prayer and oration the greater part, and ſpecially the chiefe of the Prieſtes did deride and mocke.

Hus prayeth for his enemies.

At the laſt, the ſeuen Byſhops which were choſen out to diſgrade hym of hys prieſthood commaunded him to put on the garmentes pertaynyng vnto prieſthood: which thing when he had done, vntill he came to the puttyng on of the Albe, he called to hys remembraunce the white veſture which Herode put vpon Jeſus Chriſt to mock him withall. So likewiſe in all other thynges he did comfort hymſelf by the example of Chriſt. When he had now put on all hys prieſtly veſtures, the Byſhops exhorted him that he ſhould yet alter and chaunge hys minde and purpoſe, and prouide for his honour and ſafegard. Then he (accordyng as ẏ maner of the ceremony is) goyng vp to the top of the ſcaffold, beyng full of teares, he ſpake vnto the people in this ſort.

J. Hus commaunded to put on the prieſtes garmentes.

These Lordes and Byſhops do exhort and councell me that I ſhould here confeſſe before you all that I haue erred, the which thyng to doe, if it were ſuch as might be done wyth the infamy and reproch of any man, they might peraduenture eaſely perſwade me thereunto: but now truely I am in the ſight of the Lord my God, without whoſe great ignominy, and grudge of myne owne conſcience, I can by no meanes doe that which they require of me. For I do wel know that I neuer taught any of thoſe thinges which they haue falſly alledged agaynſt me, but I haue alwayes preached, taught, written, & thought contrary thereunto. With what countenaūce then ſhould I behold the heauens? with what face ſhould I looke vpon them, whom I haue taught, whereof there is a great number, if thorow me it ſhoulde come to paſſe that thoſe thinges which they haue hetherto knowne to be moſt certaine and ſure, ſhould now be made vncertayne? Should I by this my example aſtoniſhe or trouble ſo many ſoules, ſo many conſciences, endewed with the moſt firme and certayne knowledge of the Scriptures and Goſpel of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt and his moſt pure doctrine, armed agaynſt all the aſſaultes of Satan? I will neuer do it, neyther committe any ſuch kinde of offence that I ſhoulde ſeeme more to eſteeme this vile carcas appointed vnto death, then their health and ſaluation. At this moſt godly word he was forced agayne to heare by the conſent of the byſhops, that he did obſtinatly and maliciouſly perſeuere in his pernicious and wicked errours.

J. Hus his oratiō vnto the people.

Then he was commaunded to come downe to the execution of his iudgement, and in his commyng downe, one of the ſeuen Byſhops afore rehearſed, firſt tooke away the chalice from him which he helde in hys hand, ſaying: O curſed Judas, why haſt thou forſake the counſell & wayes of peace, and haſt counſailed wyth the Jewes? we take away from thee this chalice of thy ſaluatiō. But John Hus receiued this curſe in this maner: but I truſt vnto God the father omnipotent, and my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe ſake I do ſuffer theſe thynges, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but haue a ſtedfaſt and firme hope that thys day I ſhall drinke therof in hys kyngdome. Then followed the other byſhops in order which euery one of thē tooke away the veſtimentes frō him, which they had put on, eche one of them geuyng hym their curſe. Whereunto John Hus aunſwered that he did willingly embrace and beare thoſe blaſphemies for the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. At the laſt they came to the raſing of hys ſhauen crowne. But before the biſhops would goe in hand wyth it, there was a great contention betwene them, wyth what inſtrument it ſhould be done, wyth a raſour, or with a payre of ſheares.

The diſgrating of John Hus.

In the meane ſeaſon John Hus turnyng hymſelfe toward the Emperour, ſayd: I maruell that foraſmuch as they be all of like cruell mynde and ſtomacke, yet they cannot agree vpon their kynde of crueltie. Notwithſtandyng, at the laſt they agreed to cut of the ſkinne of the crowne of hys head with a payre of ſheares. And when they had done that, they added theſe wordes: now hath the Church taken away all her ornamentes and priuileges from hym. Now there reſteth nothing els, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power. But before they did that, there yet remayned an other knacke of reproch. For they cauſed to be made a certayne crowne of paper, almoſt a cubite depe, in the which were painted three deuils of wonderfull ougly ſhape, and this title ſet ouer their heades, Hereſiarcha. The which when he ſaw, he ſayd: My Lord Jeſus Chriſt for my ſake did weare a crowne of thorne: why ſhould not I then for his ſake againe weare this light crown, be it neuer ſo ignominious? Truely I will do it, and ẏ willingly. When it was ſet vpon his head, the byſhops ſaid: now we commit

The wordes of John Hus vnto the Emperour.

The crowne of John Hus pared away with ſheares.

The marueilous conſtancie & courage of the bleſſed martyr.

The paper wyth the inſcription ſet vpon Huſſes head.

thy ſoule vnto the deuill. But I, ſayd Iohn Hus (liftyng his eyes vp towardes the heauens) do commit my ſpirit into thy handes: O Lord Ieſu Chriſt, vnto thee I commend my ſpirite which thou haſt redemed. Theſe cōtumelious opprobries thus ended, the Byſhops turnyng themſelues towardes the Emperour, ſayd: This moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtance, leaueth now Iohn Hus, which hath no more any office, or to do in the church of God, vnto the ciuill iudgement and power. Then the Emperour commaūded Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, whiche ſtode before him in his robes, holdyng the golden apple with the croſſe in his hand, that he ſhould receiue I. Hus of the Byſhops, and deliuer him vnto them which ſhould do the executiō. By whom as he was led to the place of executiō, before the Church dores he ſaw his bookes burnyng, whereat he ſmiled and laughed. And all men that he paſſed by, he exhorted, not to thinke that he ſhould dye for any errour or hereſie, but onely for the hatred and ill will of his aduerſaries, which had charged hym with moſt falſe and vniuſt crime. All the whole Citie in a maner beyng in armour, followed him.

The proteſtation of I Hus as he was lead to the place of execution

The place appointed for the execution, was before the gate Gotlebian, betwene the gardens and the gates of the ſuburbes. When as Iohn Hus was come thether, knelyng downe vpon his knees, and liftyng his eyes vp vnto heauē, he prayed and ſayd certaine Pſalmes, and ſpecially the .li. and .xxxi. Pſalmes. And they which ſtode by, heard him oftē tymes in his prayer with a merye and chearefull countenaunce repeate this verſe: Into thy handes, O Lord, I commend my ſpirite. &c. Which thyng when the lay people beheld whiche ſtode next vnto him, they ſayd: what he hath done afore, we know not, but now we ſee and heare that he doth ſpeake and pray very deuoutly and godly. Other ſome wiſhed that he had a Confeſſor. There was a certaine Prieſt by, ſittyng on horſebacke in a greene gowne drawen about with red ſilke, which ſayd, he ought not to be heard, becauſe he is an hereticke. Yet notwithſtandyng whileſt he was in priſon he was both confeſſed, and alſo abſolued by a certaine Doctour a Monke, as Hus himſelfe doth witnes in a certaine Epiſtle which he wrote vnto his frendes out of priſon. Thus Chriſt raigneth vnknowē vnto the world, euen in the myddeſt of his enemyes. In the meane tyme whileſt he prayed, as he bowed his necke backward to looke vpward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell of from his head vpon the ground. Then one of the ſouldiours takyng it vp agayne ſayd: let vs put it agayne vpon his head, that he may be burned with hys maiſters the deuils whom he hath ſerued.

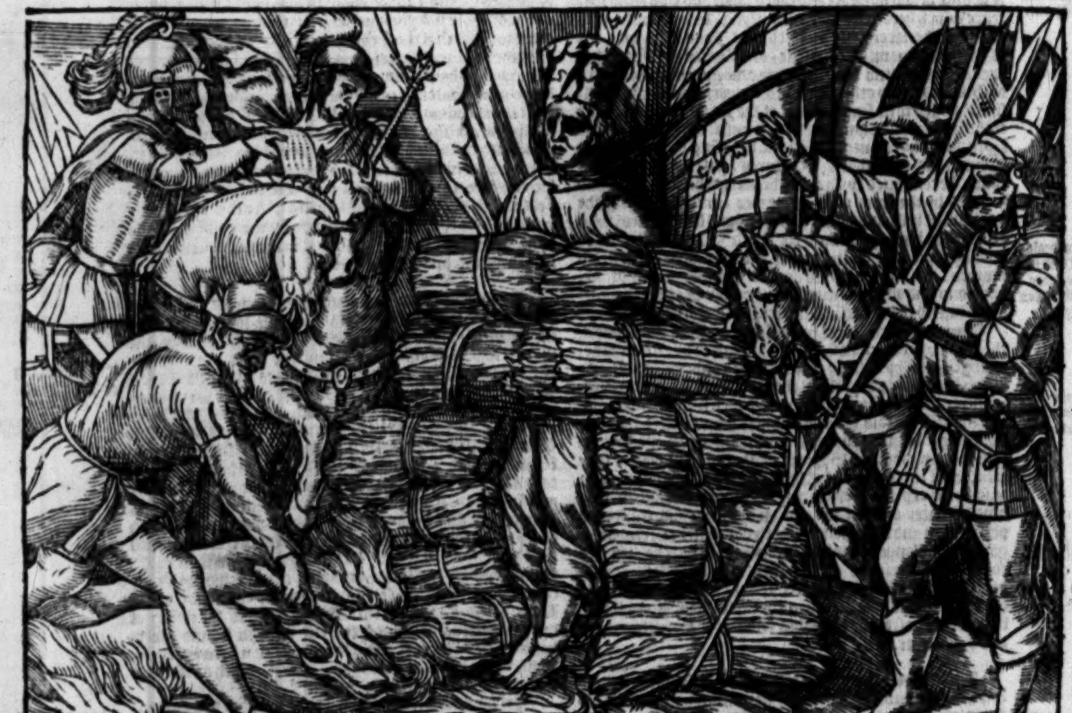
The prayers of I. Hus well liked of the people.

Ex epiſt. Ioan. Hus, 31.

The paper with deuils fell from his head.

At the prayer of Hus the paper with deuils fell downe.

¶ The deſcription of the burnyng of Iohn Hus, contrary to the ſafeconduict graunted vnto hym.



When as by the cōmaundement of the tormentours he was riſen vp from the place of his prayer, with a loud voyce he ſayd: Lord Ieſu Chriſt aſſiſte and helpe me, that with a conſtant and pacient mynde, by thy moſt gracious helpe, I may beare and ſuffer this cruell & ignominious death, wherunto I am condemned for the preachyng of thy moſt holy Goſpell and word. Then as before, he declared the cauſe of his death vnto the people. In the meane ſeaſon the hangmā ſtripped him of his garmentes, and turnyng his handes behynde his backe, tyed him faſt vnto the ſtake with ropes that were made wet. And where as by chaunce he was turned towardes the Eaſt, certaine cried out that he ſhould not looke towardes the Eaſt, for he was an hereticke: ſo he was turned towardes the Weſt. Then was his necke tyed with a chayne vnto the ſtake, the which chayne when he beheld, ſmilyng he ſayd, that he would willyngly receiue the ſame chayne for Ieſu Chriſtes ſake, whom he knew was boūd with a farre worſe chayne. Vnder his feete they ſet two fagots, admixing ſtraw withall, and ſo likewiſe from the feete vp to the chin, he was incloſed in rounde about with wood. But before the wood was ſet on fire, Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, with an other Gentlemā with hym, which was the ſonne of Clement, came and exhorted Iohn Hus, that he would yet be myndefull of his ſafegard, and renoūce his errours. To whom he ſaid, what errour ſhould I renoūce, when as I know my ſelfe gilty of none? For, as for thoſe thinges which are falſly alledged agaynſt me, I know that I neuer did ſo much as once thincke them, much leſſe preach them. For this was the principall end and purpoſe of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penaunce and remiſſiō

Iohn Hus faſtened to the ſtake.

Iohn Hus turned toward the Weſt.

Pardon offered agayne to I. Hus.

of

The laſt cõfeſsion of John Hus.

of ſinnes, accordyng to the veritie of the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and the expoſition of the holy Doctours: wherefore with a chearefull mynde and courage I am here ready to ſuffer death. Whẽ he had ſpoken theſe wordes, they left hym, and ſhakyng handes together they departed.

The martyrdome of bleſſed John Hus.

Precious in the ſight of God is the death of his ſaintes.

Then was the fire kyndled, and John Hus begã to ſing with a loud voyce, Jeſu Chriſt the ſonne of the lyuing God haue mercy vpon me. And when he began to ſay the ſame the thyrd tyme, the wynde droue the flame ſo vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithſtandyng he moued a whyle after, by the ſpace that a man might almoſt ſay three tymes the Lordes prayer. When all the wood was burned and conſumed the vpper part of the body was left hangyng in the chayne, the which they threw downe ſtake and all, and makyng a new fire burned it, the head beyng firſt cut in ſmall gobbets, that it might the ſooner be conſumed vnto aſhes.

The hart of John Hus beaten with ſtaues, and conſumed with fire.

The aſhes of J. Hus caſt into the riuer of Rheine.

The hart, whiche was founde amongeſt the bowels, beyng well beaten with ſtaues and cloubbes, was at laſt pricked vpon a ſharpe ſticke, and roſted at a fire a part vntil it was conſumed. Then with great diligence gatheryng the aſhes together, they caſt them into the Riuer of Rhene, that the leaſt remnaunt of the aſhes of that man ſhould not be left vpon the earth, whoſe memory notwithſtandyng cannot be aboliſhed out of the myndes of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kynde of torment.

The author and witnes of this ſtory.

M. John Przibram is thought to be his name.

¶ I know very well that theſe thynges are very ſclenderly writtẽ of me as touchyng the labours of this moſt holy Martyr John Hus, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that aũcient Hercules ſlew a few monſters: but this our Hercules with a moſt ſtoute and valiaunt courage hath ſubdued euen the world it ſelfe, the mother of all Monſters and cruell beaſtes. This ſtory were worthy ſome other kynde of more copious handlyng, but for ſomuch as I cannot otherwiſe performe it my ſelfe, I haue endeuored accordyng to the very truth as the thing was in deede, to commende the ſame vnto all godly myndes: neither haue I heard it reported by others; but I my ſelfe was preſent at the doyng of all theſe thyngs, and as I was able I haue put them in writyng, that by this my labour, and indeuour howſoeuer it were, I might preſerue the memory of this moſt holy mã and excellent Doctour of the Euangelicall truth.

Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de Hiſt. Huſsit.

What was the name of this authour which wrote this ſtory, it is not here expreſſed. Cochleus in his 2. booke cõtra Huſsitas, ſuppoſeth his name to be Ioannes Przibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward ſucceedyng in the place of J. Hus at Prage, at laſt is thought to relent to the Papiſtes.

This godly ſeruaunt and Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the cruell Cõcell, and burned at Conſtance an. 1415. about the moneth of July.

Ex Cochleo de Hiſt. Huſs. lib. 4.

How greuouſly this death of John Hus was taken among the Nobles of Boheme and of Morauia, hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhall appeare, by their letters which they ſent vnto the Cõcell, and by the letters of Sigiſmund the kyng of Romaines, written vnto them. Wherein he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuſe himſelſe, of Huſſes death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent from that bloud: yet notwithſtandyng he pretendeth in wordes ſo to wype away that blot from him, that the greateſt part of that crime ſeemeth to reſt vpon the bloudy prelates of that Councell, as the wordes of the king do purport in forme as followeth.

The Emperour excuſeth himſelfe of the death of J. Hus.

INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni exiſtentibus, peruenit ad Conſtantiam. &c. In the meane tyme as we were about the coaſtes of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Cõſtance and there was arreſted, as is not to you vnknowẽ. Who if he had firſt reſorted vnto vs, and had gone with vs vp to the Cõcel, perhaps it had bene otherwiſe with him. And God knoweth, what grief and ſorow it was to our hart, to ſee it ſo to fall out, as with no wordes cã be wel expreſſed. Wherof all the Bohemians, which were there preſent, can beare vs witnes, ſeyng and beholdyng how carefull and ſollicitous we were in labouryng for him: In ſomuch that we many tymes with anger and fury departed out of the Councell: and not onely out of the Councell, but alſo went out of the Citie of Cõſtance taking his part, vnto ſuch tyme as the rulers of the Councell ſendyng vnto vs, ſayd: That if we would not permit them to proſecute that, which right required in the Councell, what ſhould they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our ſelues, that here was nothyng els for vs more to, nor yet to ſpeake in this caſe, for aſmuch as the whole Councell otherwiſe had bene diſſolued. Where is to be noted moreouer, that in Conſtance the ſame tyme there was not one clerke, or two but there were Ambaſſadours for all kynges and princes in Chriſtẽdome, eſpecially ſince the tyme that (Petrus de Luna geuing ouer) all thoſe kynges and princes which tooke hys part, came to vs: ſo that whatſoeuer good was to be done, it was now to be paſſed in this preſent Councell. &c. Ex Epiſt. Imper. Sigiſmundi. ad Nobiles. &c.

Ex epiſt. I. Hus. 33.

¶ By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly aſhamed and ſory of that which was done, would gladly haue cleared hymſelfe thereof, and haue waſhed his handes wyth Pilate: yet he could not ſo cleare hymſelfe, but that a great portion of that murder remayned in hym to be noted, and well worthy of reprehenſion: as may both appeare by hys laſt wordes ſpoken in the Councell to J. Hus, wherof John Hus in hys Epiſtles complayneth, writing to certayne of his frendes in Bohemia in his 33. Epiſtle, as by his wordes may appeare here followyng.

The Emperour vnrighteous to J. Hus.

Pilate more moderate to Chriſt, then thys Emperour to John Hus.

I Deſire you yet againe for the loue of God, that the lordes of Boheme ioyning together, will deſire the kyng for finall audience to be geuen me. For ſo much as he alone ſayd to me in the Councell, that they ſhould geue me audience ſhortly, and that I ſhould aunſwer for my ſelfe briefly in writyng: it will be to his great confuſion, if he ſhal not performe that which he hath ſpoken. But I feare that word of his will be as firme and ſure, as the other was cõcerning my ſafeconduct graunted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his ſafeconduct. And other ſaid: he will ſure geue you to your enemies. And the Lord Mikeſt Dweky tolde me before M. Ieſſenitz, ſaying: maiſter, know it for certayne you ſhalbe condemned. And this I ſuppoſe he ſpake, knowyng before the intention of the king. I hoped wel that he had ben wel affected toward the law of God and truth, and had therin good intelligẽce: now I conceaue that he is not greatly ſkilfull nor ſo prudently circumſpect in himſelfe. He condemned me before myne enemies did. Who, if it had pleaſed him, might haue kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentil, which ſaid: I find no cauſe in this mã: or at leaſt if he had ſayd but thus: behold I haue geuen hym his ſafeconduct ſafely to returne. And if he wyl not abide the deciſion of the councell, I will ſend him home to the king of Boheme, with your ſentence and atteſtations, that he with his clergy may iudge him. But now I heare by the relation of Henry Leffl, and of other, that he will ordayne for me ſufficient audience: And if I will not ſubmit my ſelfe to the iudgement of the councell, he will ſend me ſafe, the contrary way. &c.

This John Hus beyng in priſon, wrote diuers treatiſes, as of the commaundementes, of the Lordes prayer, of mortall ſinne, of matrimony, of the knowledge and loue of God, of three enemyes of mankinde, the world, the fleſhe & the deuill: of penaunce, of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord: of the ſufficiencie of the lawe of God to rule the Church. &c. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles and letters to the Lordes and to his frendes of Boheme: And in hys writinges did foreſhew many thinges before to come, touching the reformation of the Church: and ſeemeth in the priſon to haue had diuers Prophetical reuelatiõs ſhewed to hym of God. Certayne of which hys letters, and predictions, I thought here vnderneath to inſert, in ſuch ſort, as neither in reciting al I wil ouercharge ẏ volume too much nor yet in reciting of none, I will be ſo briefe, but that the reader may haue ſome taſt, and take ſome profite of ẏ Chriſtian writinges and doynges of this bleſſed man: Firſt begynning with the letter of the Lord Clum, concerning the ſafeconduict of John Hus.

A letter of the Lord Iohn de Clum concernyng the ſafeconduict of Iohn Hus.

TO all and ſinguler that ſhall ſee and heare theſe preſentes, I Iohn de Clum doe it to vnderſtand, how maiſter Iohn Hus Bacheler of diuinitie, vnder the ſafeconduict, and protection of the renowned prince & Lord Sigiſmund of Romaines ſemper Auguſtus, and kyng of Hungary. &c. my gracious Lord, and vnder the protection, defence, and ſafegarde of the holy Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the ſayd my Lord kyng of Romaynes. &c. came vnto Conſtaunce to render a full counte of hys fayth in publicke audience to all that would require the ſame. This the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus, in this Imperiall Citie of Conſtance, vnder the ſafeconduict of the ſayd my Lord kyng of Romaynes, hath bene and yet is deteyned. And although the Pope wyth the Cardinals haue bene ſeriouſly required, by ſolemne Ambaſſadours of the ſayd my Lord king of Romaines. &c. in the kynges name and behalfe, that the ſayde maiſter Iohn Hus ſhould be ſet at liberty, and be reſtored vnto me, yet notwithſtanding, they haue and yet doe refuſe hitherto to ſet hym at liberty, to the great contempt & derogation of the ſafeconduict of the king, and of the ſafegard and protectiō of the Empire or Emperial maieſty. Wherfore I Iohn aforeſayd in the name of the kyng, do here publiſh and make it knowen, that the apprehending and deteyning of the ſayd M. Iohn Hus, was done wholy againſt the wyll of the forenamed kyng of Romaines my Lord, ſeeyng it is done in the contempt of the ſafeconduct of hys ſubiectſ, and of the protection of the Empire, becauſe that the ſayde my Lord was then abſent farre from Conſtance, and if he had bene there preſent, would neuer haue permitted the ſame. And when he ſhall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he for this great iniury, and contempt of this ſafe conduct done to him and to the Empire, will greuouſly be moleſted for the ſame. Geuen at Conſtance in the day of the natiuitie of the Lord. 1414.

¶ In this inſtrument aboue prefixed note (gentle reader) iij. things.

Firſt, the goodnes of this gentle Lord John de Clum, beyng ſo feruent and zelous in the cauſe of John Huſſe, or rather in the cauſe of Chriſt.

Secondly, the ſafe conduict graunted vnto the ſayd J. Hus, vnder the fayth and protection of the Emperour, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, here is to be ſene the contempt and rebellion of theſe proude Prelates in diſobeying the authoritie of their high Magiſtrate, who contrary to his ſafeconduict geuen, and the mynd of the Emperour did areſt and impriſon this good man, before the commyng of the ſayd Emperour, & before that John Hus was heard. Let vs now, as we haue promiſed, adioyne ſome of the epiſtles of this godly man.

An Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage in hys owne vulgar ſpeech.

GRace and peace from our lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you beyng deliuered from ſinne, may walke in his grace & may grow in all modeſty and vertue, and after this may enioy eternall lyfe.

Derely beloued, I beſech you which walke after the law of God, that you caſt not away the care of the ſaluation of your ſoules, when as you hearing the word of God, are premoniſhed wiſely to vnderſtand that you be not deceyued by falſe Apoſtles: which do not reprehend the ſinnes of men, but rather do extenuate and diminiſh them: which flatter the prieſtes, and do not ſhew to the people theyr offences: which magnifie themſelues: boaſt their owne workes, and maruelouſly extoll their owne worthines: but followe not Chriſt in his humility, in pouerty, in the croſſe and other manifold afflictions. Of whome our mercifull Sauiour dyd premoniſh vs before, ſaying: falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophets ſhal riſe, & ſhal deceyue many. And whē he had forewarned hys welbeloued diſciples he ſayd vnto them: beware and take hede of falſe Prophetes, which come to you in ſhepes clothyng, but inwardly are rauenyng wolues: ye ſhall know them by their fruites. And truth it is, that the faythfull of Chriſt haue much nede diligently to beware, & take hede vnto themſelues: For as our Sauiour himſelf doth ſay: the elect alſo, if it were poſſible, ſhall be brought into error. Wherfore my welbeloued, be circumſpect and watchful, that ye be not circūuented with the crafty traynes of the deuill. And the more circumſpect ye ought to be, for that antichriſt laboureth the more to trouble you. The laſt iudgement is nere at hand: death ſhall ſwallow vp many but to the elect children of God, the kyngdome of God draweth nere, becauſe for them he gaue hys owne body. Feare not death: loue together one an other: perſeuere in vnderſtanding the good will of God without ceaſing. Let the terrible and horrible day of iudgement, be alwayes before your eies, that you ſinne not: and alſo the ioy of eternall lyfe, whereunto you muſt endeuor. Furthermore, let the paſſion of our Sauiour be neuer out of your myndes: that you maye beare with him and for hym gladly, whatſoeuer ſhall be layd vpon you. For if you ſhall conſider well in your myndes hys croſſe and afflictions, nothyng ſhall be greuous vnto you, & patiently you ſhall geue place to tribulations, curſinges, rebukes, ſtripes, and priſonment, and ſhall not doubt to geue your lyues moreouer for his holy truth, if neede require. Know ye welbeloued that Antichriſt beyng ſtirred vp agaynſt you, deuiſeth diuers perſecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the leſt heire of their heds, as by myne own example I can teſtifie, although he hath bene vehemently incenſed againſt me. Wherfore I deſire you all, with your prayers to make interceſſion for me to the lord, to geue me intelligence, ſufferance, patience, and conſtancy, that I neuer ſwarue from his diuine verity. He hath brought me now to Conſtance. In all my iourny openly and manifeſtly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becommeth the ſeruaunt of God. In no place I kept my ſelfe ſecret, nor vſed any diſſimulation. But neuer dyd I finde in any place more peſtilent and manifeſt enemies then at Conſtāce. Which enemies neither ſhould I haue had there, had it not bene for certayne of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites and deceiuers, who for benefites receiued & ſtirred vp with couetouſnes, with boaſtyng & bragging, haue perſuaded the people that I wēt about to ſeduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers I ſhall perſiſt ſtrongly in the immutable verity of God, vnto the laſt breath. Finally, I would not haue you ignorant, that where as euery one here is put in his office, I only as an outcaſt am neglected. &c. I commend you to the mercifull Lord Ieſu Chriſt, our true God, and the ſonne of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed vs by his moſt bitter death, without all our merites, from eternall paines, from the thraldom of the Deuill, and from ſinne. From Conſtance, the yere of our Lord. 1415.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactours.

An other letter of J. Hus.

MY gracious benefactours and defendours of the truth, I exhorte you by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that now ye ſettyng aſide the vanities of this preſent world, will geue your ſeruice to the eternall kyng, Chriſt the Lord. Truſt not in Princes nor in the ſonnes of men, in whom there is no health. For the ſonnes of mē are diſſemblers and diſceitfull. To day they erre, to morrow they periſh, but God remaineth for euer. Who hath his ſeruauntes, not for any nede he hath of them, but for their owne profite: vnto whom he performeth that, whiche he promiſeth, and fulfilleth that which he purpoſeth to geue. He caſteth of no faythfull ſeruaunt from him, for he ſayth: where I am there alſo ſhall my ſeruaunt be. And that Lord maketh euery ſeruaunt of his to be the Lord of all his poſſeſſion, geuyng himſelfe vnto him, & with himſelfe, all thynges: that without all tediouſnes, feare, and without all defect, he may poſſeſſe all things, reioyſing with all Saintes in ioy infinite. O happy is that ſeruaunt, whom, when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall finde watchyng. Happy is the ſeruaunt which ſhall receaue that kyng of glory with ioy. Wherfore, welbeloued Lordes, and benefactours, ſerue you that kyng in feare: whiche ſhall bryng you, as I truſt, now to Boheme at this preſent, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternall lyfe of glory. Fare ye well: For I thinke that this is the laſt letter that I ſhall write to you: who to morrow, as I ſuppoſe, ſhalbe purged in hope of Jeſu Chriſt, through bitter death, from my ſinnes. The thynges that happened to me this night, I am not able to write. Sigiſmund hath done all thynges with me diſceitfully, God forgeue him and onely for your ſakes. You alſo heard the ſentence which he awarded agaynſt me. I pray you haue no ſuſpition of faythfull Vitus.

An other letter to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

An other letter of John Hus.

MOſt gracious benefactour in Chriſt Ieſu, dearely beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I maye write vnto your honour. By your letter, which I receaued yeſterday, I vnderſtand, firſt how the iniquitie of the great ſtrompet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalips) is detected and ſhalbe more detected. Wyth the which ſtrumpet the kynges of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating ſpiritually from Chriſt, and as is there ſayd, ſliding backe from the truth, & conſenting to the lyes of Antichriſt, thorough his ſeduction and through feare, or through hope of confederacie, for getting of worldly honour. Secōdly I perceaued by your letter, how the enemies of the truth, begin now to be troubled. Thirdly I perceaued the feruent conſtancie of your charitie, wherewith you profeſſe the truth boldly. Fourthly, with ioye I perceaued that you minde now to geue ouer the vanitie and the painefull ſeruice of this preſent world, and to ſerue the Lord Ieſus Chriſt quietely at home. Whome to ſerue, is to raigne, as Gregory ſayth. Whom he that ſerueth faithfully, hath Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe in the kingdome of heauen to miniſter vnto hym, as he hymſelfe ſayth: Bleſſed is that ſeruaunt, whom when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall finde wakyng, and ſo doyng. Verely I ſay vnto you, that he riſing, ſhall girde hymſelfe, and ſhall miniſter to hym. Thys doe not the kyngs of thys worlde to their ſeruauntes: whome onely they doe loue ſo long as they are profitable and neceſſary for theyr commodities.&c.

An other Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, wherin he declareth why God ſuffreth not hys to periſhe, bringyng diuers examples, wherwith he doth comfort and confirme both hymſelſe and other.

THe Lord God be with you. Many cauſes there were, wel beloued in God my deare frendes, which mooued me to thinke that thoſe letters were the laſt, which before I ſent vnto you, loking that ſame tyme for inſtant death. But now vnderſtanding the ſame to be differred, I take it for great cōfort vnto me, that I haue ſome leaſure more to talke wyth you by letters: and therfore I write againe to you, to declare and teſtifie at leaſt, my gratitude and myndfull duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth differ it both to me and to my welbeloued brother maiſter Hierome, who I truſt will die holily and without blame: and do know alſo that he doth, and ſuffreth now more valiauntly, then I my ſelf a wretched ſinner. God hath geuen vs a long tyme, that we might cal to memory our ſinnes the better, and repent for the ſame more feruently. He hath graūted vs tyme, that our long and great temptation ſhould put away our greeuous ſinnes, and bring the more conſolation. He hath geuen vs time, wherein we ſhoulde remember the horrible rebukes of our mercyfull kynge and Lorde Ieſus, and ſhoulde ponder his cruell death, and ſo more pacyently might learne to beare our aflictions. And moreouer that we might kepe in remembraunce, how that the ioyes of the lyfe to come, are not geuen after the ioyes of this world immediatly, but through many tribulations the ſaintes haue entred into the kyngdome of heauen. For ſome of them haue bene cut and chopt all to pieces, ſome theyr eyes bored through, ſome ſod: ſome roſted, ſome ſlayn aliue, ſome buried quicke, ſtoned, crucified, grynded betwixt myll ſtones, drawn and hayled hither and thither vnto execution drowned in waters, ſtrangled and hanged, torne in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in priſons and afflicted in bandes. And who is able to recite all the tormentes and ſuffrings of the holy Saintes, which they ſuffered vnder the old and new Teſtament for the verity of GOD: namely thoſe which haue at any tyme rebuked the malice of the prieſts, or haue preached againſt their wickednes and it will be a meruaile if any man now alſo ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed, who ſo euer dare boldly reſiſt the wickednes and peruerſitie, eſpecially of thoſe prieſtes, which can abyde no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my bookes, in the which, their malice is ſomewhat deſcribed: and I know they haue read the ſame more exactly and diligently, then the holy Goſpell, ſeking therin to find out errours. Geuen at Conſtance vpon Thurſday the 28. day of Iune, an. 1415.

The torments of the martirs vnder the olde & new Teſtament.

¶An other letter of Iohn Hus, wherin he rehearſeth what iniuries he receyued of the Councell, and of the deputies.

IF my letter be not ſent yet to Boheme, kepe it and ſend it not, for hurt may come therof, &c.

Itē, if the kyng do aſke who ought to be my iudge, ſince that the Councell neither did call me, nor did cite me, neyther was I euer accuſed before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath impriſoned me, and hath appoynted theyr proctor againſt me.

He meaneth, belyke that he ſhould moue the kyng in theſe matters contayned in thys Epiſtle.

Item I deſire you right noble and gracious Lord Iohn, if audience ſhalbe geuen me, that the kyng wyll be there preſent hymſelfe, and that I may haue a place appointed neare vnto hym that he may heare me well and vnderſtand what I ſay: and that you alſo with the Lord Henry, and with lord Wenſelaus and other mo, if you may, wil be preſent. & heare what the Lord Ieſus Chriſt my procurator and aduocate, & moſt gracious iudge, will put in my mouth to ſpeake, that whether I liue or die, you may be true and vpright witneſſes with me, leaſt lying lips ſhall ſay hereafter that I ſwarued away from the truth which I haue preached.

Item, know you that before witneſſes and notaries in the priſon, I deſired the commiſſioners that they would depute vnto me a proctor and an aduocate, who promiſed ſo to do, and afterward would not performe it. Wherfore I haue cōmitted my ſelf to the lord Ieſus Chriſt that he will be my procurator and aduocate and iudge of my cauſe?

Item, knowe you, that they haue as I ſuppoſe no other quarell agaynſt me, but onely this, that I ſtoode againſt the Popes Bull, which Pope Iohn ſent downe to Boheme, to ſanctifie warre with the ſigne of the croſſe and full remiſſion of ſinnes, to all them which would take the holy croſſe to fight for the patrimony of the Romiſhe Church agaynſt Ladiſlaus kyng of Naples, and they haue mine owne writing which was read againſt me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they haue alſo againſt me, that I haue continued ſo long in excommunication, and yet did take vpon me to miniſter in the church and ſay maſſe. Thirdly they haue againſt me, becauſe I did appeale from the Pope to Chriſt. For they read my appeale before me, in the which with a willing mynde, ſmiling I confeſſed before them all to be myne. Fourthly, becauſe I left a certaine letter behind me, which was read in the Church of Bethleem, the which letter my aduerſaries haue very euill fauoredly tranſlated & ſiniſterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out without a ſafeconduct. Whereunto you your ſelues can ſay & beare me record, that I in my going out, had no ſafeconducte of the Pope, neither yet did know whether you ſhould goe out with me when I wrote that letter.

Vide ſupra. pag. 599.

Item, if audience may be geuen to me, and that after the ſame audience the kyng would ſuffer me not to be returned againe into priſon, but that I may haue your counſels & others my frendes: and if it may pleaſe God that I may ſay ſome thing to my ſoueraigne Lord the kyng, for the behalfe of Chriſtianitie, and for his owne profite. &c.

¶An other letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and deſcribeth the wickednes of that Councell.

An other letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the ſeruaunt of God, to all the faithfull in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greeting thorough the grace of God. It cōmeth in my minde, wherein I muſt neede admoniſh you, that be the faithfull and beloued of the Lord, how that the coūcell of Cōſtance being full of pride, auarice, and all abhomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tōge, for hereticall, which bookes they neuer ſawe, nor neuer heard them read: And if they had heard them, yet they could not vnderſtand the ſame, being ſome Italians, ſome Frenchmē, ſome Britains, ſome Spanyardes, Germains, with other people of other nations moe: vnleſſe peraduenture Iohn Biſhop of Litomiſhe vnderſtode them, which was preſent in that councell, and certayne other Bohemians, and prieſtes which are againſt me, and labour all they may how to deprave both the veritie of God, and the honeſty of our countrey of Boheme: Which I iudge in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well geuen to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth ſo greatly deſire the word of God, & honeſt maners. And if you were here at Conſtance, ye ſhould ſee the greuous abhominatiō of this Councell, which they call ſo holy, and ſuch as can not erre. Of the which Councell I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the Citie of Conſtance is not able in 30. yeares to be purged of thoſe wicked abhominations in that Councell committed. And all be offended almoſt with that Councell, being ſore greeued to behold ſuch execrable thynges perpetrate in the ſame.

The Councell condemne bookes which they vnderſtand not.

Prayſe of Bohemia.

The abhomination of the Councell of Conſtance deſcribed.

When I ſtoode firſt to aunſwere before mine aduerſaries, ſeeing all thinges there done with no order, and hearing them alſo outragiouſly crying out, I ſaid plainely vnto them, that I looked for more honeſt behauiour, and better order and diſcipline, in that Councel. Then the chiefe Cardinall aunſwered, ſayſt thou ſo? but in the tower thou ſpakeſt more modeſtly. To whom, ſayd I: in the Tower no man cryed out againſt me, where as now all do rage againſt me. My faithfull & beloued in Chriſt, be not afrayd with their ſentence in condemning my bookes. They ſhall be ſcattered hether and thether abroad, like light Butterfleis, and their ſtatutes, ſhall endure as Spiderwebs. They went about to ſhake my conſtancie frō the veritie of Chriſt: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me. They woulde not reaſon with the ſcriptures againſt me, as diuers honourable Lordes can witnes with me, which being ready to ſuffer contumely for the truth of God, tooke my part ſtoutely: namely Lord Wenceſlaus de Duba, & Lord Iohn de Chlum: for they were let in by king Sigiſmund into the Councell. And when I ſayd, that I was deſirous to be inſtructed, if I did in any thing erre, then they heard the chiefe Cardinall aunſwere againe: becauſe thou wouldeſt be informed, there is no remedy, but thou muſt firſt reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of 50. Bachelers of Diuinitie appointed. O high inſtruction.

I. Hus ſeemeth here to prophecie of the Coūcell as it came to paſſe.

The Councell afrayde to be tryed by the ſcriptures.

This Cardinall was Cardinall Cameracenſis.

After like maner S. Catherine alſo ſhould haue denyed and reuoked the veritie of God and fayth in Chriſt, becauſe the 50. maiſters likewyſe did withſtande her: which not-

S. Katherine diſputing with 50. doctours, conuerted them but J. Hus could not conuert his 50. doctours.

withſtandyng, that good virgine would neuer do, ſtandyng in her fayth vnto death: But ſhe did winne thoſe her maiſters vnto Chriſt, when as I can not wynne theſe my maiſters by any meanes. Theſe things I thought good to write vnto you, that you might know how they haue ouercome me, with no grounded Scripture nor with any reaſon: but onely did aſſay with terrours and diſceites to perſuade me to reuoke and to abiure. But our mercifull God, whoſe law I haue magnified, was and is with me, and I truſt, ſo wil cōtinue, and will kepe me in his grace vnto death. Written at Conſtance after the feaſt of Iohn Baptiſt, in priſon and in bandes, daily lokyng for death, although for the ſecret iudgemēts of God, I dare not ſay whether this be my laſt Epiſtle: for now alſo almighty God is able to deliuer me.

An other letter of Iohn Hus wherin he comforteth hys frendes and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemnyng of hys bokes: & alſo declareth the wickednes of the clergy.

MAiſter Iohn Hus, in hope the ſeruaunt of God, to all the faythfull which loue hym and his ſtatutes, wiſheth the truth and grace of God.

Good bookes of good men haue bene burned of olde tyme.

Good men wyth their bookes to be burned, no newes.

Beloued, I thought it nedefull to warne you that you ſhould not feare or be diſcouraged becauſe the aduerſaries haue decreed that my bookes ſhall be burnt. Remēber how the Iſraelites burned the preachinges of the Prophet Ieremy and yet they could not auoyd the thinges that wer prophecied of in them. For after they were burnt, the lord cōmaunded to write the ſame prophecy agayne, and that larger: which was alſo done. For Ieremy ſittyng in priſō ſpake and Baruch, which was ready at hys hande, wrote. Thys is written eyther in the 35. or 45. chapiter of the viſion of Ieremy. It is alſo written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked dyd burne the law of God, and killed them that had the ſame. Agayne, vnder the new teſtament, they burned the ſaintes, with the bokes of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certayne of S. Gregories bookes, and had burnt them all if they had not bene preſerued of God by the meanes of Peter, Gregories Miniſter. Hauyng theſe thinges before your eyes, take heede leaſt through feare, you omit to read my bokes, and deliuer them to the aduerſaries to be brent. Remember the ſayings of our mercifull ſauiour, by which he forewarneth vs. Mathew. 24. There ſhal be (ſayth he) before the day of iudgement, great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginnyng, vntill this day, neyther ſhall be afterwardes: So that euen the elect of God ſhould be deceaued if it were poſſible. But for theyr ſakes, thoſe dayes ſhall be ſhortened. When you remember theſe thinges, dearely beloued, be not afrayd, for I truſt in God that that ſchole of Antichriſt ſhall be afrayd of you, and ſuffer you to be in quiet, neyther ſhall the Councell of Conſtance extende to Bohemia. For I thinke, that many of them, which are of the Councell, ſhall dye before they ſhal get from you my bookes, And they ſhall departe from the Councell and be ſcattred abroad, throughout the partes of the world, like ſtorkes, and then they ſhall know whē winter commeth, what they did in ſommer. Conſider that they haue adiudged theyr head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible factes that he hath done. Go to now: Aunſwer to this you preachers which preach that the Pope is the God of the earth, that he may as the Lawyers ſay, make ſale of the holy things: that he is the hed of the whole holy Church in veritie well gouerning the ſame: that he is the hart of the Church in quickenyng the ſame ſpiritually: that he is the welſpring from the which floweth all vertue and goodnes: that he is the ſonne of the holy church: that he is the ſafe refuge to which euery Chriſtian man ought to flie for ſuccour. Behold now that hed is cut of with the ſword, now the God of the earth is bound, now his ſinnes are declared openly, now that welſpring is dryed vp, that ſonne darckened, that hart is plucked out and thrown away, leaſt that any man ſhould ſeke ſuccour therat. The Counceel hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, becauſe he tooke money for indulgences, Biſhoprickes and other ſuch lyke. But they cōdemned hym by order of iudgemēt, which were themſelues the buyers and ſellers of the ſame Marchaundiſe. There was preſent Iohn biſhop of Lytomiſlia, who went twiſe about to buy the Biſhopricke of Prage, but others preuented hym. O wycked men, why did they not firſt caſt out the beame out of theyr owne eyes? Theſe men haue accurſed and condemned the ſeller, but they thēſelues which were the buyers and conſenters to the bargayne, are without daunger. What ſhall I ſay that they do vſe in thys maner of buying and ſellyng at home in their owne countreys? For at Conſtance there is one Biſhop that bought, and an other which ſold, and the Pope for allowing of both their factes, tooke bribes of both ſides. It came ſo to paſſe in Bohemia alſo as you know. I would that in that Councell God had ſayd, he that amongſt you is without ſinne, let him geue the ſentence agaynſt Pope Iohn! Then ſurely they had gone all out of the Councell houſe, one after another. Why did they bowe the knee to hym alwayes, before this his fall, kiſſe hys feete, and call hym the moſt holy father, ſeyng they ſaw apparauntly before, that he was an hereticke, that he was a mankiller, that he was a wicked ſinner? all which thinges now they haue found in hym. Why did the Cardinals chuſe him to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy Father? Why ſuffred they him to meddle with holy thinges, in bearyng the office of the Popedome? for to this ende they are hys counſailours that they ſhould admoniſh him of that which is right. Are not they themſelues as guilty of theſe faultes as he? ſeing that they accounted theſe things vices in him, & wer partakers of ſom of thē thēſelues? why durſt no man lay ought to hys charge, before he had fled from Conſtaunce, but as ſoone as the ſecular power, by the ſufferance of God, layd hold vpon hym, then, and neuer afore, they conſpired altogether that he ſhould not lyue any longer. Surely, euen as at this day is the malice, the abhomination and filthines of Antichriſt reuealed in the Pope and others of this Councell.

One Symoniſt cōdemneth an other.

The blaſphemous opinion of Lawyers & papiſtes, touching the ſoueraintie of the Pope.

J. Hus ſeemeth to propheſie of the Councell of Conſtance.

The biſhops of the Councell noted of Symonie.

Pope John made a pope being knowen to be a murtherer.

Antichriſt now firſt beginneth to be reuealed in the Pope.

Now the faythfull ſeruauntes of God may vnderſtand what our Sauiour Chriſt ment by this ſaying: whē you ſhal ſee the abhomination of deſolation, which is ſpoken of Daniell. &c. who ſo can vnderſtand it, &c. Surely theſe be great abhominations, pride, couetouſnes, ſymonie, ſittyng in a ſolitary place, that is to ſay, in a dignitie voyde of goodneſſe, of humility, & other vertues: as we do now clerely ſee in thoſe that are conſtituted in any office and dignitie. O how acceptable a thyng ſhould it be (if tyme would ſuffer me) to diſcloſe their wicked actes, which are now apparaunt, that the faythfull ſeruauntes of God might knowe them? I truſt in God that he wyll ſende after me, thoſe that ſhall be more valiant: and there are alyue at this day, that ſhal make more manifeſt the malice of Antichriſt, and ſhall geue their liues to the death, for the truth of our lord Ieſus Chriſt: who ſhal geue both to you and me the ioyes of lyfe euerlaſting. This Epiſtle was written vpon S. Iohn Baptiſts day in priſon and in colde yrons, I hauyng this meditation wyth my ſelfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his pryſon and bondes, for the word of God.

A prophecie of J. Hus.

An other Letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Huſſe in hope the ſeruaunt of God, to all the faythfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wiſheth to ſtand and dye in the grace of God, and at laſt to attayne to eternall lyfe. Amen.

Ye that beare rule ouer other and be riche, and ye alſo that be poore, welbeloued and faythfull in God, I beſeeche you and admoniſh you all, that ye will bee obedient vnto God, make much of hys word, and gladly hearing the ſame, will humbly performe that which ye heare. I beſeeche you ſticke faſt to the verity of Gods worde, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of hys law, and the Sermons of hys Saintes. Alſo I deſire you if any man eyther in publicke Sermon or in priuate talk haue heard of me any thing or haue read any thyng written by me which is agaynſt the verity of God, that he do not follow the ſame. Albeit I doe not find my conſcience guilty that I euer haue ſpokē or written any ſuch thyng amongſt you.

I deſire you moreouer if any man at any tyme haue noted any leuitie eyther in my talke or in my conditions, that he do not follow the ſame: but pray to God for me, to pardone me that ſinne of lightnes. I pray you that ye will loue your prieſtes and miniſters which be of honeſt behauiour, to prefer and honor thē before others: namely ſuch prieſtes as trauail in the word of God. I pray you take hede to your ſelues and beware of malitious and deceytfull men, and eſpecially of theſe wicked prieſtes, of whom our Sauyour doth ſpeake that they are vnder ſheepes clothing, and inwardly are rauening wolues. I pray ſuch as be rulers and ſuperiours, to behaue them ſelues gentlye towardes their poore inferyoures, and to rule them iuſtelye. I beſeeche the Citizens that they will walke euery man in his degre, and vocation with an vprighte conſcience. The Artificers alſo I beſeech, that they wyll exerciſe their occupations, diligently and vſe them with the feare of God. I beſeech the ſeruantes that they will ſerue their maiſters faithfully. And likewiſe the ſcholemaiſters I beſech, that they liuyng honeſtly, will

A note for all noble mē.

bryng vp their ſcholers vertuouſly,and to teach them faithfully: Firſt to learne to feare God: then for the glory of god and the publike vtilitie of the common wealth, and theyr owne health,and not for auarice or for worldly honour, to employ their myndes to honeſt artes.I beſeech the ſtudents of the vniuerſitie and all other ſcholes, in all honeſt things to obey their maiſters,and to follow them,and that with all diligence,they wil ſtudy to be profitable both to the ſetting forth of the glory of God,and to the ſoules health as well of themſelues,as of other men.Together I beſech and pray you all,that you will yeld moſt harty thankes to the right honorable Lords,the Lord Wencelaus de Duba,Lord Iohn de Clum,Lord Henry Lumlouio,Lord Vilem Zagecio,lord Nicholas and other Lordes of Boheme,of Morauia and Polony : that their diligence towardes me,may be gratefull to all good men: becauſe that they lyke valiaunt champions of Gods truth, haue oftentymes ſet themſelues agaynſt the whole Councell for my deliueraunce,contendyng and ſtandyng agaynſt the ſame to the vttermoſt of their power: but eſpecially Lord Wencelaus de Duba,and L.Iohn de Clum. What ſo euer they ſhall report vnto you, geue credite vnto them: for they were in the Councel when I there aunſwered many . They knowe who they were of Bohemia, and how many falſe and ſlaunderous thinges they brought in agaynſt me,and how that Councell cryed out agaynſt me, and how I alſo aunſwered to all thynges whereof I was demaunded. I beſeeche you alſo that ye will pray for the kyng of Romaynes,and for your kyng,and for hys wife your Queene, that God of hys mercy would abyde with them and wyth you,both now and henceforth in euerlaſting life. Amen.

This Epiſtle I haue written to you out of priſon and in bandes,lokyng the next day after the writing hereof,for the ſentence of the Councell vpon my death,hauyng a ful truſt that he wil not leaue me,neither ſuffer me to deny his truth and to reuoke the errours,which falſe witneſſes maliciouſly haue deuiſed agaynſt me. How mercifully the Lord GOD hath delt with me, and was with me in meruailous temptations, ye ſhall knowe, when as hereafter by the helpe of Chriſt,we ſhall all mete together in the ioy of the worlde to come. As concernyng M. Hierome my dearely beloued brother and fellow,I heare no other but that he is remaynyng in ſtraight bands,loking for death as I do: and that for the fayth which he valiauntly mainteined amongſt the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme,haue geuen vs into the power and handes of other enemies, and into bands. I beſech you pray to God for them.

Moreouer I beſech you,namely you of Prage, that you will loue the temple of Bethleem, and prouide ſo long as God ſhall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the ſame.For,becauſe of that place,the deuil is angry,and agaynſt the ſame place he hath ſtirred vp prieſtes and Canons,perceyuing that in that place his kyngdome ſhould be diſturbed and diminiſhed.I truſt in God that he wyll kepe that holy Church ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him, and in the ſame ſhall geue greater encreaſe of hys word by other,then he hath done by me a weake veſſell. I beſeech you alſo that ye will loue together,and withholding no man frō the hearing of gods worde, ye wil prouide and take care that good men be not oppreſſed by any force and violence. Written at Conſtance,the yeare of our Lord.1415.

¶ An other right godly letter of Iohn Hus,to a certayne prieſt admoniſhing hym of his office, & exhorting hym to be faythfull: worthy to be red of all Miniſters.

A worthy leſſon for all miniſters & prelates.

THe peace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.&c. My deare brother be diligent in preachyng the Goſpell, and do the worke of a good Euangeliſt: neglect not your vocation:labour like a bleſſed ſouldiour of Chriſt.Firſt liue godly and holily.Secondly,teach faithfully and truely. Thirdly be an example to other in well doyng,that you be not reprehended in your ſayinges: correct vice and ſet foorth vertue. To euill liuers threaten eternall puniſhment: but to thoſe that be faithfull and godly,ſet forth the comforts of eternall ioy.Preach cōtinually,but be ſhort and fruitfull, prudently vnderſtanding and diſcretely diſpenſing the holy Scriptures.Neuer affirme or maintayne thoſe thinges that be vncertayne and doubtfull,leſt that your aduerſaries take hold vpon you,which reioyce in deprauing their brethren, wherby they may bryng the miniſters of God into contempt. Exhort men to the cōfeſſion of their faith,and to the communion of both kindes, both of the body and bloud of Chriſt,wherby ſuch as do repent earneſtly of their ſinnes, may the more often come to the holy communion.And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with geſtes,and be not a common company keper.For the more a preacher kepeth hym from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit,deny not yet your helpe and diligence, where ſo euer you may profite other. Againſt fleſhly luſt preach continually all that euer you cā: For that is the raging beaſt,which deuoureth men, for whō the fleſh of Chriſt did ſuffer. Wherfore my hartily beloued, I beſech you to flie fornication: for where as a man would moſt profite and do good,there this vice vſeth moſt to lurk. In any caſe flie the company of yong womē,and beleue not their deuotion: For Saint Auſten ſaith,the more deuout ſhe is,the more procliue to wantonnes, and vnder the pretence of religion,the ſnare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this know my welbeloued,that the conuerſation with them,ſubuerteth many,whom the cōuerſation of this world could neuer blemiſh nor beguile. Admitte no women into your houſe,for what cauſe,ſo euer it be,and haue not much talke wyth them otherwyſe,for auoyding of offence. Finally, howſoeuer you do, feare God and keepe hys preceptes: ſo ſhall you walke wiſely, and ſhall not periſhe: ſo ſhall you ſubdue the fleſh,contemne the world , and ouercome the deuill: ſo ſhall you put on God,finde life, & confirme other,and ſhal crowne your ſelfe with the crowne of glory,the which the iuſt iudge ſhall geue you. Amen.

S. Auguſtine meaneth not here of all, but of the common ſort of light perſons.

¶ This letter of Iohn Hus conteineth a confeſſion of the infirmitie of mans fleſh: How weake it is, and repugnant agaynſt the ſpirite. Wherein he alſo exhorteth to perſeuere conſtanly in the truth.

This Palletz was the chiefeſt enemy of J. Hus, and procurer of his death.

HEalth be to you from Ieſus Chriſt.&c. My deare frend, know that Palletz came to me to perſwade me that I ſhould not feare the ſhame of abiuration, but to conſider the good which therof wil come. To whom I ſayd,that the ſhame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure: and why ſhould I feare then that ſhame? But I pray you tell me playnely your minde. Preſuppoſe that ſuch articles were layd to you,which you knew your ſelf not to be true: what would you do in that caſe? woulde you abiure? Who aunſwered. The caſe is ſore,and began to weepe. Many other thinges we ſpake which I did reprehend. Michael de Cauſis, was ſome tymes before the priſon with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I hearde hym ſpeake vnto the keepers: We by the grace of God will burne this hereticke ſhortly: for whoſe cauſe I haue ſpent many Florenes. But yet vnderſtand that I write not this to the intent to reuenge me of him, for that I haue committed to God,and pray to God for him with all my hart.

Michael de Cauſis another bitter enemy of J. Hus.

John Hus prayeth for his enemies.

Yet I exhort you agayn,to be circūſpect about our letters: for Michael hath take ſuch order that none ſhalbe ſuffered to come into the priſon : no nor yet the keepers wiues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth Antichriſt extend his power and crueltie? But I truſt that this power ſhalbe ſhortned,& his iniquitie ſhalbe detected more and more amongeſt the faithfull people.

A prophecy of John Hus.

Almighty God ſhall cōfirme the hartes of his faithfull, whom he hath choſen before the cōſtitution of the world, that they may receiue the eternall crowne of glory. And let Antichriſt rage as much as he will,yet he ſhall not preuayle agaynſt Chriſt, which ſhal deſtroy him with the ſpirite of his mouth,as the Apoſtle ſaith: And then ſhall the creature be deliuered out of ſeruitude of corruption, into the libertie of the glory of the ſonnes of God,as ſaith the Apoſtle in the wordes following: we alſo within our ſelues doe grone, wayting for the adoption of the ſonnes of God,the redemption of our body.

I am greatly comforted in thoſe woordes of our Sauiour : happy bee you when men ſhall hate you and ſhall ſeperate you,and ſhall rebuke you, and ſhall caſt out your name as execrable,for the ſonne of mā. Reioyce & be glad, for behold,great is your reward in heauē, Luk.6. O worthy, yea O moſt worthy conſolation,which not to vnderſtand, but to practiſe in time of tribulation,is a hard leſſon.

This rule S.Iames wyth the other Apoſtles, did well vnderſtand, which ſayth : count it exceeding ioy my brethren, when ye ſhall fall into diuers tentations, knowyng that the probation of your fayth worketh patience : let patience haue her perfecte worke. For certainely it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioye to be in diuers tentations . A lyght matter it is to ſpeake it and to expounde it : but a great matter to fulfill it : For why, our moſt patient and moſt valiaunt champion hymſelfe, knowyng that he ſhoulde ryſe agayne the thyrde day, ouercommynge hys enemyes by hys death,

The example of Chriſt.

and redeeming from damnation his elect after his laſt Supper was troubled in ſpirite and ſayd: My ſoule is heauy vnto death. Of whom alſo the Goſpell ſaith, that he began to feare, to be ſadde & heauy. Who being then in an agony, was confirmed of the Aungell, and his ſweat was lyke the droppes of bloud falling vpō the grounde. And yet he notwithſtanding, beyug ſo troubled, ſaid to his Diſciples: let not your hartes be troubled, neither feare the crueltie of them that perſecute you: for you ſhall haue me with you alwayes, that you may ouercome the tyranny of your perſecutours. Wherupon thoſe his ſouldiours, looking vpō the the Prince and king of glory, ſuſteyned great cōflictes. They paſſed through fire and water and were ſaued, and receiued the crowne of the Lord God, of the which S.Iames in hys canonicall Epiſtle, ſayth: Bleſſed is the man that ſuffreth tentation, for when he ſhalbe proued, he ſhall receaue the crowne of life, which Cod hath promiſed to them that loue hym. Of this crowne I truſt ſtedfaſtly the Lorde wyll make me partaker alſo wyth you, which be the feruēt ſealers of the truth, and with all them which ſtedfaſtly and conſtantly do loue the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſuffred for vs, leauing to vs example that we ſhould folow his ſteppes. It behoued hym to ſuffer, as he ſayth: and vs alſo it behoued to ſuffer, that the mēbers may ſuffer together with the head. For he ſayth: If any man will come after me, let hym deny himſelfe and take vp his croſſe and folow me.

The prayer of J. Hus to Chriſt.

O moſt mercifull Chriſt, draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou ſhouldeſt draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Geue vs a ſtrong ſpirite, that it may be ready, and although the fleſh be feeble, yet let thy grace goe before vs, go with vs, and follow vs: for without thee we can do nothyng, and much leſſe enter into the cruell death for thy ſake. Geue vs that prompt & ready ſpirite, a bolde hart, an vpright ſayth, a firme hope and perfecte charitie, that we may geue our lyues paciently and ioyfully for thy names ſake. Amen. Written in priſon and in bondes in the vigill of holy S.Iohn the Baptiſt, who being in priſon and in bondes for the rebuking of wickednes, was beheaded.

¶ **Among diuers other letters of John Hus, which he wrote to the great conſolation of others: I thought alſo here to intermixt an other certaine godly letter written out of England, by a faithfull ſcholer of Wickliffe, as appeareth, vnto John Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therein conteined, ſeemeth not vnworthy to be read.**

¶ A letter to Iohn Hus, and to the Bohemians from London.

A zealous letter to J. Hus from London.

GReting, and whatſoeuer can be deuiſed more ſweete, in the bowels of Chriſt Ieſu. My dearely beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the truth, and not I onely, but alſo all they that haue the knowledge of the truth, which abydeth in you, and ſhall be wyth you through the grace of God for euermore: I reioyſed aboue meaſure, when our beloued brethren came and gaue teſtimonye vnto vs of your truth, and how you walke in the truth. I haue heard brethren, how ſharpely Antichriſt perſecuteth you, in vexing the faithfull ſeruauntes of Chriſt with diuers and ſtraunge kindes of afflictions. And ſurely no maruaile, if amongeſt you (ſince it is ſo almoſt all the world ouer) the lawe of Chriſt be too too greuouſly impugned, and that redde Dragon hauing ſo many heades (of whom it is ſpoken in the Apocalyps) haue now vomited out of hys mouth that great floud, by which he goeth about to ſwalow vp the woman: but the moſt gracious God wil deliuer for euer his onely & moſt faithfull ſpouſe. Let vs therfore comfort our ſelues in the Lord our God, and in his vnmeaſurable goodnes, hoping ſtrongly in hym which will not ſuffer thoſe that loue him, to be vnmercifully defrauded of any their purpoſe, if we according to our duetie, ſhall loue him wyth all our hart: for aduerſitie ſhould by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raigning in vs. Let therefore no tribulatiō or ſorow for Chriſtes cauſe, diſcourage vs, knowing this for a ſuretie, that whomſoeuer the Lord vouchſafeth to receaue to be his children, thoſe he ſcourgeth: For ſo the mercifull father will haue them tryed in this miſerable lyfe by perſecutions, that afterwardes he may ſpare them. For the golde that this high artificer hath choſen, he purgeth and tryeth in thys fire, that he may afterwardes lay it vp in his pure treaſurie. For we ſee that the time which we ſhall abyde here, is ſhort and tranſitory: the life which we hope for after this, is bleſſed and euerlaſting. Therfore, whileſt we haue time, let vs take payne, that we may enter into that reſt. What other thing do we ſee in this brickle lyfe, then ſorow, heauines and ſadnes, and that which is moſt greuous of all to the faithfull, too much abuſing and contempt of the law of the Lord. Let vs therfore endeuour our ſelues as much as we may, to lay holde of the thinges that are eternall and abiding, deſpiſing in our myndes all tranſitory and frayle thinges. Let vs conſider the holy fellowſhip of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs conſider the Saincttes of the olde and new Teſtament. Did they not paſſe through this ſea of tribulation and perſecution? were not ſome of them cutte in peeces, other ſome ſtoned, and others of them killed wyth the ſword? Some others of them went about in peltes and goates ſkinnes, as the Apoſtle to the Hebrues witneſſeth. Surely they all walked ſtraight wayes, folowing the ſteppes of Chriſt, which ſaid, he that miniſtreth vnto me, let him follow me, whether ſoeuer I go. &c. Therfore let vs alſo, which haue ſo noble examples geuen vs of the Saintes that went before vs, laying away as much as in vs lyeth, the heauy burden, and the yoke of ſinne which compaſſeth vs about, runne forward through patience, to the battaile that is ſet before vs, fixing our eyes vpon the author of faith, and Ieſus the finiſher of the ſame: who ſeing the ioy that was ſet before him, ſuffred the paynes of the croſſe, deſpiſing death. Let vs call vpō him, which ſuffred ſuch reproch agaynſt hymſelfe of ſinners, that we be not wearyed, fainting in our hartes, but that we may hartely pray for helpe of the Lord, and may fight agaynſt hys aduerſary Antichriſt: that we may loue his law and not be diſceitfull labourers, but that we may deale faithfully in all things, accordyng to that, that God hath vouchſafed to geue vs, and that we may labor diligently in the Lordes cauſe vnder hope of an euerlaſting reward. Behold therfore brother Hus, moſt dearely beloued in Chriſt, although in face vnknown to me, yet not in fayth and loue (for diſtance of places cannot ſeparate thoſe whom the loue of Chriſt doth effectually knit together) be comforted in the grace, which is geuen vnto thee, labor like a good ſouldior of Chriſt Ieſus, preach, be inſtant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canſt, to the way of truth: for the truth of the goſpell is not to be kept in ſilence becauſe of friuolous cenſures and thunderboltes of Antichriſt. And therfore to the vttermoſt of thy power ſtrengthen thou and confirme the members of Chriſt, which are weakened by the deuill: and if the Lord will vouchſafe it, Antichriſt ſhall ſhortly come to an end. And there is one thyng wherein I do greatly reioyſe, that in your Realme and in other places, God hath ſtirred vp the hartes of ſome mē that they cā gladly ſuffer for the word of God, impriſonment, bāniſhment and death.

Examples of the olde martyrs.

Further, beloued I know not what to write vnto you, but I cōfeſſe that I could wiſh to poure out my whole hart, if therby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Alſo I ſalute from the bottome of my hart, all the faythfull louers of the law of the Lord, and ſpecially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the Goſpell, requiryng hym that he will praye vnto the lord for me in the vniuerſal church of Ieſus Chriſt. And the God of peace which hath rayſed frō the dead the ſhepehard of the ſhepe, the mighty lord Ieſus Chriſt, make you apt in all goodnes to do his will, workyng in you that which may be pleaſaunt in hys ſight. All your friendes ſalute you which haue heard of your conſtancy. I would deſire alſo to ſee your letters written backe to vs, for know ye that they ſhall greatly comfort vs.

At London by your ſeruaunt, deſiring
to be fellow with you in your labors
Ricus Wiccewitze, **prieſt vnworthy.**

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus to hys friendes of Boheme.

THe Lord God be with you. I loue the counſayle of the Lord, aboue gold and precious ſtone. Wherfore I truſt in the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, that he will geue me his ſpirit to ſtand in his truth. Pray to the lord for the ſpirit is ready and the fleſh is weake. The Lorde almighty be the eternall reward vnto my Lordes, which conſtantly, firmely and faythfully do ſtande for righteouſnes: to whome the Lord God ſhall geue in the kyngdome of Boheme, to know the truth. For the followyng of which truth, neceſſary it is that they returne agayne into Boheme, ſettyng apart all vayne glory, and followyng not a mortall and miſerable kyng, but the kyng of glory which geueth eternall lyfe.

O how comfortable was the geuyng of the hande of Lord Iohn de Clum vnto me, which was not aſhamed to reach forth his hand to me a wretch, and ſuch an abiect heretike, lying in fetters of iron, and cryed out vpon all men.

Now peraduenture I ſhall not ſpeake much hereafter wyth you. Therfore ſalute in tyme as you ſhall ſee them, all the faythfull of Boheme.

Wicked Palletz.

Palletz came to me into priſon. His ſalutation in my vehement infirmity, was this before the Commiſſaries, that there hath not riſen a more perilous hereticke ſince Chriſt was borne, then was Wickliffe and I. Alſo he ſayd that all ſuch as came to heare my talke, were infected with this hereſie, to thinke that the ſubſtance of bread remayned in the ſacrament of the aulter. To whom I aunſwered and ſayde: O maiſter, what a grieuous ſalutation haue you geuen me? and how greatly do you ſinne? Behold I ſhall dye, or peraduenture to morow ſhalbe burnt. And what reward ſhall be recompenced to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thyng peraduenture I ſhould not haue written, leſt I might ſeeme to hate hym. I haue alwayes had this in my hart, truſt not in princes. &c. And agayne, curſed be the man which truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh to be his arme. For Gods ſake be you circumſpect how you ſtand and how you return. Cary no letters with you. Direct your bookes not all by one, but diuerſly by diuers frendes.

The viſions of J. Hus by dreames.

Know this for certayne, that I haue had great conflictes by dreames, in ſuch ſort as I had much a do to refrayne from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes eſcape before he went. And after the Lord Iohn had told me therof, immediately in the night it was told me that the Pope ſhould returne to you agayne, And afterward alſo I dreamed of the apprehendyng of maiſter Hierome, although not in full maner as it was done. All the priſonmentes, whither and how I am caried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the ſame fourme and circumſtaunce. Many ſerpentes oftentymes appeared vnto me hauyng heades alſo in theyr tayle: but none of them coulde byte me, and many other thinges more.

A Propheſie of Maiſter Hierome of Prage.

This Taylers name was Andrew, a Polonian.

Theſe thinges I write, not eſteemyng my ſelfe as a prophet, or that I extoll my ſelfe, but onely to ſignifie vnto you what temptations I had in body and alſo in mynd, & what great feare I had, leaſt I ſhould tranſgreſſe the commaundement of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Now I remember with my ſelfe the wordes of maiſter Hierome which ſayde, that if I ſhould come to the Councell, he thought I ſhould neuer returne home agayne. In lyke maner there was a good and godly man, a taylor, which takyng his leaue of me at Prage, ſpake to me in theſe wordes: God be with you (ſaid he) for I thinke verily, my deare and good maiſter Iohn, that you ſhall not returne agayne to vs with your lyfe. The king, not of Hungary, but of heauen, reward you wyth all goodneſſe, for the faythfull doctrine which I at your handes haue receyued. &c.

¶ And ſhortly after the writyng hereof, he ſendeth alſo vnto them an other propheticall viſion of hys to be expounded, touchyng the reformation of the church, written in hys 44. epiſtle: the contentes wherof be theſe.

An other letter of Iohn Hus, ſent to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of this night. I ſaw how that in my church of Bethleem, they came to raſe & put out all the images of Chriſt, and did put them out. The next day after I aroſe and ſaw many painters, which paynted and made more fairer Images and many more thẽ I had done before: which Images I was very glad and ioyfull to behold. And the painters with much people about thẽ, ſaid, let the Biſhops and prieſtes come now, and put vs out theſe pictures. Which beyng done, much people ſeemed to me in Bethleem to reioyce, and I with them. And I awaking therwith, felt my ſelfe to laugh. &c.

Prophetia.

¶ This viſion Lord John de Clum, and John Hus himſelfe in his booke of Epiſtles in the. 45. Epiſt. ſemeth to expounde, and applyeth theſe Images of Chriſt vnto the preachyng of Chriſt and of his lyfe. The which preachyng and doctrine of Chriſt, though the Pope and his Cardinals ſhould extinguiſh in him, yet did he foreſee and declare, that the tyme ſhould come, wherin the ſame doctrine ſhould be renued agayne by others, ſo plenteouſly, that the Pope withall his power, ſhould not be able to preuayle agaynſt it. Thus much as concernyng this viſiõ of John Hus. Wherunto doth wel accorde the Propheſie of Hierome of Prage, printed in the coyne called Moneta Huſſi: **of the which coyne J haue my ſelfe one of the plates hauyng this ſuperſcriptiõ folowyng printed about it,** Centum reuolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis & mihi. **That is. After a hundreth yeres come and gone, you ſhall geue a counte to God and to me. Wherof (God willyng) more ſhalbe ſayd hereafter.**

Prophetia.

Furthermore in 48. Epiſt. the ſayd J. Hus ſemyng to ſpeake with the like ſpirite of Prophecy, hath theſe wordes folowyng: Sed ſpero, quod quæ dixi ſub tecto, prædicabuntur ſuper tecta. **That is: but J truſt that thoſe thynges which J haue ſpoken within the houſe, hereafter ſhalbe preached vpon the top of the houſe.**

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Propheſies of John Hus, it ſhall ſerue well in place, here moreouer to recorde his wordes in a certaine treatiſe by him written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abhominatione, **wherein the ſayd John Hus ſpeakyng prophetically of the reformatiõ of the Church, hath theſe wordes folowyng.** Ex iſtis vlterius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei eccleſia nequit ad priſtinam ſuam dignitatem reduci. &c. **That is in Engl.**

Prophetia.

Moreouer, hereupon note and marke by the way, that the Church of GOD, can not be reduced to his former dignitie, or be reformed, before all thynges firſt be made new. The truth wherof is playne by the Temple of Salomon: Like as the Clergy and Prieſtes, ſo alſo the people and laity: Or els vnleſſe all ſuch as now be addict to auarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt cõuerted and reclaymed, as well the people, as the Clergy and Prieſtes. Albeit as my minde now geueth me, J beleue rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new Clerkes and Prieſtes ſhall come, and be taken: which all ſhall hate couetouſneſſe, and glory of this lyfe, haſtyng to an heauenly conuerſation. Notwithſtandyng all theſe thynges ſhall come to paſſe and be brought by litle and litle in order of tymes diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth, & will do for his owne goodneſſe and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimitie and patience, geuyng tyme and ſpace of repentaunce to them that haue long lyne in their ſinnes, to amende, and flye from the face of the Lordes fury, while that in like maner the carnall people, & carnall prieſts ſucceſſiuely and in time, ſhall fall away, and be conſumed as with the mooth. &c.

¶ Another letter of Iohn Hus.

Note that then prieſtes were not maryed, & therfore he willeth him to auoide all cõpany of womẽ.

MAiſter Martin my deare brother in Chriſt, I exhort you in the Lord, that you feare God, kepe hys commaundementes, and flie the company of womẽ, and beware of hearyng their confeſſions, leſt by the hypocriſie of women, Sathan deceyue you: truſt not theyr deuotiõs. You know how I haue deteſted the auarice and the inordinate lyfe of the Clergy: wherfore through the grace of God I ſuffer nowe perſecution, which ſhortly ſhall be conſummate in me, neyther do I feare to haue my hart powred out for the name of Chriſt Ieſus. I deſire you hartily be not gredy in ſekyng after benefices. And yet if you ſhalbe called to any cure in the country, let the honour of God, the ſaluation of ſoules, and the trauayle therof moue you therunto, & not the hauyng of the liuyng or the commodities therof. And if you ſhall be placed in any ſuch benefice, beware you haue no yong woman for your cooke or ſeruant, leaſt you edifie and encreaſe more your houſe, then your ſoule. See that you be a builder of your ſpirituall houſe, beyng gentle to the poore, and hũble of mynd: and waſte not your goods in great fare. I feare alſo if you do not amend your lyfe, ceaſing from your coſtly and ſuperfluous apparell, leaſt you ſhalbe greuouſly chaſtiſed, as I alſo wretched man ſhall be puniſhed, which haue vſed the lyke, beyng ſeduced by cuſtome of euill men and worldly glory, wherby I haue bene wounded againſt God with the ſpirite of pryde. And becauſe you haue notablye knowen both my preachyng and outward conuerſation euen from my youth, I haue no neede to write many thinges vnto you, but to deſire you for the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, that you do not follow me in any ſuch leuitie & lightnes, which you haue ſene in me. You knew how before my prieſthood, which greueth me now, I haue delighted to play oftẽtimes at cheſſe, and haue neglected my tyme, and therby haue vnhappily prouoked both my ſelfe and other to anger many tymes by that play. Wherfore, beſides other my innumerable faultes, for this alſo I deſire you to inuocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and ſo to direct my life, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this preſent life, the fleſh, the world, and the deuil, I may finde place in the heauenly cõtrey, at the leſt in the day of iudgement. Fare you well in Chriſt Ieſus, with all them which keepe his law. My gray coate if you will, keepe to your ſelfe for my remẽbraunce: but I thinke you are aſhamed to weare that gray colour: therfore you may geue it to whom you ſhall thinke

He repenteth his gay garmentes.

He repenteth his playing at the cheſſe.

John Hus from his gay garmētes cometh to hys white coate.

good. My white coate you ſhall geue the miniſter. N. my ſcholer. To George or els to Zuzikon. 60. groates, or els my gray coate: for he hath faythfully ſerued me.

¶The ſuperſcription.

¶I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be ſure and certaine of my death.

¶The conſolation of Maiſter Hierome to Maiſter Hus.

MY maiſter, in thoſe thynges which you haue both written hetherto and alſo preached after the law of God agaynſt the pride, auarice, and other inordinate vices of the Prieſtes, go forward, be conſtant and ſtrong. And if I ſhall knowe that you are oppreſſed in the cauſe, and if neede ſhall ſo require, of myne owne accorde, I will folow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable.

Cochleus raileth againſt J. Hus without cauſe.

Ex Cochleo Lib. 2. Hiſt. Huſſitarum, pag. 98.

¶By the lyfe, actes and letters of John Hus hetherto rehearſed, it is euident and playne, that he was condemned, not for any errour of doctrine, which they could well proue in him, who neither denyed their Popiſh tranſubſtantiation, neither ſpake agaynſt the authoritie of the Churche of Rome, if it were well gouerned, nor yet the 7. Sacramētes, and alſo ſaid Maſſe himſelfe and almoſt in all their Popiſh opinions was a Papiſt as thē: but onely of euill was accuſed of his malicious aduerſaries, becauſe he ſpake agaynſt the pompe, pride and auarice, and other wicked enormities of the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, and becauſe he could not abyde the high dignities and liuyngs of the Church, and thought the doinges of the pope to be Antichriſtlike. For this cauſe he procured ſo many enemyes & falſe witneſſes agaynſt him. Who ſcrapyng & pickyng matter out of his bookes and writynges, hauyng no one iuſt article of doctrine to lay vnto him, yet they made him an hereticke, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charitie of Chriſt hath not place. Which beyng ſo, as thy charity (good reader) may eaſely vnderſtand, in peruſing the whole courſe of his ſtory: I beſech thee thē, what cauſe had John Cochleus to write his xij. bookes agaynſt John Hus and Huſſites? In which bookes how bitterly and intemperātely he miſuſeth his penne, by theſe few wordes in his ſecond booke thou mayſt take a litle taſt: which wordes I thought here briefly to place in Engliſh to the end that all Engliſh men may iudge thereby, with what ſpirite and truth theſe Catholickes be caried. His wordes be theſe. Lib. 2. Hiſt. Dico igitur Ioan. Huſſ. neque ſanctum neque beatum habendū eſſe, ſed impium potius. &c. That is, I ſay therfore that John Hus is neither to be counted holy nor bleſſed: but rather wicked and eternally wretched: in ſo much that in the day of iudgement, it ſhalbe more eaſie, not onely with the infidell Pagans, Turkes, Tartarians, and Iewes, but alſo with ẏ moſt ſinfull Sodomites, & the abhominable Perſians, whiche moſt filthely do lye with their daughters, ſiſters or mothers, yea & alſo with moſt impious Cayn killer of his owne brother, with Thyeſtes killer of his owne mother, and the Leſtrygones & other Anthropophagi, which deuour mās fleſh: yea more eaſie with thoſe infamous murderers of infants, Pharao & Herode, thē with hym. &c. Theſe be the wordes of Cochleus. Whoſe raylyng bookes although they deſerue neither to be read, nor aunſwered, yet if it pleaſed God, it were to be wiſhed that the Lord would ſtyrre vp ſome towardly young man, that had ſo much layſure, to defend the ſimplicitie of this John Hus, which can not now aunſwere for himſelfe. In the meane tyme, ſome thyng to ſatiſfie or ſtay the readers mynde agaynſt this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few wordes I will bryng out John Hus to ſpeake and to cleare himſelfe agaynſt this ſlaūder: whoſe wordes in his booke De ſacerdotū & Monachorū abhominatione deſolationis. pag. 84. &c. I beſech thee reader to note. Nam & iſta ſcribens fateor, q. nihil aliud me in illis perurget, niſi dilectio Dom. noſtri Ieſu crucifixi. &c. That is. For in writyng theſe thyngs, I confeſſe nothyng els to haue moued me hereunto, but onely the loue of our Lord Ieſus crucified, whoſe printes & ſtripes, (accordyng to the meaſure of my weakeneſſe and vilenes) I couet to beare in my ſelfe, beſechyng him ſo to geue me grace, that I neuer ſeeke to glory in my ſelfe or in any thyng els, but onely in his croſſe, and in the ineſtimable ignominy of his paſſiō which he ſuffered for me. And therfore I write and ſpeake theſe thynges, whiche I do not doubt will like all ſuch as vnfaynedly do loue the Lord Chriſt crucified: and contrary will miſlike not a litle, all ſuch as be of Antichriſt. Alſo agayne, I confeſſe before the moſt mercyfull Lord Ieſus crucified, that theſe thynges which I do now write, and thoſe that I haue written before, neither I could haue written, nor knew how, nor durſt ſo haue written, vnleſſe he by his inward vnction had ſo commaunded me. Neither yet do I write theſe thynges as of authoritie, to get me fame & name: For as S. Auguſtine and Hierome do ſay, that is onely to be geuen to the Scriptures and writyngs of the Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes and Prophetes, & to the Canonicall Scriptures, which do abounde with the fulnes of the ſpirit of Ieſus. And whatſoeuer is there ſayd, is full of veritie and wholeſome vtilitie. &c. And here place alſo would require ſomethyng to ſay to Æneas Siluius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falſely impute Articles to him, which he neuer maintained. But becauſe tyme ſuffreth not, I will proceede to the ſtory of maiſter Hierome of Prage.

¶The Tragicall and lamentable hiſtory of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Chriſt, maiſter Hierome of Prage, burned at Conſtance for lyke cauſe and quarell as Maiſter Iohn Hus was. 1416.

The ſtory of Hierome of Prage.

Hierome cōmeth to Cōſtance.

The ſafe conduict was required but in vayne of the Emperour.

THeſe thynges hetherto beyng diſcourſed touchyng the lyfe, Actes and conſtaunt Martyrdome of M. John Hus, with part alſo of his letters adioyned to ẏ ſame, whoſe death was on the vj. of July an. 1416: now remaineth conſequently to deſcribe the lyke Tragedy & cruell handlyng of his Chriſtiā companion and felow in bandes M. Hierome of Prage: who greuouſly ſorowyng the ſclaunderous reproche and diffamatiō of his countrey of Boheme, and alſo hearyng tell of the manifeſt iniuries done vnto that man of worthy memory M. John Hus: freely and of his owne accorde came vnto Conſtance, the iiij. day of April. an. 1415. Who there perceauyng that John Hus was denyed to be heard, and that watch and wayte was layd for hym on euery ſide, he departed to Iberlyng a Citie of the Empire, vntill the next day: the which Citie was a myle of from Conſtance, & from thence he wrote his letters by me vnto Sigiſmund kyng of Hungary and his Barons, & alſo vnto the Councell, moſt earneſtly requiryng that the kyng and the Councell would geue hym a ſafe conduict freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to aunſwere vnto euery man, if there were any of the Coūcell that would lay any crime vnto him, as by the tenour of his intimation, ſhall more at large appeare.

When as the ſayd kyng of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforeſayd, being in the houſe of the Lord Cardinall of Cambray, he denyed to geue M. Hierom any ſafecōduict excuſing himſelf for the euil ſpede he had with the ſafecōduict of John Hus before, & allegyng alſo certaine other cauſes. The deputies alſo of the foure nations of the Councell, beyng moued thereunto by the Lordes of the kyngdome of Boheme, aunſwered: we (ſay they) will geue him a ſafeconduict to come, but not to depart. Whoſe aunſweres, whē they were reported vnto maiſter Hierome, he the next day after wrote certaine intimations accordyng to the tenour here vnder written, which he ſent vnto Conſtance to be ſet vpō the gates of the Citie, & vpon the gates of the churches and Monaſteries, and of the houſes of the Cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenour wherof here followeth word for word in this maner.

The intimations of Hierome of Prage, ſet vp in diuers places of the towne of Cōſtāce.

Unto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund, by the grace of God king of the Romaines, alwayes Auguſtus, and of Hungary. &c. I Hierome of Prage maiſter of Arte of the generall Uniuerſities of Paris, Colleyn, Heidelberg and Prage, by theſe my preſent letters do notifie vnto the kyng together with the whole reuerend Councell, and as much as in me lyeth, do all men to vnderſtand and know, that becauſe of the crafty ſclaunderers, backbiters and accuſers, I am ready freely and of myne owne will, to come vnto Conſtance, there to declare openly before the whole Councell, the puritie and ſinceritie of my true fayth and myne innocencie, and not ſecretly in corners before any priuate or particulare perſon. Wherfore if there be any of my ſlaunderers, of what nation or eſtate ſoeuer they be, whiche will obiect agaynſt me any crime of errour or hereſie: let thē come forth openly before me in the preſence of the whole Councell, and in their owne names obiect agaynſt me, and I will be ready, as I haue written, to aunſwer openly and publickely before the whole Coūcell for my innocencie, and to declare the puritie and ſinceritie of my true fayth. And if ſo be that I ſhalbe founde culpable in errour or hereſie, then I will not refuſe openly to ſuffer ſuch puniſhement as ſhall be meete and worthy for an erroneous perſon, or an hereticke.

Wherfore I moſt humbly beſech my Lord the kyng and the whole ſacred Councel, that I may haue to this end and purpoſe aforeſayd, ſafe and ſure acceſſe. And if it happē that I offeryng ſuch equitie and right as I do, before any fault be proued agaynſt me, be areſted impriſoned, or haue any violence done vnto me, that then it may be manifeſt vnto the whole world that this generall Councell doth not procede according to equitie and iuſtice, if they would by any meanes put me backe from this profounde and ſtraight iuſtice, beyng come hether frely and of myne owne mynde and accorde. The whiche thyng I ſuppoſe to be farre from ſo ſacred and holy a Councell of wiſe men.

Safeconduict denyed to Hierome.

WHen as yet he through ſuch intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germaine toung, beyng ſet vp as is aforeſayd, could not get any ſafeconduict: then the Nobles, Lordes, and Knightes ſpecially of the Bohemian nation, preſent in Conſtance, gaue vnto M. Hierome their letters patentes, confirmed with their ſeales, for a teſtimony and witnes of the premiſſes. With the which letters the ſayd M. Hierome returned agayne vnto Boheme, but by the treaſon & conſpiracie of his enemies was taken in Hirſſaw by the officers of Duke Iohn, and in Zultzbach was brought backe agayne to the preſence of the Duke. In the meane tyme ſuch as were the ſetters forward of the Councell agaynſt M. Iohn Hus, and M. Hierome, that is to ſay Michael de Cauſis and M. Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the ſayd maiſter Hierome ſhould be cited by reaſon of his intimations: and certaine dayes after the citation hereunder written, was ſet vpon the gates and porches of the Citie, and Churches, whiche foloweth here in this maner.

Hierome returneth toward Boheme, wyth the teſtimonyes of the Lordes of Boheme.

Hierome apprehended in the way by Duke Iohn.

Michael de Cauſis, and Palletz enemies to Hierome.

Hierome of Prage cited by the councell when he was taken.

This moſt ſacred and holy Synode and generall Councell of Conſtance, faythfully congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, repreſentyng the vniuerſall militant Church, vnto Hierome of Prage, which writeth himſelfe to be a maiſter of Arte of ſo many Vniuerſities, and pretendeth thoſe thynges which are onely pertaynyng vnto ſobrietie and modeſty, & that he knoweth no more then he ought. &c. Know thou that there is a certaine writyng come vnto our vnderſtandyng and knowledge, the which was ſet vp as it were by thine own perſon vpon the gates of the churches and Citie of Conſtance, vpon the Monday, whē there was ſong in the Church of God: Quaſi modo geniti. Wherin thou doeſt affirme, that thou wilt openly aunſwere vnto thy accuſers and ſclaunderers which ſhall obiect any crime, errour or hereſie agaynſt thee, whereof thou art merueilouſly infamed and accuſed before vs, and ſpecially touchyng the doctrine of Wickliefe, and other doctrines cōtrary vnto the Catholicke fayth, ſo that thou mighteſt haue graunted vnto thee a ſafeconduict to come. But forſomuch as it is our part principally & chiefly to forſee and looke vnto theſe crafty Foxes whiche go about to deſtroy the vyneyarde of the Lord of hoſtes: therfore we do cyte and call forth by the tenour of theſe preſentes, thy perſon manyfoldly defamed and ſuſpected for the temerarious affirmyng & teachyng of manifold errours, ſo that within the terme of xv. dayes to be accounted from the date of theſe preſentes, wherof v. dayes are appointed for the firſt terme, fiue for the ſecond, and other fiue for the thyrd, we do ordeine and appoynt by canonicall admonition and warnyng, that thou do appeare in the publike Seſſion of the ſacred Councell, if there be any holden the ſame day, or els the firſt day immediatly followyng, when as any Seſſion ſhalbe, accordyng to the tenour of thy ſayd writyng to aunſwere to thoſe thynges, which any perſon or perſons ſhall obiect or lay agaynſt thee in any cauſe of thy fayth, and to receiue & haue, as iuſtice ſhall require. Wherupon, ſo much as in vs lyeth, and as Catholicke faith ſhall require, we offer and aſſigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our ſafeconduict from all violence (iuſtice alwayes beyng ſaued) certefying thee that whether thou doeſt appeare or not, the ſayd terme or tyme appointed notwithſtādyng, proceſſe ſhall go forward agaynſt thee by the ſayd ſacred Councell, or by their Commiſſary or Commiſſaries, for the tyme aforeſayd not obſerued & kepte, thy contumacy or ſtubburnes in any thyng notwithſtandyng. Geuen in the vj. Seſſiō of the generall Councell, the xvij. day of Aprill, vnder the ſeales of the Preſidentes of the foure nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber Notarie of the Germains.

This Duke Iohn in hyſtories is commonly called the ſonne of Clemens.

AFter that Sigiſmund kyng of Hungary with the reſt of the Councel, vnderſtode by the foreſayd Duke Iohn, that M. Hierome was taken, they were earneſtly in hand, requiryng that M. Hierome ſhould be brought before them vnto the Councell. The whiche Duke Iohn, after he had receiued letters of the kyng and the Councell, brought M. Hierome bound vnto Conſtance, whom his brother Duke Ludouicus lead thorough the Citie to the Cloiſter of the Friers Minors in Conſtance, whereas the chief Prieſtes and Elders of the people, Scribes & Phariſeis, were gathered together attendyng and waytyng for his commyng. He the ſayd maiſter Hierome caryed a great handbolte of iron wyth a long chayne in hys hand, and as he paſſed, the chayne made a great ratling and noyſe, and for the more cōfuſion and deſpite towardes him, they ledde him by yͤ ſame chayne after Duke Ludouicus aforeſayd, holding and ſtretching out the chayne a great way from hym: with yͤ which chayne, they alſo kept hym bound in the Cloyſter. When he was brought into the Cloyſter, they read before hym the letter of Duke Iohn, which was ſent with the ſayd mayſter Hierome vnto the councell, contaynyng in effect how that the ſayd Duke Iohn had ſent maiſter Hierome vnto the councell, who by chaunce was fallen into hys handes, becauſe he heard an euill report of hym, that he was ſuſpected of the hereſies of Wickliefe: that the Councell myght take order for hym, whoſe part it was to correct and puniſh ſuch as did erre and ſtray from the truth, beſides many other flattering tales which were written in the ſayd letter for the prayſe of the Councell. After this they read the citation which was geuen out by the Councell agaynſt maiſter Hierome, wherof we haue ſpoken before. Then certayne of the Byſhops ſayd vnto hym: Hierome why diddeſt thou flye and runne away, & diddeſt not appeare when thou waſt cited? He aunſwered, becauſe I could not haue any ſafecōduict, neither from you, neither from the kyng, as it appeareth by theſe letters patentes of the Barons, which you haue, neither by my open intimations could I obtayne any ſafe conduict.

Hierome is brought bound vnto Conſtance by Duke Iohn.

The councell neither would geue him liberty ſafely to come nor freely to go.

Wherfore I perceiuing many of my greuous and heauy frendes to be here preſent in the Councell, woulde not my ſelfe be the occaſion of my perils and daungers, but if I had knowen or had any vnderſtādyng of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had bene in Boheme, I would haue returned agayne. Then all the whole Rable riſing vp, alledged diuers and ſundry accuſations and teſtimonies agaynſt hym wyth a great noyſe and tumulte. When the reſt held their peace, then ſpake maiſter Gerſon the Chauncelour of Paris: Hierome when thou waſt at Paris, thou thoughteſt thy ſelfe by meanes of thy eloquēce to be an Angell, and diddeſt trouble the whole Vniuerſitie, alledging openly in the Schooles many erroneous concluſions wyth their correlaria, and ſpecially in the queſtion de vniuerſalibus et de Ideis, wyth many other very offenſiue queſtions. Unto whom Maiſter Hierome ſayd: I aunſwere to you Maiſter Gerſon: Thoſe matters which I did put forth there in the Schooles at Paris, in the which alſo I aunſwered to the argumentes of the maiſters, I did put them forth Philoſophically and as a Philoſopher, and maiſter of the Vniuerſitie: & if I haue put forth any queſtions which I ought not to haue put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I wyll moſt humbly be informed, and amende the ſame.

M. Hierome was accuſed by M. Gerſon wyth commendatiō of hys eloquence.

Gerſon renueth old matters.

Whiles he was yet ſpeaking, an other (as I ſuppoſe, the maiſter of the Vniuerſitie of Colleyne vpon the Riuer of Rheine) riſing vp ſayd: When thou waſt alſo at Coleine, in thy poſition which thou diddeſt there determine, thou diddeſt propound many erroneous matters. Then ſaid M. Hierome vnto hym, ſhew me firſt one errour which I propounded. Wherwithall he being in a maner aſtoniſhed, ſayd, I do not remēber them now at the firſt, but hereafter they ſhalbe obiected agaynſt you.

The maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Coleine.

This man would accuſe but he lacked matter.

And by and by the third man riſing vp, ſayd: Whē that you were alſo at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinitie, and there painted out a certayne ſhielde or ſcutchine, comparing the Trinitie of perſons in diuinitie vnto water, ſnow, and yſe, and ſuch lyke. Unto whom M. Hierome aunſwered: Thoſes thynges that I wrote or painted there, the ſame I wyll alſo ſpeake, write and paint here: and teach me that they be erronious, and I wyll moſt humbly reuoke and recant the ſame.

The maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Heidelberg.

Then certayne cryed out, let hym be burned, let hym be burned. Unto whom he aunſwered: if my death do delight or pleaſe you, in the name of God, let it be ſo.

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Then ſayd the Archbiſhop of Saliſburg, not ſo maiſter Hierome, forſomuch as it is written: I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. When theſe and many other tumultes and cryes were paſſed, wherby they did then moſt diſorderly and outragiouſly witnes agaynſt hym, they deliuered the ſaid maiſter Hierome being bound, vnto the officers of Citie of Conſtance, to be caried to priſon for that night: and ſo euery one of them returned to their lodginges.

In the meane time, one of the frendes of M. I. Hus, looking out at a wyndow of the Cloyſter, ſayd vnto hym,

M.

Hierome is comforted by Peter the Notary.

M. Hierome. Then ſayd he, you are welcome my deare brother. Then ſaid Peter vnto him: Be conſtant, and feare not to ſuffer death for the truth ſake, of the which whē you were in tymes paſt at libertie, you did preach ſo much goodnes. Vnto whom Hierome aunſwered, truly brother I do not feare death, and for ſomuch as we know that we haue ſpoken much therof in times paſt: let vs now ſee what may be knowen or done in effect. By and by his keepers commyng to the wyndow, threatnyng hym with ſtrokes, did put away the ſayd Peter from the window of the Cloyſter.

Et tu de illis es. Luc. 22.

Vitus the companion of John de Clum.

Hierome ſtraightly bound hand and foote.

Vitus had to the Archbyſhop of Rigen.

Vitus bound by othe.

Then came there one Vitus vnto M. Hierome & ſayd: maiſter how do you? Vnto whom he aunſwered: truly brother, I do very well. Then his keepers cōming about him, layd hold of the ſayd Vitus, ſaying, this is alſo one of the number, and kept him. When it drew towardes euenyng, the Archbyſhop of Rygen, ſent certaine of his ſeruauntes which lead away M. Hierome, beyng ſtrongly bound with chaynes, both by the handes and by the necke, and kept him ſo for certaine houres. Whē night drew on, they caryed him vnto a certaine tower of the Citie in S. Paules Churcheyard, where as they tyed hym faſt vnto a great blocke, and his feete in the ſtockes, his handes beyng alſo made faſt vpon them, they left hym: where as the blocke was ſo hygh, that he could by no meanes ſit thereupon, but that his head muſt hang downeward. They caryed alſo the ſayd Vitus vnto the Archbyſhop of Rygen, who demaunded of hym, why he durſt be ſo bold to talke with ſuch a man, being a reprobate of all men, and an hereticke: and when as he could finde no cauſe of impriſonment in hym, and that he ſayd he was maiſter John de Clums frend (takyng an othe & promiſe of hym that he ſhould not goe about to endamage the Councell, by reaſon of that impriſonment and captiuitie) ſo diſmiſſed him and ſent him away.

Hierome hāging in the ſtockes was fedde wyth bread and water.

Peter bringeth meate to Hierome.

Hierome in great ſickneſſe calleth for a confeſſor.

M. Hierome was kept in irons in priſon, the ſpace of one yeare.

Maiſter Hierome, vnknowen vnto vs whether he was caryed, lay in the ſayd tower two dayes and two nightes releued onely with bread and water. Then one of his keepers commyng vnto M. Peter, declared vnto him how that M. Hierome lay hard by in bondes and chaynes, and how he was fed. Then M. Peter deſired that he might haue leaue geuen him to geue hym meate, becauſe he would procure the ſame vnto him. The keeper of the priſon grauntyng his requeſt, caryed meate vnto hym. Within eleuen dayes after, ſo hangyng by the heeles: he vſed ſo ſmall repaſt, that he fell ſore ſicke euen vnto the death. When as he lying then in that captiuitie and priſon, deſired to haue a Confeſſor, they of the Councell, denyed that he ſhould haue any, vntill ſuch tyme as by great importunitie he obtayned to haue one: his frends being then there preſent in the ſame priſon & tower, wherin he then lay by the ſpace of one yeare lackyng but ſeuen dayes.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth M. Hierome, whom they had kept ſo long in chaynes, vnto the Church of S. Paule: and threatnyng hym with death, beyng inſtaunt vpon him, they forced him to abiure and recant, and conſent vnto the death of M. John Hus, that he was iuſtly and truely condemned and put to death by them. He, what for feare of death and hopyng thereby to eſcape out of their handes, accordyng to their will and pleaſure, and accordyng to ẏ tenour which was exhibited vnto hym: did make abiuration, & that in the Cathedrall Church and open Seſſiō, the draught whereof penned to hym by the Papiſtes, here enſueth.

¶ The abiuration of M. Hierome of Prage.

The forced abiuration of Hierome.

I Hierome of Prage, Maiſter of Arte, acknowledgyng the Catholike Church and the Apoſtolicke fayth, doe accurſe and renounce all hereſies, and ſpecially that, wherof I haue hetherto bene infamed, and that which in tymes paſt John Hus and John Wickleffe haue holden and taught in their workes, treatiſes and Sermons, made vnto the people and Clergy: for the which cauſe the ſayd Wickleffe and Hus, together with their ſaid doctrines and errours, are condemned by this Synode of Conſtance, as hereticks, and all the ſayd doctrine ſententially condemned, and eſpecially in certaine Articles expreſſed in the ſentences & iudgementes geuen agaynſt them by this ſacred Councell.

Alſo I do accorde and agree vnto the holy Church of Rome, the Apoſtolike ſeate in this ſacred Councell, & with my mouth and hart do profeſſe in all thynges, and touchyng all thynges, and ſpeacially as touchyng the keyes, Sacramentes, orders and offices and Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, of pardons, reliques of Saintes, Eccleſiaſticall libertie, alſo ceremonies and all other thynges pertaining vnto Chriſtiā Religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apoſtolike ſea and this ſacred Councell do profeſſe: and ſpecially that many of the ſayd Articles are notoriouſly hereticall and lately reproued by the holy fathers, ſome of them blaſphemous, other ſome erroneous, ſome offenſiue vnto godly eares, and many of them temerarious and ſeditious. And ſuch alſo were coūted the Articles lately condemned by this ſacred Councell, and it was inhibited and forbydden to all and ſingular Catholicke men hereafter to preach, teach or preſume, to hold or maintayne any of the ſayd Articles, vnder payne of beyng accurſed.

And I the ſayd Hierome, for ſomuch as I haue laboured by Scholaſticall Artes, to perſwade the opinion, *De vniuerſalibus realibus*, and that one ſubſtaunce of the common kynde ſhould ſignifie many thynges ſubiect vnder the ſame, and euery one of them as S. Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine do affirme, & likewiſe others. For the teachyng hereof by a plaine example I deſcribed as it were a certaine triangle, forme or figure, the which I called the ſhield of faith.

Therfore vtterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked vnderſtanding therof, the which peraduenture ſome men may gather therby: I do ſay, affirme, and declare, that I neuer made the ſayd figure, neither named it the ſhield of fayth to that intēt or purpoſe, ẏ I would extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuerſalities aboue or before the contrary opiniō, in ſuch ſort as though that were the ſhield of fayth, & that without the affirmation therof, the Catholike fayth could not be defended or mayntained, when as I my ſelfe would not obſtinatly ſticke thereunto. But this I ſayd, becauſe I had put example in the deſcription of the Triangle or forme, that one diuine eſſence conſiſted in three ſubiectes or perſons in themſelues diſtinct: that is to ſay, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The Article of which Trinitie is the chief ſhield of fayth, and foundation of the Catholicke truth.

Furthermore that it may be euident vnto all men what the cauſes were for ẏ which I was reputed & thought to ſticke to, and fauour ſome tyme J. Hus, I ſignifie vnto all men by theſe preſentes, that when as I had heard hym oftentymes both in his Sermons and alſo in the ſchooles: I beleued that he was a very good man, neither that he dyd in any poynt gaynesay the traditions of our holy mother the Church, or holy Doctours: inſomuch as whē I was lately in this Citie, and the Articles, which I affirmed were ſhewed vnto me, which were alſo condemned by the ſacred Councell, at the firſt ſight of them I dyd not beleue that they were his, at the leaſt not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderſtood by certaine famous Doctours and Maiſters of Diuinitie, that they were his Articles: I required for my further informatiō and ſatiſfaction, to haue the bookes of his owne hād writing ſhewed vnto me, wherin it was ſayd, thoſe Articles were conteined. The which bookes, when they were ſhewed vnto me written with his owne hand, which I dyd know as well as myne owne, I founde all, and euery one of thoſe Articles therein written in lyke forme as they are condēned. Wherfore I do worthely iudge and thinke him and his doctrine with his adherentes to be condemned and reproued by this ſacred Councel as hereticall & without reaſon. All which the premiſſes, with a pure mynde and conſcience I do here pronounce and ſpeake, beyng now fully and ſufficiently informed of the foreſayd ſentences and iudgementes geuen by the ſacred Councell agaynſt the doctrines of the ſayd late John Wickleffe and John Hus, and agaynſt their owne perſons: vnto the which iudgement, as a deuoute Catholicke in all thynges, I do moſt humbly conſent and agree.

Hierome is made here to ſay not his owne minde, but what pleaſed them.

Alſo I the aforeſayd Hierome, which before the reuerend fathers the Lords Cardinalles, and reuerend Lordes Prelates and Doctours, and other worſhypfull perſons of this ſacred Councell in this ſame place, did heretofore frely and willyngly declare and expounde myne intent, and purpoſe: amongeſt other thynges ſpeakyng of the Church, dyd deuide the ſame into three partes. And as I did perceiue afterward, it was vnderſtanded by ſome ẏ I would affirme that in the triumphent Church, there was fayth. Whereas I do firmely beleue that there is the bleſſed ſight and beholdyng of God, excludyng all darke vnderſtending and knowledge. And now alſo I do ſay, affirme & declare, that it was neuer my intent and purpoſe, to proue that there ſhould be fayth, ſpeakyng of fayth as fayth is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceedyng fayth. And generally whatſoeuer I haue ſayd, either there, or at any tyme before, I do referre and moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the determination of this ſacred Councell of Conſtance.

Moreouer, I do ſweare both by the holy Trinitie, and alſo by the moſt holy Goſpell, that I will for euermore remayne and perſeuere without all doubt, in the truth of the

Catholike Churche. And all ſuch as by their doctrine and teachyng, ſhall impugne this fayth, I iudge them worthy together with their doctrines, of eternall curſe. And if I my ſelfe at any tyme (which God forbyd I ſhould) do preſume to preach or teach, contrary thereunto, I will ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the ſeueritie of the Canons, and be bound vnto eternall payne and puniſhment. Wherupon I do deliuer vp this my confeſſion and tenour of my profeſſion, willyngly before this ſacred generall Councell, and haue ſubſcribed and written all theſe thynges with myne owne hand.

Hierome after his abiuration returned into priſon.

After all this, they cauſed hym to be caried agayne vnto the ſame priſon, but not ſo ſtraightly chayned and bounde as he was before: notwithſtandyng kept euery day with ſouldiours and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemyes which were appointed agaynſt hym, as Michaell de Cauſis, & wicked Palletz, with other their companions in theſe affaires, vnderſtood & knew by the wordes & talke of M. Hierome and by other certaine tokens, that he made the ſame abiuration and recãtation, not of a ſincere and pure mynde, but onely to the intent therby to ſcape their handes: they together with certaine Friers of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then commyng in, put vp newe accuſations agaynſt the ſayd M. Hierome, and drew the ſame into Articles, beyng very inſtant and earneſt that he ſhould aunſwere therunto. And for ſomuch as his iudges and certaine Cardinals, as the Cardinall of Cambray, the Cardinall de Vrſinis, the Cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, conſideryng the malice of the enemyes of M. Hierome, dyd ſee the great iniurie that was done vnto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for his deliuery.

Hierome accuſed a new by Cauſis, Palletz, and the Carmelites.

The Cardinall of Cambray with certayne other Cardinalles labour for the deliuery of Hierome.

It happened vpon a certaine day, as they were labouryng in the Councell for the deliuery of the ſayd M. Hierome: that the Germaines and Bohemians his enemyes, with all force and power reſiſted agaynſt it, crying out, that he ſhould in no caſe be diſmiſſed. Then ſtarte vp one called Doctour Naſo, which ſayd vnto the Cardinals, we maruaile much of you moſt reuerent fathers, that your reuerences will make interceſſion for ſuch a wicked hereticke, for whoſe ſake we in Boheme with the whole clergy, haue ſuffered much trouble and miſchief, and peraduenture your fatherhodes ſhall ſuffer: and I greatly feare leaſt that you haue receiued ſome rewardes, either of the king of Boheme, or of theſe herretickes. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they diſcharged themſelues of Maiſter Hieromes cauſe and matter.

Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæſaris.

Then his enemyes aforeſayd, obtayned to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarcke of Conſtantinople, and a Germaine Doctour, for ſomuch as they dyd know that the Patriarcke was a greuous enemy vnto M. Hierome, becauſe he beyng before appointed iudge by the Cõcell, had condemned John Hus vnto death.

The Patriarke of Conſtantinople gaue ſentẽce of death both agaynſt M. Hus, & M. Hierome of Prage.

But M. Hierome would not aunſwere them in priſon, requiryng to haue open audience, becauſe he would there finally declare vnto them his mynde, neither would he by any meanes conſent vnto thoſe priuate iudges. Whereupon the Preſidentes of the Cõcell thinking that the ſayd M. Hierome would renue his recantation before the ſayd audience and confirme the ſame, dyd graunt him open audience.

1416.

Hierome brought againe before the councell.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1416. the xxv. day of May, which was the Saterday before the Aſcẽſion of our Lord, the ſayd M. Hierome was brought vnto open audience before the whole Councell, to the great Cathedrall Church of Conſtance, where as by the Commiſſioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of his foreſayd enemyes, there was layd agaynſt him of new. C. and vij. Articles, to the intent that he ſhould not ſcape the ſnare of death, whiche they prouided and layde for him: in ſomuch as the iudges had before declared that by the ſaying of the witneſſes it was already concluded in the ſame audience. The day aforeſayd, from mornyng vntill noone, he aunſwered vnto more then xl. Articles, moſt ſubtilitie obiected agaynſt him: denying that he held or maintayned any ſuch Articles as were either hurtfull or falſe, and affirmyng that thoſe witneſſes had depoſed them agaynſt him falſly and ſlaunderouſly as his moſt cruell and mortall enemyes. In the ſame Seſſion they had not yet proceded vnto death, becauſe that the noone tyme drew ſo faſt on, that he coulde not aunſwere vnto the Articles. Wherfore for lacke of tyme ſufficient to aunſwere vnto the reſidue of the Articles, there was an other tyme appointed, which was the third day after the foreſayd Saterday, before the Aſcenſion of our Lord, at which tyme agayne early in the mornyng, he was brought vnto the ſayd Cathedrall Church to aunſwere vnto all the reſidue the Articles.

Falſe witneſſe againſt Hierome.

In all which articles, as well thoſe which he had aunſwered vnto the Saterday before, as in ẏ reſidue, he cleared himſelfe very learnedly, refellyng his aduerſaries (who had no cauſe) but onely of malice & diſpleaſure were ſet againſt hym, and did hym great wrong) in ſuch ſort that they were themſelues aſtonyed at his oration, and refutation of their teſtimonies brought agaynſt hym, and wyth ſhame enough were put to ſilence: As when one of them had demaunded of hym, what he thought by the Sacrament of the aultare he anſwered, before conſecration (ſayd he) it is bread and wine: after conſecration it is the true bodye and bloud of Chriſt, adding withall moe wordes accordyng to their catholique fayth. Then an other riſing vp. Hierome, ſaid he: there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt hold, bread to remaine vpon the aultar. To whom he pleaſauntly aunſwered, ſaying: that he beleued bread to be at ẏ Bakers. At which wordes beyng ſpoken, one of the Dominicke Friers ſwiniſhly tooke on and ſayd, what? doeſt thou deny, that no man doubteth of? whoſe peuiſhe ſauſines, Hierome in theſe wordes did well repreſſe: hold thy peace (ſayd he) thou Mõke, thou hypocrite. And thus the mõke beyng nipped in the head, ſate downe dumme. After whom ſtarted vp an other, who with a loude voyce cryed out: I ſweare (ſayd he) by my conſcience, that to be true, that thou doeſt deny. To whom ſayd Hierome agayne, ſpeaking in latine: Heus inquit, ſic iurare per conſcientiam tutiſſima fallendi via eſt. That is, thus to ſweare by your conſcience, is the next way to deceiue. An other there was, a ſpitefull & a bitter enemy of hys, whom he called by no other name the dogge, or Aſſe. After he had thus refuted them, one after another, that they could finde no crime againſt him, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all driuen to kepe ſilence.

The dexteritie of Hierome in confuting his aduerſaries.

This done, then were the witneſſes called for, who comming in preſence, gaue teſtimony vnto the Articles before produced. By reaſon wherof, the innocẽt cauſe of Hierome was oppreſſed, and begun in the Councell to be concluded. Then Hierome riſing vp began to ſpeake: For ſomuch (ſaith he) as you haue heard myne aduerſaries ſo diligently hetherto, conuenient it is, that you ſhould alſo now heare me to ſpeake for my ſelfe. Whervpõ wyth much difficultie, at laſt audience was geuẽ in the Coũcell for him to ſay his minde. Which being graunted, he from mornyng to noone continuyng, entreated of diuers and ſundry matters, with great learnyng and eloquence. Who firſt beginning with his prayer to God, beſought hym to geue him ſpirite, habilitie & vtteraunce, which might moſt tende to the profite and ſaluation of his owne ſoule. And ſo entring into hys oration: I know ſayth he, reuerend Lordes, that there haue bene many excellent men, which haue ſuffered much otherwiſe then they haue deſerued, beyng oppreſſed wyth falſe witneſſes, and condemned with wrong iudgementes. And ſo beginnyng wyth Socrates, he declared how he was vniuſtly condemned of his countreymen, neither would he eſcape when he myght: takyng from vs the feare of two thynges, which ſeeme moſt bitter to men: to wit, of priſonment and death. Then he inferred the captiuitie of Plato, the baniſhmẽt of Anaxagoras, and the tormentes of Zeno. Moreouer, he brought in the wrongfull condemnations of many gentiles: as the baniſhment of Rutilius: recityng alſo the vnworthy death of Boetius and of others, whom Boetius himſelfe doth write of.

Falſe witneſſes.

Audience hardly geuẽ to Hierome to ſpeake for himſelfe.

The oration of Hierome had before the councell.

Socrates.

Plato.
Anaxagoras.
Zeno.
Rutilius.
Boetius.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrues, and firſt began with Moſes the deliuerer of the people, and the lawe geuer, how he was oftentymes ſlaundered of hys people, as being a ſeducer and contemner of the people. Ioſeph alſo, ſaith he, for enuie, was ſold of his brethren, and for falſe ſuſpicion of whoredome, was caſt into bands. Beſides theſe, he reciteth Eſayas, Daniell, and almoſt all the Prophetes, who as contemners of God, and ſeditious perſons, were oppreſſed with wrongfull condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the iudgement of Suſanna, and of diuers other beſides, who beyng good and holy men, yet were they vniuſtly caſt away with wrongfull ſentence. At the length he came to John Baptiſt, and ſo in long proceſſe he deſcended vnto our Sauiour, declaryng how it was euident to all men, by what falſe witneſſes both he and John Baptiſt, were condemned. Moreouer how Steuen was ſlayne by the Colledge of the Prieſtes, and how all the Apoſtles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as ſeditious ſtyrrers vp of the people, & contemners of ẏ Gods, and euill doers. It is vniuſt, ſayth he, vniuſtly to be condemned one Prieſt of an other, and yet he proued that that ſame hath ſo happened moſt vniuſtly in that Councell of Prieſtes. Theſe thinges did he diſcourſe at large, wyth marueilous eloquence, and wyth ſingular admiration of all that heard him.

Moſes.
Ioſeph.

Eſayas.
Daniell.
The Prophetes.
Suſanna.

John Baptiſt.
Chriſt.

The Apoſtles.

And for as much as all the whole ſumme of the cauſe did

reſt

The falſe witnes of Hieroms refelled.

reſt onely in the witneſſes, by many reaſons he proued that no credite was to be geuen vnto them, eſpecially ſeyng they ſpake all thynges of no truth, but onely of hatred malice, and enuie. And ſo proſecutyng the matter, ſo liuely and expreſſely he opened vnto them the cauſes of their hatred, that he had almoſt perſwaded them. So liuely and likely their hatred was detected, that almoſt no truſt was geuen to their teſtimonies, ſaue onely for the cauſe and quarel wherin they ſtood touchyng ẏ popes doctrine. All mẽs myndes here were moued & bendyng to mercy towardes him. For he told them how that he of his owne accorde came vp to the Councell, & to purge himſelfe he did open vnto them all his lyfe and doynges, beyng full of vertue and godlynes. This was (ſayth he) the old maner of auncient and learned men and moſt holy Elders, that in matters of fayth they did diſſerre many tymes in argumentes, not to deſtroy the fayth, but to finde out the veritie. So did Auguſtine and Hierome diſſent, not onely beyng diuers, but alſo cõtrary one from the other and yet without all ſuſpition of hereſie.

All this while the popes holy Councell did wayte ſtill, whẽ he would begyn to excuſe himſelfe, and to retract thoſe thynges, which were obiected againſt him, and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he perſiſtyng ſtill in his conſtant Oration, dyd acknowledge no errour, nor geue any ſignification of retractation.

Hierome commendeth the life, and bewayleth the death of John Hus.

At laſt entryng into the prayſe and cõmendation of M. John Hus, he affirmed that he was a good, iuſt, and holy man, and much vnworthy that death, which he dyd ſuffer. whom he did know from his youth vpward, to be neither fornicator, drunckard, neither any euill or vicious perſon: but a chaſt and ſober man, and a iuſt and true preacher of the holy Goſpel: and whatſoeuer thynges maiſter John Hus and Wickleffe had holden or written ſpecially agaynſt the abuſe and pompe of the Clergy, he would affirme euen vnto the death, that they were holy and bleſſed men, and that in all poyntes of the Catholicke fayth, he doth beleue as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold or beleue. And finally he dyd conclude that all ſuch Articles, as John Wickleffe & John Hus had written & put forth againſt the enormities, pompe, and diſorder of the Prelates, he would firmely and ſtedfaſtly, without recãtation, hold and defend euen vnto the death. And laſt of all, he added ẏ all the ſinnes that euer he had cõmitted, dyd not ſomuch gnaw and trouble his conſcience, as dyd that onely ſinne, which he had committed in that moſt peſtiferous fact, when as in his recantation, he had vniuſtly ſpoken agaynſt that good and holy man & his doctrine, & ſpecially in cõſentyng vnto his wicked cõdẽnatiõ: cõcluding that he dyd vtterly reuoke & deny that wicked recantation, which he had made in that moſt curſed place, and that he did it through weakenes of hart and feare of death: And moreouer that whatſoeuer thyng he hath ſpoken agaynſt that bleſſed man, he hath altogether lyed vpon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole hart, that euer he did it.

Hierome repenteth his ſpeaking againſt John Hus.

At the hearyng herof, the hartes of the hearers were not a litle ſory. For they wiſhed and deſired greatly that ſuch a ſingular man might be ſaued, if otherwiſe their blynd ſuperſtition would haue ſuffered it. But he continued ſtill in his preſixed ſentence, ſeemyng to deſire rather death then life. And perſiſtyng ſtill in the prayſe of John Hus, he added moreouer, that he neuer maintayned any doctrine agaynſt the ſtate of the Church, but onely ſpake agaynſt the abuſes of the Clergy, agaynſt the pride, pompe and exceſſe of the Prelates. For in ſomuch as the patrimonies of churches were firſt geuen for the poore, then for hoſpitalitie, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches: it was a grief to that good man (ſayd he) to ſee the ſame miſpent and caſt away vpon harlots, great feaſtyngs, and keepyng of horſes and dogges, vpon gorgeous apparell and ſuch other thinges vnſeemyng Chriſtian Religion. And herein he ſhewed hym ſelfe maruelous eloquent: yea neuer more.

Hus neuer maintained any doctrine agaynſt the Church of Rome: but onely ſpake againſt their naughty lyfe.

And when his Oration was interrupted many tymes by diuers of them carpyng his ſentences as he was in ſpeakyng: yet was there none of all thoſe that interrupted hym which ſcaped vnblanckt, but he brought them all to confuſion, and put them to ſilence. When any noyſe began, he ceaſed to ſpeake, and after begã agayne, proceedyng in his Oration and deſiring them to geue him leaue a while to ſpeake, whom they hereafter ſhould heare no more: neither yet was his mynde euer daſhed at all theſe noyſes and tumultes.

Hierome did put them to ſilence.

And this was maruelous in him to behold, notwithſtandyng he continued in ſtrait priſon, 340. dayes, hauyng neither booke, nor almoſt light to read by: yet how admirably his memory ſerued hym: Declaryng how all thoſe paynes of his ſtraite handlyng dyd not ſomuch greeue him, as he dyd wonder rather to ſee their vnkynde inhumanitie towardes hym.

Hierome in priſon 340. dayes. The excellent memory in M. Hierome.

When he had ſpoken theſe and many other thynges as touchyng the prayſe of John Wickleffe, & John Hus, they which ſat in the Councell, whiſpered together, ſaying: by theſe his wordes it appeareth that he is at a point with himſelfe. Then was he agayne caried into priſon, and greuouſly fettred by the handes, armes and feete with great chaynes and fetters of yron.

M. Hierom brought agayne before the councell.

The Saterday next before the Aſcenſion day, early in the mornyng he was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the Cathedrall Church before the open congregatiõ, to haue his iudgement geuen him. There they exhorted him, that thoſe thynges which he had before ſpoken in the open audience, as is aforeſayd, as touchyng the prayſe and commendation of M. John Wickleffe, and M. John Hus, confirmyng and eſtabliſhyng their doctrine, he would yet recant the ſame: but he marueilous ſtoutly without all feare, ſpake agaynſt them, & amõgeſt other thyngs ſayd vnto them: I take God to my witnes, and I proteſt here before you all, that I do beleue and hold all the Articles of the fayth, as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold and beleue the ſame: but for this cauſe ſhall I now be condemned, for that I will not conſent with you vnto the condemnation of thoſe moſt holy and bleſſed men aforeſayd, whom you haue moſt wickedly cõdemned for certaine articles, deteſtyng and abhorring your wicked and abhominable life. Then he confeſſed there before them all his belief, & vttered many things very profoundly & eloquently, in ſomuch that all men there preſent, could not ſufficiently commend and prayſe his great eloquence & excellent learnyng: and by no meanes could they induce or perſwade him to recant.

M. Hieram holdeth all the articles of the Catholicke Church. The eloquence of M. Hierom.

Then a certaine Byſhop named the Byſhop of Landy made a certaine Sermõ exhortatiue agaynſt M. Hierome, perſwadyng to his condemnation.

The prophecie of M. Hierom.

After the Byſhop had ended the ſayd Sermõ, M. Hierome ſayd agayne vnto them: you will condemne me wickedly and vniuſtly. But I after my death will leaue a remorſe in your conſcience, and a nayle in your hartes, ET CITO VOS OMNES, VT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET IVSTISSIMO IVDICE POST CENTVM ANNOS: that is, And here I cite you all to aunſwere vnto me before the moſt high and iuſt Judge, within a C. yeares.

No penne can ſufficiently write or note thoſe thynges which he moſt eloquently, profoundly, and Philoſophically had ſpoken in the ſaid audience, neither can any toung ſufficiently declare the ſame, wherfore I haue but onely touched here the ſuperficiall matter of his talke, partly, and not wholy notyng the ſame. Finally, when as by no meanes he might be perſwaded to recant the premiſſes, immediatly euen in his preſence, the ſentence & iudgement of his condemnation was geuen agaynſt him, and read before him.

The ſentence read againſt M. Hierome.

IN the name of God Amen. Chriſt our God and our Sauiour beyng the true vyne, whoſe father is the huſband man, taught his Diſciples and all other faithfull men, ſaying: If any mã dwell not in me, let him be caſt out as a bow or braũch, and let him wither and dry. &c. The doctrine and preceptes of which moſt excellent Doctour & Maiſter, this moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtance, executyng and folowyng in the cauſe of inquiſition agaynſt heretickes, beyng moued by this ſayd ſacred Synode, through report, publicke fame, and open infamation: proceedeth agaynſt maiſter Hierome of Prage, Maiſter of Arte, lay man. By the Actes and proceſſes of whoſe cauſe it appeareth that the ſayd maiſter Hierome hath holden, maintayned, and taught diuers Articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reproued and condemned by the holy fathers, ſome beyng very blaſphemous, other ſome offendyng godly eares, and many temerarious and ſeditious, which haue bene affirmed, maintayned, preached & taught by the men of moſt damnable memory John Wickleffe, and John Hus, the whiche are alſo written in diuers of their workes & bookes. Which articles of doctrine and bookes of the ſayd John Hus and Wickleffe together with their memory, and the perſon of the ſayd John Hus, were by the ſayd ſacred Synode condemned of hereſie. The which ſentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward duryng the tyme of inquiſition, acknowledged in the ſayd ſacred Synode, & approued the true Catholicke & Apoſtolicke fayth, thereunto conſentyng, accurſing all hereſie, ſpecially that, wherof he was infamed, & cõfeſſed himſelfe to be infamed, & that which in tymes paſt J. Hus & J. Wickleffe maintayned & taught in their works, ſermõs, & books: for ẏ which the ſayd Wickleffe and Hus together with their doctrine & errours, were by the ſayd ſacred Synode as hereticall, condemned. The condemnation of all which the premiſſes, he did openly profeſſe and allow, and dyd ſweare that he would

per=

perſeuere and continue in the veritie of that fayth. And if that he ſhould preſume at any tyme to hold opiniõ or preach contrary thereunto, that he would ſubmit himſelfe to the triall and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetuall puniſhment. And this his profeſſion written with his own hand, he deliuered vp vnto the holy Councell. Many dayes after his ſayd profeſſion and abiuration, as a dogge returnyng vnto his vomite, to the intent he might openly vomite vp the moſt peſtilent poyſon whiche had long lurked and layen hid in his breaſt, he required and deſired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The whiche beyng graunted vnto him, he affirmed, ſayd, and profeſſed before the whole Synode, beyng publikely gathered together, that he had wickedly conſented and agreed to the ſentence and iudgement of the condemnation of the ſayd Wickleffe and Hus, and that he had moſt ſhamefully lyed in approuyng and allowyng the ſayd ſentence, neither was he aſhamed to confeſſe that he had lyed: yea he dyd alſo reuoke and recant his confeſſion, approbation and proteſtation, which he had made vpon their condemnation, affirmyng that he neuer at any tyme had read any errours or hereſie in the bookes and treatiſes of the ſayd Wickleffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confeſſed it, and it is euidently proued that he dyd diligently ſtudy, read and preach their bookes, wherein it is manifeſt that there are contained many errours and hereſies. Alſo the ſayd Maiſter Hierome did profeſſe as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar, and the tranſubſtãtiation of the bread into the body of Chriſt, that he doth hold and beleue as the church doth hold & beleue, ſaying alſo that he doth geue more credite vnto S. Auguſtine, and the other Doctours of the Church, thẽ vnto Wickleffe and Hus. It appeareth moreouer by the premiſſes, that the ſaid Hierome is an adherẽt and maintainer of the ſayd Wickleffe & Hus & their errours, and both is and hath bene a fauourer of them. Wherfore the ſaid ſacred Synode determineth the ſayd M. Hierome as a rotten and withered braunche not growyng vpon the vyne, to be cut of and caſt out. The ſayd Synode alſo pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an hereticke, and drowned in all kynde of hereſies, excommunicate and accurſed, leauyng him vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the ſecular iudge, to receiue iuſt and due puniſhment, accordyng to the qualitie of ſo great an offence: The ſayd ſacred Synode notwithſtandyng intreatyng that the ſayd iudge would moderate his ſentence of iudgement without peril of death.

Hierome geuen to the ſecular power.

A paper wyth redde deuilles put vpon the head of M. Hierome, by deuiliſhe papiſtes.

M. Hierome cõmitted to the ſecular power.

The which ſentence ſo geuen before his face, and ended, a great & long miter of paper was brought vnto hym, painted about with red deuils: the whiche when he beheld and ſaw, throwyng away his hoode vpon the ground amongeſt the Prelates, he tooke the miter, and put it vpon his head: ſaying, Our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, when as he ſhould ſuffer death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did weare a crowne of thorne vpon his head: and I for his ſake in ſtede of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cappe. Afterward he was layd hold of by the ſecular power.

M. Hierome went ſinging vnto his martyrdome.

M. Hierome prayeth.

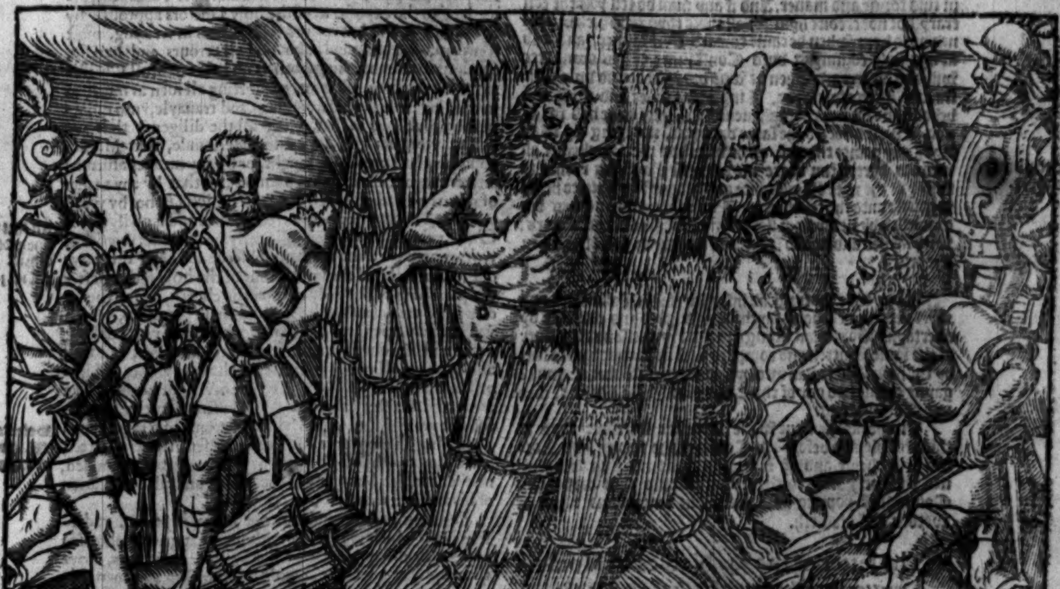
After that he was ledde out of the ſayd Church to the place of execution, when he was goyng out of the Churche with a cherefull coũtenaunce & a loud voyce liftyng hys eyes vp into heauen, he began to ſing Credo in vnum deum, as it is accuſtomed to be ſong in yͤ church. Afterward as he paſſed a long, he did ſing ſome Canticles of the Church. The which beyng ended, in the entryng out of the gate of the citty, as men go vnto Gothlehem, he did ſing this hymne *Felix namque*. And that reſpond beyng ended, after he came to the place of execution where as Maiſter John Hus before had ſuffred death innocently, kneling downe before an image which was lyke vnto the picture of M. John Hus, which was there prepared to burne Maiſter Hierome, he made a certayne deuout prayer.

M. Hierom tyed to an image lyke to J. Hus.

M. Hierome ſingeth at hys burning.

Whiles he was thus praying the tormentours toke him vp and liftyng hym vp from the ground, ſpoyled hym of all hys garmentes, and left hym naked, and afterwarde girded hym about the loynes wyth a linnen cloth, and bounde hym faſt wyth cordes and chaynes of Iron to the ſayde Image, which was made faſte vnto the earth: and ſo ſtandyng vpon the grounde, when as they beganne to lay the woode about hym, he ſong Salue feſta dies. And when the hymne was ended, he ſonge agayne with a loude voyce, Credo in

¶ The burning of maiſter Hierome of Prage.



vnum Deum, vnto the ende. That beyng ended, he ſayd vnto the people in the Germayne tongue in effect as followeth. Dearely beloued children, euen as I haue now ſoonge, ſo do I beleue and none otherwyſe. And this Creede is my whole fayth: notwithſtandyng now I dye for thys cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent, and agree to the councell, and with them affirme and hold that maiſter Iohn Huſſe, was by them holily and iuſtly condemned: For I dyd know well enough that he was a true preacher of the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt.

The wordes of Hierome to the people.

Maiſter Hierome geueth teſtimony of Iohn Hus.

After that he was compaſſed in with the wood vp to the crowne of the head, they caſt all hys garmentes vpon ẏ wood alſo, and with a firebrand they ſet it on fire. The which beyng once fired, he began to ſing with a loud voyce: In manus tuas domine commendo ſpiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burne, he ſayde in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: O Lord God father almighty, haue mercy vpon me and be mercyfull vnto myne offences, for thou knoweſt how that ſincerely I haue loued thy truth. Then his voyce by the vehemency of the fire, was choked & ſtopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moued continually his mouth and lips, as though he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken within hymſelf.

The laſte wordes of M. Hierome.

When as in a maner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared thorough the great burning vpon his body certaine great bladders, as big as an egge, yet he continually very ſtrongly and ſtoutly moued and ſhaked hys head and mouth, by the ſpace almoſt of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he liued with great payne and martyrdome, whiles one might eaſily haue gone from S. Clementes ouer the bridge, vnto our Lady Church: he was of ſuch a ſtoute and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus deade in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his ſtrawbed, his bootes, his hood, and all other thinges that he had in the priſon, and burned them al to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and cary them in a cart, and caſt them into the riuer of Rheine, which ran hard by the Citie.

The crueltie of his death.

The aſhes of M. Hierome caſt into the riuer of Rheine.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtified vnto vs the actes and doynges about the condemnation of Maiſter Hierome, and ſent the ſame vnto vs to Prage in writyng, doth thus conclude: All theſe thynges (ſayeth he) I dyd behold, ſee, and heare to be done in this forme and maner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, doe not credite hym, for all thoſe thynges which happened vnto hym, when he came toward Conſtaunce, and alſo at hys firſt commyng vnto Conſtaunce of hys owne free will, and afterward when he was brought bound vnto Cōſtaunce, as is aforeſayde, I my ſelfe dyd ſee and perfectlye behold: and for a perpetuall memory thereof to be had for euer, I haue directed the ſame vnto you, not lying or falſifying any pointe thereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mennes hartes can beare me witneſſe: willyng rather to ſuſtayne the note of ignorance and rudeneſſe of ſtile, to beare witneſſe vnto the truth, then I would by any meanes bee compelled by tickling or flatteryng the eares of the hearers, with fayned and cloked ſpeache to ſwarue or goe aſide from the truth.

The witnes of the writer.

The truth of this ſtory.

Thus ende the tragicall hiſtories of M. Iohn Hus, and M. Hierome of Prage, faythfully gathered and collected by a certayne Bohemian, beyng a preſent witneſſe and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in Latine, and ſo ſent by the ſayd Bohemian into hys country of Boheme: and agayne tranſlated out of the Latine with lyke fidelitie, into our Engliſh tong.

In the meane tyme while Maiſter Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and Lordes of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agrieued thereat) directed theyr letters vnto this barbarous Councell of popiſhe murderers, in tenour and forme of wordes as followeth.

¶ The letter of the 54. Nobles of Morauia *written vnto the Councell of Conſtaunce in the* defence of Maiſter Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

☞ To the right reuerend Fathers and Lordes in Chriſt, the Lordes, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ambaſſadours, Doctors, & Maiſters, and to the whole Councell of Conſtaunce, we the Nobles, Lordes, Knightes and Eſquiers, of the famous Marqueſdome of Morauia, wiſhe the deſire of all goodnes, and the obſeruation of the commaundementes of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

Forſomuch as euery man both by the law of nature, and alſo by Gods law, is commaunded to do that vnto an other man, which he would haue done vnto hymſelfe, and is forbidden to do that thyng vnto an other, which he would not haue done vnto himſelfe, as our Sauiour ſaith: all things what ſo euer you wyll that men ſhould do vnto you, the ſame do you vnto them, for this is the law & the Prophets, yea the law is fulfilled in this one poynte: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe: We therefore (God beyng our author) hauyng reſpect as much as in vs lyeth vnto the ſayd lawe of GOD, and the loue of our neighbour, before dyd ſend our letters vnto Conſtaunce for our dearely beloued friend of good memory Maiſter Iohn Huſſe Bacheler of Diuinitie and preacher of the Goſpell. Whome of late in the Councell of Conſtaunce (we know not wyth what ſpirite beyng ledde) you haue condemned as an obſtinate heretick, neyther hauyng confeſſed any thyng, neither beyng lawfully conuict as were expedient: hauyng no erroures or hereſies declared or layd agaynſt hym, but onely at the ſiniſter, falſe and importune accuſations, ſuggeſtions, and inſtigatiōs of hys mortall enemies, and the traytours of our kyngdom & Marqueſdom of Morauia. And beyng thus vnmercifully cōdemned, you haue ſlayne hym with moſt ſhamefull & cruel death: to the perpetual ſhame and infamy of our moſt chriſtian kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marqueſdom of Morauia (as we haue written vnto Conſtance, vnto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund Kyng of Romaines, and of Hungary, the heyre and ſucceſſour of oure kyngdome) the which was alſo red and publiſhed in your congregations, which we will here alſo haue enrolled: and haue burned hym, as it is reported, in the reproche and contempt of vs.

Math. 7.

Rom. xiij.

Wherfore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patentes to your reuerences now preſent, in the behalfe of Maiſter Iohn Huſſe, openly profeſſing and proteſtyng both with hart and mouth, that he the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Huſſe, was a iuſt, good and Catholicke man, and a long ſeaſon worthily commended and allowed in our kyngdom, for his lyfe and conuerſation. He alſo preached and taughte vs and our ſubiectes the law of the Goſpell, and of the holy Prophets, and the bookes of the old and new Teſtament, accordyng to the expoſition of the holy Doctors approued by the Church, and left many Monumentes in writyng, moſt conſtantly deteſting and abhorring all errours and hereſie, continually admoniſhing both vs and all faythfull Chriſtians to do the lyke, diligently exhorting all men as much as in hym lay by his worde, writings, and trauayle, vnto quietnes and concorde: ſo that, vſing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or could vnderſtande, that Maiſter Iohn Hus had preached, taught, or by any meanes affirmed any errour or hereſie in hys Sermons, or that by any maner of means he had offended vs or our ſubiects, either by word or deede, but that he alwayes led a quiete and a godly life in Chriſt, exhortyng all men diligently, both by his wordes & workes, as much as he might, to obſerue and kepe the lawe of the Goſpell, and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifiyng of mens ſoules. Neyther did theſe premiſſes, which you had ſo perpetrated to the reproch both of vs & our kingdome and Marqueſdome, ſuffice and content you, but that alſo without all mercy and pitie, you haue apprehended, impriſoned, and condemned, and euen now peraduenture, lyke as you did Maiſter Iohn Hus, you haue moſt cruelly murdered the worſhipfull man, Maiſter Hierome of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, Maiſter of the ſeuen liberall artes, and a famous Philoſopher, not beyng ſene, heard, examined, neither conuict: but onely at the ſiniſter and falſe accuſation of his and our accuſers and betrayers.

The cauſe of I. Hus cleared by the teſtimony of the nobles of Boheme.

All that will liue godly in Chriſt. 2. Tim. 3.

Defence of M. Hierome of Prage.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and vnderſtanding (which we do not without great griefe rehearſe) as we may alſo euidently gather by your writinges, how that certayne detractors, odible both to God and men, priuy enuiers and betrayers, haue wickedly and greuouſly, albeit falſely and traiterouſly, accuſed vs, our kyngdome, and Marqueſdome aforeſayd, before you in your councell, that in the ſayd kyngdome of Boheme and Marqueſdome of Morauia, diuers errours are ſprong vp, which haue greuouſly and manifoldly infected both our harts, and alſo the hartes of many faythfull men: in ſo much, that wythout a ſpeedy ſtop or ſtay of correctiō, the ſayd kingdome & Marqueſdome together with the faithfull Chriſtians therein, ſhould incur an irrecuperable loſſe & ruine of their ſoules.

Theſe

He meaneth the long ſchiſme ſpoken of before, where three popes were ſtriuing one againſt an other.

*A quadrant being foure ſquare prouerbially ſignifieth a man that is conſtant and immutable. Rom.12.

Theſe cruell and pernitious iniuries whiche are layde vnto vs, and to our ſayd kyngdom and Marqueſdom, albeit moſt falſly and ſlaunderouſly, how may we ſuffer? for ſo much as through the grace of God (when in a maner all other kyngdomes of the worlde, haue oftentymes wauered, makyng Schiſmes and Antipapes) our moſt Chriſtian kingdome of Boheme, and moſt noble Marqueſdome of Morauia, ſince the tyme they dyd receiue the Catholicke fayth of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, as a moſt perfect * quadrant haue alwayes without reproofe ſtucke vnto the Church of Rome, & haue ſincerely done theyr true obediēce. Alſo with how great coſtes and charges and great trauayl, with what worſhip and due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother the church & her paſtors, by their princes and faithfull ſubiects, it is more manifeſt thē the day light vnto the whole world: and your ſelues, if you wil confeſſe the truth, can witnes the ſame alſo.

Wherfore that we, accordyng to the mynd of the Apoſtle, may procure honeſt and good thinges, not onely before God but before men alſo, and leſt by neglecting the famous renowne of the kyngdom and Marqueſdome, we be found cruell towardes our neighbours: hauyng a ſtedfaſt hope, a pure and ſincere conſcience and intent, and a certayne true fayth in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, by the tenour of theſe we ſignify and declare vnto your fatherhoods, and to all faythfull Chriſtians, openly profeſſing both with harte and mouth, that whatſoeuer man, of what eſtate, preeminence, dignitie, condition, degre, or religion ſo euer he be, which hath ſayd or affirmed, eyther doth ſay or affirme, that in the ſaid kingdom of Boheme and Marqueſdom of Morauia, hereſies haue ſprong vp which haue infected vs and other faythfull Chriſtiās, as is aforeſaid (the only perſō of our moſt noble prince and lord, Sigiſmund king of Romains & of Hungary &c. our lord and heire ſucceſſor, being ſet apart, whom we truſt and beleue, not to be guilty in the premiſſes) all and euery ſuch man (as is aforeſayd) doth lye falſly vppon his head, as a wicked and naughty traytour and betrayer of the ſaid kingdome and Marqueſdom, and moſt trayterous vnto vs, & moſt pernitious hereticke, the ſonne of all malice and wickednes, yea and of the deuill hymſelfe, who is a lyar and the father of all lyes.

John 8. Deut.18. Pſal.30.

These noble men offered their obedience to the pope, no further then was lawful, honeſt, and agreeable to reaſon and the lawe of God.

Marke this and learne you noble men.

Notwithſtanding, we for this preſent committyng the foreſayd iniuries vnto God, vnto whom vengeaunce perteineth, who will alſo aboundantly reward workers of iniquity, will proſecute them more amply before hym whome God ſhall appoint in the Apoſtolike ſea, to gouern his holy Church as the only and vndoubted paſtour. Vnto whō god willyng, we exhibityng our due reuerence and obedience as faythfull children, in thoſe things which are lawfull, honeſt, and agreable to reaſon and the law of God, will make our requeſt and petition, that ſpedy remedy may be prouided for vs, our ſayd kingdom and Marqueſdom, vpon the premiſes, accordyng to the law of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers. The premiſſes notwithſtādyng we ſetting apart all feare and mens ordinaunces prouided to the contrary, will maintayn and defend the law of our lord Ieſu Chriſt, and the deuout, humble and conſtant preachers therof, euen to the ſhedyng of our bloud.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yeare of our lord. 1415. vpon S. Wenceſlaus day, Martyr of our lord Ieſu Chriſt.

Round about the ſayd letters there were liiii. Seales, hanging and their names ſubſcribed, whoſe Seales they were. The names of which noble men, I thought it good here to annex with all, partly for the more credite of that hath been ſayd, partly alſo for examples ſake, to the intent that our noble mē & gentlemē in this our Realme of England, now liuing in this cleare light of the Goſpell, maye by their example vnderſtand, that if they ioyne them ſelues with the Goſpell of Ieſus, zealouſly and as they ſhoulde doe, yet are they neither the firſt, nor the maſte that ſo haue done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remayne in ſtorye to their ſhame, or els to their inſtruction, ſeyng ſo many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the ſmall kingdome of Bohemia, to be ſo forwarde in thoſe ſo darck daies and among ſo many enemies. CC. yeares agoe, to take part with Chriſt: And yet our Gentlemen here, in ſuche longe contynuance of tyme, being ſo diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeale to them to be compared, but wyll ſtill take parte, contrarye both to Chriſt, and to the example of theſe nobles whoſe names they may ſee and read here following.

1 Alſſokabat de
Wiſcowitz.
2 Vlricus de Lhota
3 Ioan.de Kzimicz.
4 Ioſsko de Sczito-
wicz.
5 Pærdus Zwira-
nowicz.
6 Ioā.de Ziwla.
7 Ioā.de Reychen-
berg.
8 Wldo Skitzyny.
9 Drliko de Biela.
10 Kos de Dolo-
11 platz.
12 Ioan.de Simuſin.
13 Dobeſſi* de Tiſſa
Drazko de Hra-
14 deck.
Steph. de Hmo-
15 dorkat.
Ioā.Dern de Ga-
16 bonecz.
Barſo dictus Hlo
17 der de Zeinicz.
18 Ioā.Hmrſdorfar.
Pſateka de Wilk
19 lek.
Petrus Mg.de
20 Sczitowicz.
21 N.Studenica.
22 N.Briſchell.
N.de Cromaſſo-
23 na.
Aranniſick Do-
24 nant de Poloniæ.
Ioan. Donant de
25 Poloniæ.
26 Ioā.de Cziczow.
27 Wēceſlaus de N.
28 N.de N.
29 N.N.
30 Ioſſeck de N.
31 Henricus de N.
Waczlals de
kuck.
This noble man dyd accompanye Hus, and wyth certayne horſemē conducte hym to Conſtance.
32 Henr. de Zreno-
wicz.
33 Baczko de Con-
uald.
34 Petr. dictus Nie-
nick de zaltorol-
deck.
35 Czčko de Moſſ-
now.
36 N.
37 Zibilutz de Clec
zā.
38 Ioan.de Peterſ-
wald.
39 Parſifal de Na-
myeſcz.
40 Zodoni de Zwict
zick.
41 Raczeck Zawſ-
kalp.
42 Ion de Toſſa-
wicz.
43 Diwa de Spiſſnia
44 Steſſko de
Draczdw.
45 Ieſſko de
Draczdw.
46 Odich de Hlud.
47 Woſfart de Pau-
lowicz.
48 Pirebbor de Tirc
zenicz.
49 Rynard de Tyrc-
zewicz.
50 Bohūko de Wra-
tiſdow.
51 Vlricus de Rac-
daw.
52 Deſlaw de Nakli
53 Boneſb de Fra-
benicz.
54 Eybl de Roſſ-
ſowan.

After theſe things thus declared and diſcourſed concernyng the hiſtory of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countreye next woulde require, conſequently to inſerte and comprehend the great troubles & perturbations, which happened after and vpō the death of theſe men in the coūtry of Boheme: but the order of tyme calleth me backe, firſt to other matters here of our owne countrey, which paſſed in the meane tyme with vs in England. Which things being taken by the way and finiſhed, we wil (Chriſt willyng) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to proſecute the troubles and conflictes of the Bohemians, wyth other things beſide pertaynyng to the latter end of the councell of Conſtance, and choſing of Pope Martin, as the order of yeares and tyme ſhall require.

Vid. ſupra, pag. 700. Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Caunt.

Ye heard before pag. 700. col. 2. how after the death of Thomas Arundell Archb. of Caunt. ſucceded Henry Chicheſly. an. 1414. & ſate 25. yeres. In whoſe tyme was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, ſome were burned, diuers were driuen to exile. Wherof partly now to entreate, as we finde them in regiſters and hiſtories recorded, we wil firſt begin with John Claydon Currier of London, & Richard Turnyng, whom Rob. Fabian, doth falſly affirm to be burned in the yere wherin ſir Roger Acton & M. Broun ſuffred: who in dede ſuffred not before the ſecond yere of Henry Chicheſly beyng Archb. of Caunt. which was an. 1415. The hiſtory of which John Claydon, in the Regiſters is thus declared.

The ſtory of Iohn Claydon Currier, and of R. Turmyng Baker.

The 17. of Auguſt 1415, did perſonally appeare J. Claydon Currier of London (arreſted by the Mayor of the ſayde Citie for the ſuſpicion of hereſye) before Henry

The hiſtory of J. Claydõ ſkinner of Lõdon, & of Rob. Turmyng Baker.
Ex Regiſt. Cant.
Iohn Claydon examined.

Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in ſaint Paules church: which Iohn (beyng obiected to hym by the Archbiſhop, that in the city of London and other places of the prouince of Caunterbury, he was ſuſpected by diuers godly and learned men for hereſie, and to be contrary to the Catholike fayth, and determination of the church) did openly confeſſe and denied not, but that he had bene for the ſpace of .xx. yeres, ſuſpected both about the Citie of London, and alſo in the prouince of Cant. and ſpecially of the common ſort for Lollardy and hereſie, & to be contrary to the Catholicke fayth and determination of of the church of Rome, and diffamed of the ſame all the time aforeſayd.

Iohn Claydon firſt impriſoned by Rob. Braybroke byſhop of London.

Iohn Claydon before abiured.

In ſo much that in the tyme of M. Robert Braybrooke B. of London deceaſed, he was for the ſpace of two yeares commaunded to the priſon of Conwey, for the aforeſaid diffamation and ſuſpicion, and for the ſame cauſe alſo he was in priſõ in the fleete for thre yeares. Out of which pryſon he (in the raigne of King Henry the 4.) was brought before Lord Iohn Scarle then Chauncellor to the king, and there did abiure all hereſie and errour. And the ſayd Iohn Claydon beyng aſked of the ſayd Archbiſhop whither he did abiure the hereſie of which he was ſuſpect before any other: dyd confeſſe that in a Conuocation at London in Paules Church before Thomas Arundell late Archbiſhop deceaſed, he dyd abiure all ſuch doctrine which they called hereſie and errour contrary to the Catholike fayth and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely left ſuch articles and opinions, wherin he was diffamed, but alſo did abſtayne from all company that were ſuſpected of ſuch opiniõs ſo that he ſhould neither geue ayde, helpe, counſayle, nor fauour vnto them.

Engliſh bookes

The iudgement of the Maior of London.

Claydon beſtowed much money vpon Engliſhe bookes.

And moreouer, the ſayd Iohn was aſked by the ſayde Archbiſhop, whether he euer had in hys houſe ſince his abiuration, in hys keepyng, any bookes written in Engliſhe. Wherunto he confeſſed that he would not deny, but that he had in hys houſe, and in hys keping many Engliſh bookes: for he was arreſted by the Mayor of the city of London, for ſuch bookes as he had, which bookes (as he thought) were in the Mayors keepyng. Upon the which, the Mayor did openly confeſſe that he had ſuch bookes in his keping, which in his iudgement were the worſte and the moſt peruerſe that euer he dyd read or ſee, and one booke that was well bound in red leather of partchment, written in a good Engliſh hande: and among the other bookes found with the ſayd Iohn Claydon, the Mayor gaue vp the ſayde booke afore the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſayde Iohn Claydon beyng aſked of the Archbiſhop if he knewe that booke, dyd openly confeſſe that he knew it very well, becauſe he cauſed it to be written of his owne coſtes and charges, for he ſpent much money thereupon ſince hys abiuration. Then was he aſked who wrote it. He dyd aunſwere, one called Iohn Grime.

Iohn Clayden could not read.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Turming belike, was then in priſon.

And further, being required what the ſaid Iohn Grime was, he aunſwered, he could not tell. Agayne, beyng demaunded whether he did euer read the ſame booke, he did confeſſe that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part therof read of one Iohn Fuller. And being aſked whether he thought the contentes of that booke to be Catholicke, profitable, good and true, he aunſwered that many thynges which he had heard in the ſame booke, were both profitable, good and healthfull to his ſoule: and as he ſayd, he had great affection to the ſayd booke, for a Sermon preached at Horſaldowne, that was written in the ſayd booke. And beyng further aſked, whether, ſince the tyme of hys ſayd abiuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the Citie aforeſayd, he did aunſwere yea: for the ſayd Richard Baker, did come often vnto his houſe to haue cõmunication with hym. And beyng aſked whether he knew the ſayd Richard to be ſuſpected, and diffamed of hereſie: he did aunſwere agayne that he knew well that the ſayd Richard was ſuſpected and diffamed of many men and women in the Citie of London, as one whom they thought to be an hereticke.

Wil. Lindwood doctour of both lawes.

An Engliſh booke intituled: The Lanterne of lyght.

Which confeſſion beyng made, did cauſe the ſayd bookes to be deliuered to maiſter Robert Gilbert, Doctour of Diuinitie: to William Lyndewood Doctour of both lawes, and other Clerkes, to be examined, and in the meane tyme Dauid Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthaſar Mero, were taken for witneſſes agaynſt him, and were committed to be examined, to Maiſter Iohn Eſcourt generall examiner of Canterbury. This done, the Archbyſhop continued his Seſſion till Monday next in the ſame place. Which Monday beyng come, which was the .xx. of the ſayd moneth, the ſayd Maiſter Eſcourt openly and publikely exhibited the witneſſes, beyng openly read before the Archbyſhop and other Byſhops: which beyng read, then after that were read diuers tractations, founde in the houſe of the ſayd Iohn Claydon: out of the which, beyng examined, diuers poyntes were gathered and noted for hereſies and errours, and ſpecially out of the booke aforeſayd: which booke the ſaid Iohn Claydon confeſſed by his owne coſtes to be written and bounde, which booke was intituled, the Lanterne of light. In the which and in the other examined, were theſe Articles vnder written contayned.

1. Firſt, vpon the text of the Goſpell, how the enemy dyd ſowe the tares, there is ſayd thus: that wycked Antichriſt the Pope hath ſowed among the lawes of Chriſt, his popiſh and corrupte decrees, which are of no authoritie, ſtrength, nor valure.

2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſpeakyng indifferently, are the ſeates of the beaſt Antichriſt, when he ſitteth in them and raigneth aboue other people in the darcke caues of errours and hereſies.

3. That the Biſhops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true caracter of the beaſt i. Antichriſt, & therfore ſimple and faythfull Prieſtes may preache when they will againſt the prohibition of that Antichriſt, and wythout licence.

The head & tayle of Antichriſt.

4. That yͤ court of Rome is the chiefe head of Antichriſt and the Biſhops be the body: and the new ſectes, that is, the monkes, canons, and friers, brought in not by Chriſt, but damnably by the pope, be the venemous and peſtiferous tail of Antichriſt.

This is true, ſpeaking of the inuiſible Church.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but onely ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to ſaluation: ſeyng the church is no other thyng but the congregation of faythfull ſoules, which do and will kepe their fayth conſtantly, as wel in dede as in word.

6. That Chriſt did neuer plante priuate religions in the church, but whileſt he lyued in this world he did roote them out. By which it appeareth that priuate religions be vnprofitable branches in the church and to be rooted out.

7. That the materiall churches ſhould not be decked with gold, ſiluer and precious ſtones ſumptuouſly, but the followers of the humility of Ieſus Chriſt, ought to worſhip their lord God humbly in meane & ſimple houſes, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now adayes.

Two cauſes of perſecution noted.

8. That there be ij. chiefe cauſes of the perſecution of the chriſtians: one is the prieſtes vnlawfull keping of temporal and ſuperfluous goods, the other is the vnſatiable beggyng of the friers with their hye buildings.

Foure conditions in geuing almes.

9. That almes is not geuen vertuouſly nor lawfully, except it be geuen with theſe 4. conditions: firſt vnleſſe it bee geuen to the honour of God. 2. vnleſſe it be geuen of goodes iuſtly gotten. 3. vnleſſe it be geuen to ſuch a perſon as the geuer therof knoweth to be in charity. And 4. vnles it be geuẽ to ſuch as haue nede and do not diſſemble.

10. That the often ſinging in the church is not founded in the ſcripture, and therfore it is not lawfull for prieſtes to occupy themſelues with ſinging in the church, but with yͤ ſtudy of the law of Chriſt, and preaching his worde.

That bread remayneth in the Sacrament.

11. That Iudas did receyue the body of Chriſt in breade, and his bloud in wyne. In the which it doth plainly appere that after conſecration of bread and wyne made, the ſame breade and wyne that was before, doth truely remayne on the aulter.

12. That all eccleſiaſticall ſuffrages do profite all vertuous and godly perſons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Biſhops indulgences be vnprofitable, neither can they profite them, to whome they be geuen by any meanes.

14. That the laitie is not bound to obey the prelates what ſo euer they commaund, vnles the prelates do watch to geue God a iuſt accompt for the ſoules of them.

The bookes of J. Claydõ burned.

15. That Images are not to be ſought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Chriſtians, to bow their knees to them, neither to kiſſe them, nor to geue them any maner of reuerence. For the which Articles the Archbyſhop with other Byſhops, and diuers learned communyng together, firſt condemned the bookes as hereticall and burned them in fire: and then becauſe, they thought the ſayd Iohn Claydon to be forſworne and fallen into hereſie, the Archbyſhop dyd procede to his diffinitiue ſentẽce agaynſt the ſayd Iohn perſonally appearyng before him in iudgement (his confeſſions beyng read and depoſed agaynſt him) after this maner.

The ſentence & condemnation of J. Clayden.

IN the name of God. Amen. We Henry by the grace of god Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, primate of all England, & legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, in a certaine cauſe of hereticall prauitie and of relapſe into the ſame, wherupon I. Claydon layman of the prouince of Canterbury, was detected, accuſed and denounced, and in the ſayd our prouince of Canterbury, publikely diffamed (as by publike fame and common report notoriouſly to vs hath bene known) firſt, ſitting in iudgemẽt ſeat and obſeruyng all thinges lawfully required in this behalfe, do procede to the pronouncing of the ſentence diffinitiue in forme as followeth. The name of Chriſt beyng inuocated and onely ſet before our eyes, foraſmuch as by the actes and thinges enacted, producted, exhibited and confeſſed before vs, alſo by diuers ſignes and euidences we haue found the ſayd Iohn Claydon to haue bene and to be publikely and notoriouſly relapſed agayne into his former hereſie heretofore by him abiured: accordyng to the merites and deſertes of the ſayd cauſe, beyng of vs diligently ſearched, wayed and pondered before, to the intent that the ſaid Iohn Claydon ſhall not infect other with his ſcabbe, by the conſent and aſſent of our reuerend brethren Richard Biſhop of London, Iohn Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield, and Steuẽ Biſhop of S. Dauides, and of other Doctours as well of Diuinitie as of both lawes, and alſo of other diſcret and learned men aſſiſtyng vs in this behalfe, do iudge, pronounce, and declare the ſayd Iohn Claydon, to be relapſed agayne into his hereſie, which he before did abiure, finally and diffinitiuely appoynting him to be left vnto the ſecular iudgemẽt, and ſo do leaue him by theſe preſentes.

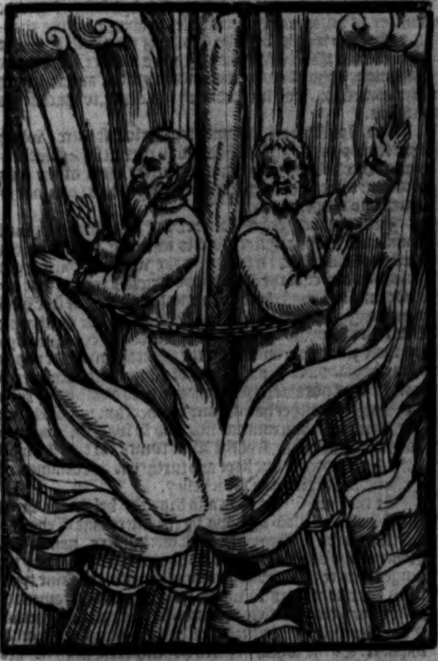
John Claydon committed to the ſecular power.

Thus Iohn Claydon receiuyng his iudgement and cõdemnation of the Archbiſhop, was committed to the ſecular power, and by them vniuſtly and vnlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporall magiſtrate had no ſuch law ſufficient for them to burne any ſuch man for religion condemned of the Prelates, as is aboue ſufficiently prooued and declared, pag. 565. But to be ſhort, *Quo iure quaque iniuria*, Iohn Claydon notwithſtandyng, by the temporall magiſtrates, not long after, was had to Smithfield, where meekely he was made a burnt offeryng vnto the Lorde. an. 1415.

The law *de comburendo*, inſufficient.

The death & martyrdome of J. Claydon.

¶ The burnyng of Iohn Claydon, and Richard Turming.



Robert Fabian and other Chronologers which follow him, adde alſo that Richard Turming Baker, of whome mention is made before in the examination of Iohn Claydon, was likewyſe yͤ ſame tyme burned with hym in Smithfield. Albeit in the Regiſter I finde no ſentence of condemnation geuen agaynſt the ſayd Turming, neyther yet in the ſtory of S. Albons is there any ſuch mention of his burning made, but onely of the burning of Iohn Claydon aforeſayd: wherfore the iudgement herof I leaue free to the Reader. Notwithſtanding, concernyng the ſayd Turming this is certaine that he was accuſed vnto the biſhops, and no doubt was in their handes, and bands. What afterward was done with hym, I referre it vnto the authors.

John Claydon. Rich. Turmyng, martyrs.

An.1416.

The next yeare after the burnyng of theſe two aforeſaid and alſo of Iohn Hus beyng burnt at Conſtaunce, whiche was an. 1416. the Prelates of England ſeyng the daily increaſe of the Goſpell, and fearyng the ruine of their Papall kingdome, were buſily occupied with all their counſaile and diligence, to maintayne the ſame. Wherefore to make theyr ſtate and kingdome ſure, by ſtatutes, lawes, conſtitutions, and terrour of puniſhment, as Thomas Arundell and other Prelates had done before, ſo the forenamed Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh an other conſtitution (as though there had not enough bene made before) agaynſt the poore Lollardes: the copy and tenour wherof he ſendeth abroad, to the biſhop of London, and to other his Suffraganes, by them to be put in ſtraight execution, conteynyng in wordes as followeth.

Ex Regiſt. Chicheſey. 217.

HEnry by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the chiefeſt ſeat: to our reuerend brother in the Lord Richard, by the grace of God biſhop of London, helth, and brotherly loue, with continuall encreaſe. Lately in our laſt conuocation in Sainct Paules Church in London, beyng kept by you and other our brethren and Clergy of our prouince, we do remember to haue made this order vnderwritten by your conſentes. whẽ as amõg many other our cares this ought to be chief, that by ſome meanes we take thoſe heretickes, which lyke Foxes lurke and hyde themſelues in the Lordes vineyard: and that the duſt of negligence may be vtterly ſhaken frõ our feete and from the feete of our fellow brethren: In this the ſaid conuocation of the Prelates and Clergy, we haue ordeined, that all our fellow brethren, our Suffraganes and Archdeacons of our prouince of Canterbury by themſelues, their Officials or Commiſſaries in all their iuriſdictions, & euery of their charges in the countrey, twiſe euery yeare at the leaſt, do diligently enquire of ſuch perſons as are ſuſpect of hereſie: And that in euery ſuch their Archdeaconries in euery pariſh, wherin is reported any heretikes to inhabite, they cauſe thre or more of the honeſteſt men and beſt reported of, to take their othe vpon the holy Euangeliſt, that if they ſhall know or vnderſtand any frequenting either in priuy conuenticles, or els differing in life or maners from the common conuerſation of other Catholicke men, or els that holde any, eyther hereſies or errours, or elles that haue any ſuſpected books in yͤ Engliſh tong, or that do receiue any ſuch perſons ſuſpect of hereſies and errours into theyr houſes, or that be fauourers of them that are inhabitants in any ſuch place, or conuerſant with them, or els haue any recourſe vnto them: they make certificates of thoſe perſons in wrytyng, wyth all the circumſtances wherewyth they are ſuſpect, vnto the ſayd our Suffraganes or Archdeacons, or to theyr Commiſſaries, ſo ſoone, and with as much ſpede as poſſibly they can: And that the ſayd Archdeacon and euery of their Commiſſaries aforeſayd, do declare the names of all ſuch perſons denounced, together with all the circumſtaunces of them, the dioceſ, & places, & ſecretly vnder their ſeales do ſend ouer vnto vs the ſame: And that the ſame dioceſãs effectually direct forth lawfull proces agaynſt them, as the quality of the cauſe requireth, and that with all diligẽce they diſcerne, define and execute the ſame.

You ſhould be better occupyed to ſhake of the duſte from your duſty pulpets. Twiſe euery yeare to enquire for Lollardes.

Againſt priuie conuenticles. To differ from the common ſort in lyfe and maners, againſt the Popes lawes. Agaynſt Engliſhe bookes.

And if perhaps they leaue not ſuch perſons conuict vnto the ſecular court, yet notwithſtãding let them commit them vnto the perpetuall or temporall priſons, as the qualitie of the cauſe ſhall require, vntill the next cõuocation of the Prelates and Clergie of our prouince of Canterbury, there perſonally to remaine: and that in the ſame priſons they cauſe them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and ſingular the thynges aforeſayd, that is, what inquiſition they haue made, and what they haue founde, and how in the proceſſe they haue behaued themſelues, and what perſonnes ſo conuict they haue cauſed to be put in ſafe keepyng, with what diligence or negligence of the Commiſſaries aforeſayd, with all and all maner of other circumſtaunces premiſed, and thereunto in any wiſe appertaynyng, and ſpecially of the abiurations, if in the meane tyme they ſhall chaunce to abiure any hereſies: that then in the next conuocation of the Prelates and Clergy vnder the forme aforeſayd, they cauſe the ſame diſtinctly and apertly to be certified to vs and our ſucceſſours: And that they deliuer effectually to the Officiall of our Court, the ſame proceſſe to remaine with them, or els in the regiſter of our court of Cãterbury, ſo that euery one, to whom ſuch thinges appertaineth for the further execution of the ſame proceſſe, may haue recourſe vnto the ſame officiall, with all effect.

We therfore commaunde, that as touchyng the conſtitution brought vnto your Citie and Dioceſan, you cauſe the ſame in conuenient place and tyme to be publiſhed, and that in all pointes you both obſerue the ſame your ſelues and cauſe it alſo of others to be diligently obſerued: Commaundyng furthermore, all and ſingular our fellow brethrẽ and Suffraganes, that they in likewiſe cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed throughout all their Cities and Dioces, and both diligently obſerue the ſame themſelues, and alſo cauſe all others to do the ſame: and what thyng ſoeuer you ſhall do in the premiſſes, that you certifie vs betwixt this and the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula, next commyng, that you duely certifie vs of theſe thynges, by your letters patentes, contaynyng the ſame effect, ſealed with your ſeales. Dated at our houſe in London, the firſt day of July. an. 1416.

The trouble of John Barton, & Rob. Chapell in cauſe of religion.

During the tyme of this conuocation, in the yere aboue ſayd, two prieſtes were preſented and brought before the biſhops, noted and defamed for heretickes: one named John Barton, vnto whome it was obiected by Phillip Biſhop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about vj. or vij. yeares before, vpon Articles concernyng religion, and yet neyther would appeare beyng cited, nor would ſeeke to bee reconciled agayne vnto the Church. Which thinges beyng ſo prooued agaynſt hym, he was committed to the cuſtodye of the foreſayd Phillip Byſhop of Lyncolne, and ſo to bee holden in pryſon, tyll he ſhoulde heare further what ſhould be done.

This Phillip ſeemeth to be Phillip Repyngton afore mentioned in the ſtory of Wickliffe.

The other was Robert Chapel, otherwiſe named Holbech, Chaplaine ſometyme to the Lord Cobham: vnto whõ lykewiſe it was obiected, that he beyng vnder the ſentence of excommunication about thre or foure yeres, yet notwithſtandyng to the contempt of the keyes, did continue ſaying Maſſe, and preaching, and ſought not to be recõciled. Chappell denying that he did know any ſuche excommunication geuen out agaynſt hym. Then was the copy of hys excommunication firſt made by the biſhop of Roſſ. afterward denounced by the Biſhop of Londõ at Paules croſſe, brought and red before hym: and ſo that done, that Seſſion brake vp for that tyme, whiche was about the latter ende of May. an. 1416.

The xij. day of the moneth of July next followyng, the ſayd Chappell appeared agayne before the Archbiſhop and the Prelates. To whome when it was obiected as before, how he had preached without the Biſhops licence, in diuers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne, at lẽgth he confeſſing and ſubmittyng himſelf, deſired pardon. Which although it was not at the firſt graunted vnto hym, yet at the laſt the Biſhop of Roſſ. puttyng in his hands the decree of the canon law. 1. q. 7. cap. Quoties. &c. and cauſing hym to read the ſame, made hym to abiure all hys former Articles & opinions as hereticall and ſchiſmaticall, neuer to holde the ſame againe, accordyng to the contentes of the foreſayd Canon. Wherupon the ſaid Robert beyng abſolued by the authoritie of the Archb. (ſaue only that he ſhould not intermedle with ſaying Maſſe, before he had bene diſpenſed frõ the Pope himſelfe for hys irregularitie) was enioyned by the Archb. himſelf for his penance, ſtandyng at Paules to publiſhe theſe Articles followyng vnto the people, in ſtead of his confeſſion geuen him to be red.

Rob. Chapel abiureth.

Articles obtruded to Rob. Chapell to confeſſe.

In primis, I confeſſe that Biſhops, Prieſtes, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſones, hauyng no other profeſſion to the contrary, may lawfully haue, receyue, and reteyne landes and poſſeſſions temporall, to diſpenſe and diſpoſe the ſame and the rentes thereof, to the behoofe of themſelues or of theyr Church where they dwell, accordyng as ſeemeth good to them.

2. Item, I confeſſe that it were very vnlawfull, yea rather vniuſt, that temporall men vpon any occaſion, what ſo euer it be, ſhould take away temporall landes and poſſeſſions from the church either vniuerſall or perticular, to whõ they are geuen, the conſideration of the abuſe of mortall prelates, prieſts, or other miniſters in the Church conuerſant (which are mixt together good with bad) abuſing the ſame to ẏ contrary notwithſtanding.

Marke wel this catholicke doctrine of the Popes Church, concerning remiſſiõ of ſinnes. Marke how this doctrine ioyneth wyth Gods commaundement & wyth his worde.

3. Item, I confeſſe that peregrinations to the reliques of ſaintes and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any Catholicke, but are auaylable to remiſſion of ſinnes, and approued of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

4. Item, I confeſſe that to worſhip the images of Chriſt or of any other ſaintes beyng ſet vp in the Church, or in any other place is not forbidden: neither is any cauſe inductiue of Idolatry, beyng ſo vſed as the holy fathers do will them to be worſhipped: But rather ſuch Images do profit much to the health of Chriſtians, becauſe they do put vs in remẽbrãce of the merites of thoſe ſaintes, whom they repreſent and the ſight of them doth moue and ſtirre vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

5. Item, I confeſſe that auriculer confeſſion vſed in the Churche is neceſſarye for a ſinner to the ſaluation of hys ſoule, and neceſſary to be done of ſuch a prieſt, as is ordeyned by the Church, to heare the confeſſion of the ſinner, & to enioyne him penaunce for the ſame: without which confeſſion (if it may be had) there is no remiſſion of ſinnes to him that is in ſinne mortall.

Ergo, by thys doctrine the iuſt man liueth not by his faith, but by hys confeſſion auricular. How can theſe prieſts be ſeruauntes of Chriſt, which be makers of Chriſt.

6. Item, I confeſſe and firmely do hold, that although the Prieſt be in mortall ſinne, yet may he make the bodye of Chriſt, and miniſter other Sacramentes and Sacramentals: which neuertheles are profitable to all the faythfull, whoſoeuer receiueth them in fayth and in deuotion of the Church.

7. Item, I confeſſe that biſhops in their own dioces, may forbid, decree, and ordayne vpon reaſonable cauſes, ẏ prieſtes ſhould not preach without their ſpeciall licence, the word of God, and that thoſe that do agaynſt the ſame, ſhould ſuffer the eccleſiaſticall cenſures.

8. Item, I confeſſe that priuate religions as wel of monks canons and other, as alſo of the begging Friers, beyng allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the vniuerſal church, and in no meanes contrary to Gods law, but rather founded and authoriſed theron.

Priuate religions profitable, if ye could tell wherefore.

9. Item, I promiſe and ſweare vpon theſe holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my handes, that I will hẽceforth neuer hold, affirme, nor by any meanes teach any thyng contrary vnto the premiſſes either openly or priuately.

After the ſetting out of the conſtitution aforeſaid in the dayes of the aboue named Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Caunterbury great inquiſition hereupon followed in England, and many good men whoſe hartes began to be won to the Goſpell, were brought to much vexation and cauſed outwardly to abiure.

Straite inquiſition in England.

Thus, while Chriſt had the inward hartes of men: yet the Catholicke Antichriſt would needes poſſeſſe their outwarde bodies, and make them ſing after hys ſonge. In the number of whome, beyng compelled to abiure, beſides the other aforeſaid was alſo John Tailor of the pariſh of Saint Michaels at Quérne, William James maiſter of Arte and Phiſition, who had long remained in priſon, and at length after abiuration, was licenced with his keper, to practiſe his Phiſick.

Chriſt had the hartes of men: they had their bodyes. A briefe ſumme of ſuch as abiured, vnder Hen. Chicheſley. J. Taylour. W. James. J. Dwerk.

Alſo Joh. Dwerk, ſo named for hys low ſtature, which was ſent by the Duke of Bedford to the foreſayd Chicheſly and other biſhops to be examined before them in the conuocation: there he at length reuolting from hys doctrine recanted and did penaunce.

In like maner John Jourdelay of Lincolneſhire, well commended in the regiſters for his learnyng, accuſed by the prieſtes of Lincoln for a certaine boke, which he contrary to the former decree of the biſhops dyd conceale and did not exhibite vnto thẽ, was therfore enforced to abiure. After whõ was brought likewiſe before the Biſhoppes, one Katharine Dertford a Spinſter, who beyng accuſed and examined vpon theſe 3. articles concerning the Sacrament of the popes aultar, adoration of Images, and of pilgrimage, aunſwered that ſhe was not able, beyng vnlearned, to aunſwer to ſuch high matters, neither had ſhe any further ſkill, but onely her Crede and x. Commaundementes: and ſo was ſhe committed to the vicar generall of the B. of Wint. (for that ſhe was of the ſame dioces) to be kept and further to be examined of the ſame. Ex Regiſt. Hen. Chicheſley.

J. Jourdelay.

J. Jourdelay abiureth.

At the ſame ſitting was alſo brought before the ſayde Archb. and his fellow byſhops, by the lieutenant of the Tower, the perſon of Heggeley in Lincolnſhiere, named M. Robert, who being long kept in the tower, at length by the kinges writte was brought and examyned the ſame tyme vpon the like articles to witte: touching the ſacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of Images, & whether it was lawfull for ſpirituall men to enioy temporall Lordeſhips. &c. To the which articles he anſwered (ſaith the Regiſter) doubtely and mockingly, ſaue onely in the ſacrament he ſeemed ſomething more conformable, albeit not yet fullye to their contentation. Wherfore beyng committed to the cuſtody and examination of Richard Byſhoppe of Lincolne, where in the ende he was alſo induced to ſubmit himſelfe.

Rob. perſon of Heggeley examined.

The ſame likewyſe dyd W. Henry of Tenterden beyng ſuſpected and arreſted for company keping with them, whom the Biſhops called Lollardes, and for hauyng ſuſpected bookes.

W. Henry of Tenterden examined.

Beſides theſe, diuers other there were alſo whiche in the

A booke of the new lawe.
I.Galle.
R.Monke.
Bart.Coramõger.
N.Hoper.
Tho.Grãter troubled for their doctrine.

in the ſame conuocation were conuicted, and reuoked their opinions, as John Galle a prieſt of London, for hauing a booke in Engliſhe intituled: A booke of the new lawe. Item, Richard Monke, vicar of Cheſham in Lincolneſhire, who ſubmitted himſelf likewiſe. In this caſe and number followed moreouer, Bartilmew Cornmonger, Nic. Hoper ſeruaunt to the L. Cobham, Tho. Grãter, with other moe, mentioned in the foreſaid regiſter.

Among the reſt which were at this tyme troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Mungin prieſt, whoe for the ſame doctrine was areſted and ſent vp by the L. Chauncelor of England, to the foreſaid Archb. and by him committed to Dauid Price, Vicar generall to the B. of London: where after he had endured iiij. monethes in priſon, he was by the ſayd Dauid preſented to the conuocation, agaynſt whom diuers articles were obiected.

A ſubſidie gathered by the pope to fight againſt the faithfull of Bohemia.

Romiſhe ſleightes to get the Engliſhe money.

But for the better explanyng of the matter, firſt here is to be noted, that during the tyme of thys conuocation prouinciall, pope Martine had ſent downe to the Clergie of England, for a ſubſidie to be gathered of the Church, to maintayne the Popes warre agaynſt the Lolardes (ſo the Papiſtes did terme them) of Bohemia. Alſo an other ſubſidie was demaunded to perſecute one Peter Clerke maiſter of art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at ẏ councell of Baſill, diſputing on the Bohemians ſide. And thirdly, an other ſubſidie was alſo required to perſecute W. Ruſſell, warden of the gray Fryers in London, who the ſame tyme was fledde from England to Rome, to maintayne hys opinion before the Pope, and there eſcaped out of priſon. &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Chriſt willing) we ſhall entreat. In the meane time marke here the pretie ſhiftes of the Pope to hooke in the Engliſhe mony by all maner of pretences poſſible.

Articles obiected agaynſt Rafe Mungyn.

Thus Rafe Mungyn, the foreſayd examinate appearing before the byſhops in the conuocation, it was articulated againſt hym, firſt that he ſhould affirme and hold, not to be lawfull for any Chriſtian to fight and make warre agaynſt the heretickes of Bohemia.

Item, it was to hym obiected, that he did holde & ſay, not to be lawfull for any man to haue proprietie of goods, but the ſame to be commõ, which he expreſſely denyed that euer he ſo ſayd or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obſerue, how the craftie malice of theſe aduerſaries vſeth falſely to collect and ſurmiſe of men, what they neuer ſpake, whereby to oppreſſe them wrongfully, whom by playne truth they cannot expugne.

Trialogus.
The Goſpels tranſlated by John Wickliefe.

Moreouer, they obiected agaynſt hym, that he ſhoulde keepe company with Maiſter Clarke aforeſayde, and alſo that he diſperſed in the Citie of London, certaine bookes of John Wickliefe and of Peter Clarke, namely, the booke Trialogus, and the Goſpels of John Wickliefe, &c. He was charged moreouer to haue ſpoken agaynſt the Popes indulgences, for that the Pope had no more power to geue indulgences, then he had.

Radulph Mungyn condemned to perpetual priſon.

Upon theſe and other ſuch Articles obiected, the ſayd Mungyn being aſked if he would reuoke, aunſwered that it ſeemed to hym not iuſt or meete ſo to doe, which dyd not know himſelfe gilty of any hereſie. Thus he being reſpited for that tyme, was cõmitted to priſon till the next ſitting, who then being called diuers and ſundry tymes afterward before the Byſhops, after long inquiſition and ſtraight examination made, alſo depoſitions brought in agaynſt hym, ſo much as they could ſearch out, he notwithſtanding ſtil denyed as before, to recant. Wherfore the foreſayd Henry the Archbiſhop, proceeding to his ſentence definitiue, condemned him to perpetuall priſon.

Tho. Granter.
Richard Monke.

After whoſe condemnation, the ſonday next following, the recantation of Tho. Granter, and of Richard Monke prieſtes aboue mẽtioned, were opẽly read at Paules croſſe, the byſhop of Rocheſter the ſame time preaching at ẏ ſayd croſſe. The tenour of whoſe recantation, with his Articles in the ſame expreſſed, here vnder followeth.

The recantation of Thomas Granter.

Note the doctrine and opinions in thoſe dayes, where the Goſpell tooke place.

IN the name of God. Before you my Lord of Canterbury, and all you my Lordes here beyng preſent, & afore you all here gathered at thys tyme, I Thomas Granter prieſt vnworthy, dwelling in this citie of London, feling and vnderſtanding, that afore thys tyme I affirmed open errours and hereſies, ſaying, beleuing, and affirming within thys citie, that he that Chriſtian men callen Pope, is not very Pope, ner Gods vicary in earth, but I ſayd he was Antichriſt. Alſo I ſayd, beleued, and affirmed, that after the ſacramentall wordes ſayd by a Prieſt in the Maſſe, there remayneth materiall bread and wyne, and is not turned into Chriſtes body and his bloud. Alſo I ſayd and affirmed that it was not for to do in no wiſe, to go on pilgrimage, but it was better I ſayd to abide at home and beate the ſtooles wyth their heeles, for it was, I ſayd, but tree & ſtone that they ſoughten. Alſo I ſayd and affirmed that I helde no Scripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contayned in the Bible. For the Legendes and lyues of Saintes, I helde hem nought, and the myracles written of hem I helde vntrue. Becauſe of which errours and hereſies I was tofore M. Dauy Price, Vicary generall of my Lord of London, and ſince tofore you my Lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your councell prouinciall, and by you fully enformed, which ſo ſaid, myne affirming, beleuing, and teaching bene open errours and hereſies, and contrarious to the determination of the church of Rome. Wherfore I willing to follow and ſewe the doctrine of holy church, and depart fro all maner errours and hereſie, and turne with good will & hart to the onehead of the church, conſidering that holy church ſhitteth ner cloſeth not her boſome to hym that wyll turne agayne, ne God will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he be turned and lyue: with a pure hart I confeſſe, deteſt, and deſpiſe my ſayd errours and hereſies, and the ſayd opinions I confeſſe as hereſies and errours, to the fayth of ẏ Church of Rome, and to all vniuerſally holy Church repugnaunt. And therfore theſe ſayd opinions in ſpeciall, and all other errours and hereſies, doctrines and opinions, ayen ẏ fayth of the Church and the determination of the Church of Rome, I abiure, and foreſweare, here tofore you all, and ſweare by theſe holy Goſpels, by me bodely touched, that from henceforth I ſhall neuer hold, teach, ne preach errour errours, hereſie, ne hereſies, ner falſe doctrine agaynſt the fayth of holy church, & determination of the church of Rome, ner none ſuch thyng I ſhall obſtinatly defend, ne any man holding or teaching ſuch maner thynges by me or any other perſon, openly or priuely I ſhal defend. I ſhall neuer after thys time be receitour, fautour conſeilour, or defendour of heretickes, or of any perſon ſuſpect of hereſie, ner I ſhal trowe to hym, ner wittingly felaſhip with hym, ner yeue hym counſeil, fauour, yiftes, ne comfort. And if I know any heretickes, or of hereſie, or of ſuch falſe opinions, any perſon ſuſpect, or any man or woman making or holding priuy cõuenticles, or aſſemblies, or any diuers or ſingular opinions from the common doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautours, comforters, councelours, or defenſers, or any that haue ſuſpecte bookes or quiers of ſuch errours and hereſies: I ſhall let you my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your abſence, or the Dioceſans and Ordinaries of ſuch men, haue ſoone and ready knowing, ſo helpe me God and holydome, and theſe holy Euangelies by me bodely touched.

One head, that is, the vnitie of the Church.

Men tyed to the Church of Rome.

¶ After this recantation at the Croſſe thus publiſhed, and his ſubmiſſion made, the ſaid Granter then was by the aduiſe of the Prelates, put to vij. yeares priſonment, vnder the cuſtody and charge of the byſhop of London.

After thys, followed in like maner the recantation of Richard Monke. Alſo of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler to Sir John Oldcaſtel.

The affliction and trouble in Kent vnder Chicheſley.

Beſide theſe aboue remembred, many and diuers there be in the ſayd regiſter recorded, who lykewiſe for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, eſpecially in the dioces of Kent, in the townes of Romney, Tenterden, Wodcherche, Cranbroke, Stapelherſt, Benenden, Halde, Roluenden and others, where as whole houſholders, both man and wife, were driuen to forſake their houſes and townes for daunger of perſecutiõ, as ſufficiently appeareth in the proceſſe of the Archb. Chicheſley againſt the ſaid perſons, and in the certificat of Burbath his officiall, wherein are named theſe perſons following.

1. W.White prieſt.
2. Th.Greneſted prieſt.
3. Barth. Cronmonger.
4. Iohn Waddon.
5. Ioan his wyfe.
6. Tho.Euerden.
7. William Euerden.
8. Steuen Robin.
9. W.Chiueling.
10. Iohn Tame.
11. Iohn.Fowlyn.
12. Will.Somer.
13. Mariõ his wife.
14. Ioh.Abraham.
15. Rob.Munden.
16. Laurẽe Coke.

Perſons perſecuted in Kent.

These being cited vp together by the byſhop, would not appeare. Wherupon great inquiſition being made for them by his officers, they were cõſtrained to flie their houſes and townes, and ſhift for themſelues as couertly as they myght. When Burbath and other officers had ſent worde to the Archbyſhop that they coulde not be founde, then he directed downe order that Citations ſhoulde be ſet vp for them on euery Church doore through all townes where they did inhabite: appointing them a day and terme whẽ to appeare.

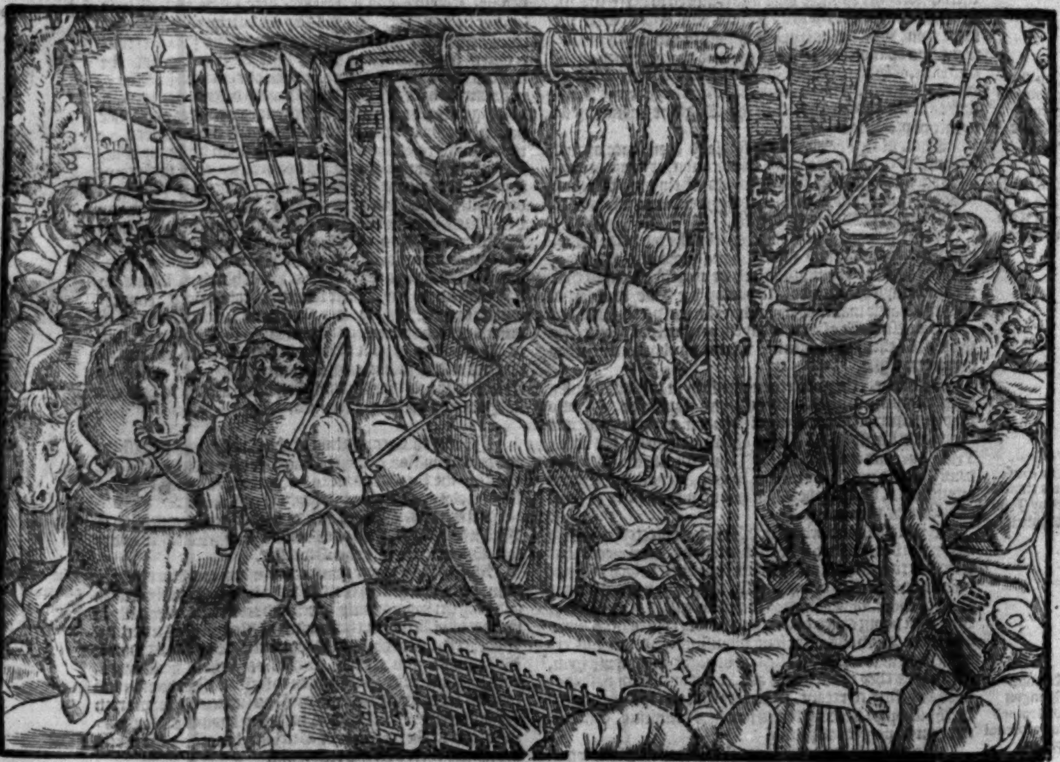
But notwithſtandyng, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appeare, the Archbyſhop ſittyng in hys tribunall ſeate, proceedeth to the ſentence of excommunicatiõ agaynſt them. What afterward happened to them, in the regiſter doth not appeare: but lyke it is, at length they were forced to ſubmit themſelues.

The ſecond apprehenſiõ of the Lord Cobham.

Concernyng ſir John Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and of his firſt apprehenſion, with his whole ſtory and life, ſufficiently hath bene expreſſed before, pag. 536. how he beyng committed to the Tower, and condemned falſely of hereſie, eſcaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the ſpace of. iiij. yeares. In the which meane tyme, a great ſumme of money was proclaymed by the kyng, to him that could take the ſayd ſir John Oldcaſtle, either quicke or dead. About the end of which foure yeares beyng expired, the Lord Powes, whether for loue and gredynes of the money, or whether for hatred of true and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſeekyng all maner of way how to play the part of Judas, at length obtayned his bloudy purpoſe, and brought the Lord Cobham bound, vp to London: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time there was a Parliament aſſembled at London, for the relief of money the ſame tyme to be ſent to the Kyng, whom the Byſhops had ſent out (as ye heard before) to fight in Fraunce. The recordes of whiche Parliament do thus ſay: that on Tweſday the. xiiij. day of December, and the. xxix. day of the ſayd Parliament, Syr John Oldcaſtle of Cowlyng, in the Countie of Kent, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore mynded) in the Kynges bench, and excõmunicated before by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for hereſie, was brought before the Lordes, and hauyng heard his ſayd conuictions, aunſwered not thereto in his excuſe. Upon which recorde and proceſſe, it was adiudged, that he ſhould be takẽ as a traytour to the king and the realme: that he ſhould be caryed to the tower of Lõdon, and from thence drawen thorough London vnto the new gallowes in S. Gyles without Temple barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hangyng.

The L. Powes playeth Judas.

¶ The deſcription of the cruell Martyrdome of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle Lord Cobham.



As touchyng the pretenced treaſon of this Lord Cobham falſely aſcribed vnto him in his inditement, riſing vpõ wrong ſuggeſtion and falſe ſurmiſe, and aggrauated by rigour of wordes, rather then vpon any grounde of due probation, ſufficiently hath bene diſcourſed before in my defence of the ſayd Lord Cobhã, agaynſt Alanus Copus, pag. 547. Where agayne is to be noted, as I ſaid before, how by this appeareth, that ẏ Lord Cobhã was neuer executed by force of the inditement or outlawry, becauſe, if he had, he ſhould then haue bene brought to the barre in the Kynges bench, and there the Judges ſhould haue demaũded of him, what he could haue ſayd, why he ſhould not haue dyed: and then not ſhewing ſufficient cauſe for the diſcharge or delay of execution, the Judges ſhould haue awarded and geuen the iudgement of treaſon: whiche beyng not ſo, it is cleare he was not executed vpon the inditement. Beſides, to proue that he was not executed vpon the Inditement, and the outlawry, the maner of the execution proueth it, becauſe it was neither the execution of a traytour, nor was the whole puniſhment therof pronounced by the iudge, as by due order of law was requiſite.

Treaſon falſely ſurmiſed.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 547.

Finally, as I ſayd before, here I repeate agayne, that albeit the ſayd Lord Cobham was attaynted of treaſon by the Act, and that the Kyng, the Lordes, and the commons aſſented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in ſuch ſort (as if in deede he were no traytour) that any man may not by ſearch of the truth, vtter and ſet forth ſincerely and iuſtly, the very true and certaine cauſe, whereupon his execution did follow. Which ſeemeth by all circumſtaunces and firme argumentes, to riſe principally of his Religion, which firſt brought him in hatred of the Byſhops: the byſhops brought him in hatred of the kyng: the hatred of the kyng brought him to his death and Martyrdome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy ſeruaunt of Chriſt, Lord Cobham.

Moreouer, in the recordes aboue mentioned it followeth, how in the ſayd Parliament, after the Martyrdome of this valiaunt Knight, motion then was made, that the Lord

Powes

Judas ſeeketh for his reward.

Powers might be thanked and rewarded, accordyng to the Proclamation made, for his great trauaile taken in the apprehēſion of Syr John Oldcaſtle Knight, hereticke. Thus ſtand the wordes of the recorde. Where two thynges are to be noted: Firſt, how Syr John here in the recorde is called not traytour, but hereticke onely. Secondly, marke how this brother of Judas here craueth his reward for betraying the innocent bloud. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his lyght fee, and quid vultis mihi dare in this worlde, will haue an heauy reward hereafter in the world to come, vnleſſe he repented. &c.

An. 5. Henr. 5 act. 17.

Furthermore, in the ſayd Parliament, Act. 17. it was enacted that the church and all eſtates ſhould enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the cōmō law: meanyng belike, the excludyng of the iuriſdiction of the Popes forreine power, which hath alwayes by the common law bene excluded out of this Realme.

An. 5. Henr. 5 act. 18.

In the ſame Parliamēt alſo a greuous complaint was made (by the Byſhops no doubt) agaynſt inſurrections. In the end they ſuſpected that they were the Lollardes, heretickes, & traytours, with a requeſt that commiſſions might at all tymes be graunted to inquire of them. Whereunto aunſwere was made, that the ſtatutes therfore made, ſhould be executed. &c. Thus the Clergy Tanq̄ leones rugientes, ceaſed not to roare after Chriſtiā bloud: And whoſoeuer was els in fault, ſtill the clergy cried: crucifie Chriſt, & deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible factes and miſchieues, if any were done, were imputed to the poore Lollardes.

All the blame layde to the Lollardes.

And now from our Engliſh matters, to returne agayne to the ſtory of the Bohemians, from whence we haue a litle digreſſed, when as the newes of the barbarous crueltie exerciſed at Conſtance agaynſt John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, were noyſed in Boheme, the nobles and gentlemen of Morauia and of Boheme, ſuch as fauoured the cauſe of John Hus, gatheryng themſelues together in the zeale of Chriſt: firſt ſent their letter vnto the Councell, expoſtulatyng with them, for the iniurie done to thoſe godly men, as is before expreſſed, pag. 614. for the which letter they were all cited vp to the Coūcell. Unto this letter Sigiſmund the Emperour maketh aunſwere agayne in the name of the whole Councell: firſt, excuſing himſelfe of Huſſes death, which he ſayd was agaynſt his ſafeconduict and agaynſt his will: Inſomuch that he roſe in anger from the Councell, and departed out of Conſtance, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiete, and to conforme thēſelues peaceably vnto the order of the catholicke church of Rome. &c.

Alſo the Coūcell hearyng or fearyng ſome ſtirre to riſe among the Bohemiās, did make lawes and Articles wherby to bridle them, to the number of xxiiij.

Articles decreed in the Councell of Conſtance agaynſt the Bohemians

FIrſt, that the kyng of Bohemia ſhall be ſworne to geue obedience, and to defende the liberties of the Churche of Rome.

That all Maiſters, Doctours and Prieſtes, ſhall be ſworne to abiure the doctrine of Wickleffe, and Hus, in that Councell condemned.

That all they whiche beyng cited would not appeare ſhould alſo be ſworne to abiure: and they which would not appeare, contemnyng the cenſure of the keyes, ſhould haue proceſſe agaynſt them, and be puniſhed.

That all ſuch lay mē as had defēded the cauſes of John Wickleffe and John Hus, ſhould ſweare to defend them no more, and to approue the doynges of that Councell, and the condemnation of John Hus.

That all ſuch ſeculare men as had ſpoyled the Clergy, ſhould be ſworne to reſtitution.

That Prieſtes being expelled frō their benefices ſhould be reſtored agayne.

That all prophaners of Churches ſhould be puniſhed after the Canonicall ſanctions.

That ſuch as had bene promoters in ẏ Coūcell agaynſt John Hus, ſhould be permitted ſafely to returne into Boheme agayne, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treaſure taken out of the Church of Prage, ſhould be reſtored fully agayne.

That the vniuerſitie of Prage ſhould be reſtored agayne and reformed, and that they which had bene the diſturbers therof, ſhould be really puniſhed.

That the principall heretickes and doctors of that ſecte ſhould be ſent vp to the Apoſtolique, namely Ioannes Ieſſenetz, Iacobellus de Miſna: Symon de Tyſna, Symon de Rochinzano, Chriſtannus de Brachatitz: Ioannes Cardinalis: Zdenko de loben: The prouoſt of Alhalowes, Zaislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

That all ſecular men which communicated vnder both kyndes, ſhould abiure that hereſie, and ſweare to ſtoppe the ſame hereafter.

This ſuffragane was a good mā, and helde wyth John Hus.

That they which were ordeined Prieſtes by the ſuffragane of the Archbiſhop of Prage, taken by the L. Zenko, ſhould not be diſpenſed wyth, but ſent vp to the ſea Apoſtolicke.

Wickleffes bookes tranſlated by J Hus & Jacobellus, into the Bohemian ſpeach.

That the treatiſes of John Wickleffe, tranſlated into the Bohemian tongue by John Hus, & Jacobellus, ſhould be brought to the Ordinary.

That the treatiſes of John Hus cōdemned in the coūcell, ſhould alſo be brought to the Ordinarie.

That all the tractations of Jacobellus De vtraque ſpecie, de Antichriſto (wherein he calleth the pope Antichriſt) Et de remanentia panis poſt cōſecrationem, ſhould likewiſe be brought and burned.

That all ſonges and balates made to the preiudice of the Councell, and of the Catholike perſons of both ſtates, ſhould be forbid to be ſong in Cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreme puniſhment.

That none ſhould preach the worde wythout the licēce of the Ordinarie, or of the parſon of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, hauing iuriſdiction, ſhould not be ſtopped in their iuriſdiction, by the ſecular power, vnder payne of excommunication.

That all and ſingular perſons ſhall be commaunded to obedience vnder payne of excommunication: and that whoſoeuer knoweth any perſon to fauour any Wickleuiſtes or their doctrine, or that keepeth cōpany with ſuſpect perſōs, he ſhall preſent the ſame to his Dioceſans or his officials.

That the cōfederacie of the ſeculars made betwene thēſelues, or any of ẏ ſpiritualtie, to the preiudice of the foreſayd councell, & of the Apoſtolicke ſea and church of Rome, in the fauour of John Hus, Hierome of Prage and other in the ſayd Councell condemned, ſhalbe diſſolued.

Concilium malignantium.

That the rites and ceremonies of Chriſtiā religiō, touching Gods ſeruice, Images, and worſhipping of reliques, ſhalbe obſerued & tranſgreſſours of the ſame be puniſhed,

That all and ſingular, either ſpirituall or ſecular that ſhall preach, teach, holde, or maintayne the opinions and Articles of John Wickleffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in thys Councell condemned, and conuict of the ſame, ſhall be holden for heretickes, and fallyng in relapſe, ſhall be burned.

That all ſecular perſons being moniſhed and charged by the ordinaries, ſhalbe bound to geue their ayde and furtheraunce vnto them, touchyng the premiſſes.

The Bohemians, notwithſtandyng theſe cruell Articles, contemnyng the vayne deuiſes of theſe Prelates and fathers of the Coūcell, ceaſed not to procede in their leigue and purpoſe begon, ioynyng themſelues more ſtrongly together.

Depoſing of pope John 23.

Ex hist. S. Albani.

In this meane tyme it happened, that during this Councell of Conſtance, after the depoſing of Pope John, and ſpoyling of hys goodes, which came to 75. thouſand poundes of gold and ſiluer, as is reported in the ſtory of S. Albans, Pope Martin vpon the day of S. Martin, was elected. Concerning whoſe election great preparatiō was made before of the Councell, ſo that beſide the Cardinalles v. other Byſhops of euery nation ſhould enter into the conclaue, who there together ſhould be kept with thinne diet, till they had founded a Pope. At laſt, when they were together, they agreed vpō this man, & not tarying for opening of the doore, lyke mad men, for haſt, braſt open an hole in the walle, crying out, habemus papam, Martinum, we haue a Martine Pope. The Emperour hearing thereof, with the lyke haſt, came a pace, and fallyng downe kiſſed the newe Popes feete. Then went they all to the Church together, and ſang, Te Deum.

The election of pope Martine.

The Emperour kiſſeth the popes feete.

Pope Martine.

The next day following, this Martine was made prieſt (which before was but a Cardinall Deacon) and the next day after was conſecrate Biſhop, and ſang hys firſt maſſe, whereat was preſent 140. mitred Byſhops. After thys, the next morow the new holy pope ordayned a generall proceſſion, where a certayne Clarke was appointed to ſtand wyth flaxe and fire, who ſetting the flaxe on fire, thus ſaid: Ecce pater ſancte, ſic tranſit gloria mundi. i. behold holy father, thus vadeth the tranſitory glory of this world. Which done, the ſame day the holy father was brought vp vnto an high ſcaffold (ſayth the ſtory) I will not ſay to an high mountaine, where was offred to hym all the glory of the worlde. &c. there to be crowned for a triple king. This done the ſame day, after dinner, the new crowned pope was with great triumph brought through the middeſt of the Citie of Conſtance, where all the Byſhops and Abbots followed with their miters. The Popes horſe was all trapt wyth

The coronation of pope Martine.

Meretrix equitans ſuper beſtiam Apocalyp.

redde ſkarlet downe to the ground. The Cardinalles horſes were all in white ſilke, the Emperour on the right ſide, and prince Electour on the left, playing both the popes footmē, wēt on foote leadyng the popes horſe by the bridle.

The pope on horſebacke, the Emperour on foote.
Why then doth the pope keepe ſtill the olde Iewes ceremonies, if all thinges be made new.

An. 1417.

As this Pageant thus with the great gyaunt proceded, and came to the market place, there the Iewes (accordyng to the maner) offered to him their law and ceremonies, which the Pope receauyng, caſt behynd him, ſaying: Recedant vetera, noua ſunt omnia. i. Let old thynges paſſe, all thynges be made new. &c. Ex hiſt. S. Alb. ex paralip. Vrſperg. This was an. 1417.

Thus the Pope beyng now confirmed in his kingdome, firſt beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemiās, wherin partly he moueth them to Catholicke obedience, partly he diſſembleth with them, fainyng that if it were not for the Emperours requeſt, he would enter proceſſe againſt them. Thirdly and finally he threateneth to attempt the vttermoſt agaynſt them, & with all force to inuade them, as well with the Apoſtolicall, as alſo with the ſecular arme, if they did ſtill perſiſte, as they begon.

Albeit theſe new threates of the new Byſhop, dyd nothyng moue the conſtant hartes of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeale of Chriſtes word had before inflamed.

Although it had bene to be wiſhed, ſuch bloudſhed and warres not to haue followed: yet to ſay the truth, how could theſe Rabines greatly blame them herein, whō their bloudy tyranny had before prouoked ſo iniuſtly, if now with their gloſing letters they could not ſo eaſely appeaſe them agayn.

A yearely memoriall of Iohn Hus & Hierom kept among the Bohemians.

Wherfore theſe foreſaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of Iohn Hus and Hierome their countreymen, partly for the hatred of their malignaunt Papiſtry, aſſemblyng together, firſt agreed to celebrate a ſolēne memoriall of the death of Iohn Hus and Hierome, decreyng the ſame to be holden and celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their frēdes, they obtayned certaine Churches of the king, wherin they might frely preach & miniſter the Sacramentes vnto the congregation. This done, they ſuppreſſed diuers monaſteries, phariſaicall temples and idolatrous phanes, begynnyng firſt with the great monaſtery of the blacke Friers eight myles from Prage, and driuyng away the wicked and vicious Prieſtes and Monkes out of them, or compelling them vnto a better order. And thus their nomber more and more encreaſing vnder the conduict of a certaine noble man named Nicholas, they went agayne vnto the kyng, requiryng to haue more and ampler Churches graunted vnto them. The kyng ſeemed at the firſt willingly and gently to geue eare vnto the ſayd Nicholas intreatyng for the people, and commaunded them to come agayne the next day.

K. Wenceſlaus threateneth Nicholas.

When the people were departed, the kyng turnyng him ſelfe to the noble mā Nicholas, which taryed ſtill behynd, ſayd: Thou haſt begun a webbe to put me out of my kyngdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithall I will hang thee. Whereupon he immediatly departed out of the kynges preſence, and the kyng himſelfe went into the Caſtle of Wiſſegrad: within a while after, into a new Caſtle, which he himſelfe had builded fiue ſtones caſt from thence, ſendyng Ambaſſadours to his brother to require ayde.

The death of K. Wenceſlaus.

The maruelous worke of Gods iudgement to be noted, in defending his people.

Theſe Proteſtantes beyng aſſembled in the Towne of Prage, holdyng their conuentions: the kyng ſent forth hys Chamberlaine with. CCC. horſemen, to runne vpō them: but he hauyng reſpect vnto his lyfe fled. When newes therof was brought vnto the kyng all that were about him beyng amaſed, vtterly deteſted the fact: but the kynges cupbearer ſtādyng by, ſayd: I knew before that theſe thynges would thus come to paſſe. Whom the kyng in a rage takyng hold of, threw him downe before hys feete, and with his dagger would haue ſlayne him: but beyng letted by ſuch as were about hym, with much a do, he pardoned hym his life. Immediatly the kyng beyng taken with a palſey fell ſicke, and within 18. dayes after, whē he had marked the names of ſuch, whom he had appointed to put to death, inceſſantly callyng for ayde of his brother, and other his frendes, he departed this life before the Princes which he had ſent vnto, were come with ayde, when he had raigned lv. yeares, and was about the age of lvij. yeares.

¶The ſtory of Ziſca.

Out of Eneas Siluius.

Immediatly after the death of Wenceſlaus, there was a certaine noble man named Ziſca, borne at Troſnouia, which from his youth vpward was brought vp in the kyngs court, and had loſt one of his eyes in a battell, where as he had valiauntly borne himſelfe. This man beyng ſore greued for the death of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, myndyng to reuenge the iniuries which the Councell had done, greatly to the diſhonour of the kyngdome of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherentes: he gathered together a number of men of warre, and ſubuerted the Monaſteries and idolatrous temples, pullyng downe and breakyng in peeces the images and idols, driuyng away the Prieſtes and Monkes, which he ſayd were kept vp in their Cloyſters lyke ſwine in their ſtyes, to be fatted. After this, his armye beyng increaſed, hauyng gathered together about xl. thouſand men, he attempted to take the Caſtle of Wiſſegrade, which was but ſlenderly warded. From thence the ſayd Ziſca vnder the conduict of Coranda, went ſpeedely vnto Pelzina, whereas he knew he had many frendes of his faction, and tooke the Towne into his power, fortifieng the ſame very ſtrongly, and thoſe which taryed behynd, tooke the Caſtle of Wiſſegrade.

Ziſcha getteth Pelzina.

The queene ſendeth for Sigiſmund the Emperour.

Then the Queene Sophia beyng very carefull, ſent letters and meſſengers vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund & other nobles adioynyng vnto her, requiryng ayde and helpe: but the Emperour made preparation agaynſt the Turke, which had thē lately wonne certaine Caſtles of him. Wherupon the Queene ſeyng all ayde ſo farre of, together with Zenko Wartenberge, gathered an hoſt with the kynges treaſure, and fortified the Caſtle of Prage, and the leſſer Citie whiche ioyneth vnto the Caſtle, makyng gates and Towers of wood vpon the bridge, ouer the Riuer Multane, to ſtoppe that the Proteſtants ſhould haue no paſſage that way. Then it happened that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Sterenberge fought an equall or indifferēt battaile with them.

In the meane tyme the number of the Proteſtants beyng increaſed in Prage, they fought for yͤ bridge. In which battaile many were ſlayne on both partes, but at the length the Huſſites wanne the bridge, and the neather part of leſſer Prage, yͤ Queenes part fleyng into the vpper part therof: whereas they turnyng agayne fierſly, renued yͤ battaile, and fought continually day and night by the ſpace of fiue dayes. Many were ſlayne on both partes, goodly buildyngs were raſed, & the councell houſe, which was in a low place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

The Emperours Ambaſſadours agree wyth the citizens of Prage.

Duryng the tyme of this troublous eſtate, the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour Sigiſmund were come: whiche takyng vpon them the rule and gouernaunce of the Realme, made a truce or league with the Citie of Prage vnder this condition, that the Caſtle of Wiſſegrad beyng rendred, it ſhould be lawfull for thē to ſend Ambaſſadours to the Emperour Sigiſmund to intreat as touchyng their eſtate, and yͭ Ziſca ſhould render Pelzina & Pieſta with the other fortes which he had taken. Theſe conditions thus agreed vpon and receiued, all the foreine Proteſtantes departed out of the Citie, and the Senate of the Citie began to gouerne agayne accordyng to their accuſtomed maner, and all thynges were quieted. Howbeit, the Papiſtes which were gone out of yͤ Towne, durſt not returne agayne: but ſtill looked for yͤ emperour, by whoſe preſēce they thought they ſhould haue bene ſafe. But this their hope was fruſtrate by meanes of certaine letters which were ſent frō the emperour, wherein it was written that he would ſhortly come & rule the kyngdome, euen after the ſame order and maner as hys father Charles had done before hym. Whereby the Proteſtantes vnderſtood that their ſect and Religion ſhould be vtterly baniſhed, which was not begon duryng the raigne of the ſayd Charles.

The citie of Prage fell from the Emperour.

The complaint of the citie of Prage agaynſt Sigiſmund.

About Chriſtmaſſe, the Emperour Sigiſmund came to Brunna a Citie of Morauia, and there he pardoned the Citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they would let downe the chaynes and barres of the Citie, and receiue his rulers and magiſtrates. Wherunto the whole Citie obeyed, and the Magiſtrates therof liftyng vp their handes vnto heauen, reioyſed at the commyng of the new kyng. But the Emperour turned an other way, and went vnto Wratiſlauia the head Citie of Sileſia, where as a litle before, the cōmunalty of the Citie had ſlayne in an inſurrection, the magiſtrates, which his brother Wenceſlaus had ſet in authority: the principals wherof he beheaded. The newes wherof when they were reported at Prage, the Citizēs beyng feared by the example of the Wratiſlauians, diſtruſtyng their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and hauyng obtained Cencho on their part, which had the gouernaunce of the Caſtle of Prage, they ſent letters into all the Realme, that no man ſhould ſuffer the Emperour to enter, which was an enemy vnto Boheme and ſought nothyng els but to deſtroy the kyngdome: which alſo bound the auncient citie of the Prutenians vnto order by pledges, and put the Marques of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely ſuffered Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage to be burned at the Cōcel of Conſtance, but alſo procured the ſame, and with all his endeuour did impugne the doctrine & fayth which they taught and folowed. Whileſt theſe thinges were thus done, Ziſca hauyng geuen ouer Pelzina by cōpoſition, was twiſe aſſaulted by his enemyes, but through policy he was alwayes victor. The places where they fought were rough and vnknowen, his enemyes were on horſebacke, and all his ſouldiours on foote, neither could there be any battaile fought but on foote. Whereupon, when his enemyes were alighted from their horſes, Ziſca cōmaunded the women which cuſtomably followed the hoſt, to caſt their kerchieffes vpon the ground, where in the horſemen beyng entangled by their ſpurres, were ſlayne before they could vnloſe their feete.

The policie of Ziſca.

After this he went vnto Auſca a towne ſituate vpon the Riuer Luſinitius, out of whiche towne Procopius and Vlricius, two brethren Papiſtes, had caſt out many Proteſtantes. This Towne Ziſca tooke by force of armes the firſt night of Lent, raſed it, and ſet it on fire. He alſo tooke the Caſtle of Lytius, which was a mile of, whether as Vlricius was fled, and put Vlricius and all his familie to the ſword, ſauyng one onely.

Then, for ſomuch as he had no walled or fenſed towne to inhabite, he choſe out a certaine place vpon the ſame riuer which was fenſed by nature, about viij. myles from the citie of Auſca. This place he compaſſed in with walles, and commaunded euery man to build them houſes, where they had pitched their tentes and named this City Thabor, and the inhabitauntes his cōpanions Thaborites, becauſe their Citie, by all lyke, was builded vpon the toppe of ſome hill or mount. This Citie albeit that it was fenſed with hygh rockes and cleaues, yet was it compaſſed with a wall and vaumure, and the riuer Luſinitius fenſeth a great part of the towne, the reſt is compaſſed in with a great broke, the whiche runnyng ſtraight into the riuer Luſinitius, is ſtopped by a great rocke and driuen backe towardes the right hand, all the lēgth of the Citie, and at the further end it ioyneth with the great riuer. The way vnto it by land is ſcarſe xxx. foote brode, for it is almoſt an Ilād. In this place there was a deepe ditch caſt, and a triple wall made, of ſuch thicknes that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and fortes ſet in their conuenient and mete places. Ziſca was the firſt that builded the Caſtle, and thoſe that came after him fortified it, euery man according to his owne deuiſe. At that tyme the Thaborites had no horſemen amongeſt them vntill ſuch tyme as Nicolas, maiſter of the mynt (whom the Emperour had ſent into Bohemia with a. M. horſemen to ſet thynges in order, and to withſtād the Thaborites lodgyng all night in a village named Vogize) was ſurpriſed by Ziſca commyng vpon him ſodenly in the night, takyng away all his horſe and armour, & ſettyng fire vpon the village. Then Ziſca taught his ſouldiours to mount on horſebacke, to leape, to runne, to turne, to caſt in a ryng, ſo that after this he neuer led army without his wynges of horſemen.

The citie of Thabor builded,

In this meane tyme Sigiſmundus the Emperour gatheryng together ẏ nobles of Sileſia, entred into Boheme, and went vnto Grecium, and from thence with a great army vnto Cuthna, allurying Cencho with many great and large promiſes to render vp the Caſtle of Prage vnto him, and there placed himſelfe to annoy the towne. Thus Cencho infamed with double treaſon, returned home. The Citizens of Prage ſent for Ziſca, who ſpedyng himſelfe thether with the Thaborites, receiued the Citie vnder his gouernaunce. In the Bohemians hoſt there was but onely ij. Barons, Hilco Cruſſina of Lituburge, and Hilco of Walſteine, with a few other nobles. All the reſidue were of the common people. They went about firſt to ſubdue the Caſtell, which was by nature very ſtrongly fenſed, and could not be wonne by no other meanes then with famine: whervpon all the paſſages were ſtopped, that no vittailes ſhould be caryed in. But the Emperour opened the paſſages by dint of ſword, & when he had geuen vnto them which were beſieged, all thynges neceſſary, hauyng ſent for ayde out of the Empire, he determined ſhortly after to beſiege the Citie. There was in the Emperours campe the Dukes of Saxon, the Marqueſſes of Brandenburge, and his ſonne in law Albert of Auſtrich. The Citie was aſſaulted by the ſpace of. vj. weekes. The Emperour Sigiſmūd was crowned in the Metropolitane houſe in the Caſtle, Conradus the Archbyſhop ſolemniſing the ceremonies of the coronation. The City was ſtraightly beſieged. In the meane time the Captaines Roſeſes and Chragery, which had takē the tentes of the Thaborites, beyng ouercome in battaile by Nicolas Hus, whom Ziſca had ſent with part of his power for that purpoſe, were driuen out of their tentes, & Grecium the Queenes Citie was alſo taken.

Sigiſmund getteth the caſtle of Prage.

Ziſca getteth the citie of Prage.

Prage beſieged of Sigiſmund.

There is alſo aboue the Towne of Prage a high hill, which is called Vdechon. On this hill had Ziſca ſtrongly planted a garryſon, that his enemyes ſhould not poſſeſſe it, with whom the Marques of Myſnia ſkirmiſhyng, loſt a great part of his ſouldiours. For when as the Myſnians had gotten the top of the hill, beyng driuen backe into a corner, which was broken and ſtepe, and fierſly ſet vpō, when as they could no longer withſtand the violent force of their enemyes, ſome of them were ſlayne, and ſome fallyng headlong from the hill were deſtroyed. Whereupon the Emperour Sigiſmund rayſing his ſiege, departed vnto Cuthna and Ziſca with his company departed vnto Thabor, and ſubdued many places: amongſt which he ſubuerted a towne pertaining to the captaine of Viſgrade. Duryng this tyme the Caſtell of Viſgrade was ſtrongly beſieged, whereas, when other vittailes wanted, they were compelled to eate horſe fleſh. Laſt of all, except the Emperour did ayde them by a certaine day, they promiſed to yeld it vp, but vnder this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the Caſtle ſhould be no more moleſted.

The Marques of Myſnia ouercome in the ſkirmiſhe.

Sigiſmund the Emperour raiſeth hys ſiege.

The Emperour was preſent before the day, but beyng ignoraunt of the truce taken, entryng into a ſtraight vnderneath the Caſtle, was ſodenly ſet vpon by the ſouldiours of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrow, and ſo leauyng hys purpoſe vnperformed, returned backe agayne. There were ſlayne in that conflict xiiij. noble men of the Morauians, and of the Hungarians, & other a great number. The Caſtle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whileſt theſe thinges were in doyng Ziſca toke Boſlaus a captaine which was ſurnamed Cygneus, by force in a very ſtrong towne of his, and brought hym vnto hys religion, who a fewe yeares after, leadyng the proteſtantes hoſt in Auſtria, was wounded before Rhetium and dyed. There were in the territory of Pelſina many monaſteries, of the which Ziſca ſubuerted and burned fiue. And for ſomuch as ẏ monaſtery of Saint Clare was the ſtrongeſt, there he pitched hymſelfe.

The Emperour fighting againſt Ziſca, had the ouerthrow.

The Abbeys of Pelſina ſubuerted.

Thether alſo came the Emperour with hys army: but when Ziſca brought forth hys power againſt hym, he moſt cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed and left Boheme. Then Ziſca wēt with hys army vnto Pelzina: but for ſomuch as he ſaw the Citie ſo fenced, that he was in doubt of winnyng the ſame, he went from thence to Commitauia a famous Citie, the which he tooke by force, burnyng all the prieſtes therein.

Ziſca putteth the Emperour to flighe.

Afterward, when as he lay before the towne of Raby, and ſtrongly beſieged the ſame, he was ſtricken wyth a ſhaft in the eye, hauyng but that one before to ſee wyth all. From thence he was caryed vnto Prage to Phiſicians, whereas he beyng cured of his wound, and hys lyfe ſaued, yet he loſt hys ſight, and for all that, he would not forſake hys army, but ſtill tooke the charge of them.

Ziſca loſeth his other eye in battell.

Ziſca, albeit he loſt his eyes, yet would not forſake his army.

After thys the garriſons of Prage went vnto Varona, where as there was a great garriſon of the Emperors, & tooke it by force, many beyng ſlayne of eyther part. They alſo tooke the towne of Broda in Germany, and ſlue the garriſon, and afterward tooke Cuthna and many other cities by compoſition. Further, when as they ledde their army vnto a towne called Pons, which is inhabited by the Miſnians, the Saxons meetyng them by the way, becauſe they durſt not ioyne battayle, they returned backe. After all thys the Emperour appointed the Princes electours a day, that at Bartilmewtide, they ſhould with their army inuade the Weaſt part of Boheme, and he wyth an hoſt of Hungarians would enter on the Eaſt part. There came vnto hys ayde the Archbyſhop of Mentz, the county Palatine of Rheine, the Dukes of Saxon, the Marques of Brandenburge, and many other byſhops out of Almayne: all the reſt ſent their aydes. They encamped before the towne of Sornus, a ſtrong & well fenced place, which they coulde by no meanes ſubdue. The countrey was ſpoyled & waſted round about, and the ſiege continued vntill ẏ feaſt of S. Galle. Then it was broken vp becauſe the Emperour was not come at hys day appoynted, but he hauyng gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and Weſt Morauians, about Chriſtmas entred into Boheme, and tooke certayne townes by force, and Cuthna was yelded vnto hym. But when Ziſca (although he was blind) came towardes hym, and ſet vpon hym, he beyng afeard, & many of hys nobles ſlayne, fled. But firſt he burned Cuthna, which the Thaborites, by meanes of the ſiluer mines, called the powch of Antichriſt. Ziſca purſuing the Emperour a dayes iourney, gotte great & rich ſpoyle, and takyng the towne of Broda by force, ſet it on fire: the which afterward almoſt by the ſpace of xiiij. yeares remayned diſinhabited. The Emperour paſſed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria. And Piſo a Florentine, which had brought xx. thouſand horſemen out of Hungary to theſe warres, paſſed ouer the Iſe, the which by ẏ multitude and number of his horſe-

Ziſca taketh diuers townes.

The Saxons retyre.

The Emperour wyth his power entreth agayne into Boheme.

The Emperour afrayde of Ziſca, flyeth.

The powch of Antichriſt.

A noble victory of Ziſca.

Ziſca deſtroyeth images & Idolles in Churches.

horſemen beyng broke, deuoured and deſtroyed a great nũber. Ziſca hauyng obtayned this victory, would not ſuffer any image or idoll to be in the Churches, neyther thought it to be borne wythall, that Prieſtes ſhoulde miniſter wyth copes or veſtimentes: for the which cauſe he was much the more enuied amongeſt the ſtates of Boheme. And the Cõſuls of Prage being agreued at the inſolẽcy of John Premonſtratenſis, called hym and xi. other of hys adherentes, whom they ſuppoſed to be the principalles of this faction, into the coũcell houſe, as though they would conferre with them as touching the common wealth: and whẽ they were come in, they ſlew them, and afterward departed home euery man to hys owne houſe, thinking the Citie had bene quiet, as though nothyng had bene done: But their ſeruauntes beyng not circumſpect inough, waſhing downe the court or yarde, waſhed out alſo the bloud of thoſe that were ſlayne, through the ſinkes or canels: the which being once ſene, the people vnderſtood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult: the councell houſe was ſtraight way ouerthrowne, and a.xj. of the principall Citizẽs, which were thought to be the authours therof, were ſlayne and diuers houſes ſpoyled.

Joannes Premonſtratenſis.

The martyrdom of certaine godly Bohemians falſely circumuented and killed wyth ſword.

Priuie murther at length commeth out.

About the ſame tyme the Caſtle of Purgell, wherein the Emperour had left a ſmall garriſon (whether as alſo many Papiſtes with their wiues and children were fled) was through negligence burned, and thoſe which eſcaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelſina. After this, diuers of the Bohemian Captaines and the Senate of Prage ſent Ambaſſadours to Vitolde Duke of Lituania, and made hym their kyng. This did Ziſca and his adherentes gayne ſay. This Vitold ſent Sigiſmund Coributus with two thouſand horſemen into Boheme, who was honourably receiued of the inhabitantes of Prage. At his commyng they determined to lay ſiege vnto a Caſtle ſituate vpõ a hill, which was called Charles ſtone.

Here Sigiſmundus had left for a garriſon foure Centurions of ſouldiours. The tentes were pitched in iij. places. The ſiege continued vj. monethes, and the aſſault neuer ceaſed day and night. Fiue great ſlynges threw continually great ſtones ouer the walles, and about two thouſend veſſels, tubbes, or baſkettes, filled with dead carcaſes and other excrementes, were caſt in amongeſt thoſe which were beſieged: whiche thyng did ſo infect them with ſtench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all loſe. Notwithſtandyng they bare it out with ſtout courage, & continued their fight vntill the winter, hauyng priuily receiued medicine out of Prage, to faſten their teeth agayne.

Stench very hurtfull for the teeth.

In the meane tyme Fredericke the elder, prince of Brãdenburge entryng into Boheme with a great power, cauſed them of Prage to rayſe the ſiege. And Vitoldus at the requeſt of Wladiſlaus kyng of Pole, which had talked with the Emperour in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vncle with his whole army out of Boheme. Wherupon the Emperour ſuppoſed that the Proteſtantes being deſtitute of foreine ayde, would the ſooner do his cõmaũdement: but he was farre deceiued therein, for they leadyng their armyes out of Boheme, ſubdued the borderers therupõ adioynyng. It is alſo reported that Ziſca went into Auſtrich, and when as the huſbandmen of the countrey had caried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Ilſy of the riuer called Danubius, and by chaunce had left certaine calues and ſwyne in their Villages behynd them: Ziſca draue them vnto the riuer ſide, and kept them there ſo long, beatyng them, and cauſing them to roare out and cry, vntill that the cattell feedyng in the Iland, hearyng the lowyng and gruntyng of the cattell on the other ſide the water, for the deſire of their lyke, did ſwimme ouer the riuer: by the meanes wherof he got and draue away a great booty.

An other warlike pollicy of Ziſca.

Stratagema.

About the ſame time the Emperour Sigiſmũdus gaue vnto his ſonne in law Albert Duke of Auſtrich, the countrey of Morauia becauſe it ſhould not want a ruler. At the ſame tyme alſo Ericius kyng of Dẽmarke, and Peter Infant, brother to the kyng of Portingall & father of James, Cardinall of S. Euſtachius, came vnto the Emperour, beyng both very expert men in the affaires of warre: which did augment the Emperours hoſt with their aide and power. Wherupon, they ſtraightway pitched their campe before Lutemperge a towne of Morauia, and continued the ſiege by the ſpace of iij. monethes. There was at that time a certaine Knight at Prage ſurnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authoritie. This man, for ſomuch as he had no childe of his owne, adopted vnto him his ſiſters ſonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane ſtature and age, he caried with him into Fraunce, Spayne, and Italy, and vnto Jeruſalem, and at his returne cauſed hym to be made Prieſt. This man when the Goſpell began to floriſh in Boheme, tooke part with Ziſca, and for ſomuch as he was ſtrong and valiaunt, and alſo paynefull, he was greatly eſteemed.

This Procopius for his valiaunt actes was afterword called Procopius Magnus, and had committed vnto hym the whole charge of the prouince of Morauia, and the defence of the Lutempergers: who receiuyng a great power by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the ſiege) caryed vittailes into the towne which was beſieged, and ſo did fruſtrate the Emperours ſiege. The Emperour before this had deliuered vnto the Marqueſſes of Miſnia the bridge & towne of Auſca, vpon the riuer of Albis, that they ſhould fortifie them with their garriſons. Wherupon Ziſca beſieged Auſca, and Fredericke the Marqueſſe of Miſnia, with his brother the Lantzgraue of Turyng, gatheryng together a great army out of Saxonia, Turyng, Miſnia, and both the Luſaces, determined to reſcue & ayde thoſe which were beſieged.

Procopius Magnus.

The valiant courage of Procopius.

There was a great battaile fought before the Citie, and the victory depended long vncertaine, but at laſt it fell on the Proteſtantes part. There were ſlayne in that battaile, the Burgraues of Miſnia or Chyrpogenſes, the Barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beſide ix. thouſand common ſouldiours, and the Towne of Auſca was taken and vtterly raſed.

The victory of the Proteſtantes.

At the laſt diſſenſion riſing betwene Ziſca and them of Prage, they of Prage prepared an army agaynſt him, wherwith he perceiuyng himſelfe ouermatched, fled vnto the Riuer of Albis and was almoſt taken, but that he had paſſage through the towne of Poggichras, but they of Prage purſuing the tayle of the battaile, ſlue many of his Thaborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hils, whereas Ziſca goyng into the valley, knowyng the ſtraightes of the place, that his enemies could not ſpread their army, he commaunded his ſtanderd to ſtand ſtill, and exhortyng and encouragyng his ſouldiours, he gaue them battaile.

The battaile betwene the citie of Prage and Ziſca.

This battaile was very fierce and cruell: but Ziſca hauyng the vpper hand, ſlue .3000. of them of Prage, and put the reſt to flight, and ſtraightwayes tooke the Citie of Cuthna by force (which they of Prage had repayred) and ſet it on fire: then withall ſpeede he went with his army to beſiege Prage, and incamped within a bowe ſhote of the towne. There were many both in the Citie, and alſo in his hoſt which grudged ſore at that ſiege: ſome accuſing Ziſca, other ſome them of Prage. There was great tumultes in the camp, the ſouldiours ſaying that it was not reaſonable, that that Citie ſhould be ſuppreſſed, which was both the head of the kyngdome, and did not diſſent from them in opinion: ſaying that the Bohemians power would ſoone decay, if their enemyes ſhould know that they were deuided within themſelues: alſo that they had ſufficient warres agaynſt the Emperour, and that it was but a fooliſh deuiſe to moue warres amongeſt themſelues. This talke came vnto the eare of Ziſca, who callyng together his army, ſtandyng vpõ a place to be heard, ſpake theſe wordes.

The noble victory of Ziſca.

Ziſca beſiegeth Prage.

Brethren be ye not agreued agaynſt me, neither accuſe him which hath ſought your health and ſauegard. The victories which ye haue obtayned vnder my conduict, are yet freſh in memory, neither haue I brought you at any tyme vnto any place, from whence you haue not come victours. You are become famous and rich, and I for your ſake haue loſt my ſight and dwell in darkeneſſe. Nothyng haue I gotten by all theſe fortunate battailes, but onely a vayne name. For you haue I fought, and for you haue I vãquiſhed, neither do I repent me of my trauailes, neither is my blyndneſſe greuous vnto me, but onely that I can not prouide for you accordyng to my accuſtomed maner: Neither do I perſecute them of Prage for myne owne cauſe, for it is your bloud that they thirſt and ſeeke for, and not myne. It were but ſmall pleaſure for them, to deſtroy me beyng now an old man and blynd: it is your valiauntneſſe and ſtoute ſtomackes which they feare. Either muſt you or they periſh: who whileſt they ſeeme to lye in wayt for me, do ſeeke after your lyues. You muſt rather feare ciuill warres then foreine, and ciuill ſedition ought firſt to be auoyded. We will ſubdue Prage, and baniſh the ſeditious Citizens, before the Emperour ſhall haue any newes of this ſedition. And then hauyng but a few of his faction left, we may with the leſſe feare looke for it: better then if theſe doubtfull Citizens of Prage were ſtill in our campe. But becauſe ye ſhall accuſe me no more, I geue you free libertie to do what you will. If it pleaſe you to ſuffer them of Prage to lyue in quyetneſſe, I will not be agaynſt it, ſo that there be no treaſon wrought. If you determine to haue warre, I am alſo ready.

A notable oration of Ziſca to his ſouldiours.

Looke which part you will decline vnto, Ziſca will be your ayde and helper.

The hartes of the ſouldiours altered by the oration of Ziſca.

When he had ſpokē theſe wordes, the ſouldiours mindes were chaunged, and wholly determined to make warres, ſo that they ran by and by to take vp their armour and weapon, to runne vnto the walles to prouoke their enemyes to fight for the gates of the citie. Ziſca in the meane time prepared all thinges ready for the aſſault. There is a litle from Pelſina a certain village named Rochezana. In this place, there was a child borne of poore and baſe parentage, whoſe name was John: he came vnto Prage and got his lyuyng there by beggyng, & learned Grammer and Logicke. When he came to mans ſtate, he became the Scholemaiſter of a noble mans childe and for ſomuch as he was of an excellent wit and ready toung, he was receiued into the Colledge of the poore, & laſt of all beyng made Prieſt, he began to preach the word of God to the Citizēs of Prage, and was named Iohannes de Rochezana, by the name of the Towne where he was borne. This man grew to be of great name and authoritie in the towne of Prage. Wherupon when as Ziſca beſieged Prage, he by the conſent of the Citizens went out into the camp, and reconciled Ziſca agayne vnto the Citie.

Peace betwene Ziſca & Prage by the meanes of John de Rochezana.

When as the Emperour perceiued that all thyngs came to paſſe accordyng vnto Ziſca his will and mynde, and that vpon him alone the whole ſtate of Boheme did depend, he ſought priuy meanes to reconcile and get Ziſca into his fauour, promiſing him the gouernaūce of the whole kingdom, the guidyng of all his hoſtes and armyes, and great yearely reuenues, if he would proclayme him kyng, and cauſe the Cities to be ſworne vnto him. Upon which cōditions, whē as Ziſca for the performaunce of the couenaunts went vnto the Emperour being on his iourney at the Caſtle of Priſcouia, he was ſtricken with ſickneſſe and dyed.

The Emperour glad to be recōciled with Ziſca.

The death of Ziſca.

It is reported, that when he was demaunded beyng ſicke, in what place he would be buryed, he commaunded the ſkinne to be pulled of from his dead carkaſe, and the fleſhe to bee caſt vnto the foules and beaſtes, and that a drumme ſhould be made of his ſkinne, which they ſhould vſe in their battailes, affirmyng that aſſoone as their enemyes ſhould heare the ſound of that drumme, they would not abyde, but take their flight. The Thaborites deſpiſing all other Images, yet ſet vp the Picture of Ziſca ouer the gates of the Citie.

The wordes of Ziſca at hys death.

The Epitaphe of Iohn Ziſca, the valiaunt Captaine of the Bohemians.

The Epitaphe of Ziſca.

I John Ziſca not inferiour to any Emperour or Captaine in warlyke policie, a ſeuere puniſher of the pride and auarice of the Clergy, & a defender of my countrey, do lye here. That which Appius Claudius by geuyng good cōſell, and M. Furius Camillus by valiauntnes dyd for the Romaines: the ſame I beyng blind haue done for my Boheminians. I neuer ſlacked oportunitie of battaile, neither did fortune at any tyme fayle me. I beyng blynd did foreſee all oportunitie of well orderyng or doyng my buſineſſe. Eleuen tymes in ioynyng battaile, I went victour out of the field. I ſeemed to haue worthely defended the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry agaynſt the delicate, fatte, and glotonus Prieſtes, and for that cauſe to haue receiued helpe at the hand of God. If their enuy had not let it without doubt I had deſerued to be numbred amōgeſt the moſt famous mē. Notwithſtādyng my bones lye here in this halowed place, euen in deſpite of the Pope.

Ziſca eleuen times victor in the fielde.

ΙΩΑΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ βωϊημὸς τῶν αἰσχροκερδῶν ἱερέων ἐχθρὸς ἀλλὰ ἐνθείῳ ζήλῳ.

¶Iohn Ziſca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetous Prieſtes, but with a godly zeale.

And thus haue you the actes and doyngs of this worthy Ziſca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credite we haue drawen out of Æneas Syluius, onely his raylyng termes excepted, which we haue here ſuppreſſed.

All this whyle the Emperour, with the whole power of ẏ Germaines, were not ſo buſie on ẏ one ſide, but Martin the Pope was as much occupyed on the other ſide: who about the ſame tyme directed downe a terrible Bull, full of all poyſon to all byſhops and Archbyſhops, agaynſt all ſuch as tooke any part or ſide with Wickleffe, John Hus, Hierome, or with their doctrine & opinions. The copy of which Bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wiſh the reader throughly to peruſe, wherin he ſhall ſee the Pope to poure out at once all his poyſon.

The Bull of Pope Martine directed forth agaynſt the followers of Iohn Wickliffe of England, of Iohn Huſſe of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage.

Pope Martins bloudy bull, to all byſhops and Archbiſhops.

Martine Biſhop, the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruaunts, to our reuerend brethren the Archbiſhoppes of Salzeburgen, Gueznen, and Pragē, and to the biſhops of Olumcen, Luthomuſlen, Bambergen, Miſnen, Patauien, Uratiſlauien, Ratiſponen. Cracouien, Poznanen, and Nitrien, and alſo to our beloued children the Inquiſitours appoynted of the Prelates aboue recited, or where els ſo euer, vnto whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greetyng and Apoſtolicall benediction. Amongeſt all other paſtorall cares wherewith we are oppreſſed, this chiefly and ſpecially doth inforce vs, that heretikes with theyr falſe doctrine and errours, beyng vtterly expulſed from amongſt the company of Chriſten mē and rooted out (ſo farre forth as God wyll make vs able to do) the right and Catholike fayth may remayne ſound and vndefiled: and that all Chriſtian people, immoueable and inuiolate, may ſtand and abyde in the ſinceritie of the ſame fayth, the whole vayle of obſcuritie beyng remoued. But lately in diuers places of the world, but eſpecially in Bohemia and the Dukedome of Morauia, and in the ſtraightes adioynyng therunto, certayne Archheretickes haue ryſen and ſprong vp, not agaynſt one only but agaynſt dyuers and ſundry documentes of the Catholike fayth, being landlopers ſchiſmatikes, and ſeditious perſons, fraught with diueliſh pride and woluiſh madnes, deceiued by the ſubtlety of Sathan, and from one euill vanity brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe vp and ſprang in diuers partes of ẏ world yet agreed they all in one, hauyng their tayles as it wer knit together: to wit, John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Hierom of Prage of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruine and infidelitie. For when as thoſe and ſuch like peſtiſiferous perſons did in the beginnyng of their poyſoned doctrine, obſtinately ſow and ſpred abroad peruerſe and falſe opinions, the prelates who had the regiment and execution of the iudiciall power, lyke dumme dogs not able to barke, neither yet reuengyng ſpedely with the Apoſtle, all ſuch diſobedience, nor regarding corporally to caſt out of the lordes houſe (as they were enioyned by the Canons) thoſe ſubtill and peſtilent Archheretickes and their woluiſh fury and cruelty with all expedition, but ſufferyng their falſe and pernicious doctrine negligently, by theyr ouer long delayes, to growe and waxe ſtrong: a great multitude of people in ſtead of true doctrine receyued thoſe thinges, which they did long falſly, perniciouſly and damnably ſow among them, and geuing credite vnto them, fell from the right fayth, and are intangled (the more pity) in the foule errors of Paganiſme.

All theſe errours and hereſies be, for that they ſpeake agaynſt the pride of prelates and their exceſſiue dignities.

In ſo much, that thoſe Archheretickes and ſuch as ſpring of them, haue infected the Catholique flocke of Chriſt in dyuers climates of the world and partes bordering vpon the ſame, and haue cauſed them to putrifie in the filthye dunghyll of their lyes. Wherefore the generall Synode of Conſtaunce, was compelled with Saint Auguſtine to exclayme agaynſt ſo great and ruinous a plague of faythfull men, and of the ſounde and true fayth it ſelfe, ſaying: What ſhall the Soueraigne medicine of the Churche doe, wyth motherly loue ſeekyng the health of her ſheepe, chafyng as it were, amongeſt a companye of men franticke, and hauyng the diſeaſe of the Lethargie? What? ſhall ſhe deſiſt and leaue of her good purpoſe? No not ſo. But rather let her, if there be no remedye, be ſharpe to both theſe ſortes, whiche are the grieuous enemies of her wombe. For the Phiſition is ſharpe vnto the man beſtraught and ragyng in hys frenſie, and yet is he a father to hys owne rude and vnmanerly ſonne, in byndyng the one, in beating the other, by ſhewyng therein hys great loue vnto them both. But if they be negligent and ſuffer them to periſhe (ſayth Auguſtine) this manſuetude is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe cruelty.

All be pagans with the pope, that like not his ſuperſtitious & idolatrous traditions.

A great difference betwene a louing mother, & the frantike whore of Babilō

And therfore the foreſayd Synode, to the glory of almighty God, and preſeruation of hys catholicke fayth, and augmentyng of Chriſtian religion, and for the ſaluation of mens ſoules: hath corporally reiected and caſt forth of the houſholde of God, the foreſayd J. Wickliefe, J. Hus, and Jerome: who amongeſt other thynges, did beleue, preach, teach, and mayntaine of the Sacrament of the aultar, and other ſacraments of the church & articles of the faith, cōtrary to that the holy church of Rome, beleueth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, & haue preſumed obſtinately to preach, teach, holde and beleue many other moe, to the damnation of themſelues and of others: and the ſayde Synode hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malipert heretikes frõ the Communion of the faythfull people, and haue declared them to be ſpiritually throwen forth: and many other things both wholeſome and profitable hath the ſame Councell as touching the premiſſes, ſtabliſhed and decreed, wherby they, which by the meanes of thoſe Archheretikes, and by their falſe doctrine, haue ſpiritually departed frõ the lords houſe, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the ſtraight pathe of truth and veritie.

And moreouer (as we to our great griefe do heare) not only in the kyngdome of Bohemia, and Dukedom of Morauia and other places aboue recited, but alſo in certayne partes and prouinces nere adioynyng and bordering vppon the ſame, there be many other of the ſecretaries and followers of the foreſaid Archhereticks and hereticall opinions, caſting behynd their backes as well the feare of God, as the ſhame of the world, neither receiuing fruite of conuerſiõ and repentaunce by the miſerable deſtruction of the foreſayde John Hus and Hierome, but as men drowned in the dungeon of their ſinnes, ceaſe not to blaſpheme the Lord God, taking hys name in vayne (whoſe myndes the father of lies hath damnably blynded) and do read and ſtudy the foreſayd bookes or workes, conteynyng hereſies and errours, beyng lately by the foreſaid Synode condemned to be burned: alſo to the perill of themſelues and many other ſimple men, and agaynſt the ſtatutes, decrees, and ordinaunces in the Synode aforeſayd, and the Canonicall ſanctions, do preſume to preach and teach the ſame, to the great perill of ſoules, the derogation of the Catholike fayth, and ſlaunder of many other beſides. We therfore conſidering that errour, when it is not reſiſted, ſemeth to be allowed and lyked, and hauyng a deſire to reſiſt ſuch euils and pernicious errours, and vtterly roote them out from amongſt the company of faythful Chriſtians, eſpecially from the afore recited places of Bohemia, Morauia, and other ſtraights and Ilandes ioynyng and bordering vpon the ſame, leſt they ſhould ſtretche out & enlarge their limites: we will and commaund your diſcretions by our letters Apoſtolicall, the holy councell of Conſtaunce approuing and allowing the ſame, that you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other of the Clergy, and euery one of you by hymſelfe or by an other or others, beyng graue and fit perſons to haue ſpiritual iuriſdiction: do ſee that all and ſinguler perſons, of what dignitie, office, preeminence, ſtate, or condition ſo euer they be, and by what name ſo euer they are knowen, which ſhall preſume otherwiſe to teach, preache, or obſerue, touchyng the moſte highe and excellent, the moſte wholeſome and ſuperadmirable Sacramente of the bloud of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, or els of the Sacrament of Baptiſme, confeſſion of ſinnes, penance for ſinnes, and extreme vnction, or els of any other Sacramentes of the Church, and articles of the fayth, then that, which the right holy and vniuerſall church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach & obſerue: or els that ſhal preſume obſtinately by any ways or meanes, priuily, or apertly, to holde, beleue, and teache the Articles, bookes, or doctrine of the aforeſayd Archheretikes John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hironimus of Prage, beyng by the foreſayd Synode of Conſtaunce with their authours (as is ſayd) damned & condemned: or dare preſume publikly or priuely to allow or commende in anye wiſe the death and end of the ſayd archheretiks, or of any other their receiuers, ayders, and fauourers, in the fauour or ſupportation of the foreſayd erroures, as alſo their beleuers and adherentes: that then, as before, you ſee and cauſe them and euery of them to be moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, & that you iudge and geue ſentence vpon them as heretikes, and that as arrant heretikes you leaue them to the ſecular court or power. Let the receauers alſo, and fauoures and defenders of ſuch moſt peſtiferous perſons, notwithſtanding they neither beleue, fauour, nor haue deuotion, towardes their errours, but happely ſhalll receiue or entertaine ſuch peſtiferous perſons, becauſe of carnall affection, or frendly loue, beſides the puniſhment due vnto them by both lawes, ouer and aboue the ſame puniſhment, by competent iudges be ſo afflicted, & for ſo haynous actes of theirs, with ſo ſeuere payne and puniſhment excruciated, that the ſame may be to other in lyke caſe offendyng, an example of terrour: that at the leaſt, thoſe whom the feare of God by no meanes may reuoke frõ ſuch euill doyng, yet the ſeueritie of this our diſcipline may enforce and conſtrayne.

We fooles thought their life to be madnes, & their ende without honour.

Et os eius ſicut os Leonis.
i. And his mouth is like the mouth of a Lyon. Apoc. 13.

Draconis lex ſanguine ſcripta.

The popes religion hath left all ſence of humanitie.

As touching the third ſort, which ſhall be by any maner of wayes infected with this damnable ſect, and ſhall after competent admonitiõ repent and amend themſelues of ſuch errours and ſectes aforeſayd, and will returne againe into the lap and vnitie of our holy mother the Church, and fully acknowledge and confeſſe the Catholicke fayth: towardes them let the ſeuerity of iuſtice, as the quality of the fact ſhal require, be ſomwhat tempered with a taſt of mercy.

* And furthermore, we will and commaund, that by this our authority Apoſtolicall, ye exhorte and admoniſh all the profeſſours of the Catholike fayth, as Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Erles, Barons, Knights, and other Magiſtrates, Rectors, Conſuls, Proconſuls, Shires, Countreis, and Vniuerſities of the Kingdomes, Prouinces, Cities, townes, Caſtles, villages, their landes & other places, & all other executing tẽporal iuriſdictiõ according to ẏ forme & exigẽce of ẏ law: that they expel out of their kingdoms, prouinces, cities, towns, caſtles, villages & lãds, and other places, all and all maner of ſuch hereticks, according to the effect and tenour of the Councell of Laterane, beginning, Sicut ait eccleſia. &c. that thoſe whom publikely and manifeſtly by the euidẽce of their dedes, ſhall be known to be ſuch as like ſicke and and ſcabbed ſhepe infect ẏ lordes flocke, they expell and baniſh till ſuch tyme, as from vs or you or els other eccleſiaſticall iudges or Inquiſitours holding the fayth and communion of the holy church of Rome, they ſhall receyue other order and countermaund: and that they ſuffer no ſuch within their Shires and circuites, to preach or to kepe either houſe or family, either yet to vſe any handycraft or occupations or other trades of merchaundiſe, or els to ſolace themſelues any wayes, or frequent the company of Chriſten men.

*Et vidi beſtiã & reges terræ & exercitus eorũ pugnãtes cum illo qui ſedebat in equo, & cum exercitu eius. Apoc. 13.

Et data eſt illi poteſtas in omnẽ tribũ, et populum, et linguam, & gentem.
i. And power is geue hym ouer all tribes, & people & tongues, & nations. &c. Apoc. 13.

And furthermore if ſuch publicke and knowne hereticques ſhall chaunce to dye (although not ſo denounced by the Church) yet in this ſo great a crime, let him and them want Chriſtian buriall, and let no offeryngs or oblations be made for them nor receiued. His goodes and ſubſtaunce alſo from the tyme of his death, accordyng to the Canonicall ſanctions beyng confiſcat, let no ſuch enioy them to whom they apperteine, till that by the Eccleſiaſticall iudges hauyng power and authoritie in this behalfe, ſentence vpon that his or their crime of hereſie, be declared and promulgate: and let ſuch owners as be founde ſuſpect or noted with any ſuch ſuſpition of hereſie, before a competent and Eccleſiaſticall iudge, accordyng to the conſideration and exigence of that ſuſpition, and accordyng to the qualitie of the perſon, by the arbitrement of ſuch a iudge: ſhew and declare his proper and owne innocencie wich deuotion as beſeemeth in that behalfe. And if in his purgation, beyng Canonically interdited, he do defayle, or be not able Canonically to make hys purgation, or that he refuſe to take his othe by damnable obſtinacie, to make ſuch purgation: then let him be condemned as an hereticke. But ſuch as thorough negligence or thorough ſlothfulnes, ſhall omitte to ſhew their ſayd innocencie and to make ſuch purgation, let them be excommunicate, and ſo long put out from the company of Chriſten men, till that they ſhall make condigne ſatiſfaction: ſo that, if by the ſpace of one whole yeare they ſhall remayne in ſuch excommunication, then let them as heretickes be condemned.

And further, if any ſhalbe founde culpable in any poynt of the foreſayd peſtiferous doctrine of the Archheretickes aforeſayd, or in any Article therof, whether it be by the reporte of the ſeditious, or els well diſpoſed: let them yet be puniſhed, accordyng to the Canons. If onely through infamy and ſuſpition of the foreſayd Articles or any of them, any man ſhalbe founde ſuſpect, & in his purgation Canonicall for this thing beyng interdicted, ſhall fayle: let hym be accompted as a man conuict, and as a conuict perſon by the Canons let him be puniſhed.

Note the tẽdernes of thys louyng mother, the Church of Rome.

And furthermore we innouatyng and puttyng in execution the Canon of our predeceſſour of happy memory pope Boniface the viij. which begynneth thus: Vt inquiſitionis negocium. &c. In exhortyng wiſe require and alſo commaund all temporall potentates, Lords and Judges afore recited, by what ſoeuer dignities, offices, and names they are knowen: that as they deſire to be had, eſteemed, & compted for the faythfull members and children of the Church, and do reioyſe in the name of Chriſt: ſo in likewiſe caſe for the defence of the ſame fayth, they will obey, intẽd, giue their ayde, and fauorable helpe, to you that are Archbyſhops, Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſticall men, inquiſitours of all hereticall prauitie, and other Judges and Eccleſiaſticall perſons by you hereunto, as aforeſayd, appointed (holdyng the fayth and communiõ of our holy mother the Church) for the ſearchyng out, takyng, and ſafe cuſtody, of all the foreſayd heretickes, their beleuers, their fauorers, their receiuers, and their defenders, when ſo euer they ſhalbe therunto of them required.

Et facies omnes puſillos, et magnos, & diuites, et pauperes, et liberos, et ſeruos, accipere characterem in manu ſua dextra.
i. And he ſhall make both litle & great, rich and poore, free and bond to take his character in their right hand. &c. Apoc. 13.

And that they bring and cauſe to be brought (all delay ſet aparte) the foreſayde peſtiferous perſones ſo ſeekyng to deſtroy others with them, into ſuche ſafe keepyng and pryſones, as by you the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Clergy, and Inquiſitors aforeſayd, are to be appoynted, or els vnto ſuch other place or places, as eyther you or they ſhall commaund within any of their dominions, gouernementes, and rectories, where they by catholicke men, that is, by you the Archbyſhops, byſhops, the Clergie, and inquiſitours, or any other that ſhal be by you appointed, or are alredy appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in ſafe keepyng, puttyng them in fetters, ſhackles, boltes, and manacles of yron vnder moſt ſtraight cuſtody for eſcaping away, til ſuch tyme as all that buſines which belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the Church finiſhed and determined, and that of ſuch hereſie, by a cōpetēt eccleſiaſticall iudge (which firmely holdeth the faith and communion of the ſayd holy church of Rome) they be condemned.

Satan catcheth hys chaynes.

The reſidue let the foreſayde temporall Lordes, Rectours, Iudges, or other their officers and Purſiuauntes, take amongeſt them, wyth condigne deathes without any delay, to puniſhe. But fearing leaſt to the preiudice & ſclaunder of the foreſayde catholicke fayth and religion, through the pretext of ignorāce, any man herein ſhould be circumuented, or that any ſubtile and crafty men ſhould vnder the vayle of friuolous excuſe, cloke and diſſemble in this matter, and that as touching the conuincing or apprehending of the foreſayd heretiques, their receauers, defendours, fauourers, beleuers and adherentes, and alſo of ſuch as are ſuſpecte of hereſie, and with ſuch like peruerſe doctrine in any wyſe ſpotted, we might geue more perfecte inſtructiō: Therfore as wel to the kingdome of Bohemia and partes neare adioyning to the ſame as all other where this ſuperſtitious doctrine firſt began to ſpread, we haue thought it good to ſend the articles here vnder written concerning the ſecte of thoſe archheretickes, for the better direction of the foreſayd catholique faith.

Touching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience, we charge and commaunde you and all other Archbyſhops and Biſhops, all maner of commiſſaries and inquiſitours, that euery of them within the Dioces and limites of their iuriſdictiō, & alſo in ŷ foreſaid kingdome & dukedom & places neare adioyning, although ŷ ſame places be beyond the ſame their iuriſdiction: in the fauour of the catholicke faith, do geue moſt diligēt and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of thoſe errours, archhereſies, and moſt peſtiferous ſecte aforeſayde: and alſo that they compell all diffamed perſonnes and ſuſpecte of ſo peſtiferous a contagion, whether it be vnder the penaltie of the crime confeſſed, or of excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdicte, or any other formidable payne canonicall or legal, whē and where ſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to them, and as the qualitie of the facte requireth, by an othe corporally takē either vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, or vpon the reliques of Saintes, or vpon the Image of the crucifixe, according to the obſeruaunces of certayne places, and according to the interrogatories, to make conuenient aunſwere to euery article wythin written. For we intend agaynſt all and ſingular Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Eccleſiaſticall perſons, or inquiſitours, which ſhall ſhew themſelues negligent and remiſſe in the extirpatiō of the leauen of thys hereticall prauitie, and purging their territories, dioces, and places to them appoynted, of ſuch euill and wicked men: to procede and to cauſe to be proceded, vnto the depriuation and depoſition of their pontificall dignities, and ſhall ſubſtitute ſuch other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the ſayd hereticall prauitie, and procede to further paynes agaynſt ſuch by the lawe limitted, and vnto other yet more greuous (if neede require) we our ſelues will procede and cauſe to be proceded, according as the partie, hys facte, and filthynes of hys crime committed, ſhall deſerue. The tenour of thoſe articles wherof we haue made mention in thys our writyng are in wordes as folow.

The olde maner of the popiſhe othe.

¶ The articles of Iohn Hus to be inquired vpon.

1. There is one onely vniuerſall Church, which is the vniuerſitie of the predeſtinate, as ſhall after be declared.
2. The vniuerſall Church is onely one, as there is one vniuerſitie of thoſe that are predeſtinate.
3. Paule was neuer a member of the Deuill, although he did certayne actes lyke vnto the actes of the Church malignant.
4. The reprobate are not partes of the Church, for that no part of the ſame finally falleth from her, becauſe that the charitie of predeſtination which byndeth the ſame Church together, neuer fayleth.

Speaking of the inuiſible church, the article is true.

5. The two natures (that is) the Diuinitie, and the humanitie, be one Chriſt.
6. The reprobate, although he be ſometime in grace, according to preſent iuſtice, yet is he neuer a part of the holy Church: And the predeſtination is euer a member of the Church, although ſometyme he fall from grace aduenticia, but not from grace of predeſtinate: euer taking the church for the conuocation of the predeſtinate whither they be in grace or nōt according to preſent iuſtice. And after this ſort, the Church is an article of our beleefe.

This article ſemeth to be wraſted out of the wordes of Hierome of Prage.

7. Peter is not, nor neuer was the head of the holy catholike Church.
8. Prieſts, liuing viciouſly, do defile the autoritie of prieſthoode, and ſo, as vnfaythfull children do vnfaithfully beleue of the ſeuen Sacramentes, of the keyes of the Church, of offices, of Cenſures, of ceremonies, of ŷ worſhippyng of reliques, indulgences, orders, and other holy thinges of the Church.
9. The papall dignitie came and grew from the emperor: and his gouernment and inſtitution, ſprang from the Emperours gouernment.

The papall dignitie touched.

10. No mā cā reaſonably affirme eyther of himſelf or other that he is the head of any particular Church, or that the biſhop of Rome, is the head of the church of Rome.
11. A man ought not to beleue, that he which is byſhop of Rome is the head of euery particuler Church, vnleſſe God haue predeſtinate hym.
12. None is the vicar of Chriſt, or els of Peter, vnleſſe he follow hym in maners and conditions, ſeyng that there is no other folowyng more pertinent, nor otherwiſe apt to receaue of God thys power procuratory. For vnto the office of a vicegerent of Chriſt is required, the conformitie of maners and the authoritie of the inſtitutour.
13. The pope is not the manifeſte and true ſucceſſour of Peter the Prince of the Apoſtles, if he lyue in maners contrary to Peter: & if he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iſcarioth. And lykewiſe the Cardinalles be not the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of the College of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt, vnles they lyue according to the maner of the Apoſtles, keeping the commaundementes and counſels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.
14. The Doctours alleadgyng, that if a man, which wyll not be amended by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, is to be deliuered to the ſecular powers: do folow in this point, the byſhops, Scribes and Phariſies, that deliuered Chriſt to the ſecular power (ſaying it is not lawfull for vs to kill any mā) becauſe he woulde not obey them in all thynges: and that ſuch be greater homicides then Pilate.
15. The eccleſiaſticall obedience is ſuch an obedience as the Prieſtes of [illegible] haue found out, beſides the expreſſe authoritie of [illegible]ture. The immediate diuiſiō of humaine workes, is that they be eyther vertuous or vitious, and if a man be vicious, and doth any thyng, then doth he it vitiouſly, & if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, thē doth he it vertuouſly. For, lyke as vice which is called a great offence or mortal ſinne, doth ſtayne all the doyngs of a vicious mā: ſo vertue doth quicken all the doynges of a vertuous man.
16. A prieſt of God lyuing after hys lawe, and hauing the knowledge of the Scripture, and a deſire to edifie the people: ought to preach, notwithſtanding any excommunication pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magiſtrate doth forbid a prieſt ſo diſpoſed to preach, he ought not to be obedient vnto hym. For euery one that taketh vpō him the order of prieſthood, receiueth in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he wel to diſcharge hymſelfe, any excommunication againſt him pretended in any wiſe notwythſtanding.
17. By the Cenſures eccleſiaſticall, as of excommunication, ſuſpending, and interdict, the Clergie to their owne aduauncement cauſe the lay people to ayde them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichriſt. And it is an euident ſigne that ſuch cenſures procede from Antichriſt, which in their proces they call Fulminationes, that is, their thunderboltes wherwith the clergie principally procedeth agaynſt thoſe that declare the wickednes of Antichriſt, who ſo greatly for hys owne commoditie hath abuſed them.
18. If the pope be euill, eſpecially if he be a reprobate, then is he wyth Iudas a very deuill, a theefe, and the ſonne of perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church militant, nor any member of the ſame.
19. The grace of predeſtination is the band, wherwith the body of the Church and euery member of the ſame is indiſſolubly ioyned to their head Chriſt.
20. The Pope or prelate that is euill and a reprobate, is a Paſtor in name, and not in deede, yea he is a theefe and robber in very deede.
21. The pope ought not to be called ŷ moſt holy one for his

office ſake, for thē ought a kyng to be called by his office the moſt holy one: and hangmen with other ſuch officers alſo were to be called holy, yea the deuill hymſelf ought to be called holy, for as much as he is gods officer.

I. Hus expoundeth this article with this diſtinct *non ratione meriti, ſed ratione officij.*

22. If the Pope liue contrary vnto Chriſt, although he clime vp by right and lawfull election according to the common cuſtome of men: yet notwithſtanding ſhould he otherwiſe clyme then by Chriſt, yea though we admit ẏ he ſhould enter by the election principally made by God. For Iudas Iſcarioth was lawfully elect of God Chriſt Ieſus to hys biſhopricke, and yet came not he the ſame way he ought to do into the ſhepefold.

I. Hus declareth his mynd touching this article ſufficiently before.

23. The condemnation of 45. Articles of John Wickliffe by the doctors made, is vnreaſonable, wicked and naught, & the cauſe by them alleged is fayned: that is, that none of thē are catholike, but euery one of them hereticall, erroneous, or ſlaunderous.

24. Not for that the electours, or the moſt part of thē haue conſented together with liuely voyce according to the cuſtom of men vpon the perſon of any, therfore, that perſon is lawfully elect, or therfore is the true and manifeſt ſucceſſour and vicar of Peter the Apoſtle, or of any other the Apoſtles in the eccleſiaſticall office. Wherfore, whither the electors haue either well or euill made their election, it behoueth vs to beleue the ſame, by the workes of hym that is elected. For in that that euery one worketh more meritoriouſly to the profite of the Church, he hath ſo much the more greater authoritie from God.

Election maketh not the ſucceſſour of Peter: but imitation.

25. There is not ſo much as one ſparke of appearance that there ought to be one head, ruling and gouerning the church in ſpirituall cauſes, which ſhould alwayes be conuerſant in the church militāt: For Chriſt without any ſuch mōſtrous heds, by his true diſciples ſparſed through the whole world could better a great deale rule his Church.

One head of the vniuerſall church beſide Chriſt hath no foundation in all ſcripture.

26. The Apoſtles and faithfull prieſtes of God, haue right worthily in things neceſſary to ſaluatiō gouerned ẏ church before the popes office tooke place, & ſo might they do agayn, by like poſſibilitie vntill Chriſt came to iudgement, if the Popes office ſhould fayle.

Let euery one that is ſuſpected in the foreſaid articles, or els otherwiſe found with aſſertion of them. Be examined in maner and forme as followeth.

The forme & maner of the Popes inquiſition.

IN primis, whether he knew John Wickliffe of England, John Huſſe of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them, & whether that during the lyues of them or any of them, they had eyther bene conuerſant with them, or found any frendſhip at their handes.

2. Item, whether he knowyng them or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with thē: eſteming & affirming the ſame their participation to be no ſinne.

Hereſie to pray for J. Wickliffe or John Hus. &c

3. Item, whither that after their deathes, he euer prayed for them or any of them, openly or priuily, doyng any worke of mercy for them, affirming them to be either ſaintes, or els to be ſaued.

4. Item, whether he thought them or any of them to bee Saintes, or whether that euer he ſpake ſuch wordes, and whether euer he did exhibite any worſhip vnto them as vnto Saintes.

5. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirm, that euery generall Councell, as alſo the Councell of Conſtance, doth repreſent the vniuerſall Church.

6. Item, whether he doth beleue that that which the holy Councel of Conſtance, repreſenting the vniuerſal church hath and doth allow in the fauour of the fayth, and ſaluatiō of ſoules, is to be approued and allowed of all the faythfull Chriſtians: and that whatſoeuer the ſame Councell hath condemned, and doth condemne to bee contrary both to the fayth and to all good men, is to be beleued, holden, and affirmed for condemned or not.

Hereſie not to beleue the councell of Conſtance.

7. Item, whether he beleueth that the condemnations of John Hus, John Wickliffe, and Hierome of Prage, made as well vpon theyr perſons, as their bookes and doctrine by the holy generall Councel of Conſtance: be rightly and iuſtly made, and of euery good catholicke, men, are ſo to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8. Item, whether he beleue, holde, and affirme, that John Wickliffe of England, John Huſſe of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, were hereticks or not, and for hereticks to be nominated and preached, yea or not, and whether their bookes and doctrines were and be peruerſe or not, for the which together wyth theyr pertinacie, they were condemned by the holye ſacred Councell of Conſtaunce for heretiques.

9. Itē, whither he haue in his cuſtody any treatiſes, ſmal workes, Epiſtles, or other writinges in what language or tong ſo euer, ſet forth or tranſlated by any of theſe heretikes John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome or any other of theyr falſe Diſciples and followers, that he may deliuer thē to the ordinaries of that place, or his commiſſary, or to the inquiſitours, vpon hys othe. And if he ſay that he hath no ſuch writyng about him, but ẏ they are in ſome other place: that then you ſweare him to bring the ſame before his Ordinary or other afore named, within a certayne tyme to him prefixed.

10. Item, whether he knoweth any that hath the treatiſes, workes, Epiſtles, or any other writings of the foreſaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in what ſo euer tong they are made or tranſlated, and that he detect and manifeſt the ſame, for the purgation of their fayth and execution of Juſtice.

11. Item, eſpecially let the learned be examined, whether he beleueth that the ſentence of the holy Councell of Cōſtance vpon the 45. Articles of John Wickliffe, and the 30. Articles of John Hus be not catholicke: which ſayth, that ſome of them are notorious hereticall, ſome erroneous, other ſome blaſphemous, ſome ſlaunderous, ſome raſh and ſeditious, & ſome offenſiue to godly eares.

12. Item, whether he beleueth and affirmeth, that in no caſe it is lawfull for a man to ſweare.

13. Item, whether he beleueth, that at the commaundemēt of a iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an othe to tell the truth in any conuenient cauſe, although it be but purging of an infamy or not.

14. Item, whether he beleueth that periury wittynglye committed, vpon what cauſe ſo euer, whether it be for the ſafegard of his owne lyfe, or of any other mans lyfe, (yea, although it be in the cauſe and defence of the fayth) bee a ſinne or not.

15. Item, whether a man contemning purpoſedly ẏ rites of the Church, and the ceremonies of exorciſme, of Catechiſme, and the conſecration of the water of Baptiſme, be deadly ſinne or not.

16. Item, whether he beleue, that after the conſecratiō of the prieſt in the Sacrament of the aultar vnder the figure of bread and wyne, be no materiall bread and wyne: but in all pointes, the ſame very Chriſt which was crucified vpon the croſſe, and ſitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17. Item, whether he beleue, that after the conſecration made by the prieſt vnder the onely forme of bread, and beſides the forme of wyne, be the very fleſh of Chriſt and his bloud, his ſoule and his deitie, and ſo whole Chriſt as he is: and in lyke wiſe, vnder the forme of wine without ẏ forme of bread, be the very fleſh of Chriſt and his very bloud, hys ſoule, and deitie, and ſo whole Chriſt, and ẏ ſame body abſolutely vnder euery of thoſe kindes ſingularly.

18. Item, whether he doth beleue, that the cuſtome of houſelyng of the lay people vnder the forme of bread onely, obſerued of the vniuerſall Church, and allowed by the holy Councell of Conſtance, be to be vſed, and not without the authoritie of the Church, at mens pleaſures to be altered, & that they ẏ obſtinatly affirme the contrary to thys, are to be puniſhed as heretickes, or not.

Hereſie to miniſter in both kindes.

19. Item, whether he beleue that thoſe which contemne the receiuing of the Sacramentes of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or els the ſolemniſation of matrimonie, commit deadly ſinne or not.

20. Item, whether he beleue, that a Chriſtian man, ouer and beſides the contrition of hart, being licenced of a conuenient prieſt, is bound to confeſſe hymſelfe onely to a Prieſt, and not to any lay man, be he neuer ſo deuoute or good, vpon the neceſſitie of ſaluation.

21. Item, whether he beleue, that in the caſes before put, a prieſt may abſolue a ſinner confeſſing hymſelfe, and beyng contrite, from all ſinnes, and enioyne hym penaunce for the ſame.

22. Item, whether he beleueth, that an euill Prieſt, with due maner and forme, and with the intention of doyng, doth verily conſecrate, doth verily abſolue, doth verily baptiſe, and doth verilye diſpoſe all other Sacramentes, euen as the Church doth.

23. Item, whether he beleue that Saint Peter was the Vicar of Chriſt, hauyng power to bynd and to looſe vpon the earth.

24. Item, whether he beleue that the Pope being canonically elect, which for the time ſhall be, by that name expreſly be the ſucceſſor of Peter or not, hauing ſupreme authoritie in the church of God.

25. Item, whether he beleue that the authoritie of iuriſdiction of the Pope, an Archbiſhop or a Biſhop in binding and

looſing, be more then the authoritie of a ſimple prieſt or not, although he haue charge of ſoule.

Hereſie to denye the popes indulgences.

26. Item, whether he beleue, that the Pope may vppon a iuſt and good cauſe, geue indulgences and remiſſion of ſinnes to all chriſtian men, beyng verily contrite and confeſſed, eſpecially to thoſe that go on pilgrimage to holy places and doe good deedes.

27. Item, whether he beleue, that by ſuch graunt the pilgrimes that viſite thoſe churches, and geue them any thing may obtayne remiſſion of ſinnes or not.

28. Item, whether he beleue that all Biſhops may graunt vnto their ſubiects accordyng as the holy Canons doe limite, ſuch Indulgences or not.

Hereſie not to worſhip images.

29. Item, whether he beleue and affirme, that it is lawfull for faythfull Chriſtians to worſhip Images & the reliques of ſaintes or not.

30. Item, whether he beleue that thoſe religions which ẏ church hath allowed, were lawfully and reaſonably brought in of the holy fathers or not.

31. Item, whether he beleueth that the Pope or any other Prelate for the tyme beyng, or their vicares may excommunicate their ſubiect Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular for diſobedience or cõtumacy, ſo that ſuch a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate or not.

32. Item, whether he beleue that for the diſobedience and contumacie of perſons excommunicate, increaſing: the prelates or their vicars in ſpirituall things haue power to aggrauate and to reaggrauate, to put vpon men the interdict, and to call for the ſecular arme: and that the ſame ſecular arme or power ought to be obedient to the cenſures, by their inferiors called for.

33. Item, whether he beleue that the Pope and other prelates or els their vicars, haue power in ſpirituall thinges to excommunicate prieſtes and lay men that are ſtubburne and diſobedient, from their office, benefice, or entraunce into the Church, and from the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes of the church, alſo to ſuſpend them.

These popes will be ſure to loſe nothyng.

34. Item, whether he beleue, that it is lawfull for eccleſiaſticall perſons without committyng ſinne, to haue any poſſeſſions and temporall goodes: and whether he beleue, that it is not lawfull for lay men to take away the ſame from the by their authoritie: but rather that ſuch takers away and incrochers vpon Eccleſiaſticall goodes, are to be puniſhed as committers of ſacriledge, yea although ſuch Eccleſiaſticall perſons liue naughtely that haue ſuch goods.

Wealthy wickednes maintained.

35. Item, whether any ſuch takyng away or incroching vpon any prieſt raſhly or violently made, although the prieſt be an euill liuer, be ſacriledge or not.

36. Item, whether he beleue that it is lawfull for lay men of whether ſexe ſo euer: that is men, and women, to preache the word of God or not.

The pope neither preacheth hymſelfe, nor yet will ſuffer other good prieſtes to preach.

37. Item, whither he beleue that it is lawfull to all prieſtes freely to preach the word of God whereſoeuer, when ſo euer and to whom ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe them, although they be not ſent at all.

38. Item, whither he beleue that all mortall ſinnes, and eſpeciall ſuch as be manifeſt and publike, are to be corrected & to be extirpate or not.

Furthermore, we will commaund, and decree, that if any man by ſecret information by you or any other to be receyued, ſhall be found eyther infamed or ſuſpected of any kind of the peſtiferous ſect, hereſie and doctrine of the moſt peſtilent men Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, an Hierome of Prage the archheretikes aforeſayd, or of fauouring, receiuing, or defending the foreſaid damned men whileſt they lyued on the earth, their falſe followers and diſciples, or any that beleueth their errours, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongſt the nũber of Catholike men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongſt the number of the ſaintes, eyther by their preaching, worſhipping, or other wayes wherin they deſerue to be ſuſpected: ẏ then they by you or ſome of you, may be cited perſonally to appeare before you or ſome of you, without eyther Proctor or Doctor to anſwer for them, an othe beyng openly taken by them as is aforeſaid, to ſpeake the plaine & mere veritie of the Articles aboue written and euery of them, or other oportune, as caſe and circumſtance ſhall require, accordyng to your diſcretion, as you or any of you ſhall ſee expedient to procede agaynſte them, or any of them accordyng to theſe preſentes or otherwyſe canonically, as you ſhall thinke good.

Alſo that you do publiſh ſolemly and cauſe to be publiſhed, theſe preſent letters, omitting the Articles and interrogatories herein conteined, in the Cities and other places of your dioces, where conueniently you may, vnder our authoritie, and there to denounce and cauſe to be denounced all and ſingulare ſuch heretickes, wyth their abetters and fauourers of their hereſies and errours, of what ſexe or kynde ſoeuer, that do holde, and defend the ſayd errours, or do participate any maner of way with heretickes, priuely or apertly, of what ſtate, dignitie, or condition ſo euer he or they be, Patriarche, Archbyſhop, Kyng, Queene, Duke, or of what other dignitie either Eccleſiaſticall or ſeculare he be: alſo with their aduocates and procurators whoſoeuer, which are beleuers, followers, fauourers, defenders or receauers of ſuch heretickes, or ſuſpected to be beleuers, followers, fautors, defenders or receauers of them, to be excommunicate, euery Sonday and feſtiuall day, in the preſence of the people.

Papa ſpirat minas & cædes.

Furthermore, that you diligently do to be inquired by the ſayd our authoritie, vpon all and ſingular ſuch perſons both men and women, that maintayne, approue, defende, & teach ſuch errours, or that be fauourers, receauers, and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignitie, ſtate, preeminence, degree, order, or condition ſoeuer. And ſuch as you ſhall finde in the ſayd your inquiſition, either by their owne confeſſion, or by any other meane to be diffamed, or otherwiſe infected with the ſpotte of ſuch hereſie or errour, you, through the ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interdict, and priuation of their dignities, perſonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees, which they holde of any Church, monaſtery and other Eccleſiaſticall places, alſo of honours and ſecular dignities and degrees of ſciences or other faculties, as alſo by other paynes and cenſures of the Churche, or by wayes and meanes whatſoeuer els ſhall ſeeme to you expedient, by takyng and impriſonnyng of their bodies, and other corporall puniſhmentes wherewith heretickes are puniſhed, or are wont, and are commaunded by canonicall ſanctions to be vſed: and if they be clerkes, by degradation, doe correcte and puniſhe, and cauſe them to be corrected and puniſhed wyth all diligence.

See here the Dragon caſtyng out whole floudes to ſwalow vp the Saintes.

Furthermore, that you do riſe vp ſtoutly and couragiouſly agaynſt ſuch heretickes, and the goodes as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonicall ſanctions made agaynſt heretiques, and their folowers, vnder the which we will and commaunde them and all their partakers to be ſubiect. And all ſuch perſons, as ſhall be infamed of the hereſies or errors aforeſayd, or any of the premiſſes, ſhall be bound to purge themſelues, at your arbitrement: but the other which either be witneſſes, or by their owne confeſſions, or other allegations or probations, ſhalbe conuicted of the foreſayd hereſies, or articles, or any of the premiſſes, they ſhall be compelled to reuoke and abiure publiquely and ſolemnly the ſayde articles and errours, and to ſuffer condigne penaunce and puniſhment, yea euen to perpetuall impriſonment, (if neede be) for the ſame.

And to ẏ intẽt that they ſhall not nouriſh any kinde of hereſies hereafter, either in word, deede, or geſture, or ſhall induce other, eyther in worde or deede, priuely or apertly, directly or indirectly to beleue the ſame, they ſhalbe forced to put in ſufficient ſuertie. Who, if it ſo chaunce that they will not publikely and ſolemnely renounce and abiure their articles and errours, and take at your handes condigne penaunce, though it be to perpetuall or temporall puniſhment, according to your diſcretion, neither will be contented to put in ſufficient ſuertie that they will not hereafter holde nor nouriſhe theſe errours and hereſies, neither wyll induce other by word or deede, priuely or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other maner of colour, to beleue the ſame: that then you ſhall procede againſt them, according to the qualitie of their errours and demerites, yea and if you ſee it ſo expedient, as againſt heretikes, and as infected with hereſie, by our authoritie, according to the canonicall ſanctions ſummarily and ſimplely and playnely, *ſine ſtrepitu & figura iudicij*, & of office, all appellation or appellations whatſoeuer ceaſing: and that you puniſh the ſame, according to the ſanctions and traditions canonicall, yea if neede be, in leauing and committing them to the ſecular power: and againſt ſuch as be ſuperiors or learned doctors, laying the cenſures of eccleſiaſticall excommunication, all appellation ſet aſide, alſo inuocating if neede ſhall require, ayde of the ſecular arme: The conſtitution as well of our predeceſſor Pope Boniface 8. of bleſſed memory, wherin is decreed that no man without his city or dioces (except in certayne caſes) or in places beyng one dayes iourney diſtant from thence where he inhabiteth, ſhallbe called into any iudgement, & that no man do preſume to depute iudges frõ ẏ ſea Apoſtolike, without the city & dioces where they are deputed, to procede againſt any: or doe preſume to cõmit their authority to any other perſon or perſones, or to fetch and remoue any man beyonde one dayes iourney from

Pope Martin. 5 contrary to pope Boniface. 8.

Pope Martyn vndoeth the acts and edictes of all other Popes.

out hys Dioces where he dwelleth, or at moſt two dayes iourney, if it be in a generall councell: as alſo all other conſtitutions of any byſhop of Rome, touchyng as well Iudges delegate, as perſones not to be called to iudgement beyond a certayne number: or els any other edicte indulce, priuilege, or exemption generall or ſpeciall graunted from the Apoſtolicke ſea, for any perſon or perſons not to be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compaſſe of certayne limites: or els what ſoeuer thyng otherwiſe may hinder, ſtop, or impeache your iuriſdiction, power, & free proceeding herein by any meanes to the contrary notwithſtanding. Dat Conſtant. the firſt yeare of our Popedome.

¶ Thys bloudy and abhominable commiſſion of Pope Martine, which I haue copyed out of a certayne olde monument remaynyng in the handes of Maiſter Hackluyt, Student in the Temple, ſeemeth to be directed and geuen out to the publike deſtruction of all faithfull Chriſten men, about the latter end & breaking vp of the Councell of Conſtance, an. 1418. By the which the prudẽt reader hath this to note and conſider, what labour, what policie, what cõſayle, & what lawes haue bene ſet, what wayes haue bene taken, what ſeueritie hath bene ſhewed, how mens power, wit, and authoritie of the whole worlde haue conſpired together from tyme to tyme, cõtinually by all maner meanes, to ſubuert and ſupplant the worde, and way of the Lorde: And yet notwithſtandyng man hath not preuayled, but all hys force & deuiſed policies haue ben ouerthrown, diſpatched and wyth the counſayle of Achitophell and Ammon, haue bene brought to nought, and contrarye to the furye of the world, the Goſpell of Chriſt hath ſtill increaſed. Neyther yet for all thys, wyll the Pope ceaſe to ſpurne and rebell ſtyll agaynſt the kyngdome of Chriſt, and of his Goſpell: agaynſt which, neyther he, nor yet the gates of hel ſhal euer preuayle. The Lord of hoſtes be mercifull to hys poore perſecuted flocke. Amen.

Note how Antichriſt rageth and ryſeth agaynſt Chriſt.

Mans power & counſaile too weake agaynſt Chriſt.

Agaynſt this peſtilent Bull and Inquiſition of Pope Martin ẏ great antichriſt, I thought good here to adioyne & annexe an other cõtrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and ſubſcription of Procopius, Conradus, and other captaines of the Bohemians, which ſeemeth not long after the death of Ziſca, to be written againſt the peſtiferous ſea of Rome, the tenour wherof here followeth.

¶ A fruitfull and Chriſtian exhortation of the Bohemians to kinges and princes, to ſtir them vp to the zeale of the Goſpell.

An exhortation of the Bohemyans.

The almighty God the father, by hys welbeloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, may in hys holy ſpirite open the vnderſtanding both of you and of all Chriſtians, and lyghtẽ your hartes wyth the lyght of hys doctrine of righteouſnes, and may make you to continue therein, ſurely eſtabliſhed to the end. Thys we deſire of you for your ſaluation, all ye honourable, wyſe, and honeſt noble men, and al the Communaltie, ye rich and poore, heare and conſider with diligent heede, the wordes of thys preſent letter, which is ſent vnto you from the country of the Bohemians. It is manifeſt and well knowen to you and many other Cities, Kynges, Princes, & Lordes, that now a certayne number of yeares, there hath bene great diſcorde betwixt vs and you, & there haue bene ſome which haue moued you by letters, and prouoked you to make warre agaynſt vs, and to deſtroy vs. And as well on your part as on ours, many men, as well noble as vnnoble, haue fooliſhly loſt their lyues. Yet neuer hetherto haue ye in any part vnderſtood our fayth by our owne confeſſion, neyther whether we be able to proue the ſame out of the Scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane tyme, Kynges, Princes, Lordes, and Cities, haue ſuſtayned great dammage. And hereof we greatly maruaile, that ye doe ſo much truſt and beleue the Pope and hys prieſtes, which geue you drinke full of poyſon, and ſuch comfort as no man can vnderſtand, in that they ſay that they wil geue you forgeuenes of all your ſinnes, and great grace and pardon, to thys ende, that you ſhould warre vpon vs and deſtroy vs: whereas their graces and pardons are none other then great lies, and a great ſeducing of the body and ſoule of all them that beleue them, and put their truſt in them. This we would proue vnto them, & ouercome them by the holy ſcripture, & we would ſuffer, that whoſoeuer is deſirous to heare the ſame, ſhould heare it. For the Pope and all hys Prieſtes, herein deale with you as the deuill would haue done wyth our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, of whom Luke writeth in hys 4. chapter, that he brought hym vpon an high hill, & ſhewed vnto hym in the twinckling of an eye, all the kingdomes that are in the compaſſe of the earth, & ſayd vnto hym: I will geue thee. &c. So the Deuill deceaueth the Pope and all hys prieſtes with the riches of the world, and worldly power: And they thinke they can geue grace and pardon when they will, and they themſelues ſhall neuer finde fauour before almighty God, except they repent & make amendes, becauſe of their great deceiuing of Chriſtendome. And how can they geue that to others, which they themſelues haue not? So did the Deuill, who was rich in promiſing, and poore in geuing. And, like as the Deuill is not aſhamed to tell a lye, ſo alſo they are not aſhamed to ſpeake that which ſhall neuer be found true, nor be proued by the holy Scriptures, becauſe, for no cauſe, they ſtirre vp Kynges, Princes, Lordes, and Cities, to make warre agaynſt vs, not to the ende that the Chriſtian Faith ſhoulde thereby be defended, but becauſe they feare that their ſecret vices and hereſies ſhal be diſcloſed and made manifeſt. For, if they had a true cauſe, & a godly loue to the Chriſtiã faythe: they would then take the bookes of the holy ſcripture, and would come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapons of Gods worde, and, that is our chiefe deſire. For ſo did the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who came to the Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelitie, to the true faith of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: and thys they did in the ſpirite of meekenes, as the Apoſtle Paule writeth in the ſixt chapiter to the Galat. Brethren, if any man be agreued. &c. So ought they alſo to doe, if they perceiued that they were iuſt, & we vniuſt. And if we woulde not abide inſtruction, then they might take to them kings, Princes, Lordes, and imperiall Cities, and reſiſt vs, according to the commaundements of the holy Scripture. But this is the ſubtile defence of all the Biſhops and Prieſtes, that they ſay that Maiſter Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Conſtance, were ouercome of the holy father the Pope, and of the whole Councell: For ye muſt vnderſtãd that they were not ouercome by the holy ghoſt, but vniuſtly, wyth wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter greuouſly puniſhe in all them that gaue their counſell & ayde thereto: and they ſay it ought not to be ſuffered, that we ſhould be heard in confeſſing our fayth. How may that be proued by the holy Scripture, ſince Chriſt heard the deuil, as it is written in the 4. chapter of Mathew? and they are not better then Chriſt, nor we worſſe then the Deuill. If they be iuſt and haue the truth wyth them (as they ſay they haue) and we be vnrighteous: why do they feare, ſince the truth ought not to be afeard of falſhode, as Eſdras writeth in his ſecond booke, the third Chapiter. Zorobabel declared that truth is of all thynges the moſt mightie, and ouercommeth all thynges: For Chriſt is the truth. Iohn. 14. I am the way, the truth. &c. And the Deuill is the father of lyes. Iohn. 8. He is a lyer from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, & there is no truth in him. Therfore if the Pope and hys Prieſtes haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the word of God. But if they haue lies, then they cannot long abyde in all their preſumption. Wherfore, we exhort & beſech all the imperiall Cities, all kinges, Princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods ſake, and for his righteouſnes, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be ſome meanes made how we may cõmune wyth you ſafely and friendly, at ſome ſuch place as ſhall be fit both for you and vs, and bring wyth you your Byſhops and teachers, and let them & our teachers fight together wyth the worde of God, and let vs heare them, and let not one ouercome the other by violence or falſe ſubteltie, but onely by the worde of God. And if your Biſhops and teachers haue better profes of theyr fayth out of the holy Scripture, then we, and our fayth be founde vntrue, we wyll receiue penaunce and ſatiſfaction, accordyng to the Goſpell. But if your Byſhops and Teachers be ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture: then doe ye repent and harken to vs, and holde wyth vs. And if your Byſhops and teachers wyll ceaſe from theyr ſpirituall pride, and repent and make ſatiſfaction: then wyll we helpe you accordyng to our power, and will compell them, eyther to ioyne wyth vs, or els we will expell them out of Chriſtendome. And if your Byſhops and teachers will ſay, that it is not lawfull for lay men to heare ſuch reaſoning, or to be preſent at it: that may you vnderſtand to tende to no other end, but that they feare they ſhould be ouercome and put to ſhame in the ſight of you: For if they knew that they ſhould ouercome therein, out of doubt, they would deſire that euery mã ſhould heare it, and thereby, their glory ſhoulde become the greater, and theyr fame and prayſes ſhoulde be encreaſed vpon the earth. And if your Byſhops and teachers counſell you to come to no hearing wyth vs, the do it whether they will or no, and ſuffer not your ſelues at any tyme to be ſo fooliſhly

The Pope and prelates by their letters ſtirred them to fight

Fayre wordes to make fooles fayne.

The Pope ſeduceth the world with vaine promiſes of things, which he cannot geue.

The deuill & the pope riche in promiſing and poore in geuing.

Gal. 6.

Falſe pretēſes, of the papiſtes.

M. Hus & Hierome by wrongfull violence put to death.

Chriſt heard the deuill: but the pope will not heare men their faith.

1. Eſdras. 3. confeſſe

Iohn. 14.

Iohn. 8.

A iuſt and godly requeſt of the Bohemians

Wherfore the popes cleargie will abide no cõference with the laitye.

liſhly ſeduced with their foliſh pardons, but tary at home in your houſes with your wyues and children. And let ỹ pope of Rome come to vs with all hys Cardinals and byſhops, and with all his prieſtes, with hys owne perſon and power to warre with vs, and let themſelues deſerue the abſolution of ſinnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they haue great nede of forgeuenes of ſinnes, grace, and pardõ) & by the grace of god we wil geue thẽ pardon enough as they ſhall neede. But theyr ſubtile excuſe is this: they ſay that it belongeth not to prieſtes to fight with bodily weapõs and true it is that belongeth not to them: but it belongeth as little to them to ſtirre vp, to counſaile, and to fortifie others therto: For Paul ſayth in the 1. to the Rom. and in the fift to the Galath. that all that do ſuch things are worthy of euerlaſtyng death.

The Popes pretenſed excuſe detected

Rom. 1.
Galat. 5.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thyng then to fight agaynſt vs, then will we take the Lord to our helpe and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we wil not be afrayd for the excommunication or curſe of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the biſhops, becauſe we know that ỹ Pope is not God as he maketh hymſelfe, that he can curſe and excommunicate when he will, or bleſſe when he wyll: Who hath now theſe many yeares curſed and excommunicated vs, and yet notwithſtanding, God and his gratious bleſſing hath bene our helpe. But peraduenture ye wyl ſay, that though we ſee that biſhops and prieſts be euill and wicked, yet we cannot lacke them: for who ſhould baptiſe our children, who ſhould heare confeſſions, and miniſter the holy ſacramentes? and then alſo we ſhould be within the excommunication of the pope and of hys biſhops. Welbeloued, ye nede to take no care for theſe matters. The excommunicatyng of the Pope hurteth you nothyng. Feare ye the excommunicatyng of God, and the Lord will prouide for thoſe thinges well enough. If ye would baniſh euill biſhops and prieſtes, ye ſhould haue good prieſtes which ſhould baptiſe your children, heare confeſſions, and miniſter the holy myſteries, becauſe when the deuill is baniſhed, then place is made for the holy ghoſt: So when ill biſhops and prieſtes ſhall be baniſhed, then place ſhall be made for good prieſtes and byſhops. Alſo, your biſhops and prieſtes ſay, that we are miſcreantes and heretikes, and that we beleue not on purgatory, vpõ the virgin Mary, nor vpon the Saintes: wherein they ſay ill, for we will proue by the holy ſcripture, that we know better by Gods grace how we ought to beleue vpon Purgatory, & vpon Mary the mother of our Lord, and vpon hys welbeloued ſaintes, then they can tel vs. Alſo, they ſay, that we wil not be obedient to the Pope. Truely when he ſhall become holy and iuſt, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to hym in all things and not before. They ſay alſo that we deſtroy Gods holy ſeruice, in that we deſtroy monaſteries, baniſhyng thence the wicked Monkes and Nunnes. Truly we did it, thinkyng once that they were holy, & that they did the reuerend ſeruice of God, but after that we wel perceiued and conſidered their lyfe and workes, thẽ we perceyued that they were falſe lowly hypocrites, and wycked builders on high, and ſellers of pardones and maſſes for the dead, and ſuch as deuoured in themſelues the ſinnes of the people. And where as they ſay that they riſe at middenight when other men ſlepe, and pray for the ſinnes of the people: foraſmuch as the ſelling of their prayers and maſſes for the dead for gifts, is no better then hypocriſie and hereſie: therfore if we ſpeake againſt them and deſtroy their monaſteries, we do not therin deſtroy the ſeruice of God, but rather the ſeruice of the deuill, and the ſchooles of heretikes. And if ye knew them as we know thẽ, ye would as diligently deſtroy them as we doe. For Chriſt our Lord did not ordayne any ſuch order, and therfore it muſt nedes come to paſſe ỹ ſhortly it ſhalbe deſtroyed as our Lord ſaith in the goſpell of S. Mathew the 15. chapter. Euery plant which my father hath not planted, ſhalbe rooted vp. We deſire you alſo that ye would diligently conſider the articles here written, wherin your biſhops and prieſts are guilty.

Experience of Gods bleſſing where the Pope hath curſed.

Obiection.

Anſwere.

The popes falſe accuſation anſwered.

Math. 15.

The 1. article is, that when your Biſhops will ordayne prieſts, they do it not, except he that is to be made prieſt haue ſufficient liuing, either inheritaunce left him of his parents, or of benefices: wheras notwithſtãding, Chriſt would that prieſtes ſhould be poore, for as much as it is enough for the ſcholer to be as his maſter is, and for the ſeruaunt to be as his Lord is: and the biſhops will that they ſhould be rich vpon earth, which is vniuſt before the Lord.

The abuſe of popiſhe religiõ in making prieſts, Cardinals. &c.

The 2. article is, that biſhops take mony of ſuch as are to be ordeined, but S. Peter did therfore ſharply rebuke Simon Magus, when he would haue geuen him mony, as it is written in the 8. of the Acts.

Actes. 8.

The 3. article is, that they that come to be prieſtes enter into prieſthood, not for gods ſeruice ſake, becauſe they mean to preach and encreaſe it among the Chriſtian people, ſo as the people may be edified and made better: but rather for an idle life, and that they may eate well and drinke well, & that they may be honoured and reuerenced vpon earth: For euery one waiteth vpon his prieſt as a thiefe and a robber, as John writeth in his x. chap.

The abuſe of popiſhe religion, in taking orders.

The 4. article is of excommunication, which the Pope and all his prieſts take to themſelues, and therwith fetter & bynd all Chriſtian people as they will, and they thynke that whoſoeuer they excommunicate or curſe, he is accurſed and excommunicate before God. And we will proue by the holy Scripture, that they themſelues are excommunicate and accurſed before God, becauſe they keepe not the commaundement of the loue of God, wherof the Apoſtle writeth in the 1. to the Cor. the 16. chap. If any man loueth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he is excommunicate in the day of the commyng of the Lorde. For they can not excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God and his Saintes: and therfore why feare ye theyr excommunication?

Popiſhe excommunication abuſed.

1. Cor. 16.

The 5. Article is, that they take giftes to pray for the dead, and to ſay maſſe for their ſoules. This is a wickednes and hereſie before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby prieſtes become merchantes of prayers and of Maſſes: and herewith is all the Church of Rome poyſoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead and ſay maſſe for their ſoules, yet no man ought to hyre them thereto, foraſmuch as they ought to take no giftes, neither litle nor great. And euery one that taketh rewardes to this ende, to redeme ſoules out of purgatory, do therwithall caſt their owne ſoules downe into hel. And they that geue any thyng to that end, do altogether loſe that which they geue. And with ſuch diueliſh ſubtletie, the Pope with all his prieſtes hath deceyued, ſpoyled and diſherited, kinges, princes, Lordes, knightes, and good houſeholders and many other, of their lawfull inheritaunces, becauſe their aunceſtours and progenitours gaue it to Colleges, Monaſteries, and churches that they might make memorials of them, and to ſing or ſay prayers or Maſſes for their ſoules, that they might be redeemed out of Purgatory. And with ſuch goodes, biſhops, Canons, and Monaſteries haue made themſelues ſo rich, that now they fall at variance with cities and princes, & wheras they ſhould procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the firſt that beginne warre: and as long as they haue ſuch goods, they will neuer ceaſe to be at ſtrife with Lordes, and cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth: For they do as a dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouthe and gnaweth it: ſo long he holdeth hys peace and cannot barke. Euen ſo, as long as they haue this bone of pleaſaunt riches, it will neuer be wel in the world. Wherfore all Kinges, Princes and imperiall Cities ſhould doe a great worke of godlines and mercy, if by them they were compelled to doe this, as the dogge is when the boane is taken from hym.

The popes church poyſoned with buying and ſelling their praying & ſinging, and all their doing for money.

Feare of purgatory hath robbed almoſt all the whole world.

So long as prieſtes be rich, they will neuer be true teachers.

And therefore ye noble men, Kinges, Princes, Lordes, imperiall Cities, and all the Communaltie, both riche and poore, if ye haue been a ſleepe yet now awake and open your eyes and behold the ſuttletye of the deuill, how he hath blinded the Churche of Rome, and take agayn that is youres, and not theires. And if you will make a good memorial for your ſoules, then do as the wiſe man ſayth, Eccle. 19. Lay vp almes. &c.

The ſubtiltie of the deuill in making the church rich.

Eccle. 19.

The 6. Article is, that they are full of pride and of hygh mynde, whiche is manifeſtly knowen by their long, coſtly and ſuperfluous garmentes, wherein they walke very vnlyke to Chriſt our Lord, who had a garment without a ſeame, and to the welbeloued John Baptiſt, who had a garment of Camels heare, and they will be honoured and worſhypped, and they preach and ſay that Prieſthode ought to be honoured, and ſo it ought in deede to be, but there is none that do ſo much ſclaunder and abaſe it, as they themſelues, with their euill workes, gay apparell, and with their euill wordes, wherein they paſſe all other men. Paule ſayth the 1. to Tim. the 3. chapter. Let the Elders that gouerne well, be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in the word and doctrine of the Lord. Conſider, that he ſayth they that gouerne well.

Popiſhe prieſts with their long and ſumptuous gownes more like to the Phariſies thẽ Chriſt.
1. Tim. 3.

Honor in well gouernyng.

The 7. article is, that they are couetous from ỹ higheſt to the loweſt, and for couetouſnes they preache many fooliſh deedes & manifeſt lyes, & ſell the holy Sacramentes, which is a great hereſie: for God commaunded that they ſhould geue freely. Paule writeth in the firſt to Timothy: Couetouſnes is the roote of all miſchief, whereunto many haue bene geuen, and therfore they are ſeparated from the fayth, and haue denyed the truth.

The popes church poyſoned with couetouſnes.
Tim. 1.

The popes church poyſoned much wyth whoredome.

The viij. Article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifeſtly ſene in their concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens ſight, and make many mẽs wiues whores, or corrupt their daughters beyng virgines, and make them Prieſtes harlots and rybauldes.

The popes church & monaſteries commõly poyſoned wyth deueliſhe enuie.

The ix. Article is, that they are full of deuiliſh enuy, and eſpecially in all Monaſteries they haue great enuy and hatred amongeſt themſelues, bycauſe when any thyng is geuen or diſpoſed to one Monaſtery or Colledge, then there are others, that hate it, and enuy at it, and would more gladly haue it themſelues: Like as amõg dogs when any thing is geuen to the one and not to the other: which the other ſeyng, enuyeth his fellow, and the other likewiſe will rather deuour all himſelfe then geue any part to his fellow. Wherfore it were well that they were brought from that great ſinne of enuy in geuyng nothyng vnto them: And it were better that their poſſeſſions were taken from them, and that they ſhould do that which the Lord ſpake to his Diſciples, ſaying: Go ye and preach the Goſpell to all men.

The popes church poyſoned with idlenes & belly cheare.

The x. Article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the Byſhops, Chanons, and other Prelates, which wil not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miſeries of Chriſtendome, whereto they haue bond thẽſelues, and they eate the bread therof in idlenes, becauſe, when other men watch and labour to maintaine themſelues and their litle ones, thẽ are they with their lemmonns, or els they walke in ſome Citie, carying hawkes on their fiſtes, or els they ſit at the good wyne with their cõcubines, and there they ſing and play the Lucians, & eate of the beſt, and therfore all that willyngly bring and geue to them, ſhall be made parteners of that curſe whiche is geuen them of God, becauſe they eate their bread vniuſtly, wherof Paule writeth in the ij. to the Theſſ. the 3. chapter: He that laboureth not, let hym not eate.

The popes church infamous wyth notorious lyes.

The xi. Article is, that they are notorious lyers, becauſe to the end that they may pleaſe mẽ, they tell many tales and lyes, which in the holy Scripture haue no foundation nor prouſe. Of ſuch writeth John in the Apoca. 21.

The popes church erreth in diminiſhing one part of the Sacrament.

The xij. Article is, that they do not rightly giue or miniſter to the people the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and they giue it not as God hath inſtituted it and commaũded. This is a great and a deuiliſh ſinne and to great malapertnes. Herein we would ouercome them, with the teſtimonies of the Euangeliſtes: I ſay we would ouercome the Pope, and all his Prieſtes, with the authorities of Marke, Luke and Paule: Rom. 13. and we would ſuffer, that Kynges, Princes, Lordes and all that are willyng to heare, ſhould heare it.

The popes church charged wyth partialitie.

The xiij. Article is, that they ſit in ſpirituall iudgement and then many tymes they iudge accordyng to fauour, and not accordyng to the righteouſneſſe of God, and they take bribes geuyng ſentence for him, which in Gods ſight hath the wrongfull cauſe. wo be to ſuch ſentences, as it is written in Iſay. v. wo be to ye that. &c.

The xiiij. Article is, that they ſit hearyng confeſſions, & when there come to them vſurers, rauenours, and theeues, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goodes, to ſpare them: and they willyngly ſuffer them in cities and townes. And likewiſe of adulterers, and other notorious whoremõgers and whores, and they did neuer let or ſtay thẽ in their great ſinnes, to the end that the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which ſayth: Giftes and the loue of money do draw to hell, and do blynd the eyes of iudges.

He meaneth of claymyng tithes by mere neceſſitie of the olde lawe: and not by the poſitiue law of princes.

The xv. Article is, that they receiue tythes of men, and will of right haue them, and preach and ſay that men are bound to giue them tythes, and therein they ſay falſly: For they can not proue by the new Teſtament, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt commaũded it, and his Diſciples warned no man to do ſo, neither did themſelues receiue them. But although in the old Teſtament, it were commaunded to geue tythes, yet it can not thereby be proued, that Chriſtiã men are bound thereto: For this precept of the old Teſtament had an end in the firſt yeare of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, lyke as the precept of Circumciſion. Wherfore well beloued, conſider and ſee, how your Byſhops ſeduce you and ſhut your eyes with thynges that haue no prouſe. Chriſt ſayth in the xi. of Luke: Geue almes of thoſe thynges that remaine, but he ſayd not geue the tenth of the goodes, which ye poſſeſſe, but geue almes. But when they heare the word, they may ſay as the Lawyer ſayd to Chriſt: Maiſter whẽ thou ſayeſt ſo, thou geueſt offence. Luke. xi.

The popes church charged wyth vſury.

The xvj. Article is, that they in many places lend money or goodes to haue treaſure or vſury, and they haue in Cities and townes, yearely paymentes and perpetuall reuenues, as great Princes and Lordes. Wherein they do agaynſt the Goſpell, which ſayth, do not ye poſſeſſe gold nor ſiluer. And whereas they lend for gayne and vſury, agaynſt that ſpeaketh the Lord, Deut. 24: Lend not to vſury to thy brother. &c. ye honeſt diſcrete and well beloued Lordes, all the foreſayd Articles we will proue agaynſt the Pope, and all his Prieſtes, with many teſtimonies of the holy Scripture, which for breuities ſake, we haue not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly theſe iiij. Articles, for which we ſtriue, and deſire to defend them to the death.

The firſt Article is, that all publicke and cuſtomably mortall ſinnes ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Prieſtes and lay men, accordyng to the commaundement of the holy Scripture.

He meaneth the immoderate riches & temporall poſſeſſions.

The ſecond Article is, that riches ought to be taken from the Pope and all this Prieſtes, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and they ought to be made poore, as the Diſciples of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were: who had nothyng of their owne, neither poſſeſſions in this world, neither worldly power.

Mẽ appointed to preach may preach though the pope forbid them.

The third Article is, that the word of God ought to be free for euery man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places, whether they ſhall come, without reſiſtaunce of any man or without any inhibition of either ſpirituall or earthly power openly or manifeſtly.

When the pope holdeth hys councell, let men looke to their wiues and daughters where the councell is kept.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ought to be deliuered to euery Chriſtiã as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Euangeliſtes haue written. We haue alſo vnderſtood that there ſhall be a Councell in Baſile: wherfore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keepe their wiues, their daughters and their virgins from Byſhops, Prieſtes, and Monkes. And do not thinke that there is made any holy aſſembly of Biſhops & Prieſts for the common cõmoditie and profite of Chriſtendome, but onely to this end that they may hyde their ſecret vyces and hereſies, with the cloke of hypocriſie, and let and hinder the righteouſnes of God, which is much contrary to them: and for this cauſe conſider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy aſſembly, but the congregation of Sathã. And take ye heede that it be not done as ſome did at Conſtance, who tooke money of Byſhops and Prelates, and ſuffered them to ſleepe with their wiues. ye welbeloued & honeſt Lordes, if ye finde any thyng in theſe aforeſayd Articles or wordes written ſomwhat ſharply, we did it not to offend or contẽne you, but to the end that ye ſhould diligently conſider and deuiſe how Chriſtendome is ſo ill kept and led by the Prieſts of this preſẽt age. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt keepe you both in body and ſoule. Amen. In the yeare of our Lord. 1430.

Prcropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samſimolich, Capitaines of Bohemia.

Great lamentation for Ziſca.

Now to proſecute the warres of the Bohemiãs agayne, after Ziſca was dead, wherof we did intreate before, there was great feare, ſorrow, and lamentation in the army, the ſouldiours accuſing fortune which gaue ouer ſuch an inuincible Captaine to be ouercome with death. Immediatly there was diuiſion in the hoſt, the one part chuſing Procopius Magnus to be their captaine, the other part ſaying, that there was none could be found worthy to ſuccede Ziſca: whereupon they chuſing out certaine to ſerue the warres, named themſelues Orphanes.

The army of Ziſca deuided.

Thus the Thaborites beyng diuided into two armyes, the one part retained their olde & accuſtomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captaine, named themſelues Orphanes. And albeit, that often tymes there was diſſenſion betwene them, yet when ſoeuer any foreine power came towardes them, they ioyned their powers together in one campe, and defended themſelues. They ſeldome went vnto any fenſed townes except it were to buy neceſſaries, but lyued with their wiues and children in their campe and tentes. They had amongeſt them many carres, the which they vſed as a bulwarke: For whenſoeuer they went vnto battaile, they made two wynges of them, which cloſed in the footemen. The wynges of the horſemen were on yͤ out ſide, & whẽ as they ſaw their tyme for to ioyne battaile, the wagon men which led the wynges, goyng forth vnto the Emperours ſtanderd, and compaſſing in ſuch part of their enemyes as they would, did cloſe themſelues in together, wherby the enemyes beyng incloſed, ſo that they could not be reſcued, they were partly by the footemen, and partly by the men that were in the carres with their dartes ſlayne. The horſemen fought without the fortification: and if it happned that they were oppreſſed or put to flight, by and by the carres openyng themſelues, receiued them as it were into a fenſed Citie: & by this meanes they got many victories, for ſomuch as their enemyes were ignoraunt of their pollicies.

The order & pollicie that the army of Ziſca vſed in warre after hys deceaſe.

Theſe two armyes went forth, the one into Sileſia, and the other into Morauia, and returned agayne with great pray, before their enemyes knew of their commyng. After this they beſieged the town of Swetley in Auſtrich, whereas the Thaborites and the Orphanes, two nightes continually aſſaulted the walles without ceaſing, but Albert Duke of Auſtrich commyng with his hoſt to ayde the Citizens, they fought by the ſpace almoſt of foure houres, the valiaunteſt warriers beyng ſlayne on both partes. At the length the battaile was broken of, and the Thaborites loſt their carres, and Albert was put out of his camp & tentes. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus came agayne and incloſed the citie of Rhetiū in Auſtria with a notable ſiege. They of Prage were in his army, and Boſlaus Cygneus, of whom we ſpake before, was ſlayne there with a dart, & the Citie of Rhetium was takē by force, ſacked and burnt. The Burgraue of Malderburg Lord of the town, was alſo taken & caried vnto Prage, where alſo he dyed in priſon.

Procopius Magnus.

Theſe thynges thus done, the Emperour ſent for the nobles of Boheme, which went vnto him vnto a Town of Hungary, called Poſonium in the borders of Auſtria, vpon the bankes of the riuer Danubius: but they would not enter into the towne, but remained wͭout the Towne in their tentes, whether as the Emperour goyng out vnto them, communyng much with them as touching his right & title, and the recouering of his fathers kyngdome, promiſing if there were any cauſe, whiche did alienate the Bohemians myndes from him, that he would take away all the occaſion therof. They made aunſwere, that he had made warre vpon them without cauſe, and that he had ſuffered their countrey men contrary to his promiſe, to be burnt at Conſtance not beyng heard, and the kyngdome to be contumeliouſly interdited, and the Nobles of Boheme to be condemned by the Church of Rome as heretickes: and that he ſhould thinke the force and power of the Bohemians not to be ſo ſmall, but that they would prouide for their owne honour. Wherunto the Emperour aunſwered very gently, & offered them a generall Councell, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would ſubmit themſelues to the iudgement of the vniuerſall Church: but the Bohemians whiche were now become valiaunt victours in armes, would not now be ouercome with wordes, and ſo nothyng beyng finally concluded, the Emperour returned home.

Sigiſmund the Emperour which burned Hus & Hierome before, now is fayne to entreate for hys kingdome.

The death of John Hus & Hierome reuenged.

Then Pope Martin perceiuyng the Goſpell to increaſe dayly more and more, ſent the Cardinall of Wincheſter an Engliſhman, borne of a noble houſe, into Germany to moue them vnto warre agaynſt the Bohemians. Wherevnto the Emperour alſo did aſſiſte him.

The Cardinall of Wincheſter ſent into Germany to raiſe warre againſt the Bohemians

There were three armyes prouided. In the firſt army were the Dukes of Saxony, and the lower Cities.

The ij. army, which was gathered of the Franconiās, was vnder the conduict of the Marques of Brādenburge.

The iij. army was led by Otho the archbyſhop of Treuers, whom the Rhenenſes, the Bauarians, and the Imperiall Cities of Sweuia folowed. Theſe armies entryng into Boheme, in iij. ſeuerall partes, after they were paſſed the woode, they ioyned together & pitched before Miſna. This towne a certaine learned and eloquent Proteſtant named Prichicho, the night before, had wonne from the Papiſtes: wherfore the army was determined firſt to recouer that Citie, before they would go any further. But when as newes came vnto the hoſt, how the Proteſtantes had gathered an army, & came wͭ all ſpeede towardes them: they fled before they ſaw their enemyes, and went vnto Thacouia, leauyng behynd them their warlicke engins with a great pray. The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe, but meetyng them in their flight at Thacouia, he maruailed at the cowardly flight of ſo many noble and valiaunt men, deſiryng them that they would turne agayne vnto their enemyes, which he ſayd, were farre weaker then they. Which thyng when he had long trauailed about in vayne, he was fayne to be a companion with them in their flight. They were ſcarſly entred the woode, when as the Bohemians commyng vpon them, ſet vpon their rereward. Then was their flight much more diſordered and fearefull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemians left folowyng. Then all impedimēt or let beyng taken away, they vanquiſhed Thacouia: and hauing obtained great ſtore of warlyke engins, they deſtroyed Miſna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia, they had great ſummes of money ſent vnto thē that they ſhould not waſt or deſtroy the countreys of Bramberge and Norenberge: whereby the hoſt of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

Three armies ſet agaynſt the good Bohemians.

God reſcueth his people newly conuerted.

The popes army flieth.

Lyke captayne, lyke ſouldioure.

Sigiſmundus the Emperour hauyng newes of theſe thynges, went ſtraight vnto Noremburge, and gathered there new ayde and helpe. Alſo Pope Martin ſent Julian the Cardinall of Saint Angell into Germany with this Ambaſſad, to make warre agaynſt the Bohemians, & that he ſhould in the Counſel of Baſill, which doth now ſhortly draw on, be preſident in the Popes name. He entring into Germany, went ſtraight to Norenberge to the Emperor, whereas many of the nobles of Germany were aſſembled.

1421.

The pope raiſeth warre the ſecond time agaynſt the Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decreed agaynſt the Bohemians, againſt the viij. Kalendes of July. and Friderike Marques of Brandenburge appoynted generall of that warre, which ſhould follow the Cardinall. He entred into Boheme by the way that leadeth vnto Thopa, and Albertus prince of Auſtrich was appoynted to bring hys army thorough Morauia.

A new warre rayſed by the pope againſt the Bohemians.

In thys expedition was Albert & Chriſtopher of Bauaria, and Friderike Dukes of Saxony, John and Albert princes of Brandenburge, wyth their father, which was generall of thoſe warres. Alſo the byſhops of Hiperbolis, Bamberge, and Eiſten. Alſo the company of the Sweuians, which they called the company of S. George, and the Magiſtrates of the imperiall cities, the byſhops of Mentz, Treuers and Colen ſent their aydes, and with them the chieftaynes of their prouinces. It is ſayd that the number of their horſemen were aboue 40000. But their footemē were not full ſo many, for the Germaines for the moſt part do vſe to fight their battels on horſebacke.

The number of the popes army agaynſt the Bohemians.

Alſo Rhenatus prince of Loraine promyſed to come to theſe warres, but beyng letted by hys ciuill warres, forſomuch as he went about to vanquiſhe the Earle of Vandome, wherby he could not keepe hys promiſe, neyther the County Pallatine of Rheine, which did ayde & ſuccour the Earle of Vandome, coulde not goe agaynſt the Bohemians. The Cardinall ſtaying for them, deferred his iourney vntyll the Kalendes of Auguſt. In the meane tyme, Albert leading his army out of Auſtria, vnderſtādyng that the Cardinall was not preſent at the day appoynted, and ſeyng himſelfe vnable to encounter wyth the Bohemian power, he returned backe agayne. After this the Cardinal entred into Boheme wyth an huge army, & deſtroyed many of the Proteſtantes townes, killyng men, women, and children, ſparing neither olde nor younge: notwͭſtandyng, this hys tiranny was exerciſed in the vttermoſt borders of Boheme, for hys captaynes feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemiās as ſoone as they heard tel that their enemy was come, made ready, and gathered their hoſt wyth all ſpeede, and layde ſiege to a towne called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder ſubiection.

Cardinal Julian with a mayne hoſt entreth Boheme.

The cruel ſlaughter done by the Cardinall.

In the meane ſeaſon there fell ſuch a maruailous ſodayne feare amonges all the papiſtes throughout yͤ whole campe, that they began moſt ſhamefully to run away before any enemy appeared in ſight. The Cardinall Julianus maruaylyng at this moſt ſodayne feare, and what ſhoulde moue ſo great an army to flie, went about vnto the Captaynes, exhortyng them to put on armour, to order their battayles, and couragiouſly to abyde their enemyes, ſaying: they did not fight for the glory of their kyngdome, or for the poſſeſſion of landes, but for their liues, and the honour and *religion of Chriſt, and for the ſaluation of ſoules. How ignominious a thing is it (ſayth he) for the Germaynes to flie in battayle, whoſe courage & valiauntnes all the world doth extoll? It were much better for to die, then to geue place to any enemies, before they were ſeene: for they cā by no meanes liue in ſafetie wͭin yͤ walles, which geue place vnto their enemy in yͤ field, for it is yͤ weapō that defēdeth a mā & not yͤ walles, & except they would euē preſētly defēd their liberty wͭ the ſword, they ſhould ſhortly be in greter bōdage, more miſerable thē any death. But thys exhortatiō was all in vaine, for feare had put away all boldnes: for yͤ enſignes were ſnatched vp, & as though there had bene no captaine in the hoſt, euery mā ran headlōg away. No mā regarded any cōmaūdemēt, neyther once tooke his leaue of hys captaine, but caſting away their armour wyth ſpeedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had bene at their backs. The Cardinall alſo, although it were againſt his wyll, was forced to doe the lyke.

God ſtriketh a feare in the Popes army.

*Rather for the religion of Antichriſt.

This Cardinall belike loued to preach rather in the campe then in the Church.

The Cardinales army ran away for feare.

Thus the proteſtātes by yͤ feare of their enemies made the more bolde and couragious, purſued them thorow the woods, and had a great pray and ſpoyle of them. Notwithſtanding, Albertus, when he heard tell that the Cardinall was entered into Boheme, wyth all ſpeede came agayne out of Auſtrich wyth his army, & beſieged the ſtrong town of Prezorabia: but when he vnderſtoode how the Cardinall was fled, he left of hys purpoſe, and returned through Morauia, which was not yet ſubiecte vnto hym, and deſtroyed about fiftie townes wyth fire and ſword, tooke many of their Cities by force, and ſpoyled them, committyng great murther and ſlaughter, and ſo afflicted them, that they tooke vpon them hys yoke, and promiſed to be ſubiect and obedient to him vnder thys condition, that as touchyng religi=

Great ſlaughter in Boheme by Duke Albert.

religion he ſhould be bound to do that which the Councell of Baſill ſhould determine.

The councell of Baſill.

Then was there an Ambaſſade ſent out of Boheme vnto Baſill, where as Sigiſmund held the Coūcell, who duryng the tyme of warres, had kept himſelf at Norenberge. When as he ſhould take his iourney vnto Rome to be crowned Emperour, he wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherin was contained how that he was a Bohemian borne, & how he was not more affectioned to any natiō, then to his owne, & that he went to Rome for none other cauſe but to be crowned: the which his honour ſhould alſo be a renowne to the Bohemians, whom to aduaunce it hath bene alwayes his ſpeciall care.

A letter of the Emperour to the Bohemians.

Alſo how that through his endeuour the Councell was begō at Baſill, exhortyng all ſuch as were deſirous to be heard as touchyng religiō, that they ſhould come thether, & that they would not mainteine any quarell contrary to the holy mother church, that the Councell would louingly and gentilly heare their reaſōs: that they ſhould onely endeuour themſelues to agree with the Synode as touchyng Religion, and reſerue & keepe a quiet and peaceable kyngdome for him, agaynſt his returne: Neither ſhould the Bohemiās thinke to refuſe his regimēt, whoſe brother, father, and vncle, had reigned ouer them, and that hee would reigne ouer them after no other meane or ſorte, then other Chriſtian kynges vſed to do.

The Bohemians ſent for by the Councell.

Safeconducte geuen to the Bohemians to come to the councell.

The Coūcell of Baſill alſo wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadours which ſhould ſhew a reaſon of their fayth, promiſing ſafeconduict to go & come, and free libertie to ſpeake what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of ij. opinions, for the Proteſtants & almoſt all the cōmon people, ſayd, it was not good to go, alledgyng the exāples of Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage, which goyng vnto Conſtance vnder the ſafeconduict of the Emperour, were there openly burned. But the Nobilitie folowyng the mynde of Maynardus, prince of the new houſe, ſayd, that they ought to go vnto the Councell, & that they are not to be ſuffered which had inuēted thoſe new & ſtrāge opiniōs of faith, & new kind of religion, except they would rēder accompt of their doyngs & ſayinges before the vniuerſall Church, & defend thoſe thynges, which they had openly taught, before learned men. This opiniō tooke place, & an Ambaſſade of. 300. horſe was ſent vnto Baſill. The chief wherof were Williā Coſca a valiaunt knight & Procopius ſurnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, Ioh. Rochezana preacher of Prage. Nicolas Galecus, miniſter of the Thaborites, & one Peter an Engliſhman, of excellent prōpt & pregnant wit. The people came in great nūber out of the town, & many out of the Synode & Councell, attendyng before the gates to ſee ỳ cōming of this valiaunt & famous people: other ſome gathered together in great nūber into the ſtreetes where as they ſhoulde paſſe through. The matrones, maydes & children, filled the wyndowes & houſes to behold & ſee, and to maruaile at their ſtraunge kynde of apparell, and ſtoute couragious countenaunces, ſaying that it was not vntrue which was reported of them: notwithſtandyng all men beheld Procopius, ſaying, this is he which hath ouerthrowen the Papiſtes in ſo many battailes, which hath ſubuerted ſo many townes, & ſlayne ſo many men, whom both his enemyes and alſo hys owne ſouldiours, do feare and reuerence: alſo, that he was a bold, valiaunt and inuincible Captaine, which could not be ouercome with no terrour, labour or trauaile.

A doubt among the Bohemians, whether to go to the councel of Baſill or no.

This Maynardus was after a great backfrende to the faythfull Bohemians.

300. horſemen of the Bohemians ſent ambaſſ. to the Councell.

This engliſh mā was Peter Paine.

The receiuing of the Bohemians at Baſill.

Procopius famous among the Germaynes.

These Bohemian Ambaſſadors were gently receiued. The next day after, Cardinall Iulianus ſendyng for them vnto the Coūcell houſe, made a gentle, long, & eloquent Oratiō vnto them, exhortyng them to vnitie and peace, ſaying, that the Church was the ſpouſe of our Sauiour Chriſt, & the mother of all faythfull, that it hath the keyes of byndyng and loſing, and alſo that it is white and fayre, without ſpot or wrincle, & can not erre in thoſe pointes which are neceſſary to ſaluation, & that he which doth contēne the ſame Church, is to be coūted as a Prophane, Ethnike, & Publicane, neither can this Church be repreſented better by any meanes, then in this Coūcell. He exhorted them alſo to receiue the decrees of the Councell, & to geue no leſſe credit vnto the Coūcell thē vnto the Goſpell, by whoſe authoritie, the ſcriptures themſelues are receiued & allowed. Alſo that the Bohemiās which call themſelues, the children of the Church, ought to heare the voyce of their mother, which is neuer vnmyndfull of her children, how that now of late they haue lyued apart frō their mother, albeit (ſayd he) that is no new or ſtraūge thyng, for there haue bene many in tymes paſt, which haue forſaken their mother, & yet ſeekyng after ſaluation haue returned to her agayne: That in the tyme of Noes floud, as many as were without the Arke periſhed: That the Lordes Paſſeouer was to be eaten in one houſe: That there is no ſaluation to be ſought for out of the Church, & that this is the garden and famous fountaine of water, wherof whoſoeuer ſhall drinke, ſhall not thirſt euerlaſtyngly: That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in that they haue ſought the foūtaines of this water at the Coūcell, & haue determined now at lēgth to geue eare vnto their mother. Now all hatred ought to ceaſe, all armour & weapon is to be layd apart, and all occaſion of warre vtterly to be reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gētly heare whatſoeuer their they would ſay in their owne cauſe or quarel, requiryng onely that they would willyngly receaue and embrace the good counſels and determinations of the ſacred Synode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but alſo all other faythfull Chriſtians, ought to conſent and agree, if they will be partakers of eternall lyfe.

The oration of Cardinall Iuliā.

This Oration of the Cardinall, was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Wherunto the Bohemiās aunſwered in few wordes, that they neither had contemned the Church nor the Councels: that the ſentence geuen at Conſtance agaynſt thoſe which were vnheard, doth diminiſh nothyng of the Chriſtian Religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwayes remained amōgeſt them inuiolate, & whatſoeuer thyng the Bohemians had taught, to be confirmed by the Scriptures and Goſpell, and that they are now come to manifeſt their innocencie before the whole Church, and to require open audience, where as the laytie may alſo be preſent. The requeſt was graūted thē: & beyng further demaunded in what pointes they did diſagree from the Church of Rome, they propounded foure Articles.

The Bohemians aunſwere to the Cardinalles oration.

First, they affirmed, that all ſuch as would be ſaued, ought of neceſſity to receiue the Cōmunion of the laſt Supper vnder both kyndes of bread and wyne.

The articles wherein the Bohemians diſſented frō the church of Rome.

The ſecond Article, they affirmed all ciuill rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto the Clergy by the law of God.

The third Article, that the preachyng of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth Article, as touchyng open crimes and offences which are in no wiſe to be ſuffered for the auoydyng of greater euill.

These wer the onely propoſitions which they propounded before the Councell in the name of the whole Realme. Then an other Ambaſſadour affirmed that he had heard of the Bohemians diuers & ſundry thynges offenſiue to Chriſtian eares, amongeſt the which this was one poynt, that they ſhould preach that the inuentiō of the order of beggyng Friers was diabolicall.

Then Procopius riſing vp, ſayd, neither is it vntrue, for if neither Moyſes, neither before him the Patriarkes, neither after him the Prophetes, neither in the new law Chriſt and his Apoſtles dyd inſtitute the order of beggyng Friers, who doth doubt but that it was an inuentiō of the deuill, and a worke of darkenes?

This aunſwere of Procopius was derided of them all: And Cardinall Iulianus went about to proue that not onely the decrees of the Patriarkes and Prophetes, and thoſe thynges which Chriſt and his Apoſtles had inſtituted to be onely of God, but alſo all ſuch decrees as the Churche ſhould ordaine, beyng guided through the holy ghoſt, be the workes of God. Albeit as he ſayde, the order of beggyng Friers, might ſeme to be taken out of ſome part of the Goſpell. The Bohemians choſe out iiij. Diuines which ſhould declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewiſe on the contrary part there was foure appointed by the Councell. This diſputation continued fifty dayes, where many thynges were alledged on either part, wherof, as place ſhall ſerue, more hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall be ſayd, when we come to the tyme of that Councell.

Certaine appointed by the Bohemians & the councell to diſpute.

In the meane ſeaſon while the Bohemians were thus in long conflictes with Sigiſmund the Emperour and the pope, fightyng for their religion, vnto whō, notwithſtandyng all the fulnes of the popes power was bent agaynſt thē, god of his goodnes had geuen ſuch noble victories, as is aboue expreſſed, and euer dyd proſper them ſo long as they coulde agree among themſelues: as theſe thynges (I ſay) were doyng in Boheme: Kyng Henry the v. fightyng likewiſe in Fraunce, albeit for no like matters of Religion, fell ſicke at Bois, and dyed after he had raigned ix. yeares v. monethes, iij. weekes & odde dayes from his coronation. This kyng in his lyfe & in all his doynges was ſo deuout & ſeruiceable to the Pope & his chaplains, that he was called of many the Prince of Prieſtes: who left behynd him a ſonne beyng yet an infant, ix. monthes and xv. dayes of age, whom he had by Queene Katherine daughter to the French kyng, maryed to him about two or thre yeares before. The name of which Prince ſucceedyng after his father, was Henry vj. left vnder the gouernement and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter.

The death of K. Henry. 5. called prince of prieſtes for fauoring the pope.

❡The names of the Archbiſhops of Cant. in this fift Booke conteined.

54	Simon Iſlepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	William Witleſey.	5
58	Simon Sudbery.	6
59	William Courtney.	15
60	Thomas Arundell.	18
61	Henry Chicheſly.	29

❡The

The ſixt part or Section, perteinyng to the laſt.300. yeares, mentioned in the begynnyng of the fift booke before.

¶ *A Preface to the gentle Reader.*

ACcordyng to the fiue ſondry diuerſities and alterations of the Church, ſo haue I diuided hetherto the order of this preſent Church ſtory into fiue principall partes, euery part contaynyng.300.yeares. So that now commyng to the laſt.300.yeares, that is, to the laſt tymes of the Church, countyng from the tyme of Wickleffe: For aſmuch as in the compaſſe of the ſayd laſt.300.yeares, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the meruailous reformation of the ſame through the wondrous operation of the almighty, all which thynges cannot be comprehended in one boke, I haue therfore diſpoſed the ſayd latter.300.yeares, into diuers bookes, beginnyng now with the vj.booke, at the raigne of kyng Henry the vj. In which booke, beſide the greuous and ſundry perſecutions rayſed vp by Antichriſt, to be noted, herein is alſo to be obſerued, that where as it hath of long tyme bene receiued and thought of the common people, that this Religion now generally vſed, hath ſprong vp and ryſen but of late, euen by the ſpace (as many do thinke) of.xx. or.xxx. yeares, it may now manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the Actes and Monumentes heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the hyſtories hereafter followyng, how this profeſſion of Chriſtes Religion hath bene ſpread abroad in England of old and auncient tyme, not onely from the ſpace of theſe.200. later yeares, from the tyme of Wickleffe, but hath continually from tyme to tyme ſparkled abroad, although the flames therof haue neuer ſo perfectly burſt out, as they haue done within theſe hundred yeares and more: As by theſe hyſtories here collected and gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the Dioceſſe of Norwich, ſhall manifeſtly appeare: wherin may be ſene what men, and how many both men and women within the ſayd Dioces of Norwich, haue bene, which haue defended the ſame cauſe of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the Church. Which perſons although then they were not ſo ſtrõgly armed in their cauſe and quarell, as of late yeares they haue bene, yet were they warriours in Chriſtes church, and fought for their power, in the ſame cauſe. And although they gaue backe through tyranny, yet iudge thou the beſt good Reader, and referre the cauſe therof to God, who reueleth all thynges accordyng to his determined will and appointed tyme.

✠ *Kyng Henry the vi.*

King Henry.6.

1422.

Ex Scala mundi.

This yõg prince beyng vnder the age of one yere, after the death of his father, ſucceded in in his reigne and kyngdome of Englãd, an.1422. and in the eight yeare was crowned at Weſtminſter: and the ſecõd yeare after was crowned alſo at Paris, Hẽry Byſhop of Wincheſter, Cardinall beyng preſent at them both, & raigned.38. yeares, and then was depoſed by Edward the iiij. as here after (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe declared in hys tyme.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

Williã Taylour the firſt tyme apprehended.

In the firſt yeare of his reigne was burned the conſtaunt witneſbearer and teſtis of Chriſtes doctrine, Williã Taylour, a Prieſt vnder Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Of this Williã Taylour I read, that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell, he was firſt apprehended, and abiured. Afterward in the dayes of Hẽry Chicheſley, about the yeare of our Lord.1421. which was a yeare before his burnyng, the ſayd Williã Taylour appeared agayne in the conuocation before the Archbyſhop beyng brought by the Byſhop of Worceſter, beyng complayned of to haue taught at Briſtow theſe Articles folowyng.

W.Taylour agayne appeareth before the Archb.

Three articles firſt obiected to W. Taylour.

Firſt, that whoſoeuer hãgeth any Scripture about hys necke, taketh away the honor due onely to God, and geueth it to the Deuill.

Secondly, that no humayne perſon is to be worſhipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the Saintes are not to be worſhipped nor inuocated.

Vpon theſe Articles the ſayd William Taylour being examined, denyed that he did preach or holde them in way of defendyng them, but onely did commune and talke vpon the ſame, eſpecially vpon the ſecond and third Article, onely in way of reaſonyng, and for argument ſake. And to iuſtifie hys opinion to be true in that which he did holde, he brought out of his boſome a paper or libell written, wherein were conteined certayne Articles, wyth the teſtimonies of the Doctours alledged, and exhibited the ſame vnto yͤ archbyſhop. Who then beyng bidde to ſtand a ſide, the Archbyſhop conſultyng together wyth the Biſhops and other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, delyuered the wrytinges vnto Maiſter John Caſtle, and John Rikynghale, the two Vicechauncelours of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon Monke of Caunterbury. Who aduiſing wyth themſelues, and wyth other deuines, about the Articles and allegations, on the monday folowyng, preſented the ſayd Articles of William Taylour, to the Archbyſhop and Prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Wherupon William Taylour beyng called before them, in concluſion was contented to reuoke the ſame, and for hys penaunce was by them condemned to perpetuall priſon.

The forme of canonicall abſolution in the Church vſed agaynſt them that were excommunicate.

Notwythſtanding, through fauour they were contented, that he ſhould be releaſed from hys carceral indurance, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſuretie in yͤ kyngs Chãcery, and ſweare that he ſhall neuer holde or fauour any ſuch opinions hereafter. And thus the ſayde William Taylour appoynted to appeare the next Wedneſday at Lambeth before the Archbyſhop, to take hys abſolution from hys long excommunication duryng the tyme from Thomas Arundell, appeared agayne before hym, where he laying a ſide his Armilauſa, that is: hys cloke, his cap, and ſtripped vnto hys doublet, kneeled at the feete of the Archbyſhop. Who then ſtanding vp, and hauyng a rodde in hys hand, began yͤ Pſalme Miſerere.&c. hys chapleynes aunſwering the ſecond verſe. After that was ſayde, the Collecte, Deus cui proprium.&c. wyth certayne other prayers. And ſo taking an oth of hym, the Archbyſhop committed hym to the cuſtody of the Byſhop of Worceſter, to whom power and authoritie was permitted to releaſe hym, vpon the conditions aforeſayd. And thus was William Taylour, for that tyme abſolued, beyng enioyned notwythſtandyng to appeare at the next conuocation whẽſoeuer it ſhould be, before the ſaid Archbyſhop or hys ſucceſſour that ſhould follow hym.

In the meane tyme, while William Taylour was thus in the cuſtody of the Byſhop of Worceſter, there paſſed certayne writinges betwene hym, and one Thomas Smith prieſt at Briſtow, in the which writynges William Taylour replyed agaynſt the ſayd Thomas, concernyng yͤ queſtion of worſhyppyng Saintes. Vpõ the occaſion of which reply, beyng brought to the hands of the Byſhop of Worceſter, William Taylour began a new to be troubled, and was brought agayne before the publicke cõuocation of the clergie, by the ſayd Biſhop of Worceſter, to aunſwere vnto hys writynges. This was an.1422. the xi. day of February. Vnto the which conuocation the ſayd William beyng preſented, hys writyngs were read to him, which he would not, nor could not deny to be of hys owne hand writyng.

The opinion of W. Taylour concerning worſhipping of Saintes.

Cultus latriæ, that is, worſhip which is onely due to God.

The tenour and effecte of whoſe writyng onely tended to proue, that euery petition and prayer for any ſupernaturall gifte, ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in thys hys writyng he dyd not vtterly deny, that it was not lawfull in no reſpecte to pray to Saintes (and bryngeth for the ſame Thomas Aquine) but onely in reſpecte of that worſhip, which is called Cultus latriæ: And further ſo proſecuteth hys mynde herein, that he ſemeth litle or nothyng to differ from the ſuperſtition of the papiſts: as moſt playnely appeareth by hys owne wordes, ſaying: Nunquam tamen negaũi, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum, quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quantum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere, quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex conſona ratione.&c. And moreouer he inferreth the example of Moſes, who prayed vnto God, alleadging the merites of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, which were dead.&c. And furthermore paſſing from the teſtimony of Hierome, and alledging the example of Steuen, ſayth: Quod nūc magis exauditur pro veneratorib⁹ ſuis, quā tūc exauditus eſt pro lapidatoribus. And at length he cōmeth to this cōclusion, prouyng by S. Auſtē in this maner: Ne igitur cum impijs & idolatris in veteri teſtamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquā deueniēdo ad centrū, ſanū eſt quod faciamus ſecundū conſiliū Apoſtoli ſic dicentis: Accedamus cū fiducia ad thronū gratiæ eius, vt miſericordiā cōſequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno. &c. That is. And therfore leſt we runne about in circles with the wicked, & with the idolaters of the old Teſtamēt, & neuer come to the center, therfore it is wholeſome & good couſaile, that we folow the mynde, of the Apoſtle, ſaying: Let vs reſorte with boldnes vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obteyne mercy, and finde grace in time of oportune helpe. &c.

Aug. ſuper Pſal. 22.

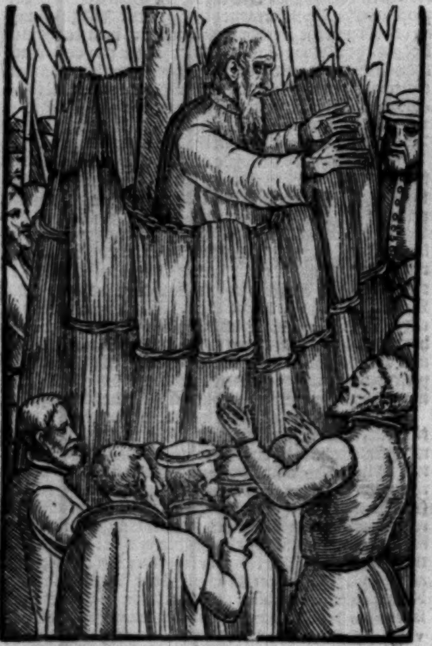
Thus much out of the foreſayd writing of Williā Taylour I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent reader, vſing his iudgement herein, may ſee how litle matter was in this, wherfore he ſhould be condemned by the Papiſtes. And yet notwithſtādyng the ſame writing beyng deliuered by the Archbyſhop, to the foure orders of Friers of London to be examined, was found erroneous and hereticall in theſe pointes.

4. articles by the 4. orders of Friers layd agaynſt W. Taylour.

1. Firſt, that euery prayer, which is a petition of ſome ſupernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed onely to God.
2. Item, that prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. Item, to pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
4. Alſo an other opiniō there was much lyke to the other, to make vp the fourth, ſo that although all theſe opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure ſortes of Friers, thought to finde out ſome matter to offer vp to ẏ Archbyſhop agaynſt him, leſt one order ſhould ſeeme more cunnyng or pregnant in findyng out more, then could an other: or els perchaūce leſt any of thē ſhould ſeeme to fauour the partie, in bryngyng nothyng agaynſt hym, as the reſt had done.

When the Saterday was come, which was the .xx. day of February, vpō the which day the foure orders were appointed to declare their cenſure vpon the Articles in the chapiter houſes of Paules, firſt appeareth Frier Tylle, for the Blacke Friers, then Frier Winchelſey: then Frier Low: After Frier Aſhwel, ech Frier for his order ſeuerally bringyng his hereſie, as is aboue ſpecified.

❡The burning of Williā Taylour, Prieſt.



Thus the verdict of theſe .iiij. orders being geuen vp to the Archb. & ſeuerally, ech order cōming in with his hereſie, which was the .xx. day of February, W. Taylour vpon the ſame was forthwith cōdēned as a relapſe, firſt to be diſgraded, & after to be burned, & ſo was cōmitted to the ſeculare power. Who then beyng had to Smithfield, the firſt day of March, with Chriſtian conſtancy, after long impriſonmēt, there did conſummate his Martyrdome. 1422.

W. Taylour diſgraded.

W. Taylour Martyr burned in Smithfield.

The maner of his diſgradyng was all one with the diſgradyng of Iohn Hus before: for the Papiſtes vſe but one forme, for all men. Firſt diſgradyng them from Prieſthode, by taking from them the Chalice and Patine. From Deaconſhip, by takyng from them the Goſpell booke and Tunicle. From Subdeaconſhyp, by takyng from them the Epiſtle booke and Tunicle. From Accoluteſhyp, by takyng frō them the Cruet and Candleſticke. From an Exorciſte, by takyng away the booke of Exorciſmes or Graduall. From the Sextonſhyp, by takyng away the Churchdoore key and ſurplis. And likewiſe from Benet, in takyng away the ſurplis, and firſt tonſure. &c. All which they orderly accompliſhed vpon this godly Martyr, before his burnyng.

The popes maner of degradation

❡Iohn Florence a Turner.

Iohn Florence a Turner, dwellyng in Shelton, in the Dioces of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught theſe hereſies here vnder writtē (as they called them) cōtrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

Iohn Florence a Turner.

In primis that the Pope and Cardinals haue no power to make or conſtitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but onely the Sonday which God hath halowed.

Item, that men ought to faſt no other tyme, but of the Quatuor temporum.

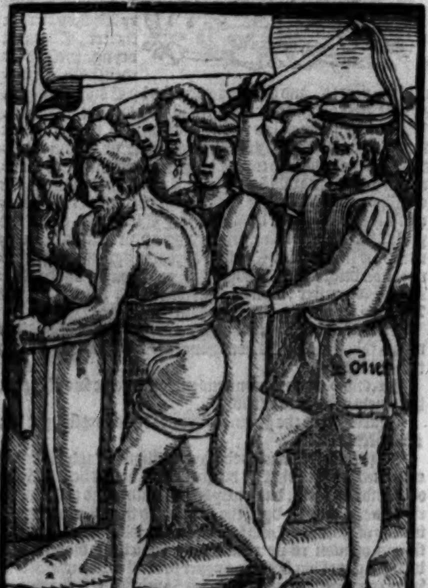
Item, that Images are not to be worſhypped, neither that the people ought to ſet vp any lightes before them in the Churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, that Curates ſhould not take the tithes of their pariſhioners, but that ſuch tithes ſhould be deuided amōgſt the poore pariſhoners.

He meaneth they ſhould not claime ſuch tithes by any exaction.

Item, that all ſuch as ſweare by their life or power, ſhal be damned, except they repent.

❡The diſplyng of Iohn Florence.



Upon Wenſday, beyng the ſecond day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord, 1424. the ſaid Iohn Florence perſonally appeared before William Bernam, Chauncelour to William Byſhop of Norwich, where as he procedyng agaynſt hym, obiected the firſt Article touchyng the power of the

1424.

Pope and Cardinals: to which Article the ſayd John Florence aunſwered in this maner. If the Pope lyue vprightly as Peter liued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwiſe, I beleue he hath no power. But beyng afterward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted hymſelfe to the correction of the Church, and was abiured, takyng an othe that from that tyme forward he ſhould not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any errour or hereſie contrary to the determination of the Churche of Rome, neither maintayne, helpe, or ayde any that ſhall teach or hold any ſuch errors or hereſies, either priuely or apertly: and for his offence in this behalfe done, he was enioyned this penaunce followyng.

The maner of this diſpling was with a white rodde, thriſe layd vpon the head of the penitentiary.

Three Sondayes in a ſolemne proceſſion in the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, he ſhould be diſpled before all the people. The like alſo ſhould be done about his pariſh church of Shelton, three other ſeuerall Sondayes, he beyng bare headed, bare footed & bare necked, after the maner of a publicke penitentiarie, his body beyng couered with a canues ſhiert, and canues breches, carying in his hand a taper of a pounde wayght, and that done he was diſmiſſed.

¶Richard Belward of Eriſam in the Dioces of Norwich.

RIchard Belward of Eriſā, in the Dioces of Norwich, was accuſed for holdyng and teaching theſe errours and opinions here vnder written, contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

He meaneth the wicked byſhops of that tyme, whoſe curſes God did bleſſe.

In primis that Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate: And albeit that a Byſhop do excommunicate any man, God doth abſolue him.

This proueth Syr John Oldcaſtle to be no traytour.

Item, that he held the erroneous opinions and concluſions, that Syr John Oldcaſtle held when he was in priſon, and affirmed that Syr John Oldcaſtle was a true Catholicke man, and falſly condemned and put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

Item, that ſuch as go on pilgrimage, offeryng to Images made of wood and ſtone, are excommunicate becauſe they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead: and that the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, that is to ſay, the Curates, do ſell God vpon Eaſter day, when as they receiue offerynges of ſuch as ſhould cōmunicate before they do miniſter the Sacrament vnto them.

Item, that he counſeled diuers women, that they ſhould not offer in the Church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

The wordes of the Regiſter.

Item, that he blamed diuers of his neighbours that refuſed his doctrine, ſaying vnto them: truly ye are fooles that deny to learne the doctrine of my ſect, for your neighbours which are of my ſect, are able to confounde and vanquiſh all other that are of your ſect.

Item, that the Saintes which are in heauen, ought in no caſe to be prayed vnto, but onely God.

b Item, that the ſayd Richard keepeth ſchooles of Lolardy in the Engliſh toung, in the towne of Dychingham, and a certaine parchment maker bringeth him all the bookes cōtaynyng that doctrine from London.

The v. day of July. 1424. the ſayd Richard Belward was brought before John, Byſhop of Norwich ſittyng in place of iudgement, whereas the foreſayd Articles were obiected agaynſt the ſayd Richard, whiche he there denyed: whereupon the byſhop appointed him an other day to purge himſelfe, the Monday next after the feaſt of S. Marget: vpon which day beyng the xxiiij. of July, in the yeare aforeſayd, he appeared agayne before the Byſhop, and brought with him ix. of his neighbours to purge him vpon thoſe articles, and there dyd ſolemnely purge himſelfe. And afterward, for ſomuch as the ſayd Byſhop ſuſpected the ſayd Richard Belward greatly of Lolardy, he commaunded hym there preſently to ſweare vpon the Euangeliſtes, that frō that day forward he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any errour or hereſie, contrary to the Churche of Rome, neither ayde, aſſiſte, fauour or maintayne, priuely or apertly, any maner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintayne the ſayd errours or hereſies, In the preſence of M. William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle and John Berne Eſquire, and other of his neighbours which came vnto his purgation.

John Goddeſell of Dichingham.

In lyke maner John Goddeſel of Dichingham parchmentmaker, was detected and accuſed vpon the ſame Articles, and therupon brought before the Byſhop: whereas he denying them, purged himſelfe by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, beyng ſworne alſo in lyke maner, as he was, & ſo was diſmiſſed & ſet at libertie, vntill the yeare of our Lord. 1428. when as he was agayne apprehended, accuſed and abiured, as ſhall be more at large declared in the hiſtory whē we come to that yeare.

Syr Hugh Pye Prieſt.

Sir Hugh Pye alſo, chaplaine of Ludney in the dioceſſe of Norwich, was likewyſe accuſed and brought before the Biſhop of Norwich the v. day of July, an. 1424. for holdyng of theſe opinions followyng.

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, that the people ought not to geue almes, but onely vnto ſuch as beg at their dores.

Image of the croſſe not to be worſhipped.

Item that the image of the croſſe and other images are not to be worſhipped: And that the ſayd Hugh, had caſt the croſſe of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he toke from one, John Welgate of Ludney. Which articles as is aforeſiad, being obiected againſt him, he vtterly denied: whereupon he had a day appoynted to purge hymſelfe by the witnes of 3. lay men and three prieſtes. That ſo done, he was ſworne as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1428: kyng Henry the vi. ſent down moſt cruell letters of commiſſion vnto J. Exetor and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle, of Colcheſter, for the apprehendyng of ſir William White Prieſt, & and others ſuſpected of hereſie, the tenour whereof, hereafter enſueth.

¶The copy of the kinges letters directed to Iohn Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of Sir William White prieſt and other, (as they called them) Lollardes.

A letter of the kyng.

HEnry by the grace of God kyng of England & of France, Lord of Ireland, to his welbeloued Iohn Exetor, & Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter health.

Ye ſhall vnderſtand that we fully truſting vnto your fidelitie and circumſpections, haue appointed you iointly and ſeuerally to take and arreſt William White prieſt, & Thomas, late chaplaine of Setlyng, in the countie of Norfolke, and William Northampton prieſt. & all other whatſoeuer they be that are ſuſpect of hereſie or Lollardie, wherſoeuer they may be found within the liberties or without, and ſtraight way being ſo taken, to ſende them vnto our nexte gayle or priſon, vnto ſuch tyme, as we ſhall haue taken other order for their deliuerie: And therefore we ſtraightly commaunde you, that ye diligently attende about the premiſſes, and fulfill the ſame in forme aforeſayde. Alſo we charge and commaunde all and ſinguler Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shrieues, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and all other our faithfull officers, by the tenour of theſe preſentes, that they do aſſiſt, ayde, and counſaile you and euery of you, in the execution of the premiſſes, as it ſhall be comely for them. In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made. Witnes my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the vi. of Iuly, the vi. yeare of our raigne.

By vertue of which commiſſion we fynde in olde monumentes, that within ſhorte ſpace after, John Exeter, which was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, attached vi. perſons in yͤ towne of Bungay in yͤ dioces of Norwiche, and committed them to William Day, & Williā Roe, Conſtables of yͤ towne of Bungay, to be ſent within x. daies folowing vnder ſafe cuſtody, vnto yͤ Caſtle of Norwich. Whoſe names, through the antiquity of yͤ monumēt were ſo defaced that we could not attayne to the perfect knowledge of them all: onely three names partly remayned in yͤ booke to be read, which were theſe.

¶Iohn Waddon of Tenterdon, in the countie of Kent, Bartlemew, Monke of Erſham, in the countie of Norfolke, Corneleader, a maried man. William Skuts.

Theſe three weare in the cuſtody of the Duke of Northfolke, at his caſtle of Fremingham.

William Biſhop of Norwich. William Bernham hys Chauncelour.

Beſides theſe, we alſo finde in the ſayd old monuments within the dioces of Norfolke and Suffolke, ſpecially in yͤ townes of Beckels, Erſham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to haue bene vexed and caſt in priſon, and after their abiuration, brought to open ſhame in churches and markets by the biſhop of the ſayd dioces called William, and his Chancellor William Bernham, John Exceter beyng the Regiſter therin, ſo that within the ſpace of 3. or 4. yeares, that is from the yeare 1428. vnto the yere 1431. about the number of 120. men and women were examined and ſuſtayned great vexation for the profeſſion of the chriſtian fayth: of whom ſome were only taken vpon ſuſpition onely for eatyng of meates prohibited vpon vigil dayes, who of their purgation made, eſcaped more eaſily away and with leſſe puniſhmēt, whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed.

¶ *The names of them that were taken and examined vpon ſuſpition of hereſie.*

A catalogue of good men ⁊ women troubled for ſuſpition of hereſie.

- Robert Skiruyng of Harlſtone
- William Skiruyng.
- Iohn Terrey of Erſham,
- Iohn Aybtre of Erſham.
- Iohn Middleton of Haluergate.
- Iohn Wayde of Erſham.
- Rich.Clarke of Sething.
- Tho.White of Bedingham.
- M.Rob.Beete of Berry.
- Rich.Page of Clipſly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned, of whom we do ſpecially finde mention made of theſe three.

- Father Abraham of Colcheſter.
- William White prieſt.
- Iohn Waddon prieſt.

¶ The reſidue, for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, ſuſteining ſuch cruell penance as pleaſed then the ſayd biſhop and his Chauncellor to lay vpon them. The names of which both men and women here folow together in this briefe Catalogue to be ſene.

- Iohn Beuerley.
- Iohn Wardon.
- Iohn Baker.
- Iohn Kynget.
- Margery Backſter.
- Iohn Skilley.
- Iohn Godhold.
- Tho.Albeck.Iohn Pierce.
- Nich.Canon of Eye.
- Tho.Pye.
- Iohn Mendham.
- Iohn Middleton.
- Tho.Chatris.
- Tho.Wade.
- Wil.Taylor.
- Iohn Cupper, vicar of Tunſtall.
- Sir Hugh Pie prieſt.
- Bartlemew Thatcher.
- Tho.Iames.
- Iohn Fouling.
- Bertram Cornmonger.
- Tho.Swerdin.
- Alanus Andrew.
- Wil.Wright.
- Wil.Euerden.
- Wil.Taylor.
- Auis the wife of Tho.Moone and her daughter.
- Rich.Fletcher of Beckles.
- Nich.Belward.
- Tho.Grenemere.
- Ioh.Clarke.Wil.Bate.
- Wil.Scherming.
- Wil.Oſburne.
- Iohn Rene of Beckles.
- Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.
- Iohn Pert, M.Mones ſeruant.
- Rob.Brigs, Iohn Finch.
- Iohn Wrophã.Tho.Mone.
- Iſabel Chaplaine of Martham.
- Wil.Maſſe of Erſham.
- Iohn Goodwine of Erſham.
- Henry Latcheold of Erſham.
- Henry Boode of Erſham.
- Rich.Horne of Erſham.
- Iohn Belward ſenior of Erſham.
- Iohn Belward iunior of Erſham.
- Ioh.Spire of Bungay.
- Rob.Colle of Tu ning.
- The heard of Shepemedow.
- Iſabel Dauy of Coſtes.
- Sibill wife of Iohn Godeſell of Dicham.
- Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
- Ioh.Baker, Margery Wright.
- Tho.Burrell and his wife.
- Ioh.Pert.Edm, Archer.
- The clarke of Ludney.
- Rich.Clarke of Sething.
- Katherine the wife of William Wright, Wil.Colin of Southcreke.
- Rich.King of Windeham.
- Tho.Plowman.Iohn Fellis.
- Tho.Loue of Rokeland.
- Rich.Knobbing of Beckles.
- Rich.Grace of Beckles.
- Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
- Wil.Hardy, Wil.Bate.
- Ioh.Weſton.
- Katherine Hobs.
- Iohn Daw.
- Rob.Grigs of Martham.
- Wil.Calys prieſt.
- Tho.Pert prieſt.
- Katherine Dauy.
- Iacob Bodhouse, & Margaret hys wife.
- Ioh.Mannyng of Marton.
- Ioh.Culling of Beemſter.
- Rich.Fletcher of Beckles & Matild his wyfe.
- Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
- Rob.Canel prieſt.
- Nich.Drey.
- Wil.Hardy of Mundham.
- Iohn Poleyne.

These forenamed perſons and ſouldiours of Chriſt, beyng much beatẽ with the cares and troubles of thoſe dayes although they were conſtrayned to relent and abiure, that is to proteſt otherwyſe with their tonges, then their hartes did thinke, partly through correction and partly through infirmity (beyng as yet but new trayned ſouldiours in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare vnto the truth, although with their tongs they durſt not expreſſe it, we haue thought good that their names ſhould not be ſuppreſſed, as well for other ſondry cauſes, as eſpecially for this: either to ſtop the mouthes of malignaunt aduerſaries, or to aunſwer to their ignoraunce: who following rather blynde affection then the true knowledge of tymes and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they know not, accuſing the true doctrine of the worde of God, for newelty and carpyng, the teachers therof for new broched brethren. Who, if they dyd as well foreſee tymes paſſed, as they be vnwillyng to follow tymes now preſent they ſhould vnderſtand as well by theſe ſtories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of god lacking no antiquitie, hath from tyme to tyme continually ſought to burſt out, and in ſome places hath preuayled, although in moſt places through tiranny and the malice of men, Chriſtes procedinges haue bene ſuppreſſed and kepte vnder from riſing. ſo much as mans power and ſtrength ioyned with craft and ſubtletie, could labour to kepe downe the ſame: as here by theſe good men of Northfolke and Southfolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the good towardneſſe of thoſe good men, had had the lyke liberty of tyme, with the helpe of lyke authoritye as we haue now, and had not bene reſtrayned through the iniquitie of tyme and tyranny of Prelates: it had well appeared how old this doctrine would haue ben, which now they contemne and reiecte for the newnes therof: neither neded Boner to haue aſked of Thomas Hawkes, and ſuch other, where their church was for xl. yeares ago, in as much as for lx. yeares ago, and more, within the countrey of Norfolke and Suffolke, was then found ſuch plẽtie of the ſame profeſſion and like doctrine which we now profeſſe. And thus much for the number the names of theſe perſons.

Boner myght ſee the Church here in this age, more then xl. yeares before he was borne.

Now touching their Articles which they dyd maintaine and defend: firſt this is to be conſidered, as I finde it in the regiſters, ſuch ſocietie and agrement of doctrine to be amongeſt them, that almoſt in their aſſertions and Articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other, what their articles were, partly it is ſhewed in the leafe before: and partly here foloweth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to bee thought concerning theſe articles that many of thẽ eyther were falſly obiected againſt them, or not truly reported of the notaries, accordyng as the common maner is of theſe aduerſaries, where ẏ matter is good, there to make hereſie, and of a litle occaſion, to ſtirre vp great matter of ſlaunder, as they did before by the articles of I. Wickleffe and Iohn Hus, and others moe: So in like maner it ſemeth they dyd in the Articles of theſe mẽ, either miſtaking that which they ſayd, or myſunderſtãding that which they ment, eſpecially in theſe two articles concerning Baptiſme and paying of tithes. For where as they ſpeakyng agaynſt the ceremoniall & ſuperfluous traditions then vſed in baptiſme, as ſalt, oyle, ſpittell, taper light, criſomes, exorciſing of the water, with ſuch other, accompted them as no materiall thyng in the holy inſtitution of Baptiſme. the notaries ſlaũderouſly deprauing this their aſſertion, to make it more odious to ẏ eares of ẏ people, ſo gaue out ẏ article as though they ſhould hold that the ſacrament of Baptiſme vſed in the church by water, is but a light matter and of ſmall effect.

These men are falſely ſlaundered about Baptiſme.

Agayne, in ſpeaking againſt the chriſtening ẏ midwiues vſe in priuate houſes, againſt ẏ opinion of ſuch as thinke ſuch children to be damned, which depart before they come to their Baptiſme, they are falſly reported as though they ſhould ſay, that Chriſten people be ſufficiently baptiſed in the bloud of Chriſt, and nedeth no water, & that the infants be ſufficiently baptiſed, if their parentes be baptiſed before them. Which thyng is ſo contrary to the manifeſt word, that it is not to be thought any to be ſo ignoraunt of the goſpell, that euer would or did affirme the ſame.

Moreouer, they thought or ſaid peraduenture ẏ in certaine caſes, tithes might be withholden frõ wicked prieſtes ſometyme, and be conferred to better vſes, to the behouſe of the poore: Therfore they are falſly ſlaundered, as ſaying ẏ

And

affirming that no tithes were to be geuen to the miniſters and curates of the churches.

And likewiſe for matrimony, wherin they are reported to holde and affirme as though it conſiſted onely in the mutuall conſent betwixt the man and woman, nedyng no other ſolempnizing in the publicke church and all becauſe (as it is lyke) they denied it to be a Sacramẽt. Other articles were obiected agaynſt them as theſe which hereafter folowe.

The papiſts are but quarell pickers.

Articles.

That auricular confeſſiõ is not to be made vnto a prieſt but vnto God onely, becauſe no Prieſt hath any power to abſolue a ſinner from his ſinne.

Item, that no Prieſt hath power to make the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aultar, but ẏ after the ſacramẽtal wordes, there remaineth pure material bread as before

Item, that euery true Chriſtian man is a prieſt to God.

Item, that no man is bounde vnder payne of damnatiõ vnto Lent or any other dayes prohibited by the Church of Rome.

Item, that the pope is Antichriſt, and hys prelates the diſciples of Antichriſt, and ẏ the pope hath no power to bynd and looſe vpon earth.

*In caſe of neceſſitie, vrgent they meane.

* Item, that it is lawful for euery Chriſtiã to do any bodely worke (ſinne onely excepte) vpon the holy dayes.

Item that it is lawfull for prieſtes to haue wiues.

Item, that the excommunications and eccleſiaſticall cẽſures geuen out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to ſweare in priuate caſes.

Item, that men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item that there is no honor to be geuen to the Images of the Crucifixe, of our Lady, or any other ſaint.

Item, that the holy water halowed in the church by the prieſt, is not holier or of more vertue then other running or well water, bycauſe the Lord bleſſed all waters in their firſt creation.

The death of Thomas Becket.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket, was neither holy neither meritorious.

Item, that reliques as dead mens bones, ought not to bee worſhypped or digged out of theyr graues, or ſet vp in Shrynes.

Item, that prayers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, that men ought not pray to any ſaint but onely to God.

Item, that the belles and ringyng in the church was ordeyned for no other purpoſe then to fill the prieſts purſes.

Item, that it is no ſinne to withſtand the eccleſiaſticall preceptes.

In this article is meant, that the wicked be in the church but not of the Church.

Item that the catholick church is onely the congregation of the elect.

Theſe weare the Articles, which were generallye obiected agaynſt them all, wherin they did ſo agre in one vniforme faith, that what ſoeuer one did holde, all the other did maintenne & hold the ſame. By ẏ which their cõſent & doctrine it appeareth ẏ they all receyued it of ſome one inſtructor, who was William White: which being a ſcholer and follower of J. Wickliffe, reſorted afterward into this countrey of Norfolke & there inſtructed theſe men in the light of the goſpell. And now as we haue declared the names and Articles of theſe good men, ſo it remayneth ſomwhat to ſpeake of their troubles how they were handled, beginning firſt with William White.

¶ William White prieſt.

W. White, Martyr.

1428.

Ex Waldeno.

*Eccle. 50.

This William White beyng a follower of John Wickliffe and a prieſt, not after the common ſort of prieſts, but rather to be reputed amongſt the number of them, of whome the Wyſeman ſpeaketh: * He was as the morning ſtarre in the middeſt of a cloud, &c. This man was a well learned, vpright & a well ſpoken prieſt. He gaue ouer hys prieſthood & benefice, and toke vnto hym a godly yong womã to his wife named Joane: notwithſtãdyng he did not therfore ceaſe or leaue from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and prayſe of hys ſpouſe Chriſt, by reading, writyng & preaching. The principall points of hys doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

That men ſhould ſeke for the forgeuenes of their ſinnes onely at the handes of God.

That the wicked liuyng of the Pope and his holineſſe, is nothing els but a diueliſh eſtate and heauy yoke of Antichriſt, and therfore he is an enemy vnto Chriſtes truth.

That men ought not to worſhip Images or other Idolatrous payntyngs.

That mẽ ought not to worſhip ẏ holy mẽ which are dead.

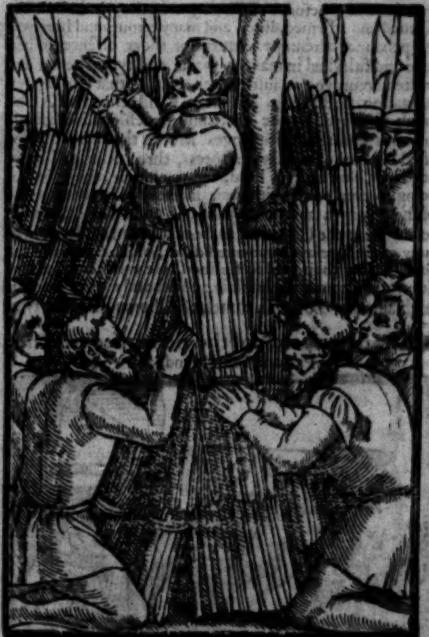
The Romiſhe church aptly reſembled to the curſed figge tree.

That the Romiſh church is the fig tree which the lord Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruite of the true beliefe.

That ſuch as weare coules, or be annointed and ſhorne are the lancknights and ſouldiors of Lucifer: & that they all, becauſe theyr lampes are not burnyng, ſhall be ſhut out, when as the Lord Chriſt ſhall come.

Upon which articles he beyng attached at Cant. vnder the Archb. Henry Chicheſley in the yeare of our lord. 1424. there for a certayne ſpace ſtoutely and manly witneſſed the truth which he had preached: but like as there he loſte hys courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became agayne much more ſtouter and ſtronger in Jeſu Chriſt and confeſſed hys own error & offence. For after this he goyng into Norfolke with his ſayd wife Joane & there occupying himſelfe buſily in teaching and conuertyng the people vnto the true doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt by meanes of ẏ kings letters ſent down for that intent and purpoſe, he was apprehẽded and taken & brought before Wil. biſhop of Norwich, by whõ he was cõuict & condemned of 30. articles & there was burned in Norwich, in the month of Septẽber, an. 1424.

The burning of William White.



This William White and his wife had hys moſt abode with one Tho. Moone of Lodney. This man was of ſo deuout and holy lyfe, that all the people had hym in great reuerence, and deſired hym to pray for them: in ſo much that one Margaret Wright confeſſed, that if any ſaintes were to be prayed to, ſhe would rather pray to hym then to any other. When he was come vnto the ſtake thinking to open hys mouth to ſpeake vnto the people, to exhort and confirm thẽ in the verity, one of the biſhops ſeruantes ſtrake hym on the mouth, therby to force hym to kepe ſilence. And thus thys good man receiuyng the crowne of martyrdome, ended this mortall lyfe to the great dolour & griefe of all the good mẽ of Norfolke. Whoſe ſayd wyfe Joane, folowyng her husbãds footeſteps according to her power, teaching & ſowing abrod the ſame doctrine, confirmed many mẽ in Gods truth: wherfore ſhe ſuffred much trouble and puniſhmẽt the ſame yeare at the handes of the ſayd biſhop.

The byſhops man ſmiteth hym on the mouth, exhorting the people.

Father Abrahã, John Waddon prieſt, martyrs and burned.

About the ſame tyme alſo was burned father Abrahã of Colcheſter, and Joh. Waddon prieſt, for the lyke articles.

Concerning them, which abiured, how and by whome they were examined, what depoſitions came in agaynſt thẽ, and what was the order and maner of the penance enioyned them, here it might be ſet out at large: but for auoydyng of prolixitie, it ſhall be ſufficient briefly to touch certayne of the principals, wherby the better vnderſtandyng may be geuen to the Reader, after what maner and order all the other were intreated.

Firſt amongſt them which were areſted and cauſed to abiure in this yeare afore ſpecified.1428.was Thom.Pie, and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough, who beyng conuict vpon diuers of the Articles before mentioned, were enioyned penaunce to be done in their owne pariſh Church, as by the biſhops letter directed to the Deane of Rhodenhall, and the pariſh prieſt of Aldborough, doth more at large appeare, the tenour wherof here enſueth.

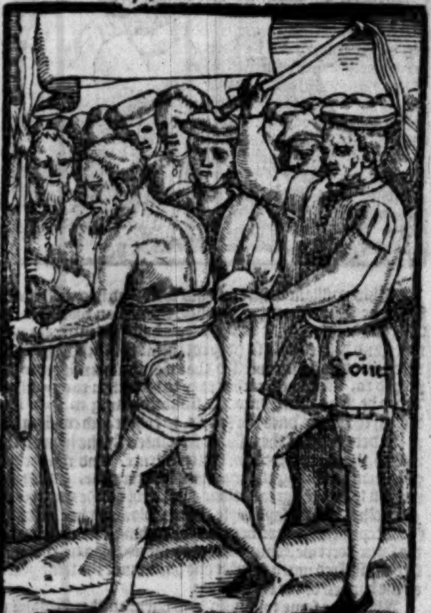
The copy of the Biſhop of Norwich his letter.

A letter of the biſhop of Norwich.

WIlliam by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of Norwich, to our welbeloued Sonnes in Chriſte the Deane of Rodehall of our dioces, and to the pariſh prieſt of the pariſhe church of Aldborough of the ſame our dioces, health, grace and benediction. For ſo much as we, according to our office lawfully proceding to the correction and amendmēt of the ſoules of Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough of the dioces aforeſaid, becauſe they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and hereſies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of Rome, and the vniuerſall church and catholike fayth, haue enioyned the ſayde Thomas and Iohn appearing before vs perſonally and confeſſing before vs iudicially that they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errours and hereſies, this penaunce hereunder written for theyr offences to bee done and fulfylled in manner, forme and tyme hereunder written, accordyng as iuſtice doth requyre, that is to ſay, ſyx fuſtigations or diſplings about the pariſh church of Alborough aforeſayd, before a ſolemne proceſſion, ſixe ſeuerall ſondayes and three diſplynges aboute the market place of Harelſton of our ſayde Doces, three principall market dayes, bare necked, head, legs and feete, theyr bodies being couered onely with their ſhiertes and breches eyther of thē carying a taper in his hand of a poūd waight, as well round about the Churche, as about the market place, in euery of the foreſayd appoynted dayes, which tapers the laſt ſonday after their penāce finiſhed, we wyll that the ſayd Iohn and Thomas do humbly and deuoutly offer vnto the high aultar of the pariſh church of Alborough at the tyme of the offertory of the hye Maſſe the ſame day, and that eyther of them going about the market place aforeſayd: ſhall make iiij. ſeuerall pauſes or ſtayes, and at euery of thoſe ſame pauſes, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your handes three diſplynges: Therefore we ſtraightely charge and commaund you and either of you, iointly & ſeuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery ſonday and market day, after the recept of our preſent commaundement, you doe effectually admoniſh and bring forth the ſayd Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin their ſayd penance, and ſo ſucceſſiuely to finiſh the ſame in maner and forme afore appoynted. But if they wyll not obey your monitions or rather our commaundementes in thys behalfe, & begin & finiſh their ſayd penance effectually, you, or one of you ſhall cite them peremptorilie that they or eyther of them appeare before vs or our Commiſſarye, in the chapell of our palace at Norwych, the.xii. day after the citatiō ſo made, if it be a courtday, or els the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them haue any cauſe why they ſhould not be excommunicate for theyr manifeſt offence in thys behalfe cōmitted, according to the forme and order of law. and furher to receyue ſuche puniſhment, as iuſtice ſhall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premiſſes, whether the ſayde Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitiōs, and performed the ſayd penaunce or no: we wyll that you or one of you which hath receiued our ſaide commaundemēt, for the execution therof, do diſtinctly certify vs betwene this & the laſt day of Nouember next cōmyng. Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our Commiſſaries ſeale, the. viii. day of October. an.1428.

The maner of the popes penaunce.

The deſcription of the penaunce of Tho. Pye, and Iohn Mendham.



This (gentle Reader) was for the moſt part, the order of theyr whole penaunce: howbeit, ſome were oftentymes more cruelly handled, and after their penance they were baniſhed out of the dioces, and other ſome more ſtraightly vſed by longer impriſonment, wherof we will briefly rehearſe one or two for example.

Iohn Beuerley alias Battild.

John Beuerley.

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild a labourer was attached by the Vicare of Sowthcreke, the pariſh prieſt of Waterden, and a lawyer, and ſo deliuered vnto Maiſter Wil. Bernam the Biſhops Commiſſary, who ſent hym to the Caſtell of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where as afterward he beyng brought befor the Commiſſary, and hauing nothyng proued agaynſt him, he toke an othe, that euery yeare afterward he ſhould cōfeſſe his ſinnes once a yeare to hys curate and receyue the Sacrament at Eaſter, as other Chriſtians did: and for hys offence he was enioyned that the Friday & Saterday next after, he ſhould faſt bread and water, and vpon the Saterday to be * whipped from the pallace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, & by S. Michaels Church by Cotcle rew, and about the market, hauyng in hys hand a waxe candle of twopence, to offer to the image of the Trinity, after he had done hys penaunce. And for ſo much as he confeſſed that he had eatē fleſh vpon Eaſter day and was not ſhriuen in all Lent, nor receyued vpon Eaſter day, the iudge enioyned him that he ſhoulde faſt Tueſday, Wedneſday and Friday in Whitſonweke, hauyng but one meale a day of fiſh and other whitte meates, and after hys penance ſo done, he ſhould depart out of the dioces, & neuer come there any more.

* alias, fuſtigated.

Iohn Skilley of Flixton Miller.

J. Skilley.

IOhn Skilley of Flixton Miller beyng apprehended and brought before the biſhop of Norwich ye 14. day of March 1428. for holding and maintepning the Articles aboue written, was thereupon conuict and forced to abiure: and after hys abiuration ſolemnly made (which here to auoyde tediouſnes we omit) he had a moſt ſharpe ſentence of penaunce pronounced againſt him, the effect wherof beyng briefly collected was this: That for ſo much as the ſaid Skilley was conuict by his owne confeſſion, for holding and mainteining the Articles before written, and for receiuyng certaine good and godly men into hys houſe, as ſir Wil. White prieſt, and John Wadden, whome they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretickes, and had now abiured the ſame, beyng firſt abſolued from the ſentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of his opinions, he was enioyned for penāce 7. yeres impriſonmēt in ye monaſtery of Langley, in the dioces of Norwich. And forſomuch as in tymes paſt, he vſed vpon the Fridayes to eate fleſh, he was enioyned to faſt bread & water euery Friday, by ye ſpace of that 7. yeres to come, and that by the ſpace of ij. yeres next immediatly after the 7. yeres expired, euery Wedneſday in the beginning of Lent, & euery Maundy thurſday, he ſhould appeare before ye biſhop, or his ſucceſſor, or commiſſary for the tyme being, in ye cathedrall church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penaunce for his offences.

The penāce of John Skilley.

Beſides theſe there were diuers other of ye ſame cōpany, which the ſame yere were forced to like abiuratiō & penāce. And ſo, to procede to the next yeare followyng, which was 1429, there enſueth a great nūber in ye ſame regiſter, which were examined and did penaunce in lyke ſort to the number of xvj. or xvij. In the number of whome was J. Baker, otherwyſe called Uſher Tunſtall, who for hauyng a booke with the Pater noſter, the Aue and Crede in Engliſh, and for certayn other articles of faſting, confeſſion and inuocatiō contrary to the determination of the Romiſh church, after much vexation for the ſame, was cauſed to abiure & ſuſtain ſuch penaunce, as the other before hym had done.

The ſtory of Margery Backſter.

Margery Backſter.

ANother was Margery Backſter, wyfe of Wil. Backſter wright in Martham, the ſame yere accuſed: againſt whom one John Cliffeland was brought in by the biſhop, and compelled to depoſe, and was made to bring in, in forme followyng.

A woman brought in for witnes in the popes court.

The Bee will ſtinge.

Firſt, that the ſayde Margery Backſter dyd informe this deponent that ſhe ſhould in no caſe ſweare, ſaying to her in Engliſh, dame beware of the Bee, for euery Bee wyll ſtyng, and therefore take heede you ſweare not, neyther by God, neither by our Lady, neyther by none other ſaint: and if ye do the contrary, the Bee will ſting your tong, & venom your ſoule.

Itē, this deponēt beyng demaūded by ỹ ſaid Margery, what ſhe dyd euery day at church, ſhe anſwered ỹ ſhe kneled downe & ſayd v. Pater noſters, in worſhyp of the crucifixe, & as many Aue Maries in worſhip of our Lady. Whō Margery rebuked, ſaying: you do euil to knele or pray to ſuch Images in ỹ churches, for god dwelleth not in ſuch churches, neither ſhal come down out of heauē, & wil geue you no more reward for ſuch prayer, then a candle lighted and ſet vnder ỹ couer of the font, wil geue light by night to thoſe which are in the church: ſaying moreouer in Engliſh, lewd wrightes, of ſtockes hew and forme ſuch croſſes and Images, and after that, lewd painters glere them with colours. And if you deſire ſo much to ſee the true croſſe of Chriſt, I wyll ſhew it you at home in your own houſe. Which this deponent beyng deſirous to ſee, the ſayd Margery ſtretching out her armes abrode, ſayd to this deponent, this is the true croſſe of Chriſt, and this croſſe thou oughteſt and mayeſt euery day behold and worſhip in thine owne houſe, and therfore it is but vayne to run to the Church to worſhip dead croſſes and Images,

Againſt Images.

Itē this deponent beyng demaunded by the ſaid Margery how ſhe beleued touchyng the ſacrament of the aulter, ſayd that ſhe beleued the Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecration, to be the very body of Chriſt in forme of bread. To whom Margery ſayd: your beliefe is nought. For if euery ſuch Sacrament were God, & the very body of Chriſt there ſhould be an infinite number of Gods, becauſe that a thouſand prieſtes and more do euery day make a thouſande ſuch Gods, and afterward eate them, and voyd them out agayn by theyr hinder partes filthily ſtinking vnder the hedges, wheras you may find a great many ſuch Gods, if you wyll ſeke for them. And therfore know for a certainty, that by the grace of God it ſhall neuer be my God, becauſe it is falſly and deceitfully ordayned by the prieſtes in the church, to induce the ſimple people to idolatry, for it is onely materiall bread.

The ſacramēt is not God.

Tho. Becket a traytour.

Tho. Becket ſlayne, not before the aulter, but in hys flying.

Moreouer the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponēt, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called S. Thomas, was a falſe traytor and damned in hell, becauſe he iniuriouſly endowed the churches with poſſeſſions, and rayſed vp many hereſies in the church, which ſeduce the ſimple people, and therfore if God be bleſſed, the ſayd Thomas is accurſed, and thoſe falſe prieſtes that ſay that he ſuffred his death patiently before the aulter, doe lye: For as a falſe cowardly traytor he was ſlayne in the church dore as he was flyeng away.

Father Abraham, W. White, J. Wadden.

Moreouer, this deponent ſayth, that the ſayd Margery told her that the curſed Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and biſhops, and ſpecially the biſhop of Norwich and others that ſupporte and maintayne hereſies and Idolatry, raigning and rulyng ouer the people, ſhall ſhortly haue the very ſame or worſe miſchiefe fall vpon them, then that curſed mā Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falſly and curſedly deceiue the people with their falſe mammetries and lawes, to extort mony of the ſimple folke to ſuſtayne their pride, riot and idlenes: And know aſſuredly that the vengeaunce of God will ſpedely come vpon them, which haue moſt cruelly ſlayne the children of God, Father Abraham, and Williā White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men: which vengeaunce had come vpon the ſayd Cayphas, the Biſhop of Norwich and his miniſters, which are members of the deuill, before thys tyme, if the Pope had not ſent ouer thoſe falſe pardons vnto theſe parties, which the ſayd Cayphas had falſly obtayned to induce the people to make proceſſion for the ſtate of them and of the church. Which pardons brought the ſimple people to curſed idolatry.

Againſt the popes faſting dayes.

Item the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that euery faythfull man or woman is not bound to faſt in Lent, or other dayes appoynted for faſting by the church, and that euery man may lawfully eate fleſh and all other meates vpon the ſayd dayes and tymes: and that it were better to eat the fragments left vpon Thurſday at night on ỹ faſting dayes, then to go to the market to bring themſelues in debt to buy fiſh: and that Pope Siluester made the Lent.

W. White willing to ſpeake at the ſtake, was ſtroken on the mouth.

Item the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that W. White was falſly condemned for an heretike, & that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where as ſhe ſaw that whē he would haue opened his mouth to ſpeake vnto the people to inſtruct them, a deuill one of biſhop Caiphas ſeruantes ſtrake hym on the lips, and ſtopped his mouth, that he could in no caſe declare the will of God.

Item this deponent ſayth, that ỹ ſayd Margery taught her that ſhe ſhould not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Falſingame, nor to any other ſaint or place.

Alſo this deponent ſayth, that the ſayd Margery deſired her that ſhe and Jone her mayde would come ſecretly in the night to her chamber, and there ſhe ſhould heare her huſband read the law of Chriſt vnto them, which law is written in a booke that her huſband was wont to reade to her by night, and that her huſband is well learned in the chriſtian veritie.

Alſo that the ſame Margery had talked with a womā named Jone Weſt, and that the ſayd woman is in a good way of ſaluation.

Alſo that the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponēt: Jone, it appeareth by your countenaunce, that you intend to diſcloſe this that I haue ſayde vnto you: and this deponent ſware ỹ ſhe would neuer diſcloſe it, without ỹ ſaid Margery gaue her occaſiō. Then ſaid Margery vnto this deponēt if thou do accuſe me vnto the Biſhop, I will do vnto thee, as I did once vnto a certain Frier Carmelite of Yarmouth which was the beſt learned Frier in all the country. Then this deponent deſired to know what ſhe had done to the frier. Unto whom Margery aunſwered, that ſhe had talked with the ſayd Frier, rebuking hym becauſe he did beg, ſaying that it was no almes to geue hym any good thyng, except he would leaue his habite, and go to the plough, and ſo he ſhould pleaſe God more, then following the lyfe of ſome of thoſe Friers. Then the Frier required of the ſaid Margery whether ſhe could teach hym or tell hym any thing els. Then the ſaid Margery (as ſhe affirmed to this deponent) declared to this Frier the Goſpels in Engliſh, and thē the Frier departed from her. After this the ſame Frier accuſed the ſayd Margery of hereſie, and ſhe vnderſtandyng that the Frier had accuſed her: accuſed the Frier agayne, that he would haue known her carnally, and becauſe ſhe would not conſent vnto hym, the Frier had accuſed her of hereſie. And moreouer ſhe ſayd that her huſband would haue killed the Frier therefore: and ſo the Frier for feare helde his peace, and went his way with ſhame.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſion.

This Margery alſo ſayd that ſhe had oftentimes bene faynedly confeſſed to the Deane of the fieldes, becauſe he ſhould thinke her to be a woman of good lyfe, and therefore he gaue the ſayd Margery oftentymes money. Then this deponent aſked her whether ſhe had confeſſed her ſinnes to a prieſt or not. And ſhe aunſwered that ſhe had neuer offended any prieſt, and therfore ſhe would neuer confeſſe her ſelf to any prieſt, neither obey him becauſe they haue no power to abſolue any man from their ſinnes, for that they offende dailye more grieuouſly then other men, and therefore that men ought to confeſſe themſelues onely vnto God and to no prieſt.

Agaynſt Image worſhip.

Item, the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that the people dyd worſhyp deuils which fell frō heauen with Lucifer, which deuils in their fall to the earth, entred into the Images which ſtand in the Churches, and haue long lurked & dwelled in them, ſo that the people worſhyppyng thoſe Images, commit Idolatrie.

Item, ſhe ſayd more to this deponent that holy bread & holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the belles are to be caſt out of the Church, and that they are excommunicate which firſt ordained them.

Moreouer that ſhe ſhould not be burned, although ſhe were conuict of Lollardy, for that ſhe had a charter of ſaluation in her body.

Alſo the ſaid deponent ſayth, that Agnes Bethē her ſeruaunt beyng ſent to the houſe of the ſaid Margery the Saterday after Aſhweſday, the ſaid Margery not being win, found a braſſe pot ſtandyng ouer the fire with a piece of baken and Otemeale ſethyng in it, as the ſayd Agnes reported to thys deponent.

There were alſo beſides thys deponent, diuers other ſworne and examined vpon the ſayd Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthe, ſeruauntes to William Cliſland, which altogether confirmed the former depoſitions.

Thus much we haue thought good to note as cõcernyng Margary Backſter, which we haue gathered out of ỹ old monumentes and regiſters. But what became of her after thys her accuſation, becauſe we finde no mention made in the ſayd regiſters, we are not able to declare.

The ſame yeare alſo, were the lyke depoſitions made by one William Wright agaynſt diuers good men, as here followeth.

John Piry.
John Bungay.
John Vſher.

Firſt, thys deponent ſayth that William Taylour, told John Piry of Ludney, in the houſe of John Bungay of Beghton, in the preſence of J. Bungay, Robert Grigges wright of Martham, and John Vſher, that all the good men of Martham which were fauourers & helpers to that good man William White are euill troubled now a dayes, and that the ſayd William White, was a good and holy doctour: and that the beſt doctour after hym was William Euerden, which wrought wyth the ſayd William Taylour of Ludney by the ſpace of one moneth, and that the firſt Sonday of the ſame moneth, the ſayde William Euerden did ſit all day vpon the table at worke, ſaying to the ſayde William Taylour that he would not goe to church to ſhew hymſelfe a Scribe or Phariſey: and the ſecond Sonday he put on Gentle mans apparell, and went to Norwiche to harken how the Byſhop and hys miniſters vſed the poore Chriſtians there in priſon.

Williã Euerdẽ.

W. Taylour of Ludney.

Alſo the ſayde William Wright, depoſed that William Taylour of Ludney was one of the ſecte and went to Lõdon wyth Syr Hue Pye, and had cõuerſation oftentimes wyth Syr William White, hauing often conference vpon the Lollardes doctrine.

The wife and daughter of Tho. Moone.

Item, that Auiſe, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the ſame ſect and fauoured them, and receiueth them often, and alſo the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the ſame ſect, and can read Engliſhe.

Rich. Fletcher.

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckils, is a moſt perfect doctour in that ſect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, & hath a booke of the new law in Engliſhe, which was Syr Hue Pyes firſt.

Nicho. Belward

A new teſtament then coſt foure markes and xl. pence.

Item, that Nicolas Belward, ſonne of John Belward dwellyng in the pariſhe of Southelham, is one of the ſame ſect, and hath a new Teſtament which he bought at London for iiij. markes and xl. pence, and taught the ſayd William Wright and Margery hys wife, and wrought wyth them continually by the ſpace of one yeare, and ſtudied diligently vpon the ſayd new Teſtament.

Tho. Gremner.

Itẽ, that Thomas Grenner Turner of Dychingame is perfect in that ſect and law.

John Clarke.

John Clarke the yonger of Bergh, had the bedding and apparell of William Euerden in hys cuſtody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the ſame ſecte.

William Bate.

Item, William Bate, Taylour of Sethyng, and hys wyfe and hys ſonne, which can read Engliſhe very well, are of the ſame ſecte.

W. Skiruing.

Item, William Skiruyng of Sethyng, receaued Joane the wyfe of W. White into hys houſe, beyng brought thether by William Euerden, after their departure from Martham.

W. Oſberne.
John Reue.
Bawdwin Cooper.
John Pert.

Item, William Oſborne of Sethyng, J. Reue Glouer, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckels are of the ſame ſect.

Item, John Pert late ſeruaunt of Thomas Moone, is of the ſame ſect, and can read wel and did read in the preſence of William White, and was the firſt that brought ſir Hugh Pye into the company of the Lollardes, which aſſembled oftentymes together, at the houſe of the ſayd Tho. Moone, and there conferred vpon their doctrine.

Syr Hugh Pie Prieſt.

Item, Syr Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, ſeruaunt to William White, a new Teſtament, which they then called the booke of the new law, & was in the cuſtody of Oſwald Godfrey of Colcheſter.

John Perker.

John Perker Mercer of a village by Ipſwich, is a famous doctour of that ſecte. Alſo he ſayd that father Abraham of Colcheſter is a good man.

A propheſie.

Item, the ſayd William Wright depoſeth that it is read in the Propheſies amongeſt the Lollardes, that the ſecte of Lollardes ſhalbe in a maner deſtroyed: Notwithſtandyng at the length the Lollardes ſhal preuayle, and haue the victory agaynſt all their enemyes.

Alſo, he ſayd that Tucke knoweth all of that ſecte in Suffolke, Norfolke and Eſſex.

Ex Regiſt. Norw.

Beſides theſe, there were many other the ſame yeare troubled, whoſe names beyng before expreſſed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuities ſake we omitte further to intreat of, paſſing ouer to the next yeare folowing, which was 1430. Ex Regiſt. Norw.

J. Burrell.

JOhn Burrell ſeruaunt to Thomas Moone of Lutney, in the Dioces of Norwiche, was apprehended and areſted for hereſie, the ix. day of December, in thys yeare of our Lord 1430. and examined by Maiſter William Bernam the Byſhops commiſſary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others hereafter following, obiected agaynſt hym.

In primis, that the Catholicke Church is the ſoule of euery good Chriſten men.

Lent faſte, fiſhe dayes.

Item, that no man is bound to faſt the Lent or other faſtyng dayes appointed by the Church, for they were not appoynted by God, but ordayned by the prieſtes: and that euery man may eate fleſhe or fiſhe vpon the ſame dayes indifferently, according to his owne will, & euery friday is a free day to eate both fleſhe and fiſhe indifferently.

Pilgrimage to the poore

Item, that pilgrimage ought not to be made but onely vnto the poore.

Item, that it is not lawfull to ſweare, but in caſe of life and death.

Maſſes for the dead vnprofitable.

Item, that Maſſes and prayers for the dead, are but vayne, for the ſoules of the dead are eyther in heauen or hel: and there is none other place of Purgatory, but this world. Vpon the which Articles he beyng conuict, was forced to abiure & ſuffered like penaunce as ỹ other before had done.

The. Moon of Ludney.

THomas Moone of Ludney, was apprehended and attached for ſuſpition of hereſie, agaynſt whom were obiected by the Byſhop, the articles before written, but ſpecially thys article, that he had familiarity and cõmunication with diuers heretickes, and had receiued, comforted, ſupported, and mayntayned diuers of them, as ſir William White, ſir Hugh Pie, Thomas Pert, and William Callis Prieſtes, wyth many other more: vpon the which articles, he beyng conuict before the biſhop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the lyke penaunce, in lyke maner as before.

W. White, Hugh Pye, Tho Pert. W. Callis, prieſtes perſecuted.

Robert Grigges of Martham.

In lyke maner Robert Grigges of Martham was brought before the Byſhop the xvij. day of February, in the yeare aforeſayd, for holding and affirmyng the foreſayd articles, but eſpecially theſe hereafter followyng.

Articles.

That the ſacrament of confirmation miniſtred by the biſhop, did auayle nothyng to ſaluation.

That it was no ſinne to withſtand the ordinaunces of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worſe for the coniurations & characters which the prieſtes made ouer them.

Vpon which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receiued penance in maner and forme as the other had done before hym.

J. Finch of Colcheſter.

The lyke alſo (albeit ſomewhat more ſharpe) happened vnto John Finch of Colcheſter, the xx. day of September, who albeit he was of the dioces of London, being ſuſpecte of hereſie, was attached in Ipſwich in the Dioces of Norwich, & brought before the biſhop there, before whom he beyng conuict of the lyke articles: as all the other before hym, was enioyned penaunce, three diſplinges in ſolemne proceſſion about the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, three ſeuerall Sondayes, and three diſplinges about the market place of Norwiche three principall market dayes, his head, necke and feete being bare, and his body couered onely with a ſhort ſhirte or veſture, hauyng in his handes a taper of waxe of a pound waight, which the next Sonday after his penaunce, he ſhould offer to the Trinitie: and that for the ſpace of iij. yeres after, euery Aſhwedneſday & Maundy Thurſday he ſhould appeare in the Cathedrall Church of Norwiche, before the Byſhop or his Vicegerent, to do open penaunce amongeſt the other penitentiaries, for his offences.

Popiſhe penaunce.

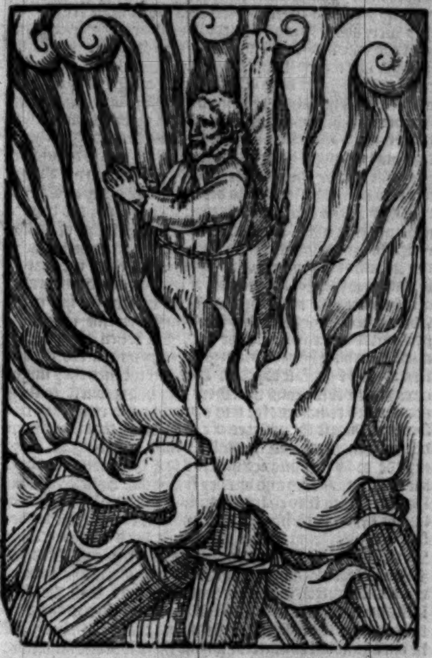
There were beſides theſe men which we haue here rehearſed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordaunce of the matter, and alſo for that their Articles and puniſhments were all one, we haue thought good at this time to paſſe ouer, eſpecially for ſomuch as their names be before recited in the Catalogue.

1430.

Rich Houeden Martir,

ABout the ſame time, euẽ the ſame yeare. 1430. ſhortly after the ſolemne coronation of Kyng Henry the vj. a certaine man named Richard Houeden a wollwinder, and Citizen of London, receiued alſo the crowne of

The burning of Rich. Houeden.



Martyrdome. which man, when as he could by no perſwaſions be withdrawen or plucked backe from the opinions of Wickliffe, he was by the Rulers of the Church condemned of hereſie, and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the tower of London.

Nicholas Canon of Eye.

Nicholas Canon of Eye.

1430.

NOw to procede in our ſtory of Norfolke and Suffolke, in followyng the order of yeres, we find that in the yeare of our Lord. 1431. one Nich. Canon of Eye was brought before the Biſhop of Norwich for ſuſpicion of hereſie, with certaine witneſſes ſworne to depoſe agaynſt hym touchyng his maners and conuerſation, which witneſſes appoyntyng one William Chriſtopher to ſpeake in the name of them all, he depoſed in maner and forme following.

Firſt that on Eaſter day when all the pariſhioners went about the church of Eye ſolemnly in proceſſion as the maner was, the ſayd Nicholas Canon as it wer mocking and deridyng the other pariſhioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the proceſſion.

Depoſitiōs.

This article he confeſſed and affirmed that he thought he dyd well in ſo doyng.

If the Sacrament be very fleſhe, then the prieſtes eate fleſhe on Friday.

Item, the ſayd Nicholas aſked of maiſter John Colman of Eye, this queſtion. Maiſter Colman, what thinke you of the Sacrament of the aulter? To whome the ſayd Colman aunſwered: Nicholas, I thinke that the Sacrament of the aulter is very God and very man, the very fleſh and very bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt vnder forme of bread and wyne. Vnto whome Nicholas in deriſion ſayd: Truely if the Sacrament of the aulter be very God & very man, and the very body & bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: then may very God and very man be put in a ſmall roume: as when it is in the prieſts mouth, that receiueth it at maſſe And why may not we ſimple men, as well eate fleſh vppon Fridayes and all other prohibited days, as the prieſt to eate the fleſh and the bloud of our Lord euery day indifferently? The which article, the ſayd Nicholas denied that he ſpake vnto Maiſter Colman, but vnto a Moncke of Hockeney. And furthermore, hee thought he had ſpoken well in that behalfe.

Item that on Corpus Chriſti day at the eleuation of high maſſe, when all the pariſhoners and other ſtraungers kneled downe holding vp their handes, and doyng reuerence vnto the ſacrament, the ſayd Nicholas went behynd a piller of the church, and turning his face from the high aulter, mocked them that did reuerence vnto the ſacrament.

This article he alſo acknowledging, affirmed that he beleued hymſelf to do well in ſo doyng.

Item, when his mother would haue the ſaid Nicholas to lift vp his right hand, and to croſſe himſelfe from ỹ craftes and aſſaults of the deuill, for ſo much as he deferred the doyng therof, his mother tooke vp his right hād & croſſed hym ſaying: In nomine patris filij, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. Which ſo ended, the ſayd Nicholas immediately deriding hys mothers bleſſyng, tooke vp his right hand of his owne accord, and bleſſed hym otherwyſe, as hys aduerſaries reporte of hym. This Article the ſayde Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Nicholas Canō turned his backe to the Sacramēt.

Item, that vpon Allhallowen day in the tyme of eleuation of high maſſe, when as many of the pariſhioners of Eye lighted many torches and caried them vp to the high aulter knelyng down there in reuerence and honour of the Sacrament, the ſayd Nicholas carying a torche, went vp hard to the high aulter, and ſtanding behynd the prieſtes backe ſaying maſſe, at the tyme of the eleuation he ſtoode vpright vpō his feete, turning his backe to the prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reuerence vnto the ſacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which articles the biſhops commiſſary cauſed to be copied out word for worde, & to be ſent vnto maiſter William Worſted, Prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich and to other doctors of Diuinitie, of the order of beggyng Friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and ſhew their myndes betwene that and Thurſday next followyng. Vpon which Thurſday beyng the laſte of Nouember, the yeare aforeſayd, the ſayd Nicholas was agayne examined before M. Barnam and diuers other vpō two other articles which he had confeſſed vnto J. Exetor notary, & Tho. Geruſten bacheler of Diuinitie and others.

An other examination of Nicholas Canon.

Wherof the firſt Article was this: that the ſayd Nicholas Canon being of perfect mynd and remembraunce, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the ſacrament of ỹ aulter, were the very body of Chriſt or no. This article he confeſſed before the Commiſſary to be true.

Articles obiected

Item, that he beyng of perfect mynd and remembrance, beleued that a man ought not to confeſſe his ſins to a prieſt. This article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted vpon.

Now remayneth to declare what theſe doctors aforeſayd concluded vpon the articles: whoſe aunſwer vnto the ſame was this.

The iudgement of the Prior and doctours vpon hys articles.

Firſt of all as touching the firſt Article, they ſayd that the article in the ſame termes as it was propounded, is not ſimply an hereſie but an errour.

Item, as touching the ſecond article, the doctours agree as in the firſt.

Item, as touching the third Article, they affirme that it is an hereſie.

Vnto the fourth Article they anſwered as vnto the firſt and ſecond.

An hereſie to doubt whether the ſacrament be the perfect body of Chriſt or no.

Item, the doctors affirme the v. Article to be an hereſy.

Item, as touching the vj. Article, the doctors conclude that if the ſayd Nicholas beyng of perfect mynd and remembrance, did doubt whether the ſacrament of the aulter were the very perfect body of Chriſt or no, then that Article is ſimply an hereſie.

Nicholos Canō declared an hereticke.

Wherupon the ſayd Commiſſary declared and pronoūced the ſayd Nicolas Canon vpon the determination of the foreſayd doctors, to be an hereticke: and therupon forced the ſayd Nicholas to abiure all the ſayd Articles. That done, he enioyned the ſayd Nicholas penance for his offences, thre diſplinges about the cloyſter of the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, before a ſolemn proceſſion, bare headed and barefoote, carying a Taper of halfe a pound in his hande, goyng after the maner aforeſayd, like a mere penitētiarie: ỹ which his penance, the iudge commaunded ſhould be reſpited vntill the comming of the Biſhop into his dioceſſe, and that in the meane tyme he ſhould be kept in priſon, to the ende that he ſhould not infect the flocke with his venome and poyſon of errours and hereſies.

Penaunce enioyned to Nicholas Canon.

Thus haue we briefly diſcourſed vnto you, the great troubles and afflictions, which happened in Norfolke and Suffolke by the ſpace of thoſe 4. yeares before mentioned, hauyng drawen out briefly for euery yeare, certaine notable examples, ſufficient for the declaration of all the reſt, for ſo much as their opinions beyng nothing different, theyr penaunce and puniſhment did alſo nothyng differ, otherwyſe then by thoſe particuler examples may be plainly ſene.

Thomas Bagley prieſt.

Tho Bageley prieſt, Martyr.

ANd now to procede as we haue begon, with our former ſtories generally, we find in Fabians Chronicles that in the ſame yere of our Lord, 1431. Thomas Bagley a prieſt vicare of Monenden beſide Malden, beyng a valiaunt diſciple and adherent of Wickleffe, was condemned by the Biſhops of hereſie at London aboute the midſt of Lent, was diſgraded and burned in Smithfield.

❡Paule Craw a Bohemian.

Paule Craw martyr.
Ex Hector. Boetio.

The ſame yeare alſo was Paule Crawe a Bohemian taken at S. Andrewes by the Biſhop Henry, ⁊ deliuered ouer to the ſecular power to be burnt for holdyng cõtrary opinions vnto the Church of Rome touching the ſacramẽt of yͤ Lordes ſupper, the worſhippyng of ſaints, auricular confeſſion, with other of Wickleffes opinions.

❡The ſtory of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in Italy for the profeſsion of Chriſt.

Tho. Rhedonenſis, Martyr.
Ex Antonin. 3. parte hiſt. fol. 165.

WE haue declared before, how this cruell ſtorme of perſecution which firſt began with vs in England, after it had long raged here agaynſt many good and godly men, it brake out and paſſed into Boheme, and after within a ſhort tyme, the fire of this perſecution increaſing by litle and litle, inuaded Scotland, and from thence now with greater force ⁊ violence, this furious deuouryng flame hath entred Italy, and ſuffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and ſlaughter of moſt good and godly mẽ. It happened about this tyme, that one Thomas Rhedon, a Frier of that ſect which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chaunce came with the Venetiã Ambaſſadours into Italy. This man although he was of that ſort and ſect, which in ſteade of Chriſtians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a farre other religion, and vnderſtood the word of God, iudgyng that God ought not to be worſhipped, neither in that mount, nor at Ieruſalem onely; but in ſpirite and truth. This man beyng a true Carmelite, and ſauoring with his whole hart that new ſweete muſt of Ieſu Chriſt, with earneſt ſtudy ⁊ deſire ſeekyng after a Chriſtian integritie of lyfe, prepared himſelfe firſt to go into Italy, truſtyng that he ſhould find there, or els in no place, ſome by whoſe good lyfe and liuyng he might be edified and inſtructed. For where ought more abondaunce of vertue and good liuyng to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the forte and fountaine of all religion? And how could it otherwiſe be, but that whereas ſo great holynes is profeſſed, wherupon all mens eyes are bent as vpon a ſtage, whereas S. Peters ſeate is, and is thought to be the ruler and gouernour of all the Church, all thynges ſhould floriſh and abound worthy ſo great expectation in that place? This holy man hauyng theſe thynges before his eyes, and conſideryng the ſame with himſelfe, forſooke his owne countrey ⁊ Citie, ⁊ went vnto Rome, cõceiuing a firme and ſure hope, that by the example of ſo many notable and worthy men, he ſhould greatly profite in godlynes and learnyng: but the ſucceſſe of yͤ matter did vtterly fruſtrate his hope, for all things were cleane contrary. Whatſoeuer he ſaw, was nothyng els but meere diſſimulation and hypocriſie. In ſtead of gold, he founde nothing but coales: and for to ſay the truth, he found nothyng els there but gold and ſiluer. In ſteade of heauenly giftes, there raigned amongeſt them the pompe and pride of the world. In place of godlynes, riote. In ſteade of learning and ſtudy, ſlouthfulnes and ſuperſtition. Tyranny and hautyneſſe of mynde had poſſeſſed the place of Apoſtolicke ſimplicitie: that now there remayned no more any place or libertie for a man to learne that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly vnderſtood.

Tho. Rhedonenſis commeth into Italy.

The golden citie of Rome.

All thinges corrupt at Rome.

Finally all thyngs were turned arſye verſye, all thyngs happened vnto him contrary to his expectation, where ſoeuer he went. But nothyng ſomuch offended this good mãs mynde, as the intolerable ambition, and pompous pride in them, whome example of humilitie ſhould eſpecially commend and prayſe to the whole world. And albeit that he ſaw here nothyng, which did accorde ⁊ agree with the rule of the Apoſtles: yet theſe thynges dyd ſomuch paſſe all meaſure and pacience, that he could by no meanes refrayne his toung in ſo great abuſe and corruption of the Church, ſeing ſuch ambitious pride in their buildynges, apparell, in their places, in their daintie fare, in their great traynes of ſeruauntes, in their horſſe and armour, ⁊ finally in all thynges pertaynyng vnto them. Which thynges, how much they dyd vary from the preſcript rule of the Goſpell, ſomuch the more was this good man forced to ſpeake. Albeit he did well vnderſtand how litle he ſhould preuayle by ſpeakyng: for if admonitiõ would profite any thyng at all, the bookes of Wickleffe and diuers other were not wantyng. The famous teſtimonies of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, ⁊ their bloud ſhed for the ſame, was yet preſent before their eyes: at whoſe moſt effectuall exhortations, they were ſo litle correct and amended, that they ſeemed twiſe more cruell then they were before. yet all this could not feare this good man, but that in ſo neceſſary and wholeſome an office, he would ſpẽd his lyfe if nede ſhould be. So by this meanes, he which came to be a ſcholer vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to folow other mẽs liues and maners, had now contrarywiſe ſet before them his lyfe to be marked and followed. For he lyued ſo amongeſt them, that his lyfe might be a rule vnto them all, and ſo taught as he might alſo be their ſchole maiſter. For euen as Paule had foreſhewed vnto ſuch as deſired to liue godly in Chriſt, that they ſhould ſuffer perſecution: ſuch like reward happened vnto this man. He gaue vnto them the fruite of godlynes, which they ſhould folow: they agayne ſet vpon his head the diademe of Martyrdome. He ſheweth them the way to ſaluation, ⁊ they for the benefite of lyfe rewarded him death: and whereas no rewardes had bene worthy for his great labours and trauailes, they with moſt extreme ignominie perſecuted him euen vnto the fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuy and hatred, the rulers began to conſult together by what meanes they might circumuent this mans lyfe. Here they had recourſe to their accuſtomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and continuall cuſtome amongeſt the prelates of the Church, that if any man diſpleaſe them, or that hys talke be not accordyng to theyr mynde, or by any meanes hurtfull or a hinderance to theyr luker and gayne, by and by they frame out Articles of ſome hereſie, which they charge hym withall. And lyke as euery liuyng thyng hath hys peculiar and proper weapon to defend hymſelfe from harme, as nature hath armed yͤ Bore wyth hys tuſkes, the hedge hogge wyth hys prickels, the Lyon is feared for hys clawes, the dogge for hys byting, the Bull fighteth wyth hys hornes, neither doth the Aſſe lacke hys houes to ſtrike wythall: euen ſo thys is the onely armour of the byſhops, to ſtrangle a man wyth hereſie, if he once go about to mutter agaynſt their will and ambition: which thyng may be eaſely perceiued and ſeene in this moſt holy man, beſide a great number of other. Who, when as now he began to waxe greuous vnto them, and coulde no longer be ſuffred: what did they? ſtraight wayes flee vnto their olde policies, and as they had done wyth Hus ⁊ Hierome of Prage, euen ſo went they about to practiſe againſt this man. They ouerwhelme hym wyth ſuſpition, they ſeeke to intangle him wyth queſtions, they examine hym in iudgement, they compile Articles againſt him and lay hereſie vnto his charge, they condemne him as an hereticke, and being ſo condemned, they deſtroy ⁊ kill him. This was their godlines: this was the peaceable order of thoſe Carmelites. Whoſe religion was to weare no ſword nor ſhield, notwithſtanding they did beare in their hartes, malice, rancour vengeaunce, poyſon, craft and deceite, ſharper then any ſword. With how great care and policie is it prouided by law, that none of theſe Clergy men ſhould fight with ſword in the ſtreates? when as in iudgement and accuſatiõs (where as it is not lawfull for a mã to oppreſſe his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more ready vengeaunce, or that doth more vilye eſteme his brothers ſoule then they. They ſhed no bloude them ſelues, they ſtricke not, nor kill, but they deliuer them ouer vnto others to be ſlaine. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authours, and the other are but the miniſters of the cruell fact? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the ſame ſort, yet they do it by another meane.

The wickednes ⁊ pride that raigneth at Rome.

The corruptiõ of Rome will admitte no reformation.

Pietie rewarded with perſecution.

Hereſie made, where none is.

Popery armed wyth policie ⁊ defended wyth tyranny.

The Articles which they falſly gathered agaynſt this man, are affirmed by ſome to be theſe.

Hys articles.

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it ſhall be puniſhed and reformed.

That Infidels, Iewes, Turkes and Mores ſhall be conuerted vnto Chriſt in the later dayes.

That abhominations are vſed at Rome.

That the vniuſt excommunication of the Pope, is not to be feared: and thoſe which do not obſerue the ſame, do not ſinne or offend.

But yet there lacked a miniſter for theſe Articles: albeit he could not long be wantyng at Rome, where all thynges are to be ſold, euen mens ſoules. For this office and miniſtery, there was no man thought more meete, then William of Rowne, Cardinall of S. Martines in yͤ Mõut, Vicechaũcelour of the Court of Rome. Eugenius at that tyme was Pope, who had a litle before ſucceded Pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the which Eugenius, this godly Rhedonenſis the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence ſent vnto priſon. And agayne after his impriſonment, ⁊ diuers and ſondry greuous tormentes, he was brought before the

Ex Antonin. 3 part. hiſto. fol. 165.
VV. Cardinalis Rhotomagẽſis. his perſecutour.

Tho. Rhedonenſis brought before Pope Eugenius.

the iudges. The Wolfe ſat in iudgemente: the Lambe was accuſed. Why? becauſe he had troubled the ſpring. But here neede not many wordes. This good Thomas, not beyng able to reſiſt the malice of theſe mighty potentates, had offended inough, and was conuict and condemned to be burned: but in ſuch ſort, as firſt of al he ſhould be depriued of all ſuch degrees as he had taken to Prieſthode: For it is counted an vnlawfull thyng, that a Prieſt ſhould be puniſhed with prophane puniſhment, when as notwithſtandyng it is lawfull inough for Prieſtes to put any lay man to death, be he neuer ſo giltles.

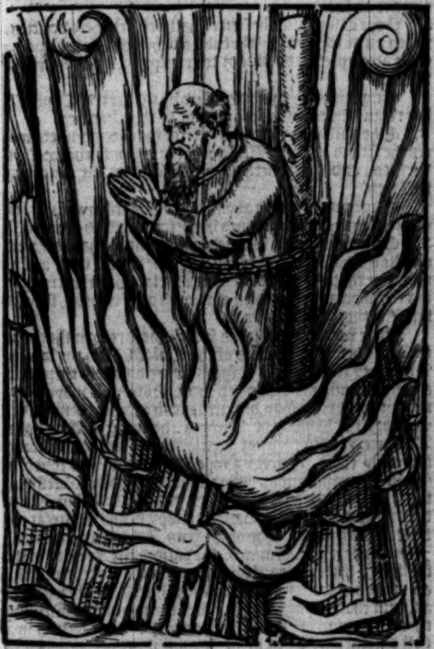
Thomas degraded.

How religiouſly and earneſtly do they forſee, that the maieſty of Prieſtly dignitie ſhould not in any caſe be hurt? But how litle care haue they, that their conſciences be not hurt with falſe iudgemētes, & oppreſſing the giltles? Wherfore, before that he ſhould come vnto puniſhment, this good man muſt be diſgraded. The order and maner of this Popiſh degradyng is partly before touched in the ſtory of William Taylor. fol. 636.

Tho. Rhedonēſis a Frēch man burned at Rome.

After that it had pleaſed the Byſhops to diſgrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had conſecrated him, and thought not that ſufficiēt, by and by after they depriued him of his life alſo, and burned hym. 4. yeares after that he came to Rome. In the yeare of our Lord. 1436.

The burning of Tho. Rhedonenſis.



And thus through the crueltie of theſe moſt tyrannous Prelates, this bleſſed Martyr dyed. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loſſe of this body, for a greater gayne of ſaluation, before the iuſt iudgemēt of God: Neither is it to be doubted, but that he lyueth eternally vnder the aultar, with them whoſe bloud the Lord will reuenge, peraduēture to ſoone for ſome of them, whom the earth hath here ſo long holden vnpuniſhed.

Henry Grūfelder prieſt, Henry Radtgeber prieſt, Joh. Draendorfe prieſt, Pet. Thoraw Mat. Hager, Martyrs.

As this Thomas aboueſayd ſuffered at Rome: ſo were diuers other in other places about Germany executed neare about the ſame tyme, after the burnyng of John Hus: as Henry Grunfelder Prieſt of Ratiſpone. an. 1420. alſo Hēry Radtgeber Prieſt, in the ſame Citie. an. 1423. John Draendorfe of noble byrth and a Prieſt, was burned at Wormes. an. 1424. Peter Thoraw, at Spire. an. 1426. Math. Hager, alſo ſuffered at Berline in Germany, not lōg after. Ex Balei Centur. ſept.

Pope Eugenius. 4.

After the death of pope Martin, who reigned. 14. yeares, ſucceded Eugenius, the 4. of that name, about the yeare of our Lord. 1431. Of whom Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much geuen to warres, as may well declare his conflictes and fightyng with the Romaines: alſo the battailes betwene the Venetians and the Florentians.

This Pope began firſt to celebrate the Coūcell of Baſill, which Councell Martin hys predeceſſour had before intended, accordyng to the inſtitution of the councell of Cōſtance. Notwythſtandyng the ſayd Eugenius perceauyng afterward thys Councell of Baſill not to fauour hym and hys doynges, and fearyng ſome detriment to come to hym by the ſame, afterward laboured by all ſubtill practiſe to diſſolue and interrupt the ſayd Councell, and from Baſill to tranſlate it firſt to Ferraria, then to Florētia, more nere to hys owne ſea of Rome. Concernyng the which Councell of Baſill, for ſomuch as we haue begon here to make mention, it ſhall be no great digreſſion out of the way, to diſcourſe ſomethyng therof (the Lord ſo permitting) more at large, ſo much as for the moſt principall matters therof ſhall ſeeme ſufficicient or neceſſary to be knowen.

Here foloweth the order and maner of the Councell of Baſill, touchyng the principall matters concluded therin, briefly collected and abridged here in this preſent booke: The reſt whereof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherein the full diſcourſe of the whole diſputation is to be ſene more at large, for ſuch as haue lyſt and leiſure to ſee more thereof.

The Coūcell of Baſill.

Ex Ænea Syluio. Ex Chocleo in Hiſt. Huſſit. Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Vrſperg.

IN the 39. ſeſſion of the Councell of Conſtance (as is before mentioned pag. 573.) it was decreed and prouided concernyng the order and tymes of ſuche generall Councelles as ſhoulde hereafter follow: The firſt that ſhoulde nexte enſue, to be kept the fift yeare after the ſaide Councell of Conſtance: the ſecond to be holden ỷ vij. yeare after that, and ſo orderly all other to follow ſucceſſiuely frō x. yeare to x. yeare. Wherfore accordyng to thys decree, folowed a generall Councell, fiue yeares after the Councell of Conſtance, celebrate and holden at Sene vnder pope Martine, an. 1424. but it ſoone broke vp. After the which Councell, the terme of vij. yeares beyng expired, an other councell was holden at Baſill, in the yeare of our Lord 1431. The which councel is noted to haue bene the moſt troubleſome, and to haue endured longer then any other Councell before tyme celebrate and holden in the church. This councell continued almoſt the ſpace of xvij. yeares: wherein it was concluded, as before in the councell of Conſtance, that the generall Councels were aboue the Pope, and both of theſe two Councels did attribute the chiefe authoritie in decreeing and determining vnto the generall councel: which is the cauſe that the contrary part doth derogate ſo much from the authoritie of thys preſent Councell.

The death of Pope Martine.

Pope Eugenius. 4.

When as Pope Martine the fift had appointed Juliā, Cardinall and Deacon of S. Angel, hys Legate, to celebrate and holde a generall Councell at Baſill for the reformation of the Church, and rooting out of hereſies, within ſhort ſpace after Pope Martine died, in whoſe ſeat Eugenius the fourth ſucceeded, who confirmed vnto the ſaide Cardinall Julian, the ſame authoritie which his predeceſſor before had geuen hym. Vnto this Councell of Baſill beyng begon, came the Emperour Sigiſmūd, who during hys lyfe tyme, with hys preſence and authoritie did protect and defend the ſayd Synode. After the Emperours death, Pope Eugenius alteryng hys former mynde and purpoſe, would tranſport the councell vnto Bononie, and thereby hindred the ſucceſſe of the Councell of Baſill. And firſt he held a contrary councell at Ferraria, & afterward at Florence: For after the death of the Emperour Sigiſmund, there was no Princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the councell. Eugenius the Pope pretended cauſes, as touchyng the Greckes, which ſhould come vnto the councell, and the vniting of their Church vnto the weſt church, the which Greekes would in no wyſe paſſe the Alpes: Alſo as touching his owne incōmoditie, that he could not come vnto Baſill beyng ſo long a iourney, and that all hys men myght haue eaſie acceſſe vnto Bononia, and that amongeſt the Germaines (which in their owne countrey are ſo intractable) nothyng can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal Julian and the Fathers of the councell vnto Bononia, vnder great penaltie. They agayne cited the Pope, that either he ſhoulde come hymſelfe vnto the councell, or ſend Ambaſſadors vnder the lyke penaltie. For thys cauſe the Ambaſſadours of Albert kyng of the Romaynes, and of the other Princes of Germany, aſſembled together firſt at Norenberge, and when as they could determine nothyng there, they aſſembled agayne at Frankford, to appeaſe the diſſenſion betwene the councell and the Pope: for it was thought, that the Electors of the Empire might beſt aſſemble and meete in that place. In the meane time, the Emperours Ambaſſadours and the Ambaſſadours of the Electors, went vnto Baſill,

Pope Eugenius ſeketh to diſſolue the councell of Baſill.

Diſſention betwene the councell of Baſill and pope Eugenius.

The princes requeſt to remoue the councell at the popes pleaſure.

and hauyng conference wyth the Imbaſſadours of the other Princes which were there, they did earneſtly exhort the fathers of the Coũcell, that they would embrace and receiue the vnitie, which they would offer. The requeſt of the Princes was, that the fathers would tranſport the Councell, and go vnto an other place: the which onely thyng pope Eugenius ſeemed alwayes to ſeeke and deſire, that thereby he might either diuide the fathers of the Councell, or take away their libertie.

The prelates of the councell refuſed the popes requeſt.

Notwithſtandyng this ſacred Synode thought good neither to deny the princes requeſt, nor to graũt that, which Pope Eugenius required. Duryng this doubt, the Emperours Imbaſſadours, the Biſhops of Patauia and Auguſta (beyng much required and ſtyrred therunto) appointed a noble and valiaũt Baron called Conrad Weinſperge, by the kynges commaundement, to be Protector and defender of the Councell, and the fathers. wherby as the enemyes perceiued the Emperours mynde to be alienate frõ the Pope, ſo the Fathers of the Councell vnderſtood his good will towardes them: for ſomuch as he would not haue ſent them a protector, if he had not iudged it a lawfull Councell: neither agayne would he haue iudged it a Councell in Baſill, if he had geuen credit to Pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great peſtilence which began to grow, the aſſembly that ſhould haue bene holden at Frankford, was trãſported vnto Mentz. The Imbaſſadours of the princes alſo thought good to go thether, if they might finde any meanes of vnity, whereby they might vnite and knit the Pope agayne vnto the Councell.

The princes aſſembled at Mentz, to make vnitie betwene the councell and the Pope.

The aſſembly was very famous, for there were preſent the Archbyſhops of Mentz, Colen & Treuers, Electours of the ſacred Empire, and all the Imbaſſadours of the other Electours. Notwithſtandyng, the Archbyſhop of Colen was the chief fauourer of the Councell in this aſſembly, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bryng the matter vnto a good ende. Rabanus the Archbyſhop of Treuers ſhewed himſelfe ſomewhat more rough. The ſacred Synode alſo thought good to ſend thether their Imbaſſadours, and appointed out the Patriarke of Aquileya, the Byſhop of Vicene, and the Byſhop of Argen Diuines, John Segouius, and Thomas De Corcellis, with diuers others. There was no mã there preſent which would name himſelfe the Imbaſſadour of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of his fauourers and frendes come thether, both from the Coũcell, and alſo out of Florence, the which, albeit they had ſworne to the contrary, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the Councell. But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicolaus Cuſanus, a man ſingularly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers conſultations had, the Electours of the Empire, and the Imbaſſadours of the other Princes of Germany, thought good to geue out commaundement throughout their whole nation and countrey, that the Decrees of the Councell of Baſill ſhould be receiued and obſerued.

Three opinions touching the Pope.

Whileſt theſe thynges were thus debated at Mentz, there ſprang a certaine very doubtfull queſtion amõgeſt the Diuines, which remained at Baſill, whether Eugenius might be called an hereticke, which had ſo rebelliouſly contemned the commaundementes of the Church. Hereupon they gathered thẽſelues together, diſputyng long amongeſt themſelues, ſome affirmyng, and other ſome holding the negatiue part. Upon this their diſputation, there aroſe three ſeuerall opinions, ſome affirming that he was an hereticke, other ſome, not onely an hereticke, but alſo a relapſe. The third ſort would neither graunt him to be an hereticke nor a relapſe. Amongeſt theſe diuines, the chief and principall both in learnyng and authoritie, was the Biſhop of Ebrun, Imbaſſadour of the kyng of Caſtell, and a certaine Scottiſh Abbot: which, as two moſt valiaunt Champions, ſubdued all their enemyes, ſo that all the reſt dyd either conſent vnto their arguments, or gaue place vnto thẽ, and ſo their determination tooke place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an hereticke and relapſe. Eight concluſions were there determined and allowed amongeſt the Diuines, which they called verities: the copy whereof they dyd diuulgate throughout all Chriſtendome.

The Imbaſſadours returne from Mentz.

The popes hereſie diſcuſſed.

When the Imbaſſadours of the Councell were returned from Mentz, and that certaine report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the Coũcel thought good to diſcuſſe the concluſiõs of the Diuines more at large. Wherupon, by the commaundement of the deputies, all the Maiſters and Doctours and Clergy were called together, with all the reſidue of the Prelates, into the Chapter houſe of the great Churche, there openly to diſpute and diſcuſſe Eugenius hereſie. The which thyng ſore greued the Byſhop of Millaine, fearyng leaſt this diſputation would worke the depriuation of Eugenius, the which, as he ſayd, he had alwayes letted for feare of ſchiſme: wherfore he ceſed not by all maner of wayes to labour, to ſtop and trouble the matter, exhortyng them that were abſent by hys letters, and encouragyng thoſe that were preſent by his wordes, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the laſt, there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter houſe, ſome commyng thether to diſpute, and other ſome to heare. This diſputation cõtinued ſixe dayes, both forenoone and afternoone, amongeſt whom Cardinall Lodouicus Archbyſhop Arelatenſis, was appointed as Iudge and Arbiter of the whole diſputatiõ: who beſide many other notable vertues, was both valiaunt and conſtant. Nicolas Amici, which was alſo a Proctor of the faith, a famous man amongeſt yͤ Diuines of Paris, demaunded of euery man what their opinion was. John Deinleſiſt, publike Notary, wrote euery euery mans ſentence and iudgement. The concluſions of the Diuines, which were the ground and foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here followyng.

The biſhop of Millaine taketh Eugenius part for feare of a ſchiſme.

Cõcluſions of the diſputation.

1, It is a veritie of the Catholicke fayth, that the ſacred generall Councell, hath power ouer the Pope, or any other Prelate.

2. The Pope cannot by his owne authoritie, eitheir diſſolue, tranſport or proroge, the generall Coũcell beyng lawfully congregate, without the whole conſent of the Councell: and this is of like verity.

3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an hereticke.

4. Pope Eugenius the fourth hath reſiſted theſe verities, when as at the firſt, by the fulnes of his Apoſtolicke power, he attempted to diſſolue or to tranſporte the Councell of Baſill.

5. Eugenius beyng admoniſhed by the ſacred Councell, did recant the errours repugnaunt to theſe verities.

6. The diſſolution or tranſlation of the Councell attempted the ſecond tyme by Eugenius, is agaynſt the foreſayd verities, and contayneth an inexcuſable errour touchyng the fayth.

7. Eugenius in goyng about to diſſolue and tranſport the Coũcell agayne, is fallen into his before reuoked errours.

8. Eugenius beyng warned by yͤ Synode, that he ſhould reuoke the diſſolution or tranſlation the ſecond tyme attẽpted: after that his contumacy was declared, perſeueryng in his rebellion and erectyng a Councell at Ferraria, ſhewed himſelfe thereby obſtinate.

Panormitane ſpeaketh agayne for the pope.

Articles of faith deuided into 3. ſorts.

Panormitane preferreth the iudgement of the Cardinalles of Rome, before all the world.

Theſe were the cõcluſiõs which were read in the chapter houſe before the fathers of the Coũcell. Upõ the which, when they were deſired to ſpeake their myndes, they all, in a maner, confirmed & allowed them. Notwithſtandyng Panormitane Archbyſhop, diſputed much againſt them. Likewiſe dyd the Byſhop of Burgen the kyng of Arragons Almoner. yet did they not gaynſay the 3. firſt concluſions, but onely thoſe wherein Pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane as he was ſubtil, ſo did he ſubtelly diſpute agaynſt the laſt concluſions, endeuouryng himſelfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapſed, and had great cõtention with the Byſhop of Argens, John Segouius, and Fraũces de Fuxe, Diuines. He diuided the Articles of the fayth into three ſortes: ſtraightly, as in the Creede: largely, as in the declarations made by the Church, moſt largely of all, as in thoſe thyngs which riſe of the premiſſes, affirming that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his fayth in hys firſt diſſolution that he made, becauſe it is not contayned in the Creede, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the Pope cannot diſſolue the Councels: and that it ſemeth not vnto him to riſe of the determinatiõ before made, but rather of the decrees of the Councell of Conſtãce: And further, that this, as a caſe omitted, is reſerued for the Pope to be diſcuſſed, for ſomuch as in the chapter beginnyng Frequens, it appeareth that the place where the Coũcell ſhould be kept, ought to be choſen by the Pope, the Councell allowyng the ſame, and nothyng is therof at all ſpoken. And if peraduenture Eugenius had offended in the firſt diſſolution, notwithſtãdyng he ought to be holden excuſed, becauſe he dyd it by the counſell of the Cardinals, repreſentyng the Church of Rome: whoſe authoritie he ſayd to be ſuch, that the iudgement therof ſhould be preferred before all yͤ world. Neither hath there bene any ſacred Councel found to haue proceded agaynſt Eugenius as an hereticke, and that is an euident ſigne, that the Councell hath not thought him to haue ſwarued from the fayth, neither to haue any occaſion, that he ſhould be called hereticke for his errours reuoked, and that he himſelfe hath read the whole text, that the pope did not reuoke the diſſolution as cõtrary vnto the faith, but as breedyng offence: Alſo yͭ the laſt diſſolutiõ hath no ſuch cauſe in it: for ſomuch as likewiſe he had done it by the couſell of the Cardinals, and for the vnityng of the Greekes, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cauſe, to aunſwere by his procuratour, when as he beyng letted by ſickneſ, could not come perſonally. So, for as much as in the firſt diſſolutiō Eugenius hath fallē into no errour of fayth, he cannot be perſwaded that he can be called a relapſe, for ſo much as he neither in the firſt, neither yet in the ſecond diſſolution did violate his fayth.

The pope pretendeth the vnityng of the Greekes, whē he meaneth an other thyng.

This Oration of Panormitane was more prayſed thē allowed of all men. Notwithſtādyng this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapſe was taken out of the concluſiōs, and in ſteade therof this word prolapſe put in. Neither durſt Panormitane himſelfe, altogether excuſe Eugenius of hereſie, but defended more the firſt diſſolution, then the ſecond: yet departed he not without aunſwere: for John Segouius an expert Diuine, riſing vp, aunſwered hym reuerently as was comely for ſuch a Prelate. He ſayd he graūted that which Panormitane had ſpoken touchyng the diuiſion of the Articles of the fayth into three poyntes, for becauſe it made for his purpoſe. For if thoſe thynges are to be holden for Articles of fayth, ſayd he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifeſt that the concluſions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church: that is to ſay, of the Councell of Conſtance: for, if therein the Pope be made ſubiect vnto the generall Councell, who is it that will ſay that the Pope hath power ouer the Coūcell which is aboue him? or that Eugenius ought to remaine Pope, becauſe he could not diſſolue the Councell which is aboue him, without the conſent therof? The which Article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any man will ſay that in the firſt diſſolution this Article was not violate, becauſe there was no declaration made therof, let hym which ſo thinketh, thus vnderſtand: that the Byſhop of Rome ought not onely to know the playne and manifeſt, but alſo the ſecret and hidden thyngs of the fayth, for he beyng the vicare of Chriſt and the head of all other, ought to inſtruct and teach all men. But if ſo be he will not, then he ſhall be conuicted for being head, becauſe he continued long in the diſſolution after the declaration of the councel, neither did cōſent vnto ẏ determinatiō of ẏ church: & therfore, if peraduēture he did not erre in ẏ fayth, in diſſoluyng of ẏ coūcel, yet did he erre in perſeueryng in ẏ ſame, as it manifeſtly appeareth by ẏ ſaying of Clemēt oftetymes alledged by Panormitan, wherin it is ſaid, that he which liueth rebelliouſly & neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the deuill thē of Chriſt, and rather an infidell then a true beleuer: ſo that Eugenius by diſſobeying the Church, may worthely be called an infidell. Neither is it true that the Pope hath not offended in the fayth: For ſomuch, as wel in that aunſwere which beginneth Cogitanti, as alſo in the aunſwere which beginneth Sperant, made vnto the Popes Ambaſſadours, theſe wordes are manifeſt: this Article cōcerneth fayth and we had rather dye then through cowardlynes to geue place. By the which ſaying it is euident, the Synode to haue ſufficiētly admoniſhed the Pope that he did agaynſt the fayth, and therfore it ſeemed that afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the diſſolution, he alſo reuoked the errour of fayth contained in the ſame. There are alſo diuers offences ſprong and riſen through the errour of fayth: for ſome ſay that the pope is vnder the Councell, other ſome deny it, and this diuerſitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Alſo it is expreſſely agaynſt the authoritie of the Councell, that the Pope did reuoke the aſſertions made in their name.

The pope no relaps, but prolaps.

John Segouius aunſwereth to Panormitane.

The pope neglecting to do good, is a member, not of Chriſt, but of the deuill.

And albeit in ſuch reuocations, the ſtile and order of iudgementes is not obſerued, notwithſtandyng it doth ſuffiſe in ſuch caſe, when as the Councell doth procede agaynſt the Pope: in which caſe onely the truth is to be obſerued, neither is the Councell ſubiect vnto any poſitiue law, that it ought to obſerue any termes or iudiciall orders. Alſo he ſayd that he vtterly contemned that ſingular gloſe which did preferre the Pope before all the world, ſo that it might well be called ſingular, which decreed ſo fooliſh and fonde thynges and vnworthy to be followed of any man: and that he dyd much maruaile of Panormitane and other Doctours of thoſe dayes, which whileſt they went about to extol the authoritie of the gloſes, do abaſe the ſame by addyng a ſingularitie therto: for that gloſe is ſingular whiche is alone. But who would not more eſteme a gloſe conſtantly written and agreable in all places, then that which in any one place teacheth any thyng which may ſeeme to be an errour: and that as touchyng the veritie and truth. S. Hierome a graue and auncient Doctour is contrary to this gloſe, who doubteth nothyng at all, but that the world, as touchyng authoritie is aboue the Citie it ſelfe, that is to ſay, Rome.

Councels bound to no poſitiue lawe.

Segouius, could ſcarſely finiſh this his Oration without interruption: for Panormitane oftetymes enterruptyng hym, went about to confute now thys, and now that reaſon. Whereupon the byſhop of Argen riſing vp, a man not onely eloquent, but alſo of a ſtoute courage, troubled Panormitane in his reaſons and argumentes, and put him from hys purpoſe: yet they proceeded ſo farre, that they paſſed the maner of diſputation, and did not abſtayne from opprobrious tauntes.

When the Byſhop of Argen chaunced to ſay that the Byſhop of Rome ought to be the miniſter of the Church, Panormitane could not ſuffer that: in ſo much that he ſo forgot hymſelfe that day, and hys knowledge (which otherwiſe was great) did ſo fayle him, that he was not aſhamed to ſay and affirme, that the Pope was Lord ouer the Church. Whom Segouius aunſwered: Marke (ſaith he) O Panormitane, what thou ſayeſt: for this is the moſt honourable title of the byſhop of Rome, wherein he calleth hymſelfe the ſeruaunt of the ſeruauntes of God. Which is gathered vpon thys point, when as Chriſt ſaid vnto hys diſciples, when they demaūded of him which of them was the greateſt, you know he aunſwered them: The Princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them, but amōgeſt you it is not ſo, &c. Wherein he doth vtterly prohibite lordſhip and dominion. And Peter which was the firſt vicar of Chriſt, ſaith, feede the flocke of Chriſt which is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulſion, but willingly. And immediatly after he ſayd, not as Lordes ouer the clergie. For if Chriſt the ſonne of God, came not to be miniſtred vnto, but to miniſter and to ſerue, how then can hys vicar haue any dominion, or be called Lord, as you Panormitane will affirme: forſomuch as the diſciple is not aboue hys maiſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue hys Lord. And the Lord hymſelfe ſaith: be ye not called maiſters, for ſo much as your onely maiſter is Chriſt, and he which is the greateſt among you, ſhalbe your ſeruaunt. Panormitane beyng ſomewhat diſquieted with this aunſwere, the councell brake vp and departed.

Panormitane appointeth the Pope Lord of the Church.

The Pope & the clergie deſire dominion contrary to the ſcriptures.

The next day, there was a generall congregation, and they returned all agayne vnto the chapter houſe after dinner, whereas the Archbyſhop of Lyons, the kinges Orator being required to ſpeake hys minde, after he had by diuers and ſundry reaſons proued Eugenius to be an heretike, he bitterly complayned, deteſting the negligence and ignauie, of thoſe that had preferred ſuch a man vnto the papacie, and ſo moued all their hartes which were preſent, that they altogether with him did bewaile the calamities of the vniuerſall Church.

The French kinges Ambaſſadour.

Then the Biſhop of Burgen, the Ambaſſadour of Spayne, diuided the concluſions into two partes, ſome he called generall, and other ſome perſonall, diſputing very excellently as touching the three firſt cōcluſions, affirmyng ẏ he did in no point doubt of them, but onely that the addition which made mention of the faith, ſeemed to be doubtful vnto him. But vpon thys point, he ſtayed much, to proue that the Councell was aboue the pope. The which after he had ſufficiently proued both by Gods lawe and mans lawe, he taught it alſo by Phiſicall reaſon, alledging Ariſtotle for witneſſe. He ſaid that in euery well ordered kingdome, it ought ſpecially to be deſired, that the whole realme ſhoulde be of more authoritie then the king, which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdome but a tyranny: ſo likewiſe doth he thinke of the Church, that it ought to be of more authoritie, then the Prince thereof, that is to ſay, the Pope. The which his Oration he vttered ſo eloquently, learnedly and truely, that all men depended vpon him, & deſired rather to haue hym continue his Oration, then to haue an end thereof.

The Byſhop of Burgen.

The councell aboue the Pope.

But whē as he entred into ẏ other cōcluſions, he ſeemed to haue forgottē himſelfe, & to be no more the ſame man that he was: for neither was there ẏ ſame eloquēce in his wordes, neither grauitie in Oration, or cherefulnes of countenaunce, ſo that if he could haue ſene himſelfe, he would peraduēture greatly haue marueiled at himſelfe. Euery man might wel ſee & perceaue thē the power & force of the truth, which miniſtred copy of matter vnto him ſo long as he ſpake in ẏ defence therof. But when as he began once to ſpeake agaynſt her, ſhe tooke away euen his naturall eloquence from him. Notwithſtandyng Panormitane and the Byſhop of Burgen, ſhewed this example of modeſty, that albeit they would not confeſſe or graunt the laſt concluſions to be verities of fayth: yet they would not that any man ſhould folow or leane vnto their opiniō, which were but meane Diuines, but rather vnto the opinions of the Diuines. But the king of Aragons Almner, beyng a ſubtill and crafty man, dyd not directly diſpute vpon the concluſions: but pickyng out here and there certaine argumentes, ſought to let and hinder the

The force of truth which appeared alſo in Eneas hymſelfe the writer hereof, although afterward when he was pope, he denied the ſame.

Note what it is, a man to labour againſt hys knowledge.

Councell. Agaynſt whom an Abbote of Scotland, a man of an excellent wytte diſputed very much: and Thomas de Corcellis a famous Diuine, alledged much againſt him out of the Decrees of the ſacred Councell, and with a certaine modeſt ſhamefaſtnes, alwayes beholdyng the grounde, dyd very largely diſpute in the defence of the concluſions.

The concluſions of the diſputatiõ. The firſt cõcluſiõ.

But now to auoyde tediouſnes, I will onely procede to declare argumentes, whereby the concluſions were ratified and confirmed: not myndyng to intreate of the v. laſt concluſions, which concerne yͤ perſon of Eugenius, but onely vpõ the three firſt, wherunto I will adioyne certain probable argumẽts gathered out of the diſputation of yͤ fathers. In the firſt concluſion is the greateſt force, and firſt to be diſcuſſed: touchyng the which, two thinges are to be required, and examined. The one whether the generall Councell haue authoritie ouer the Pope. The other, whether the Catholicke fayth commaundeth it to be beleued. As touchyng that the Pope is ſubiect to the generall Councell, it is excellently well proued by the reaſon before alledged by the Byſhop of Burgen. For the Pope is in the Church, as a kyng in hys kyngdome: and for a kyng to be of more authoritie then his kyngdome, it were to abſurde: Ergo, neither ought the pope to be aboue the Church. For like as oftentymes, kynges which do wickedly gouerne the common wealth, & exerciſe cruelty, are depriued of their kyngdome, euẽ ſo it is not to be doubted, but that the Biſhops of Rome may be depoſed by the Church, that is to ſay, by the generall Councels.

A king is not of more authoritie then is his kingdome.

Neither do I herein allow them whiche attribute ſo ample and large authoritie vnto kynges, that they will not haue them bounde vnder any lawes: For ſuch as ſo do ſay, be but flatterers, which do talke otherwiſe thẽ they thinke. For albeit that they do ſay that the moderation of the law is alway in the Princes power: that do I thus vnderſtãd, that when as reaſon ſhall perſwade, he ought to digreſſe from the rigour of the law: for he is called a kyng, whiche careth and prouideth for the common wealth: taketh pleaſure in the commoditie and profite of the ſubiectes, and in all his doynges hath reſpect to the commoditie of thoſe, ouer whom he ruleth: which, if he do not, he is not to be counted a kyng but a tyraunt, whoſe propertie it is onely to ſeeke his owne profite: for in this poynt a kyng differeth from a tyraunt that the one ſeeketh the commoditie and profite of thoſe whom he ruleth, and the other onely his owne. The which to make more manifeſt, the cauſe is alſo to be alledged, wherfore kynges were ordeined.

Theſe kinde of flatterers came now in our dayes.

What a king is.

The inſtitution of kynges.

At the begynnyng (as Cicero in his offices ſayth) it is certaine, that there was a certaine tyme when as the people liued without kyngs. But afterward when landes and poſſeſſions began to be deuided accordyng to the cuſtome of euery nation, then were kynges ordeined for no other cauſe, but onely to exerciſe iuſtice. For when as at the begynnyng, the common people were oppreſſed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to ſome good and vertuous man, which ſhould defend the poore frõ iniurie, and ordeine lawes wherby the rich and poore might dwell together. But whẽ as yet vnder the rule of Kynges, the poore were oftentymes oppreſſed, lawes were ordeined & inſtituted the which ſhould iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and geue like care vnto the poore as vnto the rich: whereby we do vnderſtand and know, not onely the people, but alſo the kyng to be ſubiect to the lawes. For if we do ſee a king to contemne and deſpiſe the lawes, violently robbe and ſpoyle his ſubiectes, defloure virgines, diſhoneſt matrones, and do all thynges licentiouſly and temerariouſly: do not the nobles of the kyngdome aſſemble together, depoſing him from his kingdome, ſet vp an other in his place, which ſhall ſweare to rule and gouerne vprightly and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verely as reaſon doth perſwade, euen ſo doth the vſe therof alſo teach vs. It ſeemeth alſo agreable vnto reaſon that the ſame ſhould be done in the Church, that is to ſay, in the Councel, which is done in any kyngdome. And ſo is this ſufficiently apparaunt which we haue before ſayd, that the Pope is ſubiect vnto the Councell.

The pope ought to be ſubiect vnto the councell.

This place *Tu es Petrus* &c. expounded.

But now to paſſe vnto the argumentes of Diuinitie, the foundation of the matter which we do intreate vpon, are the wordes of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt in diuers places, but ſpecially where as he ſpeaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus & ſuper hanc petram ędificabo Eccleſiam meam, & portæ inferi non præualebunt aduerſus eam. i. Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, & the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile agaynſt it. Vpon which wordes it ſeemeth good to begin this diſputatiõ, for ſomuch as ſome were wont to alledge theſe wordes to extoll the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome. But (as it ſhall by and by appeare) the wordes of Chriſt had an other ſenſe and meanyng then diuers of them do thinke, for he ſayth: & the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle agaynſt it. Verely this is a great promiſe, and theſe wordes of the Lord are of great importaunce. For what greater word could there haue bene ſpoken, then that the gates of hell ſhould not preuaile agaynſt the church? Theſe gates of hel, as S. Hierome ſaith, do ſignifie ſinnes. Wherfore if ſinnes can not preuaile agaynſt the Church, neither can any maligne ſpirites preuaile agaynſt the ſame, which haue no power at all ouer mankynd, but onely through ſinne. And for that cauſe, where as it is ſayd in Job, that there is no power vpon the earth that may be compared vnto the power of the maligne ſpirite, whereby it followeth that the power of the Churche is aboue all other power.

Sinnes are the gates of hell.

Agaynſt the papiſtes opinion that the pope can not erre.

We may alſo vpon the ſame ſaying, reaſon after an other ſort: for ſomuch as the gates of hel, that is to ſay, ſinnes can not preuaile agaynſt the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without ſinne: the which can not be ſpoken of the pope which is a mortall mã: for ſomuch as it is written, ſeuen tymes in the day the iuſt man doth offend: If the Church be without ſpot becauſe it can not be defiled with ſinne, who is it that will preferre a ſinnefull man, before an vndefiled Church? Neither let vs geue eare vnto thoſe whiche will not referre theſe wordes of Chriſt vnto the Church, where as he ſayth: Oraui pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua. That is to ſay, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhould not fayle thee. For as S. Auguſtine ſayth in the expoſition of the Pſalmes, certaine thyngs are ſpoken as though they ſeemed properly to pertaine vnto the Apoſtle Peter, notwithſtandyng, they haue no euident ſenſe but when they are referred vnto the Church, the perſon wherof he is vnderſtanded figuratiuely to repreſent. Wherupon in other place in the queſtions of the new & old Teſtament, vpon theſe wordes: Rogaui pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: what is doubted? Dyd he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, beſide the reſt? It is manifeſt that vnder the name of Peter, all other are conteyned. For in an other place of S. John he ſayth: I pray for them, whom thou haſt geuen me, & I will that wereſoeuer I am, they ſhall be alſo with me. Wherupon we do oftentymes by the name of Peter vnderſtand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwiſe the truth could not conſiſte, for ſomuch as within a while after, the faith of Peter, fayled for a tyme by the deniall of Chriſt, but the fayth of the church, whoſe perſon Peter did repreſent, did alwayes perſeuere inuiolate.

The interpretation of this place, *Oraui pro te Petre*, is ment of the Church.

Byſhops of Rome are heretiques.

He meaneth Silueſter the ſecond.

As touchyng the Byſhops of Rome, if tyme would ſuffer vs, we could rehearſe many examples, how that they either haue bene heretickes, or repleniſhed with other vices. Neither are we ignoraunt how that Marcellinus at the Emperours commaundement, did ſacrifice vnto Idoles, & that an other (which is more horrible) did attaine vnto the Papacy by a deuiliſh fraude and deceite. Notwithſtandyng the teſtimony of Paule vnto the Hebrues ſhall ſuffice vs at this tyme, who ſayth euery Byſhop to be compaſſed in with infirmitie: that is to ſay, with wickednes and ſinne. Alſo the teſtimonies of Chriſt himſelfe do approue, that the Church remaineth alwayes without ſinne: for in Mathew he ſayth, I am with you euen vnto the ende of the world. The which wordes were not onely ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles (for they cõtinued not vnto the end of yͤ world) but alſo vnto their ſucceſſours: neither would Chriſt then ſignifie that he was God, diſperſed throughout all the world, as he is alſo perceiued to be amongeſt ſinners, but would declare a certaine gift of grace, through his aſſiſtaunce, wherby he would preſerue the holy Church conſiſtyng amongeſt his Apoſtles and their ſucceſſours, alwayes immaculate and vndefiled.

The church is without ſinne & the the pope is a ſinner.

And agayne in an other place I (ſayth he) will pray, and he ſhall geue you an other cõforter, that he may remaine wͭ you for euer, euen the ſpirite of truth whom the world can not receaue, becauſe the world ſeeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you ſhall know him, becauſe he ſhall remayne with you. The which wordes beyng ſpoken vnto the Diſciples of Jeſus, are alſo vnderſtãded to be ſpokẽ vnto their ſucceſſours, and ſo conſequently vnto the Church. And if the ſpirite of truth be continually in the Church, no man cã deny, but that the Church ought to continue vndefiled. By the ſame authoritie alſo that Chriſt is called the ſpouſe of the Church, who ſeeth not, but that the Church is vndefiled? For the huſbãd and the wife (as the Apoſtle ſayth) are two in one fleſh, and (as he doth alſo adde) no man hateth his owne fleſh: thereby it commeth to paſſe, that Chriſt can not hate yͤ church, for ſomuch as ſhe is his ſpouſe, and one fleſh with him, & no man can hate himſelfe: Ergo, the church doth not ſinne: for if it did ſinne, it ſhould be hated, for ſinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities beyng ga-

The church one fleſh with Chriſt.

thered together, we ought with the Apoſtle to confeſſe that the Church of God hath neither ſpot nor wrincle. Alſo he writyng vnto Timothe affirmeth the Church to be the piller and foundation of the truth: whereupon in this ſong of the ſpouſe it is ſayd: My frẽd thou art altogether fayre and beawtifull neither is there any ſpot in thee.

The Church is without ſpot or ſinne, is to be vnderſtand not by nature, but only by imputation.

These wordes peraduenture may abaſh ſome, that I do go about to proue the Church to be without ſinne. For when as the Church doth contayne all men which are called Chriſtiãs, which alſo do agree and come together in one beliefe of fayth and participation of the Sacraments, I do feare leaſt ſome men will thinke that I do affirme all men to be without ſinne: which is ſo farre frõ my meanyng, that I do verely thinke the cõtrary to be moſt true. For I ſuppoſe, that there is no man in the Church beyng clothed in this mortall fleſh, without ſinne. Neither do theſe thynges vary or diſſent among themſelues: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit euery part and mẽber therof may ſinne, yet the whole body can not ſinne. For there be alwayes good men in the Church, the which albeit that they be ſubiect vnto humaine fragilitie, notwithſtandyng they haue ſo perfect a gift of ſincere and pure vertue, that ſubduyng all carnall deſires and affections, they keepe themſelues a pleaſaunt and acceptable ſacrifice vnto God. Neither do I conſent or agree vnto the opinion of diuers, which affirme that the Virgin Mary onely perſeuered in fayth at the Lordes paſſion, whereupon diuers haue not bene aſhamed to ſay that the fayth might be ſo debilitate and weakened, that it ſhould returne to one onely old woman. Whoſe opinion or rather madnes, Saynt Paule ſeemeth openly to reiect, wrytyng thus vnto the Romaines: do ye not know (ſayth he) what the Scripture writeth of Helias, how inceſſantly he called vpon God agaynſt the children of Iſraell (ſaying) O Lord they haue ſlayne thy Prophetes, and digged downe thyne aultars, and I alone am left and they ſeeke after my ſoule? But what aunſwere receiued he of God? I haue left vnto my ſelfe yet vij. M. men, which haue not bowed their knees vnto Baall. What other thyng doth this aunſwere of God declare, then that it is a fooliſh opinion of them which thinke the Churche of God to be brought vnto ſo ſmall a number? We ought to beleue the wordes of Chriſt, which are altogether repugnaũt vnto thoſe mẽ who affirme ỹ the Virgine onely dyd perſeuere in fayth. For Ieſus ſayd vnto his Father, O holy father ſaue them in thy name, whom thou haſt geuen me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them I kept them in thy name: I haue kept them that thou gaueſt vnto me, & none of them periſhed, but onely the ſonne of perdition. And I do not deſire that thou ſhouldeſt take thẽ out of the world, but that thou ſhouldeſt preſerue them from euill.

The church with out ſin how to be vnderſtand.

The errour of thoſe which ſaye that onely the virgin Mary did perſeuer cõſtant at the time of Chriſtes paſſion.

Behold, Chriſt prayeth that hys diſciples ſhould not fall, but ſhould be preſerued from euill, and he ſo prayyng, without doubt is heard: for he ſayth in an other place, I know that thou heareſt me. But how is he heard, if all thoſe for whom he prayeth, ſwarued at the tyme of his paſſion? As for example: By what meanes did Chriſt hanging vpõ the Croſſe, commende his dearely beloued mother vnto Iohn, if ſo be he were either then ſwarued or ſhould by and by after haue ſwarued frõ the fayth? Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and ſay: truely this is the ſonne of God? The Iewes alſo which at that tyme were farre diſtant from Ieruſalem, might both be called faythfull, and alſo ſaued by their fayth: ſeyng that (as the Apoſtle ſayth) men are bounde vnto the Goſpell, after it is once knowen and reueled vnto them. But let vs leaue theſe men & ſpeake of that whiche is more lykely, and let vs iudge that there hath bene and is a great number of good mẽ in the Church, and by them as by the more worthy part, let vs name the Church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the euill as the good. For the Church is compared vnto a net, which is caſt into the Sea, and gathereth together all kynde of fiſhes.

The church comprehendeth both the euill & good.

Math. 22.

And agayne it is compared vnto a kyng, which made a mariage for his ſonne, and ſent forth his ſeruauntes to call thoſe which were bidden, vnto the weddyng, and they gathered together good & euill, as many as they could finde. Wherfore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirme, that onely good men be comprehẽded in the Church: the which, if it were true, it would confound all thynges, neither could we vnderſtand or know where the Church were. But forſomuch as the Scripture ſayth: no man knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed & truer, which include all the faythfull in the Church: of whom, although a great part be geuen to voluptuouſnes and auarice yet ſome notwithſtandyng are cleane frõ deadly ſinne. The whiche part, as it is the moſt worthy, it geueth the name vnto the church, to be called moſt holy: which is ſo often done, that we are commaunded to ſing in our Creede, vnam ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, that is to ſay, one holy Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Church: the which Article the Synode of Conſtantinople, added vnto the reſt: Wherfore if the Church be holy, it is alſo without ſinne. But to returne to our former purpoſe, this word Sanctum, which ſignifieth holy (as Macrobius alledgyng Trebatius, affirmeth) is ſometymes taken for religious, and ſometymes for cleane and vncorrupt. And after the ſame maner, we call the Church holy as the Apoſtle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epiſtle of Clement.

This ſaying of Eccleſiaſtes is not well tranſlated, and alſo leaneth to other ſenſe, then is here ment.

To this end alſo tendeth that which is ſpoken by S. Paule, that Chriſt is the head of the Churche: For if the Churche ſhould wholy ſinne, ſhe ſhould not agree with her head Chriſt, who is in no poynte defiled. This alſo Chriſt himſelfe would ſignifie vnto vs in Mathew, when he cõmendeth the houſe which was builded vpon the ſtrõg rocke, agaynſt the which, neither the wyndes, neither the ſtormes could preuayle. In the houſe of God (ſayth the Apoſtle) which is the Church builded vpon the ſtrong rocke, which rocke (as the ſayd Apoſtle declareth) is Chriſt. Who then is ſo vnſhamefaſt that he will affirme the Churche, which is founded vppon Chriſt, to be ſubiect to ſinne? and will not rather crye out with the Prophet and ſay: Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ. That is to ſay. O Lord, I haue loued the bewty of thy houſe. Hereupon wrote Iohn Chriſoſtome this golden ſentence: The Church neuer ceaſeth to be aſſaulted, neuer ceaſeth to be layne in wayte for: but in the name of Chriſt it hath alwayes the vpper hand and ouercame. And albeit that other do lye in wayt for it, or that the floudes do beate againſt it: yet the foũdation which is layd vpon the rocke, is not ſhaken. Saint Hillary alſo ſayth, that it is the property of the Church to vanquiſhe, when it is hurt, to vnderſtand when it is reproued, to be in ſafety when it is forſaken, and to obtaine victory, when as it ſeemeth almoſt ouercome. Thus by many reaſõs and teſtimonies, it is proued that the church doth not erre: which is not ſpoke or affirmed of the biſhops of Rome, ſo that this reaſon doth make the Pope ſubiect vnto the Church, for it is conuenient, that the leſſe perfect be ſubiect vnto the more perfect. There be alſo many other teſtimonies and reaſons, wherof we will now ſomwhat more entreate.

Chriſt is the rocke wherupon the Church is builded.

If authoritie be ſought for, ſayth S. Hierome (for I willyngly occupy my ſelfe in his ſentences, as in a moſt fertill field) the world is greater then a Citie. What then I pray you Hierome? Is the pope mighty becauſe he is head of the Church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithſtandyng the vniuerſall Church is greater, which doth not onely comprehend one Citie, but alſo the whole world. Hereupon it foloweth, that if the Churche be the mother of all faythfull, then ſhe hath the Byſhop of Rome for her ſonne. Otherwiſe as S. Auguſtine ſayth, he can neuer haue God for his father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his mother. The which thyng Anacletus vnderſtandyng, called the vniuerſall Church his mother, as the writers of the Canons do know. And Calixtus ſayth: as a ſonne he came to do the wil of his father, ſo we do the wil of our mother, which is the Church. Wherby it appeareth, that how much the ſonne is inferiour to the mother: ſo much the Church is ſuperiour or aboue the Byſhop of Rome.

He proueth by authoritie the pope to be vnder the Councell.

If the Church be the mother, the pope muſt be her ſonne.

Alſo we haue ſayd before, that the Churche was the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the Pope we know to be a Vicar: but no man doth ſo ordayne a Vicar, that he maketh his ſpouſe ſubiect vnto him, but that the ſpouſe is alwayes thought to be of more authoritie, then the Vicar, forſomuch as ſhe is one body with her huſband, but the Vicare is not ſo. Neither will I here paſſe ouer the wordes of S. Paule vnto the Romaines: Let euery ſoule (ſayth he) be ſubiect vnto the hygher powers: Neither doth he herein except the pope: For albeit ỹ he be aboue all other men, yet it ſeemeth neceſſary that he ſhould be ſubiect to ỹ Church. Neither let him thinke himſelfe hereby exẽpt, becauſe it was ſayd vnto Peter by Chriſt, whatſoeuer thou byndeſt. &c. In this place, as we wil hereafter declare, he repreſented the perſon of the Church, for we finde it ſpoken afterward vnto him: Quæcunque ligaueritis ſuper terram, ligata erũt in cœlis. i. Whatſoeuer ye ſhall bynde vpon earth, ſhall be alſo bounde in heauen. And furthermore if all power be geuen of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle writeth vnto the Corinthians, it is geuen for the edifying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction therof: why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuſe the keyes, and bryng all thynges vnto ruine?

The Church beyng the ſpouſe, the pope can not be the head therof, but he muſt alſo be the head of Chriſt, forſomuch as Chriſt and his ſpouſe be both one.

The expoſition of this place, quodcunque ligaueris.

The church may depoſe the pope, if he abuſe the keyes.

Adde hereunto alſo an other argument. A man in this lyfe is leſſer then the aungels, for we read in Mathew of

John Baptiſt, that he whiche is leaſt in the kyngdome of heauen, is greater then he. Notwithſtandyng Chriſt ſayth in an other place, that amongeſt the children of women there was not a greater then John Baptiſt. But, to proceede: men are forced by the exāple of Zacharias to geue credite vnto aungels, leaſt through their miſbelief, they be ſtriken blynd as he was. What more? The Byſhop of Rome is a man: Ergo he is leſſe then the aungels, and is bound to geue credite to the aungels. But the aungels learne of the Church, and do reuerently accorde vnto her doctrine, as the Apoſtle writeth vnto the Epheſians. Ergo the pope is bound to do the ſame, who is leſſe then the aungels, and leſſe then the Church, whoſe authoritie is ſuch, that worthely it is compared by S. Auguſtine vnto the Sunne: that like as the Sunne by his light doth ſurmount all other lightes, ſo the Church is aboue all other authoritie and power. Wherupon S. Auguſtine writeth thus: I would not beleue the Goſpell ſaith he, if the authoritie of the church did not moue me therunto: the which is not in any place founde to be ſpoken of the Biſhop of Rome, who repreſenting the Church and beyng miniſter therof, is not to be thought greater or equall to his Lord and Maiſter. Notwithſtandyng, the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt do ſpecially proue the Byſhop of Rome to be ſubiect to the Church, as we will hereafter declare: For he ſendyng Peter to preache vnto the Church, ſayd, go and ſay vnto the Church. To the confirmation of whoſe authoritie, theſe wordes do alſo perteyne: he that heareth you heareth me. The which wordes are not onely ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, but alſo vnto their ſucceſſours and vnto the whole Church.

The church and not the pope compared to the Sunne.

Wherupon it foloweth, that if the Pope do not harken and geue eare vnto the Church, he doth not geue eare vnto Chriſt, & conſequently he is to be counted as an Ethnicke & Publicane. For as S. Auguſtine affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is ſo excommunicate is bounde in heauen, and when the Church looſeth, he is looſed. Likewiſe if he be an hereticke, which taketh away the ſupremacie of the Church of Rome, as the Decrees of the Councell of Conſtance doth determine, how much more is he to be counted an hereticke, which taketh away the authoritie from the vniuerſall Church, wherein the Church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherfore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of all men before our dayes (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authours) that the pope is ſubiect vnto the vniuerſall church. But this is called into queſtion, whether he ought alſo to be iudged of the generall Coūcell. For there are ſome, which (whether it be for deſire of vayne glory, or that through their flattery they looke for ſome great reward) haue begon to teach new and ſtraunge doctrines, and to exempt the biſhop of Rome from the iuriſdiction of the generall Councell. Ambition hath blinded them, wherof not onely this preſent Schiſme, but alſo all other Schiſmes euen vnto this day haue had their originall. For as in tymes paſt the gredy deſire and ambition of the Papacie, brought in that peſtiferous beaſt which through Arrius then firſt crept into the Church: euen ſo they do ſpecially nouriſh and mainteine this preſent hereſie, whiche are not aſhamed to begge. Of the which number, ſome cry out and ſay, the workes of the ſubiectes ought to be iudged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reſerued onely vnto the iudgemēt of God. Others ſayd that no man ought to iudge the hygh and principall Seate, and that it can not be iudged either by the Emperour, either by the Clergy, either by any kyng or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath reſerued vnto himſelfe the depoſitions of the chief Byſhop. Others are not aſhamed to affirme, that the Byſhop of Rome although he cary ſoules in neuer ſo great number vnto hel, yet he is not ſubiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

The pope if he do not harken to the church is an ethnicke and Publicane.

It is to be feared leaſt the church hath had many ſuch Popes.

Whether the pope is to be iudged by the generall councell. &c.

Theſe are the Canons and the ſchole diuines, & begging friers.

Diuerſitie of iudgementes touching the B. of Rome.

And becauſe theſe their wordes are eaſely reſolued, they runne ſtraight wayes vnto the Goſpell, and interprete the wordes of Chriſt, not accordyng to the ſenſe and meanyng of the holy Ghoſt, but accordyng to their owne will and diſpoſition. They do greatly eſteeme and regarde this whiche was ſpoken vnto Peter: Tu vocaberis Cephas. i. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: by the which word, they make hym the head of the Church. Alſo I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpō earth. &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy fayth ſhould not fayle. And agayne, feede my ſheepe: Caſt thy net into the deepe: Be not afrayde, for from hēceforth thou ſhalt be a fiſher of men: Alſo that Chriſt commaunded Peter as the Prince of the Apoſtles, to pay tole for them both: and that Peter drew the net vnto the land, full of great fiſhes: & that onely Peter drew his ſword for the defence of Chriſt. All which places theſe mē do greatly extoll, altogether neglectyng the expoſitions of the fathers: the which if (as reaſon were) they would conſider, they ſhould manifeſtly perceiue by the authorities aforeſayd, that the Pope is not aboue them when they are gathered together in Coūcell, but when they are ſeparate and deuided.

How foliſhly the church of Rome doth wraſt the ſcriptures neglecting the expoſitions of the fathers.

But theſe thynges beyng paſſed ouer, for ſomuch as anſwere ſhall appeare by that whiche hereafter ſhall follow: we will now declare what was reaſoned of by the learned men vpō this queſtion. But firſt we would haue it knowē, that all men which are of any name or eſtimation, do agree, that the Pope is ſubiect to the Councell, and for the proufe therof they repeate (in a maner) all thoſe thynges whiche were before ſpoken of the Church: for they ſuppoſe all that, which is ſpoken of the Churche, to ſerue for the generall Councell: And firſt of all, they allege this ſaying of the Goſpel, Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church. In the which place, it is conuenient to vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter, inſtructyng hym what he ſhould do as touchyng the correction of his brother. He ſayth, if thy brother offende or ſinne agaynſt thee, rebuke hym betwene thee and him alone. If he geue eare vnto thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother: but if he do not geue eare vnto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth may ſtand: if then he wil not geue eare vnto thee, Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church.

Thoſe thinges which were ſpoken of the church ſerue alſo for the generall councell.

What ſhall we vnderſtand by the Church in that place? ſhall we ſay that it is the multitude of the faythfull diſperſed throughout the whole worlde? My yoke is pleaſaunt ſayth the Lord, and my burdē is light. But how is it light, if Chriſt commaunde vs to do that whiche is impoſſible to be done? For how could Peter ſpeake vnto the Churche which was diſperſed, or ſeeke out euery Chriſtian ſcattered in euery Towne or Citie? But the meanyng of theſe wordes, is farre otherwiſe, and they muſt be otherwiſe interpreted: for which cauſe it is neceſſary that we remember the double perſon, which Peter repreſented, as the perſon of the high Byſhop, and a priuate man. The ſenſe and meanyng of his wordes are euident and playne inough of themſelues, that they neede no ſupplement or alteration. We muſt firſt marke and ſee, what this word Eccleſia ſignifieth, the whiche we do finde but onely to be twiſe ſpoken of by Chriſt: once in this place, and agayne when as he ſayd vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petrā edificabo Eccleſiam meam, That is: Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke will I builde my Church. Wherefore the Church ſignifieth the conuocation or congregation of the multitude. Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church. That is to ſay, tell it vnto ẏ Cōgregation of the faythfull: the which for ſomuch as they are not accuſtomed to come together, but in a generall Councell, this interpretation ſhall ſeme very good, Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church, that is to ſay, Dic generali Concilio: tell it vnto the generall Councell.

Peter repreſenteth the double perſō.

Chriſt nameth the church but twiſe in the Goſpell.

What the church is.

The interpretation of thys place, *dic eccleſia*.

In this caſe I would gladly heare if there be any man, which doth thinke theſe wordes to be more properly expreſſed in any Prelate, then in the Councell, when as they muſt put one man for the multitude: whiche if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we ſhall from henceforth finde no firme or ſtable thyng therein. But if any man do maruaile at this interpretation, let hym ſearch the old writers, & he ſhall finde that this is no new or ſtraunge interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old Doctours, whiche haue firſt geuen light vnto the Church, as Pope Gregory witneſſeth (a man worthy of remembraūce, both for the holynes of his lyfe, and his ſingular learnyng) whoſe wordes are theſe, written in his Regiſter vnto the Biſhop of Conſtantinople: And we (ſayd he) agaynſt whom ſo great an offence is committed through temerarious boldnes, do obſerue & keepe that which ẏ truth doth cōmaunde vs, ſaying, Si peccauerit in te frater, that is: If thy brother do offende agaynſt thee. &c. And afterward he addeth more, if my rebukes and corrections be deſpiſed, it remaineth that I do ſeeke helpe of the Church. The which wordes do manifeſtly declare the Church here to be taken for the generall Coūcell. Neither did Gregory ſay, that he would ſeeke helpe of the Church that is diſperſed abroad in euery place, but of ẏ which is gathered together, that is to ſay, the generall coūcell, for that which is diſperſed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Alſo Pope Nicolas reprouing Lotharius the kyng for adultery, ſayd: if thou doeſt not amend the ſame, take heede that we tel it not vnto the holy church.

The church taken for the generall councell.

In the which ſaying Pope Nicolas did not ſay, that he would go throughout the world to certifie euery one, mā by man: but that he would call the Church together, that is to ſay the generall Councel, and there would publiſh and declare the offence of Lotherius, that he which had cōtemned the Popes commaundementes, should feare the reue-

rence

The councell of Cōſtāce decreeth the pope to be vnder the councell.

The actes of the apoſtles.

The councell of Nice.

The title of the councels.

The cōſtitutions of the B. of Rome are not the lawes of the church.

rence of the generall Councell. I could recite an infinite nūber of witneſſes for that purpoſe, the which all tend vnto one ende: but this one teſtimony of the Councell of Conſtance ſhall ſuffice for them all, wherein it is ſayd that not onely the Pope in the correction of his brother is remitted vnto the Councell, when as he can not correct hym of hym ſelfe: but alſo when as any thyng is done as touchyng the correction of the Pope hymſelfe, the matter ought to be referred to the Councell. Wherby it appeareth our interpretation to be moſt true, which doth expounde the Church to be in the generall Councell. Hereupon in the Actes of the Apoſtles, the congregations which were then holden, were called the Church. Alſo in the Councell of Nice and in other Councels, when as any man ſhould be excommunicated, alwayes, in a maner, this ſentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apoſtolica Eccleſia. The Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Churche doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is geuen vnto the Councels wherby we do ſay, that the generall Councell doth repreſent the vniuerſall Churche. Wherfore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the Churche, for that the Church doth not ſet forth any lawes in any other place, then in the generall Councell; except we will call the Popes conſtitutions the lawes of yͤ church, which can not be properly ſayd but of the Councell: whereas, albeit all thoſe which are of the Church do not aſſemble and come together, yet the moſt part of them are accuſtomed to be there preſent, and in thoſe whiche come, the whole power of the Church doth conſiſt: whereupon we read in the Actes of the Apoſtles: It pleaſed the Apoſtles and Elders with all the Church. For albeit that all the faythfull were not there preſent (becauſe a great nūber of them remayned at Antioche) yet notwithſtandyng it was called the whole Church, becauſe the whole power of the Church conſiſted in the Coūcell. Thus for this preſent it is ſufficient that we vnderſtand by the Church the generall Councell.

By the church the councell is vnderſtand.

Simons obedience neceſſary in the byſhops of Rome.

And now to returne vnto our purpoſe, let vs heare what our Sauiour ſayth vnto Peter: If thy brother do offende agaynſt thee, vnto this text folowing, tel it vnto the church: and let vs vnderſtand the Councell by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is ſent vnto the Councell, or the Councell whereunto Peter was ſent? The veritie doth remit the Byſhop of Rome vnto the generall Councell. And why ſo? verely becauſe the Byſhops of Rome ſhould not diſdayne to acknowledge ſome power in earth, to be aboue them, the whiche they ſhould conſult withall in matters of importaunce, and agree vnto the determinations therof. Wherupon Peter is alſo called by an other name Symon, the which as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew toung, obedience, that all men might vnderſtand obedience to be neceſſary, euen in the Byſhop of Rome.

The fauourers & maintainers of the pope goe about to mainteine & preferre the pleaſure & profite of one before a common cōmoditie.

The authoritie of the Coūcell of Conſtance might ſuffiſe vs in this poynt, but we thinke it good to ſtay a litle vpon this matter, and to leaue no place open for our aduerſaries: which, whileſt they go about to maintayne the vnſatiable wilfulnes of one man, preferring a priuate wealth before a common commoditie, it is incredible how great errours they do ſtyrre vp. Agaynſt the which, beſides many other, Zacharias Byſhop of Chalcedon, a mā both famous and eloquent, dyd earneſtly ſtriue: Who in the great and ſacred Synode of Chalcedon, when as the ſentence of the Byſhop of Rome was obiected vnto hym, that the Canon of Pope Nicolas and other Patriarkes was aboue the Coūcell, he replyed agaynſt it. And Zoſimus the Pope ſayth thus as touchyng the decrees of the generall Councell: the authoritie of this ſeate cannot make or aultar any thyng cōtrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth he here ſpeake of the decrees of the fathers, which are diſperſed abroad in Cities or wildernes, for they do not binde the pope: but of them which are made and publiſhed by the fathers in the generall Councell. For the more manifeſt declaration wherof, the wordes of pope Leo the moſt eloquent of all the Byſhops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the Councell of Nice are in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excludyng himſelfe and the hygh Patriarke.

The pope can abyde no generall councels.

Nō obſtante in the popes bulles.

The authoritie alſo of Damaſus vpō this ſentēce, is more manifeſt, writyng vnto Aurelius the Archbyſhop, as Iſidorus declareth in the booke of Councels, whoſe worthy ſaying as touching the authoritie of the Synode is this: That they which are not compelled of neceſſity, but of their owne will either frowardly do any thyng, either preſume to do any thyng, or willyngly conſent vnto thoſe which would do any thyng contrary and againſt the ſacred Canons, they are worthely thought & iudged to blaſpheme the holy ghoſt. Of the which blaſphemy, whether Gabriell which calleth hymſelfe Eugenius, be preſently partaker, let them iudge which haue heard hym ſay, that it is ſo farre from his office and duty to obey the generall Councels, that he ſayth he doth then beſt merite and deſerue, when as he contemneth the decrees of the Councel. Damaſus addeth yet moreouer, For this purpoſe, ſayth he, the rules of the ſacred Canons, which are are conſecrated by the ſpirite of God and the reuerence of the whole world, are faythfully to be knowen and vnderſtand of vs, and diligently looked vpon, that by no meanes, wout a neceſſitie which cannot be eſchewed (which God forbyd) we do tranſgreſſe the decrees of the holy fathers. Notwithſtandyng, we dayly ſee in all the Popes Bulles and letters, theſe wordes Non obſtante, that is to ſaye: notwithſtandyng: whiche no other neceſſitie hath brought in, then onely vnſatiable deſire of getheryng of money. But let them take heede to theſe thynges which be the authours therof.

The councell to be aboue the pope.

But now to returne agayne vnto Damaſus, mention is made in the Epiſtles of Ambroſe Byſhop of Millaine of a certaine Epiſtle which is ſayd to be writtē by Damaſus, vnto the iudges deputed by the Councell of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office, to meddle & any matter which hath bene before the Councell. By the whiche ſaying he doth manifeſtly reproue all thoſe which affirme & ſay the Byſhop of Rome to be aboue the Councell. The which if it were true, Damaſus might haue taken into his handes the cauſe of Bonoſius the Byſhop to determine, which was before begon by the Councell: but for ſomuch as the Councell is aboue the Pope, Damaſus knew him ſelfe to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius alſo acknowledgyng the Synode to be aboue him, would haue his decrees confirmed by the Councell. Alſo the famous Doctour S. Auguſtine in his Epiſtle whiche he dyd write vnto Glorius, and Eleuſius, and Felix the Gramariā, declareth the caſe. Cecilianus the Byſhop, was accuſed by Donatus, with others. Melchiades the Pope with certaine other byſhops abſolued Cecilian and confirmed him in his Byſhopricke. They beyng moued with thoſe doynges, made a ſchiſme in the partes of Africa. S. Auguſtine reproueth them, which hauyng an other remedy agaynſt the ſentence of the Pope, did rayſe a ſchiſme, and doth inuey agaynſt thē in this maner. Behold, let vs thinke thoſe Byſhops which gaue iudgemēt at Rome, not to haue bene good iudges: there remained yet the iudgemēt of the vniuerſall Church, where as the cauſe might haue bene pleaded euen with the iudges themſelues, ſo that if they were conuict not to haue geuen iuſt iudgement, their ſentence might be broken.

The full iudgement of the church is not to be found, but in the generall Councell.

No appeale to be made frō the councell to the pope.

Act. 13.

Gal. 2.

Peter conſtrayned to obey the generall cōucell.

Whereby it appeareth, that not onely the ſentence of the Pope alone, but alſo the Pope with his Byſhops ioyned with him, might be made fruſtrate by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the vniuerſall Church is not founde elſwhere, then in the generall Councell. Let not any man doubt, in that S. Auguſtine ſeemeth here onely to ſpeake of Byſhops: for yf the text of his Epiſtle be read ouer, he ſhall finde the Byſhop of the Rome to be comprehended amongeſt the other Byſhops. It was alſo prohibited by the Councels of Africa, that the Byſhops of Rome ſhould not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale from the Councell: whiche altogether declare the ſuperioritie of the Coūcell. And this appeareth more playnly in the Actes of the Apoſtles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apoſtles, becauſe he went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not bene lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of yͤ cōgregation: and yet it was ſayd vnto hym as well as others. Ite & Baptizate. &c. Go and baptiſe. But this ſeemeth to make more vnto the purpoſe, which S. Paule writeth vnto the Galathians, where as he ſayth, he reſiſted Peter euen vnto his face, becauſe he dyd not walke accordyng to the veritie of the Goſpell. Whoſe wordes if they be well vnderſtād, ſignifie none other thyng by the veritie of the Goſpell, then the Canon of the Councell decreed amongeſt the Apoſtles: for the Diſciples beyng gathered together, had ſo determined it. Whereupon S. Paule doth ſhew, that Peter ought to haue obeyed the generall Councell.

The decree of the Councell of Conſtance.

The pope bound vnder the obedience of the generall Councell.

But now to finiſhe this diſputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the Councell of Conſtance, the which Councell aforeſayd, willyng to cut of all ambiguitie and doubtes, and to prouide a certaine order of liuyng, declared by a ſolemne decree that all men, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they were, yea although that they were popes themſelues, be bounde vnder the obedience and ordinaunces of the ſacred generall Councels. And although there be a certaine reſtraynt, where as it is ſayd, in ſuch thynges as pertaine vnto the faith, the extirpation of Schiſme, and the reformation of the Churche, as well in the head as in the members: notwithſtanding this amplificatiue clauſe which is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to ſay, with all the appertenaunces. The which addition is ſo large, that it containeth all thynges in it, whiche may be imagined or thought. For the Lord ſayd thus vnto his Apoſtles, go ye forth and teach all people. He dyd not ſay in three poyntes onely, but teach them to obſerue and keepe all thynges what ſoeuer I haue commaunded you. And in an other place he ſayth, not this or that, but whatſoeuer ye ſhall bynde. &c. which altogether are alledged for the authoritie of the Church and generall Cōcels. For the preferrement whereof, theſe thynges alſo come in place. He that heareth you, heareth me. And agayne: It is geuen vnto you to know the miniſteries of God. Alſo where two or three be gathered in my name. &c. Agayne, what ſoeuer ye ſhall aſke. &c. O holy father, ſaue them whom thou haſt geuen me. &c. And I wilbe with them euen vnto the ende of the world. Alſo out of S. Paule theſe places are gathered. We are helpers of God. &c. Which hath made vs apt miniſters of the new Teſtament. &c. And he appoynted ſome Apoſtles and ſome Prophetes. &c. In all which places both Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſpake of the authoritie of many, which altogether are alledged for the authority of the vniuerſal Church.

Diuers places rehearſed out of the Goſpels and Apoſtles, for authoritie of the Church & generall councels aboue the Pope.

But forſomuch as that Churche beyng diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, cā not decree or ordeine any thing: therfore of neceſſitie it is to be ſayd, that the chief and principall authoritie of the Church, doth conſiſte in the generall Councels, where as they aſſemble together. And therfore it was obſerued in the primatiue Church, that hard and weighty matters were not intreated vpō, but onely in yͤ generall coūcels and congregations. The ſame is alſo founde to be obſerued afterward. For when as the Churches were deuided, generall Councels were holden. And in the Councell of Nice, we do finde the hereſie of Arrius condemned. In the Councell of Conſtantinople the hereſie of Macedonius. In the Councell of Epheſus, the hereſie of Neſtorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon, the hereſies of Eutichius were alſo condemned: for ſomuch as they thought the iudgement of the Byſhop of Rome, not to ſuffice to ſo great and weighty matter, and alſo they thought, the ſentence of the Councell to be of greater force, then the ſentence of the Pope, for ſomuch as he might erre as a man, but the Councell, wherin ſo many men were gathered together, beyng guided with the holy ghoſt, could not erre. Alſo it is a very excellent ſaying of Martianus the Emperour, whiche ſerueth for that purpoſe: whoſe wordes are theſe: Truly he is to be counted a wicked and ſacrilegious perſon, which after the ſentence of ſo many good and holy men, will ſticke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a poynt of mere madnes, at the noone time and fayre day light, to ſeeke for a fained light: for he which hauyng found the truth, ſeeketh to diſcuſſe any thyng further, ſeeketh but after vanities and lyes.

Weightie matters intreated but onely in generall councels.

The pope not ſufficient of him ſelfe to conuince or iudge heretickes.

The pope may erre.

Now I thinke it is euident inough vnto all men, that the Byſhop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithſtandyng ſome do yet ſtill doubt, whether he may alſo be depoſed by the Councell or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not graunt, that he may be alſo depoſed by the Councell. Wherefore, it ſhall be no digreſſyng at all from our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſay vpon that matter: & firſt of all, to ſpeake of theſe raylers, which are yet ſo earneſt for the defence of the Byſhop of Rome: which beyng vanquiſhed in one battaile, ſtill renew an other, and contend rather of obſtinacie then of ignoraunce. They would haue here recited agayne, that which we haue before ſpoken, as touchyng the preeminence of the Byſhop of Rome, or the Patriarks. And as there are many of them more full of wordes then eloquēt, they ſtay much of this poynt, where as Chriſt ſayd vnto Peter: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorū. I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, & what ſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpon earth ſhalbe bounde in heauen: as though by thoſe wordes, he ſhould be made head ouer the other. And againe they do amplifie it by this: Paſce oues meas: Feede my ſheepe, whiche they do not finde to be ſpoken to any other of the Apoſtles. And becauſe it is ſayd that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the Apoſtles, therfore they iudge it well ſpoken, that no mā ſhall iudge yͤ chief & principall Sea: beyng all of this opinion with Boniface, whiche ſayd that the Pope ought to be iudged for no cauſe except he be perceiued or knowen to ſwarue from the fayth, although he do cary innumerable people with hym, headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though hee could not open the kyngdome of heauen to others, if any other could ſhut it agaynſt him, neither that he could feede other, if he hymſelfe lacked paſture.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the councell or not.

The places Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. Paſce oues meas, **make nothing for the popes ſupremacie.**

The popes ſupremacie cōfuted

But we counte theſe as thynges of no force or difficultie. For S. Auguſtine in the Sermon of the natiuitie of Peter and Paule, ſayth in this wiſe: Our Lord Ieſus Chriſt before his paſſiō, choſe his diſciples (as ye do know) whom he called brethren. Amongeſt thoſe, Peter alone almoſt in euery place, repreſented yͤ perſon of the Church, and therfore was it ſayd vnto hym, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. That is to ſay. Vnto thee will I geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. Theſe keyes dyd not he receiue as one man, but as one he receiued them for the Churche. And in an other place, where he writeth of the Chriſtian agony, he ſayth: the keyes of yͤ kyngdome of heauē were geuē vnto the church: when as they were geuē vnto Peter: And when it was ſpoken vnto hym: Amas me? Paſce oues meas. That is to ſay. Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe: it was ſpoken vnto them all. And S. Ambroſe in the beginnyng of his paſtorall, ſayth which ſheepe and which flocke, the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter tooke not charge of alone, but together with vs, and we all together with him. By which wordes the foundation and principall argumentes of thoſe flatterers, are vtterly ſubuerted & ouerthrowen. For if Peter repreſented the perſon of the Church, we ought not to aſcribe the force of theſe wordes vnto Peter, but vnto the Church. Neither do I ſee how that can ſtand, which Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre diſtant from the truth, except it be vnderſtand otherwiſe then it is ſpoken.

Peter repreſenteth the perſon of the church, and not of the Pope.

The keyes geuen to the church and not to one man.

Pope Boniface erreth.

But it may peraduenture ſeeme a greate thyng vnto ſome, that it is ſayd, the Byſhop of Rome to be the head of the militant Church. For, as in the body of man, Phiſitions do neuer giue Councell to cut of the head for any maner of ſickenes and diſeaſe, although it be neuer ſo full of vlcers or infected: ſo in this myſticall body of the church, the head ought alwayes to be kept: and albeit it be neuer ſo wicked, yet is it to be ſuffered and borne withall. But now conuert this argument. If it were poſſible in the body of mā, when one head is taken away, to finde an other to put in his place, as we ſee it may be done in the Church, ſhould not heades then be oftentymes chaunged for diuers diſeaſes? Moreouer, if we will thus reaſon, that the head of the Churche ſhould be in reſpect of his body, as the head of man in reſpect of the body of man: then doth it neceſſarely follow that the head beyng dead the body muſt alſo dye, as is manifeſt in the body of man: So ſhould it grow into an abſurditie to confeſſe that the Pope beyng dead, the Church alſo ſhould be dead: the which how farre it diſſenteth from the truth, it is moſt manifeſt. Therfore what ſoeuer other men ſay, I am not of opinion with them, whiche affirme the Byſhop of Rome, to be head of the Church, except peraduenture they do make him the miniſteriall head: for we do read that Chriſt is the head of the Church and not the Pope: and that he is the true head immutable, perpetuall, and euerlaſtyng, and the Church is his body, whereof the Pope himſelfe is alſo a member and the vicare of Chriſt, not to the deſtruction but to the maintenaunce & edifiyng of the ſame body of Chriſt. Wherefore, if he be founde a damnable deſtroyer of the Church, he may be depoſed and caſt out, becauſe he doth not that he was ordeined to do: and we ought, as Pope Leo ſayth, to be myndefull of the commaundemēt geuē vs in the Goſpel: that if our eye, our foote, or our right hand, do offende vs, it ſhould be cut of from the body. For the Lord ſayth in an other place: Euery tree whiche bryngeth not forth fruite, ſhalbe cut downe and caſt into the fire. And in an other place alſo it is ſayd vnto vs: take away all euill and wickedneſſe from among you. It is very iuſt and true, whiche is written in the Epiſtle of Clement vnto Iames the brother of our Lord, that he which wilbe ſaued, ought to be ſeparate from them whiche will not be ſaued.

The B. of Rome vnproperly called the head of the Church.

They dote which ſay that the pope can not be depoſed for any other cauſe then for hereſie.

But for the more manifeſt declaration hereof, we muſt haue recourſe to that which is ſpoken by the Lord, in the Goſpell of Iohn: I am the true vyne ſayth the Lord, and my father is the huſbandman, and ye are the braunches: euery braunche therfore that bringeth not forth fruite in me, my father will cut of. Theſe wordes were ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, amongeſt whom alſo Peter was preſent, whom yͤ Lord would haue cut of, if he brought not forth his fruit. Alſo S. Hierome vpon theſe wordes of Mathew: Vnſauery ſalt is profitable for nothyng, but to be caſt forth and troden of ſwyne. Whereupon in the perſon of Peter and Paule, he ſayth thus: It is no eaſie matter to ſtand in the place of Peter and Paule, and to keepe the chayre of them which raigne with Chriſt. This vnſauery ſalt, that is to ſay a fooliſh Prelate, vnſauery in preachyng, and fooliſh in offendyng, is good for nothyng, but to be caſt foorth, that is to ſay depoſed, and to be troden of ſwyne, that is of wicked ſpirites, which haue dominiō ouer the wicked and naughty

Fruitles branches are to be cut of.

If the pope be vnſauery ſalt, he is to be caſt away.

Prelates, as their owne flocke and heard. Behold, this teſtimonie of Hierome is playne and euident. Let him be caſt out ſayth he.

A note for all naughty Prelates.

He expoundeth and ſpeaketh it of the Prelate, whiche vſurpeth the place of Peter, and ſo conſequently of the Byſhop of Rome, who beyng vnſauery in preachyng, and fooliſh in offendyng, ought to be depoſed (as Hierome affirmeth) from his degree and dignitie. Neither as ſome do dreame, is he to be depoſed for hereſie onely. Iſidorus in the booke of Councels, rehearſeth a certaine epiſtle of Clemēt ÿ ſucceſſor of Peter writtē vnto James ÿ apoſtle, where as ÿ ſayd Clement referryng ÿ wordes of Peter vnto himſelfe, ſaith thus: If thou be occupyed with worldly cares, ÿ ſhalt both deceiue thy ſelf, & thoſe which ſhal geue eare vnto thee: for thou canſt not fully diſtribute vnto euery man, thoſe thynges whiche pertaine vnto ſaluation: whereby it ſhall come to paſſe, ÿ thou as a man for not teaching thoſe things which pertayne vnto ſaluation, ſhalt be depoſed, and thy diſciples ſhall periſh through ignoraunce. Notwithſtandyng in an other place, in ſteade of this word depoſed, it is founde thou ſhalt be puniſhed: which two wordes, if they be well vnderſtood, do not much differre, for depoſition is oftentymes vſed in the place of puniſhment. But peraduenture ſome will here obiect, that this Epiſtle is not to be iudged Clementes, becauſe it is ſayd to be written vnto James, who as the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtory affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement myght thinke that James was alyue when as he wrote: whiche were farre diſtant aſunder, and meſſengers of the Chriſtians, came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mentiō made of this Epiſtle in diuers places of the decretalles, as moſt true, and therfore it ſhalbe nothyng from the purpoſe, to rehearſe other ſayinges out of the ſame epiſtle, where he ſayth, that he which lyueth rebelliouſly, and refuſeth both to learne and to do good, is rather a member of the deuill, then of Chriſt, and doth ſhew himſelfe rather to be an infidell, then a faythfull Chriſtian. Upon whiche wordes, the gloſe which Panormitane calleth ſingular, and is much allowed, ſayth, that if the crime or offence of the Byſhop of Rome be notorious, whereby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accuſed therof. If then he may be accuſed, Ergo alſo he may be puniſhed, and accordyng to the exigent of the fault depoſed: Otherwiſe he ſhould be accuſed in vayne.

The wordes of Peter to Clement.

The Epiſtle of Clement to James doubted.

The pope may and ought to be both accuſed and puniſhed for ill doing.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduerſaries, but that the Pope may be depoſed: Notwithſtandyng it is not yet euident whether he may be depoſed by the Councel or no, which we now take in hand to diſcourſe. And firſt of all, the aduerſaries will graunt this vnto vs, that the Byſhop of Rome may be depoſed by the Churche, forſomuch as the Pope beyng the vicare of the Church, no man doubteth, but that a Lord may put out his Vicare at his will & pleaſure, neither is to be doubted but ÿ the Pope is more truely called the Vicare of the Churche, then of Chriſt. But if the Church may depoſe the Pope: Ergo the Councell alſo may do the ſame. Alſo the gloſe which Panormitane in his wrytyng doth ſo greatly commend, hath this ſentence: that the generall Councell is iudge ouer the Pope in all caſes. Likewiſe the moſt ſacred Synode of Cōſtantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appointe the Byſhops of Rome to be vnder the iudgement of the Councell: and the Coūcell to iudge and determine of euery doubtfull matter or queſtion that doth ariſe, concernyng the Byſhop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt hereof, becauſe this word depoſition is not mentioned: for it is ſayd, of euery doubtful matter or queſtion: For if the Synode do iudge of euery doubt: Ergo it ſhall alſo iudge, whether the Pope ſhalbe depoſed or no: for that may alſo come in doubt. And becauſe we will not ſeeke examples farre of, John the. xxiij. whom all the world dyd reuerence, was depoſed of his Papacy by the Councell of Conſtance. Neither yet was he cōdēned for any hereſie: but becauſe he dyd offend the Church by his manifold crimes, the ſacred Synode thought good to depoſe hym: and euer ſince continually, the Church hath proceded by like example, that their opinion might ceaſe, which affirme that the pope cannot be depoſed but onely for hereſie.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the councell or no.

The pope is rather to be called the vicar of the Church, thē of Chriſt.

Pope John 23. depoſed and yet for no hereſie.

But here is yet one thyng not to be omitted, that certaine men do affirme the generall Councels to be of no effect, except the Pope do call and appoynt them, and his authoritie remayne with them. Wherupon they ſayd that Dioſcorus did rebuke Paſchaſius the Byſhop of Cicill, & Legate of Pope Leo, becauſe that he dyd enterpriſe without the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke Sea, to call a Councell at Epheſus. They alſo alledge an other teſtimony of the Synode of Chalcedone: whereas, when mention was made of the Councell of Epheſus, all the Byſhops cryed out, ſaying: we ought not to call it a councel, becauſe it was neither gathered by the Apoſtolike authoritie, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which ſay that the Councels cannot be holden without the conſent of the Pope, do thinke themſelues marueilouſly armed. Whoſe ſentēce and opinion, if it take place and preuayle as they deſire, it ſhall bryng with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy ſhall we finde, if that a wicked Pope do diſturbe the whole Church, deſtroy ſoules, ſeduce the people by his euill examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the fayth and fill the people full of hereſies, ſhall we prouide no ſtay or ſtoppe for hym? Shall we ſuffer all thynges to runne to ruine and decay with hym? Who would thinke that the Byſhop of Rome would cōgregate a Councell for his own correction or depoſition? for as men are prone vnto ſinne, ſo would they alſo ſinne without puniſhment. But when as I do peruſe auncient hyſtories, and the Actes of the Apoſtles, I do not finde this order, that Councels ſhould be gathered onely at the will of the Pope: for the firſt Councell of all, after that Mathias was ſubſtitute in the place of Judas, was not congregate at the commaundement of Peter, but at the commaundement of Chriſt, who cōmaunded the Apoſtles that they ſhould not depart from Jeruſalem, but looke for the promiſe of the father.

Whether coūcels may be cōgregated without the authority of the pope.

They erre that ſay the pope ought onely to appoint the councels.

Marke wherfore the popes will haue no generall councell.

The firſt councell of the Apoſtles.

The ſecond Councell as touchyng the election of the Deacons, Peter alone dyd not congregate, but the xij. Apoſtles: for it is written, The xij. Apoſtles callyng together the multitude. &c.

The thyrd Councell, which was holden as touchyng the takyng away of Circumciſion & other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inſpiration: for it is written: The Apoſtles and Elders came together. &c.

The fourth Councell, whereas certaine thynges contayned in the law are permitted, ſeemeth to be gathered by James, & ſo diſcourſing throughout all, there can nothyng be founde in the primatiue Churche, whereby it ſhould appeare that the authoritie of cōgregatyng of Coūcels ſhould pertayne onely vnto Byſhoppes of Rome. Neither afterwardes in the time of Conſtantinus Magnus, and other Emperours, was the conſent of the Byſhops of Rome greatly required to the congregatyng of Councels, and therfore it is written thus of the Synode of Chalcedon: The ſacred and vniuerſall Synode gathered together at Chalcedone the chief Citie of the prouince of Bethunia, accordyng vnto the grace of God, and the ſanctions of the moſt godly and Chriſtian Emperours Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the Byſhop of Rome, although his conſent were there.

Generall councels in tymes paſt congregated by Emperours & not by popes.

Wherfore, if the Pope would reſiſt, and would haue no Councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do iudge it neceſſary to haue a Councell, the Councell may be congregate whether the Pope will or no. The Councell holden at Piſa, was not congregate by the authoritie and conſent of any Pope, when as Gregory dyd condemne it, and Benedict curſed it. The ſame alſo may be ſayd of the Councell of Conſtance, which was aſſembled by the authoritie of Pope John, who in reſpect of ÿ Spanyardes was no true Pope. And if the Councell of Piſa were no true Councell, Pope John was no true Pope: whereupon his conſent to the congregatyng of the Councell of Conſtance, was of no effect. Moreouer it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once geuen his conſent, if it ſhould be called backe, that the Councell ſhould then ceaſe, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke his conſent: And of neceſſitie he muſt be obedient vnto the Councell, wherof he is a member, and geue place vnto the greater part: and if he ſeparate hymſelfe from the conſent of the greater part, and depart from the vnitie of the Church, he maketh himſelfe a Schiſmaticke.

If the greater part of the church do conſent, a councell may be holden whether the pope will or no.

How the pope is a ſchiſmaticke.

Now, to come vnto the ſecond concluſion, if it be true, as it is in deede, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, how can the Pope then diſſolue, alter and tranſport the Councell, agaynſt the will of the ſame? For with what countenaunce can we ſay, that the inferiour hath power ouer the ſuperiour? How can the Synode correct the Pope, if the Pope may diſſolue the Synode contrary to the will therof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, couetous, a ſower of warre and diſcorde, and a moſt mortall enemy vnto the Church, and the name of Chriſt, how can the Councell reproue hym, if he haue authoritie to diſſolue the Councell? For as ſoone as euer that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall vnderſtand, that in the Councell they doe intreate or talke of his correction or puniſhment, ſtraight wayes he will ſeeke remedy by diſſoluyng the Councell. For as Macrobius ſayth: he that hath libertie to do more then is fit or neceſſary, will oftentymes do more then is lawfull. If ſo be that

The pope cā not diſſolue a generall councell agaynſt the will of the ſame.

The ſaying of Macrobius.

the Byſhop of Rome may exempt himſelfe from correction by diſſoluyng or tranſportyng the Councell, it followeth that the Councell is not aboue hym. Therfore we muſt either denye that which is aforeſayd, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, or els denye that the Pope hath power to diſſolue the Councell, contrary to the will and determinatiõ of the Councell.

Whether the pope in certaine caſes may diſſolue the councell.

And as this firſt concluſion is moſt true, ſo are all other concluſions falſe, which ſeeme to impugne the ſame. Wherfore the ſecond concluſion of the Diuines is alſo manifeſt: albeit that ſome do admit it in certayne caſes, and in other ſome exclude it agayne. For if we do admit, that for certaine cauſes the Pope may diſſolue the Councell contrary to the will and determination therof, that is to ſay, to make the Pope iudge of the Councell, it were cleane contrary vnto the firſt concluſion.

Now it is proued that the Councell is aboue the pope and can not be diſſolued by the Pope without conſent therof. Now we muſt further ſee, whether it be an Article of our faych to beleue it: which matter hath reſpect vnto the thyrd concluſion. For there haue bene many, which albeit they dyd confeſſe theſe two concluſions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a veritie of the Catholicke fayth or no. Therfore this ſecond part muſt be confirmed. And we muſt ſee whether it be an article of fayth that the Pope be vnder the Councell. Which beyng proued, it ſhal alſo appeare to be an article of fayth, that the pope can not diſſolue the Councell without the conſent therof. Which conſequẽt none of the contrary part hath refuted. Firſt of all therfore we muſt inquire what fayth is, that we may thereby the better vnderſtand, what pertayneth therunto.

The definition of faith.

Fayth, as the Diuines do define it, is a firme and ſtedfaſt cleauyng vnto thyngs, beleued by the authoritie of hym that ſpeaketh. If then we beleue as is aforeſayd, that the Pope of Rome is vnder the Councell, ſome authoritie doth moue vs therunto: ſo is it ẏ faith of hym which beleueth it: but ẏ queſtiõ is not whether it be an article of fayth onely, but whether it be an Article of the Catholike fayth. Wherfore we muſt agayne enquire what the Catholicke fayth is. This word Catholike is a Greeke word, and ſignifieth vniuerſall. The Catholike fayth, that is to ſay the vniuerſall fayth, is not ſo called becauſe that euery man holdeth it, but becauſe euery man ought to beleue it. For all men do not beleue that God is incarnate, but euery man ought ſo to beleue. And albeit that many be agaynſt this fayth, yet doth it not ceaſe to be vniuerſall. For what writeth the Apoſtle vnto the Romains? If ſome of them haue not beleued, doth their miſbelief make the fayth of God vayne? God forbyd. Verely God is true, but euery man is a lyer. Therefore to beleue that the pope is vnder the Councell, is a poynt of the Catholike fayth, although ſome thincke the contrary: for we are bounde to beleue it, for ſomuch as it is taken out of the Goſpell. For we are not bounde onely to beleue thoſe things which are noted to vs in the Creed, but alſo all thoſe things which are cõtayned in the holy Scriptures, wherof we may not denye one iote. And thoſe thynges whiche we alledge for the ſuperioritie of the generall Councell, are gathered out of the ſayinges of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt, & the Epiſtles of S. Paule: Ergo we are all bound to beleue it. And to proue that theſe thyngs are taken out of ẏ Goſpell, the Councell of Conſtance doth witneſſe, the whiche groundeth his authoritie vppon theſe wordes: Dic Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, tell it vnto the Church. And, where two or iij. are gathered together in my name. &c. And, whatſoeuer ye ſhall bynde. &c. with other ſuch lyke textes.

The definition of the catholicke fayth.

Rom. 3.

Catholicke what it is.

The councell of Conſtance.
Vid. ſupra pag. 628.

Whereupon Pope Martin the iiij. beyng yet at Conſtãce, vnder the licence of the Councel, ſent out his Bulles, which do recken vp the Articles, wherupon they ought to be examined, which had fallen into any hereſie, amongeſt the which Articles, he putteth this Article: whether he do beleue the ſacred generall Councell to haue power immediatly from God, and that the ordinaunces therof are to be receiued of all faythfull Chriſtiãs, which if any man would deny, he ſhould be counted an heretike. Wherfore, when as the ſacred Synode of Conſtance, doth ſet forth this veritie, as touchyng the ſuperioritie of the generall Councell, what ſhould let but that we alſo ſhould confeſſe the ſame to be a verity of the Catholicke fayth? For the catholicke Church being cõgregate at Conſtance, receiued that fayth, that is to ſay, beleued it by the authoritie of hym whiche ſpake it, that is, Chriſt and his Saintes.

The wordes of the councell of Chalcedõ, where by he is declared an hereticke that holdeth any opinion contrary to the councell.

To this purpoſe alſo ſerueth very well the wordes of the Synode of Chalcedon written in this maner: It is not lawfull for hym that is condemned by the whole Synode to nominate any Byſhop. The determination pleaſeth all men. This is the fayth of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary vnto this, is an hereticke. And agayne it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and choſen Synode.

Marke the manifeſt witneſſe of this moſt ſacred Synode, which ſayd that he is an hereticke, which holdeth any opinion contrary vnto the Councell: But he is no hereticke, except he refuſe the Catholicke fayth: Ergo it was the Catholicke fayth to beleue that it was not lawfull to appeale from the ſacred Councell. But how was the ſame any poynt of the Catholicke faith? Verely for ſomuch as the ſacred Synode peruſing ouer the holy Scriptures, hath receiued this concluſion out of the wordes of Chriſt and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon tooke their concluſion out of the holy Scriptures, ſo did the Councell of Conſtance, this which we now reaſon vpon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholicke fayth, ſo is the other alſo. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an hereticke.

Panormitan is noted and very well nipped by his owne ſuppoſition.

Furthermore they ſeeme vnto me to dreame and dote, which confeſſing them to be verities, will not confeſſe them to be verities of fayth. For if they be verities, I pray you wherof are they verities? Truly not of Grammer, much leſſe of Logike, and from Aſtronomy and Phiſicke they are farre diſtant. Neither is there any other man but a Diuine, that will graunt this veritie, whom Scripture doth force vnto it of neceſſitie, if he do beleue Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Therfore this is a veritie of the Catholicke fayth which all men ought to embrace, and he which obſtinatly reſiſteth agaynſt the ſame, is to be iudged an hereticke, as the thyrd concluſion doth affirme. Neither let any man thinke it hard or cruell that he ſhould be called an hereticke which goeth about to derogate any thyng from the power of the generall Councell, which is confirmed by ſo many teſtimonies and authorities. Alſo Panormitan alledgeth S. Hierome, ſaying: He which vnderſtandeth the Scripture otherwiſe thẽ the conſent of the holy Ghoſt doth require, albeit he do not depart from the Church, may be called an hereticke.

Tell the church, that is to ſay, the generall councell.

Wherupon it followeth that he which vpon the wordes of Chriſt ſaying vnto Peter, Dic Eccleſiæ. i. Tell it vnto the Church, doth not vnderſtand by the Church the generall Councell, vnderſtandeth it otherwiſe then the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt doth require, and there by may be noted as an hereticke. And to proue that the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt is otherwiſe then he doth iudge it, the Councell of Conſtance, doth declare: The which interpretyng thoſe wordes, Dic Eccleſiæ. i. Tell it vnto the Church, ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt, vnderſtãdeth them to be ſpoken of the generall Coũcell. By theſe and many other wayghtyer reaſons, the. iij. aforeſayd concluſions, ſeemed true vnto the Diuines, & through them they alſo allowed the reſidue.

Now haue we ſufficiently ſayd, as touching that which was before promiſed: neither do I thinke any man now to be in doubt of theſe iij. firſt concluſions. Now to returne agayne vnto our ſtory, it is our purpoſe to declare thoſe thynges which happened after the concluſions of the Diuines: for there are many thynges worthy of remembraunce, which alſo may happely be profitable vnto the poſteritie.

When the diſputation was ended and a finall concluſiõ of theſe matters euen at hand, the Archbiſhops of Millaine and Panormitane with the reſidue of their fellow Ambaſſadours of the king of Arragon, and Duke of Millaine, armed themſelues with all their power to let the matter, exhortyng all men of their faction to withſtand it with ſtoute and valiaunt ſtomackes.

The byſhop of Burgen.

And firſt of all, as ſoone as the cõgregation was aſſembled together, the Byſhop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the concluſion, and to tary for the Ambaſſadours of other Princes, which would ſhortly returne from Mentz.

Panormitanes oratiõ

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetorical Oration, ſpake (in a maner) as followeth.

I haue (ſayd he) had a cõmaundemẽt by the Prophet, to cry without ceaſing: which Prophet ſayd: Cry out, ceaſe not, lift vp thy voyce as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any tyme before, he ought to haue cryed, this matter ſpecially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaryng out, when as the ſtate of the vniuerſall Church is intreated vpon, either to be preſerued, or vtterly ouerthrowne: and that he hath cryed ſomuch in this matter, that he doubted not, but ẏ ſaying of Dauid was fulfilled in him, where he ſaith: Laboraui clamans, raucæ ſunt factæ fauces meæ. I haue laboured, crying out, that my iawes are become horce.

Notwithſtandyng that he would both now, and as often as nede ſhould require, without ceaſing ſtill crye out, and ſpecially now in this moſt difficulte and wayghty matter: wherein he required the ſacred Councell gentelly to heare both hym, and the Ambaſſadours of other Princes:

addyng

Foure thinges to be cōſidered in euery requeſt.

addyng moreouer foure thynges to be conſidered in all requeſtes made of any man. The which he alſo required the fathers now preſently, to marke and cōſider: who it is that maketh the requeſt. What is required. Why it ſhould be required, and what effect would come by the requeſt either graunted, or denyed. As touchyng the firſt poynt he ſayd: The moſt noble Kynges and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power: and then reconed vp the king of Caſtell, the king of Arrogon, the Duke of Millaine, and the Byſhops of the ſame Princes, rehearſing alſo the merites & good deedes of the ſayd Kynges, & alſo of the Duke of Millaine. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, he could not refrayne himſelfe, but begā to waxe ſomewhat hoate, ſaying that the greateſt number of Prelates were on his part. For if the Byſhops and Abbotes were counted, it were not to be doubted, but the greateſt part of them would haue this preſent matter differred: and for ſomuch as the whole power of the Councell doth conſiſt in the Byſhops, it is not to be ſuffered, that they beyng neglected and contemned, that ſhould be concluded which pleaſed the greater part of the inferiours: For the keyes (ſayd he) were geuen to the Apoſtles, & to their ſucceſſors which are the Byſhops: alſo, that there are three kyndes of Synodes, Epiſcopall, Prouinciall, and Generall, and none of all theſe without Byſhops.

Panormitane would haue dignity to be conſidered in councell. and not voyces.

Wherfore the maner and order of the preſent Councell ſeemed vndecēt, whereas is thyngs were not weyed accordyng as men excell in dignitie, but by moſt voyces: Notwithſtandyng according to the moſt famous Epiſtle of Clement, the Byſhops were the pyllers and keyes of heauen, and the inferiours had no determinyng voyce, but onely a conſultatiue voyce with them: wherfore there would be a great offēce in this behalfe, if a matter of fayth ſhould be determined without the Byſhops: in which matter not onely the byſhops, but alſo the ſecular Princes ought to be admitted. And for ſomuch as they, in the name of their Princes, deſired to be admitted to the examination of this preſēt matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complayned greatly how vnworthy a thyng it was that they ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed.

Panormitane ſeemeth to delay the proces agaynſt the pope.

After many thynges ſpoken to this end and effect, he paſſed ouer to the ſecōd part of hys Oratiō, declaryng what it was that he required: not gold, nor ſiluer, neither precious ſtones, neither prouinces nor kyngdomes, neither a thyng hard to be done: but that onely the delay of the ſacred Councell was required, & that the fathers would ſtay in the proceſſe agaynſt the Pope, and in the concluſion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither ſhould the delay be long, but onely vntil the returne of the Ambaſſadours from Mentz, whom he knew well would returne very ſhortly. That this was but a ſmall matter, and to be ſmall intreatie, becauſe there was no daunger in it. And alſo it ſhould ſeme iniurious, not to tary for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes which were then at Mentz, when as they were not abſent for their owne priuate commoditie, but about the affaires of the common wealth, and the commoditie of peace: neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had deſired, that duryng their abſence, there ſhould be nothyng renued concernyng the matters of Eugenius.

The 3. part of Panormitans oration.

Perſuaſiōs of Panormitane.

Then immediatly adioynyng the thyrd part of his Oration, wherfore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate cōmoditie of any one mā, but for a common wealth: not to cauſe any trouble or vnquietnes, but for the better examination of the matter, that all thynges might paſſe with peace and quietneſſe, that the matter might be ſomuch the more firme and ſtable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the conſent of many. And ſo he proceded to the laſt part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would conſider and wey in their myndes the effect that would follow, if they ſhould graunt or deny this requeſt. For (ſayth he) if ye ſhall deny this ſmall petition of the Princes, they all will be agreeued therewith, and take this repulſe in ill part. They wyll ſay, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient vnto you, or receiue your decrees. In vayne ſhall ye make lawes except the Princes do execute them, and all your decrees ſhall be but vayne: yet would I thinke this to be borne wall, if I did not feare greater matters to enſue. What if they ſhould ioyne themſelues with Eugenius, who not onely deſireth to ſpoyle you of your lyuynges, but alſo of your liues. Alas, what ſlaughter and murther do the eyes of my mynde behold and ſee? would God my opinion were but vayne. But if you do graunt and conſent vnto their petitions, they will thincke themſelues bounde vnto you: they will receiue and embrace your decrees, and whatſoeuer you ſhall require of them ſhal be obtained. They wil forſake your aduerſary, they will ſpeake euill of him and abhorre him: but you they will commend and prayſe, you they will reuerence: vnto you they will wholy ſubmit themſelues, and then ſhall follow that moſt excellent fruite of reformation and tranquillitie of the Church. And thus he required the matter to be reſpited on all partes. At the laſt he ſayd, that except the Ambaſſadors of the Princes were heard, he had a proteſtation, written, which he would commaund to be read before them all.

The prayſe of Lodouicus the prothonotary.

When Panormitan had made an end of his Oratiō, Lodouicus the Prothonotary of Rome roſe vp, a man of ſuch ſingular wit & memory, yͤ he was thought not to be inferiour vnto any of the famous mē afore tyme. In ſomuch that he had alwayes in memory whatſoeuer he had heard or red, and neuer forgat any thyng that he had ſene. This mā firſt commendyng Panormitane, ſayd that he came but the day before from the bathes, & that it ſeemed vnto him a ſtraunge thyng which was now brought in queſtion: wherein he deſired to heare other mens myndes, and alſo to be heard of others, and that thoſe prelates which were at Mentz ſhould be taryed for, to be preſent at the diſcuſſyng of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great eſtimation, and the Oratours of moſt mighty Princes,

Byſhops onely to haue determining voyce in councels.

He allowed alſo the ſaying of Panormitane touchyng the voyces of the inferiors, that it ſemeth not to be agaynſt the truth, that onely Byſhops ſhould haue a decidyng or determinyng voyce in Councels. And albeit that ſome in this diſputation do thinke that, which is writtē in the. xv. chapter of the Actes, to be their force or defence: notwithſtandyng he was nothyng moued therewith, nor tooke it to be of any effect, albeit it was ſayd: It ſemed good vnto the holy Ghoſt and to vs, where as both the Apoſtles and the elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared: that the others had a decidyng voyce with yͤ Apoſtles. For he ſayd, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Actes of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be meruayled at, thē to be folowed: and yͭ it doth not appeare there, that the Apoſtles called the Elders of duety, but that it is onely declared that they were there preſent: whereupon nothyng could be inferred. And that it ſeemed vnto him, that the inferiours in the Councell of Baſill, were admitted to determine with the Byſhops but of grace and fauour onely, becauſe the Byſhops may communicate their authoritie vnto others. He alleged for teſtimonie, the Byſhop of Cancen, a man of great authoritie, who would not ſuffer any incorporation or felowſhyp of the meaner ſorte, and therfore, neither any inferiour, neither hymſelfe, which as yet was not made biſhop, to haue any decidyng voyce in the councel. Wherfore for ſomuch as the matter was wayghty, which was now in hand, and that the Byſhops ſpake agaynſt it, he required the Councell that they would of neceſſitie ſtay and tary for the Ambaſſadours of the Princes commyng from Mentz.

It is no maruell why he alledged no more or better matter: for of noughty Lethes no mā can make a good ſhoe. And note here how God withdraweth hys giftes when mē diſſemble and cloke the truth.

His Oration was ſomuch the more greuous, in that many were touched with his wordes, & ſpecially in that poynt that he ſayd, the Apoſtles were not to be folowed: for that all men did impugne as a blaſphemy. But here a man may meruaile, that a man of ſuch excellency, alledged no more, or better matter. But in this poynt the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which dyd not willingly ſpeake in this matter, and deſired nothyng ſomuch, as not to obtayne that which he intreated for. After him many other ſpake theyr myndes, but all to this end that they might protract the time and defer the concluſion of theſe matters.

Truth ſeeketh no corners.

Then Lodouicus the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of marueilous conſtancy, and borne for the gouernaunce of generall Cōſels, gatheryng together yͤ wordes of all the Oratours, ſpake in this wiſe: Moſt reuerend fathers, this is no new or ſtraunge buſineſſe, nor begon to day or yeſterday. For it is now many weekes ago, ſince the concluſiōs were diſputed vpon amongeſt the Diuines, & ſent vnto Mentz, and to all other partes of the world. After this, they were diſputed vpon vj. dayes continually, and fully diſcuſſed, and after that not without great delay approued by the deputies, and as the truth ſeeketh no corners, ſo all thynges were done publikely and openly. Neither can any man pretend ignoraunce, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned: For we called all that were preſent at Baſill, and exhorted all the reſt for to be preſent. And for ſomuch as mētion is made of the moſt noble Kyng of Caſtell: who is it that is ignoraunt, that the Kynges Oratours were there preſent? The Byſhop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of ſingular learnyng and eloquence, and you alſo Panormitane your ſelfe, whiche here repreſent the perſon of the moſt famous kyng of Arragō, were twiſe preſent your ſelfe in the Chapter houſe, and diſputed twiſe moſt ſubtilly, and twiſe be-declared your mynde, what you thought in that matter. What do you deſire any more? Alſo out of the territory of the Duke of Millaine, there was preſent the Archbyſhop of Millaine, who albeit, he be no Ambaſſadour, yet how famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignoraunt. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the Archbyſhop being ſomewhat moued, ſayd vnto hym. My Lord Cardinall, you ſupply the roome of a Preſident no better, then I do the place of a Dukes Oratour, and began to taunte hym with many wordes. But the Cardinall (as he was a mā moſt paciēt: & would not be prouoked to anger by no meanes) ſayd: this is it that I euen now deſired. For if the Archb. be an Ambaſſadour then hath the Duke no cauſe to cōplayne, which had his Oratour preſēt at the diſcuſſyng of thoſe matters.

The patience & anſwere of Arelatenſis.

I paſſe ouer other Princes, becauſe they do not complayne. Notwithſtandyng the moſt Chriſtian Kyng of Fraunce, had there the Byſhop of Lyons, a graue and ſober man, his Ambaſſadour at the diſputation. As for other princes, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhould be taried for, which knowyng the Councell to be cōgregate for ſuch matters as pertaine vnto fayth, do not thinke it abſurde, that the doubtfull matters of fayth ſhould be declared in the Councell: Whereunto, if they had bene willyng to come, they would haue bene preſent or this.

Why this matter ſhould neede ſo much diſcuſſyng, as ſome will haue, I do not vnderſtand. For if I be well remembred, Panormitane and alſo Ludouicus, haue oftentimes affirmed in this place, euē the very ſame thing which the concluſions ſignifie. And if any of them now will go about to gaynesay it, it will happen vnto them, as it dyd vnto Didimus. To whom, when as on a tyme, he repugned agaynſt a certaine hiſtory, as vayne and friuolous, his owne booke was deliuered vnto hym, wherin the ſame was written: So likewiſe theſe two men (meanyng Panormitane & Ludouicus the Prothonotary) Albeit they be moſt excellently learned, & eloquent: yet may they be confuted by their owne wrytynges. Beſides this: there are Synodall Epiſtles and decrees of this Councel, which are full of ſuch cōcluſions. What is it then whereupon any difficultie can be rayſed? what is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bryng that agayne in doubt, which hath ſo often bene declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (they ſay) the Princes and Ambaſſadours are abſent which are Byſhops, by whoſe preſence the decrees ſhould be of more authoritie. Well, they are not onely abſent which are gone to Metz: but almoſt an infinite number of others, diſperſed throughout the whole world: whom if we ſhould tary to looke for, nothyng at any tyme ſhould be decreed. They are all called vnto the Councell: they might haue come if they would. To thoſe that are preſent power is geuē, and they ought to debate theſe matters. If any man wil ſay, that they which are abſent, are about the affaires of the common wealth: truly, we ſent them not thether, but they went rather agaynſt the will of the Councell, then with the conſent therof.

Didimus reprehended that which was in his owne booke founde.

He meaneth Panormitane, & Lodouicus the Prothonotary.

And admit that they had bene ſent by the Councell: yet were not our power ſo much reſtrained, but that we might reforme the Church, for otherwiſe there ſhould neuer any thyng be done in the Councell: for ſomuch as alwayes ſome are ſent out by the Councel, and ſome are alwayes to be looked and taryed for, and therfore either we muſt do nothyng at all, or ſend out no Prelates from the Councell. Where as he ſayd that Prelates and ſpecially Byſhops are contemned, that is moſt farre from the truth, for they haue the chief and firſt places. They ſpeake firſt, and geue their voyces firſt of all vnto all thynges: and if ſo be they do ſpeake learnedly and truly, all the inferiours without any gaynſaying, do ſoone folow their mynde.

Neither peraduenture ſhall it be founde vntrue, that there was neuer any Synode, which did more amplifie the power and authoritie of byſhops then this. For what haue the biſhops bene in our dayes, but onely ſhadowes? Might they not well haue bene called ſhepheardes without ſheepe? What had they more then their miter and their ſtaffe, when as they could determine nothyng ouer their ſubiectes? Verely in the primatiue Church, the Biſhops had the greateſt power and authoritie: but now was it come to that poynt, that they exceded the common ſort of Prieſtes onely in their habite and reuenewes. But we haue reſtored them agayne to their old eſtate, we haue reduced the collation of benefices agayne vnto thē: we haue reſtored vnto thē the confirmatiō of electiōs: we haue brought agayne the cauſes of the ſubiectes to be heard, into their handes, & haue made them Byſhops which were none before. What cauſe is there thē, that the Byſhops ſhould ſay, they are contemned of the Cōcell? Or what iniurious thyng haue we at any tyme done vnto them? But Panormitan ſayth, that for ſomuch as moſt byſhops are on his part, and few agaynſt him, the concluſion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiours. But let Panormitan remēber himſelfe that this is no new kynde of procedyng.

Marke, O ye biſhops, the coūcell of Baſill cōtendeth for you & ye will not vnderſtand it.

This order of procedyng, the Councell ordeined from the begynnyng, neither hath it bene chaunged at any tyme ſince. And this order Panormitane, in tymes paſt hath pleaſed you well enough, when as the multitude did folow your mynde. But now, becauſe they do not follow your mynde, they do diſpleaſe you. But the decrees of Councels are not ſo mutable, as the wils of men. Know ye moreouer, that the very ſame Byſhops which do conſent with you in worde do not cōſent with you in mynde, neither ſpeake ẏ ſame ſecretly, which they now do opēly. They do feare that which you told them at home in their countrey: that except they would folow your mynde, they ſhould diſpleaſe the kyng. They feare the power of the Prince, & to be ſpoyled of their temporalties: neither haue they free liberty to ſpeake as is requiſite in Councels. Albeit if they were true Byſhops, & true paſtours of ſoules, they would not doubt to put their lyues in venture for their ſheepe, neither be afearde to ſhed their bloud for their mother the Church.

This was a true Cardinall: out of whoſe mouth the veritie did ſpeake, which feared not the threatenynges of princes, neither ſought any worldly glory or dignitie.

But at this preſent (the more is the pitie) it is rare to finde a Prelate in this world, which doth not preferre his temporalties before his ſpiritualties: with the loue wherof, they are ſo withdrawen, that they ſtudy rather to pleaſe Princes then God, and confeſſe God in corners, but Princes they will openly confeſſe. Of whom the Lord ſpeaketh in his Goſpel. Euery one ſayth he, that confeſſeth me before men, I will confeſſe him before my father which is in heauen. And contrarywiſe the Lord wil not confeſſe hym before his father which is afeard to confeſſe the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan ſayth, moſt byſhops to be on his part: for here are many Byſhops proctors, whō he doth not recken, becauſe they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignitie of the fathers, to be reſpected in the Cōcell, as he ſayth, but onely reaſon, nor any thyng more to be looked for, then the truth: neither will I for my part, preferre a lye of any Byſhop, be he neuer ſo rich, before a veritie or truth of a poore Prieſt. Neither ought a Byſhop to diſdayne, if he be rude or vnlearned, that the multitude doth not folow him, or that the voyce of a poore learned and eloquent Prieſt ſhould be preferred before his. For wiſedome dwelleth oftner vnder a bare and ragged cloke, then in rich ornamentes and apparell.

Marke what worldly pompe, dignitie, and wealth had brought the prelates to, in thoſe dayes.

Note here the great godlynes & moſt chriſtiā ſaying of this good byſhop.

Truth many tymes dwelleth vnder the ragged cloke.

Wherfore I pray you my Lord byſhops, do not ſo much contēne your inferiours: for the firſt which dyed for Chriſt, the which alſo opened vnto all other the way of Martyrdome, was no byſhop but onely a Leuite. As for that which Ludouicus and Panormitane do alledge touching the voyces of Byſhops, I know not where they haue it. Wherfore I deſire thē that they would tell me, where they haue found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councels, we ſhall finde that the inferiours were alwayes preſēt with the byſhops. And albeit that Ludouicus do forbyd vs the examples of the Apoſtles, I ſtay my ſelfe moſt vpō their doings: For what is more comely for vs to folow, then the doctrine and cuſtomes of the primatiue Church? It is ſayd therfore in the .xv. chap. of the Actes of the Apoſtles: it ſeemed good vnto the holy Ghoſt and to vs. The which word (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, the Apoſtles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it ſeemed good) ſignifieth in this place conſultation, but deciſion and determination, whereby it appeareth, that other beſide the Byſhops had determinyng voyces. In an other place alſo of the ſayd Actes, when as the Apoſtles ſhould intreate vppon any wayghty matter, they durſt not determine by themſelues, but the .xij. called together the multitude.

Steuen the firſt martyr.

Note the ſinceritie of thys good byſhop, which ſtayed himſelfe vpō the examples of the primitiue church, and not vpon cuſtomes & popes.

Here Ludouicus ſaith, that it doth not appeare that the Apoſtles called other of neceſſitie: but I ſay vnto hym, how knoweſt thou ẏ they dyd not call thē of neceſſitie? But for ſo much as both partes are vncertaine: nothing doth prohibite vs to follow the Apoſtles. For ſeyng that all thynges were written for our learnyng, it appeareth that the Apoſtles would geue vs exāple, that in wayghty matters we ſhould admit our inferiours. And therfore in all Councels which were celebrate & holden afterwardes: we finde that Prieſts were alſo preſent: as in the Councell of Nice, which of all other was moſt famous, Athanaſius beyng then but onely a Prieſt, withſtode the Arrians, and infringed theyr argumentes: Albeit there were alſo other Prieſtes. And albeit mention be made of 322. Byſhops, yet it is not denyed, but that the inferiours were there, whom I thinke to be omitted for this cauſe, for that they were almoſt innumerable: for as you know well inough, the denominatiō for the moſt part, is taken of the moſt worthy.

Athanaſius being but a prieſt, and no biſhop, vanquiſhed an Archb.

In the Synode of Chalcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synodes) it is ſayd that there were preſent 600. Prieſtes: the whiche name is common both vnto Byſhops and Prieſtes. In other Councels the name both of Byſhops and Prieſtes is omitted, & mention made onely of Fathers, whiche hath the ſame ſignification that this word Elders had in yͤ Actes of the Apoſtles. we haue alſo a teſtimony of the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, how that there was a Councell gathered of Rome of. lx. Byſhops, and as many Prieſtes & Deacons, agaynſt the Nouatians which called themſelues Cathari. Alſo, when Paule the Byſhop of Antioche, in the time of Galiene the Emperour, preached that Chriſt was a man of common nature, the Cõcell aſſembled agaynſt hym in Antioche: whereunto there came Byſhops out of Ceſaria, Capadocia, out of Pontus, Aſia, and from Ieruſalem, and many other Byſhops, Prieſtes and Deacons: and it is ſayd that for that cauſe the Councell was often holden.

Paule B. of Antioch.

And at the laſt, in the ſame place, vnder Aurelius the Emperour, Paul was condemned of all Chriſtian Churches which were vnder heauen: neither was there any mã, which dyd more confound the ſayd Paule, then Malchion a Prieſt of Antioche, which taught Rhetorike in Antioche. But to make no long digreſſion from the matter, we haue moſt euident teſtimonies for the defence of the inferiours. For the chief and principall amongeſt all the Diuines S. Auſten vpõ the wordes of Mathew, where as Chriſt ſaith vnto Peter: I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, ſayth that by thoſe wordes, the iudiciall power was geuen, not onely vnto Peter, but alſo to the other Apoſtles, and to the whole Church the Byſhops and Prieſtes. If then Prieſtes haue a iudicall power in the Churche, what ſhould let yͭ they haue not alſo a determining voyce in yͤ cõcels? The famous Doctour S. Hierome doth alſo agree with S. Auſten, whoſe wordes are theſe vpon the Epiſtle of Paule vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in Religion by the inſtigation of the deuill, or that it was ſpoken amongeſt the people, I hold of Paule, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were gouerned by the cõmõ conſent and Councell of the Prieſtes: for a Prieſt is the very ſame that a Byſhop is. wherfore all Byſhops ought to vnderſtand, that they are of greater power then Prieſtes, rather by cuſtome thẽ by the diſpẽſation of the truth of God, & that they ought to rule the church together. And this we do alſo gather out of Paule vnto Titus, which maketh ſo much concordaunce betwene Biſhops and Prieſtes, that oftentymes he calleth Prieſtes Byſhops: whereby it doth euidently appeare, that Prieſtes are not to be excluded from the conuentions of Byſhops, and determinations of matters. And albeit as S. Hierome writeth, that byſhops onely by cuſtome are preferred before Prieſtes, it may be, that a contrary cuſtome may take away that cuſtome. For if Prieſtes ought to rule the Church together with the Byſhops, it is euident that it alſo pertayneth vnto them to decide and determine the doubtfull matters of the Church.

Paule B. of Antioch. Malchion the prieſt cõfounded Paule the hereticke with his godly eloquence.

S. Auguſtines minde vpon this ſentẽce, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum.

Biſhops are of greater power then prieſtes, rather by cuſtome, then diſpenſation of truth.

Byſhops & prieſtes ought to rule the church together.

Wherfore the teſtimony of S. Paule is euident: for (as he writyng vnto the Epheſians ſayth:) If Chriſt inſtituted his Apoſtles, Prophetes, Paſtours, and Teachers to the worke of the miniſtery, for the edifying of his Church, vntill ſuch tyme as we ſhould meete him: for this purpoſe that there ſhould be no doubt in the diuerſitie of doctrine: who doubteth then, but that the gouernaũce of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apoſtles? Let theſe our Champions now hold their peace, and ſeeme to be no wiſer then they ought to be. The memoriall of the Councell of Conſtance, is yet freſh in memory, whereas diuers of vs were preſent, and I my ſelfe alſo which was neither Cardinall nor Byſhop, but onely a Doctour, where I dyd ſee, without any maner of doubt or difficultie, the inferiours to be admitted with the Byſhops, to the decidyng of hard and doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be aſhamed to follow the example of that moſt ſacred and great Councell, whiche alſo foloweth the example of the Councell of Piſa, and the great Councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Prieſtes did ioyntly iudge together with the Byſhops.

Æneas Siluius.

Moreouer, if Abbottes, as we do ſee it obſerued in all Councels, haue a determinyng voyce, which notwithſtandyng were not inſtituted by Chriſt: why ſhould not prieſts haue the ſame, whoſe order Chriſt ordayned by his Apoſtles? Hereupon alſo, if onely Biſhops ſhould haue a determining voyce, nothing ſhould be done, but what pleaſed the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceede all other nations, or at the leſt is equall with them, in nũber of Byſhops. And how ſoeuer it be, I iudge it in this behalf to be a worke of God, that the inferiours ſhould be admitted to the determinations: for God hath now reuealed that vnto litle ones, which he hath hidden from the wiſe.

Note that Abbots were not inſtituted by Chriſt. Italy ſurmounteth all other nations in number of byſhops.

Behold you do ſee the zeale, conſtancy, vprightnes, and magnanimitie of theſe inferiours. Where ſhould the councell now be, if onely Byſhops and Cardinalles ſhould haue their voyce? Where ſhould the authoritie of the Councels be? Where ſhould the Catholicke fayth be? Where ſhould the decrees and reformation be? For all thynges haue now a long tyme bene vnder the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpoſe, except theſe inferiours, whom you now contemne, had withſtand hym. Theſe are they which haue contemned the priuation made by Eugenius. Theſe I ſay, are they which haue not regarded his threatnynges, ſpoyle, & perſecution. Theſe are they which beyng taken, impriſoned, & tormented, haue not feared to defend the truth of the Councell: yea euen theſe are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a pray, yet would they ſtill continue in the ſacred Cõcell, and feared not to ſuffer warre, famine, and moſt cruell peſtilence: and finally what thyng is it, that theſe men haue not willyngly ſuffered for the right and equitie of the Councell? you might haue heard this inferiour ſort euen in the middeſt of their tribulations, with a loude voyce cry out and ſay: albeit that all men become obedient vnto that ſubuerter of the Church Eugenius, and that euery man do depart from the veritie of the fayth and conſtitutions of the fathers, conſentyng vnto the commaundementes of Eugenius, yet we & our brethren will be conſtant, and doubt not to dye for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers: the which in deede they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnynges, or diſcouraged with any ſpoyles, neither could any feare or hope, turne them frõ their moſt bleſſed purpoſe: and (to ſpeake ſomwhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals haue done the like or no, that iudge you.

Note the terrible perſecutiõ of thoſe dayes and the great cõſtãcie of the godly, for the truthes ſake.

O zeale of fayth, worthy the crowne of martyrdome.

As for Byſhops, whõ Panormitane alone would haue to determine, you ſee how few of them are on our part, and euen they which are here preſent, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and commit offence with their haſt. Haue ye not heard how they all ſayd, they would cõſent vnto the kynges will and pleaſure? But theſe inferiors are they which haue had truth, righteouſnes, and God hymſelf, before their eyes, & they are greatly to be commended for ſhewyng themſelues ſuch men vnto the Church of God. But why do I defẽd the cauſe of theſe inferiours? when as ſome will alſo exclude thoſe Byſhops which are but Biſhops by name and title, and haue no poſſeſſion of the Church, from our company, not vnderſtandyng that whileſt they go about to put backe thoſe men, they do condemne Peter and the other Apoſtles, who (as it is euident) were long wtout any great flocke: neither was Rome vnto Peter, nor Ieruſalẽ vnto Iames, at any tyme wholy obedient. for at that tyme no great number of people, but a ſmall flocke beleued in Chriſt.

Eccle. 7.

The byſhops feare the earthly power, but not God.

For I pray you, what is it that we ſhould require of theſe Byſhops? They haue no flocke: but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues: but money maketh not a byſhop: and as the Lord ſayth: Beati pauperes ſpiritu. i. Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirite. Neither was there any rich byſhops in the primatiue Churche, neither dyd the auncient Church reiect Dionyſius Byſhop of Millaine, Euſebius Byſhop of Vercelles, or Hilary Byſhop of Pictauia, although they were neuer ſo poore, and baniſhed without a flocke. But if we will graunt the truth, the poore are more apte to geue iudgement then the riche, becauſe that riches bringeth feare, and their pouertie cauſeth libertie. For the poore men do not feare tyranny as our rich men do, whiche beyng geuen ouer vnto all kynde of vanities, idleneſſe and ſlouth, will rather deny Chriſt, then lacke their accuſtomed pleaſures: * who not their flocke, but their reuenues make Byſhops, delityng ſo much in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappy. But, as Cicero ſayth: nothyng cã happen better vnto a wiſe man, then mediocritie of ſubſtaunce. Wherupõ it is written in the Goſpell: It is eaſier for a Camell to paſſe through a nedels eye, then for a rich man to enter into the kyngdome of heauen.

The byſhops of the primitiue church what they were.

Poore mẽ more meete to geue iudgement then riche: for riches, wealth, and dignitie bringeth feare: but pouerty cauſeth libertie.

* The byſhops in this age of the Church, what they are.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans wordes, I determine to paſſe ouer two poyntes, which he propounded in the beginnyng of his Oration, that is: Qui petant, & cur petant, i. who maketh the petition, and for what cauſe they make their petitiõ. We graũt that they are great men, & men of power, and (as he doth affirme) that they haue deſerued good of the Church, neither do I doubt but that they are moued thereunto, with a ſincere affection. But whether it be a ſmall matter that is required, or that the ſame effectes would ryſe thereupon, which he ſpake of: it is now to be enquired. A delay (ſaith he) is required: a de-

In matters of fayth & religion, there ought to be no delayes.

lay for a few dayes. A ſmall matter: a matter of no importaunce; a matter eaſie to be graunted. Notwithſtandyng let Panormitane here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of fayth. The verities are already declared: they be already diſcuſſed and determined. If now there ſhould be but a litle delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftētimes the delay of one moment, is the loſſe of a whole yeare. Hereof we haue many examples. Hanniball when he had obtayned his victory at Cannas, if he had gone ſtraight vnto Rome, by all mens iudgementes, he had takē the Citie. But for ſomuch as he dyd deferre it vntill the next day, the Romanes hauyng recouered their force agayne: he was ſhut out, and deſerued to here this opprobry.

Vincere ſcis Hanibal, vti victoria neſcis.

Hanniball thou knoweſt victory to get,
But how to vſe it thou knoweſt not yet.

Likewiſe the French men, after they had taken Rome and beſieged the Capitoll, whiles that they greedely ſought to haue great ſummes of money, & delayed the tyme in makyng of their truce, Camillus commyng vpon them, dyd moſt ſhamefully driue them out agayne. But what neede I to rehearſe old hiſtoryes, when as our owne examples are ſufficient for vs? ye know your ſelues how often theſe delayes haue bene hurtfull vnto you, & how often the delay of a few dayes hath growen to a long tract of tyme. For now this is the viij. yeare that you haue ſpent in delayes: and you haue ſene, that alwayes of one delay an other hath ſprong and riſen. Wherfore I do require that Panormitan ſhould conſider, that the concluſion beyng this day diſturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to paſſe hereafter agayne or no. Many impediments or lets may riſe. Neither doth Panormitan ſay, that this delay beyng obtayned, he would afterward conſent with his fellowes vnto the concluſions, for he denyeth that he hath any commaūdement thereunto, & (which is more to be conſidered) he ſaith that the Ambaſſadours at their returne frō Mētz, may bryng ſuch newes, whereby theſe concluſions may be omitted: as though any thyng were more excellent then the truth.

The eight yeare of the councell of Baſill.

How ſubtelly they ſought delayes.

The which thyng doth manifeſtly declare, that they do not ſeeke delayes for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugne the concluſions the more ſtrongly. Neither do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effects, which he ſayd ſhould ryſe either of the denyall, or graūtyng of the requeſtes: for I ſee no cauſe why the princes ſhould ſo greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any Prince come vnto vs as touchyng ſuch requeſt, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly materiall vnto them, but that the matters of fayth ſhould be determined. But this is a moſt pernicious concluſion, which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the handes of thoſe moſt godly princes, whereas he ſayth: if we do pleaſe them, they wil take our part. If contrarywiſe, they will decline vnto Eugenius, and wholy reſiſt and rebell againſt vs. This is a maruelous word, and a wonderfull concluſion, altogether vnworthy to be ſpoken of ſuch a man. The decrees of the Councel of Conſtance are, that all maner of men, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they be, are bounde to the ordinaunces and decrees of the generall Coūcels. But Panormitanes wordes do not tend to that effect. for he would not haue the princes obedient vnto the Councell, but the councell to be obedient vnto the princes.

The decrees of the councell of Conſtance.

If theſe thinges ſeeme ſo vntollerable, what ſhall we ſay, whē as they make the Pope a God?

Alas moſt reuerend Fathers alas, what tymes and dayes: what maners and conditions are theſe? Into what miſery are we now brought? How ſhall we at any tyme bryng to paſſe, that the pope beyng Chriſtes Vicar (and as they ſay) an other Chriſt in earth, ſhould be ſubiect vnto the Councell of Chriſtians, if the Councell it ſelfe ought to obey worldly Princes? But I pray you looke for no ſuch thynges at the Princes handes. Do not beleue that they will forſake their mother the Church. Do not thinke them ſo farre alienate from the truth, that they would haue iuſtice ſuppreſſed.

The concluſions whereupon the controuerſie is, are moſt true, moſt holy, moſt allowable. If the princes do refuſe them, they do not reſiſte agaynſt vs, but agaynſt the holy Scriptures, yea and agaynſt Chriſt hymſelfe: which you ought neither to beleue, neither was it comely for Panormitane ſo to ſay. Panormitan (by your licence be it ſpoken) you haue vttered moſt cruell wordes. Neither do you ſeeme to go about any other matter, then to inculcate terrour and feare into the myndes of yͤ Fathers: for you haue rehearſed great perilles and daungers, except we ſubmitte our ſelues vnto the princes.

They which teach this doctrine, are heretickes & ſchiſmatickes: but bleſſed are thoſe heretickes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.

A Chriſtian exhortation to conſtancy and martyrdome.

But you moſt reuerend fathers, ſhall not be afearde of them which kill the body, the ſoule they can not kill: neither ſhall ye forſake the truth, although you ſhould ſhedde your bloud for the ſame. Neither ought we to be any whit more ſlacke in the quarel of our mother the Church and the Catholicke fayth, then thoſe moſt holy Martyrs, whiche haue eſtabliſhed the church with their bloud. For why ſhould it be any greuous matter vnto vs to ſuffer for Chriſt, which for our ſakes hath ſuffered ſo cruell & greuous death? Who when he was an immortall God, voyde of all paſſiōs, tooke vpon him the ſhape of a mortall man, and feared not for our redemption to ſuffer tormentes vpon the croſſe. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apoſtles, Peter, Paule, Andrew, Iames and Barthelmew, and (not to ſpeake onely of Byſhops) Marke what Steuen, Laurence, Sebaſtian & Fabian dyd. Some were hanged, ſome headed, ſome ſtoned to death, other ſome burned, & others tormented with moſt cruell and greuous torments ſuffered for Chriſtes ſake. I pray you for Gods ſake let vs follow the example of theſe men. If we wilbe Byſhops and ſucceede in honour, let vs not feare Martyrdome. Alas what effeminate hartes haue we? Alas what a faynt harted people are we? They in tymes paſt by the contempt of death, conuerted the whole world, whiche was full of gentilitie and idolatrie: and we through our ſluggiſhnes & deſire of lyfe, do bryng the Chriſtian Religion out of the whole world into one corner, & I feare greatly, leſt that litle alſo whiche is left, we ſhall loſe through our cowardlynes, if that by folowyng Panormitanes mynde, we do commit the whole gouernaunce and defence of the Church vnto the Princes. But now play the ſtout and valiant men in this tyme of tribulation, and feare not to ſuffer death for the Church, which Curtius feared not to do for the Citie of Rome: whiche Menecotheus for Thebes, & Codrus for Athens, willingly tooke vpon them.

This came ſo to paſſe 13 yeares after, when Chriſtēdome loſt Conſtantinople & all the eaſt partes vnto the Turkes.

Examples of good men dying for their countrey.

Not onely the Martyrs, but alſo the Gentilles might moue and ſtyrre vs to caſt of all feare of death. What is to be ſayd of Theramenes the Athenien? with how ioyfull hart and mynde, and pleaſaunt countenaunce, dyd he drinke the poyſon? What ſay you vnto Socrates that moſt excellent Philoſopher? dyd he either weepe or ſigh, when he ſupped vp the poyſon? They hoped for that which we are moſt certaine of. Not by dying to dye, but to chaunge this preſent lyfe for a better.

Truly we ought to be aſhamed, beyng admoniſhed by ſo many examples, inſtructed with ſo great learnyng, yea and redeemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt, ſo greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which haue chearefully & couragiouſly gone vnto thoſe places, frō whence they knew they ſhould not returne. With like courage dyd the Lacedemonians geue thēſelues to death at Thermopilis, of whom Simonides writeth thus.

Dic hoſpes Spartanos te hic vidiſſe iacentes,
Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.
Report thou ſtraunger, the Spartanes here to lye,
Whiles that their countrey lawes they obeyed willyngly.

The noble Lacedemonians.

The bleſſed ſtate of the life to come.

Neither iudge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpoſe vnto death: vnto whō their Captaine Leonidas ſayd: O ye Lacedemonians, go forwarde couragiouſly, for this day we ſhall ſuppe together with the infernall Goddes, but I moſt reuerend Fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he dyd his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celeſtiall and euerlaſtyng ioyes of Paradiſe, if that you can ſuffer death for the truthes ſake, and patiently abide the threatnings of theſe princes, if there be any threatnynges at all. I call you vnto that eternall glory: where as there is no alteration of ſtate, nothyng decayeth or fadeth: where all good and perpetuall thynges do abound: where as no man wanteth, no man enuyeth an other, no man ſtealeth from an other, no man violently taketh from an other, no man baniſheth, no mā murdereth, and finally no man dyeth. Where as all men are bleſſed and happy, all are of one mynde and one accorde, all are immortall, all are of lyke eſtate, and that all men haue, euery man hath, and that euery mā hath, all men haue. Which thyngs if we will cōſider, we ſhall truly aunſwere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrenenſis is ſayd to haue aunſwered Liſimachus the Kyng, when he threatned to hang hym: who ſayd, I pray you threaten theſe horrible thynges vnto your Courtiers, as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rotte aboue the ground or vnder the ground. So lykewiſe let vs aunſwere vnto the princes, if there be any that do threaten vs, and let vs not feare their tormentes.

The worthy aunſwere of Theodorus Cyrenenſis.

What doth a longer lyfe preuayle or helpe vs? No man hath lyued to ſhort a tyme, which hath obtayned the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man ſuffreth in the

quarell

No death to be feared for Chriſtes church.

quarell of his countrey, ſeemeth not onely to be glorious amongeſt the Rethoriciãs, but alſo happy and bleſſed, what ſhall we ſay for thoſe deathes whiche are ſuſteined for the countrey of all countreyes, the Church? Truly moſt reuerent fathers, it is to much that our aduerſaryes do perſuade themſelues of you: for they iudge you fearefull, ſluggiſhe, and faynt harted: and therfore they do obiect the Princes vnto you, becauſe they thinke that you will not ſuffer hunger, thirſt, exile in the quarell & defence of the Church. But I thinke you will eſteme it no hard matter, for the obteyning of euerlaſtyng lyfe, to do the ſame which ſhypmen do for the obteinyng of tranſitory riches, to put themſelues in daunger of the Seas & wynd, and ſuffer moſt cruell ſtormes.

Example of Mariners & Hunters.

The hunters lye abroad in the nightes in the ſnow in the hils and woodes, and are tormented with cold: yet haue they none other reward, but ſome wilde beaſt of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do, whoſe reward ſhalbe Paradiſe? I am aſhamed of our ignauie, when as I read that women, yea eueñ young maydens haue violently obteined heauen through their Martyrdome and we are made afrayde onely with the name of death. This Riuer of Rheyne whiche runneth along by the Citie in tymes paſt hath caryed .xj. thouſand virgines vnto Martyrdome. In India (as Cicero writeth) when any man was dead, hys wiues (for there they had many wiues) came into contention who ſhoulde be burned with him: and ſhe whom he loued beſt, hauyng vanquiſhed the other, all the reſt ioyfully folowyng her, was caſt into the fire with the dead Carcaſe of her huſbãd and burnt. The other which were ouercome, departed full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, wiſhyng rather to haue dyed then lyue.

Example of the xj. thouſand virgines.

The which courage we now takyng vpon vs for Chriſtes ſake, will aunſwere Panormitan euen as the Lacedemonians aunſwered Philip, who when as by his letters he threatned them, that he would ſtop all that which they went about, they aſked him whether he would alſo let thẽ to dye. Therfore as you are excellent men, ſo vſe your vertue, which is alwayes free, and remaineth alwayes inuincible. For you do know that power is geuen you of the Lord, and ſtrength from the moſt hygheſt: who will take accompt of your workes and examine your thoughtes: vnto whom ye ſhould be carefull to render a good accõpt, iudging rightly and keepyng the law of righteouſnes, and in all thynges walkyng accordyng to the will of God, and not accordyng the will of men.

And where as the Ambaſſadours of Eugenius, do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extollyng the Byſhop of Rome aboue the vniuerſall Church: to the end that ignoraunt ſoules be not ſnared: ye ſhall not ceaſe or leaue to publiſh the three firſt concluſions, folowyng the example of the Apoſtle Paul, which would in no poynt geue place vnto Peter when he walked not accordyng to the Goſpell. As for the other matters, which do reſpect the onely perſon of Eugenius (becauſe Panormitan and the other Ambaſſadours of the princes, ſhall not ſay yͤ we do paſſe our bonds) ye ſhall deferre them for this preſent.

When as Cardinall Arelatenſis had made an end of his Oration, there was a great noyſe, cryyng out, and brawlyng euery where. The Preſidentes commaundementes were not regarded, neither was the accuſtomed order obſerued: for ſometymes they ſpake vnto Panormitan, ſometime vnto Lodouicus: no man was ſuffered to ſpeake but in haſt, the Byſhops brawled with Byſhops, and the inferiours with their fellowes. All was full of contention and debate: which when as Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia perceiued, a man of no leſſe courage and ſtomake, then of nobilitie and byrth, beyng alſo a duke, for the zeale which he bare vnto the vniuerſall Church, turnyng himſelf vnto Panormitan & Lodouicus the Prothonotary, ſayd: Do not thinke the matter ſhal ſo paſſe, you know not yet the maners of the Germaines, for if you go forward on this faſhion, it will not be lawfull for you to depart out of this countrey with whole heades: with which wordes Panormitan, Lodouicus, and the Archbiſhop of Millaine, beyng ſtricken (as it were with lightning from heauen, roſe vp and ſayd: Is our libertie thus taken from vs? what meaneth it that the patriarke doth threaten vs, that our heades ſhould be broken? And turnyng themſelues vnto John Earle of Dierſtene, which then ſupplied the protectors place, they demaunded of him whether he would defend the Councell, and preſerue all men in their libertie, or no.

Lewes Patriarke of Aquileia. Duke of Decke in Sweuia.

The Earle of Dierſten.

The prayſe of the citizens of Baſil.

The Citizens alſo and Senatours were preſent to prouide and foreſee that no offence ſhould riſe: for the Citizens obſerued alwayes this order, that they would be preſent in all affaires, which they ſuppoſed would breede diſſenſion, foreſeyng ſpecially that no tumultes ſhould riſe, otherwiſe then with wordes. They vſed alwayes ſuch a marueilous foreſight & prouidence, that no mã vnto this day, could haue any cauſe agaynſt them, to cõplayne for violatyng their promiſe. Wherfore if at any tyme, any Citizens haue deſerued well at the handes of the Church, ſurely this prayſe is to be geuen vnto the Baſilians. Theſe men together with John Earle of Dierſtene, beyng preſent in the aſſembly of the fathers, gaue a ſigne of preſeruatiõ of their libertie. The earle (albeit he was moued at the ſtraungenes of the matter, for he would not haue thought ſo great contentions could haue riſen amõgeſt wiſemen) aunſwered by his interpreter, that they all ſhould be of good cheare. For the Emperours ſafe conduict ſhould be obſerued and kept euen to the vttermoſt, neither ſhould the patriarke, or any other, once violate the the libertie, or take away the aſſuraũce graunted by the Emperour. Notwithſtandyng he deſired the patriarke that he would call backe his wordes agayne, and not to ſpeake any more in ſuch ſort. But that famous father, beyng nothyng at all moued or troubled, committed his whole mynde vnto John de Bachenſtein, auditor of the chamber, a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the patriarkes mynde was not to threaten any man, or to diſturbe the libertie of the Councell, but to moue the fathers vnto conſtancy, that they ſhould be myndefull of the reformation, which they had promiſed vnto the whole world, and not ſo ſay one thyng to day & an other to morrow: for if they would ſo do, it were to be feared, leaſt the laytie ſeyng themſelues deluded, and diſpayring of reformation ſhould riſe agaynſt the Clergy.

Therfore he moniſheth the Fathers to foreſee and prouide before for the perill, that they ſhould not depart from the Councell, nothyng beyng determined or done: and finally he deſired pardon, if in his wordes he had offended either agaynſt the Councell, Panormitan, or any other mã. Wherby he declared it to be true which is commonly ſayd, that Humilitie is the ſiſter of Nobilitie: both which did very excellently appeare in this man. Yet for all this, could not the humilitie of the patriarke ſtop or ſtay their noyſe or cryes: For as often as mention was made of readyng the Concordatum, great noyſe and rumours were ſtill made, for to ſtop the ſame. Then Amodeus Archbyſhop of Lyons, and primate of all Fraunce, a man of great reuerence and authoritie, beyng touched with the zeale of fayth, whiche he ſawe there to be ſtopped and ſuppreſſed, ſayd: Moſt reuerend fathers, I haue now a great occaſion for to ſpeake. For it is now vij. yeares or more, that I haue bene amongeſt you, yet haue I neuer ſene the matter at that poynt which it is now at, moſt lyke vnto a miracle: for euen preſently I do behold moſt wonderfull ſignes of miracles: for it is no ſmall matter that the lame do walke, the dumme do ſpeake, and that poore men preach the Goſpell. Wherupon, I pray you, commeth this ſodayne chaunge? How happeneth it that thoſe which lye lurkyng at home, are now ſodenly ſtart vp? Who hath geuen hearyng to the deafe, and ſpeache to the dumme? Who hath taught the poore men to preach the Goſpell? I do ſee here a new ſort of prelates come in, whiche vnto this preſent haue kept ſilẽce, and now begin to ſpeake. Is not this lyke to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugne iuſtice.

Humilitie linked to nobilitie.

Amodeus Archbiſhop of Lyons.

An. 1438.

Byſhops that ſit at home, haue tongue here to ſpeake for the Pope.

But this is more to be marueiled at then any miracle, that I do ſee the beſt learned men of all, impugne our concluſions which are moſt certaine and true: And they which now reproue them, in tymes paſt haue allowed them. You are not ignoraunt how that Lodouicus the Prothonotary preached theſe verities at Louain and at Collen, & brought them from thence, confirmed with the authoritie of the Vniuerſities. Wherfore, albeit that he be now chaunged, yet is the truth in no poynt altered. And therfore I deſire you and beſeeche you all, that ye will not geue eare vnto theſe men, which albeit they are moſt excellently learned, yet haue they no conſtancy in them: which doth adorne all other vertues.

Marke how they are turned backe which ſometime fauoured the truth and are now become lyers and flatterers.

Conſtãcie lacked in diuers of thys councell.

When he had ended his Oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary riſing vp, ſayd: It is moſt true that I brought thoſe verities, but you do call them verities of fayth, which addition ſeemeth very doubtfull vnto me. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, Cardinall Arelatenſis required that the Concordatum of the twelue men ſhould be read, and many whiſpered him in the eare, that he ſhould go forward, and not alter his purpoſe.

Panormitane ſpeaketh like hymſelfe.

Then Panormitan, as ſoone as the Concordatum began to be read, riſing vp with his companions and other Arragons, cryed out with a loude voyce, ſaying: You fathers do contemne our requeſtes, you contemne Kynges and Princes, and deſpiſe Prelates, but take heede leaſt whileſt that ye deſpiſe all men, you be not deſpiſed of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greater part of prelates, we make the Councell, and it is our part to conclude: and I in the name of all other prelates do conclude that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word, there ſprang ſuch a noyſe and rumour in the Councell as is accuſtomed to bee in battayle with the ſounde of Trumpets and noyſe of horſemen, when as two armyes ioyne. Some curſing that which Panormitan went about, other ſome allowyng the ſame: So that diuerſitie of myndes made diuers contentions.

Nicolas Amici a diuine of Paris.

Then Nicolas Amici, a Diuine of Paris, accordyng vnto his office, ſaid, Panormitan I appeale from this your concluſion, to the iudgement of the Councell here preſent, neither do I affirme any thyng to be ratified whiche you haue done, as I am ready to proue, if it ſhall ſeeme good. The contrary part ſeemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it ſene how they could cõclude amongeſt ſo great cryes and vprores. Notwithſtandyng amongeſt all this troublous noyſe, Iohn Segouius a ſingular Diuine of the vniuerſitie of Salamantine lacked not audience: for ÿ whole Coũcell was deſirous for to heare him: wherfore all men as ſoone as he roſe vp kept ſilence, and he perceyuyng ÿ they were deſirous to heare him ſpeake, began in this ſort.

The oration of Segouius.

Moſt reuerend fathers, the zeale and loue of the houſe of God forceth me now to ſpeake: And I would to God that I had bene either blynd this day, not to haue ſene thoſe thynges whiche haue happened, or that I had bene deafe, that I ſhould not haue heard thoſe wordes which haue bene ſpoken. Who is it that is ſo ſtony or hard harted, which can abſtaine from teares, when as the authoritie of the Church is ſo ſpoyled, libertie taken away both from vs and the Coũcell, & that there is no place geuen vnto the veritie. O ſwete Ieſu, why haſt thou ſo forſaken thy ſpouſe? Behold and looke vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requeſtes are iuſt. We come hether to prouide for the neceſſitie of the Church, we require nothyng for our ſelues, our deſire is onely that truth might appeare. We truſted now to haue cõcluded vpõ the verities which were ſome tymes allowed in the ſacred deputations. The Oratours of the Princes are preſent, & require the concluſions to be deferred. But we be not vnmyndefull of thoſe thynges whiche Ambroſe wrote vnto Valentinian the Emperour in this maner: If we ſhall intreate vppon the order of the holy Scripture and auncient tymes paſt: who is it that will deny but that in caſe of fayth (I ſay in caſe of fayth) the Byſhops ought to iudge vpon Chriſtian Emperours, & not Emperours vpon Byſhops. Neither do we admit their petition but vpon moſt vrgent cauſes: Notwithſtandyng we heard them paciently and willyngly, whyles that they did ſpeake euen ſo long as they would.

Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.

How farre and wherein biſhops ought to iudge vpon Emperors

But now if any of our part would ſpeake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honeſty is this? what modeſty or grauitie? is it lawfull ſo to do in the Councell? Where is the decree of ÿ Coũcell of Tholoſe now become (where are our decrees, which do not onely prohibite tumultes, but alſo all ſmall bablynges & talke? They ſay, it is becauſe we contemne them: but they are they, which not onely contemne the Councell: but alſo reſiſte the ſame. The patriarke ſpake but one ſmall word agaynſt them, and that of no euill intent or purpoſe, and by and by they complayned that their liberty was broken: but they, when as they do inforce the Councell, when as they forbyd the Preſident to ſpeake, and will not ſuffer the ordinaunces to be read, do not iudge that they do any thyng contrary to the libertie of the Councell. They ſay, they are the Councell themſelues, and yet they intreate the Councell. Theſe thynges do not I vnderſtand: for if they be the Councell, why do they intreate thẽſelues? If they be not the Councell, why do they not ſuffer the Councell for to ſpeake? Why do they not looke for an aunſwere of him to whom they make their petition?

He excuſeth the Patriarke.

Truly this is to much violence, and certes our pacience is alſo to much, to ſuffer ſuch exceſſe euen in the face of the Church. But this doth moſt of all greue me, and this do I moſt maruell at, that Panormitan a man of ſingular wit and doctrine did conclude without any diſcuſſing or decidyng of the deputies, and without the examination of the xij. men, or any rite or order. The which, except myne eyes had beheld and ſene, I would ſcarſly beleue, if an other man ſhould report it vnto me, of him: Neither do I yet know, whether I may ſufficiently credite my ſelfe, the matter ſeemeth ſo horrible: for I do not ſee by what authoritie his concluſion doth ſtand, except it be by the authoritie of his kyng whom he ſayth will haue it ſo. But you moſt reuerẽd fathers take heede that ye bryng in no ſuch cuſtome: for ſo it ſhall come to paſſe, that in all matters, a few froward prelates ſhall haue one to conclude for them.

He meaneth Panormitan, which did conclude without the examination of the xij. men.

And albeit Panormitane hath proued (as he thinketh) by ſtrong reaſons that the veritie ought to be deferred, yet notwithſtandyng I do require you moſt reuerend fathers, to folow the example of the Apoſtle, who (as Arelatenſis hath very well declared) would not geue one houres reſpite vnto Peter, when he ſwarued frõ the truth of the Goſpell. The fayth is ſpedely to be relieued and holpen, neither doth any thing ſuſteine more daunger by delayes, then fayth doth. For hereſies, except they be rooted out at the firſt, whẽ they are once growen, are hardly taken away. Wherefore I deſire you ſpeedely to helpe and ayde. Hoyſe vp your ſayles, and launch out your oares. What ſhould we tary lookyng for either the prelates or the princes? You are now in conflict: I onely deſire that you would haſten vnto the victory. Regard not the threatnynges of thoſe princes, neither the opprobries of thoſe contumelious perſons, for you are bleſſed, ſayth the Lord, when as men curſe you and perſecute you, ſpeakyng all euill agaynſt you, makyng lyes and ſlaunders vpon you for my ſake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. What is it I pray you that the princes do ſo much obiect agaynſt vs? Is not our Lord God able to raiſe vs out of the furnace of burnyng fire, and deliuer vs out of the handes of thoſe princes? I beſeech you moſt reuerend fathers and louyng brethren, haue no leſſe hope in Ieſu Chriſt, then Sidrach, Miſach, & Abdenago had, which feared not that old kyng Nabuchodonoſor: and let the princes know, that the moſt higheſt ruleth ouer the kyngdomes of men, and geueth them vnto whom he pleaſeth. God beholdeth all thynges from aboue (he is I ſay) in the middeſt amõgeſt vs, wherfore are ye then afrayde? Be of good courage, and ſhow your ſelues as a ſtrong wall for the Church of God: ſuffer not the fayth to periſh vnder your handes. The almighty God is preſent with you: he is preſent that will defende you. Feare not them which ſeeke onely to kill the body. Do iuſtice and equitie, and be aſſured that he will not deliuer you ouer into the handes of the backbiter and ſlaunderer. Agayne I ſay vnto you, ſhow your ſelues valiaunt and ſtout: Defend your mother the Church. And vnto thee, O thou preſident I ſay, that thou oughteſt rather to pleaſe God then man, for if thou depart hence without a ſmall concluſion, know aſſuredly, that thou ſhalt render accompt in the ſtraight iudgement of God. And thus without any more wordes, he ſat downe in his place.

Paul would geue to Peter no reſpite when he ſwarued away.

Marke the great cõſtancie and Chriſtian zeale of this man.

An exhortation to conſtancie.

In the meane tyme, many graue and auncient men had exhorted Panormitan that he ſhould geue ouer his concluſion. The Byſhop of Burgen was very inſtaunt and earneſt with him, that he ſhould make vnitie and concorde amõgeſt the fathers, and went about to make an vnitie with all men. But neither the fathers of the Councell were determined to depart without a cõcluſion, neither Panormitan was mynded to alter his intent & purpoſe. All thyngs were diſturbed, neither did the prelates ſit in their ſeates, as they were accuſtomed, but as euery mans affection led him. Some went to the Cardinall Arelatenſis, ſome vnto Panormitan and exhorted them, as if they had bene princes or rulers of armyes. Then Arelatẽſis knowyng the matter to be in daunger, and that there was no ready way to make a cõcluſiõ, thought to vſe ſome policie, to appeaſe the tumult.

The byſhop of Burgen ſeeketh concorde.

Moſt reuerend fathers ſayd he, we haue receiued now letters out of Fraunce, which declare vnto me maruelous thynges: that there are incredible newes ſprong vp there: which if you will geue me willyng audience, I will declare vnto you. By this meanes there was a ſodayne ſilence throughout the whole Councell, and by this maruelous policie he made all men attentiue to heare. When as he ſaw he had free libertie to ſpeake, without either fable or hiſtory of any letters ſent, he opened the whole order of the matter, & as it is requiſite in an Orator, came by litle and litle vnto the principall poynt, ſaying, ÿ Eugenius his meſſengers filled all Frãce, preachyng a new doctrine, and extollyng the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, aboue the generall Councels: agaynſt whom, except ſpedy remedy were founde, it would come to paſſe, that many would geue credit vnto thẽ, and therfore the ſacred Councell ought of neceſſitie, to prouide remedy, and of neceſſitie to conclude vpon the verities which were examined, that therby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repreſſed: which verities, albeit they were viij. in number, yet was it not the Fathers intent to conclude vpon them all, but onely the three firſt: euen as I alſo (ſayth he) here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

How men be ready to heare newes

Note the godly policie of the Cardinall.

The concluſion of the Councell.

When he had finiſhed his Oratiõ, with a chearefull and mery countenaunce riſing vp, he departed. Some of them kiſſed him, and ſome of them kiſſed the ſkyrtes of his garmentes. A great number followed hym, and greatly commended his wiſedome, that he beyng a French man borne, had that day vanquiſhed the Italians, which were men of great pollicy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, then by the Cardinals owne power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their myndes, hangyng downe their heades, departed euery man to his lodgyng. They went not together, neither ſaluted one an other: ſo that their countenaunces declared vnto euery man that they were ouercome. Some thyng more alſo is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone vnto his chamber, he complayned with himſelfe vpon his kyng, which had compelled him to ſtriue agaynſt the truth, and put both his ſoule and good name in daunger of loſing: and that in the middeſt of his teares and complayntes he fell a ſleepe, and dyd eate no meate vntill late in the euenyng for very ſorrow, for that he had neither ignorauntly, neither vnwillyngly impugned the truth.

The holy Ghoſt workyng againſt the Pope.

The ſorow of Panormitane for impugning the truth.

After this, there was great conſultation amongeſt the Eugenians, what were beſt to be done in this matter. Some thought good to departe and leaue the Councell, other ſome thought it meeter to tary, & with all endeuour to reſiſt that nothyng ſhould further be done agaynſt Eugenius: and this opinion remayned amongeſt them. The next day after, beyng the xxv. day of Aprill, the Archbyſhop of Lyons and the Byſhop of Burgen, callyng together the Prelates into the Chapter houſe of the great Church, begā many thynges as touchyng peace. The Byſhop of Burgen perſwaded that there ſhould be deputations appointed that day, vnto whō the Archbiſhop of Lions ſhould geue power to make an agreement. Unto whom aunſwere was made, as they thought, very roughly, but as other iudged, gētelly, but notwithſtandyng iuſtly and truly: For, they ſayd there could be no vnitie or concorde made, before the aduerſaries confeſſed their fault and aſked pardon therfore.

The byſhop of Lyons & Burgen.

The iuſt aunſwere of the Councel.

The day folowyng, the ſayd Byſhop of Burgen, with the other Lombardes and Cathelans, went vnto the Germaines, and frō thence vnto the Senate of the Citie, ſpeakyng much as touching the prohibityng of Schiſmes. The Germaines referred themſelues to thoſe things which the deputation ſhould determine. The Senate of the citie (as they were great men of wiſedome, which would do nothing without diligent aduiſe and deliberation) aunſwered, that the matter pertained not vnto them, but vnto the Coūcell: The Fathers wherof were moſt wiſe men, and were not ignoraunt what pertained vnto the Chriſtian fayth, and if there were any daunger toward, it ſhould be declared vnto the Councell and not to the Senate: For they beleue that the Elders of the Coūcell, if they were premoniſhed, would foreſee that there ſhould no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the Citie, it was their duety onely to defend the fathers and to preſerue the promiſe of the Citie. With this aunſwere the Byſhop of Burgen departed.

The aunſwere of them both.

In the meane tyme the Fathers of the Councell had drawen out a forme of a decree vpon the former concluſiōs, and had approued the ſame in the ſacred deputations. By this tyme the Princes Oratours were returned from the aſſembly at Mentz, & holdyng a Coūcell among thēſelues, they had determined to let the decree: The ix. day of May there was a generall conuocation holdē, whereunto all men reſorted, either part putting forth himſelfe vnto the conflict.

The forme of the decree is written & approued.

The Princes Ambaſſadours were called by the Byſhop of Lubecke and Conrade de Winſperg the Protectour into the Quier, and there kept: whereas they intreated of a vnitie, and by what meanes it might be had, and there they taryed longer then ſome thought to do: the whiche matter gaue occaſion to bryng thynges well to paſſe, beyond all expectation. The onely forme of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day: whereupon, as ſoone as Cardinall Arelatenſis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed and that there was great expectation with ſilence, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commaunded by and by the publike concordaunces to be read: wherein this was alſo conteyned, that the Cardinall Arelatenſis might appoint a Seſſion whenſoeuer he would. Which beyng read, he beyng deſired by the promotors, concluded accordyng as the maner and cuſtome is. The Ambaſſadours of the Princes beyng yet in the Quier, as ſoone as they vnderſtood how the matter paſſed, beyng very much troubled and vexed, they brake of their talke, imputyng all thynges to the Byſhop of Lubecke, which of purpoſe had kept them in the Quier and protracted the tyme. Whereupon they entryng into the congregatiō, filled the Church full of complayntes.

The policie of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

First of all, the Oratour of Lubecke complayned both in his owne name and the name of the protectour, as touchyng the concluſion, and required yͤ the Coūcell would reuoke the ſame. If that might be graunted, he promiſed to intreate a peace, and to be a protectour betwene the Councell and the Ambaſſadours of the Princes. But the Archbyſhop of Turnon ſayd, that it ſeemed vnto hym euery man to haue free libertie to ſpeake againſt that law which ſhould be promulgate; vntill the Seſſion, when as the Canons ſhould be conſecrated & receiue their force: when as the Biſhops in their pontificalibus after the readyng of the decree in the Seſſion, ſhould aunſwere that it pleaſed them: otherwiſe the demaunde which was made by the promoters in the Seſſion, to be but vayne: and for that the concluſions were not yet allowed in the Seſſion, therefore he ſayd that he might without rebuke, ſpeake ſomewhat as touchyng the ſame, and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit vp in ſo ſhort a tyme, and that he had the knowledge therof but euen now: notwithſtandyng that he beyng an Archbyſhop, ought to haue knowne the matter, that at his returne home, he might informe the kyng & alſo inſtruct thoſe which were vnder him. And that he and his fellowes, before any Seſſiō ſhould be: would both heare and be heard of others. Neither doth it ſeeme good vnto hym that the Seſſion ſhould be holden, before report were made of thoſe thyngs, which the Ambaſſadours of the Princes had done at Mentz, which would peraduenture be ſuch as might alter and chaunge the myndes of the Fathers. Then the byſhop of Concen Ambaſſadour of the king of Caſtell, which was alſo lately returned from Mentz, a man of great vnderſtandyng, but lackyng vtteraunce, greuouſly complayned that the prelates were contemned. Neither had it bene (ſayd he) any great matter if they had bene taried for, which not without great daunger and expenſes, went to Mentz, not for their pleaſure, but of neceſſitie. And afterward, as it were ſmilyng, he ſayd, how mad am I that would haue the Prelates to be taryed for vntill they returne from Mentz, when as they are not taried for, whiles they cā come out of the Quier of the Church: do therefore as ye liſt. If there riſe any offēce or miſchief hereupō, neither are we the Ambaſſadours of Caſtell to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thyng to our moſt noble kyng.

The byſhop of Touluon.

The Byſhop of Cōcen ſpeaketh.

Here were it to long to repeate, with what rebukes and tauntes they inueyed agaynſt Cardinall Arelatenſis: but eſpecially the Byſhop of Millaine rayled moſt cruelly vpon hym, ſaying that he foſtred and maintayned a rable of Sophiſtes and Scholemaſters, and that he had cōcluded in matters of faith with them: callyng him alſo an other Cataline, vnto whom all deſperate and noughty perſons had refuge: that he was their Prince, and ruled the Church with thē: and that he would not geue eare vnto the Ambaſſadours of the moſt noble Princes, or to the moſt famous Prelates in this moſt weighty matter. Albagenſis alſo, a man of great nobilitie, deſcended of the Emperours bloud, albeit he had neuer alienate his mynde before from the Councell: yet leaſt he ſhould ſeme to diſſent from other Ambaſſadours of the Princes, made the like complaynt as touchyng the contēpt of the Prelates. After this it came vnto Panormitan to ſpeake, who as he had a greater vehemency in ſpeakyng: ſo alſo did he declare a more angry ſtomacke and mynde: for in the begynnyng of his Oration, he ſeemed not to go about, accordyng to the precept of Oratours, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather there hatred: for he ſayd that our Sauiour ſheweth foure ſignes in the Goſpell, whereby we ſhould know the good from the reprobate: for he whiche is of God (ſayth he) heareth the wordes of God, but you heare not the wordes of God, becauſe ye are not of God. And agayne, he that doth euill hateth the light. And in an other place alſo, by their fruites you ſhall know them. And a good tree can not bryng forth euill fruite.

Marke what the truth muſt ſuffer.

O marueilous deſpighte & cōmely in a byſhop: for if Arelatenſis had kept whoores or concubynes, he would haue praiſed him: but to maintaine learned men was a great offence.

The fathers of the councelles ſlaundered by Panormitane.

4. Signes to know the good from the badde.

All which ſayinges he wreſted agaynſt the Fathers of the Councell, becauſe they would not heare the wordes of God, that is to ſay, the wordes of peace, which the Ambaſſadours had ſpoken: becauſe they fled from the light in the abſence of the Ambaſſadours, priuely concludyng, and becauſe in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had cōcluded thereupon: alſo becauſe, they had yͤ vpper hand in yͤ foreſaid cōcluſiō, not by reaſō, but by diſceit. As touchyng the fruites, he ſayd that the fathers thēſelues ſhould meditate and conſider how that, if their fruites were not good, they alſo themſelues were not good: and that he did ſee an other Councell at hand, where as he feared leaſt theſe concluſions ſhould be reuoked, as the fruite of an euill tree: and therfore, they ought not ſo ſodenly to procede in ſo weighty matters: and that he would be yet more fully heard before the Seſſion, as well in his owne name, becauſe he was an Archbyſhop, as in the name of his Prince whiche raigned not ouer one kyngdome alone but ouer many: Alſo he ſayd yͤ he heretofore by his wordes, deedes & wrytyngs,

Looke if it be not ſpoken of them in the Goſpel, where mētiō is made of the beaſt which is fallen into the ditche.

What is it that ambition will not doe.

hath extolled the authoritie of the Councell: and that he feared, leaſt by theſe meanes, the authoritie thereof ſhould be ſubuerted. At the laſt he required pardon if he had offended the Fathers of the Councell, for ſomuch as very ſorrow & grief forced hym to ſpeake ſo.

Abbot Virgiliacenſis.

Lodouicus the prothonotarie in labouring to ſeeme learned, forgot to be good.

The Apoſtelles principally gathered the Crede

The Abbot Vergiliacenſis would haue made aunſwere to thoſe thynges which Panormitane had touched concernyng his deputation: but Arelatenſis thought good that all the contrary part ſhould ſpeake firſt, amõgeſt whom laſt of all, Ludouicus the Prothonotarie, the Homere of the Lawyers, roſe vp. And albeit that he ſpake vnwillingly, yet when he had begon, he could not refrayne his wordes. And whiles he went about to ſeeme learned and eloquent, he vtterly forgat to be good. He ſayd that the Councell ought to take heede, that they intreated no matter of fayth agaynſt the Prelates, leaſt any offence ſhould folow, for that ſome would ſay it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Chriſt choſe .xij. Apoſtles and .lxx. Diſciples, notwithſtandyng in the ſettyng forth of the Creede, onely the Apoſtles were preſent, thereby (as it were) geuing example, that the matters of fayth dyd pertaine onely vnto the Apoſtles, & ſo conſequently onely vnto Byſhoppes. Neither that they ought haſtely to procede in matters of fayth, which ought to be clearely diſtinct, for ſomuch as Peter affirmeth ẏ triall of fayth to be much more precious then gold, which is tryed by the fire. And if the Byſhops be contemned, which are called the pillers and keyes of heauen, the fayth can not ſeeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confeſſed, that ẏ inferiours might determine with the Biſhops, but denied that the leaſt part of the Byſhops with the moſt part of the inferiours might determine any thyng. From thence he paſſing to the matter of faith, ſayd, that thoſe verities whereupon queſtion was now had, were Articles of fayth, if they were verities of fayth. And for ſomuch as euery mã ſhould be bõude for to beleue thoſe, therfore he would be better inſtructed and taught in that matter whiche he ſhould beleue as an Article of fayth. Neither ſhould it be comely for the Councell to deny him his requeſt, which accordyng to the rule of the Apoſtle, ought to be ready, to geue accompt vnto euery mã which ſhall require it, touchyng the fayth, which it holdeth.

The oration of Cardinall Arelatenſis.

To the imperiall Ambaſſadours.

To the Ambaſſadours of Fraũce.

To the byſhop of Concen.

To Lodouicus the prothonotary

After euery man had made an end of ſpeakyng, the Cardinall Arelatẽſis callyng his ſpirites together, made an Oration wherin he aunſwered now the one, and now the other. And firſt of all he commended the deſires of the Imperiall Ambaſſadours, which offered to intreat a peace and vnitie, but neither neceſſitie, nor honeſty (hee ſayd) would ſuffer thoſe thynges which are concluded to be reuoked. He aunſwered alſo that the petitiõ of the Ambaſſadours of Fraũce is moſt iuſt, in that they required, to be inſtructed touchyng the fayth: and that the Councell would graũt their requeſt, and ſend vnto them certaine diuines, which ſhould inſtruct them at home at their lodgynges: but the matter was already concluded and could no more be brought in queſtion: that the Seſſion was onely holden, rather to beautifie the matter, then to confirme the ſame. And as touchyng that which the Byſhop of Concen ſo greatly cõplayneth of, he doth not much maruele: for he could not know the proceſſe of ẏ matter when he was abſent, who beyng better inſtructed, he ſuppoſed would ſpeake no more any ſuch wordes, for ſomuch as a iuſt man would require no vniuſt thyng. Alſo that his proteſtation had no euill ſenſe or meanyng, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto his kyng, if any offence ſhould riſe vpon the concluſions. Notwithſtandyng it is not to be feared, that any euill ſhould ſpryng of good workes. But vnto the Byſhop of Millaine he would aunſwere nothyng, becauſe he ſaw him ſo moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying more greuous & haynous wordes. As for Panormitane he reſerued vnto ẏ laſt. But vnto Ludouicus the Prothonotary, which deſired to be inſtructed, he ſayd: he willed him to be ſatiſfied with the wordes which were ſpoken vnto the Byſhop of Turnon.

Nicolas Picinius was an Italian.

Articles of the Creede not all put in by the Apoſtles: but ſome by the coũcels. The Article of the holy ghoſt put in by the councell of Lyons.

Panormitã wounded with his owne darts.

Notwithſtãdyng, he left not this vntouched which Ludouicus had ſpoken concernyng the Apoſtles Creede. For albeit that in the ſettyng forth of the Creede, the Apoſtles be onely named, yet it doth not follow (ſayth he) that they onely were preſent at the ſetting forth therof. For it happeneth often tymes that Princes are commended and prayſed as chief authours and doers of thynges, when as notwithſtandyng they haue other helpers, as it appeareth in battailes, which although they are fought with the force of all the ſouldiours, yet the victory therof is imputed but vnto a few. As in theſe our dayes, they do aſcribe all thynges which the army doth either fortunately or wiſely, vnto Nicolas Picenius, that moſt valiaunt Captaine, which hath obtained ſo many famous victories: albeit that oftentymes other haue bene the inuentours of the policie, and workers of the feate. And therfore Ludouicus ought to know and vnderſtand, that they are not onely articles of fayth which are contayned in the Creede, but all other determinations made by the Councels, as touchyng the fayth. Neither is he ignorãt, that there be ſome articles of the Creede which we now vſe in the Church, that were not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by generall Councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghoſt, which the Councell of Lyons did adde, in whiche Councell alſo it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiours dyd iudge together with the Byſhoppes. But for ſomuch as he had ſufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before paſſed, he would ſtay no longer thereupon. But commyng vnto Panormitan, he rehearſed his wordes: Qui ex Deo eſt, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods word. which is very well taken out of the Goſpell, but not well applyed vnto the Councell (ſayd he): for he firmely beleued, that his predeceſſours haue iudged, the holy Ghoſt to be in the middeſt of the Councels, & therfore the wordes of the Councels to be the wordes of the holy Ghoſt: which if any man do reiect, he denyeth hymſelfe to be of God. Neither doth the Councell hate the light, which doth all things publikely and openly, whoſe congregations are euident vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduerſaries, admitte ſome, and exclude other ſome. Moreouer, the thyng which is now in hand, was begon to be entreated of for two monethes ago, and firſt the concluſions were largely diſputed vpon in the diuinitie ſcholes, and afterward ſent vnto Mentz and other places of the world.

Arelatenſis concluded not, but at the requeſt of the procutours.

These 4. deputations were 4. ſortes of thoſe mẽ, which did diſcuſſe & determine those things which the fathers dyd cõclude vpõ. Verely thys is no Babilonical Cardinall, but of the immaculate ſpouſe Jeſus Chriſt. He ſpeaketh to the whole councell.

After all this, the fathers were called into the Chapter houſe of the great Church, to the number of .120. amongeſt whom Panormitan which now complaineth, was alſo preſent, and accordyng to his maner, dyd learnedly and ſubtilie diſpute, and had libertie to ſpeake what he would. Likewiſe in the deputations, euery man ſpake his mynde freely, and in that deputation where Panormitan was, the matter was iij. dayes diſcuſſed. After this the .xij. men dyd agree vpõ it, and the generall congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there bene at any time any thing more ripely or exactly hãdled, both openly, and alſo without any fraud or deceite. And whereas the deputation did ſit vpon a holy day, there is no hurt in that, neither is it any new or ſtraunge thyng, for aſmuch as they haue often holden their Seſſion vpon feſtiuall dayes, when as the matter hath had haſt, and ſpecially for that the matter of fayth hath no holy dayes. And further he ſayd that he did not conclude craftely and deceitfully, in the congregation, as Panormitan hath reported, but publikely & opẽly at the requeſt of the Promotors. Neither hath any mã any iuſt cauſe to cõplayne vpõ him, for ſomuch as, when he was made Preſident, he was ſworne that alwayes whẽ iiij. or iij. of the deputations dyd agree, he ſhould conclude therupõ. And for ſomuch as he had already concluded, in diuers cauſes touchyng the Pope, he ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould not conclude in the matter of fayth, for that he was a Cardinall, & did weare his read hat for this purpoſe, that he ſhould ſhed his bloud in the defence of the fayth. Neither hath he done any thyng now agaynſt the Pope, for that omittyng the fiue concluſions touchyng Eugenius, he had concluded but onely the generall concluſions: which except he had done, the fathers ſhould haue had iuſt cauſe to complayne agaynſt hym (in that they truſtyng in his fidelitie & faythfulnes, had choſen him Preſidẽt) if by him they ſhould now be forſaken in this moſt neceſſary cauſe of fayth. And turnyng hymſelfe vnto the people, he deſired the fathers to be of good comfort, for ſo much as he would neuer forſake them, yea although he ſhould ſuffer death: for he had geuen his fayth and fidelitie vnto the Councell, whiche he would obſerue and keepe, neither ſhould any mannes flattery or threatenynges put hym from his purpoſe: that he would be alwayes ready to do whatſoeuer the Councell ſhould commaunde him, and neuer leaue the commaundementes of the deputies by any meanes vnperformed.

As touchyng that Panormitan had extolled the authoritie of the Councell, he ſayd that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet he ought to vnderſtand and know the authoritie of the Councell to be ſuch, as cannot be augmented or increaſed by any mans prayſe or commendation, or be diminiſhed by any opprobry or ſlaũder. Theſe thyngs thus premiſed, he cõmaunded the forme of the decree to be read. The Panormitane & thoſe which tooke his part, would needes haue a certaine proteſtatiõ to be firſt read. There was great contention on euery ſide. Notwithſtandyng at the laſt, Arelatenſis preuayled, and the forme of the decree was read vnto this word Decernimus, that is to ſay, we decree. The Panormitan riſing vp, would not ſuffer it to be heard any further: And the Byſhop of Catania cryed out ſaying, that

Euery man may determine in matters of fayth, hauing the ſcripture on his part.

Contention in the councell about reading of the proteſtation.

it was vncomely that Arelatenſis, with a few other Byſhops by name, ſhould conclude the matter. The like did alſo all thoſe which fauoured Panormitane. The Cardinall of Terraconia alſo (which vntill that tyme had holden his peace) did greuouſly rebuke his partakers, that as men beyng a ſleepe or in a dreame, they did not read the proteſtatiō, and commaunded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But lyke as the aduerſaries before dyd perturbe the readyng of the concordaunces, ſo would not the Fathers of the Councell now geue place to the readyng of the proteſtation. Which when Albiganenſis did conſider he commaunded the writing to be brought vnto hym, and as he began to ſpeake, ſodainly Arelatenſis roſe vp, with a great number of the fathers to depart: which thyng pleaſed ẏ Cardinal of Terraconia and Panormitane very well, for that they hoped that they alone with their adherentes, ſhould remayne in the Church. They exhorted Arelatēſis to reuoke the concluſiō, and to make an other.

How God worketh by occaſion.

Albiganenſis readeth the proteſtation, but none could heare hym.

The affaires of the councell are read.

Eneas Syluius beyng preſent collected this. Arelatenſis concludeth here, as he did alſo before, not without the conſent of the deputies according to the order of the councell. *Eneas, you did not ſo praiſe this councell after you were byſhop your ſelfe.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Prothonotary of Bardaxina, ſittyng ſomewhat beneath his vncle, the Cardinall of Terraconia, a man but yonge of age, but graue in wiſedome, and noble in humanitie: who as ſoone as he ſaw the Cardinall Arelatenſis riſe, he determined alſo to depart, and when as hys vncle called hym, commaundyng him to tary, he ſayde: God forbid father that I ſhould tary in your congregation, or do any thing contrary to ẏ othe which I haue taken. By which wordes he declared his excellent vertue and nobilitie, & admoniſhed our men which remayned, of thoſe thinges which they had to do. His voyce was the voyce of the holy Ghoſt, and wordes more neceſſary, then could be thought. For if he had not ſpoken that worde the fathers of the Councell had peraduenture departed, and gone their way, and the other, remaynyng in the church, had made an other cōcluſiō, which they would haue affirmed to haue bene of force, becauſe they would ſay the laſt concluſion was to be receiued. But many beyng warned by the wordes of the Prothonotarie, and callyng to remembraunce the lyke chaunce of other Councels before, called backe agayne the multitude whiche were departyng, and cried vpon the Cardinal and the Patriarke to ſit downe agayne, and that they ſhould not leaue ẏ church voyde and and quiet for theyr aduerſaries. Whereupon, ſodenly all the whole multitude ſatte downe, and the gates were ſhut agayne. In the meane tyme Matheus Albiganenſis a biſhop, read the proteſtation to none els but to him ſelf alone, for it could not be heard for noyſe: which beyng ended, the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the proteſtation. When the Cardinall of Terraconia ſayd that he did agree to that diſſenſiō, they marueiled at that ſaying. And when ſome ſmyled & laughed at him: what ſayd he, ye fooles, do ye mocke me? do not the Imbaſſadors of my king diſſent frō you? What do you maruaile thē if I do ſay I cōſent vnto their diſſenſion? And with theſe wordes, he and almoſt all the Arragons, Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taried ſtill. And albeit it was ſomewhat late (for it was paſt ij at after none) Arelatenſis ſeyng the congregation quiet, commaunded the affaires of priuate perſons to be read, as the maner is: which beyng ended, he cōmaunded alſo the publike affaires to be read, and willed the cōcluſions and the forme of the decree to be read agayne. There remayned in the congregation, the Imbaſſadors of the Empire and of Fraunce, talkyng together of theyr affaires. Notwithſtādyng the biſhop of Turnō heard mention made of the concluſions, and turnyng him ſelf to ẏ Byſhop of Lubecke, ſayd: lo, the matters of fayth are now in hand agayn, let vs go hēce I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others, or that we be not ſayd to diſſent from the other Imbaſſadors. To whom ẏ Byſhop of Lubecke aunſwered: tary father, tary here, are not the concluſions moſt true? Why are you afraid to be here for ẏ truth? theſe wordes were not heard of many, for they ſpake them ſoftely betwene them ſelues. Notwithſtandyng I heard it, for I ſittyng at their feete, did diligētly obſerue what they ſaid. Arelatenſis, after all thinges were read, which he thought neceſſary, at the requeſt of the deputies concluded, and ſo makyng an end diſmiſſed the congregation. Twiſe it is declared, ẇ how great difficultie Arelatenſis concluded, forſomuch as neither the matter nor the forme could be concluded without diſſenſion: * and the concluſions were miraculous, and paſt all mens hope, but were obteined by the induſtrie of Arelatenſis, or rather by the ſpeciall gift of the holy Ghoſt.

After this, it was determened betwene the Lōbardes and Aragons to abſteine frō the deputacions for a certaine tyme, which they did not long obſerue, notwithſtandyng ẏ deputations were holden very quietly for a certeine ſpace, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembraunce vntill the .xv. day of May, duryng which tyme, all meanes poſſible were ſought to ſet a concorde betwene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of the fayth, was called into the congregation, & briefly rehearſed thoſe thinges which were done the dayes before, and declared howe that Arelatenſis might point a Seſſion, wherefore, for ſomuch as delay in matters of fayth was daungerous, he required that a Seſſiō ſhould be appointed agaynſt the morow after, requiring the Cardinall for his dignities ſake, in that he was called the principall of the church, and the other byſhops, that (as they had promiſed in theyr conſecration) they would not nowe ſhrinke from the churche in theſe waightye affaires, and ſuffer the fayth to be oppreſſed: but the other inferiours he required vpon their othe which they had taken, to ſhewe them ſelues faythfull and conſtant herein. Then agayne there fell a great contention vpon theſe wordes: for Arelatenſis, as he was required, did appoint a Seſſion, & exhorted all men to be there preſent in their Robes. The Byſhop of Lubecke riſing vp, made a proteſtation in his owne name, and alſo in the name of his protector, that he would not conſent, that there ſhould be any Seſſion, if it ſhoulde in any part derogate from the agrement had at Mentz. Georgius Miles alſo, his fellow Imbaſſadour conſented to this proteſtation. When as the protectour of the Councel appointed by the Emperour, vnderſtood him ſelfe for to be named by the biſhop of Lubecke, he marueiled a while what the matter ſhould be. But being certified by an interpreter, he aunſwered that he would in no caſe conſent vnto the proteſtation of the Byſhop of Lubecke, and that he did not knowe any thing of theyr doinges at Mentz: alſo that he was ſent by the Emperour to the ſacred Councell, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient therunto. After whom the Byſhop of Concenſe, accordyng to his accuſtomed maner, made his proteſtation & after him alſo folowed Panormitane, whoſe wordes before I will repeat, I deſire that no man would maruaile that I make mention ſo often of Panormitane: for it is neceſſary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

The Byſhop of Lubecke.

Contade Winſperge a Baron.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Eugenians, and Arelatenſis the Hector of the councell.

The Papiſtes extoll that which maketh for their purpoſe, but the contrary they contemne, whether it be ſcripture or prophane.

It happened in theſe matters euen as it doth in warlike affairs: For as there, ſuch as are moſt valiaunte and ſtrong, and doo moſt worthy feates, obteine moſt fame, as in the battaile of Troy, Achiles and Hector: ſo in theſe ſpirituall warres and contentions, thoſe which moſt excell in learnyng and eloquence, and do more then other, ſhould be moſt renouned and named: for on ẏ one part Panormitane was prince and Captaine, on the other, Arelatenſis: but his owne will made not the one Captain, but onely neceſſitie, for it behoued hym to obey hys prince. Notwithſtandyng he was not ignoraunt of the truthe and veritie, neither dyd he reſiſte willingly agaynſt it: for I haue ſene him often times in his librarye complaine of his prince, that he folowed other mens Councell, when as his tyme came to ſpeake, he ſayd that he did not a litle marueile why the protector of the fayth, ſhould require the Prelates to haue a Seſſion, which was nothyng perteining to his office, and that he ought not vſurpe the Preſidents place. And agayne he complayned, touchyng the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did preſently touch ẏ ſtate of the Apoſtolike ſea, and for that cauſe the ſea ought to be heard before any Seſſion be holden. Neither is it to be regarded (ſayd he) that ẏ councell of Conſtance ſemeth to haue decreed, that it ſhoulde now be ſpoken of. For ſo much as Pope Iohn was not heard at Conſtance, neither any man els, to ſpeake for the ſea, by which wordes he ſeemed both to contemne and bring in doubt, all the decrees of that moſt great and ſacred ſynode of Conſtance: therfore there was a great tumult, and all men cryed out with one voyce, ſaying: that the Synode of Cōſtance is holy and the authoritie therof ought to be inuiolate. But he beyng ſtill inſtaunt, with a ſtoute and hautie courage, affirmed ẏ the matter coulde not be finiſhed ẇout the Imbaſſadours of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of fayth. And agayne that the Imbaſſadoures themſelues can not conſent, forſomuch as in ẏ Colloqui holdē at Mētz they had promiſed ẏ during the treatie of peace by them begunne, they woulde receiue and allow nothing that the Pope ſhould eyther doo agaynſt the councell, or the councell agaynſt the Pope: and that he douted not, but that the three firſt concluſions declared Eugenius an hereticke, in ſomuch as it was euident, that Eugenius did vehementlye reſiſt the twoe firſt, And therefore for ſo much as the Seſſion was not yet holden, and that it was lawfull for euery man before ẏ Seſſion to ſpeake what he will, he deſired and required them moſt inſtantly, that there might be no Seſſion as yet holden, Vnto whome A-

Arelatenſis anſwere to Panormitane.

This deputation of faith, was that company of choſen mẽ which did determine matters of faith.

relatenſis anſwered, that it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the fayth, by his office myght call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, & ſpecially for ſo much as the deputation of the faythe and the whole councell, had ſo geuen him in commaundement.

Saint Hierome vnto *Nepotianus de vita clericali.*

Marke how politickely and ſincerely he doth confute his aduerſaries.

As touching the prelates, he ſayth, that albeit without all doubt biſhops haue chiefe authoritie: yet notwithſtandyng it is accuſtomed in Councels, not to make any concluſion in the name of the biſhops, but in the name of the whole councell: and the vniuerſall Church hath decreed certayne lawes in this Councell, which ſhould remayne inuiolate. Neyther let the biſhops thinke the preſence of the inferiors greuous vnto them, when as oftentymes vnder a bare and torne coate, wiſdome lyeth hid, and vnder rich veſtures and ornamentes, folly lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be myndefull of the ſayinge of Domitius (which as S. Hierom reporteth) ſayde: why ſhould I eſteeme thee as a Prince, if thou doeſt not regard me as a Senatour? For the byſhops ought to eſteme prieſtes as prieſtes, if they will haue reuerence done vnto them as biſhops. Neyther ought the princes to be looked for, to the decidyng of this matter, for ſo much as the Church is not congregated in the name of the princes: but in the name of Chriſt, which hath not receiued hys power from princes: but immediatly from God: to the defence wherof, he ſhould perceiue the inferiors to be no leſſe leſſe incouraged then the biſhops, for that he did well vnderſtand and know, that they would not onely ſpend their temporall goodes, but alſo their lyues for the defence therof. As for ſome biſhops, rather then they will loſe any part of their temporalties, they will ſell the liberty of ẏ church vnto ẏ princes and make them iudges and lordes ouer the Councel. As touchyng the actes at Mentz, he doth not regard them, for ſo much as (as it is ſayde) they accompted without theyr hoſte: for he ſayth, he doth not vnderſtand how this can be, that they had decreed neyther to obey the Pope, nor ẏ councell. The one or the other they muſt nedes be obedient vnto: for there is no third tribunall, whereunto any obedience is due in theſe matters which concern the fayth and the ſaluation of ſoules: And finally that the church woulde not ſuffer that their affaires and matters of fayth ſhould be determined by the iudgement of princes: for the holy ghoſt is not ſubiect vnto princes, but princes vnto hym: and vppon this concluſion he would not feare, neyther the loſſe of hys goods, neither any death or martyrdome. And wheras Panormitane doth now ſhew himſelf ſo great a defender of Eugenius, he ſayeth that he doth not a little meruaile at it, for that in tymes paſt no man hath more publiſhed Eugenius his errors then he: by whoſe ſpecial labour & councell, both a decree monitory, & alſo the ſuſpenſiõ was admitted & ſet out againſt Eugenius: And now, wherupõ this ſodaine chãge ſhould come, he ſayth ẏ he was vtterly ignorant, for ſo much as neither Eugenius had altered his lyfe, neither coulde the church continue in ſuch a ſchiſme. Wherfore he deſired Panormitane diligently to conſider, whether he ſpake according to his conſcience or not: for (ſayth he) the concluſions which now ſhall be decreed, are moſt generall: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope, and moreouer the veritye of fayth is conteyned in them: agaynſt the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more mete that the Pope ſhould be corrected, then the verity omitted. And thus he makyng an end all were warned to come the next day vnto the Seſſiõ. The protectour alſo deſired the ſacred Councel, that none ſhould be ſuffred to bring any weapõ into the Seſſion. For ſo much as he was ready to obſerue the ſafeconducte of the Emperour, and together with the Senate of the citie, to prohibite all quarellers for doyng of iniury.

No man hath heretofore more then Panormitane publiſhed the errours of Eugenius: whõ he now ſo greatly defendeth.

The Seſſion proclaymed.

When the xvj. day of May was come, all they whome the Seſſion contented and pleaſed, aſſembled at the hower. The Embaſſadours alſo of the princes were come together into the quiere of the church, to attempt further what they could do, and ſendyng the biſhops of Lubecke & Concenſe, and the Deane of Turion, an excellent learned man, they offred themſelues to be preſent at the Seſſion, if that the depoſition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure monthes. Who, when they had receyued a gentle aunſwer of Arelatenſis, and the other principals, returning agayne vnto ẏ Embaſſadours, they would only haue the firſt concluſion decreed, and therupon ſent agayne vnto Arelatenſis: vnto whom aunſwer was made, that the chiefe force did conſiſt in ẏ two other concluſions, and that the Councell would ſpecially determine vpon them. If the Embaſſadors would not be preſent, they ſhould vnderſtand that the concord was broke by them, which would not obſerue that which they had offred. With which aunſwer they departed, and the Seſſion began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of the Aragons preſent at it, neyther out of Spayne: and out of Italy, only the biſhop of Groſſetane, and the Abbot of Dona, whiche for their conſtancy and ſtedfaſt good will toward the vniuerſall church, could not be chaunged from their purpoſe, but of doctors and other inferiours, there were a great number of Aragons, and almoſt all the inferiours of Spaine and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the Biſhops did) and then the worthy ſtoutnes of the Aragones & Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour ſorte, which woulde not ſhrinke away in the neceſſitie of the church. Of the two other nations there were only preſent xx. biſhops. The reſidue lurked in their lodginges, profeſſing the fayth in theyr hartes but not in their mouthes. Arelatenſis conſideryng afore what would come to paſſe, cauſed prayers to be made, & after their prayers made vnto almighty God, with teares and lamentation, that he would ſend them his holy ſpirit to ayde and aſſiſt them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many biſhops preſent, yet all the ſeates were filled with the Biſhops, Proctors, Archdeacons, Preſidents, Priors, Prieſtes and Doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the number of 400. or more: amongeſt whom there was no noyce, no chiding, no opprobrious wordes or contention, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the fayth, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the church. The biſhop of Maſſilia a noble man red the decree, which was attentiuely harckened vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended: Te deum laudamus was ſong with great ioy and gladnes, and ſo the Seſſion diſſolued, which was in number the xxxiij. Seſſion, and amongeſt all the reſt the moſte quiete and peaceable.

In all Italy there were ſcarſly two prelates found which ſought the commoditie of the vniuerſall church, in Spaine there was none.

Prayers made wyth teares.

Amongeſt 400. doctors that were preſent, there was not one ill worde.

The xxxiij. Seſſion.

The day followyng, beyng the xvij. of May, the Princes Embaſſadours without all mens expectation, came vnto the generall congregation, by that their doyng at the leaſt, geuyng their aſſent vnto the Seſſion before paſſed. In celebratyng wherof, if the fathers had erred, it had not bene lawfull for the Princes and Embaſſadours, to haue holden the councell with thoſe fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorſe of conſcience, and euen nowe to deteſt and abhorre that which they had done: as it was not hidden to the Embaſſadours of the Empire and Fraunce. For the biſhop of Lubecke ſayd, that the cauſe of hys abſence was, for that he was appoynted by the Emperoures commaundement, to intreat a peace: wherefore it was not comely for hym to be preſent at any buſineſſe, whereby he ſhould be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace ſhould be intreated. Notwithſtanding he dyd much commend the ſeſſion before holden, and beleued the decree therin promulgate to be moſt good and holy, and the verities therin contayned to be vndoubted, and ſayd that he would ſtick therunto both now, and euen vnto the death. But the biſhop of Turnon, a man both learned and eloquent, ſpeaking for hym and hys fellowes, ſayd that he heard how that they were euill ſpokẽ of amongſt ſome, in that they had not honoured theyr kyng in that moſt ſacred Seſſion, whom it becommed ſpecially to exalt and defend the fayth: which alſo for that cauſe aboue all other kinges was named moſt chriſten: notwithſtãding he ſayd that they had a lawfull excuſe, in that it was conuenient that they, which were ſent to intreat peace, ſhould doe nothyng wherby their Ambaſſade ſhould be ſtopped or letted. Alſo there are two kyndes of iniuſtice (ſayd he) wherby eyther thinges are done that ſhould not be done, or thinges that ſhould be done, are not done. The firſt doth not alwayes bynd, becauſe it is conuenient to haue reſpect of tyme, place, and perſon. But the laſt doth alwayes bynd, wherin he ſaid they were not culpable. But as touching the firſt poynte, they might ſeme vnto ſome to haue erred, becauſe they were not preſent at the Seſſion: but yet in this poynte they had ſufficient to aunſwer, forſomuch as if they had bene preſent at that Seſſion, they ſhould haue bene vnmeete to haue intreated any peace with Eugenius: And therfore albeit they were wantyng at ſo holy a buſines, in that poynte they followed the example of Paul, which albeit he deſired to be diſſolued and to be with Chriſt, yet for the further profite and aduauncement of the church, it was deferred. So lykewyſe he ſayd, that they had now done, for that they were not abſent becauſe they doubted of the concluſions (which they iudged to be moſt true and holy, and wherunto they woulde ſticke euen vnto death) but becauſe they would not be vnmeete for the treaty of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their owne perſon, they had fulfilled (ſayd he) by their ſeruauntes and houſhold, whome altogether they commaunded to reuerence that Seſſion. I would that I had bene then in the place of ſome great prelate: ſurely they ſhould not haue gone vnpuniſhed, which

The Embaſſadours conſent to the former Seſſion.

Two kindes of iniuſtice.

O Æneas, you ſhould haue vſed ſuch ſinceritie when you were pope. Beholde, the princes Ambaſſadours declare Eugenius an enemy vnto the truth.

thought to haue played bo peepe. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treatie of peace? Or if it doe hurt, why is not he counted as great an offender, which cōſenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What ſhall we nede any further teſtimony? for now the Embaſſadours of the Princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemy vnto the truth. But to paſſe ouer theſe things, it is ſufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward vnto the kyng of Fraunce, that he did vnderſtand the biſhop of Tournon to be become his enemy.

Arelatenſis cōmendeth the Ambaſſadours.

After that ỹ byſhop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinal Arelatenſis gaue thankes vnto God, which had ſo defended his Church, & after great ſtormes and cloudes, had ſent fayre and cleare weather: & commendyng the good will of the Emperour and the Kyng of Fraunce towarde the Church, he alſo prayſed the byſhop of Lubecke and Tournon, for that often tymes in the Councell, and alſo of late at Mentz, they had defēded the authoritie of the Cōūcell. But ſpecially he cōmēded this their preſent doynges, that they had openly confeſſed the truth, and had not ſequeſtred them ſelues from the fayth of the Church.

This Councell was gathered to take away the ambition of the Biſhops of Rome, that they ſhould not thinke they myght do all thinges according to their owne pleaſure: and further to reuoke them frō the care of temporall thinges vnto ſpirituall thinges, which now they regarded not.

Afterward, he entryng into the declaration of the matter, ſayd that he was at Pyſis and at Conſtance, and neuer ſaw a more quyet or deuout Seſſion then this, affirmyng ỹ this decree was moſt neceſſary, to repreſſe the embition of the Byſhops of Rome, whiche exaltyng themſelues aboue the vniuerſall Church, thought it lawfull for them to do all things after their owne pleaſure, and that no one man from henceforth ſhould tranſport the Councell from one place to an other, as Eugenius attempted to do, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then agayne to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that agayne to Florentia, and that hereafter the Biſhops ſhould withdraw their myndes from the carefulnes of temporall goodes, which (as he himſelfe dyd ſee) had no mynde at all on ſpirituall matters: & therfore by how much this Seſſion was moſt holy and neceſſary, by ſomuch more the aſſent of the Ambaſſadours was moſt laudable & acceptable to all the fathers. Theſe wordes thus ſpoken, he roſe vp, and the congregation was diſſolued.

The councell doth deliberate vpon the popes election.

Now, after that Gabriel Condulmarius was depoſed from the Biſhopricke of Rome, the principall fathers of the Councell beyng called together in the Chapter houſe of the great Church, conſulted together, whether it were expedient that a new Biſhop ſhould be created out of hand, or deferred for a tyme. Such as thought good that the election ſhould be done with ſpeede, ſhewed how daūgerous a thyng it was for ſuch a cōgregation to be without a head: alſo what a peſtiferous ſicknes was in all the City, which not onely conſumed young men and children: but alſo men of middle age, and old men in like maner, and that this plague came firſt by ſtraungers vnto the poore of the Citie, & ſo had infected the riche, and now was come vnto the fathers of the Councell: amplifyng moreouer, and encreaſing the terrour therof, and making the thyng worſe then it was, as the maner is. Neither doth ỹ decree (ſaid they) any thing let or hinder, wherin it is prouided that there ſhould be delay of .lx. dayes after the ſea is voyde: for that is to be vnderſtād, when as the ſea is voyde at ſuch tyme as there is no Councell holden, neither ought we to tary or make any delay, leſt the Princes beyng perſwaded by Gabriel, ſhould reſiſt: Unto whom the depoſition of Gabriell, and the election of ſome other, is to be certified all vnder one meſſage. The other whiche thought good that there ſhould be a delay, ſayd: that the Councell did lacke no head, for ſomuch as Chriſt was the head thereof: neither did lacke a ruler, for ſomuch as it was gouerned by the Preſidents & other officers: and that no mention ſhould be made of any peſtilēce in ſuch a caſe, ſeyng that, vnto ſtout & ſtrong mē, death is not to be feared, neither can any thyng daunt or feare them which contend for the Chriſtian fayth. As for that peſtilence which doth now increaſe and grow in the Citie, for aſmuch as iudgement is now geuen, it is to be hoped that it will aſſwage, whiche was thought to haue come for the neglectyng of iuſtice. Alſo that in ſo doubtfull a matter, they ought rather to vſe the princes agaynſt their wil, thē to neglect them: and ỹ it is not to be feared, but that in this caſe, God will helpe thoſe that are ſtout and valiant. The matter beyng thus diſcuſſed amongeſt them, (albeit that there was as many myndes, as there was men) yet it ſeemed vnto them all, that it was moſt profitable to chuſe the Byſhop by and by, but moſt honeſt to deferre it.

lx dayes muſt be delayd after the ſea is voyd.

Note the Chriſtian zeale of theſe men, which would refuſe no daunger for Gods cauſe.

John Segonius.

Hereupō John Segouius, a man of excellent learnyng, ſayd: Moſt reuerend fathers, I am diuerſly drawē by ſundry reaſons, to this ſide and that. But as I way the matter more deeply in my mynde, this is my opinion, that to come to a ſpeedy election, it ſemeth good, to ſpeake after mās iudgement: but to delay it for two monethes, to ſpeake after Gods iudgement, it ſeemeth much better. I do iudge that not onely the wordes, but alſo the meanyng of our decree, ought to be obſerued. Wherfore, if ye will geue any credite vnto me, folow rather daungerous honeſty, then ſecure vtilitie: albeit that, in deede, vtilitie can not be diſcerned frō honeſty. This opinion of delay tooke place among the fathers, & they determined to ſtay, for the ſpace of two monethes.

Daungerous honeſty preferred before ſecure vtilitie.

In the meane time, meſſengers were ſent vnto the princes to declare the depoſition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publiſh it abroad.

A great peſtilence in Baſill.

Duryng this tyme, the corrupt ayre was nothyng at all purged, but the mortalitie dayly increaſing, many dyed and were ſicke. Whereupon a ſodayne feare came vppon the fathers. Neither were they ſufficiently aduiſed what they might do: for they thought it not to be without daunger, either to depart or to tary. Notwithſtandyng they thought it good to tary, & alſo they cauſed other to tary: that ſince they had ouercome famine, and the aſſaultes of their enemyes on earth, they would not ſeeme to ſhrinke for the perſecutiō of any plague or ſicknes. But for ſomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politickly prouided, that the Councell ſhould not ſeeme to be diſſolued by any mās departure. And for the more eſtabliſhment of the matter, there were certain thynges read before the fathers, whiche they called De Stabilimento, whoſe authoritie cōtinued long tyme after. Whē as the Dogge dayes were come, and that all herbes wythered with heate, the peſtilence increaſed dayly more & more, that it is incredible how many dyed. It was to horrible to ſee the corſes hourely caryed through the ſtreates, when on euery ſide there was weepyng, waylyng, & ſighyng. There was no houſe voyde of mournyng: no myrthe or laughter in no place, but matrones bewaylyng their huſbandes, and the huſbandes their wiues. Men and womē went through the ſtreates, and durſt not ſpeake one vnto an other. Some taryed at home, and other ſome that went abroad, had perfumes to ſmell vnto, to preſerue them agaynſt the plague.

Lodouicus the prothonotary dyed of the plague.

The common people dyed without number: and like as in the cold Autumne, the leaues of the trees do fall, euen ſo did the youth of the Citie conſume and fall away. The violence of the diſeaſe was ſuch, that ye ſhould haue met a man mery in the ſtreate now, and within .x. houres heard that he had bene buryed. The number of the dead corſes was ſuch alſo, that they lacked place to bury them in: in ſomuch that all the Churchyardes were digged vp, and filled with dead corſes, & great holes made in the Pariſh Churches, wheras a great number of corſes beyng thruſt in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cauſe the fathers were ſo afrayde, that there appeared no bloud in their faces: and ſpecially the ſedayne death of Lodouicus the Prothonotary did make all men afrayde, who was a ſtrong man & floriſhyng in age, and ſingularly learned in both lawes: whō the ſame enuious and ragyng ſickenes tooke away in a few houres. By and by after, dyed Lodouicus the Patriarke of of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought vp alwayes in troubles and aduerſitie, neither could he ſee the day of the Popes election which he had long wiſhed for: Notwithſtādyng he tooke partly a conſolation in that he had ſene Gabriell depoſed before his death. This mans death was greuous vnto all the fathers, for now they ſayd that two pillers of the Councell were decayed and ouerthrowne, meanyng the Prothonotary and the Patriarke, whereof the one by the law: and the other with his deedes defended the veritie of the Councell.

About the ſame tyme alſo dyed the kyng of Arragones Amner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learnyng, beyng byſhop of Ebron. The Abbot of Uergilia dyed at Spire, & John the Biſhop of Lubecke, betwene Uienna and Buda.

The exhortation of thoſe which dyed.

Theſe two laſt rehearſed, euen at the point of death, did this thyng worthy of remembraunce. When as they perceiued the houre of their death to approche, callyng vnto them certaine graue and wiſe men, ſayd: All you that be here preſent, pray to God, that he will conuert ſuch as knowledge Gabriell for hygh Byſhop, for in that ſtate they cannot be ſaued: and profeſſyng themſelues that they would dye in the fayth of the Councell of Baſill, they departed in the Lord. In Boheme alſo departed the byſhop of Conſtance, which was Ambaſſadour for the Cōūcell. There was great feare and tremblyng throughout all the Cōūcel. There had bene alſo in the Councell, by a long tyme, the Abbot of Dona, of the Dioceſſe of Cumana, a man poore vnto the world, but rich vnto God, whō neither flatteryngеs nor threatnynges could turne away from his good purpoſe and intēt, chuſing rather to begge in the truth of the fathers, then to abounde in riches with the falſe flatteryng aduerſaries.

The Byſhop of Conſtance dieth.

The Abbot of Dona, a true Abbot.

Wherupon, after the Lordes were departed, which gaue him his liuyng, he remaynyng ſtill, was ſtricken with the

Eneas the author hereof eſcaped dearly hardly.

plague and dyed. Likewiſe a great number of the regiſters and Doctours dyed: and ſuch as fell into that diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongeſt all the reſt, Æneas Syluius, beyng ſtriken with this diſeaſe, by Gods helpe eſcaped. This man lay iij. dayes euen at the poynt of death, all men beyng in diſpayre of him: notwithſtãdyng it pleaſed God to graũt him longer lyfe. When as the peſtilence was moſt feruent & hote, and that dayly there dyed about one hũdred, there was great intreatie made vnto Cardinall Arelatenſis, that he would go to ſome other town or village neare hand: for theſe were the wordes of all his frendes and houſhold: what do you moſt reuerend father? At the leaſt voyde this wane of the Moone, and ſaue your ſelfe: who beyng ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe: if you dye, we all periſh. If the plague oppreſſe you, vnto whom ſhall we flye? Who ſhall rule vs? or who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faythfull flocke? The infectiõ hath already inuaded your chamber. your Secretary and Chãberlaine are already dead. Conſider the great daunger, and ſaue both your ſelfe and vs. But neither the intreatie of his houſhold, neither the corſes of thoſe which were dead, could moue him, willyng rather to preſerue the Councell with perill of his lyfe, than to ſaue his lyfe with perill of the Cõcell: for he did know that if he ſhould depart, few would haue taryed behynde, and that diſceite ſhould haue bene wrought in his abſence.

The inuincible conſtancie and fortitude of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

Wherfore, like as in warres the ſouldiours feare no daunger, when as they ſee their Captaine in the middeſt of their enemyes: ſo the fathers of the Councell were aſhamed to flye from this peſtilence, ſeyng their Preſident to remayne with them in the middeſt of all daungers. which their doynges did vtterly ſubuert the opinion of them, which babled abroad, that the fathers taryed in Baſill to ſeeke their own profite and commoditie, and not the veritie of the fayth: for there is no commoditie vpon the earth, whiche men would chaunge for their lyues: for that all ſuch as do ſerue the world, do preferre before all other thyngs. But theſe our fathers ſhewyng themſelues an inuincible ſtrong wall for the houſe of God, vanquiſhyng all the craftie deceites whiche Gabriell vſed, and ouercommyng all difficulties, which this moſt cruell and peſtiferous yeare brought vpon them, at the length all deſire of lyfe alſo beyng ſet a part, they haue ouercome all daungers, and haue not doubted with moſt conſtant myndes to defend the veritie of the Councel, euen vnto this preſent.

The commendation of Arelatenſis.

The tyme of the decree beyng paſſed, after the depoſitiõ of Gabriel, it ſeemed good vnto the fathers, to procede to the election of an other Byſhop. And firſt of all they nominated thoſe that together wͭ the Cardinalles, ſhould elect the pope. The firſt & principall of the Electours was the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of inuincible conſtancie, and incomparable wiſedome: vnto whoſe vertue I may iuſtly aſcribe whatſoeuer was done in the Cõcell: for without hym, the Prelates had not perſeuered in their purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any Prince haue ſo defended them. This mã came not to the election by any fauour or denomination, but by his owne proper right. The reſt of the Electours were choſen out of the Italian, French, Germaine, and Spaniſh nations, and their Selles and Chambers appoynted to thẽ lots, without reſpect of dignitie or perſon, & as the lots fell, ſo they were placed: wherby it chaunced a Doctour to haue the hygheſt place, and a Byſhop the laſt. wherein the diſtribution of lottes was very ſtraunge, or rather a Diuine diſpenſation, reprouyng the deuiſes of mã, where as the Prelates had determined to haue the beſt Chambers appointed for themſelues, and had earneſtly contended before to haue their chambers appointed accordyng to their dignitie.

The councell of Marcus.

The next day after, there was a Seſſion holden, wherein Marcus a famous Diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electours, wherein he reckoned vp the manifold crimes of Gabriell, whiche was depoſed. He endeuored to perſwade the Electours to chuſe ſuch a man, whiche ſhould in all pointes, be contrary vnto Gabriel, and eſchew all his vices: that as he, thorough his manifold reproches, was hurtfull vnto all men; ſo he which ſhould be choſen, ſhould ſhew himſelfe acceptable vnto all men, thorough iuſtice: and as Gabriell was couetous and full of rapine, ſo this man ſhould ſhew himſelfe continent.

There was ſo great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the ſtreetes, any mã could paſſe. There was preſent John Earle of Dierſtein, who ſupplyed the place of the Emperours Protector: alſo the Senatours of the Citie, with many other noble men, to behold the ſame, whereof you ſhall heare (Chriſt willyng) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in armour to prohibite that there ſhould be no vprore made. The Electours receiued the Communion together, and afterwardes, they receiued their oth: and the Cardinall Arelatenſis openyng ẏ booke of Decrees, read the forme of the othe in ẏ audience of all mẽ, & firſt of all, he takyng the othe himſelf, began in this maner.

The godly othe of Arelatenſis.

Moſt reuerend Fathers, I promiſe, ſweare and vowe before my Lord Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe moſt bleſſed body I vnworthy ſinner haue receaued: vnto whom in the laſt iudgement I ſhall geue accoumpt of all my dedes) that in this buſines of election, whereunto now by the will of the Cõcell we are ſent: I will ſeeke nothing els, then the onely ſaluation of the Chriſten people, and the profite of the vniuerſall Church. This ſhall be my whole care and ſtudy, that the authoritie of the generall Councels be not contemned: that the Catholicke fayth be not impugned, and that the fathers which remaine in the Cõcell, be not oppreſſed. This wil I ſeeke for: this ſhall be my care: vnto this, withall my whole force and power, will I bend my ſelfe: neither will I reſpect any thyng in this poynt, either for myne owne cauſe, or for any frend, but onely God and the profite of the Church. With this mynde and intent, and with this hart will I take myne othe before the Councell.

The other Electours take their othe.

His wordes were liuely and fearefull. After him all the other Electours in their order, did ſweare and take their othe. Then they went with great ſolemnitie vnto the Cõclaue: where they remained ſeuẽ dayes. The maner of their election was in this ſort. Before the Cardinals ſeate was ſet a Deſke, wherupon there ſtode a baſen of ſiluer: into the which baſen all the Electours did caſt their ſchedules: which the Cardinall receiuyng, read one by one, and foure other of the Electours wrote as he read them.

The tenour of the Schedules was in this maner. I George Biſhop of Vicene do chuſe ſuch a man, or ſuch a man, for Byſhop of Rome, and peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the electours ſubſcribed his name vnto the Schedule, that he might thereby know hys owne, and ſay nay, if it were cõtrary to that which was ſpokẽ: whereby all diſceite was vtterly excluded. The firſt ſcrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to ẏ papacy. yet none had ſufficient voyces, for that day there were xvij. of diuers nations nominate. Notwithſtanding, Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of ſinguler vertue, ſurmounted them all: for in the firſt ſcrutiny he had the voyce of xvi. Electours, which iudged hym worthy to gouerne the church.

A ſcrutinie is a priuie election by voyces.

Amedeus Duke of Sauoy.

After this, there was diligent inquiſition had in the Councell, touching thoſe which were named of the Electours, and as euery mans opinion ſerued hym, he did either prayſe or diſcommend thoſe which were nominate. Notwithſtanding there was ſuch reporte made of Amedeus, that in the next ſcrutiny, which was holden in the Nonas of Nouember, the ſayd Amedius had xxi. voyces, and likewiſe in the iij. and iiij. ſcrutiny xxi. voyces. And for ſo much as there was none founde in all the ſcrutiny to haue ij. partes, all the other ſchedules were burnt. And for ſomuch as there lacked but onely one voyce to the election of the high biſhop, they fell vnto prayer, deſiring God that he woulde vouchſafe to directe their myndes to an vnity and concorde, worthely to elect and chuſe hym which ſhould take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forſomuch as Amedeus ſeemed to be nearer vnto the papacy then all other, there was great communication had amõgs them touching his life and diſpoſition. Some ſayd that a lay man ought not ſo ſodenly to be choſen: for it would ſeeme a ſtraunge thyng for a ſeculer prince to be called vnto the byſhopricke of Rome: which would alſo to much derogate from the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, as though there were none therein meete or worthy for that dignitie. Other ſome ſayd that a man which was maryed and had children, was vnmeete for ſuch a charge. Other ſome agayne affirmed that the byſhop of Rome ought to be a Doctor of lawe, and an excellent learned man.

Prayer for vnitie and concorde.

When theſe wordes were ſpoken, other ſome riſing vp, ſpake farre otherwiſe, that albeit Amedeus was no Doctour, yet was he learned and wyſe, for ſo much as all hys whole youth, he had beſtowed in learning and ſtudy, and had ſought not the name, but euen the ground of learning. Thẽ ſayd an other, if ye be deſirous to be inſtructed further of thys princes life, I pray you geue eare vnto me, which doe know hym thorowly. Truely this man from his youth vpward, and euen from his young and tender yeares, hath lyued more religiouſly then ſecularly, being alwayes obedient to hys parentes and maiſters, and beyng alwayes endued with the feare of God, neuer geuen to any vanity or wantonnes: neither hath there at any tyme bene any childe of the houſe of Sauoy, in whom hath appeared greater witte or towardnes: whereby all thoſe which did beholde and know thys man, iudged and foreſaw ſome great matter in hym: neither were they deceiued. For if ye deſire to know his rule

Let lying Poggius be aſhamed of hys falſe inuectiue agaynſt Amedeus.

and gouernaunce, what and how noble it hath bene: Firſt know ye this, that this man hath raigned ſince his fathers deceaſe, about xl. yeares.

During whoſe tyme, iuſtice, the Lady and Queene of all other vertues, hath alwayes floriſhed: For he hearyng his ſubiectes himſelfe, would neuer ſuffer the poore to be oppreſſed, or the weake to be deceiued. He was the defender of the fatherles, the aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poore and rich liued all vnder one lawe, neither was he burthenous vnto his ſubiectes, or importune agaynſt ſtraungers throughout all his countrey: there was no greuous exactions of money, throughout all his dominion. He thought himſelfe rich inough, if the inhabitaūts of his dominions did abounde and were rich, knowing that it was the point of a good ſhepheard to ſheare hys ſheepe, and not to deuour them. In this alſo was his chiefe ſtudye and care, that hys ſubiectes might liue in peace, and ſuch as bordered vpon him, might haue no occaſion of grudge.

By which policies he did not onely quietly gouerne his Fathers dominion, but alſo augmented the ſame by others, which willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnto hym. He neuer made warre vpon any, but reſiſting againſt ſuch as made warre vpon him, he ſtudied rather to make peace, thē to ſeeke any reuenge, deſiring rather to ouercome his enemies with benefites, then with the ſword. He maryed onelyone wife, which was a noble virgin, and of ſinguler beutie and chaſtitie. He would haue all his family to keepe their handes and eyes chaſte and continent, and throughout all his houſe, honeſty and integritie of maners was obſerued. When as his wife had chaunged her life, and that he perceiued hys Duchy to be eſtabliſhed, & that it ſhould come without any controuerſie vnto his poſteritie, he declared hys mynd which was always religious, and dedicate vnto god, and ſhewed what will and affection he had long borne in his hart. For he contemnyng the pompe and ſtate of this world, callyng vnto hym his deare friendes, departed and went into a wildernes: where as building a goodly Abbey, he addicted himſelfe wholy to the ſeruice of God, and takyng his croſſe vpon hym, followed Chriſt. In which place he beyng cōuerſaunt by the ſpace of many yeares, ſhewed forth great examples of holyneſſe, wearyng no other garmentes then ſuch as could withſtand the cold, neyther vſing any kynde of dainty fare, but only to reſiſt hunger, watchyng and praying the moſt part of the nyght. Wherfore this Prince is not newly come vnto the Church (as ſome do ſuppoſe) but beyng a Chriſtian borne of progenitours, a thouſand yeares and more beyng Chriſtians, doth now ſerue God in a monaſtery.

Cōmendatiō of Amedeus Pope electe.

To haue a wife is no let for a good man to be elected Pope.

Popes haue bene maried.

Read the 5. epiſtle of Ignatius & you ſhall ſee that the Apoſtles had wiues, & Baptiſta Mantuanus maketh mētion how that Hilarius byſhop of Pictauia had a wife.

Eccle.4.

But as touching that, alſo which is ſpoken concerning a wife, I do not regarde it: when as not onely he which hath had a wife, but he alſo which hath a wife may bee elect & choſen pope. For why do the doctours diſpute, whether a maried man choſen pope, ought to performe his duetie toward his wife, but onely becauſe a maried man might bee receiued and choſen? For as you know well inough, there were many popes that had wiues: and Peter alſo was not without a wife. But what do we ſtand aboute this? for paraduentuer it had bene better that more prieſtes had bene maried, for many ſhould be ſaued thorow mariage, which are now damned thorow their ſingle lyfe. But hereof we wil (ſayth he) ſpeak in an other place. But this ſemeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any aunſwere which is obiected touchyng his children. for what can children (ſpecially beyng of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, being a Byſhop? Doth not the Scripture ſay wo be vnto hym that is a lone, for if he fall, hee hath none to helpe hym vp agayne? This can not be imputed vnto the prynce, for hee hath .ij. ſonnes, both comely & wiſe. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other Earle of the Gebennians: theſe men will rule the countrey of Sauoy in the abſence of their father, & will helpe him, if he haue need, for they haue alreadye learned to rule ouer that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a byſhop of Rome, to haue valiaūt childrē, which may helpe their father againſt tyraūtes? O moſt reuerent fathers, the more I do behold the ſtorme of this moſt peruerſe and froward time, the more I do conſider the vexations and troubles, which the churche is now tormented with all: I do ſomuch the more thinke it profitable, yea & neceſſary, that this man ſhould be choſen prince and head: I will thincke that God hath ſhewed hys mercy vpon vs, if I may ſee hym haue the gouernaunce ouer this boate. I pray you cōſider, into what ſtraightes we are now brinkē, with what perils we are now vexed & toſſed. What prince is it ẏ is obedient vnto this Cōcell? For ſome will not confeſſe that the Cōcell is here, neither receiue our decrees: other ſome confeſſe it in theyr wordes, but by their deedes they declare it to be at Florence For albeit that by their wordes & letters, they do not denye that the churche is here, yet do they procure promotions at the handes of Gabriell, which is depoſed. This is the ſtate of the Church: with theſe ſtormes and tempeſtes the ſhippe is ſhaken and bruſed: Wicked chyldren haue riſen vppe agaynſt theyr mother, which beyng vnmyndefull of their mothers labours & kyndeneſſe towardes them, deſpyſe her, contēne & beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuſe a bare man, which ſhall rather be derided of our princes, thē had in reuerence? The dayes are not now, that men haue reſpect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall Poet writeth) vertue is prayſed, but it is coldly folowed. A poore mā ſpaketh, & they aſke what he is? Truely vertue is good: but for our purpoſe, it muſt be marked and looked vpon, whether it be in a riche man or a poore man. you muſt chuſe a gouernour which may rule the ſhyp not onely by Councel, but by power alſo. The winde is great: Wherefore except ẏ Councell be good, and the power ſtrong, the ſhyp ſhalbe broken; and all put in daūger, The memorial is yet freſh before our eyes: that the princes doe neglect the authoritie which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantneſſe ſhewed in this point, in that you fearyng no perill nor daunger, either of lyfe or goodes, haue ſo long contended for the truth of Chriſt? But the moſt mighty & highe God looketh downe from an high, and will reſiſt this their pryde. I haue often conſented vnto their opinion, which ſayd it was expedient, that the temporall dominions ſhould be deuided from the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate: for I did thinke that the prieſts ſhould therby be made more apt to the diuine miniſtry, and the ſecular princes more obedient vnto the clergy: but for ſo much as at this preſent, ẏ churches of the world are poſſeſſed, partly by Eugenius and partly by other tyrantes, we muſt prouide that we chuſe ſuch a one, which may recouer agayn the patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Chriſtes vicar may not be contemned: through the ſhielde of whoſe power, their contumacy may be ſuppreſſed, which contemne both veritie and reaſon. Wherunto no man ſemeth vnto me more apt or mete, thē Amadeus duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his poſſeſſions in Italy, and the other in Fraunce: Unto whom all Chriſten princes are allied eyther by conſanguinitie, or ioyned by amitie and friendſhip, & whoſe vertue, how famous it is, I haue already declared. Why do we then ſtay or doubt to chuſe hym? then whome Gabriell feareth no man more. Let hym therfore periſh with the ſword wherwithall he hath ſtricken. There is no man which can more paciſie the Church then he. Do you require deuotion in a Biſhop? there is no man more deuout then he. Do you require prudence? Now ye vnderſtād by his former lyfe, what maner of man he is. If ye ſeke for iuſtice, his people are a witnes therof: ſo that whether you ſeke for vertue or power, all are here preſent before you. Whereupon do ye ſtay? Go to I pray you: chuſe this man. He wyll augment the fayth: he wyll reforme maners, and preſerue the authoritie of the Church. Haue ye not heard theſe troubles of the Church to haue bene afore ſpoken of, and that the tyme now preſent ſhould be an ende of all troubles? Haue ye not heard that about this tyme, there ſhould a Pope be choſen, which ſhould comfort Syon, and ſet all things in peace? And who I pray you ſhould he be that could fulfill theſe thinges, except we chuſe this man? Beleue me, theſe ſayinges muſt be fulfilled, and I truſt that God will moue your myndes therunto. Notwithſtandyng, do whatſoeuer ye ſhal thinke moſt good and holy.

Schiſme in the Church.

Good it were that temporall dominions were deuided from the Church.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the greateſt number of the electours ſemed to conſent vnto hym, and his wordes tooke ſuch effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finiſhed and ended, and when the Scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedeus, the moſt deuout duke of Sauoy according to the decree of the Councell, was choſen Pope. Wherfore ſodenly there was great ioy and gladnes amongſt them, and all men highly commended their doynges. Then the Cardinall Arelatenſis, publiſhed vnto them the name of the elect biſhop. After this, all the prelates in their robes pōtificalibus, and miters, and all the clergy of the city commyng vnto the conclaue, the electours beyng lykewiſe adourned, they brought thē vnto ẏ great church, where as after great thankes geuen vnto God, and the election agayne declared vnto the people, a Hymne beyng ſong for ioy, the congregation was diſſolued.

Amedeus Duke of Sauoy choſen pope.

This Amedeus aforeſayd, was a man of reuerent age, of comely ſtature, of graue and diſcrete behauiour, & alſo before maried. Who thus beyng elect for Pope about Nouember, was called Felix the v. and was crowned in the citie of Baſill, in the month of July. There were preſent at his co-

Pope Felix. 5.

ronation Lewes Duke of Sauoy: Philip Earle Gebenſis. Lewes Marques of Saluze: The Marques of Rotelen: Cōrade of Winſpergher, Chāberlaine of the Empire: The Earle of Dierſtein: The Ambaſſadours of the Cities of Straſbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beſide, to the vew of .50. thouſand perſons. At this coronation, the Popes two ſonnes did ſerue and miniſter to their father. Lewes Cardinall of Hoſtia did ſet on his head, the pontificall Diademe, whiche was eſtemed at .30. thouſand crownes. It were long here to recite the whole order and ſolemnitie of the proceſſion, or the popes ridyng about the Citie. Firſt proceded the Pope vnder his Canapy of cloth of gold, hauyng on his head a triple crown, and bleſſyng the people as he went. By him went the Marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of Winſperge, leadyng his horſe by the bridle. The proceſſiō finiſhed, they went to dinner, which laſted foure full houres, beyng exceſſiuely ſumptuous: where the Popes two ſonnes were butlers to his cup. The Marques of Saluze was the ſtuard. &c.

The number of people at the coronation of pope Felix.

The popes two ſonnes ſeruing at the coronatiō.

The valuation of the popes crown

The popes dinner and ſeruice.

Of this Fœlix, thus writeth Volaterane in his 3. booke, that he beyng deſired of certaine of the Ambaſſadours, if he had any dogges or houndes, to ſhew them: he willed them the next day to repayre to hym, and he would ſhewe vnto them ſuch as he had. When the Ambaſſadours, accordyng to the appointement, were come, he ſheweth vnto them, a great number of poore people and beggers ſitting at hys tables at meate, declaryng, that thoſe were his houdes, which he euery day vſed to feede: huntyng with them (he truſted) for the glory of heauen to come.

Volat. lib. 3.

A note for our gentlemen, and lordes, to learne how to hunt and what dogges to keepe.

And thus you haue heard the ſtate of this Councell hetherto, which Councell endured a long ſeaſon, the ſpace of xvij. yeares.

About the vj. yeare of the Coūcell, Sigiſmund the Emperour dyed, leauyng but one daughter to ſuccede hym in his kyngdomes: whom he had maryed to Albert ij. Duke of Auſtricke, which firſt ſucceded in the kyngdome of Hūgarie and Boheme, beyng a ſore aduerſary to the Bohemiens: and afterward was made Emperour. an. 1438. and reigned Emperour but ij. yeares, leauyng his wife, whiche was Sigiſmūd his daughter, great wt childe. After which Albert, ſucceded his brother Fredericke the third Duke of Auſtrich, in the Empire. &c. Wherof more (Chriſt willyng) hereafter.

The death of Sigiſmund the Emperour.

Albertus 2. Emperour

An. 1438.

The death of Albertus 2.

In the meane tyme, Eugenius hearyng of the death of Sigiſmund aboue recited, began to worke the diſſolution of the Councel of Baſill, and to transferre it to Ferraria, pretendyng the commyng of the Grecians. Notwithſtandyng the Councell of Baſill, through the diſpoſition of God, and the worthynes of Cardinall Arelatenſis, conſtantly endured. Albeit in the ſayd Councell were many ſtoppes & practiſes to empeache the ſame, beſide the ſore plague of peſtilence, which fell in the Citie, duryng the ſayd Councell. In the which plague tyme, beſides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Syluius alſo himſelfe, the writer and compiler of the whole hyſtory of that Councell ſittyng at the feete of the Byſhops of Tournon, and of Lubecke, lay ſicke. iij. dayes of the ſame ſore, as is aboue touched, and neuer thought to eſcape. They that dyed, departed with this exhortation, deſiryng me to pray to God, that he would conuerte the harts of them that ſticke to Eugenius as Pope, agaynſt that Councell, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated agayne for the better markyng. Arelatenſis beyng moſt inſtantly exhorted by his frendes to flye that daunger, could by no meanes be intreated to auoyde, fearyng more the daunger of the Church, then of his owne lyfe.

The plague at Baſill in tyme of the councell.

Æneas Siluius ſicke of the plague at Baſill.

The conſtant zeale of Arelatēſis to the truth.

Beſide theſe ſo great difficulties & obſtacles to ſtay and hynder this Councell, ſtraunge it was to behold the mutation of mens myndes. Of whom, ſuch as firſt ſeemed to fauour the Councell, after dyd impugne it: and ſuch as before were agaynſt it, in the end ſhewed themſelues moſt frendes vnto the ſame. The chief Cardinals and prelates, the more they had to looſe, the ſooner they ſlipt away, or els lurked in houſes or townes neare, and abſented themſelues for feare: ſo that the ſtay of ye Councell moſt reſted vpon their Proctours, Doctours, Archdeacōs, Deanes, Prouoſtes, Priours, and ſuch other of the inferiour ſort. Wherof Æneas Syluius in hys .183. Epiſtle maketh this relation, where one Caſpar Schlicke the Emperours Chauncelour writeth to the Cardinall Iuliā in theſe wordes: Thoſe Cardinals (ſayth he) which ſo long tyme magnified ſo highly the authoritie of the Church, and of generall Councels, ſeemyng, as though they were ready to ſpend their liues for the ſame, now at the ſight of one letter from their kyng (wherein yet no death was threatned, but onely loſſe of their promotion) ſlipt away from Baſill. And in the ſame Epiſtle deridyngly commendeth them as wiſe men, that had rather loſe their fayth, then their ſtocke. Albeit (ſayth he) they departed not farre away, but remained about Solotorne, waytyng for other commaundementes from their Prince. Wherby it may appeare, how they did ſhrinke away not willyngly, but the Burſe (quoth he) bindeth faſter, then true honour.

Æneas Syl. epiſt. 183.

The welthy prelates ſlyde away from the coūcell.

Welthy prelates afrayde of tenth.

Fide quā plebe, carere malunt.

Promotiōs choke the clergie.

Quid enim ſaluis infamia nummis? That is to ſay: what matter maketh the name of a mā, ſo his money be ſafe? Hæc Æneas.

Moreouer in one of the Seſſions of the ſayd Councell, the worthy Cardinall Arelatenſis is ſayd thus to haue reported, that Chriſt was ſold for .xxx. pence: but I (ſayd he) was ſold much more deare. For Gabriell, otherwiſe called Eugenius, Pope, offered .60. thouſand crownes, who ſo would take me, & preſent me vnto hym. And they that tooke the ſayd Cardinall, afterward excuſed their fact by an other coulour, pretendyng the cauſe, for that the Cardinals brother, what time ye Armakes waſted Alſatia, had wrought great dammage to the inhabitaūtes there, and therfore they thought (ſayd they) yt they might lawfully lay hands vpō a French man, whereſoeuer they might take hym. At length by the Byſhop of Straſbrough, Rupert, and the ſayd Citie, the matter was taken vp, and he reſcued. Wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defendyng hys life from the peſtilent daunger of the Pope his aduerſary. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

60. thouſand crownes offred by pope Eugenius, for the betraying of Arelatenſis.

Arelatenſis taken and reſkued.

Gods defēce toward hys ſeruauntes.

Ex paralip. Abb. Vrſper.

And thus farre hauyng proceded in the matters of this foreſayd Councell, vntill the election of Amadeus, called Pope Fœlix. v. before we proſecute the reſt, that remayneth therof to be ſpoken, the order and courſe of tymes requireth to intermixt withall the reſidue pertaynyng to the matters concluded betwene this Councell, and the Bohemians, declaryng the whole circumſtaunces of the Ambaſſade, their Articles, diſputatiōs, and aunſweres, which they had firſt in the ſayd Councell, then in their owne countrey with the Councels Ambaſſadours: alſo with their petitions & aunſweres vnto the ſame.

Touchyng the ſtory of the Bohemians, how they being ſent for, came vp to the Councel of Baſill, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath bene expreſſed, pag. 634. Now, as layſure ſerueth from other matters, to returne agayne vnto the ſame, it remaineth to proſecute the reſt that lacketh, ſo farre as both breuitie may be obſerued, and yet the reader not defrauded of ſuch thynges, principally worthy in the ſame to be noted and knowen.

The ſtory of the Bohemians proſecuted.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauyng alwayes the vpper hād, albeit they were accuſed by the new biſhop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they ſhould be called vnto Baſill, where as the Councell was appoynted. Wherupon Cardinall Iulian ſent thether before, Iohn Polimair Doctour of the Law, and Iohn de Raguſio, a Diuine. Who commyng vnto Baſill in the moneth of Auguſt, anno. 1431. called by their letters vnto the Councell, Iohn, Abbot of Mulbrun, and Iohn Gelhuſius, Monke of the ſame cloyſter: whiche men for the dexteritie of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countreys, were very meete and neceſſary for Ambaſſades.

Within a few dayes after, Iulianus alſo came thether, as he had promiſed, and immediatly ſent out Iohn Gelhuſius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a Senatour of Baſill, firſt vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund beyng at Feldkirch, and afterward vnto Friderike Duke of Auſtrich, for ye appeaſing of the warres betwene him & Philip, Duke of Burgony. This done to the intent that peace being had, not onely the Eccleſiaſticall Prelates, but alſo the Marchauntes might haue ſafe acceſſe vnto Baſill, & ſo bryng in all thynges neceſſary for ſuſtentation.

They goyng on this Ambaſſade, receiued letters from the Sinode to be deliuered vnto the Emperour Sigiſmūd, whereby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called vnto the Councell. Theſe letters he by and by, cauſed to be caried vnto Boheme. But for ſomuch as he himſelfe went into Italy, to receiue the Imperiall crowne of the Biſhop, he left William Duke of Bauaria, as his Deputy, to be protectour vnto the Coūcell. Furthermore, when as the Sinode vnderſtood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their moſt ſhamefull flight, they ſent Iohn Niderius a Diuine, and Iohn Gelhuſius, to comforte the people which ioyned vpon Boheme, and earneſtly to moue the Morauiās and Bohemians, which were before called, to come vnto the Councell.

The Bohemians inuited to come to the councell.

They departing from Baſill about the end of October, tooke their iourney toward Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: Where, after they had ſaluted William Duke of Bauaria and his brother Erneſtus, and Albert the ſonne of Erneſtus, and had declared the Cōmiſſion of their Ambaſſade, and had ſhewed vnto Duke William, how that, as ſoone as he ſhould come vnto Baſill, the protection of the Councell ſhould be committed vnto him by the Emperour: they exhorted Fridericke, Marques of Brandenberg, and John Duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberg, and other Princes and Lordes, partly by letters from the Councell, & partly by wordes of mouth, that they ſhould by no meanes, take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull vnto the Churche, and ſayd they ſhould haue ayde out of hand. They deſired them alſo in the name of the Coũcell, that if the Bohemiãs would ſend their Ambaſſadours vnto Baſill, they would guide them, euery mã through his coũtrey in ſafety: which they promiſed to do. It is incredible how all men reioyſed, that the Bohemiãs was ſent for.

After this, when as they counſelled, with the Senate of Noremberg, touchyng the ſendyng of the Councels letters vnto Boheme, it ſemed beſt, firſt of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemiãs had made any aũſwere to the former letters of yͤ coũcell which they had ſent. The rulers of Egra beyng aduertiſed by theſe letters, ſent him, which caryed the Councels letters into Boheme, vnto Noremberg. He reported how reuerently the Councell of the greater citie of Prage receiued the letters, and how he was rewarded.

The Bohemians laboured to come to the Councell.

Wherupon they conceiued great hope of the good ſucceſſe of the Ambaſſade. Therfore the Ambaſſadours vſing the Councel of the Senate of Noremberge, and diuers others, ſent the meſſenger backe agayne vnto Egra, with their owne priuate letters and with letters of the Councell: for there was no better meane to ſẽd the letters vnto Boheme. Much trauaile was taken by them of Egra, Fridericke Marques of Brandenberg, and John Duke of Bauaria, in this matter, for that they were very deſirous that peace might be had amongeſt all Chriſtians. The copy of thoſe letters, whereby the Synode dyd call the Bohemians vnto the Councell, and other letters exhortatorie of the Ambaſſadours, and the Bohemians aunſwere vnto the ſame: for breuities cauſe we haue here pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all poyntes truſtyng vnto the Ambaſſadours, required by their letters that the Councels Ambaſſadours with the other Princes, would come vnto Egra, where as their Ambaſſadours ſhould alſo be preſent, to intreat vpon the ſafe conduict and other matters.

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, and of the councell meete together at Egra

The day was appointed for the meetyng, the Monday after Eaſter, which was the xxvij. day of April. Then came the Ambaſſadours of the Coũcell vnto Egra, with the noble Princes, Fridericke Marques of Brandenberg, and John Duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almoſt to the number of 252. horſe. But none of the Bohemians were preſent, becauſe the inhabitauntes of Pilſna, and the Lord Swambergius had not ſent their ſafeconduict. When they vnderſtood this by their letters, they brought to paſſe that the Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, Nicolaus Humpeltzius, ſecretary of the greater Citie of Prage, and Mathew Clumpezane, Preſident of Pieſta, ſhould be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenſes, and ſo they came vnto Egra with xix. horſe the viij. day of May. The next day after, Henry Tocgye, receaued the Bohemian Ambaſſadours before the Marques, with an eloquent Oration, takyng this part of the Goſpell for his Theame, Pax vobis. i. Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great iniuries they had hetherto receiued at their hãdes, which was the cauſe of ſo many great ſlaughters on either partie, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was ſome hope that they ſhould be heard.

The Bohemians require pledges.

Princes bound to the Bohemians

The Bohemiãs require the Emperour to be preſent at the councell.

After this they conferred as touchyng the ſafeconduict. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the cõmon ſort, but Princes and nobles. Which thing, for ſomuch as it dyd not content the Ambaſſadours, and that the matter ſhould ſo be put of, the common people of Egra began to cry out that it was long of the Eccleſiaſticall Princes, that a concorde was not made with yͤ Bohemians. Then Fridericke Marques of Brandenberge, and John Duke of Bauaria, bounde themſelues of their owne good will. The like alſo dyd William Duke of Bauaria, at the requeſt of the Councell. Likewiſe alſo did the Councell and the Emperour Sigiſmund. Furthermore promiſe was made, that all the Princes and Cities, ſhould do the lyke, thorough whoſe dominion they ſhould come, and the Citie of Baſill alſo. The copy of whiche ſafeconduict was afterward ſent vnto Prage. This alſo was required by the Bohemians, that if it were poſſible, the Emperour ſhould be preſent at the Councell.

The Bohemians ſend two ambaſſadours to the councell.

This conuention at Egra cõtinued xxi. dayes. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the Coũcels Ambaſſadours make great promiſes, yet dyd they not fully geue credite vnto them. Wherupõ they choſe out two Ambaſſadours, Nicolas Humgolizus, and John Zaczenſes, which ſhould go to Baſill, & diligently enquire out all thynges. Theſe men, Conrade Byſhop of Ratiſbone, and Conrade Segleuer Deane of Eſteine, brought vnto Cattellpurg, where as the Marques dwelt, beyng ſent out by the Synode a litle before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Ambaſſadours would come or not. When they were come vnto Biberacke, one beyng ouer curious, enquired of one of the Bohemian Ambaſſadours, of what countrey he was. He aunſwered that he was a Zaczen. There ſayd he are moſt execrable heretickes and noughty men. &c. Who for that ſlaunderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was ſtrayght way caryed to priſon, and there ſhould haue ſuffered more puniſhment, if the Bohemian Ambaſſadours and the Abbot of Ebera, had not intreated for hym. When they came vnto Baſill, they were honorably receiued with wyne and fiſhe. They taryed there fiue dayes and a halfe. The x. day of October, they came vnto the Synode, whiche was aſſembled at the Friers Auguſtines.

Good iuſtice vpon a ſlaunderous tayler.

The gentlenes of the Bohemians Ambaſſadours.

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians turne home.

The Bohemians ſend vp to the councell other ſolemne ambaſſadours.

Theſe Ambaſſadours, when as they were returned home with the Chartour of the Synode, and declared thoſe thynges which they had ſene, and that the matter was earneſtly handled without fraud or deceit: there were Ambaſſadours choſen to be ſent vnto the Councell, both for the kyngdome of Boheme, and the Marqueſdome of Morauia, which commyng vnto Tuſca, were brought frõ thence, with xxxij. horſe, & diuers noble men, vnto Chambia. From thence they came to Swenkendorph, and ſo vnto Noremberg, where as beſide their entertainement of wyne & fiſhe, xxij. horſemen accompanyed them vnto Vlmes: from thence they of Vlmes brought them vnto Biberacke, and Sulgatia: there James Tuches a Knight receiuyng them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bandes of the Duke of Bauaria brought them vnto Schafhuſe. There they takyng ſhyp the fourth day of Ienuary, came vnto Baſill the ix. day of the ſame moneth. What were the names of theſe Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, whiche were brought vp with. 300. horſe, and how they were receiued at Baſill, mention is made before, pag. 633. When as they came vnto the Synode, Cardinal Julian made an Oration, that whatſoeuer was in any place in doubt, the ſame ought to be determined by the authoritie of the Councell, for ſomuch as all men are bounde to ſubmitte themſelues to the iudgement of the holy Church, which the generall Coũcell doth repreſent. Whiche Oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

The oration of the Cardinall Julian to the Bohemians. *Vide ſupra. pag. 633.*

The firſt article of the Bohemians by the fyrſt ambaſſ.

The ij. article of the Boh. by the ſecond ambaſſ.

The third article of the Boh. by the third ambaſſ.

The fourth article of the Bohe. by the 4. Ambaſſadour.

Then Rochezanus made an Oration, requiring to haue a day appointed when they ſhould be heard, which was appoynted the xvj. day of the ſame moneth. Upon which day, John Rochezanus hauyng made his preface, began to propound the firſt Article touchyng the Communion to be miniſtred vnder both kyndes, and diſputed vpon the ſame by the ſpace of iij. dayes, alwayes before noone. Then Wenceſlaus the Thaborite diſputed vpõ the ſecond Article, touchyng the correctiõ and puniſhing of ſinne, by the ſpace of ij. dayes. After whom Vldaricus prieſt of the Orphanes propounded & diſputed vpon the third Article by the ſpace of ij. dayes, touchyng the free preachyng of the word of God.

Laſt of all Peter Payne, an Engliſh man, diſputed iij. dayes vpõ yͤ fourth article touching yͤ ciuil dominion of the Clergy, and afterwarde gaue copies of their diſputations in wrytyng vnto yͤ councell, with hartye thankes that they were heard. The three laſt did ſomwhat inuey agaynſt the Councell, commending John Hus & John Wickleff for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Raguſio a Diuine, riſing vp, deſired that he might haue leaue to aunſwere in his own name, to the firſt article of the Bohemians. The Councell conſented thereunto: ſo that by the ſpace of viij. dayes in the forenoone, he diſputed thereupon. But before he began to anſwer, John the abbot de Siſtertia made an oration vnto yͤ Bohemians, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the determination of the holy church, which this councell doth repreſent. This matter did not a litle offend the Bohemians, John Raguſinus a diuine, after Scholers faſhion: in his aunſwere ſpake often of hereſies and of heretickes. Procopius could not ſuffer it, but riſyng vp with an angrye ſtomacke complayned openly to the councel of this iniury. This our countreyman (ſaith he) doth vs great iniury, calling vs oftentimes heritickes. Whereunto Raguſinus anſwered: forſomuch as I am your coũtrymã both by toung and nation, I doe the more deſire to reduce you agayne vnto the Church. He was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians goyng into Boheme, tooke theyr name by their countrey which they poſſeſſed. It came almoſt to this point, that thorow this offence, the Bo-

The oration of the Abbot of Siſtertia offenſiue to the Bohemians.

John Raguſinus replieth agaynſt the firſt Article.

The Bohemians diſpleaſed wyth Raguſinus.

hemians would depart from Baſil, and could ſcarſlye be appeaſed. Certaine of ẏ Bohemians would not heare Raguſinus finiſh his diſputation.

Egidius Carlerius anſwereth agaynſt the ſecond Article. Henry Coldyzs anſwereth to the 3. article. John Pollomarius anſwereth to the 4. Article.

After him, a famous Diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, Dean of the church of Cambzey, anſwered vnto the ſecond article, by the ſpace of iiij. dayes. To the thirde article anſwered one Henricus, ſurnamed Frigidũ ferrũ, three daies together. Laſt of all, one Johannes Polomarius, maiſter of the requeſtes of the pallace, anſwered vnto the fourth article likewiſe by the ſpace of thre daies, ſo that the long time which they vſed in diſputations, ſemed tedious vnto ẏ Bohemians. Notwithſtanding this anſwere, the Bohemians ſtil defended their articles, and ſpecially the firſt, in ſo muche as John Rochezanus did ſtrõgly impugne Raguſinus anſwere by the ſpace of vi. daies. But forſomuch as one diſputation bred an other, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made: the prynce William Duke of Bauaria, Protector of the councel attempted an other remedy, that all diſputatiõs being ſet apart, the matter ſhould be friendly debated.

Certaine choſen on both ſides to determine the matter.

There were certayne appointed on either part to intreate vpon the concord: who comming together the eleuenth day of March, thoſe which were appoynted for the Councell, were demaunded to ſay their mindes. It ſeemeth good ſaid they, if theſe men would be vnited vnto vs, ⁊ bee made one bodye with vs, that this bodye might then accord, declare ⁊ determine all maner of diuerſities of opinions and ſectes, what is to bee beleued or done in them.

The Bohemians, when they had a whyle pauſed, ſaide this way ſeemed not apt inough, except firſt of all, the foure articles were exactly diſcuſſed, ſo that either wee ſhould agree with them, or they with vs, for otherwiſe it would be but a friuolous matter, if they nowe beyng vnited agayne, diſagree in the deciding of the articles. Here aunſwer was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly vnited, and the ayd of the holy Ghoſt called for, they ſhould not erre in the deciding of ẏ matter, forſomuch as euery Chriſtian ought to beleue that determination: which if they would do, it would breed a moſt firme and ſtronge concord ⁊ amity on either part. But this anſwer ſatiſfied thẽ not, in ſomuch the other iij. roſe vp ⁊ diſputed againſt the anſwers which were geuen. At that time Cardinall Julian Preſident of the councel, made thys oration vnto the Bohemian Ambaſſadours.

The oration of Cardinall Juliã.

This ſacred Synode, ſayth he, hath nowe by the ſpace of ten dayes, paciently heard ẏ propoſitions of your foure articles, and afterwarde he annexed: you haue propounded ſayth he, four articles, but we vnderſtand that beſide theſe foure, you haue manye other ſtraunge doctrines, wherein ye diſſent from vs. Wherefore it is neceſſary, if that a perfecte vnity and fraternity ſhall folowe betwene vs, that all theſe thynges be declared in the councel, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, which is the autor of peace and truth, due prouiſion maye bee made therein For wee haue not gathered theſe thynges of light coniecturs, But haue heard them of credible perſons, ⁊ partly here are ſome preſent, which haue ſene them with their own eyes in Bohem, and partly we do gather it by your owne reporte: for mayſter Nicolas, which was the ſecond that did propound, amongeſt other thinges alledged, that John Wickliffe was an Euangelicall Doctor. If ye beleue him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you muſte repute his workes as authentike: If ye do not ſo thinke, it is reaſon that it ſhould be opened vnto vs.

Nicolas the 2. propounder, charged by the Cardinall for the commending of Joh. Wickliff.

Wherefore we deſyre you, that you wil certify vs vpon theſe and Certayne other poyntes, what you do beleue, or what credite you do geue vnto them. But we doo not require that you ſhould now declare your reaſons, but it ſhall ſatiſfye vs, if you will anſwer vnto euery article by thys worde, Credimus aut non credimus: that is, we beleue or beleue not. Which if you will doo (as wee truſt you will, then we ſhall manifeſtly perceiue that you deſyre that we ſhoulde conceyue a good eſtimation of you. If there be any thing, whereof you woulde be certified by vs, aſke it boldlye, ⁊ we will geue you an aunſwere out of hand: For we are readye according to the doctrine of ſaint Peter, to render accompte vnto euerye man which ſhall require it, touching the fayth which we holde. Hereunto ẏ Bohemian ambaſſadours aunſwered in fewe wordes, that they came onelye to propounde thoſe foure articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kyngdom of Boheme, and ſpeake no more. Wherupon, William the noble protectour of the councell, callyng vnto him foure men on eyther parte, intreated touchyng ẏ pacifyng of ẏ matter: by whoſe aduice, the Councell decreed to ſend a famous Ambaſſade, with the Bohemian ambaſſadors vnto Prage, wheras ẏ people ſhould aſſemble vpon Sonday. But they would not receyue theſe conditions of peace, which were offred, but made haſt to depart. Wherupõ, the fourtene day of Aprill, there was tenne choſen out of the councell, to goe with the Bohemian Ambaſſadours vnto Prage.

A prudent aunſwere of the Bohemians to the Cardinall Juliã.

The Ambaſſadours of the Boh. returne without agreement.

It wer ſo long here to declare what honoure was done vnto theſe ambaſſadours, all the way in their iourney, and ſpecially whẽ they came vnto Boheme by ẏ citizẽs of Prage when as a great number of Bohemians were aſſembled at Prage at the day appointed, both of the cleargie, nobilitie ⁊ common people.

The cõming of the Legates to Prage. Joh. Rochezanus ſpeaketh.

After the comming of thoſe Ambaſſadours, much contention began to ryſe betwene the parties. Firſt began Joh. Rochezanus: who ſpeaking in the publike perſon of the comminaltie, laboured to commend and prefer the iiij. verities of the Bohemians before propounded: charging alſo ẏ prelates and prieſtes for their ſlaunderous obtrectations, and vndeſerued contumelies, wherwith they did infame the noble kingdom of Boheme, complayning alſo that they would not receaue thoſe Chriſtian verities, left ⁊ allowed by their king Winceſlaus, now departed. Wherfore he required them in the behalfe of the whole nation, that they would leaue of hereafter to oppreſſe them in ſuch ſort, that they would reſtore to them agayn their Joſephes veſture, that is, the ornament of their good fame ⁊ name, wherof their bretheren, their enemies had ſpoyled them, ⁊c,

Ex Cochleo, hiſt. lib. 7.

Polomar aũſwereth to the Bohemians.

To this Polomar maketh aunſwere agayne, with a long ⁊ curious oration, exortyng them to peace and vnitie of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obſtacles and impedements (ſaid he) ſhould be ſoone remoued, promiſing alſo that this their veſture of honor and fame, ſhould be amply reſtored agayne: and afterward if their were anye doubtefull matters, they myght and ſhould be the better diſcuſſed.

The Bohemians reply agayne to Polomar.

But all this pleaſed not the Bohemians, vnleſſe they might firſt haue a declaration of their iiij. articles, which if they might obtayne, they promiſed then to embrace peace ⁊ concord, which peace (ſayd they began firſt to be broken by themſelues, in that the councell of Conſtance by their vniuſt condemnation burned John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, and alſo by their cruell Buls and cenſures, rayſed by their excommunication, then warre agaynſt the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Polomar extolleth the Councelles.

Generall councelles may erre ⁊ haue erred.

Hereunto Polomar reclaimyng agayne, began to aduaunce and magnifie the honor and dignity of general councels. To conclude, as much as the ſayde Polomar dyd extoll the authority of the Councels, ſo much did the aunſwer of the Bohemians extenuate the ſame: ſaying that the latter councels which are not expreſſed in the law of God, haue erred, and might erre, not only in fayth, but alſo in maners. For that which hath chaunced to the grene wood, may alſo chaunce vnto the dry. But of all other, the moſt ſtrong pillers of the militant church, the Apoſtles I meane: ſeeme all to haue erred, and the catholike fayth to haue remained three dayes ſound and incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No Chriſtian man therefore ought to be compelled to ſtande to the determination of the Pope or the Councell, except it be in that, which is plainly expreſſed in the law of God. For it is euident, that all the generall councels which haue bene of long tyme, haue reformed very few thinges as touchyng the fayth, peace, ⁊ maners of the church: but haue alwaies both in their lyfe and decrees, notoriouſly ſwarued, ⁊ haue not ſtabliſhed themſelues vppon the foundation, which is Chriſt. Wherfore the ſayd Bohemians proteſted that they would not ſimply and plainly (God beyng their good lord) yeld themſelues to their doctrine, nor to ſuch raſh and haſty decrees: leaſt through that their haſty and vncircumſpect ſubmiſſion, they ſhould bynd their fayth and lyfe, contrary to the wholeſome and ſound doctrine of our Lorde Chriſt Jeſus. In ſumme, in no caſe they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their foure articles, which they compted for Euangelicall verities, were firſt accepted ⁊ approued. Which beyng obtayned (ſayde they) if they woulde condeſcend with them in the veritie of the goſpel, ſo would they ioyne together, and be made one with them in the lord. ⁊c. Ex Cochleo Hiſt. lib. 7.

Ex Cochleo hiſt. lib. 7.

The ambaſſadours of the councell and the Bohemians could not agree.

When the Ambaſſadours ſaw the matter would not otherwiſe be brought to paſſe, they required to haue thoſe articles deliuered vnto them in a certaine forme, which they ſent vnto the Councell by three Bohemian ambaſſadours.

A declaratiõ of iii. articles promiſed to the Bohemians by the councell.

After ward the Councell ſent a declaration into Boheme, to be publiſhed vnto the people, in the common aſſembles of the kyngdome, by the Ambaſſadours, which were commaunded to report vnto the Bohemians, in the name of ẏ Councell, that if they would recite the declaration of thoſe three Articles, and the vnitie of the Churche, there ſhould be a meane founde whereby the matter touchyng the fourth

Article, of the communion vnder both kyndes, ſhould bee paſſed with peace and quietnes.

They propounded in Prage, in an open aſſembly of the nobles & commons, the declarations of the three Articles in forme folowyng.

A declaratiõ of the coũcel to the Bohemians, concerning the firſt 3 articles.

For ſo much as touching the doctrine of the veritie, we ought ſo to proceede ſoberly and warely, that the truth may be declared, wyth wordes beyng ſo orderly conceiued & vttered, that there be no offence geuen to any man, wherby he ſhould fall or take occaſion of errour, and (to vſe the wordes of Iſidore) that nothing by obſcuritie be lefte doubtfull: whereas you haue propounded touching the inhibition and correction of ſinnes, in theſe wordes: all mortall ſinnes, and ſpecially open offences, ought to be rooted out, puniſhed, and inhibited, by them whoſe dutie it is ſo to do, reaſonably and according to the law of God: here is to be marked and vnderſtand, that this worde (whoſe duty it is) is too generall, and may be an offence: and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any ſtombling ſtocke before the blind, and the diches are to be cloſed vp, that our neighbours Oxe doe not fall therein: all occaſion of offence is to be taken away. Therfore we ſay that according to the meanyng of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctours, it is thus vniuerſally to be holden: that all mortall ſinnes, ſpecially publicke offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reaſonably as may be, accordyng to the lawe of God, and the inſtitutions of the fathers. The power to puniſhe theſe offẽders, doth not pertaine vnto any priuate perſon, but onely vnto them which haue iuriſdictiõ of the law ouer them, the diſtinction of law and iuſtice, beyng orderly obſerued.

The 1. propoſition propounded by the Bohemians, with the declaration from the councell.

Puniſhing of publicke offences how and by whom. Note here the popes addition.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which Article you haue alledged in this forme, that the worde of God ſhould be freely and faithfully preached by the fitte and apt miniſters of the Lord: leaſt by this word (freely) occaſion may be taken of diſordred libertie, which (as you haue often ſayd ye doe not meane) the circumſtaunce therof is to be vnderſtand: and we ſay, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus vniuerſally to be beleued: that the worde of God ought freely, but not euery where, but faithfully & orderly, to be preached by the Prieſtes and Leuites of the Lord, being allowed & ſent by their ſuperiours, vnto whom that office apperteyneth, the authoritie of the Biſhop alwayes reſerued, who is the prouider of all thinges accordyng to the inſtitutions of the holy fathers.

The 3. article of the Bohemians with the declaration frõ the councell.

Libertie of preaching, how farre & to whom it extendeth.

As concerning the laſt Article expreſſed vnder theſe wordes: it is not lawfull for the Chriſte clergie, in the time of the law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goods: we remember that in the ſolemne diſputation holden in the ſacred Councell, he which was appointed by the Councell to diſpute, propounded two concluſions in this ſort.

The 4. article of the Bohemians with the declaration frõ the councell.

Firſt, that ſuch of the clergie as were not religious, and had not bound themſelues thereunto by a vow, might lawfully haue and poſſeſſe any temporall goodes, as the inheritaunce of his father or any other, if it be left vnto hym, or any other goods iuſtly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawfull contract, or els ſome lawfull arte.

Temporall poſſeſſions in the clergie mẽs handes

The ſecond concluſion: The church may lawfully haue and poſſeſſe temporall goods moueable, and vnmoueable, houſes, landes, townes, and villages, caſtles and Cities, and in them haue a priuate and ciuill dominion. your Ambaſſadour which diſputed againſt him, graunted thoſe concluſions, ſaying that they did not impugne the ſence of hys Article beyng well vnderſtand, for ſo much as he vnderſtandeth hys Article, of ciuill dominion formally ment. Whereby, and alſo by other thinges, it may be vnderſtand, that thoſe words, to haue ſecular dominion expreſſed in the foreſayd Article, ſeemeth to be referred to ſome ſpeciall maner or kinde of dominion. But forſomuch as the doctrine of the Church is not to bee intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull wordes, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more plainely to expreſſe that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy doctours, is vniuerſally to be beleued: that is to ſay, the two aforeſayd concluſions to be true. And alſo, that the clergie ought faithfully to diſtribute the goods of the church, whoſe adminiſtratours they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers: and that the vſurpation of the adminiſtration of the Church goods, done by any other then by them, vnto whom the adminiſtration is Canonically committed, can not be without guilt of ſacrilege.

The papiſts ſtand hard for their temporall Lordſhips.

Thus the ſacred Councell (ſayd they) hath diligently gone about according to the veritie of the Goſpell, all ambiguitie ſet a part, to expounde the true ſence of the three foreſayd Articles. Wherefore if there do yet remayne any doubt: according to the information which we haue receaued in the ſacred Councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall veritie) to declare the truth vnto you: If ye doe receiue and embrace the declaration of the ſayd three Articles, which is grounded vpon the veritie of the holy Scripture, as you are bounde, and will effectually haue a pure, ſimple, and perfecte vnitie, touching the libertie of the cõmuniõ vnder both kynds, which you deſire & require, which alſo you can not lawfully haue without the licence of holye church: we haue authoritie from the generall Councell, by certain meanes, to intreat & cõclude with you, truſtyng that you will ſhew your ſelues as you will continue.

These thynges thus declared, after ẏ Bohemians had taken deliberation, they ſayd that they would geue no aunſwere vnto ẏ premiſſes, before they vnderſtood what ſhould be offred them as touchyng the cõmuniõ. Wherfore, it ſhalbe neceſſary te declare the matter, as it was writtẽ in forme folowyng.

The Bohemiãs take a deliberatiõ of the fourth article.

In the name of God & our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, vpõ the Sacrament of whoſe moſte bleſſed laſt ſupper we ſhall intreat, that he which hath inſtituted this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of vnitie and peace, will vouchſafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the ſaid Lord Jeſu our head, and that he will ſubuerte all the ſubtilties of the deuill, which through hys enuious craftynes, hath made the Sacramẽt of peace & vnitie, an occaſion of warre and diſcorde, that whileſt Chriſtians do contende touchyng the maner of communicatyng, they bee not depriued of the fruite of the communion. Wherupon S. Auguſtin in his Sermon vpon infantes, in the decrees De conſ. diſtinct. 2. Quia paſſus, ſaith thus: So ẏ Lord Jeſu Chriſt certified vs and wylled, that we ſhould appertaine vnto hym, and conſecrated the miſtery of our peace and vnitie vpon the table. He that receiueth the miſterie of vnitie, & doth not keepe ẏ bond of peace, doth not receiue a miſterie for himſelf, but a teſtimonie agaynſt him ſelfe. This we thought good aboue all thynges to be premiſed, that the generall cuſtome of the Churche, which your fathers & you alſo in tymes paſt haue obſerued, hath a long tyme had & ſtil vſeth, that they which do not cõſecrate, cõmunicate onely vnder the kinde of bread. Whiche cuſtome beyng lawfully brought in by the Churche and holy fathers, and now a long tyme obſerued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to chaunge at your will & pleaſure, without the authoritie of the churche. Therfore to chaunge the cuſtome of the Churche, & to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes, without the authority of holy church, is altogether vnlauful. For holy church vpon reaſonable occaſions, may graunt libertie to communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes. And euery communion which, beyng attempted without the authoritie and licence of the church, ſhould be vnlawfull, when it is done by the authoritie of holy church, ſhalbe lawfull, if other thinges let it not: becauſe (as the Apoſtle ſayth) he that eateth and drinketh vnworthely, eateth & drinketh his owne damnatiõ.

A declaration of the councell touching the fourth article of the communion.

Conſecrat. diſt. 2. quia paſſus,

This is to ſet vp the church aboue the ſcripture.

Wherupon ſaint Iſidore in the ſecond diſtinct. vpon the conſecration ſpeaketh thus: They which lyue wickedly and ceaſe not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be clenſed, let them learne that it doth nothyng at all profite them to the clenſing of their ſinnes. And S. Auguſtine in the ſame diſtinction ſayth, holy things may hurt the euill, for vnto the good they are ſaluation, but vnto the euill damnation. There are beſides this many other authorities. The Apoſtle Judas was amongeſt them which did firſt communicate, but for ſo much as he receyued vnworthely, hauyng that ſinne of treaſon in hys hart, it dyd profite hym nothyng, but the deuill by and by exerciſed more the power and authority ouer him. This is declared by a great reaſon: Which of you is it, that if you ſhould receiue your Lord into your houſe, would not with all diligence and care, ſtudy to make cleane and adorne hys houſe, that he may receyue his Lord honeſtly? much more he that ſhall receiue his lord and Sauiour into the houſe of his ſoule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his ſoule, to clenſe it by the Sacrament of penaunce, with ſorrow and contrition of hart, humbly, purely, and truely confeſſing his ſinnes, and receiuyng due ſatiſfaction and penaunce, to adorne and decke the ſame with the purple or rich aray of deuotion, that the hart being ſo purged and adourned with feruent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world vnto hym.

The holy communion requireth amendement of lyfe.

Holy thinges nothing profite the wicked.

The reuerent receiuing of the ſacraments.

Wherfore, the moſt ſacred Synode admoniſheth, exhorteth and commaundeth, that all Prieſtes ſhould diligently exhort and admoniſh the people, and that they ſhould vſe all their care and indeuor, that no man come to that moſt bleſſed ſacrament, except he be duely prepared with great reuerence and deuotion, leſt that which is receiued for the ſaluation

tion of the ſoule redound to the condemnation, through the vnworthy receiuyng therof.

Receiuing vnder one kinde, for auoydyng two perils.
Error grounded vpon errour.

Moreouer, Doctours do ſay that the cuſtome of communicatyng vnto the people, onely vnder the kinde of bread, was reaſonably introduced by the Church & holy fathers, for reaſonable cauſes, ſpecially for ẏ auoydyng of ij. perils: of errour and vnreuerence. Of errour, as to thinke ẏ the one part of Chriſtes body were in the bread, & the other part in the cup, which were a great errour. Of vnreuerence, for ſo much as many thynges may happen, as well on the part of the miniſter, as on the part of the receauer: As it is ſaid that it happened when as a certaine Prieſt, carying the Sacrament of the cup vnto a ſicke man, when he ſhould haue miniſtred, he found nothyng in the cup, beyng all ſpilt by the way, with many other ſuch like chaunces. We haue heard moreouer that it hath often happened that the Sacrament conſecrate in the cup, hath not bene ſufficient for the number of communicantes, whereby a new conſecration muſt be made, which is not agreable to the doctrine of the holy fathers and alſo that often tymes they do miniſter wyne vnconſecrate for conſecrate wyne, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it ſhalbe brought to paſſe, that if you will effectually receaue the vnitie and peace of the Church, in all other thynges beſides the vſe of the Communiō vnder both kyndes, cōformyng your ſelues to the fayth and order of the vniuerſall Church, you that haue that vſe and cuſtome ſhall communicate ſtill by the authoritie of the Churche vnder both kyndes, and this Article ſhalbe diſcuſſed fully in the ſacred Councell, where you ſhall ſee what, as touchyng this Article, is to be holden as an vniuerſall veritie, and is to be done for the profite and ſaluation of the Chriſtian people, & all thynges beyng thus throughly handled, then if you perſeuere in your deſire, and that your Ambaſſadours do require it, the ſacred Councell will graunt licence in the Lord, vnto your miniſters, to communicate vnto the people vnder both kyndes: that is to ſay, to ſuch as be of lawfull yeares and diſcretiō, and ſhall reuerently and deuoutly require the ſame, this alwayes obſerued, that the miniſters ſhall ſay vnto thoſe which communicate, that they ought firmely to beleue not the fleſh onely to be conteyned vnder the forme of bread, and the bloud onely vnder the wyne, but vnder eche kynde to be whole and perfect Chriſt.

Cauſes why to miniſter vnder one kinde.

Receiuing in both kindes permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annexed.

Thus hetherto we haue declared the decree of the Councell. As touchyng the other doubtes & queſtiōs which were afterward moued by the Maiſters & Prieſtes of Boheme, the Ambaſſadours of the Councell aunſwered thus.

Firſt they ſayd, that it was not the meanyng of the ſacred Councell, to ſuffer the Communiō vnder both kyndes by toleration, or as the libell of diuorſement was permitted to the Iewes: for ſomuch as the Councell intendyng euen to open the bowels of motherly charitie and pitie, vnto the Bohemians and Morauians, doth not meane to ſuffer it with ſuch kynde of ſufferaunce, which ſhould not exclude ſinne, but ſo to graunt it, that by the authoritie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and of his true ſpouſe the Church, it may be lawfull, profitable and healthfull vnto thoſe which worthely receiue the ſame. Alſo as touchyng that which was ſpoken by the ſayd Bohemians of the puniſhyng of offences, that it is in Scriptures, how that God oft tymes ſtyrreth vp the hartes of priuate perſons, to the correction and puniſhyng of ſinnes, and ſo it ſhould ſeeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and puniſh their ſuperiours: they aunſwered, alledgyng the text of S. Auguſtine in the .xxiij. decree: He that ſtriketh wicked men in that they are wicked, & hath cauſe of death agaynſt them, is the miniſter of God: but he whiche without any publike adminiſtration or office murdereth or maymeth any wicked theefe, ſacrilegious, adulterous or periured perſon, or any other offender, ſhalbe iudged as an homicide, and ſomuch the more ſharply in that he feared not to abuſe and vſurpe the power not graunted hym of God: and truly, this Citie would take it much more greuouſly, if any priuate man ſhould attempt to puniſh an offēder, and ſet vp a gallowes in the ſtreate, and there hang hym, then if one man ſhould kill an other in brawle or quarell. They alledged alſo other textes of S. Ambroſe and S. Hierome agreable to the ſame. They ſayd that no mā doubteth that the law of God is duely and holily appoynted, and therein is ſimply wrytē, thou ſhalt not ſteale. And notwithſtandyng by the commaundement of God the children of Iſrael caryed away the goodes of the Egyptians, which they had borowed of thē. Alſo in the ſame law it is plainely written, thou ſhalt do no murther. Whereupon S. Auſten in his firſt booke De Ciuitate Dei, proueth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himſelfe: and when as he maketh example of Sampſon, he aūſwereth with theſe wordes: when as God commaundeth & doth affirme himſelfe to commaunde without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience ſinne? or who will accuſe the obedience to God?

Permiſſion of both kindes graunted to the Bohemians, not of ſufferaunce, but by full authoritie.

Obiection.

Puniſhing of offences conſidered.

Aunſwere.

How and by whom offenders ought to be puniſhed.

To do that God commaundeth is obedience, and no ſinne, though it be extraordinary.
The Iſraelites did ſteale from the Egiptians without ſinne.
Sampſon killed himſelfe without ſinne.

Here in this propoſitiō, you haue the wordes of S. Auſten for an aunſwere. But let euery man well forſee, if God do commaunde, or that he do intimate the commaundement without any circumſtaunces, and let him proue the ſpirites whether they be of GOD. But in ſuch caſes there are no lawes to be geuen, neither are they much to be talked of, for thereby there ſhould eaſely occaſiō riſe to make ſedition, and for the inferiours to riſe agaynſt the ſuperiours. For when any man had ſtollen any thyng, or killed any man: he would ſay that he was moued thereunto by the ſpirite of God: but without manifeſt proufe therof, he ſhould be puniſhed.

Of extraordinary commaundementes, no generall lawes to be made.

Agayne they ſayd that there were certaine caſes where in the laytie had power ouer the Clergy. It was aunſwered, that there were certaine caſes in the law, wherein the Laytie hath power ouer the Clergy, and often tymes ouer Cardinals. For if the Pope beyng dead, the Cardinals would not enter the Cōclaue, to elect a new pope, the kyng, prince, or other Lord or ſecular power may compell them: but in theſe caſes he is now no priuate perſon, but vſeth his iuriſdictiō by the authoritie of the law. The like is to be vnderſtand of all other caſes expreſſed in the law.

Obiection.
Aunſwere.
How the laitie hath power ouer the clergie, and wherein.
The pope will be iudged by hys owne law.

They ſayd further, that no common law hath any right or iuſtice, except Gods law do allow the ſame.

Obiection.

It was aunſwered that no common law hath right or iuſtice, if it be agaynſt the law of God, for because the law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cunnyng and knowledge, in applying the rule to that whiche is made by the rule, for often tymes, it ſeemeth that there is diuerſitie in the thyng made by the rule, when there is none in deede: but the default is in the applying, becauſe the rule is not duely applyed to the thyng made by it.

Aunſwere.

As touchyng the Article of preachyng the word of God, it was moued that often tymes ſome Prelates, thorough their owne enuie and malice, without any reaſonable cauſe, do inhibite a good and meete preacher that preacheth Catholickely and well.

Obiection.

Aunſwere was made, how that they vnderſtood well inough that the abuſe of certaine Prelates, which did inordinatly behaue themſelues, gaue a great occaſion of thoſe troubles. Alſo that they neuer heard any ſuch complayntes in thoſe parties, but that the Prelates do fauour good preachers, and ſtyrre them vp to preach, by intreaty, fauour, and promotion. In all ſuch caſes, there are remedyes already prouided by the law: for when any man is ſo prohibited to vſe his right, he hath remedy to appeale: and if he do truſt hys appeale to be iuſt, he may vſe his right, all violence both of the ſpirituall and ſecular power ſet apart, for the end of the matter ſhall declare if he had iuſt cauſe to appeale. Then ſhalbe declared that the ſuperiour hath done euill in prohibityng, and the pleantiue iuſtly in doyng, and the ſuperiour for his vniuſt prohibition ſhalbe puniſhed. But if he be iuſtly prohibited, and that through his temeritie, he do contemne the iuſt commaundement of his ſuperiour, he is worthy to be puniſhed with condigne puniſhment.

Aunſwere.

Abuſe of prelates in inhibiting true preachers.

Remedie of appeale.

Where it was moued concerning the third article, whether it were lawfull for the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates to exerciſe in their proper perſon, the actes of ſecular dominion, herevnto it was aūſwered, that if by this word actes of ſecular dominiō, are vnderſtād actes which a ſecular Lord may do or exerciſe, then is it to be ſayd, that a Prelate may lawfully exerciſe ſome ſuch actes in his proper perſon, as to ſell, to paune or pledge, to infeofe by maner and forme ordeined by law: but there are ſome actes, which it is not lawfull for them to exerciſe in their proper perſon, but ought to haue afterward, a Vicegerent or Procter, to do the ſame: whervpon there is prohibition made in the law in the Rubrike, ne clerus vel Monachus ſecularibus negotijs ſe immiſceat, & in alijs rebus.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Actes of ſecular dominion to be exerciſed of the clergie, after a double reſpecte, *vel per ſe, vel per alium.*

It was alſo moued, whether that coactiue power, which ought to be exerciſed by a Steward. &c. be in the handes of an Eccleſiaſticall Prelate.

Obiection.

Wherunto Iohn Polomair aunſwered, that this queſtion preſuppoſeth an other: wherof there are diuers opinions amongeſt the Doctours, in whoſe power the dominion of the Church ſhould be: and furthermore, whether the actiōs be in the perſon of the tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their perſon, notwithſtandyng by the conſtitution of the actor or proctor (whoſe exerciſing of thoſe actions do geue authoritie vnto the actor or proctor) they be: with other difficulties, wherof it is not needeful to ſpeake at this preſent. But for ſomuch as he was vrged to ſay his opiniō: he ſayd, that to ſuch as had either leyſure or pleaſure in diſputation, and would argue agaynſt him, he would be contēted to geue the choyſe to take which part he would, but his opiniō was

Aunſwere.

Coactiue power whether it belōgeth to the clergie, and how.

rather that the dominion of Church matters ſhould be in the power of Chriſt: and the Prelates, with the other clergy, are but Canonicall adminiſtratours in maner of tutors: but they haue more power and adminiſtration then tutors, and by conſtitutyng a Steward or Vicegerent. &c. their cōſtitution being duely made, the Steward or Vicegerēt hath the ſame coactiue power and exerciſe of iuriſdiction.

Alſo as touchyng the fourth Article, for the declaration of the firſt concluſion, it is agreed that theſe wordes, Iuſte requiſita, i. iuſtly gotte, alledged, therin, determine all things conteyned in the ſame.

The goods of the church in whoſe poſſeſsion they be properly. 12.q.1.cap. expedit.

Alſo as touchyng the ſecond concluſion, where as the ſacred Canons and holy Doctours ſpeake thus: the goodes of the Church, the ſubſtaunce of the Church, and the poſſeſsions of the Church, and diuers other opinions there be amongeſt the Doctours, in whoſe power the rule therof ſhould be, as it is noted in the Gloſe. Cap. expedit. xij. quæſt. i. they do not intend to conſtrayne any man to any of thoſe opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but that euery mā ſhould haue libertie, probably to maintaine whiche of them he thinketh beſt.

The clergie be adminiſtratours, not Lordes of the temporalties of the church.

Moreouer, the Bohemians ſayd, that they did beleue that the Clergy are but adminiſtratours of the temporalties of the Church, & not Lordes therof, according to the maner of ſpeakyng of the Scriptures, holy Doctours, & Canons. Alſo the Bohemians ſayd, that in all occaſions which ſhall hereafter riſe, they would wholy ſtand to the determination of the iudge, agreed vpō in Egra, with one conſent. In this maner did the Ambaſſadours make aunſwere vnto the Bohemians. At the laſt, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and vnitie was concluded & confirmed by ſettyng to their handes. The Bohemians promiſed to receiue the peace and vnitie of the Church, and the declaratiō of the iiij. articles. This was done in the yeare of our Lord. 1438. About ÿ feaſt of S. Martin, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambaſſadours of that Coūcell, and of Boheme, that whoſoeuer remained, ſhould be determined and agreed vpō, firſt at Ratiſbona: afterward at Bzuna in the Dioces of Olymutces; then at Alba in Hungary, before the Emperour Sigiſmund, but the matter could not be ended in no place.

The agreement betwene the Bohemians & the coūcell.

1438.

At the laſt the concorde was cōfirmed by writyng with their ſeales at Inglauia, a Citie of Morauia, the v. day of July in the preſence of the Emperour.

Certaine petitions, which the Bohemians put vp laſt of all in the ſacred Councell of Baſill.

An. 1428. in the moneth of Nouember.

Certaine petitions of the Bohemians put vp to the Councell.

1438.

VNto the moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt, and our moſt gracious Lordes, we the Ambaſſadors of the kingdome of Boheme, do moſt hūbly and hartely require you that for the perpetuall preſeruation of the peace and concorde, and for the [illegible] preſeruation of all thynges contained in the compoſition, you will vouchſafe of your clemencie, to geue and graunt vnto vs all and ſingular our requeſtes, here vnder written, with effectuall execution of the ſame.

First and aboue all thynges, we deſire and require you, for the extirpation of diuers diſſenſions and controuerſies, which will vndoubtedly folow amongeſt our people vpō the diuerſitie of the communion, & for the aboliſhyng of infinite euils, which we are not able to expreſſe as we haue conceiued them, that you will gently vouchſafe of your goodnes & liberalitie, to geue, graunt & cōmaund, vnto our kingdome of Boheme, & Marqueſdome of Morauia, one vniforme order of the cōmunion vnto all men, vnder both kyndes: that is to ſay, vnto the Archb. of Prage, the Byſhop of Luthomus, Olmutz, & other Prelats of the kyngdome and Marqueſdome, hauyng charge of ſoules, & to their vicares, & alſo to their flockes & ſubiectes, & that accordyng to thoſe things which are contained in the Bull of the Ambaſſadours, & in the cōpoſitiōs made in the name of the whole Coūcel, written in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus ſayd, and all other thynges ſhalbe done, which ſhalbe meete and neceſſary for the preſeruation of the peace and vnitie. For this done by your benefite, the whole kyngdome ſhalbe comforted aboue meaſure, and eſtabliſhed in brotherly loue: whereby an vniforme ſubiectiō & obedience ſhalbe perpetually attributed vnto the holy Church.

The cōmunion in both kindes to be generally graunted.

Item, we require and deſire (as before) that for the auoydyng of all falſe ſuſpition & doubtfulnes of many, which ſuppoſe that the ſacred Coūcel hath graunted the ſayd Cōmunion vnder both kyndes vnto vs but for a tyme, as neither profitable nor wholeſome, but as the libell of diuorcement: that you will vouchſafe accordyng to this chapter alledged in the cōpoſitions: First they ſayd, that it was not the entent of the ſacred Councell. &c. wholeſomely and ſpedely to prouide for our ſafety & your graūt in this behalfe, and by the buls of your letters, to cōfirme that chapter together wt the other, perteinyng to the office of your Ambaſſadours.

Item, we beſech you (as afore) that for the confirmatiō of obedience, & for ÿ diſcipline of all the clergy, & for the finall defēce & obſeruatiō of all things determined & agreed vpō, & for the good order in ſpiritualties, ye will vouchſafe effectually to prouide for vs a good and lawfull paſtor, archbyſhops & biſhops, which ſhall ſeeme vnto vs moſt meete & acceptable for our kyngdome, to execute thoſe offices and duties.

To haue a good and lawfull paſtor, & byſhop.

Item, we require you (as aforeſayd) that your fatherly reuerēces will vouchſafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kyngdome and Marqueſdome, to declare and ſhewe our innocencie, in that they haue communicated, do, and hereafter ſhall communicate vnder both kyndes: to geue out, ordaine, and direct the letters of the ſacred Councell, in maner and forme moſt apt and meete for ſuch declaration, vnto all Princes, as well ſecular as ſpirituall, Cities and communalties, accordyng to the cōpoſitions, and as the Lordes the Ambaſſadours are bounde vnto vs for to do.

Free communion vnder both kindes to be permitted to all princes.

Item, we deſire you, that in the diſcuſſing of the matter for the Communion vnder both kindes, & of the cōmaundement therof geuen vnto all faythfully, ye will not procede otherwiſe then accordyng to the concordatum agreed vpon in Egra: that is to ſay, accordyng to the law of God, the order of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the generall Councels, and the myndes of the holy Doctours, truly grounded vpon the law of God.

Item, we deſire that your fatherly reuerences, conſideryng the great affection of our people, will geue vs the deſired libertie to communicate vnto the younger ſort, the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this vſe of communicatyng ſhould be take away, which our kyngdome being godly moued by the writynges of moſt great and holy Doctours, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as Catholicke, and exerciſed now a long tyme: verely it ſhould rayſe vp an intolerable offence amōgeſt the people, and their myndes would be greuouſly vexed and troubled.

Itē we require you (as before) that for like cauſes your fatherly reuerences, would vouchſafe to permit, at the leaſt the Goſpels, Epiſtles, and Crede to be ſong and read in the Church in our vulgare tōg, before the people, to moue thē vnto deuotiō: for in our Slauon language it hath bene vſed of old in the Church, and likewiſe in our kyngdome.

The Goſpels & Epiſtles to be red in the vulgare tongue. The Scriptures read in the Slauons tounge of olde tyme.

Itē, we require you in the name of the ſayd kyngdome, and of the famous Vniuerſitie of Prage, that your fatherly reuerences would vouchſafe to ſhew ſuch diligence and care towardes the deſired reformation of that Vniuerſitie, that accordyng to the maner and forme of other Vniuerſities reformed by the Church, Prebendes and collations of certaine benefices of Cathedrall & Pariſh Churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the ſayd Vniuerſitie, that thereby it may be increaſed and preferred.

Incorporations to be graunted to vniuerſities, an vnlawfull requeſt.

Itē, we deſire you (as before) as hartly as we may, and alſo (ſauyng alwayes your fatherly reuerence) require you, and by the former compoſitions we moſt inſtantly admoniſh you, that with your whole myndes and endeuours, & with all care & ſtudy, your reuerences will watch & ſeeke for that long deſired & moſt neceſſary reformatiō of the Church and Chriſtian Religion, & effectually labour for the rootyng out of all publike euils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promiſed to do in our kingdome, in the cōpoſitiōs, and as our fourth Article, touchyng the auoydyng of all publicke euils, doth exact and require.

A requeſt for neceſſary reformation & diſcipline.

There were certaine aunſweres prouided by the Coūcel, to theſe petitiōs of the Bohemiās, which were not deliuered vnto them, but kept backe, for what purpoſe or intent we know not. Wherfore, becauſe we thought thē not greatly neceſſary for this place, & alſo to auoyde prolixitie, we haue iudged it meete at this preſent to omitte thē. Thus haue ye heard compendiouſly the chief & principal matters intreated & done in this famous Councell of Baſil. And here (to conclude withall) we haue thought good to declare vnto you, for the ayde & helpe of the ignoraūt people (which iudge many thynges to be of longer tyme & continuaunce, thē in deede they be, & therupō haue eſtabliſhed a great part of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of this Coūcell, that is to ſay in the. xxxvj. Seſſion of the ſame, holdē the xvij. day of September, in the yeare of our Lord. 1439. the feaſt of the Cōception of our Lady, was ordained to be holden and celebrate yearely. In like caſe alſo in the. xliij. Seſsiō of the ſame Councell, holden the firſt day of July, an. 1441. was ordained the feaſt of the Viſitation of our Lady, to be celebrate and holden yearely in the moneth of July. We haue alſo thought it good, before we do ende this ſtory, to annexe hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholeſomely ordayned in the ſayd Councell, agaynſt the inordinate geuyng

The conception of our Lady brought into the Church. The viſitation of our Ladye brought in.

of the Ecclesiasticall benefices and lyuinges by the Pope, with certaine other constitutions also, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the Church.

Vowsons and giftes of benefices before they were voyde, debarred by the Councell: which vowsons here are called expectatiue graces.

Inconueniences that rise by vowsons of benefices.

During the time that the generall Councell at Basill, was so diligent and carefull about the reformation of the Church, this one thyng seemed good vnto them to be prosecuted and folowed with an earnest care and diligence, that through euery Church, apt and meete ministers might be appoynted, which might shine in vertue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ and the healthful edifying of the Christian people: whereunto the multitude of expectatiue graces hath bene a great impediment and let, in that they haue bene founde to haue brought greuous troubles, diuers disorders, and many daungers vpon the ecclesiasticall state. For hereby often tymes, scarsly apte or meete ministers haue bene appoynted for the churches, which are neither knowne nor examined: and this expectation of voyd benefices (as the old lawes doe witnesse) doth geue occasion to desire an other mans death, which is greatly preiudiciall vnto saluation: besides that, innumerable quarels and contentions are moued amongest the seruauntes of God: rancour and malice nourished: the ambition and gredy desire of pluralities, of benefices maynteyned: and the riches and substance of kingdomes and prouinces marueilously consumed. More men suffer innumerable vexations, by running vnto the court of Rome. They are often tymes spoyled and robbed by the way: troubled and afflicted with diuers plages, and hauing spente their patrimony and substance lefte them by their parentes, they are constrayned to liue in extreme pouertie. Many do chalenge benefices, which without any iust title (yea such in deede as ought not to haue them) obtayne and get the same: suche I say as haue most craft and subtiltie to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greatest substance to contende in ẏ lawe. It happeneth often tymes that vnder the intrication of these prerogatiues, antelations, and such other as do associate these expectatiue graces, much craft and deceit is founde. Also, often tymes the ministery is taken away frõ yonge men, by their ordinary geuers, whiles that by the trouble of those contentiõs, and diuers discourses, running to and fro by meanes of those graces, they are vexed & troubled, the Ecclesiasticall order is confounded, whiles that euery mannes authoritie and iurisdiction is not preserued: ẏ the Byshops of Rome also, by chalenging and takyng vpõ them to much the office of the inferiours, are withdrawen from more waighty and fruitfull matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guydyng and correction of the inferiours, as the publike vtilitie doth require. All which thynges do bryng a great confusion vnto the clergy, and Ecclesiasticall state, to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of Gods true worship, and publicke saluation.

No controuersies to be brought to Rome beyond 4. dayes iourney from thence.

No friuolous appeales to be made to the pope.

Against the superfluous number of errours.

Agaynst the popes first fruits

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolũ.7.

In the same councell also diuers other constitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, and for remouyng of certayne abuses & disorders brought in, especialy by the bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought vp and translated to the court of Rome: wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controuersies should be brought from other countries, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond .iiij. dayes iourney distaunt from the sayd courte of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted. Also, that no friuolous appeales should be made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in the same Councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they should not excede the number of .xxiiij. besides them that were already, and that they should be frely taken out of all countries: and that they should not be of kynne to the Byshop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first frutes, or halfe frutes, it was there prouided, that no such Annates for confirmatiõ of electiõs, or collation of benefices, should be payd or reserued any more to the Pope, for the first yeares voydance. All which thynges there agreed and concluded by them, were afterwarde confirmed and ratified by the Frenche kyng Charles .vij. with the full consent of all his Prelates, in his hygh court of Parliament in Biturs, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio, an. 1438 wherupõ great vtilitie ensued afterward to the kyngdome of Fraunce. Albeit in processe of tyme, diuers Friers there were, which wrote against the same. Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

An Acte made for the conuersion of the Iewes.

Amongest many decrees of the sayd Councell of Basill, in the .xix. Session there was also a decree made touching the conuertyng of Iewes and yong nouesses in religion, vnto the Christian fayth.

Also that all Ordinaries should yearely at appoynted tymes, prouide certayne men well learned in the holy scriptures, in such places where Iewes and other infidels dyd dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholicke fayth, that they acknowledgyng their errour, might forsake the same: vnto the which preaching, the sayd ministers should compell them to resort, and to heare, vnder payne of excludyng them from occupying any more in that place: prouided that the sayd Diocesanes and preachers should behaue themselues towardes them, mercifully and with all charitie, whereby they might winne them to Christ, not onely by the declaryng of the veritie, but also in exhibiting other offices of humanitie.

An Acte for studying the Hebrue, Greeke, Latine, and Chaldey.

And to the intent their preachyng might be the more fruitfull, and that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tonges, it was also in the same Councell prouided and commaunded, that the constitution made before in the councell of Vienna for learnyng the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby, & Greeke tongue, should by all meanes be obserued and kept, and ordinary stipendes prouided for them that should teache the same tongues.

Agaynst priestes that kept Concubynes.

An other decree moreouer in the .xx. Session was enacted, that whosoeuer was knowen or publiquely noted to be a keper of Concubines, should be sequestred from all fruites of hys benefices, for the space of .3. monethes: which fruites should be conuerted by the ordinary, to the reparations, or some other vtilitie of the Church, and if he did not so amend, it was by the Synode decreed that he should be clerely deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, the sayd Synode did greatly inuey against them, which hauing the iurisdiction of the Churche, did not shame to suffer such whoremasters for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthines. &c.

By these decrees of the Councell aboue specified, it is to be sene, what corruption had bene then frequented in the Church of God, through the Byshop and courte of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to inserte the wordes of one Martin Meyr, writyng to Æneas Syluius, touchyng and notyng the sayd corruptions: the tenour of whose epistle here ensueth.

¶ Vnto the reuerend father, the Lord Æneas
Cardinall of Sene, Martin Meyr, Chauncellour to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

An Epistle of Martyn Meyr to Æneas Syluius, translated into Englishe, the latine wherof is extant in the former edition of this booke. *Ex Orth. Grat.*

I Haue vnderstand by certayne of my frendes letters, that you are created Cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you haue receiued so worthy rewards for your vertues. I reioyce also for my owne parte, that my friende hath attayned vnto such a dignity, wherin he may in tyme to come, both helpe me and my frendes. But this is a griefe vnto me, that you haue happened vpon those days, which seme to be troublesome to the Apostolike sea. For there are many complaintes made vnto my Lord the Archbishop, vpon the Pope, that he will neither keepe the decrees of the Councell of Constance, neither of Basill, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the couenauntes of his predecessours, and seemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to seeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euydent that the election of Prelates, is euery where reiected: benefices and dignityes, of what sorte soeuer they be, are reserued for the Cardynals and chiefe notaries: and you your selfe haue obteyned the reseruation of 3. Prouinces of Germany, vnder such a forme as hath not been accustomed, or heard of. Vowsons or giftes of benefices are graunted without number: yearely stipendes and halfe the reuenues are exacted without delay, and it is euydent that there is more extorted thẽ is due. The regimẽt of churches are not cõmitted vnto such as best deserue thẽ, but vnto such as offer most money for thẽ, & new pardons are graũted out dayly to scrape & gather together mony. Tithes are cõmaũded to be exacted without the consent of our Prelates, for the Turkish warre, and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now caried vnto the Apostolicke sea of Rome. A thousand wayes are inuented and deuised, how the sea of Rome may by subtlety and by crafte, extorte and gette golde and treasure from vs, euen as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians: whereby our nation, which was sometyme famous and valiaunt, whiche by their power and bloud, conquered the Romaine Empire, and was once the Lady and Queene of all the world, nowe beyng brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmayde, and become tributary, and beyng now in extreme misery, hath of long tyme bewayled her cruell fortune and pouerty. But nowe our nobles beyng (as it were) wakened out of theyr slepe, haue begon to consider and deuise with thẽselues, by what meanes they might withstand this calamity, and vtterly shake of this yoke and bondage, and haue determined

The corruption of the Church of Rome detected.

with themſelues to chalenge agayne their former libertie. This will be no ſmall loſſe vnto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bryng to paſſe that which they haue deuiſed. Wherfore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtayned dignitie, ſo much alſo am I moued and greued that theſe thinges happẽ in your dayes. But peraduenture Gods determination is otherwiſe, and hys will ſhall ſurely take place. You in the meane time be of good chere, and deuiſe according to your wiſedome, by what meanes the vehemẽcie of theſe floudes may be ſtayed. Thus fare ye well.

From Haſthaffenberge, the laſt
day of Auguſt.

The authoritie of the coũcell of Baſill expended.

Concerning the autority of this generall coũcel of Baſill, what is to be eſteemed by the Actes and fruites therof may be vnderſtand of all good men. Neyther was it of any man doubted in the firſt beginning, ſo long as the Pope agreed and conſented vnto it. But after the Pope began to draw backe, many other followed, eſpeciallye of the richer ſort of Prelates, which had anye thinge to loſe: wherof ſufficiently hath bene ſayd by Arelatenſis the Cardinall before. In the number of theſe vnconſtant prelates, beſides many other, was firſt Cardinall Iulian, the firſt collector of this councell, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his feruent and vehement letter wrytten to pope Eugenius in defence of this councell, may well appeare: wherin he moſt earneſtly doth expoſtulate with the forſayd Pope Eugenius, for ſeekyng to diſſolue the councell, and declareth in the ſame many cauſes, why he ſhoulde rather reioyce, and geue God thankes, for the godly proceedynges, and ioyfull agreement betwene the councell and the Bohemians, and ſo exhorteth him with manyfold perſuaſions, to reſort to the councell him ſelfe, and not to ſeeke the diſſolution of ẏ ſame. The copye ond tenour of whoſe epiſtle to the pope, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame, is extant in our former editiõ of Actes & Monumentes, there to be ſene and red. Pag.330.

The epiſtle of the Cardinall Iuliã to the pope, in the commendation of the councell of Baſill.

In like maner Æneas Syluius alſo with his owne hand and wryting, not onely gaue teſtimonye to the autority of this councell, but alſo beſtowed hys labour and trauail in ſetting forth the whole ſtory therof. Notwithſtandyng, the ſame Syluius afterwarde being made Pope, with hys new honour, did alter and chaunge hys old ſentence. the Epiſtle of which Aeneas, touchyng the commendation of the ſayde Councell, becauſe it is but ſhort, and will occupye but litle roume, I thought here vnder, for the more ſatiſfying of the readers mynde, to inſerte.

An Epiſtle of Æneas Syluius, to the Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Colen.

An epiſtle of Eneas Syluius in defence of the councell of Baſill.

TO a Chriſtian man, which will be a true Chriſtian in deede, nothing ought to be more deſired, then that the ſinceritie and purenes of fayth, geuen to vs of Chriſt by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any tyme, any thing be wrought or attempted agaynſt the true doctrine of the Goſpell, the people ought with one conſent, to prouide lawfull remedie, and euery man to bryng wyth him ſome water to quench the generall fire: Neither muſt we feare how we be hated or enuied, ſo we bring the truth.. We muſt reſiſt euery man to his face, whether he be Paule or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of the Goſpell, which thing I am glad, and ſo are we all, to heare that your Vniuerſitie hath done in this Councell of Baſill. For a certayne treatiſe of yours is brought hether vnto vs, wherein you reprehend the rudenes, or rather the raſhenes of ſuch, which do deny the Byſhop of Rome, and the Conſiſtory of hys iudgement, to be ſubiect vnto the generall Councell, and that the ſupreame tribunall ſeate of iudgement, ſtandeth in the Church, and in no one Byſhop. Such men as deny this, you ſo confounde with liuely reaſons and truth of the Scriptures, that neither they are able to ſlyde away like ſlippery Eeles, neither to cauill or bring any obiection againſt you. Theſe be the wordes of Siluius.

The tribunal ſeate ſtandeth not in one byſhop.

The authoritie of the Councell of Baſil maynteined by the Emperour and the French king ſo long as they liued. The practiſe of pope Eugenius to vndoe the Councell of Baſill.

Furthermore, as touchyng the autoritye and approbation of the foreſayd Councell, this is to be noted, that duryng the lyfe of Sigiſmund the Emperour, no man reſiſted thys Councell. Alſo cõtinuing the time of Charles the. vij. the French kyng, the ſayd Councell of Baſill was fully and wholly receiued through all Fraunce. But after the death of Sigiſmund, when Eugenius was depoſed, and Felix, Duke of Sauoy, was elected Pope, great diſcordes aroſe, and much practiſe was wrought. But eſpecially on Eugenius part. who beyng now excommunicate by ẏ councell of Baſill, to make his part more ſtronge, made. xvij. new Cardinals. Then he ſent his Oratours vnto the Germains, labouring by all perſwaſions to diſſolue the councel of Baſil, the Germaines at that time were ſo diuided, that ſome of them did hold with Felix, and the Councell of Baſil: other ſome, with Eugenius & the councel of Ferraria: and ſome were neuters. After this the French king beyng dead, which was Charles the. vij. about the yeare of our Lord. 1444. the Pope beginneth a new practiſe, after the old guiſe of Rome, to excite (as is ſuppoſed) the Dolphyn of Fraunce, by force of armes, to diſſipate that Councel collected agaynſt him. who leading an army of. xv thouſãd mẽ into Alſatia, did cruelly waſt and ſpoyle the countrey: after that, layde ſiege vnto Baſil to expell and driue out the prelates of the Councell. But ẏ Heluetians moſt ſtoutly meeting their enemies with a ſmall power, did vanquiſh the Frenchmen, and put them to ſworde and flight: like as the Lacedemonians onelye with three hundred, dyd ſuppreſſe, & ſcatered all the mightye army of Xerxes, at Thermopylæ.

The pope ſtirreth vp warre.

The Dolphin driuen away by a fewe Germaines.

Although Baſil thus by the valiauntnes of the Heluetians was defended yet notwithſtandyng the Councell through theſe tumultes, could not continue by reaſon of the princes Ambaſſadours, which ſhronke away, and would not tary: So that at length Eugenius brought to paſſe, partly through the helpe of Fridericke (beyng not yet Emperour, but labouring for ẏ empire, partly by his Oratours (in the nũber of whõ was Eneas Syluius, aboue mentioned (amongeſt the Germanes, that they were content to geue ouer both the councell of Baſil and their neutrality.

The diſſolutiõ of the Councell of Baſill.

This Friderick of Auſtrich being not yet Emperour, but towards the Empire, brought alſo to paſſe, that Felix, which was choſen of the Councell of Baſil, to bee Pope, was contented to renounce and reſigne his Papacie to Nicolaus the fifte, ſucceſſour to Eugenius, of the which Nicolaus, the ſayde Fridericke was confirmed at Rome to be Emperour, and their crowned. an. 1451.

Fredericke of Auſtrich crowned Emperour, great grandfather to this Ferdinando.

As theſe thynges were doing at Baſil, in ẏ meane ſeaſon, pope Eugenius brought to paſſe in his conuocation at Florence, that the Emperour, and the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, with the reſt of the Grecians there preſent, were perſuaded to receaue ẏ ſentence of ẏ church of Rome, concernyng the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt: alſo to receaue the communion in vnleauened bread, to admitte Purgatory and to yealde them ſelues to the authoritie of the Romiſhe Byſhop. Whereunto notwithſtandyng, the other Churches of Grecia would in no wiſe aſſente, at their comming home: In ſo much, that with a publike execration they did condemne afterwarde all thoſe Legates, which had cõſented to theſe Articles, that none of them ſhould be buryed in Chriſten buriall: which was. an 1439. Ex Caſp. Peucer.

The Legates of the Greekes com deſcend ſtill to the popes lawe.

The Greeke churches refuſe the popes doctrine.

And thus endeth the ſtory, both of the Coũcell of Baſill, and of the Councell of Florence, alſo of the Emperour Sigiſmund, and of the Schiſme betwene pope Eugenius, and Pope Felix, and alſo of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians notwithſtanding all theſe troubles and tumultes, aboue ſaid; did right well, and were ſtrong enough agaynſt all their enemies, till at length, though diſcorde, partly betwene the ij. preachers of the olde & new citie of Prage, partly alſo through the diſcord of the meſſẽgers & captaines, taking ſides one agaynſt the other, they made their enemies ſtrong & enfeabled themſelues. Albeit afterward, in proces of tyme, they ſo defended the cauſe of their religion, not by ſword, but by argument & diſputation, that the Byſhop of Rome could neuer yet to this day, remoue the Thaborites, and citie of Prage, from the communion of both the kinds, nor could euer cauſe them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the Councell, was enioyned their prieſtes to obſerue, as teſtifieth Cochleus. Lib. 8. hiſt. Huſs. wyth whom alſo recordeth Antoninus, who in 3. part. hiſt. ſayeth, that the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take ſo deepe roote with them, and grew ſo faſt, that afterward, neither by fire nor ſworde, it could be extinct. Antoninus. 3. part. hiſt. tit. 22. capit. 10.

The inconuenience of diſcorde.

Ex Cochleo, lib. 8. hiſt. Huſſit.

Ex Antonin. 3. part. tit. 22. c. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a generall ſumme, to recapitulate their whole actes and doinges, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, and in the quarell of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduerſaries to warre, fighting vnder Ziſca their captaine, had eleuen battailes with the Popes ſide, and euer went away victours. Ex paral. Abb. Vrſp. in Epitaphio Ioã. Ziſc. Moreouer in ẏ hiſtory of Peucer it is teſtified, ẏ Pope Martin. 5. ſending for the biſh. of Wint. then Cardinal, had leuied 3. maine armies, intẽding to ouerrune all the Bohemians: one armye of the Saxones, vnder the prince Elector, the ſecond of the Francones, vnder ẏ Marques of Brandeburge, the third of Renates, Bauarians, & Suechers, vnder Octo Archb. of Treuers. Wyth theſe, Sigiſmund alſo the Emperour, & Cardinal Iulian the popes Legat (who at laſt was ſlaine in war, & beyng ſpoyled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) ioyned all theyr

Ex hiſt. Caſpar Peucer. lib. 5.

force, who ioyning together fiue tymes (ſayth ẏ ſtory) with fiue ſondry battayles, aſſailed and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battail, fiue tymes the ſaid aduerſaries ſtroken and daunted with a ſodaine feare, ran away out of the field, leauing their tentes with all their implementes and furniture behynde them, before any ſtroke was geuen. Ex Caſp. Peuc. lib. 5. Wherby it may appeare, the holy angels of God to fight for them which embraced the ſyncere doctrine of Chriſtes goſpell.

Marueilous feare fallen vpõ the popes armie.

Gods holy Angels pitch their tentes about thẽ which feare him. Pſal.

Thus the Bohemians through the mighty protection of almighty God, continued a long tyme inuincible, duryng all the lyfe of Ziſca, and alſo of Procopius, till at length through diſcord growyng betwene them and theyr captains Procopius and Mainardus, they were ſubdued vnto their enemies.

The cruell deceite & wicked facte of Mainardus agaynſt the ſouldiours of Boheme.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked & cruell fact of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinkyng to purge the realme of Boheme of thoſe chiefe and principall ſouldiours, which had bene long expert and trayned vp in warrs, found meanes by a proclamation made, as though he would warre againſt other countreis of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to trayne all them which were diſpoſed to take wages into certayne barnes or houels, prepared for the ſame purpoſe, and ſo ſhuttyng the dores vpon them, the wicked diſſembler ſet fire vpon them, and brent of them diuers thouſandes, and ſo brought ẏ reſt by that meanes, vnder ſubiection to the Emperour duryng his lyfe tyme, which after that continued not long. Ex Æne. Syl. The which ſouldiours, if they had fought ſo much for the catholike liberties of the Pope and his church, as they fought agaynſt hym, it is meruaile if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kil with the ſword (ſayth Chriſt) ſhall periſh with the ſword. Notwithſtandyng the cruell deceite of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be deteſted.

Certaine thouſandes of the Bohemian ſouldiours brent.

Ex Ænea Silu. lib. de hiſt. Boem. cap. 51

During this buſines among the biſhops beyond the ſea in the meane tyme our biſhops here alſo in England, were not vnoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the countrey that ſo geueth: or whether the great liuinges and wealthy promotions of the clergy, do draw with them a more inſenſible vntowardnes in gods religion, hard it is to ſay: this is manifeſt to all them which will read and marke our ſtories from time to tyme, that in England is more burning & ſlaying for religion and for all other matters: more bloudſhed among vs then in any other land or nation in Chriſtendome beſides. After the burning of Rich. Houeden, of Nich. Canon, and of Thom. Bagley prieſt, aboue recorded, pag. 644. whom the biſhops condemned to death. an. 1431. not long after, about the yere of our Lord, 1439. which was the 18. of the raigne of king Henr. 6. they had an other poore man by the back, named Rich. Wiche prieſt, mentioned both in Rob. Fabian, and alſo in another old engliſh chronicle borowed of one Permingter. What his opinions were, they doe not expreſſe. This they record, that this Rich. Wich firſt was degraded, then burned at the tower hill for hereſie. Some doe affirme that he before hys death reuolted, but that ſeemeth by his burnyng, not to be true.

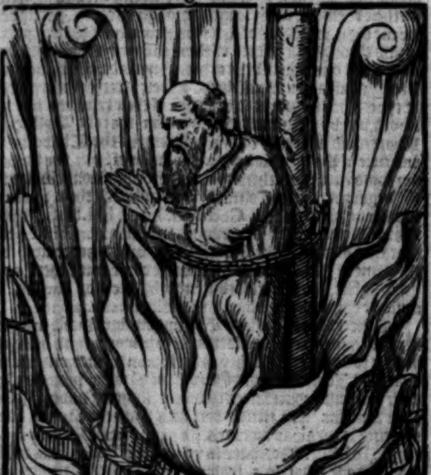
Englãd noted of crueltie.

Burning ẏ ſlaying in England.

An. 1439.

Richard Wiche Prieſt Martyr. *Ex Fabian. part. 7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.*

The burning of Rich. Wiche.



It is alſo teſtified of hym, that before his death, ſpake (as propheſiyng) that the poſtern of ẏ tower ſhould ſinke, which alſo afterwarde came as he ſayd to paſſe, wherefore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man: In ſo muche that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnte, and there made their oblations and prayers, and areyred a great heape of ſtones, and ſet vp a croſſe there by night: ſo that by this meanes a great clamour ran vpon the Churchmen, and eſpecyally vpon ſuch as put him to death. Then to ceaſe the rumour, the kynge gaue commaundement to puniſhe ſuche, as wente thether on pilgrimage. By vertue whereof, the Mayor and Shiriffes did ſuch diligence, that ſhortly after, that concourſe and ſekyng of the people was left of.

Rich. Wiche after his death taken for a ſaincte.

After the burning of this man, which was about the moneth of Iune, in the ſame yeare about Nouember, a cõuocation was called by Henry Archbiſhop of Cant. Wherein was propounded among the Clergye, to conſult with them ſelues, what way were beſt to be taken, for the remouing a way the law of Premuniri facias: for ſo were the hartes then of the temporaltie ſet agaynſt the eccleſiaſticall ſort, that where any vauntage myght be geuen them by ẏ lawe, they did nothyng ſpare, by reaſon wherof, the churchmen at that tyme were greatly moleſted by the ſayd lawe of Premuniri, and by the kinges writtes, and other inditementes, to their no ſmal anoyance. By long conſultation and good aduiſement, at laſt this way was taken, that a petition or ſuplication ſhoulde be drawen & preſented to the king, for the aboliſhing of the foreſayd law of Premuniri facias, and alſo for the reſtrayning of other briefes, wryts, & inditements, which ſeemed then to lye heauy vpõ the Clergy. This byll or ſuplication beyng contriued and exhibited by the Archb. of Cant. & of Yorke, vnto the kyng ſtanding in nede ẏ ſame time, of a ſubſidye to be collected of the Clergye: this anſwer was geuen to their ſupplication on the kynges behalfe: that forſomuch as the tyme of Chriſtenmas then drawe neare, wherby he had as yet no ſufficient leyſure to aduiſe vpon the matter, he would take therin a father pauſe. In the meane tyme, as one tendering their quiet, he would ſend to all his officers and miniſters wᵗin his realme, that no ſuch brief of Premuniri, ſhould paſſe agaynſt them or anye of them, from the ſayd tyme of Chriſtenmas, till the next parliament, an. 1439. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

Ex Regiſt. Henr. Chicheſley.

The biſhops conſult to aboliſhe the lawe of *Premuniri facias.*

The kinges aunſwere to the bill of the clergie touching the lawe of *Premuniri.*

In my former edition of Actes & monumentes, ſo haſtely raſhed vp at that preſent, in ſuch ſhortnes of time, as in the ſayd booke thou mayeſt ſee (gentle reader) declared and ſignified: amonge manye other matters therin contayned, there is a ſhorte note made of one Eleanor Cobham duches of Glouceſter, and of Syr Roger Onley Knight (prieſt it ſhould haue bene printed,) Which two perſons, about the yeare of our Lord. 1440. or the next yeare following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetuall priſon. Of this litle ſhort matter, mayſter Cope ẏ Popes Scout, lying in priuy wayt to ſpye faultes in all mens workes, where ſo euer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the noſe, and falleth agayne vnto his old barking agaynſt me, for placing theſe foreſaid perſons in my boke of Martyrs, but eſpecially he thinketh to haue great vãtage agaynſt me, for that in the ſame ſtory, I do ioyne withall, one Margaret Iourdeman, the witch of Eye, cõdemned alſo with them the ſame time, and burned for practiſing ẏ kinges death by an image of waxe, &c. To aunſwer hereunto, firſt I ſay (as I before ſayd) that I profeſſe no ſuch title to write of Martyrs: but in generall to write of rites and Monumentes paſſed in the church and realme of England. Wherein, why ſhould I be reſtrayned from the free walke of a ſtorye writer, more then other that haue gone before me?

A briefe aunſwere to Cope, concerning Lady Eleanor Cobham.

Secondly, touching my commendation of Syr Roger Onley, and the Lady Eleanor, if maiſter Alane be therewith offended, I aunſwere that I commended them for ſauoring and fauouring of ẏ truth of Chriſtes doctrine: For the fact, if any ſuch were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did cõmend them, yet neither did I it with anye long tarying vpõ it, nor yet altogether vpõ mine owne hed, without ſome ſufficient warraunt of authoritie. For why may not I as well beleue Iohn Bale, as M. Alane beleue M. Fabian? eſpecially ſeing I do know, & was priuy, that the ſaid I. in recogniſing his Centuries, followed altogether the hiſtory of Leland. De Catalogo virorum illuſtrium, which booke beyng borowed of maiſter Cheke, I my ſelfe did ſee in the handes of the forſayde John Bale, what tyme we were both together, dwelling in the houſe of the noble Lady Duches of Richmond. Wherfore if he think me ſo lewd to ſpeake without myne authors, he is deceyued. And if he thinke myne authors not to be beleued, then let this Nomotheres, or iolly Dictator, come forth and preſcribe vs a law, what authours he would haue vs to take, and what to refuſe. For els why is it not as free for me to credite John Bale, and Leland, as for hym to credite Rob. Fabian, and Edw. Hall, eſpecially ſeyng they had ſene hys bookes and workes left behynd hym, whervpon they might better iudge, and ſo did neuer theſe?

To the third obiection.

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope deny that there was any ſuch name in ſtories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c. hereby it may appeare that either his prompter out of England deceyued him, or els that he goyng no further but to Fabian & Hall, lacketh no good will in hym, but only a little matter to make a perfect Sycoph. And admit the ſaide name of Onley could not be found in thoſe writers, yet it were not vnpoſſible for a man to haue two names, eſpecially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was borne, beſide his owne proper ſurname. But now what if I (M. Cope) can auouch and bryng forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of ſufficient recorde, which you ſeeme not to haue yet reade? Haue ye not then done well and properly (thinke you) ſo bitterly to flee in my face, and to barke ſo egerly all this while at Mooneſhine in the water, hauyng no more cauſe almoſt againſt me, then agaynſt the man in the Moone? And now leaſt you ſhould thinke me ſo much vnprouided of iuſt authority for my defence, as I ſee you vnprouided of modeſty and patience, write you to your prompter or ſuborner (where ſoeuer he lurketh here in England) to ſend you ouer vnto Louane the booke of John Hardyng a Chronicler, more auncient then either Fabian or Hall, printed in the houſe of Richard Grafton, an. 1543. where turn to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there ſhall you finde and reade theſe wordes.

Agayne the Church and the kyng curſedly:
By helpe of one maiſter Roger Onley. &c

By the which wordes ye muſt neceſſarily confeſſe Roger Onley to be the name of the man, eyther els muſt ye nedes deny the author. For otherwyſe that maiſter Roger Bolyngbroke was the only helper to the Ducheſſe in that fact, by no wyſe it can ſtand with the ſtory of theſe authors which ſay, that 4. other beſides him were condemned for the ſame crime. &c. And moreouer though the ſaid ſir R. Onley was no knight (as I haue ſayd in my former edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the teſtimony of them that haue ſene his workes, but that he was a prieſt, which you will graunt to be a knightes felow. And thus much for the name and condition of M. Roger Onley.

Vid. Centu. 8. Bal. ca. 4.

To the 4. obiection.

Fourthly, as concernyng Margaret Jourdeman whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a martyr, which was a witch: when as I here profeſſe, confeſſe, and aſcertaine both you and all Engliſh mẽ, both preſent and all poſteritie hereafter to come that this Margaret Jourdeman I neuer ſpake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your ſelfe. So farre is it of, that I either with my will or agaynſt my will, made any Martyr of her.

M. Cope rayleth without a cauſe.

Furthermore, I profeſſe and denounce in lyke manner, that neither haue you any iuſt or congrue occaſiõ in my boke ſo to iudge, much leſſe to rayle of me. For where, in expreſſe wordes I do ſpeake of the mother of the Lady Yong, what occaſion haue you therby to ſlaunder me and my boke with Margarete Jourdeman? which Margarete whether ſhe was a witch or not, I leaue her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I meane of her now. But becauſe I couple her in the ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhe was ẏ mother of a lady, I thought to ioyne her with an other Lady in the ſame ſtory as in one pue together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtanding I do ſo couple the ſayd mother wyth the Ducheſſe, in ſuch diſtinct difference of yeares, that you maiſter Cope might eaſily haue vnderſtande, or beſide you, no man els would haue thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neyther here in my booke, nor yet in my memento. For the wordes of my ſtory are playne, where as the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, & of the mother of Lady young beyng referred to the yeare of our Lord 1441. I doe alſo in the ſame ſtory (though the occaſion of that Lady) inferre mention of the mother of the Lady Yong, declaryng in expreſſe wordes, that ſhe folowed certein yeares after, & in the end of that Chapter, do name alſo the yeare of her burnyng to be. 1490. which was. 50. yeares after the death of Onley, and Margarete Jourdeman: by the computation of which yeares it is plaine, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but onely the Lady Yonges mother.

See the former edition pag. 171.

But M. Cope continuyng ſtill in his wranglyng mood, obiecteth agayn, for that in my Callender, the ſayd Ladye Younges mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, whiche day perteyneth properly to Margaret Jourdeman, which was burned the ſame day in Smithfield, and not to the Ladyes mother. &c.

What order was taken in placyng the names and dayes, what is that to me? If he which had the diſpoſing of the Catalogue, did place them ſo in monethes, as he ſawe them ioyned in chapters, not peruſing peraduenture nor aduiſing the chapters, that doth nothyng preiudice the truth of my ſtory, which ſufficiently doth clare it ſelfe in diſtincting them rightly in names and alſo in yeares, as is afore declared.

To the 5. obiection.

The ſtory of the Lady Eleanor & Rog. Onley here pretermitted.

Fiftly and laſtly, hauinge thus ſufficiently aunſwered to your circumſtances of perſons, names, and tymes (M. Cope) I will nowe enter to encoũter with you concernyng the facte and cryme obiected to the Lady Duches, and to the reſte: with this proteſtation before premiſed vnto the reader, that if the facte be true and ſo done as is repeated in the hiſtoryes of Fabian, Halle and Hardyng, I deſire the reader then ſo to take me, as though I doe not here deale withall, nor ſpeake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and diſpuncted the ſame. But for ſomuch as the dede and offence layde & geuen forth agaynſt theſe parties, may be a matter made, and of euill will compacted, rather then true in dede: therfore I doo but onely moue a queſtion by way of hiſtorie, not as defendyng, nor commendyng nor commemoratyng the thing, if it be true, but onely mouing the queſtion, whether it is to be iudged true, or ſuſpected rather to be falſe and forged, and ſo hauyng briefly propounded certeine coniecturall ſuſpicions or ſuppoſals concernyng that matter, to paſſe it ouer, neither medling on the one ſide nor on the other.

A queſtion whether Eleanor the Duches was culpable in treaſon agaynſt the king.

Certaine coniectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Coniecture.

The firſt coniecter, why it may be poſſible that this act of treaſon layd to the charge of the Duches, & Roger Onley, agaynſt the king, may be vntrue, is this: that the ſaid Onley (otherwiſe named Bolyngbroke) toke it vpon hys death, that they neuer intended any ſuch thyng as they were condemned for.

2. Coniecture.

The ſecond coniecture: for that the Lady Eleanor, & Onley ſemed then to fauour and ſauour of that religion ſet forth by Wickleffe, and therefore lyke enough, that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practiſe of Papiſtes can do, it is not vnknowne.

3. Coniecture.

The third coniecture: for that the ſayd maiſter Roger Onley falſely noted & accuſed of Nicromancie, wrote a booke in purgation of him ſelfe, intituled: De Innocentia ſua. Alſo an other boke intituled, Cõtra vulgi ſuperſtitiones, recorded in Centu. 8. Bale. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote profeſſedly agaynſt the ſuperſtitiõs of the people, was ouer taken with that filthe of Nicromancie him ſelfe.

4. Coniecture.

The fourth coniecture: becauſe this accuſation agaynſt the Duches of Glocester, Duke Humfreis wife begamne not before, but after the grudge kindled betwene the cardinall of Winc. and Duke Humfrey, her huſband.

5. Coniecture.

An other coniecture may be hereof, for that, if the duches had entended any ſuch haynous treaſon agaynſt the kinges lyfe, as by burning of a waxe candle to conſume him, it is not lyke (neither was there any ſuch nede) that ſhe would haue made ſo many priuy to ſuch a pernicious counſayle, as the witch of Eye, M. Rog. Bolingbroke, M. Tho. Southwell and John Hume.

6. Coniecture.

Sixtly, it is not to be ſuppoſed, if any ſuch hie treaſon had bene wrought or practiſed againſt the kings perſon by theſe that either the Duches ſhould ſo eſcape with bearing a taper and baniſhment, or that John Hume ſhould be pardoned his lyfe, the fact being ſo heinous, that neither any durſt aſke his pardon, nor if it had bene aſked, it had not bene lyke to be graunted.

7. Coniecture.

To theſe we may alſo adde an other ſuppoſall, riſing vpon the wordes and forme of their accuſation, as it ſtandeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and other mo. Wherin they were accuſed for working ſorcery, and inchauntmẽts agaynſt the church and the kyng. Now what ſorcery can be wrought agaynſt the church: that is, the whole multitude of chriſtiãs, let the Reader iudge, and by the truth of this, conſider alſo the truth of the other. which was agaynſt the kyng. Furthermore, if by this church is ment the Cardinall of Wint. as lyke it is: then it may be coniecturall, that all this matter roſe of that Cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the houſe of Glouceſter. ⁊c.

8. Coniecture.

Eightly: And that all this was done and wrought by the ſayd Cardinall of Wint. the witch concernyng Eye maketh the matter the more ſuſpicious, ſeyng that towne of Eye as Fabiā witneſſeth, was nere beſide Wincheſter, and ſea of that biſhop.

9. Coniecture.

Moreouer, for ſo much as Polydore Virgill, among other ſtory authors, beyng a man as may be ſuppoſed, rather fauouryng the Cardinals parte then the Dukes, made no mention at all touchyng this treaſon, his ſilence thereof may miniſter matter not onely to muſe, but alſo to coniecture, that he had found ſomethyng which made hym to miſtruſt the matter. Otherwiſe it is vnlyke that he woulde haue ſo mewed vp the matter, and paſſed it ouer wythout ſome mention.

10. Coniecture.

Finally and briefly: The frequent practiſes and examples of other tymes, may make this alſo more doubtful, conſideryng how many ſubtile pretences, after lyke ſorte haue bene ſought, ⁊ wrongfull accuſations brought agaynſt many innocent perſons. For (not to repeate the like forgeries againſt the lord Cobham and ſir Roger Acton. ⁊c.) why may not this accuſation of the Duches and Onley, be as falſe as that in the tyme of king Edward the 5, which was layd to the charge of the Queene, and Shores wyfe, by the Protectors, for inchaunting ⁊ bewitching of his wythered arme? which to be falſe, all the world doth know, and but a quarell made, only to oppreſſe the life of the L. Haſtings and the L. Standley. ⁊c. And thus mayeſt thou ſee, gentle reader, accordyng to the wiſe mans ſaying: Nihil nouum eſſe ſub ſole: Nihilq; dictum, quod non dictum prius. &c.

Although theſe with many mo coniectures, may be alledged in ſome part of Defence of this Duches, and of her Chaplaines and Prieſtes: yet becauſe it may be not vnpoſſible agayne, the matter layde agaynſt them, to be true, I leaue it therfore at large as I finde it: ſaying as I ſayd before, that if it be true which the ſtories ſay in this matter, thinke I beſeech thee gentle Reader, that I haue ſayd nothyng hereof. Onely, becauſe the matter may be diſputable, and not vnpoſſible to be falſe, I haue but moued thereof a queſtion, and brought my coniectures, leauyng the determination and iudgement hereof, to thy indifferent and free arbitrement.

A briefe anſwere to M. Copes cauillations, concernyng Duke Humfreyes wife.

And if M. Cope, be ſo highly offended with me, becauſe in my firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes I durſt name the Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Only: let him take this for a ſhort aunſwer, becauſe my leiſure ſerueth not to make lōg brawles with hym: ÿ if I had thought no imperfections to haue paſſed in my former edition before, I would neuer haue taken in hande the recognition thereof now the ſecond tyme, wherby to ſponge away ſuch motes, as I thought would ſeeme great ſtombling blockes in ſuche mens walkes, which walke with no charitie to edifie: but with malice to carpe and reprehende, neyther admoniſhyng what they ſee amiſſe in others, neyther taryng whyle other men reforme themſelues, and finally findyng quarels where no great cauſe is iuſtly geuen. And here an ende wyth M. Cope for this tyme.

The contention betwene the Cardinall of Wint. and Duke Humfrey, Lord protectour.

An. 1440

Forſomuch as in the proceſſe before, mention was touched concernyng the grudge betwene the Cardinall, called the rich Cardinall of Wincheſter, and the good duke Humfrey duke of Gloceſter, the kinges vncle, and protector of the realme: order of ſtory now requireth to open ſome parte of that matter more at large. Wherin this firſt is to be vnderſtand, that long before, great flames of grudge and diſcorde did burſt out betwene theſe two. For as the noble harte of the Duke could not abyde the proud doynges of the Cardinall: ſo much agayne the Cardinall in lyke maner ſore enuied and diſdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloceſter. Notwithſtandyng by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, the braſtyng out betwene them was before appeaſed and cured: yet not ſo, but that vnder imperfect amitie, priuy hatred, as ſparcles vnder the embers, did ſtill remayne: So that the Cardinall, ioynyng with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, attempted many thinges of their owne preſumption, contrary to the conſent, not onely of the kyng (beyng then vnder age) but alſo of the protectour and gouernour of the realm. Wherwyth the Duke (lyke a true harted prince) beyng not without iuſt cauſe offended, declared in wrytyng to the king certaine complaintes conteyned in 21. Articles, wherein the Cardinall and Archbiſhop had tranſgreſſed, both agaynſt the king and his lawes. The tenor whereof, more at large is in other ſtories expreſſed, the briefe abſtract therof followeth in a ſhort ſummarie here to be ſene.

Ex Polychro.

❡ Certayne poyntes or articles obiected by the Duke Humfrey, agaynſt the Cardinall of Wincheſter.

Wint. preſumeth to be Cardinall agaynſt the mynde of his king.

FIrſt complayned to his ſoueraigne Prince, his right redoubted Lord duke Humfrey, his vncle and protector of the realme, that the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the dayes of his father king Henry the v. tooke vpon hym the ſtate of a cardinall, beyng denied by the king, ſaying that he had as leſe ſet his crowne beſide hym, as to ſee him weare a Cardinals hatte, and that in Parliamentes, he not beyng contented with the place of a Biſhop among the ſpirituall perſons preſumed aboue his order, which the ſayd Duke deſired to be redreſſed.

Wint. incurreth the law of premunire.

2. Item, where as he beyng made Cardinall, was voyded of hys biſhopricke of Wincheſter, he procured from Rome the Popes Bull, vnknowyng to the kyng, wherby he toke agayne his Biſhopricke, contrary to the common lawe of this Realme, incurryng thereby the caſe of prouiſion, and forfeityng all hys goodes to the Kyng, by the lawe of premuniri facias.

Wint. intrudeth himſelf to be the kinges gouernour.

3. Item, he complayned, that the ſayd Cardinall, with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, intruded themſelues to haue the gouernaunce of the kyng, and the doyng vnder the kyng, of temporall matters, excludyng the kynges vncle, and other temporall Lordes of the kings kynd, from hauyng knowledge of any great matter.

The Cardinall defraudeth the king of hys iewels.

4. Item, wheras the kyng had borowed of the Cardinall iiij. M. poundes, vpon certaine Iewels, and afterward had his mony redy at the day to quite his Iewels: the Cardinall cauſed the treaſurer to conuert that money, to the payment of an other army, to kepe the Iewels ſtill to hys owne vſe and gayne.

The Cardinall deliuereth the k. of Scottes, vpon hys owne authoritie.

5. Item, hee beyng then Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Chaunceloür of England, deliuered the kyng of Scottes, vpon his own authoritie, contrary to the Acte of Parlamēt, weddyng his nece afterward to the ſayd kyng. Alſo where the ſayd kyng of Scottes ſhould haue payd to the kyng 40. thouſād poundes, the cardinall procured. x. thouſād markes therof to be remitted, and yet the reſt very ſlenderly payed.

The Cardinall playeth the marchāt.

6. Item the ſayd Cardinall, for lending notable ſōmes to the kyng, had the profit of the porte of Hampton: where he, ſetting his ſeruaunts to be the Cuſtomers, wolle and other marchaundiſe was, vnder that cloke, exported, not ſo much to his ſingular vauātage, beyng the cheife marchaunt, as to the greate preiudice of the kyng, and detriment to his ſubiectes.

7. Item, the Cardinall, in lending great ſommes to the kyng, yet ſo differred and delayed the loane therof, that commyng out of ſeaſon, the ſame dyd the kyng little pleaſure, but rather hynderaunce.

The Cardinal a defrauder of the k.

8. Item, where Iewels ⁊ plate were preiſed at. xi. thouſand poundes in weight, of the ſayd Cardinall forfeited to the kyng: the Cardinall for loant of a litle peece, gat hym a reſtorement therof, to the kynges great damage, who better might haue ſpeared the commons, if the ſomme had remayned to hym cleare.

9. Item, where the kynges father had geuen Elizabeth Bewchampe. CCC. markes of lyuelode, with this condition if ſhe wedded with in a yeare, the Cardinall, notwithſtandyng ſhee was maryed two or three yeares after, yet gaue her the ſame, to the kinges great hurt, and diminiſhyng of his inheritaunce.

The Cardinall taketh vpon hym lyke a king.

10. Item, the Cardinall hauyng no authoritie nor intereſt to the crowne, preſumed notwithſtandyng to call before him, like a kyng, to the kynges high derogation.

11. Item, that the Cardinall ſued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all diſmes, due to the kyng by the church of Wincheſter, geuing therby example to the clergy, to withdraw their diſmes likewiſe, and to lay all the charge onely vpon the temporaltie, and poore commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuryng of the ſayd Cardinal and Archbyſhop of Yorke, greate goods of the kynges were loſt and diſpended vpō needleſſe Ambaſſades, firſt to Arras, then to Calyce.

14. Item, it was laid to the charge of the ſayde Cardinall and Archbyſhop, that by their meanes, going to Calyce, the ij. enemyes of the king, the Duke of Orleaunce, and Duke of Burgoyne, were reduced together in accorde ⁊ alliaunce, who beyng at warre before betwene them ſelues, and nowe confederate together, ioyned both together agaynſt ÿ kyngs townes and countreis ouer the ſea, to the great daunger of Normandie, and deſtruction of the kynges people.

15. Item, by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, ⁊ the Cardinall,

The Card. traytour to the crowne.

ſwaſions were moued openly in the kynges preſence, with all allurementes and inducementes, that the kinge ſhould leaue his right, his title and honour of his crowne, in nominatyng hym kyng of Fraunce, durying certaine yeares, and that he ſhould vtterly abſteine, and be content onely in wrytyng, with Rex Angliæ, to the greate note and infamie of the kyng and of all his progenitours.

16.17. Item, through the ſleight & ſubtiltye of the ſayde Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betwene the king and certaine aduerſaries of Fraunce. Alſo the deliueraũce of the Duke of Orleance was appoynted in ſuch ſort, as thereby greate diſworſhip and inconuenience was like to fall, rather on the kinges ſide then of the other.

The Card. a purchaſer of the kinges landes.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchaſed great landes and lyuelodes of the kyng, the duke beyng on the other ſyde the ſea occupied in warres, which redounded litle to the worſhip and profit of the kyng: and moreouer had the king bounde, to make him as ſure eſtate of al thoſe lands by Eaſter next, as could be deuiſed by any learned counſail: or els the ſayd Cardinall to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the landes of the Duchie of Lancaſter in Northfolke to the value of vij. or viij. hundred markes by ỹ yeare.

Peruerſe counſaile of the Cardinal

19. Item, where the Duke the kyngs vncle, had often offered his ſeruice for the defence of the Realme of Fraunce, and the duchie of Normandy, the Cardinal euer labored to the contrary, in preferryng other, after his ſingular affection: wherby a great part of Normandy hath bene loſt.

The Card. a deceauer of the king and a bryber.

20. Itẽ, ſeing ỹ Cardinall was riſen to ſuch ryches & treaſure, which could grow to him, neyther by his Church, nor by enheritaũce (which he then had) it was of neceſſity to be thought, that it came by his great deceites, in deceauing both the king, and his ſubiectes, in ſellyng offices, preferments, lyuelodes, captainſhips both here and in the realme of Fraunce & in Normandy: ſo that what hath bene there loſt, he hath bene the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Card. purchaſeth a pardon agaynſt hys premunire.

21. Furthermore, when the ſayd Cardinall had forfeyted all hys goods by the ſtatute of prouiſion, he hauyng the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realme: purchaſed from the pope a Charter of pardon, not onely to the defeating of the lawes of the realme, but alſo to the defraudyng of the king, who otherwiſe might & ſhould haue had wherewith to ſuſtaine his warres, without anye tallage of his poore people. &c.

Prelates holde one with an other.

Malice burſt out.

When the king heard theſe accuſatiõs, he committed the hearing therof to his counſayle: wherof the moſt part were ſpirituall perſons. So, what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was wynked at, & dalyed out, and nothyng ſayde therunto: and a fayre countenaunce was made to the Duke, as though no diſpleaſure had bene taken, nor malice borne in theſe ſpirituall ſtomaches. But ſhortly after, the ſmoke hereof, not able to kepe in any longer within the ſpirituall breſtes of theſe charitable churchmen, braſt out in flames of myſchiefe. For vpon the necke of this matter, as witneſſeth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall which followeth Polych. firſt enſued the condemnatiõ of L. Elianour the Duches, and her Chapleines, as ye haue heard before. Wherby it may apeare the ſayd Duches more of malice, then any iuſt cauſe, thus to haue bene troubled. Alſo within vi. yeares after, followed the lamentable deſtructiõ of the Duke himſelfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Paules ſteeple ſet on fire by lightning.

About which time, or not long before, an. 1443. the ſteeple of Paules was ſet on fire by lightning, and at laſt by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

1445.

The death of Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Cant.

The building of Alſoine Colledge and Barnard Colledge in Oxforde.

And after the condemnation of ladye Elianour the Duches aforſayde, within few yeares, an. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Cant, by whom ſhee was condemned in S. Steuenes chappell at Weſtm. for penaunce to beare a taper through Chepeſyde three ſondrye tymes, and afterwarde outlawed to the Ile of Manne, vnder the cuſtody of ſyr John Standley knyght. This Henry Chicheſley buylded in his time, ij. Colledges in the Vniuerſitye of Oxford, the one called Alſoine coledge, the other named Barnard colledge.

1447.

The ſtory & death of Humfrey, Duke of Glouceſter.

Proceeding nowe to the yeare, wherin ſuffered Humfrey the good Duke of Gloceſter, which was the yeare of the Lord. 1447. firſt we will begin in few wordes to intreate of his life and conuerſation: then of the manner and cauſe of hys death. As touching the of ſpringe and deſcent of this Duke, firſt he was the ſonne of Henrye the fourth, brother to king Henry the fyft, and vncle to king Henrye the ſixte, aſſigned to be the gouernour and protectour of his perſon. Of manners he ſeemed meeke and gentle, louing the cõmon wealth, a ſupporter of the poore commons, of wit & wiſdom diſcrete & ſtudious, wel affected to religion, & a friend to verity & no leſſe enemy to pride & ambitiõ, eſpecially in hautie prelates, which was his vndoing in this preſẽt euil world: And, which is ſeldom & rare in ſuch princes of that calling, he was both learned himſelfe: and no leſſe geuen to ſtudie, as alſo a ſingular fauourer and patron to them which were ſtudious and learned. And that my commendation of hym may haue the more credit, I will produce the teſtimony of learned writers, who lyuing in his time, not onely do commend hys famous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in hym: but alſo commit & ſubmit their workes to his iudgement to be examined. Of which writers one is Petrus de Monte, writing De virtutum et vitiorum differentia: who in hys Epiſtle dedicatorie, beginnyng wyth the ſinguler commendation of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumq; ſcientiarum peritia, ſayth thus: Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atq; ſtudio incumbis: adeo vt nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione, iucũdum, gratum, aut certe delectabile videatur. &c. And in further proces of his worke, thus he further declareth, ſaying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut ſcientia, quanquam et id quidem eſſet ſatis: verum fere omnibus, earumq; codices magna quadam auiditate legiſti. &c. Beſide this Petrus de Monte, let vs heare alſo the iudgement of an other writer of the ſame age, named Lapiſcaſtellius, who likewiſe dedicating to the ſayd Duke Humfrey, his booke intituled Comparatio ſtudiorum et rei militaris, amongeſt diuers other wordes commendatory, hath theſe as folow: Ad te potiſſimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, et ſapientiſſimũ iudicem fore exiſtimo, qui vt ex integerrimo pat. domino, Zenone Baiocenſi epiſcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidiſſimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis ſtudijs inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit. &c. Many other argumentes and places may be brought, to declare what is to be eſteemed of the learnyng and ſtudious wit of thys noble Prince.

Duke Humfrey cõmended for his learning.

Petrus de Mõte, De virtutum et vitiorũ differentia, ad D. Humfredum.

Lapiſcaſtellius De comparatione ſtudiorum et rei militaris ad D. Humfredum.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcrete wiſedome and ſingular prudence in him no leſſe to be conſidered: as for the more manifeſt proofe thereof, I thought here good amongeſt many other his godly doynges, to recite one example, reported as well by the penne of Sir Thomas More, as alſo by M. William Tindall, the true Apoſtle of theſe our latter dayes, to the entent to ſee and note, not onely the craftye working of falſe miracles in the clergie, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty prince, the foreſayd Duke Humfrey, may geue vs better to vnderſtand what man he was. The ſtory lieth thus.

A falſe miracle eſpied.

In the young dayes of this king Henry the 6. beyng yet vnder the gouernaunce of this Duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albones a certaine beggar wyth his wife, and there was walking about the towne, begging fiue or ſixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, ſaying that he was borne blynde and neuer ſaw in his life, & was warned in his dreame, that he ſhould come out of Barwik, where he ſayd he had euer dwelled, to ſeeke S. Albon, and that he had bene at his ſhrine, and had not bene holpen, and therefore he would go and ſeeke him at ſome other place: for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, that S. Albones body ſhould be at Colon, and in deede ſuch a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am ſurely informed, he lyeth here at S. Albons, ſauing ſome Reliques of hym, which they there ſhewe ſhrined. But to tell you forth, when the kyng was comen, and the towne full, ſodainly this blynde man, at S. Albones ſhrine had his ſight agayne, and a miracle ſolemnly ronge, and Te Deum ſonge, ſo that nothyng was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then, that Duke Humfrey of Gloceſter, a man no leſſe wiſe, thẽ alſo well learned, hauing great ioy to ſee ſuch a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and firſt ſhewing himſelfe ioyous of Gods glory, ſo ſhewed in the getting of his ſight, and exhorting hym to meekenes, and to no aſcribing of any part of the worſhip to himſelfe, nor to be proud of the peoples praiſe, which would call hym a good and godly man therby, at laſt he looked well vpon his eyen, and aſked whether he could ſee nothing at all, in all his lyfe before. And when as well his wife as himſelfe affirmed faſtly no, then he looked aduiſedly vpon his eyen againe, and ſayd: I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye cã not ſee well yet. Yes ſyr, quod he, I thanke God and his holy martyr, I can ſee now as well as any man. Ye can (quod ỹ Duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anone the begger tolde him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told hym alſo, and ſo forth without any ſticking, he tolde him the names of all the colours that could be ſhewed hym. And when the Duke ſaw that, he bad him walke traitour, and made him to be ſet openly in the ſtockes: For though he could haue ſene ſodeinly by miracle the difference betwene diuers colours, yet coulde he not by the ſight ſo ſodeinly tell

Diſſimulation well puniſhed.

the names of all theſe colours, except he had knowen them before, no more then the names of all the men that he ſhould ſodaynly ſee.

Commendation of Duke Humfrey.

By this may it be ſene how Duke Hūfrey had not onely an head to diſcerne and diſſeuer truth from forged and fayned hypocriſie, but ſtudy alſo and diligence likewiſe was in him, to reforme that which was amiſſe.

The good Duke of Gloceſter.

Polyd. Hiſt. lib. 23. Hall. in 25. Henr. 6.

The enemies to the Duke of Gloceſter.

The malicious working of the Cardinall agaynſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

And thus much hetherto for the noble proweſſe and vertues, ioyned with like ornaments of knowledge and literature ſhining in this Princely Duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore commons, and well ſpoken of all men, & no leſſe deſeruyng the ſame, beyng called the good Duke of Gloceſter: ſo neither yet wanted he his enemyes, and priuy enuiers, whether it was thorough the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that houſe, which is but a vayne & friuolous obſeruation of Polydore, & Halle which followeth hym, bringyng in the examples of Hugh Spēſer, of Thomas of Wodſtock, ſonne of kyng Edward the third, of this Duke Humfrey, and after of kyng Richard the iij. Duke likewiſe of Gloceſter: or whether it was that the nature of true vertue commōly is ſuch, that as the flame euer beareth his ſmoke, and the body his ſhadow: ſo the brightnes of vertue neuer blaſeth, but hath ſome diſdaine or enuy wayting vpon it: or els whether it was rather for ſome deuorcement from his wife, or for ſome other vice or treſpaſſe done (as ſeemeth moſt lyke truth) whiche God as well in Dukes houſes correcteth, as in other inferiour perſons, eſpecially where he loueth: But howſoeuer the cauſe is to vs vnknowen, this good Duke of Gloceſter, albeit beyng both the kynges ſole vncle, & hauyng ſo many well willers thorough the whole Realme, yet lacked not his Sathan: lacked not his ſecret maligners. Of whom ſpecially was Henry Beauford Cardinall, Byſhop of Wincheſter and Chancellour of England: who of long time diſdaynyng and enuying the rule and authoritie of this Duke: firſt had diſpoſed and appoynted himſelfe, to remoue the kynges perſon from Eltham vnto Winſore out of the Dukes handes, and there to put in ſuch gouernours, as him liſted. After that, entendyng the Dukes death, he ſet men of armes and Archers at the end of London bridge, and for barryng the hygh way with a draw chayne, ſet men in chambers, ſellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purpoſed deſtruction both of the Duke and his retinue, if God had not ſo diſpoſed, to turne his iourney an other way. Beſide other manifold iniuries and moleſtations, the ambitious Cardinall, ſeekyng by all meanes to be Pope, procured ſuch trouble agaynſt him, that great diuiſion was thereby in the whole realme: in ſomuch that all the ſhops within ẏ Citie of London, were ſhut in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages, for eche part had aſſembled no ſmall nūber of people. For the pacifying wherof the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and the Duke of Quinber, called the Prince of Portingal, rode. viij. tymes in one day betwene thoſe two aduerſaryes. Such were thẽ the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the Realme, and all by the excitation of this vnquyet Cardinall.

W. de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, the cauſe of the Duke of Gloceſters death

The vnprofitable mariage betwen K. Henr. 6. and Queene Margaret.

Ouer and beſide, this Cardinall afore mentioned, an other capitall enemy to the ſayd Duke, was William de la Pole, firſt Earle, then Marques, at laſt duke of Suffolke, a mā very ill reported of in ſtories, to be not onely ẏ organ & inſtrument of this good mans death, but alſo to be the noyſance of the common wealth, and ruine of the Realme. For by him and his onely deuiſe, was firſt concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonorable mariage betwene the Kyng, & Lady Margaret daughter of the Duke of Angeow: where as the kyng had concluded & contracted a mariage before with the daughter of the Earle of Arminake, vpon conditions ſo much more profitable and honorable, as more conuenient it is for a Prince to mary a wife with riches and frendes, thē to take a mayde with nothyng, and diſherite himſelfe, & his realme of old rightes, & auncẽt inheritaunce, which ſo came to paſſe. And all this the good Duke did welforeſee, and declared no leſſe: but his counſaile would not be taken. Wherupon followed firſt the geuing away the duchy of Angeow, & the Citie of Mayne, with the whole countrey of Mayne, to Reyner Duke of Angeow & father of the Damoſell, called the kyng of Sicile and of Hieruſalem, hauyng therof no peny profit, but onely a vayne name to play with all.

Queene Margaret mortall enemie to the duke of Gloceſter.

The malice of a woman.

An other ſore enemy and mortall plague to this Duke, was the Queene her ſelfe, lately before maried to the kyng. Who beyng of haute ſtomacke, and all ſet vpon glory of wyt and wilynes lackyng nothyng, and perceauyng her huſband to be ſimple of wit, and eaſie to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the kyng and kingdome. And becauſe the aduiſe & counſaile of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, was ſomewhat a ſtay that her authoritie and regiment could not ſo fully procede, & partly becauſe the ſayd Duke before dyd diſagree from that mariage, this manly woman and courageous Queene ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible, to ſet forward his deſtruction, hauyng alſo for her helper herein the Duke of Buckyngham. &c.

A ſnare to catch the innocent.

1447.

A parliament at Bery.

The cruell death or martyrdome of the good Duke of Gloceſter.

Theſe beyng his principall enemyes and mortall foes, fearyng leſt ſome commotion might ariſe, if ſuch a Prince ſo neare the kynges bloud, and ſo deare to the people, and of all men ſo beloued, ſhould be openly executed & put to death, deuiſed how to trap him, and circumuent him vnknowyng and vnprouided. For the more ſpeedy furtheraunce wherof, a Parliamēt was ſummoned to be kept at Bery an. 1447. farre from the Citizens of Londō, as William Tyndall in his boke of practiſe, writeth. Whether reſorted all the peeres of the Realme, and amongeſt them the Duke of Gloceſter, thinkyng no harme to any mā, and leſſe to himſelfe. Who on the ſecond day of the Seſſion, was by the Lord Beamond hygh Conſtable then of England, accompanyed with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arreſted, apprehended, and put in ward, and vpon the ſame, all his ſeruauntes diſcharged and put from him: of whom. xxxij. of the principall beyng alſo vnder arreſt, were diſperſed into diuers priſons, to the great murmuryng and greuaunce of the people. After this arreſt thus done, and the Duke put in to ward, the night after (ſayth Halle) vj. nightes after (ſayth Fabiā and Polychron.) he was foūd dead in his bed the. 24. day of February and his body ſhewed to the Lordes and Commons, as though he had bene taken naturally with ſome ſodeyne diſeaſe. And although no wounde in his body could be ſene: yet to all indifferent perſons it might well be iudged, that he dyed of no naturall pange, but of ſome violent hand. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrangled, ſome that a whote ſpyt was priuely forced into his body, ſome affirme that he was ſtyfled betwene two fetherbeds. After the death of this Duke, and his body beyng interred at S. Albones, after he had politikely by the ſpace of. xxv. yeares gouerned this realme, fiue of his houſhold: to wit, one Knight iij. Eſquiers, and a yeoman, were arreigned, and conuict to be hanged, drawen, and quartered. Who beyng hanged and cut down halfe alyue, the Marques of Suffolke, there preſent ſhewed the charter of the kynges pardon, and ſo they were deliuered. Notwithſtanding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, ſaying that the ſauyng of the ſeruauntes, was no amendes for the murderyng of the maiſter.

The iudgement of god vpon them which perſecuted the Duke of Gloceſter.

In this cruell fact of theſe perſons, which dyd ſo conſpire and conſent to the death of this noble man, and which thought thereby to worke their owne ſafety, the maruelous worke of Gods iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted: who, as in all other like cruell policies of man, ſo in this alſo turned all their policies cleane contrary: So that where the Queene thought moſt to preſerue her huſband in honour, & her ſelfe in ſtate: therby both ſhe loſt her huſband, her huſband loſt his realme, the realme loſt Angeow, Normandy, the Duchy of Aquitane, with all other partes beyond the ſea, Calyce onely except, as in ſequele of the matter, who ſo will read the ſtories, ſhall right well vnderſtand.

1448.

The death of the Cardinall, & maner of the ſame.

The wordes of the Cardinal of Winc. at his death.

The next yere folowyng, it folowed alſo, that the Cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ryngleader of all this miſchief, was ſuffered of God no longer to lyue. Of whoſe wicked cōditiōs beyng more largely ſet forth in Edward Halle, I omit here to ſpeake. What he himſelfe ſpake in his deathbed for example to other, I thought not beſt to pretermit. Who hearyng that he ſhould dye, and that there was no remedy, murmured & grudged, wherfore he ſhould dye, hauyng ſomuch riches: ſaying: that if the whole realme would ſaue his lyfe, he was able either by policie to get it, or by riches to buy it: addyng and ſaying moreouer, fie (quod he) will not death be hyred? nor will money do nothyng? whē my nephew of Bedford dyed, I thought my ſelfe halfe vp the wheele, but whē I ſaw myne other nephew of Gloceſter deceaſſed, then I thought my ſelfe able to be equal with kynges, and ſo thought to encreaſe my treaſure, in hope to haue worne the triple crowne. &c. Ex Edou. Hallo. And thus is the rich Byſhop of Wincheſter, with all his pompe & riches gone, with the which riches, he was able not onely to build ſcholes, colledges, and vniuerſities, but alſo was able to ſuſteine the kynges armyes in warre (as is ſpecified in ſtories) without any taxyng of the commons.

Will Wanflet Byſhop of Winc.

Magdalen Colledge in Oxford builded.

In whoſe ſea next ſucceded William Wanflet, preferred to the Byſhopricke of Wincheſter who though he had leſſe ſubſtaunce, yet hauyng a mynde more godly diſpoſed, did found and erect the Colledge of Mary Magdalene in Oxford. For the which foundation, as there haue bene, and be yet many ſtudentes bounde to yeld greatfull thankes vnto God, ſo I muſt nedes confeſſe my ſelfe to be one, except I wilbe vnkynde.

Among

Gods puniſhment vpon the Marques of Suffolke.

Amõg the other miſchieuous aduerſaries which ſought and wrought the death of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, next to the Cardinall of Wincheſter (who, as is ſayd, dyed the next yeare folowyng) was William de la Pole, Marques of Suffolke, who alſo liued not long after, nor long eſcaped. For although he was hyghly exalted, by the meanes of the Queene (whoſe mariage he onely procured) vnto the fauour of the kyng, and was made Duke of Suffolke, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole ſway in the realme, whoſe actes and factes his vayne glorious head cauſed alſo by the aſſent of the commõs, to be recorded, and ſubſtantially to be regiſtred in the rolles of the Parliament, for a perpetuall renowne to him, and all his poſteritie for euer: yet notwithſtanding the hand of Gods iudgement ſtill hangyng ouer him, he enioyed not long this his triumphãt victory. For within iij. yeares after the death and ruine of the Cardinall, the voyces of the whole commons of England were vtterly turned agaynſt him, accuſing him in the Parliament at the Blacke Friers, for deliuery of the Duchy of Angeow, and Earledome of Maine: alſo for the death of the noble Prince Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter. They imputed moreouer to hym the loſſe of all Normandye, laying vnto hym, that he was a ſwalower vp and cõſumer of the kyngs treaſure, the expeller of all good and vertuous counſailours from the kyng, and aduauncer of vicious perſons, apparant aduerſaryes to the publicke wealth: ſo that he was called in euery mouth a traytour, a murderer, and a robber of the kynges treaſure.

The vaine glory of mã hart forgetting himſelfe in honour.

The cõmons vnconſtant.

The Duke of Suffolke accuſed by the cõmons.

The Queene, albeit ſhe tenderly loued the Duke, yet to appeaſe the exclamation of the Commons, was forced to committe hym to the tower, where he, with as much pleaſure and libertie as could be, remayned for a moneth, which being expired, he was deliuered and reſtored agayne into his old place and former fauour with the kyng: where at the people more grudged then before. It happened by the occaſion of a commotion then begynnyng amongeſt the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the Parliament, was for that tyme, adiourned to Leyceſter, thinkyng to the Queene, by force and rigour of law to repreſſe there the malice and euill will conceiued agaynſt the Duke. But at that place few of the nobilitie would appeare. Wherfore it was agayne reiourned vnto London, & kept at Weſtminſter, where was a whole company, & a full appearaũce, with the Kyng and Queene, and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chief cõſailour. The cõmons not forgettyng their old grudge, renewed agayne their former Articles and accuſations agaynſt the ſayd Duke, agaynſt the Byſhop of Saliſb. & ſir James Fynies, Lord Say, and other. When the kyng perceaued that no gloſing nor diſſimulation would ſerue to appeaſe the continuall clamor of the importunate cõmons, to make ſome quiet pacification, firſt he ſequeſtred from him the Lord Say, treaſurer of England, & other the Dukes adherentes from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of v. yeares, ſuppoſing by that ſpace the furious rage of the people would aſſwage.

The Duke of Suffolke againe accuſed.

Example of Gods iudgement and of bloud reuenged.

But the hand of God would not ſuffer the giltles bloud of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, to be vnreuenged, nor that flagitious perſon further to continue. For when he ſhipped in Suffolke, intendyng to be tranſported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a ſhyp of warre belongyng to the tower, whereby he was taken, & brought into Douer rode, and there on the ſide of a ſhyp boate, one ſtrake of hys head: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

The Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

And thus haue ye heard the full ſtory and diſcourſe of Duke Humfrey, and of all hys aduerſaryes: alſo of Gods condigne puniſhment vpon them for their bloudy crueltie. But before I remoue from the ſayd ſtory of the foreſayd Duke, and of the proude Cardinall his enemy, I will here by the way, annexe a certaine inſtrument by the kyng and aduiſe of his Counſayle, made agaynſt the ſayd Cardinall, takyng vpon hym to enter into this Realme, as Legate frõ the Pope, contrary to the old lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme, as by the wordes of the ſayd inſtrument here in Latine may well appeare.

Publicum i[illegible]ſtrumentu[illegible] nomine Reg[illegible]

IN Dei nomine Amen, Per preſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter quod an. Dom, 1428. Indictione ſeptima pontificatus Sanct. in Chriſto pat. & D. noſtri D. Martini. &c.

Ego Richardus Candray, procurator & nomine procuratorio Chriſtianiſſimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & Domini Hiberniæ, Domini mei ſupremi, de aſſenſu pariter & aduiſamento Illuſtris & potentis Principis Humfridi Ducis Glouceſtriæ, Comitis Penbrochię, protectoris & defenſoris regni Anglię, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac cæterorum dominorum meorum de conſilio ſuæ Regiæ celſitudinis, ac conſilium eiuſdem facientium & hac vice repreſentantium, dico, allego, et in his ſcriptis propono, quod dictus Chriſtianiſſimus princeps, dominus meus ſupremus, ſuiq; inclytiſſimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges, fuerunt & ſunt, tam ſpeciali privilegio, quã conſuetudine laudabili legitimeq; præſcripta, nec non a tẽpore & per tempus (cuius contrarij memoria hominum non exiſtat) pacifice & inconcuſſe obſeruata, ſufficienter dotati legitimeq; muniti, quod nullus Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum ſuum Angliæ, aut alias ſuas terras & dominia, niſi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore exiſtentis vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem, inuitationem, ſeu rogatum: Fueruntq; et ſunt dicti Chriſtianiſſimus princeps, dominus meus ſupremus ac ſui inclyti progenitores huiuſmodi Reges Angliæ, in poſſeſſione quaſi iuris & facti priuilegij, & conſuetudinis prædictorum, abſq; interruptione quacunq;, toto & omni tempore ſupradicto, pacifice & quiete: Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus ſupradictum, præmiſſa omnia & ſingula, ſcientibus, tolerantibus, & iiſdem conſentientibus tam tacite quam expreſſe, ac extra omnem & omnimodam poſſeſſionem, quaſi iuris & facti, Legatum huiuſmodi (vt præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias ſuas terras & dominia mittendi, niſi ad vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem, & rogatum Regis Angliæ, pro tempore exiſtentis. Et quia reuerendiſ. in Chri. pat. & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia. &c. ſancti Euſebij præsbyter, Cardinalis ſanctæ ſedis Romanæ, Legatum ſe affirmans, more Legati, inſigniis Apoſtolicæ dignitatis vtens, abſq; vocatione, petitione, requiſitione, inuitatione, aut rogatu Chriſtianiſſimi domini noſtri Regis prędicti, inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto eſt ingreſſus: proteſtor igitur palam, & publico in his ſcriptis nomine & vice quibus ſupra, ac omnium ipſius domini noſtri Regis ſubditorum, quod non fuit, aut eſt intentionis præfati Chriſtianiſſ. principis, domini mei ſupremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de conſilio, in derogationem legum, iurium, conſuetudinum, libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D. noſtri Regis ac regni, ingreſſum huiuſmodi dicti reuerendiſſ. patris, vt Legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, ſeu ipſum vt legatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, iura, conſuetudines, libertates & priuilegia prædicta quouiſmodo admittere ſeu recognoſcere: aut exercitio legationis ſuæ huiuſmodi, aliquibuſue per ipſum, vt Legatum ſedis Apoſt. actis, ſeu agendis, attentatis, ſeu attentandis, aduerſus præmiſſa, leges, iura, conſuetudines, libertates, & priuilegia, in aliquo conſentire: ſed diſſentire: ſicq; diſſentit dictus dominus noſter Rex, atq; diſſentiunt dicti Domini mei de conſilio, per preſentes. &c.

An inſtrument by the king agaynſt the admitting the popes legate.

The ſumme and effect whereof in Engliſhe is this: that in the yeare of our Lord 1428. as the kyng wyth the duke Humfrey L. Protector, and the reſt of the Counſaile, were in the Dukes houſe in the pariſh of S. Benets by Paules warfe, one Richard Candray procuratour, in the kynges name and behalfe, did proteſt and denounce by this publicke inſtrument, that where as the kyng & all his progenitours, kynges before him of this realme of England, haue bene heretofore poſſeſſed tyme out of mynde, with ſpeciall priuilege and cuſtome vſed and obſerued in this realme from time to tyme, that no legate from the Apoſtolicke ſea ſhould enter into this land or any of the kynges dominions, without the calling, petition, requeſt, inuitement or deſire of ẏ king: and forſomuch as Henry byſhop of Wint. and Cardinall of S. Euſebius, hath preſumed ſo to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called, ſent for, required, or deſired by the king: therefore the ſayd Richard Candray in ẏ kings name doth proteſt by this inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not wyth the kynges mynde or intent, by the aduiſe of his cõſaile, to admit, approue, or ratifie the comming of the ſayde Legate in any wiſe, in derogation of the rightes, cuſtomes & lawes of this his realme: or to recogniſe, or aſſent to any exerciſe of this his autoritie Legantine, or to any actes, attemptes, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this reſpect contrary to the foreſayd lawes, rightes, cuſtomes, & liberties of this realme, by theſe preſentes. &c.

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the ſtory of Duke Humfrey, and the Cardinall of Wint. extract out of an olde written volume, remaynyng in the handes of Maiſter William Bowyer.

❡ The benefite and inuention of Printing.

An. 1450.

The arte of printing inuented.

IN folowing the courſe and order of yeares, we finde this foreſayd yeare of our Lord 1450. to be famous and memorable, for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printing. Nauclerus and Wympſelingus folowing hym, referre the inuention therof to the yeare 1440. In paralipom. Ab-

Ex Typographia per Matthæum Iudicem.

batis Vrſp. it is recorded this facultie to be found. an. 1446. Auentinus and Ziglerus do ſay, an. 1450. The firſt inuentour thereof (as moſt agree) is thought to be a Germaine dwellyng firſt in Argentine, afterward Citizen of Mentz, named Iohn Fauſtus, a goldſmith. The occaſiõ of this inuention firſt was by engrauyng the letters of the Alphabet in mettall: who then laying blacke inke vpon the mettall, gaue the forme of the letters in paper. The man beyng induſtrious, and actiue, perceauyng that, thought to procede further, and to proue whether it would frame as well in wordes, and in whole ſentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceaued to come well to paſſe, he made certeine other of his counſaile, one Iohn Guttemberge, and Peter Schaffer, byndyng them by their othe, to keepe ſilence, for a ſeaſon. After x. yeares, Iohn Guttemberge compartener w Fauſtus, begã then firſt to broch the matter at Strauſbrough. The Arte beyng yet but rude, in proceſſe of tyme, was ſet forward by inuentiue wittes, addyng more & more to the perfection therof. In the nũber of whom, Iohn Mentell, Iohn Prus, Adolphus Ruſchius, were great helpers. Vlrichus Han, in Latine called Gallus, firſt brought it to Rome. Wherof the Epigramme was made.

Carmen Ant. Campani.

Anſer Tarpeij cuſtos, vigilando quòd alis
Conſtrepere, Gallus decidit: vltor adeſt
Vlricus Gallus, ne quem poſcantur in vſum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.

Printing came of God.

Printing likened to the giftes of tounges.

Notwithſtandyng, what man ſoeuer was the inſtrument, without all doubt GOD himſelfe was the ordainer and diſposer therof, no otherwiſe, then he was of the gift of tounges, & that for a ſingular purpoſe. And well may this gift of Printing be reſembled to the gift of tõgues: for like as God then ſpake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turne the Iewes, ſo now, when the holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh to ẏ aduerſaries in innumerable ſortes of bookes, yet they will not be conuerted: nor turne to the Goſpell.

Now to conſider to what ende and purpoſe the Lorde hath geuen this gift of Printyng to the earth, and to what great vtilitie and neceſſitie it ſerueth, it is not hard to iudge, who ſo wiſely perpendeth both the tyme of the ſendyng, and the ſequele which therof enſueth.

The tyme conſidered whẽ Printing was founde.

And firſt, touchyng the tyme of this facultie geuen to the vſe of man, this is to be marked: that when as the Byſhop of Rome, with all the whole & ful conſent of his Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbyſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priours, Lawyers, Doctours, Prouoſtes, Deanes, Archdeacons, aſſembled together in the Councell of Conſtance, had condemned poore Iohn Hus, & Hierome of Prage to death for hereſie, notwithſtandyng they were no heretickes, and after they had ſubdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the ſupreme authoritie of the Romiſh ſea: and had made all Chriſten people obedienciaries and vaſſals vnto the ſame, hauyng (as one would ſay) all ẏ world at their will, ſo that the matter now was paſt not onely the power of all men, but the hope alſo of any man to be recouered: In this very tyme ſo daungerous and deſperate, where mans power could do no more, there the bleſſed wiſdome and omnipotent power of the Lord begã to worke for his Church, not with ſword and tergate to ſubdue his exalted aduerſary, but with Printyng, writyng, and readyng, to conuince darkenes by light, errour by truth, ignoraunce by learnyng: So that by this meanes of printyng, the ſecret operation of God hath heaped vpon that proude kingdome a double confuſion. For where as the Byſhop of Rome, had burned Iohn Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denyed his tranſubſtantiation, nor his ſupremacie, nor yet hys Popiſh Maſſe, but ſayd Maſſe, and heard Maſſe themſelues, neither ſpake agaynſt his Purgatory, nor any other great matter of his Popiſh doctrine, but onely exclamed agaynſt his exceſſiue and pompous pride, his vnchriſtian, or rather Antichriſtian abhomination of lyfe: thus, while he could not abyde his wickednes onely of lyfe to be touched, but made it hereſie, or at leaſt matter of death, what ſoeuer was ſpoken agaynſt his deteſtable conuerſation, and maners: God of his ſecret iudgement, ſeyng tyme to helpe his Church, hath found a way by this facultie of printyng, not onely to confound his lyfe, and conuerſation, whiche before, he could not abyde to be touched, but alſo to caſt downe the foundation of his ſtandyng, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, lawes, and inſtitution moſt deteſtable, in ſuch ſort, that though his lyfe were neuer ſo pure: yet his doctrine ſtãdyng, as it doth, no man is ſo blynd, but may ſee, that either the Pope is Antichriſt, or els that Antichriſt is neare coſine to the pope: And all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by Printyng.

Double confuſiõ vpon the Pope by printing.

The fruit and profite of Printing.

The reaſon wherof is this: for that hereby tõgues are knowen, knowledge groweth, iudgemẽt increaſeth, bookes are diſperſed, the Scripture is ſene, the Doctours be read, ſtoryes be opened, tymes compared, truth decerned, falſehode detected, and with finger poynted, and all (as I ſayd) thorough the benefite of printyng. Wherfore I ſuppoſe that either the Pope muſt aboliſhe Printyng, or he muſt ſeeke a new world to reigne ouer: for els, as this world ſtandeth, printyng doubtles will aboliſh hym. Both the Pope, & all his Colledge of Cardinals, muſt this vnderſtand, that thorough the light of Printyng, the world beginneth now to haue eyes to ſee, and heades to iudge. He can not walke ſo inuiſible in a net, but he will be ſpyed. And although thorough might he ſtopped the mouth of Iohn Hus before, & of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinkyng to make his kyngdome ſure: yet in ſtede of Iohn Hus & other, God hath opened the preſſe to preach, whoſe voyce the Pope is neuer able to ſtop with all the puiſſance of his triple crowne. By this Printyng, as by the gift of tõgues, and as by the ſingulare organe of the holy Ghoſt, the doctrine of the Goſpell ſoundeth to all nations and countreys vnder heauen: & what God reueleth to one man, is diſperſed to many, and what is knowen in one nation, is opened to all.

Good counſayle to the pope.

The firſt and beſt were for the Biſhop of Rome, by the benefite of Printyng, to learne and know the truth. If he will not, let hym well vnderſtand that Printyng is not ſet vp for naught. To ſtriue agaynſt the ſtreame, it auayleth not. What the Pope hath loſt, ſince Printyng and the preſſe began to preach, let hym caſt his counters. Firſt when Eraſmus wrote, and Frobenius Printed, what a blow thereby was geuen to all Friers & Monkes in the world? And who ſeeth not, that the penne of Luther folowyng after Eraſmus and ſet forward by Printyng, hath ſet the triple crowne ſo awrye on the Popes head, that it is lyke neuer to be ſet ſtreight agayne.

So preached the vicar of Croyden in K. Henry the 8. dayes, at Paules croſſe, ſaying that eyther we muſt roote out printing, or els printing will roote out vs.

Briefly, if there were no other demõſtration to lead, yet by this one argument of Printyng, the Byſhop of Rome might vnderſtand the counſayle and purpoſe of the Lord to worke agaynſt him, hauyng prouided ſuch a way in earth, that almoſt how many Printyng preſſes there be in the world, ſo many blockhouſes there be agaynſt the high caſtle of S. Angell. So that either the Pope muſt aboliſh knowledge and Printyng, or Printyng at length will roote hym out. For if a man wiſely conſider the hold and ſtandyng of the pope, thus he may repute with himſelfe, that as nothing made the Pope ſtrong in time paſt, but lacke of knowledge, and ignoraunce of ſimple Chriſtians: ſo contrarywiſe now nothyng doth debilitate and ſhake the high ſpire of his Papacie ſomuch as readyng, preachyng, knowledge and iudgement, that is to ſay, the fruit of Printyng: Wherof ſome experience we ſee already, and more is lyke (the Lord before) to folow. For although, through outward force and violent crueltie, tõgues dare not ſpeake, yet the hartes of men dayly (no doubt) be inſtructed through this benefite of Printyng. And though the Pope both now by cruelty, and in times paſt by ignoraunce, had all vnder his poſſeſſiõ: yet neither muſt he thinke, that violence will alwayes continue, neither muſt he hope for that now, which he had then: for ſo much as in thoſe former dayes, bookes thẽ were ſcarſe, and alſo of ſuch exceſſiue price, that few could attayne to the buyng, fewer to the readyng & ſtudying therof: which bookes now by the meanes of this Arte, are made eaſie vnto all mẽ. Ye heard before, pag. 642. how Nicolas Belward, bought a new Teſtament in thoſe dayes for foure markes and. xl. pence, where as now the the ſame price will ſerue well. xl. perſons with ſo many bookes.

Moreouer in the, pag. 407. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the teſtimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authours, both vniuerſities were decayed, and good wittes kept in ignoraũce, while beggyng Friers, ſcrapyng all the wealth from other Prieſtes, heaped vp all bookes that could be gotten, into their owne Libraryes: where either they dyd not diligently apply them, or els dyd not rightly vſe them, or at leaſt kept them frõ ſuch as more frutefully would haue peruſed them.

Triple cõmoditie by printyng.

In this then ſo great raritie, and alſo dearth of good bookes, whẽ neither they which could haue bookes, would well vſe them, nor they that would, could haue them to vſe, what marueil if the gredynes of a few Prelates did abuſe the blyndnes of thoſe dayes, to the aduauncement of themſelues? Wherefore, almightie God of his mercyfull prouidence, ſeyng both what lacked in the Church, and how alſo to remedy the ſame, for the aduauncement of his glory, gaue the vnderſtandyng of this excellent Arte or ſcience of Printyng, wherby three ſingular commodities at one tyme came to the world. Firſt, the price of all bookes diminiſhed. Secondly cōdity ÿ ſpeedy helpe of readyng, more furthered. And thirdly the plēty of all good authours enlarged: accordyng as Antoninus, doth truly report.

Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno.

The Preſſe in one day will do in Printyng,
That none in one yeare can do in writyng.

By reaſon whereof, as Printyng of bookes miniſtred matter of readyng: ſo readyng brought learnyng: learnyng ſhewed light, by the brightnes wherof blind ignoraūce was ſuppreſſed, errour detected, & finally Gods glory, with truth of his word aduaunced. This facultie of Printing was after the inuētion of Gunnes, the ſpace of. 130. yeares: which inuention was alſo found in Germany, an. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of Printyng.

Whē Gunnes were firſt inuēted.

¶ The lamentable loſing of Conſtantinople.

1453.

The loſing of Conſtantinople.

ANno. 1453. Conſtantinus Paleologus, beyng Emperour of Conſtantinople, the. 29. day of the moneth of May, the great Citie of Conſtantinople was taken by the Turke Mahometes, after the ſiege of. 54. dayes: which ſiege begun in the beginnyng of April. Within the Citie, beſide the Citizens were but onely. 6000. reſcuers of the Grekes. And 3000. of the Venetians & Genuues. Agaynſt theſe, Mahometes brought an armey of. 400. thouſand, collected out of the countreys and places adioyning rounde about, as out of Grecia, Illyrico, Wallachia, Dardania, Triballis, Bulganiis, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and ſuch other: which places had the name yet of Chriſtians. Thus one neighbour for lucre ſake, helped to deſtroy an other.

The Citie was compaſſed of the Turkes, both by Sea and land. Mahometes the Turke deuided his armey in. iiij. ſondry partes, which in. iiij. partes of the Citie, ſo beate the walles and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches therof to enter the Citie. But the valiauntnes of the Chriſtians therein wanne much commendation, whoſe Duke was called Ioh. Iuſtinianus, of Genua. But for ſo much as the aſſaultes were great, and the number of the Chriſtian ſouldiours dayly decreaſed, fightyng both at the walles and at the hauen, agaynſt ſuch a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to hold out. Beſide the armyes which lay batteryng at the walles, the Turke had vpon the Sea his nauye of. 200. and. 50. ſayle, lying vpō the hauen of the Citie, reachyng from the one ſide of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge ſhould be made from the one banke to the other. Which hauen by the Citizens was barred with yron cheynes, whereby the Turkes were kept out a certaine ſpace. Agaynſt which nauy. 8. ſhippes there were of Genua, within the hauen and. iij. of Creta, and certaine of Chio, which ſtode agaynſt them. Alſo the ſouldiours iſſuyng out of the Citie, as occaſion would ſerue, did manfully gaynſtand them, and with wild fire, ſet their ſhyps on fire, that a certaine ſpace they could ſerue to no vſe. At length the cheynes beyng braſt, & a way made, the Turkes nauye entred the hauē, and aſſaulted the Citie: whereby the Turke began to conceaue great hope, and was in forwardnes to obtayne the Citie. The aſſault & ſkirmiſhe then waxyng more hoate, Mahometes the tyraunt ſtode by vpon an hill, with his warriers about him, cryyng and houlyng out vnto them to ſkale the walles and enter the Towne: otherwiſe, if any recuſed, he threatned to kill them, and ſo he did: Whereby a great number of his ſouldiours in their repulſe and retire, were ſlayne by the Turkes men, beyng ſent by his commaundement to ſlay them: and ſo they were iuſtly ſerued, and well payde their hyer.

The tyranny of the Turke toward hys owne men.

Although this was ſome comfort to the Chriſtians, to ſee and behold out of the Citie, the Turkes ſo conſumed: yet that hope laſted not long. Shortly after, by rage of warre, it happened Iuſtinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithſtandyng that he was earneſtly deſired by Paleologus the Emperour, not to leaue his Tower which he had to keepe, ſeyng his wounde was not deadly daungerous, yet could he not be entreated to tary, but left his ſtandyng, and his fort diſfurniſhed, ſettyng none in hys place to award the ſame. And ſo this doughty Duke, hurt more with his falſe hart, then with force of weapon, gaue ouer and fled to Chius, where ſhortly after for ſorrow, rather then for ſorenes of wounde, he dyed. Many of his ſouldiours ſeyng their captaine flee, followed after, leauing their fort vtterly deſtitute without defence. The Turkes vnderſtanding that vantage, ſoone braſt into the Citie. The Emperour Paleologus ſeyng no other way but to flee, makyng toward the gate, either was ſlayne, or els troden downe with the multitude. In the which gate. 800. dead mens bodies were found and taken vp.

The cowardnes of Duke Iuſtinian.

The Emperour of Conſtantinople ſlayne.

The Citie of Conſtantinople thus being gotte, the Turkes ſacking and raunging about the ſtreetes, houſes, and corners, did put to the ſword moſt vnmercifully, whoſoeuer they found, both aged and younge: matrones, virgins, children, and infantes, ſparing none: the noble matrons and virgins were horribly rauiſhed: the goods of the citie, the treaſures in houſes, the ornamentes in churches were all ſacke and ſpoyled, the pictures of Chriſt opprobriouſly handled, in hatred of Chriſt. The ſpoyle and hauocke of the citie laſted three dayes together, while the barbarous ſouldiours murdered and rifeled what them liſted.

Conſtantinople wonne of the Turkes.

The bloudy hiſtory of the Turkes.

Theſe thynges thus beyng done, and the tumult ceaſed, after three dayes, Mahometes the Turke entreth into the Citie, and firſt callyng for the heades and auncientes of the Citie, ſuch as he founde to be left aliue, he commaunded thē to be mangled & cut in peeces. It is alſo (ſayth my author) reported, that in the feaſtes of the Turkes, honeſt matrones and virgins, and ſuche as were of the kynges ſtocke, after other contumelies, were hewen and cut in peeces for their deſport.

The horrible tyranny of the Turkes.

And this was the end of that princely and famous citie of Conſtantinople, beginning firſt by Conſtantinus, and endyng alſo with Conſtantinus: which for the princely royaltie therof, was named and euer honoured, from the tyme of the firſt Conſtantine, equally wyth the Citie of Rome, and called alſo by ÿ name therof new Rome, and ſo cōtinued the ſpace of 1120. yeares. I pray God that olde Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heede and beware by tyme.

Conſtantinople called new Rome.

This terrible deſtruction of the Citie of Conſtantinople, the Queene of Cities, I thought here to deſcribe, not ſo much to ſet forth the barbarous crueltie of theſe filthy Rakehels and mercyleſſe murtherers: as ſpecially for thys, that we beyng admoniſhed by the dolefull ruine and miſery of theſe our euenchriſtened, may call to mynde the plagues and miſeries deſerued, which ſeeme to hange no leſſe ouer our owne heades, and thereby may learne betime to inuocate and call more earneſtly vpon the name of our terrible & mercifull God, that he for his ſonnes ſake, will keepe vs, & preſerue his church among vs, and mitigate thoſe plagues and ſorrowes, which we no leſſe haue deſerued, then theſe aboue mynded, before vs. Chriſt graunt it. Amen. Ex hiſt. Wittenbergica Peuceri.

A warning to all Chriſtendome, by Conſtantinople.

¶ The hiſtory of Reynold Pecocke Byſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted and impriſoned for the Goſpell of Chriſt.

AFter the death of Henry Chicheſley before mentioned, pag. 679. next ſucceeded Iohn Stafford, an. 1445. who continued 8. yeares. After hym came Iohn Kempe, an. 1453. who ſat but three yeares. Then ſucceeded Thomas Burſcher. In the tyme of which Archbiſhop, fell ÿ trouble of Reynold Pecocke, Byſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for hys fayth and profeſſion of the Goſpell. Of this Byſhop, Halle alſo in hys Chronologie toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was geuen by the fathers of the ſpiritualtie agaynſt him. This man (ſayth he) began to moue queſtions not priuatly, but openly in the Vniuerſities, concerning the Annates, Peter pence, and other iuriſdictions and authorities pertaynyng to the ſea of Rome, and not onely put forth the queſtions, but declared his mynde and opinion in the ſame: wherefore he was for this cauſe abiured at Paules Croſſe. Thus much of him writeth Halle. Of whom alſo recordeth Polychronicon, but in fewe wordes. This byſhop, firſt of S. Aſaphe, then of Chicheſter, ſo long as Duke Humfrey lyued (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quyet and ſafe, and alſo bolde to diſpute and to write hys mynde, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatiſes. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking his backſtay, was open to his enemies, and matter ſoone found agaynſt him. Whereupon he beyng complayned of, and accuſed by priuy and malignant promoters vnto the Archbiſhop, letters firſt were directed downe from the Archbiſhop, to cite all men to appeare that could ſay any thyng agaynſt him. The forme of which citation here enſueth.

The ſtory of Reynold Pecocke.

¶ The copy of the Citation ſent by the Archbyſhop.

THomas by the permiſſion of God. Archb. of Canterbury, primate of all England and Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea, to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicares, Chaplaynes, Curates, and not Curates, Clerkes and learned men,

The citation of the Archb. Tho. Bowcher, alias Bourſcher.

men, whatſoeuer they be, cōſtitute and ordeined in any place throughout our prouince of Canterbury, health grace and benediction.

We haue receiued a greuous complaynt of our reuerend felow brother, Reynold Pecocke Biſhop of Chicheſter, cōteining in it, that albeit our ſayd reuerend felow brother, the Biſhop, deliuered vnto vs certaine bookes written by him in the Engliſh tongue, by vs and our authoritie to be examined, corrected, reformed and allowed: notwithſtandyng many (the examination and reformation of the ſayd bookes dependyng and remaynyng before vs vndiſcuſſed) haue openly preached and taught at Paules croſſe in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of Cāterbury, that our ſayd felow brother the Byſhop, hath propounded, made and written, or cauſed to be written in the ſayd bookes, certaine concluſions repugnaunt to the true fayth, and that he doth obſtinatly hold and defend the ſame.

By the pretence of which preachyng and teachyng, the ſtate and good name and fame of the ſaid Lord Reynold the Byſhop, are greuouſly offended and hurt, and he and his opinion maruelouſly burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and ſeuerally apart do commaund you, firmely enioyning you, that openly & generally you do warne or cauſe to be warned, all and ſingular ſuch perſons, which will obiect any thyng contrary and agaynſt the concluſions of our ſayd reuerend felow brother the Byſhop, had or conteined in his bookes or writynges: that the. xx. day after ſuch monition or warnyng had, they do freely of their owne accord, appeare before vs and our Commiſſaries in this behalfe appointed whereſoeuer we ſhall then be in our Citie, Dioces, or prouince of Caunterbury, to ſpeake, propounde, allegge, and affirme fully and ſufficietly in writyng, whatſoeuer hereticall or erroneous matter they will ſpeake, propounde, or obiect agaynſt the ſayd concluſions conteyned in his ſayd bookes: and both to ſatiſfie and receiue, whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme meete and right in this behalfe by the holy inſtitutions and ordinaunces.

And for ſomuch as this matter depending yet vndetermined and vndiſcuſſed, nothyng ought to be attempted or renewed: we charge you that by this our authoritie, you inhibite and forbid all and euery one ſo to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom alſo we by the tenure of theſe preſentes, do likewiſe forbyd, that duryng the examination of the concluſions and bookes aforeſayd, dependyng before vs and our Commiſſaries vndiſcuſſed, they doe not preſume by any meanes, without good aduiſe & iudgement, to preach, iudge, and affirme, any thyng to the preiudice or offence of the ſayd Lord Reynold the Byſhop: and if ſo be you do finde any in this behalfe gaynſaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cauſe them peremptorily to be cited, to appeare before vs or our Cōmiſſaries, in this behalfe appoynted, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day or els the next court day folowyng, whereſoeuer we ſhall then be, in our Citie, Dioces, or prouince of Cāterbury, to make further declaration by forme of law of the cauſe of their diſobedience, and to receiue ſuch puniſhment as iuſtice and equitie ſhall determine in in that behalfe: & that by your letters, you do duely certifie vs or our Commiſſaries, what you haue done in the premiſſes at the day & place aforeſayd: or that he which hath ſo executed our commaundement, do ſo certifie vs by his letters. Dated at our Manour of Lābeth the. xxij. day of October. an. 1457. and in the iiij. yeare of our tranſlation.

Pecocke appeareth at Lambeth before the Archb.

This citation beyng directed, the Byſhop, vpon the ſummon therof, was brought, or rather came before the iudges and Biſhops, vnto Lambeth, where the foreſayd Thomas the Archbiſhop, with his Doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbyſhops Court. In which conuention alſo the Duke of Buckyngham was preſent, accōpanyed with the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and of Lyncolne. What were the opinions and articles agaynſt hym obiected, after in his reuocation ſhall be ſpecified. In his aunſweryng for himſelfe in ſuch a company of the Popes frendes, albeit he could not preuayle, notwithſtandyng he ſtoutly defendyng hymſelfe declared many thynges worthy great commendatiō of learnyng, if learnyng agaynſt power could haue preuayled.

Great labour, to reduce Pecocke from his opinions.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and trauayle, extended thēſelues, either to reduce him, or els to confounde him. As here lacked no bluſteryng wordes of terrour and threatnyng: ſo alſo many fayre flatteryng wordes and gentle perſwaſions; were admixt with all. Briefly, to make a ſhort narration of a long & buſie trauerſe, here was no ſtone left vnturned, no wayes vnproued, either by fayre meanes to entreate him, or by terrible manaſſes to terrifie his mynde, till at the length, he beyng vanquiſhed and ouercome by the Biſhops, began to faynt and geue ouer. Whervpō, by and by a recantation was put vnto hym by the Byſhops, which he ſhould declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

The forme and maner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

The retractation of Byſhop Pecocke.

Ex Regiſt.

1457.

IN the name of God Amen. Before you, the moſt reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, primate of England and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, I Reynold Pecocke, vnworthy Byſhop of Chicheſter, do purely, willyngly, ſimply, and abſolutely, confeſſe and acknowledge, that I in tymes paſt, that is to ſay, by the ſpace of theſe. xx. yeares laſt paſt and more, haue otherwiſe conceiued, holden, taught and written, as touchyng the Sacramentes and the Articles of the fayth, then the holy Church of Rome and vniuerſall Church: and alſo that I haue made, written, publiſhed and ſet forth many & diuers pernicious doctrines, bookes, workes, writynges, hereſies, cōtrary and agaynſt the true Catholicke and Apoſtolicke fayth, contaynyng in them, errours contrary to the Catholicke fayth, and eſpecially theſe errours and hereſies here vnder written.

His Articles.

1. Firſt of all, that we are not bound by the neceſſitie of faith, to beleue that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt after his death, deſcended into hell.
2. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue in the holy Catholicke Church.
3. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue the communion of Saintes.
4. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, to affirme the body materially in the Sacrament.
5. Item, that the vniuerſall Church may erre in matters which pertaine vnto fayth.
6. Item, that it is not neceſſary vnto ſaluation, to beleue, that that, whiche euery generall Councell doth vniuerſally ordaine, approue, or determine, ſhould neceſſarily, for the helpe of our fayth, and the ſaluation of ſoules, be approued & holden of all faythfull Christians.

Wherfore I Reynold Pecocke wretched ſinner, which haue long walked in darkeneſſe, and now by the mercyfull diſpoſition and ordinaunce of God, am reduced and brought agayne vnto the light and way of truth, and reſtored vnto the vnitie of our holy mother the Church: renounce and forſake all the errours and hereſies aforeſayd.

Notwithſtandyng (godly Reader) it is not to be beleued that Pecocke did ſo geue ouer theſe opinions, how ſoeuer the wordes of the recātation pretend. For it is a policie and play of the Byſhops, that when they do ſubdue or ouercome any mā, they cary him whether they liſt, as it were a yong Steere by the noſe, and frame out his wordes for him before hand, as it were for a Parate, what he ſhould ſpeake vnto the people: not accordyng to his owne will, but after their luſt and fantaſie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that this Byſhop repented him afterward of his recantation: which may eaſely be iudged hereby, becauſe he was committed agayn into priſon, and deteined captiue, where as it is vncertayne, whether he was oppreſſed with priuy and ſecret tyranny, and there obtained the crowne of Martyrdom, or no.

The articles of Reynolde Pecocke mentioned by Tho. Gaſcoigne.

Ex Tho. Gaſcoig. lib. De Dictionario Theolog. part. 3.

The Dictionarie of Thomas Gaſcoigne, I haue not in my handes preſent. But if credite be to be geuen to ſuch as haue to vs alledged the boke, thus we may finde in the eight Centurie of John Bale. chap. 19. that the ſayd Thomas Gaſcoigne in his third part of the ſayd Dictionary, writyng of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles, cōteinyng in them matter of ſore hereſie. Firſt (ſaith he) Reynold Pecocke at Paules croſſe preached openly, that the office of a Chriſten Prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach the word of God. That mans reaſon is not to be preferred, before the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament. That the vſe of Sacramentes, as they be now handled, is worſe, then the vſe of the law of nature. That Byſhops which buy their admiſſions of the Byſhop of Rome, do ſinne. That no man is bounde to beleue and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Alſo that the riches of Byſhops, by inheritage, are the goodes of the poore. Itē, that the Apoſtles themſelues perſonally were not the makers of ẏ Creede, and that in ẏ ſame Creede, once was not the Article, he went downe to hell. Item, that of the foure ſenſes of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the very firſt and proper ſenſe. Alſo, that he gaue litle eſtimation in ſome poyntes, to the authoritie of the old Doctours. Item, that he condemned the wilfull beggyng of the Friers, as a thyng idle and needles. This out of Thomas Gaſcoigne. Leland alſo addyng this moreouer, ſayth; that he, not contented to folow the Catholicke ſentence of the Church in interpretyng of the Scripture, did not thinke ſoundly (as he iudged it) of the holy Euchariſt.

At length, for theſe and ſuch other Articles, the ſayde Reynolde Pecocke was condemned for an hereticke by the Archbyſhops, and Byſhops of Roff. Lyncolne & Wincheſter, with other diuines moe. Wherupō, he beyng driuen to his recantation, was notwithſtandyng deteined ſtill in priſon. where, ſome ſaye, that he was priuely made away by death.

B. Pecocke deteyned in priſon.

Halle addeth that ſome ſay, his opinions to bee, that ſpirituall perſons by Gods lawe, ought to haue no temporall poſſeſſions. Other write that he ſayde, that perſonall tithes were not due by Gods lawe. But what ſo euer the cauſe was, hee was cauſed at Paules croſſe to abiure, and all hys bookes brent, and he himſelfe kepte in his owne houſe, duryng his naturall lyfe. I maruell that Polydore, of this extremitie of the Byſhops handlyng, and of his Articles, in his hiſtorye, maketh no memoriall. Belyke it made but little for the honeſtye of his great maiſter the Pope.

Polydore noted.

From perſecution and burnyng in England, now out of the way, to digreſſe a litle, to ſpeake of forreine matters of the Church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the Councell of Baſill, how Eugenius was depoſed. Of whoſe conditions, and martial affaires, how he made warre agaynſt Sfortia a famous Captaine of Italy, and what other warres he rayſed beſide, not onely in Italy, but alſo in Germany, agaynſt the Citie and Coūcell of Baſill, I ſhall not neede to make any long rehearſall. After his depoſition, ye heard alſo how Fœlix Duke of Sauoy was elected pope. Wherupō an other great ſchiſme folowed in the Church duryng all the life of Eugenius.

Eugenius warred agaynſt Sfortia and diuers others.

Pope Felix.

After his death, his next ſucceſſour was pope Nicholas the fift, who (as you before haue heard) brought ſo to paſſe with the Emperour Fridericke the third that Fœlix was contented to renounce and reſigne his papacie to Nicholas, and was therefore of him afterward receaued to the rowme of a Cardinal, for his ſubmiſſion: & Fridericke for his workyng, was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperour, & there crowned. an. 1451. For Emperors before they be cōfirmed & crowned by the pope, are no Emperours, but onely called kynges of Romaines.

Pope Nicholas. 5.

Emperours are but kinges of Romaines, before they be crowned by the Pope.

This Pope Nicolas here mentioned, for to get and gather great ſummes of money, appointed a Iubile in the yeare of our Lord. 1450. at whiche tyme there reſorted a greater number of people vnto Rome, then hath at any tyme before bene ſene. At which tyme, we read in the ſtory of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthy to be noted for the example of the thyng. As there was a great concourſe of people reſortyng vp to the mount Vaticane, to behold the Image of our Sauiour, which there they had to ſhew to Pilgrimes, the people being thicke goyng to and fro betwene the mount & the Citie, by chaunce a certaine Mule of the Cardinals of ſaint Marke came by the way, by reaſon whereof the people not beyng able to auoyde the way, one or two fallyng vpon the Mule, there was ſuch a preaſe and throng vpon that occaſion on the bridge, that to the nūber of two hundreth bodyes of men, and three horſes, were there ſtrangled, and on eche ſide of the bridge many beſides fell ouer into the water and were drowned.

Ex Platina de vitis.

The example of Idolatrie puniſhed.

The fruit of Idolatry.

By meanes of which occaſion, the Pope afterward cauſed the ſmall houſes to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruite that commeth by Idolatrye. Ex Platin.

In the tyme of this Pope, one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, in defendyng whereof, he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Corna. an. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

Mat. Palmerius, a Florentine, martyr.

After him ſucceded Calixtus the third, who amongeſt diuers other thynges, ordained both at noone and at euenyng, the bell to tole the Aues, as it was vſed in the popiſh time, to helpe the ſouldiours that fought agaynſt the Turkes: for which cauſe alſo he ordained the feaſt of the transfiguration of the Lord, ſolemniſing it with lyke pardons and indulges, as was Corpus Chriſti day.

Tolling of Aues.

Alſo this Pope procedyng contrary to the Councels of Conſtance and Baſill, decreed that no man ſhould appeale from the Pope to any Councell. By whome alſo Sainct Edmunde of Caunterbury with diuers other, were made Saintes.

S. Edmund of Cant. canoniſed.

Next after this Calixtus, ſucceded Pius ſecundus, otherwiſe called Æneas Syluius, who wrote the two bookes of Commentaries vpon the Councell of Baſill before mentioned. This Æneas, at the tyme of the writyng of thoſe his bokes, ſeemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable iudgement and doctrine, from the which he afterward beyng Pope, ſeemed to decline and ſwarue, ſeekyng by all meanes poſſible, how to deface & aboliſh the bokes which he tofore had written.

Pope Pius 2.

Promotiō chaūgeth religion.

¶ Sentences attributed vnto this Pius.

The diuine nature of God may rather bee comprehended by fayth, then by diſputation.

The prouerbes of Pius.

Chriſtian fayth is to be conſidered, not by what reaſon it is proued, but from whom it procedeth.

Neither can a couetous man be ſatiſfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men, in ſteede of ſiluer, to noble men in ſteede of golde, and to Princes in ſteede of precious ſtones.

An artificial oration moueth fooles, but not wiſe men.

Suters in the Lawe, bee as byrdes, the Court is the bayte, the Iudges bee the nettes, and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to bee geuen to dignityes, and not dignityes to men.

The office of a Biſhop is heauye, but it is bleſſed to him that doth well beare it.

A Biſhop without learning may be likened to an Aſſe.

An euyll Phiſicion deſtroyeth bodies, but an vnlearned Prieſt deſtroyeth ſoules.

Mariage was taken frō Prieſtes, not without great reaſon, but with much greater reaſon it ought to bee reſtored agayne.

Mariage of prieſtes allowed by Æneas Syluius.

The like ſentence to this hee vttereth in hys ſeconde Booke of the Councell of Baſill before ſpecified, ſaying, peraduenture it were not the worſt, that the moſt parte of prieſtes had their wyues: for many ſhoulde bee ſaued in prieſtly mariage, which now in vnmaryed pryeſthode are damned. The ſame Pius alſo, as Celius reporteth, diſſolued certayne orders of Nunnes of the order of S. Briget and S. Clare, byddyng them to departe out, that they ſhoulde burne no more, nor couer a Harlot vnder the veſture of Religion.

This Pius, if he had brought ſo much pietie and godlineſſe, as he brought learnyng vnto hys Popedome, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It ſhall not be impertinent here to touche, what the ſayd Eneas called Pius, the Pope, wryteth touchyng the peace of the church, vnto Gaſper Schlicke, the Emperours Chauncelor, in his. liiij. Epiſtle.

All men doe abhorre and deteſt ſchiſme. The way to remedy this euill Charles the French King hath ſhewed vs both ſafe and brief, which is, that princes or their Orators ſhoulde conuent and aſſemble together in ſome common place, where they maye conclude vpon matters amongeſt them ſelues. To bring this to paſſe, it were needefull, wrytynges to bee ſent agayne to all Kynges and Prynces, to ſende theyr Oratours to Straweſborowe, or to Conſtance, wyth their full authoritye, there to intreate of matters appertaynyng to the Peace of the Churche. Neyther woulde it require ſo greate expenſes. For as much as we ſee the yeare before. 300. guldens to be ſufficient. Conſtantine the Emperour beſtowed not much more in the congregation of the Councel of Nicee. And this way could not be ſtopped: neither could the Pope or the Councell withſtand it, or make excuſe, as though this might not eaſily be done without them. For why? the ſecular princes may cōuent & aſſemble together, wil they, nil they: and yet notwithſtandyng, vnitie may there be concluded. For he ſhould be an vndoubted Pope, whome all Princes would obey. Neither do I ſee any of the clergy ſo conſtant to death, which will ſuffer Martyrdome either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that fayth which our princes hold, which if they would worſhip idols, we would alſo do the ſame, and not onely deny the Pope, but God alſo, if the ſecular power ſtraine vs thereunto, for charitie is waxed cold, & all faith is gone. Howſoeuer it be, yet let vs al deſire and ſeke for peace, the which peace, whether it come by a Councell, or by aſſembly of Princes, call it what you wil, I care not: for we ſtand not vpon the terme, but vpon the matter. Cal bread and if you wil, a ſtone, ſo you geue me to aſſwage my hunger. Whether you call it a Councell or a conuenticle, or an aſſembly or a congregation, or a ſynagoge that is no matter, ſo that ſchiſme may be excluded & peace eſtabliſhed. Thus much out of the Epiſtle of Pius.

Ex epiſt. 54. Pii. ſecund. ad Gaſparum Schlicke.

The way to exclude ſchiſme, is concorde of princes.

The popes Clergie will not abide the fire, eyther for prince or pope.

By this may it appeare, of what ſentence and mynde

The breath of this peſtilent ſeat corrupteth all that ſit in it, what ſoeuer they were before.

this Pius was in ẏ tyme of the Councell of Baſill, before he was made Pope. But as our common prouerbe ſaith, honours chaungeth maners, ſo it happeneth with this Pius, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from that he was before. For where as before hee preferred generall Councels before the pope, now being Pope, he did decree that no man ſhoulde appeale from the high biſhop of Rome, to any generall Councel.

Æneas Syluius now puffed vp with worldly pompe and glory impugneth the truth which he did before both know & profeſſe.

And likewiſe for prieſtes mariage, where as before he thought it beſt to haue their wiues reſtored, yet afterward he altered his mynd otherwiſe: In ſo much ẏ in his boke intreatyng of Germany, and there ſpeaking of the noble Citie of Auguſt, by occaſion he inueyed agaynſt a certain Epiſtle of Hulderike once biſhop of the ſayd city, written agaynſt the conſtitutiō of the ſingle lyfe of prieſts. Whereby it appeareth how the mynde of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This Epiſtle of Huldericke is before expreſſed at large in the pag.139.

Diſcord betwene Pope Pius and the Archb. of Mentz.

Here alſo might I touche ſomethyng concerning the diſcord betwixt this Æneas Syluius and Diotherus, Archbiſhop of Mentz, and what diſcorde was ſtyrred vp in Germany vpon the ſame, betwene Fredericke the Palatine, and duke of wyttenberge, with others, by the occaſion whereof, beſides the ſlaughter of manye, the Citye of Mentz, which was free before, loſt their freedome, and became ſeruile.

The cauſes of the diſcorde betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus, were theſe.

Firſt, becauſe that Diotherus would not conſent vnto him in the impoſition of certayne tallages and taxes, within his countrey.

Secondlye, for that Diotherus would not be bounde vnto him, requiring that the ſayde Diotherus, beyng prince Elector, ſhould not call the other Electors together, without hys licence: that is, without the licence of the B. of Rome.

And thirdly, becauſe Diotherus would not permit to the popes Legates, to conuocate his Clergy together after their owne luſte. This Pope Pius began his ſea, about the yere of our lord.1458.

An.1458.

Pope Paulus.2.

After thys Pius ſecundus, ſucceded Paulus ſecundus, a pope wholy ſet vpon his belly and ambition, and not ſo much voyde of all learning, as the hater of all learned mē. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, which becauſe he ſaw her to be had in reproch, for that ſhe was gotten in fornication, began (as the ſtories reporte) to repent hym of the law of the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes, and went about to reforme the ſame, had not death preuented hym. Ex Staniſlao Rutheno.

Ex Staniſlao Rutheno. Vide Cent.8. Bal.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, which builded vp in Rome a ſtewes of bothe kyndes, gettyng thereby no ſmall reuenues and rentes vnto the Church of Rome. This Pope amongeſt hys other actes, reduced the yeare of Iubely from the.50. vnto the. 25. He alſo inſtituted the feaſt of the Conception, and of the preſentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Ioſeph. Alſo he canoniſed Bonauenture, and S. Fraunces for Sayntes.

The feaſt of the conception and preſentation of our Lady.

Beades brought in.

By this Sixtus alſo, beades were brought in, and inſtituted to make our Ladyes Pſalter, thorow the occaſion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptiſta maketh mention of in this verſe. Hi filo inſertis numerant ſua murmura baccis. That is, theſe men puttyng theyr beades vpon a ſtring number theyr prayers. This Sixtus the Pope made.xxxij. Cardinals in his tyme, whom Petrus Ruerius, was the firſte, who for the time that he was Cardinall, which was but.ij. yeares, ſpent luxurious riot, waſted and conſumed. CC. M. Florenes, and was left lx. M. in debt in Weſellus Groningenſis, in a certayne treatiſe of his, de Indulgentijs papalibus, writyng of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the requeſt of the foreſayd Peter Cardinal, and of Ierome his brother, the ſayd Pope Sixtus permitted and graunted vnto the whole family of the Cardinall of S. Lucy, in the.iij. hote monethes of ſommer, Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt (a horrible thyng to be ſpokē) free leaue and liberty to vſe Sodomitry, with this clauſe, Fiat vt petitur: That is, be it as it is aſked.

VVeſellus Groningeſis

The pope licenſeth the whole familie of a certayne Cardinall, to play the Sodomites thre monethes in the yeare.

Pope Innocentius.8.

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocentius the viij, as rude and as farre from all learnyng, as his predeceſſor was before hym. Amongſt the noble factes of this Pope, thys was one, that in the town of Polus apud Æquicolos, he cauſed 8. men and 6. women, with the Lord of the place to be apprehended and taken, and iudged for heretikes, becauſe they ſaid that none of them was the vicar of Chriſt which came after Peter, but they whiche followed onely ẏ pouerty of Chriſt. Alſo he condemned of hereſie, George the kyng of Boheme, and depriued hym of his dignity, and alſo of hys kyngdome, and procured his whole ſtocke to bee vtterly reiected and put downe, geuyng his kingdome to Mathias kyng of Pononia.

George king of Boheme cōdemned of hereſie.

Now from the Popes to deſcend to other eſtates, it remayneth lykewiſe ſomewhat to write of the Emperours incident to this tyme, with matters and greuances of the Germaynes, as alſo of other princes, firſt beginnyng with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertainyng to the ouerthrow of this King Henry and of his ſtate now followyng, to be ſhewed. And briefly to cōtract long proceſſe of much tumult and buſines, into a ſhort narration, here is it to be remembred, which partly before was ſignified, how after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, miſchiefes came in by heapes vpon the kyng and his realme. For after the geuyng away of Angeow, and Mayne to the Frenchmen, by ẏ vnfortunate mariage of Queene Margaret aboue mentioned, the ſayd Frenchmen perceiuyng now by the death of ẏ duke of Glouceſter, the ſtay and piller of this common wealth to be decayed, and ſeyng moreouer the hartes of the nobilitie, among themſelues to be deuided, foreſlacked no tyme, hauing ſuch an open way into Normandy, that in ſhort tyme they recouered the ſame, and alſo gate Gaſcoigne, ſo that no more now remayned to Englād, of all the partes beyond ẏ ſea, but onely Calice. Neyther yet dyd all the calamitie of the realm onely reſt in this: For the king now hauyng loſt his friendly vncle, as the ſtay and ſtaffe of his age, which had brought hym vp ſo faythfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to hys enemies, and they more emboldened ſo ſet vpon hym: As appeared firſt by Iacke Cade, the Kentiſhe Captayne, who encampyng firſt in Blackeheath, afterward aſpired to London, and had the ſpoyle therof, the kyng being driuen into Warwickeſhire. After the ſuppreſſyng of Cade, enſued not long after the duke of yorke, who beyng accompanied with 3. Earles, ſet vpon the kyng nere to S. Albons where the kyng was taken in the field captiue, & the Duke of yorke was by Parliament declared protector, which was in the yere of our Lord.1453. After this followed long diuiſion and mortall warre betwene the two houſes of Lancaſter and yorke, continuyng many yeares. At length, about the yeare of our Lord 1459. the Duke of yorke was ſlayne in battayle by the Queene, nere to the towne of Wakefielde, and with hym alſo his ſonne Earle of Rutlande. By the which Queene alſo ſhortly after, in ẏ ſame yeare, were diſcomfited the Earle of Warwicke, and Duke of Northfolke, to whome the keepyng of the Kyng was committed by the Duke of yorke, and ſo the Queene agayne deliuered her huſband.

Miſchieues to England, after the death of the Duke of Gloceſter. Angeow, Mayne, Normādie, & Gaſcoyne, recouered of the Frenchmen.. Iacke Cade.

The Duke of yorke agaynſt kyng Henry.

1459.

After this victory obteined, the Northen men aduaunced not a litle in pride and courage, began to take vpon them greate attemptes, not onely to ſpoyle and robbe Churches, and religious houſes, and villages, but alſo were fully entended, partly by them ſelues, partly by the inducement of their Lordes and Captaines, to ſacke, waſte, and vtterly to ſubuert the Citie of London, and to take the ſpoyle therof: and no doubt (ſayth my hiſtory) would haue proceded in their cōceaued gredy intent, had not ẏ oportune fauour of God prouided a ſpedy remedy. For as theſe miſchieues were in brewing, ſodenly commeth the noble Prince Edward vnto London, with a mighty army, the.xxvij. day of February, who was the ſonne and heyre to the duke of yorke aboue mencioned, accompanied with the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers moe. King Henry in the meane time, with his victorie, went vp to yorke: whē as Edward being at Londō, cauſed there to be proclaimed certaine articles concerning his title to the crowne of England, which was the.2. day of March.

The Northern men intended the ſubuerſion of London.

Ex hiſtoria manu ſcripta, cui titulus: Scala mundi.

London reſcued by prince Edw.

1461.

Wherupon, the next day followyng, the Lordes both temporall & ſpirituall being aſſembled together, the ſayd articles were propounded, and alſo well approued. The fourth day of the ſaid moneth of March, after a ſolemne generall proceſſion (according to the blinde ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes) the Byſhop of Exceter made a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, wherin he commended and proued by manifold euidences, the title of Prince Edward to be iuſt and lawfull, anſwering in the ſame, to all obiections which myght be to the contrary.

The title of Edward, to the crowne proued at Paules croſſe.

This matter being thus diſcuſſed, Prince Edward accompanied with the lordes ſpirituall and temporall, & with much concourſe of people, rode the ſame day to Weſtminſter Hall, and there by the full conſent, as well of the Lordes, as alſo by the voyce of all the Commons, tooke hys poſſeſſion of the Crowne, and was called Kyng Edwarde the fourth.

K. Edward taketh poſſeſſion of the crowne.

Theſe thynges thus accompliſhed at London, as to ſuch a matter apperteyned, and preparation of monye ſufficiently beyng miniſtred of the people and commons, with moſt ready and willyng myndes, for the neceſſarie furniture of his warres: he with the Duke of Northfolke, and Earle of Warwicke, and Lord Fauconbrydge, in all ſpedy wiſe, toke his iourneye toward kyng Henry: who beyng now at Yorke, and forſaken of the Londoners, had all hys refuge onely repoſed in the Northren men.

The fierce & cruel battaile betwene K. Henry. 6. and kyng Edward. 4.

When kyng Edward with hys armie had paſt ouer the Riuer of Trent and was commen nere to Ferebryg: where alſo the hoſt of king Henry was not far of, vpon Palm ſonday, betwene Ferebryg and Tadcaſter, both the armyes of the Southren and Northren men ioyned together battaile. And although at the firſt begynnyng, diuers horſmen of kyng Edwardes ſide, turned theyr backes, and ſpoyled the kyng of cariage and victuals, yet yͤ couragious prince, with his Capitaines little diſcouraged therewith, fiercely, and manfully ſet on their aduerſaries. The whiche battaile on both ſides was ſo cruelly fought, that in the ſame conflicte were ſlayne to yͤ number, as is reported, beſide men of name, of .xxx. thouſand of the poore commons. Notwithſtandyng, the conqueſte fell on kyng Edwardes part, ſo that king Henry hauyng loſt all, was forced to flye into Scotland, where alſo he gaue vp to the Scottes, the town of Barwicke after he had reigned, 38. yeares and a halfe.

K. Henry. 6. conquered.

Barwicke geuen to the Scottes by K. Henry. 6.

¶ The clayme and title of the Duke of Yorke, and after him, of Edward his ſonn, put vp to the lordes and commõs, whereby they chalenged the crowne to the houſe of Yorke, is thus in the ſtory of Scala mundi, word for worde, as here vnder is contayned.

¶ The title of the houſe of Yorke to the crowne of England.

The title of the houſe of Yorke.

EDward the 3. right kyng of England, had iſſue firſt prince Edward. 2. W. Hatfield, 3. Lionel, 4. Iohn of Gaunte, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the 2. which dyed without iſſue. W. Hatfield dyed without iſſue. Lionell Duke of Clarence, had iſſue lawfully begot, Phillip his only daughter and heire, the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, Earle of March, and had iſſue lawfully begotte, Roger Mortimer Erle of Marche and heyre: Which Roger had iſſue Edmund Erle of March, Roger, Anne and Alienor. Edmund and Alienor died without iſſue, and the ſaid Anne by lawfull matrimony was coupled vnto Richard Earle of Cambridge, the ſonne of Edmund of Langley, who had iſſue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet nowe Duke of Yorke. Iohn of Gaunt gate Henry, which vnrightfully entreated kyng Richard: then beyng aliue Edmund Mortimer Erle of Marche, ſonne of the ſayd Phillip, daughter to Lionel. To the which Rich. duke of Yorke, and ſonne to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer Erle of March, ſonne & heyre to the ſayd Phillip, daughter and heyre to the ſayd Lyonel, the 3. ſonne of kyng Edward the 3. the right and dignity of the crowne appertained and belonged, afore any iſſue of the ſayd Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithſtanding the ſayd title of dignitie of the ſayd Richard of Yorke, the ſayd Rich. deſiring the wealth, reſt, and proſperitie of England, agreeth & conſenteth that the king Henry 6. ſhould be had and taken for kyng of England, during his naturall lyfe from this tyme, without hurt of his title.

Rich. Plantaganet.

Wherfore the king vnderſtandyng the ſayd title of the ſayd duke to be iuſt, lawfull, true and ſufficient, by the aduiſe and aſſent of his lordes ſpirituall and temporall, & the commons in the Parliament, and by the authoritie of the ſame Parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the ſayd title for iuſt, good, lawfull and true, and therunto geueth his aſſent and agrement of hys free will & liberty. And ouer that, by the ſayd aduiſe and authoritie, declareth, calleth, ſtabliſheth, affirmeth and reputeth the ſayd Rich. of Yorke very true & rightfull heyre to the crowne of England & Fraunce: and that all other ſtatutes and actes made by any of the Henries late, contrary to this aduiſe, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, voyde, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and conſented, that the ſaid duke & his heires ſhall after his naturall life enioye the crowne. &c. Alſo, that al ſayings & doings againſt the duke of Yorke ſhall be hye treaſon, & all actes of Parliamentes contrary to this principall acte, be voyde and of none effect. &c.

Ex Scala mundi.

And thus much for the reigne of kyng Henry the .vi. who now lacked his vncle and protector, duke of Glouceſter, about him. But commonly the lacke of ſuch frendes, is neuer felte before they be miſſed.

Leadẽ hall. builded.

In the tyme of this king was buylded the houſe in London called Leadẽ hall, founded by one Symon Eyre, Maior once of the ſayd Citie of London. an. 1445.

The Standard in Chepe.

The Conduite in Fleteſtrete.

Newgate builded.

Alſo the ſtandard in Chepe buylded by Iohn Wels. an. 1442. the Conduite in Fleteſtret by William Caſtfielde. an. 1438. Item, Newgate builded by the goods of Rich. Whityngton. an. 1422.

The College of Eton, and the kyngs Colledge in Cambridge founded.

Moreouer the ſayd Henry. 6. founded the College of Eton, and another houſe hauing then the title of S. Nicolas in Cambridge, now called the kynges College. Ex Scal. mundi.

In the reigne of this Henry. 6. it is not to be paſſed ouer in ſilence, which we finde noted in the Parlament rolles how that Lewes Archbiſhop of Rhoen, after the death of the late Byſhop of Ely, had graunted vnto hym by yͤ popes Bulles, during his life, all yͤ profites of the ſayd byſhopryke by the name of the adminiſtratour of the ſayd Byſhopryke, Lewys the foreſayd Archbiſhop ſheweth his Bulles to the king, who vtterly reiecteth his Bulles. Notwithſtandyng for his ſeruice done in Fraunce, the kyng graunted to hym the adminiſtration aforeſaid, the which to all intents at the petition of the ſaid Lewys, ſhould be affirmed to bee of as great force as though he were biſhop, touching profites, liberties, and habilitie.

The king reiecteth the popes Bulles.

Ex vetuſto codic. cui initium, Nomina cuſtodum. &c. et ex Fabiano.

Neither agayne is here to be ouerpaſt a certayne tragicall Acte done betwene Eaſter and Whitſontyde of a falſe Britone, an. 1427. which murthered a good widow in her bed (who had brought hym vp of almes, without Algate in the ſuburbes of London) and bare away all that ſhe had, & afterward he tooke ſuccour of holy church at S. Georges in Southwarke: but at the laſt he tooke the croſſe & forſwore the kynges land, And as he went his way, it happened hym to come by the ſame place where he had done that curſed deede, and women of the ſame pariſh, came out with ſtones and cannell dong, and there made an ende of hym in the hye ſtreate, ſo that he went no further, notwithſtandyng the Conſtables and other men alſo which had hym vnder gouernaunce to conduct hym forwarde: for there was a great company of them, ſo that they were not able to withſtande them.

Example of Gods rodde and iudgement.

¶ King Edward the fourth.

An. 1461.

K. Edward. 4.

KIng Edward, after his conqueſt and victory atchieued agaynſt king Henry, returned agayne to Londõ, where, vpon the Vigill of S. Peter and Paule, beyng on Sonday, he was crowned king of England, & reigned 22. yeares, albeit not without great diſquietnes, & much perturbation in his reigne.

Queene Margaret fledde the land.

Queene Margaret hearing how her huſband was fled into Scotland, was alſo fayne to flye the land, and went to her father Duke of Angeow. From whence the next yeare followyng, ſhe returned agayne to renue warre againſt king Edward, with ſmall ſuccour and leſſe lucke: For beyng encountred by the Erle of Warwicke, about Nouember ſhe was driuen to the ſeas agayne, and by tempeſt of weather, was driuen into Scotland.

An. 1462.

K. Edward ſitteth his owne perſon in the kinges bench iudging.

In this yere we read that king Edward in the cauſe of a certayne widowe for rape, ſate hys owne perſon in Weſtminſter hall vpon hys owne Bench, diſcuſſyng her cauſe. Ex Scal. mundi.

An. 1463.

K. Henry. 6. agayne repulſed in the battaile of Exham.

The yeare followyng, king Henry iſſuyng out of Scotland with a ſufficient power of Scottes and Frenchmen, came into the Northcountrey to recouer the crowne, vnto whom the Lord Radulph Percy, and Lord Radulph Grey flying from kyng Edward, did adioyne themſelues: but the Lord ſo diſpoſing, king Henry with hys power was repulſed in the battaile of Exham by the Lord Mountacute, hauyng then the rule of the North: where the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Hungerford, Lord Roſſe with certayne other were taken. The Lord Radulph Percy was ſlaine, the reſidue fledde. Albeit the hiſtory of Scal. mundi, referreth this battayle to the yeare 1464. the 15. day of May. In yͤ which month of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerſet, lord Hungerford, L. Roſſe, L. Phillip Wentworth, L. Thomas Huſſy, L. Tho. Fyndern, beſide .xxi. other belongyng to the retinue and houſhold of king Henry 6. Quene Margarete findyng no reſtyng place here in England, toke her progreſſe agayne from whence ſhe came, learnyng in her owne countrey to drinke that drinke, which ſhe her ſelfe had brued here in England.

K. Henry. 6. take, arreſted, and committed to the Tower.

And not long after, the next yeare, an. 1465. on the day of S. Peter and Paule, kyng Henry beyng found and known in a wood by one Cantlow (as they ſay) was arreſted by the erle of Warwicke, and at laſt of a king made priſoner in the tower of London.

An. 1465.

In this meane tyme, king Edward (after the motion

The kinges ſodeine mariage wyth Queene Elizabeth.

The firſt falling out betweene king Edward & the Earle of Warwicke.

Conſpiracie agaynſt kyng Edward.

of mariage for him beyng made, and firſt the Lady Margaret, ſiſter to James the 4. K. of Scottes thought vpon, but that motion takyng no effect, afterward the lady Elizabeth ſiſter to Henry Kyng of Caſtelle, beyng intended, but ſhee beyng vnder age, the Earle of Warwicke turnyng then hys legation and viage to the French Kyng Lewes the .xi. to obtayne Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Sauoy, and ſiſ[illegible] Carlot the Frenche Queene, and obteining the ſame) [illegible]aſt fauour vnto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Syr John Grey knight, ſlaine before in the battaile of S. Albons, daughter to the Duches of Bedford, and Lord Riuers, and fyrſt went about to haue her to his concubine: But ſhe, as beyng vnworthy (as ſhe ſayd) to be the wife of ſuch an high perſonage, ſo thinking her ſelfe to be to good to be his cõcubine, in ſuch ſort wanne the kyngs hart, that incontinente, before the returne of the Earle of Warwicke, he maried her: at the which mariage were no moe then only the Duches of Bedford, two gentle women, the prieſt and clarke. Vpon this ſo haſtye and vnluckye mariage, enſued no litle trouble to the kyng, much bloudſhed to the realme, vndoyng almoſte to all her kynred, and finally confuſion to the K. Edwardes .ij. ſonnes, which both were declared afterward to be baſtards, and alſo depriued of their lyues: For the Earle of Warwicke, who had bene the faithfull freind, and chief mayntayner before of the kyng, at the hearyng of this maryage, was therewith ſo greuouſly moued and chafed in his mynd, that he neuer after ſought any thing more, then howe to worke diſpleaſure to the king, and to put him beſide his cuſſhion. And although for a tyme he diſſembled his wrathfull moode, till he myght ſpye a tyme conuenient, and a worlde to ſet forwarde his purpoſe, at laſt finding occaſion ſomewhat ſeruing to his mynde, he, breaketh his hart to his .ij. brethren: to witt, the Marques Mõtacute, and the Archbyſhop of Yorke, conſpiring with them how to bryng his purpoſe about. Then thought he alſo to proue a farre of, the minde of the Duke of Clarence, king Edwardes brother, and lykewiſe obteined him, geuyng alſo to him his daughter in Mariage,

K. Edward takẽ priſoner by the Earle of Warwicke.

This matter beyng thus prepared agaynſt the kyng, the firſt flame of this cõſpiracie began to appeare in yͤ north countrey. Where the Northernmen in ſhort ſpace gathering them ſelues in an open rebellion, and finding captains of their wicked purpoſe, came down from Yorke toward London. Againſt whom was appointed, by the king, W. lord Harbert Earle of Penbroke, with the lord Stafford, and certayne other, Captaynes, to encounter. The Yorkeſhiere mẽ geuing the ouerthrow fyrſt to the lord Stafford, then to the Earle of Penbrok and hys company of Welchmen, at Banbery fielde, at laſt ioyninge together with the armye of the Earle of Warwicke, and Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the nyght, ſecretly ſtealynge one the kinges fielde at Wolney by Warwicke, killed the watch, and toke the king pryſoner, who firſt being in the caſtell of Warwike, then was conuaied by nyght to Mydelham Caſtell in Yorkeſhire, vnder the cuſtodye of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, where he hauing looſe keeping and libertie to go on huntyng, meeting with ſyr William Standley, ſyr Thomas of Brough, and other his frendes, was to good for his keepers, and eſcaped the handes of his enemies, and ſo came to Yorke, where he was well receaued: from thence to Lankeſter, where he met wyth the Lord Haſtinges his Chamberlaine, wel accompanied, by whoſe helpe he came ſafe to London.

The rebellion in Lincolneſhire repreſſed.

The Earle of Warwicke & the Duke of Clarẽce flie into Fraunce

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to a perfect peace & vnitie, although much labour was made by the nobility, the earle of Warwicke raiſeth vp a new war in Lincolneſhire, the captayne wherof was Sir Rob. Wels knight, who ſhortly after beyng taken in battayle with hys father, and ſir Thomas Dimocke were beheaded, the reſidue caſtyng away their coates, ranne away and fled, geuyng the name of the field, called Loſecoate field. The erle of Warwicke after this put out of comfort and hope to preuayle at home, fled out of England, An. 1470. firſt to Calice, then to Lewys the French kyng, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence. The fame of the earle of Warwike and of his famous actes, was at that tyme in great admiration aboue meaſure, and ſo highly fauoured, that both in England and Fraunce, all men were glad to behold hys perſonage. Wherfore the commyng of this earle and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little gratefull to the French kyng, and no leſſe oportune to Queene Margaret, King Henries wyfe, and Prince Edward her ſonne, who alſo came to the Frenche Courte to meete and conferre together, touching their affaires: where a league betwene thẽ was concluded, & moreouer a mariage betwene Edward prince of Wales, & Anne the ſecond daughter of the erle of Warwicke was wrought. Thus all thinges fallyng luckely vpon the erles part, beſide the large offers, and great promiſes made by the Frenche Kyng, on the beſt maner, to ſet forwarde their purpoſe, the earle hauyng alſo intelligence by letters that the hartes almoſt of all men went with hym, and longed ſore for his preſence, ſo that there lacked now but onely haſt with all ſpede poſſible to returne: he with the duke of Clarence well fortified with the French nauy, ſet forward toward England: For ſo was it betwene them before decreed, that they two ſhould proue the firſt venture, and then Quene Margaret with Prince Edward her ſonne, ſhould follow after. The ariuall of the erle was not ſo ſoone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuonſhire, but great concourſe of people by thouſandes went to hym from all quarters, to receyue and welcom him. Who immediately made proclamation in the name of Kyng Henry the ſixt, chargyng all men able to beare armoure, to prepare themſelues to fyghte agaynſt Edwarde Duke of Yorke vſurper of the Crowne. Here lacked no friendes, ſtrength of men, furniture, nor policy conuenient for ſuch a matter.

The Earle of Warwich and the duke of Clarence returne into England.

The receiuing of the Earle of Warwicke into Englãd

K. Henry agayne proclaymed kyng.

When kyng Edward (who before not paſſyng for the matter, nor ſeekyng how, either to haue ſtopped his landing, or els ſtreightwayes to haue encountred with hym before the gathering of hys friendes, but paſſing forth the tyme in huntyng, in hauking, in all pleaſure and daliance) had knowledge what great reſort of multitudes inceſſauntly repayred more and more daily about the Erle and the Duke, beganne now to prouide for remedy, when it was to late. Who truſting to much to hys friendes and fortune before, dyd nowe right well perceiue what a variable and inconſtaunt thyng the people is, and eſpecially here of England, whoſe nature is neuer to be content long with the preſent ſtate, but alwayes delightyng in newes, ſeketh new varietie of chaunges, eyther enuying that which ſtandeth, or els pitiyng that which is fallen. Which inconſtaunt mutabilitie of the light people, chaunging with the wynd, and wauerying with the reede, did well appeare in the courſe of this kinges ſtory. For he, thorough the people, when he was downe, was exalted: now beyng exalted of the ſame, was forſaken. Wherby this is to be noted of all Princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firme and ſtable: ſo is there no truſt nor aſſuraunce to be made, but onely in the fauour of God, and in the promiſes of his worde, onely in Chriſt hys ſonne, whoſe only kyngdome ſhall neuer haue ende, nor is ſubiecte to any mutation.

The inconſtant leuitie of the people of England.

These thinges thus paſſing in England on the Earles ſide agaynſt king Edward, he accompanied with the Duke of Glouceſter his brother, and the Lord Haſtings, who had maried the erle of Warwickes ſiſter, and yet was neuer vntrue to the kyng his maiſter: and the Lord Scales brother to the Queene, ſent abrode to all his truſty friendes for furniture of able ſouldiors for defence of his perſon to withſtãd his enemies. Whẽ litle reſcue and few in effect would come, the kyng himſelfe ſo deſtitute, departed to Lincolneſhiere, where he perceiuing his enemies dayly to encreaſe vpõ him, and all the countries about to be in a rore, makyng fiers and ſingyng ſonges, crying king Henry, king Henry, a Warwike a Warwicke, and hearyng moreouer his enemies the Lancaſtrians to be within halfe a dayes iourney of hym, was aduiſed by his friendes to flye ouer the Sea to the Duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had maried Kyng Edwardes ſiſter.

The conſtant hart & truth of the Lord Haſtinges.

K. Edward forſaken of his people in his neede.

The weake ſtate of kyng Edward.

There might be thought, by the common iudgement and policy of man, peraduenture that kyng Edward, as he had in his handes the lyfe of Kyng Henry, of his Queene and Prince: ſo if he had diſpatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this miſery: but becauſe he tooke not the vauntage, which tyme rather then godly reaſon gaue hym, therefore that ſparyng pitye of his turned nowe to hys confuſion and ruine. And certeſſe, I ſuppoſe no leſſe, but if the ſame caſe had fallen in theſe oure pitileſſe dayes, in which charitye nowe waxeth vtterly colde, and humanitie is almoſt forgotten, the occaſion of ſuche a tyme ſhould not be ſo neglected, But let vs here note and learne, how godly ſimplicitie alwayes in the ende of thinges, gayneth more then mans policy, for ſo much as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether godly ſimplicitie, or mãs policie be ſtronger.

And ſo farre is it of, that the euent and ſucceſſe of things be gouerned by mans aduiſed policy, or vnaduiſed affection in thys worlde, that that is iudged to bee weaker that flouriſheth in man, then that whiche is caſte downe in the Lorde: as in the double caſe of both theſe kyngs may well appeare. And firſt let vs conſider the caſe of kyng Edwarde, who beyng ſo beſette and compaſſed with euils and diſtreſſes on euery ſyde, firſte was compelled to take the Waſhes, betwene Lincolneſhyre and Lynne (which was

The double caſe of theſe two kynges conſidered.

K. Edward taketh the Waſhes.

no leſſe dongerous to his lyfe then it was vnſemely for his eſtate.) Beyng come to Linne, in what perill was he there, through the doubtfull mutabilitie of the townes men, if he had bene known to his enemies? And how could he be but knowen, if he had taried any ſpace? But though men and frends forſooke hym, yet the mercy of God not forſaking the lyfe of hym, which ſhewed mercy vnto other, ſo prouided, that at the ſame preſent there was an Engliſh ſhippe, and two hulkes of Holland ready to their iourney. Thus kyng Edward without prouiſion, without bag or baggage, without clothſacke or male, without ſtore of mony, without raiment, ſaue onely apparell for warre, alſo, without all friendes, except onely his brother Duke of Glouceſter, the Lord Scales, and Lord Haſtinges, with a few other truſty friendes, to the number of 7. or 8. C. perſons tooke ſhipping toward Holland: at which tyme he was in no leſſe ieoperdye almoſt on the ſea, then he was on the land. For certaine Eſterlinges hauyng many ſhippes of warre, which lay royng the ſame tyme on the ſea, and had done much domage the yeare before, as well to the Engliſh Merchauntes, as to the French nation, ſpying the kinges ſhippe, with ſeuen or eight gallaunt ſhippes made ſayle after the kyng and hys company. The kynges ſhippe was good of ſayle, and gate ſome grounde, albeit not much, of the Eſterlinges, that ſhe came to the coaſt of Holland, before Alquemare, and there caſt anker: for otherwyſe, being an ebbyng water, they could not enter the hauen. The Eſterlings with their great ſhips approched as neare as they could poſſible come for the lowe water, purpoſing at the floud to obtayn their pray, & ſo were like to do, if the Lord had not there alſo prouided Mounſiour de Grounture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland, at that ſeaſon to be perſonally preſent in the towne of Alquemare, who hearing of the ieoperdy of the kyng, beyng there at anker, prohibited the Eſterlings on payne of death, not to meddle with any Engliſh men, which were yͤ Dukes friendes and alies.

God prouideth.

K. Edward taketh ſhipping.

K. Edward neare taken of the Eſterlinges.

God agayne prouideth.

Thus kyng Edward well chaſtiſed of God for his wantonnes both by ſea and land, but not vtterly geuen ouer frõ his protection, eſcapyng ſo many hard chaunces, was ſet on land with his company, who there well refreſhed, and newly apparelled were conducted to Hage.

K. Edward deliuered frõ the Eſterlinges.

Duke Charles at the hearyng of the vnproſperous caſe and condition of kyng Edward his brother in lawe, was greatly amaſed and perplexed in hymſelfe, much caſtyng and doubting what he ſhould do: For, beyng the in warre with the Frenche kyng, he could not well prouoke the Engliſh nation againſt hym, without hys manifeſt greuaunce and decay: neyther yet could he without great ſhame, and obloquie, leaue the kyng his brother in that neceſſitie. Notwithſtandyng, ſo he demanured hymſelfe thorough fayre ſpeach, pretendyng to the Engliſh men to ioyne part with the houſe of Lancaſter, beyng hymſelfe partly deſcended of the ſame familye by hys Graundmothers ſyde: that he bothe was hys owne friend openly, and the kinges friend couertly, pretendyng that he dyd not, and doyng that he pretended not.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, K. Edwards brother in lawe.

When tydings was ſpred in England of king Edwards flyin, innumerable people of all handes reſorted to the Earle of Warwike, to take hys part, againſt K. Edward, a few onely except of his conſtant friendes which toke ſanctuary. Among whom was alſo Elizabeth his wyfe, who deſperate almoſt of all comfort, tooke alſo ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe in great penury forſaken, was deliuered of a faire ſonne called Edward, which without all pompe was baptiſed like another poore womans child, the Godfathers beyng the Abbot and Prior of Weſtminſter, the Godmother was Lady Scroope.

Queene Elizabeth taketh ſanctuary.

Prince Edward borne in ſanctuary.

To make the ſtory ſhort, the Earle of Warwick, hauyng now brought all thinges to his appetite, vpon the xij. day of October rode to the Tower, which was then deliuered to him, and there tooke king Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the kynges lodgyng. The xxv. day of the ſaid moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied wyth the Erles of Warwicke, Shrewſbury, and the Lord Standley, with a great company, brought hym in a long gowne of blew veluet thorough the hye ſtreates of London, firſt to Paules Church, to offer, then to the biſhops palace of London, and there he reſumed agayne the crowne royall, An. 1471. which he dyd not long enioy.

K. Henry 6. brought out of the tower.

K. Henry reſtored againe to his kingdome.

After this followed a Parliament, in the which King Edward wyth all hys partakers were iudged traytoures, Queene Margarete with her ſonne Prince Edward, all this whyle was tarying for a fayre wynde, thinkyng long the whyle, till ſhe came to an euill bargayne, as it prooued after. For kyng Edward within ſixe monethes after hys departure out of England vnto the Duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his friendes ſollicitate, or whether by his aduenturous courage incited, made inſtant ſute to Duke Charles his brother, to reſcue him with ſuch power, as he would beſtow vpon him, for he was fully reſolued to differre the matter and to protract the tyme no longer.

K. Edward returneth agayne into England.

The Duke damped in double feare, in ſuch a daungerous caſe, notwithſtandyng overcome by nature and affinitie, ſecretly cauſed to be deliuered to hym 50000. Florence, and further cauſed foure great ſhyppes to be appoynted for hym in a hauen in Zeland, where it was free for all men to come. Alſo, the ſame Duke had for hym hired xiiij. ſhyppes of the Eſterlyngs well appoynted, takyng bonde of them to ſerue hym truely, till he were landed in Englande, and xv. dayes after.

Thus kyng Edward beyng furniſhed but onelye with ij. thouſand men of warre, with more lucke then hope to ſpede, ſpedde his viage into England, and landed at Rauẽſpurre in the coaſt of Yorkeſhire. Although there was no way for the kyng with ſuch a ſmall company of ſouldiours to do any good, yet to vſe policie, where ſtrength did lacke, firſt he ſent forth certeine light horſemen, to proue the countrey on euery ſide, with perſuaſions, to ſee whether the vplandiſh people would be ſtyrred to take kyng Edwardes part. Perceauyng that it woulde not bee, kyng Edwarde fleyeth to his ſhiftes, diſſemblyng hys purpoſe to be, not to clayme the crowne and kyngdom, but onelye to clayme the Duchie of Yorke, which was his own title, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed. This beyng notified to the people, that he deſired no more, but onely his iuſt patrimonie and lineal inheritaunce, they began to be moued with mercy and compaſſion toward hym, eyther to fauour him, or not to reſiſte hym, and ſo iourneyng toward Yorke, he came to Beuerly. The Marques Mountacute, brother to the Earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom the Earle had ſent ſtrayte charge, with all expedition to ſet vpon him, or els to ſtop his paſſage: and lykewiſe to the Citizens of Yorke and all Yorkeſhyre, to ſhut their gates and take armour agaynſt him. King Edward beyng in theſe ſtreites, proceded notwithſtandyng nere to Yorke, without reſiſtance: where he required of the Citizens, to be admitted into their Citie. But ſo ſtoode the caſe then, that they durſt not graunt vnto him, but contrary ſent him worde to approche no nearer, as he loued his owne ſafegarde. The deſolate king was here driuen to a narow ſtrayte, who neither could retire backe, for the opinion of the countrey and loſſe of his cauſe: neither could go further, for the preſent danger of the Citie. Wherfore, vſing the ſame policie as before, in louely wordes, and gentle ſpeech he deſired the meſſengers to declare vnto the Citizenes, that his commyng was not to demaunde the realme of England, or the title of the ſame, but onely the Duchie of Yorke, hys olde inheritaunce, and therfore determined to ſet forwarde, neither with armure, nor weapon. The meſſengers were not ſo ſone within yͤ gates, but he was at the gates in a manner, as ſoone as they. The Citizens hearyng hys courteous aunſwere, and that he intended nothyng to the preiudice of the king, nor of the realme, were ſome thyng mitigated toward hym, and began to common with him from the walles, willing him to withdrawe his power to ſome other place and they would be the more ready to aide him, at leaſt he ſhould haue no damage by them.

K. Edward onely with 2000. ſouldiours commeth to Rauenſpurre, *alias* Rauenſport.

The diſſemblyng policie of kyng Edward.

K. Edward commeth to Yorke.

K. Edward repelled by the citizens of Yorke.

K. Edward chaungeth his title.

The gentle and fayre wordes of king Edward.

Notwithſtandyng, he agayne vſed ſuch lowly language and delyuered ſo fayre ſpeache vnto them, entreatynge them ſo curteouſly, and ſalutyng the Aldermen by their names, requiryng at their handes no more, but only his own towne whereof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizenes, after long talke and debating vpon the matter, partly alſo intiſed with fayre and large promiſes, fel to this conuention, that if he would ſweare to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaynyng his citizens, they would receiue him into the citie.

Two conditions put to king Edward.

This beyng concluded, the next mornyng at the entring of the gate, a prieſt was ready to ſay Maſſe, in the which, after receiuing of the ſacrament, the kyng receiued a ſolemne othe, to obſerue the two articles afore agreed. By reaſon of which othe ſo raſhly made, and as ſhortly broken, and not lõg after puniſhed (as it may well be thought) in hys poſteritie, he obtayned the city of Yorke. Where he, in ſhort time forgettyng his othe to make all ſure, ſet in garriſons of armed ſoldiors. Furthermore, perceauyng all thynges to be quiet, and no ſtyrre to be made agaynſt hym, he thought to foreſlacke no opportunitie of tyme, and ſo made forwarde toward London, leauyng by the way the Marques Mountacute, which lay then wyth hys armye at Pomfrete, on the ryght hande, not fully fower myles diſtaunt from hys campe: and ſo returnyng to the hye waye agayne, wente forwarde without any ſtyrryng to the towne of Notyngham: where

K. Edward put to his oth.

Victory got by periury, puniſhed at length in poſteritie.

K. Edward ſafely commeth to Notingham.

K. Edwardes frendes reſorte vnto hym.

K. Edward reſumeth the name of a kyng.

K. Edward commeth to Leyceſter.

K. Edward commeth to Warwicke.

The Earle of Warwicke flieth to Couentrye.

The Duke of Clarẽce cõmeth wyth a great armye.

Concorde of brethren.

came to him, ſyr W. Parre, ſyr Thomas of Borough, ſyr Thomas Mõtgomerye, & diuers els of his aſſured frendes with their aydes, which cauſed hym by proclamation, to ſtand to his owne title of kyng Edward the fourth, ſaying that they woulde ſerue no man, but a kyng. At the ſame hereof beyng blowen abroade, as the Citizẽs of Yorke were not a litle offended (& that worthely) ſo from other townes and cities, Lordes and noble men began to fall vnto hym, thynkyng with them ſelues, that ỹ Marques Montagew eyther fauoured hys cauſe, or was afrayde to encounter wͭ the man. How ſo euer it was, K. Edward beyng now more fully furniſhed at all poyntes, came to ỹ towne of Leyceſter, and there hearyng that the earle of Warwicke accompanied with the earle of Oxford, were together at Warwicke, with a great power, mindinge to ſet on the Earle, he remoued from thence his armye, hoping to geue hym battayle. The Duke of Clarence in the meane tyme, about London had leuyed a greate hoſte cõmyng toward ỹ earle of Warwicke, as he was by the earle appoynted. But when the Earle ſawe the Duke to lynger the tyme, he began to ſuſpecte (as it fell out in deede) that he was altered to hys brethrenes part. The king aduauncing forwarde his hoſt, came to Warwicke, where he founde all the people departed. From thẽce he moued toward Couentry, where the Earle was: vnto whome the next daye after, he boldlye offered battayle. But the Earle expecting the Duke of Clarẽce his cõmyng, kept hym within the walles. All this made for the kyng. For he hearyng that his brother, Duke of Clarence was not far of, comming toward him with a great armye, rayſed hys campe, and made toward him, eyther to entreate, or els to encounter with his brother. When ech hoſte was in ſight of the other, Richard duke of Glouceſter, brother to them both, as arbitour betwene them, fyrſt rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all thys was for a face of a matter made it is vncertayne. But hereby both the brethren, leauing all armye and weapon a ſyde, fyrſt louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherly and naturally ioyned together. And that fraternal amitye, by proclamation alſo was ratified, and put out of all ſuſpition,

The Earle of Warwicke refuſeth to be reconciled.

K. Edward commeth to Londõ.

Londoners take part with kyng Edward.

K. Henries counſaylours flye away.

K. Henry agayne taken and committed to priſon.

Then was it agreed betwene ỹ iij. brethren to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he likewiſe woulde be reconciled, but he crying out ſhame vpõ the Duke of Clarence, ſtoode at vtter defiance. From thence kyng Edwarde ſo ſtrongly furniſhed, and dayly encreaſing, taketh his way to Lõdon. Where, after it was knowen that ỹ duke of Clarence was come to hys brethren much feare fell vpon the Londoners, caſting with them ſelues what was beſt to do. The ſodaynes of tyme permitted no long conſultation. There was at London the ſame tyme, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerſet, with other of K. Henries counſayle to whome the earle had ſent in commaundement a litle before, knowyng the weakenes of the Citie, that they ſhoulde keepe the Citie from their enemies ij. or. iij dayes, and he woulde followe with all poſſible ſpeede, with a puiſſaunt armie. Who, according to their commaundement, defended the citie with all their power, but yet to litle purpoſe: For the Citizens conſultyng with thẽſelues for their owne moſt indẽnity, hauyng no walles to defend them, thought beſt to take that way, which ſemed to thẽ moſt ſure and ſafe, and therfore concluded to take part wͭ kyng Edwarde. This was not ſo ſoone knowne abroade, but the communaltie rãne out by heapes to mete kyng Edward, and to ſalute him as their kyng. Wherupon the Duke of Somerſet, with other of kyng Henryes Counſayle, hearyng therof, and wonderyng at the ſodayne chaunge of the world, to ſhift for them ſelues, fled away and left there king Henry alone: who the ſame day beyng cauſed by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, to ryde about London like a kyng, was before night made captiue, and reduced agayne to the tower.

The Earle of Warwicke commeth to Barnet.

It was not long after theſe thinges thus done at London, but the cõmyng of the Earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinkyng to preuente miſchefes with makyng ſpede came a litle to late and miſſed of his purpoſe. In the Earles army were John Duke of Exceſter, Edmõd Earle of Somerſet, John Earle of Oxford, and Marques Mountacute the Earles brother. The earle had now paſſed a great part of his iourney, when he hearyng newes of the world ſo chaunged, and of the captiuitie of K. Henry, was not a litle thereat appalled in his minde: wherefore he ſtayd with hys armye at S. Albons, to ſee what way further to take. And for ſomuch as there was no other remedye, but eyther he muſt yelde, or one conflicte muſt finiſhe the matter: he remoued to Barnet. x. myles from S. Albons.

The battayle at Barnet.

The Earle of Warwick and his brother ſlayne.

Agaynſt him ſet forth kyng Edward, well appoynted wͭ a ſtrong army of piked and able perſons, with artillerie, engines & inſtrumentes meete for the purpoſe: bringing with hym alſo K. Henry. On Eaſter euen he came to Barnet, & there he embattelled hymſelfe. In the mornyng vpon Eaſter day the battaile began, and fiercely continued almoſt till noone, with murder on eche ſide much doubtfull, tyll both partes were almoſt wery with fightyng and murderyng. King Edward then deſirous to ſee an ende, of or on, with a great crew of new freſh ſouldiours, ſet vpon his weried enemies. Wherby the Earles men, although encouraged with wordes of their captaine, ſtoutly fought, but they ſore woũded and weried, could not long hold out. The earle ruſhyng into the middeſt of his enemies, ventured ſo farre, that he could not be reſcued: where he was ſtriken downe & ſlaine, and there lay he. Marques Mountacute thinkyng to ſuccour his brother whom he ſew to be in great ieoperdy, was likewiſe ouerthrown and ſlayne. After that Richard Neuell, Earle of Warwike, and hys brother were gone, the reſt fled, and many were taken. The number of them whiche were in this field ſlayne, are iudged about x. thouſand, as Polydore Virgill reciteth. Fabian numbreth of them that were ſlayne, but xv. hundreth. The Duke of Somerſet and Earle of Oxford thinking to flie to Scotlãd, turned to Jaſper Earle of Pẽbroke in Wales. The duke of Exceter hardly eſcaped to Weſtminſter, and there toke ſanctuary. For the death of the Earle of Warwike the king was not ſo glad, as he was ſory for the Marques Mountacute, whõ he tooke to be his friend. The corpes of theſe two were brought to the church of Paules, where they lay open in two coffins two dayes, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

Difference betwene Polydore & Fabian. Hall follower of Polydore. Polydore is ſayd to haue burned a number of our Engliſh writers.

¶ In the narration of this hiſtory, Polydore Virgill, whom Hall followeth word for worde, doth ſome deale differ from Rob. Fabian. Neither doe I doubt, but both theſe had their authors, by whom they were directed. Notwithſtanding this I meruaill, that Polydore writyng of ſo many thinges which he neuer ſaw, doth not vouchſafe to cite vnto vs thoſe writers of whom he borowed. And more doe I meruaile or rather lament, if it be true that I haue hearde, that he not onely nameth no author vnto vs, but alſo burned an heape of our Engliſh ſtories vnknowen after the finiſhyng of his, in the dayes of king Henry the 8. But nowe to our text agayne.

The returne of Queene Margeret into England.

Queene Margaret for ſorow ſwoundeth.

Ex Polyd. lib. 24.

Queene Margaret taketh ſanctuarie.

All this while yet Queene Margaret with yong prince Edward her ſonne, was ſcarce come ouer, beyng long let with contrary wyndes, who at length in the month of Aprill arriuyng at Waymouth in Dorſetſhire, and hearing the ſorrowfull tidings of theſe thinges lately happened to her huſband, and to the Earle of Warwike and his brother, and of the proſperous ſucceſſe of kyng Edward: was ſo diſmaid diſquieted, and pierced with ſorrow, ſeyng all thinges contrary to her expectation, ſo to frame agaynſt her, that ſhe fared and tooke on with her ſelfe, lamentyng her huſband, bewaylyng her ſonne, curſing her commyng, and crying out of Fortune, as though blynde Fortune were ſhe that gouerneth tymes and tydes, rewarding iuſt puniſhmentes to vniuſt deſeruinges of men, and not the ſecret power and terrible iuſtice of almighty God. Such was then the impaciency of that Queene, beyng not able to beare the vehemency of her paſſion (who rather ſhould haue ſorrowed the dolorous death of duke Humfrey, whõ before ſhe neglected, but now ſhe lacked) that her ſenſes fayled, her ſpirites were taken, her ſpeach decayed, and lyfe almoſt gone, ſhe fell to the groũd as one that would rather dye, thẽ liue. In this deſolate caſe, Queene Margaret learning now to know her friendes frõ her foes, when it was to late, fraught full of heauines, without ſolace or hope of remedy, ſhe with her ſonne and her cõpany departed for her next refuge, to a monaſtery of monkes called Beaulie in Hamſhire, there to take ſanctuary, & priuilege of the houſe.

Queene Margaret moued by her frendes to renue warres agaynſt kyng Edward.

Yet all hartes were not found nor ſubdued in England eſpecially Edmond duke of Somerſet, with Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney, Earle of Deuonſhire, Jaſper Earle of Penbroke, Lord Wenlocke, John Longſtrother beyng Prior of the Knightes of Rhodes in Saint Johns. Theſe hearyng of the Queenes returne, with ſpede reſorted to her, by whom ſhe beyng ſomewhat quickened in her ſpirites, and animated to warre, began to take ſome harte and to follow their counſayle: which was, in all the whote haſt, to renue warre agaynſt king Edward, beyng now vnprouided, by reaſon his army was now diſperſed, and chiefeſt of hys ſouldiours waſted. Here great hope of victory was ſhewed, great promiſes made. Although the Queenes mynd was, beyng more carefull for the young Prince, then for her ſelfe, to ſend hym ouer into Fraunce, before ſome proofe of triall made: yet followyng the contrary counſayle of them, and partly cut of by ſhortneſſe of tyme, which required haſt, ſhe beganne with all expedition to gather power. Likewyſe Jaſper Earle of Penbroke poſted into Wales to doe the ſame.

K. Edward warreth againſt Queene Margaret.

Kyng Edward hauyng intelligence of all theſe doynges, firſt ſendeth out certaine light horſemen, to eſpy abroad thorough the weſt partes, what wayes his enemies did take. In the meane tyme, he vſing all celeritie to meete them before they came to Londõ, gathered a power, ſuch as he could make about London, and firſt commeth to Abyngdon: from thence to Marlebridge, hearyng that the Queene was at Bathe, thinkyng to encoũter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the earle of Pẽbroke, whether he thought (as they in dede intended) that they would take. But the Queene vnderſtanding the kyng to be ſo nye, remoueth frõ Bathe to Briſtow, ſending worde in the meane whyle to the citizens of Glouceſter, that they would graunt her leaue ſafely to paſſe by their Citie. Which when it could not be obtayned, with her army ſhe departeth frõ Briſtow to Teukeſbery: where the duke of Somerſet knowyng king Edward to be at hand at his very backe, willed the Queene there to ſtay, and in no wiſe to flye backewarde for certayne doubtes that might be caſt. Although this counſayle was agaynſt the conſent of many other capitaines, who thought it beſt rather to draw aſide while the Earle of Penbroke with his army were with them aſſociate: yet the mynde of the Duke preuayled. The place was prefixed, the field pitched, the tyme of battayle came, the king was loked for: who beyng within one mile of Tewkeſbury, with like induſtry and pollicy, as his enemies had done, diſpoſed his army likewyſe in their aray. This celeritie of the king takyng the tyme, was to hym great aduauntage: who otherwiſe, if he had differred, till they had conioyned with the Erle of Penbroke, had put the matter in great haſard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in tyme.

Queene Margaret debarred frõ Gloceſter.

The battayle of Teukeſbury.

A great matter to take a thyng in tyme.

Of this battayle Hall this reporteth, addyng more then Polidore, ȳ the duke of Somerſet, although he was ſtrõgly intrenched, yet through the occaſion or policie of the Duke of Glouceſter, which had the forward of the kinges part, a litle reculing backe, followed the chaſe, ſuppoſing that the Lord Wenlocke, who had the middleward, would haue followed hard at his backe. The duke of Gloceſter, whether for ſhame, rather then of policie, eſpyeng his aduauntage, ſodenly turned face to his enemyes. Whereupon the contrary part was eftſoones diſcomfited, and ſo much the more, becauſe they were ſeperate from their companie. The duke of Somerſet not a litle aggreued at this ſo vnfortunate caſe, returneth to the middleward, where he ſeyng the L. Wenlocke abydyng ſtill, rayleth him, and calleth him traytour, and with his axe ſtriketh the brayne out of his head.

This much addeth Hall beſides Polydor, but ſheweth not hys author where he had it. Polydore writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the Queenes army beyng ouerſette with the number and multitude of their enemies, and ſhe hauyng no freſh ſouldiours to furniſh the field was at laſt ouermatched, and for the moſt part ſlayne or taken. In which battayle were named to be ſlayne, the Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lord Wenlocke, Lord John Duke of Somerſet his brother, beſide other. Among thẽ that were taken, was Queene Margaret found in her chariot almoſt dead for ſorow, prince Edward, Edmund duke of Somerſet, John Prior of S. Johns, with xx. other knightes: all which were beheaded within two dayes after, the Queene onely and the young prince excepted. Which prince Edward beyng then brought to the kinges preſence, was demaunded of hym, how he durſt be ſo bold to ſtand in battail againſt hym. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and ſaith: that after the field was finiſhed, the kyng made proclamation, that whoſoeuer would bring Prince Edward to hym, ſhould haue annuitie of an C. li. duryng his lyfe, and the Princes lyfe to be ſaued. Whereupon ſir Rich. Croftes not miſtruſting the kinges promiſe, brought forth his priſoner &c. And ſo the king demaundyng of the Prince (as is ſayd) how he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter this realme with his banner diſplayed againſt him, he aunſwered ſaying: that he came to recouer hys fathers kingdome and inheritaunce from hys graundfather & father, to hym deſcendyng: wherat (ſayd Polydor) the kyng with his hand diſdaynfully thruſt hym from hym. Other ſay that the king ſtroke hym in the face wyth hys gauntlet.

Queene Margarete taken in battayle.

Prince Edward brought to the kyng. The ſtoute aunſwere of the prince to the kyng.

At the ſpeakyng of theſe wordes was preſent George Duke of Clarence, Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle Lorde William Haſtynges, who vpon the ſame, vncurteouſly fallyng vpon the Prince, did ſlaye hym. Queene Margarete beyng brought priſoner to London, was afterwarde raunſomed of her father Duke of Angeow, for a greate ſumme of money whiche he borrowed of the French kyng, and for the payment therof, was faine to yelde vnto hym the title of the kyngdome of Sicile, and Naples. &c. Kyng Edward for theſe proſperous warres, rendred to God hys hartye thankes, and cauſed publikely through hys realme, ſolemne proceſſions to be kept three dayes together. And thus much, and too much, touchyng the warres of Kyng Edward the 4. which was done an. 1471. Ex Polid. & alijs.

Prince Edward ſonne to K. Henry ſlayne. Queene Margarete raunſomed for a great ſumme of money.

Publique proceſſions for victory gotte.

An. 1471.

The ſame yeare, and about the ſame tyme, vpon the Aſcenſion euen, kyng Henry beyng priſoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all xxxviij. yeares and vi. monethes. Polydore and Halle folowyng him, affirme that he was ſlayne with a dagger by Rich. Duke of Gloceſter, the kynges brother, for the more quiet and ſauegard of the kyng his brother. In the hiſtory intituled Scala mũdi, I finde theſe wordes. Quod in turri, in vigilia Aſcenſionis Dominicæ ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamiſiam nauicula vſq; ad Abbathiam de Chertesey deductus, ibi ſepultus eſt. That is, that kyng Henry beyng in the Tower vpon the Aſcenſion euen, there happely or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the Abbey of Chertesey, and there buryed.

The death of K. Henry. 6.

Ex Scala mundi.

K. Henry buryed at Chertesey.

Polydore, after he hath deſcribed the vertues of thys kyng, recordeth that king Henry the ſeuenth did afterward tranſlate the corps of him from Chertesey to Windſore, and addeth moreouer, that by him certayne myracles were wrought. For the which cauſe the ſayd kyng Henry the ſeuenth (ſayth he) laboured wyth Pope Julius, to haue hym canoniſed for a Saint, but the death of the kyng was the let, why that matter proceeded not. Edward Halle writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cauſe, why kyng Henries ſancting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees of canoniſing of a kyng, were of ſo great a quantitie at Rome (more then of an other Byſhop or prelate) that the ſayd kyng thought it better to keepe the money in his cheſtes, then with the empoueriſhing of ȳ realme to buy ſo deare, and pay ſo much for a new holy day of ſaint Henry in the Calender. &c. Ex Hallo. Which if it be true, it might be replyed then to the Pope Julius, that if Popes be hyer then kynges in the earth, and eſpecially in heauen, why then is a Pope Saint ſo chepe in the market place of Rome, and a kyng Saint ſo deare? Agayne, if the valuation of thynges in all markettes and burſes, be accordyng to the price and dignitie of the thyng that is bought, what reaſon is it, ſeyng the ſainctyng of a king beareth a bigger ſale then the ſaincting of any Pope in heauen, but that kynges ſhould be aboue Popes alſo vpon the earth? Sed extra locum, as I do not doubt, but that K. Henry was a good & a quiet Prince, if he had not otherwiſe bene abuſed by ſome: ſo touching the ruine of his houſe, I thinke not contrary, but it came not without the iuſt appointment of the Lord, eyther for that Henrie of Lancaſters houſe were ſuch enemyes to Gods people, & for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other: or els for the vniuſt diſplacing of king Richard. 2. or els thirdly for the cruell ſlaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Glouceſter hys vncle: wherof ſufficient hath bene ſayd before.

Polydores myracles.

A kyng ſainct is deare ware in the Popes market.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The cauſe examined of the fall of Lancaſter houſe.

Example of Gods iuſt rodde of correction.

During the tyme of theſe doinges, beyng about ȳ yeare of our Lord 1465. There was here in England a certaine Frier Carmelite, who about the terme of Michael the Archaungell preached at Paules in London, that our lord Jeſus Chriſt, being here in this preſent worlde, was in pouertie, and did begge. To whoſe opinion and doctrine, the prouinciall of that order ſeemed alſo to incline, defending the ſame both in hys reading and preaching, wyth other Doctours moe and brethren of the ſame order: vnto whom alſo adioyned certayne of the Jacobites, and ſtifly did take their partes. On the cõtrary ſide, many doctours & alſo lawyers, both in their publicke lectures and preaching, to the vttermoſt of their cunnyng, did withſtand their aſſertion, as beyng a thyng moſt peſtiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendent part was driuen for a whyle to keepe ſilence. Much lyke to thoſe tymes I might well reſemble theſe our dayes now preſent, with our tumultuous contention of formes and faſhions of garmentes. But I put my ſelfe here in Pythagoras ſchoole, and keepe ſilence wyth theſe Friers. In the ſtory moreouer it foloweth, that this beggerly queſtion of the beggyng Fryers, whether Chriſt dyd begge, or no, went ſo far, that at length it came to the Popes eares Paulus. 2. who was no beggar ye may be ſure, after that, ȳ fame of this doctrine, mounting ouer the Alpes, came flyng to the court of Rome, which was about ȳ Aſſumption of the virgin Mary, the yeare next folowyng, an. 1465. it brought with it ſuch an euill ſmel to the fine noſes there, that it was

A ſore hereſie preached at Paules croſſe.

Contentiõ in the church, whether Chriſt was a beggar or not.

Times cõpared.

no neede to byd them to ſtyrre: for beggyng to them was worſſe, thẽ hye hereſie. Wherfore the holy father pope Paulus the .2. to repreſſe the ſparkles of this doctrine, which otherwiſe perhaps might haue ſet his whole kitchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, & eftſoones directeth downe his Bull into England, inſinuating to the prelates here, Hæreſim illam peſtiferè aſſerentem, quod Chriſtus publice mendicauit, eſſe antiquitus a Romanis pontificibus, cum ſuis Cõcilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata, vndique declarandam, & conculcandam. &c. That is, that this hereſie which peſtiferouſly doth affirme that Chriſt dyd openly begge, was condemned of old tyme by the Byſſhops of Rome, and his Cõcels, and that the ſame ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be troden downe vnder all mens feete. &c. This was in the ſame yeare whẽ Prince Edward, kyng Edwardes ſonne was borne in the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter. an. 1465.

Ex hiſt. Scala mundi. fol. vii.

The popes determined ſolutiõ, that Chriſt was no beggar.

As touchyng the reſt of the doinges and affaires of this king (which had vanquiſhed hetherto .ix. battayles, himſelfe beyng preſent) how afterward he, through the incitement of Charles duke of Burgoyne his brother in law, ventred into Fraunce with a puiſſaũt army, & how the Duke fayled him in his promiſe, alſo how peace betwene the two kynges was at length cõcluded in a ſolẽne meetyng of both the ſayd kynges together (which meetyng is notified in ſtories, by a white doue ſittyng the ſame day of meetyng, vpon the top of kyng Edwards tente) alſo of the mariage promiſed betwen the yõg Dolphin & Elizabeth K. Edwards eldeſt daughter, but afterward broken of the French kyngs part: moreouer as touchyng the death of the duke of Burgoyne ſlayne in warre, & of his daughter Mary, neece to kyng Edward, ſpoyled of her landes & poſſeſſions wrõgfully, by Lewes the French kyng, & maryed after to Maximilian: furthermore as touchyng the expedition of kyng Edward into Scotlãd, by reaſon of kyng James, breakyng promiſe in maryyng with Cecilie the .ij. daughter of kyng Edward, & of driuyng out his brother, & how the matter was compoſed there, & of the recouery agayne of Barwicke: of theſe (I ſay) & ſuch other thynges mo, partly becauſe they are deſcribed ſufficiẽtly in our cõmon Engliſh ſtories, partly alſo becauſe they be matters not greatly perteynyng to the Church, I omitte to ſpeake, makyng of thẽ a ſuperſedeas. Two thynges I finde here among many other, ſpecially to be remembred.

K. Edward vanquiſhed .ix. battailes, being himſelfe preſent at them all

Charles Duke of Burgoyne fayled his promiſe with the kyng.

Peace betwene the two kinges, bought wyth the French kynges money.

Mariage betwene the Frẽch kinges ſonne, & kyng Edwardes daughter, made and broken.

King James of Scot. and goeth frõ his promiſe of maryage.

Barwicke recouered.

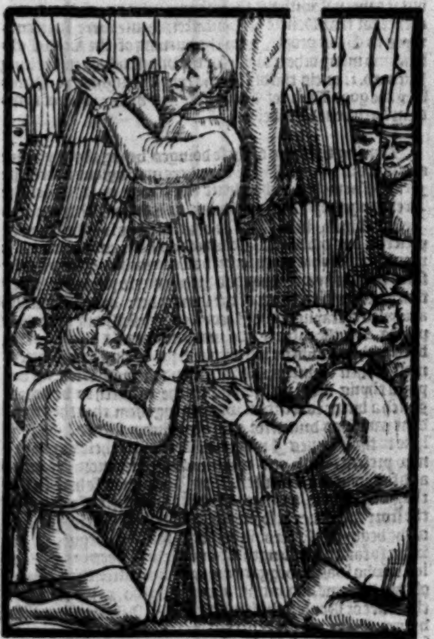
An. 1473.

John Gooſe Martyr.

John Gooſe in Engliſhe, is as much as John Hus in the Bohemian tounge.

The firſt is concernyng a godly & conſtaunt ſeruaunt of Chriſt, named John Gooſe, whiche in the tyme of this kyng, was vniuſtly condemned & burnt at the tower hill. an. 1473. in the moneth of Auguſt. Thus had England alſo his John Hus, as well as Boheme. Wherin moreouer this is to be noted, that ſince the tyme of kyng Richard 2. there is no reigne of any kyng to be aſſigned hetherto, wherein ſome good man or other hath not ſuffered the paynes of fire, for the Religion and true teſtimonie of Chriſt Jeſus. Of this ſayd John Gooſe, or John Hus, this moreouer I finde in an other Engliſh monument recorded, that the ſayd John being deliuered to Robert Beliſdone, one of the Shiriffes, to ſee him burnt the after noone: the Shriffe like a charitable man, had him home to his houſe, and there exhorted him to deny (ſayth the ſtory) his errors. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, deſired the Shriffe to be content, for he was ſatiſfied in his conſcience. Notwithſtãdyng this he deſired of the Shriffe, for Gods ſake to geue him ſome meate, ſaying that he was very ſore hungered. Then the Shriffe commaũded him meate: wherof he tooke and did eate, as he had bene toward no maner of daunger: & ſayd to ſuch as ſtode about him: I eate now a good & a competent dynner: for I ſhall paſſe a litle ſharpe ſhower, ere I go to ſupper. And when he had dyned, he gaue thankes, & required that he might ſhortly be led to the place, where he he ſhould yeld vp his ſpirite vnto God. Ex Polychron.

¶The burnyng of Iohn Gooſe.



John Gooſe taketh hys dynner before he went to Martyrdome.

The ſecond thyng herein to be noted, is the death of George Duke of Clarence, the kyngs ſecond brother: Of whõ relation was made before, how he aſſiſted kyng Edward, his brother, agaynſt ẏ Earle of Warwicke at Barnet field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after all theſe benefites, was at length thus requited, that (for what cauſe it is vncertaine) he was apprehended & caſt into the Tower, where he beyng adiudged for a tray[illegible], was priuely drowned in a but of Malmeſey. What the true cauſe was of his death, it can not certeinly be affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there be diuerſly put forth. Some partly impute it to ẏ Queenes diſpleaſure. Other ſuppoſe it came for takyng part in the cauſe of his ſeruaunt, which was accuſed and condemned for poyſonyng, ſorcery, or inchauntment. An other fame there is, whiche ſurmiſeth the cauſe hereof to ryſe vpon the vayne feare of a fooliſhe Prophecie, commyng no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Sathan, as it doth many tymes els happen among infidels and gentiles where Chriſt is not knowen: where among hygh Princes and in noble houſes, much miſchief groweth, firſt murther and parricide, and thereby ruine of auncient families, and alteration of kyngdomes. The effect of this Propheſie (as the fame goeth) was this, that after kyng Edward, ſhould one reigne, whoſe name ſhould begin with G. And becauſe the name of the Duke of Clarẽce, beyng George, began with a G, therfore he began to be feared, & afterward priuely (as is aforeſayd) was made away.

The vnworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butte of Malmeſey.

The cauſes of his death expended.

The miſchiefe that Sathan worketh by falſe propheſies.

The propheſie of G.

¶By theſe experimentes & miſchieuous endes of ſuch Prophecies, and alſo by the nature of them, it is ſoone to be ſene, from what fountaine or author they procede: that is (no doubt) from Sathan, the auncient enemy of mankynd, and Prince of this world: agaynſt whoſe deceitfull deluſions, Chriſten men muſt be well inſtructed, neither to maruell greatly at them, though they ſeeme ſtraunge, nor yet to beleue them, though they happen true. For Sathan being the prince of this world, in ſuch thynges worldly can foreſee what will follow, and can ſay truth for a miſchieuous end, and yet for all that is but a Sathan. So the dreame of Aſtiages, ſeyng a vyne to grow out of his daughter, whiche ſhould couer all Aſia, and fearyng thereby that by his nephew he ſhould loſe his kyngdom, proued true in the ſequele therof, and yet notwithſtãdyng of Sathan it came, and cauſed cruel murther to folow, firſt of the ſhepheardes child, the of the ſonne of Harpagus, whom he ſet before his owne father to eate. Ex Iuſt. lib. 1. Likewiſe Cyrus was Prophetically admoniſhed by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whom he firſt met the next morow. In that alſo his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the ſame number are to be put all the blynd Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they procede of a lying ſpirite, yet ſometime they hyt the truth, to a miſchieuous purpoſe. The like iudgement alſo is to be geuen of Merlynes Prophecies. The Sorcereſſe, mentioned. 1. Reg. 28. rayſing vp Samuell, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the. 16. chap. of the Actes, there was a Damoſell hauyng the ſpirite of * Pytho, who ſayd truth of Paul and Sylas, callyng them the meſſengers of the hygh God, & yet it was a wrong ſpirite. The vncleane ſpirites in geuyng teſtimony of Chriſt, ſaid the truth, yet becauſe their teſtimony came not of God, Chriſt did not allow it.

Propheſies not raſhly to be beleued.

Sathan can ſay truth for a wicked end.

Deuiliſhe propheſies although they tell truth, yet are not to be folowed. *Ex Iuſt. lib. 1.*

Merlynes propheſies. 1. Reg. 28. Act. 16.

*** A ſpirite of diuination which could geſſe & fordeme thinges paſt, preſent, and to come, which knowledge God many tymes permitteth to the deuill.** *Ex Paulo Diac.*

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the Emperour that he alſo had a blynd Prophecie, not much vnlyke to this of kyng Edward, whiche was, that one ſhould ſuccede him in the Empire, whoſe name ſhould begyn with θ, ο, and δ. Whereupon one Theodorus, truſtyng vpon the

Pro=

Prophecie, began rebelliouſly to hope for the crowne, & for his labour felt the paynes of a traytour. Notwithſtandyng the effect of the Prophecy folowed: For after Valence ſucceded Theodoſius. Wherfore Chriſten Princes, and noble men, & all Chriſten faythfull people muſt beware & learne.

Three thinges to be noted concernyng falſe propheſies.

1. Firſt, that no mā be inquiſitiue or curious in ſearching to know what thinges be to come, or what ſhall happen, beſide thoſe thynges onely which are promiſed, and expreſſed in the word.

2. Secondly to underſtand what difference there is, and how to diſcerne the voyce of God, frō the voyce of Sathan.

3. Thirdly, how to reſiſte and auoyde the daunger of falſe and deuiliſh Prophecies.

Many there be, which beyng not cōtēted with thyngs preſent, curiouſly occupy their wyttes to ſearch what is to come, and not geuyng thankes to God for their life whiche they haue, will alſo know, what ſhall be chaunce them, how & when their end will come, how long Princes ſhall reigne, and who after ſhall ſuccede them, and for the ſame, get unto them ſouthſayers, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, cōiurers, or familiars. And theſe are not ſomuch inquiſitiue to ſearche or aſke, but the deuill is as ready to aunſwere them: who either falſly doubleth with them, to delude them: or els telleth them truth, to worke thē perpetuall care and ſorow. Thus was Pope Siluester, the ſorcerer, circumuented by the deuill, who told him that he ſhould be at Hieruſalem, before he dyed, and ſo it fell. For as he was ſaying his Maſſe, at a chappell in Rome, called Hieruſalem, there he fell ſicke, and within iij. dayes after dyed. vide ſup. pag. 180. To kyng Henry 4. alſo it ſeemeth it was Prophecied, that he ſhould not dye, before he went to Hieruſalem. Who beyng brought to the Abbotes chāber of Weſtminſter, and hearyng the name of the chamber to be called Hieruſalem, knew his tyme to be come, and dyed. pag. 535.

Vid. ſup. pag. 180.

Vid ſup. pag. 535.

False truſt by deuiliſhe propheſies.

By ſuch deceitfull Prophecies, it can not be lamented inough to ſee what inconuenience both publickely and priuatly groweth to the lyfe of men, either cauſing them falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or els wickedly to perpetrate that they would not: as may appeare both by this K. and alſo diuers moe. So was Pompeus, Craſſus, and Cæſar (as writeth Cicero) deceaued by the falſe Chaldeis, in declaryng to thē, that they ſhould not but die in their beds & with worſhyp, and in their old age. Of ſuch falſe truſt, ryſing upon falſe prophecies, S. Ambroſe in his booke of Exameron writeth, ſpeakyng of rayne, whiche beyng in thoſe parties greatly deſired, was promiſed and Prophecied of one certeinly to fal vpō ſuch a day, which was at the chaūgyng of the new Moone: but (ſayth S. Ambroſe) there fell no ſuch rayne at all, till at the prayers of the Church, the ſame was obteined: geuing us to underſtand, that rayne cōmeth not by the word of man, nor by the begynnynges of the Moone, but by the prouidēce and mercy of our creatour Ex Ambroſ. in Examer.

Ambroſius in Examerou.

Ioan. Picus Earle of Mirandula, in his excellent bookes written agaynſt theſe vayne ſtartellers and Aſtrologers, Lib. 2. writeth of one Ordelaphus a prince, to whom it was Prognoſticate by a famous cunnyng mā in that ſcience, called Hieronimus Manfredus, that ſhould enioy long continuaunce of health, and proſperous lyfe. Who notwithſtandyng, the ſelfe ſame yeare, and in the firſt yeare of hys Mariage, deceaſſed: and after diuers other examples added more ouer upon the ſame, he inferreth alſo mention, and the name of a certaine rich matrone in Rome, named Conſtātia, who in lyke maner departed the ſame yeare, in which ſhe receaued great promiſes, by theſe Southſayers & Aſtrologers, of a long & happy lyfe, ſaying to her huſband theſe wordes: beholde (ſayth ſhee) how true be the Prognoſtications of theſe ſouthtellers? If it were not for noting of them, which now are gone, and whoſe names I would in no caſe to be blemiſhed with any ſpot, otherwiſe I could recite ẏ names of certaine, eſpecially one, which takyng his iourney, in a certaine place, after diligent calculation and forecaſtyng of the ſucceſſe and good ſpeede of his iourney, was notwithſtandyng in the ſame iourney, apprehended and brought where he would not, after that neuer enioyng good day, in ſhort tyme he departed. In Baſill this I my ſelfe heard of one, which knew and was cōuerſaūt with the partie, who hauyng a curious delight in theſe ſpeculations of chaūces and euētes to come, by his calculatiō noted a certaine day, which he miſtruſted ſhould be fatal unto him, by ſome thing, which at that day ſhould fall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himſelfe, all that day to keepe him ſure and ſafe within his chāber. Where he reachyng up his hand to take down a booke, the booke fallyng downe upon his head, gaue him his deathes wounde, & ſhortly after he dyed upon the ſame. Of theſe and ſuch lyke examples, the world is full, and yet the curiouſneſſe of mās head will not refrayne, ſtill to plucke the aple of thys unluckye and forbidden tree.

Ioan. Pic. Mirandul. cōtra Aſtrolog. lib. 2. ca. 9.

Experience of falſe propheſies.

This mā by falſe diſſemblers, was takē, betrayed & brought into Englād

A perſlous matter for a man to be curious, of tymes and thinges to come.

Beſide all this, what murder and parricide commeth by the feare of theſe Prophecies, in great blouds and noble houſes, I referre it unto them, which read and well aduiſe the ſtories, as well of our kynges here in England, as in other kyngdomes moe, both Chriſtened, and Turkiſhe. Whereof an other place ſhal ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this perteineth alſo the great inconuenience and hinderaūce that groweth by the feare of ſuch Prophecies, in the vocation of men, for ſomuch as many there be, which fearyng ſome one daunger, ſome an other, leaue their vocations vndone, and follow unordinate wayes. As if one hauing a blynde Prophecie, that his deſtructiō ſhould be on the day, would wake and do all his buſines by night & candle light: and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of men and women, as euery one in his own cōſcience knoweth his owne caſe beſt.

The ſecond part, how Prophecies are to be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in theſe Prophecies, is rightly to diſcerne and underſtand, as neare as we can, the difference betwene the Prophecies proceedyng frō God, and the falſe Prophecies counterfeited by Sathan. For Sathan ſometyme playeth Gods Ape, and transformeth hymſelfe into an Aungell of lyght, bearing ſuch a reſemblaunce and colour of truth and Religion, that vnneth a wiſe man is able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is beguiled. Concernyng Prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three thinges are to be obſerued.

In the ſecond part 3. thinges to be conſidered.

1. Firſt, whether they goe ſimply and playnely, or whether they be doubtfull and ambiguous: wherof the one ſeemeth to taſt of Gods ſpirite, ſuch as be the Prophecies of the Scripture: the other to come otherwiſe, hauing a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although the tyme of Gods Prophecies, as alſo of myracles is commonly, and ordinarily expired: yet if the Lord in theſe dayes, now extraordinarily do ſhewe any Prophecie, by the ſimplenes & playnenes therof, partly it may be diſcerned.

The ſecōd thing to be cōſidered in propheſies.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be priuate, tending to this familie, or that familie, or publicke. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the Prophecies of God haue no priuate interpretation, but generall: for ſo much as the care of Gods holy ſpirite is not reſtrayned partially to one perſon, more then to an other, but generally & indifferently reſpecteth the whole Church of his electe in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne. Wherfore ſuch Prophecies as priuately are touching the armes of houſes, or names of men, riſing or falling of priuate and particular families, are worthely to be ſuſpected.

The third thyng to be conſidered in propheſies.

3. The third note and ſpeciall argument to diſcry the true Prophecies of God, from the falſe Prophecies of Sathan and his falſe Prophetes, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tende to any glory or ſtate of thys preſent world, or whether they tende to the ſpirituall inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the publicke Church.

The 3. part how to auoyde the daunger of ſiniſter propheſies.

Now remayneth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be inſtructed next, how to eſchew the feare and perill of all deuiliſhe Prophecies, which make agaynſt us. Wherein two ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of euery Chriſten man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure agaynſt all daūger of the enemie. The firſt is, that we ſet the name of Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God agaynſt them, through a true fayth in him: knowyng this, that the ſonne of God hath appeared, to diſſolue the workes of the deuill. And agayne, this is the victory (ſaith the Scripture) that ouercommeth the world, euē our faith. Whatſoeuer then Sathan worketh or can worke agaynſt us, be it neuer ſo forceable, fayth in Chriſt will vanquiſhe it. Such a maieſtie is in our fayth, beleuing in the name of the ſonne of God.

Two remedies agaynſt deuiliſhe propheſies.
The firſt remedy.

The other remedy is faythfull prayer, which obteineth in the name of Chriſt, all thinges wyth the Lord. So that wicked feende, which had killed before vij. huſbandes of Tobias wife, could not hurt him, entring his matrimonie with earneſt prayer: ſo no more ſhall any ſiniſter Prophecie preuaile, where prayer out of a faithfull hart, doth ſtriue agaynſt it. Neither am I ignoraunt that agaynſt ſuch temporall euils and puniſhementes to this life inflicted, a great remedy alſo lyeth in this, when Sathan findeth nothyng, wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be founde, the next refuge is to flye to repentaunce, wyth amendment of lyfe. For many times where ſinne doth reigne in our mortall bodyes, there alſo the operation of Sathan is ſtronge agaynſt us, to afflicte our

The ſecond remedye agaynſt daungerous, propheſies.

outward bodyes here, but as touchyng our eternall ſaluation, neither worke nor merite hath any place, but onely our fayth in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touchyng the ij. ſpeciall remedies, whereby the operation of all deuiliſh Prophecies may be auoyded and defeated.

Now, many there be, which leauyng theſe remedyes aforeſayd, and the ſafe protectiõ which the Lord hath ſet vp in Chriſt, take other wayes of their owne, ſeekyng by their owne policy, how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch Prophecies, either in eſchuyng the place and tyme ſubtilly, or els cruelly by killyng the partie whom they feare: wherof commeth iniury, murther, and parricide, with other miſchiefes in common weales vnſpeakable. To whom commonly it cõmeth ſo to paſſe, that whereby they thinke moſt to ſaue themſelues, by the ſame meanes they fall moſt into the ſnare, being ſubuerted and cõfounded in their owne pollicie, for that they truſting to their owne deuiſe, and not vnto the Lord, which onely can diſſolue the operation of Satan, the Lord ſo turneth their deuiſe into a trappe, thereby to take them, whereby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples whereof we ſee not onely in Aſtyages kyng of ẏ Medes aforeſayd, and Cyrus: but in infinite other like euentes, whiche the trade of the world doth dayly offer to our eyes. So Queene Margarette thought her then cockeſure, whẽ Duke Humfrey was made away: when nothyng els was her confuſion ſomuch, as the loſſe and lacke of that man.

Mans policie cã nothing doe agaynſt the deuill.

No power can withſtand Sathan, but onely Chriſt, and our fayth in hym.

So if kyng Richard. 2. had not exerciſed ſuch crueltie vpon his vncle Thomas, Duke of Gloceſter, he had not receaued ſuch wrong by kyng Henry the. 4. as he dyd, pag. 502. Likewiſe this kyng Edward. 4. if he had ſuffered his brother George, Duke of Clarence, to haue liued, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard, his other brother, as it dyd. What befell vpon the ſtudent of Aſtrology in the Vniuerſity of Baſil, ye heard before, who if he had not mewed himſelfe in his chamber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now, in auoydyng ſuch Prophetical euentes, which he ſhould not haue ſearched, he fell into that which he did feare. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inſerte, not as though theſe were alone: but by theſe fewe to admoniſhe the Reader of infinite other, whiche dayly come in practiſe of life, to the great daunger and decay, as well in priuate houſes, as in weales publicke.

Wherfore briefly to repete, what before ſimply hath bene ſayd touchyng this matter, ſeyng that Sathan thorough ſuch ſubtile Prophecies, hath and yet doth dayly practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefes in ẏ world, ſettyng brother againſt brother, nephew agaynſt ẏ vncle, houſe agaynſt houſe, & realme againſt realme, gẽdring hatred, where loue was, & ſubuerting priuely the ſimplicity of our Chriſtiã fayth, therfore the firſt thing & beſt is, for godly men not to buſie their braines about ſuch phantaſies, neither in delightyng in them, nor in harkenyng to thẽ, nor in ſearchyng for them, either by ſouthſayer, or by coniuration, or by familiar, or by Aſtrologer: knowyng and conſideryng this, that who ſoeuer ſhalbe deſirous or ready to ſearch for them, the Deuill is as ready to aunſwere his curioſitie therein. For as once in the old tyme of Gẽtilitie, he gaue his Oracles by Idols, & Prieſtes of that tyme: ſo the ſame deuill, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftely can geue now aunſwere by Aſtrologers, and coniurers in theſe our dayes, and in ſo doyng, both to ſay truth, and yet to deceaue men when he hath ſayd. Wherfore, leauyng of ſuch curioſitie, let euery Chriſten man walke ſimple in his preſent vocation, referryng hyd things not in the word expreſſed, vnto him which ſayth in his word: Non eſt veſtrum ſcire tempora & momenta temporum. &c. It is not for you to know the tymes, and ſeaſons of tymes, whiche the father hath kept in hys owne power. &c.

A briefe rehearſall of the matter of prophecies, before paſſed.

The deuill ready to aunſwere in matters of diuination.

Curioſitie of prophecies to be auoyded.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requiſite it is (as is ſayd) for euery Chriſten man to learne, how to diſcerne and diſtinct the true Prophecies, whiche procede of God, and the falſe Prophecies, whiche come of Sathan. The difference wherof, as it is not hard to be diſcerned: ſo neceſſary it is, that euery good man do rightly vnderſtand the ſame, to the entent that he knowyng and flying the daũger of the one, may be the more certaine and conſtant in adheryng to the other.

Thirdly, becauſe it is not ſufficient that the deceitfull Prophecies of the deuill be knowen, but alſo that they be reſiſted. I haue alſo declared, by what meanes the operatiõ of Sathans workes and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with ſtrength and policie of man, for that there is nothyng in man, able to counteruayle the power of that enemy. Vnder heauen there is nothyng els that cã preuayle agaynſt his workes, but onely the name of the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God, not outwardly pronounced onely with our lippes, or ſigned in our foreheades with the outward croſſe, but inwardly apprehended and dwellyng in our herts by a ſilent fayth, firmely and earneſtly truſtyng vpon the promiſes of God, geuen and ſealed vnto vs in his name: For ſo it hath pleaſed his fatherly wiſedome, to ſet him vp, to be both our righteouſneſſe before himſelfe, and alſo to be our fortitude agaynſt the enemy, acceptyng our fayth in his ſonne, in no leſſe price, then he accepteth the workes and worthynes of the ſame his ſonne, in whom we do beleue.

The ſtrẽgth of a Chriſtiã mans fayth in Chriſt.

Such is the ſtrength and effect of fayth both in heauen, in earth, and alſo in hell: In heauen to iuſtifie, in earth to preſerue, in hell to conquere. And therfore when any ſuch Prophecie, or any other thyng is to vs obiected, which ſeemeth to tend agaynſt vs, let vs firſt conſider whether it fauour of Sathã, or not. If it do, then let vs ſeeke our ſuccour, not in our ſelues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor ſlay, nor chaunge our vocation therfore, folowyng vnordinate wayes: but let vs runne to our Caſtle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Ieſus, remembryng the true promiſe of the Pſalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altiſſimi, in protectione Dei cœli cõmorabitur. That is, who ſo putteth his truſt in the ſuccour of the Lord, ſhall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then ſhall it afterward follow in the ſame Pſalme. Ipſe liberabit te a laqueo venantiũ, & a verbo aſpero. That is. And he ſhal deliuer him from the ſnare of the hunter, & from all euill wordes, & Prophecies, be they neuer ſo ſharpe, or bitter agaynſt him. &c. And thus much by the occaſion of kyng Edward, of Prophecies.

Onely Chriſt able to withſtand the power of Sathan. Pſal. 90.

Now hauyng long taryed at home in deſcribyng the tumultes and troubles within our owne land, we will ſet out our ſtory more at large, to conſider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places alſo of Chriſtes Church, as well here in Europe vnder the Pope, as in the Eaſt parties vnder the Turke, firſt deducyng our ſtory frõ the tyme of Sigiſmund, where before we left: which Sigiſmund, as is aboue recorded, was a great doer in the Councell of Conſtance agaynſt Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage. This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fightyng agaynſt the Turkes. Twiſe he warred againſt them, and in both the battailes was diſcomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Myſia, fightyng agaynſt Baiazetes the great Turke. an. 1395. the ſecond tyme fightyng agaynſt Celebinus the ſonne of Baiazetes, about the Towne called Columbacium. But eſpecially, after the Councell of Conſtance, wherein were cõdemned and burned thoſe two godly Martyrs, more vnproſperous ſucceſſe did thẽ folow him, fightyng agaynſt the Bohemians, his owne ſubiectes. an. 1420. by whõ he was repulſed in ſo many battailes, to his great diſhonour, duryng all the lyfe of Ziſca, and of Procopius, as is afore more at length expreſſed: who was ſo beaten both of the Turkes, & at home of his owne people, that he neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. Then folowed the Councell of Baſill, after the begynnyng wherof, within vj. yeares, this Sigiſmundus, which was Emperour, kyng of Hungary, & kyng of Boheme, dyed in Morauia. an. 1437.

Sigiſmundus Emperour.

Sigiſmundus vnproſperous in hys warres.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Turkes.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Bohemians.

¶ Albertus Emperour.

THis Sigiſmund left behynd him one onely daughter Elizabeth, who was maried to Albert, Duke of Auſtrich: by reaſon wherof he was aduaunced to the Empire, and ſo was both Duke of Auſtriche, Emperour, kyng of Hungary, and kyng alſo of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) beyng an enemy and a diſquieter to the Bohemians, and eſpecially to the good men of Thabor, as he was preparyng and ſettyng forth agaynſt the Turkes, in the meane tyme dyed, in the ſecõd yeare of his Empire. an. 1439. leauyng his wife great with child. Who lying then in Hungary, and thinkyng to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and chieftaines of the Realme, declaryng to them that ſhe was but a woman and vnſufficiẽt to the gouernaũce of ſuch a ſtate: and moreouer how ſhe thought her ſelfe to be but with a daughter, and therfore required them to prouide among them, ſuch a Prince and gouernour, (reſeruyng the right of the kyngdome to her ſelfe) as were fit and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land cõmitted. The Turke in the meane while beyng eleuated and encouraged with his proſperous victories agaynſt Sigiſmũdus aforeſayd, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungarie and thoſe parties of Chriſtendome. Wherfore the Hungarians makyng the more haſt, conſulted among themſelues, to make Duke Wladiſlaus, brother to Caſimirus kyng of Polony, their kyng.

Albertus Duke of Auſtrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, kyng of Boheme.

Albertus Emperour but two yeares.

Elizabeth daughter to Sigiſmund, wife to Albert Emp.

The Turke beginneth to inuade Hungary.

Wladiſlaus brother to Caſimirus K. of Polonia, made K. of Hungary.

But while this was in workyng betwene the Hungarians

Elizabeth Queene of Hungarie, brought to bedde of a man childe.
Ladiſlaus prince of Hungarie borne.
Diuiſion & diſcorde in Hungarie.
The Turke warreth agaynſt Hungarie.
Huniades Vaiuoda.
Wladiſlaus K. of Hungary, ſlayne in warre.

rians and Wladiſlaus the Duke. In the meane ſpace Elizabeth brought forth a ſonne called Ladiſlaus, who beyng the lawfull heyre of the kingdome, the Queene calleth backe agayne her former word, myndyng to reſerue the kyngdome for her ſonne, beyng the true heyre therof, and therfore refuſeth mariage with the ſayd Wladiſlaus, which ſhe had before pretended. But Wladiſlaus ioynyng with a great part of the Hungarians, perſiſtyng ſtill in the condition before graunted, would not geue ouer: by reaſon wherof, great cōtention and diuiſion kindlyng among the people of Hungary, Amurathes the great Turke, takyng his aduauntage of their diſcorde, and partly ſurpreſſed with pride of his former ſucceſſe agaynſt Sigiſmund aforeſayd, with his whole mayne and force, inuaded the Realme of Hungary: where Huniades ſurnamed Waiuoda, Prince of Tranſiluania, ioynyng with the new K. Wladiſlaus, did both together ſet agaynſt the Turke. an. 1444. and there Wladiſlaus the new king of Hungary, the. iiij. yeare of his kyngdome was ſlayne. Elizabeth with her ſonne, was fled in the meane while, to Fredericke the Emperour. Of Huniades Waiuoda the noble Captaine, & of his Actes and alſo of Ladiſlaus (Chriſt willyng) more ſhalbe ſayd hereafter, in his tyme and place.

¶ Fridericus the third Emperour.

Fridericus 3. Emperor.

After the deceaſſe of Albert, ſucceded in ẏ Empire Fridericus iij. Duke of Auſtria. an. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we haue before ſignified) that Pope Fœlix elected by the Councel of Baſill, did reſigne his Popedome, to Pope Nicolas v. vpon this condition, that the ſayd Pope Nicolas ſhould ratifie the Actes decreed in the ſayd Councell of Baſill. In the dayes of this Emperour, much warre and diſſenſion raged almoſt through all Chriſten Realmes, in Auſtria, Hūgaria, Polonia, in Fraunce, in Burgoyne, & alſo here in Englād, betwene kyng Henry 6. and kyng Edward the 4. as ye haue already heard: whereby it had bene eaſie for the Turke, with litle maiſtry, to haue ouerrunne all the Chriſten Realmes in Europe, had not the prouidēce of our mercyfull Lord otherwiſe prouided to keepe Amurates the Turke occupyed in other ciuill warres at home in the meane while. Vnto this Fredericke came Elizabeth (as is aforeſayd) & Ladiſlaus her ſonne: by whom he was nouriſhed & entertained a certaine ſpace, till at legth, after ẏ death of Wladiſlaus aforeſayd, kyng of Vngarie (whiche was ſlayne in battayle by the Turkes) the inh. of Auſtria, through the inſtigation of Vlricus Eizingerus, and of Vlricus earle of Cilicia riſing vp in armour, required of Fredericke the Emperour, either to geue thē their young king, or els to ſtand to his owne defence.

Wladiſlaus K. of Hūgary ſlayne in battaile by the Turke.

When Fredericke heard this, neither would hee render to them a ſodayne aunſwer, neither would they abyde any longer delay: and ſo the matter growyng to warre, the new Citie was beſieged, where many were ſlayne, and much harme done. At length the Emperours part beyng the weaker, the Emperour through the interuention of certaine Nobles of Germanie, reſtored Ladiſlaus vnto their handes. Who beyng yet vnder age, committed his iij. kyngdomes to three gouernours. Whereof Iohn Huniades the worthy Captaine, aboue mentioned, had the rulyng of Vngarie: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Vlricus the Earle of Cilicia had Auſtria. Which Vlrice hauyng the chief cuſtody of the kyng, bare the greateſt authoritie aboue the reſt, a man as much full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almoſt of all the Auſtrians, and ſhortly after by the meanes of Eizingerus was excluded alſo from the king and the Court, but afterward reſtored agayne, and Eizingerus thruſt out. Such is the vnſtable condition of them which be next in place about Princes. But this contention betwene them I ouerpaſſe.

Ioh. Huniades, gouernour of Hūgarye vnder the kyng.
George Pogiebracius gouernour of Boheme.
Vlricus gouernour of Auſtria.

Ladiſlaus a young popiſhe king.
Ladiſlaus could not abide the doctrine of Hus

Not long after, Ladiſlaus the young kyng went to Boheme, (there to be crowned) where George Pogiebracius (as is ſayd) had the gouernaunce. But Ladiſlaus durying all the tyme of his beyng there, though beyng much requeſted, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor heare the ſeruice of them, whiche dyd draw after the doctrine of Hus. In ſomuch that when a certaine Prieſt in the hygh tower of Prage, was appointed & addreſſed, after the maner of Prieſts, to ſay ſeruice before the kyng, beyng knowē to hold with Iohn Hus and Rochezana, the kyng diſdaynyng at him, commaunded hym to geue place and depart, or elles he would ſend hym downe headlong from the rocke of the Tower: and ſo the good miniſter repulſed by the kyng, departed. Alſo an other tyme the ſayd Ladiſlaus, ſeyng the Sacrament caryed by a Miniſter of that ſide, whom they called then Huſſites, would do thereunto no reuerence. Ex Æne. Syluio.

At length the long abode of the kyng, although it was not very long, yet ſeemed to the godly diſpoſed to be longer then they wiſhed: and that was not to the kyng vnknowē, which made hym to make the more heſt away. But before he departed, he thought firſt to viſite the noble Citie Vratiſlauia in Schleſia. In the which Citie, the foreſayd king Ladiſlaus beyng there in the high Church, at ſeruice many great princes were about hym: Among whom was alſo George Pogiebracius, who then ſtode neareſt to the king. Vnto whom one Chilianus, playing the Paraſite about the kyng (as the faſhion is of ſuch as fayne themſelues fooles, to make other men as very fooles as they) ſpake in thys wiſe as foloweth: With what countenaunce you do beholde this our ſeruice, I ſee right well, but your hart I do not ſee. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion ſeeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not ſee how many and how great princes, yea the kyng hymſelfe, do folow one order and vniformitie? And why doe you then folow rather your preacher Rochezana then theſe? Do you thinke a fewe Bohemians to be more wiſe then all the Church of Chriſt beſides? Why then do you not forſake that rude and ruſticall people, and ioyne to theſe nobles, as you are a noble man your ſelfe,

Chilianus a Paraſite about king Ladiſlaus.
The wordes of a Popiſhe paraſite to Pogiebracius

An anſwere proceeding of a heauenly wiſedome.

Vnto whom, thus Pogiebracius ſagely agayne doth aunſwere. If you ſpake theſe wordes of your ſelfe, ſayth he, you are not the man whom you fayne your ſelfe to be: and ſo to you I aunſwere, as not to a foole. But if you ſpeake this by the ſuggeſtion of others, then muſt I ſatiſfie them. Heare therefore. As touching the ceremonies of the Church, euery man hath a conſcience of his owne to folow. As for vs, we vſe ſuch ceremonies, as we truſt doe pleaſe God: Neither is it in our arbitremēt to beleue what we will our ſelues. The mynde of man being perſwaded wyth great reaſons, is captiued, will he, nill he: and as nature is inſtructed and taught, ſo is ſhe drawne, in ſome one way, and in ſome an other. As for me ſelfe, I am fully perſwaded in the religion of my preachers. If I ſhould folow thy religion, I might perchaunce deceiue men, goyng contrary to myne owne conſcience, but I can not deceiue God, who ſeeth the hartes of all: Neither ſhall it become me to frame my ſelfe lyke to thy diſpoſition. That which is meete for a Ieſter, is not likewiſe conuenient for a noble mā. And theſe words either take to thy ſelfe, as ſpokē to thee, if thou be a wiſe man, or els I referre them to thoſe which ſet thee a worke. Ex Æn. Sylu. in Hiſt. Bohem.

Vlricus ſeeketh the death of Huniades.

After the kyng was returned from the Bohemians agayne to Auſtria, the Hūgarians likewiſe made their petitions to the kyng, that he would alſo come vnto them. The gouernour of Hūgarie (as ye before haue heard) was Iohannes Huniades, whoſe victorious Actes againſt ẏ Turkes, are famous. Agaynſt this Huniades, wicked Vlricus Earle of Cilicia, did all he could wyth the kyng, to bryng hym to deſtruction, and therfore cauſed the kyng to ſend for hym vp to Vienna, and there priuely to worke hys death. But Huniades hauing thereof intelligence, offereth himſelfe within Hungary to ſerue hys Prince, to all aſſayes: Out of the land where he was, it was neither beſt (ſayd he) for the kyng, nor ſafeſt for hym ſelfe, to come. The Earle beyng ſo diſappointed, came downe with certaine nobles of the court, to the borders of Hūgary, thinking eyther to apprehend hym and to bring him to Vienna, or there to diſpatch him. Huniades, without in the fieldes, ſayd he would common with hym, within the towne he would not be brought. After that, an other trayne alſo was layde for hym, that vnder pretence of the kinges ſafe conducte, he ſhould meete the kyng in the broad fieldes of Vienna. But Huniades ſuſpecting deceite, came in deede to the place appointed, where he neither ſeeing the kyng to come, nor the Earle to haue any ſafe conducte for hym, was moued (and not wythout cauſe) agaynſt the Earle, declaring how it was in hys power there to ſlay him, which went about to ſeeke hys bloud, but for the reuerence of the king, he would ſpare hym and let him goe.

Huniades ſpareth his enemie.

Alba beſieged of the Turke.
The power of God by the meanes of Huniades & Capiſtranus agaynſt the Turke.
King Ladiſlaus commeth into Hungary.

Not long after this, the Turke with a great power of fighting mē, to the number of an hūdreth and fiftene thouſand, arriued in Hūgarie, where he layde ſiege to the Citie Alba. But through the mercifull hand of God, Iohn Huniades, and Capiſtranus a certaine minorite, wyth a ſmall garriſon of Chriſtian ſouldiours, gaue hym the repulſe and put hym to flight, wyth all hys mightie hoſte: Wherof more (Chriſt willyng) hereafter. Ex hiſt. Bohemic. Æn. Syluij. Huniades ſhortly after this victory, deceaſed. Of whoſe death when the kyng and the Earle did vnderſtand, they came the more boldly into Hūgary, where he being receaued by Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, into the town of Alba, there vewed the places where ẏ Turkes before had pitched their tentes. When this Ladiſlaus heard that the kyng was cō=

myng

mynyng firſt toward the towne, obediently he opened to hym the gates. Foure thouſand onely of armed ſouldiours he debarred from entryng the Citie.

Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne.

Debate betwene Vlricus & Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne.

Vlricus Earle of Cecilia ſlayne.

In ẏ meane tyme while the kyng was there reſident in in the Citie, the Earle with other nobles did ſit in counſaile, requiryng alſo Ladiſlaus to reſorte vnto them: who firſt doubtyng with himſelfe what he might do, at length putteth on a priuy coate of mayle, and commeth to them. Whether the Earle firſt began with him, or he with the Earle, it is not knowen. The opinion is of ſome, that Vlricus firſt called him traytour, for ſhutting the gates agaynſt the kynges ſouldiours. Howſoeuer the occaſion began, this is vndoubted, that Vlricus takyng his ſword from hys Page, let flye at his head. To breake the blow, ſome puttyng vp their handes, had their fingers cut of. The Hungarians hearyng a noyſe & tumulte within the chamber, brake it vpon them, and there incontinent ſlue Vlrike the Earle, woundyng and cuttyng him almoſt all to peeces: The kyng hearyng thereof, although he was not a little diſcontented thereat in his mynde: yet ſeyng there was then no other remedy, diſſembled his grief for a tyme.

The cruell diſsimulation of Ladiſlaus the king.

The ij. ſonnes of Huniades, Ladiſlaus, and Mathias.

Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladiſlaus.

Ex Peucer. Chro. lib. 5.

From thence the kyng tooke his iourney agayne to Buda, accompanyed with the foreſayd Ladiſlaus, who paſſing by the towne, where the wife of Huniades was mournyng for the death of her husband, ſeemed ẘ many fayre wordes to comfort her: & after he had there ſufficiently repaſted himſelfe, with ſuch pretenſe of diſſembled loue & fayned fauour, that they were without all ſuſpition and feare: from thence he ſet forwarward in his iourney, takyng with him ẏ two ſonnes of Huniades, Ladiſlaus and Mathias, who were right ready to wayte vpon him. The kyng beyng come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by ſiniſter counſayle ſet on) whē he had thē at a vantage, cauſed both the ſonnes of Huniades: to witte, Ladiſlaus and Mathias, to be apprehended. And firſt was brought forth Ladiſlaus the elder ſonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded: where meekely he ſuffered, beyng charged with no other crime, but this, publiſhed by the voyce of the cryer, ſaying: Thus are they to be chaſtened, whiche are rebels agaynſt their Lord. Peucerus writyng of his death, addeth this moreouer, that after the hangman had three blowes at his necke, yet notwithſtandyng the ſayd Ladiſlaus hauyng his handes bounde behynd him, after the third ſtroke, roſe vpright vpon his feete, and lookyng vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and proteſted his innocency in that behalfe: and ſo laying downe his neck agayne, at the fourth blow was diſpatched. Mathias the other brother was led captiue with the kyng vnto Auſtria. The reſt of the captiues brake the priſon and eſcaped.

Preparation to the kinges mariage.

Ladiſlaus the kyng, receaued in Boheme.

Ladiſlaus the king, an infeſt enemie agaynſt the Huſſians.

The ſacrament of the aulter vſed to many purpoſes.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought vpon Ladiſlaus, the kyng beyng about the age of xxj. yeares, that talke was made of the kynges Mariage, with Magdalene daughter to the French kyng. The place of the Mariage was appointed at Prage, where great preparation was for the matter. At the firſt entraunce of the kyng into the City of Prage, Rochezana with a company of miniſters ſuch as were fauourers of Iohn Hus, and of ſincere Religiō, came with all ſolemnitie to receaue the kyng, makyng there hys Oration to gratulate the kynges moſt ioyfull and proſperous acceſſe into the ſame his owne Realme and countrey of Boheme. Vnto whiche Rochezana, after he had ended hys Oration, ſcarce the kyng would open his mouth to geue thankes to hym, nor any chearefull countenaunce vnto hys company, but fiercely ſeemed to frowne vpon them. In the next Pagen after theſe, came forth the Prieſtes of the high Mynſter, after the moſt Popiſh maner, meetyng him with Proceſſion, and with the Sacrament of the aulter: For as Panacea among Phiſitions ſerueth for all diſeaſes, ſo the Sacrament of the popes aultar ſerueth for all pompes and Pagens. Firſt it muſt lye vpon the aulter, then it muſt be holden vp with hādes, then it muſt hang in the pyxe, it muſt ſerue for the quicke, it muſt alſo help the dead, it muſt moreouer viſite the ſicke, it muſt walke about the Churchyardes, it muſt go about the ſtreetes, it muſt be caryed about the fieldes to make the graſſe to grow, it muſt be had to the battayle, it muſt ride on horſebacke before the Pope, and finally it muſt welcome kynges into Cities. Wherein theſe Catholicke fathers do ſeeme ſomewhat to forget themſelues. For if the Pope, beyng inferiour to the Sacrament of the aultar, at the commyng of kyngs, do vſe to ſit ſtill while the kynges come & kiſſe his feete, what reaſon is it that ẏ Sacrament of the aulter, which is (I trow) aboue the Pope, ſhould meete kynges by the way, and welcome them to the towne? But this by the way of parentheſis let vs now continue the text.

Ex Ænea Syluio, in hiſt. Bohem.

A great concourſe of Catholique princes intended agaynſt the Huſſites.

Whē Ladiſlaus this Catholicke kyng, who had ſhewed himſelfe before ſo ſtoute and ſterne agaynſt Rochezana and his company, had ſene theſe Catholique prieſtes with their Proceſſion, and eſpecially with their bleſſed Sacrament, to come: with all reuerence & much deuotion, he lighted downe from his horſe, he embraced the croſſe and kiſſed it, and with chearefull countenaunce ſaluted the Prieſtes in order. All this while his yoūg wife was not yet come out of Frāce, but Legates were ſent, after moſt ſumptuous wiſe, to conduct her. Other Legates alſo were ſent the ſame tyme, to the Emperour Fredericke, for cōcluſion of peace. The third Legacie was directed likewiſe to Pope Calixtus about Religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The authour of this ſtory (which was pope Pius himſelfe) declareth further the opinion of ſome to be, that kyng Ladiſlaus the ſame tyme had entended, to make a finall end and deſtruction of all that ſect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of Iohn Hus, and Hierome, by the aſſemble and concourſe of the Catholique Princes, and popiſh Prelates, whiche were appointed there to meete together at that Mariage in Prage. For there ſhould be firſt the Emperour Fredericke, Elizabeth the kynges mother, and his ſiſters Elizabeth and Anna, the Princes of Saxonie, Bauaria, Sileſia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many alſo of the Lordes of Fraunce, beſides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates and ſuch other potentates of the Popes Church. Who if they had altogether conuented in Boheme, no doubt but ſome great miſchief had bene wrought there agaynſt the Huſſites: agaynſt whom this Ladiſlaus folowyng the ſteppes of Sigiſmundus his graundfather, and Albertus his father, was euer an vtter enemye. But when man hath purpoſed, yet God diſpoſeth, as pleaſeth him.

Man purpoſeth but God diſpoſeth.

Ex Ænea Syluio.

Gouernaūce of Imperies and kyngdomes, is not in mans power, much leſſe the gouernaunce of Religion.

And therefore, truely it is written of Æneas Syluius in the ſame place ſaying: De regimine Ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum eſt, quod homines poſſint (tum vero De religionis conſtitutione multo minus) magna magnus diſponit Deus. That is. In regiment of cities, in alteration of kyngdomes, in rulyng and gouernyng the world, it is leſſe then nothyng that man can do: it is the hygh God that ruleth hygh thynges. Whereunto thē I may well adde this more ouer, and ſay: that if the gouernaunce of worldly kyngdomes ſtandeth not in mans power, but in the diſpoſition of God, much leſſe is it then, that mans power can do in the regiment and gouernyng of Religion. Exāple wherof in this purpoſed deuiſe of Princes, doth euidētly appeare. For as this great preparation and ſolemnitie of mariage was in doyng, and the Princes ready to ſet forth, with a litle turne of Gods holy hand, all theſe great purpoſes were ſodeinly turned and daſhed. For in the middeſt of this buſines, about the xxi. day of Nouember. an. 1461. this great aduerſary of Chriſtes people, kyng Ladiſlaus, kyng of Boheme, of Hūgary, and prince of Auſtria, ſickened and within. 36. houres dyed, ſome ſay of a peſtilent ſore in his gryne, ſome ſay of poyſon. But how ſoeuer it was, as it came not without the iuſt iudgement of God, reuēgyng the innocent bloud of Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, wrongfully put to death before: ſo by the opportune death of this kyng, the poore Churches of Boheme were graciouſly deliuered. And this end made Ladiſlaus, one of the mightyeſt princes at that tyme in all Europe: in whom three mighty kyngdomes were conioyned and cōbyned together, Auſtria, Hūgaria, & Bohemia: which countreys do lye Southeaſt from England, in the fartheſt partes of all Germany, toward Conſtantinople, and the dominion of the Turkes, and containe theſe principall townes in them.

The great worke of God in defendyng hys poore ſeruauntes.

The death of kyng Ladiſlaus.

Bloud reuenged by God.

The large dominions of Ladiſlaus.

AVſtria, called once, Pannonia ſuperior.
Vienna, whiche was beſieged of the Turke. an. 1533.
Melck.
Neuſtat, noua Ciuitas.
Gretz.
S. Hypolit.

HVNgaria, which was once called Pannonia inferior.
Buda. Ofen.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadinum.
Nitria.
Nicopolis. { Noua. Vetus.
Agria.

BOhemia.
Praga.
Pilzen.
Thabor.
Budunis.
Kolin. or Kœlu.
Egra.
Kuttenberg.
Leimiritz.
Lintz.

Lintz.
Stein.
Haynberg.
Kremſz.
Karolsburg.
Teben.
Kotzo.
Raba.
Lindenburg.

To Auſtria be adioynyng alſo certayne Prouinces and earledomes, as

Stiria.
Carinthia. } Prouinces
Croaia.

Cilicia. } Earledomes
Tyrolétz.

Agria.
Orſzaw.
Boſſen.
Sabaria.

This Vngaria, was firſt called Pannonia, or Pœonia. After the cōmyng of the Hunnes, it was called Hungaria. Of which came Attila, which deſtroyed Italye, about the yeare of the Lord. 440. Thorough Vngaria, runneth Danubius, hauyng on the Weſt ſide, Auſtria, & Bohemia, on ŷ Eaſt, Seruia, on ŷ South ſide, Polonia, &c. The moſt of this Hūgary, is now vnder ŷ Turke: which Turkes firſt came into Europe. an. 1211.

Laun.	
Rakonicke.	
Glataw.	
Bern.	or Beraun.
Bruck.	Moſt.
Gretz.	Hradetz.
Auſt.	
Maut.	Myto.
Hof.	
Iaromir.	
Dub.	Biela.
Lantzhut.	
Gilowy.	
Krupka.	
Krumaw.	
Pardubitz.	
Chumitaun.	
Lokct.	Teplitz.
Hantzburg.	Zbraſlau.
Labe.	Vltava.

George Pogiebracius.

Mathias Huniades.

After the death of Ladiſlaus, ŷ kyngdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned, whom pope Innocent the viij. did excōmunicate and depoſe for his Religion, as is afore declared. Furthermore, the kyngdome of Hūgary, was geuen to Mathias ſonne of Huniades, who was in captiuitie (as is ſayd) with kyng Ladiſlaus, and ſhould haue bene put to death after his brother, had not the kyng before bene preuented with death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, here is to be noted that the ſayd kyng Ladiſlaus, thus dying without wife & iſſue, left behynd hym two ſiſters aliue: to witte, Elizabeth, which was maried to Caſimirus kyng of Polonie: and Anna, maryed to Williā, Duke of Saxonie. Elizabeth by her huſband Caſimirus kyng of Polonia, had Uladiſlaus, who at length was king both of Boheme and Hungary. This Caſimirus, firſt was maried to Beatrix, wife before to Mathias. The beyng diuorced from her by the diſpenſation of pope Alexander, maryed a new wife a Counteſſe of Fraunce, by whom he had two children, Lewes, and Anna. Lewes which was heyre of both kyngdomes of Boheme and Hungary, was ſlayne fightyng agaynſt the Turkes. Anna was maryed to Ferdinandus, by whom he was Archduke of Auſtria, kyng of Boheme. &c.

Sigiſmundus left onely one daughter.
- Elizabeth, wife to Albertus Emperour. Who had 3. children.
  - Ladiſlaus, kyng of Hungary, Boheme, and Auſtria.
  - Elizabeth wife of Caſimirus, kyng of Polonie: Who had
    - Vladiſlaus, kyng of Boheme and Hungary, who by hys ſecond wife, Counteſſe of Fraunce, had
      - Ludouicus, kyng of Boheme & Hungary.
      - Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, father to thys Maximilian now Emperour.
  - Anna, wife to William Duke of Saxon.

Warre betwene Mathias & Fridericke the Emperour.

Ye heard before, how after the deceaſſe of Ladiſlaus, the Hungarians by their electiō, preferred Mathias ſurnamed Coruinus, which was ſonne of Huniades, to the kingdome of Hungary. For which cauſe diſſenſion fell betwene Fridericke the Emperour & him, for that the ſayd Fridericke was both nominated himſelfe by diuers vnto that kyngdome, & alſo becauſe he had the crown of Hungary then remainyng in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to K. Ladiſlaus, had brought to the emperour, as was before declared. But this warre betwen them, was ceaſed by the interceſſion of the Princes of Germany, ſo that Mathias raunſomed that crowne of Fridericke for 8000. florences.

George Pogiebracius by the pope depoſed frō his kingdome, for fauouring of John Hus.

Not long after, Pope Innocent beyng diſpleaſed with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) king of Bohemia, for fauouryng of John Hus, & his Religion, that is to ſay, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did excommunicate and depoſe him, transferryng his kyngdome to Mathias. But forſomuch as Fridericke the Emperour would not thereto conſent, & eſpecially after the death of ŷ foreſayd George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leauyng out Mathias, did nominate Uladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, kyng of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to be kyng of Boheme, therfore great warre & trouble kindled betwene him & Fridericke the Emperour: wherein the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus Duke of Saxonie reſcued the Emperour, and repreſſed the vehemencie of Mathias.

Albert duke of Saxonie.

The noble actes of Joh. & Mathias Huniades, agaynſt the Turkes.

The noble actes of John Huniades, and of this Mathias his ſonne, were not onely great ſtayes to Hūgary, but almoſt to all Chriſtendome, in repellyng backe the Turke. For beſide the other victories of John Huniades the father, afore mentioned, this Mathias alſo his ſonne ſucceding no leſſe in the valiauntnes, then in the name of his father, did ſo recouer Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the handes of the Turkes, & ſo vanquiſhed their power, that both Mahometes, & alſo Baiazetes his ſonne, were enforced to ſeeke for for truce.

Syrmium & the borders of Illyrica recouered frō the Turkes.

Jaitza recouered.

Ouer and beſides, the ſame Mathias, conductyng hys army into Boſna (which lyeth South from Hungary) recouered agayne Jaitza, the principall towne of that kyngdome, from the Turkes poſſeſſion. Who, if other Chriſten Princes had ioyned their helpes withall, would haue proceded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malitious ſubtiltie of Sathā, workyng by the Pope. For while Mathias was thus occupyed in hys expedition agaynſt the Turkes, wherein he ſhould haue bene ſet forward and ayded by Chriſten Princes, and Byſhoppes: the Byſhop of Rome, wickedly and ſinfully miniſtreth matter of ciuill diſcord betwene him and Pogiebracius aforeſayd, in remouing him from the right of his kyngdome, and transferryng the ſame to Mathias. Wherupon, not onely the courſe of victory agaynſt the Turkes was ſtopped, but alſo great warre & bloudſhed folowed in Chriſten realmes, as well betwene this Mathias, & Pogiebracius, with his. ij. ſonnes Uictorinus & Henricus, as alſo betwene Caſimirus, Uladiſlaus, and Mathias warring about Uratiſlauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the Princes of Germanie.

The ſubtle practiſe of Sathan to ſtoppe good proceedinges.

Pope Innocent ſtirreth warre betwene Chriſtian Princes.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the pope agaynſt Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be remoued from the obediēce of their kyng, whom the pope had curſed, and depoſed: yet Mathias tooke from him Morauia, and a great portion of Sleſia, and adioyned it to his kyngdome of Hungarie. an. 1474.

The popes excōmunicatiō not obeyed of diuers in Bohemia.

Mathias adioyned Morauia & part of Sleſia vnto Hungarie.

An. 1474.

Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in Bohemia, plāted by John Hus, could not be extinct or ſuppreſſed withall the power of iiij. mighty princes, Uenceſlaus, Sigiſmundus, Albertus, and Ladiſlaus, notwithſtādyng they with the popes, did therein what they poſſibly could: but ſtill the Lord maynteined the ſame, as ye ſee by this Pogiebracius kyng of Boheme, whom the pope could not vtterly remoue out of the kyngdome of Bohemia.

The religiō of the Bohemians, defended by God agaynſt the 4 greateſt princes in Europe.

This forementioned Mathias, beſide his other memorable actes of Chiualry, is no leſſe alſo commended for his ſingular knowledge and loue of learnyng and of learned mē, whom he with great ſtipendes, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in ſhort ſpace the barbarous rudeneſſe of that countrey, into a floriſhyng common wealth. Moreouer, ſuch a Librarie he did there erect, and repleniſh with all kynde of authours, ſciences, and hyſtories, which he cauſed to be tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, as the lyke is thought not to be founde, next to Italy, in all Europe beſide. Out of which Librarie we haue receaued diuers fragmentes

Mathias a great louer of learning & of learned men.

The noble lybrary of Mathias K. of Hungary.

Ex 3. lib. Peuc.

mentes of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

Commendation of George Pogiebracius.

Ex pij pont. Deſcriptione Europæ.

The conſtant fortitude alſo of Georgius Pogiebracius kyng of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendation: of whom alſo Pope Pius himſelfe, in Deſcriptione Europæ, doth honeſtly report (as a Pope may ſpeake of a proteſtant) in theſe wordes, writyng: Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus, &c. Who although Pope Innocent dyd execrate with hys children, yet he left not of the profeſſion of the veritie and knowledge, which he had receiued. Moreouer ÿ lord ſo proſpered hys ſonnes, Victorinus & Henricus, that they ſubdued their enemies, and kept their eſtate: In ſo much, that when Fredericke the Emperor at Vienna was in cuſtody encloſed by the Citizens, Victorinus dyd reſtore and deliuer hym out of theyr handes: wherfore the Emperour afterward aduaunced them to be Dukes. Alſo God gaue them ſometymes proſperous victory agaynſt Mathias, as at the Citie of Glogouia, &c.

Gods fauour to the ſonnes of Pogiebracius.

The death of Pogiebracius.

After the deceaſe of Georgius Pogiebracius kyng of Boheme, Fredericke the Emperor aſſigned that kyngdome not to Mathias, vpon whom the Pope had beſtowed it before, but vpon Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, king of Polonye, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperour Albert, and ſiſter to Ladiſlaus. For the whiche, Mathias beyng diſcontented, and for that the Emperour had denied him hys daughter Kunegunda, wente about to exclude Vladiſlaus out of Boheme, and alſo proclaymed warre agaynſt Fridericke. But before he accompliſhed hys purpoſed preparation, death preuented hym, who without iſſue departed. anno 1490.

Vladiſlaus Caſimirus ſonne, made kyng of Hungary.

After the death of Mathias departing without iſſue, Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, kyng of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and ſiſter to K. Ladiſlaus maried his wyfe Beatrix, whome Mathias left a widow, & with her was elected K. of Hungary, wyth this condition made betwene hym and Friderike the Emperour, that if he died without lawfull iſſue, then the kyngdomes of Hungary and of Boheme, ſhould returne to Maximilian ſonne to Fridericus. But Vladiſlaus not long after, did repudiate hys wife Beatrix, and depriuyng her of her kyngdome, cauſed the ſayd Beatrix to ſweare and to conſent to the maryng of an other woman, which was the daughter of the French kyng, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander, a diſpenſatiō for the ſame, as is before ſignified. By this Anne, Vladiſlaus had Lewys, and Anne, which Anne afterward was maried to Ferdinandus.

Vladiſlaus forſaketh his firſt wyfe.

Diſpenſation frō pope Alexander to forſake his firſt wife, and to mary an other.

Ludouicus Vladiſlaus ſonne, K. of Hungary and Boheme.

Lewys ſucceding after hys father, had both ÿ ſaid kingdoms of Boheme and Hungary an. 1492. and maried Mary ſiſter to Charles the 5. Emperour. Anne, as is ſaid, was coupled to Ferdinandus. &c.

Warre betwene Charles duke of Burgoyne, and Fredericke the Emperour.

Of Charles duke of Burgoine, ſomewhat was before touched, who had maried kyng Edwardes ſiſter: and what troubles by hym were ſtirred vp in Fraūce, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had beſieged the Citie Nuſſia, or Nouaſium, the ſpace of a whole yeare, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, from the Empire to hys owne dominion: wherfore war began to be moued betwene hym and Friderike the Emperour. At length through communication had, peace was concluded and a mariage appointed betwene Mary the only daughter of Charles, & Maximilian the Emperors ſonne. an. 1475. Then from Nouaſiū Charles leadeth his army toward Heluetia, againſt Renatus or Reinhardus Duke of Lotharing: then agaynſt the Heluetians, where he beyng thriſe ouercome, firſt at Granſon, then at Moratum or Murta, in the vper part of Heluetia, at laſt at the towne Nanſe, was ouerthrown and ſlaine. an. 1477. The procurer of which wars: was chiefly Lewys the 11. the French kyng, to the entent he might compaſſe the dominion of Burgundy vnder hys ſubiection: which afterward by open wrong and priuy fraud, he brought about, defraudyng Mary the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritaunce: For the which cauſe the Burgundians were the more willyng to ioyne her in maryage wyth Maximilian ſonne of Fridericke the Emperour: by reaſon whereof, the title of Burgundy, was firſt ioyned to the houſe of Auſtria.

An. 1475.

Charles duke of Burgoyne ſlaine in warre.

An. 1477.

Mary daughter of Charles of Burgoyne maried to Maximilian.

And thus haue you the miſerable vexations and contentions among our Chriſtian princes here in Europe deſcribed, vnder the raigne of this Friderike the 3. Emperour, ſo that almoſt no angle nor portion of all Chriſtendome (whether we conſider the ſtate of the Church, or ciuill gouernement) was free from diſcorde, tumultes, and diſſentions. This cankerd worme of ambition ſo mightely crepeth and euery where preuayleth in theſe latter endes of the worlde, that it ſuffreth neyther reſt in common weales, nor peace in the Church nor any ſparkle of charity almoſt to remayne in the lyfe of men. And what maruell then, if the Lord ſeing vs ſo farre to degenerate, not onely from his preceptes & counſayles, but almoſt from the ſenſe and bound of nature, that brother with brother, vncle with nephew, bloud with bloud cannot agree in ſtriuyng, killyng, and fightyng for worldlye dominions, do ſend therfore theſe cruell Turkes vppon vs ſo to ſcourge and deuour vs? Of whoſe bloudy tiranny and daily ſpillyng of Chriſtian bloude, hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) we will diſcourſe more at large, when we come to the peculiar conſideration of thee Turkiſhe ſtoryes. In the meane time, this ſhall be for vs to note and obſerue, not ſomuch the ſcourge how greuous it is: but rather to beholde the cauſes which bryng the whippe vpon vs, which is our owne miſerable ambition and wretched warres among our ſelues.

Warres & diſſention among Chriſten Princes.

The diſcorde of Chriſtians ſcourged by the Turkes.

And yet if this Chriſtian peace and loue, left and commended ſo hartily vnto vs by the mouth of the ſonne of God beyng now baniſhed out of Chriſtian realmes and ciuile gouernaunce, might at leaſt finde ſome refuge in the Churche, or take ſanctuarie amōg mē profeſſing nothing but religiō, leſſe cauſe we had to mourne. Now ſo it is, that as wee ſee litle peace and amitie among ciuill potētates: ſo leſſe we finde in the ſpirituall ſort of them, whiche chiefly take vpon them the adminiſtration of Chriſtes Churche. So that it may well be doubted, whether the ſcourge of the Turke, or the ciuill ſworde of princes haue ſlayne moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue burnt moe in townes and cities. And albeit ſuch as be profeſſed to thee church, do not fight with ſword and tergat for dominions & reuenewes, as warlyke princes do: yet this Ambition, pride, and auarice, appeareth in them nothyng inferiour to other worldlye potēſtates eſpecially if we beholde and aduiſe the doynges and inſatiable deſires of the court of Rome. Great argument & proofe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor farre to bee ſoughte. What realme almoſt through all chriſtendome hath not onely ſeene with their eyes, but haue felt in their purſes ÿ ambition intolerable, and auarice inſatiable of that deuouryng churche, and alſo haue complayned vpō the greuaunce thereof, but neuer could be redreſſed? What exactions and extortions haue bene here in England out of Byſhoprikes, Monaſteries, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the popes coffers: & when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almoſt ſome new inuention from Rome, to fetche in our Engliſhe money: & if all the floudes in England (yea in all Europe) did runne into the ſea of Rome, yet were that Oceane neuer able to be ſatiſfied.

Diſcorde & diſſention in the Church noted.

Ambition & auarice of the church of Rome.

In Fraunce lykewiſe, what floudes of money were ſwalowed vp in this ſea of Rome, it was openly complayned of in the councell of Baſil as is teſtified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambaſſadour of the Archbyſhop of Maydenburg, writtē in his booke intituled Rapularium, where as he writeth that in the Councell of Baſill, an. 1536. the Archbyſhop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of Pope Martine, there came out of Fraunce to the court of Rome. ix. millions of gold, whiche was gathered of the Byſhops and Prelates, beſides thoſe whiche could not be counted of the poore clergie, which daily without number, runne vnto the court of Rome, caryng with them all their whole ſubſtance. The archbyſhop of Turonne ſayd alſo at Baſill, in ÿ yeare of our Lord. 1439. that three millions of gold came vnto Rome in his time, within the ſpace of. xiiij. yeres, frō the prelates and prelacies, wherof no accompt could be made beſide the poore clergy, whiche dayly run to that court. Let the man which feareth God iudge what a deuouryng gulfe this is. A million conteineth, x. hundred thouſand.

Ex Rapulario Hērici Token.

The ſea of Rome is turned into an Oceane, that hath no bottome.

What a Million is.

And what made Pope Pius the 2. to labour ſo earneſtly to Lewes the 11. the French King (who as is aforeſayd was a great enemy to the houſe of Burgoin) that he would (according to his former promiſe) aboliſhe & vtterly extinct the conſtitution eſtabliſhed before at the coūſell of Bituris, by King Charles the 7. his predeceſſor, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onely the ambition of that Sea, whiche had no meaſure, and their auarice which had no end, ÿ ſtory is this. King Charles 7. the French King, willing to obey and folow the councell of Baſill, did ſummon a Parlyamente at Bituris, where by the full conſēt of all the ſtates in Fraūce both ſpirituall and temporall, a certayne conſtitution was decreed and publiſhed called Pragmatica Sanctio, wherein was comprehended, briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and decrees concluded in the Councell of Baſill. The which conſtitution the ſayd king Charles willed and commaunded through all hys realme, inuiolably to be obſerued and ratified for the honour and increaſe of Chriſtian religion for euer. This was an. 1438.

Concilium Biturienſe.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Ioan. Maria Belga. de ſchiſmat. & Concilijs. cap. 24.

It

Pope Pius laboureth that Pragmatica Sanctio ſhould be aboliſhed.

It followed, that after the deceaſe of this foreſayd Charles the 7. ſucceded K. Lewys xi. who had promiſed before, beyng Dolphine to Pope Pius, that if he euer came to the crowne, the foreſayd Sanctio Pragmatica ſhould be aboliſhed. Wherupon Pope Pius hearyng hym to be crowned, did ſend vnto hym Iohn Balueu a Cardinal with his great letters patent, willyng hym to be myndefull of hys promiſe made. The kyng either willing, or els pretending a wyll to performe, & accompliſh what he had promiſed, directed the Popes letters patent, with the ſaid Cardinal, to the counſail of Paris, requiring them to conſult vpon the cauſe.

The counſaile of Paris appealeth from the pope to the generall Councell.

Vide ſupra. pag. 673.

Thus the matter beyng brought and propoſed in the Parliament houſe, the kinges Atturney named Ioannes Romanus, a man well ſpoken, ſingularly witted, and well reaſoned, ſtepping forth, with great eloquēce, & no leſſe boldnes, proued the ſayd Sanction to be profitable, holy, and neceſſary for the wealth of the realme, and in no caſe to be aboliſhed. Vnto whoſe ſentence the Vniuerſitie of Paris adioyning their conſent, did appeale from the attemptes of the Pope, to the next generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderſtanding this, toke no litle indignation therat, frettyng and fumyng, and threatnyng many terrible thinges agaynſt them: but all his minatorie wordes notwithſtandyng, he returned agayne to the kyng, hys purpoſe not obteyned, an. 1438. Ex Ioan. Mario.

The complaint of the Germaines to the Emperour, for helpe & ayde, againſt the oppreſſion of the Pope.

Thus the Popes purpoſe in Fraunce was diſappointed, which alſo in Germany had come to the lyke effect, if Fridericke the Emperour had there done his part likewyſe toward the Germaines: Who at the ſame tyme bewaylyng their miſerable eſtate, went about with humble ſute to perſwade the Emperour that he ſhould no longer be vnder the ſubiection of the Popes of Rome, except they had firſt obteyned certayne thinges of them as touching the charter of Appeales, declaryng their eſtate to be farre worſe (although vndeſerued) then the Frenchmen or Italians: whoſe ſeruantes (and ſpecially of the Italians) they are worthely to be called, except that their ſtate were altered. The nobles & communalty of Germany, did inſtantly intreate with moſt waighty reaſons and examples, both for the vtility and profite of the Empire, to haue the Emperours ayde and helpe therin, for that which he was bound vnto them by an othe: alledging alſo the great diſhonour & ignominie in that they alone had not the vſe of their own lawes, declaryng how the French nation had not made their ſute vnto their kyng in vayne agaynſt the exactions of Popes: by whom they were defended, which alſo prouided decrees and ordinaunces for the liberty of hys people, and cauſed the ſame to be obſerued: the which thyng the Emperour ought to foreſee within his Empire, and to prouide for hys people and ſtates of his empire, as well as other kinges doe. For what ſhall come to paſſe therby, if that forreine nations hauyng recourſe vnto their kinges, beyng relieued and defended by them from the ſayd exactions, and the Germaines, and ſtates of the empire flying vnto their Emperour, be by him forſaken or rather betrayed and depriued of their own lawes and decrees? The Emperour being moued and partly ouercome by their perſwaſions, promiſed that he would prouide no leſſe for them, then the kyng of Fraunce had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalfe: but the graue authoritie of Æneas Syluius, as Platina writeth in the hiſtory of Pius the ſecond, brake of the matter, who by hys ſubtile and peſtiferous perſwaſions did ſo bewitch the Emperour, that he contemning the equall, iuſt, and neceſſary requeſtes of hys ſubiectes, choſe the ſayd Æneas to be hys Ambaſſadour vnto Calixtus then newly choſen Pope, to ſweare vnto hym in his name, & to promiſe the abſolute obedience of all Germany, as the onely country (as they call it) of obediēce, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the 4. beyng Ambaſſadour for the ſayd Fridericke, promiſing that he and all the Germains would be obedient vnto him from henceforth in all matters, as well ſpirituall as temporall.

Fredericke made the Germaines twiſe ſubiect vnto the Pope.

Thus twiſe Fridericke of Auſtrich contemned and deriſed the Germaines, and fruſtrating them of their natiue decrees and ordinaunces, brought them vnder ſubiection and bondage of the Pope: which partly was the cauſe that 7. yeares before hys death, he cauſed hys ſonne Maximiliā, not only to be choſen, but alſo crowned king of Romaines, and did aſſociate hym to the miniſtration of the Empire, leaſt after hys death (as it came to paſſe) the Empire ſhould bee tranſported into an other family, ſuſpecting the Germaines, whom he had twiſe contrary to hys lawes made ſubiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions: firſt before he was crowned in the tyme of Eugenius the 4. and agayne the ſecond tyme after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicholas the 5. denying their requeſtes. Wherupon Germany being in this miſerable pouerty and greuous ſubiection vnder the popes tiranny and poling, with teares and ſighes lamenting their eſtate, continued ſo almoſt vnto Luthers tyme, as the hiſtories hereafter followyng do teſtifie.

Frider. Albertus his brother, and Sigiſmundus ſtriue for the dukedome of Auſtria.

And here ceaſing with the ſtory of Fridericke, we wyll now procede to the raigne of Maximilian hys ſonne, omittyng diuers thinges els incident in the tyme of this Emperour: as firſt touching the vnbrotherly contention and conflictes betwene this Fridericke and Albertus his brother, and Sigiſmundus his vncle, for the dukedome of Auſtria, after the death of Mathias afore mentioned: Omitting alſo to ſpeake of the long and cruell warre betwene the Pruſſians, and Polonians, with the religious ſect of them, which were called Tentones fratres ſanctæ Mariæ, in the tyme of Vladiſlaus: Omittyng alſo the ſtryfe and variaunce for the Dukedome of Millayn, betwene Fridericus the Emperor, Alfonſus, Carolus Duke of Orleance, & Franciſcus Sforcia: And how the ſayde Princedome beyng after geuen to Sforcia great warres were kindled and long continued betwene Sforcia and the Millaners, then betwene the Millaners and Venetians, and after betwene the Frenchmē and the Millaners. All which tumultes and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpoſe of this ſtory, I referre to other writers, where they are to be founde more amplye diſcourſed.

Warre betwene Franciſcus Sforcia and the Venetians about Millaine.

Warre betwene Lewes the French kyng, & the citie of Millaine.

This as more properly belongyng to the ſtory of the church, I thought good not to paſſe ouer touchyng ſuche as were condemned, and ſuffered the paynes of fire for teſtimony of Chriſt and his truth: Of whom one was Iohn a paſtor or a netheard, which was a keper of cattell: The other was Ioannes de Weſalia, although not burned, yet perſecuted nere to death vnder the raigne of this Emperour Fridericus the 3.

Iohn a Netherd of Franconia Martyr.

An. 1476

And firſt touchyng this Iohn the Netheard, Thus writeth Sebaſt. Munſterus. That the Biſhop of Herbipolis, condemned and burned for an heretike one Iohn which was a keper of cattayl at a towne called Nicolas hauſen in Franconia, becauſe he taught and held that the clergy was ignominious and abhominable before God. anno. 1476. Ex Munſtero.

Iohn de Weſalia perſecuted.

An: 1479

The other was Doctour Ioannes de Weſalia, who was complayned vpon vnto Dietherus thee archbyſhop of Mentz, by the Thomiſtes, vpon certayne articles and opinions, gathered out of hys bookes. Wherefore thee ſayde Dietherus, fearyng eftſones to bee depoſed agayne from hys Byſhopricke, directeth forth commiſſion to the vniuerſities of Heidelberg and Colen, to haue the matter in examination: who conuenyng together the yeare aboue mentioned, called thys doctour de Weſalia before them, makyng hym to ſweare that he ſhoulde preſent and geue vp all hys treatiſes workes and writynges: what ſoeuer he had made or preached: that beyng done, they deuided his bookes amongeſt them ſelues, ſeuerally euery man to fynd out what hereſies and errours they coulde. Hys articles & opinions were theſe, that all men be ſaued freely, and through meere grace by fayth in Chriſt. Free will to be nothing. Onely that wee ſhoulde beleue the worde of God, and not thee gloſe of any man, or fathers. That the worde of God is to be expounded by the collation of one place with an other. That Prelates haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expound the Scriptures by any peculiar right, geuen them more then to an other. That mens traditions, as faſtinges, pardons, feaſtes, longe prayers, peregrinations and ſuch lyke, are to be reiected. Extreme vnction and confirmation to be reproued: confeſſion and ſatiſfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the pope alſo he affirmed to be nothing. Certayne other articles alſo were gathered out of him by his aduerſaries, but in ſuch ſort, that they may ſeme rather to follow their owne malicious gathering, thē any true intelligēce of his mynde: whereof more is to be vnderſtanded in thys proceſſe hereafter.

The articles and opiniōs of Iohn de Weſalia.

Free will nothing.

Prelates haue no more power ouer ſcriptures, then other men.

Extreme vnctiō reproued.

Agaynſt the primacie of the Pope.

Thus when Weſalianus was commaunded to appeare there conuented together, firſt the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitour, the doctors of Colen and the doctours of Heidelberge, with the maiſters of the ſame, and the Rector of the vniuerſitie of Mētz, the deane of faculties, Bachelers of diuinitie, and many other maiſters of the ſame vniuerſitie, canons, doctours, with the byſhops chaunceller, and hys councellers, beſides many religious prelates, ſcholers, with a doctour of Franckfort, the Summer and bedels, which all met together in the great hal of the Minorites, for the examination of this Ioannes de Weſalia.

Frier Elton the Inquiſitour, firſt ſitteth in the higheſt place, then after hym others accordyng to their degree. In the beginning of the examinatiō, firſt the Inquiſitor begin-

John de Weſalia brought before the prelates.

The Inquiſitour ſpeaketh.

The anſwere of Weſalianus reaſonable.

neth with theſe wordes: Moſt reuerent father and honourable doctours, &c. Our reuerent father and prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent conuocation to be called, to heare the examination of maiſter John de Weſalia, in certaine ſuſpected articles concerning the catholique fayth. But ſomething I will ſay before, that may do him good, and deſire that two or three of them that fauour hym, or ſome other, will ryſe vp and geue him counſaile, to forſake and leaue hys errours, to recogniſe himſelfe, & to aſke pardon, which if he will do, he ſhall haue pardon: if he will not, we wil procede agaynſt him without pardon. And thus Weſalianus beyng cited and brought in the midſt betwixt two Minorites being very aged, and hauing a ſtaffe in his hand, was ſet before the Inquiſitour. Who beginning to anſwere for hymſelfe with a long proteſtation, could not be ſuffred to proſecute his oration, but was cut of and required briefly, to make an end, and to tell them in fewe wordes whether he woulde ſtand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he anſwered that he neuer ſpake any thyng agaynſt the determination of the church, but ſayd that he had written diuers and ſondrye treatiſes, in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe then wel, he was content to reuoke and call backe the ſame, and do al thinges that was requiſite. Then ſayd the inquiſitour, do you aſke then pardon? The other anſwered, why ſhould I aſke pardon, when I knowe no crime or error committed? The Inquiſitour ſayd: well we will cal you to the remembraunce therof, and procede to the examination.

The cruell proceeding of the Inquiſitour.

The greater curſe of the pope deſcribed.

In the meane time, others called vppon him inſtantly to aſke pardon. Then ſayd Weſalianus, I aſke pardon. Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitour proceded to the examination, reading there two inſtrumentes, declaring that he had authoritie from the Apoſtolike ſea: after this cited the ſaid John to appeare to his examination. Thirdly he commaunded him vnder payne of diſobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghoſt, and vnder paine of excōmunication of the greater curſe, (from the which no man could abſolue hym, but onely the Pope or the Inquiſitour, except onely at the poynt of death) to tell plainly the truth vpon ſuch thynges as ſhould be demaunded of him concerning his fayth, without ambages and ſophiſtication of wordes. And ſo beyng demaunded firſte, whether he did beleue vpon his othe taken, that he was bounde to tell the truth, although it were agaynſt him ſelfe or any other: to this he anſwered, Scio, that is: I knowe. Then the Inquiſitour biddeth him ſay, Credo, that is I beleue. To the whiche he aunſwered agayne, what nede I ſay that I beleue that thyng I know. There the Inquiſitour ſomething ſtirred with the matter, as hote as a toſte (as they ſay) cried out with a loude voyce, maiſter Joannes, maiſter Joannes, maiſter Joannes, ſay Credo, ſaye Credo. Then he aunſwered Credo.

Scio.

Credo.

After this, beyng demaunded whether he had written any treatiſe, concerning the byndyng of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall power of indulgences and pardons, and of faſtyng and other treatiſes: he beleued that he had ſo written, and had conferred with diuers learned men: Alſo that he had ſent to ye Byſhops of Wormes, a certaine treatiſe of faſtyng.

Many other interrogatories were miniſtred vnto him, wherof ſome were vaine, ſome falſe. Such as were more principall, here we will briefly touch, leauyng out ſuperfluities.

His opinion of the ſacrament.

Being demaunded whether he was a fautor of ye Bohemians, he ſayd he was not. Alſo beyng demaunded concerning the ſacrament of the holy body and bloud of our Lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to be conteyned really, or onely diuinely, and whether he dyd beleue in the ſayd ſacrament the ſubſtaunce of bread there to remayne, or onely the forme therof: to this he anſwered, not denying but the body of Chriſt was there really conteyned, and alſo with the body of Chriſt, the ſubſtance of bread to remayne.

His opinion of Monkes and Nunnes.

The vowe of chaſtitie.

After this he was demaunded his opinion concernyng religious men, as Monkes, Nunnes, or begwynes, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chaſtitie, or to the keping of any other vow, and whether he ſayd to the Friers Minorites any ſuch word in effect: I can not ſaue you in this your ſtate and order. This he confeſſed, that he had ſaid, how that not your religiō ſaueth you, but the grace of God, &c. not denying but they might be ſaued.

Mortall ſinnes found by the pope, beſide that which is expreſſed to be mortall in the ſcripture.

Item, beyng required whether he beleued or had written, that there is no mortall ſinne, but which is expreſt to be mortall in the Canon of the holy Bible: to this he aunſwered, that he dyd ſo beleue as he had written, till he was better informed. Likewyſe beyng required what he thought of the vicar of Chriſt in earth, he aunſwered, that he beleued that Chriſt left no vicar in earth: For the cōfirmatiō wherof he alleged and ſayd, that Chriſt aſcending vp to heauen, ſayd: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum. &c. Behold I am wyth you. &c. In the which wordes he plainly declared, that he would ſubſtitute vnder hym no vicar in earth, and ſayd moreouer, if a vicar ſignified any man, which in the abſence of the principall hath to do the workes of the principal, then Chriſt hath no vicar here in earth.

What is this article, but to make the Pope a God.

Chriſt left no vicar in earth.

Pardons & indulgences be of no effect.

In like maner, concernyng indulgences and pardones, ſuch as the church doth vſe to geue, they demaunded of him, whether they had any efficacy, & what he thought therof: who aunſwered agayne that he had written a certayn treatiſe of that matter, and what he had written in that treatiſe, he would perſiſt therin, which was thus: that he beleued, that the treaſure bore of the merites of Saints could not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe that treaſure is not left here in earth: For ſo it is written in the Apocalips: Opera enim illorū, ſequuntur illos, &c. that is: their workes follow them.

The treaſure of ſainctes merites is not in earth.

Item, that their merites could not be applied to other men, for the ſatiſfaction of their payne due vnto them, and therfore that the Pope and other prelates cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.

This ſaying was taken out of one Cancer Pariensis, which was wonte to ſay, that pardōs were holy deceites, becauſe that lay men therby were prouoked, by naughtie deceites to geue good almes.

It was obiected to hym moreouer, that in the ſayde his treatiſe, he called pardons & indulgences, Pias fraudes fidelium, that is, holy fraudes and deceites of the faythfull.

Alſo beyng demaunded what he thought of the halowyng and bleſſing of aultars, chalices, veſtimentes, waxe candels, palmes, herbes, holy water and other dumme thynges, &c. he aunſwered that they had no ſpirituall vertue and power in them to driue away deuils, and that holy water hath no more efficacye then other water not hallowed, as concernyng remiſſion of veniall ſinnes, and driuyng away deuils and other effectes, which the ſchoole doctours do attribute to it.

Degrees in ſcripture forbidden to marry.

Item, for degrees of mariage forbiddē in the ſcriptures, he beleueth that all Chriſtian men vnder deadly ſinne, are bound vnto the ſame.

Item, that he beleueth that God may geue grace to a mā hauyng the vſe of reaſon, without all motion of free wil. Alſo he thinketh that S. Paul in hys conuerſion, did nothyng of hys owne free will for hys conuerſion. He beleueth moreouer, that God may geue ſuch grace to a man hauing the vſe of reaſon, not doyng that which in hym is.

Nothing to be beleued, but which is in ſcripture conteyned.

Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be beleued, which is not conteyned in the Canon of the Bible.

Alſo, that the elect are ſaued onely by the grace of God.

Beſides all theſe moreouer, he was charged with ye olde opinion of the Grecians, which they did hold contrary to the Romaine Church, vnto the tyme of the Councell of Ferraria aboue mentioned, concernyng the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt.

The church geueth witnes who were the writers of the ſcripture, but hath no authoritie aboue that which is written.

The Wedneſday next followyng, 3. Doctours, the Suffragane, Herwicus and Iacobus Sprenger, were ſent vnto hym with perſwaſions to exhort hym, and when he woulde not ſtand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute hys doctrine, he was then demaūded of Herwicus, why he would beleue rather the 4. Euangeliſtes, then the Goſpel of Nicodemus. To whō he anſwered, becauſe he would. Beyng aſked agayne why he beleued the 4. Euangeliſts, he ſayd: becauſe he ſo receiued of his parents. Then beyng demaunded, why he would not beleue the Doctours, becauſe (ſayd he) their doctrine is not canonicall ſcripture. Agayne it was to hym obiected, why he would be credited himſelf, whē he preached, ſeyng he would not beleue the holy Doctours? To whome he aunſwered in this wyſe, ſaying, that he did preach as hys duety was but whether they gaue credite to hys wordes, he dyd not care.

By this his queſtion, Chriſt hymſelfe might be condemned.

This examination beyng ended, after theſe articles were condemned by the Inquiſitour and his aſſiſtaunce, thē ſayd he after this maner: As you do with me, if Chriſt hymſelfe were here, he might be condemned as an heretike. After this they ſent diuers to hym to haue communication with hym, and to perſwade hym, ſendyng alſo to hym with hys Articles a forme of aſkyng pardon: at length within three or foure dayes after, he was content to condeſcend vnto them, and to ſubmit hymſelfe to their holy mother Churche, and the information of the Doctours. In the booke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adioyned to Abbas Vrſpergenſis, we read theſe wordes written of this Ioannes de Weſalia: Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti, in alijs videtur non ita graui cenſura. &c. That is: except onely the article of the procedyng of the holy Ghoſt, in other Articles it ſemeth that he was not to be chaſtened wyth ſo ſharpe cenſure, if reſpite & ſpace had bene geuen hym, if good

Ex Orth. Grat.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

councellours had bene about him, if all they which dyd accuſe and moleſte hym, had not bene de via realium, as Thomiſtes, that is, of the ſecte of thomas: whiche Thomiſtes were ſet at that time, agaynſt the other ſect of þ ſeculars, which were called Nominales, and therfore, they ſo ſpyted thys Doctour becauſe he did not hold with theyr Thomas, agaynſt whom otherwiſe (had it not bene for that cauſe) they would neuer haue bene ſo fierce and malicious in procedyng agaynſt him. I take God to witneſſe, which knoweth all things, that this proceſſe, which was made agaynſt hym for his reuokyng & burning of his bookes, did greatly diſpleaſe maiſter Engeline of Brunſwicke, a greate diuine, and alſo Maiſter John Keiſersberge, beyng both learned, and famous men, but namely maiſter Engeline thought, that to much malice and raſhnes was ſhewed in handling of that ſame man, and did not feare to ſay, that many of his Articles, & the greater part therof, might be holden well inough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantaſticall diſſenſion of the Thomiſtes, ſekyng by all maner of wayes, how to get the triumphe ouer the ſeculare deuines. &c. Hæc ille.

Diſcorde betwene Reals & Nominals.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Although this aged and feble old man, by weakenes was conſtrained to geue ouer vnto the Romiſhe clergy, by outward profeſſion of his mouth: yet notwithſtandyng, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward hart, of what iudgement he was, if feare of death preſent had not otherwiſe enforſed him to ſay, then he did thinke. Agayne, although hee had reuoked after their myndes, yet we read no ſuch fourme of recantation to be preſcribed to him to read openly vnto the people, as the vſe is here in England. The ſtory of this man is more fully to bee found in the bookes of Orth. Gratius. &c.

Doct. John de Weſalia reuoketh his opinions.

As touchyng the reygne of this Fridericke Emperour, ſeyng we haue comprehended hetherto ſufficiently the moſt principall matters in his tyme incurrent, we will now paſſe forward (thee Lorde guidyng vs) to Maximilian, after I haue firſt geuen a brief memorandum of iij. valiaunt princes and captaines floriſhing in the ſame tyme of this Fridericke, in Germanie: of the whiche, one was Albert Duke of Saxonie, who for his renowmed and famous actes, was called by publique voyce, Dextera manus Imperii. The right hand of the Empire. The other was Albert. Marques of Brandenburge, to whom alſo the name was attribute, named of Pope Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Friderick Earle Palatine, ſurnamed Victorioſus, who manfully defended the fredome and maieſtie of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppreſſions of the popes tyrannie.

Albert duke of Saxonie, called *Dextra manus imperij.* Albert Marques of Brãdenburg, called *Achilles Germanicus.*

1484.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1484. in this Emperours tyme dyed Pope Sixtus, the. iiij. a litle before touched, a monſter rather of nature, then a prelate of the churche. Of him writeth Platina, that vniuſtly he vexed al Italy with warr and diſſenſion. Agrippa writyng of him, ſayth that among all the bawdes of theſe other latter popes, which were builders of brothelhouſes, this Pope Sixtus. 4. ſurmounted all other: who at Rome erected a ſtewes of duble abhomination, not onely of women, but alſo. &c. Whereupon no ſmall gayne redounded to hys coffers: For euery ſuch common harlot in Rome payd to him a Iuly peece, the ſumme wherof grewe in the yeare, ſome while to. 20000. at lẽgth to. 40. thouſand Duckets. Wherunto accordeth right well the Epitaphe of John Sapidus, whiche in the ende hereof we will annexe.

The abhomination of Pope Sixtus. *Ex Declamatione Agrippa ad Louanienſes.*

John Carion alſo ſpeakyng of this Byſhop, witneſſeth him to be a mã rather borne to warre, then to Religiõ: For he warred agaynſt Vitellius Tiphernates, againſt þ Florentines, the Venecians, whom he excõmunicated & did not abſolue till he dyed: alſo againſt Colũ nenſes, agaynſt Ferdinandus king of Apulia, & Duke of Calabria: alſo againſt other nations and Princes mo. Ex Ioan. Laziardo.

The warres of Pope Sixtus.

Ex Ioan. Laziardo. lib. Hiſtoria Vniuerſalis. cap. 384.

Of the ſayd Pope it is recorded that he was a ſpeciall patron and tutor to all beggyng Friers, grauntyng them to haue and enioy reuenewes in this world, and in the world come euerlaſtyng life. Among the which Friers there was one named Alanus de rupe, a Blacke Frier, whiche made the Roſary of our Ladyes Pſalter (ſo they terme it) and erected a certeine new fraternitie vpon the ſame, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, perteinyng to the order of the Dominickes, of the whiche order Iacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Ioannes de Weſalia aboue mentioned, was a great aduauncer, & eſpecially this pope Sixtus 4. who gaue to the ſayd fraternitie large graces and priuileges.

A large gift of the pope to the begging Friers. Alanus, author of our Ladyes Pſalter.

Concernyng the inſtitution of this Roſary, there was a booke ſet forth about the yeare of our Lord. 1480. in the beginnyng wherof is declared, that the bleſſed virgine entred into the celle of this Alanus, and was ſo familiar with him, that not onely ſhe did eſpouſe him to her huſband, but alſo kiſſed him with her heauenly mouth, and alſo for more familiaritie, opened to hym her pappes, and poured great plenty of her owne milke into his mouth. For the confirmation wherof the ſayd Alanus, this holy babe (ſayth the ſtory) did ſweare deepely, curſing himſelfe, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

Then had the bleſſed virgine Mary two huſbandes. An olde knaue to ſucke his wiues breſt.

This fabulous figment, when I read in the centuries of John Bale, I began with my ſelfe to miſtruſt the credite therof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with ſuch incredible forgeries. But as þ prouidẽce of God worketh in all thynges, ſo alſo it appeared in this, that the very ſame booke came to my handes at the writyng herof, wherin this ſelfe ſame narration is conteined, wherein I founde not onely this to be true, whiche in John Bale is expreſſed, but alſo founde in like maner, an other wonder as prodigious as this: where in an other place not farre of, is ſtoried in the ſame booke, how that about the tyme of S. Dominicke, there was a certayne Matrone in Spayne named Lucia, which beyng taken captiue by the Saracenes, hauyng her huſband killed, was caried great with chyld, into the Turkiſh land.

When the tyme of her labour came, ſhe beyng left deſolate alone amõg beaſtes and hogges, & remẽbryng this wiſe holy Roſary, (firſt inſtituted ſayth the booke by S. Dominicke, and afterward renued by Alanus) eftſones the holy Virgin was redy and ſtood by her, and receiued the child at her trauayle, ſupplying all the partes of a diligent midwyfe: & moreouer cauſing a prieſt ſodenly to appeare, gaue the child to be Chriſtened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: & ſo was ſhe wyfe to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and Godmother to Marianus. Which ſtory if it be true, then is þ popes Canon, by this example, to be controlled, which permitteth midwiues in tyme of neceſſitie, to baptiſe, ſeyng the bleſſed Virgin playing the part her ſelf of a midwife, durſt not baptiſe this child without a prieſt.

The deteſtable impietie & blaſphemie of the popiſhe lying religion.

Mendacem memorem eſſe oportet.

It followeth more in the ſtory, that by the helpe of the ſayd bleſſed virgine, this Lucia our Ladies goſſip, after her Purification, was reſtored with her chylde ſafe to her countrey agayne. This booke beyng in Latin and printed, beareth this title: Roſacea Auguſtiſſimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ Corona: and in the fronteis ſheweth the name of Iodocus Biſſelaius a noble man of Aquine. And thus by the occaſion of pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a mainteiner of blind ſuperſtition he was, by this it appeareth: how filthy in hys lyfe, how cruelly geuen, and all ſet vpon warre, and what an hater of peace he was, partly by that afore ſpoken, partly by the ende followyng it may be ſene. For ſo we read in certain writers, that after this Pope had vnderſtanding that Hercules Eſtenſis, duke of Ferraria, had ioined peace with the Venetians agaynſt his will, he was ſo grieued therewith, that for rãcour of mynde, wtin v. dayes after, he died: whereunto his Epitaph folowyng geueth ſufficient record. About whoſe tyme alſo dyed Platina a man not vnlearned, but yet a ſhamefull flatterer and bearer with the wicked lyues of the Popes.

Ex Latino Codice impreſſo, cui titulus Roſacea Mariæ Corona.

The death of pope Sixtus. 4.

Here endeth Platina.

The Epitaphe of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit ſæuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum:
  Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

Another Epitaphe of the ſame Pope.

Sixte iaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſecli,
  Sæuiſti in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta moue.
Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua buſta cinædi,
  Scortaq;, lenones, aleæ, vina, venus.

An other.

Gaude priſce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
  Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.

But leauing here pope Sixtus with hys verſes and vices, let vs now procede, as we before promiſed, to enter the ſtory of Maximilian, keping notwithſtandyng the order of our kynges here in England: For a little before the reigne of Maximilian, king Edward the fourth ceaſed hys life, an. 1483. after he had reigned 22. yeares. In the tyme of which Kyng Edward, this alſo is not to bee forgotten, that one Burdet, a Marchaunt dwellyng in Chepeſide, at the ſigne of the crowne, which is the ſigne now of the flower de luce merely ſpeakyng to his ſonne, ſaid that he would make him inheritour of þ crown, meaning in dede his own houſe. For þ which wordes, whẽ K. Edward cauſed to be miſcõſtred,

The death of K. Edward. 4.

An. 1483.

Burdet. Tyranny in miſconſtring a mãs wordes.

The lawes of the realme miſconſtred for the princes pleaſure.

and interpreted, as though he had ment the crowne of the Realme, within leſſe ſpace thē iiij. houres, he was apprehēded, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Chepeſide.

¶King Edward the v.

K. Edward. 5.

Eccle. 10.

Væ puero regi in ſuo regno.

Richard duke of Glouceſter made protectour.

The young kyng cōmitted to the duke of Glouceſter.

The duke of Buckingham a great doer for the protectour.

Both king Edwardes children in the poſſeſſiō of the protectour.

The deuiliſhe protectour picketh quarelles.

The Queene & Shores wife, falſely accuſed of the protectour to bewitch his arme.

THis king Edward lefte behinde him by hys wife Elizabeth. ij. ſonnes, Edward and Richard, and. ij. daughters, Elizabeth and Cicilie. whiche. ij. ſonnes Edward and Richard, for ſomuch as they were vnder age and not rype to gouerne, a conſultation was called amonge the peeres, to debate whether the foreſayd yong prience and king, ſhoulde be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or els that Richard Duke of Glouceſter, brother to kyng Edward the fourth, and vncle to the chylde, ſhoulde be gouernour of the kyng, and protectour of the Realme. there hath bene and is an old adage, the wordes whereof, rather then the true meanyng, is wraſted out of Salomon: Væ regno cuius Rex eſt puer. &.i. Woe to yͤ kingdome, yͤ king wherof is a child. ec. But if I may finde leaue herein to thruſt in a gloſe, I woulde this adde & ſay: Væ illi puero, qui ſui regni Rex non eſt. i. Wo to that childe, which is a king in a kingdome vnruly & ambitious. There was yͤ ſame ſeaſon amōg other noble peeres of the Realme, the Duke of Buckyngham, a man of great authoritie, who had maryed king Edwardes wifes ſiſter. Becauſe this Duke beyng ſo nere aliaunt to the kyng, had bene vnkyndly (as he thought) of the kyng entreated, hauing by him no aduauncement nor any great frēdſhip ſhewed, according to his expectatiō, tooke part therfore with Richard duke of Gloceſter, both againſt the Quene and her childrē, to make the foreſayd Duke, the chief gouerner and protectour. The whiche thynge beyng brought to paſſe, by the ayde, aſſiſtaunce, and workyng of the duke of Buckyngham, the Queene tooke ſanctuarie with her yonger ſonne: the elder brother, whiche was the kyng, remayned in the cuſtodie of the Duke of Glouceſter his vncle. Who beyng now in a good towardnes to obtayne that, which he long looked for, ſought all the meanes, and ſoone compaſſed the matter, by falſe colour of diſſembled wordes, by periurie, and labour of frendes, namely of thee Duke of Buckyngham, and the Cardinall Archbyſhop of Canterbury, that the other brother alſo ſhould be committed to his credite. Thus the ambitious protectour and vnnaturall vncle, hauyng thee poſſeſſion of his. ij. nephewes, and innocent babes, thought him ſelfe almoſt vp the whele, where he would clyme: Although hee coulde not walke in ſuch myſtes and cloudes, but his deuiſed purpoſes began to be eſpied: which cauſed hym more couertyte to goe about to remoue from him all ſuſpicion and to blynde the peoples eyes. But before, he coulde accompliſhe hys execrable enterpriſe, ſome there were, whom he thought firſt muſt be ridde out of his way, as namely the Lord Haſtynges, and the Lord Stanley. who as they were ſittyng together in counſaile within the tower, the protectour (the matter beyng ſo appointed before) ſodenly ruſhed in among them, and after a fewe wordes there commoned, he ſodenly haſted out agayne: his minde belike, beyng full of miſchief and furye, was not quiet. Who within the ſpace of an houre, returned agayne into the chamber with a ſterne countenaunce and a frownyng looke, and ſo there ſet hym downe in hys place, when the Lordes were in great meruell and muſe at the meanyng hereof: then he out of a cankered hart thus began to bray, aſkyng them what are they worthy to haue, which go about to imagine the deſtruction of him beyng ſo nere to the kynges bloud, and protectour of the Realme? At the which queſtion, as the other Lordes ſatte muſing, the Lord Haſtynges, becauſe he had bene more familiar with hym, thus aunſwered, that they were worthy of puniſhment, what ſoeuer they were. Which when the other Lordes alſo had affirmed: that is (quoth the protectour) yonder ſorcereſſe, my brothers wife, meanyng thee Queene, and other with her: addyng moreouer, and ſaying: that ſorcereſſe & other of her counſaile, as Shores wife, with her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus waſted my body: and therewith ſhewed forth his left arme a weryſh wythered thyng, as it was neuer otherwiſe, as was well knowen.

Adultery puniſhed of God.

Murder iuſtly puniſhed of God

This Shores wife had bene before a concubine to K. Edward, and afterward was kept by the ſame Lord Haſtynges. Moreouer here is to be noted, that by the conſent of the ſayd Lord haſtyngs, the cruell protectour had deuiſed about the ſame tyme, the kindred of the Queene, innocently to be headed at Pomfret, of mere deſpite and hatred. Wherfore, this puniſhement not vndeſeruedly, by the iuſt hand of God, fell vpon the ſayd Lord Haſtyngs.

L. Haſtings arreſted for a traytour.

L. Stanley wounded.

B. Morton.

The tyranny of the protectour.

The Lord Haſtinges beheaded.

It foloweth then more in the ſtory, that when the L. Haſtyngs had heard theſe falſe accuſatiōs of yͤ tyraūt, which he knew to be vntrue: certainely (my Lorde) ſayd he, if they haue ſo done, they be worthy of heynous puniſhemēt. What quoth the Protector, doeſt thou ſerue me with if and with and? I tell thee, they haue ſo done, and that will I make good on thy body traytour: and therewith geuyng a greate rappe on the boord (for a token or watchword) one cryed treaſon without, and forthwith thee chamber was full of harneyſed men. The protectour then approchyng to the L. Haſtynges, arreſted him as a traitour. An other let flye at the Lord Standly: who to auoyde the blow ſhronke vnder the table, or els his head had bene cleft a ſonder: notwithſtandyng he receaued ſuch a wounde, that the bloud ranne about his eares. There were in that counſaile yͤ ſame tyme the Archbyſhop of yorke, and Doctour Morton Byſhop of Ely (by whoſe procurement afterward kyng Henry the vij. was ſent for into England, and he made Archbyſhop after that of Canterbury) theſe with the Lorde Stanley diuerſlye were beſtowed in diuers chambers. The Lorde Haſtynges was commaunded to ſpede and ſhryue hym a pace, for before dyner thee protectour ſware by S. Paule, that he ſhoulde dye: and ſo incontinently, wythout farther iudgement, his head was ſtricken of: by whoſe counſaile the Queenes kyndred were at the ſame time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

The beaſtly protectour accuſeth hys owne mother.

Doctour Shawes impudent ſermon at Paules croſſe.

Sap. 4.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware.

After this tyrannous murder accompliſhed, the miſchieuous protectour aſpiryng ſtill to the crowne, to ſet his deuiſes forward, firſt through giftes and fayre promiſes, did ſubornate Doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in London, at Paules Croſſe to inſinuate to the people, that neyther kyng Edward with hys ſonnes, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other perſons in adultery on the Duches their mother, and that he alone was the true and onely lawfull heyre of the Duke of yorke: Moreouer to declare and to ſignifie to the audience, that king Edward was neuer lawfully maried to yͤ Queene, but his wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy: and ſo the two childrē of K. Edward to be baſe and baſtardes, and therfore the title of the crowne moſt rightly to pertayne to yͤ Lord Protectour. That this falſe flatterer, and loude lying preacher, to ſerue the protectours humour, ſhamed not moſt impudently to abuſe that holy place, that reuerēt auditorie, the ſacred word of God, takyng for his theame: Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas &c. Which he moſt impiouſly did apply againſt the innocent children and right heyres of this realm. Wherupon ſuch grudge and diſdayn of the people & worldly wonder followed hym, that for ſhame of the people crying out of hym, in few dayes after he pined away.

The duke of Buckinghā an other miniſter for the protectours furie.

The duke of Buckinghā ſpeaketh for the protectour in the Guildhall.

An hard thing to make the tōge ſpeake agaynſt the hart.

A ſtolne conſent in the Guildhall.

When this ſermon would take no effect with the people the protectour vnmercifully drowned in ambition, reſted not thus, but within two dayes after, excited the duke of Buckingham, firſt to breake the matter in couert talke, to the Mayor and certayne of the heads of the citie, pyked out for the purpoſe: that done, to come to the Guildhal, to moue the people by all flatteryng and lying perſuaſions to yͤ ſame, which ſhameles Shaw before had preached before at Paules Croſſe. Which the Duke with all diligence and helpes of eloquence, beyng a man both learned and well ſpoken, endeuoured to accompliſh, makyng to the people a long and artificiall Oration, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but that the people allured by hys crafty inſinuations would cry, kyng Richard, kyng Richard. But there was no king Richard in their mouthes leſſe in their hartes. Wherupon the Duke lokyng to the lord Mayor, and aſkyng what that ſilence ment, contrary to the promiſe of the one, and the expectation of the other: It was then aunſwered of the Mayor, that the people peraduenture well vnderſtood hym not: wherfore the duke reiterating his narration in other wordes, declared agayne that he had done before. Likewyſe the third tyme he repeted hys Oration agayne and agayne. Then the commons which before ſtoode mute, beyng now in a maſe, ſeyng this importunitie, began to mutter ſoftly among themſelues, but yet no king Richard could ſound in their lips ſaue onely that in the nether end of the Hall, certayne of the Dukes ſeruantes with one Naſhfield, and other belongyng to the Protectour, thruſting into the hall among the preaſe, began ſodenly at mens backes to cry king Richard, king Richard, throwyng vp their cappes: wherat the Citizens turnyng backe their heades, maruelled not a little, but ſayd nothyng.

Fye of hypocriſie.

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that ſide, taking this for ſufficient teſtimony, incontinent came blowyng for haſt to the Protectour, then lying at Baynardes Caſtle. Where, the matter beyng made before, was now ſo contriued, that forſooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with iij. ſundry ſutes, to the humble and ſimple protector, that he, although it was vtterly agaynſt hys will to take it: yet woulde of hys humilitie ſtoupe ſo low as to receiue the heauy kingdome of England vpon hys ſhoulders. At this theyr ſo tender requeſt and ſute of the Lordes and commons made (ye muſt know how) the myld Duke ſeyng no other remedy, was contented at length to yelde, although ſore agaynſt his wyl (ye muſt ſo imagine) and to ſubmit hymſelfe ſo low, as of a protectour to be made a kyng: not much herein vnlyke to our prelates in the Popiſh Church, who when they haue before well compounded for the popes Buls, yet muſt they for maner ſake make curteſie, and thriſe deny that for which they ſo long before haue gaped, and ſo ſwetely haue payd for.

The hypocriſie of the protectour denying the crowne thriſe before he would take it.

¶ King Richard the third,

Vſurper.

King Richard 3. vſurper.

AND thus Richard Duke of Glouceſter tooke vpon hym to be made and proclaymed kyng of Englande, the yeare aforeſayd. an. 1483. in the month of Iune. who then commyng to the Tower by water, firſt made his ſonne a chylde of x. yeare olde, Prince of Wales, and Iohn Haward (a man of great induſtry and ſeruice) he aduaunced to be Duke of Northfolke, and Sir Thomas Haward hys ſonne, he ordeyned Erle of Surrey. Alſo William Lord Barckeley was appoynted Erle of Notingham. Fraunces Lord Louell, was made Vicount Louell. Lorde Stanley for feare of hys ſonne, was deliuered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the kynges houſholde. Lykewyſe the Archbiſhop of Yorke was ſet free: but Morton Biſhop of Elye was committed to the Duke of Buckyngham, by whom was wrought the firſt deuiſe to bryng in Henry erle of Richemond into England, and to conioyne mariage betwene Elizabeth kyng Edwards daughter, and him: whereby the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were vnited together.

K. Richard crowned.

After the kyngdome of England was thus alotted to kyng Rich. the vſurper, as in maner aboue remembred, he taried not long for his coronation, which was ſolemniſed the month next enſuyng, the 6. day of Iuly.

The triumph and ſolemnitie of this vſurped coronation, beyng finiſhed, and all things to the ſame appertaynyng, this vnquiet tyraunt yet could not thinke hymſelfe ſafe, ſo long as yong Edward the right kyng and hys brother, were alyue: wherfore the next enterpriſe which he did ſet vpõ was this, how to rid theſe innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne kyng alone.

In the meane tyme, while all thys ruffling was in hãd what dread and ſorow the tender hartes of theſe fatherles and frendles children were in, what litle ioye of them ſelues what ſmall ioye of life they had, it is not ſo hard as dolorous for tender hartes to vnderſtand. As the yonger brother lyngered in thought and heuynes, ſo the prince which was a xi. yeare old, was ſo out of hart and ſo fraught with feare that he neuer tyed his pointes, nor ioyed good day, till the trayterous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered them of their wretchednes: which was not long in diſpatchyng. For after kyng Richard their vncle, firſt attempting to compaſſe his deuiliſhe deuiſe by Robert Brakenbury Conſtable of the tower, and could not wynne him to ſuch a cruell facte (to dye therefore) then he got one Iames Tyrell, ioynyng with him Iohn Dighton, and Miles Foreſt, to perpetrate this heynous murder. Whiche Dyghton and Foreſt, about midnight entryng into their chamber, ſo bewrapped and entangled them amongeſt the clothes, keping downe the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while, they ſmoothered and ſtifled them pitiouſlye in their bed.

The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his Prince. Iames Tyrell. Iohn Dyghton. Miles Foreſt, cruell traytors & murtherers of their Prince. young princes.

The ii. children of K. Edward murdered.

And thus ended theſe two yong princes their liues, through the wretched cruelty of theſe forenamed tormentors: who for their deteſtable and bloudy murder committed, eſcaped not lõg vnpuniſhed by the iuſt hand of God. For firſt Miles Foreſt, at S. Martins le grand, by peecemeale miſerably rotted away. Iohn Dighton lyued at Calis long after ſo diſdayned and hated, that he was poynted at of all mẽ, and there dyed in great miſery. Sir Iames Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treaſon. Alſo kyng Richard himſelf within a yeare and a halfe after, was ſlayne in the field, hacked and hewed of hys enemies handes, torne and tugged like a curre dog.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpõ the murderers of the two

The puniſhment of God vpon kyng Richard.

Furthermore, the ſayd iuſtice of Gods hand left not the Duke of Buckyngham eſcape free, which was a greate maintayner and ſetter vp of this butcherly vſurper: for leſſe then within a yeare after ſo God wrought, that he was him ſelfe beheaded for treaſon by the ſayde king, whome he ſo vniuſtly before had aduaunced and ſet vp.

The puniſhment of god vpon the duke of Buckinghã.

Doc. Shaw and doc. Pinke, two flattering preachers.

In the ſame catalogue and order of theſe wicked doers aboue recited, we haue alſo to comprehende two other, as well worthy of memoriall, as the beſt, or rather as ÿ worſt. The name of the one was doctour Shaw, aboue rehearſed: The other was Doctour Pinke, prouinciall of the Auſten Friers: both famous preachers, and both Doctours in diuinitie, both of more learnyng then vertue (ſaith the ſtory) of more fame then learnyng, and yet of more learnyng then truth. Shaw made a Sermon in the prayſe of the Protectour, before his coronation, Pinke preached after his coronation. Both were ſo full of tedious flattery, that no good eares coulde abide them. Pinke in hys ſermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was faine to leaue of and came downe in the middeſt. Doctour Shaw by his ſermon loſt hys honeſty, & ſoone after, his life for very ſhame of the world, ſo that he durſt neuer after that, ſhew his face agayne. But as for the Frier, he was ſo farre paſt ſhame, that the loſſe therof did litle touch him.

Gods iudgment vpon flattering preachers.

Mention was made a litle before, of Doctour Morton Byſhop of Ely, by whoſe meanes the deuiſe was firſt broched for ÿ conioynyng the two houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter together. This deuiſe was firſt broken to the Duke of Buckyngham, which ſoone after coſte hym his lyfe. But the Byſhop more crafty to ſaue hymſelfe, incontinent fled into Britayne. Notwithſtanding, the deuiſe once beyng broched, was ſo plauſible, and tooke ſuch effect, that meſſage was ſent ouer the ſea to Henry Earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the Queene, mother to the Ladye Elizabeth, that if he would make his returne, and promiſe to mary with ÿ ſaid Lady Elizabeth K. Edwards daughter, he ſhould be receaued. To make a longer diſcourſe of this matter, which is ſufficiently ſet forth by Syr Tho. More ſo ornately, it needeth not.

The firſt motion of ioynyng the two houſes, Yorke and Lancaſter together.

Briefly (to contracte that in a ſmall compaſſe of wordes, which was not ſo ſmall a thyng in doyng) after that the Earle Henry, with ſuch other baniſhed mẽ, as fled out of England at the taking of the Duke of Buckinham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the Queene, and other frendes mo out of England, how the caſe of ÿ realme ſtoode, and how it was here purpoſed by hys frendes, that is, that he ſhould with all conuenient ſpede, haſt his returne ouer into England, promiſing to mary wyth Ladye Elizabeth: he with all diligence as tyme and preparation would ſerue, auaunced forward his iorney, being wel helped and furniſhed by Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and ſo ſhipped his men. Albeit his firſt viage ſpedde not, for that the wyndes turning contrary: by force of weather his ſhips were diſparcled, and he repulſed backe into Fraũce agayne. His ſecond viage was more proſperous. Who takyng the ſeas at Harflet, in the moneth of Auguſt. an. 1485. accompanied onely with two thouſand men, and a ſmall number of ſhippes, aryued at Milford hauen in Wales, and firſt came to Dale, then to Harford weſt, where he was ioyfully receaued, and alſo by the commyng in of Arnold Butler and the Pẽbroke men, was in power encreaſed. Frõ thẽce he remoued by Cardygan to Shrewſbery, & then to Newport, and ſo to Stafford, from thence to Lychfield, his armye ſtill more and more augmented. Like as a great floud by commyng in of many ſmall riuers, gathereth more aboundaunce of water: ſo to this Earle diuers noble Captaynes and men of power adioyned themſelues, as Richard Griffith, Iohn Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then Syr George Talbot, with the young Earle of Shrewſbery his warde, Syr William Stanley, Syr Tho. Burchier, and Syr Walter Hungerford knightes. At laſt the ſaid Earle hearing of the kynges commyng, conducted his whole armye to Tomworth.

Earle Henry maketh preparation toward his iourney.

The ariuing of Henry Earle of Richmond in Wales.

King Richard firſt hearing of the arriuall of the Earle Henry in the partes of Wales after ſuch a ſlender ſort, did geue litle or no regarde vnto it. But after, vnderſtandyng that he was come to Lychfield, without reſiſtaunce or encombraunce, he was ſore moued, and exceedingly tooke on, curſing and cryyng out agaynſt them which had ſo deceaued him, and in all poſt ſpeede, ſent for Iohn duke of Norfolke, Hẽry, Earle of Northũberlãd, Tho. Earle of Surrey, with other his frendes of ſpeciall truſt, Robert Brakenbury alſo lieutenaunt of the tower was ſent for, wyth Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, wyth other certaine knightes & Eſquiers, of whom he partly miſdoubted, or had ſome ſuſpicious gelouſie. Thus K. Richard, after moſt forceable maner well fortified and accompanied, leauing nothing vndone ÿ diligẽce could require, ſet forward toward his enemis. The earle by this tyme was come to Tomworth, to whõ ſecretly in the euening reſorted Syr Iohn Sauage, ſir Bryan Sanford, ſir Simon Digby, and many other, forſakyng the part of kyng Richard,

K. Richard gathereth his power to encounter with Earle Henry.

King Richard taketh the field of Boſworth.

This Lord Stãley was he, which was hurt at the Tower when the Lord Haſtinges was arreſted vide. pag. 702.

whom all good men then hated, as he no otherwiſe deſerued. The kyng hauyng perfect knowledge the Earle to be encamped at Tomworth, embatled himſelfe in a place neare to a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leiceſter, appoyntyng there to encounter with his aduerſaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and ſuſpenſe concerning the Lord Stanley (which was ẏ Earles father in law & had maryed his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the Earle, and had ſecret cõference with him the night before, yet becauſe of his ſonne and heyre George Lord Straũge, beyng then in the handes of kyng Richard, leaſt the kyng ſhould attempt any preiudiciall thing agaynſt him, durſt not be ſene openly to go that way, where in hart he fauoured, & therfore cloſely kept himſelfe betwene both, till the puſhe came that his helpe might ſerue at a pynch.

Boſworth fielde.

The hiſtory of ſir Thomas More, worde for worde taken out of Polydo. Virg.

W. Brandon.

Charles Brãdõ.

The death of K. Richard.

The number of the Earles part exceded not to the one halfe of the ſide of kyng Richard. When the tyme, and the place was appoynted, where the two battailes ſhould encoũter and ioyne together, ſore ſtripes and great blowes were geuen on both ſides, and many ſlayne. If number and multitude might gouerne the ſucceſſe of battaile, kyng Richard had double to the Earle. But God is he, not man, that geueth victorye, by what meanes it ſeemeth to his diuine prouidence beſt. In what order and by what occaſion this field was wonne and loſt, the certaine intelligence we haue not certeinely expreſſed, but onely by the hiſtory of Polydore Vergile, whõ ſir Thomas More doth folow worde for worde. In the whiche hiſtory it doth appeare, that as theſe two armyes were couplyng together, kyng Richard vnderſtandyng by his eſpyals where the Earle of Richmond was, and how he was but ſlenderly accompanied, and ſeyng him to approch more neare vnto him, he rather caried with courage, thẽ ruled with reaſõ, ſet ſpurres to the horſe and raũgyng out of the compaſſe of his ranckes, preſſed toward the Earle, ſettyng vpon him ſo ſharply, ẏ firſt he killed ſir William Brãdon, the Earles ſtandard bearer, father to ẏ Lord Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, thẽ after ouerthrew ſir Iohn Cheny, thinkyng, likewiſe to oppreſſe the Earle. But as the Lord by his ſecret prouidence diſpoſeth the euent of all thynges, as the Earle with his men about him beyng ouermatched, began to diſpayre of victory, ſodenly and opportunely came ſir William Stanley with iij. thouſãd well appointed able men, whereby kyng Richardes men were driuen backe, and he himſelfe cruelly fightyng in the thicke of his enemyes, was there ſlayne, and brought to his confuſion and death, which he worthely deſerued.

Duke of Northfolke ſlayne.

L. Tho. Haward Earle of Surrey aduaunced by K. Henry. 7.

In the meane tyme the Earle of Oxford, who had the guidyng of the forward, diſcomfited the forefront of kyng Richards hoaſt, and put them to flight, in which chaſe many were ſlayne, of noble men eſpecially aboue other, Iohn duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, ſir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower. &c. Lord Thomas Haward Earle of Surrey, there ſubmitted himſelfe, and although he was not receaued at firſt to grace, but long remayned in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduaunced to his recouered honour and dignitie agayne.

K. Richardes ſonne puniſhed for the wickednes of his father.

K. Richard purpoſed to marry Elizabeth his brothers daughter.

This kyng Richard had but one ſonne, who ſhortly after the cruell murder of kyng Edwardes ſonnes, was taken with ſickenes and dyed. The wife of the ſayd king Richard (whether by poyſon or by ſicknes) dyed alſo a litle before the field of Boſworth: After whoſe deceaſſe, the ſtory of Polydore & of ſir Tho. More affirmeth, that he intended himſelfe to mary the Lady Elizabeth his own brothers daughter, and ſo to preuent the Earle of Richmond.

L. Stanley huſband to K. Henries mother forſoke K. Richard.

The L. Strange meruelouſly preſerued.

Moreouer as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the ſtory, that kyng Richard beyng in Boſworth field, ſent for the ſaid Lord Stanley by a purſeuaunt, to aduaunce forward with his company, and come to his preſence: otherwiſe he ſware by Chriſtes Paſſion, that he would ſtrike of his ſonnes head before dyner. The Lord Stãley ſent word agayne, that if he did, he had more ſonnes alyue. Wherupon the kyng immediatly commaunded the Lord Strange to be beheaded: which was the very tyme when both the armyes were within ſight, & were ready to ioyne together. Wherfore the kynges counſaillours ponderyng the tyme and the caſe, perſuaded the kyng, that it was time now to fight, and not to do execution, aduiſing hym to delay the matter till the battaile were ended. And ſo (as God would) kyng Richard breakyng his othe, or rather keepyng his othe, for he himſelfe was ſlayne before dyner, the Lord Straunge was cõmitted to be kept priſoner within the kinges tente: who thẽ after the victory gotten, was ſought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall lyfe and end of this wretched kyng Richard.

Henry the Earle of Richmond, after harty thankes geuen to almighty God for his glorious victory obteined, proceded to the Towne of Leiceſter, where was brought to him by the Lorde Straunge, the crowne, and put on the Earles head.

The ſhamefull toſſing of K. Richardes dead corpes.

In the meane tyme the dead corps of kyng Richard was ſhamefully caryed to the town of Leiceſter, beyng naked and deſpoyled to the ſkinne, & ſo beyng truſſed behynd a purſeuaunt of armes, was caryed like a hog or a dogge, hauyng his head & armes hanging on the one ſide of the horſe, and the legges on the other ſide, all ſprincled with myre and bloud. And thus ended the vſurped reigne of king Richard, who reigned two yeares, and two monethes. Ex Polydo.& Thom.Moro.

1485.

¶Kyng Henry the vij.

K. Henry 7.

K. Hẽry maried wyth Elizabeth.

The two houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter ioyned together.

When kyng Henry, by the prouidence of God had obteined this triumphant victory, and Diademe of the Realme, firſt ſẽdyng for Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwyke, ſonne to George Duke of Clarence, and committyng him to ſafe cuſtody within the tower, from Leiceſter remoued to London, and not long after, accordyng to his othe and promiſe made before, eſpouſed to him the yõg Lady Elizabeth, heyre of the houſe of Yorke: whereby both the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were conioyned together, to the no litle reioyſing of all Engliſh hartes, and no leſſe quyet vnto the Realme, which was. an. 1485. This kyng reigned. xxiij. yeares and. viij. monethes, and beyng a Prince of great policie, iuſtice, and temperaunce, kept his Realme in good tolerable rule and order. And here interruptyng a litle the courſe of our Engliſh matters, we will now (the Lord willyng) enter the ſtory aboue promiſed, of Maximilian the Emperour, and matters of the Empire, eſpecially ſuch as pertaineth to the Church.

¶Maximilian Emperour.

1486.

Maximilianus Emperour.

The reigne & death of Fridericus Emperour.

1494.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1486. Fridericus waxyng aged, and partly alſo miſtruſtyng the hartes of the Germaines, who had complayned before of their greuaunces, and could not be heard, and therfore miſdoubtyng that his houſe after his deceaſe, ſhould haue the leſſe fauour among them, for that cauſe in his life tyme did aſſociate his ſonne Maximiliã to be ioyned Emperour with him: with whom he reigned the ſpace of vij. yeares till the death of the ſayd Fridericke his father, who departed. an. 1494. after he had reigned ouer the Empire. 53. yeares, lackyng onely but iij. yeares of the reigne of Auguſtus Cæſar, vnder whõ was the byrth of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt.

Maximilian marieth the Duches of Burgoyne.

This Mary was neece to K. Edward. 4

This Maximilian, as he was a valiaunt Emperour, prudent and ſingularly learned: ſo was his reigne intãgled in many vnquyet and difficile warres: firſt in the lower coũtreys of Flaunders and Brabant, where the ſayd Maximilianus was takẽ captiue, but ſhortly after, reſchued and deliuered agayne by his father. an. 1487. It was ſignified before how this Maximilian by the aduiſe of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary the onely daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philippe and Margarete. an. 1477. Which Mary not long after, about the yeare of our Lord. 1481. by a fall from her horſe, fell into an agew, & departed. Other warres many mo, ẏ ſame, Maximiliã alſo achiued, both in Fraũce, in Italy, in Hungary and diuers beſides.

The learning of Maximiliã commẽded. Maximilian writer of his owne ſtories

Ex Ioan Carione.

Maximilian firſt orderner of the vniuerſitie of Wittenberg.

So happy was the educatiõ of this Emperour in good letters: ſo expert he was in tounges and ſciences, but eſpecially ſuch was his dexteritie and promptnes in the Latine ſtile, that he imitatyng the exãple of Iulius Cæſar, did write and comprehend in Latine hyſtories, his owne actes and feates done, and that in ſuch ſort, that when he had geuen a certaine taſt of his hyſtory, to one Pyrcamerus a learned man, aſkyng his iudgement how his warlyke ſtile of Latin did like him, the ſayd Pyrcamerus dyd affirme and report of him to Iohn Carion (the witnes & writer of this ſtory) that he neuer did ſet nor read in any Germane ſtory, a thyng more exactly (and that in ſuch haſt) done as this was of Maximilian. Moreouer, as he was learned himſelfe, ſo was he a ſingular patrone and aduauncer of learned ſtudentes, as may well appeare by the erectyng and ſettyng vp the Vniuerſitie of Wittenberge. By this Emperour many in thoſe dayes were excited to the embraſing as well of other liberall Artes, as alſo namely to the ſearchyng out of old antiquities of hiſtories, whereby diuers were then by hym firſt occaſioned in Germany, to ſet their myndes and to exerciſe their diligence, in collectyng and explicatyng matters perteyning to the knowledge of hiſtory, as well of aun=

cient as alſo of latter tymes, as namely Cuſpinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Learned mē begin to grow in Chriſtendome.

Here now it began right well to appeare, what great benefite was broched to the world, by the Arte and facultie of Printyng, as is before mentioned. Through the meanes of whiche Printyng, the Churche and common wealth of Chriſt began now to be repleniſhed with learned men, as both may appeare by this Emperour beyng ſo indued hym ſelfe with ſuch excellent knowledge of good letters, and alſo by diuers other famous and worthy wyttes, which began now in this age exceedyngly to encreaſe & multiply, as Baptiſta Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciſcus his couſin, Rodol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marſilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Doct Weſelus Groningenſis.

Among whom is alſo to be numbred Weſelus Groningenſis, otherwiſe named Baſilius, who was not long after Ioan. de Weſalia aboue recited, both much about one tyme, and both great frendes together. This Weſelus dyed the yeare of our Lord. 1490. After that Ioannes Doctour De Weſalia aforeſayd was condemned this Weſelus beyng familiar with him, thought that the Inquiſitour would come and examine him alſo, as he himſelfe in a certaine Epiſtle doth write. He was ſo notable and ſo worthy a man that of the people he was called Lux mundi. That is: The light of the world.

Weſelus called *Lux Mundi.*

The doctrine of Weſelus Groningēſis.

Concernyng his doctrine, firſt he reprehended the opinion of the Papiſtes, as touchyng repentaunce, which they deuided in three partes, of the whiche three partes, ſatiſfaction and confeſſion he dyd diſalow. Likewiſe Purgatory and ſupererogation of workes and pardons he did diſproue, both at Rome and at Paris. He ſpake agaynſt the Popes indulgences, by the occaſion whereof diuers of the Popes court, perſwaded by him, begā to ſpeake more freely againſt the ſame matter, then he himſelfe had done.

Ex lib. D. VVeſeli, De ſacramēto pænitētia.

The popes ſupremacie written agaynſt.

The abuſes of Maſſes and praying for the dead he diſallowed: and likewiſe the ſupremacie of the Pope he vtterly reiected (as appeareth in a booke of his De Sacramento pœnitentiæ) denying vtterly that any ſupreme head or gouernour ought to be in the world ouer all other: affirmyng alſo and ſaying many tymes, that the Pope had no authoritie to do any thyng by commaundement but by truth: that is, ſo farre as truth goeth with him, ſo farre his ſentence to ſtand: neither that he ought to preuayle by commaundyng, but onely by teachyng, ſo as euery true Chriſtian Byſhop may preuayle ouer an other. Alſo in ſome place in hys wrytynges he denyeth not, but that Popes and their ſpirituall Prelates, proceedyng agaynſt Chriſtes doctrine, be playne Antichriſtes: ſuch as were infirme and not able to performe the bond of chaſtitie taken vpon them, he ſayd they might well breake their vow.

Alſo the ſayd Weſelus witneſſeth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did reſiſte & withſtand the Popes indulgences, callyng them in their wrytings plaine Idolatry, mere fraude & errour: addyng moreouer that vnles the ſeueritie of ſome good Diuines, had not withſtand theſe pardons and indulgences of the Pope: innumerable errours had ouerflowen the Church.

Ex Epiſt. cuiuſdam in opere VVeſeli.

Chriſtes anſwere to Tho. de Corſelis touching this place *Quicquid ligaueris.* Not what ſo euer is ſaid to be looſed in earth, is looſed in heauen: but whatſoeuer is looſed in very deede in earth, that is alſo looſed in deede in heauen.

Agaynſt ryches in the church.

The preceptes of the pope & prelates how they binde.

Amongeſt the workes of Weſelus, there is a certaine Epiſtle of one written to him, in which the authour of the Epiſtle cōfeſſeth, that in his time there was a certaine learned man at Paris called Maiſter Thomas de Curſelis a Deane: who beyng in the Councell of Baſill, where as diuers began to aduaunce the power of the Pope to farre, declared and affirmed, to be ſayd to him of Chriſt: Quicquid ligaueris ſuper terram erit ligatū & in cœlo. &c. Et non, quicquid dixeris eſſe ligatum. That is, What ſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpon earth, ſhalbe bound in heauen: but not, whatſoeuer thou ſayeſt to be bounde. As who ſhould ſay the Pope can not nor doth not bynde therfore, becauſe he ſo ſayth, except truth and righteouſnes go alſo with him: then he doth ſo bynde in deede. There is a certaine booke of this man amongeſt diuers others, which he entituleth, De ſubditis & ſuperioribus, in the whiche he diſputeth greatly agaynſt the Pope and his Prelates: affirmyng that the Pope, vnleſſe his fayth and doctrine be ſound, ought not to be obeyde. He affirmeth alſo that the Pope may erre, and when he erreth, mē ought by all maner of meanes, to reſiſte him. Item, that great and ſuperfluous riches in the Clergy do not profite, but hurt the Church. That the Pope doth wickedly diſtribute the rentes of the Church, and the Church it ſelfe, to vnworthy Miniſters by Simony for his owne profite & gayne: whereby it may appeare that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the Church. Item, that the preceptes and commaundementes of the Pope and Prelates, be no otherwiſe, but as the Councels and preceptes of Phiſitions, binding no further then they are founde to be helſome and ſtandyng with the truth of the worde. Item, that the pope can commaunde no man vnder payne of deadly ſinne, except God commaunde him before. He ſaith that the keyes of the Pope and of the Prelates be not ſuch, wherewith they open the kingdome of heauē, but rather ſhut it, as the Phariſies did. Concerning vowes, he diſputeth that ſuch as be fooliſhe and impoſſible, ought to be broken: That the hearers ought to diſcerne and iudge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receiue euery thing that they ſay, without due examination.

The popes keyes.

Vowes.

Doctrine not to be receaued without examinatiō.

Excōmunicatiō.

He ſheweth moreouer that the ſentence of excommunication is of more force, proceedyng from a true godly honeſt, ſimple and learned man, then from the Pope, as in the Councell of Conſtance, Bernard was more eſteemed then Eugenius. Alſo if the Pope with his prelates, gouerne and rule naughtely, that the inferiours, be they neuer ſo baſe, ought to reſiſt him.

Writing moreouer of two Popes, Pius the ſecond and Sixtus the fourth, he ſayth, that Pius the ſecond dyd vſurpe vnto himſelfe all the kyngdomes of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did diſpenſe with all maner of othes in cauſes temporall, not onely with ſuch othes, as haue bene already, but alſo with all ſuch, as ſhall be made hereafter: which was nothyng els but to geue libertie and licence for men to forſweare themſelues and to deceiue one an other.

Ex Nouiomago.

A prophecie of Weſelus.

This Oſtendorpius was a man well learned and Canon of the minſter of Lubecke.

This Weſelus being a Phriſian borne, and now aged in yeares, vpon a certaine time, when a young man called maiſter Ioannes Oſtendorpius, came to hym, ſayde theſe wordes: Well my childe, thou ſhalt liue to that day, when thou ſhalt ſee the doctrine of theſe new and contentious diuines, as Thomas and Bonauenture, wyth others of the ſame ſort, ſhal be vtterly reiected and exploded from all true Chriſten diuines: And this which Oſtendorpius then beyng young, heard Weſelus to ſpeake, he reported hymſelfe to Nouiomagus, which wrote this ſtory. an. 1520. & heard it of the mouth of the ſayd Weſelus. an. 1490. March. 18.

Here it appeareth that this R. Agricola was of good iudgement, though the Friers afterward buryed hym in a Friers weede.

Rodol. Agricola. Weſelus lamenteth the darknes of the church

Phillippus Melanchton writing of the life of Rodolphus Agricola, ſayth: that Ioſquinus Groningenſis, an auncient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes preſent at the ſermons of Rodolphus and Weſelus, wherein they many times lamented the darckenes of the Church, and reprehended the abuſes of the Maſſe, and of the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes. Item, when they diſputed oftentimes of the righteouſneſſe of faith, why S. Paule ſo oftentimes did inculcate, that men be iuſtified by faith and not by workes, the ſame Ioſquine alſo reported, that they did openly reiecte and diſproue the opinion of Monkes, which ſay that men be iuſtified by their workes. Item, concerning mens traditions their opinion was, that all ſuch were deceaued, who ſoeuer attributed vnto thoſe traditions any opinion of Gods worſhip, or that they could not be broken. And thus much for the ſtory of doctour Weſelianus and Weſelus.

By this it may be ſeene and noted, how by the grace of God and gift of printing, firſt came forth learning: by learning came light to iudge and diſcerne the errours of the pope from the truth of Gods word, as partly by theſe aboue ſaid may appeare: partly by other that folow after, (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall better be ſeene.

An. 1494

Ioane Boughtō mother to the lady Young martir.

About the very ſame tyme and ſeaſon, when as the goſpell began thus to braunch & ſpring in Germanie: the hoſte of Chriſtes Church began alſo to muſter and to multiplye likewiſe here in England, as by theſe hiſtories here conſequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this Weſelus, in the yeare of our Lord 1494. and in the 9. yeare of the reigne of K. Henry 7. the 28. of April, was burned a very olde woman named Ioane Boughton widow, and mother to the Lady young, which Lady was alſo ſuſpected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of foure ſcore yeare of age or more, and helde viij. of Wickliffes opinions (which opinions my authour doth not ſhew) for the which ſhe was burnt in Smithfielde the day aboueſayd. My authour ſayth, ſhee was a Diſciple of Wickliffe, whom ſhe accompted for a Saint, and helde ſo faſt and firmely viij. of hys xij. opinions, that all the Doctours of London could not turne her from one of them: and when it was told her that ſhe ſhould be brent for her obſtinacie & falſe beliefe, ſhe ſet nothing by their menacing wordes, but defied them, for ſhe ſayd ſhe was ſo beloued of god, and his holy aungels, that ſhe paſſed not for the fire, and in the midſt thereof ſhe cryed vpon God to take her ſoule into his holy handes. The night folowing that ſhe was burnte, the moſt part of her aſhes were had away of ſuch as had a loue vnto the doctrine that ſhe dyed for.

Shortly

An. 1497

Rich. Mildertale. James Sturdye.

Hugh Glouer.

Foure other beare fagots.

SHortly after the martyrdome of this godly aged mother, in the yeare of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of January, being Monday, two men, the one called Richard Mildertale, and the other James Sturdye, bare Fagots before the proceſſion of Paules, and after ſtoode before the preacher in the tyme of his Sermon. And vpon the Sōday folowyng, ſtode other two men at Paules croſſe all the Sermon time: the one garniſhed with paynted and written papers, the other hauyng a Fagot on his necke. After that in Lent ſeaſon vpō Paſſion Monday, one Hugh Glouer bare a Fagot before the proceſſion of Paules, and after with the Fagot ſtode before the preacher all the Sermon while at Paules Croſſe. And on the Monday next folowyng foure men ſtode, and did there open penaunce at Paules as is aforeſayd, in the Sermon tyme many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Croſſe.

An. 1498

A prieſt burnt.

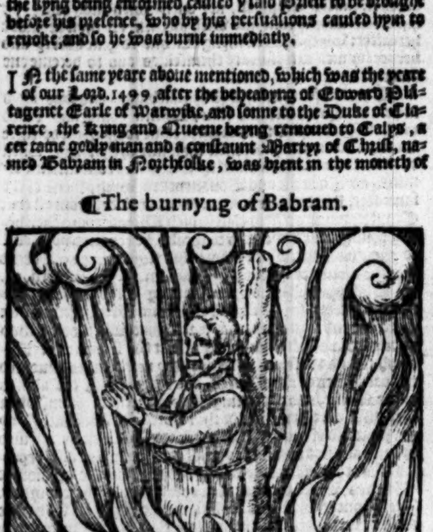
FUrthermore the next yeare folowyng, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1498. in the begynnyng of May, the kyng then being at Cāterbury, was a Prieſt burnt, which was ſo ſtrōg in his opinion that all the clerkes & doctours thē there being, could not remoue him frō his faith: wherof the kyng being enformed, cauſed ye ſaid Prieſt to be brought before his preſence, who by his perſuaſions cauſed hym to reuoke, and ſo he was burnt immediatly.

The Queene was remoued to Calys at the beheading of her couſin Edward Plantagenet.

Babram brent in Northfolke Martyr.

IN the ſame yeare aboue mentioned, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1499. after the beheadyng of Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwike, and ſonne to the Duke of Clarence, the Kyng and Queene beyng remoued to Calys, a certaine godly man and a conſtaunt Martyr of Chriſt, named Babram in Northfolke, was brent in the moneth of July, as is in Fabian recorded after ye copy, which I haue written. Albeit in the booke of Fabian Printed, his burnyng is referred to the next yeare folowyng, whiche is. an. 1500. Ex Fabiano, & alio ſcripto codice.

¶The burnyng of Babram.



An olde man burned.

ABout which yeare likewiſe or in the yeare next folowing the xx. day of July, was an old mā burnt in Smithfield.

An. 1499

Hieronimus Sauonarola with two fryers Martyrs.

Propheſie of Hieron. Sauonarola againſt Italy.

Pope Alexander beſieged by Charles the French K.

IN the ſame yeare alſo, which was of the Lord. 1499. fell the Martyrdome and burning of Hieronymus Sauonarola, a man no leſſe godly in hart, then conſtant in his profeſſion. Who beyng a Monke in Italy, & ſingularly well learned, preached ſore agaynſt the euill lyfe and liuing of the ſpiritualty and ſpecially of his own order, complainyng ſore vpon them, as the ſpringes and authours of all miſchieues & wickednes. Wherupon, by the helpe of certaine learned mē, he begā to ſeeke reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiuyng, & fearing, that the ſaid Hierome, which was now in great reputation amongeſt all men, ſhould diminiſh or ouerthrow his authoritie, he ordeined his vicare or prouinciall to ſee reformation of theſe matters: which vicare with great ſuperſtition began to reforme thynges, but the ſayd Hierome did alwayes withſtand him, wherupō he was complayned of to the Pope, and becauſe that contrary vnto the Popes commaundement, he did withſtand his vicare, he was accurſed. But for all that, Hieronimus left not of preaching, but threatned Italy with ye wrath and indignation of God, and prophecied before vnto them, that the land ſhould be ouerthrowen for the pride and wickednes of the people, and for the vntruth, hypocriſie and falſehode of the Clergy, which God would not leaue vnreuēged, as afterward it came to paſſe, when as kyng Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and ſo ſtraitly beſet the Pope Alexander, that he was forced to make compoſition with the kyng.

Sauonarola cited to appeare before the pope.

The doctrine of Sauonarola condemned becauſe he would not come before the pope

Now for ſomuch as the ſayd Hierome would not leaue of preachyng, he was commaunded to appeare before the pope, to geue accompt of his new learnyng, (for ſo then they called the truth of the Goſpell:) but by meanes of the manifold perilles, he made his excuſe that he could not come. Then was he agayne forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learnyng pronounced and cōdemned as pernicious, falſe and ſeditious.

Sauonarola preacheth cōtrary to the popes commaūdement.

This Hieronymus, as a man worldly wiſe, foreſeyng the great perils and daungers that might come vnto him, for feare, left of preachyng. But when as the people, which ſore hungred and longed for Gods word, were inſtant vpon him that he would preach agayne, he begā agayne to preach in the yeare of our Lord. 1496. in the Citie of Florēce: and albeit that many coūcelled him that he ſhould not ſo do without the popes commaundemēt, yet did he not regarde it, but went forward frely of his owne good will. When as the pope and his ſhauelynges heard newes of this, they were greuouſly incenſed and inflamed agaynſt him, and now agayne curſed him, as an obſtinate and ſtifnecked hereticke. But for all that, Hieronymus proceded in teachyng and inſtructyng the people, ſaying, that men ought not to regarde ſuch curſes, which are agaynſt the true doctrine and the commō profite, whereby the people ſhould be learned and amended, Chriſtes kyngdome enlarged, and the kyngdome of the deuill vtterly ouerthrowen.

In all his preachyng, he deſired to teach no other thyng then the onely pure and ſimple word of God, makyng often proteſtatiō that all men ſhould certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach any thyng contrary thereunto, for vpon his own conſciēce he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may eaſely iudge by his bookes that he had written.

Hieronymus with 2. other fryers committed to priſon.

The commentarie of Hierome Sauon. vpō the Pſalme beginning: *In te domine ſperaui.*

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1498. he was takē and brought out of S. Markes cloyſter, & two other Friers with him, named Dominicke and Silueſter, which fauoured his learnyng, and was caried into priſon, whereas he wrote a goodly meditation vpon that moſt comfortable. 31. Pſalme. In te Domine ſperaui non confundar in æternum ſed in iuſticia tua libera me. Wherein he doth excellently deſcribe and ſet forth, the cōtinuall ſtrife betwene the fleſh and the ſpirite.

Articles obiected againſt Hierome & the two fryers.

After this the Popes Legates came to Florence, and called forth theſe three good men, threatenyng them marueilouſly, but they continued ſtil conſtant. Then came the chief coūſailers of the Citie, with the popes cōmiſſioners, which had gathered out certaine Articles agaynſt theſe mē, whervpon they were condemned to death: the tenour of whiche Articles hereafter enſue.

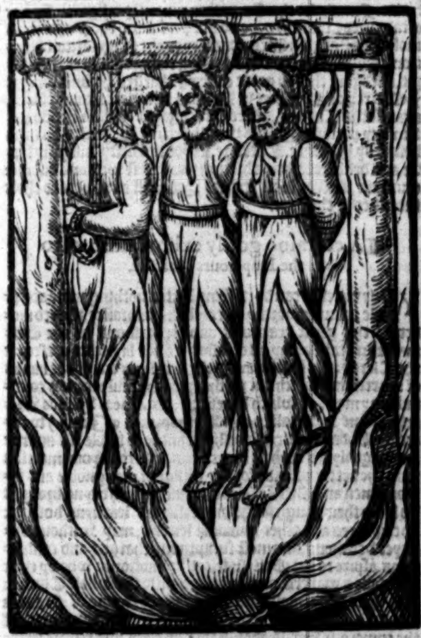
1. The firſt Article was as touchyng our free iuſtification through fayth in Chriſt.
2. That the Communion ought to be miniſtred vnder both kyndes.
3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope, were of no effect.
4. For preachyng agaynſt the filthy and wicked lyuing of the Cardinals and ſpiritualty.
5. For denying the popes ſupremacie.
6. Alſo that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not geuen vnto Peter alone, but vnto the vniuerſall Church.
7. Alſo, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Chriſt, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Chriſtes merits, and therfore he was Antichriſt.
8. Alſo, that the popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flye them, is excommunicate of God.

9. Item, that auricular confeſſion, is not neceſſary.
10. Item, that he had moued the Citizens to vprore and ſedition.
11. Item, that he had neglected and contemned the popes Citation.
12. Item, that he had ſhamefully ſpoken againſt, & ſlaundered the pope.
13. Itē, that he had taken Chriſt to witnes of his naughtynes and hereſie.
14. Alſo, that Italy muſt be clēſed through Gods ſcourge, for the manifold wickednes of the princes and clergy.

These & ſuch other like Articles, were layd vnto them, & read before them. Then they demaunded of the ſayd Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant and geue ouer their opinions. Whereunto they aunſwered, that through Gods helpe, they would ſtedfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth, and not depart from the ſame. Then were they diſgraded one after an other, by the byſhop of Vaſion, and ſo deliuered ouer to the ſecular rulers of Florence, with ſtraight commaundement, to cary them forth, & handle them as obſtinate and ſtifnecked heretickes.

Hierome with his ij. companions hanged and brent for the Goſpelles truth.

¶ The Martyrdome of Hierome and his two companions.



Thus was the worthy witneſſe of Chriſt, with the other two aforeſayd, firſt hanged vp openly in the market place, and afterward burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes gathered vp, and caſt into the Riuer of Arum, the xxiij. day of May in the yeare of our Lord. 1499. Ex Catal. teſtium. Illyrici.

The prophecies of Hierome Sauonarola.

This man foreſhewed many thynges to come, as the deſtruction of Florence and Rome, and the renuyng of the Church: which three things, haue happened in theſe times, within our remembraunce. Alſo he foreſhewed that the Turkes and Mores in the latter dayes, ſhould be conuerted vnto Chriſt. He alſo declared that one ſhould paſſe the Alpes into Italy, like vnto Cyrus, whiche ſhould ſubuert and deſtroy all Italy. Whereupō Iohānes Franciſcus Picus, Earle of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings againſt the pope. Many other learned men alſo, do defend the innocencie of the ſayd Sauonarola. Marſilius Ficinus alſo, in a certaine Epiſtle doth attribute vnto him the ſpirite of prophecie, greatly commendyng and prayſing him. In lyke maner Philippus Comineas a French hiſtoriographer, whiche had conference with hym, witneſſeth that he was a holy man, and full of the ſpirite of prophecie, for ſomuch as he had foreſhewed vnto him ſo many thynges, which in euent had proued true.

Ex Ioan: Franciſ. Mirandula.

Ex Marſilio Ficino.

Ex Philip. Cominea.

There were beſides theſe, many other, not to be paſſed ouer or forgotten: as Philip Norice an Iriſhman, profeſſour at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, (yet as it is ſayd) he was long tyme vexed and troubled by the religious route. But would to God, that ſuch as haue occupied themſelues in writing of hiſtoryes, and haue ſo diligently committed vnto memory all other thinges done in foreine common wealthes, had beſtowed the lyke diligence and labour, in notyng and writing thoſe thinges, which pertaine vnto the affaires of the church: wherby the poſterity might haue had fuller and more perfect vnderſtanding and knowledge of them.

This Sauonarola aboue mencioned, ſuffred vnder pope Alexander the 6. of which pope, more leyſure and opportunitie ſhall ſerue hereafter (Chriſt willing) to entreat, after that we ſhall firſt make a litle degreſſion to entreate of certayne caſes and complaintes of the Germaines, incident in the meane tyme: which as they are not to be ouerpaſt in ſilence, ſo can they haue no place nor tyme more conuenient to be inferred. What complayntes of the Germaines were made and moued vnto the Emperour Fredericke agaynſt the Popes ſuppreſſions and exactions, mencion was made before pag. 699. where alſo was declared, how the ſayde Germaines at that time, were twiſe put backe and forſakē of the Emperour: wherby they continued in the ſame yoke and bondage, vntill the tyme of Luther. Wherefore it commeth now to hand, and we thinke it alſo good, here briefly to declare, how the ſayd Germaines, in the tyme of Maximilian the Emperour, renuing their complaintes agayne, deliuered vnto the Emperour, x principall greuaunces, wherby ý Germaines haue bene long time oppreſſed: ſhewing alſo the remedies agaynſt the ſame, wyth certaine aduiſamentes vnto the Emperours maieſtie, how he myght withſtand and reſiſt the popes ſubtilties and craftes: The order and tenour whereof here enſueth.

The complaintes of the Germains againſt the popes greuaunces, continued.

¶ The x. greuaunces of the Germaines.

Ten greuaunces complayned of by the Germaines.

1. That the Byſhops of Rome, ſucceſſours one vnto an other, do not thinke themſelues bounde to obſerue and keepe the bulles, couenauntes, priuilegies, and letters, graunted by their predeceſſours, without all derogation: but by often diſpenſation, ſuſpention & reuocation, euen at the inſtaunce of euery vile perſon, they do gainſay and withſtand the ſame.
2. That the elections of prelats are oftētimes put backe.
3. That the elections of Preſidentſhips are withſtand, which the chapterhouſes of many churches haue obtayned with great coſte and expence as the Church of Spyre and Baſell doe well know: whoſe bull, touching the election of their preſident, is made fruſtrate, he being yet aliue which graunted the ſame.
4. That benefices and the greateſt eccleſiaſticall dignities, are reſerued for Cardinalles and head notaries.
5. That expectatiue graces, called vowſons, are graunted without number, and many oftētimes vnto one mā: wherupon continuall contentions doe riſe, and much money is ſpent, both that which is layde out for the Bulles of thoſe vowſons which neuer take effecte, and alſo that which is conſumed in going to law. Wherupō this prouerbe is riſen, whoſoeuer will gette a vowſon from Rome, muſt haue C. or CC. peeces of golde layde vp in his cheſt, for the obtaynyng of the ſame, which he ſhall haue neede of, to proſecute the lawe withall.
6. That Annates or yearely reuenewes, are exacted without delay or mercy, euen of the byſhops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted then ought to be, through new offices and new ſeruauntes, as by the example of the churches of Mentz and Strauſburgh, may be ſeene.
7. That the rule of the churches are geuen at Rome vnto thoſe that are not worthy, which were more fit to keepe and feede Mules, then to haue the rule and gouernaunce of men.
8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the ſuſpenſion and reuocation of the olde, are graunted to gather and ſcrape money together.
9. That tenthes are exacted vnder the pretence of making warre agaynſt the Turke, when as no expedition doth follow therupon.
10. That the cauſes which might be determined in Germanie, whereas there are both learned and iuſt iudges, are indiſtinctly caryed vnto the court of Rome: which thyng Saint Bernard, writing to pope Eugenius, ſeemeth wonderfully to reproue.

¶ Here enſueth the remedy agaynſt the the ſayd greuaunces.

It

Remedies agaynſt the foreſaid greuaunces.

The archbiſhops Palle of Mentz what it coſteth.

IF it ſhall ſeeme good vnto the Emperours maieſtie, let it be declared vnto the Byſhop of Rome, how greuous and intolerable a thyng it is vnto the Germaines, to ſuffer continually ſo great charge and greuaūces, to pay ſo great Innates for the confirmation of the Byſhops & Archbyſhops, and eſpecially in ſuch Biſhopricks, whereas the Innates by ſucceſſe of tyme, are enhaūced, and in many (as it is ſayd) doubled. For the Archbyſhops ſea of Mentz (as it is ſayd) ſometyme payd onely x. thouſand floreines: whiche ſumme, when as one which was choſen there, refuſed to geue, and ſo continued euen vnto his death, he which was afterward elect, beyng deſirous of confirmation, fearyng to withſtand the Apoſtolick ſea: offered the old ſumme of x. thouſand floreines: But notwithſtandyng, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other x. thouſand, whiche his predeceſſour before hym, had not payd.

By this meanes he was compelled to pay .xx. M. floreines. Which beyng enrolled in the regiſter of the chamber, hath bene exacted of euery Archbiſhop ſince, vntill theſe our dayes: and not onely .xx. M. but alſo .xxv. M. for their new offices, & new ſeruauntes. At laſt the ſumme drew to .xxvij. M. floreines, which James the Archbiſhop of Mētz was compelled to pay, as his commiſſary did report. So by this meanes, in a litle tyme, there was vij. tymes .xxv. thouſand floreines payd out of the Archbyſhopricke of Mentz, vnto Rome for the confirmation of the Archbyſhop. And when this Archbyſhop James had kept the Archbyſhopricke ſcarce foure yeares, the Lord Vriel was elect after hym, who was compelled to pay at the leaſt .xxiiij. or .xxv. thouſand floreines. Whereof a part he borowed of Marchauntes: but to ſatiſfie and pay them agayne, he was forced to exact a ſubſidie vpon his poore ſubiectes and huſband mē, whereof ſome haue not yet ſatiſfied and payde the tribute for the Byſhops Palle, ſo that by this meanes, our people are not onely tormented and brought to extreme pouertie, but alſo are moued vnto rebellion to ſeeke their libertie by what meanes ſoeuer they may, greuouſly murmuryng agaynſt the cruelty of the Clergy.

The popes palle dearely bought.

The pope alſo ſhould be admoniſhed, how that, through diuers and ſundry warres and battailes, the lands of Germany lye deſolate and waſt, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminiſhed, ſo that for the ſcarcenes of huſbandmen, the fieldes, for the moſt part, lye vntilde, the toles are, by diuers meanes diminiſhed, the mynes conſumed, and the profites dayly decay, whereby the Archbyſhops and Byſhops ſhould pay their annats vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea: beſides their other neceſſary and honeſt charges: inſomuch that not without iuſt cauſe, James ẏ archbyſhop of Mentz beyng euē at the poynt of death, ſayd that he dyd not ſo much ſorrow for his own death, as for that his poore ſubiectes, ſhould be agayne forced, to pay a greuous exaction for the Palle. Wherfore let the hygh Byſhop, as a godly father and louer of his childrē, and a faythful and prudēt paſtor, deale more fauourably with his childrē the Germaines, leaſt that perſecution happen to ryſe agaynſt the Prieſtes of Chriſt, and that men folowyng the example of the Bohemians, do ſwarue from the Church of Rome.

The people polled for the popes Palle.

At the leaſt, let him be more fauourable, as often as any Archbyſhop or Biſhop happeneth to rule his Church but a few yeares: as it happened to the Byſhops of Bamberge, wherof iij. died within few yeares. The like alſo might happen by other byſhopprickes, wherof (as Æneas Syluius witneſſed) there are in Germany to the number of 50. beſides Abbots, wherof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

Aboue 50 byſhopprickes in Germany.

And admitte that in Germany there were greater profite and reuenewes riſing of the ground, mynes and toles: notwithſtandyng the Emperour and the other Princes, ſhould lacke treaſure and munition of warre agaynſt their enemyes, and ſpecially the infidels, and to preſerue Germany in peace and quietnes, and to miniſter iuſtice vnto euery man: for which purpoſe, the Councell of the chamber beyng moſt holyly inſtructed and furniſhed with great coſt & charges, doth chiefly ſerue. Beſides that, the Emperour hath neede of treaſure, to ſuppreſſe the rebels in the Empire, to baniſh and driue away theeues and murtherers, whereof a great nūber are not aſhamed to ſpoyle Churches onely, and to robbe them of their goodes, but alſo to aſſayle the Clergy themſelues. Finally our nation and countrey of Germany, hath neede of great riches and treaſure, not onely for the repayring of Churches & Monaſteries, but alſo for hoſpitals, for children that are layde out in the ſtreetes, for widowes, for women with child, for orphanes, for the mariage of the daughters of poore men, that they be not deflowred, for ſuch as haue neede and neceſſitie, for the old and weake, for the ſicke and the ſore, wherof (the more is the ſorrow) Germany is fully repleniſhed and filled.

¶ Aduertiſementes vnto the Emperours Maieſtie.

The Emperour aduertiſed of the ſubtill practiſes of the pope, and popiſhe prelates.

LEt the Emperours maieſty foreſee and prouide, that the begging Friers do not preach againſt his maieſty, which are wont to complayne gladly vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea, fearyng to loſe their priuilegies, which I would to God, were aſwell grounded vpon Chriſt, as they are vpon profite. Let the Emperours maieſty alſo beware that the Pope do not giue commaūdement vnto the Electours, to procede to the election of a new kyng of Romains, as he dyd agaynſt Fredericke the ſecond, when as the Lantgraue of Thurin, and William Earle of Holland, were elect by the commaundement of the Pope. Let the Emperours maieſty alſo feare and take heede of all the Prelates of the Churches, and eſpecially of the Preſidentes, which by their othe are bounde to aduertiſe the Pope. Let the Emperours Maieſtie alſo feare and beware that the Pope do not take away from his ſubiectes, their obedience, and prouoke the people bordering vpon him, to make inuaſion into the Emperours dominiōs and Archduchy of Auſtrich: which thoſe men, vnder colour of ſhewyng obedience vnto the Popes commaundement, be ready to do.

The popes pretence of building S. Peters church in Rome.

Let the Emperours Maieſty alſo take heede of the Apoſtolicke cenſures, from which the pope will in no caſe refraine. Finally let the Emperours maieſty diligently foreſee & take heede, that the pope do not perſwade the people with moſt ſubtill argumentes, contrary to the pragmaticall ſanction, excuſing himſelfe, and getting the good will of the ſimple, alledging that wͭ great coſtes & charges, he will repayre ẏ Church of S. Peter in Rome, & build in certaine places, agaynſt the Turkes, and recouer agayne the landes and patrimony pertaynyng vnto the Church of S. Peter, as he is bound by his office. Therfore, let your maieſty diligētly foreſee and deliberate, how through your moſt wiſe and diſcrete counſaile, if neede ſhall require, you will aunſwere to thoſe ſubtilties of the pope.

¶ A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Maieſtie.

A ſupplication or exhortation to Maximilian Emper. for redreſſe of the church.

YOur maieſtie can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembraūce, then to moderate the great exactions and oppreſſions of the Germaines: to take away all occaſion frō the laytie, to perſecute the Clergy: alſo to take away the benefices out of the handes of courtiſans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counſaile any man (of which benefices, as Æneas Syluius writeth, ſome are equall to the Byſhopprikes of Italy) to encreaſe Gods honour & worſhyp: and ſo to bridle the auarice and vngodlynes of thoſe courtiſans, whereby your maieſtie may the better prouide for the childrē of many noble and famous men and Citizēs in Germanie, which beyng brought vp from their yough in the vniuerſities, learnyng both the Scriptures and other humaine letters, may without vnquyet vexations, and moſt ſumptuous charges and contentions, aſpire to the Eccleſiaſticall promotions: who by their counſaile & prayers, may be helpes vnto the whole Church: For there is no ſmall occaſion, why the realme of Fraunce ſhould ſo floriſh, hauing ſo many notable learned mē in it. If the emperour would aboliſh this impiety, and reſtore Germany vnto their auncient libertie, which is now oppreſſed with greuous tributes, and would make way for learned & honeſt men vnto Eccleſiaſticall promotions: then might he truely and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the reſtorer of Germany to his auncient libertie, and the father of his countrey, and ſhould obtayne no leſſe glory thereby vnto himſelfe, and profite vnto Germanie, then if he had by force of armes, ſubdued any prouince vnto them: And ſo ſhall Germany render no leſſe thankes vnto the ſaid Maximilian, then vnto all the reſt, which hauyng tranſlated the Empire from the Grecians vnto Germanie, haue reigned many yeares before.

Hereafter enſueth the copy of a certain letter of the Emperour Maximilian, geuen out in maner of a decree or commaundement, agaynſt certaine abuſes of the Clergy. Whereunto we haue alſo annexed the aunſwere of Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, vnto the Emperours letters, wherein he ſeemeth alſo to haue ſought aduiſe for the remedy of the like abuſes: which we thought good here not to be omitted.

¶ An Edict of Maximilian Emperour.

A decree of Maximilian Emperour.

WE, according to the example of our dearely beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerencyng the chief paſtour of the Church, and all the Clergy, haue ſuffered no ſmall reuenewes of the Eccleſiaſticall dignities, to be be caryed out of our dominion by the Prelates and Clergy that are abſent, whoſe faultes committed by humaine frailty, with Conſtantine our predeceſſour, we haue not diſdeyned to hyde and couer. But for ſomuch as through our liberalitie, the decay of Gods honour is riſen, it is our part to foreſee (whiche are elect vnto the Empire without any deſert) that amōgeſt all other affaires of peace and warre, the Churches do not decay, Religion quayle not, or Gods true worſhyp be not diminiſhed: which we haue manifeſtly experimented and dayly do perceiue by the inſatiable couetouſnes of ſome, which are neuer ſatiſfied in gettyng of benefices: through whoſe abſence (being but reſidēt onely vpō one) Gods honour and worſhyp is diminiſhed, houſes decay, Churches decreaſe, the Eccleſiaſticall libertie is hurt, learnyng and monumentes are loſt and deſtroyed, hoſpitalitie and almes diminiſhed, and by their vnſaciable gredynes, ſuch of the Clergy as for their learnyng and vertue were worthy of benefices, and their wiſedome, profitable in cōmō wealthes, are hindered and put backe. Wherfore, accordyng to the office and duety of our eſtate, for the loue of the encreaſe of Gods honor, we exhorte and require that no man from hence forth, hauyng any Canōſhyp or Vicarage in one Citie of our Empire, ſhall occupy or poſſeſſe a prebend in an other Churche of the ſame Citie, except he gyue ouer the firſt, within a yeares ſpace, vnto ſome perſon fitte and profitable for the church: neither that he do by vniuſt quarels, vexe or trouble any mā in gettyng of benefices, neither that any man do falſly fayne himſelfe to haue bene of the Emperours houſhold, which hath not bene comprehended within the league and agrement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any lay man, or aggrauate the ſmall prebendes of Curates of Churches, with penſions, neither that they do vſe in gettyng of benefices and Bulles, any fraude, deceite, falſe inſtrumentes, corrupt witneſſes and cloked Symonie, neither that any man preſume to obteine any regreſſe, or other thyng contrary to the ſacred Canons, right, honeſty, equitie and reaſon, vpon payne of the moſt greuous offence of treaſon: the which we will that, not onely they, goyng ſo contrarye to God and all honeſtye: but alſo all their fauourers, which do helpe, counſayle, harbour or gyue them any thyng, all their meſſengers and writers, proctours, ſureties and other their frendes, ſhall incurre, and receiue condigne puniſhment for ſo great offence and contempt of our commaundement. From Oenopont. &c.

No man to haue two Canonſhips or prebendes at once.

¶ Here enſueth the copy of a letter written vnto the Emperour Maximilian.

¶ To our moſt victorious Lord Maximilian the Emperour, Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, moſt humble commendations.

MOſt victorious Emperour, when I had read your maieſties Epiſtle, and receiued inſtructions of your Secretary, I prepared my ſelfe with all my whole endeuour, to ſatiſfie your Maieſties deſire: For euen from my youth hetherto, I haue applyed all my care and ſtudy, firſt for the honour of your maieſtie, and conſequently for the amplifying of the Germaine nation, and ſacred Romaine Empire. Albeit I know my ſelfe farre vnable to ſatiſfie your deſire and purpoſe, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which haue greater learning and experience of theſe common matters. There be alſo with other Princes, and in the Senates of common wealthes, many excellent learned men, which can exonerate and beautifie Germany, and perſwade to reduce all the Clergy vnto a Chriſtian diſcipline, and to an vnity and peace of the vniuerſall Church. Wherein not onely your Maieſtie, but alſo your predeceſſours, as Charles the great, and his ſonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Cōrades, Frederickes, and Henrikes, and laſt of all, Sigiſmundus, haue with all labour and diligēce trauailed, beyng ſtirred thereunto, vndoubtedly through the zeale and charitie which they bare vnto almighty God, and thankefulnes vnto Chriſt, for his benefites which he hath beſtowed vpon mankynd, and ſpecially for the benefite of his moſt bitter paſſion. For Chriſt became not poore for vs, that we ſhould lyue in all riote and wantonnes vpon his patrimonie, and ſhew forth our ambition and couetouſnes: neither did he ſuffer hunger that we ſhould glut vp our ſelues: or ſuffered labours, chaſtitie, and greuous tormentes, that we ſhould liue in idlenes, wantonnes, and all kynde of voluptuouſnes. Neither they which were contributers, and benefactors to churches, induyng the miniſters therof wyth theyr temporall riches, had any ſuch reſpect herein, that the clergy ſhould lyue onely in idlenes, hauyng all thynges at their wyll, without labour. Surely there was an other cauſe why that they in tymes paſt dyd empoueriſhe themſelues and theyrs to endow the church: verily that they might the better attend vnto diuine ſeruice, wythout care of want of lyuyng (which they might eaſily gette and gather out of the fieldes, woods, medowes, and waters) and to the intent that they ſhould liberally geue almes vnto the poore Chriſtians wydowes, orphanes, aged and ſicke perſons. For in the inſtitutions of the canonicall profeſſion, which we ſuppoſe was written by the commaundement of Ludouicus Pius the emperour, and allowed by the counſayle of the biſhops, thus it is read: The goodes of the Church (as it is alledged by the fathers, and conteyned in the chapters before) are the vowes of the faythfull, and patrimony of the poore. For the faythfull, thorow the feruentnes of theyr fayth, & loue of Chriſt beyng inflamed, hauyng an earneſt deſire of that heauenly kyngdome, haue enriched the holy church wyth theyr own goods, that thereby the ſouldiours of Chriſt myght be nouriſhed, the church adourned, the poore refreſhed, & captiues accordyng to the oportunitie of tyme, redemed. Wherefore ſuch as haue the adminiſtration of thoſe goodes, ought diligently to be loked vpon, that they do not conuert them vnto theyr owne proper vſe, but rather, accordyng to their ſubſtaunce and poſſibilitie, they do not neglect them in whome Chriſt is fed and clothed. Proſper is alſo of the ſame mynd, affirmyng that holye men dyd not chalenge the Churche goodes to theyr owne vſe, as theyr owne proper goodes, but as thynges commended vnto the poore, to be deuided amongeſt them: For that is to contemne that which a man poſſeſſeth, not to poſſeſſe a thing for himſelf, but for others, neyther to couet the Church goods wyth couetouſneſſe, to haue them hymſelfe, but to take them with a godly zeale to helpe other. That which the church hath, is common to all them which haue nothyng, neyther ought they to geue any thyng of that vnto them, (ſayeth he) which haue of theyr owne: for to geue vnto them which haue inough, is but to caſt thynges away. Ex Illyrico.

Pope Alexander .6.

To returne now to the order of popes where we left before ſpeakyng of Innocentius 8. pag. 842. after the ſayde Innocentius, next ſucceded Pope Alexander ye 6. In which Alexander among other horrible thynges, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus nameth hym Deimes) brother to Baiazetes the great Turke, was committed by the Rhodians, to the ſafe cuſtody, firſt of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whoſe kepyng the Pope receyued euery yere 40000. crownes: yet notwithſtandyng, whē Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to ſend the ſayd Gemes to Lewes xi. the French kyng for a pledge: becauſe the French kyng ſhould not procure the great Turkes fauour, by ſendyng his brother Gemes to hym to be ſlayne, he beyng hyred by the Turke, cauſed the ſaid Gemes to be poyſoned, who in his iourney goyng toward the French kyng, dyed at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

The pope poyſoneth Gemes the turkes brother, being committed to his cuſtody. *Ex Paul.Iouio. lib.2. Ex Peucero.lib.5. Ex Hieronym. Mario.*

Moreouer in ye ſayd Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander takyng diſpleaſure with the foreſayde Lewys the French kyng, about the winnyng of Naples, ſent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight agaynſt the foreſayd Lewys. Ex eodem.

The pope ſetteth the great turke agaynſt the French kyng. *Ex Seb. Müſtero lib.4. Coſmograph.*

Munſterus lib.4.Coſmog. Declaryng the foreſayd hiſtory of Gemes, ſomethyng otherwyſe, firſt calleth hym Zizymus, and ſayeth that he was firſt committed by the Rhodeans to the French kyng. And when as Ioannes Huniades afore mentioned, did labour to the French kyng to haue him, thinkyng by that meanes to obtayne a noble victory agaynſt the Turke, as it was not vnlike: this Alexander the Pope, thorough his fraudulent flattery, gotte hym of the Frenche kyng, into his owne handes: by whoſe meanes the ſayde Gemes afterwarde was poyſoned, as is in maner before expreſſed.

Vnto theſe poyſoned actes of the Pope, let vs alſo adioyne his malicious wickednes, with lyke fury exerciſed vpō Antonius Mancinellus: which Mancinellus beyng a man of excellent learnyng, becauſe he wrote an eloquent oration agaynſt his wicked maners & filthy life, with other vices, he therfore commaunded both his handes and his tong to be cut of, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writyng agaynſt hys horrible lyfe. At length, as one poyſon requireth an other, this poyſoned Pope, as he was ſittyng with his Cardinals, & other riche Senatours of Rome at dinner, hys ſeruauntes vnwares brought to him a wrong bottell, wherby both he was poyſoned, and hys Cardinals about hym.

Mancinellus writing agaynſt the wickednes of the pope, loſt his handes and tounge.

Poyſon requited wyth poyſon.

The high Angell of the popes pallace throwne downe.

Pope Pius.3.

Pope Iulius.2.

In the tyme of this Pope Alexander, alſo it happened (which is not to bee pretermitted) how that the Aungell which ſtoode in the high toppe of the Popes Church, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thyng ſemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedome. After this Pope next ſucceded Pius the 3. about the yeare of our Lord, 1503. After whom came next Iulius the ſecond, a man ſo farre paſſyng all other in iniquitie, that Wicelius & ſuch other of hys owne friendes wrytyng of hym, are compelled to ſay of hym, Marti illum quam Chriſto deditiorem fuiſſe: that is, that he was more geuen to warre and battayle, then to Chriſt. Concernyng the madneſſe of this man this is moſt certainly knowen, that at what tyme he was goyng to warre, he caſt the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tybris, ſaying, that for as much as the keyes of Peter would not ſerue hym to hys purpoſe, he would take hymſelf to the ſword of Paule. Wherupon Phillip Melancthon, amongeſt many other wrytyng vpon the ſame, maketh thys Epigrame.

Cum contra Gallos bellum papa Iulius eſſet
Geſturus, ſicut fama vetuſta docet:
Ingentes martis turmas contraxit, & vrbem
Egreſſus ſæuas edidit ore minas.
Iratuſq; ſacras claues in flumina iecit
Tibridis, hic vrbi pons vbi iungit aquas.
Inde manu ſtrictum vagina diripit enſem,
Exclamanſq; truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoſte,
Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat iſta Petri.

Wherupon alſo Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigrame.

In Gallum vt fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,
Armatam educit Iulius vrbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claues in Tibridis amnem
Proijcit, & ſæuus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claues,
Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.

The ſenſe of theſe Epigrammes in Engliſh is this.

When Iulius Pope agaynſt the French
determind to make warre:
As fame reportes, he gathered vp,
great troupes of men from farre.
And to the bridge of Tybur then,
marchyng as he were wood:
His holy keyes he tooke, and caſt
them downe into the flood.
And afterward into hys hand,
he tooke a naked ſword:
And ſhakyng it, brake forth into,
this fierce and warlike word.
This ſword of Paul (quoth he) ſhall now
defend vs from our foe:
Since that this key of Peter doth
nothyng auayle therto.

The popes lawe geueth leaue to kill all that be accurſed of hym.

The warres and bloudſhed of pope Iulius.2.

The pope periured.

A councell called to depoſe pope Iulius.

Of this Iulius it is certainly reported, that partly with hys warres, partly with hys curſinges, within the ſpace of 7. yeres, as good as two hundred thouſand Chriſtiās were deſtroyed. Firſt he beſieged Rauenna agaynſt the Venetians, then Seruia, Imola, Fauentia, Forouiuium, Bononia and other cities, which he gate out of Princes handes, not without much bloudſhed. The Chronicles of Iohn Sledan maketh mention, that when this Iulius was made Pope, he tooke an othe, promiſing to haue a Councel within two yeares: but when he had no leyſure therunto, beyng occupied with hys warres in Italy amongeſt the Venetians, and wyth the French kyng, and in Ferraria, and in other countreyes: ix. of hys Cardinals departing from hym, came to Millayne, and there appoynted a Councel at the citie of Piſe, amongeſt whome, the chiefe were Bernardus Crucerius, Gulielmus Preneſtinus, Franciſcus Conſtantinus with diuers others: amongeſt whom alſo were adioyned the procuratours of Maximilian the Emperour, and of Ludouicke the Frēch kyng. So the Councell was appointed the yeare of our Lord, 1511. to begin in the Kalendes of September. The cauſe why they did ſo call this Councell was thus alledged, becauſe the Pope had ſo broken his oth, and all this whyle he gaue no hope to haue any councell, and alſo becauſe there were diuers other crimes, wherupon they had to accuſe him. Their purpoſe was to remooue hym out of hys ſeat, the which he had procured through bribes & ambition. Iulius hearyng this, geueth out contrary commaundement vnder great payne, no man to obey them, and calleth hymſelfe an other councell agaynſt the next yeare, to be begon the xix. day of April. The Frenche kyng vnderſtandyng Pope Iulius to ioyne with the Venetians, and ſo to take their part agaynſt hym, conuented a Councell at Thurin in the month of September, in the which councell theſe queſtions were propoſed.

Whether it was lawfull for the Pope to mooue war againſt any prince without cauſe.

Whether any prince in defendyng himſelf, might inuade his aduerſary, and deny his obedience.

The Pragmaticall Sanction eſtabliſhed, mentioned before pag. 674.

No vniuſt excommunication to be feared.

Vnto the which queſtiōs it was aunſwered, that neither the byſhop ought to inuade, and alſo that it was lawfull for the king to defend hym ſelfe. Moreouer that the Pragmaticall ſanction was to bee obſerued throughe the realme of Fraunce: Neither that any vniuſte excommunications ought to be feared, if they were founde to be vniuſte. After thys the kyng ſent vnto Iulius, the aunſwere of his councell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoynt a generall councell ſome other where, where thys matter might bee more fully decided. Iulius woulde neither of both theſe, but forthwith accurſed Ludouicke the French king, with all hys kingdome. At ỹ legth, at Rauenna in a great warre, he was ouercome by the Frēch king, & at laſt, after much ſlaughter & great bloudſhed, and mortall warre, thys Pope dyed in the yeare of our Lord. 1513. the. xxj. day of February.

The turkes doyng requiſite to be knowen of Chriſtians.

If it were not that I feare to ouerlay thys our volume with heaps of ſtraunge hiſtories, which haue profeſſed chiefly to entreat of Actes and monumentes here done at home: I would adioyne after theſe Popes aboue rehearſed, ſome diſcourſe alſo of the Turkes ſtory: of their riſing, and cruell perſecution of the ſaincts of God, to the great anoyance and perill of Chriſtendome: yet notwithſtandyng certaine cauſes there be whiche neceſſarely require the knowledge of their order and doynges, and of their wicked procedynges, their cruell tyranny, and bloudye victories, the ruine & ſubuerſion of ſo manye Chriſten Churches, with the horrible murders and captiuitie of infinite Chriſtians, to be made playne and manifeſt, as well to this our countrey of England, as alſo to other nations:

The firſt cauſe.

Firſt for the better explainyng of the Prophecies of the new Teſtament, as in S. Paules Epiſt. ad Theſſal. and alſo in the reuelations of S. Iohn. Whiche Scriptures otherwiſe, without the opening of theſe hiſtoryes, can not ſo perfectly be vnderſtand. Of the whiche Scriptures wee minde hereafter (Chriſt graunting) orderly, as the courſe of matter ſhall leade vs, to make rehearſall.

The ſecond cauſe.

An other cauſe is, that we may learne thereby, either with the publique Churche, to lament with our brethren ſuch a great defection and decay of Chriſtian fayth, through theſe wicked Turkes: or els may feare thereby our owne daunger.

The thyrd cauſe.

The thyrd cauſe, that we may ponder more deeply with our ſelues, the ſcourge of God for our ſinnes, and corrupt doctrine, which in the ſequele hereof, more euidently may appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The fourth cauſe.

Fourthly, the conſideracion of this horrible perſecution of the Turkes, riſing chiefly by our diſcorde and diſſention among our ſelues, may reduce vs agayne from our domeſticall warres, in killing and burning one of another, to ioyne together in Chriſtian patience and concorde,

The fift cauſe.

Admonition to fight agaynſt the turke.

Chriſtian fayth neceſſary to be ioyned with outwarde force againſt the turke.

V. but chiefly theſe great victories of the Turkes, and vnproſperous ſpeede of our men fightyng againſt them, may admoniſh and teach vs, followyng the example of the old Iſraelites, how to ſeke for greater ſtrength to encounter wyth theſe enemies of Chriſt, then hitherto we haue done. Fyrſt, we muſt conſider, that the whole power of Satan the prince of this world, goeth wyth the Turkes. Which to reſiſte, no ſtrength of mans arme, is ſufficient, but onely the name, ſpirite, and power of our Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God, goyng with vs in our battayles, as among the olde Iſraelites, the Arche of Gods couenaunte and promiſe went wyth them alſo, fightyng agaynſt the enemies of God. For ſo are we taught in Scripture, that we chriſten men haue no ſtrēgth, but in Chriſt onely. Whether we warre agaynſt the deuill, or agaynſt the Turke, it is true that the Scripture ſayeth: Sine me nihil poteſtis facere. i. Without me you can doe nothing. Otherwiſe there is no puiſſāce to ſtād againſt ỹ deuil or to conquere the world. Niſi fides noſtra: that is, our fayth onely all the promiſes of God (touchyng ſaluation) bee annexed: beyond whiche promiſes we muſt not goe, for the worde muſt be our rule. He that preſumeth beyond the promiſes in the word expreſſed, goeth not, but wandereth, he can not tell whether. Neither muſt we appoynt God, how to ſaue the worlde, but muſt take that waye which he hath appointed. Let vs not ſet our God to ſchoole, nor comprehēd his holy ſpirit within our ſculles He that made vs without our counſaile, did alſo redeme vs as pleaſed him. If he be mercifull, let vs be thankefull. And if his mercies ſurmount our capacitie, let vs therfore not reſiſte, but ſearch his word, and thereunto apply our will: which if we will doe, all our contentions wyll ſoone be at a poynt. Let vs therfore ſearch the wyll of our God in hys worde, and if he will his ſaluation to ſtand free to all nations, why do we make marchaundiſe therof? If he haue graciouſly offred his waters to vs, without money or money worth, let not vs hedge in the plētuous ſpringes of his grace geuen vs.

Gratis venum dati eſtis, gratis redimemini. Eſa. 52.

Omnes ſitientes venite ad aquas, emite abſq; argento et commutatione. Eſai. 55.

And finally, if God haue determined his owne ſonne onely to ſtand alone, let not vs preſume to admixte with his maieſtie any of our trumperie. He yͭ bringeth S. George or S. Deniſe as patrons, to yͤ field to fight againſt yͤ turke, leaueth Chriſt (no doubt) at home. Now how we haue fought theſe many yeares agaynſt the Turke, though ſtoryes kepe ſilence, yet the ſucceſſe declareth. We fight agaynſt a perſecutour, being no leſſe perſecutours our ſelues. We wraſtle agaynſt a bloudy tyraunt, and our handes be as full of bloud as his. He kylleth Chriſtes people with the ſword: and we burne them with fire. He obſeruyng the workes of the law, ſeeketh his iuſtice by the ſame: the like alſo do we. But neither he nor we ſeke our iuſtification as we ſhould, that is, by fayth onely in the ſonne of God.

And what merueill thē, if our doctrine beyng as corrupt almoſt, as his, and our conuerſation worſe, if Chriſt fight not with vs, fighting againſt yͤ Turke? The Turke hath preuailed ſo mightely, not becauſe yͭ Chriſt is weake, but becauſe that Chriſtians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with Images, our hartes with idolatrie are polluted: Our prieſtes ſtinke before God for adultery, being reſtrayned from lawfull matrimonie. The name of God is in our mouthes, but hys feare is not in our hartes. We warre agaynſt the Turke with our workes, maſſes, traditions and ceremonies: but we fight not agaynſt hym with Chriſt and with the power of his glorye, which if we did, the fielde were wonne.

Reformatiō of religion requiſite before we fight with the turkes.

Faith getteth victory.

Wherfore briefly to conclude, ſeying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I ſuppoſe: this hope I haue, & do beleue, that when the Churche of Chriſt with the Sacramentes therof, ſhallbe ſo reformed, that Chriſt alone ſhall be receaued to be our iuſtifier, all other religions, merites, traditions, images, patrons and aduocates ſet a part: the ſword of the Chriſtians, with the ſtrength of Chriſt, ſhall ſoone vanquiſhe the Turkes pryde and fury. But of this more largely in the proceſſe of this ſtory.

The ſixte cauſe.

The ſixte and laſt cauſe, why I thinke the knowledge of the Turkes hiſtory, requiſite to be conſidered, is this: becauſe that many there be, which for yͭ they be farther from yͤ Turkes, and thinke therfore them ſelues to be out of daunger, take litle care and ſtudy, what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherfore to the entent to excite their zeale and prayer to almighty God, in this ſo lamentable ruine of Chriſtes Church: I thought it requiſite by order of hiſtory, to geue this our nation alſo ſomethyng to vnderſtand, what hath bene done in other nations by theſe cruell Turkes, and what detrimente hath bene and is like more to happen by them, to the Churche of Chriſt, except we make our earneſt inuocation to almighty God, in the name of his ſonne, to ſtop the courſe of the deuill by theſe Turkes, and to ſtay thys defection of Chriſtians falling daylye vnto them, and to reduce them agayne to his fayth, whiche are fallen from him. Whiche the Lorde Jeſus of his grace, graunte with ſpeede. Amen.

Earneſt inuocation neceſſary in the Church of Chriſt.

Before we enter into this ſtory of the Turkes & Saracenes, firſt let vs call to remembraunce the Prophecie and forewarning of S. Paul writing to the Theſſ. in his. 2. Epiſtle, in theſe wordes: Be not moued nor troubled in your myndes, either by preachyng, or by writing, or by letter from vs, as though the day of the Lorde were at hand: for the Lorde wyll not come except there come a defection firſt, and the wycked perſon be reuealed, &c. Of thys defection ſondry myndes there be, of ſondry expoſitoures: ſome thinkyng this defection to meane a fallyng away from the empire of Rome: ſome, frō the obedience of the pope. But as S. Paul little paſſed vpon the outward glory of yͤ Romain Empire: ſo leſſe he paſſed vpon the proude obedience of the Pope. What Saint Paule ment by this defection, the readyng of theſe Turkiſhe ſtories, and the miſerable fallyng away of thoſe Churches by hym before planted, wyll ſoone declare.

2. Theſſ. 2.

The place of S. Paule expounded. 2. Theſſ. 2. ſpeaking of the defection to come.

Another myſterye there is in the Reuelations, Apoc. 3. where the number of the beaſt is counted, 666. Whereby may ſeme by all euidences, to be ſignified the firſt origine and ſpringyng of theſe beaſtly Saracens, as by ſequele hereof may appeare by the firſt riſing of thys deuiliſh ſect of Mahumete.

The number of the Apocalyps cap. 13. expounded

Moreouer, an other place there is, cap. 16. Apocal. where we read that by powryng out of the Phiall of gods wrath, of the ſixt Aungell, the great floud Euphrates was dryed vp, to let in the kynges of the Eaſt: the openyng of whiche Prophecy, may alſo more euidently appeare, in conſideryng the order and maner of the commyng in of theſe Turkes into Europe.

An other place, Apocal. 13. Et ſextus Angelus effudit phialam ſuam. &c.

Some alſo apply to the Turkes certayne Prophecies of Daniell, Ezechiell, and other places of the old Teſtament mo, which here I omit, for ſo much as the Prophecies of the old Teſtament, if they be taken in theyr proper & naturall ſence, after my iudgement, do extend no further, then to the death of our Sauior, and the ende of the Jewes kyngdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opinion, but that euery man may abound in hys owne ſenſe.

As touchyng the yeare and tyme when this peſtiferous ſect of Mahumet firſt began, hiſtories do not fully conſent: Some affirmyng that it began, an. 611. and in the 5. yeare of Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople: in which mynde is Joannes Lucidus. As Munſterus counteth, it was in the yere of our Lord. 622. Martin Luther, and John Carion referreth it to the 18. yeare of the raigne of Heraclius, which is the yere of our Lord. 630. Unto the which number the computation of the Beaſt ſignified in the Apocal. doth not farre diſagree, which numbreth the name of the Beaſt, wyth three Greeke letters χ ξ ς. which Greeke letters after the ſupputation of the Grecians, make the number of 666.

The time of Mahumete the falſe prophet expounded.

The number of the beaſt in the Apoc. cap. 13.

In thys all wryters agree, that thys damnable Mahumet was borne in the countrey of Arabia, borderyng on the Eaſt part of Jewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Perſian, Hys mother was an Iſmaelite, which Iſmaelites being a people of Arabia, were called then Agarens: which terme Mahumet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of thys wretched Mahumete mention was made before, pag. 125. where we ſhewed, how he makyng hymſelfe the hygheſt Prophet of all other, yet denyeth not Chriſt to be an holy Prophet and next to hym, and Moſes alſo to be an other. Moreouer he denyeth not Mary the mother of Chriſt to be a virgin, and to haue conceyued Chriſt by the holy Ghoſt, affirmyng further that Chriſt in hys owne perſone was not crucified, but an other called Judas for hym. He greatly cōmendeth alſo John the ſonne of Zachary for a vyrgin: when he hymſelf permitteth a man to haue 4. wyues, and as many concubines as he is able to fynde: and ſayth that where as Chriſt and other Prophets had the gift geuen thē to worke myracles, he was ſent by force of ſworde to compell men to hys religiō. The prodigious vanities, lyes, and blaſphemies conteyned in hys law called Alchoran, are rather to be laughed at, then to be recited.

Mahumet of the ſtocke of the Iſmaelites dwelling in Arabia.

The prodigious lyes and blaſphemies of Mahumetes Alchoran.

It is thought that Sergius a Neſtorian, was a great doer wyth Mahumet, in contriuyng of thys lying Alchoran and ſo it doth well appeare by the ſcope and pretence therof, which eſpecially tendeth to thys end, to take the diuinity frō the perſon of Chriſt, whom he graunteth notwithſtandyng to be a moſt holy man, and alſo that he is receyued vp to god and ſhall come agayne to kyll Antichriſt, &c.

Moreouer this ridiculous Alchoran is ſo blaunched and poudered with ſo diuers mixtures of the Chriſtians, Jewes and the Gentiles lawes, geuyng ſuche liberty to all wantonneſſe of fleſh, ſettyng vp circumciſion, abſteynyng from ſwynes fleſhe and Judaicall lotions, and ſo much ſtandeth vpon father Abraham, that it is ſuppoſed of ſome, this filthy Alcoran, not to be ſet out in the dayes of Mahumet, but that certayne Jewes had ſome handlyng alſo in thys matter, and put it out after hys death: and ſo ſemeth firſt to take hys force about the number of yeres limited in the Apocal. as is aforeſayd, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let hym counte the number of the beaſt: For it is the number of a man, and hys number is ſixe hundred, ſixe ſcore and vj.

Mahumetes Alchoran mingled with diuers lawes.

The numeratiō of the Apoc. 666.

After thys deueliſh Mahumet had thus ſeduced the people, teachyng thē that he came not by myracles, but by force of ſword, to geue hys law, & that they which wyl not obey it muſt eyther be put to death or els pay tribute (for ſo be the wordes of hys Alchoran) and after that he had gathered ſtrength about hym, of the Arabians, which Arabiãs then had occaſion to rebell agaynſt the Emperour, becauſe theyr ſtipendes were not payd them of Heraclius the Emperours officers: he began to raunge wyth force and violence in the partes of Syria borderyng nere vnto hym, and firſt ſubdued Mecha, then Damaſcus; and further encreaſing in power, entered into Egypt, and ſubdued the ſame. From thence he turned hys power agaynſt the Perſians, with whome Coſroes the kyng of Perſia, encountring with a puiſſaunt army, ouerthrew the Saracẽs and put Mahumet to flight. Of theſe Perſians came the Turkes, which afterward ioinyng with the Saracens, maintayned them againſt ȳ Chriſtians. Ex Munſter.

Damaſcus ſubdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flight by Coſroes king of the Perſians.

After the death of this beaſt, which, as ſome ſaye, was poyſoned in hys houſe ſucceeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his father in law, or as Bibliander affirmeth, his ſonne in law, who tooke vpon hym the gouernment of the Saracens, and gotte the Citie Gaza, and beſieged alſo Hieruſalem two yeares. He raigned two yeares, hauyng for his chiefe Citie, Damaſcus.

Hieruſalem beſieged.

After hym followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egipt.

The 4. kyng of the Saracens after Mahumete, was Odmen, then followed Haly, & after him Muha[illegible] which after the ſiege of 7. yeares obtayned and got the chriſtiã Citie of Ceſaria: alſo ouercame the Perſians, with their kyng Ormaſda, and ſubdued that countrey to his law.

Ceſaria got of the Saracens. The kingdome of the Perſians ſubdued to the Saracens.

Thus the wicked Saracens in the ſpace of 30. yeares ſubdued Arabia, got Paleſtina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Perſia: which came directly to the 666. yeares, prophecied of in the Reuelations of S. Iohn, as is aforeſayd. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Affrike, and then Aſia, as in the proceſſe of theyr ſtory ſhall appeare, the Lord willyng.

Arabia, Paleſtina, Phenicia. Syria, Egipt and Perſia, ſubdued of the Saracens.

Not long after, Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople, ſucceded Conſtans hys nephew, who in the 13. yeare of hys Empire, fightyng vnluckely agaynſt the Saracens in Licia was ouerthrown of Muhamias aforeſayd in ȳ yeare of our Lord. 655. Which Conſtans if he were not proſpered by the Lord in hys warres, it was no great maruell, conſideryng that he had ſlayne his brother Theodoſius before at home: moreouer lyued in inceſtuous matrimony: alſo beyng inclined to certayne new ſectes, could not abide the contrary teachers, but ſlew them which admoniſhed him therof. The ſayd Conſtans goyng afterward to Italy, was alſo ouercome of the Lumbardes, &c. the Saracens after this victory ſpoyled alſo Rhodes.

Conſtance the Emperour ouercome by the Saracens.

Murder cõmonly proſpereth not wyth the Lord.

Rhodes ſpoyled of the Saracens.

Although theſe curſed Saracens, in theſe their great victories and conqueſtes, were not without domeſticall ſeditions and diuiſions among themſelues, yet the princes of the Saracens, beyng called then Sultans, had in theyr poſſeſſion, the gouernment of Syria, Egipt, Affrike, and of a great part of Aſia, about the terme of 400. yeres: till at length the Saracen kyng which ruled in Perſia, fightyng agaynſt the Saracene of Babilon, ſought ayde of the Turkes, to fight with hym agaynſt ȳ Sultane of Babilon. The which Turkes by little & little ſurpriſed vpõ ȳ Sultan of Perſia, & not long after puttyng hym out of place, vſurped ȳ kingdõ of Perſia: which afterward went further, as ye ſhal heare the Lord willyng. And this is the firſt beginnyng of the Turkes dominion.

Sultanes firſt called.

The firſt riſing of the turkes.

Theſe Turkes after they had thus ouercome great cõtreys and prouinces: and made theyr power large and mighty both in Aſia and Europa, begã to deuide their kyngdoms and countreys amongſt themſelues. But when they coulde not agree, but with deadly warre contended for the boundes of thoſe kyngdomes and dominions: in the meane tyme iiij. of the principall families conqueryng and ſubduyng all the reſt, parted the whole Empire amongſt themſelues. And yet they alſo not ſo contented, fell to ſuch cruell hatred, contention, warre, and ſlaughter (no doubt by the iuſt iudgement of God agaynſt hys blaſphemous enemies) that there was no ende therof, vntil the remnant of the auncient Turkes was vtterly rooted out.

The turkes dominions parted into 4. familyes.

For it is euident, that there are fewe now remaynyng which are Turkes in deede by birth and bloud, and that the ſtate of that great empire is not vpholden, but by ȳ ſtrength and power of ſouldioures, which haue bene Chriſtians, and nowe are turned to Mahumetes Religion: ſo that euen theyr owne naturall language is now out of vſe amongeſt them, ſauyng in certayne families of theyr nobilitie and gentlemen.

Theſe foure families aboue mentioned, with theyr captaynes and armies, about the yeare of our Lorde: 1330. went ragyng throughout all Aſia and Europa, and euery one of them conquered ſome parte of the countreyes where they paſſed.

The cauſes of theſe great inuaſions and victories were the diſſenſion and diſcorde, falſehoode, idlenes, vnconſtancie, gredye auarice, lacke of truth and fidelitie among Chriſtian men of all ſtates and degrees, both hie and lowe. For by the wilfull defection and backeſlydyng of the Chriſtians, the Turkiſhe power dyd exceedyngly encreaſe, in that many deſiring the licentious life & libertie of warre, & allured with the proſperous ſucceſſe of thynges, forſooke the Church of God, and made them ſelues bonde ſlaues to Mahumet and his diueliſhe ſecte: both becauſe that fleſhly libertie is delightyng to all men, and partly alſo becauſe, as fortune fauoreth, ſo commonly the willes of men encline: And agayne ſuch as be prophane and without the feare of God, (wherof there is an infinite number in the church) in all ages, are wont commonly to iudge of Religion, accordyng to the ſucceſſe of realmes and kyngdomes. For many, not onely for the varietye of opinions, but alſo for the diuerſitie of euentes and fortune amongeſt men, haue inquired and do enquire, whether there be any Churche of God diſtincte from other nations: what it is, and where it is: eſpecially, for ſomuche as the greateſt parte of men, both in the olde tyme, when as the iiij. Monarchies flouriſhed in order, was ignoraunt of this doctrine, whiche is peculier to the Churche alone, and nowe alſo the barbaritie of Mahumet preuayleth & reygneth in the moſt parte of the worlde. And howe ſtandeth thys with mans reaſon, that a ſmall number, both miſerable and alſo febled and broken with many battailes, ſhould bee regarded and beloued of God, and the other flouriſhyng in all wealth, proſperitie, victories, authoritie and power, ſhould be reiected and deſpiſed of God, ſeyng there is no power and authoritie, but by the ordinaunce of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene, for theſe two hundreth yeares, of greater force, then anye other Monarchy of the world beſides: yet is there no Imperiall dignitie to be eſteemed in that Turkiſhe tyrãny: but amongeſt thoſe nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Goſpell is preached, and other diſciplines neceſſarye for the Churche of God, and the commõ lyfe of man mayntayned and regarded: where the lawes of God, and other honeſt and ciuill ordinaunces agreable to the ſame, do flouriſh and reigne: where lawfull iudgement is exerciſed: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where ſinne and wickednes is puniſhed: where honeſt families are maintened and defended.

The diſſention of the Chriſtians do make the turkes ſo ſtrong.

No imperiall countrie in all the turkiſhe dominions.

Theſe things are not regarded amongeſt the Turkes, the enemies of the ſonne of God, and all lawfull Empyres: becauſe they diſſolue and reiect all godly ſocieties, honeſt diſcipline, good lawes, policies, righteous iudgementes, the ordinaunce of matrimonie, and godly families. For what hath the Empire of the Turkes bene hetherto, but moſt deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to worke all miſchief, deſtruction and deſolation? to ſubuert good lawes, Cities, kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge their cruell power and dominion? The ſtaye and ſtrength wherof, is not loue and fauour procedyng of vertue and iuſtice, as in lawfull and well gouerned Empyres: but feare, violence, oppreſſion, ſwarmes and infinite thouſandes of barbarous and moſt wicked people, miniſters of Satans malice and fury, which kynde of dominion and tyranny hath ben condemned by the voyce of God, many yeares agoe: the teſtimonies wherof the Lorde would haue to remayne in the Churche, leaſt the godly beyng moued with the power & ſucceſſe therof, ſhould fall away and forſake the ſonne of God.

The deſcription of the turkes inordinate Empyre.

Ezech. 39. Apoc. 20.

Wherefore, let vs not ſeeke for any Imperiall ſtate in that barbarity: but let vs be thankefull, and acknowlege the great benefite of God, for that he hath reſerued to vs certain remnauntes of the Romaine Empire: And let vs call vpon hym daily with harty petitions and grones, and wyth zeale and loue to the houſe of God, that this Turkiſh power ioyned with the malice of Sathan, agaynſt the ſonne of God, preuayle not againſt the poore congregations and little remnant of hys church, as it hath hitherto done agaynſte thoſe ſtrong and noble chriſtian kyngdomes and churches, where now we ſee the Turkiſh tyranny to raigne and Sathan to haue taken full poſſeſſion. Whoſe ſtate was once farre better then oures is now, and more lyke to continue without ſuch horrible ouerthrowes and deſolation. Oh that we myghte foreſee a little the great danger that hangeth ouer our heds. For though the Turke ſemeth to be farre of, yet do we nouriſh wythin our owne breſtes at home, that may ſoone cauſe vs to feele hys cruell hande and worſe, if worſe may be, to ouer runne vs: to lay our land waſte: to ſcatter vs amongſt the Infidels, the enemies and blaſphemers of the ſonne of God.

The Chriſtian kingdomes & churches deſtroyed by the Turkes, are a warning for vs, whom God hath yet ſpared.

Now, although theſe 4. families aboue mentioned, long

conti-

Foure principall families of the turks.

The familie of Ottomannus.

continued together in bloudy warres and deadly hatred, yet one of them paſſed the reſt in all crueltie and tyranny, & ſubduing the other iij. families, tooke vpon hym the gouernement alone, and ſo became the firſt Monarch, or Emperour ý reigned among them, called Ottomannus, of whom all that reigned after him, were called Ottomanni. Who ſucceedyng orderly of hys lyne, haue occupied the ſame dominion and ſeat of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord 1300. vnto thys preſent tyme, which haue bene to the number of xij. Of the which xij. in ſuch order as they lyued and reigned, I intend (Chriſt ſo permitting) ſeuerally & compendiouſly ſomething to entreat, briefly abſtracting out of prolixe and tedious writers, ſuch ſpecialties, as for vs Chriſtians, ſhalbe chiefly requiſite to be knowen.

¶Ottomannus the firſt great Emperour or Tyraunt of the Turkes.

Ottomãnus the firſt Emperour of the turkes.

THis Ottomãnus was at the firſt, of poore eſtate and obſcure amongeſt ý common ſorte of men, cõming of a baſe progenie and of ruſticall parentes: but through hys valiantnes and actiuitie in warre, he gotte hym a great name amongeſt the Turkes. For hee beyng a man of fearce courage, refuſing no labour & delighting in warre, & gathering together by great ſubtiltie, a multitude of commõ ſouldiers, begun to make warre, and by conqueſtes and victoryes, to aduaunce hym ſelfe & hys familie. Firſt he began to robbe and ſpoile with a great band of rouers and afterward he attempted to ſet vpon all men. Neyther did he vexe and deſtroye the Chriſtians onely, but ſet vppon his owne nation alſo, & ſought all occaſiõ to ſubdue them wholy vnto hym. For now the princes and captaines of the Turkes, inflamed wt ambition and deſire of rule, begã to fall out and contende among them ſelues, in ſo much that they fell to domeſticall and inward warre, with all the power they coulde.

Inward warre among the turkes.

The cõming vp of Ottomannus.

Ottomannus hauyng this occaſion very fitte & meete to accompliſhe that whiche he long had ſought for, gathering vnto him all ſuch as he thought to be geuen to robbing and ſpoylyng, and ſet all vppon miſchiefe, in ſhorte tyme began to grow in authoritie, & firſt ſet vpon certeine townes, as he ſaw opportunitie to ſerue him: Of which townes, ſome he tooke by force, ſome by yeldyng, other ſome he ſpoyled & ouerthrew, to terrifie the reſt, thus laying the firſt foundation of his riſyng. In the meane tyme, the diſcorde whiche was among the Chriſtians, was no ſmall aduauntage to this Ottomannus, by occaſion wherof, he within x. yeares ſpace, ſubdued Bithynia, and all the prouinces about Pontus: Alſo Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greekes within Aſia: Ancyra a Citie in Phrygia: Sinope a citie in Galatia: and Sebaſtia a Citie in Capadocia: and thus ſtyll preuailyng, he increaſed in ſhort time, to a myghtie power, eyther through the ſecrete iudgement of God agaynſt that nation, or els becauſe God would haue them ſo farre and ſo cruelly to preuayle, for the puniſhment of the ſinnes of other nations, lyke as it was prophecied before, that ſuch a kyngdome there ſhoulde be of Gog and Magog.

Bithinia, Natolia, Ancyra, Sinope, Sebaſtia, ſubdued.

Ezech. 38.

This Ottomãnus after he had reigned. 28. yeares in the yeare of our Lord. 1327. dyed, and departed to his Mahumet, leauing behinde hym three ſonnes, of whom Orchanes beyng the youngeſt, kylled his two brethren, whyleſt they were at variaunce betwene themſelues.

¶Orchanes the ſecond Emperour after Ottomannus.

Orchanes the ſecond Emperour of the turks, after Ottomannus.

Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Pruſia, Nicia, Nicomedia. Chriſtẽ Cities ſubdued of the turkes.

Ciuil warre among the Grecians.

ORchanes, the youngeſt of the ſonnes of Ottomannus, after he had ſlayne his two brethren, tooke the regiment of the turkes after his father. Who after he had drawen to hym the hartes of the multitude, ſuch as had their diſpoſitions ſet vpon the licentious life of warre, cõuerted his power, further to enlarge hys fathers dominion: winning & ſubduyng Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria: All which countryes, beyng within the compaſſe of Aſia, vnto the ſea ſide of Helleſpontus, and the ſea Euxinus, he added to the Turkiſhe Empyre. Alſo he wanne Pruſia, which was the metropolitane Citie of Bithynia, which thẽ he made the chiefe ſeate of the Turkes Empire. Beſides theſe moreouer, he conquered Nicea, & got Nicomedia: all which were before Chriſtian Cities & regions. And yet all this could not make the Chriſtian Princes in Grecia, to ceaſe their ciuill warres, & to ioyne & accorde amonge themſelues: Such debate and variaunce was thẽ betwene Cãtacuzenus, on the Greekes part, & Paleologus ý Emperour of Cõſtantinople. By reaſon wherof, ý turkes ayde was ſent for out of Aſia, to helpe our Chriſtians one to kill an other, and at length to get alſo thoſe partes of Europe from them both. Whoſe if they had according to their profeſſion, ſo well ioyned in brotherly vnitie, as they did in cruel hoſtilitie diſſent, neither had Orchanes ſo preuailed in getting Pruſia frõ ý Grecians, neither had ý turkes ſo ſoone preſumed into Europe as afterwarde they did. Orchanes after theſe victories, whẽ he had reigned 22. yeares, was ſtroocke, as ſome ſay, with a dart in the ſhoulder, at the ſiege of Pruſia. The opinion of others is, that he fighting againſt the Tartarians, where he loſt a great part of hys armye, was there alſo ſlayne himſelfe an. 1349.

By the diſcordes of Chriſtians, the turkes encreaſe.

Amurathes the iij. after Ottomannus.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus.

THe Greeke writers doe holde that Orchanes had two ſonnes, Solimannus, and Amurathes. Of whiche. ij. firſt Solimannus reigned, albeit not long. After him folowed Amurathes, who after that Aſia now was ſubdued by his predeceſſors, ſought by all meanes and wayes how to proceede further and to inuade Europe. To whoſe ambytious purpoſe the domeſticall warres of the Chriſtians gaue vnproſperous occaſion: whiche occaſion is thus declared. Certeine diſcorde fell betwen the princes of Grece (whoſe capteine was Cantacuzenus) and Paleologus Emperour of Conſtantinople, wherupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his partie good with the Grecians, moſt vnwiſely ſent for Amurathes, to helpe hym. Who beyng glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered, whiche he ſo long had ſought, ſent to ayde him. 12000. turkes into Thracia: but firſte vſed all delayes he could, of crafty policie to the entent that the Grekes firſt ſhoulde waſte their ſtrength and power vpon them ſelues, wherby he might be more able afterward to ſet vpon them, and to accompliſhe his conceaued deſire.

Amurathes ſeeketh occaſion to inuade Europe.

The Turkes thus beyng called into Europe by the Chriſtians, whether they taſtyng the ſweetneſſe of the ſoyle incenſed Amurathes their Emperour to make inuaſion, or whether Amurathes of his owne head thought good to vſe the tyme, in the yeare of our Lord. 1363. he came hym ſelfe ouer into Europe with. 60000. turkes, falling vpon the Grecians, beyng waſted and ſpent with their long warres and battailes before. The pretenſe of the deuiliſhe Turke was to ayde and to aſſiſt the Emperour Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to ſubdue ſuch as had fallen from hym. The Chriſtian ſhyppes of the Ligurians for mony were hyred to conduct them ouer, takyng for euery ſouldiour a peece of gold. Ex Pucer. et aliis.

The firſt cõming of the turke into Europe.

The couetouſnes of Chriſtiãs brought ouer the turkes.

Thus the Turkes armye beyng conueyd ouer by the Grecian ſea called Helleſpontus, firſt got Callipolis with other townes and Cities bordering about the ſea, & there plantyng them ſelues, and preparyng ſhyppes of there own, for tranſportyng their munitions out of Aſia, aduaunced their power further into Thracia, and there wanne Philippolis then got Adrianopolis, whiche was not farre from Conſtantinople, & there Amurathes made his chiefe ſeate. Then began Paleologus the Emperour at length to bewayle his offer & couenaunt made with Amurathes, when the Turkes had expugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their armye vnto Myſia, whiche they ſoone ſubdued: from thence proceedyng and conqueryng the Beſſos and Triballos, they entred into Seruia, and Bulgaria: where they ioynyng battaile with Lazarus Deſpota prince of Seruia, and with other, Dukes of Dalmatia, and Epirus, wanne of them the fielde, and put them to ý worſe: where Lazarus Deſpota beyng taken, and committed to priſon, ended his lyfe. Thys Lazarus had a certeine faythfull client or ſeruaunt, who to reuenge his maiſters death, with a bolde courage, although ſeyng death before eyes, yet ventered his life ſo farre, that he came to the tyraũte & thruſt hym through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned. 23. yeares, and was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lord. 1372.

Callipolis, Philippolis, Adrianopolis, Thracia, gotten of the Turkes.

The turkes entereth into Myſia and Bulgaria and Seruia.

Lazarus Deſpota ouercome of the turkes.

Example of a faithfull ſeruaunt, & the death of Amurathes.

Baiazetes the iiij. after Ottomannus.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

THe power of the Turkes began to increaſe in Europe, what tyme Baiazetes, the firſt of that name, after the death of his father, entred the poſſeſſion of the turkes kingdome. This Baiazetes had ij. brethrẽ, Solimãnus & Sauzes. Which Sauzes had his eyes put out by his father for ſtriuing for the kingdome. Solimãnus was ſlayne of hys brother. Thus Baiazetes beginning his kingdome with the murther of his brother, reduced hys Imperiall ſeat frõ Pruſia a citie of Bithynia, vnto Adrianople, entẽding with hymſelfe to ſubdue both Aſia & Europe to his own power.

Firſt he ſet vpon the Seruians and Bulgarians, thinking to reuenge hys fathers death, where he gaue the ouerthrow to Marcus Deſpota, with all the nobilitie of the Seruians and Bulgarians, and put all thoſe parties vnder his ſubiection vnto the fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreouer he brought likewiſe vnder hys yoke, onely Conſtantinople and Pera, excepted. That done, he inuaded the reſidue of Grecia, preuailyng agaynſt the countreyes of Theſſalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, ſpoylyng and burnyng as he paſſed, without any reſiſtance: and ſo returnyng with innumerable ſpoyle of the Chriſtians, vnto Adrianople, layd ſiege to Conſtantinople the ſpace of viij. yeares, and had expugned the ſame, but that Paleologus beyng brought to extremitie, was driuen to craue ayde of the Frēchmen, and of Sigiſmund the Emperour. Who beyng accompanied with a ſufficient power of Frenchmen & Germains, came downe to Hungaria and toward Seruia agaynſt the Turke. Baiazetes hearyng of their commyng, rayſed hys ſiege from Conſtantinople, and with 60000. horſemē came to Nicopolis, where he encountring with them, ouerthrew all the Chriſtian army, tooke Iohn the Capitaine of the French power priſoner: Sigiſmundus, which before in the Councell of Conſtance, had burned Iohn Hus and Hierom of Prage, hardly eſcaped by flying. Baiazetes after the victory got, caried away duke Iohn, with v. other in bands, into Pruſia, where before his face he cauſed all the other chriſten priſoners to be cut in pieces.

Marcus Deſpota ſlayne of the Turke.

Seruia, Macedonia, Bulgaria Phocides, Thracia, Attica, Theſſalia, with other Chriſtiā countreys cōquered of the Turkes.

Conſtantinople beſieged 8. yeres by the Turkes.

The Chriſtians ouerthrown of the Turkes.

Sigiſmund Emperour put to flight.

The barbarous crueltie of the turkes, agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Afterward the ſayde Iohn beyng raunſomed wyth 200000. crownes, was deliuered. Some authors referre this ſtory to the tyme of Calepinus, as followeth hereafter to be ſeene.

Baiazetes the cruel tyrant after this victory wonne and tyranny ſhewed vpon the Chriſtians, returned agayne to his ſiege of Conſtantinople, fully bendyng him ſelfe to conquere and ſubdue the ſame, Whiche thyng no doubt he had accompliſhed, but that the prouidence of God had founde ſuch a meanes that Tamerlanes king of Parthia, with an 100. thouſand horſemē and ſwarmes of footemen, like a violent flood, ouerrunnyng Aſia and preſſyng vpon Siria & Sebeſtia, had taken Orthobules ẏ ſonne of Baiazetes, priſoner, & afterward ſlue him, exerciſing the like crueltie vpon his priſoners, as Baiazetes had done before vpō the Chriſtians: In ſo much that he ſpared neither ſexe nor age of the Turkiſhe multitude: of whom he cauſed xij. thouſand at one tyme, to be ouerryden and troden downe vnder his horſes feete. By reaſon whereof Baiazetes the tyraunte was enforſed to rayſe his ſiege from Conſtantinople and to retourn his power into Aſia: where he, nere the hill called Stella, pitched his tentes there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

Tamerlanes a Parthian ſtirred vp of God to reuenge the cauſe of the Chriſtians.

Baiazetes ſonne taken & ſlayne.

Crueltie iuſtly reuenged with crueltie.

Baiazetes raiſeth his ſiege fro Conſtantinople.

The fight betwene theſe ij. was long and great on both ſides, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1397. and ẏ ſecond yeare after the ſlaughter of our Chriſtianes at Nicopolis in Ponnonia: but the victorie of thys battaile fell to Tamerlanes at length. In the whiche battaile as Munſterus writeth, were ſlayne. 200000. Turkes. Among whom Baiazetes the tyraunte, hauing his horſe ſlayne vnder him, was taken priſoner, and to make a ſpectacle of his wretched fortune, was bounde in golden fetters, and ſo beyng encloſed in an iron grate (whome before all Grecia coulde not holde) was ledde about and ſhewed throughe all Aſia, to be ſkorned and laught at: and moreouer was vſed in ſteade of a footeſtoole to Tamerlanes, or a blocke, as often as he mounted vpon his horſe. Some adde alſo, ẏ he was made lyke a dogge to feade vnder Tamerlanes table. The tyranny of which Baiazetes agaynſt the Chriſtians, as it was not much vnlike to ẏ crueltie of Ualeriannus the Romaine Emperour aboue mentioned. 75. ſo neither was the example of his puniſhmēt much diſcrepant. For as Sapores kyng of the Perſians did then with Ualerianus in tyme of the viij. perſecution of the primatiue church: ſo likewiſe was Baiazetes this perſecutor worthely handled by Tamerlanes K. of the Parthians, as in maner aboue ſayd.

Baiazetes ouercome of Tamerlanes, kyng of Parthians.

The iuſt hand of God vpon a cruell perſecutour.

Baiazetes made for a blocke for Tamerlanes to get vpō his horſe

Vid. ſupra. pag. 75.

Tamerlanes after this conqueſt, paſſed with hys army into Meſopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriouſly ſubduyng the Cities & munitions of the Turkes, at length alſo conquered Damaſcus In his ſieges his maner was, the firſt day to go all in white attire, the ſecond day in red, the third day in blacke: ſignifying therby mercy the firſt day to them that yelded, the ſecond day the ſword, the third day fier and aſhes, At laſt after great victories and ſpoyles gotten of the Turkes, he returned into his countrey agayne, and there dyed. an. 1402.

The great victories of Tamerlanes in Aſia.

Seb. Munſterus wrytyng of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his armye. 200. thouſand men: and that he ouercame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans Perſians, Medes, and conquered al Meſopotamia: and after he had alſo ſubdued Armenia, paſſyng ouer ẏ riuer Euphrates with. 600. thouſand footemen, and 4000000. horſemen, he inuaded all Aſia Minor, conqueryng and ſubduyng from the floode Tanais vnto Nilus in Egypt, & was called terror orbis, the terror of the worlde. He left behinde him ij. ſonnes, who fallyng in diſcord for there poſſeſſions, loſt all agayne, that their father gotte.

Ex Seb. Münſtero lib. 4. Coſmograph.

Tanais is the vttermoſt floud in the North ſide: & Nilus the vttermoſt floud in the South ſide of Aſia.

In the mean tyme Baiazetes in the ſecond yeare of his captiuitie, dyed, leauyng behynde him diuers ſonnes, Ieſus or Ioſua the eldeſt, Mulſumanes, Moſes, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Ieſus the yonger, Muſtaphas, and Hali. Of whome firſt Ieſus the eldeſt was ouercome and ſlayne of Mulſumanes: whiche Mulſumanes afterwarde was deliuered to Moſes his brother, and by him was ſlayne likewiſe, whiche Moſes had alſo the like end by hys brother Calepinus, hauing his necke broken with a bowe ſtrynge, which was then the vſuall maner amonge the Turkes in killing their brethren. The ſame Calepinus ſparing onely the life of Muſtaphas his other brother, condemned hym to perpetuall priſon. Ieſus the yonger was baptiſed, & ſhortly after departed at Conſtantinople. In theſe ſuch diſcordes and diuiſions amonge the Turkes, what occaſions were geuen to thee Chriſtians to haue recouered agayne of the Turkes that they had loſt, if they had not ben either negligent, or in their owne priuate warres otherwiſe occupied with them ſelues.

A generation of Vipers.

Calepinus the 5. after Ottomannus.

Calepinus, or Celebinus was the ſonne of Baiazetes, and of iiij. brethren, the eldeſt: who beyng all taken captiues of the Parthians, he onely eſcaped and obteyned his fathers kingdom, This Calepinus encouraged by the ſloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the diſcord of the Grecians amongeſt them ſelues & other nations nere about them, lōge troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Seruians, and Macedonians, euen to the tyme of Sigiſmundus, Whiche Sigiſmundus ſeyng now Baiazetes to be ouercome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, and hauyng ſuch occaſion offered him, as it were from heauen, to deſtroy and vtterly to roote out, not onely out of Aſia but alſo all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and Religion of Chriſt: and alſo to reuenge the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his armye fightyng before with Baiazetes at Nicopolis a Citie in Myſia: with great power made warre agaynſt Calepinus at Columbaciū a towne in Seruia, as is alſo before mentioned. pag. 695. but as vnluckelye and with as litle ſucceſſe as he did before agaynſt Baiazetes hys father: For in that battayle were ſlayne of the Chriſtians to the number of xx. thouſand, and the reſt vtterly diſcomfited, the kyng hymſelfe eſcapyng ſo hardely, that he entred not agayne into hys kyngdome for the ſpace of 18. monthes after. Some write that this was done vnder Baiazetes, other ſome referre this battayle to Amurathes, but howſoeuer it was, moſt pernicious was it to the Chriſtians. He reigned but ſixe yeares and dyed very young, an. 1404.

Calepinus the fift after Ottomānus.

Vide ſupra pag. 695.

The ouerthrow of Sigiſmūd fighting agaynſt the turke.

Some ſtories recorde this conflict to be after the time of this turke.

Orchanes and Moſes his vncle, the
6. after Ottomannus.

After the captiuitie of Baiazetes aboue mentioned, hiſtories diuerſly do diſſent. The Greke writers makyng no mention at all of Calepinus, onely make mention of ẏ ſonnes of Baiazetes, and of the contention among them, vntill the tyme of Mahumetes. The Latin ſtoryes writing of ẏ children of Baiazetes and of their ſucceſſion, do not therin agre, ſome affirmyng that Baiazetes had two ſonnes, Orchanes ſurnamed Calepinus, and Mahumetes hys brother, which within two yeares ſlew the ſayd Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Baiazetes vi. ſonnes, as is aboue rehearſed. Some agayne doe geue to Baiazetes onelye theſe two ſonnes Celebinus and Muſtaphas: and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two ſonnes, to wit, Orchanes and Mahumetes, and adde moreouer that the ſayd Orchanes beyng ſomewhat yong, was ſlayne of his vncle Moſes, who gouerned but two yeres. For Mahumetes to reuenge his brothers death ſlew Moſes, and inuaded his dominion. The Greke ſtories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Orchanes and Moſes his vncle.

Diuerſitie in hiſtories.

Tiranny betwene vncle and nephew.

Murther reuenged with murther.

Mahumetes the 7. after Ottomannus.

This Mahumetes, whether he was the ſonne of Baiazetes, or els of Calepinus, conuerted to hymſelfe alone the kingdome, or tiranny rather, of the murdering Turks. Who

Mahometes the vij. after Ottomannus.

afflic-

Wallachia aſſaulted by Mahometes.

The turkes ſeate at Adrianopolis.

afflicted the Chriſtians with ſore warres within Europe, eſpecially the countrey called Wallachia, lying not farre from the floud Danubius, betwene Hungary and Thracia. Frō thence he remoued into Aſia, where he recouered diuers partes in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes. This Mahumetes planted hys chiefe Imperiall ſeate in Adrianople not farre from Conſtantinople, within the countrey of Thracia. In ſome writers the conflict betwene Sigiſmund and the great Turke, wherin the chriſtians were ſo diſcomfited, is referred rather to this Mahomets, then to Calepinus: of which conflict mention is aboue made in the ſtory of Sigiſmundus, pag. 695. This Mahumetes reigned, as ſome ſay 14. yeres, and dyed in the yeare of our Lord, 1419. Other affirme 17. yeres.

Vide ſupra. pag. 695.

¶ Amurathes the ſecond, 8. after Ottomannus.

Amurathes the 8. after Ottomānus.

AMurathes, as Philelphus ſayth, was the ſonne of Celebinus, as Laonicus Chalcōdyles teſtifieth, of Mahumetes. Whoſe ſonne ſo euer he was, a wretched tyraunt he was, and permitted as a ſcourge of god to correct the ſinnes of the Chriſtians. In the ſtory of Baiazetes mention was made before of Muſtaphas his ſonne, who was condemned to perpetuall priſon by Calepinus his brother. This Muſtaphas eſcaping out of hys brothers priſon, was conueyed to the Grecians, where he remayned long in cuſtody, tyll at length they vnderſtanding the purpoſe of Amurathes, ſet hym vp with ſufficient habilimentes and furniture of war to fight agaynſt the ſayd Amurathes his nephew. But in concluſion he beyng not able to make his partie good, came into the handes of his enemy, and had his necke broke wyth a bowſtring, after the maner of the Turkiſh execution.

Muſtaphas murthered by Amurathes his nephew.

The Grecians then terrified with this ſiniſter aduerſitie required truce of the Turke, but when that would not bee graunted, they procured vnto them Muſtaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of xiij. yeares: who likewiſe beyng armed of the Grecians, got ẏ Citie of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother: Albeit it was not long but he was circumuented in the ſame Citie, and brought to Amurathes: who cauſed him lykewiſe to taſt of the ſame whippe, as the other Muſtaphas had done before. Amurathes being now out of all feare & doubt of brethren and kynſfolke to riſe agaynſt hym, conuerted all his power againſt the Grecians: and firſt raungyng through out Thracia, where diuers Cities yelded vnto hym, which before belonged to the Emperour of Conſtantinople, from thence he ſet forward to the noble and famous Citie Theſſalonica, being then vnder the league and protection of the Venetians. This Theſſalonica is a Citie in Grece, bordering vpon Macedonia, to the citizens whereof S. Paule writeth, foreſhewing vnto them in his 2. Epiſtle, of a defection to come before the comming of the day of the Lorde, 2. Theſſ. 2. By the which apoſtacie or defection, what the holy Apoſtle doth meane, this ſtorye of the Turkes maye eaſily declare. After Theſſalonica was ſubdued, Phocis with all the countrey about Athens, Beocia likewyſe, Aetolia, Acarnania, wyth all the region beyond Peloponeſus, vnto the coaſt of Corinth, to whom S. Paule alſo wrote other two epiſtles, were brought in bondage and ſlauery vnto the Turke.

The turke murthereth his brother.

Amurathes ſtraygneth the Grecians. Thracia ſubdued to the turke. Theſſalonica ſubdued. The defection ſpoken of S. Paule declared. 2. Theſſ. 2.

In Epirus and in that quarter that adioyneth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned then one Ioannes Caſtriotus who perceiuing hym ſelfe to weake to matche with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this couention, that he ſhould haue Croia, a famous Citie in Grecia, and alſo gaue to him his iij. ſonnes for hoſtages, to wytte Conſtantinus, Repoſius, and Georgius.

Ioannes Caſtriotus.

Croia geuen to the turke. The 3. ſōnes of Caſtriotus, hoſtages with the turke. Georgius Scanderbeius, Alexāder the great.

In this George ſuch towardnes of noble courage, ſuch vigour of mynd, and ſtrength of body ſingularly did appeare, that the Turke cauſed hym more ſtreitly to be inſtructed after the Turkiſh religion and maner in his owne court: where he beyng trayned vp, dyd ſo ſhoote vp as wel in feates of actiuitie, as in ſtrēgth of body, that he excelled all hys equals: in ſo much that he was named Scanderbeius, which ſoundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

After this Alexander was grown vp to mature ripenes of age, and was well trayned vp in feates of warre, he was ſent out by the Turke, to warre againſt Caramannus of Cilicia, the Turkes enemy. In which expedition he ſpedde hymſelfe moſt manfully, fightyng hand to hand, firſt wyth a footeman of Scythia, then with an horſeman of Perſia, beyng challenged by them both to encounter, firſt with the one, after with the other: whō he ſo valiantly ouerthrew, that he was great renoun with ẏ Turk: In ſo much ẏ he truſting to the Turkes fauour, when he heard of the deceaſe of his father, durſt aſke of the Turke the graunt of his fathers dominion to be geuen vnto hym. Which requeſt although Amurathes the Turke did not denie him: yet notwithſtanding he perceauing the matter to be dalied out wyth fayre wordes, by ſubtill meanes and policie * ſlypt out of the Turkes court, and came to Epirus his owne inheritaūce: where firſt by forged letters he recouered Croia. The other Cities of their voluntarie minde yelded themſelues vnto hym. Who then gathering vnto him the people of Epirus and Macedonia (which were not ſo many in number, as with good wyllyng mindes they ſtucke vnto him) ſo manfully and valiauntly behaued himſelfe, that agaynſt all the puiſſaunce both of Amurathes, and alſo of Mahumete, he mayntained hys owne, repulſed their violence, and put to flight their armies, many yeares together. But to returne againe to the courſe of Amurathes victories, after he had thus preuailed (as is before ſignified) agaynſt the Eaſt partes of Europa and Grecia, and had conuented thus for the dominion of Epirus, he inuaded Illiricum, (otherwiſe called now Sclauonia) conteyning in it Dalmatia, Croacia, Iſtria and Liburnia: which countryes after he had ſpoyled and waſted, he continued his courſe to Albania, and Boſna. In which regions when he had ſubdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captiues, he moued further to Walachia & Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pannonia.

The valiant Actes of Georgius Scanderbeius.

* Georgius Scanderbeius ſtealeth away from the turke to hys countrey.

Croaia recouered.

Epyrus & Macedonia recouered from the turke.

The valiant actes of Georgius Scanderbeius againſt the turkes.

Illyria, or Sclauonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Iſtria, Liburnia, Albania, Boſna, ſpoyled & waſted by the turke.

There reigned at the ſame time in Seruia a certayne prince named Georgius Deſpota, who made great ſute to the turke for truce and peace, promiſing to geue his daughter to mariage: for by the turkes lawe they may marry as many wiues, as they luſt. It was not long after Amurathes had maryed the daughter of Deſpota, but he contrary to his league and promiſe, made warre vpon Deſpota hys father in law, & expelled hym out of his kingdom, taking frō him diuers Cities, as Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia & all Myſia. Georgius himſelf fled into Hungary, leauing behind him his ſōne to defēd ẏ town of Synderonia. Amurathes vnderſtanding of the flight of Deſpota his father in law, compaſſed the Citie of Synderonia, wyth a ſtrong ſiege, which whē he in few dayes had expugned, he tooke hys wiues brother, ſonne of Deſpota, and without regarde of all mercy and affinitie, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turkes, put out hys eyes, with a baſen red hoat ſet before his eyes, and after that led him about with him, in deriſion and deſpite of his cowardly father. Ex Chriſtof. Rhicherio Gallo. & Gaſp. Peuc. & alijs.

Georgius Deſpota prince of Seruia.

An vngodly graūt of a Chriſtien father to mary his daughter to the turke.

Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia, Myſia ſubdued of the turke.

Georgius Deſpota fled into Hungary. The cruelty of the turke vpon his wiues brother.

Seruia being thus wonne and gotten, Amurathes thinkyng to go further into Hungarie, beſieged the Citie called Belgradum, and no doubt, had alſo ſuppreſſed the ſame, had not the prouidence of God founde a meanes, that partly through ſlaughter of hys mē, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, he was compelled to raiſe his ſiege and retire.

Belgradum beſieged of the turke.

In the meane time Ioannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before, pag. 695.) had got great victories agaynſt the turkiſh power, and had recouered part of Seruia, and all Moldauia: agaynſt whom Amurathes the Turke, wyth a mighty armye, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and ayde of Ladiſlaus king of Polonia (but ſpecially by ẏ power of the Lord) did ſoone infringe the puiſſance of the Turke, and gaue hym the ouerthrow, recouering vnto the Chriſtians the greateſt part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

Ioannes Huniades, Vaiuoda.

In this battaile Huniades had fiue ſundry conflictes with the turkes vpon one day, and with fiue victories put them to the worſe, and toward night did ſo diſcomfite and ouerthrow the great captayne of Amurathes, called Baſſa, the Duke of Anatolia (which is otherwiſe named Aſia Minor) that he ſlue of the turkes that day, to the number of 30. thouſand. Amurathes, although he was not a little thereat diſcouraged, yet diſſemblyng hys feare, wyth ſtoute countenaūce ſent for Carambeius his principall ſtay & captaine, with a new power brought out of Aſia, to aſſiſt hym in his warres. Then Carambeius, in the downes of Tranſyluania, Ladiſlaus the foreſaid king of Polonie (the Lord ſo working) through the induſtrie of Ioannes Huniades, ſo receaued & with ſuch celeritie oppreſſed him vnprouided, that all hys ſtoute & ſturdy armie either was ſlayne downe right, or els put to flight and diſparcled. Carambeius the captaine being himſelfe taken priſoner in the ſame fielde.

Fiue victories of Ioan. Huniades againſt the turkes gottē in one day. The great Baſſa or duke of the turkes ouerthrowen by Huniades.

The victory of Huniades agaynſt Carambeius the great captaine of the turkes.

Theſe victories of Huniades ſtrooke no litle terrour to Amurathes, in ſo much ẏ for diſtreſſe of minde he was ready to deſtroy himſelf (as ſome do write) but being cōfirmed by Helibeus Baſſa his coūſailer, he kept himſelfe within ẏ ſtreites of ẏ mount Rhodope. Who thē hearing ẏ Caramā-

The great turke brought to a great diſtreſſe.

Amurathes ſeeketh truce of the Chriſtians.

The conditions betwene Ladiſlaus king of Polonie, and Amurathes.

was inuaded the ſame tyme the countrey of Bithynia and Pontus in Aſia: was glad to take truce with Ladiſlaus & Huniades vpon ſuch conditiōs as they liſted to make them ſelues: which cōditions were theſe, that Amurathes ſhould depart clearely from all the region of Seruia, and ſhould remoue from thence all his garriſons, which were placed in the Caſtles and fortes of the ſame: Alſo he ſhoulde reſtore George Deſpota (which is to ſay) Prince of Seruia vnto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whom he had in captiuitie, and reſtore them to their inheritaunces. Item, that he ſhould make no more clayme nor title to the countrey of Moldonia about mētioned, nor to that part of Bulgrania which he had loſt: and that he ſhould deſiſt hereafter from all wronges and iniuries agaynſt the Chriſtiās. Vpon theſe conditions the Turke beyng agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both partes for x. yeares, and with ſolemne othe betwene them confirmed.

Truce betwene the Chriſtians & the turkes for x. yeares.

Amurathes returneth into Aſia.

The popes diſpenſation & abſolution abuſed.

This done, Amurathes the tyraunt addreſſeth himſelfe toward Aſia, to reſiſte the inuaſion of Caramannus aforeſayd. At what tyme Pope Eugenius ſo ſoone as he heard the Turke to be returned into Aſia, ſendeth Iulianus Cæſarianus his Cardinall (whoſe ſtory is before touched, pag. 675.) vnto Ladiſlaus the foreſaid king, with full diſpenſation and abſolution, to breake his othe and league with the Turke, promiſing moreouer great hope of ayde, if he would go in armes ſtoutly agaynſt the tyraunt.

The popes raſhe counſaile pernicious to Chriſtēdome.

Nothing proſpereth that is takē in hand by the popes ſetting on.

The pope breaketh the truce made betwene the Chriſtians & the Turke.

The pope moued Ladiſlaus to breake truce.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that peſtilent ſea of Rome, neither was there euer any warre proſpered, which was taken in hand by the Popes counſaile: ſo was there neuer any counſaile of the pope, that brought with it more detriment to Chriſtianitie, then this. But the pope belyke thought that as he might lawfully breake promiſe with John Hus, and with other Chriſtiās, ſo alſo he needed not to obſerue any league or truce taken with the Turke: but it turned much otherwiſe then the popes blynd braynes imagined: as by the ſequele is to be ſeene. For Ladiſlaus beyng thus excited by the vnaduiſed and ſiniſter inſtigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce ſtabliſhed a litle before, ſet out with his armye from Seledinus, and ſo procedyng to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Varna, a towne of Bulgary: where he fell ſicke.

The falſe dealing of the Italian Nauie.

The battaile of Varna, betwene Ladiſlaus king of Polonie, and Amurathes.

The popiſhe prelates were the cauſe of loſing the field.

A iuſt puniſhmēt vpon the popiſh prelates for their vniuſt dealing.

Iulianus the Cardinall ſlaine in the warre and ſpoyled.

Huniades eſcapeth.

It was not long but the Turke hauyng therof intelligence, left his warres begon with Caramannus in Aſia, and with great iourneys made haſt into Europe, paſſing ouer by the ſtraites neare to Callipolis, where all the Italiā nauye ſtill lookyng on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlines, would not ſtyrre one ore to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Turkiſh army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thracia, vſing ſuch celeritie as no mā looked for, within viij. dayes he was in Burgaria, and there encamped himſelfe agaynſt Ladiſlaus. The day of battaile beyng ſet, the armyes ioyned on both ſides. Huniades was himſelfe there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by Iulianus the Cardinal, and the popes Clergy. The fight continued three dayes and three nightes together, with great courage and much bloudſhed on ech ſide: in ſomuch that the field did ſtand with lakes of bloud. They ſeemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breakyng the firſt rankes of the Turkes. But the Prieſtes and Prelates which were at the field (whiche had bene more fite to haue bene in the Church) ſeyng the Turkes to begyn to flye, vnſkilfully left their array to purſue the enemy, ſo that they leauyng the other ſtandyngs of the Chriſtians naked, gaue great aduauntage to the Turkes, with their dartes and ſhot to diſturbe the Chriſtian rankes. By the which occaſion Amurathes incloſing yͤ Chriſtiās with his army round about, obteined the victory. In the which field Ladiſlaus the young king of Polonie, hauing his horſe firſt killed vnder hym was ſtrooken downe, and ſlayne. The Popes Byſhops flying to ſaue themſelues, fell into the mariſhes, and there were deſtroyed, ſuſteinyng a durty death condigne to their filthy falſehode and vntruth. Iulianus the Cardinal, which with the pope was the chief doer in breakyng the league, in the way was found dead, beyng full of woundes and ſpoyled to his naked ſkinne. Of the reſt of the army that eſcaped by flying, part was drowned in the mariſhes, ſome periſhed miſerably for hūger, ſome for cold, watchyng & wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly eſcaped the daunger by the mercyfull prouidence of God, beyng reſerued to the further profite and commoditie of Chriſtendome.

The worthy cōmendation of John Huniades.

This John Huniades the worthy warrier was borne in Walachia, beyng Earle of Biſtrice, of all Captaines that euer went agaynſt the Turkes, moſt famous and ſingular, prudent in witte, diſcreet in counſaile, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumſpect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wanted almoſt no good propertie requiſite in a warlyke Captaine. Agaynſt two moſt mighty and fierce tyraūtes, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lordes might, he defended all Pannonia, and therfore was called yͤ thūderbolt and terrour of the turkes. Like as Achilles was vnto the Grecians, ſo was he ſet vp of God to be as a wall or bulwarke of all Europe againſt yͤ cruell Turkes and enemyes of Chriſt, and of his Chriſtians. Neither was there any Kyng or Prince that euer atchieued ſuch noble victories, either ſo many in number, or ſo profitable for the publique vtilitie of all Europe, as dyd he, and that not onely in the dayes of this Amurathes, but alſo of Mahumetes his ſucceſſour, as hereafter remaineth further to be ſene. This battaile of Amurathes agaynſt the Chriſtians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yeare of our Lord. 1404.

Amurathes taketh hys viage againſt the Greciās.

Peloponeſus, Sycione, Patris, with all the partes of Theſſalia & Achaia, brought vnder the turke.

Amurathes by reaſon of this victorious ouerthrow agaynſt the Chriſtians ſurpreſſed with no ſmall pride, directed his iourney incontinent toward the Grecians, where Caſtriotus was, otherwiſe called Scanderbeius. And firſt commyng to Peloponeſus, and breakyng downe the wall about the ſtraites of Corinthe, encountred with the brother of the Emperour of Conſtantinople, whom with his ſodeine commyng he oppreſſed, with all the Greekes army, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the Emperour, after that, did builde vp the wall agayne: but at the Turkes byddyng he was compelled to vndoe it againe: which wall afterward the Venetiās dyd repayre. After the demolition of the wall, Amurathes entryng into Peloponeſus, tooke diuers townes and Cities, as Sycione, & Patris, and moreouer made all the partes of Theſſalia and Achaia tributaries vnto hym.

The memorable actes of Scanderbeius againſt Amurathes.

This Epyrus is a countrey in Grecia bordering neare to the partes of Macedonia.

vij. captaines of the turkes ouercome by Caſtriotus Scāderbeius.

The next yeare after this battaile of Amurathes fought agaynſt the Chriſtians at Varna, the Turke beyng now about the partes of Grecia, purpoſed to bend all his force & mayne againſt the countrey of Epyrus belonging to Georgius Caſtriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought vp in the Turkes court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtiltie he conueyed himſelfe, and came to the poſſeſſion of his owne patrimony of Epyrus. Wich Epyrus this noble and victorious Scāderbeius (whom the Lord alſo had rayſed vp the ſame tyme with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turkes) valiauntly defended agaynſt all the power of Amurathes: In ſo much that he diſcomfited and venquiſhed vij. of the moſt expert Baſſas or Dukes of the Ottoman Emperour, one after an other, with all their armyes of moſt pyked and choſe ſouldiours, diſlodged them of their tentes, and expulſed thē vtterly out of all Epyrus. Alſo when Amurathes himſelfe with his whole puiſſance, had enuironned about the Citie of Croia, with cruell ſiege & ordinaunce out of meaſure, yet notwithſtandyng the ſayd Scāderbeius (through the power and bleſſing of the Lord) beate him out of the fielde, and repulſed him from his ſiege.

Amurathes renounced his dominion, & made himſelfe a turkiſhe monke.

After this diſcomfiture, the ſaying is that Amurathes, to keepe his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gaue himſelfe into a religious order, liuyng a contemplatiue life with certaine other Prieſtes ioyned vnto him, in the foreſt of Bithynia, renoūcyng the gouernement of his realme to the handes of Haly one of his Princes (for thou muſt vnderſtād, good Reader, that the Turkes alſo be not without their ſondry ſectes of Religion, no more then we Chriſtiās are without our Friers and Monkes.)

Two Chriſtian warriers in Europe ſtirred vp of God to vanquiſhe the turkes.

This John Huniades is reported of xx. battailes with the turke, to loſe but two.

In the meane tyme while Amurathes this Turkiſhe tyranne was cloyſtered vp in his monkiſh Religion, Ioannes Huniades in the kyngdome of Hungary, and Caſtriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kepte great ſtyrre agaynſt the Turkes. By reaſon whereof Amurathes was taken agayne from his Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and brought agayne into the field: For firſt Huniades had reſcued the whole countrey of Hūgary: and had propulſed moreouer all the might of the Turkes farre frō Seruia. And although the peuiſh practiſe of Georgius Prince of Seruia, had oft tymes diſcloſed his counſayles vnto the Turkes, whereby twiſe he was brought in daunger, yet notwithſtādyng (through the Lordes gracious protection) he was preſerued, and deliuered by the ſayd George vnto the Hungarians agayne, and after that manfully vanquiſhed the Turkes, ſo that they had no reſtyng place about thoſe partes of Seruia and Bulgaria, ſo long as he lyued.

Epyrus and Macedonia defended by Scanderbeius.

On the other ſide in Grecia, Caſtriotus Scanderbeius ſo foyled the Turke in defence of his countrey Epyrus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes ſo ſhort, that not onely he was not able to wynne any great towne in all Epyrus: but alſo commyng from Epyrus in the ſtraites, was ſo in-

Amurathes ouercome by Scanderbeius.

tangled by Caſtriotus, that he was forced to geue battaile: In the which battaile he was ſo vanquiſhed, and moſt part of his armye ſlayne, that for grief and ſorrow conceaued, he fallyng into a rauyng ſickenes, was tranſported out of his pauilion vnto Adrianople, and there in fury and madneſſe dyed, after he had reigned. 34. yeares, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

Janizari among the turkes.

This Amurathes firſt ordeined the order of Janizarites. Which were the men children of ſuch Chriſtiās as he cōquered & tooke captiue: whō he forced to renounce yͤ faith of Chriſt, wherin they were baptiſed, and brought them vp in Mahumetes law, and exerciſed thē in the ſame feates of warre as he did his owne people: & after yͭ they came to mās eſtate, he named them Janizari (that is to ſay) ſouldiours of a ſtraunge countrey, and made them to garde his perſon. They weare on their head in ſtead of an helmet, a white attire made of the groſſeſt ſort of wooll, and is ſo manifold about their head, that it can not be pierced with a ſword. It hangeth downe on the backe with a taple, and before on the forehead it is garniſhed with gold and ſiluer. They were wont to vſe bowes and launces in the fielde, but now they vſe dagges as our horſemen do.

A lamentable ſlauery of Chriſten mens children vnder the turke.

At the firſt inſtitution there were but. 8000. in their garriſon, but now they be twiſe ſo many. This of all bondage and ſeruitude that the Chriſtians ſuffer vnder the Turke, is moſt intollerable & greatly to be of all true Chriſtians lamented. For what can godly myndes behold more to their grief, then to ſee their children pulled from the fayth of Chriſt, wherein they were baptiſed, and by whoſe bloud they ſhould eternally be ſaued, and to be inſtructed and nouriſhed with the blaſphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and to be profeſſed enemyes of Chriſt and his Churche, to make warre agaynſt heauen, and to periſh euerlaſtyngly? And finally what a lamentable thyng is it, to ſee and behold our owne children borne of our own bodyes, to become our mortall and cruell enemyes, and to cut our throtes with their owne handes? This ſeruitude of mynde is farre greater then death it ſelfe, which if our Princes would well conſider, it would cauſe them the rather to agree, and bende their whole force and power agaynſt this cruell enemy.

¶Mahumetes ſecond, the ix. after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the ix. turke after Ottomannus.

The tyranny of Mahumetes in murderyng his brethren.

AMurathes left behind him iij. ſonnes, Mahumete borne of the daughter of Deſpota, prince of Seruia, beyng. 20. yeares of age. The ij. ſōne called Turcines. The iij. named Calepinus. This Turcines beyng an infant, and but. 18. monethes old, was ſtrangled at the commaundement of the Turke, by his ſeruaunt Moſes, himſelfe beyng there preſent and beholdyng the horrible murther. And when Moſes the executour of the murther had deſired him not to pollute his handes with the bloud of his brother: hee aunſwered that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other brethren beyng deſtroyed, none ſhould be left alyue but one to gouerne the Empire. Wherefore Moſes was commaunded by the tyraunt, there preſently and in his ſight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact whē the mother of the child vnderſtood, ſhe cryng out and almoſt mad for ſorrow, curſed the tyraunt to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her requeſt beyng deſirous to be reuenged vpon the executour of her ſonnes death, deliuered the ſayd Moſes bounde into her handes: who then in the preſence of the tyraunt, thruſt him to the hart with a knife, and openyng his ſide, tooke out his lyuer and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured.

Halibaſſa a traytour to his maiſter.

Horrible paricide of the abhominable turke.

Gods prouidēce cā fetch out of the deuils mouth whom he liſte to ſaue. Note here Gods puniſhment vpon the betrayer of innocēt bloud.

The thyrd ſonne called Calepinus, which was but. vj. monethes old, the foreſayd Amurathes his father commended to the cuſtody of Halibaſſa one of his Nobles. Who to gratifie and pleaſe the tyrant, betrayed the infant & brought him vnto him, and therupon he at the tyraunts commaundement was ſtrangled. Some affirme that in the ſteade of Calepinus, an other child was offered vnto the tyrāt, and that Calepinus was conueyed to Conſtantinople, and after the takyng of Conſtantinople, was caryed to Venice and then to Rome to Pope Calixte, where he was baptiſed, and afterward came into Germany to Fridericke the Emperour, and there was honorably entertained and kept in Auſtriche duryng his lyfe. Where note how the mercyfull prouidence of God, whom he lyſt to ſaue, can fetch out of the deuils mouth. And note moreouer touchyng the foreſayd Halibaſſa the betrayer of the infant, how he eſcaped not vnreuenged: For Mahumet vnderſtandyng him to be a man of great ſubſtaunce and richeſſe, through forgyng of falſe crimes, with great tormentes put him to death to haue his richeſſe: for this tyraunt was geuen to inſatiable auarice. Thus this bloudy Mahumete began his regiment with horrible murther, after the example of other curſed tyrants his predeceſſours.

Although this Mahumete notwithſtanding that he came of a Chriſten mother beyng the daughter of Deſpota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and inſtructed from his childhode in the precepts of Chriſtian religiō and maners: yet he ſoone forgetting all, gaue himſelfe to Mahumetes religion, and yet ſo, that he beyng addicted to neyther Religion, became an Atheiſte, beleuing and worſhippyng no God at all, but onely the Goddeſſe of good Fortune, irridyng and mockyng the myndes & iudgementes of men, which beleue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the ſtate of humaine thinges on earth.

Mahumete firſt ſetteth vpon Athens.

The fury of Mahumete the turke agaynſt the Citie and ſchoole of Athens.

Athens deſtroyed.

After that thys Mahumete heard of the victories and conqueſtes of other hys predeceſſours, and had vnderſtandyng how Baiazetes lay 8. yeares about Conſtantinople, and could not winne it: he diſpraiſing Baiazetes, & diſdaynyng that ſo long tyme ſhould be ſpent about the ſiege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his ſtudy & deuiſe how to ſubdue the ſame. But firſt hauing a priuye hatred agaynſt the Citye of Athens, and hauyng hys handes lately embrued wyth the bloud of hys brethren: thys murthering Mahumete firſt of all taketh hys viage to ſubuert and deſtroy the Citie aforeſayd, being a famous ſchoole of all good learnyng and diſcipline. Agaynſt the which Citie he did ſo furiouſly rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to ſuffer the foundation thereof to ſtand, becauſe that citie was a good nourſe & foſterer of good Artes and Sciences. Wherefore he commaunded the Citie to be raſed and vtterly ſubuerted: and whereſoeuer any monumentes or bookes could be found, he cauſed them to be caſt into durtye ſinkes and the filthyeſt places of the Citie, or put to the moſt vile vſes that could be deuiſed for extirping and aboliſhyng of all good literature. And if he vnderſtoode any to lament the caſe and ruine of that noble place, thoſe he greuouſly puniſhed and put to death.

The ſiege and takyng of Conſtantinople.

Vide ſupra pag. 684.

Three cauſes ſpeciall noted in the winning of Conſtantinople.

Ex Ioanne Ramo lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 675.

Thus the famous and auncient ſchoole of Athens beyng deſtroyed and ouerthrowne, he returned hys armie and power into Thracia, where in all haſt he gathering his power together both by ſea and by land, wyth a mighty multitude compaſſed the Citie of Conſtantinople about, and began to lay hys ſiege agaynſt it, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. and in the 54. day of the ſayd ſiege it was taken, ſacked, and the Emperour Conſtantinus ſlayne. As touching the crueltie and fearceneſ of the Turkes in gettyng of this Citye, and what ſlaughter there was of men, women, & children, what calamitie and miſery was there to be ſeene, for ſomuch as ſufficient relation, wyth a full deſcription thereof, hath bene made before, pag. 684. it ſhalbe ſuperfluous now to repeate the ſame. This onely is not to be omitted touching three principall cauſes of the ouerthrow of this city: wherof was yͤ firſt the filthy auarice of thoſe Citizens, which hyding their treaſures in the ground, would not imploy the ſame to the neceſſary defence of their Citye. For ſo I finde it in ſtory expreſſed, that when the Turke, after the takyng of the Citye, had found not ſo much treaſure as he looked for, ſuſpectyng wyth hymſelfe (as the truth was) the treaſures and riches to be hydden vnder the ground, cōmaunded the earth to be digged vp, and the foundations of the houſes to be ſearched: where when he had found treaſures incredible, what (quoth he) how could it be that this place could euer lacke munition and fortification, which did flow and abound wyth ſuch great riches as here is, & plenty of all thynges? The ſecond cauſe was the abſence of the nauy of yͤ Venetians, which if they had bene ready in tyme, might haue bene a ſafegard agaynſt the inuaſion of the enemyes. A third cauſe alſo may be gathered vpon occaſion incident in ſtories, eyther for that the Citye of Conſtantinople, xv. yeares before, dyd yelde to the Byſhop of Rome, as is before to be ſene. pag. 675. or els becauſe (as in ſome wryters it is euident) that Images were there receaued and mayntemed in their Churches, and by the Turkes the ſame tyme deſtroyed.

Ex Ramo.

An image of the Crucifixe in Conſtantinople.

What offences be geuen to the infidels, by Images in Chriſtian Churches.

Joannes Ramus wryting of the deſtruction of this citye, amongeſt other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifixe, beyng there in the high temple of Sophia: which Image the Turke tooke, and wrytyng thys ſuperſcription vpon the head of it: hic eſt Chriſtianorum Deus. i. thys is the God of the Chriſtians, gaue it to hys ſouldiours to be ſcorned, and cōmaundyng the ſayd Image with a trumpet to be caryed through all hys armye, made euery man to ſpitte at it moſt contumeliouſly. Wherein thou haſt (good reader) by the way to note, what occaſion of ſclaunder and offence we Chriſtians gaue vnto the barbarous infidels by thys our vngodly ſuperſtition in hauyng Images in our temples, contrary vnto the expreſſe commaundement of God in his word. For if S. Paule writyng to the Corinthians ſayth: we know Chriſt now no more after the fleſh: how much leſſe then is Chriſt to be knowen of vs in blynd ſtockes and Images ſet vp in our Temples, ſeruyng for none other purpoſe but for the infidels to laugh both vs and our God to ſcorne, and to prouoke Gods vengeaunce? Which by the like example (I feare) may alſo fall vpon other Cities, where ſuch Images and Idolatrous ſuperſtition is mainteyned: whereof God graunt Vienna to take heede betyme, whiche hath bene ſo long, and yet is in ſuch great daunger of the Turke, and polluted with ſo many Images and playne Idolatry.

Vienna admoniſhed.

The cruell murther by the turkes in the citie of Conſtantinople.

In ſumma to make the ſtory ſhort, ſuch was the crueltie of theſe Turkes in wynnyng the Citie, that whē Mahumete had geuen licence to the ſouldiours three dayes together, to ſpoyle, to kill and to do whatſoeuer they liſted, there was no corner in all Cōſtantinople, which did not either flow with Chriſtian bloud, or els was polluted with abhominable abuſing of maydes, wyues & matrones, without al reuerence of nature. Of the which Citizēs, ſome they murthered: ſome they roſted vpon ſpittes: of ſome they flayed of their ſkinne, hāgyng them vp to conſume with famine: of other ſome they put ſalt into their woūdes, the more terribly to torment them: Inſomuch that one of them contended with an other, who could deuiſe moſt ſtraunge kyndes of new tormentes and puniſhmentes, exerciſing ſuch crueltye vpon them, that the place where the City was before, ſemed now to be no Citie, but a ſlaughter houſe or ſhambles of Chriſtian mens bodyes. Among the dead bodyes, the body alſo of Conſtantine the Emperour was founde: whoſe head beyng brought to Mahumete, he commaunded to be caryed vpon a ſpeare through the whole Citie for a publike ſpectacle & deriſion to all the Turkiſh armye. And becauſe he would diminiſhe the number of the captiues, which ſemed to hym to be very great, he neuer roſe from his table, but he put euery day ſome of the nobles to death, no leſſe to fill his cruell mynde with bloud, then his body was filled with wyne: which he vſed ſo long to do as any of the nobles of that Citie was left alyue: And of the other ſort alſo, as the ſtoryes do credibly report, there paſſed no day, in the which he dyd not orderly ſlay more then three hundreth perſons: the reſidue he gaue to his raſcall ſouldiours to kill and do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Conſtantinus the ſonne of Helena, was the firſt Emperour of Conſtantinople, ſo Conſtantinus, the ſonne alſo of Helena, was the laſt Emperour thereof.

A lamentable deſtruction of the Citie of Conſtantinople.

The bloudy crueltie of the turke againſt the Chriſtian captiues.

The citie of Pera yeldeth it ſelfe for feare to the turke.

Not farre from the ſayd Citie of Conſtantinople there was an other litle Citie called Pera and once called Gallatia, ſituated by the Sea ſide: who hearyng of the miſerable deſtruction of Conſtantinople and ſeyng the Citie flamyng with fire, ſent certaine of their chief mē with ſpede to Mahumete, declaryng vnto hym that they neither had ſent any helpe to the Citie of Conſtantinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his army: wherfore they deſired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yeld vnto hym, ſo he would be fauourable vnto them and ſpare them, and not to puniſh the giltles with the gilty. Mahumete, although he was not ignoraunt that for feare, rather then of any good will, they ſubmitted themſelues, and that they would rather reſiſt him if they had bene hable, yet he receiued for that tyme, the ſubmiſſion of the meſſengers: but ſendyng with them his Embaſſadour into the Citie, he commaunded alſo his army to follow withall, and to enter with hym into the Citie. Which although it was greatly ſuſpected & miſliked of the Citizēs, yet they durſt no otherwiſe do, but ſuffer them to enter: whiche beyng done, the Embaſſadour gaue a ſigne to the ſouldiours, euery man to do what ſoeuer he was bydden. Of whom ſome came to the walles: ſome to the temples and Churches: ſome to the ſtreetes & houſes of the Citie, pluckyng all thynges downe to the ground ſackyng and rauiſhyng with no leſſe fury and abhominable filthynes, then they had done at Conſtantinople before, ſauyng onely that they abſtayned frō murther: but the ſame day letters came from Mahumete to the Embaſſadour that he ſhould ſpare none, but deſtroy & murther all that euer were in the Citie. Which meſſage, becauſe it ſeemed to the Embaſſadour to be to cruel, for ſomuch as they had yelded themſelues, he ſtayed his hand a litle vntill night came. In the meane tyme drunken Mahumete commyng ſomethyng to himſelfe (whom drunkennes had before ouercome) ſent his ſecond letters to reuoke the firſt. Where agayne is to be no-
„ ted the mercyfull prouidence of God towardes his people in
„ their deſerued plagues, by ſtaying the handes and bridlyng
„ the fury many tymes of their enemyes, when otherwiſe the
„ caſe ſeemeth to be paſt all remedy.

The citie of Pera ſpoyled.

Drouncken Mahumete falſe of promiſe.

The mercifull prouidence of God in ſauing his people.

Mahumete thus beyng in himſelfe not a litle aduaunced and eleuated by the wynnyng of Conſtantinople, where he had now made the Imperiall ſeat of the Turkiſh dominion, the third yeare next folowyng, to aduenture more maiſtries, he ſet out to the ſiege of Belgradum a Citie of Hungary, lying neare to the bankes of Danubius, thinkyng to haue the like ſucceſſe there, as he had in the wynnyng of Conſtantinople: albeit through the Lordes diſpoſing, it fell out much otherwiſe. Within the Citie of Belgradum the ſame tyme of the ſiege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades the valiaunt Captaine, of whom in diuers places mention hath bene made before, who with a ſufficient ſtrength of pyked ſouldiours, albeit in number nothing equall to the Turkes army, valiauntly defended the City with great courage and no leſſe ſucceſſe. In the which ſiege great diligence was beſtowed, and many of the Turkes ſlayne. Among whom alſo Mahumete himſelfe, beyng ſtricken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was fayne to be caried out of the field for halfe dead, & the reſt ſo put to flight, that of the Turkes the ſame tyme were deſtroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of. 40. thouſand, beſides the loſſe of all their ordinaunce, which the Turkes in haſt of their flight, were forced to leaue behynd them.

Conſtantinople made the imperiall ſeat of the turke.

The ſiege of Belgradum in Hungary. Ioan. Huniades.

4000. turkes ſlayne at the ſiege of Belgradum.

Hieronymus Zieglerus writyng of the ſiege of this Belgradum, addeth moreouer, that whē Mahumete was at the ſiege therof, ſeyng the towne to be ſo ſmal and weake of it ſelfe, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he ſtaryng and faring like a mad man, commaunded all his braſen peeces to be layde, to battare downe the walles and Towers of the Towne: So that the Chriſtians within the walles were vehemently diſtreſſed, for the ſiege continued both night and day without intermiſſion. Amōg the reſt of the Chriſtians which defended the towne, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certaine Bohemian, much worthy of his condigne commendation: who beyng vpon the walles, and ſeyng a Turke with a banner or enſigne of the Turkes to be gotten vp, by the ſight wherof the whole Towne was in daunger to be conquered and taken, rūneth vnto the Turke, and claſpyng him about the midle, ſpeakyng to Iohn Capiſtranus ſtandyng vp low, aſkyng hym whether it were any daunger of dānation to hym, if he of his voluntary mynde, dyd caſt himſelfe with that dogge (ſo he termed hym) downe headlong from the wall, to be ſlayne with him: what ſhould become of his ſoule, and whether he might be ſaued or not. To whom whē the other had aunſwered that he ſhould be ſaued without doubt, he eftſoones tombleth himſelfe with the Turke, downe of the wall, where by his death he ſaued the ſame tyme, the lyfe of all the Citie. Mahumete being ſo wounded and in diſpayre of wynnyng the Citie, was caryed (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length commyng agayne to himſelfe, partly for feare and partly for ſhame, was ready to kill himſelfe. And thus was the Towne of Belgradum at that tyme reſcued through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de illuſtrib. viris Germa. c. 98.

The noble acte of a Bohemian in defence of his coūtrey.

The towne of Belgradū valiauntly defended fro the turke.

This ſiege of Belgradū began in the yeare of the Lord. 1456. and endured. 46. dayes. At the which ſiege were numbred of the Turkes. 200. thouſād. Of whom more then. 40. thouſand (as is aforeſayd) were ſlayne: where the victory fell to the Chriſtians through the proſperous ſucceſſe geuē of God to Ioannes Huniades, & Capiſtranus. Whiche Huniades not lōg after the ſayd victory, through the importune labour and trauaile in defendyng the ſayd Towne, was taken with a ſore ſicknes, and therof departed, to whoſe valiaunt prowes and ſingular courage, ſtories do geue great laude and commendation.

200. thouſand turkes at the ſiege of Belgradum.

The deceaſe of Ioannes Huniades.

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe, returned into Aſia to warre with Vſumcaſſanes a Perſian, one of the Turkes ſtocke, with whō he had three battailes. The firſt was about the Riuer Euphrates, where the Turke loſt 10. thouſād men, and was put to the worſe. In the ſecond field likewiſe he was diſcomfited. The third battaile was at Arſenga, where through the terrible noyſe of the braſen peeces, the Perſian horſes diſturbed the campe, and ſo was Vſumcaſſanes ouercome.

The turkes warre agaynſt *Vſumcaſſanes*.

From thence the Turke reduced agayne his power agaynſt the Chriſtians, and firſt ſubdued vnto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: Alſo the kyngdome of Trapezunce, which he beſiegyng both by land and water, wanne frō the Chriſtians, and ſent Dauid the kyng of the ſame with his two ſonnes & Calus his vncle, vnto Conſtantinople, where they were miſerably & cruelly put to death, and all the ſtocke of the Comnent, whiche were of the kynges ſtocke, by the Turke were deſtroyed. Which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1459. at which tyme this miſchieuous Mahumete was firſt ſaluted Emperour.

The turke agayne returneth agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezūtius gotten of the turkes.

Dauid Emperour of Trapezūtius with his ij. ſonnes and vncle cruelly killed of the turke.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Corinthus & Mitylene, not without great ſlaughter of Chriſten men:

In

Corinthus, Mitylene, Leſbos, Lemnus ſubdued of the turke.

in ſomuch that the whole Citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the grounde almoſt deſtroyed. The Iles alſo of Lemnus and Leſbos he wanne from the Venetians: In the which Iland of Leſbos is the Citie of Mitylene aforeſayd.

The falſehoode of the wretched turke againſt the prince of Myſia.

The crueltie of the turke agaynſt the king of Myſia.

Not farre from this Ile of Leſbos and Mitylene, there is a countrey in Aſia toward the ſea ſide bordering next to Europe, called Myſia, or of ſome called Mœſia, wherein ſtode the City of Troye. This countrey Mahumete coueting to wynne rather by policie and falſhode, then by doubtfull daunger of warre, ſecretly ſent for the Prince therof to come to ſpeake with him for certaine cauſes (as he pretended) whiche ſhould concerne the profite and commoditie of them both. Which whē the kyng of Myſia, either for ſhame would not, or for feare durſt not denye, he came to him as to conferre vpon neceſſary affaires in common to them appertaynyng. Mahumete when hee had brought that to paſſe whiche he would, he cauſed the kyng to be apprehended, & cruelly to be ſlayne, or rather torne in peeces: and ſo inuadyng the land of Myſia, exerciſed the like tyranny vpon all his kynred and affinitie.

The ſiege of Chalcis in Euboia.

The cruell tyranny of the turke agaynſt the Citie of Chalcis.

Ex Ioanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis.

The noble ſtratageme of women in defendyng that Citie.

This Myſia by fraude beyng taken and loſt, Mahumete ſpedeth agayne toward Europe, where he aſſayled the Iland Euboia, otherwayes called Nigroponte, makyng a bridge of a marueilous frame ouer the Sea Euripus, to cōuey ouer his army out of Grecia, and there layde his ſiege to the Citie Chalcis, which at length in. 30. dayes he ouercame, not without a great ſlaughter of his army: who in the ſiege therof is ſayd to haue loſt. 40. thouſād of the Turkes. But the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians was greater: for when the Citie was wonne, the tyraunt commaunded moſt cruelly, none to be ſpared within the whole Citie, but to be put to the ſword, whoſoeuer was aboue the age of. xx. yeares. This cruelty was ſhewed of the barbarous tyraūt for anger and fury, becauſe ſuch a number of his Turkes were ſlayne at the ſiege therof, beyng rekened (as is ſayd) to 40. thouſand. In the fierce ſiege of this Citie, it is memorable that is in ſtoryes recorded, how that the women of that Citie ſeyng the men to begyn to faynt, and the Citie to lye in preſent daunger, tooke the matter themſelues in hand, and playing the men, went to the walles, and there defended the Citie with no leſſe trouble to the enemy, then the men had before done, and ſo for a ſpace continued, ſo long as any mās ſtrength and diligence could do any good. A great cauſe of the loſſe of this Citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timiditie of the Venetians nauy: who beyng there preſent, and hauyng proſperous wynd, yet durſt not, or would not aduenture vpon the Turkes bridge. whiche if they had done, the Iland of Euboia & Chalcis, had not ſo ſoone bene ouermatched of the Turkes.

Peloponeſus, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, Chriſten prouinces in Grecia, ſubdued of the turke.

Thus all the Eaſtpartes of Grecia beyng ſubdued to the Turkiſh tyraunt, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, & Euboia, ſhortly after folowed alſo Peloponeſus, brought in lyke ſubiection to the Turke. Within this Peloponeſus were theſe prouinces conteyned, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Archadia. &c. The Venetiās in this Peloponeſus had great poſſeſſions, and had made vp the wall agayne toward the Sea ſide, neare to the ſtreites of Corinthe before mentioned, where for the more ſpede of the worke, they had. 30. thouſand workemen to the buildyng therof. Which whē it came to the knowledge of the Turke, he braſt into the countrey of Peloponeſus with an army of 80. thouſand, and firſt waſtyng the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and makyng a great ſlaughter of the Venetians, in ſhorte tyme he brought the whole dominion of Peloponeſus vnder his yoke and tribute.

Capha taken of the turke.

The counſaile of Scanderbeius, how to fight agaynſt the turke.

A notable example of ſingular courage in a Captayne.

The commendation of Scanderbeius agaynſt the Turkes.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumete gotten agaynſt the Chriſtians both by land and ſea: who after he had ouercome the Ile Leſbos aboue mentioned, and had cruelly ſlayne Nicolaus Cataluſius the Prince therof, turnyng his army toward the ſea of Pontus Euxinus, got the country of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken betwene Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turke for ten yeares: which truce beyng expired, Mahumete leaueth no tyme vnſpent, no diligence vnſought, but maketh all hys power to Epyrus and Albania. which he after long fatigation of ſiege, at length ouercame and ſubdued. In the which tract alſo he wanne from the Venetians, Scodra, Lyſſon and Dinaſtrium. Notwithſtandyng when Scanderbeius the valiaunt Captaine had done agaynſt the Turke what in mans ſtrength dyd lye, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, ſeyng no poſſibilitie to make his partie good, was forced to depart his countrey as an exile, & wente to Italy, and there beyng ſent for by the Popes letters, openly declared not to be poſſible otherwiſe to reſiſt ẏ furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the ſtrength of any one kyng or prince, vnleſſe all Europe, with one cōſent ſhould ioyne their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius a man of puiſſaunt courage, beyng driue out of hys countrey, continued hys age in exile. Whoſe courage and vehemencie is reported to haue bene ſuch, that in fightyng agaynſt the barbarous enemy, for very egernes of ſpirite, hys bloud was ſeene to burſt out of hys lippes. It is teſtified alſo of hym, that beyng prouoked, he neither denied to fight, and in hys fightyng neuer turned his backe, neyther yet was euer wounded, but onely once wyth a lyght ſhaft in hys foote, neither euer ſet againſt the Turke with moe then 6000. horſemen and 3000. footemen: who is ſayd wyth his owne hand to haue ſlayne aboue 2000. turkes, whom wyth ſuch violence he did ſtrike, that many of them he did cleaue a ſunder from the head to the middle.

Mathias the ſonne of Huniades.

Neyther yet was the vnſatiable gredines of thys turkiſhe helhounde wyth all thys ſatiſfied, but ſtill he conceiued greater thynges in hys mynde, thynking to conquere the whole worlde, and ſo paſſing forward towardes Europe, ſubdued all Illyria, ſlaying Stephanus the king of Boſna, about the yeare of our Lord 1463. But afterward Mathias Coruinus ẏ ſonne of Huniades afore mētioned, recouered againe the ſayd kingdome of Boſna with many other Cities neare vnto Croacia and Dalmatia, and moreouer repulſed Mahumete the Turke in hys ſecond ſiege of Iaiza, takyng hys tentes and munitions left behynde hym.

Stiria, Carinthia, taken of the turke.

Moreouer, the ſayd Mahumete paſſing vnto Walachia, ſet vpon Dracula the prince thereof, by which Dracula although he had no great power of ſouldiours, yet he ſo incloſed and enuironed the Turke, that he had almoſt loſt his whole armye, of whom a great part notwithſtanding was deſtroyed, and many of hys enſignes taken. Into Dalmatia was ſent two captaynes of the Turke, who fightyng agaynſt the prouinces of the Venetians, made great ſpoile and waſte about the regions of Stiria & Carinthia: where alſo the Venetian power was diſcomfited, & Hieronimus Nouell their captayne ſlayne. At length truce was taken betwene the Turke & the Venetians, vpon thys condition that Scodra, Tenarus and Lemnus ſhould be yelded vnto hym, and that they ſhoulde pay to hym yearely 8. thouſand duckettes for the free paſſage of their marchaundiſe.

Rhodes beſieged.

Leucadia. Chephalenia, Zacinthus, Fauelona, taken of the turke.

The pope flyeth for feare of the turke.

Hydruntū taken.

Theſe two Empires were Conſtantinople and Trapezunce.

After thys peace concluded wyth the Venetians, Mahumete hymſelfe ſayleth ouer into Aſia, ſendyng two of his great captaynes abroad to ſundry places: of whom Meſithes was ſent agaynſt ẏ Rhodes, w̄ a mighty nauie. The other called Acomates Baſſa was ſent into Italie to take Rome and all the Weſt Empyre. Concernyng the viage of which two captaynes, thys was the euent: that Meſithes after hys great trauayle and bloudy ſiege againſt the Rhodians, was fayne to retyre at length with great ſhame and loſſe. The other captayne Acomates (as is ſayd) was ſent into Italie, with a nauie of a hundreth ſhippes and 15. thouſand men. Who by the way in hys ſaylyng gotte Leucadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia, and Zacynthus, and ſaylyng by Fauelona, arriued in Apulia, & ſo paſſing a long by the ſea ſide, ſpoyled & waſted diuers partes by the coaſt, tyll at length he came to Hydruntum, a Citie of Calabria in Italie, which after long ſiege he ouercame and ſubdued, and brought ſuch a terrour into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other thynges, yet myndfull of hymſelfe, wyth all haſt fled out of Rome. After the Citie of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turkes placed in the ſame, which was the yeare of our Lord 1481. Mathias Coruinus Huniades ſonne was ſent for by ẏ Italians to ſet vpon the ſayde Citie: vnto the reſcue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his returne with 25. thouſand Turkes, in the meane tyme newes came ẏ Mahumete the great Turke was dead: by reaſon whereof the ſiege brake vp, and the Citie was deliuered to the Italians agayne, and ſo was Italy deliuered at that time, out of that preſent perill and daunger. Thys Mahumete wanne from the Chriſtians 200. Cities, and 12. kyngdomes: And two Empires, which he ioyned both together. He dyed in the yeare aboue ſayd, an. 1481.

¶ Baiazetes ſecond, the 10. after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes aforeſayd had three ſonnes. Of the which, Muſtapha the eldeſt, through voluptuouſnes and carnall luſt, dyed before hys father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwiſe called Zizimus. About whom great controuerſie aroſe amongeſt the turkes, which of them ſhould ſuccede in their fathers kyngdome: For neyther of them was preſent at Conſtantinople whē Ma-

humete

humetes dyed, Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycaonia, wherfore when great diſſenſion was among the nobles for the ſucceſſion, and great ſtrife and bloudſhed for the matter, the Janizarites, whiche were the Turkes garde, dyd proclayme Baiazetes Emperour: others in the abſence of Baiazetes the father, did chuſe Corcuthus hys ſonne. Baiazetes the father commyng at length from Cappadocia, partly through yeldyng, partly by corruptyng with money, got the wils of the Janizarites & was made emperour. Demes the other brother beyng in Lycaonia more neare, although he made no leſſe ſpede in his commyng, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Conſtantinople. wherefore he beyng put backe from all hope of hys kyngdome, incited by ſome of his frendes, moued warre agaynſt his brother. who beyng ouercome in three battayles by Acomates Baiazetes Captaine, who had got Hydruntum before, dyd flye to the great Maiſter of the Rhodes leauyng in a place called Carræ, his mother and two young children, whom Baiazetes ſlue.

Of theſe Janizarites, read before pag. 717.

Baiazetes ſlayeth his brothers and mother, and his two nephewes.

This Demes beyng with the maiſter of the Rhodes, was deſired firſt of Pope Innocẽt the fourth then of Lodouicus the ſecond, French kyng, but eſpecially of Mathias Coruinus, kyng of Hungary, entendyng by hym to obteine great victory agaynſt Baiazetes. But in concluſion the Knightes of the Rhodes ſent hym to the Byſhop of Rome, where he beyng kept & afterwardes ſent to Charles the viij. French kyng, for an hoſtage of Pope Alexander the vj. was poyſoned by the way at Terracina, by the ſayd Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whoſe death Baiazetes, to requite the foreſayd Acomates for hys good ſeruice, put him to the halter, partly miſdoubtyng his power, partly for lucre ſake to haue his treaſure: whoſe death redounded to the great profite of the Chriſtians, for ſo much as he was euer an vtter enemy to the Religion and name of Chriſt.

Read before pag. 709.

Falſe treaſon worthely recompenſed.

Baiazetes thus beyng confirmed in his tyranny, made his firſt expedition agaynſt Walachia, where he ſubdued two great fortes, one called Lithoſtomus, the other called Moncaſtrum. From thence hee remoued his power, takyng his viage into Aſia, thinkynge to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypt, which had ſuccoured and entertained before his brother Demes againſt him, where he loſt two great battailes, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarſus: but ſpecially at the fielde at Tarſus the army of the Turke tooke ſuch a wound, that of a. 100. thouſand brought into the field, ſcarſe ye third part remained vnſlayne. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were ſuccourers of Demes aforeſayd, yet Baiazetes (whether for feare, or for ſubtiltie) abſteyned to prouoke them with warre, but rather entred with them the league of peace, requiring the Maiſter of the Rhodes to kepe his brother ſafe vnder his cuſtody, promiſing for his yearely ſalary, to be payed vnto hym euery yeare in the moneth of Auguſte. 45000. duckettes.

Lithoſtomus. Moncaſtrum, Chriſtian fortes ſubdued of the turke.

The turke ouerthrowen at Tarſus.

Thus Baiazetes beyng ouerthrowne and terrified with euill lucke fightyng agaynſt the Sultane of Egypt, remoued from Aſia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium neare vnto Velona, and had a great victory ouer the Chriſtian army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatians ioynyng their power together, encountred with the Turke and loſt the field, about the yeare of our Lord. 1493.

Dyrrachium taken of the turke.

From thence the Turke leadyng his army agaynſt the Venetians had with them diuers and doubtfull conflictes, where the Turke ſometymes was put to the worſe, and ſometymes agayne preuailyng, out of Jadra and diuers other Cities about Dalmatia, caried away great multitudes of Chriſtians into captiuitie, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1498.

The turke agaynſt the Venetians.

The Chriſtians caryed away captiues.

Two yeares after this, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1500. Baiazetes with. 150. thouſãd armed men, entred into Peloponeſus, whiche although Mahumete had expugned before, yet the Venetiãs had defended Methone, otherwiſe called Modõ, all this while agaynſt the Turkes. Whiche Methone the Turke beſieged with three armyes, hauing about the walles. 500. great braſen Canõs, whereof. 22. were moſt violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the Citie both day and night: but the Citizens, whiche were within the Citie, committing themſelues to God defended their Citie as well as they could, rather chuſing to dye then to yeld vnto the Turkes tyrãny. But the Turke preuailyng, and they not hable to withſtand the ſiege, the Chriſtians conuented together into a certaine houſe prepared for the purpoſe, both men, women, and childrẽ, where they ſettyng the houſe on fire, gaue themſelues rather to be burned, then to come into the tyraunts handes. Certeyne women alſo with their children, caſt themſelues headlong into ye ſea, by that meanes to auoyde the Turkiſh captiuitie. Some writers there be which affirme that the Methonians, ſeyng fiue great ſhyps of ye Venetians cõmyng with men & vittailes toward them, iſſued downe from the walles to the Sea ſide to receaue them, which were all taken captiues beyng aboue the number of a thouſand: whiche all beyng tyed with long ropes, were brought before the tyraunt and in his ſight were cruelly ſlayne, except certeine Nobles whom Cherſeogles ſonne in law to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amõgeſt whom was Andreas Gritto. The Citie of Coron, and alſo Pilus Cities in Grece beyng terrified with the example of the Methonians, yelded themſelues to the power of the Turkes. Criſſeum otherwiſe called Caput Sãcti Galli, was expugned by Cherſeogles, by force of gunnes.

Peloponeſus agayne inuaded by the turke.

Methone taken of the turkes, and miſerably deſtroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Criſſeum, yelded to the turkes.

These thynges thus atchieued, although Baiazetes went away victor vnto Cõſtantinople, yet notwithſtãdyng the Venetians, through the helpe of the kynges of Frãce and Spayne, had wonne from the Turke Chephalenia an Jland very commodious for their trafficke: Alſo had gottẽ other ij. Jlandes Leucas & Nericus, otherwiſe called Sancta Maura, ſlayng all the garriſon of the Turkes. But afterward peace beyng taken betwene the Venetians and the Turke, by the counſaile of Andreas Gitto aforeſayde, the Turkes ſo agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Jlandes aboueſayd ſhould be rendred vnto the Turke, and the Venetians ſhould kepe ſtill the poſſeſſion of Chephalenia.

Chephalenia, Leucas, Nericus, Jlandes recouered of the turkes by the Venetians.

Vnto this league the Turke did the rather condeſcend, for that he had to mainteine warre agaynſt Iſmaell Sophus in Aſia, kyng of Perſia: which Sophus was ſtyrred vp by Gods prouidẽce to warre with this Baiazetes, wherby the Chriſtian Churches in Europe might haue ſome breathyng tyme, and fredome from the Turkes cruell tyranny & bloudſhed. This Sophus was a valiaunt Turke, who with great power and victoryes had ouer rũne a great compaſſe of the Eaſt partes of Aſia: then paſſyng from Aſſiria into Media, and returnyng agayne into Armenia, he made warre agaynſt the Albanians, Hiberians, and Scythians, and from thence commyng vnto Aſia Minor, encountred with Corcuthus Baiazetes ſonne, and afterward commyng to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Baſſa, Baiazetes Captaine, whom he ouercame and put to flight, and afterward tooke hym alyue and his wife priſoners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibaſſa an other Captaine of the Turkes, whom Techelles one of the ſayd Sophus Captaines meetyng in the playne of Galatia dyd withſtãd, and ſo by the way ſlue Caragius the Captaine and hanged him vpon a pole in the ſight of Halibaſſa, whiche Halibaſſa ſhortly after was ſlayne in warre, and his army ſcattered and put to flight.

Truce betwene the Venetians & the turke.

Warre betwene Sophus and Baiazetes.

Caragius the turkes captaine taken priſoner and ſlayne of Sophus.

Halibaſſa the turkes captayne ſlayne.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods Juſtice and prouidence, were theſe turkes kept occupyed, & ſo came it to paſſe, that theſe barbarians being blaſphemous againſt the ſonne of God ſhould thus horribly runne one to the deſtruction of an other, beyng worthely puniſhed with mutuall ſlaughter & bloudſhed for their impietie and blaſphemie agaynſt Chriſt and his Religiõ, wherby in the meane tyme ſome reſt was geuen to the Chriſtians.

Reſt geuen to the Chriſtians by the diſcorde of the turkes.

Baiazetes partly by theſe victories diſcouraged, partly diſeaſed and languiſhyng of the goute, and partly alſo broken with age, findyng himſelfe vnweldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kyngdome, began to haue talke with hys nobles about the chuſing of one to ſucceede hym. The occaſion whereof miniſtred much matter of inward warres amõgeſt the Turkes. This Baiazetes had in all vj. ſonnes, wherof three dyed before him and three yet were left alyue, to witte, Acomates, Corcuthus and Zelymus. Baiazetes himſelfe had moſt mynde to Acomates, but the chiefeſt of his nobles dyd fauour rather Zelymus: who through their traiterous incitation prouoked hym to ſtyrre warre agaynſt his father: and notwithſtandyng that he was ouercome in warre, yet through interceſſion he was reconciled agayne to his father, and afterward proclaymed agayne Emperour agaynſt his fathers will, through the helpe & fauour of the ſouldiours, imbruyng the firſt beginnyng of his kyngdome, with the murtheryng of his owne father. The ſtory whereof in ſome authours is thus declared.

Zelimus made Emperour agaynſt his fathers will.

After that the Janizarites had perſwaded with Baiazetes for that he hymſelfe was vnweldy, therfore he ſhould do well to conſtitute ſome ſucceſſour, and that he had aſſigned Acomates to ſucceede him, the Janizarites beyng offended with the ſayd Acomates because he would not enlarge their ſtipendes and bribe them, compaſſing about the kynges pallace with their priuie ſwordes whiche they had vnder their garmentes, with a mighty crye, required Zelimus to

What theſe Jantzarites were, read pag. 717.

be appointed for their Emperour. Unto whom when Baiazetes had aunſwered that he had aſſigned Acomates, they refuſed him becauſe he was fatte, groſſe, and vnhable thereunto: but needes would haue Zelymus, which was ſtoute and warlyke, to be made Emperour, and withall drew out their ſwordes cryeng, Zelymus, Zelymus. The Baiazetes geuyng place to their fury, ſhewed himſelfe content to geue them Zelymus: whom the Ienizarites receiuyng, brought him into the pallace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father geuyng place, willed him not to be ſo haſty and furious in hys doynges, but to be modeſt and take heede what he dyd, and not to folow his fury, but to geue place vnto tyme, whiche reuealeth all thynges, and thynke hymſelfe to be a man ſubiect to daungers and ieoperdyes as other men are: and thus ſpeakyng he reſigned his Imperiall throne and ſeate vnto him and went away all heauy, entryng into a certeine order of their Religion. Whereupon folowed great acclamations of the people ſalutyng Zelymus as Emperour. Who then takyng the rule vpon him, begā with great cruelty to gouerne, deſtroying many of his nobles, ſuch as had ſtoode againſt him, ſome with poyſon, ſome by other cruell meanes, and aduauncyng his owne ſide with great honours and promotions.

The counſaile of Baiazetes to his ſonne Zelymus.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus ſetled in his kyngdome, Baiazetes his father entendyng to ſee & proue how he behaued himſelfe in his gouernement, firſt entred into the treaſure houſe, where he founde all his riches to be ſcattered and gone. Afterward he came into his Armorie, where all the ſpoyles gotten by warre were likewiſe waſted: thē entryng into the Iewell houſe, where all his plate and giftes ſent from Kynges and Princes were kept, which likewiſe were diſperſed and geuen away. At length he came into the ſtable, where alſo he ſeyng his principall horſes to be lackyng, ſighed with himſelfe and cryeng vengeaunce vpon him, he prepared himſelfe with the reſidue of the treaſure which was remainyng, to ſayle ouer into Natolia vnto his eldeſt ſonne, and paſſing by an Orchard neare to the Sea ſide, where he had appointed to take ſhyp, in the meane tyme whileſt the ſhyppes were in furniſhyng, he ſat downe vnder a tree and began to curſe his ſonne, and to aſke vengeaunce vpon him, for that he had ſo deſpiſed his father & was become ſo impious a wretch.

The diſpleaſure of Baiazetes againſt his ſonne Zelymus.

Zelymus vnderſtādyng of his fathers departure, came into the Orchard where his father was, ſeemyng to be very heauy, and much lamentyng that his father would ſo priuely depart and go away, ſeyng that he deſired not the gouernement of the Empire, but was contented onely with the title thereof. O father (ſayd he) do not thus priuely depart away: do not procure this ſhame to your ſonne, who ſo tenderly loueth you. Let me haue but the name onely: and be you the Emperour in deede. The end of your naturall life moſt paciently I ſhall expect, which I pray God may long cōtinue. And thus vſing many fayre & flattering wordes to his father, he commaūded a banket ŵ many deinty iunkets, to be brought vnto him, but tempered & infected with poyſon. Which, as ſoone as Baiazetes had begon to taſt of, and felt the ſtrength of the poyſon workyng in his body, he tooke his laſt farewell of his ſonne, and goyng out of the Citie accompanyed with a great retinue of men yellyng and cryeng out in the ſtreetes, in the middle of his iourney fell downe and miſerably dyed: in the yeare of our Lord. 1512. Here mayeſt thou ſee, good Reader, a curſed broode of this Turkiſh generatiō, where the father dyeth in curſing the ſonne, and the ſonne reigneth by poyſonyng his father.

The diſſembling wordes of Zelymus to his father.

Zelymus the ſonne poyſoneth hys father.

¶Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.

Zelymus the 11. after Ottomānus.

After that this wretched Zelymus had exerciſed his barbarous cruelty vpon his father, with like impietie he ſeeketh the deſtruction of his brethren and their children, firſt beginnyng his murther with the fiue children his Nephewes, whiche were the ſonnes of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet alyue, Acomates and Corchutus with their children likewiſe to be deſtroyed. Of whom the one had three ſonnes, whom the father ſent to Zelymus his brother and their vncle, with fayre and gentle wordes to entreate him to be good vnto their father, offeryng to him their duty and ſeruice in all thynges, honoryng him alſo as Emperour. But cruell Zelymus commaunded forthwith his ſayd nephewes to be ſtrangled. The father hearyng of the cruell murther of his ſonnes, leauyng houſe and home, went & hyd himſelfe in moūtaines, where he lyued for a ſpace with herbes and wild hony, but beyng betrayed by one of hys men was brought to Zelymus and ſo was ſtrangled.

The crueltie of Zelymus agaynſt hys father and his brethren.

The crueltie of Zelymus agaynſt hys couſins.

Chriſtophorus Richerius, writyng of theſe matters, ſeemeth ſome thyng to differ from other ſtoryes, and ſayth that Zelymus, after the death of hys brother Corchutus, came to Burſia, where he, vnder the colour of makyng a great triumph, ordeyned a feaſt for his frendes and kinſfolke wherunto were called eſpecially his nephewes: who then at the ende of the feaſt callyng his nephewes aſide (as vnder the pretence of conferring with them ſecretly about his neceſſary affaires) committed them to hys ſeruauntes to bee ſtrangled & put to death. All this while Acomates hys brother, through the helpe and inſtruction of hys mother, was kept out of the tyrantes handes, till at length, after great labour and ſearch made how to get hym, certain forged letters were caſt abroad wherin was conteyned that Acomates, to reuenge the great impietie & ſubdue the tiranny of Zelymus his brother, ſhould ſhew himſelfe abroad. Which if he would do, he ſhould finde frendes enough to take his part. Acomates circumuented with theſe ſubtill traynes, partly for hope of reuengement, partly for deſire of the Empire, ſhewed himſelfe abroad with ſuch power and ſtrength as he had: who beyng ſet vpon incontinent by Zelymus his brother, was ouercome in battaile, and fallyng from his horſe, beyng a man corpulent and groſſe, and his horſe fallyng vppon him, was ſo ouerpreſſed and ſlayne.

In Chriſt. Richerio.

Zelymus the Turke warreth agaynſt hys brother.

Touchyng the death of this Acomates, Munſterus ſomewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreouer and ſayth, that he was not killed with the fall from hys horſe, but ſittyng all diſmayed vpon a ſtone and ſeyng no other remedye but death, deſired the captaine, takyng hys rynges from his fingers, to deliuer the ſame to his brother, deſiryng him that he might not be put to any extreme crueltie of death, but that he gently would ſuffer hym to bee let bloud in the bath and ſo to dye. But Zelymus beyng not ignoraunce of this, ſuborneth preuie tormenters, who byndyng his handes behind him, ŵ their feete caſt him downe vpon the ground, and ſo twiſting his necke with a corde, did ſtrangle him. This Acomates had .ij. ſonnes, who hearyng of the death of their father, dyd flye for ſuccour, the one to Sophus in Perſia, and the other to the Sultane in Egypt.

The crueltie of Zelymus againſt his brother.

The two ſonnes of Acomates flye away from the tyranny of Zelymus the Turke.

By the meanes whereof, new occaſion of warre grewe vnto Zelymus, whereby he was kepte in Aſia at home, to fight agaynſt the Perſians and Egyptians: ſo that through the Lordes prouidence, Chriſtendome by that meanes was deliuered from great daunger and perill of the Turkes tyranny: For otherwyſe, the Turke was wholye mynded, wyth all hys force and puiſſaunce, to inuade the Chriſtians, beyng in doubt whether firſt to beginne wyth Rhodes, or whether to aſſault Pannonia, or els to ſet vpon Italy, beyng then at great diſcorde within it ſelfe: but this cauſe occupied the Turkes mynd otherwiſe and kept him at home. Such was then the prouidence of the Lord for the ſafegard of his people.

The prouidence of God in ſteryng vp occaſiōs for his people.

Wherfore for ſo much as the affaires and doynges of this Turke were ſpent for the moſt part in the Turkiſh & heatheniſh countreys: it ſhall not be greatly neceſſary to trouble our Chriſtian ſtories therewith, but onely ſhal ſuffice to contract them in a briefe ſumme, declaryng ſuperficially what vnquietnes was amongſt them there, which could neuer be quiet but euer ſeekyng ſome miſchiefe either abroade or at home. Amurathes the Turkes nephew aforeſayd, after he had obtayned ayde of Sophus the king of the Perſians, firſt inuaded Cappadocia: not lōg after whom followed Iſmael Sophus the Perſian kyng.

Warre betweene Zelymus and Sophus the Perſian kyng.

By reaſon wherof a great battayle was fought betwixt the Perſians and Zelymus in the fieldes of Armenia maior. In the which battaile Iſmael Sophus the Perſian kyng was hurt on the ſhoulder with a pellet, and ſo beyng caried out of the fielde, lefte the victory to Zelymus: who albeit had an armye of 150. M. men, yet he in the ſame fielde loſt about 30000. of his Turkes. Which field was fought in the yere of our Lord, 1514. Zelymus after this victorye went to Tauricia the imperiall city of the Perſians, which he by yeldyng ſubdued.

In this meane tyme it happened that one Aladulus a kyng in Armenia the greater, was alſo a helper to Iſmaell againſt the Turke, wherupon Zelymus the Turke takyng great indignation, the next yere followyng, leauyng the Perſians, fought againſt the ſayd Aladulus, and in the ende ouercame him, and afterward beyng found in a caue in a woode, was taken out and brought to Zelymus and ſo beheaded: whoſe hed beyng firſt caried about Aſia for a triumph, was afterward ſent to the Senate of Venice for a terrour vnto them. The eldeſt ſonne of Aladulus ſcapyng the handes of hys purſuers, fled into Egypt. This battayle thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had deuided the kyngdome of Aladulus into three prouinces, went to Lycaonia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the Citie of Samandria,

Warre betweene Zelymus and Aladulus an other Turke.

Preparation of warre betwene Zelymus and the Chriſtians.

The turke called away from the Chriſtians.

A turkiſhe vowe.

agaynſt the Chriſtians in Hungary. But the Hungarians beyng ſone repreſſed by Iuno Baſſa the Turkes captaine, great preparation began to be made by the Turkes agaynſt the confines of Seruia bordering vpon Hungary: The terrour whereof ſtirred vp Maximilian the Emperour and Ladiſlaus kyng of Hungary, and Sigiſmundus kyng of Polonie, to conſulte together, and conioyne their power for defenſe of Chriſtendome. But through new incumberances incident, the Turke leauyng Europe, made haſt agayne into Aſia, to renue agayne his warres agaynſt the Perſiãs who had made a vowe not to geue ouer that warre, before Iſmael was ouerthrowne.

Campſon the Sultane or ruler of the Egyptians.

Mamaluci.

But before he entred that warre, firſt he ſent his meſſengers to the Sultane of Egypte, requiring him not to entermedle in that warre, for this Sultane before had promiſed to aſſiſte the perſians agaynſt the Turke, The name of the Sultane which reigned then in Egypt, was Campſon, ſet vp by the Mamaluci. These Mamaluci were a certein order amongeſt the Egyptians much like to the Ianizarites about the Turke, beyng yͤ children of Chriſten men, and after renyeng Chriſt, were the chiefeſt doers in yͤ Sultanes court, and beyng growne into a great multitude, did degenerate into a turkiſh barbaritie or rather became worſe then Turkes, This Campſon vnto the meſſengers of the Turke gaue this aunſwere agayne, that vnleſſe he would leaue of his warre agaynſt Iſmael, and reſtore the ſonne of Aladulus, otherwiſe he would not lay downe his armour.

Caierbeius falſe to his maiſter.

Campſon ſlaine.

Zelymus beyng incenſed not a litle with this inſolent aunſwere of the Sultane, leauing all other warres aſide, with great celeritie aduaunced his power agaynſt the Sultane, which Sultan partly through the falſehode of his captaine Caierbeius, partly by the ſuddeinnes of the Turkes comming, not farre from the Citie of Damaſtus encountred with the Turke and there ouerthrowne from his horſe beyng a fatte and groſſe body, and fallyng vnder his horſe, and his horſe alſo falling vpon him, was quaſhed in peeces and ſo dyed: which was the yeare of our Lord. 1516.

Tomoumbeius made Sultane of Egipt.

Tomoumbeius executed.

A worthy deſtruction of the Mamaluci forſakyng their fayth and religion.

Note agayne the prouidence of god. The death of Zelymus.

Mamalucie of whom more then a thouſand in this battaile were ſlayne, flyeng from thence to Memphis, ſet vp Tomoumbeius in ſtede of Campſon: whoſe captaine Gazelles was ouercome at the Citie of Gaza, and he afterward him ſelfe driuen out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were deſtroyed. Then Tomoumbeius flyeng ouer the flood Nilus, renued his armye agayne: but in the ende was diſcomfited and chaſed into a mariſhe, where he was founde ſtandyng in the water vp to the chynne, and ſo beyng brought to Zelymus, was put to the racke and great tormentes, to make him confeſſe where Campſons treaſures were. But when he would not declare, he was caried about the towne with a halter about his necke and hanged vp vpõ a high gibbet for a ſpectacle to al Egypt: which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1517. And thus were the two Sultanes in Egypt deſtroyed with the Mamaluci, which there had borne the rule in Egypt the ſpace of. 243. yeares, The progenie of the which Mamaluci remaining of the warres, the Turke commaunded in priſon gates of Alexandria to be cut in peeces. Zelymus from thence, triũphyng departed to Conſtantinople, entendyng to ſpend the reſt of his tyme in perſecutyng the chriſtians: But in that meane ſpace he was ſtricken with a cankerd ſore rotting inward & dyed after he had raigned 7. yeres lyke a beaſt, in the yere of our Lord. 1520.

The beaſtly crueltie of Zelymus agaynſt his kindred.

The raigne of this Turke was but ſhort in number of yeares: but in number of his murthers and cruell bloudſhed it might ſeme exceedyng long: which lyued more lyke a beaſt then a man, for he neuer ſpared any of his frendes or kinred. His father firſt he poyſoned, his brethren and all his coſins he quelled, leauyng none of all hys kinrede alyue. Moreouer his chiefe and principall captaines for ſmall occaſions he put to death, as Muſtapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Boſtang his ſonne in law, and Iunobaſſa.

The crueltie of Zelymus againſt his ſonne Solyman.

It is ſayd moreouer that he entended the poyſoning of his owne ſonne Solyman, ſending vnto him a ſhirt infected with poyſon, becauſe he ſeemed ſome thyng freely to ſpeake agaynſt the cruel demeanure of his father: But by yͤ meanes of hys mother, the gyfte beyng ſuſpected, was geuen to an other which was hys Chamberlayne, who puttyng on the ſhirte, was ſtrucken with the poyſon therof, and therewithall dyed.

A note of Gods prouidence for the reformation of religion.

As touching this Turke Zelymus, by the way here may be noted how the ſecret prouidẽce of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkiſh warres at home, while that the reformation of Chriſtian religion here in Europe, the ſame tyme begũ by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take ſome rootyng without diſturbance or interruption. For ſo it appeareth by the computation of tyme, that in the dayes of this Zelymus, Martin Luther firſt began to write againſt the Popes indulgences, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1516.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus.

Read in the pag. 715.

SOlymannus the onely ſonne of Zelymus ſucceeded after his fathers death, who in the firſt beginnyng ſeemed to ſome to be ſimple and ſheepiſh, and not meete for the turkiſhe gouernment. Wherfore certayne of his nobles cõſulting how to depoſe hym, entended to ſet vp an other Emperour. In which conſpiracy, eſpecially are named Caierbeius and Gazelles. This Caierbeius was he that betrayed before Cãpſon the Sultane of Egipt to Zelymus, as is aforeſayde: who now alſo beyng in conſultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them alſo vnto Solyman. Wherfore the ſayd Gazelles and hys fellowes beyng thus detected, were put to death by Solymã declaring therby that he was not ſo ſheepiſh as he was thought of them to be, and as alſo by his actes afterward did more appeare.

Belgradum againe beſieged of the turke.

Read before pag. 718.

Solymannus after this execution done vpon the cõſpiratours, takyng his voiage into Europe, firſt beſieged Belgradum: which beyng a city in Hungary, was the ſtrongeſt forte of all the Romaine Empire, and the chiefe defence at that tyme, of all Chriſtendome, which alſo beyng aſſaulted before tyme by Amurathes the 2. was valiauntly defended by Ioannes Huniades as is aboue ſpecified. But here now lacked ſuch a one as Huniades was: For the kyngdome of Hungary at that tyme, was vnder the gouernment of Ludouicus a yong king, vnexpert and of a ſimple witte. Whom other Princes, and ſpeciallye the couetous Churche men did ſo pill and poll, that they left him nothyng but onely the bare name and title of his kyngdome: wherby he beyng vnfurniſhed both of men and mony, was vnable to match with ſuch an enemy.

Diſcorde amongeſt Chriſtian princes what miſchiefe it bringeth.

An other vauntage alſo the Turkes had in beſieging of Belgrade: For the Chriſtian princes at that tyme were in ciuill diſſention and variaunce amongſt themſelues: and the Pope with his Churchmen alſo were ſo buſie in ſuppreſſing of Luther, and of the Goſpell then newly ſpryngyng, that they mynded nothyng els, except it were to maintayne yͤ welth of their own bellies. Which pope if he had ſet his care (as his duety was) ſo much in ſtirring vp princes agaynſt the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the Goſpell, & to perſecute the true profeſſors therof: ſoone might he haue brought to paſſe, not onely that Belgrade might haue bene defended agaynſt the Turke, but alſo that to be recouered agayne which was loſt before: and moreouer might haue ſtopped the great daungers and perils which now are like to fal vpon the religion and church of Chriſt: which the Lord of his great mercy auert and turne away.

The pope ſo buſie againſt Luther, that he neglecteth the ruine of Chriſtendom.

True compaſſion lacking in the pope.

Certes what ſo euer the Pope then did, this had bene hys duety, ſetting all other things apart, to haue had an earneſt compaſſiõ of ſo many miſerable and loſt captiues, which were fallen from their fayth and religiõ, vnto the miſery and ſlauery of the Turke, and thraldome of the deuill, & to haue ſought all means poſſible to haue reduced them, as loſt ſheepe into the fold agayne: which then might ſoone haue ben done if prelates and princes ioyning together in chriſtian concord, had loued ſo well the publike glory of Chriſt and ſoules of Chriſtians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, and friuolous quarels. And admit that the Pope had conceyued neuer ſo much malice agaynſt Luther, hys quarell alſo beyng good: yet the publike Church ſtandyng in ſuch daunger, as it then did by the inuaſion of the turke, reaſon would nature led, religion taught, tyme required that a good Prelate forgetting lighter matters, ſhould rather haue layd hys ſhoulder to the excludyng of ſo great a daunger, as thẽ was imminent both to hymſelfe, and the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt: But now his quarell beyng vniuſt, and the cauſe of Luther beyng moſt iuſt and godly, what is to be ſayde or thought of ſuche a Prelate, who forbearyng the Turke, whome in a tyme ſo daungerous he ought chiefly to haue reſiſted, perſecuted the truth, whiche he ſhould ſpeciallye haue maintayned? But Chriſt for his mercy ſtand for hys Churche, and ſtirre vp zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recouer that is loſt, yet at leaſt to retayne that little which is left.

The title of Belgrade wonne of the Turke.

Solyman therfore takyng hys occaſion, and vſing the commoditie of tyme, while our princes were thus at variaunce betwixt themſelues, without any reſiſtaunce or interruption, brought his army vnto Belgrade, in the yere of our Lord. 1521. Which Citie beyng but ſlenderly defended, the Turke through his vnderminers, guns and other engines of warre, without great difficulty, and with little loſſe of his ſouldiours, ſoone ſubdued and ouercame.

After this victory, Solyman reſtyng hymſelfe a whole yeare, and caſtyng in hys mynde how to make all ſure behynd hym, for feare of enemies to come vppon hys backe, thought it expedient for hys purpoſe if he myght obtain the Iland of Rhodes: for that onely remayned yet Chriſtian betwixt hym and Aſia: wherfore the next yeare followyng, he brought hys army of 450. ſhips, and 300. thouſand men to the beſiegyng therof. This Rhodes was a mightye and ſtrong Ilande, within the ſea called Mare mediterraneum: The inhabitauntes wherof at the firſt did manfully reſiſt yͤ Turke, ſparyng no labour nor paynes for the defence of thẽſelues and of all Chriſtẽdom: But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, ſeyng alſo no ayde to come from the Chriſtians: ſomewhat began to languiſhe in themſelues. The Turkes in the mean tyme caſting vp two great mountaynes with ſtrength of hand, two miles of frõ the City, lyke rollyng trenches caried them before thẽ nere vnto the City, in the toppes wherof they planted their ordinaunce and artillery, to batter the Citie. The Maiſter of the Knightes of the Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lackyng that appertayned to the defence of the City. The Rhodiãs likewyſe ſo valiantly behaued themſelues vpon the walles, that wyth their ſhot all the ditches about the Citie were filled with the carcaſes of dead Turkes.

Rhodes beſieged.

Beſides thys, ſuch a diſeaſe of the bloudy flixe reigned in the Turkes campe, that 30. thouſand of them dyed thereof: and yet for all thys Solyman would not ceaſe frõ his ſiege begonne: who at length by vndermyners caſtyng downe the vamures and vttermoſt partes of the city, wan ground ſtill more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortary pieces ſo battered the houſes that there was no free place almoſt ſtandyng in all the Citye. And thus continued the ſiege for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe monethes, and yet all thys whyle came no helpe vnto them from the chriſtians. Wherfore they beyng out of all hope, thorough the aduiſe of Villadamus, yelded themſelues vnto the Turke vppon condition that he woulde ſpare them wyth lyfe and goodes, which conuention the Turke kepte with them faythfully and truely.

Chriſtian princes negligent in helping their felowes.

Rhodes wonne of the turke.

Thus Solyman with his great glory and vtter ſhame to all chriſtian princes, and alſo ruine of all Chriſtendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not without great loſſe and detriment of his army: in ſo much that at one aſſault 20. thouſand Turkes about the walles, were ſlayne with fire, ſword, ſtones, and other engines. Wherby it may be coniectured what theſe Rhodians might or would haue done, if ſuccour had come to them from other chriſtian princes as they looked for. This city was wonne vpon Chriſtmas day, an. 1522.

This conqueſt of Rhodes obtayned, Solyman the 4. yeare after, bringeth backe his army agayne into Hungary, where he found none to reſiſt hym but onely Ludouike the yõg kyng: who beyng accompanied with a ſmall army and nothing able to matche with the Turke, yet of a haſty raſhnes and vayne hope of victory, would nedes ſet vpon hym: who if he had ſtayd but a little, had proſpered the better. For Ioannes Vaiuoda beyng a Capitayne well exerciſed in Turkiſh warres before, was not farre of, comming with a ſufficient power of able ſouldiors. But Paulus the Archbiſhop Colloſſ. a Franciſcane Frier, a man more bold then wyſe, with his temeritie and raſhnes troubled all their doynges: For the whole ſumme of the army of the Hungarians, contained in all but only 24. thouſand horſmen and footemen, who at length commyng vnto the battayle, & beyng compaſſed about with a great multitude of the turkes army were brought into great diſtreſſe. The Turkes twiſe ſhot of their pieces agaynſt the Chriſtian army: yet ſcarce was any Chriſtian touched wyth the ſtroke therof: which was thought to be done of purpoſe, becauſe they were chriſtians which had the orderyng of the gunnes, for then the ſpeciall gunners of the Turkes were Chriſtians, whome for the ſame cauſe they ſpared. Then the Turkes horſemen commyng vpon the backe of the chriſtian army, compaſſed them about, and by reaſon of their multitude, ouercharged their horſemen. Amongeſt whom was ſlayne the ſame time the Archb. Frier aforeſayd, with the Biſhops of Strigon and Varadine and many other nobles beſides. Alſo yͤ kyng hymſelfe beyng deſtitute of his neceſſary ayde and ſuccour, was compelled to flye into a mariſhe, where he fallyng from hys horſe, beyng heauy loden with his harneys, was not able to ryſe againe, but there miſerably periſhed.

Chriſten warres agaynſt the turke neuer ſpeede well vnder the guiding of popiſhe prelates.

Chriſtians were the ſpeciall gunners to the turke.

The raſhe archbyſhop ſlayne.

King Ludouicke periſhed in war.

Solyman the Turke marueiled at the fooliſhneſſe of Ludouike the Kyng, who with ſo ſmall an armye woulde preſume to encounter wyth ſuch a great hoſte of two hundreth thouſand. This battayle in Hungarie was fought, anno. 1526.

Ferdinandus king of Hũgary.

After the deceaſſe of Ludouicke, Ferdinandus ſucceded in the kyngdome, beyng Duke of Auſtria and kynge of Hungarie. Then Solyman ſettyng contentiõ betwixt Ioannes Vaiuoda & Ferdinandus for the kyngdome of Hungarie, ſpedde his viage to the Citie of Buda. Whiche alſo in ſhort tyme he made to be yelded vnto him vpõ conditiõ that they ſhould eſcape with their lyues and goods: whiche condition ſome ſay he kept, and ſome ſaye he did not. Beſides Buda diuers places and munitiõs the ſayd Turke, contrary to his league made before, did ſpoyle and waſte, as Varadinum, Quinque Eccleſias, and other fortes and munitions moe, bordering about the coaſtes of Hungary.

Buda, Varadinum and the citie called *Quinqueeccleſia*, taken of the turke.

Contention betwene Ferdinandus, & Vaiuoda.

Vaiuoda flieth to the Turke.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1529. Ferdinandus kyng of Hungarie aforeſayd, recouered diuers holdes gotten of the Turke before, and alſo warryng agaynſt Ioannes Vaiuoda his enemy, with whom he had variaunce (as ye heard before) expulſed him out of his kingdome. Wherupon Vaiuoda flying to the Turke, deſired his ayde. The Turke glad to take that occaſion, with great preparation addreſſed him ſelfe to returne into Hungary, where he recoueryng agayne the Citie of Buda, whiche Ferdinandus had gotten from him a litle before, remoued his army into Auſtria ſpoylyng and deſtroyeng by the way all that came to his handes, ſhewyng many examples of great crueltie and tyranny moſt lamentable to here and vnderſtand. For of ſome he put out theyr eyes, of ſome he cut of their handes, of ſome their eares and noſes, and of their children he cut of their priuie members. The maydens he corrupted, the matrones had theyr breſtes cut of, and ſuch as were with child, were ripte and their children caſt into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny, this wretched Turke perpetrated by the way comming toward Vienna a noble Citie in Auſtria, beſides the captiues which he tooke by the way, and ledde into ſeruitude moſt miſerable, mounting to the number of 30. thouſand.

Horrible examples of the turkes crueltie.

Among other holdes by the way as the Turke came, there was a caſtle called Altenburch ſtrongly by nature ſituated, and by arte defenced, which caſtle the Turke entendyng not to ouerpaſſe becauſe he would make all thynges ſure behynd hym, beganne to make his aſſault and laye hys ordinaunce agaynſt it. The wardens and kepers of the Caſtle, ſo ſoone as the Turkes began to lay ſiege againſt them, makyng no reſiſtaunce, of a womanly cowardnes ſent theyr meſſengers to the Turke to yelde themſelues, ready to doe his commaundement and further hym with their vitayle. Amongeſt whome were three hundreth Bohemians, who were commaunded to follow the hoſte, that the Turke by them might learne what ſtrength was in the citie of Vienna: alſo where the kyng was, and what was to be done for the winnyng therof.

The effeminate cowardlynes of the ſouldiours in Altenburch.

The caſtell of Altenburch yelded to the turke.

[illegible] when the Turke had vnderſtandyng how all thinges ſtoode, and how that there was but xx. thouſand men in Vienna able to beare armour, and that other Cities of Auſtria would ſoone yelde if that were gotten, and that Vienna was vitayled but for ij. monthes, and that the king was of late in Boheme, thus the Turke of all thinges beyng certified, hauyng no doubt in his mynd of victory, made ſpeede toward Vienna: and firſt comming to Neapolis a city but 8. myles diſtant from Vienna, he required them to yeld themſelues: who notwithſtanding withſtood them and repulſed them valiãtly. Then the Turkes aſſigned a place for the pitchyng of their tentes, which becauſe it ſemed ſome thyng to little for ſuch a great multitude, they toke in more ground to the compaſſe of 7. myles circuite. The multitude of hys army, which he there planted, is accompted of ſome to extend to 250. thouſand ſouldiours. The Turke thus beyng planted, made daily excourſes ouer all the countrey of Auſtria, ſpecially about the City of Vienna, waſtyng and ſpoylyng with great cruelty & murther amongeſt the poore Chriſtians.

Neapolis beſieged of the turke. The turkes army of 250. ſouldiers.

Moreouer to make all thynges more ſure toward yͤ preparation of the ſiege, ſcoutes were ſent abroad, and buſhementes were layd about the riuer ſide of Danubius, to prouide that no ayde nor victual ſhould be brought to Vienna. So it pleaſed the prouidence of the Lord (who diſpoſeth all thynges) that three dayes before the comming of the turke, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, which was then aſſigned by the Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come downe by the riuer of Danubius with xiiij. thouſand, and wyth a certayne troupe of horſemen well appointed and picked for the purpoſe. After the comming of this Fredericke, prouiſion alſo of victuall was appointed to follow ſhortly after, by the ſayd riuer of Danubius.

Vienna beſieged of the turke.

Fridericus Earle Palatine captayne of Vienna.

In the meane tyme, they which had the carryage & trãſſortyng thereof, hearing how the wayes were layd and all ẏ paſſages x. myles about Uiēna, ſtopped by the Turkes although they knew ẏ city to ſtand in great nede of vittail, yet ſeyng there was no other remedy, rather thē it ſhould come to the enemies hande, thought it beſt to ſincke their boates with theyr cariage, and ſo they did. wherby, albeit the Chriſtians wanted theyr reliefe, yet were the Turkes diſapointed of theyr pray and purpoſe. The capitaynes which had the kepyng of the City, which were chiefly Fridericus the Earle Palatine, Gulielmus Rogendorſſius, and Nicolaus erle of Salme, ſeyng themſelues ſo ſtraightned contrary to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to bee diſcouraged, yet callyng theyr courage vnto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken: and ſeyng that the little city Neapolis (aboue mentioned) beyng 8. myles diſtaunt from them, ſo valiauntly withſtoode the Turkes, that in one day they ſuſteyned 7. greuous aſſaultes agaynſt all the mayne force of the Turkiſh army: by their example and manfull ſtandyng beyng the more animated and encouraged, thought to abyde the vttermoſt before they woulde geue ouer, and firſt pluckyng downe all the ſuburbes, and buildyngs without the walles, wherby the enemy myght haue any ſuccour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitāts about the Citye to ſaue themſelues, and to bryng in their goodes within ẏ walles. Such places as wer weake within the walles, they made ſtrong. About the towers and munitions of the walles, they prouided rampires & bulwarkes diſtaunt 80. foote one from another, to kepe of the ſhot: and euery man had hys place and ſtandyng awarded to hym vpon the wal, and hys office appoynted what to do: but eſpecially that ſide of the City which lyeth to the ryuer of Danubius, they fortified after the beſt wiſe: for that way onely now remayned for vitayle to be trāſported frō the Bohemians vnto them. wherefore 8. enſignes were aſſigned to the kepyng of the bridge, and in the playne, which was lyke an Iland incloſed within the ryuer, a ſufficiēt garriſon of horſmen were placed, lying within the gunſhot of the city, to the entent that if any graine or vitayle were ſent from the Bohemians, they might prouide the ſame ſafely to bee brought into the City.

Fridericus, Earle Palatine, William Rogendorſſius, Nicolaus Earle of Salme, captaynes of Vienna.

Preparation within the Citie of Vienna, agaynſt the turke.

Prouiſion made for victualing the citie.

These thynges thus beyng diſpoſed and ſet in order, L. William Rogendorffe, to aſſay the ſtrength of the Turkes, made diuers rodes out with hys horſemen, albeit much agaynſt the myndes of the Auſtriās: who knowyng the maner of the Turkes, thought it better to ſuffer them, whyle eyther with tyme they might be ouerwearied, or for lacke of victuals conſumed. Among many and ſondry ſkirmiſhes which the Chriſtians had with the Turkes, one eſpecially was to our men vnproſperous: in which certayne of the horſemen eſpying a ſmall troupe of the Turkes ſcatteryng abroad from theyr company, made out after them, who ſodenly and guilefully were incloſed and circumuented by the Turkes, before they could recouer the gates of the city, and ſo were all taken alyue: Of whom iij. were ſent from the Turkes into the City, to declare to the Viennians what ſtrength they had ſeene in the campe of theyr aduerſaries, and to ſollicite them to yelde theyr City for feare of puniſhment which woulde followe: The reſidue they reſerued to tormentes and puniſhment, whom in the ſight of the whole armye, and of the Chriſtians (which ſhoulde tell the ſame to the Citizens) they cauſed euery man to be drawn with foure horſes a piece, and ſo to bee diſmembred and pluckt a ſonder.

Good counſaile and experience refuſed.

Raſhe hardines of our Chriſtiās in ſkirmiſhing with the turke.

The wretched crueltie of the turkes agaynſt the Chriſtian captiues.

After this done, the barbarous Turke immediatly ſent his Herauld to talke with the Captaines of the Citie, whether they would yelde the Citie vpon honeſt conditions, or els would abyde the arbitrement of warr. If they woulde gently ſubmit them ſelues they ſhould haue all gentlenes to them ſhewed: If they would be ſtubburne, & ſtand to their defenſe, he woulde alſo ſtand to his ſiege begonn, ſo that he neither would ſpare man, woman nor childe. To this the Captaines aunſwered againe, that they were contented Solyman to ſtand to his ſiege begonne, and to do his vttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a poynte to defend them ſelues and their Citie ſo long as they might: the euente & fall of victorie to be doubtfull, and many tymes ſo to happen, that they whiche begyn the warre, are weryed ſooner then they which be prouoked: neither agayne that they were ſo vnmyndfull either of them ſelues, or of theyr coūtrey, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germaines: who vſe alwayes firſt to aſſay the aduerſarie, what he is hable to do, and not raſhlye to committe them ſelues into their enemyes handes.

The meſſage of the turke to the Viennians.

The aunſwere of the Viennians to the turke.

Solymānus not a little diſdainyng at this anſwer, firſt burning and conſumyng all the villages, houſes, and places round aboute the Citie, infectyng alſo the ſpringes & fountaines whiche gaue water into the City, and ſo ſtoppyng all paſſages, that no reliefe ſhould haue way vnto them, began with angry moode to approche more neare to the City, with thre great campes, ſendyng them worde in ſcorne and contumelie, by one of hys captiues, that if they ſtood in nede of helpe of ſouldiors, he would ſend vnto them the 300. Bohemians mentioned a litle before) to ayd thē in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed aunſwer againe, that they had moe ſouldioures in the Citye then they neded. As for ẏ Bohemians which had yelded themſelues, he myght doe wyth them, what he would, for Vienna ſtoode in no great neede of them.

Solymānus approcheth Vienna with thre great armies.

In the meane tyme a meſſenger commyng from Ferdinandus was priuily let in by night into the City, whiche brought worde that they ſhould play the men in kepyng out the enemy a while: for it would not be long but both Ferdinandus and Carolus hys brother, with the ſtrength of all Germany, would be redy to reſcue them. At which meſſage the hartes of the ſouldiours began ſomwhat to be cheared, & to contemne the huge multitude of the aduerſaries, beyng ſo great as they neuer did behold, nor did euer almoſt heare of before. The largenes of whoſe army, extended to no leſſe in compaſſe (as is aboue ſayd) then of 7. miles round about the Citie walles.

A meſſenger ſent frō Ferdinandus to Vienna.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible ſiege, with all the partes and circumſtances therof. Briefly to touch ſo much as ſhall ſuffice for this hiſtory, with fewer wordes then were ſtripes geuen at the ſiege therof: this is to be iudged and confeſſed: whoſoeuer beholdeth the number and fierceneſſe of the Turkes, the abſence of the king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouiſion and vitayle within the citie, the noyſe of the gunnes, the violence of the ſhot, the terrour of the ſight, and yet no ſuccour ſent vnto them: that the cuſtody of that Citie was no mans doyng, but the arme onely of the Lord God of hoſtes, according to the true ſaying of the Pſalme: Vnleſſe the Lord do kepe the City, the watchmen watch in vayne, which watch to ſaue it: Vnleſſe ẏ lord do builde the houſe, the builder ſtriueth in vayne, which taketh vpon him to build it. Experience wherof in keping this city may well appeare.

The ſiege of Vienna beginneth.

The Lordes power & prouidence in keping the Citie of Vienna.

Firſt Solymannus bendyng his ſhotte and ordinaunce againſt the City, beate downe to the ground the vāmures with all the vttermoſt ſuburbes of the city, and that in ſuch a ſhort moment of tyme, that the hartes of the Viennians, a little before refreſhed, were now as much appalled agayne with feare, miſdoubtyng with thēſelues, leaſt the Turke ẇ the ſame celeritie & violēce would haue preuailed againſt the inward walles, as he did in beating downe the outward vamures. And no doubt the ſame tyme the Turke had put the city in great hazard, had not night commyng on, broke of the ſiege for that day.

In the meane tyme the Citizens laboured all nyght in repayring and refreſhing the walles, to make all things ſure agaynſt the next aſſault. The next day early in the morning, the Turkes approching the city agayne with a new aſſault, thinkyng to ſcale the walles, were ſo repulſed and manfully reſiſted by the Germaines, that vnneth any ditches about ẏ walles could be ſene for the bodies of the dead turkes, wherwith they were repleniſhed: ſo that the Turkes were faine to fight ſtandyng vpō the bodies of them which were ſlain. By the which calamity the force of the enemy was not a little abated.

The ſlaughter of the Turkes about the walles of Vienna.

It happened ẏ ſame tyme, that a company of ẏ Turkes beyng ſpyed out of the Citie wanderyng out of order, the Captaine Rogendorffius with two legions of horſemen iſſuing out of the Citie gate called Salmaria, and ſo paſſing cloſely vnder the hilles ſide, did ſo ſet vpon thē that they ſlue a great number of them: the reſt being driuen to take the riuer, whom with ſtones and ſhot likewiſe they deſtroyed, & ſo retired backe into the Citie agayne. By this victorye the Captaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to ẏ Turkes For in the ſame ſkyrmiſh (as after was knowen) was ſlayne of them ſo many that of 5000. and 300. horſemen & footemen, ſcarſe 140. eſcaped alyue.

The manlynes of captayne Rogendorffius againſt the turkes.

Solyman diſdayning at this repulſe, thought to proue an other way, & ſo bryngyng his power toward ẏ gate called ẏ kings gate, there makyng his trenches & bulwarks, plāted his ordinance, with the violēce wherof the walles were ſo battered & ſhaken, that no man was hable there to ſtande. Wherefore the Turke ſeyng ij. great breches made in the wal, commaunded his ſouldiers couertly in the darke ſmoke of gunnepouder, to preaſe into the City. The like alſo was done at ẏ ſcottiſh tower, wherby ẏ city was inuaded in two ſundry places at one time. The Viennians at ẏ firſt, freſhly began to withſtād them, new ſouldiors ſtill commyng in the

An other aſſault of the turkes agaynſt Vienna.

place of them that were ſlayne and hurt: and ſo this aſſault continuyng more then 6.houres together, our men beganne at length to languiſh and faint, not onely in ſtrength, but alſo in courage: wherby the Citie had bene in great daunger of looſing, had not the two foreſayd Capitaines Rogendorſſius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, manfully encouraged the ſouldiours to abide the brunt, and to beare out a whyle the violence of the Turkes, promiſyng that immediatly they ſhould haue ayde from Ferdinandus.

In the meane tyme the Turkes came ſo thicke for greedines of the victory, ſcaling, climing, and fighting vpon the walles, that had it not bene for the preaſe and thronge of the great multitude of the Turkes comming ſo thicke that one of them could not fight for an other, Vienna that ſame day had bene taken and vtterly loſt: But by the policy of ỳ captaines geuing a ſigne within the City, as though new ſouldiours were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turkes hartes to be diſcomfited.

An other repulſe of the turkes.

When Solymannus ſaw his army the ſecond tyme, repulſed, he began to attempt a new way, purpoſing by vndermyning to ouerthrow the city: in the which worke ſpecially he vſed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whome he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kynd of feat. Theſe Illyrians beginnyng to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia and commyng nere to the foundations of the Tower, which they by ſtrength of hand attẽpted to breake, could not worke ſo cloſely vnder the ground, but they were perceiued by certaine men aboue, which were ſkilfull and expert in that kind of matter: who contrarywiſe vndermynyng againſt them, and filling their trenches as they went, with gunpouder, ſo conueyed their trayne, that when fire ſhould be ſet vnto it, the violence therof ſhould braſt out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, ſodenly the grounde beneath made a great ſhaking, ſo that the tower did cleaue aſunder, and all the vnderminers of the Turkes working in their trenches, were ſmothered and deſtroyed, which came to the number (as it was ſuppoſed afterward) of 8000.perſõs: in ſo much that yet till this day a great number of dead mens ſkuls are found in the ground.

Vienna vndermyned by the turkes.

When Solymã ſaw that this way alſo would not ſerue and had priuy intelligence that the walles about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that he myght haue there more eaſie entraunce: ſecretly he conueyeth about 10. garriſons of freſh ſouldiours, in ſuch ſort as the townesmen ſhould not perceiue them: who came ſo ſodenly vpon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon the toppe of the fortreſſes and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themſelues ready to reſiſt thẽ. For although there was no lacke of ſouldioures within the Citie, yet forſomuch as the whole brunt of the ſiege did lye ſpecially at the two gates aforeſaid, from whence the ſouldiours which were there wardyng, could not be well remoued, (for a ſhifte the reſcuers which within the city were ready for all ſodaine aduentures) were ſent to the walles: by whoſe commyng, thoſe fewe which kept the enemies of before, beyng ſore hurted and wounded, were ſuccoured and ſent to Surgery: and thus the ſayd aſſault continued terrible and doubtfull vntill (the darcke night commyng vpon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turkes to bee ſlayne more then 5000.

An other aſſault of the turkes agaynſt Vienna.

The turkes agayne repulſed.

Then the Captaine Rogendorſſius commendyng the valiaunt ſtandyng of his ſouldiours, miſdoubtyng with him ſelfe (as it happened in dede) that the Turkes would not ſo geue ouer, but would ſet vpon him the next day with a freſh aſſault, prouidyng with all diligence for the purpoſe: made vp the breaches of the walles, and prepared all thinges neceſſary for reſiſtaunce: The next morning following, which was ſome thing darke and miſty, the Turkes thinkyng to preuent our men, with their ſodayne commyng, began again buſily to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles.

An other aſſault of the turkes repelled.

It would require a long tractation here to deſcribe the great diſtreſſe and daunger that the City, thoſe iij. dayes followyng, was in. During all the which tyme, there was no reſt, no intermiſſion, nor diligence lackyng, eyther in the enemies, fighting againſt the City, either in our men in defendyng the ſame. For the Turkes beſides the multitude of the great ordinaunce, (wherwith, as with a great tempeſt of gunſhot) they neuer ceaſed, ſtill batteryng the walles and beatyng the munitions of the Citie, ſent alſo ſuch heapes & multitudes of the Turkes to the ſcalyng and climyng the walles, that vnneth with all the ordinance and ſhot of the city, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminiſhed: tyll at laſt the ſouldiors of ỳ turkes perceiuyng themſelues able by no meanes to preuayle, but onely to run in danger of lyfe, and to do no good, beganne to wrangle among themſelues, grudging and repining againſt their dukes and captaynes, imputyng the whole cauſe onely to them: that the City was yet vntaken, ſeyng there was in them neither diligence nor good will lackyng: and ſo ceaſed the ſiege for that tyme.

The turkes at variaunce amõg themſelues.

After this, when Solymannus had purpoſed in hym ſelfe, with his laſt and ſtrongeſt ſiege, to trye agaynſt ỳ Citie the vttermoſt that he was hable to do, and had encouraged his ſouldiers to prepare them ſelues in moſt forcible wiſe therevnto: the ſouldiers ſhewed them ſelues much vnwilling to returne agayne from whence they were ſo often repulſed before: by reaſon wherof great commotion began to riſe in the Turkes campe. The rumour wherof when it came to Solymans eares, he ſendeth his grãde captaine to kepe all the ſouldiers in order and obedience, or if they would be ſtubborne, to compell them whether they woulde or not, to accompliſh his cõmaundemẽt. Who cõmyng to the ſouldiers ſhewed to them the great Turkes meſſege, and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunitie of the time preſent was not to be neglected, neither could they now without great ſhame geue ouer, after ſo many aſſaultes attempted: Who if they woulde ſuſteyne but one brunte more, the victorye were in their owne handes. The townesmen, hee ſayd, were waſted and their victuales ſpent: and the more to enflame their myndes, he promiſed them not onely greate thankes and rewarde of their Emperour, but alſo the whole ſpoyle of the Citie, in recompence of theyr trauaile.

The turke & hys ſouldiours could not agree.

The turke entreateth his ſouldiours.

But when al this could not ſtyrre vp ỳ ſturdy ſtomackes of the tiered Turkes, vſinge compulſion where perſuaſion would not ſerue, he appoynted a number of horſmen to be ſet at their backes, whereby to enforce them, either to go forward, or if they denyed, with gunnes and ſpeares, to deſtroy them. The turkes ſeyng them ſelues in ſuch a ſtraite that whether they went or taryed, it was to them like perill, yet would they not ſet forwarde, except the Captayne would take the venture before them. Who wardyng forward in his arraye, thus ſpake vnto his felows, ſaying: Do you forſake your fayth and allegeance, and betray the Emperor of Cõſtantinople vnto the Chriſtians, if you will: but I will diſcharge my duety towardes the commune wealth and my Emperour, and with that worde aduaunced hys enſigne, marchyng toward ỳ citie walles. Whom whẽ other folowed, & ſtill moe & moe preſſed after, ſo it came to paſſe that whole routes of them were ouerthrowne and ſlaine of our mẽ vpon the walles, before it was knowne what they ment. Other terrified by theyr example, gaue backe and left their array, & windyng them ſelues by bye wayes & vnder couerte of hylles, returned agayne into theyr tentes, and ſo came it to paſſe that the ſtrength of the enemyes dayley more and more decreaſing, they had leſſe hope euery day more then other of obteinyng the Citie. For beſides the innumerable ſlaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townſmen alſo watchyng the forragers and puruciers of the Turkes, as they raunged about for victuall for the campe, euer as occaſion ſerued them, did compaſſe them about, and ſo encountered with them by the waye, that of a whole legion, ſcarſly the tenth part returned agayne to theyr felowes alyue, by meanes wherof the courage of the enemyes beganne greatly to faynt. Wherby ſuch a merueilous alteratiõ happened, that as our men began to receyue more hope and courage, ſo the Turkes began ſtill more to droupe and to languiſhe with diſpayre, ſo that at length ſcarſe durſt they appeare without the boundes, where they were entrenched, but onely in lyght ſkyrmiſhes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to ſhewe them ſelues.

Compulſion of men ſerueth not, where the Lord defendeth.

The ſlaughter of the turkes at Vienna.

The Turkes ſlayne.

Solymannus perceyuyng his ſouldiers thus dayly to go to wracke, of whom he had loſt already more then 80.thouſand, and that with long taryeng he could do no good, being alſo in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about him was waſted: beginneth to conſulte with his Captaines & counſailours, what remayned beſt to be done. Of whome ỳ moſt part aduiſed him to raiſe his ſiege, & betyme to prouide for himſelfe. Which to doe, many cauſes there were that moued him.

The Turke beginneth to take counſaile to retire.

Firſt the loſſe of his men, which daily were cut frõ hym by great numbers, beſides them which lay in hys campe wounded, or ſicke, or famiſhed. Secondly, lacke of puruiãce Thirdly, the approching nere of winter. But ỳ chiefeſt cauſe was, for that he heard Frederike Palatine aboue mencioned comming with a great army at Ratiſbone towardes Vienna, and there had done great moleſtation to a greate number of the Turkes forragers, whome by the way he preuented and ſo encloſed in the woodes, that he ſlew them. Whereof when Solyman had intelligence, thinkyng it not beſt to abyde the commyng of the Palatine, made haſt with bagge

Solyman remoueth & raiſeth his ſiege frō Vienna.

and baggage to remoue hys campe and to retyre: and firſt ſendyng away his carriage before hym, made ſpeede hymſelfe with his armye, to follow ſhortly after.

The turkes campe purſued in their flight.

The Viennians, when they heard of the remouyng away of the turkes, although at the firſt they ſcarſely beleued it to be true, beyng afterward certified out of doubt, both of their remouing, and alſo of the order therof, how it was in maner of a flight or chaſe, were greatly deſirous to make out of the Citie after them. Wherein, albeit the preſence of the Palatine with his armye, if he had bene there preſent, myght haue ſtand them in great ſteede, yet notwithſtandyng they tooke the oportunitie of the tyme preſent, and iſſuing out of the Citie, in moſt ſpeedy wiſe, ſet after them with their horſemen: & firſt ouerpaſſing the tentes (where the turkes had pitched their ſtations or pauilions) for haſt of the way, they made ſuch purſute after them, that within litle tyme, they ouertooke the rereward or latter end of the armye, whereof they made ſuch hauocke and deſtruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a ſhot of the purſuers, nor weapon drawen, nor ſtroke ſtroocken, which light in vayne. Which was no hard thing for our mē to doe: For as the Turkes in their flight went ſcattered out of order and aray, neither would they in the fore rancke (beyng ſo farre of from ieopardy) returne backe to helpe their felowes, it was eaſie for our men, without reſiſtance, to come vpon their backes as they would.

The priuie purpoſe of the turkes preuented.

Yet notwithſtanding in long purſute, when our men could not ſee the carpage of the turkes, which was wont in armyes to come alway behynde after the hoaſt, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) ſome ambuſhe to be lefte in priuie wayte behynde them, to come betwixt them and home: called themſelues to retraite, and conſulted vpon the matter, thynking good, firſt to ſend out certaine ſcoutes, to eſpye & bryng them worde, where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was geuē them, that the remnaunt of the turkes armye was remaynyng in the tentes behynde, word was ſent to their felowes in Vienna, to iſſue out, and to ioyne alſo with them againſt the tayle of the turkes, which had entrenched themſelues wythin the campe. Other were appointed to folow yͤ chaſe, leaſt peraduēture the turkes ſeeyng our mē to recule backe might returne agayne vpon them, and helpe their felowes. Which thynges beyng thus ordered and appoynted, in the meane tyme, while part of the Viennians were houeryng after the mayne armye, the reſt encountred with them that were left in the campe. Who ſeeing themſelues ouermatched, firſt defenced their campe with a deepe ditch and bulwarke, to delay the tyme, vntill ſome helpe myght come to them from the armye. Secondly they directed meſſengers to the Chriſtians, to entreat for peace. Thirdly they cōueied their priuie letters vnto Solyman for ſpeedy ayde and reſcue. But all the wayes and paſſages beyng ſtopped by the Chriſtians, their letters were intercepted, and ſo the miſerable turkes being deſtitute of all hope and ſuccour, ſeing no other remedy, made out of their campe, to haſſard and proue the vttermoſt for their defence: but in concluſion, in their deſperate venture they were incloſed about by our mē on euery ſide, and there put to the ſword and ſlayne, a fewe onely excepted, who eſcaping out very hardly by ſecrete paſſages, ſhifted after the reſt of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behinde them in their tentes, was deſtributed amōgeſt the ſouldiers, onely ſuch thinges reſerued as might ſerue for the publicke vſe and commoditie of the Citie.

The reſt of the turkes ſlayne in the campe.

The mercifull protection of God ouer Chriſtendome.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefit of almighty God, Auſtria was deliuered from the fierce & barbarous hoſtilitie of the cruell turkes: notwithſtanding that neither Ferdinandus the king, nor the Emperour his brother were there preſent, but onely yͤ power of God, through the valiauntnes of the worthy Germaines, defēded that citie: in defence whereof conſiſted the ſafetie and deliuerance, (no doubt) of all theſe weaſt partes of Chriſtendome. For the which immortal praiſe and thankes be vnto our immortall God in Chriſt our Lord, according as he hath of vs moſt graciouſly and worthely deſerued. Wherin by the way take this for a note (gentle reader) how and after what maner Gods bleſſing goeth with the true reformers of his religion, and ſo much yͤ more is it to be noted, for that yͤ turkes in ſo many battailes & ſieges heretofore, were neuer ſo repulſed & foyled, as at this preſent time in incountring with the proteſtants & defenders of ſincere religion. This citie of Vienna was beſieged & deliuered yͤ yeare of our lord. 1529. The aſſaultes of the turke agaynſt the Citie, are numbred to be 20. and hys repulſes as many. The number of hys armye which he firſt brought, was 2500. whereof were reckened to be ſlayne 80. thouſand and aboue. During the tyme of hys ſiege, he ledde away out of the countrey about, many captiues: virgines and matrones he quelled and caſt them out naked: the children he ſtucke vpon ſtakes.

Gods bleſſing goeth wyth the maintayners of his true worſhip and religion.

Solymannus thus put frō the hope and victory of Vienna, after he had breathed hymſelfe a while at home, the ſecond yeare after, which was an. 1531. repayring hys hoſt, returned agayne into Hungary, with no leſſe multitude, then before: where firſt he got the towne called Gunza beyng but ſlenderly kept with a ſmall gariſon. By reaſon whereof the townesmen and ſouldioures yeldyng themſelues vnto the Turke, were conſtrayned to agree vnto vnreaſonable conditions. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

Ex Melchiore Soitero, lib. 2. de Bello Pannonico.

Nicolaus Jureſchitz a valiaunt captayne.

Melchior Soiterus in hys ſecond booke wrytyng De bello Pannonico, touchyng the foreſayd towne of Gunza or Gunzium, differeth herein ſomethyng from Ramus, declaryng how this Gunza beyng a ſmall towne in Hungary, and hauyng in it but onely 100. ſouldiours (or as Wolfgangus Drechſlerus in hys chronicle reporteth, at the moſt, but 200. ſouldiours) vnder the valiaunt capitaine Nicholaus Jureſchitz, defended themſelues ſo manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, agaynſt the whole puiſſance of 200. thouſand Turkes, that they beyng notwithſtandyng diſtreſſed with lacke and penury of puruiāce and ſodenly of the Turkes inuaded, yet with pure courage and promptnes of hart, ſuſteined the vttermoſt force and violence of xiij. aſſaultes of that great multitude, for the ſpace of xxv. dayes together.

A miraculous example of the Lordes protection and prouidence.

Although the narration of the author may ſeme to ſome incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what tyme the great ordinaunce and batteryng pieces of the Turkes were planted vpon two mountes much higher then the towne, whereby they within the towne were oppreſſed both before and behynde, in ſo much that 8. enſignes of the Turkes were already within the towne: yet by the reaſon of women and children and other impotent perſons, who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an houſe together, ſuche a noiſe and clamour went vp to heauen praying and crying to God for helpe, that the Turkes within the walles, ſuppoſing a new army of freſh ſouldiours to be ſent into the town for ſodayne feare, voyded the towne, and leaped downe from the walles agayne) which before they had got) whom no man eyther purſued or reſiſted: for neuer a ſouldiour almoſt was left on the walles, which was not eyther ſlayne, or els wounded with the Turkes ordinance. At what tyme through the Lordes prouidence it ſo happened, that one Ibrahimus Baſſa, neare about the Turke, ſeeyng both the towne to be ſmall, and the great deſtruction of the Turkes in the ſiege thereof, and that the captayne in no caſe would yeld, perſwaded ſo the Turke, declaryng how the towne beyng ſo little was not worth the loſſe of ſo many men, in the winnyng wherof there was no glory, and if he were repulſed, great diſhonour might follow: wherby the Turke beyng perſuaded, dyd follow his counſail, which was this, that Nicolaus the chriſten captayne beyng called vnto hym vnder pledges and ſafe conduict, ſhould receyue the towne as of hys hand and gift, with condition, that he ſhould do no violence to his ſouldioures left behynde wounded, but ſhould procure ſuch meanes as he could, for the recuryng of them: and ſo he rayſing his ſiege departed. An other cauſe myght be alſo, which mooued hym ſo ſodainly to rayſe his ſiege: for that he heard the Palatine not to be farre of in purſuyng after him, and therfore takyng his flight by the mountaynes of the Noricians, he returned with much ſpoyle of Chriſtian mens goodes into Conſtantinople. Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Panno.

The turke raiſeth hys ſiege from Gunza.

The Emperour Charles & Ferdinandus begin at length to ſturre agaynſt the turke.

For ſo it was prouided the ſame tyme in Germany, after the counſayl of Auguſt and of Ratiſbone (at what time the controuerſie of religion betwene the Proteſtantes and the Papiſtes, was differred and ſet of, to the next generall Councell) that Charles the v. and Ferdinandus hys brother hauyng vnderſtandyng of the Turke thus raungyng in Hungary, ſhould collect of the Germaines, Hungarians, and Spaniardes and others, an able army of 80. thouſande footemen, and 30000. horſemen, to repulſe the inuaſions of the Turke. But Solymannus hauyng intelligence of this preparation of the Chriſtian power commyng toward hym, whether for feare, or whether to eſpy further oportunitie of tyme, for hys more aduauntage and our detriment, refuſed at that time to tary their commyng, and ſo ſpeding his returne vnto Conſtātinople, retired with much ſpoyle and pray ſent before hym, as is aboue premiſed: which was in the yere of our Lord. 1532.

The turke refuſeth to tary the Chriſtian armye.

Not long after, beyng the yeare of our ſaluation, 1534. Solymānus intending ij. warres at once, firſt ſent Corradinus Barbaroſſa the admirall of his nauies into Afrike, to war againſt the king of Tunece: whō the Barbaroſſa alſo diſ-

The turke warreth agaynſt the king of Tunece. Tunece wonne of the turke.

poſſeſſed and depriued of his kyngdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare folowyng, an 1535. reſtored both the ſayd kyng agayne into hys kyngdome, and deliuered in the ſame viage .xx. thouſand captiues out of ſeruitude.

Tuneſe recouered againe by Charles the Emperour.

The ſame tyme the Turke alſo ſent an other captaine into Hungarie, to warre agaynſt Vaiuoda while he hym takyng his courſe to Perſia, planted his ſiege agaynſt the Citie Taurus, which he in ſhort ſpace ſubdued and expugned. Albeit he long enioyed not the ſame: for Tahames king of the Perſians, ſodenly commyng vppon the Turkes vnprepared, ſlue of them .xx. thouſand, & tooke his concubines to the great foyle and reproche of the Turke.

Taurus a citie of Perſia taken of the turkes.

20. thouſand turkes ſlaine of the Perſian kyng.

Two yeares after this, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1537, Solymānus, who could not be quyet at home nor reſt in peace, returning agayne out of Aſia into Europe with .270. ſhyppes, great and litle, ſet vpon Corcyra an Iland belongyng to the Venetians, whiche he beſieged .x. dayes, waſtyng and burning the townes and fieldes as he went, beſide the deſtruction of much people therein, whome partly he ſlue, partly ledde away captiues. From thence he ſayled to Zacynthus and Cythara, an other Iland not far of from Corcyra, bordering nere to the coaſtes of Epyrus and Grecia. Where he ſodenly by night inuading the huſband men in villages and fields, ſleepyng and miſtruſting no harme, drew them out of their houſes and poſſeſsiōs, men and women, beſides chyldren, to the number of .ix. hundreth whom he made his bondſlaues: burnyng moreouer their houſes, and caryeng away all the goodes and catell beyng without the ſayd Cities of Zazinthus and Cythara. Ex Ioan. Criſpo.

Corcyra the Iland waſted & ſpoyled by the turkes.

The Ile of Zazynthus & Cythara ſpoyled by the turkes. Captiues of the Chriſtians.

Frō thence theſe helhoūds turned their courſe to ỷ ſiege and ſpoyle of Egina, a riche and populous Iland, lying betwene Grecia and Aſia, Where firſt the Eginiās did manfully in battaile reſiſte them, and were lyke to haue preuayled: but being weryed at length and oppreſſed with innumerable thouſandes of freſhe Turkes, whiche ſtill were ſent in, to reſcue the other whiche were ouercome before, were compelled to flye into the Citie of Egina. Whiche Citie the cruell Turkes (or rather deuils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great ordinaunce ſet out of their ſhyppes, ſubdued and caſt downe to the ground: the Citizens and inhabitauntes whereof, the Turke after he had burned theyr houſes, and ranſackte their goodes commaūded to be ſlayne and killed euery one. The women both noble and vnnoble, with their infantes, were geuen to the mariners to be abuſed, and from thence beyng ſhipped vnto Conſtantinople, were led away to perpetuall miſery and ſlauery, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord: 1537.

Warre betwene the Egynetes & the turkes.

Egina taken of the turke.

The citizens of Egina ſlaine of the turkes.

The women of Egina miſerably entreated & captiued of the turkes.

In the ſame iourney Solyman alſo tooke the Ile in ỷ ſayd ſea of Egeum, called Parum: alſo the Ile adioynyng to the ſame named Naxus, and made them to him tributaries. The Duke whereof was he whiche wrote the ſtorye both of theſe Ilandes aforeſayd, and alſo of the other Ilandes called Cyclades, vnder other Dukes. Ex Ioan. Criſpo, Duce Naxi. &c.

The Ile Parum & Naxus. Cyclades ſubdued of the turke. *Ex Ioā. Criſpo.*

This done, Solymannus directed his nauie vnto Apulia, where he ſet on land .x. thouſand footemen, & .2000. horſemen, which ſpoyled lykewiſe and waſted thoſe parties while the Emperour, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in warre and diſſenſion. Furthermore ỷ next yeare folowyng, an 1538. great attemptes began in Stiria, but by the reſiſtance of ỷ inhabytaunts, the force of the barbarous turkes was repulſed: notw̄ſtandyng great ſpoyles of men & catell were caryed frō thēce, & the countrey miſerably ſpoyled, In the whiche yeare alſo the Turke turning into Hungary, gaue battaile vnto ỷ Chriſtians in Sauia: where, through the fraudulent falſehoode of the Captaine Caſſianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus) beyng (as they ſay) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worſe, an. 1538.

Note what hurt cōmeth by the diſſenſion of Chriſtiā princes. Stiria is a countrey or prouince neare adioynyng to Auſtria.

After that the Turkes had inuaded the Iland of Corcyra abouesaid, the Venetians with Solyman the Turke had ioyned truce for a certaine tyme, for the which they gaue to the Turke 300, thouſand crownes, with the city of Neapolis, and Maluaſia in the borders of Macedonia. But within 4. or 5. yeares, the Turke to get a new ſtipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and inuaded their dominions: wherby they were enforced to enter new condicions agayne with him.

The falſhode of the turke wyth the Venetians.

In the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the reſtles Turke making his returne toward Hungary, by the way paſſyng by Dalmatia, lay againſt the towne called Newcaſtle, beyng defended by the Spaniardes. In the which towne becauſe they refuſed to yeld themſelues, all the inhabitantes & ſouldiours were put to the ſword and ſlain euery one. This Nouum Caſtellum or Newcaſtle was a ſtrong fort of the Chriſtians, which beyng now in the Turkes power, he had great aduauntage ouer all thoſe quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thēce he proceded further, keping his courſe into Hungary, where he planted his power agaynſt the city of Buda.

Nouum Caſtellū in Dalmatia, ouerthrowen by the turke, & the people ſlayne.

This Buda was a principall citie in Hungarie, about which great contention had bene (as ye heard before) betwene Ioannes Vaiuoda, and Ferdinandus. By reaſon whereof the Turke occaſioned by Vaiuoda, came into Hungary and deliuered the Citie to Vaiuoda. This Vaiuoda lyuyng not long after, left behind hym a ſonne, whome beyng an infant he committed to the gouernaunce of one Georgius Monacus: who beyng left tutour vnto the infant, reduced all Tranſiluania, Buda, Peſta, with other parties of Hungary, which belonged to Vaiuoda before, to the ſubiection of the child, Ferdinandus hearing thereof, in a great haſt and anger, leuyed an armye to recouer his landes in Hungarie, and ſo layd ſiege to Buda. Monacus ſeyng his part weake, firſt ſent his legate to Ferdinandus, deſiring him to talke and conferre with hym vpon matter, as he pretended, pertainyng to the behooffe of them both. Wherupon both the parties beyng agreed, the place and māner of their conuention was appointed, and alſo the day and tyme aſſigned. Thus the parties (accordyng to the agreement (cōuentyng together with their armyes, with drawyng a litle a ſide, as they were entred in communication, ſodenly among Ferdinandus men, happened a dagge to be hearde, which by the heate of the day (as is thought) loſing of his owne accord, gaue a cracke. The ſound whereof commyng to the eares of Monachus, he ſuppoſing the ſame to haue bene diſcharged agaynſt him, in great anger drew out hys ſword, byddyng Ferdinandus auaunt with hys doublyng diſsimulation, ſaying that he would neuer any more truſt ỷ promiſſes of Chriſtians, and immediatly vppon the ſame, ſent to Solimānus the Turke, for ayde agaynſt the Chriſtians, promiſing that he would ſurrender to him free poſſeſſion of Hungary, if he would come and vanquiſh the armye of Ferdinādus lying about the ſiege of Buda The Turke maketh no long taryinge, but taketh the occaſion, and with a mighty power, flyeth into Hungary, and eftſones diſchargyng the hoſt of Ferdinandus, and puttyng them of from the ſiege of Buda, getteth the Citie into his owne handes, commaundyng the ſonne of Vaiuoda with his mother, to folow after his camp.

The contention in Hungary betwene Ferdinandus & Woiuoda & his ſucceſſours.

The cōmunication betwene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

What hurt may come of raſhe ſuſpicion.

The turke called agayne into Hungary by the diſſenſion betwene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

In the hiſtorye of Ioannes Ramus it foloweth, that when Solyman the Turke had thus preuailed agaynſt the Citie of Buda aforeſayde, and agaynſt other parties more of Hungarie, by the aſſent of the Empire, one Ioachimus Duke of Brandeburg, prince Elector was aſſigned with a puiſſant armye of choſen ſouldiours of all nations collected, to recouer the Citie of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parties of Chriſtendome from the feare of the Turke. an. 1542. Which Ioachimus at his firſt ſettyng forth, appeared ſo couragious and valiant, as thoughe hee would haue conquered the whole world: But this great heate was ſo ſlaked in ſhort tyme by the Turke, that before any great ieopardie was offered vnto him, he was glad to be diſcharged of the viage, and with ſhame enough, returned home agayne, And would God he had left behynde him in the fielde, no more but hys owne ſhame. For the enemies hauyng intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinkyng to worke ſome poynt of maiſtry or victory before hys goyng, did ſet vpō the right wyng of his army (which chiefly conſiſted of Dutchmē of low Germany) out of the which they tooke away wyth them aboue 500. ſtronge and valiaunt ſouldiours, not kyllyng them, but caryinge them away aliue. For whom it had bene much better to haue ſtand to their weapon and to haue dyed manfully vpon the Turkes, then by yeldyng themſelues, to be diſgarniſhed of weapon and armour, and ſo to be left to the curſed curteſie of the foule Turkes. To whom what curteſie was ſhewed, by the ſequele did appeare. For after the Turkes had ledde them out of Hungary into their owne dominion, after a moſt horrible and beaſtly ſort they diſfigured and mangled them, and ſo ſent them abroad thorough all Grecia to be witneſſes of the Turkes victory. Their kynd of puniſhmēt was this: Firſt they had their right arme thruſt through with an iron red hote, wherby they ſhould be vnable and vnmete to all labour and warrefare. Secondly, their heades were ſhauen to the very ſculs, after the maner of our Friers and Monkes, when they are newly ſhauē. Thirdly, they had al their priuy members cut of frō their bodies, to the entent to make them vnfruitful for propagatiō: which wound was ſo greuous vnto thē, ỷ the greateſt part of thē died therupō, the few ỷ recouered ỷ torment thereof, led a life more bitter & more miſerable thē death it ſelf. And this kynd of crueltie was executed

The cowardly viage of Ioachimus Duke of Brandeburge, agaynſt the turk.

500. Chriſtē ſouldiours taken & caryed away of the turkes.

The horrible puniſhments practiſed of the turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians.

in order vpon them all. In much like ſort dyd cruell Pharao exerciſe his tyranny againſt the people of God in Egypt: who to deſtroy the generation of them, cauſed all the male children to be drowned in the ryuer. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that ſeyng the tyranny of this Turkiſh Pharao is come to ſuch an extremitie, the mercyfull goodneſſe of God will the more ſhortly ſend ſome Moſes or other vnto vs for our ſpeedy deliueraunce. This was by the cruell Turkes done, an. 1541. witneſſed by Ioannes Ramus, which not onely writeth the ſtory, but by the teſtimonie alſo of his owne eyes recordeth the ſame to be true, beholdyng with his eyes one of the ſame number in the Citie of Vienna, who hauyng wife and children in Bruxelles, either for ſhame or ſorrow, had no mynde to returne home to his owne houſe. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

Ex Ioan. Ramo, de rebus Turcicis, lib. 2.

The falſenes of the turke in keeping no promiſe with the Chriſtians.

But to returne agayne to ÿ citie of Buda, from whence we haue digreſſed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falſhode and what crueltie the Turkes vſed toward the Chriſtians there, after their victory. For after that Solyman the Turke vpon the yeldyng and ſubmiſſiõ of ÿ mẽ of Buda, had geuen to them his promiſe of ſafetie and lyfe, within ſhort tyme, the ſayd Turke pickyng a quarell with them for ſellyng Oxen vnto the Chriſtians, and for barganyng with thẽ, ſlue all the Magiſtrates of the ſaid Citie of Buda: lyke as in all other Cities, where ſoeuer the Chriſtians yelded vnto hym, he neuer, or very rarely kept his promiſe with thẽ, neither dyd euer any Chriſtians ſpede better with the Turke, then they which moſt conſtantly did reſiſte him.

An horrible example of the beaſtly crueltie of the falſe turke.

And as his promiſe with the Magiſtrates of Buda was falſe and wretched: ſo his crueltie with the ſouldiours therof was much more notorious and abhominable. For in the expugnatiõ of Buda, amõg the reſt which were ſlayne, ij. cohortes or bandes of Chriſtiã ſouldiours came alyue to his handes. To whom, when he ſemed at the firſt to graũt pardon of life, he cõmaunded to put on their armour agayn, and to diſpoſe themſelues in order and battayle array after the warlyke maner of the Chriſtiãs. Which when they had accompliſhed readyly, accordyng to his commaundement, & he rydyng about the rankes of them, had diligently vewed and beholden them a certaine ſpace, at length he commaunded thẽ to put of their armour agayne. Which done, certaine of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of them he pyked out, the reſidue he commaunded by his ſouldiours commyng behynd them, with ſwordes to be cut in peeces and ſlayne. Of the other, whom he had elected and choſen, ſome he ſet for markes & butts to be ſhot at: ſome he appointed to his two ſonnes, for them to ſlaſh with their ſwordes, and to trye their ſtrength, which of them could geue the deeper wound (& as they termed it) the fayrer blow, whereby moſt bloud might folow out of their Chriſtian bodyes. Ex Mart. Stella. De ſucceſſibus Turcarum.

Ex Epiſt. Marti. Stella, de ſucceſſibus Turcarum, &c.

After the wynning of Buda, the Turke purpoſing not ſo to ceaſe before he had ſubdued and brought vnder his obedience all Hungary, procedyng further with his armye, firſt brought vnder a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians named Peſtum or Peſta, where a great number of Chriſtiã ſouldiours partly were ſlayne, partly were ledde away to more cruell affliction.

The caſtle of Walpo wonne of the turkes.

Then he came to an other Caſtle called Walpo ſituate in the confines of Boſna, Croatia, and Hungary. Whiche forte or caſtle he beſieged three monethes, while no reſcue nor ayde was ſent vnto them, neither from Ferdinandus kyng of Hungary, nor from any other Chriſten Prince or Princes. Wherupon at length the forte was geuẽ vp to the Turke, but more through the falſe trechery or cowardly hart of the ſouldiours, then of the Captaine. Wherein is to be noted an example not vnworthy of memory. For whẽ the cowardly ſouldiours, either for feare or for flattery, would needes ſurrender thẽſelues and the peece vnto the Turke, contrary to the mynde of their Captaine, whiche in no caſe would agree to their yeldyng: they thinkyng to finde fauour with the Turke, apprehended their Captaine, & gaue hym to Solyman. But ſee how the iuſtice of God ſometimes by the handes of the enemy, diſpoſeth the end of thinges to the rewardyng of vertue, & puniſhyng of vice. For where they thought to ſaue themſelues by the daunger of their faythfull Captaine, the euent turned cleane contrary, ſo that the Turke was to the Captaine bountyfull and very liberall: and the ſouldiours, notwithſtandyng that they had all yelded themſelues, yet were all put to death and commaunded pitiouſly to be ſlayne. Ex Ioan. Martino Stella De Turcarum in Hungaria ſucceſſibus. &c.

A notable example of Gods iudgementes lightyng vpon themſelues, which meane falſehoode toward the innocent.

The citie of v. churches yelded to the turkes.

There is in Hungary an other town bearyng the name of fiue Churches, called Quinqueecleſienſis, partly ſpoyled before, as is aboue mẽtioned, pag. 723. but now through the loſſe of Walpo, and by the hugeneſſe of the Turkes armye (conteinyng in it. 120. thouſand fightyng men) was ſo diſcouraged and put out of hope and hart, that the Byſhop and chief nobles of ÿ towne fled before ÿ ieoperdy: the reſt of the commons, which were partly preuented by the ſodayne commyng of the Turkes, partly for pouertie could not auoyde, ſent their meſſengers to the Turke, to yeld and ſurrender the towne, vpon promiſe of lyfe, vnto his handes. Whoſe promiſe how firme it ſtode, ÿ ſtory leaueth it vncertaine. This is affirmed, that three dayes after the yeldyng of this Quinqueecleſienſis, neuer a Turke durſt enter the Citie. an. 1543. Ex Ioan. Mart. Stella. & alijs.

The byſhop leaueth hys flocke in the bryers.

Socloſia a towne in Hungary ſubdued of the turkes.

The next forte or hold gotten by the Turkes in Hungary, was Socloſia. The towne at the firſt inuaſion of the Turkes, was wonne, ſackte, and fiered. The Caſtle within the towne, did ſomething hold out a tyme: and firſt requiryng truce for xiiij. dayes, to ſee what ayde ſhould be ſent vnto them, and to deliberate vpon the cõditions that ſhould be propoſed vnto them, after the 14. dayes expired, they truſtyng to the ſituation and munitiõ of the place, (which was very ſtrong) began for a certaine ſpace ſtoutly to put backe the enemy: But afterward ſeyng their walles to be battered, their foundations to ſhake (for the Turke had ſet xij. thouſand vndermyners vnder the dyches of ÿ caſtle) & their ſtrength to diminiſh, and miſdoubtyng themſelues not to be able long to hold out, agreed in lyke maner to yeld themſelues, vpon condition to eſcape with lyfe and goodes. Which condition of ſauyng their goodes, was the looſing of their lyues, eſpecially of the richer ſorte. For the Turkes perceauyng by that condition, that they were of wealth and ſubſtaunce, omittyng the inferiour or baſer ſorte, fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and ſlew them euery one. an. 1543. Ibid.

Couetouſnes of worldly goodes is the deſtruction of many a man.

The turke keepeth no promiſe.

In the whiche his hiſtory this is alſo to be noted, that duryng the tyme while the caſtle of Socloſia was beſieged, the villages and pages round about the ſame, came of their owne accorde, ſubmittyng and yeldyng themſelues vnto the Turke, bringyng in (as they were commaunded) all kynde of victuall and forage, into the Turkes campe. Which done, Solyman the Turke commaunded all the head men of the pages to appeare before him, which humbly obeyed & came. Then the Turke warned them to returne agayne the next day after, euery one bryngyng with him his inferiour retinue, and houſhold ſeruauntes. Which when they had with lyke diligence alſo, accordyng to his commaundement, accompliſhed, the Turke immediatly commaunded them euery one, in the face of his whole army, to be ſlaine, and ſo was this their reward. Which reward the more that it declareth the bloudy cruelty of the Turke: the more encourage it may miniſter to our men, the more conſtauntly to withſtãd hym. Ex Martino Stella.

Example what commeth by Chriſten mens yeldyng to the turke.

Strigonium a citie in Hũgary beſieged of the turkes.

An other ſtrõg towne there is in Hungary named Strigonium, diſtant from Buda aboue ſayd, the ſpace of fiue Dutch myles, agaynſt the which the Turkes made great preparation of ordinaunce and all other inſtrumentes of artillary neceſſary for the ſiege therof. Which Citie in like maner begam alſo to be compaſſed & incloſed by the turkes, before it could be ſufficiently prepared & garniſhed of our men, but that the Archbyſhop onely of Strigon priuely conueyed vnto them. 100. Oxen. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus kyng of Hungary, which ſo ſlenderly looked vnto the neceſſary defence of his townes and cities. Moreouer ſuch was the diſcorde then of Chriſten Kynges and Princes, whiche in their ciuill diſſenſion & warres were ſo occupyed and hoate in needeles quarels, that they had neither leyſure nor remembraũce, to helpe in tyme there, where true neede required. Which ſlender care, and cold zeale of the Chriſtian rulers, in not tenderyng the publicke cauſe, while they contend in priuate trifles, hath cauſed the Turke to come ſo farre as he hath, and yet farther is like, vnleſſe the mercy of the Lord do helpe more, then our diligence. One of the chief Captaines within the citie, was Martinus Laſcanus, a Spanyard.

Negligence of Chriſten princes in publicke defence.

The Turkes in the begynnyng of the ſiege began firſt to attempt the Citizens with fayre wordes, and accuſtomed promiſes, to yeld and gẽtly to ſubmit themſelues. But they not ignoraunt of the Turkes promiſes wiſely refuſed, and manfully ſtode ſo long as they could to the defence of their citie, now and then ſkirmiſhing with them in out corners, and killing certaine numbers of them: ſometyme with their ſhot diſturbyng their munitions, and breakyng the wheeles of their gunnes. &c.

Three ſpeciall helpes of the turkes in wynnyng townes and cities.

Three ſpeciall meanes the Turkes vſe in wynnyng great fortes & Cities: great multitude of ſouldiours: great ordinaunce and mortarie peeces: the thyrd is by vndermynyng. All whiche here in the ſiege of this Citie, lacked not. This ſiege continued vehement a certaine ſpace: in whiche

The citizens of Strigonium flie the citie.

the Strigonians had borne out foure ſtrong aſſaultes, & ſlue many thouſandes of the Turkes, till at length the Turkes either departyng away, or els ſeemyng to depart vnto Buda, the people at leaſt beyng ſo perſwaded and made to beleue of ſome chief rulers of the Citie (peraduenture not the trueſt men) the Citizens beyng erected with hope and comforte, and ſingyng Te Deum, as though the Citie had bene free from all daunger, ſodenly (by whoſe counſaile it is vnknowen) conueyed thẽſelues all out of the Citie. 300. horſemen alſo paſſed ouer the ryuer and departed. The Italians whiche were vnder Franciſcus Salamanca a Spaniſhe Captaine, hardly could be perſwaded by him to abide, which were in all ſcarſe. 600.

The towne of Strigonium deſtroyed after the flying of the citizens, and the caſtell defended.

An Italian feare in yelding the caſtle of Strigonium to the turke.

Within 3. daies after 300. Germaine ſouldiours, & ij. ſhips laden with ſhot, powder, & artillery, were priuily let into the towne: So that of our men all there were ſcarſe. 1300. ſouldiours. Who ſeing the ſmall quantitie of their number, burnyng and caſtyng downe the towne and ſuburbes, tooke thẽ to the caſtle: from whence they beate of the Turkes valiauntly with their ordinaunce, a good ſpace, and with wild fire deſtroyed great cõpanyes of them, till at laſt, they ſeyng their walles to fayle them, and the whole caſtle to ſhake by vnderminyng, but eſpecially by the workyng of a certaine Italian ſurnamed Preſbyter, They gaue ouer. This Italian whether for feare, or falſehode, ſecretly, vnknowyng to the reſt of the ſouldiours, accompanyed with two other, conueyed himſelfe downe from the walles, and beyng brought into the tẽtes of the next captaine or Baſſa of the Turkes, there in the name of all his felowes, conuented with the Turkes, to geue vp to them the Caſtle: whereupon the Turkes were byd to ceaſe the ſhootyng. This Italian ſhortly after, with two other Turkes was ſent backe to Salamanca his Captaine, with the Turkes meſſage. The goyng out of this Italian beyng priuy to the reſidue of his felowes, contrary to the lawes and diſcipline of warre, although it ſeemed to come of his owne head: yet for ſomuch as the other ſouldiours were not ſure, but rather ſuſpected leſt the other Italians his countreymen had bene in ſome part of conſent therein, and would take his part: neither durſt offer him any harme for that his doyng, nor yet could well aduiſe with themſelues what was beſt to do, for feare of priuy confederacie within themſelues.

A turkiſhe truce taken with the Chriſtians, they not knowing thereof.

The falſe turkes neuer true in promiſe.

Thus while Laſcanus the chief Captaine of the Chriſtians aforeſayd, with his fellow ſouldiours, were in a maſe what to do or not to do: in the meane tyme came one runnyng, who geuyng a ſigne both to the Chriſtians and the Turkes, to hold their handes and weapons, for that it was agaynſt all law of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commaunded, went into the inward tower. The Turkes in the meane tyme, had got into the Caſtle, and occupyed all the vtter partes. Then was Salamãca by the conſent of the reſt, ſent out to the Turke, who there beyng ſtayde that night, the next morow the Turkes bull or warrant was ſent into the Caſtle, permittyng free libertie to the Chriſtians to departe with bagge and baggage. Who now beyng ready to depart, firſt were commaunded by the Turkes compaſſing them rounde about, to caſt from them their Dagges, Launces, & battaile Axes, into the trench. Then commyng to the gate to go out, their ſwordes were taken from them, lookyng then for nothyng, but preſent death.

The miſerable affliction of our Chriſten ſouldiours taken at Strigonium.

Holy ſouldiours & Martyrs ſlayne of the turkes for their faythfull religion.

At laſt when they were come a litle further, other were ſent to them to diſcharge them of their helmettes, their targattes, curettes, and whatſoeuer peece of harnes was about them. Wherupon great feare came vpõ them, leſt ſome great crueltie ſhould be ſhewed vpon them. Solyman after he had long deliberated with himſelfe, whether to kill them or not, at laſt cõtrary to all expectation, graũted their liues: but before they ſhould be diſmiſſed, he firſt cauſed them, in deriſion of Chriſtianitie, to be bayted with ſcornes and mockes throughout all the Turkiſhe army, and ſo the next day commaunded them beyng ſtript out of their coates and apparell, to be reduced agayne into the caſtle by companyes, ſettyng ouer them certaine Turkes with cudgels & battes to lay vpon their backes and ſides, cauſing them to bury the dead carcaſes, and to gather vp the rubiſhe broken downe frõ the caſtlewalles, and to ſcoure the ditches. Which done, the next day folowing he demaunded of them by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horſe and armour to ſerue hym in his warres. Which condition diuers for feare were contented to take, ſeyng no other ſhift to auoyde preſent death. Some neither by menaſſing wordes, nor for any feare of death, could be compelled therunto: of whom certaine which ſtode ſtoutly in refuſing therof, were preſently ſlayne, whom I may worthely recite in the number and catalogue of holy Martyrs.

Of the foreſayd Chriſtians, part were caryed ouer the riuer of Danubius, not without great vilany, and cõtumely moſt deſpitefull. For ſome had their wiues taken from them and caryed away, ſome had their wiues rauiſhed before their face: and ſuch as made or ſhewed any reſiſtance thereat, had their wiues before them caſt into the riuer and drowned: alſo their infantes and yong children, beyng appointed by the turkes to the abhominable order of the Ianizarites, mentioned before, pag. 717. their parentes not conſentyng therunto, were precipitate and throwen into yͤ riuer and drowned. All which thinges are teſtified by Ioa. Martinus Stella, in hys Epiſtles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William & Michael. &c. Which Mart. Stella moreouer this addeth and affirmeth, that he himſelfe beyng the ſame tyme at Vienna, did ſee one of the foreſayde wyues, who beyng holden faſt by the heare of her head, yet notwithſtãding hauing her heare pluckt of, caſt her ſelf into the riuer Danubius, for the ſingular loue to her huſband, and ſo ſwamme to the ſhippe where he was. And thus this miſerable company of Germaynes, Spanyardes, and Italyans met together, macerate with labours, with hunger pyned, wyth watchynges, dolours, and ſorow conſumed, came at length to Schinda.

Ex Ioan. Martino Stella in Epiſtolis ad fratres.

Diuers opinions of the Viennians touching theſe miſerable afflicted ſouldiours.

When the tydings therof was noyſed at Vienna, partly with feare and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hartes were moued & vexed diuerſly. Some thought them not worthy to be receiued into their Citie, ſhewing themſelues ſo daſtardly and ſo cowardly. Other thought agayne that mercy was to be ſhewed vnto them, and commended their fact for that they beyng ſo few, & vnfurniſhed of ayde, neyther hable to match by any meanes with ſuch an innumerable multitude of the Turkes, kept themſelues till better tyme myght ſerue them. But howſoeuer the matter was to be thought of, the captaynes brought the poore remnaunt of that rufull company, vnto Poſſonium, where the ſayd Captaynes were layd faſt, and there kept in durance, to render accompt of the whole matter, how it was wrought and handled. And thus haue ye the lamentable ſtory of Strigonium.

Tath, ſubdued of the turkes.

Victory hath neuer ſucceſſe vnder a wicked captayne and ſwearer.

The Turke proceeding in his victories, conducted his armie next vnto Tath, and to the partes lying neare about Comaron. This Tathe was alſo a ſtrong holde in Hũgary wherein were placed certaine garriſons, partly of the Germaines, partly of yͤ Italiãs. The chieftaine of yͤ Italians was one Annibal Taſſo, cõſtitute by Philippus Torneilius. This Taſſo was a man wel expert in prowes of war, but of a filthy corrupt lyfe, & alſo a foule ſwearer, & horrible blaſphemer of God & hys ſaintes. To make the ſtory ſhort, this forte of Tathe, before any ſiege was layd vnto it, was yelded & geuẽ vp to the Turkes: vpon what conditions, or by whoſe meanes, the author ſheweth not: Thus much he ſheweth, that the ſayd Anniball ſhortly vpon the ſame, returning into Italy, was commaunded by Torneilius aforeſayd, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Alba Regalis beſieged of the turke.

The turkes deuiſe in filling vp the mariſhe.

A ſtratageme of the Chriſtians agaynſt the turkes.

A note touching the French kyng that then was.

After the turkes had ſubuerted and deſtroyed the forte of Tathe, they turned their power againſt Alba, ſurnamed Regalis, for that the kyngs of Hũgary haue bene alwayes wont there to be crowned, and buryed. This Alba is a litle well compacted Citie in Hũgary, hauing on the one ſide a maryſhe ſomewhat foggiſhe or fennye, which made the towne leſſe aſſaultable. But neare to yͤ ſame was a woode from the which the Turkes euery day with vi. C. cartes, brought ſuch matter of wood and trees felled for the ſame purpoſe, into the mariſhe, that within leſſe then xij. dayes they made it apte and hard to their feete: which the townes men thought neuer coulde be gone vpon, but onely in the hard froſtes of wynter. At the firſt beginning of the ſiege, there ſtoode a litle without the munitions in the front of the Citie, a certaine Church or Monaſtery, which the Citizens pretending to maintaine and keepe agaynſt the turkes, had priuely conueyed light matter eaſily to take flame, wyth powder, in ſecret places therof, and had hid alſo fire withall. Which done, they (as againſt their willes beyng driuen backe, withdrew themſelues within the munitions, waytyng the occaſion, when this fire would take. Thus the turkes hauing the poſſeſſion of the church, ſodenly the fire comming to the powder, rayſed vp the Church, & made a great ſcatter and ſlaughter among the barbarous turkes. This was not ſo ſoone eſpyed of them within the towne, but they iſſued out vppon them in this diſturbaunce, and ſlue of them a great number: Amõg whom diuers of their nobles alſo the ſame tyme were ſlayne; and one Baſſa an Eunuch, which was of great eſtimation with the turkes. Moreouer, in the ſame ſkyrmiſhe was taken one of thoſe gunners, which the French kyng is ſayd to haue ſent to yͤ turke a litle before. Which if it be true, let the Chriſtiã reader iudge what is to be thought of thoſe Chriſten princes,

which

Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Marti. Stella, ad fratres. De Turcar. in Hungaria ſucceſsibus.

whiche not onely forſakyng the common cauſe of Chriſtes Church ioyned league with the Turke, but alſo ſent hym gunners to ſet forward his warres to the deſtruction of Chriſtes people, and to the ſhedyng of their bloud, for whom they know the bloud of Chriſt to be ſhed. If this be not true, I ſhew myne authour: If it be, then let the Pope ſee and marke well how his title of Chriſtianiſsimus, can well agree with ſuch doynges.

But to let this matter ſleape, although the Turkes (as ye heard) had wonne the fenne, with their policie and induſtry, agaynſt the Citie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothyng inferiour to their enemyes, through the valiant help & couragious endeuour of Octauianus Seruzatus, a Captaine of Millane. By whoſe prudent counſaile and conſtant ſtandyng, the buſy enterpriſes of the Turkes did litle preuayle a long tyme, till at length, ſodenly aroſe a thicke fogge or miſte vpon the Citie, where as round about beſides, the ſunne did ſhyne bright. Some ſayd it came by Arte Magicall, but rather it may appeare to ryſe out of the fenne or mariſh, beyng ſo preſſed downe with mens feete, & other matter layd vpon it.

The outward walles gotten by the Turkes.

The Turkes vſing the occaſion of this myſtie darkneſ, in ſecret wiſe approchyng the walles, had got vp to a certaine fortreſſe, where the Germaines were, before our men could well perceaue them: where they preſſed in ſo thicke, and in ſuch number, that albeit the Chriſtian ſouldiours ſtandyng ſtrongly to the defence of their lyues, dyd what valiaunt men in caſes of ſuch extremitie were able to do: yet beyng ouermatched with the multitude of the Turkes, and the ſodennes of their commyng, gaue backe, ſeekyng to retire into the inward walles. Which when their other felowes did ſee to recule, then was there fleeng of all handes, euery man ſtriuyng to get into the Citie. There was betwene the outward walles or bamures, and inward gate of the Citie, a ſtraite or narrow paſſage, caſt vp in maner of a banke or cauſey, ditched on both ſides: which paſſage or ingreſſe happened the ſame tyme to be barred and ſtopped. By reaſõ wherof the poore ſouldiours were forced to caſt them ſelues into the ditche, thinkyng to ſwymme as well as they could, into the Citie: where many of them ſtickyng in the mudde, were drowned, one preſſing vpon an other: many were ſlayne of their enemyes commyng behynde them, they hauyng neither hart, nor power to reſiſt. A few which could ſwymme out, were receaued into the Citie: but the chief Captaines and warders of the towne, were there ſlayne.

A miſerable ſlaughter of Chriſten ſouldiours.

The Citizens beyng deſtitute of their principall Captaines and warriors, were in great perplexitie and doubt among themſelues, what to do, ſome thinkyng good to yeld, ſome counſailyng the contrary. Thus while the myndes of the Citizens were diſtract in diuers and doubtfull ſentẽces, the Magiſtrates myndyng to ſtand to ẏ turkes gentlenes, ſent out one of their heads vnto the turke, who in the name of them all, ſhould ſurrender to him the Citie, and become vnto him tributaries, vpõ cõdition they might enioy libertie of life & goods, which being to them grãted, after ẏ turkiſh faith & aſſurãce, firſt the ſouldiours which were left wͭin ẏ citie, puttyng of their armour, were diſcharged & ſent away. who beyng but onely. 300. left of foure enſignes of Italians, and of a thouſand Germaines, by the way were layd for by the Tartarians, for hope of their ſpoyle: ſo that they ſcatteryng a ſunder one one way, an other an other, to ſaue themſelues as well as they could, fled euery one what way he thought beſt. Of whom ſome wanderyng in woodes and mariſhes faynted for famine: ſome were taken and ſlayne by the Hungarians: a few with bare and emptie, and withered bodyes, more lyke goſtes then men, eſcaped and came to Vienna. And this befell vpon the ſouldiours.

Let neuer good Chriſtians ſtand to the turkes gentleneſ.

Now vnderſtand what happened to the yeldyng Citizens. So in ſtory it foloweth, that when the Turke had entred the towne, and had viſited the ſepulchre of the kynges, for iij. or foure dayes he pretended much clemencie toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppreſſe them, but to be reuenged of Ferdinãdus their kyng, and to deliuer them from the ſeruitude of the Germaines. On the fourth day, all the chief & head men of the city were cõmaũded to appeare before the Turke in a playne, not farre frõ the Citie, where the condemned perſons before were wont to be executed, as though they ſhould come to ſweare vnto the Turke. At this commaundement of the Turke, when the Citizens in great nũber, & in their beſt attire were aſſembled, the turke contrary to his fayth and promiſe, cõmaunded ſodenly a generall ſlaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of thoſe Citizens of Alba.

The crueltie of the turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians.

What it is to yelde to the turke, and to ſticke to hys promiſe.

In the meane tyme, duryng this ſiege of Alba, the Hungarians meetyng ſometymes with the horſemen of ẏ Tartarians, whiche were ſent out to ſtop vitailes from the Citie, ſlue of thẽ at one bickeryng. 3000. Turkes. In which ſtory is alſo reported & mentioned of myne authour, an horrible ſight and example of miſery, concernyng a certaine captiue (a Chriſtian belyke) who commyng into Vienna, was founde to haue in his ſcrippe or ſatchell the halfe of a young childe of two yeares old, whiche remained yet vneaten, the other halfe beyng eaten before. an. 1543. Ibid.

The Citizens of Alba deſtroyed of the turkes.

Halfe of a young childe found in the ſatchel of a captiue commyng frõ the turkes.

Next after this was expugned the Caſtle of Pappa, by the Turkes. Let the Caſtle now of Papa take hede, leſt one day it folow after.

The caſtell of Pappa wonne of the turkes.

The like fidelitie the Turkes alſo kept, with the forte of Wizigradum and the ſouldiours therof. This Wizigradum is ſituate in the myd way betwene Buda and Strigonium. Of the which forte or caſtle, the higheſt tower ſo mounteth vpõ the hill, that vnleſſe it be for famine and lacke of water, they haue not to dread any enemy. Notwithſtandyng ſo it happened, that the lower peece beyng wonne, they in the higher tower abydyng foure dayes without drinke, were compelled with libertie graunted of lyfe and goodes, to yeld themſelues. But the deuiliſh Turkes keepyng no fayth nor promiſe, ſlue them euery one, onely Petrus Amandus the Captaine of the peece, excepted: who priuely was conueyed by the Captaine of the Turkes, out of the ſlaughter. an. 1544.

Wizigradũ gotte & ſurpriſed of the turkes.

The falſe dealing and crueltie of the turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians.

To theſe moreouer may be added the winnyng of Nouum Caſtellum in Dalmatia, where he ſlue all that were within, both ſouldiours and other, for that they did not yeld themſelues in tyme. Thus the Turke, whether they yelded to him or not, neuer ſpared the people and flocke of Chriſt.

Nouum Caſtellum in Dalmatia wonne by the turkes.

As the falſe & cruell Turke was thus ragyng in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pitie of the Chriſtians, and eaſely might then haue preuayled and gone whether he would, for that Charles the Emperor and Franciſcus the French kyng were the ſame tyme in warre and hoſtilitie, and alſo other Chriſtian Princes, as Henry Duke of Brunſwike, agaynſt Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxone, alſo Princes and rulers were contendyng among themſelues: behold the gracious prouidence of our Lord and God toward vs, who ſeyng the miſery and hauyng pitie of his poore Chriſtians, ſodenly as with a ſnaffell reyned this ragyng beaſt, and brought him out of Europe into his own countrey agayne, by occaſion of the Perſians, who were then in great preparation of warre agaynſt the Turkes, & had inuaded his dominiõ. By reaſon wherof the Turke was kept there occupyed, fightyng with the Perſians a long continuaunce. Which warres at length beyng atchyued and finiſhed, (wherein the ſayd Turke loſt great victories, with ſlaughter of many thouſandes of his Turkes) he was not onely prouoked by the inſtigation of certaine euill diſpoſed Hungariãs, but alſo occaſioned by the diſcorde of Chriſtian Princes, to returne agayne into Europe, in hope to ſubdue all the partes therof vnto his dominion. Wherevnto, when he had leuyed an army incredible of ſuch a multitude of Turkes, as the lyke hath not lightly bene heard of, ſee agayne the mercyfull prouidence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turke was thus intendyng to ſet forward with this innumerable multitude againſt the Chriſtiãs, the hand of the Lord ſent ſuch a peſtilence through all the Turkes army and dominions, reachyng from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Macedonia and alſo to Hungary, that all the Turkes poſſeſsiõs almoſt ſeemed nothyng els, but as a heape of dead corſes, whereby his viage for that tyme was ſtopped, and he almoſt compelled to ſeke a new army.

The diſcorde of Chriſtian princes within themſelues.

The turke occaſioned to returne out of Europe into Aſia.

The prouidence of God for his Chriſtians.

An other example of Gods prouidence for his people.

Beſide this plague of the Turkes aforeſayd, whiche was worſe to them thẽ any warre, other lettes alſo and domeſticall calamities through Gods prouidẽce happened vnto Solymannus, the great rouer and robber of the world, which ſtayde hym at home from vexyng the Chriſtians, eſpecially touchyng his eldeſt ſonne Muſtapha.

This Muſtapha beyng hated and partly feared of Ruſtanus the chief counſailour about the Turke, and of Roſa the Turkes concubine & after his wife, was diuers tymes complayned of to his father, accuſed, and at lẽgth ſo brought into ſuſpition and diſpleaſure of the Turke, by them aforeſayd, that in concluſion his father cauſed him to be ſent for to his pauilion, where vj. Turkes with viſours were appointed to put him to death: Who commyng vpon hym, put (after their maner) a ſmall corde or bowſtryng full of knots about his necke, & ſo throwyng him downe vpon the groũd, not ſufferyng him to ſpeake one word to his father, with the twitche therof throtteled and ſtrangeled him to death, his father ſtandyng in a ſecret corner by, & beholdyng the ſame. Which fact beyng perpetrate, afterward when the Turke would haue geuen to an other ſonne of his and of Roſa called Gianger, the treaſures, horſe, armour, ornamentes & the

Solymã the turke murdereth Muſtapha hys owne ſonne.

prouince of Muſtapha his brother: Gianger crying out for ſorrow of his brothers death: fye of thee, ſayth he to his father, thou impious and wretched dog, traytour, murderer. I can not call thee father, take the treaſures, the horſe & armour of Muſtapha to thee ſelfe: and with that takyng out his dagger, thruſt it through his own body. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his owne ſonnes: which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1552.

The louyng prouidence of our Lord for his Chriſtians.

Wherein notwithſtandyng is to be noted the ſingular prouidence and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted Chriſtians. For this Muſtapha as he was couragious & greatly expert and exerciſed in all practiſe of warre: ſo had he a cruell hart, maliciouſly ſet to ſhed ẏ bloud of chriſtiãs: wherfore great cauſe haue we to cõgratulate, & to geue thankes to God, for the happy takyng away of this Muſtapha. And no leſſe hope alſo and good comfort we may conceaue of our louyng Lord, hereby miniſtred vnto vs, to thinke that our mercyfull God after theſe ſore afflictions of his Chriſtians vnder theſe xij. Turkes afore recited: now after this Solyman entendeth ſome gratious good worke to Chriſtẽdome, to reduce and releaſe vs out of this ſo long and miſerable Turkiſh captiuitie: as may be hoped now by takyng away theſe young impes of this impious generation, before they ſhould come to worke their cõceaued malice agaynſt vs: the Lord therfore be glorified and prayſed. Amen.

Good hope at Gods hand to be conceiued of Chriſtians.

Moreouer as I was in writyng hereof, opportunely came to my handes a certaine writyng out of Germany, certifieng vs of ſuch newes & victory of late atchiued agaynſt the Turke, as may not a litle increaſe our hope and cõfort as touchyng the decay and ruine of the Turkes power and tyranny agaynſt vs. Which newes are theſe: ẏ after ẏ Turkiſh tyraunt had beſieged with an army of. 30000. men, the famous and ſtrong towne and Caſtle of Iula in Hungary, lying. 40. Dutch myles beyõd the riuer Danubius, which Citie had, by the ſpace of vj. weekes ſuſteyned many greuous aſſaultes: God through his great mercy and goodnes ſo comforted the ſayd towne of Iula and the poore Chriſtians therein, at their earneſt prayers, that the Turke with all his hoſt was driuen backe, by the handes of the generall, called Keretſhim Laſlaw and his valiaunt company. Who not onely defended the ſayd towne, but alſo conſtrayned the Turkes to retyre, to their great ſhame and confuſion, with a great ſlaughter of the Turkiſhe rable: For the which the euerliuyng God be prayſed for euer.

Good newes of the turkes lately repulſed by the Chriſtians.

The maner of their ouerthrow was this. As the foreſayd generall did ſee his aduauntage with captaine George, & other horſmen of the Sileſians and Hungariãs, they ſet on the rereward of the Turkes and killed about. 8000. of thẽ, and tooke alſo ſome of their artillary & folowed them ſo faſt, that the Turkes were conſtrayned to flye into a mariſhe grounde, and to breake the wheeles of the reſt of their artillary, to ſaue themſelues, and therewith they got a very rich booty, reſcuyng beſides and takyng frõ the Turkes a great number of Chriſtian priſoners. Like thankes alſo are to be geuen to God, for the proſperous ſucceſſe geuen to Magotſchie the valiaunt Captaine of Erla, who makyng toward the Turkes, and encounteryng with the Tartarians, ſlue of them about viij. hundreth.

8000. turkes ſlayne.

Chriſtiã captiues reſcued and takẽ frõ the turkes. 800. turkes ſlayne.

Not long after this, it happened through the like prouidence of our God, a Turkiſh Captaine called Begen, accõpanyed with a thouſand freſh horſemen came newly out of Turky, to go toward the Citie named Quinque Eccleſiæ, or Finffenkyrchen: with whom the Earle of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night ſettyng vpon hym, killed the Captaine and tooke viij. Camels, and viij. Moyles laden with treaſure, and alſo got two red Guidons, with a whole great peece of rich cloth of gold, and with an other fayre and ſtraunge Iewel. The horſe of this foreſayd Turkiſh captaine, was betrapped and decked moſt richely. The ſadle wherof had the pomel and the backe part couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke gold, and the reſt of the ſadle, beſide the ſittyng place, was plated with ſiluer very fayre gilded. The ſeate of the ſadle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and bridle beſet with litle Turkeys, and Rubies: Which horſe was ſent to Vienna vnto the Emperour Maximilian for a preſent.

A great captayne of the turkes ſlaine and his treaſure taken.

Although the Earle would very fayne haue ſaued the Captaine, not knowing what he was, yet the Ianizarites, labouryng to cary away their Captaine, ſo ſtifly defended thẽſelues, that the Earle with his company, was cõſtrayned to kill both them and their Captaine. From whom the ſayd Earle of Serin the ſame time, got. xv. thouſand Turkiſh and Hungariſh Ducates: which money was brought for the payment of the Turkiſhe ſouldiours in the towne aforeſayd of Finffenkyrchen, &c. All whiche be good begynnings of greater goodnes to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Chriſt our Lord, eſpecially if our Chriſtiã rulers and potentates, firſt the Churchmen and Prelates for their partes: then the ciuile powers and princes for their partes, wyth holding their affectiõs a litle, will turne their brawles and variaunce, into brotherly concorde and agreement, which the Lord of peace put in their mindes to doe. Amen. Or otherwiſe if it ſo pleaſe the Lord, that the turke come further vpon vs, ſo as he hath begon, for our puniſhement and caſtigation, his grace then geue to the flocke of his poore Chriſtians, conſtancie of fayth, pacience in ſufferyng, and amendment of lyfe: For ſo I vnderſtand by publicke fame, although vncerteinely rumored by the voyce of ſome, that the Turkes power of late, this preſent yeare of our Lord 1566. hath perced the parties of Apulia wythin Italy, waſting and burnyng the ſpace of an. 100. myles toward Naples. Which if it be certayne, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauing thus ſet in his foote, & feeling ẏ ſweetenes of Italy, will not ſo ceaſe before he get in both head & ſhoulders alſo ſo farre into Italy, that he will diſplay hys banners within the walles of Rome, & doe with old Rome the like as Mahumete his great grandfather did with new Rome the citie of Conſtantinople, and as the Perſians did with Babylon.

The turke pearcing into Italy.

The cauſes why we haue ſo to iudge, be diuers: firſt that the ſea of Rome hath bene defended hetherto & maynteyned with much bloud, and therfore it may ſeeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be loſt with bloud agayne, accordyng to the verdict of the Goſpell: He that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhal periſh with the ſword, &c. An other cauſe is, the fulfillyng of the xviij. chapter of the Apocalips: where is written that great Babylon ſhall fall and be made an habitation of deuils, and a denne of vncleane ſpirites, and a cage of filthy and vncleane byrdes: the fall whereof ſhall be like a milſtone in the ſea, that is, which ſhal not riſe agayne. And this to come before ẏ day of iudgement, the texte of the ſayde chapter doth apertly declare: where the wordes do folow, ſhewing that the kynges of the earth, and the marchauntes which had to doe wyth the whoriſhe Citie, ſtanding a farre of for feare of the heat, and beholding the ſmoke of the ſayd Citie flaming and burnyng wyth fire, ſhall bewaile and rue her deſtruction and deſolation, &c. What Citie this is, called great Babylon, which like a mylſtone ſhall fall, and burne, and be made an habitation of vncleane ſpirites, and beaſtes, let the reader cõſtrue. This is certayne and playne by theſe her kynges and marchauntes ſtanding a farre of for feare, and beholding her burnyng, that the deſtruction of this Citie (what Citie ſoeuer it be) ſhall be ſeene here in earth before the comming of the Lordes iudgement, as may eaſely be gathered by theſe iij. circumſtances, that is, by the ſtanding, the beholdyng, and bewaylyng of her marchauntes. By ẏ which marchauntes and kynges of the earth, peraduenture may be ſignified, the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat doctours, and other obedienciaries of the Romiſhe ſea: who at the comming of the Turkes, will not aduenture their liues for their Church, but will flie the Citie (no doubt) & ſtand a farre of from daunger: and when they ſhall ſee with their eyes, and heare with their eares the Citie of Rome to be ſet on fire and conſumed by the cruell Turkes, the ſight therof ſhall ſeeme to them piteous and lamentable, to beholde the great and faire citie of Rome, the tall caſtell of S. Angell, the Popes mighty ſea (where they were wont to fiſhe out ſuch riches, dignities, treaſures, and pleaſures) ſo to burne before their eyes, and to come to ſuch vtter deſolatiõ, which ſhall neuer be reedified agayne, but ſhall be made an habitation of deuils and vncleane ſpirites, that is, of Turkes, and Heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c. This (I ſay) peraduenture may be the meaning of that propheticall place of the Apoc: not that I haue here any thing to pronounce, but onely geue my geſſe, what may probably be coniectured. But the end at length will make this and all other thynges more playne and manifeſt: For myſticall prophecies lightly are neuer ſo well vnderſtand, as when the euent of them is paſt and accompliſhed.

Coniectures why it is to be feared that the turke ſhall gett Rome.

The propheſie of the 18 chap. of the Apocalips expounded.

An other cauſe concurryng with the cauſes aforeſayd, may be collected out of Paulus Iouius, who writyng of the ſubuerſion of Rhodes, which was as ye heard, an. 1522. vpon Chriſtmas day: ſayth that it chaunced ſodenly the ſame day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the vj. was entryng into the church to his ſeruice, ſodenly ouer his head the vpper frontier or toppe of the Chappell doore, which was of marble, immediatly as the Pope was entryng, fell downe and ſlue certaine of his garde waityng vpon him. Whereby peraduenture may be ment, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to folow the loſſe of Rhodes.

The third cauſe. *Ex Paulo Iouio.*

The fourth cauſe I borow out of Ioannes Auentinus, who in his thyrd booke allegyng the names, but not the

wordes

The fourth cauſe. *Ex Ioan. Auentino. Annal. lib. 3. fol. 9* wordes of Hildegardis, Brigitte, and other propheticall men hath theſe wordes: Si vera ſint carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, & Bardorũ fatidicorũ, qui ea quæ noſtro æuo completo vidimus, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: Agrippinenſis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarum caput erit. &c. That is, if the ſayinges and propheſies of Hildegarde, of Brigitte, and of other propheticall perſons be true, which beyng foretold long before, we haue ſene now in theſe our dayes accompliſhed: the towne of Colene will we, nill we, muſt nedes be the head Citie of the Turkes. &c.

A propheſie.

And this I write not as one pronouncyng agaynſt the Citie of Rome, what will happen, but as one fearyng what may fal. Which if it come to paſſe (as I pray God it do not) then ſhall the Pope well vnderſtand, whether his wrong vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, & his falſe flatteryng gloſers vpon the ſame, haue brought him.

A caueat to the biſhop of Rome, if he be wiſe.

Wherfore my counſaile is to the Pope, and all his Popiſh mainteyners and vpholders, to humble themſelues, and to agree with their brethren by tyme, lettyng all contention fall: leſt that while the Byſhop of Rome ſhall ſtriue to be the higheſt of all other Byſhops, it ſo fall out ſhortly, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhalbe founde the loweſt of all other Byſhops, or peraduenture no Byſhop at all.

Whereunto alſo an other cauſe may be added, take out of Hieronimus Sauonarola, who prophecieth that one ſhall come ouer the Alpes like vnto Cyrus, and deſtroy Italy. Wherof ſee more, pag. 707.

This Solymannus, if he be yet a lyue, hath now reigned. 46. yeares, who began the ſame yeare, in the which the Emperour Charles the v. was crowned, whiche was. an. 1520. & ſo hath continued by Gods permiſſion, for a ſcourge to the Chriſtiãs, vnto this yeare now preſent. 1566. This Solyman by one of his cõcubines, had his eldeſt ſonne called Muſtapha. By an other concubine called Roſa, he had foure ſonnes, Mahumete, Baiazetes, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the which ſonnes, Muſtapha and Gianger were ſlaine (as ye heard before) by ỹ meanes of their own father.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

And thus much concernyng the wretched tyranny of the Turkes out of the authours here vnder written.

¶ The Authors of the Turkes ſtories.

Authors of the Turkes ſtories.

Laonicus Chalcondila.
Nicolaus Euboicus Epiſc. Saguntinus.
Ioan. Ramus.
Andræas a Lacuna.
Wolfgangus Drechſlerus.
Ioan. Criſpus.
Ioan. Faber.
Ludouicus Viues.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mitylenens Archiepiſc.
Sabellicus.
Iſiodorus Rutherus.
Martinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia De bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Iouius.
Ioan. Martinus Stella.
Gaſpar Peucerus. &c.
Nicolaus a Moſſen Burgundus.
Sebaſt. Munſterus.
Baptiſta Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

¶ A notice touchyng the miſerable perſecution, ſlaughter and captiuitie of the Chriſtians vnder the Turkes.

Perſecution vnder the turkes.

HEtherto thou haſt heard (Chriſtian Reader) the lamentable perſecutions of theſe latter dayes, wrought by the Turkes agaynſt the people and ſeruauntes of Chriſt. In the readyng wherof, ſuch as ſitte quietly at home, & be farre frõ ieopardy, may ſee what miſerie there is abroad, ỹ knowledge and readyng wherof, ſhall not be vnprofitable for all Chriſtians earneſtly to wey & conſider, for that many there be, which falſely deceauyng themſelues, imagen that Chriſtianitie is a quyet and reſtfull ſtate of lyfe, full of pleaſure and ſolace in this preſent world, when in deede it is nothing leſſe, teſtified by the mouth of our Sauiour himſelfe, who rightly definyng his kyngdome, teacheth vs that his kyngdome is not of this world, premoniſhing vs alſo before, that in this world we muſt looke for affliction, but in hym we ſhall haue peace. Examples hereof in all partes of this hyſtory through all ages are plentuous and euident to be ſene, whether we turne our eyes to the firſt. x. perſecutiõs in the primitiue Church duryng the firſt iij. hundreth yeares after Chriſt: or whether we cõſider the latter iij. hũdreth yeares in this laſt age of the Church, wherein the poore flocke of Chriſt hath bene ſo afflicted, oppreſſed, & deuoured, ỹ it is hard to ſay whether haue bene more cruell agaynſt ỹ Chriſtiãs, the infidell Emperours of Rome in the primitiue age of the Church, or els theſe barbarous Turkes in theſe our latter tymes of the Church now preſent.

Compariſon betwene the perſecutions of the primitiue church and of the latter Church.

Thus from tyme to tyme the Church of Chriſt almoſt hath had litle or no reſt in this earth, what for the Heathen Emperours on the one ſide, what for the proude Pope on the other ſide, and on the third ſide what for the barbarous Turke: for theſe are and haue bene from the beginnyng, the three principall & capitall enemyes of the Church of Chriſt, ſignified in the Apocalips by the beaſt, the falſe Lambe, and the falſe Prophet, from whom went out three foule ſpirites like frogges, to gather together all the kynges of the earth to the battaile of the day of the Lord God almighty. Apocal. 16. The crueltie and malice of theſe iij. enemyes agaynſt Chriſts people hath bene ſuch, that to iudge which of them did moſt excede in crueltie of perſecutiõ, it is hard to ſay: but that it may be thought that the bloudy and beaſtly tyranny of the Turkes eſpecially aboue the reſt, incomparably ſurmounteth all the afflictions and cruell ſlaughters that euer were ſene in any age, or read of in any ſtory: Inſomuch ỹ there is neither hiſtory ſo perfect, nor writer ſo diligẽt, who writyng of the miſerable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expreſſe or comprehend the horrible examples of their vnſpeakable crueltie and ſlaughter exerciſed by theſe xij. Turkiſh tyrãtes, vpon poore Chriſten mens bodyes, within the cõpaſſe of theſe latter iij. hundreth yeares. Wherof, although no ſufficient relation can be made, nor number expreſſed: yet to geue to the Reader ſome generall geſſe or vewe thereof: let vs firſt perpende and conſider what dominions & Empires, how many countreys, kyngdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, ſtrong holdes and fortes, theſe Turkes haue ſurpriſed and wonne from the Chriſtians. In all which victoryes, beyng ſo many, this is ſecondly to be noted, that there is almoſt no place, which the turkes euer came to and ſubdued, where they did not either ſlay all ỹ inhabitãtes thereof, or led away the moſt part therof into ſuch captiuitie and ſlauery, that they continued not long after alyue: or els ſo liued, that death almoſt had bene to them more tolerable.

Three ſpeciall enemies of Chriſtes Church.

The crueltie of the furious turkes deſcribed.

Two thinges to be noted in the Turkes: how many victories they haue got, & how cruelly they haue vſed their victories.

Like as in the tyme of the firſt perſecutions of the Romane Emperours, the ſaying was, that no mã could ſteppe with his foote in all Rome, but ſhould tread vpon a Martyr: ſo here may be ſayd, that almoſt there is not a towne, citie, or village in all Aſia, Grecia, alſo in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whoſe ſtreetes haue not flowed with bloud of the Chriſtians, whõ the cruell Turkes haue murthered. Of whom are to be ſene in hiſtoryes, heapes of ſouldiours ſlaine, of mẽ & womẽ cut in peeces, of children ſticked vpõ poles & ſtakes, whõ theſe deteſtable turkes moſt ſpitefull (and ỹ in the ſight of their parẽts) vſe to gore to death: ſome they drag at their horſe tayles & famiſh to death: ſome they teare in peeces, tyeng their armes and legges to foure horſes: other ſome they make markes to ſhoote at: vpon ſome they trye their ſwordes, how deepe they can cut and ſlaſh, as ye before haue read, pag. 718. The aged & feable they treade vnder their horſes: womẽ & child they ſpare not, but rippe their bodyes, and caſt the infantes into the fire, or otherwiſe deſtroy them. Whether the Chriſtians yeld to them, or yeld not, all is a matter. As in their promiſes there is no truth: ſo in their victories there is no ſenſe of manhode or mercy in them, but they make hauocke of all.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scodræ oppugnat. lib. 2.

So the Citizens of Croia, after they had yelded, & were all promiſed their lyues, were all deſtroyed and that horribly. In Myſia, after the kyng had geuen himſelfe to the Turkes hãd, hauyng promiſe of life, Mahumet the Turke ſlue him with his own handes. The Princes of Raſſia had both their eyes put out with baſens redde hoate ſet before them. Theodoſia, otherwiſe called Capha, was alſo ſurrendered to the Turke, hauyng the like aſſuraunce of lyfe and ſafetie: and yet cõtrary to the league, the Citizens were put to the ſword and ſlayne. At the wynnyng & yeldyng of Leſbos, what a number of young men and children were put vpon ſharpe ſtakes and poles, and ſo thruſt through? At the wynnyng of the Citie of Buda, what tyranny was ſhewed and exerciſed agaynſt the poore Chriſtians, which had yelded themſelues, and agaynſt the two Dukes Chriſtopher Biſſerer and Ioannes Tranbinger, contrary to the promiſe and handwrityng of the Turke, is to be ſene in the ſtory of Melchior Soiterus, de Bello Panno.

Ex Michael. Soitero lib. 1. de Bello Pãnonico fol. 315.

The like alſo is to be read in the ſtory of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writyng of the takyng of Hydruntum, a Citie in Apulia, teſtifieth of the miſerable ſlaughter, of the young men there ſlayne, of old mẽ troden vnder the horſe feete, of matrones & virgines rauiſhed, of women with child cut & rent a peeces, of the Prieſtes in the Churches ſlayne, and of the Archbyſhop of that Citie, who beyng an aged mã and holdyng the croſſe in his handes, was cut a ſonder with a woodden ſaw. &c. The ſame Bernardus alſo writyng of the ouerthrow of Nigropontus, otherwiſe called Chalcides, an. 1471. deſcribeth the like terrible ſlaughter, which

Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach Decano Eccl. Magũt.

The ſuperſtitious vſe of the materiall croſſe.

there

Vide ſupra. pag. 719.

Ex Bernar. de Breydenb.

A notable example of maydenly chaſtitie.

there was exerciſed: where the Turke, after his promiſe geuen before to the cōtrary, moſt cruelly cauſed all the youth of Italy to be pricked vpon ſharpe ſtakes: ſome to be daſhed agaynſt the hard ſtones, other ſome to be cut in ſonder in the middeſt, and other mo with other kyndes of tormentes to be put to death: in ſomuch that all the ſtreetes and wayes of Chalcides dyd flow with the bloud of them, whiche were there ſlayne. In which hiſtory the foreſayd writer recordeth one memorable example of maydenly chaſtitie, worthy of all Chriſtians to be noted and commended. The ſtory is told of the Pretors daughter of that citie, who beyng the onely daughter of her father, & noted to be of an exceding ſingular bewtie, was ſaued out of yͤ ſlaughter, & brought to Mahumete the Turke, to be his concubine: But ſhe denyeng to conſent to his Turkiſh appetite and filthenes, was commaunded therewith to be ſlayne and murthered, and ſo dyed ſhe a Martyr, keping both her faith and her body vndefiled vnto Chriſt Jeſus her ſpouſe. Ibid.

The like crueltie alſo was ſhewed vppon them whiche kept the Caſtle, & afterward yeldyng themſelues vpon hope of the Turkes promiſe, were ſlaine euery one. What ſhould I ſpeake of the miſerable ſlaughter of Methone, & the Citizens therof dwellyng in Peloponeſus? who ſeyng no other remedy but nedes to come into the Turkes handes, ſet the barne on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children: ſome women alſo with child voluntarily caſt themſelues into the Sea, rather then they would ſuſteine the Turkes captiuitie. Vid. pag. 720.

Vid ſupra. pag. 720.

The miſerable ſpillyng of Chriſten mens bloud by the wretched turkes.

A briefe recitall of Chriſten townes and fortes wonne of the turke in Europe.

The crueltie of the turke agaynſt the Citizens of Conſtantinople. Vide ſupra. pag. 717.

The crueltie of the turke againſt the priſoners of Methone. Ex Leonico Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis. lib. 10.

Miſerable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to beleue all the cruel partes and horrible ſlaughters wrought by theſe miſcreantes, againſt the Chriſtians, through all places almoſt of the world, both in Aſia, in Africa, but eſpecially in Europa. Who is able to recite the innumerable ſocieties and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turkes ſword in Achaia, Attica, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponeſus? beſides yͤ Iland of Rhodes and other Ilandes, and Cyclades adiacent in the ſea about, numbred to 52. of the which alſo Pathmos was one, where S. John being baniſhed, wrote hys reuelations. Where did euer the Turkes ſet any foote, but the bloud of Chriſtians there, without pitie or meaſure, went to wracke? and what place or prouince is there almoſt throw yͤ world, where yͤ turks either haue not perced, or are not like ſhortly to enter? In Thracia, & through all the coaſtes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Tranſiluania, Boſna, in Hungaria, alſo in Auſtria, what hauocke hath bene made by them, of Chriſten mens bodyes, it will rue any Chriſten hart to remember. At the the ſiege of Moldauia, at the wynnyng of Buda, of Peſta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Socloſia, Tathe, Wizigradū. Nouum Caſtellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Waradinum, Quinque eccleſie: alſo at the battaile of Werna, where Ladiſlaus K. of Polonie with all his army almoſt, through the raſhenes of the Popes Cardinall, were ſlayne: at the wynning moreouer of Fabiacchus, Lyſſus, Dinaſtrum: at the ſiege of Guntza, and of the faythfull towne Scodra, where yͤ nūber of the ſhot againſt their walles, at yͤ firſt ſiege thereof, were rekened to. 2539: likewiſe at the ſiege of Wienna, where all the Chriſtian captiues were brought before the whole army and ſlayne, and diuers drawne in peeces with horſes: but eſpecially at the winnyng of Conſtantinople aboue mentioned. pag. 717: alſo at Croia, and Methone, what beaſtly crueltie was ſhewed, it is vnſpeakable. For as in Conſtantinople, Mahumete the drunken Turke neuer roſe frō dyner, but he cauſed euery day, for his diſport. 300. Chriſtiā captiues of the Nobles of that Citie to be ſlayne before hys face: So in Methone, after that his captaine Omares had ſent vnto him at Conſtantinople fiue hundreth priſoners of the Chriſtians, the cruell tyraunt commaunded them all to be cut and diuided in ſunder by the middle, & ſo being ſlayne, to be throwne out into the fieldes.

A ſtraunge & a prodigious wonder of a brute beaſt toward a dead Chriſtian body.

More humanitie ſeene in a brute beaſt then in the turke.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writyng of the ſame ſtory, addeth moreouer a prodigious narratiō (if it be true) of a brute Oxe, whiche beyng in the fieldes, and ſeyng the carcaſes of the dead bodyes ſo cut in two, made there a loude noyſe after the lowyng of his kynde & nature: and afterward cōmyng to the quarters of one of the dead bodyes lyeng in the field, firſt tooke vp the one halfe, and then cōmyng agayne, tooke vp likewiſe the other halfe, and ſo (as he could) ioyned them both together. Whiche beyng eſpyed of them that ſawe the doyng of the brute Oxe, and merueylyng thereat, and worde beyng brought thereof to Mahumete, he commaunded the quarters agayne to be brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beaſt would come agayne: who fayled not (as the authour recordeth) but in like ſort as before, takyng the fragmentes of the dead corps, layd them agayne together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahumete beyng aſtonied at the ſtraunge wonder of the Oxe, cōmaunded yͤ quarters of the chriſtian mās body to be interred, and the Oxe to be brought to his houſe, & was much made of. Some ſayd it to be the body of a Venetian: ſome affirmed, that he was an Illyrian: but whatſoeuer he was certayne it is, that the Turke himſelfe was much more beaſtiall then was the very brute Oxe: which beyng a beaſt ſhewed more ſence of humanitie to a dead man, then one mā dyd to an other. Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.

The Byſhop with the Citizens of Methone ſlayne of the turke.

Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & alijs.

Ex Ioanne Fabro, in oratione ad Regem Henr. viij.

To this cruelty adde moreouer, that beſide theſe v. C. Methonians thus deſtroyed at Conſtantinople, in the ſayd Citie of Methone, all the townes men alſo were ſlayne by the foreſayd Captaine Omares, and among them their Biſhop likewyſe was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & ex Wolfgango & alijs.

John Faber in his Oration made before king Henry the 8. at the appoyntment of king Ferdinandus, and declaryng therin the miſerable cruelty of the Turkes toward all chriſtians, as alſo towarde the biſhops and miniſters of the church, teſtifieth how that in Mitilene, in Conſtantinople, and Trapezunda, what biſhops and Archbiſhops, or other eccleſiaſticall and religious perſons the Turkes could find they brought them out of the cities into the fieldes, there to be ſlayne like Oxen and Calues. The ſame Faber alſo writing of the battell of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludouicus the king of Hungary was ouerthrown, declareth that 8. biſhops in the ſame field where ſlayne. And moreouer, when the Archbiſhop of Strigon, and Paulus the Archbiſhop Coloſſenſis were found dead, Solyman cauſed them to be taken vp, and to be beheaded and chopt in ſmall pieces an. 1526.

The crueltie of the turke in Euboia.

What chriſtian hart will not pity the incredible ſlaughter done by the Turkes in Euboia, where as the ſaid Faber teſtifieth that innumerable people were ſticked & gored vpon ſtakes, diuers were thruſt through with a hoate iron, children and infants not yet wayned from the mother, were daſhed againſt the ſtones, and many cut aſōder in the midſt. Ex Iohn Fabro & alijs.

The prince of Seruia ſlayne & ſlayne of the turke.

Let neuer Chriſten prince truſt the turke.

But neuer did country taſt and feele more the bitter and deadly tiranny of the Turkes, then did Raſia, called Myſia inferior, & now Seruia, Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreſchlerus) the prince of the ſayd country beyng ſent for, vnder fayre pretence of wordes & promiſes, to come & ſpeake with the Turke, after he was come of his own gentlenes, thinkyng no harme, was apprehended & wretchedly & falſly put to death, & his kin ſlayn of, his brother & ſiſter brought to Conſtantinople for a triumphe, and all the nobles of hys country (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out. &c.

The turkes ſtirred vp of the deuill to fight agaynſt Chriſt.

The turkes are butchers of the Chriſtians.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of theſe curſed caytifes, it may ſeme that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Chriſt, hath ſtyrred them vp to be the butchers of all chriſten people, inflamyng their beaſtly hartes with ſuch malice and cruelty againſt the name and religion of Chriſt, that they degeneratyng frō the nature of men to deuils, neither by reaſon will be ruled, nor by any bloud or ſlaughter ſatiſfied. Like as in the primitiue age of the church, and in the tyme of Diocleſian and Maximilian, when the deuil ſaw that he could not preuayl againſt the perſon of Chriſt which was riſen agayne, he turned all his fury vpon his ſely ſeruauntes, thinkyng by the Romain Emperours, vtterly to extinct the name and profeſſion of Chriſt, out from the earth: So in this latter age of yͤ world Satan beyng let loſe agayne, rageth by the Turkes, thinking to make no ende of murderyng and killing, till he haue brought (as he entendeth) the whole church of Chriſt, with all the profeſſors therof, vnder foote. But the lord (I truſt) will once ſend a Conſtantinus to vanquiſh proud Maxentius: Moſes to drowne indurate Pharao: Cyrus to ſubdue the ſtout Babiloman.

The miſerable ſtate of the Chriſtian captiues vnder the turke.

The buying and ſelling of Chriſten captiues vnder the turkes.

And thus much hetherto touching our chriſtian brethrē, which were ſlain & deſtroied by theſe blaſphemous turkes. Now for ſo much as beſides theſe aforeſayde, many other were pluckt away violently from their country, from their wyues & children, frō liberty, and from all their poſſeſſions, into wretched captiuity and extreme penury, it remayneth lykewiſe to entreat ſomwhat alſo concerning the cruel maner of the Turkes handlyng of the ſaid Chriſtian captiues. And firſt is here to be noted that yͤ turke neuer cōmeth into Europe to warre againſt the chriſtians, but there foloweth after his army, a great number of brokers or merchauntes, ſuch as buy men & children to ſell again, bringing with them long cheins in hope of great cheats: In yͤ which cheins they linke thē by 50. & 60. together, ſuch as remain vndeſtroyed with yͤ ſword, whō they buy of the ſpoyles of them that rob and ſpoyle the Chriſtian countreys: whiche is lawfull for any of the Turkes armye to doe, ſo that the tenth of their ſpoyle or praye (what ſoeuer it be) be reſerued to the head Turke, that is, to the great maſter theſe,

Chriſten captiues tithed of the Turke.

Of ſuch as remaine for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very fewe be reſerued alyue, becauſe litle profite commeth of that age) they be ſold to the vſe of huſbandry or keping of beaſtes. If they be yong men or women, they be ſent to certein places, there to be inſtructed in their language and Artes, as ſhall be moſt profitable for their aduauntage, and ſuch are called in their tongue Sarai: and the firſt care of the Turkes is this, to make them reny the Chriſtian religion, and to be circumciſed: and after that they are appointed euery one as he ſemeth moſt apte, eyther to the learnyng of their lawes, or els to learne the feates of war. Their firſt rudiment of warre is to handle the bowe, firſt beginnyng with a weake bow, and ſo as they grow in ſtrength, cōmyng to a ſtronger bow, & if they miſſe the marke, they are ſharply beaten: and their alowance is two pence or three pence a day till they come and take wages to ſerue in warre. Some are brought vp for the purpoſe to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizarites, that is, the order of the Turkes champions, which is the moſt abhominable condition of all other. Of theſe Janizarites, ſee before, pag. 717. And if any of the foreſayde yong men or children ſhall appeare to excell in any beauty, him they ſo cutte, that no part of that which nature geueth to man, remayneth to be ſene in all his body, wherby while the freſhnes of age cōtinueth, he is compelled to ſerue their abhominable abhomination: and when age commeth, then they ſerue in ſtead of Eunuches to wayte vpon Matrones, or to kepe horſes and mules, or els to be ſculliās and drudges in their kitchins.

O wickednes paſſing all miſerye.

O miſery aboue all miſeries.

The ſeruitude of young women captiues.

Such as be yong maydens and beautifull, are deputed for concubines. They which be of meane beauty ſerue for matrones to their drudgery worke in their houſes & chambers, or els are put to ſpinnyng and ſuch other labours, but ſo that it is not lawfull for them either to profeſſe their chriſtian religion, or euer to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turke by tithe.

The other which are bought and ſold amongeſt priuate ſubiectes, firſt are allured with fayre wordes and promiſes to take circumciſion. Which if they will do, they are more fauourably entreated, but all hope is taken from them of returnyng agayne into theyr countrey, which if they attempt the payne therof is burnyng. And if ſuch comming at lēgth to liberty, will mary, they may: but then their children remayne bond to the Lord, for hym to ſell at hys pleaſure: and therfore ſuch as are wyſe amongſt thē will not mary. They which refuſe to be circumciſed, are miſerably handled: for example wherof, the author (which geueth teſtimony hereof) doth inferre hys owne experience.

Ex Bartholemeo Georgieniz. Peregrina lib. de afflictionibus Chriſtianorum ſub Turca.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall arte or occupation, can better ſhift for thēſelues: but contrarywiſe, they which haue no handycrafte to liue vpon, are in worſe caſe. And therfore ſuch as haue bene brought vp in learnyng, or be prieſts or noble men, & ſuch other, whoſe tender educatiō can abide no hardnes, are the leſt reputed, & moſt of all other neglected of him that hath yͤ ſale or keping of them, for that he ſeeth leſſe profite to riſe of them, then of the other: & therfore no coſt of rayment is beſtowed vpon them, but they are caryed about bare hed, & barefoote, both ſommer & wynter, in froſt and ſnow. And if any faynt and be ſicke in the way, there is no reſting in any Inne, but firſt he is driuē forward with whips, and if that will not ſerue, he is ſet peraduenture vpon ſome horſe: or if hys weakenes be ſuch, that hee cānot ſit, then is he layd ouerthwart the horſe vpon his belly, lyke a calfe, and if he chaunce to die, they take of his garment ſuch as he hath, and throw hym in a ditch.

In the way moreouer, beſide the common chaine, which doth incloſe thē all, the handes alſo of euery one are manicled which is becauſe they ſhould not harme theyr leaders, for many tymes it happened yͤ x. perſons had yͤ leadyng of 50. captiues: & when night came, their feete alſo were fettered, for yͤ they lodged in no houſe, but lay vpon the ground all night.

The miſerable calamitie of Chriſten women beyng in captiuitie vnder the Turkes.

The yong women had a little more gentlenes ſhewed, beyng caried in paniers on the day tyme. But when night came, pity it was to heare the miſerable crying out of ſuche as were incloſed within, by reaſō of the filthy iniuries which they ſuffred by their cariers, in ſo much that the yong tender age of 7. or 8. yeres, as wel of yͤ one ſexe as of the other, could not ſaue thē frō the moſt filthy villany of the beſtial turkes.

The maner of Chriſtian captiues, how they are brought to markets & ſolde.

When the mornyng commeth, they are brought foorth to the market, to ſale, where the buyer, if he be diſpoſed, pluckyng of their garments, vieweth all the bones and ioyntes of their body: and if he lyke them, he geueth his price, and carieth them away into miſerable ſeruitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to paſture their cattell, or ſome other ſtrange kynd of miſery incredible to ſpeake of: In ſo much that the author reporteth, that he hath ſene hymſelf, certayne of ſuch Chriſten captiues yoked together lyke horſe and oxen, and to draw the plough. The mayd ſeruaunts likewyſe are kept in perpetuall toyle and worke in cloſe places, where neyther they come in ſight of any man, neyther be they permitted to haue any talke with theyr fellow ſeruauntes. &c. Such as are committed to kepe beaſtes, lye abroad day and night in the wyld fieldes, without houſe and harbour, and ſo chaungyng their paſtour, goe from mountayne to mountayne: of whome alſo, beſide the office of keepyng the beaſtes, other handy labour is exacted at ſpare howers, ſuch as pleaſeth theyr maiſters to put vnto them.

Chriſtians in their captiuitie, put to draw in the plough lyke horſes.

The great daungers of Chriſtē captiues which flye out of Turkie.

Out of this miſery there is no way for them to flye, eſpecially for them that are caryed into Aſia beyond the ſeas: Or if any do attempte ſo to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harueſt, when he may hyde him ſelfe al the day time in the corne, or in woodes, or mariſhes, and fynd foode: and in the night onely, hee flyeth, and had rather bee deuoured of wolues and other wyld beaſtes, then to returne agayne to his maiſter. In their flyeng they vſe to take with them an hatchet and cordes, that when they come to the ſea ſyde, they may cut downe trees, and bynd together the endes of them, and ſo, where the ſea of Helleſpontus is narroweſt, about the Seſtos and Abydos, they take the ſea, ſittyng vpon trees, where, if the wynde and tyde do ſerue luckely, they may cut ouer in foure or v. houres: But yͤ moſt part either periſh in the floudes, or are driuen backe agayne vpō the coaſtes of Aſia, or els bee deuoured of wilde beaſtes in woodes, or periſhe with hunger and famine. If any eſcape ouer the ſeas alyue into Europe, by the way they enter into no towne, but wander vpon the mountaines, folowing onely the Northſtarre for their guide.

The maner & ſhift of our men in getting ouer the ſea.

The manifolde daungers by the way in flying.

The miſerye of Chriſtian cities & prouinces which liue vnder the Turkes tribute.

As touchyng ſuch townes & prouinces, which are wōne by the Turke, and wherin the Chriſtians are ſuffered to lyue vnder tribute: firſt all the nobilitie there, they kyll and make awaye, the Churchemen & clergy hardly they ſpare. The Churches with the belles and al the furniture therof, either they caſt downe, or els they conuert to the vſe of their owne blaſphemous Religion, leauyng to the Chriſtians, certaine olde and blynd chappels, whiche when they decaye, it is permitted to our mē to repayre thē agayne, for a great ſumme of money geuen to the Turke. Neither be they permitted to vſe any open preachyng or miniſtration. But onely in ſilence and by ſtealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Chriſtian to beare office within yͤ citie or prouince, nor to beare weapō, nor to weare any garment lyke to the Turkes. And if any contumely or blaſphemie, be it neuer ſo great, be ſpoken agaynſt thē, or agaynſt Chriſte, yet muſt thou beare it, and holde thy peace. Or if thou ſpeake one word agaynſt their religion, thou ſhalt bee compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumciſed: And then if thou ſpeake one word agaynſt Mahumet, thy puniſhment is fire and burnyng. And if it chaunce a Chriſtian beyng on horſebacke, to meete or paſſe by a Muſulman, that is a Turkiſh prieſt, he muſt light from hys horſe, & with a lowly looke, deuoutly reuerēce & adore the Muſulmā: Or if he do not, he is beaten down frō his horſe wt clubs & ſtaues.

If Chriſtiās may not goe lyke turkes, why ſhoulde our Goſpellers goe lyke Papiſtes?

The Turkes haue their fire & fagots, as well as our papiſtes. The Chriſtians muſt lyght from their horſe, meetyng a Turkiſhe prieſt, and adore hym.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their ſubſtance and gayne to the Turke: beſide the ordinarie tribute of the Chriſtians, whiche is to paye for euery polle within his familie, a ducket vnto the Turke: which if the parentes can not do, they are compelled to ſell theyr children into bondage. Other beyng not able to pay, go cheyned in fetters from dore to dore begging, to make vp theyr payment, or els muſt they lye in perpetuall priſon.

And yet notwithſtandyng, when the chriſtians haue diſcharged all duties: it remayneth free for the turkes to take vp among the chriſtians children, whom they beſt like, and them to circumciſe and to take them away beyng yōg, from the ſight of their parentes, to far places, to be brought vp for the Turkes wars, ſo that they may not returne to them agayn: but firſt are taught to forget Chriſt, and thē their parents: ſo that if they come agayne amongſt thē, yet are they not able to know their kinſfolkes and parents.

An other miſerie moſt lamentable, in taking away Chriſtē mens childrē frō their parentes, to ſerue the turke.

This miſery paſſing all other miſeries, no man is able wt tongue to vtter, or with wordes to expreſſe. What weping & teares, what ſorow and lamentation, what groning, ſighes, and depe dolour doth teare and rent aſūder the wofull harts of the ſely parents, at the pluckyng away of their babes and children? to ſee their ſonnes & their own children, whō they haue borne and bred vp to the ſeruice of Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God, now to be drawn away violently frō thē to the warfare of Satan, and to fight againſt Chriſt? to ſee theyr babes borne of chriſtian bloud, of chriſtiās to be made turkes and ſo to be pluckt out of their armes and out of their ſight without hope euer to returne to them agayne: to lyue per-

O myſerye.

petually

This is with teares rather then with wordes to be expreſſed.

petually with aliens, barbarous and blaſphemous Turkes and ſo to be come of the number of them, whiche are called fatherles and motherles:

Priuie Goſpellers in Turkie.

An olde prophecie of the Turkes touching the ſword of the Chriſtians.

Albeit the ſame children afterward do greatly degenerate from the fayth of Chriſt, yet very many of them haue priuily about them the Goſpell written of S. John, In principio erat verbum. &c. whiche for a token of remembraunce of their Chriſtian fayth, they cary vnder their armeholes, written in greke and Arabie: who greatly deſyre and long looke for the reuengyng ſworde of the Chriſtians to come & deliuer them out of their dolorous thraldome and captiuitie accordyng as the Turkes them ſelues haue a Prophecie, and greatly ſtand in feare of the ſame. wherof more ſhall be ſayd (Chriſt willyng) in the Chapter folowing.

¶ And thus haue ye heard ẏ lamtable afflictiõs of our Chriſtian brethren vnder the cruel tyranny and captiuitie of the Turkes, paſſing all other captiuities that euer haue ben to Gods people, either vnder Pharao in Egypte, or vnder Nabuchodonoſor in Babylon, or vnder Antiochus in the tyme of the Machabees. Under the whiche captiuitie, if it ſo pleaſe the Lord to haue his ſpouſe the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this miſerie come through the negligence and diſcorde of our Chriſtian guides and leaders, then haue we to pray and crye to our lord our god, eyther to geue better hartes to our guides and rulers, or els better guides and rulers vnto his flocke.

Neceſſary for many cauſes that the troubles of the church be knowen.

And theſe troubles and afflictions of our Chriſten brethren ſuffered by the Turkes, I thought good and profitable for our countrey people here of Englande to knowe, for ſomuche as by the ignoraunce of theſe and ſuch lyke hiſtoryes worthy of conſideration, I ſee much inconuenience doth folow. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that becauſe we Engliſhe men beyng farre of from theſe countreys, and litle knowyng what miſerie is abroad, are the leſſe moued with zeale and compaſſion, to tender their greuaunces, & to pray for them, whoſe troubles we know not. Wherupon alſo foloweth, that we not conſideryng the miſeable ſtate of other are the leſſe greateful to God, when any tranquillitie by hym to vs is graunted. And if any litle cloude of perturbation ariſe vpon vs, be it neuer ſo litle, as pouertie, loſſe of liuing, or a litle baniſhement out of our countrey for the Lordes cauſe, we make a great matter thereat: and all becauſe we goyng no further then our own countrey, and onely feelyng our owne croſſe, do not compare that which wee feele, with the great croſſes, whereunto the Churches of Chriſt cõmonly in other places abroad, are ſubiecte, which if we did rightly vnderſtande and earneſtly conſider and põder in our myndes, neither would wee ſo exceſſiuelye forgette our ſelues in tyme of our proſperitie geuen vs of God: nor yet ſo impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our aduerſitie: and all becauſe either we heare not, or els we ponder not the terrible croſſes which the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this preſent ſtory here prefixed may appeare.

The largenes of the turkes dominions declared.

NOwe conſequently remayneth, as I haue ſhewed hetherto what tyranny hath bene vſed of the Turkes againſt Chriſtes people, ſo to declare lykewiſe, how farre this tyranny of the turkes hath extended and ſpread it ſelfe, deſcribing as in a table, to the Chriſten reader what landes, countreys, and kyngdomes the Turkes haue wonne and got from Chriſtendome: to the entent that when Chriſten princes ſhall behold the greatnes of the Turkes dominions ſpread almoſt through all the worlde, and how litle a part of Chriſtianitie remayneth behind, they may thereby vnderſtand the better, how it is tyme now for them to beſtyrre them, if euer they thinke to doe any good in Gods Church. And therfore to make a compendious draught as in a briefe table, of ſuch countreys, kyngdomes, and dominions gotte from vs by the Turkes, wee will firſt begyn with Aſia, deſcribing what tractes, countreyes, cities and Churches the Turke hath ſurpriſed and violently plucked away from the ſocietie of Chriſtian dominions, takyng onely ſuch as be moſt principall, and chiefly them that bee in Scripture conteyned, for that it were to long to diſcourſe all and ſingular ſuch places by name, as the Turke hath vnder hys ſubiection.

The world being deuided commonly into three partes, Aſia, Africa, and Europa. Aſia is counted to be the greateſt in compaſſe, conteynyng as much as both the other and is deuided into ij. portions, the one called Aſia Maior: The other called Aſia Minor. And although the Imperie of ẏ Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet eſpecially his dominion ſtandeth in the other Aſia, whiche is called Aſia Minor, which reacheth from the coaſtes of Europe, vnto Armenia Maior, beyonde the ryuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth theſe regions and Cities vnder written.

¶ The deuiſion of Aſia Minor, called Cheroneſus with the particular Countreys and Cities belongyng to the ſame.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Nicea.
	Chalcedon.
Pontus Act.2	Heraclea.
	Prurſa or Burſa.
Bithinia. Act.16	Nicomedia.
	Apamea.

¶ Natolia, or Anatolia, conteyneth diuers countreys, with they Cities, as foloweth.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Cyzicus.
Myſia Minor.	Parium.
(Act.16	Lampſacus.
	Dardanum.
Phrygia Minor.	Callipolis.
(Act.2	Abydus.
	Alexandria or Troias. Act.16
Troas. Act.20	Ilium.
Myſia Maior.	Aſſus. Act.20
(Act.16	Sceptis.
	Adramitium. Act.27
Phrygia Maior.	Hierapolis. Col.4
Act.2	Pitane.
	Apollonia.
	Myrina.
Lydia. Eſay.66	Phocœa.
	Smyrna. Apoc.2
	Erythræ.
Æolis.	Laodicea. Apoc.3
	Carura.
	Thatyra. Apo.2
Ionia.	Philadelphia. Apo.3
	Pergamus. Apo.2
	Cuma.
Caria. 1. Mac.15	Epheſus. Apo.2
	Sardis. Apoc.3
	Halicarnaſſus.
Doris.	(Mach.15.
	Miletus. Act.20

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Natolia.

Countreys.	Cities.
	Coloſſæ. Col.1
	Patara. Act.21
Lycia Act.27	Pinara.
	Xanthus.
	Andriaca.
	Myra. Act.27
	Ancyra.
Galatia vel Gallogrecia. Act.16	Gordium.
	Tharma.
	Peſſenus.
	Amiſus.
Paphlagonia.	Sinope.
	Corambis.
	Perga. Act.13
Pãphilia. Act.2	Artalia. Act.14
	Aſpendus.
	Phaſelis. Mach.15
Piſidia. Act.	Trapezus.
	Temiſcyra.
	Comana Pontica.
Cappadocia.	Amaſia vel Eupatoria.
	Maza, vel Cæſarea.
	Naziantium. Here Gregorius Naziãzenus was biſhop.
	Comana, Cappadocia.
Armenia Minor.	Militena.
	Nicopolis.
	Leandis.
	Claudiopolis.
	Iuliopolis.

Apamea is a citie in Bithynia alſo an other in Meſopotamia: Apamea Cybotus alſo a citie in great Phrygia, and an other alſo in Parthia.

Phrygia Minor in Ptolomie is called Troas.

At Carura, a certayne baude with a company of harlots, beyng there lodged, ſodeinly happened an earthquake in the citie, wherein the ſayde baude with all his ſtrumpets were ſwallowed vp. Pius. 2. papa. lib. Deſcriptione, cap. 16.

Here Baſilius Magnus was Byſhop.

The couſtrey where Saint Paule was borne:
*An other Coricus is alſo in the Ile of Creta.

Countreys.	Cities.
Cilicia.	Tharſus. Act.22
	*Coricus.
	Solimũtis, vel Traianopolis.
	Iſſus, vel Iaiaſſa.
	Auguſta. Act.27
Licaonia.	Iconium. Act.14
	Lyſtra. Act.16
	Derbe. Act.14
	Antiochia Piſidiæ. (Act.11

¶ Syria, comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with their cities as foloweth.

Berſabee is a citie in Iury: alſo an other in Idumæa.

*Antiochia, apud Orontem, chiefe Citie in Syria, where the diſciples of Chriſt were firſt named Chriſtians. Act.11.

*Nicopolis is a citie alſo in Macedonia mentioned in the Epiſtle of S.Paule to Titus.cap.3.
*Seleucia is a Citie in Syria: Alſo an other in Pamphilia: an other in Cilicia piſidiæ: an other in Cœleſyria, and in Meſopotamia an other.
*In this Laodicæa was the councell kept, which is called Concilium Laodicenſe. There is an other Laodicæa in Lydiæ neare to Coloſſæ, in Aſia minor. Coloſſ.5. Laodicæa alſo is the chiefe Citie in Phrygia pacatiana, neare to Galatia. Act.18. 1.Tim.6.

Countreys.	Cities.
Syria. Act.15	Ieroſolyma. Act.1
	Cæſarea Stratonis. (Act.8
	Bethleem. Math.2
	Emaus. Mar.1
	Iericho. Math.20
Paleſtina Iudæa	Ioppe or Iapheth. Ioſ.15 Act.9
Chanaan.	Tyberias. Iohn.6
	Accaron. Ioſua.13
	Azotus. Act.8
	Aſcalon. Iudith.2
	Gaza. Act.8
	Berſabee. Ioſua.19
	Antipatris. Act.23
	Aſſaron. Act.9
Samaria. Act.	Bethania. Mar.11
	Lydda. Act.9
Galilæa. Mat.2.	Nazareth. Math.2
	Capernaũ. Math.4
	Cana. Ioan.2
Phœnicea. Act.11	Tyrus. Luc.6
	Sydon vel Sychem. (Luc.6
	Ptolomais. Act.21
	Cæſarea Philippi. (Math.16
Damaſcene.	
Cœleſyria.	Damaſcus. Gal.1
	Philadelphia. Apo.1
	Buthis, vel Pella.
Caſſiotis.	*Antiochia apud Orontẽ, vel Theopolis. Act.11
Comagena.	Samoſata.
	Antiochia, ſub Tauro.
	Alexandria apud Iſſum.
	*Nicopolis.
Seleucis.	Gephyra.
	Gindarus.
	*Seleucia. Act.13
	Imma.
Laodicene.	*Laodicæa. Coloſ.2
	Paradiſus.
	Iabruda.
Apamene.	Nazamina.
	Apamia.
Idumea. Marc.3	Beſamina, vel Berſabee.
	Eleuſa. Gen.21
	Maſſa.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Syria.

In Edeſſa reigned kyng Abgarus, mentioned Euſeb. Lib.1.cap.15. to whõ Chriſt wrote, promiſyng to ſend vnto hym after his death.

Babylon in Chaldæa, where Nabuchodonoſor reigned, and was after deſtroyed & tranſlated by Seleucus Nicanor: an other is in Egypt, called Alcayrus.

Countreys.	Cities.
Arabia. Gal.14	Petrea, or Nabatææ.
	Fœlix. Panchaia. Sabæa.
	Deſerta.
Meſopotamia. Pſal.59	Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelt. Act.7
	Seleucia.
	Edeſſa. which is now called Orpha and in the ſtory of Tobias called Rages.
Babilonia. Dan. 3. ¶ In the countrey of Babilonia, is alſo a certain regiõ appointed for Philoſophers & Aſtronomers called Chaldæa. Iere.50.	Bible.
	Babylon, vel Baldach. Act.7
	Orchoe, vel Vrchoa vel Hurchaldeorum, where Abraham was borne. Gen.11.15
Sarmatia.	Patarue.
	Azara.
	Geruſa S.Georgius.
	Sinda.
Cholchis.	Dioſcuria, vel Sebaſtia, which is now called Suias.
	Phaſis.
Iberia.	Lubium.
	Artaniſſa:
	Armachica.
Albania.	Getara, vel Gãgara.
	Chabala.
Armenia. Gen.8.	Armenia Maior, is deuided from Armenia Minor, by the riuer Euphrates.
	¶ This Armenia maior & Minor, this day be both vnder the Turkes.

¶ And thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Aſia Minor, with the countreys & prouinces to the ſame perteining, which being once brought to the fayth of Chriſte are nowe in a maner, all ſubdued to the Turkes.

¶ The Ilandes belonging to the regions of Aſia Minor aforeſayd, gotten by the Turkes.

Ilandes belonging to Aſia minor.

Thinias.	to	Bythinia.
Tenedos.	to	Troas.
Chios. Act.20	to	Lydia.
Pathmos Apo.1		
Poſſidium.	to	Æolis.
Samos. Act.20	to	Ionia.
Trogyliũ Act.20		
Cnidus. Act.27	to	Doris.
Coos, Coſi. Act.	to	Doris.
Carpathus. (21	to	Doris.
Rhodus. Act.21	to	Lycia.
Cyprus. Act.11		

Leſbos, with the city Mytelene. Act.20

Thys Cyprus & Rhod. the laſt, had once ſubdued fighting agaynſt the Saracens.

Ex Æne. Syluio. lib. De orbis Deſcriptione. cap.74

A memorable facte of a virgine in defence of her countrey.

¶ Æneas Syluius, otherwiſe Pope Pius.2 in deſcribyng of Aſia Minor. cap.74. reciteth a certeine facte of a worthy virgine: who at what tyme the Turkes were beſieging a certeine towne in Leſbos, and had caſt downe a great part of the walles, ſo that all the townesmen had geuen ouer, putting on mans harneſſe, ſtepped foorth into the breach, where not onely ſhe kept ỹ turkes from entryng in, but alſo ſlue of them a great ſort. The Citizens ſeyng the rare courage and good ſucceſſe of the mayden, tooke to them agayne their hartes and harnes, and ſo luſtely layd about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were ſlaine. The reſte beyng repulſed from the land, reculed into their ſhyppes: who beyng then purſued by a nauy of Caliſa, were worthely diſcomfited lykewiſe vppon the ſea. And thus was the Ile of Leſbos at that tyme, by a poore virgine, that is, by the ſtrong hand of the Lorde workyng in a weake creature, preſerued frõ the turkes. Ex Æne. Siluio. Et Seb. Munſt. Lib.5.

Ex Sebaſt. Munſt. Coſmogr. lib.5. in præfat.

¶ Beſide theſe regions and countreis of Aſia Minor aboue deſcribed, Seb. Munſt. in the 5. booke of his Coſmographie declareth moreouer, that the Turkes & Sultanes haue vnder their ſubiection, bothe

Arabia, Perſia and alſo India exterior, wherein is Calecute. The which Perſia although it be vnder ẏ Sophi, which is an enemy to ẏ Turke, yet it is to be thought that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkiſhe and Mahometiſh Religion. This Perſia and India were once ſeaſoned with Chriſtes Goſpell, as may appeare by the primitiue Churche, pag. 96. And thus haue you the partes of Aſia deſcribed, which in tymes paſt beyng almoſt Chriſtened, doe now ſerue vnder the Turke.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 96.97.

After the deſcriptiõ of Aſia, let vs next conſider the partes and countreys of Aphrike: where although the greateſt part either conſiſteth in deſertes deſolate, or is poſſeſſed with Preſter Iohn, whiche profeſſeth Chriſt & his Goſpell: yet the turke hath there alſo no litle portiõ vnder his dominion, as

Countreys.	Cities.
Ægyptus, Mat. 2	Alexandria. Memphis. Arſinoe.
Regnum Tunece.	
Africa Minor.	Charlago. Aphrodiſium. Hippon. where Saint Auguſtine was Biſhop.
Cyrene. Act. 2.	
Mauritania.	

¶ A deſcription of countreyes and cities in Europe, which were before chriſtened, & now are ſubdued and ſubiect to the turke.

Europa.

Countreys.	Cities.
Thracia. Samothracia. Act. 16.	Conſtantinopolis, or Bizantium. Pera. Adrianopolis. Traianopolis. Caliopis. Seſtus. Appollonia.
Græcia. Act. 20. Macedonia. Rom. 15	Theſſalonica Act. 17 Philippi. Act. 16 Demetrias. Neapolis. Act. 16 Amphipolis. Act. 17 Apollonia mygdoniæ. Act. 17 Berrhæa. Act. 17
Theſſalia.	
Epirus. Chaonia. Threſprotia. Amphilochia. Ambrachia.	Ambracia. Actium. Torona. Azelia. Acarnanon. Argos. Aſtacus. Omphalium.
Achaia Rom. 15 Attica.	Athenæ. Act. 17 Megaris.
Beotia. Phocis.	Thebæ. Delphos.
Ætholia.	Egris. Chalidon. Locris. Naupactus.
Peloponeſus. Corinthia. Argia. Laconia. Meſſenia.	Corinthus. Act. 18 Meſena. Tegea. Argos. Lacedemõ, or Sparta 2. Mach. 5 Epidaurus. Helice. Lerna. Leuctrum. Methone. Mycenæ.

Argos is a citie in Amphilochia, and an other alſo in Peloponeſus.

Of Corinthus, Strabo wryteth that more then a thouſand virgins, there in the temple of Venus, vſed yearely to be ſet out to be made common: and therfore not without cauſe S. Paule wryteth: Erunt Scortatores, Idololatræ. &c. 1. Cor. 6.

Countreys.	Cities.
Elis. Sicyona. Arcadia.	Megalipolis. Nemea. Nauplea. Olympia Sicyon. Mach. 15 Ægira.

¶ Ilandes bordering about Grecia, wonne lykewiſe by the Turke, from the Chriſtians.

The Ilandes about Grecia.

Euboea, or Nigropontus.	Chalcis. Chariſtus. Cerinthus. Gereſtus.
Creta. Act. 17	Pulchri portus. Act. 27. Laſæa. Act. 27. Phœnice. Act. 27.
Salmone. Act. 27.	
Clauda. Act. 27	
Cyclades, Inſulæ. 53.	Salamis. Delus. 1. Mach. 15.
Cephalenia.	
Zacynthus, or Zanthus.	Vide ſupra, pag. 727.
Lemnos.	
Ithaca.	
Samos. Act. 20.	
Corcyra. Corcica.	Vide ſupra, pag. 727.

Vide ſupra pag. 719.

In Creta, S. Paule ordained Titus to be Byſhop and ouerſeer.

Corcica, is an Iland beyond Italye, which the Turkes nauie, ioyning with the French, did ouercome. an. 1553.

¶ After the Turke had ſubdued Thracia and Grecia, proceedyng further into Europe, he inuaded other regions and cities, whiche alſo he added to his dition, as

Myſia Superior	Rhætiaria. Neſſus. Vlpianum. Scupi. Sigindunũ, or Siget.
Myſia Inferior.	Triballorũ. Oeſcus. Tiriſta. Axium, or Chilia.
Dalmatia, 2. Tim. 4.	Labacus, Metropolis.
Carinthia. Coruatia. Croatia. Iſtria.	Epidaurus, or Raguſium. Milea, or Meleda. Senia, or Segna. Enona, or Hona. Iadra, or Zara. Sebenica. Stridon, where S. Hierome was borne
Boſna.	Quinqueeccleſiæ. Iaitza, Metropolis.
Bulgaria.	Bulgaria was won of Baiazetes ẏ turke from the crowne of Hungary, through the vnproſperous warre of Sigiſmundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an. 1395. This Sigiſmund, was the burner of Iohn Hus, and the perſecutour of his doctrine.
Wallachia.	Tergouiſtus, or Teruis. Huniad: where Iohannes Huniades was borne.
Tranſyluania or Septem caſtra.	Hermenſtat. Croneſtat. Saltzburg. Alba Iulia, or Weiſſenburg. Gyula.

The region of Myſia is deuided into two partes: whereof the one is Aſia, and is deuided into Myſia maior, and Myſia minor. The other is Europe, and is deuided into Myſia, or Mœſia ſuperior, and Myſia inferior.

Epidaurus is a citie in Illyria, and alſo an other in Peloponeſus.

Theſe regions were in the former tyme called by the name of Illyria, or Illyricum. And afterward by reaſon of certaine Scythians comming thether, they were alſo called Sclauonia.

Stephanus king of Boſna, and afterward of Raſcia and Myſia, was by ſubtill trayne allured to come and ſpeake with Mahumete the Turke: who beyng come, was taken and his ſkinne flayne of.

All this tracte of Bulgaria, Walachia, Tranſyluania, Seruia, Raſcia, and Moldauia, was wont to be called Dacia, but afterward was ſeuered into diuers landes and dominions.

Of Iohannes Huniades, read before, pag 155.795.

At Columbetz, Sigiſmund loſt the fielde fighting agaynſt the Turkes, vide ſupr.pag.694

In Varna, a Citie in Raſcia, Ladiſlaus king of Hungary, fought with the Turke, and was ouercome, an.1444. Vide ſupra, pag.716.

Countreys.	Cities.
Seruia.	Samandria. Columbetz.
Raſcia.	Walpo. Vid.ſup.pag (728 Nouigradum. Varna.
Moldauia.	
Hungaria.	Buda or Ofen. Alba regalis. Belgradum or Taurinum. Strigonium. Varadinum. Neapolis. Maior. Minor Peſtum.
Auſtria.	

¶ As I was wrytyng herof, a certain ſounde of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs how the Turke, whõ we had hoped before to haue bene repulſed by the emperour Maximilian out of Chriſtendome, hath now of late this preſent yeare. 1566. got the towne of Gyula about Tranſyluania, after they had ſuſteined 16. of his moſt forceable aſſaultes, deſtroying in the ſame moſt cruelly, many thouſãd of our chriſten brethrẽ, men, women, & childrẽ: but becauſe we haue no full certaintie, we will referre the ſtory therof, to further information.

¶ The propheſies of the holy ſcriptures conſidered, touching the comming vp, and finall ruine and deſtructiõ of this wicked kingdom of the Turkes, with the Reuelations and foreſhewynges alſo of other authours concerning the ſame.

Propheſies cõſidered for the beginning & falling of the Turkes kingdome.

FOr ſo much as you haue hitherto ſufficiently heard, to what quantitie & largeneſſe the dominion of the Turkes hath increaſed, and do vnderſtand what cruell tiranny theſe wretched miſcreantes haue and do daylye practiſe moſt hayniouſly wheresoeuer they come, againſt the ſeruauntes and profeſſours of Chriſt: it ſhal not be vnprofitable, but rather neceſſary, and to our great comfort, to conſider and examine in the Scriptures, with what propheſies the holy ſpirite of the Lord hath premoniſhed and forewarned vs before, of theſe heauy perſecutions to come vppon hys people by this horrible Antichriſt. For as the gouernment and conſtitution of tymes and ſtates of monarchies and pollicies fall not to vs by blynd chaunce, but be adminiſtred and alotted vnto vs from aboue: ſo it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a great alteration and mutation of kyngdomes, ſuch a terrible and generall perſecution of Gods people, almoſt through all Chriſtendome, and ſuch a terrour of the whole earth, as is now moued and gendred by theſe Turkes, commeth without the knowledge, ſufferaunce and determination of the Lord before, for ſuch endes and purpoſes, as his deuine wiſedome doth beſt know. For the better euidẽce & teſtimony whereof, he hath left in his ſcriptures ſufficient inſtruction, & declaration, wherby we may plainly ſee to our great comfort, how theſe greuous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be ſharpe and heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chaunce or by mans workyng onely, but euen as the Lord hymſelf hath appointed it, and doth permit the ſame.

Two thynges to be conſidered in the tyme & order of the olde Teſtament.
The ſcriptures, and the people.

And firſt to begin with the tyme of the olde Teſtament let vs ſeriouſly aduiſe and ponder, not only the Scriptures and propheſies therin conteyned, but alſo let vs conſider the whole ſtate, order, and regiment of that people: the Churche I meane of the Iſraelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophetes of the old Teſtament, were properly ſent to that people, and haue their relation properly to thinges done or that ſhould be done in that common welth, of which prophets, Iohn Baptiſt was the laſt and made an end, as our Sauiour hymſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying: The law and Prophets be vnto the tyme of Iohn. &c. Yet notwithſtãdyng the ſayd people of that old Teſtament, beareth a lyuely Image and reſemblance of the vniuerſall Church which ſhould follow, planted by the ſonne of God thorough the whole earth: So that as the Prophetes of God ſpeakyng to them from the mouth and word of God, propheſied what ſhould come to paſſe in that people: ſo likewiſe the whole courſe and hiſtory of thoſe Iſraelites, exemplifieth and beareth a propheticall image to vs, declaring what is to be looked for in yͤ vniuerſall church of God diſperſed through the world, planted in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne, according as Phil. Melancthon grauely gathering vpon the ſame, teſtifieth in diuers places, in his commentary vpon the prophet Daniell.

In Dan.Prophe. Phil.Melanct.

Gen.4.

As firſt the hiſtory of godly Abel ſlayn by wicked Cain, what doth it importe, or propheſie, but the condition of the people & ſeruauntes of God, which commonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppreſſed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The Saracens come of Iſmaell.
Reſemblance betwene the xij. ſonnes of Iſmaell: and the xij Ottoman turkes.

The lyke may be ſayd alſo of Iſaac, and Iſmaell: of Iacob and Eſau. Of whom, thoſe ij. whiche were the children of promiſe, and belonged to the election of God, were perſecuted in this world, of the other, which were reiected. Where moreouer is to be noted concerning Iſmael, that of hys ſtocke after the fleſh, came the Saracens: whoſe ſecte the Turkes do now profeſſe and mainteine. And as Iſmael had but xij. ſonnes: ſo it were to be wyſhed of God, that this Solyman whiche is the twelfe of the Turkiſhe generation, may be the laſt. But of this, better occaſion ſhall folow (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

4.Reg 17.

Furthermore, of the xij. tribes of Iſraell, the ſacrate hiſtory ſo reporteth, that after they had a long ſeaſon continued together, by the ſpace of. 8. or. 9. C. yeares, at length, for their idolatrie, and trãſgreſſion of their forefathers, x. tribes of them were cut of, and diſperſed among the Gentiles, 130 yeares before the captiuitie of Babilon: ſo that but ij. tribes onely remayned free, and they alſo at laſt, after a 130. yeares, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certeine tyme. No otherwiſe hath it happened with yͤ Church of Chriſt almoſt in the vniuerſall world, of which Churche the greateſt part both in Aſia, in Africa, and almoſt in Europe (where the holy Apoſtles ſo laboured and trauayled) we ſee now to be diſparcled among the Turkes, and their candleſtickes remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them agayne, Amen:) So that of xij. partes of Chriſtendome, whiche was once planted in Chriſt, ſkarſe ij partes remayne cleare, & they how long they ſhal ſo continue, yͤ lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lorde, they eſcape the danger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene ſo beaten with the Pope, that they had bene better almoſt to haue bene in the Turkes handes.

The olde church of the Iſraelites beare a repreſentation or image of the publicke church of Chriſt Ieſus

1.Cor.10.

Agayne, after the ſayd Iſraelites returned, beyng reſtored of Cyrus, let vs conſider well their ſtory, the continuance of tyme, the maner of their regimentes, and what afflictions they ſuſteined in the tyme of the Machabees: and we ſhal ſee a lyuely repreſentation of theſe our dayes expreſſed in that Propheticall people, accordyng as S. Paul wrytyng of them, ſheweth how all thynges happened to them in figures: that is the actions and doynges of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what ſhall happen in theſe latter times of the whole church vniuerſally in Chriſt collected.

The church of the Iewes a figure of Chriſtes church.

So the tranſmigration & deliueraunce agayne of thoſe ij. tribes, declareth to vs the affliction of Chriſtes churche for ſinne: and yet that God will not vtterly reiect his people for his ſonnes ſake, as by manyfold examples of the Church hetherto may well appeare.

Ex Phil. Melanct. in Danielẽ.cap.9.

Agayne, the continuance of the law firſt geuen by Moſes, vnto the deſtruction of the ſayd people by Titus, amounteth to. 1564. yeares: So we countyng the age of the new Teſtament, and reckening frõ the day of our redemption vnto thys preſent, be come now to the yeare. 1534. lackyng but onely 33. yeares of the full number.

The tymes & yeares of the olde church, compared with the new.

Lykewiſe in countyng the yeares from theyr deliueraũce out of captiuitie, to the ende of their diſſolution, we fynde, 564. yeares, duryng which yeares, as the Churche of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of kynges, but the hyghe prieſtes tooke all the power and authoritie to them ſelues: ſo we Chriſtians for yͤ ſpace eſpecially of theſe later, 564. yeares, what haue we ſeyne and felt, but onely the Iuriſdictiõ and domination of the Pope and his hyghe Prieſtes, playeng the Rex in all countreys, and rulyng the whole: whereby, by the count of theſe yeares, it is to bee thought the day of the Lordes commyng not to be farre of.

The rule and dominion of the hygh prieſtes in the Iewes common wealth, and of our prelates, compared.

Furthermore, in thoſe latter yeares of the Iewes kyngdome, what troubles and afflictions that people ſuſtayned three hundreth yeares together, but chiefly the laſt 166. yeares before the commyng of Chriſt, by Antiochus and his felowes, the hiſtory of the Machabees cã report. Wherein we haue alſo notoriouſly to vnderſtãd the miſerable vexations and perſecutions of Chriſtian Churches in theſe latter endes of the world by Antichriſt: For by Antiochus Antichriſt (no doubt) is figured and repreſented. Thys Antiochus ſurnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes

Antiochus beareth a figure of Antichriſt.
The familye of Antiochus

nes his ſonne, came of the ſtocke of Seleucus Nicanor, much like as the Mahumetes the Turke, and Solymannus, came of the ſtocke of Ottomannus. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that lyke as of the ſayd Seleucus iſſued xij. Syrian kinges one after an other of that generation which reigned ouer the Iſraelites with much ſeueritie and tyranny: ſo of this deuelliſh generation of Ottomannus, haue come xij. Turkiſhe tyrauntes, whereof this Solyman is now the twelfe: God graunt he may be the laſt, and as the ij. laſte Antiochi, being ſonnes of ij. brethren, did fight together for the kyngdome, and in fightyng were both ſlayne, and ſhortly after the kyngdom fell to the Romaines: ſo the Lord graunt for Chriſtes ſake, yͭ the bloudy brondes of this old Solyman, (whiche had reigned now 46. yeares) may ſo fight together, and periſhe in their owne bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer. Amen.

The familye of the Turkes.

And that the truth, hereof may the better appeare to ſuch as bee diſpoſed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to ſet before his eyes, in tablewiſe, the catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the xij. Syrian kynges, then of the xij. Ottomans, in lyke number and order.

A compariſon betwene the Syrians and the Turkes.

Reſemblaūce betwene the Syrian kinges, and the Turkes.

	¶The Syrians.			¶The Turkes.	
1	Seleucus.	32	1	Ottomannus.	28
2	Antiochus Soter.	19	2	Orchanes. He ſlue his two brethren.	22
3	Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice hys mother in law, and his yong brother.	15	3	Amurathes. He put out the eyes of Sauces hys owne ſonne.	23
4	Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother, which two brethren warred one agaynſt the other.	20	4	Baiazetes. He ſlew Solymannus his brother.	
5	Antiochus Magnus.	36	5	Calepinus. The Greke ſtories make no mention of this Calepinus, the Latin ſtories ſay that Calepinus & Orchanes were both one, & that he was ſlayne by Mahumetes his brother.	6
6	Seleuchus Philopator.	12	6	Orchanes. Whom Moſes his vncle did ſlay.	
7	Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes.		7	Mahumetes. 1. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother.	14
8	Antiochus Eupator.	2	8	Amurathes. 2. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother.	34
9	Demetrius brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his coſin.		9	Mahumetes. 2. He ſlue his two brethren Turcinus an infant, and Calepinus.	73
10	Demetrius Nicanor, whome Antiochus Sedetes his brother repulſed from his kingdom.		10	Baiazetes. 2. He warred againſt his brother Demes, which Demes was afterward poyſoned by Pope Alexander. 6.	33
11	Antiochus Sedetes. Theſe two laſt beyng brethrē had two ſonnes.		11	Zelymus. He poyſoned Baiazetes his father, & his two brethren, Acomates and Corcutus, wyth all their children his owne coſines.	7
12	Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus Cyricenus. Theſe two ſtriuing together for the kingdō, were both ſlaine: & ſo not long after the kingdō of Syria came to the handes of Tigranes K. of Armenia, & ſo being taken from hym, came to yͤ Romaines in the time of Pompeius		12	Solymannus. He ſlue Muſtaphas his own ſonne and was the death of Glanger his ſeconde ſonne.	2

The tyme of Antichriſt examined by propheſies.

These ij. peſtilent families and generations, ryſing out (doubtles) from the bottomles pitte, to plage the people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ: ſo in maner of their doynges and wicked abhominations, they be as neere agreeyng, beyng both enemyes alyke to the people and Church of Chriſt, both murderers and parricides of their owne brethren and kynred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole worlde. Wherein we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almightye God agaynſt ſinne, and wickednes of men.

One Antichriſt prefigureth an other.

Furthermore, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of tymes, and to marke how thinges be diſpoſed by the meruelous operation of Gods prouidence, ſhall finde the tymes alſo of theſe two aduerſaries, in much lyke ſorte to concurre and agree. For in conſideryng wyth our ſelues both the Teſtamentes and Churches of God, the firſt of the Iewes, the ſecond of the Chriſtians, looke what tyme had the Syrian kynges to rage then in Hieruſalem, the ſame proportion of tyme hath now the tyrannie of the Turkes to murder the Chriſtians: ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the booke of Machabees may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191. yeares before the paſſion of our Sauiour, and day of our redemption: ſo now caſting the ſame number from this preſent yeare backward, we ſhall finde it to be about the ſame yeare and tyme, when Baiazetes the fourth Turke after Ottoman, begā to remoue his Imperiall ſeat from Burſa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a Citie of Thracia. In which yeare & time beganne all the miſchiefe in Europe, as is to be ſene before, pag. 713. and this was the yeare of our Lord 1375. Unto the which yeare, if we adde 191. it maketh 1566. accordyng to the prophecie of the Apocal. chap. 20. where it is propheſied of Gog and Magog, that they ſhall compaſſe about the tentes of the ſaintes, and the well beloued citie, by the which welbeloued citie, is ment (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare aboueſayd 1375. Although touching the preciſe pointes of yeares & tymes, it is not for vs greatly to be exquiſite therein, but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may helpe to knowledge, I would not wiſhe negligence to be a pretence to ignoraunce.

Apoc. cap. 20.

Machab. lib. & cap. 1. The furious crueltie of Antiochus againſt gods people.

And thus much for the tymes of Antiochus and hys felowes. Now what crueltie this Antiochus exerciſed agaynſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the hiſtory of the Machabees: where we read, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his ſecond commyng to Hieruſalem, firſt gaue forth in commaundement, that all the Iewes ſhould relinquiſhe the law of Moſes, and worſhyp the Idole of Iupiter Olimpius, which he ſet vp in yͤ temple of Hieruſalem. The bookes of Moſes and of the prophetes he burned. He ſet garriſons of ſouldiours to warde the Idole. In the Citie of Hieruſalem he cauſed yͤ feaſtes and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filthe and wickednes. Olde men, women, and virgines, ſuch as would not leaue the lawe of Moſes, with cruell tormentes he murdered. The mothers that would not circumciſe their children, he ſlue. The children that were circumciſed, he honged vp by the neckes. The temple he ſpoyled & waſted. The aultar of God, and candleſticke of gold, wyth the other ornamentes and furniture of the temple, partly he caſt out, partly he caryed away. Contrary to the lawe of God, he cauſed them to offer, and to eate ſwynes fleſhe. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them eyther to leaue their lawe, or to loſe their lyues. Amonge whom, beſides many other, with cruell tormentes he put to death a godly mother with her vij. ſonnes, ſendyng his cruell proclamations through all the land, that whoſoeuer kept the obſeruaunces of the Sabboth, and other rites of the lawe, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abhominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof the Citie of Hieruſalem was left voyde and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number, that were contented to follow and obey his Idolatrous proceedinges, and to flatter with the kyng, became enemies vnto their brethrē. Briefly, no kinde of calamitie, nor face of miſery could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſene. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus, it is hiſtoried at large in the booke of Machabees: And Daniell propheſiyng before of the ſame, declareth that the people of the Iewes deſerued no leſſe, for their ſinnes and tranſgreſſions.

1. Machab. cap. 1. Daniel. 9.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to follow in the latter end of the world, and is already come, & ſheweth what he can agaynſt vs: Although as S. Iohn ſayth, there haue bene, and be many Antichriſtes, as partes and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerunners: yet to ſpeake of the head & principall Antichriſt, & great enemy of Chriſtes church, he is to come in the latter end of the world, at what tyme ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as neuer was ſeene before: whereby is ment (no doubt) the Turke, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt, I meane alſo all ſuch, which following the ſame doctrine of the Turkes, thinke to

Antiochus a figure of the Turke.

Ex Lyra in Gloſſ. ordin. cap. 1 Machab.

The name of Antichriſt what it conteyneth.

be ſaued by their workes and demerites, and not by their fayth onely in the ſonne of God, of what title and profeſſion els ſoeuer they be: eſpecially if they vſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth. &c.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſayd, and of the tribulations of the Church in the latter tymes both of the Iewes Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let vs heare & conſider the wordes of Daniell in xj. chap. & alſo in his vij. chap. propheceyng of the ſame as foloweth.

Daniell.cap.11.

He ſhall returne and freat agaynſt the holy couenaunt: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall euen returne and haue intelligence with them that forſake the holy couenāt. And armes ſhal ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the dayly ſacrifice, and they ſhal ſet vp the abhominable deſolatiō. And ſuch as wickedly breake the couenaunt, ſhall flatter with him deceatfully: but the people that do know their God, ſhall preuayle and proſper. And they that vnderſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame by captiuitie and by ſpoyle many dayes.

Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhalbe holpen with a litle helpe: but many ſhall cleaue vnto them faynedly. And ſome of them of vnderſtandyng ſhal fall to be tryed, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the tyme be out: for there is a tyme appointed. And the kyng ſhall do what him lyſt: he ſhall exalte himſelfe, and magnifie himſelfe agaynſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeake marueilous thyngs againſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſpere, till the wrath be accompliſhed: for the determinatiō is made. Neither ſhal he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſires of womē, nor care for any God: for he ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all. But in his place ſhal he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and with ſiluer, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſaunt thynges.

Thus ſhall hee doe in the holdes of Mauzzim with a ſtraunge God, whom he ſhall ackowledge: he ſhal increaſe his glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule ouer many, and ſhall diuide the land for gayne. And at the end of tyme, ſhall the kyng of the South puſh at him, and the kyng of the North ſhall come agaynſt him like a whirle wynde, with charets, and with horſemen, and with many ſhyppes, and he ſhall enter into the countreys, and ſhall ouerflow and paſſe thorough. He ſhall enter alſo into the pleaſaunt land, and many countreys ſhalbe ouerthrowen: but theſe ſhal eſcape out of his hand, euen Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch forth his hands alſo vpon the coūtreys, and the land of Ægypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall haue power ouer the treaſures of gold and of ſiluer, and ouer all the precious thynges of Ægypt, and of the Lybians, and of the blacke Mores where he ſhal paſſe. But the tydynges out of the Eaſt and the North, ſhall trouble hym: therfore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and roote out many: And he ſhall plant the tabernacles of hys palace betwene the ſeas, in the glorious and holy moūtaine, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall helpe him.

To this place of Daniell aboue prefixed, might alſo be added the Propheſie of the ſayd Daniell written in the vij. chapter and much tendyng to the lyke effect: where he intreatyng of his viſion of foure beaſtes (whiche ſignifie the iiij. Monarchies) and ſpeakyng now of the fourth Monarchie, hath theſe wordes.

Daniel.cap.7.

After this I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold, the iiij. beaſt was grimme and horrible, and maruelous ſtrong. It had great yron teeth: it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his feete: and it was vnlyke the other beaſtes that were before it, for it had ten hornes. As I conſidered the hornes, behold there came vp amōg them, an other litle horne, before whom there were iij. of the firſt hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne, were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeakyng preſumptuous thynges, and ſeemed more ſtoute then the other. Whiche horne alſo (whē I looked on) made battaile with the ſaints and preuailed agaynſt them: vntill the old aged came, and iudgement was geuen to the Saintes of the higheſt, and till the appointed tyme was come, that the Saintes ſhould haue the kyngdome.

Thus haue ye heard the playne wordes of Daniell. In the which, as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the commyng of Antiochus the great aduerſary, toward the latter end of the Iewes: ſo by the ſame Antiochus is figured alſo to vs the great aduerſary of Chriſt, which is the Turke.

Vide Rodulphum Gualt. de Antichriſto.

Although ſome there be notwithſtandyng, which with great learnyng & iudgement, do apply this place of Daniell aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the pope, and that for vj. or vij. ſpeciall cauſes herein touched and noted.

The firſt note.

The firſt is this, that the wicked tranſgreſſours of the couenaunt ſhall ioyne with him deceatfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the tabernacle of ſtrength, and take away the perpetuall ſacrifice, and bryng in the abhomination of deſolation.

The ſecond note.

The ſecond note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people ſhall teach many, & that they ſhal fall into the ſword into fire, and captiuitie, and ſhall be baniſhed, whereby they ſhall be tryed, choſen, and made bright and pure. &c. All which (ſay they) is not amōg the Turkes to be ſene, but onely in the popes Church: where the faythful preachers and teachers of the people, are ſlayne, and burned, and go to wracke. &c. Where likewiſe it foloweth, that they ſhall be holpen agaynſt Antichriſt, and that many falſe brethren ſhall ioyne vnto them diſſemblyngly. &c. To this they alledge that the Chriſtians haue no ſuch helpe agaynſt the Turke, whereunto ſuch falſe brethren ſhould ioyne thē ſelues, as is and hath bene commonly ſene among the Chriſtians agaynſt the Pope, from tyme to tyme, almoſt in all coūtreys: as in Germany by the Proteſtantes and free Cities: In Englād, in kyng Henries tyme by the Lord Crōwell, and afterward by kyng Edward, and now by Queene Elizabeth: In Scotland by yͤ godly nobilitie: In Fraunce, by the Queene of Nauarre & her ſonne: alſo by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others: In Flaunders, by them whom the Regent calleth Beggers: So as was in the tyme of the Machabees, agaynſt Antiochus.

Helpes of the Chriſtians agaynſt the Pope.

The thyrd note.

Thirdly, that the kyng ſhal exalte himſelfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and ſhall lift vp his mouth to ſpeake preſumptuouſly agaynſt God.

The fourth note.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the deſires of women: which may ſeeme to note how the Popes doctrine ſhal forbyd the honeſt and lawfull Mariage in Churchmen.

The fift note.

The fift ſpecialtie which they apply to the Pope, is that foloweth in the Prophet, ſaying: Neither ſhall he regarde the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in ſteade of him, ſhall ſet vp his God Mauzzim, and ſhall worſhip him with ſiluer, and gold, & precious ſtone. &c. Which they do apply to the pope, ſettyng vp his God of bread, & worſhyppyng him with gliſteryng golden ornamentes & moſt ſolemne ſeruice.

Mauzzim the popes God.

The ſixt note.

Sixtly, it foloweth: & he ſhall encreaſe them with much glory and riches, and ſhal diuide vnto them, landes and poſſeſſions. &c. meanyng that the Pope hauyng dominion ouer treaſures of gold and ſiluer, and all precious thynges of the land, ſhall indue his Cardinals, Prelats, his flattering doctours, with Friers and Monkes & Prieſtes, and all ſuch as ſhal take his part, with great priuilegies, liberties, reuenues and poſſeſſions. And thus, I ſay, ſome there be, which apply this Propheſie of the vij. and xj. chapter of Daniell, vnto the Biſhop of Rome. whom although I take to be an extreme perſecutour of Chriſtes Church: yet I iudge rather thoſe two chapters of Daniel cōcernyng the litle horne in the middle of the x. hornes, and the great deſtroyer of the pleaſaunt land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane firſt Antiochus, and by him ſecondly to meane the great Antichriſt, the Turke: who hath now ſet already yͤ tabernacles of his palace betwene the ſeas, accordyng to the Propheſie of Daniel, as is aboue ſayd.

The vij. and xj. chap. of Daniel, meaneth the great Antichriſt the turke.

Ouer and beſides theſe Propheſies aboue alledged, may be added alſo the Propheſie of Ezechiel chap. 39. ſpeakyng of Gog and Magog: which as it may be applyed to the oppreſſion of the Iewes vnder the Heathen multitude, which ſtopped the buildyng of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kynges: &c. yet in the ſame alſo is expreſſed the calamities & afflictions of Chriſtes Church in theſe latter tymes, vnder the Saracenes and the Turkes. &c.

Ezech.cap.38. 39. Gog and Magog.

The propheſies of the new Teſtament, concerning the turke.

Proceedyng further in this matter, let vs come now to the Propheſies of the new Teſtament, & marke yͤ wordes of S. Paule writyng to the * Theſſalonians, whiche then were Chriſtened, and now either are Turkiſhe, or vnder the Turke, which wordes be theſe: Be ye not ſodenly moued in your mynde, nor troubled, neither by ſpirite, nor by word, nor by letter as ſent from vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hād. Let no mā deceaue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come, before there come a defection, or a departyng firſt, and that wicked man be reueled, the ſonne of perdition, which is an aduerſary and is extolled aboue all power, and that which is called God: ſo that he ſhal ſit in the temple of God, boaſtyng himſelfe to be God. &c. Although this defection and departing may haue a double vnderſtādyng, as well of the Popes ſect (which is gone & departed frō the free iuſtification by fayth onely in Chriſt, through the promiſe of grace) as of the Turkes: yet lea-

* 2. Theſſal. 2.

The defectiō in time of Antichriſt declared.

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yng to ſpeake a while of ỹ pope, becauſe it appeareth more notoriouſly in the Turke, we will chiefly apply it to him: in whom ſo aptly it doth agree, that vnleſſe this great defectiõ frõ fayth in ſo many churches, had happened by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderſtand the Apoſtles mynde, which now by the hyſtory of theſe Turkes, is eaſie and euident to be know, conſideryng what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Chriſt, by theſe miſerable Turkes: what Imperies, nations, kyngdomes, countreys, townes and cities be remoued frõ the name and profeſſion of Chriſt: how many thouſandes and infinite multitudes of Chriſten men and children, in Aſia, in Afrike, and in Europe, are caryed away from Chriſtes Church, to Mahumetes Religion; ſome to ſerue for the Turkes garde among the Janizarites, ſome for ſouldiours, ſome for myners, ſome for gunners, to fight and warre agaynſt the Chriſtians: ſo that the moſt part of all the Churches planted once by the Apoſtles, are now degenerated into Turkes, onely a ſmall handfull of Chriſtiãs reſerued yet in theſe weſt partes of Europe: of the which ſmall reſidue, what ſhall alſo become ſhortly, except Chriſt himſelf do helpe, Chriſt onely himſelf doth know. How great this defection hath bene ſpoken of by S. Paul, thou mayeſt ſee (gentle reader) in the table aboue deſcribed, pag. 737.

Vide ſupra. pag. 737.

The place of S. Paule 2. Theſſ. 2. aplyed to the pope.

Notwithſtanding this text of the holy Apoſtle (as I aforeſayd) may be verified alſo with no leſſe reaſon, vpon the Byſhop of Rome, then vpon the Turke, both for that he is a mã of ſinne, that is, his ſeat and Citie is a great mainteyner of wickednes: and alſo for that he is an aduerſary, that is, contrary in all his doynges and proceedynges, to Chriſt.

Thyrdly, for that he ſitteth in the temple of God and ſo dyd not Mahumete.

Fourthly, becauſe he is an exalter of himſelfe, and ſitteth more like a God, then a man, in Rome: whereof ſee more in the booke ſet forth in Engliſh, called the CONTESTATIONS of the Popes.

Fiftly, for ỹ he ſeduceth & hath ſeduced by his apoſtaſie, the moſt part of all Chriſtẽdome frõ the doctrine & free promiſes of God, into a wrõg & ſtrãge way of ſaluatiõ, which is, not to be iuſtified frely before God onely by our fayth in Chriſt his welbeloued ſonne (vnto the which fayth the promiſe of God frely and graciouſly hath annexed all our ſaluation onely, and to no other thyng) but hath taught vs to worke our ſaluation by an infinite nũber of other thynges: Inſomuch that he byndeth the neceſſitie of our ſaluation alſo to this, that we muſt beleue (if we will be ſaued) and receaue him to be the Vicare of Chriſt in earth. &c.

Ex Bonifacio Extrauag.

But to returne agayne vnto the Turkes, amõg all the Prophecies both of the old Teſtamẽt and of the new, there is none that paynteth out the Antichriſtian kyngdome of the Turkes, better then doth the reuelatiõ of S. John: whoſe wordes let vs weygh and conſider. Who in the Apocalips. 9 where he ſpeaketh of openyng the ſeuenth and laſt ſeale (which ſignifieth the laſt age of the world) and there wrytyng of the vij. trumpets of the vij. Aungels, at the soundyng of vj. Aungell, ſayth: Loſe the foure Aungels, whiche are bound in the great ryuer of Euphrates. And the foure Aũgels were loſed, which were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to ſlay the thyrd part of men. And the number of the horſemen were. 20. thouſand tymes ten thouſand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I ſaw in a viſion, horſes, and them that ſat on them hauyng fireye habbergions, and of Iacinth ſtone, and of brimſtone, and the heades of the horſes were as the heades of Lyons: and out of their mouthes went forth fire and ſmoke and brimſtone. Of theſe three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is of the fire, ſmoke and brimſtone, which proceded out of their mouthes. &c.

Apoc. 9.

The vij. trumpets of the vij. Angels in the Apocal. expounded.

By the ſeuenth ſeale is ment the ſeuenth and laſt age of the world, which laſt age of the world, is from Chriſt to the iudgement and reſurrection of the dead.

By the ſeuen Aungels with their ſeuen trumpettes, is ſignified the ſeuen plagues, that come in this ſeuenth and laſt age of the world.

The ſixt trumpet.

By the ſixt trumpet of the ſixt Aungell is ment the ſixt plague commyng laſt and next before the plague of the great iudgement day, which ſixt plague is here deſcribed to come by the Eaſt kynges, that is, by the Turkes: as followeth to be ſene.

Looſing of the Angels vpon the riuer Euphrates.

By loſing the Aungels which had rule of the great ryuer Euphrates, is ſignified the letting out the Eaſt kynges: that is, the Turkes, out of Scythia, Tartaria, Perſia, and Arabia, by whom the third part of Chriſtendome ſhalbe deſtroyed, as we ſee it this day hath come to paſſe.

Apoc. 9.

It followeth in the Prophecie: Their power ſhalbe in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be lyke Serpentes hauyng heades, and with them they hurt. &c. meaning that theſe turkes wyth the wordes of their mouthes, ſhall threaten great deſtruction of fire and ſworde, to them that will not yelde vnto them: and in the end, when the Chriſtians ſhall yelde vnto them, truſting to their promiſes, they like Serpents, ſhall deceaue them in the ende, and kill them, as appeareth by the ſtory of the Turkes aboue paſt, pag. 731. 729. 728. &c.

Apoc cap. 16.

The 4. beaſtes in the Apocalyps meane the foure Monarchies.

The lyke prophecie alſo after the lyke wordes & ſenſe, is to be ſene and read in the 16. chap. of the Apoc. where S. John entreating of ſeuen cuppes filled with the wrath of the lyuing god, geuen to the handes of vij. Aũgels, by one of the foure beaſtes (that as in the tyme of one of the iiij. monarchies, which was the Monarchie of Rome) ſpeaketh likewiſe of the ſixt Aũgell, which poured hys viale of gods wrath vpon the great ryuer Euphrates, & the waters therof dryed vp, that the way of the kynges of the Eaſt ſhould be prepared. &c.

The kynges of the Eaſt.

Dryyng vp of Euphrates.

Ibid.

By the ſixt Aungell wyth the ſixt viall, is ment as before, the laſt plague, ſaue one, that ſhall come vpõ the Chriſtians. By the kynges of the Eaſt, are ment the Saracẽs and xij. Ottoman Turkes. By dryyng vp of the ryuer of Euphrates, is ſignified the way of theſe Turkes to be prepared by the Lordes appointment, to come out of the Eaſt to the weſt partes of the worlde, to moleſt and afflicte the Chriſtians. It followeth more in the text. And I ſaw three vncleane ſpirits lyke frogges, come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe prophet: for they are the ſpirites of deuils, doyng wonders; to goe vnto the kynges of the whole earth, to aſſemble & gather them together to the battaile, agaynſt the day of the great God omnipotent. &c. And it followeth ſhortly after: And he aſſembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrue, Armagedon, that is, a trappe or trayne of deſtruction. And immediatly it followeth in the ſame place: And the ſeuenth Aungell poured out hys vyall in the ayre: and a myghty voyce came from heauen out of the throne, ſaying: Factum eſt. It is done, or finiſhed. &c. Whereby it is to be vnderſtand, that towarde the laſt conſummation of the world, great force ſhall be ſene and a mighty armie of the enemies ſhalbe collected and gathered agaynſt the people and ſainctes of the higheſt, ỹ then commeth the conſummation, with Factum eſt. &c.

Apoc. cap. 16.

An exhortation of the holy ghoſt, to the faythfull.

Wherfore it is not for naught, that the holy ſpirite of God in the ſame place, a litle before the vi. aungell do poure out his viall, doth exhort all the faithfull, ſaying: Behold I come like a theefe in the night: Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garmentes, leaſt he walke naked, and men ſee his filthynes. &c.

Apoc. cap. 13.

The prophecie of the Apoc. cap. 13. diſcuſſed.

The beaſt hauing hornes lyke the lambe muſt needes meane the pope.

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Byſhop of Burgens, and Mathias Dorinke, wrytyng vpon the xiij. chap. of the Apoc. and expoundyng the myſtery of the ſecond beaſt ryſing out of the earth, hauyng the hornes of a Lambe. &c. doe apply the ſame to Mahumete and the Turkes, wyth a ſolemne declaratiõ made vpõ ỹ ſame. Which interpretatiõ of theirs, although in ſome pointes it may ſeeme to haue ſome appearaunce of probabilitie, neither cã it be denyed but that Mahumete and the Turke be peſtilent and wicked enemyes of Chriſt our Lord, & moſt bitter perſecutours of his church: yet as touching the proper and naturall meaning of the Apoſtle in that place, ſpeaking of the falſe lambe. &c. if we cõſider wel all the circumſtaunces of that beaſt, and marke the conſequence of the text, both of that which goeth before, and followeth after: we muſt needes graunt, that Nicol. de Lyra, wyth his felowes, and with all ſuch like of ỹ popes ſchole, that follow that ſcholie, be deceaued, and that the deſcriptiõ and interpretation of that falſehorned Lambe muſt neceſſarily be applyed onely to the byſhop of Rome, and none other: which is to be proued by vi. principal cauſes or argumentes.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, for that this beaſt is deſcribed to beare the hornes of a lambe. By the whiche lambe, no doubt, is ment Chriſt. By the hornes of the lambe is ſignified the outward ſhew or reſemblaunce of Chriſt our Sauiour: which ſhew or reſemblance can haue no relation to Mahumete, for that he taketh himſelf to be aboue Chriſt, & Chriſt as an excellẽt prophet of God ſitting at his fecte. Wherfore ſeyng Mahumet cõmeth nether as equal to Chriſt, nor as Vicare vnder Chriſt, this Prophecie cã not agree in him, but onely in him which openly in playne wordes proteſteth, that all Chriſtes lambes and ſheepe not ſingularly, but vniuerſally through the whole world, are cõmitted to him, as Vicare of Chriſt, and ſucceſſour of Peter, and that all men muſt confeſſe the ſame of neceſſitie, or els they are none of Chriſtes ſheepe. &c. Wherein it is eaſie to ſee where the pretenſed hornes of the lambe do grow.

Ex Bonif. 8. Extr. de Maiorit. et obediẽt.

The ſecond reaſon.

The ſecond argument: And he ſpake lyke the Dragon. &c. A lambes hornes, and the mouth of a Dragõ do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, ſo neither cã they be founde in any one perſon, either Turke, or other (if we will iudge truly) ſo liuely, as in the Byſhop of Rome. When thou heareſt him call himſelfe the Apoſtolicall Byſhop, the Vicare of Chriſt, the ſucceſſour of Peter, the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes. &c. thou ſeeſt in hym the two hornes of a lambe, and would thinke him to be a lambe in deede, and ſuch a one as would waſhe your feete for humilitie: but heare him ſpeake, & you ſhall finde him a Dragon. See and read the Epiſtle of Pope Martine the v. aboue mentioned, pag. 616. chargyng, commaundyng, and threatnyng Emperours, Kynges, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Rectours, Conſuls, Proconſuls, with their Shyers, Counties, and Vniuerſities of their kyngdomes, Prouinces, Cities, Townes, Caſtels, Villages, and other places. See the aunſwere of Pope Vrban 2. and his meſſage to kyng William Rufus, pag. 190. Behold the workes and doynges of Pope Innocent agaynſt kyng Iohn.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 626.

The pope hath the hornes of a Lambe, but the mouth of a Dragon.

Note alſo the aunſwere of an other Pope to the kyng of England, which for the price of the kynges head, would not graunt vnto him the inueſting of his byſhops. Marke well the wordes and doynges of Pope Hildebrand agaynſt the Emperour Henry the fourth, pag. 181. Alſo of Pope Alexander the 3. treadyng vppon the necke of Fredericus Barbaroſſa, not like a lambe treadyng vpon a Dragon, but like a Dragon treadyng vpõ a lambe: ſo that his own verſe might be turned vpon himſelfe: Tanq̃ aſpis & baſiliſcus ſuper ouiculam ambulans, & tanq̃ Leo & draco cõculcans agnum. Conſider moreouer the behauiour, maner, condition, and propertie, almoſt of all the Popes, whiche haue bene theſe. 600. yeares: and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous, then their owne doynges and wordes can ſpeake and geue teſtimonie agaynſt themſelues.

The thyrd reaſõ.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame Prophecie of the Apocalips, for the thyrd argumẽt: And he doth all the power of the firſt beaſt, preſently before his face, and cauſeth the earth and all the inhabitauntes therin, to honour the firſt beaſt, the ſtripe of whoſe deadly wounde was cured. &c.

The two beaſtes in the 13. cap. of the Apocalips expounded.

A deſcription of the Citie and Monarchie of Rome.

In this prophecie ij. thynges are to be noted: firſt, what the firſt beaſt is, whoſe power the ſecõd beaſt doth execute. Secondly, what this ſecond beaſt is, which ſo doth exerciſe his power in his ſight. The firſt of theſe beaſtes here in the Apoc. deſcribed, hauing vij. heades & x. hornes, muſt nedes ſignifie the Citie of Rome, whiche may eaſely be proued by two demonſtrations. Firſt by the expoſitiõ of the xvij. chap. of the ſame Apocalips, where is declared and deſcribed the ſayd beaſt to ſtand of vij. hilles, & to conteyne x. kynges, hauyng the whole power of the Dragon geuen: and alſo the ſame citie to be named the whore of Babylon, dronke with the bloud of Saintes. All whiche properties ioyned together, can agree in no wiſe but onely to the Heathẽ Empire of Rome: which Citie at the tyme of wrytyng theſe prophecies, had the gouernement of the whole world. The ſecond demonſtration or euidence, may be deduced out of the number of the monethes aſſigned to this beaſt Apoc. 13. for ſo it is writtẽ, that this beaſt had power to make, that is, to worke his malice agaynſt Chriſtes people. 42. monethes. Which monethes counted by ſabbates of yeares (that is euery moneth for vij. yeares) maketh vp the iuſt number of thoſe yeares, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the x. terrible perſecutions of Heathen Emperours of Rome, as is afore ſpecified, pag. 385.

The deſcription of the beaſt wyth the two hornes of the Lambe. Apoc. 13.

The pope hauing all the rule and power of Rome.

Which thyng thus ſtandyng, proued, and confeſſed, that the firſt beaſt muſt needes ſignifie the Empire and City of Rome, then muſt it neceſſarely folow that the ſecond beaſt with the lambes hornes, muſt ſignifie the Byſhop & Pope of the ſame Citie of Rome. The reaſon wherof is euident and apparaunt by that which foloweth in the Prophecie, where it is declared, that the ſecond beaſt hauyng the two hornes of a lambe, receaued and exerciſed all the power of the firſt beaſt, before or in the ſight of the ſayd beaſt. Which can not be verified, neither in the Turke, nor in any other, but onely in the Pope of Rome: who (as you ſee) receaueth, vſurpeth and deriueth to himſelfe all the power of that Citie and Monarchie of Rome: In ſomuch that he ſayth, that when Conſtantine, or Ludouicus yelded vnto him the rule and kyngdome of that Citie, he gaue him but his owne, and that which of right and duety belonged to him before.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου. Apocal. 13.

And this authoritie or power ouer all the Empire of Rome, he worketh not in Aſia, or in Conſtantinople, as the Turke doth, but in the ſight of the beaſt, which gaue him ÿ power, that is, in the citie of Rome it ſelfe, which is the firſt beaſt here in this Prophecie of the Apocalips deſcribed.

The fourth reaſon.

Fourthly, it foloweth more: And he cauſeth the earth, & all the inhabitauntes therein, to worſhyp and honour the firſt beaſt, which had a deadly wounde and was cured. &c. The interpretatiõ of this part, as alſo of all the other partes of ÿ ſame chapter, ſtãdeth vpõ the definitiõ of the firſt beaſt. For beyng graunted, as it can not be denyed, that the firſt beaſt ſignifieth the Citie and Empire of Rome: it muſt cõſequently folow, that the Byſhop (whom we call the pope) of the ſame Citie of Rome, muſt be vnderſtand by the ſecõd beaſt: for ſomuch as neither Turke nor any other, but onely the Byſhop of Rome hath holden vp the eſtimation and dignitie of that Citie, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Vandalians, Gotthes, Herulians and Lombardes, about the yeare of our Lord. 456. but afterward by the byſhop of Rome, the priſtine ſtate and honour of that City reuiued agayne, and floriſhed in as great veneration, as euer it did before. And that is it, which the holy Ghoſt ſeemeth here to meane of the firſt beaſt, ſaying: That he had a woũd of the ſword, and was cured. For ſo it foloweth.

The fift reaſon.

Fiftly, And he cauſed all the inhabitaunts of the earth to make the Image of the beaſt, which had the ſtrype of the ſword and lyued. And it was geuen to him, to geue lyfe to the Image of the beaſt, and to make the Image therof to ſpeake, and to cauſe all them that worſhypped not the Image of the beaſt, to be killed: forcyng all perſons both litle and great, riche and poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand, or in their foreheades: and that none might bye or ſell but they which had the marke, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name. &c.

Rome almoſt dead.

Roma called Odoacria.

To geue lyfe to the Image of the beaſt.

The Image of Rome ſpeaketh agayne as cruelly as euer it did.

Et faciet vt occidi, qui non adorauerint imaginem beſtiæ. Apoc. 13.

By geuyng lyfe to the image of the beaſt, and makyng it to ſpeake, is to be preſuppoſed, that the beaſt was at a neare poynt of death, and lay ſpeachleſſe before, in ſomuch that the Citie of Rome began to loſe and chaunge his name, & was called a while Odoacria, of Odoacer kyng of the Herulians: whiche by dent of ſword ſurpriſed the Romaines: and yet notwithſtandyng, by the meanes of this Romane Prelate, the ſayd Citie of Rome, which was then ready to geue the ghoſt, ſo recouered his maieſtie and ſtrength agayne, that it is hard to ſay, whether Rome dyd euer ruffle and rage in his tyranny before, in the tyme of Nero, Domitian, Diocleſian and other Emperours, more tragically, then it hath done ſince vnder the Pope: or whether that Rome had all Kynges, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Lordes, and all ſubiectes more vnder obedience and ſubiection, when the Emperours reigned, or now in the reigne of the pope. And therfore it is ſaid not without cauſe of the holy ghoſt: That is geuen to him, to geue lyfe and ſpeache to the Image of the beaſt, cauſing all them to be ſlayne, which will not worſhip the Image of the beaſt. &c. As for example hereof, who ſeeth not, what numbers and multitudes of Chriſten men, womẽ and children in all countreys, haue bene put to the fire and ſword? Stories of all times will declare, what hauock hath bene made of Chriſten bloud, about the preeminẽce and maioritie of the ſea of Rome: what Churches and countreys, both Greekes and Latin, haue bene excommunicated: what kynges haue bene depoſed, and Emperours ſtripped from their Imperiall ſeate, and all becauſe they would not ſtoupe and bende to the Image of the beaſt, that is, to the maieſtie and title of Rome, aduaunced vp ſo highly now by the Byſhop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in the reigne of Nero or Diocletian. Wherfore takyng the firſt beaſt to ſignifie the Empire of Rome (whiche can not be denyed) it is playne, that the ſecond beaſt muſt neceſſarily be applyed to the pope, and not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke ſeeketh nothyng leſſe, then the aduauncemẽt of that Empire, but rather ſtriueth agaynſt it, to plucke it downe.

The ſixt reaſon.

The ſixt and laſt argument is grounded vpon the number of the name of the beaſt, expreſſed by the holy Ghoſt in the ſame Prophecie, by the letters χ ξ ς. In which letters although there lyeth great darkenes and difficultie to be vnderſtand: yet certaine auncient fathers whiche were Diſciples and hearers of them whiche heard S. Iohn hymſelfe, as Ireneus and other do expounde the ſayd letters coniecturally to conteine the name of the beaſt, and to be the name of a man, vnder this worde λατεινος: Where as elles no other name lightly of any perſon, either in Greeke, or Latine will agree to the ſame, ſaue onely the foreſayd name λατεῖνος. Although ſome latter writers geuyng their coniectures vpon the ſame, do finde the name of Lateranus in Hebrew letters, to aunſwere to the ſame number. Some fayne other names as ἐυλμος, or τειταν, made wordes, which ſignifie nothing, or Diclux, or Luduuic, by Romane letters. &c. But of all names properly ſignifying any man, none commeth ſo neare to the number of this myſtery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word λατεῖνος, aforeſayd. And thus much by the way, & occaſion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen.

The number of the name of the beaſt diſcuſſed. 666

λ. The nũ-
α. ber of
τ. theſe let-
ε. ters in
ι. Greke ma-
ν. keth the
ο. ful nũber
σ. of 666.

gen, Matthias Doringus, the author of Fortalitium fidei, and other Commentaries moe of the ſame faction: who wryting vpon this xiij. chapter of the Apocalips, and not conſidering the circumſtaunces thereof, both are deceaued them ſelues, & deceaue many other, applying that to the Turke, which cā not otherwiſe be verified but onely vpon the pope, as may appeare ſufficiently by the premiſſes: Not that I write this of any moode or malice either to the Citie of Rome, or to the perſon of the Byſhop, as beyng Gods creature: but beyng occaſioned here to entreate of the Propheſies agaynſt the Turkes, would wiſh the readers not to be deceaued, but rightly to vnderſtand the ſimple Scriptures accordyng as they lye, to the entent that the true meanyng thereof beyng boulted out, it may be the better knowen what Propheſyes directly make agaynſt theſe Turkes, what otherwiſe.

Nicol. de Lyra and other popiſhe writers deceiued in the 13. chapt. of the Apoc.

In the whiche Propheſies agaynſt the Turkes, now to proceede, let vs come to the 20. chapter of the Apocalips, wherein the holy Scripture ſemeth playnly and directly to notiſie the ſayd Turkes. The wordes of the Propheſie be theſe.

Apoc. cap. 20.

And I ſaw an Aungell deſcendyng from heauen, hauyng the key of the bottomles pyt, and a great cheyne in his hand: and he tooke the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the deuill and Satanas, and bound hym vp for a thouſand yeares, and caſt him in the pyt, and ſealed hym vp, that he ſhould not ſeduce the people any more, till the thouſand yeares were expired: and after that he muſt be let looſe for a litle while. &c.

And it followeth after: And when the thouſand yeares ſhalbe complete, Satanas ſhalbe let out of his dōgeon, and ſhall go abroad to ſeduce the people, which are on the iiij. corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to aſſemble them to battayle: whoſe nūber is like to the ſandes of the Sea. And they went vp vpō the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compaſſed about the tentes of the Saintes, and the welbeloued Cities. &c.

To the perfect vnderſtandyng of this Propheſie, three thynges are neceſſary to be knowen. Firſt what is ment by byndyng vp, and looſing out of Sathanas the old Dragon. Secondly, at what tyme and yeare firſt he was chayned vp and ſealed for a 1000. yeares. Thirdly, at what yeare & tyme theſe thouſand yeares did end, when as he ſhould be looſed out agayne for a litle ſeaſon. Which three poyntes beyng well examined and marked, the propheſie may eaſily be vnderſtand directly to be ment of the Turke. Albeit Anagogically ſome part thereof may alſo be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

The byndyng and looſing out of Sathan examined. Three thinges to be noted in thys propheſie.

Firſt, by byndyng and looſing of Sathanas, ſemeth to be ment the ceaſing and ſtaying of the cruell & horrible perſecution of the Heathen Emperours of Rome, agaynſt the true Chriſtians, as is to be ſene in the x. firſt perſecutiōs in the primitiue Church aboue deſcribed in the former part of theſe Actes and Monumentes: in the whiche moſt bloudy perſecutions, Sathanas the deuill then raged without all meaſure, till tyme it pleaſed almighty God to ſtoppe this old Serpent, and to tye him ſhorter. And thus haue you to vnderſtand what is ment by the byndyng vp of Sathan for a thouſand yeares: whereby is ſignified that the perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtiās ſtyrred vp by the beaſt (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the inſtigation of Sathan) ſhall not alwayes continue, but ſhall breake vp, after a certaine tyme, and ſhall ceaſe for a thouſand yeares. &c.

What is meant by byndyng vp of Sathan.

Now, at what time and yeare this perſecution, that is, the fury and rage of Sathan ſhould ceaſe, is alſo declared in the Apoc. before: where in the chapter. 11. and. 13. we read that the beaſt aboue mentioned, ſhall haue power to worke his malice and miſchief, the ſpace of 42. monethes & no more, and then that Sathan ſhould be locked vp for a thouſand yeares. The computation of which monethes beyng counted by Sabbates of yeares (after the example of the 69. weekes of Daniell. cap. 11.) it doth bryng vs to the full yeare and tyme, when that terrible perſecution in the primitiue church ſhould end, and ſo it did. For geue to euery moneth a Sabbat of yeares, that is, recken euery moneth for ſeuen yeares, and that maketh 294. yeares, which was the full tyme betweene the 18. yeare of Tiberius, (vnder whom Chriſt ſuffered) and the death of Maxentius the laſt perſecutour of the primitiue Church in Europe, vanquiſhed by Conſtantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeares, monethes, and dayes, betweene the ſayd yeare of the reigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius: and ſo haue ye the ſupputation of the yeare and time, when Sathan was firſt bounde vp, after he had raged in the primitiue Church 42. monethes. which monethes, as is ſayd, beyng counted by Sabbatus of yeares, after the vſuall maner of ý Scripture, mounteth to 294. yeares: and ſo much was the full tyme betwene the paſſion of our Lord, which was in the 18. yeare of Tiberius, vnto the laſt yeare of Maxentius.

The tyme of byndyng vp of Sathan.

Apoc. 11, 13. 42. monethes in the Apoc. declared.

Supputatiō of yeares betwene the beginning & ceaſing the perſecutiōs in the primitiue Church.

Vide ſupra pag. 383.

And here by the way commeth a note to be obſerued, that foraſmuch, as by the number of theſe 42. monethes, ſpecified in the Apocalips, the Empire of Rome muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed to be the firſt beaſt: therefore it muſt by lyke neceſſitie follow, the Byſhop of Rome to be the ſecond beaſt, wyth the two hornes of the Lambe, for that he onely hath and doth cauſe the ſayd Empyre of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and ſo doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherfore let euery Chriſten man be wyſe and beware betyme, how he taketh the marke of that beaſt, leaſt peraduenture it follow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned Apocal. chap. 14.

The pope proued to be the ſecond beaſt mentioned in the Apocal. cap. 13.

Et hic bibet de vino irae dei Apoc. 14.

Thirdly, it remayneth to be diſcuſſed touching ý thyrd point in this foreſayd propheſie, that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Chriſt) the yeare and tyme of Satās byndyng: ſo we ſearch out likewiſe the tyme and ſeaſon of his looſing out: which by the teſtimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thouſand yeares after hys byndyng vp, & ſo rightly accordyng to the tyme appointed it came to paſſe. For if we number well by the ſcripture ý yeare of hys byndyng vp, which was frō the paſſion of our Lord 294. yeres, and adde thereto a thouſand yeares, it mounteth to 1294. which was the very yeare when Ottomannus the firſt Turke began his reigne: which was the firſt ſpring and welhead of all theſe wofull calamities that the Churche of Chriſt hath felt both in Aſia, Africa, and Europe, almoſt theſe three hundreth yeares paſt. For ſo we finde in Chronicles, that the kingdome of the Turks being firſt deuided into ſundry families an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomans preuailed, and thereupon came theſe, whom now we call Turkes: which was about the ſame time, when pope Boniface the viij. was Byſhop of Rome.

The 3 part of the propheſie for the looſing out of Satan.

The beginning of the Turkes progenie.

Where, by the way this is agayne to be noted, that after the decree of Tranſubſtantiation was enacted in the Councell of Laterane by Pope Innocent the iij. the yeare of our Lord 1215. not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 1260. was ſtyrred vp the power and armes of the Oguzians, and of Orthogules father of Ottomannus: who about the yeare of our Lord 1294. began firſt to vexe the Chriſtians about Pontus and Bithynia: and ſo beginning hys kingdome, an. 1300. reigned 28. yeares, as is aboue mentioned.

The tyme of Tranſubſtantiation.

The tyme of the Turkes.

Ex Laonico Chalcondyla, lib. 1.

Mention was made before of Ezechiel propheſying agaynſt Gog, whoſe wordes diuers expoſitours doe applye agaynſt the Turke, and are theſe: Thou ſhalt come from thy place, out of the North partes, thou and much people with thee, all rydyng vpon horſes, a great and a myghty armye, and thou ſhalt come vp agaynſt my people of Iſraell as a cloude, to couer the land: Thou ſhalt be in the latter dayes, and I wyll bryng thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I ſhall be ſanctified in thee, O Gog, before theyr eyes. Thus ſayth the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whom I haue ſpoken in the olde tyme, by the hand of my ſeruauntes, the Prophets of Iſraell, that propheſied in thoſe dayes and yeares, that I would bryng thee vpon them? At the ſame tyme alſo, when Gog ſhall come agaynſt the land of Iſraell, ſayth the Lord God, my wrath ſhal ariſe in mine anger. For in my indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I ſpoken it: Surely at that tyme there ſhall be a great ſhakyng in the land of Iſraell: So that the fiſhes of the ſea, the foules of the heauen, the beaſtes of the fielde, and all that moue and creepe vpon the earth, and all the men that are vpon the earth, ſhall tremble at my preſence: the mountaynes ſhall be ouerthrowne: the ſtarres ſhall fall, and euery wall ſhall fall to the ground. &c.

The propheſie of Ezechiel, cap. 38.

The Propheſies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concernyng the reygne and ruine of the Turkes.

Vnto theſe teſtimonies aboue excerped out of the holy Scriptures, let vs adde alſo the propheticall reuelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, & other. This Methodius is thought of ſome to be the ſame Methodius, of whom Hierome, and Suidas make mention: which was Byſhop firſt of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyrus, and ſuffred martyrdome in the laſt perſecution of the primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Vnto whom alſo Trithemius attributeth the booke entituled: De Quatuor nouiſſimis temporibus. But that can not be, for aſmuch as the ſayde Methodius doth cite and alledge the Maiſter of Sentence, namely in his 2. booke and 6. diſt. which Maiſter of Sen-

Methodius propheſies.

The bookes of Methodius [illegible]

tence folowed more then a thouſand yeare after Chriſt: beſides certaine other fabulous matter contained in the ſame booke. Albeit becauſe he ſpeaketh there of many thynges cōcernyng the ſtate of the church vnder Antichriſt, and the reformation of Religion, as ſeemeth rightly to come to paſſe, and more is lyke to follow: I thought not to defraude the Reader thereof, leauyng the credite of the authour, to his arbitrement, to eſteeme and iudge of him as he ſeeth cauſe. Among diuers other places of Methodius, Propheſieng of the latter tyme, theſe wordes do follow: After that the children of Iſmaell haue had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the deſert aforeſayd, they came out of the wilderneſſe of Arabie, and entred into the habitable land, & fought with the kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promiſe, and the land was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of theyr power, wherewith they haue ſubdued all the kyngdome of the Gentiles, their hart was exalted, ſeyng themſelues ſo to haue preuayled, and to haue conquered all thynges. &c. And afterward it followeth of the ſame matter in this ſort.

The propheſies of Methodius, concernyng the turkes.

It ſhall come to paſſe that the ſayd ſeede of Iſmaell, ſhal iſſue out and obteine the whole world, with the regions therof, in the entryng of peace, from the land of Ægypt, vnto Ethiopia: and from the floude Euphrates, vnto India: and from the riuer Tigris, to the entryng of Nabaot the kyngdome of Ionithus, the ſonne of Noe: and from the North, vnto Rome and Illyricū, Ægypt, and Theſſalonica, and Albania, and ſo forth to the ſea Ponticum, which deuideth the ſayd kingdomes from Germanie and Fraunce: and their yoke ſhall be double vpon the neckes of all nations, and gentles: neither ſhall there be nation or kyngdome vnder heauen, which ſhall be able to ſtand agaynſt them in battaile, vntill the number of viij. weekes of yeares. &c.

viij. weekes of yeares, counting euery weeke for a Sabbate of yeares, that is, euery day for a yeare, commeth to 56. yeares.

Briefly, as in a groſſe ſomme, this ſhal ſuffice, to admoniſh the reader, touching the meanyng and methode of Methodius Propheſies: whiche Methodius firſt deſcribyng the long and tedious afflictions of Chriſtes Church, maketh mention of the ſeede of Iſmaell, which commyng out of the partes and deſertes of Arabie, ſhall deſtroy (ſayth he) and vanquiſh the whole earth, So that the Chriſtians ſhalbe geuen of God, to the handes of the filthy Barbarians, to be ſlayne, polluted and captiued: Perſia, Armenia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Ægypt, the Eaſt partes, Aſia, Spayne, all Grecia, Fraunce, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia, The Romanes alſo ſhall be ſlayne and put to flight: alſo the Ilandes of the Seas ſhall be brought to deſolation, and to captiuitie, and put to the ſword. The which tribulation of the Chriſtians ſhalbe without mercy or meaſure: the raunſome of gold and ſiluer and other exactions, intolerable, but eſpecially the dwellers of Ægypt and Syria ſhall be moſt in the affliction of thoſe tymes: And Hieruſalem ſhall be filled with multitudes of people brought thether in captiuitie, from the foure wyndes, whiche are vnder heauen. So that beaſtes alſo, and foules, and fiſh in the water, and the waters of the Sea ſhall be to them obedient. Cities and Townes, which were before full of people, ſhal be layd waſt. Womē with child ſhall be rypt: their childrē ſticked: infantes takē from the mothers, and caſt in the ſtreates, and none ſhal bury them. The rulers and ſage of the people ſhall be ſlayne, and throwen out to the beaſtes. Churches ſhall be ſpoyled: the Prieſts deſtroyed: virgines defloured, and men compelled to ſell their children, and the comming of them ſhall be chaſtiſement without mercy, and with them ſhall go theſe foure plagues: captiuitie, deſtruction, perdition, and deſolation, with much more, which for breuitie I ouerpaſſe. And this affliction ſayth he, ſhall laſt eight weekes, or Sabbates of yeares, which I take to ſignifie viij. hundreth yeares. &c.

The firſt ſtate or alteration of tymes concernyng the cōming of the Saracens.

Chriſtians plagued by the Saracens.

Secondly, after theſe terrible plagues thus deſcribed by Methodius, vpon the Chriſtians, which he ſayth ſhall fall vpon thē for their wicked abhominations recited in the firſt & ſecōd chapter of S. Paul to the Romanes: the ſaid Methodius afterward, in this great diſtreſſe of the Chriſtians, being out of all hope and comfort of reliefe, declareth & ſpeaketh of a certaine kyng of the Grekes or Romaines, which ſhall reſtore peace agayne to the Chriſtiās. In which peace they ſhall reedifie their Cities and manſions agayne: the Prieſtes ſhall be deliuered from their greuaunces, and men at that tyme ſhall reſt from their tribulations, and then ſhal the kyng of the Romaines dwell in the Citie of Hieruſalē a weeke or ſabbate, and a halfe of tymes. &c.

The ſecond ſtate or alteration of the Chriſtians relieued of their plagues and tribulations.

Chriſtians abuſing Gods benefites.

Thirdly, duryng the tyme of this peace, the ſayd Methodius ſayth, that men ſhall fall into licentious ſecuritie, & careles lyfe: and thē, accordyng to the word of the Apoſtle, ſaying: When they ſhall ſay, peace, peace, ſodeine deſtruction ſhall fall vpō them: then (ſayth he) ſhall be opened the gates of the North, and the beaſtly people ſhall breake in, which kyng Alexander the great, did cloſe vp within two mountaines, makyng his prayer vnto the Lord God, that he would bynd vp that beſtiall & execrable people, leaſt with their filthy and deteſtable pollutions, they ſhould come out and pollute the holy land. Whoſe interceſſion beyng heard, the Lord God cōmaunded them to be incloſed within two mountaines, in the North partes, to the deepenes of xij. cubites (whiche ſignifieth peraduenture xij. hundreth yeares) ſo that neither by witchcraft, nor by any meanes, they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntil the tyme of the Lord appointed, which are (ſayth he) the latter tymes: And then, accordyng to the Prophecie of Ezechiell in the latter tyme of the conſummation of the world, Gog and Magog out from the North, ſhall come forth into the land of Iſraell, and ſhall worke all this miſchief agaynſt the Chriſtians, aboue recited. And then (ſayth Methodius proceeding in his Propheſies) ſhal the kyng of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Hieruſalem a Sabbate of tymes, and a halfe, that is, ſayth Methodius, x. yeares and a halfe, take the crowne frō his head, and yeld it vp to the Croſſe in Golgotha where Chriſt was crucified, and ſhall dye. And the croſſe with the crowne ſhall be taken into heauen, which ſhal not appeare agayne before the commyng of the Lord.

The third alteration by the commyng of the turkes.

The reigne of Chriſtian kinges in Hieruſalem laſted 88. yeares, an. 1187.

By this reſignyng vp the crowne to the crucifixe in Golgotha, is ſignified, the ceaſing of reigne of the Chriſtians in Hieruſalem tyll the commyng of Chriſt.

Fourthly, it followeth then moreouer in the Propheſies of Methodius, whiche declareth, that when the weeke or ſabbate and halfe weeke of tymes ſhall end, and when the kyng of Romanes ſhall geue vp his crowne in Hieruſalem, and dye, Then immediatly ſhal Antichriſt the ſonne of perditiō begyn to appeare, and be borne, in Iewrie, of the tribe of Dan, whereof alſo came Iudas Iſcarioth, and he ſhall be borne (ſayth Methodius) in Choroſaim, and ſhall be bred in Bethſaida, and ſhall reigne in Capernaum: to the whiche iij. Cities, Chriſt the Lord gaue his 3. Væ. And when great tribulation ſhall increaſe and multiply in the dayes of this Antichriſt, and all Lordſhyp and dominion ſhall be deſtroyed, the Lord ſhall, ſend his two faythfull and deare ſeruauntes, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and detect the falſe ſeducing, and lyeng forgeries of this Antichriſt, openly before all men: ſo that the people ſeyng themſelues falſely beguiled, and ſeduced by this ſonne of perdition, commyng out of the Temple diſſemblyngly, to the deſtruction of many, ſhall leaue and fley from him, and ioyne themſelues to the ſayd two holy Prophetes. Which ſonne of perdition and Antichriſt ſeyng his procedynges ſo to be reproued, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger ſhall kill the two Prophetes of God. And then ſhall appeare (ſayth Methodius) the ſigne of the cōmyng of the ſonne of mā, & he ſhall come in the cloudes of heauenly glory, and ſhall deſtroy the enemy with the ſpirite of his mouth. &c.

By this tribe of Dan, and the citis Choroſaim, Bethſaida, and Capernaum, is ſignified Gods great malediction vpon Antichriſt.

The deſtruction of Antichriſt.

¶Interpretation.

TO theſe Propheſies & teſtimonies of Methodius, what credite it is to be geuen, I leaue it to the Reader. But if the meanyng of his Propheſies go by ſuch order of tymes, as is ſet & diſpoſed in his booke: he ſeemeth to deſcribe vnto vs iiij. principall ſtates and alterations of tymes to come.

The interpretation.

The firſt ſtate and alteration is by Mahumete and the Saracens, which be the offpringes and ſonnes of Iſmaell commyng out of Arabie, in the tyme of Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople, an. 630. which rebellyng agaynſt Heraclius, increaſed and preuailed ſtill more & more agaynſt the Chriſtians, both in Aſia, and Africa, and alſo in many places in Europe, eſpecially in Spayne, and Italy.

The cōming of the Saracens.

The ſecond ſtate and alteration he propheſieth to come by the Turkes, which firſt commyng out of the farre partes of Scythia, that is, out of ỹ North, firſt ouercame the Saracenes, ſubdued the Perſians, and afterward ioynyng together with the Saracens, cōquered the kyngdome of Hieruſalem, about the yeare of our Lord. 1187: then ſubdued Syria and moſt part of Aſia. &c. And theſe be they, which Methodius ſeemeth to meane of, ſpeakyng of the vyle and miſerable people cloſed vp of the Lord God, at the interceſſion of Alexander the great Captaine in the North, betwen two mountaines, the deepenes of xij. cubites, leaſt that filthy corrupt nation ſhould pollute the earth with their wickednes. Whereby are ment theſe Turkes, which commyng out frō the vttermoſt partes of the North, that is, out of Scythia and the mountaines of Caucaſus or els Imaus, were withholden and kept backe of Almighty God, for Chriſtes cauſe, that they might not harme his Church a long ſpace, during the tyme of xij. hundreth yeares: and then, the ſinnes of the Chriſtians ſo deſeruyng, they were permitted of al-

The cōming of the turkes.

Scythia iuxta Caucaſum.

mighty God to breake out, and to inuade the Church: who now ioynyng together with the Saracens, haue wrought, and dayly do worke, all theſe greuaunces againſt our Chriſtian brethren: as we ſee this day is come to paſſe, and more is lyke to folow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do plucke them in agayne.

Victory of the Chriſtians gotte agaynſt the Saracens.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

Moreouer, in the meane ſpace, betwene the reigne of the Saracens and the Turkes, where Methodius ſpeaketh of the king of Romaines, which ſhould reſtore quietnes to the church, and ſhould reigne in Hieruſalem a ſabbate of tymes and halfe a ſabbate: thereby ſeemeth to be vnderſtand the viage of Chriſtiā Princes out of the weaſt partes of Europe, vnder Gotfridus Duke of Lotharyng & his two brethren and many other Chriſten Princes, with. 300. thouſand footemen, and 100. thouſand horſemen: who fighting agaynſt the Saracens, recouered agayne from them, the citie of Hieruſalem, in the yeare of our Lord. 1099. which citie before had bene in their poſſeſſion, the terme of. 490. yeares. After which victory got, firſt Gotfridus, then Baldwinus his brother, & other after them, to ỹ nūber of .8. Chriſten kynges, reigned in Hieruſalem the ſpace of 88. yeares: and after that, through the diſcorde of the Chriſtians not agreyng amongeſt themſelues, both Hieruſalem, and Syria, with other partes of Aſia beſides, were ſubdued and wonne of the Turkes, which to this day they keepe yet ſtill. And this was in the yeare of our Lord. 1187.

The Citie of Hieruſalem recouered by the Chriſtians frō the Saracens. Hieruſalem poſſeſſed of the Chriſtians 88. yeares. Hieruſalem wonne from the Chriſtians by the Turkes, an. 1187.

About which yeare and tyme (as foloweth in Methodius) when the Citie of Hieruſalem ſhall be wonne of the Turkes, then ſhall Antichriſt begin to be borne of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iſcarioth; and ſhalbe borne in Chorazaim and bredde in Bethſaida, and reigne in Capernaum: Meanyng that this Antichriſt or ſonne of perdition, ſhall be ful of Gods malediciō, noted by Iudas Iſcarioth, and theſe three Cities, agaynſt whom were ſpoken thriſe Væ of the Lord.

The cōmyng and markes of Antichriſt deſcribed.

And here is moreouer to bee noted, that Methodius ſayth, not that Antichriſt ſhall be borne among the Saracens, or Turkes, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Iſraell. whereby is to be collected, that Antichriſt ſhall not come of the Saracēs, nor Turkes, but ſhal ſpring vp among the Chriſtians, and (ſayth Methodius) ſhall ſeeme to come out of the Temple, to deceaue many. &c. Whereby the Pope may ſeeme rather then the Saracen or the Turke, to be deſcribed, for ſomuch as the Pope, beyng elected, nouriſhed, and reignyng in the middeſt of Gods people, at Rome, ſitteth in the temple, and very place of Chriſt: and (no doubt) deceaueth many. &c.

And now to come to the tyme aſſigned of Methodius here is to be added alſo, that whiche we read in Antoninus Par. 3. that about this ſayd preſent tyme, a certaine byſhop of Florence preached that Antichriſt was then commyng. But the pope commaunded him to keepe ſilence & to ſpeake no more thereof. Now why the pope ſo dyd, & why he could not abyde the preachyng of Antichriſt, I referre it to them which liſt to muſe more vpon the matter. This is certaine, that about this tyme, here aſſigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus Gratianus, & pope Innocent the third, the firſt authours and patrons of trāſubſtātiatiō. At which tyme alſo begā the firſt perſecutiō by the Church of Rome, agaynſt the Albingēſes or Waldenſes, about Tolous, Biturres, and Auinion. Of whom xvij. thouſād the ſame tyme were ſlayne, by the Popes croſſed ſouldiours. Amōg whom Frier Dominicke was then the chiefeſt doer. About which tyme alſo was Frier Fraūces, of which two came the two orders of beggyng Friers: all which began much about one tyme together, an. 1215. which were nere, within xx. yeares, after the kyngdome of the Chriſtians was taken of the Turkes, accordyng to the Prophecie aboue ſayd.

The tyme of Antichriſt. Petrus Lombardus. Gratianus. Innocentius. 3

Tranſubſtantiation. The firſt perſecutiō by the church of Rome. Dominicke. Frier Fraunces. Ex Antonino Part. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1. The orders of Fryers begannе.

It foloweth moreouer in Methodius, That in his tyme all Lordſhip and domination ſhall ceaſe and geue ouer. &c. The veritie whereof we ſee now accompliſhed in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double ſword, & triple crown both come, there all ſeculare power muſt geue place, both Emperours, Kynges, and Princes muſt ſtoupe.

The pope exaltyng himſelfe aboue kings and Emperours.

So kyng Iohn yelded vp his crowne to Pādulfus the Popes Legate, and was in his hand v. dayes. an. 1217.

Notes of Antichriſt.

Childericke the French kyng had his crowne take from him, and geuen to Pipine. an. 747.

Henricus 4. Emperour was forced to ſubmit himſelfe and his ſcepter to Pope Hildebrand, an. 1077.

Fridericus Barbaroſſa Emperour, in Saint Markes Churche in Venice, was fayne to lay downe hys necke vnder the Pope Alexanders feete, an. 1177. Whiche Fridericke alſo before, was fayne to hold the ſtyrrop to Pope Adrian. &c.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the Ambaſſadour of Venice, named Franciſcus Dandulus, who beyng ſent to Pope Clement the 5. was made to lye vnder the Popes table like a dogge, and gather vp the crummes, mentioned in Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 7.

Ex Sabell. Enn. 9. lib. 7.

Henry the 3. beyng Emperour, had his diademe firſt ſet on with the feete of the Pope, and afterward ſtrocken of frō his head with the Popes foote agayne.

And what ſhall I ſpeake more hereof? when as Carolus magnus ſubmitted himſelfe ſo lowe to kiſſe the feete of Pope Leo, an. 800.

It followeth thē in the prophecie of Methodius: That in the tribulatiō of thoſe dayes, ſhal be ſent frō God two ſpeciall Prophets, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and diſcloſe the fraudulent falſehood of Antichriſt, and that many ſeyng his deluſion, ſhall forſake hym and follow them: Wherat Antichriſt beyng greued ſhall kill them. &c.

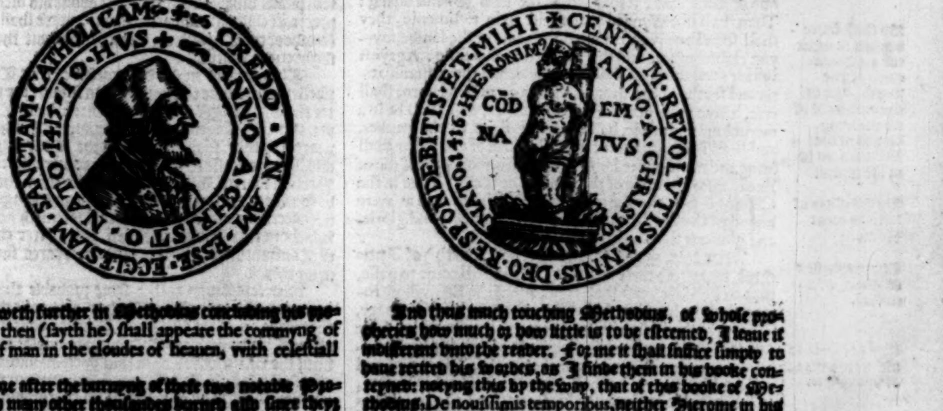
Enoch and Hely.

We neuer read yet in any ſtory, of any ſuche two Prophets to be ſent either to the Saracens, or to the Turkes: Whereas againſt the Pope, we read Iohn Huſſe and Hierome of Prage, two learned Martyrs and Prophets of god to haue bene ſent, and to haue reproued and deſcribed the Anatomie of Antichriſt, and at laſt to haue bene burned for their labour. And what Prophet can ſpeake more plainely, either Enoch or Hely, then did Hierome of Prage, propheſying of the cōmyng of Martin Luther, an hundreth yeres after hym? when the Pope and his fellowes ſhould anſwer to God and to hym. The tyme we ſee came iuſt. Now let ỹ Pope ſee with hys fellowes, what anſwer they can make.

Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage. Vid. in primo Tom. operum Iohan. Hus. De Anatomia.

Hierome of Prage a prophet and Martyr.

The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.


CREDO VNAM ESSE ECCLESIAM SANCTAM CATHOLICAM
IO HVS + ANNO A CHRISTO NATO 1415
CENTVM REVOLVTIS ANNIS DEO RESPONDEBITIS ET MIHI
HIERONIMVS ANNO A CHRISTO NATO 1416
CŌD EM NA TVS

It followeth further in Methodius concludyng his prophecy, And then (ſayth he) ſhall appeare the commyng of the ſonne of man in the cloudes of heauen, with celeſtiall glory. &c.

The nearenes of the Lordes iudgement.

Wherfore after the burnyng of theſe two notable Prophets, with many other thouſandes burned alſo ſince theyr tyme, by the biſhop of Rome it is to be thought, that ỹ commyng of Chriſtes iudgement, in the cloudes, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine. Amen.

And thus much touching Methodius, of whoſe propheceis, how much or how little is to be eſteemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the reader. For me it ſhall ſuffice ſimply to haue recited his wordes, as I finde them in his booke conteyned: notyng this by the way, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouiſſimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Catalogе, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in ỹ place where he entreateth purpoſely of ſuche Prophecies, maketh any mention.

The propheſie of Hildegardis and Brigitte, of the Turkes.

As touchyng Hildegardis and Brigit, and other whō the Frenche call Bardi, for their ſonges & propheticall verſes, ſufficient hath bene alleged before out of Auentinus: Who in his third booke of Chronicles writing of the teſtimonies of Hildegard, Brigit and Bardi, ſemeth to ground vpon them, that the Turkes, whether we will or not, ſhall haue their Imperiall ſeate at Colen: And I pray God, that it come not to paſſe, that the Turke doo geue ſome attempt agaynſt England by the ſeas, before that he come to Colen by land.&c.

Ex Auentino lib.3. Annalium.

A caueat to England.

Ex Brigitta lib.4. cap.57.

Propheſies of Brigitte againſt Rome.

Breuitie cauſeth me to cut of many teſtimonies and reuelations of theſe abouesayd, or els I could here rehearſe the propheticall wordes of Brigit lib.4. cap.57. concernyng the Citie and Churche of Rome, whiche, as ſhe ſaith, muſt be purged and ſcourged with iij. thynges, to witte, with ſharpe ſworde, with fire, and with the plough. and that God will do with that Citie, as one that remoueth plants out of one place vnto an other: and finally that the citie of Rome ſhall ſuſteine the ſentence, as if a Iudge ſhould commaunde the ſkinne to be flayne of, the blood to be drawne from the fleſhe, and the fleſhe to be cut in ſmall peeces, and the bones therof to be broken, ſo that all the mary may be quyſed out from the ſame.&c. But for breuitie I let Brigitte, paſſe, and ſome thyng will declare out of Erythrea Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges Churche in Venyce: where ſhee prophecying many thynges of the byrth of Chriſt vnder Auguſtus, and of the byrth of Iohn Baptiſt, and of Baptiſme, of the Apoſtles, of the conuerſion of the Gentils, and of Conſtantinus.&c. hath theſe wordes: After that the peaceable Bull ſhall cōclude all the climes of the world vnder tribute, in thoſe dayes a heauenly lambe ſhall come: and the dayes ſhall come, whē the power of the flowyng ſtreame ſhal be magnified in water, and the Lyon the Monarche ſhall be conuerted to the lambe, which ſhall ſhyne to all men, and ſubuert Kingdomes.

The propheſies of Sybilla Erithrea, **named** Eriphila.

Ex Sybilla Erithrea in ſuo Nazilographo imperiali ſcripto.

Propheſies of Sybilla **of Chriſt.**

Moreouer ſayth Sybilla, In the latter age God ſhal be humbled, aud the diuine offſpryng ſhall be abaſed, and deitie ſhall be ioyned with humanitie, the lambe ſhall lye in hay, and God and man ſhalbe bredde vp vnder a maydens attendance, ſignes and wonders ſhall go before amongeſt the circumciſed.&c. Alſo, an aged woman ſhall conceaue a child hauyng knowledge of thinges to come. The Worlde ſhall meruell at Bootes (the ſtarre) whiche ſhall be a leader to hys byrth. He hauyng 32. feete and vi. thumbes ſhall chuſe to hym ſelfe out of fiſhers and abiectes, the number of xij. and one deuill, not with ſword nor with battell.&c. And afterwarde thus foloweth moreouer, in Sybilla, ſaying:* The health of the lambe lyeng ſhall be clothed with a few ſpoiles of the Lyon. Blacke ſhall be turned into red. He ſhall ſubdue the citie of Æneas, and kinges, but in the booke of the fiſher, In deiection, and pouertie he ſhall conquere riches, and ſhall tread downe pride with his owne death, In the night he ſhall ryſe. vp and be chaunged, hee ſhall lyue and reigne, and all theſe thynges ſhall be cōſummated and regeneration (or new thynges) be made: at laſt he ſhall iudge both good and euill.&c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sybilla Erythrea concernyng Chriſt our Lord.

By his feete is ſuppoſed to be ment the yeares of hys age.

***The lambe lyeng.&c. that is, The Church without trauell ſhal be maynteyned with ſome lyuing or poſſeſſions of chiefe rulers.**

By theſe foure beaſtes is ment the 4. Monarchies of the world, that is, the multitude of all the kyngdomes of the Gentiles, as is in the Apocal.

By the Citie of Eneas **is ment Rome.**

Furthermore touchyng the ſtate and courſe of ý Church, and of Antichriſt. it foloweth in the ſayd Sybille ſaying: Then ſhall iiij. Wynged beaſtes riſe vp in teſtimonie, they ſhall ſound out with trumpets the name of the lambe, ſowyng righteouſnes, and the law irreprehenſible. Agaynſt which law, the beaſt ſhall gaynſtand, and the abhomination and frothe of the dragon. But a meruelous ſtarre ſhall ryſe, hauyng the image of the iiij. beaſtes, and ſhall be in a meruelous multitude, he ſhall bring light to the greekes, and ſhall illuſtrate the world: The lake of the fiſher ſhall bring the name of the lambe with power: into the Citie of Eneas, vnto the ende of the world (or tyme.) Then in the Citie of Eneas, the ſtarre ioyned, ſhall looſe ſuch as were bound of the deuill, and therof he ſhall reioyſe and glorie, and glorious ſhall be his end.&c.

The propheſies of Sybila, **of Antichriſt.**

The 663 feete do meane the yeres of hys reigne.

After this, Sybilla writyng (as it ſemeth) of Antichriſt, importeth theſe wordes: And it ſhall come to paſſe, that an horrible beaſt ſhall come out of the Eaſt, whoſe roryng ſhall be heard to Aphrike, to the people of Carthage, Whiche hath vij. heades and ſcepters innumerable, feete 663. He ſhall gaynſtand the lambe, to blaſpheme his Teſtament, encreaſing the waters of the dragon. The kynges and princes of the world he ſhall burne in intolerable ſweate, and they ſhall not diminiſhe his feete. And then ij. ſtarres like to the firſt ſtarre, ſhall riſe agaynſt the beaſt, and ſhall not preuaile, till the abhomination ſhall be come, and the will of the Lord ſhalbe conſummate. And again ſpeakyng of the ſame matter, he inſerreth theſe wordes of the foreſaid ij. ſtarres aboue mētioned. And toward the latter days two bright ſtarres ſhall ariſe, rayſing vp men lying dead in theyr ſinnes, beyng lyke to the firſt ſtarre, hauing the face of the 4. beaſts which ſhal reſiſt the beaſt, and the waters of the dragon, teſtifieng (or preaching) the name and law of the lamb, the deſtruction of abhomination and iudgement, & ſhall diminiſh his waters, but they ſhalbe weakened in the bread of affliction, and they ſhall riſe agayne in ſtronger force.&c.

Theſe two ſtarres ſeme to meane John Hus, & Hierome, who beyng put to death by the pope, their doctrine roſe agayne more ſtrongly then before.

And it foloweth moreouer, After the abhomination, thē ſhal truth be reuealed, & the lamb ſhalbe knowen, to whom regiōs and countreys ſhal ſubmit their necks, and all earthly men ſhall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one diſcipline; and after this ſhalbe but a ſmall tyme.&c.

And ſhortly after, the ſayd Sybilla ſpeakyng of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abhominations of ſinnes ſhall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire ſhall fall from heauē, which ſhall conſume all earthly thinges created vnto the toppe of heauen.&c.

And thus much out of Sybilla touching her propheſies of Chriſt and Antichriſt, according as I found them alleaged of a certaine catholike Romiſh writer, in his booke entituled Onus eccleſiae, excerped, as he ſaith, out of the library of S. George in the citie of Venice.

Ex libro cui titulus, Onus Eccleſiæ.

Philip Melancthon in his preface vpon Bartholomæus Georgieuitz Peregrinus, writing of the Origine and maners of the Turkes, allegeth a certayn propheſie of Hiltenus, mentioned hereafter, which foreſayd that the Turkes ſhould beare rule in Italy and in Germany an.1600.

Now it remayneth, in concluſion of theſe propheſies of the Turkes, ſome thyng to ſay of the Turkes own propheſies, cōcernyng the enduring and endyng of their own kingdom, whoſe propheticall prognoſtication, beyng taken out of their owne lāguage, and their own bookes, I thought here to inſert, as I finde alleaged in the booke of the foreſayd Bartholomæus Georgieuitz, as followeth.

A Turkiſh prophecie in the Perſian toung of the reigne and ruine of the Turkes.

PAtiſſahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler, iedi y ladegh Gyaur keleci cſikmaſſe, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: eub iapar, baghi diker bahceſai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenſora Hriſtianon Keleci cſichar, ol Turchi gereſſine tus chare.

The Latine of the ſame.

IMperator noſter veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoq; pomum capiet, in ſuam poteſtatem redigat: quod ſi ſeptimum vſq; annū Chriſtianorum gladius non inſurrexerit, vſque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos ſepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & poſt duodecimum annum, apparebit Chriſtianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaqua verſum in fugam aget.

The ſame in Engliſh.

OUr Emperour ſhall come: he ſhall get the kingdome of the Gentiles prince: alſo he ſhall take the red apple and ſhall bryng it vnder his ſubiection: and if the ſworde of the Chriſtians ſhall not riſe vnto the vij. yeare, he ſhall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xij yeare. He ſhall buylde houſes, plante vineyardes, ſhal hedge about his orchardes, ſhall procreate children: and after the xij. yeare ſhall appeare the ſworde of the Chriſtians, whiche ſhall put the Turke to flight euery where.

By the prince of the Gentiles the Turkes doe here meane the kyngdomes & dominions of the Chriſtians, whom they call Gentiles, becauſe they are not circumciſed after their maner.

They whiche make declaration of this Turkyſh propheſie do expounde this xij. yeare to ſignifie the xij. yeare after the wynnyng of Conſtantinople: whiche Conſtantinople, they ſay, is ment by the redde apple: And after that xij. yeare, ſay they, ſhall riſe the ſworde of the Chriſtians. &c. and this propheſie beyng written and tranſlated out of the Perſian tounge, with this expoſition vpon the ſame, is to be founde in the boke of Bartholomeus Georgienitz. Albeit, concerning the expoſition therof, it ſemeth not to bee true whiche is there ſpoken of the xij. yeare, after the wynnyng of Conſtantinople, being nowe 100. yeares ſince the wynnyng therof.

The expoſition of the turkes propheſie.

Ex Barthol. Georgienitz.

Wherfore it may rather ſeme probable that by the vij. yeare and xij. yeare of the Turkes, this to be the meanyng: that if the vij. of the Ottaman Turkes do ſcape the ſword of the Chriſtians, they ſhall continue, buylde and plante, &c. vntil the xij. turke, which is this Solymannus, & then after that ſhal riſe ý chriſtiās ſword, which ſhal put thē to flight, & vanquiſh thē in all quarters. And this expoſitiō may ſeme to accord w the place of Gen. wherin is written of Iſmael, that he had xij. ſonnes, & no mo: So that this Solymānus

An other expoſition.

Gen.13.

beyng the 12. Turke after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Chriſt) be the laſt, whom we heard credibly to be reported at the printing hereof, to be dead. But howſoeuer this prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their owne oracles, that at length they ſhall be ouercome by the Chriſtians.

¶ A Table deſcribyng the tymes and yeares of the Saracens, Turkes, and Tartarians, for the better explaning of the ſtory aboue prefixed.

The Saracens beginne their reigne.	AN.632. Began the kingdome of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahumet the firſt ringleader of yͤ miſchief which Saracens reignyng in Babilon ouer Perſia and Aſia, continued about	198. yeares.
	An.667. Jeruſalem was taken of the Saracens. Theſe Saracēs after they had ſubdued Ormiſda K. of Perſia, ſet vp to them ſelues a new kingdom, callyng their chiefe prince Calipha, which ſignifieth a generall Lord: and vnder him Seriphen, that is, an vnder prince: And agayne vnder him their Soldane: which is a ruler or captain: vnder the which Soldanes, all the prouinces were deuided. And thus ruled they yͤ ſpace aboueſayd of	198. yeares.
The Egyptian Saracens or Sultans.	An.703. The Egiptiās being wery of their ſubiection vnder the Romaines, called for help of yͤ Saracen, Calipha: & ſo caſtyng of yͤ Romains, ſubmitted thē ſelues to yͤ law of yͤ Saracēs, & had alſo their Calipha & their Babilō called Cairus, where their Calipha continued vnto Saraton or Syracinus,	447. yeares.
	An.810. Mauginetus or Muchumetus yͤ chiefe Sultan of Perſia, beyng at variance with Imbrael yͤ Sultane of Babilon, ſent for the aid of the turkes, out of Scythia: by whō, when he had got the victory agaynſt the Babilonians, the ſayd Turkes ſhortly after, conquered the Perſians and ſubdued their countrey within the ſpace of	20. yeares.
The Saracens kingdome ceaſeth.	An.830. The Saracens being expulſed out of Aſia by the turkes, wandered about Affrike, Spayne, and Italy, and were in dyuers places diſperſed, and ſo remayne.	
The Turkes kingdome beginneth.	An.830. The turkes after they had expulſed the Saracens out of Aſia, beganne to reigne in Aſia, in Perſia, and in Arabia, & there reigned without interruption, till the comming of the Tartarians, the ſpace of	192. yeares.
	An.1009. The Turkes wanne the City of Hieruſalem from the Saracēs: which city the Sultan of Egipt wan agayn from the Turkes ſhortly after, and poſſeſſed yͤ ſame till the comming of Gotfridus.	
	An.1051. Began the firſt kyng of yͤ turkes called Zadike, to reigne in Aſia, and ioyned league with Calipha of Egipt, and there reigned till the conqueſt of Gotfridus & the Chriſtians, the ſpace of	46. yeares.
	An.1078. Solymannus nephue to Aſpaſalē the turkiſh king in Aſia, otherwiſe called Turquinia, ſubdued Cappadocia, which hath continued now ſince, the ſpace of	500. yeares.
	An.1099. Gotfridus Bulion Duke of Lotharing a chriſten prince, taking his voyage into Aſia, with 700000. chriſten ſouldiours firſt got the city of Nicea againſt the Sultan of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterward Meſopotamia, and Comagena, then Antiochia. an.1098. and the next yeare recouered Hieruſalem, being then in the handes of the Saracens, which they a little before had wonne from the Turkes, as is aforeſayd. After this Gotfridus ſucceded viij. chriſtian kings, which kept the kyngdome of Hieruſalem and Aſia both from the Turkes and Saracens, the ſpace of	88. yeares.
	An. 1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquiſhed the Turkes out of the kyngdome of Perſia, after they had cut their king in peces. wherby yͤ Turkes flying to Cappadocia, there remayned vnder Solyman, and ioyned thē ſelues to the Suldan of Egypte, and warred thē ſtrong in Aſia minor, called now Turquinia.	
	An. 1170. When Almericus the vij. kyng of Hieruſalem after Gotfridus, had ouercome the Calipha or Sultane of Egypt, yͤ Sultane beyng ouercome called for yͤ helpe of Saracon the Sultan of Syria. This Saracen after he had expulſed yͤ chriſtians out of Egipt, turned his power againſt the Sultane of Egipt, and vanquiſhyng him tooke to him ſelfe the kyngdome of Egypt: Whiche kyngdome he with hys poſteritie did holde till the commyng of the Tartarians & the Mamaluches about the ſpace of.	88. yeares.
	An. 1187. Saladinus the nephew of Saracen the Sultan of Egypt, perceiuing the diſſenſion among the Chriſtien ſtates of Paleſtina, got Antioche, where he ſlue Raymundus the Prince with hys owne handes: Then got Tiberias: Frō thence went to Accō, where he tooke Guido king of Hieruſalem & Maiſter of the Templares, priſoners: for whoſe raunſome, the Turke had Aſcalon yelded vp to hym of yͤ Chriſtians. That done, hee ſubdued Hieruſalem. whiche had bene in the handes of the Chriſtians before, the ſpace of.	88. yeares.
	An.1189 Friderike Emp. Philip Frēch kyng, Rich. K. of England made their viage into Aſia, where Friderike waſhyng in a ryuer at Cilicia, dyed. In this viage at the ſiege of Accon, Saladinus wanne the field of our men, of whome 2000. were ſlayne in the chaſe. Accon at lēgth was got of the Chriſtians. K. Richard gotte Cyprus. The ij. kynges fell at ſtrife. Philip returned home without any good doing, king Richard layd ſiege to Hieruſalem, but in vayne, and ſo returning homewarde was taken nere to Vienna in Auſtria, after hee had taken truce before with the Soldan, vpon ſuch condition as pleaſed him. And thys good ſpede had the Popes, ſendyng out agaynſt the Turkes.	
Tranſubſtantiation.	An.1215. There was an other Councell holden at Rome, by pope Innocēt 3. where was enacted a new article of our fayth for tranſubſtantiation of bread and wyne, to be turned into the body and bloud of our ſauiour. In this Councell alſo great excitation was made by the pope, & great preparation was through all Chriſtendome, to ſet forward for recouery of the holy land. A mighty armye was collected of dukes, lordes, knightes, byſhops and prelates, yͭ if Gods bleſſing had gone with them, they might haue gone through out al Aſia and India.	
	An. 1219. The Chriſtians after 18. monethes ſiege, gotte a certaine towne in Egypt called Damiata or Elipolis, with much a do, but not much to yͤ purpoſe. For afterward as the chriſtian army of yͤ popes ſending, went aboute to beſiege the Citie Cairus or Babilon, the Sultane through hys ſubtile trayne ſo intrapped and incloſed them within the daunger of Nilus, that they were conſtreyned to render agayne the City Damiata, with their priſoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Souldanes hand, and glad ſo with their lyues to paſſe forward to Tyrus. an.1221.	
	In the meane tyme the Egiptiā Turke cauſed the citye of Hieruſalem to bee raſed that it ſhould ſerue to no vſe to the chriſtians.	

ans. what great thing els was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appeare in ſtories. Albeit Fridericus the 2. Emperour was not vnfruitfully there occupied, and muche more might haue done, had it not bene for the violence and perſecution of the Biſhop of Rome agaynſt him: wherby he was enforced to take a truce with the Sultã for ten yeres, and ſo returned. After which things done, not many yeares after, at length the laſt City of all belongyng to the Chriſtiãs, which was Ptolomais or Akers, was alſo taken from thẽ by the Sultane, ſo that now the chriſtians had not one foote left in all Aſia.

Vide ſupra pag. 314.

An. 1203. Thus the chriſtians beyng driuẽ out of Aſia by yͤ Sultans & turkes, yet the ſayd Turkes & Sultanes did not long enioy their victory: For eftſoones yͤ lord ſtirred vp agaynſt them the Tartarians, who breaking into Aſia by yͤ portes of Caſpius ſubdued diuers partes of Aſia, namely, about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. Theſe Tartariãs as they had got many captiues in their warres: ſo for gain vſed to ſhippe them ouer cuſtomably to Alexandria in Egipt to be ſold: which ſeruauntes & captiues Melechſala the great Sultane was glad to buy, to ſerue him in his warres. Which captiues and ſeruauntes after they had continued a certaine ſpace in Egypt, and through their valiaunt ſeruice grew in fauour & eſtimation with the ſaid Melechſala, and began more to increaſe in number and ſtrength: at length they ſlue hym, and toke to themſelues the name and kingdome of the Sultan. And thus ceaſed the ſtocke of Saracon and Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egipt, about the ſpace as is ſayd of 100. yeares.

Tartarians.

Portæ Caſpiæ.

Saladinus ſtocke in Ægypt ceaſeth.

An. 1240. After the death of Melechſala, the army of theſe foreſayd raſcals and captiues ſet vp to themſelues a king of theyr owne cõpany, whom they called Turquemenius. Who to fill vp the number of their company that it ſhould not diminiſh, deuiſed this order, to get or to buy Chriſten mens children, taken yong from their parents, and yͤ mothers lap: whom they vſed ſo to bryng vp to make them to reny Chriſt, and to bee circumciſed, and inſtructed in Mahumetes law, & afterward to be trayned in the feates of warre, and theſe were called Mamaluchi. Among whome this was their order, that none might be aduaunced to be kyng, but out of their owne number, or els choſen by them: neither that any ſhould bee made knightes or horſemen, but only the children of chriſtians which ſhould deny Chriſt before, called Mamaluchi. Alſo it was among them prouided, that to this dignity neyther Saracens nor Iewes, ſhould be admitted. Item, that the ſucceſſion therof ſhould not deſcend to the children and offſpring of theſe Mamaluchi. Alſo, that the ſucceſſion of the crowne ſhould not deſcend to the children of the foreſayd Sultanes, but ſhould goe by voyce and election. The Tartarians with Turquemenius their kyng, aboute thys tyme obtayned Turquia, that is, Aſia minor, from the Turkes, and within ij. yeres after, preuailyng agaynſt the Turkes, expelled them from their kyngdome, and ſo continued theſe Mamaluchi reignyng ouer Egypt and a great part of Aſia, till yͤ tyme of Tomumbeius their laſt kyng, whiche was deſtroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelymus the Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in his ſtory is declared, pag. 722. Theſe Mamaluchi continued the ſpace of 260. yeares.

Mamaluchi in Ægypt.

Vide ſupra pag. 722.

An. 1245. Theſe Tartarians ranging thorough the countreis of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconiũ, which was then the imperiall city of the Turkes.

An. 1289. The Soldane of Egipt and Babilon got from the chriſtiãs Tripolis, Tyrus, Sydon, and Berithus in Syria.

An. 1291. Laſtly, Ptolomais, which alſo is called Akers, was ſurpriſed by yͤ ſaid Soldan, raſed and caſt down to the ground, and all the Chriſtians therin (which were not many left) were ſlayne. And this was the laſt city which the chriſtians had in Aſia. So that now the Chriſtians haue not one foot (as is ſaid before) left in al Aſia. Thus the Egyptian Soldans, and the Tartarians reigned and ranged ouer the moſt part of Aſia aboue the Turkes, till the raign of Ottomannus the great Turke, about the ſpace of 80. yeares.

¶ And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe of the Turkiſh ſtorye, with their names, countreys townes, dominions alſo with their tymes, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order deſcribed and in yeares diſtincted: Whiche otherwiſe in moſt authors and writers be ſo confuſed, that it is heard to knowe diſtinctiue, what difference is betwene the Saracens, Turkes Tartarians, yͤ Sultans or Soldans, Mamaluches, or Ianizarites: what is their Calipha, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Baſſa, in what tymes they began, and howe long, & in what order of yeares they reigned. All which in this preſent table manifeſtly to thyne eye may appeare.

¶ Wherin this thou haſt moreouer (gentle reader) to conſider, which is worthy the notyng, how yͤ byſhop of Rome all this ſeaſon, from the firſt begynnyng of the Turkes reigne, hath not ceaſed from tyme to tyme continually, callyng vpõ Chriſten princes and ſubiectes, to take the croſſe and to warre agaynſt the Turkes: whereupon ſo many great viages haue bene made to the holy land, and ſo many battailes fought agaynſt the Turke and Soldan for wynnyng the holy croſſe: and yet no luckye ſucceſſe hath folowed therof hetherto, nor euer came it proſperouſly forward, what ſoeuer, through the excityng of that Byſhop, hath bene attempted agaynſt that great enemye of the Lord: In ſo much that the Chriſtians haue loſt not onely al that they had in Aſia, but alſo vnneth are able to defende that litle they haue in Europe, agaynſt his violence. What the cauſe is of this hard lucke of the Byſhops doynges, it is hard for man to define. Let men muſe as their mynde leadeth, and as the Goſpell ſayth, he that hath eyes to ſee let him ſee. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the Biſhop of Rome, to ſtyrre men vp to that buſines: ſo on the princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage no ſtrength of men, no contribution of expenſes, no ſupportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of warre: onely the bleſſyng of God ſemeth to haue lacked. The reaſon and cauſe wherof I would were ſo eaſy to be reformed, as it may be quickly conſtrued. For what man beholdyng the lyfe of vs Chriſtians, will greatly merueil, why the Lord goeth not with our armye to fight agaynſt the Turkes? And if my verdite might here haue place, for me to adde my cenſure, there appeareth to me an other cauſe in this matter yet greater than this aforeſayd: whiche to make playne and euident in full diſcourſe of wordes, leyſure nowe doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceaue, my opinion is this: that if the ſyncere doctrine of Chriſten fayth deliuered and left vnto vs in the word of God, had not ben ſo corrupted in the Churche of Rome, or if the Byſhop of Rome would yet reclaime his impure idolatrie, and prophanations and admitte Chriſte the lambe of God to ſtand alone, without our vnpure additions, to be our onely iuſtification, accordyng to the free promiſe of Gods grace: I nothing doubt but the power of this fayth groundyng onely vppon Chriſt the ſonne of God, had both framed our lyues into a better diſpoſition: and alſo ſoone would, or yet will bryng downe the pryde of that proude Holofernes. But otherwiſe, if the B. of Rome will not gently geue place to the mylde voyce of gods worde, I thinke not contrary, but he ſhall bee compelled at laſt to geue place and roume to the Turke, whether he will or not. And yet notwithſtandyng, when both the Turke and the Pope ſhall do agaynſt it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods teſtament ſhall fructifie & increaſe, by ſuch meanes as the Lord ſhall worke, which beginneth alredy (prayſe to the Lord) to come graciouſly and luckely forward in moſt places.

Why the pope can not preuaile agaynſt the Turkes.

God offended wyth Idolatry and wrong fayth of the Chriſtians.

❡ A Prayer agaynſt the Turkes.

A prayer againſt the Turkes.

O Eternall Lord God,father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,creator and diſpoſer of all thinges,iuſt,gracious, and wiſe only,in the name and reuerence of thy ſonne Ieſus, we proſtrate our ſelues, deſiring thine omnipotent maieſtie, to looke downe vpon theſe afflicted tymes of thy poore creatures and ſeruauntes: relieue thy Church, increaſe our fayth,and confound our enemies: and as thou haſt geuen thine onely begotten ſonne vnto vs,promiſing with hym lyfe to all that ſhall beleue vpon his name: ſo incline the obedience of our fayth to thy promiſes in him, that our hartes may be farre of from all other ſinnefull additions and prophane inuentions,which are beſides him,and not in hym grounded vpō thy will and promiſe.And graunt (we beſeech thee) to thy Church, more and more to ſee how horrible a thing it is,to ſet vp any other meanes or helpe of ſaluation,but onely in him,whom thou only haſt ſent and ſealed.Reforme thy church with perfect doctrine and faithfull teachers,that we ſeing our own weakenes,may put of our ſelues, and put on him with out whom we can do nothing.So ſhall we ſtand ſtrong,when nothing ſtandeth in vs,but thy ſonne alone,in whom thou art onely pleaſed.Renew in this thy Church agayne,the decayed faith of thy ſonne Ieſus, which may plentifully bryng forth in vs,not leaues onely,but fruites of Chriſtian lyfe: And forgeue our wretched Idolatry and blinde phantaſies paſt, wherwith we haue prouoked manifold wayes thy deſerued indignatiō againſt vs:For our hartes haue bene full of Idoles, our temples full of Images, our wayes full of hypocriſie: thy Sacramentes prophaned,and thy religion turned to ſuperſtition,becauſe the lanterne of thy word went not before vs,therfore we haue ſtumbled.Miſerably we haue walked hetherto,lyke ſonnes not of Sara,but of Agar,and therfore theſe turkiſh Agarens haue riſen vp againſt vs.Many hard & ſtraight wayes we haue paſſed,but the wayes of the Lord we haue not found. Much coſte we haue beſtowed on bread that ſwageth no hunger,but that bread which onely feedeth and commeth freely,we haue not taſted.We haue ſayled farre & nere in barkes of our owne buildyng,but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promiſe,and therfore theſe floudes haue taken vs.We haue prayed much,but not in thine appointed temple,and therfore haue not bene heard.We haue plowed & tilled,but without thy haiffer,and therfore this vntydie ground of ours,bringeth forth ſo many weedes. We do fiſh apace and that all night,but becauſe we fiſhe not on the right ſide of the boate,in our fiſhing we catch neuer a finne. Our buildinges be full of good intentions and great deuotions,but becauſe the groundworke is not ſurely layd vpon the rocke of thy promiſe,the Eaſt winde ryſeth and ſhaketh them all to ſhiuers.We walke and haue walked long after the preceptes and doctrines of men,hauyng a ſhew of wiſedome,but not as holding the head,where lieth all our ſtrength,and therfore theſe Philiſtian Turkes haue hetherto ſo preuayled agaynſt vs.Brieſly all the partes and bones of the body be ſhaken out of place.Whetfore we beſeech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hande, and ſet them in the right ioynt agayne: And finally reduce this ſame thy myſticall body agayne,to his perfect and naturall head, which is thine onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and none other.For hym onely haſt thou annoynted and appoynted. Neither is there any other head,that can miniſter ſtrength and nutriment to this body,but he alone:for asmuch as all other heds be ſinnefull, and are not able to ſtande in thy ſight, but make this bodie rather worſe then better.Onely this thy welbeloued & perfect ſonne is he, in whome onely dwelleth all our ſtrength & fulneſſe: hym onely we confeſſe and knowledge.For whom,and with whom,we beſeech thee (O Lord God of hoſtes) graunt to thy Churh ſtrength and victory agaynſt the malicious furye of theſe Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians,agaynſt Gog and Magog, and all the malignaunt rabble of Antichriſt, enemies to thy ſonne Ieſus our Lorde and Sauiour. Preuente their deuiſes,ouerthrow theyr power, and diſſolue their kyngdome, that the kyngdome of thy ſonne ſo long oppreſſed,may recouer and floriſh ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallē from thee, may happely bee reduced agayne into the fold of thy ſaluation,through Ieſus Chriſt our only mediatour & moſt mercifull aduocate.Amē.

Pſal.119. Galat.4. Sapien.5. Eſai.55. Genes.6.

Iudic.14. Ioan.21. Luke.6. Coloſſ.2.

1500.

IN this long digreſſion, wherin ſufficiently hath ben deſcribed the greuous and tedious perſecution of the Saracens, and Turkes agaynſt the Chriſtians,thou haſt to vnderſtand (good reader) and behold the image of a terrible Antichriſt euidently appearing both by his own doynges, & alſo by the ſcriptures, prophecied and declared to vs before. Now in comparing the Turke with the Pope, if a queſtion be aſked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichriſt: it were eaſye to ſee and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifeſt enemye agaynſt Chriſte and hys Churche. But if it be aſked, whether of them two hath bene the more bloudy and pernitious aduerſary to Chriſte and his members, or whether of them hath conſumed and ſpilt more Chriſtian bloud,he with ſworde,or this with fire & ſword together,neither is it a light matter to diſcerne,neither is it my part here to diſcuſſe,which do but onely write the hyſtorie, and the Actes of them both. Wherfore after the ſtorye of the Turkes thus finiſhed, nowe to reenter agayne there, wheras we left, in deſcribing the domeſticall troubles and perſecutions here at home vnder the Byſhop of Rome: after the burnyng of Badram in Northfolke aboue declared.pag.706. I ſignified alſo of an other certaine aged man mentioned in an old written Chronicle borowed of one in the tower, intituled Polychron. (although I finde not hys name in the ſayd Chronicle expreſſed) which ſuffered the paynes of burnyng in ſmithfield, about that ſame tyme,which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1500. Ex Polychron.

A queſtion whether is the greater Antichriſt, the Turke or the Pope.

Badram and an olde mā, Martyrs. *Vide ſupra. pag.706.*

Ex ſcripto Polychronico.

This aged father, I ſuppoſe, be he of whome I fynde mention made in certaine olde papers and recordes of William Carpe Citizen (albeit the day of the moneth doth a litle differ) wherin is thus teſtified, that on the xx. day of July, an.1500. vpon the day of S. Margaret, there was an old man burned in ſmithfield for an heriticke, & the ſame perſon vpō the tenth day before he was burned, would haue ſtolen out of the Lolardes tower, and ſo fallyng out of the tower, did fowlye hurt him ſelfe: wherupō he was caryed in a carte to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foreſayd papers of auncient recorde, is further more declared, how in the yeare aboue prefixed, whiche was an. 1499. in the tyme of one Perſeuel, many were taken for heretikes in Kent, and at Paules croſſe they bare faggottes and were abiured, and ſhortlye after the ſame yeare, there went xiij. lolardes afore the proceſſion in Paules, and there were of them vij. women and a young ladde, and the laddes mother was one of the vij. and all the xiij. bare faggottes on their neckes afore the proceſſion.

Diuers women bearing fagots.

William Tilſworth Martyr.

FOr ſo much as the worlde is come now to ſuch a impoſſitie and peuiſhe inſenſibilitie in theſe contentious and cauillyng dayes of ours, that nothyng can be ſo circumſpectly written and ſtoryed, but ſhall lye in daunger of one Sycophant or an other, whiche neuer will credite there, where they liſt not to lyke: neither will they euer lyke that, which ſeemeth preiudiciall to their faction, or not to ſerue the humor wherewith their phantaſies be infected: therefore to ſtoppe the mouthes of ſuch carpyng cauillers with as much poſſibilitie as I may, be it knowne to all and ſingular ſuche perſons, who by euidence of truth and witnes will be ſatisfied,that in the towne of Amerſham,be yet alyue both men and women,whiche can and do beare witnes of this that I ſhall declare. Alſo there is of the ſayd companye one named William Page, an aged father and yet alyue, witnes to the ſame. Alſo an other named Agnes wetherley wydowe, beyng about the age of an hundreth yeares, yet lyuing and witnes hereof: That in the dayes of kyng Henry vij. an. 1506. in the dioceſſe of Lyncolne in Buckyngham ſhyre (William Smith beyng Byſhop of the ſame dioces) one William Tylſeworth was burned in Amerſham in a cloſe called Stadley about 60. yeares agoe. At whiche tyme one Ioane Clerke, beyng a maryed woman, whiche was the onely daughter of the ſayd W. Tylſeworth, a faithfull woman, was compelled with her owne handes to ſet fire to her deare father: and at the ſame tyme her huſband Iohn Clerk dyd penaunce at her fathers burnyng, and bare a fagot, as did alſo,

Will. Tilſworth Martyr.

The daughter compelled to ſet fire to her father.

Robert Bartlet.
Richard Bartlet.
Iohn Bartlet.
Thomas Hardyng, and his wife.
Henry Harding.
Richard Hardyng.
Robert Hardyng.
Iohn Milſent and his wyfe.
William Whyte.

Iohn Mumbe and hys wife.
Richard Bennet.
Roger Bennet.
Iohn Fip.
William Grinder.
Thomas Homes.
Yomand Dorman.
William Scriuener.
Iohn Scriuener.
Thomas Chaſe.
Iohn Crocher.

Amerſham men bearing fagots.

All theſe bare fagots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, and went abroad to certayn townes to do penaunce, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other townes moe: And alſo diuers of theſe men wer afterward burned in the cheeke, as William Page, which at this preſent is alyue, and likewyſe did beare a fagot with the aforeſayd. Furthermore the foreſayd Agnes Wetherley teſtifieth that at the burnyng of this William Tylſworth, were lx. and aboue that were put to beare fagots for their penaunce, of whom diuers were enioyned to beare and weare fagots at Lyncolne, the ſpace of 7. yeres, ſome at one tyme, ſome at another. &c. In which number was alſo one Robert Bartlet a rich man, who for his profeſſion ſake was put out of hys ferme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monaſtery of Aſhryge, where he ware on his right ſleue a ſquare peece of cloth, the ſpace of vij. yeres together,

Father Roberts Martyr.

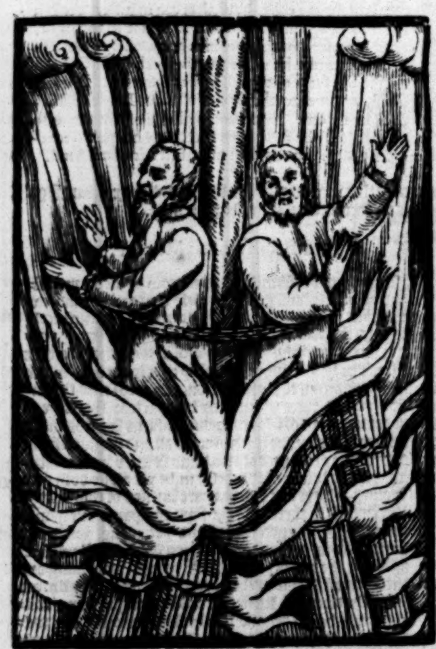
It foloweth moreouer in the teſtimony of the forenamed, that about the ſame tyme of the burnyng of William Tulſworth (as the Amerſham men do ſay) or the next day after as recordeth the foreſayd Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckyngham. He was a Miller, and dwelled at Miſſenden: & at his burning were there aboue xx. perſons yͤ were compelled to beare fagots, and to do ſuch penaunce as the wicked Phariſes did compell them. After that by the ſpace of two or thre yeres, was burned at Amerſhã, Thomas Barnard a huſbandman, and Iames Mordon a laborer, they two were burned both at one fire, & there was William Litlepage (who is yet alyue) compelled to be burned in the right cheeke, and father Rogers, and father Reuer alias Reiue, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the biſhops priſon xiiij. wekes together night and day, where he was ſo cruelly handled wyth colde, hunger, and yrones, that after hys commyng out of the ſayde pryſon, he was ſo lame in hys backe that he coulde neuer goe vpright as long as he lyued, as can teſtifie dyuers honeſt men that be now lyuyng. Alſo there was xxx. mo burned in the right cheeke, and bare fagottes the ſame tyme. The cauſe was that they would talke agaynſt ſuperſtition and Idolatry, and were deſirous to heare and read the holy Scriptures. The maner of their burning in the cheeke was this: Their neckes were tyed faſt to a poſte or ſtay, with towels, and their handes holden that they might not ſtirre, and ſo the iron beyng hote, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the printes and markes of the lord Ieſus about them.

Tho. Barnard, Iames Mordon Martyrs.

Father Reues Martyr.

Men of Amerſham burnt in the cheeke for Gods worde.

❡The burnyng of Thomas Barnard, and Iames Mordon.



❡The cruell handlyng of Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in the biſhops priſon at Wooburne, vnder Wil. Smith Biſhop of Lincolne.

1506.

Tho. Chaſe Martyr.

AMong theſe aforeſayd, whiche were ſo cruelly perſecuted for the Goſpell and worde of Chriſte, one Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handeled, which Thomas Chaſe by the reporte of ſuch as did know him, was a man of a godly, ſober and honeſt behauiour (whoſe vertuous doynges do yet remayne in memory) and could not abyde Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, but many tymes woulde ſpeake agaynſt it: wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate & deſpiſe him, and tooke him, and brought him before the blynde Byſhop, beyng at that tyme at Wooburne, in thee countie of Buckyngham, and as it is written. Act. 12. that wicked Herode did vexe certaine of the congregation and kylled Iames the brother of Iohn with the ſworde, and becauſe he ſaw that it pleaſed the Iewes. &c. he proceded farther and had this ſame Thomas Chaſe before him, aſkyng him many queſtiõs touchyng the Romiſhe Religion, with many tauntes, checkes, and rebukes, but what aunſwere this godlye man Thomas Chaſe made thẽ, it is vnknowne. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that his aunſwere was moſt zelous and godly in profeſſyng Chriſtes true religion and Goſpell, and to the extirpation of Idolatry and ſuperſtition and hipocriſie, for that the ſayd Thomas Chaſe was commaunded to bee put in thee biſhops priſon called Litleeaſe, in the biſhops houſe at Wooburne, whiche priſon had not bene miniſtred vnto him, had not his aunſwers bene ſound and vpright. There Thomas Chaſe lay bound moſt paynefully with cheynes, gyues, manacles and yrons oft tymes ſore pined with hunger, where the Byſhops almes was dayly brought vnto him by his chapleines: whiche almes was nothing els but checkes, tauntes, rebukes and threatninges, floutyngs and mockynges. All whiche crueltye the godly martyr tooke moſt quietly and paciently, remembryng and hauing reſpect too Chriſtes promiſes. Math. 5. Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake: for theirs is the kingedome of heauen, and as foloweth: Bleſſed are ye when men reuile you and perſecute you. &c. When the Byſhop with his bonde of ſhauelynges perceaued that by their dayly practiſes of crueltye they could not preuayle agaynſt him, but rather that he was the more feruent & earneſt in profeſſing Chriſtes true Religion: and that he did tolerate and beare moſt paciently al their wickednes and crueltie miniſtred vnto him: they Imagined how and whiche way they might put hym to death, leſt there ſhould be a tumulte or an vproare among the people. And as Richard Hunne ſhortly after was hanged or ſtrangled in Lolardes tower, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1514. euen ſo theſe bloudſuppers moſt cruellye ſtrãgle and preſſe to death this ſayd Thomas Chaſe in priſon, which moſt hartely called vpon God to receiue his ſpirite: as witneſſeth a certaine woman, that kepte hym in priſon.

Tho. Chaſe brought before the Byſhop.

Tho. Chaſe cõdemned to the byſhops priſon at Wooburne called Litle eaſe.

A worthy almes of a byſhop.

The perfect patience and conſtancie of Tho. Chaſe.

Tho. Chaſe cruelly murthered in the byſhops priſon.

After that theſe ſtyngyng vipers beyng of the wicked broode of Antichriſt, had thus moſt cruellye and impiouſlye murthered this faythful Chriſtiã, they were at their wittes ende, and could not tell what ſhift to make, to cloke their ſhamefull murther withall. At laſt to blynd the ignoraunt ſely people, theſe bloudy butchers moſt ſlaunderouſly cauſed by their miniſters, to be bruted abroade, that the foreſaid Thomas Chaſe had hanged him ſelfe in priſon: which was a moſt ſhamefull and abhominable lye, for the priſon was ſuch, that a man coulde not ſtand vpright nor lye at eaſe but ſtoopyng, as they do reporte that did know it. And beſides that, this mã had ſo many manacles and yrons vpon him that he could not well moue neither hand nor foote, as the women did declare that ſawe him dead, in ſomuch that they confeſſed that his bloudbolke was broken by reaſon they had ſo vilye beaten hym and bruſed hym: And yet theſe holy catholiques had not made an ende of their wicked actes in this both killyng and ſlaunderyng of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembraunce of hym, they cauſed hym to be buried in the woode called Norlandwoode, in the hye way betwixt Wooburne and litle Marlow, to the entent he ſhould not be taken vp agayne to be ſeene: And thus commonlye are innocent men layd vp by theſe clerklye clergye men. But he that is effectuallye true of hym ſelfe, hath promiſed at one tyme or at an other, to cleare hys true ſeruauntes, not with lyes and fables, but by his owne true word. No ſecret ſayth he, is ſo cloſe but once ſhalbe opened, neither is any thing ſo hid, that ſhall not at yͤ laſt be knowen clearely. Such a ſweete Lord is God alwayes to thoſe that are his true ſeruauntes. Bleſſed be hys holy name therfore, for euer and euer. Amen.

Tho. Chaſe falſely ſlaundered to hange himſelfe.

God bringeth to light the ſecret murthers of the papiſtes. Math. 10. Luke 12.

Thomas Hardyng beyng one of this company, thus moleſted and troubled as is aforeſayde, in the towne of Amerſham, for the truth of the Goſpell, after hys abiuration and penaunce done, was agayne ſought for, and brought to the fire, in the dayes of kyng Henry viij. and vnder D. Langlond then biſhop of Lyncolne, ſucceding after Cardinall Wolſey. Of whoſe death and martyrdome, we ſhall lykewiſe recorde (Chriſt willyng and graunting) in order when we ſhall come to the tyme and yeare of hys ſufferyng.

Tho. Noryce Martyr.

1507.

After ỹ martyrdome of theſe ij. I read alſo of one Thomas Noryce, who lykewiſe for the ſame cauſe, that is, for, the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, was condemned by the Byſhop and burnt at Norwiche, the laſt daye of Marche. an.1507.

Elizabeth Sampſon.

1508.

In the next yeare folowing, whiche was. an 1508. In the conſiſtory of London was conuented Elizabeth Sampſon, of the pariſhe of Aldermanberie vpon certain Articles, and ſpecially for ſpeaking agaynſt pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as ỹ Image of our Lady at Wilſdone, at Stanynges, at Crome, at Walſingham, and the Image of ſainte Sauiour, of Barmondſey, and agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and for that ſhe had ſpoken theſe or lyke wordes: that our Lady of Wilſdon was but a burnt ars elfe, and a burnt ars ſtocke, and if ſhe might haue holpen men and womẽ which go to her on pilgrimage, ſhe would not haue ſuffred her taile to haue bene burnt: & what ſhould folke worſhip our Lady of Wilſdone, or our Lady of Crome, for the one is but a burnt ars ſtocke, and the other is but a puppit: and better it were for the people to geue their almes at home to poore people, then to go on pilgrimage. Alſo that ſhe called the Image of ſaint Sauiour, Sun Sauiour with kitte lyppes, and that ſhe ſayd ſhe could make as good breade as that which the prieſt occupied, and that it was not the body of Chriſt but bread, for that Chriſt could not be both in heauen and earth at one tyme. For theſe and certayne other articles, ſhe was compelled to abiure, before Maiſter William Horſey, Chauncellour the day and yeare aboue written.) Ex Regiſt. Lond.

❡Laurence Gheſt.

Laurence Gheſt, Martyr.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almoſt infinite to comprehende the names, tymes, and perſons of all thẽ whiche haue bene ſlayne by the rigour of the Popes clergie, for the true maynteyning of Chriſtes cauſe and of hys Sacraments. Whoſe memory beyng regiſtred in the booke of lyfe, albeit it nede not the commemoration of our ſtories, yet for the more confirmation of the Churche, I thought it not vnprofitable, the ſuffering and martyrdome of them to be notified, whiche innocently haue geuen their bloud to be ſhed in Chriſtes quarell.

Laurence Gheſt two yeares in priſon at Saliſbury.

In the catalogue of whome next in order commeth the memoriall of Laurence Gheſt, who was burned in Saliſbury for matter of the Sacrament, in the dayes of K. Henry the 7. he was of a comely and tall perſonage, and otherwyſe (as appeareth) not vnfrended, for the which the Biſhop and the cloſe were the more lothe to burne hym: but kept hym in priſon the ſpace of two yeares. This Laurence had a wyfe and 7. children. Wherfore they thinkyng to expugne and perſwade his mynde by the ſtirring his fatherly affectiõ toward his children, whẽ tyme came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the ſtake, they brought before him his wife and his foreſayde 7. childrẽ. At the ſight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to worke in other, yet in hym religion ouercommyng nature, made his cõſtancy to remayne vnmoueable: in ſuch ſorte as when hys wyfe began to exhort and deſire hym to fauour himſelfe, he agayne deſired her to be content, and not to be a block in hys way, for he was in a good courſe, running toward ỹ marke of his ſaluation: and ſo fire beyng put to hym, he finiſhed his lyfe, renouncing not onely wife and children, but alſo himſelfe to follow Chriſt. As he was in burning, one of the Biſhops men threw a firebrand at his face: wherat the brother of Laurence ſtanding by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue ſlayne him, had he not bene otherwiſe ſtayd.

Laurence would not be turned for wyfe nor children.

Laurence dyed a martyr.

Wytnes to the ſtory.

Teſtified and witneſſed by the credible report of one William Ruſſell an aged man dwellyng of late in Colmanſtreate, who was there preſent the ſame tyme at ỹ burning of Laurence, and was alſo himſelfe burned in the cheke, and one of the perſecuted flocke in thoſe dayes, whoſe daughter is yet liuing. The ſame is confirmed alſo with the teſtimonye of one Richard Web ſeruaunt ſometyme to M. Latymer, who ſoiourning in the houſe of the ſaid Williã Ruſſel, heard hym many tymes declare the ſame.

❡A faythfull woman burned.

A notable ſtory of a faythfull woman burned in Chyppyngſadbery.

But amongeſt all the examples of them, whereof ſo many haue ſuffered from tyme to tyme for Chriſt and hys truth, I can not tell if euer were any martyrdome more notable and admirable, wherein the playne demonſtration of Gods mighty power and iudgement hath at any tyme bene more euident agaynſt the perſecutors of his flocke, then at the burning of a certaine godly womã, put to death in Chepingſadbery, about the ſametyme, vnder the reigne of kyng Henry the ſeuenth.

D. Whyttyngton Chauncellour & perſecutour.

The cõſtancie of which bleſſed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Chriſtians to beholde: ſo agayne the example of the Byſhops chauncelour, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible ſpectacle to the eyes of all papiſticall perſecutors to conſider, and to take example: which the liuyng God graunt they may, Amen. The name of ỹ towne where ſhe was martyred, was as is ſaid, Cheppingſadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chauncelour, who condemned her, was called D. Whyttington. The time of her burning was in the reigne and tyme of K. Henry. 7. orderly therefore in thys place & tyme to be inſerted. Wherin is to be noted moreouer the oportunity of this preſent hiſtory brought to my handes, and that in ſuch cõuenient ſeaſon, as I was drawing toward the ende of the foreſayde kynges reigne: ſo that it may appeare to them, which behold the oportunitie of thinges, not to be without Gods holy will and prouidence, that this foreſayd example ſhoulde not lye hyd and vnremembred, but ſhould come to light and knowledge, and that in ſuch order of placing, according as the due courſe of our ſtory hetherto kept, requireth.

A faithfull Chriſtian woman & Martyr, burned at Chyppingſadbery.

After this godly woman and manly Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the wretched Chauncelour aboue named D. Whittyngton, for the faithfull profeſſion of ỹ truth, which the Papiſtes then called hereſie, and the tyme now come when ſhee ſhould be brought to the place and paines of her martyrdome, a great concourſe of all the multitude both in the towne and countrey about (as the maner is in ſuch tymes) was gathered to behold her end. Among whõ was alſo the foreſayde Doct. Whittyngton the Chauncelour, there preſent to ſee the execution done. Thus thys faythfull woman, and true ſeruaunt of God conſtantly perſiſting in the teſtimonye of the truth, committing her cauſe to the Lord, gaue ouer her life to the fire, refuſing no paines nor tormentes to keepe her conſcience cleare and vnreproueable in the day of the Lord. The ſacrifice beyng ended, the people beganne to returne homeward, comming from the burning of thys bleſſed Martyr. It happened in the meane tyme that as the Catholicke executioners were buſie in ſlaying this ſely lambe at the townes ſide, a certayne butcher within the towne was as buſie in ſlaying of a Bull, which Bull he had faſt bounde in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head. But the butcher (belike not ſo ſkilfull in hys arte of kylling beaſtes, as the Papiſtes be in murderyng Chriſtians) as he was liftyng hys axe, to ſtrike the Bull, failed in his ſtroke, and ſmitte a litle to low, or els how he ſmitte, I know not. This was certaine, that the Bull although ſomewhat grieued at the ſtroke, but yet not ſtrocken downe, put his ſtrength to the ropes, and brake loſe from the butcher into the ſtreate, the very ſame tyme as the people were comming in great preaſe from the burnyng. Who ſeying the Bull commyng towardes them, and ſuppoſing him to be wylde (as was no other lyke) gaue way for the beaſt, euery man ſhifting for himſelfe, as well as he might. Thus the people geuing backe and makyng a lane for the Bull, he paſſed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor childe, tyll he came where as the Chauncelour was. Agaynſt whom the Bull, as pricked wyth a ſodeine vehemencie, ranne full but with his hornes, and takyng hym vpon the paunche, gored hym through and through, and ſo killed him immediatly, caryng hys guttes and traylyng them wyth hys hornes all the ſtreate ouer, to the great admiration and wonder of all them, that ſawe it.

A compariſon betwene butchers, and the popes murthering miniſters.

A rare & ſpeciall example of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpon a perſecutour.

D. Whyttington ſlayne of a Bull.

Although the carnall ſence of man be blynde in conſideryng the workes of the Lord, imputyng many tymes to blynde chaunce the thynges which properly pertayne to Gods onely prayſe and prouidence: yet in this ſo ſtraunge & ſo euident example, what man can be ſo dull or ignoraunt, which ſeeth not herein a playne myracle of Gods myghtye power and iudgement both in the iuſt puniſhyng of thys wretched Chauncelour, and alſo in admoniſhyng all other lyke perſecutours, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abſtaine from the like crueltie.

Wytnes to the ſtorye.

Now for the credite of thys ſtorye, leaſt I be ſayde vpon myne owne head to committe to ſtorie, thinges raſhely which I can not iuſtifie, therfore to ſtoppe ſuch cauillyng mouthes, I will diſcharge my ſelfe with authoritie I truſt ſufficient: that is, with the witneſſe of hym which bothe was a Papiſt, and alſo preſent the ſame tyme at the burnyng of the woman, whoſe name was Rowland Webbe: which Rowland dwellyng thē in Chippyngſadbery, had a ſonne named Richard Webbe, ſeruaunt ſometyme to Maiſter Latymer, who alſo enduryng with him in tyme of his trouble vj. yeares together, was himſelfe empriſoned and perſecuted for the ſame cauſe. Unto the whiche Richard Webbe beyng now aged, then young, the foreſayd Rowland his father, to the entent to exhorte him from this ſecte of hereſie (as he thē called it) recited to hym many tymes yͤ burnyng of this woman, & withall added the ſtory of yͤ Bull aforeſayd, which himſelf dyd ſee & teſtifie. This Richard Webbe is yet liuyng, a witnes of his owne fathers wordes and teſtimony, whiche I truſt may ſatiſfie all indifferent Readers, except onely ſuch as thinke no truth to be beleued, but that onely which is in their Portues.

¶ Verſes touchyng the ſame.

Tho. Hatcherus.

Mira legis,quicunq; legis,portenta nefandi
Exitus,vt pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis,Domini cuicunq; potentia nota eſt,
Vt delinquentes ira ſeuera premat.
Sæpè fit vt fuſus cumuletur ſanguine ſanguis,
Sæpè fit vt pœnis obruat ira nouis.
Omnia ſunt Domini dextræ ſubiecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbitrio bruta,hominesq; ſuo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
Euitans,fracto fune repentè fugit.
Fortè viam quá turba frequens confluxerat antè,
Fœminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ijt,fertur quá confertiſſima turba,
Læſus at ex tanta ſolus & vnus erat:
Solus & vnus erat,rapidos qui miſit in ignes,
Et miſerè paruum ſparſit ouile Dei.
Et quaſi conſultò ferretur,præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit,proterit hunc pedibus.
Ille iacet,madido fœdatur ſanguine corpus,
Eruta perq; vias viſcera ſparſa iacent.
Quis non à Domino,nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri?non repetendo tremat?
Vltio terribiles comitatur iuſta procellas,
Sera licet,certis paſſibus illa venit.

And thus much concernyng the ſtate of the Churche. Wherein is to be vnderſtand, what ſtormes and perſecutions haue bene rayſed vp in all quarters agaynſt the flocke and congregation of Chriſt, not onely by the Turkes, but alſo at home within our ſelues, by the Byſhop of Rome, and his retinue. Where alſo is to be noted in the dayes and reigne of this kyng Henry the vij. how mightely the workyng of Gods Goſpell hath multiplied and increaſed, and what great numbers of men and women haue ſuffered for the ſame, with vs in Englād, as by theſe ſtories aboue paſt, may be apparent.

The ſtate of the common wealth, commonly foloweth the ſtate of the church.

Now theſe thynges declared, which to the Church matters be apperteinyng, cōſequently it remayneth ſome thyng to entreate of the ſtate likewiſe of the cōmon wealth, which commonly doth follow the ſtate of the Church. Where the Church is quietly and moderately gouerned, and the flocke of Chriſt defended by godly Princes in peace and ſafety, frō deuouryng and violence of bloudy Wolues: the ſucceſſe of ciuile ſtate, for the moſt part, there doth floriſhe, and the Princes long continue through Gods preſeruation, in proſperous reſt & tranquillitie. Contrariwiſe where the church of Chriſt either through the negligence of Princes, or thorough their ſetting on, the poore members of Chriſt be perſecuted and deuoured: ſhortly after enſueth ſome iuſt recompence of the Lord vpon thoſe Princes, that either their lyues do not long continue, or els they finde not that quyet in the common wealth, whiche they looke for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be aboundaunt: ſo in this preſent tyme be not lackyng, whether we conſider the ſtate and cōdition of other countreys farre of, or els of our owne countrey neare at home.

The duetie of princes to defend their ſubiectes from the ſlaughter of the Church of Rome.

And here not to wander in our ſtory, farther then to Fraunce onely: let vs a litle behold the example of kyng Charles the viij: who liuyng in this kynges tyme, dyed alſo not long before hym. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominæus, to be a moderate, valiaunt, and victorious Prince, adourned with many ſpeciall vertues to a Prince apperteining. And yet the ſame king, becauſe he was ſlacke and remiſſe in defence of Chriſtes Church, neither dyd vſe his authoritie, nor tooke his occaſion offered to him of God, to amende and refourme the ſtate of the Byſhop and Clergy of Rome when he might, he was therfore himſelfe puniſhed and cut of, of the Lord, as by his ſtory enſuyng may right well appeare. For ſo it is of him recorded, that beyng merueilouſly excited and prouoked, of his owne mynde (contrary to the counſayle of moſt of his Nobles) he tooke hys viage into Italy, neither beyng furniſhed with money, nor the ſeaſon of the yeare beyng conuenient thereunto. And that this may appeare the better to procede of the Lordes doing, to the entent he would haue the Church & Clergy of Rome reformed by the princes ſword, which ſo vexed all Chriſtendome at that tyme, we ſhall heare what is teſtified in the Commentaries of the foreſayd Philip. Cominæus Lib.3. De bello Neapolit. writyng in this wiſe:

Ex commentarijs Phil. Cominæi De bello Neapolitano. lib. 3.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 707.

The propheſie of Hierome Sauonarola.

There was (ſayth he) in the City of Florence the ſame time, a Dominicke Frier, named Hieronymus Sauonarola (of whom mention was made before, pag. 707.) a man of a right godly and approued lyfe: who in the ſayd Citie of Florence preached and Propheciᵉd long before, that the French kyng ſhould come with an army into Italy, beyng ſtyrred vp of God to ſuppreſſe the tyraunces of Italy, and none ſhould withſtand him. He ſhould alſo come to the Citie of Piſæ, and the ſtate of Florence ſhould be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed moreouer, to be ſignified to him of the Lord, that the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the church muſt be redreſſed Per vim armorum, i. by the ſword, or force of armes. Many thynges alſo he Propheſied of the Venetians, and of the French kyng, ſaying that the kyng with ſome daunger and difficultie, ſhould paſſe that iourney, yet notwithſtandyng ſhould ouercome it and eſcape, albeit hys ſtrength were neuer ſo ſlender: for God would ſafely conduct hym in that iourney, and ſafely bryng him home agayn. But becauſe he had not done his office, in amendyng the ſtate of the Church, and in defendyng his people from iniurie, & from deuouryng, therfore it ſhould come to paſſe (ſayd he) and that ſhortly, that ſome incommoditie or detriment ſhould happen to the kyng: or if he ſhould eſcape that daunger of his ſickenes, and recouer health, then if he dyd reſiſt the crueltie of the wicked, and procure the ſafety of the poore and miſerable, God would ſhew mercy vnto him. &c. And this the ſayd Hieronymus declared before to Cominæus one of the kynges counſaylours, which was the writer of the ſtory, and required him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the kyng: which ſo did: and he moreouer himſelfe comming to the preſence of the kyng, declared no leſſe.

Note.

All which thynges, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the kyng beyng but eaſely accompanyed with a ſmall power, entred into Italy, where firſt he came to Aſta, then to Genua, & to Piſæ, frō thence proceded to Florence. Which alſo he obteyned, diſplacing there Petrus Medices the Duke, who had vſed great tyranny vpon yͤ ſubiects. Frō thence he remoued toward Rome, where a great part of the Citie wall at the commyng of the French kyng, fell downe.

Vide phil. Cominæum de bello Neopol. lib. 3.

Afterward when the kyng was entred into the Citie, and the Pope (who then tooke part with Alphonſus kyng of Neaples agaynſt the French kyng) had inmured himſelfe within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the Caſtle fell downe of it ſelfe: whereby, when the kyng was both occaſioned, and exhorted alſo by his Captaines to inuade the pope, and to depoſe him, & to reforme the church of Rome (which he might then eaſely haue done, as it had pleaſed him) yet all theſe occaſiōs offered ſo opportunely of God, moued not the king to do his duety, & to helpe the poore Church of Chriſt: Wherfore ſhortly after, returning home into Fraunce from Neapolis, either the ſame yeare or the next yeare folowyng he was ſtroocken with a ſodeyne ſicknes at Amboiſe, as he was lookyng on them that played at tennes, and that in the ſtynkyngeſt place in all the Caſtle, where he fell downe and dyed within xij. houres, accordyng to the forewarnyng of Hieronymus, who wrote vnto him a litle before, both of his ſonnes death and of his owne: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1498. Ex Philip. Cominæo. Lib.5.

De bello Neopolit. lib. 5.

Like examples we haue many here alſo in this our realme of England. So long as kyng Iohn kept out of the realme, the Popes authoritie and power, he continued ſafe and quyet with his nobles: but ſo ſoone as he brought the realme vnder tribute and ſubiectiō to that foreine Byſhop, God ſtyrred vp his Nobles agaynſt hym, whereby he had much diſquyet and trouble and ſoone therupon decayed.

Of all the kynges of England, from William conquerour, to this kyng Henry vij. were none which either longer continued, or more proſperouſly floriſhed, then kyng He-

Examples of kynges of England, which were bleſſed of God wyth long proſperitie, beyng enemyes to the Byſhops of Rome. Auguſtus reigned lv. yeares.

ry ij.kyng Henry iij.kyng Edward the firſt,kyng Edward the iij.of whom the firſt,how ſtoute he was in withſtãdyng Thomas Becket, & Pope Alexander iij.is ſufficiently before comprehended,pag.209.

The ſecond, whiche was ſonne of kyng Iohn, albeit through the wretchednes of that tyme his power was not ſufficient to repulſe the Popes vſurped iuriſdiction out of the realme: yet his will was good: at leaſt he ſo defended and prouided for his ſubiectes, that they tooke no great wrong at the Popes handes: who reigned one yeare longer, then Auguſtus Cæſar, whiche hath not commonly bene ſene in any Prince.

The thyrd, which was kyng Edward the firſt, ſo vigilantly behaued himſelfe for the publique cõmoditie and ſafetie of his people, that he defended thẽ from all forayne power and hoſtilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemyes, now our frendes) and alſo from the Byſhop of Rome, takyng part with them agaynſt vs, as may appeare aboue, pag. 344. Furthermore of the ſame king and of his worthy Nobles & houſe of Parlament, how valyantly they ſtode in deniall of the Popes ſubſidies, and alſo how the ſayd kyng ſecluded out of hys protection, the Byſhoppes and eſpecially the Archbyſhop Peccham for ſtandyng with the Pope, read pag.354.

Vide ſupra pag.344.

Vid ſupra pag.354.

Now as touchyng kyng Edward iij. how little he regarded, how princely he with his Nobles likewiſe reſiſted the Popes reſeruations and prouiſions, how he brydled the Archbyſhop Iohn Stratford, and reiected the vayne authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome, both in defenſe of his ſubiectes, and alſo in defence of claymyng his right title in the realme of Fraunce, read pag.386.

Vide ſupra pag.386.

Not that I do here affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that worldly ſucceſſe and proſperitie of life alwayes followeth the godly, which we ſee rather to be geuen more often to the wicked ſort: but ſpeakyng of the duety of Princes, I note and obſerue by examples of hyſtories, that ſuch Princes as haue moſt defended the Churche of Chriſte committed to their gouernaunce, from iniurie and violence of the Byſhop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hãd great bleſſing and felicitie: whereas contrarywiſe, they whiche either themſelues haue bene perſecutours of Chriſtes mẽbers, or haue not ſhielded them by their protection from foreine tyranny and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appeare by kyng Edw.2. Richard ij. kyng Henry iiij. kyng Henry v. kyng Henry vj. &c. who becauſe either negligẽtly they haue ſuffered or cruelly cauſed ſuch perſecutyng lawes to be made, & ſo much Chriſten bloud iniuriouſly to be deuoured: therefore haue they bene the leſſe proſpered of the Lord, ſo that either they were depoſed, or if they floriſhed for a while, yet they dyd not long continue: almoſt not halfe the tyme of the other kynges before named.

What difference betwene moderate princes, & them that were perſecutors.

And therfore, as the ſtate of the common wealth doth commonly folow the ſtate of the Church, as ye heard before: ſo it had bene to be wiſhed, that this kyng Henry the vij. beyng otherwiſe a prudent and temperaunt Prince, had not permitted the vntemperaunt rage of the Popes Clergy ſo much to haue their willes ouer the poore flocke of Chriſt, as then they had: accordyng as by theſe perſecutions aboue mentioned, may appeare. The which kyng Henry vij. albeit he had a ſufficient continuaunce, who had now reigned 24. yeares, yet notwithſtandyng here commeth the ſame thyng to be noted, wherof I ſpake before: that when the Church of Chriſt begynneth to be iniured with violence, and to go to wracke through miſorder and negligence, the ſtate of the cõmõ wealth can not there long endure without ſome alteration, and ſtroke of Gods correction. But howſoeuer this marke is to be taken, thus lyeth the ſtory: that after the burnyng and vexyng of theſe poore ſeruauntes of Chriſt aboue recited, when the perſecution begã now in the church to be hoate, God called away the kyng, the ſame yeare aboue mentioned, which was.1509. after he had reigned the terme of yeares. 24. Who if he had adioyned a litle more pitifull reſpect, in protectyng Chriſtes poore members, from the fire of the Popes tyranny, to his other great vertues of ſingular wiſedome, excellent temperaunce, and moderate frugalitie: ſomuch had he bene comparable with the beſt of thoſe Princes aboue comprehended, as he had bene inferiour but to a few: but this defect which lacked in hym, was ſupplied moſt luckely (bleſſed be the Lord) by his poſteritie ſuccedyng after hym. Of whom in the next volume folowyng (Chriſt therunto aſſiſtyng vs) we haue to ſpecifie more at large.

The death of K.Henry.7.

Couentry men perſecuted.

Among many other thinges incident in the reigne of this kyng Henry vij. I haue ouerpaſſed the hyſtory of certaine godly perſons perſecuted in the Dioceſſe of Couentry and Lychfield, as we finde them in the Regiſters of the Dioces recorded, here folowyng.

The yeare of our Lord 1485. March. 9. amongeſt diuers and ſundry other good men in Couentry, theſe ix. here vnder named were examined before Iohn Byſhop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Church, vpon theſe Articles, folowing in order.

Iohn Blumſtone.

First, Iohn Blumſton was openly and publikely infamed, accuſed reported and appeached that he was a very hereticke, becauſe he had preached, taught, holden, and affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the church of God, by our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, immediatly did not flit, or paſſe from him, to remaine with his ſucceſſours.

The power of Peter flitteth not to his ſucceſſours.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the Virgine Mary.

Item, that prayer and almes auayle not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen or hell, wherupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Purgatory denyed.

Item, that it was fooliſhnes to go on Pilgrimage to the Images of our Lady of Dancaſter, walſingham or of the Tower of the Citie of Couentry: for a man might as well worſhip the bleſſed Virgin by the fire ſide in the kitchin, as in the foreſayd places, and as well might a man worſhip the bleſſed Virgin, when he ſeeth his mother or ſiſter, as in viſityng the Images, becauſe they be no more but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Item, that he ſayd in Engliſh wyth a frowning countenaunce, as it appeared: a vengeance on all ſuch horſon Prieſtes, for they haue great enuy that a poore man ſhould get his liuyng among them.

Richard Hegham.

Richard Hegham of the ſame Citie was accuſed. &c. to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did holde that a Chriſtẽ man beyng at the the point of death, ſhould renounce all hys owne workes good and ill, and ſubmitte hym to the mercy of God.

Merites condemned.

Item, that it was fondnes to worſhip the Images of our Lady of Tower in the foreſaid Citie, or of other ſaints, for they are but ſtockes and ſtones.

Images ſerue rather to be burned then to be worſhipped.

Item, that if the Image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, that it were better to deale money vnto poore folkes then to offer to the Images of Chriſt & other ſaintes, which are but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Robert Crowther.

Robert Crowther of the ſame Citie was accuſed, that he was an hereticke, becauſe he did holde, that who ſo receiueth the Sacrament of the altar in deadly ſinne, or out of charitie, receiueth nothing but bread and wine.

Item, that neither Byſhop, nor prieſtes or curates of Churches, haue power in the market of penaunce to bynde and looſe.

Item, that Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Tower is fooliſhnes, for it is but a ſtocke or a ſtone.

Agaynſt pilgrimage.

Iohn Smith.

Iohn Smith was accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did holde that euery man is bounde to know the Lordes Prayer, and the Creede in Engliſhe, if he myght for theſe falſe Prieſtes.

The Lordes prayer to be in Engliſhe.

Item, that who ſo beleued as the Church then did beleue, beleued ill: and that a man had neede to frequent the ſchooles a good while, ere that he can attayne to the knowledge of the true and right fayth.

Item, that no prieſt hath power to aſſoyle a man in the market of penaunce, from hys ſinnes.

Roger Browne.

Roger Browne of the ſame Citie, was alſo accuſed to be an hereticke, becauſe he did holde that no man ought to worſhip the Image of our Lady of walſingham, nor the bloud of Chriſt at Hailes, but rather God almighty, who would geue him whatſoeuer he would aſke.

Agaynſt Pilgrimage.

Item, that he held not vp his handes, nor looked vp, at the eleuation of the Euchariſt.

Item, that he promiſed one to ſhew him certaine Bokes of hereſie, if he would ſweare that he would not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

Item, that he did eate fleſhe in Lent, and was taken wyth the maner.

Fleſhe eating in Lent.

Item, if any man were not ſhriuen his whole lyfe long, and in the point of death would be confeſſed and could not, if he had no more but contrition onely, he ſhould paſſe to ioye without Purgatory: And if he were confeſſed of any ſinne, & were enioyned onely to ſay for penaũce one Pater noſter, if he thought he ſhould haue any puniſhment in Purgatory for that ſinne, he would neuer be confeſſed for any ſinne.

Againſt purgatory and confeſſion auricular.

Item, becauſe he ſaid all was loſt that is geuẽ to prieſtes.

Item, that there was no purgatory, that God would

Againſt confeſſion and ſatiſfaction.

pardon all ſinnes without confeſſion and ſatiſfaction.

Thomas Butler.

Thomas Butler of yͤ ſame Citie, was likewiſe opẽly accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did hold that there were but two wayes, that is to ſay, to heauen, and to hell.

Agaynſt purgatory.

Item, that no faythfull man ſhould abyde any payne after the death of Chriſt, for any ſinne, becauſe Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, for euery mã immediatly after death paſſeth either to heauen, or hell.

Againſt merites.

Item, that whoſoeuer departeth in the fayth of Chriſt and the Church, howſoeuer he hath lyued, ſhalbe ſaued.

Item, that prayers & pilgrimages are nothyng worth, and auayle not to purchaſe heauen.

John Falkes.

Againſt Images

John Falkes was accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he dyd affirme that it was a fooliſh thyng to offer to the Image of our Lady, ſaying, her head ſhalbe hoare or I offer to her, what is it but a blocke? If it could ſpeake to me, I would geue it an halfpeny worth of ale.

Item, that when the Prieſt carieth to the ſicke the body of Chriſt, why caryeth he not alſo the bloud of Chriſt?

Item, that he dyd eate cowe milke vpon the firſt Monday of Lent.

Item, that as concernyng the Sacrament of penaunce & abſolution, no Prieſt hath power to aſſoyle any man from his ſinnes, when as he can not make one heare of his head.

It is hereſie to ſay a ſtone is a ſtone, & a blocke is a blocke.

Item, that the Image of our Lady was but a ſtone or a blocke.

Richard Hylmin

Richard Hylmin was accuſed that he was a very hereticke, becauſe he dyd ſay & mainteine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, them to geue tythes to Prieſtes or to offer to the Images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God paynted.

Scripture in Engliſhe.

Item, that he had the Lordes Prayer and the Salutation of the Angell and the Creede in Engliſh, and an other booke did he ſee and had, which conteined the Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſh, and accordyng to them would he lyue, and thereby beleued he to be ſaued.

Item, that no Prieſt ſpeaketh better in the pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the altare is but bread, & that the Prieſtes make it to blynd the people.

Item, that a Prieſt whiles he is at Maſſe, is a Prieſt, and after one Maſſe done, till the begynnyng of an other Maſſe, he is no more then a lay mã, and hath no more power then a mere lay man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were aſſoyled and put to penaunce.

Margery Goyt.

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1488. the iij. of Aprill, Margery Goyt, wife of James Goyt of Aſburne, was brought before the foreſayd John Byſhop of Couentry and Lychfield: who was there accuſed that ſhe ſayd, that yͭ which yͤ Prieſtes lift ouer their heades at Maſſe, was not the true and very body of Chriſt: For if it were ſo, the Prieſtes could not breake it ſo lightly into foure partes, and ſwalow it as they do: for the Lordes body hath fleſh & bones, ſo hath not that which the Prieſtes receiue.

Item, that Prieſtes buying xl. cakes for a halfpeny, and ſhewyng thẽ to the people and ſaying, that of euery of them they make the body of Chriſt, do nothyng but deceiue the people and enriche themſelues.

Item, ſeyng God in the beginnyng did create and make man, how can it be that man ſhould be able to make God?

¶ This woman alſo, was conſtrained to recant, and ſo was ſhe aſſoyled and dyd penaunce.

Thus much I thought here good to inſerte, touchyng theſe foreſayd men of Couentry, eſpecially for this purpoſe, becauſe our cauillyng aduerſaries be wont to obiect againſt vs the newnes of Chriſtes old and auncient Religion. To the intent therefore they may ſee this doctrine not to be ſo new as they report, I wiſh they would conſider both the tyme and Articles here obiected agaynſt theſe foreſayd perſons, as is aboue premiſed.

Picus Mirandula Earle.

I ſhould alſo in the ſame reigne of kyng Hẽry vij. haue induced that hiſtory of Joannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whoſe name partly is touched before, pag. 705. This Picus Earle of Mirandula beyng but a young man, was ſo excellently wytted, & ſo ſingularly learned in all ſciences, and in all tounges, both Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that cõmyng to Rome booted and ſpurred, he ſet vp 90. concluſions, to diſpute in the ſame with any in all Chriſtendome, whoſoeuer would come agaynſt him. Of which concluſions diuers were touchyng the matter of the Sacramẽt. &c. And when none was foũd in all Rome, nor in Europe, that opẽly would diſpute with him, priuely and in corners certeine of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers, and Friers, by the Pope appoynted, cõſulted together to inquire vpon his cõcluſions, wherupõ they did articulate agaynſt him for ſuſpicion of hereſie. And thus the vnlearned Clergy of Rome priuely circumuẽted and intangled this learned Earle in their ſnares of hereſie, agaynſt whom they neuer durſt openly diſpute. He dyed beyng of the age of 32. of ſuch a witte and towardnes, as is hard to ſay whether euer Italy bredde vp a better. In his ſickenes Charles viij. the French kyng, moued with the fame of his learnyng, came to viſite him. The furniture of his bookes coſt him. 7000. florenes. A little before his death his mynde was to geue all away, and to take a cowle, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. This ſtory requireth a longer tractatiõ: which if place do ſerue, we will not peraduenture forget. with ij. Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander vj. he had much vexation.

¶ The names of the Archbyſhops of Canterbury in this ſixt booke conteyned.

62	Iohn Stratford.	viij.
63	Iohn Kempe.	iij.
64	Thomas Burchier.	xxxiij.
65	Iohn Morton.	xiiij.
66	Thomas Langhton.	
67	Henry Dene.	ij.
	Gulielm. Warham.	xxviij.

This Thomas Langhton, was elected Archb. but dyed before he was confirmed.

¶ Here endeth the ſixt booke, and the firſt Tome.

¶ A brief note of Eccleſiaſticall lawes ordeined by auncient kynges in this Realme.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes ordeyned by auncient kynges of thys Realme.

For ſomuch as it is, and hath bene a perſuaſion long gendered in the heades of many, that the Byſhops of Rome be the vniuerſall heades of the whole militant Church of Chriſt in earth: and haue alwayes ſo continued from the begynnyng of the primitiue time. And that no Prince, kyng, nor Emperour in his owne Realme hath any intereſt to intermeddle with matters and lawes Eccleſiaſtical, but onely the ſayd Byſhops of Rome: to refell and remoue that opinion out of the heades of all Engliſhmen, as a thyng moſt falſe, and contrary both to hyſtoryes of tyme, and examples of auncient kyngs & gouernours of this Realme, I thought to fill vp a little ende of paper here left, with ſome ſuch brief rehearſall of lawes deuiſed and appointed by kyngs and rulers of this land, for the orderyng of the Church, and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall: to the intent that all the world may ſee, the gouernment of Chriſtes Churche here in earth vnder Chriſt, hath not depended onely of the Pope from auncient tyme, but hath bene rather directed by ſuch kyngs and princes, as God here had placed vnder him to gouerne the people of this Realme of Englãd, as followeth here in this preſent table to be noted.

¶ A brief recapitulation, of auncient Eccleſiaſtical lawes by ſondry kyngs of this Realme ordeined, for gouerment of the Church, before the Conqueſt.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Inas, or Ina.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Ina.

First kyng Inas who reigned in this land the yeare of our Lord. DCCxij. cõmaunded, that Miniſters ſhould frame their conuerſation of lyfe accordyng to the forme in lawes preſcribed.

2. That infantes ſhould be Baptiſed within. 30. dayes.

3. Item, that no man lay or ſpirituall, free or bonde, ſhould labour vpon the Sonday.

4. Item, he eſtabliſhed immunitie of churches, and Sanctuarie. Alſo he tooke order for the true payment of church dueties, and of the firſt fruites of all that was ſowen to be payd at the day of S. Martin.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Alured, or Alfred.

Kyng Aluredes lawes.

1. KIng Alured, after he had ordeined diuers iudiciall puniſhmentes for violatyng the holy preceptes of God commaunded by Moſes, he alſo confirmed and enlarged the priuiledge of Sanctuary: he layd double payne vpon ſuch as committed offences in the ſolemnities of certeine feaſts: Alſo agaynſt them that committed ſacrilege.

2. He made a law agaynſt Prieſtes committyng murder.

3. Alſo he made a law agaynſt whoredome, adultery, and fornication.

4. He appointed dayes of faſtyng & ceaſing from labour.

5. Item, he ſet order for makyng and keepyng vowes.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edward the elder, and Gythrum the Dane kyng.

K. Edwardes lawes.

FIrſt, they agreed vpon the Sanctuary: they forbad Gentiliſme and Paganiſme; they layde puniſhment vppon the Clergy committyng theft, periury, or murther, fornication, or any capitall crime.

2. They puniſhed Prieſtes, that pretermitted their office in pronouncyng feſtiuall, or faſtyng dayes.

3. They made a law agaynſt all labour, buying, and ſelling vpon the Sabbaoth: alſo for keepyng of feaſtes. Item, for no executiō to be done on the Sōday. Alſo agaynſt witches and ſorcerers. &c.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Ethelſtane.

K. Ethelſtones lawes.

1. KIng Ethelſtan, who reigned the yeare of our Lord. DCCCCxxiiij. cōmaunded that euery village of his owne, ſhould geue a monethly corrodie to a poore perſon.

2. That fifty Pſalmes ſhould be ſōg dayly in the Church, for the kyng. &c.

3. He alſo ordeined puniſhmēt for witches, & ſorcerers. &c.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edmund.

K. Edmundes lawes.

1. AFter kyng Ethelſtan folowed kyng Edmund about the yeare of our Lord. 940. who eſtabliſhed and prouided lawes agaynſt the vnchaſt liuyng of Churchmen.

2. Item, he made lawes concernyng tythes, with firſt fruites of euery mans croppe, and almoſe money duely to be payd.

3. Item, he enacted that Byſhops of their owne proper charges ſhould repayre Churches, and ſhould alſo admoniſh the kyng for the furniſhyng of the ſame.

4. For periury alſo, and for fightyng within the Church, he ſet lawes and paynes.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edgar.

K. Edgars lawes.

1. KYng Edgar, who began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord. 959. amongeſt other conſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, ordeined, that the Sonday ſhould be kept holy from Saterday at noone till Monday in the mornyng.

2. Item, he ordeined and decreed concernyng liberties and fredomes of the Church, for tythes alſo, and firſt fruites of corne, and payng of Peterpence.

3. Item, for holy dayes and faſtyng dayes.

4. Item, that aſſemblies or Synodes ſhould be kept twiſe euery yeare, whereat as well the Byſhop of the Dioceſſe ſhould be preſent as the ciuill Magiſtrate.

¶ Kyng Æthelrede, Anno. 979.

Kyng Ethelredes lawes.

KYng Æthelrede alſo which ſucceeded after Edgar, and Edward appoynted diuers lawes for publicke regiment, wherof we finde but few touching matters Eccleſiaſticall, for tythes, lightes, feaſtes and nothyng els, and therfore we paſſe further to the lawes of Canutus.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Canutus.

Kyng Canutus lawes.

CAnutus the Dane kyng began to reigne in this land in the yeare of our Lord. 1016. The ſayd Canutus (as Æthelrede had done before) diuided his lawes into Eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

1. That Eccleſiaſticall perſons beyng accuſed of fightyng, murder, or any other offence, ſhould purge thēſelues therof.

2. That Prieſtes ſhould be degraded for periury, and put in ſureties of good behauiour.

3. He prayeth Prieſtes, that they will lyue chaſt, and commaunded other Religious.

4. He limitted the degrees of Mariage.

5. Item, he commaunded celebration of the Sabbaoth frō Saterday at noone till Monday mornyng, as Edgar had done before, forbiddyng markets, huntinges, laboures, and Court keepinges during the ſaid ſpace.

6. He ordeyned eche Chriſtian man to come to the houſell thriſe yearely at the leaſt: That they ſearch and enquire after Gods law and his commaundementes.

7. That euery Chriſtian man vnderſtand the pointes of his fayth, and that at the leaſt he learne perfectly yͤ Lordes prayer, and the Crede, and that whoſoeuer cā not yͤ ſame, ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, and ſhall not be receiued to vndertake for others in Baptiſme.

8. That Byſhops and Prieſtes ſhould doe their duties: that they cry out and warne their flockes when the Wolfe commeth.

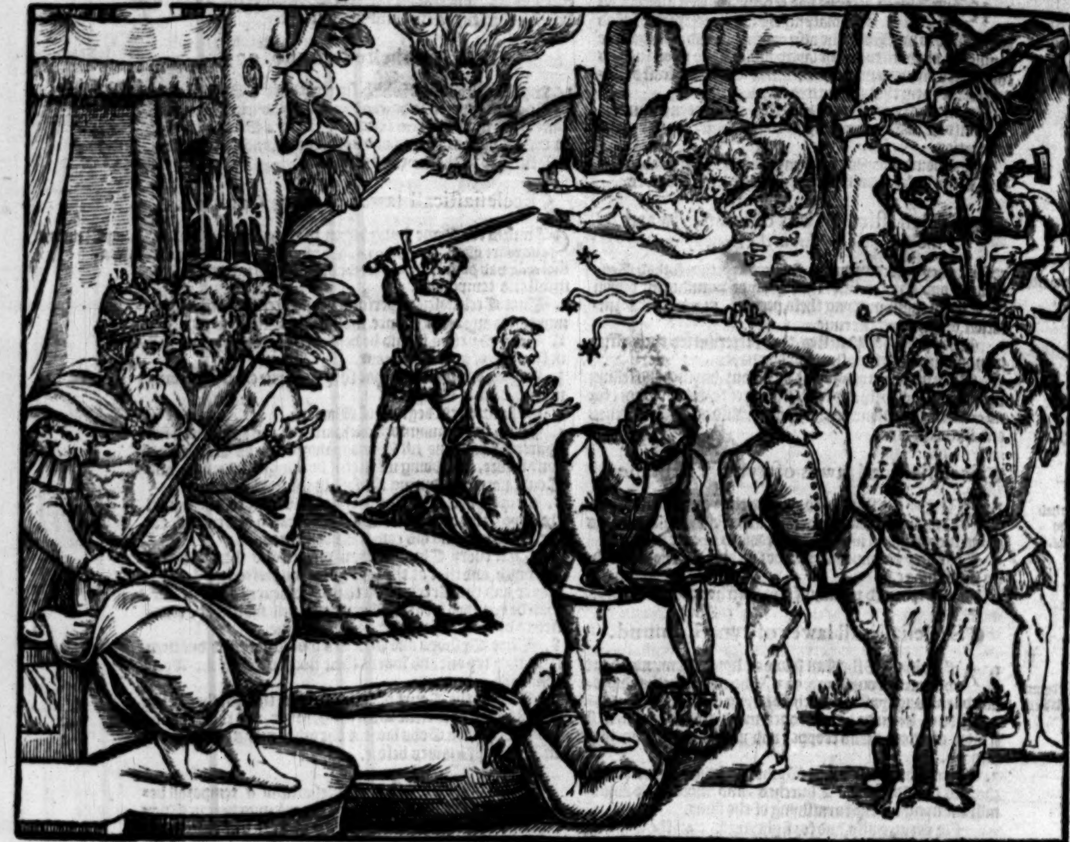
9. That at the Court of euery Shyre, the Byſhop of the Dioces ſhall be preſent with the Shriefe, and that the one ſhall teach them Gods lawe, & the other mans, as ye heard in K. Edgars lawes before.

Many other lawes both Eccleſiaſticall & temporall beſide theſe were enacted by theſe & other kings here in England before the Conqueſt, but theſe be ſufficient to geue the vnderſtanding reader to conſider, how the authoritie of the Byſhops of Rome, all this while, extended not ſo farre to preſcribe lawes for gouernement of the Church: but that Kinges and Princes of the realme, as they be now, ſo were then full gouernors here vnder Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as temporall, both in directyng orders, inſtitutyng lawes, in callyng of Synodes, and alſo in conferryng Byſhoprickes and benefices, without any leaue of the Romiſhe Byſhops. Thus Odo, Dunſtane, Oſwold, Ethelwold, Aldelmus, and Lancfrancus, although they fet their palles afterward from Rome, yet were they made byſhops and Archbyſhops by kynges onely, not by Popes.

Kynges of England before the Conqueſt gouernours as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall.

Why kinges of England came firſt vnder the Popes ſubiection.

And thus ſtoode the gouernement of thys Realme of England all the time before the Conqueſt, tyll Pope Hildebrand through the ſettyng on of the Saxons, began firſt to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) vnder foote. Then followed the ſubduing of other Emperours, Kinges, and ſubiectes after that, as namely here in England, when Lancfrancus, Anſelmus, and Becket went to complayne of their kynges and gouernours, then brought they the Popes iudiciall authoritie firſt from Rome, ouer thys land, both ouer kynges and ſubiectes: which euer ſince hath continued, tyll theſe latter yeares. Albeit the ſayd kynges of thys realme of England beyng prudent Princes, and ſeeing right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe Romiſhe Byſhops, dyd what they could to ſhake of the yoke of their ſupremacie, as appeareth by the lawes and Actes of theyr Parliamentes, both in kyng Edward the thyrdes tyme, Kyng Rychard the 2. and Kyng Henry 4. aboue in their Parliament notes ſpecified: yet for feare of other foreine Princes, and the blynde opinion of their ſubiectes, ſuch was then the calamitie of that tyme, that neither they coulde nor durſt compaſſe that, which fayne they woulde: tyll at laſt, the tyme of their iniquitie beyng complete, through the Lordes wonderfull workyng, theyr pryde had a fall, as in the nexte Volume enſuyng (the Lord ſo grauntyng) ſhall by proces of hyſtorye be declared.



The proude primacie of Popes paynted out in Tables, in order of their riſyng vp by little and little, from faythful Byſhops and Martyrs, to become Lords and gouernours ouer Kyng and kyngdomes, exaltyng themſelues in the Temple of God, aboue all that is called God. &c. 2. Theſſal. 2.

The martyrdom of good byſhops vnder wicked Emperours in the primitiue Church.

IN the Table of the primitiue Church aboue deſcribed, hath bene (gentle reader) ſet forth and exhibited before thyne eyes the greuous afflictiõs and ſorowfull tormentes, which through Gods ſecret ſufferaunce, fell vpon the true Saintes and members of Chriſtes Churche in that tyme, eſpecially vppon the good Biſhops, Miniſters, and rulers of the flocke: of whom ſome were ſcourged, ſome beheaded, ſome crucified, ſome burned, ſome had their eyes put out, ſome one way ſome an other miſerably conſumed: which dayes of wofull calamitie continued (as is foreſhewed) neare the ſpace of CCC. yeares. Duryng which tyme the whole ſpouſe & elect Church of God, beyng ſharpely aſſaulted on euery ſide, had ſmall reſt, no ioy, nor outward ſafety in this preſent world, but in much bitternes of hart, in continuall teares and mournyng vnder the croſſe paſſed ouer their dayes, beyng ſpoyled, impriſoned, contemned, reuiled, famiſhed, tormẽted and Martyred euery where. Who neither durſt well tary at home for feare and dread: & much leſſe durſt come abroad for the enemyes, but onely by night, when they aſſembled as they might, ſometymes to ſing Pſalmes and Hymnes together. In all which their dreadfull daungers, and ſorowfull afflictions, notwithſtandyng the goodnes of the Lord left them not deſolate: but the more their outward tribulations did increaſe, the more their inward conſolations did abound: and the farther of they ſeemed from the ioyes of this lyfe, the more preſent was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude to confirme and reioyſe their ſoules. And though their poſſeſſions and riches in this world were loſt and ſpoyled: yet were they enriched with heauenly giftes and treaſures from aboue an hundreth fold. Then was true Religion truely felt in hart. Then was Chriſtianitie not in outward appearaunce ſhewed, but in inward affection receiued, and the true image of the Church not in outward ſhew pretended, but in her perfect ſtate effectuall. Then was the name and feare of God true in hart, not in lyppes alone dwellyng. Fayth then was feruent, zeale ardent, prayer not ſwymmyng in the lippes, but groned out to God from the bottome of the ſpirite. Then was no pride in the Church, nor leyſure to ſeeke riches, nor tyme to keepe them. Contention for trifles was then ſo far frõ Chriſtians, that well were they when they could meete to pray together agaynſt the deuill, authour of all diſſention. Briefly the whole Churche of Chriſt Jeſus with all the members therof, the farther it was from the type and ſhape of this world, the nearer it was to the bleſſed reſpect of Gods fauour and ſupportation.

The true riches of the church deſcribed.

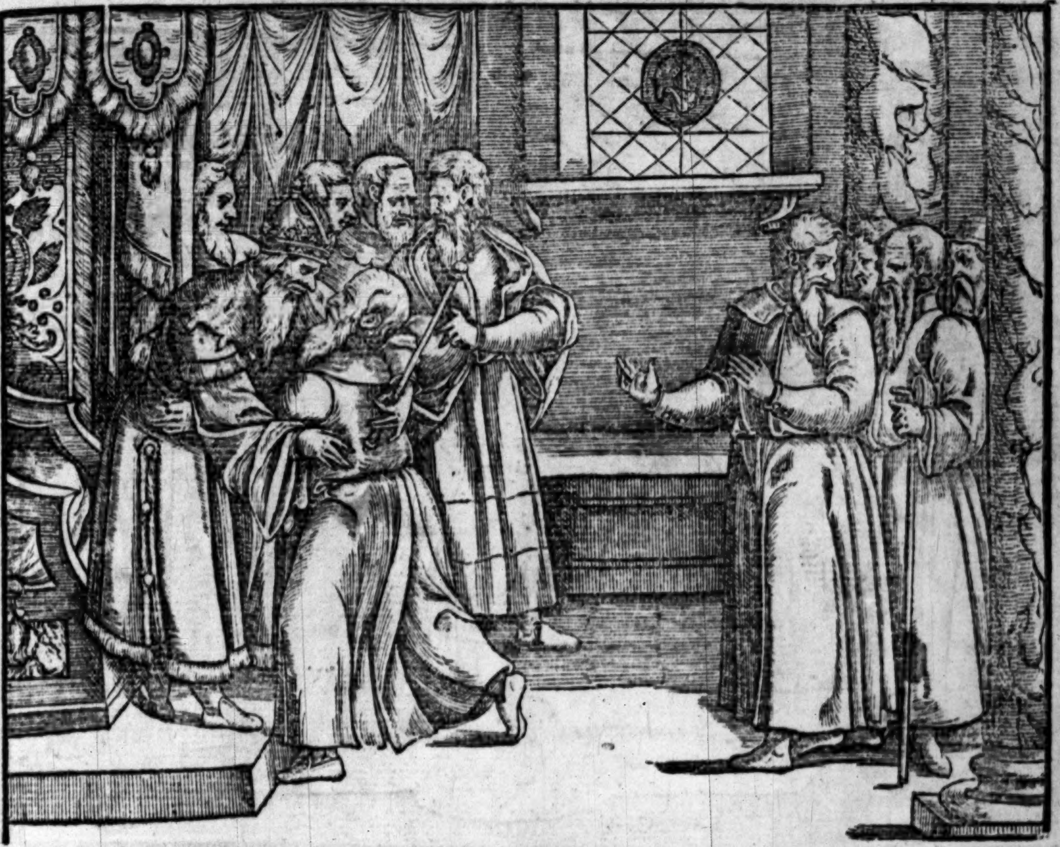
¶ The firſt riſing of the Byſhops of Rome.

The firſt riſing of the Byſhops of Rome.

AFter this long tyme of trouble, it pleaſed the Lord at length mercyfully to looke vppon the Saintes and ſeruauntes of his ſonne, to releaſe their captiuitie, to releaſe their miſerie, and to bynde vp the old Dragon the Deuill, which ſo long vexed them. Whereby the Church began to aſpire to ſome more libertie: and the Byſhops which before were as abiectes, vtterly contẽned of Emperours, through the prouidence of God (which diſpoſeth all thynges in hys tyme after his owne will) began now of Emperours to be eſteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperours

grew

Conſtantinus the Emperour embraſing Chriſten Byſhops.



grew more in deuotion, ſo the byſhops more and more were exalted, not onely in fauour, but alſo preferred vnto honour, inſomuch that in ſhort ſpace they became not quarter maiſters, but rather halfe Emperours with Emperours.

The ſpirituall riches of the Church turned to worldly riches.

Ex libro Serm. Diſcipuli.

Looke Tyndall in hys booke of the Practiſe of Prelates.

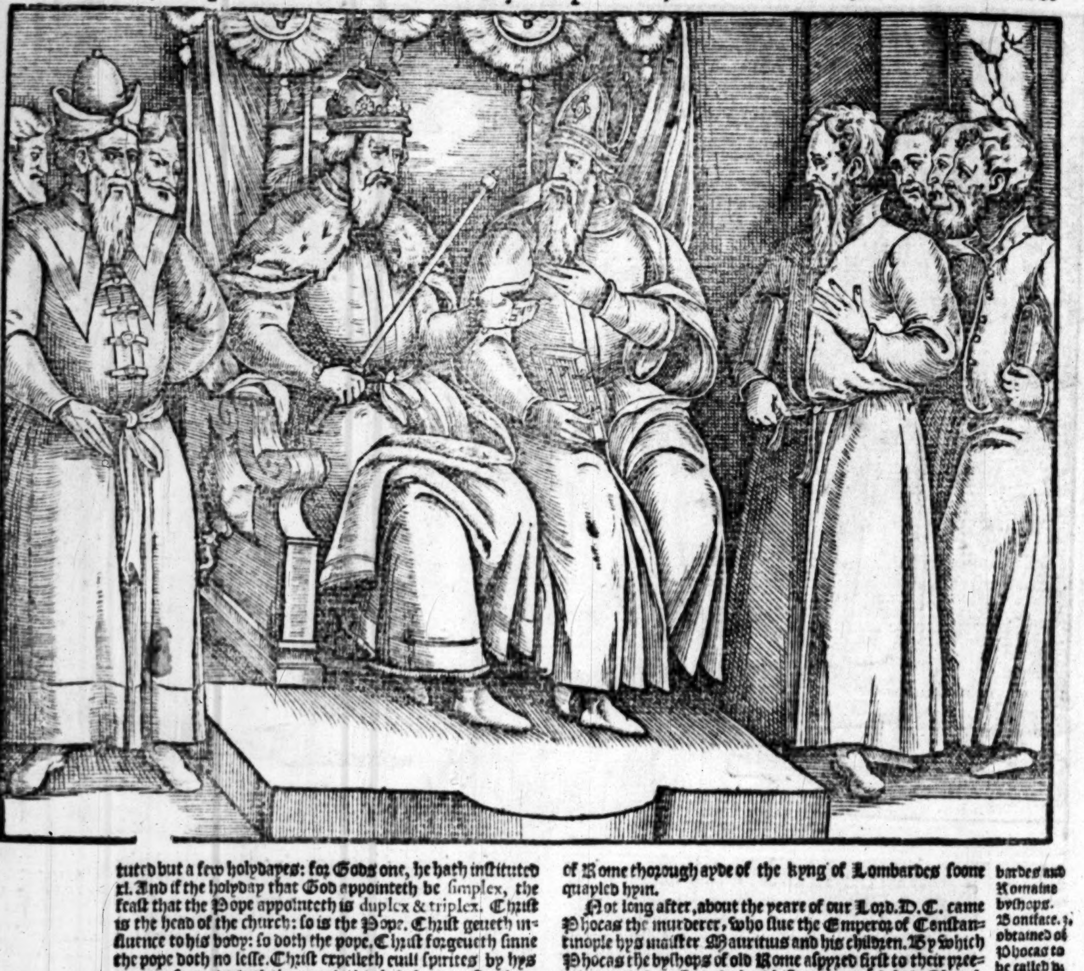
After this in proceſſe of tyme, as richeſſe and worldly wealth crept into the Clergye, and that the deuill hath poured his venome into the Churche (as the voyce was heard the ſame tyme ouer Cõſtãtinople) ſo true humilitie began to decay, & pride to ſet in his foote, till at laſt they played as the Juy doth with the Oke tree, which firſt begynnyng with a goodly greene ſhew, embraceth hym ſo long, till at length it ouergroweth hym, and ſo ſucketh all his moyſture from him, ſettyng his roote faſt in his barke, till at laſt it both ſtifleth the ſtocke and killeth the braũches, and ſo commeth to be a neſt for Owles and all vncleane byrdes. Not vntruly therfore it was ſayd of Auguſtine: Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem. i. Religion begat richeſſe, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother. The veritie whereof notoriouſly may appeare aboue all other in the Church of Rome, and the Byſhops of the ſame. For after that the Church of Rome, through fauour of Emperours, was endued with landes, donations, poſſeſſions, and patrimonies, ſo that the Byſhops therof felyng the ſmacke of wealth, eaſe, & proſperitie, began to ſwell in pompe & pride: the more they floriſhed in this world, the more Gods holy ſpirite forſoke them, till at laſt the ſayd Biſhops, who at the firſt were poore, creeping low vpon the ground, & were perſecuted long tyme, euery man treadyng vpon them in this world: now of perſecuted people, began to be perſecutours of others, and to tread vpon the neckes euen of Emperours, and to bryng the heades of Kynges and princes vnder their girdle: And not onely that, but furthermore through pryde and riches were ſo farre gone from all Religion, that in the very end they became the great aduerſary of God (whom we call Antichriſt) prophecied of ſo long before by the ſpirite of God to come, ſittyng in the temple of God. &c. Of whom thus we read in the Epiſtle of Paule 2. Theſſ. 2. where he ſayth: We beſech you brethren, by the cõmyng of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and by our fellowſhip together in him, that ye be not ſodenly moued in your mynd, nor troubled neither by ſpirit, nor by word nor by letter, as it were frõ vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man in any wiſe deceaue you: for that day ſhall not come except there come a departing firſt, and that man of ſinne be reuealed, euen the ſonne of perdition, that aduerſary which exalteth hymſelfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, as God, and ſet forth hym ſelfe as he were God. &c.

The great aduerſary called Antichriſt, deſcribed by S. Paule. 2. Theſſ. 2.

A declaration of S. Paules wordes.

By which wordes of S. Paul we haue diuers things to vnderſtand: Firſt, that the day of the lordes comming was not then nere at hand. Secondly, the Apoſtle geuing vs a token before, to know when that day ſhall approche, biddeth vs looke for an aduerſary firſt to be reuealed. Thyrdly to ſhew what aduerſary this ſhalbe, he expreſſeth hym not to be as a common aduerſary, ſuch as were then in his tyme. For although Herode, Annas & Caiphas, the high prieſtes & phariſes, Tertullus, Alexander the Copperſmith, Elymas, & Symon Magus, & Nero the emperor in Paules tyme, other great aduerſaries, yet here he meeneth another beſides these greater then all ÿ reſt, not ſuch one as ſhould be vnder the prieſt king, or emperor, but ſuch as farre exceding the power of all kings, prieſts, and emperors, ſhould be the prince of prieſts, ſhould make kinges to ſtoupe, & ſhould tread vnder the neck of emperors, & make thẽ to kiſſe his feet. Moreouer where ÿ Apoſtle ſaith, that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, whereby is ment, not ÿ perſonall ſitting of the pope in ÿ church of Rome, but the authoritie & iuriſdiction of his ſeat exalted in the whole vniuerſal church, equall with God himſelfe. For let men geue to the Pope that which he in his lawes, decrees, & in his pontificall requireth, and what difference is there betwene GOD and the Pope? If God ſet lawes and ordinaunces, ſo doth he? If God hath his creatures, ſo hath he, if GOD require obedience, ſo doth he. If the breeche of Gods commaundementes be puniſhed, much more be his. God hath his religion, the pope alſo hath his: yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundreth. God hath ſet vp one Aduocate, he hath an hundreth. God hath inſti-

The Pope matching himſelfe euen with God.



tuted but a few holydayes: for Gods one, he hath inſtituted xl. And if the holyday that God appointeth be ſimplex, the feaſt that the Pope appointeth is duplex & triplex. Chriſt is the head of the church: ſo is the Pope. Chriſt geueth influence to his body: ſo doth the pope. Chriſt forgeueth ſinne the pope doth no leſſe. Chriſt expelleth euill ſpirites by hys power: ſo pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Chriſt went barefoot vpon the bare ground: he & hys golden ſhoes is caried on mẽs ſhoulders. And where Chriſt was called Sanctus Sanctorũ: he is called Sanctorum Sãctiſſim⁹. Chriſt neuer practiſed but only ẏ ſpiritual ſword, he claimeth both ſpiritual & tẽporal. Chriſt bought ẏ church: he both buieth & ſelleth ẏ church. And if it be neceſſary to beleue Chriſt to be the ſauior of the world: ſo is it neceſſary to beleue the Pope to be the head of the Church. Chriſt payed tribute to Ceſar: he maketh Ceſar pay tribute vnto hym. Finally, the crowne of Chriſt was of ſharpe thorne: ẏ pope hath 3. crownes of gold vpon his hed, ſo far exceding Chriſt the [illegible]onne of God in glory of this world, as Chriſt exceedeth hym in the glory of heauẽ. The image and paterne of whoſe intoll[illegible]ble pride and exaltation, according as S. Paul doth deſc[illegible] in his epiſtle aforeſayd, we haue here ſet forth, not on[illegible] theſe Tables to be ſene, and by his owne factes to be r[illegible] but alſo in his owne wordes and regiſters, Clement[illegible] Extrauagantes, and Pontificals, expreſſed as in order ([illegible] word willing) ſhall follow.

The [illegible]xaltation of Popes aboue Kings [illegible]ad Emperours out of hiſtories.

First, af[illegible] at Italy and the Citie of Rome were ouerrunne by [illegible] Gothes and Vandales, ſo that the ſeate of the Empir[illegible] was remooued to Conſtantinople, then began Ioannes Patriarke of Conſtantinople, to put forth hymſelfe, and would needes be called vniuerſall Biſhop of the world: but the Byſhop of Rome in no caſe would ſuffer that, and ſtopped it. After this came the Emperours debitie, and Exarch of Rauenna to rule Italy, but the Biſhop of Rome thorough ayde of the kyng of Lombardes ſoone quayled hym.

Iohn Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſubdued by B. of Rome.

The Emperours Lieuetenaunt of Rauẽna ſubdued by the Lom-bardes and Romaine byſhops.

Not long after, about the yeare of our Lord. D.C. came Phocas the murderer, who ſlue the Emperor of Conſtantinople hys maiſter Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the byſhops of old Rome aſpyred firſt to their preeminence, to be coũted the headbiſhops ouer ẏ whole Church and ſo together with the Lombardes began to rule the Citie of Rome. Afterward when the Lombardes would not yeld vnto him, in accompliſhyng hys ambitious deſire, but would nedes requyre of the Byſhop the ſayd citie of Rome: he ſtyrred vp Pipinus, but firſt depoſed Childiricus the kyng of Fraunce, and ſo thruſting hym into an Abbay, ſet vp in his place Pipinus and his ſonne, Carolus Magnus, to put downe the ſayd kyng of Lombardes called Aiſtulphus: and ſo tranſlated the Empyre from Conſtantinople into Fraunce, deuidyng the ſpoyle betwene hym and them: ſo that the kynges of Fraunce had all the poſſeſſions and landes which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receaue of them the quyet poſſeſſion of the Citie of Rome, & ſuch donations and Lordſhyps, whiche now they chalenge vnto thẽ vnder the name of S. Peters patrimonie, which they falſely aſcribe to ẏ donatiõ of Conſtantinus the great.

Boniface. 3. obtained of Phocas to be called vniuerſall byſhop.

Pope Zachary putteth downe Childericus the Frẽch K. and ſetteth Pipinus in his place.

Pipinus & Carolus Magnus ſet vp by Pope Zachary.

How the byſhops of Rome came firſt to be the head Byſhops of the Church.

Donation of Conſtantine a thing falſe and forged.

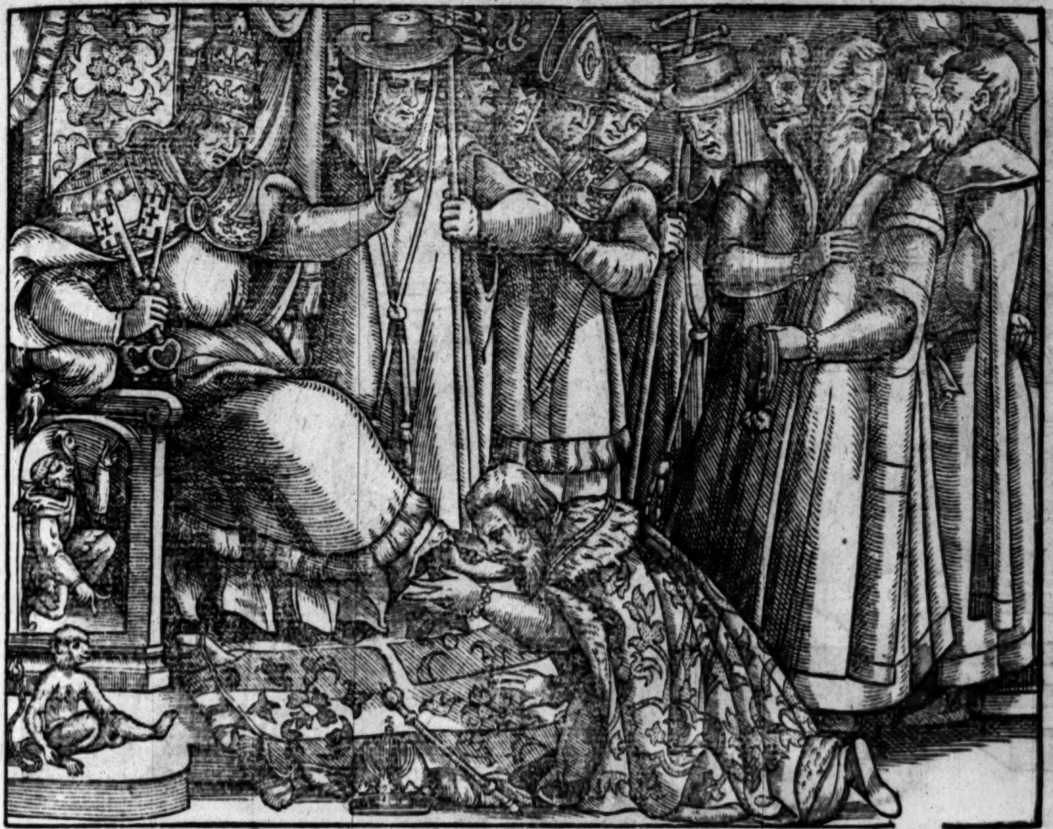
It foloweth then in proces of tyme, after the dayes of Pipinus, Carolus and Ludouicus (who had indued theſe Byſhops of Rome, called now Popes, with large poſſeſſions) when the kynges of Fraunce were not ſo applyable to their becke, to ayde and mainteyne thẽ agaynſt the Princes of Italy, who began then to pynch the ſayd Byſhops for their wrongfull vſurped goodes, they practiſed with the Germanes to reduce ẏ Empire to Otho firſt of that name Duke of ſpayne, referryng the election therof to vij. Princes Electours of Germany, whiche was about. an. 1002. notwithſtanding reſeruyng ſtill in his handes the negatiue voyce, thynkyng therby to enioye that they had, in quietnes and ſecuritie, and ſo dyd for a good ſpace.

Pope Gregory v. practiſeth wyth the Germaynes to reduce the empyre to Germany. an. 1002.

Otho firſt Germaine Emperour.

At length when ſome of theſe Germane Emperours alſo after Otho began a little to ſpurne agaynſt the ſayd

biſhops



Emperours brought to kiſſe the popes feete.

Byſhops and Popes of Rome, ſome of them they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſyng of their feete, ſome they depoſed, and placed other in theyr poſſeſſiōs.

Henricus. 4. accurſed, wayteth at the Popes gate three dayes.

Rodulphus, and at laſt his owne ſonne ſet vp to fight agaynſt hym. Read before pag. 181.

So was Henricus 4. by theſe Biſhops accurſed, the Emperour him ſelfe forced with his wife and child to wait attendaunce vppon the Popes pleaſure three dayes and three nightes in winter at the gates of Canoſſus. Read before pag. 181. Beſides all this the ſayd Pope raiſed vp Rodulphus to be Emperour againſt him: who being ſlaine in warre, then the ſayd Pope Gregory. vij. not reſtyng thus, ſtyrred vp his owne ſonne Henricus v. to fight agaynſt his owne naturall father and to depoſe him, Which Henricus the v. was alſo him ſelfe afterward accurſed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at laſt ſet vp by the Byſhops to fight agaynſt hym.

Pope Alexander. 3. treadeth vpō the necke of Fredericke Emperour. Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henry. 5. Emperour with his foote, & with hys foote ſpurneth the crowne frō hys head agayne.

After this the Emperours began to bee ſomewhat calmed and more quyet, ſufferyng the Byſhops to reigne as they lyſted: till Fridericke the firſt called Barbaroſſa came, and began to ſtyrre coales agaynſt thē. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his ſonne Henry in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the necke of Fridericke, in the Church of Venice, vnder their feete to treade vppon: and after that the ſayd Byſhops crownyng Henricus his ſonne in the church of S. Peter, ſet his crowne on his head with their feete, and with their feete ſpurned it of agayne to make him know that the Popes of Rome had power both to crowne Emperours, & to depoſe thē agayne. Wherof read before pag. 247.

Then followed Philippus brother to Henry aforeſayd, whom alſo the Popes accurſed, about the yeare of our lord. 1198. and ſet vp Otho duke of Saxony. But when the ſaid Otho began to be ſo ſaucie to diſpoſſeſſe the biſhops of their cities & landes which they had encroched into their handes, they could not beare that, but incontinent they put hym beſides the cuſhin. The like alſo fell vpon Otho the 4. that followed after Phillip, who was ſuffred no longer then foure yeres to raigne, about the yeare of our Lord. 1209.

Honorius. 3. Gregory. 9. Innocēt. 4. againſt Fridericus 2. Emperour.

At this tyme Fridericus 2. the ſonne of Fridericus Barbaroſſa aboue mētioned, was but young, whō the Byſhops of Rome ſuppoſing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, aduaunced to be Emperour after his father. But that fel out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiuing the immoderate pompe and pride of the Romain biſhops, which he could in no caſe abide, ſo netled them, and cut their combes and warred ſo ſtout againſt them, intending to extirpe their tirannye and to reduce their pompous riches to the ſtate and condition of the primitiue Church agayne, putting ſome of them to flight, and priſonyng ſome of theyr Cardinals, that of 3. Popes, one after an other he was accurſed, circumuented by treaſon, at laſt depoſed, & after that poyſoned, and at laſt forſaken and died.

Warre rayſed agaynſt Conradus, by the Byſhops of Rome.

After this Friderike folowed his ſonne Conradus, whō the foreſaid biſhops for his diſobedience ſoone diſpatched, exciting againſt him in mortal warre the Lantgraue of Thuring, wherby he was at length driuen into his kyngdome of Naples, and there deceaſed.

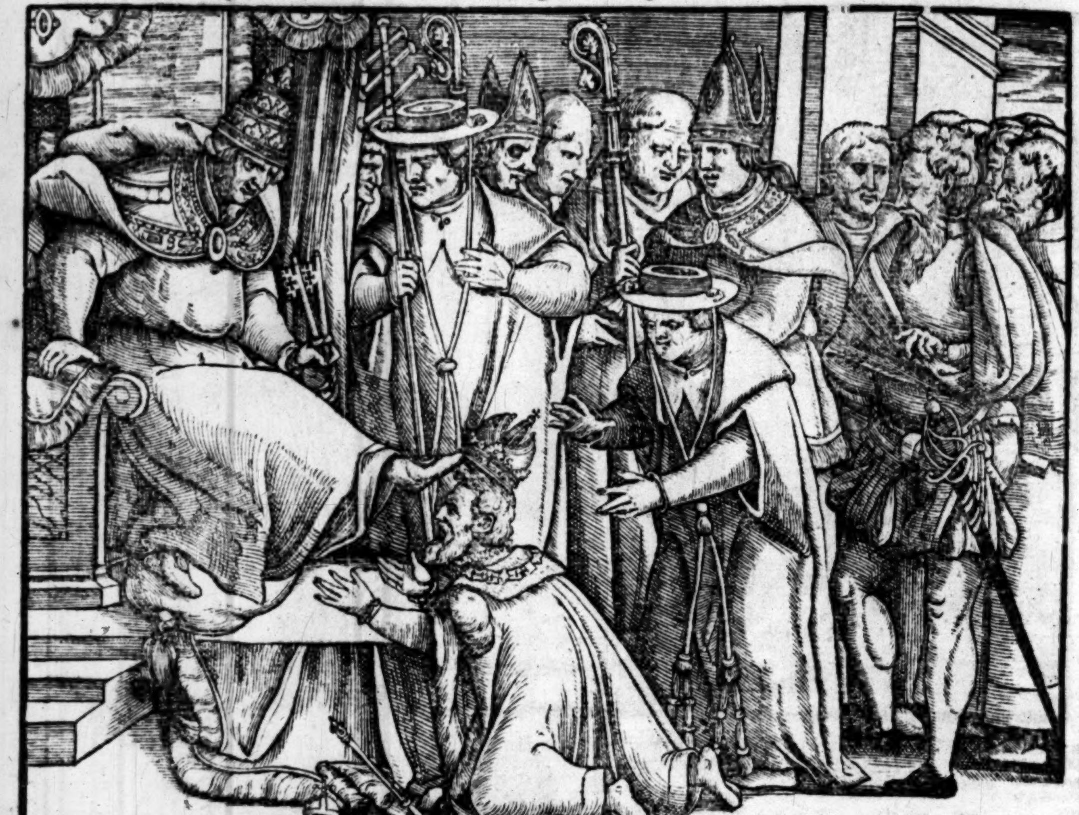
Ex Auentino.

This Conradus had a ſonne called Conradinus Duke and prince of Sueuia. When this Conradinus after the deceaſe of his father came to enioy his kingdome of Naples, ẏ ſaid Biſhops ſtirred vp againſt hym Charles the Frenche kings brother in ſuch ſort, that through crafty conueyance, both Conradinus which deſcended of the bloud of ſo many Emperors, and alſo Friderike Duke of Auſtria were both taken, and after much wretched handlyng in their miſerable induraunce vnſemyng to their ſtate, at length were both brought vnder the axe by the Popes procuremēt, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the imperiall ſtocke of Fridericke the firſt ſurnamed Barbaroſſa.

The inſolencie of Pope Boniface 8. agaynſt Philip French kyng.

The like as happened to Fridericke the Emperour, had almoſt alſo fallen vpon Philip the French kyng, by Pope Boniface the viij. who becauſe hee could not haue hys commodities and reuenewes oute of Fraunce after hys will, ſent out hys Bulles and letters patentes to diſplace kyng Philip aforeſayde, & to poſſeſſe Albertus kyng of Romanes in his rowme.

And thus hetherto of foreine ſtories, Now touchyng



Pope Cœleſtinus 4. crowning the Emperour Henricus 6. with his feete.

The tyrannous iniuries of Byſhops of Rome agaynſt kinges of England.

Pope Alexander 3. againſt kyng Henry. 2.

Pope Innocent 3. againſt kyng Iohn.

our countrey Princes here in England to ſpeake ſomewhat likewiſe of them: did not Pope Alexander the iij. preſumptuouſly takyng vpon him where he had nothyng to do to intermedle with the kynges ſubiectes, for the death of Becket the rebell, albeit the kyng ſufficiently cleared hym ſelfe thereof, yet notwithſtandyng did hee not wrongfully bryng the ſayd king Henry 2. to ſuch penaunce as it pleaſed hym to enioyne, and alſo violently conſtrayne hym to ſweare obedience to the Sea of Rome? pag. 230. The lyke alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtory to happen to K. Iohn hys ſonne. For when the ſayd kyng like a valiant Prince had held out the tyranny of thoſe Byſhops vij. yeares together, were not all the Churches in England barred vp, and his inheritaunce with all hys dominions giuen away by Pope Innocent 3. to Ludouicus the Frenche kyng, and he afterward compelled to ſubmit both him ſelfe and to make his whole Realme feodatary to the byſhops of Rome: & moreouer the kyng hym ſelfe driuen alſo to ſurrender hys crowne to Pandulphus the Popes Legate, and ſo continued as a priuate perſon v. dayes ſtandyng at the popes curteſie whether to receaue it agayne at his handes or no? And when the nobles of the realme roſe afterward agaynſt the king for the ſame, was not he then faine to ſeeke and ſue to the foreſayd Pope for ſuccour, as by this his owne letter, taken out of the publicke roles, may appeare?

Kyng Iohns Supplication to Pope Innocent the 3.

Ex Rotulo patent. De anno Regni Reg. Ioannis. 8.

K. Iohns ſupplication to Pope Innocent. 3.

REuerendiſ. Domino ſuo & Patri ſanctiſ. Innocentio Dei gratia Ioan. eadem gratia R. Angliæ &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis deuoti eſſent antequam nos & noſtrã terram Domino veſtro ſubiacere curaſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos vero præter Deum, vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, defenſioné noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quãtum in nobis eſt, curam & ſollicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, deuotius ſupplicãtes quatenus in negotijs noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores præſentium, &c. Teſte meipſo apud Dour. 18. Septemb. 6.

W. Caxton. Tho. Gray. Frẽch Chronicle in meter Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis. Tho. Rudburn. Rich. Redus. Eulogium. Walderus Giſburne. Ioan. Maior.

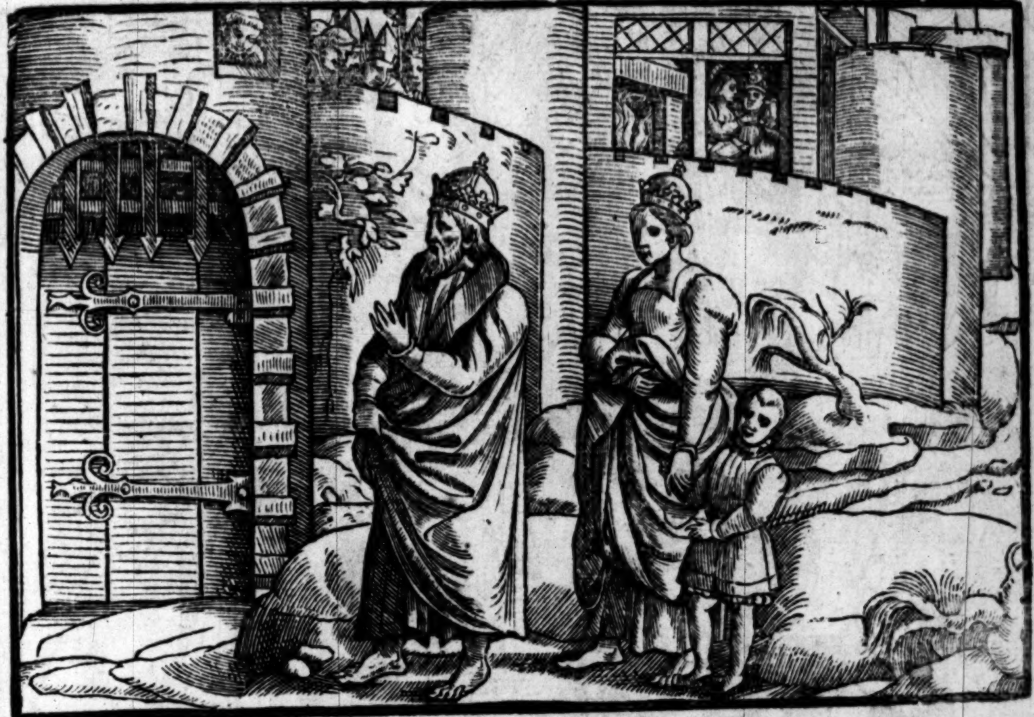
And yet all this notwithſtandyng that the ſayd kyng Iohn did ſo yeld to the Pope, he was both purſued by his nobles, and alſo in the end was poyſoned by a ſubiect of the Popes owne Religiõ, a Monke of Swyneſted: As I haue ſufficiently to proue, not onely by William Caxton aboue in my ſtory alledged. pag. 259. but alſo haue teſtimonie of the moſt part of Chroniclers for the ſame (a few only excepted) as of Tho. Gray in his French Chronicle. Alſo of an other French Chronicle in Meter, of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis. Tho. Rudburne alſo doth witnes the ſame. So doth Richard Rede in nouo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. The lyke alſo doth the Chronicle called Eulogium Monachi Cant: The wordes of Walter Giſborne an auncient hiſtoriographer, be plaine. No leſſe is to be found in Ioan. Maior, De geſtis Scotorum. Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not onely maketh mention of the Monke and of the poyſon, but alſo of the Abbat, of his abſolution, and of the 3. Monkes euery day ſingyng for the ſayd Monkes ſoule. To theſe I could alſo annexe diuers other writers both Engliſh & Latin, without name, whiche witnes that kyng Iohn was poyſoned, one begynnyng thus: Here beginneth a booke in the Engliſh tounge, called Brute, &c. an other begynneth: Becauſe this booke is made to tell what tyme any thyng notable, &c. The thyrd in Engliſh begynneth: The reigne of Britaine that now is called England &c. Of Latin bookes which haue no name, one begynneth thus: Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen eſt ſortita &c. an other hath this begynnyng: Adam pater generis humani. &c.

Writers in Engliſhe & Latin without name.

Beſides this kyng Henry 1. and kyng Iohn his ſonne, what kynges haue here reigned in England ſince their tyme, vntill the reigne of king Henry 8. who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in prouiding agaynſt the proud domination of theſe Biſhops: were not forced at length ſore agaynſt their wils, for feare to ſubiect themſelues together with their ſubiectes vnder their vſur-

ped

Henricus. 4. Emperour. waiting iij. dayes vpon Pope Gregory 7. Pag. 181.



ped authoritie, in ſo much as ſome of them (as Math. Pariſ. writeth by king Henry the 3.) were fayne to ſtoupe & kiſſe their Legates knee.

¶ The Image of Antichriſt, exaltyng himſelfe in the temple of God, aboue all that is named God, out of hys owne Decrees, Decretals, Extrauagantes, Pontificals, &c. worde for word as it is out of the ſayd bookes here alleaged and quoted.

1. For as much as it ſtandeth vpon neceſſity of ſaluation, for euery humayne creature to be ſubiect vnto me the Pope of Rome, it ſhalbe therfore requiſite and neceſſary for all men that wyll be ſaued, to learne and know the dignity of my ſea, and excellency of my domination, as here is ſet forth accordyng to the truth and very wordes of mine own lawes, in ſtile as followeth. 2. Firſt my inſtitution began in the old Teſtament and was conſummate and finiſhed in the new: in that my prieſthood was prefigured by Aaron: And other Biſhops vnder me were prefigured by ẏ ſonnes of Aarõ that were vnder hym. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath bene preferred by any generall Councell, but obtayned the primacie onely by the voyce of the Goſpell, and the mouth of the ſauiour. 4. And hath in it neither ſpotte nor wrinckle, nor any ſuch lyke thyng. 5. Wherfore as other ſeates be all inferiour to me, and as they cannot abſolue me: ſo haue they no power to bynde me, or to ſtand agaynſt me, no more then the axe hath power to ſtand or preſume aboue hym that heaweth with it, or the ſawe to preſume aboue hym that ruleth it. 6. This is the holy and Apoſtolike mother Church of all other Churches of Chriſt. 7. From whoſe rules it is not mete that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline, but lyke as the ſonne of God came to do the wyll of his father, ſo muſt you do the will of your mother the Church, the head wherof is the Churche of Rome. 8. And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall erre from the ſayd church, either let them be admoniſhed, or els their names taken, to be knowen who they be that ſwarue frõ the cuſtomes of Rome. 9. Thus thẽ forasmuch as ẏ holy Church of Rome, wherof I am gouernour, is ſet vp to the whole worlde for a glaſſe or example, reaſon woulde what thyng ſo euer the ſayde Churche determineth or ordeyneth, that to bee receyued of all men for a generall and a perpetuall rule for euer. 10. Whereupon we ſee it now verified in thys Church, that was forepropheſied by Ieremy, ſaying: Behold I haue ſet thee vp ouer nations and kyngdomes to plucke vp and to breake downe, to builde and to plant. &c. 11. Who ſo vnderſtandeth not the prerogatiue of thys my Prieſthoode, let hym looke vp to the firmament, where he may ſee two great lyghtes, the Sunne and the Moone: one rulyng ouer the day, the other ouer the night. So in the firmament of the vniuerſall Church. 12. God hath ſet two great dignities, the authoritie of the Pope, and of the Emperour. Of the which two thys our dignitie is ſo much more weightier, as we haue the greater charge to geue accompt to God for kynges of the earth, and the lawes of men. 13. Wherefore be it knowen to you Emperours, which know it alſo right well, that you depend vpon the iudgement of vs: we muſt not be brought and reduced to your wyll. 14. For (as I ſayd) looke what difference there is betwixte the Sunne and the Moone, ſo great is the power of the Pope rulyng ouer the day, that is, ouer the ſpiritualitie, aboue Emperours & kings rulyng ouer the night, that is, ouer the laitie. 15. Now ſeeing then the earth is ſeuen times bigger then the moone, & the ſunne eight tymes greater then ẏ earth, it foloweth that ẏ popes dignitie 56. times doth ſurmount the eſtate of Emperours. 16. Upon conſideration wherof, I ſay therfore & pronounce that Conſtantine the Emperour did naught in ſetting the Patriarch of Conſtãtinople at his feete on his lefte hand. 17. And although ẏ ſaid Emperour wrote to me, alledgyng the wordes of S. Peter, cõmaũding vs to ſubmit our ſelues to euery humane creature, as to kinges, dukes, & other, for ẏ cauſe of God, &c. 1. Pet. 2. yet in aũſwering againe in my decretall, I expoũded ẏ minde & the wordes of S. Peter to pertaine to his ſubiectes, & not his ſucceſſors, willing the ſayd Emperour to cõſider ẏ perſon of the ſpeaker, & [illegible] whom it was ſpoken. For if the minde of Peter had bene [illegible] to debaſe the order of prieſthoode, and to make vs [illegible] kinges to euery humane creature, thẽ euery Iacke migh[illegible] dominion ouer Prelates: which maketh againſt [illegible] example of Chriſt, ſetting vp the order of Prieſthoode [illegible] beare dominion ouer kyngs, according to the ſaying of Ieremy: Behold I haue ſet thee vp ouer kinges & nations. &c. 18. And as I feared not thẽ to write this boldly vnto Cõſtantine, ſo now I ſay to all other Emperours, ẏ they receiuing of me their appro-

a. Henry 3. kiſſing the knee of the Popes Legate.

Ex D. Paulo. 2. Theſ. 2.

1. Pope Bonifacius 8. Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam.

2. Diſtinct. 12. ca. Decretis.

3. Pope Pelagius Diſtinct. 21. c. Quãuis.

4. Pelagius Ibidem.

5. Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 21. cap. Inferior.

6. Pope Lucius. 24. q. 1. cap. a Recta.

7. Pope Calixtus Diſt. 12. cap. Nõ decet.

8. Pope Innocentius. Diſt. 11. cap. Quis.

9. Pepe Stephan. Diſtinct. 19. ca. Enimuero.

10. Pope Bonifac. 8. Extrauag. c. vnam ſanctam. Item Pope Ioannes. 22. Extrauag. cap. Super gentes.

11. Pope Innocent. 3. art. de maior et obed. c. Solitæ.

12. Pope Gelaſius Diſt. 96. cap. Duo.

13. Ibidem.

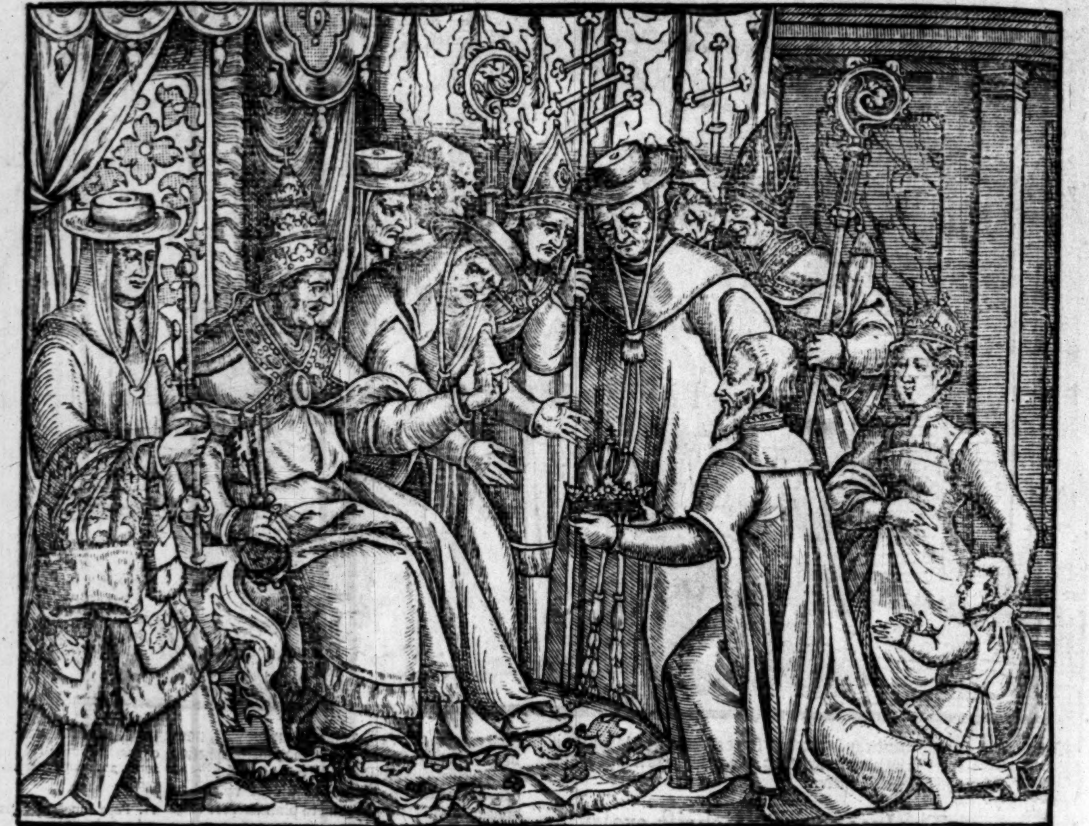
14. Innocentius De Maior. & obed. c. Solitæ.

15. Gloſa Ibidem.

16. Ibidem.

17. Innocentius Gloſa Ibidem.

18. Pope Clemens 5. Clement. de iureiurãdo. c. Romani.



approbation, vnction, conſecration, and crowne Imperiall, muſt not diſdaine to ſubmit their heades vnder me, & ſweare vnto their allegeaunce. 19. For ſo you read in the Decree of pope Iohn, how that princes heretofore haue bene wont to bow & ſubmit their heades vnto Byſhops, & not to procede in iudgement agaynſt the heads of byſhops. 20. If this reuerence & ſubmiſſion was wont to be giuen to Biſhops, how much more ought they to ſubmitte their heades to me beyng ſuperiour, not onely to Kyngs, but Emperours, and that for two cauſes: Firſt for my title of ſucceſſion that I pope of Rome haue to the Empire, the rowme ſtādyng vacant. Alſo for the fulneſſe of power that Chriſt the kyng of kyngs, & Lord of Lordes hath geuen to me though vnworthy in the perſon of Peter. 21. By reaſon wherof, ſeyng my power is not of man but of God, who by his celeſtial prouidence hath ſet me ouer his whole vniuerſall church maiſter & gouernour, it belongeth therfore to my office to looke vpon euery mortall ſinne of euery Chriſtē mā: 22. Wherby all criminall offēces as well of kyngs as all other, be ſubiect to my cēſure. 23. in ſuch ſort, that in all maner of pleadyng, if any maner of perſon at any tyme either before the ſentence giuen or after ſhal appeale to me, it ſhalbe lawful for him ſo to do. 24. Neither muſt kyngs & princes thinke it much to ſubmit thēſelues to my iudgement: for ſo did Valētinianus the worthy Emperour, ſo did Theodoſius, & alſo Carolus. 25. Thus you ſee all muſt be iudged by me, & I of no man. Yea and though I pope of Rome, by my negligēce or euil demeaner be foūd vnprofitable or hurtfull, either to my ſelfe or to others: yea, if I ſhould draw with me innumerable ſoules by heapes to hell, yet no mortall mā ſo hardy, ſo bold, or ſo preſūptuous to reproue me, 26. or to ſay to me: Domine cur ita facis? i. Syr why do ye ſo? 27. For although you read that Balaā was rebuked of his aſſe, by the which aſſe our ſubiectes, by Balaā we Prelates are ſignified: yet that ought to be no example to our ſubiectes to rebuke vs. 28. And though we read in the Scripture that Peter, who receaued power of the kyngdome, & beyng chief of yͤ Apoſtles, might by vertue of his office controlle all other, was content to come & giue anſwere before his inferiours, obiectyng to him his goyng to the Gētiles, yet other inferiours muſt not learne by this example to be checkmate with their prelates bicauſe that Peter ſo tooke it at their hādes, ſhewing therby rather a diſpēſation of humilitie, then the power of his office: by the which power he might haue ſayd to thē agayne in in this wiſe: It becommeth not ſheepe, nor belongeth to their office to accuſe their ſhepheard. &c. 29. For els why was Dioſcorus Patriarche of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedone? not for any cauſe of his fayth, but onely for that he durſt ſtande agaynſt Pope Leo, and durſt excommunicate the Byſhoppe of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritie to accuſe the ſeate of S. Peter? 30. Albeit I am not ignorāt what S. Hierome writeth, that Paule would not haue reprehended Peter, vnles he had thought himſelfe equall vnto him: 31. yet Hierome muſt thus be expoūded by my interpretatiō, that this equalitie betwixt Peter & Paul cōſiſteth not in like office of dignitie, but in purenes of conuerſation. 32. For who gaue Paul his licence to preach but Peter, & that by the authoritie of God, ſaying: Separate to me Paule and Barnabas? &c. Wherefore be it knowen to all mē that my Church of Rome is prince & head of all natiōs. 34. the mother of the fayth. 35. the foundatiō Cardinall: wherupō all Churches do depend as the doore doth depend by the hynges. 36. the firſt of all other ſeates, without all ſpot or blemiſh. 37. Lady miſtres & inſtructor of all Churches. 38. a glaſſe & ſpectacle to all men, to be folowed in all whatſoeuer ſhe obſerueth. 39. Which was neuer founde yet to ſlide or decline frō the path of Apoſtolick traditiō, or to be intāgled with any newnes of hereſie. 40. Agaynſt whiche Churche of Rome whoſoeuer ſpeaketh any euill, is forthwith an hereticke. 41. yea a very pagane, a witch, & Idolater or infidell. 42. Hauyng fulneſſe of power onely in her owne hādes in rulyng. 43. decidyng, abſoluyng, condēnyng, caſtyng out, or receiuyng in. 44. albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in laboryng and caring.

45. To

19. Pope Ioannes Diſt.96. c.Nunquam.

20. Pope Clement 5.Clement.de Sententent.& reiudic.Paſtoralis.

21. Pope Innocētius.3. De iudicijs cap.Nouit.

22. Ibidem.

23. Pope Marcellus Cauſa.2.q.6. c.ad Romanam.

24. Innocentius Nouit ille.

25. Bonifacius Martyr.Diſt.40. ca. Si Papa.

26. Gloſa.Extrauag.de ſede vacant Ad apoſtolatus.

27. Pope Leo. cauſ.2.q.7.c.Nos.

28. Gregor.2.q.7.c. Petrus.

29. Pope Nicolaus Diſt.21 cap.In tātum.

30. Hiero. Cauſ.2.q.7. cap.Paulus.

31. Gloſa Gratiani ibidem.

32. Gloſa in Diſt. 11,cap.Quis.

33. Cauſ.2.q.7.c.beati.

34. Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22. c.omnes.

35. Pope Anacletus.Diſt. 22.c,Sacroſancta.

36. Pope Pelagius.Diſt.21, quamuis.

37. Pope Nicolaus.Diſt.21, cap.Deniq;.

38. Pope Steph.Diſt.19. Enimuero.

39. Pope Lucius.24.q.1. A recta.

40. Pope Nicolaus.Diſt.22. Omnes.

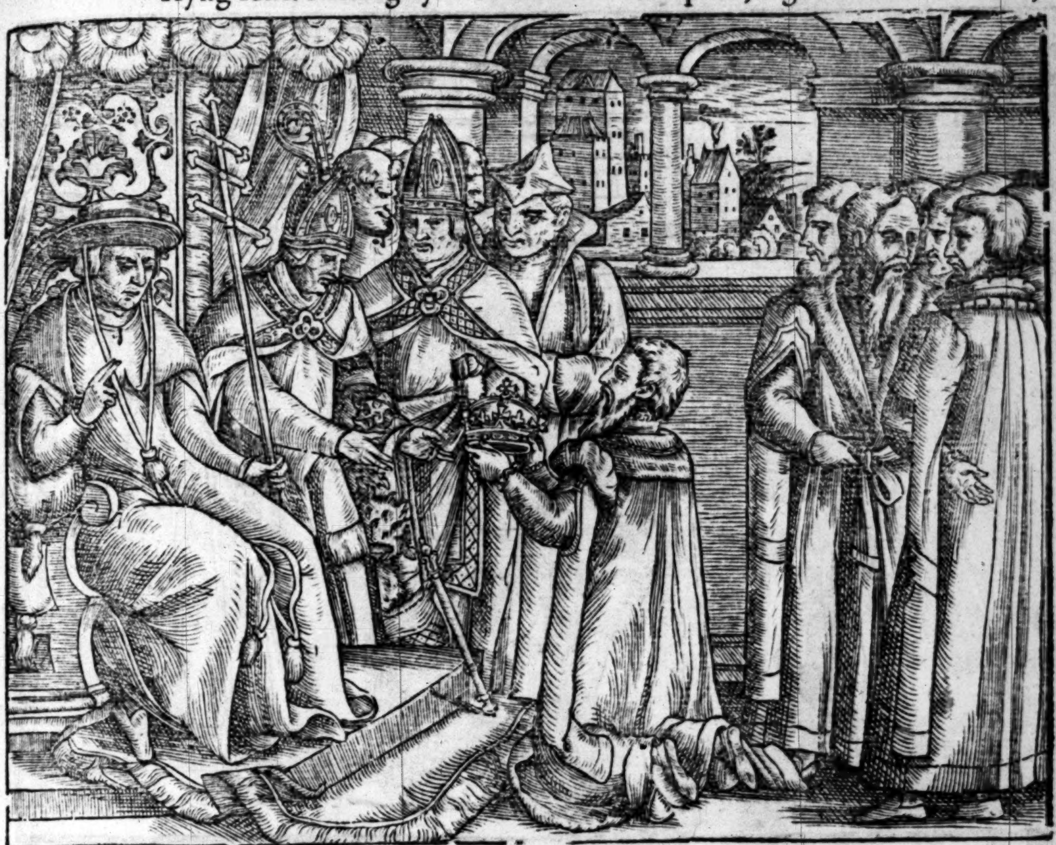
41. Pope Gregorius.Diſt.81 cap.Siqui.

42. Pope Leo.Cauſ.3.q.6. cap.Multum.

43. Diſt.20.Decretales.

44. Pope Iulius.Cauſ.2.q.6 Qui ſe.

Kyng Iohn offering hys Crowne to Pandulphus, Legate.



45. To ẏ which church of Rome it is lawſul to appeale for remedy, frō all other Churches. Although it was otherwiſe concluded in the generall Coūcel of Milleuitane that no man ſhould appeale ouer the ſea vnder payne of excōmunication, yet my gloſe cōmeth in here with an exception: Niſi fortè Romanā ſedē appellauerint: i. Except the appeale be to the ſea of Rome. &c. 46. By the authoritie of whiche Churche of Rome, all Synodes, & Decrees of Councels ſtand cōfirmed. 47. And hath alwayes full authoritie in her handes to make new lawes & decrementes: And to alter ſtatutes, priuiledges, rightes or documentes of Churches: To ſeparate thynges ioyned, and to ioyne thynges ſeparated vpon right conſideratiō, either in whole or in part, either perſonally, or generally. 48. Of the which Church of Rome, I am head as a kyng is ouer his iudges. 49. the vicare of S. Peter. 50. yea not the Vicare of Peter properly, but the Vicare of Chriſt properly, and ſucceſſour of Peter. 51. vicare of Jeſus Chriſt. 52. Rector of the vniuerſall Church: Director of the Lordes vniuerſall flocke: 53. Chiefe Magiſtrate of the whole world. 54. Cephas. i. caput, the head and chief of the Apoſtolicke Church. 55. vniuerſall Pope, and Dioceſan in all places exempt, as well as euery Byſhop is in places not exempt. 56. moſt mighty Prieſt. 57. Lex animata in terris. i. 58. a lyuyng law in the earth iudged to haue all lawes in the cheſte of my breſte. 59. bearyng the rowme of no pure man: 60. beyng neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thyng betwixt both: 61. Hauyng both ſwordes in my power, both of the ſpirituall and temporall iuriſdiction. 62. ſo farre ſurmountyng the authoritie of the Emperour, that I of myne owne power alone without a Councell haue authoritie to depoſe him, to transferre his kyngdome, and to gyue a new election, as I did to Fridericke and diuers other. 63. What power then or poteſtate in all the world is comparable to me: who haue authoritie to bynde and loſe both in heauē and earth? 64. That is, who haue power both of heauenly thynges, and alſo of temporall thynges. 65. To whom Emperours and Kynges be more inferiour, then lead is inferiour to Gold. 66. For do you not ſee the neckes of great Kynges and Princes bende vnder our knees, yea and thinke themſelues happy & well defenced, if they may kiſſe our handes? 67. Wherefore the ſawcines of Honorius ẏ Emperour is to be reprehēded, and his cōſtitutiō aboliſhed who wͭ his laitie would take vpō him to intermeddle, not onely wͭ the tēporal order, but alſo wͭ matters eccleſiaſticall, & electiō of ẏ pope. 68. But here percaſe ſome will obiect ẏ examples & wordes of Chriſt, ſaying, that hys kingdome is not of this world, & where he beyng required to deuide betwixt ij. brethrē their heritage, did refuſe it. But ẏ ought to be no preiudice to my power. 69. For if Peter, & I in Peter, if we I ſay, haue power to binde & looſe in heauē, how much more thē is it to be thought ẏ we haue power in earth to looſe & take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, & what els ſo euer mortal mē may haue, & to geue thē where we wil? 70. And if we haue authority ouer Angels, which be ẏ gouernours of princes, what thē may we do vpō their inferiours & ſeruāts? 71. And for ẏ you ſhal not maruel, ẏ I ſay: Angels be ſubiecte to vs, you ſhall heare what my bleſſed clerke Antoninus, writeth of ẏ matter, ſaying ẏ our power, of Peter & me, is greater thē the Angels i[illegible] things: In iuriſdictiō, 2. in adminiſtratiō of ſacramēts, [illegible] knowledge. 4. & in reward. &c. 72. And agayne in Bull[illegible]lementis, do not I there cōmaūde in my Bull, ẏ Angels of Paradiſe to abſolue the ſoule of mā out of purgatory, & [illegible] bring it into the glory of Paradiſe? 73. And now beſides my heauenly power, to ſpeake of mine earthly iuriſdiction, who did firſt tranſlate the Empire from the Greekes to the Almaines, but I? 74. And not onely in the Empire am I Empe-

45. Cauſ.2.q.6. Arguta. Itē. c. Ad Romanam.

Cauſ.2.q.6. cap. Placuit.

Gloſa.
Gratiani. ¶
Niſi.

46. Pope Gelaſi.25.q.1. cap. condimus.

47. Pope Vrbanus.25.q.1. cap. Sunt.

Pope Pelagius.25.q.2. cap. poſteaquam.

48. Bulla Donationis. Diſt. 96. c. Conſtant.

49. Pope Paſchalis. Diſt.63. cap. Ego.

50. Pope Clemēs.5. Clemēt. c. Romani Gloſa.

51. Pope Bonifacius.8. Sext. Decretal. cap. vbi.

52. Ibidem.

53. Pope Bonifac. prohem. Sext. Decretal. ib. Sacroſancta.

54. Anacletus. Diſt.22. cap. Sacroſancta.

55. Pope Bonifacius.4. Sext. Decret. de pœnit. & remiſs. cap.5. Gloſa.

Item Alexander.4. Sext. Decret. c.4. in Gloſa.

56. Pope Hilarius.25.q.1. Nulli.

57. Sext. Decret. cap. Ab arbitris. Gloſa.

58. Pope Bonifacius. Sext. Decret. De conſt. cap. licet.

59. Pope Innocentius 3. De tranſl. c. Quanto.

60. Prohæm. Clemēt. Gloſa Papa Stupor mundi. &c.

Nec Deus es nec homo, quaſi neuter es inter vtrumq;

61. Pope Bonifacius Extrauag. De Maiorit. & obed. cap. vnam.

Item Diſt.22. cap. Omnes.

62. Sext. Decret. De ſentēt. & re. c. Ad Apoſtolica. Itē in Gloſa Ibid.

63. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt.22. cap. Omnes.

64. Gloſa. Ibidem.

65. Pope Gelaſius. Diſt.96. c. Duo.

66 Pope Gelaſius. Ibidem.

67. Diſt.96. ca. Illud.

68. Ex citatione Hiero. Marij.

69. Pope Hildebrādus, *alias* Gregorius 7. Ex Platina, in Vita Gregorij.

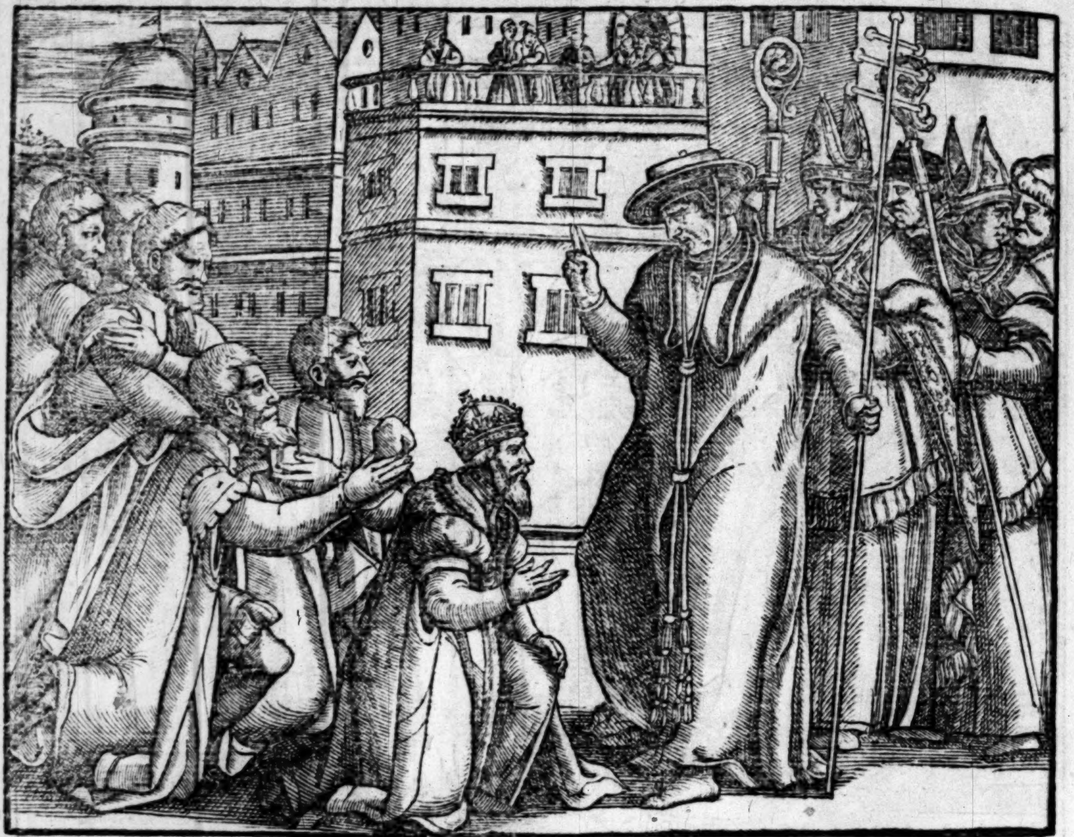
70. Hildebrandus. Ibidem.

71. Antoninus in tertia parte Summæ maioris.

72. Bulla Clemētis.

73. Pope Innocent. De electione. c. Venerabilem.

74. Extrau. De præbend. & dig. c. Execrabilis.



rour, the place being empty, but in all Eccleſiaſticall benefices haue full right and power to giue, to tranſlate, & to diſpoſe after my arbitrement. 75. Did not I Zacharias put downe Childericke the old kyng of Fraunce, & ſet vp Pipinus? 76. Did not I Gregorius vij. ſet vp Robert Wyſard and made him kyng of Sicilia & Duke of Capua? &c. 77. Did not I yͤ ſame Gregorius alſo ſet vp Rodulphus agaynſt Henr. 4. Emperour? 78. And though this Hēricus was an Emperour of moſt ſtoute courage, who ſtode, 62. times in opē field agaynſt his enemies. 79. yet did not I Gregorius bryng him corā nobis, & made him ſtād at my gate iij. dayes & iij. nightes barefoote & barelegge with his wife & child, in the deepe of winter, both in froſt & ſnow, entreatyng for his abſolution & after did excōmunicate him agayne, ſo yͭ he was twiſe excōmunicated in my dayes? 80. Agayne did not I Paſchalis after Gregory, ſet vp the ſonne of yͤ ſayd Hēricus againſt his father in war, to poſſeſſe yͤ Empire, & to put downe his father, & ſo he did? 81. Item, did not I pope Alexander bryng vnder Hēry the ſecond kyng of Englād, for the death of Thomas Becket, & cauſe him to go barefoote to his tombe at Canterbury with bleedyng feete? 82. Did not I Innocentius the 3. cauſe kyng Iohn to kneele downe at the feete of Pandulphus my Legate, & offer vp his crowne to his handes: alſo to kiſſe the feete of Steuen Langton Byſhop of Canterbury, and beſides marſed him in a M. Markes by yeare? 83. Did not I Vrbanus 2. put downe Hugo earle in Italy, diſchargyng his ſubiectes frō their oth & obedience to him? 84. Did not I Paſchalis excōmunicate alſo hys ſonne Henr. 5. & get out of his handes all his right & title of electiōs & donations of ſpirituall promotions? Did not I Gelaſius 2. bryng the Captaine Cintius vnder, vnto the kiſſing of my feete. And after Gelaſius, dyd not I Calixtus 2. quale the foreſayd Emperour Henricus 5. & alſo bryng in ſubiectiō Gregory whō the ſayd Emperour had ſet vp agaynſt me to be pope, bryngyng him into Rome vpō a Camell, his face to yͤ horſe

75. Pope Zacharias. Cauſ. 15. q. 6. c. Alius.

76. Pope Hildebrand. *alias* Gregor. 7, Clement. c. paſtoralis.

77. Ex Geſtis Hildebrandi.

78. Baptiſta Egnatius.

79. Platina. Benno. Nauclerus.

80 Platina. Egnatius. Benno.

81. Polidor. Virgil. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis de rebus Anglorum.

82. Chronica vernacula.

83. Pope Vrbanus. Cauſ. 15. q. 6. cap. Iuratos.

84 Pope Paſchalis. Curſulanus. Platina. Vincentius. Stella. Antoninus. Matheus Pariſienſis.

Pope Gelaſius. 2.
Pope Calixtus. 2.
Platina de vitis pontificum.

tayle, makyng him to hold the horſe tayle in his hād in ſtead of a bridle? 85. Further, did not I Innocētius 2. ſet vp and made Lotharius to be Emperour for dryuyng out pope Anacletus out of Rome? 86. Did not I the ſayd Innocētius take the dukedom of Sicile frō the Empire, & made Roger to be K. therof, wherby afterward the kyngdom became the patrimony of S. Peter? 87. Did not I Alexāder 3. ſuſpēd all the realme & churches of Englād for the kings mariage? an. 1159. 88. But what do I ſpeake of kyngs? did not I the ſayd Alexāder bryng the valiant Emperour Fridericke the firſt to Venice, by reaſon of his ſonne Otho there takē priſoner, & there in S. Markes church made him fall down flat vpō the groūd, while I ſet my foote vpō his necke, ſaying the verſe of yͤ Pſalme. Super aſpidē & baſiliſcū ambulabis? &c. 89. Did not I Adrianus pope, an engliſhmā borne, excōmunicate Wil. K. of Sicile, & refuſe his peace, which he offered? & had not he ouercome me in playne field, I would haue ſhakē him out of his kingdom of Sicil, & dukedom of Apulia. 90. Alſo did not I yͤ ſayd Adrianus, cōtrolle & correct the foreſayd Fridericus Emperour, for holding the left ſtyrrup of my horſe whē he ſhould haue holdē the right? 91. & afterward did not I excōmunicate & curſe him, for that he was ſo ſawſie to ſet his own name in writing before mine? 92. And although a poore flie afterward ouercame & ſtrāgled me, yet I made kings & Emperours to ſtoupe. 93. Did not I Innocētius 3. deiect Philippus, brother to Fridericus, from the Imperiall crown, beyng elected without my leaue, & after ſet him vp againe? & alſo ſet vp Otho of Brūſwicke, & after did excōmunicate & alſo depoſe the ſame 4. yeares, ſetting vp the Frēch K. to warre agaynſt him? 94. Thē was Fridericus 2. by me ſet vp & reigned. 37. yeares, & yet v. yeares before he dyed. 95. did not I Honorius interdict him, for not reſtoryng certaine to their poſſeſſiōs at my requeſt? 96. Who alſo Gregorius 9. did excōmunicate twiſe together, & raiſed vp the Venetiās agaynſt hym. 97. And at lēgth Innocētius ſpoyled him of his Empire: after that cauſed him to be poyſoned, at

length

85. Pope Innocentius. 2.

86. Nauclerus.

87. Pope Alexander. 3. De ſponſal. & matr. c. Nō eſt.

88. Nauclerus. Acta Rom. pōtificum.

89. Pope Adrianus. Vitæ Rom. pōtificū.

90. Ex Auentino.

91. Bulla Adriani contra Cæſarem.

92. Acta Rom. pontif.

93. Pope Innocentius. 3. Ex vitis & Actis Rom. pontificum.

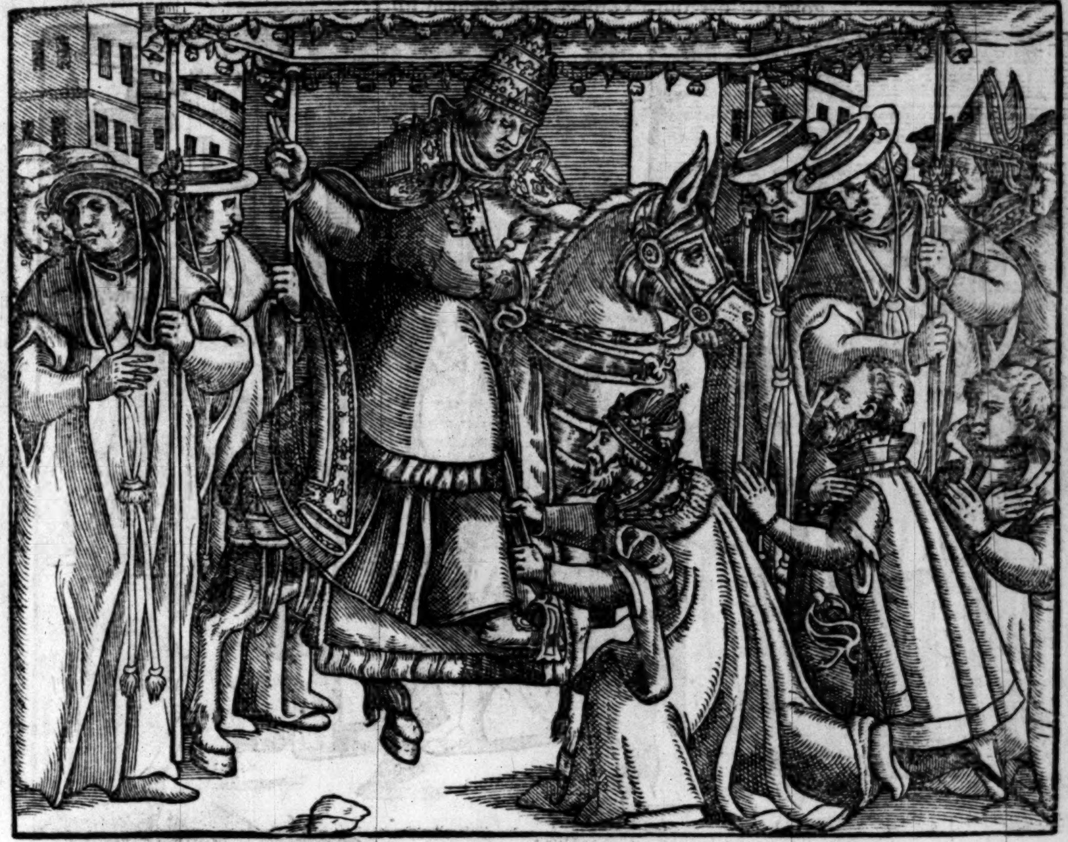
Ex Abbate Vrſpergenſ.

94. Ex eodem.

95. Pope Honorius. 3. Ex Mario.

96 Pope Gregor. 9. Ex eodem.

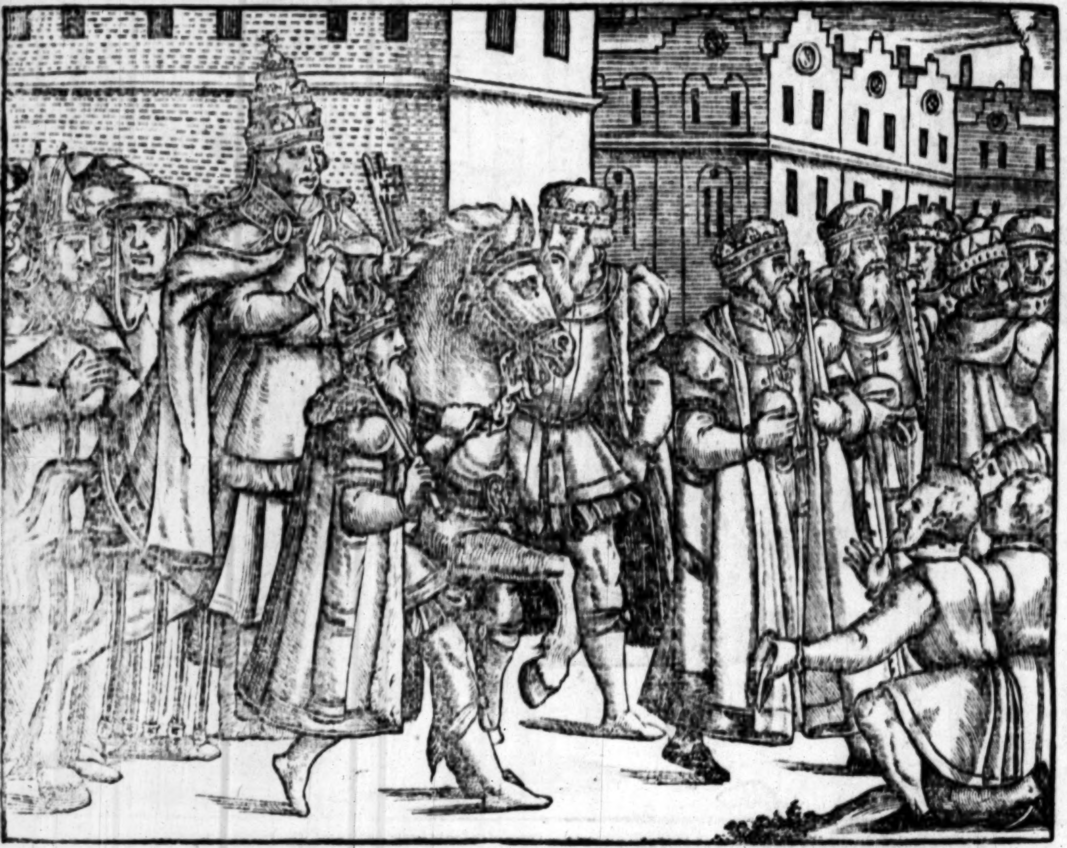
97. Pope Innocent. 4. Hieronimus Marius. Petrus de Vineis.



lẽgth to be ſtrãgled by one Mãfredus, & did excõmunicate his ſõne Cõradus after him, not onely depriuyng him of his right inheritaũce, but alſo cauſed him, with Fridericke duke of Auſtria to be beheaded.98. Thus thẽ did not I excõmunicate & depoſe all theſe Emperours in order? Henricus.4. Hẽricus 5. Fridericus 1. Philippus Otho.4. Fridericus. 2. & Cõradus his ſonne? 99. Did not I interdict K. Hẽry the viij.100. & all his kyngdome of Englãd? 101. And had not his prudẽce & power preuẽted my practiſe, I had diſplaced him frõ his kyngdome alſo. Briefly, who is able to comprehende the greatnes of my power & of my ſeate? 102. For by me onely generall Cõucels take their force & cõfirmatiõ. 103. & the interpretatiõ of the ſayd Councels, & of all other cauſes hard & doubtfull ought to be referred & ſtãd to my determinatiõ. 104. By me the workes of all writers, whatſoeuer they be, either be reproued or allowed. 105. Thẽ how much more ought my wrytyngs & decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. In ſomuch that my letters & Epiſtles decretall be equiualent with general Cõucels. 107. And where as God hath ordeined all cauſes of men, to be iudged by mẽ, he hath onely reſerued me, yͤ is the pope of Rome, without all queſtion of mẽ, vnto his own iudgemẽt. 108. And therfore where all other creatures be vnder their iudge, onely I which in earth am the iudge of all, can be iudged of none, neither of Emperour, nor the whole clergy, nor of Kynges, nor yet of the people. 109. For who hath power to iudge vpon his Iudge? 110. This iudge am I, & that alone, without any other aſſiſtance of any Councell ioyned to me. For I haue power vpon Councels, Councels haue no power vpon me. But if the Councell determine amiſſe, it is in my authoritie alone to infrynge it, or to condemne whom I luſt without any Councell. 111. And all for the preheminẽce of my predeceſſor bleſſed S. Peter, which by the voyce of the Lord, he receiued, and euer ſhall reteine. 112. Furthermore, and where as all other ſentences and iudgementes both of Councels, perſon, or perſonnes, may and ought to be examined. 113. for that, they may be corrupted foure wayes, by feare, by giftes, by hatred, by fauour: only my ſentence and iudgement muſt ſtand. 114. as geuen out of heauen by the mouth of Peter himſelf, which no mã muſt 115. breake, nor retract. 116. No man muſt diſpute or doubt of. 117. Yea if my iudgement, ſtatute, or yoke ſeeme ſcarſly tollerable, yet for remembraunce of S. Peter it muſt be humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreouer obedience is to be geuen, not onely to ſuch decrees ſet forth by me in tyme of my Popedome, but alſo to ſuche as I do foreſee and commit to writing before I be pope. 119. And although it be thought by ſome writers, to be geuen to all men to erre, and to be deceiued. 120. yet neither am I a pure man. 121. and agayne the ſentence of my Apoſtolique ſeat is alwayes conceiued with ſuch moderatiõ is concoct and digeſted wyth ſuch pacience and rypenes, and deliuered out with ſuch grauitie of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it neceſſary to be altered or retracted. 122. Wherfore it is manifeſt, and teſtified by the voyce of holy biſhops, that the dignitie of this my ſeate is to be reuerenced thorough yͤ whole world, in that all the faythfull ſubmit themſelues to it as to the head of the whole body. 123. Whereof it is ſpoken to me by the Prophet, ſpeaking of the Arke: if this be humbled, whether ſhal you run for ſuccour, and where ſhall your glory become? Seyng then this is ſo, that ſo holy Biſhops and Scriptures do witneſſe with me, what ſhall we ſay then to ſuch as will take vpõ them to iudge of my doyng [illegible] to reprehend my procedings, or to require homage & trib[illegible] of me to whom all other be ſubiect? 124. Agaynſt yͤ firſt [illegible]t yͤ ſcripture ſpeaketh Deut. thou oughteſt not to put thy ſithe in an other mãs corne. Which thing to attempt ag[illegible]ſt me, what is it but playne ſacrilege? 125. According to my Canoniſts, which thus define ſacriledge to conſiſt in iij. thinges, eyther when a man iudgeth of his Princes iudgement: or when the holyday is prophaned, or when reuerence is not geuen to lawes and Canons. 126. Againſt the ſecõd ſort maketh the

98. Ex Chronic. Carionis.
99. Hiſtoria Anglorum.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Pope Marcellus. Diſt. 17. ca. Synodum.
103 Diſt. 20. Decretales.
104. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 19. Si Romanorũ.
105. Ibid.
106. Diſt. 20. Decretales.
107. Symmachus Pope 9.q.3. Aliorum.
108. Pope Innocentius. 6.q.3.ca. Nemo.
109. Ibidem.
110. Pope Gelaſius. 9.q.3.c. Cuncta.
111. Ibidem.
112. Anaſtaſius Patriarch. D.q.3.cap. Antiquis. Item. 11.q.3.cap. Quiſuis.
113. Pope Gregor. 2.q.3. c. Quatuor.
114 Pope Agatho. Diſt. 19. cap. Sic omnes.
115. Pope Nicolaus. 9.q.3. Patet.
116. Pope Innocentius. 2. Art. 17 q.4. Si quis.
117. Diſt. 19. cap. In memoriam.
118. Sext. Decret. Tit. 7 De renunciat. Quoniam Gloſa.
119. Offic. l. 1.
120. Gloſa Extra De verb. ſignif. cap. Ad.
121. Pope Gregorius. Cauſ. 35. q. 9. Apoſtolicæ.
122. Pope Symmachus. Cauſ. 9.q.3. Aliorum.
123. Ibidem.
124. Pope Gregorius. 6.q.3. Scriptum eſt.
125. Cauſ. 17.q.4. Sacrileg. Gloſa.
126. 2.q.7.cap. Plerũq. Gloſa in Gratian.

The order of the Popes riding, the Emperour holding his bridle, and kynges goyng before him. Ex Lib. Sacrar. Ceremon. lib. 1.



the place of the booke of kinges, where we read the Arke of God was brought from Gaba to Hieruſalem, and in the way the Arke inclinyng by reaſon of the vnruly oxen. Ozias the Leuite put to his hande to helpe, and therefore was ſtriken of the Lord. By this Arke is ſignified the prelates: by the inclination therof: the fall of Prelates. 127. which alſo be ſignified by the Aungels that Iacob did ſee goyng vp and commyng downe the lader. 128. Alſo by the Prophete, where he ſayeth: He bowed downe the heauens and came downe. &c. By Ozias and by the vnruly Oxen are ment our ſubiectes. 129. Then lyke as Ozias was ſtricken for putting his hand to the Arke inclinyng, no more muſt ſubiectes rebuke their Prelates goyng awry. 130. Albeit here may bee anſwered againe, yͤ all be not Prelats which ſo be called: for it is not yͤ name that maketh a Biſhop, but his lyfe. 131. Agaynſt the third ſorte of ſuch as would bring vs vnder the tribute and exactions of ſecular men, maketh the new Teſtament, where Peter was bid to geue the grote in the fiſhes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fiſhe: No more is the head or body of the Church ſubdued to kinges, but onely that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe thinges of the church. And yet nor they neither. 132. For ſo we read in the booke of Gen. that Pharao in tyme of dearth ſubdued all the land of the Egiptiās, but yet he miniſtred to the Prieſtes, ſo that he tooke neither their poſſeſſions from them nor their liberty. If then the Prelates of the Church muſt be neither iudged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, howe much more ought I to be free from the ſame? 133. Whiche am the biſhop of biſhops, and head of Prelates. 134. For it is not to be thought that the caſe betwixt me & other prelates: betwixt my ſea & other churches be like. 135. Although the whole Catholike and Apoſtolike church make one bridechamber of Chriſt: yet the Catholike and Apoſtolike Church of Rome, had the preeminence geuen ouer all other by the mouth of the Lord himſelf ſaying to Peter: Thou art Peter. &c. 136. Thus a diſcretion and difference muſt bee had in the church, as it was betwixt Aaron and his children. 137. betwixt the 72. Diſciples, and the 12. Apoſtles: betwixt the other Apoſtles and Peter. 138. Wherfore it is to be cōcluded, that there muſt be an order and difference of Degrees in the church betwixt powers, ſuperiour and inferiour: without which order, the Vniuerſitie of the whole cā not conſiſt. 139. For as amongeſt the Angelicall creatures aboue in heauen, there is ſet a difference and inequalitie of powers and orders, ſome be Aungels, ſome Archangels, ſome Cherubins and Seraphins: 140. So in the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie of the Church militant in the earth, Prieſtes muſt not be equall with Biſhops, Biſhoppes muſt not be like in order with Archbiſhops, with Patriarkes or Primates. 141. Who cōteyne vnder them thre Archbiſhops, as a Kyng conteineth thre dukes vnder him. In the which number of Patriarkes, commeth in the ſtate alſo of. 142. Cardinals or Principals, ſo called, becauſe as the dore turneth by hys hynges, ſo the vniuerſall church ought to be ruled by them. 143 The next and hyeſt order aboue theſe is myne, whiche am Pope, differing in power and maioritie, and honor reuerentiall, from theſe and all other degrees of men. 144. For the better declaration wherof, my Canoniſtes make 3. kyndes of power in earth: Immediata, which is mine immediatly from God: Deriuata, which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me. 145. Miniſtralis, belonging to Emperors and princes to miniſter for me. For the which cauſe the annointing of princes and my conſecration doth differ: for they are annointed only in yͤ armes or ſhoulders, & I in the head, to ſignifie yͤ differēce of power betwixt princes & me. 146. This order therfore of prieſts, biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarkes & other, as a thing moſt conuenient, my church of Rome hath ſet & inſtitute through all churches following therin, not only the example of the Angelicall army in heauen, but alſo of yͤ Apoſtles, 147. For amongeſt thē alſo there was not an vniform equality or inſtitutiō of one degre. 148. But a diuerſity or diſtinctiō of authority and power. Albeit they were all Apoſtles together, yet it was graunted

not-

¶ Item.

127. Ibidem.

128 Ibidem.

129 Ibidem.

130 Ibidem. ¶. His Ita.

131. Pope Vrbanus. 23. q. Tributū.

132. Ibidem. ¶. Quamuis.

133. Pope Benedictus. Extr. De aut. et viu. palij. c. Sacta.

134. Pope Stephanus. Diſt. 19. Enimuero.

135. Pope Pelagius. Diſt. 21. Quamuis.

136. Diſt. 21. Decretis.

137. Pope Anacletus Diſt. 21. In nono.

138. Pope Bonifacius & Greg. Diſt. 89. Ad hoc.

139. Ibidem.

140. Diſt. 89 cap. Singula.

141. Ex Citatione. Bul. Decret. 5. Ser. 3.

142. De officio Archipræſbyt. in Gloſa.

143.

144. Ex. 3. parte Summæ maioris. b. Antonini.

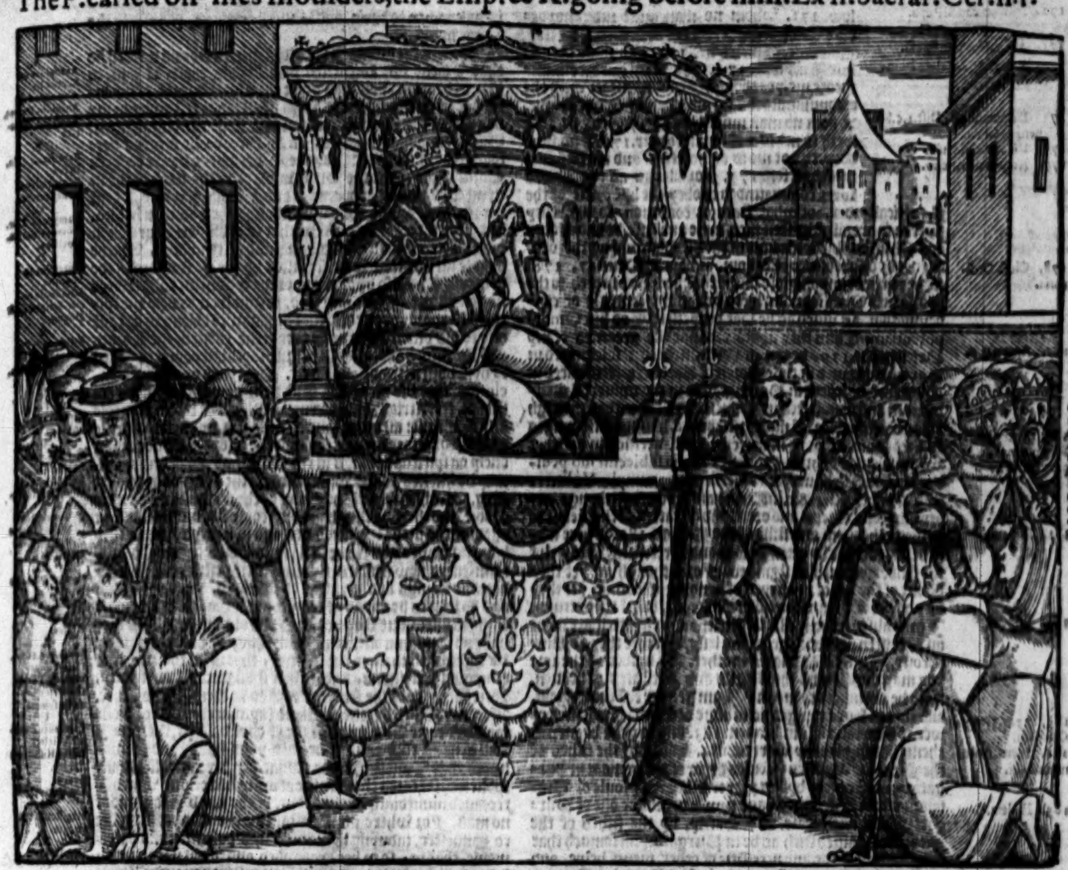
145. Pope Innocent. 3. De ſacra vnctione. Qui veniſſet.

146. Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22 cap. Omnes.

147. Pope Clement. Diſt. 80. cap. In illis.

148. Pope Anacletus Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.

The P. caried on mẽs ſhoulders, the Emp. & K. going before him. Ex li. Sacrar. Cer. li. 1.



The Jmage of Antich. hath exalted in the ſtyle of God aboue all that is called God. 2. Theſ. 2.

notwithſtandyng to Peter (themſelues alſo agreyng to the ſame) that he ſhould beare dominion and ſuperioritie ouer all the other Apoſtles. 149. And therefore had hys name geuen him Cephas, that is, hed or beginning of the Apoſtleſhode. 150. Wherupon the order of prieſthode firſt in the new teſtament begã in Peter, to whom it was ſayd: Thou art Peter, and vpon thee I will build my church. 151. And I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdom of heauen. And thou beyng conuerted confirme thy brethrẽ. 152. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhall not faile. Wherfore ſeyng ſuch power is geuen to Peter. 153. and to me in Peter, beyng his ſucceſſor. 154. Who is he then in all the world that ought not to be ſubiect to my decrees which haue ſuch power in heauẽ, in hel, in earth with the quicke and alſo the dead? 155. cõmaundyng and graũting in my bull of lead ſent to Vienna, vnto all ſuch as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the payne of hell ſhould not touch them: And alſo that all ſuch as tooke the holy croſſe vpon them, ſhould euery one at his requeſt not only be deliuered himſelfe, but alſo deliuer 3. or 4. ſoules whom ſo euer he would, out of purgatory. 156. Agayne, hauing ſuch promiſe & aſſurance that my faith ſhall not fayle, who then wil not beleue my doctrine? For did not Chriſt himſelf firſt pray for Peter that his faith ſhould not fail? 157. Alſo haue not I a ſure promiſe of Paules own mouth, writing to my Church by theſe wordes: god is my witnes whõ I ſerue in my ſpirit, in ỹ goſpel of his ſonne, ỹ without ceaſing I make mẽtion of you alwayes in my praiers? Rom. 1. 158. Wherfore as I cõdẽne all ſuch worthely, which will not obey my decrees, to be diſpoſſeſſed of all their honor, without reſtitution: 159. So all they ỹ beleue not my doctrine or ſtand againſt ỹ priuiledge of ỹ church eſpecially ỹ church of Rome, I pronoũce thẽ heretikes. 160. And as ỹ other before is to be called vnfaiſt, ſo this mã is to be called an heretike. 161. For why, he goeth againſt ỹ fayth which goeth againſt her who is ỹ mother of faith. 162. But here may riſe percaſe a doubt or ſcruple, ỹ if my fayth & knowledge ſtand ſo ſure by ỹ promiſe of Chriſt, & by the continual prayer of S. Paul: whether is it true, or is to be graũted, ỹ any other ſhold excel me in knowledge or interpretatiõ of holy ſcripture. 163. For loke whoſe knowledge is grounded of moſt reaſon, his wordes ſhould ſeme to be of more authoritie. 164. Wherunto I anſwer & graunt, that many there be and haue bene more aboundantly indued with fuller grace of the holy Ghoſt, and greater excellencie of knowledge, and therfore that the tractations of Auguſtine, Hierome and others ought to be preferred before ỹ conſtitutions of diuers popes: yet I ſay in determination of cauſes, becauſe they haue not the vertue and height of that authoritie whiche is giuen to me, therfore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they ſtand inferiour to my authoritie. By vertue of whiche authoritie. 165. both they themſelues be allowed for doctours, and their workes approued, & alſo all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keyes which is giuen to me immediatly of Chriſt. Although I deny not but the ſame keyes be alſo committed to other prelates, as they were to other Apoſtles beſides Peter: 166. yet it is one thyng to haue ỹ keyes, an other thing to haue the vſe of the keyes. 167. Wherefore here is to bee noted a diſtinctiõ of keyes, after the minde of my ſcholedoctors: one key which is called Clauis ordinis, hauing authoritie to bind and loſe, but not ouer the perſons whom they binde & loſe, and this authoritie they take not immediatly of Chriſt, but mediatly by me the vicare of Chriſt. The other key is called Clauis iuriſdictionis, which I ỹ vicar of Chriſt take immediatly of him, hauing not onely authoritie to bind and loſe, but alſo dominiõ ouer thẽ on whõ the key is exerciſed. By ỹ iuriſdiction of which key, ỹ fulnes of my power is ſo great, ỹ where as al other are ſubiects. 168. yea ỹ Emperours thẽ ſelues ought to ſubdue their executions to me. Onely I am a ſubiect to no creature. 169. no not to my ſelfe, except I liſt. In foro pœnitentiæ, to my Ghoſtly father ſubmitting my ſelfe as a ſinner, but not as pope: So that my Papall maieſtie euer remaineth vndiminiſhed. Superiour to all men, 170. whom all perſons ought to obey. 171. and fol-

149. Ibidem. Quaſi vero Petrus non à Petra, ſed κεφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ducatur.
150. Diſt. 21. cap. In nouo.
151. Ibidem.
152. Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.
153. Pope Leo. Diſt. 19. c. Ita Dominus.
154. Pope Nicolaus in tantum. Diſt. 22.
155. Pope Clemens in Bulla Viennæ in ſcrinijs priuilegiorum.
156. Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.
157. Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 23. c. Sacroſancta.

Scripture well applyed, and lyke a Clerke.

158. Pope Damaſus. 25. q. 1. c. Omnia. Itẽ pope Greg. Diſt. 19. Null.
159. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes.
160. Ibidem.
161. Ibidem.
162. Diſt. 20. Decretales.
163. Ibidem.
164. Ibidem.
165. Diſt. 19. Si Romanorum.
166. Gabriell Biel. lib. 4. Diſt. 19.
167. Petrus de Palude.
168. Diſt. 96. cap. Imperator.
169. Gabriel. lib. 4. Diſt. 19.
170. Pope Nicol. Diſt. 19. cap. Si Romanorũ in Gloſa.
171. Item. 24. q. 1. Hæc eſt.

172. Diſt.40.cap.Si Papa.
173. 3.q.7.Nos ſi.in Gloſa.
174. Extrauag. De elect.Innocent.
175. De pœnitentia.Diſt.1.c.Serpens in Gloſa.
176. Diſt.19.cap.Nulli.
177. Auguſt.de Ancho.

low. 172. whom no man muſt iudge nor accuſe of any crime, eyther of Murder, Adultery, Simonie, or ſuch lyke. 173. No man depoſe, but I my ſelfe. 174. No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicate with the excommunicate, for no Canon bindeth me. Whom no man muſt lye to. 175. For he that lyeth to me is a Church robber. 176. And who obeyeth not me is an hereticke, and an excommunicate perſon. 177. For like as all the Iewes were commaunded to obey the hye prieſt of the Leuiticall order, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer they were: ſo are all Chriſten men more and leſſe bound to obey me Chriſtes Lieuetenaunt in earth. Concernyng the obedience or diſobedience of whom, ye haue in Deut. 17. 178. Where the common gloſe ſaith, that he who denyeth to the hye Prieſt Obedientiam, lyeth vnder the ſentence of condemnation, as much as he that denyeth to God his Omnipotentiam. Thus then appeareth that the greatnes of my Prieſthoode. 179. begon in Melchiſedech: ſolemnized in Aaron: continued in the children of Aaron: perfectionated in Chriſt: repreſented in Peter: exalted in the vniuerſal iuriſdiction: and manifeſted in Syluester. &c. So that through this Preeminence, of my Prieſthoode, hauing all thynges ſubiect to me. 180. it may ſeeme well verified in me that was ſpoken of Chriſt. Pſal. 8. Omnia ſubiecisti ſub pedibus eius, oues & boues, & vniuerſa pecora campi. Volucres cœli & piſces maris, &c. i. Thou haſt ſubdued all things vnder his feete, ſheepe, and oxen, and all cattell of the field, the byrdes of heauen, and fiſhe of the Sea, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Iewes and heretickes, by cattel of the fielde, paganes be ſignified. For although as yet they be out of the vſe of my keyes of bynding & looſing, yet they be not out of the iuriſdiction of my keyes, but if they returne I may abſolue them. 182. By ſheepe and all cattell, are ment all Chriſten men both great and leſſe, whether they be Emperour, Princes, Prelates or other. By byrdes of the ayre you may vnderſtand the Angels and poteſtates of heauen, who be all ſubiect to me, in that I am greater then the Angels, and that in foure thinges as is afore declared, and haue power to binde and loſe in heauen. 183. and to geue heauen to them that fight in my warres. 184. Laſtly, by the fiſhes of the Sea, are ſignified the ſoules departed in payne or in purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer deliuered the ſoule of Traianus out of hell, and I haue power to deliuer out of Purgatory whom I pleaſe. 185. Laſtly, by the fiſhes of the Sea, are ſignified ſuch as be in Purgatory: in ſomuch that they ſtand in neede and neceſſitie of other mens helpe, and yet be in their iorney Viatores, & de foro Papæ. i. paſſengers and belong to the court of the Pope: therefore they may be relieued out of the ſtorehouſe of the Church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as ſome do obiect, that my Pardons can not extende to them that be departed, for that it was ſayd to Peter: what ſoeuer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, and therfore ſeeing they are not vpon earth, they can not be loſed of me. Here I aunſwere agayne by my doctours, that this worde Super terram. &c. i. vpon the earth, may be referred two maner of wayes: firſt to him that is the loſer, ſo that he which ſhal loſe ſhalbe vpon the earth. And ſo I graunt that the Pope being dead can looſe no man. Alſo it may be referred to hym that is loſed, ſo that whoſoeuer is looſed muſt be vpon the earth or about the earth. And ſo the ſoules in Purgatory may be looſed, which albeit they are not vpon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at leaſt they be not in heauen. And becauſe oft tymes one queſtion may riſe vpon an other, and the heades of men now a dayes are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliuer out of Purgatory, will aſke here a queſtion, whether I be able alſo to emptie all Purgatory at once, or not? To whom my Canoniſt Auguſt. de Ancho. doth aunſwere by a triple diſtinction: Quantum ad abſolutam meam iuriſdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad diuinam acceptationem. Firſt touching my abſolute iuriſdiction, he ſayth, I am able to rid out all Purgatory together, for as many as be vnder my iuriſdiction, as all be, except onely infantes vnbaptiſed In limbo, and men departed onely cum baptiſmo flaminis, that is, wyth the baptiſme of the ſpirite: & ſuch as haue no frendes to do for them that wherfore pardons be geuen: theſe onely excepted. For all other beſides, the Pope (he ſayth) hath power to releaſe all Purgatory at once, as touching hys abſolute iuriſdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquine part. 4. denyeth the ſame, foraſmuch as Chriſt hymſelfe (he ſayth) when he came downe, did not vtterly at once releaſe all Purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution, they holde, that I may if I will, but I ought not to doe it. Thirdly, as concerning the diuine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they ſay)

178. Gloſa Ordinaria.

179. Antoni. . .

180. Antoninus. Summæ maioris. 3. part. Diſt. 22.

181. Ibidem.

182. Ibidem.

183. 23.q.5.cap. Omnium.

184. Idem Antoninus ibidem.

185. Ibidem.

Antoninus.
Auguſt.de Ancho.
Thomas Parte.4.

Auguſt.de Ancho.

An papa poſſit totum purgatorium expolare.

Ibidem.
Abſoluta iuriſdictio.

Doctors diſagree in Purgatory.

Auguſt. de Ancho.
Antoninus.
Ordinata executio.
Diuina acceptatio.

is vnknowen to them, and to euery creature, yea and to the Pope hymſelfe.

And to the intent I would al men to ſee and vnderſtand that I lacke not witneſſes moe beſides theſe, if I liſt to bryng them out, you ſhall heare the whole queare of my diuine Clergy brought out, with a full voyce teſtifying in my behalfe, in their bookes, tractations, Diſtinctions, Titles, Gloſes, and Summaries, as by theyr owne wordes here foloweth. The Pope (ſay they) beyng the vicare of Ieſu Chriſt throw out the whole worlde, in the ſtead of the liuyng God, hath that dominion and Lordſhyp which Chriſt here in earth would not haue, although he had it in habitu, but gaue it to Peter in Actu: that is, the vniuerſal iuriſdiction both of ſpirituall thinges and alſo of temporall, whiche double iuriſdiction was ſignified by the ij. ſwordes in the Goſpell: And alſo by offeryng of the wiſe men, who offered not onely incenſe, but alſo gold, to ſignifie not onely the ſpirituall dominion, but alſo the temporall to belong to Chriſt and to his vicare. For as we read: the earth is the Lordes and the fulnes therof, & as Chriſt ſayth: all power is geuen to hym both in heauen and earth. So it is to be affirmed Incluſiue, that the vicar of Chriſt hath power on thinges celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and infernall. Which he tooke immediatly of Chriſt: all other take it mediatly by Peter and the Pope. Wherfore ſuch as ſay that the Pope hath dominion onely on ſpirituall things in the worlde and not of temporall, may be likened to the counſellers of the kyng of Syria. 3. Reg. 20. which ſayd: The Gods of the mountaines be their Gods, and therfore they haue ouercome vs, but let vs fight agaynſt them in the low medowes and in valleys, where they haue no power, and ſo we ſhal preuaile ouer them. So euill counſellers now a dayes, through their peſtiferous flattery deceaue Kyngs and Princes of the earth, ſaying: Popes and Prelates be Gods of mountaines, that is, of ſpiritual thinges onely, but they be not Gods of valleys, that is they haue no dominion ouer temporall thinges, and therfore let vs fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of temporall poſſeſſions, and ſo wee ſhall preuaile ouer them. But what ſayth the ſentence of God to them, let vs heare. Becauſe (ſayth he) the Syrians ſay, that the God of mountaines is their God, and not the God of valleys, therfore I will geue all this multitude into your hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lorde. What can bee more effectually ſpoken to ſet forth the maieſtie of my iuriſdiction, which I receaued immediatly of the Lord, of the Lord I ſay, and of no man. For where as Conſtantine the Emperour gaue to Syluester, induyng hym with this poſſeſſion and patrimonie, that is, ſo to bee expounded and taken not ſo much for a donation, as to be counted for a reſtitution made of that whiche tyrannouſly was taken from hym before. And agayne, where as I haue giuen at ſondry tymes to Ludouicus and other Emperours, of my temporall landes and poſſeſſions, yet that was done, not ſo much for any recognyſing of homage to them, as for kepyng peace with them, For I owe to Emperours no due obedience that they can clayme, but they owe to me as to their ſuperiour. And therfore for a diuerſitie betwixt their degree and mine, in their conſecration they take their vnction on the arme, I on the head. And as I am ſuperiour to them, ſo am I ſuperiour to all lawes, and free from all conſtitutions. Which am able of my ſelfe, and by my interpretation, to preferre equitie beyng not written, before the law written: hauyng all lawes within the cheſt of my breſt, as is aforeſayde. And what ſoeuer thys my ſea ſhall inact, approue, or diſprone, all men ought to approue or reprone the ſame, without either iudging, dyſputyng, doubtyng, or retractyng. Such is the priuilege geuen of Chriſt in the behalfe of Peter, to the Church of Rome. 186. that what countrey ſo euer, kyngdom or prouince, chuſing to them ſelues biſhops and miniſters, although they agree with all other Chriſten faythfull people in the name of Ieſu, that is, in fayth and charitie, beleuing in the ſame God, and in Chriſt hys true ſonne, and in the holy Ghoſt, hauyng alſo the ſame Crede, the ſame Euangeliſtes and Scriptures of the Apoſtles: yet notwithſtandyng vnleſſe their Byſhops and Miniſters take their origine and ordination from this Apoſtolicke ſeat, they are to be counted not of the Church. So that ſucceſſion of fayth onely is not ſufficient to make a Church, except the Miniſters take their ordination by them which haue their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles. So their fayth, ſupremacy, the chaire of Peter, keyes of heauen, power to binde and looſe, all theſe be inſeparable to the Church of Rome: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that God alwayes prouidyng, & S. Peter helpyng the Byſhopricke and Dioces of Rome, ſhall neuer fall from the fayth. And likewiſe it is to be preſumed and preſuppoſed that the Byſhop of that Church is alwayes good and holy. Yea & though

A.
Antoninus in Summula.
Auguſtinus de Ancho. in Decret.
Alvarus Minorita.
B.
Baptiſta de Salis in ſua.
Bapuſtiniana.
Bonauentura.
C.
Campana. Lib.
Côtroverſiarum.
Cocleus.
D.
Durandus in Speculo.
Dreido. de eccleſ. Scripturis & Dogmat.
E.
Edouardus Pownellus, Anglus contra Lutherum.
Eckius in Enchirid.
F.
Franciſcus.
Fulgo.
G.
Gabriel.Biel.in Spera.
Gaſpar.
Gratianus in Decretis.
Gerius doctor Illuminatiſſimus De eccleſiaſtica poteſtate.
H.
Hugo Cardinalis in poſtilla.
Hoſtienſis.
Holkot.
Hoſius.
I.
Ioannes Andreas.
Innocentius.
Ioan.de Turre Cremata de eccleſia ſumma.
L.
Lanfrancus contra Wicleff.
Lilius Hadrianus Anglus.
Lapus.
Laurentius.
M.
Magiſter.Sententiarum.
N.
Nicolaus.
O.
Ockam in Dialogo.parte.1.lib.5.
Oytanus.
P.
Petrus de Palude
Petrus de Tharſ.
Petrus de Aliaco.
Panormitanus Alexãder de Ales.
R.
Raymũdus in Sũma de Caſibus.
Richardus.
Rabanus ſuper Math.cap.16.
Rupertus Tuitienſis.
S.
Scotus Doctor Subtilis.
T.
Thomas Aquin.
V.
Vlricus.
W.
Waldemus confeſſionate, & De Sacramentis.

186. Ioan Dreido. De Dogmatibus varijs. Lib. 4.

he be not alwayes good, or be deſtitute of hys own merites, yet the merites of S. Peter, predeceſſor of that place, be ſufficient for him, who hath bequethed and left a perpetuall dowrie of merites, with inheritance of innocency to his poſteritie. 187. yea and though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may ſinne, but yet he can not be accuſed, but rather excuſed by the murders of Sampſon, the thefts of the Hebrues, the adultery of Iacob. 188. And likewiſe if any of his Clergy ſhould be founde embraſing a woman, it muſt bee expounded and preſuppoſed that he doth it to bleſſe her. Furthermore, the Pope (ſay they) hath all the dignities and al power of all Patriarches. In his primacie he is Abell: In gouernement, the Arke of Noe: In Patriarchdome, Abraham: In order Melchiſedech: In dignitie Aaron: In authoritie Moſes: In ſeat iudicial Samuel: In zeale Helias: In meekenes Dauid: In power Peter: In vnction Chriſt. (Nay thou art Antichriſt). My power (they ſay) is greater then all the Sainctes. For whome I confirme, no man may infirme. I may fauour and ſpare whom I pleaſe 189. to take from one, and to geue to an other. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eſchew that perſon forthwith, and not to tary and looke while I byd them ſo to do. All the earth is my Dioces, and I the Ordinarie of al men, hauyng the authoritie of the kyng of al kynges vpon ſubiectes. I am all in all, and aboue all. 190. ſo that God hymſelfe and I the Vicar of God haue both one Conſiſtorie. 191. and am able to doe almoſt all that God can do, Claue non errante. 192. Item, it is ſayd of me, that I haue an heauenly arbitriment, and therfore am able to chaunge the nature of thynges, Subſtantialia vnius applicando alteri, and of nothyng to make thynges to be: and of a ſentence that is nothyng, to make it ſtand in effect: In all thynges that I liſt, my will to ſtand for reaſon. For I am able by the law to diſpence aboue the law, and of wrong to make Iuſtice, in correctyng lawes, and chaungyng them. You haue heard hetherto ſufficiently out of my Doctours: Now you ſhall heare greater thynges out of myne owne decrees. 193. Read there Diſt. 96. c. Satis. 194. Alſo, Cauſ. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus. 195. Alſo, 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Do not you finde there expreſſed how Conſtantinus the Emperour ſittyng in the generall Councell of Nice, called vs Prelates of the Church, al Gods? 196. Agayn, read my Canon Decretal, De. tranſl. Epiſc. cap. Quanto. Do you not ſee there manifeſtly expreſſed how not man, but God alone ſeparateth that whiche the Byſhop of Rome doth diſſolue and ſeparate? Wherefore if thoſe thynges that I do be ſayd to be done not of man, but of God, what can you make of me but God? Agayne, if Prelates of the Church be called and counted of Conſtantinus for Gods, I then beyng aboue all Prelates, ſeme by this reaſon to be aboue all Gods. Wherefore no maruell, if it be in my power to chaunge tyme and times, to alter and abrogate lawes, to diſpenſe with all thynges, yea with the preceptes of Chriſt. For where Chriſt biddeth Peter put vp his ſword, moniſhyng his Diſciples not to vſe any outward force in reuengyng them ſelues. 197. do not I Pope Nicolaus wrytyng to the Byſhops of Fraunce, exhorte them to draw out their materiall ſwordes in purſuyng their enemyes, and recouering their poſſeſſions, ſettyng agaynſt the precept of Chriſt, the Prophet ſaying: Diſſolue colligationes impietatis. &c? Itē, where Chriſt was preſent hymſelfe at the mariage in Cana Galilea. 198. do not I pope Martinus in my diſtinction inhibite the ſpirituall Clergy to bee preſent at mariage feaſtes, and alſo to mary them ſelues? Item where matrimony by Chriſte, can not bee loſed but onely for whoredome. 199. do not I Pope Gregorius Iunior, wrytyng ad Bonifaciū permitte the ſame to be broken for impotencie or infirmitie of body? 200. Item, agaynſt the expreſſe caution of the Goſpell, doth not Innocentius 4. permitte vim vi repellere? 201. Likewiſe, agaynſt the old Teſtament I do diſpenſe in not geuyng tithes. 202. Item, agaynſt the new Teſtament in ſwearyng, and that in theſe ſixe cauſes: 203.

Pax, & fama, fides, reuerentia cautio damni.
Defectus veri, poſcunt ſibi magna caueri.

Wherein two kindes of othes are to be noted. Whereof ſome be promiſſoria, ſome bee aſſertoria, &c. 204. Item, in vowes, and that ex toto voto, where as other Prelates can not diſpenſe ex toto a voto, I can deliuer ex toto a voto, lyke God him ſelfe. 205. Item in periury if I abſolue, my abſolution ſtandeth, 206. where alſo note, that in all ſwearyng alwayes the authority of the ſuperiour is excepted. 207 Moreouer, where Chriſte biddeth to lend without hope of gayne, do I Pope Martinus giue diſpenſatiō for the ſame? and notwithſtandyng the Councell of Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulles I diſanulled that decremēt 208. What ſhould I ſpeake of murder, makyng it no murder nor homicide to ſlay them that be excommunicate. 209. Likewiſe agaynſt the law of nature. 210. Item, agaynſt the Apoſtle. 211. Alſo agaynſt the Canons of the Apoſtles I can and do diſpenſe. For where they in theyr Canon commaunde a Prieſt for fornication to be depoſed, I thorow the authoritie of Silueſter do alter the rigour of that conſtitution, 212. conſideryng the myndes and bodyes alſo of men now to bee weaker then they were then. 213. Briefly, agaynſt the vniuerſall ſtate of the Church I haue diſpenſation, ſcilicet quando ſtatus eccleſiæ non decoloratur. And for mariage in the ſecond degree of conſanguinitie and affinitie. In collateralibus æquali linea, that is, betwixt brethrens children: although not inæquali linea, ſo that the vncle may not mary hys nice, vnles for an vrgent and weightye cauſe. As for all ſuch contractes betwixt party and party, where that matrimonie is not yet conſummate by carnall copulation, it is but a ſmall matter for me to diſpenſe withall. In ſumma, if ye lyſt briefly to here the whole number of all ſuch caſes as properly apperteine to my Papall diſpenſation, which come to the number of one & fifty poyntes, that no man may medle with all but onely I my ſelfe alone, I will recite them firſt in Latin, then in Engliſhe, as they be ſet forth in my Canonicall Doctours.

Caſus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Aſteſanum, ſiue de Aſt. Doctorem ſolemnem in Summa confeſſionis. Item apud Hoſtienſem, De offic. legat. reperti & his verſibus comprehenſi.

SI ſit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat vllus.
Erigit & ſubdit Cathedras: Diuidit, vnit.
i. votum terræ ſanctæ. i. degradatos. i. epiſcopos & alias.
Mutat vota crucis. Reſtituit. Eximit. Ad ſe
Maiores cauſæ referuntur, Legitimatq;,
i. inſufficientes. i. intrantes religionem.
Promouet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
i. defectum regis vacante regno.
Deponit, transfert, ſuppletq;, Renunciat illi
Symonia. Iuramentum, Excommunicatio à Papa facta.
Præſul, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema,
tam Papæ quam legati
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex vtriuſq;
i. ſalutatur Papa
Tum neq; participans: Etſi quem ſponte ſalutat,
Quem Canon damnat, ſibi ſoli quando reſeruat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Soluitur a Papa: nec non quem regula damnat.
ſcilicet addas.
Addas ſuſpenſum, Cauſam, cum fertur ad ipſum.
i. addas i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.
Reſcriptum, fidei dubium. Confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum. Legem condit generalem.
i. imperatorem.
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & vngit.
canonizat.
Conſilium generale facit. Sacrat quoq; Sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil. de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non eſſe facit: non ens, fore. Pallia ſemper
Portat. Concedit, Legi non ſubiacet vlli.
i. immediatè
Appellatur ad hunc medio ſine, Iudiciumq;
de monacho non monachum facit.
Eſt pro lege ſuum. Monachum reuocat renuentem.
i. inceſtum &c.
Maius adulterio ſoluit generaliter. Arctat
i. impedimentum matrimoniale
Et laxat quicquid ſponſis nocet. Ordinat extra
i. extra 4. tempora.
Tempora dando ſacrum. Promotum promouet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua conſecratur & ipſe.
i. ſacerdotium confert nondum nato.
Viuentiſq; locum concedit, Iureq; priuat.
inſignia Epiſcopalia concedit. i. a decimis eximit. i. presbytero concedit infirmos vngere.
Inſignit. Laico ſacra donat: Chriſma miniſtro,
Summa ſede ſedet, plenuſq; vicarius extat.
Si ſit Catholicus Papam non iudicat vllus.

187 Hugo in Gloſa. Diſt. 40. c. Non. Nos.
188. Gloſ. in Cauſ. 11. q. 3. cap. Abſit.
189. Gloſa in C. 11. q. 3. Si inimicus.
190. Hoſtienſis in cap. Quanto. De tranſl. præb.
191. Ex ſumma caſuum fratris Baptiſtæ.
192. Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. de ſuo ſeculo Conc. Prima. lib., ex citatione Iacobi Andreæ aduerſus Hoſi. Lib. 5. Item ex citatione Hieron. Marij, in Adis. 2. Diei.
193. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 96. c. Satis.
194. 11. q. 1. Sacerdotibus.
195. 12. q. 1. Futuram.
196. Decretal. De Traſl. epiſc. cap. Quanto.
Thus ye may ſee it verified that S. Paule propheſieth of the aduerſary ſitting in the temple as God, & boaſting himſelfe aboue all that is named God. &c. 2. Theſſ. 2.
197. Pope Nicolaus. Cauſa. 15. q. 6. c. Autoritatem.
198. Pope Martin. Diſt. 34. cap. Lector.
199. Pope Gregorius Iunior. 32. q. 7. cap. Quod propoſuiſti.
200. Pope Innocentius. 4. Sext. Decretal. De ſententia excom. cap. Dilecto.
201. Pope Alexander. 3. De Decimis. cap. Ex parte.
202. Pope. Nicolaus. 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.
203. De elect. & elect. Poteſtate. Significaſti in Gloſa.
204. Baptiſta de Salis. in Sūma caſuum ex Panormitano.
205. Pope Innocentius. 4. De elect. Venerabilē.
206. Ext. De Iureiurando. cap. Venientes.
Item. De Elect. Significaſti. in Gloſa.
207. Pope Martinus. 5. Extrau. cap. Regimini Vniuerſalis eccleſiæ.
208. Pope Vrbanus. 2. Cauſ. 23. q. 5. Excommunicatorum.
209. Pope Nicolaus Cauſ. 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.
210. Ibidem.
211. Diſt. 81. c. Presbyter.
212. Pope Pelagius. Diſt. 34. cap. Fraternitatis.
213. Baptiſta de Salis fol. 14. Ibidem.

¶ Caſes Papale, to the number of one and fiftie, wherein the Pope hath power onely to diſpenſe and none els beſides, except by ſpeciall licence from hym.

24.q.1.Quoties. FIrſt, the determination of doubtes and queſtions belongyng to fayth.

Extr.De tranſlat.c.Inter. Trāſlation of a Byſhop, elect, or cōfirmed: Likewiſe of Abbots exempted.

3.q.6.Quamuis. Depoſition of Byſhops.

9.q.3.Denique. The takyng of reſignation of Byſhops.

16.q.1.Frater. Exemption of Byſhops, not to be vnder Archbyſhops.

1.q.6.Ideo. Reſtitution of ſuch as be depoſed from their order.

Extr.De reſtitutione.cap. Cum veniſſent. 7.q.1.Temporis. The iudiciall definition, or interpretation of his owne priuiledges.

Chaungyng of Byſhopprickes, or dimiſſion of Couentes. &c.

16.q.1.Felix. New erection of Byſhops ſeates, or inſtitutiō of new Religions.

16.q.1.Et Chriſtus. Subiection or diuiſion of one Byſhopricke vnder an other.

Extr.De voto.Ex multa. Diſpenſation for vowyng to go to the holy lād.

Extr.De ſtatu monachi.c.Cum ad. Diſpenſation for the vow of chaſtitie, or of Religion, or of holy orders.

Extr.De iuramento.cap.Venientes. Diſpenſation agaynſt a lawfull othe, or vowe made.

Extra.De Iudicio.c.At ſi clerici. Diſpenſatiō agaynſt diuerſe irregularities, as in crimes greater then adultery, and in ſuch as be ſuſpended for Symonie.

Extr.De bigamia.c.Nuper. Diſpenſation in receiuyng into orders him that had two wiues.

Extr.De clerico non ord.miniſtrante. Diſpenſing with ſuch as beyng within orders, do that which is aboue their order, as if a Deacon ſhould ſay Maſſe, beyng not yet Prieſt.

Extr.De corpore vitiatis.& Diſt.55. To receiue into orders ſuch as be blemiſhed or maymed in body.

Diſt.50.Miror. Diſpenſation with murther, or with ſuch, as willingly cut of any member of a mans body.

Extr.De ſententia & excom.ca. Cum illorum. Diſpenſing to giue orders to ſuch as haue bene vnder the ſentence of the greater curſe or excommunication.

Ibidem. Diſpenſation ŵ ſuch as beyng ſuſpended ŵ the greater curſe, do miniſter in any holy order.

Extr.De filijs præsbyt.c.Is qui. Diſpenſation with ſuch as beyng vnlawfully borne, to receiue orders, or benefices.

Extr.De præbend.c.De multa. Diſpenſation for pluralities of benefices.

Extra.De elect.cap.Cum nobis. Diſpenſation to make a man Byſhop before he be thirty yeare old.

Exer.De ætate & qualit.Generalem. Diſpenſation to geue orders vnder age.

Diſt.15.Per totum. The Pope onely hath power to make and call a generall Councell.

9.q.3.c.Per principale. The Pope onely hath power to depriue an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, and giue away his benefice beyng not vacant.

De elect.cap.Venerabilem. The Pope alone is able to abſolue hym that is excommunicate by name.

Extr.De officio legati.c. Querenti. The Pope onely is able to abſolue him whom hys Legate doth excommunicate.

9.q.3.Aliorum. The Pope doth iudgeth in the cauſes of them that appeale vnto him, and where he iudgeth none may appeale from him.

Extr. De Templi ordine.c.Cum in Diſtrib. Onely he hath authoritie to make Deacon, and Prieſt, whō he made Subdeacon, either vpon Sondayes, or vpon other feaſtes.

Extr.De vſu palij.cap.Ad honorem. Onely the Pope, and none els, at all tymes and in all places weareth the palle.

Extr.De elect.c.Dudum. The Pope onely diſpenſeth with a man, either beyng not within orders, or beyng vnworthy to be made Byſhop.

Extr.De elect.c.Venerabilem. He onely either cōfirmeth, or depoſeth the Emperour when he is choſen.

Tractatu.De cenſuris. A man beyng excommunicate, and his abſolution referred to the Pope, none may abſolue that man but the Pope alone.

Extr.De elect.c.Innotuit. The ſame hath authority in any election, before it be made, to pronoūce it none whē it is made.

He doth Canoniſe Saintes, & none els but he. Extra. De religione & veneratione Sanct. cap 1.

Diſpenſation to haue many dignities or perſonages in one Church, and without charge & cure of ſoule, belongeth onely to the Pope. Extrau.De præbend.cap.De multa.

To make that effectuall whiche is of no effect, & contrariwiſe, belongeth onely to the Pope. Extrau.Qui.fi.ſint leg.cap.Tanta.

To plucke a Monke out of his cloyſter both agaynſt his owne will and the Abbates, perteineth onely to the Pope. 9.q.3cap.Vltimo.

His ſentence maketh a law. Extrau. De Sentent.& re Iudic.c.In cauſis.

The ſame day in which the pope is conſecrate, he may geue orders. Extrau.De elect.cap.Quod ſicut.

He diſpenſeth in degrees of conſanguinitie and affinitie. Extrau.De reſtit.ſpo. Literas.

He is able to aboliſh lawes, quoad vtrumq; forum, that is, both Ciuill and Canon, where daunger is of the ſoule. Extrau.De præſcript.c. Vlt.& De Iudicio.c.Nouit.

It is in his diſpenſation to geue general indulgences to certaine places or perſons. Thomas.

Item to legitimate what perſonnes ſo euer he pleaſe, as touchyng ſpiritualties: in all places, as touchyng temporalties, as honours, inheritaunce. &c. Extrau.Qui.fi.ſint legit.c. Per venerabilem.

To erect new religions, to approue, or reproue rules, ordinaunces, and Cerimonies in the Church. Petrus de Palude lib.4.

He is able to diſpenſe with all the preceptes and ſtatutes of the Church. Secundū Thomam in 4.

Item, to diſpenſe and to diſcharge any ſubiect frō the bonde of allegeaunce or oth made to any maner perſon. 9.q.3.Per principalem.

No man may accuſe him of any crime, vnleſſe onely of hereſie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible. Diſtinct.40.Si Papa.

The ſame alſo is free from all lawes, ſo that he can not incurre into any ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, irregularitie, or into the penaltie of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well. Ibidem.

Finally he by his diſpenſation may graunt, yea to a ſimple Prieſt, to miniſter the Sacrament of confirmation to infantes: alſo to geue lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgines. &c. Diſt.32.cap. Præter hoc. ¶.Verum.

These be the caſes wherin I onely haue power to diſpenſe, and no man els, neither Byſhop, nor Metropolitane, nor Legate, without a ſpeciall licence from me.

¶ After that I haue now ſufficiently declared my power in earth, in heauen, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulneſſe thereof, in byndyng, loſing, commaundyng, permittyng, electyng, confirmyng, depoſing, diſpenſing, doyng, and vndoyng. &c. I will entreate now a litle of my riches likewiſe and great poſſeſſions, that euery man may ſee by my wealth and aboundaunce of all thynges, rentes, tythes, tributes, my ſilkes, my purple Myters, Crownes, Golde, Siluer, Perles and Gemmes, Landes, and Lordſhyppes, how God here proſpereth and magnifieth his Vicare in the earth. For to me pertaineth firſt the Imperiall Citie of Rome, the Palace of Lateran, the kyngdome of Sicile is proper to me, Apulia, Capua be myne. Alſo the kyngdome of England and Ireland, be they not or ought to be tributaries to me? 214. To theſe I adioyne alſo, beſides other prouinces and countreys both in the Occident and Orient, from the North to the South, theſe dominions by name. 215. as Surrianum, Montembordon, & lunæ inſulam, Corſicæ regnum, Paruam Mantuam, Montenſclete, Inſulam venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrarię, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Hiſtriæ, Dalmaciam, Exarchatum Rauennæ, Fauentiam, Ceſenam, Caſtrum Tiberiatus, Roecam Mediolanum, Caſtrum ceperianum, Caſtrum Cuſianum, Terram Comulariam, Ducatum Arimini, Contam, Montem ferretum, Montem Capiniæ ſeu Olympicum, Caſtrum exforij, Robin, Eugubin, Vrbin, forū Sempronij, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Goſam, Ducatum peruſij, Vrbenetam, & Tudertum, Caſtrum Cinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatū Beneuenti, Salernum, Sorrenti inſulam, Cardiniam inſulam, Anciæ inſulam, Territorium Cutiſan, Territorium præneſtinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Cluſium, Terram fundan, Terram vegetan, Terram Claudianam, Terram camiſinam, Terram Fabinenſem, Terram Siram, Terram portuenſem, cū inſula Archis, Terram Oſtienſem cum maritimis, Ciuitatem Aquinenſem, Ciuitatem lamentum, & Suſforariam, Ciuitatem Faliſenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with diuers mo. 216. which Conſtantinus the Emperour gaue vnto me, not that they were not myne before he dyd geue them. 217. For in ŷ I tooke them of hym, I tooke them not as a gifte (as is afore mentioned) but as a reſtitution. And that I rendered them agayne to Otho, I

dyd

The riches & poſſeſſions of the Pope.

214. Diſt.96. Conſtantinus.

215. Ex Cōmentarijs Theodorici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo teſtium. fol.228.

216. Diſt.96. Conſtantinus.

217. Antoninus in Summa Maiore.3.Parte.

did it not for any duty to him, but onely for peace ſake. What ſhould I ſpeake here of my dayly reuenues, of my firſt fruits, annates, palles, indulgences, bulles, confeſſionals, indultes and reſcripts, teſtaments, diſpēſatiōs, priuileges, elections, prebends, religious houſes, and ſuch like, which come to no ſmall maſſe of money? In ſomuch that for one palle to the Archb. of Mentz, which was wont to be geuen for x. thouſand. 218. florence, now it is growen to xxvij. thouſand florence, whiche I receiued of Iacobus the Archbyſhop not long before Baſill Councell: Beſides the fruites of other Byſhopricks in Germany, cōmyng to the number of fifty, wherby what vantage commeth to my coffers, it may partly be coniectured. But what ſhould I ſpeake of Germany. 219. when the whole world is my Dioceſſe, as my Canoniſtes do ſay, and all men are bounde to beleue. 220. except they will imagine (as the Maniches do) two begynnynges, whiche is falſe and hereticall. For Moſes ſayth: In the begynnyng God made heauen and earth, and not in the begynnynges. 221. Wherefore as I begon, ſo I conclude, commaundyng declaryng and pronouncyng, to ſtand vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, for euery humane creature to be ſubiect to me.

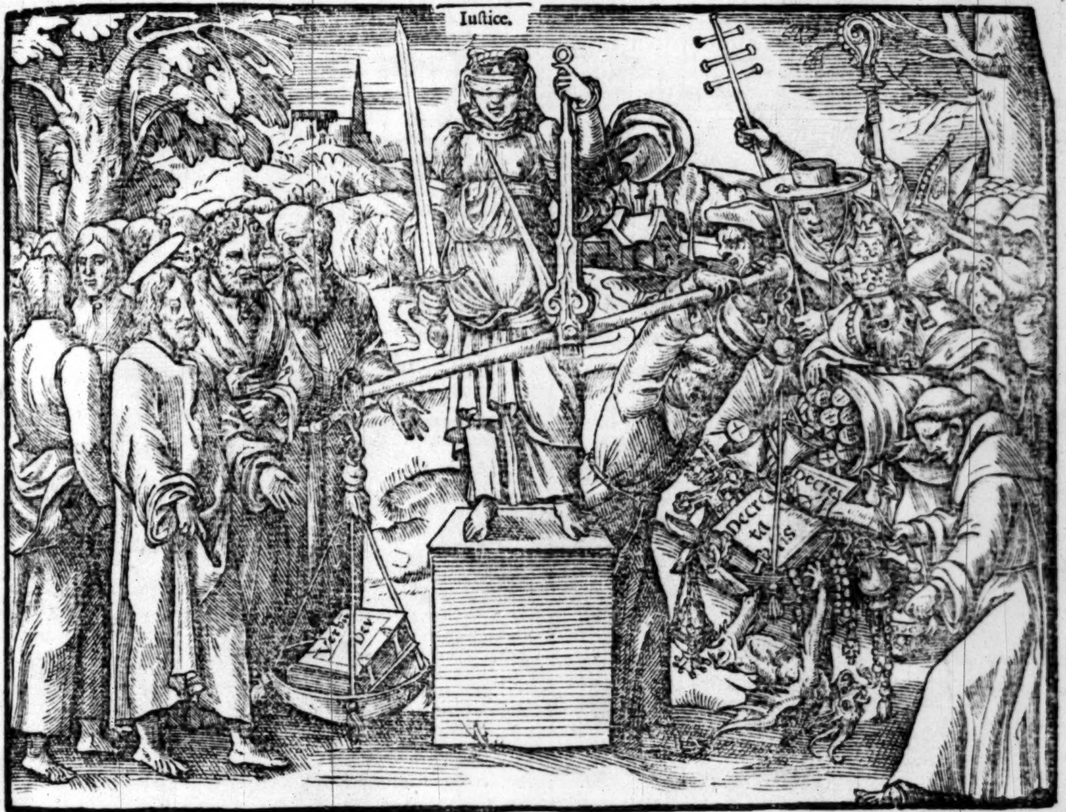
218. Ex lib Grauaminū nationis Germanicæ.

Aboue fiftie byſhopprickes in Germany.

Æneas Syluius.
219. Sext Decret. De pœnis.cap.Felicis in Gloſa.
Itē De priuilegijs c. Autoritatē in Gloſa.
220. Pope Boniſacius.8.Ext. De Maio.& obed.c. Vnam ſanctam.
221. Ibid.

¶The end of the firſt Volume of the Booke of Martyrs.

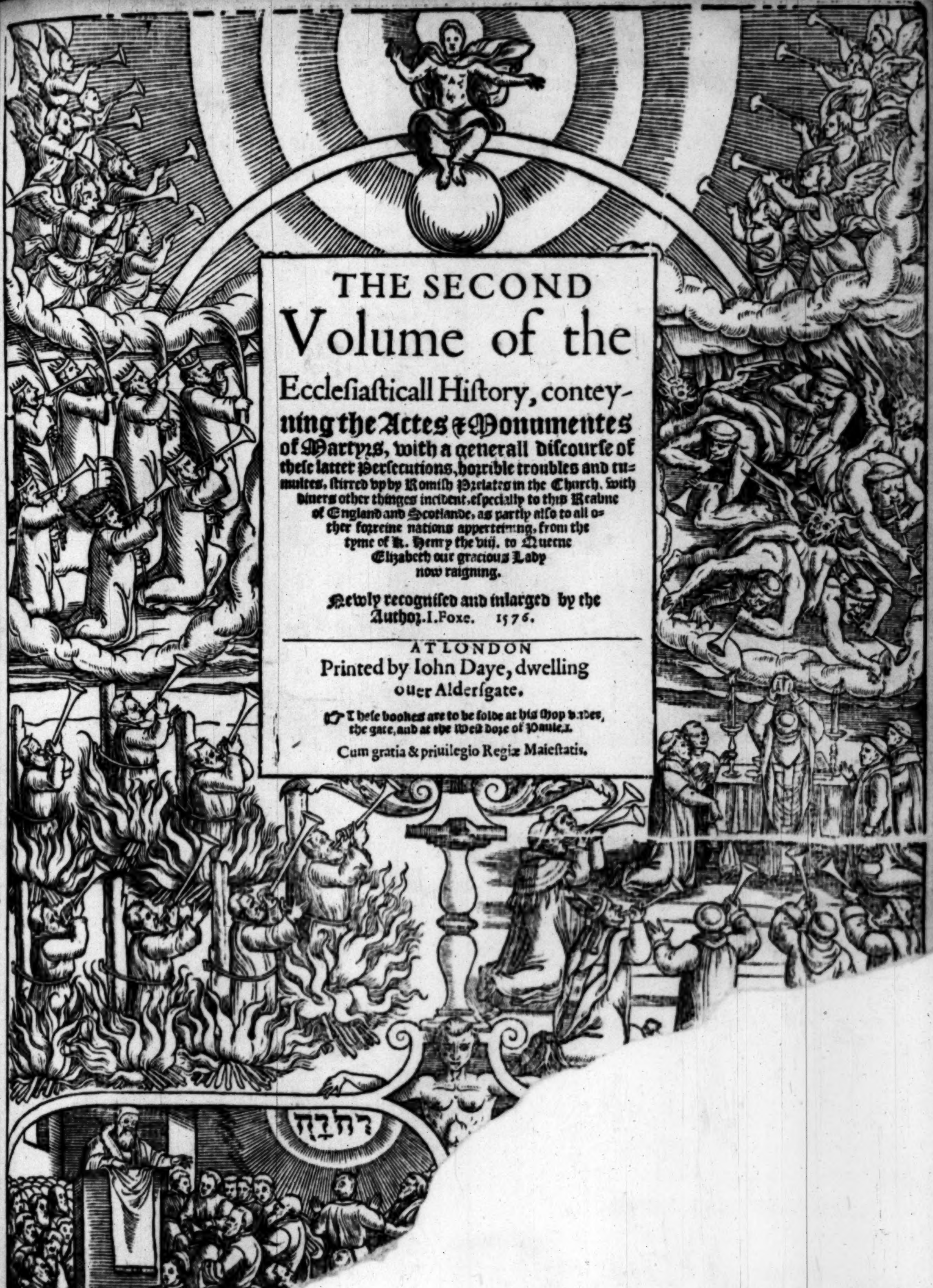
¶A liuely picture deſcribyng the weight and ſubſtaunce of Gods moſt bleſſed word, agaynſt the doctrines and vanities of mans traditions.



¶AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng ouer
Alderſgate beneath Saint Martins.

Anno. 1576.

Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.



THE SECOND Volume of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, conteyning the Actes & Monumentes of Martyrs,

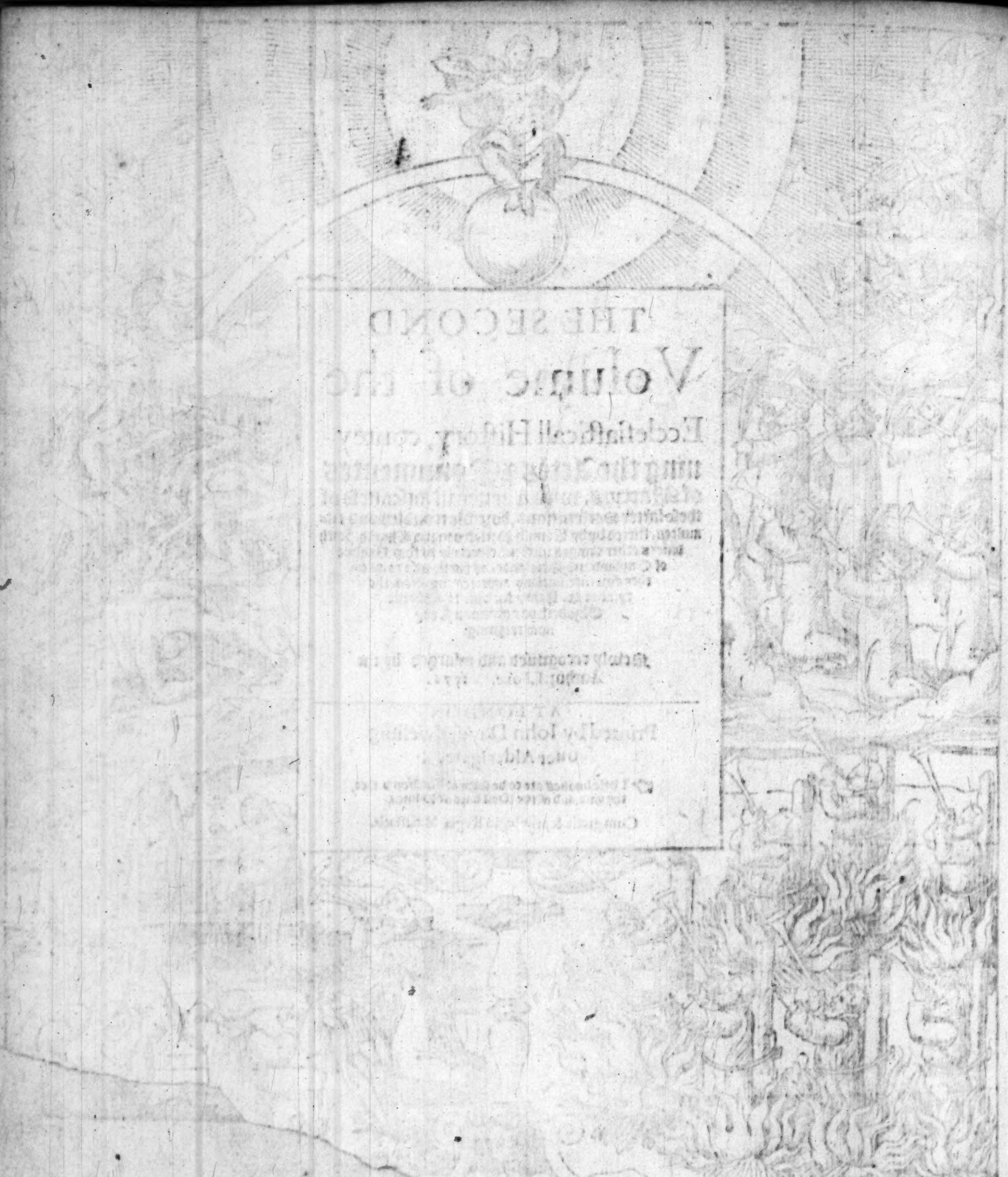
with a generall diſcourſe of
theſe latter Perſecutions, hoꝛrible troubles and tumultes,
ſtirred vp by Romiſh Pꝛelates in the Church, with
diuers other thinges incident, eſpecially to this Realme
of England and Scotlande, as partly alſo to all other
foꝛreine nations apperteining, from the
tyme of K. Henry the viij. to Queene
Elizabeth our gracious Lady
now raigning.

Newly recogniſed and inlarged by the
Authoꝛ. I. Foxe. 1576.

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling
ouer Alderſgate.

☞ Theſe bookes are to be ſolde at his ſhop vnder
the gate, and at the Weſt doꝛe of Paules.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.



THE SECOND
Volume of the
Ecclesiasticall History, conteyning the Actes and Monumentes of Martyrs, [illegible]

Newly recognised and enlarged by the Author, I. Foxe. 157[illegible].

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.

¶ [illegible]

Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

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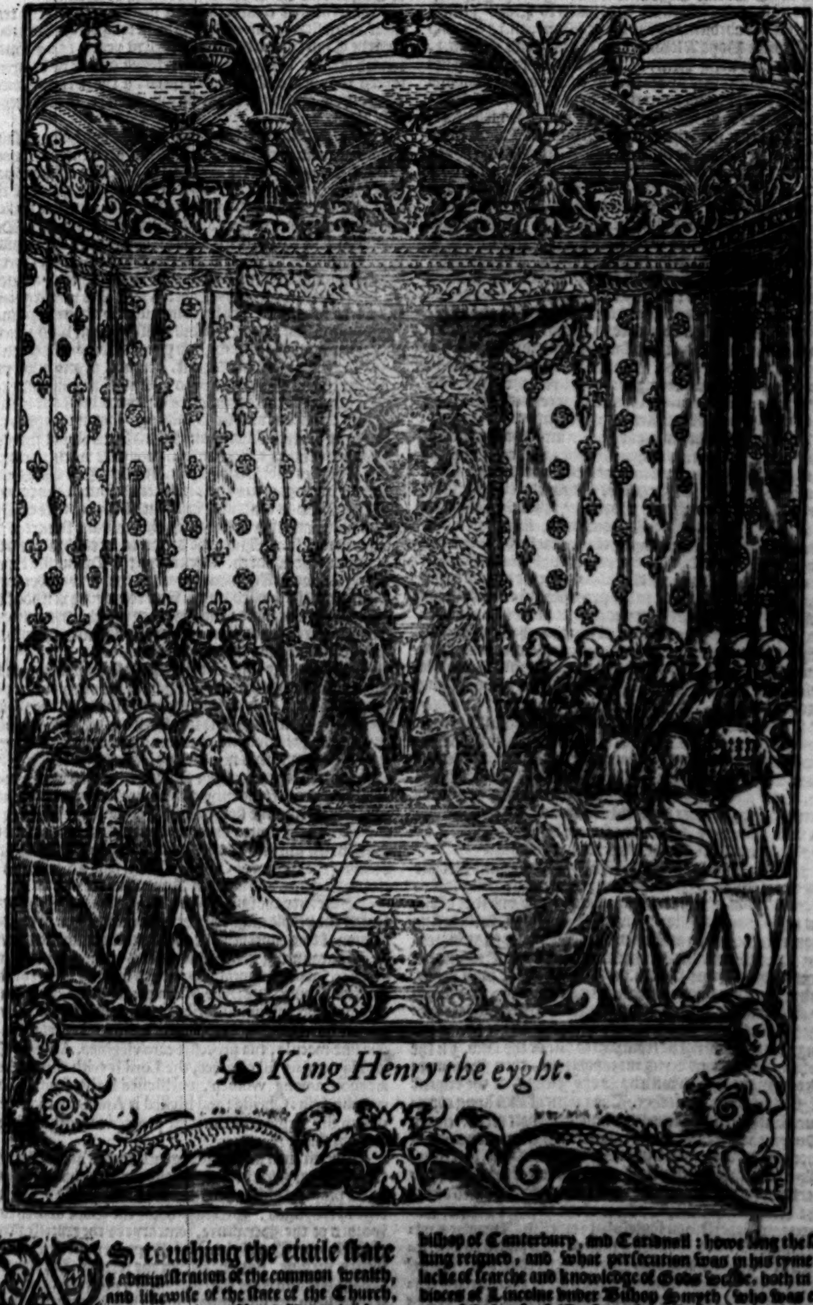
dwellyng ouer
Saint Martins.

1576.

Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Here foloweth the ſeconde volume and the ſeuenth booke, beginnyng with the reigne of king Henry the eyght.



King Henry the eyght.

1509.

AS touching the ciuile ſtate & adminiſtration of the common wealth, and likewiſe of the ſtate of the Church, vnder the reigne of kyng Henry.vij. how he entred firſt in poſſeſſion of the crowne: howe the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were in hym conioyned through mariage with Elizabeth the eldeſt daughter to K. Edward 4. by the prudent counſaile of John Morton then B. of Ely, after Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Cardinall: howe long the ſayd king reigned, and what perſecution was in his tyme for lacke of ſearche and knowledge of Gods worde, both in the dioceſſe of Lincolne vnder Biſhop Smyth (who was erector of the houſe of Braſen noſe in Oxford) as alſo in the dioceſſe of Couentrie, and other places moe: and further what puniſhment and alteration God commonly ſendeth vpon cities and realmes publique for neglecting the ſafetie of his flocke, ſufficiently in the former booke hath bene already ſpecified: wherein many thinges maye amply might haue

Notes ſummarely collected and repeted of thinges done in the tyme of K. Henry the ſeuenth.

haue ben added, incident in the reigne of this prince, which we haue for breuitie pretermitted. For he that ſtudyeth to comprehend in ſtorie al thynges, which the common courſe and vſe of life may offer to the writer, may ſooner find matter to occupy himſelfe, then to profite other. Otherwiſe I might haue inferred mention of the ſeditious tumult of Perkin Werbecke, with his retinue, ann. 1494. alſo of Blackheath field by the Blacke ſmyth. an. 1496. I might alſo haue recited the glorious commendation of Georgius Lilius in his Latine Chronicle teſtifying of kyng Henry 7. howe he ſent three ſolemne Oratours to Pope Iulius 2. to yeelde his obedience to the ſea of Rome, an. 1506. and likewiſe howe Pope Alexander. 9. Pius. 3. and Iulius. 2. ſent to the ſayd kyng Henry. 7. three ſundry famous Ambaſſadours with three ſwordes, and three cappes of maintenaunce, electyng and admyttyng hym to be the chiefe defendour of the fayth. The commendation of whiche fact, howe glorious it is in the eyes of Georgius Lilius, and Fabian, that I leaue to them. This I ſuppoſe, that when king Henry ſent to Pope Iulius three orators with obedience, if he had ſent hym thre thouſande harquebuziers to furniſh his field againſt ỹ Frẽch king fighting at Rauenna, he had pleaſed pope Iulius much better. If Georgius Lilius had bene diſpoſed to illuſtrate his ſtory with notes, this had bene more worthy the notyng, how Ludouike. 12. French king calling his Parliament, moued this queſtion againſt Pope Iulius: whether a Pope might inuade any prince by warlike force, without cauſe, & whether the prince might withdrawe his obedience from that Pope, or not? And it was concluded in the ſame Parliament with the kyng, agaynſt the Pope. Alſo it was concluded the ſame tyme (which was in the raigne of this kyng Henry. 7. that the * Pragmatical ſanction ſhoulde be receyued in full force and effect, through al the Realme of Fraunce.

Perkin Werbecke which fained himſelfe to be K. Edwardes ſonne.

Black heath field.

In Maſſeo lib. 20

* *Pragmatica ſanctio*, was a practiſing or a determination of a certaine parlament in Fraunce againſt the Byſhop of Rome, in defence of certaine matters of religion concluded in the Councell of Baſill.

And for ſo muche as we are fallen into the mention of Georgius Lilius, this in hym is to be founde not vnworthy noting, how after ỹ burning of Thomas Norice, aboue mentioned, pag. 751. at the citie of Norwiche, that the ſame yeare folowed ſuche a fire in Norwiche, that the whole citie, welneare, was therewith conſumed. Ex Geor. Lilio. Like as alſo after the burnyng of the foreſayde good aged father in Smythfield, the ſame yeare (which was. 1500.) we reade in the Chronicle of Fabian a great plague to fall vpon the citie of London, to the great deſtruction of the inhabitants therof. Wherin againe is to be noted (as is aforeſaid) that accordyng to the ſtate of the church, the diſpoſitiõ of the common wealth comonly is guided, either to be with aduerſitie afflicted, or els in proſperitie to floriſh. But after theſe notes of kyng Henrye. 7. nowe to the ſtorie of kyng Henry. 8.

A note of Gods plagues folowing the burning of his people.

This kyng Henry. 7. finiſhyng his courſe in the yeare aboueſayd, which was. 1509. had by Elizabeth his wyfe aboue named, foure men children, and of women children as many. Of whom three onely ſuruiued: to wyt, prince Henrye, Lady Margaret, and Lady Marye. Of whom king Henry the eyght after his father ſucceeded. Lady Margaret was maryed to Iames the fourth king of Scots. Lady Mary was affied to Charles king of Caſtile.

The children & offſpring of king Henry. 7.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his elder ſonne had eſpouſed Lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinandus, beyng of the age of. xv. yeares, and ſhee about the age of. xvij. and ſhortly after his marriage, within fiue monethes, departed at Ludlow, and was buryed at worceter. After whoſe deceaſe the ſucceſſion of the Crowne fell next to kyng Henry the viij. beyng of the age of. xviij. yeres, who entred his raigne the yere of our Lord. 1509. and ſhortly after maryed with the foreſayd Katherine, his late brother Prince Arthurs wyfe, to the end, that her dowry beyng great, ſhould not be tranſported out of the land. In the which his mariage beyng more politique, then Scripture like, he was diſpenſed with by Pope Iulius, at the requeſt of Ferdinandus her father. The raigne of this kyng continued with great nobleneſſe and fame, the ſpace of. 38. yeares. Duryng whoſe tyme and raigne was great alteration of thynges, as wel to the ciuile ſtate of the Realme, as eſpecially to the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, and matters of the church appertaynyng. For by hym was exiled and aboliſhed out of the Realme, the vſurped power of the Biſh. of Rome, idolatrie and ſuperſtition ſomewhat repreſſed, Images & pilgrimages defaced, Abbyes & monaſteries pulled downe, ſectes of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to ỹ knowledge of the vulgare tongue, & the ſtate of the church & religion redreſſed. Concerning al which things, in the proces of this volume here folowyng, we wyll endeuour (Chriſte willyng) particulerly & in order to diſcourſe: after that firſt we ſhal comprehend a few matters, which within the begynnyng of his raigne are to be noted and collected. where, leauing of to write of Empſon & Dudley, who in the tyme of king Henry. vij. being great doers in executing the penall lawes ouer the people at that tyme, and purchaſing thereby more malice then landes, with that which they had gotten, were ſhortly after the entryng of this kyng beheaded, the one a knyght, the other an eſquier: leauing alſo to intermeddle with his warres, triumphes, & other temporal affayres, we meane in this volume principally to beſtowe our trauaile in declaration of matters concernyng moſt chiefly the ſtate of the church and of religion, as wel in this church of England, as alſo of the whole church of Rome.

Lady Margaret maried to king Iames 4. of Scotland. Lady Margaret maried to the king of Caſtile. Prince Arthur maried to Lady Catherin daughter to the Spaniſh kyng. The death of Prince Arthur. K. Henry marieth Lady Catherin hys brothers wyfe.

Blynd diſpenſations of the Pope.

Wherein firſt commeth to our handes a turbulent tragedie, and a fierce contention, whiche long before had troubled the Church, and nowe this preſent yeare. 1509. was renued afreſhe betweene two certayne orders of beggyng fryers, to wyt, the Dominike fryers, & the Franciſcanes, about the Conception of the virgin Marye, the mother of Chriſte.

The Frãciſcanes were they, whiche dyd holde of ſaint Fraunces and folowed the rule of his Teſtament cõmonly called Graye fryers, or Minorites. Their opinion was this: that the virgin Mary preuented by the grace of the holy Ghoſt was ſo ſanctified, that ſhee was neuer ſubiect one moment in her conception, to Original ſinne. The Dominike fryers were they, whiche holdyng of Dominike, were commonly called Blacke fryers, or preachyng fryers. Their opinion was, that the virgin Mary was conceiued, as all other children of Adam be: ſo that this priuilege only belongeth to Chriſte, to be conceyued without Originall ſinne: notwithſtanding the ſaid bleſſed virgin was ſanctified in her mothers wombe, and purged from her Originall ſinne, ſo as was Iohn Baptiſt, Ieremie, or any other priuileged perſon. This friuolous queſtion kindling and gendryng betweene theſe two ſectes of fryers, braſt out in ſuch a flame of partes and ſides takyng, that it occupyed the heads and wyttes, ſcholes, and vniuerſities almoſt through the whole Churche, ſome holdyng one part with Scotus, ſome the other part with Thom. Aquine. The Minorites holdyng with Scotus their maiſter, diſputed and concluded, that ſhe was conceiued without all ſpot or note of Original ſinne, and therupon cauſed the feaſt and ſeruice of the conception of ſaint Mary the virgin to be celebrate and ſolemniſed in the Church. Contrarye, the Dominike fryers takyng ſide with Aquinas, preached that it was hereſie to affirme that the bleſſed virgin was conceyued without the gylt of Original ſinne: and that they whiche dyd celebrate the feaſt of her Conception, or ſayd any Maſſes therof, dyd ſinne greeuouſly and mortally.

Franciſcane Friers.

Dominicke Friers.

A troblous deſſenſion in the church for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Whether the Virgin Mary was conceiued without original ſinne.

In the meane time as this phantaſie waxed hote in the church, the one ſide preachyng agaynſt the other, came pope Sixtus. iiij. ann. 1476. who ioynyng ſide with the Minorites or Franciſcanes, firſt ſent forth his decree by authoritie Apoſtolique, wyllyng, ordeyning, and commaundyng all men to ſolemniſe this newe found feaſt of the conception in holy Church for euermore: offering to al men and women, which deuoutly frequentyng the church, would heare maſſe and ſeruice from the firſt euenſong of the ſayde feaſt, to the Octaues of the ſame, as many dayes of pardon, as Pope Vrban the. iiij. and Pope Martine the. v. dyd graunt for hearyng the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti day. &c. and this decree was geuen and dated at Rome, ann. 1476.

A new found feaſt of the conception of the virgin Mary.

Moreouer the ſame Pope, to the entent that the deuotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conceptiõ, he added a clauſe more to the Aue Maria, graunting great indulgence & releaſe of ſinnes to all ſuche as woulde inuocate the bleſſed virgin, with the ſame addition, ſaying thus: Aue Maria gratia plena, dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus Chriſtus, & benedicta ſit Anna mater tua, de qua ſine macula, tua proceſſit caro virginea, Amen. That is, Hayle mary ful of grace, the Lord is with thee, bleſſed art thou among women, and bleſſed is the fruite of thy wombe, Ieſus Chriſte: and bleſſed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgines fleſhe hath proceeded without blot of original ſinne, Amen.

A new *Aue Maria* of the Popes making.

The Pope addeth to the wordes of the ſcripture.

Wherin thou maiſt note (gentle reader) for thy learning three things: Firſt how the Pope turneth that vnproperly into a prayer, whiche properly was ſent of God for a meſſage of tydynges. Secondly howe the Pope addeth to the wordes of the Scripture, contrarye to the expreſſe precept of the Lord. Thirdly how the Pope exempteth Mary the bleſſed virgine, not onely from the ſeede of Abraham and Adam, but alſo from the cõdition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original ſinne, then ſhee beareth not the Image of Adam, neither doth ſhee deſcend of that ſeede, of whoſe ſeede euyl proceedeth vpon al men and women to condemnation, as S. Paul doth teach. Rom. 5. wherfore if ſhe deſcende of that ſeede, then the infection of Originall euyl muſt neceſſaryly proceede vnto her. If ſhe deſcend not therof,

3. abſurdities to be noted in this decree of the Pope.

Rom. 5.

therof, then commeth ſhe not of the ſeede of Abraham, nor of the ſeede of Dauid. &c. Agayne, ſeyng that death is the effect & ſtipend of ſinne, by the doctrine of S. Paul, Rom. 6 then had her fleſh iniurie by the lawe (as Chriſte hym ſelfe had) to ſuffer the malediction and puniſhment of death, and ſo ſhould neuer haue dyed, if originall ſinne had no place in her. &c. But to returne vnto our ſtorie: This conſtitution of the Pope beyng ſet forth for the conception of the bleſſed virgin, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1476. it was not long after, but the ſayd Pope Sixtus perceiuyng that the Dominike fryers with their complices would not cōforme them ſelues hereunto, directed forth by the authoritie Apoſtolical, a Bul, in effect as foloweth.

Rom. 6.

The tenor of the Popes Bull for the conception of the virgin to be without originall ſinne.

Sane cum ſancta Romana eccleſia de intemeratæ ſemperq; virginis. &c. In Engliſh: Whereas the holy church of Rome hath ordeyned a ſpeciall and proper ſeruice for the publique ſolemniſing of the feaſt of the conception of the bleſſed virgin Mary: certaine orders of the Blacke fryers in their publique ſermons to the people in diuers places, haue not ceaſſed hytherto to preach, and yet dayly do, that al they which hold or affirme the ſayd glorious virgin to haue bene conceyued without originall ſinne, be heretiques: and they whiche celebrate the ſeruice of the ſayde her conception, or do heare the ſermons of them which do ſo affirme, do ſinne greeuouſly: alſo not contented herewith, do write and ſet forth bookes moreouer, mainteinyng their aſſertions, to the grat offence & ruine of godly minds: We therefore to preuent and withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and peruerſe aſſertions, which haue riſen, and more hereafter may ariſe by ſuch opinions and preachinges aforeſaid, in the myndes of the faythful: by the authoritie Apoſtolical, do condemne, and reproue the ſame, and by the motion, knowledge and authoritie aforeſayd, decree and ordeyne, that the preachers of Gods word, and all other perſons of what ſtate, degree, order, or condition ſoeuer they be, which ſhal preſume to dare affirme or preach to the people theſe foreſayde opinions and aſſertions to be true, or ſhall reade, holde, or mainteyne any ſuch bookes for true, hauing before intelligence hereof, ſhal incurre thereby the ſentence of excōmunication: from which thei ſhal not be abſolued otherwiſe then by the biſhop of Rome, except onely in the tyme of death. This Bul being dated the yere of our Lord. 1483 gaue no litle hart and encouragement to the Graye Fryers Franciſcans, which defended the pure conception of the holy virgin, againſt the Blacke Dominike fryers, with their confederates, holdyng the contrarye ſide. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray order had got ſuch a conqueſt of the Blacke garde of the Dominikes, that the ſayd Dominikes were compelled at length for a perpetuall memoriall of the triumph, both to geue to the glorious virgin euery night an Antheme in prayſe of her conception, and alſo to ſubſcribe vnto their doctrine: In which doctrine theſe, with diuers other poyntes be conteyned.

Ex Iod. Clitouæo de puritate conceptionis. Lib. 2.

1 That bleſſed Mary the virgin ſuffered the griefes and aduerſities of this life, not for any neceſſity inflicted for puniſhment of Originall ſinne: but onely becauſe ſhee woulde conforme her ſelfe to the imitation of Chriſt.

Filthy abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

2 That the ſayd virgin, as ſhee was not obliged to any puniſhmente due for ſinne, as neyther was Chriſte her ſonne: ſo ſhe had no neede of remiſſion of ſinnes, but in ſteed thereof had the diuine preſeruation of Gods helpe, keepyng her from all ſinne: whiche grace onely ſhee needed, and alſo had it.

How the virgin Marye was ſubiect to death after the Friers opinions.

3 Item, that where the body of the virgin Mary was ſubiect to death, and dyed: this is to be vnderſtand to come not for any penaltie due for ſinne, but either for imitation & conformitie vnto Chriſt, or els for the natural conſtitution of her body being elemental, as were the bodyes of our firſt parentes: who if they had not taſted of the forbydden fruite, ſhould haue bene preſerued from death, not by nature, but by grace and ſtrength of other fruites and meates in Paradiſe. which meates, becauſe Mary had not, but dyd eate our common meates, therfore ſhee dyed, and not for any neceſſitie of Original ſinne. Clitouæus lib. 2. cap. 2.

4 The vniuerſal propoſition of S. Paul, whiche ſayth that the Scripture hath concluded all men vnder ſinne, is to be vnderſtand thus, as ſpeakyng of al thē which be not exempted by the ſpecial priuilege of God, as is the bleſſed virgin Mary.

5 If iuſtification be taken for reconciliation of him that was vnrighteous before, and now is made righteous: then the bleſſed virgin is to be taken, not for iuſtified by Chriſt, but iuſt from her beginnyng by preſeruation.

6 If a ſauiour be taken for hym, which ſaueth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, ſo is not Chriſt ſauiour of Mary, but is her ſauiour only in this reſpect, for ſuſteynyng her from not fallyng into condemnation. &c.

7 Neyther dyd the virgin Mary geue thankes to God, nor ought ſo to do, for expiation of her ſinnes, but for her conſeruation from caſe of ſinnyng.

8 Neither did ſhe pray to God at any tyme for remiſſiō of her ſinnes, but only for remiſſion of other mens ſinnes ſhee prayed many tymes, and counted their ſinnes for hers.

Good ſtuffe.

9 If the bleſſed virgin had deceaſſed before the Paſſion of her ſonne, God woulde haue repoſed her ſoule not in the place among the Patriarkes, or among the iuſt, but in the ſame moſt pleaſaunt place of Paradiſe, where Adam and Eue was, before they tranſgreſſed.

These were the doting dreames & phantaſies of ẏ Frāciſcans & of other papiſtes, cōmonly then holden in the ſcholes, writtē in their bookes, preached in their ſermōs, taught in churches, *& ſet forth in picturs. So that the people was taught nothyng els almoſt in the pulpits all this while, but how the virgin Mary was conceyued immaculate, & holy without Original ſinne, & how they ought to cal to her for helpe, whō they with ſpecial termes do cal the way of mercy: the mother of grace: the louer of pietie: the comforter of mankind: the continual interceſſour for the ſaluation of the faythful: and an aduocate to the king her ſonne, which neuer ceaſſeth. &c. Verba Papæ Sixti in Decret. And although the greateſt number of the ſchole doctors were of the cōtrarye faction as Peter Lōbardus, Thom. Aquine, Bernardus, Bonauentura, and other: yet theſe newe papiſtes ſhifted of their obiections with friuolous diſtinctions, and blind euaſions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus, they ſayd, is not receiued nor holden in the ſcholes, as touchyng this article, but is reiected: Clitou. lib. 2. cap. 15.

*The gray friers had made a picture of Ioachim and Anna kiſſing by the which kiſſe Anna was ſ conceiued with Marye. *Ex Rob. Lycio, Minorita.*

Idolatry to the bleſſed virgin.

Bernardus in Epiſt. ad Lugdunenſ. although he ſemeth to denye the conception of the bleſſed virgin to be voyde of Originall ſinne, ſaying that ſhee coulde not be holy when ſhee was not, and lyued not: to this they anſweare, that albeit ſhe was yet in eſſence, not yet ſhe was holy in her cōception, and before her conception in the diuine preſcience of God, which had choſen & preelected her before the worldes, to be the mother of the Lord.

Obiections papiſtly ſolued.

Againe where Bernard doth argue, that ſhee was not without original ſinne conceiued, becauſe ſhe was not conceyued by the holy Ghoſt, to this they anſweare: That the holy Ghoſt maye worke two wayes in conception: eyther without company of man, and ſo was Chriſt onely conceyued: or els with companie and helpe of man, and thus was the bleſſed virgin conceyued. Clit. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Bonauentura (ſay they) was an holy father, but he ſpake then after the cuſtome and maner of his time, when as the ſolemnitie and puritie of this conception was not yet decreed nor receyued by the publique conſent and authoritie of the church. now ſeyng the authoritie of the church of Rome hath eſtabliſhed the ſame, it ought not to be contraryed, nor can, without daungerous diſobedience. In al mens actions, diligent reſpect of tyme muſt be had. That whiche byndeth not at one tyme, afterward the ſame by lawe beyng ratified, may bynde at an other. Ibid.

Papiſh beliefe and doctrine groweth by time.

Finally for the number and multitude on the contrary ſide, thus they anſwere for them ſelues, as we now in theſe our dayes likewiſe in defence of the truth may wel anſwere againſt the Pope and al his popiſhe fryers, turnyng their owne weapons agaynſt them ſelues: Multitude ſay they, ought not to moue vs. Victorie conſiſteth not in number and heapes, but in fortitude and hartes of ſouldiers: yea rather fortitude and ſtomacke commeth from heauen, and not of man. Iudas Machabeus with a litle handfull, ouerthrewe the great army of Antiochus. Strong Sampſon with a poore aſſes bone ſlue a thouſand Philiſtines. Dauid had no more but a ſely ſling, and a fewe ſtones, and with theſe ſtroke downe terrible Goliath the Gyaunt. &c. Lib. eod. cap. 13.

Victorie conſiſteth not in number of hoſtes. Nor victorye in multitude of ſouldiers.

With theſe and ſuch other like reaſons, the Gray Franciſcans voyded their aduerſaries, defendyng the conception of the virgine Marye to be vnblemiſhed, and pure from all contagion of Originall ſinne. Contrarywiſe the Blacke gard of the Dominike fryers, for their partes were not all mute, but layde luſtily from them agayne, hauyng great authorities, and alſo the Scripture on their ſide. But yet the other hauyng the ſea Apoſtolical with thē, had the better hande, and in fine gate the victorie triumphantly ouer the other, to the hygh exaltation of their order. For Pope Sixtus (as I ſayd) by the authoritie Apoſtolical, after he had decreed the conception day of the virgin perpetually to be ſanctified, and alſo with his terrible Bul had condemned for heretiques al them which withſtoode the ſame: the Dominike fryers with authoritie oppreſſed, were dryuen to two inconueniences, the one was, to keepe ſilence, the other was, to geue place to their aduerſaries the Franciſcans. Albeit where ẏ mouth durſt not ſpeake, yet ẏ hart would worke: and though the tongue were tyed, yet their good

The Popes Bull ſtronger then the Scripture.

will was ready by all meanes poſſible to mainteyne their quarrel, and their eſtimation.

An 1509.

Ex Caſparo Peucero Chron. lib. 5. Ex Sebaſt. Munſter. Coſmog. Lib. 3.

4 Friers burned at Berne.

Whereupon it happened the ſame yeare of our Lorde. 1509. after this diſſenſion betwene the Dominike Friers, and the Franciſcans, that certaine of the Dominikes thinking by ſubtyl ſleight to worke in the peoples heades, that which they durſt not atchieue with open preaching, deuiſed a certaine Image of the Virgine, ſo artificially wrought, that the Fryers by priuie gyns made it to ſtyrre, & to make geſtures, to lament, to complayne, to weepe, to grone, and to geue anſweares to them that aſked: inſomuch that the people therwith were brought in a marueylous perſwaſion, tyl at length the fraude beyng eſpied, the Friers were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the yeare aboue mentioned. 1509. Ex Peucer. Sebaſt. Munſtero, Carione, & alijs. In the Centuries of Joh. Bale, I finde their names to be Ioannes Vetter, Franciſcus Vliſcus, Stephanus Bolizhorſt, and Henricus Steinegger.

In the ſtorie of Ioh. Stumſius, this ſtory aforeſayd doth partly appeare: but in the Regiſters and Recordes of the citie of Berne, the order and circumſtance therof is more fully expreſſed and ſet forth both in meter and in proſe, & is thus declared.

Ex Hiſtor. Bernenſi conſcripta vulgari et latino ſermone.

In the citie of Berne there were certayne Dominike Friers, to the number chiefly of.iiij. principal doers & chieftaynes of that Order, who had inuegled a certaine ſimple poore fryer, who had newly planted himſelfe in the cloiſter: whom the foreſaid Fryers had ſo infatuated with ſundrye ſuperſtitions, & fayned apparitions of S.maria. S. Barbara, and S. Catherina, and with their inchauntmentes, and imprintyng moreouer in hym the woundes of S. Fraunces, that he beleued playnely, that the Virgine Mary had appeared to him, and had offered to hym a red hooſt conſecrated, with the bloud alſo of Chriſte myraculous: whiche bleſſed virgin alſo had ſent him to the ſenatours of Berne, with inſtructions, declaryng vnto them, from the mouth of the virgin, that ſhe was conceiued in ſinne, & that the Franciſcane friers were not to be credited nor ſuffered in the citie, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreouer that they ſhould reſort to a certaine image there of the virgin Mary (which image the friers by engines had made to ſweat) & ſhould do their worſhip, and make their oblations to the ſame. &c.

This fained deuiſe was not ſo ſoone forged by the fryers, but it was as ſone beleued of the people: ſo that a great while the red coloured hoſt was taken vndoubtedly for the true body and bloud of Chriſt, and certaine coloured drops thereof ſent abroad to diuers noble perſonages and eſtates for a great relique, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceyued people in great number came flocking to the Image, and to the red hoſt, and coloured bloud, with manifold gyftes and oblations. In briefe, the Dominike fryers ſo had wrought the matter, and had ſo ſwept all the fatte to their owne beardes, from the order of the Franciſcanes, that al the almes came to their boxe. The Franciſcanes ſeing their eſtimation to decaye, and their kitchen to waxe colde, and theer paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumelie, & being not ignoraunt nor vnacquainted with ſuch counterfaited doynges) for as the prouerbe ſaith, It is yl haltyng before a creple) eftſoones eſpied their craftie iugling, and detected their fraudulent myracles. Wherupon the.iiij. chiefe captaines aboue named were apprehended, and put to the fire: of whom the Prouinciall of that order was one.

Friers nether can agree with themſelues nor yet do diſagree but in vayne trifles.

The miſerable blindnes of the tyme conſidered.

And thus much touching the beginnyng and end of this tumultuous and popiſh tragedie: wherin euidently it may appeare to the reader, howe neither theſe turbulent fryers could agree among them ſelues, and yet in what friuolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let theſe ridiculous fryers paſſe, & their trifling phantaſies, moſt worthy to be derided of al wiſe men: in the meane tyme this is to be lamented, to behold the miſerable times of the church, in whiche the deuyl kept yͤ myndes of Chriſtes people ſo attentiue and occupyed in ſuch fryerly toyes, that nothing els almoſt was taught or heard in the church, but onely the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But of our iuſtification by fayth, of grace and the promiſes of God in Chriſt, of the ſtrength of the lawe, of the horrour of ſinne, of difference betweene the lawe and the Goſpel, of the true libertie of conſcience. &c. no mention or very litle was heard. Wherefore, this ſo blinde tyme of darknes, it was much nedeful and requiſite, that the Lorde of his mercy ſhoulde looke vpon his church, and ſend downe his gratious reformation. Which alſo he dyd. For ſhortly vpon the ſame, thorow the gratious excitation of God, came Martine Luther, of whom the order of ſtorie nowe requireth that we ſhould and wyl intreate (Chriſt willingly) after the ſtorye of Richard Hunne, and a fewe other thinges premiſed, for the better openyng of the ſtorie to folowe.

1510.

Pope Julius playeth the warrior.

1512.

The Pope ouercome in Battaile.

1513.

The death of Pope Julius.

Pope Leo.x.

Mention was made ſufficiently before of the doynges of Pope Iulius, and of his warlike affayres, for the which he was condemned, and not vniuſtly, in the Councel of Turone in Fraunce, ann. 1510. and yet all this coulde not aſſwage the furious affection of this Pope, but the ſame yere he inuaded the citie of Mutina and Mirandula in Italie, and tooke them by force of warre. Which Pope Iulius not long after, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1512. refuſing peace offered by Maximilian the Emperour, was encountered by Lewes the French kyng about Rauenna, vpon Eaſter day, where he was vanquiſhed, and had of his army ſlaine to the number of.xvj. thouſand. Ex Chro. Carion. And the yeare next folowing, ann. 1513. this Apoſtolical warriour, whiche had reſigned his keyes vnto the ryuer of Tybris before, made an ende together both of fighting, and liuyng, after he had raigned and fought ten yeares. After whom ſucceeded next in the ſea of Rome, Pope Leo the tenth. About the cõpaſſe of which tyme, great mutations & ſtyrres began to worke as well in ſtates temporall, as eſpecially in the ſtate of the Church.

The ſtate and ſucceſſion of Princes.

Pope Leo.x.in Rome.	an. 1513.	reigned.	9.
Charles v. Emperour in Germanie.	an.1519.		39.
Fraunces K.of Fraunce.	an.1515.		32.
Henry 8.K.of England.	an.1509.		38.
Iames.5.K.of Scotland.	an.1514.		

In the tyme of which Pope, Emperour, and kinges of England, and of Fraunce, great alterations, troubles, and turnes of religion were wrought into the Churche, by the mightie operation of Gods hand in Italie, Fraunce, Germanie, Englande, and all Europe, ſuche as haue not bene ſeene (although muche groned for) many hundreth yeares before: as in further diſcourſe of this hiſtorie (Chriſt willyng) more manifeſtly ſhal appeare.

But before we come to theſe alterations, takyng the tyme as it lyeth before vs, we wyll firſt ſpeake of Rich. Hunne, and certaine other godly mynded perſons here in Englande afflicted for the worde of Chriſtes Goſpell in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the Regiſters of Fitziames Biſhop of London, by the faythfull helpe and induſtrie of R. Carket citizen of London.

The hiſtorie of diuers good men & women perſecuted for religion in the citie and dioces of the Biſhop of London, briefly extracted out of the Regiſters of Richard Fitziames.

Ex Regiſtro Fitz iames.

AMongeſt and beſides the great number of the faythfull martyrs and profeſſours of Chriſte, that conſtantly in the ſtrength of the holy Ghoſt, gaue their lyues for the teſtimonie of his truth, I finde recorded in the Regiſter of London, betwene the yeares of our Lord. 1509. and. 1527. the names of diuers other perſons both men and women: who in the fulnes of that darke and myſtie tymes of ignoraunce, had alſo ſome portion of Gods good ſpirite whiche induced them to the knowledge of his truth and Goſpell, and were diuerſly troubled, perſecuted, and impriſoned for the ſame: notwithſtandyng by the proude, cruell and bloudy rage of the Catholique ſeate, and through the weakenes and fraultie of their owne nature (not then fully ſtrengthned in God) it was agayne in them, for the tyme, ſuppreſſed and kept vnder, as appeareth by their ſeueral abiurations made before Richard Fitziames then Biſhop of London (in his tyme a moſt cruel perſecutour of Chriſtes Church) or els before his vicar generall deputed for the ſame. And for as muche as many of the aduerſaries of Gods trueth, haue of late dayes diſdainefully and braggingly cried out, and made demaundes in their publique aſſemblies and yet do, aſkyng where this our church and religion was within theſe 50. or. 60. yeares: I haue thought it not altogether vayne, ſomewhat to ſtop ſuche lying crakers, both by mentionyng their names, and likewiſe openyng ſome of the chiefe and principal matters, for which they were ſo vnmercyfully afflicted and moleſted, thereby to geue to vnderſtand, as well the continuaunce and conſent of the true church of Chriſt in that age, touching the chiefe pointes of our fayth, though not in like perfection of knowledge and conſtancie in all: as alſo by the way, ſomethyng to touch what fond and friuolous matters the ignoraunt Prelates ſhamed not in that tyme of blindnes to obiect againſt the poore and ſimple people, accountyng them as heynous and great offences, yea, ſuch as deſerued death both of body and ſoule. But leſt I ſhould ſeeme too prolixe and tedious herein, I wyll nowe briefly procede with the ſtorye, and firſt begyn with their names, which are theſe,

The profeſſion of the Proteſtantes no new doctrine.

Anno. 1510. Ioanne Baker.
William Pottyer.
Iohn Forge.
Thomas Goodred.
Anno. 1512. Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.
Anno. 1517. Thomas Forge.
Alyce Forge.
Iohn Forge, their ſon.
Anno. 1518. William Couper.
Iohn Caluerton.
Anno. 1521. Iohn Woodrofe.
Anno. 1511. Richard Woolman.
Roger Hyllyar.
Anno. 1521. Alyce Couper.
Thomas Auſtye.
Anno. 1523. Ioanne Auſtye.
Thomas Graunt.
Iohn Garter.
Anno. 1526. Chriſtofer Rauins.
Dioniſe Rauins.
Anno. 1527. Thomas Vincent.

Lewes Iohn.
Ioanne Iohn.
Iohn Webbe, alias Baker.
Iohn Houſhold.
Robert Raſcal.
Elizabeth Stáford.
George Browne.
Iohn Wykes.
Iohn Southake.
Richard Butler.
Iohn Samme.
William Kyng.
Robert Durdant.
Henry Woolman.
Edmond Spilman.
Iohn Hygges, alias Noke, alias Iohnſonne.
Henry Chambers.
Iohn Hynggyns.
Thomas Egleſton.

Here foloweth the particular examination of al theſe here aboue named.

To theſe were diuers and ſundry particular Articles, (beſides the common and general ſort accuſtomably vſed in ſuch caſes) priuately obiected, euen ſuch as they were then accuſed of either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And becauſe I thinke it ſomewhat ſuperfluous to make any large recital of all & euery part of their ſeuerall proceſſe: I mynd therfore briefly only to touch ſo many of their articles as may be ſufficient to induce the Chriſtian reader to iudge the ſooner of the reſt: being (I aſſure you) of no greater importance, then theſe that folowe: Except that ſometyme they were charged moſt ſlaunderouſly with horrible and blaſphemous lies, againſt the maieſtie & truth of God. Which as they vtterly denyed, ſo do I now for this preſent kepe ſecret in ſilence, as wel for breuities ſake, as alſo ſomwhat to colour and hide the ſhameles practiſes of that lying generation. But to our purpoſe.

Ex Regiſt. Rich.Fitz-iames.
Ioanne Baker.

The chiefeſt obiection againſt Ioanne Baker, was, that ſhe would not only her ſelf not reuerence the Crucifixe: but had alſo perſwaded a frend of hers lying at the poynt of death, not to put any truſt or cófidence in the Crucifixe, but in God which is in heauen, who onely worketh all the myracles that be done, and not the dead Images, that be but ſtockes and ſtones: and therefore ſhee was ſorye, that euer ſhe had gone ſo often on Pilgrimage to S. Sauiour & other Idols. Alſo, that ſhe dyd hold opinion that the Pope had no power to geue Pardons, & that Lady young (who was not long before that tyme burned, dyed a true martyr of God, and therfore ſhee wiſhed of God, that ſhee her ſelfe might do no worſe then the ſaid Lady young had done.

Againſt worſhiping of the crucifixe or croſſe.

Teſtimonie for the Lady yong Mart.

William Pottier.
Falſe ſlaunder of the aduerſaries.

Vnto William Pottyer, beſides diuers other falſe and ſlaunderous articles (as that he ſhould deny the benefite and effect of Chriſtes Paſſion) it was alſo alleged that he ſhoud affirme, that there were ſixe Gods. The firſt three was the holy Trinitie, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The fourth was a prieſtes concubine being kept in his chamber. The fift was the deuyll. And the ſixt that thing that a man ſetteth his mynd moſt vpon.

Anſwere.

The firſt part of this Article he vtterly denyed, confeſſing moſt firmely and truely the bleſſed Trinitie to be only one God in one vnitie of Deitie: as to the other three he anſweared, that a prieſt delightyng in his concubine, made her as his God. Likewiſe a wicked perſon perſiſting in his ſinne without repentaunce, made the deuyl his God. And laſtly he graunted, that he once hearyng of certaine men, which by the ſinging and chatteryng of byrdes, would ſeke to knowe what thinges were to come, eyther to themſelues or others, ſaid that thoſe men eſtemed their byrdes as Gods: and otherwiſe he ſpake not.

Tho. Godred
Tho. Walker.
Tho. Forge. &c.

Amongeſt the manifolde and ſeuerall articles obiected againſt Thomas Goodred, Thomas walker, Thomas Forge, Alyce Forge his wife, John Forge their ſonne, John Caluerton, John Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar (As that they ſhould ſpeake againſt Pilgrimages, praying vnto Saintes, and ſuch like, this principally was propounded, that they all denyed the carnal and corporal preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the altar: and further, had concealed, and conſented vnto their teachers and inſtructers of that doctrine, and had not according vnto the lawes of the church, accuſed and preſented them vnto the Biſhop or Ordinary. Alſo great and heinous diſpleaſure was conceyued againſt Richard Woolman, for that he termed the Church of Paules, a houſe of theeues: affirmyng that prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical perſons there, were not liberall geuers vnto the poore (as they ought) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation and corporall preſence.

Tho. Auſty.
Iohn. Auſty. &c.

Likewiſe, as Thomas Auſtye, Joanne Auſtye his wife, Thomas Graunt, John Garters, Chriſtofer Rauyns, Dioniſe Rauins his ſiſter, Thomas Vincent, Lewes John, Joan John his wife, & John Webbe, were of one felowſhip and profeſſion of fayth, with diuers of the laſt before recited: ſo were they alſo almoſt all apprehended about one tyme, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth euidently, that notwithſtandyng the darke ignoraunce of thoſe corrupted tymes, yet God dyd euer in mercy open the eyes of ſome, to behold the manifeſt truth, euen in thoſe thinges, whereof the Papiſtes make now greateſt vaunt and bragge of longeſt continuaunce, Furthermore many of them were charged to haue ſpoken againſt pilgrimages: and to haue read and vſed certaine Engliſh bookes, repugnyng the fayth of the Romiſh Church: as the foure Euangeliſtes, Wickleffes wicket, a booke of the ten cómaundements of almighty God, the Reuelation of S. John, ý Epiſtles of Paul and James, with other like, which thoſe holy ones coulde neuer abide, & good cauſe why: for as darkenes could neuer agree with light, no more can ignoraunce, the mainteyner of that kingdome, with the true knowledge of Chriſt and his Goſpel. It was further particularly obiected againſt Joanne John, the wyfe of Lewes John, that (beſides the premiſſes) ſhee learned and mainteyned, that God commaunded no holye dayes to be kept, but onely the Sabboth day, and that therfore ſhe would kepe none but it, nor no faſting dayes, affirmyng, that to faſt from ſinne was the true faſt. Moreouer, that ſhee had deſpiſed the Pope, his Pardons, and pilgrimages: Inſomuch that when any poore body aſked his almes of her in the worſhip of the lady of walſingham, ſhe would ſtraight anſweare in contempt of the pilgrimage: the Lady of walſingham helpe thee. And if ſhe gaue any thing vnto hym, ſhee would then ſay: Take this in the worſhyp of our Lady in heauen, and let the other go. which declareth that for lacke of better inſtruction and knowledge, ſhee yet ignorauntly attributed too much honor to the true Saintes of God departed: though otherwiſe ſhe dyd abhorre the idolatrous worſhipping of the dead Images. By which example, as alſo by many others (for ſhortnes ſake, at this preſent omitted) I haue iuſt occaſion to condemne the wilfull ſubtiltie of thoſe, that in this bright ſhinyng light of Gods truth, would yet vnder colour of godly remembraunce, ſtyll mainteyne the hauing of Images in the church, craftily excuſing their idolatrous kneelyng and praying vnto them, by affirmyng that they neuer worſhipped the dead Images, but the thinges that the Images dyd repreſent. But if that were their onely doctrine and cauſe of hauyng them, why then would their predeceſſours ſo cruelly compel theſe poore ſimple people thus openly in their recantations to abiure and reuoke their ſpeaking againſt the groſſe adoration of the outwarde Images onely, and not agaynſt the thyng repreſented? which many of them, (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignoraunt ſimplicitie, confeſſed might be worſhipped. Howbeit, God be thanked (who euer in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocritical excuſes can not nowe take ſuche place in the hartes of the elect of God, as they haue done heretofore, eſpecially ſeyng the word of God doth ſo manifeſtly forbyd as well the worſhipping of them, as alſo the making or hauing of them, for order of religion.

Agaynſt holy dayes.

Agaynſt pilgrimage, and adoration of images

William Couper and his wyfe.

It was alleged agaynſt William Couper & Alyce Couper his wyfe, that they had ſpoken againſt Pilgrimages, and worſhippyng of Images: but chiefly the woman, who hauyng her childe on a tyme hurte by fallyng into a pyt or ditche, and earneſtly perſwaded by ſome of her ignoraunt neighbours, to go on Pilgrimage to S. Laurence, for helpe for her childe, ſayd that neither S. Laurence, nor any other Saint could helpe her childe, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any Image made with mans hand, but only vnto almighty God: for Pilgrimages were nothing worth, ſauyng to make the prieſtes rich. Vid. plura inferius.

Againſt inuocation of dead Images.

John Houſhould. &c.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation and authoritie of the Pope.

Vnto John Houſhold, Robert Raſcall, and Elizabeth Stamford, as wel the Article agaynſt the Sacrament of the Altar was obiected, as alſo that they had ſpoken agaynſt praying to Saintes, and had deſpiſed the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, and others of his clergie. But eſpecially John Houſhold was charged to haue called them Antichriſtes and whoremongers, and the Pope him ſelfe a ſtrong ſtrumpet, and a cómon baude vnto the world, who with his Pardons had drowned in blindenes al Chriſtian Realmes, and that for money.

Alſo among diuers other ordinarye Articles propounded

George Brown.

Againſt adoratiō of the croſſe.

Againſt immoderate riches of the popes clergy.

ded againſt George Browne, theſe were counted very heynous and hereticall: Firſt, that he had ſaid, that he knewe no cauſe why the Croſſe ſhould be worſhipped, ſeeing that the ſame was an hurt and paine vnto our ſauiour Chriſte in the tyme of his Paſſion, and not any eaſe or pleaſure, alledging for example, that if he had had a frend hanged or drowned, he would euer after haue loued that gallowes, or water, (by the which his frend dyed) rather worſe for that, then better. An other obiection was, that he had erroneouſly, obſtinately, & maliciouſly ſaid (for ſo are their wordes) that the Churche was too riche. This matter, I may tell you touched ſomewhat the quicke, and therfore no maruell though they counted it erroneous and malicious: for take away their gain, and farewel their religion. They alſo charged him to haue refuſed holy water to be caſte about his chamber, and likewiſe to haue ſpoken againſt prieſtes, with other vayne matters.

John Wikes.

The greateſt matter wherwith they burdened John Wikes, was that he had often and of long time kept companie with diuers perſons ſuſpected of hereſie (as they termed them) and had receiued them into his houſe, and there dyd ſuffer and heare them ſundry times reade erroneous & heretical bookes, cōtrary to the faith of the Romiſh church, and dyd alſo him ſelfe conſent vnto their doctrine: and had many times ſecretly conueyed them from the taking of ſuch as were appoynted to apprehend them.

Joh. Southacke. Rich. Butler. &c. *Vide inferius.*

Againſt the reall preſence.

Reading of Engliſh bookes.

Of theſe m[illegible] more hereafter in the table folowyng.

Like as the greateſt number of thoſe before mentioned: ſo were alſo John Southacke, Richarde Butler, John Hammie, William Kyng, Robert Durdant, and Henrye Woolman, eſpecially charged with ſpeaking wordes againſt the real preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo againſt Images, and the reſt of the ſeuen Sacramentes. Howbeit they burdened the laſt v. perſons with the reading of certaine Engliſhe heretical bookes, accounting moſt blaſphemouſly the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, written by the 4. Euangeliſts, to be of that number, as appeareth euidently by the viij. article obiected by Tho. Benet Doctour of lawe, and Chauncelour and vicare general vnto Rich. Fitziames then B. of London, againſt the ſaide Rich. Butler. The very wordes of which article (for a more declaration of trueth) I haue thought good here to inſert: which are theſe. Alſo we obiect to you, that diuers tymes, & eſpecially vpon a certaine night, about the ſpace of three yeares laſt paſt, in Robert Durdantes houſe of Yuer court neare vnto Stanes, you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great booke of hereſie of the ſayd Robert Durdants, al that ſame night, certaine chapters of the Euangeliſts in Engliſh, conteynyng in them diuers erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of hereſie, in the preſence of the ſayd Robert Durdant, Iohn Butler, Robert Carder, Ienkin Butler, William King, and diuers other ſuſpect perſons of hereſie then beyng preſent, and hearing your ſayd erroneous lectours and opinions. To the ſame effect and purpoſe tended the tenour of ſome of the Articles propounded againſt the other foure. Whereby (as alſo by others like before ſpecified) we may eaſily iudge what reuerence they which yet wil be counted the true and only church of Chriſt, did beare to the word and Goſpel of Chriſt: who ſhamed not to blaſpheme the ſame with moſt horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and concluſions of hereſie. But why ſhould we maruel thereat, ſeeyng the holy Ghoſt in ſundrye places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter daies there ſhoulde come ſuch proud and curſed ſpeakers, whiche ſhall ſpeake lyes through hypocriſie, and haue their conſciences marked with an hot yron? Let vs therefore nowe thanke our heauenly father for reuealing them vnto vs, & let vs alſo pray him, that of his free mercyes in his ſonne Chriſt Jeſus, he would (if it be to his glory) eyther turne and mollifie al ſuch harts, or els (for the peace and quietnes of his churche) he would in his righteous iudgement take them from vs.

[illegible]chard Fitziames biſhop of London.

Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London.

The reall preſẽce denied.

About this tyme Richard Fitziames ended his lyfe. After whoſe death Cuthbert Tunſtal (afterwards Biſhop of Durham) ſucceded in the ſea and biſhopryke of London: who ſoone vpon his firſt entrie into the roome, myndyng to folowe rightly the footſteps of his predeceſſour, cauſed Edmund Spilman prieſt, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Egleſtone, to be apprehended, and ſo to be examined vpon ſundrie like Articles, as before are expreſſed, and in the end, eyther for feare of his crueltie, and the rigour of deth, or els through hope of his flattering promiſes (ſuch was their weakneſſe) he compelled them to abiure and renounce their true profeſſed fayth touching the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body and blood: which was, that Chriſts corporal body was not in the ſacrament, but in heauen, and that the Sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body it ſelfe.

Agaynſt a prieſt to haue two benefices.

Teſtimony touching M. Luther.

Moreouer, about the ſame tyme there were certaine Articles obiected againſt John Hyg, aliâs Noke, aliâs Johnſon, by the ſayd Biſhops vicar general. Amongeſt whiche were theſe: Firſt, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawfull for a temporall man to haue two wiues at once, as for a prieſt to haue two benefices. Alſo that he had in his cuſtody a booke of the foure Euangeliſtes in Engliſh, and dyd often reade therein: and that he fauoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his litle finger, then al the doctours in England in their whole bodyes: and that all the prieſtes in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewiſe it was alleged againſt him, that he had denyed Purgatorie, and had ſayde, that while he were alyue he would do as much for him ſelfe as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer and almes dedes could litle helpe him.

The maner of popiſh penaunce.

Theſe and ſuche like matters were they, wherewith theſe poore and ſimple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heynous heretiques excommunicated, empriſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant: and ſome of them in vtter ſhame and reproche (beſides the ordinary bearing of fagots before the Croſſe in proceſſion, or els at a Sermon) wer enioyned for penance (as they termed it) as wel to appeare once euery yeare before their Ordinarye, as alſo to weare the ſigne of a fagot painted vpon their ſleeues or other part of their outward garment, and that during their lyues, or ſo often and long as it pleaſed their Ordinarye to appoynt. By whiche long rigorous and open puniſhing of them, they ment (as it ſhould ſeeme) vtterly to terrifie and keepe backe all others from the true knowledge of Jeſus Chriſte and his Goſpel. But the Lord be euermore prayſed, what effect their wicked purpoſes therein haue taken, theſe our moſt lightſome dayes of Gods glorious Goſpel do moſt ioyfully declare.

The troubles of Helene Heyer, and Robert Barkeway.

There were alſo troubled beſide theſe, certaine others more ſimple and ignorant: who hauing but a very ſmall ſmacke or taſte of the trueth, dyd yet at the firſt (as it maye ſeeme) gladly conſent vnto the ſame: but beyng apprehended, they quickly againe yelded, and therfore had onely aſſigned them for their penaunce, the bearing of a litle candle before the croſſe, without any further open abiuring or recantyng. Amongeſt which I find two eſpecially: the one, a woman called Elene Heyer, to whō it was obiected that ſhee had neither confeſſed her ſelfe vnto the prieſt, nor yet receiued the ſacrament of the altar by the ſpace of 4. yeres, and notwithſtanding had yerely eaten fleſh at Eaſter, and after, as wel as others that had receyued the ſame, contrarye to the vſuall maner and conuerſation of all other Chriſtian people.

The other was a man named Robert Berkeway who (beſides moſt wicked blaſphemies againſt God, whiche he vtterly denyed) was charged to haue ſpoken heinous wordes agaynſt the Popes holy and bleſſed Martyr Thomas Becket, callyng him micher and thiefe, for that he wrought by craftes and imaginations.

Thus haue I (as briefly as I could) ſummarely collected the principal Articles obiected agaynſt theſe weake, infirme, and earthy veſſels. Not myndyng hereby to excuſe or condemne them in theſe their fearfull falles and daungerous defecions: but leauyng them vnto the vnmeaſurable riche mercyes of the Lord, I thought onely to make manifeſt the vnſaciable bloudy crueltie of the Popes kingdome, againſt the Goſpel and true church of Chriſt, nothyng mitigating their enuious rage, no not againſt the very ſimple idiotes, and that ſometyme in moſt friuolus and irreligious caſes. But nowe leauyng to ſay any further herein, I wil (by Gods grace) go forthward with other ſomewhat more ſerious matters.

The death and martyrdome of William Svveting and Iohn Brevvſter.

Wil. Sweting. John Brewſter Martyrs.

In ſearching and peruſing of the Regiſter, for the collection of the names and articles, before recited, I finde that within the compaſſe of the ſame yeares, there were alſo ſome others, who after they had once ſhewed them ſelues as frayle and vnconſtant as the reſt (beyng either therwith pricked in conſcience, or otherwiſe zelouſly ouercome with the manifeſt truth of Gods moſt ſacred worde) became yet againe as earneſt profeſſours of Chriſt, as euer they were before, and for the ſame profeſſion were the ſecond time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the ende were moſt cruelly burned. Of the which number were, William Swetyng, and John Brewſter, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the. xviij. day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1511. the chiefeſt caſe of religion alleged againſt them in their articles, was their fayth concerning the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and blood. Which becauſe it differed from the abſurde, groſſe, and Capernitical opinion of

the

Againſt tranſubſtantiation and corporall preſence in the ſacrament.

the new Scolemen, was counted as moſt heynous hereſie. There were other thinges beſides obiected againſt them: as the readyng of certaine forbydden bookes, and accompanying with ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of hereſie. But one great and heynous offence counted amongeſt the reſt, was their putting & leauyng of the painted fagots, whiche they were at their firſt abiuryng, enioyned to weare, as badges, duryng their lyues, or ſo long as it ſhoulde pleaſe their Ordinary to appoynt, and not to leaue them of, vpon paine of relaps, vntyll they were diſpenſed withall for the ſame. The breach of this iniunction was eſteemed to be of no ſmal weight, and yet the matter wel and throughly conſidered, it ſeemeth by their confeſſions, they were both therunto by neceſſitie enforced. For the one, named Sweting, beyng for feare of the Biſhops cruelly conſtrained to wander the countreys to get his poore lyuing, came at length vnto Colcheſter, wher by the parſon of the Pariſh of Mary Magdelene, he was prouided to be ẏ holy water clark, and in that conſideration had that infamous badge firſt taken away from him. The other (which was Brewſter) leaft of his, at the commaundement of the Controller of the Earle of Oxfordes houſe: who hiryng the poore man to labour in the Earles houſhold buſines, woulde not ſuffer him, workyng there, to weare that counterfait cogniſaunce any longer: ſo that (as I ſaid) neceſſitie of lyuing ſeemeth to compel both of them at the firſt to breake that iniunction: and therfore if charitie had borne as great ſway in the hartes of the Popes clergie, as dyd crueltie, this trifle woulde not haue bene ſo heynouſly taken, as to be brought agaynſt them for an article and cauſe of condemnatiō to death. But where tyrannie once taketh place, aſwel al godly loue, as alſo al humane reaſon and duties are quite forgotten. Wel, to be ſhort, what for the cauſes before recited, as alſo for that they had once already abiured, and yet (as they terme it) fell againe into relaps, they were both (as you haue hearde) in the ende burned together in Smythfielde: althoughe the ſame parties (as the Regiſter recordeth) dyd againe before their death, fearfully forſake their former receiued conſtancie, and ſubmitting them ſelues vnto the diſcipline of the Romiſh church, craued abſolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, becauſe many of the Regiſters notes and recordes in ſuch caſes may rightly be doubted of, and ſo called into queſtiō, I refer the certaine knowledge herof vnto the Lord (who is the tryer of all truthes) and the external iudgement vnto the godly and diſcrete reader: Not forgettyng yet by the way (if that the report ſhoulde be true) vpon ſo iuſt an occaſion to charge that catholique clergie & their wicked lawes, with a more ſhameles tyranny and vncharitable crueltie thē before. For if they nothing ſtay their bloudy malice towardes ſuch as ſo willingly ſubmit them ſelues vnto their mercyes: what fauour may the faithfull and conſtant profeſſours of Chriſt loke for at their handes? I might here alſo aſke of them how they folow the pitifull and louing admonition, (or rather precept) of our Sauiour Chriſt (whoſe true and onely church they ſo ſtoutly bragge to be) who in the. 17. chap. of S. Luke ſaith: Though thy brother ſinne againſt thee ſeuen tymes in a day, and ſeuen tymes in a day turne to thee, ſaying, It repenteth me: thou ſhalt forgeue hym. But what go I about to allure them vnto the folowing of the rule & counſaile of him, vnto whoſe word and Goſpel they ſeeme moſt open and vtter enemies? wherefore not purpoſing to ſtaye any longer thereupon, I wyl leaue them vnto the righteous reuēgement of the lord.

The cruel rigour of the Catholike clergy agaynſt the profeſſours of the goſpel

Submiſſion would not be taken of the charitable catholikes.

No mercy in the popes church.

As it is the propertie of Satan euer to malice the proſperous eſtate of the ſaintes of God, and true profeſſours of Chriſt: ſo ceaſſeth he not continually to ſtyrre vp his wicked members to the effectual accompliſhing of that whiche his enuious nature ſo greedily deſireth: if not alwayes openly by colour of tyrannical lawes, yet (at the leaſt wiſe) by ſome ſubtyl practiſe of ſecret murther. Which thing doth moſt plainly appeare, not only in a great number of the bleſſed martyrs of Chriſtes churche, mentioned in this booke, but alſo, and eſpecially in the diſcourſe of this lamentable hiſtorie that nowe I haue in hande, concernyng the ſecrete and cruel murdering of Richard Hunne, whoſe ſtorie here conſequently enſueth, excerped and collected partly out of the Regiſters of London, partly out of a byll exhibited and denounced in the Parliament houſe.

¶ The ſtorie of Richard Hunne.

Rich. Hunne martyr.

There was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1514. one Richard Hunne marchaunt Taylour, dwellyng within the citie of London, and freeman of the ſame, who was eſteemed duryng his life, and worthily reputed and taken, not onely for a man of true dealyng, and good ſubſtaunce, but alſo for a good catholique man. This Richard Hunne had a childe at nourſe in Middlſex in the Pariſh of S. Mary Matfilon, which dyed: by the occaſion whereof one Thomas Driſield clerke, beyng parſon of the ſaid Pariſhe, ſued the ſaide Richard Hunne in the Spiritual courte for a bearing ſheete, which the ſaid Thomas Driſield claymed vniuſtly to haue of the ſaid Hunne for a mortuarie for Steuen Hune, ſonne of the ſaid Richard Hunne: which Steuen being at nourſe in the ſaid pariſh, died being of the age of. v. weekes and not aboue. Hunne anſweared him againe, that for aſmuch as the childe had no proprietie in the ſheete, he therfore neither would paye it, nor the other ought to haue it. Whereupon the prieſt moued with a couetous deſire, & loth to loſe his pretended right, aſcited hym to appeare in the ſpirituall court, there to anſweare the matter. Whereupon the ſayd Richard Hunne beyng troubled in the ſpiritual court, was forced to ſeke counſel of the learned in the law of this land, and purſued a writ of Premunire againſt the ſaid Thomas Driſield, and other his ayders, counſellours, proctours, and adherentes, as by the proces therof is yet to be ſeene. Which when the reſt of the prieſtly order heard of, greatly diſdaynyng that any lay man ſhoulde ſo boldly enterpriſe ſuche a matter againſt any of them, & fearing alſo, that if they ſhold now ſuffer this prieſt to be condemned at the ſute of Hūne, there would be thereby euer after, a libertie opened vnto all others of the laitie to do the like with the reſt of the Clergie in ſuch like caſes: they ſtraightwayes, both to ſtop this matter, and alſo to be reuenged of hym, for that he had already done, ſought all meanes they poſſibly could, howe to entrap and bring hym within the daūger of their own cruell lawes: and thereupon making ſecret and diligent inquiſition, & ſeeking al corners they could againſt him, at length they found a meanes how to accuſe him of hereſie vnto Richard Fitziames then Biſhop of London, and ſo dyd: Who (deſirous to ſatiſfie the reuengyng and bloudy affection of his chaplaynes) cauſed thereupon hym to be apprehended, and committed vnto priſon within the Lolards Tower at Paules, ſo that none of his freendes might be ſuffered to come to hym. Thus Richard Hunne beyng clapt in the Lolardes Tower, ſhortly after, at the earneſt inſtigation of one Doctour Horſey the Biſhops Chauncelour (a man more redy to preferre the Clergies cruel tyrannie, then the truth of Chriſtes Goſpel) was brought before the Biſhop at his manour of Fulham, the ſecond day of December, in the yeare before mentioned: where within his Chappel he examined hym vpon theſe Articles folowing, collected againſt hym by the ſayd Horſey and his complices.

An. 1514

The deſpitefull demeanor of the popes holy catholikes to be noted.

Rich. Hunne cōmitted to Lollardes tower.

The Articles obiected agaynſt Rich. Hunne.

First, that he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended, agaynſt the lawes of almighty God: that tythes, or paying of tythes was neuer ordeyned to be due, ſauyng onely by the couetouſneſſe of prieſtes.

2 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, publiſhed, and obſtinately defended: that Biſhoppes and Prieſtes be the Scribes and Phariſees that dyd crucifie Chriſt, and damned hym to death.

3 Item, that he had read, taught, preached. &c. that Biſhops and Priſtes be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neyther fulfillers of the lawe of God. But catching, rauenyng, and al thinges taking, and nothing miniſtring, neither geuyng.

4 Item, where and when one Ioanne Baker was detected and abiured of many great hereſies (as it appeareth by her abiuration) the ſaid Richard Hunne ſaid, publiſhed, taught, preached, and obſtinately tooke vpon hym, ſaying that he would defend her and her opinions, if it coſt hym fyue hundred markes.

5 Item, afterwardes (where and when the ſaid Ioanne Baker after her abiuratiō, was enioyned open penaunce according to her demerites) the ſayd Richard Hun ſayd, publiſhed, taught, and obſtinately dyd defend her, ſaying: the Biſhop of London and his officers haue done open wrong to the ſayd Ioanne Baker, in puniſhing her for hereſie: for her ſayinges and opinions be according to the lawes of God: Wherfore the Biſhop and his officers are more worthy to be puniſhed for hereſie, then ſhee is.

6 Item, that the ſaid Richard Hunne hath in his keping diuers Engliſh bookes, prohibited and damned by the law: as the Apocalyps in Engliſh, Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſh, Wickliffes damnable workes, and other bookes conteyning infinite errours, in the whiche he hath bene long tyme accuſtomed to reade, teach, and ſtudy dayly.

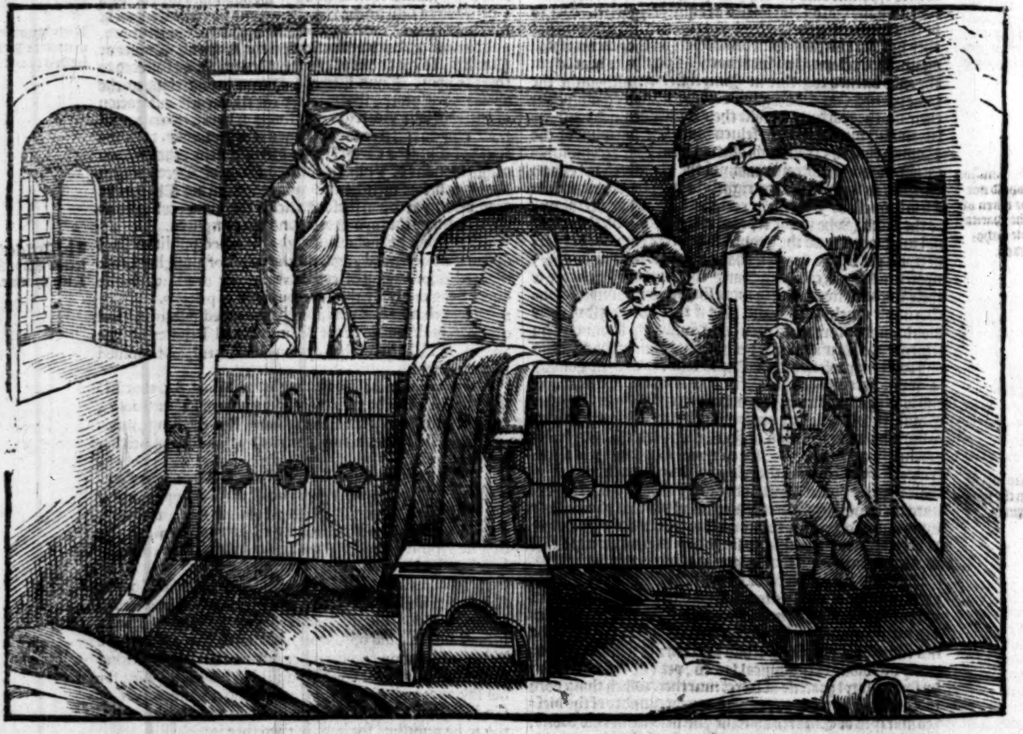
Particular anſweare vnto theſe ſeueral obiections, in the Regiſter I finde none, ſauyng that next vnder them, there is written in his name with a contrarye hande, theſe wordes folowyng: As touching theſe Articles, I haue not ſpoken them as they be here layd: Howbeit, vnaduiſedly I haue ſpoken wordes ſomewhat ſoundyng to the ſame: for the whiche I am ſory, and aske God mercy, and ſubmit me vnto my Lordes charitable & fauourable correction. Which they affirme to be written with Hunnes owne hande: but

Their aunſwers ſmelleth of forging and craftye patching.

Argumentes & reaſons prouing this anſwer not to be of Richard Hunne.

howe likely to truth) that is, let the diſcrete wiſedome of the reader indifferently iudge by the whole ſequele of this proces. And further, if it were his owne act: what occaſion then had they ſo cruelly to murther him as they dyd? ſeing he had already ſo willingly confeſſed his fault, and ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto the charitable and fauourable correction of the Biſhop (for the which euen by their owne law, in caſes of moſt heynous hereſie he ought to be againe receyued and pardoned, (except perhaps they wyll account horrible murther, to be but the Biſhops fauourable correction. Againe it ſeemeth they had very fewe credible witneſſes to proue certainely that this was his anſweare and handwriting: for the Regiſter, or ſome other for hym (appoynted to record the ſame) hath certified it, as of hearſay from others, and not of his own proper ſight & knowledge: as the wordes noted in the margent of the booke, adioynyng to the foreſaid anſweare, plainely do declare, whiche are theſe: Hoc fuit ſcriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, vt dicitur. Nowe if he had had any ſure grounde to ſtabliſhe this certificate, I doubt not, but he woulde (in ſteede of, vt dicitur) haue regiſtred the names of the aſſiſtaunces at the tyme of his examination, (whiche he confeſſeth to be many) as generally they do in all their actes, eſpecially in caſes of hereſie, as they terme it. But howe ſcrupulous thoſe good felowes that ſpared not ſo ſhameleſly to murther him, woulde be to make a lye of him that was already dead, let (as I ſaid) the indifferent iudgement of the godly wiſe diſcerne.

¶ A deſcription of the Lolardes tower, where M. Rich. Hunne was firſt murthered, then by the ſaid parties hanged, afterward condemned of hereſie, and at laſt burned in Smythfield.



Richarde Hunne ſent back againe to lolards tower.

Richarde Hunne priuely murdred in the Lolardes tower.

Crafty packing of the murdering Papiſtes.

The ſecret conueyance of the murdering of Richarde Hunne.

Horſey the Chaunceler, craftely practiſeth.

This examination ended, the Biſhop ſent hym backe againe the ſame day, vnto the Lolardes tower: and then by the appoyntment of Doctour Horſey his Chauncelour, he was colourably cōmitted from the cuſtody of Charles Ioſeph the Sumner, vnto Iohn Spadlyng the Belringer, a man, by whoſe ſimplenes in wyt (though otherwiſe wicked) the ſubtyl Chauncelour thought to bring his deuiliſh pretended homicide the eaſlier to paſſe: which moſt cruelly he dyd by his miniſters ſuborned, within two nightes then next folowing accompliſhe: as is plainely proued hereafter by the diligent inquirie and final verdict of the Crowner of Londō, and his inqueſt, made by order of the lawes in that behalfe limited. But when this vſuall practiſe of the Papiſtes was once accompliſhed, there wanted then no ſecrete ſhiftes, nor worldly wyles for the crafty colouring of this miſchiefe: and therefore the next mornyng after they had in the night committed this murther, Iohn Spadlyng (I doubt not but by the cōſaile of his maiſter Chauncelour) gat him ſelfe out of the way, into the citie, and leauyng the keyes of the priſon with one of his felowes, willed hym to deliuer them vnto the Sumners boy, which accuſtomably dyd vſe to cary Hunne his meate, and other neceſſaries that he needed: thinking that the boy, firſt finding the priſoner dead, and hanged in ſuch ſort as they leaft hym; they might (by his relation) be thought free from any ſuſpition of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginnyng almoſt as they wiſhed. For the boy the ſame mornyng (being the .iiij. day of December) hauyng the keyes deliuered hym, accompanied with two other of the Biſhops Sumners, went about .x. of the clocke into the priſon, to ſerue the priſoner, as he was woont to do, and when they came vp, they founde hym hanged with his face towardes the wall. Whereupon they (aſtoniſhed at this ſight) gaue knowledge thereof immediately vnto the Chauncelour, being then in the church, and watching, I ſuppoſe, of purpoſe, for ſuch newes: who forthwith gat vnto him certaine of his collegues, and went with them into the priſon, to ſee that whiche his owne wicked conſcience knewe ful wel before: as was afterwardes plainely proued: although then he made a fayre face to ỹ cōtrary, blaſing abroad among the people, by their officers and ſeruauntes, that Hunne had deſperately hanged hymſelfe. Howbeit, the people hauyng good experience as well of the honeſt life and godly conuerſation of the man, as alſo of the deuiliſhe malice of his aduerſaries the Prieſtes, iudged rather that by their procurement he was ſecretly murthered. Whereof aroſe great contention: for the Biſhop of London on the one ſide, takyng his clergies part, affirmed ſtoutly that Hunne had hanged hym ſelfe. The citizens againe on the other ſide, vehemently ſuſpecting ſome ſecrete murther, cauſed the Crowner of London (accordyng to law) to chuſe an inqueſt, and to take good viewe of the dead body, and ſo to trie out the truth of the matter. Wherby the Biſhop and his chapleynes were thē driuen to ỹ extremitie of ſhiftes: & therfore myndyng by ſome ſubtyl ſhewe of iuſtice, to ſtop the mouthes of the people, they determined that in the meane

The death of Hunne ſuſpected of the Londiners.

The Crowner ſitteth vpon the death of Hunne.

whyle

Hereſie layd to Hunne after his death

while as the inqueſt was occupyed about their charge, the Biſhop ſhould for his part, procede Ex officio, in caſe of hereſie againſt the dead perſon: ſuppoſing (moſt like) that if the partie were once condemned of hereſie, the inqueſt durſt not then but finde hym giltie of his owne death, & ſo clearly acquite them from all the former ſuſpition of priuie murther. This determination of theirs they dyd immediatly put in practiſe in order as foloweth.

D. Hedde promoter of the dead.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitzjames. London.

First, beſides the Articles before mentioned (whiche they affirme were obiected againſt hym in his lyfe tyme) D. Hed dyd now alſo after his death, collect certaine others out of the prologue of his Engliſh Bible, remaynyng then in the Biſhops handes: whiche he diligently peruſed, not to learne any good thing therein, but to get thereout ſuche matter, as he thought might beſt ſerue their curſed purpoſe: as appeareth by the tenure of the Articles, whiche are theſe.

Newe articles commenſed againſt Hūne after his death.

1 First the ſaid booke damneth al holy Canons, calling them ceremonies and ſtatutes of ſinfull men & vncunnyng, and calleth the Pope Sathanas and Antichriſt.

2 Item, it damneth the Popes Pardons, ſaying, they be but leaſinges.

3 Item, the ſayd booke of Hunne ſayth, that kyngs and lordes called Chriſten in name, and heathen in conditions, defoyle the ſanctuarie of God, bryngyng clarkes ful of coueitiſe, hereſie, and malice, to ſtop Gods lawe that it can not be knowen, kept, and freely preached.

4 Item, the ſaid booke ſaith, that Lords and Prelates purſue ful cruelly them that would teach truely and freely the lawe of God: and cheriſh them that preach ſinful mens traditions and ſtatutes, by the whiche he meaneth the holy Canons of Chriſtes Church.

5 Item, that poore men and idiotes haue the truth of the holy Scriptures, more then a thouſand Prelates and religious men, and clerkes of the ſchole.

6 Item, that Chriſten kinges and Lords ſet Idols in Gods houſe, and excite the people to Idolatrie.

7 Item, that Princes, Lordes, and Prelates ſo doyng, be worſe then Herode that purſued Chriſt, and worſe then Iewes and heathen men that crucified Chriſt.

8 Item, that euery man ſwearyng by our Lady, or any other Saint or creature, geueth more honour to the ſaints, then to the holy Trinitie, and ſo he ſayth they be idolaters.

9 Item, he ſayth that Saints ought not to be honored.

10 Item, he damneth adoration, prayer, kneelyng, and offeryng to Images, which he calleth ſtockes and ſtones.

11 Item, he ſayth, that the very body of the Lord is not conteyned in the Sacrament of the aultar, but that men receyuyng it, ſhal thereby keepe in mynd that Chriſtes fleſhe was wounded and crucified for vs.

12 Item, he damneth the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, with al degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Ciuile, Canon, and Diuinitie, ſaying, that they let the true waye to come to the knowledge of the lawes of God, and holy ſcripture.

An holy mother Church which can not abide the word of god to be tranſlated.

13 Item, he defendeth the tranſlation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the Engliſh tongue, which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Church.

These articles thus collected, as alſo the others before ſpecified, they cauſed for a more ſhew of their pretended iuſtice and innocencie, to be openly read the next ſonday folowyng, by the Preacher at Paules Croſſe, with this proteſtation made before.

The biſhops publication at Paules croſſe againſt Richard Hunne.

> “ ☞ Maiſters and frendes, for certayne cauſes and conſiderations, I haue in commaundement to rehearſe, ſhewe, and publiſh here vnto you, the articles of hereſie, vpō which Richard Hunne was detected and examined: and alſo other great articles and damnable poyntes and opinions of hereſie conteyned in ſome of his bookes be commen to light and knowledge, here ready to be ſhewed.

And therewithall he read the Articles openly vnto the people, concludyng with theſe wordes:

> “ And maiſters, if there be any man deſirous to ſee the ſpecialtie of theſe articles, or doubt whether they be conteyned in this booke or not, for ſatiſfying of his mynd, let hym come to my L. of London, and he ſhal ſee it with good wil. Moreouer here I counſayle and admoniſh, that if there be any perſons, that of their ſimplenes haue bene familiar and acquainted with the ſayd Richard Hunne in theſe articles, or haue heard hym reade vpon this booke, or any other ſoundyng to hereſie, or haue any like bokes their ſelues, let them come vnto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and knowledge their fault, and they ſhalbe charitably intreated and dealt withal, ſo that both their goodes and honeſtie ſhalbe ſaued: and if they wyl not come of their owne offer, but abyde the proces of the lawe, then at their owne peryl be it, if the rigour of the lawe be executed againſt them.

After which open publication and admonition, the biſhop at ſundry tymes examined diuers of his Prieſtes, and other lay perſons vpon the contentes of both theſe articles. Among which examinates, there was a man ſeruaunt and a mayden of the ſayde Hunnes, who although they had of long dwelt with hym, were not yet able to charge hym with any great thyng worthy reprehenſion: no, not in ſuch poyntes as the Biſhop chiefely obiected agaynſt hym. But yet the Prieſtes (through whoſe procurement this miſchiefe was firſt begon) ſpared no whyt ſtoutly and maliciouſly to accuſe hym: ſome in the contentes of the firſt articles, and ſome in ẏ ſecond. Wherfore hauyng now (as they thought) ſufficient matter agaynſt hym, they purpoſed ſpeedely to procede to his condemnation. And becauſe they woulde ſeeme to do al thynges formally, and by preſcript order, they firſt drewe out certayne ſhort and ſummary rules, by the which the biſhop ſhould be directed in this ſolemne ſeſſion: Which are theſe.

Ex Regiſtro Fitzjames. Lond.

1 Firſt, let the Biſhop ſit in hys tribunal ſeate, in our Ladyes Chappel.

Marke the maner of this proceding.

2 Secondly, let hym recite the cauſe of his commyng, & take Notaryes to hym, to enact that ſhalbe there done.

3 Thirdly, let hym declare, howe vpon Sonday laſt, at Paules Croſſe, he cauſed to be publiſhed a general monition, or denuntiation, that all fautours and mayntayners of Richard Hunne, ſhould come in, as by this day, and ſubmyt them ſelues: and let hym ſignifie withal, how certayne haue come in, and haue appeared already.

4 Fourthly, let hym proteſt & ſay, that if there remayne any yet behynd whiche haue not appeared accordyng to the former monition and denuntiation: yet if they wyll come, and appeare, and ſubmyt them ſelues, they ſhalbe heard and receyued with grace and fauour.

5 Fiftly, let the Biſhop or ſome other at his appoyntment, recite the articles obiected agaynſt Richard Hunne, in the tyme of his lyfe: and then the other articles likewiſe, which were out of his great booke of the Bible extracted.

6 Sixtly, let the anſweares and confeſſions of the ſayde Richard Hunne, ſummaryly be recited, with the atteſtations made to the ſame articles. Alſo let his bookes be exhibited, and then Thomas Brooke his ſeruaunt be called for.

7 Seuently, let it be openly cryed at the quere doore, that if there be any which wil defend the articles, opinions, bookes, or the memory of the ſayd Richard Hunne, let them come and appeare, and they ſhalbe heard, as the lawe in that behalfe ſhal require.

8 Eyghtly, let it be openly cryed, as in maner before, for ſuche as be receyuers, fauourers, defenders, or beleeuers of the ſayd Richard Hunne, that all ſuch do appeare and ſubmyt them ſelues to the Biſhop, or els he intendeth to procede to the excommunication of them in general, accordyng to the exigence of the lawe in that behalfe.

9 Nynthly, then the Biſhop ſpeakyng to the ſtanders by, and to them which ſate with hym vpon the bench, of the Clergie, demaundyng of them, what their iudgement and opinion is, touching the premiſſes, and whether they thinke it conuenyent and agreeable for hym to procede to the ſentence agaynſt the ſayde Richard Hunne, in this parte to be awarded.

10 Tenthly, after their conſent and counſayle geuen, let the Biſhop reade out the ſentence.

11 Finally, after the ſentence read, let the Biſhop appoynt the publication and denuntiation of the forſayde ſentence, to be read at Paules Croſſe or els where, as to hym ſhal ſeeme expedient, with a Citation likewiſe generally agaynſt all them that be receyuers, fauourers, and beleeuers of the ſaid Hunne, to geue to vnderſtand why he ought not farther to procede agaynſt them. &c.

A ſolemne proceſſe of Fitzjames Biſhop of London againſt Richard Hunne being dead.

Nowe accordyng to the tenure of theſe preſcriptes and rules, the Biſhop of London accompanyed with the Biſhops of Durham and Lincolne, ſate in iudgement the .xvi. day of December then next folowyng, within the place by the ſame appoynted: adioynyng alſo vnto them as witneſſes of theyr procedynges, ſixe publique Notaryes, his owne Regiſter, and about .xxv. Doctours, Abbots, Priours and Prieſtes of name, with a great rabble of other common anoynted Catholiques. Where after a ſolemne proclamatiō made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and bookes of Rich. Hunne, they ſhould preſently appeare, and be hearde accordyng to lawe, he commaunded all the Articles and obiections agaynſt Hunne, openly to be read before the aſſemblye: and then perceyuyng that none durſt appeare in his defence, by the aduiſe of his aſſiſtantes, he pronounced the ſentence definitiue agaynſt the dead carkaſe, condemnyng it of hereſie, and therwith committed the ſame vnto the ſecular power, to be by them burned accordyngly. Whiche ridiculous decree was as fondly accompliſhed in Smythfield the .xx. day of the ſame moneth of December (being ful .xvi. dayes after they had thus horribly mur-

The corpes of Richard Hunne burned after his death.

murthered hym) to the great grief & diſdaine of al the people. And becauſe the Biſhop in his ſentence definitiue vſeth a more formal & ample order of wordes, then accuſtomably is vſed in others: and alſo pretendeth ful hypocritically in the beginnyng (as it were by way of induction) diuers cauſes that moued him to proceede agaynſt the dead carkaſe: I thought therefore good, here to inſert the ſame, as a finall concluſion of their craftie coloured tragedie: the tenure whereof is this.

The ſentence definitiue againſt Richard Hunne after his death.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente ſacra ſynodo & generali prelatorum & cleri prouinciæ Cantuarienſis conuocatione, in eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali ſancti Pauli London, per prelatos & clerum prouinciæ Cantuarienſis actualiter ibidem exercita) contigiſſet quod quidam Richardus Hune de parochia ſanctæ Margaretæ in Brigeſtrete Lond. de & ſuper crimine hereticæ prauitatis notatus & diffamatus extitiſſet: Reuerendiſſ. in Chriſto pater & dominus dominus Willielmus miſeratione diuina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ primas, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, ipſius venerabilis cœtus & cõuocationis caput & pręſidens, ex vehementibus & violentis (quas contra eundem Richardum Hune ſuper heretica prauitate tunc habebat præſumptionibus) contra eundem Richardum, debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, vt (ſi ratione hereſis huiuſmodi mẽbrum fuiſſet a corpore Chriſti miſtico preciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt Chriſtum, ſanctæq; matris eccleſiæ vnitatem) per ſalutaria monita & condignam pœnitentiam reuocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter ſimplices & deuotas Chriſti fidelium & catholicorum animas coerrando, & zizania heretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & ſiniſtris ac peruerſis aſſertionibus & opinionibus, a veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reuerendiſſimo patre & domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuiſq; coepiſcopis & ſuffraganeis ceteriſq; illius concionis ſiue ſacræ Synodi prælatis ſuper præmiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit & mandauit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Vnde dictus reuerendiſſimus pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permiſſione diuina Londinenſis Epiſcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius (cui etiam tanquam de hereſi ſuſpectus idem Richardus a multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes prædicta facinora ſilentio & conniuentibus oculis pertranſire & pretermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam & torporem ſanguis eius in diſtricto examine, ſiue Dei iudicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur) volentes cerciorari & informari an ea quæ de ipſo & contra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcitentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortaſſe ouis morbida exiſtens, innocuas animas gregis dominici peſtifera hereſi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandum, & ſuper præmiſſis diligenter interrogandum & examinandum, omniaq; faciendum quæ ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones erant facienda) eius animam pio & paterno zelantes affectu) deſcendimus & properauimus: contra quem, obiectis iudicialiter, & propoſitis publice in iudicio articulis, de & ſuper quibus nobis (vt prefertur) delatus, detectus & notatus fuerat. Quos per venerabilem virum magiſtrum Iohannem Downam hic publice iam lectos, pro hic lectis et inſertis habemus & haberi volumus: habitiſq; & receptis ad eoſdem articulos reſponſionibus & cõfeſſionibus ſuis. Deinde teſtes fide dignos de & ſuper eiſdem articulis & alijs contra dictum Richardũ in debita iuris forma recepimus, admiſimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus: propoſitoq; nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem diui pauli, eius deteſtabiles hereſes & errores, in articulis & libris ſuis, quibus vſus eſt, comprehenſas, in eius & ipſorum deteſtationem & damnationem publicantes, atque publice recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidẽ tunc congregato, notificauimus & intimauimus. Quod iſto die contra eundem Richardum, tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipſiuſq; condemnationẽ & excõmunicationẽ in ſpecie, ad aliaq; in hac parte requiſita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defenſorum, fautorum, & credentium ipſius in genere, iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, ſanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem iuris vigorem & diſpoſitionem, Deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionemq; ſiue denuntiationem quandam generalem dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videl. quod ſi fuerint eius receptatores, defenſores, fautores, & credentes, quod citra hunc diem ad nos & ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ gremium redirent, & ſe ſubmitterent: quod ſi facerent, (de miſericordia omnipotentis Dei confiſi) polliciti ſumus quod ipſos de erroribus & reatibus ſuis huiuſmodi pœnitentes cum gratia, benignitate, miſericordia, & fauore, ad animarum ſuarum ſolatium & ſalutem reciperimus, quodque honeſtatem eorum pro poſſe ſeruaremus in hac parte. Alioquin ſi ſic ſponte venire non curarent, ſed iuris ordinarium proceſſum expectarent: ſcirent nos hoc admiſſum aduerſus eos ſeuerius executuros, in quantũ iura permitterent. Adueniente itaq; iam die iſto, ad premiſſa & infraſcripta facienda, (ſic vt prefertur) per nos prefixo, nos Richard⁹ epiſcop⁹ antedictus, in negotio inquiſitionis hæreticę prauitatis prædictæ legitime procedẽtes, volenteſq; huiuſmodi negotiũ fine debito terminare, ſolemne conſiliũ tam in ſacra theologica facultate, quam iure canonico & ciuili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem cœtum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari: & viſis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligenter & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis meritis & circumſtantijs negotij memorati, actiſq; & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis prędictorum, digeſto & maturo conſilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor ſeu defenſor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit) ſolum Deũ oculis noſtris proponentes, ad ſententiam noſtram contra eum, eius opiniones & libros, receptatoreſq;, fautores, defenſores, & credentes, ſe nobis iuxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denuntiationis noſtrarum prædictarũ minime ſubmittentes, nec ad gremium ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ redire curantes, licet quidam ſaluationis filij citra monitionem & denuntiationem noſtras prædictas ad nos venerunt, & ſe ſubmiſerunt, quos cum gratia & fauore recepimus, in hac parte ferendam, ſic duximus procedendum & procedimus in hunc qui ſequitur modum: Quia per acta actitata, inquiſita, deducta, confeſſata & probata, necnon per vehementes & vrgentes præſumptiones, & indicia perſpicua conperimus luculenter, & inuenimus dictum Richardum Hune crimine hæreticæ prauitatis multipliciter irretitum, atq; hereticum fuiſſe & eſſe, nonnullaſq; opiniones & aſſertiones deteſtabiles & hæreſes damnatas, dum in humanis agebat & vitales caperet auras, affirmaſſe, propoſuiſſe, & recitaſſe, libriſq; ſuſpectis & de iure damnatis, & nonnullas hęreſes peſtiferas in ſe continentibus vſum fuiſſe, receptiſq;, admiſsis & examinatis teſtibus per commiſſarios ad hoc deputatos de & ſuper impœnitentia finali, partinacia, & obitu dicti Richardi Hune: Idcirco nos Richardus Epiſcopus antedictus, ſeruatis ſeruandis (prout in tali negotio poſtulat ordo iuris) dicti Richardi Hune impœnitentia ac finali * obſtinatia & pertinacia, per euidentia ſigna teſtibus legitimis vehementiſſimis & violentis præſumptionibus comprobatis, prout iam corã nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem diui Pauli, die dominico vltimo præterito, ad audiendum & per nos ferendum ſententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publice facto & propoſito. Propterea de huius venerabilis cœtus (videlicet reuerendorum patrum, dominorum Thomæ Dunelmẽſis, & Willihelmi Lincolnienſis, ac Iohannis Calipolenſis Epiſcoporum, necnon in ſacra theologia, decretorum, & legum doctorum, & cleri, atq; proborum & venerabilium virorum domini Maioris, Aldermanorum, & Vicecomitum ciuitatis London. & populi hic congregatorum, & nobis in hac parte aſſidentium & aſsiſtentium, conſenſu, aſſenſu, & conſilio, eundem Richardum Hune diuerſarum hæreſium libris dum vixit vſum fuiſſe, ac notorium & pertinacem impœnitentem hæreticum fuiſſe, ac in hæreſi deceſsiſſe, atque conſcientia criminis & metu futuræ ſententiæ animo pertinaci & impœnitenti corde indurato obijſſe & deceſsiſſe pręmiſſorumq; prætextu de iure excommunicatum fuiſſe & eſſe, atq; in excommunicatione huiuſmodi deceſsiſſe, ipſiuſq; receptatores, fautores, defenſores, & credentes etiam in genere de iure excommunicatos, atq; ſententia maioris excõmunicationis innodatos & inuolutos fuiſſe & eſſe pronuntiamus, decernimus, & declaramus: ipſum Richardũ Hune & libros ſuos hæreticos de iure damnatos, ſuamq; ac librorũ ipſorum memoriam in deteſtationem & damnationem ſceleris & criminis huiuſmodi condemnamus: dictumq; Richardum Hune (ob premiſſa, eccleſiaſtica carere debere ſepultura ſententiamus, etiam pronuntiamus, decernimus, & declaramus, & in foro eccleſiaſtico tanquam membrum putridum proijcimus, corpuſq; ſuum & oſſa brachio & poteſtati ſeculari relinquimus & committimus: iuxta & ſecundum canonicas & legitimas ſanctiones, conſuetudineſq; laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo vſitatas & obſeruatas, in opprobrium ſempiternum & deteſtationem criminis nephandiſsimi predicti, ad eternamq; huius rei memoriam, cæterorumq; Chriſti fidelium metum atq; terrorem, per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſiue finale decretum, quam ſiue quod ferimus & promulgamus in hijs ſcriptis.

*** What final obſtinacie was in him, when you ſay before by his owne hand wryting that he ſubmitted himſelfe to the Biſhops fauorable correction?**

Notwithſtanding, after al this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, with their fayre and colourable ſhewe of iuſtice, yet the inqueſt no whyt ſtayed their diligent ſearching out of the true cauſe and meanes of his death: In ſo much that when they had bene diuers tymes called both before ÿ kinges priuie counſayle (his maieſtie him ſelfe being

ſometime preſent) & alſo before ẏ cheefe Iudges & Iuſtices of this realme, and ẏ the matter being by the thoroughly examined & perceyued to much bolſtred and borne withall by the clergie, was agayne wholy remitted vnto their determination and endyng: they found by good proofe and ſufficient euidence, that Doctour Horſey the Chauncelour, Charles Ioſeph the Sumner, and Iohn Spaldyng the Belrynger had priuily & maliciouſly committed this murther, and therefore indicted them all three as wylfull murtherers. Howbeit, through the earneſt ſute of the Biſhop of London, vnto Cardinall Wolſey (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned) meanes was founde, ẏ at the next Seſſions of Gayle deliuery, the kynges Attorney pronounced the indictment agaynſt D. Horſey to be falſe and vntrue: and hym not to be gyltie of the murther. Who beyng then thereby deliuered in body, hauyng yet in hym ſelfe a gyltie conſcience, gat hym vnto Exceter, and durſt neuer after for ſhame come agayne vnto London. But now that the truth of all this matter maye ſeeme more manifeſt and playne vnto al mens eyes, here ſhal folowe word by worde, the whole inquirie and verdict of the inqueſt, exhibited by them vnto the Crowner of Londō, ſo geuen vp and ſigned with his owne hand.

D. Horſey Chauncelor, Charles Ioſeph and Spaldyng murtherers of Richard Hunne.

❡ The verdict of the inqueſt.

The verdict of the inqueſt.

THe fiſt and the ſixt day of December, in the ſixt yeare of the raigne of our ſoueraigne lord king Henry the eight, William Barnewel Crowner of London, the day and yeare aboueſaid, within the warde of Caſtelbaynerd of London aſſembled a queſt, whoſe names afterward do appeare, and hath ſworne them truely to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, whiche latelye was founde Dead in the Lollardes tower within Paules church of London: whereupon al we of the inqueſt together went vp into the ſayde tower, where we founde the body of the ſayd Hunne hangyng vpon a ſtaple of yron in a gyrdle of ſilke, with fayre countenaunce, his head fayre kemmed, and his bonet right ſittyng vpon his head, with his eyen and mouth fayre cloſed, without any ſtaryng, gapyng, or frownyng, alſo without any driueling or ſpurgyng in any place of his body, whereupon by one aſſent all we agreed to take downe the dead body of the ſaid Hunne, and as ſoone as we began to heaue the body, it was looſe, whereby by good aduiſement we perceyued that the gyrdle had no knot about the ſtaple, but it was double caſt, and the lynkes of an yron chayne which dyd hang on the ſame ſtaple, were layd vpon the ſame girdle wherby he dyd hang: Alſo the knot of the gyrdle that went about his necke, ſtoode vnder his left eare, which cauſed his head to leane towardes his right ſhoulder. Notwithſtandyng there came out of his noſtrels two ſmall ſtreames of bloud, to the quantitie of foure droppes. Saue onely theſe fouer droppes of bloud, the face, lippes, chinne, doublet, coller, and ſhyrt of the ſayde Hunne, was cleane from any bloud. Alſo we finde that the ſkinne both of his necke and throte beneath the gyrdle of ſylke, was freat and faled away, with that thyng whiche the murtherers had broken his necke withal. Alſo the handes of the ſaid Hun were wroung in the wriſtes, wherby we perceyued that his handes had bene bound. Moreouer we finde that within the ſaid priſon was no meane wherby any mā might hang hym ſelfe, but onely a ſtoole, whiche ſtoole ſtoode vpon a bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle, that any man or beaſt myght not touch it ſo litle, but it was ready to fal. Whereby we perceyued that it was not poſſible that Hunne myght hang hym ſelfe, the ſtoole ſo ſtandyng. Alſo all the gyrdle from the ſtaple to his necke, as wel as the part which went about his necke, was too litle for his head to come out there at. Alſo it was not poſſible that the ſoft ſilken gyrdle ſhould breake his necke or ſkinne beneath the gyrdle. Alſo we finde in a corner ſomewhat beyounde the place where he dyd hang, a great parcel of bloud. Alſo we finde vpon the left ſide of Hunnes Iacket from the breſt downeward, two great ſtreames of bloud. Alſo within the flap of the left ſide of his Iacket, we finde a great cluſter of bloud, and the Iacket folden downe thereupon: whiche thyng the ſayde Hunne could neuer fold nor do after he was hāged. Wherby it appeareth plainely to vs all, that the necke of Hunne was broken, and the great plentie of bloud was ſhed before he was hanged. Wherfore all we finde by God and all our conſciences, that Richard Hunne was murthered. Alſo we acquite the ſayd Richard Hunne of his owne death.

Alſo there was an end of a waxe candle, which as Iohn Belrynger ſayth, he leaft in the priſon burning with Hunne that ſame Sonday at night that Hunne was murthered, whiche waxe candle we founde ſtickyng vpon the ſtockes fayre put out, about ſeuen or eyght foote from the place where Hunne was hanged, which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by hym, for many likelihoodes whiche we haue perceyued. Alſo at the going vp of maiſter Chaūceller into the Lollardes tower, we haue good proofe that there lay on the ſtockes a gowne either of Murrey or Crimoſin in graine furred with ſhankes. Whoſe gowne it was we coulde neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we find that maiſter William Horſey Chauncelour to my lord of London, hath had at his commaundement both the rule and guidyng of the ſaid priſoner. Moreouer, al we find that the ſayd maiſter Horſey Chaūcelour hath put Charles Ioſeph out of his office, as the ſaid Charles hath cōfeſſed, becauſe he would not deale and vſe the ſaid priſoner ſo cruelly, and do to him as the Chauncelour would haue had him to do. Notwithſtanding the deliuerance of the keyes to the Chauncelour by Charles on the Saterday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the town on that ſonday in the morning enſuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the Chauncelour for to colour the murther. For the ſame ſonday that Charles rode foorth, he came againe to the towne at night, and kylled Richarde Hunne, as in the depoſitions of Iulian Littel, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter turner do appeare.

After colouryng of the murther betwixt Charles and the Chauncelour conſpired, the Chauncelер called to him one Iohn Spaldyng Belringer of Paules, and deliuered to the ſame Belrynger the keyes of the Lollardes tower, geuyng to the ſaid Belringer a great charge, ſaying, I charge thee to keepe Hunne more ſtraytely then he hath ben kept, and let him haue but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without my licence, neither to bring him ſhirt, cap, kerchiſe, or any other thing, but that I ſee it before it come to him. Alſo before Hunne was caryed to Fulham, the Chauncelour commaunded to be put vpon Hunnes necke a great coller of yron with a great chayne, which is too heauy for any man or beaſt to weare, and long to endure.

Proufes of Hunnes death.

Moreouer, it is wel proued, that before Hunnes death, the ſaid Chauncelour came vp into the ſaid Lollardes tower, & kneeled down before Hunne, holding vp his handes to hym, praying him of forgeueneſſe of all that he had done to him, and muſt do to hym. And on ſonday folowing the Chauncelour commaunded the Penitenſarie of Paules to go vp to hym, and ſay a Goſpel, and make for hym holy water and holy bread, and geue it to him, which ſo dyd: & alſo the Chauncelour commaunded that Hunne ſhoulde haue his dynner. And the ſame dynner tyme Charles boye was ſhut in priſon with Hūne, which was neuer ſo before: and after dynner when the Belringer ſet out the boye, the Belringer ſaid to the ſame boy, Come no more hither with meate for hym, vntyll to morowe at noone, for my maiſter Chauncelour hath commaunded that he ſhal haue but one meale a day: and the ſame night folowing Richard Hunne was murthered: which murther could not haue bene done without conſent and licence of the Chauncelour, and alſo by the witting and knowledge of Iohn Spaldyng Belrynger: for there coulde no man come into the priſon, but by the keyes being in Iohn Belryngers keeping. Alſo as by my lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn Belringer is a poore innocent man. Wherfore al we do perceiue that this murther could not be done, but by the commaundement of the Chauncelour, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn Belrynger.

Witnes of Charles Ioſeph Sumner.

Charles Ioſeph within the tower of Lond. of his owne free wyl and vnconſtrained ſaid, that maiſter Chauncelour deuiſed and wrote with his owne hand, al ſuch hereſies as were laid to Hunnes charge, record Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Paſmere, Richard Gibſon, with many other. Alſo Charles Ioſeph ſaith, that whē Richard Hunne was ſlaine, Iohn Belrynger bare vp the ſteyre into the Lollards tower a waxe candle, hauing the keyes of the doore hangyng on his arme, & I Charles went next to him, & maiſter Chauncelour came vp laſt: and when all we came vp, we founde Hunne lying on his bed: and then maiſter Chaunceler ſaid, Lay handes on the theefe, and ſo all we murthered Hunne: and thē I Charles put the gyrdle about Hunnes necke, and then Iohn Belringer and I Charles dyd heue vp Hunne, and Maiſter Chanceler pulled the girdile ouer the ſtaple & ſo Hunne was hanged.

❡ The depoſition of Iulian Littel late ſeruaunt to Charles Ioſeph, by her free wyl vnconſtrained, the ſixt yeare of our ſoueraigne Lord kyng Henry the eyght, within the Chappel of our Lady of Bethlem, ſhewed to the Inqueſt.

Firſt

The witnes of Julian Littell agaynſt Charles Joſeph.

FIrſt Julian ſayth, that the wedneſday at night after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Joſeph her maiſter came home to his ſupper: then Julian ſayd to hym, Mayſter, it was told me that ye were in priſon. Charles aunſweared, It is mery to turne the penny: and after ſupper Charles truſſed vp a parcel of his goodes, and with helpe of Julian bare them into mayſter Porters houſe to keepe: and that done, Charles ſayde to Julian: Julian, if thou wylt be ſworne to keepe my counſel, I wyl ſhewe thee my mynd. Julian anſweared, yea, if it be neyther felonie nor treaſon: Then Charles tooke a booke out of his purſe, and Julian ſware to hym therupon: then ſaid Charles to Julian, I haue deſtroyed Richard Hunne. Alas mayſter, ſaid Julian, howe? he was called an honeſt man. Charles anſweared, I put a wyre in his noſe. Alas ſayd Julian, now be ye caſt away and vndone. Then ſayd Charles, Julian, I truſt in thee that thou wylt keepe my counſel: and Julian anſweared, yea, but for Gods ſake mayſter ſhift for your ſelfe: and then Charles ſaid, I had leuer then a hundred pounde it were not done: but that is done, can not be vndone. Moreouer, Charles ſayd then to Julian, Upon Monday when I rode to my coſine Baringtons houſe, I tarryed there and made good cheare al day tyl it was night, and yet before it was mydnight, I was in London, and had kylled Hunne, and vpon the next day I rode thyther agayne, and was there at dynner, and ſent for neighbours, and made good cheare. Then Julian aſked Charles, where ſet you your horſe that night you came to towne, and wherefore came ye not home? Charles anſweared, I came not home for feare of bewraying: and then Julian aſked Charles, who was with you at the kyllyng of Hunne? Charles anſweared, I wyl not tel thee: and Julian ſaith, that vpon the Thurſday folowing, Charles tarryed al day in his houſe with great feare: and vpon Fryday folowing early in the mornyng before day, Charles went forth (as he ſayd) to Paules) and at his commyng in agayne he was in a great feare ſaying haſtily, get me my horſe, and with great feare and haſte made hym readye to ride, and bade mayſter Porters lad leade his horſe into the fielde by the backſide: and then Charles put into his ſleeue his Maſe or maſor, with other plate borowed of maiſter Porter, both gold and ſiluer, but howe much I am not ſure: and Charles went into the fielde after his horſe, and Julian brought his bouget after hym. Alſo vpon fryday in Chriſtmas weeke folowyng, Charles came home late in the nyght, and brought with hym three Bakers and a Smyth of Stratford, and the ſame night they carryed out of Charles houſe all his goodes by the fieldes ſide to the Bel in Shordiche, and early in the mornyng conueyed it with Cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Julian ſayth, that the Saterday at nyght before the death of Hunne, Charles came home, & brought with hym a Gurnard, ſaying, it was for Hunne, & Charles boy telleth to Julian, that there was alſo ordeyned a peece of freſh Salmon, whiche John Belrynger had.

Alſo Charles ſaid to the ſaid Julian, were not this vngratious trouble, I could bring my Lord of London to the doores of heretiques in London both of men and women, that been worth a thouſand pound: But I am afrayd that the vngratious mydwyfe ſhal bewray vs all.

Alſo Charles ſaide vnto maiſtres Porter in likewiſe, and more larger, ſaying, of the beſt in London, whereto maiſtres Porter anſweared, the beſt in London is my Lorde Maior: then Charles ſaide, I wyl not ſcuſe hym quite, for that he taketh this matter hote.

Where as Charles Joſeph ſaith, he lay at Neckehyll with a harlot a mans wyfe in Baringtons houſe the ſame nyght, and there abode vntyl the morowe at eleuen of the clocke, that Richard Hunne was murthered, wherupon he brought before the kynges counſell for his purgation the foreſaid bawde Baringtons wyfe, and alſo the foreſayde harlot: which purgation we haue proued all vntrue, as right largely may appeare, aſwel by the depoſition of Juliā Littel, Thomas Chicheley Taylor, Thomas Symondes Stationer, of Robert Johnſonne and his wyfe, of John Spaldyng Belrynger: Alſo of Peter Turner ſonne in lawe of the foreſaide Charles Joſeph: who ſaide before to an honeſt woman a ware chaundelers wyfe, that before this day ſeuennight Hunne ſhoulde haue a miſcheuous death. &c. Alſo of John Enderbye Barber, to whom John Spaldyng him ſelfe declared theſe wordes: That there was ordeined for Hunne ſo greeuous penaunce, that whē men heare of it, they ſhal haue great maruel thereof. &c. Beſides the depoſition moreouer of Alen Creſwel ware chaūdelour, and Richard Horſenaile Bayliffe of the Sanctuary towne called Godſture in Eſſex. Whiche teſtimonies and depoſitions, as they may be manifeſt, ſo for the tediouſnes thereof, I here omyt them, referring the Reader to the former edition of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 395, if any deſire further therein to be informed.

The witnes of Peter Turner.

The witnes of John Spaldyng hym ſelfe.

Nowe leauyng theſe depoſitions, let vs ſtep further to the letter of the Biſhop of London, written to the Cardinal, and marke well the effect thereof, whiche foloweth in theſe wordes.

¶The copie of Richard Fitziames letter then Biſhop of London, ſent to Cardinall Woolſey.

The letter of the B. of London to Cardinall Wolſey.

I Beſeeche your good Lordſhip to ſtand ſo good Lord vnto my poore Chauncelour nowe in warde, and endited by an vntrue queſt, for the death of Richard Hunne, vpon the onely accuſation of Charles Ioſeph, made by paine and durraunce, that by your interceſſion it may pleaſe the kynges grace to haue the matter duely and ſufficiently examined by indifferent perſons of his diſcrete counſel, in the preſence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cauſe: and that vppon the innocencie of my ſayd Chauncelour, declared, it may further pleaſe the kings grace to award a Plackard vnto his Attorney to confeſſe the ſayd Enditement to be vntrue, when the tyme ſhal require it: for aſſured am I, if my Chauncelour be tryed by any twelue men in London, they be ſo maliciouſly ſet, In fauorem hæreticæ prauitatis, that they wyl caſt and condemne any Clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. Quare ſi potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates noſtras, & tibi imperpetuum deuincti erimus. Ouer this in moſt humble wiſe I beſeeche you, that I may haue the kynges gratious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might ſpeake with his grace and you, and I with al myne, ſhal pray for your proſperous eſtate long to continue.

Your moſt humble Oratour. R. L.

Laſtly nowe remayneth to inferre the ſentence of the queſtmen, which foloweth in like ſort to be ſene and expended, after I haue firſt declared the wordes of the Biſhop ſpoken in the Parliament houſe.

¶The words that the B. of London ſpake before the lordes in the Parliament houſe.

MEmorandum, that the biſhop of London ſayd in the parliament houſe, that there was a byl brought to the parliament, to make the Jurie that was charged vpō the death of Hunne, true men: and ſaide and tooke vpon his conſcience, that they were falſe periured Caytiffes: and ſayde furthermore to all the Lordes there then beyng: For the loue of God, looke vpon this matter, for if you doo not, I dare not keepe myne owne houſe for heretiques: And ſaid that the ſayd Richard Hunne hanged hym ſelfe, and that it was his owne deede, and no mans els. And furthermore ſayd, that there came a man to his houſe (whoſe wyfe was appeached of hereſie) to ſpeake with hym, and he ſayd that he had no mynd to ſpeake with the ſame man, whiche man ſpake and reported to the ſeruauntes of the ſame Biſhop, that if his wyfe would not hold ſtyll her opinion, he woulde cut her throte with his own handes, with other wordes.

¶The ſentence of the inqueſt ſubſcribed by the Crowner.

The ſentence of the Inqueſt.

THe inquiſition intended and taken at the citie of London in the Pariſh of ſaint Gregorie, in the ward of Baynard Caſtel in London, the ſixt day of December, in the ſixt yere of the raigne of kyng Henrye the eyght, before Thomas Barnewel Crowner of our ſoueraigne Lorde the kyng, within the citie of London aforeſayd: Alſo before James Yarford, and John Mundey Sheriffes of the ſayde citie, vpon the ſight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London Taylour, whiche was founde hanged in the Lollardes tower, and by the oth and proofe of lawfull men of the ſame ward, and of other three wardes next adioynyng, as it ought to be, after the cuſtome of the citie aforeſaid, to inquire how, and in what maner wiſe the ſayde Richard Hunne came vnto his death, and vpon the oth of John Bernard, Thomas Sterte, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Alen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickehyl, William Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Buſted, Gylbert Howel, Richard Gibſon, Chriſtofer Crofton, John God, Richard Holt, John Paſmere, Edmonde Hudſon, John Auuſel, Richard Couper, John Tymie: the whiche ſayd vpon their othes, that where the ſayd Richard Hunne by the commaundement of Richarde Biſhop of London, was empriſoned and brought to hold in a priſon of the ſayd Biſhops, called Lollardes Tower, lying in the Cathedrall church of ſaint Paul in London, in the Pariſh of S. Gregorie, in the ward of Baynarde Caſtell aforeſayd, William

Horſey

Richard Hunne cleared by the Inqueſt, not to haue hanged him ſelfe.

Horſey of London Clerke, otherwiſe called william Hereſie, Chauncelour to Richard Biſhop of London, and one Charles Joſeph, late of Londō Sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwiſe called John Belringer, feloniouſly as felons to our Lord the king, with force and armes againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne Lord the king, and dignitie of his crowne, the fourth daye of December, the ſixt yeare &c. the raigne of our ſoueraigne lord aforeſaid, of their great malice, at the pariſhe of ſaint Gregorie aforeſaid, vpon the ſaid Richard Hunne made a fray, and the ſame Richard Hunne feloniouſly ſtrangled and ſmodered, & alſo the necke they did breake of the ſaid Richard Hunne, and there feloniouſly ſlue hym, and murdered him: and alſo the bodye of the ſaid Richard Hunne afterwarde the ſame fourth daye, yere, place, pariſh, and ward aforeſaid, with the proper gyrdle of the ſame Richard Hunne of ſylke, blacke of colour, of the value of .xij.d. after his death, vpon a hooke driuen into a piece of tymber in the wal of the priſon aforeſaide, made faſt, and ſo hanged hym againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne lord the king, and the dignitie of his crowne: and ſo the ſaid Jury hath ſworne vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, that yͤ ſayd william Horſey Clerke, Charles Joſeph, & John Spalding, of their ſet malice then, and there feloniouſly kylled & murdered the ſaid Richard Hunne, in maner and fourme aboueſaid, againſt the peace of our ſoueraigne lord the king, his crowne and dignitie.

Subſcribed in this maner,
Thomas Barnewel, Crowner of
the Citie of London.

The Parliament iudgyng with Richard Hunne.

The practyſe of Cardinall Wolſey for his clergie men.

After that the .xxiiij. had geuen vp their verdict ſealed and ſigned with the Crowners Seale, the cauſe was then brought into the Parliament houſe, where the truth was laide ſo plaine before al mens faces, and the fact ſo notorious, that immediately certaine of the bloudye murderers were committed to priſon, and ſhoulde no doubt haue ſuffered that they deſerued, had not the Cardinal by his authoritie practiſed for his Catholique children, at the ſuite of the Biſhop of London. whereupon the Chauncelour by the kinges pardon, and ſecrete ſhiftyng, rather then by Gods pardon, and his deſeruing eſcaped, and went, as is ſaide, to Exeter, &c. Neuertheleſſe though iuſtice tooke no place where fauour did ſaue, yet becauſe the innocent cauſe of Hunne ſhould take no wrong, the Parliament became ſuters vnto the kinges maieſtie, that whereas the goodes of the ſaide Hunne were confiſcate into the kinges handes, that it woulde pleaſe his grace to make reſtitution of al the ſaide goodes vnto the children of the ſaide Hunne: vppon whiche motion the king of his gratious diſpoſition dyd not onely geue all the foreſaid goodes vnto the foreſaid children vnder his broad ſeale yet to be ſeene, but alſo did ſend out his warrants (which hereafter ſhal folowe) to thoſe that were the cruel murderers, commaūding them vpon his high diſpleaſure, to redeliuer al yͤ ſaid goodes, and make reſtitution for the death of the ſaid Richard Hunne: al whiche goodes came to the ſumme of .xv. hundreth poundes ſterling, beſide his plate and other Jewels.

¶ The tenure of the kinges letter in the behalfe of Richard Hunne.

The kinges letter for the reſtitution of Hunnes goodes.

TRuſtie and well beloued we greete you well: whereas by the complaynt to vs made, as wel as alſo in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalfe and partie of Roger Whapplot of our citie of London Draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richarde Hunne. And whereas you were indicted by our lawes, of and for the death of the ſayd Richard Hunne, the ſaid murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our recordes more at large plainely it dooth appeare, about the .5. day of Decemb. in the ſixt yere of our raigne, the ſame we abhorre, neuertheleſſe we of our eſpecial grace, certaine ſcience, and mere motion pardoned you vpon certaine conſiderations vs mouyng, for the intent that the goodes of the ſayde Richard Hunne, the adminiſtration of them were committed to the ſaid Roger Whapplot, we then ſuppoſed and intended your amendement, and reſtitution to be made by you to the infants the children of the ſaid Richard Hunne, as wel for his death, as for his goodes, embeſeled, waſted, and cōſumed by your tyrannie, and cruel acte ſo committed, the ſame being of no litle value, and as hitherto ye haue made no recompence, accordyng to our lawes, as might ſtande with equitie, iuſtice, right, and good conſcience, and for this cauſe due ſatisfaction ought to be made by our lawes: Wherfore we wyl and exhort, and otherwiſe charge and commaunde you, by the tenure of this our eſpecial letters, that ye ſatisfie and recompence the ſaid Roger Whapplot, and the ſayd Margarete his wyfe, accordyng to our laws in this cauſe, as it may ſtand with right & good conſcience, els otherwiſe at your farther peryl, ſo that they ſhal haue no cauſe to returne vnto vs, for their further remedy eſtſoones in this behalfe, as ye in the ſame tender to auoyd our high diſpleaſure: otherwiſe that ye vpon the ſight hereof, to ſet al excuſes apart, and to repayre vnto our preſence, at which your hyther commyng, you ſhalbe further aduertiſed of our mynde.

From our Manor. &c.

Defence of Richard Hunne agaynſt Sir Thomas Moore and Alen Cope.

Defence of Richard Hunne.

I Doubt not but by theſe premiſſes thou haſte (Chriſtian reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtand the whole diſcourſe and ſtorie of Richard Hunne from top to toe. Firſt how he came in trouble for denying the bearing ſheete of his young infant departed: then how he was forced, for ſuccour of hym ſelfe, to ſue a Premunire: And thereupon what conſpiracie of the clergie was wrought againſt hym, what ſnares were layd, what fetches were practiſed, and Articles deuiſed, to ſnarle hym in the trap of hereſie, & ſo to impriſon hym. Furthermore, being in priſon, howe he was ſecretly murdered, after his murder, hanged, after his hanging, condemned, after his condemnation, burned: and after his burnyng, laſtly how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleared by acquital of the Inqueſt. Moreouer, howe the caſe was brought into the Parliament, & by the parliament yͤ kings precept obtayned for reſtitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous ſtorie, with al the braunches, and particular euidences of the ſame, taken out aſwel of the publique actes, as of the Biſhops regiſters, and ſpecial recordes, remaynyng in the cuſtodie of Dunſtan whapplot, the ſonne of the daughter of the ſaide Richard Hunne, there to be ſeene, I thought here to vnwrap and diſcouer ſo much the more, for three ſpecial purpoſes.

Ex publicis actis. Ex archiuis et Regiſt. Lond.

Three purpoſes conſidered.

Firſt, as is requiſite, for teſtimonie & witnes of truth falſly ſlaundered, of innocencie wrongfully condemned, and of the partie cruelly oppreſſed.

The ſecond cauſe moueth me, for ſir Thomas Mores Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinkyng to ieſt poore ſimple truth out of countenaunce.

The third cauſe which conſtrayneth me, be the Dialogues of Alanus Copus, which two, yͤ one in Engliſhe, the other in Latine, raylyng and barkyng againſt Rich. Hunne, do doublewiſe charge him, both to be an heretique, and alſo a deſperate homicide of him ſelfe: which as it is falſe in the one, ſo is to be found as vntrue in the other, if ſimple truth, which hath few frendes, and many tymes commeth in craftie handlyng, might freely come in indifferente hearyng. wherefore as I haue hytherto deſcribed the order and maner of his handlyng with the circumſtaunces thereof, in playne and naked narration of ſtorie, ſimply layde out before al mens faces: ſo ſomething here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppreſſed cauſe, as alſo in diſcharge of mee ſelfe, I wyll nowe compendiouſly anſweare to both theſe foreſayde aduerſaries, ſtoppyng as it were, with one buſhe two gappes, and the mouthes alſo, if I can, of them both together. And firſt againſt Syr Thomas Moore, albeit in degree worſhipful, in place ſuperiour, in wytte and learnyng ſingular (if his iudgement in Chriſtes matters had bene correſpondent to the ſame) otherwiſe beyng a man with many worthy ornamentes beautified, yet beyng but a man, and one man, I laye and obiect againſt the perſon of him, the perſons and cenſures of .xxiiij. queſtmen, the depoſition of ſo many Jurates, the iudgment of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliament, and laſtly the kyngs Byl aſſigned for reſtitution of his goodes, with his owne broade Seale confirmed. &c. And thus muche to the perſon & credite of ſir Thomas Moore.

Anſwere for Richard Hunne agaynſt Syr Thomas More knight.

Syr Thomas More hauing many good vertues, but one great vice.

The perſon of Syr Thomas More countervayled.

The reaſons of Syr Thomas More refuted.

Nowe as touching his reaſons, whereas he commyng in with a ſlumme ſlamme of a horſe mylne, or a mylne horſe (in his owne termes I ſpeake) thinketh it probation good ynough, becauſe he coulde not ſee hym taken by the ſleeue, which murdered Hunne: agaynſt theſe reaſons vnreaſonable of his, I allege al the euidences and demonſtrations of the hiſtorie aboue prefixed, to be conſidered, and of al indifferent men to be peaſed.

The circumſtaunces of Hunnes hanging conſidered.

Firſte, howe he was found hangyng, with his countenance fayre, with his bearde and head fayre kemmed, his bonet ryght ſet on his head, with his eyen and mouth fayre cloſed, without any driuelyng or ſpurgyng. His bodye beyng taken downe, was founde looſe, (whiche by hangyng could not be) his necke broken, & the ſkynne therof beneath the throte where the gyrdle went, frette and faced awaye, his gyrdle notwithſtandyng being of ſilke, and ſo double caſt about the ſtaple, that the ſpace of the gyrdle betweene the ſtaple and his necke, with the reſidue alſo whiche went about his neck, was not ſufficient for his head to come out.

His handes moreouer wroung in the wriſtes, his face, lyppes, chynne, doublet, and ſhyrt coller vnſtayned with any bloud: when as notwithſtandyng in a maner ſomwhat beyonde the place, where he dyd hang, a great quantitie of bloud was found. Alſo whereas the ſtaple wheron he hanged, was ſo, that he coulde not clymbe thereto without ſome meane, there was a ſtoole ſet vp vpon the bolſter of a bed, ſo tickle, that with the leaſt touch in the world, it was ready to fal. And how was it poſſible that Hunne might hang hym ſelfe vpon that ſtaple, the ſtoole ſo ſtandyng? Beſides the confeſſion moreouer of Charles Iosephs owne mouth to Iulian Littell, of Robert Iohnſon, Iohn Spaldyng the Belrynger, Peter Turner, and others. All whiche teſtimonies and declarations beyng ſo cleare and vndenyable, may ſuffice (I truſt) any indifferent man to ſee where the truth of this caſe doth ſtand: vnleſſe maiſter Moore beyng a gentlemā of Vtopia, peraduēture after ſome ſtrāge guiſe of that countrey, vſeth to carrye his eyes not in his head, but in his affection, not ſeyng but where he liketh, nor beleuyng but what hym liſteth.

Vtopia Mori.

Finally where ſir Thomas Moore ſpeaking of hym ſelfe, ſo concludeth, that he hearyng the matter, what well myght be ſaid, yet coulde not finde contrary, but Hunne to be gyltie of his owne death: ſo in as many woordes to anſweare hym agayne, I peruſing and ſeaching in the ſtorye of Richard Hunne, what may wel be ſearched, can not but maruel with my ſelfe, either with what darknes the eyes of maiſter Moore be dared, not to ſee that is ſo playne, or els with what conſcience he woulde diſſemble, that ſhame can not deny. And thus by the waye to the Dialogues of Syr Thomas Moore.

Aunſweare to *Alanus Copus* for Richard Hunne.

Thirdly touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the Biſhops Chauncelour and officers to be recounted among theeues and murderers, then Hunne to be numbred among the martyrs, I haue herein not muche to ſay, becauſe hym ſelfe ſaith but litle: and if he had ſaid leſſe, vnleſſe his ground were better, it had made as litle matter. But foraſmuch as he ſaying not much, ſendeth vs to ſeeke more in Moore: ſo with like breuitie againe I may ſende hym to William Tindall, to ſhape hym an anſweare. yet notwithſtandyng, leaſt Cope in ſaying ſomething, ſhoulde thinke Hunnes innocent cauſe to lacke ſome frends, which wyll not, or dare not aduenture in defence of truth, ſomewhat I wyl anſweare in this behalfe.

Hunne murdered not by hym ſelfe, but by others.

And firſt touching this murder of Hunne, not to be his owne wylfull act, but the deede of others: beſides the demonſtrations aboue premiſed to ſyr Thomas Moore, now to M. Cope, if I had no other euidences, but onely theſe two, I would require no more: That is, his cap founde ſo ſtreight ſtanding vpon his head, and the ſtoole ſo totteryng vnder his feete. For how is it, I wyl not ſay, like, but how is it poſſible, for a man to hang hym ſelfe in a ſilken gyrdle double caſt about a ſtaple, in ſuch ſhortnes, that neither the ſpace of the knot could wel cōpaſſe his head about, and yet hauyng his cap ſo ſtreight ſet vpon his head, as his was.

Not poſſible that Hunne ſo hanging ſhould hange himſelfe.

Againe, howe is it poſſible, or can it be imagined, for hym to hang hym ſelf, clymyng vp by a ſtoole which had no ſtay for hym to ſtand vpon, but ſtood ſo tickle, that if he had touched the ſame neuer ſo litle, it muſt needes haue fallen?

Cope denyeth Richard Hunne to dye a Martyr.

The cauſe not the payne maketh a Martyr.

The cauſe of Abels death and of Hunnes compared.

But Cope being ſomthing more prouident in this matter, ſeemeth to exceede not altogether ſo farre as doth M. Moore. For he vnderſtanding the caſe to be ambiguous & doubtful, ſo leaueth it in ſuſpenſe, neither determynyng that Hunne dyd hang hym ſelfe, and yet not admittyng that he died a martyr, no more then they which are quelled by theeues & murderers in high way ſides. Wel, be it ſo, as Cope doth argue, that they which dye by the hands of felons and murderers in theeuiſh wayes, be no martyrs, yet notwithſtandyng this his own ſimilitude, comparyng ye Biſhops Chauncelour & officers to theeues and murderers, doth graunt at leaſt that Hunne dyed a true man, although no martyr. Nowe if the cauſe be it, and not the payne, that maketh a martyr, in pondering the cauſe why Hunne was ſlayne, we ſhall finde it not altogether like to the cauſe of them whiche periſhe by theeues and robbers. For ſuche commonly becauſe of their goodes, and for ſome worldly gaine to be ſought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peraduenture haue the reward, although not the name of martyrs: Whereas this mans death beyng wrought neither for money, nor any ſuche temporal lucre to redound to his oppreſſours, as it hath an other cauſe, ſo may it haue an other name, and deſerue to be called by the name of martyrdome. Like as Abel beyng ſlayne by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulare agaynſt him, but of ſpite onely and of malice was made awaye, yet notwithſtandyng is iuſtly numbred among the martyrs: ſo what let to the contrarye, but that Hunne alſo with hym maye be reckened in the ſame ſocietie, ſeing the cauſe wherefore they both dyd ſuffer, procedeth together out of one fountaine? And what moreouer if a man ſhould cal Naboth (who for holdyng his right inheritance was ſlayne (a martyr, what great iniurie ſhoulde he doo either to the name or cauſe of the perſon, worthy to be carped? Againſt Thomas Becket yet knowe M. Cope no ſpecial article of fayth was layde, wherefore he dyed. And why then do you beſtowe vpon hym ſo deuoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king, whiche by lawe of God, and of the realme dyd belong vnto hym: and can not ſuffer Hunne to be titled for a martyr, dying in his owne right by the handes of ſpiritual theeues & homicides, as you your ſelfe do terme them? But what do I ſtraine my trauaile any further, to proue Hunne a martyr, when as Copes owne confeſſion doth import no leſſe, though I ſayd nothing? For if I ſhoulde take no more but his owne very wordes and ſay, that he was knowen to be an heretique, as Cope doth affirme? what could I ſay more, ſeing he dyed for their hereſie, to proue hym to dye a martyr? For to dye an heretique with the papiſtes, what is it els (to ſay truth) but to dye with God a martyr?

Cope. Dial.6. Pag.847.

Cope Ibid.

But how ſo euer it pleaſeth either ſir Tho. More to ieſt, or Alen Cope to ſkould out the matter, & to ſtile Richard Hunne for a knowen and deſperate heretique: yet to al true godly diſpoſed men, Hunne may wel be knowen to be a godly and vertuous perſon: no heretique, but faithful and ſound, ſaue that only he ſeemed rather halfe a papiſt: at leaſt no ful Proteſtant, for that he reſorted dayly to maſſe, and alſo had his Beades in priſon with hym, after the Catholique maner: albeit he was ſomwhat inclining (as may appeare) towarde the Goſpel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for hym, yet I truſt maiſter Cope wyl ſtand ſo good maiſter to hym, to let him at leaſt to be a martyrs felowe. But what nowe if I go further with maiſter Cope, and name Richard Hunne not only for a martyr, but alſo commend hym for a double martyr? Certes as I ſuppoſe, in ſo ſaying I ſhould affirme nothing leſſe then truth, nor any thing more then truely may be ſaid, and iuſtly proued. But to geue and graunt this confeſſion vnto the aduerſary, which notwithſtanding might be eaſily proued: let vs ſee nowe the proofes of maiſter Cope, howe he argueth that Rich. Hunne is no martyr: becauſe, ſaith he, true men being kylled in hie wayes by theeues & murderers, are not therfore to be counted martyrs. &c. And was there nothing els in the cauſe of Hunne, but as is in true men killed by theeues & murderers? They that are killed by theeues and murderers, are killed for ſome pray, or money about them. And what pray or profit was in the death of Hunne, let vs ſee, to redound to them whiche oppreſſed hym? If it were the mortuarie, or the bearing cloth, that was a ſmal thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the Premunire, the daunger therof perteined to the Prieſt, and not to them. If they feared leaſt the example therof once begunne, ſhould afterward redound to the preiudice of the whole church, then was the cauſe of his death not priuate, but publique, tēding to the whole Churche and clergie of Rome: and ſo is his death not altogether like to the death of them, which for priuate reſpectes are kylled of theeues and murderers.

Hunne no full Proteſtant.

But he was an heretique, ſaith Cope. By the ſame reaſon that Cope taketh hym for an heretique, I take hym the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that waye, whiche they call hereſie, the lyuyng God is ſerued, by no way better. And if he were an heretique, why then dyd they not procede againſt him as an heretique while he was alyue? when they had hym at Fulham before them, if they had bene ſure to entrap hym in that ſnare, why dyd they not take their aduantage, when they might with leaſt ieoperdye? why dyd they not procede and condemne hym for an heretique? why made they ſuche haſte to preuent his death before? why did they not tary the ſentence of the law, hauing the law in their owne handes? But belike they perceiued that he could not be proued an heretique while he liued: and therfore thought it beſt to make him away priuily, and to ſtop the Premunire, and afterwarde to ſtop the purſuit of his death, by making him an heretique: And therefore were articles deuiſed by the Chauncelour (as is proued by witnes of Charles Ioſeph and other, pag. 785.) againſt him, and he condemned for an heretique, & all his fauourers alſo, who ſo euer durſt ſtyrre to take his part, and ſo thereupon was cōmitted to the ſecular power, & burned. Wherein they did him double wrong, firſt in that they burned hym for an heretique, hauing before ſubmitted hym ſelfe to their fauourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Biſhops Regiſters by his owne hand, as it is there pretended: whiche was againſt their owne lawes. Againe, if he had not ſubmitted hym ſelfe at that tyme, yet did they hym wronge to burne hym, before they knewe and hearde hym ſpeake (as Tyndall ſayth) whether he woulde

The cauſe of Hunnes ſecret murther diſcuſſed.

Craftye practiſe.

recant or no. And yet admyt that he was condemned and burned for an heretique, yet to be kylled and burned of thē, for an heretique, that taketh not from hym the name of a martyr, but rather geueth hym to be a double martyr. But Cope yet proceeding in his hote coler againſt Rich. Hunne, after he hath made hym firſt no martyr, and then an heretique, thirdly he nowe maketh hym alſo a murtherer of him ſelf, and ſaith, that no other man was any part of his death, but onely his owne handes, and that eyther for indignation and anger, or for deſperation, or for ſome cauſe, he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogus to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameleſſe, who in Queene Maryes tyme, in like ſort went about to hang hym ſelfe, had he not bene taken in the maner, and reſcued. Furthermore, as touchyng the Chauncelour, he argueth that there was no cauſe why he ſhould attempt any ſuche violence agaynſt hym, both for his age, for his dignitie, for his learnyng, and for the greatnes of his owne peryl, which myght enſue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had bene ſo diſpoſed to worke his deſtruction, had meanes otherwiſe without daunger, to bryng that about, hauyng hym within his daunger conuict and faſt tyed for hereſie. Whereunto I anſweare, that to all this matter, ſufficient hath bene anſweared by the ſtorie it ſelfe of his death, aboue ſpecified. Whereby the maner of his death, by circumſtances of his handlyng, and hangyng, by his necke broke, by his bodye looſe, by his ſkynne fretted, by his wriſtes wrong, by his gyrdle in ſuch ſhortnes double caſt about the ſtaple, by his cap right vpō his head, by his heare kemmed, by his eyes cloſed, by the cake of bloud found in the floore, by his ſhyrt coller, Doublet, Iacket, and other outwarde partes of his garmentes without drop of bloud vnſpotted, by the ſtoole ſo ſtādyng vpon the bolſter, by the Chancelors Murrey gowne founde the day after vpon the ſtockes, the waxe candle fayre put out: furthermore by the verdict of the inqueſt, by the atteſtation of the witneſſes ſworne, by the Crowners iudgement, by the aſſent of the Parliament, by the kynges letters aſſigned, and broade ſeale of reſtitution of his goodes: and finally by the confeſſion of the parties them ſelues whiche murdered hym. &c. and yet thinketh Cope to make men ſuch fooles, hauing their fiue wits to weene yet that Hunne dyd hang hym ſelfe, after ſo many demonſtrations and euidences to the contrarye, as in euery part of this ſtorie may appeare. And though it were, as it was vnlike, and hard for a man to beleue, that D. Horſey a man of ſuche age, dignitie, and learnyng, woulde ſo muche forget hym ſelfe, to attempt ſuche a villanie, yet ſo great is the deuyl ſometymes with man (where God permitteth) that he worketh greater thinges then this, and more vncredible. For who woulde haue thought it like, that Cain woulde euer haue kylled Abel his owne naturall brother? whiche was more then a Biſhops Chauncelour to kyll a Citizen: yet ſo he dyd. And where Cope pretendeth the cauſes of anger, and deſperation whereby Hunne did hang hym ſelfe: howe is it like, or who dyd euer heare, a man beyng in ſuch extremitie of deſperation, to ſtand firſt trimming hym ſelfe, and kemmyng his head, before he go to hang him ſelfe? No leſſe credite is alſo to be geuen to that whiche foloweth in the ſame Cope, where he ſaith, that Richarde Hunne beyng in priſon, was conuict of hereſie. By the which worde conuict, if he meane that Hunne was proued an heretique, that is falſe, for that he beyng at Fulham examined vpon certaine Articles, both denyed the articles to be true, as they were obiected, and alſo if they were true, yet he ſubmitted him ſelfe to their fauourable correction, and therefore not ſtanding obſtinately in the ſame, could not be proued an heretique. And if by his terme conuict, he meane that he was by ſentence caſt, ſo was Hunne neuer caſt by any ſentence for an heretique, ſo long as he lyued, but after his death, when he coulde nothing anſweare for hym ſelfe. And becauſe this vntruth ſhoulde not go without his felowe, ſee howe he hudleth vp one falſe narration in the necke of another: affirmyng moreouer, that Hunne was caſt in priſon, before he entred his ſuite of Premunire againſt the prieſt. Whiche is vtterly falſe and vntrue, both diſagreeing to other ſtories, and alſo refuted by the wordes of Sir Thomas More his owne authour, who reporteth that Hunne (in ſuing his Premunire againſt the prieſt) beyng ſet vpon a glorye of victorie, made his boaſting among his frendes, that he truſted to haue the matter long ſpoken of, and to be called Hunnes caſe. Hæc Morus. Whereby it appeareth, that Hunne was not then in priſon clapt vp for hereſie: but was abrode ſeeking counſel among the Lawyers, and boaſting among his freendes, as writeth More Lib.3. Dial.

Hunne had double wrong.

Copes reaſons why Hunne ſhould hang hym ſelfe.

Copes reaſons anſwered.

Proufes that Hunne dyd not hange hym ſelfe.

Manyfeſt vntruth in Cope.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudleth out vntruthes.

An other vntruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus, Dial. Lib.3.

After this heape of vntruthes aboue paſſed, adde yet further an other copie of Copes falſe dealing: who ſekyng al corners, and euery where howe to picke matter againſt my former hiſtorie, chargeth me with arrogancie, as though I tooke ſo highly vpon me to vndoe and derogate the kinges actes and iudgementes in the acquital of D. Horſey. If it ſo pleaſed the king to acquite D. Horſey, by his gratious pardon, I am not againſt it, neither do I deny but the king ſo dyd, neither do I ſay, nor euer dyd, but the king of his ſuperemminent prerogatiue may ſo do: and wherein then do I vnrippe or looſe the kinges actes here done and concluded? But if the queſtion be this, whether D. Horſey with his coniurates dyd kyll Richard Hunne or no: then do I ſay, that the pardon of the kyng doth not take away the veritie of the crime committed, but remoueth away the penaltie of the lawe deſerued: and ſo if the life of them was ſaued by way of pardon (as M. Moore hym ſelfe ſeemeth not to denye) then was it not through their innocencie claymyng iuſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtandyng neede of mercye. For what needeth pardon, where iuſtice abſolueth? yea, who ſueth pardon, but in ſo doing muſt yelde hym ſelfe gyltie? for pardon neuer commeth lightly eyther with God or man, except the crime firſt be confeſſed. Wherfore, if they eſcaped by iuſtice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth M. Moore ſay, they were ſaued by pardon? And if they eſcaped by pardon, howe then doth Cope ſay, they were not gyltie? And be it admitted, that the ſentence of the kynges Attorney, in the kynges name did abſolue them as vngyltie, according as the king was then informed by the Cardinal and ſuite of frendes: yet afterwarde the kyng beyng better informed by the Parliament, and the truth better knowen, deteſted and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon vnto them, as by the kynges owne actes and his brode ſeale appeared, yet remaynyng in recordes to be ſeene.

An other vntruth in Cope noted.

Anſwere to Copes cauillation.

The eſcaping of Worſey came rather of fauour, then of his demerites.

And as touching my former hiſtories ſet foorth in Latine and in Engliſh, which ſpeake firſt of yͤ foreman of the queſt, then of the kinges Attorney to be laboured with ſome gyftes or money: as Cope hath yet proued no vntruth in my ſaying, ſo leſſe can he finde any repugnaunce or diſagreeing in the ſame. For he that ſpeaketh of bribyng, firſt of one perſon, and then afterwarde of an other, where both might be bribed together, is not contrarye (I thinke) to hym ſelfe, but rather doth comprehende that in the one booke, whiche he before leaueth out in the other, and yet no great repugnaunce either in the one or in the other, ſeyng that which is ſaid, may be verefied in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For howe is it otherwiſe like or poſſible, but that there muſt nedes be founde ſome priuie packyng in this matter, ſeing after ſuch euidēce found and brought in by the Crowners inqueſt & Iurie of .xxiiij. choſen perſons, after ſo many markes & tokens of yͤ murder ſo cleare and demonſtrable, and laid forth ſo plaine to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not ſee the ſame: yet through the handling of the foreſaid Attorney, & of the foreman of the queſt, the murderers were borne out, and confeſſed to be no murderers? If ſuch bolſtering out of matters, and parcialitie were then ſuche a rare caſe in the realme of Englande in the tyme of Cardinall Wolſey, who then vnder the kyng, and in the kinges name dyd what he liſt, thē let it ſeme vntrue in my former ſtories, that I haue written. And yet the wordes of my ſtorie which Cope carpeth at ſo muche, be not myne, but the wordes of Ed. Hall his owne authour. Wherfore if his depoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt nedes be a cenſor of other mens writinges, let him expoſtulate with Hal, and not with me.

Ex Edw. Hallo, in vit. Henr. 8. an. 6.

But I trouble the reader too muche in this matter of Richard Hunne, being of it ſelfe ſo cleare, that no indifferent iudge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers they wyl neuer be ſatiſfied. Wherefore to returne againe to the purpoſe of our ſtorie intermitted, in the table aboue, conteynyng the names of them whiche about this tyme of Richard Hunne, were forced to denye and abiure their profeſſed opinions, pag. 777. mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, Iohn Houſhold, and other moe, abiuryng about the yeare of our Lord. 1617. Whoſe vexation and weaknes although it be pitiful to beholde, yet to conſider the confeſſion of their doctrine in thoſe auncient dayes, it is not vnprofitable. Wherein we haue to ſee the ſame fourme of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hartes of our forelders, whiche is nowe publiquely receyued, as wel touchyng the Lordes Sacrament of his body, as alſo other ſpecialties of ſinceritie. And although they lacked then publique authoritie to mainteyne the open preachyng and teachyng of the Goſpell, whiche the Lordes mercifull grace hath geuen vs nowe, yet in ſecrete knowledge and vnderſtandyng they ſeemed then litle or nothing inferiour to theſe our tymes of publike reformation: as may appeare by this confeſſiō of Elizabeth Stamford here vnder written. Whiche onely maye ſuffice for example to vnderſtande what ripe knowledge of Gods worde was then abrode, although

An. 1517.

Elizabeth Stamford.

The teaching of the former times to be conſidered.

Thomas Beele.

not in Churches publiquely preached, for daunger of the Biſhops, yet in ſecret wiſe taught and receyued of diuers. In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitziames Biſhop of London ann. 1517. confeſſed that ſhee was taught by one Thomas Beele, ſometime dwelling at Henley, theſe wordes, xi. yeares before: That Chriſte feedeth, and faſte nouriſheth his Churche with his owne precious bodye, that is, the bread of life commyng downe from heauen: this is the worthy worde that is worthyly receiued, and ioyned vnto man for to be in one body with him. Soth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wiſely deemyng of the holy Sacrament Chriſtes owne body: this is not receiued by chewing of teeth, but by hearing of eares and vnderſtanding with your ſoule, and wiſely workyng thereafter. Therefore ſaith S. Paul, I feare me amongſt vs, brethren, that many of vs be feeble and ſicke, therefore I counſaile vs brethren to riſe and watche, that the great day of dome come not ſodenly vpon vs, as the theefe doth vpon the marchaunt. Alſo the ſaid Thomas taught and ſhewed her, that the Sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Chriſte, but very bread: and that the Sacrament was the very body of Chriſte put vpon the Croſſe, after diuine or myſtical maner. And moreouer that the ſaid Thomas Beele dyd many tymes and oft teache her this foreſayde leſſon, that ſhee ſhoulde confeſſe her ſinnes to God and that the Popes Pardons and indulgences were nought worth and profited not, and that worſhippyng of Images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

Joanne Sampſon.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may alſo be annexed the doctrine and confeſſion of Joanne Sampſon, wife of John Sampoſon Carpenter of Aldermanbury in London: Againſt whom being cited, and examined before the Biſhop of London, certaine witneſſes were produced: who vpon their othe beyng ſworne, dyd detect and denounce the ſayde Joanne Sampſon in theſe articles and opinions folowing.

Articles of Joanne Sampſon.

1 Firſt, that ſhe being in her labour what tyme Joanne Sampſon her predeceſſor then being alyue, was with her, & after ÿ maner thē of women, called much vpon the help of the virgin Mary, ſhe ſpitting therat, was in ſuch ſort agreued, that the other party was cōpelled to forſake the houſe.

2 Alſo, that ſhe ſpake againſt pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of the bleſſed virgine, and of al ſaintes, affirmyng that there is none holy but one.

3 Item, an other tyme in the hearing of one Margarete Anworth, when ſhee and other women were inuocatyng the bleſſed virgine to helpe in womens labour, ſhee ſtoode agaynſt them, and contumeliouſly ſpake agaynſt the inuocators.

4 Item, that ſhee ſpeakyng agaynſt the Pilgrimage of our Lady of Wilſedon, (as ſhee was then called) and of ſaint Sauiour at Barmſey, called the ſaid ſaint Sauiour, Synt Sawyer.

5 Item, for hauyng two certaine bookes in Engliſhe, one bygger, and an other leſſer, whiche ſhee committed to one John Auſted a Cooke, whiche bookes in the Regiſter be not named.

Agaynſt the Sacraments of the altar.

6 Item, that the ſayde Joanne Sampſon at a ſupper, in the hearing of certaine men, and of a certaine wydowe named Joanne White, ſpake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the altar, ſaying, that the Prieſtes were Idolaters whiche dyd lyft vp the bread ouer their heades, making the people to worſhip it, & making the people to beleue that it was the Lordes body, and that it was better to eate the altar cloth, if it myght be eaten and digeſted as eaſily as the other.

Here foloweth moreouer the names of diuers other which in the Regiſters be ſpecified to abiure, as

The names of diuers perſons abiured.

William Iacum Carpenter.
Iohn Stradlyng.
Iohn Newman Shermā.
Robert Boſhel.
Tho. Edward Dyar.
Richard Dewar.
Rich. Appulby.
Iohn Oſborne.
Robert Roger.
Iohn Eton.
Iohn Chapman,
William Chalton.
Richard Myldnale.
Iohn Hakhot.
Iacob Sturdey.
Tho. Purnall Taylor.
Iohn Bytam.
Rob. Hutton Pynner.
Robert Pope.
Iohn Geeſte of Stratforde.
Iohn Bryan of the Pariſhe of S. Steuen.
Iohn Bol.
Richard Weſcotte.
William Croſſe.
George Lawnd Prior of S. Sithe.
Henry Colle.
William Manne.
William Swetyng.
Iacob Bruſter.
Sabine Manne.
Iohn Spencer.
Patricke Dowdal alias Capper.
Robert Aleyn.
Iohn Finche Cooke.
Iohn Southwyke.

John Southwyke.

Againſt this John Southwyke laſt named, was layd & obiected, that whē one Ruclay commyng frō the church of the Gray fryers in London, had ſayde to his wife (aſkyng where he had ben) that he had heard Maſſe, & had ſeene his lord God in forme of bread & wine ouer the prieſtes head. &c. the foreſaid John Southwyke there preſent anſweared againe & ſaid: nay, William, thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God: thou ſaweſt but bread, wine, & the Chalice. And when the ſaid Williā anſwered againe in the ſame wordes, as before, ſaying: I truſt verily that I ſaw my lord God in forme of bread & wine, & this I doubt not: the other replying again, anſweared & ſaid, as before: nay, I tel thee, thou ſaweſt but only a figure or ſacramēt of hym, the which is in ſubſtance, bread and wyne. &c. This was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1520. In which he was compelled to abiure.

Conſent of doctrine.

Al theſe aboue named in one key of doctrine and religiō did hold & concord together, againſt whō were obiected v. or vi. eſpecial matters: to wyt, for ſpeaking againſt worſhypping of ſaints, againſt pilgrimage, againſt inuocation of the bleſſed virgin, againſt the ſacramēt of ÿ Lordes body, & for hauyng ſcripture bookes in Engliſh: which bookes eſpecially I finde to be named as theſe: the booke of the. iiij. Euangeliſtes, a booke of the Epiſtles of Paul and Peter, the Epiſtle of S. James, a boke of the Apocalyps, and of Antichriſt, of the. x. Commaundementes, and Wickliffes wicket, with ſuch other like.

☙ Iohn Stilman martyr.

Anno. 1518.

John Stilman, Martyr.

IT would al be a long tractation & tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men & women, beſide theſe aboue rehearſed, which in thoſe dayes recanted and abiured about the beginnyng of king Henryes raigne and before: among whō yet notwithſtanding, ſome there were whom the Lord reduced againe, & made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his truth, and conſtaunt vnto death: of which number, one was John Stilman by name, who about the. xxiij. day of Sept. in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitziames then B. of Lond. at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtanding his former recantation, oth, and abiuration made about. xi. yeares then paſt, before Edmund Biſhop of Saliſbury, as wel for ſpeaking againſt the worſhipping praying, and offering vnto Images, as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in the Sacrament of Chriſtes memoriall: yet ſithens that tyme he had fallen into the ſame opinions againe, and ſo into the daunger of relapſe, and further had highly commēded and prayſed John Wickliffe, affirmyng that he was a ſaint in heauen, and that his booke called the Wicket, was good and holy. Soone after his examination he was ſent from thence vnto the Lollardes tower at London, and the xxij. day of Octob. then next enſuyng, was brought openly into the conſiſtorie at Paules, and was there iudicially examined by Tho. Hed the Biſhops vicar generall, vpon the contentes of theſe articles folowing.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Ex Regiſt. Fitziames. Lond.

Articles laid againſt John Stilman.

1 Firſt I obiect vnto you, that you haue confeſſed before my L. of Lond. & me D. Hed his vicar general, that about *xx. yeares paſt, one Steuen Moone of the Dioces of Winchest. (with whom you abode 6. or 7. yeares after) did teach you to beleue that the going on pilgrimage & worſhippyng of images (as the Lady of Walſingham and others) were not to be vſed. And alſo ÿ afterwards one Richard Smart who was burned at Saliſbury about. 14. or 15. yeres paſt, did reade vnto you Wickliffes Wicket, & likewiſe inſtructed you to beleue that ÿ ſacramēt of the altar was not the body of Chriſt: al which thinges you haue erroneouſly beleued.

* yeares of antiquitie to be noted.

Wickliffes Wicket.

2 Itē, you haue diuers tymes read the ſaid booke called Wickliffes Wicket, & one other booke of the. x. Cōmaundements, which the ſaid Richard Smart dyd geue you, & at the tyme of your firſt apprehenſion, you did hide them in an old oke, and did not reuele thē vnto the B. of Saliſbury, before whō you were abiured of hereſie about. xi. yeres ſince: where you promiſed by oth vpon the Euangeliſtes, euer after to beleue & hold as the Chriſten fayth taught and preached, & neuer to offend againe in the ſaide hereſies, or any other, vpon paine of relapſe. And farther you there promiſed to performe al ſuch penance as ÿ ſaid B. of Saliſbury did enioyne you: who then enioyned you, vpon the like payne, not to depart his Dioces, without his ſpecial licence.

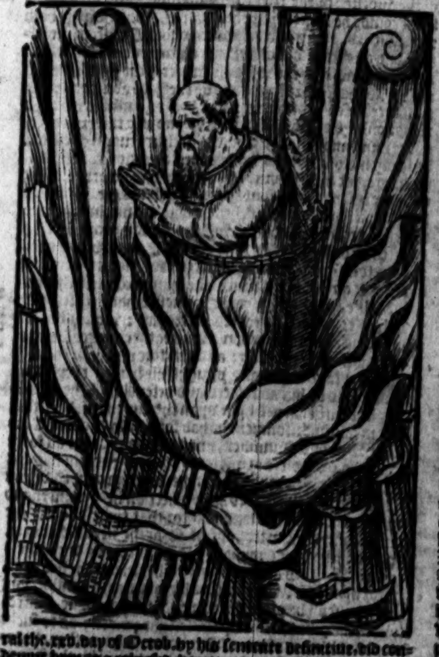
3 Itē, it is euidēt that you be relapſed, aſwel by your own cōfeſſion, as alſo by your dedes, in that about ij. yeres after your abiuration you went into the ſaid place, where you had hidden your bookes, & then taking thē away with you, you departed the foreſaid dioces, without the licence of ÿ Biſh. and brought thē with you to Londō, where now being taached & taken with thē vpon great ſuſpition of hereſie, you are brought vnto the B. of Lond. By reaſon of which your demeanor, you haue ſhewed by your impenitent and diſſembled

bled conuerſion from your errours, and alſo your vnfaithful abiuration and diſobedience vnto the authoritie of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance. In which behalf you be voluntarily periured, & alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſaid dioces without licence.

4 Item, you be not only (as aboue is ſaid) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntaryly periured, and relapſed by this your foreſaid heretical demeanor: but alſo ſithens your laſt attachement vpon ſuſpitiō of hereſie, you haue maliciouſly ſpoken erroneous and damnable wordes, affirmyng before my Lord of London your Ordinary, and me, iudicially ſittyng at Fulham, that you were ſorye that euer you dyd abiure your ſaide opinions, and had not ſuffered then manfully for them: for they were and be good and true, and therfore you wyl now abide by them, to dye for it. And furthermore you haue ſpoken againſt our holy father the Pope and his authoritie, damnably ſaying that he is Antichriſt, and not the true ſucceſſor of Peter, or Chriſts vicar in earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he graunteth in the ſacrament of penaunce, are nought, and that you wyl none of them: And likewiſe that ẏ college of Cardinals, be limmes of the ſaid Antichriſte: and that all other inferiour prelates and prieſtes are the ſynagogue of Sathan. And moreouer you ſayd, that the Doctours of the church haue ſubuerted the truth of holy Scripture, expoundyng it after their own myndes, and therefore their workes be nought, and they in hel: but that wickliffe is a ſaint in heauen, & that the booke called his Wicket, is good, for therein he ſheweth the truth. Alſo you did wiſh ẏ there were .xx. thouſād of your opinion againſt vs Scribes and Phariſees, to ſee what you would do for ẏ defence of your faith. Al which hereſies you did afterwardes erroneouſly affirme before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and then ſaid that you would abide by them to dye for it: notwithſtanding his earneſt perſwaſions to the contrary: and therfore for theſe premiſſes you be euidently relapſed, & ought to be committed vnto the ſecular power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Al theſe articles thus propounded, and his conſtant perſeueryng in the truth perceyued, Doctour Hed vicar general the .xxv. day of Octob. by his ſentence definitiue, did condemne hym as a relapſed heretique, and ſo deliuered hym the ſame preſent day, vnto the Shiriffes of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.


The burnyng of Iohn Stilman.

Thomas Man martyr.

Tho. Man, Martyr.

NExt to Iohn Stilman aboue mentioned, foloweth in this bleſſed order of martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of Thomas Man, who the .xxix. day of March in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was burned in Smithfield. This Tho. Man had likewiſe bene apprehended for ẏ profeſſion of Chriſtes goſpel, about. 6. yeres before, the .14. day of August, an. 1511. and being at that time brought before D. Smyth B. of Lincolne, was by him examined vpō diuers and ſundry articles: the effect whereof are theſe.

1 Firſt, that he had ſpoken againſt auricular confeſſion, and denyed the corporal preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament of the altar.

2 Item, that he beleued that al holy men of his ſect were onely prieſtes.

3 Item, that he had affirmed that the father of heauen was the altar, and the ſecond perſon the Sacrament, & that vpon the Aſcenſion day the ſacrament aſcended vnto the altar, and there abydeth ſtyl.

4 Item, that he beleued not aright in the ſacrament of extreme vnction.

5 Item, that he had called certaine prieſtes meanely arrayed, pyld knaues.

6 Item, that he had ſaid that pulpits were prieſtes lying ſtooles.

7 Itē, that he beleued that images ought not to be worſhipped: and that he neither beleued in the Crucifixe, nor yet would worſhip it.

8 Item, that he had affirmed that he heard ſay, ẏ worde of God and God to be al one, and he that worthily receiueth the word of God, receyueth God.

9 Item, that he had ſayd, that the Popiſh churche was not the church of God, but a ſynagogue: and that holy men of his ſect, were the true church of God.

The articles of Thomas Man.

For theſe and ſuche like matters was he a long tyme empriſoned, and at laſt through frailtie and feare of death, was conſtrained to abiure and yeeld him ſelfe vnto the iudgement of the Romiſh church, and thereupon was enioyned, not onely to make his open recantation, but alſo frō thence forth to remaine as priſoner within ẏ monaſterie of Oſney beſides Oxford, and ſo to beare a fagot before the firſt croſſe at the next generall Proceſſion within the Vniuerſitie. Howbeit, not long after, the Biſh. hauing need of the poore mans helpe in his houſholde buſines, tooke hym out of the ſayd Monaſterye, and placed hym within his owne houſe, vntyl his buſines was ended, and then (his turne once ſeruing) he appoynted D. Wilcockes his vicar general, that in his next iudicial Seſſion within the Priorie of Frideſwide in Oxforde, he ſhoulde aſſigne hym to remaine within the ſaid Priorie, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior for the tyme being, vpō paine of relapſe: and vpon the like payne he alſo enioyned hym to weare the ſigne of a fagot vnder his vppermoſt garment, vntyl he were diſpenſed withal for the ſame. Al which notwithſtandyng, he (beyng belike both ſorye for his offence in denying the truth, & alſo weary of his ſeruile and priſonlike bondage) bethought hym ſelfe how he myght beſt eſcape their cruel handes, and therfore after a while, ſeyng good opportunitie offred hym, he fled the dioces & iuriſdiction of Lincolne: and ſeeking abode in other countreys for worke (thereby to ſuſteyne his poore lyfe) he moſt commonly abode, ſometime in Eſſex, ſomtime in Suffolke: where alſo he aſſociated and ioyned hym ſelfe vnto ſuche godly profeſſors of Chriſtes Goſpel, as he there could heare of. But within fewe yeares after (ſuche is the cruel rage of Sathan and his wicked members, which neuer ſuffer the godly long to continue vntroubled) he was agayne accurſed of relapſe, by the inqueſt of the inquiſition of London, and therupon was apprehended & brought vnto Rich. Fitziames then Biſh. of Lond. and the .ix. day of February, an. 1518. he was examined by D. Hed the Biſhops vicar general within his pallace at Lond. where the ſayde Hed iudicially aſſiſted with diuers of his complices, declared firſt vnto Man, that for as muche as he was ſince his firſt abiuryng againe detected and accuſed by certaine credible and honeſt perſons, of the ſame hereſies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrary vnto the order of penaunce enioyned hym by the late Biſhop of Lincolne) he had departed the Priorie of ſaint Frideſwyde, and the Dioces of Lincolne without leaue, eyther of the Biſhop or Prior: and was nowe alſo found within the dioces of Londen, and that without his badge aſſigned hym by the ſayde biſhops vicar generall: he therefore as Chauncelour and vicar general vnto the Biſh. of Lond. deputed for that purpoſe, dyd then meane to proceede againſt hym as a relapſe, by order of Eccleſiaſtical lawes in that behalfe prouided: Wherefore he appoynted hym to appeare againe in the conſiſtory of Paules, the .xij. day of February next after, there to anſwer vnto ſuch articles as thē ſhold be propoūded againſt hym. At whiche day & place the Chauncelor (firſt reciting the cauſes before mentioned, why he dyd then proceede againſt hym) obiected vnto hym theſe articles folowyng.

Thomas Man ſent to the monaſtery of Oſney.

Thomas Man ſent to the monaſtery of Frideſwyde.

Thomas Man fledde out of the monaſtery.

Thomas Man the ſecond tyme apprehended.

The cauſe of hys martyrdome.

1 Firſt, that he was of the Dioces of London.

2 Itē, that he was a Chriſten man & profeſſed Chriſten Fayth, and the determinations of holy church concerning

Articles agaynſt obiected agaynſt Thomas Man.

the ſeuen Sacraments, and other articles of the Catholike fayth.

3 Item, that it was not lawful for any man (eſpecially a lay man) erroneouſly and obſtinatly to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrarye vnto the determinations of the ſayde church, and that the perſon ſo doing is an heretique.

Againſt the reall preſence in the Sacrament.

4 Item, that within one of the .xij. monethes of the yeare of our Lord. 1511. he had bene detected before the Biſhop of Lincolne that then was, of diuers poyntes of hereſie: as that he had affirmed that the very body and bloud of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar, but materiall bread and wine, and that he had receyued it at Eaſter as holy bread, and likewiſe had affirmed that the Crucifixe & other Images in the church were not to be worſhipped: and alſo that confeſſion made vnto a prieſt, was of none effect, with diuers other like opinions and hereſies.

5 Item, that for theſe and ſuche like poyntes of hereſie he had bene abiured in S. Mary church at Oxford before D. Wilcockes Chauncelour vnto the ſaide B. of Lincolne, in the moneth of October, in the yere laſt aboueſaid, and there dyd renounce them and all other, promiſing no more to fall into the like.

6 Item, that there alſo he had taken a ſolemne oth, to do ſuch penaunce as ſhould be enioyned hym by the authoritie of the ſaid Biſhop.

7 Item, that then he was enioyned to abide within the monaſterie of Oſeney by Oxford: and alſo there to beare a fagot before the firſt Croſſe in the general Proceſſion.

8 Item, that after a certaine time that he had ben within the monaſterie of Oſeny, the Biſhop of Lincolne (for certaine cauſes) tooke him into his own houſe and ſeruice, reſpityng his penaunce for a tyme.

9 Item, that afterwardes, whiche was the .ix. daye of Octob. ann. 1512. the ſayd Biſhops Chauncelour iudicially ſittyng in the Chapter houſe of the Priorie of S. Frideſwyde in Oxford, dyd enioyne hym that he ſhould tary within the ſayde Priorie, and not to goe out of the gates thereof without licence of the Prior for the tyme being, vntyll he had other commaundement from the Biſhop, vpon payne of relapſe: and further that he ſhoulde from thenceforth (vppon the like payne) weare a ſigne of a fagot vnder his vppermoſt garment.

10 Itē, that after his abiuration, and ſithens the premiſſes thus done, he was yet againe detected to ẏ B. of Lond. by open fame, and denounced by worſhipfull and credible perſons, that he had vſed like falſe errours and hereſies, & had ſpoken and taught certayne concluſions of hereſie, againſt the Chriſten fayth, and determinatiō of holy church: and that he had fallen into the like hereſies, as before his abiuration, both againſt the ſacrament of the altar, agaynſt pilgrimages and worſhipping of Images: and had blaſphemed our bleſſed Lady, callyng her Mably.

He ment ſome Image or picture of the virgine, ſet vp in ſome blinde place to be worſhipped.

11 Itē, that when he wrought with one Iohn Bates in Stratford Langthorne in Rogatiō weke, then three yeres paſt, and being bidden by the ſaid Bates wife to go & heare the Goſpel, he anſwered, and ſaid vnto her, I wyl not come there, go you if ye liſt, ye ſhal haue as much meede for it, as to put your finger in the fire, and to burne it.

12 Itē, that in tymes paſt for feare of abiuration, he had fled from Colcheſter to Newbery, and after that vnto Hamerſham, and had there damnably accompanied with heretiques and had taught hereſies amōg them: & alſo ſince the tyme of his abiuratiō he had ſayd, that he and his wyfe had turned ſixe or ſeuen hundreth people vnto thoſe opinions which he was abiured of, and others alſo, contrary to Chriſtes fayth, and determinations of holy Church.

His anſweare vnto theſe articles was, that as touching the firſt nyne, he graunted in part to be true, confeſſing to the ſeconde, that he was a true Chriſtian, and dyd profeſſe the true Chriſtian fayth: but the contentes of the laſt three he vtterly denyed to be true, affirming for certain anſweare vnto the .xi. article, that at the tyme mentioned in the ſame, he dyd not worke in the towne of Stratford. Vpon which anſweare the Chauncelour called forth two witneſſes to be ſworne and examined agaynſt hym, willyng hym that if he had any iuſt matter againſt any of them, he ſhould refuſe them. But to what purpoſe this his fayre offer and trym ſhewe of vpright iuſtice ſerued, I can not ſee. For notwithſtādyng that he charged the one of the witneſſes with theft and adulterie (for that hauyng a wife of his owne, he dyd yet runne awaye with an other mans wife and goodes) and alſo alleged that the other was too young to be a ſworne witnes in caſe of life and death: yet were they both ſtyll retained and allowed by the Chauncelour, and ſworne not to depart away or hide them ſelues, but to be alwayes ready to iuſtifie that which they had to ſay agaynſt the ſaid Thomas Man: and ſo for that tyme as wel they, as alſo al the reſt were commaunded to depart, and the priſoner ſent againe to his priſon.

Falſe witnes.

Falſe witnes receaued againſt Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the othe miniſtred vnto theſe witneſſes, I finde one note (me thinketh) worthy preſent remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in this proces, and alſo becauſe it ſomwhat openeth the fooliſh, ridiculous, and fayned figuratiue Ceremonies of the Papiſtes, who do attribute a ſpirituall ſignification almoſt vnto al their doinges. The Regiſter diſcourſing at large the manner of their othe hath theſe wordes: Ad ſancta Dei Euangelia iurari fecit, tribus me dijs digitis erectis, & ſuper librum poſitis in ſignum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus (videl. police & auriculari) ſuppoſitis & ſuppreſsis, & ſub libro poſitis, in ſignum damnationis corporis & animæ, ſi non depoſuerint veritatem in hac parte. That is to ſaye, he cauſed them to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, with their three myddle fingers ſtretched out right, and layde vpon the booke, in ſigne of the Trinitie and Catholique fayth: and the other two (to wyt, the thombe and the litle finger) put downewardes vnder the booke, in token of damnation of bodye and ſoule, if they dyd not depoſe the truth in the matter. This Ceremoniall order and expoſition of theirs as it is of their owne fonde inuention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God: ſo mynde I to leaue it ſtill vnto them ſelues, with other their apiſhe toyes and ridicles, as thinges worthy to be laughed at, and wyll nowe further procede with the reſt of this proces, which I haue in hande.

The ceremoniall maner of the popiſh miniſtring of their othe.

The .xv. day of February, D. Hed the Chauncelour, againe iudicially ſitting in the conſiſtorie at Paules, commaunded Thomas Man to be brought before hym, and there cauſing the articles obiected againſt hym by the Biſhop of Lincolne, with his order of abiuratiō and penance, and alſo his owne articles laſt propounded to be firſt read, he called forth a thirde witnes to be ſworne and examined vpon the ſame. But becauſe he would ſeeme to do al thinges by order of iuſtice, and nothing againſt lawe, he therefore appoynted vnto the ſayd Thomas Man, certaine Doctours and aduocates of the Arches, as his counſellers, to pleade in this behalfe. Whiche was euen like as if the lambe ſhoulde be committed to the defence and protection of the wolfe, or the hare to the hounde. For what good helpe coulde he looke for at their handes, whiche were both moſt wicked haters and abhorrers of his Chriſtian profeſſion, and alſo ſtout vpholders and mainteyners of that Antichriſtian lawe, by the which he was for the ſame condemned? And that ful wel appeared by the good aduice and profitable counſell whiche they gaue hym againſt his next examinations. For aſwel vpon the .xx. and alſo the .xxiij. dayes of the ſame moneth of February, in their ſeueral Seſſions he ſeyng his owne negations to their obiections, to take no place agaynſt their ſworne witneſſes, had no other thyng to allege for hym ſelfe, but that through his .xx. weekes of hard impriſonment vnder the Biſhop of Lincolne, he was forced to recant and abiure: whiche was a poore ſhyfte of counſell, God knoweth: And yet D. Raynes beyng one of his chiefe aſſigned aduocates (in ſteede of aduice) coulde by his ſubtile queſtionyng, then make hym to confeſſe, that certayne talke, whereof one of the witneſſes had accuſed hym, was ſpoken about fiue yeares before paſt: whiche becauſe it was, ſince his recantation, was rather an accuſation of hym ſelfe, then an excuſing: and therfore it is eaſie to iudge with howe fauourable and vpryghtfull hartes they tooke vpon them to be his aduocates and defenders. The Chauncelour likewiſe charged hym vpon the ſame .xxiij. daye that ſince his laſt impriſonment he had ſayd vnto Robert Clunye the Biſhops Summner, and his keeper, that as farre forth as he coulde ſee or perceiue for his parte in this his matter, the lawes of the Churche were grounded vppon Pilate and Cayphas. Whiche obiection he graunting to be true, the Chauncelour dyd for that tyme diſmiſſe the Courte, vntyll the firſte daye of Marche next followyng. Vpon whiche daye (myndyng to make quicke diſpatche,) he in fewe wordes aſked Man, what matter he had to allege for hym ſelfe, why he ſhoulde not then (conſideryng the premiſſes) be pronounced a relapſed heretique, and receyue ſuche puniſhment by the ſecular power, as to ſuche was due by order of lawe. But he hauyng no other allegations then before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as an heretique. And notwithſtandyng that, as the Regiſter noteth (but howe truely, God onely knoweth) he dyd agayne forſake his former renewed profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpel, and yelded hym ſelfe vnto the Byſhop of Rome, requiryng to be abſolued from his curſe of excommunication, and contented to doo ſuche penaunce, as they ſhoulde enioyne hym, he was yet the .xxix. daye of Marche deliuered by Doctour Hed vnto the Sheriffe of London, to be then preſently burned, with this proteſtation made before, that he myght not conſent to the death of any.

Tho. Man againe called by D. Hed Chancelour.

Agnus Lupo commiſſus.

The ſubtile practiſe of the Romiſhe churchmen.

The lawes of the church of Rome grounded vpon Pilate and Cayphas.

and

The popiſhe chauncelour woulde not ſeeme to conſent to hys death: but yet could ſend hym to the Shābles to be kilde.

and therefore he deſired the Sheriffe that he would receyue this perſon as relapſed and condemned, and yet to puniſhe hym otherwiſe then by rigorous rigour. The wordes to be marked in their ſentence be theſe: Rogamus attente in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, vt huiuſmodi dignæ ſeueritatis vltio & executio de te & contra te in hac parte ſienda taliter moderetur, vt non ſit rigor rigidus, neq; manſuetudo diſſoluta, ſed ad ſalutem & ſanitatem animæ tuæ. &c. That is, we deſire in the bowels of our Lorde Jeſu Chriſte, that the puniſhment and execution of due ſeueritie of thee, and agaynſt thee in this part may ſo be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no diſſolute manſuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy ſoule. &c. Wherin theſe Catholique Churchmen doo wel declare, accordyng to the wordes of Thomas Man before expreſſed, that the lawes of their Churche be grounded vppon Pilate and Cayphas. For like as Caiphas with his Courte of Phariſees, cryed agaynſt Chriſte vnto Pilate: It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death: But if thou let hym goe, thou art not Cæſars freende. Euen ſo they, firſt condemnyng the ſaints of God to death, and then deliueryng them vnto the ſecular Magiſtrate, to be thereupon executed, woulde yet couer their malignant hartes with the cloke of hypocritical holyneſ, and vnwillyngneſ to ſhedde bloud. But God be thanked, which bringeth al things to light in his due tyme, and vncouereth hypocriſie, at laſt that ſhee may be ſeene & knowen in her right colours.

Tho. Man burned of the Sheriffe without any warrant. An. 1518. *Menſ. Mart. 29. Ex Regiſt.*

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jeſu Chriſt, being cōdemned by the vniuſt ſentence of Hed the Chaūcelor, was deliuered to the Sheriffe of Lond. ſitting on horſbacke, in Pater noſter rowe, before the Biſhops doore, an. 1518. proteſting to the ſaide Sheriffe, that he had no power to put hym to death, and therefore deſired the Sheriffe to take hym as a relapſe and condemned, to ſee hym pyniſhed, Et tamen citra mortem, that is, without death as ẏ wordes ſtand in the Regiſter. The ſheriffe receyuyng neither articles to be read at his burnyng, nor any Indentures of that his deliuery, immediatly caryed hym to Smithfielde, and there the ſame daye in the forenoone cauſed hym to be put into Gods Angel, accordyng to ẏ wordes of the ſaid Thomas Man before, ſaying: that if he were taken agayne of the pylled knaue prieſtes, as he called them, he wyſt wel he ſhould go to the holy Angel, and then be an angel in heauē.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitz-iames. Pag. 197.

Vj. ſcore abiured, and 3. or 4. burnt about Newbery 60. yeares agoe.

Abiuratio magna.

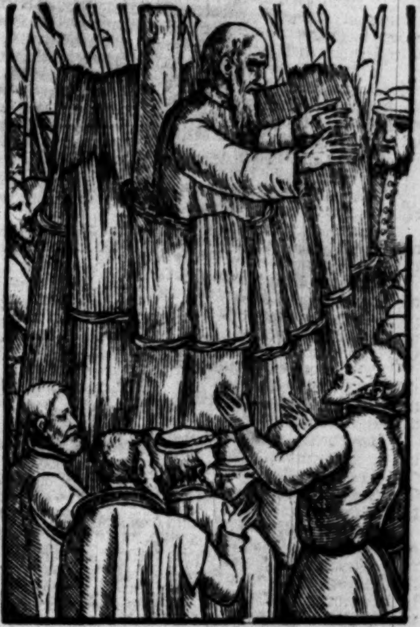
Knowen men, or Juſt faſt men of Amerſham. W. Tilſeley or rather Tyleſworth, martyr. *Vide ſupr. Pag. 749.*

Tho. Chaſe Martyr. *Vide ſuper. Pag. 750.*

Thomas Man a great reader among the brethren of Amerſham.

In the depoſition of one Thomas Riſby, weauer of Stratforde Langthorne, againſt the forenamed Martyr Tho. Man, it appeareth by the Regiſters, that he had bene in diuers places and countreys in Englād, and had inſtructed very many, as at Amerſham, at Lond. at Billerica, at Chemſford, at Stratford Langford, at Oxbrige, at Burnham, at Henley vpon Thamis, in Suffolke, & Northfolk, at Newbery, and diuers places moe: where he hym ſelfe teſtifieth, that as he went weſtward, he foūd a great companye of wel diſpoſed perſons, being of the ſame iudgement touching the ſacramēt of the Lords ſupper, that he was of, and eſpecially at Newbery, where was (as he confeſſed) a glorious and ſwete ſocietie of faythfull fauourers, who had continued the ſpace of .xv. yeres together, tyl at laſt by a certaine lewd perſon, whom they truſted & made of their counſel, they were bewrayed, and then many of them, to the nūber of ſixe or ſeuen ſcore were abiured, and iij. or iiij. of them burnt. Frō thence he came then (as he confeſſed) to the foreſt of Windeſore, where he hearing of the brethren whiche were at Amerſham, remoued thyther, where he founde a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching .xxiij. yeares: which was from this preſent tyme. 70. yeres agone. And this congregation of Buckingham ſhyre men, remayned tyll the time of John Longland B. of Lincolne, wherof we ſhal (Chriſt willing) heare more anone. Againſt theſe faythfull Chriſtians of Amerſham, was great trouble and perſecution in the tyme of W. Smyth Biſhop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lorde 1507. at whiche tyme diuers and many were abiured, and it was called Abiuratio magna, the great abiuration, & they which were noted of that doctrine & profeſſiō, wer called by ẏ name of knowen men or iuſt faſt mē. &c. In this congregation of the faythfull brethren, were 4. principal readers, or inſtructers. Wherof one was Tileſworth, called then D. Tilleſworth, who was burnt at Amerſham, mentioned in our hiſtorie before, by the name of William Tilſley, whom I ſuppoſe rather to be called Tilleſworth, pag. 749. An other was Thomas Chaſe, called amongeſt them, Doctour Chaſe, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Biſhop pf Lincolnes priſon at Woborne called Litle eaſe, pag. 750. The third was this Tho. Man, called alſo Doctour Man, burnt as is here mentioned in Smythfield, ann. 1518. who, as by his own confeſſion, and no leſſe alſo by his trauaile appeareth, was Gods champion, and ſuffered muche trouble by the prieſtes, for the cauſe and the lawe of God. He confeſſeth hym ſelfe in the ſame Regiſter, that he had turned ſeuen hundreth people to his Religion and doctrine, for the whiche he thanked God. He conueyed alſo fiue couples of men and women from Amerſham, Oxbrige, Burnham, and Henley vppon Thamis, where they dwelt, vnto Suffolke and Northfolk, that they myght be brought (as he then termed it) out of the deuyls mouth. The fourth was Robert Coſin, named likewiſe among them, Doctour Coſin.

¶ The burnyng of Thomas Man.



❡ Robert Coſin martyr.

Robert Couſyn burnt at Buckingham.

The teaching and doctrine of Robact. Coſyn.

A perilous hereſye.

This Robert Coſin ſeemeth to be the ſame, whiche in the former part of our hiſtorie is forementioned, beyng called by the name of Father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham, pag. 749. Of this Robert Coſine, I finde in the Regiſters of Lincolne, that he with Thomas Man had inſtructed and perſwaded one Joanne Norman, about Amerſham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worſhip any Images of ſaints. Alſo when ſhe had vowed a peece of ſiluer to a ſaint for the health of her child, they diſſwaded her from the ſame, & that ſhe needed not confeſſe her vnto a prieſt, but to be ſufficient to lyft vp her handes to heauen. Moreouer they were charged by the biſh. for teaching ẏ ſaid Joan that ſhe might aſwel drinke vpon the ſonday before maſſe, as any other day. &c. Ex Regiſt. Ioan. Longland. And thus you ſee the doctrine of theſe good men, for the which they were in thoſe dayes abiured, and condemned to death.

❡ William Swetyng, alias Clerke martyr.

William Sweting Martyr.

Ex Regiſt. Rich. Fitz-iames, pag. 60.

George Laund Prior of Saint Oſithe, abiured.

William Sweting, otherwiſe named Clerke, firſt dwelt with the Lady Percy at Dalyngton in the Countie of Northampton for a certayne ſpace, and from thence went to Borſtede in the Countie of Eſſex, where he was the holy water Clerke, the ſpace of vij. yeres: after that was bailyffe & fermer to maiſtres Margery Wode, the terme of .iij. yeares. From Borſted he departed and came to the towne of ſaint Oſithe, where he ſerued the Prior of ſaint Sythes named George Launde, the ſpace of .xvi. yeares and more. Where he had ſo turned the Prior by his perſwaſions, that the ſayd Prior of ſaint Oſithe was afterward compelled to abiure. This William Swetyng commyng vp to London with the foreſayd Prior, for ſuſpition of hereſie was committed to the Lolards tower, vnder the cuſtody of Charles Joſeph, and there beyng abiured in the Churche of ſaint Paul, was cōſtrayned to beare a fagot at Paules Croſſe, and at Colcheſter. And afterwarde to weare a fagot vpon his coate al his lyfe. Which he dyd two yeares together vpon his left ſleeue, tyll at length the perſon of Colcheſter required hym to helpe in the ſeruice of the Churche, and ſo pluckt the badge from his ſleeue: and there he remayned two yeares, beyng the holy water Clerke. From thence afterward departed, and trauailyng abroad, came to Bederich in the Dioces of Winchester, where he was holy water Clerke the ſpace of a yeare: then went to Chelſith, where he was their neatheard, and kept the towne beaſtes. In the which towne vpon ſaint Annes day in the mornyng, as he went forth with his beaſtes to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the Biſhop, and his chamber ſearched for bookes. This was ann. 1511.

Crimes obiected

The crimes whereupon he was examined were theſe.

The Goſpell of S. Mathewe.

Firſt, for hauyng muche conference with one William Man of Borſted, in a booke which was called Mathewe.

Item, that he had familiaritie, and frequented much the company of Iames Brewſter, who had bene before abiured.

Agaynſt pilgrimage.

Item, that when his wyfe would go on pilgrimage, he aſked of her, what good ſhe ſhould receyue by her goyng on pilgrimage, addyng moreouer, that, as he ſuppoſed, it was to no purpoſe, nor profite, but rather it were better for her to keepe at home, and to attende to her buſines.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that he had learned, and receyued of William Man, that the Sacrament of the Prieſtes altar was not the preſent very body, but bread in ſubſtaunce, receyued in memorial of Chriſt.

Item, that he had propounded, and affirmed the ſame doctrine to Iames Brewſter.

Againſt Images.

Item, becauſe he had reprehended his wyfe for worſhippyng ÿ Images in the church, and for ſettyng vp candles before them.

And thus haue you all the cauſes and crimes layde agaynſt this William Swetyng, wherfore he was condemned. Who then beyng aſked what cauſe he had why he ſhoulde not be iudged for relapſe, ſayde he had nothyng els, but onely that he committed hym ſelfe to the mercye of almighty God.

Iames Brewſter martyr.

James Brewſter of Colcheſter Martyr.

With William Swetyng alſo the ſame tyme was examined and condemned Iames Brewſter, of the pariſhe of ſaint Nicholas in Colcheſter. This Iames Brewſter was a Carpenter, dwellyng ten yeres in the towne of Colcheſter, who being vnlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended vpon the day of ſaint Iames, in one Walkers houſe in ſaint Clementes Pariſh.

About ſixe yeares before, which was ann. 1505. he had bene abiured by William Warham Archebiſhop of Canterbury, the ſee of London being then vacant. And after other penaunce done at Colcheſter, was enioyned to weare a fagot vpon his vpper garment during his lyfe. Whiche badge he dyd beare vpon his left ſhoulder neare the ſpace of two yeares, tyl the Controller of the Earle of Oxford pluckt it away, becauſe he was laboring in the workes of the Earle.

Crimes obiected againſt Brewſter.

The crimes wherupon he was examined, and whiche he confeſſed were theſe: firſt that he had bene fiue tymes with William Swetyng in the fieldes kepyng beaſtes, hearyng hym reade many good things out of a certaine booke. At whiche readyng alſo were preſent at one tyme, Woodroffe, or Woodwende, a Nette maker, with his wife: alſo a brother in lawe of William Swetyng: and an other tyme, Tho. Goodrede, who heard likewiſe the ſayd Tho. Swetyng reade.

Item, becauſe he vſed the companye and conference of Henry Hert Carpenter, of Weſtminſter, & wrought with hym in his ſcience at Weſtminſter.

Item for hauyng a certaine litle booke of Scripture in Engliſh, of an olde wrytyng, almoſt worne for age, whoſe name is not there expreſſed.

Maozim in the xj. chapter of Daniell is an Idole, and ſignifieth as much as forces or munitions.

Item, becauſe he hearyng vpon a tyme, one mayſter Bardfield of Colcheſter thus ſay, ÿ he that wil not worſhip the Maozim in hart and thought, ſhall dye in ſight, he aſked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim ſhould meane: who told him that it ſignified as muche, as the makyng God, to wyt, the ſacrament of the altar.

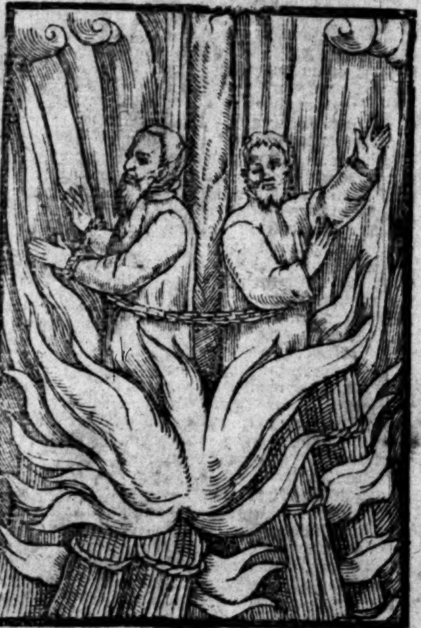
Item, that he had much conference with Henry Hert againſt oblations and Images, and that it was better beſtowed money which was geuē to the poore, then that was offered in Pilgrimage.

Item, for that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar and one Walker a Thicker of S. Clementes, concernyng diuers ſuch matters of Pilgrimage, offeryng to Images, worſhippyng of ſaints, and the ſacrament of the altar.

A perilous hereſie. *Ex Regiſt. Lond.*

Item, when Thomas Goodrede, William Swetyng, and he in the fields keepyng beaſtes, were talking together of the Sacrament of the Lordes bodye, and like matters, this Iames Brewſter ſhoulde thus ſay: Nowe the ſonne of the lyuyng God helpe vs. Unto whom William Swetyng agayne ſhoulde anſweare, Nowe almyghtye God ſo doo.

The burnyng of Iames Brewſter, and William Swetyng.



And thus haue you the cauſes likewiſe and crimes laid agaynſt Iames Brewſter, vpon whiche he with William Swetyng was together examined and condemned. Then beyng aſked, as the Romiſhe maner is, whether he had any cauſe why he ſhould not be adiudged for relapſe, he truſting to finde fauour and grace in ſubmyttyng hym ſelfe, ſaid, that he ſubmitted hym to the mercy of almighty God, and to the fauourable goodnes of hym his iudge. And likewiſe dyd William Swetting ſubmyt hym ſelfe, truſting belike that they ſhoulde finde ſome fauour and reliefe in this humble ſubiectyng them ſelues vnto their goodnes.

The vnmercifull and vnchriſtian dealing of the catholique Papiſtes.

But note here the vnmercyful and vnchriſtian dealing of theſe Catholique fathers, who vppon their ſubmiſſion were contented to geue out a ſolemne commiſſion, the tenor whereof was to releaſe and pardon them from the ſentence of the excommunication, whereinto they had incurred: But immediately after vpon the ſame, the Biſhop all this notwithſtandyng, pronounced vpon them the ſentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both deliuered to ÿ ſecular power, & both together brent in Smithfielde at one fire, the. xviij. day of Octob. ann. 1511.

William Swetyng, and Iames Brewſter, burnt in Smythfield.

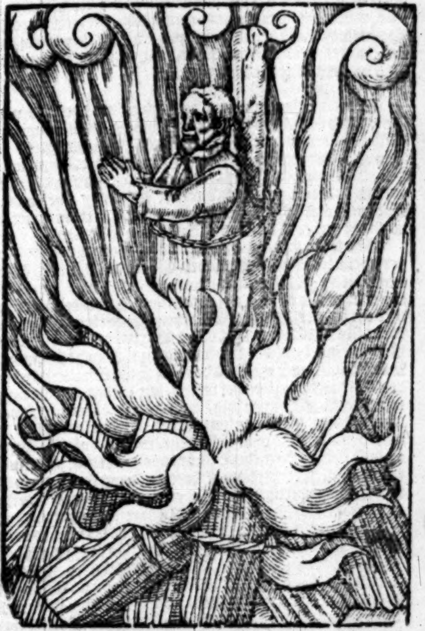
Chriſtopher Shoomaker martyr.

Chriſtofer Shoomaker burnt in Newbery, Martyr.

To theſe bleſſed ſaintes before paſt, we wyll alſo adioyne Chriſtopher Shoomaker: of whom this I finde briefly in the Regiſter of Iohn Longland: that the ſayd Chriſtopher Shoomaker, a pariſhioner of great Miſſenden, came to the houſe of one Iohn Say, and after other matters of talke, read to hym out of a litle booke, the wordes whiche Chriſte ſpake to his diſciples. And thus commyng to his houſe about foure tymes, at euery tyme read ſome thing out of the ſame booke vnto hym: teaching hym not to be deceyued in the prieſtes celebration at Maſſe, and declaryng that it was not the ſame very preſent body of Chriſt, as the prieſtes dyd phantaſie: but in ſubſtaunce bread, bearyng the remembraunce of Chriſt. And taught hym moreouer, that Pilgrimage, worſhippyng, and ſettyng vp candles to ſaintes were all vnprofitable. And thus the ſayde

Iohn

The burning of Chriſtofer Shomaker.



The death of Chriſtofer Shomaker.

1518.

John Say being taught by this Chriſtofer, and alſo confirmed by John Okẽden, and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Regiſter concerning Chriſtofer Shomaker, declaring further that he was burned at Newbery about this time, which was ann. 1518. And thus much out of the Regiſters of London.

IN turning ouer the Regiſters and Recordes of Lincolne likewiſe, and cōmyng to the yeare of our Lord. 1520. and 1521. I finde that as the light of the Goſpel began more to appeare, and the nūber of the profeſſors to growe, ſo the vehemencie of perſecution, and ſturre of the biſhops began alſo to encreaſe. Wherupon enſued great perturbation and greuous affliction in diuers & ſundry quarters of this realme, eſpecially about Buckingham ſhyre, and Amerſham, Vxbrige, Henley, Newbery, in the dioces of London, in Eſſex, Colcheſter, Suff. and Northf. and other partes moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in theſe countreys among the people. Wherfore they are muche begyled and miſſe informed, which condemne this kinde of doctrine, nowe receyued, of noueltie, aſking where was this church and religion xl. yeres ago, before Luthers time? To whom it may be anſwered, that this religion and forme of doctrine firſt planted by the Apoſtles, & taught by true biſhops, afterwarde decayed, and nowe reformed againe, although it was not receiued nor admitted of the Popes clergie before Luthers tyme, neither yet is, yet it was receiued of other, in whoſe harts it pleaſed yͤ Lord ſecretly to work, and that of a great nūber, which both profeſſed and ſuffred for the ſame, as in the former times of this hiſtorie may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine to be ſo new, that it was not heard of before Luthers time, how then came ſuch great perſecutions before Luthers tyme here in England? If theſe were of the ſame profeſſion, whiche they were of, then was their crueltie vnreaſonable, ſo to perſecute their owne Catholique fraternitie. And if they were otherwiſe, how then is this doctrine of the Goſpel ſo new, or the profeſſors thereof ſo late ſtart vp, as they pretende them to be? But this cōmeth onely of ignorance, and for not knowyng nor conſidering wel the tymes & antiquities of the churche, which hath bene before vs, which if they did, they ſhould ſe and ſay, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, whiche taſted & folowed the ſweetnes of Gods holy word, almoſt in as ample maner, for the nūber of well diſpoſed harts as now. Although publique authoritie then lacked to mainteine the open preaching of the Goſpell, yet the ſecret multitude of true profeſſors was not muche vnequal: certes the feruent zeale of thoſe Chriſtian dayes ſemed much ſuperiour to theſe our dayes & tymes, as manifeſtly may appeare by their ſittyng vp all night in reading & hearing, alſo by their expenſes & charges in bying of bookes in Engliſhe: of whom ſome gaue v. markes, ſome more, ſome leſſe for a booke. Some gaue a lode of hay for a few chapters of S. James, or of S. Paul in Engliſh. In which rarite of bookes, and want of teachers this one thing I greatly maruel and muſe at, to note in the Regiſters and to conſider how the word of truth notwithſtanding dyd multiply ſo exceedingly as it did amongſt them. Wherein is to be ſene no doubt the maruellous working of Gods mighty power. For ſo I find & obſerue in conſidering the Regiſters, how one neighbour reſorting and conferring with an other, eftſoones with a fewe wordes of their firſt or ſecond talke, did win & turne their myndes to that wherin they deſired to perſwade thē, touching the truth of Gods worde & his ſacraments. To ſee their trauailes, their earneſt ſeking, their burnyng zeales, their readings, their watchings, their ſwete aſſemblies, their loue and concord, their godly lyuyng, their faythful marying with the faythful, maye make vs nowe in theſe our dayes of free profeſſion to bluſhe for ſhame.

The antiquitie of the true doctrine of the Goſpell.

Ignoraunce of antiquitie.

Elder times of the Goſpell with theſe latter tymes compared.

The earneſt zeale of our forefathers in followyng Chriſtes Goſpell.

Foure principal poyntes they ſtood in againſt yͤ church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of ſaints, in reading ſcripture bokes in Engliſh, & in the carnal preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament.

After the great abiuration aforeſaid, which was vnder William Smyth Biſhop of Lincolne, they were noted and termed among thē ſelues by yͤ name of knowen men, or Iuſt faſtmen, as now they are called by the name of Proteſtāts.

Abiuratio magna.

Knowen men Iuſt faſt men.

As they were ſimple, and yet not vncircumſpect in their doings, ſo the crafty ſerpent being more wilye then they, by fraudulent ſubtiltie dyd ſo circūuent them, that they cauſed the wife to detect the huſband, the huſband the wife, the father yͤ daughter, the daughter the father, the brother to diſcloſe the brother, and neighbor the neighbor. Neither were there any aſſemblies nor readings kept, but both yͤ perſons & alſo the bookes were knowen: Neither was any worde ſo cloſely ſpoken, nor article mentioned, but it was diſcouered. So ſubtilly & ſleightly theſe Catholique prelates dyd vſe their inquiſitions and examinations, that nothing was done or ſaid among theſe Knowen men, xv. or xx. yeares before ſo couertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, ſo many articles & ſuſpitions they had, ſuche eſpialles and priuie ſcoutes they ſent abrode, ſuch authoritie and credit they had wͭ the king, and in the kings name: ſuche diligence they ſhewed in that behalfe, ſo violently and impudently they abuſed the booke, of the peaceable Euangeliſtes, wreſting mens conſciences vpō their othe, ſwearing then vpon the ſame to detect them ſelues, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kinred, with their freendes and neighbours, and that to death. All whiche thinges in the further proces of the table enſuing (Chriſt willing) which we haue collected out of ſome part of the Regiſters of Lincolne, ſhal appeare.

The practyſe of Romiſh prelates.

The practyſe of prelates.

For the better declaratiō wherof, firſt here is to be premoniſhed by the way, touching yͤ ſee of Lincolne, that after Williā Smith ſucceded J. Lōgland. This Williā Smith, although he was ſomewhat eger & ſharpe againſt the poore ſimple flocke of Chriſts ſeruauntes, vnder whō ſome were burned, many abiured, a great number moleſted, as partly hath bene afore declared: yet was he nothing ſo bloudy or cruel, as was the ſaid Lōgland, which afterwart ſucceded in that Dioces. For ſo I find of him, that in the time of the great abiuration & troubleſome affliction of Buckingham ſhyre men, wherin many were abiured, & certaine burned, yet diuers he ſent quietly home without puniſhment & penaunce, byddyng them goe home, and liue as good Chriſten men ſhould do. And many which were enioyned penaunce before, he dyd releaſe. This Smyth dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 1515. by whom was builded, as is aforeſaid, the College of Braſen noſe in Oxford.

W. Smyth. Byſhop of Lincolne.

John Longland B. of Lincolne.

The College of Braſen noſe in Oxforde builded.

Not long after hym folowed John Longland, a fierce & cruel vexer of the faythful poore ſeruantes of Chriſt: who to renue againe the olde ſparkles of perſecution, whiche were not yet vtterly quenched, firſt began with one or two of thē which had bene abiured, whō he thought to be moſt notorious, cauſing thē by force of their oth, to detect & bewray not only their own opinions touching poyntes of religion, but alſo to diſcouer al other of their affinitie, whiche were eyther ſuſpected or abiured before. And them likewiſe he put to their othe, moſt violently conſtraynyng them to vtter & confeſſe both them ſelues, and whō els ſo euer they knew. By reaſon wherof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maydens were brought forth to examination, and ſtraytly handled. And ſuche as were found in relapſe, were burned.

Byſhop Longland a greuous perſecutor of Chriſtes people.

The reſt were ſo burdened with ſuperſtitious and idolatrous penaunce and iniunctions, that eyther through griefe of conſcience they ſhortly dyed: or els with ſhame they lyued. Al which tragical doynges and proceedynges of the Biſhop agaynſt theſe Knowen and Iuſte faſte men,

In

Accuſers:
The parties accuſed:
The crimes obiected.

in theſe tables here vnder folowyng (Chriſte grauntyng) ſhal appeare, both with the accuſers, and with the parties them ſelues accuſed, and alſo the crimes obiected.

But before we enter into the table, it ſhalbe requiſite firſt to heare the order and copie of his captious and craftie interrogatories, whereby he conſtrayned the ſimple poore men to accuſe and appeache one another: whiche interrogatories were theſe in order as foloweth.

❡ Interrogatories miniſtred commonly by the Biſhop of Lincolne agaynſt theſe examinates here folowyng.

Captious interrogatoryes myniſtred by the Biſhop of Lincolne.

THe interrogatories or articles, which Lõgland Biſhop of Lincolne vſed moſt commonly to miniſter to theſe examinates or Knowe men, in number were.ix. and are theſe as foloweth.

1 Firſt, whether they or any of them dyd knowe, that certaine of the Pariſhe of Amerſham, had bene conuented before William Smyth late biſhop of Lincolne, for hereſie.

2 Item, whether they knew, that they ſo conuented before the ſayd Biſhop, dyd erre in the Sacrament of the altar, or in any other Sacrament of the Church. And if they dyd, in what Sacramentes, or in which of them: Alſo whether they knew that the ſayd parties ſo conuented, dyd confeſſe their errours, and receyued penaunce for the ſame.

3 Item, whether they, or any of them were of the ſocietie of them ſo conuented for hereſie: and if they were, what felowſhip they had with them, and with whom?

4 Item, whether they or any of them, were euer conuerſant with ſuche a one (naming the perſon whom they knewe ſuſpected) as with Thuſtan Litlepage. And if they were, what conuerſation they had with hym, howe long, and when: And whether they knewe the ſayde perſon to haue bene ſuſpect of hereſie?

5 Item, whether they, or any of them were euer conuerſant with him, or him (namyng ſome other perſon whō they ſuſpected) as Alexand. Maſtal. And if they were, howe, and howe long? And whether they knewe the ſayde perſon to be ſuſpected of hereſie?

6 Item, whether they, or any of them had bene before tyme detected of hereſie to the office of the foreſaid William Biſhop of Lincolne: And if they were, by what perſon or perſons they were detected? Or els whether they were onely called by the foreſaid William Biſhop, for hereſie?

7 Item, whether he or they be noted and holden for heretiques, or be reputed and diffamed to be of the ſect of thē, whiche were cõuented for hereſie: And whether he or they be named for a Knowen man amongeſt them?

8 Item, whether he, or they haue bene euer at any readinges of ſuch as haue bene ſo conuented for hereſie?

9 Item, whether he, or they were euer in any ſecrete communication or cõuenticle with them. Whom, or which of them he knewe to be named and reputed for a Knowen man, or holding againſt the Sacrament of the altar, or other Sacraments and articles of fayth? And if they knew any ſuch to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were preſent the ſame tyme?

These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now foloweth to be ſhewed a certaine briefe ſumme compendiouſly collected out of the Regiſters of John Longland biſhop of Lincolne, declaryng in order of a table the names, firſt of them whiche by othe were conſtrained againſt their wylles to detect and accuſe other. Secondly, the perſons that were accuſed. Thirdly, the crimes to them obiected, as in the proces of this table ſhal folowe to be ſeene.

And firſt, forasmuch as the biſhop perceiued that Roger Bennet, William Chedwel, Edmond Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with ſuch other were men eſpecially noted to be of that ſide, therfore to worke his purpoſe the better, he began with them, producing the ſame as witneſſes, to detect firſt Robert Bartlet of Amerſham, & Richard his brother: vnderſtanding that theſe forenamed witneſſes, becauſe they had bene abiured before, durſt nowe do no other, vpon payne of relaps, but needes confeſſe what ſoeuer was put vnto them. And therefore becauſe Robert Bartlet and Richarde his brother being called before the biſhop, and ſworne vpon their othe, would confeſſe nothyng againſt them ſelues, the Biſhop to conuict them by witneſſes, went firſt to William Chedwell, lying ſore ſicke in his bed, cauſing him vpon the Euangeliſts to ſweare, whether he knew the foreſaid Robert & Richard Bartlet to be knowen men. Which being done, the Biſhop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bēnet, John Hyll, Edmund Dormer, John Milſent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Litlepage, John Doſſet, all Amerſham men: who beyng abiured before, as is ſaid, durſt no otherwiſe do, but cōfeſſe vpon their othe, that Robert and Richarde Bartlet were knowen men. And yet the Biſhop not contēted with this, cauſed alſo their two wyues, to wyt, Margaret the wyfe of Robert Bartlet, and Iſabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depoſe and geue witneſſe againſt their owne naturall huſbandes. Albeit Iſabel Bartlet being ſomewhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed vtterly to confeſſe any thing of her huſband, & denyed her huſbands wordes to be true, tyl at laſt ſhe being conuict of periurie, was conſtrayned to vtter the truth, as in the proces of this table folowyng more particularly foloweth to be ſeene.

A Table deſcribyng the greeuous afflictions of good men and women, in the Dioces of Lincolne, vnder *Iohn Longland* there Biſhop, with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were accuſed: alſo with the crimes to them obiected: out of the Regiſters of the ſayd Dioces.

anno. 1521.

Anno.
1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
W.Chedwel ſicke in his bedde. Robert Andrewe. Rob. Bēnet. Iohn Hyl. Edmũd Dormer. Iohn Milſēt Thomas Bernard. Thom. Litlepage. Iohn Doſſet Margarete Bartlet. Iſabel Bartlet: theſe beyng before abiured, wer nowe cõpelled by othe to detecte	Rob. Bartlet Richarde Bartlet his brother.	THys Roberte Bartlet, and Rich. his brother were detected by theſe foreſaid accuſers, to be knowen men, that is, to be of the ſame companye and affinitie with theſe Iurates, and other that had bene abiured before in yͤ tyme of William Smyth Biſhop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lorde, 1508, and that in yͤ houſe of Tho. Hardyng, they were ſo noted by the wordes of Hardynges wife: who ſpeakīg to Robert Bartlet, ſayd, that ſhee was glad that he was conuerted to grace, & choſen to almightie god, requiryng hym neuer to forſake that he was called to, for if he dyd, there was no ſacrifice left for hym. Alſo the ſaid Hardynges wyfe ſpeakyng to Rich Bartlet commyng into her houſe, ſayd, Here commeth a good man, and I hope he wylbe a good man, but he hath ſo muche mynde of buying and ſellyng, and taking of Fermes, that it putteth his mynde from all goodnes. By whiche wordes it appeared ſaid they, that he was a Knowen man. Itē, that Rob. Bartlet ſpeakyng to Hardynges wyfe, ſayd, he had thought to haue called William Tilſeworth falſe heretique: but nowe he was better aduiſed. Item, that they vſed the lectures & readings of that companie. ❡ This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother firſt beyng ſworne, and yet confeſſing nothyng before the Biſhop, at laſt were conuicted by witneſſes (as aboue appeareth) and noted therefore of periurie. Wherfore incurryng into greater daunger, they were conſtrayned at their next examination to vtter them ſelues, and confeſſe what they had both done & ſayd: that is, that the ſaid Rob. had read vnto Rich. his brother, a parcell of Scripture beginnyng thus: James the ſeruaunt of God, to the.xij. kyndes. &c.

For reading ſcripture in Engliſhe.

Item,

Anno. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		Itē, for that he had heard Wil. Tilſeworth ſay, that Images of ſaintes were but ſtockes and ſtones and dead thinges: and that he taught the ſame to his brother Rich. and concealed the wordes of Wil. Tilſeworth. Itē, for that he partly beleued Tho. Maſtal teaching him that ẏ true preſence of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament: and likewiſe of Images and pilgrimage. Item, for receiuyng the Communion at Eaſter without ſhrift. &c.
Ro. Bartlet was brought to examination, & cauſed by his othe to detecte	Rich. Bartlet his brother.	The crime wherin Rob. Bartlet appeached his brother Ric. was this, becauſe he ſaid, his brother Ric. had bene muche conuerſant with Thurſtane Litlepage, and had learned of hym ẏ counſailes & ſecretes of thoſe menne. Alſo that he had learned of hym, ſome of the Epiſtle of ſaint James thus beginning: James the ſeruaunt of God, to the twelue kyndes. &c.
The forſayd Ro. Bartlet was brought to examination, & cauſed by his othe to detecte	Iſabel Bartlet, his wife.	The cauſe wherein Roberte Bartlet dyd detecte his wife, was this, that when the Biſhops ſeruant was come for her huſbande, ſhee vttered theſe wordes, ſaying: Alas he was now an vndone man, and ſhee but a deade woman. Furthermore the ſayd Robert beyng demaunded of ẏ Biſhoppe, whether he knewe Iſabel his wife to be of the ſect of heretiques before he marryed her, ſayd yea. Being aſked againe, if ſhee had not ben of that ſect, whether then he woulde haue married her, he graunted the ſame likewiſe.
	Agnes welly's, his ſiſter.	Furthermore, the ſayde Rob. Bartlet detected his owne ſiſter, in that he had twiſe inſtructed her not to worſhip images, & alſo had taught her in the Epiſtle of ſaint James.
	Elizabeth Dean, wife of Richard Deane, of Weſtwicam. Emme Tilſeworth, wyfe of William Tilſeworth. William Grinder, & his wyfe. Iohn Scriuener. Alexander Maſtal. William Tilſeworth Thurſtane Litlepage. Iohn Bartlet, his brother.	The ſayde Roberte Bartlet detecteth alſo theſe to be of the number of Knowen men: for that they reſorted manye tymes together, readyng and conferryng among them ſelues, and talkyng agaynſt worſhippyng of Images, and Pilgrimage: And if anye came in amongeſt them, whiche was not of their ſide, then they woulde ſay no more, but keepe al ſilence. &c.
Rich. Bartlet by his oth was cōſtrayned to detecte	Agnes wellys, wife of Iohn Wellys, his ſiſter.	This Agnes was detected of her brother in thre poyntes. Firſt for learnyng the Epiſtle of Sainte James in Engliſhe, of Thurſtane Litlepage. Secondly, for not beleeuyng the bodyly preſence in the Sacrament. Thirdly, for ſpeakyng agaynſte worſhippyng of Images, and going on Pilgrimages.
	Olde father Bartlet, his father.	This Richarde Bartlet alſo in his confeſſion, ſaid of his father, that he was a better man, then he was taken for. For the other daye there came a man to hym, as he was threſhyng and ſayd, God ſpeede Father Bartlet, ye worke ſore, yea ſayde he, I threſhe GOD almightye out of the ſtrawe.

The huſband detecteth the wife.

The brother accuſeth the ſiſter.

The brother accuſeth his ſiſter.

The Popes God almightye threſhed out of the ſtrawe.

¶ Againſt this Agnes Wellys brought and examined before the biſhop, were miniſtred theſe interrogatories, which for certein cauſes I thought here to inſert, for our poſteritie to note and conſider, and they are theſe, as foloweth.

Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellys.

Articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellys.

1 Whether ſhee knewe ẏ certaine of the pariſhe of Amerſham were conuented before William Smyth, late Biſhop of Lincolne, for hereſie?

2 Item, whether ſhee knewe that certaine of the ſo conuented before the biſhop for hereſie, dyd erre in the Sacrament of the altar, or in other ſacraments, and what errours they were, and wherein?

3 Item, whether ſhee knewe any other to be ſuſpect of the ſame hereſie or ſect, beſide them of Amerſham ſo conuented, who they were, and how many?

4 Item, whether ſhee had bene of the ſame company, or ſect, or opinion with them, whiche were conuented before the biſhop for hereſie: and if ſhe were, what company ſhe vſed, and whoſe?

5 Whether ſhe was at any time conuerſant with Thurſtane Litlepage: and if ſhe were, howe oft ſhee had bene in his company: howe, what tyme, in what place, who els were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhee knewe hym to be ſuſpected of hereſie?

6 Item, whether ſhee knewe and had bene conuerſant with Alexander Maſtal: and if ſhee were, howe, when, in what place, who were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhee knewe hym ſuſpected for hereſie?

7 Item, whether ſhe was euer detected to the office of Will. Smyth late biſhop of Lincolne: at what tyme, or ſince the tyme that Litlepage and Maſtall were conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie: and whether ſhee was then called and conuented before the Biſhop for hereſie, or not?

8 Item, whether ſhee had bene, or is now noted, had, holden, or reputed, or diffamed to be of the ſame ſect with Thurſtane Litlepage, or other conuicted of hereſie, and whether ſhee be or hath bene nominated for a Knowen woman among them?

9 Item, whether ſhee hath bene preſent at any tyme at the readynges or conferrynges betweene Thurſtane Litlepage, and other conuictes?

10 Item, whether Thurſtane Litlepage did euer teache her the Epiſtle of ſaint James, or the Epiſtles of ſaint Peter, or Paul in Engliſhe, and whether ſhee hath repeted oft tymes the ſaid Epiſtle of ſaint James, vnto the ſayd Thurſtane, in the pre-

For readyng the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

ſence

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.

ſence of Richard Bartlet her brother?

11 Item, whether Richard Bartlet her brother dyd teach her at any tyme the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and if he dyd, howe oft, and in what place?

12 Item, whether ſhee had bene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or by any other, in the foreſaide ſect, that in the Sacrament of the altare was not the true body of Chriſte, but onely the ſubſtance of bread?

13 Item, whether ſhee had bene inſtructed by Thurſtane Litlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be vſed, nor the Images of ſaintes to be adored?

14 Item, whether ſhee dyd credite the ſayde Thurſtane Litlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premiſſes, and whether ſhee did beleue or expreſly conſent with them in the foreſaid articles?

15 Item, whether that Roberte Bartlet her brother dyd euer teache her the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and if he did, howe often, and where?

16 Whether the ſaid Robert Bartlet had taught her that Pilgrimage was not to be vſed, and that Images were not to be adored?

Captious articles.

17 Item, whether ſhe knewe ſuch a lawe and cuſtome among them, that ſuche as were of that ſorte, dyd contract matrimonie only with them ſelues, and not with other Chriſtians?

18 Item, whether ſhee dyd euer heare Thurſtane, or any other ſay, that they onely which were of their doctrine, were true Chriſtians?

19 Item, when ſhee came to receiue, and was confeſſed, whether ſhee did vtter and confeſſe her hereſies to the prieſt?

¶ Unto theſe captious and cruell interrogatorye articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellys, ſhee anſwered negatiuely, almoſt to them al, refuſing to vtter any perſon vnto the Biſhop: But ſoone after being otherwiſe ſchooled, I can not tel howe, by the Catholiques, ſhee was compelled to detect both her ſelfe, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurſtane Litlepage, and alſo Iſabel Morwyn, wife of Iohn Morwyn. &c.

She excuſeth her owne wordes.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Iſabel Bartlet was thē brought, & examined before the Biſhoppe: where ſhee	being aſked whether ſhe ſpake theſe wordes folowing to her huſbande, at the commyng of the biſhops man: Alas, nowe are you an vndone man, and I but a dead woman: Firſt ſhe ſtoode in long denyall of the ſame, & although her huſbande gaue witnes agaynſt her, yet ſtoode ſhee that her huſband ſayde not trueth. At laſte ſhee was compelled to graunt thoſe wordes to be ſpoken: and then being aſked what ſhe meant by them, thus ſhee excuſed her ſelfe, that her huſband had bene vnkinde vnto her a long tyme, and therfore ſhee deſired to depart from hym. Wherupon now for ſorowe ſhee ſpake thoſe wordes, &c. The which wordes her huſband dyd excuſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, that his wife ſpake thoſe wordes betweene the threſholde and the hal doore, becauſe of a vehemente feare for the loſſe of her goodes.
Will. Chedwel, of Amerſham.	Richarde Hobbes of Hichenden. Henry Hobbes of Hichenden. Herns wyfe. Herne wydowe of Amerſham. Thomas Couper of Amerſham, huſbandman. Iohn Stāpe wheeler of Amerſham. Alyce Hardyng, wyfe of Thomas Hardyng.	The crime layde to Alice Hardynge, was this, becauſe, when the prieſt was comming to Richard Bennet, to geue him houſell, ſhee wente before, and inſtructed hym what he ſhoulde do.

For Engliſh bookes.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Bennet, by like compulſion of his othe, was cauſed to detecte theſe perſons.	W. Rogers, Tyler. Williā. Harding. Roger Hardyng.	Theſe were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they being admoniſhed to appeare before the Biſhops Chauncelour at Amerſham, neglected ſo to do.
	Iohn Iennynges ſeruaunt to Iames Morden. George, ſeruaunt of Thomas Tochel. Tho. Gray, ſeruant of Roger Bennet.	Theſe were detected for carrying about certain bookes in Engliſhe.
	Will. Smyth wheeler. The wife of Io. Milſent. The wife of W. Rogers. Ro. Stampe, & his wyfe. The wife of Rob. Bartlet.	Theſe good women here named, were detected to the Biſhop by Roger Bennet, for that vpon the holy dayes, when they go and come from the Churche, they vſe to reſort vnto one Iohn Colingworths houſe & there to keepe their conuenticle.
	The wife of Dauid Lewes, and her father.	This woman was charged for ſpeakyng theſe wordes: that the churchmen in the old tyme dyd leade the people, as the Henne dooth leade her chickins: but our prieſts now do leade the people to the deuyl.
Thomas Roulād put likewiſe to his oth, dyd detecte	Agnes Frāke wife of Wil. Franke. Io. Gardiner Io. Samme. Io. George.	Becauſe ſhee turned away her face from ẏ Croſſe, as it was caried about on Eaſter day in the morning at the reſurrectiō. fo. 10
	Iames Morden. I. Scriuener the elder.	For carrying about bookes from one to an other.
Iames Morden compelled in lyke manner by his oth, dyd detecte	Thomas Rouland.	For theſe wordes folowing: Yf I lie, curſe, ſtorme ſweare, chide, fight, or threat: then am I worthy for to be beat. I pray you good maiſter myne, if I offend in any of theſe nyne, Amende me with a good ſcuryng. In the lyke alſo was charged Thomas Chaſe.
	Thomas Chaſe.	becauſe he heard him twiſe recite the Epiſtle of ſaint Iames, beginning: Iames ẏ ſeruaunt of God, and of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, to the twelue kyndes. &c. Alſo for theſe wordes: It was by the daies of Herod king of Iewes, that there was a prieſt, Zacharie by name, & he came of ẏ ſort of Abias, and his wife of ẏ daughter of Aarō: both they were iuſt before god, going in al the Commaundementes. &c.
	W. Norton. Agnes Aſhforde of Cheſſham.	The cauſe layde to this Agnes, was for teaching this Iames the wordes folowing:

We

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Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers. Parties accuſed. Crimes obiected.

We be the ſalte of the earth, if it be putrified and vaniſhed away, nothing it is worth. A citie ſet vpō an hill may not be hidde. Tende ye not a candle & put it vnder a buſhell, but ſet it on a candleſticke that it may geue a light to all in thee houſe. So ſhyne your light before men, as they may ſee your workes and glorifie the father that is in heauen. No title nor letter of the law ſhall paſſe ouer, tyll all things be done: And fiue tymes wente he to the foreſayd Agnes to learne this leſſon. Item, that the ſayd Agnes did teach him to ſay this leſſon: Ieſus ſeyng his people, as he went vp to a hill, was ſet, & his diſciples came to him: he opened his mouth and taught them, ſaying: bleſſed be the poore men in ſpirite, for the kingdome of heauen is theirs. Bleſſed be milde men: for they ſhall welde the earth: And twiſe he came to her to learne this leſſon. Ex Regiſt. Longl. fol. 11.

And theſe leſſons the ſayde Agnes was bidde to recite before vi. biſhops: who ſtraitly inioyned & commaunded her, that ſhe ſhould teach thoſe leſſōs no more to any man, and eſpecially to her children Ex Regiſt. fol. 11.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſaid Iames Morden detected	Rich. Aſhford Smith.	
	Agnes Aſhford. Thomas Chaſe.	Becauſe theſe ij. dyd exhort him thriſe that hee ſhoulde keepe the things they ſpake of, as ſecrete in hys ſtomack, as a mā would kepe a theefe in priſon.
	Tho. Tredway of Cheſham.	
	Rob. Pope. Iohn Morden and his wyfe.	Becauſe they were heard in the preſence of this Iames Morden their nephew, to recite the x. commaūdemētes in their houſe in engliſh. fol. 15.
	Alice Atkins.	Becauſe of hym ſhe learned the Pater noſter, Aue Maria and Crede in Engliſhe, & the v. meruels of S. Auſten. Alſo an other peece of an Engliſhe booke beginning: here ſueth foure things by whiche a man maye knowe whether hee ſhall be ſaued. &c.
	Mariā Morden hys owne ſiſter.	Alſo that ſhee did not worſhip images. And after theſe litle things hee intended to teach her of the Sacramēt.
	W. Afrike, or Litlepage.	
	Iohn Afrike or Litlepage.	
	Emme Hardyng or Afrike.	
	Iohn Fip Phiſition.	

¶ To thys Iames Morden with other moe abiurers, it was inioyned by byſhop Smyth, for vij yeares, to viſite ŷ church of Lincolne twyſe a yeare from Amerſham. And when diuers had got licence of the byſhop for length of thee iourney, to viſite the Image of our Lady of Miſſenden, for the ſpace of v. yeres, this Iames Morden, when he could not obtaine licence ſo to doe, yet notwithſtandyng for the tediouſnes of the way, went with them to the ſame Image, and therupon was charged for violating ŷ byſhops iniunction.

Alſo becauſe, to get his liuing, he wrought halfe a yeare out of the dioces, when he had bene inioyned by the byſhop not to goe out of the dioces of Buckyngham. Fol. 11.

¶ This Iames Morden confeſſed that he vſed his Pater noſter and Crede ſo much in Engliſhe, that he had forgotte many wordes therof in Latyne, and therefore was inioyned by byſhop Smyth to ſay it no more in Engliſhe, but onely in Latyne, and becauſe he kept not this iniunction, he fell therefore in relapſe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Benet by lyke compulſion of hys othe, was cauſed to detect theſe folowyng to be known perſons	W. Rogers Tyler and his wyfe. W. Hardyng. Rog. Hardyng. Ioane Ienynges. George, ſeruant to Tho. Tochell. Th. Gray ſeruant of Roger Benet. Agnes Franke. Ioane Colyngworth. W. Smyth. The wyfe of Iohn Milſent. Rob. Stampe and his wyfe. The wyfe of Rob. Bartlet. The wife of Dauid Lewys of Hēley. Ioh. Frier, ſeruaunt to M. Penne. Iohn Tracher.	
	Ioh. Mordens wyfe. Rich. Aſhford. Wil. Litlepage, prentiſe ſomtyme of Iohn Scriuener. Emme his wyfe. Ioh. Scriuener.	
	Iſabel Morwyn.	For teaching Coplands wife her errors.
Tho. Halfaker ſworne vpon hys othe, did detect theſe names here followyng.	Ioh. Milſent & his wife. Rog. Harding and his wyfe. Th. Bernard Tho. Afrike & his wyfe. W. Rogers. W. Harding Tho. Harding & hys wyfe. Kat. Bartlet the mother of Rob. and Ric. Bartlet. W. Franke, and Agnes his wyfe.	Becauſe theſe commyng to the Church, and eſpecially at the eleuation tyme woulde ſaye no prayers, but did ſit mumme (as he termed it) like beaſts. Becauſe Kat. Bartlet being of good helth came but ſeldome to ŷ Churche, but feyned her ſelfe ſicke: and becauſe Wil. Franke maried Agnes his wyfe, ſhe beyng before abiured.
	Rob. Pope.	Becauſe hee fled away when thee great abiuratiō was at Amerſham. Alſo for hauyng certaine Engliſhe bokes. fol. 16.
	Emme Afrike alias, Emme Harding. Henry Mylner, Iohn Afrike. Hernes wife, now the wife, of wayner, william Tilſeworth.	
Tho. Holms detected	Emme Tilſeworth, of London. Thomas Tilſeworth, and his wife. The wife of Robert Tilſeworth. William Glaſbroke. Chriſtopher Glaſbroke, Milner. Thomas Groue, and Ioane his wife. Thomas Man, by Briſtow.	
	Hen. Miller.	Counted for a great heriticke, and learned in the Scripture.
	Iohn Schepard. The wife of Iohn Schepard of Dorney. The elder daughter of Rog. Hardyng of Amerſham. Nich. Stokely Couper and his wyfe of Henley. Iohn Clerke. Tho. Wilbey of Henley. W. Stokeley. Hobs with his ſonnes of Hychenden. The wyfe of Iohn Scriuener, Smith of Owborne. Thomas Clerke the elder. Thomas Clerke the younger. Wigmer fermer of Hychenden. Robert Carder weyuer.	

This great abiuration was, an. 1511.

An.1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſaid Tho. Holmes detected.	Iohn Frier, ſeruaunt to M. Pen. Iohn Morwen and Iſabell his wyfe. Elizab. Houer, wyfe of Henry Houer of little Miſſenden. Rich. White, Fuller of Beckinſfild.	
	Andr. Randall and his wife of Riemanſworth.	Becauſe they receyued into their houſe, Th. Man, flying for perſecution, and for readyng Wickcliffes Wicket.
	The father of Andrew Randall. Benet Ward, Fuller.	This Benet Warde was alſo denounced by J. Merſton, for ſaying that it booteth no man to pray to our Lady, nor to no ſaint, nor aungell in heauē, but to God onely, for they haue no power of mans ſoule.
	The wyfe of Benet Ward, and her daughter.	For ſaying that Th. pope was the deuouteſt man that euer came in theyr houſe, for he would ſit readyng in hys booke to midnyghte manye tymes.
	Tho. Taylor & his wife of Vxbridge. Rob. Quicke. Rob. Cosine. Tho. Clarke and his wyfe of Ware. One Geldener about Hertford. Iohn Say, and Wil. Say his ſonne, of little Miſſenden. The wife of Io. Wellys of Amerſhā. Ioane Glaſbroke ſiſter to Wil. Glaſbroke of Harow on the hill. Tho. Suſan, Wheler. Iohn a Lee, Smith. Iohn Auſty, Sherman. Iohn Frier. Edmund Harding. Ioh. Heron, Carpenter of Hābeldon. Henry Miller.	
	Ioh. Phips.	He was very rype in Scriptures.
	Emme wyfe of Rich. Tilſworth.	
	Iohn Phip.	He was a reader or reherſer to the other.
	Iohn Say of Miſſenden. William Stokeley.	
	Rog. Squire	For ſaying to Holms This is one of them that maketh all thys buſines in our towne with the Byſhop. I pray God teare all the bones of hym.
	Roger Herne. A certayne Tanner.	
	Ioh. Butler, Carpenter. Rich. Butler. W. King of Vxbridge.	These iij. ſatte vp all the night in the houſe of Durdant of Iuercourte by Stanis, reading all the night of a boke of Scripture.
	Io. Muklyf. Weauer.	For ſpeaking agaynſt holy bread & holy water.
	Tho. Man.	For ſaying yͤ Chriſte was not ſubſtantially in the ſacrament.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rob. Carder of Iuer, Weauer, detected	Th. Seilmā. Ienkin Butler.	For receauing an engliſh booke geuen him by Carder his father, who after his abiuration done before biſh. Smith, fel ſick & died.
	Rich. Vulford of Riſelip. Hackar. Thomas King.	
	Ione Cocks The wife of Rob. Wywod, huſbandman.	For deſiring of Durdant her maiſter, that he being a knowē mā, would teach her ſome knowledge of Gods lawe, and deſiring the ſame alſo of the Butlers.
	Nic. Durdāt of Stanes. Dauy Durdant of Ankerwike. The wife of old Durdāt The wyfe of Nich. Durdant.	These were detected for that old Durdant of Euyncourt, at dynner ſittyng with hys childrē & their wiues, byddyng a boye there ſtandyng, to departe out of the houſe, that he ſhoulde not heare & tell, did recite certaine places vnto them, out of the Epiſtles of S. Paule, & of yͤ goſpels.
	Ric. White father in law to Benet Ward of Bekinſfield.	He was detected to be a knowen man, becauſe, after the death of Biſhop Smith, he was herd to ſay these wordes: My Lord yͭ dead is, was a good man, & diuers knowē mē were called before him, and he ſent them home agayne, biddyng them that they ſhould liue amōg their neighbors as good Chriſtē men ſhould doe. And now (ſayd he) there is a new Biſhop which is called a bleſſed man and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the ſeruauntes of God, but wil let them be in quyet.
Mariā Morden was forced vpon her othe to vtter	James Morden her owne brother, whiche taught her yͤ Pater noſter, Aue and Crede in Engliſhe, & that shee ſhoulde not goe on Pilgrimage nor ſhould worſhippe ſainctes or Images, whiche ſhe had not done by the ſpace of vj: yeares paſt, following and beleuing her brother.	
James Mordē was forced vpon his othe to vtter.	Iohn Littlepage. Henry Littlepage. William Littlepage. Ione Littlepage. Ric. Morden his brother of Cheſhā. Emme his wyfe. Alice Browne of Cheſham. Rad. Mordē his brother of Cheſhā. His wyfe. Iohn Phips. Elizab. Hamon.	
Tho. Coupland forced by his othe, detected	A Chanon of Miſſenden. Tho. Groue, of London. Iſabell Morwyn. The wife of Norman of Amerſham.	
	Th. Couper of Woodrow. Rog. Hardyng.	Becauſe these two could not ſaye theyr Crede in Latin.
	W. Grynder. The wife of Rob. Stāpe of Woodrow	
Th. Roulād T. Couplād Ric. Steuēs,	Tho. Harding of Amerſham.	Becauſe, after their abiuratiō in W. Smythes tyme, di-

Rog.

1521

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rog. Benet forced by their othe to accuſe.	Alice Hardyng hys wyfe.	uers knowen men (as they thē termed thē) which were abiured before, had much reſort to their houſe.
	Agnes Squire.	For ſpeakyng theſe wordes: Men do ſay I was abiured for he reſie, it may well be a napkin for my noſe, but I wyll neuer be aſhamed of it.
Ioh. Sawcote vpon hys oth did appeach.	The vicar of little Miſſenden. Tho. Groue & his wyfe.	He was detected for ŷ he hyd geue to D. Wilcocks xx.li. to ex cuſe him ŷ he might not be brought to open penaunce.
	Thomas Holmes.	For that he was hearde to ſaye theſe wordes after ŷ great abiuration, when he had abiured: that the greateſt robbes were yet behynd.
	Rich. Saunders of Amerſham	Becauſe he euer defended them whiche were ſuſpected to be knowen men. Alſo becauſe he bought out hys penaunce, and caryed hys badge in hys purſe.

Iohn Phyppe

Byſhop Longland ſekyng how to conuict I. Phip of periury, who beyng charged with an othe did not aunſwere affirmatiuely to ſuch ſuſpicions as were layd vnto him by Tho. Holmes and other ſeuerall accuſers, did examine Sybill Affrike his own ſiſter, vpon her othe to detecte I. Phip her brother of relapſe: but ſhee ſo aunſwered, that the Byſhop coulde take by her no great holde of relapſe agaynſt hym. Wherein is to be noted the ſingular iniquitie and abuſe in the Church of Rome, which by vertue of othe, ſetteth the ſiſter to procure the brothers bloud. The lyke alſo was ſought by Thomas Affrike, his ſiſters huſband, but they had by hym no vantage.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Ienkin Butler did appeach.	Iohn Butler his owne brother.	For readyng to hym in a certayne booke of the Scripture, & perſwadyng him to harken to the ſame.
	Robert Carder.	
	Richard Butler his brother.	
	Henry Vulman of Vxbridge.	
	Rich. Aſhford of Walton, otherwyſe called Rich. Naſh, or R. Tredway.	
	W. King of Vxbridge.	
	Iſabel Tracher wyfe of Ioh. Tracher.	Becauſe ſhe came not to the Churche often on ŷ worke dayes, beyng admoniſhed both by the Church wardens, by ŷ graduates of the churche, and by Doctour Cockes cōmiſſary, but folowed her buſines at home.
	Tho. Clement of Cherſham.	Alſo becauſe ſhe purpoſed to ſet her daughter to Alyce Hardyng ſaying that ſhe could better inſtructe her then many other.
W. Ameryden did detect.		Alſo becauſe ſhe curſed the prieſt after he was gone, which had geuen to her the Euchariſt, ſaying, that he had geuen to her bitter gall.
	Alice Holting.	For that ſhee beyng greate with chylde, did drynke before ſhe went to churche to take her rites, ſaying, ŷ Iſabell Tracher dyd ſo tell her, ŷ ſhe mighte drynke before the receauyng the ſacrament.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Ioane Norman did appeach	W. Trecher of Amerſham.	For kepyng Thomas Groue in his houſe on Eaſter & chriſtmas day, becauſe he would not come to ŷ church.
	Rob. Coſin. Tho. Man. Alice Hardyng.	For diſſuadyng from pilgrimage, from worſhipping of Images, and from bowyng her money to Saintes for helth of her child. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe neded not to confeſſe to a Prieſt: but to bee enough to lifte vp her handes to heauen. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe might as well drinke vpon the Monday before Maſſe, as any other day. &c.
	Henry Miller Wyerdrawer, which from Amerſham fledde to Chépſford.	That he abiured and did penaunce in Kent before, and afterward commyng to Amerſham, taught there (as he ſayd) many hereſies.
	Iohn Barret goldſmith of London. Ioan Barret his wife. Ione his ſeruaunt.	Becauſe he was herd in his own houſe before hys wife and mayde there preſent, to recite ŷ Epiſtle of S. Iames: whiche epiſtle with many other things, he had perfectly without booke.
	Ioh. Merywether, hys wyfe & hys ſonne.	Alſo becauſe Ioanne his wyfe had lent to thys Iohn Merywether, ŷ goſpel of Math. & Mark, which boke he gaue to h. Smith.
Ioh. Scriuener forced by his othe to accuſe	Durdant by Stanes. Old Durdant. Iſabel wife of Thomas Hardyng. Hartop of Wyndſore. Ione Barret wife of I. Barret of London. H. Miller.	All theſe were accuſed becauſe at the mariage of Durdantes daughter, they aſſembled together in a berne, & heard a certain epiſtle of S. Paul read, which readyng they wel liked, but eſpecially Durdant, & commended the ſame.
	Stilman Taylour.	
	Tho. Rowland of Amerſham.	It was obiected to Thom. Rowland for ſpeking theſe wordes: Ah good Lord where is all our good cōmunication which was wont to be among vs when your Maiſter was aliue?
	Tho. Groue of London butcher. W. Glaſbroke of Harow on the hill. Chriſtoph. Glaſbroke of London.	Theſe were appeached becauſe they vſed to reſorte and conferre together of matters of Religion, in ŷ houſe of Tho. Man. at Amerſham, before the great abiuration.
	Wil. Tilſworth of Londō goldſmith, prentiſe ſomtimes to Ioh. Barret.	
	Ioh. Newman.	Hee was appeached becauſe hee was preſent in the houſe of I. Barret, at ŷ readyng of Scripture.
	Iohn Wood of Henley.	
	Wil. Wood.	
	Lewys of Henley, ſeruing man.	

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Father Robert Martyr.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Wil. Litlepage forced by his othe did accuſe.	Wylie, and his ſonne.	This Wyly was appeached becauſe hee taught the goſpell of Math. to I. Wood & Wil. Woode after the great abiuration, and father Rob. did teach them S. Paules Epiſtle, which olde father was after yͤ burned at Buckingham.
	Thurſtan Litlepage. Emme his wyfe.	This Thurſtan had taught him the ſaying of Salomon: yͤ wrath raiſeth chiding: had taught him alſo yͤ Pater noſter, and Aue in Engliſh. His Crede in engliſh he learned of his grandmother. The ſayd Thurſtan alſo taughte hym, Chriſt not to be corporally in yͤ ſacramēt.
	Ioh. Littlepage hys brother. Alice, wyfe of Thurſtan Littlepage.	Becauſe he was ſaid to haue learned the x. commaundements in Engliſhe, of Alice Thurſtans wyfe in his fathers houſe.
	Iohn Frier.	Becauſe this Iohn Frier had taught the ſaid Wil. yͤ x. comaundements in engliſh.
	Thomas Groue.	
	Hernes wife.	
	The wife of Iohn Morwyn.	
	Richard Bartlet.	
	Robert Bartlet.	
Iohn Gardiner did appeach	Thomas Bernard.	
	Ioan Clerk of little Miſſenden.	For ſaying ſhe neuer did beleue in yͤ ſacrament of yͤ alter, nor euer would beleue in it.
	Iohn Horne of Ambylden.	
	His ſiſter Agnes Warde. Wardes wyfe of Marlow. Nicholas Stokeley.	Becauſe, that when this Gardiner ſayd: god help vs & our lady, & all the ſaintes of heauen, then ſhe ſaid: what nede is it to go to the feete, whē we may goe to the head?
	William Stokeley.	
	The wife of William Deane.	
	Wil. Ramſey of Newbery.	
	Iohn Symon His wyfe. — of Marlow.	
	Iohn Gray of Marlow.	
	Dauy Schyrwood.	
	William Schyrwood.	
	Raynold Schyrwood.	
Iohn Say did detect.	Chriſtoph. Shomaker. Iohn Okynden. Rob. Pope.	This Chriſtopher Shomaker had bene burned a little before at Newbery.

¶ Biſhop Longland ſeekyng matter againſt Iſabell Morwyn, of whome he could take no great aduauntage by examination, called and cauſed Elizabeth Copland her owne ſiſter, to teſtifie agaynſt her in maner as followeth.

Elizabeth Copland witneſſeth agaynſt	Iſabell Morwyn, her owne ſiſter.	Firſt becauſe in talk together cōmyng frō their father, beyng at the point of death, Iſabell ſayd to her ſiſter Elizabeth, that all which dye, eyther paſſe to hell or heauē. Nay ſayde the other, there is betwene thē Purgatory.

Accuſers. Parties accuſed. Crimes obiected.

Agayne, when Elizabeth came from the rode of reſt, ſayd Iſabell, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhee hath heard, ſhee would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe liued: for all ſaintes, ſayd ſhe, be in heauen. then aſked Elizabeth wherfore pilgrimage was ordeined of Doctoures and Prieſtes. Sayd yͤ other, for gaine and profit. Who hath taught you this q. Elizabeth, man or woman? your curate, I dare ſay, neuer learned you ſo. My curate ſayd ſhe, will neuer knowe ſo much: and moreouer ſayd to Elizabeth her ſiſter, that if ſhe would kepe counſel, and not tel her huſband, ſhe would ſay more. And when Elizabeth anſwered, that ſhe would not tell: but ſaith the other I will haue you to ſweare: and becauſe ſhe woulde not ſweare, the other would not procede any further.

Alice Brown forced by her othe to detect	Iohn Tracher of Cheſham.	The cauſe why this Iohn Tracher was denounced, was this, for that he taught her in the Goſpel this ſaying of Ieſus: bleſſed be they that heare the word of God and kepeth it. Alſo becauſe he taught her yͤ viij. beatitudes in Engliſhe.

¶ Emme Tylſworth becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by vertue of her othe, and denyed ſuch matter as by witnes and by the Byſhops actes were proued agaynſt her, in paine of relaps the B. enioyned her to make certaine fagots of cloth and to were the ſame, both before her vpper garmēt, and behynde, ſo long as ſhe liued. Ex Regiſt. Longland.

W. Phipper forced by his othe to detect.	Thomas Afrike.	For aſking how his coſin Widmere clerk, the elder, and I. Fip did at this day: whether they kept yͤ lawes of God as they were wont.
	Roger Parker deceaſed.	
	Iohn Phip.	For ſaying yͤ Images are not to be worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carued with mans hand, and that ſuch ought not to be worſhipped.
	Iohn Gardiner.	For that to the ſaid Wil. this Gardiner ſayde yͤ all which are burned for this ſecte, are true Martyrs.
	Iohn Stilman.	
Iohn Butler by hys othe was forced to detect.	Th. Geffray firſt of Vxbridge, then of Ipſwich Tailor.	For reading and teaching him in the actes & preachings of the apoſtles. Item, for hauing a ſcripture boke in Engliſhe: whiche booke the ſayde Geffray gaue to the byſh. of London when hee was accuſed. Item, that the ſayd Geffray ſaid, that true pilgrimage was barefoote to goo and viſite thee poore, weake, & ſicke, for they are yͤ true Images of God.
	Richard Vulford.	This Vulford, and Tho. Geffray tolde yͤ ſayde Iohn Butler, that the hoſt conſecrated was not the very true body of Chriſt. In profe wherof they ſaid, that let a mouſe be put in yͤ pixe with the hoſte, & the mouſe would eat it vp. And for more proufe, they declared vnto the ſayde Iohn Butler, that there were ij. prieſtes in Eſſex, which put a mouſe in the pixe to a conſecrated hoſt, and the

A ſtory of a mouſe put into the pixe.

mouſe

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Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The foreſaid Iohn Butler did detect.		mouſe did eate it. Afterwarde the facte of theſe Prieſtes being knowne & brought to the Biſhop, one of ẏ prieſtes was burned for the ſame.
	Ioh. Clerke of Denham.	Alſo ẏ ſame Wulford and Geffrey told him & Iohn Clerke, that holy bread, & holy water were but a vayne glory of the world: for God neuer made thẽ, but were mens inuentions: and that God neither made prieſtes for in Chriſtes tyme there wer no prieſts. Moreouer that Thomas Geffrey cauſed this Ioh. Butler diuerſe Sondayes to go to Londõ to here doctour Colet.
	Andrew Fuller of Vxbridge.	Becauſe this Iohn Butler had an olde boke of R. Wulford. Alſo an other great boke of Andrew Fuller for which he paid vi.s.viii.d. & another little booke of Thomas Man, which he brought to the biſh.
	Thomas Man.	Moreouer this Thomas Man was appeached, becauſe he red to this deponẽt .x. yere ago: how Adam & Eue were expelled out of paradiſe: & for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimage & worſhipping of Images and againſt ẏ ſinging ſeruice vſed thẽ in churches. This Thomas Man was burnt and died a martir, of whõ mention is made before. pag. 796.
	W. King.	This W. King was appeached becauſe he lodged Tho. Man in his houſe vpõ a certain holiday at diuine ſeruice: vnto whõ reſorted R. Wulford, & I. Clerke, and this I. Butler: to whom the ſayd Tho. Man declared, that pilgrimage was naught, & that images were not to be worſhipped.
	Rob. Carder. Durdant. Rich. Butler his own brother. Wil. Kyng.	To theſe was layd ẏ T. Carder brought this Iohn Butler to Durdantes houſe at Iuſcourt by Stonis where was R. Butler his brother, & W. King reading in a certaine Engliſh booke: At which tyme Durdãt deſired thẽ not to tell, ẏ he had any ſuch Engliſhe boke in hys houſe, leſt hee ſhoulde be burned for ẏ ſame.
	Rich. Naſh or Aſhford.	Alſo an other tyme, ẏ this I. Butler with Rich. Butler hys brother, and R. Carder went to ẏ houſe of R. Aſhford or Naſhe, to heare ẏ ſame Aſhford read in a certein litle booke, but which conteined many good things.
	Rich. Vulman of Lõdon.	This Vulman was detected vpõ this, for that he woulde haue red to this I. Butler a certain Engliſh boke, & ſpake againſt pilgrimage & images
	Hen. Vlman & his wife of Vxbridge.	
	Radulph Carpenter of London. A daughter of Iohn Phip. A daughter of William Phip.	This Rafe Carpenter was detected, for hauing certain bokes of the Apoc. in Engliſh. Alſo for that this Carpẽter & his wife did bring him and the wife of Henry Vulman to a cornerhouſe of fridayſtrete, where the goodman of the houſe hauing a ſtilpe foote, had diuers ſuch bokes to ẏ entẽt they ſhold heare thẽ read.
	R. Butler. Ienkin Butler his own brethren. The mother of Richard Aſhford. I. Butler his other brother.	Theſe were detected partly for holdyng againſt the ſacrament of the alter, partly alſo, becauſe they were reading two houres together in a certaine boke of ẏ actes of the apoſtles in engliſh at Cherſhã in Aſhfords houſe. fol. 43.
Iohn Phip compelled by his othe to detect.	The wife of Rob. Pope.	For hauing certaine bokes in engliſh, one bound in bourds, & 3. with parchmẽt couerynges, with 4. other ſheetes of paper written in engliſh conteyning matter agaynſt the Romiſh religion. Alſo another boke of the ſeruice of the virgin Mary in engliſh.
	Tho. Stilman.	Tho. Stilman was therfore detected, for ẏ he told W. Fip how ẏ he being in lolards tower, did clime vp ẏ ſteple where the bels were, & there cutting ẏ belropes, did tye ii. of them together, & ſo by them ſlipped down into Paules churchyard, & eſcaped.
Tho. Tredway compelled by his othe to detect	Iohn Mordẽ of Aſhly grene. Rich. Aſheford his brother.	Theſe were accuſed and detected, becauſe Iohn Mordẽ had in his houſe a booke of the Goſpelles, and other chapters in engliſh, & read 3. or 4. times in ẏ ſame: In which booke his brother Aſhford alſo did read once. Item, becauſe I. Mordẽ ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe wordes: our lord Ieſus chriſt ſaith in his Goſpell: bleſſed be they ẏ hear the word of God and kepeth it. &c.
	Agnes Aſhford his owne mother.	Tredway alſo detected his mother for teaching him ẏ he ſhould not worſhip the images of ſainctes.

Doctour Colet commended.

For reading bookes in Engliſhe.

¶ Likewiſe Ioanne Bernard being accuſed by Robert Copland, was ſworne by her othe to detecte T. Bernarde her owne naturall father, for ſpeakyng agaynſt pilgrimage, agaynſt worſhipping of ſaintes and agaynſt dirges and praying for ẏ dead, and for warnyng his daughter not to vtter any of all this to her Ghoſtly father.

Ioanne Bernard.

¶ The lyke othe alſo was forced to Richard Bernard

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nard that he ſhould in lyke maner detect Tho. Bernard hys owne naturall father, for teaching him not to worſhip images, nor to beleue in the ſacrament of the aulter, but in God only which is in heauen: & that he ſhould not vtter the ſame to the prieſt.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
The vicar of Iuer, & Richard Taylor witnes, accuſed	Richard Carder.	For defending the cauſe of Iēkin Butler, & for ſaying that the B. did him iniury. Itē, for ſaying that if he had known the biſhops mā would haue ſet him ſo to the B. he would haue geuē him warning therof before. Itē, for ſaying, that if he ſhould call hym, he would cōfeſſe nothing although hee burned him.
Agnes Carder, wyfe of Rich. Carder detected.	Rich. Carder her huſband.	For ſaying yͤ he ſuſpected that ſhe was to much familiare wͭ yͤ vicar of Iuer. And when ſhe aunſwered againe: how could he be euil with her, ſeing he ſaith Maſſe euery day, & doth not confes himſelf before: thē her huſband ſaid, that he could confeſſe himſelf to a poſt or to yͤ alter.

¶ Where note that the biſhop then examining her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, and whether ſhe was commonly in the voyce of the people diffamed with him or no: ſhe confeſſed ſo to be. Wherupō no other penaltie nor penaunce for that crime of adultery was enioyned her of the biſhop, but only this that ſhe ſhould frequent the Vicares houſe no more.

Agaynſt Images.

Ioh. Clerke of Dēham forced by his othe to detecte	Rich. Vulford of Riſelyp. Ioh. Butler.	For ſpeaking againſt images, pilgrimage, oblations, & agaynſt the Sacramēt of the alter. Itē, when this I. Clerke had made a weele for fiſh, Rich. Vulford cōming by, aſked him whē he had made his weele, whether the weele nowe could turne againe & make him: and he ſaid no. Euē ſo, q. he, god hath made all prieſts as thou haſt made the weele, & how can they turne againe & make God?
Iohn Maſtall detected.	The daughter of Iohn Fip of Hinchenden.	For ſaying that ſhe was as well learned, as was the pariſhe Prieſt in all thinges, except only in ſaying of Maſſe.
Rob. Rouland. William Franke. Thomas Houre. Tho. Rouland. Ioane Franke. Ioh. Baker. all theſe detected.	Alice Saunders wife of Rich. Saunders of Amerſham.	For geuing xij. pence to Tho. Holmes to buy a certain boke in engliſh for her daughter. To whom Tho. Holmes anſwered again, yͭ a noble would not ſuffice to buy it. An other time for geuing 6. pence to yͤ buying of a certain booke in engliſh, which coſt v. markes. An other time Tho. Houre cōming from Owburn, ſhe aſked what newes and he ſaid that many were there condēned of hereſy: & therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then ſaid ſhe, if he did ſo, he would gaine nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work wͭ her huſband, & after was put frō his holy water Clerkeſhip in that towne. An other tyme, for ſaying to Tho. Rouland theſe wordes: ye may ſee how Tho. Houre and other which laboured to haue heretikes detected before Byſhop Smith: are brought now to beggery: you may take example of them.
Ioane Frāke. Wil. Franke the elder. Wil. Franke the yonger. Alice Tredway detected.	Ioane Colingborne.	For ſaying to one Ioan Timberlake, & to Alice Tredway x. yeres ago, yͭ ſhe could neuer beleue pilgrimage to be profitable nor that ſaintes were to be worſhipped: & deſired thē not to tell their Curate. Which Alice immediatelye cauſed her to be called before the biſhop.
Wil. Carder vpon his othe was forced to detect.	Iſabell Tracher wife of Williā Tracher hys maiſtres.	For that ſhe being not ſicke, but in good health, & being rebuked diuers tymes of her huſbande for the ſame, yet would not go to the church, but taried at home & kept her worke as wel holyday as worke day, the ſpace of 3. yeares together.
Iſabel Gardiner. Ioh. Gardiner forced by their oth to detect. The Vicare of Wicomb.	Tho. Raue of great Merlow.	For ſpeaking againſt pilgrimage, in the cōpany of Iohn & Elizabeth Gardiner, as he was going to our Lady of Lincoln for his penance inioyned by Biſh. Smith. Alſo yͤ ſame tyme, as he met certaine comming from M. Iohn Shorne, for ſaying they were fooles, and calling it idolatry. Alſo in the ſame voyage whē he ſaw a certain chappell in decay and ruine: he ſaid, lo yōder is a fayre milkehouſe downe.

Item, when he came to Lincolne, he made water in the chappell at maſſe tyme, excuſing afterward that he did it of neceſſity. Item, the ſame tyme ſpeaking agaynſt the Sacrament of the aulter, he ſayde that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at the right hand of the father almighty, and brought forth this parable, ſaying, that Chriſt our Lord ſayd theſe wordes, when he went from his diſciples, and aſcended to heauen: That once he was in ſinners handes, & would come there no more. Alſo when he came to Wycomb there to do his penaunce, he bound hys fagotte with a ſilken lace. Alſo beyng demaunded of D. Londō, whether he had done hys penaunce in comming to our Lady of Lincolne, he aunſwered that Biſh. Smith had releaſed hym, to come to our Lady of Miſſenden for 6. yeres. And 3. yeres he came: but whether he came any more, becauſe he did not there regiſter hys name, therfore he ſayd he could not proue it.

The wife of Tho. Potter of Hychenden.

Roger Benet forced by his othe to detect.	The wife of Wil. Tilſworth now of Haukewell.	For not thinking catholickly, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the Sacrament of the alter.

The

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Richard Vulford, detected.	The wife of Robert Stampe.	For not accompliſhing her penaunce inioyned by Byſhop Smith.
	Marian Randall.	
	Iohn Butler.	For hauyng of him a certain booke in Engliſhe conteynyng a Iew and a Chriſtiã.
	His owne wife deceaſſed.	
	Iohn Clerke of Dẽnham.	For communyng with him, agaynſt Images, pilgrimage, and the Sacramẽt of the aultar.
	Thomas Geffrey of Vxbrige, & his wife departed.	For communyng againſt ẏ Sacrament of the aultare, worſhyppyng of ſaintes, pilgrimage.&c.
	Henry Vulman of Vxbrige.	For ſpeakyng & teachyng againſt the ſacrament of the aultar xj. yeares ago, and ſaying it was but a trifle.
	The mother of Villiam Kyng of Vxbrige.	
	William Kyng.	
	Robert Carder, the elder.	
	Iohn Baker of Vxbrige.	

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

For reading the Scripture.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Scriuener the elder detected.	Geldner the elder. His two daughters.	For beyng preſent & harkenyng vnto Richard Benet reading the Epiſtle of Saint Iames in Engliſh.
	Emme, ſiſter of W. Tilſeworth mart.	
	Iohn Lee Carpenter of Henley.	

Iohn Sparke.

There is to be noted, that in the towne of Cheſham were two men: One named Robert Hutton, The other Iohn Sparke. Of whiche two, the one called the other hereticke: The other called hym agayne theefe. Sparke whiche called Hutton theefe, was condẽned to pay for his ſlaunder x.s. But Hutton which called the other hereticke, payed nothyng. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after, had certeine money ſtolne. For the which the ſayd Sparke her huſband ſent for the counſaile of ij. Friers, who gaue him counſaile to make ij. balles of clay, & to put thẽ in the water & in the ſame balles to incloſe the names of thẽ whõ he ſuſpected, & ſo doing the ſayd Sparke came to his money agayne. And this was detected to Byſhop Longland the ſame tyme by Tho. Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquiſition made, nor interrogatories miniſtred, nor witnes producted, nor any ſentence geuen. Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol. 50.

Witchcrafte left of the byſhop vnpuniſhed.

For hauing the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Groſar, beyng put to his oth, detected.	Thomas Tykill. Tho. Spenſer and his wife. Iohn Knight.	This Iohn Groſar was examined whether he had a booke of the Goſpels in Engliſhe, who confeſſed that he receaued ſuch a booke of Thomas Tykill morow maſſe prieſt in Milkſtrete, & afterward lent the ſame booke to Tho. Spenſer: Whiche Tho. Spenſer with his wife vſed to read vpon the ſame. After ẏ, it was lent to I. Knight, who at lẽgth deliuered the booke to the Vicare of Rykemanſworth.
Iohn Fũge forced by his othe to detect.	Fraunces Funge and his brother. Thomas Clerke.	Frances Fũge was examined for ſpeaking theſe wordes to his brother I. which wordes he had learned of Tho. Clarke: If the Sacramẽt of the alter be very God and mã, fleſh & bloud, in forme of bread, as Prieſtes ſay that it is: then haue we many Gods, & in heauẽ there is but one God. And if there were an hundreth houſeled in one pariſhe, & as many in an other, then there muſt needes be more then one God. I wil not deny, but it is a holy thyng: but it is not the body of the Lord. ẏ ſuffred Paſſion for vs: for he was once in mans handes here, and ill entreated, and therefore he will neuer come in ſinfull mens handes agayne. Alſo for ſpeakyng theſe wordes: The pope hath no authoritie to geue pardon, & to releaſe any mans ſoule from ſinne, & ſo from payne: it is nothyng but blyndyng of the people, to haue their money. Alſo for theſe wordes, or ſuch like: If a man do ſow .xx. quarters of corne, as wheate or barley, or other corne, he ought to deduct his ſeede, and of the reſidue to tithe, or els he hath wrong. &c.

Agaynſt the Sacrament of the Altare.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Fraunces Funge and Alyce his wife were put to their othe to detect.	Thomas Clerke.	For ſpeaking againſt the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament vnto Frãces Funge, as before. &c.
	Robert Raue, of Dorney.	For ſaying theſe wordes: That ẏ Sacrament of the aulter is not ẏ body which was borne of ẏ bleſſed virgine Mary. Item, for ſpeakyng ſuch wordes xiiij. yeares paſt: That folkes were ill occupyed that worſhypped any thyngs grauen with mãs hand: for that is grauen with mans hand, is neither God, nor our Lady, but made for a remembraunce of ſaintes. Nor we ought to worſhip any thing, but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saintes, whiche are but ſtockes and ſtones.
Hẽry Deyn forced by his othe to detect.	Edmund Hill of Penne.	
	Robert Freman, Pariſh prieſt of Orton by Colobroke.	For hauing and readyng vpõ a ſuſpected booke: whiche booke whẽ he perceaued to be ſene in his hand, he cloſed it and caryed it to his chamber.
Iohn Hill forced by his othe, did detect.	Thomas Groue and his wife, of Amerſham.	
	Matild Philby wife of Edward Philby of Chaldwey.	
	Ioanne Gunne of Cheſſham.	Becauſe ſhe inſtructed and taught the ſayd Hill before his abiuratiõ, in the Epiſtle of S. Iames, and other opinions.
	William Atkyns of great Miſſendẽ.	
	Richard Murden, of Cheſham.	
	Emme Murden, his wife.	
Williã Gudgame forced by his othe to detect.	Ioanne Gudgame his owne wife.	For beyng in ẏ ſame opinion of the Sacrament that he was of: who notwithſtãdyng dyd ſweare the ſame

An. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Lincoln.

A propheſie.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		not to be true, that her huſband ſayd.
	Alyce Naſhe, or Chapman, of Miſſenden.	
Matilde Symondes, and Iohn Symondes her huſband, put to their othe detected.	One Haggar of London.	For ſpeakyng in their houſe. an. 1520. theſe wordes: That there ſhould be a battaile of prieſtes, & all the prieſtes ſhould be ſlaine: & that ȳ prieſts ſhould a while rule: but they ſhould all be deſtroyed, becauſe they hold agaynſt the law of holy Church, and for making of falſe Gods, and after that they ſhould be ouerthrowen. Item, an other tyme he ſaid, that men of the Churche ſhould be put downe, and the falſe Gods that they make: and after that hee ſayd they ſhould know more, and then ſhould be a mery world.
Thomas Clerke forced by his othe did detect.	Chriſtopher Tinker of Wicombe.	The cauſe of this tinkers trouble was for that he commyng to this mans houſe, & cōplaynyng to hym of ȳ pouerty of ȳ world, had theſe wordes: That there was neuer ſo miſgouerned people, & ȳ they bare thēſelues ſo bold vpō pardons & pilgrimages, that they cared not whatſoeuer they did, and ſo he departed. And after that vij. dayes, this Tynker cōmyng agayne, aſked him how his cōmunication with him laſt did pleaſe him, and he ſayd well. Then the Tinker ſayd he knew more, & that he could tell him more, and bad him that he ſhould beleue in GOD in heauen: for here be many Gods in earth, and there is but one God: and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, & would no more come here till the day of dome: & that the Sacrament of the aulter was a holy thyng, but not the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt that was borne of the virgine, and charged him not to tell this to his wife, & eſpecially to his wiues brother a Prieſt. Afterward as the prieſt was dryng ſinging bread being wette, which his ſiſter had bought, the foreſayd Thomas Clerke ſayd, that if euery one of theſe were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Prieſt aunſwered, that till the holy wordes were ſpoken ouer it, it was of no power, & thē it was very God, fleſh and bloud, ſaying moreouer that it was not mete for any lay man to ſpeake of ſuch thynges. Theſe wordes of the Prieſt beyng after recited to the Tinker, by the ſayd Clerke: then ſaid he, let euery man ſay what they will: but you ſhall finde it as I ſhew you: & if you will take labour to come to my houſe, I will ſhew you a farther proofe of it, if you will take heede. &c.
Robert pope firſt of Amerſham, after of Weſtādred, cauſed by his oth, did detect theſe folowyng.	Thomas Afrike, alias Litle page, and his wife.	To theſe was obiected for ȳ they had cōmunication and conference with this Robert pope in the Goſpel of S. Mathew, before the great abiuratiō, in the towne of Amerſhā.
	Thomas Scriuener father to Thomas Holmes wife.	This Scriuener was detected for that the ſayd Pope had of him a boke of the Epiſtles in Engliſh.
	Benet Ward of Bekenneſfield, and his father. Edmund Dormer.	To ward this was layd, that the foreſaid Pope had receiued a booke of the x. Commaundementes. He had alſo the Goſpels of Mathewe and Marke. Of the ſame Ward he learned his Chriſte Croſſe rowe: Fyue partes of the viij. beatitudes.
	Thomas Hardyng, and his wife.	
	Iohn Scriuener, and his wife.	
	Tho. Man, and his wife. An other Tho. Man, and his wife.	Theſe were detected for this, becauſe they had communed & talked with the ſaid Robert Pope ofttymes in bookes of Scripture and other matters of Religion concernyng pilgrimage, adoratiō of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lordes body.
	Thomas Bernard.	
Robert Pope of Weſtanred, beyng before adiured now agayne put to his othe detected theſe as folow.	Thomas Groue.	
	Thomas Holmes.	
	Robert Raue.	
	William Gudgame, and his wife.	
	Naſhe the elder, and his wife.	
	W. Gray of Eaſthenred, Milner.	
	Edward Gray, and his wife, of Eaſthenred.	
	Margery yoūg, widow, of Eaſthēred	
	Iſabell Moer, ſiſter to the ſayd Margery, of Eaſthenred.	
	Richard Nobys Fouler, and his wife, of Eaſthenred.	
	Richard Colyns of Gynge, and his wife.	This Colyns was among them a great reader, & had a booke of Wickleffes Wicket, and a booke of Luke, and one of Paule, and a Gloſe of the Apocalyps.
	William Colyns his brother.	
	Thom. Colyns the father of Richard and William.	He had a booke of Paul and a booke of of ſmall Epiſtles.
	Iohn Colyns, of Betterton.	
	Robert Lyuord, of Steuenton.	
	William Lyuord, of Steuenton.	
	Father Amerſhaw, of Steuenton.	
	Smarte, of Steuenton, Milner.	
	Thomas Halle, of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Eden, of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Ludlow, of Hungerford.	
	Thomas New, of Wantage thatcher.	
	Ioanne Taylor and her mother, of Biſſam.	
	Humfrey Shomaker, of Newbery.	
	Iohn Semande, of Newbery, Fiſhmonger.	
	Robert Geydon, and his wife, of Newbery, Weauer.	
	Iohn Edmundes, of Burford.	This Iohn Edmundes was charged for hauyng a booke named W. Thorpe. Alſo for readyng in in an Engliſh booke after a mariage.

Ro-

Ex Regiſt. Jo. Longland, Lincol.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	Robert Burges, and hys wyfe of Burford.	
	John Colyns, of Burford.	
	John Colyns; and hys wyfe of Aſthall.	
	Joh. Clarke of Clanfield.	This Clarke was heard ſay that all the worlde was as well halowed as yͤ church or Churchyard. And that it was as good to be buried in yͤ field, as in the Church, or Churchyard.
	William Gunne, and his wife of Wytney, Tanner.	
	John Baker, of Wytney, Weauer,	
	John Brabant the elder, of Stanlake.	
	John Brabant the younger of Stanlake.	
	John Kember, of Hennyborkes.	
	Walter Kember, his brother, of Hennyborkes.	
	John Rabettes, of Chinwley.	
	Thomas Widmore, of Hychenden.	
	Joh. Fyppe. William Fyppe.	For reading a certeine treatiſe vpō the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, whiche thys John Fyppe did read to him, and to hys father.

The ſonne detected the father.

¶ This forſayd Robert Pope moreouer detected Edwarde Pope hys owne father of litle Myſſendē, for hearing the Goſpell of Mathew read vnto hym, and for communing vpon the ſame wyth thys Robert Pope hys ſonne; he detected lykewiſe Edward Pope hys brother.

¶ Furthermore, he detected hys owne wyfe, who had before abiured vnder W. Smith, to continue ſtill in her opinions.

For the Scripture in Engliſhe.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Rob. Pope before abiured, did detecte theſe here folowing.	Thomas Clerke the elder, of Hychenden.	
	Laurence heme, of Hychenden.	
	W. Halyday of Eaſtherēd.	This Halyday was detected, for hauyng in his cuſtodie a boke of the Actes of yͤ Apoſtles in Engliſhe, which the ſayde Robert Pope brought vnto him, at yͤ taking of Roger Dodde.
	William Squyre, and hys brother of Schaw.	
	Thomas Steuenton, and Matilde hys daughter, of Cherney.	
	Thomas Philipe, pointer. Laurence Tayler of London.	For that theſe two beyng in the houſe of Richard Colyns at Gynge, there did read in an Engliſhe boke, the Epiſtle of Saint Paule to the Rom, and Laurēce did read the firſt Chapter of S. Lukes Goſpell.
	Andrew Maiſey, of Burton.	
	Th wyfe of Rychard Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Joh. Harrys and hys wyfe. Alyce Colyns, wyfe of Rich. Colyns.	Theſe beyng together at Upton in J. Harrys houſe, did talke of the Apocalyps, & of the Actes of the Apoſtles, and therefore were ſuſpected & thus detected. Ex Regiſt. Longl. fol. 71. Item, becauſe John Harrys ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talke of vij. leane, and vij. fat Oxen.
	Robert Colyns of Hertford wallis, Maſon.	
	Tho. Grey, of Weſthēdred.	For receiuing certein bookes of thys Robert Pope.
	Margarete Houſe, wife of William Houſe, of Eſginge.	For keeping company and receiuing the doctrine of Alyce Colyns.
	John Naſhe, of little Miſſenden.	
	Henry Etkin, and his mother, of little Miſſenden.	
	Richard Dell, of Miſſenden.	
Rob. Colyns beyng ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, dyd detecte theſe perſons.	Richard Colyns of Gynge.	Firſt, for that thys Rychard Colyns did read vnto the ſayde Robert Colyns the tenne Commaundemētes: & after taught hym the Epiſtles of James, and an other ſmall Epiſtle of Peter: & after that, tooke hym the Goſpell of Saint John in Engliſhe, & bad him read therein hymſelfe. Alſo, for teaching hym, not to worſhyp Images, nor to ſet by candels, nor to goe on pilgrimage. An other crime agaynſt Rychard Colyns: Becauſe hee taught thys Robert, that in all ſuch thinges wherein he offended God, he ſhoulde onely ſhriue himſelfe to God: and in which thynges hee offended man, he ſhould ſhriue hym to man. Alſo for teachyng hym, that the Sacrament of the Altar is not very God, but a certayne figuratiue thynge of Chriſt in bread: and that the Prieſt hath no power to conſecrate the body of Chriſt. Alſo, for that the ſayde Rycharde dyd teach hym in Wickliffes Wicket: how that a man may not make the body of our Lord, whiche made vs: and how can we thē make him again? The father is vnbegotten, and vnmade: The Sonne is onely begotten & not made: and howe then can man make that, which is vnmade, ſayd he. And in the ſame booke of Wickliffes Wicket, follow the wordes of Chriſt thus ſpeakyng: If my wordes be hereſie, then am I an heretike: And if my wordes be leaſings, then am I a lyer. &c. Alſo, an other cryme agaynſt Rycharde Colyns: For hauynge certayne Engliſhe Bookes, as Wick-

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

An. 1521.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland Lincoln.

For ſpeakyng agaynſt Idolatry.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		wickleffes wicket, the Goſpell of S. Iohn, the Epiſtles of S. Paul, Iames, and Peter in Engliſh, an expoſition of the Apocalips, a booke of our Ladyes Mattẽs in Engliſh, a booke of Salomon in Engliſh, a booke called the pricke of conſcience.
The foreſayd Robert Colyns beyng ſworne vpō the Euangeliſtes, dyd detect theſe perſons.	Iohn Edmundes, of Burford Taylor.	The crime agaynſt Iohn Edmundes: for hauing a certaine Engliſh booke of the commaundementes.
	Iohn Harrys.	The crime agaynſt Iohn Harrys: For cōmunyng with him of the firſt chap. of S. Iohns Goſpell: In the begynnyng was the word, & the word was with God, and God. &c. Alſo for cōmunyng of a chap. in Mathew of the viij. beatitudes.
	Thomas Hall.	Item, for counſaylyng him not to go on pilgrimage to ſaintes, becauſe they were Idols.
	Rob. Lyuord. William Lyuord. Bruges, and Ioanne his wife. Harrys, and his wife. Rich. Colyns.	All theſe were detected, for that they beyng together in Bruges houſe at Burford, were readyng together in ẏ booke of the expoſitiō of the Apocalips, & cōmuned concernyng the matter of openyng the booke with ſeuen claſpes. &c.
	Iohn Ledisdall, or Edon of Hungerford.	
	Iohn Colyns of Burford.	
	Iohn Colyns, and his wife, of Aſthall.	
	Iohn Clerke, of Clauſfield.	
	The wife of Rich. Colyns, of Ginge.	
	Thom. Colyns, and his wife, of Gynge.	This Thomas was charged for hauyng a boke of Paul, and Iames in Engliſh.
	William Colyns.	
	Robert Pope, of Henred.	
	Hakker, of Colmanſtret in London.	
	Stacy brickmaker of Colmonſtreet.	For hauyng the booke of the Apocalyps.
	Tho. Phillip. Laurence Wharſar of London.	For readyng the Epiſtle of S. Peter in Engliſh in the houſe of Robert Colyns at Aſthall.
	Ioanne Colyns his owne ſiſter, of Aſthall.	
	Thomas Colyns his coſine, of Aſthall.	
	Maiſtres Briſtow, of London.	
	Iohn Colyns ſonne of Richard Colyns, of Gynge.	
	Ioanne Colyns daughter of Richard Colyns of Gynge.	
	Henry Stacy ſonne of Stacy of Colmanſtret.	
	Thomas Steuenton of Charney in Barkeſhyre.	
	Iohn Brabant in Stanlake.	
	Iohn Baker Weauer, of Wytney.	
	Richard Colyns.	The wordes of Richard Colyns were theſe: that the Sacrament was not the true body of Chriſt in fleſhe and bloud: but yet it ought to be reuerenced: albeit not ſo as the true body of Chriſt.
Iohn Colyns of Burford, appeached to the Byſhop theſe perſons here named.	Thom. Colyns of Gynge, his owne naturall father.	The crime againſt Thomas Colyns: For that viij. yeares paſt, this Tho. Colyns hys father had taught thys Iohn his ſonne in the preſence of his mother, the x. Commaundementes, and namely, that hee ſhould haue but one GOD, and ſhould worſhyp nothyng but GOD alone: and that to worſhyp Saintes and go on pilgrimage, was Idolatry. Alſo that he ſhould not worſhyp the Sacrament of the aulter as God, for that it was but a token of the Lordes body. Which thyng ſomuch diſcontented this Iohn Colyns, that he ſaid he would diſcloſe his fathers errours, & make him to be burned: but his mother intreated him not ſo to do.
	Robert Colyns of Aſthall.	The crime agaynſt Rob. Colyns: That this Robert read to him in a certain thick booke of Scripture in Engliſh.
	Iohn Edmūdes and his wife.	The crime layd to Iohn Edmundes: For that hee read to this Iohn the x. Cōmaundementes, and told him that Iohn Baptiſt ſayd, that one ſhould come after him whoſe buckell of his ſhoe, he was not worthy to vndoe.
	Alyce, wife of Gunne of wytney.	
	Iohn Hakker, and his ſonne of London.	This Iohn Hakker of London, commyng to Burford, brought a booke ſpeakynge of the tenne plagues of Pharao. Alſo after that, an other booke, entreatyng of the vij. Sacramēts.
	Laurence Taylor of Shordiche.	
	Thomas Philip of London.	
	Philip, ſeruaunt of Richard Colyns.	
	Waunſell fiſhmonger, of the Viſe.	
	Ioanne Robert.	
	Burges wife.	
	Iohn Boyes, and his brother, a Mōke of Burford.	
	Thomas Baker, father to Gunnes wife of Whatley.	
	Agnes, daughter of Iohn Edmundes.	
	The mother of Iohn Boyes, of Sedbery.	
	Edward Red Scholemaſter of Burford.	
	Robert Hichman of Lechelade.	
	Elynor Hegges of Burford.	This Elynor was charged ẏ ſhe ſhould burne the Sacramēt in an ouen.
	Iohn Through, of the Priorie of Burford.	
	The mother of Robert Burges wife.	

Roger

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Roger Dods of Burford, by his oth was cōpelled to vtter theſe perſōs here named.	Syr Iohn Drury Vicare of Windriſhe in Worceterſhyre.	The crime agaynſt this ſir Iohn Drury was, for that, whē Roger Dods came firſt to him to be hys ſeruaunt, hee ſware him vpon a booke to keepe hys counſails in all thynges: and after that hee ſhewed him a certeine womā in his houſe whō he ſayd to bee his wyfe, counſailyng moreouer the ſayd Roger Dods vpon an Imbryng day, to ſuppe with bread & cheeſe, ſaying: that whiche goeth into a mās body defileth not a mās ſoule, but that whiche goeth out of ý body defileth both body and ſoule. Alſo that the ſayd vicare taught him the A.B.C. to ý entēt he ſhoulde haue vnderſtandyng in the Apocalyps, wherein he ſayd that he ſhould perceaue all the falſehode of ý world, & all the truth. He ſayd farthermore vnto him, when hee had bene at the Lady of Worceſter, and at the bloud of Hailes, whiche had coſt him.xviij. pence, that he had done as an ill huſband, that had plowed his land and ſowen it, but nothing to the purpoſe: For he had worſhypped mans hādy worke and caſt away hys money, which had beene better geuen to the poore: for he ſhould worſhyp but one God, and no handy worke of man. Item, when the people would offer candels, where he was vicare, to Mary Magdalene, hee would take them away and ſay they were fooles, that brought them thether.
	Elizabeth More, of Eaſthenred.	
	Robert Pope, of Weſthenred.	
	Henry Miller or Tucke, by ware.	This Henry dyd ſhew to Roger Dods a certeine ſtory of a woman in the Apocalyps, rydyng vpon a red beaſt. The ſayd Hēry was twiſe abiured.
	Iohn Fyppe of Hychendē.	For readyng vnto ý ſayd Roger Dods, a certeine Goſpell in Engliſh.
	W. Fyppe of Hychenden and Henry his ſonne.	This Williā had exhorted Roger Dods, that hee ſhould worſhyp no Images, nor cōmit no Idolatry, but worſhyppe one God: & told the ſame Rog. ý it was good for a man to be mery and wiſe, meanyng, that he ſhould keepe cloſe that was told hym: for elles ſtreit puniſhement woulde folow.
	Roger Parker, of Hychenden.	This Parker ſayd to Iohn Fyppe for burnynge of hys bookes, that he was fonde to blame, for they were worth a C. markes. To whō Iohn aunſwered, that he had rather burne his bookes, thē that hys bookes ſhould burne him.
The foreſayd Roger Dods of Burford, by hys othe was compelled to vtter theſe perſons here annexed.	The wyfe of Thomas Wydmore, daughter of Roger Houſe, of Hychenden.	
	Old Wydmores wyfe, ſiſter to Iohn Fyppe of Hychenden.	
	Iohn Lediſdall of Hungerford.	For readyng of ý Bible, in Robert Burges houſe at Burford vpon holy roode day, wyth Colyns Lyuord, Thomas Hall, and other.
	Rob. Colyns, and hys wyfe.	For buying a Byble of Stacy, for xx.s.
	Iohn Colyns, and hys wyfe.	
	The father of Robert Colyns.	This father Colyns had bene of this doctrine from the yeare of our Lord. 1480.
	Tho. Baker of Whatley. Robert Lyuord. Ioh. Symſon of Steuenton. Tho. Ryley, of Burford. Ioh. Clemſon, ſeruaūt to the Prior of Burford. Iohn Edmundes, of Burford. William Gunne, of Wytney.	To theſe was layde, that they beynge in the houſe of Iohn Harrys of Upton, at the maryage of Ioanne the wyfe of Robert Burges, did read in a Booke called Nicodemus goſpell, that made the clothe whiche our Lorde was buryed in (as the Regiſter ſayth) and in that Booke is the ſtorye of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem.
	Iohn Baker, Weauer of Wytney.	
	The Bayliffe of Wytney.	
	Iohn Hakker. Iohn Brabant, and his wyfe. Iohn Brabant hys ſonne, wyth his wyfe. Ioh. Brabāt the younger ſone, wyth hys wife.	For reading in a certayne Engliſhe boke of Scripture, they beynge together in Ioh. Brabāts houſe of Stanlake.
	Reginald Brabant, of Stanlake.	
	Henry Fyppe.	The crime & detectiō againſt this Henry was, for ý he beyng aſked of thys Dods. an. 1515. Whether he would go to Wycomb or not, aunſwered agayne, that he was choſē Rood mā, ý is, keper of ý Rood loft, ſaying, ý he muſt goe & tynd a cādle before his blocke almighty.
	Olyuer Smith of Newlyne, and hys wyfe.	
	William Hobbis.	This Williā Hobbis was detected, firſt by Radulfe Hobbis hys brother, to Byſhop Smith, but was deliuered through the ſute of the Curate of Weſtwycame.
Iohn Edmundes, otherwiſe called Iohn Ogins of Burford, did detect.	Philippe Brabant, ſeruaunt of Rich. Colyns.	For ſaying, that the Sacrament of ý aultar was made in the remembraūce of Chriſtes owne body, but it was not the bodie of Chriſt.

For reading the Bible in Engliſhe.

For reading the Scripture in Engliſhe.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTY.

Againſt the bodely preſence of the Sacrament.

The

Agaynſt the bodely preſence.

The booke called the kyng of Beame.

For hauyng the x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Iohn Edmundes, otherwiſe called Iohn Ogyns of Burford did detect.	The ſhepheardes kalender was alſo accuſed and detected.	Becauſe the ſame Edmundes ſayd, that he was perſuaded by this booke, readyng theſe wordes: that the Sacrament was made in, the remembraunce of Chriſt.
	The booke of William Thorpe likewiſe was much complayned of both by this Iohn Edmundes, and diuers other.	
	Richard Colyns of Gynges.	This Richard Colyns, as hee was a greate doer amonge theſe good mẽ: ſo was he much complayned vpon by diuers, & alſo by this Edmũdes, for bringyng wͭ hym a booke called ẏ kyng of Beeme, into their cõpany, and did read thereof a great part vnto them, in this Edmundes houſe of Burford.
	Alyce Colyns, wife of Richard Colyns.	This Alyce likewiſe was a famous woman amõg them, and had a good memory, & could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good bookes: And therefore when any cõuenticle of theſe mẽ did meete at Burford, cõmõly ſhe was ſent for, to recite vnto them the declaration of the x. Commaũdements, and the Epiſtles of Peter, and Iames.
	Ioanne Colyns daughter of Rich. and of Alyce Colyns.	This Ioan alſo followyng her fathers and mothers ſteppes, was noted, for that ſhe had learned with her father & mother, the x. Commaundementes, the vij. deadly ſinnes, the ſeuen workes of mercy, the v. wittes bodely and ghoſtly, the viij. bleſſynges, & v. chapters of ſaint Iames Epiſtle.
	Agnes Edmundes his own daughter.	This Agnes Edmundes was alſo detected by her father, that hee brought her to the houſe of Rich. Colyns, to ſeruice, to the intent ſhe might be inſtructed there in Gods lawe, where ſhe had learned likewiſe the x. Cõmaundementes, the v. wits bodely and ghoſtly, & the vij. deadly ſinnes.
	Alyce Gunne. W. Ruſſell, of Colmanſtret. One mother Ioanne. Father Iohn of Hungerford. Ioanne Taylor, ſeruaunt of Iohn Harrys, of Burford. Thomas Quicke, Weauer, of Redyng. Philippe Brabant, Weauer. Iohn Barbar, Clerke of Amerſham. Iohn Edynge, of Hungerford.	

Coſt loſt.

For ſaying: Our Ladye is not at Willeſdon, but in heauē.

The Image of God.

BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
	One Brabant, brother to Philippe Brabant, of Stanlake.	
Thomas Whyte, and Thomas Clerke did appeache.	Robert Butterfield.	
	William Dorſet.	The wordes of William Dorſette were theſe: ẏ pilgrimage was of none effect, & offeryng candels or other things to ſaintes, ſtode in no ſtede, and was but coſt loſt. Alſo when his wife was going on pilgrimage, and hee aſked whether ? & ſhe ſayd to our Lady of Wilſedon: our Lady, ſayd he is in heauen.
Iohn Baker beyng vrged vpon his othe, did diſcloſe.	Iohn Edmundes.	This Iohn Edmundes was detected becauſe that he, talking with the ſayd Baker, of pilgrimage, bad him go offer hys money to the Image of God. And whẽ the other aſked, what that was, hee ſayd, that the Image of God was the poore people, blynde, and lame: and ſayd that he offended almighty God in goyng on pilgrimage.
William Phyppe abiured by his othe did accuſe.	Henry Phyppe his own ſonne.	For commyng with Roger Dods againſt pilgrimage and adoration of Images.
Henry Phyppe beyng examined, and abiured by the Biſhop was compelled to diſcloſe.	his owne workes ſpoken to Roger Dods, ſaying to him, that he muſt light a candle before his BLOCKE ALMIGHTIE, being thẽ roode man.	
	Roger Parker. William Phyppe his own father.	For talkyng together agaynſt pilgrimage and Idolatry.
Iohn Brabant, the elder ſonne of Iohn Brabant, dyd nominate.	Iohn Hacker. Robert Pope.	For readyng the holy Scripture in hys fathers houſe, and for ſaying theſe wordes: Chriſt made his maũdy and ſayd: take this bread, eate it, this is my body: Take this wyne, drinke it, this is my bloude: And Prieſtes ſay by theſe wordes, that the Sacrament of the aulter is the body of Chriſt.
	Iohn Brabant his father, and his mother.	For beyng preſent, when Hacker was readyng the Scripture in their houſe.
	Philip Brabant his vncle.	The wordes of Philippe Brabant, were theſe: that it was deadly ſinne to go on pilgrimage.

¶ Concernyng this Iohn Brabant, here is to be noted the forme and effect of the Byſhops examination, aſking and demaundyng thus of the ſayd Brabant: An vnquam audiuit Ioannem Hakker legẽtem ſacram Scripturam cõtra determinationem Eccleſiæ. That is, Whether he euer heard Iohn Hacker read the

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland, fol. 85.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
		the which wordes, if he meane, that it is agaynſt the determination of the church, to read the holy Scripture, it may therby appeare to be a blynd church. And if they meane, that the holy ſcripture conteineth any ſuch thing in it whiche is agaynſt the determination of the church, then it appeareth their church to be cōtrary vnto God, ſeing it determineth one thing, and Gods word an other.
John Baker did detect	Robert Pope. Richard Nobbis. Ioh. Edmundes.	For ſpeaking agaynſt goyng on pilgrimage, and Image worſhip.
John a Lee denounced.	John a Weedon.	When this John a Lee had told the ſayd Weedon, how the B. had ſayd in hys ſermō theſe wordes: That all which were of the ſect of heretikes beleued that God was in heauen, but they beleued not that the body of Chriſt on the aulter, was God: to this he aunſwering again, ſayd: ye be bolde vpon that worde, deridyng the B. in ſo ſaying.
	W. Dorſet of kings Langley.	For ſaying that images ſtode for nothing: and that Pilgrimage ſerued to ſpend folkes mony, and nothing els
Ioane Steuenton denounced.	Alice Colyns.	For teachyng the ſaid Joane Steuenton in Lent, ẏ x. Cōmaundementes, thus begynnyng: I am thy Lord God that led thee out of the Land of Egypt and brought the out of the houſe of thraldom. Thou ſhalte not haue no alyen Gods before me, neither make to ẏ any Image graued w̄ mans handes, that is in heauen aboue, neither in the earthe beneath. &c. Itē, for teaching her ẏ firſt chapter of S. Johns Goſpell: In ẏ begynning was the word, &c.
	John Harrys.	For teaching her the 1. chapter of Peter.
Sir John a prieſt, and alſo Rob. Robinſon detected	M. Cotiſmore of Brightwel: Alſo Maiſtres Cotiſmore, other wiſe called Maiſtres Doly.	For ſpeakyng theſe wordes to one John Baynton her ſeruāt: that if ſhe went to her chāber & prayed there ſhee ſhoulde haue as much merite, as though ſhe went to Walſingham on pilgrimage. Item, when the ſayd ſir John came to her, after the death of M. Cotiſmore his Maiſter, requiryng her to ſend one Joh. Stayner her ſeruaunt to our Lady of Walſingham for maiſter Cotiſmore which in his life tyme beyng ſicke, promiſed in his owne perſone to viſite that place, ſhe would not cōſent therto, nor let her ſeruaunt go. Item for ſaying ẏ when womē go to offer to Images or ſaintes they did it to ſhew their new gaye geare, & that images were but carpenters chips: and that folkes go on pilgrimage more for ẏ greing way, then for deuotion.

Carpenters chyppes.

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed.	Crimes obiected.
Ioh. Hakker did detect	Tho. Vincent of Lōdon.	To Tho. Vincent it was obiected for geuyng this Hakker a boke of S. Mathew in Engliſh.
	Maiſtres Cotiſmore, otherwiſe Doly.	
	Rich. Colyns.	For receiuing of the ſayd Hakker a booke of the ten Commaundements in Engliſh.
	Goodwife Briſtow of woodſtreete in London.	
The foreſayd John Hakker did detect	William Gunne.	For receiuing of Hakker a booke of the ten plagues ſent of God to Pharao.
	The wyfe of Tho. Wydmore of Chychenden.	
	Elizab. the daughter of this Hakker, and Rob. her huſband, otherwiſe called Fitton, of Newbery.	
	William Stokeley of Henley.	
	John Symondes & his wyfe of great Marlow.	
	John Auſty of Henley.	
	Thomas Auſty of Henley.	
	Grinder of Cookham.	
	Ioh. Heron.	For hauing a boke of the expoſition of the Goſpels fayre writtē in Engliſh.
Tho. Groue, and alſo Io. of Reding put to theyr othe, dyd detect	Richard Grace.	For ſpeakyng theſe wordes folowyng: ẏ our bleſſed Lady was the Godmother to S. Katherine: and therfore ẏ legēd is not true in ſaying, ẏ Chriſt did mary wyth S. Katherine, and bad Adrian put one hys veſtement, and ſay the ſeruice of matrimonie: For ſo Chriſt ſhoulde liue in adultery, for marying with his Godſiſter: Whiche thyng if he ſhoulde do, he ſhould be thought not to do well. Item, for ſaying by ẏ picture of S. Nicholas beyng newly painted, that he was not worthy to ſtande in the Rood loft, but that it better beſemed him to ſtand in the Belfray. &c.

The Legend of S. Katherine proued falſe.

In this Table aboue prefixed, thou haſt, gentle reader, to ſee and vnderſtand: Firſt the number and names of theſe good men and women troubled and moleſted by the Church of Rome, and all in one yeare: of whome few or none were learned, being ſimple labourers and artificers, but as it pleaſed the Lord to worke in them knowledge and vnderſtandyng, by readyng a few Engliſhe bookes, ſuch as they could get in corners. Secondly what were their opinions we haue alſo deſcribed. And thirdly herein is to be noted moreouer, the blynd ignoraunce & vncourteous dealing of the biſhops agaynſt them, not onely in that they, by theyr violent othe, and captious interrogatories, conſtreyned the children to accuſe their parentes and parentes the children: the huſbād the wife, and wyfe the huſbād. &c: but eſpecially in ẏ moſt wrongfully they ſo afflicted them, without all good reaſon or cauſe, onely for the ſyncere veritie of Gods worde, & readyng his holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you haue heard their opinions (which principally in number were 4.) ſo alſo we declare their reaſons & ſcriptures wherupon they grounded, & after that conſequently the order & maner of penance to thē inioyned by ẏ B. And firſt againſt pilgrimage & againſt worſhipping of images, they vſed this text of the reuelat. Apoc. 9. I ſaw horſes in a viſion, & the heds of them, as the heds of Lions: ſmoke, fire, & brimſtone came out of their mouths: with theſe 3. plages, the third part of men were ſlain of the ſmoke & of the fire, & of the brimſtone that came out of the mouths of thē. They that were not ſlain of theſe 3. plages, wer ſuch as worſhipped not deuils, and images of gold and ſiluer, of braſſe, of tree, & of ſtone, &c. Ex Regiſt. Longland. Fol. 72.

The reaſons and probations of their doctrine.

Alſo they vſed and alleged the firſt commaundement, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worſhip mo Gods then one.&c.

Wickliffes Wicket.

The Shepherds Calender.

And as touching the ſacrament and the right doctrine therof, they had their inſtructiō partly out of Wickliſs Wicket, partly out of the Shepehardes Calender: where they read; That the ſacrament was made in remembraunce of Chriſt, and ought to be receyued in remembraunce of hys body.&c. Moreouer they alledged and followed the wordes of Chriſt ſpoke at the ſupper, at what time he ſittyng with his diſciples, and makyng with them his Maundy, tooke bread, and bleſſed, and brake, and gaue to hys diſciples: And ſayd, eate ye: this (reaching forth his arme, and ſhewyng the bread in his hand, and then notyng his owne naturall body and touching the ſame, and not the bread conſecrate) is my body, which ſhall be betrayed for you: doe this in remembraunce of me: And likewyſe tooke the wyne and bad thē drinke, ſaying: this is my bloud which is of the new Teſtament.&c.

Ex Regiſt. Io. Longland. Fol. 102.

Fol. 45.

Item, that Chriſt our Sauior ſitteth on the right hād of the father, and there ſhalbe vnto the day of dome: Wherfore they beleued that in the Sacrament of the aulter was not the very body of Chriſt.

Fol. 32.

Item (ſayd one of them) men ſpeake much of the Sa-
" crament of the aulter, but this will I byde by, that vppon
" ſhare thurſday Chriſt brake bread vnto hys diſciples, & bad
" them eate of it, ſaying, it was hys fleſh and bloud. And then
" he went from them, and ſuffred paſſion: and then he roſe
" from death to lyfe, and aſcended into heauē, and there ſitteth
" on the right hand of the father, and there he is to come vnto
" the day of dome, when he ſhall iudge both quicke and dead:
" And therfore how he ſhould be here in the forme of bread, he
" ſayd, they could not ſee.

Such reaſons and allegations as theſe and other lyke, taken out of the ſcripture, and out of the Shepehards Kalender, Wickliffes Wicket, and out of other bookes they had amongeſt them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in theyr doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among themſelues, dyd conuert one another, the Lordes hand workyng with them maruelouſly: So that in ſhorte ſpace, the number of theſe Knowen or Iuſt faſt men (as they were then termed) dyd exceedingly increaſe, in ſuch ſort, that the Biſhop ſeyng the matter almoſt paſt hys power, was driuen to make his cōplaint to the kyng, and required his ayde for ſuppreſſion of theſe men. Wherupō kyng Henry beyng then yong, and vnexpert in the bloudy practiſes and blynd leadings of theſe apoſtolicall prelates, incenſed with his ſuggeſtions and cruell complaintes, directed down letters to his Shirifs, Bailifs, officers, and ſubiectes, for ẏ ayde of the biſhop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters here inſueth.

The biſhop complayneth to the kyng.

The copy of the kinges letter for the ayde of Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne, againſt the ſeruants of Chriſt, falſly then called heretikes.

The copie of the kynges letter.

HEnry the 8. by the grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce, lord of Ireland, defender of the fayth: to all Mayors, Shiriffes, Baylifs and Conſtables, and to all other our officers, miniſters and ſubiects, theſe our letters hearing or ſeyng, and to euery of them greetyng. For as much as the right reuerend father in God our truſty and right welbeloued Counſailour the biſhop of Lincolne, hath now within hys dioces no ſmall number of heretikes, as it is thought to hys no little diſcomfort and heauines: We therefore beyng in wyll & mynd ſafely to prouide for the ſaid right reuerēd father in God and hys officers; that they ne none of them, ſhal bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the ſaid heretikes or their fautours, in the executyng and miniſtring of Iuſtice vnto the ſayd heretickes accordingly to the lawes of holye Church: do ſtraightly charge and commaund you and euery of you, as ye tender our high diſpleaſure, to be ayding, helping and aſſiſting the ſayd right reuerend father in God, & his ſayd officers in the executing of Iuſtice in the premiſſes, as they or any of them ſhall require you ſo to, not fayling to accompliſh our commauudement and pleaſure in the premiſſes, as ye entend to pleaſe vs, and will aunſwer to the cōtrary, at your vttermoſt perils. Yeuen vuder our ſignet at our caſtle of Wyndſor the xx. day of October the 13. yere of our raigne.

The biſhop thus beyng armed no leſſe with the authority of the kynges letter then incited with hys owne fierceneſ, forſlacked no tyme, but eftſoones to accompliſh his moody violence vpon the poore flocke of Chriſt called before him ſitting vpon his tribunall ſeat, both theſe aforenamed perſons, and all other in hys dioces which were neuer ſo little noted or ſuſpected to incline toward thoſe opinions: of whō, to ſuch as had but newly bene taken, and had not before abiured, he inioyned moſt ſtraight and rigorous penance. The other in whom he could find any relaps, yea albeit they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humbly to his fauourable curteſie, and though alſo at his requeſt, and for hope of pardon, they had ſhewed themſelues great detecters of their brethrē beyng moreouer of him fed and flattered therunto, yet notwithſtanding, contrary to his faire wordes, and their expectation, he ſpared not, but read ſentence of relaps againſt thē, committing them to the ſecular arme to be burned.

The cruell falſehoode of Byſhop Longland.

And firſt as touching them who beyng brought to abiuration, were put to their penance, long it were to recite the names of all. Certaine I thought to recite here in a Catalogue, firſt reciting the perſons, afterward the rigorous penaunce to them enioyned.

The names of them which were abiured in the dioces of Lincolne, the yeare of our Lord, 1521.

William Colyns.
Ioh. Colyns.
Ioane Colyns.
Rob. Colyns.
Ioh. Hackar.
Ioh. Brabant, the father.
Ioh. Brabant his ſonne.
Ioh. Brabant the yonger ſonne.
Iohn Edmunds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
Ioh. Steuenton.

Ioane Steuenton.
Rob. Bartlet.
Tho. Clerke.
Ioh. Clerke.
Rich. Bartlet.
William Phip.
Ioh. Phip.
Tho. Couper.
Wil. Litlepage.
Ioh. Litlepage.
Ione Litlepage.
Ioh. Say.

Ioh. Frier.
Rich. Vulford.
Tho. Tredway.
Wil. Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Fraunces Funge.
Rob. Pope.
Roger Dods.
Ioh. Harrys.
Rob. Bruges.
Iohn Stampe.
Ione Stampe.

Rich. Whyte.
Bennet Ward.
Iohn Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Iſabell Morwyn.
Io. Butler. Io. Butler
R. Carder. (ẏ yōger.
Rich. Bernard.
Ione Bernard.
Io. Grace. Io. Frēch.
Ioh. Edings.

The townes and villages & countreis, where theſe foreſaid perſons did inhabite, are named chiefly to be theſe.

The names of the townes where they dwelled.

Amerſham.
Cheſham.
Hychenden.
Miſſendē ẏ great
Miſſenden ẏ leſſe
Eaſthendred.
Weſthendred.
Aſthall.

Bekenſfield.
Denham.
Gyng.
Betterton.
Cherney.
Stanlake.
Claufield.
Walton.

Marlow.
Dorney.
Iuer.
Burton.
Vxbridge.
Owburne.
Henley.
Wycame.

Weſtwycame.
Newbery.
Burford.
Wytney.
Hungerford.
Vpton.
Wynſore.
London.

Colmōſtret in L.
Chepeſide in Lō.
Shordich by Lōd.
S. Giles in Londō
Eſſex,
Suffolke.
Northfolke.
Norwich.

The bookes & opiniōs, which theſe were charged withall, & for the which they were abiured, partly are before expreſſed, partly here folow in a briefe ſummary to be ſene.

¶ A briefe ſumme of their opinions.

Ex Regiſt. Fol. 32.

THe opinions of many of theſe perſons were, that hee or ſhe neuer beleued in the Sacrament of the aulter, nor euer would, and that it was not as men did take it.

Ibid.

For that he was knowen of his neighbour, to be a good felow, meaning that he was a Knowen man.

Fol. 33.

For ſaying that he woulde geue xl. pence, in condition ẏ ſuch a one knew ſo much, as he did know.

Fol. 34.

Some for ſaying, ẏ they of Amerſhā, which had bene abiured before by Byſhop Smyth, were good men, and perfect Chriſtians, & ſimple folke which could not aunſwer for thēſelues, & therfore were oppreſſed by power of the byſhop.

Some for hydyng other in there barnes. Ibid.

Some for readyng the Scripture or treatiſes of Scripture in Engliſhe: ſome for hearing the ſame read.

Some for defēdyng: ſome for maryyng with them which had bene abiured.

Some for ſaying that matrimony was not a Sacrament. Fol. 36.

Some for ſaying, that worſhippyng of Images was Mawmetrey: ſome for callyng images carpēters chyppes: ſome for callyng them ſtockes and ſtones: ſome for callyng them dead thynges.

Some for ſaying that money ſpent vpon pilgrimage, ſerued but to mainteine theues and harlots. Fol. 33.

Some for callyng ẏ image in ẏ Rood loft block almyghty. Fol. 37.

Other for ſaying that nothyng grauen with mans hand was to be worſhipped.

Fol.40. Some for callyng them fooles which came from M. John Shorne in pilgrimage.

Ibid. An other for callyng his vicar a poll ſhorne prieſt.

Ibid. An other for callyng a certaine blynd chappell beyng in ruine, an olde faire milkhouſe.

Fol.4. An other for ſaying that he threſhed God almighty out of the ſtraw.

Fol.34. An other for ſaying that almes ſhould not be geuen, before it did ſweat in a mans hand.

Fol.35. Some for ſaying, that they which die, paſſe ſtraight either to heauen or hell.

Fol.9. Iſabell Bartlet was brought before the Biſhop and abiured, for lamenting her huſband when the biſhops man came for hym, and ſaying, that he was an vndone man, and ſhe a dead woman.

Fol.45. For ſaying that Chriſt departing from his diſciples into heauē, ſayd: that once he was in ſinners handes, & would come there no more.

Robert Raue hearing a certayne Bell in an vplandiſh ſteple, ſayd: lo yonder is a fayre Bell, and it were to hang about any cowes necke in the towne: and therfore, as for other ſuch lyke matters mo he was brought coram nobis.

Item for receiuyng the Sacrament at Eaſter, & doubting whether it was the very body, and did not cōfeſſe their doubt to their ghoſtly father.

Some for ſaying that the Pope had no authoritie to geue pardon or to releaſe mans ſoule from ſinne, and ſo from payne, and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their mony.

The order of penaunce.

The penaunce to theſe parties enioyned by this John Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, was almoſt vniforme and all after one condition, ſaue onely that they were ſeuerally committed and deuided into ſeuerall and diuers monaſteries, there to be kept and founde of almes all theyr lyfe, except they were otherwyſe diſpenſed with by the biſhop: as for example I haue here adioyned the biſhops letter for one of the ſayd number, ſent to the Abbey of Enſham, there to be kept in perpetuall penaunce. By which one, an eſtimatiō may be taken of the reſt, which were beſtowed likewiſe ſunderly into ſundry Abbeys, as to Oſney, to Frideſwyde, to Abyngdon, to Tame, to Biſſetor, to Dorcheſter, to Notley, to Aſhrygt, and diuers moe. The copy of the Byſhops letter ſent to the Abbot of Enſham, here followeth vnder written.

The Biſhops letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

The copie of the byſhops letter to the Abbot of Enſham.

MY louyng brother, I recommend me hartely vnto you: and where as I haue, accordyng to the lawe, put this bearer R.T. to perpetuall penaunce within your monaſtery of Enſham, there to lyue as a penitent, and not otherwiſe, I pray you, and neuertheleſſe, accordyng vnto the lawe, commaund you to receaue him, and ſee ye order him there accordingly to his iniunctions which he will ſhew you, if ye require the ſame. As for his lodgyng, hee will bryng it with him. And his meate and drinke, he may haue ſuch as ye geue of yours almes. And if he can ſo order him ſelfe by his labour within your houſe in your buſines, wherby hee may deſerue his meate and drinke, ſo may you order hym, as ye ſe conueniente to his deſertes, ſo that he paſſe not the precincte of your monaſtery. And thus fare you hartly wel from my place.&c.

As touching the reſidue of the penaunce and puniſhemēt inflicted to theſe men, they do litle or nothyng diſagree, but had one order in them all. The maner and forme wherof in the ſayd Byſhops Regiſter doth procede in condition as followeth.

Penaunce enioyned vnder payne of relaps by Ioh. Longland biſhop of Lyncolne, the xix. day of December. an.1521.

In Regiſt. Fol.50.

Penaūce enioyned to theſe abiurates vnder payne of relaps.

IN primis, that euery one of them ſhall vpon a market day, ſuch as ſhall be limitted vnto them in the market tyme, go thriſe about the market at Burford, and then to ſtande vp vpon the higheſt grece of ye croſſe there a quarter of an houre wt a fagot of wood euery one of thē vpō his ſhoulder, & euery one of thē once to beare a fagot of wood vpō theyr ſhoulders, before their proceſſion vpon a Sonday, which ſhall be limitted vnto them at Burforde, from the quire dore goyng out, to the quire dore goyng in, and all the hye Maſſe tyme to hold the ſame fagot vpon their ſhoulders, knelyng vpon the grece afore the hie alter there, and euery of them likewiſe to do likewiſe in theyr owne pariſh church, vpon ſuch a Sonday as ſhalbe limited vnto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall proceſſion at Uxbridge, when they ſhalbe aſſigned therto: and once to beare a fagot at the burnyng of an heretike, when they ſhalbe moniſhed therto.

Alſo euery one of them to faſt breade and ale onely euery Friday during their life, and euery euen of Corpus Chriſti euery one of them to faſt in bread and water during their life vnles ſicknes vnfained let the ſame.

Alſo to ſay euery of them euery Monday and euery Friday during their life, once our Lady Pſalter, and if they forget it one day, to ſay as much another day for the ſame.

Alſo they nor none of them, ſhall not hyde the marke vpon their cheke, neither with hatcap, hood, kerchief, napkin, nor none otherwiſe, nor ſhall not ſuffer their beards to grow paſt 14. dayes, nor neuer to haunt agayne together with any ſuſpect perſon or perſons, vnles it be in the open market, fayre, church or common Inne or alehouſe, where other people may ſee their conuerſation.

And all theſe iniunctions they and euery of them, to fulfill with theyr penaunce, and euery part of the ſame, vnder payne of relaps.

And thus haue you the names, with the cauſes and the penaunce of them which were at this preſent tyme abiured. By the which word, *abiured, is ment that they were conſtrayned by their othe, ſwearyng vpon the Euangeliſts, and ſubſcribyng with their hand, and a croſſe to the ſame, that they did vtterly and voluntarily renounce, deteſt, and forſake and neuer ſhould hold hereafter theſe, or any other lyke opinions, contrary to the determinatiō of ye holy mother church of Rome: and further, that they ſhould detect vnto their ordinary, whom ſo euer they ſhould ſee, or ſuſpect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintayne the ſame.

*Abiured, what it ſignifieth.

Here follow the names of them, which were condemned for relaps, and committed vnto the ſecular power.

AMong theſe aforenamed perſons, which thus ſubmitted themſelues, and were put to penance, certayn there were which becauſe they had bene abiured before, as is aboue mencioned, pag.750. vnder biſhop Smith, were nowe condemned for relaps, and had ſentence read agaynſt them, and ſo were committed to the ſecular arme, to be burned: whoſe names here follow.

Vid. ſup. pag.750.

Martyrs.

Thomas Bernard.
James Morden.
Robert Raue.
John Scriuener.

An.1521.

Of theſe mention is made before, both touchyng their abiuration, and alſo their martyrdome, pag.750. vnto whō we may adioyne.

Ioane Norman.
Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had diſcloſed and detected many of his brethren, as in the table aboue is expreſſed, pag.797. thinking therby to pleaſe the Biſhops & to ſaue himſelfe, and was thought to be a ſecrete man of the Biſhop for the ſame: yet notwithſtanding in the ſayd biſhops regiſter appeareth the ſentence of relaps, and condemnatiō written and drawn out againſt him: and moſt lyke that he was alſo adiudged and executed with the other.

Tho. Holmes. Vide ſupra, pag.797.

¶ As touchyng the burning of John Scriuener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to ſet fire vnto their father, in lyke maner as Joane Clerke alſo doughter of William Tilſeworth, was conſtrayned to geue fire to the burnyng of her owne naturall father, as is aboue ſpecified, pag.749. The example of which crueltye, as it is contrary both to God and nature, ſo hath it not bene ſeene nor heard of in the memorie of the heathen.

Children compelled to ſet fire to their owne father.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that at the burnyng of this John Scriuener, one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, pag.749. was preſent and bare a fagot at Amerſhā: whoſe abiuration was afterwarde layd agaynſt hym, at what tyme he ſhoulde depoſe for recouery of certeine landes from the ſchole of Barchamſted. This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certen about Amerſham) was the vncle to this our Dorman, & ſold hym to ſchole at Barchamſted vnder M. Reue, which now ſo vncharitably abuſed his pen in writing agaynſt the contrary doctrine, & rayleth ſo fiercely againſt the bloud of Chriſtes ſlain ſeruauntes, miſcalling them to be a donghill of ſtinking Martyrs.

A note of Tho. Dorman.

Well, how ſo euer the ſauour of theſe good Martyrs doe ſent in ye noſe of M. Dorman. I doubt not but they geue a better odour and ſweeter ſmell in the preſence of the Lorde: Precioſa enim in conſpectu Domini mors ſanctorum eius.

This M. Dormā, becauſe he was put to ſchoole by hys vncle at Barchamſtede to M. Reeue, being a proteſtant, therefore he for the ſame cauſe, in the firſt ſentence of his preface, ſayth that he was brought vp in Caluins ſchoole.

Precious is in the ſight of the Lord the death of his ſaints. And therefore howſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe M. Dorman, with reprochfull language to miſterme the good Martyrs of Chriſtes, or rather Chriſt in his Martyrs, his vnſeemely vſage more cartlyke then clerkelyke, is not greatly to be weyed. For as the daunger of his blaſphemy hurteth not them which are gone: ſo the contumely and reproche thereof, as well comprehendeth hys owne kyndred, friendes, and countrey, as any other els: and eſpecially redoundeth to himſelfe and woundeth hys owne ſoule and none els, vnto the great prouoking of gods wrath agaynſt him, vnleſſe he be bleſſed with better grace by tyme to repent.

Doctour Colet.

MUch about this tyme, or not paſt ij. yeres before, dyed D. John Colet, of whom mention was made in the table aboue, pag. 801. To whoſe ſermons theſe knowen men about Buckinghamſhyre, had a great mynde to reſort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he firſt began to read the Epiſtles of S. Paul openly in Oxford, in ſtead of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the king, and made Deane of Paules: where he accuſtomed much to preache, not without great auditory, as well of the kynges court, as of the citizens and other. His diet was frugall: his lyfe vpright: in diſcipline he was ſeuere: In ſo much that hys Canons becauſe of their ſtrayter rule, complayned that they were made lyke monkes. The honeſt and honourable ſtate of matrimony he euer preferred before the vnchaſt ſinglenes of prieſtes. At his diner commonly was read eyther ſome chapter of S. Paule, or of Salomons Prouerbs. He neuer vſed to ſup. And although the blyndnes of that tyme caryed him away after the common errour of Popery: yet in ripenes of iudgemēt he ſeemed ſomething to inclyne frō the vulgar trade of that age. The religious orders of mōks and friers he fantiſed not. As neither he could greatly fauour the barbarous diuinitie of the ſchoole Doctors, as of Scotus, but leaſt of all, of Thomas Aquine: In ſo much that when Eraſmus ſpeaking in the prayſe of Thom. Aquine, did commend hym that he had red many old authors, and had written diuers new workes as Catena aurea, and ſuch lyke, to proue and to know hys iudgement: Colet firſt ſuppoſing that Eraſmus had ſpoken in ieſt, but after ſuppoſing that he ment good fayth, bruſteth out in great vehemency, ſaying: what tell you me (quod he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had bene of an arrogant and preſumptuous ſpirite, would not define and diſcuſſe all things ſo boldly & raſhly: and alſo except he had bene rather worldly mynded, then heauenly, would neuer haue ſo polluted Chriſtes whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in ſuch ſort as he hath done.

John Colet Deane of Paules.

Paules epiſtles firſt read openly in Oxford.

The commendation of Doctor Colet.

Colets iudgemēt of Tho. Aquine.

The Biſhop of London at that tyme was Fitziames, of age no leſſe then 80. who bearyng long grudge and diſpleaſure agaynſt Colet, with other ij. biſhops takyng hys parte, lyke to hymſelfe, entred action of complaynt agaynſt Colet to the Archb. of Cant. being then W. Warham. The matter of hys complaynt was deuided into 3. Articles. The firſt was for ſpeakyng againſt worſhippyng of Images. The ſecond was about hoſpitalitie, for that he entreatyng vpon the place of the Goſpell, paſce, paſce, paſce, feede, feede, fede: when he had expounded the ij. firſt, for feedyng wᵗ example of lyfe and with doctrine: in the third, which the ſcholemen doe expounde for feedyng wyth hoſpitalitie, hee lefte oute the outwarde fedyng of the belly, and applied it an other way. The third crime wherewith they charged hym, was for ſpeakyng agaynſt ſuch as vſed to preach onely by boſome Sermons, declaryng nothyng els to the people, but as they bring in their papers with them. Which becauſe the B. of London vſed then much to do for his age, he tooke it as ſpoken agaynſt hym, and therefore bare him this diſpleaſure. The Archbiſhop more wyſely weyng the matter, and beyng well acquaynted with Colet, ſo tooke his parte agaynſt his accuſers, that hee at that tyme was ryd out of trouble.

D. Colet accuſed.

The B. of London enemie to D. Colet.

The Archb. of Canter. fauorer of D. Colet.

William Tyndall in his booke anſwering to M. More, addeth moreouer, and teſtifieth that the Byſhop of Londō would haue made the ſayd Colet Deane of Paules, an heretike for tranſlatyng the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, had not the Byſhop of Cant. holpen the Deane.

But yet the malice of Fitziames the B. ſo ceaſed not: who beyng thus repulſed by the Archbyſhop, practiſed by an other trayne howe to accuſe him vnto the kyng. The occaſion thus fell. It happened the ſame tyme, that the kyng was in preparation of warre agaynſt Fraunce. Whereupō the Byſhop with hys coadiutors takyng occaſion vpon certeine wordes of Colet, wherein he ſemed to preferre peace before any kynde of warre, were it neuer ſo iuſt, accuſed hym therefore in their ſermons, and alſo before the kyng.

Iniqua pax iuſtiſſimo bello praeferenda.

Furthermore it ſo befell the ſame tyme that vpō good friday D. Colet preaching before ẏ kyng, entreated of ẏ victory of Chriſt, exhorting all chriſtians to fight vnder the ſtādard of Chriſt, agaynſt the deuill: addyng moreouer what an hard thyng it was to fight vnder Chriſtes banner, and that all they which vpon priuate hatred or ambition, tooke weapon agaynſt their enemy, one chriſtian to ſlay an other, ſuch did not fight vnder the banner of Chriſt, but rather of Satan: and therfore concludyng hys matter, he exhorted that chriſtian men in their wars would follow Chriſt their prince and captayne, in fightyng againſt their enemies, rather then the example of Iulius or Alexander. &c. The king hearyng Colet thus to ſpeake, & fearyng leſt by his wordes the hartes of hys ſouldiours might be withdrawen from hys warres which he had then in hand, tooke him aſide, and talked with hym in ſecrete conference in hys gardeyn walkyng. Biſhop Fitziames, Bricot, and Standiſh, who were hys enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet muſt needes be committed to the Tower, and wayted for his cōmyng out. But the kyng with great gentlenes interteynyng D. Colet, and biddyng hym familiarely to put on his cap, in long curteous talke had with hym in the gardein, much commended hym for his learning and integritie of life agreyng with hym in all pointes, but that onely he required hym (for that the rude ſouldiours ſhould not raſhly miſtake that which he had ſayd) more plainly to explane his wordes and mynd in that behalfe, which after he did: and ſo after long communication and great promiſes, the king diſmiſſed Colet with theſe wordes, ſaying: let euery man haue hys Doctour as hym lyketh: this ſhall be my doctour, and ſo departed. Wherby none of hys aduerſaries durſt euer trouble hym after that tyme.

Colet talketh before the kyng.

D. Colet cōmended of the kyng.

Among many other memorable actes left behynd hym, he erected a worthy foundation of the ſchole of Paules (I pray God the fruites of ẏ ſchole may aunſwer the foundation) for the cheriſhing vp of youth in good letters, prouidyng a ſufficient ſtipend as well for the maiſter as for the Huſher, whom he willed rather to be appoynted out of the number of maried men, then of ſingle prieſtes with their ſuſpected chaſtitie. The firſt moderator of this ſchoole was Guliel. Lilius, a man no leſſe notable for his learnyng, then was Colet for his foundatiō. Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Iodoc. Ionā. This Colet died the yere of our Lord. 1519.

The foundation of the ſchoole of Paules.

Gulielm. Lilius. Ex epiſt. Eraſ. ad Iod. Ionā.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lyued Gulielmus Grocinus, and Gulielmus Latimerus, both Engliſh men alſo, and famouſly learned. This Grocinus as he began to read in hys open lecture in the church of S. Paul the booke of Dyoniſius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Eccleſiaſtica (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in Paules was not in vre) in the firſt entry of his preface, he cryed out with great vehemency againſt them who ſo euer they were, which either denied, or ſtoode in doubt of the authoritie of that booke: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla and dyuers other of lyke approued iudgement and learnyng. But afterward the ſame Grocine, whē he had continued a few weekes in his reading thereof, and did conſider further in hym, he vtterly altered, and recanted hys former ſentence, proteſtyng openly, that the forenamed booke to his iudgement, was neuer written by that author whom we read in the actes of the apoſtles to be called Dionyſius Areopagita. Ex Eraſ. ad Pariſienſ.

Guliel. Grocinus. Guliel. Latimerus.

The iudgement of *Grocinus* vpon *Hierarchia eccleſiaſt. Dioniſii Areopag.*

Dioniſius Areopag.

The tractation of theſe two couples aboue reherſed, doe occaſion me to adioyne alſo the remembraunce of an other couple of lyke learned men: The names of whom not vnworthy to be remembred, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace: which two followed much vppon the tyme of Colet, and of Wil. Lily. But of Richard Pace, which was Deane next after the foreſayd John Colet, more conuenient place ſhall ſerue vs hereafter to ſpeake, commyng to the ſtory of Cardinall Wolſey.

Thomas Linacer. Richard Paceus.

Moreouer to theſe two I thought it not out of ſeaſon, to couple alſo ſome mention of Geffrey Chaucer, and John Gower, which although being much diſcrepant from theſe in courſe of yeares, yet may ſeeme not vnworthy to be matched with theſe forenamed perſons in commendatiō of their ſtudie and learnyng. Albeit concerning the full certeintye of the tyme and death of theſe two, we can not finde: yet it appeareth in the prologe of Gowers worke, intitled Confeſſio Amantis, that he finiſhed it in the 16. yeare of K. Rich. the ſecond. And in the ende of the viij. booke of hys ſayde treatiſe he declareth, that he was both ſicke and olde, when he wrote it, wherby it may appeare, that he lyued not long after. Notwithſtanding, by certayne verſes of the ſayde maiſter Gower placed in the latter end of Chaucers workes both in Latine and Engliſhe, it may ſeeme that he was aliue at the beginnyng of the raigne of king Henry the iiij. and alſo by a booke which he wrote to the ſame king Henry. By his ſepulture within a chappell of the church of S. Mary Oueries, which was then a monaſtery where he & hys

Geffrey Chaucer. John Gower.

wyfe lye buried, it appeareth by his cheyne and his garland of Laurell, that he was both a knight, and floriſhyng then in poetrie. In the which place of hys ſepulture were made in his graueſtone 3. bookes, the firſt bearing the title, Speculum meditantis. The ſecond, Vox clamantis. The 3. Confeſſio amantis. Beſide theſe, diuers Chronicles and other workes mo he compiled.

The bookes of John Gower.

Lykewiſe as touching the tyme of Chaucer, by hys owne workes in the ende of his firſt booke of Troylus and Creſeide it is manifeſt, that he and Gower were both of one tyme, although it ſemeth that Gower was a great deale his auncient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that tyme did geue, both great friendes together, and both in lyke kynd of ſtudy together occupied, ſo endeuoryng themſelues, and employing their tyme, that they excellyng many other in ſtudy and exerciſe of good letters, dyd paſſe forth theyr liues here right worſhipfully & godly, to ỹ worthy fame and commendation of theyr name. Chaucers workes be all printed in one volume, and therfore knowen to all men.

Chaucer & Gower commended for their ſtudious exerciſe.

Thys I meruaile to ſee the idle lyfe of the prieſtes and clergy men of that tyme, ſeyng theſe lay perſones ſhewed themſelues in theſe kynd of liberall ſtudies ſo induſtrious & fruitfully occupied: but much more I marueil to conſider this, how that the Biſhops condemning and aboliſhyng all maner of engliſh bookes and treatiſes which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authoriſe the workes of Chaucer to remayne ſtill and to be occupied: Who (no doubt) ſaw in religion as much almoſt as euẽ we do now, & vttereth in his workes no leſſe, and ſeemeth to be a right Wicleuian, or els was neuer any, and that all hys workes almoſt, if they be throughly aduiſed, will teſtifie, albeit it be done in mirth, and couertly) and eſpecially the latter ende of his third booke of the Teſtament of loue: for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the cõmunion: Wherin, except a man be altogether blynd, he may eſpy hym at the full. Although in the ſame booke (as in all other he vſeth to do) vnder ſhadowes couertly, as vnder a viſour, he ſuborneth truth, in ſuch ſort, as both priuily ſhe may profite the godly mynded, and yet not be eſpied of the craftye aduerſary: And therfore the biſhops belike, takyng his workes but for ieſtes and toyes, in condemnyng other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be red.

Chaucer a right Wicleuian.

Chaucers bookes.

So it pleaſed God to blynd then the eies of them, for the more commoditie of his people, to the entent that through the reading of his treatiſes, ſome fruit might redound therof to his Church, as no doubt, it did to many: As alſo I am partly enformed of certaine which knewe the parties, which to them reported, ỹ by reading of Chaucers works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not vnlike to be true. For to omitte other partes of his volume, wherof ſome are more fabulous then other, what tale can be more plainly told then the tale of the ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with hys prelates to be Antichriſt, then doth the poore Pellican reaſonyng againſt the gredy Griffon? Under which Hypotyposis or Poeſie, who is ſo blind that ſeeth not by the Pellicane, the doctrine of Chriſt, and of the Lollardes to bee defended againſt the church of Rome? Or who is ſo impudent that can deny that to be true which the Pellican there affirmeth in deſcribing the preſumptuous pryde of that pretenſed Church? Agayne what egge can be more lyke, or fig vnto an other, then the wordes, properties, and conditions of that rauenyng Griphe reſembleth the true Image, that is, the nature and qualities of that which we cal the church of Rome, in euery point and degree? and therfore no great meruayle, if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes: which notwithſtandyng now is reſtored agayne, and is extant for euery man to read that is diſpoſed.

Men brought to truth by reading Chaucers workes.

The ploughmans tale in Chaucer.

This Geffrey Chaucer beyng borne (as is thought) in Oxfordſhire, and dwellyng in Woodſtocke, lyeth buried in the church of the minſter of S. Peter at Weſtminſter, in an Ile on the Southſide of the ſayd Church, not far from the dore leading to the cloiſter, and vpon his graue ſtone firſt were written theſe two old verſes.

Galfridus Chaucer vates & fama poeſis
Maternæ, hac ſacra ſum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the yeare of our Lord. 1556. one M. Brickam beſtowyng more coſt vpon his tombe, dyd adde therunto theſe verſes following.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ ſubſunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. An. 1400.

Here beginneth the reformation of the church of Chriſt, in the tyme of Martin Luther.

Although it can not be ſufficiently expreſſed with tongue or pen of man, into what miſerable ruine and deſolation the Church of Chriſte was brought in thoſe later dayes: yet partly by the readyng of theſe ſtories aforepaſt, ſome intelligence may be geuen to them, whiche haue iudgement to marke or eyes to ſee, in what blyndnes and darkenes the worlde was drowned during the ſpace of theſe 400. yeres heretofore and more. By the vewyng and conſidering of whiche times and hiſtories, thou mayſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) how the Religion of Chriſt, which onely conſiſteth in ſpirit and veritie, was wholy turned into outward obſeruations, ceremonies, and idolatrie. So many ſainctes we had, ſo many Gods. So many monaſteries, ſo many pilgrimages. As many Churches, as many reliques forged and feyned we had. Agayne, ſo many reliques, ſo many lyeng miracles we beleued. In ſtede of the onely lyuyng Lord, we worſhipped dead ſtockes and ſtones. In place of Chriſt immortall, we adored mortall bread. In ſtead of his bloud, we worſhipped the bloud of duckes. How the people were led, ſo that the prieſtes were fed, no care was taken. In ſteade of Gods worde, mans worde was ſet vp. In ſtead of Chriſtes Teſtament, the Popes Teſtament, that is the Canon law: in ſtead of Paul, the maſter of Sentence tooke place, and almoſt full poſſeſſion. The law of god was litle read: the vſe and ende thereof was leſſe knowne. And as the end of the law was vnknowen, ſo the difference betwene the Goſpell and the law, was not vnderſtanded, ỹ benefite of Chriſt not conſidered, the effect of fayth not expended. Through the ignoraunce wherof, it can not be told, what infinite errours, ſectes and religions crept into the church ouerwhelmyng the world, as with a floud of ignoraunce and ſeduction. And no meruell, for where the foundation is not well layd, what buildyng can ſtand and proſper? The foundation of all our Chriſtianitie is onely this: The promiſe of God, in the bloud of Chriſt his ſonne, geuing & promiſing life vnto all that beleue in hym: Geuyng (ſayth the Scripture) vnto vs, and not barganyng or indentyng with vs: And that freelye (ſayth the Scripture) for Chriſtes ſake, and not condicionally for our merites ſake.

The corruption of the Church deſcribed.

The foundation of Chriſtian religion.

Rom. 6.

Rom. 4.

Furthermore freelye (ſayth the Scripture) by grace, that the promiſe might be firme and ſure, and not by thee workes ỹ we do, whiche are alwayes doubtfull. By grace (ſayth the Scripture) through promiſe to all & vpõ al that beleue, and not by the law vpon them that do deſerue. For if it come by deſeruyng, then is it not of grace: If it be not of grace, then is it not of promiſe. And contrarwiſe if it be of grace & promiſe, then is it not of workes ſayth S. Paule. Upon this foundation of Gods free promiſe and grace firſt builded the patriarkes, kings, and prophets. Upon ỹ ſame foundation alſo Chriſt the lord builded his church. Upon the which foundation the apoſtles likewiſe builded ỹ church Apoſtolicall or catholicall.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 3.

Rom. 11.

This Apoſtolicall and Catholique foundation, ſo long as the Church did retayne, ſo long it continued ſyncere and ſound: which endured a long ſeaſon after ỹ Apoſtles time. But after, in proces of yeares, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, ſo ſoone as this foundatiõ began to be loſt, came in newe builders, which would builde vpon a newe foundation, a newe Churche more glorious, whiche we call now the Church of Rome. Who beyng not contented with the old foundatiõ and the head corner ſtone, which the Lord by hys word had layde, in place therof, they layd the ground worke vpon the condition and ſtrength of the law and workes. Although it is not to be denyed, but that the doctrine of Gods holy lawe, and of good workes according to the ſame, is a thing moſt neceſſary to be learned and folowed of all men: yet is not that the foundation, wherupon our ſaluation conſiſteth, neither is that foūdation able to beare vp the weight of the kingdome of heauen: but is rather the thing, which is builded vpõ ỹ foundation: which foundatiõ is Ieſus Chriſt, according as we are taught of S. Paule, ſaying: No man can lay any other foundation, beſide that which is layd, Chriſt Ieſus. &c.

1. Cor. 3.

But this auncient foundation with the olde auncient church of Chriſt (as I ſayd) hath ben now of long time forſaken, and in ſtede therof a new church, with a new foundation hath bene erected and framed, not vpon gods promiſe and his free grace in Chriſt Ieſus, nor vpon the free iuſtification by faith, but vpon merites & deſerts of mens workyng. And hereof haue they planted all theſe their new deuiſes, ſo infinite that they cannot well be numbred as maſſes, trecennares, dirige, obſequies, mattens and houres, ſinging ſeruice, vigiles, midnightriſing, barefootgoing, fiſhfaſting, lentfaſt, imberfaſt, ſtatiõs, rogatiõs, iubiles, aduocatiõ of ſaintes, praying to images, pilgrimage walkyng, workes

The doctrine of the church corrupted.

of ſupererogation, applicatiõ of merites, orders, rules, ſects of religion, vowes of chaſtity, wylfull pouerty, pardons, relaxations, indulgences, penaunce and ſatiſfaction, with auricular confeſſion foundyng of Abbays, buildyng of Chappels, geuyng to Churches: And who is able to recite all theyr laborious buildynges, falſly framed vppon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free iuſtification by fayth in Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God.

The lyfe & maners of the church corrupted

Moreouer to note, that as this newfound Churche of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine: ſo no leſſe was it corrupted in order of lyfe & depe hypocriſie, doyng all thinges onely vnder pretenſes and diſſembled titles. So vnder the pretence of Peters chayre, they exerciſed a maieſtye aboue Emperors and kyngs. Under the viſour of theyr vowed chaſtity, reigned adultery: vnder the cloke of profeſſed pouerty, they poſſeſſed the goodes of the temporalty. Under the title of beyng dead vnto the world, they not onely reigned in the world, but alſo ruled the world: vnder the colour of the keyes of heauen to hange vnder theyr gyrdle, they brought all the ſtates of ỹ world vnder their gyrdle, & crept not onely into the purſes of men, but alſo into their conſciences: they heard theyr confeſſions: they knew theyr ſecretes: they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, and looſed what them lyſted: And finally when they had brought ỹ whole world vnder theyr ſubiection, yet did theyr pryde neyther ceaſe to aſcend, neyther could theyr auarice be euer ſatiſfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolſey and other Cardinals and popes cannot ſatiſfie thee, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) turne ouer the foreſayde booke of the Ploughmans tale in Chaucer aboue mentioned, where thou ſhalt vnderſtande much more of their demeanour, then I haue here deſcribed.

Habentes ſpeciem pietatis, ſed vim eius abnegantes. 2. Tim. 3.

The reformation of the Church neceſſary.

In theſe ſo blynd and miſerable corrupt dayes of darknes and ignorance, thou ſeeſt good Reader (I doubt not) how neceſſary it was, and hygh tyme, that reformation of the church ſhould come, which now moſt happely and graciouſly began to worke, thorough the mercifull and no leſſe needful prouidence of almighty God. Who, although he ſuffred his church to wander and ſtart aſide through the ſeduction of pryde and proſperity a long tyme, yet at length it pleaſed hys goodnes to reſpect hys people, and to reduce his church into the priſtine foundation and frame agayne, from whence it was pitcouſly before decayed. Whereof I haue now conſequently to entreat, intẽdyng by ỹ grace of Chriſt, to declare how and by what meanes, firſt this reformation of the church began, and how it proceded, increaſing by little and little into this perfection which now we ſee, and more I truſt ſhall ſee.

The firſt beginning of reformation, how and by what meanes.

And herein we haue firſt to behold the admirable worke of gods wiſdome. For as the firſt decay and ruine of the church, before began of rude ignoraunce, and lacke of knowledge in teachers: ſo to reſtore the church agayn by doctrine and learnyng, it pleaſed god to open to man the arte of printyng, ỹ tyme wherof was ſhortly after the burning of Hus and Hierome. Printyng beyng opened, incontinent miniſtred to the church, the inſtrumentes and tooles of learning and knowledge, which were good bookes & authors, which before lay hid and vnknowen. The ſcience of Printyng beyng found, immediately followed the grace of God, which ſtyrred vp good wyttes aptly to cõceyue the light of knowledge and of iudgement: by which lyght, darknes began to be eſpied, and ignoraunce to be detected, truth from errour, religion from ſuperſtition to be diſcerned, as is aboue more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inuentiõ of printyng. pag. 837.

Printing the fountaine of reformation.

Vid. ſup. pag. 687.

Furthermore, after theſe wittes ſtyrred vp of God, followed other moe, increaſing daily more and more in ſcience, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge: who now were able, not onely to diſcerne in matters of iudgement, but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with the help of good letters, that they did encounter alſo with the aduerſary, ſuſtainyng the cauſe and defence of learnyng agaynſt barbaritie: of veritie, againſt errour: of true religion, againſt ſuperſtition.

In number of whom, amongſt many other here vnnamed, were Picus, and Franciſcus Mirandula, Laur. Valla, Franc. Perarcha. Doct. Weſalianus, Reuclinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenanus, Eraſmus. &c. And here began the firſt puſh and aſſault to be geuen agaynſt the ignorant and barbarous faction of the popes pretenſed church. Who after that by their learned wrytings and laborious trauayle, they had opened a wyndow of light vnto the world, and had made (as it wer) a way more ready for other to come after: Immediately, accordyng to Gods gratious appoyntment, followed Martin Luther, with other after hym, by whoſe miniſtery it pleaſed the Lord to worke a more full reformation of hys Church, as by their actes & procedings hereafter ſhal folow (Chriſt willing) more amply to be declared.

And now comming to the tyme, and ſtory of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordayne and appoynt to be the principall organe and miniſter vnder hym, to reforme religion and to ſubuert the ſea of the Pope, firſt before we enter into the tractation herof, it ſhall not be impertinent to the purpoſe, to inſerte ſuch prophecies and forewarnynges, as were ſent before of god, by diuers and ſundry good mẽ, long before the tyme of Luther, which foretold and prophecied of this reformation of the church to come.

¶ Prophecies goyng before Martin Luther.

The propheſie of John Hus, touching the reformation of the Church.

And firſt, to begin with the prophecie of John Huſſe, and Hierome, it is both notable, and alſo before mentioned, what the ſayd John Hus at the tyme of his burnyng, prophecied vnto hys enemies, ſaying: that after an hundreth yeres cõme and gone, they ſhould geue account to God and to hym, &c.

¶ Where is to be noted, that comptyng from the yeare 1415. (in the which yeare John Hus was burned) or frõ the yere 1416. (when Hierome did ſuffer) vnto the yeare, 1516. (when Martin Luther began firſt to write) we ſhal find the iuſt number of an hundreth yeres expired.

An other propheſie of John Hus, touching the reformation of the church

Vide ſupra. pag. 607.

Likewyſe, to this may be adioyned the propheticall viſion or dreame, which chaunced to the ſayd John Hus lying in the dungeon of the friers in Conſtance, a little before he was burned. His dreame, as he hymſelfe reporteth it in his epiſtles writing to M. John Chlum, & as I haue alſo before recorded the ſame, pag. 607. ſo will I now repeate the ſame agayne in like effect of wordes, as he wrote it himſelf in latin: the effect of which Latin is this.

I pray you expounde to me the dreame which I had this night. I ſaw ỹ in my church at Bethlehem (wherof I was perſon) they deſired and laboured to aboliſhe all the images of Chriſt, and did aboliſh them. I the next day folowyng, roſe vp and ſaw many other painters, which painted both the ſame and many more images, and more fairer, which I was glad to behold: wherupon the painters with the great multitude of people ſaid: Now let the biſhops and prieſtes come, and put vs out theſe images if they cã. Which thing done, much people reioyced in Bethlehem, & I with them: and riſing vp I felt my ſelfe to laugh.

Ex Epiſt. 4[illegible] I. Hus.

This dreame maiſter J. of Chlum firſt expounded. Thẽ he in the next epiſtle after expounded it himſelf to this effect. Stante mandato Dei. &c. That is: the Commaundement of God ſtandyng, that we muſt obſerue no dreames, yet notwithſtandyng I truſt that the lyfe of Chriſt was painted in Bethlehem by me through his word in the harts of men, the which preaching they went about in Bethlehẽ to deſtroy, firſt in commaundyng that no preachyng ſhould be, neyther in the Church of Bethlehem, nor in the Chappels thereby: Secondly, that the Churche of Bethlehem ſhould be throwen downe to the ground. The ſame lyfe of Chriſt ſhall be paynted vp agayne by mo Preachers much better then I, and after a muche more better ſorte, ſo that a greate number of people ſhall reioyce thereat, all ſuch as loue the lyfe of Chriſt: and alſo I ſhall reioyce my ſelfe: at what tyme I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhall ryſe again from the dead.

An other propheſie by John Hus.

Alſo in his 48. Epiſtle, he ſemeth to haue a lyke propheticall meanyng, where he ſayth: That he truſted, that thoſe thinges which he ſpake then within the houſe, ſhould afterwarde be preached aboue the houſe toppe. &c.

Vide ſupra. pag. 607.

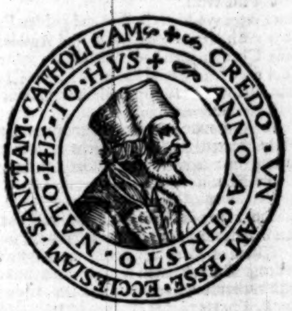
An other propheſie by John Hus.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the propheſies of John Hus, it is not to be omitted, what he writeth in a certaine treatiſe, De ſacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abominatione, thus propheceying of the reformation of the Church. The church, he ſayth, can not be reduced to hys former dignitie & reformed, before all thinges firſt be made new (the truth wherof appeareth by the tẽple of Salomõ) as well the clergye & prieſtes, as alſo the people and laitie. Or els, except all ſuch as now be addicted to auarice from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt conuerted and renewed, as wel the people, as the clerkes, and prieſtes, thinges can not bee reformed. Albeit, as my mynde nowe geueth me, I beleue rather the firſt: that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new clerkes and Prieſtes ſhal come forth and be taken, which all ſhall hate couetouſnes, and glorye of this life, labouryng to an heauenly conuerſation. Notwithſtandyng all theſe thinges ſhall be done and wrought in cõtinuance and order of tyme diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth and will do of his owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of hys patience and ſufferaunce, geuyng time and ſpace of repentaunce to them that haue long layne in their ſinnes, to amende and flye from

Ioh. Hus, De Sacerd. & monachorũ Carnalium abominatione. ca. 7[illegible].

frõ the face of the Lordes fury, vntill at length all ſhall ſuffer together,and vntill both the carnall people and Prieſts, and Clerkes in proceſſe and order of tyme, ſhall fall away and be conſumed, as is cloth conſumed and eaten of the moth.&c.

Iohn Hus.


CREDO · VNAM · ESSE · ECCLESIAM · SANCTAM · CATHOLICAM
IO · HVS
ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1415

Centum reuolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis.

This Hierome was burnt an.1416.and Luther begã to write an.1516.which was the iuſt hundreth yeare after, according to the right accompt of Hieromes Prophecy.

An other propheſie of reformation by Joh.Hil to Monke of Thuringe.

Ex Phil.Melanct.in Apologia.cap.de vot.Monaſt.

Philip Melancthon in his Apologie,cap.De votis Monaſt. teſtifieth of one John Hilton a Monke in Thuryng, who, for ſpeakyng agaynſt certeine abuſes of the place and order where he lyued,was caſt in priſon. At length beyng weak and feable through impriſonmẽt,he ſent for the warden of the Couent,deſiryng and beſeching him, to haue ſome reſpect of his wofull ſtate,and pityfull caſe. The warden rebukyng and accuſing him for that he had done and ſpokẽ: He aunſwered againe and ſaid,that he had ſpoken nothing which might be preiudiciall or hurtfull to their Monkery, or againſt their religion:But there ſhould come one(and aſſigned the yeare,an.1516.)who ſhould vtterly ſubuert all monkery,and they ſhould neuer be able to reſiſt him.&c.

Ex Reuelat. Brigit.lib.4. cap.17.

Brigitte propheſieth of reformation.

Long it were to induce here all Prophecies that be read in hiſtories. Certeine I mynde briefly to touch and paſſe ouer. And firſt to omit here the reuelations of Brigit (wherunto I do not much attribute) who propheſying of the deſtructiõ of Rome in her 4.booke, cap.17.ſayth: That Rome ſhalbe ſcoured and purged with 3.thyngs, with ſword,fire, and the plough: reſemblyng moreouer the ſayd Church of Rome, to a plant remoued out of the old place into a new: Alſo to a body condemned by a iudge, to haue the ſkinne flayne of,the bloud to be drawen from the fleſh,the fleſh to be cut in peeces,and the bones therof to be broken, and all the marye to be ſquiſed out from the ſame, ſo that no part therof remaine whole and perfect.&c. But to theſe ſpeculations of Brigit. I geue no great reſpect,as neither I do to the predictions of Katherine De Senis.

Antonin.part. 3.hiſt.titul.23. cap.14.

Katherina Senenſis.propheſying of reformation.

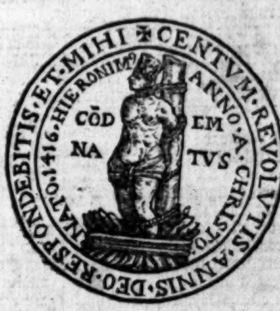
And yet notwithſtandyng, Antoninus writyng of the ſame Katherine in his 3. part. Tit. 23. cap. 14. reciteth her wordes thus,propheſying of the reformatiõ of the Church, to Frier Raymund her goſtly father: By theſe tribulations (ſayth ſhe)God after a ſecret maner vnknowen to mã,ſhall purge his holy Church,and after thoſe thynges ſhall folow ſuch a reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a renouation of the holy paſtours,that the onely cogitation and remembraunce thereof maketh my ſpirite to reioyſe in the Lord: And,as I haue ofttymes told you heretofore, the ſpouſe whiche is now all deformed and ragged, ſhalbe adourned and decked with moſt rich and precious ouches & brouches:and all the faithfull ſhalbe glad and reioyſe to ſee themſelues ſo bewtified with ſo holy paſtours. Yea and alſo the infidels then allured by the ſweete ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the Catholique fold, and be conuerted to the true Byſhop and ſhepherde of their ſoules. Geue thankes therefore to God, for after this ſtorme, he wyll geue a great calme.&c.

Of the authoritie of this propheteſſe, I haue not to affirme or iudge, but rather to heare what the Catholique iudges will ſay of this their owne Saint & Prophet. For if they doe not credite her ſpirit of propheſi: why thẽ do they authoriſe her for a pure Saint, amõg ẏ Siſters of deare S. Dominick? If they warrant her propheſie,let thẽ ſay then, when was this glorious reformation of the Church, euer true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this marueilous alteration of the Church, in theſe our latter dayes?

A propheſie of reformation by Hieron.Pragenſis. *Vide ſupra,pag.61*

With this prophecie of John Hus aboue mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundreth yeares, accordeth alſo the teſtimony of Hierome his felow Martyr, in theſe wordes: And I cite you all(ſayd he)to aunſwere before the moſt high and iuſt iudge,after an hundreth yeares.

Hieronymus.


CENTVM · REVOLVTIS · ANNIS · DEO · RESPONDEBITIS · ET · MIHI
HIERONIMUS · ANNO · A · CHRISTO · NATO · 1416
COD EM NA TVS

Poſt centum annos vos omnes cito.

Or when was there any ſuch conuerſion of Chriſten people in all countryes euer heard of, ſince the Apoſtles time, as hath bene ſince the preaching of Martin Luther?

The propheſie of *Hieron. Sauonarola. Vid ſupra.pag. 707. & 753.*

Of Hieronimus Sauonarola I wrote before, pag.707. ſhewing that he propheſied: That one ſhould paſſe ouer the Alpes lyke to Cyrus, who ſhould ſubuert and deſtroye all Italy. Which may well be applyed to Gods worde, and the Goſpel of Chriſt,ſpreading now in all places ſince Luthers tyme.

The propheſie of Theodoricus.

Theodoricus Byſhop of Croacia,lyued neare about the tyme, when Hus and Hierome were martyred. Who in the ende of his propheticall verſes, which are extant in print, declareth: That the Sea of Rome,which is ſo horriblie polluted wyth Simonie and auarice, ſhall fall, and no more ſhall oppreſſe men wyth tyranny, as it hath done, and that it ſhalbe ſubuerted by his owne ſubiectes, and that the Church and true pietie ſhall flouriſh agayne more then euer it did before.

The propheſie of Doct.Weſelus.

Nouiomagus teſtifieth, that he in the yeare of our lord, 1520, heard Oſtendorpius, a Canon of Dauentrie, ſay: that when he was a young man Doct.Weſelus a Phyſition, which was then an olde mã,tolde hym,That he ſhould lyue to ſee thys new ſchoole diuinitie of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonauenture to be vtterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.

A propheſie of the popes head.

In a booke of Carolus Bouillus, mention is made of a certaine viſion,which one Nicolas,an heremite of Heluetia, had: in which viſion he ſaw the popes head crowned with iij.ſwordes proceedyng from hys face,and iij.ſwordes commyng toward it. Thys viſion is alſo imprinted in the bookes of Martin Luther,wyth hys preface before it.

Ex Flaccio de teſtibus veritatis.

Nicolaus Medlerus, beyng of late ſuperintendent of Brunſwyke,affirmed and teſtified: That he heard & knew a certayne Prieſt in hys countrey, which tolde the Prieſtes there, that they layde aſide Paule vnder their deſkes and pues: but the tyme would come, when as Paule ſhoulde come abroad, and driue them vnder the deſkes and darcke ſtalles,where they ſhould not appeare.&c.

Matthias Flaccius,in the ende of his booke intituled:De teſtibus veritatis,ſpeaketh of one Michaell Stifelius, which Michaell beyng an old man, told him that hee heard the Prieſtes and Monkes ſay many times,by old prophecies,that a violent reformation muſt needes come amõgeſt them: and alſo that the ſayd Michael heard Conradus Stifelius his father,many tymes declare the ſame: who alſo for the great hatred he bare agaynſt this filthy ſect of Mõkes and Prieſts, told to one Peter Pirer a frend and neighbour of his,that he ſhould lyue and ſee the day,and therfore deſired him, that when the day came,beſides thoſe Prieſtes which he ſhould kill for himſelfe,he would kill one Prieſt more for his ſake. &c.Hæc ex Flaccio.

The goſpell beginneth his reformation wyth peace and quietnes.

This Stifelius thought belyke, that this reformation ſhould be wrought by outward violence,and force of ſword, but he was therein deceaued. Although the aduerſary vſeth all forceable meanes and violent tyranny, yet the proceedynges of the Goſpell alwayes beginneth with peace, and quyetnes.

In the table of Amerſham men I ſignified a litle before,pag.804.how one Haggar of Lõdon,ſpeakyng of this reformatiō to come, declared: That the Prieſtes ſhould make battaile, and haue the vpperhand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed, and ouerthrowen for euer.

The fall of the Popedome ſignified by the fall of the Angell, from the Church toppe of the popes Caſtle.

In the tyme of Pope Alexander the vj. and about the yeare of our Lord. 1500. as is before ſpecified, pag. 870. the hygh angell, which ſtode in the toppe of the Popes church and Caſtle of S. Angell, was throwen downe with a terrible thunder, into the ryuer of Tybris: whereby might ſeeme to be declared the ruine and fall of the Popedome.

Ex Bales Centur. 8.

To this may be adioyned, whiche in certeine Chronicles and in Iohn Bale is recorded: which ſayth, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1516. which was the ſame yeare when Martin Luther begā, Pope Leo the x. dyd create xxxi. Cardinals: In the which yeare and day of their creation, there fell a tempeſt of thunder and lightnyng in Rome, which ſo ſtrake the Church where the Cardinals were made, that it remoued the litle childe Ieſus out of the lappe of his mother, and the keyes out of S. Peters hand. Which thyng many then did interprete to ſignifie and forſhow the ſubuerſion and alteration of the ſea of Rome.

An other ſignification of the popes ſubuerſiō.

Ex Ioan. Carione. Franc. Mirandula. & alijs.

Hetherto pertineth alſo a ſtraunge portente and a prodigious token from heauen, in the yeare of our Lord. 1501. In the which yeare, vnder the reigne of Maximilian Emperour, there appeared in Germany, vppon the veſtures of men as well of Prieſtes, as laymen, vpon womens garmentes alſo, and vpon their rockes as they were ſpynnyng, diuerſe printes and tokēs of the nayles, of the ſpunge, of the ſpayre, of the Lordes, coate, and of bloudy Croſſes. &c. All whiche were ſene vpō their cappes and gownes, as is moſt certeinly teſtified and recorded by diuers, which both did ſee, and alſo did write vpō the ſame. Of whom firſt was Maximilian the Emperour, who both had, and ſhewed the ſame to Franciſcus Mirandula, which wrote thereupon a booke in Latin meter called Stauroſtichon: wherein for the more credite, theſe Verſes be conteyned.

Bloudy markes of the Lordes paſſiō, ſeene vpō mens garmentes.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtrauit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros promplit Germania teſtes. &c.

The expoſition of this portent.

Of thys alſo writeth Iohn Carion, Functius, Phil. Melanct. Flaccius, with diuers moe. Theſe markes and tokens, as they were very ſtraunge, ſo were they diuerſly expounded of many, ſome thinking that they portended affliction and perſecution of the Church to draw neare: ſome, that God by that token did admoniſhe them, or foreſhewed vnto them, the true doctrine of their iuſtificatiō, which onely is to be ſought in the Croſſe and Paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thyng. This I maruel, that Chriſtianus Maſſeus, and other of that profeſſion, doe leaue it out. Belyke they ſawe ſome thyng in it, that made not to their lykyng. For whether it ſignifieth perſecution to come vpon the Germanes, they can not be euill that ſuffer and beare ȳ Croſſe with Chriſt: Or whether it ſignifieth the true doctrine of Chriſt commyng to the Germaines, it can not otherwiſe be, but that the doctrine of the Biſhop of Rome muſt neede be wrong. which is contrary to thys which God hath ſtyrred vp in Germany.

By theſe and ſuch lyke propheſies it is euident to vnderſtand, the time not to be farre of, when God of his determinate prouidence was diſpoſed to reforme and to reſtore his Churche. And not onely by theſe Propheceis the ſame might well appeare, but alſo, and much rather by the harts of the people at that tyme, whoſe myndes were ſo incenſed and inflamed with hatred agaynſt the pompe and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and eſpecially the people of Germany, that it was eaſie to perceiue the tyme was neare at hand, whē the pride of Popiſh prelacie would haue a fall. Such diſdeyne there was, ſuch contempt and deriſion begā to riſe on euery ſide then agaynſt the pope and the Court of Rome, that it might ſoone appeare by the hartes of the people, that God was not diſpoſed to haue it long to ſtand. For neither were their deteſtable doynges ſo ſecret that men did not ſee them: neither dyd any man behold them, hauyng any ſparcle of godlynes, that could abyde them. And thereupon grew theſe prouerbes to their deriſion, in euery coūtrey: As in Germany it hath bene a Prouerbe amongeſt them.

Prouerbes agaynſt the corrupt ſea of Rome.

Was iſt nu in der werlt fur ein weſen,
Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht geneſen.
What is this to ſee the world now round about,
That for theſe ſhauelyng Prieſtes no man that once may
route?
Quàm primum clericus ſuſcipit raſuram, ſtatim intrat in eū
diabolus. That is.
So ſoone as a Clerke is ſhorne into his order, by and by the
deuill entreth into him.
In nomine Domini incipit omne malum. That is:
In the name of GOD begynneth all euill: alludyng to the
Popes Bulles, which commonly ſo begyn.
Item, when Bulles come frō Rome, binde well your purſes.
The nearer Rome, the farther from Chriſt.
Item, he that goeth once to Rome, ſeeth a wicked man.
He that goeth twiſe, learneth to know him.
He that goeth thriſe, bryngeth him home with him.
Item, the Court of Rome neuer regardeth the ſheepe with
out the woll.
Once were wodden chalices and golden Prieſtes.
Now we haue golden chalices, and wodden Prieſtes.
Once Chriſten men had blind Churches and light hartes:
Now they haue blynd hartes and light Churches.
Item, many are worſhypped for Saintes in heauen, whoſe
ſoules be burnyng in hell.

Ex Auent.

What ſhould I ſpeake of our Engliſh prouerbe which ſo vily eſteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (ſauing thy reuerence good reader) to a fart?

In Fraunce, Gallus Senonenſis writeth. 400. yeares ago, that amongeſt them it was an old ſaying: Romæ ſolui Satanam in perniciem totius Eccleſiæ. That is: That Sathan was let loſe at Rome to deſtroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himſelfe, in his tyme writyng to the Colledge of Cardinals, denyeth it not, but to be a common word both through towne and Citie, Quod non ſit iuſtitia Romæ. That is: That there is no right at Rome.

To theſe may be adioyned alſo the A.B.C. whiche we finde in the margent of a certaine old regiſter, to be attributed to William Thorpe, whoſe ſtory we haue comprehēded in the booke before.

The A.B.C. againſt the pride of the clergie.

¶ A wake ye ghoſtly perſones, awake, awake,
B oth Prieſt, Pope, Byſhop and Cardinall.
C onſider wiſely, what ways that ye take,
D aungerouſly beyng like to haue a fall,
E uery where the miſchief of you all,
F arre and neare, breaketh out very faſt:
G od will needes be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ H ow long haue ye the world captiued,
I n ſore bondage, of mens traditions?
K ynges and Emperours ye haue depriued,
L ewdly vſurpyng, their chief poſſeſſions:
M uch miſerie ye make in all regions.
N ow your fraudes be almoſt at the latter caſt,
O f God ſore to be reuenged at the laſt.
¶ P oore people to oppreſſe, ye haue no ſhame,
Q uakyng for feare of your double tyranny.
R ightfull iuſtice ye haue put out of frame,
S eekyng the luſt of your God, the belly.
T herfore I dare you boldely certifie,
V ery litle though ye be therof a gaſt,
Y et God will be reuenged at the laſt.

By theſe and ſuch like ſayinges, which may be collected, innumerable, it may ſoone be ſene what hartes and iudgementes the people had in thoſe dayes of the Romiſh Clergy. Which thyng, no doubt, was of God, as a ſecret prophecie, that ſhortly Religion ſhould be reſtored: accordyng as it came to paſſe, about this preſent tyme when Doct. Martin Luther firſt began to write, after that Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and laſt of all, Eraſmus Roterodamus, had ſomewhat broken the way before, and had ſhaken the Monkes houſes. But Luther gaue the ſtroke, and pluckt downe the foūdation, and all by openyng one vayne, long hyd before, wherin lyeth the touchſtone of all truth and doctrine, as the onely principal origine of our ſaluatiō: which is our free iuſtifiyng by faith onely in Chriſt the ſonne of God. The laborious trauailes, and the whole proceſſe, and the conſtant preachynges of this worthy man, becauſe they are ſufficiently and at large in the hyſtory of Iohannes Sleidanus, I ſhall the leſſe neede to ſtād long therupon, but onely to runne ouer ſome principal matter of his lyfe and actes as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

Laurentius Valla.
Picus Mirandula.
Eraſmus Roterodamus.
M. Luther.
The article of our free iuſtification beateth downe all errours.

¶ The hiſtory of D. Martin Luther, with his lyfe and doctrine deſcribed.

The hiſtory of M. Luther, wyth hys life and doctrine deſcribed.

MArtin Luther, after he was growen in yeares, beyng borne at Iſleben in Saxonie, an. 1483. was ſet to the Vniuerſitie, firſt of Magdeburg, then of Erford. In this Vniuerſitie of Erford, there was a certeine aged man, in the Couent of the Auguſtines (who is thought to be Weſelus aboue mentioned) with whom Luther beyng then of the ſame order a Frier Auguſtine, had conference vppon diuers thynges, eſpecially touchyng the Article of remiſſion of ſinnes, the whiche Article the ſayd aged father opened vnto Luther after this ſorte, declaryng, that we muſt not generally beleue onely forgeueneſſe of ſinnes to be, or to belonge to Peter, to Paule, to Dauid, or ſuch good men alone: but that Gods expreſſe com-

maun-

An excellent declaratiō of S.Bernard touching fayth.

maundement is, that euery man ſhould beleue particularly his ſinnes to be forgeuen him in Chriſt: and further ſayd, that this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimonies of S. Bernard, and ſhewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus ſet forth: But adde thou that thou beleueſt this, that by him thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. This is the teſtimonie that the holy Ghoſt geueth thee in thy hart, ſaying: Thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. For this is the opinion of the Apoſtle, that man is frely iuſtified by fayth.

By theſe wordes Luther was not onely ſtrengthened, but was alſo inſtructed of the full meanyng of S. Paule, who repeateth ſo many tymes this ſentence: We are iuſtified by fayth. And hauing read the expoſitions of many vpon this place, he then perceiued as well by the purpoſe of the old man, as by the comfort he receiued in his ſpirite, the vanitie of thoſe interpretations, which he had read before, of the Scholemen: And ſo readyng by litle and litle, with conferryng the ſayinges and examples of the Prophetes & Apoſtles, and continuall inuocation of God, and excitation of fayth by force of prayer, he perceiued that doctrine more euidently. Then began he to read S. Auguſtines bookes, where he founde many comfortable ſentences among other, in the expoſition of the Pſalmes and ſpecially in the booke of the Spirite and Letter, which confirmed this doctrine of fayth and conſolation in his hart, not a litle. And yet he layd not aſide the Sentenciaries, as Gabriell and Cameracenſis. Alſo he read the bookes of Occam, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred aboue Thomas Aquine, and Scotus. He read alſo and reuolued Gerſon: but aboue all the reſt, he peruſed all ouer S. Auguſtines workes with attentiue cogitation. And thus continued he his ſtudy at Erford, the ſpace of iiij. yeares in the Couent of the Auguſtines.

The profite of S.Auguſtines bookes.

The inſtitution of the Vniuerſitie at Wittenberge. Staupitius.

About this tyme one Staupicius a famous man, who miniſtryng his helpe to further the erection of an Vniuerſitie in Wittenberge, and endeuoryng to haue Scholes of Diuinitie founded in this new Vniuerſitie: when he had conſidered the ſpirite and towardnes of Luther, he called hym frō Erford, to place him in Wittenberge, in the yeare. 1508. and of his age xxvj. There his towardnes appeared in yͤ ordinary exerciſe both of his diſputatiōs in the ſcholes, and preachyng in Churches, where as many wiſe and learned men attentiuely heard Luther, namely D. Mellerſtad.

The iudgemēt of Doct. Mellerſtad, vpon M. Luther.

This Mellerſtad would oftentymes ſay, that Luther was of ſuch a meruelous ſpirite, and ſo ingenious, that he gaue apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſie, and familier maner of teachyng, and altar and aboliſh the order that then was vſed.

Luther ſent to Rome.

Fridericke Duke of Saxonie. Luther commenſed doctour.

There firſt he expounded the Logicke and Philoſophie of Ariſtotle, & in the meane while, intermitted no whitte his ſtudy in Theology. Three yeares after, he went to Rome, about certeine contentions of the Monkes, and returnyng the ſame yeare, he was graded Doctour, at the expenſes of Elector Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie, accordyng to the ſolemne maner of Scholes: For he had heard him preach: well vnderſtanded the quicknes of his ſpirite: diligently conſidered the vehemency of his wordes, and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters, which in his Sermons he ripely & exactly explaned. This degree Staupicius, agaynſt his will enforced vppon him, ſaying merely vnto him, that God had many thynges to bryng to paſſe in his Church by him. And though theſe wordes were ſpoken merely, yet it came ſo to paſſe anone after, as many predictiōs or preſages proue true before a chaunge.

Doct. M. Luther beginneth to read the epiſtle to the Romaynes.

After this he began to expound the Epiſtle to the Romaines, and cōſequently the Pſalmes: where he ſhewed the difference betwixt the law and the Goſpell. He alſo confounded the errour that raigned then in ſcholes and Sermons, teachyng that men may merite remiſſion of ſinnes by their proper workes, & that they be iuſt before God by outward diſcipline, as the Phariſeis taught. Luther diligently reduced the myndes of men, to the ſonne of God. And as Iohn Baptiſt demonſtrated the Lambe of God that tooke away the ſinnes of the world: euē ſo Luther ſhynyng in the church as a bright ſtarre after a long cloudy and obſcure ſkye, expreſly ſhewed that ſinnes are freely remitted for the loue of the ſonne of God, and that we ought faythfully to embrace this bountifull gift.

Luther taught Ieſus Chriſt.

Theſe happy begynnynges of ſo good matters, got him great authoritie, eſpecially ſeyng his lyfe alſo was correſpondent to his profeſſion. The conſideration wherof allured to him merueilouſly the hartes of his auditors, and alſo many notable perſonages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothyng in the ceremonies, but preciſely obſerued his rule among his felowes: he medled in no doubtfull opiniōs, but taught this onely doctrine, as moſt principall of all other to all men, openyng and declaryng the doctrine of repentaunce, of remiſſion of ſinnes, of fayth, of true comfort in times of aduerſitie. Euery man receaued good taſte of this ſweete doctrine, and the learned conceiued high pleaſure to behold Ieſus Chriſt, the Prophetes & Apoſtles, to come forth into light out of darcknes, whereby they began to vnderſtād the difference betwixt the lawe and the Goſpell: betwixte the promiſes of the law, and the promiſe of the Goſpel: betwixt ſpirituall iuſtice, & ciuill thinges: which certeinly could not haue bene found in Thomas Aquine, Scotus, nor ſuch lyke ſchoole clerkes.

Eraſmus openeth the way before Luther.

It happened moreouer about this time, that many were prouoked by Eraſmus learned workes, to ſtudy yͤ Greeke and Latine tongues, who perceiuyng a more gentle & readyer order of teachyng then before, began to haue in contempt the Monkes barbarous and ſophiſticall doctrine: and ſpecially ſuch as were of a liberall nature and good diſpoſition. Luther began to ſtudy the Greeke and Hebrue tounge, to thys ende, that after he had learned the phraſe and proprietie of the tounges, and drawne the doctrine out of yͤ very fountaynes, he myght geue more ſounde iudgement.

Ex Chriſtia. Maſſeo. lib. 20. Chronic.

As Luther was thus occupyed in Germany, whiche was the yeare of our Lord 1516. Leo yͤ x. of that name ſucceding after Iulius. 2. was Pope of Rome. Who vnder pretence of warre agaynſt the Turke, ſent a Iubile wyth his pardons, abroad through all Chriſten Realmes and dominions: wherby he gathered together innumerable riches and treaſure. The gatherers and collecters wherof, perſwaded the people, that whoſoeuer would geue x. ſhillings, ſhould at hys pleaſure, deliuer one ſoule from the paynes of Purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do, what ſoeuer they would haue hym, accordyng to the ſaying: Quicquid ſolueritis ſuper terram, erit ſolutū in cœlis &c. Whatſoeuer you ſhall looſe vpon earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in heauen. But if it were but one iote leſſe then x. ſhillinges, they preached that it would profite them nothyng. Ex Chriſtia. Maſſeo lib. 20. Chro.

X. ſhilling pardons.

Tecellius preacher of the popes pardons.

This filthy kynde of yͤ Popes marchandiſe, as it ſpread through all quarters of Chriſtian regions, ſo it came alſo to Germanie, through the meanes of a certayne Dominicke Fryer named Tecellius, who moſt impudently cauſed the Popes indulgences or pardons to be caryed and ſold about the countrey. Whereupon, Luther much moued wyth the blaſphemous ſermons of this ſhameles Frier, and hauyng hys hart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintaine true Religion, publiſhed certaine propoſitions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in yͤ firſt Tome of his workes, and ſet them openly on the temple that ioyneth to the Caſtle of Wittēberge, the morrow after the feaſt of all Saintes, the yeare. 1517.

Luthers propoſitions of pardons.

The firſt occaſiō why Luther wrote agaynſt pardons.

Thys beggerly Frier, hopyng to obtayne the Popes bleſſing, aſſembled certaine Mōkes & ſophiſticall diuines of his couent, & forthwith cōmaūded them to write ſomething agaynſt Luther. And whileſt he would not himſelfe ſeme to be dumme, he began not onely to inuey in his Sermōs, but to thunder agaynſt Luther, crying: Luther is an hereticke, and worthy to be perſecuted wyth fire: and beſides this, he burned openly Luthers propoſitions, and the Sermon which he wrote of indulgences. Thys rage & furiſhe fury of this Frier, enforced Luther to treate more amply of the cauſe, and to maintayne his matter.

The ſlaunder of Tecellius the Fryer.

And thus roſe the beginninges of thys controuerſie, wherein Luther neither ſuſpecting ne dreamyng of any change that myght happen in the ceremonies, did not vtterly reiect the indulgences, but required a moderatiō in them: and therefore they falſely accuſe hym, which blaſe that he began wyth plauſible matter, whereby he might get praiſe, to the ende that in proces of tyme, he myght chaunge the ſtate of the common weale, and purchaſe authoritie, either for himſelfe or other.

And certes, he was not ſuborned or ſtirred vp by by them of the court (as yͤ Duke of Brunſwike wrote:) in ſo much that the Duke Fredericke was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controuerſie ſhould ariſe, hauing regarde to the ſequele thereof.

The prayſe of Fredericke duke of Saxonie.

And as thys good Duke Fridericke was one of all yͤ princes of our time, that loued beſt quietnes and common tranquilitie, neither was auaricious, but willingly bent to referre all hys counſels to the common vtilitie of all the world (as it is eaſie to be coniectured diuers wayes:) ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported Luther, but often repreſented ſemblaunce of heauines and ſorrow, which he bare in hys hart, fearyng greater diſſentions: But beyng a wiſe prince, and folowyng the Counſaile of Gods rule, and well delyberatyng thereupon, he thought with himſelfe that the glory of God was to be preferred aboue all thynges. Neither was he ignoraunt what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obſtinatly to repugne the truth. Wherfore he did as a godly Prince ſhould do: he obeyed God, committing himſelfe to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection.

And although Maximilianus the Emperour, Carolus K. of Spayne and Pope Julius had geuen commaundement to the ſayd Duke Fridericke, that he ſhould inhibite Luther from all place and libertie of preachyng: yet the Duke conſideryng with himſelfe the preachyng & wrytyng of Luther, and weighyng diligently the teſtimonies and places of the Scripture by him alledged, would not withſtand the thyng, which he iudged ſincere. And yet neither did he this, truſtyng to his owne iudgemẽt, but was very anxious & inquiſitiue to heare the iudgementes of other, which were both aged, and learned. In the number of whom was Eraſmus, whom the Duke deſired to declare to him his opinion touchyng the matter of Martin Luther, ſaying and proteſtyng that he would rather the grounde ſhould open and ſwalow him, then he would beare with any opiniõs, which he knew to be contrary to manifeſt truth: & therfore he deſired him to declare his iudgement in the matter, to him freely & frendly.

The iudgement of Eraſmus touchyng Luther.

Monkes bellies and the Popes crowne not to be touched.

Eraſmus thus beyng entreated of the Duke, began thus ieſtyngly and merely to aunſwere the Dukes requeſt, ſaying: that in Luther were two great faultes: firſt, that he would touch the bellyes of mõkes: the ſecond, that he would touch the Popes crowne: which two matters in no caſe are to be dealt withall. Then openyng his mynde playnly to the Duke, thus he ſayd, that Luther dyd well in detectyng errours, and that reformation was to be wiſhed, and very neceſſary in the Church: and added moreouer, that the effect of his doctrine was true, but onely that he wiſhed in him, a more temperate moderation and maner of wrytyng and handlyng. Whereupon Duke Fridericke ſhortly after wrote to Luther ſeriouſly, exhortyng hym to temperate the vehemency of his ſtyle. This was at the Citie of Colen, ſhortly after the Coronation of the new Emperour, where alſo Huttenus, Aloiſius, Marlianus, Ludouicus vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were aſſembled together waytyng vppon the Emperour.

Ex Chronic. Caſp. Peucer. lib. 5.

Ex epiſt. Eraſm. ad Moguntinenſem.

Furthermore, the ſame Eraſmus, the yeare next folowyng that, wrote to the Archbyſhop of Mentz a certeine Epiſtle, touchyng yͤ cauſe of Luther. In which Epiſtle thus he ſignifieth to the Byſhop: That many thyngs were in the bookes of Luther condemned of Monkes and Diuines, for hereticall, which in the bookes of Bernarde and Auſten are redde for ſound and godly.

The Church burdened.

Alſo, that the world is burdened with mens inſtitutiõs, with ſchole doctrines and opinions, and with the tyrãny of beggyng Friers: which Friers when they are but the Popes ſeruãtes and vnderlinges: yet they haue ſo growẽ in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the Pope himſelfe, and to all Princes. Who ſo long as the Pope maketh with them, ſo lõg they make him more then a God. But if he make any thyng agaynſt their purpoſe or commoditie, then they wey his authoritie no more then a dreame or phantaſie.

Once (ſayd he) it was counted an hereſie, when a man repugned againſt the Goſpels, or Articles of the faith. Now he that diſſenteth from Thomas of Aquine, is an hereticke, whatſoeuer doth not like them, whatſoeuer they vnderſtãd not, that is hereſie. To ſpeake Greke, is hereſie. Or to ſpeake more finely then they do, that is with thẽ hereſie. And thus much by the way concernyng the iudgement of Eraſmus.

Now to returne and to entreate ſomethyng orderly of the actes and conflictes of Luther with his aduerſaries: after that Tecelius the foreſaid Frier, with his felow mõkes and Frierly felowes, had cryed out with opẽ mouth agaynſt Luther, in mainteynyng the Popes indulgences, and that Luther agayne in defence of his cauſe, had ſet vp propoſitions agaynſt the open abuſes of the ſame, maruell it was to ſee how ſoone theſe propoſitions were ſparcled abroad in ſundry and farre places, and how gredely they were catched vp in the handes of diuers both farre and neare. And thus the contention of this matter increaſing betwene them, Luther was cõpelled to write therof more largely & fully, thẽ otherwiſe he thought: which was in yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1517.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſperg.

Yet all this while, Luther neuer thought of any alteration to come of any one ceremonie, much leſſe ſuch a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies, as afterward did folow. But onely hearyng that he was accuſed to the Byſhop of Rome, he dyd write humbly vnto hym: in the begynnyng of which wrytyng, he declareth yͤ vnordinate outrage of thoſe his pardonmongers, which ſo exceſſiuely dyd pill and pole the ſimple people, to the great ſlaunder of the Church, and ſhame to his Holynes: and ſo proceedyng in the end of the ſayd his wrytyng, thus he ſubmitteth hymſelfe.

The ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope.

Wherfore (ſayth he) moſt holy father, I offer my ſelfe proſtrate vnder the feete of your holynes, with all that I am, and that I haue. Saue me, kyll me, call me, recall me, approue me, reproue me, as you ſhall pleaſe. your voyce, the voyce of Chriſt in you ſpeakyng, I will acknowledge. If I haue deſerued death, I ſhall be contented to dye: For the earth is the Lordes, and all the fulneſſe thereof, who is to bee bleſſed for euer. Amen. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1518.

Pſal. 23.

After that Martin Luther, prouoked thus by Tecelius, had declared his mynde by writing lowly and humbly, and had ſet vp certeine propoſitions to be diſputed, not long after, among other Monkes and Friers, ſteppeth vp one Siluester de Prierio, a Dominicke Frier, who firſt began to publiſh abroad a certeine impudent and raylyng Dialogue agaynſt him. Unto whom Luther aunſwered agayne, firſt alledgyng the place of the Apoſtle. 1. Theſ. v. That we muſt proue all thynges. Alſo the place Gal. ij. That if an angell from heauen do bryng an other Goſpell, then that we haue receaued, he ought to be accurſed.

The raylyng Dialogue of Syluester Prierias agaynſt Luther.

Item, he alledged the place of Auſten vnto Hierome, where the ſayd Auſten ſayth: That he is wont to geue this honour onely to the booke of Canonicall Scripture, that whoſoeuer were the writers therof, he beleueth them verely not to haue erred. But as touchyng all other mens wrytynges, were they neuer ſo holy men or learned, he doth not beleue them therefore, becauſe they ſo ſay, but in that reſpect as they do agree with the Canonicall Scripture, which can not erre.

The aunſwere of Luther agaynſt Syluester.

Item, he alledged the place of the Canon law: Clem. de Pœnit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus. Wherein he proued, that theſe pardonſellers, in their ſettyng forth of the Popes indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, then is enioyned them within the letters of their commiſſion.

Clem. De pœnit. et remiſ. C. Abuſionibus.

And in the latter part of his aunſwere, thus Luther writeth to the reader, Let opiniõs (ſayth he) remaine opinions, ſo they be not yokes to the Chriſtians. Let vs not make mẽs opiniõs equall with the Articles of fayth, and to the decrees of Chriſt, and Paul. Moreouer I am aſhamed (quod he) to heare the common ſaying of theſe Diuine ſchole doctors, who holdyng one thyng in the ſcholes, and thinkyng otherwiſe in their own iudgement, thus are wont, ſecretly amõg themſelues, and with their priuy frendes, talkyng together, to ſay: Thus we do hold, and thus would I ſay, beyng in the ſcholes, but yet (be it ſpoken here amongeſt vs) it can not be ſo proued by the holy Scripture. &c. Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſperg.

Ex Palalipomenis Abba. Vrſperg.

Next after this Siluester, ſtept forth Eckius, and impugned the concluſions of Luther. Agaynſt whom encoũtered D. Andræas Bedenſtein, Archdeacon of Wittemberge, makyng his Apologie in defence of Luther.

Eckius wryteth agaynſt Luther.

D. Andræas aunſwereth for Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the vij. of Auguſt, by one Hieronimus B. of Aſcalon, to appeare at Rome. About which tyme Thomas Caietanus Cardinall, yͤ popes Legate, was then leiger at the Citie of Auguſta, who before had bene ſent downe in commiſſion, with certeine mandates from Pope Leo, vnto that Citie. The Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge vnderſtandyng of Luthers citation, eftſoones directed by their letters, with their publique ſeale to the Pope, in Luthers behalfe. Alſo an other letter they ſent to Carolus Miltitius the Popes Chamberlaine beyng a Germaine borne. Furthermore good Fredericke ceaſed not for his part, to ſolicitate the matter with his letters & earneſt ſuyte, with cardinall Caietanus, that the cauſe of Luther might be freed from Rome, and remoued to Auguſta, in the hearyng of the Cardinall. Caietanus at the ſuyte of the Duke, wrote vnto the Pope, from whom he receaued this aũſwere agayne, the xxiij. of the foreſayd moneth of Auguſt, that he had cited Luther, to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, by Hieronymus Byſhop of Aſcalon, Auditour of the chamber: which Byſhop diligẽtly had done, that was commaunded him. but Luther abuſing and contemnyng the gentlenes offered, did refuſe not onely to come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborne, continuyng or rather encreaſing in his former hereſie, as by his wrytyngs did appeare: Wherefore he, would that the ſayd Cardinall ſhould cite and call vp the ſayd Luther to appeare at the Citie of Auguſta before him, adioinyng withall, the ayde of the princes of Germany and of the Emperour, if neede required: ſo that whẽ the ſayd Luther ſhould appeare, he ſhould lay hãd vpon him and commit him to ſafe cuſtody, & after he ſhould be brought vp to Rome: and if he perceaued hym to come to any knowledge or amendement of his fault, he ſhould releaſe hym, and reſtore him to the Church agayne, or els he ſhould be interdict, with all other his adherentes, abetters, & mainteiners, of whatſoeuer eſtate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, &c. Agaynſt all which perſons and degrees, he willed hym to extend the ſame curſe & malediction (onely the perſon of the Emperour excepted) interdictyng by the cenſure of the Church, all ſuch landes, Lordſhyps, townes, tenementes, villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour to the ſayd Luther, and were not obedient to the ſea of Rome. Contrarywiſe to all ſuch as ſhewed thẽſelues obedient, he ſhould pro-

The vniuerſitie of Wittẽberge wryteth to the Pope for Luther.

The Popes charge to his Legate agaynſt M. Luther.

miſe full remiſſion of all their ſinnes. Likewiſe the Pope directeth other letters alſo the ſame tyme, to Duke Fredericke, complaynyng with many greuous wordes, agaynſt Luther.

The Cardinall thus beyng charged with iniunctions from Rome, accordyng to his commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpeede, for Luther to appeare at Auguſta before hym.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome.

About the beginnyng of October Martin Luther yeldyng his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Auguſta, at the Cardinals ſendyng (at the charges, of the noble Prince Electour) and alſo with his letters of Commendatiõ, where he remained 3. dayes before he came to his ſpeach: for ſo it was prouided by his frendes, that he ſhould not enter talke with the Cardinall, before a ſufficient warrant, or ſafeconduct was obteyned of the Emperour Maximilian. Which being obteyned, eftſoones he entred, offeryng himſelf to the ſpeach of the Cardinall, and was there receaued of the Cardinall very gently: who accordyng to the Popes commaundement, propounded vnto Martin Luther three thynges, or as Sleidan ſayth, but ij. to wytte:

Luther appeareth before Cardinall Caietanus.

1. That he ſhould repent and reuoke his errours.
2. That he ſhould promiſe from that tyme forward, to refrayne from the ſame.
3. That he ſhould refrayne from all thynges that might, by any meanes, trouble the Church.

Three thinges put to Luther by the Pope.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the Legate brought forth the extrauagants of Clement, which begynneth: *Vnigenitus*. &c. becauſe that he contrary to that Canõ had held & taught in his 58. propoſition, that the merites of Chriſt are not the treaſure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the Cardinall, contrary to the ſeuenth propoſitiõ of Luther, affirmed that fayth is not neceſſary to hym that receiueth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, an other day, in the preſence of iiij. of the Emperours Counſaile, hauyng there a Notary and witneſſes preſent, Luther proteſted for hymſelfe and perſonally in this maner folowyng:

Proteſtatiõ of M. Luther before the Cardinall.

In primis, I Martin Luther, a Frier Auguſtine, proteſt that I do reuerence and folow the Church of Rome in all my ſayinges and doinges, preſent, paſt, and to come: And if any thyng haue bene or ſhalbe ſayd by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as though it had neuer bene ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinall hath required at the commaundement of the Pope three thynges of me to be obſerued:

1. That I ſhould returne agayne to the knowledge of my ſelfe.
2. That I ſhould beware of fallyng into the ſame agayne here after:
3. That I ſhould promiſe to abſtayne from all thynges which might diſquyet the Church of God:

I proteſt here this day, that whatſoeuer I haue ſayd, ſeemeth vnto me to be ſound, true, and Catholicke: yet for the further proofe therof, I do offer my ſelfe perſonally either here or elſwhere, publikely to geue a reaſon of my ſayinges. And if this pleaſe not the Legate, I am ready alſo in wrytyng to aunſwere his obiections, if he haue any agaynſt me: and touchyng theſe thyngs, to heare the ſentence and iudgement of the Vniuerſities of the Empire, Baſill, Friburge, and Louane. Hereof when they had receiued an aunſwere in wrytyng, they departed.

The aunſwere of Luther, with hys propoſitions to the Cardinall.

After this Luther by and by prepareth an aunſwere to the Legate, teachyng that the merites of Chriſt are not cõmitted vnto men: that the Popes voyce is to be heard whẽ he ſpeaketh agreably to the Scriptures: that the pope may erre: that he ought to be reprehended, Act. 15. Moreouer he ſhewed that in the matter of fayth, not onely the generall Councell, but alſo euery faythfull Chriſtian is aboue the Pope, if he leane to better authoritie and reaſon: that the Extrauagant conteyneth vntruthes: that it is an infallible veritie, that none is iuſt: that it is neceſſary for hym that commeth to the receiuyng of the Sacrament, to beleue: that fayth in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſinnes, is neceſſary: that he ought not nor myght not decline from the veritie of the Scripture: that he ſought nothyng but the light of the truth. &c.

But the Cardinall would heare no Scriptures: he diſputed without Scriptures, deuiſed gloſes and expoſitions of his owne head, and by diſtinctions (wherewith the Diuinitie of the Thomiſtes is full) like a very Proteus, he auoyded all thynges. After this, Luther beyng commaunded to come no more in the preſence of the Legate, except hee would recant, notwithſtandyng abode there ſtill and would not depart. Then the Cardinall ſent for *Ioannes Staupitius*, vicare of the Auguſtines, & moued hym earneſtly to bryng Luther to recant of hys owne accorde. Luther taryed the next day alſo, and nothyng was ſayd vnto hym. The third day moreouer he taryed and deliuered vp his mynde in wrytyng, in which, firſt he thanked hym for his courteſie and great kyndnes, which he perceaued by the wordes of Staupitius toward hym, and therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatſoeuer kinde of office he could doe hym ſeruice: confeſſing moreouer, that where he had bene ſomewhat ſharpe & eger againſt the popes dignitie, that was not ſo much of his owne mynde, as it was to be aſcribed to the importunitie of certeine which gaue him occaſion. Notwithſtanding, as he acknowledged his exceſſe therein, ſo he was ready to ſhew more moderatiõ in that behalf hereafter, & alſo promiſed to make amẽdes for the ſame vnto ẏ biſh. & that in the pulpit, if he pleaſed. And as touching ẏ matter of pardons, he promiſed alſo to procede no further in any mẽtion therof, ſo that his aduerſaries likewiſe were bound to kepe ſilence. But where as he was preſt to retract his ſentẽce before defended, forasmuch as he had ſayd nothing but with a good conſcience, and which was agreable to the firme teſtimonies of the Scripture: therfore he humbly deſired the determination thereof, to be referred to the biſhop of Rome, for nothyng coulde be more gratefull to him, then to heare the voyce of the church ſpeaking. &c.

Proteus was a monſter noted in Poetes which would chaunge himſelfe into all ſhapes and likenes.

Luthers aunſwere to the Cardinall.

Who doth not ſee by this ſo humble & honeſt ſubmiſſion of Luther, but that, if the byſhop of Rome would haue bene aunſwered wyth any reaſon, or contented wyth ſufficient meane, he had neuer bene touched any farther of Luther. But the ſecret purpoſe of God had a farther worke herein to doe: for the tyme now was come, when God thought good that pride ſhould haue a fall. Thus while the vnmeaſurable deſire of that B. ſought more then inough, and lyke to *Æſopes* dogge, coueting both to haue the fleſhe, and ſhadow, not onely he miſſed that he gaped for, but alſo loſt that which he had.

Pride will haue a fall.

Æſopes dogge. All couet, all looſe.

But to the purpoſe of our matter agayne: thys wrytyng, Luther deliuered to the Cardinall the third day after he was commaunded out of hys ſight. Which letter or wrytyng the Cardinall did litle regarde. When Luther ſaw that he would geue no aunſwere nor contenaunce to the letter, yet notwythſtãdyng he remayned after that, the fourth day, and nothyng was aunſwered: the fift day likewiſe was paſſed wyth lyke ſilence, and nothyng done. At the length, by the Counſell of hys frendes, and ſpecially becauſe the Cardinall had ſayd before, that he had a commaundement to impriſon Luther and Iohn Staupitius the vicare, after that he had made and ſet vp hys appeale where it myght be ſeene and read, he departed, thynking that he had ſhewed ſuch daungerous obedience long enough. Luther a beholder and a doer of theſe thynges, recordeth the ſame, and ſheweth the cauſe why he ſubmitted hymſelfe to ẏ Church of Rome: declaring alſo, that euen thoſe thyngs, which are moſt truely ſpoken, yet ought to be mayntemed and defended, wyth humilitie and feare. Some thynges he ſuppreſſeth and concealeth, which he ſuppoſeth the reader to vnderſtand not without griefe and ſorrow. At length he proteſteth that he reuerenceth and foloweth the church of Rome in all thynges, and that he ſetteth hymſelfe onely agaynſt thoſe, which vnder the name of the Church of Rome, goe about to ſet forth and commende Babylon vnto vs.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome.

Thus you haue heard how that Luther being reiected from the ſpeach and ſight of Caietanus the Cardinall, after ſixe dayes waiting, departed by the aduiſe of his frends and returned vnto Wyttenberge, leauing a letter in wrytyng to be geuen to the Cardinall, wherin he declared ſufficiently, firſt hys obedience in hys commyng, the reaſons of hys doctrine, hys ſubmiſſion reaſonable to the Sea of Rome, hys long waytyng after he was repelled from the Cardinalles ſpeach, the charges of the Duke, and finally, the cauſe of hys departing. Beſides this letter to the Cardinall, he left alſo an Appellation to the Byſhop of Rome, from the Cardinall, which he cauſed openly to be affixed before hys departure.

An other letter of Luther to the Legate.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinall to the Pope.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned agayne into his countrey, Caietanus writeth to duke Fridericke, a ſharpe and a byting letter, in which firſt he ſignifieth to him his gentle interteinement & good will ſhewed to reduce Luther from his errour. Secondly, he complayneth of ẏ ſodaine departing of him, & of Staupitius. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious daunger of Luthers doctrine agaynſt the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendereth his owne honour and ſafetye, & regardeth the fauour of the hye Byſhop, he wyll ſende hym vp to Rome, or expelle hym out of hys dominion, forſomuch as ſuch a peſtilence breeding, as that was, could not, neyther ought by any meanes long ſo to be ſuffered.

The letters of Caietanus to Duke Friderick.

To this letter of the Cardinall, the Duke aunſwereth

agayne

The Dukes aunſwere to the Cardinal for Luther.

agayne at large, purgyng both Luther, and hymſelfe: Luther, in that he folowyng his conſcience grounded vpon the word of God, would not reuoke that for an errour, which could be proued no errour: & hymſelfe he excuſeth thus, that where it is required of hym, to baniſh hym his countrey, or to ſend hym vp to Rome, it would be litle honeſty for hym ſo to do, and leſſe conſcience, vnleſſe he knew iuſt cauſe, why he ſhould ſo do: which if the Cardinall would or could declare vnto hym, there ſhould lacke nothyng in hym, which were the part of a Chriſtian Prince to do, and therfore he deſireth hym, to be a meanes vnto the byſhop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppreſſed, before the crime or errour be lawfully conuicted.

Luthers letters to Duke Fridericke.

This done, the Duke ſendeth the letter of the Cardinall, vnto Martin Luther. Who aunſwered agayne to the Prince, ſhewyng firſt how he came obediently vnto Caietanus, with the Emperours warrant: & what talke there was betwene them: how Caietanus preſſed hym agaynſt his conſcience and manifeſt truth, to reuoke theſe errours. Firſt that the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion, were not the treaſure of the Popes pardons. Secondly that fayth was neceſſary in receauyng of the Sacramentes. Albeit in the firſt he was content to yeld to the Cardinall. In the ſecōd, becauſe it touched a great part of our ſaluatiō, he could not with a ſafe conſcience relent, but deſired to be taught by the Scripture: at leaſt that the matter might be brought into open diſputation in ſome free place of Germany, where the truth might be diſcuſſed and iudged of learned men. The Cardinal not pleaſed wͭ this, in great anger caſt out many manacing wordes, neither would admit hym any more to his preſence or ſpeach: where as he yet notwithſtandyng perſiſtyng in his obedience to the Church of Rome, gaue attendaunce, waytyng vppon the Cardinals pleaſure a ſufficient tyme.

At laſt, whē no aunſwere would come, after he had wayted the ſpace of v. or vj. dayes, to his great detriment, and greater daunger, by the perſuaſion of his frendes, he departed. Whereat if the Cardinall were diſpleaſed, he had moſt cauſe to blame hymſelfe. And now where as the Cardinall threatneth me (ſayth he) not to let the action fall, but that the proces therof ſhalbe purſued at Rome onleſſe I either come and preſent my ſelfe, or els be baniſhed your dominions, I am not ſomuch greued for myne owne cauſe, as that you ſhould ſuſteyne for my matter any daunger or perill.

Luther ready to be exiled.

And therfore ſeyng there is no place nor countrey, which can keepe me from the malice of myne aduerſaryes, I am willyng to depart hence and to forſake my countrey, whetherſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to leade me: thankyng God which hath counted me worthy to ſuffer thus much for the glory of Chriſtes name.

The cauſe of Luther in great daunger.

Gods prouidence.

The Vniuerſitie of Wittenberge writeth to the Duke for Luther

Here (no doubt) was the cauſe of Luther in great daūger, beyng now brought to this ſtrayt, that both Luther was ready to flye the countrey, and the Duke agayne was as much afrayde to keepe hym, had not the maruelous prouidence of God (who had this matter in guidyng) here prouided a remedy, where the power of man dyd fayle, by ſtyrryng vp the whole Vniuerſitie of Wyttenberge, who ſeyng the cauſe of truth thus to decline, with a full and a generall conſent, addreſſed their letters vnto the Prince, in defenſe of Luther and of his cauſe, makyng their humble ſuyte vnto him, that he of his Princely honour, would not ſuffer innocency and the ſimplicitie of truth ſo cleare, as is the Scripture, to be foyled and oppreſſed by mere violence of certayne malignant flatterers about the Pope: but that the errour firſt may be ſhewed and conuicted, before the partie be pronounced gylty.

By the occaſion of theſe letters the Duke began more ſeriouſly in his mynde to conſider the cauſe of Luther, and to read his workes, and alſo to hearken to his Sermons. Wherby (through Gods holy workyng) he grew in knowledge and ſtrength, perceauyng in Luthers quarell more then he dyd before. This was about the begynnyng of December. an. 1518.

New Indulgences ſet forth by Pope Leo.

The doctrine of the church of Rome.

As this paſt on, Pope Leo playing the Lyon at Rome in the meane tyme, in the moneth of Nouember, to ſtabliſh his ſeate agaynſt this defectiō, which he feared to come, had ſent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new Edict, wherin he declared this to be the Catholicke doctrine of the holy mother Church of Rome, Prince of all other Churches, that Byſhoppes of Rome which [illegible] ſucceſſours of Peter, and vicares of Chriſt, haue this power and authoritie geuen, to releaſe, and diſpenſe, alſo to graunt indulgences auaylable both for the lyuyng and for the dead, lyeng in the paynes of Purgatory. And this doctrine he charged to be receaued of all faythfull Chriſten men, vnder payne of the great curſe, and vtter ſeparation from all holy Church.

The Popes Aleſtake to picke mens purſes.

Luther appealeth from the pope to a generall councell.

This Popiſh Decree and indulgence, as a new Marchaūdiſe, or Aleſtake to get money, beyng ſet vp in all quarters of Chriſtendome for the holy fathers aduantage, came alſo to be receaued in Germany about the moneth of December. Luther in the meane tyme hearyng how they were about in Rome, to proceede and pronounce agaynſt hym, prouideth a certeyne appellation conceaued in due forme of law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the generall Councell.

Miltitius the popes chamberlain ſent to duke Fridericke.

When Pope Leo perceaued that neither his pardons would proſper to his mynde, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome, to aſſay how to compaſſe his purpoſe by crafty allurementes, he ſent his Chamberlaine Carolus Miltitius, aboue mentioned, which was a Germane, into Saxony to Duke Fridericke, with a golden roſe, after the vſuall ceremony accuſtomed euery yeare to be preſented to hym, with ſecret letters alſo to certaine Noble men of the Dukes coūſaile, to ſollicite the Popes cauſe, and to remoue the Dukes mynde, if it might be, from Luther.

The death of Maximilian the Emperour.

Charles the 5. elected Emperour, by the meanes of Duke Fridericke.

But before Miltitius approched into Germany, Maximilian the Emperour deceaſed in the moneth of Ianuary, an. 1519. At what tyme two there were which ſtode for the election: to wytte Fraunces the French kyng, & Charles kyng of Spayne, which was alſo Duke of Auſtriche, and Duke of Burgundy. To make this matter ſhort, thorough the meanes of Fridericke, Prince Elector, (who hauyng the offer of the preferment, refuſed the ſame) the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus v. ſurnamed Prudence: which was about the end of Auguſt.

The diſputatiō at Lypſia

Eckius againſt Caroloſtadius.

Luther cometh to the diſputation. Melancthon newly come to Wittenberge.

In the moneth of Iune before, there was a publique diſputatiō ordeined at Lypſia, which is a Citie in Miſnia, vnder the dominion of George Duke of Saxony, vncle to Duke Fridericke. This diſputation firſt began thorough the occaſion of Ioannes Eckius, a Frier, and Andræas Caroloſtadius, Doctour of Wittenberge. This Eckius had impugned certaine propoſitions or cōcluſions of Martin Luther, whiche he had written the yeare before, touchyng the Popes pardons. Agaynſt hym Caroloſtadius wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius agayne to aunſwere Caroloſtadius, ſet forth an Apologie. Which Apologie Caroloſtadius agayne confuted by wrytyng. Vpon this began the diſputation, with ſafe conduct graunted by Duke George, to all & ſingular perſons, that would reſort to yͤ ſame. To this diſputation came alſo Martin Luther with Philip Melancton, who not paſt a yeare before was newly come to Wyttenberge, Luther not thinkyng then to diſpute in any matter, becauſe of his appellation aboue mētioned, but onely to heare what there was ſayd and done.

The queſtiō of free will.

αὐθαίρετον.

Firſt, before the entrye into the diſputation, it was agreed, that the Actes ſhould be penned by Notaries, and after to be diuulged abroad. But Eckius afterward went backe from that, pretendyng that the pennyng of the Notaries ſhould be an hynderaunce & a ſtay vnto them, whereby the heate of them in their reaſonyng ſhould the more languiſh and their vehemencie rebate. But Caroloſtadius without Notaries would not diſpute. The ſumme of their diſputations was reduced to certaine concluſions. Among which firſt came in queſtion to diſpute of free will, whiche the Greekes call αὐθαίρετον: That is, whether a man haue of hymſelfe, any election or purpoſe, to do that is good: or (to vſe the termes of the ſchole) whether a man, of congruence, may deſerue grace, doyng that whiche in hym doth lye? Herein when the queſtion was to be diſcuſſed, what the will of man may do of it ſelfe, without grace: they through heate of contention (as the maner is) fell into other by matters and ambages, litle or nothyng apperteinyng to that which Caroloſtadius propoſed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure ſtrength to do good, is not in mās will, but is geuē of God to mā to take intereſt & increaſe of man agayne. Which firſt he ſemed to deny. Then beyng aſked of Caroloſtadius whether the whole & full good worke that is in man, procedeth of God: to this he aunſwered, the whole good worke, but not wholy: grauntyng that the wil is moued of God: but to cōſent, to be in mās power. Agaynſt this reaſoned Caroloſtadius, alledgyng certaine places of Auſten, & namely of S. Paul, which ſayth, that God worketh in vs both to wil and to performe. And this ſentēce of Caroloſtadius ſeemed to ouercome. Eckius for his aſſertion, inferred certaine excriptes out of Bernard, which ſeemed litle to the purpoſe. And thus was a whole weeke loſt about this cōtentious & ſophiſticall alteration betwene Eckius, and Caroloſtadius.

God geueth his grace to vſury.

Totum. Totaliter.

Phi. 2.

Luther diſputeth with Eckius.

Luther (as was ſayd) came, not thinkyng at all to diſpute, but hauyng free libertie graunted by the Duke, & vnder the popes authoritie, was prouoked, & forced agaynſt his will to diſpute with Eckius. The matter of their controuerſie was about yͤ authority of the byſhop of Rome. Here is firſt to be admoniſhed, that Luther before had ſet forth in wrytyng this doctrine: yͭ they which do attribute the prehe-

minence

Luthers aſſertion againſt the popes ſupremacie

minence to the Churche of Rome, haue no foundation for them, but out of the Popes decrees, ſet forth not much paſt 400. yeares heretofore: whiche decrees he affirmed to be contrary to al auncient hiſtories, aboue a thouſande yeares paſt, contrary alſo to the holy ſcriptures, and vnto Nicene Councel.

The aſſertion of Eckius for the ſupremacie.

Againſt this aſſertion Eckius ſet vp a contrary concluſion, ſaying, that they whiche holde that the ſupremacie and preheminence of the church of Rome aboue al other Churches, was not before the tyme of Pope Syluester the firſt, do erre, for as muche as they whiche ſucceded in the ſee and fayth of Peter, were alwayes receyued for the ſucceſſours of Peter, and vicars of Chriſt in earth.

This being the laſt of al the other Themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begyn with this againſt Luther, to bring him into more diſpleaſure with the B. of Rome, wherin Luther him ſelfe much refuſed to diſpute, alledging that matter to be more odious then neceſſary, for that preſent time, and that alſo for the B. of Romes ſake, he had much rather keepe ſilence in the ſame. Whereunto if he muſt nedes be vrged, he would ẏ fault ſhould be vnderſtāded of al men to be where it was, namely in his aduerſary which prouoked him therunto, & not in him ſelfe. Eckius againe clearing him ſelf, trāſlateth al the fault vnto Luther, which firſt in his treatiſe, De indulgentijs Papæ, defended that before Pope Sylueſters tyme the Churche of Rome had no place of maioritie, or preheminence aboue other churches, and alſo before the Cardinal Caietanus affirmed, that Pope Pelagianus wreſted many places of the Scripture out of their ſenſe, vnto his own affection & purpoſe. Wherfore the fault hereof (ſaide he) to him rather is to be imputed, which miniſtred the firſt occaſion.

Diſputation betwene Luther and Eckius about the popes ſupremacie.

Ex paralip. Abbat. Vrſp.

The reaſons of Eckius for the ſupremacie.

Hieron.

Cyprian.

Bernard.

Thus Luther beyng egged and ſtrayned to diſpute, whether he would or no, the queſtion began to be propounded touchyng the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome: whiche ſupremacie Eckius dyd contende to be founded and grounded vpon Gods lawe. M. Luther on the other ſide, denyed not the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome aboue other Churches, neither denyed the ſame moreouer to be vniuerſal ouer all Churches: but onely affirmed it not to be inſtituted by Gods lawe. Upon this queſtion the diſputation dyd continue the ſpace of fiue dayes. Duryng all whiche ſeaſon, Eckius very vnhoneſtly and vncurteouſly demeaned hym ſelfe, ſtudying by al meanes howe to bryng his aduerſarie into the hatred of the auditours, and into daunger of the Pope. The reaſons of Eckius were theſe. For ſo muche as the Church beyng a ciuil body, can not be without an heade, therefore as it ſtandeth with Gods law, that other ciuile regimentes ſhould not be deſtitute of their head: ſo is it by Gods lawe requiſite, that the Pope ſhoulde be the hed of the vniuerſal Church of Chriſt. To this M. Luther anſweared, that he confeſſeth and graunteth the Church not to be headles, ſo long as Chriſt is aliue, who is the onely head of the Churche, neither doth the Churche require any other head beſide hym, for ſo muche as it is a ſpiritual kingdome, not earthly: and he alleged for hym the place of Colloſ. 1. Eckius againe produced certaine places out of Hierome and Cypriā, which made very litle to proue the primacie of the pope to hold by Gods law. As touching the teſtimonie of Bernard, neither was the authoritie of that authour of any great force in this caſe, neither was the place alleged ſo greatly to the purpoſe.

Math. 16.

Luther anſwereth to the place of S. Math.

Joh. 21.

The anſwere of Luther to the place of S. John. Paſce oues meas.

The authoritie of the councell of Conſtance.

Then came he to the place of S. Math. 16. Tu es Petrus. &c. Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wyl buylde my churche. &c. To this was anſweared, that this was a confeſſion of fayth, and that Peter there repreſenteth the perſon of the whole vniuerſall churche, as Auſten doth expounde it. Alſo that Chriſte in that place meaneth hym ſelfe to be the rocke, as is manifeſt to collecte, both by his wordes and order of the ſentence, and many other coniectures. Likewiſe to ẏ place of S. John. Paſce oues meas: Feede my ſheepe. Which wordes Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be ſpoken to Peter alone. Martin anſweared, that after theſe wordes ſpoken, equall authoritie was geuen to all the Apoſtles, where Chriſte ſayth vnto them. Receiue ye the holy ghoſte: whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye remit, they are remitted. &c. By theſe wordes (ſaith he) Chriſte aſſignyng to them their office, doth teach what is to feede, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After this Eckius came to the authoritie of the Councell of Conſtance, alleging this amongſt other articles, De neceſſitate ſalutis eſt, credere Rom. pontificem Oecumenicum eſſe, That is that it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of our ſaluation to beleeue the Biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme heade of the Churche: alleging moreouer, that in the ſame Councell was debated and diſcuſſed, that the general Councel coulde not erre. Whereunto Martin Luther againe dyd anſweare diſcretly, ſaying that al the articles whiche John Hus did holde in that Councell, were not condemned for hereticall: with much other matter more. Againe, of what authoritie that Councel of Conſtance is to be eſteemed, that he leaft to other mens iudgemēts. This is moſt certain (ſaid he) that no Councel hath ſuch authoritie to make newe articles of faith. Here M. Luther began to be cryed out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminiſhing the authoritie of generall Councels. Although in deede he meant nothyng leſſe, but euer labored to confirme the authoritie of the ſame: yet was he called heretike and ſchiſmatike, and one of the Boheme faction, with many other termes moe of reprocheful contumelie. Eckius then graunted the authoritie of the Apoſtles to be equal: and yet not to folowe ther by, the autoritie of all Biſhops therfore to be equal: For betweene apoſtleſhip and miniſterie (ſaid he) there is great difference.

Gal. 2.

Here is good doctrine of Eckius, I trowe.

To conclude, Eckius in no caſe could abide that any creature ſhoulde decline from any worde or ſentence of the Popes decrees, or the conſtitutions of the forefathers. To this againe Luther anſweared, groundyng hym ſelfe vpon the place ad Gal. 2. where S. Paul ſpeaking of the principall Apoſtles, ſayth: And of them whiche ſeemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me, for God accepteth no mans perſon: neuertheleſſe, they that were of ſome reputation, dyd auayle nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this ſaid, that as touching the authoritie of the Apoſtles, they were all choſen of Chriſte, but were ordeyned Biſhoppes of ſaint Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the conſtitution of the decree, whiche ſayth, Ne Romanus pontifex vniuerſalis Epiſcopus nominetur, &c. Yea let not the Biſhop alſo of Rome be called vniuerſal Biſhop &c. To this Eckius anſweared on this ſort, ẏ ẏ Biſhop of Rome ought not to be called vniuerſal Biſhop: yet he maye be called (ſayd he) Biſhop of the vniuerſal church. And thus muche touchyng the queſtion of the Popes ſupremacie.

The queſtion of Purgatorie.

2 Mach. 12.

1 Corin. 3.

Math. 5.

Pſal. 65.

From this matter, they entred nexte to Purgatorie wherein Eckius kept no order. For when they ſhould haue, diſputed, what power the Pope hath in Purgatorie, Eckius turneth the ſcope of the queſtion, and prooueth that there is Purgatorie, and allegeth for him the place of Machab. Luther leanyng vpon the iudgement of Hierome, affirmeth the booke of Machabees not to be Canonical. Eckius agayne replyeth the booke of Machabees to be of no leſſe authoritie then the Goſpels. Alſo he alleged the place 1. Corinth. 3. He ſhall be ſaued, yet ſo as it were by fire. Moreouer he inferred the place of Math. 5. Agree thou with thine aduerſary while thou art in the way with him, leaſt he commyt thee into priſon, from whence thou ſhalt not eſcape, tyl thou haue payed the vttermoſt farthing, &c. To this he added alſo the place of the Pſalme: We haue paſſed through fire & water, &c. How theſe places be wraited to Purgatorie, let the reader diſcerne and iudge.

The queſtion of Indulgences.

Then was inferred the queſtion of indulgences, wherof Eckius ſeemed to make but a toy and a matter of nothing, and ſo paſſed it ouer.

The queſtion of Penaunce.

At laſt they came to the queſtion of penaunce, touching which matter, the reaſons of Eckius digreſſed much from the purpoſe, which went about to proue that there be ſome maner of paynes of ſatiſfaction: whiche thyng Luther dyd neuer deny. But that for euery particuler offence, ſuch particuler penaunce is exacted of Gods iuſtice vpon the repentant ſinner, as is in mans power to remit or releaſe, as pleaſeth hym: ſuch penance, neither Luther, nor any other true Chriſtian dyd admyt. And thus haue ye the chiefe effect of this diſputation betweene Luther and Eckius at Lypſia. Which was in the moneth of Julie, an. 1519.

When Vldericus Zuinglius came to Tigurie.

Luther and Zuinglius began both at one tyme to write agaynſt the Pope.

Luthers bookes condemned at Louen, and Colen.

Pope Leos Bull agaynſt Luther.

About the begynnyng of the ſame yeare. 1519. Uldericke Zuinglius came firſt to Zuricke, and there began to teache. Who in the. 16. article, in his booke of Articles, recordeth, that Luther and both at one time, one not knowing nor hearyng of an other, began to write againſt the Popes pardons and indulgences. Albeit if the tyme be rightly counted, I ſuppoſe we ſhal finde that Luther began a yere or two before Zuinglius. Notwithſtandyng this dooth Sledan teſtifie, that in this preſent yeare, when Sampſon a Franciſcan, came with the Popes pardons to Zuricke, Ulderike Zuinglius dyd withſtand hym, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vayne ſeducing of the people, to inueagle away their money. Ex Sled. Lib. 1.

The next yeare enſuing, which was. 1520. the Fryers and Doctours of Louaine, and alſo of Colen, condemned the bookes of Luther as heretical. Agaynſt whom Luther agayne effectuouſly defended hym ſelfe, and charged them with obſtinate violence, and malicious impietie. After this, within fewe dayes flaſheth out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo againſt the ſaid Luther notwithſtanding he ſo humblye and obedientlye before had reuerenced both the perſon of the Pope, and agniſed the authoritie of

Lutherus de libertate Chriſtiana.

his ſee, and alſo had dedicated vnto hym, his booke entituled De Chriſtiana libertate: that is, Of Chriſtian libertie: In which booke theſe two poyntes principally he diſcuſſeth and proueth.

1 That a Chriſten man is free and lord of al thinges, and ſubiect to none.
2 That a Chriſten man is a diligent vnderlyng and ſeruaunt of al men, and to euery man ſubiect.

Moreouer, in the ſame yeare he ſet out a defence of all his articles, which the Popes Bul had before condemned.

Lutherus ad Nobilitatem Germania.

An other booke alſo he wrote to the nobilitie of Germanie, in the which booke he impugneth and ſhaketh the three principal walles of the papiſtes: the firſt wherof is this.

Three walles or bulwarkes of the papiſtes.

1 Where as the papiſtes ſay, that no temporal or prophane magiſtrate hath any power vpon the ſpiritualtie: but they haue power ouer the other.
2 Where any place of Scripture beyng in controuerſie is to be decided, they ſay, No man may expound the ſcripture, or be iudge therof, but onely the Pope.
3 When any Councell is brought againſt them, they ſay, that no man hath authoritie to cal a Councel, but only the Pope.

The booke of Luther to the Nobilitie, with the matter therin conteyned.

Moreouer, in the foreſaid booke diuers other matters he handleth and diſcourſeth: That the Pope can ſtop no free Councel. Alſo what thinges ought to be handled in Councels. That the pride of the Pope is not to be ſuffred. What money goeth out of Germanie yearely to the Pope, mountyng to the ſumme of .3000000. Florẽces. The true meanyng of this verſe he expoundeth: Tu ſupplex ora,tu protege,tuq; labora. Wherin the three eſtates with their offices & duties are deſcribed: to wyt, the miniſter, the magiſtrate, & the ſubiectes. Furthermore in the ſaid booke he proueth and diſcuſſeth, that the Emperour is not vnder the Pope, but contrarywiſe: that the donation of Conſtantine is not true, but forged: that prieſtes may haue wyues: that the voyces of the people ought not to be ſeparate frõ the electiõ of eccleſiaſtical perſons: that interdictyng and ſuſpendyng of matrimonie at certaine tymes, is brought in of auarice: what is the right vſe of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holy dayes: that libertie ought not to be reſtrained in meates: that wylful pouertie and beggyng ought to be aboliſhed: what dammage and inconuenience haue growen by the Councel of Conſtance: and what miſfortunes Sigiſmund the Emperour ſuſteyned, for not kepyng fayth and promiſe with John Hus and Hierome: that heretikes ſhould be conuinced, not by fire and fagot, but by euidence of Scripture and Gods word: how ſchooles and vniuerſities ought to be reformed: what is to be ſaid and iudged of the Popes Decretals: that the firſt teaching of children ought to begyn with the Goſpel. Item, he writeth in the ſame booke againſt exceſſiue apparel among the Germanes. Alſo againſt their exceſſe in ſpices. &c.

Charles the Emperour crowned.

In this yeare moreouer folowed not long after, the coronation of the new emperour Carolus quintus: which was in the moneth of Octob. at Aquiſgraue.

Two bloudy requeſtes of the pope to Duke Friderike.

After whiche coronation beyng ſolemnized about the moneth of Nouemb. Pope Leo ſent agayne to Duke Friderike two Cardinals his Legates: of whom the one was Hieronymus Aleander, who after a fewe wordes of high commendation firſt premiſed to the Duke touching his noble progenie, and other his famous vertues, they made two requeſtes vnto hym in the Popes name: Firſt that he would cauſe al bookes of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that he would eyther ſee the ſaid Luther there to be executed, or els would make hym ſure, & ſend hym vp to Rome, vnto the Popes preſence.

Duke Friderickes anſwere to the popes Legates, for Luther.

Theſe two requeſtes ſemed very ſtrange vnto ẏ duke: who anſwearyng agayne to the Cardinals ſaid, ẏ he beyng long abſent from thence, about other publique affayres, could not tel what there was done, neyther dyd he communicate with the doyngs of Luther. Notwithſtanding this he heard that Eckius was a great perturber not onely of Luther, but of other diuers learned and good men of his vniuerſitie. As for hym ſelfe he was alwayes readye to doo his duetie, firſt in ſendyng Luther to Caietanus the Cardinall at the citie of Auguſte, and afterwarde at the Popes commaundement would haue ſent him away out of his dominion, had not Miltitius the Popes owne chamberlayne geuen contrarye counſell to retayne hym ſtyll in his owne countrey, fearing leaſt that in other countreyes he myght do more harme, where he was leſſe knowen: and ſo nowe alſo was as ready to do his duetie, where ſoeuer right and equitie dyd ſo require. But for ſo muche as in this cauſe, he ſeeth muche hatred and violence ſhewed of the one part, and no errour yet conuicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of diuers wel learned and ſound men of iudgement: and for ſo muche alſo as the cauſe of Luther was not yet hearde before the Emperour: therefore he deſired the ſayd Legates to be a meane to ẏ popes holyneſſe, that certaine learned perſons of grauitie and vpright iudgement, myght be aſſigned to haue the hearyng and determination of this matter, and that his errour firſt might be knowen, before he were made an heretique, or his bookes burned. Whiche beyng done, when he ſhoulde ſee his errour by manifeſt and ſounde teſtimonies of Scripture reuinced, Luther ſhould find no fauour at his handes. Otherwiſe he truſted that the Popes holynes would exact no ſuch thyng of hym, whiche he might not with equitie & honour of his place and eſtate, reaſonably performe. &c.

The Popes Legates burne the bookes of Luther.

Then the Cardinals, declaryng to the Duke agayne, that they coulde no otherwiſe do, but accordyng to the forme of their preſcript commiſſion, they muſt proceede: tooke the bookes of Luther, and ſhortly after ſet fire vpon them, and openly burnt them. Luther hearyng this, in like maner called al the multitude of ſtudentes and learned men in Wittenberge, and there takyng the Popes decrees, and the Bul lately ſet downe againſt hym, openly and ſolemnely accompanyed with a great number of people folowyng hym, ſet them likewyſe on fire, and burnt them: which was the .x. of December.

Luther burneth the popes decrees and bulles at Wittenberg.

A litle before theſe thynges thus paſſed betweene the Pope and M. Luther, the emperour had cõmaunded and ordeyned a ſittyng or aſſemble of al the States of the Empire, to be holden at the citie of Wormes, againſt the vi. daye of January next enſuyng. In the which aſſemble, through the meanes of Duke Friderike, the Emperour gaue forth that he would haue the cauſe of Luther there brought before hym, and ſo it was. For at what tyme the aſſemble was cõmenced in the citie of Wormes, the day and moneth aforeſayd, whiche was the ſixt of January, afterwarde vpon the ſixt day of March folowyng, the Emperour through the inſtigation of Duke Friderike, directed his letters vnto Luther, ſignifyng, that for ſo muche as he had ſet abrode certayne bookes, he therefore by the aduice of his piers and princes about hym, had ordeyned to haue the cauſe brought before hym in his owne hearyng, and therefore he graunted hym licence to come and returne home agayne. And that he myght ſafely and quietly ſo doo, and be thereof aſſured, hee promiſed vnto hym by publique fayth and credite, in the name of the whole Empire, his Paſporte and ſafeconduite, as by the inſtrumente whiche he ſent vnto hym, he myght more fully be aſcertayned. Wherefore without all doubte, or diſtruſte, he wylled hym eftſoones to make his repayre vnto hym, and to be there preſent the .21. daye after the receit therof: and becauſe he ſhoulde not miſdoubt any fraude or iniurie herein, he aſſured to hym his warrant and promiſe.

The Emperours letter, with his ſafeconduite ſent to M. Luther.

M. Luther accurſed at Rome of the Pope.

M. Luther beyng thus prouided for his ſafeconduict by the Emperour, after he had bene firſt accurſed at Rome vpon Maundy Thurſday, by the Popes cenſure, ſhortly after Eaſter ſpeedeth his iourney towarde the Emperour, at Wormes. Where the ſayde Luther appearyng before the Emperour and all the ſtates of Germanie, howe conſtantly he ſtoocke to the truth, and defended hym ſelfe, and anſweared his aduerſaries, and what aduerſaries he had, here foloweth in full hiſtory, with the actes and doynges as there happened, accordyng as in our former edition partly was before deſcribed.

¶ The actes and doynges of Martin Luther, before the Emperour, at the citie of Wormes.

1521.

IN the yeare of our ſaluation .1521. about ſeuentene dayes after Eaſter, Martin Luther entred into Wormes, beyng ſent for by the Emperour Charles the .v. of that name, &c. who the firſt yeare of his Empire, made an aſſemble of Princes in the foreſayde citie. And whereas M. Luther had publiſhed three yeares before, certayne propoſitions to be diſputed in the towne of Wittenberg in Saxonie, againſt the tyrannie of the Pope (which notwithſtandyng were torne in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papiſtes, and yet by no manifeſt ſcriptures, nor probable reaſon conuinced) the matter began to growe to a tumult and vprore, & yet Luther mainteyned all this whyle openly his cauſe againſt the clergy. Wherupon it ſemed good to certain that Luther ſhoulde be called, aſſignyng vnto hym an Herauld of armes, with a letter of ſafe conduict, by the Emperour and Princes. Beyng ſent for, he came, and was brought to the Knightes of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertayned, and viſited of many Earles, Barons, knightes of the order, Gentlemen, Prieſtes, and the commonaltie, who frequented his lodgyng tyll nyght.

Luther is ſent for to Wormes.

To cōclude, he came contrary to the expectation of many, as wel aduerſaries, as other. For albeit he was ſent for by the Emperours meſſenger, and had letters of ſafeconduict: yet for that a few dayes before his acceſſe, his bookes were condemned by publique proclamations, it was much doubted of by many yͭ he woulde not come: and the rather, for that his freendes deliberated together in a village nye hand, called Oppenhime (where Luther was firſt aduertiſed of theſe occurrentes) and many perſwaded hym not to aduenture hym ſelfe to ſuch a preſent daunger, conſidering how theſe begynnynges anſweared not to the fayth of promiſe made. Who when he had heard their whole perſwaſiō & aduice, he anſweared in this wiſe: As touching me, ſince I am ſent for, I am reſolued & certainly determined to enter Wormes, in the name of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, yea although I knew there were ſo many deuyls to reſiſt me, as there are tyles to couer the houſes in Wormes.

Conſtancie in Luther.

The fourth daye after his repayre, a Gentleman, named Vlricke of Pappenhim, Lieutenaunt general of the men at armes of the empire, was commaunded by the emperour before dynner, to repayre to Luther, and enioyne hym at foure of the clocke in the after noone, to appeare before the Emperial maieſtie, the Princes Electors, Dukes and other eſtates of the Empire, to vnderſtande the cauſe of his ſendyng for: wherunto he willyngly agreed, as his duetie was.

And after. iiij. a clocke Vlricke Pappenhim, & Caſpar Sturm the Emperours Herauld (who cōducted M. Luther from Wittenberge to Wormes (came for Luther, and accompanyed hym through the garden of the knightes of the Rhodes place, to the Earle Palatines pallace: and leaſt the people ſhould moleſt him, that thronged in, he was led by ſecrete ſtayres to the place where he was appoynted to haue audience. Yet manye, who perceyued the pretence, violently ruſhed in, and were reſiſted, albeit in vaine: many aſcended the galleries, becauſe they deſired to behold Luther.

Luther is brought before the Emperour.

Thus ſtanding before the Emperour, the Electours, Dukes, Earles, and all the eſtates of the Empire, aſſembled there, he was firſt aduertiſed by Vlricke of Pappenhim, to keepe ſilence vntil ſuch tyme as he was required to ſpeake. Then John Eckius aboue mentioned, who then was the Biſhop of Triers general officiall, with a loude and intelligible voyce, firſt in Latine, then in Dutche, according to the Emperours commaundement, ſaid and proponed this ſentence in maner as enſueth, or like in effect.

John Eckius propoundeth againſt M. Luther.

Martin Luther, the ſacred and inuincible Emperiall maieſtie hath enioyned by the conſent of all the eſtates of the holy Empire, that thou ſhouldeſt be appealed before the throne of his maieſtie, to the ende I might demaunde of thee theſe two poyntes.

Firſt, whether thou confeſſeſt theſe bookes here (for he ſhewed a heape of Luthers bookes written in the Latine and Dutch tongues) & which are in al places diſperſed, intituled with thy name, be thine, and thou doeſt affirme thē to be thine, or no? Secondly, whether thou wylt recant & reuoke them, and all that is contayned in them, or rather meaneſt to ſtand to that thou haſt written?

Then before Luther prepared to anſweare, Maiſter Jerome Scurſſus, a Lawyer of Wittenberge, required that the titles of the bookes ſhould be read. Forthwith the foreſaid Eckius named certaine of the bookes, and thoſe principally which were imprinted at Baſil, among yͤ whiche he nominated his Commentaries vpon the Pſalter, his booke of good workes, his Cōmentary vpon the lordes prayer, and diuers other, which were not contentious.

Hierome Schurffe.

After this Luther anſwered thus in Latine & in Dutch: Two thinges are proponed vnto me by the Emperial maieſtie. Firſt, whether I wyll auouche for myne, all thoſe books yͭ beare my name: Secondly, whether I wyl mainteine or reuoke any thing that hytherto I haue deuiſed and publiſhed. Wherunto I wyl anſwere as briefly as I can.

M. Luthers anſwere.

In the firſt, I can do none other then recogniſe thoſe bookes to be mine, which laſtly were named, and certainely I wil neuer recant any clauſe therof. In the ſecond to declare whether I wyl wholy defend, or cal backe any thing cōpriſed in them: forasmuch as there be queſtions of faith & the ſaluation of the ſoule (& this cōcerneth yͤ word of God, which is the greateſt & moſt excellent matter that can be in heauen or earth, & the whiche we ought duely euermore to reuerēce:) this might be accoūted in me a raſhnes of iudgemēt, & euen a moſt dangerous atēpt, if I would pronounce any thing before I were better aduiſed, cōſidering I might recite ſomthing leſſe thē the matter importeth, & more then the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would ſpeake. The which two things wel conſidered, doth ſet before mine eies this ſentence of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, wherin it is ſaid: Whoſoeuer ſhal denie me before men, I wyl denye hym before my father. I require then for this cauſe, and humbly beſeech the Emperial maieſtie, to graūt me libertie and leyſure to deliberate, ſo that I may ſatiſfie the interrogation made vnto me, without preiudice of the worde of God, and peryl of myne owne ſoule.

Luther refuſeth to reuoke hys bookes.

Luther deſireth reſpyte to aunſwere.

Wherupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius the prolocutor pronounced what was their reſolution, ſaying: Albeit M. Luther, thou haſt ſufficiently vnderſtanded by the Emperours cōmaundement, the cauſe of thy appearance here, & therefore doſt not deſerue to haue any further reſpite geuen thee to determine: yet the Emperours maieſtie of his mere clemencie, graunteth thee one daye to meditate for thine anſweare, ſo that to morowe at this inſtant houre thou ſhalt repayre to exhibite thine opinion, not in wrytyng, but to pronounce the ſame with liuely voyce.

This don, Luther was led to his lodging by yͤ herauld. But herein I may not be obliuious, that in the way going to the emperour, & when he was in the aſſemble of princes, he was exhorted of other to be couragious, & manly to demeane hym ſelfe, and not to feare them that kyll the bodye, but not the ſoule: but rather to dread hym that is able to ſend both body and ſoule to euerlaſting fire.

Luther is exhorted to be conſtant

Further, he was encouraged with this ſentence: When thou art before kinges, thinke not what thou ſhalt ſpeake: for it ſhal be geuen thee in that houre.

Math. 10.

The next day after. iiij. a clocke, the Herauld came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperours court, where he abode tyll vi. a clocke, for that the Princes were occupyed in graue conſultations, abyding there and beyng enuironed with a great number of people, and almoſt ſmothered for the preaſe that was there. Then after when the Princes were ſet, and Luther entred, Eckius the Official began to ſpeake in this maner.

Yeſter day at this houre, the emperors maieſty aſſigned thee to be here M. Luther, for that thou didſt affirme thoſe bookes that we named yeſterday to be thine. Further, to yͤ interrogation by vs made, whether thou wouldeſt approue al that is conteyned in them, or aboliſh and make voyd any part therof, yͧ didſt require time of deliberation, which was graunted, and is now expyred. Albeit thou oughteſt not to haue oportunitie graunted to deliberate, conſidering it was not vnknowen to thee wherfore we cited thee. And as concernyng the matter of fayth, euery man ought to be ſo prepared, that at all tymes when ſoeuer he ſhalbe required, he may geue certaine and conſtant reaſon thereof, and thou eſpecial beyng counted a man of ſuch learnyng, and ſo long tyme exerciſed in Theologie. Then goe to, anſweare euen now to the Emperours demaund, whoſe bountie thou haſt proued in geuyng thee leyſure to deliberate. Wilt thou now mainteine al thy bookes which thou haſt acknowledged, or reuoke any part of them, and ſubmit thy ſelfe. The Official made this interrogation in Latine and in Dutche. Martine Luther anſweared in Latine and Dutch in this wiſe, modeſtly and lowly, and yet not without ſome ſtoutnes of ſtomacke and Chriſtien conſtancie, ſo as his aduerſaryes would gladly haue had his courage more hūbled & abaſed, but yet more earneſtly deſired his recantation, wherof they were in ſome good hope, when they hearde hym deſire reſpite of tyme to make his anſweare.

Eckius againe propoundeth agaynſt Luther.

His anſweare was this.

MOſt magnificent Emperour, and you moſt noble princes and my moſt gentle Lordes, I appeare before you here at the houre preſcribed vnto me yeſterday, yeldyng the obedience that I owe, humbly beſeeching for Gods mercy, your moſt renoumed maieſtie, and your graces and honors, that ye wyl miniſter vnto me this curteſie, to attende this cauſe beningly, which is the cauſe (as I truſt) of Juſtice and veritie. And if by ignoraunce I haue not geuen vnto euery one of you your iuſt titles, or if I haue not obſerued the ceremonies and countenaunce of the Court, offendyng againſt them: it maye pleaſe you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that onely hath frequented cloyſters, and not courtly ciuilities. And firſt, as touching my ſelfe, I can affirme or promiſe no other thyng, but onely this, that I haue taught hytherto in ſimplicitie of mynde, that whiche I haue thought to tende to Gods glory, and to the ſaluatiō of mens ſoules.

M. Luther anſwereth for him ſelfe.

Now as concernyng the two articles obiected by your moſt excellent maieſtie, whether I woulde acknowledge thoſe bookes whiche were named, and be publiſhed in my name, or whether I would mainteine & not reuoke thē: I haue geuē reſolute anſwere to the firſt, in the which I perſiſt & ſhal perſeuer for euermore, yͭ theſe bookes be myne, and publiſhed by me in my name, vnleſſe it hath ſith happened that by ſome fraudulent miſdealyng of myne enemies there be any thing foyſted in them, or corruptly cor-

Luther geueth a compt of hys fayth before the Emperour.

rected: For I wyll acknowledge nothing, but that I haue written, and that which I haue written, I wyl not deny.

He deuideth hys workes into three partes.

Now to anſweare to the ſecond article, I beſeech your moſt excellent maieſtie, and your graces, to vouchſafe to geue eare. Al my books are not of one ſort. There be ſome, in which I haue ſo ſimply and ſoundly declared and opened the religion of Chriſten fayth, and of good workes, that my very enemies are compelled to confeſſe them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Chriſtians. And truely the Popes Bull (howe cruel and tyrannous ſo euer it be) iudgeth certaine of my bookes inculpable, albeit the ſame with ſeuere ſentence, thundreth againſt me, and with mõſtrous crueltie condẽneth my bookes, which books if I ſhould reuoke, I myght worthyly be thought to neglecte and tranſgreſſe the office of a true Chriſtien, and to be one alone, that repugneth the publique confeſſion of all people. There is an other ſort of my bookes, which containe inuectiues againſt the Papacie, and other of the Popes retinue, as haue with their peſtiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole ſtate of our Chriſtianitie. Neither can any deny or diſſemble this, wherunto vniuerſal experience, and common complaint of al beare witneſſes that the conſciences of all faythfull men be moſt miſerably entrapped, vexed, & cruelly tormented by the Popes lawes and doctrines of men. Alſo that the goods and ſubſtaunce of Chriſten people are deuoured, eſpecially in this noble & famous countrey of Germanie, and yet without order, and in moſt deteſtable maner, are ſuffered ſtyll to be deuoured, without al meaſure, by incredible tyrannie: notwithſtandyng that they them ſelues haue ordeyned to the contrarye in their owne proper lawes, as in the Diſtinct. 9. &. 25. q. 1. &. 2. where they them ſelues haue decreed, that al ſuche lawes of Popes which be repugnant to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and the opinions of the auncient Fathers, are to be iudged erroneous, and reproued.

The Pope proceedeth contrarye to his owne doctrine.

If then I ſhal reuoke theſe, I can do none other, but adde more force to their tyrannie, and open not onely wyndowes, but wide gates to their impietie, whiche is like to extend more wyde, and more licentiouſly then euer it durſt heretofore: And by the teſtimonie of this my retractation, their inſolent kingdome ſhalbe made more licentious, and leſſe ſubiect to puniſhment, intollerable to the cõmon people, and alſo more confirmed & eſtabliſhed, eſpecially if this be bruted, that I Luther haue done this by the authoritie of your moſt excellent maieſty, and the ſacred Romane empire. Oh Lorde, what a couer or ſhadowe ſhall I be then to cloke their naughtines and tyrannie?

The reſt, or third ſort of my bookes are ſuch, as I haue written againſt certaine priuate and ſinguler perſons, to wyt, againſt ſuch as with tooth and nayle labour to maintaine the Romiſh tyrannie, and to deface the true doctrine and religion, whiche I haue taught and profeſſed. As touching theſe, I plainly confeſſe I haue ben more vehement, then my religion and profeſſion required. For I make my ſelfe no Saint, and I diſpute not of my lyfe, but of the doctrine of Chriſte.

And theſe I cannot without preiudice cal backe. For by this recantation it wyl come to paſſe, that tyrannie and impietie ſhal raigne, ſupported by my meanes, and ſo ſhall they exerciſe crueltie agaynſt Gods people, more violently and ragyngly then before,

He requireth to be inſtructed if he haue erred.

Neuertheles, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwiſe enterpriſe to defende my bookes, then dyd my very Lord Jeſus Chriſt defend his doctrine. Who beyng examined of his learnyng before Annas, and hauing receyued a buffet of the miniſter, ſayd, If I haue ſpoken euyl, beare wytneſſe of the euyl.

John. 18.

If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not erre) refuſed not to haue teſtimonie geuen againſt his doctrine, yea of a moſt vile ſeruaunt: howe much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, & can of my ſelfe do nothing but erre, ought earneſtly to ſee and require, if anye wyll beare witnes agaynſt my doctrine?

Therfore I require, for Gods mercy, your moſt excellent maieſtie, your graces and right honourable lordſhyps, or what ſoeuer he be of high or lowe degree, here to laye in his teſtimonie, conuict my errours, and confute me by the Scriptures, eyther out of the Prophetes or the Apoſtles, and I wyl be moſt ready (if I be ſo inſtructed) to reuoke any maner of errour: yea and wylbe the firſt that ſhal conſume myne owne bookes and burne them.

Diſſenſions and diuiſions folowe the doctrine of Chriſt, not for any cauſe in the doctrine, but in the aduerſary.

I ſuppoſe hereby it may appeare, that I haue perpended, and wel wayed before, the perylls and daungers, the diuiſions and diſſenſions whiche haue ryſen throughout the whole world, by reaſon of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and ſharply yeſterday admoniſhed. Concernyng whiche diuiſions of mens myndes, what other men doo iudge, I knowe not: as touchyng my ſelfe, I conceyue no greater delectation in any thing, then when I beholde diſcordes and diſſenſions ſtirred vp for the worde of God. For ſuch is the courſe and proceding of the Goſpel. Jeſus Chriſte ſayth: I came not to ſende peace, but a ſworde. I came to ſet a man at variance againſt his father.

Math. 10.

And further, we muſt thinke, that our God is marueilous & terrible in his Councels, leaſt perhaps ỳ whiche we endeuour with earneſt ſtudy to atchieue and bring to paſſe (if we begyn firſt with condemnyng of his word) the ſame rebound againe to an huge ſea of euyll: and leaſt the newe raigne of this young and bounteous Prince Charles (in whom next after God, we al conceiue ſinguler hope) be lamentable, vnfortunate, and miſerably begun.

Mans counſaile with out Gods worde and his feare, be vnfortunate.

I could exemplifie this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharao, ỳ kyng of Babylon, and the kinges of Iſrael, who then moſt obſcured ỳ bright ſunne of their glory, and procured their owne ruine, when by ſage counſels they attempted to pacifie & eſtabliſh their gouernmentes and realmes, and not by Gods counſels: for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wylynes, and ſubuerteth mountaynes before they be ware. Wherefore it is good and Gods worke, to dread the Lord.

I ſpeake not this, ſuppoſing that ſo politique and prudent heades haue neede of my doctrine or admonition: but becauſe I would not omyt to profite my countrey, and offer my duetie or ſeruice that may tende to the aduancement of the ſame. And thus I humblye commende mee to your moſte excellent maieſtie, and your honourable Lordſhips, beſeeching you that I may not incurre your diſpleaſures, neither be contemned of you, through the purſuite of my aduerſaries. I haue ſpoken.

Luther prouoked again to ſubmit hym ſelfe.

Theſe wordes pronounced, then Eckius the Emperours Prolocutor, with a ſterne coũtenaunce begã, & ſaid, that Luther had not anſweared to any purpoſe, neither it behoued hym to cal in queſtion, thinges in tyme paſt concluded and defined by general Councels: and therfore they required of hym a plaine and direct anſweare, whether he would reuoke or no.

Luthers abſolute aunſwere

Then Luther: conſidering (ſaide he) your ſoueraigne maieſtie, and your honours require a playne anſweare: this I ſay and profeſſe as reſolutely as I maye, without doubling or ſophiſtication, that if I be not conuinced by teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reaſons (for I beleue not the Pope, neither his general Councels, whiche haue erred many tymes, and haue bene contrarye to them ſelues) my conſcience is ſo bound & captiued in theſe Scriptures and word of God which I haue alleged, that I wil not, nor maye not reuoke any maner of thing, conſidering it is not godly nor lawful to doo any thing agaynſt conſcience. Hereupon I ſtand and reſt. I haue not what els to ſay. God haue mercy vpon me.

The princes conſulted together vpon this anſwere geuen by Luther: and when they had diligentlye examined the ſame, the prolocutor began to repel hym thus.

Eckius agayne replyeth.

Martin (said he) ỳ haſt more immodeſtly anſweared, then beſemed thy perſon, and alſo litle to the purpoſe. Thou deuideſt thy bokes into three ſortes, in ſuch order as al that thou haſt ſaid, maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore if thou haddeſt reuoked thoſe, wherein the greateſt part of thine errours is contayned, the Emperours maieſtie, and the noble clemẽcie of other would haue ſuffered the reſt that be ſound, to ſuſteyne no iniurie. But thou doeſt reuiue & bringeſt to light againe, all that the general Councel of Conſtance hath condemned, the whiche was aſſembled of all the nation of Germanie, and nowe doeſt require to be conuinced with Scriptures, wherein thou erreſt greatly. For what auayleth it to renue diſputation of things ſo long tyme paſt condemned by the Church and Councels, vnles it ſhould be neceſſarye to geue a reaſon to euery man of euery thing that is concluded? Nowe were it ſo, that this ſhould be permitted to euery one that gaynſtandeth the determination of the Church and Cõcels, that he may once get this aduauntage, to be conuinced by the Scriptures, we ſhall haue nothyng certaine and eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendome.

The Papiſtes ſtand onely vpon their church and councels.

And this is the cauſe wherfore the Emperours maieſtie requireth of thee a ſimple anſweare, either negatiue or affirmatiue, whether thou myndeſt to defend al thy workes as Chriſtian, or no?

Then Luther turnyng to the Emperour, and the nobles, beſought them, not to compel hym to yelde agaynſt his conſcience confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifeſt argumentes alleged to the contrarye by his aduerſaries. I haue declared and rendred (ſayd he) myne anſweare ſimply and directly: neyther haue I any more to ſaye, vnles myne aduerſaries with true and ſufficient probations grounded vpon the Scripture, can reduce and reſolue my mynde, and refelle myne errours, whiche they

laye

Generall coūcels haue erred, and haue bene contrary to them ſelues.

laye to my charge. I am tyed (as I ſayde) by the Scriptures, neyther may I, or can with a ſafe conſcience aſſent vnto them. For as touching general Coūcels, with whoſe authoritie onely they preſſe me, I am able to proue, that they haue bothe erred, and haue defined many tymes thinges contrarye to them ſelues: and therefore the authoritie of them, he ſaide not to be ſufficient, for the whiche he ſhoulde call backe thoſe thinges, the veritie whereof ſtandeth ſo firme and manifeſt in the holy Scripture: ẏ neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he ſo doe ẘout impietie.

Wherunto the Official againe anſweared, denying that any man could proue the Coūcels to haue erred. But Luther alleged that he coulde, and promiſed to proue it, and now night approchyng, the Lordes roſe and departed. And after Luther had taken his leaue of the Emperour, diuers Spaniardes ſcorned and ſcoffed the good man in the waye goyng toward his lodgyng, halowing and whopping after hym a long while.

Vpon the fryday folowing, when the Princes electors, Dukes, and other eſtates were aſſembled, the Emperour ſent to the whole body of the Councel, a certaine letter conteinyng in effect as foloweth.

¶ The Emperours letter.

The Emperours anſwer againſt Luther.

OVr predeceſſours, who truely were Chriſtian princes, were obedient to the Romiſhe Churche, whiche Martin Luther preſently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is not determined to call backe his errours in any one poynt, we cannot without great infamie and ſtayne of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but wyll mayntеine the auncient fayth, and geue ayde to the ſee of Rome. And futher, we be reſolued to purſue Martin Luther and his adherentes, by excommunications and by other meanes that maye be deuiſed, to extingniſhe his doctrine. Neuertheleſſe we wyll not violate our fayth, whiche we haue promiſed hym, but meane to geeue order for ſafe returne to the place whence he came.

Conſultation vpon the Emperours letter.

THe Princes electors. Dukes, and other eſtates of the Empire, ſate and conſulted vpon this ſentence, on fryday al the after noone, and ſaterday the whole daye, ſo that Luther yet had no anſweare of the emperour.

During this tyme, diuers Princes, Earles. Barons, Knyghtes of the Order, Gentlemen, Prieſtes, Monkes, with other the laytie and common ſort, viſited him. Al theſe were preſent at al houres in the Emperours Courte, and could not be ſatiſfied with the ſight of hym. Alſo there wer bylles ſet vp ſome againſt Luther, and ſome, as it ſeemed, with hym. Notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed, and eſpecially ſuch as wel conceyued the matter, that this was ſubtilly done by his enemies, that thereby ocaſion might be offered to infringe the ſafe conduict geuen hym, the which the Romane Ambaſſadours with al diligence endeuoured to bring to paſſe.

Great reſort to Martyn Luther.

The Mondaye folowing, before ſupper, the Archebiſhop of Triers aduertiſed Luther, that on Wedneſdaye nexte he ſhoulde appeare before hym, at nyne of the clocke before dynner, and aſſigned hym the place. On Saint Georges daye a certaine chapleine of the Archebiſhop of Triers, about ſupper tyme came to Luther, by the commaundement of the Biſhop, ſignifying that at that houre and place preſcribed, he muſt the morowe after haue acceſſe to his maiſter.

Luther appeareth before the Archb. of Tryers.

Doct. Veus his oration to Martyn Luther.

The morowe after ſaint Georges day, Luther obeying the Archbiſhops commaundement, entred his palace, being accompanied thyther with his ſaid chapleyne and one of the emperours Heraul des, and ſuche as came in his companie out of Saxonie to Wormes, with other his cheefe freendes: where as Doctour Vœus, the Marques of Bades chapleine began to declare and proteſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Triers, Ioachime Marques of Brandeburge, George Duke of Saxonie, the Biſhops of Auſburge and Brandeburge, the Earle George, Iohn Bocke of Straſburge, Verdeheymer and Peutinger Doctours, that Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to diſputation, but only that the princes had procured licence of the emperours maieſty, through Chriſtian charitie, to haue libertie graũted vnto them, to exhort Luther beningly and brotherly.

For the authoritie of Councels.

He ſaide further, that albeit the Councels had ordeyned diuers thinges, yet they had not determined contrarye matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authoritie was not therefore abaſed, or at the leaſt, not ſo erred, that it was lawful for euery man to impugne their opinions: inferryng moreouer many thynges of Zacheus and the Centurion: Alſo of the conſtitutions and tradicions and of Ceremonies ordeyned of men, affirming that al theſe were eſtabliſhed to expreſſe vices, accordyng to the qualitie of tymes: and that the Church coulde not be deſtitute of humane conſtitutions. It is true (ſayde he) that by the fruites the tree may be knowen, yet of theſe lawes and decrees of men many good fruites haue proceeded: and ſaint Martin, ſaint Nicholas, and many other Saintes haue bene preſent at the Councels.

Thys he ſpake of Luthers wordes, who denied any good fruites to come of their lawes.

Moreouer, that Luthers bookes woulde breede great tumult & incredible troubles, and that he abuſed the cōmon ſort with his booke of Chriſtian liberty, encouraging them to ſhake of their yoke, and to confirme in them a diſobedience: that the world now was at an other ſtay, then when the beleuers were all of one hart and ſoule, and therefore it was requiſite and behoueful to haue lawes. It was to be conſidered (ſaid he) albeit he had written many good thinges, & (no doubt) of a good mind, as De Triplici iuſtitia, and other matters, yet how the deuil now by craftie meanes goeth about to bring to paſſe, ẏ al his works for euer ſhoulde be cōdemned: for by theſe bookes which he wrote laſt, men (ſaid he) would iudge and eſteeme hym, as the tree is knowen, not by the bloſome, but by the fruite.

Pſal. 90.

Here he added ſomething of the noone deuyl, and of the ſpirite commyng in the darke, and of the flying arrowe. Al his oration was exhortarie, ful of Rhetorical places of honeſtie, of vtilitie, of lawes, of the daungers of conſcience, and of the common and particulare wealth, repeating ofte this ſentence in the proeme, middle, and epiloge of his oration: that this admonition was geuen hym of a ſingulare good wyl, and great clemencie. In the ſhuttyng vp of his oration, he added menacinges, ſaying: that if he woulde abyde in his purpoſed entent, the Emperour would procede further, and baniſhe hym from the Empire, perſwadyng hym deliberately to ponder, and aduiſe theſe and other thinges.

M. Luther anſwereth to Veus.

Martin Luther anſweared, Moſt noble Princes, and my moſt gratious Lordes, I render moſt humble thankes for your benignities and ſinguler good willes, whence proceedeth this admonition: For I knowe my ſelfe to be ſo baſe, as by no meanes I can deſerue to be admoniſhed of ſo mighty eſtates.

The councell of Conſtance condemned the word of God.

Then he frankely pronounced, that he had not reproued al Councels, but onely the Councel of Conſtance, and for this principall cauſe, for that the ſame had condemned the worde of God, whiche appeared in the condemnation of this article proponed by Iohn Hus: The church of Chriſt is the Communion of the predeſtinate. It is euidente (ſayde he) that the Councell of Conſtance aboliſhed this Article, and conſequently the Article of our fayth: I beleue the holy Church vniuerſal: and ſayde that he was readye to ſpend lyfe and bloud, ſo he were not compelled to reuoke the manifeſt worde of God, for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God then men: And that in this he coulde not auoyde the ſcandal, or offence of fayth, for there be two maner of offences, to wyt, of charitie, & of fayth. The ſlaunder of charitie conſiſteth in maners and in lyfe. The offences of fayth or doctrine reſt in the worde of God: and as touching this laſt, he coulde eſcape it no maner of wayes, for it laye not in his power to make Chriſt not to be a ſtone of offence. If Chriſtes ſheepe were fedde with pure paſture of the Goſpell, if the fayth of Chriſte were ſincerely preached, and if there were good Eccleſiaſtical magiſtrates who duely would execute their office: we ſhould not neede (ſayth he) to charge the Churche with mens traditions. Further, that he knewe well we ought to obey the Magiſtrates and higher powers, how vniuſtly and peruerſely ſo euer they lyued. We ought alſo to be obedient to their lawes and iudgementes: all whiche he had taught (ſayde he) in al his workes, addyng further that he was ready to obey them in all poyntes, ſo that they enforced hym not to denye the worde of God.

Scandale of fayth and charitie.

The Princes conſulted about Martyn Luther.

Theſe wordes finiſhed, Luther was byd ſtande aſide, and the Princes conſulted what anſweare they myght geue hym. This done, they called him into a parlor, wheras the foreſaid Doctour Vœus repeated his former matters, admoniſhing Luther to ſubmit his writinges to the Emperour, and to the princes iudgement.

Luther anſweared humbly and modeſtly, that he coulde not, neither woulde permit that men ſhould ſay he woulde ſhunne the iudgement of the Emperour, princes and ſuperiour powers of the Empire. So farre was [illegible], that he woulde refuſe to ſtande to their tryall, that he was contented to ſuffer his writynges to be diſcuſſed, conſidered and iudged of the ſimpleſt, ſo that it were done with the authoritie of the word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the word of God made ſo much for him, & was ſo manifeſt vnto hym, that he coulde not geue place, vnleſſe they coulde confounde his doctrine by the worde of God. This

The word of God onlye true.

leſſon (ſaid he) he learned of S. Auſten, who writeth, that he gaue his honour onely to thoſe bookes, whiche are called Canonical, that he beleued the ſame onely to be true. As touching other Doctours, albeit in holynes and excellencie of learnyng they paſſed, yet he would not credite them further then they agreed with the touchſtone of Gods worde. Further (ſaid he) S. Paul geueth vs a leſſon, writing to the Theſſalonians: Proue al things, folowe that is good. And to the Galathians: Though an Angel ſhould deſcend from heauen, if he preache any other doctrine, let hym be accurſed, and therefore not to be beleued.

1.Theſ.5.
Gal.1.

Finally he meekely beſought them not to vrge his conſcience, captiued in the bandes of the word of God and holy ſcripture, to denie that ſame excellent worde. And thus he commended his cauſe and hym ſelfe to them and ſpecially to the Emperours maieſtie, requiring their fauour, that he might not be compelled to doo any thing in this matter againſt his conſcience: in all other cauſes he would ſubmyt hym ſelfe with al kind of obedience and due ſubiection.

As Luther had thus ended his talke, Joachimus Elector, Marques of Brandeburge, demaunded if his meanyng was thus, that he woulde not yeelde, vnles he were conuinced by the Scripture? yea truely right noble Lorde (quoth Luther) or els by auncient and euident reaſons. And ſo the aſſemble brake, and the Princes repayred to the Emperours Court.

After their departure the Archbiſhop of Triers, accompanyed with a fewe his familiars, namely John Eckius his Official, and Cochleus, cōmaunded Luther to repayre into his parlour. With Luther was Hieronymus Scurfſius, and Nicolas Ambſdorff, for his aſſiſtaunce. Then the Official began to frame an argument like a Sophiſt & Canoniſt, defending the Popes cauſe: that for the moſte part at al tymes holy Scriptures haue engendred errors, as the error of Heluidius the heretique, out of that place in the Goſpel, where is expreſſed: Ioſeph knewe not his wyfe tyl ſhee was deliuered of her firſt childe. Further, he went about to ouerthrowe this propoſition, that the Catholique Church is the Communion of Saintes.

Falſe argumentes for the Pope.
Math.1.

Martin Luther and Hieroine Scurffe reproued (but modeſtly) theſe follies and other vaine and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth as thinges not ſeruyng to the purpoſe. Sometyme Cochleus would come in with his fiue egges, and laboured to perſwade Luther to deſiſte from his purpoſe, & vtterly to refraine thenceforth to write or teache, and ſo they departed.

About euenyng, the Archebiſhop of Triers aduertiſed Luther by Ambſdorff, that ẏ Emperours promiſe made vnto hym, was prolonged two dayes, and in the meane ſeaſon he woulde conferre with hym the next day, and for that cauſe he would ſend Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade which was Vœus, the morowe after to hym, and he hymſelf would alſo talke with hym.

Sollicitation to cauſe Luther yelde.

Note Luthers condition.

Pſal.145.
Iere.17.

The fryday after, which was S. Markes day, Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade trauailed in the forenoone to perſwade Luther ſimply and abſolutely to ſubmypt the iudgment of his writinges to the Emperour and Empire. He anſweared, he woulde do it, and ſubmypt any thing they would haue hym, ſo they grounded with authoritie of holy Scripture: otherwiſe he woulde not conſent to doo any thing. For God ſaid by his prophete (ſaith he) Truſt ye not in Princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health. Alſo, Curſed be he that truſteth in man. And ſeing that they did vrge hym more vehemently, he anſweared: We ought to yeelde no more to the iudgement of men, then the word of God doth ſuffer. So they departed, and praied him to aduiſe for better anſweare, and ſaid, they would returne after dynner.

Luthers condition

After dynner they returned, exhorting hym as before, but in vaine. They prayed hym that at the leaſt he woulde ſubmit his writyng to the iudgement of the next generall Councel. Luther agreed therunto, but with this cōdition, that they them ſelues ſhoulde preſent the articles collected out of his bookes, to be ſubmitted to the Councel in ſuche ſort, as notwithſtanding the ſentence awarded by the Coūcel, ſhoulde be authoriſed by the Scripture, and confirmed with the teſtimonies of the ſame.

Falſe witneſſe.

They then leauyng Luther, departed, and reported to the Archbiſhop of Triers, that he had promiſed to ſubmypt his writinges in certaine articles to the next Councel, and in the meane ſpace he woulde keepe ſilence, whiche Luther neuer thought: who neither ẇ admonitions, ne yet manaces coulde be induced to denie or ſubmypt his bookes to the iudgementes of men (he had ſo fortified his cauſe with cleare and manifeſt authorities of the Scripture) vnleſſe they could proue by ſacred ſcripture, and apparant reaſons to the contrary.

The prouidence of God.

It chaunced then by the ſpecial grace of God, that the Archbiſhop of Triers ſent for Luther, thinkyng preſently to heare hym. And when he perceiued otherwiſe then Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade had tolde hym, he ſayde, ẏ he would for no good, but ẏ he had heard him ſelf ſpeake: for els he was euen nowe goyng to the Emperour, to declare what the Doctours had reported.

Familiar talke betwene the archbiſhop and Luther.

Then the Archb. entreated Luther, and cōferred with hym very gently, firſt remouyng ſuche as were preſent, as wel of the one ſide as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothyng from the Archebiſhop, affirmyng that it was daungerous to ſubmypt a matter of ſo great importaunce to them, who after they had called hym vnder ſafeconduict, attemptyng hym with newe commaundementes, had condemned his opinion, and approoued the Popes Bull.

Luthers prophecie out of Gamaliell.
Act.5.

Moreouer, the Archbiſhop byddyng a frend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedie might be miniſtred to helpe this. Luther anſweared: there was no better remedie then ſuch as Gamaliel alleged in the v. chapter of the Apoſtles, as witneſſeth S. Luke, ſaying: If this Councell or this woorke procede of men, it ſhall come to nought, but if it be of God, ye can not deſtroy it. And ſo he deſired that the Emperour might be aduertiſed to write the ſame to the Pope, that he knewe certainely if this his enterpriſe proceeded not of God, it would be aboliſhed within three, yea within two yeares.

Luthers conſtancie.

The Archbiſhop enquired of hym what he would do, if certaine articles were taken out of his bookes, to be ſubmitted to the general Councel. Luther anſweared, ſo that they be not thoſe, which the Coūcel of Conſtance condemned. The Archbiſhop ſaide, I feare they wyl be the very ſame: but what then? Luther replyed, I wyl not, nor I cannot hold my peace of ſuch, for I am ſure by their decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I wyl rather looſe head and lyfe, then abandon the manifeſt worde of my Lord God.

Then the Archbiſhop ſeyng Luther would in no wiſe geue ouer the worde of God, to the iudgement of men, gently bade Luther fare well, who at that inſtaunt prayed the Archbiſhop to intreat the Emperours maieſtie to graunt hym gratious leaue to depart. He anſweared, he woulde take order for hym, and ſpedily aduertiſe hym of the Emperours pleaſure.

Luther ſent home from the counſell.

Within a ſmal while after, John Eckius the Archbiſhops officiall, in the preſence of the Emperours Secretarye, who had bene Maximilians Chauncelour, ſaide vnto Luther in his lodgyng, by the commaundemēt of the Emperour: that ſince he had bene admoniſhed diuerſly of the Emperiall maieſtie, the Electors, Princes, and eſtates of the Empire, and that notwithſtandyng he woulde not returne to vnitie and concorde, there remayned that the Emperour as aduocate of the Catholique fayth, ſhould procede further: and that it was the Emperours ordinaunce, that he ſhoulde within xxi. dayes, returne boldly vnder ſafeconduict, and be ſafely garded to the place whence he came, ſo that in the meane while he ſtyrred no cōmotion among the people in his iourney, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, anſweared very modeſtly, & chriſtianly: euen as it hath pleaſed God, ſo is it come to paſſe, the name of the Lord be bleſſed. He ſayd further, he thanked moſt humbly the Emperous maieſty, and al the princes and eſtates of the Empire, that they had geuen to hym benigne and gratious audience, and graunted ſafeconduict to come and returne. Finally he ſayd, he deſired none other of them, then a reformation, according to the ſacred worde of God, and cōſonancie of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his hart he deſired: Otherwiſe he was preſt to ſuffer al chaūces for the Emperial maieſtie, as lyfe and death, goods, fame, and reproche, reſeruyng nothing to hym ſelfe, but the onely word of God, whiche he would conſtantly confeſſe, to the latter ende, humbly recommendyng hym to the Emperours maieſtie, and to al the princes and other eſtates of the ſacred Empire.

Luthers departure from Wormes.

The morowe after, whiche was the xxvi. day of April, after he had taken his leaue of ſuch as ſupported hym, and other his beneuolent frendes, that often tymes viſited hym, and had broken his faſt, at ten of the clocke he departed from Wormes, accampanyed with ſuche as repayred thyther with hym, hauyng ſpace of tyme limited vnto hym, (as is ſaid) for. xxi. dayes, and no more. The Emperours Herauld Caſpar Sturme, folowed and ouertooke hym at Oppenhime, being commaunded by the Emperour to conduct hym ſafely home.

The vſual prayer of Martin Luther.

COnfirme (O God) in vs, that thou haſt wrought, and perfect the woorke that thou haſt begunne in vs, to thy glory.

glorye. So be it. Ex hiſtor. Phil. Melancth. ex Sledano, ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſperg. & ex Caſp. Peucero.

Luther in hys iourney wryteth to the Emperour and nobles of Germanie.

Martin Luther thus beyng diſmiſſed of the Emperour, accordyng to the promiſe of his ſafeconduict made (as you haue heard) departed from Wormes towarde his coũtrey the .xxvi. of April accompanied with the Emperours Heraulde, and the reſt of his companye, hauyng onely .xxi. dayes to hym graunted for his returne, and no more. In the whiche meane ſpace of his returne, he writeth to the Emperour, and to other Nobles of the empire, repeating brieſly to them the whole action and order of thynges there done, deſiryng of them, their lawfull good wyll and fauour, whiche as he hath alwayes ſtande neede of, ſo now he moſt earneſtly craueth, eſpecially in this, that his cauſe, whiche is not his, but the cauſe of the whole church vniuerſal, may be hearde with indifferencie and equitie, and maye be deciſed by the rule and authoritie of holy Scripture: ſignifying moreouer, that when ſo euer they ſhall pleaſe to ſende for hym, he ſhalbe readye at their commaundemente, at anye tyme or place, vppon their promiſe of ſafetie, to appeare. &c.

The doctors of Paris condemne the bookes of Luther

Duryng the tyme of theſe doinges, the Doctours and Schoolemen of Paris, were not behind with their partes, but to ſhewe their cunnyng condemned the bookes of Luther, extracting out of the ſame, eſpecially out of his booke De Captiuitate Babylonica, certaine Articles as touching the Sacramentes, the lawes and decrees of the Churche, equalitie of workes, vowes, contrition, abſolution, ſatiſfaction, Purgatorie, free wyll, priuileges of holye Churche, Councels, puniſhment of heretiques, Philoſophie, Schole diuinitie, with other more. Unto whom Philip Melancton maketh anſweare, and alſo Luther hym ſelf, albeit pleaſantly and ieſtingly.

Phillip Melancton aunſwereth the Pariſiãs.

Luther outlawed by the Emperour.

It was not long after this, but Charles the new Emperour, to purchaſe fauor with the Pope (becauſe he was not yet couſirmed in his empire) prouideth and directeth out a ſolemne wryt of outlawry againſt Luther, ⁊ al them that take his part, commaunding the ſaid Luther, where ſo euer he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his bookes burned. By whiche decree proclaymed againſt Luther, the Emperour procured no ſmal thanke with the Pope: in ſo much that the Pope ceaſing to take part with the French kyng, ioyned hym ſelfe wholy to the Emperour. In the meane tyme Duke Fridericke, to geue ſome place for the tyme to the emperours Proclamation, conueyed Luther a litle out of ſight ſecretly, by yͤ helpe of certaine Noble men, whom he wel knewe to be faythful and truſty vnto hym in that behalfe. There Luther beyng cloſe and out of companye, wrote diuers Epiſtles, and certaine bookes alſo vnto his freendes among whiche he dedicated one to his companye of Auguſtine Fryers, entituled, De abroganda Miſſa. Whiche Fryers the ſame tyme beyng encouraged by hym, began firſt to lay downe their priuate Maſſes. Duke Fridericke fearyng leaſt that woulde breede ſome great ſtyrre or tumult, cauſed the cenſure and iudgements of the whole Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge, to be aſked in the matter, committyng the doing thereof to foure, Iuſtus Ionas, Phil. Melancthon. Nic. Ambſdorffius, Ioh. Dulcius.

M. Luther kept a ſide for a while.

Luthers booke *De Abroganda Miſſa ad Auguſtinenſes.*

The Maſſe layde downe firſt at Wittenberge.

The iudgement of the Uniuerſitie of Wittenberge againſt the Maſſe.

The myndes of the whole vniuerſitie beyng ſearched, it was ſhewed to the Duke, that hee ſhoulde doo well and godly, by the whole aduice of the learned there, to commaunde the vſe of Maſſe to be abrogate through his dominion: and though it coulde not be done without tumult, yet that was no let, why the courſe of true doctrine ſhoulde be ſtayed, for the multitude, whiche commonly ouercommeth the better parte. Neyther oughe ſuche diſturbaunce to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the aduerſaries, whiche willyngly and wickedly kicke againſte the truth: wherof Chriſte alſo geueth vs forewarnyng before. For feare of ſuch tumultes therefore we ought not to ſurceaſe from that whiche we knowe is to be done, but conſtantly muſt go forewarde in defenſe of Gods truth, how ſo euer the worlde dooh eſteeme vs, or rage againſte it. Thus ſhewed they their iudgement to Duke Fridericke.

1521.

It happened moreouer about the ſame yeare and tyme, that king Henry alſo pretẽdyng an occaſion to impugne the booke De Captiuitate Babylonica, wrote againſt Luther. In whiche booke:

1 He reproueth Luthers opinion about the Popes pardons.
2 He defendeth the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome.
3 He laboreth to refel al his doctrine of the Sacramentes of the Churche.

K. Henry writeth againſt M. Luther.

This booke, albeit it carryed the kynges name in the title, yet it was an other that miniſtred the motion, an other that framed the ſtile. But who ſeuer had the labour of this booke, the king had the thanke, and alſo the rewarde. For conſequently vpon the ſame, the Biſhop of Rome gaue to the ſaide king Henrye for the ſtyle agaynſte Luther, the ſtile and title of Defender of the Chriſtẽ fayth, and to his ſucceſſours for euer.

K. Henry made defender of the fayth by the Pope.

Shortly after this, within the compaſſe of the ſame yeare, Pope Leo, after he had warred againſt the Frenche men, and had gotten from them, through the Emperours ayde, the Cities of Parma, Placentia, and Millen. &c. he ſitting at ſupper, ⁊ reioyſing at three great giftes that God had beſtowed vpon hym. 1. That he being baniſhed out of his countrey, was reſtored to Florence agayne with glory. 2. That he had deſerued to be called Apoſtolique. 3. That he had driuen the Frenchmen out of Italie: after he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he was ſtroken with a ſodeine feuer, and dyed ſhortly after, beyng of the age of .47. yeares: albeit ſome ſuſpect that he dyed of poyſon. Succeſſour to whom was Pope Adrian the vi. ſcholmaiſter ſomtime to Charles the Emperour: who lyued not much aboue one yeare and a halfe, in his Papacie. Duryng whoſe ſmal tyme, theſe three eſpecial thyngs were incident: A great peſtilence in Rome, wherein aboue an hundreth thouſande people were conſumed. The loſſe of Rhodes by the Turke. And thirdly the capital warre, which the ſayd Pope Adrian, with the emperour, and the Uenetians, and the kyng of Englande, dyd hold agaynſt Fraunces the French kyng.

The death of Pope Leo, in the midſt of his tryumphe.

Pope Adrian the 6.

A great peſtilẽce in Rome.

Adrian a Germane Pope and not vnlearned.

This pope Adrian was a Germane borne, brought vp at Louane, and as in learning he exceded the common ſorte of Popes: ſo in moderation of life and maners he ſeemed not all together ſo intemperate as ſome other Popes haue bene: and yet lyke a right Pope, nothyng degeneratyng from hys Sea, he was a mortall enemy agaynſt Martin Luther and his partakers. In his tyme, ſhortly after the Councell of Wormes was broken vp, an other meetyng or aſſemble was appointed by the Emperour at Norẽberge, of the princes, nobles and ſtates of Germany, an.1522.

Pope Adrian a great enemie to Luther.

A dyet of the Princes kept at Norenberge

Unto this aſſemble the ſayd Adrian ſent his letters in maner of a brief, with an inſtruction alſo vnto his Legate Cheregatus, to informe hym how to procede, and what cauſes to alledge agaynſt Luther, before the Princes there aſſembled. His letter with the inſtruction ſent, becauſe they are ſo hypocritically ſhadowed ouer with a fayre ſhew and colour of poynted zeale and Religion, and beareth reſſemblaunce of great truth and care of the Church, able to deceaue the outward eares of them, whiche are not inwardly in true Religion inſtructed: I thought therfore to geue to the Reader a ſight therof, to the entent that by the experiẽce of them he may learne hereafter in caſes lyke, to be prudent and circũſpect in not beleuyng ouer raſhly the ſmoth talke, or pretenſed perſuaſions of men, eſpecially in Church matters, vnleſſe they cary with them the ſimplicitie of playne truth, goyng not vpon termes, but grounded vpon the word and reueled will of God, with particular demonſtrations, prouyng that by the Scripture, which they pretend to perſwade. Firſt yͤ letter of this Pope conceaued ⁊ directed agaynſt Luther, procedeth in this effect.

Paynted pretences ought to be examined.

❡Adrian Pope vi. to the renoumed princes of Germanie, and to the pieres of the Romaine Empire, greetyng, and Apoſtolique benediction.

The example of Pope Adrians letter ſent to the princes of Germanye.

Right honourable brethren, and deare children, greeting and Apoſtolique benediction. After that we were firſt promoted (through Gods diuine prouidence) to the office of the ſee Apoſtolique, he whiche hath ſo aduaunced vs, is our witneſſe, how we both day and nyght reuoluing in our myndes, dyd cogitate nothing more, then howe to ſatisfie the partes of a good Paſtour, in attendyng the health and cure of the flocke, both vniuerſally and ſingularly committed vnto vs: ſo that there is no one particular ſhepe through the whole vniuerſal flocke, ſo infected, ſo ſicke, or ſo farre gon aſtraye, whõ our deſire is not to recouer, to ſeeke out, and to reduce into the Lords fold againe. And chiefly, from the firſt beginnyng of our paſtoral function, our care hath alwayes bene, as well by our meſſengers, as our dayly letters, howe to reclayme the myndes of Chriſtian Princes from the inteſtine warres and diſſenſions among them ſelues, to peace and concord, or at leaſt, if they would nedes fight, that they woulde conuert their ſtrength and armour againſt the cõmon enemies of our fayth. And to declare this not onely in woorde, but rather in deede, God dooth knowe with what charges and expences we haue burdened our ſelues, to extende our ſubſidie and reliefe, to the ſouldiers of Rhodes, for defenſe of them ſelues and of the Chriſtian fayth, agaynſte the Turkiſhe tyrannie, by whom they were beſieged.

If theſe paſtors care any thing for the ſheepe, it is onely for the wolle.

And nowe to bend our care from theſe forreyne matters, and to cõſider our inward troubles at home, we heare, to the great griefe of our hart, that M. Luther a newe rayſer vp of olde and damnable hereſies: firſt after the fatherly aduertiſementes of the See Apoſtolique, then after the ſentence alſo of condemnation awarded agaynſte hym, and that by the aſſent and conſent of the beſt learned, and of ſundrye Vniuerſities alſo: and laſtly after the Emperiall decree of our wel beloued ſonne Charles, electe Emperour of the Romanes, and Catholique kyng of Spayne, beyng diuulged through the whole nation of Germanie, yet hath neither bene by order reſtreyned, nor of hym ſelfe hath refrayned from his madneſſe begunne, but dayly more and more forgetting and contemning al Chriſtian Charitie and godlyneſſe, ceaſeth not to diſturbe and repleniſh the world with newe bookes, fraught ful of errors, hereſies, contumelies, and ſedition (whether vpon his owne head, or by the helpe of other) and to infect the countrey of Germanie, & other regions about, with his peſtilence, and endeuoureth ſtyll to corrupt ſimple ſoules, and manners of men, with the poyſon of his peſtiferous tongue: and (whiche is woorſt of al) hath for his fautours and ſupporters, not of the vulgare ſort onely, but alſo diuers perſonages of Nobilitie: inſomuch that they haue begunne alſo to inuade the goodes of prieſtes (whiche perhaps is the chiefe ground of this ſtyrre begun) contrary to their obedience which they owe to eccleſiaſtical and temporal perſons, and now alſo at laſt haue growen vnto ciuile warre and diſſention among them ſelues, which thing how vnfortunately it falleth out now, at this preſent ſeaſon, eſpecially amongeſt vs Chriſtians, you maye ſoone repute with your ſelues and conſider. For although the Apoſtle hath told vs before, **that hereſies muſt needes be, that they which be tryed, may be made manifeſt, &c.** yet was there neuer time, either ſo vnconuenient to raiſe vp hereſies, or ſo neceſſary for the repreſſing therof, when any ſuch are raiſed, as now. For whereas the deuil, the perpetual enimie of mankind, roryng in the ſhape of a Lion, by the power of the Turkes, doth cõtinually inuade the flocke of Chriſt, howe can we then reſiſt the violent inuaſions of hym, oppreſſing vs without, ſo long as we nouriſh at home the ſame deuyl, vnder the colour of a wily dragon, ſowyng ſuch hereſies, diſcords, and ſeditions among our ſelues: And albeit it were in our power eaſily to vãquiſh theſe forreine aduerſaries, yet were that but labor loſt, ſeruyng to no profite, to ſubdue our enimies without, and at home with hereſies and ſchiſmes to be diuided.

We remember, before the tyme of our Papacie, when we were in Spayne, many thinges we hearde then of Luther, and of his peruerſe doctrine. Whiche rumours and tidynges, although of them ſelues they were greeuous to be hearde, yet more greeuous they were for this, becauſe they proceeded out of that countrey, where we our ſelfe, after the fleſhe, tooke our firſt beginnyng: but yet this comfort we had, ſuppoſing that either for the iniquitie, or els for the fooliſhneſſe thereof being ſo manifeſt, this doctrine woulde not long holde: reputing thus with our ſelfe, that ſuche peſtiferous * plantes tranſlated from other countreys into Germanie, would neuer grow vp to any prouſe in that grounde, whiche was euer woont to be a weeder out of all hereſies and infidelitie. But now, ſince this euyl tree (whether by Gods iudgement correctyng the ſinnes of the people, or by the negligence of ſuche as firſt ſhould haue reſiſted ſuche beginnynges) hathe ſo enlarged and ſpread his braunches ſo farre: you therefore, both princes, and people of Germanie, muſte this conſider and prouide, leaſt you, whiche at the firſt ſpringyng vp of this euyl, might peraduenture be excuſed as no doers thereof, nowe through this your ouermuch ſufferaunce, might be founde vnexcuſable, and ſeeme to conſent to that which you do not reſiſt.

Here we omytte and paſſe ouer, what enormitie, and more then enormitie, this is, that ſuch a great, & ſo deuoute a nation, ſhoulde by one fryer (who relinquiſhing the Catholique fayth and Chriſtian religion, whiche he before profeſſed, playeth the Apoſtata, and hath lyed to God) be now ſeduced from that way, which firſt * Chriſte our redeemer and his bleſſed Apoſtles haue opened vnto vs, whiche ſo manye Martyres, ſo manye holye Fathers, ſo manye greate learned menne, and alſo your owne foreelders and old auncitours haue alwaies hitherto walked in: as though only Luther had al wyt and cunnyng, as though he onely nowe firſt had receyued the holy ghoſt (as the heretique Montanus vſed to boaſt of hym ſelfe) or as though the Church (from whiche Chriſte our ſauiour promiſed hym ſelfe neuer to departe) hathe erred hytherto alwayes in darke ſhadowes of ignorance and perdition, tyll nowe it ſhoulde be illuminate with newe reſplendent beames of Luther. Al whiche thynges, there is no doubt, but to ſuche as haue iudgement, wyll ſeeme ridiculous, but yet maye be pernicious to ſimple and ignoraunt myndes: and to the other whiche beyng werye of al good order, do gape ſtyl for newe chaunges, may breede matter and occaſion of ſuche miſchiefes, as partly your ſelues haue experienced already. And therefore do you not conſider (O princes and people of Germanie) that theſe be but prefaces and preambles to thoſe euylles and miſchiefes, whiche Luther with the ſect of his Lutherians, do intende & purpoſe hereafter? * Do you not ſee plainly & perceyue with your eyes, that this defendyng of the veritie of the Goſpell, firſt begun by the Lutherians to be pretended, is now manifeſt to be but an inuention to ſpoyle your goodes, whiche they haue long intended? Or do you thinke that theſe ſonnes of iniquitie do tende to any other thyng, then vnder the name of libertie, to ſupplant obedience, and ſo to open a general * licence to euery man, to doo what hym liſteth? And ſuppoſe you, that they wyl any thing regard your cõmaundemẽts, or eſteme * your lawes, whiche ſo contẽptuouſly vilipende the holy Canons, and decrees of the fathers, yea & the moſte holy Councelles alſo (to whoſe aucthoritie the Emperours lawes haue alwayes geuen roume and place) and not only vilipend thẽ, but alſo with a diabolicall audacitie haue not feared to rent them in peeces, and ſet them on a lyght fire? They which refuſe to render due obedience to prieſts, to biſhops, yea to the hie biſhop of al, and which dayly before your owne faces make their booties of church goodes, and of thinges conſecrated to God: thinke ye that they wil refraine their ſacrilegius hands frõ the ſpoyle of lay mens goodes? yea that they wyll not plucke frõ you whatſoeuer they can rap or reaue? Finally to cõclude, how can you hope that thei wil more ſpare you, or hold their murdring hands frõ your throtes, which haue ben ſo bold to vexe, to kyl, to ſlay the Lords annoynted, which are not to be touched? Naye, thinke you not cõtrary, but this miſerable calamitie wil at length redound vpon you, your goodes, your houſes, wyues, children, dominions, poſſeſſions, and theſe your tẽples, which you hallow and reuerence, except you prouide ſome ſpeedy remedie againſt the ſame.

Wherfore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, & deuotions of all and ſinguler in the Lord, and beſeech you for Chriſtian charitie & religion (for which religion your forefathers oft tymes haue geuen their bloud, to vpholde and encreaſe the ſame) and notwithſtanding require you alſo in vertue of that obediẽce, whiche al Chriſtians ow to God & bleſſed S. Peter, and to his vicar here in earth, that ſettyng aſide all other quarrels and diſſentions among your ſelues, you conferre your helping hands euerye man to quenche this publique fire, and endeuour and ſtudy the beſt way ye can, howe to reduce the ſayd M. Luther and all other fautours of theſe tumultes and errours, to better conformitie and trade both of life and faith. And if they which be infected, ſhal refuſe to heare your admonitions, yet prouide that the other part, which yet remayneth ſound, by the ſame contagion be not corrupted. He to whom al ſecretes of men are open, dooth knowe howe we both for our nature, and alſo for our paſtoral office, whereto we are called, are muche more prone to remit, then to reuenge. But when this peſtiferous canker can not with ſupple and gentle medicines be cured, more ſharper ſalues muſt be proued, & firy ſearings: the putrified members muſt be cut of from the bodye, leaſt the ſound partes alſo be infected. So God dyd caſt downe into hell the ſchiſmaticall brethrẽ * Dathon and Abiron. And hym that whould not obey the autho-

Rather a new raiſer vp of the olde doctrine of the Patriarches, Prophets and Apoſtles.

Termes without truth.

Euill called good and good euill.

1. Cor. 11.

Who ſoweth theſe hereſies, but he which will not let the Scriptures take place.

*** He meaneth the doctrine of John Hus tranſlated into Germanie.**

* Chriſte and his Apoſtles taught vs, that we are ſaued by Fayth onely in the Sonne of God the ſame doth Luther preache, and the Pope denieth. Holy Martyrs and fathers in the olde tyme miniſtred the Communion in both kindes to the people, and taught that fayth was neceſſarye, in receauing the Sacramentes: the ſame doth Luther affirme, and the Pope denyeth. the olde waye of the Fathers was this, that they neuer hadd anye aduocates and mediators but Chriſt alone, and that they neuer ſolde the merites of Chriſtes paſſion for money. In the ſame waye doth Luther now walke, wheras the pope hath deuiſed a new waye to walke in for money, with an hundreth other new deuiſes, new ſectes, & new ordinances which the olde fathers neuer knewe.

* The doctrine of Luther hath bene preached in Germanie, aboue theſe 40. yeares, and yet is there neuer a Prince nor Magiſtrate, nor Cityzen in Germanye, God be prayſed, whiche by the doctrine of Luther, is worſe by one halfepenye: wheras by the pope, good reckenyng hath bene made, that Germanye hath bene worſe by 3000000. Florens by the yeare. out of the territorye of the Biſhop of Mentz, amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbiſhops Palle. 26000. Florens. In the counſell of Baſill it was openlye declared that ix Millions of Golde were gathered in the tyme of Pope Martyn, and tranſlated to Rome. Pag. 698. Now let the Princes of Germanie conſider this.

* The preaching of Chriſtian libertie of the ſoule, breaketh no ciuile order touchyng the outwarde Obedyence of the bodye: But the Pope would haue the ſoules of men in hys bondage, and therfore he can not abide thys inward libertie of the ſpirite to be touched, for that were agaynſt the popes purſe and profite, which were an hereſie intollerable.

* This is no good conſequent: Luther burned the popes ſtinckyng decretalls: Ergo he will not ſtycke alſo to burne the bookes of the ciuile lawe.

The perſecuting pagans in the olde tyme did obiecte to the olde Fathers of the Primatiue church, the blaſphemies of Thyeſtes ſupper and of the inceſt of Oedipus: the worſhipping alſo of an Aſſes head pag. 54. 59. In muche like ſort doth the pope here lay vnto Luther, riots, rebellions, and all miſchiefes he can deuiſe, not becauſe they be true, but becauſe he would haue the worlde ſo to beleeue.

Obedience to God, and to Saint Peter, and to his vicare, doe not well matche together by the Scripture: for the obedience to the Creator is one and the obedience to the creature is an other.

* Let the Pope followe the worde of God, as Moſes dyd, and be ſent of God expreſlye, as Moſes was: and then let Luther be puniſhed as Dathon, and Abyron were. Agayne, if the Pope

be the ſucceſſour of Peter, and haue his authoritie: why then doth not the Pope, bearing the keyes of Peter, exerciſe the power of his ſpirite vpon Luther his great enemie, as Peter did vpon Ananias and Saphira.

authoritie of the prieſt, God cōmaunded to be puniſhed with death. So Peter prince of the Apoſtles, denounced ſodein death to Ananias and Saphira, which lyed vnto God. So the olde and godly Emperours commaunded *Iouinianus and Priſcillianus, as heretiques, to be beheaded. So S. Hierome wiſheth Vigilātius as an heretique, to be geuen to the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit might be ſaued to the day of the Lord. So alſo did our predeceſſours in the Councell of * Conſtance condemne to death Iohn Hus & his felow Hierome, which now appereth to reuiue againe in Luther. The woorthy * actes & examples of whiche forefathers, if you in this doyng (ſeing otherwiſe ye can not) ſhal imitate: we do not doubt, but gods merciful clemencie ſhal eſtſoones releue his Church, whiche beyng nowe ſore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefely and principally directed vpon you, as beyng the moſt puiſaunt and moſt populous nation that we haue in Chriſtendome.

* If Iouinianus, Priſcillianus, and Vigilantius, were proued heretickes, they were proued not onely by Canons and Councells, but by Scipture: ſo was Luther neuer.

* Your fathers, in the Councell of Conſtance did kill the prophets of God, and you make vp their graues. But thankes be vnto God which hath geuen ſuch light to the worlde, to vnderſtande your cruell impietie in killing Iohn Hus, which you thought ſhould neuer be eſpied.

* You haue well imitated your forefathers alreadie, in burning ſo many Lutherians: and yet how haue you proſpered againſt the Turkiſhe Infidels the ſpace of theſe 40. yeares.

Wherfore vpon the bleſſing of almighty God & of bleſſed S. Peter, whiche here we ſende vnto you, take courage vnto you, as wel againſt the falſe dragon, as the ſtrong Lion, that both theſe: that is, as well the inwarde hereſies, as the forreine enemies by you beyng ouercome, you maye purchaſe to your honours an immortal victorie, both here and in the world to come. This we geue you to vnderſtād, that what ſoeuer the lord hath geuen vs to ayd you withal, either in money or authoritie, we wyll not fayle to ſupport you herein, yea and to beſtowe our lyfe alſo in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our ſheepe to vs cōmitted. Other thinges as touching the matter of Luther, we haue committed to this Cheregatus our Legate, whom we haue directed purpoſely for the ſame, vnto your aſſemble, whom we wiſh you to Credite, as being our truſty Legate, Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum ſub annulo piſcatoris die. 25. Nouemb. ann. 1522. pontificatus noſtri anno primo.

The falſe Dragon reſembleth the Pope and the ſtrong Lyon the Turke.

The falſe Dragon here ſeeth that it is tyme to deſtroye hym.

¶ By this letter aboue prefixed, thou haſt (gentle reader) to note and vnderſtande, what eyther wyly perſwaſions, or ſtrength of authoritie could deuiſe agaynſt Luther, here not to haue lacked. If plauſible termes or gloſing ſentences, or outwarde facyng and bracing coulde haue ſerued, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might ſeeme apparantly a pithie Epiſtle. But if a man ſhould require the particulars or the ſpecialties of this dictrine whiche he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tryed by gods worde, there is no ſubſtaunce in it, but onely wordes of office, whiche may ſeeme wel to ſerue for waſte paper. And yet I thought to exhibite the ſaide letter vnto thee, to the entent, that the more thou ſeeſt mans ſtrength with all his policie bent againſt Luther, the more thou mayſt conſider the almighty power of God, in defending the cauſe of this poore man, againſt ſo mighty enemies.

Now heare further what inſtructions the ſayde Pope Adrian ſent to his Legate Cheregatus, how and by what reaſons to moue and inflame the princes of Germanie to the deſtruction of Luther, and his cauſe, and yet was not able to bring it to paſſe.

Inſtructions geuen by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touching his proceedinges in the diete of Norenberg, howe and by what perſuaſions to incenſe the princes againſt Luther.

Inſtructions of the Pope agaynſt Luther.

IN primis, you ſhall declare to them the great griefe of our hart, for the proſpering of Luthers ſecte, to ſee the innumerable ſoules redemed with Chriſtes bloud, and committed to our paſtorall gouernement, to be turned awaye from the true fayth and religion, into perdition by his occaſion: & that eſpecially in the nation of Germanie, beyng our natiue cōtrey, which hath ben euer heretofore, tyl theſe few yeares paſt, moſt faythful and deuout in religion: and therfore our deſire to be the greater, that this peſtilence ſhoulde be ſtopped by tyme, leaſt the ſame happen to that countrey of Germanie, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there ſhalbe no lacke to helpe forwarde what we may: As likewiſe we deſire them, to endeuour them ſelues to the vttermoſt of their power, whom theſe cauſes ought to moue, which here we direct vnto you, to be declared vnto them.

* The firſt cauſe to ſtyrre men agaynſt Luther.

* Firſt yͤ *honor of god, which before al other thinges ought to be preferred: whoſe honour by theſe hereſies is gretly defaced, & his worſhip not only diminiſhed, but rather wholy corrupted. Alſo yͤ charitie toward our neighbor, by which charitie euery man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error: otherwiſe God wil require at their handes all ſuche as by there negligence do periſh.

* The honour of God conſiſteth principally in honouring Ieſus the Sonne of God, whom the father hath ſent: Now examine, good reader, whether more extolleth the honour of Chriſt, the doctrine of Luther, or the doctrine of the Pope. Luther ſendeth vs onely to Chriſt: The Pope ſendeth vs to other Patrons & helpers. Luthers doctrine tendeth ſoly to the glorye of Chriſt: the Popes doctrine if it be well wayed, tendeth to the glory of man. Luther cleaueth onely to Scripture: The Pope leaneth to the Canons and Councels of men.

The ſecond cauſe to moue them againſt Luther, is the infamie of their nation, which being counted before time alwayes moſt Chriſtian, nowe by theſe ſectaries of Luther, is euyl ſpoken of in al other quarters.

The ſecond cauſe.

The third cauſe is yͤ reſpect of their owne honor, which notoriouſly wyl be diſteined, if they which moſt excel in nobilitie & authoritie among the Germanes, ſhal not bende all their power to expel theſe hereſies: Firſt for that they ſhall appeare to degenerate from their progenitors, who beyng preſent at the condemnation of John Hus, & of other heretiques, are ſaid ſome of thē with their own handes to haue led John Hus to the fire: Secōdly, for that they, or yͤ greater parte of them approuing with their authoritie the *emperial edict ſet forth of late in cōdēnatiō of M. Luther, now except thei ſhal folow the executiō of the ſame, ſhalbe noted incōſtant, or may be thought to fauour yͤ ſame, ſeing it is manifeſt that they may eaſily exterminate hym, if they were diſpoſed.

The thyrd cauſe.

* This edict of the Emperour aboue touched pag. 827. was deuiſed and ſet out not knowing to diuers of the princes there. And ſemeth chiefelye to be brought about by the Pope, and hys flatterers about hym. Looke more hereof in the ſtorye of Sledan. Lib. 3.

The fourth cauſe is the iniurie wrought by Luther to them, their parentes, and progenitors, for as much as their fathers, progenitors, & them ſelues alſo haue alwaies holdē the ſame faith, which yͤ catholike church of Rome hath appoynted: cōtrary to which faith, Luther with his ſectaries now doth hold, ſaying yͤ many thinges are not to be beleued, which their foreſaid aunciters haue holdē to be of fayth: it is manifeſt therfore that they be cōdemned of Luther for infidels & heretikes, & ſo conſequently by Luthers doctrine al their foreelders & progenitors whiche haue deceaſed in this our faith be in hel: for error in fayth importeth damnation.

The 4. cauſe.

The fift cauſe to moue them is, that they ſhould wel aduiſe & conſider the end, whereunto all theſe Lutherians do tend: * which is, that vnder yͤ ſhadowe of Euangelicall libertie, they may aboliſh al ſuperioritye & power. For although at yͤ firſt beginning they pretended onely to annul & repreſſe our power Eccleſiaſticall, as being falſly & tyrannouſly vſurped againſt the Goſpell: yet for as muche as libertie is of their foundation & pretenſe, by the which libertie the ſeculer power and magiſtrates can not bynd men by any cōmaundementes (be they neuer ſo iuſt, or ſo reaſonable) * to obey them vnder paine of mortal ſinne: it is manifeſt that their ſcope is to enfeeble & infringe as much or more, the ſeculer ſtate alſo, although couertly they pretend to ſalue it: to the end, that when the ſeculer Princes ſhall beleue this their working not to be directed againſt thē, but onely againſt yͤ vſurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laitie (which cōmonly hath ben alwayes againſt men of the church) holding with them, ſhal ſuffer the churchmen to be deuoured: Whiche done, no doubt, but *they wyl afterward practiſe yͤ like vpon the ſeculer princes & poteſtates, which now they attēpt againſt our eccleſiaſtical iuriſdictiō.

The fifte reaſon or cauſe.

* The doctrine of Luther tendeth agaynſt the vſurped power of the Sea of Rome. Ergo, the doctrine of Luther diſſolueth all obedience due to Magiſtrates. This conſequent is to be denied, for the power of Magiſtrates is of God: and he that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God. So is not the vſurped power of the Pope.

* If the Pope doe ſay, that no preceptes of Magiſtrates do oblige vnder payne of mortall ſinne, he ſayth not true: if he ſay that Luther ſo teacheth, he belyeth Luther: who teacheth all men to be ſubiectes vnto Magiſtrates, no man more.

* Who ſo conſidereth the doctrine of Luther *De Libertate Chriſtiana*, ſhall finde this to be a falſe ſclaunder. For how is it lyke that he meaneth any rebellion, who deſcribing a Chriſtian, calleth him a ſeruaunt and an vnderling to all men?

The ſixt cauſe to moue and perſwade them againſt Luther, is this, for them to cōſider the fruites which folowe of that ſect: as ſlaunders, offences, diſturbaunce, robberies, murders, * ſeditions, diſſenſions, which this ſect hath & dayly doth ſtir vp through whole Germanye: Alſo blaſphemies, * ſlaunderous wordes, ſcoffing ieſts & bitter tauntes whiche are euer in their mouthes. Againſt which, vnles yͤ they ſhal finde a preſent remedye, it is to be feared, leaſt the deſolation of gods wrath wil fal vpon Germanye, being ſo diuided: or rather vpō yͤ princes of Germanie, who hauyng the ſword geuē of god into their handes for the ſuppreſſion of malefactors, ſuffer ſuch enormities amongſt their ſubiectes. Curſed is he (ſaith the Prophete) which doth the woorke of the Lorde negligently, and holdeth backe his ſworde from the bloud of wicked doers.

The ſixte cauſe.

* The cauſe why the Pope doth charge the Lutherians with ſedition, did riſe vpon this, becauſe one Franciſcus Seckyngus a valiaunt man and a great fauourer of Luther, did warre agaynſt the Archbiſhop of Triers, for withholding two certaine perſons from iudgement, which ſhould haue appeared, and by his meanes did not.

* As for ſclaunderous wordes and bitter tauntes with what face can the Pope charge Luther, being hym ſelfe ſo impudent and bytter, as in this his preſent letter is manifeſt to be ſene? wherein he ſheweth hym ſelfe in his owne colours, what he is.

Iere. 48.

The ſeuenth reaſon is, that the princes ſhould conſider howe

The 7. cauſe or reaſon.

* If the doinges and properties of Mahumete be rightly conſidered, none ſhould bee founde ſo aptly to reſemble hym, as the pope him ſelfe. He declineth frõ the worde of God, & ſetteth vp an other law, ſo doth the Pope. He killeth, & ſleaeth the contrary part, ſo doth the Pope. He holdeth Saluation by workes of the lawe: ſo doth the Pope. And if Mahumete geue libertie of fleſhe. ſo doth not Luther, but the Pope both taketh it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the ſame. Mahumet would not haue his Religion reaſoned vpon: no more will the pope. Briefly, as the ſecte of Mahumet is deuided into many ſundry ſortes of Religion, and of Religious men: ſo hath the ſecte of the Pope, hys Friers, Monkes, Nunnes, Heremites, & other ſwarmes of an infinite varietie.

how Luther vſeth ỹ ſame waye of ſeducyng the people of Chriſte, as hath ỹ venemous viper* Mahomet practiſed in deceiuing ſo many thouſandes of ſoules, in permitting to thẽ ỹ liberty of thoſe things which fleſh deſireth, & afterward in exempting them from ſuch things as be more ſharpe in ỹ law, but that Luther a litle more temperatly handleth the matter, wherby he may deceiue more effectually: For Mahomet geueth licence to haue many wiues, & to diuorce, & marry other at their pleaſure. This Luther, to draw vnto him the fauor of nunnes, monkes, & prieſts, ſuch as be laſciuious in fleſh, preacheth that vowes of perpetual cõtinencie be vnlawful, much leſſe to be obligatorie: and therfore permitteth vnto them that they may mary, forgetting by the way what the apoſtle writeth of young wydowes, ſaying: That whẽ they waxe wanton againſt Chriſt, then wyl they marry, hauyng condẽnation, becauſe they haue made voyd their firſt faith.

1 Tim. 5.

These & other ſuch like reaſons, being opened & laid before thẽ, you ſhal thẽ in our name exhort ỹ foreſaid princes, prelates, & people to awake, & employ their diligence howe to gainſtand: Firſt the iniurie of theſe Lutherians toward god, & toward his holy religion: Secondly their villany toward ỹ whole nation of the Germanes & their princes, and eſpecially the ſhamfull cõtumely toward their fathers & elders, whõ in effect they condemne to hel. In conſideration wherof you ſhal cal vpõ thẽ to remẽber thẽ ſelues, & to procede effectually to the execution of ỹ apoſtolical ſentẽce, & of the emperours Edict, geuing pardon to thẽ that wil amend & acknowledge their fault: the other which obſtinately perſiſt in their error, puniſhing with the rod of diſtrict ſeuerity according to the decrees of the Canons and lawes of the Church, that by their example, ſuch as ſtand, may remayne in fayth, and they which are fallen, may be reduced.

* Here the Pope agreeth rightly with Mahomet. for hee will not haue hys Religion reaſoned vpon, no more will the Pope haue his.

And if any ſhal obiect againe, ỹ Luther was condẽned by the apoſtolike ſee before he was heard, & ỹ his cauſe ought firſt to haue ben heard & iudged, before he were conuinced: you ſhal anſweare, that *thoſe thinges whiche pertaine to faith, are to be beleued for their owne authority, & not to be proued. Take away (ſaith Ambroſe) arguments: wher faith is ſought, there the fiſhers, not the Philoſophers muſt be truſted. Truth it is, & we graunt no leſſe, but ỹ lawful defenſe & hearing ought not to be denyed in ſuch caſes, where the queſtion is of the fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he ſpake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of Gods law, or in cauſe of the ſacraments, there muſt we alwaies ſtand to ỹ authoritie of holy fathers & of the church. Now al things almoſt wherin Luther diſſenteth from other, are reproued before by diuers Councels. Neither ought thoſe things to be called into queſtiõ, which haue ben defined before by general Cõcels, & ỹ vniuerſal church, but ought to be receiued by fayth: For els he dooth iniury to the Synode of the church, whoſo bringeth againe into controuerſie things once rightly diſcuſſed & ſetled. Otherwiſe what certaintie can there be amongſt mẽ, or what end ſhal there be of cõtẽding & diſputing, if it ſhalbe lawful for euery lewde & preſumptuous perſon, to decline from the things which haue ben receiued and ratified by the conſent, not of one, nor of fewe, but of ſo many ages, ſo many wiſe heades, and of the Catholike church, which god neuer permitteth to erre in matters vnto fayth apperteynyng? And howe can it otherwiſe be choſen, but that all muſt be ful of diſturbance, offences, and confuſion, vnleſſe the thinges which haue bene once, yea many tymes by ripe iudgement cõſtituted, be obſerued of al men as inuiolable? Wherfore, ſeing Luther and his felowes do cõdemne the Councels of holy fathers, do burne the holy Canons, do confound al things at their pleaſure, and do diſquiet ỹ whole worlde, what remayneth, but that they are to be reiected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of publike peace?

Graunt this to the Pope and he may playe the Lorde of miſrule and doe what he liſteth.

Further this you ſhal ſay vnto thẽ, that we confeſſe our ſelues, & deny not, but ỹ god ſuffreth this perſecution to be inflicted vpon his church, for the ſinnes of men, eſpecially of prieſtes and prelates of the clergie. For certaine it is, that the hand of the Lord is not ſhortened, that he cannot ſaue: but our ſinnes haue diuided betwene God & vs: & therfore he hideth his face frõ vs, that he wil not heare vs. The ſcripture teſtifieth that the ſinnes of the people do iſſue out firſt from the ſinnes of the prieſtes. And therefore (ſayth Chryſoſtome) Chriſt going about to cure the ſicke citie of Hieruſalẽ, firſt entred into the temple, to correct the ſinnes of the prieſtes, like a good phiſition, which firſt begynneth to cure the diſeaſe from the very roote. We knowe that in this * holy ſee there haue bene many abominable things of long tyme wrought and practiſed: as abuſes in matters ſpiritual, and alſo exceſſes in lyfe and maners, and al things turned cleane contrarye. And no maruell if the * ſicknes firſt beginnyng at the head, that is, at the high Biſhops, haue deſcended afterward to inferiour prelates. Al we (that is, prelates of the Churche) haue declined euery one after his owne way. Neyther hath there ben one that hath done good, no not one. Wherfore nede it is that al we geue glory to God, and that we humble our ſoules to hym, conſidering euery one of vs, from whence he hath fallen, and that euery one do iudge hym ſelfe, before he be iudged of God in the rod of his furie. For the redreſſe wherof you ſhall inſinuate vnto them, and promiſe in our behalfe, that in vs ſhalbe lackyng no diligence of a better reformation, firſt beginnyng with our owne court. that like as this contagion firſt from thence deſcended into all the inferiour partes: ſo reformation and amendement of al that is amiſſe from the ſame place againe, ſhal take his beginnyng. Wherunto they ſhal finde vs ſo muche the more readye, for that we ſee the whole worlde ſo deſirous of the ſame. We our ſelues (as you knowe) neuer ſought this dignitie, but rather coueted, if we otherwiſe might, to leade a priuate lyfe, and in a quiete ſtate to ſerue God. And alſo woulde vtterly haue refuſed the ſame, had not the feare of God, and the maner of our election, and miſdoubting of ſome ſchiſme to folowe after, haue vrged vs to take it. And thus tooke we the burden vpon vs, not for any ambition of dignitie, or to enriche our frendes, and kinſfolkes, but onely to be obedient to the wyl of God, and for reformation of the Catholique Church, and for reliefe of the poore, and eſpecially for the aduauncement of learnyng and learned men, with ſuch other thinges moe, as apperteyneth to the charge of a good Biſhop and lawful heyre of S. Peter. And though all errours, corruptions, and abuſes, be not ſtreight wayes amended by vs, men ought not thereat to maruel. The ſore is great and farre growen, and is not ſingle, but of manifold maladies together cõpacted, and therfore to the curyng therof we muſt procede by litle and litle, firſt beginnyng to cure the greater and the moſt daungerous, leaſt while we intend to amend al, we deſtroye al. All ſodeine mutations (ſaith Ariſtotle) in a common wealth, are perilous. And he that wringeth too harde, ſtrayneth out bloud. Prou. 30.

Eſa. 59.

* And howe then can this be called an holy Sea, where ſo many abhominable impieties and manifold exceſſes, both in ſpirituall matters, and alſo in eternall lyfe, are ſeene and practiſed: ſuch ambition in the prelates: ſuch pride in the Pope, ſuch auarice in the Court: and finally, where ſuch corruption is of all thynges, as you your ſelues doe here confeſſe, and can not denye?

* True it is that the ſicknes hath begonne in the head: that is, at the very triple crowne: and therfore the ſicknes being great, and hauing neede of a ſharpe Phiſition, God hath ſent Luther vnto the Pope (as Eraſmus writeth of hym) as a meete Phiſition to cure his diſeaſe: Yet he refuſeth to be healed.

Cayphas himſelfe could neuer prophecie more truely.

The Pope promiſeth reformation of his owne court, but when beginneth hee?

You procede ſo by litle & litle, that nothing at all is ſeene.

Sodeine mutations be not for the popes purpoſe: but the Lord promiſeth to come ſodenlye when he is not looked for.

And whereas in your laſt letters you write, that the Princes complayne, howe this See hath bene and is preiudiciall to their ordinaunces and agreementes: herevnto you ſhal thus anſweare: That ſuche exceſſes whiche haue bene done before our tyme, ought not to be imputed to vs, who alwayes haue miſliked theſe derogations, and therefore byd them ſo aſſure them ſelues, that though they had required no ſuche matter, we of our owne accorde, woulde haue refrayned the ſame, partly for that it is good, right, & reaſon, that euery one haue that whiche is due vnto hym: and partly alſo that the ſayd noble nation of Germany ſhal haue by vs no hynderance, but furtherance rather, ſomuch as in vs ſhal lye to do for them.

And as touchyng the proceſſes, whiche they deſire to haue remoued away a Rota, and to be referred downe to the parties, you ſhal ſignifie vnto them, that we wyll gratifie them herein aſmuch as honeſtly we may. But becauſe our auditours are now preſently abſent from the citie by reaſon of the Plague, we can not be infourmed as yet, touching the qualitie of thoſe proceſſes. As ſoone as they ſhall returne (which we hope wylbe ſhortly) we ſhall doo in the Princes fauour, what reaſonably we may.

Rota is ſome office in the Court or Chauncerye of Rome

Further, wheras we vnderſtande, that there be many freſhe floriſhyng wyttes in Germanie, and many wel learned men, whiche are not ſeene vnto, but be reiected and vnlooked to, while in the meane tyme, through the Apoſtolical prouiſions, dignities, and promotions are beſtowed vppon tapſters, and daunſers, and vnfitte perſons: we wyl therefore that you inquire out what thoſe learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any ſuch vacation of benefices in Germanie do fal, we of our voluntarie motion, may prouide for them accordingly. For why, we conſider how much it is againſt Gods glorye, and agaynſt the health and the edification of ſoules, that benefices and dignities of the church, haue nowe ſo long tyme bene beſtowed vpon vnworthy and vnable perſons.

The Pope flattereth for aduauntage.

And why then haue you abuſed the church ſo long with theſe your Apoſtolicall prouiſions, and yet doe not redreſſe the ſame.

As touching the ſubſidy for the Hungariãs, we ſend no other information to you, but that whiche we gaue you at your departure, ſaue onely that we wyl you to extend your diligence therin, as we alſo wyl do the like, in ſoliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that euery one may helpe after his abilitie. Ex Orth. Gratio.

¶ Theſe Popiſhe ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of the Pope hym ſelfe againſt Luther, I thought (Chriſten reader) to ſet before thyne eyes, to the intent thou mayeſt ſee here (as in a patterne, and go no further) al the crimes, obiections, exclamations, ſuſpitions, accuſations, ſclaunders, offenſions, contumelies, rebukes, vntruthes, cauillations, raylinges, what ſoeuer they haue deuiſed, or can deuiſe, inuent, articulate, denounce, inferre, or ſurmiſe againſt Luther and his teaching. They crye hereſie, hereſie: but they proue no hereſie. They crye, Councels, Councels: and yet none tranſgreſſeth Councels more then them ſelues. If Councels go alwayes with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them. If Councels do iarre ſometyme frō the Scripture, what hereſie is in Luther, in ſtanding with Scripture againſt thoſe Councels? And yet neither hath he hytherto ſpoken againſt any Councels, ſaue onely the Councel of Conſtance. They inflame kinges & princes agaynſt Luther, & yet they haue no iuſt cauſe wherefore. They accuſe hym for teaching libertie. If they meane the libertie of fleſhe, they accuſe hym falſely: if they meane the libertye of ſpirite, they teache wickedly whiche teache contrarye: and yet when they haue al ſayd, none lyue ſo licentiouſly as them ſelues. They pretend the zeale of the Churche, but vnder that Churche lyeth their owne priuate welfare, and belly cheare. They charge Luther with diſobedience, and none are ſo diſobedient to magiſtrates and ciuile lawes, as they. They lay to his charge, oppreſſiō and ſpoylyng of lay mens goodes: and who ſpoyleth the lay mens liuynges, ſo muche as the Pope? For probation wherof, let the Popes accountes be caſt, what he taketh out of euery Chriſtian Realme. Briefely, turne onely the names of the perſons, & in ſteede of Luthers name, place the name of the Pope, and the effect of this letter aboue prefixed, ſhal agree vpon none more aptly, then vppon the Pope hym ſelfe, and his owne ſectaries. Nowe to procede further in the proces of this foreſayde matter, let vs ſee what the Princes agayne for their partes anſweare to theſe foreſaide ſuggeſtions and inſtructions of Pope Adrian, ſent vnto them in their diete at Norenberge, in the cauſe of Luther: the anſweare of whom here foloweth vnder written.

Luther cryed out of without any iuſt cauſe.

Libertie of fleſhe. Libertie of ſpirite.

Turne onely the names of the perſons: and all the accuſations of the papiſtes agaynſt the Lutherians, agree chiefly vpon them ſelues.

¶ The anſweare of the noble and reuerend princes and ſtates of the ſacred Romane Empire, exhibited to the Popes ambaſſadour.

The anſwere of the Princes of Germanie, to the popes letter, and inſtructions.

THe noble and renowmed Prince Lord Ferdinandus, Lieutenant to the Emperours maieſtie, with other reuerend pieres in Chriſt, and mighty princes Electors, and other ſtates and orders of this preſent aſſemble of the Romane Empire in Norenberge conuented, haue gratefully receiued, and diligently peruſed the letters ſent in forme of a Brief, with the inſtructions alſo of that moſt holy father in Chriſt, and L. L. Adrian, the hie Biſhop of the holy and vniuerſal church of Rome, preſented vnto them in the cauſe of Luthers faction.

By the which foreſaid letters and writinges, firſt where as they vnderſtande his holyneſſe to haue bene borne, and to haue had his natiue origine and parentage out of this noble nation of Germanie, they do not a little reioyce. Of whoſe egregious vertues and ornamentes both of mynde and body, they haue heard great fame and commendation, euen from his tender yeares: by reaſon whereof they are ſo much the more ioyous of his aduauncement and prefermēt, by ſuch cōſent of election, to the hie typ of the Apoſtolical dignitie, and yeeld to God moſt hartie thankes for the ſame: praying alſo from the bottome of their hartes, for his excellent clemencie, and perpetuall glorye of his name, and for health of ſoules, and incolumitie of the vniuerſal church, that God wil geue his holynes long continuance of felicity: Hauyng no miſdoubt, but that by ſuch a ful & cōſentyng election of ſuch a paſtor of the vniuerſal catholike churche, great profite and commoditie wyl enſue. Whiche thyng to hope and looke for his holynes openeth to them an euident declaration in his own letters, teſtifying & proteſting what a care it is to hym both day and night, how to diſcharge his paſtoral function, in ſtudying for the health of the flocke to hym committed: and eſpecially in conuertyng the myndes of Chriſtian princes, from warre to peace: declaryng moreouer what ſubſidie and reliefe his holynes hath ſent to the ſoldiers of Rhodes. &c. Al which thyngs they perpending with them ſelues, conceyue exceeding hope and comfort in their mindes, thus reputing & truſting that this cōcord of Chriſtian princes, wyl be a great helpe and ſtay to the better quietyng of thinges now out of frame: without which neither the ſtate of the common welth, nor of chriſtian religion can be rightly redreſſed, and much leſſe the tyrannie of the barbarous Turke repreſſed.

Pope Adrian a Germane borne.

Wherefore the excellent prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperours maieſtie, with the other princes Electors, & orders of this preſent aſſemble, moſt hartily do pray that his holynes wyl perſiſt in this his purpoſe and diligence, as he hath vertuouſly begun, leauyng no ſtone vnremoued, howe the diſagreeyng hartes of Chriſten princes may be reduced to quiet and peace: or if that wyll not be, yet at leaſt ſome truce and intermiſſion of domeſtical diſſenſions may be obteyned for the neceſſitie of the tyme now preſent, wherby all Chriſtians maye ioyne their power together, with the helpe of God, to goe againſte the Turke, and to deliuer the people of Chriſte, from his barbarous tyrannie & bondage: Wherunto both the noble prince Lord Lieutenant, & other princes of Germanie, wyl put to their helpyng handes, to the beſt of their abilitie.

Can any good thyng come out of Rome.

And wheras by the letters of his holynes, with his inſtruction alſo exhibited vnto them by his Legate, they vnderſtand, that his holynes is afflicted with great ſorow, for the proſpering of Luthers ſect, wherby innumerable ſoules cōmitted to his charge, are in dāger of perditiō, & therfore his holines vehemētly deſireth ſome ſpeedy remedy againſt the ſame to be prouided, with an explication of certain neceſſary reaſons and cauſes, whereby to moue the Germane princes thereunto, and that they wyll tender the execution of the Apoſtolique ſentence, and alſo of the Emperours edict, ſet forth touching the ſuppreſſion of Luther: to theſe the Lorde Lieutenant and other princes and ſtates doo anſweare, that it is to them no leſſe griefe and ſorowe, then to his holynes, and alſo do lament as much for theſe impieties and peryls of ſoules, and inconueniences which grow in the religiō of Chriſt, eyther by the ſect of Luther, or any otherwiſe. Further, what helpe or counſel ſhal lye in thē, for the extirping of errours, and decay of ſoules health, what their moderation can do, they are wyllyng and redy to performe, conſidering how they ſtande bounde and ſubiect, as wel to the Popes holynes, as alſo to the Emperours maieſtie.

The Pope much greued for the proſperyng of Luther.

But why the ſentence of the Apoſtolike ſee, & the Emperours edict againſt Luther, hath not ben put in execution hitherto, there haue ben (ſaid they) cauſes great and vrgent, which haue led thē therto: as firſt in weying & conſidering with thē ſelues, that great euyls and inconuenience would therupō enſue. For the greateſt part of the people of Germany haue alwaies had this perſuaſiō, & now by reading of Luthers bokes, ar more therin cōfirmed, that great greuāces & incōueniences haue come to this nation of Germanie, by the court of Rome: & therfore if thei ſhould haue proceded with any rigor in executing the Popes ſentence, & the emperours edict, the multitude would conceiue and ſuſpect in their minds, this to be done for ſubuerting the veritie of the Goſpel, and for ſupporting & confirming the former abuſes and greuaunces, whereupon great warres and tumultes (no doubt) would haue enſued: which thyng vnto the princes and ſtates there, hath ben wel perceiued by many argumētes. For the auoydyng whereof, they thought to vſe more gentle remedies ſeruyng more oportunely for the tyme.

Cauſes why the princes haue not proceded by the popes ſentence agaynſt Luther.

Greuances receaued by the court of Rome.

Againe, wheras the reuerēd lord Legate (ſaid thei) in the name of the Popes holynes hath bene inſtructed, to declare vnto them, that God ſuffereth this perſecutiō to riſe in the church for the ſins of mē, & that his holynes doth promiſe, therfore to begyn the reformation firſt with his own court, that as the corruptiō firſt ſprang from thence to the inferior parts, ſo the redreſſe of al againe ſhould firſt begin with the ſame: Alſo, wheras his holines, of a good and fatherly hart, doth teſtifie in his letters, that he him ſelf did alwaies miſlike that the Court of Rome ſhould intermedle ſo much, & derogate frō the cōcordates of the prīces, & that his holines doth fully purpoſe in that behalfe, during his papacie, neuer to practiſe the like, but ſo to endeuour that euery one, & eſpecially the natiō of the Germanes maye haue their proper due & right, grāting eſpecially to the ſaid nation, his peculiar fauour: who ſetteth not by theſe premiſſes, but that this moſt holy biſhop omitteth nothyng, whiche a good father or a deuout paſtor maye or ought to doo to his ſheepe? Or who wyl not be moued hereby to a louyng reuerence, & to amendement of his defaultes, namely ſeyng his holynes ſo intendeth to accompliſh the ſame in deede, which in word he promiſeth, accordyng as he hath begun.

The Pope anſwered with hys owne wordes.

And thus vndoubtedly both the noble lord Lieutenaunt, & al other princes & ſtates of the empire, well hope that he wil, & pray moſt hartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal god, to the health of ſoules, & to the tranquilitie of the publike ſtate. For vnles ſuch abuſes and greuances, with certaine other articles alſo, which the ſecular princes (aſſigned purpoſely for the ſame) ſhal draw out in writing, ſhal be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace & concord betwen the eccleſiaſtical & ſeculer eſtates, nor any true extyrpation of this tumult, & errors in Germanie that can be hoped. For partly by long warres, partly by reaſon of other greuan-

Greuances of the Germanes, complayned of to the pope. *Vide infra.*

greuances & hinderãces this natiõ of Germanie hath ben ſo waſted & cõſumed in money, that vneth it is able to ſuſtein it ſelf in priuate affaires, and neceſſary vpholding of iuſtice within it ſelf: much leſſe thẽ to miniſter aid & ſuccor to the kingdome of Hũgary, & to the Croatiãs, againſt the Turk. And wheras al the ſtates of the ſacred Romane Empire do not doubt, but the popes holynes doth right wel vnderſtãd how the Germane princes dyd graunt & cõdeſcend for the mony of Annates to be leaued to the ſee of Rome for term of certaine yeres, vpõ cõditiõ that the ſaid money ſhould be cõuerted to maintein war againſt the turkiſh infidels, & for defenſe of the catholike faith: & wheras the terme of theſe yeares is now expired long ſince, when as the ſaid Annates ſhould be gathered, & yet that money hath not ben ſo beſtowed to that vſe, wherto it was firſt grãũted: therefore if any ſuch neceſſity ſhould now cõe, that any publike helpes or cõtributiõs againſt the Turk, ſhould be demaũded of the German people, they would anſwer againe, why is not that money of Annates reſerued many yeares before to that vſe, now to be beſtowed & aplied, & ſo would they refuſe to receiue ani more ſuch burdẽs for that cauſe to be laid vpõ thẽ.

Annates falſely pretended of the Pope, to maintaine warre agaynſt the Turke

Wherfore the ſaid lord Lieutenant, & other princes & degrees of the Empire make earneſt petition, that the Popes holines wil with a fatherly cõſideratiõ expẽd the premiſſes & ſurceaſe hereafter to require ſuch Annates, which are accuſtomed after the deceaſe of biſhops & other prelates, or eccleſiaſtical perſõs, to be paid to the court of Rome, & ſuffer thẽ to remaine to the chãber of the Empire, wherby iuſtice & peace may be more cõmodiouſly adminiſtred, the trãquilitie of the publike ſtate of Germany mainteined, & alſo by the ſame, due helpes may be ordeyned & diſpoſed to other Chriſten potentates in Germanie, againſt the Turke, which otherwiſe without the ſame, is not to be hoped for.

Annates is a certaine portion of money wont to bee payd to the court of Rome, out of the one yeares fruites, at the vacation of an eccleſiaſticall lyuing.

Itẽ, wheras the Popes holynes deſireth to be informed what way were beſt to take, in reſiſting theſe errors of the Lutherians: to this the lord Lieutenãt, with other princes & nobles do anſwer, that what ſoeuer helpe or coũſel they cã deuiſe, with willing hartes they wyll be ready thereunto. Seing therfore the ſtate as wel eccleſiaſtical, as temporal, is farre out of frame, & haue ſo much corrupted their waies, & ſeing not only of Luthers part, & of his ſecte, but alſo by diuers other occaſions beſides, ſo many errours, abuſes, & corruptions, haue crept in: muche requiſite and neceſſary it is, that ſome effectual remedy be prouided, as wel for redreſſe of the church, as alſo for repreſſing of the Turkes tyrannie. Nowe what more preſent or effectual remedye can be had, the lord Lieutenãt, with other eſtates & princes do not ſee, thẽ this, that the Popes holynes, by the conſent of the emperours maieſtie doo ſummon a free Chriſtian Councel in ſome cõuenient place of Germanie, as at Strauſburgh, or at Mentz, or at Colen, or at Metz, & that with as much ſpeed as cõueniently may be, ſo that the congregating of the ſaid Councell be not deferred aboue one yeare: in the whiche Councel it may be lawful for euery perſon that there ſhall haue intereſt, either tẽporal or eccleſiaſtical, frely to ſpeake and conſult, to the glory of God, and health of ſoules, and the publique wealth of Chriſtendome, without impeachment or reſtraint, what ſoeuer oth, or other bond to the cõtrary notwithſtanding: yea and it ſhalbe euery good mans part there to ſpeak, not only freely, but to ſpeak that which is true, to the purpoſe, and to edifying, & not to pleaſing or flattering, but ſimply and vprightly to declare his iudgemẽt, without al fraude or guile.

Remedye of reformation.

A general Councell in Germany required.

And as touching by what waies theſe errors & tumults of the Germane people maye beſt be ſtayed and pacified in the meane tyme, vntyl the Councel be ſet: the foreſaide L. Lieutenant, with the other princes, therupon haue conſulted & deliberated, that for as much as Luther & certaine of his felowes be within the territory & dominion of the noble duke Friderike, the ſayd L. Lieutenant & other ſtates of the Empire ſhal ſo labour the matter with the aforenamed Prince duk of Saxonie, that Luther & his folowers ſhal not write, ſet foorth, or print any thing during the ſaide meane ſpace: neither do they doubt, but that the ſaid noble prince of Saxonie, for his Chriſtian pietie, & obedience to the Romane Empire, as becommeth a Prince of ſuche excellent vertue, wyl effectually condeſcend to the ſame.

An interim before the councell.

Wryting and Printing for a tyme ſuſpended.

Itẽ, the ſaid L. Lieutenant and princes ſhal labor ſo with the preachers of Germanie, that they ſhal not in their ſermons teache or blowe into the peoples eares, ſuch matters, wherby the multitude may be moued to rebelliõ or vprore, or be induced into error: and that they ſhal preach & teache nothyng, but the true, pure, ſĩcere, & holy goſpel, and aproued Scripture, godly, mildely, and chriſtianly, accordyng to the doctrine and expoſition of the Scripture, beyng approued & receiued of Chriſtes church, abſteynyng frõ al ſuche thynges, which are better vnknowen, then learned of the people, and which to be ſubtily ſearched, or deepely diſcuſſed, it is not expedient. Alſo that they ſhal moue no cõtention of diſputation among the vulgare ſort, but what ſoeuer hãgeth in cõtrouerſie, the ſame they ſhal reſerue to the determination of the Councel to come.

The office of preaching tempered.

Itẽ, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates within their dioces ſhal aſſigne godly & learned mẽ, hauyng good iudgmẽt in the ſcripture, which ſhal diligently & faithfully attend vpõ ſuch preachers: & if they ſhal perceyue the ſayd preachers eyther to haue erred, or to haue vttred any thyng vncõueniently, they ſhal godly, myldly, & modeſtly aduertiſe, & informe thẽ therof, in ſuch ſort as no man ſhal iuſtly cõplaine the truth of the goſpel to be impeached. But if the preachers cõtinuyng ſtyl in their ſtubbernnes ſhal refuſe to be admoniſhed, and wyl not deſiſt frõ theyr lewdnes, then ſhal they be reſtrayned and puniſhed by the Ordynaries of the place, with puniſhment for the ſame conuenient.

Preachers limitted within certaine bõdes.

Furthermore the ſayd Princes & nobles ſhal prouide and vndertake, ſo much as ſhalbe poſsible, that from henceforth duryng the foreſaid tyme, no new booke ſhalbe imprinted, eſpecially none of theſe famous libels, neither ſhal thei priuyly or apertly be ſold. Alſo order ſhalbe taken amongſt al poteſtates, that if any ſhal ſet out, ſell, or imprint any newe worke, it ſhal firſt be ſeene & peruſed of certain godly learned, & diſcret mẽ appoynted for the ſame: ſo that if it be not admitted & approued by thẽ, it ſhal not be permitted to be publiſhed in prĩt, or to come abrode. Thus by theſe meanes, they hope wel, that the tumults, errors, & offenſions among the people, ſhal ceaſe, eſpecially if the Popes holynes hym ſelf ſhal begyn with an orderly and due reformatiõ, in the foreſaid greuãces aboue mẽtioned, & wyl procure ſuch a free & Chriſtiã Coũcel as hath ben ſaid, & ſo ſhal the people be wel cõtẽted and ſatisfied. Or if the tumult ſhal not ſo fully be calmed, as they deſire, yet the greater parte thus wyl be quieted, for all ſuch as be honeſt and good men, no doubt, wyl be in great expectatiõ of that general coũcel, ſo ſhortly and now ready at hand to come.

Agaynſt ſelling and printing of famous libels.

Famous libels be ſuch bookes as rayle againſt the fame of any perſon, ſhewing no name of the author therof.

Finally, as cõcernyng prieſtes which cõtract matrimonie, & religious men leauyng their cloyſters, whereof intimatiõ was alſo made by the apoſtolical Legate, the foreſaid princes do cõſider, that for ſo much as in the ciuile law there is no penaltie for them ordeyned, they ſhalbe referred to the Canonical cõſtitutions, to be puniſhed therafter accordingly: that is, by the loſſe of their benefices, and priuileges, or other condigne cenſures: and that the ſayd Ordinaries ſhall in no caſe be ſtopped or inhibited by the ſeculer powers, from the correction of ſuch: but that they ſhal ad their help and fauour to the maintenance of eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction, and ſhal direct out their publike edictes and preceptes, that none ſhal impeach or prohibite the ſayd ordinaries in their eccleſiaſtical caſtigation, vpon ſuch tranſgreſſours to be adminiſtred.

For prieſtes or religious men that marry.

To cõclude, the redoubted prince L. Lieutenãt and other princes, eſtates, & orders of the publike Empire, vehemẽtly and moſt hartyly do pray and beſeech, that the Popes holynes, and the reuerend lord his Legate wyll accept and take al the premiſſes to be no otherwiſe ſpoken and meant, thẽ of a good, free, ſincere, and a Chriſtian mynde. Neyther is there any thyng, that al the aforeſayd princes, eſtates, and nobles do more wiſh and deſire, then the furtheraunce and proſperous eſtate of the holy Catholique church of Rome, and of his holynes. To whoſe, wiſhes, deſires, and obedience they offer and commende them ſelues moſt ready, and obſequious, as faythful children. Ex Orth. Grat.

Thus haſt thou (louyng reader) the full diſcourſe both of the popes letter, and of his Legates inſtructions, with ỹ anſweare alſo of the ſtates of Germanie to the ſayde letter and inſtructions, to them exhibited in the diete of Norenberge. In the which diet, what was concluded, and what order and conſultation was taken, firſt touching the greeuances of Germanie, which they exhibited to the Pope, thẽ concernyng a general Councel to be called in Germanie, alſo for printing and preachyng, and for prieſtes mariage, hath bene likewiſe declared. &c.

Ex Ioan. Sledano.

The occaſion of this matter moued againſt prieſts mariage, came firſt by ỹ miniſters of Strauſburgh, whiche about this tyme began to take wyues, and therfore were cited by the Biſhop of Stauſburgh to appeare before hym at a certaine day, as violaters of the lawes of holy Church, the holy fathers, the Biſhops of Rome, and of the Emperours maieſtie, to the preiudice both of their owne order of prieſthood, and maieſtie of almighty God: But they referred their cauſe to the hearyng of ỹ magiſtrates of ỹ ſame citie. who beyng ſuiters for them vnto ỹ biſhops, labored to haue the matter either releaſed, or at leaſt to be delaied for a tyme.

Miniſters of Strauſbrough troubled for their wiues.

Long it were to recite all the circumſtaunces folowyng vpon this diete or aſſemble of Norenberge, howe their de-

cree

Luther expoundeth the decree of Norenberge.

cree was receaued of ſome of ſome neglected, of diuers diuerſly wraſted and expounded. Luther wrytyng his letters vpon the ſame decree, to the Princes, thus made his expoſition of the meanyng thereof, that where as the preachers were commaunded to preach the pure Goſpell, after the doctrine of the Church receaued, he expounded the meanyng therof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquine, or Scotus or ſuch other late ſchole writers, but after the doctrine of Hylary, Cyprian, & Auſten, and other auncient Doctours, & yet the doctrine of the ſayd aũcient[s] no farther to be receaued, but as they ſhould agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, as concernyng new bookes not to be ſold nor printed, he expounded the meanyng therof to extend no farther, but that texte of the Bible and bookes of the holy Scripture might be Printed notwithſtandyng, and publiſhed to all men.

And as for the prohibition of Prieſtes mariage, he writeth to the princes, & deſireth thē to beare with the weakenes of men, declaryng that braunch of their decree to be very hard, whiche though it ſtand with the Popes law, yet it accordeth not with the goſpel, neither cōduceth to good maners, nor to honeſty of lyfe. &c.

An hundreth greuaunces of the Germaynes agaynſt the Pope.

Furthermore, where as in the ſame Seſſion of Norenberge mention was made before of certaine greuaũces collected to the number of an hundreth, and exhibited to the Byſhop of Rome, it were tedious likewiſe to inſerte them all; yet to geue ſome taſt of a few, I iudge it not vnprofitable: to the entent, that the world may ſee and iudge, not onely what abuſes and corruptions moſt monſtruous and incredible, lay hid vnder the glorious title of the holy Church of Rome: but alſo may vnderſtand, with what hypocriſie & impudencie the Pope taketh vpon hym ſo greuouſly to cōplayne vpon M. Luther, and other: when in all the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt, there is none ſo much to be blamed all maner of wayes, as he hymſelfe, accordyng as by theſe haynous complayntes of the Germaine princes, here folowyng agaynſt the popes intolerable oppreſſions & greuaũces, may right well appeare. Which greuaunces beyng collected by the Princes of Germanie at Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, I wiſhe might be fully and at large ſet forth to the ſtudious Reader, whereby might appeare the ſubtile ſleyghtes and intolerable fraudes of that pretenſed Church. But forſomuch as it were to long to comprehend the whole, I haue thought good to exhibite ſome part therof for exãple, as geuyng onely a certaine taſt, whereby thou mayeſt more eaſely conceiue, what to thinke and eſteeme of all the reſidue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more greuous to thee, to heare.

Certaine Greuaunces or oppreſsions of Germany, agaynſt the court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Councell of Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, wherof certaine ſpecialties here folow.

Forbidding of maryage in diuers degrees, not forbidden by Gods lawe.

Amongeſt other burthēs and greuaũces, this is not leaſt to be regarded: that many thinges are prohibited by mēs conſtitutions, and many thyngs exacted, which are not prohibited or commaunded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obſtacles of matrimony inuented and brought in, wherby mē were forbyd to mary in caſes of kyndred, which ſtand vpon diuers degrees: as vpon affinitie, publike honeſty, ſpirituall kindred, kyndred by law, and kindred in bloud, &c. & likewiſe in forbyddyng the vſe of meates, which God hath created for mans neceſſitie, and taught by the Apoſtle indifferently to be receiued with thankes geuing.

Forbidding of meates, not forbidden by gods law.

By theſe and many other ſuch humane conſtitutions, men are yoked in bondage, vntill by money they obteyned ſome diſpenſatiō of thoſe lawes, at their handes which made thē: ſo that money ſhall make that lawfull for rich men, which is clearely prohibited vnto the poore. By theſe ſnares of mens lawes and conſtitutiōs, not onely great ſummes of money are gathered out of Germany, and caryed ouer the Alpes, but alſo great iniquitie is ſprong vp amongeſt Chriſtians: many offences and priuy hatredes do riſe, by reaſon that poore men do ſee themſelues intãgled with theſe ſnares, for no other cauſe, but for that they do not poſſeſſe the thornes of the Goſpell, for ſo Chriſt doth often call riches.

¶ Tymes forbydden.

Tymes of maryage reſtrayned, & after releaſed for money.

The like practiſe alſo is to be ſene in the tymes reſtrayned from Mariage, by the heades of the Church of Rome, from the Septuageſima Sonday, ſomewhat before Lent: when as notwithſtandyng both the Clergy and the ſeculars in the meane tyme will lyue licentiouſly, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man ſhall preſume ſo to do vpon his owne libertie, without compoundyng. But otherwiſe if there be any hope of money, then that which was before vnlawfull, is now made lawfull for euery man to do frely. And this is alſo an other drawyng net, wherby great ſummes of money are dragged out of the Germaines purſes. Whereupon alſo hangeth an other greuaunce as great as this, that in ſuyng out a diſpenſation, the ſtate of the poore and of the rich is not indifferently weyed: For where the rich eſcapeth many tymes for litle or naught, and goeth cleare away, the poore man ſhall be ſure to pay for the ſhot.

¶ A complaynt for ſellyng remiſsion of ſinnes for money.

But eſpecially the burden & greuaunce of the Popes Indulgences and Pardons be moſt importable: when as the Byſhops of Rome, vnder pretenſe of buildyng ſome church in Rome, or to warre agaynſt the Turke, do make out their Indulgēces with their Bulles: perſuadyng and promiſing to the ſimple people, ſtraunge and wonderfull benefites of remiſſion a Pœna & culpa, that is, from all their ſinnes, and puniſhment due for the ſame, and that not in this lyfe onely, but alſo after this lyfe, to them that be dead burnyng in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope & occaſiō wherof, true piety is almoſt extinct in all Germany, while euery euill diſpoſed perſō promiſeth to himſelfe for a litle money, licence & impunitie to do what him luſteth: wherupō foloweth fornication, inceſt, adultery, periury, homicide, robbyng and ſpoylyng, rapine, vſury, with a whole floud of all miſchiefes. &c.

A complaynt agaynſt the Immunities of Clergy men.

Item, whoſoeuer he be that hath receaued any Eccleſiaſticall orders, great or ſmall, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all puniſhment of the ſecular Magiſtrate, how great offence ſoeuer he do: neither doth he vnaduiſedly preſume thereupon, but is mainteyned in that libertie to ſinne, by the principall Eſtates of the clergy. For it hath oftē bene ſene, that whereas by the canonicall lawes, prieſtes are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and nyght to attempt and try the chaſtitie of matrones, virgines, and of the wiues, daughters, & ſiſters of the ley men: & through their continuall inſtance and labour, partly with giftes & rewardes, & flatteryng wordes, partly by their ſecret cōfeſſions (as they call thē) as it hath bene founde by experience, they bryng to paſſe that many virgins and matrones, which otherwiſe would be honeſt, haue bene ouercome & moued to ſinne and wickednes: & it happeneth oftentymes, that they do detayne & keepe away the wiues, & daughters from their huſbandes and fathers, threatnyng them with fire & ſword that do require them agayne. Thus through their ragyng luſt, they heape and gather together innumerable miſchieues and offences. It is to be meruailed at, how licentiouſly without puniſhment they dayly offend in robberies, murther, accuſing of innocentes, burning, rapine, theft, and coũterfaityng of falſe coyne, beſide a thouſand other kyndes of miſchieues, contrary and agaynſt all lawes both of God and man, not without great offence of others, truſtyng onely vpon the fredome and libertie of ſinne, which they vſurpe vnto thẽſelues by the priuiledge of their Canons. For when as they once perceiue that it is lawfull for them to do what they luſt without controlment, then they do not onely contemne the ciuill Magiſtrates, but alſo their Byſhops and ſuperiours, whatſoeuer they either cōmaunde or forbyd them to do.

The lycentious lyfe of Prieſtes.

And moreouer, to the intent they may be the more mainteyned in their miſchief and wickednes, contrary to all reaſon and equitie, it is partly forbydden the Archbyſhops and Byſhops, to condemne theſe malefactours openly, except they be firſt diſgraded, which muſt be done with ſumptuouſnes and pompe: wherby it happeneth very ſeldome, that thoſe annoynted naughty packes, do receiue condigne puniſhment. Beſides that, the Byſhops are ſo bound by their Chapters, that they dare not puniſh any perſon which hath taken orders by the Canonicall lawes, be the puniſhment neuer ſo light or ſmall. By reaſon wherof the matter ſo falleth out, that through this vnequall partialitie betwene the laity and the Clergy, great hatred, diſcorde, and diſſenſion is ſprong and ryſen. It is alſo not a litle to be feared, that if the Clergy which are the cauſe of this greuaunce, and of other miſchiefes, (whiche dayly they do procede to perpetrate) haue not lyke lawes, equall iudges, and lyke puniſhment, their offenſiue life will moue and ſtyrre vp ſome great tumultes and ſedition amongeſt the commō people, not onely agaynſt the Clergy themſelues, but alſo agaynſt the ſuperiours and magiſtrates, for that they leaue ſo notorious offences vnpuniſhed.

Wherfore neceſſitie and iuſtice doth require, that the ſayd preiudiciall priuiledges of the Clergy ſhould be abrogate &

taken away, and in their place be prouided, ordained and decreed, that the Clergy, of what order or degree ſoeuer they be, ſhall haue lyke lawes, like iudgement, and puniſhment as the laity haue: ſo that they ſhall pretend no prerogatiue or fredome in lyke offence, more then the lay man, but that euery one of the Clergy offendyng vnder the iudge, where the offence is committed, ſhal be puniſhed for his fact, according to the meaſure and qualitie of his offence, in ſuch like maner as other malefactours are, with the puniſhment appoynted by the common lawes of the Empire: which thyng (without doubt) will pleaſe the true Miniſters of the Church, ſuch as are honeſt and learned, that they will not thincke their power and authoritie thereby in any caſe diminiſhed. By this meanes it ſhal be brought to paſſe, that ſuch as are of the Clergy onely by name, and otherwiſe, naughty wicked men, through the obediēce due vnto their Magiſtrates, ſhalbe compelled to lyue more honeſtly: and all ſedition and priuy hatred betwene them and the laity ſhall be put away, and finally thereby the laity ſhalbe the more moued and ſtyrred to loue and reuerence ſuch of the Clergy as be of a ſounde lyfe.

Prieſtes ought to be ſubiect to the ſame puniſhmentes, as are the lay people.

Complaint of excommunication abuſed.

Excommunication abuſed in the church of Rome.

ITem, at Rome and in other places many Chriſtians are excommunicate by the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, or by their Eccleſiaſticall iudges, for prophane cauſes, through the deſire and couetouſnes of money, and lucre. The cōſciences of men which are weake in fayth, thereby are burthened and brought vnto deſperation: and finally, for money and luker, a matter of no importaunce is made to tend to the deſtruction both of body and ſoule, contrary both to the law of God and man, for ſomuch as no man ought to be excommunicate but onely for hereſie, or for ſome heynous fact perpetrat, nor to be counted as ſeparate from the Chriſtian Catholicke Church, as the Scriptures do witnes: Therfore the princes, nobles, ſtates, and laity of the ſacred Empire, deſire and require the Popes holynes, that as a faythfull Chriſtian & louyng father, he will remoue the ſayd burthen of excommunicatiō vſed both in the ſea of Rome, and alſo in the ſeas of all other Archbyſhops and Eccleſiaſticall iudges: and finally, decree that no man ſhall hereafter be excommunicate, but onely for a manifeſt conuict crime of hereſie. For it is to wicked a thyng, that faythfull Chriſtians for euery lyght offence, touchyng any temporall goodes or gayne, or for any other worldly matter, but onely for obſtinacie of hereſie or ſome great enormitie, ſhould be excluded frō almighty God, and the Catholicke congregation.

The Churche burdened with number of holy dayes.

The number of holy dayes to be diminiſhed.

MOreouer, the cōmō people are not a litle oppreſſed with the great number of holy dayes, for that there are now ſo many holy dayes, that the huſbādmen haue ſcarcely tyme to gather the frutes of the earth which they haue brought forth with ſo great labour and trauaile, beyng often in daunger of hayle, rayne, and other ſtormes: which fruites notwithſtandyng, if they were not letted with ſo many holy dayes, they would gather & bryng home without any loſſe. Beſides that, vpon thoſe holy dayes, innumerable offences are committed and done, rather then God honoured or worſhipped. Which thyng is ſo manifeſt, that it needeth no witnes. For that cauſe the eſtates of the ſacred Empire thinke it beſt and moſt profitable for the Chriſtiā common wealth, that this great number of holy dayes, ſhould be diminiſhed, which ought rather to be celebrate in ſpirite and veritie, thē with the externall worſhyp, and be better kept with abſtinence from ſinne.

Suſpendyng and halowyng of Churchyardes gaynfull to the Pope, and chargeable to the people.

Hallowing of Churchyardes abuſed for money.

FUrthermore, if it happen that ij. or more do fight without any weapon in a Churchyard, onely with their fiſtes, or by the heare, that there be neuer ſo litle bloud ſhed, by & by the clergy haue recourſe to enterdiment, & do not ſuffer any more Chriſten burials there to be done, before that all the Citizens with great pompe & expenſes do cauſe it to be conſecrated & hallowed agayne with no leſſe charge, then when at the firſt of a prophane place it was hallowed for buriall: all which thynges do redound to the charges & coſtes of the laity. And though the Churches or chapels be neuer ſo litle which are ſo hallowed: yet the ſuffragans do burden & oppreſſe the ſimple poore houſholdes, be they neuer ſo bare or nedy, with ſuperfluous expenſes, & require moreouer giftes of the people, which is not for their eaſe to geue.

Baptiſing of Belles.

Alſo the ſuffragans haue inuēted that no other, but onely thēſelues, may Baptiſe Belles for the lay people. Whereby the ſimple people, vpon the affirmation of the ſuffragans, do beleue, that ſuch Belles ſo Baptiſed, will driue away euill ſpirites & tempeſtes: wherupō a great nūber of Godfathers are appointed, eſpecially ſuch as are rich: which at the tyme of the Baptiſing, holdyng the rope wherewithall the Bell is tyed, the ſuffragan ſpeakyng before thē, as is accuſtomed in the Baptiſing of young childrē, they altogether do aunſwere, & geue the name to the Bell. The Bell hauyng a new garment put vpon it, as is accuſtomed to be done vnto the Chriſtiās, after this they go vnto ſumptuous bankets, wherūto alſo the Goſſips are biddē, that therby they might geue the *greater reward, & the ſuffraganes with their chaplaines & other Miniſters, are ſumptuouſly fed. Yet doth not this ſuffiſe, but that the ſuffragan alſo muſt haue a reward which they do call a ſmall gift or preſent: whereby it happeneth oftentymes, that euen in ſmall villages, a hundred florens are conſumed and ſpent in ſuch Chriſtnynges: which is not onely ſuperſtitious, but alſo contrary vnto Chriſtian Religion, a ſeducyng of the ſimple people, and mere extortion. Notwithſtandyng the Byſhops, for to enrich their Suffraganes, do ſuffer theſe thynges and other farre worſe: wherfore ſuch wicked and vnlawfull thinges ought to be aboliſhed.

Bells were coates. A queſtion whether theſe goſſips which chriſten Belles may marry together by the Canon law.

*Spoyling of the people by baptiſing of Belles.

Complaynt agaynſt Officials and other Eccleſiaſticall iudges.

Agaynſt Officials.

THe Officials alſo of Archbyſhops for the moſt part, are vnlearned & vnable men, beſides that, men of euill conditiōs, takyng thought for nothyng but onely for money. Alſo how corruptly they lyue and continue in notorious crimes & tranſgreſſions, it is dayly ſene. Whereby the laitye, whom they ought to correct and puniſh for their offences, & inſtruct in Chriſtian godlynes, are not in any poynt, by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Beſides this, the laity are miſerably ſpoyled & robbed of their goodes, by theſe light & vile Officials. In whoſe conſcience there is no ſparke of Chriſtian pity and godlynes, but onely a wicked deſire, & couetouſnes. Which thyng the Archbyſhops and Byſhops, if they were in deede ſuch as they are called, that is to ſay, the paſtours and ſhepheardes of Chriſt, without doubt, they would no longer ſuffer, or commit Chriſtes flocke, to ſuch wicked and offenſiue paſtours to be fed and nouriſhed.

How the Eccleſiaſticall iudges do annexe certaine ſpeciall cauſes, beyng lay matters vnto their owne iuriſdiction, and will by no meanes, releaſe the ſame.

Lay matters brought into the ſpirituall court for money.

WHenſoeuer any cauſes are pleaded in iudgement before an Eccleſiaſticall iudge, either for rauiſhyng of virgins, or for children vnlawfully borne out of wedlocke, or for ſeruauntes wages, or any other matters touching widowes, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges beyng called vpon by the ſuperiours of the laity which do cōtend, they will neither deferre that iudgement, or by any meanes wilbe intreated to remit them to their ordinary iuriſdiction.

¶The gayne that riſeth to the Clergy, by falſe ſclaunders and rumours.

Scoulding matters brought to the ſpirituall court for gayne and lucre.

IT happeneth oftētymes, that men & women, through ſiniſter and falſe reporte and ſclāders, are brought before the Officiall or Eccleſiaſticall iudge, as men gilty, and ſhall not be declared innocēt, before they haue cleared themſelues by an oth. Which purgation ſo made, they are reſtored agayn to their former eſtimation. And albeit that the dammages & coſtes ought to be repayd agayne, vnto ſuch as be ſo falſely accuſed, yet notwithſtandyng the innocentes themſelues, are forced to pay two gildernes and a quarter, for their letters of abſolution. And this is the cauſe, why that the Officials & other Eccleſiaſticall iudges, do ſo gredely folow the action of ſuch vnlawfull, falſe, and ſclaunderous accuſations, challengyng the hearyng therof onely vnto themſelues: which thyng (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and moſt ſingular hurt and detriment of all men: For oftentymes it happeneth that women fallyng together in contention thorough anger, hatred, or ſome other affectiō, do ſpeake euil or ſclaūder one an other, & outrage ſomuch, that the one oftentimes accuſeth yͤ other, either of adoultry or witchry. Which thyng being brought before the Officiall, ſhe which through her anger had ſo ſclaundered the other, is forced by an othe to excuſe and purge her ſelfe, that what ſoeuer iniurious or ſclaunderous word ſhe had ſpoken, came not of any deliberate purpoſe or intēt, but through wrath and diſpleaſure.

In lyke maner the other which is accuſed either of adultry or ſorcery, is commaunded by an othe to declare her innocency, that ſhe is not gilty of thoſe factes, ſo that it is euidēt vnto all mē, that in ſuch caſes, whether they be gilty or not gilty, they muſt ſweare, if they will keepe their good name and fame. whereby not onely vnlawfull luker of gayne and money is ſought, but alſo wilfull periury forced, and the ſecular power and iudges letted from the puniſhment therof. ſo that contrary to all reaſon, offences do remayne vnpuniſhed.

¶ Complaynt agaynſt ſpirituall iudges takyng Seculare cauſes from the Ciuile Magiſtrate.

The wreſting of temporall cauſes vnto the ſpirituall court, for gayne of money.

ALbeit there be many cauſes ſo indifferent to both iuriſdictions, that they may be pleaded and puniſhed as well by the ciuill Magiſtrate, as Eccleſiaſticall iudge: notwithſtandyng it happeneth oftentymes, that when as the ciuill Magiſtrates would exerciſe their office and iuriſdiction in this behalfe, they are forbidden and letted by the Eccleſiaſticall iudges vnder payne of excommunication. Which thyng if it ſhould long continue, and be ſuffered, the Eccleſiaſtical iudges would ſhortly take away all maner of cauſes from the Ciuil Magiſtrate & his iuriſdiction, which is vntolerable and derogatory both vnto the Emperours maieſty, & other ſtates of the Empire. And albeit that by the common lawes, manifeſt periuries, adoulteries, witchcraftes & ſuch other like, may indifferētly be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſticall, or ciuill iudges for the tyme beyng, ſo that preuention in this behalfe taketh place: notwithſtādyng the Eccleſiaſtical iudges go about to vſurpe vnto themſelues and their iuriſdiction, all ſuch maner of cauſes: which burthen and greuaunce the ciuill iuriſdiction and power ought not to ſuffer.

¶ A complaynt agaynſt Eccleſiaſticall iudges intermedling with caſes of the ſecular Court: but will not ſuffer their caſes once to be touched of the other.

The clergie may deale in ciuill cauſes, but the ciuill magiſtrate muſt not deale in theirs.

MOreouer, the Eccleſiaſticall iudges ſay, that in ſuch caſe it is lawfull for thē to take prophane matters into theyr handes, if the ciuill Magiſtrate be found negligēt in executyng of iuſtice: but contrarywiſe they will not ſuffer that the lyke order ſhould be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Eccleſiaſtical matters, any man may complayne vnto the ciuill Magiſtrate, for lacke of iuſtice, and require the adminiſtration of iuſtice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all lawes generally cōmon, and determine how the Canon lawes may helpe and aſſiſt the ciuill, and contrarywiſe the Ciuill lawes, the Canon.

¶ Complaynt agaynſt certaine miſorders of the Cathedrall Churches, for vſing double puniſhment for one offence, agaynſt the law.

Certayne orders of Cathedrall churches reproueable.

FOr ſomuch as it is forbidden both by Gods law & mans, that no man ſhould be beaten with ij. rods, that is to ſay, be puniſhed with ij. kindes of tormentes: worthely therfore do all wiſe men detect and abhorre the odious ſtatutes of diuers Cathedrall Churches, whereby murtherers, both mē and women, and other, as well light as greuous offenders, haue bene hetherto vexed and tormented: for hetherto it hath bene accuſtomed that ſuch as were gilty of murther & ſuch other crimes, (which they call caſes reſerued vnto the Byſhops) after they had made their auricular confeſſion, were cōpelled (to their great ignominy and ſhame) to do penaunce in the ſight of all the people: which penaunce were not ſo much to be diſalowed, bearyng ſome ſemblaunce of the inſtitution of the primatiue Church, if ſo be it theſe buſie Officials, beyng content therewith, would not extort more, and greater ſummes of money, then were right and lawful, and ſo puniſh thoſe offenders with double puniſhment: wherewithall it is to be marueiled, how many be offēded & greued. How wicked a thyng this is, and how farre it differreth frō Chriſtes inſtitution, we will referre it to euery good conſcience to iudge.

Complaynt of Officials for mainteynyng vnlawfull vſuries.

Officials takyng penſions of prieſtes for keepyng concubynes.

FUrthermore, the Officials beyng allured through the greedy and vnſatiable deſire of money, do not only not forbid vnlawfull vſuries and gaynes of money, but alſo ſuffer and maintaine the ſame. Moreouer, they takyng a yearely ſtipend and penſion, do ſuffer the Clergy and other religious perſons vnlawfully to dwel with their concubines and harlots, and to beget childrē by them. Both which thynges, how great perill, offence and detriment they do bryng both vnto body and ſoule, euery man may plainly ſee (ſo that it neede not to be rehearſed) except he will make hymſelfe as blynd as a mole.

Complaynt of Officials permittyng vnlawfull cohabitation with other, when the huſband or wife are long abſent.

FUrthermore, where it ſo happeneth (as it doth oftentymes) that either the good man or the good wife, by meanes of warre or ſome other vow, hath taken in hand ſome long iourney, and ſo tarieth longer then ſerueth the appetite of the other, the Officiall takyng a reward of the other, geueth licence to the party to dwel with any other perſon, not hauyng firſt regard or makyng inquiſition whether the huſband or wife beyng abſent, be in health or dead: and becauſe theſe their doynges ſhould not be euill ſpoken of, they name it a toleration or ſufferaunce, not without great offence vnto all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

Complaynt of Canons in Cathedrall Churches, which haue their Byſhop ſworne vnto them, before he be choſen.

The practiſe in chapters of cathedrall churches to make the byſhop ſworne vnto them.

THis is alſo vnlawfull and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedrall Churches, in whoſe hand the principall part of Eccleſiaſticall iudgementes, Synodes, and cenſures do conſiſte, and the Canons of other collegiate Churches, which haue power and authoritie to chuſe their Superiour and Byſhop, will chuſe none to their Byſhop, except he bynde himſelfe firſt with an oth, and playnly ſweare, yet and oftentymes is bound by bonde and inſtrumētes ſealed with their ſeales to them and their Eccleſiaſticall iudges, that in no matter, be it neuer ſo greuous, intollerable, or diſhoneſt, he ſhall not be agaynſt them: and if it happen at any tyme that they do offēd, they may do it alſo without puniſhment for him.

Complaynt agaynſt incorporations or improperations and other pillyng of the people, by Churchmen.

The inconuenience of impropriations.

MAny pariſh Churches are ſubiect vnto Monaſteries, & to the perſons of other churches, by meanes of incorporations (as they call thē) or otherwiſe, which they are boūde alſo, accordyng to the Canon lawes, to foreſee and looke vnto by themſelues, when as they do put them forth vnto others to be gouerned, reſeruyng for the moſt part vnto themſelues, the whole ſtipend of the benefices and tythes: and moreouer, aggreuate & charge the ſame with ſo great penſions, that the hyrelyng Prieſtes and other Miniſters of the Church, can not haue therupon a decent or competent liuyng: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that theſe hyrelyng prieſtes (for that they muſt needes haue wherupon to lyue) do with vnlawfull exactions, miſerably ſpoyle and deuoure the poore ſhepe committed vnto them, and conſume all their ſubſtaunce. For when as the Sacramentes of the aultar and of Baptiſme are to be adminiſtred, or when the firſt, the ſeuenth, the thirty, and yeare day muſt be kepte, when auricular confeſſion commeth to be heard, the dead to be buryed, or any other ceremony whatſoeuer, about the funerall is to be done: they will not do it freely, but extort and exact ſomuch money, as the miſerable communalty is ſcarſe able to diſbourſe, and dayly they do encreaſe and augment theſe their exactions, driuyng the ſimple pouerty to the payment therof, by threatnyng them with excommunication, or by other wayes, compellyng them to be at charge: which otherwiſe through pouertie, are not able to maintayne obſequies, yeare myndes, and ſuch other lyke ceremonies, as to the funerals of the dead be apperteinyng.

Cruell exactions of the people by churchmen.

Bying and ſellyng of burials complayned of.

Gaine gotten by ſelling burials.

IT is ordained by the Popes Canons, that buriall in the Church ſhould be denied onely vnto them, which beyng knowen to be manifeſt & notorious offenders, haue departed this lyfe without receiuing of the Sacramēt. But the clergy not regardyng thoſe decrees, will not ſuffer ſuch as by chaunce are drowned, killed, ſlayne with falles, or fire, or otherwiſe by chaūce haue ended their liues, (albeit it be not euident, that they were in deadly ſinne) to be buryed in the churches, vntill ſuch time, as the wiues, children or frendes of thoſe men ſo dead, do with great ſummes of money, purchaſe and buy the buriall of them in the Churchyard.

¶ Chaſte and continent Prieſtes compelled to pay tribute for concubines.

Concubines permitted for money, and chaſt prieſtes compelled to pay tribute for concubynes.

ALſo in many places, the Byſhops and their Officials do not onely ſuffer Prieſtes to haue concubines, ſo that they pay certaine ſummes of money, but alſo cōpell continent and chaſt Prieſtes, which lyue without cōcubines, to pay tribute for cōcubines, affirmyng that the Biſhop hath neede of money, which beyng payd, it ſhalbe lawfull for them, eitheir to lyue chaſt or keepe concubines. How wicked a thyng this is, euery man doth well vnderſtand and know.

Theſe with many other burthens and greuaũces mo to the number of an hundreth, the ſecular ſtates of Germany deliuered to the Popes Legate, hauyng (as they ſayd) many mo, & more greuous greuaũces beſides theſe, which had likewiſe much neede of redreſſe: but becauſe they would not exceede the limites of reaſonable breuitie, they would cõtent themſelues (ſayd they) with theſe aforeſayd hũdreth, reſeruyng the reſt to a more apte and more conuenient oportunitie, ſtedfaſtly truſtyng & hopyng, that when thoſe hundreth greuaũces, already by them declared, ſhould be aboliſhed, the other would alſo decay, & fal with them. Of the which foreſayd greuaunces & complayntes here is moreouer to be noted, that a great part was offered vp before, to the Emperour, at the Cõſcell of Wormes: but becauſe no redreſſe therof did folow, therfore the ſecular ſtates of Germany thought good to exhibite the ſame now agayne, with diuers moe annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus the popes Legate, in this preſent aſſemble of Norenberge, deſiryng hym to preſent ẏ ſame, to pope Adriã. This was about the yeare of our Lord 1523. Which beyng done, the aſſemble of Norenberge brake vp for a tyme, & was proroged to the next yeare folowyng.

The diet of Norenberge began, an. 1522. and brake vp, an. 1523

The death of pope Adrian.

In this meane tyme Pope Adrian dyed. After him ſucceded pope Clemẽt vij. Who the next yeare folowyng, which was an. 1524. ſent downe his Legate Cardinall Campeius, vnto the Councell of the Germane Princes aſſembled agayne at Norenberge, about the moneth of Marche, with letters alſo to Duke Fredericke, full of many fayre petitiõs, & ſharpe complaintes. &c. But as touchyng the greuaunces aboue mentioned, no word nor meſſage at all was ſent, neither by Cãpeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thyng was to be cõplayned of agaynſt Luther, either for ſuppreſſion of the libertie of the Goſpell, or for vpholdyng of the Popes dignitie, the Pope was euer ready with all diligẽce, to call vpon the Princes: but where any redreſſe was to be required, for the publicke wealth of Chriſten people, or touchyng the neceſſary reformation of the Church, herein the Pope neither geueth eare, nor aunſwere.

Pope Clement vij.

Cardinall Campeius the popes Legate into Germanye.

The pope only ſeeketh his own dignitie, but publicke reformatiõ he neuer tẽdreth.

And thus hauyng diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrẽt betwene the Pope, and princes of Germany, at the Synode of Norenberge, let vs now procede, returnyng agayne to the ſtory of Luther: of whom ye heard before, how he was kept ſecret & ſolitary, for a tyme, by the aduiſe and conueyance of certaine nobles in Saxonie, becauſe of the Emperours Edict, aboue mentioned. In the meane tyme, while Luther had thus abſented himſelfe out of Wyttenberge, Andræas Caroloſtadius procedyng more roughly and egerly in cauſes of Religion, had ſtyrred vp the people, to throw downe Images in the temples, beſide other thynges moe. For the which cauſe, Luther returning agayne into the city, greatly miſliked the order of their doynges, & reproued the raſhnes of Caroloſtadius, declaryng, that their proceedynges herein were not orderly: but that pictures & Images ought firſt to be throwen out of the hartes and cõſciences of men, and that the people ought firſt to be taught: that we are ſaued before God, and pleaſe him onely by fayth, and that Images ſerue to no purpoſe: this done, & the people well inſtructed, there was no daunger in Images, but they would fall of their owne accord. Not that he repugned to the cõtrary (he ſaid) as though he would mainteyne Images to ſtãd or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by the Magiſtrate, and not by force, vppon euery priuate mans head, without order and authoritie. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

Caroloſtadius caſteth downe Images in Wittenberge.

Luther miſliketh caſting out of Images by ſtrong hand.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

Furthermore, Luther wrytyng of Caroloſtadius, affirmeth that he alſo ioyned with the ſentẽce of them, which began then to ſpread about certaine partes of Saxony, ſaying that they were taught of God, that all wickednes being vtterly ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlayne, a new full perfection of all thynges muſt be ſet vp, and the innocent onely to enioy all thynges. &c.

The cauſe why Luther ſo ſtode agaynſt that violent throwyng downe of Images, and agaynſt Caroloſtadius, ſeemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope Adrian, in his letters ſent to the Princes and ſtates of Germany, doth greuouſly complaine, and charge the ſect of Luther, for ſedition and tumultes, and rebellion agaynſt Magiſtrates, as ſubuerters and deſtroyers of all order, and obedience, as appeareth by the wordes of the Popes letter before expreſſed, pag[illegible]8. therfore M. Luther, to ſtoppe the mouth of ſuch ſlaunderers, and to preuent ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpitiõs, was enforced to take this way, as he dyd: that is, to procede, as much as he might, by order and authoritie.

Wherin are to be noted by the way ij. ſpeciall pointes, touchyng the doctrine and doinges of M. Luther eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our dayes, now abuſing the name and authoritie of Luther, thinke thẽſelues to be good Lutherians, if they ſuffer Images ſtill to remaine in temples, and admit ſuch thynges in the Church, which themſelues do wiſhe to be away. The firſt is the maner how and after what ſort Luther did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand. For although he aſſented not that the vulgare and priuate multitude tumultuouſly by violence ſhould rappe them down: yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate, to let them ſtand. And though he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtyrre vp the people, by forceable meanes to promote Religion: yet that argueth not, thoſe magiſtrates to be good Lutheriãs, which may and ſhould remoue them, and will not.

The cauſes diſcuſſed why Luther permitted Images to ſtand.

Two thinges to be noted in Luther for bearing with Images.

The ſecond point to be noted is, to conſider the cauſe why that Luther did ſo ſtand with ſtandyng of Images, whiche cauſe was tyme, and not his own Iudgement. For albeit in iudgement he wiſhed them away, yet tyme ſo ſerued not thereunto then, as it ſerueth now. For then the doctrine of Luther firſt begynnyng to ſpryng, and being but in the blade, was not yet knowen whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow: but rather was ſuſpected to tende to diſobedience and ſedition: and therefore the pope hearing of the doinges of Caroloſtadius in Wyttenberge, and of other lyke, tooke his ground therby to charge the ſect of Luther with ſedition, vprores, and diſſolute libertie of lyfe. And this was the cauſe, why Luther compelled then by neceſſitie of tyme, to ſaue his doctrine from ſclaunder of ſedition and tumulte, beyng layd to hym by the Pope (as ye haue heard) was ſo much offẽded with Caroloſtadius and other, for their violence vſed agaynſt Images. For otherwiſe, had it not bene for the Popes accuſations, there is no doubt, but Luther would haue bene as well contẽted with aboliſhyng of Images and other monumentes of Popery, as he was at the ſame tyme, contented to write to the Friers Auguſtines for abrogatyng of priuate Maſſes. And therfore as Luther in this doyng is to be excuſed, the circumſtances conſidered: ſo the lyke excuſe perhaps will not ſerue the ouermuch curious imitation of certein Lutheriãs in this preſent age now: whiche conſidering onely the facte of Luther, do not marke the purpoſe of Luther, neither do expende the circumſtances and time of his doinges: beyng not much vnlyke to the ridiculous imitatours of kynge Alexander the great, which thought it not ſufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they would alſo counterfeite him in hys ſtouppyng and all other geſtures beſides: but to theſe lyuing now in the Church, in an other age then Luther did it may ſeme (after my mynde) ſufficient to folow the ſame way after Luther, or to walke with Luther,, to the kyngdome of Chriſt, though they Iumpe not alſo in euery foote ſteppe of hys, and kepe euen the ſame paſe, and turninges in all pointes, as he did.

χαχοζηλία.

Lutherians of this age.

How Luther is to be folowed.

And contrarywiſe of the other ſorte, much leſſe are they to be commended, which ryngyng as much on the contrary ſtryng, are ſo preciſe, that becauſe of one ſmall blemiſh, or for a little ſtouppyng of Luther in the Sacrament, therfore they geue cleane ouer the readyng of Luther, and fall almoſt in vtter contempt of his bookes. Wherby is declared not ſo much the nicenes and curiouſnes of theſe our dayes, as the hinderance that cõmeth therby to the church, is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Chriſt (prayſed be the Lord) is not vnprouided of ſufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to inſtruct in matters of doctrine: yet in the chief poyntes of our conſolation, where the glory of Chriſt, and the power of his paſſion and ſtrength of fayth is to opened to our conſcience, and where the ſoule wraſtelyng for death and lyfe, ſtandeth in neede of ſerious conſolation, the ſame may be ſayd of Martin Luther, amongeſt all this other varietie of writers, that S. Cyprian was wont to ſay of Tertulian: Da magiſtrũ: geue me my maiſter. And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and diſſented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the ſacrament: yet in all other ſtates of doctrine they did accorde, as appeared in the Synode holden at Marpurge, by prince Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. where both Luther, and Zuinglius were preſent, and conferryng together, agreed in theſe Articles:

Luther not to be cõtemned for one little blemiſh.

Commendation of Martin Luthers doctrine.

Cyprian ſo much delited in reading of Tertullian, that whenſoeuer he called for hys booke, he badde reach hym hys maiſter.

1. On the vnitie, and Trinitie of God. 2. In the Incarnation of the word. 3. In the paſſiõ and reſurrection of Chriſt. 4. In the Article of Originall ſinne. 5. In the Article of faith in Chriſt Ieſu. 6. That this fayth commeth not of merites, but by the gift of God. 7. That this fayth is our righteouſnes. 8. Touchyng the exreme word. 9. Likewiſe they agreed in the Articles of Baptiſme. 10. Of good workes. 11. Of confeſſion. 12. Of Magiſtrates. 13. Of mens traditions. 14. Of Baptiſme of infantes. 15. Laſtly concernyng the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, this they dyd beleue and hold, firſt that both the kyndes therof are to be miniſtred to the people accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution: and that the Maſſe is no ſuch worke for the whiche a man may obteyne grace both for the quicke, and the dead. Item, that the Sacrament

The conſent betwene Luther & Zuinglius in cauſes of doctrine.

which

(whiche they call of the altare) is a true Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord. Item, that the ſpirituall manducation of his body and bloud is neceſſary for euery Chriſten man. And furthermore, that the vſe of the Sacrament tendeth to the ſame effect, as doth the word, geuen and ordeyned of almighty God, that thereby infirme conſciences may be ſtyrred to beleefe, by the holy Ghoſt. &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Vrſp.

In all theſe ſummes of doctrine aboue recited, Luther and Zuinglius dyd conſent and agree. Neither were their opinions ſo different in the matter of the Lordes Supper, but that in the principall poyntes they accorded. For if the queſtion be aſked of them both, what is the materiall ſubſtaunce of the Sacramēt, which our outward ſenſes do behold and feele: they will both confeſſe bread, and not the accidentes onely of bread. Further if the queſtiō be aſked whether Chriſt be there preſent: they will both confeſſe his true preſence to be there, onely in the maner of preſence they differre. Agayne, aſke whether the materiall ſubſtaunce layd before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worſhypped: they will both deny it, and iudge it idolatry. And likewiſe for tranſubſtantiation, and for the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, they both do abhorre, and do deny the ſame: As alſo the Communion to be in both kyndes adminiſtred, they do both aſſent and graunt.

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the preſence: onely in the maner of the preſence they differ.

How and wherein Luther & Zuinglius diſſent in doctrine of the lordes ſupper

Luthers opinion in the Sacrament.

Zuinglius opinion in the Sacrament.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 5.

Onely their difference is in this, concernyng the ſenſe and meanyng of the wordes of Chriſt: Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body: &c. Whiche wordes Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and ſimply, as the letter ſtandeth, without trope or figure, and therefore holdeth the body and bloud of Chriſt truely to be in the bread, and wyne, and ſo alſo to be receaued with the mouth. Vldricus Zuinglius, with Ioannes Oecolampadius and other moe, do interprete theſe wordes otherwiſe, as to be taken not litterally, but to haue a ſpirituall meanyng, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, ſo that the ſenſe of theſe wordes: This is my body, is thus to be expounded: this ſignifieth my body and bloud. Ex Ioan. Sled. Lib. 5. With Luther conſented the Saxons. With the other ſide of Zuinglius, went the Heluetians. And as tyme dyd grow, ſo the diuiſion of theſe opinions increaſed in ſides, and ſpread in farther Realmes and countreys: the one part beyng called of Luther Lutherians: the other hauyng the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithſtandyng in this one vnitie of opinion, both the Lutherians, and Sacramentaries do accorde and agree, that the bread and wyne there preſent is not tranſubſtātiate into the body and bloud of Chriſt (as is ſayd) but is a true Sacrament of the body and bloud.

Lutherians.

Sacramētaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſp.

But hereof ſufficient, touchyng this diuiſion betwene the Lutherians and Zuinglians. In which diuiſiō, if there haue bene any defect in Martin Luther: yet is that no cauſe why either the papiſtes may greatly triumph, or why the Proteſtantes ſhould deſpiſe Luther. For neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the Sacrament, ſo groſſe that it maketh much with the Papiſtes: nor yet ſo diſcrepaunt from vs, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference can not well be made (as ſome haue gone about to do) yet let vs geue to Luther a moderate interpretation, & if we will not make things better, yet let vs not make them worſe then they be, and let vs beare, if not with the maner, yet at leaſt with the tyme of his teachyng: and finally let it not be noted in vs, that we ſhould ſeeme to differre in Charitie more (as Bucer ſayth) then we do in doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Chriſt willyng) when we come to the hyſtory of Iohn Frith.

Lutherians and Zuinglians differ more in charitie then in doctrine.

They which write the lyfe of Saintes, vſe to deſcribe and to extoll their holy lyfe and godly vertues, and alſo to ſet forth ſuch miracles as be wrought in them by God: whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather tyme lacketh to vs and opportunitie to tary vpon them, hauyng ſuch haſt to other thyngs. Otherwiſe what a miracle might this ſeeme to be, for one mā, & a poore Frier, creepyng out of a blynd cloyſter, to be ſet vp agaynſt the pope, the vniuerſall Byſhop and Gods mighty Vicare in earth: to withſtand all his Cardinals: yea and to ſuſteyne the malice and hatred almoſt of the whole world, beyng ſet agaynſt him: and to worke that agaynſt the ſayd Pope, Cardinals and Churche of Rome, whiche no Kyng nor Emperour could euer do, yea durſt neuer attempt, nor all the learned men before him, could euer compaſſe. Whiche miraculous worke of God, I recount nothyng inferiour to the miracle of Dauid ouerthrowyng great Goliath. Wherfore if miracles do make a Saint (after the Popes definition) what lacketh in Martin Luther but age and tyme onely to make him a Saint? who ſtandyng openly agaynſt the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, in number ſo many, in power ſo terrible, in practiſe ſo crafty, hauyng Emperours, and all the Kynges of the earth agaynſt him, who teachyng and preachyng Chriſt the ſpace of 29. yeares could without touche of all his enemyes ſo quietly in his owne countrey, where he was borne, dye and ſleepe in peace. In the which M. Luther, firſt to ſtand agaynſt the pope, was a great miracle: to preuaile agaynſt the Pope, a greater: ſo to dye vntouched, may ſeeme greateſt of all, eſpecially hauyng ſo many enemyes, as he had. Agayne, neither is it any thyng leſſe miraculous, to conſider what manifold daungers he eſcaped beſides, as when a certeine Iewe was appointed to come to deſtroy hym by poyſon, yet was it ſo the will of God, that Luther had warnyng therof before, and the face of the Iewe ſent to hym by picture, whereby he knew hym, and auoyded the perill.

A notable miracle of God to ouerthrow the pope by a poore Frier.

Three miracles noted in M. Luther.

In other tyme as he was ſittyng in a certaine place vpō his ſtoole, a great ſtone there was in the vault, ouer his head where he did ſit, whiche beyng ſtayd miraculouſly, ſo long as he was ſittyng, as ſoone as he was vp, immediatly fell vpon the place where he ſat, able to haue cruſhed him all in peeces if it had light vpon hym.

M. Luther miraculouſly preſerued.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of his prayers, which were ſo ardente vnto Chriſt, that (as Melancthon writeth) they whiche ſtode vnder his windowe, where he ſtode praying, might ſee his teares fallyng and droppyng downe. Agayne, with ſuch power he prayed, that he (as hymſelfe confeſſeth) had obteined of the Lord, that ſo long as he lyued, the Pope ſhould not preuayle in his countrey: after his death (ſayd he) let them pray who could.

And as touching the meruelous workes of the Lorde, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what myracle can be more myraculous, then that which was declared of a young man about Wyttenberge, who being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of ſorcery, to bargaine wyth the deuill, or a familiare (as they call him) to yeld himſelfe body and ſoule into the deuils power, vpon condition to haue his wiſh ſatiſfied wyth money: So that vppon the ſame, an obligation was made by the young mā, written with his owne bloud, and geuen to the deuill. This caſe you ſee, how horrible it was, and how damnable: now heare what folowed. Upon the ſodeine wealth and alteration of this younge man, the matter firſt being noted, began afterward more and more, to be ſuſpected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought vnto M. Luther, to be examined. The young man, whether for ſhame or feare, long denyed to confeſſe, & would be knowen of nothing. yet God ſo wrought beyng ſtronger then the deuil, that he vttered vnto Luther the whole ſubſtaunce of the caſe, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther vnderſtanding the matter, & pityng the lamentable ſtate of ẏ man, willed the whole cōgregacion to pray: and he himſelfe ceaſed not with his prayers to labour, ſo that the deuill was compelled at the laſt to throw in his obligation at the wyndow, and bad hym take it agayne vnto hym. Which narration if it be ſo true as certainely it is of him reported, I ſee not the contrary, but that this may well ſeeme comparable with the greateſt miracle in Chriſtes Church, that was ſince the Apoſtles tyme.

M. Luther vehement & mighty in prayer.

A miraculous worke of the lord in deliuering a young man out of the deuils daunger by Chriſtian prayer.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in hys prayers: ſo in his Sermons God gaue hym ſuch a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him, thought euery one his own temptations ſeuerally to be noted and touched. Whereof when ſignification was geuen vnto him by his frends, & he demaunded how that could be: myne owne manifold temptations (ſayd he) and experiences are the cauſe therof. For this thou muſt vnderſtand (good reader) that Luther, from his tender yeares, was much beaten and exerciſed with ſpirituall conflictes, as Melancthon in deſcribyng of his lyfe, doth teſtifie. Alſo Hieronymus Wellerus, ſcholer and diſciple of ẏ ſayd Martin Luther, recordeth that he often times heard Luther his maiſter thus report of himſelfe: that he had bene aſſaulted and vexed with all kyndes of temptations, ſauyng onely one, which was with couetouſnes. With this vice he was neuer (ſayd he) in all his lyfe troubled, nor once tempted. And hetherto concernyng the lyfe of M. Luther: who lyued to the yeare of his age, 63. He continued wrytyng and preachyng, about 29. yeares. As touchyng the order of his death, the wordes of Melancthon be theſe.

Ex Phil. Melancth. in orat. funebri.

Ex Hierony. Vvellero.

Luther neuer in all hys lyfe tempted wyth couetouſnes.

M. Luther how long he lyued and taught.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1546. and the 17. February, Doctour Martin Luther ſickened a litle before ſupper, of his accuſtomed maladie, to witte, of the oppreſſion of humours in the orifice or openyng of his ſtomacke, whereof I remember I haue ſene him oft diſeaſed in this place. This ſicknes tooke him after ſupper, with the which he vehemently contendyng, required receſſe into a bye chamber, where he reſted on his bed two houres: all which time his paynes encreaſed. And as Doctor Ionas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked and prayed him to riſe, & to cal vp Ambroſe his childrens ſcholemaiſter, to make fire in an other chamber. Into the whiche, when he was newly entred, Albert

The ſicknes of Luther.

The quiet death of Luther.

Earle of Maſſfield, with his wife and diuers other (whoſe names in theſe letters for haſt, were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into his chamber. Finally, feelyng his fatall houre to approch, before ix. of the clocke in the mornyng, the xviij. of February, he commended himſelfe to God, with this deuout prayer.

¶The Prayer of Luther at his death.

The prayer of Luther at his death.

MY heauenly father, eternall and mercyful God, thou haſt manifeſted vnto me thy deare ſonne, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. I haue taught him, I haue knowen hym, I loue hym as my lyfe, my health, and my redemptiō: whom the wicked haue perſecuted, maligned, and with iniurie afflicted. Draw my ſoule to thee. After this he ſayd as enſueth, thryſe.

I commende my Spirite into thy handes, thou haſt redemed me, O God of truth. GOD ſo loued the world, that he gaue his onely ſonne, that all thoſe that beleue in him, ſhould haue lyfe euerlaſtyng. Iohn. iij.

Hauyng repeated oftentymes his prayers, he was called to God, vnto whom ſo faythfully he commended his ſpirit: to enioy no doubt, the bleſſed ſociety of the Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apoſtles in the kyngdome of God the father, the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt. Let vs now loue the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let vs learne to be modeſt and meeke. Let vs cōſider the wretched calamities, and marueilous chaunges that ſhall folow this miſhap and dolefull chaunce. I beſeech thee O ſonne of God crucified for vs, and reſuſcitate Emanuell, gouerne, conſerue and defend thy Church. Hæc Melancthon.

The death of duke Fridericke.

Fridericus Prince, Electour dyed long before Luther in the yeare of Lord. 1525. Leauyng no iſſue behynd him for that he lyued a ſingle lyfe, and was neuer maryed: wherfore after him ſucceded Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxony.

Diſceptation betwene the Senate of Strauſburgh, & Cardinall Campeius, about maryed myniſters.

Mention was made a litle before, pag. 832. of the Miniſters of Strauſburgh, which becauſe of their Mariage were in trouble and cited by the Byſhop, to appeare before him, and there to be iudged without the precinct of the Citie of Strauſburgh: whereas there had bene a contrary order taken before betwene the Byſhop, & the Citie, that the Byſhop ſhould execute no iudgement vpon any, but vnder ſome of the Magiſtrates of the ſayd citie of Strauſburgh. Wherupō the Senate & Citizens takyng into their handes the cauſe of theſe maried Miniſters, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote (as is ſayd) to their Byſhop of Strauſburgh, and cauſed the iudgement therof a while to be ſtayed. By reaſon wherof the matter was brought at length, before Cardinall Campeius Legate, ſent by Pope Clement to the aſſemble of Norenberge. an. 1524.

Murnerus a Frier, an accuſer of maryed miniſters.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murnerus a Franciſcan Frier, who had commenced a greuous complaynt agaynſt the Senate and Citie of Strauſburgh, before the foreſayd Cardinal Campeius. Wherfore the Senate, to purge themſelues, ſent their Ambaſſadours, thus clearyng their cauſe, & aunſweryng to their accuſatiō: That they neither had bene, nor would be any let to the Byſhop, but had ſignified to hym before by their letters, that whatſoeuer he could lay agaynſt thoſe maryed Prieſtes, conſonant to the law of God, they would be no ſtay, but rather a furtheraunce vnto hym, to proceede in his action. But the Senate herein was not a litle greued, that the Byſhop, cōtrary to the order and compact, which was taken betwene hym and them, dyd call the ſayd Miniſters out of the liberties of their citie: For ſo it was betwene them agreed, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould be adiudged, but vnder ſome iudge of their owne Citie. But now contrary to the ſayd agreement, the Byſhop called thoſe Miniſters out of their liberties, and ſo the Miniſters claymyng the right and priuiledge of the Citie, were condemned, their cauſe beyng neither heard nor knowē. And now if the Senate ſhould ſhew themſelues any thyng more ſharpe or rigorous vnto thoſe Miniſters, in claymyng the right of the Citie, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but happely would riſe vp in ſome commotion agaynſt them, in the quarell and defence of their fraunchiſes and liberties.

The Senate of Strauſburgh purgeth themſelues to Cardinall Campeius.

The Byſhop of Strauſburgh breaketh the agreement made, and the liberties of the Citie.

And where it is obiected, that they receaue Prieſtes and men of the Clergy, into the fredome and protection of their Citie, to this they aunſwered, that they dyd nothyng herein, but which was correſpondent to the aūcient vſage and maner of the Citie before: and moreouer ẏ it was the byſhops owne requeſt and deſire, made vnto them ſo to do.

The aunſwere of Campeius to the ambaſſadours.

To this the Cardinall agayne aduiſing well the letters of the Byſhop, & the whole order of the matter, which was ſent vnto hym, declared that he right well vnderſtode by the letters ſent, that the miniſters in deede (as the Ambaſſadours ſayd) were called out from the fredome, and liberties of the Citie, and yet no order of law was broken therein: for as much as the Byſhop, (ſayd he) had there no leſſe power and authoritie, then if he were his owne Vicare delegate, & therfore he deſired them, ẏ they would aſſiſt the Byſhop in puniſhyng the foreſayd Miniſters. &c.

The popes prelates be lawles, & can breake no order whatſoeuer they doe.

The Ambaſſadours reply agaynſt the Cardinall.

After much other talk and reaſonyng on both partes, wherein the Ambaſſadours argued in defence of their fredome, that the iudgemēt ſhould not be tranferred out of the Citie, among other communication, they inferred moreouer and declared, how in the Citie of Strauſburgh were many yea the moſt part of the Clergy, which lyued viciouſly and wickedly with their ſtrumpets and harlots, whō they kept in their houſes, to the great offence of the people, ſhame to Chriſtes Church, and pernitious example of other: and yet the Byſhop would neuer once ſtyrre to ſee any puniſhing or correctiō therof. Wherfore if the Senate (ſayd the Ambaſſadours) ſhould permit the Byſhop to extende his crueltie and extremitie agaynſt theſe maryed Miniſters, for not obſeruyng the Byſhop of Romes law, and leaue the other notorious whoremaſters, which brake the law of God, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, doubtles it would redounde to their great daūger and perill, not onely before God, but alſo among the commons of their Citie, ready to riſe vpon them.

Holy matrimony puniſhed, wicked whoredome eſcapeth.

Campeius anſwereth.

To this Campeius aunſwered, what compoſition or bargayne was betwixt the Byſhop and them, he knew not: but ſurely the Acte of the one was manifeſt, and needed no great triall in law of prouyng and confeſſyng, and therefore they were ſequeſtred and abandoned from the communion of the Church, *ipſo facto*. As for the other ſort of thē, which keepe harlottes and concubines although (ſayd he) it be not well done: yet doth it not excuſe the enormitie of their Mariage. Neither was he ignoraunt, but that it was the maner of the Byſhoppes of Germany, for money to wynke at Prieſtes lemans, and the ſame alſo was euill done in deede: and farther, that the tyme ſhould come, when they ſhall be called to an accompt for the ſame: but yet neuertheleſſe it is not ſufferable that Prieſtes therefore ſhould haue wyues. And if compariſon ſhould be made (ſayd he) much greater offence it were, a Prieſt to haue a wife, then to haue & kepe at home many harlottes. His reaſon was this: For they that keepe harlots (ſaid he) as it is naught that they do, ſo do they acknowledge their ſinne: the other perſwade them ſelues to do wel, and ſo continue ſtyl without repentance, or conſcience of their facte. All men (ſayde he) can not be chaſte, as Iohn Baptiſt was: yet can it not be proued by any example, to be lawful for Prieſtes profeſſing chaſtitie, to leaue their ſingle lyfe, and to mary: no not the Greekes them ſelues, whiche in rites be differyng from vs, do geue this libertie to their owne Prieſtes to marrye: wherefore he prayed them to geue their ayde to the Biſhop in this behalfe.

Ipſo facto, that is, vpon the very doing of the acte, without any further iudgement or trial by the lawe.

A fitte reaſō for a carnall Cardinall: better it is to haue *many* concubynes, thē one wife. Touching the Greeke church, how vntrue this Cardinall ſpeaketh. turne to the pag. 189.

The Ambaſſadours reply.

Whereunto the Ambaſſadours replyed againe, ſaying, that if he would firſt puniſh the whoremaſters, then might the Senate aſſiſt hym the better in correctyng the other. But the Cardinal was ſtyl inſtaunt vpon them, that firſt they ſhould aſſiſt their Biſhop, & then if the Biſhop would not puniſh whoredome, he woulde come thyther hym ſelfe, and ſee them puniſhed accordingly.

The aſſembly or Dyet at Ratiſbone

This Cardinal Campeius, how he was ſent by Pope Clement the vi. to the ſeconde aſſemble or diet of Norenberge, anno. 1524. & what was there done by ẏ ſaid Cardinal, is before ſignified, pag. 836. After this Cōcel of Norenberge, immediately folowed an other ſittyng at Ratiſbone, where were preſent Ferdinandus, Campeius, the Cardinal of Saliſburge, the two Dukes of Bauaria, the Biſhops of Trent and of Ratiſbone: alſo the Legates of the Byſhops, Bamberge, Spires, Strauſburgh, Auſburgh, Conſtance, Baſill, Friſing, Paſſaue, and Brixine. By whom in the ſayd aſſemble was concluded: That for ſo much as the Emperour, at the requeſt of pope Leo, had condemned by his publike Edict ſet forth at Wormes, the doctrine of Luther, for erroneous and wicked, and alſo it was agreed vpō in both the aſſembles of Norenberge, that the ſaid Edict ſhould be obeyed of all men: they likewiſe at the requeſt of Cardinal Campeius, do will, and commaund the foreſayd Edict to be obſerued through all their fines & precinctes: That the Goſpell, and all other holy Scriptures in Churches ſhoulde bee taught accordyng to the interpretation of the auncient forefathers: That all they whiche reuiue any old hereſies before condemned, or teach any new thyng contumelious, either agaynſt Chriſt, his bleſſed mother, and holy Saintes, or which may breede any occaſion of ſedition, the ſame to be puniſhed accordyng to the tenour of the Edict aboue ſayd: That none be admitted to preache without the licence of his ordinary: That they which be already admitted, ſhall be examined how, and what they preach: That the lawes which Cāpeius is about to ſet forth

Popiſhe decrees made at the cōcell of Ratiſbone for reformation of maners, ſhalbe obſerued: That in the Sacramentes, in the Maſſe, and all other thynges, there ſhalbe no innouation, but all thynges to ſtand, as in foretyme they dyd: That all they whiche approche to the Lordes Supper without confeſſiō and abſolution, or do eate fleſh on dayes forbidden, or which do runne out of their order: alſo Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons that be maried, ſhall be puniſhed: That nothyng ſhal be printed without conſent of the Magiſtrate: That no booke of Luther, or any Lutherian ſhall be printed or ſold: That they of their iuriſdiction which ſtudy in the Vniuerſitie of Wyttenberge, ſhall euery one repayre home within.3.monethes after the publiſhyng hereof, or els turne to ſome other place free from the infectiō of Luther, vnder payne of confiſcatyng all their goodes, and looſing their inheritaunce: That no benefice, nor other office of teachyng, be geuen to any ſtudēt of that Vniuerſitie. Item, that certaine Inquiſitours fitte for the ſame, be appointed to inquire and examine the premiſſes: Item, leaſt it may be ſayd that this faction of Luther taketh his origine of the corrupt lyfe of Prieſtes, the ſayd Campeius, with other his aſſiſters in the ſayd conuocation of Ratiſbone, chargeth and commaundeth, that Prieſtes liue honeſtly, go in decent apparell, play not the marchaunts, haunt not the tauernes, be not couetous, nor take money for their miniſtration: Such as keepe concubines to be remoued: The number alſo of holy dayes to be diminiſhed. &c.

Campeius miſſed of his purpoſe in Germanie.

These thynges would Campeius haue had enacted in a full Councell and with the cōſentes of all the Empire: but when he could not bryng that to paſſe, by reaſon that the myndes of diuers were gone from the Pope, he was fayne therfore to get the ſame ratified in this particular conuenticle, with the aſſentes of theſe Byſhops aboue rehearſed.

These thynges thus hetherto diſcourſed, whiche fully may be ſene in the Cōmentaries of John Sledan, it remaineth next after the ſtory of Martin Luther, ſomewhat to adioyne likewiſe touchyng the hyſtory of Zuinglius and of the Heluetians. But before I come to the explicatiō of this ſtory, it ſhall not be incōuenient, firſt to geue ſome litle touch of the townes called pages, of theſe Heluetians, and of their league and confederation firſt begon amongeſt them.

¶The hiſtory of the Heluetians or Suitzers, how firſt they recouered their libertie, and after were ioyned in league together.

How the Heluetians came free, and ioyned together in league.

Ex Chronic. Heluetic. Ex Sebaſti. Munſter. Coſmog. Lib. 3. Ex Cōment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 3

The Heluetians, whom otherwiſe we call Suitzers, are deuided principally into xiij. pages. The names of whom are, Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnderualdij, Tugiani, Glarcani, Baſilienſes, Solodurij, Friburgi, Scafuſiani, Apecellenſes. Furthermore, to theſe be added vij. other Pages, albeit not with ſuch a full bond, as the other, be together cōioyned: which be theſe, Rheti, Lepontij, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mulhuſiani, Rotuilenſes. Of theſe xiij. confederate Pages aboue recited, theſe iij. were the firſt, to witte, Vrania, Suitenſes, and Siluanij (or as ſome call them Vnderualdij) which ioyned themſelues together.

* Note that the Pages in Suitzerland are for the moſt part ſituate in valleyes.

* Extortion in rulers.

If credite ſhould be geuen to old narrations, theſe iij. pages * or valleyes firſt ſuffered great ſeruitude & thraldome vnder cruell rulers or gouernours: In ſo much that the gouernour of Siluania * required of one of the inhabitantes, a yoke of hys Oxen: which when the townes man denyed to geue hym, the ruler ſent his ſeruaunt by force to take his oxen frō him. This whē the ſeruaunt was about to do, commeth the poore mās ſonne, and cutteth of one of his fingers, and vpon the ſame auoyded. The gouernour hearing thys, taketh the poore man, and putteth out his eyes.

Example of true chaſtitie in a matrone

An other tyme in the ſayd Syluania, as the good man of the houſe was abſent abroad, the gouernour which had then the rule of the towne, entring into the houſe, commaundeth the wyfe to prepare for him a bath, and to let hym haue his pleaſure of her. Whereunto ſhe beyng vnwillyng, differred the bathe as long as ſhe myght, till the returne of her huſband. To whom then ſhee makyng her complaynt, ſo moued hys mynde, that he with his axe or hatched which he had in his hand, flew vpon the adulterous ruler & ſlue him.

Adultery iuſtly puniſhed.

Example of ſingular tyrannye.

W. Tell.

An other example of lyke violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia, and Syluania, who ſurpriſed with like pride and diſdayne agaynſt the poore vnderlynges, cauſed hys cappe to be hanged vp vppon a pole, charging and commaundyng by his ſeruaunt, all that paſſed by, to doe obeyſance to the capp. Which, when one, named William Tell, refuſed to do, the tyraunt cauſed hys ſonne to be tyed, wyth an apple ſet vpon his head, and the father wyth a croſſe bow or a lyke inſtrument, to ſhoote at the apple. After long refuſing, when the wofull father could not otherwyſe chuſe, by force conſtrayned, but muſt leuell at the apple, as God would, he miſſe the childe and ſtroke ÿ marke. This Tell, beyng thus compelled by the tyraunt to ſhoote at his ſonne, had brought wyth hym ij. ſhaftes, thinking that if he had ſtroke ÿ childe wyth ÿ one, ÿ other he would haue let driue at the tyraunt. Which beyng vnderſtand, he was apprehēded and led to the rulers houſe: but by ÿ way eſcapyng out of the boate, betwene Vrania and Brun, and paſſing thorough the mountaynes wyth as much ſpeede as he might, he lay in the way ſecretly as the ruler ſhoulde paſſe, where he diſcharged his arow at the tyraunt, and ſlue hym.

Pride and tyranny wel rewarded

And thus were theſe cruell gouernours vtterly expelled out of theſe iij. valleyes or pages aforeſayd, and after that, ſuch order was taken by the Emperour Henricus 7. and alſo by the Emperours Ludouicus duke of Bauaria, that henceforth no iudge ſhould be ſet ouer them, but onely of their owne company, and towne dwellers. Ex Seb. Munſt. Coſmog. lib. 3.

Ex Sebaſt. Munſt. Coſmog. lib. 3.

It folowed after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1315. ÿ great contention and warre fell betwene Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, and Ludouicke Duke of Bauaria, ſtryuyng & fightyng the ſpace of viij. yeares together about ÿ Empire. With Ludouicus held the iij. pages aforeſayd: who had diuers conflictes with Lupoldus, brother to the forenamed Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, fightyng in his brothers quarell. As Lupoldus had reared a mighty army of xx. thouſād footemen and horſemen, and was come to Egree, ſo to paſſe ouer the mountaines to ſubdue the pages: he began to take aduiſe of his coūſale, by what way or paſſage beſt he might direct hys iourney toward the Suitzers. Whervpō as they were buſy in conſultyng, there ſtoode a foole by (named Kune de Stocken) which hearing their aduiſe, thought alſo to ſhote hys bolt with all, and told them that their counſaile did not lyke him. For all you (quoth he) conſult how we ſhould enter into yonder coūtrey: but none of you geueth any counſaile how to come out agayne, after we bee entred. And in concluſion, as the foole ſayd, ſo they found it true. For when Lupoldus, with hys hoſte had entred into thee ſtraites and valleyes betwene the rockes and moūtaines, ÿ Suitzers with their neighbours of Vrania, and Syluania lying in priuye wayte, had thē at ſuch aduantage, and with tumblyng downe ſtones from the rockes, and ſodeine commyng vpō their backes in blynd laynes, did ſo encomber thē ÿ neither they had conuenient ſtandyng to fight, nor roume almoſt to flye away. By reaſon wherof, a great part of Lupoldus army there being encloſed about ÿ place called Morgarten, loſt their lyues, and many in the flight were ſlayne. Lupoldus, with them that remayned, retired and eſcaped to Thurgoia. This battaile was fought. an. 1315. Nouember. 16.

A fooles bolt ſometimes hits the marke.

After this, the burgers of theſe iij. villages, beyng continually vexed by Fridericke Duke of Auſtria, for that they would not knowledge hym for Emperour, aſſembled them ſelues in the towne of Vrania. an. 1316. and there entred a mutuall league and bond of perpetuall ſocietie and coniunction, ioyning and ſwearing them ſelues, as in one body of a common wealth, and publike adminiſtration, together. After that came to them Lucernates, then Tugiani, after thē the Tigurines, next to them folowed Bernates, the laſt almoſt of all, were the Baſilians, then folowed after, the other vij. pages aboue recited.

The firſt league betwene the iij. Pages.

And thus haue ye the names, the freedome, and confederation of theſe Suitzers, or Cantons or pages of Heluetia, with the occaſiōs and circumſtances therof briefly expreſſed. Now to the purpoſe of our ſtory intended, whiche is to declare the ſucceſſe of Chriſtes Goſpell and true Religion receaued among theſe Heluetians: alſo touching the lyfe and doctrine of Zuinglius, & order of his death, as here inſueth.

¶The actes and lyfe of Zuinglius and of receauyng the Goſpell in Suitzerland.

Vldrichus Zuinglius.

IN the tractation of Luthers ſtory, mention was made before of Vldricus Zuinglius: who firſt abydyng at Glarona, in a place called then our Lordes Ermitage, from thence remoued to Zuricke, about the yeare of our Lord. 1519. and there began to teach, dwellyng in the Minſter amōg the Canons or Prieſtes of that cloſe, vſing with them, the ſame rites and ceremonies duryng the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeares, where he continued readyng and explaynyng the Scriptures vnto the people with great trauaile, and no leſſe dexteritie. And becauſe Pope Leo, the ſame yeare, had renued his pardons agayne through all countreys (as is aboue declared) Zuinglius zelouſly withſtode the ſame, detecting the abuſes therof by the Scriptures, and other corruptions reignyng then in the Church, and ſo continued by the ſpace of ij. yeares and more, till at length Hugo Byſhop of Conſtance (to whoſe iuriſdiction Zuricke then alſo dyd belong) hearyng therof, wrote his letters to the Senate of the ſayd Citie of Zuricke, complaynyng greuouſly of Zuinglius, who alſo wrote an other letter to the colledge of Canons,

Zuinglius reading the ſcriptures at Zuricke.

Zuinglius againſt the popes pardons.

An. 1521.

The biſhop of Conſtance complayneth agaynſt Zuinglius.

nons, where Zuinglius was the ſame tyme dwellyng, complaynyng likewiſe of ſuch new teachers, which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earneſtly, to beware and to take diligent heede to themſelues. And for ſomuch as both the Pope and the Emperours Maieſtie had cõdemned all ſuch new doctrine by their decrees and Edictes, he willed them therfore to admitte no ſuch new innouations of doctrine, without the common conſent of them, to whom the ſame did appertayne. Zuinglius hearing therof, referreth hys cauſe to the iudgemẽt and hearing of the Senate, not refuſing to render vnto them accompt of his faith. And for ſomuch as the byſhops letter was read openly in the colledge, Zuinglius directeth an other letter to the Byſhop agayne, declaring that ỹ ſaid letter proceeded not from the Byſhop, nor that he was ignoraunt who were the authors thereof, deſiring hym not to folow their ſiniſter counſayles, for that truth (ſayd he) is a thyng inuincible, and can not be reſiſted. After the ſame tenour, certaine other of the Citie likewyſe wrote vnto the Byſhop, deſiring him that he woulde attempt nothyng, that ſhould be preiudiciall to the libertie & free courſe of ỹ Goſpell: requiring moreouer that he would forbeare no longer the filthy and infamous lyfe of prieſtes, but that he would permitte them to haue their lawfull wiues. &c. Thys was in the yeare of our Lord. 1522.

Zuinglius writeth to the Heluetians.

Prieſtes mariage.

An olde vſe of the Heluetians to forewarne their prieſtes to take concubines.

Beſides this, Zuinglius wrote alſo an other letter to the whole nation of the Heluetians, moniſhing them, in no caſe to hynder the paſſage of ſincere doctrine, nor to inferre any moleſtation to prieſtes that were maryed. For as for the vowe and coaction of their ſingle lyfe, it came (ſayd he) of the deuill, and a deuiliſh thing it is. And therfore, whereas the ſayd Heluetians had ſuch a rite and cuſtome in their townes and pages, that when they receaued any new prieſt into their Churches, they vſed to premoniſh hym before to take hys concubine, leaſt he ſhould attempt any miſuſe with their wiues and daughters: he exhorted them that they would no leſſe graunt vnto them to take their wyues in honeſt matrimony, then to take concubynes and harlotes, agaynſt the precept of God.

Zuinglius reſiſted by aduerſaries.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certayne yeares, labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to riſe at thys new doctrine, and diuers ſtept vp, namely the Dominicke Friers on the contrary ſide, to preach & inuey againſt him. But he keeping himſelfe euer within the Scriptures, proteſted that he would make good by the worde of God, that which he had taught. Vpon this the Magiſtrates & Senate of Zuricke, ſent forth their cõmaundement to all prieſtes & miniſters within their dominion, to repayre to the citie of Zuricke, agaynſt the xxix. day of Ianuary next enſuyng (this was an. 1523.) there euery one to ſpeake freely, and to be heard quietly, touching theſe controuerſies of religion, what could be ſayd, directing alſo their letters to the Byſhop of Cõſtance, that he would either make his repaire thether hymſelfe, or els to ſend hys deputie. When the day appointed came, and the Byſhops vicegerent, which was Ioannes Faber, was alſo preſent: the Conſul firſt declaryng the cauſe of this their frequencie and aſſemble (which was for the diſſenſion newly riſen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to obiect, or inferre againſt the doctrine of Zuinglius, he ſhould freely and quietly vtter and declare hys mynde.

Diſputations at Zuricke about religion.

Ioan. Faber Stapulenſis againſt Zuinglius.

Ex Sled. lib. 3.

Lxvii. articles of Zuinglius.

Zuinglius had diſpoſed his matter before, and cõtriued all his doctrine in a certeine order of places, to the number of lxvii. Articles: which articles he had publiſhed alſo abroad before, to the ende that they which were diſpoſed, myght reſort thether better prepared to the diſputation. When the Conſul had finiſhed that which he woulde ſay, and had exhorted other to begyn: then Faber firſt entring the matter, began to declare the cauſe of hys ſendyng thether, and afterward would perſwade, that this was no place conuenient, nor time fitte for diſcuſſing of ſuch matter by diſputatiõ, but rather that the cognition & tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell, which he ſayd, was already appointed, and now neare at hand. Notwithſtanding, Zuinglius ſtill continued vrging and requiring hym, that if he had there any thyng to ſay or to diſpute, he would openly and freely vtter hys mynde. To this he aunſwered agayne, that he would confute hys doctrine by writing. This done, with a fewe other wordes on both ſides had to and fro, when no man would appeare, there to offer any diſputation, the aſſemble brake and was diſcharged. Whereupon the Senate of Zuricke incontinent cauſed to be proclaymed through all their dominion and territorie, that the traditions of men ſhould be diſplaced and abandoned, and the Goſpell of Chriſt purely taught out of the olde and newe Teſtament. an. 1523. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

John Faber refuſeth diſputatiõ.

The aſſemble of Zuricke brake vp without diſputation.

The goſpel publickly receaued in Zuricke.

Traditions of men aboliſhed.

When the Goſpell thus began to take place, and to floriſhe in Zuricke and certaine other places of Heluetia, the yeare next folowing, an. 1524. an other aſſemble of the Heluetians was cõuented at Lucerna, where this decree was made on the contrary part: That no man ſhould deride or contemne the word of God, which had bene taught now aboue a thouſand and foure hũdreth yeares heretofore: nor the Maſſe to be ſcorned, wherein the both of Chriſt is conſecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quicke, and the dead.

That they which are able to receiue the Lordes body at Eaſter, ſhall confeſſe their ſinnes in Lent to the Prieſt, and do all other thynges, as the vſe and maner of the Churche requireth.

That the rites and cuſtomes of holy Church be kept.

That euery one obey his own proper paſtor and curate, and to receaue the Sacramentes of hym, after the maner of holy Church, and to pay him his yearely dutyes.

That honour be geuen to Prieſtes.

Conſtitutions made in the councell of Lucerne.

Item, to abſteyne from fleſheatyng on faſting dayes, and in Lent to abſteine from egges and cheeſe.

That no opinion of Luther be taught priuely or apertly, contrary to the receaued determinatiõ of holy Church, and that in tauernes and at table, no mẽtion be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That Images and pictures of Saintes in euery place be kept inuiolate.

That Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Church be not compelled to render accompt of their doctrine, but onely to the Magiſtrate.

That due ayde and ſupportation be prouided for them, if any commotion do happen.

That no perſon deride the reliques of the holy ſpirite, or of our Lady, or of Saint Anthony.

Finally that all the lawes and decrees ſet forth by the Byſhop of Conſtance, be obſerued.

These conſtitutions whoſoeuer ſhall tranſgreſſe, let them be preſented to the Magiſtrate, and ouerſeers be ſet ouer them that ſhall ſo tranſgreſſe.

The letter of the Heluetians to the Tygurines.

After theſe thynges cõcluded thus at Lucerna, the Cãtons of Heluetia together direct their publicke letter to the Tygurines or men of Zuricke, wherein they do much lament and complayne of this new broched doctrine whiche hath ſet all men together by the eares, through the occaſion of certaine raſhe and newfangled heades, which haue greatly diſturbed both the ſtate of the Church, and of the cõmõ wealth, and haue ſcattered the ſeedes of diſcorde: whereas before tyme, all thynges were well in quyet. And although this ſore (ſayd they) ought to haue bene looked to by tyme, ſo that they ſhould not haue ſuffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the bleſſed Uirgine and other Saintes ſo be diſhonored, but rather ſhould haue beſtowed their goodes and lyues to mainteine the ſame: yet notwithſtandyng they required them now to looke vpon the matter: which otherwiſe would bryng to them deſtruction both of both and ſoule: as for exãple, they might ſee the doctrine of Luther what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgare people now (ſayd they) could not be holden in, but would burſt forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by ſufficient proufes a late: and like is to be feared alſo among thẽſelues, & all by the occaſion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda, which ſo take vpon them to expounde the word of God, after their owne interpretation, openyng thereby whole doores and windowes to diſcorde and diſſenſion. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certaine what they dyd teach: yet what incõuenience folowed vpon their doctrine, they had to much experiẽced. For now all faſtyng was layd downe, and all dayes were alyke to eate both fleſh & egges, as well one as an other: Prieſts & religious perſons both men & women brake their vowes, ranne out of their order, and fell to maryng: Gods ſeruice was decayed, ſinging in the Church left, and prayer ceaſed: Prieſts grew in contempt: Religious men were thruſt out of their cloyſters: Confeſſion, and penaunce was neglected: ſo that mẽ would not ſticke to preſume to receaue at the holy aultar, without any confeſſion made to the Prieſt before. The holy maſſe was derided & ſcorned: Our bleſſed Lady, and other ſaintes blaſphemed: Images pluckt down & broken in peeces, neither was there any honour geuen to the Sacraments. To make ſhort, men now were growen vnto ſuch a licence and libertie that vnneth the holy hoſt could be ſafe within the Prieſtes handes. &c.

Zuinglius & Leo Juda, were preachers at this tyme in Zuricke.

The diſorder of all which thynges, as it is of no ſmall importaunce, ſo it was (ſayd they) to them ſo greuous and lamentable, that they though it their part to ſuffer the ſame no lõger. Neither was this the firſt tyme (they ſayd) of this their complaynyng, when in their former aſſemble they ſent vnto them before, the lyke admonition writyng to them by certaine of the Clergy, and crauyng their ayde in the ſame. Which ſeyng it is ſo, they dyd now agayne earneſtly call vpõ them touchyng the premiſſes, deſiryng them to ſurceaſe frõ ſuch doynges,and to take a better way, cōtinuing in ye Religion of their old aunceters,which were before them. And if there were any ſuch thyng,wherein they were greued and offended agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome,the Cardinals,Byſhops,or other Prelates, either for their ambition, in heapyng,exchaunging,and ſellyng the dignities of the Church, or for their oppreſſion in pillyng mens purſes with their indulgences,or els for their vſurped iuriſdiction, and power which they extēd to farre, and corruptly apply it to matters externe & politicall,which onely ought to ſerue in ſuch caſes as be ſpirituall: if theſe & ſuch other abuſes were the cauſes, wherewith they were ſo greuouſly offended, they promiſed that for the correction and reformation therof, they would alſo themſelues ioyne their diligence and good will thereto, for ſomuch as themſelues alſo dyd not a little miſlike therewith, and therfore would conferre their counſailes together with them,how and by which way,ſuch greuaunces might beſt be remoued.

To this effect were the letters of the Heluetians written to the Senate & Citizēs of Zuricke. Wherunto the Tigurines made their aūſwere agayne,the xxi. day of March, the ſame yeare,in maner as here followeth.

The letter of the Tigurines, aunſwering agayne the letter of the Heluetians.

Firſt,declaryng how their Miniſters had laboured and trauailed amongeſt them,teachyng and preachyng the word of God vnto them the ſpace now of fiue yeares. Whoſe doctrine at the firſt,ſeemed to them very ſtraunge and nouelle, becauſe they neuer heard the ſame before. But after that they vnderſtode and perceaued, the * ſcope of that doctrine onely to tende to this,to ſet forth Chriſt Ieſus vnto vs to be the pillar and refuge of all our ſaluation, which gaue his lyfe and bloud for our redemptiō and which onely deliuered vs alſo ſinful miſers from eternall death, and is the onely aduocate of mankynde before God: they could no otherwiſe do, but with ardent affectiō receaue ſo wholeſome & ioyful meſſage.

*If the ſcope of doctrine be well marked betwene the Papiſtes and the Proteſtantes, it will not be hard for any mā to iudge which is the truer doctrine.For the whole end and ſcope of the popes doctrine, tendeth to ſet vp the honour and wealth of man, as may appeare by the doctrine of ſupremacie,of confeſſiō, of the maſſe,of the ſacramēt of the aultar,&c. all which do tend to the magnifying of the Prieſtes: lyke as purgatory, obſequies, pardons, and ſuch other, ſerue for their profite. Contrarywyſe the teaching of the Proteſtantes, as well touching iuſtification, originall ſinne,as alſo the ſacramentes and inuocation, and all other ſuch lyke, tende onely to the ſetting vp of Chriſt alone, and caſting downe of man.

The holy Apoſtles, and faythfull Chriſtiās,after they had receaued the Goſpell of Chriſt,dyd not fall out by & by in debate & variaunce,but louyngly agreed and conſented together: and ſo they truſted (ſayd they) ye they ſhould do, if they would lykewiſe receaue the word of God, ſettyng a ſide mens doctrines and traditions diſſonant from the ſame.

Whatſoeuer Luther,or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong,it is not for the names of the perſons, why the doctrine which they teach ſhould be either euill or well iudged vpon,but onely for that it agreeth or diſagreeth from the rule of Gods word: for that were but to go by affection, and were preiudiciall to the authoritie of the word of God: which ought to rule man, and not to be meaſured by man.

No iniurie to Saints if Chriſt onely be worſhipped.

And if Chriſt onely be worſhypped,and men taught, ſoly to repoſe their confidence in him,yet neither doth the bleſſed virgine,nor any Saint els receiue any iniurie thereby, who beyng here in earth receiued their ſaluation onely by the name of hym.

Who be they that wraſte the ſcripture

And where as they charge their Miniſters with wraſtyng the Scripture after their owne interpretation, God had ſtyrred vp ſuch light now in the hartes of men,that the moſt part of their Citie, haue the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruſe the ſame: ſo that their preachers can not ſo wynde the Scriptures awry, but they ſhall quickely be perceaued. Wherfore there is no daunger, why they ſhould feare any ſectes,or factions in them: but rather ſuch ſectes are to be obiected to thoſe,who for their gayne and dignitie, wraſte the worde of God after their owne affections and appetites.

Errour many times obiected where none can be proued.

And where as they and other haue accuſed them of errour,yet was there neuer man,that could proue any errour in them: Although diuers Byſhops of Conſtance, of Baſill, of Curiske,with diuers Vniuerſites beſides: alſo they themſelues,haue bene ſundry tymes deſired ſo to do, yet to this preſent day,neither they,nor euer any other ſo dyd,neither were they,nor any of all the foreſayd Byſhops,at their laſt aſſemble, beyng requeſted to come, ſo gentle to repayre vnto them,ſaue onely the Schaſhuſians, and Sangalliās. In the which foreſayd aſſemble of theirs, all ſuch as were then preſent cōſideryng throughly the whole caſe of the matter,condeſcended together with them.

And if the Byſhops happely will obiect agayne & ſay: that the word of God ought not ſo to be handled of the vulgare people: they aunſwered,the ſame not to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. For albeit it dyd belong to the Byſhops office,to prouide that the ſheepe ſhould not go aſtray,& moſt conuenient it were, that by them they ſhould be reduced into the way agayne: yet becauſe they will not ſee to their charge, but leaue it vndone,referryng all thynges to the fathers, and to Councels, therfore right and reaſon it is,that they themſelues ſhould heare and learne,not what mā doth determine, but what Chriſt hymſelfe doth commaunde in hys Scripture. Neither haue their Miniſters geuen any occaſion of this diuiſion, but rather it is to be imputed to ſuch, which for their owne priuate lucre and prefermentes, contrary to the worde of the Lord, do ſeduce the people into errour, and greuouſly offending God, doe prouoke hym to plague them with manifold calamities. Who,if they would renounce the gredynes of their owne gayne, and would follow the pure doctrine of his worde, ſeeking not the will of man, but what is ye will of God, no doubt but they ſhould ſoone fall to agreement.

Biſhops neither will feede the flocke,nor yet ſuffer them to feede themſelues

*It was the popes law then,that in Lent no mā ſhould eate fleſhe nor egges,nor any white meate: wherein it may ſeeme to be verified which S.Paule doth prophesie. 1.Theſſ.4. In the latter dayes certayne ſhall departe from the fayth, harkening to the doctrine of deuils,forbidding to mary and to eate.&c.

*As for the eatyng of fleſhe, and egges, although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Chriſt: yet they haue ſet forth a lawe, to reſtreine raſhe intemperaunce, and vncharitable offenſion of other.

Prieſtes mariage.

And as touching matrimony, God is himſelf the author thereof, who hath lefte it free for all men. Alſo Paule willeth a Miniſter of the church to be the huſband of one wife.

And ſeeyng that Byſhops for money permitte their Prieſtes to haue concubines, which is contrary both to Gods law, and to good example: why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawfull matrimony, which he hath ordeined, as they to reſiſte God in forbidding the ſame? The lyke is to be ſayd alſo of women vowing chaſtitie: of whom thys they iudge and ſuppoſe, that ſuch kynd of vowes and coacted chaſtitie are not auaylable nor alowed before God: and ſeeing that chaſtitie is not all mens gifte better it were to marye (after their iudgementes) then filthely to liue in ſingle lyfe.

Vowes of chaſtitie,not agreeing to Gods lawe.

Monaſteries firſt geuen to the poore,but now ſerue to feede the rich.

As for Monaſteries,and other houſes of Canons,they were firſt geuen for reliefe onely of the poore & nedie,where as now they which inhabite them, are wealthy and able to lyue of their owne patrimonie, in ſuch ſort, as many times ſome one of thē hath ſo much,as well might ſuffice a great number: wherfore it ſemeth to them, not vnconuenient ye thoſe goodes ſhoulde be conuerted agayne to the vſe of the poore: yet neuertheleſſe they haue vſed herein ſuch moderation,that they haue permitted the inhabitantes of thoſe monaſteries to enioy the poſſeſſions of their goodes, during ye terme of their naturall life, leſt any ſhould haue cauſe of iuſt complaynte.

Goods of monaſteries conuerted to the reliefe of the poore.

Ornamentes of Churches better beſtowed vpon the poore.

Ornamentes of Churches ſerue nothing to Gods ſeruice: but this is well agreeyng to the will and ſeruice of God, that the poore ſhould bee ſuccored. So Chriſte commaunded the yong man in the Goſpell, that was riche, not to hang vp his riches in the temple, but to ſell them,& diſtribute them to the nedy.

Good prieſtes not to be cōtemned: the rable of them to be diminiſhed.

The order of prieſthode they do not contemne. Such prieſtes as wyll truly diſcharge their duetie,& teach ſoundly, they do magnifie. As for the other rable, which ſerue to no publike commoditie,but rather dāpnifie the cōmon wealth if the number of them were diminiſhed by litle and litle, and their liuings put to better vſe,they doubted not,but it were a ſeruice well done to God. Now whether the ſingyng and prayers of ſuch Prieſtes be auaylable before God, it may be doubted,for as much as many of them vnderſtād not what they ſay or ſing,but onely for hyer of wages do the ſame.

Confeſſion to the Prieſt. Confeſſion to Chriſt.

As for ſecret confeſſion, wherein men do detect their ſinnes in the Prieſtes eare,of what vertue this confeſſion is to be eſteemed,they leaue it in ſuſpenſe. But that confeſſion,whereby repentyng ſinners do flye to Chriſt our onely interceſſour,they recounte not onely to be profitable,but alſo neceſſary to all troubled conſciences. As for ſatiſfaction, which Prieſtes do vſe, they recken it but a practiſe to get money,and the ſame to be not onely erroneous, but alſo full of impietie. True penaunce and ſatiſfaction is for a man to amende his lyfe.

The order of Monkery.

The orders of Monkery come onely by the inuention of man,and not by the Inſtitution of God.

The vſe of Sacramentes.

And as touchyng the Sacramentes, ſuch as be of the Lordes inſtitution,thē they do not deſpiſe but receaue with all reuerence,neither do ſuffer the ſame to be deſpiſed of any perſō,nor to be abuſed otherwiſe then becommeth: but to be vſed rightly accordyng to the preſcript rule of Gods word. And ſo with ye like reuerence they vſe the Sacramēt of the Lordes Supper,accordyng as the word preſcribeth, not as many do abuſe it,to make of it an oblation and a ſacrifice.

Falſe tale caryers.

And if the meſſēgers ſent to them of the Clergy in their letters mentioned,can iuſtly charge them with any hynderaunce,or any errour,they will be ready either to purge thē ſelues,or to ſatiſfie the offence. And if they can not, thē reaſon would, that thoſe meſſengers of the Clergy ſhould hereafter looke better to their owne doynges, & to their doctrine, and to ceaſe from ſuch vntrue ſclaunders and contumelies.

The onely way of true reformation is, that the word of God onely be receaued.

The pope can not abyde the preaching of the word, and why.

Finally, where as they vnderſtand by their letters how deſirous they are to haue the Popes oppreſſions, and exactions, and vſurped power aboliſhed, they are right glad therof & ioyfull, ſuppoſing that the ſame can by no meanes be brought to paſſe, except the word of God onely and ſimply be receaued. For otherwiſe, ſo long as mens lawes and conſtitutions ſhall ſtand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformatiõ. For by ẏ preachyng of Gods word their eſtimation and dignitie muſt needes decay: and that they well perceaue, and therfore by all meanes doe prouide, how to ſtoppe the courſe of the word: and becauſe they ſee themſelues too weake to bring their purpoſe about, they flye to the ayde of kynges and princes. For the neceſſary remedye wherof, if they ſhall thinke good to ioyne their cõſent, there ſhall nothing be lacking in their behalfe, what they are able eyther in counſaile or goods, to do in the matter, declaring moreouer that this ſhoulde haue bene ſeene to long before. Which beyng ſo, they prayed and deſired them to accepte in good part, and diligently to expẽde this that they did write. As for their owne part, they required nothing els more thẽ peace both betwene them, and all men. Neither was it euer their intent to ſtyrre any thyng that ſhould be preiudicial agaynſt their league and band agreed vpon betwene thẽ. But in this cauſe, which concerneth their eternall ſaluatiõ, they can do no otherwiſe, but as they haue done, vnleſſe their errour by learning might be proued and declared vnto them.

The Tigurines will be iudged by the Scriptures.

Wherefore as they did before, ſo now they deſire againe, that if they thinke this their doctrine to be repugnant to ẏ holy Scripture, they will gently ſhew and teach them their errour, and that before the end of the moneth of May next enſuyng: for ſo long they will abyde waytyng for an aunſwere, as well from them, as from the Byſhop of Cõſtãce and alſo from the Vniuerſitie of Baſill. And thus much conteineth the aunſwere of the Tigurines, vnto the letter of their other colleagues of Heluetia.

The B. of Conſtance aunſwereth the Tigurines by wrytyng.

A popiſhe diſtinction betwene the Images of the Gentiles, & Images of the Chriſtians. *Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 4.*

In the meane tyme, as this paſſed on, and the moneth of May aboue mentioned was now come, the Byſhop of Conſtance, with the aduiſe of his Councell about hym, did aunſwere the Tigurines as he was requeſted of them to do, in a certaine booke, firſt written, and afterward Printed: wherein he declareth what Images & pictures thoſe were, which the prophane Iewes and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images be theſe which the Church hath from tyme to tyme, receaued and admitted, and what difference there is betwene thoſe Idoles of the Iewes & Gentiles, and theſe Images of the Chriſtians. The concluſion herof was this, that where as the Scripture ſpeaketh agaynſt Images, and willeth them not to be ſuffered, that is to be vnderſtãd of ſuch Images and Idols, as the Iewes and Idolatrous Gentiles dyd vſe: yet neuertheleſſe ſuch Images and pictures, which the Church hath receaued, are to be vſed and reteyned.

From this he entreth next into the diſcourſe of the maſſe, where he proueth by diuers and ſondry teſtimonies, both of the Popes Canons, and Councels, the Maſſe to be a ſacrifice and oblation.

The booke of the byſhop of Conſtance writtẽ to the Senate of Zuricke, in defence of the Maſſe and Images.

This booke beyng thus compiled and written, he ſent it vnto the Senate of Zuricke, about the begynnyng of Iune, willyng & exhortyng them by no maner of meanes, to ſuffer their Images, or the Maſſe to be abrogated, & ſhortly after, he publiſhed the ſayd booke in print & ſent it to the Prieſtes & Canons of the Minſter of Zuricke, requiryng them to folow the cuſtome of the Church receaued, and not to ſuffer themſelues otherwiſe to be perſuaded by any man.

The aunſwere of the Tigurines to the byſhops booke.

The Senate agayne aunſweryng to the byſhops booke, about the middle of Auguſt did write vnto him: firſt declaryng that they had read ouer & ouer agayne his booke, with all diligence: The which booke for ſomuch as the Byſhop had diuulged abroad in printe, they were therof right glad, becauſe the whole world therby might iudge betwene them the better. After this they explaned vnto hym the iudgement and doctrine of their Miniſters and Preachers: & finally by the authoritie & teſtimonyes of the Scripture conuinced his opinion, and proued the doctrine of his booke to be falſe. But before they ſent their aunſwere to him, about the xiij. day of Iune, they commaunded all the Images as well within the Citie, as through their dominion, to be taken downe and burned quietly & without any tumult. A few monethes after, an order was taken in the ſayd Citie of Zuricke, betwene the Canons of the Church, & Citie, for diſpoſing the landes and poſſeſſions of the Colledge.

Images aboliſhed within all the dominion of Zuricke.

Certayne Pages or townes of the Suitzers complayne agaynſt the Tigurines.

False matter of accuſation layd agaynſt the Tigurines by the other Pages.

It would grow to a long diſcourſe, to comprehend all thynges by order of circumſtãce, that happened among the Heluetians vpon this new alteration of Religiõ: but briefly to contract, and to runne ouer the chief ſpecialties of the matter, here is firſt to be noted, that of the Heluetians, which were confederate together in xiij. pages, chiefly vi. there were, which moſt diſdayned and maligned this religion of the Tigurines: to witte, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnteruualdij, Tugiani, Friburgenſes: Theſe in no caſe could be reconciled. The reſt ſhewed thẽſelues more fauourable. But the other, which were their enemyes, cõceaued great grudge, & rayſed many ſclaunderous reportes and falſe rumors agaynſt them, and layde diuers thynges to their charge, as firſt for refuſing to ioyne their conſent to the publique league of the other pages, wyth Fraunces the French kyng: then for diſſenting from them in religion: and thirdly for refuſing to ſtand to the Popiſhe decree made the yeare before at Ratiſborne, by Ferdinandus and other byſhops aboue mentioned. pag. 838. They layd moreouer to their accuſation, for ayding the Vualſutenſes their neighbours, agaynſt Ferdinãdus their Prince, which was falſe. Alſo for ioyning league ſecretly, wyth other cities, wythout their knowledge, which was likewiſe falſe. Item that they ſhould intende ſome ſecret conſpiracie agaynſt them, & inuade them with warre, whiche was as vntrue as the reſt. Many other quarels beſides they pretended agaynſt the Tigurines, which were all falſe and cauillyng ſclaunders: as that they ſhould teache and preach that Mary the mother of Chriſt had moe ſonnes, and that Iames ẏ younger, the Apoſtle, dyd dye for vs, and not Chriſt him ſelfe. Agaynſt theſe and ſuch other vntruthes, being mere matters of cauillation and ſclaunder, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquite themſelues by wrytyng, & dyd expoſtulate vehemently with them, not onely for theſe falſe and wrongfull ſuſpicions of their partes vndeſerued, but alſo for other manifold iniuries receaued and borne at their handes: among which other wronges and iniuries, thys was one, that the Burghmaſter of Turegia had apprehẽded a certayne preacher, named Ioannes Oxlinus, and led hym home as priſoner vnto hys houſe, beyng taken within the precincte and limites of the Citie of Zuricke, contrary to law and order.

What ſlaunderous tounges can doe.

The Tygurines aunſwere agaynſt the complaynt of the Pages.

John Oxlinus a preacher, apprehended for religion.

Finally after much diſcourſing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelitie at all tymes, in keepyng their league, and maintaynyng the libertie and dignitie of their countrey, as touchyng the cauſe of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themſelues wyllyng to heare, and more glad to amende, if any coulde proue any errour in them, by the Scripture. Otherwiſe, if none ſo could or would proue, wherein they did erre by the word of God: they coulde not (they ſayde) altar any thyng in the ſtate of that Religion wherein their conſciences were already ſtayde by the worde of God, and ſetled what ſoeuer perill or daunger ſhoulde happen to them for the ſame.

Although here was no cauſe, why theſe pages or Cãtons, which were ſo confederate together in the league of peace, ſhould diſagree among themſelues: yet herein may we ſee the courſe and trade of the worlde, that when difference of religion beginneth a litle to breake the knot of amitie, by and by how frendes be turned to foes, what ſuſpitions do ryſe, what quarels and grudge doe folow, how nothyng there lyketh men, but euery thing is taken to the worſt part, ſmall motes are made mountaynes, vertues made vices, and one vice made a thouſand, and all for lacke onely of a litle good will betwixt party & party. For as loue & charitie cõmõly among mẽ either couereth or ſeeth not the faultes of their frendes: ſo hatred and diſdayne takyng all thynges to blame, can finde nothyng in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betwene theſe good men of Zuricke, and theſe other Suitzers aboue named.

What loue and hatred both among men.

Theſe letters of the Tigurines to the other Cantons, were written vpon the occaſion of their apprehendyng the preacher Ioan. Oxlinus aboue named, the iiij. day of Ianuary. an. 1525. and in the moneth of Aprill next folowyng, the Maieſtrates and Senate of the ſayd Citie of Zuricke cõmaunded the Maſſe, with all his ceremonies and appurtenaunce therto belongyng, to be put downe, as well within the Citie, as without throughe out all their iuriſdiction: & in ſteade therof was placed the Lordes Supper, the readyng of the Prophets, prayer, and preachyng. Alſo a lawe was made agaynſt whordome, and adulterye, and iudges ordeyned to heare the cauſes of matrimony. an. 1525. Ex Cõment. Sled. lib. 4.

The Maſſe with all hys ceremonies put downe in Zuricke.

A lawe in Zuricke made agaynſt adulterers.

All this while the Goſpell was not as yet receyued in any other Page of Heluetia, but only in Zuricke. Wherfore the other xij. pages or townes appointed among themſelues concerning a metyng or a diſputation to be had at Baden: Where were preſent among other diuines, Ioannes Faber Eckius, & Murnerus aboue mentioned. The biſhops alſo of Lucerna, Baſil, Curiake, & Lauſanna ſent thither their legates. The concluſions there propounded were theſe.

Diſputation at Baden in Heluetia.

Theames or propoſitions propounded in the diſputation at Baden.

That the true body and bloud of Chriſt,is in the Sacrament.

That the Maſſe is a ſacrifice for the quicke and dead.

That the bleſſed virgine and other ſaintes are to be inuocated,as mediatours and interceſſours.

That Images ought not to be aboliſhed.

That there is a Purgatory.

Eckius defended.

Oecolampadius agaynſt Eckius.

Which concluſions or aſſertions, Eckius tooke vpon hym ſtoutly to defend. Agaynſt hym reaſoned Oecolampadius (who was then chiefe preacher at Baſill) wyth certayne other moe. Zuinglius at that tyme was not there preſent, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius, declaring withall, the cauſes of hys abſence: which were, for that he durſt not for feare of hys lyfe, committe himſelfe to the handes of the Lucernates, Urani, Suitij, Unterualdij, and Tugiani, hys enemyes, and that he refuſed not to diſpute, but the place onely of the diſputation, excuſing moreouer that he was not permitted of ẏ Senate to come: neuertheles: if they would aſſigne the place of diſputation, eyther at Zuricke, or at Berna, or at Sangallum, thether he would not refuſe to come. Briefly the concluſion of the diſputation was this: that all ſhould remayne in that religion, which hetherto they had kept, and ſhould follow the authoritie of the Councell, neither ſhould admit any other new doctrine within their dominions.&c. Thys was in the moneth of June, the ſayd yeare aboue mentioned.

Zuinglius excuſeth hymſelfe for not cōming to the diſputation.

The diſputation at Berne.

Diſputation at Berne in Heluetia.

As the tyme proceded, and diſſenſion about religion encreaſed,it folowed the next yeare after,an.1527.in ẏ moneth of December, that the Senate & people of Berne, (whoſe power amongeſt all the Suitzers chiefly excelleth) conſidering how neither they could haue the Actes of the diſputation of Baden communicated vnto them, and that the variance about Religion ſtill more and more encreſed:aſſigned an other diſputation with in their owne Citie,and ſendyng forth writynges therof,called vnto the ſame,all ẏ Byſhops bordering nere about them, as the Byſhops of Conſtance, Baſill, Sedune, Lauſanna warnyng them both to come them ſelues, and to bryng their diuines with them,or els to loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions, which they had lyng within ẏ boundes of their precinct. After this, they appoynted out certeine Eccleſiaſticall perſons of their iuriſdiction, to diſpute, preſcribyng and determining the whole diſputation to be decided onely by the authoritie of the old and new Teſtamēt. To all that would come thether they graūted ſafecōduict. Alſo they appoynted that all thynges there ſhould be done modeſtlye, without iniurie and braulyng wordes, and that euery one ſhoulde haue leaue to ſpeake hys mynd frely, and with ſuch deliberation, that euery mans ſaying might be reaceaued by the notary & penned,with this prouiſo made before, that what ſoeuer there ſhoulde be agreed vpon, the ſame ſhould be ratified, and obſerued through all their dominions: and to the intent men might come thether better prepared before, they propoūded in publike writing, x. concluſions, in ẏ ſayd diſputation to be defended of their Miniſters, by the Scriptures, whiche Miniſters, were Franciſcus Colbus, & Bertholdus Hallerus. The theames or concluſions were theſe.

Godly lawes of a diſputation.

Theames to be diſputed.

1. That the true Church, wherof Chriſt is the head,riſeth out of Gods word, and perſiſteth in the ſame, & heareth the voyce of no other.

2. That the ſame Church maketh no lawes without the worde of God.

3. That traditions ordeyned in the name of the church,do not bynde, but ſo farre forth as they be conſonant to Gods worde.

4. That Chriſt onely hath made ſatiſfactiō for the ſinnes of the world: and therfore if any man ſay that their is any other way of ſaluation, or meane to put away ſinne,ẏ ſame denyeth Chriſt.

5. That the body and bloud of Chriſt can not be receaued really and corporally,by the teſtimony of the Scripture.

6. That the vſe of the Maſſe, wherin Chriſte is preſented and offered vp to his heauenly father for the quicke and the dead, is agaynſt the Scripture, and contumelious to ẏ ſacrifice which Chriſt made for vs.

7. That Chriſt onely is to be inuocated, as the mediatour and aduocate of mankynde,to God the father.

8. That there is no place to be founde by the holy Scripture, wherin ſoules are purged after this life: and therfore all thoſe prayers & ceremonies, yearely Dirges & Obites, which are beſtowed vpon the dead:alſo Lampes, Tapers, and ſuch other thinges, profite nothing at all.

9. That to ſet vp any picture or Image to be worſhipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture,and therfore if any ſuch be erected in Churches for that entent, the ſame ought to bee taken downe.

10. That Matrimonie,as prohibited to no ſtate or order of mē,but for eſchewing of fornicatiō, generally is cōmaunded and permitted to all men by the worde of God. And for as much as all fornicatours are excluded by the teſtimony of Scripture, from the Communion of the Churche,therfore this vnchaſte and filthie ſinglelyfe of Prieſtes, is moſt of all vnconuenient for the order of prieſthode.

The letters and anſwere of the Suitzers to the Senate & people of Berne.

When the Senate and people of Berne, had ſent abroad their letters with theſe theames and concluſions, to all the Heluetians, exorting them both to ſend their learned men, and to ſuffer al other to paſſe ſafely through their countreis: the Lucernates, Uranites, Suitzians. Unterualdians, Tugians,Glareans,Solothurnians, and they of Friburge aunſwered agayne by contrary letters, exhortyng and requiring them in any caſe to deſiſte from their purpoſed enterpriſe: puttyng them in remembraunce of their league & compoſition made, and alſo of the diſputation of Baden aboue mencioned,of the which diſputation they were them ſelues (they ſayd) the firſt begynners and authors: ſaying moreouer,that it was not lawfull for any natiō or prouince to alter the ſtate of Religion,but the ſame to belong to a generall Councell: wherfore they deſired them, ẏ they would not attempte any ſuch wicked acte, but continue in the Religion, which their parentes and elders had obſerued: and in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither ſend,nor ſuffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet graunt ſafeconduict to any others to paſſe through their countrey, To this and ſuch like effect tended the letters of theſe Suitzers aboue named.

Ex Comment. Ioan. Sled.lib.6.

All which notwythſtandyng, the Lordes of Berne proceedyng in their intended purpoſe, vpon the day preſcribed (which was the vij. of January) began their diſputation. Of all the biſhops before ſignified (whiche were aſſigned to come) there was not one preſent. Neuertheles the Citie of Baſill, Zurike, and Schafuſe, and abbecelle, Sangallium, Mulluſiia, with the neighbours of Rhetia,alſo they of Strausburgh,Ulmes,Auſburge,Lindaue,Conſtance, and Iſne, ſent thether their Ambaſſadours.

The diſputation beginneth.

The Doctours, aboue mencioned, of the Citie of Berne,began the diſputation. Where at the ſame tyme, were preſent Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurerus, with other moe, all which defended the affirmatiue of the concluſions propounded. On the contrary ſide of them whiche were thee opponentes, the chieftaine was Conradus Tregerus a Frier Auguſtine,who to proue his aſſertion,when he was driuen to ſhifte out of the Scripture, to ſeke helpe of other Doctours, and the moderatours of the diſputation woulde not permitte the ſame (beyng contrary to the order before appoynted) he departed out of the place, and woulde diſpute no more.

The part defendent.

The part opponent.

The popes doctrine can not abyde the triall of the Scripture.

Reformation of religiō in Berne.

Maſſes and Images put downe at Berne.

The diſputation endured xix. dayes,in the end whereof it was agreed, by the aſſent of the moſt part, that the cōcluſions there diſputed,were conſonant to ẏ truth of Gods worde,and ſhoulde be ratified not onely in the Citie of Berne, but alſo proclaymed by the Magiſtrates in ſondry other Cities nere adioynyng: furthermore that Maſſes,aultars, and Images in all places ſhould be aboliſhed.

The popes clergie can not abyde to be reſtrayned from fornication and adultery.

Ambroſe Blaurerus preaches at Conſtance.

At the Citie of Conſtance certayne thynges begon to be altered a litle before. Where alſo, among other thynges, lawes were made agaynſt fornication,and adultery, and all ſuſpect or vnhoneſt company, whereat the Canons, (as they are called) of the Church, taking great griefe and diſpleaſure,departed the Citie. In the ſayd Citie was then teacher Ambroſius Blaurerus, a learned man, and borne of a noble ſtocke, who had bene a monke a litle before, profeſſed in the Monaſtery of Alperſpacke, in the Duchie of Wyttenberge, belongyng to the dominion of Ferdinandus. Which Blaurerus by reading of Luthers workes,and hauyng a good witte,had chaunged a litle before, hys religion and alſo his coate, returnyng agayne home vnto his frēdes, and when hys Abbot would haue had hym againe, & wrote earneſtly to the Senate of Conſtance for hym: he declared the whole caſe of the matter in writyng,propoūdyng withall, certeine conditions, wherupon he was content (as he ſayd) to returne. But the conditions were ſuch that the Abbot was rather wyllyng and contented, that he ſhoulde remayne ſtill at Conſtance,and ſo he dyd.

Reformation of religion at Conſtance.

After this diſputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath bene ſayd) the Images and aultares, with ceremonies, and Maſſes were aboliſhed at conſtance.

Reformation of religion at Geneua.

They of Geneua alſo for theyr partes, were n[illegible]hynd, folowyng likewiſe the example of the Citie of Berne in extirpyng Images and cerimonies. By reaſon wherof the Byſhop and Clergy there left and departed the Citie in no ſmall anger.

The Bernates after they had redreſſed with them the ſtate of Religion, they renounced the league made before with the French kinge, refuſing and forſakyng his warly

The Lanceknightes of Berne and Zurike forſake their league with the French kyng.

wherby they were bounde at his call to fede hys warres, folowyng therein the example of the Tygurines, which before had done the lyke, and were contented onely with their yearely penſion that the kyng payeth to euery page of the Heluetians, to kepe peace.

* Victory of the Goſpell an. 1528.

* The day and yeare when this reformation with them began, from Popery to true Chriſtianitie, they cauſed in a pillar to be engrauen wyth golden letters, for a perpetuall memory to all poſteritie to come. This was an. 1528.

Reformation of religion in Strauſburgh.

After that the rumour of this diſputation, and alteration of Berne, was noyſed in other cities & places abroad, firſt the Miniſters of Strauſburgh encouraged by thys occaſion, began lykewiſe to affirme and teach that the maſſe was wicked and a great blaſphemie agaynſt Gods holy name, and therfore was to be abrogated, and in ſtead thereof, the right vſe of the Lords ſupper to be reſtored againe. Which vnleſſe they could proue by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuſe no maner of puniſhment. On the contrary part, the Byſhop of Romes clergie, did holde and maintayne that the Maſſe was good and holy, whereupon kyndled a great contention on both ſides: which when the Senate and Magiſtrates of the citie would haue brought to a diſputation, and could not, becauſe the Prieſtes would not condeſcend to any reaſoning, therfore ſeeyng they ſo accuſed the other, & yet would come to no triall of their cauſe, the ſayd Magiſtrates cōmaunded them to ſilence. The byſhop in the meane while ceaſed not with his letters & meſſengers, dayly to call vpō the Senate deſiring the Senate to perſeuere in the auncient Religiō of their elders, & to geue no eare to thoſe new teachers, declaryng what daunger and perill it would bring vpon them.

The Byſhop of Strauſburgh to the Senate.

The Senate of Strauſburgh replyeth to the byſhop.

The Senate agayne deſired hym, as they had done oftentymes before, that ſuch thynges, which apperteyned to the true honour and worſhip of God, might be ſet forward, and all other thynges which tended to the contrary, might be remoued and taken away: for that properly belonged to hys office to ſee to. But the Byſhop ſtill dryuing them of wyth delayes, pretended to call an aſſemble for the ſame, appoyntyng alſo day and place for the hearyng and diſcuſſyng of thoſe controuerſies: where, in deede, nothyng was performed at all: but wyth hys letters he did often ſollicitate them to ſurceaſe their enterpriſe, ſometymes by way of entreatyng, ſometimes with manacing wordes terrifyng thē: and at laſt, ſeeyng he could nothyng by that way preuayle, he turned hys ſute to the aſſemble of the Empyre, whiche was then at Spires collected, entreatyng them to ſet in a foote, and to helpe what they could, with their authoritie.

The Byſhop of Strauſburgh cōplayneth to the Councell of Spires.

The meſſage frō the Councell of Spires, to the Citie of Strauſburgh.

They ready to ſatiſfie the Byſhops requeſt, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſie to the Senate and Citizens of Strauſburgh, about Decēber, the yeare aboue ſayd, requiring thē not to put downe the Maſſe: for neither it was (ſayd they) in the power of ye Emperour, nor of any other eſtate to alter the auncient Religion receaued from their forefathers, but either by a generall, or by a prouinciall Councell, whiche Councell if they ſuppoſed to be farre of, at leaſt that they would take a pauſe till the next ſitting of ye Empyre, which ſhould be with ſpeede, where their requeſtes being propoūded and heard, they ſhould haue ſuch reaſonable aunſwere, as ſhould not miſcontent them: for it was (ſayde they) agaynſt all law and reaſon, for a priuate Magiſtrate to infringe and diſſolue thoſe thynges, which by generall conſent of the whole world, haue bene agreed vpon: and therefore good reaſon required, that they ſhould obteyne ſo much at their handes: For els if they ſhould obſtinatly proceede in this their attempt, ſo wyth force and violence to worke, as they began, it might fortune, the Emperour their ſupreme Magiſtrate vnder God, and alſo Ferdinandus, hys deputie would not take it well, and ſo ſhoulde be compelled to ſeeke ſuch remedie therein, as they woulde be ſory to vſe. Wherfore their requeſt was, & aduiſe alſo, that they ſhould wey the matter diligētly wyth themſelues, and folow good counſayle: who in ſo doyng, ſhould not onely glad the Emperour, but alſo worke that which ſhould redownd chiefly to their owne commendation and ſafetie.

The Byſhops of Hildeſſeme & of Strauſburgh trauaile to keepe the Citie of Strauſburgh in their old religiō.

Beſides the meſſengers thus ſent from the Councell of Spires, the Byſhop alſo of Hildeſſeme had bene wyth them a litle before, exhortyng them in the Emperours name, after lyke maner. Neither did the biſhop of Strauſburgh alſo ceaſe wyth his meſſengers and letters, dayly to labour hys frendes there, and eſpecially ſuch of the Senatours [illegible]e had to hym bound by any fealty, or otherwyſe by any giftes or frendſhyp, that ſo much as in them did lye, they ſhould vphold the Maſſe, and gaynſtand the contrary proceedinges of the other.

The Senate of Strauſburgh in the meane time, ſeing the matter did ſo long hang in cōtrouerſie, ye ſpace now of ij. yeares, & the preachers dayly & inſtantly calling vpon them for a reformation, and ſute alſo being made to them of the Citizens: aſſembled their great and full counſayle to ye nūber of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accuſtomed to do) and there with them fully debated ye caſe, declaryng on the one ſide, if they aboliſhed the Maſſe, what daunger they ſhoulde incurre by the Emperour: On the other ſide, if they dyd not, how much they ſhoulde offend god: and therfore geuing them reſpite to conſulte, at thee next meetyng required them to declare their aduiſe and ſentence, in the matter. When the day came that euery man ſhoulde ſay hys mynd, ſo it fell out, that the voyces and iudgmētes of them, which went agaynſt the Maſſe preuayled. Whereupon immediatly a decree was made the xx. of February. an. 1529. that the Maſſe ſhoulde be ſuſpended and layd down, tyll tyme ye the aduerſary part coulde proue by good Scripture, the Maſſe to bee a ſeruice auailable and acceptable before God.

Reformatiō of religion at Strauſburgh.

The Maſſe ouerthrown at Strauſburgh.

This decree beyng eſtabliſhed by the cōſent of ye whole Citie, the Senate eftſoones commaunded the ſame to bee proclaymed and to take full place and effect as well within the Citie, as alſo without, ſo farre as their limites and dominion dyd extende, & afterwarde by letters certified their Byſhop touchyng the doyng therof. Who hearyng theſe newes, as heauy to his hart as leade, dyd ſignifie to them agayne, how he receaued their letters, and how he vnderſtode by them, the effecte and ſumme of theyr doynges: all which he was enforced to digeſte with ſuch pacience as hee could, though they went ſore agaynſt hys ſtomacke, ſeyng for the preſent tyme, he could no otherwiſe chuſe: hereafter as tyme would ſerue, he ſayd he would ſee thereunto, accordyng as hys charge and office ſhould requyre.

The biſhops patience perforce.

Thus how the Maſſe was ouerthrowne in Zurike, in Berne, in Geneua, and in Strauſburgh you haue heard. Now what folowed in Baſill, remaineth likewiſe to vnderſtād. In this citie of Baſill, was Oecolampadius preacher (as is aboue ſignified) by whoſe diligēt labour & trauaile, ye Goſpell began there to take ſuch fruite, that great diſſentiō there alſo aroſe among the Citizens about Religion, and eſpecially about the Maſſe: wherupon the Senate of Baſill appoynted, that after an open diſputation, it ſhoulde bee determined by voyces, what were to be done therin. This notwithſtandyng the Papiſtes ſtill continuing in their former purpoſe, began more ſtoutly to inuey agaynſt the other part, and becauſe they were ſo ſuffered by the Magiſtrate without puniſhement, it was therfore doubted by the commons, that they had ſome priuye mainteiners among the Senatours. Wherupon certaine of the Citizens were appoynted, in the name of the whole commons to ſue to the Senatours, and to put them in remembraūce of theyr promiſe: Whoſe ſuyte and requeſt was this, that thoſe Senatours, which were the ayders and ſupporters of the Papiſtes, myght be diſplaced, for that it dyd as well tende to the cōtempt of their former decree made, as alſo to the publicke diſturbance of the Citie. But when this could not be obteyned of the Senate, the commons, vpon the viij. day of February, the yeare aboue ſayd, aſſembled them ſelues in the gray Friers Churche, and there conſideryng with them ſelues vpon the matter, repayred agayne with their ſuite vnto the Senate, but not in ſuch humble wyſe as before: and therwithall gathered them ſelues in the publicke places of the Citie, to fortifie the ſame, albeit as yet without armour. The ſame euening the Senate ſent them worde, that at their requeſt they graunted, that thoſe Senatours, although remaynyng ſtill in office, yet ſhoulde not ſitte in counſaile, what tyme any matter of Religion ſhould come in talke.

Reformatiō beginneth at Baſill.

Ioannes Oecolampadius.

The popiſhe Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

Religion in Baſill defended by the commons.

By this aunſwere the commons gathering that ye whole ſtate was ruled by a few, tooke therat grief and diſpleaſure, proteſtyng openly that they would take counſaile by them ſelues hereafter what they had to do, not onely in caſes of Religion, but alſo in other matters of ciuile gouernment, & forthwith toke them to armour, kepyng the towers & gates and other conuenient places of the Citie with watch and warde, in as forcible wiſe, as if the enemie had bene at hand.

The next day the Senate requiring reſpite to deliberate, was contented to committe the matter to them, whō the commons before had ſent as ſuters vnto them. Whiche offer the Citizens did not refuſe, but with this condition that thoſe Senatours, whiche were guilty, ſhould in the meane ſeaſō follow their plees as priuate perſōs, vpō their owne priuate coſtes and charges: the other which defēded the publicke cauſe for the behofe of the poſteritie, ſhould bee maynteyned by the publicke charges of the Citie. This ye Senate was glad to graunte vnto, with ſome other lyke matters of lighter weyght to appeace there rage.

Gods handy worke in throwing downe Images in Baſill.

It happened ye very ſame day, that certeine of the Citizens, ſuch as were appoynted to go about the Citie for the vewyng of thinges, came into the hyghe Church: where one of them thruſtyng at a certeine Image with hys ſtafe, eftſoones it fel downe & brake. By the occaſion whereof, other Images alſo in like ſort wer ſerued after the ſame deuotion. But when the prieſts came running to thẽ, which ſeemed to be greatly offended therewith, they becauſe they would not paſſe their commiſſion, ſtayde their handes & departed. It folowed vpon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens which ſtood in the market place, and the matter being made worſe to them then it was, they incontinent diſcharged out .iij. hundreth armed men, to reſcue their felowes in the Church, ſuppoſing them to be in daunger. Who commyng to the Church, and not finding their felowes there, and al thinges quiet, ſaue onely a fewe Images broken downe, they likewiſe leaſt they ſhould haue loſt al their labour, threw downe al the other Idols and Images whiche they founde there ſtanding, and ſo paſſing thorowe all other Churches in the citie, dyd there alſo the like: and when certaine of the Senate came forth to appeaſe the tumult, the citizens ſaide, that which you haue ſtand about theſe three yeares, conſultyng and aduiſing whether it were beſt to be done, or not, that ſhall we diſpatche in one houre, that from henceforth neuer more contention ſhall growe betweene vs for Images: and ſo the Senate permitted them free leaue, without any more reſiſtaunce: and xij. Senatours were diſplaced frõ their order, albeit without note of reproche or diſhoneſtie. Alſo a decree the ſame tyme was made, that as well within ẏ citie of Baſil, as without, through all their iuriſdiction, the Maſſe with all Idols ſhould be abandoned: & further, that in al ſuch matters and caſes as concerned the glory of God, and the affayres of the publique wealth, beſides the number of the other Senatours, two hundreth and three ſcore of the Burgers or citizens ſhould be appoynted out of euery warde in the citie, to ſit with them in counſel. Theſe decrees beyng eſtabliſhed, after they had kept watch and warde about the citie .iij. dayes and .iij. nightes, euery one returned againe to his houſe, quiet and ioyful, without any bloud or ſtroke geuen, or anger wreked, but onely vpon the Images.

Images throwen down at Baſill.

Xij. Senatours diſplaced at Baſill.

Maſſe put downe at Baſill.

Ex Farrag. Epiſt. Eraſ.

On the thirde day, whiche was Aſhwedneſday (as the Popes ceremoniall Church doth cal it) all the wooden Images were diſtributed among the poore of the citie, to ſerue them for fire wood. But when they coulde not well agree in diuiding the pray, but fel to brawlyng among them ſelues, it was agreed that the ſaid Images ſhould be brent all together: ſo that in nine great heapes al the ſtockes and Idols there, the ſame day were brent to aſhes before the great Church doore. And thus by Gods ordinance it came to paſſe, that the ſame day, wherin the Popes prieſtes are wont to ſhew forth al their mourning, and do marke mens foreheades with aſhes, in remembraunce that they be but aſhes, was to the whole citie feſtiual and ioyful, for turning their Images to aſhes, and ſo is obſerued and celebrate euery yeare ſtyl vnto this preſent day, with al myrth, playes and paſtymes, in remembraunce of the ſame aſhes, whiche day may there be called a right Aſhwedneſday of gods own making. The men of Zuricke, of Berne, and of Solodure hearing what buſines was at Baſil, ſent their Ambaſſadours to be a meanes betwene them, but before the Ambaſſadours came, al was ceaſed and at quiet.

Aſhewenſday at Baſill a day of all paſtyme.

A true Aſhwenſday of Gods owne makyng.

Al this meane ſpace, the Emperour & the French king were together occupied in warres and ſtrife. Whiche as it turned to the great dammage and detriment of the French king, who in the ſaide warres was taken priſoner by the Emperour, ſo it happened cõmodious and oportune for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell: for els it is to be thought that theſe Heluetians and other Germanes ſhould not haue had that leyſure and reſt to reforme religiõ, and to linke them ſelues in league together, as they dyd. But thus almightye God of his ſecret wiſdome diſpoſeth tymes & occaſions, to ſerue his wil & purpoſe in al things. Albeit Ferdinandus ẏ Emperours brother, and deputy in Germanie, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in reſiſting the procedings of the proteſtantes, as appeared, both by the decree ſet forth at Ratiſbone, and alſo at Spires. In the which Councell of Spires, Ferdinandus at the ſame tyme, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1529. had decreed againſt the proteſtantes in effect, as foloweth.

Gods prouidence to be noted for the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell.

The decree made at Spyres by Ferdinandus.

Firſt, that the edict of the Emperour made at Wormes, ſhould ſtand in force through all Germanie, tyll the tyme of the general Councel, which ſhould ſhortly folow. Alſo that they which already had altered their religion, & nowe could not reuoke the ſame againe, for feare of ſedition, ſhould ſtay them ſelues and attempt no more innouations hereafter, tyl tyme of the general Councel.

Item, that the doctrine of them which hold the Lordes Supper otherwiſe then the Church doth teach, ſhould not be receyued, nor the maſſe ſhould be altered: and there where as the doctrine of religion was altered, ſhoulde be no impediment to the cõtrary, but that they which were diſpoſed to come to maſſe, might ſafely therin vſe their deuotiõ: againſt Anabaptiſtes likewiſe: and that al miniſters of the Church ſhould be enioyned to vſe no other interpretatiõ of holy ſcripture, but according to ẏ expoſition of the Church doctors: other matters that were diſputable, not to be touched. Moreouer, that al perſons and ſtates ſhould kepe peace, ſo ẏ for religion neither ẏ one part ſhould inferre moleſtatiõ to the other, nor receyue any confederates vnder their protection & ſafegard: Al which decrees, they which ſhould tranſgreſſe, to be outlawed and exiled.

Unto this ſittyng at Spires firſt the Ambaſſadours of Strauſburgh, were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinandus, becauſe they had reiected the maſſe: and therefore ẏ ſaid citie of Strauſburgh denyed to pay any contribution againſt ẏ Turke, except they with other Germanes, might be likewiſe admitted into their cõuſels. The other princes which were receyued and not repelled, as the duke of Saxonie, George of Brandeburgh, Erneſtus, and Franciſcus Earles of Luneburgh, Lantgraue, Anhaldus, dyd vtterly gainſtande the decree, and ſhewed their cauſe in a large proteſtation written, why they ſo dyd: which done, all ſuch cities which ſubſcribed and conſented to the ſaid proteſtation of the princes, eftſoones conioyned them ſelues in a commõ league with them, whereuppon they had their name, called therof Proteſtants. The names of the cities were theſe. Argentina, or Strausburgh, Noriberge, Vlmes, Conſtance, Rutelinge, Winſſemium, Meminge, Lindauia, Campodunum, Hailbrunum, Iſna, Wiſſeburgum, Norlinge, Sangallum.

The decree of Spires reſiſted by the proteſtantes.

The name of Proteſtantes, how it firſt beganne.

Sancto gallum.

Furthermore, as touching the Heluetians (frõ whence we haue ſomewhat digreſſed) howe the citie of Berne and Zuricke had conſented and ioyned together in reformation of true religion, ye heard before. Wherfore the other Pages in Heluetia, which were of contrary profeſſion, in like maner cõfederated them ſelues in league with Ferdinandus: the number and names of which Pages, eſpecially were v. to wytte, Lucernates, Vrani, Suitenſes, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, which was in the yeare aboue ſayd: to the intent, that they conioyning their power together, might ouerrunne ẏ religion of Chriſt, and the profeſſours of the ſame. Who alſo for hatred and deſpite, hanged vp the Armes of the foreſaid cities of Zuricke and of Berne, vppon the gallowes, beſide many other iniuries and greeuaunces, whiche they wrought againſt them. For the which cauſe the ſaid cities of Berne and Zuricke rayſed their power, intendyng to ſet vpon the foreſaid Suitzers, as vpon their capitall enemies. But as they were in the field ready to encounter, one army againſt the other, through ẏ meanes of the citie of Strauſburgh, and other interceſſours, they were parted for that tyme, and ſo returned.

Quinque pagici.

The popiſh Pages in Heluetia confederate with Ferdinandus.

As touchyng the Councel of Auſpurg, which folowed the next yeare after the aſſemble of Spires, ann. 1530. how the Princes and Proteſtantes of Germanie, in the ſame Councell exhibited their confeſſion, and what labour was ſought to confute it, and howe conſtantly Duke Fredericke perſiſted in defence of his conſcience agaynſt the threatnyng wordes, and replications of the Emperour: alſo in what daunger the ſaid princes had ben in, had not the Lantgraue priuily by night ſlipt out of the citie, perteyneth not to this place preſently to diſcourſe.

The Councell of Auſpurge.

The confeſſion of the Proteſtantes at Auſpurge.

To returne therefore vnto Zuinglius and the Heluetians, of whom we haue here preſently to intreate, you hearde before howe the tumulte and commotion betweene the two Cities of Zurike and Berne, and the other fiue cities of the Cantons, was pacified by the meanes of interceſſion, whiche peace ſo continued the ſpace of two yeares. After that the olde wound waxing rawe againe, beganne to burſt out, & gather to an head: which was by reaſon of certaine iniuries, and opprobrious wordes and contumelies, which the reformed cities had receyued of the other: wherfore the Tigurines and the Bernates ſtopping all paſſages and ſtreites, would permit no corne nor victual to paſſe vnto them. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1531.

Warres betwen the Goſpellers and the fiue popiſhe townes of Suitzerland.

And when great trouble was like to kindle thereby, the Frenche king with certaine other towneſhips of Suitzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians, and other commyng betweene them, laboured to ſet them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace betwene them. Whiche conditions were theſe, that all contumelies & iniuries paſt ſhould be forgotten. That hereafter neither parte ſhoulde moleſte the other. That they whiche were baniſhed for religion, ſhoulde againe be reſtored. That the fiue Pages might remaine without diſturbaunce in their religion, ſo that none ſhoulde be reſtrained amongeſt them from the reading of the old and newe Teſtament. That no kind of diſquietnes ſhould be procured againſt thẽ of Bern and Zuricke: and that either part ſhoulde conferre mutuall helpes together, one to ſuccour the other, as in tymes paſt.

Conditions of peace drawen, but not kept.

The Tigurines prouoked and compelled to warre againſt their enemies.

But the fiue Pagemen would not obſerue thoſe couenants made, neither woulde their malicious hartes be brought to any conformitie. Wherfore the Bernates and Tigurines, ſhewing and declaring firſt their cauſe in publique writing, to purge and excuſe the neceſſitie of their warre, being preſſed with ſo many wronges, and in manner conſtrained to take the ſword in hand, dyd as before, beſet the hye wayes and paſſages, that no furniture of victuall or other forage could come to the other Pages. By reaſon whereof when they of the fiue townes began to be pinched with want and penurie, they armed them ſelues ſecretly, and ſet forewarde in warlike araye towarde the borders of Zuricke, whereas then was lying a Garriſon of the Zuricke men, to the number of a thouſande and more. Whereupon worde was ſent incontinent to the citie of Zuricke, to ſuccour their men with ſpeede, but their enemies approched ſo faſte, that they coulde hardly come to reſcue them. For when they were come to the toppe of the hylle, whereby they muſte needes paſſe, they ſawe their felowes beyng in greate diſtreſſe in the valley vnder them: whereupon they encouragyng them ſelues, made downe the hyl with more haſt then order, who might go faſteſt: but the nature of the hyl was ſuch, that there could but one go downe at once. By reaſon wherof, for as much as they could not keepe their rankes, to ioyne all together, it folowed that they being but fewe in number, were diſcomfited and ouermatched of the multitude, whiche was the .xi. daye of October, the yeare aboueſaide. Among the number of them that were ſlayne, was alſo Vldricus Zuinglius the bleſſed ſeruaunt and Sainte of God. Alſo the Abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacenſis, with .xiij. other learned and worthy men were ſlaine, being as is thought falſly betraied, and brought into the handes of their enemies.

The Tigurines ouermatched and ouercome.

Vldricus Zuinglius ſlayne.

Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 8.

Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Oecolampadij. Lib. 4.

As touching the cauſe which moued Zuinglius to goe out with his citizens to the warre, as is ſufficiently declared and excuſed both by Iohn Sledan, and eſpecially by Oecolampadius, in his Epiſtle (ad Mart. Frechtum, & Somium. Epiſt. Lib. 4. where firſt is to be vnderſtand, that it is an olde receyued maner among the Zuricke men, that when they goe forth in warfare, the chiefe miniſter of their Churche goeth with them. Zuinglius alſo of hym ſelfe beyng a man (ſaith Sledanus) of a ſtoute and bolde courage, conſidering if he ſhoulde remayne at home when war ſhould be attempted againſt his citizens, and if he whiche in his Sermons dyd ſo encourage other, ſhould nowe faynte ſo cowardly and tarye behynde at home, when tyme of daūger came, what ſhame and diſdayne might worthyly riſe to hym thereby, thought not to refuſe to take ſuch part as his brethren dyd.

Zuinglius excuſed for his going out to warre.

Oecolampadius moreouer addeth, that he wente not out as a captaine of the fielde, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and as a good ſheepehearde readye to dye with his flocke. And whiche of them al (ſaith he) that moſt crye out againſte Zuinglius, can ſhewe any ſuche noble hart in hym, to doo the like? Agayne, neyther dyd he goe out of his owne accorde, but rather deſired not to goe, foreſeeyng belike, what daunger thereof woulde enſue. But the Senate being importune vppon hym, woulde haue no naye, vrgyng and enforcyng hym moſt inſtauntly to goe: among whom were thought to haue bene ſome falſe betrayers, ſaying and obiecting to hym that he was a daſtard, if he refuſed to accōpany his brethren, as wel in tyme of daunger, as in peace. Moreouer the ſaide Zuinglius among other ſecular artes, had alſo ſome ſkyl in ſuch matters of warfare. Hæc Oecolampad. Whē he was ſlaine great cruelty was ſhewed vpō his dead corps. Such was their hatred towarde him, that their malice could not be ſatiſfied, vnleſſe alſo they ſhould burne his body being dead. Ex comment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 8.

Zuinglius hys dead bodye burned.

Ex Oſwaldo Miconio de vita et obitu Zuinglij.

The report goeth, ẏ after his body was cut firſt in foure peeces, and then conſumed with fire, three dayes after his death, his frends came to ſee whether any part of him was remaynyng, where they founde his hart in the aſhes, whole and vnburned: in muche like maner as was alſo the hart of Cranmer. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whiche in the aſhes alſo was founde and taken vp vnconſumed, as by credible information is teſtified.

The hart of Zuinglius, found whole in the aſhes.

Furthermore, ſuch was then the rage of theſe fiue pages againſt the foreſaid Abbot Capellenſis, that they toke hym being ſlaine, and putting out both his eyes, they clothed hym in a monkes Coule, and ſo ſet hym in the pulpite to preach, [illegible]yling and ieſting vpon hym in moſt deſpitefull maner. Ex Epiſt. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgandum Capitonem lib.4. Vldericke Zuinglius was when he dyed, of the age of .xliiij. yeares, younger then M. Luther by .iiij. yeares.

The cruell handling of the Abbot Cappellenſis.

Ex Epiſt. Oecola. ad VVolfgangum Capitonem. lib.4.

The age of Zuinglius and of Luther reckened.

The Bernates, who were purpoſed the ſame tyme to atchieue warre againſt the Vnterualdians bordring neare vnto them, when thei heard of this diſcomfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them againe, deſired them to be of good cheare and courage, promiſing that they woulde not fayle, but come and reuenge their quarrell. Agayne, when the Tigurines had aſſembled their power together, whiche was the eyght daye after the battell, and had receyued ayde from the Schaffuſians, Mulluſians, Sangalles, and from Baſil, (the Bernates at this tyme were nothing haſtie) out of the whole number they choſe out certaine enſignes, which ſettyng forth in the night, laye in the hyll beſide Mecinge, intending when the Moone was vp, to take ẏ towne of Tugie lying neare at hand, vpon ẏ ſodayne. Which whē their enemies had perceiued, which were encamped not far from them, with al ſpeede & moſt ſecrete maner came vpon them being at reſt, the .xxiiij. daye of October, & put to them in more feare, made a wonderful clamorous outcry: ſo it fel out in concluſion, that many on both parties were ſlaine. And albeit the fiue pagemen had the vpper hand, yet would they of Zuricke nothing relent in their religion. At the laſt through mediation, a peace was concluded, & thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Baſilians, ſhould forſake the league which they had lately made with the citie of Strauſburgh, & the Lantgraue: likewiſe ſhould the fiue Pagemen geue ouer their league and compoſition made with Ferdinandus: & hereof obligations were made and ſealed in the latter ende of Nouember.

An other ſkirmiſh betwene the Tigurines and the fiue Pagemen, in Suitzerland.

Peace concluded betwene the Proteſtants and the Papiſtes, in Suitzerland.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the citie of Strauſburgh aboue recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his deare frende, tooke thereat inward griefe and ſorowe, in ſo much that it is thought to haue encreaſed his diſeaſe, and ſo he alſo departed this lyfe, the ſame yeare and moneth of Nouember aboue mentioned, being of the age of .xlx. yeares, elder then M. Luther by one yeare. Although this Oecolampadius then dyed, yet his learned & famous commentaries vpon the Prophets, with other worthy works, which he leaft behynde hym, lyue ſtyl, and ſhal neuer dye.

The death of Oecolampadius, anno. 1531.

The Commentaries of Oecolampadius vpon the Prophets.

The next yeare folowing, which was, ann. 1532. in the moneth of Auguſt, dyed alſo the worthy and memorable prince Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, who for teſtimonie of Chriſte and of his Goſpell, ſuſteined ſuch trials, ſo many bruntes, and ſo vehement conflicts with the Emperour, and that eſpecially at the Councel aſſembled at Auſpurge, that vnleſſe the almighty hand of the Lorde had ſuſteined hym, it had not bene poſſible for hym or any prince to haue endured ſo conſtant and vnremoueable, againſt ſo many perſuaſions, and aſſaultes, as he dyd to the ende. After hym ſucceeded Iohn Fridericke his ſonne. &c.

The death of Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie.

And thus haue ye the hiſtorie of Zuinglius, and of the Church of Suitzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the firſt begynnyng of their reformation of Religion, ſet forth and deſcribed. Whereunto we wyl adde one certaine Epiſtle of the ſaid Zuinglius, takē out of his other Epiſtles, and ſo therewith cloſe vp his ſtorie. Which Epiſtle I thought here to record, eſpecially for that in the ſame among other matters, profitably is expoūded the true meaning of the Apoſtle, writing to the Corinthians, concerning howe to iudge the Lordes body, to the entent that the ſimple thereby may the better be informed. The wordes of his letter be theſe, as folowe.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in domino.

Gratiam & pacem in domino. Accipe igitur chariſſ. frater, &c.

In Engliſhe thus.

A letter of Vldricus Zuinglius.

Vnto your queſtions propounded to me in your former letters (well beloued brother,) I haue ſente you here myne anſweare. Firſte I am alſo in the ſame mynde with you, that the Lordes ſupper is a verye thankes geuyng: for ſo the Apoſtle hym ſelfe meaneth, ſaying: Ye ſhall ſhewe forth the Lordes death. Where the woorde of ſhewing foorth, ſignifieth as muche as prayſing, or thankes geuyng. Wherfore ſeyng it is an Euchariſt, or a thankes geuyng, in my iudgement no other thyng ought to be obtruded to mens conſciences, but onely with due reuerence to geue thankes. Neuertheleſſe yet this is not to be neglected, that euery man do proue and examine hym ſelfe, for ſo we ought to ſearch and aſke our owne conſciences, what fayth we haue in Chriſt Ieſus, which if it be ſound & ſincere, we may approche without ſtaye, to this thankes geuing. For he that hath no fayth, & yet faineth or pretendeth to haue, eateth his own iudgment: for he lyeth to the holy ghoſt. And whereas you ſuppoſe, that Paule in this place doth not reproue them which ſit at the table eatyng of meates offered to Idols, I diſſent from you therein. For Paul a litle before writeth vehementlie agaynſt thoſe arrogant perſons which bragging vpon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eate of ſuch meates offered to Idols, ſyttyng and eatyng at the Lords table: you can not (ſaith he) be partakers both of the Lordes table, and the table of deuyls, &c. Wherfore ſaint Paules meanyng is, that euery one ſhoulde trye

1 Cor. 10.

and examine hym ſelfe what fayth he hath. Whereupon it ſoloweth, that he which hath a right faith, muſt haue no parte nor felowſhip with thoſe thinges, whiche be geuen to Idols, for he is nowe a member of another bodye, that is, of Chriſt: ſo that he can not ioyne hym ſelf now to be one body with Idolaters. And therefore thoſe be they whiche do not iudg or diſcerne the Lordes body, that make no difference betweene the Churche of Chriſte, and the Church of Idolaters. For they whiche ſitte at the Lordes table eatyng of Idolmeates, doo make no difference at al betweene the Lordes ſupper, and the ſupper of the deuyll, whiche be they whom Paul ſayth, not to iudge the bodye of the Lorde, that is, whiche make no diſcrepance, nor geue any more regard to Chriſtes Churche, then to the Churche of deuylles. Whereas if we woulde iudge our ſelues, that is, if we would thorowly ſearch and examine our owne conſciences as we ſhould, in commyng to the table of the Lord we findyng any faith in vs, woulde neuer goe to the table, or make therof the feaſt of deuylles. Wherefore your iudgment herein is not amiſſe in expounding the worde of iudging in S.Paul, to ſignifie as muche as, conſidering, perpendyng, and inquiring.

The place of S. Paul of iudging the Lordes body, expounded.

Who be they that iudge not the Lordes body.

To your ſeconde queſtion I anſweare, that Ieſus tooke bread, and brake, &c. Alſo, he tooke the cup, &c. *Iſta verba ſunt peculiariter agentis, non hoſpitaliter inuitantis*: that is, theſe wordes declare the actió of one which properly doth a thing, and not the hoſpitalitie of one which inuiteth another to eate. Touching your third queſtion out of the ſixt chapt. of Iohn: Doth this offend you? herein I do ful agree with you.

Ieſus toke bread.

As for this word Oſtren, which is your fourth queſtió, I vnderſtand therby, the time of the great feaſt or ſolemnitie, whiche we keepe in remembrance of the great deliueraunce of Gods people, from the thraldome nowe of Satan, before from the thraldome of Pharao. Neither is it greatly material with what woorde we expreſſe the thyng, ſo the thynge it ſelfe be one, and the analogie & conſonancie of the ſcripture be kept: For the Scripture calleth Chriſt both the lambe, and S. Paul calleth hym our Eaſter or Paſſeouer. Now your word wanderfeſt wel pleaſeth me, for the Paſſeouer, or Pæſah.

The word Eaſter.

To your fift interrogation, of Chriſt deſcending into hel, I ſuppoſe this particle was inſerted into the Crede, by the ſentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers were redemed by the death of Chriſt, which dyed in the fayth. For Chriſte led away captiuitie wherewith they were holden, with him vp into heauen: ſo that his going down into hel, *nó ſic intelligatur, quaſi circúſcriptiue, ſed potentionaliter*: that is, be not ſo vnderſtanded, as circumſcriptiuely, whiche is, when a thyng is preſent by circumſcription of any one place: but by power, which is, by the operation of his ſpirit, whiche is not cóprehended in any certaintie of place, but without preſcription of certaine place, is diffuſed euery where: ſo that the article of Chriſtes deſcendyng into hell, importeth as much, as that his death redemed them, which were in hel. Wherúto S. Peter alſo ſemeth to haue reſpect, where he ſayth: * The Goſpel alſo was preached to them which were dead: that is, that they alſo dyd feele the good tydynges of the Goſpel, their redemption by the ſonne of God: and that they which roſe againe with Chriſt in ſpirite, be now with hym in heauen, who neuertheles in fleſh ſhalbe iudged, what tyme the ſonne of God & of man ſhal come to iudge both the quicke & dead. Returne to the places of Peter, the one is in his firſt Epiſtle, the other in the latter: & ſo be you contéted with this preſent anſwere raſhed vp in haſte. Fare ye hartily well. And comforte my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God whiche is in you. Commend me to Iohn Eggenberge. From Zuricke the firſt day of September, ann. 1527.

The deſcending of Chriſt into hell, expounded.

Circumſcriptiue. Potentionaliter.

Vt mors illius eos, qui erant apud inferos, redimeret.

* 1. Pet. 3.

FRom the firſt beginnyng of this whole booke and hiſtorie hytherto (good reader) thou haſt hearde of many and ſundry troubles, & much buſineſſe in the church of Chriſte, concernyng the reformation of diuers abuſes and great errours crept into the ſame, namely in the Church of Rome, as appeareth by the doynges of them, in diuers and ſundrye places, whereof mention hath bene made heretofore in this ſaide hiſtorie. For what godly man hath there bene within the ſpace of theſe fiue hundred yeares, either vertuouſly diſpoſed, or excellently learned, whiche hath not diſproued the miſordred doinges & corrupt examples of the See & Biſhop of Rome, from tyme to tyme, vnto the cómyng of this Luther? Wherin this appeareth to me, & may alſo appeare no leſſe to al godly diſpoſed men, to be noted, not without great admiration, that ſeyng this foreſaid Romiſh Biſhop hath had great enemies and gainſayers continually from tyme to tyme, both ſpeaking & workyng, preaching and writyng againſt hym, yet notwithſtandyng neuer any could preuaile before the commyng of this man. The cauſe wherof, although it be ſecretly knowen vnto God, and vnknowen vnto men: yet ſo farre as men by coniectures maye ſuppoſe, it maye thus not vnlikely be thought: That whereas other men before hym, ſpeaking againſt the pompe, pride, whoredome, and auarice of the Biſhop of Rome, charged him onely or moſt ſpecially with examples and maners of lyfe: Luther went further with hym, charging hym not with life, but with his learnyng: not with doynges, but with his doctrine: not picking at the ryne, but plucking vp ẏ roote: not ſeeking the man, but ſhaking his ſeate, yea & charging hym with plaine hereſie, as preiudiciall and reſiſting plainly againſt the bloud of Chriſt, contrary to the true ſenſe and direct vnderſtanding of the ſacred teſtament of Gods holy word. For wheras the fundatió of our fayth grounded vpó the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth vs to be iuſtified onely by the worthynes of Chriſt, and the onely price of his bloud: the Pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth vs otherwiſe to ſeeke our ſaluation, not by Chriſt alone, but by the waye of mens merityng and deſeruyng by workes: Wherupon roſe diuers ſortes of orders & religious ſectes amongſt men, ſome profeſſing one thing, and ſome an other, & euery man ſeking his own vnrighteouſnes, but few ſeking the righteouſnes of hym which is ſet vp of god to be our righteouſnes, redemption, and iuſtification.

The corruption of the Sea of Rome, continually cryed out agaynſt.

The Pope charged with hereſie by Luther.

The foundation of the popes doctrine contrarye to Chriſten fayth.

Martin Luther therefore vrgyng and reducing thynges to the foundation and touchſtone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, whiche before were drowned in darkeneſſe. Wherupon it can not be expreſſed what ioye, comforte, and conſolation came to the hartes of men, ſome lying in darkeneſſe and ignoraunce, ſome wallowyng in ſinne, ſome beyng in diſpayre, ſome macerating them ſelues by workes, and ſome preſumyng vppon their owne righteouſnes, to behold that glorious benefite of the greate libertie and free iuſtification ſet vp in Chriſte Ieſus. And briefely to ſpeake, the more glorious the benefite of this doctrine appeared to the worlde after long ignoraunce, the greater perſecution folowed vppon the ſame. And where the electe of God tooke moſt occaſion of comfort & of ſaluation, thereof the aduerſaries tooke moſte matter of vexation and diſturbance: As commonly we ſee the true worde of God to bryng with it euer diſſenſion and perturbation, and therefore truely it was ſayde of Chriſte, That he came not to ſende peace on earth, but the ſwoorde. And this was the cauſe, why that after the doctrine and preachyng of Luther, ſo great troubles and perſecutions folowed in all quarters of the worlde: whereby roſe great diſquietneſſe among the prelates, and many lawes and decrees were made, to overthrowe the ſame by cruell handlyng of manye good and Chriſtian men. Thus while authoritie armed with lawes and rigour, dyd ſtriue agaynſte ſimple veritie, lamentable it was to heare, howe many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, ſome toſt from place to place, ſome exiled out of the land for feare, ſome cauſed to abiure, ſome driuen to caues in woodes, ſome racked with torment, and ſome purſued to death with fagot and fire. Of whom we haue now (Chriſt willyng) in this hiſtorie folowyng to entreat, firſt beginnyng with certaine that ſuffered in Germanie, and then to returne to our owne ſtories, and martyrs here in England.

Iuſtification by fayth, reuiued by Luther.

Math. 10.

Great perſecution after the doctrine of Luther.

¶ Henry Voes and Iohn Eſch,

Fryers Auguſtines.

IN the yeare of our Lorde. 1523. two young men were burnt at Bruxelles, the one named Henry Voes, beyng of the age of. 24. yeares, and the other Iohn Eſch, whiche before had bene of the order of the Auguſtine fryers. They were diſgraded the firſt day of Iulie, and ſpoyled of their fryers weed, at the ſuite of Egmondanus the Popes Inquiſitour, and the diuines of Louain, for that they woulde not retract and denye their doctrine of the Goſpel, whiche the Papiſtes call Lutheraniſme. Their examiners were Hocheſtratus and other, who demaunded of them, what they dyd beleue? They ſayd, the bookes of the olde Teſtament, and the newe, wherin were conteyned the Articles of the Crede. Then were they aſked whether they beleued the decrees of the Councels and of the fathers? They ſayd, ſuch as were agreyng to the Scripture, they beleued. After this they proceded further, aſkyng whether they thought it any deadly ſinne, to tranſgreſſe the decrees of the fathers, and of the Biſhop of Rome? That (ſayde they) is to be attributed onely to the preceptes of God, to bynd the conſcience of man, or to looſe it. Wherein when they conſtantly perſiſted, and woulde not turne, they were condemned & iudged to be burned. Then they began to geue thankes to God their heauenly father, whiche had deliuered thé through his great goodnes, fró ẏ falſe & abo-

Two Fryers burned at Bruxelles.

Egmondanus, and Hocheſtratus, doctors of Louain, perſecuters.

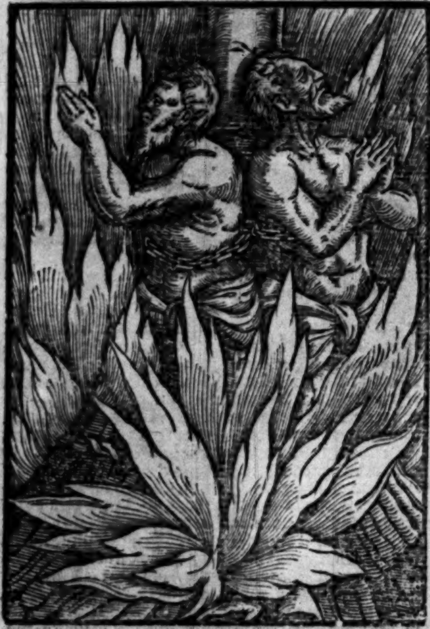
Their examination.

The cauſe of their accuſation and Martyrdome.

minable prieſthood, & had made of them prieſtes of his holy order, receyuing thẽ vnto hym as a ſacrifice of ſweet odor. Then there was a byl written, which was deliuered vnto thẽ to reade openly before the people, to declare what fayth and doctrine they held. The greateſt error that they were accuſed of, was that men ought to truſt only in God, for ſo much as mẽ are lyers & deceitful in al their wordes & deedes & therfore there ought no truſt or affiance to be put in thẽ.

As they were led vnto the place of execution, whiche was the firſt day of Iulie, they went ioyfully and merely, making continual proteſtation that they dyed for the glorye of God, and the doctrine of the Goſpel, as true Chriſtians, beleuyng and folowing the holy church of the ſonne of god, ſaying alſo that it was the day which they had long deſired. After they were come to the place where they ſhoulde be burned, and were diſpoyled of their garmentes, they taryed a great ſpace in their ſhirtes, & ioyfully embraced the ſtake that they ſhoulde be bounde to, paciently and ioyfully enduring what ſo euer was done vnto them, praiſing God with Te Deum laudamus, and ſingyng Pſalmes, and rehearſing the Crede, in teſtimonie of their fayth. A certaine doctour beholding their iolitie & myrth, ſaid vnto Henry ỹ he ſhould take heede ſo fooliſhly to glorifie hym ſelfe. To whom he anſweared, God forbyd that I ſhoulde glory in any thyng, but only in the croſſe of my Lord Ieſus Chriſte. An other counſelled hym to haue God before his eyes: vnto whom he anſwered, I truſt that I cary him truely in my hart. One of them ſeing that fire was kindled at his feete, ſaide: Me thinkes ye do ſtrow roſes vnder my feet. Finally the ſmoke and the flame mounting vp to their face, choked them.

The burnyng of Henry Voes and Iohn Eſch,
Fryers Auguſtines.



Beholde howe conſtantly and ioyfully theſe Martyrs take their death.

Henry being demaunded amongſt other thynges, whether Luther had ſeduced hym or no: yea (ſaid he) euen as Chriſt ſeduced his Apoſtles. He ſaid alſo, that it was contrary to Gods lawe, that the clergie ſhould be exempted frõ the power & iuriſdiction of the magiſtrate ordeined of God, for ſuch as were ordeyned in office by the biſhops, haue no power but onely to preache the worde of God, and to feede their flocke therewithal. After their death, their monaſterie was diſſolued at Antwarpe. The Preſident wherof, by the Papiſtes called Iacobus Lutherianus, after diuers and many troubles & afflictions was forced to recant at Bruxels, but afterward his mynd being renued by ỹ holy ghoſt, embracing that againe whiche he before had renounced, he fled vnto Luther. Ex. 6. tomo M. Lutheri. fol. 397.

Agaynſt all reaſon that the Clergie ſhould be exempted from the ciuill Magiſtrate.

Iacobus Lutherianus

Henry Sutphen Monke put to death in Diethmar.

Henry Sutphen, Martyr.

The next yeare after the burnyng of thoſe two Chriſtian martyrs at Bruxels aboue mentioned, with like tyrannye alſo was martyred and burned without all order of iudgement or iuſt condemnation, about the citie of Diethmar, in the borders of Germanie, one Henry of Sutphen Monke, ann. 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Cõmentaries of Ioh. Sledan. Lib. 4. but his hiſtorye is more amply deſcribed of Luther, of Paulus Eberus in his Calendar, of Ludou. Rabus, Criſpinus, and other. This Sutphen had bene before with M. Luther, and afterward comming to Antwarpe, was from thence excluded for the Goſpell, and ſo came to Breme, not to the intente there to preache, but for that he was mynded to go to Wittenberge, beyng driuen from Antwarpe, as is aboueſaid. Who being at Breme, was there required by certaine godly citizens of Breme, to make one or two briefe exhortations vpon the Goſpel. Whereunto, through the earneſt loue and zeale that was in hym, he was eaſily allured and perſwaded. He made his firſt Sermon vnto the people, the Sonday before ſaint Martins day. When the people heard hym preache the worde of God ſo ſincerely, they deſired hym againe the ſeconde tyme, and were ſo in loue with his doctrine, that the whole pariſh required hym to tary amongſt them to preach the Goſpel: which thing, for feare of daunger, for a tyme he refuſed. When the religious rout had vnderſtanding hereof, ſpecially the Canons, Monkes, and prieſtes, they went about with al endeuour, to oppreſſe him, & thruſt both hym out of the citie, and alſo the Goſpel of Chriſt (for that was their chiefe ſeeking:) whereupon they went vnto the Senate, deſiring that ſuche an heretique might be baniſhed the towne, which in his doctrine preached againſt the catholike Church. Vpon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate ſent for the wardens, and head men of the pariſhe where Henry had preached, who being come together, the Senate declared vnto them the complaint of the Canons, and al the other religious men. Wherunto the citizens of Breme taking their preachers part, anſwered, that they knewe none other, but that they had hyred a learned and honeſt man, to preach vnto thẽ, which ſhould teach them ſincerely & truely the worde of God. Notwithſtanding, if the Chapterhouſe or any other man could bring teſtimonial or witnes, that the preacher had taught any thing, which either ſauored of hereſie, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they ſaid) with the Chapterhouſe to perſecute hym: for God forbyd that they ſhoulde mainteine an heretique. But if contrarywiſe the Canons of the Chapterhouſe, and the other Religious men wyll not declare and ſhowe that the preacher whom they had hyred, had taughte anye errour or hereſie, but were ſette onelye of malice, by violence to driue hym awaye, they might not (ſayd they) by anye meanes ſuffer the ſame. Whereupon they deſired the Senate with al humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but graunt them equitie and iuſtice, ſaying, that they were mynded to aſſiſt their preacher alwayes, and to pleade his cauſe.

Ex Comment. Sled. Lib. 4.

Henry Sutphen preacheth at Breme.

Monkes and prieſtes conſpire againſt Henrye.

The Citizens of Breame. excuſe their preacher.

This anſwere the Senate cõmaunded to be declared to the Chapterhouſe. When as the religious ſort vnderſtoode that they could preuaile litle or nothyng with their wordes, burſting out in a furie, they began to threaten, & therwithal went ſtrayte vnto the Archbiſhop, to certifie hym howe the citizens of Breme were become heretiques, and would no lõger obey their religious ſort, with many other like thinges in their complaynte, ſo ỹ it was to be feared, leaſte the whole citie ſhortly ſhould be ſeduced.

The Monkes and prieſtes complaine agayne of the preacher to the Archbiſhop of Breme.

When the Biſhop heard tell of theſe thinges, ſtraightwaies he ſent two which were of his cõuſel, vnto Breme, requiring ỹ Henry ſhould be ſent vnto him without delay. Whẽ they were demaũded why they would haue him ſent, thei anſwered, becauſe he preached againſt the holy church. Being againe demaunded, in what pointes or articles, they had nothing to ſay. One of theſe counſellers was the Biſhops Suffragan, a naughtie pernitious hypocrite, which ſought all meanes poſſible to cary away ỹ ſaid Henry captiue. Finally they receiued this anſweare of the ſenators, that for ſo much as the preacher being hyred by the Church wardens, had not hitherto ben conuict for an heretike, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they ſaide, they could by no meanes obteine of the citizens that he ſhould be caryed away: Wherfore they earneſtly deſired the biſhop that he would ſpeedily ſende his learned men vnto Breame, to diſpute with hym, and if he were conuinced, they promiſed, without any delay that he ſhould be iuſtly puniſhed, & ſent away: if not, they woulde in no wiſe let hym departe. Whereunto the Suffragan anſweared with a great proteſtation, requiring ỹ he might be deliuered into his handes, for the quietnes of ỹ whole countrey, taking God to his witnes, ỹ in this behalfe, he ſought for nothing els, but onely the commoditie of his countrey. But for al this, they coulde preuayle nothing,

The preacher cited to appeare before the Archbiſhop.

Falſe accuſation.

The Senate denyeth to ſend the preacher to the biſhop.

The Senate of Breme require a diſputation of the Archbyſhop.

The Suffragane would not confirme their children for anger.

thing, for the Senate continued ſtyl in their former minde. Whereuppon the Suffragan beyng moued with anger, departed from Breame, and woulde not confirme their children.

When the prelates can not preuayle by power, they fall to practiſe.

When he came vnto the Biſhop, he declared the anſwer of the Senate, and what he had hearde and learned of the prieſtes & monkes there. Afterwarde when dayly newes came, that the preacher dyd ſtill more and more preache and teach more heynous matter againſt the religious rout, they attempted an other way, ſubornyng great men to admoniſh the Citizens of Breme into what ieopardye their common wealth might fal by meanes of their preacher, preaching cõtrary to the decree of the Pope & Emperour. Beſides that, they ſaid, that he was the priſoner of the Lady Margaret, for which cauſe they had gotten letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to haue her priſoner ſent vnto her againe.

An other practiſe of the Archbyſhop.

All theſe craftes and ſubtilties dyd nothing at all preuaile, for the Senate of Breme anſwered all things without blame. When as the Biſhop ſawe this his enterpriſe alſo fruſtrate, he attempted an other way, whereby he had certaine hope, that both he, and alſo the worde of God with hym ſhould be wholy oppreſſed. Whereupon they decreed a prouincial counſaile, not to be holden at Breme, as it was accuſtomed, but at Buckſtade, which place thei thought moſt meete for their purpoſe.

To this Councel were called al the prelates and learned men of the dioces, to determine what was to be beleeued, and whereto to truſt.

A Councell of prieſtes called againſt Henrye Sutphen.

Henry gathereth the ſumme of his doctrine in wryting.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 833. 837.

The Catholike proceding of the Popes Clergie.

They that went about to take hym, were taken.

Alſo to the ſaid Councel was Henry called, notwithſtanding that they had already decreed to procede agaynſt him, as againſt a manifeſt heretique, albeit he was not yet conuict, nor had pleaded his cauſe before. Wherefore the rulers of the citie, together with the commonaltie, deteyned him at home, forſeeing and ſuſpecting the malice of the Councell. Then the ſaide Henry gathered a ſumme of his doctrine into a fewe articles, and ſente it with his letters, vnto the Archebiſhop, excuſing his innocencie, offering hym ſelfe to be ready, if he were conuict of any errour by the teſtimonie of the holy Scripture, he would be ready to recant the ſame: notwithſtanding earneſtly requiring, that his errours might be conuicted by the holy ſcriptures, by the teſtimonie wherof he had hitherto approued his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirme the ſame: but this tooke no place amongeſt thoſe annoynted prelates. What the determination of their iudgement was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that ſhortly after they ſet vp vpõ the church porche the Bull of Pope Leo the tenth, and decree of the Emperour made at Wormes. Whereupon Henry contemnyng their madnes, proceeded dayly in preaching the Goſpel, addyng alwayes this proteſtation, that he was readye willingly to geue account touching his fayth and doctrine, to euery man that would require the ſame. In the meane tyme the holy Catholiques coulde not be idle, but ſent their Chapleynes vnto euerye Sermon, to trappe hym in his wordes. But God, whoſe foote pathes are in the middeſt of ÿ floudes, would haue his marueilous power to be ſeene in thẽ, for he conuerted many of thẽ: in ſo muche that the greater part of thoſe that were ſent to hearken, dyd openly witneſſe his doctrine to be Gods truth, againſt whiche no man could contend, and ſuche as in al their lyues before thei had not heard, perſwading them likewiſe, that they forſaking al impietie, ſhould folowe the word of God, and beleue the ſame, if they woulde be ſaued. But the chiefe prieſtes, Canons, and monkes, were ſo indurate and blinded with Pharao, that they became the worſe for theſe admonitions, When as God ſaw the tyme conuenient that Henry ſhould confirme the veritie that he had preached, he ſente hym amongeſt the cruel murtherers appoynted for that ſlaughter, by this occaſion as foloweth.

Henry Sutphen ſent for to preach at Mel dorph.

It happened in the yeare of our Lord. 1524. that this Henrye was ſent for by letters, by Nicolas Boye pariſhe prieſt, and other faythful Chriſtians of the pariſhe of Meldorphe, which is a towne in Diethmar, to preache the Goſpell vnto them, and deliuer them out of the bondage of Antichriſt, which in that place had ful dominion.

The Citizens of Breme perſwade Henrye not to goe to Diethmar.

The cauſes mouing Henry to goe to Diethmar.

Theſe letters being receyued vpon S. Catherines euen, calling together ſixe brethren, honeſt citizens, he opened the matter vnto thẽ, how ÿ he was ſent for by them of Diethmar, to preach the Goſpel: adding moreouer that he was not onely a debtour vnto them, but to all other which required his ayde. Wherfore he thought good to go vnto Diethmar, to ſee what God would worke by hym, requiring alſo that they woulde helpe hym with their aduice, by what meanes he might beſt take his iourney, that no man ſhould knowe of it, that thereby he might not be letted or ſtopped: whiche thyng without doubt had come to paſſe, if his purpoſe had bene knowen to the people. Unto whom the citizens anſweared, deſiring him that he would not departe for a tyme, for ſo much as the goſpel had not yet taken ſo depe roote in ÿ people, but was as yet weake, & ſpecially in the villages therabout, & that the perſecution was very great. Wyllyng hym alſo to haue reſpect vnto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching, and if they of Diethmar deſired a preacher, he ſhoulde ſende ſome other in his place, for they had before perceyued the diſpoſition and vntruſtines of them of Diethmar: beſides that, it was not in their power to geue him free libertie to depart, without the conſent of the whole communaltie. Whereunto Henrye made anſweare in this manner, that albeit he coulde not denie but that he was ſent for by them: yet nowe there were many godly and learned men at Breme, whoſe labour they might vſe in his abſence, in preaching of the Goſpel. Beſides that, the Papiſtes were for the moſte parte vanquiſhed and ouerthrowen, and their follye knowen, euen vnto women and children, addyng thereunto, that he had nowe preached the Goſpel by the ſpace of two yeares at Breme, and that they of Diethmar lyued without a paſtour euen in the myddeſt of the woolues, wherfore he could not with ſafe conſcience denye their requeſt. And whereas they alleged that they coulde not licence hym without the conſent of the whole congregation, that (ſaide he) was but of ſmal effecte, for ſo muche as he woulde not vtterly forſake them, but determined onely to remayne with them of Diethmar, for a moneth or two, to laye a foundation, and then to returne againe, deſiring them, that after his departure, they would declare vnto the congregation, howe he was ſent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he coulde not ſay nay: wyllyng them alſo to excuſe his ſodeyne departure, for that he was forced to departe ſecretly, becauſe of his aduerſaryes priuily lying in wayte in euery place for hym, thinkyng that he ſhould ſcarſely auoyde them, which had alwayes gone about to bring hym to his death. Finally they ſhoulde promiſe to the cogregation in his name, that when he had perfourmed his enterpriſe, he woulde ſtraight returne againe. They being perſwaded with theſe wordes, conſented vnto hym, ſtedfaſtly hoping that they of Diethmar ſhould be cõuerted vnto the true fayth: whiche people aboue all other, haue alwayes bene moſt geuen vnto Idolatrie.

In this rude countrey of Deithmar, Maiſter Rogers our countreyman was ſuperintendent in tyme of the vi. articles where he with great daunger of hys lyfe, did very much good.

Henry taketh his iorney to Meldorph.

Hauing prepared all things toward his ſetting forth, ÿ xxij. day of October, he tooke his iourney, and came to Meldorphe, whyther he was ſent for: where as he was ioyfully receyued of the pariſh prieſt and other, as ſone as he was come thyther. Albeit he had not yet preached, the deuyll with his members by and by began to freate and fume for anger. Aboue al other, one Auguſtine Torneborch, Prior of the Blacke fryers, began to fume, who went out of hand vnto maiſter Iohn Swicken his companion, and Commiſſarie to the Official of Hamburge, to take counſel what was to be done, leaſt they ſhould looſe their kingdome. Finally it was decreed by them, aboue al thinges to withſtãd the begynnynges, that he ſhould not haue licence to preach: for if by any meanes it happened that he preached, and the people ſhoulde heare hym, it was to be feared that the wickednes and craft of the prieſtes and monkes ſhould be opened, which beyng made manifeſt, they knewe plainly that it would be but a folly to reſiſt, remembring what had happened lately before in Breme. This determination had, the Prior the next day early in the morning (for he had not ſlept wel al night for cares) went with great ſpede vnto Heyda) to ſpeake with the. 48. Preſidentes of the countrey: vnto whom with great complaintes he ſhewed, how that a ſeditious felowe a Monke, was come from Breme, which would ſeduce al the people of Diethmar, as he had done the Bremers. There was moreouer that dyd aſſiſt this Prior, maiſter Gunterus. Chauncelour of that countrey, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies vnto the Goſpell. Theſe two ſtoutly aſſiſted the Prior, perſwadyng the other. 46. beyng ſimple and vnlearned men, that they ſhoulde obteine great fauour and good wyl of the Biſhop of Breme, if they woulde put this heretique Monke to death. When theſe poore vnlearned men heard theſe wordes, they decreed that this monke ſhould be put to death, neither heard, nor ſeene, much leſſe conuict.

The Prior of the Blacke Friers, with the 48. Preſidentes, conſpireth the death of Henry.

The chiefe doers of thys conſpiracye.

Nicolas Boyes pariſh prieſt of Meldorph commaunded to put awaye Henry.

Furthermore, this Prior obteined letters from the. 48. Preſidentes vnto the pariſh prieſt, commaunding hym vnder great penaltie, that he ſhould put the Monke out of his houſe, and commaunde hym to depart without preachyng. With theſe letters he come ſpedyly vnto Meldorphe, and deliuered the letters ouernight vnto the pariſhe prieſt, truſtyng that by their threatnynges and commaundement, the ſayd Henry ſhould be feared frõ preaching, diligently watching whether he dyd preach or not.

When as the pariſhe prieſt had read ouer the leters, he marueyled not a litle at that proude commaundement, for that it had not bene hearde of before, that the. xlviij. Preſidentes ſhoulde meddle with Eccleſiaſticall matters, and that it had bene of long tyme vſed, that the rulyng thereof ſhould be in the handes of ẏ pariſh prieſt: & long tyme before it was decreed by the whole prouince, & cuſtomably vſed, that in euery church the pariſh prieſt ſhould haue free libertie to receiue or put out the preacher. Theſe letters the pariſh prieſt deliuered vnto Henry: which when he hed diligently looked ouer, he anſweared, that for ſo muche as he was come, being ſent for by ẏ whole congregatiõ to preach the Goſpel of Chriſte, he woulde ſatiſfie that vocation, becauſe he ſaw it would be acceptable vnto the whole congregation and that he ought rather to obey the worde of God, then mã: Alſo ẏ if it pleaſed God that he ſhould looſe his life in Diethmar, there was as neare a way to heauen, as in a nyother place, for that he doubted nothing at all; that once he muſt ſuffer for ẏ Goſpels ſake. Vpon this courage and boldnes, the next day Henry went vp into the Pulpit, and made a ſermon, expoũding the place of Paul, which is, Ro. 1. Teſtis eſt mihi Deus, &c. That is, God is my wytnes: and the Goſpel of the daye. After the Sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the Prior deliuered the letters that were ſent by the. 48. Preſidentes, the tenor wherof was this: that they of Meldorph ſhoulde be fined with a fine of a thouſand gildrens, if they ſuffered the Monke to preache: and commaunded moreouer, that they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours vnto Heyda, with ful power and authoritie. When they heard theſe letters read, they were much moued, becauſe they were ſo charged contrary to the cuſtome of the countrey, for ſo much as euery pariſh prieſte hath alwayes had authoritie, accordyng to his diſcretion, to chooſe or put away ẏ preacher. Briefly they al determined with one voyce, to keepe Henrye for their preacher, and to defend hym: for when they had heard the ſermon, they wer greatly offended with the Prior.

The conſtancie of Henry in his vocation.

After dynner Henry preached againe, expoũding ẏ place of S. Paul. Rom. 15. Debemus nos qui potentes ſumus, &c. We ought which are ſtrong, &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorphe ſent their meſſengers vnto Heyda, offeryng to anſweare in all cauſes before al men, for their preacher, whõ they hed receyued. Beſides that the meſſengers declared what chriſtian and godly ſermons they heard hym preach. The pariſh prieſt alſo wrote letters by the ſaid Legates vnto the. 48. rulers, wherin he excuſed hym ſelf, that it was neuer his mynd, nor the intent of the ſaid Henry, to moue ſedition, but only ſincerely to preach the word of god, and offred hym ſelfe ready to anſwere for the ſaid Henry to al men, when ſoeuer he ſhould be called, moſt earneſtly deſiring them not to geue credite vnto the monkes, which being blynded with hatred & auarice, had fully determined to oppreſſe the truth: ſaying moreouer, that it was againſt al reaſon, that a man ſhoulde be condemned, before the truth be tried out, and his cauſe declared, and if after due inquiſition had, he ſhould be conuict, then he ſhould ſuffer condigne puniſhment. This ſubmiſſion with the publique teſtimoniall, was nothyng eſteemed or regarded, neither was there any anſweare geuen therunto, but euery man repined and murmured thereat. Laſt of al, one Peter Dethleues, one of the Seniors anſweared: that albeit there were diuers diſſenſions in euery place about the Chriſtian fayth, and that they as men ignoraunt, could not redreſſe the ſame, yet this their ſentence ſhould be holden and ratified: which was, that the iudgement of determinyng this diſſenſion, ſhould be referred to the nexte Councell, whiche by the reporte of maiſter Chauncelour, was nowe in hande to be called and gathered. Alſo vntyl all diſcorde and diſſenſion ſhould be appeaſed, what ſoeuer was receyued and beleued by their neighbours, he promiſed in the name of the reſt, that they would willyngly receyue & beleue the ſame: So that if the word of God hath not hitherto bene clearly and ſincerely preached (as they ſaid) vnto the people, and that there be nowe ſome whiche can teache and preache the ſame more ſincerely, it is not their mynde or intent to withſtande or reſiſt their good doings, but that the preſidents would wiſh this one thing diligently to be taken heede of, that there be no occaſion geuen by any man to moue ſedition, and in the meane tyme he commaunded all men quietly to geue ouer al matters vntyl Eaſter nexte, and by that tyme it ſhoulde be made euident what ſhould be receiued, and what left vndone. With this anſweare they were al very wel contented, and the meſſengers returned agayne to Meldorphe with great ioye and gladnes, declaryng to the whole congregation what anſweare was made, conceyuyng a ſure hope that the matter would ſhortly come to paſſe.

Henry preacheth at Meldorph.

The Citizens of Meldorph write in defence of their preacher.

Good counſell of Peter Dethleues.

Vpon ſaint Nicolas daye, this Henry preached twiſe, firſt vpon the Goſpel: Homo quidam nobilis, &c. A certain noble man, &c. Secondly vpon this text: Plures facti ſunt ſacerdotes, &c. There are many made prieſtes, &c. with ſuch a ſpirite and grace, that al men had hym in admiration, praying God moſt earneſtly that they might long haue ſuch a preacher. Vpon the day of the conception of our Lady, he alſo made two ſermons vpon the firſt chapt. of Mathewe, expoundyng the booke of the generation, wherein he rehearſed the promiſes made by God vnto our forefathers, and vnder what fayth our fathers that then were, had liued, addyng alſo that al reſpect of workes beyng ſet apart, we muſt be iuſtified by the ſame fayth. All theſe thynges were ſpoken with ſuch boldnes of ſpirit, that al men greatly marueyled at hym, geuyng thankes to God for his great mercye, that had ſent them ſuch a preacher, deſiryng hym moreouer that he would tarry with them al Chriſtmas to preach, for they feared leaſt he ſhoulde be ſent for to ſome other place.

Luke 19.

Heb. 7.

In the meane ſpace, the Priour and maiſter John Schinke were not idle, for when the Prior perceyued that his malitious enterpriſe tooke no good ſucceſſe, he adioyned vnto hym a companion, William, a Doctour of the Iacobines, and ſo wente to Laudanum, to the Monkes, Franciſcanes, and Minors, for helpe and counſayle. For thoſe kyndes of Fryers aboue all other, are beſt inſtruct by their hypocriſie, to deceyue the poore and ſimple people. Theſe Fryers ſtreight wayes ſent for certayne of the rulers, whiche had all the rule and authoritie, and ſpecially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicolas Roden, vnto whom they declared, after their accuſtomed manner, with great complayntes, what an heretique Monke had preached, and howe he had obteyned the fauour almoſt of all the ſimple people, which if they dyd not ſpedyly prouide for and withſtand the begynninges, and put the heretique to death, it would come to paſſe, that ſhortly the honour of our Lady and all Saintes, together with the two Abbeyes, ſhoulde vtterly come to ruine and decay.

The Prior and the Monkes agayn conſpire againſt the Goſpell.

When theſe ſimple & ignorant men heard theſe wordes, thei were greatly moued. Wherunto Peter Swine anſwered thus, that they had before written vnto the pariſh prieſt and to Henry, what was beſt to be done, notwithſtandyng if they thought good, they would write againe. No, ſaid the Prior, this matter muſt be attempted an other waye, for if you write vnto the heretike, he wyl by and by anſwere you againe. And it is to be feared, leaſt the contagion of his hereſie do alſo infect you, being vnlearned men: for if you geue hym leaue to ſpeake and to anſweare, there is no hope that you ſhal ouercome hym. Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by nyght, and burne hym, before the people ſhould knowe it, or he come to his defence to anſweare. This deuiſe pleaſed all men, but ſpecially the Franciſcane Fryers. Petrus Hannus the Priors chiefe frende, willyng to get the chiefe prayſe and thankes of this matter, by the helpe of maiſter Gunter, dyd aſſociate vnto hym certayne other rulers of the townes neare adioynyng, whoſe names are here not to be hydden, becauſe they ſo muche affected prayſe and glorye. The names of the Preſidentes were theſe, Petrus Hannus, Peter Swines ſonne, Hẽniche Lũdane, John Holmeus, Laurence Hannemanus, Nicolas Weſlingbourgus, Ambroſe & John Wrenthuſius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henſſodanus Lubekus, Johannes Weſlingus, and Petrus Graſſus, Preſident of Hemmingſtate. All theſe Preſidentes and all other that were of councel to this pretence, aſſembled together in the pariſhe of the newe Church, in the houſe of maiſter Gunter, where alſo the Chauncelour was cõſultyng together w thẽ, how they might burne the ſayd Henry, ſecretly commyng vpon hym without any iudgement or ſentence. They concluded the next day after the cõception of our Lady, to meete at Hennyng, which is fiue myle from Meldorphe, with a great band of huſbandmen. This determination thus made, they layd ſkoutes in euery place, that there ſhoulde no newes of their pretenſed miſchiefes come vnto Meldorphe, cõmaundyng that as ſoone as it began to waxe darke, they ſhoulde al gather together. There aſſembled aboue v. C. men of the countrey, vnto whom was declared the cauſe of their aſſemble, and alſo they were inſtructed what was to be done, for before no man knewe the cauſe of the aſſemble, but only the Preſidentes. When the huſbandmen vnderſtood it, thei woulde haue returned backe againe, refuſing to do ſuche a deteſtable and horrible deede. The Preſidentes with moſt bitter threates, kept them in obedience, & to the intent they ſhould be the more couragious, thei gaue them three barrels of Hamborow beere to drinke.

The death of Henry conſpyred by the Monkes & Friers.

The names of the conſpiratours and perſecutours.

A dronken murther.

About mydnyght they came in armour to Meldorphe. The Iacobines and Monkes prepared torches for them, that Henry ſhould not ſlip away ſodenly in the darke. They had alſo with them a falſe betrayer, named Hennegus, by whoſe treaſon they had perfecte knowledge of all thynges. With great violence they burſt into the houſe of the pariſhe prieſt, breakyng and ſpoylyng all thynges, as the maner of that drunken people is. If they found eyther gold or ſiluer, they tooke it away. When they had ſpoyled al things, they

Hennegus the betrayer of the preacher.

violently

The pariſh prieſt violently taken in his houſe by night.

Hen. Sutphen taken and caried away of the murtherers.

Henry brought to Hemingſtede.

The cruell handling of Gods Martyr.

violently fell vpon the pariſhe Prieſt, and with great noyſe cryed out, kyl the theefe, kil the theefe. Some of them toke hym by the heare of the head and pulled hym out into the durt, forcing hym to go with them as a priſoner: other ſome cryed out, ſaying, that the pariſh prieſt was not to be medled withal, for they had no commiſſion to take hym. After they had ſatiſfied their luſt vpon the pariſhe Prieſt, with great rage and furie they ranne vpon Henry, and drawyng hym naked out of his bed, bounde his handes hard behinde hym: whō beyng ſo bounde, they drewe to and fro ſo long, that Peter Hannus, whiche otherwiſe was vnmercyfull and a cruel perſecuter of the word of God, willed them that they ſhould let him alone, for that without doubt, he would folowe of his owne mynde. Then they committed the guiding of hym to Iohn Balco, who rather drewe him by violence, then led hym. When he was brought to Hemmingſted, they aſked of him howe and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Unto whom he gently declared the whole cauſe of his commyng: but they all in a rage cryed out, Away with him, away with him, for if we heare him talke any longer, it is to be feared, that he wyl make vs alſo heretiques. Then he being marueilous weary and faint, required to be ſet a horſebacke, for his feete were all cut and hurt with the yſe, becauſe he was led al the night barefoot, whē they heard him ſay ſo, they mocked & laughed at hym, ſaying, muſt we hyre a horſe for an heretique? He ſhall goe a foote, whether he wyll or no. Becauſe it was night, they caried hym naked vnto Heyda. Afterwarde they brought hym to a certaine mans houſe named Calden, & bound him there with chaines in the ſtockes. The maiſter of the houſe ſeing the cruel deede, taking cōpaſſion vpon Henry, would not ſuffer it to be done, wherefore he was carryed away to the prieſtes houſe, the Officials ſeruant of Hamburge, and ſhut vp in a cupbord, & was kept by the rude people, which al the night mocked and ſcorned him. Amōgſt al other there came vnto him, Simon in Altenuord, & Chriſtian, pariſhe prieſt of the newe Church, both alike ignorant and wicked perſecutors of the worde of God, demaunding of hym why he had forſaken his holy habite. Unto whom he frendly anſweared by the Scriptures, but thoſe ignorant perſons vnderſtood nothing what he ſaid. Maiſter Gunterus alſo came vnto hym, enquiring whether he had rather to be ſent to the biſhop of Breme, or receyue his puniſhment in Diethmar. Unto whom Henry anſwered, if I haue preached any thing contrary to Gods word, or done any wicked act, it is in their handes to puniſhe me therfore. Gunterus anſweared, Harke I pray you freendes, harke, he deſireth to ſuffer in Diethmar. The common people al the night cōtinued drinking and ſwilling.

A dronken conſultation

Crucifige, crucifige.

The bloudye broode of friers, helpe forward.

Henrye brought forth to the fire.

In the mornyng about eight of the clocke, they gathered together in ẏ marketplace to conſult what they ſhould do. There ẏ ruſticall people beyng ſo drunke, cryed out, burne hym, burne hym, to ẏ fire with the heretique. Without doubt, if we do it, we ſhal this daye obtayne great glory and prayſe both of God and man, for the longer he lyueth, the more he wyll ſeduce with his hereſie. What nede many wordes? Sure he was to dye, for they had condemned this good Henry without any iudgement, (his cauſe not being hearde) to be burned. At laſt they commaunded the Cryer to proclaime, that euerye man that was at the takyng of him, ſhould be readye in armour to bring hym forth to the fire. Amongeſt all other, the Fryer Franciſcanes were preſent, encouraging the dronken rude people, ſaying, nowe ye goe the right waye to worke. Then they bounde the ſaide Henrye, handes, feete, and necke, and with great noyſe brought hym forth to the fire. As he paſſed by, a certaine woman ſtandyng in her doore, beholdyng that pitifull ſight, wept aboundantly. Unto whom Henry turnyng hym ſelfe, ſaide, I praye you weepe not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weakenes, he ſate downe vpon the grounde. By and by there was preſent one of the Preſidentes named Maye, which was euidently knowen to be corrupted and bribed with money, to this purpoſe: he condemned the ſaid Henry to be burned, pronouncing this ſentence vpon hym.

A falſe ſentence of a corrupt iudg.

For ſo muche as this theefe hath wickedly preached againſt the worſhip of our bleſſed Lady, by the commaundement and ſufferaunce of our reuerend father in Chriſte, the Biſhop of Breme, and my Lord, I condemne hym here to be burned and conſumed with fire. Unto whom Henry anſwered, I haue done no ſuch thing: and lifting vp his eyes towardes the heauen, he ſaid, O Lord forgeue them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. Thy name, O almighty God, is holy.

The tender compaſſion of a godly woman.

The tyrannye and fury of the people againſt thys bleſſed Martyr.

In the meane tyme, a certaine woman, the wife of one Iunger, ſiſter of Peter Hannus, offered her ſelfe to ſuffer a thouſande ſtripes, and to geue them muche money, ſo that they would pacifie the matter, & keepe hym in priſon, vntil that he might pleade his matter before the whole conuocation of the countrey. When they hearde theſe wordes, they waxed more madde, and threwe the woman downe vnder feete, and trode vpon her, and beat the ſayd Henry vnmercifully. One of the ruſticall ſort, ſtrake hym behinde on the head with a ſharpe daggar. Iohn Holmes of ẏ new church ſtrake him with a Mace. Other ſome thruſt him in the backe, and in the armes. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to ſpeake. Maiſter Gunterus cried out, encouraging thē, ſaying: Go to boldly good felowes, truely God is with vs preſent.

Where the offence is not done to man, confeſſion to man there nedeth not.

The fire would not kindle.

The Martyrdome of Henry Sutphen.

After this he brought a Franciſcan fryer vnto Henry, that he ſhould be confeſſed. Whō Henry demaunded in this maner: Brother, when haue I done you iniurie, either by word or deed, or whē did I euer prouoke you to āger? Neuer, ſaid the fryer. What ſhoulde I then confeſſe vnto you, ſaid he, that you thinke you might forgeue me? The fryer being moued at theſe wordes, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burne. Notwithſtādyng they ſatiſfied their mindes vpon him, ſtriking and pricking him with al kind of weapons. The ſaid Henry ſtanding in the meane time in his ſhyrt before all thys rude people, at ẏ laſt they hauing gotten a great ladder, bound him hard therunto, and caſt him into the fire. And when he began to pray, & to repeate his Crede, one ſtrake him vpon the face with his fiſt, ſaying, thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and afterwarde praye & prate as much as thou wylt. Then an other treading vpon his breſt, bound his necke harde to a ſtep of the ladder, that the bloud guſhed out at his mouth and his noſe. This was done to ſtrangle him withall, for they ſawe, that for all his ſore woundes, he would not dye.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was ſet vpright. Then one running vnto him, ſet his halbard for the ladder to leane againſte (for thoſe countrey men vſe no common hangman, but euery mā exerciſeth the office without difference) but the ladder ſlipping awaye from the poynt of the Halbarde, cauſed that the halbarde ſtrake hym through the body. Then they caſt this good man with ladder & al vpon the wood, which tumbling downe, light vpon the one ſide. Thē Iohn Holmeus ranne vnto him, & ſtrake him with a mace vpon the breſt, tyll he was dead, and ſtirred no more. Afterward they roſted him vpon the coles, for the wood as often as it was ſet on fire, would not burne out. And thus this godly preacher finiſhed his martyrdome, whiche was, ann. 1524. Ex Epiſt. Mart. Luth.

Ex Epiſt. Mart. Lut.

Diuers Martyrs ſecretly drowned in riuers.

Iohn of Diethmar, Martyr.

About the ſame time, many other godly perſons, & ſuche as feared God, for the teſtimonie of the Goſpel were throwen into the Ryuer of Rhene, and into other riuers, where their bodyes afterward were found, & taken vp. Alſo in the ſaid towne of Diethmar, an other faythful ſaint of god, named Iohn, ſuffered the like martyrdome. Thus theſe. ij. bleſſed & conſtant martyrs, as two ſhining lightes ſet vp of god, in teſtimony of his truth, offred vp the ſacrifice of their cōfeſſion, ſealed with their bloud, in a ſweet odor vnto God.

M. George of Hala preacher, in Saxonie, Martyr.

At the towne of Hala, likewiſe an other preacher, named M. George, for miniſtring in both kindes, was martyred and ſlaine of a like ſort of cut throtes, ſet vp by monkes and fryers to murder hym, neare to the towne called Haſchemburge. Ex Criſp. et Pantal.

At Prage alſo in Bohemia, an other for changing his Monkerie into Matrimonie, dyd ſuffer in like maner. Ex Lud. Rab.

The towne of Miltenberge.

Furthermore, in the ſame yere of our Lord aboue mentioned. 1524. and. 22. of Octob. the towne of Miltenberge in Germanie was taken and ranſackt, and diuers of the inhabitantes there ſlaine, and many impriſoned for mainteyning and keping with them Caroloſtadius, to be their preacher. Ex Raba. et Pantal.

Gaſper Tamber, George a Scriuener of Uienna, Martyrs.

In ẏ ſame Catalogue of holy martyrs, likewiſe is to be placed Gaſpar Tamber. Alſo an other called Georgius, a Scriuener, which both wer burned at Uienne in Auſtria.

¶ The lamentable martyrdome of Iohn Clerke of Melden in Fraunce.

Iohn Clerke of Melden Martyr.

Iohn Clerke ſcourged, for calling the Pope Antichriſt.

Iohn Clerke marked in the forehead.

MElden is a citie in Fraunce. x. miles diſtant from Paris, where Iohn Clerk firſt was apprehended & taken, ann. 1523. for ſetting vp vpon the Church doore, a certayne Byll againſt the Popes pardons lately ſent thyther from Rome, in which Byl he named the Pope to be Antichriſt. For the which his puniſhment was this, that three ſeueral dayes he ſhould be whipped, & afterward haue a marke imprinted in his forehead, as a note of infamie. His mother being a chriſtiā womā, although her huſband was an aduerſarie, when ſhe beheld her ſonne thus piteouſly ſcourged, and ignominiouſly deformed in the face, conſtantly & boldly dyd encourage her ſonne, crying with a loude voyce, Bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome be his printes and markes.

After this execution and puniſhment ſuſtained, the ſaid John departed that towne, and went to Roiſie in Bry, and from thence remoued to Metz in Lotharing, where he remayned a certayne ſpace, applying hys vocation, beyng a Wollecarder by his occupation. Where as he, the day before that the people of that city ſhould go out to the ſuburbes to worſhip certayne blynd idoles nere by (after an olde vſe and cuſtome amongſt them receiued) beyng inflamed wyth the zeale of God went out of the city to the place where the Images were, and braſt them all downe in pieces. The next morow after, when the Canons, Prieſtes and Monkes, keping their olde cuſtome, had brought with them the people out of the City, to the place of Idolatry, to worſhip as they were wont, they found all their blockes and ſtocks almighty, lye broken vpon the ground. At the ſight whereof they beyng mightely offended in theyr myndes, ſet all the Citie on a gog to ſearch out the author thereof. Who was not hard to be found: for ſo much as this forſayde Clerke, beſides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was alſo ſeene ſomewhat late in the euenyng before, to come from the ſame place into the citie. Wherfore he beyng ſuſpected, and examined vpon the ſame, at firſt confeſſed the fact, rendring alſo the cauſe, which moued hym ſo to do. The people hearing this, and beyng not yet acquainted with that kinde of doctrine, were moued marueilouſly againſt him, crying out vpon him in a great rage. Thus his cauſe beyng infourmed to the Judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the ſonne of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he ſuſteyned extreme tormẽtes: For firſt his hãd was cut of from his right arme: then his noſe with ſharpe pynſons was violently pluckt from his face: after that both his armes, and his pappes were likewiſe pluckt and drawen with the ſame inſtrument. To all them that ſtoode looking vpon, it was an horrour to beholde the greeuous and doolfull ſight of his paynes: againe to beholde his pacience, or rather the grace of God geuyng hym the gift ſo to ſuffer, it was a woonder. Thus quietly and conſtantly he endured in his tormentes, pronouncing, or in a manner ſinging the verſes of the. 115. Pſal. Simulacra eorum ſunt argentum & aurum, &c. Their Images be ſyluer and golde, the woorke onely of mans hand, &c. The reſidue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith conſumed: which was about the yeare of our Lorde 1524. Ex Plant. & Criſp.

John Clerke taken for caſting downe Images.

The greuous tormentes of John Clerke.

The conſtancye of this bleſſed Martyr.

Iohn Caſtellane.

The yeare nexte enſuyng, whiche was. 1525. maiſter John Caſtellane borne at Tourney, a Doctour of Diuinitie, after that he was called vnto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his woorde, and had preached in Fraunce, in a place called Barleduc, alſo at Uitery in Partoiſe, at Chalon in Champaine, and in the towne of Uike, whiche is the Chamber and Epiſcopal Seate of the Biſhop of Metz in Loraine, after he had layde ſome foundation of the doctrine of the Goſpell in the towne of Metz, in returnyng from thence he was taken priſoner by the Cardinal of Loraines ſeruauntes, by whom he was caryed from Gorze to the Caſtle of Nommeny: whereupon the citizens of Metz tooke no litle diſpleaſure and greeuaunce, who being greeuouſly offended to haue their preacher ſo to be apprehended and impriſoned, within ſhorte ſpace after tooke certaine of the Cardinalles ſubiectes, and kept them priſoners ſo long, vntyl the Abbot of ſaint Antonies in Uiennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar generall, as wel in cauſes ſpiritual, as temporal, through the iuriſdiction both of the Cardinall, and Biſhopricke of Metz, Tolouſe and Uerdune, being furniſhed with a letter and commiſſion from the See of Rome, came to the ſayde towne of Metz, and after diuers declarations made to the Prouoſt, and the other Juſtices and Counſellers of the citie, he ſo wrought and brought to paſſe, that immediately the ſayde ſubiectes of the Cardinall were ſet at libertie. But John Caſtellane was kept ſtyll priſoner in the Caſtle of Nommeny, and was moſt cruelly handled, from the tyme of the fourth day of May, vntyl the. xij. day of Januarie: duryng al which tyme he perſeuered conſtant in ẏ doctrine of the ſonne of God. Whereupon he was caryed from Nommeny, to the towne and Caſtle of Uike, alwayes perſeueryng conſtantly in the profeſſion of the ſame doctrine, ſo that they dyd procede vnto the ſentence of his degradation, that he might be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power, according to the cuſtome and manner. And for ſo muche as the fourme and manner of the ſentence and proceſſe of diſgradyng is notable, and hath bene reported vnto vs worde for word, we haue thought good here to annexe the ſame, to declare the horrible blaſphemies ioyned with groſſe and brutiſh ſubtiltie, in thoſe high miſteries which the enemies of the truth do vſe in their proceſſe againſte the children of God, whereby euery man, euen the moſt ignoraunt, may euidently perceiue the horrible blindnes, that theſe vnſhamfaſt Catholiques are blynded withal.

John Caſtellane Doctor & Martyr.

Doct. Caſtellane caried to the caſtell of Nommenye.

The zelous affection of the Citezens of Metz toward their preacher.

Whoſoeuer eſcape, the chriſtians are ſure to ſuffer.

Doct. Caſtellane conſtant in his doctrine.

The ſentence of the degradation.

The ſentence of his degradation ***En actis epiſcopalibus.***

CONcerning the proceſſe inquiſitorie, fourmed and geuen in fourme of accuſation againſte thee Iohn Caſtellane, prieſt and religious man of the fryer Eremites of the order of S. Auſtine: vnderſtandyng likewiſe thy confeſſion whiche thou haſt made of thine owne good wyll, manteynyng falſe and erroneous doctrine: and marking alſo beſides this, the godly admonitions, and charitable exhortations which we made vnto thee in the towne of Metz, which thou like vnto the ſerpent Aſpis, haſt refuſed, and geuen no eare vnto: alſo conſideryng thine anſweares made and reiterate vnto our interrogatories, by meanes of thine othe, in the whiche deueliſhly thou haſte hydden and kept backe, not onely the truth, but alſo folowing the example of Caine, haſt denyed to confeſſe thy ſinnes and miſcheuous offence: and finally hearyng the great number of witneſſes, ſworne and examined againſte thee, their perſons and depoſitions diligently conſidered, and all other thinges worthy of conſideration, being iuſtly examined: the reuerende maiſter Nicholas Sauin, doctour of diuinitie, and inquiſitour of the fayth, aſſiſtaunt vnto vs, hath entred proceſſe againſte thee, and geuen full information thereof: this our purpoſe and intent beyng alſo communicate vnto diuers Maiſters and Doctours both of the Ciuile and Cannon lawes here preſent, which haue ſubſcribed and ſigned hereunto, wherby it appeareth that thou Iohn Caſtellane haſt oftentymes and in diuers places openly and manifeſtly ſpread abroade and taught many erroneous propoſitions, ful of the hereſie of Luther, contrarye and againſt the Catholique fayth, and the veritie of the Goſpel, and the holy Apoſtolique ſee, and ſo accurſedly looked backe, and turned thy face, that thou art founde to be a lyer before almightye God. It is ordeyned by the ſacred rules of the Canon lawe, that ſuche as through the ſharpe dartes of their venemous tongue, doo peruert the Scriptures, and go about with al their power to corrupt and infect the ſoules of the faythful, ſhould be puniſhed and corrected with moſte ſharpe correction, to the ende that others ſhoulde be afrayde to attempt the like, & apply them ſelues the better to the ſtudy of Chriſtian concorde, through the examples ſett before their eyes, as wel of ſeueritie, as of clemẽcie. For theſe cauſes and others ryſing vpon the ſaide proceſſe, by the Apoſtolique authoritie, and alſo the authoritie of our ſaide reuerend Lorde the Cardinal, whiche we do vſe in this our ſentence definitiue, whiche we ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate, declare in theſe writinges, hauyng God onely before our eyes, and ſurely conſideryng, that what meaſure we do meat vnto other, the ſame ſhalbe meaſured to vs againe: we pronounce and declare ſẽtentially and definitiuely, thee Iohn Caſtellane, beyng here preſent before vs, and iudge thee becauſe of thy deſertes, to be excommunicate with the moſt great excommunication, and therewithall to be culpable of treaſon againſt the diuine maieſtie, and a mortall enimie of the Catholique fayth, and veritie of the Goſpell: alſo to be a manifeſt heretique, and a folower and pertaker of the execrable * crueltie of Martin Luther, a ſtyrrer vp of olde hereſies already condemned, and therfore, as thou oughteſt to be depoſed and depriued of al prieſtly honour and dignitie, of al thy orders, of thy ſhauyng, and religious habite: alſo of thy eccleſiaſtical benefices, if thou haſt any, and from al priuilege of the Cleregie: ſo we here preſently do depoſe, depriue, and ſeperate thee as a rotten member, from the communion and companie of all the faythful, and beyng ſo depriued, we iudge that thou oughteſt to be actually diſgraded: that done, wee leaue thee vnto the ſecular powers, commyttyng the degradation and actuall execution of this our ſentence, vnto the reuerend Lorde & Biſhop here preſent, with the authoritie and commaundement aforeſaid.

True you ſay: for your meaſure is death deſtructiue, and therfore looke you for the ſame meaſure agayne at Gods hand.

*** If Luther be to be noted of crueltie, which teacheth all men and killeth no man: what then is to be noted in the pope which killeth all Gods children and teacheth none?**

This ſentence being thus ended, with their Catholique ſermon alſo, the ſaid biſh. of Nicopolis ſitting in his põtificalibus, in ẏ iudgment ſeat, being Suffragan of Metz, with the clergie, nobles, & people about hym, proceeded to the diſgrading (as thei cal it) of the ſaid maiſter John Caſtellane. Thus the ſaid maiſter John Caſtellane being made ready to his degradation by the officers of the ſaide Biſhop, was apparelled in his prieſtly attyre, & afterward brought forth of the chappel by the prieſtes which were therunto appointed, with al his prieſtly ornamentes vpon him, & holdyng his handes together, he kneeled downe before the biſh. Then the officers gaue hym the chalice in his handes with wine and water,

Doct. Caſtellane diſgraded.

water, ẏ patine, & the hoſt: al which thinges ẏ ſaid B. which diſgraded him, take frõ him, ſaying, we take away frõ thee, or cõmaund to be taken frõ thee, all power to offer ſacrifice vnto god, & to ſay maſſe as wel for the quicke, as the dead.

Prieſtes anoynted fingers.

The Cheſille.

The Stole.

The Goſpel booke.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behynde hys backe.

The Epiſtle booke.

Bennet and Collet.

Exorciſt.

Lectorſhip.

Dor keper.

The Church doore keyes.

Ryngyng of Belles.

The Surplyce.

The Popes Clergie accompteth the ſecular ſtate ignominous & ſeruile.

The royall ſigne of prieſthoode.

Singing in the church.

Moreouer, the biſh. ſcraped the nailes of both his handes with a peece of glaſſe, ſaying: By this ſcraping we take away from thee al power to ſacrifice, to conſecrate, & to bleſſe, which thou haſt receiued by the annoynting of thy handes. Then he tooke from hym the Cheſille, ſaying: by good right we do deſpoile thee of this prieſtly ornamẽt, which ſignifieth charitie: for certainely thou haſt forſaken the ſame, & al innocencie. Then taking away the ſtole, he ſaid: Thou haſt villanouſly reiected & deſpiſed the ſigne of our Lord, which is repreſented by this ſtole: wherfore we take it away frõ thee, and make thee vnable to exerciſe and vſe the office of prieſthood, and al other things apperteining to prieſthoode. The degradation of the order of prieſthoode being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Then the miniſters gaue hym the booke of the Goſpels, which the biſhop toke away, ſaying: we take away frõ thee al power to reade the Goſpels in the church of God, for it apperteineth only to ſuch as are worthy. After this he ſpoyled him of the Dalmatike, which is the veſture that the Deacons vſe, ſaying: we depriue thee of this Leuitical order, for ſomuch as thou haſt not fulfilled thy miniſterie and office. After this the biſhop tooke away the ſtoole from behinde his backe, ſaying: we iuſtly take away from thee the white ſtoole which thou haddeſt receiued vndefiledly, whiche alſo thou oughteſt to haue borne in the preſence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicate vnto the name of Chriſte, may take by thee example, we prohibite thee any more to exerciſe or vſe the office of Deaconſhip. Then they proceeded to the diſgrading of Subdeaconſhip, and taking away from him the booke of the Epiſtles, & his Subdeacons veſture, depoſed him from reading of the Epiſtles in the church of God: and ſo orderly proceeding vnto all the other orders, diſgraded him from the order of Bennet and Collet, from the order of Exorciſt, from the Lectorſhip, and laſt of all, from the office of Doorekeeper, taking from hym the keyes, & cõmaunding him hereafter not to open or ſhut the Reueſtrye, nor to ring any more belles in the Church. That done, the biſh. went forward to diſgrade him from his firſt ſhauing, and taking away his Surplice, ſaid vnto him, by the authoritie of God almighty, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, & by our authoritie, we take from thee all Clerkely habite, and deſpoyle thee of all ornament of religion: Alſo we depoſe and diſgrade thee of all order, benefite, and priuilege of the clergie, and as one vnworthy of that profeſſion, we commit thee to the ſeruitude and ignominie of the ſeculer eſtate. Then the Biſhop tooke the ſheeres, and began to clyp his head, ſaying in this maner, we caſt thee out as an vnthankful childe of the Lordes heritage, wherunto thou waſt called, and take away from thy head, the crowne, which is the royal ſigne of prieſthood, through thine owne wickednes & malice. The biſhop alſo added theſe wordes, that whiche thou haſt ſong with thy mouth, thou haſt not beleued with thy hart, nor accompliſhed in worke, wherefore we take frõ thee the office of ſinging in the church of God.

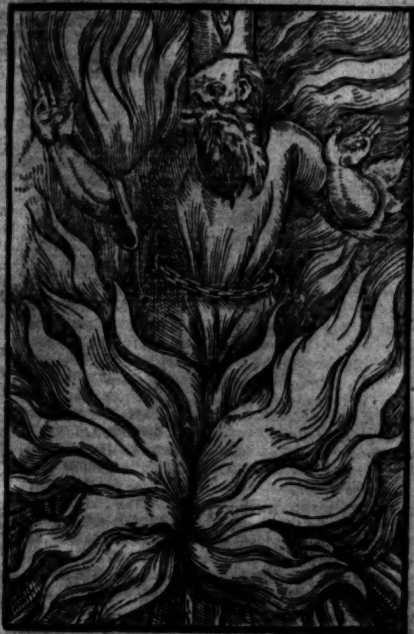
Pope Innocent author of diſgrading.

The diſgrading thus ended, the procurator fiſcal of the Court and citie of Metz, required of the Notary an inſtrument or copie of the diſgrading. Then the miniſters of the Biſhop turned hym out of his clerkely habite, and put vpon him the apparel of a ſeculer man. That done, for ſo much as he which is diſgraded, according to ẏ inſtitution of pope Innocent the thirde, ought to be deliuered vnto the ſeculer court, ẏ Biſhop that diſgraded hym, proceeded no further, but ſaid in this maner, we pronounce that the ſeculer court ſhal receyue thee into their charge, beyng thus diſgraded of al clerkly honour and priuilege.

Note here theſe perſecutors, how they will ſeeme outwardlye to be lambes, but inwardly are rauening Wolues.

This done, the Biſhop, after a certaine maner, intreated the ſeculer Iudge for hym, ſaying: My Lorde Iudge, we pray you as hartily as we can for the loue of God, and the contemplation of tender pitie and mercy, and for the reſpect of our prayers, that you wyl not in any poynt do any thyng that ſhalbe hurtfull vnto this miſerable man, or tendyng to his death, or maymyng of his body. Theſe thinges thus done, the ſeculer Iudge of the towne of Vike, confirmyng the foreſaid ſentence condemned the ſaide maiſter Iohn Caſtellane, to be burned quicke: which death he ſuffred the. xij. daye of Ianuarye. 1525. with ſuche a conſtancie, that not onely a great companye of ignoraunt people were thereby drawen to the knowledge of the veritie, but alſo a great number whiche had alreadye ſome taſte therof, were greatly confirmed by that his conſtant and valiant death.

The burnyng of Iohn Caſtellane.



The conſtant death and Martyrdome of Doct. Caſtellane

It would fyl an other volume to comprehende the actes and ſtories of al them, which in other countreyes at the ryſing of the Goſpel, ſuffered for the ſame. But prayſed be ẏ Lord, euery Region almoſt hath his owne hiſtorye writer, which ſufficiently hath diſcharged that part of duetie, as euery one in matters of his owne countrey is beſt acquainted: wherfore I ſhal the leſſe neede to ouerſtraine my trauaile, or to ouercharge this volume therwith. Onely it ſhall ſuffice me to collect three or foure hiſtories, recorded by Oecolampadius, and the reſt to bring into a briefe table, and ſo returnyng, to occupye my ſelfe with our owne domeſticall matters, here done at home.

The hiſtorie of a good paſtour, murthered for the preachyng of the Goſpel, written by Iohn Oecolampadius.

A good prieſt for euill will put to death.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1525. there was a certaine good and godly miniſter, who had committed ſomethyng in the Commotion there rayſed by the ruſticall clownes of the countrey, which they ſayd that knew hym, was but of ſmal importance. He, becauſe he had offended his Prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with ſome word ſomething ſharply ſpoken, was therfore condemned to be hanged.

Vngentlenes in a gentleman.

After ſentence was geuen, there was a Gentleman of a cruel harte, ſent with a certayne troupe of men, to apprehende the ſayd prieſt, and to hang hym. Who commyng into his houſe, ſaluted hym frendly, pretendyng as though their commyng had bene to make good cheare: for he was a good houſekeeper, and the Gentlemen of the countreye thereabouts vſed oftentymes to reſorte vnto his houſe familiarly. This prieſt made ready for them in ſhort ſpace, a very ſumptuous banket: wherof they dyd eate and drinke very cheerefully. After dynner was ended, & ẏ the Prieſt was yet at the table thinkyng no harm, the Gentleman ſaid to his ſeruants, take ye this prieſt our hoſt, and hang hym, and that without delay, for he hath wel deſerued to be hanged for the great offence he hathe committed agaynſt his Prince, the ſeruauntes were marueylouſly aſtonied with his wordes, and abhorryng to do the deede, ſaide vnto their maiſter, God forbyd that we ſhould cõmit any ſuch crime, to hang a man that hath intreated vs ſo gently: for ẏ meate whiche he hath geuen vs, is yet in our ſtomackes vndigeſted. It were a wicked acte for a noble man to render ſo great an euyll, for a good turne: but eſpecially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the ſeruauntes ſought no other occaſion, but onely to geue hym way to flee, that they might alſo auoyde the execution of that wicked purpoſe.

As the Gentleman and his ſeruaunts were thus contendyng, the prieſt ſaid vnto them, I beſeeche you, ſhewe no ſuch crueltie vpon me, rather leade me away captiue vnto my prince, where I may purge my ſelfe. I am falſely accuſed, and I truſt to pacifie his anger which he hath conceyued agaynſt me. At leaſt remember the hoſpitalitie whiche I haue euer ſhewed to you, and all Noble men at all tymes, reſortyng to my houſe. But principally ſpeakyng to the Gentleman, he aduertiſed hym of the perpetual ſting whiche woulde folowe vpon an euil conſcience: proteſting that he had faythfully and truely taught them the doctrine of ẏ Goſpel, and that it was ẏ principall cauſe why he had ſuche euyll wyll: whiche long tyme before he had foreſeene woulde come to paſſe, for ſo muche as he had oftentymes in the pulpite reproued ſharpely and openly the horrible vices of the Gentlemen, whiche mainteined their people in their vicious liuing, & they thẽ ſelues were geuen vnto blaſphemie and drunkennes, wheras they ſhould ſhewe example of faith, true religion, and ſobernes, but they had oftentymes reſiſted him, ſaying that it was not his part to reproue thẽ, for ſo muche as they were his Lordes, and might put hym to death if they would: that al things which they did was allowable, and that no man ought to gainſay it: alſo that he went about ſome things in his ſermons, that would come to an yll ende.

Many thinges may be pretended, but religion is euer the cauſe why good men goe to wracke.

This good man, what ſo euer he coulde ſay, coulde not make his matter ſeeme good, for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterpriſe, and pricked foorth his ſeruauntes ſtyl to accompliſhe their purpoſe, for it was reſolued by the Prince, that he ſhoulde be put to death, and turning hym ſelfe vnto the prieſt, he ſaid, that he could gayne nothing by preaching in ſuche ſort, but that he ſhoulde fully determine hym ſelfe to dye, for the prince had geuen expreſſe cõmaundement to hang him, whoſe fauour he woulde not looſe, for to ſaue his life.

Kindnes vnkindly rewarded with vnkindnes.

At ẏ laſt the ſeruauntes, after great ſorowe and lamentation, bounde their hoſt, and hanged hym vpon a beame in his owne houſe, the Gentleman ſtanding by, and lookyng vpon.

This good man ſeeyng no remedye, ſpake none other wordes, but onely, Jeſus haue mercie vpon me. Jeſus ſaue me. This is the truth of this moſt cruell acte, whiche a Turke would ſcarſely haue committed againſt his mortal enemie. Now let euery man iudge with him ſelfe, which of them haue the greateſt aduauntage, eyther they whiche commyt the crueltie againſt the good, or the good men whiche do ſuffer the ſame vniuſtly. The firſt ſort haue a continual gnawing in their conſcience, and the other obtaine an immortal crowne.

The like hiſtorie of the death of a certaine miniſter, named M. Peter Spengler, whiche was drowned in the yeare of our Lorde. 1525.

collected by Oecolampadius.

IN a certaine village named Schlat, in the countreye of Briſgow, there was a vigilant miniſter, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he liued a godly and a blameles life, hauing long tyme faithfully done his office and ductie, being alſo courteous and gentle, and wel beloued of men, but ſpecially of the Biſh. of Conſtance, with whom he was in great authoritie, peaceable and quiete with all men that he had to doo withal. He quieted diſcordes and contentions with a marueilous prudencie, exhorting al men to mutual charitie and loue. In al aſſemblies where ſoeuer he came, he greatly commended honeſt lyfe & amendement of maners. When the puritie of the goſpel began to ſhine abroad, he began to reade with great affection the holy Scriptures, whiche long tyme before he had read, but without any vnderſtanding. When he had recouered a litle iudgement, and came to more vnderſtanding by continual reading, being alſo further growen in age, he began to conſider with him ſelfe, in howe great darknes and errours the whole order of prieſtes had bene a longe tyme drowned. O good God (ſaid he) who woulde haue thought it, that ſo many learned and holy men haue wandred out of the right way, and coulde haue ſo long tyme bene wrapped in ſo great errours, or that the holy Scripture coulde haue bene ſo deformed with ſuche horrible abuſes, for he neuer wel vnderſtoode before (he ſaide) that the Goſpell was the veritie of God, in that order wherein it is written, ſeeyng it contayned ſo muche touching the Croſſe, perſecution, and ignominious death, and yet the Prieſtes lyued in great proſperitie, and no man durſte mainteine anye quarrell agaynſte them, without great daunger? He alſo ſaw that the houre was come that the Goſpell ſhoulde be diſplayed, that perſecution was at hande, that the enemies of the truth beganne nowe to rage, that the wicked and proude lyfted vp their heades on hygh, and feared not to enterpriſe and take in hande all kinde of miſchiefe and wickednes againſte the faythfull, that the Biſhops whiche ought by their vertue and power to defende the worde, were more barbarous and cruell then any tyrauntes had bene before. He thus conſidering the preſent eſtate of the worlde, put all doubte from his harte, and ſawe preſently before his eyes, that Jeſus Chriſte had taught the truth, ſeeing ſo many bodyes of the faythful were dayly ſo tormented, beaten, exiled, and baniſhed, drowned, and burned. For who can reporte the greate tormentes whiche the innocent haue endured theſe yeares paſſed, euen by thoſe which cal them ſelues Chriſtians, and for no other cauſe, but onely for the true confeſſion of Jeſus Chriſte? This good paſtor conſidering with him ſelfe the lawes and doctrine of the churche of Rome to ſwarue from the truth of Chriſt, eſpecially in reſtraynyng mariage: to the ende that he would not defile him ſelfe with fornication, he maried a mayde of his, ſuche a one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fayre children.

A deſcription of a good miniſter or curate.

The croſſe diſcerneth betwene true Chriſtians, and counterfeit.

He that ſeeketh to liue godlye in Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution. Tim. 4.

About this tyme the people of the countrey had rayſed a great commotion, who in their rage went vnto monaſteries and prieſtes houſes, as if they had taken in hand ſome pilgrimage, and ſpared nothing that they could finde to eate. That whiche they coulde not eate, they eyther caſte vnder feete, or carryed it away with them. One companie of this ruſticall ſorte, lodged them ſelues in the houſe of this good prieſt, for they made no difference betweene the good and the bad. Theſe royſters tooke from hym all that they coulde finde, leauyng nothing behinde thẽ, in ſo much as they toke away the very hoſe from his legges: for al that he could do: albeit that he gently intreated them, ſhewing that it was theft, and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued ſtyl in their madnes like beaſtes.

A commotion of the Bowres.

As they were departing out of the houſe, the good prieſt could not refraine him ſelfe from weeping, ſaying vnto thẽ, I tell you before, theſe your vnordinate doynges wyll redounde to ſome greate miſchiefe to your ſelfe. For what madnes is this, what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keepe no order nor equitie, neither haue any reſpecte betweene frende and foe? Who thus ſtyrreth you vp? what counſaile doo you folowe, or to what ende doo you this? Like theeues you ſpoyle what ſo euer you can laye handes vpon. And thinke you not but theſe thinges whiche you now robbe, rauen, and ſteale, you ſhalbe compelled hereafter to reſtore againe, to your great detriment? What ſedition dyd euer come to good ende? You pretende the Goſpel, and haue no peace of the Goſpell either in your mouthes, or in your hartes. Theſe exceſſes (ſaid he) ye neuer learned of me, whiche euer haue taught you the true worde of G O D. This your Goſpel (ſaith he) is rather the goſpel of the deuyl, then of God, which vexeth all the worlde with violence and wrong, ſpoyling and robbing without regarde. The true Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, teacheth you to do good vnto al men, to auoide diſſenſions and periurie. This I ſaye vnto you, that in theſe your doynges you offende God, and prouoke his iuſt vengeaunce to plague you, which wyl neuer ſuffer theſe euyls to eſcape vnpuniſhed. You finde written in the Goſpel: That which thou wouldeſt not ſhoulde be done to thee, do not to other. You offend alſo al the nobilitie, and your lawful magiſtrates, whom you are ſworne and bound vnto. It is no ſmal matter I tel you, to raiſe vp ſedition, to ſtyrre vp other, and to diſturbe the ſtate of the cõmon wealth: and when this tumult ſhal be ceaſed, what then ſhal your noble men do? ſhal they not rifle you as faſt, and of your goodes make them ſelues riche? and then ſhall one of you betray an other. Theſe with ſuch other wordes he ſtoode preaching vnto them, almoſte naked, but all this would not preuaile with thoſe men, who after al theſe gentle admonitions and fayre wordes, departed out of his houſe geuing hym foule language, and calling hym olde dotarde. Amongeſt al other one more wicked then the reſidue, ſayde vnto hym in this maner: O maiſter curate, we haue bene long deceyued by your ſelling of maſſes, by fearing vs with Purgatorie, by your Diriges and Trentalles, and ſo haue we bene ſpoyled: wherfore we do nothing now, but require againe the money which you robbed vs of, and ſo mocking and ſcornyng him, they departed.

Crueltie & ſedition neuer cõmeth to good end.

The Goſpell teacheth no rebellion.

After that this ſedition of the Peſantes was partly appeaſed (their armour being layde awaye) and they taken vnto grace: after that alſo diuers of the principalles of that conſpiracie were taken here and there in the villages, and executed: this good paſtour fearing no ſuche thing, for the true and ſincere preaching of the Goſpell, whereat many tooke great indignation, was taken in the night by certaine ſouldiers, which bound hym hande and foote, with a greate rope before his wyfe and children, and ſo ſet him vpon a horſe, and ledde hym awaye to Friburge. What greeuous ſighes, teares, ſorowe, and lamentation was there? It would haue moued any harte (were it as harde as a Flynte) to a dolefull compaſſion, eſpecially to ſee the barbarous and deſpiteful rebukes, tauntes, and extreme crueltie ſhewed by thoſe proude Popiſhe ſouldiers againſte the innocent Prieſte. Suche beaſtly tyrauntes the

Religion the cauſe onely why good men be troubled of the wicked.

world is neuer without. Suche godly miniſters we haue had but a fewe.

The people hearing this pitiful noyſe and lamentation in the night, came runnyng out, not the men, but onely the women, whom the ſouldiers willed to go home agayne, and that their men ſhould come forth and keepe the towne, but their men durſt not appeare. Then from Friburge, ſhortly after they conueyed hym to Enſiſheim.

Crueltie without cauſe.

After they had long kept this man in priſon, and that he had endured moſt terrible tormentes, as wel by the priuie members, as in other partes, they iudged hym to death. If you wyll knowe the cauſe what they had to laye to his charge, it was only this, that he had maryed a wife ſecretly in his owne houſe, with a fewe witneſſes. Other crimes they had none to obiecte againſt hym, neither that he was a ſeditious and wicked man, or that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered diuers wicked perſons out of ſundry places, to picke out of his Sermons, the order and manner of his behauiour. When he was led vnto the place of execution, he aunſweared gently and quietly vnto all them that came to comforte hym. But there were diuers Monkes and Prieſtes whiche troubled hym very ſore with their fooliſhe babling, as he was ſtriuyng in his ſpirite agaynſte the horrour of death, and makyng his prayer vnto almightie God, ſeekyng nothing els but to turne hym awaye from his hartie and earneſt contemplation. But he deſired them that they woulde holde their peace, ſaying, that he had alreadye confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lorde Ieſus, nothyng at all doubting but that he had receyued abſolution and forgeuenes of them all. And I (ſayde he) ſhall this daye be an acceptable ſacrifice vnto my Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, for I haue done no ſuch thing wherefore I am nowe condemned, whiche might diſpleaſe my Lorde God, who in this behalfe hath geuen me a good and quiet conſcience. Nowe therefore let them whiche thirſt for innocent bloud, and ſhed the ſame, diligẽtly aduiſe them ſelues what they do, and that they offend euen hym, vnto whom it perteineth truely to iudge the hartes of men: for it is ſaid: Vengeance is myne, and I wyll puniſhe. And for ſo much as he was a very leane man, he added this moreouer, ſaying: It is all one, for ſhortly I muſt haue forſaken this ſkin whiche already ſcarſely hangeth to my bones. I know wel that I am mortal, & a corruptible worme, and haue nothing in me but corruption. I haue long tyme deſired my latter day, and haue made my requeſt that I might be deliuered out of this mortall body, to be ioyned with my Sauiour Chriſt.

Rom. 12.

I haue deſerued through my manifold ſinnes committed againſt my Sauiour Chriſt, my croſſe: and my Sauiour Chriſte hath borne the croſſe, and hath dyed vpon yͤ croſſe: and for my parte, I wyll not glorye in any other thing, but only in the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt.

This bleſſed Martyr drowned.

The water miraculouſly coloured with bloud, where he was drowned.

There were preſent by, certaine naughtie perſons which could not endure to heare this godly exhortation, but made a ſigne vnto the hangman, to caſt hym downe into the ryuer. After he was throwen downe, he moued by a certaine ſpace in the water, in ſuch ſort, that the ryuer whereinto he was caſte, was red with bloud. This was a certaine ſigne and token, that innocent bloud was that daye ſhed. They which were there preſent, beholding that whiche had happened, were greatly amazed and aſtonied, conſidering with them ſelues what the ſtaynyng of the water with the bloud ſhould ſignifie. Euery man returned home penſiue and ſad, maruelyng at the cruel deed that was done that daye: notwithſtanding no man durſt open his mouth to ſpeake one worde, becauſe that all thinges were exerciſed with ſuch crueltie. This was done in the towne of Enſiſheim, ann. 1525.

Theſe thinges I dyd vnderſtand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lorde of his great grace be merciful vnto vs, and forgeue vs our ſinnes. Ex Oecolam.

Such was the wickednes then of thoſe dayes, and yet is ſtyll, that who ſo euer was perceiued to fauour the Goſpel, or any thing to diſlike the doctrine of the popes church, he was hated and deſpited of the Rulers, Lawyers, and al other Papiſtes through the whole countrey about, but eſpecially of prieſtes, monkes, and fryers. And though the life of the Goſpellers were neuer ſo ſound & vpright, yet ſuch was the hatred and malice of the Popes freendes againſte them, that they neuer ceaſed to ſeeke al occaſions, and deuiſe matters how to bring them to death.

It ſo happened a litle before this preſent tyme, that there was a commotion of the rude and ruſticall people of the countrey, riſing in armour inordinately, agaynſte their Rulers, to the great diſturbaunce of the whole countrey of Germanie, and no leſſe to their owne deſtruction: of whom were ſlaine aboue xx. thouſande. At length when this rebellion was appeaſed, and all thinges quiet, ſuche as were the Popes frendes, to worke their malice againſt the Goſpel, tooke occaſion thereby not long after, to accuſe and entangle ſuch as they knewe to be Goſpellers & proteſtantes. And although the ſaide Goſpellers were neuer ſo inculpable & cleare from al rebellion, yet that ſuffiſed not, for cauſes were made, falſe witneſſes brought, corrupt Iudges ſuborned to condemne the innocent, & many were put to death, their cauſe neither being hearde nor knowen. By reaſon whereof, a great number of good and innocent Chriſtians were miſerably brought to their ende and martyrdome. In the number of whom was this poore man alſo, whoſe ſtory by Oecolampadius is thus deſcribed.

¶ An other hiſtorie of a certaine man of the countrey wrongfully put to death, collected by the ſayde Iohn Oecolampadius.

Ex Ioan. Oecolampadio.

There was (ſaith he) a certayne man of the countreye, whiche in my iudgement was a good man, a louer of iuſtice, and a mortall enemie of all the cruell exactions of the Gentlemen, whiche oppreſſed the poore people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the countrey was appeaſed, was greeuouſly vexed and tormented, becauſe he had cryed Alarme, when as a great number of horſemen raunged about the countrey to ſeeke out thoſe whiche had bene the authours of that ſedition. This poore man was taken by policie, and ſo vpholden with fayre promiſes, that they made him confeſſe whatſoeuer they required. He thinking that they would not haue put hym to death, was caſt in priſon, whereas he was long tyme deteined, & wel cheriſhed, to take away all ſuſpition from hym: but after he had taryed a long tyme in priſon, they put hym to the Pinbank, laying diuers and many greeuous offences to his charge, where they kept hym hanging in the truſſe of the corde, the ſpace of ſixe houres, hanging a great ſtone faſtened at his feete.

The truſſe of the corde is a certain hanging vp by the handes behinde, hauing a waightye ſtone faſtened at their feete.

The ſweat that dropped from his body for very payne and anguiſhe, was almoſt bloud. In this diſtreſſe he cryed out pitifully, but all that coulde not once moue the tormenters hartes. When as al the power & ſtrength in his body beganne to faile hym, with great violence they let him fall downe. There this poore man lay euen as a ſtocke, not mouyng any part or member of his bodye, but a litle drawyng his breath, which was a token that there was ſome life in hym. Here the tormenters were in great doubt what to do with the man, whom they ſought by al meanes to deſtroye, in what place they might put hym, that he ſhould not dye of that torment.

Amongeſt them there was one which brought vineger and roſe water, and rubbyng hym therewithall, they dyd ſomewhat recouer hym. After that they had cauſed hym to eate and drinke ſuch as they had prouided for hym, they let hym downe into a deepe dungeon, where he coulde ſee neither Sunne nor Moone. All this was done to the intent to put hym to more torment, when he had ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength agayne. There they let hym continue xviij. dayes: after which tyme they brought hym againe to examination, propounding certaine articles vnto hym, whiche he conſtantly denyed. They deuiſed diuers and ſundry kindes of tormentes, to the intent they might euen of force extorte ſomething of this poore man, whiche might ſeeme worthy of death: yet for al that they were fayne to depart without their purpoſe. The xx. daye after, theſe tyrauntes hyred a hangman (a man ſure worthy of his office) whiche leaft no kinde of crueltie vnpractiſed. Yet dyd he miſſe of his purpoſe alſo, and was conſtrayned to leaue his crueltie, and to pronounce euen with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had ſo conſtantly endured ſo many horrible and greeuous tormentes. Yet theſe tyrantes came againe the fourth tyme, and ſuborned two witneſſes againſt hym, thus concluding that he was worthy of death, becauſe he had cryed Alarme, after the truce was taken, & woulde haue moued a newe ſedition. The day was appoynted whẽ he ſhould ſuffer, and they brought vnto hym the hangman, and a Fryer into the priſon.

The innocent man agayne tormented.

Falſe witnes.

In the meane time this poore man thought with hym ſelfe that they would haue ſhewed him the like crueltie as they had done the night before. They called hym out of the dungeon where they had let him downe certifying him that they had thinges to tel hym for his profite. This they did, becauſe he ſhould not dye in priſon.

He had rather pyne in priſon, then to come in the papiſtes handes.

Then they let downe a corde and a ſtaffe, but they could not perſwade hym to ſit thereupon, ſaying that he woulde rather chuſe to dye there, then he woulde endure any more ſuch cruel tormentes: Notwithſtandyng, if they woulde promiſe hym, not to put hym any more to the truſſe of the Corde, nor to put hym to death, but to bring hym before iuſt

Iudges,

Judges: on that condition he woulde come out, although he had fully determined neuer to haue remoued from thence, but to haue ended his life in that dungeon. There were preſent certaine counſellours which promiſed to performe his requeſt. And thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As ſoone as he ſawe the Fryer, he cryed out with a loude voyce, ſaying, O miſerable and wretched man that I am: nowe am I betrayed and deceiued, for my latter houre is at hande. I ſee wel the dreame which I haue dreamed this night wyll come to effecte, for they doo handle me tyranouſly and cõdemne me, not being heard. The fryer brake hym of from his purpoſe, and pullyng a wooden croſſe out of his ſleeue, preſented it vnto hym, declaryng that he muſt be quiet, becauſe they had alreadye geuen ſentence againſt him, & that he ſhould gaine nothing by ſo much talke. Poore man (ſaid the Fryer) thou haſt had good and gentle Judges, at the leaſt thou ſhalt go to God, therfore confeſſe thy ſinnes in my eare, and after thou haſt receyued abſolution at my handes, doubt not but this daye thou ſhalt goe ſtraight to the kingdome of heauen. The poore man anſwered, Thou wicked frier, get thee away from me, for I haue long ſince bewayled my ſinnes and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jeſus, who hath already forgeuen me all that which I haue cõmitted againſt his maieſtie, wherfore I haue no neede of thy abſolution, which thou thy ſelf doeſt not vnderſtãd. This is moſt certaine, that long tyme ſince, ỹ ſhouldeſt haue amẽded thine owne wicked & hypocriticall lyfe. I knowe well ynough what thou art, thou playeſt the Ape with me, but thou haſt a ſubtyll and craftye harte, whiche hath deceyued muche ſimple people. If thou haſte any comfort or conſolation out of the Goſpell to comfort me withal, let me haue it, if not, get thee away from me, with thy Porteſſe. The fryer was ſo confuſed and amaſed with theſe wordes, that he knewe not what to doo or ſay. The hangman being wiſer then the fryer, bade hym reade vnto the poore man ſomething of the Paſſion, wherein the poore man would take great pleaſure. This foliſh fryer had no other conſolation to comfort hym withal, but to hold the Crucifixe of wood before him, ſaying, Beholde thy ſaueour whiche dyed for thee, looke vpon hym, & thou ſhalt be comforted. Then ſaid the poore man, I haue an other ſaueour, this is none of my Saueour, get thee awaye from me thou naughty perſon: with thy marmoſet of wood. My ſaueour dwelleth in heauen, in whom I truſt that he wil not deliuer my ſoule to eternal death. The fryer croſſed hym ſelfe, ſhewing the ſemblance of a man that were very ſory & agreeued, thinking with hym ſelfe, that this poore man was fallen into deſperation. Then he was led forth into the market place, wheras accordyng to the cuſtome, openly before al the people, his confeſſion was read with a loud voyce, whiche conteined no other thing, but only that the man had ben a ſeditious perſon, and that in the tyme of truice he had cryed Alarme, euen in the night, when al men were at reſt.

The falſe promiſes of the Papiſtes not to be truſted.

The Chriſtian poore man refuſeth the Fryers wodden croſſe.

The Crucifixe of woode falſely called a Sauiour.

The innocent man condemned for ill will.

When he was come to the place where he ſhoulde ſuffer, beyng compaſſed in with Gleues and Halbardes, hyred for the purpoſe, after he had ſayd the Lordes prayer, ỹ hangman bade hym kneele downe, but he refuſed ſo to do, declaryng that he had yet ſomething more to ſaye before the people, thinking that he ſhoulde not be denyed to ſpeake in that place, as he was before the wicked Judges. Thoſe (ſayde he) whiche knowe me, ſhalbe ſufficient good witneſſes on my behalfe, that from my youth vpwarde I haue alwayes lyued in good name, fame, & honeſtie, being neuer before accuſed for any offence, ſedition, or periurie.

In an euil time haue I happened into theſe curſed daies, when as alwayes both God and man are turned topſy turvy. I was adherent to the tumult and ſedition of the men of the countrey, as many other were whiche dwell thereabout, but what then? are there not alſo many Gentlemen which folowed the peſants army, and many ſtrong townes which went alſo with them? I was not the authour of any ſedition, which alwayes I haue mortally hated. I neuer gaue counſell vnto any man to moue any broyle or tumult in any place. We aſked counſell of our Gentlemen what we ſhould do, when the bandes of the peſantes were aſſembled in the fields: but they gaue vs neither counſel nor comfort. And to ſpeake of my ſelfe, I did neuer vnderſtand or know what the articles were that were publiſhed, neyther was there euer any man that tolde me wherefore they were publiſhed, neither did I know wherfore the bands of the countrey were riſen, neither wherefore euery man moued his neighbour to put on armour. Wherfore thẽ haue ye takẽ me as a ſeditious man, & made me to endure ſo great torments? He continued a long time in declaring his innocencie, but notwithſtanding all his excuſes & defences, the hangman drue his ſworde, & at the commaundement of the iudge, ſtrake of his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moued a long tyme afterward in his head, by meanes of the force of the wordes whiche he had before ſpoken.

Nihil peccauit agnus, Sed Lupus eſuryt.

Thys bleſſed Martyr beheaded.

Thus this good man of the countrey ended his dayes. Againſt whom the falſe Judges could find no crime or offenſe to obiect, albeit thei had diligently ſought by witneſſes to haue information of al his life & liuyng. The Lord graũt his ſpirite to al thoſe whiche ſuffer for his name. Ex Ioan. Oecolampad.

Wolfgangus Schuch a Germane,

in Lotharing, martyr.

Wolfgangus Schuchus comming to a certaine towne in Lotharing, bearing the name of ſaint Hippolitus, & being receiued in ỹ ſaide towne to be their Paſtor, laboured by al meanes howe to extirpe out of the hartes of the people Idolatrie and ſuperſtition. Whiche through the grace of Chriſte working with hym, he in ſhort tyme had brought proſperouſly to paſſe, according to his deſire: In ſo muche that the obſeruation of Lent, Images, and al Idols, with the abomination alſo of the Maſſe, in the ſame towne was vtterly aboliſhed: So reformable God made the hartes of the people there, & ſuch affection had they to their miniſter. It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Antony, prince of Loraine (vnder whoſe dominion they were) through the ſwift report of the aduerſaries, falſly belying theſe Hippolitans to the duke, as though they in relinquiſhing the doctrine and faction of the Pope, wẽt about to reiect & ſhake of al authoritie & power of princes, & all ſuperiour Gouernours. By ỹ meanes of whiche ſiniſter report, they incenſed the Prince to ſuche diſpleaſure and indignation, that he threatened to ſubuert and vtterly to deſtroye the towne with ſworde and fire. Wolfgangus hauyng worde of this, wrote vnto the Duke his Epiſtle, in moſt humble & obedient wiſe, in defence both of his miniſterie, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cauſe of the Goſpell.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of Wolfgangus Schuch

Falſe and pernitious tongues.

The Duke of Loraine threatneth the towne of S. Hyppolitus.

In whiche Epiſtle firſt he excuſed the people to be innocent and blameles, & rather thoſe ſclaunderous reporters to be both worthy to be blamed, and alſo puniſhed for their falſe rumours & forged ſclaunders rayſed vp againſt them. After that he opened and explaned the cauſe and ſtate of the Goſpel, and of our ſaluation, conſiſting onely in the free grace of God, through fayth in Chriſt his ſonne, comparing alſo the ſame doctrine of the Goſpel, with the confuſed doctrine of the Church of Rome.

The letter of Wolfgangus to the Duke.

That done, thirdly he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worſhip which firſt we owe to God & to Chriſte: next vnder hym, to Princes here and Poteſtates, whom God hath placed in his roume, and endued with authoritie here in earth, vnto whom they offered them ſelues nowe & at al times, preſt and moſt ready to obey with al ſeruice and duetie. &c.

But with this Epiſtle Wolfgangus dyd nothing preuaile, eyther for that it was intercepted by the waye, or els for that the falſe accuſations & wicked tongues of the aduerſarie parte tooke more effecte to winne credite with the Duke, then could the ſimple defenſe of veritie. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he ſawe no other remedie, rather then the towne ſhould come in any daũger for his cauſe, the good man of his owne accorde came to the citie of Nancey (which is the head towne of Loraine) there to render a confeſſion of his doctrine, and alſo to deliuer the town of S. Hippolite out of peryll, deryuyng all the daunger vppon him ſelfe.

As ſoone as he was come thyther, incontinent handes were layd vpon hym, and he layde faſt in a ſtrayte and ſtinking priſon, where he was ſharpely and bitterly handled, vnder the cuſtodie of the churliſh and cruel keepers. Al this notwithſtanding, Wolfgangus cõtinuyng in that priſon the ſpace of a whole yeare, yet woulde not be moued from his cõſtancie, neither with the ſtraitnes of the priſon, nor with the hardnes of his keepers, nor yet with the compaſſion of his wife & children, which he had about ſixe or ſeuen. Then was he had to the houſe of the Gray fryes, to profeſſe there hys fayth: where he both wittyly and learnedly confuted al them that ſtoode againſt him.

The Conſtancie of Wolfangus vnremoueable.

Wolfgangus had to the Gray Friers.

There was a fryer (named Bonauenture) prouinciall of that order, of face, bodye, and belly monſtrous, but muche more groſſe in blynde ignoraunce, and a man vtterly rude, a contemner of all ciuilitie and honeſtie. Who beyng long confeſſour to the Duke, and of great authoritie in Loraine, as he was an enemie to vertue and learnyng, ſo was he euer perſwadyng the Duke to baniſhe out of his Courte and Countrey of Loraine all learned men, neyther coulde he abyde any perſon whiche ſeemed to knowe more then his elders knewe before. The ſumme of all his Diuinitie was this, to be ſufficient to ſaluation onely to knowe the

Wolfgangus confuteth his aduerſaries.

A right deſcription of a frierly *Colonus*, or *Cyclops*

Pater

The diſputatiō of Wolfgangus with the Fryers.

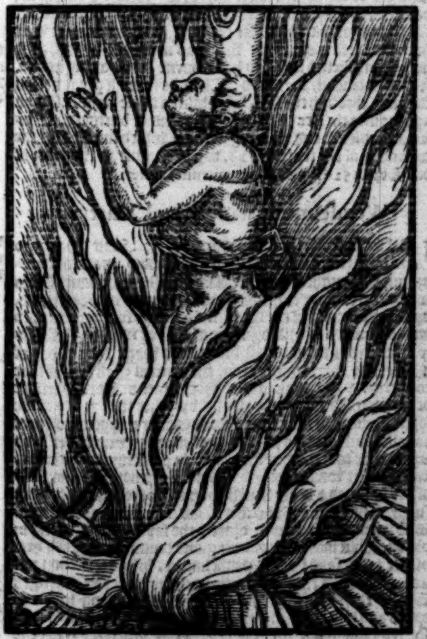
The ſentēce geuen agaynſt Wolfgangus, by the Duke, not knowyng what Wolfgangus ſayd.

Pater noſter, and Aue Maria. And thus was the Duke brought vp and trayned, and in nothyng els, as the Duke himſelfe oft tymes in talke with his familiars, would confeſſe. This Bonauenture beyng chief iudge and moderator where Wolfgangus diſputed, or was examined, had nothyng els in his mouth, but thou hereticke, Iudas, Belzebub, &c. Wolfgangus bearyng patiently thoſe priuate iniuries, which perteyned to himſelfe, proceded mightely in hys diſputation by the Scriptures confutyng or rather confoundyng his aduerſaries, who beyng not otherwiſe able to make their partie good, yet for very ſhame, becauſe they would not ſeeme to do nothyng, tooke his Bible with hys notes in the margent, into their monaſtery and burnt it. At the laſt diſputation Duke Anthony hymſelfe was ſayd to be there, alteryng his apparell, becauſe he would not be knowen, who albeit he vnderſtode not the ſpeach of Wolfgangus, ſpeakyng in Latin, yet perceauyng him to be bold and conſtant in his doctrine, departyng from the diſputation, gaue ſentence, that he ſhould be burned, becauſe he denyed the Church, and Sacrament of the Maſſe. Wherupon it folowed ſhortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who hearyng the ſentence of his cōdemnation, began to ſing the Pſalm. 122. Lætatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus. &c.

As he was led to the place of execution, paſſyng by the houſe of the Gray Friers, Bonauenture the great Cyclops ſittyng at the doore, cryed out to him: thou hereticke do thy reuerence here to God, and to our Lady, and to hys holy Saintes, ſhewyng to him the Idoles ſtandyng at the Friers gate. To whom Wolfgangus aunſwered agayne: thou hypocrite, thou paynted wall, the Lord ſhall deſtroy thee, and bryng all thy falſe diſſimulation vnto light. When they were come to the place of his Martyrdome, firſt hys bookes before hym were throwen in the fire. Then they aſked him whether he would haue his payne miniſhed or ſhortned: to whō he ſayd no, byddyng them to do their will: for (ſayd he) as God hath bene with me hetherto, ſo I truſt now he will not leaue me, when I ſhall haue moſt neede of hym, concludyng his wordes thus: that they ſhould put the ſentence in execution, & ſo begynnyng to ſing the 51. Pſal. he entred into the place heaped vp with fagots and woode, continuyng in his Pſalme and ſingyng till the ſmoke & the flame tooke from him both voyce and lyfe.

Note the quiet and ioyfull death of this bleſſed Martyr.

¶The Martyrdome of Wolfgangus.



The iuſt puniſhment of God vpō perſecutors.

The ſingular vertue, conſtancie, and learnyng of this bleſſed man, as it refreſhed and greatly edified the hartes of many good men: ſo it aſtoniſhed as much the myndes of his aduerſaries, and wrought to their confuſion: For ſhortly after his death, the Commendator of S. Antony of Vienna, who ſatte as ſpirituall iudge ouer hym, and gaue ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſodenly downe and dyed. Alſo hys felow, which was Abbot of Clariloсus, and ſuffragan to the Byſhop of Metz, ſodenly at the commyng of the Duches of Denmarke into the citie of Nancie, ſtrokē with ſodein feare, at the cracke of gunnes, fell downe and dyed, as they which were preſent and ſaw it, haue made faithfull relation of the ſame. an. 1525. Ex Ludou. Rabo, & Pantal.

Iohn Huglein Martyr.

John Huglein, Martyr. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 6.

Of John Huglein Prieſt, mention is made in the Commentaries of Iohn Sledan. Lib. 6. who the next yeare folowyng. an. 1526. was burned at Merſpurge by the Byſhop of Conſtance, for that he did not hold with the Byſhop of Romes doctrine in all pointes.

Promiſe of mariage broke with John Fredericke duke of Saxony.

The Popes church keepeth no promiſe with heretickes.

Moreouer, beſides other matters in this yeare occurrent, here is alſo a memorandum to be made to all poſteritie, that in this preſent yeare. 1526. vnto John Fredericke ſonne and heyre to the Prince and Electour of Saxony, was promiſed the Lady Katherine the Emperours younger ſiſter in Mariage, and writynges made of the ſame. But when the alteration of religion was ſent by Gods prouidence into Saxony, they ſwarued from their couenauntes, and Hawnart, which was then the Emperours Ambaſſadour in Germany, ſeyd playnly, that there was no promiſe to be kept with heretickes: wherein they ſeemed to folow well the footeſteppes of the Councell of Conſtance, as before you haue partly heard, in the ſtory of John Hus, and of the Emperour Sigiſmund, pag. 573. 575.

George Carpenter of Emeryng Martyr,

burned in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria.

George Carpenter, Martyr.

The viij. day of February, in the yeare of our ſaluation. 1527. there happened a rare and marueilous example and ſpectacle in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria, which was this. A certaine man named George Carpenter of Emeryng was there burnt. When he was ſet out of the priſon called Falken Tower, and led before the Councell, diuers Friers and Monkes folowed hym, to inſtruct and teach him. Whom he willed to tary at home, and not to folow hym. When he came before the Councell, his offences were read, contained in foure Articles.

Articles layde agaynſt George Carpenter.

Firſt that he dyd not beleue that a Prieſt could forgeue a mans ſinnes.

Secondly that he dyd not beleue, that a man could call God out of heauen.

Thirdly that he dyd not beleue that God was in the bread, which the Prieſt hangeth ouer the aultar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly that he did not beleue, that the very element of the water it ſelfe in Baptiſme, doth geue grace.

George perſwaded to recant.

The loue of God preferred before wyfe, children, and libertie.

The Sacrament a ſigne of the Lordes bodye.

Baptiſme.

Which foure Articles he vtterly refuſed to recant. Then came vnto him a certaine Scholemaiſter of S. Peters in the towne of Munchen, ſaying: my frend George, doeſt thou not feare the death and puniſhment which thou muſt ſuffer? If thou were let go, wouldeſt thou returne to thy wife and children? Whereunto he aunſwered: If I were ſet at libertie, whether ſhould I rather go, then to my wife and well beloued children? Then ſayd the Scholemaiſter, reuoke your former ſentence and opinion, and you ſhall be ſet at liberty. Whereunto George aunſwered: my wife and my children are ſo dearely beloued vnto me, that they can not be bought from me, for all the riches and poſſeſſions of the Duke of Bauaria: but for the loue of my Lord God I will willyngly forſake them. Whē he was led vnto ẏ place of executiō, the ſcholemaiſter ſpake vnto hym agayne, in the middeſt of the market place, ſaying: Good George, beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar: do not affirme it to be onely a ſigne. Whereunto he aunſwered: I beleue this Sacrament to be a ſigne of the body of Jeſus Chriſt, offered vpon the Croſſe for vs. Then ſayd the Scholemaiſter moreouer, what doeſt thou meane, that thou doeſt ſo litle eſteeme Baptiſme, knowyng that Chriſt ſuffered himſelfe to be Baptiſed in Jordane? Whereunto he aunſwered, and ſhewed what was the true vſe of Baptiſme, and what was the end why Chriſt was Baptiſed in Jordane, & how neceſſary it was that Chriſt ſhould dye and ſuffer vpon the Croſſe, wherein onely ſtandeth our ſaluation. The ſame Chriſt (ſayd he) will I confeſſe this day before the whole world: for he is my Sauiour, and in him do I beleue.

After this came vnto hym one Maiſter Conrade Scheitter, the Vicare of the cathedrall Church of our Lady in Munchen a preacher, ſaying: George, if thou wilt not beleue the Sacrament, yet put all thy truſt in God, and ſay:

* Marke here theſe ſubtill Serpentes, which when they cã not remoue thys good man from hys faith, they goe about to bryng hym in doubt therof.

The aunſweres of George Carpenter to euery particle of the Lordes prayer.

The hartie confeſſion of George Carpenter.

Luke. 12. Whatſoeuer a mã loueth aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll.

George Carpenter refuſeth to be prayed for after hys death.

The conſtant behauiour of George Carpenter at his death.

I truſt my cauſe to be good and true: * but if I ſhould erre, truly I would be ſory and repent. Wherunto George Carpenter aunſwered: God ſuffer me not to erre I beſech hym. Then ſayd the Scholemaſter vnto hym, do not put the matter in that haſarde, but chuſe vnto you ſome good Chriſtian brother, Maiſter Conrade, or ſome other, vnto whom thou mayeſt reuele thy hart: not to confeſſe thy ſelfe, but to take ſome godly counſayle of him. Wherunto he aunſwered: Nay not ſo, for it would be to long. Then Maiſter Conrade began the Lordes Prayer, Our father which art in heauen. Where vnto Carpenter aunſwered, truly thou art our father and no other: this day I truſt to be with thee. Then Maiſter Conrade went forwarde with the prayer, ſaying: Halowed be thy name. Carpenter aunſwered: O my God, how little is thy name halowed in this world? Then ſayd maiſter Conrade. Thy kyngdome come. Carpenter aunſwered: let thy kyngdome come this day vnto me, that I alſo may come vnto thy kyngdome. Then ſayd Conrade: Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. Carpenter aũſwered: For this cauſe O father, I am now here, that thy will might be fulfilled & not myne. Then ſayd Maiſter Conrade: Geue vs this day our dayly bread. Carpenter aunſwered: the onely liuyng bread Ieſu Chriſt ſhall be my foode. Then ſayd Conrade: And forgeue vs our treſpaſſes, as we forgeue them that treſpaſſe agaynſt vs. Carpenter aunſwered: with a willyng mynde do I forgeue all mẽ, both my frendes and aduerſaries. Then ſayd maiſter Conrade: And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from all euill. Whereunto Carpenter aunſwered: O my Lord, without doubt thou ſhalt deliuer me, for vpõ thee onely haue I layd all my hope. Then he begã to rehearſe the belief, ſaying: I beleue in God the father almighty. Carpenter aunſwered: O my God, in thee alone do I truſt: in thee onely is all my confidence, and vpõ no other creature, albeit they haue gone about to force me otherwiſe. In this maner he aũſwered to euery word: which his aunſweres, if they ſhould be deſcribed at length, would be to long. This prayer ended, the Scholemaiſter ſayd vnto hym: doeſt thou beleue ſo truly and conſtantly in thy Lord and God with thy hart, as thou doeſt chearefully ſeeme to cõfeſſe him with thy mouth? Hereunto he aunſwered: It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am here ready to ſuffer death, ſhould not beleue that with my hart, whiche I openly profeſſe with my mouth: For I knew before, that I muſt ſuffer perſecutiõ, if I would cleaue vnto Chriſt: who ſaith, where as thy hart is, there alſo is thy treaſure, & whatſoeuer thyng a man doth fixe in his hart to loue aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll. Then ſayd maiſter Conrade vnto hym, George doeſt thou thinke it neceſſary after thy death, that any man ſhould pray for thee, or ſay Maſſe for thee? He aunſwered: ſo long as the ſoule is ioyned to the body, pray God for me, that he will geue me grace and pacience, with all humilitie, to ſuffer the paynes of death with a true Chriſtian fayth: but when the ſoule is ſeparate from the body, then haue I no more neede of your prayers. When as the hangman ſhould bynde hym to the ladder, he preached much vnto the people. Then he was deſired by certaine Chriſtian brethren, that as ſoone as he was caſt into the fire, he ſhould geue ſome ſigne or token, what his fayth or beleue was. To whom he aunſwered: this ſhall be my ſigne and token: that ſo long as I can open my mouth, I will not ceaſe to call vpon the name of Ieſus.

The death and martirdome of George Carpenter.

Behold (good reader) what an incredible cõſtancie was in this godly man, ſuch as lightly hath not bene ſene in any man before. His face and countenaunce neuer chaunged colour, but chearefully he went vnto the fire. In the middeſt (ſayth he) of the towne, this day will I cõfeſſe my God before the whole world. When he was layde vpon the ladder, and that hangman put a bagge of gunnepouder about hys necke, he ſayd, let it ſo be, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. And when as the two hangmen lifted hym vp vppon the ladder, ſmilyng he bad a certaine Chriſtian farewell, requiryng forgeuenes of hym. That done, the hangman thruſt him into the fire. He with a loude voyce cryed out Ieſus, Ieſus. Then the hangman turned hym ouer: and he agayne for a certaine ſpace, cryed Ieſus, Ieſus, and ſo ioyfully yelded vp his ſpirite.

¶ Leonard Keyſer.

The hiſtory of Leonard Keyſer.

HEre [illegible] is not to be paſſed ouer the maruellous conſtãcie of M. Leonard Keyſer of the countrey of Bauaria, who was burned for the Goſpel. This Keyſer was of the towne of Rawbe, 4. myles frõ Paſſaw, of a famous houſe. This mã beyng at his ſtudy in Wyttenberge, was ſent for by his brethren which certified him, that if euer he would ſee his father aliue, he ſhould come with ſpeede: which thing he did. He was ſcarſly come thether, when as by the commaundement of the Byſhop of Paſſawe, he was taken by his mother & his brethren. The Articles which he was accuſed of, for the which alſo he was moſt cruelly put to death and ſhed his bloud for the teſtimony of the truth, were theſe.

That fayth onely iuſtifieth.

That workes are the frutes of fayth.

That the Maſſe is no ſacrifice or oblation.

Item, for confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, the vow of chaſtitie, Purgatory, differẽce of dayes, for affirming onely two Sacramentes, and inuocation of Saintes.

He alſo maintayned iij. kyndes of confeſſion.

The firſt to be of fayth, which is alwayes neceſſary.

Articles agaynſt Leonard Keyſer.

The ſecond of charitie, whiche ſerueth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himſelfe agayne, as a man may ſee by that whiche is written in Math. 18.

The third which is not to be deſpiſed, is to aſke counſaile of the auncient Miniſters of the Church.

Vid. ſup. pag. 822. 830.

Perſecutours.

And for ſomuch as all this was contrary to the Bull of Pope Leo, and the Emperours decree made at Wormes, ſentence was geuen agaynſt hym, that he ſhould be diſgraded and put into the handes of the ſecular power. The perſecuters that ſat in Iudgement vpon him, were the Byſhop of Paſſaw: the Suffragans of Ratiſbone, & of Paſſaw: alſo Doctour Eckius, beyng garded about with armed men. His brethren and kinſfolkes made great interceſſion to haue his iudgement differred & put of, that the matter might be more exactly knowen. Alſo Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, and the Earles of Schauuenburge, and of Schunartzen, wrote to the Byſhop for hym, but could not preuayle. After the ſentence was geuen, he was caryed by a company of harneſſed men, out of the Citie agayne, to Scherdingham. 13. of Auguſt. Where Chriſtopher Frenkinger the ciuile iudge receauyng hym, had letters ſent him frõ Duke Williã of Bauaria, that forthwith taryng for no other iudgement, he ſhould be burned alyue. Whereupon the good and bleſſed Martyr early in the mornyng, beyng ſhinded and ſhauen, and clothed in a ſhort gowne, and a blacke cappe ſet vpon his head all cut and iagged, ſo was deliuered to the officer. As he was led out of the towne, to the place where as he ſhould ſuffer, he boldly & hardyly ſpake in the Almaine toung, turnyng his head, firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other, ſaying: O Lord Ieſu remaine with me, ſuſtayne and helpe me, and geue me force and power.

Haſty iudgement againſt Leonard Keyſer.

The martyrdome of Leonard Keyſer.

Then the woode was made ready to be ſet on fire, and he began to cry with a loude voyce: O Ieſus, I am thyne, haue mercy vpon me, and ſaue me, and therewithall he felt the fire begin ſharply vnder his feete, his handes, and about his head: and becauſe the fire was not great inough, the hangman plucked the body halfe burnt, with a long hooke, from vnderneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through the which he thruſt a ſtake, and caſt hym agayne into the fire, and ſo made an end of burnyng. This was the bleſſed end of that good man, which ſuffered for the teſtimony of the truth, the 16. day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1526. Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.

Wendelmuta widow and Martyr.

Wendelmuta widowe, Martyr.

IN Holland alſo the ſame yeare. 1527. was Martyred and burned a good and vertuous widow, named Wendelmuta, daughter of Nicholas of Munchendam. This widow receauyng to her hart the brightnes of Gods grace, by the appearyng of the Goſpell, was therfore apprehended and committed to cuſtody in the Caſtle of Werden, & ſhortly after, from thence was brought to Hage the 15. day of Nouember there to appeare at the general Seſſions of that countrey: where was preſent Hochſtratus, Lord Preſidẽt of the ſayd County, who alſo ſat vpon her the 17. day of the foreſayd moneth. Diuers Monkes were appointed there to talke with her, to the end they myght conuince her, and wynne her to recãt, but ſhe conſtãtly perſiſting in the truth, wherein ſhe was plãted, would not be remoued. Many alſo of her kyndred & other honeſt women were ſuffered to perſuade w her. Amõg whõ there was a certain noble matron, who loued and fauoured dearely the ſayd widow beyng in priſon. This matrone comming, and commonyng with her, in her talke ſayd: My Wendelmuta, why doeſt thou not keepe ſilence, & thinke ſecretly in thyne hart, theſe thynges whiche thou beleueſt, that thou mayeſt prolong here thy dayes and lyfe? To whom ſhe aunſwered agayne, Ah (ſayd ſhe) you know not what ye ſay. It is written: With the hart we beleue to righteouſnes, with toung we confeſſe, to ſaluatiõ, &c. And thus ſhe remaynyng firme & ſtedfaſt in her beliefe and confeſſion, the 20. day of Nouember was condẽned by ſentence geuen, as agaynſt an hereticke, to be burned to aſhes, and her goodes to be confiſcate, ſhe taking the ſentence of her condemnation mildely and quietly.

Religion would be profeſſed as well wyth tounge as with hart. Rom. 10.

After ſhe came to the place where ſhe ſhould be executed, and a Monke there had brought out a blynd Croſſe, willyng her many tymes to kyſſe and worſhyp her God: I worſhyp (ſayd ſhe) no wodden God, but onely that God which is in heauen: and ſo with a mery and ioyfull countenaūce, ſhe went to the ſtake, deſiryng the executioner, to ſee the ſtake to be faſt, that it fall not: then takyng the powder and laying it to her breſt, ſhe gaue her necke willyngly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commendyng her ſelfe to the handes of God. When the tyme came that ſhe ſhould be ſtrāgled, modeſtly ſhe cloſed her eyes, & bowed downe her head, as one that would take a ſleape: which done the fire then was put to the wood, and ſhe beyng ſtrangled, was burned afterward to aſhes, in ſtead of this lyfe to get the immortall crowne in heauen. an. 1527. Ex Pantal.

Wodden Gods not to be worſhipped.

Petrus Fliſtedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus put to death at Colen.

Petrus Fliſtedius. Adolphus Clarebachus, Martyrs.

IN the number of theſe Germaine Martyrs, are alſo to be comprehended Peter Fliſteden and Adolphe Clarebach, two men of ſingular learnyng, & hauyng rype knowledge of Gods holy word. Which two, in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. for that they did diſſent frō the Papiſtes in diuers pointes, & ſpecially touchyng the Supper of the Lord, and other the popes traditions & ceremonies, after they had endured impriſonment a yeare and halfe, by the commaundemēt of the Archbyſhop and Senate, were put to death and burned in Colen, not without the great grief and lamētation of many good Chriſtians, all the fault beyng put vppon certaine Diuines, which at that tyme preached that the puniſhmēt and death of certaine wicked perſons, ſhould pacifie the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany greuouſly with a new and ſtraunge kynde of diſeaſe: For at that ſeaſon, the ſweatyng ſicknes dyd mortalie rage and reigne throughout all Germany. Ex Commenta. Ioan. Sled. Lib. 6.

The bloud of Martyrs ſpilte to ſtoppe the ſweating ſickenes at Colen.

A Preface to the Table folowyng.

IF thou wilt remember in readyng this booke of ſtoryes (louyng reader) it was before mentioned & declared, pag. 816. how in the yeare of grace. 1501. certaine prodigious markes and printes of the Lordes paſſion, as the crowne, croſſe, nayles, ſcourges, & ſpeare were ſene in Germanie, vpon the garmentes of men, & women. Which miraculous oſtēt paſſing the ordinary courſe of naturall cauſes, as it was ſent of God, no doubt, to foreſhew the great & terrible perſecution, which afterward fell in the countrey of Germany and other regions beſides, for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: ſo if the number & names of all thoſe good men & women, which ſuffered in the ſame perſecution, with their Actes & doings ſhould be gathered & compiled together, it would aſke a lōg tyme, & a large volume. Notwithſtandyng, partly to ſatiſfie the hiſtory which we haue in hand, partly alſo to auoyde tedious prolixitie, I thought briefly to contract the diſcourſe thereof, drawyng, as in a compendious Table, the names of the perſecutours, & of the Martyrs which ſuffered, and the cauſes wherfore, in as much ſhortnes as I may, referryng the full tractation of their lyues & doyngs to thoſe writers of their owne countrey, where they are to be read more at large. And to keepe an order in the ſame Table, as much as in ſuch a confuſed heape of matters I may, accordyng to the order and diſtinction of the countreys, in which theſe bleſſed Saintes of Chriſt did ſuffer: I haue ſo diuided the order of the Table in ſuch ſort, as firſt to begyn with them that ſuffered in Germany, then in Fraunce, alſo in Spayne, with other forein countreys mo, ſhewyng onely the names with the principall matters of them, referryng the reſt to the further explication of their owne Storywriters, from whence they be collected. The which Table beyng finiſhed, my purpoſe is (Chriſt willyng) to returne to the full hiſtory of our owne matters, & Martyrs which ſuffred here in England.

The Dutch Martyrs. The French Martyrs. The Spaniſhe Martyrs. The Engliſhe Martyrs.

A Table of the names and cauſes of ſuch Martyrs, which gaue their lyues for the teſtimony of the Goſpell in Germany, Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, and other foreine countreys, ſince Luthers tyme: In which Table firſt is conteyned within the firſt ſpace betwene the lynes, the perſecutours, next the Martyrs, and thyrdly the cauſes.

The Martyrs of Germany.

OF diuers which ſuffered in Germany for the witnes of the Goſpel, partly ſome rehearſall is made before, as of Voes, and Eſch, of Sutphen, Iohn Caſtellane. Pet. Spengler, with a certaine godly Miniſter, and an other ſimple man of the countrey mentioned in Oecolampadius: Alſo of them in Diethmar and Prage, of M. George of Halle, Gaſper Tambert, Gregorius of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, Iohn Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyſer, Wendelmuta, P. Fliſtede, Adol. Clarebach, and other moe. The reſidue folow in order of this Table here to be ſhewed.

Nicholas of Antwerpe, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Charles the Emperour. Two ſeruauntes of a Butcher did apprehend.	One Nicholas of Antwerpe. At Antwerpe. An. 1254.	The Curate of Melza by Antwerpe, had vſed to preach to a great nūber of people without ẏ towne. The Emperour hearyng thereof, gaue leaue to take the vppermoſt garmēt of all them that came to heare, and offered 30. gilders who ſo would take the Prieſt. Afterward, whē the people were gathered, & the curate not there, this Nicolas ſtepped vp in place and preached. Wherfore he beyng apprehended by theſe ij. ſeruaūtes of a Butcher, was put in a ſacke and drowned by the Crane at Antwerpe. 1524.
Margarete, daughter of Maximiliā, Princes of Holland. M.Montane M.Roſemunde. M. Anchuſianus Inquiſitours. M.Iodocus Louering, Vicare of Mechlin.	Ioan. Piſtorius, a learned man of Hollād, and partly of kynne to Eraſm. Roterod. An. 1524.	The ſtory of Piſtorius is largely ſet forth by Gnapheus. Firſt he was a prieſt, then he maried: after that he preached, commyng from Wittenberge. He ſpake agaynſt the Maſſe and pardons, and agaynſt the ſubtile abuſes of Prieſtes. He was cōmitted vnto priſon with x. malefactours, whom he dyd cōfort, and to one being halfe naked and in daunger of cold, he gaue hys gown. His father viſityng hym in priſon, dyd not diſſuade him, but bad hym be conſtant. At laſt he was condemned, & diſgraded, hauyng a fooles coate put vpon hym. His felow priſoners at his death ſong Te Deum. Commyng to the ſtake he gaue hys necke willingly to the band, wherwith he was firſt ſtrāgled, & then burned, ſaying at his death: O death, where is thy victory?
Sebaſtian Braiteſtein, Abbot.	Mathias Weibell, Scholemaiſter. In Sueuia. An. 1525.	For ſaying ſomewhat agaynſt the Abbots firſt Maſſe, and againſt carping about the reliques, though the procuremēt of the Abbot, he was hanged by Campidonum in Sueuia.

Ioannes Piſtorius, Martyr.

1.Cor.15.

Mathias Weibell Martyr.

A Prieſt, Martyr.

George Scherrer, Martyr.

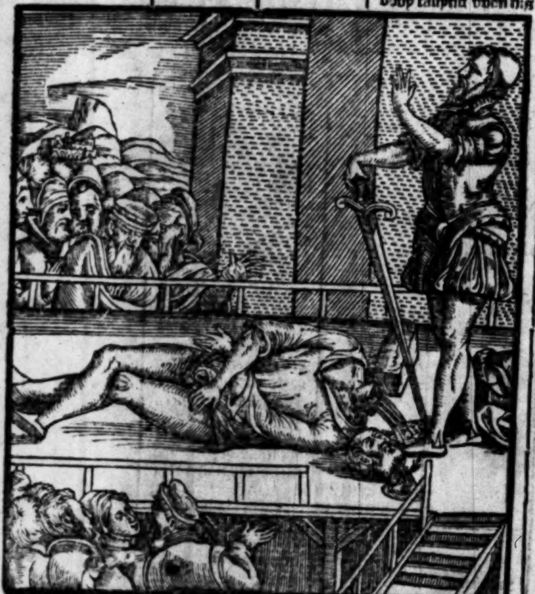
Ex Mat. Flac. Illyrico.

A ſtraunge myracle of God in manifeſting hys Goſpell.

A good prieſt martyred in hys owne houſe.

Ex Ioan. Gaſtio.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Certaine noble men, after the commotion of the coūtreymen in Germany.	A certaine godly Prieſt. An. 1525.	This prieſt being cōmaunded to come and geue good coūſaile to 16. countreymen that ſhould bee beheaded, afterward was byd, himſelf, to kneledown to haue his head cut of, no cauſe nor condēnation further beyng layd agaynſt hym, but onely of mere hatred againſt the Goſpell. Ex Ioan. Gaſtio.
The name of the perſecutour appeareth not in the ſtory.	George Scherrer. At Raſtat, by Saltzeburge. An. 1528.	After that this George had inſtructed ÿ people in knowledge of the Goſpell in Raſtat, x. myles diſtant from Saltzeburge, he was accuſed of his aduerſaries & put in priſon, where he wrote a confeſſion of his fayth, whiche Mathias Illiricus hath ſet out with his wholy ſtory. He was condemned to be burned a liue: but meanes was made, that firſt his head ſhould be cut of, and his body afterward be caſt into the fire. Goyng towarde his death he ſaid, crying aloud: That you may know (ſayd he) ÿ I dye a true Chriſtian, I wil geue you a manifeſt ſigne, and ſo he did by the power of ÿ Lord: For when his head was taken of frō his ſhoulders, the body fallyng vpon his belly, ſo cōtinued the ſpace while one might well eate an egge. After that, ſoftly it turned it ſelfe vpon the backe, and croſſed the right foote ouer the left, and the right hand ouer the left. At the ſight wherof they which ſaw it were in a great maruell. The Magiſtrates which before had appointed to haue burned the body after his beheadyng, ſeyng this miracle, would not burne it, but buryed it with other Chriſtian mens bodyes, and many by the ſame example were moued to beleue the Goſpell. Thus God is able to manifeſt the truth of his Goſpel, in the middeſt of perſecution, who is to be bleſſed for euer. Amen.
Balthaſar, Officiall.	Henry Flemmyng. At Dornic. 1525.	This Henry a Frier ſometyme of Flaunders, forſoke his habite & maryed a wife. Who beyng offered lyfe of Balthaſar, if he would confeſſe hys wife to be an harlot, denyed ſo to do, and ſo was burnt at Dornic.
A Popiſh Prieſt and a wicked murderer.	A good Prieſt dwellyng not farre from Baſill. 1539.	There was a certain wicked Prieſt, a notorious adulterer, a dycer, and a vile dronkard geuen to all wickednes and vngratiouſneſſe, without all feare, regardyng nothyng what miſchief he did: moreouer a mā fitte & ready to ſerue the affectiō of the papiſtes at all turnes. It chaūced that this Prieſt was receaued & lodged in the houſe of an other Prieſt dwelling not farre frō Baſill, which was a good man and a ſincere fauourer of the Goſpell. This dronken Prieſt ſittyng at ſupper, was ſo dronke that he could not tell what he dyd, or els feyned hymſelfe ſo dronke of purpoſe, the better to accompliſhe his entended miſchief. So it folowed ÿ this wretch, after his firſt ſlepe, roſe out of his bed and brake all the glaſſe windowes in his chamber, threw down the ſtoue, and rent all his hoſtes bookes that he found. The hoſt awakyng with the noyſe therof, came to him, aſking how he did: whether there were any theeues or enemyes that he was in feare of, deſiryng him to ſhew what he ayled. But as ſoone as the good hoſte had opened his chāber doore, the wicked cutthroate, ranne at him with his ſword and ſlew hym. The hoſt after the wound receaued, fell downe and dyed. Vpō this, a clamour was made through all the ſtreete, and the neighbours came in, the murtherer was taken and bound: and yet all the frendes and kinſfolkes that the good Prieſt had, could not make that miſerable caitiffe that was the murderer, to be executed: the ſuperiour power dyd ſo take his part, ſaying that he ſhould be ſent to his Byſhop. The townes men did greuouſly cry out and complayne, at the bouldſteryng out of ſo manifeſt vilany. So did alſo the noble man that was the Lord of the Page, ſaying that ſo many good men and maryed Prieſtes were drowned & beheaded for ſuch ſmall trifles, without any regarde had to the Byſhop: but a murtherer might eſcape vnpuniſhed. It was aunſwered to them againe, that what the ſuperiour powers would do, they had nothyng to do withall. The tyme was otherwiſe now, then it was in the commotion of the ruſticall people. The ſuperiour power had authoritie to gouerne as they would, ſayd they: it was their partes onely to obey: And ſo was he ſent bound to the Byſhop, and ſhortly after diſmiſſed, hauing alſo a greater benefice geuen him for his worthy acte: for ſo he auaūted him ſelfe, that he had ſlayne a Lutherā Prieſt. Ex tom. 2. Conuiualium Sermonum Ioan. Gaſtij. & ex Pantal.



Charles

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Charles the Emperours Procuratour. Doctour Anchuſanus, Inquiſitour. Latomus. At Louane. An.1543.	XXviij. Chriſten men and women of Louane. Paule a Prieſt. Two aged women. Antonia. Two men. At Louane. 1543.	When certaine of the Citie of Louane were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, the Emperours Procurator came from Bruſſelles thether to make Inquiſitiō. After which Inquiſitiō made, certaine bandes of armed mē came & beſet their houſes in the night where many were taken in their beddes, plucked from their wiues and children, & diuided into diuers priſōs. Through the terrour whereof, many Citizens reuolted frō the doctrine of ẏ Goſpell, and returned agayne to Idolatrye. But 28. there were which remained conſtaunt in that perſecution. Unto whom the Doctors of Louane, Anchuſanus eſpecially, the Inquiſitour, & Latomus ſomtymes, with other, came and diſputed, thinkyng no leſſe but either to cōfound them or to conuerte them. But ſo ſtrongly the ſpirite of the Lord wrought wͭ his Sainctes, that the other went rather confounded away thē ſelues. When no diſputation could ſerue, that which lacked in cūnyng, they ſupplied with tormentes, by enforcyng & afflicting them ſeuerally, euery one by him ſelfe. Among the reſt, there was one Paulus a Prieſt, vpon the age of 60. yeares, whom the Rectors of the Uniuerſitie, with their Collegues, accompanyed wͭ a great number of billes & gleiues, brought out of priſon to the Auſten Friers, where after many foule wordes of ẏ Rector, he was degraded. But at lēgth for feare of death he began to ſtaggar in ſome points of his confeſſion, & ſo was had out of Louane, & condemned to perpetual priſon, which was a darke and ſtinkyng dongeon, where he was ſuffered neither to read nor write, or any man to come at hym, commaūded onely to be fed with bread and water. After that, other two there were, which becauſe they had reuoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, conſtantly takyng their Martyrdome. Then was there an old man, and ij. aged women brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, borne of an auncient ſtocke in that Citie. Theſe alſo were condēned, the man to be headed, the ij. womē to be buried quicke, which death they receaued likewiſe very chearefully. Certaine of the other priſoners, which were not condemned to death, were depriued of their goodes, cōmaunded in a white ſheete to come to the Church, and there kneelyng with a Taper in their hand, to aſke forgeuenes: and they which refuſed ſo to do, & to abiure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire. Ex Franciſ. Encenate.
The name of the perſecutor appeareth not in in the ſtory.	M. Perſeuall. At Louane. An. 1544.	Not lōg after this, was one M. Perſeuall in the ſame Uniuerſitie of Louane, ſingularly well learned. Who for reprehēdyng certaine Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and ſomething ſpeakyng in cōmēdation of the Goſpell, was throwen into priſon. The beyng accuſed of Lutheraniſme, becauſe he ſtode to the ſame, & would not condeſcende to the popes erroneous factiō, he was adiudged to perpetuall priſon, there to be fedde onely with bread & water: which puniſhment he tooke paciently for Chriſtes ſake. Neuertheles certaine Citizēs takyng compaſſion of him ſent hym wyne and beare. But hys keepers beyng charged vnder a great penaltie, durſt let nothyng to come vnto him. At laſt what became of him, no man could learne nor vnderſtand. Some iudge that he was either famiſhed for hunger, or els that he was ſecretly drowned. Ex Franc. Encenate.
Dorſardus a Poteſtate in that countrey, and a great perſecutour.	Iuſtus Imbſberger. At Bruſels. An. 1544.	Iuſtus, a ſkinner of Louane, beyng ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme, was founde in his houſe to haue the new Teſtament and certaine Sermons of Luther: For ẏ which he was committed, & his Iaylour cōmaunded, that hee ſhould ſpeake with none. There were ẏ ſame time, in the lower priſon vnder them, Egidius, and Franciſcus Encenas a Spanyard, who ſecretly hauyng the doores left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the cauſe of righteouſnes. Thus is ẏ prouidence of the Lord neuer lackyng to hys Sainctes, in tyme of neceſſitie. Shortly after came the Doctours and maiſters of Louane, to examine hym of certaine Articles touchyng religion, as of the popes ſupremacie, Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Purgatory, and of the Sacrament. &c. Whereunto when he had aunſwered playnly and boldly, after the Scriptures, & would in no wiſe be remoued, he was condemned to the fire: but through interceſſion made to the Queene, his burnyng was pardoned, and he onely beheaded. Ex Franc. Encenate.
The perſon of Bruſels.	Giles of Bruſels. An. 1544.	This Giles was borne in Bruſels, of honeſt parentes. By his occupatiō he was brought vp from hys youth to be a Cutler: In the which occupation he was ſo experte and cunnyng, that he waxed thereby rich & wealth. Commyng to the yeares of 30. he begā to receaue the light of the Goſpell, through the readyng of the holy Scripture, & encreaſed therin exceedyngly. And as in zeale he was feruent, ſo was he of nature humane, milde, and pitifull, paſſing all other in thoſe partes. Whatſoeuer he had, that neceſſitie could ſpare, he gaue it away to the poore, and onely liued by his ſcience. Some he refreſhed wͭ his meate, ſome with clothyng to ſome he gaue his ſhoes: ſome he helped with houſhold ſtuffe: to other ſome he miniſtred holeſome exhortation of good doctrine. One

Paulus a Prieſt condemned to perpetuall priſon.

ij. Martyrs burnt at Louane.

An aged mā Martyr.

Antonia Martyr buried quicke.

An aged woman Martir buryed quicke.

M. Perſeuall, Martir.

Iuſtus of Louane, Martyr.

Franciſcus Encenas, priſoner.

Iuſtus peiz de terra.

Gyles, Martyr.

Good workes goyng with a liuely fayth.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

pooꝛe woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lye in, to whom he brought his owne bed, hym ſelfe contented to lye in the ſtraw.

The ſayd Egidius beyng detected by a Prieſt or perſon of Bruſels, was taken at Louane for that religion, which the pope doth cal hereſie. Where his aduerſaries extended great care and diligence to reduce hym to their doctrine, and to make hym abiure. But as he was a man well reaſoned, and ſingularly wytted, they wẽt away many tymes with ſhame. Thus beyng deteyned viij. monethes in priſon, he was ſent to Bruſels to be iudged: where he comforted diuers which were there in priſon (among whom was alſo Franciſcus Encenas) exhortyng them to cõſtancy of the truth vnto the crown which was prepared for them. At the table he miniſtred to them all, beyng contented himſelfe with the few ſcrappes which they left. In his prayers he was ſo ardẽt, kneeling by him ſelfe in ſome ſecret place, that he ſeemed to forget him ſelfe. Beyng called many tymes to meate, he neither heard, nor ſaw them that ſtode by hym, till he was lift vp by the armes and then gently he would ſpeake vnto them, as one waked out of a ſweete ſleepe.

The humble hart of Gyles.

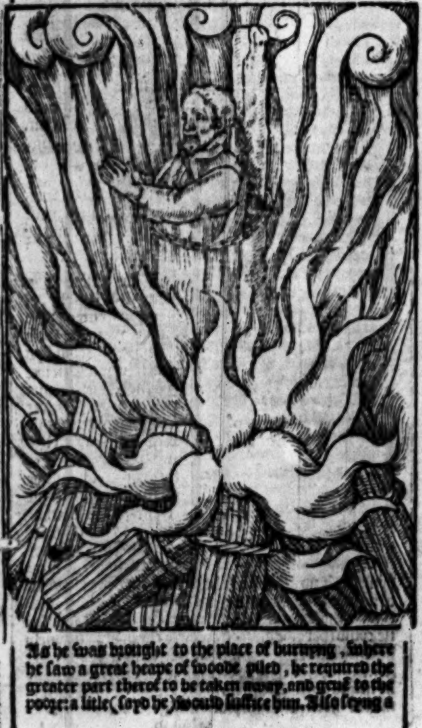
Feruencie of prayer.

Certaine of the Gray Friers ſome tymes were ſent vnto hym by two and two, to reduce him, but he would alwayes deſire them to depart from hym, for he was at a point. And whẽ the Friers at any tyme did miſcall him, he euer held his peace, at ſuch priuate iniuries: in ſomuch that thoſe blaſphemers would ſay abroad, that he had a dombe deuill in hym. But when they talked of any religion, there he ſpared not, but anſwered them fully by euidences of the Scripture, in ſuch ſort, that diuers tymes they would depart meruelyng. At ſondry tymes he might haue eſcaped, the doores beyng let opẽ, but he would not, for bringyng his keeper in perill.

Blaſphemie of Papiſtes.

At length, about the moneth of January, he was brought to an other priſon, to be cõſtrayned with torments to confeſſe Purgatory, and to vtter mo of his felowes. But no forcemẽt would ſerue. Wherfore vpon the 21. of January he was cõdemned to the fire, but priuely, cõtrary to the vſe of yͤ countrey, for opẽly they durſt not condemne him for feare of the people: ſo well was he beloued. When tydings of the ſentẽce came vnto hym, he gaue harty thankes to God, that the houre was come, when he might glorifie yͤ Lord.

The martyrdome of Gyles.



As he was brought to the place of burnyng, where he ſaw a great heape of woode piled, he required the greater part therof to be taken away, and geuẽ to the poore: a litle (ſayd he) would ſuffice him. Alſo ſeyng a pooꝛe man commyng by, as he went, yͭ lacked ſhoes he gaue his ſhoes vnto hym. Better (ſayd he) ſo to do, thẽ to haue his ſhoes burnt, & the poore to periſh for cold. Standing at the ſtake the hangmã was ready to ſtrãgle him before, but he would not, ſaying, there was no ſuch neede yͭ his payne ſhould be mitigated, for I feare not (ſaid he) yͤ fire, do therfore as thou art cõmaũded. And thus the bleſſed Martyr, liftyng vp his eyes to heauẽ, in the middle of the flame, was extincted, to the great lamẽtatiõ of all that ſtode by. After that tyme, when the Friers of that Citie would go about for their almes, the people would ſay: it was not meete for them to receaue almes with bloudy handes. This hyſtory you ſhall finde more copiouſly deſcribed, in Franc. Encenas. Ex Franc. Encen.

The zeale of people agaynſt the bloudy fryers.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Friers and Prieſtes of Flaunders.	Great perſecution in Gaunt and other partes of Flaunders. At Gaunt. An. 1543. 1544.	As Charles the Emperour dyd lye in Gaunt, the Friers & Doctours there obteyned that the Edict made agaynſt the Lutherãs might be read openly twiſe a yeare. Which beyng obteyned, great perſecution folowed, ſo that there was no city nor town in all Flaunders, wherein ſome either were not expulſed, or headed, or condemned to perpetuall priſon, or had not their goods cõfiſcate: neither was there any reſpect of age or ſexe. At Gaunt eſpecially, many there were of the head men, which for religiõ ſake were burned.

Perſecution in Gaunt & Bruzels.

Ex Franciſco Encenate.

Afterward the Emperour commyng to Bruzels, there was terrible ſlaughter and perſecution of Gods people, namely in Brabant, Hennegow, & Artoys, the horrour and cruelty wherof is almoſt incredible: In ſomuch that at one tyme as good as ij. hundreth men & women together, were brought out of the countrey about, into the Citie, of whom ſome were drowned, ſome buryed quicke, ſome priuely made away, others ſent to perpetuall priſon: wherby all priſons and towers there about were repleniſhed with priſoners and captiues, and the handes of the hangmen tyred with ſlaying and killyng, to the great ſorow of all thẽ, which knew the Goſpell, beyng now compelled either to deny the ſame, or to confirme it wt their bloud. The ſtory hereof is at large ſet forth by Franciſ. Encenas, a notable learned man, who alſo himſelfe was priſoner the ſame tyme at Bruzels: whoſe booke written in Latin, I my ſelfe haue ſene and read, remaynyng in the handes of John Oporine at Baſill.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Franciſcan Friers of Gaunt.	Martinus Hœurbloc, Fiſhmõger. At Gaunt. An. 1545.	This Martin euer almoſt to his latter age, was a man much geuẽ to all wicked and fleſhly lyfe, ſo long as he cõtinued a folower of the Popes ſuperſtitiõ and Idolatry. Afterward (as GOD hath alwayes his callyng) through the occaſion of a Sermõ of his pariſh prieſt beginning to taſt ſom workyng of grace, & repentaũce of his former lyfe, went out of Gaũt for the ſpace of iij. monethes ſeekyng the company of godly Chriſtiãs, ſuch as he heard to vſe the readyng of the Scriptures: by whõ he beyng more

Martyn Heurblock Martyr.

more groundly inſtructed, returned agayne to the Citie of Gaunt, where all hys neighbours firſt beganne to marueill at the ſodeine chaunge of this mã. The Franciſcanes, which knew hym before ſo beneficiall vnto them, now ſeeing hym ſo altered from their wayes and ſuperſtition, and ſeeing hym to viſite the captiues in priſon, to comfort them in perſecution, and to confirme them in the word of God which went to the fire, cõſpired agaynſt him: wherby he was detected and layde in bandes. After that, with ſharpe & grieuous tormentes they would haue conſtreined him to vtter other of the ſame Religion. To whome thus hee aunſwered, that if they could proue by the Scripture, that his detectyng and accuſing of hys brethren, whom they woulde afflicte with the like tormentes, were not agaynſt the ſecõd Table of Gods lawe, then he woulde not refuſe to preferre the honour of God before the ſafegard of his brethren. Then the Friers examined him in ẏ Sacrament, aſking him why he was ſo earneſt, to haue it in both kyndes, ſeyng (ſayd they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you ſay. To whom he aunſwered, that the elementes thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, for ſo much as the ſayd elementes of bread and wyne, beyng receaued after the inſtitution of Chriſt, do now make a Sacramẽt, and a myſticall repreſentation of the Lordes body, cõmunicatyng him ſelfe with our ſoules. And as touchyng the receauyng in both kyndes, becauſe it is ẏ inſtitution of the Lorde, who is he (ſayd Martin) that dare alter the ſame? Then was he brought before the counſaile of Flaunders. The cauſes layd agaynſt hym, were the Sacrament, Purgatory, & praying for the dead: for the which he was condemned & burned at Gaunt, in Verle place, all his goods beyng confiſcate. As he ſtode at the ſtake, a Franciſcane Frier ſaid to him: Martin, vnles thou doeſt turne, thou ſhalt go from this fire, to euerlaſtyng fire. It is not in you, ſayd Martine agayn, to iudge. For this the Friers after were ſo hated, that many bylles and rimes were ſet forth in diuers places agaynſt them Ex Pantal.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The counſayle of Flaunders.	Nicolas Vanpole. Iohn de Brucke and hys wyfe. At Gaunt. An. 1545.	The next day after the burning of Martin aforeſayde, which was the 9. of May, theſe iij. alſo were burned for the ſame cauſes likewiſe, for ẏ which the other was cõdemned & burned ẏ day before, but onely ẏ the womã was buried aliue. All which tooke their Martyrdome ioyfully & wyth much cherefulnes.
	Vrſula. Maria, Virgins of noble ſtock. At Delden. An. 1545.	Delden is a towne in lower Germanye, 3. myles frõ Dauentrie, where theſe two virgins of noble parẽtage were burned. who after diligẽt frequenting of churches and Sermons beyng inſtructed in ẏ word of the Lord, defẽded, that, ſeeing the benefite of our ſaluation cõmeth onely by our fayth in Chriſt, all the other marchaundiſe of the Pope, which he vſeth to ſell to the people for money, was needles. Firſt Mary beyng the younger, was put to the fire, where ſhee prayed ardently for her enemyes, commending her ſoule to God. At whoſe conſtancie the Iudges did greatly marueill. Then they exhorted Vrſula to turne, or if ſhee would not, at leaſt that ſhe would require to be headed. To whom ſhe ſaid, that ſhee was giltie of no errour, nor defended any thyng, but which was conſonant to the ſcripture, in which ſhe truſted to perſeuere vnto the end. And as touchyng the kynd of puniſhment, ſhe ſayd, ſhe feared not the fire, but rather would folow the example of her deare ſiſter, ẏ went before. This was meruelous, that the executioners coulde in no wiſe conſume their bodyes with fire, but left thẽ whole lying vpõ the ground whyte: which certeine good Chriſtians priuily tooke vp in the nyght and buryed. Thus God many tymes ſheweth his power in the middeſt of tribulations. Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal. &c.
The Perſon of S. Catherines. Doctour Tapertus. William Clericken ruler of Mechlin.	Andreas Thieſſen. Catherina, hys wyfe. Nicholas Thieſſen. Fraunces Thieſſen, brethren. At Mechlin. An. 1545.	Andrew Thieſſen Citizen of Mechlin, of his wyfe Catherine, had iij. ſonnes & a daughter, whom he inſtructed diligẽtly in the doctrine of ẏ goſpell, and deſpiſed the doynges of Popery. Wherefore, being hated and perſecuted of the Fryers & prieſtes there, he went into England & there dyed. Fraunces & Nicolas his two ſonnes went to Germany to ſtudie. Returning agayne to their mother and ſiſter and younger brother, by diligent inſtruction, brought them to the right knowledge of Gods Goſpel, which being not vnknowẽ to ẏ Perſon there of S. Catherine, he called to hym Doctor Rupert, Tapert, and other Maiſters and Fryers, who takyng counſaile together, with William Clericken the head Magiſtrate of the towne of Mechlin, agreed that ẏ mother with her iij. childrẽ ſhould be ſent to priſon, ſeparated on from an other: where great labour was employed to reclaime them home vnto their church, ẏ is, frõ light to darknes agayne. The ij. yõger, to wit, ẏ daughter & the yõger brother, being yet not ſetled, neither in yeares nor doctrine, ſomething inclined to them, & were deliuered. The mother which would not conſent, was cõdẽned to perpetuall priſon. The other two, Fraunces and Nicolas, ſtandyng firmely to their confeſſion, defended that the Catholicke Churche was not the Church of Rome: that the Sacrament was to bee miniſtred in both kindes: that auricular confeſſion was to no purpoſe: that Inuocatiõ of Saintes was to be left: that there was no Purgatory. The Friers they called hypocrites, & contemned their threatnynges. The Magiſtrates after diſputations, fell to tormentes, to know of thẽ who was their maſter, & what felowes they had. Their maſter (they ſayd) was Chriſt, which bare his Croſſe before. Felowes (they ſayde) they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places. At laſt they were brought to their Iudges: their Articles were read, and they condẽned to be burned. Commyng to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gagges or balles of wood were thruſt in their mouthes, which they through vehemencie of ſpeakyng thruſt oute agayne, deſiring for the Lordes ſake, that they might haue leaue to ſpeake. And ſo ſinging with a loude voyce, Credo in vnum Deum. &c. they went, & were faſtened to the ſtake, praying for their perſecutours, and exhortyng the one the other, they dyd abyde the fire paciently. The one feelyng the flame to come to his beard: Ah (ſayd he) what a ſmall paine is this, to be compared to the glory to come? Thus the pacient Martyrs committyng their ſpirite to ẏ handes of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through conſtancie, atchiued the crowne of martyrdome. Ex Phil. Melanct.
The names of their accuſers appeare not in the Authours.	Marion wife of Adryan Taylor. At Dornic. An. 1545.	In the ſame perſecutiõ againſt Brulius and his company in Dornic, who apprehẽded alſo one Adrian, & Marion hys wyfe. The cauſe of their trouble, as alſo of the others, was ẏ Emperours decree made in the Councell

Nicholas Vanpole, Iohn de Brucke and hys wyfe Martyrs.

Mary and Vrſula, two virgins, Martyrs.

A myraculous worke of God in the dead bodyes of theſe two virgins.

Andrew Thieſſen, & hys wyfe.

Nicholas and Fraunces Thieſſen their ſonnes, Martyrs.

Fraunces & Nicholas conſtant in Chriſt.

Adrian & Marion his wyfe, Martyrs.

Marion buryed quicke.

Peter Bruly, Martyr.

Gods ſecrete working in diſpoſing the wayes of hys ſeruauntes.

The Martyrdome of Brulius

Peter Mioce, Martyr.

Crueltie ſhewed vpon Chriſtes ſeruauntes.

The Martyrdome of a good prieſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
		of Wormes agaynſt the Lutherians, mentioned before pag.982. Adrian not ſo ſtrong as a mã, for feare gaue backe from the truth, and was but onely beheaded. The wyfe ſtronger then a woman did withſtand their threates, and abyde the vttermoſt, and beyng encloſed in an yron grate formed in ſhape of a paſtie, was layde in the earth and buryed quicke, after the vſuall puniſhment of that countrey, for women. When the aduerſaries firſt tolde her, that her huſband had relented, ſhe beleued them not: & therfore as ſhe went to her death, paſſing by the tower where he was, ſhee called to him to take her leaue, but he was gone before. Ex Pant.lib.4.
The Magiſtrates of Dornic, or Tornay.	M.Peter Bruly, Preacher. At Dornic. An.1545.	M. Peter Bruly was preacher in ẏ French Churche at Straſburgh. Who at the earneſt requeſt of faithfull brethren, came downe to viſite the lower coũtries about Artoys & Dornic, in Flaunders, where he moſt diligently preached the worde of God vnto the people in houſes, the doores ſtanding open. Whereupon, when the Magiſtrates of Dornic had ſhut the gates of the towne, and had made ſearch for him iij. dayes, he was priuely let downe the wall in the night by a baſket: and as he was let downe to the ditch ready to take hys way, one of them which let hym downe leaning ouer the wall to byd him fare wel, cauſed vnwares a ſtone to ſlippe out of the wall, which fallyng vpon hym, brake his legge: by reaſon whereof he was heard of the watchmen complaynyng of his wounde, and ſo was taken, geuyng thankes to God by whoſe prouidence he was there ſtayed, to ſerue ẏ Lord in that place. So long as he remayned in priſon, he ceaſed not to ſupply the part of a diligent preacher, teachyng & confirming all them that came to hym in the word of grace. Beyng in priſon he wrote his owne confeſſion and examination, & ſent it to the brethren. He wrote alſo an other Epiſtle to them that were in perſecution: an other alſo to all the faithfull: alſo an other letter to hys wyfe, the ſame day that he was burned. He remayned in priſon 4. monethes. His ſentence was geuen by the Emperours Commiſſioners at Bruxels, that he ſhould be burned to aſhes, and hys aſhes to be throwne into the riuer. Although ẏ fryers and prieſtes made the fire but ſmall, to multiply hys payne, yet he the more cherefully and conſtantly tooke hys martyrdome and ſuffered it. The letters of Duke Fredericke, and of the Lantgraue came to entreate for him, but he was burned a litle before the letters came. Ex Lud.Rab.lib.6.
The Senate of Dornic. Doctour Haſardus, a Gray Fryer.	Peter Miocius. Bergiban. At Dornic. An.1545.	The commyng of M. Peter Bruly into the countreye of Flaũders, did exceedyng much good among the brethrẽ, as appeared by diuers other good men, and namely by this Peter Mioce, whiche was by his occupatiõ a ſilke weauer. This Peter, before he was called to the Goſpell, led a wicked life, geuẽ to much vngraciouſnes, and almoſt to all kyndes of vice. But after the taſte of the Goſpell beganne to worke in hym, ſo cleane it altered hym frõ that former man, that he excelled all other in godly zeale & vertue. In his firſt examinatiõ he was aſked whether he was one of the ſcholers of Peter Bruly, He ſayd he was, and that he had receaued much fruite by his doctrine. Wilt thou then defend his doctrine, ſayd they? yea ſayd he, for that it is conſonant both to the old Teſtament and to the new: and for thys he was let downe into a deepe dongeon vnder ẏ Caſtle ditch, full of toades & filthy vermine. Shortly after, the Senate with certaine friers, came againe to examine hym, to ſee whether they coulde conuert hym. To whom he aunſwered and ſaid that when he before had liued ſuch an vngodly life, they neuer ſpake word agaynſt hym: but now for fauoring and fauoryng the word of God, they were ſo infeſte agaynſt hym that they ſought his bloud. Among whome was one Doctour Haſardus, which aſked him, if he did not ſeme to him ſelfe more wicked now, then euer he was before: but he ſettyng ẏ Frier at light, bad him auaunt Frier, ſaying: that he had to talke with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certaine Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to aunſwer boldlye and expreſly to euery pointe, they interruptyng him bad him ſay in two wordes, eyther yea, or nay. Then ſayd he, if ye will not ſuffer me to aunſwere for my ſelfe in matters of ſuch importaunce, then ſend me to my priſon agayne among my todes and frogges, which will not interrupt me, while I talke wyth my Lorde my God. The boldenes of whoſe ſpirite and courage, as it made ſome to gnaſh their teeth, ſo ſome it made to wõder, and miniſtred to ſome great confirmation. There was alſo one Bergiban the ſame tyme in priſon, who had bene a forward man, & a great doer in the Goſpell, before the cõming downe of Brulius. Who being alſo ſought for at the taking of Brulius, and being then not found at home, eyther by chaũce, not knowyng, or els becauſe he conueyed himſelf out of the way for feare, conceaued thereof ſuch ſorrow in hys mynde, that afterwarde neither his wife nor children, nor any frende els, coulde ſtay hym, but he would needes offer himſelfe to the Iudges, ſaying to the ruler, beyng aſked why he came: The Magiſtrates came to ſeeke me (ſayd he) and now I am come to know, what they would. Whereupõ the ruler beyng ſory of hys cõmyng, yet notwithſtanding committed him to priſon, where he remayned conſtant a certeine while. But after the Cõmiſſioners had threatned him with cruell tormentes and horror of death, he began by litle and litle to wauer & ſhrinke frõ the truth. At the fayre wordes of the falſe Friers and prieſtes, to haue his puniſhmẽt chaunged, & to be beheaded, he was fayne to graũt vnto their biddinges & requeſtes. Whereupon the aduerſaries takyng their aduauntage, came to Miocius, and tolde him of Bergibans retractation, willing him to doe the like. But he ſtoutly perſiſting in the truth, endured to ẏ fire, where he hauing pouder put to his breſt was ſo put to death, and diſpatched. The Friers hearing the cracke of the pouder vpon his breſt, tolde the people, that the deuill came out of him and caried away his ſoule. Ex Rabo.& alijs.
A certayne Prince in Germanie, about Hungary or the partes of Pannonia.	A Prieſt of Germany.	Iohannes Gaſtius Conuiual. Serm. lib.2. writeth of a certaine Prince, but doth not name him, which put out the eyes of a certaine Prieſt in Germanie, for no other cauſe, but for that he ſayd the Maſſe to be no ſacrifice, in that ſence, as many prieſtes do take it. Neither did the cruell Prince immediatlye put him to death, but firſt kept hym in priſon a long tyme, afflictyng him wyth diuers tormentes. Then he was brought forth to be degraded after a barbarous and tyrannous maner. Firſt they ſhaued the crowne of hys head, then rubbed it hard wyth ſalt, that the bloud came running downe hys ſhoulders. After that they raſed and pared the toppes of his fingers wyth cruell payne, that no ſauour of the holy oyle myght remayne. At laſt the patient and godly martyr, foure dayes after, yelded vp his lyfe and ſpirite. Ex Ioan. Gaſtio.lib.2.

The cruell murthering of John Diazius.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Alphonſus Diazius, a Spanyard. Petrus de Maluenda the Popes prolocutor at Ratiſbone, a Spaniard. The Emperours confeſſor, a blacke Fryer a Spaniard. Marquina.	Ioannes Diazius, a Spaniard, martyr, killed of hys owne brother at Neoberge in Germanie. An.1546.	Of this John Diazius the full proces & hiſtory is ſet forth in Latine, wherein the whole circumſtaunce is debated at large, whereof the briefe ſumme is this. John Diazius a Spaniard borne, firſt being at Paris.13.yeares, frō thēce remoued to Geneua: then to Baſill, and after to Strauſburgh: from whēce he was ſent Ambaſſadour with Bucer & other, to the Coūcell of Ratiſbone: where he talking with Peter Meluēda his coūtreymen, the Popes factour, ſo declared

The Emperours confeſſour.

his religion vnto hym, that Maluenda wrote to the Fryer, which was the Emperours confeſſour, touchyng the ſayd John Diazius: at the openyng and readyng of which letters, one Marquina an other Spaniard was preſent. Upon this it folowed, whether by this confeſſor, or by Marquina, that Alphōſus Diazius, brother to John Diazius, which was one of the popes Lawyers in Rome, had knowledge geuen him, of his brother John.

Alphonſus Diazius come from Rome to kil his brother.

When the communication of Ratiſbone was diſſolued and broken vp. John Diazius, from Ratiſbone went to the Citie of Neoberge, within the dominion of Otto Henry Palatine, about the expedition of Bucers booke there to be printed. As John Diazius was their occupied, it was not long, but Alphonſus his brother was come from Rome to Ratiſbone, where Maluenda was, bringing with him a peſtilent cutthroate, a notorious ruffian or homicide belonging to the Citie of Rome. Maluenda and Alphonſus conſulting together about the diſpatch of their deuiliſh purpoſe, firſt laboured to hunt out by the frendes of Diazius, where Diazius was. Whereof Alphonſus and the homicide hauing knowledge by certeine of his ſecret frendes, pretendyng great matters of importance, came to Neoberge, where Diazius was printing of Bucers booke: Where after long debating of matters of Religion betwene the ij. brethren, Alphonſus ſeyng the harte of his brother John to be ſo conſtantly planted on ẏ ſure rocke of Gods truth, that by no wiſe he coulde eyther bee remoued from his opinion, or perſwaded to ryde in his company (beyng otherwiſe counſailed by Bucer and his frendes) fained him ſelfe frendly to take hys leaue of his brother and to depart: but ſhortly after, ſecretly with his ruffenly murderer he returned agayne, and by the way they bought a certein hatchet of a carpenter.

John Diazius ſlaine by hys owne brother.

This done, Alphonſus ſendeth his man beyng diſguiſed, with letters vnto his brother, he him ſelfe folowyng after. As John Diazius in the mornyng was riſen out of his bedde, to read thee letters, the wretched hangman, with the hatchet claue his head vnto the braynes, leauing the hatchet in his head, & ſo hee with Alphonſus tooke them to their horſe, which ſtoode without the Citie gate, with as much ſpeade as they might. They of Neoberge, hearing of the horrible acte, ſent out certeine horſmen, makyng great iourneys after them. Who commyng to Auguſta, and hearing the murderers to be paſt before, were out of hope to ouertake them, & ſo returned. One in the company more zelous then the reſt, would not returne, but purſued them ſtill, and in ẏ Citie of Oeniponte, cauſed them to be ſtayed, and put in priſon. Otto Palatine hearing of their taking writeth to the Magiſtrates of Oenipōte for iudgement. Which Magiſtrates at firſt ſemed very willing therto: but in concluſion, through the practiſe of Papiſtes, and crafty lawyers, the ſentence iudiciall was ſo delayed from day to day, then from houre to houre, that the Emperours letters came in poſt haſt requiring the matter to be ſtayed, and reſerued to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his felow, was boulſtered out by the Papiſtes. The like whereof frō the memory of men was neuer heard of, ſince the firſt example of Cain, whiche for religion ſlue his owne brother Abell. But although true iudgement in this world be peruerted, yet ſuch bloudy Cains with their wilfull murther, ſhall not eſcape the handes of him, who ſhal iudge truely both the committers, and the bolſterers alſo of all miſchieuous wickednes. Ex Claudio Senarcleo.

God wyll haue murther knowē.

Cain ſtill killeth Abell.

¶ An 1546. Charles the Emperour held an armed Councell at auguſta after his victory gotten in Germanie. Where Iulius Pflug, Michael Sidonius & Iohn Iſlebius goyng about to concorde together the Goſpell of Chriſt, with the traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodgepotch of them both, drewe and framed out a new forme of Religion called Interim. Whereupon began a new matter of perſecutiō in Germaine. For the Emperour proceded ſtraightly agaynſt all them, whiche woulde not receaue his Interim, intendyng thereby to haue wrought ſome great maſtry agaynſt the Goſpellers. but the Lorde diſapoynted his purpoſe.

Interim.

Among them which withſtode this Spaniſhe Interim, beſides other, were alſo the Citizens of Conſtantia. For the whiche. iij. thouſande Spanyardes priuily by night came agaynſt the towne of Conſtance, where they kylled iij. of the watchmen of the towne, which watchyng in ẏ ſuburbes went forth to vewe ẏ noyſe which they heard in ẏ woodes. The deuiſe of the Spanyardes was in the mornyng, when the Citizens were at the Sermon, ſodenly to ſet vpon the Citie and take it, ſo (no doubt) intendyng to haue gone further. But as the Lord would, ſome thing began to be ſuſpected in the night, by the watchmen in the ſuburbes, on the other ſide the water, wherby ẏ Conſul and Citizens had intelligēce to be in readines. When the mornyng came, the Spāyardes were ready at the gate to breake into ẏ Citie. But being driuen from thence and their Captaine Alphonſus ſlaine, they went to the bridge which goeth ouer the Rhene. But being beaten alſo from thence, with ſhot and great peeces from the walles, and a great number of them drowned in the riuer, the Spanyardes breakyng downe the hynder part of the bridge, becauſe the Citizens ſhoulde not purſue them, they recoyled backe into the ſuburbes, and burned them with ẏ dead bodyes alſo that were ſlayne, ſo that the number of the Spanyardes that there were killed, could not be knowne: Onely a hūdreth of honeſt Citizens of Cōſtance were miſſing. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 21.

The aſſault of the Spanyardes, agaynſt the Citie of Conſtance.

At the ſame tyme, many godly Miniſters of the Churches in Germany were in great daunger, eſpecially ſuch as refuſed to receaue the Interim: of whō ſome were caſt into priſon. In which number of priſoners was Mart. Frectius Superintēdēt of Ulmes, with foure other preachers moe: alſo his brother George, for cōming but to his houſe to comfort him. For the which cauſe Muſculus the ſame tyme, wyth other preachers moe, went from Auſburge, Brentius from Hala, Blaurerus from Conſtance, Bucer from Strauſburgh.

The martirdome of a godly prieſt.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
A Byſhop in Hungary.	A godly prieſt in Hungary.	In Hungary a certayne godly Prieſte preached, that the eating of fleſhe is not prohibited in ẏ ſcripture: for the which ẏ cruel Biſhop, after he had empriſoned hym certaine weekes, cauſed him to be brought out, & his bodye to be tyed ouer ẇ Hares, Geeſe, and Hennes, hanging round about

hym: and ſo the beaſtly Byſhop made dogges to be ſet vpon hym, which cruelly rent and tore whatſoeuer they coulde catch. And thus the good miniſter of Chriſt, beyng driuen about the Citie with the barkyng of dogges, dyed, and was martyred. The ſight whereof, as it was lamentable to the godly, ſo it ſeemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few dayes after, the impious byſhop by ẏ ſtroke of Gods iuſt hand, fell ſicke, and became horne madde, and ſo rauing without ſence or witte, miſerably dyed. Ex tomo.2. Conuiualium Sermo. Ioan Gaſtij.

Juſt puniſhment of God vpon a cruell perſecutor.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Iohn Fridericke of Saxonie Electour. An.1547.	Among theſe godly and conſtant Saintes of Chriſt, may wel be recounted Iohn Fridericke duke of Saxonie. Who whē he had recouered agayne all hys dominiōs (which Duke Maurice had taken frō him before, beyng in Suevia wt his army) and at laſt was takē priſoner of the Emperor at Albis, 14. of April. an. 1547. yet could neuer be induced to yelde to the Emperour in reuoking his fayth and doctrine of the Goſpell wherein he ſtoode: For ỹ which he was deteyned from his wife and children, and bereued of all hys goods, and caried about wyth the Emperour the ſpace of fiue yeares. This admirable conſtancie of that duke was a wōder to all his aduerſaries. At laſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1552. through the benefite of almighty God, he was ſet agayne at libertie, & returning home to his wife & childrē, cōtinued in his religion till the houre of his death. Ex Sled.lib.19. Much like was ỹ caſe alſo of Philip Lātgraue of Heſſe, who likewiſe beyng takē and ſpoyled of the Emperour, cōtinued ỹ ſpace of v. yeares in the cruel cuſtodye of the Spanyardes, and albeit he had fined vnto the Emperour, and was promiſed to be ſet free out of priſon, the Emperour and his counſaile dalying with their promiſe, expounded hys priſonment not to be perpetuall. And though great labour & interceſſion was made for him: yet all would not helpe. For when the Emperour ſent him away, thē Mary the Emperours ſiſter tooke him by the way, finding cauillations agaynſt him: whereby he was agayne cōmitted to the handes of Spanyardes, tyll at length, through the diſpoſing of Gods mercy, firſt ỹ duke of Saxonie, and thē 6. dayes after, ỹ Lātgraue alſo, were both freed out of long captiuitie, and ſent home. Ex Comment. Sled.lib.19. 24.
Charles Emperour.	Hermannus Archbyſhop of Colen. An.1547.	With theſe holy martyrs aboue recited, may alſo be numbred Hermānus archbyſh. of Colen. Who a litle before ỹ Emperour had war againſt the Proteſtantes, had reformed his Church frō certeine papiſticall ſuperſtitions, vſing therein the ayde & aduiſe of Martin Bucer. Wherfore Charles the Emperour ſent word to Colē, that he ſhould be depoſed, which he paciently did ſuffer. In his roome was ſet Adolphus Earle of Schauuēburge. Ex Sled.lib.18.
The Preſident or Maior of Dornic.	M.Nicholas Frenchman. Marion wyfe of Auguſtinus. An.1549.	M. Nicholas and Barbara hys wife: alſo Auguſtinus a Barber, and Marion his wife borne about Hennegow, after they had bene at Geneua a ſpace, came into Germanie, thinking that way to paſſe ouer into England. By the way comming to Hennegow, Auguſtine deſired M. Nicolas (becauſe he was learned) to come to Bergis to viſite & cōforte certeine brethrē there, which he willingly did. Frō thence paſſing by Dornic (or Tornay) they helde on their iorney towarde England. But in the way Auſten and his wife beyng knowen, were detected to the Lieutenaunt of Dornic, who in all ſpeedye haſt folowyng after them, ouertooke them iiij.myles beyonde Dornic, Auguſtine (how I cannot tell) eſcaped that tyme out of their handes, and could not bee found. The ſouldiours then laying handes vpō Nicolas and the ij. wemen, brought them backe agayne to Dornic. In returning by the way, when M. Nicolas at ỹ table gaue thankes (as the maner is of the faythfull) the wicked ruler ſcorning them, and ſwearing like a Tyrant, ſayd: Now let vs ſee, thou lewed hereticke, whether thy God can deliuer thee out of my hand. To whome Nicolas aunſwering agayne modeſtly, aſked what had Chriſt euer offended him, ỹ he with his blaſphemous ſwearing did ſo teare hym in peeces, deſiring him, that if hee had any thyng agaynſt Chriſt, rather he would wreke his anger vpō hys poore body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound, handes & fete, were brought to Bergis, and there layd in the doungeon. Then Duke Ariſcote, accompanied with a great nūber of prieſtes, and Franciſcan Friers, and with a Doctour which was their warden, came to talke with them. Nicolas ſtādyng in the midſt of them, beyng aſked what he was, and whether he would: aunſwered thē perfectly to all there queſtions, and moreouer ſo confoūded the Friers, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying that he had a deuill, and crying: to the fire with hym Lutherane. As they continued lookyng ſtill for the day of their execution, it came in thee rulers myndes to aſke of Nicolas in what houſe he was loged, when he came to Bergis. Nicolas ſayd he had neuer bene there before, and therfore beyng a ſtraunger he could not tell the name of the houſe. When Nicolas would confeſſe nothyng, Duke Ariſcotus came to Barbara Nicolas his wife, to knowe where they were loged at Bergis, promiſing many fayre wordes of deliuery, if ſhe would tell. She beyng a weake and a timerous woman, vttered all. By the occaſion whereof great perſecution folowed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that ſhortlye, euen vpon the ſame, the ſōne of the ſayd Duke Ariſcotus, was ſlayne and buried the ſame day, when Auguſtinus was burned. To be ſhorte, Nicolas ſhortlye after was brought before the Iudges and there condemned to be burned to aſhes. At which ſentence geuing Nicolas bleſſed the Lord, whiche had counted hym worthye to be a witnes in the cauſe of his deare and welbeloued ſonne. Goyng to the place of execution, he was cōmaunded to ſpeake nothyng to the people, or els hee ſhoulde haue a balle of wood thruſt in hys mouth. Beyng at the ſtake and ſeyng a great multitude about him, forgettyng his ſilence promiſed, hee cried with a loud voyce: O Charles Charles, how long ſhall thy hart be hardened? and with that, one of ỹ ſouldiours gaue him a blow. Thē ſayd Nicolas agayne: Ah miſerable people, thou art not worthy to whom ỹ word of God ſhoulde be preached. And thus he ſpake as they were byndyng him to the ſtake. The Friers came out with their old ſong, crying, ỹ he had a deuile. To whome Nicolas ſpake the verſe of the Pſalme: Depart, from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voyce of my weepyng. And thus this holy martyr paciently takyng his death, cōmended vp his ſpirite vnto God in ỹ midſt of ỹ fire. Ex Lud.Rab. Pantal. et aliis.
	Marion wyfe of Auſten, aboue mentioned. At Bergis in Hennegow. An.1549.	After the Martyrdome of this M. Nicolas, Marion ỹ wife of Auſten was called for. With whom they had much talke about the maner and ſtate of Geneua, aſking her how the Sacramētes were adminiſtred there, & whether ſhee had celebrated there ỹ Lordes Supper. To whom ſhe aunſwered that the Sacramentes there were celebrated after the Lords inſtitution, of the whiche ſhe was no celebrater but a partaker. The ſentence of her condemnation was this, that ſhee ſhould be interred quicke. When ſhe was let downe to the graue, kneeling vpon her knees,

Iohn Fredericke duke of Saxony.

The Lantgraue of Heſſe.

Hermannus Archb. of Colen.

Nicholas Frenchman. Marion wyfe of Auguſtinus, Martyrs.

Blaſphemye of a Papiſt.

The Fryers confounded.

Barbara reuolted.

Gods puniſhment vpon perſecutours. Nicholas condemned.

The martyrdome of Marion.

Marion buryed quicke.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.

knees, ſhee deſired the Lord to helpe her, and before ſhee ſhould be throwen downe, ſhee deſired her face might be couered with a napkin or ſome linnē cloth, who beyng ſo couered, and the earth throwen vpon her face and her body, the hangmā ſtamped vpon her with his feete, till her breath was paſt. Ibidem.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The watchmē or ſouldiours of Bellimont.	Auguſtine the huſband of Marion. At Bellimont in Hennegow. An.1549.	Ye heard before how Auſten eſcaped before at the taking of Nicolas & the ij. women. After this he gaue hymſelfe to ſell ſpices & other pedlary ware from place to place. Who at lēgth cōming to the towne of Belimont in Hennegow, there was knowen & detected to the magiſtrate. Whereof he hauing ſome intelligēce before, left his ware & ran away. And ſeing

moreouer the houſe beſet about with harneſſed mē, where he was hoſted, he began to be more afeard and hid himſelfe in a buſhe: for he was very timorous, & a weake ſpirited man. But the houre beyng come, which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certeine ſtanding vpon the towne walle, which might well ſee him go into the thicket or buſhe, gaue knowledge therof to the ſouldiours, which folowed hym to the buſhe and tooke hym. Beyng taken, he was had to Bergis, the head towne of Hennegow, where he being examined, valiantly ſtanding to the defence of his doctrine, aunſwered his aduerſaries with great boldnes.

Auguſtine agayne takē.

Wherin here is to be noted and marueiled to ſee the worke of the Lord, how this man beyng before of nature ſo timorous, now was ſo ſtrengthened with Gods grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemyes. Among other, came to hym the wardē of the Gray Friers, with a long oration, perſuading hym to relent or els hee ſhould be damned in hell fire perpetually. To whome Auſten aunſwering agayn, ſayd: proue that which you ſay, by the authoritie of Gods worde, that a man may beleue you, you ſaye much, but you proue nothyng, rather like a Doctour of lyes, then of truth. &c. At laſt he beyng there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the Inne where he ſhould take horſe: where was a certeine Gentleman a ſtraunger, who drinking to hym in a cup of wyne, deſired hym to haue pitie vpō hym ſelfe, and if he would not fauour his life, yet ẏ he would fauour his owne ſoule. To whome ſaid Auſten, after he had thanked him for his good will, what care I haue (ſayd he) of my ſoule, you may ſee by this, that I had rather geue my body to be burned, then to do that thing, that were agaynſt my conſcience. When he was come to ẏ towne of Bellimont where he ſhould be burned, the ſame day there was a great buriall of the Duke Ariſcotus his ſonne, which was ſlayne a litle before (as is before touched) by the occaſion wherof many nobles and Gentlemen were there preſent, whiche hearing of this Auſten came to him and talked with him. When ẏ day came of hys martyrdome, the people beyng offended at his conſtancie, cried out to haue him drawen at an horſe tayle, to the place of burnyng: but the Lord woulde not ſuffer that. In fine, beyng tyed to the ſtake and fire ſet vnto him, hartely he prayed to the Lord, and ſo in the fire paciently departed. Ex Criſp. & aliis.

Example of Gods goodnes in ſtrengthening the weake harted.

The death & martirdome of Auſten.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The names of the perſecutors be not expreſſed in the ſtory.	A certaine woman of Auſpurge. At Auſpurge. An.1550.	At Auſpurge, a certaine womā there dwelling, ſeeing a prieſt to cary ẏ hoſte to a ſicke perſō with Taper light (as the maner is) aſked hym what he ment ſo to goe with candle light at noone day? For this ſhee was apprehended, and in great daunger, had it not

Ex Ioan Sled.lib.22.

bene for the earneſt ſute and prayer of the women of that citie, and at the interceſſiō of Mary the Emperours ſiſter. Ex Ioan. Sled. Lib.22.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Two Virgins. In the Dioces of Bamberge. An.1551.	In the Dioces of Bamberge 2. maides were ledde out to ſlaughter, whiche they ſuſteyned wyth patient hartes, and chereful countenaunces. They had garlands of ſtraw put on their heads. Whereupō one comfortyng the other goynge to their martirdom: ſeeing Chriſt (ſayd ſhe) for vs bare a crowne of thorne, why ſhould wee ſticke to beare a crowne of ſtrawe?

Two Virgins, Martyrs.

No doubt but the Lord will render to vs agayne better then crownes of gold. Some ſayd, ẏ they were Anabaptiſtes. And it myght be (ſayth Melanct.) ẏ they had ſome fonde opinion admixed with all: yet they dyd hold (ſayth he) the foundation of the Articles of our fayth, and they dyed bleſſedly, in a good conſcience and knowledge of the ſonne of God. Few do liue without errours. Flatter not your ſelues, thinking your ſelues ſo cleere that you can not erre. Hæc Phillip. Melancth.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The names of the perſecutors appeare not in the ſtory.	The Chriſtian Citie of Magdeburge. An.1551.	When Charles the emperour had almoſt gotte all his purpoſe in Germanie, in obtruding his religiō of Interim into all places, whiche was receaued of ẏ moſt part of all ẏ chiefe princes and Cities, onely the citie of Magdeburge continuyng in the cōſtancie of their doctrine reformed, refuſed to admit ẏ ſame.

Conſtancie to be noted in the citie of Magdeburge.

Wherfore warre was rayſed agaynſt them, their Citie beſieged, and greate violence vſed: ſo that many honeſt and religious Citizens for ẏ Goſpels cauſe ſuſteined great perilles and daunger of death. At laſt when they had manfully and Conſtantly endured ſuch great diſtreſſe and calamitie, ẏ ſpace of a whole yeare, through the bleſſed prouidence of Almyghty God, (who about the ſame tyme ſent warre betwen the French kyng and the Emperour) honeſt reconciliation was made betwene them & the Emperour, whereby they were receaued into fauour, and ſuffered to enioye their former religion quietly. Ex Ioan Sled. lib.23.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Iames Heſſelius Chāberlaine of Gaunt, and the fryers there.	Hoſtius, otherwiſe called George. At Gaunt. An.1555.	This Hoſtius borne at Gaunt, was cunnyng in grauing in armour, and in ſteele. He firſt was in the Frēch Church here in England, duryng the reigne of K. Edward. After the comming of queene Mary, he went to Norden in Frieſlād, with his wyfe and childrē. From thēce, hauing buſines, he came to

Hoſtius, martyr.

Gaunt: where (after a certayne ſpace that he had there continued, inſtructing diuers of hys frendes) he heard that there was a blacke Frier, which vſed to preach good doctrine to the people. Wherefore he beyng deſirous to heare, came to hys Sermon, where the Fryer contrary to hys expectation preached in defence of tranſubſtantiation. At the hearyng whereof, hys hart was ſo full, that he had much a doe to refrayne, whyle the Sermon was finiſhed.

As ſoone as the Frier was come downe, he braſte out, and charged him with falſe doctrine perſuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the ſcriptures, that the bread was but a Sacrament onelye of the Lordes body. The Frier not willing to heare hym, made ſignes vnto him to depart. Alſo ẏ thronge of the people was ſuch, that it caried him out of the doores. He had not gone farre, but Heſſelius ẏ Chãberlain ouertooke hym & caried hym to priſon. Then were Doctours and other Friers, as Piſtorious & Wunderius, brought to reaſon with hym, of the Sacrament, of Inuocation of Saintes, and Purgatory. He euer ſtood to the triall onely of the Scripture: which they refuſed. Thẽ was it agreed ẏ he ſhoulde declare his mynd in writing: which he did. He wrote alſo to his wyfe at Emden: comfortyng her, and requiring her to take care, for Samuel, and Sara his children. When he was condemned, he was cõmaunded not to ſpeake to the people. Heſſelius the officer made great haſt to haue hym diſpatched, wherfore he myldely lyke a lambe, praying for his enemyes, gaue hym ſelfe to bee bounde, paciently takyng that they would do agaynſt him: whom firſt, they ſtrangled, & then conſumed his body beyng dead, with fire. And this was the martyrdome of Hoſtius. Ex Lud. Rabo. lib. 7.

John Friſius, Abbot.

The pitious Martyrdome of Bertrand le Blas.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Ioan. Friſius Abbot. In Bauaria. An. 1554.	Ioan. Sled. lib. 25. maketh record of one Ioan. Friſius Abbot of Newſtat within the Dioces of ẏ B. Herbipolẽſis in Bauaria: who being ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme was called to accõpte of hys fayth: & ſtrõgly perſiſting in his aſſertions, and defẽding the ſame by the ſcriptures, he was therefore diſplaced and remoued from all hys iuriſdictions, 25. of Iune. an. 1554. Ex. Sled.
The Baylife of Henne-gow, gouernour of the towne and Caſtle of Dornic. Peter Deuenteire, Liuetenaũt to the ſayde Bayliffe. Philip de Cordys, chiefe coũſaylour in criminall cauſes. Nic. Chãbree. Pet. Rachelier. Iames de Clerke. Nicholas of Fernague. M. H[illegible]es of Wingles, one of the counſayle for the ſayd Bayliwicke.	Bertrand le Blas. At Dornic. An. 1555.	The ſtory of Bertrand is lamentable, his tormentes vncredible, the tyrannye ſhewed vnto him horrible, the conſtancie of the Martyr admirable. Thys Bertrand being a Silkeweauer, went to Weſell for the cauſe of religion. Who beyng deſirous to drawe hys wyfe and Children from Dornic to Weſell, came thriſe from thence to perſwade with her to goe with hym thether. When ſhee in no wyſe coulde be entreated, he remaining a few dayes at home, ſet his houſe in order, and deſired hys wife and his brother to pray that God would ſtabliſhe hym in hys enterpriſe, that he went about. That done, he went vpon Chriſtenmas day to the hye Churche of Dornic, where hee tooke the cake out of the Prieſtes handes, as he would haue lyft it ouer hys heade at Maſſe, and ſtampt it vnder his feete, ſaying that he did it to ſhew the glory of that God, and what litle power he hath: with other wordes moe to the people, to perſwade them that the cake or fragment of bread was not Ieſus their Sauiour. At the ſight hereof the people beyng ſtroken with a maruelous damp ſtode all amaſed. At length ſuch a ſtyrre therupon folowed, that Bertrand could hardely eſcape with life. It was not long, but the noyſe of this was caried to the Baylife of Henegow, and gouernour of the Caſtle of Dornic, which lay ſicke the ſame tyme, of the gowte, at Bieſy. Who like a madd man cried out, that euer God would or could be ſo paciente, to ſuffer that contumely, ſo to be troden vnder the foote of ſuch a miſer: addyng moreouer, that hee would reuenge his cauſe in ſuch ſorte, as it ſhoulde be an example for euer to all poſteritie, and forthwith the furious tyraunt commaunded hym ſelfe to be caried to ẏ Caſtle of Dornic. Bertrand being brought before him, was aſked whether hee repented of hys facte, or whether he would ſo do, if it were to be done agayne. Who aunſwered, that if it were an hundreth tymes to be done, he would do it: and if hee had an hundreth liues, he would geue them in that quarell. Then was he thriſe put to the pynebanke, tormented moſt miſerably, to vtter his ſetters on, whiche hee would neuer do. Then proceded they to the ſentence, more like tyrannes then Chriſten men. By the tenour of which ſentence, this was his puniſhment: Firſt he was drawne from the caſtle of Dornic, to the market place, hauyng a balle of yron put in hys mouth. Then he was ſet vppon a ſtage, where hys right hand, wherwith he tooke the hoſte, was cruſhed and preſſed betwene two hoate yrons, with ſharp yrõ edges firye redde, till the forme & faſhion of hys hand was miſhaped. In lyke maner they brought other like yrons for his right fote, made fire hoate wherunto, of his owne accorde, he put his foote, to ſuffer as his hand had done before, with meruelous conſtancie and firmenes of mynde. That done, they tooke the balle of yron out of hys mouth, and cut of hys toung, who notwithſtandyng, with continuall crying, ceaſed not to call vppon God: wherby the hartes of the people were greatly moued: Wheruppõ the tormentours thruſt in the yron balle into hys mouth agayn. From thẽce they brought him downe to ẏ lower ſtage, he goyng to the ſame no leſſe chearfully and quietly, then if no part of his body had bene hurt. There his legges and his handes were bound behynde hym with an yron cheyne goyng about hys body, and ſo he was let downe flat vpon the fire: whom the foreſayd gouernor there ſtandyng by and lokyng vpon, cauſed to be let vp agayne, & ſo downe and vp agayne, till at laſt the whole body was ſpent to aſhes, which he commaũded to be caſt into the riuer. When this was done, the Chappell where thys Maſſegod was ſo intreated, was lockte vp, and the bord wheruppon the Prieſt ſtode, was burnt: ẏ marble ſtone wheruppon the hoſte did light, was broken in peeces. And finally for ſomuch as the ſayd Bertrand had receaued his doctrine at Weſſell, commaundement was geuen, that no perſon, out of that cõtrey ſhould go to Weſell, or there occupy, vnder incurryng the daunger of the Emperours Placard. Ex Criſp. Pantal. et Adriano.

Bertrand thriſe tormented.

The miſerable & tragicall handling of Bertrand.

The right hand & foote of Bertrand preſſed of, wyth hoate yrons.

The tounge of Bertrand cut of.

The burnyng & martyrdome of Bertrand.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Two hundreth Miniſters of Bohemia. An. 1555.	The ſame yeare 2. hundreth Miniſters and preachers of the Goſpell, were banyſhed out of Bohemia, for preachyng agaynſt the ſuperſtition of the Byſhop of Rome, and extollyng the glory of Chriſt. Ex Comment. Ioan. Sled. lib. 25.
	The preachers of Locarne.	Locarne is a place beyond the Alpes, yet ſubiect to the Heluetians. When theſe alſo had receaued the goſpell, & the fiue Pages of the Heluetians aboue mentioned, were

Perſecution in Bohemia.

Perſecution in Locarne.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		were not well pleaſed therewith, but would haue them puniſhed, and great contention was among ẏ Heluetians about the ſame, it was cōcluded at length, that ẏ Miniſters ſhould be exiled; whom the Tigurines did receaue. Ex Pantal.
	Fraunces Warlut. Alexander Dayken. At Dornic. An.1562.	After theſe two good men being borne in the lower partes of Germany, had ben conuerſant in diuers reformed Churches in other countreys, at laſt for conſcience ſake, they returned home agayne to doe good in their owne countrey of Dornic, & there about. So vpon a tyme, as the people there reſorted to a backe fielde or woode without the Citie, with a certaine preacher to heare the worde of God and to praye, the aduerſaries hauyng thereof ſome intelligence, ſo purſued them, that they tooke of them aboue 30. of whom theſe two, among the reſt, were apprehended, and thinkyng no leſſe but that they ſhould bee burned, they began to ſing Pſalmes. At length beyng brought forth, firſt one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the iudges had entended to quarter their bodyes, and to ſet them vppe by the hygh wayes, yet was it ſo prouided, God workyng in the hartes of the people, that they were both committed to ſepulture. Ex Lud.Rab.
Earle of Lalain.	Gilloms Viuer. James Faber, his father in law. Michaell Faber, ſonne of James. Anna wife of Gillot⁹, and daughter of James Faber.	Theſe in the cauſe of the Goſpell ſuffered at Valence. James Faber beyng an old man, ſayd: that although hee could not aunſwere or ſatiſfie them in reaſonyng, yet he would conſtantly abyde in ẏ truth of the Goſpell. Anna his daughter beyng with child, was repriued, after ſhe was deliuered, ſhe folowed her huſband and father in the lyke Martyrdome.
	Michella Caignoucle. At Vallēce An.1550.	Michella, wife of James Clerke, whiche was before burned, whē ſhe was offered to be maryed, and to be caried out of the countrey to ſome reformed Church, refuſed ſo to doe, but would abyde the aduenture of her vocation, & ſo was condēned with Gillotus to be burned. Ex Criſp.
	Godfridus Hamelle. At Dornic. An.1552.	This Godfride a Taylor, was taken & condemned at Dornic or Tournay. When they had condemned him by the name of an hereticke, Nay (ſayd he) not an hereticke, but a ſeruaunt of Jeſus Chriſt vnmoueable. When the hangman went about to ſtrangle hym to diminiſhe his puniſhmēt, he refuſed it, ſaying that he would abyde the ſentēce that the Judges had geuen. Ex eod.

Fraunces Warlut, Alexander Dayken. Martyrs.

The father with his two ſonnes and hys daughter martyred.

Michella wife of James Clerke, Martyr.

This James Clerke before was burned.

Godfride, a Taylor, Martyr.

☞ Beſides theſe Germaines aboue ſpecified; a great number there was both in the hygher, & lower countreys of Germany, which were ſecretly drowned, or buryed, or otherwiſe in priſon made away, whoſe names although they be not knowen to vs, yet they are regiſtred in the booke of lyfe. Furthermore, in the Dutch booke of Adrian, diuers other be numbred in the Catalogue of theſe Germane Martyrs, which likewiſe ſuffered in diuers places of the lower coūtrey: the names of certaine wherof be theſe. At Bergis or Berghen in Hennegow, were burnt in the yeare of our Lorde. 1555. John Malo, Damian Witrocke, Weldrew Calier buryed quicke, John Porceau. At Iſle ſuffered alſo one Julian. an. 1541. and Adrian Lopphen. an. 1555. At Bruxels. an. 1559. one Bawdwyne beheaded. An other called Gilleken Tielmā burnt. an. 1541. Adde moreouer to the ſame Catalogue of Dutch martyrs burnt & conſumed, in the lower countreys vnder the Emperours dominiō: the names of theſe folowyng. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechlin. an. 1529. Nico. Paul at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Orguier, & Joanne his wife, with Baudicon & Martin Orguier their children, which ſuffred at Liſle. an. 1556. M. Nicolas burnt at Mons in Hennegow. Laurēce of Bruxels, at Mons. James Foſteau, at Mōs. Cornelis Volcart, at Brugis, an. 1553. Hubert the Printer, and Philip Joyner, at Brugis. an. 1553. A woman buried with thornes vnder her. Peter le Roux, at Brugis. an. 1552. At Mechlin ſuffred Frances, & Nicolas Thys, ij brethren. an. 1555. At Antwerpe were burnt Adrian a Painter and Henry a Taylor. an. 1559. Alſo Cornelys Halewyne Locksmith, & Hermā Janſon the ſame yeare. M. John Champ ſchole maſter. an. 1557, with a nūber of other beſides, which in the ſayd booke are to be ſene and read.

Iohn Malo.
Damian Witroke.
Weldrewe Calier.
Iohn Porceau.
Iuliā, van den Swerde.
Adrian Lopphen.
Bawdwyne.

Diuers in the lower countries, martyred.

¶ An. 1525. We read alſo in the French hyſtory of a certaine Monke, who becauſe he forſoke his abhominable order & was maried, was burnt at Prage.

Ex Gallicana hiſt. et Adriano.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Prieſts of Erdford.	A Preacher poiſoned at Erdford.	In the collectiōs of Henry Pantaleon, we read alſo of a certain godly preacher to be poyſoned, for preaching the worde of truth, by the Prieſts of Erdford. Ex elegia cuiuſdā viri Docti, in Pantal.

A preacher at Erdphord poyſoned.

And here ceaſing with theſe perſecutions in Germany, we will now (Chriſt willyng) procede further to the French Martyrs, comprehendyng in a lyke Table, the names and cauſes of ſuch as in that kyngdome ſuffered for the word of God, and cauſe of righteouſnes, as in this brief Summary conſequently here vnder enſueth.

¶ An other Table of them which ſuffered in Fraunce for the lyke witneſſe of the Goſpell.

The French Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctour Martiall of Paris.	Iames Pauane ſcholemaiſter. At Paris. An. 1524.	This Iames firſt beyng taken by the byſhop of Melden, or Meaux, was cōpelled to recant by D. Martiall. Afterward returnyng agayne to his cōfeſſion, he was burnt at Paris. 1525 Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Dioniſius de Rieux. At Melda, or Meaux. An. 1528.	This Denys was one of them whiche were firſt burnt at Melda, for ſaying, that the Maſſe is a playne denyall of the death and Paſſion of Chriſt. He was alwayes wont to haue in hys mouth the wordes of Chriſt: He that denyeth me before men, him will I denye before my father, and to muſe vpō the ſame earneſtly. He was burnt with a ſlow fire, and dyd abyde much torment. Ex Criſp. & aliis.
	Ioannes de Cadurco, Bacheler of the Ciuill law. An. 1533.	This Iohn, firſt for makyng a Sermon or exhortation to hys countreymen of Limoſin in Fraunce vpon Allhallow day: and after, ſittyng at a feaſt where it was propoſed, that euery one ſhould bryng forth ſome ſentēce, for that he brought forth this: Chriſt reigne in our hartes, and did proſecute the ſame by the Scriptures in much lēgth of wordes, was thereupon accuſed, taken, and degraded and after burned. At his degradatiō one of the blacke Friers of Paris preached, takyng for hys theame the wordes of S. Paul. 1. Timo. 4. The ſpirite ſpeaketh, that in the latter dayes men ſhall depart frō fayth, geuyng hede to lying ſpirites, and doctrine of errour. &c. And in handlyng that place, either he could not or would not procede further in the text. Cadurcus cryed out to hym to procede, and read further. The Frier ſtode dumme, and could not ſpeake a word. Then Cadurcus takyng the text, dyd proſecute the ſame, as foloweth: Teachyng falſe doctrine in hypocriſie, hauyng theyr conſcience marked with a whyte yron, forbyddyng to mary, and to eate meates created of God, to be eaten with thankes geuyng. &c. Ex Ioan. Criſpi.
	Barthelmew Mylen, a lame creple.	These fiue here ſpecified, for certaine Billes caſt abroad and ſet vp, ſoundyng a-

Iames Pauane, martyr.

Dionyſius de Rieux martyr.

This Denys hauing a wodden croſſe put into hys handes by the Friers, wyth hys teeth caſt it into the riuer, which made the Fryers madde.

Ioannes Cadurcus, Martyr.

V. Martyrs burned.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Promoters of Paris.	Iohn Burges, Marchaunt. The receauer of Nantes. Henry Poille of Coubcron. Cantella a Scholemiſtres. Stephen de la Forge, Marchaunt. An. 1533.	gaynſt the abhomination of the Maſſe, and other ſuperſtitious abſurdities of yͤ pope, were condemned and burned in the Citie of Paris. Hēry of Coubcron had his toung bored through, and with an yron wyer, tyed faſt to one of his chekes: who lykewiſe with the other, was burned, as is aforeſayd. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Alexander Canus prieſt, otherwiſe called Laurentius Crucens. At Paris. An. 1533.	For the ſincere doctrine and confeſſion of Chriſtes true religion, he was burned in Paris, hauyng but a ſmall fire, and abid much torment. Ex Henr. Pantal.
The Graye Friers in Paris. Doctour Clerke, a Sorboniſte.	Iohn Pointet, a Surgeon. At Paris. An. 1533.	This Surgeon beyng detected and accuſed by the Friers, and ſuch as he had cured before of the French pockes, was firſt cōdemned to be ſtrangled, and then burned: but afterward, becauſe hee would not do homage to a certaine Idole at the commaundement of a Frier that came to confeſſe him, his ſentence was turned to haue his toung cut of, and ſo to bee burned. Ex Criſp.
A certaine knight of Rhodes, vncle to this Peter.	Peter Gaudet, knight ſometymes of Rhodes. An. 1533.	This Peter being at Geneua with his wife, was trayned out frō thence by his vncle, and put in priſon for defence of the Goſpell, and after long tormentes their ſuſteyned, was burned. vid. Criſp.
	Quoquillard. An. 1534.	At Bezanſon, in the countie of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the cōfeſſion and teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Nicolas a Scriuener. Iohn de Poix. Stephen Burlet. An. 1534.	Theſe three were executed and burned for the like cauſe of the Goſpell, in the Citie of Arras: namely, Nicholas a Scriuener, Iohn de Poix, Stephen Burlet. Ex Ioā. Criſp.
A Gray Frier in the Citie of Rochell.	Mary Becaudella. At Fountaines.	This Mary beyng vertuouſly inſtructed of her maiſter where ſhe ſerued, and beyng afterward at a Sermō, where a Frier preached, after yͤ Sermō, found faute with hys doctrine

Alexander Canus, Martyr.

Iohn Poynter Martyr.

In Fraunce the maner was that the Martyrs comming by any Image as they went to burnyng, and would not worſhyp the ſame, had their tonges cut out.

Peter Gaudet Martyr.

Quoquillard, Martyr.

Nicholas a Scriuener, Ioan. de Poix, Steuen Burlet, Martyrs.

Mary Becaudella, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	An.1534.	doctrine, and refuted the ſame by Scriptures. wherat he diſdaynyng, procured her to be burned at Foſtaines. Ibidem.
	Iohn Cornon. An.1535.	Iohn Cornon a huſband man of Maſcō, and vnlettered, but to whom God gaue ſuch wiſedome, that hys iudges were amaſed, when he was condēned by their ſentence, and burned. Ex Criſp.
George Borell. Iaylor. The Procurator of the Citie of Grenoble in Fraunce. The Inquiſitour.	Martin Gonyn. In Dolphyne. An.1536.	This Martin beyng taken for a ſpye in the borders of Fraunce, towarde the Alpes, was committed to priſō. In his goyng out, his Iaylor eſpyed about hym, letters of Farellus, & of Peter Viret. wherfore beyng examined of the kynges Procurator, & of the Inquiſitour, touching his faith, after hee had rendred a ſufficiēt reaſon therof, he was caſt into yͤ riuer & drowned. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
The kinſfolkes and frendes of this Claudius. Morinus, an Officer.	Claudius Painter, a Goldſmith. At Paris. An.1540.	Claudius goyng about to conuerte his frēdes and kinſfolkes to his doctrine, was by them cōmitted to Morinus a chief captaine, who cōdemned him to be burned: but the hygh Parliament of Paris, correctyng that ſentence, added moreouer yͭ he ſhould haue his toung cut out before, and ſo to be burned. Ex Ioā. Criſp.
Gaſpar Augerius the biſhops Renter. Domicellus, a Franciſcane and Inquiſitour.	Stephen Brune, a huſbandman. At Rutiers. An.1540.	Stephē Brune was perſecuted of Augerius, who after hys cōfeſſion geuen of his fayth, was iudged to be burned. which puniſhment, he tooke ſo conſtātly, that it was to them a wōder. His aduerſaries commaunded after his death, to bee cryed that none ſhould make any more mention of him, vnder payne of hereſie. Pantalion addeth moreouer, that at the place of his burnyng called Planuol, the wynde roſe and blew the fire ſo from hym, as he ſtode exhortyng the people, that hee there cōtinued about the ſpace of an houre, in maner, not harmed or ſcarce touched with any flame: ſo that all the woode beyng waſted away, they were compelled to begyn the fire agayne with new fagots, and veſſels of oyle, and ſuch other matter: and yet neither could he with all this, be burned, but ſtode ſafe. Then the hangman tooke a ſtaffe, and let driue at his head. To whom the holy Martyr beyng yet alyue, ſayd: when I am iudged to the fire, do ye beate me with ſtaues lyke a dogge? with that the hangman with his pyke thruſt hym through the belly and the guttes, and ſo threw him down into the fire and burned his body to aſhes, throwyng away his aſhes afterward with the wind. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Conſtantinus, a Citizen of Rhone, with three other. An.1542.	These foure for defence of the Goſpell, beyng condemned to be burned, were put in a doungcart. who thereat reioyſing, ſaid that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a ſweete odour vnto God. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Iohn du Beck, Prieſt. An. 1543.	For the doctrine of the Goſpell hee was diſgraded, and conſtantly abode the torment of fire in the chief Citie of Champaigne. Ex Ioanne Criſp.
The Pariſh Prieſt of the towne of S. Fayth in Angeow. Alſo other Prieſtes of the ſame countrey. Riueracus and his ſeruaunt.	Aymond de Lauoy. Bordeaux. An.1543.	This Aymonde preached the goſpel at S. Faythes in Angew, where he was accuſed by the pariſh prieſt there, and by other Prieſtes moe, to haue taught falſe doctrine, to the great decay of their gaynes. Wherupon, when the Magiſtrates of Bordeaux had geuē commaundemēt, and had ſent out their Apparitour to apprehend hym, he hauyng intelligence thereof, was willed by his frēdes, to flye and ſhift for himſelf: but he would not, ſaying, yͭ he had rather neuer to haue bene borne, then ſo to do. It was the office of a good ſhepheard (he ſayd) not to flye in tyme of perill, but rather to abyde the daūger, leſt the flocke be ſcattered: or els leſt peraduenture, in ſo doyng, he ſhould leaue ſome ſcruple in their myndes, thus to thinke, that he had fedde them with dreames and fables, contrary to the word of GOD. Wherfore beſechyng them to moue hym no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yeld vp both body and ſoule in the quarell of that truth, which he had taught: ſaying with S. Paule, that he was ready not onely to be bounde for the teſtimony of Chriſt, in the Citie of Burdeaux, but alſo to dye. To contract the long ſtory hereof to a brief narration, the Sumner came, and was in the Citie three dayes: duryng which tyme Aymondus preached iiij. Sermōs. The people in defenſe of their preacher, flew vpon the Sumner, to deliuer hym out of hys handes. But Aymond deſired them not to ſtoppe his Martyrdome: ſeyng it was the will of God that he ſhould ſuffer for hym, he would not (ſayd he) reſiſt. Then the Conſuls ſuffred the Sumner & ſo Aymond was caryed to Bordeaux. Wher[illegible]ny witneſſes, the moſt part beyng Prieſtes, came in agaynſt him, with M. Riueracke alſo, and hys ſeruaunt. Which Riueracke had ſayd ofttymes before, that it ſhould coſt him a thouſand crownes, but he would burne him. Many exceptiōs he made agaynſt his falſe witneſſes, but that would not be taken. All their accuſation was onely for denying Purgatory.

Iohn Cornon, Martyr.

Martyn Gonyn Martyr.

Claudius Paynter, a Goldſmith, Martyr.

Steuen Brune Martyr.

The martyr not harmed wyth the fire.

Conſtantine Northman, wyth three other, Martyrs.

Iohn du Beck, Martyr.

Aymondus a Via, Martyr.

The office of a good ſhepheard to ſtand by hys flocke.

Act.21.

About ix. monethes he remayned in priſon with great miſery,bewayling exceedyngly his former lyfe: albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came downe letters, wherupon the iudges began to procede to his condẽnation,& he had greater fetters put vpon him,which he tooke for a token of his death ſhortly to folow. After that,he was examined with tormẽts. One of the head preſidentes came to him, & ſhakyng him by the beard,bad him tell what felowes he had of his Religion. To whõ he aunſwered,ſaying,that he had no other felowes,but ſuch as knew, and did the will of God his father, whether they were nobles, marchaunts,husband men,or of what degree ſo euer they were. In theſe tormẽtes he endured ij.or iij.houres, beyng but of a weake body, with theſe wordes cõforting himſelf: This body(ſayd he)once muſt dye,but the ſpirite ſhall liue:the kingdome of God abydeth for euer. In the time of his tormẽting he ſwounded. Afterward cõmyng to himſelfe agayne,he ſayd,O Lord Lord,why haſt thou forſaken me? To whõ the preſident: Nay wicked Lutherane (ſayd he) Thou haſt forſake God. Then ſayd Aymõdus: Alas good maiſters, why do you thus miſerably torment me? O Lord I beſeech thee forgeue them, they know not what they do. See(ſayd the Preſident)this caytife, how he prayeth for vs. Neuertheles ſo cõſtãt was he in his paines, ý they could not force him to vtter one mans name:ſaying vnto thẽ,that he thought to haue found more mercy with men: wherefore he prayed God that he might finde mercy with him.

Tormentes.

On the next Saterday folowyng,ſentence of cõdemnation was geuen agaynſt him. Then certaine Friers were appoynted to heare his confeſſion. whõ he refuſed,chuſing to him one of his own order, ý pariſh prieſt of S.Chriſtophers,biddyng the Friers depart from him for he would cõfeſſe his ſinnes to the Lord. Do not you ſee(ſayd he) how I am troubled enough with men? will ye yet trouble me more? Other haue had my body, will you alſo take frõ me my ſoule? Away from me I pray you. At laſt when he could not be ſuffered to haue the Pariſh prieſt,he thẽ tooke a certaine Carmelite, byddyng the reſt to depart,with whom he hauing long talke, at laſt did cõuert him, vnto the truth. Shortly after came vnto hym the Iudges, Caſſagnes,and Lõga,with other counſailours moe,vnto whom the ſayd Aymondus began to preach and declare hys mynde,touchyng the Lordes Supper: But Lõga interruptyng him,demaunded of hym thus.

The Iudge.

Firſt declare vnto vs your mynde what you thinke of Purgatory. The Martyr.

Purgatory.

In Scripture all theſe are one,to purge,to clenſe, & to waſh. wherof we read in Eſay, in the Epiſtles of S.Paule,and of S.Peter. He hath waſhed you in his bloud. Ye are redeemed not with golde, but with the bloud of Chriſt. &c. And how often do we read in the Epiſtles of S.Paule,That we are clenſed by the bloud of Chriſt from our ſinnes?&c.

Heb 9.
1.Pet.1.

The Iudge.

Thoſe Epiſtles are knowen to euery child.

The Martyr.

To euery child? Nay, I feare you haue ſcarce read them your ſelfe.

A Frier.

M.Aymond,with one word you may ſatiſfie them, if you will ſay, that there is place where the ſoules be purged after this lyfe.

The Martyr.

That I leaue for you to ſay, if you pleaſe. what? would you haue me damne myne owne ſoule, and to ſay that which I know not?

The Iudge.

Doeſt not thou thinke,that whẽ thou art dead,thou ſhalt goe to purgatory? And he that dyeth in veniall ſinne,that he ſhall paſſe ſtreight into Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

Such truſt I haue in my God,that the ſame day, when I ſhall dye, I ſhall enter into Paradiſe.

An other Iudge.

where is Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

There,where the maieſty and glory of God is.

The Iudge.

The Canons do make mention of Purgatory, and you in your Sermons haue vſed alwayes much to pray for the poore.

This Fryer taketh praying for the poore which be aliue and thoſe that be dead to be all one.

The Martyr.

I haue preached the word of God,& not the Canõs.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou beleue in the Church?

The Martyr.

I beleue as the Church regenerated by the bloud of Chriſt,and founded in his word,hath appointed.

The Iudge.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Greeke word ſignifying as much as a Congregation or aſſemble:& ſo I ſay,that whẽ ſo euer the faythfull do congregate together,to the honor of God,and the amplifying of Chriſtian religion, the holy ghoſt is verily with them.

The church.

The Iudge.

By this it ſhould folow, that there be many Churches. And where as any ruſticall clownes do aſſẽble together,there muſt be a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no abſurde thyng to ſay that there be many Churches or congregations among the Chriſtians: And ſo ſpeaketh S. Paule: To all the Churches which are in Galatia.&c. And yet all theſe congregations make but one Church.

Galat.1.

The Iudge.

The Church wherein thou beleueſt, is it not the ſame Church, which our Creede doth call the holy Church?

The Martyr.

I beleue the ſame.

The Iudge.

And who ſhould be the head of that Church?

The head of the Church.

The Martyr.

Ieſus Chriſt.

The Iudge.

And not the Pope?

The Martyr.

No.

The Iudge.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Miniſter,if he be a good man, as other Byſhops be:of whom S.Paule thus writeth: 1. Cor.4. Let a man ſo eſteme of vs,as Miniſters, and diſpenſers of the ſecretes of God.&c.

The Iudge.

What then,doeſt not thou beleue the Pope?

The Martyr.

I know not what he is.

The Pope what he is.

The Iudge.

Doeſt thou not beleue that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter? The Martyr.

If he be like to Peter,and be grounded with Peter, vpon the true rocke Chriſt Ieſus, ſo I beleue hys workes,and ordinaunces to be good.

Thẽ the Iudges leauing him & ý Friers, departed frõ him,countyng him,as a dãned creature. Notwithſtãdyng,Aymundus puttyng his truſt in God, was full of comfort,ſaying with S.Paul: who ſhall ſeparate me from the loue of God? Shall the ſword. hunger,or nakednes? No, nothyng ſhall plucke me from hym. But rather I haue pitie of you(ſayd he) and ſo they departed. Not lõg after,he was brought to the place of execution, ſingyng by the way, the Pſalme. In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto.&c. And as he paſſed by the place,where he before had bene empriſoned,he called to his priſon felowes,exhortyng them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had ſpoken for them, and declared their miſeries vnto the Preſident. He thanked moreouer the keeper, and deſired hym to be good to his poore priſoners. And ſo takyng his leaue of them, and deſiryng them to pray for him, alſo geuyng thankes to the maiſters keeper, for her gentlenes ſhewed vnto him, he proceded forward toward his execution. As he came agaynſt the Churche of S. Andrew, they willed hym to aſke mercy of God, and of bleſſed S. Mary,and of Saint Iuſtice. I aſke mercy(ſayth he) of God,and of his Iuſtice, but the virgin, bleſſed S. Mary, I neuer offended, nor did that thyng, for the whiche I ſhould aſke her mercye. From thence he paſſed forward to the Church of S. Legia,

Pſal.114.

Aymond ſpeaketh for hys priſon fellowes.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		gin, preachyng ſtill as he went. Then ſpake one of the ſouldiours to the driuer of the carte, willyng hym to driue a paſt, for here is preachyng, ſayd he, enough. To whom ſayd Aymond, He that is of God, heareth the wordes of God. &c. In paſſing by a certaine Image of our Lady, great offence was taken agaynſt hym, becauſe he alwayes called vpon Chriſt Jeſus onely, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted his voyce to GOD, praying, that he would neuer ſuffer hym to inuocate any other, ſauyng hym alone. Commyng to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he was tumbled out of the cart, vpon the ground, teſtifying to the Magiſtrates and to the people ſtandyng by, that he dyed for the Goſpel of Jeſu Chriſt & for his word. More he would haue ſpoken, but he could not be ſuffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, criyng: diſpatch, diſpatch hym, let hym not ſpeake. Then he ſpeakyng a few wordes ſoftly in the eare of the litle Carmelite, whom he had conuerted: was byd to ſteppe vp to yͤ ſtage. Where the people beginning to geue a litle audience, thus he ſaid: O Lord make haſt to helpe me, tary not, do not deſpiſe the worke of thy handes. And you my brethren, that be ſtudentes, and ſcholers, I exhorte you to ſtudy and learne the Goſpell, for the word of God abydeth for euer: labour to know the will of God, and feare not them that kill the body, but haue no power vpon your ſoules. And after that, my fleſhe (ſayde he) repugneth merueilouſly agaynſt the ſpirite, but ſhortly I ſhall caſt it away. My good maiſters, I beſeech you pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy handes I comend my ſoule. As he was oft repetyng the ſame, the hangman tooke and haled him vpon the ſteppes, in ſuch ſorte, that he ſtrangled him. And thus the bleſſed Saint gaue vp his lyfe: whoſe body afterward was with fire conſumed.
	Fraunces Bribard. An. 1544.	Fraunces Bribard was ſayde to be yͤ ſecretary of yͤ Cardinal of Bellay. Who being alſo for the Goſpell condemned, after hys toung was cut, dyd with lyke conſtancie, ſuſteine the ſharpnes of burnyng. Ibidem.
The hygh Court of Roan. A widow kepyng a vitailyng houſe, in the ſuburbes of Roan.	William Huſſon, an Apothecary. At Roan. An. 1544.	William Huſſon Apothecary, commyng frō Bloys to Roan, was lodged with a certaine widow in the ſuburbes of the Citie, who aſkyng of her, at what time the Counſaile or Parliamēt dyd riſe, ſhe ſayd at x. of the clocke. About which tyme and houre he went to the Palace, & there ſcattered certaine bookes concerning Chriſtian doctrine, & the abuſe of mens traditions. Wherat the counſaile was ſo moued, that they commaunded all the gates of the Citie to be locked, and diligēt ſearch to be made in all Innes & hoſtles, to finde out the author. Then the widow told of the partie which was there, & aſked of the riſing of the Counſaile, and ſhortly vpō the ſame, tooke hys horſe and rode away. Then were poſtes ſent out through all quarters, ſo that the ſayd William was taken by the way ridyng to Diepe, and brought agayne to Roan. Who there beyng examined, declared his fayth boldly, and how he came of purpoſe to diſperſe thoſe bookes in Roan, and went to do the lyke at Diepe.

Margin notes beside the first column:

John.8.
Filioli, cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris.
1.John 5.

The wordes of Aymond to the ſtudentes.

The death & martyrdome of Aymondus

Fraunces Bribard.

William Huſſon, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
		The weeke enſuyng, he was condemned to be burned aliue. After the ſentēce geuē, he was brought in a carte, accompanyed with a Doctour a Carmelite Frier, before the great Church, who puttyng a torche in hys hand, required hym to do homage to the Image of our Lady: which becauſe he refuſed to do, his toung was cut out. The Frier then makyng a Sermon, when hee ſpake any thyng of the mercyes of God, the ſayd William harkened to hym: but when he ſpake of the merites of Saintes, and other dreames, he turned away his head. The Frier lookyng vppon the countenaunce of Huſſen, lift vp his hand to heauen: ſaying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was poſſeſſed with a deuill. When the Frier had ceaſed his Sermon, this godly Huſſon had his handes and feete bound behynd his backe, and with a pully was lifted vp into the ayre, & when the fire was kyndled, he was let down into the flame, where the bleſſed martyr, with a ſmilyng and chearful countenaunce looked vp to heauen, neuer mouing nor ſtyrring, till he let downe his head, and gaue vp his ſpirite. All the people there preſent were not a litle aſtonyed thereat, and were in diuers opinions, ſome ſaying, that he had a deuill, other mainteyned the contrary, ſaying, if he had a deuill, he ſhould haue fallen into diſpayre. This Carmelite Frier aboue ſayd, was called Dolanda, which after was conuerted, & preached the Goſpell. Ex Gallic. hiſt. Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 2.
Three Popiſh prieſts. The Duke of Loraine.	Iames Cobard, a Scholemaſter, and many other taken the ſame tyme. An. 1545.	This James, ſcholemaiſter in the Citie of S. Michaell in the Dukedome of Barre in Loraine, diſputed with iij. Prieſtes, that the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and of the Supper dyd not auayle, vnleſſe they were receaued with fayth: which was as much to ſay, as that the Maſſe did profite neither the quicke nor the dead. For yͤ which and alſo for his confeſſion, which he beyng in priſon ſent of his owne accorde, by his mother vnto the Judge, he was burned, and moſt quietly ſuffered. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
The Franciſcane Friers.	Peter Clerke, brother to John Clerke, burnt before, pag. 851. Stephanus Manginus. Iames Bouchebecke. Iohn Briſebar. Henr. Hutinote. Tho. Honorate. Iohn Baudouinus.	These xiiij. dwelt at Melda, a Citie in Fraunce x. miles frō Paris. Where Williā Briconetus beynge there Byſhoppe, dyd much good, brought to them the lyght of the Goſpell, and reformed the Church. Who ſtraightly beyng examined for yͤ ſame, relented: But yet theſe with many other remained cōſtant. Who after the burnyng of James Pauane before mētioned, and ſeynge ſuperſtition to grow more and more, begā to congregate in Manginus houſe, & to ſet vp a church to themſelues, after yͤ example of the Frēch Church in Straſburgh. For their miniſter, they choſe Peter Clerke. Firſt they beginning

Margin notes beside the second column:

The boldnes of a conſtant martyr.

Cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris, Iohn.5.

Crueltie of the aduerſaries.

Frier Delanda conuerted.

Iames Cobard, Martyr.

xiiij. Martyrs.

Peter Clerke, Iohn Clerke, brethren and Martyrs.

xiiij. bleſſed martyrs at Meaux.

A French church ſet vp in Meaux.

with

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Doctours of Sorbone, and others.	Iohn Fleſch. Iohn Picquere. Peter Piquere. Iohn Matheſlone. Philippe Litle. Michaell Caillow. Fraunces Clerke. Couberon, a Weauer. At Meaux. An. 1546.	So 20. or 30. did grow in ſhort time, to 3. or 4. hundreth. wherupō ÿ matter being knowen to the Senate of Paris, the chamber was beſette, where they were, and they taken. Of whom 62. men & women were bound, & brought to Paris, ſingyng Pſalmes, eſpecially the Pſalme. 79. To theſe it was chiefly obiected, that they beyng lay men, would miniſter ÿ ſacrament of the body & bloud of the Lord. Of theſe 62. 14. chiefly dyd ſtand faſt, which were condemned, and rackt, to confeſſe moe of their fellowes, but they vttered none: ÿ reſt were ſcourged & baniſhed the countrey. Theſe 14. were ſent to ſondry monaſteries to be conuerted: but that would not be. Then they beyng ſent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux, to bee burned, by the way, three myles from Paris, a certaine weauer, called Couberon, by chaūce meetyng them, cryed to them a loude, biddyng them be of good cheare and to cleaue faſt to the Lord: who alſo was taken, and bounde with them in the cart. Commyng to the place of executiō, which was before Māgins houſe, it was told them, that they which would be confeſſed, ſhould not haue their tounges cut out, the other ſhould. Of whom vij. there were, which to ſaue their tounges, confeſſed: other vij. would not. Of the firſt was Stephen Mangin, who hauing his toung firſt cut, notwithſtandyng ſpake ſo that he might be vnderſtand, ſaying thriſes: The Lordes name be bleſſed. As they were in burnyng, the people ſong Pſalmes. The Prieſtes ſeyng that, would alſo ſing their ſonges: *O Salutaris hoſtia, and Salue regina, while the ſacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs were finiſhed. Theyr wiues beyng compelled to ſee theyr huſbandes in tormentes, were after put in priſon, from whence they beyng promiſed to be let goe, if they would ſay that theyr huſbandes were damned, refuſed ſo to ſay.
Iohn André booke ſeller, promotour. Doctours Sorboniſtes M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctor of Diuinitie. Doctour Iohn Picard. Doctour Nicolas Maillard.	Peter Chapot. At Paris. An. 1546.	Peter Chapot firſt was a corrector to a Printer in Paris. After he had bene at Geneua, to do good to the church of Chriſt, lyke a good man, he came with bookes of holy Scripture into Fraunce, and diſperſed them abroad vnto the faythfull. whiche great zeale of his, cauſed him to be apprehēded of Iohn Andre, which was the common Promotour to Liſet the Preſident, and to the Sorboniſtes. Thus good Chapot beyng taken & brought before the Commiſſaries, rendred promptly accōpt of his faith: vnto whō he exhibited a ſupplication, or writyng, wherein he learnedly informed the iudges, to doe their office vprightly. Thē were iij. Doctours of Sorbone aſſigned, Nicolas Clerici, Iohn Picard, and Nico. Maillard, to diſpute with him. Who when they could finde no aduauntage, but rather ſhame at his handes, they waxed angry with the Iudges, for lettyng them diſpute with heretickes. This done, the Iudges conſultyng together vpō his condēnation, could not agree: ſo that Chapot (as it ſeemed) might haue eſcaped, had not a wicked perſon, the reporter of the proces, ſought & wrought his cōdemnatiō, which condēnatiō was at length concluded thus: ÿ he ſhould be burned quicke, onely ÿ cuttyng of hys toung was pardoned. The Doctor appoynted to be at his executiō, was Maillard, with whō he was greatly encumbred: For this Frier called vpon hym ſtill, not to ſpeake to the people: but he deſired hym that he might pray. Then he bad hym pray to our Lady, and confeſſe her to be his Aduocate. He confeſſed, that ſhe was a bleſſed Virgine, & recited the Lords Prayer and the Creede, and was about to ſpeake of the Maſſe: but Maillard would not let him, makyng haſt to his execution, & ſayd, vnles he would ſay Aue Maria, he ſhould be burnt quicke. Then Chapot prayed: O Ieſu, ſonne of Dauid, haue mercy vppon me. Maillard then bad him ſay Ieſus, Maria, and ſo he ſhould be ſtrangled. Chapot agayne excuſed that he was ſo weake, he could not ſpeake. Nay, ſayd Maillard, Ieſus Maria, or els thou ſhalt be burned quicke. As Chapot was thus ſtriuyng with the Frier, ſodeinly as it happened, Ieſus Maria eſcaped out of his mouth. But he by & by repelling himſelfe, O God, ſayd he, what haue I done? Pardon me, O Lord, to thee onely haue I ſinned. Then Maillard commaūded the corde to be plucke about his necke to ſtrāgle him: notwithſtandyng yet he felt ſomethyng the fire. After all thynges done, Maillard all full of anger went to the counſaile houſe, called La chamber ardante, declaryng what an vprore had there almoſt happened amongeſt the people, ſaying that he would complaine vpō the iudges, for ſufferyng thoſe heretickes to haue their toungs. Wherupon immediatly a decree was made that all which were to be burned, vnleſſe they recanted at the fire, ſhould haue their tounges cut of. Which law diligently afterward was obſerued. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.
M. Peter Liſet, Preſidēt of the Coūſaile of Paris.	Saintious Niuet. At Paris. An. 1546.	After the burnyng of thoſe xiiij. whoſe names bee deſcribed before, this Saintinus (whiche was a lame cripple) with his wife remoued out of Meaux, to Montbeliard, where when hee had continued a while in ſafe libertie of religion, & ſaw him ſelfe there to doe no good, but to be a burdē to the Church, caſt in hys mynde to returne home to Meaux agayne, & ſo dyd. Where at laſt, as hee was ſellyng certaine ſmall wares in the fayre, hee was there knowen and apprehēded. Wherof when information was geuē, he beyng examined, at the firſt confeſſed all, & more thē they were willyng to heare. In the tyme of this Inquiſitiō, as they were examinyng him of certaine pointes of Religiō, & aſked him whether he would ſtād to that he ſaid or not: he gaue this anſwere agayne, worthy to be regeſtred in all mens hartes, ſaying: And I aſke you agayne Lord Iudges, dare you be ſo bold to deny that is ſo playne & manifeſt by the open wordes of

Ex Lud. Rab. Lib. 6.

Note how God maketh theſe aduerſaries wyth their owne ſong, to prayſe the ſacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs agaynſt theyr wylles.

*O Salutaris hoſtia, id eſt, O wholeſome ſacrifice, is a ſong which the Papiſtes vſe in prayſe of the ſacrifice of their Maſſe.

To geue ouer ſo litle to the aduerſaries is a great matter.

The cutting of tounges how and by whom it came, in Fraunce.

	Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
			of the Scripture? So little regard had he to ſaue his owne lyfe, that he deſired the Iudges, both at Meaux, & at Paris, for Gods ſake, that they would rather take care of their owne lyues and ſoules, and to conſider how much innocent bloud they ſpilled dayly in fightyng agaynſt Chriſt Ieſus, and his Goſpell. At laſt, beyng brought to Paris, through the meanes of M. Peter Liſet, a great perſecutor, for that they of Meaux, ſhould take by him no encouragement, there he was detained, and ſuffered his martyrdome: where no kynde of cruelty was lackyng, which the innocent Martyrs of Chriſt Ieſus were wont to be put vnto. Ex Henr. Pantal. & hiſt. Gallic.
Steuen Polliot, Martyr.	The names of his perſecutours in the ſtory be not expreſſed.	Stephen Polliot. At Paris, An. 1546.	Stephen Polliot commyng out of Normandy (where he was borne) vnto Meaux, taryed not there long, but was compelled to flye, & went to a town called Fera: where he was apprehended, and brought to Paris, & there caſt into a foule and darke priſon. In which priſon he was kepte in bandes and fetters a long ſpace, where he ſaw almoſt no light. At lēgth beyng called for before the Senate, and his ſentence geuen to haue his toung cut out, & to be burned alyue, his ſatchell of bookes hangyng about his necke: O Lord (ſayd he) is the world in blyndnes and darkenes ſtill? For he thought being in priſon ſo long, that the world had bene altered from his old darkenes, to better knowledge. At laſt, the worthy Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt hauing his bookes about his necke, was put into the fire, where he with much pacience, ended this tranſitory lyfe. Ex Henr, Pantal.
Ioh. Engliſhe, martyr.	The hygh Senate of Paris.	Iohn Engliſh. An. 1547.	He was executed & burned at Sens in Burgūdy, beyng cōdemned by the hyghe Court of Paris, for confeſſyng the true word of GOD. Ex Criſp. & Adrian.
Michaell Michelot, Martyr.		Michael Michelote, a Taylour. An. 1547.	This Taylour beyng apprehended for ẏ goſpels ſake, was iudged firſt if he would turne, to be beheaded: and if hee would not turne, then to be burned alyue. Who beyng aſked whether of theſe two hee would chuſe, aunſwered, that hee truſted that hee which hath geuē him grace not to deny the truth, would alſo geue hym pacience to abyde the fire. Hee was burned at Werden by Turney.
Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.	Two falſe brethren.	Leonardus de Prato. An. 1547.	This Leonard goyng from Dyion, to Bar, a towne in Burgundy, with two falſe brethren, and talkyng with them about religion, was bewrayed of thē, and afterward burned.
Vij. Martyrs.		Iohn Taffingnon. Ioan his wife. Symon Mareſchall. Ioanne his wife. W. Michāt. Iames Boulerau. Iames Bretenay. An. 1547.	All theſe vij. beyng of the Citie of Langres, for the word & truth of Chriſt Ieſus, were committed to the fire: wherein they dyed with much ſtrength and comfort. But eſpecially Ioanne, which was Simons wife, beyng reſerued to ẏ laſt place, becauſe ſhe was the youngeſt, cōfirmed her husbād and all the other, with wordes of ſingular conſolation, declaryng to her husbād, that they ſhould the ſame day, be maryed to the Lord Ieſus, to lyue with hym for euer. Ex Pantal. Criſp. & aliis.
	The Senate of Paris.	Miſchaell Mareſchall. Ioh. Cam°. Great Iohn Camus. Iohn Seraphin. An. 1547.	Theſe alſo, the ſame yeare and about the ſame time, for the like confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, were condēned by the Senate of Paris, & in the ſame Citie alſo with the like cruelty, were burned. Ex Pantal. Criſp.
Octouien, Martyr. Fayth ioyned wyth good workes.	The hoſt of Octouien, at Lyons. Gabriell of Saconnex Preſenteur.	Octouien Blondell, a Marchaūt of precious ſtones. At Paris. An. 1548.	This Octouien, as he was a great occupyer in all fayres and countreys of Fraūce, and well knowē, both in the Court, and els where: ſo was he a ſingular honeſt man, of greate integritie, and alſo a fauourer of Gods worde. Who beyng at his hoſtes houſe in Lyōs, rebuked the filthy talke, & ſuperſtitious behauiour, whiche there he heard and ſaw. Wherfore the hoſt bearyng to hym a grudge, chaūced to haue certaine talke with Gabriell of Sacconnex Preſenteur, concernyng the riches, and a ſumptuous coller ſet with riche iewels, of this Octouien. Thus theſe two conſultyng together, dyd ſuborne a certaine perſon to borowe of hym a certayne ſumme of crownes. Which becauſe Octouien refuſed to lende, the other cauſed him to be apprehēded for hereſie, thinking thereby to make a tachemēt of his goodes. But ſuch order was taken by Blōdels frendes, that they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. Then Blondell beyng examined of his fayth, gaue a playne & full cōfeſſion of that doctrine, whiche he had learned, for the which he was cōmitted to priſō: where he did much good to the priſoners there. For ſome that were in debt, he payd their creditours, & looſed them out. To ſome he gaue meate, to other rayment. At lēgth, through the importune perſuaſions of his parētes and frendes, he gaue ouer and chaunged his confeſſion. Notwithſtādyng the Preſenteur not leauing ſo, appealed him vp to ẏ high court of Paris. There [illegible] touien being aſked againe, touching his fayth, [illegible] of hys ij. confeſſions he would ſticke to, he being before admoniſhed of hys fall, and of the offence geuen thereby to the faythfull, ſayd he would lyue and dye in his firſt cōfeſſion, which he defēded to be conſonāt to the verity of Gods word. Which done, he was cōdemned to be burned, and ſo haſt was made to his execution, leſt his frendes in the court, might come betweene and ſaue his lyfe. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 6.

Hubert Cheriet, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Hubert Cheriet, aliâs Burre, a young mã a Taylour. At Dyion. An.1549.	Hubert beyng a young man of the age of xix. yeares, was burned for the Goſpel at Dyion, who neyther by any terrours of death, nor alluremẽtes of his parentes, could bee otherwiſe perſuaded, but conſtantly to remayne in the truth, vnto death. Ibid.

Florent Venote, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Peter Liſetus, Preſident of the Counſaile of Paris, & other Sorboniſtes.	M. Florent Venote, Prieſt. At Paris. An.1549.	This Florent remayned in priſon in Paris, iiij. yeares, & ix houres. Duryng whiche tyme, there was no tormente, whiche hee dyd not abide and ouercome. Amõg al other kyndes of tormentes, he was put in a narow priſon or brake, ſo ſtrait that he could neither ſtand nor lye, whiche they call the hoſe or boote, ad Nectar Hippocratis, becauſe it is ſtraite beneath, and wyder aboue, like to the in-

ſtrumẽt where with Apothecaries are wõt to make their Hypocras. In this he remayned vij. weakes, where the tormentors affirme, that no thief nor murderer could euer endure xv dayes, but was in daunger of lyfe, or madnes.

At laſt, when there was a great ſhew in Paris at the kinges comyng into the Citie, and diuers other Martyrs in ſondry places of the citie were put to death, he hauing his tounge cut of, was brought to ſee the execution of them all: and laſt of all, in the place of Maulbert, was put in the fire and burned the ix. day of July at after noone. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Anne Audebert, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Anne Audebert, an Apothecaries wyfe, & wydow. At Orleance. An.1549.	She going to Geneua, was taken & brought to Paris, and by the Counſaile there, iudged to bee burned at Orleãce. Whẽ yͤ rope was put about her, ſhe called it her weddyng gyrdle, wherewith ſhe ſhould be maried to Chriſt. And as ſhe ſhould be burned vpon a Saterday vppon Michaelmas euen: vpon a Saterday, ſayd ſhe, I was firſt maried, and vpon a Saterday I ſhal

be maried again. And ſeing the doungcarte brought, wherin ſhe ſhould be caried, ſhe reioyſed thereat, ſhewyng ſuch conſtancie in her martyrdome, as made all the beholders to maruell. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

A godly Taylour in Paris, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Henry. 2. Frẽch king. An Officer [illegible] kings houſe. Petrus Caſtellanus, Byſhop Machonenſis.	A poore Taylour of Paris, dwellyng in the ſtrete of S. Antony. At Paris. An. 1549.	Among many other godly martyrs yͤ ſuffered in Fraunce, the ſtory of this poore Taylour is not thee leaſt nor worſt to bee remembred. Hys name is not yet ſought out in the French ſtories for lacke of diligence in thoſe writers, more is the pitie. The ſtorye is this. Not long after the coronation of Henry ij. yͤ French kyng, at whoſe commyng into Paris diuers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a ſpectacle: as is aboue ſayd, a certaine poore Taylour, who then dwelt not far from yͤ

kynges Palace, in the ſtrete bearing the name of S. Antony, was apprehended of a certaine officer in the kynges houſe, for that, vppon a certaine holy day, he followed his occupatiõ, and dyd worke for his liuing. Before he was had to priſon, the officer aſked hym, why he dyd labour and worke, geuing no obſeruatiõ of the holy day.

The Taylor impriſoned for breakyng a peece of an holy day.

To whom he aunſwered, that he was a poore man, liuing onely vppon hys labour: and as for the daye, he knew no other, but onely the Sondaye, wherein hee myght not lawfully worke, for the neceſſitie of his liuyng. Then the officer began to aſke of him many queſtions, whereunto the poore Taylour did ſo aunſwere, that eftſoones he was clapt in priſon. After that, the officer commyng into the Court, to ſhewe what good ſeruice he had done for the holy Churche, declared to certeine eſtates, how he had taken a Lutherane, workyng vpon the holy day, ſhewyng that he had ſuch aunſwers of him, that he commaunded him to priſon. When the rumour herof was noyſed in yͤ kings chamber, through yͤ motiõ of them which were about the king, the poore man was ſent for to appeare, that the kyng myght haue yͤ hearing of him.

The Taylor brought before the kyng.

Wherupon the kynges chamber beyng voyded, ſaue onely a fewe of the chiefe Pieres remaynyng about the kyng, the ſimple Taylour was brought. The kyng ſittyng in his chaire, commaunded Petrus Caſtellanus Biſhop of Maſcon (a man very fitte for ſuch Inquiſitions) to queſtion with him. The Taylour beyng entred, and nothyng appaulled at yͤ kinges Maieſtie, after his reuerence done vnto the prince, gaue thankes to God, that hee had ſo greatly dignified him being ſuch a wretch, as to bryng him, where he might teſtifie his truth befor ſuch a mightye prince. Then Caſtellanus entryng talke, began to reaſon with him touchyng the greateſt and chiefeſt matter of Religion. Whereunto thee Taylour without feare or any halting in his ſpeach, with preſent audacitie, witte and memory, ſo aunſwered for the ſincere doctrine and ſimple truth of Gods Goſpell, as was both conuenient to the purpoſe, and alſo to hys queſtions aptly and fitly correſpondent.

The preſent boldnes of the Taylor aunſweryng for his religion, before the kyng.

Notwithſtandyng, the nobles there preſent, with cruell tauntes and rebukes, did what they could to daſhe him out of countenaunce. Yet all this terrefied not hym, but with boldnes of hart, and free libertie of ſpeach, he defẽded his cauſe, or rather the cauſe of Chriſt the Lorde, neither flatteryng with their perſons not fearing their threates: which was to them all, a ſingular admiration to behold, that ſimple poore artificer to ſtand ſo firme and bold, aunſwering before a kyng, to thoſe queſtions propounded agaynſt him. Wherat, when the kyng ſemed to muſe with him ſelfe, as one ſomwhat amaſed, and which might ſoone haue bene induced at that preſent, to further knowledge: the egregious Biſhop, and other courteours, ſeyng the king in ſuch a muſe, ſayd he was an obſtinate and a ſtuburne perſon, obfirmed in his own opinion, and therfore was not to be marueiled at, but to be ſent to the iudges, and to be puniſhed: and therfore leſt he ſhoulde trouble the eares of the ſayd Henry the kyng, he was commaunded agayne to thee handes of the officer, that his cauſe might be informed, and ſo within few dayes after, he was condemned by the hye Stuard of the kinges houſe, to be burned aliue. And leſt any deepe conſideration of that excellent fortitude of the poore man myght further peraduenture pearſe the kinges mynde, the Cardinals and Byſhops were euer in the kynges eare, tellyng him that theſe Lutheranes were nothyng els, but ſuch as caried vayne ſmoke in their mouthes, which beyng put to the fire, would ſoone vaniſh. Wherfore yͤ king was appointed, himſelf to be preſent at his executiõ, which was ſharpe & cruell, before the Church of Mary the Virgin, where it pleaſed God to geue ſuch ſtrength and courage to his ſeruaunte, in ſufferyng his martyrdome, that the beholdyng therof, dyd more aſtoniſh the kyng, then all the other did before. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 7.

Peſtilent counſell about the kyng.

A fumiſhe compariſon of a fierie Cardinal.

The death & martyrdome of thys Taylour.

Claudius Thierry, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Claudius Thierry. At Orleance. An.1549.	The ſame yeare, & for the ſame doctrine of thee Goſpell, one Claudius alſo was burned at thee ſayde towne of Orleance, being apprehended by the way, commyng from Geneua to hys countrey, Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Leonard Galimard, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Leonard Galimard. At Paris. An.1549.	Thys Leonard, for the confeſſiō likewiſe of Chriſt & his Goſpell, was taken and brought to Paris, & there by the ſentēce of the cōſaile, was iudged to be burnt the ſame time as Florent Venote, aboue mētioned, did ſuffer at Paris. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Macæus Moreau, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Macæus Moreau. At Troyes. An.1550.	He was burned in Troyes in Cāpaine (a towne in Frāce) remaining cōſtant to the end, in the goſpell, for the which he was apprehēded. Ex codē.

Ioh. Godean, Gabriell Berandine, martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Ioan Godeau. Gabriell Berandinus. An.1550.	These ij. were of ẏ Church of Geneua. Afterwarde for their frendly admoniſhing a certeine Prieſte, which in his Sermō had abuſed the name of God, they were taken at Chamberiace. Godeau ſtandyng to his confeſſiō was burned. Gabriell though he beganne a litle to ſhrinke for feare of ẏ torments, yet beyng confirmed by the conſtant death of Godeau, recouered againe, and ſtādyng likewiſe to his confeſſion, firſt had his tongue cut out. who notwithſtādyng, through Gods might did ſpeak ſo as he might be vnderſtād: wherupon the hangman beyng accuſed for not cuttyng of hys tongue rightly, ſayd that he could not ſtoppe him of his ſpeach. And ſo theſe ij, after they had confirmed many in Gods truth, gaue their lyfe for Chriſtes Goſpell. Ibidem.

Thomas Sanpaulinus, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Ioan. Andreas, Promoter. Peter Liset, President of the Cōuſell of Paris, Mailardus, Doctor Sorbonicus. Aubertus, Cōſiliarius.	Thomas Sanpaulinus. At Paris. An.1551.	This Thomas a yong man of the age of xviij. yeares, commyng from Geneua to Paris, rebuked there a man for ſwearyng. For the which cauſe he beyng ſuſpected for a Lutheran, was folowed, & watched whether he wēt, and was taken and brought before ẏ cōſaile of Paris, & put in priſon, where hee was racked, and miſerably tormented to the entent hee ſhoulde either chaunge hys opinion, or confeſſe other of his profeſſion. His tormentes and rakinges were ſo ſore, through the ſettyng on of Maillard and other Sorboniſtes, that the ſight therof made Aubertus one of the Counſaile, a cruell and vehement enemy agaynſt the Goſpell, to turne his backe and weepe. The young man, when he had made the tormenters wery with racking, and yet would vtter none, at laſt was had to Maubert place in Paris, to be burned. Where he beyng in the fire, was pluckt vp agayne vpon the Gybbet, and aſked whether he would turne. To whom he ſayde, that he was in his way toward God, and therfore deſired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr remaynyng inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with conſtant confeſſion of his truth. Ibid.

Mauryce Secenat, martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Mauricius Secenat. In Prouince. An.1551.	He firſt hauing interrogatyons put to hym by ẏ Lieutenāt of that place, made his aunſweres therunto, ſo as no great aduantage coulde be taken thereof. But he beyng greatly compūcted & troubled in hys conſcience for diſſemblyng wyth ẏ truth, and called afterward before the Lord chiefe Judge, aunſwered ſo directly, that he was cōdemned for the ſame, and burned in Prouince. Ex codē.

Ioannes de Puteo martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
A Citizen of Vzez.	Ioannes Putte, or de Puteo, ſurnamed Medicus. At Vzez in Prouince. An.1551.	This Medicus beyng a Carpenter and vnlettered, had a controuerſie about a certeine pitte with a Citizen of the towne of Vzez, where he dwelled. He, to caſt thys Medicus in the law, frō the pitte, accuſed hym of hereſie, bringing for his witneſſes, thoſe labourers whom Medicus had hyred to worke in hys vineyard: wherfore he beyng examined of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, was condemned and burned. At Vzez in Prouince. Ex codem.

Claudius Monerius martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The gouernour of Lyons. The Officiall of the Archdeacon of Lyons.	Claudius Monerius. At Lyons. An.1551.	This mā beyng well inſtructed in ẏ knowledge of Gods word, for the which he was alſo driuen frō Auernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. He hearing of ẏ Lord Preſidents cōmyng to ẏ Citie, wēt to geue warning to a certain familiar frend of his, & ſo conducted him out of the towne. In returning againe to cōfort ẏ mās wife and children, he was taken in hys houſe: and ſo he confeſſing that, which he knew to be true, and ſtandyng to that which he confeſſed, after much affliction in priſons and doungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be ſo gentle and mylde of conditions, and conſtant withall, and alſo learned, that certeine of the Judges coulde not forbeare weepyng at his death.

The ſayd Monerius beyng in priſon, wrote certeine letters, but one ſpecially very comfortable, to all the faythfull, which the Lord willyng, in the end of theſe hiſtories ſhalbe inſerted. He wrote alſo the queſtions and interrogatories of the Officiall, with his aunſwers likewiſe to the ſame, which ſummarilye we haue here contracted as foloweth.

The Sacrament.

Officiall.

What beleue you of the Sacrament? is the body of Chriſt in the bread, or no?

The Martyr.

I worſhyp Jeſus Chriſt in heauen ſittyng at ẏ right hand of God the father.

officiall.

What ſay you by Purgatory?

The Martyr.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

For ſomuch as there is no place of mercy after this lyfe therfore no nede there is of any purgation, but neceſſarye it is, that we be purged before wee paſſe hence.

Officiall.

Supremacie.

Of the Pope what thincke you?

The Martyr.

I ſay, he is a byſhop, as other byſhops are, if he be a true folower of S. Peter.

Officiall.

Vowes.

What ſay you of vowes?

The Martyr.

No man can vow to God ſo much, but the lawe requireth much more then he can vowe.

Officiall.

Praying to Saintes.

Are not Saintes to be Inuocated?

The Martyr.

They can not pray without fayth, and therfore it is in vayne to call vnto them, And agayne, God hath appoynted his Aungels about vs, to minister in our neceſſities.

Officiall.

Is it not good to ſalute the bleſſed virgine with Aue Maria?

The Martyr.

When ſhe was on this earth, ſhe had then nede of the Aungels gretyng, for then ſhe had nede of ſaluation, as well as other: but nowe ſhe is ſo bleſſed, that no more bleſſing can be wyſhed vnto her.

Officiall.

Images.

Are not Images to be had?

The Martyr.

For that the nature of man is ſo prone to Idolatrie, euer occupyed and fixed in thoſe thynges, whiche lye before hys eyes, rather then vppon thoſe which are not ſene, Images therfore are not to bee ſet before Chriſtians. you know, nothyng is to bee adored, but that which is not ſeene with eyes, that is God alone, whiche is a ſpirite, and him we muſt worſhyp onely in ſpirite and truth.

Officiall.

What ſay you by the Canonicall or ordinary houres for prayer?

The Martyr.

To houres and tymes, prayer ought not to bee tyed. But whē ſoeuer Gods ſpirit doth moue vs, or whē any neceſſitie driueth vs, thē ought we to pray.

Then the Officiall aſked what he thought of holy oyle, ſalte, with ſuch other lyke. To whome the Martyr aunſwered, that all theſe thinges were a mere* Maraniſmus, that is, ſauoured of the lawe of Maranorum, and of the ſuperſtition of the Iewes.

*Maranatha is an Hebrue worde, mentioned 1. Cor. 16. and ſignifieth curſe or malediction, to the loſſe of all that a man hath: and therof commeth Maraniſmus. vid. Nic. Lyr.

Renate Poyet, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Renate Poyet. At Salmure in Fraunce. An. 1552.	Renate Poyet, the ſonne of Williā Poyet, which was Chācellor of Fraunce, for the true and ſincere profeſſing of the word of God, conſtauntly ſuffred Martyrdome, and was burned in ÿ city of Salmure, an. 1552. Ex Criſp.
	John Ioyer, and his ſeruant a yong man. At Tholous. An. 1552.	These two comming from Geneua to their countrey, wyth certaine bookes were apprehēded by ÿ way, and at length had to Tholouſe. Where the maiſter was firſt cōdemned. The ſeruant beyng yong, was not ſo prompt to aunſwer them, but ſent them to his maiſter ſaying, that he ſhould anſwer them. When they wer brought to the ſtake, the yong man firſt goyng vp, begā to wepe. The maiſter fearyng leſt he would geue ouer, ran to hym, and he was comforted, & they beganne to ſing. As they were in the fire, the maiſter ſtandyng vpright to the ſtake, ſhifted the fire from hym to his ſeruant, beyng more carefull for hym then for himſelf: and when he ſaw hym dead, he bowed down into ÿ flame, and ſo expired. Ex Criſp. & aliis.
	Hugonius Grauier, a ſcholemaiſter and miniſter after of Cortillon, in the Countie of Newcaſtle. At Burge. An. 1552.	At Burge in Breſſe, a dayes iourney from Lions, this Grauier was burned. He comming from Geneua to Newcaſtle, there was elected to be miniſter. But firſt, he going to ſee his wyues friends at Maſcon, there as he was commyng away out of the town, was taken vpon the bridge, with all hys company: and in the ende, he willyng the women and reſt of the companye to laye the fault in hym for bringyng them out, was ſentenced to be burnt, notwithſtandyng the Lordes of Berne ſent their Heralds to ſaue his lyfe, and alſo that the Officiall declared hym to bee an honeſt man, and to holde nothing, but agreing to the ſcriptures. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 3.
Tignacius the gouernour or deputie of Lions. Buatherius, Officiall to the Archbiſhop of Lions. Clepierius Chamberlaine. Thre orders of Friers. Iudge Melierus. Doct. Cunubanus, a gray frier. Iudge Vilard. Primatius, Officiall. Cortrerius Iudge.	Martiall Alba. Petrus Scriba. Bernard Seguine. Charles Faber. Peter Nauihere. At Lyons. An. 1553.	These v. Studētes, after they had remayned in the Vniuerſity of Lauſāna a certayn tyme, conſulted amōg themſelues, beyng all Frenche men, to returne home euery one to his countrey, to the intent they myght inſtruct their parentes & other their friendes in ſuch knowledge as ÿ lord had geuen to thē. So taking their iourney from Lauſanna, firſt they came to Geneua, where they remained a while. Frō thence they went to Lions, where they ſitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and deſired them home to hys houſe, were apprehended and led to priſon: where they cōtinued a whole yeare, that is, from the firſt day of May, to ÿ 16. of the ſaid moneth

Ioh. Ioyer, wyth hys ſeruaunt, Martyrs.

Hugh Grauier, Martyr.

V. Studentes Martyrs.

Martiall Alba.
Petrus Scriba.
Bernard Seguine.
Charles Faber.
Peter Nauihere.

againe. As they were learned and well exerciſed in the ſcriptures: ſo euery one of thē exhibited ſeuerally a learned confeſſion of hys faith, and with great dexteritie, through the power of the Lordes ſpirit, they confounded the Friers, with whō they diſputed: eſpecially Peter Scribe or Scriuener & Seguine.

They were examined ſonderly of the Sacramēt of the Lordes body, of Purgatory, of confeſſion, and Inuocation, of freewill, and of the ſupremacy. &c. Although they approued their cauſe by good ſcripture, and refuted their aduerſaries in reaſonyng, yet right beyng ouercome by might, ſentence was geuen, and they burned in the ſaid towne of Lions. Beyng ſet vpon the cart, they began to ſing pſalmes. As they paſſed by the market place, one of them with a loude voyce, ſaluted the people with the wordes of the laſt chap. to the Hebr. The God of peace which brought againe from death the great paſtour of the ſheepe, in the bloud of the eternall Teſtament, &c. Commyng to the place, firſt the ij. youngeſt one after the other, went vp vpon the heape of wood to the ſtake, & there were faſtened, and ſo after them the reſt. Martiall Alba being the eldeſt was the laſt, who likewiſe beyng ſtripped of his clothes, and brought to the ſtake, deſired this petition of the gouernour, which was, that he might go about hys felowes tied at the ſtake and kiſſe them. Which being graunted, he went and kiſſed euery one, ſaying: farewell my brother. Likewiſe the other foure following the ſame example, bad eche one farewell my brother. With that the fire was commaunded to be put vnto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their neckes, thinking firſt to ſtrangle them, but their faces beyng ſmeered with fat and brimſtone, the rope was burnte before they were ſtrangled. So the bleſſed Martyrs in yͤ middeſt of the fire, ſpake one to an other to be of good cheare, and ſo departed. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

¶ Their examinations briefly touched.

The Frier.

Supremacy.

Thou ſayeſt friend in thy confeſſion yͭ the Pope is not ſupreme hed of the Church. I will proue the contrary.

The Pope is the ſucceſſor of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is the ſupreme hed of the Church.

The Martyr.

I deny firſt your antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope ſitteth in the place of S. Peter.
Ergo, he is the ſucceſſour of S. Peter.

The Martyr.

I wil graunt neither of both: Firſt becauſe that he which ſucceedeth in the roume of Peter, ought to preach and teache, as Peter did: which thyng the Pope doth not. Secondly, although he did ſo preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet ſhould not he therefore be the head of the church, but a member onely of the ſame. The head of men and Angels, whom God hath appoynted, is Chriſt alone, ſayth S. Paule.

The head of the Church.
Ephe. 1.

The Frier.

Although Chriſt be the hed of the whole Church militant and triumphãt, yet his Vicar here in earth, is left to ſupply his roume.

The Martyr.

Not ſo, for the power of his diuinitie beyng ſo great to fill all things he needeth no Vicar or deputie to ſupply his abſence.

The Frier.

I will proue, that although Chriſt be king both of heauen and earth: yet he hath here in earth many Vicars vnder him, to gouerne hys people.

The Martyr.

Regiment ciuile.
Regiment ſpirituall.

It is one thing to rule in the ciuile ſtate, an other thing to rule ſpiritually. For in ciuile regiment, we haue kinges & princes ordeyned of God by the ſcriptures, for the obſeruation of publike ſocietie: In the ſpirituall regiment and kingdom of the Church, it is not ſo.

Then another Frier.

Thou ſayeſt, that S. Peter is not the hed of the church: I will proue he is.

John. 1.
Cephas.

Our lord ſaid to Peter: Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: Which Cephas is as much to ſay in latine as head.
Ergo, Peter is head of the Church.

The Martyr.

Where find you that interpretation? S. John in his firſt chap. doth expound it otherwiſe. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas, that is as much (ſayth he) as Petrus or ſtone.

Then the iudge Vilardus calling for a new teſtament, turned to the place, and found it to be ſo. Wherupon the Frier was vtterly daſhed, & ſtood mute.

The Frier.

Luke. 10.

Thou ſayeſt in thy confeſſion, that a man hath no free will. I will proue it. It is written in the goſpel, how a man goyng from Hieruſalem to Iericho, fell amõg theues, and was ſpoyled, maymed, and left half dead. &c. Thomas of Aquine expoundeth this parable to meane free will, which he ſaith is maimed: yet not ſo, but that ſome power remayneth in man to worke.

The Martyr.

This interpretation I do refuſe and denye.

The Frier.

What? thinkeſt thou thy ſelfe better learned then S. Thomas?

The Martyr.

I do arrogate no ſuch learning vnto my ſelf. But thus I ſay: this parable is not ſo to be expounded, but is ſet forth for example, of the Lord, to cõmend to vs charitie toward our neighbour, how one ſhould helpe an other.

The Frier.

Iuſtification.

Thou ſayeſt in thy cõfeſſiõ, yͭ we are iuſtified onely by faith. I wil proue, yͭ we are iuſtified by workes.

By our workes we do merite.
Ergo, by workes we are iuſtified.

The Martyr.

I denye the antecedent.

The Frier.

S. Paule Heb. the laſt, ſayth: Forget not to doe good and to diſtribute vnto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus. i. For by ſuch oblations God is merited. We merite God by our workes: Ergo, we are iuſtified by our workes.

The Martyr.

The wordes of S. Paul in yͭ place, be other wiſe and are thus to be tranſlated: Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus. &c. i. With ſuch ſacrifices God is, delighted, or is well pleaſed.

The Iudge Vilard.

Vilard the Iudge turned yͤ booke, & found yͤ place cã to be ſo, as the priſoner ſaid. Here yͤ friers were meruelouſly appalled & troubled in their myndes: of whom, one aſked then what he thought of confeſſiõ.

The martyr.

Confeſſion.

To whom the martyr anſwered, that confeſſion onely is to be made to God, & that thoſe places which they allege for auricular confeſſion, out of S. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation betweene one an other, and not of confeſſion in the Prieſtes eare. And here againe the friers ſtood, hauing nothyng to ſay agaynſt it.

A blacke Frier.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Doeſt thou not beleue yͤ body of Chriſt to be locally & corporall in the ſacrament? I will proue the ſame.

Jeſus Chriſt taking bread ſayeth: This is my body.
Ergo, it is truely his body.

The Martyr.

The verbe (eſt) is not to be taken here ſubſtantiuely in his more proper ſignificatiõ, as ſhewing yͤ nature of a thing in ſubſtãce, as in Philoſophy it is wont to be taken: but as noting the propertie of a thing ſignifying, after yͤ maner & phraſe of yͤ ſcripture: Where one thing is wont to be called by yͤ name of an other, ſo as the ſigne is called by the name of yͤ thing ſignified. &c. So is Circunciſiõ called by yͤ name of yͤ Couenaũt, & yet is not yͤ Couenaũt. So yͤ Lambe hath the name of yͤ Paſſeouer, yet is not yͤ ſame. In which ij. Sacramentes of the old law, ye ſee yͤ verbe (eſt) to be taken, not as ſhewing the ſubſtãce of being, but the property of being, in the thing that is ſpoken of: And ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of the new law.

The Frier.

Sacramentes geue no grace.

The Sacramentes of the old law, and of the new, do differ greatly: for theſe geue grace, ſo did not yͤ other.

The Martyr.

Neither the Sacramentes of the old, nor of yͤ newe law, do geue grace, but ſheweth him vnto vs which geueth grace in deed. The miniſter geueth the ſacramentes, but Jeſus Chriſt geueth grace, by the operation of the holy Ghoſt: Of whom it is ſayd, This is he which baptiſeth wyth the holy Ghoſt. &c.

John. 1.

The Frier.

The fathers of the old Teſtament, were they not partakers of the ſame grace and promiſes wyth vs?

The Martyr.

Yes, for S. Paule ſayth, that the fathers of the old Teſtament did eate the ſame ſpirituall meate, & dyd drinke of the ſame ſpirituall drinke, wyth vs.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſayth, John. 6. Your Fathers dyd eate Manna in the deſert, and are dead.
Ergo, they were not partakers of the ſame grace with vs, in the newe Teſtament.

The Martyr.

Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, which dyd not eate

that

The true eatyng of Manna.

that Manna with fayth, which was a type and figure of that bread of lyfe, that came from heauen: and not of them, which dyd eate the ſame with fayth, as Moſes, Aaron, Joſue, Caleb, and ſuch other, who vnder the ſhadowes of the olde Teſtament, did looke for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of Abraham, that hee ſawe the day of Chriſt, and reioyced, not ſeyng it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his fayth.

Here the deuiliſhe Doctor was at a ſtay, hauyng nothyng to ſay, but heare frende, be not ſo hoate nor ſo haſty, tary a whyle, tary a while. At length after hys tarying, this came out.

The Frier.

The fathers of the old teſtament, how they were vnder the law, & how they were vnder grace.

I will proue, that they of the old Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame grace, with vs. The lawe (ſayth S. Paule) worketh anger: And they that are vnder the law, are vnder malediction. Ergo, they of the old lawe and Teſtament, were not partakers of the ſame grace, with vs.

The Martyr.

S. Paul here prooueth that no man by the law, can be iuſtified but that all men are vnder the anger and curſe of God therby, for ſo much as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended, and therfore we haue nede euery man to runne to Chriſt, to be ſaued by fayth, ſeyng no man can be ſaued by ÿ lawe. For who ſo euer truſteth to the law, hopyng to finde iuſtification therby, and not by Chriſt onely, the ſame remayneth ſtill vnder malediction: not becauſe the law is curſed, or the tymes therof vnder curſe: but becauſe of the weakenes of our nature, which are not able to performe the law.

The Frier.

S. Paul Rom. 7. declareth in the old Teſtamēt to be nothyng but anger, and threatnynges: and in the new Teſtament, to be grace and mercy, in theſe wordes where he ſayth: wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliuer me from the body of this death? The grace of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

S. Paul in this place, neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of tymes betwene the old and the new Teſtament: but of the conflict betwene the fleſhe and the ſpirite, ſo that, where as the fleſhe is euer rebellyng agaynſt the ſpirite: yet the ſpirituall man notwithſtandyng through the fayth of Chriſt, hath the victorye. Furthermore the true tranſlation of that place, hath not, Gratia Dei: but, Gratias ago Deo, per Ieſum Chriſtum. &c.

Primacius the officiall.

The Sacrament.

The Officiall ſeyng the Frier almoſt here at a poynt, ſet in, and ſayd: Thou lewde hereticke, doeſt thou denie the bleſſed Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Syr, but I embrace and reuerence the Sacrament, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, and left by hys Apoſtles.

The Officiall.

Thou denyeſt the body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and thou calleſt the Sacrament bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth vs to ſeke the body of Chriſt in heauen, and not in earth: where we read Coloſ. 3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeke not for the thynges which are vpō the earth: but for the thinges which are in heauen, where Chriſt is ſittyng at the ryght hand of God. &c.

And where as I affirme the Sacrament, not to be the body, but bread, ſpeakyng of bread remaynyng in his owen ſubſtance, herein I do no other, but as S. Paul doth, which, Cor. xi doth call it bread likewiſe 4. or. 5. tymes together.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſayd, that he was the bread of life.

The Officiall.

Thou naughty hereticke, Jeſus Chriſt ſayd, ÿ he was a vyne, and a doore, &c. where he is to bee vnderſtanded to ſpeake figuratiuely. But the wordes of the Sacrament are not ſo to be expounded.

The Martyr.

Thoſe teſtimonies which you allege, make more for me, then for you.

The Officiall.

What ſayeſt thou lewde hereticke? is the bread of the Lordes Supper, and the bread that we eate at home, all one, and is there no difference betwene them?

The Martyr.

In nature and in ſubſtance there is no difference: in qualitie and in vſe there is much difference. For the bread of the Lords table though it be of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with the bread which we eate at home, yet when it is applyed to be a Sacrament, it taketh an other qualitie, and is ſet before vs to ſeale the promiſe of our ſpirituall and eternall lyfe. And this was the effect of their examinations. Ex Criſp.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The name of his perſecutour appeareth not in hys ſtory.	Petrus Bergerius. At Lyons. An. 1553.	About ÿ ſame time, when theſe v. Students aboue ſpecified, were apprehended, this Bergerius alſo was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made alſo the like confeſſion with them together, and ſhortly after them, ſuffered ÿ ſame martyrdom. He had ben before an occupier or marchant of wynes. He had wyfe and children at Geneua, to whom he wrote ſwete and comfortable letters. In the doungeon with him was a certeine theife and malefactor, which had lyen there the ſpace of ſeuen or eyght monethes. This theife, for payne and torment, cryed out of God, & curſed his parentes, that begat him, beyng almoſt eaten vp with liſe, miſerably handled, and fedde with ſuch bread, as dogges, and horſes, had refuſed to eate. So it pleaſed ÿ goodnes of almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentaunce of him ſelfe, and knowledge of God, learnyng much comfort and pacience by the word of the Goſpell preached vnto him. Touchyng his conuerſiō he wrote a ſwete letter to thoſe v. Studentes aboue mentioned, wherin he prayſeth God for them, and eſpecially for this Bergerius, declaring alſo in the ſame letter, that the next day after, that he had taken hold of the Goſpell, and framed him ſelfe to pacience accordyng to the ſame, hys lyſe (whiche hee could plucke out before no leſſe the xij. at once betwixt his fingers) nowe were ſo gone from him, ÿ he had not one. Furthermore, ſo the almes of good men was extended towardes him, that he was fedde with white bread, and that which was very good. Such is the goodnes of the Lord toward them that loue and ſeke his truth. The name of this conuert was John Chambone. Ex Epiſt. Ioan. Cambon. Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.
	Stephanus Peloquinus Dionyſius Peloquinus. At Ville Franche about Lions. An. 1553.	Steuen Peloquine, brother to this Dionyſius, was taken about 2. or 3. yeres before, with Anne Audebert aboue mentioned, and alſo martyred for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, at the ſame tyme, & a ſmall fire. After whom folowed Dionyſe Peloquine, in the ſame ſteppes of Martyrdom, which was his brother. This Dionyſe had bene ſometyme a Monke, and chaungyng his weede, tooke a wyfe, with whom he liued a certaine ſpace at Geneua, in Godly order and modeſty of life. commyng afterward to Ville Franche ſix myles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remayned in priſon x. monethes. Frō thence he was reuerſed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles whereupon hee was condemned, were for the Maſſe, the Sacrament, auricular confeſſion, Purgatorye, the virgine Mary, and the Popes ſupremacie. Hee ſuffered in the yeare of our Lorde, 1553. Septemb. xi In his martyrdome ſuch pacience and fortitude God gaue, that when he was halfe burned yet he neuer ceaſed holdyng vp his handes to heuen, and callyng vpon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on, Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Petrus Bergerius, Martyr.

The notable conuerſion of a theefe in priſon.

Steuen & Dionyſe Peloquine, brethren and Martyrs.

Lodouicus Marſac. Michaell Gerard. Steuen Granot. Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The kinges Lieutenant at Lyons. The Official. The Fryers.	Ludouicus Marſacus. Michael Gerard his coſin. Steuē Granot, Carpenter. At Lyons. Ann.1553.	At Liōs ẏ ſame yere theſe. iij. alſo were apprehēded and ſacrificed. Ludouicus had ben of the order of ẏ Dimilances whiche ſerued ẏ king in his warres. Afterward cōmyng to Geneua, he was trayned vp in the knowledge & doctrine of the lord. Vpō diuers articles he was examined, as inuocation of ſaintes, and of ẏ virgine Mary, free wil, merits, & good workes, auricular confeſſion, faſting, the lords ſupper. In his ſecōd examinatiō they inquired of hym, & alſo of ẏ other. ij. touchyng

vowes, the Sacramentes, the Maſſe, and the vicar of Chriſt. In all which articles, becauſe his & their iudgement diſſented from the doctrine of the Popes Church, they were condemned. The anſweares of Marſac to the articles, are to be ſeene at large in the booke of the French martyrs, ſet out by Jo. Criſp.

The blaſphemies of the Papiſtes.

The Lieutenant among other blaſphemies, had theſe wordes: Of the. iiij. Euangeliſtes, but. ij. were pure, Mathew, and John. The other two, Marke and Luke were but gatherers out of the other. The Epiſtles of S. Paul, but that the Doctours of the Churche had authoriſed them, he woulde otherwiſe eſteeme them no better then the fables of Aeſope.

Note what opinion the Papiſtes haue of the lawe of God when it ſtandeth not with their lawe.

Item, the ſayd Lieutenant ſayde to M. Copes mayd, ſpeaking ſomewhat of the law: Curſed be the God of that lawe.

When the ſentence of condemnation was geuen againſt theſe three, they were ſo glad thereof, that they went out prayſing God, and ſinging Pſalmes. which troubled ẏ Judges ſore, to ſee them ſo litle to eſteeme their death: in ſomuch ẏ ẏ Lieutenāt cauſed thē to be made to hold their peace, ſaying: ſhal theſe vile abiectes ſo vaunt them ſelues againſt ẏ whole ſtate of the Realme? Then as Marſac was going to a corner by, to pray, one of the ſouldiers would not ſuffer hym, To whom he ſayd, that litle time which we haue, wyll you not geue vs to pray? With that the ſouldier beyng aſtoniſhed, went his way.

As they ſhoulde be brought out of priſon to the ſtake, the hangman tyed a rope about the neckes of the other two. Marſac ſeeyng hym ſelfe to be ſpared becauſe of his order and degree, called by the way to the Lieutenaunt, that he might alſo haue one of the precious cheynes about his necke, in honour of his Lord. The which beyng graunted, ſo were theſe thre bleſſed martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meeke pacience yelded vp their liues to the handes of the Lord, in teſtimonie of his Goſpell. Ex Criſp. Pantal.

Matth. Dimonet, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Lieutenant of Lyons. Primacius Official. Buatherius, Official. Orus, Inquiſitor.	Matthæus Dymonetus marchant. At Lyons. Ann.1553.	This marchaunt firſt liued a vitious & deteſtable life, full of much corruptiō and filthynes. He was alſo a ſecret enemy & a ſercher out of good men, when & where they conuented together. Who being called notwithſtanding by the grace of God, to the knowledge & fauour of his word, ſhortly after was taken by the Lieutenant and Buatherius the official, in his owne houſe at Lyons, and ſo after a litle examination was ſent to priſon. Being examined by the Inquiſitor and the Officials, he refuſed to yelde any anſweare to them, knowing no authoritie they had vpon hym, but onely to the Lieutenaunt.

His anſweres were, that he beleued al that the holy vniuerſal church of Chriſte dyd truely beleue, & al the articles of the Crede. To the article of the holy Catholike church, beyng byd to adde alſo Romanam, that is, the Churche of Rome: that he refuſed. Aduocates he knew none, but Chriſt alone. Purgatorye he knewe none, but the croſſe and paſſion of the Lambe, which purgeth the ſinnes of al the worlde. True confeſſion he ſaid, ought to be made, not to the prieſt once a yeare, but euery day to God, and to ſuch whom we haue offended. The eating of the fleſhe & bloud of Chriſt, he tooke to be ſpiritual: and the Sacrament of the fleſhe and bloud of Chriſt, to be eaten with the mouth, and that ſacrament to be bread and wyne vnder the name and ſignification of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, the maſſe not to be inſtituted of Chriſt, beyng a thyng contrary to his worde & wyll. For the head of the Church he knewe none, but only Chriſt. Being in priſon, he had great conflictes with the infirmitie of his owne fleſhe, but eſpecially with the temptation of his parentes, brethren, and kinſfolkes, and the ſorow of his mother: neuertheles the Lord ſo aſſiſted hym, that he endured to the end. At his burnyng he ſpake muche to the people, and was hearde with great attention. He ſuffered the. xv. of July, ann. 1553. Ex Criſp.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Legoux the Deane, Ilierenſis. M. Simon Vigor, the Penitentiarie of Eureux.	Williā Neel an Auſten fryer. At Eureux, in Fraunce. Ann.1553.	Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Criſp. & Adrian, maketh mention alſo of one William Neel a Fryer Auguſtine, who ſuffred in much like ſort ẏ ſame yere, and was burned at Eureux in France. The occaſion of his trouble roſe firſt, for the rebukyng of the vitious demeanour of the prieſtes there, & of the Deane named Legoux, for the which the deane cauſed hym to be ſent to Eureux to the priſō of the Biſhop. The ſtorie of this Williā Neel, with his anſweres to their articles obiected, is to be read more at large in the. ix. boke of Pantalion, and others.

William Neel, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Bailiffe or ſtuwerde of the citie Dyion.	Symon Laloe. At Dyion. Ann.1553.	Symon Laloe a ſpectacle maker, cōmyng from Geneua into France for certaine buſines, was laide hande of by the Bayliffe of Dyion. Three things were demaunded of him. 1. where he dwelt. 2. what was his faith. 3. what felowes he knewe of his religiō. His dwelling he ſaid was at Geneua. His religion was ſuche, as was then vſed at Geneua. As for his felowes, he ſaide, he knewe none, but onely them of the ſame Citye of Geneua, where his dwellyng was. When they coulde get of hym no

other anſweare but this, with all their racking and tormentes, they proceded to his ſentence, and [illegible] ſued the execution of the ſame, whiche was the. xxi. of Nouemb. ann. 1553.

Simon Laloe, Martyr.

The executioner who was named Iames Siluester ſeing the great faith and conſtencie of that heauenlye Martyr, was ſo compuncted with repentance, & fel in ſuch diſpayre of hym ſelf, that they had much

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

The executioner conuerted.

adoe with al the promiſes of the Goſpell, to recouer any comfort in hym. At laſte through the mercye of Chriſt, he was comforted, and conuerted, and ſo he with al his familie, remoued to the Church of Geneua. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Nicolas Nayle.
At Paris.
Ann.1553.

Nicholas Naſle Martyr.

Tormentes.

This Nicolas ſhomaker commyng to Paris with certaine fardles of bokes, was there apprehended. Who ſtoutlye perſiſting in cõfeſſing the truth, was tryed wͭ ſundry tormentes, to vtter what felowes he had beſides of his profeſſion, ſo cruelly, that his bodye was diſſolued almoſt one ioynt from an other: but ſo cõſtãt he was in his ſilence, that he would expreſſe none. As thei brought him to the ſtake, firſt they put a gagge or a peece of wood in his mouth, whiche they bounde with cordes to the hynder part of his head, ſo harde, that his mouth on both ſides guſhed out of bloud, and diſfigured his face monſtrouſly. By yͤ way they paſſed by an Hoſpitall, where they wylled him to worſhip the picture of S. Mary ſtãding at the gate. But he turned his backe as wel as he could, and would not. For the whiche the blynde people were ſo greeued, that they woulde haue fallen vpon hym. After he was brought to the fire, they ſo ſmered his body with fat and brymſtone, that at the firſt takyng of the fire, all his ſkyn was parched, and the inward partes not touched. With that the cordes braſt wich were about his mouth, wherby his voyce was heard in the myddeſt of the flame, prayſing the lord, & ſo the bleſſed martyr departed. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Peter Serre, Martyr.

A womã of Tolouſe.
The official of the Biſhop of Tolouſe.
The Inquiſitour and Chauncelour of the Biſhop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre
About Tolouſe.
Ann.1553.

Peter Serre firſt was a Prieſte, then changing his religiõ, he went to Geneua, and learned the ſhomakers craft, and ſo liued. Afterward vpõ a ſinguler loue he cãe to his brother at Tolouſe, to yͤ intent to do hym good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleaſed with his religion and cõmyng. Shee in ſecret cõuſel tolde an other woman, one of her neighbors, of this. What doeth ſhee, but goeth to yͤ official, and maketh hym priuy of al. The Official thinking to foreſlacke no tyme, takyng cõuſel wͭ his felowes, laid handes vpõ this Peter, & brought hym before yͤ Inquiſitor. To whõ he made ſuch a declaration of his fayth, yͭ he ſemed to reduce yͤ inquiſitor to ſome feelyng of cõſcience, and began to inſtruct him in yͤ principles of true religiõ. Notwithſtãding, all this helped not, but that he was cõdẽned by the ſayde Chaunceler, to be degraded, & cõmytted to the ſeculare Judge. The iudge inquiring of what occupatiõ he was, he ſaide, that of late he was a ſhomaker.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Wherby the Judge vnderſtanding that he had bene of ſome other facultie before, required what it was. He ſaid, that he had ben of another facultie before, but he was aſhamed to vtter it, or to remẽber it, being yͤ worſt & moſt vileſt ſcience of al other in the whole world beſides. The Judge & yͤ people ſuppoſing yͭ he had bene ſome thiefe, or cutpurſe, inquired to know what it was, but he for ſhame & ſorow ſtopped his mouth, & wold not declare it. At laſt through their importunate clamor, he was conſtrayned to declare the truth, & ſaid, that he had ben a prieſt. The Judge thereupon was ſo moued, that he cõdẽned hym, firſt enioynyng him in his cõdẽnation, to aſke the king forgeuenes, then iudged hym to haue his tongue cut out, and ſo to be burned. Frõ this ſentẽce he appealed to the parlamẽt of Tolouſe: not for that he thought thereby to ſaue his lyfe, but becauſe he was enioyned to aſke the king forgeuenes, whom he had neuer offended. Alſo becauſe he was iudged to haue his tongue cut of, wherewith he woulde prayſe his God. Notwithſtanding by yͤ ſentẽce of that parlament, he was likewiſe cõdẽned to be burnt, onely he was pardoned for aſking forgeuenes of the king, and the cuttyng of his tongue, ſo that he would ſay nothyng againſt their religion.

Prieſtcrafte a vyle and a filthye arte.

As he went to burning, he paſſed by the college of S. Martial, where he was byd to honour the picture of the virgin ſtandyng at the gate. Whiche becauſe he refuſed, the Judge cõmaũded his tongue to be cut of, and ſo beyng put to the fire, he ſtoode ſo quiet, lookyng vp to heauen all the tyme of his burnyng, as though he had felt nothyng, bringyng ſuch admiration to the people, that one of the Parlament ſayde, that waye not to be beſt, to bryng the Lutherans to the fire, for that woulde doe more hurt then good. Ex Ioan. Criſp.

Conſtancie notable.

The gouernor of Marches.

Steuen kyng.
Petrus Denocheus.
At Chartres.
Ann.1553.

Steuen king. Peter Denoche, Martyrs.

Steuẽ king, after he had bene at Straſburgh a while, returned again into his cõtreye, dwellyng in a town bearing yͤ name of S. George, not far frõ Chauldors, wher he ſerued in yͤ place of a notary, & had vnder hym, a Clerke named Peter Denoche, who alſo had ben at Geneua, & was ther zelous in inſtructing yͤ ignorant, & rebukyng blaſphemous ſwearers, and other offenders. These two were not lõg together, but they were ſuſpected both of Lutheraniſme: and ſo were apprehended by yͤ gouernour of the Marches, or Marſhall, and ſo were caried to Chartres: where after their conſtant confeſſion vpon their examination made, they were encloſed in priſon, and there ſuſteyned long and tedious endurance. During the whiche meane tyme, Steuen kyng made many worthy ſonges and ſonets in the prayſe of the Lord, wherby to recreate his ſpirit in that dolefull captiuitie. At length, when after long perſwaſions and fayre promiſes of the Biſhop and of other, they coulde not be reuolted from the doctrine of their confeſſion, they were condemned. Frõ that cõdẽnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Counſaile there cõfirming their former ſentence, returned them agayne to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel puniſhment of fire. Ex hiſt. Gallic. per Ioan. Criſp.

Prieſtes of Burges.

Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus.

Antonius Magne, was ſent by the fiue which wer in priſon, at Lions, aboue mentioned, and by other alſo that were in captiuity at Paris, vnto Geneua, to commende them to their prayers vnto God, for them. Who after certain buſines there diſpat-

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	At paris. Ann.1554.	diſpatched, returned againe into France, and there within .iij. houres of his comming was betraied, & take by certain prieſtes at Burges, & there deliuered by the ſayde prieſts, vnto yͤ official. After a few daies the kinges Iuſtices toke him frõ the official, and ſent hym to Paris, where after greate rebukes and tormẽts, he ſuffered in yͤ priſon, & firmly perſiſting in the profeſſion of yͤ truth, by their capitall ſentẽce was adiudged to haue his tongue cut out, & ſo was burned at Mulbert place in Paris. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Falſe brethren.	William Alencon boke ſeller. A certayne ſherman. At Montpelliers. Ann. 1554.	This Alencõ dyd much good in yͤ prouinces of France, by carying bokes. Cõmyng to Montpelliers, he was there circũuented by falſe brethren, detected, & laid in priſon. In his fayth he was firme and conſtant to yͤ end of his martyrdome, beyng burned the. 7. of Ianuary. 1554. Ther was yͤ ſame tyme at Montpelliers a certain ſhermã or clothworker, who had bene long in durance for religion, but at length for feare, and infirmitie, he reuolted. To whõ it was enioyned by the Iudges to make publike recãtatiõ, and to be preſent alſo at the burnyng of Alencon aforeſaid. At the beholding of whoſe death and conſtancie, it pleaſed God to ſtrike into this man ſuche boldnes, that he deſired the Iudges, that eyther he might burne with this Alencon, or els be brought againe into priſõ, ſayig yͤ he would make no other recantation but ſo. Wherfore within three dayes after he was likewiſe condemned to the fire, and burned, in the towne aforeſaid. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
	Paris Panier, a Lawyer. At Dola. Ann.1554.	At Dola was beheded a good & godly lawier named Paris Panier, for conſtant ſtandyng to yͤ goſpell of Chriſt, an.1554. Ex Pantal.
	Peter du Val, ſhoomaker. At Niſmes. Ann.1554.	At Newmans in Delphinate, Peter du Val ſuſteined ſore & greuous rackings & tormentes: wherewith his body beyng broken, diſſolued, & maymed, yet he notwithſtãding mãfully abiding al their extremitie, would name & vtter none. Then was he had to yͤ fire, & there cõſumed, an. 1554. Ex Ioh. Criſp.
Gilles le Pers, Lieutenaunt for the marſhal of ſaint Andrewe, and Inquiſitour for the prouince of Borbon. Ioh. Bergeronius, an other inquiſitor or counſeller.	Ioannes Filieul, or Filiolus, Carpenter. Iulian Leuille, poyntmaker. At Sanſerre Ann.1554.	These two bleſſed & conſtant martyrs, as they were goyng towarde Geneua, & one of their ſonnes & a daughter were apprehended by Gilles le Pers, who in the way ouertaking thẽ and moſte wickedly and Iudaſly pretẽding great fauour to thẽ and to their religion, which he (as he ſaid) ſuppoſed thẽ to be of, with theſe and manye other fayre wordes circũuented and allured them to confeſſe what was their fayth, whither they went with their childrẽ, and alſo that their wyues were at Geneua. When they had declared this, the wretched traytour gaue a ſigne to his horſmen, and ſo were theſe ſimple ſaintes of Chriſte entrapped, & brought to the caſtle of Nauerne. Beyng in priſon, they were examined of manye thinges: whereunto they anſweared vprightly, according to their fayth. Firſt touching the ſacramẽt, they affirmed the trãſubſtantiation of the biſh. of Rome, to be agaynſt the article of the Crede, which ſaith, that Chriſte is gone vp to heauen, and there ſitteth at the right hãd of God: and therfore the bread & wine muſt needes remayne in their properties, bearyng notwithſtandyng a Sacrament, or a holy ſigne of the bodye and bloud of the Lorde. For like as by bread and wyne the hart of man is comforted, ſo the body of Chriſte crucified, and his bloud ſhed, ſpiritually hath the like operation in the ſoules of the beleuers. For the maſſe, they ſaid it was a thing moſt ſuperſtitious, and mere Idolatrie. And if we put any part of ſaluation therin, they ſaide, it was vtterly a robbyng of yͤ Paſſiõ of Chriſt yͤ ſonne of God, & that it was not once to be named out of a Chriſtẽ mouth. Alſo that they whiche ſay that Peter eyther was Pope, or authour of the ſayd maſſe, are farre deceyued. And as for turnyng bread into yͤ body of Chriſt by the wordes of conſecration, it was an error (they ſaid) more of mad men, then any ſad men: for aſmuch as God is neither ſubiect to men, nor to the tongues or exorciſmes of men. Purgatorie they denied to be any, ſaue onely the bloud of Chriſt Ieſu. Furthermore as they would not bereft yͤ ſaints of God of their due honour, ſo neither the Saintes them ſelues (ſaide they) wyl be contented to robbe God of his honour onely due to hym. As touchyng confeſſion, their opinion was, that the woundes and cauſes of conſcience, belong to no man, but onely to God. After theſe anſweares geuen and written, they were ſent to the Monaſterie of Sanpeter, there to be diſputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Iudges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goodes to be taken by Inuentorie, and them to be baniſhed. But Bergeronius at laſt cauſed to be determined, that they ſhould be burned, and firſt to heare maſſe. Frõ that Court, they appealed to the Courte of Paris: but the matter there was nothyng amended. Where beholde the iudgement of God: In the meane tyme, while they were at Paris, the wretched perſecuter Gilles le Pers, was ſodenly ſtroken madde, and dyed in a frenſie: whiche made many men to wonder, and eſpecially the martyrs to be more conſtant. At laſt the decree of the ſentence was read againſt them. Firſt for ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament: which they denyed. Secondly, for ſpeaking againſt Baptiſme: whiche alſo they denyed. Thirdly, for ſpeaking contumelie agaynſte the Saintes: which they in like maner denyed.

William Alencon, Martyr.

A ſherman, Martyr.

Paris Panier, Martyr.

Peter du Val. Martyr.

John Filleul, Iulian Leuille, Martyrs.

Tranſubſtantiation.

A ſimilitude betwene the bread, and the body of Chriſt.

The Maſſe.

Honour to God, not to Saintes.

Note the iuſt vengeaunce of God, vpon a wicked perſecutor.

Tormentes.

After this, the officer to cauſe thē to recant, threatened thē with tormētes, which they ſuſteyned very extreme, the ſpace frō after dynner, tyl .iij. of ẏ clock. When al that would not turne them, he ſent to them a fryer Dominike, a man captious and ſophiſtical, to preſſe them in diſputation. But as he coulde doo no hurt vnto thē, ſo could they doo no good vpon hym. When the tyme of their execution dyd approch, the officer aforeſaid put into their handes beyng tyed, a wooden croſſe, which they toke with their teeth, and flong it away: for the which the officer commaunded both their tongues to be cut of. Wherin appeared an other maruelous worke of the Lord: For neuertheles that their tongues were taken frō thē, to the extent they ſhould not ſpeake, yet God gaue them vtteraunce, their tongues beyng cut out, to ſpeake at their death: ſaying, we dyd ſinne, the fleſh, the world, and the deuyl fare wel for euer, with whō neuer we ſhal haue to do hereafter. Diuers other wordes they ſpake beſides, which the people dyd heare and note. At laſt whē ẏ tormētor came to ſmere thē wt brymſtone & gunpoulder: Go to, ſaid Filiolus, ſalt on, ſalt on the rotten and ſtinkyng fleſh. Finally as ẏ flame came burſting vp to their faces, they perſiſting conſtant in the fire, gaue vp their lyues, & finiſhed their martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Criſp. & Hen. Pantal. & alijs.

Denis Vayre, prieſt and Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Will. Langloys, vnder Sheriffe. Ioh. Langloys, the kinges procurator.	Dionyſius Vayre. At Rhoan. ann. 1554.	In the ſame yeare ſuffered at Rhean, Denis Vayre, who firſt leauyng his popiſh prieſthood, went to Geneua, wher he learned ẏ art of boke bindyng, & brought many tymes bookes into Fraunce. After that in the reigne of K. Ed. 6. he came to Gerzey, & there was miniſter, & preached. After ẏ death of K. Ed. the tyme not ſeruyng hym to tarrye, thinkyng to returne again to Geneua, he came into Normandy with his bookes, into a towne called Fueillie: where as he goyng out to hyre a cart, Williā Langloys, with John Langloys his brother came in, and ſtayd his bookes, and him alſo which had the cuſtody of them. Denis, albeit he might haue eſcaped, yet hearyng the keeper of his bookes to be in trouble, came and preſentyng hym ſelfe, was committed, the other was deliuered. Firſt after two monethes and a halfe impriſonment he was charged to be a ſpye, becauſe he came out of England. Then frō that priſon he was remoued to the Biſhops priſon, and then to Rhoan: where ſentence was geuē, that he ſhould be burned alyue, and thriſe lyfted vp, and let downe againe into the fire. After the ſentēce geuen, they threatned him with many terrible tormentes, vnles he would diſcloſe ſuch as he knew of that ſide. To whom he anſweared that the ſounder part of al Fraunce, and of the Senate, was of that religion: notwithſtandyng he woulde vtter no mans name vnto them. And as for their tormētes, he ſayd, he paſſed not, for if he were kylled with rackyng, then he ſhould not feele ẏ burnyng of the fire. When they ſaw hym ſo litle to paſſe for their tormentes they leaft that, and proceded to his burnyng: and firſt they put a croſſe in his handes which he would not hold. Then becauſe he cōmyng by the Image of the virgin Mary, would not adore ẏ ſame, they cryed, cut out his tongue: & ſo they caſt hym into the fire, where he ſhould be thriſe takē vp, but the flame went ſo hye, that the hangman beyng not able to come nere hym, cryed to the people ſtādyng [illegible] to helpe, & ſo dyd the officers wt their ſtaues, laye [illegible] the people, to helpe the tormentors, but neuer a mā would ſtyrre. And this was the end and martyrdome of that bleſſed Denys. Ex Hen. Pantal. lib. 10.

☞ There was a riche marchant of Paris, who ſayd in ieſt to the fryers of S. Fraunces, you weare a rope about your bodyes, becauſe S. Frances once ſhould haue bene hanged, & the Pope redeemed him vpon this condition, that all his lyfe after he ſhoulde weare a rope. Vpō this the Frāciſcan fryers of Paris cauſed hym to be apprehēded & layd in priſon, & ſo iudgement paſſed vpon him, that he ſhould be hāged: but he to ſaue his lyfe, was contented to recant, & ſo dyd. The fryers hearyng of his recātation, cōmended hym, ſaying, if he continued ſo, he ſhoulde be ſaued: and ſo callyng vpon the officers, cauſed thē to make haſt to the gallowes, to hang him vp, while he was yet in a good way (ſaid they) leaſt he fal again. And ſo was this marchaunt, notwithſtandyng his recantation, hanged, for ieſtyng againſt the fryers. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

A Marchaunt hanged for ieſting agaynſt the Friers.

To this marchant may alſo be adioyned ẏ brother of Tamer, who whē he had before profeſſed ẏ truth of the goſpel, & afterward by ẏ counſell & inſtructiō of his brother, was remoued from the ſame, fell in deſperation, and ſuche ſorowe of mynde, that he hanged hym ſelfe. Ex Ioan. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melanct.

The iudgementes of God.

Thomas Galbergne, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	Tho. Galbergne, a Couerlet maker. At Tourney. An. 1554.	This Tho. had copyed out certayne ſpiritual ſonges out of a boke in Geneua which he brought wt hym to Tournay, & lent the ſame to one of his felowes. This booke beyng eſpied, he was called for of the Juſtice, & examined of ẏ boke, which he ſayde, contayned nothyng, but ẏ was agreeyng to the ſcripture, and that he would ſtand by. Thē he was had to the Caſtle, and after xx. dayes was brought to the towne houſe, and there adiudged to the fire, whereunto he wente chearfully, ſingyng pſalmes. As he was in ẏ flame, the warden of the friers ſtood crying: Turne Thomas, Thomas, yet it is tyme: remember hym that came at the laſte houre. To whom he cryed out of the flame with a loude voyce, and I truſt to be one of that ſort, and ſo callyng vpon the name of the lord, gaue vp his ſpirit. Ex Criſp. lib. 4.

Adde alſo to this, one Nicolas Paul beheaded at Gaunt. Theſe two ſhoulde haue bene placed among the Dutche martyrs in the table before.

Nicholas Paule, Martyr.

Richard Feurus, Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Latrunculator, or vnder Marſhal, or examiner of Dolphenie. The Lieutenaunt. His Attourney. His Scribe.	Rich. Feurus a goldſmyth. At Lyons. Ann. 1554.	Feurus a Goldſmith borne at Rhoan, firſt being in England, and in Lond. there receyued ẏ taſt and knowledge of gods word, as in his owne Epiſtle he recordeth. Then he wente to Geneua, where he remayned nine or x. yeres. Frō thence returnyng to Lions, there was apprehended, and condemned. Then he appealed to ẏ hye court of Paris, through the motion of his frends. Where in the way as he was led to Paris, he was mette by certayne whō he knewe not, and by them taken from his keepers, and ſo ſet at libertie, whiche was ann. 1551.

After ẏ continuing at Geneua, about the ſpace of .iij. yeares, he came vpon buſines to the prouince of Dolphenie, and there as he found fault with the grace ſayd in Latine, he was detected and taken in his Inne in the night, by the Vndermarſhal, or him whiche had the examination of malefactours. The next day he was ſent to the Juſtice, from hym to ẏ biſhop. Who riddyng their handes of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenant: who ſent his aduocate with a Notary to him in the priſon, to examine him of his faith. The whole peeces of his examinatiō, with his aduerſaries & the fryers, in his ſtorye deſcribed, is lōg. ẏ principal cōtents come to this effect.

The examination of Richard Feurus.

This Inquiſitor was the Aduocate which the Lieutenant ſent with the Notarie.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou beleue the Church of Rome?

The Martyr.

No, I do beleue the Catholique and vniuerſall Church.

Inquiſitor.

What Catholique Church is that?

The Martyr.

The congregation, or communion of Chriſtians.

The church.

Inquiſitor.

What congregation is that, or of whom doth it conſiſt?

The Martyr.

It conſiſteth in the number of Gods elect, whō God hath choſen to be the mēbers of his ſonne Ieſu Chriſt, of whom he is alſo the head.

Inquiſitor.

Where is this cōgregation, or how is it knowen?

The Martyr.

It is diſperſed through the vniuerſal world, in diuers regions, and is knowen by the ſpiritual direction, wherewith it is gouerned, that is to ſay, both by the worde of God, and by the right inſtitution of Chriſtes Sacramentes.

Inquiſitor.

Do ye think the church that is at Geneua, Lauſanna, Berne, and ſuche other places, to be a more true Church, then the holy church of Rome?

The Martyr.

Yea verily, for theſe haue the notes of the true Church.

Inquiſitor.

What difference then make you betweene thoſe Churches and the church of Rome?

Difference betwene the church of Rome & the church of Chriſt.

The Martyr.

Muche, for the Churche of Rome is gouerned only with traditions of men, but thoſe are ruled only by the word of God.

Inquiſitor.

Where learned you this doctrine firſt?

The Martyr.

In England, at London.

Inquiſitor.

How long haue you ben at Geneua?

The Martyr.

About nyne or ten yeares.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt ẏ not beleue the virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and aduocate to God for ſinners?

The virgin Mary no aduocate.

The Martyr.

I beleue as in the word of god is teſtified, Ieſus Chriſt to be onely mediator & aduocate for al ſinners. Albeit the virgin Mary be a bleſſed woman, yet the office of an aduocate belongeth not vnto her.

Inquiſitor.

The Saintes that be in Paradiſe, haue they no power to pray for vs?

Whether ſaintes doe praye.

The Martyr.

No, but I iudge thē to be bleſſed, & to be cōtented with that grace & glory whiche they haue, that is, that they be counted the mēbers of the ſonne of god.

Inquiſitor.

And what then iudge you of them which folow the religion of the Church of Rome, thinke you thē to be Chriſtians?

The church of Rome, is not the church of Chriſt.

The Martyr.

No, for that Churche is not gouerned with the ſpirite of God, but rather fighteth againſt the ſame.

Inquiſitor.

Do you then eſteeme al thē which ſeperate them ſelues from the Church of Rome to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

Galat.6.

I haue not to anſweare for others, but only for mee ſelfe. Euery man (ſaith S. Paul) ſhal beare his owne burden.

And thus the aduocate, when he had aſked hym whether he would put his hand to that he had ſayd, and had obteyned the ſame, departed to dynner.

At the next examination was brought vnto him a Franciſcan fryer, who firſt entring with him touching the wordes that he ſpake in his Inne, aſked hym why that grace might not be ſaide in Latine? Becauſe (ſaide he) by the worde of God, Chriſtians are commaunded to pray with harte & ſpirite, and with that tongue which is moſt vnderſtanded, and ſerueth beſt to the edification of the hearers. Then the fryer bringing forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, pax viuis, requies defunctis, &c. began thus to reaſon.

The fryer.

God vnderſtandeth al tongues: and the Church of Rome hath preſcribed this forme of praying, receiuyng the ſame from the auncient Church and the fathers, which vſed then to pray in Latine. And if any tongue be to be obſerued in prayer, one more then an other, why is it not as good to praye in the Latine tongue, as to pray in the Frenche?

Praying in a ſtraunge tongue.

The Martyr.

My meanyng is not to exclude any kinde of language from prayer, whether it be the Latine, Greke, Hebrue, or any other, ſo that the ſame be vnderſtanded, and may edifie the hearers.

The Fryer.

When Chriſt entred the citie of Hieruſalem, the people cryed, lauding hym with Oſanna filio Dauid, and yet vnderſtood they not what they ſaid, as Hierome writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be, that Hierome ſo writeth, howe they vnderſtood not the propheticall meanyng, or the accompliſhment of theſe wordes vpon Chriſtes comming: but that they vnderſtood not the phraſe of that ſpeache or language whiche they ſpake, ſpeakyng in their owne language, Hierome doth not denye.

Then the fryer declaring that he was no fit perſon to expound the Scriptures, being in the Latine tongue, inferred ẏ authorities of ignoraunt councels & doctours, & teſtimonies of men, whiche ſeemed to moue the Officer not a litle: who then charging him with many thinges, as with wordes ſpoken in contempt of the virgin Mary, and of the Saintes: alſo with rebellion againſt princes and kinges, came at laſte to the matter of the Sacrament, and demaunded thus.

Inquiſitor.

Doeſt thou beleue the holy hoſt which the prieſt doth conſecrate at the maſſe, or no?

The Sacrament. John. 6.

The Martyr.

I beleue neither the hoſt, nor any ſuch cōſecratiō.

Inquiſitor.

Why? doeſt thou not beleue the holy Sacramēt of the aultar, ordeined of Chriſt Ieſus him ſelfe?

The Martyr.

Touching the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper, I beleue, that whenſoeuer we vſe the ſame, according to the preſcriptiō of S. Paul, we are refreſhed ſpiritually with the body and bloud of our lord Ieſus Chriſte, who is the true ſpirituall meate and drinke of our ſoules.

The Fryer.

The fryer then inferred the wordes of S. Iohns Goſpell, ſaying: My fleſhe is meate in deede, &c. and ſaid that the doctours of the church had decided that matter already, and had approued the maſſe to be an holy memorie of the death and Paſſion of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

The Sacrament of ẏ ſupper, I beleue to be ordeined of the Lord, for a memorial of his death, & for a ſtyrring vp of our thankes geuyng to hym. In whiche Sacrament we haue nothinge to offer vp to hym, but doe receiue with all thankes geuyng the benefites offered of God to vs moſt aboundantly, in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne.

And thus the Aduocate with the fryer, bidding the Notary to write the wordes that he had ſpoken, departed. Who after eight dayes, beyng accompanyed with the ſaide Franciſcane, and other fryers moe of the Dominikes, ſent for the ſaide Richard Feurus againe to his houſe, and thus began to enquire, Inquiſitor.

Purgatory.

Doeſt thou beleue any Purgatorie?

The Martyr.

I beleue that Chriſte with his precious bloud hath made an ende of al Purgatorie and purgation of our ſinnes.

Inquiſitor.

And doſt thou thinke then there is no place after this life, where ſoules of mē departed remaine ſo lōg tyl they haue made ſatiſfaction for their ſinnes?

The Martyr.

No: but I acknowledge one ſatiſfaction once made for ỹ ſinnes of all men, by the bloud & ſacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which is the propitiatiō and purgation for the ſinnes of the whole worlde.

The Fryer.

Math. 18.

In the .xviij. chap. of S. Math. Chriſt ſpeaketh by way of a parable or ſimilitude, of a certaine cruell ſeruaunt, who becauſe he would not forgeue his felow ſeruaunt, was caſt in priſon, and ſaith: That he ſhal not come out from thence before he hath payd the vttermoſt farthyng. By the which ſimilitude is ſignified vnto vs, a certaine middle place, whiche is left for ſatiſfaction to be made after this lyfe, for ſinnes.

The Martyr.

Satiſfaction for ſinnes.

Math. 11.
Joh. 10.
Joh. 13.
Apoc. 13.
Luke. 23.

Firſt, the ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes by the death of Chriſt, is plaine and euident in the Scriptures: as in theſe places: Come to me al you that labour, & be burdened, & I wyl refreſh you. Math. 11. I am the doore, he that entreth by me, ſhalbe ſaued. Iohn. 10. I am the way, verite, and life. Ioh. 13. Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord, for they reſt from their labors. Apocal. 13. Alſo to the thiefe which hanged with the Lord it was ſaide: This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe, &c. Secondly, as touching this ſimilitude, it hath no other demōſtration, but to admoniſh vs of our duetie in ſhewing charitie, and forgeuyng one an other, which vnles we do, there is no mercye to be looked for at the handes of God.

The Fryer.

Limbus.

If this be true that you ſay, thē it ſhould folow, that there is neyther Purgatorie, nor any Lymbus, which wer againſt our Chriſtiā fayth, & our Crede, which ſayth: He deſcended into Hel, &c.

The Debitie.

Doeſt thou not beleue there is a Lymbus?

The Martyr.

Neyther do I beleue to be any ſuche place, neyther doth ỹ ſcripture therof make any mention.

The fryer.

Where were the old fathers then before ỹ death of Chriſte?

The Martyr.

In lyfe (I ſay) eternal, which they looked for, beyng promiſed before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarkes, in the ſeede to come.

The Debitie.

Then the Debitie, what (ſayth he) doeſt thou beleeue that the Pope hath any power?

The Martyr.

Yea verely.

The Debitie.

The power of the Pope.

Doeſt thou beleeue that the Pope, as the vicar of Jeſu Chriſte can here bynde and looſe?

The Martyr.

That I do not beleue.

The Debitie.

Howe then doeſt thou vnderſtand the power of the Pope?

The Martyr.

I vnderſtand the power of the Pope ſo, as ſaint Paul declareth .ij. Theſſ. ſaying: That becauſe the world refuſed to receiue the loue of the truth, vnto ſaluatiō, therfore God hath geuen to Satan, & to his miniſters, power of illuſions and errours, that men ſhould beleue lyes, and ſet vp to them ſelues paſtors [illegible] teachers, ſuch as they deſerue.

The Fryer.

Chriſtes vicar in earth.

Chriſt gaue to S. Peter power to bynde & looſe, whoſe ſucceſſor and vicar of Chriſt is the Pope, for the gouernmēt of ỹ Church, that it might haue one head in the world, as it hath in heauen. And though the Paſtors do not lyue according to the word which they preache, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refuſed, as Chriſte teacheth. Math. xxiij.

Math. 23.

The Martyr.

If the Pope & his adherents would preache the word purely & ſincerely, admitting no other inuentions of their own, nor obtruding lawes of their own diuiſing, I would thē embrace their doctrine, howſoeuer their life wer to ỹ cōtrary: according as Chriſt doth tel vs of ỹ ſcribes & phariſees, admoniſhing vs to folow their doctrine, & not their liues. Mat. 23. but there is great difference, whether they that take ỹ gouernance of ỹ church, do ſit in Moſes chaire, whiche is the ſeat of truth, or els do ſit in ỹ chayre of abhomination, ſpoken of by Daniel, and alſo by S. Paul where he ſaith: That the man of perdition ſhal ſit in the temple of God, vauntyng hym ſelfe inſolently aboue al that is called God. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Math. 23.

2. Theſ. 2.

The keyes of binding & looſing.

And as touching the keyes of bindyng & looſing, geuen to Peter, Chriſt therein aſſigned to Peter & other apoſtles, the office of preaching ỹ worde of the goſpel, which they dyd alſo wel obſerue, in preaching nothing els but only the word: in thē which worde is all the power conteyned of bindyng and looſing. Neither is it to be graunted, the church to haue two heades, one in heauen, an other in earth. The head wherof is but one, which is Jeſus Chriſte, whom the father hath appoynted to be head alone, both in heauen and earth as S. Paul in many places of his Epiſtles doth teach. Ephes. 1. Coloſ. 1. &c.

Ephe. 1.
Coloſ. 1.

The Fryer.

You haue no vnderſtanding how to expound the Scriptures. But the olde Doctours haue expounded the ſcriptures and holy Councels, whoſe iudgementes are to be folowed. But what ſay you to auricular confeſſion?

Auricular confeſſion.

The Martyr.

I knowe no other confeſſion, but that whiche is to be made to God, and reconciliation towarde our neighbour, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles haue cōmended to vs.

The fryer.

Haue you not read in the Goſpel, howe Chriſt doth byd vs to confeſſe to the prieſt, where he commaunded the leper beyng made whole, to ſhewe hym ſelfe to the prieſt?

The Martyr.

The true Churche of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt neuer obſerued this ſtraunge kinde of confeſſion, to carry our ſinnes to the Prieſtes eare. And though the Churche of Rome haue intruded this maner of confeſſing, it foloweth not thereby, that it is to be receyued. And as touchyng the leper, whom the Lorde ſent to the prieſt, he was not ſent therefore to whiſper his ſinnes in the Prieſtes eare, but onely for a teſtimonie of his health receyued, accordyng to the lawe.

Of the other confeſſion which is to be made to God, we haue both the examples and teſtimonies of the prophet Dauid ful in the Pſalmes. 32. 51. 106. where he ſaith: That he confeſſed his ſinnes vnto the Lord, and receyued forgeueneſſe of the ſame.

Pſal. 32. 51. 106.

The fryer.

The Church of Rome & of Geneua, compared.

After this the fryer proceedyng further to make compariſon betweene the Church of Rome, and the Churche of Geneua, woulde proue that the Pope hath power to ſet lawes in the Churche, without any expreſſe worde of God. For ſo it is written, (ſayde he) That there were many other thynges beſides, which are not writtē in this booke. Ioan. 11. Alſo where Chriſte promiſeth to his Diſciples, to ſende vnto them the holy Ghoſt, which ſhoulde induce them into all truth. Moreouer ſuch decrees & ordinaunces whiche are in the church, were decided (ſayde he) and appoynted by the Doctours of the Church, and by al the Councels directed (no doubt) by the holy Ghoſt. Furthermore he inferred, that the Churche alſo of Geneua, had their ordinaunces and conſtitutions made without any worde of God. And for example he brought forth the order of the Pſalmes and ſeruice publiquely obſerued and appoynted vpon Wedneſday in the church of Geneua, as though that day were holyer then an other.

The Martyr.

To this the Martyr anſwered againe, declaring that the ordinaunce of thoſe publique prayers and Pſalmes vpon Wedneſday, in the Churche of Geneua, was not to bynde conſcience, or for any ſuperſtitious obſeruation, or for any neceſſitie, which eyther

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

ther ſhould bind cõſcience, or could not be altered at their arbitremẽt: but only for an order or cõmoditie for publike reſort to heare the word of god according as auncient kings & tẽporal magiſtrates haue vſed in old tyme to do, in congregating the people together, not to put any holynes in ÿ day, or to bind cõſcience to any obſeruatiõ (as ÿ pope maketh his lawes) but only for orders ſake, ſeruyng vnto commoditie.

And as touching that any thing ſhould be left for doctors & Cõcels to be decided, without ÿ expreſſe word of God, that is not ſo, for that al things be expreſſed and preſcribed by the worde, whatſoeuer is neceſſary eyther for gouernmẽt of the churche, or for the ſaluation of men, ſo that there is no neede for doctours of the church or Cõcels, to decide any thing more then is decided already.

Rom. 15. 2. John.

Paul ſaith, that he durſt vtter nothing, but that the Lord had wrought by hym. Rom. 15. S. John ſpeaking of the doctrine of Chriſt Jeſu, wylleth vs to receiue no man, vnleſſe he bring with hym the ſame doctrine. 2. Ioan. S. Paul warneth ÿ Galat. not to beleue an angel from heauen, bringyng an other doctrine thẽ that which they had alredy receiued. Gal. 1. Chriſt calling him ſelf ÿ good ſhepherd, noteth thẽ to be his ſheepe which heare his voyce, & not the voyce of others. Ioh. 11. And S. Peter admoniſhing ÿ paſtours of ÿ church forewarneth them, to teache only the word of god, without any ſekyng of lordſhip or dominiõ ouer the flocke. Frõ ÿ which moderatiõ how far ÿ fraũce of the popes church doth differ, the tyranny which they vſe doth well declare.

The Church ought to be gouerned only by the voyce of the Lordes word.

1. Pet. 5.

The fryer.

In the old church, prieſts & miniſters of ÿ church were wont to aſſemble together for deciding of ſuch things as perteyned to the gouernment & directiõ of the church, wheras in Geneua no ſuch thing is vſed, as I can proue by this your own Teſtamẽt here in my hands, that you the better may vnderſtand what was then the true vſe and manner of the Churche.

The Martyr.

What was the true order & maner that ÿ apoſtles did inſtitute in the church of Chriſt, I wold gladly heare, & alſo would deſire you to conſider the ſame, & whẽ you haue wel cõſidered it, yet ſhal you find the inſtitution and regimẽt of the church of Geneua not to be without the publike counſel and aduiſement of the magiſtrates, elders, & miniſters of that church, & ſuch care and diligence, as Paul and Silas toke, in ordering ÿ churche of Theſſalonica, Berrhæa. &c. wherin nothing was done without the authority of Gods word, as appeareth, Act. 17. As likewiſe alſo in ſtabliſhing the church of Antioch, when the apoſtles were together in counſel for ÿ ſame, there was no other law nor doctrine folowed, but only ÿ word of God, as may appeare by the wordes of the Councel: Quid tentatis Deum, iugum imponere, &c. And albeit the miniſters of the Church of Rome, and the Pope were not called to ÿ inſtitutiõ of the foreſayd church of Geneua: yet it foloweth not therfore, that there was no lawful order obſerued, eyther in ſtabliſhing that Church, or any other.

Churches may be inſtituted without the Pope.

The fryer.

You were firſte baptiſed in the Churche of the Pope, were ye not?

The Martyr.

I graunt I was, but yet that nothyng hyndereth the grace of God, but he may renouate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaſeth.

Baptiſme in the popes Church, no neceſſarye cauſe to folow all the Popes errours.

A Counſeller.

I woulde wiſhe you not to ſticke to your owne wiſedome and opinion. ye ſee the churches in Germanie, howe they diſſent one from another. So that if you ſhoulde not ſubmit your iudgement to the authoritie of Generall Councels, euery day you ſhould haue a newe Chriſtianitie.

The Martyr.

To myne own wiſdome I do not ſticke, nor euer wyl, but onely to that wiſedom which is in Chriſte Jeſu, although the worlde doth accõpt it fooliſhnes. And where ye ſay, that ÿ churches of Germanie diſſent among thẽſelues one frõ another: that is not ſo, for they accord in one agremẽt altogether, touching the foundation and principal groundes of Chriſtian fayth. Neither is there any ſuche feare, that euery day ſhoulde riſe vp a newe Chriſtianitie, vnleſſe the church be ballanced with authoritie of the Cõcels, as you pretẽd. For ſo we reade in ÿ prophet Dauid pſal. 33. and in other places of Scripture moe: That the counſels of the nations and people ſhalbe ouerthrowen & ſubuerted of the Lord, &c. Wherefore the beſt is that we folow ÿ cõſel of God & his worde, & preferre the authoritie therof before al other counſels & iudgemẽts of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwel and ſettle my ſelf in this litle Chriſtianitie, be it neuer ſo ſmall, then in that populous Papalitie, be it neuer ſo great in multitude.

Agreement in the principal poyntes of doctrine in the church as reformed.

Pſal. 33.

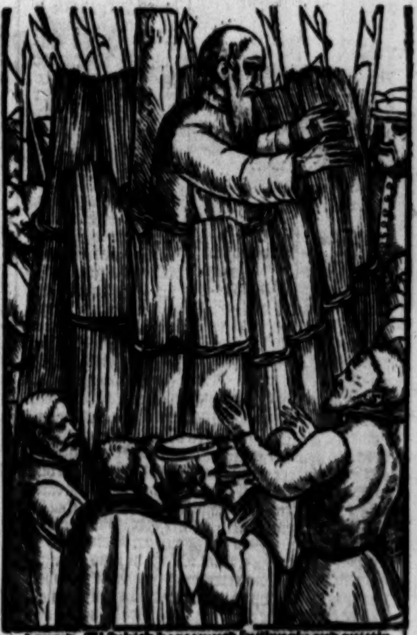
Paruus Christianiſmus potior populoſo Papatu.

And thus was this godly Feurus commaunded agayne by the Deputie, to the Biſhops priſon, and from thence ſhortly after remoued to Lions, not by the open and beaten way, but by ſecret and priuie iourneys, leaſt perhaps he ſhould be taken from thẽ agayne, as he was before.

Tignacius, D. Fumoſus, Sorboniſtes.

After he was come to Lions, he was brought before Tignacius the Judge, and a Doctour of Sorbone called Fumoſus, who queſtioned with hym touching ſundry articles of religion. But in cõcluſion, when they neyther with argumentes could conuict him, nor with promiſes allure him, nor with threatnyng terrours ſtyrre hym, eyther to betray the truth which he knewe, or to bewray them whom he knewe not, which tooke hym awaye before his keepers: they proceded at laſt to the ſentence, condẽning hym firſte to haue his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. Al which he receyued willyngly and quietly for righteouſnes ſake, thus finiſhing his martyrdome Iul. 7. ann. 1554. Ex Criſp. Pantal, & alijs.

The martyrdome of Richard Feurus.



The Martyrdome of Richard Feurus.

Nicolas Cheſne, Martyr.

An Inquiſitor Monke.	Nicolas du Cheſne.	The cauſe and occaſiõ why this Nicolas came in trouble, was for ÿ he goyng frõ Lauſanna (where he abode for his conſcience) to ſet his ſiſter & her huſband, & certaine other of his frends, as he [illegible] Beyſſon, t[illegible] ÿ town of Gry, did not homage to a certaine croſſe in ÿ way, wher a certain monk which was an inquiſitor, ouertooke him, & therby ſuſpected him

Falſe dealing in a Papiſt.

John Bertrand, Martyr.

Peter Rouſſeau, Martyr.

Crueltie.

Arnauld Moniere, Iohn de Ca zes, Martyrs.

Trumpets brought in to ſtop the hearing of Gods Sainctes.

Feare ſent amongſt Gods enemies.

Impius fugit nemine perſequitur.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	At Gry by Bezanſon. Ann. 1554.	He was guided by the ſame mōke, craftily diſſemblyng his religion, to a lodgyng in Gry: where the Juſtice of the place cōmyng in, incontinent toke hym. Nicolas ſeeing how he was by the monk his cōductor betrayed: O falſe traytor, (ſaide he) haſte thou thus betrayed me? Then after examination, he was condemned. Being caried to ÿ place of martyrdome, by the way he was promiſed, ÿ if he woulde kneele down and heare a maſſe, he ſhould be let go as a paſſenger. But Nicolas armed with perſeuerāce, ſaid, he would rather dye then commit ſuch an act. Who calling vpon the name of the Lorde, toke his death paciently. Ex Criſp. lib. 6.
The ſeniors or Lordes of Eſtnay and of Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Machenoir. Denys Barbes, Counſellour of Bloys.	John Bertrand, a foſter or keper of the foreſt of Marchenoir. At Bloys. Ann. 1556.	For the religion & goſpel of Chriſt, this John was apprehēded by theſe perſecuters here ſpecified, & led bound to Bloys: where he was examined by Denys the counſeller, of diuers poynts, as whether he had ſpoke at any time againſt God, againſt the church, & the hee ſaints, & ſhee ſaints of Paradiſe. Whereto he ſaid, no. Itē, whether at any tyme he had called ÿ Maſſe abominable, which he graunted, for ÿ he findyng no maſſe in al the ſcripture, was cōmaunded by S. Paul, That if an angel frō heauē would bring any other Goſpel beſide that which was alredy receiued, he ſhould account it accurſed. After his condemnation, they would haue hym to be confeſſed, and preſented to hym a croſſe to kiſſe. But he bade the fryers with their croſſe depart, That is not the croſſe (ſaid he) that I muſt cary. Entryng into the cart, before the multitude he gaue thanks to God, that he was not there for murther, theft, or blaſphemye, but onely for the quarell of our Sauiour. Being tied to the poſt, he ſang ÿ 25. Pſal. Of age he was younge, his coūtenaunce was exceeding cherefull & amiable, hys eyes looking vp to heauē. O the happy iourney, ſaid he (ſeeing the place where he ſhould ſuffer) and the faire place that is prepared for me. Whē the fire was kindled about him, O Lord, cryed he, geue thy hand to thy ſeruaūt: I recōmēd my ſoule vnto thee, and ſo meekely yelded vp his ſpirite. Whoſe patient and ioyfull conſtancie ſo aſtonyed the people, that of long time before, nothing did ſeme to them ſo admirable. Ex Gallic. hiſt. per. Criſp. lib. 6.
[illegible] er, in law of this Peter.	Peter Rouſeau. An. 1556.	Peter Rouſſeau commyng from Geneua and Lauſanna to his coūtrey, partly to cōmunicate with certaine of hys acquaintaunce in the word of God, partly for other certeine affaires, because he required hys inheritaunce of his brother in law, was by hym betrayed. Then being conſtant in hys confeſſion, which he offered vp, he was put to ÿ rack 3. tymes, which he ſuffered conſtantly with great tormentes. Afterward he had hys tongue cut of, and a balle of yron put in hys mouth. He was drawen vpō a hurdle, all brokē and maymed, to the fire, where he was lifted vp into the ayre, and let downe three tymes: And when he was halfe burned, the balle fell from hys mouth, and he wyth a loude voyce called on the name of God, ſaying, Jeſus Chriſt aſſiſt me. And ſo thys bleſſed Martyr gaue vp hys lyfe to God. Ex Ioan. Criſp.
Antony de Leſcure, the kynges atturney.	Arnauld Moniere. John de Cazes. At Bordeaux. An. 1556.	After that Arnauld Moniere was taken and examined of the Juſtice, and ſo was layde in priſon, John de Cazes reſortinge to the ſame towne of Burdeaux, and hearing of hym, and beyng admonyſhed moreouer, that if he went to hym, he ſhoulde be appeached of hereſie, notwythſtanding went to comfort hym, and ſo was alſo impriſoned. After many examinations, ſentence was geuen vpon them to be burned. When the tyme came of their Martyrdome, they were drawen thorough the durt vpon an hurdle, to ÿ place, accompanyed wyth a number of bylles, and glaues, & gunners, and trumpetters. Moreouer, albeit there was no ſuch cauſe (they beyng two ſimple poore men) yet the Magiſtrates commaunded (vpō what occaſion I know not) all the gates of the Citie to be ſhut, and garded wyth kepers. When the bleſſed Martyrs were brought and bounde to the poſte, which was before the Palace, they much reioyſing that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt, made confeſſion of their faith, & many earneſt exhortations vnto the people. But to ſtop the hearing of theſe Saintes, the trumpettes were commaunded to ſound, which duryng all the tyme of their ſufferyng, neuer ceaſed. The hangman preparing himſelfe firſt to ſtrangle Cazes, chaunced to fall downe from the toppe of the poſt, to the pauement, and brake hys head in ſuch ſort, as the bloud folowed in great quantitie. Notwithſtanding he recouering himſelfe, went to Moniere, and him he ſtrangled, who patiently rendred vp his lyfe. Cazes which was the yonger of them both, beyng ſet on fire before the hangman came, ſuffered the extremitie of the fire with great paines, but greater patience: for as his legges were almoſt halfe burnt, yet he endured, crying: My God, my father, and ſo gaue vp his life.

And further to note ÿ worke of god that folowed when theſe ij. mild and martyred ſaintes were almoſt conſumed in the fire to aſhes, ſodenly without matter or cauſe ſuch a feare fel vpon thē, at the execution, that the iuſtices and the people, notwithſtādyng that they had the gates locked to thē, and were defenſed with al maner of weapons about them, not knowing wherfore, toke thē to their legs, in ſuch haſt fleeyng away, ÿ they ouer rā one another. ÿ prior of S. Antonies fel downe, ſo that a great nūber went ouer hym. The iudge Pontacke on his mule, with his red robe, fleing as ÿ other dyd, was ouerthrowen with the preſe in the ſtreet called Porteſtine, in ſuch ſort, that he was fain to be caried to Pichons houſe a widdow, and there cryed within, hide me, ſaue my lyfe, I am dead: I ſee euen the like matter, as at the laſt commotion. My frendes, hide my mule, that no mā ſee

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

ſee her, nor knowe her. Brieſly ſuche was the feare which came vpõ them, that euery man ſhut vp their houſes. After the feare was paſt, euery man aſked what the matter was, but none coulde tell, neyther could the enemies of gods truth perceiue, who was he that put them ſo to flight and feare, without any ſemblaunce of any aduerſary about them. This ſtory is teſtified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by John Criſpine, lib. 6. and alſo in the booke of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrianus.

Bartelmew Hector, Martyr.

A gentlemã called Perriere. M. Bartlemewe Eme, Preſident. M. Auguſtine de Egliſe, Coũſeller.	Bartlemew Hector. At Thurin. Ann. 1556.	First this Hector was a trauailer about the countrey, & a ſeller of bokes, hauyng his wyfe and children at Geneua. As he came into the vale of Angroigne, in Piedmont, to get his lyuing with ſellyng of boks, he was taken by a certayne gentlemã, and there arreſted and ſente to Thurin: then examined, at laſt condẽned. Beyng condemned,

he was threatened, that if he ſpake any thing to the people, his tongue ſhould be cut of. Neuertheleſſe, he ceaſed nothyng to ſpeake. After his prayers made, wherin he prayed for the Judges, that God would forgeue them, & open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the ſtake, if he would cõuert, which he refuſed. Then he prepared him ſelf to his death, which he toke paciently. Wherat many of the people wept, ſaying, why doth this mã die, which ſpeaketh of nothing, but of God? Ex hiſt. Gal. per Criſp. lib. 6.

Philip Cene, James hys fellow, Martyrs.

The Accuſers appeare not in the ſtorye.	Philip Cene. James his felowe. At Dyion. Ann. 1557.	This Philip Cene was an Apothicarie at Geneua. He was takẽ at Dyiõ, & ther imprisoned, & in the ſame town of Dyiõ, he with one James his companion, was burned. As this Philip went to his death ſinging Pſalms, the Frier ſtandyng by, ſtopped hys mouthe with his hand. The moſt part of the people wepte bitterly, ſaying, Be of good courage brethren, be not afrayde of this death. Whiche when

one of the aduerſary part heard, he ſaid to one of the magiſtrates, Do you not ſee howe almoſt halfe part of the people is of their ſide, and doth comfort them? Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.

Archambault M. Nicolas Ruſſeau, Martyrs.

	Archambãt Seraphon. M. Nicolas du Ruſſeau. At Dyion. Ann. 1557.	These two were in priſon together wͭ Philip, and James aboueſaid, at Dyion. Archambant goyng about with a packet of pewtery ware, to get his lyuyng, & cõmyng towarde his wife, heard of certain priſoners at Dyion, to whõ he wrote to cõfort them with his letters. The next daye after he was ſearched at Auſſone, and letters of certain ſchollers of Paris foũd about him: then he was brought to Dyiõ, wher he with yͤ other called M. du Rouſſeau, constantly ſuffered. The ſame Archambant had bene alſo condemned three yeares before at Tule, and as he was lead to Bordeaux, he eſcaped. Ex eius Epiſt. ad vxorem, apud Criſ. lib. 6.

Philbert Hamelin, Martyr.

The kinges Attourney of Sainctes Ville.	Philbert Hamelin. At Bordeaux. Ann. 1557.	Philbert Hamelin first was a prieſt, thẽ he went to Geneua, where he exerciſed printing, & ſent boks abrod. After that, he was made a miniſter at the town of Allenart in Saintonge: In which & in other places mo, he dyd much good in edifying yͤ people. At laſte he was apprehẽded at Saintes Ville, & with hym his hoſt, a prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the goſpel, and after cõfeſſiõ made of his fayth, he with the ſaide prieſt was caryed to Bordeaux before yͤ Preſident. As he was in priſon on a ſonday, a prieſt came in with all his furniture, to ſay maſſe in the priſon: whom Philbert ſeyng to be reueſted, came and pluckt his garmentes from his

backe with ſuch zeale and vehemencie, that the maſſe garmentes, with the chalice and candleſtickes fell downe, and were broken, ſaying: Is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in churches, but you muſt alſo pollute the priſons with your Idolatrie? The Jayler hearing of this, in his furie laid vpõ him with his ſtaffe, & alſo cõplayned of hym: wherby he was remoued to the cõmon priſon, and layd in a low pyt, ladẽ with great yrons, ſo that his legs were ſwollen withal, and there continued. viij. daies. A litle before he perceiuyng the prieſt his hoſt to decline from the truth, dyd what he could to confirme hym in yͤ ſame: but whẽ he knew that he had flatly renoũced Chriſt and his word, he ſayd vnto hym. O vnhappy & more thẽ miſerable, is it poſſible for you to be ſo fooliſh, as for ſauyng of a few dayes, which you haue to liue by the courſe of nature, ſo to ſtart away, and to deny the truth? Knowe you therfore, that although you haue by your foliſhnes auoyded the corporal fire, yet your lyfe ſhalbe neuer the longer, for you ſhall dye before me, and God ſhal not geue you the grace, that it ſhal be for his cauſe, and you ſhalbe an example to al Apoſtatates. He had no ſooner ended his talke, but the prieſt goyng out of priſon, was ſlaine by two gentlemen which had a quarrel to hym. Wherof when M. Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knewe of no ſuch thyng before, but ſpake as pleaſed God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediatly he made an exhortation of the prouidence of God, which by the occaſion hereof, moued the harts of many, and conuerted them vnto God.

The zeale of Philbert.

Philbert prophecieth.

The marueilous iudgement of God agaynſt Apoſtatates.

At laſt the foreſaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdome before the palace, and as he was exhortyng the people, to the entent his wordes ſhoulde not be heard, the trumpets blewe without ceaſing. And ſo beyng faſtened to the poſte, this holy martyr praying and exhortyng the people, was ſtrãgled, and his body with fire conſumed, on Palme ſunday euen. Ex Gal. hiſt. Criſp. lib. 6.

Trumpets blowen to ſtoppe the hearing of Philbert.

Nicolas Startorius, Martyr.

Riper, a Secretarye.	Nicolaus Startorius.	Nicolaus Startorius of yͤ age of 2[illegible] borne in Piedmont, came to the partes of Chambery in Lent, wher a certain warden of the Fryers in yͤ towne of Oſte had preached on good fryday, vpõ the paſſion. The

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Antony Eſchaux Baily.

The kinges Procurator.

At Oſt by Piedmont.

Ann.1557.

The report of which Sermon beyng recited to this Martorius, by one that heard hym, Martorius reprehended the errour & blaſphemies thereof, which were agaynſt the holy ſcriptures. Shortly after, the partie that tolde hym, went to a Secretary named Ripet, who couertly came to entrap Nicolas, demaundyng hym of the Fryers Sermon: And dyd not our Preacher (ſayde hee) preach well? No, ſayd Nicholas, but he lyed falſely. Ripet entring further with him, demaunded: And do not you beleue the body of ẏ lord to be in the hoſte? to whom Nicolas then aunſwered agayne, that to be agaynſt our Creede, which ſayth that he aſcended vp and ſitteth.&c. Incontinent Ripet went to the Fryer and hys companions, to cauſe hym to be apprehended. The frendes of Nicolas perceauing the daunger, wylled hym to auoyde and ſaue hymſelfe, and alſo accompanyed hym out of the towne, about the ſpace of three leagues. Then was great purſute made after hym to all quarters, who at length was taken at the towne of S. Remi, at the foote of the mountaine of great S. Bernerd, where he was examined before Antony Eſchaux Baily of the towne, & other Juſtices, before whom he aunſwered with great boldnes, for his faith. Thē they brought hym to the racke, and when the Sergeant refuſed to draw the corde, the Baily himſelfe and the Receauer, with a Canō did racke him with their owne handes. Notwithſtādyng that ẏ Lordes of Berne wrote for him to the towne of Oſte, requiring to haue their owne ſubiect deliuered vnto them, they haſtened the execution, and pronounced ſentēce, that he ſhould be burned. Which ſentence he receaued wyth ſuch conſtancie, that neyther the kynges receauer, nor all the other enemyes could diuert him from the truth of the Goſpell, which he manfully maynteined while any ſpirit remayned in hys bodye. Ex Ioan.Criſp.lib.6.

George Tardif, Martyr.

A Broderer of Tours. Martyr.

The accuſers be not named in the ſtory.

George Tardif, with one of Tours, a Broderer.

Nicolas, a Shomaker of Ienuile.

At Tours.

Ann.1558.

At Ienuile.

An.1558.

The Printer of the ſtory of ẏ frēch martirs named Criſpine, amōg other moe maketh alſo memoriall of George Tardiſe, a Broderer of Tours, and Nicolas of Jenuile, declaryng that all theſe three together were in priſon, and afterward were diſſeuered, to ſuffer in ſundry places, one frō ẏ other: of whom firſt George Tardiſe was executed in Sens.

The Broderer of Tours, as he was cōming with v. or vi. other out of a woode, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he ſhoulde be examined, he deſired ẏ Judges, that he might pray. Which being graūted after his praier made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, for the king, & all eſtates, & for the neceſſitie of all Chriſtes Saints, he aunſwered for himſelfe, wyth ſuch grace and modeſtie, that the hartes of many were broken vnto the ſheddyng of teares, ſeking (as it ſeemed) nothing els but his deliueraunce. Notwithſtandyng he at laſt was ſent vnto Tours, & there was crowned wt martyrdome.

Nicolas of Jenuille, Martyr.

The third, which was Nicolas, being but yong of yeares, and newly come from Geneua, to his coūtrey, for certaine money: by meanes of a Lady there dwelling, was cauſed to be apprehended. When he was condemned and ſet in the cart, his father comming with a ſtaffe, would haue beaten hym, but the officers not ſuffering it, would haue ſtroken the old man. The ſonne crying to the officers, deſired them to let his father alone, ſaying, that his father had power ouer hym, to do with hym what he would: and ſo going to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, hauing a balle of yron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the towe of Jenuile, where he patiently tooke his death and martyrdome, anm. 1558 Ex Typogra. Criſp. Lib. 6.

The prieſtes of the College of pleſſis.

The doctors of Sorbone.

Doctor Democrates.

Cenalis, Biſhop of Auranches.

Martine the kinges Attorney.

The Cardinall of Lorrane.

Maillardus

Henrye the ſecōd Frēch kyng.

The cōgregatiō of Paris perſecuted, to the number of three or foure hundreth.

At Paris.

Ann.1558.

A terrible perſecution at Paris againſt the Congregation.

AN.1558. Sept.4. a companye of the faithful, to the nūber of. 3. or. 4. hundred, were together conuented at Paris in a certain houſe, hauing before it, ẏ college of Pleſſis in the ſtreat of S. James, & behynd it, the college of Sorbone. Who there aſſembled in ẏ beginnyng of the night, to thintent to communicate together ẏ lords ſupper: but incontinent that was diſcouered by certaine prieſtes of Pleſſis: who gatheryng together ſuch as were of that faction, came to beſet the houſe, & made an outcry, that ẏ watch might come and take them, ſo that in ſhort time almoſt all ẏ citie of Paris was vp in armour, thinkyng ſome conſpiracie to haue bin in the citie. Who then folowyng the noyſe, and perceiuyng that they were Lutherans, a greate part of thē wer in extreme rage, furiouſly ſeekyng to haue their bloud, and therefore ſtopped the ſtreates & lanes with cartes, and made fiers to ſee that none ſhoulde eſcape. The faythfull albeit God had geuen them leiſure to finiſh their adminiſtration & prayers, with ſuch quietnes, as they neuer had better, ſeeyng the ſodennes of the thyng, were ſtroken in great feare. Who then being exhorted by the gouernors of the congregation, fel to prayer. That done, through the counſell of ſome whiche knew the cowardly hartes of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men whiche had weapon, ſhould aduēture through the preſe: only the women and children remayned in the houſe, and a fewe men with them, which were leſſe bold then the other, to the number of ſixe or ſeuen ſcore. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapon, which notwithſtandyng that ẏ lanes and paſſages were ſtopped, and the fires made, dyd al eſcape ſaue onely one, who was beaten down with ſtones, and ſo deſtroyed. Certaine that remayned in the houſe with ẏ women, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were ſtayed, tyll the magiſtrates came. The women (which were al Gentlewomen, or of great wealth, onely ſixe or ſeuen excepted) ſeing no other hope, and perceiuyng the furie of the people,

The furie of this world agaynſt the poore Chriſtians.

One of the Congregation beaten downe in the ſtreates, and Martyred.

went

* Mercy here importeth no offence acknowleged, but to be ſaued from the rage of the people.

went vp to the wyndowes, crying * mercy and ſhewing their innocent intent, required iuſtice ordinarie. Thus as they were encloſed about ſixe or ſeuen houres, at laſt came Martin the kinges Attorney, with force of Commiſſaries and Sergeantes. Who with much ado appeaſing the outrage of the people, entred into the houſe, where he viewyng the women and children, and the other furniture there beyng prepared for that congregation, perceyued teſtimonies ſufficient of their innocencie, in ſomuch, that in conſidering thereof, for pitie of hart, his eyes coulde not refrayne from teares. Notwithſtandyng proceeding in his office, he had them al to priſon within the litle Caſtle. I omytte here the furious vſage of the people by the way, how deſpitefully they plucked & haled the women, tare their garmentes, thruſte of their hoodes from their heades, and diſfigured their faces with duſt and durt. Neither were they better entreated in yͤ priſon, thē they wer in yͤ ſtreates: for al yͤ villaines & theues there, wer [illegible] out of their holes and ſtinkyng caues, and the poore Chriſtians placed in their roumes.

A falſe and malicious ſclaunder raiſed againſt the Congregation.

Beſides theſe manifold wronges & oppreſſions done to theſe pore innocētes, folowed thē (which was worſt of al) the cruel and ſclaunderous reportes of yͤ fryers and prieſtes, who in their railyng ſermons & other talke, cryed out of the Lutherans, perſwading the people moſt falſly, that they aſſembled together to make a banket in the night, and there puttyng out yͤ candles, they went together, Iacke with Gylle (as they ſaid) after a filthy and beaſtly maner. Addyng moreouer (to make the lye more likely) that certaine Nunnes alſo & monkes were with them. Alſo that they ſhoulde conſpire againſt the king, and other like heynous crimes, what ſoeuer their malice coulde inuent, for defacing of the Goſpel. With ſuch like malicious miſreportes & ſclaunders, Satan went about to extinguiſh the auncient church of Chriſt in yͤ primitiue tyme, accuſing the innocent Chriſtians then of inceſt, conſpiracie, killyng of infantes, puttyng out of candles, & filthy whoredome, &c. Vid. ſupr. pag. 37. Theſe ſiniſter rumors & curſed diffamations were no ſooner geuē out, but they were as ſoone receiued, and ſpread farre, not onely to thē of the vulgar ſort, but alſo among the ſtates of the Court, and euen to the kinges eares. The Cardinal of Loraine yͤ ſame time bare a great ſway in the court, who then procured a certaine Iudge of the caſtle, to come in, declaring to the king that he found there lying in yͤ floore of the foreſaid houſe, diuers couches & pallets, vpon which they entended to cōmyt their whoredome: alſo much other furniture and preparation appointed for a ſumptuous feaſt or banket: wherewith the kyng was mightyly inflamed againſt them, neyther was there any one perſon that durſt contrary it.

Vid. ſupra pag. 37.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinkyng verely that the goſpel, with al the frendes thereof, were ouerthrowen for euer. On the other ſide, no leſſe perplexitie and lamentation was among yͤ brethren, ſorowing not ſo muche for them ſelues, as for the impriſonment of their felowes. Albeit they loſt not their courage ſo altogether, but as well as they could, they exhorted one another, cōſidering the great fauour and prouidence of God, in deliueryng them ſo wonderfully out of the daunger. Some comfort they tooke vnto them, conſultyng together in this order, that firſt they ſhould humble them ſelues to God in their owne priuate families. Secondly to ſtoppe the runnyng brutes of their holy aſſemblies, they ſhould write Apologies, one to the kyng, an other to the people. Thirdly, that letters of conſolation ſhould be written and ſent to their brethren in priſon.

The Apologie of the Congregation agaynſt falſe reportes.

The firſt Apologie was written to the kyng, & conueyed ſo ſecretely into his chamber, that it was found, and read openly in the hearyng of the kyng and of al his nobles. Wherin the Chriſtians learnedly & diſcretly both cleared them ſelues of thoſe reportes, and ſhewed the malice of their enemies, eſpecially of Satan, which euer frō the begynnyng of the church, hath and ſtyll dooth go about to ouerturne the ryght wayes of the Lord, declaryng further by manyfolde examples and cōtinual experience, euen from the primitiue tyme, howe the nature of the Churche hath euer bene to ſuffer vexations and ſclaunderous reportes and infamation by the malignant aduerſaries &c. And laſtly commyng to the kyng, they craued that their cauſe might not be condemned before it had indifferent hearing, &c. Neuertheleſſe, this Apologie to the kyng, ſerued to litle purpoſe, for ſo muche as the aduerſaries incōtinent denied al that was written to the king, makyng hym to beleue that al were but excuſes pretenſed, neyther was there any perſon that durſt replie againe.

The true church of Chriſt euer from the beginning, appreſſed with ſclaunderous tongues.

But the other Apologie to the people, dyd ineſtimable good, in ſatiſfying the rumors, and defending the true cauſe of the Goſpel. Whereupon certaine doctors of Sorbō began to write both againſt yͤ Apologie and the perſons. of whom one was called Demochares, who taking for his foundation, without any proofe, that they were all heretiques, cryed out for iuſtice, with bylles, glaiues, fire, and ſword.

Doctor Demochares perſecutour.

An other Sorboniſt more bloudy then the firſt, not only exclamed againſt thē, for puttyng out yͤ candles in their deteſtable concourſes & aſſemblies, but alſo accuſed thē, as men which mainteyned that there was no God, and denied the diuinitie & humanitie of Chriſt, the immortalitie of the ſoule, the reſurrectiō of fleſh, and briefly al the articles of true religiō. And thus he charged them without any proofe, mouyng both the king and people, without any forme of law, to deſtroy and cut them in peeces, &c.

Lying lippes.

Cenalis Byſhop of Auranches perſecutour.

The third that wrote againſt thē was Cenalis, biſhop of Auranches, which debated the ſame matter, but with leſſe vehemencie then the other, defending impudently, that their aſſemblies were to mainteyne whoredome, cōplainyng of the Iudges, becauſe they were not ſharper with them, ſaying that their ſoftnes was yͤ cauſe, why the nūber of thē ſo much encreaſed. Among other poyntes of his booke, this one thing he diſputeth marueilous pleaſauntly touching the ſignes and markes of the true Churche: firſt preſuppoſing this one thing which is true, that yͤ true churche hath his ſignes, by the which it may be knowen frō the falſe church: & therupon (making no mention at al, eyther of preaching, or miniſtration of Sacramentes) thus he inferreth, that their church which was the Catholike church, had belles, by the which their aſſemblies be ordinarily called together: & the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath clappes of harquebuſes & piſtelets for ſignes, whereby they (as it is cōmonly bruted) are wōt to cōgregate together. Vpon this ſuppoſal, as vppon a ſure foundation, he groundyng his matter, vaunted & triumphed as one hauyng gotten a great conqueſt, and made a long Antitheſis, or compariſon, by the which he would proue that belles were the markes of the true church. The belles (ſaid he) do ſound, the harquebuſes do cracke or thunder. The belles do geue a ſweete tune and melodious, the ſignes of the Lutherans make a foule noyſe and terrible. The belles do open heauen, the other do open hel. Belles chaſe away cloudes and thunder, the other do gēder cloudes and counterfeit thūder: with many other properties moe, which he brought out, to proue that the church of Rome is the true Churche, becauſe it hath thoſe belles. Marke, good Reader, the profound reaſons and argumentes which theſe great doctours had, either to defende their owne church, or to impugne the Apologies of the Chriſtians.

Note well the true notes of the popeholy church.

Belles to be the marke of the true Church.

The commoditie of Belles in the Popes church.

Briefly, to finiſh the reſidue of this ſtorie: as the faythful Chriſtians were thus occupyed in writing their Apologies, and in comfortyng their brethren in priſon with their letters, the aduerſaries againe & their faction were not idle, but ſought all meanes poſſible to haſten forward the execution, geuing diligent attendance about the priſon and other open places, to ſatiſfie their vncharitable deſire with yͤ death of them, whoſe religion they hated.

Finally, the .xvij. daye of Septemb. commiſſion was directed out by the kyng, and certayne Preſidentes and counſellers appoynted to ouerſee the expedition of the matter. Whervpō diuers of the poore afflicted Goſpellers were brought forth to their iudgement and martyrdome, as anone (Chriſt willyng) you ſhal heare.

Henricus Pantal. lib. 11. partly touching [illegible] perſecutiō of the Pariſians, referreth the time thereof to the yeare of our Sauiour. 1557. whiche the Frenche Chronicles do aſſigne to the yeare. 1558. and addeth moreouer, that the Germanes being the ſame tyme in a certaine colloquie at wormes, diuers learned men reſorted thyther frō Geneua, and other quarters,

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

quarters, deſiring of the princes & proteſtants there, that they by their ambaſſadours ſent by the French king, would become ſuters vnto hym for the innocẽt priſoners, which for the cauſe aboueſaid, wer deteined in bãdes at Paris: by yͤ meanes of whoſe interceſſion (ſaith he) and eſpecially for that the Frenche king was then in warre (as God prouided) with Philip king of Spayne, a great part of the captiues were reſcued and deliuered: albeit certaine of yͤ ſayd number were executed before the commyng of the Germane ambaſſadours: the names and martyrdome of whom here vnder do enſue. Ex Criſp. & Pantal. Lib. 11.

Gods help in tyme of neede.

Nicolas Clinet, Seniour of the church and Martyr.

Priestes of the College of Pleſſis.
Doctoure Maillard, Sorboniſt.

Nicolas Clinet.
At Paris.
Ann. 1558.

Of this godly companye thus brought to iudgement and to martirdome, the firſt was Nicolas Clinet, of the age of .lx. yeares, who firſt beyng a ſcholmaiſter to youth at Saintonge (wher he was born) was there purſued, and had his Image burned. Frõ thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conuerſatiõ he was made one of the Elders, or gouernours of the Churche. For his age he was ſuſpected of the Iudges to be a miniſter, and therefore was ſet to diſpute agaynſt the chiefeſt of the Sorboniſtes, and namely Maillard, whom he dyd ſo cõfute both in the Scriptures, and alſo in their owne Sorbonical diuinity (wherin he had ben wel exerciſed and expert) in the preſence of the Lieutenãt ciuile, that the ſaid Lieutenant confeſſed, that he neuer hearde a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Doc. Maillard confuted.

Taurin Grauelle Martyr.

Doctour Maillard, Sorboniſt.

Taurin Grauelle, a Lawyer.
At Paris.
Ann. 1558.

Taurin Grauelle firſt was a ſtudẽt of the law at Toulouſe: after that, he was made an aduocate in the Court of Paris: laſtly for his godlynes he was ordeined an Elder to the ſayd congregation, with Clinet aboue mentioned. This Taurin hauing in his hands the keeping of a certain houſe of one M. Barthomier his kinſman, and ſeing yͤ cõgregatiõ deſtitute of a roume, receiued thẽ into the ſaide houſe. And whẽ he perceyned the houſe to be compaſſed with enemies, albeit he might haue eſcaped with the reſt, yet he woulde not, but dyd abide the aduenture, to the intent he would anſweare for the fact, in receyuyng the ſayde aſſemble into the houſe. The conſtancie of this man was inuincible in ſuſteynyng his conflictes with the Sorboniſtes. With doctour Maillard eſpecially he was of olde acquaintaunce, whom he dyd knowe ſo wel, euen from his youth vpward, that whenſoeuer [illegible] ſaid doctour would open his mouth to ſpeake againſt the Saintes for their nightly aſſemblies, he againe dyd approche him with ſo filthy actes of buggerie and infamous Sodomitrie, that neither they which heard, could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being ſo notorious, that almoſt all the children in the ſtreates dyd knowe it: and yet that Sorbonicall doctour ſhamed not to empeach good men of whoredome, for their godly aſſemblies in the night. Whoſe lyfe was ſo farre from al chaſtitie, as were their holye aſſemblies cleare from all impuritie, in fine theſe two godly Elders in cruel paines of the fire, finiſhed their martyrdome.

Note the holy lyfe of theſe Sorbonicall Doctours.

Philip de Luns gentlewoman, and Martyr.

The Lieutenaunt ciuile.
Doctour Maillard, Sorboniſt.
Moſnier, Lieutenaunt.
Euil neighbours.
Bertrand, Lord keeper of the ſeale, and Cardinal of Sens.
The Marques of Tran.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman.
At Paris.
Ann. 1558.

Nexte vnto theſe aboueſayde, was brought out miſtres Philip, gentlewomã of the age of 23. She came firſt frõ yͤ partes of Gaſcoigne wͭ her huſbande, (who was lord of Graueron) vnto Paris, there to ioyne her ſelfe to the church of God. Where her huſband alſo had bene a ſenior or elder: who in yͤ moneth of May before, was taken with an ague, & deceaſed, leauyng this Philip a wydowe, whiche neuertheleſſe ceaſed not to ſerue yͤ Lord in his church, and alſo in the houſe was taken with the ſayd company. Many conflictes ſhe had with the Iudges, & the Sorboniſtes, namely Maillarde. But ſhe alwayes ſẽt hym away with the ſame repproch, as the other dyd before, and bad hym auoit Sodomite, ſeying, ſhee would not anſweare one worde to ſuche a villaine. To yͤ Iudges her anſwer was this, yͭ ſhe had learned the fayth which ſhee confeſſed, in the word of God, and in the ſame ſhe woulde liue & dye. And being demaũded, whether the body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament. How is that poſſible (ſaide ſhee) to be the body of Chriſte, to whom al power is geuẽ, and which is exalted aboue al heauens, when as we ſee the mice & rattes, apes, and Munkies playe with it, and teare it in peeces? Her petition to them was, that ſeyng they had takẽ her ſiſter from her, yet thei would let her haue a Bible or Teſtament to comfort her ſelfe. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touche her conuerſation with no part of diſhoneſtie, yet many thinges they layde to her charge, as that there was muche ſingyng of Pſalmes in her houſe, and that twiſe or thriſe, an infinite number of perſons were ſeene to come out of her houſe. Alſo when her huſband was in dying, no Prieſt was called for, neyther was it knowen where he was buryed: Neither dyd they euer heare any word of their infant to be baptiſed, for it was baptiſed in the Church of the Lorde. Among other her neighbours that came agaynſt her, two there were dwelling at S. Germain, in yͤ ſuburbes, betwene whõ incontinent roſe a ſtrife, wherin one of thẽ ſticked the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more haſtened of the lord keper of the Seale, Bertrand, Cardinal of Sens, and his ſonne in lawe the Marques of Tran, for to haue the confiſcation of her goodes.

The Sacrament.

The iuſt hand of God againſt falſe and bloudye witneſſes.

These .iij. holy martyrs aboue recited, wer condẽned the. 27. of Sept. by the proces of yͤ commiſſioners and the Lieutenaunt ciuile: and then beyng put in a Chappell together, certayne Doctours were ſent to them, but their valiaunt conſtancie remayned vnmoueable. After that they were had out of priſon, and ſent euery one in a doung cart to the place of puniſhment, Clinet euer cryed by the way, proteſtyng that he ſaide or maintayned nothyng, but the veritie

The Martyrdome of Clinet Grauelle, and Philip de Luns.

of

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

of God. And beyng aſked of a Doctour, whether he would beleue S. Auſten, touchyng certaine matters, he ſayd: yea, and that he had ſayd nothyng, but which he would proue by his authoritie.

The Gentlewoman ſeyng a Prieſt come to confeſſe her, ſayd, that ſhe had confeſſed vnto God, and had receaued of hym remiſſion: other abſolution ſhee founde none in Scripture. And when certaine Counſellers did vrge her to take in her handes the wodden Croſſe, accordyng to the cuſtome of them that goe to their death, alledgyng how Chriſt commaunded euery one to beare his Croſſe; ſhee aunſwered, my Lordes, (ſayd ſhe) you make me in very dede to beare my Croſſe, condemnyng me vniuſtly, and puttyng me to death in the quarell of my Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, who willeth vs to beare our Croſſe, but no ſuch Croſſe as you ſpeake of.

The croſſe.

Grauelle looked with a ſmilyng countenaunce, & ſhewed a cheerefull colour, declaryng how litle hee paſſed for his condemnation: and beyng aſked of his frendes to what death he was condemned, I ſee well (ſayd he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And commyng from the chappell, when he perceaued they went about to cut out his tongue, vnles he would recante, he ſayd, that was not ſo conteyned in the arreſt, and therefore hee was vnwillyng to graunt vnto it: but afterward perceauyng the ſame ſo to be agreed by the Court, he offered his tongue willyngly to be cut, and incontinent ſpake playnly theſe wordes: I pray you pray to God for me.

The Gentlewoman alſo beyng required to geue her tongue, did likewiſe, with theſe wordes: Seyng I do not ſticke to geue my body, ſhall I ſticke to geue my tongue? Nay no. And ſo theſe three hauyng their tongues cut out, were brought to Malbert place. The conſtancie of Grauell was admirable, caſtyng vp hys ſighes and groanynges vnto heauen, declaryng thereby his ardent affection in prayyng to God. Clinet was ſomewhat more ſad then the other, by reaſon of the feblenes of nature and hys age. But the Gentlewoman yet ſurmounted all the reſt in conſtancie, which neither chaunged countenaunce, nor colour, beyng of an excellent beauty.

Their tongues cut out.

After the death of her husband, ſhe vſed to go in mournyng weede, after the maner of the country. But the ſame day goyng to her burnyng, ſhe put on her French hoode, and decked her ſelfe in her beſt aray, as goyng to a newe Mariage, the ſame day to be ioyned to her ſpouſe Jeſus Chriſt. And thus theſe three with ſingular conſtancie, were burned. Grauelle and Clinet were burned quicke. Philippe the Gentlewoman was ſtrangled, after ſhe had a litle taſted the flame with her feete, and belly, and ſo ſhe ended her martyrdome. Ex Ioan. Criſpi. lib. 6.

Precious in the ſight of God, is the death of hys Saintes.

Nicolas Cene, Pet. Gabart, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Lieutenant. Doctour Maillard.	Nicolas Cene. Peter Gabart.	Of the ſame company was alſo Nicolas Cene a Phiſition, brother to Philippe Cene aboue mentioned, and martyred at Dyiun, & Peter Gabart: which two about .v. or .vi. dayes after the other .iij. before, were brought forth to theyr death. Octob. 1. Nicholas Cene was but new come to Paris the ſame day, when he was apprehended at the aſſemble which then was congregate in the ſtreete of S. Iames: and (as he witneſſed nothyng more then to heare ỹ word of God) came thither euen as he was bidden, & was wt ſuch others apprehended, ſuſteinyng the cauſe of gods holy goſpell vnto death. The other was Peter Gabart a Practiſer of Poitiers, about

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Counſailers. Friers.	At Paris. An. 1558.	the age of 30. yeares, whoſe conſtancy dyd much comfort to the priſoners. He was put among a great number of ſcholers in the litle Caſtle. Whome whē he heard to paſſe the tyme in talkyng of Philoſophy. No, no (ſayd hee) let vs forgette theſe worldlye matters, and learne howe to ſuſtayne the

heauenly cauſe of our God, which lyeth here in defence of the kyngdome of Chriſt Jeſus our ſauiour: and ſo he began to inſtruct them how to aunſwere to euery poynt of chriſtian doctrine, ſo well, as if he had done no other thyng in all his lyfe, but only ſtudied diuinitie: and yet was he but very ſimply learned. Then was he ſent from them apart vnto an other priſon, full of filthy ſtinche and vermine: where notwithſtandyng he ceaſed not to ſing Pſalmes that the other might well heare hym. He had a yong nephew in an other priſon by, beyng but a chyld, of whom he aſked what he had ſayd to the Judges. He ſayd that hee was conſtrayned to do reuerence to a counterfet payntyng. O thou naughty boye (ſayde he) haue not I taught thee the Commaundementes of God? Knoweſt thou not how it is written. Thou ſhalt make to thy ſelfe no grauen Image? &c. and ſo began he to expound to hym the Commaundementes: whereunto he gaue good attention.

A wholeſome leſſon for all Students.

Images forbidden.

In their examinations many queſtions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touchyng matters both of religion, and alſo to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there preſent at the miniſtration of the Sacrament. Wherunto they aunſwered in ſuch ſorte, as was both ſufficient for defence of their owne cauſe, and alſo to ſaue their other brethren from blame, ſaying that they would liue and dye in that they had ſayd and aunſwered.

When the tyme of their execution was come, they perceaued that the Judges had ordeined, ỹ if they would recant, they ſhould be ſtrangled: if not, they ſhould burne aliue, and their tongues be cut from them. Which torments they beyng content to ſuffer for our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, offered their tongues willyngly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a litle to ſtryue, for that he might no more prayſe the Lord with his tongue, whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawen out of priſon in the dongcarte, to the ſuburbes of S. Germaine. Where the people in rage and madnes, followed with cruel iniuries & blaſphemies, as though they would haue done the execution them ſelues vpon them, maugre the hangman. The crueltie of their death was ſuch as hath not lightly be ſene: for they were holden long in the ayre, ouer a ſmall fire, and their lower partes burnt of, before that the hygher partes were much harmed with the fire. Neuertheles theſe bleſſed Martyrs ceaſed not in all theſe tormentes, to turne vp their eyes to heauen, and to ſhewe ſuch infinite teſtimonies of their fayth and conſtancie. In the ſame fire many Teſtamentes and Bibles that ſame tyme alſo were burned.

Their tongues cut.

Crueltie.

Upon the ſight of this crueltie, the frendes of the other priſoners, which remayned behynde, fearyng the tyranny of theſe iudges, preſented certaine cauſes of refuſall agaynſt the ſayd iudges, requiryng other Commiſſioners to be placed. But the kyng beyng hereof aduertiſed by hys Sollicitour, ſent out his letters patentes, commaundyng the ſayd cauſes of refuſall to be fruſtrate, and willed the former iudges to proceede: all other letters and deſeruyng to the contrary notwithſtandyng: and that the Preſidentes ſhould haue power to chuſe to them other counſellers, accordyng to their owne arbitrement, to ſupply the place of ſuch as were abſent: admoniſhyng alſo the ſayd Sollicitour ſtand remembred in the ſteade of the kynges Procurator, to purſue the proces. By ỹ which letters patentes it was decreed ỹ theſe ſtubborne Sacramentaries (as they were called) ſhould be iudged accordyngly, ſaue only that they ſhould not proceede to ỹ execution, before the kyng were aduertiſed. Theſe letters aforeſaid ſtirred vp ỹ fire of this

Marke here, how the whole power of the world was confederate together againſt the poore Saintes of God, accordyng to the propheſie of the 2. Pſalme. Aſtiterunt Reges terræ & principes conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus Dominum, &c.

Z.z.i. perſe-

perſecution not a little, for that the Iudges at this refuſall tooke great indignatiō, and were mightily offended for that reproche. Notwithſtanding ſo it pleaſed God, that a yong man a Germane, called Albert Hartung, borne in the countrey of Brandeburge, and godſon to Albert, Marques of Brandeburge, by the kinges commaundement was deliuered through the importune ſute of the ſayde Marques. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6.

Albert Hartung deliuered.

Fridericke Danuile, Fraunces Rebezies, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
ij. Preſidentes. xxv. Counſailers. The Lieuetenant ciuil. Doctors. Friers. Sorboniſtes. Benedictus Iacobin. Democharés. Maillard.	Fridericke Danuile. Frances Rebezies. At Paris. An. 1558.	Mentiō was made aboue of certaine yong ſcholers and ſtudents which were in the litle caſtle with Peter Gabart. Of the which nūber of ſcholers were theſe two, Fridericke Danuile, and Frāces Rebezies, neyther of them being paſt twenty yeares of age. How valiauntly they behaued thēſelues in theſe tender yeares, ſuſteyning the quarel of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, what confeſſion they made, what conflictes they had, diſputing with the Doctors of Sorbone, their owne letters left in writing do make record: the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: And firſt touching Fridericke Danuile. The Lieuetenant criminall, who before was halfe ſuſpected, but nowe thinkynge to proue himſelfe a right catholike, and to recouer his eſtimation agayne, came to him beginning with theſe wordes of Scripture: Who ſo euer denyeth me before men him wil I deny before my father. &c. That done, hee aſked him,

Math. 10.

what hee thought of the Sacrament. To whome Fridericke aunſwered, ÿ if he ſhould thinke Chriſt Ieſus to be betwene the Prieſtes handes after the Sacramentall wordes (as they call thē) thē ſhould he beleue a thyng contrary to holy Scripture, and to the Crede, which ſayth, that he ſitteth on the right hande of the father. Alſo to the Teſtimonie of the Angels, whiche ſpeake both of the aſcendyng of Chriſt, and of his commyng downe agayne. Act. 1. After this queſtioned with him touching Inuocation of Sainctes, Purgatory, &c. Whereunto he aunſwered ſo, that he rather did aſtonyſhe ÿ enemies, thē ſatiſfie them.

Act. 1.

Furthermore, the 12. of September, the ſayd Fridericke agayne was brought before Benedictus Iacobin, and his companion a Sorboniſt, called Noſter Magiſter, who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Whiche thinke you to bee the true Churche, the Churche of the Proteſtantes, or the Churche of Paris?

The Martyr.

I recogniſe that to be the true Church, where the Goſpell is truely preached, and the Sacramentes rightly adminiſtred, ſo as they bee left by Ieſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (thinke you) of Geneua ſuch a one as you ſpeake of?

The Martyr.

I ſo iudge it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I do proue the contrary, will you beleue me?

The Martyr.

Yea, if you ſhall proue it by the Scripture.

The Doctor.

Or will you beleue S. Auſten and other holy doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea ſo they diſſent not from the Scripture and the word of God.

The Doctor.

By the authoritie of S. Auſtin, the Church is there, where is the ſucceſſion of Byſhops: wherevpon I frame this argument.

There is the Church, where is the perpetuall ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

In the Churche of Paris, is ſuch ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Ergo, the Church of Paris is the true Church.

The Church.

The Martyr.

To your Maior I aunſwere, that if S. Auſtin meant the ſucceſſion of ſuch as are true Byſhops in dede, which truly preache the Goſpell, and rightly adminiſter the Sacramentes, ſuch Byſhops I ſuppoſe to be at Geneua, where the Goſpell is truely preached, and Sacramentes duely miniſtred, and not in the Church of Paris. But otherwiſe, if S. Auſtin meane the ſucceſſion of falſe Byſhops, ſuch as neither preache nor miniſter according to Gods worde, ſo is the ſame in no wiſe to be graunted.

The Doctor.

Caluin is there by his owne thruſtyng in, & onely by the chaunge of the people.

The Martyr.

And that ſheweth more for him to be of Gods diuine election, for ſomuch as by him the Goſpell of God is preached truely: and from this no man ſhall bring me.

After this diſputation, the ix. of the ſame month came againſt him an other Doctor with two Sorboniſtes, who bringing forth a ſcrole out of his boſom, pretended that a certayne ſcholer commyng from Geneua, made hys confeſſion, wherein was contayned, that in receiuing of the bread and wyne, the body and bloud of Chriſt is receiued really. Wherupon they demaunded of hym whether he would receiue the ſame confeſſion.

The Martyr.

Whatſoeuer I haue ſaid vnto you, that will I holde. And as touching this worde really, I know right well that they of Geneua do not take it for any carnall preſence, as you do: but their meaning is, to exclude thereby onely a vayne imagination.

Really.

The Doctor.

I maruaile much that you ſo refuſe the word really, and vſe onely ſpiritually, ſeyng that Caluin him ſelfe doth vſe the ſame word really.

The Martyr.

Caluin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.

The Doctor.

What ſay you by confeſſion auriculer?

Confeſſion auriculer.

The Martyr.

The ſame that I ſayd before to monſieur Lieutenaunt, that is, that I take it for a plantatiō not planted by God in hys word.

The Doctor.

The Almaynes in their confeſſion which they ſent to our kyng to be approued, haue theſe wordes: Confeſſionem auricularem non improbamus, eſt enim Euangelium ſecretum: That is, we do not reiect auricular confeſſiō, for it is a goſpel ſecret and priuy. And alſo Melancthon in hys boke of common places doth call it Euangelium ſecretum.

Melancthon in his common places, ſpeaking of the papiſhe confeſſion, which conſiſteth in the enumeration of ſinnes, ſaith that it is a ſnare of conſcience, & agaynſt the Goſpell, and otherwiſe was there no mention of Euangelium ſecretum: no more doth the confeſſion of the Almaynes.

An other tyme the ſayd Fridericke was called agayne before the Lordes, the xx. of the ſayd moneth, where they did nothing but demaund of him certain queſtions where he was borne, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. Gerard the biſhop there, did ſing Maſſe. Yea ſayd he. And why do not you alſo (ſayd they) receiue the ſame? He anſwered, becauſe he did it to reteine and kepe hys Biſhopricke. The Martyr for lacke of paper, could procede no further.

❧ The examination of Fraunces Rebezies.

Rebezies was thriſe vnder examination. The firſt with

The examination of Rabeau.

with the Lieutenant ciuill: the ſecond with the Preſidentes and the Counſaillers: the third with ẏ Friers. Firſt ẏ Lieutenant inquiring of his name, countrey, and parentes, aſked whether he was at the communion, whether he receaued with them the bread and wyne, and whether he was ſeruiture to M. Nicolas Clinet, Seniour of the Congregation? wherunto he ſayd, yea. Alſo whether hee was a diſtributer of the tokens, wherby they were let in, that came. That he denyed. Then was he brought into the Counſaile chamber, before ẏ Preſidentes, and xxv. Counſaillers, who after other queſtions about his countrey, and parentes, demaunded whether he was taken with them in the houſe. Hee aunſwered: yea. What he had to do there? To heare the worde of God, and to receaue with thẽ. Who brought him thether? Him ſelfe. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durſt or would enter, knowyng no perſon there? Truth it was (ſayd he) that he knew there ij. or iij. Who were they? M. Grauelle, Clinet, and John Manſot, feyning that name of him ſelfe. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denyed. Whether he allowed the actes there done to be good? Yea. Whether he dyd not better like to reſorte vnto their beautified temples, to heare Maſſe: or whether hee did not take the Maſſe to be an holy thyng, and ordeined of God? He aunſwered agayne contrary, beleuing that it was a great blaſphemie agaynſt God, and a ſeruice ſet vp of the deuill. Whether he dyd not acknowledge Purgatorye? Yea, that Purgatorye which is the death and Paſſion of Chriſt, whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the whole worlde. The death of Chriſt is the principall (ſayd they) but thou muſt alſo beleue an other. Alas (ſayd he) can we neuer content our ſelues with ẏ ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, but man alwayes will be puttyng to ſomthyng of his owne brayne? In ſo many places of the Scripture we ſee the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt to be ſufficient, as John 1. Apocal. 5. Hebr. 9. Eſay. 43. Where the Lord himſelfe ſayeth. That it is he, who for hys owne ſake putteth away our iniquities, &c. And S. Paule alſo ſayth: that God was in Chriſt, reconcilyng the worlde vnto hymſelfe. &c. And contrary, when they obiected the wordes of the parable. Mat. 5. Thou ſhalt not come out till thou haſt payed the laſt farthyng: To this he anſwered that the wordes of that parable had no ſuch relation, but to matters ciuile; and this word (vntill) meaneth there, as much as neuer. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the bookes of Caluin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The Preſident aſked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring hys parentes into ſuch diſhonour. He aunſwered that he knew wel, that all which would liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution: and that to him eyther to liue or to dye, were aduauntage in the Lorde. And as touchyng his parentes, Chriſt (ſayd he) doth premoniſh hymſelfe, That who ſo euer loueth father or mother more then hym, is not worthy to be hys. &c. Ieſus Maria, ſayd the Preſident, what youth is this now a dayes, which caſt themſelues ſo hedlong into the fire? and ſo was he commaunded away.

The ſecond examinatiõ.

Maſſe.

Purgatorie.

Iohn. 1.
Apoc. 5.
Heb. 9.
Eſa. 43.
2. Cor. 5.

Math. 5.

2. Tim. 3.

Math. 10.

The third examinatiõ.

Thirdly, he was brought before Benet, maiſter of the Doctors of Sorbone, and an other called Iacobine, the 14. of October, where as he chancyng to ſpeake of the Lord, the Doctor began thus to obiect, as followeth.

The Doctor.

The difference betwene the Lord, and our Lord.

See how you and all ſuch as are of your company, ſimply name the Lord, without putting to ẏ pronoune our. So may the deuils well call the Lord, and tremble before hys face.

The Martyr.

The deuils call the Lord in ſuch ſort as the Phariſes did, when they brought the adultereſſe before hym, and called hym Maiſter: yet neyther attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his diſciples: whoſe caſe I truſt is nothing lyke to oures, which knowe and confeſſe (as we ſpeake) hym to bee the true Lord withall our harte, ſo as true Chriſtians ought to do.

The Doctor.

The church.

I know you hold wel the church to be, where the word is truly preached, and the Sacramentes ſincerely miniſtred, accordyng as they are left of Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles.

The Martyr.

That do I beleue, and in that will I lyue and die.

The Doctor.

Do not you beleue that whoſoeuer is without that church, cannot obtaine remiſſion of his ſinnes?

The Martyr.

Who ſo euer doth ſeperate himſelfe from ẏ church to make either ſect, part, or diuiſion, cannot obtayne as you ſay.

The Doctor.

Two Churches.

Now let vs conſider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached and Sacramentes adminiſtred accordingly as they be left vnto vs: The other wherin the word and Sacramentes be vſed contrarily. Which of theſe ij. ought we to beleue?

The Martyr.

The firſt.

The Doctor.

Well ſayd. Next is now to ſpeake of the giftes geuen to the ſayd Church: as the power of the keyes, confeſſion for remiſſion of ſinnes, after we be confeſſed to a Prieſt. Alſo we muſt beleue the vij. Sacramentes in the ſame Church, truely adminiſtred, as they be here in the Churches of Paris, where the Sacrament of the aulter is miniſtred, and the Goſpell truly preached.

The Martyr.

Sir, now you begin to haire. As for my part, I do not receiue in the church, mo then ij. Sacramentes which be inſtituted in the ſame, for the whole communaltie of Chriſtians. And as concernyng the power of the keyes and your confeſſiõ, I beleue, that for remiſſion of our ſinnes, we ought to goe to none other, but onely to God, as we read 1. Iohn. 1. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, God is faithful and iuſt to pardon our offences, and he will purge vs from all our iniquities. &c. Alſo in the Prophet Dauid, Pſal. 19. and 32. I haue opened my ſinne vnto thee. &c.

Power of the keyes.

Confeſſion.

The Doctor.

Should I not beleue that Chriſt in the tyme of his Apoſtles, gaue to them power to remit ſinnes?

The Martyr.

The power that Chriſt gaue to hys Apoſtles, if it be well conſidered, is nothing diſagreeyng to my ſaying: And therfore I beganne to ſay (which here I would) that the Lorde gaue to hys Apoſtles to preache the worde, and ſo to remit ſinnes by the ſame worde.

The Doctor.

Do you then deny auriculer confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Yea verily I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we to pray to Saintes?

The Martyr.

I beleue no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I ſhall aſke: Ieſus Chriſt beyng here vpon the earth, was he not then as well ſufficient to heare the whole world, and to be interceſſor for all, as he is now?

The Martyr.

Yes.

The Doctor.

Interceſſion of Saintes.

But we finde, that when he was here on earth, his Apoſtles made interceſſion for the people, & why may they not do the ſame as well now alſo?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the world, they exerciſed their miniſtery, and prayed one for an other, as nedyng humaine ſuccours together: but now they beyng in Paradiſe, all their prayer that they make, is this: that they wiſh that they which be yet on earth, may attaine to their felicitie: but to obtain any thing at the fathers hand, we muſt haue our recourſe onely to him ſame.

The Doctor.

If one man haue ſuch charge to pray for an other, may not he then be called an interceſſour?

The Martyr.

I graunt.

The Doctor.

Well then, you ſay there is but one interceſſour. Whervpon I inferre, that I beyng bound to pray for an other, neede not nowe to goe to Jeſus Chriſt, to haue hym an interceſſor, but to God alone, ſettyng Jeſus Chriſt apart: and ſo ought we verily to beleue.

The Martyr.

You vnderſtand not Sir, that if God do not behold vs in the face of his own welbeloued ſonne, then ſhall we neuer be able to ſtand in hys ſight. For if he ſhall looke vpō vs, he can ſee nothyng but ſinne. And if the heauens be not pure in his eyes, what ſhall be thought then of man ſo abhominable and vnprofitable, which drincketh iniquitie lyke water, as Job doth ſay?

Then the other Frier ſeyng his fellow to haue nothing to aunſwer to this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Note this blaſphemous doctrine, which maketh Saintes equal interceſſors wyth Chriſt.

Nay (my frend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that ſtand and now to ſpeake of our ſelues: this we know, that God is not diſpleaſed with them which haue their recourſe vnto his Saintes.

The Martyr.

Sir, we muſt do not after our owne wyls, but accordyng to that which God willeth and commaundeth. For this is the truſt that we haue in hym, that if we demaund any thing after his wil, he wil heare vs. 1.Iohn.5.

The Doctor.

As no man commeth to the preſence of an earthly kyng or prince, without meanes made by ſome about hym: ſo, or rather much more, to the heauenly kyng aboue. &c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly example, I will aunſwer with another heauenly example of the prodigal ſonne: who ſought no other meanes to obtain his fathers grace, but came to the father hymſelfe.

Worſhipping of Saintes.

¶Then they came to ſpeake of adoration, which the ſayd Rebezies diſproued by the Scriptures. Act. 10.13.14. Apoc.19.22. Heb.10.14.12. Where is to bee noted, that where the Martyr alleaged the 12. to the Heb. the Doctors anſwered, that it was the 11.chap. when in dede the place is neither in the 11. nor in the 12. But in the 14.chap. of the Acts. So well ſene were theſe Doctors in their diuinitie.

The Doctor.

The preſence of Chriſt in the hoſte.

Touching the Maſſe, what ſay you? Beleue you not that when the prieſt hath conſecrated the hoſte, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample ſort as he was hanging vpon the croſſe?

The Martyr.

Maſſe.

No verily. But I beleue that Jeſus Chriſt is ſittyng at the right hand of his father, as appeareth Hebr.10.1.Cor.15.Coloſ.3. and therfore (to make ſhort with you) I hold your Maſſe for none other, but for a falſe and a counterfeyted ſeruice ſet vp by Sathan, and retained by his miniſters, by the which you do anihilate the precious bloud of Chriſt, & hys oblation once made, of hys owne body: and you know right well, that the ſame is ſufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

Naturaliter.

Supernaturaliter, or ſubſcriptiue.

You deceiue your ſelues in the word reiteration: for we do not reiterate it ſo as you thinke, as by example I will ſhew. You ſee me now in this religious garment, but if I ſhould put vpon me a ſouldioures weede, then ſhould I be but diſguiſed, and yet for all that, I ſhould remayne the ſame ſtill, within my doublet that I was before, in my Friers weede. So is it with the ſacrifice. We confeſſe and graunt that Naturaliter, that is naturally, he was once offred in ſacrifice, and alſo is ſitting Naturaliter, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his father: but Supernaturaliter, & ſubſcriptiue, that is ſupernaturally, we ſacrifice the ſame, without reiteration. Supernaturaliter we ſacrifice him: but that ſacrifice is but onely diſguiſed, to vnderſtand that he is conteyned vnder that curteine and whitenes, which you ſee.

The Martyr.

The diſguiſed ſacrifice of the Papiſtes.

Sir this I ſay, that ſuch a diſguiſed Sacrifice is a diabolical ſacrifice, and this you may take for a reſolution.

The Doctor.

And how is your beliefe touching the holy ſupper?

The Martyr.

That if it be miniſtred vnto me by the miniſter, in ſuch vſage, as it hath bene left of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, preachyng alſo the word purely withall, I beleue that in receiuyng the materiall bread & wyne, I receiue with liuely fayth, the body and bloude of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually.

The body of Chriſt ſpiritually receiued in the ſacrament. Spiritually. Corporally.

The Doctor.

Nay, corporally.

The Martyr.

No ſir, for hys wordes be ſpirit and lyfe, and let this content you.

The Doctor.

What ſay you? is it lawfull for a prieſt to mary?

The Martyr.

Matrimony of miniſters.

I beleue it to be lawfull for him in ſuch ſorte, as the Apoſtle ſayth: Whoſoeuer hath not the gyft of continencie, let him mary: For it is better to marye then to burne. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of biſhops & Elders. 1.Tim.3. and Tit.1.

And thus the Doctors affirmyng that he denied prieſthode, gaue hym leaue to depart, ſaying, God haue mercy on you. So be it, ſayd he.

After this, about 22. of October, the ſayd Rebezies and Fredericke Danuile were brought vp to a chamber in ý Caſtle, to be racked, to the intent they ſhould vtter the reſt of the congregation. In ý which chamber they found three Councillers, who thus began with them: Lift vp thy hand, Thou ſhalt ſweare by the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Jmage here thou ſeeſt, ſhewyng him a great marmouſet there painted in a paper, &c. Whereunto Rebezies aunſwered, Monſieur I will ſweare to you by the Paſſion of Chriſte, whiche is written in my hart. Why doeſt thou not ſweare to vs, ſayd thee Counſailers, as we ſay vnto thee? Becauſe (ſayd he) it is a great blaſphemie agaynſt the Lord. Then the counſellers read their depoſitions, and firſt beginnyng with Rebezies ſayd: wilt thou not tell vs the truth, what companions thou knoweſt to be of this aſſemble? Rebezies named, as hee did before, Grauelle, Clinet (which were already burnt) and John Manſot. To whom they ſayd, that the Courte had ordayned, that if he would geue no other aunſwere but ſo, he ſhould be put to the torture or racke: and ſo was hee commaunded to bee ſtripped to his ſhyrte, hauyng a Croſſe put in his hand, and beyng byd to commende him ſelfe to God, and the virgin Mary: but he neither would receaue the Croſſe, nor commend him ſelfe to the virgin Mary, ſaying, that god was able enough to garde him and to ſaue him out of the Lyons mouth: and ſo, he beyng drawne and ſtretched in the ayre, beganne to crye: Come Lord, and ſhew thy ſtrength that man do not preuaile. &c. But they cryed, Tell truth, Fraunces, and thou ſhalt be let downe. Neuertheleſſe he continued ſtill in his Inuocation and prayer to the Lord, ſo that they could haue no other worde, but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the Counſellers ſayd, wilt thou, ſay nothyng els? I haue nothyng els, ſayd he to ſay. And ſo they commaunded him to be looſed, and be put by the fire ſide. Who beyng looſed, ſayd to them Do you handle thus the poore ſeruauntes of God? And the like was done to Fridericke Danuile alſo, his companion, of whom they could haue no other aunſwere (who at the ſame tyme was alſo very ſicke) but as of the other. So mightily did God aſſiſte and ſtrengthen his ſeruauntes, as euer he did any els by their owne letters and confeſſion as doth appeare. Ex litteris Franciſ. Rebez. in Criſp. lib.6.

The martirs racked.

The conſtancie of theſe Martyrs.

These conſtant and true Martyrs of Chriſt, after they returned from the torture, vnto their fellow priſoners, ceaſed not to thanke and prayſe the Lord for his aſſiſtaunce. Fredericke did ſigh oftentymes, and beyng aſked of hys fellowes why he ſo dyd, hee ſayd it was not for the euill that he had ſuffered, but for the euils that he knew they ſhould ſuffer afterward. Notwithſtandyng (ſayd he) be ſtrong brethren, and be not afrayde, aſſuryng your ſelues of the ayde of GOD which hath ſuccoured vs, and alſo will comfort you. Rebezies with the racke was ſo drawen and ſtretched, that one of hys ſhoulders was higher then the other, and hys necke drawen on the one ſide, ſo that he could not moue hymſelfe: and therfore deſiring hys brethren to lay hym vpon hys bed, there he wrote his confeſſion which hitherto we haue

Brotherly compaſſion.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

haue folowed. When the nyght came, they reioyſed together, and comforted them ſelues with meditation of the life to cum, and contempt of this world, ſinging Pſalmes together, till it was day. Rebezies cryed twiſe or thriſe together, away from me Satan. Fridericke beyng in bed with him, aſked, why hee cryed: and whether Satan would ſtoppe him of his courſe? Rebezies ſayd, that Satan ſet before hym, his parents, but by the grace of God, (ſayd he) hee ſhall do nothyng agaynſt me.

The comfort of Gods Saintes.

The day next folowyng, they were brought once or twiſe before the Counſellers, & required to ſhew, what felowes they had moe, of the ſayd aſſemble. Which when they would not declare, the ſentence was read agaynſt them, that they ſhould be brought in a dong carte, to Maulbert place, and there hauing a balle in there mouthes, to be tyed, ech one to hys poſte, and afterward to be ſtrangled, and ſo to bee turned into aſhes.

Afterward came the Friers and Doctors, Democares, Maillard and other, to confeſſe them, and offering to them a Croſſe to kyſſe, which they refuſed. Then Democares by force made Rebezies to kiſſe it, whether he would or no: crying to thẽ moreouer, that they ſhoulde beleue in thee Sacrament. What, ſayd Fridericke, will you haue vs to plucke Chriſt Jeſus out from the right hand of his father? Democares ſayd, that ſo many of their opinion had ſuffered death before, and yet none of them all, euer did any miracles, as the Apoſtles and holy Martyrs did, Fridericke aſked them, if they required any miracle. No ſayd they, and ſo ſtoode mute, ſaue onely that Democares prayed them to conſider well what they had ſayd vnto them. Maillard alſo added, that he would gage his ſoule to bee damned, but it was true. Fridericke aunſwered, that hee knew it was contrary.

Doct. Maillard gageth hys ſoule.

At laſt beyng brought to yͤ place of execution, a Croſſe agayne was offered them, which they refuſed. Then a Prieſt ſtandyng by, bad them beleue in the Virgin Mary. Let God, ſayd they, reigne alone. The people ſtandyng by ah miſchieuous Lutherane, ſayd they. Nay, a true Chriſtian I am, ſayd he. When they were tyed to their ſtakes, after their prayers made, when they were byd to bee diſpatched: one of them comfortyng the other, ſayd, be ſtrong my brother, be ſtrong: Satan away from vs. As they were thus exhortyng, one ſtãdyng by, ſaid: Theſe Lutherans do call vpon Satan. One John Morell (which afterward dyed a martyr) thẽ ſtãdyng by at libertie, aunſwered: I praye you let vs heare (ſayd he) what they ſay, and we ſhall heare them inuocate the name of God. Wherupon the people liſtened better vnto them to harken, as well as they could, what they ſayd: they crying ſtyll as much as their mouthes beyng ſtopped could vtter, Aſſiſte vs O Lord: and ſo they rendryng vp their ſpirites to the handes of the Lord, did conſummate their valiaunt Martyrdome. Ex. Criſp. lib.6.

John Morell was afterward burned.

The death & martyrdome of Ribezies & Daniel.

¶ After the Martyrdome of theſe two aboueſayd, the intention of the Judges was to diſpatche the reſt, one after an other, in like ſort, and had procured already proces agaynſt xij. or xiij. ready to bee iudged. But a certaine Gentlewoman then priſoner amongeſt them, had preſented cauſes of exceptions or refuſals agaynſt them, wherby the cruell rage of the enemyes was ſtayed, to the moneth of July folowyng. In the which meane time, as this perſecution was ſpread into other cõtreys, firſt the faythfull Cantõs of the Suitzers, perceauing theſe good men to bee afflicted for the ſame doctrine which they preached in their Churches, ſẽt their Ambaſſadours to the king, to make ſupplication for them.

The Suitzers make ſupplication to the Frẽch king for the Martyrs.

The ſame tyme alſo, came letters from the Coũtie Palatine Electour, tendyng to the ſame end, to ſollicite the kyng for them. The king ſtandyng the ſame tyme, in great nede of the Germaines, for his warres, was contented at leaſt, that they ſhoulde procede more gently with them, and ſo the fire for yͭ tyme, ceaſed. Moſt of them were ſent to Abbayes, where they were kept at the charge of the Priours to be conſtrayned to be preſent at the ſeruice of Idolatrye, eſpeciallye yͤ younge ſcholers: of whom ſome ſhrõke backe, other beyng more looſly kept, eſcaped away. The moſt part were brought before the Officiall, to make their confeſſion, and to receaue abſolution ordinary. Diuers made their confeſſion ambiguous and doubtfull. &c. Ex Ioan. Criſp. lib. 6. Ex Pantal. lib.xi.

Countie Palatine maketh interceſſion to the Frẽch kyng, for the Chriſtian priſoners.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	René Seau. Ioh. Almaricke. At Paris. An.1558.	Theſe two young men were alſo of the company aboue ſpecified, and were in priſõ where they ſuſteyned ſuch crueltye being almoſt racked to death, that Almaricke could not go when he was called to the courte to be iudged: and beyng vpon the racke, he rebuked their crueltye, and ſpake ſo freely, as though he had felt no grief (and as they ſaid which came to viſite hym) he teſtified vnto them, that he felte no dolour, ſo long as he was vppon it. Both theſe dyed in pryſon, continuyng ſtill firme and conſtant in yͤ pure confeſſion of Chriſtes church. Ibidem.
Villegaignõ a French captaine.	Ioh.Bordel Math.Vermeil. Peter Bourdon. Andrew de Fou. At the cõtrey of Breſill. An.1558.	Mention is made in the French ſtory of one Villegaignon, Lieutenaunt for the French Kyng, who made a viage into the land of Breſill, with certain French ſhips, and toke an iland nere to the ſame adioinyng, and made therin a fortreſſe. After they had ben there a while, Villegaignon, for lacke of victuals (as he pretended) ſente certayne of thẽ away in a ſhip, to the riuer of Plate, toward the Pole Antarticke, a thouſande miles of: in the which ſhip were theſe foure here mentioned: who forſakyng their ſhip by occaſion of tẽpeſt, were caried backe agayne, & ſo came to the land of Breſill, and afterward

René Seau, Iohn Almaricke, dyed in priſon.

Iohn Bordell, Mathew Vermell, Pet.Burdon, Martyrs.

He ſent them farre enough, becauſe they ſhould neuer returne pretendyng that he lacked victuall, but the cauſe was religion.

to their owne countreymen. Villegaignõ being much agreued therat, firſt charged them with departyng without hys leaue. Moreouer, being terrified in his mynd with falſe ſuſpicion and vayne dreames, fearyng and dreamyng leſt they had bene ſent as priuye ſpies, by the Breſilians, becauſe they came from thẽ, and had bene friendly intertayned of them: he began to deuiſe how he might put thẽ to death vnder ſome colour of treaſon: but the cauſe was religion: For albeit ſometyme he had bene a profeſſour of the goſpell, yet afterward growyng in ſome dignitie, he fell to be an Apoſtata, and a cruell perſecutor of his felowes. But when no proofe nor coniecture probable could be found to ſerue his cruell purpoſe, he knowyng them to be earneſt Proteſtants, drew out certain Articles of religion for them to aunſwer: and ſo, intrappyng them vpon their confeſſion, he layd them in irons and in priſon, and ſecretly with one executor & hys page, he toke one after an other, begynnyng with John Bordell, and firſt brought hym to the top of a rocke, and there beyng halfe ſtrangled, withou[illegible] iudgement threw him into the ſea, and after t[illegible] maner, ordered alſo the reſt. Of whom 3. were thus cruelly murdered & drowned: to wit, John Bordell, Mat. Vermeil, & Peter Burdõ. The 4. which was Andrew de Fou, he cauſed by manifold allurementes, ſomwhat to incline to hys ſayings, and ſo he eſcaped yͤ danger, not without great offence taken of a great

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
		part of the Frenchmen in that countrey. Ex Criſp. lib.6. & Ex Comment. Gallic. de ſtatu Religionis & Reipub.
The kinges Lieuetenāt.	Geffrey Varagle. At Thurin, in Piedmont. An.1558.	In the ſame yeare 1558. ſuffered alſo Geffrey Varagle preacher in the Valley of Angroigne, at thee towne of Thurin in Piedmont, who firſt was a monke & ſayd Maſſe thee ſpace of xxvij. yeares. Afterward returning from Buſque, toward Angroigne, to preach, as hee had vſed before to do, ſent by the Miniſters of Geneua, and other faithful brethren; was apprehēded in yͤ towne of Barges, and brought before thee kinges Lieutenaunt: where he was queſtioned with, touchyng diuers Articles of religion: as of iuſtificatiō, works of ſupererogation, frewill, predeſtination, confeſsiō, ſatiſfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, The Pope, &c. Wherunto he anſwered agayne in writing, with ſuch learnyng and reaſon, alleaging againſt the Popes owne diſtinctions, namely, Diſtinct.19.cap. Dominus. Diſtinct.21.cap. In nono. Diſt.21.cap. omnes. & cap. Sacroſancta, that as the ſtorye reporteth, the court of Thurin meruelyng at his learnyng, condemned him more for reproche of ſhame, then vpon true opinion grounded of Iudgement. When hee was brought to the place of execution, the people which ſtoode by, and heard him ſpeake, declared openly, that they ſaw no cauſe, why hee ſhould dye. A certaine old companion of hys, a Prieſt, callyng him by hys name M. Geffrey, deſired him to conuert from his opinions. To whom he paciently aunſwered agayne, deſiring him, that he would conuert from hys condition. And thus after he had made his prayer vnto God, and had forgeuen his Executioner, and all his enemies, he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned. In yͤ foreſayd ſtorye, relation is made moreouer, concerning the ſayd Geffrey, that at the time of his burning, a doue was ſeene (as was credebly reported of many) flying and fluttering diuers times about the fire, teſtifying (as was thought) the innocencie of this holy Martyr of the Lorde. But the ſtorye addeth, that vpon ſuch thinges, we muſt not ſtaye, and ſo concludeth he the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man. Ex Cripſ.lib.6.Pag.897.
Lanteaume Blanc. De Lauris, Counſailor and ſonne in law, to Miners lord of Opede, the cruell perſecutor. Anthony Reueſt, the lieuetenant. Barboſi iudge, Ordinary of Draguignā. Ioachim Partauier, the kinges Aduocate. Caual, and Caualieri, Conſuls. The Officiall. Gaſper Siguier Officer in Draguignan. A Frier obſeruaunt.	Benet Romian, a Mercer or Haberdaſher. At Draguignan in, Prouince. An.1558.	The lamentable ſtory of Benet Romian is deſcribed at large, among other French Martyrs, by Iohn Criſpine printer: the briefe recital wherof, here followeth. This Benet hauyng wyfe and children at Geneua, to get his liuing vſed to goe about the countrey with certain Mercery ware, hauyng cunnyng alſo among other thinges, how to dreſſe Corals. As he was commyng toward Marſeille, & paſſed by the towne Draguignan, he happened vpon one of the lyke facultie, named Lanteaume Blanc. Who beyng deſirous to haue of his Corals and could not agre for the price, alſo knowyng that he was one of Geneua, went to a counſailor of the court of Aix, beyng then at Draguignan, whoſe name was de Lauris ſonne in law to Miners, Lord of Opede, the great perſecutour againſt Merindoll, &c. This Lauris conſultyng together with yͤ foreſayd Blanc, and pretendyng to buy certayne of hys Corall which he ſaw to be very faire, and knowing alſo that he had to the worth of 300. crounes incontinent after hys departyng from hym, he ſent to the officer of the towne to attach yͤ ſayd Benet, as one beyng the greateſt Lutherane in the world. Thus when he was arreſted, for the kinges priſoner Blanc & hys fellowes, which ſought nothing but onely the pray, were ready to ſeaſe vpon his goods, and likewiſe of the other ij. men, whom he hyred to beare hys merchaundiſe. Then were theſe thre poore men ſeparated a ſonder, and Romian examined before the Conſuls and the kynges Aduocate and other Counſellers, where he kepte his Eaſter, whether he receaued at the ſame Eaſter, and whether he was confeſſed before, and faſted ther Lent: alſo hee was bid to ſay his Pater noſter, the Crede, and Aue Maria. Which two firſt he did, but denied to ſay Aue Maria. Then was he aſked for worſhipping of ſaintes, women ſaintes, and men ſaintes, and when he heard Maſſe: He ſayd he would worſhip none but God alone. Maſſe he heard none theſe 4. yeares, nor euer would. Wherupon he was committed to a ſtinkyng houſe of eaſement, with irons and cheynes vpō hys legges. Lauris thus hauyng hys will vpon yͤ poore man, ſent for the Lieutenant, named Antony Reueſt, told hym what he had done, and willed hym to ſee the priſoner. The Lieutenant being angry that he did ſo vſurpe vpon hys office, denied to goe wyth hym to the priſoner, excuſing the filthy ſauour of the place. Notwithſtanding the ſame day, the Lieutenant with an other went to the priſon, and cauſed the ſayd Romian to come before him: of whome he enquired many thinges, of hys dwelling, of his name and age, his wyfe and children of his facultie, & cauſe of his commyng, alſo of his religion, & all ſuch points therto belonging. Unto whom he aunſwered agayne ſimply and truly in all reſpectes, as lay in hys conſcience, and therunto beyng required (becauſe he could write) he put to his marke. After his confeſſion, beyng thriſe made, and hys aunſwers taken, certayne faythfull brethrē of that place, found meanes to come to hym, and counſailed him that ſeyng he had ſufficiently already made confeſſion of his fayth, he would ſeke meanes to eſcape out from his enemies, which ſought nothing but his death, and ſhewed vnto him what he ſhould ſay to the Lieutenant but he refuſed ſo to do, willing there to render accompt of hys faith, and contented to die for the ſame. The fame of his conſtancy beyng knowen in the towne, Iudge Barboſi, a man blynd and ignoraunt, and no leſſe deformed, came to ſee hym, and aſked: what? do they beleue (ſayd he) in any God, in Geneua? Romian lookyng vpon hym, what art thou (ſayd he) that ſo wretchedly doeſt blaſpheme? I am (ſayd he) the Ordinarie Iudge of this place. And who hath put thee (ſayd Romian) ſuch a groſſe and

Geffrey Varagle, Martyr.

The report of a Doue flying about the Fyer.

Benet Romian, Martyr.

Of Miners the great perſecutor, read in the ſtory of Merindoll.

Interrogatories miniſtred to Romian.

Romian ſealeth the confeſſion of his fayth.

Romian refuſeth to eſcape.

Barboſi, perſecutor.

A groſſe queſtion of a groſſe Iudge

and deformed perſō, in ſuch an office? Thinkeſt thou that we be infidels, and no Chriſtians? And if the deuils themſelues do confeſſe a God, ſuppoſe you, that they of Geneua do deny their God? No, no, we beleue in God, we inuocate his name, and repoſe all our truſt in him. &c. Barboſi tooke ſuch grief with this, departyng from Romian, that he ceaſed not to purſue hym to death.

A free anſwere of a poore priſoner.

The Lieutenaunt then beyng vrged & much called vpō, and alſo threatned by this Barboſi, & other, prepared to procede in iudgement agaynſt him, takyng to him ſuch Iudges & aduocates, as the order there required. There was the ſame tyme, an obſeruaunt Frier, which had there preached all the Lent. He beyng very eger & diligent to haue the poore Chriſtian burned, & ſeyng the Iudges intentiue about the buſines, to ſet the matter forward, ſayd that he would go & ſay Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, to illuminate their intentes, to haue the ſayd Romian condemned, & burned aliue at a litle fire. Moreouer he procured Caual and Caualieri the Conſuls, to threaten the Lieutenaunt, that they would complayne of him to the hygh Court of Parliamēt, if he would not after that ſorte, cōdēne him to be burnt. In the meane tyme, the faithfull Chriſtians of the ſayd towne, fearyng leſt by his rackyng, daunger might happen to the brethren, ſent to Romian againe in the priſon, certaine inſtructiōs, and meanes how he might be ayded, ſuch as ſhould not be againſt God. But whē the Lieutenaūt came, the poore man forgot his inſtructions: ſo ſimple he was, and ignoraunt of the ſubtilties of this world.

Maſſe a cōmon inſtrument for all thinges, and alſo to blow the fire.

Filij huius ſeculi prudentiores in ſua generatione, quam filij lucis.

Whē the time came that yͤ Iudges were ſet, & the proces ſhould be read, Barboſi, with other whō the Frier had procured, had agreed before, that he ſhould be fired alyue, and put to the racke, to diſcloſe his felowes, & alſo gagged that he might not ſpeake & infect the reſidue. On the other part, one there was of the Aduocates (albeit a man wholy ſuperſtitious) ſeyng the rage of the other, gaue cōtrary aduiſe, ſaying: that he ſhould be ſēt home agayne, for that he was a town dweller of Geneua, neither had taught there any kinde of doctrine, nor brought any books, neither had they any informations agaynſt him: & that which he had ſpoken, was as a thyng conſtrayned by his othe forced by the Iuſtice. And as touchyng his opinion, it was no other, but as other young men dyd folow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that there remayned no more but onely the Lieutenaūt to geue his verdict, &c. Thus much beyng ſpoken, & alſo becauſe the Lieutenaunt was before ſuſpected, & the time of dyner drew neare, they aroſe for that tyme, differryng the matter to an other ſeaſon. The Frier obſeruaunt, in this meane while was not idle, incityng ſtill the Conſuls & the people: who at the ringyng of a bell, being aſſembled together, with the Officiall and the Prieſtes, in a great route, came cryng to the Lieutenāt, to burne the hereticke or els they would fire him & all his familie: & in ſemblable wiſe, did the ſame to the other Iudges & Aduocates: The officiall moreouer added, that if it were not better ſene to, then ſo, the Lutherās would take ſuch courage, & ſo ſhut vp their Church doores, that no man ſhould enter in. Then, becauſe the Lieutenāt would not take to him other Iudges after their myndes, in all poſthaſt, the people contributed together, that at their owne charge, the matter ſhould be purſued at the Parliament of Aix, and ſo compelled the Lieutenaunt to bryng the proces vnto Iudgement, euery man cryng: to the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

Good counſell of an Aduocate.

The Frier ſtill bloweth the coale of perſecution.

The Lieutenant beyng not able otherwiſe to appeaſe the people, promiſed to bryng the matter to the high Court of Aix, and ſo he dyd. They hearyng the information of the cauſe, cōmaunded the Lieutenaunt, & the other Iudges to deale no further therin, but to ſend vp the proces & the priſoner to them. This went greatly agaynſt the myndes of them of Draguignan, which would fayne haue him condēned there. Wherupon Barboſi was ſent out to the parliamēt of Aix, where he ſo practiſed & laboured the matter, that the cauſe was ſent down agayne to the Lieutenant, and he enioyned to take vnto him ſuch auncient Aduocates, as their old order required, & to certifie them agayne within viij. dayes. And ſo Romian by the ſentence of thoſe old Iudges, was condēned to be burned alyue, if he turned not: if he dyd, then to be ſtrangled, and before the execution, to be put vpō the racke, to the entent he ſhould diſcloſe the reſt of hys company. From the which ſentence Romian then appealed, ſaying that he was no hereticke. Whereupon he was caryed vnto Aix, ſinging the Commaundemētes, as he paſſed by yͤ towne of Draguignā. Which when the kynges Aduocate did ſee, lookyng out of hys wyndow, he ſayd vnto hym, that he was one of them that concluded hys death: but deſired God to forgeue hym. Romian aunſwered agayne and ſayde: God wyll iudge vs all in the laſt day of Iudgement. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the Counſellers, before whom he remayned no leſſe conſtant and firme, then afore. Then was a furniſhe Frier ſent, who being iij. houres wyth hym, & could not remoue hym, came out to the Lordes, and ſayde that he was damned: By reaſon wherof the ſentēce geuen before his condemnation, was confirmed, and he ſent backe againe from whence he came.

The cauſe of Romian remoued to the parliament of Aix.

The ſentence and cōdemnation of Romian.

Romiā, brought to Aix.

The kinges Aduocate [illegible].

At hys returne agayne from Aix, the Conſuls of Draguignan ſent abroad by Pariſhes, vnto the Curates, that they ſhould ſignifie to their Pariſhners, the day of hys death, to yͤ end that they ſhould come: alſo cauſed to be cryed through the towne, by yͤ ſound of a trompe, that all good Chriſtians ſhoulde bryng wood to the great market place, to burne the Lutherane. The day beyng come, which was Saterday, yͤ 16. day of May, the poore ſeruaunt of God, firſt was brought to the rack or torture, where, at his firſt entre, were brought before hym, the cordes, yrons, and weightes, to terrifie hym. Then ſayd they, he muſt vtter his complices & renounce his religion, or els he ſhould be burned aliue. He anſwered with a cōſtant hart, that he had no other complices, nor companiōs, neither would he hold any other faith, but that which Ieſus Chriſt did preach by his Apoſtles. Thē was he demaunded of his felowes taken with him, whether they did hold the fayth of Rome, or whether he did euer communicate with them, or did know them in the towne, or in Prouince, to be of hys fayth. He ſayd no. Item, what he had to do in that towne. He ſayd, to ſell hys Corall. Item, who gaue hym counſaile to appeale. God, he ſayd, by his ſpirit.

Romian returned againe from Aix to Draguignan.

Upon thys he was put vpon the gynne or racke, where he being torne moſt outragiouſly, ceaſed not ſtill to cry vnto God, that he woulde haue pitie vpon hym, for the loue of Ieſus Chriſt hys ſonne. Then was he commaūded to call to the virgin Mary: but that he would not. Wherupon his torture was renued a freſh, in ſuch cruel ſort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they ſent him to the Barbers, & finding yͭ he could endure no longer, were afrayd leſt he had bene paſt, & haſtened to bring him to yͤ fire. So, after they had aſſayd him by prieſts and fryers, as much as they coulde, to make him reuolte, they helped the hangman to beare hym, all broken and diſmembred, as he was, vnto the heape of wood, where they tyed hym to a cheyne of yrō, which was let downe vpon the fagottes. Romian ſeyng himſelfe to be alone, lying vpon the woode, began to pray to God. Wherat the fryers being moued, rāne to him againe to cauſe him to ſay, Aue Maria. Which when he would not do, they were ſo furious, yͭ they plucked and tare his beard. In all theſe anguiſhes, the meeke ſaint of God, had recourſe ſtil to god in his prayers, beſeeching him to geue him paciēce. Thē left they him lying as dead. But ſo ſoone as they deſcended downe from the wood, he began to pray to God againe, in ſuch ſort, as one would haue thought, yͭ he felt no hurt. Then an other great frier, ſuppoſing to do more with him then the reſt, came vp to the wood vnto hym, to admoniſh him. Romian thought at firſt that he had bene a faithfull Chriſtian, by his gentle ſpeach, but afterward, whē he vrged him to pray to yͤ virgin Mary, he deſired him to depart and let him alone in peace. As ſoone as he was departed, Romiā lifted vp his head & his eyes on hie, praying God to aſſiſt him in his great tētatiō. Thē a certaine fa[illegible] a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, [illegible] out & ſaid: he blaſphemeth, he blaſphemeth, he ſpeaketh againſt the bleſſed virgin Mary. Wherat Barboſi cryed, ſtoppe his mouth, let him be gagged. The people cryed to the fire, let hym be burned. Then the hāgmā ſet fire to the ſtraw, and litle ſtickes yͭ were about, which incontinent were ſet on fire. Romian ſtill remayned hanging in the ayre, tyll he dyed:

Romian [illegible] moſt piteouſly vpon the racke.

Romian broken with the racke & not able to go, was borne to the fire.

Crueltie of Friers.

A ſlaundering Frier.

Crucifige.
Crucifige eum.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

The cruell death and Martyrdome of bleſſed Romian.

and was burned, all his neither partes well neare, when he was ſene to lift vp his head to heauen, mouyng his lippes without any cry: and ſo this bleſſed Saint rendred his ſpirite to God.

Of this aſſemble there were diuers Iudgemẽts & ſondry brutes. Some ſayd, that if good mē had ben about him, it had gone better with him, & that thoſe Prieſtes & Monkes, which were about hym, were whoremaſters & infamous. Other ſayd that he had wrong: & that an hūdreth of that cōpany there were, which more deſerued death then he, eſpecially among them which condẽned him. Other went away, maruelyng, & diſputyng of his death and doctrine. And thus was the courſe finiſhed of this valiant & thriſe bleſſed Martyr and ſeruaunt of the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God. Ex Criſp. Lib. 6. pag. 902.

Frances Ciuaux, Martyr.

The Conuent of the Iacobin Friers at Dyion.

A Prieſt of Dyion.

Fraunces Ciuaux.

At Dyion.

An. 1558.

This Fraunces Ciuaux was Secretary to the Frenche Imbaſſadour here in England, in Queene Maryes tyme. Who afterward being deſirous to heare ỹ word of God, went to Geneua. Alſo hee was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or Coūſaile of Geneua: where hee continued about the ſpace of a yeare. Hauyng then certaine buſineſſe, he came to Dyion.

There was ỹ ſame tyme, a Prieſt that preached at Dyion ſuch doctrine, where at the ſayd Fraunces beyng worthely offēded, came frendly vnto the Prieſt and reaſoned with him, touchyng his doctrine, ſhewyng by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The Prieſt excuſed himſelfe, that he was not ſo well inſtructed to diſpute, but he would bryng him the next day, to a certaine learned man, whom he knew there in the towne, & deſired the ſayd Fraūces to go with hym to breakfaſt, where he would be glad to heare them two in conference together. Whereunto when Fraunces had conſented, the Prieſt incontinēt went to the Iacobine Friers, where ỹ matter was thus contriued, that at the breakfaſt tyme, Fraūces there vnwares, ſhould be apprehended.

A priuie Iudas.

Whē the next day came, the prieſt brought Fraūces, accordyng to his appointmēt, to a Iacobine Frier: who pretendyng much fayre frendſhyp vnto him, as one glad & deſirous of his company, beſought hym to take a breakfaſt with him the next morow, & there they would enter conference together. With this alſo Fraunces was content, & to prepare himſelfe the better to that cōflict, ſat vp almoſt all the night writing, with his felow. The next morow, as Fraūces with his fellow were preparyng themſelues toward the breakfaſt, the Iacobin, in the meane time, went to ỹ Iuſtice of ỹ town, to admoniſh him to be ready at the tyme & place appoynted. Thus, as the Iacobin was ſtādyng at the Iuſtices doore, the cōpanion of Fraūces ſeyng the Frier there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with himſelfe, & told Fraunces, willyng him to beware the Frier. Moreouer, the ſame night Fraūces had in his dreame, that the ſayd Frier ſhould commit him to the Iuſtice. But he, either not caryng for his dreames, or els not much paſſing for the daunger, cōmitted himſelfe to the hādes of God, & went. As they were together diſputyng in the Couent of the Iacobines, Fraunces thus betrayed of the prieſt, was apprehended, by the officers, caried to priſon, and within [illegible] dayes after, beyng Saterday before the Natiuitie of the Lord, was brought to the place of executiō, where firſt he was ſtrangled, & then burned. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Senatus Geneuenſis.

Frances admoniſhed by hys dreame.

And as touchyng the felow & companion of this Fraunces aboue mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with hym and put in priſon, but becauſe he was but a young nouice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted and was deliuered.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Prieſtes of Rochelle.

Monroy, a Prieſt.

The Lieutenaunt of Rochelle.

The Cardinall of Lorraine.

Magiſtri.

S. Andre.

Peter Arondeau.

At Paris.

An. 1559.

Peter Arondeau, martyr.

The towne of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commoditie becauſe of the Sea: ſo was it not inferiour to other good townes in Fraunce, for nouriſhyng & ſupportyng the holy aſſemblies of the Lord. Unto the which towne, about the yeare of our Lord 1559, reſorted one Peter Arōdeau, a mā of baſe conditiō, with a litle packet of mercery ware, there to ſell: who there beyng knowen, to adioyne himſelfe to the church & congregation of the faythful, was demaūded of certaine Miniſters of Antichriſt, whether he would go to here Maſſe, or no. He ſayd that hee had ben there to oft, to his great grief: and that ſince the tyme that ỹ Lord had taken the vayle from his eyes, he knew the Maſſe to be abhominable, forged in ỹ ſhop of the enemy of all mākynd. They to whom he thus aunſwered, were Prieſtes: amongeſt whom was one named Monroy, who takyng the other there preſent, for witneſſes, brought him ſtraight to ỹ Lieutenaunt. The depoſitiō being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his body ſhould be attached. And although by one of his frendes he was admoniſhed to ſaue himſelfe, & to auoyde their daūger yet he ceaſed not to put himſelfe in his enemyes handes, & ſo was led priſoner. As he was in priſon, many of the faythfull came to comfort him: but rather he was able to comfort not onely them, which came to comfort hym, but alſo the other, which were there priſoners with hym. The Prieſtes left no diligence vnſought, to ſtyrre vp the Lieutenaunt, which was of himſelfe, to much inflamed in ſuch matters.

The Maſſe.

Arondeau, after many interrogations and threatnyng wordes, and alſo fayre promiſes of his pardon, ſtill continued one man. Then the Lieutenaūt ſeyng his conſtancy condẽned him to death. Arondeau prayſing God for his grace geuen, did not a litle reioyſe ỹ he might ſuffer in that quarell, and in token of reioyſing did ſing a Pſalme, being fully reſolued to accept the ſayd condẽnation, without any appeale. But his frendes not pleaſed with this reſolutiō, came to him, & ſo perſuaded with him, not to geue his lyfe ſo good chepe, ouer to his enemies handes, that he was turned frō that, & made his appeale. The appeale beyng entred, ỹ Lieutenaūt, ſeekyng to gratifie the aduerſaries of the Goſpell, and eſpecially the Cardinall of Lorraine, ſecretly, by ỹ backe ſide of the town, & out of ỹ hygh way, conueyed the poore priſoner vnto Paris. Who beyng brought vnto Paris, by priuy iourneyes (as is ſayd) was put into priſon, committed to the cuſtody of two Preſidentes: to witte, Magiſtri, & S. Andre. By the meanes of whom, the ſentẽce of the Lieutenant was confirmed, & alſo put in execution, the 15. of Nouember in the yeare aboue ſayd: on the which day, the ſayd Arōdeau was burned quicke at the place called S. Iohn in Greue, at Paris. The conſtancy heroicall which God gaue him, & wherein he endured victorious vnto death, was a mirrour or glaſſe of pacience to M. Anne du Bourge Counſeller in the Parliament of Paris, & to diuers other thē priſoners, & was to them a preparation toward the like death, which ſhortly after they ſuffered.

Peter Arondeau condemned.

Peter Arondeau appealeth.

Not long after the happy end of this bleſſed Martyr, the forenamed Monroy, which was the principall accuſer & party agaynſt him, was ſtrocke with a diſeaſe called* Apoplexia, & therupon ſodenly dyed.

By this and many other ſuch like examples, the migh-

* Apoplexia, is a ſickneſſe engendred in the braine by aboundaunce of groſſe humors, which depriue thē that haue it, of ſpeach, feeling and mouing. Moſt commonly it aſſaileth gluttons, drunkerds, & ſurfeters.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.

mighty iudgement of God moſt euidently may appeare: who albeit commonly he doth vſe to begyn his iudgemẽt with his owne houshold in this world: yet neither doth his aduerſaries alwayes eſcape theſelues, the terrible hand of his iuſtice.

Gods iuſt vengeaunce vpon the Lieutenaunt a perſecutor.

Alſo the Lieutenãt, which was his condẽner, taried not lõg after the prieſt, but he was arreſted perſonally to appeare before the kings cõſaile, through the procuremẽt of a certaine Gentleman of Valence, called Anthony de Legliſe, agaynſt whom the ſayd Lieutenant had geuen falſe & wrong iudgement before. By reaſon whereof the foreſayd Gentlemã ſo inſtantly did purſue him, before the Lordes of the cõſaile, that all the extortions & pollynges of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcouered, & ſo he condẽned to pay to the Gentlemã a thouſand French crownes of the ſumme, within xiiij. dayes, vpon payne of double as much. Alſo he was depoſed of his office, and there declared vnworthy to exerciſe any royall office hereafter for euer, with infamy, and ſhame perpetuall. Ex Criſp. Lib. 6. pag. 907.

Note.

Thomas Moutarde, martir.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
A Prieſt of Valenciennes.	Thomas Moutarde. At Vallenciennes. An. 1559.	In the towne of Valencienes, not far frõ Fraunce, the ſame yeare, whiche was 1559. in the moneth of October ſuffered Thom. Moutarde, who firſt beyng conuerted from a diſordered life, to the knowledge of the Goſpel, is to be a ſpectacle of Gods great gratious mercy toward his elect Chriſtiãs. This Moutarde was accuſed for certain wordes ſpoken to a prieſt, ſaying thus, that his god of the paſte was

nothyng but abhomination, which abuſed the people of God. These wordes were taken firſt as ſpoken in his dronkẽnes. But the next day after, whẽ the ſame wordes were repeted to him agayne, to know whether he would abyde by the wordes there vttered, or no: he ſayd, yea. For it is an abuſe (ſayd he) to ſeeke Jeſus Chriſt any other where, then in heauen, ſittyng at the glory & right hand of God his father: and in this, he was ready to lyue & dye. His proces beyng made, he was condemned to be burned quicke. But as he was caried frõ the towne houſe, to the place of puniſhment, it was there ſene, a man with ſuch cõſtancy to be ſo aſſured in hert, & ſo to reioyce at that great honor, which God had called him vnto. The hãgman haſted as much, as was poſſible, to bynde him, & diſpatch him. The Martyr in the middeſt of the flamyng fire, liftyng vp his eyes vnto heauen, cryed to the Lord, that he would haue mercy on his ſoule: & ſo in great integritie of fayth & perſeueraunce, he gaue vp his life to God. Ex Ioan. Criſp. Lib. 6.

Agaynſt the bodely preſence of Chriſt in the hoſte.

Conſtancie of a good conſcience.

☞ This Dutch ſtory ſhould haue gone before, with the Dutch Martyrs. But ſeyng Valẽciẽnes is not farre diſtant from Fraunce it is not much out of order, to adioyne the ſame with the Frẽch Martyrs: who altogether at length, ſhalbe ioyned in ỹ kingdome of Chriſt: which day the Lord ſend ſhortly. Amen.

¶ Thus haue we (through the aſſiſtaunce of the Lord) deduced the Table of the French and alſo of the Dutch Martyrs, vnto the tyme and reigne of Queene Elizabeth, that is, to the yeare. 1560. Since the which tyme, diuers alſo haue ſuffered, both in Fraunce, and in the lower countrey of Germany, whoſe ſtoryes ſhalbe declared (the Lord willyng) more at large, when we come to the tyme of Queene Elizabeth. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent, to inſert their names onely, which here do folow.

¶ The reſidue of the Frẽch Martyrs.

Martyrs.

ANne du Bourge, Counſailer of Paris. Andrewe Coiſſier, Iohn Iſabeau, Iohn Indet, Martyrs of Paris, Geoffrey Guerin, Iohn Morell, Iohn Barbeuille, Peter Cheuet, Marin Marie, Margarite Riche, Adriã Dauſſi, Gilles le Court, Phillip Parmentier, Marin Roſſeau, Peter Milot, Iohn Berſoy: Beſides the tumulte of Amboiſe, the perſecution of Vaſſi, Auſten Marlorat, Maſter Mutonis.

¶ The reſidue of the Dutch Martyrs.

Martyrs.

IAmes de Lo, of the Ile of Flaunders, Iohn de Buiſſons at Antwerpe, Peter Petit, Iohn Denis, Gymõ Guilmin, Simeon Herme of the Ile of Flanders, Iohn de Lannoy at Tournay. Andrew Michell, a blynde man, at Tournay, Frances Varlut, at Tournay, Alexander Dayken of Bramchaſtle, William Cornu, in Henault, Antony Caron of Cambray, Renaudine de Francuile, Certeine ſuffered at Tournay, Michell Robilart of Aras, Nicaiſe de le Tombe, at Tournay, Roger du Mont.

¶ To the Catalogue of French Martyrs aboue rehearſed, the ſtory of Merindoll and Cabriers, with the lamentable handlyng of them, were alſo to be annexed. But becauſe the narration thereof is prolixe, and can not well be contracted into a ſhort diſcourſe, therfore we haue differred the ſame to a more conuenient rowme, after the Table here folowing next of ỹ Spaniſhe and Italian Martyrs: where better opportunitie ſhalbe geuen, to proſecute more at full that Tragicall perſecution, the Lord ſo permitting.

Touching the ſtory of Merindoll. Vid. inf.

¶ A Table of ſuch Martirs, as for the cauſe of Religion, ſuffered in Spayne.

The Spaniſh Martyrs.

Frances San Romane, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Spaniſhe marchantes in Antwerp. The fryers of Antwerpe.	Franciſcus San Romanus. At Burgis in Spayne. An. 1542.	AN. 1540. this Frances was ſent by certaine Spaniſh Marchauntes of Antwerpe, to Breme, to take vp money due to be payde of certayne Marchauntes there. Where he beyng at a Sermõ, hearing M. Iacobus, prior ſometimes of the Auſten fryers of Antwerpe, preach, was ſo touched & moued (through ỹ marueilous working of gods ſpirite) at the hearyng thereof, albeit hauing no perfect vnderſtanding of the Dutche

tounge, that not onely he vnderſtode all that there was ſayd, but alſo commyng to the preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly buſines ſet apart) there recited the whole contents of hys Sermon, euery thing (as they ſayd, which heard the ſayd miniſter of Breme preach) in perfecte forme and order, as he had preached. After this litle taſte, and happy beginning, he proceded further, ſearchyng and conferring with learned men, that in ſhort ſpace, he was growen in great towardnes, and rype knowledge in the word of life. The Miniſter merueiling at the ſodeine mutation of the man, and alſo ſeeing the vehemencie of hys zeale ioyned withall, began to exhort him, how to temper himſelf with circumſpection, and diſcretiõ, ſtill more and more inſtructing hym in the word and knowledge of ỹ goſpell, which he ſo gredely did receiue, as one that could neuer be ſatiſfied: and ſo remayned he with the miniſter iii. dayes together, omitting his worldly buſines and meſſage that he was ſent for, vnto hys felow which came with hym. Thus beyng inflamed wyth

The conuerſion of San Romane.

wyth an other deſire, he ceaſed to ſeeke for temporall trifles, ſeekyng rather for ſuch French or Dutch bookes, which he could get, to read: and agayne, read the ſame ſo diligently, that partly by yͤ reading thereof, partly by M. Jacobus, and alſo by M. Machabeus (which was there the ſame tyme) he was able in ſhort tyme, to iudge in the chief Articles, of our religion: In ſomuch, that he tooke vpon hym to write letters vnto his cōtreymē the Marchauntes of Antwerpe, in the which letters, firſt he gaue thankes to God for the knowledge of his holy word, which he had receaued. Secondly he bewayled the great cruelty, and groſſe blyndnes of his countreymen, deſiryng God to open their eyes and eares, to ſee and vnderſtand the word of their ſaluation. Thirdly he promiſed ſhortly to come to them at Antwerpe, to conferre with them, touchyng the grace of God, which he had receaued. Fourthly declareth to them his purpoſe in goyng alſo to Spayne, intēdyng there likewiſe to impart to his parentes, and other frendes at Burges, the holeſome doctrine, which the Lord had beſtowed vpon hym.

Frances writeth to the Marchauntes of Antwerpe.

Beſide this he addreſſed other letters alſo to Charles the Emperour, openyng to hym the calamities & miſerable ſtate of Chriſtes Church, deſiryng hym to tender the quietnes therof, eſpecially that he would reforme the miſerable corruption of the Church of Spayne. &c. Ouer and beſides all this, he wrote there a Catechiſme, & diuers other treatiſes in the Spaniſh toung. And all this he dyd in one monethes ſpace.

Frances writeth to the Emperor.

In the meane tyme the Spaniſh Marchauntes of Antwerpe, vnderſtandyng by his letters, both his chaunge of religion, & alſo his purpoſe of commyng to Antwerpe, ſent him letters agayne, pretendyng outwardly a fayre countenaunce of much good will, but ſecretly practiſing his deſtruction. For at the day appoynted of his cōmyng, certaine Friers were ſet ready to receaue him, which tooke him commyng downe from his horſe, ryfled his bookes, had him into a marchauntes houſe neare hād, where they examined him: with whom he agayne diſputed mightely, and when they found him not agreyng to their fayth they bound him hand and foote, cryyng out vpon him, and callyng him Lutherane, & burnt his bookes before his face, threatnyng to burne hymſelfe alſo. At this diſputation within the houſe, diuers Spanyardes were preſent, which made the Friers more bold. Beyng demaunded to ſhew of what fayth and religiō he was: my faith (ſaid he) is to cōfeſſe & preach Chriſt Jeſus onely and him crucified, which is the true fayth of the vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt thorough the whole world. But this fayth and doctrine you haue corrupted, takyng an other abhominable kynde of lyfe, and by your impietie haue brought the moſt part of the world, into blyndnes moſt miſerable: and to explane his fayth to thē more expreſſely, he recited all the Articles of the Creede.

Frances betrayed by Spaniſhe Marchauntes.

The fayth & confeſſion of San Romane.

Which done, thē the Friers aſked whether he beleued the Byſhop of Rome to be Chriſtes vicare, & head of the Church, hauyng all the treaſures of the Church in his owne power, beyng able to bynde and looſe: alſo to make new articles, & aboliſh the old, at his owne will & arbitrement. Herunto Fraunces aūſwered agayne, that he beleued none of all this, but contrary did affirme, that the Pope was Antichriſt, beaſte of the deuil, beyng the enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, tranſferring to hymſelfe Gods honour: & which moreouer beyng incited by the deuill, turned all thynges vpſide downe, & corrupted the ſinceritie of Chriſtes religion, partly by his falſe pretences beguilyng, partly by his extreme cruelty deſtroying the poore flocke of Chriſt. &c. With the like boldnes he vttered his mind likewiſe againſt the Maſſe & Purgatory. The Friers could ſuffer him meanely well to ſpeake, till he came to the pope, & began to ſpeake againſt his dignitie, & their profite: then could they abyde no lōger, but thundred agaynſt hym wordes full of cruelty & terrour. As they were burnyng of his bookes, & began [illegible] caſt the new Teſtament into the fire, Fraunces ſeyng that, begā to thunder out agaynſt them agayne. The Spanyardes then ſuppoſing him not to be in his right ſenſes, conueyed him into a Tower ſix myles diſtant from Antwerpe, where he was deteined in a deepe caue, or dungeon, with much miſery, the ſpace of viij. monethes. In which tyme of his impriſonment, many graue, and diſcrete perſons came to viſite him, exhortyng hym, that he would chaūge his opinion, & to ſpeake more modeſtly. Frāces aunſwered agayne, that he mainteined no opiniō erroneous, or hereticall: & if he ſeemed to be ſomwhat vehement with the Friers, that was to be aſcribed not to him ſo much, as to their owne importunitie: hereafter he would frame himſelfe more temperatly. Whereupon the Spanyardes thinkyng him better come to himſelfe, diſcharged him out of priſon. Which was about the time whē the Emperour was in his counſell at Ratiſbone. an. 1541.

The Pope Antichriſt.

The Popes crowne and the Fryers bellies are not to be touched.

Frances brought into priſon.

San Romane deliuered out of priſon.

San Romane thus beyng freed out of priſon, came to Antwerpe, where he remained about twenty dayes. From thence he went to Louane, vnto a certaine frend of his, named Frāciſcus Dryander (who alſo afterward dyed a Martyr) with whom he had much conference, about diuers matters of Religion: who gaue him counſaile not to alter the ſtate of hys vocation, being called to be a marchaunt, which ſtate he might exerciſe with a good conſcience, & do much good. And as touchyng Religion, his counſaile was that he ſhould ſay or do nothyng, for fauour of men, whereby the glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed: but ſo, that he required notwithſtandyng in the ſame, a ſounde & a right iudgement, conformed to the rule of Gods word, leſt it might chaūce to hym, as it doth to many, who beyng caried with an inconſiderate zeale, leaue their vocations, & while they thinke to do good, and to edifie, they deſtroy, & do harme, and caſt themſelues needeles into daūger. It is God (ſayd he) that hath the care of his Church, and will ſtirre vp faithfull Miniſters for the ſame: neither doth he care for ſuch, which raſhly intrude themſelues, into that function without any callyng.

Frances Dryander.

This aduertiſement of Dryander, Fraunces did willyngly accept, promiſing hereafter to moderate himſelfe more conſiderately. But this promiſe was ſhortly brokē, as you ſhal here. For paſſing frō Dryander, he went to Ratiſbone, & there hauyng tyme & opportunitie cōuenient to ſpeake to the Emperour, he ſtepped boldly vnto hym, beſeechyng hym to deliuer his countrey and ſubiectes of Spayne, frō falſe religiō, & to reſtore agayne the ſinceritie of Chriſtes doctrine, declaryng & proteſtyng that the Princes and Proteſtantes of Germany, were in the truer part, & that the religion of Spayne beyng drowned in ignoraunce & blyndnes, was greatly diſſonant frō yͤ true & perfect word of God, with many other wordes perteynyng to the ſame effect. The Emperour all this while, gaue hym gentle hearyng, ſignifying that he would conſider vpon the matter, & ſo do therin, as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt. This quyet aunſwere of the Emperour, miniſtred to him no litle encouragement of better hope, albeit he might perceaue there in the Citie, many exāples to the contrary, yet all that diſcouraged not him, but he went the ſecond, & alſo the third tyme, vnto the Emperour: who quietly agayne ſo aunſwered him as before. And yet this our Fraunces not ſatiſfied in his mynde, ſought with a greater ardēcie the fourth tyme, to ſpeake to the Emperour, but he was repulſed by certaine of the Spanyardes about the Emperour, who incōtinent without all further hearyng or aduiſing the cauſe, would haue throwen hym headlong into the riuer of Danubius, had not the Emperour ſtayd them, & willed him to be iudged by the lawes of the Empire. By which cōmaundement of the Emperour, he was reſerued, & deteined with other malefactors, in bandes, till the Emperour tooke his viage into Aphrike. Thē Frāces, with other captiues folowyng the Court, after that the Emperour was come into Spayne, was there deliuered to yͤ Inquiſitors: by whō he was laid in a darke priſon vnder the grounde. Oft and many tymes he was called for to examinatiō, where he ſuffered great iniuries and contumelies, but euer remained in his conſcience firme and vnmoueable. The Articles wherupon he ſtode, and for which he was condemned, were theſe.

The boldnes of Sā Romane to the Emperour.

The Emperours gentle aunſwere.

Frances San Romane brought into Spayne.

That lyfe and ſaluation in the ſight of God, commeth to no mā by his own ſtrength, workes, or merites: but onely by the free mercy of God, in the bloud and Sacrifice of his ſonne our mediatour.

The articles of Sā Romane.

That the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, which the Papiſtes do recounte auaileable, Ex opere operato, for remiſſion of ſinne, both to the quicke and dead, is horrible blaſphemy.

Tha

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

That auricular confeſſion, with the numberyng vp of ſinnes, that Satiſfactiõ, Purgatory, Pardõs, Inuocation of Saintes, worſhyppyng of Images, be mere blaſphemy agaynſt the liuyng God.

Item, that the bloud of Chriſt is prophaned and iniuried in the ſame aforeſayd.

After the Inquiſitours perceaued, that by no meanes he could be reclaimed from his aſſertiõs, they proceded at laſt, to the ſentence, condemnyng hym to be burned for an hereticke. Many other malefactors were brought alſo with him to the place of executiõ, but all they were pardoned & diſmiſſed: he onely for the Goſpell, beyng odious to the whole world, was taken & burned. As he was led to the place of ſufferyng, they put vpon him a Miter of paper, paynted full of deuils, after the Spaniſh guiſe.

Barabas deliuered, and Chriſt takẽ.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the Citie gate to be burned, there ſtode a wooden Croſſe by the way, wherunto Frances was required to do homage. Which he refuſed, aunſweryng, that the maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhyp woode, and he was (ſayd he) a Chriſtian. Hereupon aroſe great clamor among the vulgare people, for that he denyed to worſhip the wooden Croſſe. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blynd rudenes of that people, that they did impute this to the diuine vertue, as geuen that Croſſe from heauen, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelfe to be worſhypped of an hereticke: and immediatly, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their ſwordes, did hewe it in peeces, euery man thinkyng him ſelfe happy, that might cary awaye ſome chyppe or fragment of the ſayd Croſſe.

The maner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip wood.

A great Spaniſhe myracle.

When he was come to the place, where he ſhould ſuffer, the Friers were buſie about hym, to haue him recant: but he continued euer firme. As he was layd vpon the heape of woode, and the fire kyndled about him, he began a litle at the feelyng of the fire, to lyft vp his head toward heauen: Which when the Inquiſitours perceaued, hopyng that he would recant hys doctrine, they cauſed hym to be taken from the fire. But when they perceaued nothyng leſſe in him, the aduerſaries beyng fruſtrate of their expectation, willed hym to be throwen in agayne, and ſo was he immediatly diſpatched.

Frances cõſtant to the death.

The death & martirdome of Frances San Romane.

After that the Martyrdome of this bleſſed man was thus conſummate, the Inquiſitors proclaymed openly that he was dãned in hell, and that none ſhould pray for him: yea and that all were heretickes, whoſoeuer doubted of his damnation. Neuertheles certaine of the Emperours ſouldiours gathered of hys aſhes. Alſo the Engliſh Ambaſſadour procured a portion of his bones to be brought vnto hym, knowyng right well that he dyed a Martyr. Yet this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the eares of the Inquiſitors & of the Emperour. Wherfore the ſouldiours goyng in great daunger of life, were cõmitted to priſõ. Neither did the Ambaſſadour himſelf eſcape cleare frõ the daunger of the Popes ſcourge: For he was vpõ the ſame ſequeſtred frõ the Court & cõmaũded to be abſent for a ſpace. And thus much cõcerning the notable Martyrdome of this bleſſed San Romane. Ex Franc. Encena. Hiſpano, teſte occulato.

The Inquiſitours of Spaine take Chriſtes office to iudge the quicke & the dead.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadour baniſhed the Spaniſh court.

Rochus Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
An Inquiſitour in Spayne.	Rochus. At San Lucar in Spayne. An. 1545.	Rochus was borne in Brabãt, his father dwellyng in Antwerpe. By his ſciẽce hee was a caruer or grauer of Images. Who as ſoone as hee began, firſt to taſt the Goſpell, he fell frõ makyng ſuch Images as vſe to ſerue for Idolatry in Temples, & occupyed hymſelfe in makyng ſeales: ſaue onely that hee kept ſtandyng on hys ſtalle, an image of the virgine Mary artificially grauen, for a ſigne of his occupatiõ. It happened vnhappely, that a certaine

Inquiſitour paſſing by in the ſtreete, & beholding yͤ carued Image, aſked of Rochus what was yͤ price thereof. Which when Rochus did ſet (not willing belyke to ſell it) the Inquiſitour bed him ſcarſe halfe the money. The other aunſwered agayne yͭ he could not ſo lyue of that bargaine. But ſtill the Inquiſitour vrged hym to take his offer. To whom Rochus agayne, it ſhall be yours (ſayd he) if you geue me that, which my labour and charges ſtand me in, but of that price I can not afforde it: yet had I rather breake it in peeces. Yea, ſayth the Inquiſitour, breake it, let me ſee thee. Rochus wyth that tooke vp a Chyſell, and daſhed it vpon the face of the Image, wherewith the noſe or ſome other part of the face was blemiſhed. The Inquiſitour ſeeing that, cryed out, as he were mad, and commaũded Rochus forthwith into priſon. To whom Rochus cryed agayne, that he might do in hys owne workes, what he liſted. And if the workmãſhip of the Image were not after hys phantaſie, what was that to them? But all this could not helpe Rochus, but within iij. dayes after, ſentence was geuen vpon hym that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the executers. As Rochus was entring the place, there to be burned, he cryed with a loud voyce, aſkyng among the multitude, which there ſtoode by, if any man of Flaunders, were there. It was aunſwered, yea: and alſo that there were ij. ſhips already fraught and appoynted to ſayle to Flaũders. Thẽ, ſayd he, I would deſire ſome of thẽ to ſignifie to my father dwelling in Antwerpe, yͭ I was burned here in this city, & for this cauſe which you all haue heard. And thus after hys prayers made to God, this good man being wrongfully cõdemned, after his godly life, made this bleſſed end, an. 1545.

A caruer burned for breaking hys owne Image.

The death and Martyrdome of Rochus.

And leaſt this ſo rare and ſtraunge example of crueltie ſhall ſeeme to lacke credite, in the fift booke of the hiſtory of Pantaleon, there is recorded that a certayne Spanyard commyng to Antwerpe, made diligent inquiſition there among the Image makers to finde out the parentes of thys Rochus, & ſignified to them what had happened toward their ſonne, as hath bene by his ſaid parentes and frendes declared: In ſo much that it is alſo teſtified, that hys father, at the hearing of the ſayde meſſage, for ſorowe thereof, dyed ſhortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

☞ Furthermore, beſides theſe aboue recited, and alſo before their time, I heare and vnderſtand by faythfull relation, that diuers other haue bene in the ſayd countrey of Spayne, whoſe hartes God had merueilouſly illuminate and ſtirred vp, both before, and alſo ſince the commyng in of the Inquiſition, to ſtand in defence of hys Goſpell, and which were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſayde to haue dyed in priſon: Albeit their names as yet are vnknowen, for that the ſtories of that countrey be not yet come to lyght, but I truſt ſhortly ſhal, as partly ſome intelligence I haue thereof. In the meane tyme we will come now to the Inquiſition of Spayne, ſpeaking ſomethyng of the ceremoniall pompe, and alſo of the barbarous abuſe and crueltie of the ſame.

Diuers good men & martyrs of Spayne, dyed in priſon.

The execrable Inquiſition of Spayne.

The cruell and barbarous Inquiſition of Spayne, firſt began by kyng Ferdinandus and Eliſabeth hys wife, and was inſtituted agaynſt the Iewes, which after their baptiſme, mainteined againe their owne ceremonies. But now it is practiſed agaynſt them that be neuer ſo litle ſuſpected to fauour yͤ veritie of the Lord. The Spanyardes, and eſpecially yͤ great diuines there do hold, that this holy and ſacrate Inquiſition can not erre, and that the holy fathers the Inquiſitours, can not be deceaued.

The forme and maner of the Inquiſition of Spayne.

The Spaniſhe inquiſition can not erre.

Three ſortes of men moſt principally be in daunger of theſe inquiſitours. They that be greatly rich, for the ſpoyle of their goodes. They that be learned, because they will not haue their miſdealinges and ſecrete abuſes to be eſpied and detected. They that begyn to encreaſe in honour and dignitie, leaſt they beyng in authoritie, ſhould worke them ſome ſhame, or diſhonor. The abuſe of thys Inquiſition is moſt execrable. If any worde ſhall paſſe out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in euill part: yea, & though no word be ſpoken, yet if they beare any grudge or euill will agaynſt the partie, incontinent they commaunde

Three ſortes of men chiefly in daunger of the Inquiſition.

Example of the ſame wel appeareth in Rochus aboue mētioned.

maunde hym to be taken, and put in an horrible priſon, and thē finde out crimes agaynſt him at leaſure, and in the meane tyme no man liuing ſo hardy once to open his mouth for hym. If the father ſpeake one word for his child, he is alſo taken, and caſt into priſon, as a fauourer of heretickes. Neither is it permitted to any perſon, to enter to the priſoner: but there he is alone, in ſuch a place, where he can not ſee ſo much as the ground, where he is, and is not ſuffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darknes palpable, in horrors infinite, in feare miſerable, wraſtlyng with the aſſaultes of death.

The miſerable handling of Gods people in Spayne.

By this it may be eſteemed, what trouble and ſorrow, what penſiue ſighes & cogitatiōs, they ſuſtaine which are not throughly inſtructed in holy doctrine. Adde moreouer to theſe diſtreſſes and horrors of the priſon, the iniuries, threates, whippynges and ſcourgynges, yrons, tortures, and rackes, which they endure. Somtimes alſo they are brought out, & ſhewed forth in ſome higher place, to the people, as a ſpectacle, of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detayned there, ſome many yeares, and murthered by long tormentes, & whole dayes together, entreated much more cruelly (out of all compariſon) then if they were in the hangmās handes to be ſlayne at once. During all this tyme, what is done in the proces, no perſon knoweth, but onely the holy fathers and the tormentours, which are ſworne to execute the torments. All is done in ſecret, & (as great miſteries) paſſe not the handes of thoſe holy ones. And after all theſe tormentes ſo many yeares endured in the priſon, if any man ſhall be ſaued, it muſt be by geſſing: For all the proceedynges of the Court of that execrable Inquiſition is open to no mā, but all is done in hugger mugger, & in cloſe corners, by ambages, by couert wayes, and ſecret counſailes. The accuſer ſecret, the crime ſecret, the witnes ſecret: what ſoeuer is done, is ſecret, neither is the poore priſoner euer aduertiſed of any thyng. If he can geſſe who accuſed him, whereof and wherfore, he may be pardoned peraduenture, of his lyfe: but this is very ſeldome: and yet he ſhall not incontinent, be ſet at libertie, before he hath endured lōg tyme, infinite tormentes (and this is called their penitence) and ſo is he let go: and yet not ſo, but that he is enioyned, before he paſſe the Inquiſitors handes, that he ſhall weare a garment with yellow colours, for a note of publicke infamy, to hym, and his whole race. And if he can not geſſe right, ſhewyng to ẏ Inquiſitours by whom he was accuſed, whereof, and wherfore (as is afore touched) incontinent the horrible ſentence of condemnation is pronounced agaynſt hym, that he ſhall be burned for an obſtinate hereticke: and ſo yet the ſentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath endured impriſonment in ſome haynous priſon.

Diuers Martyrs in Spaine ſince the tyme of Queene Elizabeth.

¶ And thus haue ye heard the forme of the Spaniſh Inquiſition. By the vigour and rigour of this Inquiſition, many good true ſeruauntes of Jeſus Chriſt haue bene brought to death, eſpecially in theſe later yeares, ſince the royall and peaceable reigne of this our Queene Elizabeth. The names and ſtories of whom partly we will here recite, accordyng as we haue faythfull recordes of ſuch as are come to our handes by wrytyng. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will differre, till further intelligence and opportunitie, by the Lords ayde and leaue, ſhall ſerue hereafter.

30. Chriſtian priſoners brought before the councell of the Inquiſition.

Three ſtages.

The ceremoniall pompe of the Spaniſhe Inquiſition.

An. 1559. Maij. 21. In the towne of Valledolid, where commonly the counſell of the Inquiſition is wont to be kept, the Inquiſitors had brought together many priſoners, both of high and low eſtate, to the number of xxx. alſo the coffin of a certeine noble womā, with her picture lying vpon it, which had ben dead long before, there to receaue iudgement and ſentence. To the hearing of which ſentence, they had ordeined in ẏ ſayd towne, iij. mighty Theatres or ſtages. Vpon the firſt was placed Dame Jane, ſiſter [illegible] Philip, and chief Regent of his realmes: alſo Prince Charles, kyng Philippes ſonne, with other Princes and States of Spayne. Vpon the other ſcaffold mounted the Archbyſhop De Seuille, prince of the Synagogue of the Inquiſitors, with the Counſell of the Inquiſition: alſo other Byſhops of the landes, and the kynges counſaile with them.

After that the Princes, and other ſpirituall iudges, & cōſellers were thus ſet in their places, with a great garde of Archers, and Halberdiers, and harneſſed ſouldiours with iiij. Heraulders alſo of armes, geuyng their attendāce to the ſame, and the Earle of Buendia bearyng the naked ſword, all the market place where the ſtages were, beyng enuironed with an infinite multitude of all ſortes of the world there ſtandyng, and gaſing out of windowes, and houſes to heare & ſee the ſentences & iudgementes of this Inquiſition: then after all, were brought forth (as a ſpectacle and triumphe) the poore ſeruauntes and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, to the number (as is aforeſayd) of thirty, clothed with their Sanbenito, as the Spanyardes do call it, which is a maner of veſture, of yellow cloth cōming both before them & behind them, ſpangled with read Croſſes, & hauyng burnyng Cierges in their handes: alſo before them was borne a Crucifixe couered with blacke lynen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreouer, they which were to receaue the ſentence of death, had Miters of paper vpō their heads, which ẏ Spanyardes cal Coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one vnder an other, accordyng as they were eſteemed culpable: So that firſt of all, ſtode Doct. Cacalla, an Auſten Frier, a mā notable & ſingular in knowledge of diuinitie, preacher ſometyme, to Charles the v. Emperour, both in hygher, and lower Germany.

The Spaniſhe Mantell of S. Benet of yellow color with red croſſes both before & behinde. called Sanbenito.

These thinges thus diſpoſed, thē followed a Sermon, made by a Dominicke Frier, which endured about an houre. After the Sermon finiſhed, the Procurator generall, with the Archbyſhop, went to the ſtage, where the Princes and Nobles ſtode, to miniſter a ſolēne othe vnto them vpō the Crucifixe painted in the Maſſebooke: the tenour of which oth was this. Your Maieſties ſhall ſweare, that you will fauour ẏ holy Inquiſitiō, & alſo geue your conſent vnto the ſame: and not onely that you ſhall, by no maner of way, hynder and impeach the ſame, but alſo you ſhall employ the vttermoſt of your helpe & endeuour hereafter, to ſee all them to be executed, which ſhall ſwerue from the Church of Rome, & adioyne themſelues to the ſect of the Lutherā heretickes, without all reſpect of any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they be.

This Dominiche was M Melchior Cano.

The oth geuen to the princes by the Inquiſition of Spayne.

¶ And thus much for the firſt Article of the oth. The ſecond was this, as foloweth.

Item, your Maieſties ſhall ſweare, that you ſhal conſtrayne all your ſubiectes, to ſubmit themſelues to the Church of Rome, and to haue in reuerence all the lawes and commaundementes of the ſame: and alſo to geue your ayde agaynſt all them, whoſoeuer ſhall hold of the hereſie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

In this ſort and maner, when all the Princes & States, euery one in their degree, had receaued their othe, then the Archbyſhop liftyng vp his hand, gaue them his benediction, ſaying: God bleſſe your hyghneſſes, and geue you lōg lyfe. This ſolemne Pageon thus finiſhed, at laſt the poore captiues, and priſoners were called out, the Procurator fiſcall, or the Popes great Collectour, firſt begynnyng with Doct. Cacalla, and ſo proceedyng to the other in order, as here vnder in this Table foloweth, with their names, and their iudgementes deſcribed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Inquiſitours of Spayne. The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiſcall.	1. Doctour Cacalla, a Frier Auguſtin.	Before the Popes great Proctor or Collector fiſcall, firſt was called forth Doct. Auſten Cacalla. This Doctour was a Frier of Auſtens order, and Prieſt of the towne of Valledolid and preacher ſometymes to the Emperour Charles the v. a man wel accoūted of for his learning. Who for that he was thought to be as the ſtandert bearer to the Goſpellers (whō they called Lutherās) and preacher and Doctor vnto them, therefore

Doct. Cacalla, a frier Auguſtine, preacher ſometyme to Charles.v. Martyr.

The

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Archbiſhop of Seuille. The biſhop of Valence. The biſhop of Orenſe.		beyng firſt called for, was brought from his ſtage, nearer to yͤ Procter fiſcal, there to heare the ſentence of his condemnatiõ: which was, that he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burned, and all his goods confiſcate, to yͤ profite & auauncement of Iuſtice.
	2. Frances de Biuero, prieſt of Valledolid, and brother to the foreſayd Cacalla.	The ſecond priſoner & next to Doctor Cacalla, yͭ was called, was Fraunces de Biuero his brother, prieſt alſo of Valledolid, who receaued likewiſe yͤ ſame ſentence of condemnation. And to the intent he ſhould not ſpeake any thyng to the preiudice, or agaynſt the abuſe of the ſacrate Inquiſition, as he before had done both within and without the priſon with much boldnes, & alſo becauſe hee was much fauored of yͤ people: to yͤ end therfore, yͭ no cõmotiõ ſhold come by his ſpeakyng, his mouth was ſo ſtopped & ſhut vp, yͭ he coulde not ſpeake one word.
	3. Dame Blanche de Biuero.	The 3. was Dame Blanche, ſiſter to thee other two aforeſayd, agaynſt whõ alſo was pronounced the like ſẽtence, as vpon her brethren before.
	4. Iohn de Biuero.	The fourth, was Iohn de Biuero brother to the ſame kinred, who was alſo iudged an hereticke, and condemned to perpetuall priſon, and to beare his Sanbenito all his lyfe longe: which is an habillemẽt of diſhonor.
	5. Dame Cõſtance de Biuero, ſiſter to the ſame aforeſayd.	Dame Conſtance de Biuero was the fift, ſiſter to thee other before ſpecified, wydowe of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling ſometime, at Valledolid: who was alſo condemned with yͤ like ſentence with her brethren, to be burned
	6. The coffine with the dead corpes of Dame Leonore de Biuero, the mother of theſe aforeſayd.	The ſixt thunderbolt of condemnation, was thundred out agaynſt a poore coffine, with the dead corps of dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe aboue named, beyng her ſelfe the ſixt, & beyng already dead long before at Valledolid. Aboue her coffin was her picture laid, which was alſo condemned with her dead corpes to be burned for an heretike: And yet I neuer heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, eyther with, or againſt the Church of Rome. This good mother while ſhe liued, was a woorthy mainteiner of chriſtes goſpel, with great integritie of lyfe: and reteyned diuers aſſemblies of the ſaintes in her houſe for the preaching of the worde of god. In fine, her corps and image alſo beyng brought before yͤ Fiſcall, was condemned likewyſe (as the mother with her 7. childrẽ in the boke of Machabees) to be burned for a Lutherane heretike, and all her goods to be ſeaſed to the behouſe of the ſuperiour powers, and alſo her houſe vtterly to be raſed & caſt downe to yͤ ground: & for a memoriall of yͤ ſame, a marble ſtone was appoynted there to be ſet vp in yͤ houſe, wherin the ſaid cauſe of her burnyng ſhould be engraued.
The Inquiſitors of Spayne.	7. Maiſter Afonſe Perez Prieſt of Valence.	In the ſeuẽth place was condemned maiſter Afonſe Perez prieſt of Valence: firſt to be degreded, & after to be burned as an heretike, & all his goods likewiſe confiſcate and ſeaſed, to the behoof of the ſuperioritie.

Frances de Biuero, prieſt, and brother to Cacalla, Martyr.

Dame Blanch ſiſter to thẽ, Martyr.

Iohn de Biuero, brother to the ſame, Martyr.

Dame Conſtance de Biuero, an other ſiſter, Martyr.

Dame Leonore de Biuero, mother to theſe Martyrs aboue, burnt after her death.

This good mother, wyth her children, burned by Antichriſt, reſembled to the mother wyth her vij. children, burned in the booke of Machabees.

M. Afonſe Perez, Martyr.

☞ When theſe vij. aforeſayd had receaued their ſentence, then the Byſhop of Valence, in hys pontificalibus, cauſed Doctour Cacalla, Frances his brother, and Afonſe Perez, to bee apparelled and reueſted in prieſtly veſture. Whiche done, hee tooke from them, firſt the chalice out of their handes, and ſo all their other trinkets, in order, accordyng to their accuſtomed ſolemnitie. And thus they beyng degraded, and all theyr prieſtly vnctions taken from their fingers, alſo their lippes and their crownes raſed, ſo were their yellow habites of Sanbenito put ouer their ſhoulders againe, with their Miters alſo of paper vpon their heades. This done, Doct. Cacalla began to ſpeake, praying yͤ Princes & the Lordes, to geue him audience: but that beyng not graunted to hym, he was rudely repulſed, and returned agayne to hys ſtanding. Onely thus much he proteſted clearely and openlye, that his fayth, for whiche hee was ſo handled, was not hereticall, but conſonant to yͤ pure and cleare word of God. For the which alſo he was preſt and ready to ſuffer death, as a true Chriſtian, and not as an heriticke: Beſides many other worthy ſentences of great conſolation, whiche he there vttered in the meane ſpace, while the Iudges, were buſie in theyr ſentences, agaynſt thee reſidue of the Martyrs.

The degradation of Doct. Cacalla, Frances his brother, and Afonſe.

Doct. Cacalla not ſuffered to ſpeak.

The Inquiſitors of Spayne.	8. Don Peter Sarmiento knight of the order of Alcantara.	The viij. that was brought before yͤ foreſayd Fiſcall, was Dõ Peter Sarmiento knight of the order of Alcantara, dwelling at Valence, and ſonne of Marques de Poza, who was pronounced an heretike, & iudged to beare the marke & habite of diſhonor all his lyfe, and condẽned to perpetuall priſo [illegible] the loſſe of his order & of all hys goodes: To whome moreouer it was enioyned neuer to weare anye more gold, ſiluer, pearles or any precious ſtone about hym.

Don Peter Sarmiento knight, condemned to a perpetuall priſoner.

	Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Dame Mencia, wyfe of Don Peter, condemned for a perpetuall priſoner.	The Inquiſitors of Spayne.	9. Dame Mencia wife of the ſayd Don Peter.	Ninthly after him was called dame Mẽcia de Figneroa, wife of ther foreſayd Don Peter Sarmiento. Who likewiſe beyng proclaimed for an heretike, was condemned to the ſame puniſhmẽt as her huſband was.
Don Louys de Roxas, cõdemned to beare a Sanbenito.		10. Don Louys de Roxas, ſonne and heyre of the Marques de Poza.	Next after her was called & brought out, Don Louys de Roxas, ſonne & heire of the Marques de Poza, who beyng alſo declared an hereticke, for ỹ great ſute and labour which was made for him, was condemned only to beare his Sã-benito, vnto the town houſe, and hys goodes to be confiſcate.
Dame Anne Hẽriques, iudged as an hereticke to beare a Sanbenito.		11. Dame Anne Henriques.	After whõ in the xj. place, folowed dame Anne Hẽriques, daughter of ỹ marques Alcanſzes, and mother to the forenamed Marques de Poza, & wyfe to Lord Alfonſus de Fonſera: who in lyke ſort was declared an heretike and condemned to beare her Sã-benito, to the towne houſe, and her goodes to be confiſcate.
Chriſtofer Dell, Martyr.		12. Chriſtofer Dell.	Chriſtofer Dell citizen of Samora was the xij. who after he was declared an heretike, was iudged to be burned, and his goods to be ſeaſed.
Chriſtofer de Padilla, Martyr.		13. Chriſtofer de Padilla.	The lyke ſentence was alſo geuen vpon Chriſtofer de Padilla citizen of Samora.
Antonie de Huezuello, Martyr.		14. Antony de Huezucilo.	The 14. was Antony de Huezuello batcheler of diuinity dwelling at Toro. who after he was proclaimed heretike, & hys goodes cõfiſcate, was condẽned to be burned, and moreouer hadde hys mouth ſtopped, for ỹ he ſhould not ſpeake, & make confeſſiõ of his faith vnto the people.
Katherin Romain, Martyr.		15. Katherine Romain.	Then followed Katherine Romain, dwelling in Pedroſa, called frõ her ſtandyng: who receiuing the like ſentence was condemned to be burned, & all her goods confiſcate.
Frances Errem, Martyr.		16. Fraunces Errem.	The 16. was Frãces Errem, borne in Pegnaranda, whome they cõdẽned to be burned aliue, and all her goodes likewiſe confiſcate.
Katherin Ortega, Martyr.		17. Katherine Ortega.	After her ſucceded in the next ſentence of martirdome, Katherine Ortega dwelling in Valledolid, daughter of Hernando Piazo Fiſcall, & widow of captaine Loups, pronounced with ỹ other to be an herreticke: and forſomuch as ſhe was reckoned to be a ſchole maiſtres to ỹ reſt, ſhe was iudged to be burned, and her goodes confiſcate.
Iſabell Strada, Martyr. Iane Valeſques, martyr.	The Inquiſitors of Spayne.	18. Iſabell Strada. 19. Iane Valeſques.	In the 18. and 19. place, ſtoode Iſabell de Strada, and Iane Valeſques, both dwelling in Pedroſa, which likewiſe were condemned to bee burned & al their goods confiſcat.
A Smith, Martyr.		20. A Smith.	A certeine workmã of white yron, or ſmith for interteining aſſemblies in his houſe, and for watching with thẽ receaued alſo with thẽ the lyke ſentence, to loſe both lyfe & goodes for the Goſpels ſake.
A Iewe burned.		21. A Iew.	With theſe alſo was ioyned a Portugale, named Goncalo Vaez of Liſbone, whiche was borne a Iewe, afterwarde Baptiſed, & then returned agayne to his Iudaiſme: Who for more ſhame to the other, was put alſo in the ſame tale and number, as ỹ two theeues were ioyned wt Chriſt and was alſo with thẽ condemned to be burned, & his goods ſeaſed.
Dame Iane de Silua, cõdemned for an hereticke.		22. Dame Iane de Sylua.	After theſe, was called dame Iane de Silua, wyfe to Iohn de Vincro, brother to Doctour Cacalla: to whome it was enioyned to beare a mantell all her life, for penãce & token of her treſpas, & al her goods cõfiſcat.
Leonore de Liſueros. Marina de Saiauedra. Daniell Quadra, condemned to perpetuall priſon.		23. Leonore de Liſueros, wyfe of Huezuelo. 24. Marina de Saiauedra. 25. Daniell Quadra.	In like maner was called for, Leonore de Liſueros, wyfe of the foreſayd Antony Huezuelo, batcheler of diuinitie. Itẽ, Marina de Saiauedra, wyfe of Cyſueras de Saregtio. Itẽ, Daniell Quadra borne at Pedroſa: All whiche iij. perſons were pronounced heretickes and condemned to do penaunce in perpetuall priſon, with their mantels, & confiſcatiõ of al theyr goods.
Dame Mary de Royas, inioyned penaunce.		26. Dame Mary de Royas	Dame Mary de Royas, ſiſter of Marques of Royas, becauſe ſhe was in a cloyſter, & was come of a good houſe, was therfore iudged to beare her mantell to ỹ towne houſe, and al her goods confiſcat.
Antonie Dominicke, enioyned penaunce.		27. Antony Dominike.	Antony Dominicke de Pedroſa beyng thẽ brought out, was iudged and condemned to iij. yeares penaunce in priſon, for hys hereſie, clothed with the mantell of yelow, and al his goods confiſcat.

Laſt

Antonie Baſor, an Engliſhman, enioyned penaunce.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	28. Antony Baſor, an Engliſhman.	Laſt of all was produced Antony Baſor, who for that he was an Engliſhman, hee was iudged to beare his mantle of yellow to the towne houſe in penãce for his crime, and incontinent was thruſt into a cloyſter for one yeare, to the entent he might there be inſtructed in the catholike ordinances of the church of Rome as they bee called.

After theſe ſentences beyng thus pronounced, they whiche were condemned to be burned with the coffin of the dead Lady, and her picture vpon thee ſame, were committed to the ſecular magiſtrate, and their executioners, whiche were commaunded to do their endeuour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and euery one ſet vpon an aſſe, their faces turned backward, with a great gariſon of armed ſouldiours, vnto the place of puniſhment, whiche was without the gate of the towne called Del Campo.

xiiij. Martyrs in Spayne, burned.

When they were come to the place, there were 14. ſtakes ſet vp of equall diſtance one from an other, wherunto euery one ſeuerally beyng faſtened according to the faſhion of Spayne, they were all firſte ſtrangled, and then burned and turned to aſhes ſaue onely Antonie Huezuelo, who for ſo much as he had both within and without the priſon, vehementlye deteſted the popes ſpiritualtie, therfore he was burned alyue, and hys mouth ſtopped from ſpeakyng. And thus theſe faythfull Chriſtians, for the veritie and pure word of God, were led to death as ſheepe to the ſhambles: who not onely moſt chriſtianly did comfort one an other, but alſo dyd fortifie all thẽ there preſent, that all men merueiled greatly, both to heare their ſingular conſtancie, and to ſee their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that beſides theſe aforeſayd, there remayned yet behynd xxxvij. other priſoners, at the ſayd towne of Valledolid, reſerued to an other Tragedie and ſpectacle of that bloudy Inquiſition. Ex quinta parte Martyr. Gallic. Impreſſe. pag.474.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

¶ Furthermore, wheras the ſtory of the ſayde Inquiſition beyng ſet out in the Frenche tongue doth reckon the number of the martyrs aboue mentioned, to be thyrty: and yet in particular declaratiõ of them, doth name no more but xxviij. here is therfore to be noted, that eyther this number lacketh ij. of thyrty: or els that ij of the ſayd companie were returned backe without iudgement, into the priſon agayne.

¶ And thus much for this preſent, touchyng the proceedyng of the Church of Spaine, in their Inquiſition agaynſt the Lutherans, that is, agaynſt the true and faythfull ſeruauntes of Jeſus Chriſt. Albeit there be other countreys alſo beſides Spayne, ſubiecte vnto the ſame Inquiſition, as Neaples, & Sicilie: in which kyngdome of Sicilie, I heare it credibly reported, that euery thyrd yeare are brought forth to iudgement and execution, a certein number after the like ſort of Chriſtian Martyrs, ſome tymes xij. ſome tymes vi. ſome tymes more, & ſome tymes leſſe. Amongeſt whom there was one, much about the ſame yeare aboue mentioned .an. 1559. who cõmyng from Geneua, vnto Sicilie, vpon zeale to doe good, was at laſt layd hande of, and beyng condemned the ſame tyme, to the fire, as he ſhould take his death, was offered there of ẏ hangman to be ſtrangled, hauing the corde ready about his necke: but hee notwithſtandyng, refuſed the ſame, and ſayd that he would, feele the fire: and ſo endured he, ſingyng withall his myght vnto the Lord, till he was bereued both of ſpeach and life, in the middeſt of the flame: ſuch was the admirable conſtancie and fortitude of that valiant ſouldiour of Chriſte, as is witneſſed to me by him, which beyng there preſent the ſame tyme, did both then ſee that whiche he doth teſtifie, and alſo doth now teſtifie that he then ſaw.

A Chriſtian Martyr burned in Sicilie.

¶ Now it remayneth further accordyng to my promiſe, in lyke order of a compendious Table, to comprehend alſo ſuch Martyrs, as ſuffered for the veritie and true teſtimonie of the Goſpell, in the places and countreys of Italie: which Table conſequently here next enſueth to be declared.

¶ A Table of ſuch Martyrs as ſuffred for teſtimonie of the Goſpell in Italy.

¶ The Italian Martyrs.

Encenas, or Dryander, a Martyr.

Certaine popiſh Spaniardes at Rome.	N. Encenas otherwyſe called Dryander. At Rome. An.1546.	This Encenas, or Dryãder, a Spaniard borne at Burges, was brother to Franciſcus Encenas the learned man, ſo oft before mentioned, and was alſo ẏ teacher or inſtructer in knowledge of religion, to Diazius the godlye martyr aboue recorded. He was ſent of his ſuperſtitious parentes, beyng young vnto Rome. Who there after long cõtinuaunce growyng vp in age & knowledge but eſpeciallye beynge inſtructed by the lord in the truthe of hys worde, after he was knowen to miſlike the popes doctrine, & ẏ impure doinges at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certain of hys own countrey mẽ, and ſome of his owne houſhold friendes at Rome at the ſame time, when

he was preparyng to take his iourney to his brother Frauncis Encenas in Germanye. Thus he beyng betrayed and taken by his cõtreymẽ, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed ſtraight to priſon. Afterward he was brought forth to geue teſtimony of his doctrine, which he in the preſence of the Cardinals, and in the face of all the Popes retinue, boldly and conſtantly defended. So that not onely the Cardinals, but eſpecially the Spaniardes, beyng therwith offended, cryed out vpon him that he ſhould be burned. The Cardinals, firſt before ẏ ſentence of death ſhould be geuen, came to hym, offeryng if he would take it (after the manner of the Spaniardes) the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenites cloth, made in forme of a mantle, goyng both before hym and behynde hym, wyth ſignes of the red croſſe. But Encenas ſtill conſtaunt in the profeſſion of truth, denied to receyue any other condition or badge, but onely the badge of the Lorde: which was to ſeale the doctrine of hys religion, with the teſtimony of his bloud. At laſt, the matter was brought to that iſſue, that the faythfull ſeruaunt and witnes of Chriſt was iudged and condemned to the fire, where he in the ſight of the cardinals, and in the face of the Apoſtolicall ſea pretenſed, gaue vp his life for teſtimony of the goſpel. Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Criſp. & alijs.

The impriſonment and eſcape of Franciſcus Encenas.

☞ And for ſo much as mention hath bene made both in this ſtory and many other before, of Franciſcus Encenas his brother: here is not to be pretermitted, how the ſaid Franciſcus being a man of notable learning as euer was any in Spaine beyng in the Emperors Court at Bruxels, offered vnto the Emperour Charles the v. the newe Teſtament of Chriſt tranſlated into Spaniſhe. For the whiche he was caſt into pryſon, where he remayned in ſorrowfull captiuitie and calamitie, the ſpace of fiftene monethes, lookyng for nothyng more, then preſent death. At laſt throughe the meruelous Prouidence of almyghty God. ỹ firſt day of February.an.1545. at eyght of the clocke after ſupper, he founde thee doores of the priſon ſtandyng open, and hee ſecretly was aunſwered in hys mynde, to take the occaſion offered, and to ſhyft for him ſelf: & ſo he iſſuing out of the priſon without any haſty paſe, but goyng as leiſurely as he could, eſcaped from thence and went ſtraight to Germany.

Faninus, Martyr.

Pope Iulius the third.

Faninus.

At Ferraria.

An.1550.

Faninus, borne in Fauentia, a towne in Italy through the readyng of godly bookes tranſlated into the Italian tongue (hauyng no perfect ſkill in the Latine) was conuerted from great blyndnes to the wholeſome knowledge of Chriſt, & of his worde: wherein he tooke ſuch a ſweetenes and ſo grew vp in the meditation of the ſame, that he was able in ſhorte tyme, to inſtruct other. Neyther was there any diligẽce lackyng in him to communicate, that abroade which he had receyued of the Lord: being ſo in hys mynd perſwaded, that a man receauing by the ſpirite of God the knowledge and illumination of hys veritie, ought in no caſe to hyde the ſame in ſilence, as a candle vnder a buſhell: And therfore beyng occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he vſed not publikely to preach, but by priuate conference to teach, he was at length by the Popes clients eſpied, apprehended, and committed to priſon. Albeit he remayned not long in that priſon: For by the earneſt perſuaſions & prayers of his wyfe, his children, and other friendes, he was ſo ouercome, that he gaue ouer, and ſo was dimiſſed ſhortly out of priſon. After this, it was not long, but he fell into horrible perturbation of mynde: In ſo much that vnleſſe the great mercy of God had kepte him vp, he had fallen in vtter deſperation, for ſlipping from the truth, and preferring the loue of his frendes and kinrede, before the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, whõ he ſo earneſtly before had profeſſed. This wound went ſo depe into his hart, that he could in no caſe be quieted before he had fully fixed and determined in hys minde to aduenture his life more faithfully in the ſeruice of the Lord.

Faninus ouercome by his wyfe and brethren.

Wherupon he beyng thus inflamed with zeale of ſpirit, went about all the country of Romaigna, publikely preaching the pure doctrine of the Goſpell, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring it ſo fel out, that he was apprehended againe, an.1547. in a place called Bagnacauallo, where alſo he was condemned to be burned: but he ſaid his houre was not yet come, and the ſame to be but the beginning of his doctrine, and ſo it was, for ſhortly after he was remoued vnto Ferraria, where he was deteined ij. yeres. At laſt the Inquiſitors of the Popes hereſies condemned hym to death. an.1549. and yet his tyme beyng not come, he remayned after that to the moneth of September, an.1550. In the meane tyme many faithful and good men came to viſite hym: for the which the Pope cõmaunded hym to be incloſed in ſtraiter cuſtody: wherin: ſuffred great torments the ſpace of 18. monthes and yet had ſuffered greater, if the Dominicke Friers might haue got hym into theyr houſe, as they went about. Thus Faninus remoued from priſõ to priſon, many tymes chaunged hys place, but neuer altered his conſtancy.

Faninus agayne imprisoned.

At length he was brought into a priſon, where were diuers great Lordes, Captaines, and noble perſonages there committed, for ſtirring vp commotions and factions (as that country of Italy is full of ſuch) who at firſt, hearyng him ſpeake, began to ſet him at light, and to deride him: ſuppoſing that it was but a melãcholy humour that troubled his brayne, wherupon, ſuch as ſemed more ſage amongeſt them, began to exhort him to leaue his opinion, and to liue with men as other men do, and not to vexe his mynde, but to ſuſpende hys iudgement, till the matter were decided in a generall Councell. To whom Faninus agayn, firſt geuing thẽ thanks for their frendly good willes, wherewith they ſemed to reſpect his wel doyng, modeſtly and quietly declared vnto them, how the doctrine which he profeſſed was no humore nor opinion of mans brayne, but the pure veritie of God, founded in his worde, and reueled to men in the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially now in theſe dayes, reſtored: whiche veritie he had fully determined in his mynde neuer to renye to beleue the lying phantaſies of men. And as in hys ſoule, which was redemed by the bloud of the ſonne of God, he was free from all bondage: ſo likewiſe as touchyng Councels, he looked for no other ſentence nor authoritie (he ſayd) but that onely whiche hee knew to be declared to vs by Chriſte Ieſus, in hys Goſpell, whiche both he preached with his worde, and confirmed with his bloud. &c. With theſe & ſuch other wordes, he ſo moued their myndes, that they were cleane altered vnto a new kynde of life, hauing hym now in admiration, whom they had before in deriſion, and recounted him for an holy perſon. To whom he proceded ſtill to preache the worde of grace declaryng and confeſſing him ſelfe to be a miſerable ſinner, but by the fayth of thee Lorde Ieſus, and through the grace onely of hym, hee was fully perſuaded and well aſſured his ſinnes to bee forgiuen: like as all their ſinnes alſo ſhalbe remitted to them through their fayth onely in Chriſte, beleuyng hys Goſpell.

The modeſt aunſwere of Faninus to his felow priſoners.

There were other alſo beſide theſe, who hauing vſed before a more delicate kynd of life, could not wel away with the ſharpnes and hardnes of that priſon. Theſe alſo receaued ſuch comfort by the ſayd Faninus, that not onely they were quietly contented, but alſo reioyſed in this their captiuitie, by the occaſion wherof they had receaued and learned a better libertie, then euer they knew before.

Priſoners conuerted by Faninus.

When thee priſonment of this Faninus was knowen to hys parentes and kynsfolke, hys wyfe & ſiſter came to him with weepyng perſuaſions, to moue him to conſider and care for hys poore familie. To whõ he anſwered again, ỹ his lord & maiſter had cõmaunded him not to deny hym for looking to his family, & that it was enough for thẽ that he had once for theyr ſakes fallẽ into ỹ cowardnes, which they knew: Wherfore he deſired them to depart in peace, and ſollicite hym no more therein: for his ende (he ſayd) he knew to draw neare, and ſo he commended them vnto the Lord.

About the ſame tyme dyed Pope Paulus the 3. and after hym ſucceded Iulius the 3. which thẽ ſent letters and commaundement, that Faninus ſhould be executed. Wherof, when one of the magiſtrates officers brought hym worde the next day, he reioyced thereat, and gaue the meſſenger thanks, and began to preach a long Sermon to them that were aboute hym, of the felicitie and beatitude of the lyfe to come. Then the meſſenger exhorted him, ỹ in caſe he would change hys opinion, he ſhould ſaue both this lyfe, and enioy that to come. Another aſked hym in what caſe he ſhould leaue hys little children and hys wyfe, or what ſtay ſhould they be at, he ſo leauyng them: wherfore he deſired hym to haue reſpect both to hymſelfe, and to them. Faninus anſwered, that he had left thẽ with an ouerſeer, which would ſee vnto them ſufficiently. And beyng aſked who he was, the Lord Ieſus Chriſt (ſayd he) a faythfull keper and conſeruer of all that is committed to hym. After that the meſſenger was thus departed from Faninus all full of teares and ſorow: the next day following he was remoued into the common priſon, and deliuered to the ſecular Magiſtrate. Who in all hys wayes, hys wordes, hys geſtures and countenaunce, declared ſuch conſtancie of fayth, ſuch modeſtie of manners, and tranquillitie of mynde, that they which before were extreme agaynſt hym, thinkyng hym rather to haue a Deuill, beganne now fauourably to harken to him, and to commend him. With ſuch grace and ſwetenes hee talked, euer ſpeaking of the worde of God, that diuers of the Magiſtrates wiues in hearyng

Pope Iulius the 3.

Chriſt preferred before wife and children.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

ſeyng him, could not abſteine from weeping. The executioner alſo wept him ſelf. One of the publike Scribes then came to him, & ſayd, that if he would relent from his opinion, the Popes pleaſure was, ẏ he ſhould be ſaued. But that he refuſed. This was merueilous, that he hauing but ſmall ſkill in the Latine, yet recited ſo many and ſondry places of thee Scripture without booke, and that ſo truely and promptly, as though he had ſtudied nothyng els. One ſeyng him ſo iocound and mery goyng to his death, aſked why hee was ſo mery at his death, ſeyng Chriſt him ſelfe ſweat bloud and water before his paſſion? Chriſt (ſayd he) ſuſteined in hys body, all the ſorowes and conflictes with hell and death, due vnto vs: by whoſe ſuffering we are deliuered from ſorow and feare of them all. Finally, early in the mornyng he was brought forth where hee ſhould ſuffer. Who after his prayers moſt earneſtly made vnto the Lord, mekelye and pacientlye gaue him ſelfe to the ſtake, where, with a corde drawen about his necke, hee was ſecretly ſtrangled of the hangman, in the Citie of Ferraria, three houres before day, to ẏ intent the people ſhould not ſee him, nor heare him ſpeake: and after, about dyner time, hys body in the ſame place was burned. At the burning wherof, ſuch a fragrant and odoriferous ſent came to all them there preſent, and ſo ſtroke their ſenſes, that the ſwetnes therof ſemed to refreſhe them no leſſe, then his wordes would haue done, if they had heard him ſpeake.

Life refuſed.

How Chriſt feared death hymſelfe, & yet hath he taken away the feare of death from others.

A myracle as it is reported.

The cuſtome is of that Citie, that the bones and aſhes which he left, ſhould be caried out of the Citie but neither the Magiſtrate, nor the Byſhop, nor hys great Vicar or Chauncelor, nor any Diuine els, would take any charge therof, euery man transferryng that burden from them ſelues, to him whiche was the cauſe of his death. Wherby it may appeare, what ſecret iudgement and eſtimation, all they had of that good and bleſſed man. At laſt the people tooke his burned bones, with the cinders, and caried them out of the ſtreete of the Citie. Ex Henri. Pantal. lib. 7. Ex Ioan Criſp. pag, 363.

The death & martyrdome of Faninus.

The name of the perſecutor in the ſtory appeareth not.

Dominicus de Baſana.

At Placentia.

An.1550.

Dominicus de Baſana, Martyr.

The ſame yere that the foreſayd Faninus ſuffered in Ferraria, Dominicus alſo ſuffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was Citizen in Baſana, and followed the wars of Charles the Emperor in Germany: where he receiued the firſt taſte of chriſtes goſpel. Wherin he encreaſed more & more by cōferring and reaſoning wyth learned men, ſo ẏ in ſhorte tyme he was able to inſtruct many: and ſo did, workyng, and traueling in the Church, till at length in ẏ yere 1550. he commyng to ẏ city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence procedyng to Placentia, preached there likewiſe vnto the people, of true confeſſion, of Purgatory, and of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true faith & of good workes, how farre they are neceſſary to ſaluation, promiſing moreouer the next day to ſpeake of Antichriſt and to paynt him out in his colours. Whē the houre came that he ſhould begin hys Sermō, the magiſtrate of the city commaunded him to come down from the chayre in the market place, & deliuered him to the officers. Dominicus was willyng and redy to obey the commaundement, ſaying that he dyd much merueyle, that the deuill could ſuffer hym ſo long in that kynd of exerciſe. From thence he was led to the biſhops Chauncellour, and aſked whether he was a Prieſt, and how he was placed in that function. He aunſwered that he was no prieſt of the Pope, but of Ieſu Chriſt, by whō he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demaunded whether he would renounce his doctrine. He aunſwered, that he mainteined no doctrine of hys owne, but only the doctrine of Chriſt, which alſo he was redy to ſeale with hys bloud: and alſo gaue harty thankes to God, which ſo accepted him as worthy to glorifie hys name with hys martyrdome. Vpon this he was committed to a filthy and ſtinkyng priſon. Where after he had remained a few monthes, he was exhorted diuers tymes to reuoke: otherwiſe he ſhould ſuffer: but ſtil he remained conſtaunt in his doctrine. Wherupon when the tyme came aſſigned for hys puniſhment, he was brought to the market place, where he preached, and there was hanged. Who moſt hartely praying for his enemies, ſo finiſhed his dayes in this miſerable wretched world. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

Antichriſt can not abyde to be detected.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

The martirdome of Dominicus de Baſſana.

The biſhop of Santangelo, & hys prieſtes.

Galeazius Trecius.

At the citie called Laus Pompeia, in Italy.

An.1551.

Galeazius Trecius, Martyr.

Santangelo is a certain fortreſſe or caſtle in Italy, within Lōbardy, not farre from the Citie called Laus Pompeia, belongyng alſo to the ſame dioces. In this forte of Santangelo was an houſe of Auguſtine Friers, vnto whō vſed much to reſort, a certain frier of the ſame order dwellyng at Pauia, named Maianardus, a mā wel expert in the ſtudy of ſcripture, and of a godly conuerſation. By this Maianardus, diuers not onely of the Friers, but alſo of other townſmen, were reduced to the loue and knowledge of Gods word, and to the deteſtation of ẏ Popes abuſes. Among whō was alſo this Galeazius, a gentle man of a good callyng, & welthy in worldly ſubſtāce, & very beneficiall to the poore. Who firſt, by cōference with ẏ friers, & alſo wt hys brother in law, began to conceyue ſome lyghte in Gods truth, and afterward was confirmed more thorowly by Cælius Secundus Curio, who thē beyng driuen by perſecution, came frō Pauia, to the ſayd place of Santāgelo. In proces of tyme, as this Galeazius encreaſed in iudgement and zeale, in ſettyng forward the wholeſome worde of Gods grace: as a light ſhynyng in darknes could not ſo lye hyd, but at laſt, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1551. certeine were ſent from the forenamed Citie of Laus Pompeia, to lay handes vpon him, and brought him to the Byſhops pallace, where he was kept in bandes, hauing vnder him but onely a padde of ſtraw. Although his wife ſent vnto him a good fetherbed, with ſheetes to lye in, yet the Byſhops chaplains and officers kept it from him, deuidyng ẏ praye among them ſelues.

The iniurious & fraudulent dealyng of the Papiſtes.

When the tyme came that he ſhould be [illegible] he was thriſe brought before the Commiſſioners, where he rendered reaſons and cauſes of hys fayth, aūſwering to their interrogatories, wt ſuch euidence of ſcriptures, and conſtancie of minde, that he was an admiratiō to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through ẏ importunate perſuaſiōs of his kinſfolkes & frendes, and other colde Goſpellers, laying many cōſiderations before his eyes: he was brought

Galeazius relenteth

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

at length, to aſſent to certaine points of the Popes doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, ſo left him not, but brought him agayne to ſuch repentance, and bewayling of his facte, that he became afterward, accordyng to the example of Peter, and S. Cyprian, and other, doublewiſe more valiant in defence of Chriſtes quarell: neither did he euer deſire any thyng more, then occaſion to be offered, to recouer agayne by confeſſion, that he had loſte before by denyall: affirming that hee neuer felt more ioye of hart, then at the tyme of his examinations, where he ſtoode thriſe to the conſtant confeſſiō of the truth: and contrary, that he neuer taſted more ſorow in all his life, then when he ſlypt afterward, from the ſame, by diſſimulation: Declaring moreouer to his brethren, that death was much more ſweete vnto him, with teſtimonie of the veritie, then life with the leaſte denyall of truth, and loſſe of a good conſcience. Thus Galeazius mournyng for his fall in priſon, after he heard of his frendes, that nothyng was yet ſo farre paſt, but that hee might recouer him ſelfe agayne, and that his infirmitie was not preiudicial, but rather a furtherance to gods glory, & admonition to hymſelfe to ſtand more ſtrongly hereafter, toke therby exceedyng comfort: And when they would haue left with hym a boke of the new teſtament, for hys comfort: he refuſed it, ſaying that he had it in his hart, whatſoeuer Chriſt there ſpake to hys Diſciples: Alſo what happened both to Chriſt hymſelfe and to hys Apoſtles, for confeſſing yͤ worde of truth.

Galeazius repenteth.

A ſentence of a Martyr, to be marked.

Furthermore, ſo comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with hym, continued all the day without meat or drinke, and would alſo haue tarried all the night followyng, if they might haue bene ſuffered. As Galeazius thus continued in the priſon, lookyng for ſome occaſion to recouer hymſelfe againe from hys fall, it followed in ſhort tyme, that the Inquiſitors and Prieſtes repayred to hym agayne in the priſon, ſuppoſing that he would confirme now that which before he had graunted to them, and required hym ſo to do. Galeazius reneying all that he had graunted to them before, returned agayne to the defence of hys former doctrine, with much more boldnes of ſpirite, confeſſyng Chriſt as he did before: and deteſted Images, affirmyng and proouyng that God onely is to be worſhipped, and that in ſpirit and veritie: Alſo to be no mo mediators but Chriſt alone, and that he onely and ſufficiently by hys ſuffering, hath taken away the ſinnes of the whole world: and that all they which depart hence in this fayth, are aſcertayned of euerlaſtyng lyfe: they which do not, are vnder euerlaſtyng damnation: with ſuche other lyke matter, which was repugnant vtterly to the Popes proceedyngs. With this confeſſion made, as his mynd was greatly refreſhed, ſo the aduerſaries went away as much apaulled. Who at laſt perceiuyng that he in no caſe could be reuoked, cauſed hym to be committed to the ſecular iudge to be burned.

Galeazius returneth to his former confeſſion of truth.

Galeazius committed to the ſecular power.

Thus Galeazius early in the mornyng, beyng brought out of priſon to the market place, there was left ſtandyng bound to the ſtake till noone, as a gazing ſtocke for all men to looke vpon. In the which meane tyme, many came about hym, exhortyng hym to recant, & not ſo to caſt away his lyfe, where as wͭ x. wordes ſpeaking he might ſaue it. And if he paſſed not for his lyfe nor for his countrey which he ſhoulde leaue nor for hys goods & poſſeſſiōs, which ſhould be confiſcate, yet he ſhould ſomewhat reſpect his wyfe, whom he loued ſo well, and hys yong children: at leſt he ſhould conſider his owne ſoule. This counſaile gaue they which more eſteemed the cōmodities of this preſent lyfe, then any true ſoules health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could ſtirre the ſetled mynd of this valiaunt Martyr. Wherfore fire was commaunded at laſt, to be put to the dry wood about hym, wherewith he was ſhortly extincted without any noyſe or crying, ſauyng onely theſe wordes were heard in the middle of the flame: Lord Ieſu. This was an. 1551. Nouemb. 24.

The death and deceaſe of Galeazius.

Touchyng the ſtory of this bleſſed Martyr, this by the way is to be geuen for a Memorandum. That a little before this Galeazius ſhould be burned, there was a controuerſie betwene the Mayor of the citye, and the Byſhoppes Clergy, for the expenſes of the wood that ſhould go to his burnyng. He hearing ther of, ſent word to both the parties, to agree, for he hym ſelfe of his owne goodes would ſee the coſte of that matter diſcharged.

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſe.

In other note moreouer here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captiuitie, certayne of the papiſtes perceiuing that Galeazius had great goodes and poſſeſſions, practiſed with his wyfe, vnder colour to releaſe her huſband that ſhe ſhould lay out a ſumme of mony to be ſent to the wife of yͤ chief Lord of Millain (called Ferrarus Gonzaga) to the ende that ſhe ſhould entreat both her huſband, & with yͤ Senate for Galeazius lyfe. Which mony when they had thus tugled into their handes, ſo was the ſely womā robbed and defeated both of her huſband, and alſo of her money. Ex Cælio.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.
Cornelius, profeſſor of Bononie.	D. Ioannes Mollius, a gray Frier.
Campeius Cardinall.	A certaine Weauer of Peruſium.
Cardinall de Capo.	
Bonauẽtura Generall.	
Vj. Cardinals.	At Rome.
Pope Iulius the third.	An. 1553.

Ioan. Mollius Mō-dilcinus, beyng but 12. yeares olde, with hys brother Auguſtinus, was ſet of his parẽtes in the houſe of yͤ gray Friers: where he in ſhort tyme hauyng a freſh wit, farre excelled hys fellowes in all tongues and liberall ſciences. So growing vp to the age of 18. he was ordeyned prieſt, & ſang hys firſt Maſſe. After that he was ſet to Ferraria to ſtudy, where he ſo profited in the ſpace of vj. yeares, that he was aſſigned by Vigerius, Generall of that order, to be Doctor and then reader in Diuinitie: who then with his ſophiſtry oppoſed hymſelfe as an vtter enemy agaynſt the Goſpell. From thence he went to Brixia, & the next yere folowing to Millayn, where he read or profeſſed openly. Agayne, from thence he was taken by Franciſcus Sforzia, and brought to the Vniuerſitie of Papia, there openly to confeſſe Philoſophie. Where he remayned iiij. yeares, After that he was called to the Vniuerſitie of Bononie by Laurẽtius Spatha Generall of that order, wheras he was occupied in readyng the bookes of Ariſtotle De Anima. In yͤ meane tyme God wrought in his ſoule ſuch light of his worde, and of true religion, that hee waxing weary of profeſſing Philoſophie, began ſecretly to expound the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Rom. to a few: which beyng knowen, his auditors encreaſed ſo faſt, that he was compelled to read openly in the Temple. Where as yͤ number of his audience dayly augmented, ſo the eger feruencie of theyr myndes ſo myghtily encreaſed withall, that euery man almoſt came with his penne and inke to write, and great diligence was beſtowed howe to come betime, to take vp the firſt places, where they might beſt heare, whiche was about thee yeare of our Lorde. 1538. There was the ſame tyme at Bononie, one Cornelius an arrogant babbler, who enuieyng the doinges of this Ioannes, tooke vpon him, at the requeſt of Cardinall Campeius, to expound the ſayd Epiſtle of S. Paule, confuting and diſproouing the explanation of the ſayd Iohn, & extollyng the Pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Iohn extolled and commended onely Chriſt, and his merites to the people. But the purpoſe of Cornelius came to ſmall effect. For the auditors which firſt came to him, began by litle and litle, to fall from him, and the concourſe of the other mans auditors, more and more encreſed. Which when Cornelius perceiued, he perſwaded Campeius, that vnles he prouided that man to bee diſpatched, the eſtimation of the Churche of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they coulde not openly bryng their purpoſe about, ſecretly this way was deuiſed, yͤ Cornelius & Ioannes ſhould come to opē diſputatiō: which diſputatiō endured till 3. of the clocke after midnight. At length, when neither

D. Ioan. Mollius, Martyr.

Laurentius Spatha, generall of the gray Friers.

Cornelius and Cardinall Campeius, perſecutors.

Mollius taken and impriſoned by Card. Campeius.

neither part could agree, Johñes was bid to returne home to his houſe. Who as he was came downe to the lower ſteppes, where the place was moſt ſtraiteſt ſo that his frendes could not come to reſcue him (although by drawing their ſwordes they declared their good willes) was there taken and layd faſt in priſon. When the day came, ſuch tumulte and ſtyrre was in the whole Citie, that Cornelius was driuen to hyde himſelfe. Alſo Campeius the Cardinall, with the byſhop there, were both contēned of the ſtudents. The next day, the Byſhop of Bononie ſent his Chaunceloure to John in the priſō, to ſignifie vnto him, that either he muſt recant, or els burne. But he beyng of a bold & cherefull ſpirite, would in no wiſe be brought to recant. This one thyng greued him, that he ſhould be condemned, his cauſe beyng not heard.

Mollius deliuered out of priſon by meanes of Spatha the generall.

In the meane ſeaſon, Laurentius Spatha aboue mentioned, beyng generall of that order, in moſt ſpedy wiſe poſted vp to Rome, & there ſo practiſed with the Cardinall S. Crucis, the Proctor in the Court of Rome, for the Gray Friers, that the Pope wrote downe his letters to Campeius, that he ſhould deliuer the ſayd John out of priſon: ſo that he notwithſtandyng, within iij. monethes after, ſhould perſonally appeare at Rome. Thus the xxx. day of his empriſonment he was deliuered: who but for cōmyng of ẏ Popes letters, had bene burned within iij. dayes after. Moreouer, with the ſayd Mollius, Cornelius alſo was cited, to make his appearaunce likewiſe at Rome, and there was detained in priſon by the Cardinal S. Crucis, til his cauſe ſhould be decided. The frendes of Mollius gaue hym counſaile not to go to Rome, & offered hym money to go to Germany: but he would not, ſaying that the Goſpell muſt alſo be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paule iij. humbly he deſired, that the cauſe beyng ſo weyghty, might come in publicke hearyng, but that could not be obteined. Then was he commaūded to write his mynde in Articles, and to bryng his proufes: which he diligently perfourmed, entreatyng of Originall ſinne, Juſtification by fayth, Free will, Purgatory, & other ſuch lyke: prouyng the ſayd articles by the authoritie of the Scripture, and of auncient fathers, & ſo exhibited the ſame to the Byſhop of Rome. Vpon this, certaine Cardinals and Byſhops were aſſigned to haue the cauſe in hearyng, who diſputed with him iij. dayes, & could not refell that which he had proued. At laſt, aūſwere was made vnto hym thus, that it was truth which he affirmed, neuertheleſſe the ſame was not mete for this preſent tyme, for that it could not be taught or publiſhed, without detriment of the Apoſtolicke ſea: wherfore he ſhould abſteine hereafter from the * Epiſtles of S. Paule, and ſo to returne agayne ſafe to Bononie, and there profeſſe* Philoſophy. Thus, as he was returned to Bononie, and all men there were deſirous to know of his caſe, how he ſped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all thyngs in order as they were done, and gaue God thankes.

Mollius appeareth before the Pope.

*The popes church can not abyde S. Paules Epiſtles.

*Paules Epiſtles muſt geue place to Philoſophy.

Herewith Campeius beyng more offended then before, obteined of the Pope, that the generall of the order ſhould remoue the ſayd John Mollius from Bononie, and place him ſome other where. So Mollius from thēce was ſent to Neaples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the Monaſtery of S. Laurence. But Petrus the Viceroy there, not abydyng his doctrine, ſo nerely ſought his death, that he had much a do to eſcape with lyfe, & ſo departyng from thence, he went wanderyng in Italy from place to place, preaching Chriſt, whereſoeuer he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal Cāpeius was dead, he was called agayn into Bononie by a good Abbot, named De Graſſis. an. 1543. where he renued agayn the readyng of S. Paules Epiſtle, after a ſecret ſort, as he dyd before: but that could not be long vndiſcouered. Wherupō by the meanes of Cardinall de Carpo, and by Bonauentura the generall, he was apprehended the ſecond tyme, and brought to Fauentia, & layd there in a filthy and ſtinkyng priſon, where he continued foure yeares, no man hauyng leaue once to come to him. Duryng which tyme of his induraūce, he wrote a Commentary vpō the bookes of Moſes, but that labour by the malignitie of the aduerſaries, was ſuppreſſed. At length, through the interceſſion of the Earle Petilianus, & of the foreſayd good Abbot De Graſſis, he was agayne deliuered, and ſent to Rauenna, where he made his abode a few monethes, wyth the Abbot ad S. Vitalem, and there agayne taught the Goſpell of Chriſt, as before: and wheſoeuer he ſpake of the name of Jeſu, his eyes dropt teares. for he was fraught wyth a mighty feruency of Gods holy ſpirit.

Mollius in great daunger at Neaples.

Mollius the ſecond tyme apprehended for readyng S. Paules Epiſtles.

Mollius agayne deliuered.

The feruent zeale of Mollius.

In proceſſe of tyme, when this Abbot was dead, hys ſureties began to be weary of their bond, and ſo was he agayne now the thirde tyme, reduced into priſon by the Popes Legates. There were then iiij. men of great authoritie, who beyng ſtirred vp of God, had pitie vppon him, and bailed hym out of priſon. Of whom, one of the ſayd ſureties tooke ẏ ſayd Mollius home, to inſtructe hys children in the doctrine of religion, and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, ſuch a concourſe of people came to ſee him, that the aduerſaries began to cōſult with themſelues, to kill hym, leaſt hys doctrine ſhould diſparſe farther abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome. Whereupon commaundement was ſent to the Popes Legate, to lay handes vpon hym, and to ſend him vp faſt bound to Rome. Where againe, now the fourth tyme, he was impriſoned in the Caſtle of Rome, and there continued 18. monethes, beyng greatly aſſaulted, ſometimes with flattering promiſes, ſometymes with terrible threates, to geue ouer hys opinion, but hys buildyng could not be ſhaken, for it was grounded vpon a ſure rocke. Thus Doct. Mollius beyng conſtant in the defence of Chriſtes Goſpell, was brought, & certaine other mē (which were alſo apprehended for religion) into the Temple of S. Mary (called De Minerua) the 5. day of September, an. 1553. either there to recante, or to be burned. There ſat vpō them 6. Cardinals in high ſeates, beſide the Judges: before whom preached a Dominicke Frier, which cruelly inueighing agaynſt the poore priſoners, incenſed the Cardinals with all the vehemēcie he myght, to their cōdemnation. The poore men ſtode holdyng a burning taper in their handes: Of whom ſome for feare of death recanted. But this Doctour Mollius, wyth a Weauer of Peruſia, remayned conſtant. Then Mollius began an earneſt Sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the Articles of the fayth, by the ſacrate Scriptures, declaring alſo that the pope was not the ſucceſſour of Peter, but Antichriſt: and that hys ſectaries doe figure the whore of Babylon. Moreouer he cited them vp to the Tribunall ſeat of Chriſt, and threw away the burnyng taper from hym. Wherupon they beyng repleniſhed with anger, cōdemned him wyth the Weauer, to the fire, and cōmaunded them to be had away. So were they caryed incontinent to the campe or fielde called Florianum. Where they remayned cherefull and conſtant. Firſt the Weauer was hanged. Mollius then willing the hangman to execute his office likewiſe vpon hym, began to exhort the people to beware of Idolatry, and to haue no other Sauiours but Chriſt alone: for he onely is the mediatour betwene God and man. And ſo was he alſo hanged commendyng hys ſoule to God, and afterward layd in the fire and burned. The people hauing diuers iudgementes vpon hym, ſome ſayde he dyed an hereticke, ſome ſayd he was a good man. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 19. an. 1543.

Mollius the fourth tyme impriſoned.

The conſtancie of Doct. Mollius and of the Weauer.

Doct. Mollius citeth the Pope to the Tribunall ſeat of Chriſt.

The martyrdome of Doct. Mollius and the Weauer.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Two monkes of the houſe of S. Auſten in Rome. At Rome. An. 1554.	Furthermore, in the ſame Citye of Rome, and about the ſame tyme, in the Monaſtery of Saint Auſten, were founde two Mōkes in their Celles wyth theyr toungues, and theyr heads cut of, onely for rebukyng the immoderate and outragious exceſſe of ẏ Cardinalles, as witneſſeth Manlius. Such was the crueltie then of the malignant aduerſaries. Ex Ioan. Manl. in dictis Phil. Melanct.

Two Auguſtine Monkes, Martyrs.

Franciſcus Gamba, Martyr.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Senate of Millain.	Franciſcus Gamba. At the Citie of Comum in the Dioces of Millian. An. 1554.	Frāces Gamba, borne in the Citie of Brixia in Lōbardie, after he had receaued the knowledge of the Goſpell, went to Geneua, to cōferre about certaine neceſſary affaires, with thē that were wiſe and learned in that Church, which was about the tyme, whē the Lordes Supper there was adminiſtred at Pentecoſte: who there alſo at the ſame tyme, dyd cōmunicate with them. Afterward in his returnyng home, as he was paſſing ouer ÿ Lake of Come, hee was taken, and brought to Come, and there committed to ward. During the tyme of which impriſonment, diuers & ſondry, as well nobles, as other, with Doctors alſo, eſpecially Prieſts and Monkes, reſorted vnto him, labouryng by all maner of meanes, & moſt fayre promiſes, to reduce hym frō his opinions: which ſemed to ſome but phantaſies commyng of ſome humours, to ſome they ſemed vncatholicke or hereticall. But he cōſtantly diſputing with thē by the manifeſt Scriptures, declared the opiniō which he defended, not to be any vayne ſpeculations or imaginary phantaſies of mās doting brayne, but the pure veritie of God, & the euident doctrine of Chriſt Ieſus expreſſed in his word, neceſſary for all men to beleue, and alſo to maintaine vnto death: and therfore, for his part, rather then he would be foūd falſe to Chriſt, and his word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to ſtand to Chriſts Goſpel, to the effuſiō of his bloud. Thus when he could in no wiſe, be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came frō the Senate of Millain, that he ſhould be executed with death. Which execution, as they of Comum were about to prepare, in the meane while came other letters from Geneua, writē by the Emperours Ambaſſadour, & other nobles of Millain, by the which letters his death was delayed for a tyme, till at lēgth other letters were ſent from the Senate agayne of Millain, requiryng executiō of the ſentēce. Neuertheles through interceſſiō of his frendes, one weekes reſpite more was graunted hym, to proue whether he might be wonne agayne to the Popes Church, that is to ſay, loſt from God. Thus he being mightely & long aſſayled both by frendes, and by enemyes terrified, yet by no perſuaſiōs would be expugned, but gaue thankes to God, that he was made worthy to ſuffer the rebukes of this world, & cruell death, for the teſtimony of his ſonne, and ſo went he cherefully vnto his death. Then came certaine Franciſcan Friers to him, to heare his cōfeſſion, which he refuſed. Alſo they brought in their handes, a Croſſe for him to behold, to keepe him frō deſperation, at the feelyng of the fire. But his mynde (he ſayd) was ſo repleniſhed with ioy & comfort in Chriſt, that he neded neither their Croſſe, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many cōfortable thynges to the people, of the fruition of thoſe heauenly ioyes aboue, which God hath prepared for his, becauſe he ſhould ſpeake no more to the people, his toūg was bored through, & ſo immediatly beyng tyed to the ſtake, there was ſtrāgled till he was dead, euery mā there geuing teſtimony, which ſaw his conſtancie, that he dyed a good man. Ex Epiſtola cuiuſdam Nobilis Comenſis apud Henr. Pantal. Lib. 10. & Celium.
Pope Paulus the iiij. The Magiſtrates of Venice.	Pomponius Algerius. At Rome. An. 1555.	Pomponius Algerius borne in Capua, a young man of great learnyng, was ſtudēt in the Vniuerſitie of Padua, where he not beyng able to conceale & keepe cloſe the veritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, which he learned by the heauenly teachyng of Gods grace, ceaſed not both by doctrine & exāple of life, to informe as many as he could, in ÿ ſame doctrine, and to bryng them to Chriſt. For the which he was accuſed of hereſie, to pope Paulus the fourth. Who ſendyng immediatly to the Magiſtrates of Venice, cauſed hym to be apprehended at Padua, & caryed to Venice, where he was long detayned in priſon & bandes, till at laſt the pope cōmaūded the Magiſtrates there to ſend him vp bound vnto Rome: which the Venetians eftſoones accompliſhed. After he was brought to Rome, manifold perſuaſions & allurementes were aſſayed to remoue the vertuous & bleſſed young man, from his ſentence. But when no worldly perſuaſions could preuaile agaynſt the operatiō of Gods ſpirite in him, then was he adiudged to be burned aliue, which death moſt cōſtantly he ſuſteined to the great admiratiō of all that beheld hym.

The blynde iudgement of the world in Gods matters.

Pacience in perſecution.

Frances Gamba hys toūge bored through.

Pomponius Algerius, Martyr.

Beyng in priſon at Venice, he wrote an Epiſtle to the afflicted Saintes, which for ÿ notable ſweetnes & moſt wōderful conſolation cōteined in the ſame, in ſhewyng forth the mighty operation of Gods holy power workyng in his afflicted Saintes, that ſuffer for his ſake: I haue thought good and expedient, to communicate as a principall monument amongeſt all other Martyrs letters, not onely with the other letters, which ſhalbe inſerted hereafter (the Lord willyng) in the end of the booke, but alſo in this preſent place to be read, to the entēt that both they which be, or ſhalbe hereafter in afflictiō, may take conſolation, and alſo that they which yet folow the trade of this preſent world, in comparing the ioyes & commodities therof, with theſe ioyes here expreſſed, may learne & conſider with thēſelues, what difference there is, betwene them both, & thereby may learne to diſpoſe thēſelues in ſuch ſort, as may be to their edification, and perpetuall felicitie of their ſoules. The copy of the letter, firſt written in Latin, we haue tranſlated into Engliſh: the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth.

A comfortable letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian Martyr.

To his moſt dearely beloued brethrē, and felow ſeruauntes in Chriſt, whiche are departed out of Babylon, into Mount Sion: Grace, peace, and health, frō God our father, by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour.

TO mitigate your ſorow, which you take for me, I can not but impart vnto you ſome portion of my delectatiōs and ioyes, which I feele and finde, to the entent you wyth me, may reioyce, and ſing before the Lord, geuyng thankes vnto hym. I ſhall vtter that, which no man will beleue, when I ſhall declare it. I haue found a neſte of hony and honycombe in the intrals of a Lyon. Who will euer beleue that I ſhall ſay? or what man will euer thinke, in the deepe darcke dungeon, to finde a Paradiſe of pleaſure? in ÿ place of ſorow and death, to dwell in tranquillitie and hope of life? in a caue infernall, to be found ioy of ſoule? and where other men do weepe, there to be reioyſing? where other do ſhake and tremble, there ſtrength and boldnes to be plentie? Who will euer thynke, or who will beleue thys? in ſuch a woful ſtate, ſuch delectation? in a place ſo deſolate, ſuch ſocietie of good men? in ſtraite bandes and cold yrons, ſuch reſt to be had? All theſe thinges, the ſweete hand of the Lord (my ſweete brethren) doth miniſter vnto me. Beholde, he that was once farre from me, now is preſent wyth me. Whom once ſcarce I could feele, now I ſee more apparantly: whom once I ſaw a farre of, now I beholde neare at hand: whom once I hungered for, the ſame now approcheth and reacheth his hand vnto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me vp with gladnes: he driueth away all bitternes: he miniſtreth ſtrength and courage: he healeth me, refreſheth, augmenteth, and comforteth me. O how good is ÿ lord, which ſuffereth not his ſeruauntes to be tempted aboue their ſtrength? O how eaſie and ſweete is hys yoke? Is there any lyke vnto the higheſt, who receaueth the afflicted, healeth the woūded, & nouriſheth them? Is there any like vnto him? Learne ye welbeloued, how amiable the Lord is, how meeke & mercyfull he is, which viſiteth his ſeruauntes in tentations, neither diſdaineth he to keepe company with vs in ſuch vile and ſtinkyng caues. Wil the blynd and incredulous world (thinke you) beleue this? or rather will it not ſay thus? No thou wilt neuer be able to abyde long, the burnyng heate, the cold ſnow, and the pinchyng hardnes of that place: the manifold miſeries, and other greuaunces innumerable: the rebukes, & frownyng faces of men how wilt thou ſuffer? Doeſt thou not conſider & reuolue in thy minde thy pleaſaunt country, the riches of the world, thy kynſfolkes, the delicate pleaſures, and honors of this life? Doeſt thou forget the ſolace of thy Sciences, and fruite of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus looſe all thy labours, which thou haſt hetherto ſuſteined? ſo many nights watched? thy painful trauails, & all thy laudable enterpriſes, wherin thou haſt bene exerciſed continually, euen from thy childhode? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth ouer thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a foole art thou, which for one word ſpeakyng, mayeſt ſalue all this, & wilt not? What a rude and vnmanerly thyng is this, not to be entreated at the inſtant petitions & deſires of ſuch, ſo many & ſo mighty, ſo iuſt, ſo vertuous, ſo prudent, and gracious Senatours, and ſuch noble perſonages? &c.

But now to aunſwere, let this blynd world hearken to this agayne: What heate can there be more burnyng, then that fire, which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewiſe what ſnow cã be more cold, then thy hart which is in darknes, and hath no light? What thyng is more hard & ſharpe, or crooked, then this preſent life, which here we lead? What thyng more odious & hatefull, then this world here preſent? And let theſe worldly men here aunſwere me: What countrey can we haue more ſweete, then the heauenly countrey aboue? What treaſures more rich or precious, then euerlaſting lyfe? And who be our kinſmen, but they which heare the word of GOD? Where be greater riches, or dignities more honorable, then in heauen? And as touchyng theſe ſciences, let this fooliſh world conſider, be they not ordeined to learne to know God? whom vnles we do know, all our labours, our night watchynges, our ſtudies, and all our enterpriſes ſerue to no vſe nor purpoſe, all is but labor loſt. Furthermore let the miſerable worldly mã aunſwere me, what remedy or ſafe refuge cã there be vnto hym, if he lacke God, who is the lyfe and medicine of all men? And how can he be ſayd to flye from death, when he hymſelfe is already dead in ſinne? If Chriſt be the way, veritie, and lyfe, how can there be any lyfe thẽ, without Chriſt? The ſooty heate of the priſon, to me is coldnes: the cold wynter to me is a freſh ſpryng tyme in ye Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he feare the heate of weather? or what careth he for the pinchyng froſt, which burneth with the loue of the Lord? the place is ſharpe and tedious to them that be gilty, but to the innocent and giltles, it is melliſluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew, here floweth the pleaſaunt nectar, here runneth the ſweete milke, here is plenty of all good thynges. And although the place it ſelfe be deſerte and barren, yet to me it ſeemeth a large walke, and a valley of pleaſure: here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miſerable worldlyng ſay and confeſſe, if there be any plot, paſtor, or medow ſo delightfull to the mynde of man, as here? Here I ſee Kynges, Princes, Cities, & people: here I ſee warres, where ſome be ouerthrowen, ſome be victours, ſome thruſt downe, ſome lifted vp. Here is the mount Sion: here I am already in heauen it ſelfe. Here ſtãdeth firſt Chriſt Ieſus in the fronte. About hym ſtand the old fathers, Prophetes, and Euangeliſtes, Apoſtles, and all the ſeruauntes of God. Of whom ſome do embrace and cheriſh me, ſome exhort me, ſome open the Sacramentes vnto me, ſome cõfort me, other ſome ſingyng about me. And how then ſhall I be thought to be alone, among ſo many, & ſuch as theſe be? The beholdyng of whom, to me is both ſolace, and example. For here I ſee ſome crucified, ſome ſlayne, ſome ſtoned, ſome cut a ſunder and quartered, ſome roſted, ſome broyled, ſome put in hoate caulderns, ſome hauing their eyes bored through, ſome their toungs cut out, ſome their ſkinne plucked ouer their heades, ſome their handes & feete chopt of, ſome put in kilnes & furnaces, ſome caſt downe headlong, and giuen to the beaſtes, & fowles of the ayre, to feede vpon. It would aſke a long tyme if I ſhould recite all.

To be ſhort, diuers I ſee, with diuers and ſundry tormentes excruciate: yet notwithſtandyng, all lyuing, and all ſafe. One plaiſter, one ſalue cureth all their woundes: which alſo geueth to me, ſtrength and life: ſo that I ſuſteine all theſe tranſitory anguiſhes, & ſmall afflictions, with a quiet mynde, hauyng a greater hope layde vp in heauen. Neither do I feare myne aduerſaries which here perſecute me and oppreſſe me: For he that dwelleth in heauen ſhall laugh them to ſcorne, and the Lord ſhall deride them. I feare not thouſandes of people, which compaſſe me about. The lord my God ſhall deliuer me, my hope, my ſupporter, my comforter, who exalteth vp my head. He ſhall ſmite all them, that ſtand agaynſt me without cauſe, and ſhall daſhe the teeth and iawes of ſinners a ſunder: for he onely is all bleſſednes and maieſtie. The rebukes for Chriſtes cauſe make vs iocant: for ſo it is written: If ye be rebuked and ſcorned for the name of Chriſt, happy be you, for the glory, and the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. 1.Pet.4. Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are layd vpon vs, redounde to the ſhame and harme of the rebukers. In thys worlde there is no manſion firme to me, and therefore I trauaile vp to the new Hieruſalem, which is in heauen, and which offereth it ſelfe vnto me, without paying any fine or Income. Beholde I haue entred already in my iourney, where my houſe ſtandeth for me prepared, and where I ſhall haue riches, kinſfolkes, delites, honours neuer faylyng. As for theſe earthly thynges here preſent, they are tranſitory ſhadowes, vaniſhyng vapors, and ruinous walles. Brieflye, all is but very vanitie of vanities, where as hope, and the ſubſtaunce of eternitie to come, are wantyng: which the mercifull goodnes of the Lord hath geuen, as companions, to accompany me, and to comfort me: and now do the ſame begyn to worke and to bringe forth fruites in me. I haue trauailed hetherto, laboured and ſweate early and late, watchyng day and nyght, and now my trauayles begin to come to effecte. Dayes and houres haue I beſtowed vpon my ſtudies. Beholde the true countenaunce of God is ſealed vppon me, the Lorde hath geuen myrth in my hart. And therefore in the ſame wyll I lay me downe in peace & reſt. Pſal.4. And who then ſhall dare to blame thys our age conſumed, or ſay that our yeares be cut of? What man cã now cauill, that theſe our labours are loſt, which haue folowed and found out the Lord and maker of the world, and which haue chaunged death wyth lyfe? My portion is the Lorde (ſayth my ſoule) and therfore I wyll ſeeke and wayte for hym. Now then, if to die in the Lord, be not to dye, but to lyue moſt ioyfully: where is thys wretched worldly rebell, which blameth vs of folly, for geuyng away our lyues to death? O how delectable is thys death to me, to taſte the Lordes cup, which is an aſſured pledge of true ſaluation? for ſo hath ye Lord himſelfe forewarned vs ſaying: The ſame that they haue done to me, they will alſo do vnto you.

Wherefore let the doltiſhe world, with his vaine worldlynges (who in the bright ſunne ſhine, yet go ſtumbling in darkenes, beyng as blynde as bettles) ceaſe thus vnwiſely to carpe agaynſt vs, for our raſhe ſufferyng, as they count it. To whom thus we aunſwere agayne wyth the holy Apoſtle: That neyther tribulation, nor anguiſhe, nor hunger, nor nakednes, nor ieoperdy, nor perſecutiõ, nor ſword, ſhalbe able euer to ſeparate vs from the loue of Chriſt. We are ſlayne all the day lõg, we are made like ſheepe ordeined to the ſhambles. Rom.8. Thus do we reſemble Chriſt our head which ſayd: That the Diſciple can not be aboue his maiſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue his Lord. The ſame Lord alſo hath ſo commaunded: That euery one ſhall take vp his Croſſe, and folow him. Luc.9. Reioyſe, reioyſe (my deare brethren, & felow ſeruauntes) and be of good comfort, when ye fall into ſondry tentations. Let your patience be perfect in all partes. For ſo is it foreſhewed vs before, and is written: That they which ſhall kill you, ſhall thinke to do God good ſeruice. Therfore afflictions, and death be as tokens and Sacramentes of our election, and lyfe to come. Let vs then be glad, and ſing to the Lord, when as we beyng cleare from all iuſt accuſation, are perſecuted and geuen to death. For better it is, that we in doyng well, do ſuffer, if it ſo be the will of the Lord, then doyng euill. 1. Pet. 3. We haue for our example, Chriſt and the Prophetes, which ſpake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquitie did quelle and murder: and now we bleſſe & magnifie them, that then ſuffered. Let vs be glad and ioyous in our innocencie, and vprightnes. The Lord ſhall reward them that perſecute vs: let vs referre all reuengement to hym.

I am accuſed of fooliſhnes, for that I do not ſhrinke fro the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not ryd me ſelfe out of theſe troubles, when with one word, I may. O the blyndnes of man, which ſeeth not the Sunne ſhynyng, neither remembreth the Lordes wordes. Conſider therfore what he ſayth: You are the light of the world: A citie builded on the hill cãnot be hyd: Neither do men light a cãdle, and put it vnder a buſhell, but vppon a candleſticke, that it may ſhyne, and gyue light to them in the houſe. And in an other place he ſayth: You ſhalbe led before kinges and rulers, feare ye not them, which kill the body, but him which killeth both body and ſoule. Who ſoeuer ſhall confeſſe me before men, him will I alſo confeſſe before my father which is in heauen: And he that denyeth me before men, him will I alſo deny before my heauenly father. Wherfore, ſeyng the wordes of the Lord be ſo playne, how or by what authoritie ſhall thys wiſe counſeller then oppoſe this his counſayle, which he doth geue? God forbyd that I ſhould relinquiſh the commaundementes of God, and folow the counſailes of men. For it is writtē: Bleſſed is the mā that hath not gone in the wayes of ſinners, and hath not ſtand in the counſailes of the vngodly, and hath not ſit in the chayre of peſtilence. Pſal. 1. God forbyd that I ſhould deny Chriſt, where I ought to confeſſe hym. I will not ſet more by my lyfe, then by my ſoule: neither will I exchaunge the lyfe to come, for this world here preſent. O how fooliſhly ſpeaketh he, which here argueth me of fooliſhnes?

Neither do I take it to be a thyng ſo vncomely or vnſeemyng for me not to obey in this matter, the requeſtes of thoſe ſo honorable, iuſt, prudent, vertuous, and noble Senatours, whoſe deſires (he ſayth) were inough to commaūde me. For ſo are we taught of the Apoſtles: That we ought to obey God before men. After that we haue ſerued & done our duety firſt vnto God, then are we bound next to obey the Poteſtates of this world: whom I wiſhe to be perfect before the Lord. They are honorable, but yet are they to be made more perfect in ẏ Lord. They are iuſt, but yet Chriſt the ſeate of Iuſtice is lackyng in them. They are wiſe, but where is in them the beginnyng of wiſedome, that is, the feare of the Lord? They are called vertuous, but yet I wiſh them more abſolute in Chriſtian charitie. They are good and gratious: but yet I myſſe in them the foundation of goodnes, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodnes and grace. They are honorable, yet haue they not receaued the Lord of glory, which is our Sauiour moſt honorable and glorious. Vnderſtand you kynges, and learne you that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare, and reioyſe in him with tremblyng. Hearken to doctrine, and get knowledge, leſt you fall into Gods diſpleaſure, and ſo periſh out of the way of righteouſnes. What freat you, what fume, you O gentles? O you people, what caſt you in your braynes the cogitations of vanitie? you kyngs of the earth, and you princes, why cōſpire you ſo together againſt Chriſt, and againſt his holy one? Pſal. 2. How long wil you ſeeke after lyes, and hate the truth? Turne you to the Lord and harden not your hartes. For this you muſt needes confeſſe, that they which perſecute the Lordes ſeruaunts, do perſecute the Lord him ſelfe. For ſo he ſayth himſelfe: Whatſoeuer men ſhall do to you, I will coūt it to be done, not as vnto you, but to me ſelf.

And now let this carnall politicke Counſeller and diſputer of this world, tell, wherein haue they to blame me, if in myne examinations I haue not aunſwered ſo after their mynde and affection as they required of me? ſeyng it is not our ſelues that ſpeake, but the Lord that ſpeaketh in vs, as he himſelfe doth forewitnes, ſaying: Whē ye ſhalbe brought before rulers and Magiſtrates, it is not you your ſelues that ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father, that ſhalbe in you. Mat. 10. Wherfore if the Lord be true and faythfull of his word, as it is moſt certeine, then is there no blame in me: for he gaue the wordes that I did ſpeake, and who was I, that could reſiſt his will? If any ſhall reprehend the thyngs that I ſayd, let hym then quarell with the Lord, whom it pleaſed to worke ſo in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accuſed, which did that I purpoſed not, and that I forethought not of. The thyngs which there I dyd vtter and expreſſe, if they were otherwiſe then well, let them ſhew it, and then will I ſay, that they were my wordes, & not the Lordes? But if they were good, and approued, and ſuch as can not iuſtly be accuſed, then muſt it needes be graunted, ſpyte of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord: and then who be they, that ſhall accuſe me? A people of prudence. Or who ſhall condemne me? Iuſt Iudges. And though they ſo do, yet neuertheles, the word ſhall not be fruſtrate, neither ſhall the Goſpell be fooliſh, or therfore decay: but rather the kyngdome of God ſhall the more proſpere and floriſh vnto the Iſraelites, and ſhall paſſe the ſooner vnto the elect of Chriſt Ieſu: And they which ſhall ſo do, ſhall proue the greuous iudgemēt of God, neither ſhall they eſcape without puniſhment, that be perſecuters & murderers of the iuſt. My welbeloued, lift vp your eyes, & conſider the coūſailes of God. He ſhewed vnto vs a late, an Image of his plague, which was to our correction. And if we ſhall not receaue him, he will draw out his ſword, and ſtrike with ſword, peſtilence, and famine, the nation that ſhall riſe agaynſt Chriſt. Theſe haue I written to your cōfort, deare brethrē. Pray for me. I kiſſe in my hart, with an holy kiſſe, my good maiſters, Siluius, Pergula, Iuſtus, alſo Fidell Roche, & him that beareth the name of Lelia, whō I know although beyng abſent. Item, the gouernour of the Vniuerſitie, Syndicus, & all other, whoſe names be written in the booke of life. Fare well all my felow ſeruaunts of God: fare ye well in the Lord, & pray for me continually. From the delectable orchyard of Leonine priſon. 12. cal. Aug. an. 1555.

¶ It is writtē of one Thebrotus, that when he had read the booke of Plato De immortalitate animæ, he was ſo moued & perſuaded therewith, that he caſt himſelfe down headlong from an hygh wall, to be ryd out of this preſent lyfe. If thoſe heathen Philoſophers, hauyng no word of God, nor promiſe of any reſurrection and life to come, could ſo ſoone be perſuaded by readyng the wordes of Plato, to cōtemne this world and lyfe here preſent: how much more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed with ſo many euidences & promiſes of Gods moſt perfect word, that they ſhould learne to caſt of the carnall deſires and affections of this miſerable peregrination, and that for a double reſpect, not onely in ſeyng, readyng, and vnderſtandyng ſo many examples of the miſeries of this wretched world: but alſo much more in conſideryng, and pondryng the heauenly ioyes and conſolations of the other world, remainyng for vs hereafter to come. For a more full euidence wherof, I thought good to geue out this preſent letter of Algerius aboue prefixed, for the taſt of the ſame, & a liuely teſtimony for all true Chriſtians to read and conſider. Now let vs proceede further (the Lord willyng) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
	Ioannes Aloiſius. At Rome. An. 1559.	Of Ioannes Aloiſius we finde mentiō made in a letter of Simon Florilius: which Aloiſius was ſent downe from Geneua, to the parties of Calabria, there to bee their miniſter, who afterward was ſent for vp to Rome, & there ſuffered. Ex Epiſt. D. Simonis Florilli.
	Iacobus Bouellus. At Meſſina An. 1559.	Iacobus Bouellus was likewiſe ſent frō Geneua to the ſayd parties of Calabria, with Aloiſius, who alſo beyng ſent for vp to Rome, was ſent downe to the Citie Meſſina, and there was martyred. Ibidē.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Diuers that ſuffered in the kyngdome of Naples. At Neaples An. 1560.	After pope Iulius the thyrd, came Marcellus the ſecond. After him ſucceded pope Paule the iiij. This Paule beyng dead folowed pope Pius the fourth. Who beyng aduaunced to ẏ rowme, began hoate perſecution in all the territories of the Church of Rome, agaynſt them which were ſuſpected for Lutheranes. Whereupon enſued great trouble and perſecution in the kyngdome of Neaples, in ſuch cruell ſort, that many noble mē with their wiues, & others are reported there to be ſlayne. Vid. Pantal. lib. xi.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Lxxxviij. Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, ſlayne like ſheepe.	In Calabria likewiſe the ſame tyme, ſuffered a bleſſed nūber of Chriſtes welbeloued Saints, both old and young, put together in one houſe, to the number of 88. perſōs, all which, one after an other, were taken

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	1600. other, alſo condẽned. At Calabria. An. 1560.	take out of the houſe, and ſo beyng layd vpon the butchers ſtall, like ſheepe in ẏ ſhambles, w one bloudy knife, were all killed in order. A ſpectacle moſt tragicall, for all poſteritie to remember, & almoſt incredible to beleue. Wherfore for the more credite of ẏ matter, leſt we ſhal ſeeme either light of credite, to beleue that is not true, or raſhly to commit to penne, thynges without due proofe and authoritie, we haue here annexed a peece of an Epiſtle, written by maiſter Symon Florillus preacher of Gods word at the Citie Clauenna, among the Rhetians, vnto a certaine frend of his named Gabriel Gratalorus an Italian, and Doctour of Phiſicke, in the Vniuerſitie of Baſill, whiche Gratalorus tranſlated the ſame into the Latin toung, and it is to be found in the xj. booke of Pantal. pag. 337. the Engliſh wherof is thus as foloweth.

The end of a certaine letter of maiſter Symon Florillus, written in Italian, concernyng a lamentable ſlaughter of 88. Chriſtian Saintes, in the parties of Calabria.

Newes out of Italy. an. 1560.

As concerning newes, I haue nothing to write, but onely, that I ſend you a copy of certain letters imprinted either at Rome, or at Venice, cõcernyng the Martyrdome or perſecution in two ſeuerall townes of Calabria, eight Italian myles from the borders of Conſentia: the one called S. Sixtus within ij. myles of Montalte, vnder the Segniorie of the Duke of Montalte: the other called Guardia, ſituate vpon the Sea coſt, and xij. myles frõ S. Sixtus: the which two townes are vtterly deſtroyed and viij. C. of the inhabitaunts there (or as ſome write from the Citie of Rome) no leſſe then a full thouſand. He that wrote the letter, was ſeruaunt to Aſcanius Caracciolus. The countrey and people there I well knew, to take the firſt Originall of their good doctrine, and honeſt life, from the Waldeſes. For before my departure from Geneua, at their requeſt, I ſent them two Scholemaſters, and two preachers. The laſt yeare the two preachers were martyred: the one at Rome named Iohannes Aloiſius Paſchalis, a citizẽ of Cuniũ: the other at Meſſina named Iames Bouel both of Piedmont. This yeare ẏ reſidue of that godly felowſhyp were Martyred, in the ſame place. I truſt this good ſeede ſowẽ in Italy, will bring forth good and plentyfull fruite.

Ioan Aloiſius Paſchalis, Iames Bouell, **preachers & Martyrs.**

Now foloweth the copy of the letters ſent from Montalte, a town in Calabria 8. myles diſtant from Conſentia, bearyng date the xi. of Iune. 1560. The writer of the which letters, as ye may perceaue, was one of them whiche call themſelues Catholickes, and folowers of the pope. The wordes of the letter be theſe, as here vnder foloweth.

Here foloweth the copie of a letter ſent from Montalte in Calabria, by a Romaniſte, to a certeine frende of his in Rome, conteinyng newes of the perſecution of Chriſtes people in Calabria, by the new Pope Pius the fourth.

Horrible perſecution in Calabria. an. 1560.

Hetherto, moſt noble Lord, haue I certified you, what here dayly hath bene done about theſe heretickes. Now commeth next, to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhip, the horrible iudgement begonne thys preſent day, being the xj. of Iune, to be executed very early in the mornyng agaynſt the Lutherans. Which when I thynke vpon, I verely quake and tremble. And truely the maner of their puttyng to death, was to be compared to the ſlaughter of calues and ſheepe. For they beyng all thruſt vp in one houſe together as in a ſhepefolde, the executioner commeth in, and amongeſt them taketh one and blindefoldeth him wyth a muffler about hys eyes, and ſo leadeth him forth to a larger place neare adioyning, where he commaundeth hym to kneele downe, which being ſo done, he cutteth hys throte, and leauyng him halfe dead, and takyng his butchers knife and muffler all of goare bloud (which the Italians call Benda) cõmeth agayne to ẏ reſt, & ſo leading one after an other, he diſpatcheth them all, which were to ẏ number of 88. Thys ſpectacle, to beholde how dolefull & horrible it was, I leaue to your Lordſhyps iudgement: for to write of it I me ſelfe, cannot but weepe. Neither was any of the beholders there preſẽt, which ſeyng one to die, could abide to behold the death of an other. But certes ſo humbly and paciently they went to death, as is almoſt vncredible to beleue. Some of them as they were in dying, affirmed that they beleued euen as we do. Notwithſtanding the moſt part of them dyed in the ſame their obſtinate opinions. All the aged perſons went to death more cherefully, the yonger were more timerous. I tremble and ſhake euen to remember how the executioner held his bloudye knife betwene hys teeth, with the bloudy muffler in his hand, and hys armes all in goare bloud vp to ẏ elbowes, goyng to the folde, and takyng euery one of them, one after an other, by the hand, and ſo diſpatchyng them all, no otherwyſe then doth a butcher kill hys calues and ſheepe.

The Chriſtians killed like Calues.

88. Martyrs.

It is moreouer appoynted (and the cartes be come already) ẏ all thoſe ſo put to death, ſhould be quartered, and ſo to be conueied in the cartes to the hethermoſt partes of Calabria, where they ſhalbe hanged vpon poles in the hyghe wayes, and other places, euen to the confines of the ſame countrey. Unleſſe the Popes holynes and the Lord Uiceroy of Naples ſhall geue in commaundement to the Lorde Marques of Buccianus, gouernour of the ſayd prouince, to ſtay hys hand, and go no further, he wyll procede, with the racke and torture, examinyng all other, and ſo encreaſe the number in ſuch ſorte, that he wyl at length diſpatch them all.

Thys day it is alſo determined that an hundreth of the more auncient women, ſhould appeare to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for ſo many men, ſo many women. And thus haue you that I can ſay of thys iuſtice. Now it is about two of the clocke in ẏ afternoone: ſhortly we ſhall heare what ſome of them ſayd, when they went to execution. There be certaine of them ſo obſtinate, that they will not looke vpon the crucifixe, nor be confeſſed to the Prieſt, and they ſhall be burned aliue.

The hereticks that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600. but as yet no more but theſe forſayd 88. are already executed. Thys people haue their originall of the valley named Angrogna neare to Sabaudia, and in Calabria, are called Ultramontani. In the kyngdome of Naples there are 4. other places of ẏ ſame people, of whom whether they liue well or no, as yet we know not: For they are but ſimple people, ignoraunt, wout learnyng, ſhepheardes & huſbandmẽ: but as I heare, much deuout & religious, geuyng thẽſelues to dye for religions ſake. Frõ Montalto, the xj. of Iune. And thus much writeth thys Romaniſte.

There moreouer is to be noted, that the foreſayd Marques Buccianus aboue ſpecified, had a ſonne or brother, vnto whom the ſayd new Pope (Pius the fourth before) is reported to haue promiſed a Cardinalſhyp at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirped and rooted out in that prouince. And lyke enough that the ſame was the cauſe of this butcherly perſecution and effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, in the ſayd countrey of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Beſides theſe godly Italian Martyrs, in thys Table aboue conteyned, many other alſo haue ſuffered in the ſame countrey of Italie, of whom ſome before haue bene ſpecified, ſome peraduenture omitted. But many moe there be, whoſe names we know not, wherof ſo ſoone as knowledge may be geuen vnto vs, we purpoſe God willyng, to imparte the ſame (louyng reader) vnto thee.

Now in the meane tyme it followeth (accordyng to my promiſe made before) next after this lamentable ſlaughter of Calabria, here to inſert alſo the tragicall perſecution & horrible murder of the faythfull flocke of Chriſt inhabityng in Merindoll in Fraunce, and in other townes adiacent neare vnto the ſame, in the time of Frãciſcus. 1. the French kyng. The furious cruelty of whiche miſerable perſecution, although it can not be ſet forth ſo much at large, yet becauſe we will not wery to much the reader, with the full length therof, we haue ſo contracted the ſame, eſpecially the principall effect therof we haue comprehended in ſuch ſort, that as we on the one part haue auoyded prolixitie: ſo on the other we haue omitted nothyng, which might ſeeme vnworthy to be forgotten. The ſtory here followeth.

A notable hiſtory of the perſecution and deſtruction of the people of Merindoll and Cabriers, the coũtrey of Prouince: where, not a few perſons, but whole Villages and Towneſhyps with the moſt part of all the foreſayd countrey, both men, womẽ, and childrẽ, were put to all kynds of cruelty, and ſuffered martyrdome, for the profeſſion of the Goſpell.

The lamentable ſtory of Merindol.

They that write of the beginnyng of this people, ſay that about CC. yeares ago, they came out of the countrey of

Piede-

Piedmont, to inhabite in Prouince, in certaine Villages deſtroyed by warres, and other deſert places: wherin they vſed ſuch labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corne, wyne, oyles, hemp, almons, with other fruites & commodities of the earth, & much cattell. Before they came thether, Merindol was a barre deſert and not inhabited. But theſe good people (in whō God alwayes had reſerued ſome litle ſeede of pietie) beyng diſperſed, and ſeparated from the ſocietie of mē, were compelled to dwell with beaſtes, in that waſt and wild deſert, which notwithſtandyng, through the bleſſyng of God and their great labour and trauell, became exceedyng fruitefull. Notwithſtandyng ẏ world in the meane tyme, ſo deteſted & abhorred thē, and with all ſhamefull rebukes & contumelies, rayled againſt them in ſuch deſpitefull maner, that it ſeemed they were not worthy that the earth ſhould beare thē. For they of a long continuance & cuſtome, had refuſed the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, and obſerued euer a more perfect kynde of doctrine, then others, deliuered to them from the father to the ſonne, euer ſince the yeare of our Lord. 1200.

For the originall of this people, ſee before in pag. 271.

For this cauſe they were oftē accuſed & complayned of to the kyng, as contēners and deſpiſers of the Magiſtrates & rebels. Wherfore they were called by diuers names accordyng to the countreys and places where they dwelt. For in the countrey about Lyōs, they were called the poore people of Lyons: In the borders of Sarmatia & Liuonia, & other countreys towardes the North, they were called Lolardes: In Flāders, and Artoys, Turrelupins, of a deſert where wolues did haunt: In Dolphine, with great deſpite, they were named Chagnardes, becauſe they lyued in places opē to the ſunne, and without houſe or harborough. But moſt commonly they were called Waldoys, of Waldo, who firſt inſtructed thē in the word of God: which name continued vntill the name of Lutherans came vp, which aboue all other, was moſt hated, and abhorred.

Pauperes de Lugduno, Waldenſes, Turrelupini, Chagnardi.

Of Waldo read before, pag. 234.

Notwithſtandyng, in all theſe moſt ſpitefull contumelies and ſclaunders, the people dwellyng at the foote of the Alpes, and alſo in Merindoll & Cabriers, and the quarters thereabout, alwayes liued ſo godly, ſo vprightly & iuſtly that in all their lyfe & conuerſation, there appeared to be in them a great feare of God. That litle light of true knowledge which God had giuen them, they laboured by all meanes, to kyndle and encreaſe dayly more & more, ſparyng no charges, whether it were to procure bookes of the holy Scripture, or to inſtruct ſuch as were of the beſt and moſt towardly wittes, in learnyng & godlynes: or els to ſend thē into other countreys, yea euē to the fartheſt partes of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the Goſpell began to ſhyne.

For in the yeare. 1530. vnderſtandyng that the Goſpell was preached in certaine townes of Germany & Switzerland, they ſent thether two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus borne in Dolphine, a godly preacher of their owne, and whom they had of their owne charges brought vp in learnyng & Petrus Latomus a Burgundian, to conferre with the wiſe and learned miniſters of the Churches there, in the doctrine of the Goſpell, and to know the whole forme and maner which thoſe Churches vſed in the ſeruice and worſhyppyng of God: & particularly to haue their aduiſe alſo, vpon certaine pointes, which they were not reſolued in. Theſe ij. after great conference had with the chiefeſt in the Church of [illegible], namely with Oecolāpadius at Baſill: at Strausbrough, with Bucer & Capito: & at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus: as they were returnyng thorough Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dyion, & caſt into priſon. Maurellus eſcaped and returned alone to Merindol, with the bookes & letters which he brought with him, from the Churches of Germany, and declared to his brethren all the pointes of his commiſſion, & opened vnto them, how many and great errours they were in: into the which their old Miniſters, whom they called * Barbes, that is to ſay, Uncles, had brought them, leadyng them from the right way of true Religion.

* Theſe were their miniſters, for lacke of better vntill they came to more ſincere knowledge: which inſtructed them moſt commonly by night abroade in caues & quarters for feare of perſecution.

When the people heard this, they were moued with ſuch a zeale to haue their Churches reformed, that they ſent for the moſt auncient brethren, & the chiefeſt in knowledge and experience, of all Calabria & Apulia, to conſult with them, touchyng the reformatiō of the Church. This matter was ſo handled, that it ſtyrred vp the Byſhops, Prieſts, & mōkes in all Prouince, with great rage, agaynſt them. Amongeſt other, there was one cruell wretch called Iohn de Roma a Monke, who obtaynyng a commiſſion to examine thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of the Waldois or Lutherane profeſſiō, forthwith ceaſed not to afflict the faythfull with all kynd of crueltie, that he could deuiſe or imagine. Amōgeſt other moſt horrible tormentes, this was one, which he moſt delighted in: and moſt commonly practiſed: He filled bootes with boylyng greece, & put them vpon their legges, tying them backward to a forme, with their legges hangyng downe ouer a ſmall fire, and ſo he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end, moſt cruelly put thē to death. The firſt whom he thus tormented were Michelottus Serra, and W. Melius, with a number moe.

Of theſe Calabrians, ſee before page. 915.

Ioā. de Roma, a wretched perſecutor.

The crueltie of a Papiſt.

Michelottus Serra, W Melius, Martyrs.

Wherfore Frāces the French kyng beyng informed of the ſtraunge & outragious crueltie of this helliſhe Monke: ſent letters to the high Court or Parlament of Prouince, that forthwith he ſhould be apprehended, & by forme of proces and order of law, he ſhould be condemned, and aduertiſemēt ſent vnto him with all ſpede, of his cōdemnation. The Monke beyng aduertiſed hereof by his frendes, conueyed himſelfe to Auinion, where he thought to enioy the ſpoylynges, which he, like a notorious theefe, had gottē by fraude & extortion, from the poore Chriſtians. But ſhortly after, he which had ſo ſhamefully ſpoyled other, was ſpoyled of altogether, by his owne houſhold ſeruauntes: Wherupon, ſhortly after, he fell ſicke of a moſt horrible diſeaſe, ſtraunge and vnknowen to any Phiſition, So extreme were the paynes & tormentes, wherewith he was cōtinually vexed in all his body, that no oyntment, no fomentation, nor any thyng els, could eaſe hym one minute of an houre. Neither was there any man that could tary neare about him: ne yet would any of hys owne frendes come neare hym: ſo great was the ſtinch that came frō hym. For the which cauſe he was caryed from the Iacobines, to an hoſpitall, there to be kept: But the ſtinch & infection, ſo encreaſed, that no man durſt there come neare him: no nor he himſelfe was able to abyde the horrible ſtinch that iſſued from his body, full of vlcers & ſores, and ſwarmyng with vermine, and ſo rotten, that the fleſh fell away from the bones, by peecemeale.

The iuſt iudgement of God agaynſt a cruell perſecutor.

Whiles he was in theſe tormentes and anguiſh, he cryed out oftētymes in great rage: Oh who wil deliuer me? who will kill & rydde me out of theſe vntolerable paynes, which I know, I ſuffer for the euils and oppreſſions, that I haue done to the poore men? And he hymſelfe went about diuers times, to deſtroy himſelfe, but he had not ẏ power. In theſe horrible tormentes and anguiſh, and fearefull diſpayre, this blaſphemer and moſt cruell homicide, moſt miſerably ended his vnhappy dayes & curſed life, as a ſpectacle to all perſecutours, receauyng a iuſt reward of his crueltie by the iuſt Iudgement of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come neare him to bury him: but a yoūg Nouice newly come to his order, in ſtede of a more honorable ſepulture, caught hold with a hooke vpon his ſtinkyng cariō, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

A ſpectacle to all perſecutors.

After the death of this cruell monſter, the byſhop of Aix, by his Officiall Perionet, continued the perſecution & put a great multitude of them in priſon: of whom ſome by force of tormentes, reuolted from the truth: the others which cōtinued conſtant, after he had condemned thē of hereſie, were put into the handes of ẏ ordinary iudge, which at that tyme, was one Meiranus, a notable cruell perſecutor: who, without any forme of proces or order of law, ſuch as the Officiall had pronounced to be heretickes, he put to death, with moſt cruell tormētes: But ſhortly after, he receiued a iuſt reward of hys crueltie, in like maner.

The Byſhop of Aix. Perionet, hys Officiall, Meiranus, cruell perſecutors.

After the death of the good Preſident Cuiſinetus, the Lord of Reueſt beyng chief Preſident of the Parlament of Aix, put many of the faythfull to death. Who afterward beyng put out of his office, returned to his houſe of Reueſt, where he was ſtroken with ſuch an horrible ſicknes, that for the fury and madnes which he was in, his wife or any that were about hym, durſt not come neare him, and ſo he dying in this fury and rage, was iuſtly plagued for his vnmercyfull and cruell dealyng.

An other example of Gods terrible iudgemēt vpon a perſecutor.

After him ſucceded Bartholomeus Caſſaneus, likewiſe a peſtilent perſecutour, whom God at length ſtrocke with a fearefull and ſodein death. In the tyme of this tyrā, thoſe of Merindol, in the perſon of ten, were cited perſonally to appeare before the kings Atturney. But they hearyng that the Court had determined to burne them without any further proceſſe or order of law, durſt not appeare at the day appoynted. For which cauſe the Court awarded a cruell ſentence agaynſt Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitantes, to be burned both, men and women, ſparyng none, no not the litle children and infantes: the town to be raſed, & their houſes beaten downe to the ground: alſo the trees to be cut downe, as well oliue trees, as all other, and nothyng to be left, to the entent it ſhould neuer be inhabited agayne, but remayne as a deſert or wildernes.

An other example of Gods iudgement vpon Caſſaneus, a bloudy perſecutor.

A bloudy decree agaynſt the Merindolians.

This bloudy Arreſt or Decree ſeemed ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull, that in euery place throughout all Prouince, there was great reaſonyng and diſputation concernyng the ſame, eſpecially among the Aduocates, and men of learnyng and vnderſtandyng: in ſomuch that many durſt boldly & openly ſay, that they greatly marueiled, how that Court of Parlamēt could be ſo mad, or ſo bewitched, to giue out ſuch an Arreſt, ſo manifeſtly iniurious & vniuſt, and contrary to all right and reaſon, yea to all ſenſe of humanitie: alſo contrary to the ſolemne othe, which al ſuch as are receiued to office in Courtes of Parliament, are accuſtomed to make, yͭ is to ſay, to Judge iuſtly and vprightly, accordyng to the law of God, and the iuſt ordinaunces & lawes of the realme, ſo that God therby might be honoured, and euery mans right regarded, without reſpecte of perſons.

Some of yͤ Aduocates or lawyers, defendyng yͤ ſayd Arreſt to be iuſt & right, ſaid: yͭ in caſe of Lutheraniſme, yͤ iudges are not bound to obſerue either right or reaſon, law either ordinance, & that the iudges can not faile or do amiſſe, what ſoeuer iudgement they do giue, ſo yͭ it tend to the ruine & extirpatiō of all ſuch as are ſuſpected to be Lutherās.

Euen ſo the Phariſeis proceeded againſt Chriſt the ſonne of God.

To this the other lawyers and learned men aunſwered, that vpon their ſayinges it would inſue, that the Judges ſhould now altogether folow the ſame maner and forme, in proceedyng agaynſt yͤ Chriſtians accuſed to be Lutheranes, whiche the Goſpell witneſſeth that the Prieſtes, Scribes, and Phariſeis followed, in purſuing, and perſecuting, and finally condemnyng our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

By theſe & ſuch other like talks yͤ ſayd arreſt was publiſhed throughout the countrey, and there was no aſſemble or bankyt where it was not diſputed or talked of: & namely within .xij. dayes after the Arreſt was geuen out, there was a great banket in the towne of Aix, at the which banket was preſent maiſter Barthelmewe Chaſſanee. Preſident, and many other Councellers and other noble perſonages and men of authoritie. There was alſo the Archbyſhop of Arles and the Byſhop of Aix, with diuers ladyes and gentlewomen, amongeſt whom was one whiche was commonly reported to be the Byſhop of Aix his concubine. They were ſcarſe well ſet at the table, but ſhe began thus to talke. My Lord Preſident, will you not execute the Arreſt, which is geuen out of late, agaynſt the Lutherans of Merindoll? The Preſident aunſwered nothyng, faining that he heard her not. Then a certeine gentleman aſked of her what Arreſt that was. She recited it in maner and forme, as it was geuen out, forgettyng nothyng, as if ſhee had a long tyme ſtudied to commit the ſame vnto memorye: Wherunto they which were at the banket gaue diligent eare without any word ſpeakyng, vntill ſhe had ended her tale.

The biſhops banket.

There is no crueltie to the crueltie of an harlot.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great vnderſtandyng, ſayd vnto her: Gentlewomā, you haue learned this tale, either of ſome that would haue it ſo, or els it is geuen out by ſome Parliamēt of women. Then yͤ Lord of Senas an auncient counſailor, ſayd vnto him, no, no, my L. of Alenc, it is no tale which you haue heard this gentlewoman tell: for it is an Arreſt geuen out by a whole Senate, and you ought not thus to ſpeake except you would call the court of Prouince, a Parliament of women. Then yͤ Lord of Alenc began to excuſe himſelfe, with proteſtation that he would not ſpeake any thyng to blemiſh the authority of that ſoueraigne court, notwithſtanding he could not beleue all that which the ſayd gentlewoman had told, that is to ſay, that all the inhabitauntes of Merindoll were condemned to die by the Arreſt of the ſaid court of parliament of Prouince and ſpecially the women and little children and infants: and the towne to be raſed, for the fault of .x. or .xij. perſons which did not appeare before the ſaid court at the day appoynted. And the Lord Beauieu alſo aunſwered, that he beleued not the ſayd court to haue geuen out any ſuch Arreſt, for that (ſaid he) were a thyng moſt vnreaſonable, and ſuch as the very Turkes and the moſt tyrannes of the worlde woulde iudge to be a thing moſt deteſtable: and ſaid further, that he had knowen a long tyme many of Merindoll, which ſeemed vnto him to be men of great honeſty: and my lord Preſidēt (ſayd he) can certifie vs well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to geue credite vnto womens tales. Then the gentlewoman which had reherſed the Arreſt, ſtayed not to heare the Preſidents anſwer, but ſodenly lookyng vpon the biſhop of Aix, ſaid: I ſhould greatly haue marueiled, if there had bene none in all this company which would defēd theſe wicked men, and lifting her eyes to heauen in a great womanly chafe and fume, ſayd: would to God that all the Lutherans which are in Prouince, yea and in all Fraunce, had hornes growyng on their foreheds, then we ſhould ſee a goodly many of hornes. To whom the lord Beauieu ſodenly aunſwered, ſaying, would to God that all prieſtes harlots ſhould chatter like Pies. Then ſaid the gentlewoman: ha my lord Beauieu, you ought not ſo to ſpeak againſt our holy mother the church, for there was neuer dog that barked againſt yͤ crucifixe but yͭ he waxed mad. Wherat yͤ biſhop of Aix laughed, & clapping the gentlewoman on yͤ ſhoulder, ſaid by my holy orders, my minion, wel ſaid, I conne you thāke. She hath talked well vnto you, my lord Beauieu remēber wel the leſſon yͭ ſhe hath geuen you. Here the lord Beauieu being wholy moued with anger, ſaid, I care neyther for her ſchole nor youres, for it would be long before a man ſhould learne of either of you both, any honeſty or honor: For if I ſhould ſay yͭ the moſt part of the biſhops & prieſts are abhominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceiuers, theues, ſeducers, I ſhould not ſpeake againſt yͤ holy church, but againſt a heape and flocke of wolues, dogs and filthy ſwine, in ſpeaking theſe things, I would thinke a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for ſpeaking of the truth.

The Lord of Alenc, a good man.

The Lord Beauieu.

A Catholike wiſhe of a prieſtes harlot.

Then the Archebyſhop in a great fury aunſwered, my Lord Beauieu, you ſpeake very euill, and you muſt geue accoumpt when tyme and place ſerueth, of this your talke, which you haue here vttered agaynſt the Churche men. I would, ſayd the Lord Beauieu that it were to do euen this preſent day, and I would bynd my ſelfe to proue more abuſes and naughtynes in Prieſtes then I haue yet ſpoken.

Then ſayd the Preſident Chaſſence, my Lorde Beauieu, let vs leaue of this talke and lyue as our fathers haue done and mayntaine their honour. Then ſayd he in great anger, I am no Prieſtes ſonne to mainteine their wickednes and abuſe. And afterward he ſayd, I am well cōtent to honour all true paſtours of the Church, & wil not blame thē which ſhew good example in their doctrine and lyuing: but I demaunde of you my Lord of Arles, and you my Lord of Aix when as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt called the Prieſtes deceiuyng hypocrites, blynd ſeducers, robbers and theeues, dyd he them any outrage or wrong? and they aunſwered no, for the moſt part of them were ſuch men. Then ſayd the Lord Beauieu euen ſo is it with the Byſhops & Prieſtes which I haue ſpoken of, for they are ſuch kinde of men, or rather worſe: and I ſo abhorre their filthy and abhominable lyfe, that I dare not ſpeake the one halfe of that which I know, and therfore in ſpeakyng the truth, to coole the babling of a harlot, I do them no iniury.

The popes churchmē worſe then the olde Phariſies.

Then monſieur de Senas an auncient counſailor, ſayd, let vs leaue of this contentious talke, for we are here aſſembled and come together to make good chere. And afterward he ſayd, monſieur de Beauieu, for the loue and amitie which I beare vnto you, I will aduertiſe you of iij. things, which if you will do, you ſhall finde great eaſe therin.

The firſt is, that you neither by word nor deede, ayde or aſſiſt thoſe which you heare to be Lutherans.

Secondly, that you do not entermeddle, openly to reproue ladies and gentlewomen for their paſtime and pleaſures.

Thirdly, that you do neuer ſpeake againſt the lyfe and liuyng of * Prieſtes, how wicked ſo euer it be, accordyng to this ſaying: Do not touch myne annoynted.

*Churchmen be they neuer ſo euill, muſt not be ſpoken agaynſt.

1. Par. 16.

To whom monſieur Beauieu anſwered, as touching yͤ firſt point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is ment by this word Lutheraniſme, except you do call thē Lutherans, which profeſſe the doctrine of the Goſpel. Neither yet will I euer allow any Arreſt which ſhall be geuen out to death againſt men whoſe cauſe hath not bene heard, eſpecially, againſt women and yong infantes: and I am aſſured that there is no Court of parliament in all Fraunce which will approue or allow any ſuch Arreſt. And where as you ſay that I ſhould not meddle to reproue ladies or gentlewomen, if I knew any kinſwoman of myne, which would abandone her ſelfe vnto a prieſt or clerke, yea albeit he were a cardinall or biſhop, I would not do her ſo much honour, as to rebuke her therfore, but at the leaſt I would cutte of her noſe. And as touchyng prieſtes, as I am contented not to meddle with theyr buſines, ſo lykewiſe I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within my houſe: For as many as I ſhall finde or take there, I wyll ſet their crownes ſo nere their ſhoulders, that they ſhal nede no more to weare any hoodes about their neckes. The lyke alſo ſayd the Preſident Chaſſanee.

How Prieſtes harlots ſhould be handled.

Then the biſhop of Aix hys ſweete hart, which had begon the quarell, ſayd, I ſhal not be in quiet, except I ſpeake yet one worde more vnto monſieur Beauieu. Do you think ſayd ſhe vnto hym, that all the Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſtes, and all thoſe holy religious men which goe oftentymes to gentlemens houſes, and haunte thē Caſtels and palaces of Princes and noblemen, that they goe thither to commit wickednesse? Alſo you muſt not thinke euill of all thoſe Ladies & gentlewemen, that goe to biſhops houſes of deuotion, and for to reuele thoſe whome they knowe to be Lutherans, as it was commaunded in the Pulpitte vpon payne of excommunication: If ſo bee you will mayntayne thoſe wordes, I will not ceaſe to accuſe you of crime, and alſo of treaſon both to GOD and to man: for there be thoſe in this company whiche ſhall make you geue an accompt thereof. She had not ſo ſoone ended her talke, but Monſieur Beauieu ſayd vnto her, auaunte O Herodias, thou filthy and impudent harlot: is it thy part to open thy mouth to talke in this company? Doeſt thou wel vnderſtād and know what treaſon to God and man meaneth? Is it not ſufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou muſt ſollicite other to ſhed innocent bloude? Wyth theſe wordes the Gentlewoman was ſomewhat amaſed. All men thought

Well ſpoken & lyke an harlot.

As Herodias wrought the death of John Baptiſt, ſo thys ſtrumpet ſeeke the death of the Merindolians, two ſtrumpets well compared together.

that this talke had ben at an end, and euery man began to inuent ſome mery communication, that the former matter ſhould be no more talked of.

God ſendeth a ſhrewd cowe ſhort hornes.

The cruell hart of an harlot.

*The viſor of honeſtie on a harlots face.

*Lyke mother lyke daughter.

At the laſt, the gentlewoman aduiſing her ſelfe, and thinkyng that ſhe was to much iniured, to bee ſayd, that ſhee went about to ſhed the innocent bloud, ſhe brake of al their talke, and with a loud voyce ſayd, Monſieur Beauieu, if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to proue that I am no ſuch maner of woman as you ſay I am, that I deſire to ſhede innocent bloud. Do you call the bloud of theſe wicked men of Merindoll, innocent bloud? True it is that I deſire and offer with my hole power, that theſe naughty packes of Merindoll, and ſuch like as they are, ſhould be ſlaine and deſtroyed from ẏ greateſt euen vnto the leaſt. And for to ſee the begynnyng of this worke, I haue employed all my credite, & al my frẽdes and do not ſpare, neither body nor goods, to worke the ruine and deſtruction of theſe people, and to raſe out, and to deface their memorye, from amongeſt men. Doe you then Monſieur Beauieu, call the ſlaughter of theſe Lutherans, the effuſion of innocent bloud? And ſay you what you will, I will not refraine for no man liuing, to goe either by day either by night, vnto the houſes of Biſhops, in all *honeſty and honor, for the deuotion which I beare vnto our holy* mother the Church, and alſo I will receiue into my houſe, al religious men, to conſult and deuiſe the meanes how to put theſe Lutherans to death. But as Monſieur Beauieu tooke no more regarde vnto her talke, ſo likewiſe al ẏ were at the table, diſprayſed her and were wearye of her prating.

Oderunt me gratis. Iohn. 15

The Popes clergie can not abide honeſt maryage to dye for it.

Then there was a certeine yonge gentleman, whiche merely ieſtyng, ſayd vnto her: Gentlewomã, it muſt nedes be that theſe poore people, vnto whom you doe wiſhe this cruell death, haue done you ſome great diſpleaſure. Then ſayd ſhe, I may well take an othe, that I neuer knew one of thoſe wretched people, neither (that I wot of) euer ſaw any of them, And I had rather to meete .x. Deuils, then one of thoſe naughty knaues: for their opinions are ſo deteſtable, that happy and bleſſed are they, which neuer heard tell of them. And I was not then well aduiſed, at what tyme, by curioſitie, I ſeing ẏ Biſhop of Aix ſo much troubled and angry, that he could note eat nor drynke, did deſire hym and conſtrayne hym to tell me the cauſe therof. Then he perceiuing ẏ I would not be well contented if he ſhould not tell me, declared vnto me ſome part of the cauſe: that is to ſay, that there was certeine heritickes, whiche ſpake agaynſt our holy mother the church, and among other errours, they maynteyned, yea to death, that all Byſhops, Prieſtes, & paſtours ought to be maried or els to be gelded: and hearing this, I was marueilouſly offended, and euer ſince I dyd hate them to the death. And alſo it was enioyned vnto me by penaunce, that I ſhould endeuour with all my power, to put theſe heritickes to death. After theſe friuolous talkes, there was great trouble and debate amongeſt them, and many threatninges, which were to long here to deſcribe.

Querebant Principes ſacerdotum et ſcribæ, quomodo interficerent Ieſum. Luke. 22.

Note how the popes church is led not with any conſcience of truth, but onely with loue of lyuinges.

Then the Preſident Chaſſanee, and the Councellers parted aſide, and the gentlmen went on the other parte. The Archbyſhop of Arles, the Byſhop Aix, and diuers Abbottes, Priors, and others, aſſembled them ſelues together, to conſult how this Arreſt might be executed withall ſpede, entendyng to raiſe a new perſecution, greater then that of Iohn the Iacobine Monke of Rome: For otherwiſe (ſayd they) our ſtate and honour is like to decay. We ſhalbe reproued, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none ſhould thus vaunt and ſet them ſelues agaynſt vs, but theſe peſantes, and ſuch like, it were but a ſmaile matter: but many Doctours of Diuinitie, and men of the religious order, diuers Senatours and Aduocates, many wiſe and well learned men: alſo a great part of the nobilitie (if we may ſo ſay) and that of great renoume, yea euen of the chiefeſt Peeres in all Europe, begin to contempt & deſpyſe vs, countyng vs to be no true paſtours of the Church: ſo that except we ſee to this miſchiefe, and prouide for remedy betyme, it is greatly to be feared, leſt not onely we ſhall be compelled to forſake our dignities, poſſeſſions and lyuings, which we now wealthely enioy, but alſo the church beyng ſpoyled of her paſtors and guides, ſhall hereafter come to a miſerable ruine and vtter deſolation. This matter therfore now requireth great diligence and circumſpection, and that withall celeritie.

Then the Archbiſhop of Arles, not forgetting his Spaniſh ſubtilties and policies, gaue his aduiſe, as foloweth. Agaynſt the nobilitie we muſt (ſayd he) take heede that we attempt nothyng raſhely: but rather, we muſt ſeeke all the meanes we can, how to pleaſe them, for they are our ſhield, our fortreſſe and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both ſpeake and thinke euill of vs, & that they are of theſe new Goſpellers, yet may we not reprooue them or exaſperate them in any caſe: but ſeyng they are to much bent agaynſt vs already, we muſt rather ſeeke how to wynne them, and to make them our frendes agayne, by giftes and preſentes: and by this policie, we ſhall lyue in ſafetie vnder their protection. But if we enterpriſe any thyng agaynſt them, ſure we are to gayne nothyng therby, as we are by experience already ſufficiently taught.

A butcherly religion which worketh all by bloud.

Cathedra Peſtilentiæ.

It is well ſayd, ſayth the Byſhop of Aix: but I can ſhew you a good remedy for this diſeaſe. We muſt go about withall our endeuour, power, and policie, and all the frendes we can make, ſparyng no charges, but ſpendyng goodes, wealth and treaſure, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of the Merindolians, and ruſticall peſantes, that none ſhall be ſo bold hereafter, what ſoeuer they be, yea although they be of the bloud Royall, once to open their mouthes agaynſt vs, or the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And to bryng this matter to paſſe, we haue no better way, then to withdraw our ſelues to Auinion, in the which Citie we ſhall finde many Byſhops, Abbottes, and other famous men, which will with vs, employ their whole endeuour, to mainteyne and vphold the maieſtie of our holy mother the Church. This counſaile was well lyked of them all. Whereupon the ſayd Archbyſhop of Arles and the Byſhop of Aix, went withall ſpede, to Auinion, there to aſſemble, out of hand, the Byſhops and other men of authoritie and credite, to entreat this matter. In this peſtilent conſpiracie the Byſhop of Aix, a ſtoute champion and a great defender of the traditions of men, takyng vpõ hym to be the chief Orator, began in maner as foloweth.

An oration of Cateline, that is, the oratiõ of the Byſhop of Aix, ſeditious, and bloudy.

Your oblations be agaynſt the Scripture.

Your pilgrimage is Idolatry.

Your charitie is gone in deede, whẽ ye ſeeke to the bloud of your brethren.

Your eſtimatiõ is Phariſaicall.

Your iuriſdictiõ is tyrannicall.

Your ordinaunces ſerue not to Chriſtes glory but your owne.

The day ſhall come when men ſhal thinke they do a good ſacrifice to God, in putting you to death. Iohn. 16.

O Ye fathers and brethren, ye are not ignorant that a great tempeſt is rayſed vp agaynſt the little barcke of Chriſt Ieſus, now in great daunger and redy to periſh. The ſtorme commeth from the North, wherof all theſe troubles proceede. The ſeas rage, the waters ruſhe in on euery ſide, the wyndes blowe and beate vpon our houſe, and we, without ſpedy remedy, are like to ſuſtaine ſhipwrack, and loſſe of altogether. For oblations ceaſe, pilgrimage & deuotion waxeth cold, charitie is cleane gone, our eſtimation and authoritie is abaſed, our Iuriſdiction decayed, and the ordinaunces of the church deſpiſed. And wherfore are we ſet and ordeined ouer nations and kyngdomes, but to roote out and deſtroy, to ſubuert and ouerthrow, whatſoeuer is agaynſt our holy mother the Church? Wherfore let vs now awake: let vs ſtand ſtoutly in the right of our owne poſſeſſion, that we may roote out from the memory of men for euer the whole route of the wicked Lutherans: thoſe foxes (I ſay) which deſtroy the vineyard of the Lorde: thoſe great whales, which go about to drowne the little barke of the ſonne of God. We haue already well begon, and haue procured a terrible Arreſt agaynſt theſe curſed heretickes of Merindoll: nowe then reſteth no more but onely the ſame to be put in execution. Let vs therfore employ our whole endeuour that nothing happen which may let or hinder that we haue ſo happely begon, and let vs take good hede, that our gold and ſiluer do not witnes agaynſt vs at the day of iudgement, if we refuſe to beſtow the ſame, that we may make ſo good a ſacrifice vnto God. And for my part, I offer to wage and furniſh of myne owne coſtes and charges, a 100. men, well horſed, with all other furniture to them belonging, and that ſo long, vntill the vtter deſtruction and ſubuerſion of theſe wretched and curſed caytifs, be fully performed & finiſhed.

This Oration pleaſed the whole multitude, ſauyng one doctor of diuinitie, a frier Iacobine, named Baſſinet, who then anſwered agayne with this Oration.

The oration of Baſſinet anſwering to the Byſhop of Aix.

The godly repentaunce of Baſſinet.

This is a weighty matter (ſayd he) and of great importaunce. We muſt therfore proceede wiſely and in the feare of God, and beware that we do nothyng raſhly. For if we ſeeke the death and deſtruction of theſe poore and miſerable people wrongfully, when the King and the Nobilitie ſhal heare of ſuch an horrible ſlaughter, we ſhalbe in great daunger, leſt they do to vs as we read in the Scriptures, was done to the prieſtes of Baal. For my part, I muſt ſay and vnfaynedly confeſſe, that I haue to raſhly & lightly ſigned many proceſſes agaynſt thoſe, which haue bene accuſed of hereticall doctrine: but now I do proteſt before God, which ſeeth and knoweth the hartes of men, that ſeyng the lamẽtable ende and effect of myne aſſignementes, I haue had no quietneſſe in my conſcience, cõſideryng that the ſecular iudges, at the reporte of the iudgement and ſentence geuen by me, and other Doctors my companions, haue condemned all thoſe vnto moſt cruell death, whom we haue iudged to be heretikes. And the cauſe why in conſcience I am thus diſquieted, is this, that now of late ſince I haue geuẽ my ſelfe more diligently to the readyng and contemplation of the holy Scriptures: I haue perceyued that the moſte parte of thoſe Articles whiche they that are called Lutheranes

The teſtimony of Baſſinet for Lutherans.

do mainteine, are ſo conformable and agreyng to the Scriptures, that for my part, I can no longer gaynesay them, except I ſhould euen wilfully & maliciouſly reſiſte and ſtriue agaynſt the holy ordinaunces of God. Albeit hetherto, to maintaine the honour of our holy mother the Church, and of our holy father the Pope, and of our order. I haue conſented to the opinions, and doynges of the other Doctours, as well through ignoraunce, as alſo becauſe I woulde not ſeme to attempt any thyng agaynſt the will and pleaſure of the Prelates and Vicares generall: But now it ſeemeth vnto mee that we ought not any more to procede in this matter, as we haue done in tymes paſt. It ſhall bee ſufficient to puniſh them, with fines or to baniſh them, Whiche ſhall ſpeake to intemperatly, or raſhely agaynſte the conſtitutions of the Church, or of the Pope: and ſuch as ſhall be maneſeſtly conuicted by the holy Scriptures, to be blaſphemers or obſtinate heritickes, to be condemned to death accordyng to the enormitie of the Crimes or errours, or els to perpetuall priſon. And this my aduiſe and counſaile I deſire you to take in good part.

God and the Pope, & the obedience to them two, compared together.

John. 3.

With this counſaile of Baſſinet, all ÿ company was offended, but eſpecially the Byſhop of Aix, who liftyng vp hys voyce aboue all the reſt, ſayd thus vnto hym: O thou man of little fayth, whereof art thou in doubt? Doeſt thou repent thee of that thou haſt well done? Thou haſt told here a tale that ſmelleth of fagottes and brimſtone. Is there any difference (thinkeſt thou) betwene heriſies and blaſphemes ſpoken and maynteined agaynſt the holy Scriptures: and opinions holden agaynſt our holy mother the Churche and contrary to our holy father the Pope, a moſt vndouted and true God in earth? Art thou a Maiſter in Iſraell, & knoweſt not theſe thinges? Then ſayd ÿ Byſhop of Arles, could any man entreat better of the little Barke of Chriſt Jeſus then my Lord of Aix hath done? Then ſtode vp Baſſinet agayne, and made this Oration.

An other Oration of Baſſinet.

It is true, that my Lorde the Byſhop of Aix hath very well ſet out the maners and ſtate of the Clergie, and hath aptly reproued the vices and heriſies of this preſent tyme: and therfore ſo ſoone as mention was made of the ſhyppe of Chriſt Ieſus, it came in my mynde firſt of all, of the high Byſhop of Hieruſalem, the Prieſtes, the Doctours, of thee law, the Scribes and Phariſeis, whiche ſometime had the gouernaunce of this ſhippe, beyng ordeined Paſtours in the Church of God. But when they forſoke the law of God, and ſerued him with mens inuentions and traditions, hee deſtroyed thoſe Hipocrites in his great indignatiō: and hauing compaſſion and pitie vpon the people, whiche were like ſhepe without a Shepheard, he ſent diligent fiſhers to fiſhe for men: faythfull workemen into his harueſt, and labourers into his vineyard, which ſhall all bryng forth true frutes in their ſeaſon. Secondly, conſidering the purpoſe & entent of the reuerent Lord B. of Aix. I called to mynd the ſaying of the Apoſtle in hys firſt Epiſtle and 4. chap. vnto Timothe: That in the later dayes, ſome ſhall fall away frō the fayth, folowyng after deceitfull ſpirites, & the doctrine of diuiles. And the Apoſtle giueth a marke wherby a man ſhall know them. Likewiſe our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in the 7 chapter of Mathew ſayth, That the falſe Prophetes ſhall come, clothed in ſhepes ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauenyng wolues: and by their frutes they ſhalbe knowen. By theſe two and diuers ſuch other places, it is eaſye to vnderſtand, who they are that go about to drown this litle barke of Chriſt. Are they not theſe which fill the ſame with filthy and vncleane thynges? With myre and dirt? with pudle and ſtinking waters? Are they not thoſe which haue forſaken Ieſus Chriſt, the founteine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto thē ſelues pittes or ſiſternes which will holde no water? Truly euen thoſe they are, whiche vaunt them ſelues to be the ſalte of the earth, and yet haue no ſauour at all: which call them ſelues paſtours, and yet are nothing leſſe thē true paſtours, for they miniſter not vnto the ſhepe the true paſture and fedyng, neither diuide & diſtribute the true bread of the word of lyfe. And (if I may be bolde to ſpeake it) would it not be at this preſent, as great wonder to heare a Byſhop preach, as to ſee an aſſe flye? Are not they curſed of God which glory and vaunt them ſelues to haue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, and neither enter in them ſelues, nor ſuffer thē that would enter, to come in? They may be knowen right well by their frutes: for they haue forſaken fayth, iudgement and mercy, and there is no honeſt, cleane, or vndefiled thyng in them, but their habite their rochet, and their ſurples. and ſuch other: Outwardly they are exceedyng net and trymme, but within they are full of all abomination, rauine gluttony, filthy luſt, and all maner of vncleanes. They are like paynted ſepulchers, Which outwardly appeare bewtifull and fayre but within they are full of filth and corruption. a man ſhall know (I ſay) theſe rauenyng wolues, by their frutes, which deuour the quicke and the dead, vnder the pretence of long prayers and for ſo much as I am enforced to geue place to the truth and that you call me a Maſter in Iſraell, I will not be afraide to proue by the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and patron the Pope, and the Byſhops the mariners, and ſuch others, which haue impudently forſakē the ſhippe of Chriſt Ieſus, to embarke thē ſelfe in Piniſes and Brigandines, are pyrates and robbers of the Sea, falſe Prophetes, deceiuers and not true paſtours of the Churche of Ieſus Chriſt.

False paſtors in Chriſtes Church, deſcribed.

Math. 23.

Take heede of thoſe that come to you in ſheepes ſkinnes, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues. Math. 7.

The Popes Pilots in Chriſtes Ship are become Pirates.

When Doctor Baſſinet had thus frely and boldly vttered his mynd: the whole multitude began to gather about him, and ſpitefully railed at him. But the Biſhop of Aix aboue other, ragyng and crying out, as he had ben madde: get thee out ſayd he frō amongſt vs, thou wicked Apoſtata: thou art not worthy to be in this cōpany. We haue burned dayly a great many which haue not ſo wel deſerued it, as ÿ haſt. We may now perceiue that there is none more ſtedfaſt & feruēt in the fayth, then the Doctours of the Canō law. And therfore it were neceſſary to be decreed in the next generall Councell, that none ſhould haue to do in matters of religion, but they alone: For theſe knaues and beggerlye Monkes and Friers will bryng all to nought. Then the other Doctours of the ſame order, boldely reproued the Byſhop of Aix, for the iniury that he had done vnto them. After this, there roſe a great diſſenſion amongeſt them: in ſo much that there was nothyng at that tyme determined. After dyner all theſe reuerent Prelates aſſembled together agayne, but they ſuffered neither Frier nor Monke to be amongeſt them except he were an Abbot. In this aſſemble they made a generall compoſition, confirmed with an oth, that euery man ſhould endeuour him ſelfe, that the ſayd Arreſt of Merindoll ſhould be executed withall expedition, euery man offering to furniſhe out mē of warre, accordyng to hys habilitie. The charge wherof was geuen to the Byſhop of Aix and to the Preſident of the Canons, to ſollicite the matter, and to perſuade by all meanes poſſible, ÿ Preſidētes & Cōſellers of the ſaid Court of Parlament, without feare or doubt, to execute the ſayd Arreſt, with drummes enſignes diſplayde, artillery, and all kynde of furniture of warre.

A commendation for Doctors of the Canon law.

The byſhop of Aix, Archcaptain of this perſecution.

This conſpiracie beyng concluded and determined, the Biſhop of Aix departed incontinent from Auinion, to goe vnto Aix, to performe the charge, which was geuen to him. Notwithſtandyng they deſired him to be the next day after the Counſell was holden, at a banket whiche ſhoulde bee made at the houſe of the Byſhop of Rieux. To this banket ſuch as were knowen to be the fayreſt and moſt beautifull women in all Auinion, were called to refreſhe and ſolace theſe good Prelates, after the great paynes and trauell which they had taken for our holy mother the Church. After they had dyned, they fell to dauncyng, playing at dyce, and ſuch other paſtimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the bankets and feaſtes of theſe holy prelates. After this, they walked abroad to ſolace themſelues, and to paſſe the tyme till ſupper.

As they paſſed thorow the ſtreetes, euery one leadyng his Minion vpon hys arme, they ſaw a man which ſolde bawdye Images and pictures, wyth filthy rymes and ballets annexed to the ſame, to moue and ſturre vp the people to whoredome, and knauery. All theſe goodly Pictures were bought vp by the Byſhops: which were as many as a Mule coulde well cary. And if there were any obſcure ſentence, or hard to vnderſtand in thoſe rymes or ballets, the ſame theſe learned Prelates dyd readely expounde, and laughed pleaſauntly thereat. In the ſame place, as they walked along, there was a bookeſeller which had ſet out to ſale, certayne Bibles in French and Latine, wyth diuers other Bookes, which when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moued thereat, and ſayde vnto hym: Dareſt thou be ſo hardy to ſet out ſuch marchandiſe to ſell here in thys towne? Doeſt thou not know that ſuch Bookes are forbidden? The bookeſeller anſwered, is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly pictures, whiche you haue bought for theſe gentlewomen? He had ſcarce ſpoken theſe wordes, but the byſhop of Aix ſayd, I renounce my part of Paradiſe if thys felow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken (ſayd he) and examined what he is. And incontinently the bookeſeller was taken and caryed vnto priſon, and ſpitefully handled: For a company of knaues and ruffians, which wayted vpon the Prelates, began to cry out, a Lutheran, a Lutheran, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gaue him a blow with his fiſt, an other pulled him by ÿ heare, & other by the beard, in ſuch ſort, that the poore man was all em-

Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos.

Bawdie pictures receaued. Gods booke reiected.

brued with bloud, before that he came vnto the priſon.

The morow after he was brought before the iudges, in the preſence of the biſhops, whereas he was examined in this forme as followeth. Haſt not thou ſet forth to ſale the Bible and the new Teſtament in French? The priſoner aunſwered, that he had ſo done. And beyng demaunded whether he vnderſtoode or knew not that it was forbidden throwout all Chriſtendome, to print or ſell the Bible in any other language, then in Latin: he aunſwered, that he knewe the contrary, and that he had ſold many Bibles in the Frenche tonge, with the Emperors priuiledge, and many other printed at Lions: alſo new teſtaments, imprinted by the kings priuiledge. Furthermore he ſayd, that he knew no nation throughout all Chriſtendome, which had not the holy ſcriptures in their vulgare toung: and afterward with a bolde courage thus he ſpake vnto them. O you inhabitants of Auinion, are you alone in all Chriſtendome, thoſe men which do deſpiſe and abhorre the Teſtament of the heauenly father? Will you forbidde and hyde that which Jeſus Chriſt hath commaunded to be reuealed and publiſhed? Doe you not know that our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt gaue power vnto hys Apoſtles, to ſpeake all maner of tounges, to this ende, that hys holy Goſpell ſhould be taught vnto all creatures, in euery language? And why do you not forbid thoſe bokes and pictures, which are full of filthines and abhomination, to moue and ſtirre vp the people to whoredome, and to vncleannes, and to prouoke gods vengeance and great indignation vpon you all? what greater blaſphemy can there be, then to forbid gods moſt holy bookes which he ordeyned to inſtruct the ignoraunt, and to reduce and bryng agayne into the way ſuch as are gone aſtray? what crueltye is this, to take away from the poore ſely ſoules their nouriſhment and ſuſtenance? But my Lordes, you ſhall geue an heauy accompt, which call ſweete ſower, and ſower ſweete, which mainteine abhominable and deteſtable bookes and pictures, and reiect that which is holy.

Chriſtian conſtancie in a good bookeſeller.

Then the biſhop of Aix and the other biſhops, began to rage, and gnaſhed their teeth agaynſt this poore priſoner. What nede you (ſaid they) any more examination? let him be ſent ſtraight vnto the fire, without any more wordes. But the iudge Laberius and certayne others were not of that mynd, neither found they ſufficient cauſe, why to put him to death, but went about to haue him put vnto his fine and to make him confeſſe and acknowledge the Byſhop of Aix and other his companions, to be the true paſtors of the Church. But the bookeſeller aunſwered, that he coulde not doe it wͭ a good cõſcience, for ſo much as he did ſee before his eyes, that theſe biſhops mainteyned filthy bookes & abhominable pictures, reiecting and refuſing the holy bookes of God, and therfore he iudged them rather to be the Prieſtes of Bacchus and Venus, then the true paſtors of the church of Chriſt. Wherupon he was immediatly condemned to bee burned, and the ſentence was executed the very ſame day: And for a ſigne or token of the cauſe of his condemnation, he caried ij. Bibles hanging about hys necke, the one before and the other behynd hym: but this poore man had alſo the worde of God in hys hart and in hys mouth, and ceaſed not continually by the way, vntill that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and moniſh the people to reade the holy Scriptures: in ſo much that diuers were therby moued to ſeeke after the truth. The Prelates ſeyng a great diſſention amongeſt the people of Auinion, and that many murmured and grudged againſt them for the death of this good man, and alſo for the diſhonour which they had done vnto the holy Teſtament of God, myndyng to put the people in a feare, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the ſound of a Trumpet, throwout the whole towne and Countie of Venice, that all ſuch as had any bookes in the French tongue intreatyng vpon the holye Scriptures, ſhould bring them forth and deliuer them into the handes of the Commiſſioners, appoynted for that purpoſe: contrarywyſe, they which had any ſuch bookes founde about them, ſhould be put to death.

A godly bookeſeller wyth two Bibles about hys necke, burned in Auinion.

Proclamation agaynſt French Bibles.

Then after that theſe Prelates had taken aduiſe to raiſe great perſecution in Venice, the Biſhop of Aix returned to proſecute the execution of the arreſt againſt Merindol, trauellyng earneſtly with the Preſident Caſſaneus, to that effect: declaryng vnto him the good will of the Prelates of Auinion and Prouince, and the great affectiõ they bare both to hym and his, with many faire promiſes, if he would put the Arreſt in execution. The Preſident aunſwered hym, that it was no ſmall matter to put the Arreſt of Merindoll in execution. Alſo that the ſayde Arreſt was geuen out more to kepe the Lutherans in feare, which were a great number in Prouince, then to execute it in effect, as it was conteined in the ſayd Arreſt. Moreouer he ſayd that the arreſt of Merindoll was not definitiue, and that the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme, dyd not permit the execution therof, without further proceſſe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, if there be eyther lawe or ſtatute which doth hinder or let you, we cary in our ſleues to diſpence therewithall. The Preſident aunſwered, it were a great ſinne to ſhed the innocent bloud. Then ſayd the Byſhop, the bloude of them of Merindoll be vpon vs and vppon our ſucceſſoures. Then ſayde the Preſidẽt, I am very well aſſured that if the Arreſt of Merindoll be put in execution, the kyng wyll not be well pleaſed to haue ſuch deſtruction made of hys ſubiectes. Then ſayd the Biſhop, although the kyng at the firſt, do thinke it euyll done, we wyll ſo bryng it to paſſe, that within a ſhort ſpace, he ſhall thinke it well done: For we haue the Cardinals on our ſide, and ſpecially the moſt reuerent Cardinall of Tournon, the which wyll take vppon hym the defence of our cauſe, and we can do hym no greater pleaſure, then vtterly to roote out theſe Lutheranes: ſo that if we haue any nede of his counſaile or ayde, we ſhall be well aſſured of hym: And is not he the principall, the moſt excellent & prudent aduerſary of theſe Lutheranes, which is in all Chriſtendome?

The Byſhop of Aix ſtyrreth vp Caſſaneus the Preſident to perſecution.

The aunſwere of Caſſaneus to the Byſhops for Merindoll.

Sanguis eius ſuper nos & ſuper filios noſtros. Math. 27.

The Cardinall of Tournon the organe of Antichriſt.

By thys and ſuch other lyke talke, the Byſhop of Aix perſuaded the Preſident and Councellours of the Court of Parliament, to put the ſayd Arreſt in execution, and by thys meanes, throw the authoritie of the ſayd Court, the drumme was ſounded throwout all Prouince. the Captaines were prepared with their Enſignes diſplaid, and a great number of footemen and horſemen, beganne to ſet forward and marched out of the towne of Aix, in order of battell, well horſed and furniſhed agaynſt Merindoll, to execute the Arreſt. The inhabitantes of Merindoll beyng aduertiſed hereof, and ſeyng nothyng but preſent death to be at hand, with great lamentation, commended thẽ ſelues and their cauſe vnto God by prayer, makyng them ſelues redy to be murdered & ſlayn as ſhepe led vnto the butchery.

The Popes army ſetteth forward toward Merindoll.

Whiles they were in this greuous diſtreſſe pitiouſly mournyng and lamentyng together, the father with thee ſonne, the daughter with thee mother, thee wife with the huſband, ſodenly there was newes brought vnto them, ẏ the army was retired, and no man knew at that time, how or by what meneas: notwithſtandyng afterward it was knowen, that the Lord of Alenc, a wiſe man and learned in the Scriptures and in the Ciuill law, beyng moued with great zeale and loue of iuſtice, declared vnto the Preſident Chaſſanee, that he ought not ſo to procede agaynſt the inhabitantes of Merindoll by way of force of armes, contrarye to all forme and order of iuſtice, without iudgement or condemnation, or without makyng any difference betwene the giltie and the vngiltie. And furthermore he ſayd, I deſire you my Lord Preſident, call to remembraunce ẏ counſell which you haue written in your booke, entituled Catalogus gloriæ mundi, in the which booke, you haue intreated and brought forth the proceſſes which were holden againſt the Rats, by the officers of the Court and iuriſdiction of ẏ Byſhop of Authun, For as it happened, there was almoſt throughout all the bailiwyke of Lauſſois, ſuch a great nũber of Rats, that they deſtroyed and deuoured all the corne of the countrey, wherupon they tooke counſell to ſend vnto the Byſhop of Authuns Officiall, for to haue thee Rats excommunicate. Wherupon it was ordeined and decreed by the ſayd Officiall, after he had heard ẏ playntife of the procurator fiſcall, that before he would procede to excommunication, they ſhould haue admonition, and warnyng, accordyng to the order of iuſtice. For this cauſe it was ordeined, that by the ſound of a trompet, and open proclamation made throughout all the ſtretes of the towne of Authun, the Rats ſhould be cited to appeare within iij. dayes: and if they did not appeare, then to procede agaynſt them.

The army againe retyred by the meanes of the Lord of Alenc.

A ſtory of excommunicatyng the Rattes for eating vp the corne.

The three dayes were paſſed, and the Procurator came into the Court againſt the rats, and for lacke of appearãce, obteyned default: by vertue wherof he required that they would procede to the excommunication. Wherupon it was iudicially acknowledged, that the ſayd Rats beyng abſent, ſhould haue their Aduocate appointed them to heare their defence, for ſo much as ẏ queſtiõ was for the whole deſtruction and baniſhing of the ſaid Rats. And you my lord Preſident beyng at that tyme the kinges Aduocate at Authun, were then choſen to be the Aduocate to defend the Rattes. And hauing taken the charge vpon you in pleadyng ẏ matter, it was by you there declared that the citation was of no effect, for certaine cauſes and reaſons by you there alledged. Then was it decreed that the ſaid Rats ſhould be once agayn cited, throughout the pariſhes wheras they were. Thẽ after the citations were duely ſerued, the Procurator came againe into the court as before, and there it was alleged by you my lord Preſident, how that the terme of appearaunce geuen vnto the rats was to ſhorte, and that there were ſo many cats in euery towne and village as they ſhould paſſe throw, that they had iuſt cauſe to be abſent.

The Preſident Chaſſanee choſen Aduocat for the Rats.

Wher-

The perſwaſion of the Lord of Alenc, to Chaſſane, to returne hys army from Merindoll.

Wherfore my Lord Preſident, you ought not ſo lightly to procede agaynſt theſe poore men, but you ought to looke vppon the holy Scriptures, and there you ſhall finde how you ought to procede in this matter: and you my Lorde, haue alleged many places of the Scripture concernyng the ſame, as appeareth more at large in your ſayd booke, and by this plea of a matter which ſemeth to bee but of ſmall importance, you haue obtayned great fame and honoure, for the vpright declaration of the maner and forme, how iudges ought grauely to procede in criminall cauſes. Thē my Lord Preſident, you which haue taught others, will you not alſo learne by your owne bookes? the which will manifeſtly condemne you, if you procede any further, to the deſtruction of theſe poore mē of Merindoll. For are not they Chriſtian men? and ought you not as well to miniſter right and iuſtice vnto them, as you haue done vnto the Rattes? By theſe and ſuch lyke demonſtratiōs, the Preſident was perſuaded, and immediatly called backe his commiſſion which he had geuen out, and cauſed the army to retire, the which was already come nere vnto Merindoll, euen within one myle and a halfe.

The Lordes prouidence for the Merindolians.

Then the Merindolians vnderſtandyng that the army was retired, gaue thankes vnto God, comfortyng one an other, with admonition and exhortation, alwayes to haue ỹ feare of God before their eyes, to be obedient vnto his holy commaundementes, ſubiect to his moſt holy wil, and euery man to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto his prouidence, paciently attendyng and lookyng for the hope of the bleſſed, that is to ſay, the true lyfe and the euerlaſtyng riches, hauing alwayes before their eyes for example our Lord Ieſu Chriſt the very ſonne of God, who hath entred into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared thē ſelues to endure and abyde al the afflictions, that it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon them: and ſuch was their aunſwere to all thoſe that eyther pitied or els ſought their deſtruction. Wherupon the bruite and noyſe was ſo great as well of the Arreſt, as of the enterpriſe of the execution, and alſo of the pacience and conſtancie of the Merindolians, that it was not hydden or kepte ſecrete, from kyng Fraunces, a kyng of noble courage, and great iudgement: Who gaue cōmaundement vnto the noble and vertuous Lorde, Mounſieur de Langeay, which then was his Lieutenaūt in Thurin, a Citie in Piemont, that he ſhoulde diligently enquire and ſearche out the truth of all this matter. Wherupon the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, ſent into Prouince, ij. mē of fame and eſtimation, geuing them in charge, to bryng vnto him the copie of the Arreſt, and diligentlye to enquire out al that followed and enſued therupon: and likewiſe to make diligent inquiſition of the life and maners of the ſayde Merindolians and others, whiche were perſecuted in the coūtrey of Prouince.

Fraunces the French king ſendeth Mounſieur Langeay, to enquire better of the Merindolians.

Theſe deputies brought the copie of the Arreſt, and of all that happened therevpon, vnto the ſayde Mounſieur de Langeay, declaring vnto hym ỹ great iniuries, polings, extorcions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the iudges, as well ſecular as Eccleſiaſticall, vſed agaynſt them of Merindoll and others. As touchyng the behauiour and diſpoſition of thoſe whiche were perſecuted, they reported that the moſt part of the men of Prouince affirmed thē to be men geuen to great labour and trauaile, and that about 200. yeares paſſed (as it is reported) they came out of thee countrey of Piemont to dwell in Prouince and tooke to tillage and to inhabite, many hamlets and villages deſtroyed by the warres, and other deſert and waſt places: whiche they had ſo well occupied, that now there was great ſtore of wynes, oyles, hony, and cattell, wherwith ſtraungers were greatly relieued and holpen. Beſides that, before they came into the countrey to dwell, thee place of Merindoll, was taxed but at foure crownes, whiche before the laſt deſtruction, payed yearely vnto the Lorde for taxes and tallages, aboue 350. crownes, beſide other charges.

A teſtimonie in the commendation of the Merindolians.

The like was alſo reported of Lormarin, and diuers other places of Prouince, whereas there was nothyng but robberie before they came to inhabite there, ſo that none coulde paſſe that way, but in great daunger. Moreouer, they of the countrey of Prouince, affirmed that the inhabitauntes of Merindoll and the other that were perſecuted: were peaceable and quiet people, beloued of all their neighboures, men of good behauiour, conſtant in kepyng of their promiſe, and paying of their debtes, without trauerſing or pleadyng of the law. That they were alſo charitable men, geuyng of almes, releauyng thee poore, and ſuffered none amongeſt them to lacke or be in neceſſitie. Alſo they gaue almes to ſtraungers, and to the poore paſſengers, harbouring, noriſhyng and helpyng them in all their neceſſities, accordyng to their power. Moreouer, that they were knowen by this, throughout all the countrey of Prouince, that they would not ſweare, nor name the deuill, or eaſlye be brought to take an othe, except it were in iudgement, or makyng ſome ſolemne couenaunt. They were alſo knowen by this that they could neuer be moued nor prouoked to talke of any diſhoneſt matters, but in what companie ſo euer they came where they heard any wanton talke, ſwearing or blaſphemye, to the diſhonour of God, they ſtraight way departed out of that company. Alſo they ſayd that they neuer ſaw them go vnto their buſines, but firſt they made their prayers. The ſayd people of Prouince furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fayres or markets, or came to their cities by any occaſion, they neuer in a maner were ſene in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offred candels to them, nor kiſſed their feete. Neither would they worſhip the reliques of ſaintes, nor once loke vpon thē. And moreouer, if they paſſed by any croſſe or Image of the crucifixe or any other ſaint, by the way as they went, they would do no reuerence vnto them. Alſo the prieſtes did teſtifie, that they neuer cauſed them to ſay any maſſes, neither dirges, neither yet De profundis: neither would they take any holy water, and if it were caried home vnto their houſes, they would not ſay once God a mercy, yea they ſeemed vtterly to abhorre it. To goe on pilgrimage, to make any vowes to ſaintes, to buy pardons or remiſſion of ſins with mony, yea though it might be gotten for a halfepeny, they thought it not lawfull. Likewiſe whē it thundered or lightened, they would not croſſe themſelues, but caſtyng vp their eyes to heauen, fetch depe ſighes. Some of thē would knele downe and pray, without bleſſing themſelues with ỹ ſigne of the croſſe, or taking of holy water. Alſo they were neuer ſent to offer, or caſt into the baſon, any thing for the mayntenance of lightes, brotherhoodes, churches, or to geue any offeryng either for the quicke or the dead. But if any were in affliction or pouertie, thoſe they relieued gladly, and thought nothyng to much.

The godly conuerſation of the Merindolians.

Crimes layde agaynſt the Merindolians.

Mans law preferred before Gods law.

This was the whole tenor of the report made vnto Mounſieur de Langeay, touching the lyfe and behauiour of the inhabitantes of Merindoll, and the other which were perſecuted: alſo as touchyng the Arreſt and that whiche enſued therupon. Of all thoſe thynges, the ſayd Mounſieur de Langeay, accordyng to the charge that was geuen hym, aduertiſed the kyng: who vnderſtandyng theſe thynges, as a good prince moued with mercy and pitie, ſent letters of grace and pardon, not onely for thoſe which were condemned for lacke of appearance, but alſo for all the reſt of the country of Prouince, which were accuſed and ſuſpected in lyke caſe: expreſly charging and commaundyng the ſayd parliamēt that they ſhould not hereafter procede ſo rigorouſly as they had done before, againſt this people, but if there were any that coulde be found or proued by ſufficient information, to haue ſwarued from the chriſtian religiō, that then he ſhould haue good demonſtration made vnto hym by the worde of God, both out of the old and of the new Teſtament: and ſo as well by the gentlenes as by the rigour of the ſame he ſhould be reduced agayne vnto the church of Chriſt: declaryng alſo that the kings pleaſure was, that all ſuch as ſhould be conuict of hereſie in maner aforeſayd, ſhould abiure: forbiddyng alſo all maner of perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they were, to attempt any thyng againſt them of Merindoll or other that were perſecuted, by any other maner of meanes, or to moleſt or trouble them in perſon or goodes: reuokyng and diſanullyng all maner of ſentences and condemnations, of what iudges ſo euer they were, and commaundyng to ſet at liberty all priſoners which either were accuſed or ſuſpected of Lutheraniſme.

The kings pardon procured & ſent downe for the Merindolians.

By vertue of theſe letters, they were now permitted to declare theyr cauſe, and to ſay what they coulde, in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a confeſſion of theyr fayth: the effecte wherof you ſhall ſee in the ende of the ſtorye. This * confeſſion was preſented firſt to the Court of Parliament, and afterward beyng declared more at large, with Articles alſo annexed therevnto, it was deliuered to the Biſhop of Cauaillon, who required the ſame. Alſo to cardinall Sadolet biſhop of Carpentras, with the like Articles, and alſo a ſupplication to this effect: That the inhabitantes of Cabriers in the Countie of Venice, moſt humbly deſired him that he would vouchſafe to receiue and read the confeſſion and declaration of theyr fayth and doctrine, in the which they, and alſo theyr fathers before them, had bene of a long tyme, inſtructed and taught, which they were perſwaded to be agreable to the doctrine conteyned in the old and newe Teſtament. And becauſe he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they deſired hym that he woulde marke ſuch articles as he thought to be agaynſt the Scriptures: and if he ſhould make it to appeare vnto them, ỹ there was any thing contrary to the ſame, they would not onely ſubmit themſelues vnto abiuration, but alſo to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhould bee adiudged vnto them, euen to the loſſe,

*This moſt godly and Chriſtian confeſſion you ſhall finde more largely ſet out in Henr Pantaleon, & alſo in the Frēch Boke, entreatyng of the deſtruction of Merindoll, & Cabriers: alſo touching their fayth and cōfeſſion, you ſhall partly ſee hereafter, pag. 927.

The Merindolians require the iudgement of Cardinall Sadolet, touchyng their articles.

not onely of all that they had, but alſo their lyues. And moreouer, if there were any Iudge in all the countie of Venice, which by good and ſufficient information, ſhould be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or mainteyned any other religion then was contained in the articles of their confeſſion, they deſired hym that he would communicate the ſame vnto them, and with all obedience, they offered themſelues to what ſo euer ſhould be thought iuſt and reaſonable. Vpon this requeſt Cardinall Sadolet anſwered by his letters written by his Secretary, and ſigned with his owne hand, the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The aunſwere of Cardinall Sadolet to the Merindolians.

I haue ſene your requeſt, and haue red the Articles of your confeſſion, wherein there is much matter conteyned, and doe not vnderſtand that you are accuſed for any other doctrine, but for the very ſame, which you haue confeſſed. It is moſt true, that many haue reported diuers thynges of you, worthy of reproofe, which after diligent enquiry made we haue founde to be nothyng els but falſe reportes and ſlaunders. As touchyng the reſt of your Articles, it ſeemeth vnto me, that there are many wordes therein, which myght well be chaunged without preiudice vnto your confeſſion. And lykewiſe it ſeemeth to me that it is not neceſſary that you ſhoulde ſpeake ſo manifeſtly agaynſt the Paſtoures of the Churche. For my parte, I deſire your welfare, & would be ſory that you ſhould be ſo ſpoyled or deſtroyed, as they doe pretende. And to the ende you ſhall the better vnderſtand my amitie and friendſhip towards you, ſhortly I will be at my houſe by Cabriers, whether ye may reſort vnto me eyther in greater or ſmaller number, as you wyll, and returne ſafely without any hurt ot damage, and there I wyll aduertiſe you of all things that I thinke mete for your profite and health.

The byſhop of Cauaillon ſeeketh the deſtruction of Cabriers.

About this tyme, which was the yeare of our lord. 1542 The Vicelegate of Auinion aſſembled a great number of men of warre at the ſute of the B. of Cauaillon, to deſtroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a myle of Cabriers, the Cardinall Sadolet went with ſpede vnto the Vicelegate, and ſhewed hym the requeſt of the inhabitantes of Cabriers, with the Articles of their confeſſion, and the offers that they made: ſo that for that preſent, the army retyred without any damage or hurt done vnto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this the Cardinall Sadolet went vnto Rome. But before his departure he ſent for diuers of Cabriers, and certayne farmers of hys own, whom he knew to be of the number of thoſe which were called Lutheranes, and told them that he would haue them in remembraunce as ſoone as he came vnto Rome, and communicate their Articles and confeſſion vnto the Cardinals, truſtyng to finde a meane to haue ſome good reformation, that God ſhould be therby glorified, and all Chriſtendome brought to an vnitie and concord: at the leaſt, nothing at all doubtyng, but that the fouleſt abuſes ſhould be corrected and amended, aduertiſing them in the meane tyme to be wyſe and circumſpect, to watch and to pray for that they had many enemies. Wyth this Oration of Cardinall Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, truſting that at the ſute of cardinal Sadolet they ſhould haue aunſwer of their confeſſion. But at hys returne, they vnderſtoode that he found all thynges ſo corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortall warre againſt all ſuch as would not lyue accordyng to the ordinances of yͤ church of Rome. Likewyſe ſayde the Treaſurer of Carpentras, who albeit he payed out money to furniſh ſouldioures that were hyred for the deſtruction of Cabriers, notwythſtandyng he did ayde them ſecretly all that he myght. Howbeit he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate: wherupon he was cōſtrained to withdraw himſelfe.

Card. Sadolet returned backe the armye commyng agaynſt Cabriers.

The promiſe of Sadolet to hys tenauntes of Cabriers.

The Treſurer of Carpentras a priuie frende to them of Cabriers.

On the other part, the Biſhop of Air and Cauaillon purſued ſtill the execution of the areſt of Merindoll. Then it was ordeyned by the court of parliament, that accordyng to the kings letters Iohn Durand counſailer of the Court of parliament, with a Secretarie: and the Biſhop of Cauaillon with a doctor of diuinitie, ſhould go vnto Merindol, and there declare vnto the inhabitantes the errours & hereſies which they knew to be conteyned in their confeſſion, and make them apparaunt by good and ſufficient information, and hauyng ſo conuicted them by the worde of God, they ſhould make them to renounce and abiure the ſayd hereſies. And if the Merindolians did refuſe to abiure, then they ſhould make relation therof, that the Court might appoint how they ſhould further procede. After this decree was made, the Biſhop of Cauaillon would not tary vntill the tyme which was appoynted by the Court, for the execution of this matter: but he hymſelfe with a Doctour of Diuinitie, came vnto Merindoll to make them to abiure. Vnto whom the Merindolians aunſwered that he enterpriſed agaynſt the authoritie of the Parliament, and that it was agaynſt hys commiſſion ſo to do. Notwithſtanding, he was very earneſt with them that they ſhould abiure, & promiſed them, if they would ſo doe, to take them vnder hys wyngs and protection, euen as the hen doth her chickens, and that they ſhould be no more robbed or ſpoyled. Thē they required that he would declare vnto them what they ſhould abiure. The biſhop anſwered that the matter neded no diſputation, and that he required but onely a generall abiuration of all errours, which would be no damage or preiudice to them: For he hymſelfe would not ſticke to make the like abiuration. The Merindolians anſwered hym agayne, that they would do nothyng contrary to the decree and ordinãce of the Court, or the kyngs letters, wherin he commaunded that firſt the errours ſhould be declared vnto them, wherof they were accuſed: wherfore they were reſolued to vnderſtand what thoſe errours and hereſies were, that beyng enformed therof by the worde of God, they might ſatiſfie the kynges letters: otherwiſe it were but hypocriſie and diſſimulation, to do as he required them. And if he coulde make it to appeare vnto them by good and ſufficient information, that they had holden any errours and hereſies, or ſhoulde be conuict therupon by the worde of God, they would willingly abiure: or if in their confeſſion there were any word contrary to the ſcriptures: they would reuoke the ſame. Contrarywiſe, if it were not made manifeſt vnto thē, that they had holden any hereſies, but that they had alwayes liued accordyng to the doctrine of the Goſpell, and that theyr confeſſion was grounded vpon the ſame: then they ought by no meanes, to moue or conſtrayne them, to abiure any errours which they held not, and that it were plainly agaynſt all equitie and iuſtice ſo to do.

The Byſhop of Cauaillon commeth agayne to Merindoll.

The Popes biſhops will come to no reaſoning.

The biſhops cōdemne the Merindolians for hereſie, and yet can ſhewe no hereſies in them by the word of God.

Then the biſhop of Cauaillon was maruelouſly angry, and would heare no worde ſpoken of any demonſtration to be made by the worde of God, but in a fury curſed and gaue hym to the Deuill that firſt inuented that meane. Then the Doctour of diuinitie whom the biſhop brought thether, demaunded what Articles they were, that were preſented by the inhabitauntes of Merindoll, for the biſhop of Cauaillon had not yet ſhewed them vnto hym. Then the Byſhop of Cauaillon deliuered the Doctour the confeſſion. Which after he had read, the biſhop of Cauaillon ſayd, What? wyll you any more witnes or declaration? this is full of hereſie. Then they of Merindoll demaunded in what point. Wherunto yͤ biſhop knew not what to aunſwer. Then yͤ doctour demaunded to haue tyme to looke vpon the Articles of the confeſſion, and to conſider whether they were agaynſte the Scriptures or no. Thus the Byſhop departed, beyng verye ſore agrieued that he coulde not bryng hys purpoſe to paſſe.

The byſhop ſore agreeued to haue hereſie tryed by Gods word.

After eight dayes the Byſhop ſent for thys Doctour, to vnderſtand how he myght order hymſelfe to make thoſe hereſies appeare, which were in the ſayd confeſſion. Wherunto the Doctor aunſwered, that he was neuer ſo much abaſhed: for when he had beholden the Articles of the confeſſion, and the authorities of the Scripture that there were alleaged for the confirmation therof, he had found that thoſe Articles were wholy agreeable and accordyng to the holy Scriptures, and that he had not learned ſo much in the ſcriptures all the dayes of his lyfe, as he had in thoſe viii. dayes, in lookyng vpon thoſe Articles and the authorities therein alledged.

The articles of the Merindolians approued by the Doctor.

Shortly after, the biſhop of Cauaillon came vnto Merindoll, and calling before him the childrē both great & ſmal, gaue them mony, and commaunded thē with fayre wordes, to learne the Pater noſter and the Crede in latine. The moſt part of them anſwered that they knew the Pater noſter, and the Crede already in latin, but they could make no reaſon of that which they ſpake, but onely in the vulgare tonge. The Biſhop aunſwered, that it was not neceſſary they ſhoulde be ſo cunnyng, but that it was ſufficient that they knew it in latine, and that it was not requiſite for their ſaluation, to vnderſtand or to expound the articles of their faith: for there were many Biſhops, Curates, yea and doctors of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater noſter, and the Crede. Here the Baliffe of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, aſked to what purpoſe it would ſerue, to ſay the Pater noſter and the Creede, & not to vnderſtand the ſame: for in ſo doing, they ſhould but mocke and deride God. Thē ſayd the Byſhop vnto hym, do you vnderſtãd what is ſignified by theſe wordes, I beleue in God? The Baliffe aunſwered, I ſhould thynke me ſelfe very miſerable, if I dyd not vnderſtand it, and then he began orderly to geue accoũt of hys fayth. Then ſayd the Byſhop, I woulde not haue thought there had bene ſo great Doctours in Merindoll. The Baliffe aunſwered: the leaſt of the inhabitauntes of Merindol, can do it, yet more readely then I: but I pray you,

The aunſwere of the children of Merindoll to the Byſh.

The aunſwere of the Baliffe of Merindoll to the Byſh.

The Pater noſter in Latin.

The children of Merindol too good for the Byſhop.

you, queſtion wyth one or two of theſe young children, that you may vnderſtand whether they be well taught or no. But the Byſhop either knew not how to queſtion wyth them, or at the leaſt, would not.

Then one named Pieron Roy ſayde, Syr one of theſe children may queſtiō wyth an other, if you thinke it ſo good: and the Byſhop was contented. Then one of the children began to queſtion wyth hys felowes, wyth ſuch grace and grauitie, as if he had bene a Scholemaſter, and the children one after an other, aunſwered ſo vnto the purpoſe, yͤ it was marueilous to heare: For it was done in the preſence of many, amōg whom there were foure religious men yͤ came lately out of Paris, of whom, one ſayd vnto the byſhop. I muſt nedes confeſſe that I haue often bene at the cōmō ſchooles of Sorbone in Paris, where I haue heard yͤ diſputations of the Diuines: but yet I neuer learned ſo much as I haue done by hearyng theſe younge children. Then ſayd William Armant: did ye neuer read that which is written in the xj. chapter of S. Mathew, where it is ſayd: O father, Lord of heauen and earth, I render thankes vnto thee, that thou haſt hidden theſe thynges from the ſage & wyſe men of the worlde, & haſt reueled them vnto younge infantes. But beholde O father, ſuch was thy good will & pleaſure. Then euery man marueiled at the ready & witty aunſweres of the children of Merindoll.

The youth of Merindol well brought vp.

Math.11.

When the Byſhop ſaw that he could not thus preuaile, he tryed an other way, and went about by faire & flattering wordes, to bryng hys purpoſe to paſſe. Wherefore, cauſing the ſtraungers to go apart, he ſayd that he now perceaued they were not ſo euill as many thought them to be: Notwythſtanding, for the cōtentatiō of them, which were their perſecutors, it was neceſſary that they ſhould make ſome ſmall abiuration, which onely the Bailife, wyth two officers, myght make generally, in hys preſence, in the name of all the reſt, wythout any Notary to recorde yͤ ſame in wrytyng, and in ſo doyng they ſhould be loued and fauoured of all men, and euen of thoſe which now perſecuted them: and that they ſhould ſuſteine no infamy thereby, for there ſhould be no report thereof made, but onely to the Pope, and to the hygh Court of Parlament of Prouince: And alſo if any mā in tyme to come, would turne the ſame to their reproch, or alledge it agaynſt them to their hurt or damage, they might vtterly deny it, and ſay they made no abiuration at all, becauſe there were no recordes made thereof, or witneſſes to proue the ſame. For thys purpoſe he deſired them to talke together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, wythout any further buſines.

The Merindolians are moued to abiure.

The Bailife and the two officers, wyth diuers other Auncientes of the towne, aunſwered, that they were fully reſolued, not to conſent to any abiuratiō, howſoeuer it were to be done, except that (which was alwayes their requeſt) they could make it appeare vnto them by the worde of God, that they had holden or maintained any hereſie: marueilyng much that he woulde goe about to perſwade them to lye to God and the world. And albeit that all men by nature are lyars, yet they had learned by the worde of God, that they ought diligently to take heede of lying in any matter, were it neuer ſo ſmall. Alſo that they ought diligently to take heede, that their children did not accuſtome or vſe themſelues to lye, and therfore puniſhed them very ſharpely, whē as they tooke them wyth any lye, euen as if they had cōmitted any robbery: for the deuill is a lyer and the father of lyes. Here the Byſhop roſe vp in great anger and indignation, and ſo departed.

In matters of fayth and religion, ought to be no diſſimulation.

Wythin a while after, the Byſhop of Aix ſolicited maiſter John Durandus Councellour of the Court of yͤ parlament of Prouince, to execute the commiſſion which was geuen hym, that is, to go vnto the place of Merindoll, together wyth the Secretarie of the ſayd Court, and there, in yͤ preſence of the Byſhop of Cauaillon, accompanyed wyth a Doctour of Diuinitie, to declare the errours and hereſies which the Byſhops pretended the inhabitantes of Merindoll to be infected and intangled wythall, and accordyng to their dutie, to make it appeare by the worde of God, and ſo beyng conuict, to make them abiure and renounce the ſayd hereſies. Whereupon the ſayd Counceller Durandus, certified the day that he would be preſent at Merindoll, to the end & purpoſe that none of the inhabitauntes ſhould be abſent. At the day appointed, the ſayd Counſeller Durādus, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, a Doctour of Diuinitie, & a Secretary, came vnto Merindol, where as was alſo preſent, diuers Gentlemen and men of vnderſtandyng, of all ſortes, to ſee this commiſſion executed. Then they of Merindol were aduertiſed, that they ſhould not appeare all at once, but that they ſhould keepe thēſelues apart, and appeare as they ſhould be called, in ſuch order and number, as ſhould be appointed vnto them. After that Durandus, the Byſhop of Cauaillon, the Doctour of Diuinitie, and the Secretary were ſet in place where iuſtice was accuſtomed to be kept, there was called forth Andrew Maynard, the baylife of Merindol, Ienon Romane, & Michelin Maynard * Syndiques, John Cabrie and John Palenc auncients of Merindol, and John Bruneroll vnderbaylife. After they had preſented themſelues with all due reuerence, the Counceller Durandus ſpake thus vnto them.

Durandus ſtyrred vp by the byſhops to execute the commiſſion agaynſt the Merindolians.

Durandus the Cōmiſſioner cōmeth to Merindol

* Syndicus is a Greeke word, & ſignifieth as much as an aduocate or patrone, or deputie, ſent to plead ones cauſe.

You are not ignoraunt that by the Arreſt giuen out by the high Court of Prouence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men women, and children: your houſes alſo to be beaten downe, and your towne to be raſed and made deſolate. &c. as is more largely conteined in the ſayd Arreſt. Notwithſtandyng, it hath pleaſed the kyng our moſt gracious Prince, to ſend his letters vnto the ſayd Court, commaundyng that the ſayd Arreſt ſhould not ſo rigorouſly procede agaynſt you: but if it could, by ſufficient information be proued, that you or any of you had ſwarued from the true Religion, demonſtration ſhould be made therof vnto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced agayne, to the flocke of Chriſt. Wherefore it was determined in the ſayd Court of Parlament, that the Byſhop of Cauaillon, with a Doctour of Diuinitie, ſhould in my preſence, declare vnto you the errours and hereſies wherewith, they ſay, you are infected: and after good demōſtration made by the word of God, you ſhould publickely and ſolemnely renounce and abiure the ſayd hereſies, and in ſo doyng, ſhould obteyne the grace and pardon conteyned in the kynges letters: Wherfore ſhew your ſelues this day, that you be obedient vnto God, the kyng, and the Magiſtrates. When he had thus ſpoken, what aunſwere you (ſayd he) to that which I haue propounded?

The wordes of Durandus to the Merindolians.

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife, deſired that they would graunt them an Aduocate to aunſwere accordyng to the inſtructions, which they would giue him, for ſomuch as they were men vnlearned, and knew not how to aunſwere, as in ſuch a caſe was requiſite. The Counſeller aunſwered that he would heare their aunſwere neither by Aduocate nor by writyng, but would heare them aunſwere in their owne perſons: Notwithſtandyng he would giue them leaue to go apart and talke together, but not to aſke any counſell, but onely amongeſt themſelues: and then to aunſwere one after an other. Vpon this determination, the baylife and the two Syndiques, with other two auncient mē, talked together a while, and determined that the two Syndiques ſhould ſpeake firſt, and after them the Baylife, then the two auncient men, euery man accordyng as God ſhould geue them grace, & by and by, preſented themſelues. Whereat the Counſeller Durandus was greatly abaſhed, to ſee that they had agreed & determined ſo ſpedely. Then Michelin Maynard began to aunſwere, deſiryng the Counſeller and the Byſhop, with the other aſſiſtaunce, to pardon hym if that he aunſwered ouer rudely, hauyng regarde that they were poore, rude, and ignoraunt men. His aunſwere here followeth.

The Merindolians denyed to geue aunſwere by counſayle or writing.

The aunſwere of the Merindolians to Durandus.

We are greatly bound (ſayth he) to geue God thankes, that beſides other his benefites beſtowed vpon vs, he hath now deliuered vs frō theſe great aſſaultes, and that it hath pleaſed him to touch the hart of our noble kyng, that our cauſe might be intreated with iuſtice and not by violēce. In lyke maner are we alſo bounde to pray for our noble kyng, which followyng the example of Samuell and Daniel, hath not diſdayned to looke vpon the cauſe of his poore ſubiectes. Alſo we render thankes vnto the Lordes of the Parlament, in that it hath pleaſed them to miniſter iuſtice accordyng to the kynges commaundement. Finally, we thanke you my Lord Durandus, Cōmiſſioner in this preſent cauſe, that it hath pleaſed you in ſo few wordes, to declare vnto vs the maner and order how we ought to procede. And for my part, I greatly deſire to vnderſtand and know the hereſies and errours, whereof I am accuſed, and where as they ſhall make it appeare vnto me, that I haue holden any errours or hereſies, I am contented to amende the ſame, as it ſhalbe ordeined and preſcribed by you.

After hym aunſwered Ienon Romane the other Syndique, a very auncient father, approuyng all that which hys fellow before had ſayd, geuyng God thankes that in hys tyme, euen in his latter dayes, he had ſene and heard ſo good newes, that the cauſe of Religion ſhould be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard auncient men ſay, that they could neuer obteyne of the Iudges in all their perſecution, to haue their cauſe debated in ſuch ſort.

Then Andrew Maynard the baylife aunſwered ſaying: that God had giuen to thoſe two Syndiques the grace to aunſwere ſo well, that it was not neceſſary for him to ſay or adde any more thereunto. Notwithſtandyng it ſeemed good that their aunſweres were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothyng els, but

The Baylife of Merindoll aunſwereth.

mocke and gyre at all that had bene ſayd: wherfore he required the Commiſſioner to looke vnto the matter. Then the Commiſſioner was very angry and ſharpely rebuked his Secretary, commaundyng hym to ſit nearer and to write their aunſweres word for word and he himſelfe with a ſingular memory, repeated their aunſweres, and oftentymes aſked if it were not ſo. The ſayd aunſweres beyng thus put in writing the Commiſſioner aſked the bayliſe if he had any more to aunſwere ſaying that he had done hym great pleaſure to ſhew hym his Secretaryes fault, willyng hym to ſpeake boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cauſe. Then the bayliſe ſayd, for ſo much as it hath pleaſed you to geue me audience & libertie to ſpeake my mynde freely: I ſay moreouer, that it ſemeth vnto me, that there is no due forme of proceſſe in this iudgement: for there is no partie here that doth accuſe vs. If we had an accuſer preſent, which accordyng to the rule of the Scripture, either ſhould proue by good demonſtration out of the old and new Teſtament, that wherof we are accuſed, or if he were not able, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment due vnto ſuch as are heretickes: I thinke he would be as greatly troubled to mainteine his accuſations, as we to aunſwere vnto the ſame.

The proceedyng wyth the Merindolians not after forme of lawe.

John Palene aunſwereth.

After that the bayliſe had made this aunſwere, John Palenc, one of the auncientes of Merindol, ſayd that he approued all that had bene ſayd by the Syndiques, and that he was able to ſay no more then had bene ſayd by them before. The Commiſſioner ſayd vnto hym: you are (I ſee) a very auncient man, and you haue not lyued ſo long, but that you haue ſome thyng to aunſwere for your part, in defenſe of your cauſe. And the ſayd Palenc aunſwered: ſeyng it is your pleaſure that I ſhould ſay ſomethyng, it ſemeth vnto me vnpoſſible that (ſay what we cã) we ſhould haue either victory or vantage: for our iudges be our enemyes.

The vnder Bayliſe of Merindol aunſwereth.

Then John Bruneroll vnderbayliſe at Merindol, aunſwered, that he would very fayne know the authoritie of the Counſeller Durandus, Commiſſioner in this cauſe, for as much as the ſayd Counſeller had geuen them to vnderſtãd, that he had authoritie of the hygh Court, to make them abiure their errours, which ſhould be found by good and ſufficient information, and to geue them ſo doyng, the pardon conteined in the kynges letters, and quyte them of all puniſhment and condemnation. But the ſayd Commiſſioner dyd not geue them to vnderſtand, that if they could not be founde, by good and ſufficient information, that they were in errour, he had any power or authoritie to quyte and abſolue them of the ſayd ſentence and condemnation: wherfore it ſeemed that it ſhould be more vauntage for the ſayd Merindolians, if it ſhould appeare that they were heretickes, then to be founde to lyue accordyng to the doctrine of the Goſpell. For this cauſe he required that it would pleaſe the ſayd Commiſſioner to make declaration therof: concludyng that if it dyd not appeare by good and ſufficient informatiõ agaynſt them, that they had ſwarued from the fayth, or if there were no accuſer that would come forth agaynſt them, they ought to be fully abſolued, without beyng any more troubled either in body or goodes.

Durandus the Commiſſioner, required to ſhew hys Cõmiſſion.

The Bailiſe and Syndickes of Merindoll appeare the ſecond tyme.

These thynges were thus in debatyng from ſeuen of the clocke in the mornyng, vntill xi. Then the Commiſſioner diſmiſſed them till after dynner. At one of the clocke at after noone, they were called for agayne, and demaunded whether they would ſay any thyng els, touchyng that which was propounded in the mornyng, by the ſayd Commiſſioner. They aunſwered, no. Then ſayd the Commiſſioner, what do you conclude for your defenſe? The two Syndiques aunſwered: we conclude that it would pleaſe you to declare vnto vs the errours and hereſies, wherof we are accuſed. Then the Commiſſioner aſked the Byſhop of Cauaillon, what informations hee had agaynſt them. The Byſhop ſpake vnto him in his eare, and would not aunſwere aloude. This talke in the eare continued almoſt halfe an houre, that the Commiſſioner and all other that ſtode thereby, were weary thereof. In the ende, the Commiſſioner ſayd vnto them, that the Byſhop of Cauaillon had told hym, that it was not needefull to make it apparaunt by information, for ſuch was the commõ report. Hereunto they aunſwered: that they required the cauſes and reaſons alledged by the Byſhop of Cauaillon, agaynſt them, ſhould be put in wrytyng. The Byſhop was earneſt to the contrary, and would haue nothyng that either he ſayd or alledged, to be put in wrytyng.

They that do the workes of darckenes hate the lyght.

Then John Bruneroll required the Commiſſioner, that at the leaſt, he would put in wrytyng, that the Byſhop would ſpeake nothyng agaynſt them, that they could vnderſtand, and that he would not ſpeake before the Commiſſioner but onely in his eare. The Byſhop on the contrarie part, defended that he would not be named in proceſſe. There was great diſputation vpon this matter and continued long. Then the Commiſſioner aſked the Merindolians if they had yͤ Articles of their confeſſion which they had preſented to the hygh Court of Parlament. Then they required that their confeſſion might be read, and by the readyng thereof they might vnderſtand whether it were the doctrine, which they held, and the confeſſion which they had preſented, or no. Then the confeſſion was read publickely before them, which they dyd allow and acknowledged to be theirs. This done, the Commiſſioner aſked the Doctour if he dyd finde in the ſayd confeſſion, any hereticall opinions, wherof he could make demonſtration by the word of God, either out of the old or the new Teſtament. Then ſpake the Doctour in Latin a good while. After he had made an end: Andrew Maynard the bayliſe deſired the Commiſſioner, accordyng as he had propounded, to make the errours and hereſies that they were accuſed of, apparaunt vnto them by good information, or at the leaſt, to marke thoſe Articles of their confeſſion, which the Byſhop and the Doctour pretẽded to be hereticall, requiryng him alſo to put in Regiſter, their refuſall, aſwel of the Byſhop as of the Doctor, of whõ the one ſpake in his eare, and the other in Latin, ſo that they of Merindoll could not vnderſtand one word. Then the Commiſſioner promiſed them to put in wrytyng all that ſhould make for their cauſe. And moreouer he ſayd that it was not needefull to call the reſt of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be ſayd to them, then had bene ſayd to thoſe, which were already called. And this is the ſumme of all that was done at the after noone.

The confeſſion of the Merindolians, exhibited and read.

What were the articles and doctrine of their confeſſion, read Sled.lib.16.

Many which came thether to heare theſe diſputations: ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue heard ſome goodly demonſtrations, were greatly abaſhed to ſee the Byſhop and the Doctour ſo confounded: which thyng afterward turned to the great benefite of many: for hereby they were moued to require copyes of the confeſſion of their fayth: by meanes wherof they were conuerted and embraced the truth, and namely iij. Doctours, who went about diuers tymes to diſwade the Merindolians from their fayth: whoſe miniſtery God afterwardes vſed in the preachyng of his Goſpell. Of whõ one was Doctour Combaudi Prior of S. Maximin, afterwardes a Preacher in the territory of the Lordes of Berne. An other was Doct. Somati, who was alſo a preacher in the Bayliwicke of Tonon. The other was Doct. Heraudi, paſtour & Miniſter in the County of Newcaſtle.

Three Doctors conuerted by the confeſſion of the Merindolians.

After this, the inhabitauntes of Merindoll were in reſt and quietneſſe for a ſpace, in ſo much that euery man feared to go about to trouble them, ſeyng thoſe which perſecuted them, dyd receaue nothyng but ſhame and confuſion: as it dyd manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the ſuddeine death of the Preſident Caſſanee, but alſo many other of the chiefeſt Counſellers of the Parlament of Prouince, whoſe horrible end terrified many, but ſpecially the ſtrãge and fearefull example of that bloudy tyran John de Roma, ſet out as a ſpectacle to all perſecutours wherof we haue ſpoken before.

The ſodeine death of a perſecutor.

Thus the Lord repreſſyng the rage of the aduerſaries for a tyme, ſtayed the violence and execution of that cruell ſentence or Arreſt geuen out by the Parlament of Prouince, agaynſt the Merindolians, vntill John Miniers, an exceedyng bloudy tyranne, began a new perſecution. This Miniers beyng Lord of Opede neare to Merindoll, firſt began to vexe the poore Chriſtians, by pillyng and polyng, by oppreſſion and extortion, gettyng frõ them what he could, to enlarge his Segnorie or Lordſhyp, which before was very baſe. For this cauſe he put fiue or ſix of hys owne tenauntes into a Ciſterne vnder the grounde, and cloſing it vp, there he kept them, till they dyed for hunger, pretendyng that they were Lutheranes and Vaudoys, to haue theyr goodes and poſſeſſions. By this and ſuch other practiſes, this wretche was aduaũced in ſhort ſpace, to great wealth and dignitie, & ſo at length became not onely the chief Preſident of the hygh Court of Parlament, but alſo the kynges Lieutenaunt generall in the countrey of Prouince, in the abſence of the Lord Grignan, then beyng at the Councell of Wormes in Germanie. Now therefore ſeyng no opportunitie to be lackyng to accompliſh his deuiliſh enterpriſe, he employed all hys power, richeſſe, and authoritie not onely to confirme and to reuiue that cruell Arreſt geuen out before by the Court of Parlament: but alſo (as a right miniſter of Sathan) he exceedyngly encreaſed the cruelty therof, which was already ſo great, that it ſeemed there could nothyng more be added thereunto. And to bryng this miſchief to paſſe, he forged a moſt impudent lye, geuyng the kyng to vnderſtand that they of Merindoll & all the countrey neare about, to the number of twelue or fiueteen thouſand, were in the field in armour with theyr Enſigne diſplayed, entendyng to take the Towne of Marſeille, and make it one of the Cantons of the Suitzers: And to ſtay this enterpriſe, he ſayd it was neceſſary to execute the Arreſt manu militari, and by this meanes he obteyned the

Minerius a peſtilent perſecutor without all reaſon and meaſure.

Io. Minerius of Opede.

Minerius made the kyngs Lieutenant of Prouince.

Falſe accuſations and crimes forged vpon the innocent Chriſtians.

The kyng abuſed by wicked coũſaile.

kynges letters patentes, through the helpe of the Cardinall of Tournon, commaundyng the ſentence to be executed agaynſt the Merindolians, notwithſtandyng that the kyng had before reuoked the ſayd ſentence and giuen ſtrait commaundement that it ſhould in no wiſe be executed, as before is mentioned.

After this he gathered all the kynges armey, whiche was then in Prouince ready to go agaynſt the Engliſhmen, and tooke vp all beſides, that were hable to beare armour, in the chiefeſt Townes of Prouince, and ioyned them with the armey whiche the Popes Legate had leuyed for that purpoſe, in Auinion and all the countrey of Venice, and employed the ſame to the deſtruction of Merindol, Cabriers and other Townes and Villages, to the number of xxij. geuyng Commiſſion to his ſouldiours to ſpoyle, ranſacke, burne, and to deſtroy altogether, and to kill man, woman and child, without all mercy, ſparyng none: no, otherwiſe then the infidelles & cruel Turkes haue dealt with the Chriſtians, as before in ſtory of the Turkes, you may read.

Vid.pag.713.

For as the Papiſtes and Turkes are like in their Religion, ſo are the ſayd Papiſtes like, or rather excede them, in all kyndes of cruelty that can be deuiſed. But this Archtyran, before he came to Merindoll, ranſackt and burnt certaine townes, namely La Roche, S. Stephens, Villelaure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, S. Martin, Pipin, & other places mo, notwithſtandyng that the Arreſt extended but onely to Merindol. Where the moſt of the poore inhabitauntes were ſlayne and murdered without any reſiſtãce: women & maydens rauiſhed: women with child and litle infantes borne & to be borne, were alſo moſt cruelly murthered: the pappes of many women cut of, which gaue ſucke to their children, whiche lookyng for ſucke at their mothers breſt beyng dead before, dyed alſo for hunger. There was neuer ſuch cruelty and tyranny ſene before.

viij. townes wyth the moſt part of the people deſtroyed for true religiõ.

Horrible crueltie vpon women and young infantes.

The Merindolians ſeyng all on a flamyng fire round about them, left their houſes and fled into the woodes, and remayned that night at the Village Sanſales & thereabouts, in wonderfull feare and perplexitie: for the Byſhop of Cauaillon, deputie to the Byſhop of Romes Legate, had appoynted certaine Captaines to go and ſlay them. The next day they went a litle further, hydyng thẽſelues in woodes, for there was daunger on euery ſide, and Miniers had commaunded vnder payne of death, that no man ſhould ayde them by any meanes, but that they ſhould be ſlayne without pitie or mercy, whereſoeuer they were founde. The ſame Proclamation was of force alſo, in the Byſhoppe of Romes dominions thereby: and it was ſayd that the Byſhops of that countrey dyd finde a great part of the armey. Wherfore they went a tedious and a paynefull iourney carying their children vpõ their ſhoulders, and in their armes, and in their ſwadlyng clothes, and many of them alſo beyng great with child, were conſtrayned ſo to do. And when they were come to the place appoynted, thether was already reſorted a great number which had loſt their goodes, and ſaued themſelues by flight.

Not long after, it was ſhewed them how that Miniers was commyng with all hys power, to giue the charge vpon them. This was in the euenyng, and becauſe they ſhould go through rough and comberous places, and hard to paſſe by, they all thought it moſt expedient for theyr ſafegard to leaue behynde them, all the women and children, with a few other, and among them alſo, certeine Miniſters of the Church: the reſidue were appointed to go to the Towne of Muſſie. And this dyd they vpon hope that the enemy would ſhew mercy to the multitude of women and children, beyng deſtitute of all ſuccour. No toung can expreſſe, what ſorrow, what teares, what ſighyng, what lamentation, there was at that wofull departyng, when they were compelled to be thus ſeparated a ſunder, the huſband from hys deare wife, the father from his ſweete babes and tender infantes, the one neuer lyke to ſee the other agayne aliue. Notwithſtandyng, after the Miniſters had ended their ordinary Sermons, with euenyng Prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to auoyde a greater inconuenience.

A lamẽtable ſeparation of the Merindolians frõ their wyues and children.

When they had gone all the night long, and had paſſed ouer the great hill of Lebron, they might ſee many villages and farmes ſet on fire. Miniers in the meane tyme, had deuided his army into two partes, marchyng hymſelfe wyth the one, towardes the Towne of Merindoll, and hauyng knowledge by eſpiall whether the Merindolians were fledde, he ſendeth the other parte to ſet vpon them, and to ſhewe theyr accuſtomed crueltye vppon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, ſome of Miniers armye, eyther of good wyll, or mooued with pitie, priuily conueyed them ſelues awaye, and came vnto them, to geue them warning that their enemyes were commyng: and one from the toppe of an hygh rocke, where he thought that the Merindoliãs were vnderneath, caſteth downe ij. ſtones, and afterward, although he could not ſee them, he calleth vnto them, that they ſhould immediatly flye from thence. But the enemyes ſuddenly came vpon them, findyng them all aſſembled together at Prayers, and ſpoyled them of all that they had, pullyng of their garmentes from their backes: ſome they rauiſhed: ſome they whypped and ſcourged: ſome they ſold away lyke cattell, practiſing what cruelty and vilany ſo euer they could deuiſe agaynſt them. The women were in number about fiue hundreth.

The Merindolians ouertaken of their enemies.

In the meane tyme Miniers came to Merindol, where he founde none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yelded hymſelfe to a ſouldiour, promiſing hym for his raunſome, two French crownes. Miniers would haue had hym away by force, but it was aunſwered that the ſouldiour ought not to loſe his priſoner. Miniers therfore paying the two crownes hym ſelfe, tooke the young man, and cauſed hym to bee tyed to an Oliue tree, and ſhot through with harquebuſhes, and moſt cruelly Martyred. Many Gentlemen whiche accompanyed Miniers agaynſt their willes, ſeyng this cruell ſpectacle, were moued with greate compaſſion, and could not forbeare teares. For albeit this young man was not yet very well inſtructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindoll, yet in all hys tormentes hauyng alwayes hys eyes lyfted vppe to heauen, with a loude voyce, hee ceaſed not ſtill to call vppon God: and the laſt wordes that hee ſpake, were theſe: Lorde God, theſe men take away my lyfe full of miſerie, but thou wilt giue vnto me lyfe euerlaſtyng, by thy ſonne Jeſus Chriſt: to whom be glorye. So was Merindoll without any reſiſtaunce, valiauntly taken, ranſackt, burnt, raſed and layed euen with the grounde. And albeit there was no man to reſiſt, yet this valiaunt Captaine of Opede armed from toppe to toe, trembled for feare, and was ſene to chaunge his colour very much.

Vile crueltie ſhewed vpon a young man of Merindoll.

The towne of Merindoll deſtroyed of the Papiſtes.

When hee had deſtroyed Merindoll, hee layed ſiege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordinaunce, but when hee could not wynne it by force, hee with the Lord of the Towne, and Poulin his chief Captaine, perſuaded with the inhabitauntes, to open their gates, ſolemnely promiſing that if they would ſo do, they would lay downe their armour, and alſo that their cauſe ſhould be heard in iudgement with all equitie and Juſtice, and no violence or iniurie ſhould be ſhewed agaynſt them. Vppon this, they opened their gates and let in Miniers with his Captaines and all his armey. But the Tyraunt when he was once entred, falſified hys promiſe and raged lyke a beaſt. For firſt of all hee picked out about xxx. men, cauſing them to be bounde and caryed into a medowe neare to the Towne, and there to, be miſerably cut and hewen in peeces of hys ſouldiours.

The towne of Cabriers falſely taken.

Othe & promyſe broken of the Papiſtes.

30. men, Martyrs.

Then, becauſe he would leaue no kynde of crueltie vnattempted, hee alſo exerciſed outrage and fury vppon the poore ſelly women, and cauſed 40. of them to be taken, of whom diuers were great with child, and put them into a barnefull of ſtraw and hey, and cauſed it to be ſet on fire at foure corners. And when the ſely women runnyng to the great wyndow, where the hey is wont to be caſt into the barne, would haue leaped out, they were kepte in with pikes and halberdes. Then there was a ſouldiour which moued with pitie at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a doore to let them out, but as they were commyng out, the Tyraunt cauſed them to be ſlayne and cut in peeces, openyng their belyes that their children fell out, whom they trode vnder their feete. Many were fled into the wyne ſeller of the Caſtle, and many hyd themſelues in caues, whereof ſome were caryed into the medowe and there ſtripped naked, were ſlayne: other ſome were bounde two and two together, and caryed into the hall of the Caſtle, where they were ſlayne by the Captaines, reioyſing in their bloudy butchery and horrible ſlaughter.

40. Women, Martyrs.

Crueltie Neronicall, or rather furie diabolicall.

That done, this Tyraunt, more cruell then euer was Herode, commaunded Captaine John de Gay with a bande of ruffians, to go into the Churche (where was a great number of women, children and young infantes) to kill all that he founde there. Whiche the Captaine refuſed at the firſt, to do, ſaying: that were a crueltie vnuſed among men of warre. Whereat Miniers beyng diſpleaſed, charged hym vppon payne of rebellion, and diſobedience to the kyng, to do as hee had commaunded hym. The Captaine fearyng that myght enſue, entred with his men, and deſtroyed them all, ſparyng neither young nor old.

In this meane while certaine ſouldiours went to ranſacke the houſes for the ſpoyle: where they founde many poore men that had there hydden themſelues in ſellers and other priuy places, flying vpõ them and crying out: kill kill. The other ſouldiours that were without the towne, killed all that they could meete with. The number of thoſe that were ſo vnmercyfully murdered, were about a thouſād perſons of men, women, and children. The infantes that eſcaped their fury, were baptiſed agayne of their enemies.

Aboue a 1000. Martyrs of Cabriers.

In token of this holy victory, the Popes Officers cauſed a piller to be erected in the ſayd place of Cabriers, in the whiche was engrauen the yeare and the day of the takyng and ſackyng of this Towne, by John Miniers Lord of Opede and chief Preſident of the Parlament of Prouince, for a memoriall for euer, of the barbarous cruelty, the lyke whereof was yet neuer heard of. Whereupon we withall our poſteritie, haue to vnderſtand what be the reaſons and argumentes wherewith the Antichriſt of Rome, is wont to vphold the impious ſeate of his abhomination: Who now is come to ſuch exceſſe and profunditie of all kyndes of iniquitie, that all iuſtice, equitie and veritie beyng ſet a ſide, he ſeeketh the defence of his cauſe, by no other thyng, then onely by force and violence, terrour and oppreſſion, and ſhedyng of bloud.

The argumentes wherupon the doctrine of the Popes Church ſtandeth.

In this meane while the inhabitauntes of Merindoll and other places thereabout, were among the mountaines and rockes, in great neceſſitie of victualles, and much affliction: who had procured certaine men, whiche were in ſome fauour and authoritie with Miniers, to make requeſt for them vnto hym, that they might depart ſafely, whether it ſhould pleaſe God to lead them, with their wiues and children, although they had no more but their ſhyrtes to couer their nakedneſſe. Whereunto Miniers made this aunſwere: I know what I haue to do: not one of them ſhall eſcape my handes. I will ſend them to dwell in hell among the deuils.

Antichriſt here playeth the deuill.

After this there was a power ſent vnto Coſta, whiche lykewiſe they ouercame, and committed there great ſlaughter. Many of the inhabitaunts fledde away and ranne into an orchard, where the ſouldiours rauiſhed the women and maydens, and when they had kept them there incloſed a daye and a nyght, they handled them ſo beaſtly, that thoſe whiche had great belyes, and the younger maydens, dyed ſhortly after. It were vnpoſſible to comprehend all the lamentable and ſorrowfull examples of this cruell perſecution agaynſt the Merindolians and their felowes: In ſo much that no kynde of cruell tyranny was vnpractiſed. For they which eſcaped by woodes, and went wandryng by mountaines, were taken and ſet in Galyes, or els were ſlayne out right.

The towne of Coſta deſtroyed.

Martyrs of Coſta.

Many whiche dyd hyd themſelues in rockes and darke caues, ſome were famiſhed with hunger, ſome were ſmothered with fire and ſmoke put vnto them. All whiche may more fully be vnderſtand by the recordes of the Court, and by the pleas betwene them and their aduerſaries in the hyghe Conſiſtory of the Court of Paris: Where all the dores beyng ſet open, and in the publicke hearyng of all the people, the caſe of this trouble and perſecution was ſhortly after, ſolemnly debated betwene ij. great Lawyers: the one called Aubrius, whiche accuſed Minerius the Preſident committed to priſon, and the other called Robertus, who was the defendant agaynſt hym. The cauſe why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and Judgement to be decided by the law, was this:

When the Merindolians were ſlaine, their cauſe was pleaded.

Henry the ſecond French kyng, whiche newly ſucceded Fraunces hys father aboue mentioned, conſideryng how this cruell and infamous perſecution agaynſt his own ſubiectes and people, was greatly miſlyked of other Princes, and alſo obiected both agaynſt hym and his father, as a note of ſhamefull Tyranny, by the Emperour hymſelfe, Charles the fift and that in the publicke Councell of all the ſtates of Germany for ſo murtheryng and ſpoylyng his own naturall ſubiectes, without all reaſon and mercy: he therfore to the entent to purge and cleare hymſelfe thereof, cauſed the ſayd matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Juſtice.

Fraunces the French king, noted of tyranny by Charles 5. Emperour.

Whiche cauſe, after it was pleaded to and fro, in publicke audience, no leſſe then fiftye tymes, and yet in the ende, could not be determined, ſo it brake of and was paſſed ouer, and at length Minerius beyng loſed out of priſon, was reſtored to his libertie and poſſeſſions agayne, vpon this condition and promiſe made vnto the Cardinall, Charles of Lorraine, that he ſhould baniſh and expell theſe new Chriſtians (termyng ſo the true profeſſours of the Goſpell) out of all Prouince.

The cauſe of the Merindolians after their death pleaded 50 times in the Court.

Minerius looſed out of priſon.

Thus Minerius beyng reſtored, returned agayne into Prouince, where hee began agayne to attempt greater tyranny, then before. Neither dyd his ragyng furye ceaſe to proceede, before the iuſt iudgement of God lightyng vpon hym, brought hym by a horrible diſeaſe, vnto the tormentes of death, whiche he moſt iuſtly had deſerued. For he beyng ſtrocken with a ſtraunge kynde of bledyng at the lower partes, in maner of a bloudy flixe, and not beyng able to voyde any vrine, thus by little and little his guttes within him rotted: and when no remedy could bee founde for this terrible diſeaſe, and his entralles now began to be eaten of wormes, a certaine famous Surgeon named La Motte, whiche dwelt at Arles, a man no leſſe godly then expert in hys ſcience: was called for, who after he had cured hym of this difficultie of makyng water, and therefore was in great eſtimation with hym, before hee would proceede further to ſearche the other partes of hys putrified body, and to ſearche out the inward cauſe of hys maladie, he deſired that they whiche were preſent in the chamber with Minerius, would departe a little a ſide. Whiche beyng done, he began to exhort Minerius with earneſt wordes, ſaying how the tyme now required that hee ſhould aſke forgiueneſſe of God by Chriſt, for his enormous crimes and cruelty in ſhedyng ſo much innocent bloud, and declared the ſame to be the cauſe of this ſo ſtraunge profuſion of bloud commyng from hym.

The iuſt ſtroke of God vpon cruel Minerius.

Good counſaile geuen to Minerius of hys Surgeon.

Theſe wordes beyng heard, ſo pearſed the impure conſcience of this miſerable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled then with the agonye of hys diſeaſe: in ſo much that hee cryed out to laye hand vppon the Surgeon, as an heretike. La Motte hearyng this, eftſoones conueyed him ſelfe out of ſight, and returned agayne to Arles. Notwithſtandyng it was not long, but he was ſent for agayne, beyng intreated by his frendes, and promiſed moſt firmely, that his commyng ſhould be without any perill or daunger: and ſo with much ado, he returned againe to Minerius, what tyme all now was paſt remedy: and ſo Minerius ragyng and caſtyng out moſt horrible and blaſphemyng wordes, and feelyng a fire which burnt him from the nauill vpward, with extreme ſtinch of the lower partes, finiſhed his wretched lyfe. Whereby we haue notoriouſly to vnderſtand that God through his mighty arme, at length confoundeth ſuch perſecuters of his innocent and faythfull ſeruauntes, & bryngeth them to nought: to whom be prayſe and glory for euer.

Minerius ſeeketh the bloud of hys Surgeon.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius the perſecuter.

Moreouer, beſides this Juſtice of God ſhewed vpon Minerius, here alſo is not to be forgotten whiche folowed likewiſe vppon certaine of the other, whiche were the chief doers in this perſecution vnder Minerius aforeſayd, namely Lewes de Wayne, brother in law to the ſayd Preſident, and alſo the brother, and the ſonne in law to Peter Durant, maiſter butcher of the Towne of Aix: the whiche three dyd ſlay one an other vpon a certaine ſtrife that fel among them. And vppon the ſame day the Judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the ſame perſecutiō, as he returned homeward, goyng ouer the Riuer of Durance, was drowned. Ex Hiſt. Gallica. Henr. Pantal. & alijs.

The iuſte plague of God vpon ye perſecuters.

¶ Notes vpon the ſtory of Merindoll aboue recited.

Thus haſt thou heard (louyng Reader) the terrible troubles, and miſerable ſlaughters committed by the Byſhops and Cardinalles agaynſt theſe faythfull men of Merindoll, which for the haynous tyranny and example of the fact moſt vnmercyfull, may be comparable with any of the firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Churche, done either by Decius, or Diocleſianus.

Now, touchyng the ſayd ſtory and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the firſt tyme that theſe men of this countrey, were vexed, neither was it of late yeares, that the doctrine and profeſſion of thē began. For (as by the courſe of tyme, and by auncient Recordes it may appeare) theſe inhabitauntes of Prouince, and other coaſtes borderyng about the confines of Fraunce, and Piemont, had their continuaunce of auncient tyme, and receiued their doctrine firſt from the Waldenſes, or Albigenſes, whiche were (as ſome do ſaye) about the yeare of our Lord. 1170. or (as other do recken) about the yeare of our Lord. 1216. whereof thou haſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently to vnderſtand, readyng before, pag. 233. Item, pag. 265. Item, pag. 271. &c.

The Goſpellers of Merindoll came firſt of the Waldenſes.

Vid. ſupra pag. 233. &c.

Theſe Waldenſes, otherwiſe called Pauperes de Lugduno, begynnyng of one Petrus Waldus, Citizen of Lyons, as is afore ſhewed, pag. 234. by violence of perſecution beyng driuen out of Lyons, were diſparcled abroad in diuers countreys, of whom ſome fled to Maſſilia, ſome to Germany, ſome to Sarmatia, Liuonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia, diuers ſtrayed to the countreys of Fraunce, eſpecially about Prouince, and Piemont, of whom came theſe Merindolians, aboue mentioned, and the Angrougnians with others, of whom now it foloweth likewiſe (God willyng) to diſcourſe. They which were in the countrey of Toloſe, of the place where they frequented, were called Albij, or Albigēſes. Agaynſt the which Albigēſes. Frier Do

Vid. ſupra pag. 234.

Waldenſes how and of whom they firſt began.

minicus was a great doer, laboring and preachyng agaynſt them.x.yeares together, and cauſed many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted, and rewarded in the Apoſtolicall Court, and at length by pope Honorius 3. was made Patriarche of the blacke garde of the Dominicke Friers. Ex Antonino part.3.tit.19.cap.1.

Dominicus, patriarch of the blacke fryers, enemie to the Waldenſes.

These Albigenſes, agaynſt the Pope of Rome, had ſet vp to them ſelues a Byſhop of their owne, named Bartholomæus remainyng about the coaſtes of Croatia, and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the Popes Cardinals, aboue ſpecified, pag.265. For the whiche cauſe the Sea of Rome tooke great indignation agaynſt the ſayd Albigenſes, and cauſed all their faythfull Catholickes and obedienciares to their Churche to riſe vp in armour, and to take the ſigne of the holy Croſſe vpō them, to fight agaynſt them.an. 1206. by reaſon wherof great multitudes of them were pityfully murdered, not onely of them about Toulouſe, and Auinion in Fraunce (as is afore to be ſene, pag.271.) but alſo in all quarters, miſerable ſlaughters and burnynges of them long continued, from the reigne of Fridericke 2. Emperour, almoſt to this preſent tyme, through the inſtigation of the Roman Popes.

Vid. ſupra pag. 265.

Paulus Æmylius the French Chronicler in his vj. booke writyng of theſe Pauperes de Lugduno, and Humiliati, and diuidyng theſe two orders from Albigenſes, reporteth that the two former orders were reiected of Pope Lucius 3. And in their place, other two orders were approued, to wyt, the order of the Dominicke Friers, and of the Frauncifcanes. Which ſeemeth not to be true, for ſomuch as this Pope Lucius was xx. yeares, before Innocent 3. and yet neither in the tyme of Pope Innocent, the order of the Dominicke Friers was approued, but in the tyme of Pope Honorius the 3. who was xl. yeares after Pope Lucius. Agayne, Bernardus Lutzenbergenſis, in Catal. hæret. affirmeth, that theſe Pauperes de Lugduno, or Waldenſes began firſt. an. 1218. Which if it be true, then muſt the other report of Æmylius be falſe, writyng of the ſecte of Pauperes Lugdunenſes, to be refuſed by Pope Lucius the thyrd who was long before this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1181.

Ex Paul. Æmylio lib. 6

Ex Bernard Lutzenberg.

Among other Authours which write of theſe Waldenſes, Ioan. Sleidan. Lib. 16. intreatyng of their continuaunce, and doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be (ſayth he) in the French Prouince a people called Waldoys. Theſe of an auncient trade and cuſtome among them, do not acknowledge the Byſhop of Rome, and euer haue vſed a maner of doctrine ſomewhat more pure, then the reſt, but eſpecially ſince the commyng of Luther, they haue encreaſed in more knowledge and perfection of iudgement. Wherfore they haue bene oftētymes cōplayned vpon to the kyng, as though they contemned the Magiſtrate, and would moue rebelliō, with other ſuch matter falſely ſurmiſed agaynſt them, more of deſpite and malice, then of any iuſt cauſe of truth. There be of them certaine Townes and Villages, among whiche Merindoll is one. Agaynſt theſe Merindolians ſentence was geuen, fiue yeares paſt, at Aix, being the hygh tribunall ſeate or iudgement place of Prouince, that all ſhould be deſtroyed without reſpect of age or perſon, in ſuch ſort, as that the houſes beyng pluckt downe, the Village ſhould be made playne, euen with the grounde, the trees alſo ſhould be cut downe, and the place altogether made deſolate and deſert. Albeit though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in executiō, by the meanes of certaine that perſuaded the kyng to the contrary, namely one William Bellay, who was at the ſame tyme, the kynges Lieutenaunt in Piedmont. But at the laſt, the 12. day of April, an. 1545. Iohn Minerius Preſident of the Counſel of Aix, calling the Senate, read the kynges letters, commaundyng them to execute the ſentence giuen. &c.

See the ſtory of Sleidan.

Moreouer concernyng the confeſſion, and the doctrine of the ſayd Merindolians receaued of auncient tyme from their forefathers the Waldenſes, thus it foloweth in the ſaid booke and place of Iohn Sleidan.

This confeſſion worthy of perpetuall memory, you ſhall ſee more largely ſet out, in Henr. Pantaleon, writing of the deſtruction of Cabriers & Merindoll, and alſo in the French ſtorie.

At laſt (ſayth Sleidan, after hee had deſcribed what great crueltie was ſhewed agaynſt them) when the report hereof was bruted in Germanie, it offended the myndes of many: and in deede, the Suitzers, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, entreated the Kyng, that hee would ſhewe mercy to ſuch as were fled. Whereunto the ſayd kyng Fraunces, made aunſwere in this wiſe: pretendyng that he had iuſt cauſe to do, as he dyd, inferryng moreouer, that they ought not to be carefull, what he dyd within his dominions, or how he puniſhed his offendours, more then he was about their affaires. &c. Thus heard was the kyng agaynſt them, notwithſtandyng (ſayth Sleidan) that he, the yeare before, had receaued frō the ſayd his ſubiectes of Merindol, a confeſſion of their fayth and doctrine. The Articles wherof, were, that they, accordyng to Chriſtiā fayth, cōfeſſed, firſt God the father, creator of all things: The ſonne, the onely Mediatour and Aduocate of mankind. The holy ſpirite, the cōfortour, and inſtructour of all truth. They cōfeſſed alſo the Church, which they acknowledged to be the felowſhip of gods elect, wherof Ieſus Chriſt is the head. The miniſters alſo of the Church they did allow, wiſhyng that ſuch which did not their ducty, ſhould be remoued.

Ex Ioan. Sledano lib. 16.

And as touchyng Magiſtrates, they graunted likewiſe the ſame to be ordeyned of God, to defend the good, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſours. And how they owe to him, not loue onely, but alſo tribute, and cuſtome, and no man herein to be excepted, euē by the example of Chriſt, who payed tribute himſelfe. &c.

The confeſſion and fayth of the Waldenſes in Merindoll.

Likewiſe of Baptiſme, they confeſſed the ſame to be a viſible, and an outward ſigne, that repreſenteth to vs the renewyng of the ſpirite, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touchyng the Lordes Supper, they ſayd and confeſſed the ſame to be a thankeſgeuyng, and a memoriall of the benefite receaued through Chriſt.

Matrimony they affirmed to be holy and inſtituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good workes are to be obſerued and exerciſed of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That falſe doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worſhyp of God, ought to be eſchewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their fayth, they confeſſed to be the old and new Teſtament, proteſtyng that they beleued all ſuch thynges as are conteyned in the Apoſtolicke Creede: Deſiryng moreouer, the kyng to geue credite to this their declaration of their fayth, ſo that what ſoeuer was informed to hym to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well proue, if they might be heard.

And thus much concernyng the doctrine and confeſſion of the Merindolians out of Sleidan: and alſo concernyng their deſcent and offſpryng from the Waldenſes.

¶ The hiſtory of the perſecutions and warres agaynſt the people called Waldenſes or Waldois in the valleys of Angrongne, Luſerne, S. Martin Perouſe, and others, in the countrey of Piemont, from the yeare. 1555. to the yeare of our Lord. 1561.

Perſecution in the valley of Angrongne, Luſerne, S. Martin, Perouſe, in Piedmont.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
The Parlament of Thurin. The Preſident of S. Iulian. Iacomell Monke, an Inquiſitor. Mōſieur de la Trinitie. The Gētlemē of the Valleyes. Charles Truchet. Boniface Truchet. The Collaterall of Corbis. The Collaterall de Eccleſia. The Duke of Sauoy.	The Martyrs of the valley of Angrōgne. The Martyrs of the valley of Luſerne. The Martyrs of S. Martin. The Martyrs of Perouſe, and others.	TO procede nowe further in the perſecution of theſe Waldois, or Waldenſes, you haue heard hetherto, firſt how they deuidyng themſelues into diuers coũtreys, ſome fledde to Prouince, and to Toulouſe, of whom ſufficient hath bene ſayd. Some wēt to Piedmōt, and the valley of Angrongne, of whom it foloweth now to entreate God willyng. Thus theſe good mē by lōg perſecutiō, beyng driuen frō place to place, were greuouſly in all places afflicted, but yet could neuer be vtterly deſtroyed, nor yet compelled to yeld to the ſuperſtitious and falſe Religion of the Church of Rome: but euer abſteyned from their corruption and Idolatrye, as much as was poſſible, and gaue themſelues to the word of God, as a rule both truely to ſerue hym, & to direct their lyues accordyngly. They had many bookes of the olde and new Teſtament tranſ-

The godly lyfe of the Waldoys.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Monkes of Pigneroll, and many other moe, enemyes of God and miniſters of Sathan.	In the countrey of Piemont. From the yeare 1555. vnto 1561.	tranſlated into their language. Their miniſters inſtructed thẽ ſecretly, to auoyde yͤ furye of their enemyes, which coulde not abyde the lyght: albeit they did not inſtructe them wyth ſuch puritie as was requiſite. They lyued in great ſimplicitie, & wyth the ſweate of their browes. They were quyet & peaceable

among their neighbours, abſteyning from blaſphemy, and prophanyng of the name of God, by othes, and ſuch other impietie: from leude games, dauncing, filthy ſonges & other vices and diſſolute lyfe, and conformed their life wholy to the rule of Gods worde. Their principall care was alwayes that God myght be rightly ſerued, and his worde truely preached: In ſo much, that in our tyme, when it pleaſed God to ſet forth the lyght of his Goſpel more clearely, they neuer ſpared any thyng, to eſtabliſhe the true and pure miniſtery of the word of God and hys Sacramentes. Which was the cauſe that Sathan wyth hys miniſters, did ſo perſecute them of late more cruelly then euer he dyd before, as manifeſtly appeareth by the bloudy & horrible perſecutions which haue bene not onely in Prouince, agaynſt thoſe of Merindoll & Cabriers: alſo againſt them of Prage and Calabria (as the hiſtories afore written do ſufficiently declare) but alſo agaynſt them in the countrey of Piedmont, remaynyng in the Valley of Angrongne, and of Luſerne, and alſo in the Valley of S. Martin, and Perouſe, in the ſayd countrey of Piedmont. Which people of a longe tyme, were perſecuted by the Papiſts, and eſpecially within theſe fewe yeares, they haue bene vexed in ſuch ſort and ſo diuerſly, that it ſeemeth almoſt incredible: and yet hath God alwayes myraculouſly delyuered them, as hereafter ſhall enſue.

Vid ſup. pag. 621. 915.

Albeit the people of Angrongne had before this tyme, certayne to preach the word of God, and miniſter the ſacramentes vnto them priuatlye: yet in the yeare of our Lorde 1555. in the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, the Goſpell was openly preached in Angrongne. The miniſters & the people entended at the firſt, to keepe themſelues ſtill, as ſecret as they myght: but there was ſuch concourſe of people from all partyes, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For thys cauſe they built them a Church in the myddes of Angrongne, where aſſemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin of Briqueras, a myle from Angrongne, which vaunted euery where, that he woulde ſlitte the Miniſters noſe of Angrongne, was aſſaulted by a wolfe, whiche bitte of hys noſe, ſo that he dyed thereof madde. Thys was commonly knowen to all the townes thereabout.

The iuſt hand of God vpon John Martin, a perſecutor.

At thys ſeaſon the French kyng helde theſe foreſayde valleyes, & they were vnder the iuriſdiction of the Parliament of Thurin. In the end of December folowing, newes was brought, that it was ordeyned by the ſayde Parlament, that certeyne horſemen and footemen ſhoulde be ſent to ſpoyle and deſtroy Angrongne. Wherupon ſome which pretended great frendſhyp to thys people, counſelled them not to go forwarde wyth their enterpriſe: but to forbeare for a whyle, and ta wayte for better oportunitie. But they notwythſtandyng, calling vpon God, determyned wyth one accorde, conſtantly to perſiſte in their religion, and in hope and ſilence, to abyde the good pleaſure of God: ſo that thys enterpriſe agaynſt Angrongne, was ſoone daſhed. The ſame tyme they began alſo opẽly to preach in Luſerne.

In the moneth of March, an. 1556. the Miniſters of the Valley of S. Martin, preached openly. At that tyme certayne Gentlemen of the Valley of S. Martin, tooke a good man, named Barthelmew, a booke bynder, priſoner, as he paſſed by the ſayd Valley, the which was ſent by and by, to Thurin, and there wyth a maruelous conſtancy, after he had made a good confeſſion of hys fayth, he ſuffered death: In ſo much that diuers of the Parlamẽt were aſtonyſhed and appalled at hys conſtancie. yet they of the ſayde Parlament, beyng ſore incenſed agaynſt the Vaudois, ſent one named the Preſident of S. Julian, aſſociatyng vnto hym, one called de Ecclesia, and others, for to hynder their enterpriſe. Theſe commyng firſt to the Valley of Perouſe where as yet no preachers were, but they were accuſtomed to reſort to the Sermons at Angrongne, very much troubled and feared the poore people there.

Barthelmew a Bookebynder, Martyr.

The Preſident of S. Julian and other, ſent to the Angrongnians.

From thence, they went to the Valley of S. Martin, and remayned there a good whyle, tormentyng the poore people, and threatnyng theyr vtter ruine and deſtruction. After that they came to Luſerne, troublyng and vexyng the people there, in lyke maner. From thence they went to Angrongne, accompanyed wyth many Gentlemen, and a great rable of Prieſtes, of the ſayde countrey: but by the way, the Preſident enquired for one dwellynge at Saynt Johns, neare to Angrógne, and examined him whether he had not Baptiſed hys childe at Angrongne, and wherefore he had ſo done. The poore ſimple man aunſwered, that he had Baptiſed hys childe at Angrongne, becauſe Baptiſme was there miniſtred accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt. Then the Preſident in a great rage, commaunded hym in the kynges name, to Baptiſe hys childe agayne, or els hee ſhoulde be burnt. The poore man deſired the Preſident that he myght be ſuffered to make hys prayer to God, before he ſhould make aunſwere thereunto. Which, after he had done in the hall before all the company there preſent: he required the Preſident that he woulde write and ſigne the ſame wyth hys owne hand, that he woulde diſcharge hym before God of the daunger of that offence, if he ſhould baptiſe hys childe agayne, and that he woulde take the perill vpon hym and hys. The Preſident hearing this, was ſo confounded, that he ſpake not one worde a good whyle after. Then ſayd he in a great furye, away thou vilane, out of my ſight: and after that he was neuer called agayne any more.

Note here how the Papiſtes play the Anabaptiſtes.

Example of good prayer.

The Preſident confounded at the poore mans aunſwere.

After they were come to Angrongne, the Preſident hauyng viſited the two Temples, cauſed a Monke to preach in the one, the people beyng there aſſembled, who pretended nothyng els, but onely to exhort them to returne to the obedience of the Sea of Rome. The Monke with the Preſident and all his retinue, kneeled downe twiſe, and called vpon the virgin Mary; but the miniſters and all the people ſtoode ſtill, and would not kneele, making no ſigne or token of reuerence. As ſoone as the Monke had ended his Sermon, the people requeſted inſtantly, that their Miniſter might alſo be ſuffered to preach, affirmyng that the ſayde Monke had ſpoken many thinges, which were not accordyng to the worde of God. But the Preſident woulde not graunt their requeſt. After that, the ſayd Preſident admoniſhed them in the name of the kyng, and the Parlament of Thurin, that they ſhoulde returne to the obedience of the Pope, vpon payne of loſſe of goods and life, and vtter deſtruction of their towne: and withall he recited vnto them, the pitious diſcomfiture of there brethrẽ and frends, which had bene done before in Merindoll and Cabriers, and other places in the countrey of Prouince. The miniſters and the people aunſwered that they were determined to lyue accordyng to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their ſuperiours in all thinges, ſo that God were not thereby diſpleaſed: And furthermore, if it were ſhewed vnto them by the worde of God, that they erred in any point of Religion, they were ready to receaue correction, and to be reformed. This talke endured about ſixe houres together, euen vntill night. In the ende, the Preſident ſayde there ſhould be a diſputation appoynted for thoſe matters. Wherunto the people gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The people woulde not kneele to pray to our Ladye.

The people of Angrógne threatned with deſtruction.

The Angrógnians deſired to be tried by the word of God.

Here he remayned 14. dayes, dayly practiſing new deuiſes, to vexe and torment them, wyth new Proclamations, now callyng to hym the Syndiques and head officers, now ſeuerally and now altogether, that ſo for feare he might make them to reſent: cauſing alſo aſſemblies to be made in euery Pariſhe, by ſuch as he appointed, thinking thereby to deuide the people. Notwithſtandyng he nothing preuayled with all that he coulde doe: but ſtill they continued conſtant, In ſo much that they with one accorde, preſented a briefe confeſſion of their faith, with an aunſwere to certaine interrogatories made by the Preſident, in the which they confeſſed:

These Syndiques were as Shrieues Councellers or Aduocates.

That the Religion wherein both they and their Elders had bene long inſtructed & brought vp, was the ſame, which is conteined both in the olde and new Teſtament, the which is alſo briefly compriſed in the xij. Articles of the Chriſtian beliefe.

The Articles & confeſſion of the Angrongnians exhibited to the Preſident.

Alſo that they acknowledged the Sacramentes inſtituted by Chriſt, wherby he diſtributeth aboundauntly his graces and great benefites, hys heauenly riches and treaſures, to all thoſe which receiue the ſame, wyth a true and a lyuely fayth.

Furthermore, that they receaued the Creedes of the iiij. generall Councels, that is to ſay, of Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus and Calcedon, and alſo the Creede of Athanaſius, wherein the myſtery of the Chriſtian fayth and religion is playnely and largely ſet out.

Item, the ten Commaundementes expreſſed in the .xx. chap. of Exod. and in the .v. of Deut. in the which the rule of a godly and holy life, and alſo the true ſeruice which god requireth of vs, is briefly compriſed: and therefore folowing this article, they ſuffered not by any meanes (ſaide they) any groſſe iniquities to raigne among them, as vnlawfull ſwearing, periurie, blaſphemie, curſing, ſclaundering, diſſenſion, deceit, wrong dealing, vſurie, gluttonie, drunkenneſſe, whoredome, theft, murther, ſorcerie, witchcrafte, or ſuche like: but wholy endeuoured them ſelues to lyue in the feare of God, & according to hys holy wyll.

Moreouer, they acknowledged the ſuperiour powers, as princes and magiſtrates, to be ordeined of God, and that who ſo euer reſiſteth the ſame, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God: and therfore humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to their ſuperiours, with al obedience, ſo that they cõmaunded nothing againſt God.

Finally, they proteſted, that they woulde in no poynte be ſtubborne, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one iote concerning true religion, the ſame beyng proued by the worde of God, they would willingly yeeld, & be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

The interrogatories, were concerning the maſſe, auricular confeſſion, baptiſme, mariage, and burials, according to the inſtitution of the Churche of Rome.

Their aunſweres to the interrogatoryes.
Maſſe.

To the firſt they aunſweared, that they receyued the Lords ſupper, as it was by hym inſtituted, and celebrated by his Apoſtles: but as touching the maſſe, except the ſame might be proued by the worde of God, they would not receyue it.

1.John.1.
Iere.4.
Eſa.43.
Auricular confeſſion.

To the ſecond touching auricular confeſſion, they ſaid, that for their parte, they confeſſed them ſelues dayly vnto God, acknowledging them ſelues before hym, to be miſerable ſinners, deſiring hym of pardon and forgeuenes of their ſinnes, as Chriſt inſtructed his, in the prayer whiche he taught them: Lorde forgeue vs our ſinnes. And as S. John ſaith: If we confeſſe our ſinnes to God, he is faythfull and iuſt to forgeue vs our ſinnes, and to cleanſe vs from all vnrighteouſneſſe. And according to that whiche God hym ſelfe ſaith by his Prophet: O Iſrael, if thou returne, returne vnto me. And againe, O Iſrael, it is I, it is I, which forgeueth thee thy ſinnes. So that, ſeeyng they ought to returne to God alone, & it is he only that forgeueth ſinnes, therfore they were bounde to confeſſe them ſelues to God only, and to no other. Alſo it appeareth, that Dauid in his Pſalmes, and the Prophets, and other faythful ſeruaunts of God haue confeſſed them ſelues, both generally and particularly vnto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proued by the word of God, they would (ſaid they) with al hũbleneſ receiue the ſame.

Baptiſme.
1.Cor.14.

Thirdly, as touching Baptiſme, they acknowledged and receyued that holy inſtitution of Chriſte, and adminiſtred the ſame with all ſimplicitie, as he ordeyned it in his holy Goſpell, without any chaunging, addyng, or diminiſhing in any point, and that al this they dyd in their mother tongue, according to the rule of Saint Paul, who willeth that in the Churche euery thing be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbour. But as for their coniurations, oylyng, and ſalting, except the ſame might be proued by the ſacred Scripture, they would not receiue them.

The maner of burials.

Fourthly, as touching burialles, they aunſweared, that they knewe there is a difference betweene the bodyes of the true Chriſtians, and the Infidels, for as much as the firſt are the mẽbers of Jeſus Chriſt, temples of the holy ghoſt, and partakers of the glorious reſurrection of the dead, and therefore they accuſtomed to folowe their dead to the graue reuerently, with a ſufficient company, and exhortation out of the worde of God, as well to comfort the parentes and frendes of the dead, as alſo to admoniſhe all men, diligently to prepare them ſelues to dye. But as for the vſing of candles or lightes, prayers for the dead, ringyng of belles, except the ſame might be proued to be neceſſary, by ẏ word of God, and that God is not offended therwith, they would not receiue them.

Obedience to mens traditions.

Fifthly, as touching obedience to mens traditions, they receyued and allowed all thoſe ordinaunces, whiche (as Saint Paul ſaith) ſerue for order, decencie, and reuerence of the Miniſterie. But as for other ceremonies, whiche haue ben brought into the Church of God, either as a part of his diuine ſeruice, eyther to merite remiſſion of ſinnes, or els to binde mens conſciences, becauſe they are mere repugnant to the word of God, they could by no meanes receiue them.

Councels not to be preferred before Gods word.
Gal.1.

And whereas the Commiſſioners affirmed the ſayde traditions to haue ben ordeyned by Councels: firſt they anſweared, that the greateſt part of them were not ordeyned be Councels. Secondly, that Councels were not to be preferred aboue the word of God, which ſaith: If any man, yea or an angell from heauen, ſhoulde preache vnto you, otherwiſe then that whiche hath bene receyued of the Lorde Ieſus, let hym be accurſed. And therfore (ſaid they) if Councelles haue ordeined any thing diſſenting from the word of God, they would not receiue it.

Councels not kept of the Papiſtes in many poyntes.

Finally, they ſaid, that the Councels had made diuers notable decrees concernyng the election of Biſhoppes, and Miniſters of the Church: concernyng Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, as wel of the Clergie, as of the people: alſo concernyng the diſtribution of the goodes and poſſeſſions of the Church. And further, that al paſtours which were eyther whoremongers, drunkardes, or offenſiue in any caſe, ſhould be put from their office. Moreouer, that who ſoeuer ſhould be preſent at the maſſe of a prieſt which was a whoremonger, ſhould be excõmunicate. And many ſuch other things, which wer not in any poynt obſerued. And that they omitted to ſpeake of many other thinges, which were ordeyned by diuers Councels, very ſuperſtitious, and cõtrary to the holy Commaundements of God, as they would be redy to proue (ſaid they) if they ſhould haue occaſion and opportunitie therunto.

Diſputation required.
For the antiquitie of theſe Waldoys, ſee before pag. 235. 926.

Wherefore they required the Commiſſioners, that a diſputation might be had (as by the ſaide Preſident was pretended) publiquely and in their preſence, and then if it might be proued by the worde of God, that they erred eyther in doctrine, or conuerſation and maner of lyuyng, they were content, with all humbleneſſe, to be corrected, and reformed, as they had before ſayd: beſeechyng them to conſider alſo that their religion had bene obſerued and kept frõ their aunceſtours, vntyll their tyme, many hundred yeares together: and yet for their partes, beyng conuicted by the infallible worde of God, they would not obſtinately ſtande to the defence therof: Saying moreouer, that they, together with the ſaid Lordes Deputies, confeſſed all one God, one Sauiour, one Holy Ghoſt, one Lawe, one Baptiſme, one hope in heauen: and in Summe, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmely founded and grounded vpon the pure worde of God, whereof it is ſaid, That bleſſed are they which heare the ſame, and keepe it.

Turkes and Jewes fynde more fauour with the papiſtes, then the true Chriſtians.

To be ſhort, ſeing it is permitted to the Turkes, Saraſens, & Jewes (whiche are mortall enemies to our Sauiour Chriſte) to dwell peaceably in the fayreſt Cities of Chriſtendome, by good reaſon they ſhould be ſuffred to liue in the deſolate moũtaines and valleys, hauyng their whole religion founded vppon the holy Goſpell, and worſhippyng the Lord Jeſus: and therfore they moſt humbly beſought them, to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon them, and to ſuffer them to liue quietly in their deſertes, proteſtyng that they and theirs would liue in al feare & reuerence of God, with all due ſubiection and obedience to their Lord and prince, & to his Lieutenantes and officers.

A breathing time geuen of God to the Angronians.
Perſecution agayne beginneth agaynſt the Angronians.
The Angronians require triall by Gods worde.

The Preſident and the reſt of the Commiſſioners perceiuyng that they laboured in vaine, returned to Thurin, with the notes of their proceedings, the which immediatly were ſent vnto the kings court, & there the matter remayned one yeare, before there was any anſweare made therevnto: during which time, the Waldoys liued in great quietnes, as God of his infinite goodnes is wont to geue ſome comfort & refreſhing to his poore ſeruants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithfull ſo augmented, that throughout the valleyes, Gods worde was purely preached, & his ſacramentes duely adminiſtred, and no maſſe was ſong in Angrongne, nor in diuers other places. The yere after, the Preſident of S. Julian with his aſſociates, returned to Pignerol, & ſent for thyther, ẏ chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, & of the valley of Luſerne, that is, for ſixe of Angrongne, and for two of euery pariſh beſides, & ſhewed vnto them, how that the laſt yeare they had preſented their confeſſion, the which by a decree made by the parlament of Thurin, was ſent to the kinges court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therfore the king willed and commaunded them, to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome, vppon paine of loſſe both of goodes and life: enioyning thẽ moreouer, to geue him a direct anſwere within three dayes. Frõ thence he went to Luſerne, & cauſed the houſholders, with great threatninges, to aſſemble thẽ ſelues before certein by hym appoynted: but they with one aſſent perſiſted in their former confeſſion. And leaſt they ſhould ſeeme ſtubberne in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they deſired that their confeſſion might be ſent to all the Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and if the ſame in any part, by the worde of God were diſproued, it ſhould be immediately amended: but contrarywiſe, if that were not done, then they to be no more diſquieted.

The Preſident not content with this, the next mornyng ſent for ſixe of Angrongne by hym named, & for two out of

The Angronians required to bring in their miniſters and Schoolemaſters

euery other pariſhe, the whiche he and the Gentlemen of the countrey threatned very ſore, and warned twelue of the chiefe of Angrongne, and certaine of the other pariſhes, to appeare perſonally at the Parlament of Thurin, and to bring before the Judges of the ſaid Parlament, their miniſters and ſcholemaiſters, thinking if they were once baniſhed the countrey, that then their enterpriſe might ſoone be brought to an ende. To the whiche it was anſweared, that they could not, nor ought not to obey ſuch a commaundement.

Proclamation made at Angrogne.

A litle while after, proclamation was made in euerye place, that no man ſhoulde receiue any preacher commyng from Geneua, but onely ſuche as were appoynted by the Archbiſhop of Thurin, and other his officers, vpon paine of confiſcation of their goodes, and loſſe of their liues, and that euery one ſhould obſerue the ceremonies, rites, and religion vſed in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the foreſaid preachers of Geneua came into thoſe quarters, that they ſhould immediately be apprehended, and by no meanes their abode there by any one to be concealed, vpon the paine aforeſaide. And furthermore, the names of thoſe which ſhould diſcloſe any one of them, ſhould be kept ſecrete, and alſo for their accuſation, they ſhould haue the third part of the goodes confiſcated, with a full pardon, if that the ſaid accuſers were any of thoſe which priuily dyd keepe or mainteine the ſaid miniſters: and that they and al other, which would returne to their mother the Churche, might freely and ſafely come and recant before the ſaid commiſſioners.

The Germans make ſupplication for the Angronians.

At the ſame ſeaſon the princes of Germanie, and certaine of the Suitzers ſent vnto the French king, deſiring hym to haue pitie on the foreſaid Churches, and from that tyme vntyl thre yeares after, the people of the foreſaid valleyes were not moleſted by any of the kinges officers: but yet they were ſore vexed by the monkes of Pignerol, and the Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin.

Geffray Varialla Martyr.

About that time a miniſter of Angrongne named Geffray Varialla, borne in Piemont, a vertuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to viſite certaine churches in thoſe quarters where he was borne, and commyng homeward, was taken at Berge, and from thence led to Thurin, where he after he had made a good cõfeſſion of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and the terrour of the aduerſaries, moſt conſtantly ſuffred.

A notable example of a good hangman.

A fewe dayes after, a miniſter of the valley of Luſerne returning to Geneua, was taken priſoner at Suſe, & ſone after ſent to Thurin, and with an inuincible conſtancie made his confeſſion before thoſe of the Parlament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman at the time of execution fained him ſelfe to be ſicke, and ſo conueied him ſelfe away. And ſo likewiſe an other ſerued them, being appointed by the foreſaid Court, to execute the poore miniſter. It is credibly reported, that the hangman which executed certaine Germanes a litle afore, would by no meanes do this execution. Wherupon the miniſter was ſent to priſon againe, where after long & painful endurance, ſeing the priſon doore open, he eſcaped, and returned to his cure.

The Pope ſtyrreth vp the Duke of Sauoy againſt the Angronians.

Nowe foure yeares being paſt, in ſuch manner as we haue hytherto touched in this ſtorie, in the yeare folowing, which was. 1559. there was a peace concluded betweene the French king, and the king of Spaine. Whereupon the countrey of Piemont, (certaine townes excepted) was reſtored to the Duke of Sauoy: vnder whoſe regiment the foreſaid Churches, and all other faythfull people in Piemont, continued in great quietnes, and were not moleſted: and the Duke hym ſelfe was content to ſuffer them to liue in their religion, knowing that he had no ſubiectes more faythfull and obedient then they were. But Satan hating al quietnes, by his miniſters ſtyrred the Duke againſt the ſaid Churches of Piemont, his own natural ſubiects. For the Pope and the Cardinalles ſeeing the good inclination of the Duke towardes this people, incenſed hym to doo that, whiche otherwiſe he would not. The Popes Legate alſo whiche then folowed the Court, and other that fauoured the Church of Rome, laboured by al meanes to perſwade the Duke, that he ought to baniſhe the ſaide Waldoys, which mainteined not the Popes religion: alleging that he could not ſuffer ſuch a people to dwell within his dominion, without preiudice and diſhonour to the Apoſtolique See. Alſo that they were a rebellious people againſt the holy ordinaunces and decrees of their holy mother the Church. And briefly that he might no longer ſuffer the ſaid people, being ſo diſobedient & ſtubberne againſt the holy father, if he would in deede ſhew him ſelfe a louing and obedient ſonne.

Such deuiliſh inſtigations were the cauſe of theſe horrible and furious perſecutions, wherwith this poore people of the valleyes and the countrey of Piemont was ſo long vexed. And becauſe they foreſawe the great calamities which they were like to ſuffer: to find ſome remedy for the ſame (if it were poſſible) al the ſaid Churches of Piemont, with one common conſent wrote to the Duke, declaring in effect, that the onely cauſe why they were ſo hated, and for the which he was by their enemies ſo ſore incenſed againſt them, was their religion: which was no newe or light opinion, but that wherein they and their auncitours had long continued, being wholy grounded vpon the infallible woord of God, conteined in the olde and newe Teſtament. Notwithſtanding if it might be proued by the ſame word, that they held any falſe or erroneous doctrine, they would ſubmit them ſelues to be reformed, with all obedience. But it is not certaine whether this aduertiſement was deliuered vnto the Duke, or no: for it was ſaid, that he would not heare of that religion. But howe ſo euer it was, in the moneth of March folowing, there was great perſecution raiſed againſt the poore Chriſtians, whiche were at Carignan. Amongeſt whom there were certaine godly perſons taken, & burnt within foure dayes after, that is to ſay, one named Mathurin, and his wife, and John de Carquignan, dwelling in the valley of Luſerne, taken priſoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman dyed with great conſtancie. The good man, John de Carquignã had ben in priſõ diuers times before for religiõ, and was alwaies deliuered by gods ſingular grace & prouidẽce. But ſeeing him ſelfe taken this laſt tyme, incontinent he ſaid, he knewe that God had nowe called hym. Both by the way as he went, and in priſon, and alſo at his death, he ſhewed an inuincible conſtancie, and marueilous vertue, aſwel by the pure confeſſion which he made touching the doctrine of ſaluation, as alſo in ſuffering with pacience the horrible tormentes which he endured both in priſon, and alſo at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great crueltie, and fearing man alſo more then God, looking rather to the earth, then vnto heauen, conſented to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Mathurin and his wife John de Carquignan, Martyrs.

Perſecution beginneth in the Walleys.

Within fewe dayes after, theſe Churches of the ſayde Waldoys, that is to ſay, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suſe were woonderfully aſſaulted. To recite al the outrage, crueltie, and villanie that was there cõmitted, it were too long: for breuities ſake we wyl recite onely certaine of the principal and beſt knowen. The Churches of Meane & Suſe ſuffered great afflictions. Their miniſter was taken amongſt other. Many fled away, and their houſes and goodes were ranſackt and ſpoyled. The Miniſter was a good & a faithful ſeruaunt of God, and endued with excellent gyftes and graces, who in the ende was put to moſte ſhamefull and cruell death. The great pacience whiche he ſhewed in the myddes of the fire, greatly aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. Likewiſe the Churches of Larche and Meronne were marueilouſly tormented and afflicted. For ſome were taken and ſent to the Galleys, other ſome conſented & yeelded to the aduerſaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly knowen, that thoſe which yeelded to the aduerſaries, were more cruelly hãdled then the others which continued conſtant in the truth. Wherby God declareth howe greatly he deteſteth all ſuch as play the Apoſtataes, and ſhrinke from the truth.

The Miniſter of Meane, Martyr.

Gods ſecret iudgementes vpon them that ſhrinke from hys truth.

But for the better vnderſtanding of the beginnyng of this horrible perſecution againſt the Waldoys, here note, that firſt of all proclamations were made in euery place, that none ſhould reſort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but ſhould liue after the cuſtome of the Church of Rome, vpon paine of forfaiture of their goodes, and to be condemned to the Galleyes for euer, or looſe their liues. Three of the moſt cruel perſons that could be founde, were appoynted to execute this cõmiſſion. The firſt was one Thomas Jacomel, a Monke, and Inquiſitour of the Romiſh faith: a man woorthy for ſuche an office, for he was an Apoſtata, and had renounced the knowen truth, and perſecuted mortally and maliciouſly the poore Chriſtians, agaynſte his owne conſcience, and of ſet purpoſe, as his bookes do ſufficiently witnes. He was alſo a whoremonger, and geuen ouer to al other villanies and filthy liuyng, and in the horrible ſinne of Sodomitrie, which he cõmonly vſed, he paſſed al his felowes. Briefly he was nothing els but a miſſhapen monſter both againſt God and nature. Moreouer, he ſo afflicted and tormented the poore captiues of the ſayd Waldoys, by ſpoyling, robbery, and extortion, that he deſerued not onely to be hanged, but to be broken vpon yͤ wheele a hundred tymes, and to ſuffer ſo many cruell deathes, if it were poſſible: ſo great, ſo many, and ſo horrible were the crimes that he had committed.

Cruell perſecutors.

Thomas Jacomell a cruell Apoſtata.

The rigorous handeling of the Waldoys.

The ſeconde was the Collaterall Corbis, who in the examination of the priſoners, was very rigorous & cruell. for he onely demaunded of them whether they would go to the maſſe, or be burnt within three dayes, and in very deede execu-

Martyrs.

executed his ſayinges. But it is certainly reported, that he ſeeing the conſtancie, and hearing the confeſſion of the poore martyrs, feeling a remorſe, and tormented in conſcience, proteſted that he would neuer meddle any more.

The thirde was the Prouoſt de la Juſtice, a cruell and craftie wretche, accuſtomed to apprehende the poore Chriſtians either by night, or early in the mornyng, or in the high way going to the market, and was cōmonly lodged in the valley of Luſerne, or there aboutes. Thus the poore people were alwayes as the ſeely ſheepe in the Wolues iawes, or as the ſheepe which are ledde vnto the ſlaughter houſe.

The cruell Monkes of Pignerol.

At that ſeaſon one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Luſerne, and one of the Lordes of Angrongne, wrote to the ſaide Commiſſioners, to vſe ſome lenitie towardes them of the valley of Luſerne. By reaſon wherof, they were a while more gently entreated then the reſt. At that ſeaſon the monkes of Pignerol, & their aſſociates tormented greeuouſly the churches neare about them. They tooke the poore Chriſtians as they paſſed by the way, and kept them priſoners within their Abbey. And hauyng aſſembled a company of Ruffians, they ſent them to ſpoyle thoſe of the ſaid churches, and to take priſoners, mē, womē and children, and ſome they ſo tormented, that they were cōpelled to ſweare, to returne to the maſſe, other ſome alſo they ſent to the Galleys, and other ſome they burnt cruelly. They which eſcaped, were afterwardes ſo ſicke, that they ſemed to haue ben poyſoned. The ſame yere there wet two great earthquakes in Piemont, and alſo many great tempeſtes and horrible thunders.

Martyrs.

Charles Truchet, & Boniface his brother, two cruell perſecuters.

The Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin, intreated their tennauntes very cruelly, threatning them, and commaunding them to returne vnto the Maſſe, alſo ſpoylyng them of their goodes, impriſoning them, and vexing them by al yͤ meanes they could. But aboue al yͤ other, two eſpecially, that is to ſay, Charles Truchet and Boniface his brother, the which the ſecond day of April before day, with a company of Ruffians, ſpoyled a village of their own ſubiectes, named Renclaret, the which as ſoone as the inhabitauntes of the ſaid village perceiued, they fled into the mountaine couered with ſnowe, naked and without victual, and there remained vntill the thirde night after. In the morning certaine of his retinue tooke a miniſter of the ſaid valley priſoner, which was come out of Calabria, and was going to viſite the poore people of Renclaret, and led hym priſoner to the Abbey, where ſoone after he was burnt, with one other of the valley of S. Martin.

A Miniſter of Calabria burnt.

Gods people reſcued.

The third night after, they of Pragela hauing pity vpō the poore people of Renclaret, ſent about .iiij. hūdred to diſcomfite the companie of the Truchets, and to reſtore thoſe which were fled to their houſes. They were furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſhot of their enemies, who notwithſtanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the foure hundred hurt.

About a yere before, the ſaid Truchet being accōpanied with a company of ruffians, arreſted priſoner the miniſter of Renclaret, as he was at his Sermon. But the people was ſo moued by this outragious dealing, and ſpecially the women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled the ſaid Truchet, and the reſt of them were ſo canuaſed, that they had no liſt to come there againe any more. By reaſon whereof he ſo vexed them by proceſſe, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him .xvi. hundred crownes.

A Miniſter of the valley of Renclaret, taken and wounded.

Soone after the lordes of the ſaid valley tooke another miniſter of the ſame valley, as he was going to preach in a pariſh, a mile frō his houſe: but the people perceiuyng that, ſpeedily purſued hym, and tooke him. The enemies ſeeing that they were not able to leade him away, wounded hym ſo ſore, that they leaft him for dead. Wherupon they ſo perſecuted the poore people, that they were almoſt deſtroyed.

False complaintes brought to the Duke, agaynſt the Waldoys.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſame night in the whiche the company of Truchet was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormie and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that countrey were ſo terrified, that they thought they ſhoulde haue bene al deſtroyed. Wherefore they vſed more gentlenes towardes the people thē before, except Charles Truchet, & his brother, the whiche went to the Duke, and made greeuous complaintes againſt the Waldoys, not onely for that whiche was done and paſt, but alſo perſwaded the Duke, that they went about to buylde three Fortreſſes in the mountaines, and alſo intended to mainteine certaine garriſons of ſtrangers: charging thē further with diuers other crimes, of the whiche they were in no point giltie. The Duke being moued by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gaue in charge to the ſaide accuſers, and the Fortreſſe of the valley of S. Martin, the which about twentie yeare before was raſed by the Frenchmen, ſhould be built againe, and that therin ſhould be placed a perpetual garriſon, and that the people ſhoulde make ſo plaine and wide the rugged wayes, that horſemen might eaſily paſſe, with diuers ſuch other thinges: and all this to be done at the coſtes & charges of thoſe that would not ſubmit them ſelues to the obedience of the Romane Church.

What euill reporters doe.

This commiſſion being ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the Fortreſſe to be built againe, and put therein a garriſon, and proclaymed the commiſſion. The poore people beyng thereat amaſed, withſtoode the Commiſſioners, and ſent certaine to the Duke: and immediatly after the Commiſſioners returned to the Dukes Court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more againſt them. But God ſoone preuented this miſchiefe: For the Truchets being at Nice, went to the ſea, with diuers noble men, and immediately they were taken priſoners by the Turkes, put into the Galleyes, ſore beaten with ropes, and ſo cruelly handled, that it was cōmonly reported that they were dead: & long tyme after denying their nobilitie, were ſet home, hauyng paid foure hundred crownes for their ranſome. Some ſay, that the Duke himſelfe was almoſt taken, but it is ſure that he fell ſicke ſoone after.

The iuſte iudgement of God vpō the Truchets, for ſo cruelly vexing, ſpoyling and accuſing of theſe poore Waldoys.

In the moneth of April next folowing, the Lord of Raconis was preſent at a Sermon, in a place neare vnto Angrongne. The ſermon being ended, he talked with the miniſters, and hauing diſcourſed as wel of the Dukes ſickenes, as alſo of his clemencie and gentlenes, he declared to them, that the perſecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the cōmiſſion ſhould haue bene ſo rigorouſly executed. After that he demaunded of thē, what way they thought beſt to appeaſe the Dukes wrath. They anſwered, that the people ought not to be moued to ſeeke by any meanes, howe to pleaſe & appeaſe the Duke, which might diſpleaſe God. But the beſt way they knewe, was the ſame, wherwith the auncient ſeruantes of God, vſed to appeaſe the Pagane Princes and Emperours, in the tyme of the great perſecutions of the Church, that is to ſay, to geue out and preſent vnto them in writing, the cōfeſſion of their fayth, and defence of the religion which they profeſſed: truſting that for as muche as the furie of diuers prophane and Ethnike Emperours and princes haue ben heretofore appeaſed by ſuch meanes, the Duke being endued with ſuch ſingular vertues, as they ſaid he was, would alſo be pacified by the like meanes: And for that cauſe the poore people had before ſent a ſupplication, with a confeſſion of their fayth, vnto the Duke, but they were not certaine whether he had receiued it, or no. Wherefore they deſired hym to preſent the ſame vnto the ſaid Duke hym ſelfe. Wherunto he agreed & promiſed ſo to do. Wherupon they ſent three ſupplications: one to the Duke, the ſecond to the Duches, and the third to yͤ Dukes counſel, wherin they briefely declared what their religion was, and the pointes thereof, whiche they and their aunceters had of a long time obſerued, beyng wholy grounded vpon the pure word of God: and if by the ſame word it ſhould be proued, that they were in error, they would not be obſtinate, but gladly be reformed, & embrace the trueth. After this the perſecutiō ſeemed to be ſomwhat aſſwaged for a litle while.

By what meanes the Chriſtians in times paſt, haue appeaſed the fury of Pagane princes.

The Angronians ſend forth three ſupplications.

In the ende of June next folowing, the Lorde of Raconis, and the Lord of Trinitie came to Angrongne, there to qualifie (as they ſaide) the ſore perſecution, and cauſed the chiefe Rulers and Miniſters to aſſemble together, propounding diuers poyntes of religion concernyng Doctrine, the calling of Miniſters, the Maſſe, and obedience towardes Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared vnto them that their confeſſion was ſent to Rome by the Duke, and dayly they looked for anſweare. To all theſe pointes the Miniſters anſweared. After this they demaunded of the chiefe Rulers, if that the Duke woulde cauſe Maſſe to be ſong in their Pariſhes, whether they woulde withſtande the ſame, or no. They anſweared ſimply that they would not. Then they demaunded of them if that the Duke woulde appoynt them Prachers, whether they woulde receiue them. They anſweared that if they preached the woord of God purely, they would heare them. Thirdly, if that they were content, that in the meane tyme their Miniſters ſhoulde ceaſe, and if they whiche ſhoulde be ſent, preached not the woorde of God ſincerely, then their Miniſters to preache againe. If they woulde agree to this, they were promiſed that the perſecution ſhoulde ceaſe, and the priſoners ſhoulde be reſtored agayne. To this queſtion, after they had conferred with the people, they aunſweared, that they coulde by no meanes ſuffer that their Miniſters ſhould forbeare preaching.

The confeſſion of the Angronians ſent to the Pope.

Demaundes put to the Angronians.

The two Lordes not contented with this anſweare, commaunded in the Dukes name, that all the Miniſters whiche were ſtraungers, ſhoulde out of hande be baniſhed the countrey: ſaying, that the Duke woulde not

The Angronians denye to put away their miniſters.

ſuffer them to dwell within his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demaunding alſo whether they would foſter and mainteine the princes enemies within his owne lande againſt his owne decree and expreſſe commaundement? To the whiche, anſweare was made by the chiefe Rulers, that they coulde by no meanes baniſhe them, vnleſſe they were afore conuicted of ſome hereſie, or other crime: for their part, they had alwayes found them to be men of pure and ſound doctrine, and alſo of godly life and conuerſation.

The Monkes of Pignerol cruell againſt the Angronians.

The Miniſter of S. Germain betrayed & taken.

This done, immediatly proclamations were made, and the perſecution beganne on euery ſide to be more furious then it was afore. Amongeſt others the Monkes of Pignerol at that tyme were moſt cruell: for they ſent out a companye of hyred Ruffians, whiche dayly ſpoyled and ranſackt houſes, and all that they coulde laye handes of, tooke men, women, and children, and led them captiues to the Abbey, where they were moſt ſpitefully afflicted and tormented. At the ſame tyme they ſent alſo a bande of the ſayde Ruffians by night, to the Miniſters houſe of S. Germain, in the valley of Perouſe, being led thyther by a traytour whiche knewe the houſe, and had vſed to haunt thyther ſecretely: who knocking at the doore, the Miniſter knowing his voyce, came forth immediatly, and perceiuyng him ſelfe to be betrayed, fledde: but he was ſoone taken and ſore wounded, and yet notwithſtanding they pricked hym behinde with their halbardes, to make hym haſten his paſe. At that time alſo many they ſlue, many they hurt, and many alſo they brought to the Abbey, & there kept them in priſon and cruelly handled them. The good miniſter endured ſore impriſonment, and after that a moſt terrible kind of death, with a wonderfull conſtancie: For they roſted him by a ſmall fire: and when halfe his body was burnt, he confeſſed and called vpon the Lord Ieſus, with a loude voyce.

Barbarous crueltie ſhewed againſt the good Miniſter of S. Germain.

Two women compelled to cary fagots to burne their paſtor.

The Inquiſitour Iacomel, with his Monkes, and the Collaterall Corbis, amongeſt other, ſhewed one practiſe of moſte barbarous crueltie againſte this poore man. Who when he ſhould be burnt, cauſed two poore women of S. Germain) which they kept in priſon) to cary fagottes to the fire, and to ſpeake theſe wordes to their Paſtour: take thys, thou wicked hereticke, in recompence of thy naughty doctrine, which thou haſt taught vs. To whom the good Miniſter aunſwered: Ah good women, I haue taught you well, but you haue learned ill. To be briefe, they ſo afflicted and tormented thoſe poore people of Saint Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were ſpoyled of their goods, and driuen from their houſes, they were compelled to flie into the mountaine to ſaue their liues. So great was the ſpoyle of this poore people, that many which before had bene men of much wealth and with their riches had miniſterd great ſuccour and comfort to others, were now brought to ſuch miſery, that they were compelled to craue ſuccour and reliefe of other.

Whether it be lawfull for the perſecuted people of Chriſt, to ſtand to their owne defence.

Now, for as much as the ſayd Monkes, wyth their troupes of ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made ſuch ſpoyle and hauocke in all the countrey, that no man could there liue in ſafetie: it was demaunded of the Miniſters, whether it was lawfull to defend themſelues, agaynſt the inſolencie and furious rage of the ſayde Ruffians. The Miniſters aunſwered, that it was lawfull, warnyng them in any caſe, to take heede of bloudſhed. This queſtion being once diſſolued, they of the valley of Luſerne and of Angrongne, ſent certayne men to them of S. Germain, to ayde them agaynſt the ſupporters of theſe Monkes.

Mirabilia Dei.

In the moneth of Iune, the harueſt beyng then in Picmont, diuers of the Waldoys were gone into the countrey, to reape and make prouiſion for corne, for very litle groweth vpon their mountaynes: the which were all taken priſoners at ſundry tymes and places, not one knowing of an other: but yet God ſo wrought, that they all eſcaped out of priſon, as it were by a myracle: whereat the aduerſaries were marueilouſly aſtoniſhed. At the ſame tyme, there were certayne other alſo, which had ſuſteyned long impriſonment, lookyng for nothing els but death: and yet they after a wonderfull ſort, by Gods mercifull prouidence were likewiſe deliuered.

Victory of the Angronians ouer their enemies.

In the moneth of Iuly, they of Angrongne, beyng in a mornyng at harueſt, vpon the hill ſide of S. Germain, perceiued a company of ſouldiours ſpoylyng them of S. Germaine: & doubtyng leaſt they would go to Angrõgne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrongne aſſembled together vpon the mountayne, and ſome ranne to S. Germain ouer the hill, & ſome by the valley. They which went by the valley, mette with the ſpoylers commynge from S. Germain, loden wyth ſpoyle, which they had gotten, and being but 50. ſet vpon the other, amountyng to the number of 120. men well appoynted, and gaue them ſoone the ouerthrow. The paſſage ouer the bridge beyng ſtopped, the enemyes were faine to take the riuer of Cluzon, where diuers were ſore hurt, many were drowned, & ſome eſcaped very hardly: and ſuch a ſlaughter was made of them, that the riuer was dyed with the bloud of them, which were wounded and ſlayne, but none of the Angrõgnians were once hurt. If the ſayd riuer had bene as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man eſcaped alyue. The noyſe of the harquebuſhes was great, and within leſſe then one houres ſpace, there was three or foure hundreth of the Waldoys, gathered together vpon the riuer: and at the ſame tyme, they had purpoſed to fetch away their priſoners, which were in the Abbey, but they would not do it without the counſaile of their Miniſters, and ſo differred the matter vntill the nexte day: But their miniſters counſailed them, not to enterpriſe any ſuch thing: but to refraine themſelues, and ſo they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incõtinent, after that diſcomfiture, vnto the Abbey: they might haue found all open, and eaſly haue entred: For the Monkes were ſo ſore afrayde, that they fled ſodenly to Pignerol to ſaue their reliques and Images, which they caryed thether. The reſt of the countrey about, were wonderfully afrayde, & range the belles euery where. The greater part of them fledde, doubting leaſt the poore Waldoys would haue reuẽged the wronges and outrages done vnto them.

The commaunder of S. Anthony ſent to Angrongne.

Miſſa falſly deriued out of the Hebrue.

Diſputation about the Maſſe.

The next day folowyng, the Commaunder of Saint Anthony de Foſſan came to Angrõgne, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, ſaying that he was ſent by the Duke: and hauyng aſſembled the chiefe Rulers and Miniſters of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luſerne, after he had declared vnto them the cauſe of hys commyng, he read their ſupplication directed to the Duke, which conteyned their confeſſion, demaundyng of them, if it were the ſame, which they had ſent to the Duke. They aunſwered, yea. Then he began to diſpute, being ſent (as he ſayd) to informe them of their errours, not doubting, but they would amende, accordyng to their promiſe. Then he entred into a diſputation of the Maſſe, in a great heat, deriuing the ſame frõ the Hebrue word Maſſa, which ſignified (as he ſuppoſed) cõſecration, and ſhewed that this word Miſſa, might be found in auncient writers. The Miniſters aunſwered that he ill applyed the Hebrue worde: and further, that they diſputed not of the word Miſſa, but of that which is ſignified by the ſame, the which he ought firſt to proue by the worde of God. Briefly that he could not proue either by the word of God, or the auncient fathers, their priuate Maſſe, their ſacrifice expiatorie or propiciatorie, their tranſubſtantiation, their adoration, their application of the ſame for the quicke and the dead, and ſuch other matters, which are principall partes of the ſayd Maſſe. The Commaunder hauing here nothyng to reply, fell into a marueilous color, rayling and raging as if he had bene ſtarke madde, and tolde them that he was not come to diſpute, but to baniſhe their miniſters, and to place others in their roumes, by yͤ Dukes cõmaundement, which he could not, vnleſſe their Miniſters were firſt driuen out of the countrey.

The poore inhabitants of the valley of Luſerne, taken priſoners.

The Councell of Conſtance geueth leaue to breake promiſe with al ſuch as they take to be heretickes.

Nothing proued by the worde of God agaynſt the Waldoys.

From thence he went to the Abbey of Pigneroll, where he and Iacomell cauſed a number of the poore inhabitants of Campillon, and of Fenil, which be of the valley of Luſerne, to be taken priſoners, ſpoyling them of their goods, driuing away their cattell, and forcing them to ſweare and forſweare, & in the end raunſomed them, for great ſummes of money. About that tyme, a gentleman of Campillon agreed with thoſe which were fled, for xxx. crownes to be payde vnto hym out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, ſo that they remayned quiet at home. But when he had receaued the money, he cauſed the Commaunder of Foſſan wyth hys men, by night to come to his houſe, and then ſent for the poore men thynking traiterouſly to haue deliuered them into the hāds of their mortall enemie, folowing therein the Decree of the Councell of Conſtance: which is, that no promiſe is to be kept with heretickes. But God knowing how to ſuccour his, in their neceſſitie preuented this daunger: for one of them had intelligence of the Commaunders comming, and ſo they all fled. Thereupon they went to the Lord of Raconis, declaring vnto him the proceedinges of the Cõmaunder, and that he neither would nor could ſhewe or proue any thing by the word of God, as he had promiſed: but threatned them great wronges and iniuries, and would not ſuffer their Miniſters to replye, or ſay any thing for the defence of their cauſe: and therfore they deſired him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the Dukes grace, to the ende that he ſhould not be offended, if they perſiſted ſtill in their religion, ſeyng it was not proued vnto them, by any reaſon taken out of the Scripture, that they had erred.

After thys, there were many commaundementes and iniunctions geuen out through all the countrey, to baniſhe theſe poore Waldoys, wyth the doctrine of the Goſpell (if it were poſſible) out of the mountaynes and Valleyes of Piemont: But the poore people ſtill deſired that, accordyng to that, which they had ſo often before proteſted by word and wrytyng, they myght be ſuffered to ſerue God purely, accordyng to the rule preſcribed in hys worde: ſimply obeying their Lord and Prince alwayes and in all thinges. Notwithſtandyng they were ſtill vexed and tormented wyth all the crueltie that could be deuiſed, as partly it is already declared: but much more you ſhall perceiue by that which foloweth.

In the end of October next folowing, the rumor went that an armye was leuying to deſtroy them, and in verye deede there were certeine bandes leuyed, ready to march at an houres warnyng. Furthermore, thoſe malefactours which heretofore were fled, or baniſhed for any offence or crime committed, were called home agayne, and pardoned of altogether, ſo that they would take them to their weapons, and go to deſtroy the Waldoys. The Miniſters and chiefe Rulers of the valleyes of Luſerne and Angrongne, thereupon aſſembled together ofte tymes to take aduiſe what in ſuch an extremitie, were beſt to do. In the end they determined, that for certeine dayes folowing, there ſhoulde be kept a generall faſt, and the Sonday after, a communiō. Alſo that they ſhould not defend themſelues by force of armes, but that euery one ſhould withdraw himſelfe into the hygh mountaynes, and euery one to cary away ſuch goods as he was able to beare: and if their enemyes purſued them thether, then to take ſuch aduiſe and counſell as it pleaſed God to geue them. This Article of not defendyng themſelues, ſeemed very ſtraunge to the people, being driuen to ſuch an extremity, and ẏ cauſe being ſo iuſt. But yet euery one begā to cary their goods and vitayles into the mountaynes, and for the ſpace of eight dayes, all the wayes were filled wyth commers and goers to the mountaynes, like vnto Antes in Sommer, which prouide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexitie & daunger, with a wonderful courage and cherefulnes, prayſing of God and ſinging of Pſalmes, and euery one cōfortyng an other. Briefly, they went with ſuch ioy & alacrity, that you ſhould not haue ſene any, which grudged to leaue their houſes and faire poſſeſſiōs, but were wholy determined patiently to abide the good pleaſure of God, and alſo to dye if he had ſo appoynted.

Barabas deliuered, and Chriſt purſued.

Deliberation among the Waldoys how to defend, and how not to defend them ſelues.

A few dayes after, certeyne other Miniſters hearyng what they of Angrongne & Luſerne had concluded, wrote vnto them, that thys reſolution ſeemed very ſtraunge to ſome, that they ought not to defend themſelues againſt the violence of theyr enemyes, alleadging many reaſons, that in ſuch an extremitie and neceſſitie, it was lawfull for them ſo to doe: eſpecially, the quarell beyng ſo iuſt, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preſeruation of their owne lyues, and the lyues of theyr wyues and children: knowyng that it was the Pope and hys Miniſters which were the cauſe of all theſe troubles and cruel warres, and not the Duke, who was ſtyrred vp therunto onely by their inſtigations: Wherefore they might well and wyth good conſcience, wythſtand ſuch furious and outragious violence. For the proufe hereof, they alſo alleadged certeyne examples.

Whether ſubiectes for religion, may ſtand to their owne defence.

Duryng this ſeaſon, the Lord of Angrongne, named Charles de Comptes of Luſerne, laboured earneſtly by al meanes poſſible, to cauſe them of Angrongne, to condeſcend to the Dukes pleaſure, & ſollicited them to ſend away their Miniſters, promyſing that he would cauſe a Maſſe to be ſong at Angrongne, and that the people ſhould not be compelled to be preſent therat, hoping that by that meanes, the Dukes wrath would be appeaſed. The chief of Angrongne thereupon were aſſembled and made thys aunſwere, that if the duke woulde permit them to chooſe other miniſters, they were content to ſend away their foreine miniſters & ſtraungers. But as touching ẏ Maſſe, his highnes might wel cauſe it to be ſong in their pariſhes, but they for their part, could not with ſafe conſciences, be preſent at ẏ ſame, nor yet geue their conſent vnto it.

The Angronians refuſe to heare maſſe.

The xxij. of October, the ſayde Lord of Angrongne, went from Luſerne, to Mondeuis (where he was then gouernour for the Duke) and ſent for the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, at ſeuerall tymes, declaryng vnto them the great perilles and daungers wherewyth they were enuironed, the armye beyng already at hand: yet promiſing them if they woulde ſubmitte themſelues vnto hym, he would ſend immediatly to ſtay the armye. They of Angrongne aunſwered that they all determined to ſtand to that, which they, two dayes before in their aſſemble, had put in wrytyng. Wyth this aunſwere he ſeemed at that preſent, to be content. The next day the rumor was, that they of Angrongne had ſubmitted them ſelues to the duke. On the morowe, which was ſonday, you ſhould haue ſeene nothing but weeping, and mourning in Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the miniſters and the people, the whiche affirmed, that they wholy cleaued vnto their former wryting, & they ſēt ſecretly to the Notary, for the copie of that whiche was paſſed in the counſaile houſe, at their laſt aſſemble before the Lorde De Comptes: in the whiche was compriſed, that Angrongne had wholy ſubmitted her ſelfe to the good pleaſure of the Duke. The people hearing that, were ſore aſtoniſhed, and proteſted rather to dye, then obey the ſame, and thereupon it was agreed, that at that very inſtaunt, (albeit it were very late) certayne ſhoulde be ſent to the Lord of Angrongne, to ſignifie vnto hym, that the determination of the Councell was falſified, and that it might pleaſe hym, the next mornyng to come to Angrongne, to heare the voyces of the people, not onely of the men, but alſo of the women and children. But he him ſelfe went not thyther, (hauing intelligence of the vproare) but ſent thyther the Iudge of that place. Then that whiche had bene falſified, was duly corrected, the Iudge laying al the blame vpon the Notary.

The determination ẏ aunſwere of the Angronians, was falſified.

During this time, the aduerſaries cryed out through al the Countrey of Piemont, To the fire with them, to the fire with them. The Thurſday after, Angrongne, by proclamations and wrytinges ſet vp in euery place, was expoſed to the fire and ſworde. On Friday after, being the ſeconde, of Nouember, the armye approched to the borders of the Valley of Luſerne, and certayne horſemen came to a place called S. Iohn, a litle beneath Angrongne. Then the people retired into the moūtaines. Certain of S. Iohn perceiuing that the horſmen not onely ſpoyled their goods, but alſo tooke their felowes priſoners, ſet vpon them. It is not certaine what number of the enemies were there ſlaine: but ſodenly they retired to Bubiane, where their campe then was, and not one of them of S. Iohn was ſlaine or hurt. It happened at the ſame tyme, that two of the foreſaid horſmen being ſore amaſed, galoped before the reſt, towardes the army, being readye to marche towardes Angrongne, crying, they come, they come. At whoſe cry the whole army was ſo aſtoniſhed, that euery mā fled his way, and they were al ſo ſcattered, that the Captaines that day were not able to bring thē in order agayne, and yet no creature folowed them.

Open proclamation againſt Angrongne.

Senacharib fyed from the face of Iſraell.

On the Saterday in the mornyng, the army muſtered in the medowe grounde of S. Iohn, neare to Angrongne. They of Angrongne had ſent certaine to kepe the paſſages, and ſtoppe the army, that they ſhoulde not enter, if it were poſſible. In the meane ſeaſon the people retyred into the medowe of Tower, and litle thought of the commyng of the armye ſo ſoone, or that they would haue made ſuch a ſoden aſſault, for they were yet carying of victualles and other ſtuffe: ſo that fewe of them kept the paſſages. Now they which kept ẏ ſtraites, perceiuyng that their enemies prepared them ſelues to fight, fel downe vpon their knees, & made their prayers vnto God, that it would pleaſe hym to take pitie vpon them, and not to looke vpon their ſinnes, but to the cauſe which they maintayned: to turne the hartes of their enemies, and ſo to worke, that there might be no effuſion of bloud: and if it were his wyll to take them, with their wiues and infantes, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receiue them into his kingdome. In this ſort moſt feruent prayers were made of al thoſe that kept the paſſages, with exhortation that they ſhoulde altogether crye vnto God, and craue his ſuccour & aſſiſtaunce in this great diſtreſſe. Al this the Lord of Trinitie and the army dyd wel perceiue.

The prayer of the Angronians.

Their prayers thus ended, ſodenly they perceyued their enemies commyng towardes them, through the vines, to wynne the top of the mountaine of Angrongne. In the meane tyme the Prior of S. Iohn, and Iacomel, were within the temple of Angrongne, and cōmuned with the Rulers touching an agreement. Theſe were ſent thither by the Lord of Trinitie, to keepe the people occupyed. To be ſhort, the combat began in diuers places, and endured for a long ſpace in ẏ paſſages of Angrongne. The poore Waldoys (beyng but fewe in number, and ſome of them hauyng but ſlynges and croſſebowes) were ſore preſſed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retyred to the top of the mounteyne, where they defended them ſelues vntyl night.

A combate betwene the Lords of Trinitie, and the Waldoys.

When they had found a place where they might withſtand their enemies ſtyll purſuyng them, they turned them ſelues, and ſlue diuers of them, and hurt many. When the euenyng came, the enemies reſted, and were about to encampe them ſelues, there to ſuppe and lodge all night. Which thyng, when the Angrongnians perceiued, they fell

Behold the polecye of this poore people.

Gods holy helpe in tyme of neede.

to prayer, deſiryng God to aſſiſt and ſuccour them: but the enemies flouted them, and laughed them to ſcorne. Then the poore people deuiſed to ſend a drumme into a litle valley harde by. And as they were makyng their prayers vnto God, and the drumme ſoūded in the valley, the lord of Trinitie cauſed his ſouldiers whiche were about to encampe them ſelues, to remoue thence: which was a great vauntage to the poore people, whiche nowe were ſore wearied with trauaile, al wet with ſweatyng, and very thyrſtye, & in great peryll, if God had not geuen them ſome litle breathyng tyme. Many of the enemies that day were ſlayne, & many hurt, of the whiche very fewe eſcaped. In ſo muche that they reported that the ſhot was poyſoned, which this poore ſimple people neuer vſed to do, in al theſe warres. Of the Angrongnians, that daye there were but three ſlaine, and one hurt, whiche afterwardes was well healed againe. This combat gaue greate courage to the Waldoys, and ſore aſtoniſhed the aduerſaries. The ſame tyme the army retyryng, burnt many houſes, and made greate ſpoyle as they went, deſtroying alſo the wynes whiche were in the preſſes.

Gods ſecret iudgment in helping his, and puniſhing his enemies.

The ſayd Lord of Trinitie, with his army, camped in a village beyond Tour, in the valley of Luſerne, at the foot of the hyl, betwene Angrongne and the other townes of the valley of Luſerne, which profeſſed the Goſpel. They of the ſayd village were alwayes ſore againſt ye Waldoys, & haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done agaynſt the profeſſours thereof: but they had their iuſt plague, for they were al deſtroyed. After this the ſayd Lorde of Trinitie cauſed the Fortreſſe to be built agayne, which the French men had raſed, and placed there a garriſon, and after ſent an other to the Forte of Villars, which is of the valley of Luſerne, and an other he ſent to the Fortreſſe of Perouſe, and a fourth garriſon he placed in the Caſtle of S. Martin. They of Angrongne (ſeeyng them ſelues to be nowe as it were in a ſea of troubles) after they had recommended them ſelues vnto God by prayer, and committed their cauſe vnto hym: ſente to them of Perouſe, of S. Martin, and of Pragela, for ayd & ſuccour: which ſent them al the helpe that they were able.

A craftie meſſage of the Lord of Trinitie, to the Angronians.

The next day folowyng, there came letters to Angrongne, from the Lord of Trinitie: The effect whereof was this, that he was ſorye for that whiche was done the day before, and that he came not thyther to make warre againſt them, but onely to viewe if it were a place conuenient, to builde a Fort therein to ſerue the Duke. Furthermore, that his ſouldiers ſeeyng the people aſſembled, as it were, to defie them, vpon that occaſion onely were ſtyrred vp to geue aſſault and to ſet vppon them. Alſo ye he was ſory that ſuche ſpoyle was made of their goodes, and ſuche hurt done by fire. But if they would ſhewe them ſelues obedient to the Duke, he had good hope that al ſhould be wel, and truſted that ſome good agreement ſhoulde be made.

The Angronians annſwere to the meſſage.

The Angrongnians anſwered, that they were marueilouſly agreeued to be ſo aſſaulted, ſpoyled, & tormented by the ſubiectes of their liege and natural prince: and as they had often tymes before offred them ſelues to be more faithful and obedient to their ſoueraigne prince the Duke, then any of al his ſubiectes beſides: ſo yet ſtyll they offered the ſame obedience. Alſo they moſt humbly beſought hym, not
„ to thinke it ſtraunge, if they beyng conſtrayned by ſuch extreme
„ neceſſitie, defended thē ſelues. Finally, as touching
„ their religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of
„ God, euen as it was preached by the Prophetes and Apoſtles:
„ and the ſame which their predeceſſours had obſerued
„ for certaine hundreth yeres paſt. Moreouer, that the cauſe
„ was not concernyng the goodes of the world, but the honour
„ and glory of God, the ſaluation, or deſtruction of the
„ ſoules both of them and theirs, and therfore it were muche
„ better for them to dye al together, then to forſake their religion:
„ and yet if it might be proued vnto them by good demonſtration
„ out of the worde of God, that they were in errour,
„ not by force of armes, by bloud and fire: they woulde
„ then yelde them ſelues with al obedience, moſt humbly beſechyng
„ hym and al other the Lordes of the Countrey of
„ Piemont, to be their interceſſours & aduocates to the duke
in this behalfe.

The towne of Villers aſſaulted.

The towne of Tailleret aſſaulted.

Upon Monday beyng the fourth day of Nouember, the Lorde of Trinitie ſent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The leſſer companye aſcended towarde Villers. The people ſeeing their enemies approching, after they had called vppon God with feruent prayer, ſtrongly defended them ſelues, and ſlue many: many alſo were hurt, and the reſt fled. The other companye aſcended towardes Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army the greater, yet making their prayers vnto God, and commendyng their cauſe vnto hym, they defended them ſelues likewiſe valiauntly.

God geueth victory to his ſeruants.

The iuſt rewarde vpon the Lordes enemies.

In the meane ſeaſon they of Villars being emboldened by their late victorie, came to aſſiſt their neighbours, and beyng aſſembled together, they courageouſly purſued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this purſute it chaunced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poore people, by an ambuſhe of their enemies, whiche came an other way, were ſodēly encloſed on euery ſide, & like to be deſtroied: but yet they all eſcaped, & not one of thē was ſlayne, onely three were hurt, whiche were ſoone cured agayne. On the enemies ſide, there were ſo many ſlayne, that they were layde together by whole cart loades. This was the rewarde of thoſe whiche were ſo deſirous to ſhedde innocent bloud. The ſame daye the inhabitauntes of Manſon neare to Roccapiata, aſſembled in great number together, and went to a riche mans houſe of Roccapiata, and ſpoyled al that he had. Certaine of Roccapiata (in number not paſt xvij.) vnderſtandyng this, ſet vpon them, & ſoone put them to flight, toke away their drumme, and forced them to leaue their bootie behinde them.

Gaſtaut a falſe brother.

Deepe diſſimulation in a craftye Papiſt.

The Duches a fauourer of the Angronians.

After that the Lorde of Trinitie had receyued the letters of the Angrongnians, he ſent vnto them his Secretary, named Chriſtopher Gaſtaut, (which ſaid hym ſelfe, that he fauoured the veritie of the Goſpel) accōpanied with a gentleman of the ſaid valley. Whoſe charge was to cauſe the chiefe rulers to ſend certaine to common with the ſaide L. of Trinitie, ſaying that he had good tydinges to declare vnto them, and moreouer, that he woulde deliuer them a ſafeconduct to come and goe. Whereupon they ſente foure vnto hym, whō he entreated very courteouſly, & rehearſed vnto them, how the Duke at his departure from the court, tolde hym, that although the Pope, the Princes, and Cities of Italie, yea his owne counſel were fully reſolued, that of neceſſitie they of the ſaide religion ſhoulde be deſtroyed, yet notwithſtanding God otherwiſe put in his mynde, and that he had taken counſel of God, what he ſhould do in this matter: that is, that he would vſe them gently. Furthermore, he declared vnto them, that the Duches bare them good affection, and fauoured them very much, and that ſhe had commended their cauſe vnto the Duke, perſwadyng with hym, to haue regard to that poore people, & that their religion was auncient & old, with many ſuch other things. Moreouer they had (ſaide he) great frendes in the Dukes court, not doubting but if they would ſende certaine to the Court with a ſupplication, they ſhould obteyne more, then they them ſelues would require, and he for his part would employe hym ſelfe in their affayres, to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo hee promiſed that hee woulde retyre hym ſelfe with his army. This he ſeemed to ſpeake vnfainedly. The people deſiring but to liue peaceably in their religion, and vnder the obedience of their Prince, were contente to folowe his counſel.

A combate betwene the Angronians and the perſecutors.

The craftie diſſimulation of the Lord of Trinitie.

About this ſeaſon, they of Angrongne perceyued that a part of the army aſcended the hyl of Tailleret (whiche is the halfe waye betweene Angrongne, and thoſe of the valley of Luſerne) and the other parte had alreadye gotten a way, which led to the Medow of Tour, by the which they of Angrongne might eaſily haue bene encloſed. Therefore they ſent certaine immediatly to keepe the way, who ſone after encountered with their enemies, and obteyned the victorie, purſuyng and chaſing them to their Campe, not without greate loſſe of their men. The number of their enemies ſlayne, was not knowen: for their cuſtome was, immediatly to carry away thoſe which were ſlayne. Not one of Angrongne periſhed that daye, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combate woulde haue hyndred the agreement. But the Lorde of Trinitie coulde wel diſſemble this matter, and excuſed that dayes iourney, puttyng the fault vpon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to haue ſlaine certaine of his men in the high way, but amongeſt other, his Barber.

On Saterday folowyng, beyng the nynth of Nouember, the ſayde Lorde of Trinitie ſente agayne for them of Angrongne, to conſult with hym touchyng the agreement, vſing the like communication, as before: and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience, they ſhould cary their armour into two of the houſes of the chiefe Rulers, not fearyng but it ſhoulde be ſafe: for it ſhoulde remayne in their owne keeping, and if neede were, they ſhould receyue it agayne. Alſo that he vpon Sonday (whiche was the next day) would cauſe a Maſſe to be ſong within the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, accompanyed with a very fewe, and thereby the Dukes wrath would be aſſwaged. The next mornyng he went into the temple, (wherat they were ſore agreeued, albeit they coulde not withſtande hym) his army marching afore hym: and hauyng cauſed a Maſſe to be ſong, he deſired to ſee the Medowe of Tour, ſo muche ſpoken of, that thereof he might make a true report vnto the Duke: and thyther the Rulers, with a great

troup

troupe of his owne men, went: the reſidue of his companye remayned behinde, the which ſpoyled certaine houſes, and ſeaſed the armour whiche they had deliuered vp before: but they found no great ſtore, for the people had takē away the greateſt part therof. The ſaide Lord being entred into the Medowe of Tour, the people began to make a commotiō. Whereof he hauyng intelligence, returned immediately. All that daye he ſhewed hym ſelfe very courteous to all whom he mette.

Beholde the double dealing & diſſimulation of the papiſtes to bring their wicked purpoſe to paſſe.

The people in this meane tyme, perceyued them ſelues to be in greate daunger, and were ſore moued at the ſight of the armye, the ſpoyle of the ſouldiours, the takyng away of their armour, but eſpecially because the ſaid Lorde of Trinitie had viewed the Medowe of Tour, foreſeeyng his trayterous meanyng and purpoſe. A few dayes after, the ſayde Lorde of Trinitie ſent his Secretary Gaſtaut to Angrongne, to talke with them concernyng the agreement, and to make a full reſolution thereof: whiche was readde in the aſſemble, by the Secretarye, the ſumme wherof was this: That the people of Angrongne ſubmitted them ſelues to render al honour and reuerence to God, accordyng to his holy worde, and all due obedience to the Duke their ſoueraigne Prince: to whom they ſhould ſend certaine men to demaund pardon of hym, concernyng their bearyng of armour in their extreme neceſſitie, and humbly to beſeech hym that he would ſuffer them to lyue peaceably in their religion, whiche was accordyng to the worde of God, not compellyng them to doo any thyng agaynſte their conſcience: as it appeareth more amply in the ſupplicatiō, whiche after this the Angrongnians made, and cauſed to be read before the Secretary, in the open aſſemble ẏ which here enſueth.

¶To the moſt excellent and worthy prince,
The Duke of Sauoy, &c. our ſoueraigne Lord,
and natural Prince.

The ſupplication of the Angronians to their Duke.

Moſte noble and renowmed prince, we haue ſente certayne of our men vnto your highnes, to geue teſtimonie of our humble, hartie, and vnfayned obedience vnto the ſame, and with al ſubmiſſion, deſire pardon, touchyng the bearyng of armour by certayne of our people in their extreme neceſſitie, and for all other our treſpaſſes, for the which your ſoueraigne grace myght conceyue any offence agaynſt vs.

A lawfull requeſt of the Angronians to liue after Gods word.

Secondly, to deſire in moſte humble wiſe, your ſayde hyghnes, in the name of our Lorde Ieſus, that it woulde pleaſe the ſame, to ſuffer vs to lyue with freedome of conſcience in our religion, whiche alſo is the religion of our auncitours, obſerued for certaine hundreth yeares paſt. And we are perſwaded that it is the pure Goſpell of our Lorde Ieſus, the onely veritie, the woorde of lyfe and ſaluation, whiche we profeſſe. Alſo that it maye pleaſe your moſte gratious clemencie, not to take in yll parte, if we, fearyng to offende and diſpleaſe God, can not conſent vnto certayne traditions and ordinaunces of the Churche of Rome: and herein to haue pitie vppon our poore ſoules, and the ſoules of our children: to the ende that your highnes be not in any wiſe charged in the iuſte iudgemente of God for the ſame, where al men muſt appeare to anſweare for their doynges.

On our part, we proteſt that we will ſeeke nothing but to be the true ſeruauntes of God, to ſerue hym accordyng to his holy woorde: and alſo to be true and loyall ſubiectes to your highnes, and more obedient then any other: beyng alwayes readye to geue our goodes, our bodyes, our lyues, and the lyues of our children, for your noble grace, as alſo our religion teacheth vs to doo: onely we deſire that our ſoules may be left at libertie, to ſerue God accordyng to his holy worde.

And we your poore humble ſubiectes, ſhall moſt hartily pray our God and father, for the good and long proſperitie of your highnes: for the moſt vertuous Ladye your wyfe, and for the noble houſe of Sauoy.

The wretched dealing of the Lord of Trinitie, agaynſt thē of Tailleret.

To this ſupplication, they of S. Iohn, of Roccapiata, of S. Bartholomewe, and of Perouſe, with thoſe of the valley of Luſerne, dyd agree: For it was concluded, that the agreement made, ſhoulde extende to al the confederates of the ſame religion. Whiles they were treatyng of this agreement, the Lorde of Trinitie vexed cruelly, them of Tailleret, vnder thys pretence, because they had not preſented themſelues, to treate of thys agreement. He tormented them after thys ſort. Firſt he commaunded that all their armour ſhoulde be brought before hym, and then they, on theyr knees, ſhoulde aſke him pardon, because they came not to treate of the agreement wyth the reſt: which notwythſtanding the moſt part of them dyd. Then he commaunded them, to attende vppon hym, to enrolle all the names of thoſe, which woulde be of the foreſayde agreement. Wherupon the next mornyng, the chiefe of the houſholders went to the village named Bouuets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard the Sermon, and called vpon God, they beganne to write their names. The enrollyng of their names not beyng fully ended, word was brought, that the ſouldiers had gotten the top of the mountayne, & taken al the paſſages, whereat they of Tailleret were ſore amaſed, and ranne with all ſpeede to defend their wyues and children. Some they ſaued: the moſte part, with their goodes, were in their enemies handes already. At this tyme, with ſackyng, ſpoylyng, and burnyng, they dyd much miſchiefe.

After this, the Lorde of Trinitie ſent worde to them whiche were fledde, that if they would returne, he woulde receiue thē to mercy. The poore people (for the moſt part) truſtyng on his promiſe, returned to Bouuets, and yet the next mornyng the ſouldiers came thyther, to apprehende them and their miniſters, and beſet the place on euery ſide. Suche as were ſwift of foote, and could ſhift beſt, eſcaped, but verye hardly. The reſt were all hurte or taken, and yet they al eſcaped by a marueilous meanes: For it happened that there was an olde man, whiche coulde not runne faſte, to whom one of the ſouldiers came with a naked ſword in his hand to haue ſlaine hym. The old man ſeeyng the imminent daūger, caught the ſouldier by the legs, ouerthrewe hym, and drewe hym by the heeles downe the hyll. The ſouldier cryed out, helpe, helpe, this villaine wyll kyll me. His felowes hearing hym cry, made haſt to reſcue him: but in the meane tyme the old man eſcaped. The reſt ſeyng what the olde man had done, tooke hart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with ſtones and ſlinges, they ſo beat and diſcomfited their enemies, that at that time they caryed no priſoners awaye. The day folowing the ſoldiers returning to the ſaid Tailleret, robbed, ſpoyled, and caried awaye all that they coulde find, and ſo cōtinued three dayes together: which was verye eaſie for them to do, because the poore men fearing leaſt they ſhould be charged with violating the agreement, made no reſiſtance, but retyred toward Villars.

The Papiſtes falſe breakers of promiſe made.

Example of Gods marueilous protection, for his ſeruentes in tyme of neede.

The fourth day, the ſaid Lord of Trinitie, to torment the poore Taillerets yet more cruelly, ſent his armye agayne before day, to the mountaine, and into the ſame place. And because the people of the ſaide village were retyred towardes Villars, and ſcattered about the borders thereof, in the high mountaines, the ſouldiers not yet ſatiſfied with ſpoyling and ſacking the reſt that they founde in the ſaid Tailleret, raunging about the confines thereof, rauened, and made hauocke on euerye ſide, of what ſoeuer they coulde laye handes on, taking priſoners both men and women, whiche were loden with carriage. The poore priſoners were cruelly handled. Amongeſt other there was one, whoſe eare a ſouldier of Montdeuis, in a raging fury, bit cleane of, with theſe wordes: I wyl carrye (ſaide he) ẏ fleſh of theſe wretched heretikes with me, into my countrey. They of Villars alſo complayned of the great cruelty that was ſhewed vnto them, during the time of the agreement. The which when the Lord of Trinitie vnderſtood, to make a ſhewe that he was offended therewith, he came to his ſouldiers (whiche were ſo weary, that they coulde ſcantly goe, not with fighting, but because they were ſo heauily loden with the ſpoyle, that they were not able to cary it) and pretending to be in a great choler, ſome he beat, and ſome thinges alſo of a ſmal value, he cauſed to be reſtored, but al the reſt was kept backe, and caryed away. The ſame day, two women, the mother and the daughter were found in a caue in the mountaine, wounded to death by the ſouldiers, & dyed immediately after. So likewiſe a blinde mā, a hūdreth yeares of age, which was fled into a caue, & his ſonnes daughter, being xviii. yeres old, which fed hym, was ſlaine by the enemies, and as they would haue forced the mayden, ſhee eſcaped from them, and fel from the top of the mountayne, and dyed.

The Village of Tailleret ſacked, and ſpoyled.

The crueltie of Papiſtes.

Two women the mother and the daughter Martyrs.

The grandfather and his nyce dyed Martyrs.

At that tyme alſo a great company of women of Tailleret & Villars, were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the campe, and ſent away emptye. There was at the ſame tyme a certaine ſouldier whiche promiſed the Lord of Trinitie, to find out the miniſter of Tailleret, and to deliuer him into his owne handes. And to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, he neuer ceaſed vntyll he had founde hym, and after that hē purſued hym along time. But as he was purſuing and chaſing hym, certaine at vnwares commyng out of the mountayne, reſcued the poore miniſter, and killed the ſouldier with ſtones.

A wicked perſecuter killed with ſtones.

But this eſpecially is to be noted, that duryng theſe troubles, diuers of the Papiſtes had ſent their daughters, into the mountaines, vnto the Waldoys, to be kept, fearing leaſt they ſhould haue ben rauiſhed by yͤ ſouldiers, being wholy geuen ouer, as to al crueltie and rauine, ſo to all villanie & abominatiō, by whom they were before threatned to be ſo abuſed.

Al this being done, the ſaid Lord of Trinitie cauſed the head officers and chiefeſt of the people, to aſſemble together, and declared vnto them, that the mainteining of the armye was a greate charge vnto the Duke: and that it was meete that they ſhould beare the one halfe of the charges. For this cauſe he demaunded of them twentie thouſande crownes. But by the meanes of his Secretarie Gaſtaut, who was promiſed a hundreth crownes for his wyne, (that is to ſay for a bribe) foure thouſand of thoſe twenty, were abated, ſo that they graunted vnto him .xvi. thouſend: of the which ſumme the Duke releaſed the one halfe. Then the Lord of Trinitie preſſed this poore people to deliuer the eight thouſand out of hande, to pay the ſouldiers their wages (as he ſaid) and ſo to withdrawe his armye. The yere before corne was exceeding deare, for a ſacke was cōmonly ſold for ſixe crownes, yea & ſome for eight crowns, and alſo they had very litle corne growing vpon their moūtaines: wherfore they were nowe very bare of money. But they being in this perplexitie, and deſiring nothing more thē to liue in peace and quietnes, went about to ſel their cattel, to paye this money. But the Lorde of Trinitie had geuen out a commaundement, that none ſhould bye any cattell of the Waldoys, without his licence. Then licence was geuē out to certaine, to bye great ſtore of cattel, & that for a ſmall price: and the common brute was, that he had part of the gaine. When this money was payd, yet the army notwithſtanding retired not.

The poore Waldoys preſſed at xvi thouſand crownes.

The Papiſtes falſe of promiſe.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie cōmaunded the Waldoys, to ſurrender vp al their armour, to furniſh the dukes Fortes: otherwiſe he threatned to ſende his ſouldiers amongeſt them, and in deede he conſtrained many ſo to do. Thē he demaunded moreouer, the eight thouſand crownes whiche the Duke had remitted, and conſtrayned them to promiſe the payment thereof. After that he commaunded that the miniſters ſhould be ſent away, vntil yͤ matter were determined before the Duke: otherwiſe he would ſende his ſouldiers to diſlodge thē out of hand: whereupon with one common aſſent and accord, they determined that their miniſters ſhould withdrawe them ſelues for a ſpace, vntyll the armye were retyred: which was not done without marueilous ſighes, lamentatiō, and teares. At that ſeaſon ther fel ſuch abundance of ſnowe, that the like had not ben ſeene of a long time before: ſo that the people were conſtrained to make a way with great trauaile and payne, through the toppe of the mountaine of S. Martin, for their miniſters to paſſe. Nowe thought the Lorde of Trinitie, ſo to haue encloſed them, he keeping the plaine, and the mountaines being couered ſo thicke with ſnow, that by no meanes they ſhould haue eſcaped his handes. But the people cauſed them to paſſe the toppe of the mountaine, and at their departure there flocked out of euerye quarter greate multitudes, to the village of Boby, and came together into a ſecrete place there, called le Puis, not without great griefe and ſorowe: For they found them altogether in teares and mourning that their miniſters ſhould ſo be takn frō them, and they now leaft as lambes amongeſt wolues.

The care of the Waldoys for their miniſters.

The armye was aduertiſed that the miniſters were aſſembled together, and incontinent a great troupe of harquebuſhes were at hand, which ſought thē euen to yͤ very toppe of the mountaine, in ſo muche that if they had remained there but one houre longer, they had bene al taken. From yͭ tyme, for certaine dayes after, they dyd nothing, but raunge about in all places, ſeeking for the Miniſters, and there was no houſe, chamber, caue, nor ſecrete corner, into the whiche they dyd not enter, vnder pretence to ſeeke the miniſters. There was neither cheſt, nor any thing els ſo ſtrong, but they brake it open, ſaying, that the miniſters were hydden therein, and by that meanes they tooke, ſpoyled, and caried away what ſo euer they would.

Gods prouidēce for his miniſters

The Lord of Trinitie promiſed often times, that although it were forbidden to all the Miniſters to preache, yet the miniſter of Angrongne, ſhould be excepted: and furthermore ſent the ſaid miniſter word, that if he would demaunde any thing of the Duke, it ſhoulde be graunted hym. Whereupon the ſaide Miniſter made this requeſt, that the poore people might liue peaceably in their religion. A while after he ſent for the ſaid miniſter to conferre with him priuately, vpon certaine pointes of religion. The miniſter went vnto him, hauing therto the conſent of the people. The Lord of Trinitie propounded vnto him three points. The firſt concerning the ſupremacie of the Pope: the other concerned tranſubſtantiation. Of the whiche two pointes, the miniſter then immediatly declared his opinion, and he ſeemed to agree thereunto, and required hym to put the ſame in writing. The laſt (which was his whole drift) was to perſwade the miniſter to go to the Dukes Court, and there to defend the cauſe of the people, alleging certaine reaſons to perſwade him ſo to do. Whereunto the miniſter anſweared, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it ſeemed conuenient to the miniſters and people, that he ſhould go, he would be content to do the ſame, and thereof he promiſed to ſende him anſweare immediately, with the which anſweare he ſeemed to be contented.

Marke here the faire pretence & trayterous meaning of the Lord of Trynitye, which by and by after, ſeeketh the death of this good Miniſter.

Shortly after the foreſaide Lorde, not tarying for an anſweare, ſent his army to the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, pretending to ſing a maſſe there, and ſodenly the ſouldiers beſieged the Miniſters houſe. The miniſter being warned thereof, aſſaied to eſcape. The ſouldiers attempted nothing by force, but vſed gentle perſwaſions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the miniſter puſhed on further, and the ſouldiers followed hym halfe a mile, but fearing the people, durſt go no further. The miniſter withdrewe hym ſelfe into the rockes vppon the mountaine, accompanied with fiue other. The armie was by and by at his heeles, and ſought a good while in the houſes & cotages on euery ſide, cruelly handling the people whom they tooke, to make them confeſſe where their miniſter was, ſpoyling their houſes, takyng ſome priſoners, and beating other ſome: but yet they could not learne of them where their miniſter was. At yͤ length they eſpied him amongeſt the rockes, where they thought to haue encloſed him, and ſo they purſued him in the rockes, all couered with ſnowe, vntyl it was night, and coulde not take hym. Then they returned, and ſpoyled his houſe, and diligently ſearched out all his bookes and writinges, and caried them to the Lord of Trinitie, in a ſacke, who cauſed them all to be burnt in his preſence, ſuppoſing (as it well appeared) yͭ yͤ letters which he had ſent to Angrongne, touching the agreement, ſhould be with the reſt burnt: for he dyd not the like in the other miniſters houſes. That day they ſpoyled fourtie houſes in Angrongne, broke their mylles, and caried away al the corne and meale that they found.

The miniſter of Angrongne purſued of the ſouldiers.

The Miniſters houſe ſpoyled.

40 houſes in Angrongne ſpoyled.

About midnight the ſouldiers returned with torchlight, to the miniſters houſe, to ſeeke him, and ſearched euery corner. The next mornyng, commaundement was geuen to the rulers of Angrongne, that within .xxiiij. houres they ſhould deliuer their miniſter, or els Angrongne to be put to the fire and ſword. The Rulers anſwered, that they could not ſo do, for they knewe not where he was, and the ſouldiers had chaſed hym ouer the mountaine. After certaine dayes, when the ſouldiers had burned houſes, ſpoyled the people, broken their mylles, and done what miſchiefe they could, the army retired. Notwithſtanding the Lorde of Trinitie left garriſons in the forenamed Fortreſſes, but al at the coſtes and charges of the Waldoys: the whiche garriſons not contented with their wages, ſpoyled continually. Vpon a night fiue ſouldiers went with torches to a riche mans houſe of Angrongne, and ſpoyled the ſame. The good man of the houſe hardly eſcaped with life, by the top of the houſe, for there were twelue pellets ſhot of at hym. Wherof one touched his face, and ſtroke his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

Gods holy protection in ſauing hys ſeruaūt.

The Rulers of Angrongne which were gone to the Fortreſſe to cary thyther victuals and money, were by the ſouldiers receiued, and in deſpite of thē and the people, cauſed a maſſe to be ſong before them, and forced thē to be preſent at it: and becauſe they would not kneele down to it, they were beaten almoſt to death. The one of them was ſent againe for more money, the other with great peryll of his life, leapt ouer the walles, and beyng purſued to Angrongne, eſcaped.

Two rulers of Angrongne beaten almoſt to death, for not kneeling to the maſſe.

Certaine dayes after, a certaine company of ſouldiers came vnto the midſt of Angrongne, as though they would haue paſſed through, and called for meate and drinke. The poore men brought that they had vnto thē, in a cloſe court. When they had eaten and drunken, they cauſed the women to auoide, and then bounde fourteene of thoſe whiche had brought them victuals by two and two together, and ledde them awaye. Their wiues and children perceiuyng this, ſo fiercely purſued them with ſtones, that they were faine to let go ten of their priſoners for haſt, and had muche adoo to ſaue them ſelues. The other foure they led away to the Fortreſſe: of the whiche two were ranſomed, the other two were hanged vp by yͤ feete and yͤ handes, and hauyng tormented them almoſt to death, they releaſed them for a great ſumme of money. The one of the which dyed the next night: the other lay ſicke without hope of life, long time after, and his fleſhe fell from his handes and his feete, and thereof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell of alſo. In like maner dyd the other garriſons entreate the villa-

Crueltie ſhewed for kindnes.

Note how God did. bleſſe his ſeruauntes ſtanding in their owne defence.

Two Martyrs of Angrongne.

villages adioyning vnto them.

Note againe how God bleſſeth hys people, ſtanding to their defence, againſt the bloudye Papiſtes.

The garriſon of Tour and of Villars beyng aſſembled together in a night, wente to Tailleret, to yͤ place called Bouuets, and breaking in at the windowes and toppes of the houſes, breaking open the doores, ſacking and ſpoyling all that they coulde laye handes of, tooke alſo fourteene priſoners, and bounde them two and two together by the armes, and ſo ledde them to the Fortreſſe of Tour. But two whiche were eſcaped, whiles the ſouldiers were taking other, ſet vpon them whiche led the priſoners, and ſo valiauntly aſſaulted and beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go twelue of the priſoners: the whiche tumbling and rollyng them ſelues downe the mountaine, hauing their handes bounde behinde their backes, and faſtened two and two together by the armes, were contented rather ſo to dye, then to be caried to the Fortreſſe and yet in the ende they eſcaped. The other two whiche were led to the Fortreſſe, were cruelly tormented, and in the ende, the one of them the captaine ſtrangled with his owne handes, who was verye young and but a childe: the other which was about three ſcore yeres of age, ſuffred a ſtrange and cruel death: For when they had bound hym, they toke a kind of beaſtes which liue in horſdoung, called in French Eſcarbotz, and put them vnto his nauell, couering them with a diſhe, the which within ſhort ſpace pearced into his belly, and killed him. These and the like, more then barbarous cruelties, haue bene reuealed by the ſouldiours them ſelues.

Two Martyrs.

A barbarous kinde of torment vſed againſt a Martyr of the Lord called *Odul Geimet*, by the cruell Papiſtes.

The poore Waldoys were yet in great captiuitie and diſtreſſe, but eſpecially becauſe they had not the preaching of Gods woorde amongeſt them, as they were woont to haue, and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begynne preaching againe, albeit ſecretely, for two principal cauſes: The one, for feare of mouing the Duke, end hindering the voyage of their meſſengers, hauyng yet ſome hope of good ſucceſſe. The other, that no occaſion might be geuen to the ſouldiers of further trouble and outrage, for that was it whiche they eſpecially deſired. Alſo they of Angrongne were fully determined, as ſone as their meſſengers were returned from the Duke, to preache openly, what newes ſo euer they brought, were they good or euyll: and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garriſon, neither yet to ſuffer the ſame to enter into Angrongne.

Be wiſe like Serpentes.

The meſſengers whiche were ſent to the Duke being at Vercell, were there detained ſixe weekes, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popiſhe Doctours, and were conſtrayned by force and violence to promiſe to returne to the Maſſe. Furthermore, they woulde haue conſtrained them to promiſe the ſame in the behalfe of the reſt, but they would not. After they were preſented to the Duke, the Secretarye Gaſtaut tooke the ſupplication of the Waldoys, out of the meſſengers handes, and deliuered an other. After they had preſented them ſelues to the Duke, and aſked pardon for bearing of armour, they were cõſtrained alſo to craue pardon of yͤ Popes Legate: which at the beginnyng they would in no caſe doo. Nowe when theſe meſſengers were returned, bringing theſe wofull newes, and the people vnderſtood that there was a newe commaundement geuẽ out, that they ſhould returne to the maſſe: alſo that the Popiſh preachers were appoynted, & ready to come vnto them, and they commaunded to go to fetch them, & entertaine thẽ accordingly: there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning for this great calamitie.

The meſſengers of the Angronians cruelly entreated.

A new commaundemẽt to the Angronians to go to maſſe.

Hereupon they of the valley of Luſerne and of Boby, being aſſembled together, by one aſſent, ſent two Miniſters, with certaine other of the people, to the Churches of Pragela (whiche be in the countrey of Dolphine) to ſignifie vnto them, the piteous eſtate of the poore Churches of the valleyes of Piemont, to haue their counſell and aduiſe, howe to preuent the great daungers at hande, if it were poſſible. For this cauſe they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called vpon GOD, deſiryng his grace, and the ſpirite of diſcretion and counſell, well to conſider of thoſe waightie and vrgent affayres wherewith they were oppreſſed: in the ende it was concluded, that all the people dwellyng in the ſaide valley and mountaines of Piemont, and thoſe of Dolphine, ſhould ioyne in a league together. Whereupon they all promiſed, by Goddes grace and aſſiſtaunce, to mainteine the pure preachyng of the Goſpell, and adminiſtration of the holy Sacramentes: the one to ayde and aſſiſt the other, and to render all obedience to their ſuperiours, ſo farre as they were commaunded by the woorde of God. Moreouer, that it ſhould be lawfull for none of the ſaide valleyes to promiſe or conclude any thyng touchyng the eſtate of religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the valleyes: and for more ſure confirmation of the ſaide league, certaine of the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of Dolphine, were ſent to the valley of Luſerne, to vnderſtand if they would geue their conſent hereunto, and ratifie the ſame.

Gods aſſiſtance in time of neede.

These meſſengers, the Miniſters and others of Dolphine, being arriued in the euening, at the village of Boby & the people being there aſſembled, word was brought, that the next day euery houſholder ſhould appeare in the Counſel houſe, to knowe whether they woulde returne to the Maſſe, or no, and that they which would receiue the Maſſe, ſhould quietly enioy their houſes, and they which woulde not, ſhoulde be deliuered to the Iuſtices, and condemned to be burned, or ſent to the Galleyes. Wherefore the people was brought to this extremitie, eyther to dye or flee, or els to renounce God. To flee, it ſeemed them beſt, if the great ſnowe had not let them. Wherefore ſeeing them ſelues in ſuch diſtreſſe, they moſt gladly conſented to yͤ league. After this, they exhorted one another ſaying, For as much as we ſhal be all called for to morowe to renounce and forſake our God, and reuolt againe to Idolatrie, let vs nowe make ſolemne proteſtation that we wyl vtterly forſake the falſe religion of the Pope, and that we wyll lyue and dye in the maintenaunce and confeſſion of Gods holy word. Let vs al go to morowe into the Temple, to heare the word of God, and after, let vs caſt downe to the ground al the Idoles and aultars. To this euery man agreed, ſaying, Let vs ſo do: yea, and that the very ſame houre, in yͤ which they haue appointed vs to be at the Counſel houſe.

The people of Piemont brought into great diſtreſ

The next day after, they aſſembled them ſelues in the Churche of Boby, and as ſoone as they came into the Temple, without any further delaye, they beate downe the Images, and caſte downe the aultars. After the Sermon they went to Villars, to doo the like there. By the way they encountered with a bande of ſouldiers, which were goyng to ſpoyle a village, named Le val Guichard, and to take the poore inhabitauntes priſoners. The ſouldiers ſeeing them ſo yll appoynted, mocked them, and diſcharged their handgunnes vppon them, thinking at the firſt brunt, to haue put them to flight. But they valiauntly defended them ſelues, and with ſtones chaſed them euen to the Fortreſſe. When they came to Villars, they beate downe their Images and aultars, and afterwardes beſieged the fortreſſe, and demaunded the priſoners which were there detained.

Images and altars broken downe in the church of Boby.

Images and altars caſt downe in the church of Villars.

The ſame daye the Iudge of Luſerne, called Podeſta, went to the Counſel houſe, to enrolle the names of thoſe whiche woulde returne to the Maſſe, but ſeeyng what was done, he was ſore afrayde, and deſired the people to ſuffer hym to returne quietly: whiche they wyllingly graunted vnto hym. Diuers Gentlemen alſo of the valley came thyther with the Iudge, to make their poore tenauntes to forſake God: but ſeeyng the tumult, they were faine to flee into the Caſtle, where they and the Garriſon were beſieged tenne dayes together, not without great daunger of their liues. The ſeconde daye of the ſiege, the Captaine of Tour wente with a companye of ſouldiers, thinking to raiſe the ſiege, but they were, by thoſe that kept the paſſages, either ſlaine or diſcomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day, he returned with three bandes, and with the Garriſon of Tour, which cauſed a furious combat: wherein manye of the enemies were ſlaine, but a great number hurt, and yet of thoſe that beſieged the Fort, there was not one man hurt.

God geueth victorye to his ſeruauntes.

An other combat betwene the Waldoys and their enemies.

In the tyme of this ſiege, they attempted diuers meanes to take the ſaide Fortreſſe, but without ordinaunce, it was impoſſible ſo to doo: wherefore they were nowe paſt al hope of wynnyng it. Moreouer, the Lord of Trinitie returning with his armie, was come to the valley of Luſerne, and the next day after, might eaſily haue raiſed the ſiege. Wherefore, when the Garriſon (not knowing that the Lord of Trinitie was ſo neare) deſired that they might depart with bagge and baggage, they graunted their requeſt. In this ſiege halfe of the ſouldiers were ſlaine, and many were hurt, as wel with harquebuſhes, as with ſtones. During this ſiege the ſouldiers for lacke of water, were conſtrained to bake their bread with wine, which tormented their ſtomackes, and cauſed great diſeaſes. Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſouldiours whiche a while before dyd ſo cruelly perſecute the poore Miniſters, ſeeking by al meanes poſſible to deſtroy them, were nowe faine to pray them to ſaue their liues, and to promiſe them that they ſhould haue no hurt, and alſo to ſafeconduct them into a ſure place: neither would they depart, vntyll they had promiſed them ſo to do. Which yͤ Miniſters dyd promiſe, and alſo perfourme very willingly. Then the

The iuſt hand of God vpon his enemies.

Note, how the Miniſters of the Goſpell promiſe to their enemies and performe, doing good for euill.

ſouldiers

ſouldiours ſeyng themſelues much beholden to the Miniſters ſo gently dealyng wyth them, gaue them great thankes, and promiſed them, in recompence thereof, all the pleaſure that they coulde ſhew them. The ſame night the Fortreſſe was raſed.

The Fortreſſe gotten by the Angronians.

The 2. day of February, the Lord of Trinitie camped at Luſerne, and placed a Gariſon in the Priorie of S. John a village of the Waldoys, betwene Luſerne and Angrogne. The nexte day in the mornyng, the ſayd Lord of Trinitie ſent word vnto them of Angrongne, that if they would not take part wyth the reſt, they ſhould be gently handled. All the weeke before, they were ſollicited by hym to conſent to the ſame, but they woulde geue no aunſwere. The ſame day, they of Angrongne, and the reſt of the Valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one ſhoulde ayde the other, and no agreement to be made, by any one, wythout the conſent of the reſt. About noone, the Lord of Trinitie marched wyth hys armie, by S. John, to enter into the borders of Angrongne, by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certeyne bulwarkes of earth and ſtone, not paſt three foote hye: where they defended themſelues valiauntly, agaynſt their enemyes, which aſſayled them diuers wayes. When the enemyes were ſo wearye that they coulde fyght no longer, they put freſhe Souldiers into their places: ſo that the combate endured vntyll nyght, and all that day, the armye coulde not enter into the borders of Angrongne. Many of the enemyes were ſlayne, and a great number hurt: and but two of Angrongne ſlayne, of whome the one was ſlayne by hys owne follye, becauſe he was too greedye vppon the ſpoyle. The armye beyng now well beaten and tyred, reſted a whyle, to make themſelues ſtronger for a further miſchiefe.

God compelleth his ſeruauntes to defend their religion by force.

An other combat betwene the Lord of Trinitie and the Angronians.

God geueth victorye agayne to his people.

The Friday folowyng, which was the ſeuenth of February, at the breake of the day, the armye marched towardes Angrongne, by fiue ſeuerall places. The people of Angrongne were not yet aſſembled, and none there were to reſiſte, but onely a fewe, which kepte the watche: the which ſeyng their enemyes commyng vppon them in ſo many places, and perceauyng that they went about to incloſe them, after they had valiauntly fought for a ſpace, they reculed by little and little, to a hygh place called La Caſſe, where the combate was renued, wyth a greater fierceneſ, then before. But the Lord of Trinitie, ſeeyng the loſſe of hys men, and aboue all, that one of great credite and authoritie in the Dukes Court, was wounded to death, blew a retreite, and deſcended to Angrongne (the people beyng fledde to the Medowe of Tour) and there ſpoyled and burnt all the wynes, victualles, and the reſt of the goodes that he coulde finde: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace, he had burned about a thouſand houſes of Angrongne.

An other fight betwene the Lord of Trinitie and the Angronians.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentymes, ſet fire vpon the two Temples of Angrongne, where the worde of God was preached, but they coulde neuer burne them. So dyd they alſo to the Miniſters houſe, which notwythſtanding, remayned whole, the houſes round about, beyng all conſumed with fire. That day none of Angrõgne was ſlayne or hurt, ſauyng onely one that was hurte in hys theigh.

A notable miracle of God in keping the temples of the Goſpell from burning.

There were in all Angrongne, but two that were enemyes to the worde of God, which that ſame day, were ſlayne by the ſouldiers, not in the Combate: but for their riches, whiche they had about them, as they were runnyng away. The one of them was a verye couetous wretch, and had great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, and would ſpend nothyng, eyther to helpe hymſelfe, or ſuccour others: no not his poore parentes. All this was ſpoyled by the ſoldiours, wyth a hundreth or two hundreth crownes beſides which he had about hym. Beſides theſe two, there was not one of Angrongne ſlaine that day. All the reſt of the people retyred to the Medowe of Tour: The ſituation whereof, we wyll here declare, for the better vnderſtandyng of that which foloweth.

Note again the ſecret worke of God.

Vnkindnes to parentes, rightly rewarded.

Tour is a little Valley vpon ẏ borders of Angrongne, enuironed about, wyth mountaines: two myles in length, but very narrow. On both ſides, and in the middes thereof, there be about two hundreth ſmall houſes and cotages: alſo medowes, paſtures for cattell, ground for tillage, trees and goodly fountaines. On the South ſide and the North, the mountaynes be ſo high, that no man can that way approch vnto the ſayd Valley. On the other coaſtes, a man may enter by 7. or 8. wayes. This place is not paſt two myles from Angrongne. The way thether is very narrow, and ill to paſſe by, becauſe of the hilles, which be on both ſides. There is alſo a Riuer hard by, but very ſmall: but the bankes thereof be very high, in many places. The people had caryed thether very fewe victualles, partly becauſe the way was ſo yll, and alſo through the ſoden returne of the army.

The medowe of Tour, deſcribed.

In the meane time the Lorde of Trinitie after he had now twiſe aſſaulted Angrongne, ſent certain to burne Roſa, & to diſcouer the wayes, which led to the valley of Luſerne: but the ſouldiers were driuen backe foure dayes together by thoſe which kept the paſſages. Wherupon he ſent his whole armie, whom they valiantly withſtood from the mornyng tyl night. Then they of Luſerne ſent newe ayde. During this combate, an ambuſhment of ſouldiers deſcended from the toppe of the mountaine, by a place ſo harde to paſſe by, that no man would haue ſuſpected it. The poore people ſeeing them ſelues ſo enuironed of their enemies, ſaued thẽ ſelues, ſome running through the myddes of their enemies, and other ſome into the rockes.

The enemies againe driuen back.

The poore Chriſtians runne through the pickes.

The enemies being entred into Roſa, conſumed all with fire and ſworde. The reſidue of the people fledde by a ſecret way, leading to the valley of Luſerne, and wandred al that night vppon the mountaines full of ſnowe, loden with their ſtuffe, carrying their litle infantes in their armes, and leadyng the other by the handes, with greate paine and trauaile. When they of the valley ſawe them, they ranne vnto them, prayſing God for their deliueraunce, for they thought they had bene all ſlayne. Albeit this poore people were here in ſuch great extremitie, yet they were ioyful, and comforted them ſelues, without any lamentation or mourning, except the litle poore infantes, whiche cryed out for colde.

The Angronians wyth their younge infantes, flie into the mountaines.

A fewe dayes after, the Lorde of Trinitie entred into the valley of Luſerne, by three ſeuerall wayes: that is to ſay, by Roſa, by the plaine, and by the ſides of Taillaret. They which kept the paſſages, at the firſt reſiſted their enemies valiauntly: but perceiuyng that they were aſſailed on euery ſide, they retyred to Villars, and there defended them ſelues a while. But becauſe they ſawe that their enemies had already paſſed the Playne, and gotten aboue Villars, towardes Boby: they gaue ouer, and leaft Villars, and fled into the mountaines. The ſouldiers beyng entred, burned houſes, and ſlue al that they could finde. The poore people whiche were fledde to the mountaines, ſeyng the village on fire, prayſed God, and gaue him thankes, that had made them worthy to ſuffer for his name, and for his cauſe: and alſo they were glad to ſee the village on fire, leaſt that their enemies ſhould encampe there them ſelues. Then the ſouldiers in great rage mounted the hylles on euery ſide, purſuyng this poore people in great furie: but a few of them, after they had ardently called vpon God, toke courage, and beat backe their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retyred.

The Waldoys agayne aſſaulted by the Lord of Trinitie.

Fewe dayes after the medowe of Tour was aſſaulted by three ſeueral wayes on the Eaſt ſide. The combate dured a long ſeaſon, where diuers of the enemies were hurt, and many ſlaine: but none of this poore people were ſlaine that day, onely two were hurt, which were ſoone healed againe. But to declare the conflictes, aſſaultes, ſkirmiſhes, and alarmes whiche were at Angrongne, and other places therabout, it were too long: for breuities ſake it ſhalbe ſufficient to touch the moſt principal, & thoſe whiche are moſt worthy of memory.

On Saterday, whiche was the fourteenth day of Februarye, the people whiche were in the vppermoſt parte of the Medowe of Tour, perceyued that a company of ſouldiers were aſcended vp the hyll to Angrongne, and burnyng the reſt of the houſes there. They doubted that it was a policie of their enemies, to drawe them thyther, and in the meane tyme to ſette on them behinde, and ſo to wynne the Medowe of Tour from them. Therfore they ſent onely ſixe harquebuſhes againſte thoſe ſouldiers, the whiche hauyng the higher grounde, and not eſpied of their enemies, diſcharged their gunnes altogether. Whereupon incontinent the ſouldiers fledde, albeit no man purſued them. Whether they fled of policie, or for feare, it was not knowen.

The wicked flyeth when no man purſueth hym.

Shortly after, they of the warde of the Medowe of Tour, whiche were in the watche on the top of the mountaine (becauſe euery mornyng there was a Sermon made, whereunto the people reſorted, and they might ſee a farre of rounde about them) eſpied a troupe of ſouldiers marching on that ſide of the hyll, whiche is betweene the Eaſt and the North, and ſoone after that, diſcouered an other companye, whiche marched on the North ſide, towardes the ſaide troupe. The firſte were aſcended an houre before the other, and fought on the toppe of the mountaine called Meleſe, but they were ſoone diſcomfited: and becauſe they could not runne faſte, by meanes of the deepe ſnow, and difficultie of ẏ wayes: in fleeing they fell often downe vpon the grounde. Whiles they that purſued them were earneſt in the chaſe, and had taken from them their

The perſecutors purſued

drumme: behold there came certaine vnto them, crying out, that the other troupe was entred into the medow of Tour; by meanes whereof they gaue ouer the chaſe, or els not one of their enemies had eſcaped, as they which were there reported for a trueth. Not one of Angrongne was ſlaine or hurt.

Gods people fight with prayer.

The other troupe which came by the North ſide, toke a high hyl in the top of the mountaine, the which ſeemed to be almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of the ſnow and yce which was there. The chiefeſt of this company were Lodouicke of Monteil (which had bene before maiſter of the campe in the Kings warres) and Charles Truchet. When they wer come to the toppe of the hyll, they cauſed ſeuen ſouldiours to goe downe the hyll, and to viewe the waye, and to ſee whether the troupe might deſcend that way, or no. Theſe vij. went down almoſt to the houſes. They ſent alſo other to occupie the reſt of the high places, which were neare to the foote of the hyl and the rockes. In the meane tyme the miniſters and the people which were in the myddes of the valley of the medowe, ſawe all this, and were much diſcouraged therwith: wherfore they fel to prayer, and called vpō God ardently, not without great ſighes, lamentation, and teares, euen vntyl night.

The courage of Gods people agaynſt their enemies.

The ſeuen ſpyes whiche came downe to diſcouer the wayes, cryed vnto their captaine Truchet, Come downe, come downe Seignior Charles, this day Angrongne ſhalbe taken. The other cryed to them againe, aſcend, aſcend, & returne, or els ye ſhalbe ſlaine euery one of you. Immediately iſſued out fiue againſt theſe ſpies, and tooke certaine, and chaſed the reſt. The firſt of the fiue whiche ſet vppon thē, caſt two of thē downe vpon yͤ ground with a Forke of fyre. Soone after, eight of Angrongne iſſued out againſt the whole troupe, whiche was wonderfull to ſee them goe with ſuche courage and boldneſſe, to aſſaile ſuche a multitude, and it ſeemed that they ſhould haue bene al deſtroyed, and hewen in pieces. The firſt of the eight went a good way before the other, to diſcouer the enemies, and caryed a great ſtaffe, whiche they call a Rancon, and is ſomewhat bigger then a Halbard. The other folowed by two and two together, with harquebuſhes. Theſe eight went frō rocke to rocke, from hyll to hyll about the mountaine, and chaſed their enemies valiauntly. Then came twelue other, the whiche ioynyng with the reſt, fought with a wonderfull courage, and made great ſlaughter of their enemies. Soone after, there came from the valley of Luſerne, an hundreth harquebuſhes, with one of their Miniſters, accordyng to their maner, which are wont to ſende out a miniſter withall, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keepe the people in order, that they exceede not meaſure, as it came to paſſe that day.

A conflict betwene the Angronians and the enemyes.

At the length they ſawe them alſo commyng, whiche returned from the diſcomfiture of the former troupe, makyng a great noyſe, and hauyng a drumme ſounding afore them, whiche they had taken from their enemies: whiche ioyned with them of the valley of Luſerne, and hauyng made their earneſt prayer vnto God, immediatly they came to ſuccour the other that now were encountring valiauntlye with their enemies. Then the enemies ſeeyng ſuche a company marching againſt them, with ſuche courage and boldnes: after the other had once called vppon God, their hartes were ſo taken from them, that ſodenly they fledde, and as ſoone as the other began to pray, they beganne alſo to flee. But becauſe they could not well ſaue them ſelues by running away, they turned backe twiſe, and fought, and ſome in the meane tyme fled.

The maruelous workes of the Lord.

Dauid with his ſlyng killeth Goliath

He that caried the Rancon, and diſcouered the enemies, was but a very young and a ſimple man, and was eſteemed to be one that coulde doo nothing, but (as they ſaye in their language) handle La Sappe, that is to ſay, a Hatchet, and kept cattel: and yet he with thoſe that folowed, ſo diſcomfited the enemies, that it was woonderfull to beholde. He brake his great Rancon with laying loade vpō thē, and after that, he brake alſo foure of their owne ſwordes in purſuying of them. There was a boy of. xviij. yeares of age, & of ſmal ſtature, which alone ſlue the Lord of Monteil, maiſter of the campe (as is ſaid) to the king: wherwith the enemies were maruelouſly aſtoniſhed & diſcouraged. An other ſimple man, who a man would haue thought, durſt not once haue looked Charles Truchet in the face (becauſe he was a very bygge man, ſtrong, and puiſſant, & one of the chiefeſt captaines of the whole army) threwe downe the ſaid Truchet with the ſtroke of a ſtone. Then a young man leapt vpon hym, and ſlue hym with his owne ſword, which was foure fingers broad, and cleaft his head in peeces.

The crueltie of this wretched Truchet

agaynſt thys poore people, appeareth before in this ſtorye.

This Truchet was one of the principall authours of this warre, and one of the chiefeſt enemies of true religion, and of the poore Waldoys, that coulde then be founde. It was ſaid alſo, that he vaunted and promiſed before, to the ſaid lord of Trinitie, that he would deliuer into his handes the medowe of Tour. But God ſoone brought his proude bragge to nought. And for his ſpoylyng, pyllyng, and pollyng of the poore people, he laye ſpoyled and naked like a beaſt, in the wylde mountaine of Angrongne. Two of the chiefeſt among thē offred to pay a great ſumme of crownes for their ranſome, but they could not be heard. They were purſued more then a myle, and were ſo diſcōfited, that they fled without any reſiſtance and if the night had not let thē, they had purſued them further.

God fighteth for his people.

The miniſter when he ſaw the great effuſion of bloud, and the enemies to flee, he cryed to the people, ſaying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to geue thankes vnto God. They which heard hym, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they which were further of, and heard hym not, chaſed their enemies tyl darke night. In ſo muche, that if the reſt had done the like, very fewe of their enemies had eſcaped. That day they ſpoiled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God reſtored in this combat & in others, to the poore Waldoys, the armour which yͤ Lord of Trinitie had taken from them before. Thankes were geuen vnto God in euery place, and euery man cryed, who is he which ſeeth not, that God fighteth for vs? This victorie gaue great courage to the poore Waldoys, and greatly aſtoniſhed the enemies.

Pharaos hart yet remayneth indurate.

The Waldoys agayne driue their enemies backe.

The eighteenth of February, the Lord of Trinitie, not ſatiſfied wyth burnyng and deſtroying the greateſt part of Villars returned to burne all yͤ little Villages roūd about, which perteyne to the ſame, and eſpecially, to purſue the poore people, which were fled vp into the mountaynes, & diuiding hys armye into three partes, he entred, by the three ſeuerall wayes aboue mentioned. The two firſt companyes ioyned together betwene Villars and Boby, hauyng a great company of horſemē. From thence they went to ſeeke the people which were in the moūtayne of Combe, by ſuch a way, as they did not ſuſpecte, and where there were no warders to defende the place: Notwithſtandyng, the warders which were nexte, ſeeing their enemyes aſcending that way, ſpeedely ranne before them, and callyng vpon God for hys ayde and ſuccour, they ſet themſelues agaynſt their enemyes: and albeit they were but thirtie in number, yet they valiauntly beate them backe twiſe, commyng out of their Bulwarkes, that is to ſay, certeine houſes, which at that tyme ſerued them for that purpoſe, albeit they were not made to that vſe. Many of yͤ enemies were ſlayne at thoſe two combates, and not one of the other ſide. The Lord of Trinitie ſeeing his men ſo fiercely driuen backe, ſent out the greateſt part of hys armye: which were eſteemed to be aboue xv. hundreth men. There came alſo about a hundreth to ſuccour yͤ warders. The combate was very cruell and fierce. At length, the poore people were aſſaulted ſo vehemently, yͭ they were fayne to forſake theyr bulwarkes, loosing two of their men. Then the enemyes thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpettes, triumphing that they had put the people to flight: But the people retyring not paſt a ſtones caſt, tooke courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for ſuccour, they turned themſelues to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power, they hurled ſtones at them with their ſlinges.

God geueth victorye by the handes of a fewe

After this, the enemies reſted themſelues a whyle, and by and by after, they gaue a furious aſſaulte, but yet they were againe mightely reſiſted. Yet once againe the enemies reſted, and in the meane time, the people fell to prayer, calling vpon God altogether, with their faces lifted vp towardes heauen: which frayed the enemyes more then any thyng els. After this they gaue yet an other great aſſault, but God by the handes of a few, droue them backe. Yea God here ſhewed his great power euen in the litle children alſo, which feruently called vpō God, threw ſtones at their enemyes, and gaue courage alſo vnto the men. So did alſo the women, and the vulgare ſort, that is to ſay, thoſe which were meete for no feates of warre, remaining vpō the moūtayne: and beholding theſe furious combats, kneeling vpō the ground, and hauing their faces lifted vp towardes heauen, with teares and gronynges, they cryed: Lord helpe vs. Who heard their prayers.

After that theſe three aſſaults were geuen, there came one vnto them, crying, Be of good courage, God hath ſent thoſe of Angrongne to ſuccour vs: he meant, that they of Angrongne were fighting for thē in an other place, that is to ſay, towardes Tailleret, where the third part of the armye was. The people perceiuyng that they of Angrongne were come to that place to ſuccour them, began to cry, bleſſed be God, who hath ſent vs ſuccour: they of Angrongne be here, they of Angrongne be here to ſuccour vs. The enemies hearing this, were aſtoniſhed, and ſodenly blew a retreit, and retyred into the plaine.

The enemyes retyre.

That troupe which was gone towardes Tailleret, di-

The Angronians helpe their felowes.

uided them ſelues into three companies. The firſt marched by the ſide of the mountaine, burnyng many houſes, & ioyned with the maine armye. The ſecond company whiche was of ſeuen ſcore, marched higher, thinking to take the people at vnwares. But they were by ſeuen men ſtrongly reſiſted and driuen backe. The third company atteyned the toppe of the mountaine, thinking to encloſe the people, but as God would, they of Angrongne which came to ſuccour them, encountred with them, and with great force put thē to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreſhed them ſelues with a litle bread and wyne (for the moſt part of them had eaten nothyng al that day) chaſed their enemies tyl it was almoſt night: ſo fiercely, that the maiſter of the campe was faine to ſend to the Lord of Trinitie (which was at Tour) for ſuccour, or els all would haue bene loſt. Which he dyd: and immediately he rode with al ſpeed to Luſerne, to ſaue hym ſelfe, hearing the alarme which was geuen at S. John, by thoſe of Angrongne, and fearing leſt the way ſhould haue ben ſtopped. The army retyred with great difficultie (notwithſtanding the newe ayde which was ſent them) and with great loſſe of their men. One of their captaines confeſſed ſince, that if they had bene purſued any further, they had fledde all that night long. Since that tyme, they neuer returned agayne into the valley of Luſerne.

The perſecutors put to flight.

On Monday, being the .xvij. day of Marche next folowing, the Lorde of Trinitie, to be reuenged of thoſe of the medowe of Tour, aſſembled al the force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the countrey. In ſo muche, that whereas before his army was commonly but foure thouſand, it was nowe betweene ſixe and ſeuen thouſand: and ſecretly in the night ſeaſon he encamped with part of his army in the middeſt of Angrongne, from whence the poore inhabitants were fled before. The next mornyng after the Sermon and prayers were ended, they perceiued the other part of the armye to be encamped at the foote of the mountaine of Angrongne, on the Eaſt ſide. Sone after they perceyued how both partes of the army coaſted the hylles ſide, the one towardes the other, being ſuch a multitude, ſo glittering in their harneſſe, & marching in ſuch aray, that the poore people at the firſt, were aſtoniſhed therat. Notwithſtanding the aſſemble fel downe vpon their knees .iij. or .iiij. times, crying, Help vs, O Lord, beſeching him to haue regard to ẏ glory of his holy name, to ſtay the effuſiō of bloud, if it were his good pleaſure, & to turne the harts of their enemies to the truth of his holy Goſpell. Theſe two partes of the army ioyned together, neare to the bulwarkes of the medow of Tour, & gaue the aſſault in three ſeueral places. One of the bands moūted ſecretly by the rockes, thinking to haue encloſed the people in their Bulwarkes. But as ſoone as they which kept the bulwarke below had eſpied thē, they forſooke their place, & marched ſtrayt towards thē and as they marched, they met with the ayde which was ſent vnto them, from the valley of Luſerne, very luckily, and commyng (as it were) from heauen: which ioynyng together, ſoone diſcomfited their enemies with ſtones and harquebuſhes. They purſued them fiercely in the rockes, and vexed them woonderfully, becauſe the rockes are ſo ſteepe, that no man can aſcende or deſcende, without great paine and difficultie. The Captaine of this band was named Baſtian of Vergil, a man very expert in the affayres of warre. He at his going out of his lodging, threatned that he would do great and terrible things that day. His hoſtes hearing that, ſaid vnto hym, Monſieur, if our religiō be better then theirs, you ſhall haue the victorie: but if theirs be better then ours, you ſhall not preuaile. Shortly after, the Captaine was brought againe into his Inne, ſo wounded and ſo feeble, that he was not like to liue. Then ſayde his hoſteſſe vnto hym, Monſieur, it is now wel ſeene, that their religion is better then ours.

The Angronians fall to prayer.

The proud threates of Amman.

There was alſo an other band that kept the top of the hyl, to aſſault the bulwarkes, from thence. The myddlemoſt bulwarke was then aſſaulted, in the which were verye few to defend ẏ ſame: the which ſeeing the number of their enemies, retyred backe, leauyng therein but fiue onely to defend it. There was a huge rocke not farre from the foreſaid bulwarke, behinde the ſame, a great number of the enemies were hyd. And anone there iſſued out two enſignes, aſſuring them ſelues to wynne the bulwarke: but immediately one of their enſigne bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many reculed backe. The other ſet vp his enſigne vpon the Bulwarke. They which were within, had neither halbard, nor any other long weapon, but onlye one Pike, and the ſame without an yron: the whiche one of the fiue tooke, and threwe dowe the enſigne, & manfully beat backe the ſcalers, and threwe them downe to the ground. Diuers of the enemies were entred into the bulwarke, by a doore belowe, and ſlue one of the fiue, whiche kept the myddle part of the bulwarke. The other foure looked to be deſtroyed out of hand. Then one of the foure chaſed away thoſe which had entred belowe, with ſtones: and the other three leauyng their handgunnes, defended thē ſelues likewiſe with great ſtones: and perceiuyng ẏ band whiche was on the rockes to flee, they tooke courage, and withſtood their enemies valiauntly, tyll their companions were returned from the chaſe.

The Bulwarke manfully defended.

In the meane tyme, the Bulwarke which was vppon the ſide of the mountaine, was furiouſly aſſailed by the one halfe of the armye. Thoſe that were within ſuffered their enemies to approche neare to the Bulwarke, without any gūſhot or other defēce: wherat ẏ enemies much maruiled. But whē they were euen at hand, they fel vpon them, ſome with throwing of ſtones, ſome with rolling downe mighty ſtones, and ſome with harquebuſhes. There was a huge ſtone rolled downe, which paſſed throughout the whole armie, & ſlue diuers. The ſouldiers at that tyme had wonne a litle cotage, neare to the ſaid Bulwarke, which dyd much hurt to the poore men. But among them, one deuiſed to rol downe a great huge ſtone againſt ẏ cotage, which ſo ſhooke it, and amaſed the ſoldiers, that they thought they had ben al deſtroyed, and incontinent they fled, and neuer would enter into it againe.

Behold the Artillarye of this ſimple people, and with what weapons they fought.

Then the ſouldiers made certaine fences of wood, fiue foote long, three foote broade, and of the thickneſſe of three bordes, but they wer ſo ſore vexed with the ſhot of the harquebuſhes, that they were faine to lay al thoſe fences aſide. The myners alſo made others of earth for the ſouldiers. But al theſe policies of the enemies auayled them nothing: for the ſlaughter was ſo great, that in diuers places you might haue ſeene three lying dead one vpon an other. God ſo wrought with the poore Chriſtians, that the ſhotte of two harquebuſhes ſlue foure men. It was ſaide for a certaintie, that the ſhotte of an harquebuſhe came ſo neare the Lorde of Trinities head, that it brake a wande whiche he bare in his hand, & made him to retyre ſixe ſcore paſes backward, & ſeing his ſouldiers in ſuch great nūbers murthered & wounded on euery ſide, he wept bytterly. Then he retyred the reſt of his army. That day he thought aſſuredly to haue entred into the medowe of Tour. Moreouer he was determined, if that dayes iourney had not ſucceeded, to encampe therby, and the next mornyng very early, to renue the aſſault. Many Gentlemen and others came thyther, to ſee the diſcomfiture of the pore Waldoys: and likewiſe thoſe of the Plaine looked for nothing, but to heare the pitcous ruine and deſolation of this poore people. But God diſpoſed it otherwiſe: For the Lorde of Trinitie had much adoo to ſaue hym ſelfe & his: and ſeeing the miſchiefe whiche they intended to do vnto others, was fallen now vpon their own heades, they were wōderfully aſtoniſhed. They of ẏ plaine alſo, when they ſawe the number of the dead bodyes, & the wounded to be ſo great (for from noone vntyl the euening, they ceaſed not to cary thē away) were likewiſe exceedingly diſmayed. Albeit they caryed not away all, for there were many that lay neare to the bulwarks, which the people couered with winding ſheetes, the next mornyng. The ſouldiers them ſelues confeſſed to them of the medow of Tour, that if they had purſued them, they had bene all ſlaine, they were ſo tyred and cleane out of hart.

The Lord of Trinitie wyth hys armye, driuen backe.

The Papiſtes aſtoniſhed and diſmayde on euery ſide, by the wonderfull iudgment of God.

Many marueiled why the people dyd not folowe the armye, but eſpecially the ſouldiers, ſeeing the great diſcomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten ſuche vantage of them already. But this was done for two cauſes. The one was, becauſe they had alredy determined not to folow the army being once retyred, to auoyde the effuſion of bloud, meanyng onely to defend them ſelues. The other cauſe was, for that they were weary, and had ſpent al their munition: For many of them had ſhot of, about .xxx. tymes, and none of them, vnder twentie, ſpending great ſtore both of pellets and haileſhot. The reſt of the army retyred, crying with a loude voyce, God fighteth for them, and we doo them wrong.

Gods people auoyde the ſheding of bloud.

The next day, one of the principal Captaines of the army, ſurrendred his charge to the L. of Trinitie, ſaying vnto hym, that he woulde neuer fight againſt this people any more, and vpon that he departed. It is a marueylous thing and worthy of perpetual memorie, that in that cōbat there were but two of the Waldoys ſlaine, and two hurt. Thorow ẏ whole countrey of Piemont, euery man ſayd, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaynes confeſſed, that he had bene at many fierce aſſaultes and combates, and ſundry battailes wel fought, but yet he neuer ſawe ſouldiers ſo faynt harted and amaſed: yea the ſouldiours them ſelues told hym, they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they could not ſtrike. Moreouer, they ſayde, that this people neuer ſhotte, but they hurte or kylled ſome of the Souldiours.

God fighteth for his people.

Some other ſayd that the miniſters, by their prayers, coniured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and in dede, wonderfull is it, and meruelous are the iudgementes of God, that notwithſtandyng ſo many combates and conflictes, ſo great aſſaultes and aduentures, ſo much & ſo terrible ſhot, continually made agaynſt this poore people, yet all in a maner came to no effect: So mightily Gods holy power wrought for hys people: In ſo much, that for all the ſayd combates, ſkirmiſhes, and ſo many conflictes: of all the Angrongnians, there were but ix. onely that miſcaried, and the whole number of thoſe that were ſlayne, were but onely fourtene perſones. Where alſo is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and thoſe alſo but poore ſely ſhepeherdes and neateheardes, to encounter with ſuch a mighty power, of ſo ſtrong and braue ſouldiours commyng agaynſt them with weapon and armour, beyng ſo well furniſhed and appoynted with munition as they were in all poyntes accordingly, and the other on the contrary ſide beyng vnarmed, and vnprouided of all habiliment of warre, hauyng for theyr defence for the moſt part, nothyng els but ſlynges and ſtones, and a fewe harquebuſhes.

Onely 14 of all the Waldoys ſlayne in all theſe conflictes.

The ix. day of Marche, there was a hote ſkirmiſh at Angrongne. For 3. companies of ſouldiours went to Angrongne, to burne and ſpoyle all that remayned, & to deſtroy the wynes, which were hidden in the ground. Where, amõgeſt themſelues, they mocked and flouted the poore people, ſaying: theſe Lutherane Waldoys, are valiant fellowes behynd their bulwarkes: but if they had bene in the plain field, they had bene well canuaſed. After this it chaunced ẏ thirty of the Waldoys went and aſſayled theſe foreſayd companies in the playne field. They fought a long ſeaſon, and that ſo nere, that ſome of them fought hand to hand. In this cõflict, one of thoſe of Angrongne, wreſtled with a Captayne of the enemies, ſtrong and mighty, and caſt hym downe vpon the ground. Many of the ſouldiours were ſlayne, and many hurt. But of the Angronians there was but one ſlain and an other hurt a little, which notwithſtandyng gaue not ouer to fight manfully. Then the ſouldiours ſeing the loſſe of theyr men retyred ſodenly.

An other ſkirmiſhe betwene the enemyes & the Angrõgnians.

After that the Lord of Trinitie ſent ij. Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne, to them of Angrongne, to feele them if they would come to any agreement. To whom aunſwere was made, that they would ſtand to their firſt anſwer. Frõ that tyme he ſent very often, to entreate of the agreement: but what his meanyng was, it might well appeare. For when the poore people hoped for ſome agreement, they were moſt furiouſly aſſaulted. Vpon this there was a day aſſigned in the valley of Luſerne to conferre touching the agreement, with certayne men pertainyng to the lord of Raconis and the ſafeconduct was promiſed and graunted.

Note the practiſe of Papiſtes.

The night afore the miniſters and rulers of Angrõgne ſhould take their iorney, they perceyued a company of ſouldiours goyng vp a hill, by the which they of Angrongne ſhould paſſe, and hid them in houſes on the wayes ſide, thinkyng to take at vnwares them of Angrongne which were ſent to treat of the agreement. But they hauyng intelligence of this conſpiracy, watched and warded. It was an eaſie matter as diuers thought, that night to haue taken the lord of Trinity, and haue ſpoyled hys whole campe. But they of Angrõgne and Luſerne, would not execute this enterpriſe, leſt thereby they ſhould offend God, and paſſe the boundes of theyr vocation, takyng vpon them no more but to defende themſelues.

Behold how this traiterous Trinity, whiles he pretendeth an agreemẽt, goeth about to deſtroy theſe poore men. Dauid ſpareth kyng Saule.

At that tyme a pitifull caſe happened in the Medow of Tour. The Lord of Raconis ſemyng to be ſory for this warre ſent into the medow of Tour, an honeſt man of Briqueras named Fraunces of Gilles, to take aduiſe, what meanes were beſt, to further the agreement. Who hauyng conſulted with the miniſters and rulers, returned homeward that day accordyng to his maiſters commaundement and hauyng ſent backe one which conducted hym, was murdered ſoone after at the f[illegible] Angrongne, by two of Angrongne, which otherwyſe ſeemed to be honeſt, and of good parentage. Soone after, one of the two which had cõmitted this facte, entered into the Medowe of Tour, and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confeſſed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other alſo was taken.

The Waldoys were meruelouſly troubled and agreued with thys fact, and wrote to the Lord of Raconis, declaryng vnto hym the whole circumſtance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in warde, and that, if it would pleaſe him to ſend certaine to examine ẏ matter, they for their part, would ſo execute iuſtice in the puniſhmẽt of them, that their innocency to all men ſhould appeare. The lord of Raconis, wrote vnto them, that they ſhould deliuer vnto him ẏ offenders, and that he would do ſuch iuſtice vpon them, as the cauſe required. To the which they of Angrongne aunſwered, that vpon thre conditions, they ſhould be deliuered, accordyng to hys requeſt. Firſt, that the priſoners ſhoulde be compelled to do nothyng againſt their conſciences, and as touching religion, nothyng ſhould be ſpoken vnto them but out of the word of God. Secondly, that ſpeedy and ſharpe iuſtice ſhould be executed vpon them: and that hereafter this ſhould be no preiudice to the liberties and priuiledges of the people of Angrongne. The third, that the execution of them ſhould be vpon the borders of Angrongne, for an example to all other. This beyng accorded with one aſſent (yea without contradiction of their parentes) they ſent them priſoners accompanied with threſcore gunners, to the confines of Luſerne, and there deliuered them into the handes of the Lord of Raconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrongne.

The iuſt dealing of the Angrongnians.

After this the lord of Trinitie hauyng left certayn gariſons about Angrongne, and the valley of Luſerne: went to Perouſe nere to the valley of S. Martine, to ſuccour the garriſon there, beyng in great daunger, and there remained a month. Duryng which tyme, they of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luſerne, lyued in more quietnes then afore: but yet they were ſo afflicted, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of vitayles, which ſore preſſed them, and namely thoſe of the medow of Toure, for they were ſpoyled of their vitailes. This poore people lyued with mylke and with herbes, hauyng very little bread. But afterwardes, when they were euen lyke to be famiſhed, God of hys goodnes, ſent thẽ better ſuccour, both of corne and bread, then they had before. The enemies thought to haue taken the medow of Toure by famine: for they toke away the vitailes that were to bee had in all places round about. Euery houſhold was ſuffred to haue no more then ſhould ſuſteine them that day, and ẏ alſo was very litle: to the end that they ſhoulde not ſuccour this poore people.

Scarſenes of vitaile among the Angrongnians.

Gods mercy toward his people.

After that, the Lord of Trinitie beyng returned from Perouſe to Luſerne, ſent certeine to entreate of an agreement, and required to common with ſome of the people. Then they began to conſulte and deuiſe by all meanes, how they myght come to ſome good agreement. But one Monday beyng the xvij. daye of Aprill, by breake of day, he ſent certeine bandes of Spanyardes, which he had there, wyth the Garriſon of Tour, to the mountaine of Tailleret, by ẏ way whiche leadeth to the Medow of Tour, on ẏ South ſide. They murdered men, wemen and children of Tailleret, whom they founde in their beddes. Then they marched on along vpon the mountaine, towardes the Medow of Tour. Anone after the people perceaued ij. other companies of ſouldiers marchyng by Angrongne, by ij. ſeueral wayes, to aſſault the Medow of Tour. In the mornyng, as ſoone as they roſe they blew their hornes, for they ſawe the Spanyardes already entred. When they had made their prayers, euery man ranne to meete the enemyes, ſome on the Eaſt ſide and the other on the South. They whiche firſt reſiſted the Spanyardes (who were already paſt the bulwarkes) were in the begynnyng, but xij. Gunners, and a fewe other whom they cauſed to go vp to the hill, and role downe great ſtones. Theſe xij. hauing founde a fitte place for theyr purpoſe to ſtay the Spanyardes, began to ſhoote of their harquebuſhes at them. The Spanyardes ſeyng them ſelues ſo ſore aſſayled both aboue and beneath, and the place ſo narrow, and ſo ſtraight, reculed backe, and retired as faſt as they could, by the ſame way, by the which they came If they had taried a litle longer, they had bene encloſed betwene the ij. mountaines: whiche place was ſo ſtraite that they could not haue eſcaped. The people chaſed them vnto their campe, whiche was at Tour. As they fled they founde often, ſome Fortes, where they dyd reſiſte for a litle while: but they were alway beaten out. In this cõbate God gaue victorye to the poore Waldoys, with great ſlaughter of the Spanyardes: where alſo very many of thẽ were ſore hurt and wounded.

Note how thys bloudy wretch pretendyng agreemẽt, peace, and quietnes: immediatly ſeeketh the deſtruction of this poore people.

The people of Tailleret cruelly murdered of the Spanyardes.

The trumpettes of the Waldoys.

The Spanyardes beaten backe.

God geueth victory to the Waldoys agaynſt the Spanyardes.

The ſayd L. of Trinitie ſent vnto the Spanyards, that they ſhould not faynt and giue ouer, but ſticke to it like men and he woulde ſhortly ſend them ſuccour: but they woulde not. Thoſe of the Valley of Luſerne, hearyng of this conflict, came in the meene tyme, to helpe their neighboures. Amongeſt other, there was one ſlayne in that battaile, for whom the Lord of Trinitie much lamented, ſaying that he would rather haue loſt a whole bande, then that man. The other ij. companies, whiche marched by Angrongne, perceiuing the Spanyardes to bee ſo beaten and put to flight, & ſeyng alſo thoſe of ẏ medow of Tour cõmyng to encounter with them, retired in haſt. Vpõ that, the lord of Trinity went to Cauors thre miles from Luſerne, being in a great perplexitie: and as he was about to ſend ſuccoure to the Spaniardes, he heard the ſounde of a drumme aboue Luſerne, and ſuſpected that there was an army of ẏ Waldoys commyng againſt hym. Vpon this diuers of the ſouldiours

God taketh the hartes from hys enemyes.

God geueth courage to the poore Waldoys.

fled away by the playne, crying that all was loſt. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldoys had purſued the army, as they might eaſily haue done, the campe had that day bene chaſed out of Luſerne. The poore people lacked no courage ſo to do: for albeit they had neither eaten nor dronken all that day before, and had ſore traueled and fought: yet they ſaid, that if they had but a little refreſhed themſelues with a morſell of bread, and a glaſſe of wyne, they durſt take vpon them to enter into the campe of their enemies.

Within a few dayes after, they of Angrongne were aduertiſed by the lord of Trinities letters, that he fully determined to cut downe their trees, and vines, and deſtroy their corne beyng on the ground: And furthermore, yͤ two Fortes ſhould be builded at Angrongne. The day was aſſigned, & horſemen appoynted, with all ſpeede to execute this miſchieuous enterpriſe. The poore people thought yͭ they ſhould be aſſayled as ſore as euer they were, and fight as hard as euer they did before. But God preuẽted this cruel attempt. For the night afore that this ſhould be executed, the lord of Trinity receiued certaine letters from the Duke, whiche ſtayed this enterpriſe. They of the medow of Tour, beyng aduertiſed that the lord of Trinity did now entend to ſende ordinaunce to beate down the bulwarkes which were made of ſtones: they made a bulwarke of earth, which was in compaſſe, about v.C. paces: which they might eaſily ſee frõ Luſerne. They of the medow of Tour told the lord of Trinities men, that if they brought any artillery, they ſhoulde not ſo ſoone cary it away agayne, and ſhortly the ordinaunce was ſent backe agayne.

The miſchieuous purpoſe of Trinitie, ſtayed by the prouidẽce of God.

About this ſeaſon, the chiefe rulers and Miniſters of the Waldoys requeſted earneſtly the lord of Raconis, to preſent a ſupplication which they had made to the Ducheſſe of Sauoy. For they had intelligence that ſhe was ſore offended that her ſubiectes were ſo cruelly handled. In yͤ which ſupplication they declared the equitie of her cauſe, proteſting all due obedience to the Duke their ſoueraigne Lord: and if it might be proued by the pure word of God that they held any errour, they would with all humble ſubmiſſion, receiue correction and be reformed, humbly beſeeching her grace to appeaſe the diſpleaſure which the Duke had conceyued againſt them, by the vntrue ſurmiſes of theyr aduerſaries: and if there were any thing wherin they had offended hym, they moſt humbly craued his gracious pardon.

The Waldoys ſend a ſupplication to the Ducheſſe.

The Waldoys offer to be iudged by the word of God.

About this tyme the lord of Trinity, by ſicknes, was in great daunger of his lyfe. Soone after the ſupplicatiõ was deliuered: the Ducheſſe ſent an aunſwer to the Waldoys, by the ſaid Lord of Raconis. The effect therof was, that ſhe had obteyned of the Dukes grace all that they demaũded in their ſupplication, vpon ſuch conditions as the ſayd lord Raconis would propound vnto them. But when they vnderſtoode that the ſayd condicions were very rigorous, they ſent an other ſupplication vnto the Duches, wherein they humbly beſought her grace to be a meane that yͤ ſayd conditions and Articles might be moderated: which Articles here follow.

The L. of Trinitie ſore ſicke.

An other ſupplication ſent to the Ducheſſe.

First, that they ſhould baniſh their Miniſters.

Secondly, that they ſhould receyue the Maſſe and other ceremonies of the Romiſh church.

Thirdly, that they ſhould pay a raunſome to the ſouldiours for certayne of their men which they had taken.

Fourthly, that they ſhould aſſemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.

Fiftly, that the Duke would make fortreſſes at his pleaſure, in all that countrey, with other like thinges.

The ſupplication to the Ducheſſe.

The people made humble requeſt in this their laſt ſupplication, that it would pleaſe the ſayd Duches to geue the Duke her huſband to vnderſtand, how that theſe conditiõs were ſtraunge and rigorous. And as for their partes, although they had good triall of their miniſters, that they were good men and fearyng God, of ſound doctrine, of good lyfe and honeſt conuerſation, yet neuertheleſſe they were contẽted ſo to do if he would geue leaue to ſome of thẽ to remain: requeſtyng this, that it might be permitted vnto them to chuſe ſome other good Miniſters in their places, before they departed leſt that their Churches ſhould remain without Paſtors,

The conditions whereunto the Waldoys did agree and conſent.

Concernyng the Maſſe and other Ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the Duke ſhould cauſe them to be miniſtred in theyr pariſhes, they neither would, nor could withſtand the ſame, and for theyr part, they would doe no iniury or violence to thoſe that ſhould miniſter them or be preſent therat: notwithſtãding they beſought him, that they might not be conſtrayned to be preſent themſelues, at the miniſtration therof, or to pay any thing to yͤ mayntenãce of the ſame, or els to yeld either fauour or conſent therunto.

As touchyng the raunſome which was demaunded of them for their priſoners, conſideryng the extreme pouerty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had ſuffred, it was to them a thyng vnpoſſible. Yea if hys highnes were truly informed what loſſe they had ſuſteyned, by burnyng, ſpoylyng and ſackyng of their houſes and goodes, without all mercy or pity, he would not only require of them no ſuch thyng, but as a gracious and mercyfull Prince, he would ſuccour and ſupport them, that they might be able to mayntayne their poore families, whome they nouriſhed (as they were bound to do) to the ſeruice of God, and their ſayd Lord and Prince: and therfore they deſired that it might pleaſe hym that theie poore brethren remayning in captiuitie and priſon, and ſuch as were ſent to the Galleys for the profeſſion of their religion, might ſpedely be deliuered, and ſet at liberty.

As for their aſſembles and preachings, they were contented that they ſhould be kept only amongſt themſelues, in their accuſtomed places & in other Valleys aforeſaid, where any aſſemble of the faythfull ſhould be, which were deſirous to heare the preachyng of the Goſpell.

Touchyng yͤ Fortreſſes, for as much as by thoſe which were already made, they had ſuffered great moleſtations and troubles as well concernyng their goodes, as alſo their religion: they were aſſured that if he ſhould builde vp newe Fortes, they ſhould neuer be hable to abyde the troubles, miſeries, and calamities, that woulde folow therupon, and therfore they moſt humbly deſired the ſayd Ducheſſe to bee ſo good and gracious vnto them, as to obteine of the Duke that he would except their perſons in the ſtede of Fortes: and that, ſeyng thoſe places were by nature and of them ſelues ſtrong and well fortified, it myght pleaſe their ſayde lord the Duke, to receiue thẽ into hys protection and ſauegard: and by the grace and aſſiſtance of God, they woulde ſerue him them ſelues for ſuch walles, and Fortes, that he ſhould not neede to builde any other. And becauſe many of thoſe which dwelt neare about them, had robbed & ſpoiled them, not onely of their houſhold goodes and ſuch other thynges, but alſo driuen away their cattell: that it myght pleaſe hym to geue them leaue to recouer the ſayd goodes, by the way of Iuſtice, and to bye agayne that whiche the ſouldiers had ſold, and that for the ſame price, for the which it was ſolde.

Breefly, they alſo beſought their ſayde Lord, yͭ it myght pleaſe hym to bee ſo gracious vnto them, as to graunte thẽ a confirmation of all theyr franchiſes, immunities, and priuileges, as well generall, as particular, giuen vnto them as well by hym, as by his predeceſſours: and likewiſe of thoſe whiche, as well they, as their anciters had bought of their Lordes, and to receiue them as his moſt humble and obedient ſubiectes, into his protection and ſafegarde.

And becauſe in tyme paſt, in thee ſtede of good and ſpedy Iuſtice, all iniquitie was committed by thoſe that had the adminiſtration of iuſtice in their Valleys: ſo foraſmuch as their purſes were emptied and puniſhed rather then the malefactors: that it might pleaſe hym to geue order yͭ ſuch iuſtice myght be done amongſt them, wherby the wycked might be puniſhed with all ſeueritie, and the innocent defended and mainteyned in their right.

Finally, foraſmuch as diuers of this poore people, (beyng aſtoniſhed at the commyng of the army, and fearing leſt they ſhould not onely be ſpoyled of all their goodes, but alſo they with theyr wyues and children, be vtterly deſtroyed) made promiſe agaynſt their conſciences, to lyue accordyng to the traditions of the Church of Rome: they were meruelouſly troubled and tormented in ſpirit, and did nothing but languiſh in that diſtreſſe. Wherfore they humbly beſought the ſayd Duches to take pity vpon them, and to obtein that they might not be compelled to do any thyng agaynſt theyr conſcience: and moreouer, that it myght pleaſe the Duke to permit them, to lyue in liberty and fredome of conſcience: alſo, that all theyr poore brethren, baniſhed for the cauſe of religion, might returne home to their houſes: and that all confiſcations and penalties made agaynſt them, myght be aboliſhed. And for theyr p[illegible]ey promiſed to geue all due reuerence and honour to God and hys holy word, and to be true and faythfull ſubiects to theyr Lord and Prince. Yea more then any other. Underneath the ſayd ſupplicatiõ, there was written:

Torment of cõſcience in ſliding from the truth.

Your faythfull and humble ſubiectes,
the poore afflicted of the Valleys of
Luſerne, Angrongue, S.Martin, and
Perouſe, and generally all the people
of the Waldois, which inhabite the
countrey of Piemont.

After that this ſupplication was viewed and read of the ſayd Ducheſſe, ſhe ſo perſuaded with the Duke, that anſwer was made with theſe conditions declared in theſe Articles followyng.

Con-

Conclusions and Articles, laſtly agreed vpon betwene the right honourable lord of Raconis on the part of the Dukes highneſſe, and them of the Valleys of Piemont, called the Waldoys.

The cōpoſitiō & agreement vpon conditions, betwene the Duke, & the Waldoys.

Pardon promiſed.

That there ſhall ſhortly be made letters Patentes by the Dukes highneſſe, by the which it may appeare that he hath forgeuen and pardoned them of the Valleys of Angrongne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Roza, Taillerer, La Rua de Benet bordering vpon Tour, S. Martine, Perouſe, Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and all ſuch as haue ayded them: of all ſuch faultes as they haue committed, as well in bearyng armour agaynſt hys highnes, as agaynſt the Lordes and certayne other gentlemen whome he receyued and kept in hys protection and ſafegard.

Sermons & cōgregatiōs permitted.

That it ſhall be lawfull for them of Angrongne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Roza, (members of the Valley of Luſerne) and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Manculan, & Salſa (members of the Valley of S. Martine) to haue their congregations, ſermons, and other miniſteries of their religion, in places accuſtomed.

The pariſhe of Villars.

That it ſhall be lawfull for them of Villars (members of the Valley of Luſerne) to haue the ſame, but that onely vntill the tyme that hys hyghnes doth build a Forte in the ſame place. But whileſt the ſayd fort is in buildyng, it ſhall not be lawfull to haue their preachyngs and aſſemblies within the ſayd precinct of the place, but it ſhalbe lawful for them to build a place for that purpoſe, nere at hande, where they ſhall thinke good, on that ſide towardes Boby. Neuertheles it ſhalbe permitted to their miniſters to come within yͤ precinct aforeſaid, to viſite the ſick, and exerciſe other things neceſſary to their religion, ſo that they preach not, nor make any aſſemble there.

The pariſh of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet.

It ſhalbe alſo permitted to them of Tailleret, La Rua de Benet bordering vpon Tour, to haue their Sermones and aſſemblies in places accuſtomed, ſo that they enter not for that purpoſe into the reſt of the confines of Tour.

The valleyes of Luſerne & S. Martin.

That it ſhall not be lawfull for the ſayd members of the Valleys of Luſerne and S. Martine, to come to the reſt of theyr borderers, nor any other of his hyghnes dominions: nor to haue their preachinges, aſſemblies or diſputations, out of theyr owne borders, hauyng liberty to haue them therein. And if they be examined of their fayth, it ſhall be lawfull for them to anſwer without daunger of puniſhment in body or goodes.

The Pariſhe of Perouſe.

The lyke ſhall be lawfull for them of the pariſhe of Perouſe, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſayd religion, and were wont to haue their aſſēblies and preachinges and other miniſteries accordyng to their religiō, at the place called le Puis: ſo that they come not to other places & borders of the ſayd pariſh.

The pariſhe of Pinachia.

It ſhall be permitted to them of yͤ pariſh of Pinachia, of the Valley of Perouſe, which at this preſent be fled becauſe of the ſaid religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and aſſemblies and other miniſteries of that religion, to haue the lyke onely at the place called le Grandoubion.

The pariſh of S. Germain.

It ſhall be permitted to them of the pariſh of S. Germain of the Valley of Perouſe, and to them of Roccapiata, which at this preſent are fled becauſe of the ſayd religiō, and continue in the ſame, to haue one onely miniſter, which may the one day preach at S. Germain, at yͤ place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandim only.

Order for villages being farre frō the pariſhe Church.

It ſhalbe permitted to all them of the townes and Villages of the ſayd Valleys, which at this preſent are fled, and continue in the ſayd religion, notwithſtandyng any promiſe or abiuration made before this warre agaynſt the ſayd religion, to repaire & returne to theyr houſes with their houſeholdes, and to lyue accordyng to the ſame, goyng and commyng to the Sermons and aſſemblies which ſhall be made by their miniſters in the places aboue ſpecified, ſo that they obey that which is aboueſayd.

And becauſe that many of the ſayd townes and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preachyng, hauyng nede to be viſited, and of other thyngs accordyng to their ſayd religion, their miniſters which dwel within the precinct, ſhalbe ſuffred without preiudice, to viſite and duely ayde thē of ſuch miniſteries as ſhalbe neceſſary for thē, ſo that they make no Sermons or aſſemblies.

The pariſh of Meane, and S. Barthelmew.

By eſpeciall grace it ſhall be permitted to all them of the Valley of Meane, and them of S. Bartlemew, neighbours to Roccapiata, and are fled and continue in the ſayd religion, peaceably to enioy the grace and liberties graunted in yͤ next article before, ſo that they obſerue all which they before promiſe to obſerue.

The goods of the Waldoys reſtored.

The goodes already ſeaſed as forfait, ſhal be reſtored to all the inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the ſayd religion, as well of them of the ſaid Valleys, as of Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and of Meane, ſo that they be not ſeaſed for any other cauſe then for yͤ ſaid religion, and for the warre preſent and lately paſt.

It ſhalbe lawfull for them aforeſayd, to recouer by way of Iuſtice, of their neighbours, their moueable goods and cattell, ſo it bee not of Souldiours: and that whiche hath bene ſold, they ſhall alſo recouer by way of Iuſtice, ſo that they reſtore the price for whiche it hath bene ſold. Theyr neighbours ſhall haue the like agaynſt them.

The liberties reſtored.

All theyr fraunchiſes, fredomes, & priuiledges, as well generall, as particuler, graunted as well by hys highnes predeceſſours, as by him ſelfe, and obteined of other inferiour Lordes, whereof they ſhall make proufe by publicke writinges, ſhalbe confirmed vnto them.

The ſayd Valleys ſhalbe prouided for to haue good Iuſtice miniſtred vnto them, wherby they may knowe they are kept in ſauegard by his hyghnes, as well as all his other ſubiectes.

The inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleys ſhall make a Role of all the names and ſurnames of all them of the ſayd Valleys, whiche are fled for religion, as well ſuch as haue abiured, as other, to the end they may be reſtored, and mainteined in their goods and houſholdes, and enioye ſuch grace and benefites as their Prince and Lord hath beſtowed on them.

And in ſo much as it is knowen to euery man, that the Prince may builde Fortreſſes in his country, where it ſhal pleaſe hym without contradiction, neuertheleſſe, to take all ſuſpicion out of the myndes of the aforeſayd Waldoys, it is declared that if, at any tyme hereafter, his highnes will make a Forte at Villars, the inhabitātes of the ſayd place ſhall not be conſtrayned to beare the charges, but onely as they ſhal thinke good, louingly to ayde their Prince. Which Forte beyng builded (by Gods ayde) A Gouernour and Captayne ſhall therin be appoynted, whiche ſhell attempt nothyng but the ſeruice of his hyghnes, without offence of the inhabitantes either in theyr goodes or conſciences.

It ſhalbe lawfull for them, before yͤ diſchargyng of theyr Miniſters, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe his highnes to haue diſcharged, to chuſe and call other in their ſtedes: ſo that they chuſe not M. Martin de Pragela, nor chaunge not from one place to another, of the ſayd Valleis, any of them which be diſcharged.

M. Martin de Pragela. Miniſter of the Waldoys.

Maſſe ſet vp, but none compelled, to come to it.

The Maſſe and other ſeruice after the vſage of Rome, ſhalbe kept in all the Pariſhes of the ſayd Valleys, where the Sermons aſſemblies, and other miniſters of their religion are made, but none ſhalbe compelled to be preſent thereat, nor to miniſter, ayde or fauour to ſuch as ſhall vſe that ſeruice.

All the expenſes and charges borne by his highnes in this warre, ſhalbe forgeuen and releaſed to them for euer. Alſo the eight thouſand crownes wherin the inhabitantes of the ſayd Valleys were behynde, as parte of xvi thouſāde crownes, which they had promiſed in the warre paſſed: and his highnes will commaunde that the writinges for that cauſe made, ſhalbe adnulled and Cancelled.

Their priſoners reſtored by raunſome reaſonable.

All the priſoners ſhalbe rendred and reſtored which ſhall be found to be in the handes of the ſouldiours, paying raunſome reaſonable, accordyng to their goodes, as they ſhall be ſeaſed: and thoſe which ſhall be adiudged to be wrongfully taken, ſhalbe releaſed without raunſome.

The captiues in Galleys reſtored.

Lykewiſe, all they of the ſayd Valleys, which for Religion, and not for other cauſes, are deteyned in the Galleys, ſhalbe releaſed wythout raunſome.

Finally, it ſhalbe lawfull for all them of the ſayd Valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and S. Bartlemew, of what degree, eſtate, or condition ſo euer they be (except miniſters) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conuerſatiō with the reſt of hys highnes ſubiectes, and to tary, go and come, in all places in hys highnes countrey, to ſell and buye, and vſe all trades of Merchaundiſe, in all places in hys highnes countrye, as before is ſaide, ſo that they preach not, nor make any aſſemblies, or diſputations, as we haue before ſayd: and that they which be of the limites, dwell not out of them: and they which be of the townes and villages of the ſayd valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in ſo doyng they ſhall not be moleſted by any meanes, and ſhall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods: but ſhall remayne vnder the protection and ſauegarde of hys highneſſe.

The libertie of traffike graunted.

Furthermore, his highnes ſhall ſet order to ſtay all troubles, inconueniences, ſecret conſpiracies of wicked perſons, after ſuch ſort, that they ſhall remayne quietly in theyr religion. For obſeruation whereof, George Monaſtier, one of the elders of Angrongne, Conſtantion Dialeſtini, otherwyſe called Reinbaldo, one of the Elders of Villars, Pirrone Arduino ſent frō the comminaltie of Boby, Michael Raimondet, ſent from the communaltie of Tailleret and of

The elders of the Valleys of Piemont.

le Rua de Bouet borderyng vpon Tour, John Malenote, ſent from certayn perſons of S. John, Peter Paſchal ſent from the communaltie of the valley of S. Martin, Thom. Roman of S. German, ſent from the communaltie of the ſame place, and of all the Valley of Perouſe, promiſe for thẽ and their communalties ſeuerally, that the contentes of theſe concluſions aforeſayd, ſhalbe inuiolately kept, and for breach therof do ſubmitte themſelues to ſuch puniſhment as ſhall pleaſe his highnes: Promiſing likewyſe to cauſe the chiefe of the families of the communalties, to allow and confirme the ſayd promiſe.

The Lord of Raconis.

The honourable Lorde of Raconis doth promiſe that the Dukes highnes ſhal confirme and allowe the foreſayde concluſions to them both generally and perticularly, at the interceſſion and eſpeciall fauour of the noble Lady the Princeſſe.

The Lady Princes interceſſour for the Waldoys.

In teſtimony wherof, the foreſayde Lord of Raconis hath confirmed theſe preſent Concluſions, with hys owne hand, and the Miniſters haue likewyſe ſubſcribed in the name of all the ſayd Valleys, and they which can wryte, in the name of all their communalties. At Cauor, the v. of June. 1561.

Phillip of Sauoy.
Fraunces Valla, Miniſter of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, Miniſter of Taillaret.
Georgius Monaſterius.
Michael Raymundet.

This accorde beyng thus made and paſſed, by yͤ meanes of the Ducheſſe of Sauoy, the poore Waldois haue ben in quyet vntill this preſent: and God of his infinite goodnes hauyng deliuered thẽ out of ſo many troubles and conflictes, hath ſet them at libertie, to ſerue him purely & with quyetnes of conſcience.

Wherfore there is none at this preſent (except he be altogether blynd or ſenceles) but he ſeeth and well perceiueth that God would make it knowen by experience, to theſe poore Waldoys, and al other faythfull people, that al things turne to the beſt to them, which loue and feare him. For by all theſe afflictions whiche they ſuffered (as is before rehearſed) this good heauēly father hath brought them to repentaunce and amendement of lyfe. He hath effectuouſly taught them to haue recourſe to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jeſus Chriſt, for their onely Sauiour and redemer.

All thynges turne to the beſt, to them that loue the Lord.

Furthermore hee hath taught them to tame the deſires and luſtes of the fleſhe, to with draw their hartes from the worlde, and lift them vp to heauen, and to be alwayes in a redynes to come to hym, as vnto their moſt louing and pitifull father. To be ſhort, hee hath ſet them to the ſchole of hys children, to the ende they ſhould profite in patience and hope: to make them to mourne, wepe and cry vnto him. And aboue all, he hath made them ſo oft to proue his ſuccours at tyme of nede, to ſee them before their eyes, to feele and touch them with their handes (as a man would ſay) after ſuch ſort, that they haue had good occaſion and all the faythfull with them, neuer to diſtruſt ſo good a father, and ſo carefull for the health of his children: but to aſſure them ſelues neuer to be confounded, what thyng ſoeuer happen.

And yet to ſee this more manifeſtly, and that euery man may take profite therof, it ſhalbe good to vnderſtand what this poore people dyd, whiles they were in theſe combates and conflictes. So ſoone as they ſawe the armye of their enemyes approch, they cryed altogether for ayde and ſuccour to the Lord and before they began to defend thẽ ſelues they fell to prayer, and in fightyng lifted vp their hartes and ſighed to the Lord. As long as the enemyes were at reſt, euery one of this poore people, on their knees, called vpon God. When the combate was ended, they gaue hym thankes for the comfort and ſuccour, whiche they had felt. In the meane time, the reſt of the people with the Miniſters, made their harty prayer vnto God with ſighes and teares, and that, from the mornyng vntill the euenyng. When night was come, they aſſembled agayne together. They which had fought, rehearſed the wonderfull ayde & ſuccour which God had ſent them, and ſo altogether rendred thankes vnto hym for his fatherly goodnes. Alwayes he chaunged their ſorrow into ioye. In the mornyng trouble an affliction appeared before them, with great terrour on all ſides: but by the euenyng, they were deliuered, & had large cauſe of reioyſing and comfort.

The behauiour of theſe good men in their perſecutions.

This poore people had two terrible enemies: warre and famine, which kept them vnder, in ſuch ſort that a man would haue thought they had bene vtterly loſt and deſtroyed. But God of his endles mercy, deliuered them from ſuch daungers, and reſtored them to their houſes, where they remayned afterwardes in peace and quietnes, & all they which had declared themſelues to be their open enemies, were brought to confuſiō, as well thoſe which ſought to get their goodes, as thoſe which onely deſired to ſhedde theyr bloud. For proofe wherof, the onely example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of Luſerne ſhall ſuffiſe. Theſe not onely moued cruell warre agaynſt theyr poore tenantes and others, but moſt ſhamefully ſpoyled them, and tooke vntollerable fines of all thoſe that diſobeyed their Edictes, to keepe a good conſcience.

Warre & famine two enemies agaynſt theſe mē.

Beſides this, they went about to ſeaſe all theyr goodes as forfaite: waytyng to haue the whole forfayture thereof themſelues. And for this cauſe they did not onely incenſe the Duke wyth falſe reportes and wyth greuious complaintes and accuſations, agaynſt theſe poore Waldoys: but alſo purſued the ſame ſo long and with ſuch charges, that they were fayne to ſell their inheritaunce, in hope to bryng their purpoſe to paſſe, and to enioy that goodly pray, which they thoughte coulde not eſcape theyr handes. But in the ende, for their rewarde, they gotte nothyng but ſhame and confuſion.

Example of Gods fauour toward his ſeruants and confuſiō toward their perſecutors.

And as for the Monkes and Prieſtes which by ſuch meanes thought to aduance themſelues, and to bring their trumpery to eſtimation, they haue loſt the little rule whiche they had ouer that people, and are cōfounded, and their religion brought in diſdayne. Thus God beateth downe thoſe which exalt themſelues aboue meaſure, and maketh his aduerſaries to fall into the pits which they themſelues haue made.

Let vs pray vnto hym therefore, that it would pleaſe hym likewyſe to ſtretch out hys puiſſaunt arme at this day, to maintayne hys poore Church now afflicted, and to confound all the deuiſes of Sathan and hys members, to the aduauncement of hys glory and kyngdome.

The concluſion of the ſtory.

And thus haſt thou (chriſtian reader) for thy erudition and comfort, the ſtory and doynges, diſcourſed concernyng theſe two countreys, both of Prouince and alſo of Piemōt, the one beyng ſubiect vnder the dominion of Fraunce, the other belongyng to the duke of Sauoy. In the which two foreſayd regions and countreys, how long the Goſpell of Chriſt hath continued (euen from the tyme of the firſt Waldenſes) the hiſtory it ſelfe declareth.

The concluſion of the ſtory of Merindol, and Angrongna. Merindol & Cabriers in Prouince, vnder the French king.

Angrongne and others in Piemont vnder the Duke of Sauoye.

Furthermore, what iniuries and wronges haue bene done agaynſt them for the Goſpels ſake, what rigour and cruelty hath bene ſhewed of the aduerſary part: agayne, for theyr parte, what pacience in theyr ſufferyng, what conſtancie in theyr doctrine, what truth in theyr wordes, and ſimplicitie in theyr deedes, what obedience towarde theyr Magiſtrates, and fayth toward God they haue vſed, and finally, how miraculouſly and mightily God hath fought for hys people, and confounded the enemies, the ſayd hiſtory may geue thee full knowledge and experience.

The crueltie of the aduerſaries.

The pacience of the Martyrs.

Wherin this thou haſt moreouer for thy more learnyng, to note and to conſider with thy ſelfe, beſides many other memorable thinges in this ſtory conteyned how vnwillyng this people were at firſt, and what remorſe of conſciēce they had, for theyr obedience toward theyr magiſtrates, to lyft vp any hande or finger, for their owne defence. And therefore many of them beyng ſlayne and cruelly murthered as willingly offering theyr throates without any reſiſtaunce, to the cruell handes of theyr enemies, the reſt were compelled to flye into the mountaynes, beyng ſpoyled of houſe, vittail, and weapon, onely to ſaue theyr poore lyues with flying, which otherwiſe they would not with reſiſting, in rockes and caues, thinkyng there rather to periſh by famine, then to vſe that defence for themſelues, which nature geueth to euery brute beaſt to helpe it ſelfe as it may, agaynſt violence and iniury. Yet theſe poore Waldoys refuſing all reſiſtaunce, and laying downe their owne weapon (for obedience ſake) yea not liftyng vp their owne handes, to defend their owne heades, onely vſed the poore ſhifte of flying from theyr enemies, till at length the rage of thoſe bloudy perſecutours, ſatiſfied with no bloud, nor contented with any reaſon, ceaſed not ſtill moſt furiouſly, to infeſt them, yea to take alſo the mountaines from them, which had taken from them theyr houſes before, neyther yet permitting them to lyue with the wylde beaſtes in the deſert, which could not lyue in theyr townes at home: tyll at length, by extreme neceſſitie, the prouidence of God ſo workyng wyth them, they were compelled to turne their faces, and to take thoſe weapons, which the grounde gaue to their handes. And with thoſe ſtones, ſo meruelouſly the God of hoſtes wrought for hys people, that they bet, vanquiſhed and ouerthrew their aduerſaries, they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, & at laſt, ſtaid yͤ intollerable rage of their perſecutiō. So mercifully & victoriouſly the Lord God omnipotent fought

Then they which are in Jewry let thē flye into the Mountaines, Luke. 21.

The Waldoys compelled to defend them ſelues.

with

Note how the Lord bleſſed the Waldoys, ſtanding to their owne defence.

with his people, or rather for his people, they but turnyng almoſt their faces vnto their enemyes, no otherwiſe then he fought in tymes before, with Ioſue agaynſt the heathen, with the Iſraelites agaynſt the Philiſtians, with ỹ Macabees, agaynſt Antiochus and the Sirians.

Ex Hiſtor. Gallica. & Italica.

This hiſtorye carying with it a true narration of thinges done in the ſayd country of Piemont, and written (as it ſemeth) by certaine of the Miniſters, whiche were at the doyng therof, with the like fayth and ſimplicitie we haue collected partly out of the Italian, partly out of the French tongue: for in both the languages it is written, although in the French tongue, it is much more largely diſcourſed, which booke moſte principally herein we haue folowed. The title wherof thus beginneth, Hiſtoire des perſecutions & Guerres faites contre le people appelle Vaudois. &c.

Now, that we haue finiſhed theſe forreine hiſtories, concernyng ſuch matters as haue bene paſſed in other realmes and nations of Germanie, Italie, Spayne, Fraunce, and Sauoy: conſequently it remayneth after thys digreſſe, to returne and reduce our ſtorye agayne, to our owne country matters, here done and paſſed at home, after that firſt we ſhall haue added one forrein ſtorye more, concernyng the Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Iewe, whiche ſuffered about theſe yeares, in Conſtantinople, among the Turkes, in this wiſe as foloweth.

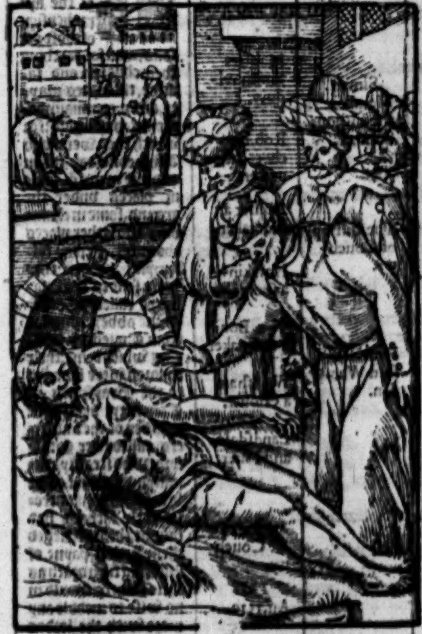
The ſtory of a chriſtian Iew in Conſtantinople martyred by the Turkes.

A Chriſtian Iewe, Martyr.

1528.

The Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Iewe.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
The Turkes of Conſtātinople.	A Iew chriſtened and Martyred. At Conſtantinople. An.1528.	TO theſe forreine martyrs aforeſayd we will alſo adioyne the hiſtorie of a certayne Iew, who in the yere of our Lorde. 1528. dwelling in the Citie of Conſtātinople, and there receiuyng ỹ ſacrament of baptiſme, was conuerted, and became a good Chriſtian. Whē the turkes vnderſtode hereof, they were vehemently exaſperated agaynſt him that he forſakyng hys Iewiſhnes, ſhould be regenerate to the faith of Chriſt: and fearyng leaſt hys conuerſion ſhould be a detrimente to their Mahometicall lawe, they ſought meanes howe to put hym to death, whiche in ſhorte tyme after, they accōpliſhed. And for ỹ greater infamy to be done vnto ỹ mā, they caſt his dead corps into the ſtretes, cō[illegible] ding ỹ no m[illegible] be ſo hardy [illegible] the ſame.



wherin the meruelous glorye and power of Chriſte appeared. For the dead corps lying ſo by the ſpace of ix. dayes in the middeſt of the ſtretes, retained ſo his natiue colour, and was ſo freſhe, without any kynd of filthines or corruption, and alſo not without a certeine pleaſaunt and delectable ſent or odour, as if it had bene lately ſlayne, or rather not ſlayne at all: which when the Turkes behelde they were thereat meruelouſly aſtonied, and beyng greatly afrayde they them ſelues tooke it vp, and caried it to a place nere without the towne, and buryed it.

The cōtents of the booke folowyng.

HAuyng thus comprehended the troubles and perſecutions of ſuch godlye Saintes, and bleſſed Martyrs, whiche haue ſuffered in other forcine nations aboue mentioned, here now endyng with them, and beynnyng the viij booke, wee haue (God wyllyng) to returne agayne to our owne matters, and to proſecute ſuch Actes and recordes, as to our owne countrey of Englād do appertayne. In the proces wherof among many other thynges, may appeare the meruelous worke of Gods power and mercy in ſuppreſſing and baniſhyng out of this realme, the long vſurped ſupremacie of the Pope: alſo in ſubuertyng and ouerthrowyng the houſes of Monkes, and Friers, with diuers other matters perteining to the reformation of Chriſtes true Church and religion. All which thinges as they haue bene long wiſhed, and greatly groned for in tymes paſt of many godly learned men: ſo much more ought we nowe to reioyce and geue God thankes, ſeyng theſe dayes of reformation, which God hath geuen vs. If Iohn Huſſe, or good Hierome of Prage, or Iohn Wickliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swynderby, or the Lord Cobham, if Ziſca with all the company of the Bohemians, if the Earle Raymundus wyth all the Tholoſſians, if the Waldoys or the Albingenſis with infinite other, had bene either in theſe our tymes now, or els had ſene then this ruine of the Pope, and reuealyng of, Antichriſt, which the Lorde now hath diſpenſed vnto vs, what ioye and triumphe woulde they haue made? Wherefore now beholdyng that thyng which they ſo long tyme haue wiſhed for, let vs not thinke the benefite to be ſmall, but render therefore moſt humble thankes to the Lord our God: Who by hys myghty power and brightneſſe of hys worde, hath reuealed this great enemy of hys ſo manifeſtly to the eyes of all men, who before was hidde in the Church, ſo coulourably, that almoſt few Chriſtians could eſpye hym. For who would euer haue iudged or ſuſpected in hys mynde, the Biſhop of Rome (commonly receiued and beleued almoſt of all men, to be the Vicare and Vicegerent of Chriſt here in earth) to be Antichriſt, and the great aduerſary of God, whom S. Paule ſo expreſly propheſieth of in theſe latter dayes to be reuealed by the brightneſſe of the Lordes commyng, as all men now, for the moſt part may ſee is come to paſſe. Wherfore to the Lord and father of lightes, who reuealeth all thynges in hys due tyme, be prayſe and glory for euer. Amen.

Antichriſt long hyd, and now reueled.

¶ The ende of the ſeuenth Booke.

❧ The eight Booke continuyng the hiſtory of Engliſh matters appertayning to both the ſtates, as well eccleſiaſticall, as ciuill and temporall.

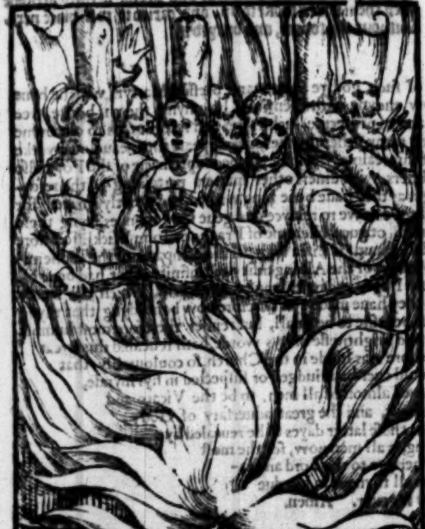
Martyrs of Couentry.

Maiſtres Smith. Robert Hatchets. Archer, Hawkins, Thomas Bond. Wrigſham. Landſdale, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Simon Mourton the biſhops Somner. The biſhop of Couentry. Frier Stafford Warden.	Maiſtres Smith widow. Rob. Hatchets a ſhomaker. Archer a ſhomaker. Hawkins a ſhomaker. Tho. Bond a ſhomaker Wrigſham a Glouer. Landſdale an Hoſier. At Couentry. An. 1519.	THe principall cauſe of the apprehenſion of thoſe perſons, was for teaching their children and familie, the lordes prayer, and x. commaundementes in Engliſh: for which they were vpō Aſhwedneſday, taken and put in priſō, ſome in places vnder the ground, ſome in chambers and other places about till Friday following. Then they were ſent to a monaſterye called Mackeſtocke abbey 6. myles from Couentry. During which tyme, their children were ſent for to the Grayfriers in Couentry, before the warden of the ſaid friers, called frier Stafford: who ſtraitly examining them of theyr beliefe, and what hereſie their fathers had taught them, charged them vpon payne of ſuffering ſuch death as their fathers ſhould in no wiſe to meddle any more with the lordes prayer, the Crede, and commaundementes in Engliſh.

The Lordes prayer in Engliſhe forbidden of the papiſtes.

Which done, vpon Palmeſonday, the fathers of theſe children were brought backe again to Couentry, and there, the weeke next before Eaſter, were condemned for relapſe (becauſe moſt of them had borne fagots in the ſame Citie before) to be burned.



vij. godly Martyrs in Couentry, burned.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
		Only Maiſtres Smith was diſmiſſed for that preſent, & ſent away. And becauſe it was in the euenyng being ſomewhat darke, as ſhe ſhould go home, the foreſayd Simon Mourton the Sommer offered him ſelfe to go home with her. Now as hee was leadyng her by the arme, and heard the ratteling of a ſcrole within her ſleue: yea (ſayeth he) what haue ye here? And ſo tooke it from her, and eſpyed that it was the Lordes prayer, the Articles of the fayth, & x. Commaundementes in Engliſhe. Which when the wretched Sommer vnderſtode, ah ſirrha (ſaid he) come, as good now as an other tyme, and ſo brought her backe agayne to the Byſhop, where ſhe was immediatly condemned, and ſo burned with the vi. men before named, the fourth of April in a place therby called the litle parke. an. 1519.

Maiſtres Smith condemned for hauing the Lordes prayer in Engliſhe.

	Robert Silkeb. At Couentry. An. 1522.	IN the ſame number of theſe Couentrye men aboue rehearſed, was alſo Robert Silkeb, who at the apprehenſion of theſe, as is aboue recited, fled away, and for that time eſcaped: But about ij. yeares after, hee was takē again, & brought to yͤ ſayd Citie of Couentrie, where he was alſo burned the morow after he came thether, which was about the xiij. day of January. an. 1522. Thus, when theſe were diſpatched immediatly yͤ Shiriffes went to their houſes, & toke all their goods & cattel to their owne vſe, not leauing theyr wiues & children any parcel therof to helpe

1521.

Rob Silkeb Martyr.

themſelues with all. And for ſo much as the people began to grudge ſomewhat, at the crueltie ſhewed, and at the vniuſt death of theſe innocent Martyrs, the Byſhop, with his officers and prieſtes, cauſed it to bee noyſed abroade by their tenauntes, ſeruauntes, and fermers, that they were not burned for hauing the Lordes prayer and Commaundementes in Engliſhe, but becauſe they dyd eate fleſhe on Fridayes and other faſtyng dayes: which neither could bee proued, either before theyr death, or after, nor yet was any ſuch matter greatly obiected to them in their examinations. The witneſſes of this hiſtorie bee yet alyue, whiche both ſaw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name mother Halle, dwellyng now in Bagington ij. myles from Couentrie. By whom alſo this is teſtified of them, yͭ they aboue al other in Couentrie pretended moſt ſhew of worſhyp and deuotion, at the holdyng vp of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, is is not knowē. This is certaine that in godlines of life they differed from all the reſt of yͤ Citie: Neither in their occupying they would vſe any othes, nor could abyde it in them that occupyed with them.

Teſtimonie of this ſtory.

Note, how theſe Martyrs holding wyth the popiſhe ſacraments, yet were burned of the Papiſts, onely for a few Scriptures in Engliſhe.

James Beton, Archb. of S. Andrew. M. Hew Spēs, deane of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of S. Andrew. M. John Weddell Rector of the Vniuerſitie.	Patricke Hamelton.	PAtrike Hamelton a Scottiſh mā borne, of an high and noble ſtock, & of the kynges bloud, yong & of flouriſhing age, & excellēt towardnes, of 23. yeares called abbot of Ferme firſt comming out of his country with thre companions, to ſeeke godly learning, wēt to yͤ vniuerſitie of Marpurge in Germanye, which vniuerſity was then newly erected by Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe: where he vſing conferēce & familiaritie with learned men, namely wͭ Franciſcus Lam-

1527.

The ſtory of M. Patricke Hamelton. in Scotland.

Of thys Philip Lantgraue of Heſſe read before, pag. 866.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.
Iames Symſon, Officiall. Tho. Ramſay, Chanō, and Deane of the Abbey of S. Andrewes. Allane Meldrum Chanon. Iohn Greſon, Principall of the Blacke Friers. Iohn Dillidaffe, Warden of the Gray Friers. Martin Balbur, Lawyer. Iohn Spēs, Lawyer. Alexander Yoūg, bacheler of Diuinitie, Chanon. Iohn Annand, Chanon. Frier Alex. Chambell, Priour of the Blacke Friers, &c.	At Saint Andrewes in Scotlād. An. 1527.

Of the vniuerſitie of Marpurge, read pag. 865.

The Cauſes.

Libertus, ſo profited in knowledge, & mature iudgement in matters of religiō, that he through ÿ incitamēt of ÿ ſayd Lambert, was the firſt in al ÿ vniuerſitie of Marpurge, which publickely dyd ſet vp concluſiōs there to be diſputed of, concernyng fayth and workes: arguyng alſo no leſſe learnedly then feruently vpon the ſame. What theſe propoſitions and concluſions were, partly in his treatiſe hereafter folowyng, called Patrike places, may appeare.

The godly zeale of M. Hamelton towardes his countrey.

Thus the ingenious wyt of this learned Patrike increaſing dayly more and more in knowledge, & inflamed with godlines, at length began to reuolue with himſelfe, touchyng his returne into his countrey, beyng deſirous to imparte vnto hys countrey men, ſome fruite of the vnderſtādyng, which he had receaued abroad. Whereupon, perſiſtyng in his godly purpoſe, he toke one of the iij. whō he brought out of Scotland, and ſo returned home without any longer delay. Where he, not ſuſteinyng the miſerable ignorance and blindnes of that people, after he had valiantly taught & preached the truth, and refelled their abuſes, was firſt accuſed of hereſie, & afterward, conſtantly and ſtoutly ſuſteinyng the quarell of Gods Goſpell, agaynſt ÿ high prieſt, & Archbyſhop of S. Andrew, named Iames Beton, was cited to appeare before him & his Colledge of Prieſts, the firſt day of March. 1527. But he beyng not onely forward in knowledge, but alſo ardent in ſpirite, not taryng for the houre appointed, preuented the time, and came very early in the mornyng, before he was looked for, & there mightely diſputyng againſt them, when he could not by the Scriptures be conuicted, by force he was oppreſſed: and ſo, the ſentence of condemnatiō beyng giuen agaynſt him, the ſame day after dyner, in all the hoate haſt, he was had away to the fire, & there burned, the kyng beyng yet but a child, which made the Byſhops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, without all iuſt cauſe, made away by cruell aduerſaries, yet not without great fruite to the Church of Chriſt, for the graue teſtimony of his bloud, left the veritie & truth of God, more fixed and confirmed in the hartes of many, then euer could after be plucked away: in ſomuch that diuers afterward ſtādyng in his quarel, ſuſteined alſo the lyke Martyrdome, as hereafter (Chriſt willyng) ſhall appeare, as place and tyme ſhall require.

The Martyrdome and ſuffering of M. Patricke Hamelton.

In the meane ſeaſon we thinke good to expreſſe here his Articles, and order of his proceſſe as we receaued them from Scotland, out of the regiſters.

¶ The Articles and opinions obiected agaynſt M. Patrike Hamelton, by Iames Beton Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes.

Articles out of the Regiſters.

That man hath no free will.

That there is no Purgatory.

That the holy Patriarkes were in heauen, before Chriſtes paſſion.

That the Pope hath no power to looſe and bynde: neither any Pope had that power, after S. Peter.

That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that euery Prieſt hath the power that the Pope hath.

That M. Patrike Hamelton was a byſhop.

That it is not neceſſary to obteine any Bulles from any Byſhop.

That the vow of the Popes religion, is a vow of wickednes.

That the Popes lawes be of no ſtrength.

That all Chriſtians worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they be in the ſtate of grace.

That none be ſaued, but they are before predeſtinate.

Whoſoeuer is in deadly ſinne, is vnfaythfull.

That God is the cauſe of ſinne, in this ſence, that is, that he withdraweth hys grace from men, whereby they ſinne.

That it is deuiliſhe doctrine, to enioyne to any ſinner, actuall penaunce for ſinne.

That the ſayd M. Patrike hymſelf doubteth whether all children departing incontinent after their Baptiſme, are ſaued or condemned.

That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſaluation.

These Articles aboue written, were geuen in, and layd agaynſt M. Hamelton, and inſerted in their regiſters, for the which alſo he was cōdemned, by them which hated him to death. But other learned men, which commoned & reaſoned with hym, do teſtifie, that theſe Articles folowyng were the very Articles, for the which he ſuffered.

Theſe articles, otherwiſe more truely collected.

1. Man hath no free will.
2. A man is onely iuſtified by fayth in Chriſt.
3. A man, ſo long as he liueth, is not without ſinne.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Chriſtian, which beleueth not that he is in grace.
5. A good man doth good workes: good workes do not make a good man.
6. An euill man bringeth forth euil workes: euil workes, being faithfully repented, do not make an euill man.
7. Fayth, hope, and charitie be ſo lynked together, that one of them can not be without an other, in one mā, in this life.

¶ And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctours gaue their iudgementes, as diuers do report, he was not accuſed of them before the byſhop. Albeit in priuate diſputation, he affirmed and defended the moſt of the.

Here foloweth the ſentence pronounced agaynſt hym.

The ſentence agaynſt M. Patricke Hamelton.

CHriſti nomine Inuocato: We Iames, by the mercy of God, Archbiſhop of Saint Andrew, primate of Scotlād, wyth the counſaile, decree, and authoritie of the moſt reuerend fathers in God, and Lordes, Abbottes, Doctours of Theologie, profeſſors of the holy Scripture, and maiſters of the vniuerſitie, aſſiſting vs for the tyme, ſitting in iudgemēt within our Metropolitane church of S. Andrew, in the cauſe of hereticall prauitie, agaynſt M. Patrike Hamelton, Abbot or penſionarie of Ferme, being ſummoned to appeare before vs, to aunſwere to certeine Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by hym, and ſo appearyng before vs, and accuſed, the merites of the cauſe beyng ripely weyde, diſcuſſed, and vnderſtāded by faythful inquiſition made in Lent laſt paſſed: we haue founde the ſame M. Patrike, many wayes infamed wyth hereſie, diſputing, holding, and maintaynyng diuers hereſies of Martin Luther, and hys folowers, repugnant to our fayth, and which is already * condemned by generall Councels, and moſt famous Vniuerſities. And he beyng vnder the ſame infamie, we decernyng before, hym to be ſummoned and accuſed vpon the premiſſes, he of euill mynde (as may be preſumed) paſſed to other partes, forth of the Realme, ſuſpected and noted of hereſie. And beyng lately returned, not beyng admitted, but of his owne head, without licēce or priuiledge, hath preſumed to preach wicked hereſie.

*Condemned by councelles & Vniuerſities, but here is no mention of the ſcripture.

We haue found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed, & taught diuers opinions of Luther, and wicked hereſies, after that he was ſummoned to appeare before vs and our councell: That man hath no free wyll: That man is in ſinne ſo long as he lyueth: That children incontinent after their baptiſme, are ſinners: All Chriſtians that be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace: No mā is iuſtified by workes, but by fayth onley: Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good

Note here that theſe articles agree not wyth the articles in the Regiſter before mentioned.

workes: That ſayth, hope, and charitie, are ſo knit, that he that hath the one, hath the reſt, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the reſt.&c. wyth diuers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions: and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no counſaile nor perſwaſion, he may be drawen therefrom, to the way of our right fayth.

All theſe premiſſes being conſidered, we hauing God & the integritie of our fayth before our eyes, and followyng the coūſaile and aduiſe of the profeſſours of the holy Scripture, men of law, and others aſſiſtyng vs, for the tyme: do pronounce, determine, and declare, the ſayd M. Patrike Hamelton, for his affirmyng, confeſſing, and maintayning of the foreſayd hereſies, and his pertinacitie (they beyng condemned already by the Church, generall Councels, and moſt famous Vniuerſities) to be an hereticke, and to haue an euil opinion of the fayth, and therfore to be condemned and puniſhed, like as we condemne, and define hym to be puniſhed, by this our ſentence definitiue, depriuyng and ſentencyng him, to be depriued of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church: and therfore do iudge and pronoūce him to be deliuered ouer to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed, and his goodes to be confiſcate.

Wolues in Lambes ſkinnes.

M. Patricke geuen to the ſecular power.

This our ſentence definitiue, was geuen and read at our Metropolitan Churche of S. Andrewes, the laſt day of the moneth of February, an. 1527. beyng preſent, the moſt reuerēd fathers in Chriſt, and Lordes, Gawand Biſhop of Glaſgow, George Byſhop of Dunkelden. Iohn, Byſhop of Brecham. William, Byſhop of Dunblane. Patrike, Prior of Saint Andrew. Dauid, Abbot of Abirbrothok. George, Abbot of Dunfermelyng. Alexander, Abbot of Caunbuſkyneth. Henry Abbot of Lendors. Iohn Prior of Pittyrweme. The Deane, and Subdeane of Glaſgow. M. Hew Spens. Thomas Ramſay. Allane Meldrun, &c. In the preſence of the Clergy and the people.

After the condemnation and Martyrdome of this true Saint of God was diſpatched by the Byſhops and Doctours of Scotland, the rulers and Doctours of the Vniuerſitie of Louane hearyng therof, receaued ſuch ioye & conſolation, at the ſhedyng of that innocent bloud, that for the aboundaunce of hart, they could not ſtay their penne, to vtter condigne thankes, applaudyng and triumphyng in their letters, ſent to the foreſayd Byſhop of S. Andrewes, & Doctours of Scotland, at the worthy & famous deſtroyngers of their atchieued enterpriſe, in that behalfe: as by the tenour of their ſayd letter may appeare, which here foloweth.

¶The copy of a letter congratulatorie, ſent from the Doctours of Louane, to the Archbyſh. of S. Andrewes and Doctours of Scotland, commendyng them for the death of M. Patrike Hamelton.

Your excellent vertue (moſt honourable Biſhop) hath ſo deſerued, that albeit we be farre diſtant, both by ſea and land, without cōiunction of familiaritie, yet we deſire with all our hartes, to thanke you for your worthy deede, by whoſe workes, that true faith which, not lōg ago, was tainted with hereſie, not onely remaineth vnhurt, but alſo is more confirmed. For as our deare frend M. Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdon, hath ſhewed vs, the preſumptiō of the wicked hereticke Patrike Hameltō, which is expreſſed in this your example, in that you haue cut him of, when there was no hope of amendement.&c.

A letter of thankes, ſent from Louane to them of Scotland for ſhedding the bloud of Patricke Hamelton.

The which thyng, as it is thought commendable to vs, ſo the maner of the procedyng was no leſſe pleaſaunt, that the matter was performed by ſo great conſent of ſo many eſtates, as of the Clergy, nobilitie, and vulgare people, not raſhely, but moſt prudently, the order of law beyng in all poynts obſerued. We haue ſene the ſentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approue the ſame, not doubtyng but that the Articles which be inſerted, are erroneous: ſo that whoſoeuer wil defend for a truth, any one of the ſame, with pertinacitie, ſhould be eſteemed an enemy to the fayth, and an aduerſary to the holy *Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to be without errour, to them that will cōſider onely the bare wordes: as (for example) good workes make not a good mā, but a good mā worketh good workes, yet there is no doubt, but they conteine a Lutheran ſenſe, which, in a maner, they ſignifie: to witte, that workes done after fayth, and iuſtification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Beleue not, that this example ſhall haue place onely among you, for there ſhalbe among externe nations, which ſhall imitate the ſame.&c.

What ioy the papiſtes make in ſpilling the bloud of Chriſtians.

If ye could ſhew to what place of the ſcripture, we would gladly heare you.

Certainly, ye haue geuen vs great courage, ſo that now we acknowledge your Vniuerſitie, which was founded accordyng to the example of our Vniuerſitie of Louane, to be equall to ours, or els aboue: and would God occaſion were offered of teſtifying our myndes toward you. In the meane tyme, let vs labour with one conſent, that the rauenyng Wolues may be expelled frō the ſhepefold of Chriſt, while we haue tyme. Let vs ſtudy to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wiſely. Let vs haue Inquiſitours, and eſpyers of bookes, containyng that doctrine, eſpecially that is brought in from farre countreys, whether by apoſtatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the moſt ſuſpected kynde of men in theſe dayes. It is ſayd, that ſince Scotland firſt embraced the Chriſtiā fayth, it was neuer defiled with any hereſie. Perſeuer therfore, beyng moued thereunto by the example of Englād, your next neighbour, which in this moſt troublous tyme, is not chaunged, partly by the workyng of the Byſhops, among the which *Roffenſis hath ſhewed hymſelfe an Euangelicall Phœnix, and partly of the kyng, declaryng hymſelfe to be an other Mathias of the new law: pretermittyng nothyng that may defend the law of his realme. The which, if your moſt renowmed kyng of Scotland will follow, he ſhall purchaſe to himſelfe eternal glory. Further, as touchyng the condigne cōmēdation, due for your part (moſt reuerend Byſhop) in this behalfe, it ſhal not be the leaſt part of your prayſe, that theſe hereſies haue bene extinct ſometymes in Scotland, you beyng Primate of Scotland and principal authour therof: Albeit that they alſo which haue aſſiſted you, are not to be defrauded of their deſerued prayſe, as the Reuerend Byſhop of Glaſgow, of whoſe eruditiō, we haue here geuen vs partly to vnderſtād, and alſo the Reuerend Byſhop of Aberden, a ſtoute defender of the fayth, together with the reſt of the Prelates, Abbots, Priours, and profeſſours of holy Scripture. Let your reuerend fatherhode take this litle teſtificate of our duety toward you, in good part, whom we wiſh long and happely well to fare in Chriſt. From Louane, an. 1528. Aprill. 21.

By the Maiſters and profeſſours of Theologie in the Vniuerſitie of Louane, yours to commaunde.

The Vniuerſitie of S. Andrewes was founded about the yeare of our Lord. 1416. in the reigne of kyng Iames the firſt, who brought into Scotland, out of other countreys, Doctors of Diuinitie, and Doctors of Decrees, with diuers other. Hect. boet. lib. 16. cap. 17.

*He meaneth Fyſher B. of Rocheſter, who wrote agaynſt Oecolampadius and Luther, and at length was beheaded for treaſon.

K.Henry.8. is here a Mathias. when he maketh wyth you, but when he put downe the pope and hys Abbeyes, then ye make hym an heretick.

¶In this Epiſtle of the Louaniane Doctours, I ſhall not nede (gentle Reader) to note vnto thee, what a pernitious thyng in a common wealth, is blynd ignoraunce, whē it falleth into cruell hartes. Which may well be compared to a ſword put in the hādes of one, that is both blynd and mad. For as the blynd man, hauyng no ſenſe to ſee and iudge knoweth not whom he ſtriketh: ſo the madde man, beyng cruell and furious, hath no cōpaſſion in ſparyng any. Whereupon it happeneth many tymes with theſe men, as it dyd with the blynd furious Phariſeis, that as they hauyng the ſword of authoritie in their handes, in ſtede of malefactours and falſe Prophetes, ſlue the true Prophetes of God, and at laſt crucified the kyng of glory: ſo theſe Catholicke Louanians and folowers of their Meſſias of Rome, take in their handes the ſworde of iuriſdiction, who neither ſeyng what to ſpare, nor caryng whom they ſmite, vnder the ſtile and pretenſe of heretiques, murther and blaſpheme without mercy, the true preachers of the Goſpell, & the holy annoynted of the Lord.

But to returne to the matter agayne of M. Hamelton, here is moreouer to be obſerued, as a note worthy of memory, that in the yeare of the Lord. 1564. in the which yeare this preſent hiſtory was collected in Scotland, there were certaine faythfull men of credite then alyue, who beyng preſent the ſame tyme, when M. Patrike Hamelton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeale the blacke Frier called Campbel, that accuſed him, to appeare before the hygh God, as generall iudge of all men, to aunſwere to the innocency of his death, and whether his accuſation was iuſt or not, betwene that, and a certaine day of the next moneth, which he there named. Moreouer by the ſame witnes it is teſtified, that ẏ ſayd Frier dyed immediatly before the ſayd day came, without remorſe of conſcience, that he had perſecuted the Innocent. By the example wherof diuers of the people the ſame tyme, much muſed, and firmely beleued the doctrine of the foreſayd M. Hamelton, to be good and iuſt.

A maruelous example of Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon the accuſer & perſecuter of M. Hamelton.

Hereunto I thought good to adioyne a certaine godly and profitable treatiſe of the ſayd M. Patrike Hamelton, written firſt by him in Latine, and afterward tranſlated by Iohn Frith into Engliſh, which he names Patrikes Places, not vnprofitable in my mynde, to be ſene and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine conteined in the ſame, as not onely by ẏ treatiſe it ſelfe may appeare, but alſo by the preface of the ſayd Iohn Frith, prefixed before, which alſo I thought not inconuenient to inſert with the ſame, as here foloweth.

A treatiſe of M. Patricke Hamelton, called Patrickes places.

¶A brief treatiſe of M.Patrike Hamelton, called Patrikes Places, tranſlated into Engliſh by Iohn Frith,with the Epiſtle of the ſayd Frith, prefixed before the ſame,as followeth.

¶Iohn Frith vnto the Chriſtian reader.

The preface of J.Fryth before Patrickes places.

BLeſſed be GOD the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which in theſe laſt dayes and perillous tymes, hath ſtyrred vp in all countreys,witneſſes vnto his ſonne, to teſtifie the truth vnto the vnfaythfull,to ſaue, at the leaſt ſome frō the ſnares of Antichriſt,which leade to perditiō, as ye may here perceaue by that excellent, and well learned young man,Patrike Hamelton, borne in Scotland of a noble progeny:who to teſtifie the truth,ſought all meanes,and tooke vpon him Prieſthode,(euen as Paule circumciſed Timothy, to wynne the weake Iewes) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithſtandyng, as ſoone as the Chamberleyne and other Byſhops of Scotland had perceaued that the light began to ſhyne, which diſcloſed their falſehode that they conueyed in darkenes, they layde handes on hym,and becauſe he would not deny his Sauiour Chriſt at their inſtance,they burnt him to aſhes. Neuertheles, God of his bounteous mercy(to publiſhe to the whole world what a man theſe mōſters haue murthered)hath reſerued a litle treatiſe,made by this Patrike,which,if ye lyſt, ye may cal Patricks Places:For it treateth exactly of certaine common places,which knowen,ye haue the pith of all Diuinitie. This treatiſe haue I turned into the Engliſh toung, to the profite of my nation: to whom I beſech God to geue lyght, that they may eſpye the deceitfull pathes of perdition,and returne to the right way which leadeth to lyfe euerlaſtyng. Amen.

Patrickes places.

¶The doctrine of the law.

THe law is a doctrine that byddeth good, and forbyddeth euill, as the Commaundementes do ſpecifie, here folowyng.

The x. Commaundementes of God.

What the Lawe is. A diuiſion of the Cōmaūdementes. Exod.20.

1. **Thou ſhalt worſhyp but one God.**
2. **Thou ſhalt make thee no Image to worſhyp it.**
3. **Thou ſhalt not ſweare by his name in vayne.**
4. **Hold the Sabboth day holy.**
5. **Honour thy father and thy mother.**
6. **Thou ſhalt not kill.**
7. **Thou ſhalt not commit aduoutry.**
8. **Thou ſhalt not ſteale.**
9. **Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witnes.**
10. **Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.**

All theſe Commaundementes are briefly comprised in theſe two here vnder enſuyng.

The loue of God.

The loue of our neighbour. Math.22.

Loue thy Lord God with all thyne hart, with all thy ſoule,and with all thy mynde. This is the firſt,& great commaundement. The ſecond is like vnto this, that is,loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. On theſe two commaundementes hangeth all the law and the Prophetes.

Certaine generall propoſitions proued by the Scripture.

¶The firſt propoſition.

The firſt propoſition. Probation. 1.John.4.

¶He that loueth God,loueth his neighbour.

This propoſition is proued.1.Ioan.4:If a man ſay, I loue God,and yet hateth his brother,he is a lyer.He that loueth not his brother whom he hath ſene,how can he loue God, whom he hath not ſene?

¶The.2. propoſition.

The ſecond propoſition. Probation. Math.7. Rom.13.

¶He that loueth his neighbour as hymſelfe,keepeth all the Commaundementes of God.

This propoſition is proued,Mat.7. Rom.13. Whatſoeuer ye would that men ſhould do to you, euen ſo do to them. For this is the law and the Prophetes.Mat.7.

He that loueth his neighbour,fulfilleth the law. Thou ſhalt not commit aduoutry. Thou ſhalt not kill: Thou ſhalt not ſteale: Thou ſhalt not beare falſe wytnes: Thou ſhalt not deſire. &c. and if there be any other Commaundement, all are comprehended in this ſaying: loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe.Rom. xiij. **Rom.13.**

All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe.Gal.v. **Galat.5.**

¶Argument.

Bar. He that loueth his neighbour, keepeth all the Commaundementes of God.Rom.13. Maior.
ba. He that loueth God,loueth his neighbour.1. Iohn.4. Minor.
ra. Ergo,he that loueth God,kepeth all the Commaundementes of God. Concluſ.

¶The 3.propoſition.

The third propoſition. Probation. John.16.

¶He that hath fayth loueth God.

My father loueth you, becauſe you loue me,and beleue that I come of God.Ioan.16.

¶Argument.

Bar. He that keepeth the Commaundements of God,hath the loue of God. Maior.
ba. He that hath fayth, keepeth the Commaundementes of God. Minor.
ra. Ergo,he that hath faith,loueth God. Concluſ.

¶The 4.Propoſition.

The 4.propoſition. Probation. Heb.11.

¶He that keepeth one Commaundemente of God keepeth them all.

This propoſition is confirmed.Heb.11. It is vnpoſſible for a man, without fayth to pleaſe God,that is,to kepe any one of Gods Commaundementes, as he ſhould doe. Then whoſoeuer keepeth any one Commaundement,hath fayth.

¶Argument.

Bar. He that hath faith keepeth all the Cōmaundemēts of God. Maior.
ba. He that keepeth any one Commaundement of God, hath fayth. Minor.
ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one Commaundement,keepeth them all. Concluſ.

The 5.propoſition.

The 5.propoſition.

¶He that keepeth not all the Commaundements of God, keepeth not one of them.

¶Argument.

The law requireth perfect obedience. Enthymema.

He that keepeth one Commaundement of God, keepeth all.
Ergo,he that keepeth not all the Commaundementes of God,keepeth not one of them.

¶The 6.propoſition.

The 6.propoſition or aſſertion.

¶It is not in our power to keepe any one of the Commaundementes of God.

¶Argument.

Ba. It is vnpoſſible to keepe any of the Commaundements of God,without grace. Maior.
ro. It is not in our power to haue grace. Minor.
co. Ergo it is not in our power, to keepe any of the Commaundementes of God. Concluſ.

And euen ſo may you reaſon concerning the holy Ghoſt, and fayth, for ſo much as neither without them we are able to keepe any of the Commaundementes of God:neither yet be they in our power to haue. Non eſt volentis neq; currentis.&c.Rom.9.

¶The 7.propoſition.

The 7.propoſition. The office of the lawe.

¶The law was geuen vs to ſhewe our ſinne.

By the law commeth the knowledge of ſinne. Rom.3. I knew not what ſinne ment,but thorow the law. For I had not knowen what luſt had ment,except the law had ſayde: Thou ſhalt not luſt. Without the law ſinne was dead, that is, it moued me not, neither wyſt I that it was ſinne,which notwithſtandyng was ſinne,& forbiddē by the law,Rom.7. **Rom.7.**

¶The 8.Propoſition.

The 8.propoſition.

¶The law byddeth vs do that thyng, which is vnpoſſible for vs.

¶Argument.

Da. The keeping of the Commaundementes is to vs vnpoſſible. Maior.
ri. The Law commaundeth to vs the keping of the Commaundementes. Minor.
j. Ergo,the law cōmaundeth vnto vs,that is vnpoſſible. Concluſ.

¶Obiection.

Obiection.

But thou wilt ſay,wherfore doth God byd vs do,that is impoſſible for vs.

☞Aunſwere.

Aunſwere. The lawe ordayned to bring vs to Chriſt.

I aunſwere,to make thee know,that thou art but euill, & that there is no remedy to ſaue thee,in thyne owne hand: and that thou mayſt ſeeke remedye at ſome other, for the law doth nothyng els but commaunde thee.

¶The doctrine of the Goſpell.

THe Goſpell is as much to ſay in our tounge,as good tydings:like as theſe be,here vnder folowing, & ſuch other. **Luke.2.**

Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world. John.4.
Chriſt is the Sauiour. Luke.2.
Chriſt dyed for vs. Rome.5.
Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes. Rom.4.
Chriſt bought vs wyth hys bloud. 1.Pet.2.
Chriſt waſht vs wyth hys bloud. Apoc.1.

Chriſt

Galat.1. Chriſt offred hymſelfe for vs.
Eſay.53. Chriſt bare our ſinnes on hys backe.
1.Tim.1. Chriſt came into thys world to ſaue ſinners.
1.Ioh.3. Chriſt came into thys world to take away our ſinnes.
1.Tim.2. Chriſt was the price that was geuē for vs & our ſinnes
Rom.8. Chriſt was made debtour for vs.
Coloſſ.2. Chriſt hath payd our debt, for he dyed for vs.
1.Cor.7. Chriſt made ſatiſfaction for vs and our ſinnes.
1.Cor.1. Chriſt is our righteouſnes.
1.Cor.1. Chriſt is our ſanctification.
Chriſt is our redemption.
Ephe.2. Chriſt is our peace.
Rom.5. Chriſt hath pacified the father of heauen for vs.
1.Cor.3. Chriſt is our and all his.
Coloſſ.2. Chriſt hath deliuered vs frō the law, from the deuill, and from hell.

1.Iohn.1. The father of heauen hath forgeuen vs our ſinnes, for Chriſtes ſake. Or any ſuch other, like to the ſame, which declare vnto vs the mercy of God.

¶The nature and office of the law, and of the Goſpell.

Rom.3. The law ſheweth vs our ſinne.
Iohn.1. The Goſpell ſheweth vs remedy for it.
Rom.7. The law ſheweth vs our condemnation.
Coloſſ.1. The Goſpell ſheweth vs our redemption.
Rom:4. The law is the word of Ire.
Act.14.20. The Goſpell is the word of grace.
Deut.27. The law is the word of diſpayre.
Luke.2. The Goſpell is the word of comfort.
Rom.7. The law is the word of vnreſt.
Ephe.6. The Goſpell is the word of peace.

¶A diſputation betwene the law and the Goſpell, where is ſhewed the difference or contrarietie betwene them both.

The contrary operation of the law and of the Goſpell. The law ſayth, pay thy dette.
The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath payd it.

The law ſaith, thou art a ſinner, deſpayre and thou ſhalt be damned.

The Goſpell ſayth thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee, be of good comfort, thou ſhalt be ſaued.

The law ſayth, make amendes for thy ſinne.
The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath made it for thee.
The law ſayth, the father of heauen is angry with thee.
The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath pacified him with hys bloud.

The law ſayth, where is thy righteouſnes, goodnes, and ſatiſfaction.

The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt is thy rightuouſnes, thy goodnes, and ſatiſfaction.

The law ſayth, thou art bounde and obliged to me, to the deuill, and to hell.

The Goſpell ſayth, Chriſt hath deliuered thee from them all.

¶The doctrine of Fayth.

The doctrine of fayth. Fayth is to beleue God, like as Abrahā beleued God, and it was imputed vnto him for righteouſnes.

To beleue God, is to beleue his word and to recount it true that he ſayth.

He that beleueth not Gods word beleueth not G O D hymſelfe.

He that beleueth not Gods word he counteth hym falſe & a lyer, and beleueth not that he may & will fulfill his word, & ſo he denyeth both the might of God, and God himſelfe.

¶The 9. propoſition.

The 9. propoſition. ¶ Fayth is the gift of God.

Argument.

Maior. Da. Euery good thyng is the gift of God.
Minor. ri. Fayth is good.
Concluſ. j. Ergo, fayth is the gift of God.

¶The 10. propoſition.

The 10. propoſition. ¶ Fayth is not in our power.

Argument.

Maior. Da. The gift of God is not in our power.
Minor. ri. Fayth is the gift of God.
Concluſ. j. Ergo, ſayth is not in our power.

¶The 11. propoſition.

The 11. propoſition. ¶ He that lacketh fayth, can not pleaſe God.

Without fayth, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. Rom.14. All that commeth not of fayth, is ſinne, for without fayth can no man pleaſe God. Heb.11.

¶Induction.

An argument called Inductio. He that lacketh fayth, truſteth not God: he that truſteth not G O D, truſteth not his word: he that truſteth not his word, holdeth him falſe & a lyer: he that holdeth him falſe and a lyer, beleueth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denyeth he, that he is God.

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that lacketh fayth, can not pleaſe God.

If it were poſſible for any mā to do all the good deedes that euer were done, either of men or aungels: yet beyng in this caſe, it is impoſſible for him to pleaſe God.

¶The 12. propoſition.

¶ All that is done in fayth, pleaſeth God. The 12. propoſition.

Right is the word of God, and all his workes in fayth. Pſal.33.

Lord thyne eyes looke to fayth: that is as much to ſay, as Lord thou delighteſt in fayth. Iere.5.

¶The 13. propoſition.

¶ He that hath fayth, is iuſt and good. The 13. propoſition.

Argument.

Da. He that is a good tree, bringyng forth good fruite, is iuſt and good. Maior.
ri. He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruite. Minor.
j. Ergo, he that hath fayth, is iuſt and good. Concluſ.

¶The 14. propoſition.

¶ He that hath fayth, and beleueth God, can not diſpleaſe hym. The 14. propoſition.

¶Induction. Inductio.

He that hath fayth, beleueth G O D: he that beleueth God, beleueth his word: he that beleueth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faythfull, and may not lye, knowyng that he both may and will fulfill his word.

Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that hath fayth, can not diſpleaſe God: neither can any man do a greater honour to God, then to count him true.

Obiection. Obiection.

Thou wilt then ſay, that theft, murther, adnoutry, and all vices, pleaſe God.

Aunſwere. Aunſwere.

Nay verely, for they can not be done in fayth: for a good tree beareth good fruite. Math.7.12.

¶The 15. propoſition.

¶ Fayth is a certeinty or aſſurednes. The 15. propoſition. A definition of fayth. Heb.11.

Fayth is a ſure confidence of thynges which are hoped for, and certeintie of thynges which are not ſene. Heb.2.

The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that we are the childrē of God. Rom.8. Moreouer, he that hath fayth, wotteth well that God will fulfill his word. Wherby it appeareth, that fayth is a certeinty or aſſuredness.

A man is inſtified by fayth.

Abraham beleued God and it was imputed vnto him for rightuouſnes. Rom.4. Iuſtification by fayth.

We ſuppoſe therfore that a man is iuſtified by fayth without the deedes of the law. Rom.3. Gal.2.

He that worketh not but beleueth on hym that iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is counted to hym for rightuouſnes. Rom.4.

The iuſt man liueth by his fayth. Abac.2. Rom.1.

We wotte that a man is not iuſtified by the deedes of the law, but by the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt: and we beleue in Ieſu Chriſt, that we may be iuſtified by the fayth of Chriſt, & not by the deedes of the law. Gal.2.

What is the fayth of Chriſt.

The fayth of Chriſt is to beleue in him, that is, to beleue his word, and to beleue that he will helpe thee in all thy neede, and deliuer thee from all euill. Fayth in Chriſt, what it is.

Thou wilt aſke me, what word? I aunſwere, the Goſpell.

He that beleueth in Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued. Mark.16.

He that beleueth the ſonne, hath euerlaſting lyfe. Iohn.3

Verely I ſay vnto you, he that beleueth in me, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. Iohn.6.

This I write vnto you, that you beleue on the ſonne of God, that ye may know how that ye haue eternall lyfe. 1.Iohn.5.

Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſene me, therfore haſt thou beleued. Happy are they that haue not ſene, and yet haue beleued in me. Iohn.22.

All the Prophetes to him beare witnes, that whoſoeuer beleueth in hym, ſhall haue remiſſion of their ſinnes. Actes.10.

What muſt I do that I may be ſaued? The Apoſtles aunſwered: Beleue in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & thou ſhalt be ſaued. Act.16.

If thou knowledge with thy mouth that Ieſus is the Lord, and beleueſt with thine hart that God rayſed him vp from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe. Rom.10.

He that beleueth not in Chriſt, ſhall be condemned.

He that beleueth not the ſonne, ſhall neuer ſee lyfe, but the ire of God, bydeth vpon hym. Iohn.3.

The holy Ghoſt ſhall reproue the world of ſinne, becauſe they beleue not in me. Iohn.16.

They that beleue Ieſu Chriſt, are the ſonnes of God.

Ye are all the ſonnes of God, becauſe ye beleue in Ieſu Chriſt. 1. Iohn.3.

He that beleueth that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is ſafe. Iohn.1.

Peter ſayd, thou art Chriſt ẏ ſonne of ẏ lyuing God, Ieſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto him, happy art thou Symon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſh and bloud haue not opened to thee that: but my father that is in heauen. Mat.16.

We haue beleued, & know that thou art Chriſt, the ſonne of the liuyng God.

I beleue that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of God, which ſhould come into the world. Iohn.11.

Theſe thynges are written that ye might beleue, that Ieſus is Chriſt the ſonne of God, and that ye in beleuyng, might haue life. Iohn.20.

I beleue that Ieſus is the ſonne of God. Act.8.

¶The 16.propoſition.

The 16.propoſition.

¶He that beleueth the Goſpell, beleueth God.

Argument.

Maior. Da. He that beleueth Gods word, beleueth God.
Minor. ri. The Goſpell is Gods word.
Concluſ. j. Ergo, he that beleueth the Goſpell, beleueth God.

To beleue the Goſpell is this: That Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world. Iohn.4.

Chriſt is our Sauiour. Luke.2.

Chriſt bought vs with his bloud. Heb.13. 1. Peter.1. Apoc.5.

Chriſt waſhed vs with his bloud. Apoc.1.

Chriſt offered himſelfe for vs. Heb.9.

Chriſt bare our ſinnes on his owne backe, &c. 1. Pet.2.

¶The 17.propoſition.

The 17.propoſition.

¶He that beleueth not the Goſpell beleueth not God.

Argument.

Maior. Fe. He that beleueth not Gods word, beleueth not GOD himſelfe.
Minor. ri. The Goſpell is Gods word.
Concluſ. o. Ergo, he that beleueth not the Goſpell, beleueth not God himſelfe, and conſequently he that beleue not thoſe thynges aboue written and ſuch other, beleueth not God.

¶The 18.propoſition.

The 18.propoſition.

¶He that beleueth the Goſpell ſhall be ſafe.

Go ye into all the world and preach the Goſpell, vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued, but he that beleueth not, ſhalbe cōdemned. Mark.16.

A compariſon betwene fayth, and incredulitie.

A compariſon betwene fayth and Incredulitie.

Fayth is the roote of all good.
Incredulitie is the roote of all euill.
Fayth maketh God and man good frendes.
Incredulitie maketh them foes.
Fayth bringeth God and man together.
Incredulitie ſundereth them.
All that fayth doth, pleaſeth God.
All that Incredulitie doth, diſpleaſeth God.
Fayth onely maketh a man good and righteous.
Incredulitie onely maketh him vniuſt and euill.
Fayth maketh a man a member of Chriſt.
Incredulitie maketh him a member of the deuill.
Fayth maketh a man the inheritour of heauen.
Incredulitie maketh him inheritour of hell.
Fayth maketh a man the ſeruaunt of God.
Incredulitie maketh him the ſeruaunt of the deuill.
Fayth ſheweth vs God to be a ſwete father.
Incredulitie ſheweth him a terrible iudge.
Fayth holdeth ſtiffe by the word of God.
Incredulitie wauereth here and there.
Fayth counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Incredulitie holdeth him falſe and a lyer.
Fayth knoweth God.
Incredulitie knoweth hym not.
Fayth loueth both God and his neighbour.
Incredulitie loueth neither of them.
Fayth onely ſaueth vs.
Incredulitie onely condemneth vs.
Fayth extolleth God and his deedes.
Incredulitie extolleth her ſelfe and her owne deedes.

Of Hope.

What hope is.

Hope is a truſty lookyng after the thyng that is promiſed vs to come: as we hope after the euerlaſtyng ioy, which Chriſt hath promyſed vnto all that beleue in hym.

¶We ſhoulde put our hope and truſt in God alonely, and in no other thyng.

It is good to truſt in God and not in man. Pſal.118.

He that truſteth in his own hart, is a foole. Prouerb.28.

It is good to truſt in God and not in princes. Pſal.118.

They ſhalbe like vnto the Images which they make, and all that truſt in them. Pſal.115.

He that truſteth in hys owne thoughtes doth vngodly. Prouerb.12.

Curſed be he that truſteth in man. Iere.17.

Bid the rich mē of this world that they truſt not in their vnſtable riches, but ẏ they truſt in the liuing God. 1. Tim.6

It is hard for them that truſt in money, to enter into the kyngdome of heauen. Luke.18.

Moreouer, we ſhould truſt in him onely that may helpe vs, God onely may helpe vs, therefore we ſhoulde truſt in hym onely.

Well are they that truſt in God: and woe to them that truſt not in hym. Pſal.2. Iere.17.

Well is that man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be hys truſt. Pſal.14. Ecclеſ.34.

He that truſteth in him, ſhal vnderſtād the veritie. Sap.3

They ſhall all reioyce that truſt in thee: they ſhall euer be glad, and thou wilt defend them. Pſal.5.

Of Charitie.

The rule of Charitie.

Charitie is the loue of thy neighbour. The rule of charitie is this: Doe as thou wouldeſt be done to: for Chriſt holdeth all alike, the rich, the poore, the frend, and the foe, the thankfull and vnthankfull, the kinſeman and ſtraunger.

A compariſon betwene Fayth, Hope, and Charitie.

A difference betwene fayth, hope, & charitie.

Fayth commeth of the worde of God: Hope commeth of faith: and Charitie ſpringeth of them both.

Faith beleueth the worde: Hope truſteth after it that is promiſed by the worde: Charitie doth good vnto her neighbour, thorow the loue that it hath to God, and gladnes that is within her ſelfe.

Fayth looketh to God and his worde: Hope looketh vnto hys gift and reward: Charitie looketh on her neighbours profite.

Fayth receaueth God: Hope receaueth hys rewarde: Charitie loueth her neighbour wyth a glad hart, and that without any reſpect of reward.

Fayth pertaineth to God onely: Hope to his rewarde: and Charitie to her neighbour.

The doctrine of workes.

¶No maner of workes make vs rightwiſe.

What good workes doe.

We beleue that a man ſhall be iuſtified without workes. Rom.3.

No man is iuſtified by the deedes of the law, but by the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, and we beleue in Ieſu Chriſt that we may be iuſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the deedes of the lawe: For if righteouſnes come by the lawe, then dyed Chriſt in vayne. Galat.2.

That no mā is iuſtified by ẏ law, is manifeſt, for a rightwiſe man liueth by his fayth, but the law is not of fayth.

[illegible]

Workes do not make vs righteous.

Moreouer, ſith Chriſt the maker of heauen and earth, & all that is therin, behoued to die for vs, we are compelled to graunt that we were ſo farre drowned and ſunken in ſinne, that neither our deedes nor all the treaſures that euer God made or might make, could haue holpen vs out of them: therefore, no deedes no workes may make vs rightwiſe.

No workes make vs vnrightwiſe.

Argumentum a cōtrario ſenſu.

If any euill workes make vs vnrighteous, then, the contrary workes ſhould make vs rightwiſe. But it is proued that no workes can make vs rightwiſe: therefore no workes maketh vs vnrightwiſe.

Workes maketh vs neither good nor euill.

Workes make vs neither good nor euill before God.

It is proued that workes neither maketh vs rightwiſe, nor vnrightwiſe: therefore no workes make vs either good or euill: For rightwiſe and good are one thing, and vnrightwiſe and euill likewiſe one.

Good workes make not a good man, nor euill workes an euill man: but a good man bringeth forth good workes, and an euill man euill workes.

Good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill frute the tree euill: but a good tree beareth good frute, and an euill tree, euill frute.

The goodnes of the tree goeth before his fruite.

A good man can not do euill workes, nor an euill man good workes: for a good tree can not beare euill fruite, nor an euill tree, good frute.

A man is good ere he do good workes, and euill ere he do euill workes: for the tree is good ere it beare good frute, and euill ere it beare euill frute.

¶ Euery man, and the workes of man, are either good or euill.

Good fruites are ſignes of a good tree, but not the cauſe thereof.

EUery tree, and the frutes therof, are either good or euill. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruite good alſo, or els make the tree euill, and the fruite of it lykewiſe euill. Math. 12.

A good man is knowen by his workes, for a good man doth good workes and an euill man, euill workes. ye ſhall know thẽ by their fruite, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree, euil fruite. A man is likened to the tree, and his workes to the fruite of the tree.

Beware of the falſe Prophetes whiche come to you in ſheepes clothyng, but inwardly they are rauenyng wolues: ye ſhall know them by their fruites. Luke. 7.

None of our workes either ſaue vs, or condemne vs.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

IF workes make vs neither rightuous nor vnrightuous, then thou wilt ſay, it maketh no matter what we do. I aunſwere, if thou do euill, it is a ſure argument that thou art euill, and wanteſt fayth. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt fayth, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree euill fruite. yet good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruite the tree euill: ſo that man is good ere he do good deedes, and euill, ere he do euill deedes.

The man is the tree, his workes are the fruite.

Fayth maketh the man good. A good man maketh good workes.

FAyth maketh the good tree, and incredulitie the euill tree: ſuch a tree, ſuch fruite, ſuch a man, ſuch workes: For all thynges that are done in fayth, pleaſe God, and are good workes: and all that are done without fayth, diſpleaſe God, and are euill workes.

To ſay that our workes do ſaue vs is to denye that Chriſt is our Sauiour.

Who ſoeuer beleueth, or thinketh to bee ſaued by hys workes, denyeth that Chriſt is his Sauiour, that Chriſt dyed for him, and all thynges that pertayne to Chriſt. For how is hee thy Sauiour, if thou mighteſt ſaue thy ſelfe by thy workes? or wherto ſhould he dye for thee, if any works might haue ſaued thee?

What is this to ſay, Chriſt dyed for thee? Verely that thou ſhouldeſt haue dyed perpetually, and Chriſt to deliuer thee from death, dyed for thee, and chaunged thy perpetuall death, into hys owne death: For thou madeſt the fault, and hee ſuffered the payne, and that for the loue hee had to thee, before thou waſt borne, when thou haddeſt done neither good nor euill.

Now ſeyng he hath payed thy dette, thou needeſt not, neither canſt thou pay it, but ſhouldeſt bee damned, if hys bloud were not. But ſith he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed.

Finally, he hath deliuered thee from thy condemnation and all euill, and deſireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and beare it in mynde: and that thou wouldeſt helpe other for hys ſake, both in worde and deede, euen as hee hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

O how ready would we be to helpe other, if we knew his goodnes and gentlenes towardes vs? He is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let vs I beſeech you therfore, folow hys footeſteppes, whom all the world ought to prayſe and worſhyp. Amen.

He that thinketh to be ſaued by his workes, calleth hymſelfe Chriſt.

No Sauiour but Chriſt.

FOr he calleth hymſelfe the Sauiour, which perteyneth to Chriſt onely.

What is a Sauiour, but he that ſaueth? and he ſayth, I ſaued my ſelfe, which is as much to ſay, as I am Chriſt, for Chriſt onely is the Sauiour of the world.

We ſhould do no good workes for the intent to get the inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne.

No remiſſion but in Chriſt.

FOr who ſoeuer beleueth to get the inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne thorough workes, he beleueth not to get the ſame for Chriſtes ſake. And they that beleue not that their ſinnes are forgeuen them, and that they ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, they beleue not the Goſpell: For the Goſpell ſayth, you ſhall be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, your ſinnes are forgeuen for Chriſtes ſake.

He that beleueth not the Goſpell, beleueth not God. So it foloweth, that they which beleue to be ſaued by their workes, or to get remiſſion of their ſinnes by their owne deedes, beleue not God, but recount hym as a lyer, and ſo vtterly deny hym to be God.

Obiection.

Thou wilt ſay, ſhall we then do no good deedes?

Aunſwere.

Good workes excluded not to be left vndone, but not to iuſtifie vs, when they are done.

I ſay not ſo, but I ſay we ſhould do no good workes, for the intent to get the inheritaunce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinne. For if we beleue to get the inheritaunce of heauen through good workes, then we beleue not to get it through the promiſe of God. Or if we thinke to get remiſſion of our ſinnes by our deedes, then we beleue not that they are forgeuen vs, and ſo we count God a lyer. For God ſayth thou ſhalt haue the inheritaunce of heauen for my ſonnes ſake, thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee for my ſonnes ſake: & you ſay it is not ſo, but I will wynne it through my workes. Thus you ſee I cõdemne not good deedes, but I condẽne the falſe truſt in any workes, for all the workes wherin a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poyſoned & become euill.

Not the doyng of good workes, but the truſting in good workes condemned.

Wherfore, thou muſt do good workes, but beware thou do them not to deſerue any good thorough them, for if thou do, thou receyueſt the good, not as the giftes of God, but as dette to thee, and makeſt thy ſelfe felow with God, bycauſe thou wilt take nothyng of him for nought. And what needeth he any thyng of thyne, which geueth all thyng and is not the poorer?

Therfore do nothyng to hym, but take of hym, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will geueth vs all that we neede, thẽ we can take it of him: if then we want ought, let vs wite our ſelues.

Preſſe not therfore to the inheritaunce of heauen thorough preſumption of thy good workes, for if thou do, thou counteſt thy ſelfe holy and equall to God, becauſe thou wilt take nothyng of hym for nought, and ſo ſhalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

Certaine brief Notes or declarations vpon the foreſayd places of M. Patrike.

Notes

This litle treatiſe of M. Patrickes places, albeit in quantitie it be but ſhort, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large Volumes, declaryng to vs the true doctrine of the law, of the Goſpell, of fayth, and of workes, with the nature and properties, and alſo the difference of the ſame. Which difference is thus to be vnderſtãded, that in the cauſe of ſaluation, and in the office of iuſtifying, theſe are to be remoued and ſeparated a ſonder, the law from the Goſpell, and fayth from workes: Otherwiſe in the perſon that is iuſtified, and alſo in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go neceſſaryly together.

The lawe & the goſpell, how they are to be ioyned, and how to be ſeparated.

Grace free. Promiſe ſimple. Faith alone.

Particularly.

Therfore, where ſoeuer any queſtion or doubt riſeth of ſaluation, or our iuſtifying before God, there the law, and all good workes muſt be vtterly excluded, and ſtand apart, that grace may appeare free, the promiſe ſimple, and that fayth may ſtand alone. Which fayth alone, without law or workes, worketh to euery man particularly hys ſaluation, thorough mere promiſe, and the free grace of God. This word (particularly) I adde, for the particulare certifying of euery mans hart priuatly and peculiarly, that beleueth in Chriſt. For as the body of Chriſt is the cauſe efficient of the redemption of the whole world in generall: ſo is fayth the inſtrumentall cauſe, by which euery man applieth the ſayd body of Chriſt particularly to his owne ſaluation. So that in the action and office of iuſtificatiõ, both law and workes here be vtterly ſecluded and exepted, as thinges hauyng nothyng to do in this behalfe. The reaſon is this: for ſeing that all our redemptiõ vniuerſally ſpryngeth onely from the body of the ſonne of God crucified, then is there nothing, that can ſtand vs in ſtede, but that onely, wherewith this body of Chriſt is apprehended. Now, for ſomuch as neither the law nor workes, but faith onely is the thyng which apprehẽdeth the body and death of Chriſt, therfore fayth onely is that matter which iuſtifieth euery ſoule before God, thorough the ſtrength of that obiect, which it doth apprehend. For the obiect onely of our faith, is the body of Chriſt, lyke as the braſen Serpent was the obiecte onely of the Iſraelites lookyng, and not of their handes workyng: by the ſtrength of which obiect, through the promiſe of God, im-

The bodie of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of our redemption in generall. Faith is the inſtrumentall cauſe of euery mãs particular ſaluation.

Note the obiecte of fayth. Fayth with her obiecte, onely ſaueth. A ſimilitude betwene the braſen Serpent & Chriſtes bodye.

mediately proceded helth to the beholders. So the body of Chriſt beyng the obiect of our fayth, ſtriketh righteouſnes to our ſoules, not through working, but beleuyng onely.

Fayth is onely the eye of the ſoule, which looketh to Chriſt.

Thus you ſee, how fayth beyng the onely eye of our ſoule ſtandeth alone with her obiect, in caſe of iuſtifiyng: but yet neuertheleſſe, in the body ſhe ſtandeth not alone: for beſides the eye, there be alſo handes to worke, feete to walke, eares to heare, and other members moe, euery one conuenient for the ſeruice of the body, and yet is there none of them all that can ſee, but onely the eye. So in a chriſtian mans lyfe, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charitie, and dedes of charitie: all which in lyfe, and in doctrine, are ioyned, and neceſſarily do concurre together and yet in the action of iuſtifiyng, there is nothyng els in man, that hath any part or place, but onely fayth apprehendyng the obiect which is the body of Chriſt Ieſus for vs crucified, in whom conſiſteth all the worthines and fulneſſe of our ſaluation, by fayth, that is, by our apprehendyng and receauyng of hym, accordyng as it is written. Iohn.1. Whoſoeuer receyued hym, he gaue them power to be made the ſonnes of God, euen all ſuch as beleued in hys name.&c. Alſo Eſay.53. And this iuſt ſeruaunt of myne, in the knowledge of hym ſhall iuſtifie many.&c.

Argument.

As many as receaued hym to them he gaue power.&c. Iohn.1.

Da. Apprehendyng and receauing of Chriſt onely, maketh vs iuſtified before God, Iohn.1.
ti- Chriſt onely is apprehended and receaued, by fayth.
ſi. Ergo, fayth onely maketh vs iuſtified before God.

Argument.

And he by the knowledge of him, ſhall iuſtifie many.&c. Eſay.64.

Ba Iuſtification commeth onely by apprehendyng and receauyng of Chriſt. Eſay.53.
ro The law, and workes do nothyng perteine to the apprehendyng of Chriſt.
co. Ergo, the law and workes perteine nothyng to Iuſtification.

Argument.

All our righteouſnes, is as filthy cloutes. Eſay.53.

Ce- Nothyng which is vniuſt of it ſelfe, can iuſtifie vs before God, or helpe any thyng to our iuſtifiyng.
ſa- Euery worke we do, is vniuſt before God. Eſay.54.
re. Ergo, no worke that we do, can iuſtifie vs before God, nor helpe any thyng to our iuſtifiyng.

Argument.

When ye haue done all that is commaunded you, ſay we are vnprofitable ſeruauntes. Luke.17.

Ca- If workes could any thyng further our iuſtification, thē ſhould our workes ſome thyng profite vs before god:
me No workes (doe the beſt we can) do profite vs before God. Luc.17.
ſtres. Ergo, no workes that we doe, can any thyng further our iuſtification.

Argument.

Without me can ye do nothing. Iohn.15

Ba- All that we can do with God, is only by Chriſt. Io.15
ro Our workes and merites be not Chriſt, neither any part of hym.
co. Ergo, our workes and merites can do nothyng wyth God.

Argument.

The law worketh anger. Rom 4.

Da- That which is the cauſe of condemnation, cannot bee the cauſe of iuſtification.
ri- The law is the cauſe of condemnation. Rom.4.
j. Ergo, it is not the cauſe of iuſtification.

A conſequente.

Now are we quitte and deliuered frō the lawe, beyng dead to that wherein we were once holden. Rom.7.

We are quit and deliuered from the law. Rom.7.
We are not quitte and deliuered by the law.
Ergo, we are not quitte and deliuered by the law.

Forſomuch therfore as the truth of the Scripture in expreſſe wordes, hath thus included our ſaluation in fayth only, we are enforced neceſſarily to exclude all other cauſes & meanes in our Iuſtification, and to make this difference betwene the law and the Goſpell, betwene fayth and workes, affirming with the Scripture and word of God, that the law condemneth vs, our workes do not auayle vs, and that fayth in Chriſt onely iuſtifieth vs. And this difference and diſtinction ought diligently to be learned and retayned of all chriſtians, eſpecially in conflict of conſcience betwene the lawe and the goſpell: fayth and workes: grace and merites: promiſe and condition: Gods free election, and mans freewyll: So that the lyght of the free grace of God, in our ſaluation may appeare to all conſciences, to the immortall glory of Gods holy name, Amen.

The order and differences of places.

Antitheta.	The Goſpell	Faith	Grace	Promiſe	Gods free electiō.
	The lawe	Workes	Merites	Cōditiō.	Mans free will.

The difference and repugnance of theſe foreſayd places beyng well noted and expended, it ſhall geue no ſmal light to euery faythfull chriſtian, both to vnderſtand the Scriptures, to iudge in caſes of conſcience, and to reconcile ſuch places in the old and new Teſtament, as els may ſeme to repugne, according to the rule of Auguſtine, ſaying: Diſtingue tempora, & concilia bis Scripturis.&c. Make diſtinction of tymes, and thou ſhalt reconcile the Scriptures.&c. Contrariwyſe, where men be not perfectly in theſe places inſtructed, to diſcerne betwene the law and the Goſpel, betwene faith and workes.&c. ſo long they can neuer rightly eſtable their myndes in the free promiſes of Gods grace: but walke confuſedly, wythout order in all matters of religion. Example wherof we haue to much in the Romiſh church, who confounding theſe places together without diſtinction, followyng no methode, haue peruerted the true order of chriſtian doctrine, and haue obſcured the ſwete comfort and benefite of the Goſpell of Chriſt, not knowyng what the true vſe of the law, nor of the Goſpell meaneth.

The law to be diſcerned from the Goſpell.

The ignoraunce and blindnes of the popes church in confounding theſe places.

In the doctrine of the law, thre thinges to be noted.

The firſt poynt to be noted in the doctrine of the lawe.

In the law therfore 3. thinges are to be conſidered: firſt what is the true rigour and ſtrēgth of the law, which is, to require ful and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to reſtrayne hys outward actions, but alſo hys inward motions, and inclinations of wyll and affection, from the appetite of ſinne: And therfore ſayth S.Paul: The law is ſpirituall, but I am carnall.&c. Rom.7. Wherupon ryſeth this poſition: That it is not in our nature and power to fulfill the law. Item, The lawe commaundeth that which is to vs vnpoſſible.&c. 2. The ſecond thyng to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is to cōſider the tyme and place of the law, what they be, and how farre they extend. For as the ſurgyng ſeas haue theyr bankes and barres to kepe them in: ſo the lawe hath his tymes and limites which it ought not to paſſe. If Chriſt had not come and ſuffred, the tyme and dominion of the law had bene euerlaſtyng. But now ſeyng Chriſt hath come and hath dyed in his righteous fleſh, the power of the law agaynſt our ſinfull fleſh doth ceaſe. For the ende of the law is Chriſt. Rom.10. that is, the death of Chriſtes body is the death of the law to all that beleue in hym: ſo that who ſo euer repenteth their ſinnes, and flye to the death and paſſion of Chriſt, the condemnation and tyme of the lawe to them is expired. Wherfore this is to be vnderſtand as a perpetuall rule in the Scripture, that the law with all his ſentences and iudgementes whereſoeuer they are written, eyther in the old Teſtament or in the new, doe euer include a priuy exception of repentaunce and beliefe in Chriſt, to the which alwayes it geueth place, hauyng there his ende, and can procede no further, according as S.Paul doth ſay: The law is our Scholemaiſter vntill Chriſt, that we might be iuſtified by faith. Gal.3.

The ſtrength of the lawe.

The ſecond thing to be noted in the lawe.

The due time & place of the law.

The death of Chriſt is the death of the law, that is, of the condemnation of the lawe.

The tyme of the law how long it laſteth.

Gal.3.

Moreouer, as the law hath his time how long to reigne, ſo alſo it hath his proper place, where to reigne. By the reigne of the lawe here is ment the condemnation of the law: for as the tyme of the law ceaſeth, when the fayth of Chriſt, in a true repentyng hart, begynneth: ſo hath the lawe no place in ſuche, as be good and faythfull, that is, in ſinners repentyng and amendyng: but onelye in them whiche bee euill and wicked. Euill men here I call al ſuch, which walkyng in ſinnefull fleſhe, are not yet driuen by earneſt repentaunce, to flye to Chriſt for ſuccour. And therfore ſayth S. Paule: To the iuſte man there is no lawe ſet, but to the vniuſt and diſobedient, &c. 1.Timo.1. By the iuſt man here is ment, not he which neuer had diſeaſe, but he, who knowyng his diſeaſe, ſeketh out the Phyſitian, and beyng cured, kepeth him ſelfe in health as much as he may, from any mo ſurfetes: notwithſtandyng, he ſhall neuer ſo kepe him ſelfe but that his health (that is, hys new obedience) ſhall alwayes remayne frayle and vnperfect, and ſhall continually nede the Phyſitian. Where, by the way, theſe iij. thinges are to be noted. 1. the ſickenes it ſelfe. 2 the knowyng of the ſickenes. 3. the Phyſitian. The ſickenes is ſinne. The knowyng of the ſickenes, is repentaunce, which the lawe woorketh. The Phyſitian is Chriſt. And therfore, although in remiſſion of our ſinnes, repentaunce is ioyned with fayth yet it is not the dignitie or worthynes of repentaunce, that cauſeth remiſſion of ſinnes, but onely the worthynes of Chriſt whom fayth onely apprehendeth: no more then the feelyng of the diſeaſe is the cauſe of health, but onely the Phiſitiō. For els when a man is caſt and condemned by the law, it is not repentaunce that can ſerue or deſerue life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that ſaueth.

Iuſtis non eſt lex poſita, ſed iniuſtis et inobſequentibus. 1.Tim.1.

In remiſſion of ſinnes, 3. thinges to be noted. 1. The diſeaſe. 2. The knowing of the diſeaſe. 3. The Phyſition.

Repentaunce is ioyned with fayth: yet is it no cauſe of ſaluatiō.

The third poynt to be noted in the doctrine of the lawe.

The third point to be conſidered in the doctrine of the law, is this: That we marke well the ende and purpoſe why the law is geuen, which is, not to bring vs to ſaluation, not to worke Goddes fauoure, nor to make vs good: but rather to declare and conuict our wickedneſſe, and to make vs feele the daunger therof to this ende and purpoſe, that we ſeing our condemnation, and being in our ſelues confounded may be driuen thereby to haue our refuge in Chriſt the ſonne of God,and to ſubmit our ſelues to him,in whom only is to be founde our remedy,and in none other. And this end of the law diſcretly ought to be pondered of all Chriſtians.Otherwiſe,they that conſider not this ende and purpoſe of the law,fall into manifold errours and inconueniences.Firſt,they peruert all order of doctrine.2.They ſeke that in the law which the law cannot geue.3. They are not able to comfort thẽſelues,nor other.4.They keepe mens ſoules in an vncertaine doubt and dubitation of their ſaluatiõ.5.They obſcure rhe light of Gods grace.6.They are vnkynd to gods benefites.7.They are iniurious to Chriſtes Paſſion,and enemies to hys croſſe.8.They ſtop chriſtian liberty. 9.They beriue the church the ſpouſe of Chriſt, of her due comfort,as taking away the ſonne out of the world.10.In all theyr doyngs they ſhoote to a wrong marke. For where Chriſt only is ſet vp to be apprehended by our fayth, and ſo freely to iuſtifie vs: they leauing this Iuſtification by fayth, ſet vp other markes,partly of the law,partly of their owne deuiſing for men to ſhoote at.And here commeth in the manifeſt and manifold abſurdities of the Biſh. of Romes doctrine,which here(the Lord willing) we wyll rehearſe, as in Catalogue here followyng.

Inconueniences that riſe in not knowing the true ende of the lawe.

Errours and abſurdities of the Papiſtes touchyng the doctrine of the lawe, and of the Goſpell.

Errours in the Popes doctrine concerning the doctrine of the lawe

1. They erroneouſly conceyue opinion of ſaluation in the law,which only is to be ſought in the fayth of Chriſt and in no other.
2. They erroneouſly ſeke gods fauour by workes of the law,not knowyng that the law in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God.Rom.3.
3. They erre alſo in this,that where the office of the law is diuers and contrary from the Goſpel,they without any difference,confound the one wyth the other,making the goſpel to be a law,and Chriſt to be a Moſes.
4. They erre in diuiding the law vnſkilfully in thre partes into the law naturall, the law morall, and the law Euangelicall.
5. They erre agayne in deuiding the lawe Euangelicall into precepts and counſailes,makyng the precepts to ſerue for all men, the counſailes onely to ſerue for them that bee perfect.
6. The chiefe ſubſtance of all their teaching and preaching reſteth vpon the workes of the law,as may appeare by their religion,which wholy conſiſteth in mens merites,traditiõs lawes.canons,decrees and ceremonies.
7. In the doctrine of ſaluation, of remiſſion,and iuſtification, either they admixte the lawe equally with the Goſpel, or els cleane ſecludyng the Goſpel, they teach and preache the law, ſo that litle mention is made of the fayth of Chriſt, or none at all.
8. They erre,in thinking, that the law of God requireth nothyng in vs vnder payne of damnation, but onely our obedience in externe actions : as for the inward affections & concupiſcence, they eſteme but light matters.
9. They not knowyng the true nature and ſtrength of ẏ lawe,do erroneouſly imagine that it is in mãs power to fulfill it.
10. They erre in thinkyng, not onely to be in mans power to kepe the lawe of God,but alſo to performe more perfect workes, then be in Gods law commaunded,and theſe they call the workes of perfection. And hereof ryſe the workes of ſupererogation, of ſatiſfaction, of congruitie, and condignitie, to ſtore vp the treaſurehouſe of the Popes Churche, to be ſolde out to the people for money.
11. They erre, in ſaying that the ſtate monaſticall is more perfect, for kepyng the Counſailes of the Goſpell, then other ſtates be, in kepyng the lawe of the Goſpell.
12. The counſailes of the Goſpell they call the vowes of their religious men, as profoũd humilitie, perfect chaſtitie, and wilfull pouertie.
13. They erre abominablye, in equalyng their lawes & conſtitutions, with Gods law,and in ſaying: that mans lawe byndeth vnder payne of damnation,no leſſe then Gods law.
14. They erre ſinnefully,in puniſhyng the tranſgreſſours of their lawes more ſharpely then the tranſgreſſours of the lawe of God, as appeareth by their Inquiſitions and their Canon lawe.&c.
15. Finally, they erre moſt horriblye in this, that where the free promiſe of God aſcribeth our ſaluation,onely to our fayth in Chriſt, excludyng workes: they contrary aſcribe ſaluation, onely or principally, to workes and merites,excludyng fayth. Wherupon riſeth the application of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe,Ex opere operato,for the quicke and dead application of the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, in Bulles, application of the merites of all religious orders, and ſuche other mo aboue ſpecified more at large, in the former part of this hiſtorye, about the pag. 20.21.&c.

This article repugneth agaynſt this place of Iohn 1. The lawe is geuen by Moſes: grace and veritie by Ieſus Chriſt.

What is the whole ſeruice of god in the popes church but onely an heape of ceremonies.

This article repugneth agaynſt this Scripture. Goe & preach the Goſpel to euery creature: He that beleueth &c. But they preach as though Chriſt had ſayd: Goe & preach the law to euery creature.

This article is contrary to the place.Rom.8. That which the lawe coulde not performe,in the behalfe of our weake fleſh.&c.Rome.8.

This article repugneth agaynſt the place.Galat.2. For if righteouſnes come by the lawe, then Chriſt dyed in vayne.

This article ſauoreth of the pride of the Phariſey,which ſaid: I am not like thys Publicane.

This article repugneth agaynſt thys place: They binde heauie burdens & greuous to beare,& laye them on mens ſhoulders. Mat.23.

Woe to you Scribes & Phariſeis which for the doctrines of men tranſgreſſe the Cõmaundementes of God.

Here follow three cautions to be obſerued and auoyded in the true vnderſtanding of the law.

The firſt caution.

Three Cautions to be auoyded concerning the right vnderſtanding of the lawe.

FIrſt,that we through the miſunderſtanding of the Scriptures,do not take the law for the Goſpell,nor the Goſpel for the law: but ſkilfully diſcerne and diſtinct the voyce of the one,from the voyce of the other. Many there be,which reading the booke of the new Teſtament, do take and vnderſtand whatſoeuer they ſee contained in the ſayd boke,to be only and meerly the voyce of the Goſpel.And contrarywiſe whatſoeuer is contayned in the compaſſe of the old Teſtament,that is,within the law,ſtories, Pſalmes and Prophets, to be only and meerly the word and voyce of the law:wherin many are deceiued.For the preaching of the lawe and of the Goſpell,are mixed together in both the Teſtaments, as well the old as the new.Neyther is the order of theſe two doctrines to be diſtincted by bookes and leaues, but by the diuerſitie of Gods ſpirit ſpeaking vnto vs.For ſometymes in the old Teſtament,God doth comfort as he comforted Adã with the voyce of the Goſpell. Sometymes alſo in the new Teſtament he doth threaten and terrifie, as when Chriſt threatened the Phariſeis.In ſome places againe, Moſes and the Prophets play the Euangeliſts:In ſo much that Hierom doubteth whether he ſhould call Eſay a Prophet or an Euangeliſt.In ſome places likewyſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſupply the part of Moſes.And as Chriſt hymſelfe vntyll his death was vnder the law(which law he came not to breake but to fulfill) ſo hys Sermons made to the Iewes, for the moſt part runne all vpon the perfect doctrine and workes of the law, ſhewyng and teaching what we ought to doe by the right law of Iuſtice, and what daunger inſueth in not performing the ſame.All which places though they be contayned in the boke of the new Teſtament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law,euer hauyng in them included a priuy exception of repentaunce and fayth in Chriſt Ieſus.As in example,where Chriſt thus preacheth, Bleſſed be they that be pure of hart,for they ſhal ſee God,&c. Mat. 5.Agayne,except ye be made lyke theſe children,ye ſhal not enter.&c.Math.18. Item,But he that doth the wyll of my father,ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen.&c. Math.7. Item,the parable of the vnkynd ſeruaunt iuſtly caſt into priſon for not forgeuyng his fellow.&c.Math.18. The caſtyng of the riche glutton into hell.&c.Luke.16. Item,he that denyeth me here before mẽ,I wyll deny him before my father &c.Luke.12. With ſuch other places of lyke condition. All theſe(I ſay)pertayning to the doctrine of the law, do euer include in them a ſecret exception of earneſt repentaunce,& fayth in Chriſtes precious bloud.For els, Peter denyed and yet repented.Many Publicanes and ſinners wer vnkynd, vnmercifull,and hard harted to their fellow ſeruantes,and yet many of them repented, and by fayth were ſaued, &c. The grace of Chriſt Ieſus worke in vs earneſt repentaunce, and fayth in hym vnfayned.Amen.

The voyce of the goſpell ſometimes ſoundeth in the olde Teſtament.

The voyce of the lawe ſometimes is vſed in the new Teſtament.

What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the lawe, and what to the Goſpell.

Math 5.

Math.18.

Math.7.

Math.18.

Luke.16.

Luke.12.

Briefly,to know when the law ſpeaketh, and when the Goſpell ſpeaketh,and to diſcerne the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other,this may ſerue for a note : That whẽ there is any morall worke commaunded to be done, eyther for eſchuyng of puniſhment,or vpon promiſe of any reward temporall,or eternall,either els when any promiſe is made with condition of any worke commaunded in the law,there is to be vnderſtanded the voyce of the law.Contrary,where the promiſe of lyfe and ſaluation is offered vnto vs freely without all our merites,and ſimply without any condition annexed,of any law either naturall,ceremoniall, or morall, all thoſe places,whether they be read in the old Teſtament, or in the new,are to be referred to the voyce and doctrine of the Goſpell.And this promiſe of God freely made to vs by the merites of Ieſus Chriſt,ſo long before propheſied to vs in the olde Teſtament, and afterward exhibited in the new Teſtament,and now requiring nothyng but our fayth in the ſonne of God is called properly the voyce of the Goſpell, and differreth from the voyce of the law in this,that it hath no condition adioyned of our meriting,but onely reſpecteth the merites of Chriſt the ſonne of God,by whoſe fayth only we are promiſed of God to be ſaued and iuſtified, accordyng as we read. Rom.3. The righteouſneſſe of God commeth by fayth of Ieſu Chriſt,in all and vpon all,that do beleue. &c.

The promiſe of the Goſpell is without conditiõ.

Free without our merites. Simple without condition.

What is the Goſpell properly.

Rom.3.

The ſecond Caution or danger to be auoyded is,that we now knowyng how to diſcerne rightly betwene the lawe

The ſecõd caution.

and

& the Goſpel, and hauing intellygence not to miſtake the one for the other, muſt take heede agayn, that wee breake not the order betwene theſe two, takyng and applyīg the lawe, where the Goſpell is to bee applyed, eyther to our ſelues, or towarde other. For albeit the lawe and the Goſpel, many tymes are to be ioyned together in order of doctrine: yet caſe may fall ſometimes, that the law muſt be vtterly ſequeſtred from the Goſpel. As when any perſon or perſons doe feele them ſelues, with the Mageſtie of the law, and iudgement of God ſo tertified and oppreſſed, and with the burden of their ſinnes ouerweyd & throwē down into vtter diſcomfort, and almoſt euen to the pitte of hell, as happeneth many tymes, to ſoft and timorous conſciences of Gods good ſeruauntes: when ſuch mortified hartes doe heare eyther in preachyng, or in readyng, any ſuch example or place of the Scripture, whiche perteineth to the law, let them thinke the ſame nothyng to belong to them, no more then a mournyng weede belongeth to a mariage feaſt: and therfore, remouing vtterly out of their myndes all cogitatiõ of the law, of feare, of iudgement, and condemnation, let them onely ſet before their eyes the Goſpell, the ſwete cõfortes of Gods promiſe, free forgeuenes of ſinnes in Chriſt grace, redemption, libertie, reioyſing, Pſalmes, thankes ſingyng, and a Paradiſe, of ſpirituall iocunditie, and nothyng els: thinkyng thus with them ſelues, that the law hath done his office in thee already, & now muſt nedes geue place to hys better, that is, muſt nedes giue roume to Chriſte the ſonne of God who is the Lord, and maiſter, the fulfiller, and alſo the finiſher of the law: for the end of the law, is Chriſt Rom. 10.

Who they be to whom the Goſpell onely belongeth.

A mourning gowne in a place of mariage doth not agree.

Chriſt the fulfiller, and alſo the finiſher of the lawe.

The third daunger to be auoyded is, that wee doe not vſe or apply, on the contrary ſide, the Goſpell, in ſtede of the law. For as the other before was euen as much as to put on a mournyng gowne, in the feaſt of a Mariage: ſo is thys but euen to caſt pearles before ſwyne. Wherein is a great abuſe among many. For cõmõly it is ſene that theſe worldly Epicures and ſecure Mammoniſtes, to whõ the doctrine of the lawe doth properly apperteine, doe receaue and apply to them ſelues moſt principally, the ſwete promiſes of the Goſpell: and contrarywiſe, the other contrite and bruſed hartes, to whom belongeth onely the ioyfull tydynges of the Goſpell, and not the lawe, for the moſt part, receaue and reteine to them ſelues the terrible voyce and ſentences of the law, Whereby it commeth to paſſe that many do reioyſe, where they ſhould mourne: and on the other ſide, many do feare and mourne, where they nede not. Wherfore to conclude, in priuate vſe of lyfe, let euery perſon diſcretly diſcerne betwene the law and the Goſpel, and aptly apply to hym ſelfe that whiche hee ſeeth conuenient. And agayne in publike order of doctrine, let euery diſcret preacher put a difference betwene the broken hart of the mournyng ſinner, and the vnrepentante worldling, and ſo cõioyne both the law, with the Goſpell, and the Goſpell, with the law, that in throwing down the wicked, euer he ſpare the weake harted: and againe ſo ſpare the weake, that hee do not encourage the vngodly. And thus much concernyng the coniunction and differẽce betwene the law and the Goſpel, vpon the occaſion of M. Patrikes places.

The third Caution.

How to ſeperate the lawe fro the Goſpell.

How to ioyne both the law and the Goſpell.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
James Beton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. Frier Walter Laing, bewrayer of the confeſſion of this Henry Foreſt.	Henry Foreſt. At S. Andrewes in Scotland.	Within few yeares after the martyrdome of M. Patrike Hamelton, one Hẽry Foreſt, a yong man borne in Lithquow, who a little before, had receyued the orders of Benet & Colet (as they terme them) affirmed and ſayd, yͭ M. Patrike Hamelton died a martyr, & that his articles were true: for the which he was apprehended, and put in priſon by James Beton Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes. Who ſhortly after, cauſed a certaine Frier named Walter Laing to heare his confeſſiõ. To whõ when Henry Foreſt in ſecret confeſſiõ had declared his conſciẽce how he thought M. Patrike to bee a good man and wrõgfully to be put to death, & that his articles were true and not hereticall: the Frier came and vttered to the Biſhop the confeſſion that he had hearde, which before was not thoroughly known. Whereupon it followed that his confeſſion beyng brought as ſufficient probation agaynſt him, he was therfore conuicted before the councell of the clergy and doctors, & there concluded to bee an hereticke, equall in iniquity with M. Patricke Hamelton, and there decreed to be geuẽ to yͤ ſecular iudges to ſuffer death. When the day came of hys death, and that he ſhould firſt be degraded, and was brought before the cleargy in a grene place, beyng betwene the caſtle of S. Andrews, and another place called Monypenill, as ſone as he entred in at the dore, and ſaw the face of the Clergy, perceiuing wherunto they tended, he cryed wͭ a loude voyce, ſaying: Fie, on falſhoode: Fye on falſe friers, reuealers of cõfeſſion: after this day, let no man euer truſt any falſe Friers, contemners of Gods worde, & deceiuers of mẽ. And ſo they proceding to degrade him of hys ſmall orders of Benet & Collet, he ſayd wͭ a loud voyce, take from me not onely your owne orders, but alſo your owne baptiſme, meaning thereby, whatſoeuer is beſides that which Chriſt hymſelfe inſtituted, whereof there is a great rablement in Baptiſme. Then after hys degradation, they condemned hym as an heretike equal with M. Patrike aforeſaide: and ſo he ſuffred death for his faythfull teſtimony of the truth of Chriſt, and of hys Goſpell at the Northchurch ſtile of the Abbey church of S. Andrew, to the entent that all the people of Anguiſhe might ſee the fire, and ſo might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine, whiche they terme by the name of hereſie, Ex Scripto teſtimonio Scotorum.

Henry Foreſt, martyr.

The Fryer bewrayeth the cõfeſſion of Henry Foreſt.

Fyhe on falſe Fryers.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
James Hay biſhop of Roſe and commiſſioner of James Beton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.	James Hamelton, brother to M. Patrike. Katherine Hamelton. A wyfe of Lieth Dauid Straton. M. Norman Gurlay.	Within a yere after yͤ martirdom of Hẽry Foreſt, or there about, was called James Hamelton of Kynlitgow hys ſiſter Katherine Hamelton the ſpouſe of the captain of Dũbar, alſo an other honeſt woman of Leith, Dauid Straton of yͤ houſe of Lawriſtonne and M. Normã Gurlay. Theſe were called to the Abbey Church of Halyroodhouſe in Edenburgh by James Hay, B. of Roſe, commiſſioner to James Beton Archbiſhop, in preſence of K. James yͤ v. of that name: who vpon the day of theyr accuſation was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton accuſed as one that mainteined yͤ opinions of M. Patricke hys brother.

James Hamelton.

Katherine Hamelton his ſiſter, A wife of Lyeth perſecuted.

Dauid Straton, Norman Gurley, Martyrs.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
M. Iohn Spens Lawyer.		To whome the kyng gaue counſaile to depart, & not to appeare: for in caſe he appeared he could not help him, becauſe the Byſhops had perſuaded him, ỹ the cauſe of hereſie did in no wiſe appertayne vnto him, & ſo James fled and was condemned as an heretike, and all his goods & landes confiſcat, and diſpoſed vnto others.

Catherine Hamelton hys Siſter, appeared vpon the ſchaffold, and beyng accuſed of an horrible hereſie, to witte, that her owne workes could not ſaue her, ſhe graunted the ſame, and after longe reaſoning betwene her and M. John Spens the Lawyer, ſhe cōcluded in this maner: work here, worke there: what kinde of workyng is al this? I know perfectly that no kynde of workes can ſaue mee, but onely the workes of Chriſt my Lord and Sauiour. The kyng hearing theſe wordes, turned hym about and laught, and called her vnto hym and cauſed her to recant, becauſe ſhe was hys aunt, and ſhe eſcaped.

A great hereſie in the Popes Church, that no workes cā ſaue vs but the workes of Chriſt.

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that when the mydwife in tyme of her labour, bad her ſay our Ladye helpe mee: She cryed, Chriſte helpe me, Chriſt helpe me, in whoſe helpe I truſt. Shee alſo was cauſed to recant, and ſo eſcaped, without confiſcation of her goodes, becauſe ſhe was maryed.

A great hereſie to ſay Chriſt helpe, and not our Ladye.

Maiſter Norman Gurlay, for that he ſayd there was no ſuch thyng as Purgatory, and that ỹ Pope was not a byſhop, but Antichriſt, and had no Juriſdiction in Scotland.

Agaynſt Purgatory.

Alſo Dauid Straton, for that he ſayd, there was no Purgatorie, but the Paſſion of Chriſte, and the tribulations of this world, and becauſe that, when M. Robert Lowſon Vicare of Egleſgrig aſked his tieth fiſhe of hym, he dyd caſt them to him out of the boate, ſo that ſome of them fell into the Sea: therefore he accuſed him, as one that ſhoulde haue ſayd, ỹ no tithes ſhould be payed. Theſe two, becauſe after great ſolicitation made by the kyng, they refuſed to abiure and recant, were therfore condemned by thee Byſhop of Roſe as heretickes, and were burned vpon the grene ſide, betwene Leith and Edenburgh, to the entent that the inhabitauntes of Fiffe, ſeyng ỹ fyre, might be ſtricken with terrour and feare, not to fall into the lyke. Ex eodem Scripto.

¶ And thus much touchyng thoſe Martyrs of Scotland, whiche ſuffered vnder James Beton, Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes. After whom ſucceded Dauid Beton in the ſame Archbyſhopprike, vnder whom diuers other were alſo martyred as hereafter (God willyng) in their order ſhall appeare.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne.	Thomas Harding an aged father, dwellyng at Cheſham, in Buckinghamſhire.	Thomas Harding dwelling at Cheſham in the countie of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was firſt abiured by Wil. Smith, biſhop of Lincoln, an. 1506. with dyuers other moe, which the ſame tyme, for ſpeaking againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, were taken and compelled, ſome to beare fagots, ſome were burned in the cheke with hote irons, ſome condemned to perpetuall priſon, ſome thruſt into monaſteries and ſpoyled clean of all their goods ſome cōpelled to make pilgrimage to ỹ great blocke, otherwiſe called, our Lady of Lincolne, ſome to Walſingam, ſome to S. Romuld of Buckinghā, ſome to the roode of Wendouer, ſome to S. John Shorne. &c. of whō mention is made in the table before, beginning. pag. 794.
Rouland Vicare of great Wickā the biſhops Chaplen.	At Cheſhā in Buckingham. An. 1532.	Of this Tho. Harding much rehearſall hath ben made before, as in the pag. 794. col. col. 2. pag. 795. col. 2. lin. 31. pag. 796. col. 2. lin. 47. pag. 797. col. 2. lin. 18. &c.

Vid ſup. pag. 794.

Tho. Harding martyr.

Firſt this Tho. Harding with Alice hys wyfe, beyng abiured, and enioyned penance, with diuers other mo, by William Smith B. of Lincolne, afterward by the ſayd biſhop was releaſed agayne in the yere of our Lord. 1515. of all ſuch penaunce as was enioyned him and his wyfe at their abiuration, except theſe 3. Articles followyng, and were diſcharged of their badges or ſignes of theyr fagots. &c. Onely this penaunce folowyng the biſhop continued, Sub pœna relapſus.

Firſt, that neither of thē during their life ſhould dwell out of the pariſh of Amerſham.

Item, that either of them during their life, ſhould faſt bread and ale euery Corpus Chriſti euen.

Item, that either of thē ſhould, during their liues vpon Corpus Chriſti day, euery yeare, go in pilgrimage to Atherige, and there make their offerynges, as other people did, but not to doe open penannce. Alſo they were licenced by the ſayd Biſhop to doe their pilgrimage at Aſherige, vpon Corpus Chriſti euen, or Corpus Chriſti day, or ſome other, vpon any cauſe reaſonable.

It was happy that they were not put to taſte bread and water.

This penance beyng to them enioyned an. 1515. they obſerued to the yeare. 1522. ſaue onely in the laſt yere, the foreſayd Alice hys wyfe omitted her pilgrimage goyng to Aſherige vpon Corpus Chriſti day. Alſo the ſayd Tho. Hardyng, beyng put to his othe, to detect other, becauſe he contrary to hys othe diſſembled, and did not diſcloſe them, was therfore enioyned in penaunce, for his periury, to beare vpō hys right ſleue, both before and behynd, a badge or patch of grene cloth or ſilke embrodered lyke a fagot, during hys whole lyfe, vnleſſe he ſhould otherwyſe be diſpenſed withall. And thus continued he from the yeare 1522. till the yeare. 1532.

At laſt the ſayd Harding in the yere aboueſaid 1532. about Eaſter holydayes, when the other people wēt to the church, to commit theyr wonted idolatry, toke his way into the woodes, there ſolitarily to worſhip the true liuyng God, in ſpirit and truth. Where, as he was occupied in a booke of Engliſh prayers, leaning or ſittyng vppon a ſtyle by the woodes ſide, it chanced that one dyd eſpye hym where he was, and came in great haſte to the officers of the towne, declaring that he had ſene Hardyng in the woodes lokyng on a booke. Whereupon immediatlie a rude rable of them, lyke madde men, ranne deſperatly to his houſe, to ſearch for bookes, and in ſearchyng went ſo nighe, ỹ vnder the bordes of hys flore, they found certeine Engliſhe bookes of holy Scripture. Wherupō this godly father with hys bokes, was brought before John Longland, Byſhop of Lincolne, then lying at Wooburne. Who with his Chaplens, calling father Hardyng to examination, began to reaſon wt hym, procedyng rather with checkes and rebukes, then with any ſound argumentes. Thomas Hardyng ſeyng their folly, and rude behauiour, gaue thē but few wordes, but fixyng his truſt and care in the Lord, did let them ſay what they would. Thus at laſt they ſent hym to the Byſhops priſon called litle eaſe, where he dyd lye with hūger & payne enough, for a certen ſpace: til at lēgth the B. ſitting in his tribunall ſeat like a poteſtate, condēned him for relapſe, to be burned to aſhes, cōmitting ỹ charge and ouerſight of his martirdom to Rouland Meſſēger, vicar of great Wickhā. Which Roulād at ỹ day appointed, wt a rable of other like to himſelf, brought father Harding to Cheſhā again. Where the next day after his returne, ỹ ſayd Rouland made a ſermon in Cheſhā church, cauſing Tho. Harding to ſtand before him al ỹ preaching time: which ſermō was nothing els but ỹ mainteining of ỹ iuriſdictiō of ỹ B. of Rome, & the ſtate of his apoſtolical ſea, wt the idolatry, fantaſies & traditions belonging to the ſame. When the ſermon was ended, Rouland toke him vp to ỹ high aulter, &

aſked

The taking of Thomas Harding.

Tho. Harding put in litle eaſe the Byſhops priſon.

Tho. Harding condemned.

The fayth ẏ confeſſion of Tho. Harding.

aſked whether he beleued that in the bread after the conſecration there remayned any other ſubſtāce then the ſubſtance of Chriſtes naturall body borne of the virgin Mary. To this Tho. Harding anſwered: the articles of our beliefe do teach vs, that our Sauiour Chriſt was borne of the virgin Mary, & that he ſuffred death vnder Pilate, and roſe frō death the third day: that he then aſcended into heauen and ſitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his father.

The pacient death and Martyrdom of Tho. Harding.

Then was he brought into a mans houſe in the towne, where he remayned all night in prayer, and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foreſaid Rouland againe, about x. of the clocke, with a company of bils and ſtaues, to lead this godly father to his burning, whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death: and contrary the wicked reioiced thereat. He was brought forth, hauing thruſt in his handes a little croſſe of wood, but no idoll vpon it. Then he was cheyned to the ſtake, deſiring the people to pray for him, and forgeuyng all his enemyes and perſecuters, he commended his ſpirite to God, and tooke his death moſt paciently & quietly, liftyng vp his handes to heauen, ſaying: Jeſus receaue my ſpirite.

xl. dayes of pardon for bringing fagots to burne good men.

When they had ſet fyre on him, there was one ẏ threw a byllet at hym, and daſhed out his braynes. Of what purpoſe he ſo dyd, it is not knowē, but as it was ſuppoſed, ẏ he myght haue xl. dayes of pardō as the proclamatiō was made at the burning of William Tilſeworth aboue mentioned pag. 749. wheras proclamation was made the ſame tyme, that whoſoeuer did bryng a fagot or a ſtake to the burnyng of an heriticke, ſhould haue xl. dayes of pardon. Whereby many ignorant people cauſed their childrē to beare byllets and Fagottes to their burnyng.

In fine, when the ſacrifice and burnt offeryng of this godly Martyr was finiſhed, and hee brent to aſhes, in the Dell, goyng to Botley, at the North end of the towne of Cheſham, Rouland thee Ruler of the roſt, commaundyng ſilence & thinkyng to ſend the people away, with an Ite miſſa eſt, with a loude voyce ſayd to the people theſe wordes, not aduiſing belyke what his tongue did ſpeake: „Good people, when ye come home, do not ſay that you haue bene at „the burnyng of an heriticke, but of a good true Chriſtian man, and ſo they departed to dyner, Rouland with the rable of other Prieſtes much reioyſing at ẏ burnyng of this good man. After dyner they went to Church to euenſong, becauſe it was Corpus Chriſti euen, where they fell to ſingyng and chauntyng, & ryngyng, and pypyng of the Organes. Well was hee that could reache the hyeſt note: So much dyd they reioyſe at this good mans burnyng. He ſhould haue bene burned on the Aſcenſion euen, but thee matter was referred vnto the euen of Corpus Chriſti, becauſe they would honour their bready Meſſias with a bloudy ſacrifice. Thus Thomas Hardyng was conſumed to aſhes, he beyng of the age of lx. yeares & aboue. Ex teſtimonio ſcripto ciuium Amerſhamenſium.

¶ I finde in the recordes of Lyncolne, about the ſame tyme, and in the ſame countrey of Buckynghamſhyre, in the which the foreſayd Thomas Hardyng did ſuffer, that diuers other for the lyke doctrine, were moleſted and troubled, whoſe names & their cauſes, here vnder folow.

Alyce Doly, accuſed.

Agaynſt pilgrimage.

Againſt Images.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Elizabeth Wighthill. Doctour London.	Miſtres Alice Doly.	Elizabeth Wighthill beyng brought before Doctor London, in ẏ perſonage at Staunton Harcourt, & there put to her othe, depoſed againſt Maiſtres Alice Doly, her maiſtres, that ẏ ſaid M. Doly ſpeaking of J. Hacker of Colmanſtreet in Lōdon Waterbearer, ſaid that he was very expert in ẏ Goſpels, and all other things belōging to diuine ſeruice, & could expres & declare it, & ẏ Pater noſter in engliſh as well as any prieſt, & it would do one good to heare him: ſaying moreouer, ẏ ſhe would in no caſe, that this were known, for hurting the poore mā, commaunding moreouer the ſaid Elizabeth that ſhe ſhould tell no man hereof, affirming at ẏ ſame tyme, that the foreſaid Hacker could tell of diuers propheſies, what ſhould happen in the realm. Ouer and beſides, the forenamed Elizabeth depoſed, that ẏ ſaid M. Doly her Maiſtreſſe ſhewed vnto her, that ſhe had a boke, which held againſt pilgrimages: and after that, ſhe cauſed ſir John Boothe perſon of Baitwell, to read vpon a booke, which ſhe called Legenda aurea, and one Saintes lyfe he reade, which did ſpeake againſt pilgrimages, and after that was read, her maiſtreſſe ſaid vnto her: loe daughter now ye may heare as I told you, ẏ this booke ſpeaketh againſt pilgrimages. Furthermore, it was depoſed agaynſt Maiſtres Doly by the ſayd Elizabeth, that ſhe beyng at Syr William Barentens place, and ſeyng there in the cloſet, Images new gilded, ſayd to the ſayd Elizabeth, looke here be my Lady Barentens Gods. To whom the ſayde Elizabeth aunſwered agayne, that they were ſet for remembraunce of good Saintes. Then ſayd ſhe, if I were in an houſe where no Images were I could remēber to pray vnto Saintes as well as if I dyd ſee the Images. Nay ſayde the other, Images do prouoke deuotion. Then ſayd her Maiſtres, ye ſhould not worſhyp that thyng ẏ hath eares, and can not heare, and hath eyes and can not ſee, and hath mouth and can not ſpeake, and hath handes, and can not feele. Item, the ſayd M. Doly was reported by ẏ ſaid partie, to haue a booke conteinyng the xij. Articles of the Crede, couered with bordes, & red coueryng also an other blacke booke, whiche ſhe ſet moſt price by, whiche booke ſhe kept euer in her chamber or in her coffer, with other diuers bookes. And this was about ẏ yeare of our Lord 1520 Ex Regiſtro Lincol. ¶ Note here, good reader, in this tyme, which was aboue 46. yeares a go, what good matter here was to accuſe and moleſt good wemen for.

Roger Hatchman accuſed.

Robert Weſt accuſed.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
William Smith of Northſtoke in Oxfordſhire. Tho. Ferrar.	Rog. Hachman. At Northſtoke in Oxfordſhire. An. 1525.	Agaynſt this Roger Hachman it was layd by depoſitions brought in, that hee ſittyng at thee church Ile, at Northſtoke, ſaid theſe wordes: I will neuer looke to be ſaued, for no good dede that euer I dyd, neither for any that euer I will do, without I may haue my ſaluation by petition, as an outlaw ſhall haue his pardon of the kyng, & ſayd, that if he might not haue his ſaluatiō ſo, he thought he ſhold be loſt. Ex Regiſt. Lin.
Doctour Wharton Chauncellor to Tonſtall biſhop of London.	Rob. Weſt prieſt of S. Andrew vnderſhaft. At London. An. 1529.	Agaynſt this Robert Weſt Prieſte it was obiected, that he had commended Martin Luther, & thought that he had done well in many thynges, as in hauyng wife & children. &c. Item, for ſaying ẏ where as the doctors of the church haue cōmaunded prieſtes to ſay Mattens & Euen

Perſecutors. Martyrs. The cauſes.

ſong, they had no authoritie ſo to do: For the which he was abiured, and was enioyned penance. Ex Regiſt.Lincol.

John Ryburne accuſed.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Doctor Morgan.	Iohn Ryburne. At Roſhborogh. An.1530.	It was teſtified agaynſt Jo. Ryburne, by his ſiſter Eliſabeth Ryburn, being put to her othe, that ſhe comming to hym vpõ the Aſſumption euẽ foũd him at Supper with butter and egges, and beyng bid to ſit down and eate with him, ſhe anſwered, that it was no conuenient tyme then to eate. To whõ he ſaid agayne, ẏ god neuer made ſuch faſting dayes, but you (quod he) are ſo farre in Limbo patrum, that you can neuer turne agayn. And in further communication, whẽ ſhe ſayd that ſhe wold goe on pilgrimage to ẏ holy croſſe, at Wendouer, he ſaid agayne, that ſhe did nought: For there is neuer a ſtep (ſaid he) that you ſet in goyng on pilgrimage, but you goe to the deuill: and you go to the church to worſhip that the prieſt doth hold aboue hys hed, which is but bread, and if you caſt it to the mouſe, he wil eate it: and ſayd that he would neuer beleue that ẏ prieſt hath power to make hys Lord.

Item, it was teſtified by an other ſiſter named Alice Ryburne, that ſhe beyng with her brother in a cloſe called Brimmers cloſe, hearde hym ſay theſe wordes: That a tyme ſhall come that no eleuation ſhalbe made. Whereunto ſhe aunſwering agayne, aſked: and what ſeruice ſhall we haue then? She ſayd: that ſeruice that we haue now. Furthermore the ſaid John Ryburne was accuſed vpon theſe wordes, ſaying: that the ſeruice of the Church was nought, becauſe it was not in engliſh: For ſaid he, if we had our Pater noſter in engliſh, we would ſay it xx.times againſt once now. &c. Ex Regiſt.Lincol.fol.300.

A propheſie.

¶ Note here out of the recordes of the regiſter, that in this examinatiõ of J. Ryburne, firſt hys ij. ſiſters, then his owne wyfe, and at laſt his own father were called before John Longland B. of Lincolne, & compelled by othe to depoſe againſt him.

Siſter agaynſt brother: wyfe againſt huſband.

John Eaton and Cicilie hys wife.

Perſecutors.	Martyrs.	The cauſes.
Iohn Longland biſhop of Lincolne.	Iohn Eaton Cicilie hys wyfe.	John Eaton and Cicilie his wyfe of ẏ pariſh of Spine, were detected by Rich. Ryburne that they were marked of certaine in the pariſh on the ſonday then laſt paſt, in the ſacryng tyme, to hold downe their heds and would not looke vpon the ſacrament.
Rich. Ryburne.	At Roſheborough. An.1530.	Item, in the feaſt of exaltation of the holy croſſe, whẽ the bels did ring ſolemnly, betwene Mattens and high maſſe, for ſaying in a Butchers houſe. What a clamperyng of bels is here? Item, the ſaid Jo. Ryburne was detected of Richard his father for ſaying theſe wordes: The prieſtes doe naught, for they ſhould ſay their ſeruice in Engliſh, that euery man may know it.

Perſecuters. Martyrs. The Cauſes.

Item, for theſe wordes ſpeakyng to one of hys ſiſters: The Sacrament of the aultar, is not as they take it to bee. But if it be, as I truſt, we ſhall ſee none of them holden vp, one of theſe dayes, ouer the prieſtes head. &c.

A propheſie.

Item, for ſaying, that the bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath made ſatiſfaction for all ill dedes, ẏ were done, or ſhould be done, and therfore it was no nede, to go on pilgrimage. It was alſo layd to hys charge, and confeſſed by hym ſelfe, ẏ hee had Jeſus Goſpels in Engliſhe, and that he was preſent in the houſe of John Taylor, when one John Symondes read to them a lecture out of the Goſpel, of the Paſſion of Chriſt, the ſpace of ij. houres.

Item, for ſaying, that Images were but Idoles and it was Idolatrie to pray to them,

For ſaying moreouer, that at ſacryng tyme, hee kneled downe, but he had no deuotion, nor beleued in the Sacrament. Item, that the Popes authoritie and pardon can not helpe mans ſoule, and it was but caſt away money, that is giuen for pardon: For if we aſke pardon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he wil geue vs pardon euery day.

Thomas Lound Prieſt, who had bene with Luther ij. yeares, beyng afterward caſt in the Flete at Londõ, was a great inſtructor of this J. Ryburne.

John Symondes, accuſed.

Ex eod.regiſt. fol.323.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne.	Iohn Symondes.	It was layd agaynſt John Symondes, for ſaying, that men doe walke al day in Purgatory in this worlde, and when they depart out of this world ther is but ij. wayes, eyther to hel or to heauẽ. Item, hee ſayd that Prieſtes, ſhould haue wyues. It was reported by the confeſſion of ẏ ſayd John Symondes: ẏ he conuerted to hys doctrine viij. Prieſtes, & had holpen ij. or iij. friers out of their orders

Diuers accuſed for hearing the Scripture read in Engliſhe.

Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol.311.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne.	William Wingraue. Thomas Hawkes of Hichenden. Rob. Hawes of Weſtwicome. Iohn Taylor Iohn Hawkes. Tho. Herne of Cobſhill. Nicholas Field. Rich. Deane Tho. Clerke the yonger.	Theſe perſons with other, were examined excommunicated, and abiured, for being together in John Taylors houſe at Hichenden, and there hearing Nich. Field of Londõ to read a parcel of ſcripture in engliſh to thẽ who there expounded to them many things: that they which wẽt on pilgrimage, were accurſed: That it booted not to pray to images, for they were but ſtockes made of wood and coulde not helpe a man: That God almightye byddeth vs worke as wel one day as an other, ſauing the Sonday: for ſixe days he wrought, & the ſeuenth day he reſted: That they needed not to faſt ſo many faſting days except the Imbring dais: for he was beyond the ſea in Almany, and there they vſed not ſo to faſt, nor to make ſuch holydais Item, that offeryngs doe no good, for they haue thẽ, that haue no nede therof. And whẽ it was anſwered again by one ẏ they mainteined

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
	William Hawkes of Cheſham. An.1530.	ned gods ſeruice: nay, ſayd Nicolas, it maintayneth great houſes, as Abbeyes & other. Item, that men ſhould ſay their Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, in Engliſh, with the Creede, and declared the ſame in Engliſh. Itē, that the Sacrament of the aultar was not, as it was pretended, the fleſh, bloud, & bone of Chriſt: but a Sacrament, that is, a Typicall ſignification of his holy body.
		To William Wingraue moreouer, it was obiected that he ſhould ſay, that there was no Purgatory: and if there were any Purgatory, & euery Maſſe, that is ſayd ſhould deliuer a ſoule out of Purgatory, there ſhould be neuer a ſoule there: for there be moe Maſſes ſayd in a day, then there be bodyes buryed in a moneth.
Iohn Lōgland Byſhoppe of Lincolne.	Symon Wiſedome of Burford.	Symon Wiſedome of Burford was charged in iudgement, for hauyng three bookes in Engliſh: one was the Goſpels in Engliſh, an other was the Pſalter, the iij. was the Summe of the holy Scripture in Engliſh.
Doctour Prinne, Commiſſary to the Byſhop of Lyncolne.	Iames Algar, or Ayger. An. 1530.	It was articulated and obiected to Iames Ayger, firſt that he ſpeakyng to a certain D. of diuinity, named Aglonby, ſayd that euery true Chriſten man lyuing after the lawes of God, and obſeruyng his Commaundementes, is a prieſt as well as he. &c. Item, that he ſayd, that he would not his executours to deale any peny for his ſoule, after his death, for he would do it with his owne handes while he was alyue: and that his cōſciēce gaue him, that ỹ ſoule, ſo ſoone as it departeth out of ỹ body, goeth ſtreight either to heauen, or to hell. Item, when Doctour Aglonby aforeſayd had alledged to him the place of S. Mat. 16. Thou art Peter. &c. He aunſwered hym agayne with that which foloweth in the Goſpell after: Get thee after me Sathan. &c. Item, the ſayd Iames hearyng of a certaine Church to be robbed, ſayd openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.
	Iohn Frēch of Longwitam. At Longwitam. An. 1530.	Agaynſt Iohn Frēch likewiſe theſe three Articles were obiected. 1. That hee beleued not the body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bone to be in the Sacrament. 2. That he was not cōfeſſed to any Prieſt of long tyme. 3. That Prieſtes had not power to abſolue from ſinnes. &c.

Simon Wiſedome abiured.

Iames Algar abiured.

Iohn Frech abiured.

For the which he likewiſe wyth the other, was troubled, and at length compelled alſo wyth them to kneele downe, and to aſke his holy Catholicke fathers and mothers bleſſing of Rome.

But what ſtand I here numbering the ſand? For if all the Regiſter bookes were ſought, it would be an infinite thyng to recite all them, which through all the other Dioceſſes of the realme in theſe dayes, before & ſince, were troubled and purſued for theſe and ſuch lyke matters. But theſe I thought for example ſake, here to ſpecifie, that it myght appeare what doctrine it is, and long hath bene in the Church, for the which the Prelates and Clergie of Rome haue iudged men hereticks, and ſo wrongfully haue moleſted poore ſimple Chriſtians.

Now, paſſing from the abiurations of thoſe poore men, we will ſomethyng ſpeake (God willing) of the lyfe & doynges of the contrary part, who were their perſecutours, & chiefe Rulers then of the church, to the entent that by thoſe Rulers, it may better be diſcerned and iudged, what maner of Church that was, which then ſo perſecuted ỹ true doctrine of Chriſt, and members of hys Church.

A briefe diſcourſe, concerning the ſtorie and lyfe of Thomas Wolſey, late Cardinall of Yorke, by way of digreſſion, wherin is to be ſeene & noted the expreſſe image of the proud vainglorious Church of Rome, how farre it differeth from the true Church of Chriſt Ieſus.

Cardinall Wolſey.

ALthough it be not greatly pertinent vnto thys our hyſtorie, nor greatly requiſite in theſe ſo weightie matters, entreatyng of Chriſtes holy Martyrs, to diſcourſe much of Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke: notwithſtandyng, forſomuch as there be many, which beyng caryed away wyth a wronge opinion, and eſtimation of that falſe glitteryng Church of Rome, doe thynke that holynes to be in it, which in deede is not: to the entent therefore, that the vayne pompe and pride of that ambitious Church, ſo farre differing from all pure Chriſtianitie, and godlynes, more notoriouſly may appeare to all men, and partly alſo to refreſhe the Reader wyth ſome varietie of matter, I thought compendiouſly to expreſſe the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanor of thys foreſayd Thomas Wolſey, Cardinall and Legate of Rome, in whom alone, the Image and lyfe of all other ſuch lyke followers and profeſſors of the ſame Church, may be ſeene and obſerued. For lyke as the Lacedemonians in times paſt, were accuſtomed to ſhewe and demonſtrate dronken men vnto their children, to beholde and looke vpon, that through the foulnes of that vice, they myght inflame them the more to the ſtudie and deſire of ſobrietie: euē ſo it ſhal not be hurtfull ſometymes to ſet forth the examples which are not honeſt, that others might therby gather the inſtructions of better and more vpright dealyng.

Example of the Lacedemonians.

Wherefore thou ſhalt note here (good reader) in thys hyſtorie, wyth all iudgement, the great difference of lyfe and Chriſtian conuerſation, betwene thys Church, and the other true humble Martyrs and ſeruauntes of God, whom they hate, and doe yet perſecute. And firſt to beginne, with the firſt meeting and commyng in of thys Cardinall, and hys fellow Cardinall Campeius into England: it was about the tyme, when Pope Leo intending to make warre agaynſt the Turkes, ſent thre Legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germanie, an other into Fraunce. Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Callis, and that the Cardinall of Yorke had vnderſtanding therof, he ſent certayne Byſhops and Doctors, wyth as much ſpeede as he coulde, to meete the Legate, and to ſhewe hym that if he would haue hys Ambaſſade take effecte, he ſhoulde ſend in poſte to Rome, to haue the ſayde Cardinall of Yorke made Legate, and to be ioyned wyth hym in commiſſion. Which thyng he much affected, miſdoubtyng leaſt his authoritie thereby myght perhappes be diminiſhed through the commyng of the Legate, and therefore required to be ioyned wyth hym in lyke degree of the Ambaſſade. Campeius beyng a man lyght of beliefe, and ſuſpectyng no ſuch matter, gaue credite vnto hys wordes, and ſent vnto Rome wyth ſuch ſpeede, that within xxx. dayes after, the Bull was brought to Callis, wherein they were both equally ioyned in Commiſſion: duryng which tyme, the Cardinall of Yorke, ſent to the Legate at Callis, red cloth to clothe hys ſeruauntes withall, which at their commyng to Callis, were but meanely apparelled.

Campeius ſent into England.

Cardinall Wolſey ſeeketh to be ioyned in equall commiſſiō with Campeius.

Note the ſtate and pride of the Popes Clergie.

When all thynges were ready, Cāpeius paſſed the ſeas and landed at Douer, and ſo kept forth his iourney toward London. At euery good towne as they paſſed, he was recea-

The receauing of the Popes Legate into England.

ued with proceſſion, accompanyed with all the Lordes and Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to blacke Heath, there met him the Duke of Northfolke, with a great number of Prelates, Knightes, and Gentlemen, all richly appareled, & in the way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he ſhifted hymſelfe into a Cardinals robe, furred with Ermines, and ſo tooke his Mule ryding toward Lōdō. Now marke the great humilitie in this church of the pope, and compare the ſame with the other church of the Martyrs, and ſee which of them is more Goſpell lyke.

Ambition and pompe in the Cardinall.

Thus Campeius had viij. Mules of hys owne, laden with diuers farthelles and other preparation. The Cardinall of Yorke, thinkyng them not ſufficient for his eſtate, the night before he came to London, ſent him xij. mules more, with empty cofers couered with red, to furniſh his cariage withall. The next day, theſe xx. Mules were lead through the Citie, as though they had bene lodē with treaſures, apparell and other neceſſaryes, to the great admiration of all men, that they ſhould receiue a Legate as it were a God, with ſuch and ſo great treaſure, & riches. For ſo the cōmō people doth alwayes iudge and eſteeme, the maieſtie of the Clergy, by no other thyng then by their outward ſhewes and pompe: but in the middeſt of this great admiratiō, there happened a ridiculous ſpectacle, to the great deriſiō of their pride & ambitiō. For as the Mules paſſed through Cheape ſide, and the people were preſſyng about them, to behold and gaſe (as the maner is) it happened that one of the Mules breakyng his coller that he was led in, ranne vpon the other Mules, whereby it happened, that they ſo runnyng together, & their girthes beyng loſed, ouerthrew diuers of their burthēs, and ſo there appeared the Cardinals gay treaſure, not without great laughter and ſcorne of many, and ſpecially of boyes and gerles, wherof ſome gathered vp peeces of meate, other ſome, peeces of bread and roſted egges, ſome founde horſe ſhoes, & old bootes, with ſuch other baggage: cryng out, behold, here is my Lord Cardinals treaſure. The Muliters beyng therewithall greatly aſhamed, gathered together their treaſure agayne as wel as they could, and went forward.

How God confoundeth the pride & pompe of men.

The Cardinalles xx. great Mules lode with roſted egges, and rotten ſhoes and ſuch other treaſure.

About three of the clocke at after noone, the xxix. day of July, the Cardinall hymſelfe was brought through the Citie, with great pompe and ſolemnity, vnto Paules Church whereas, when he had bleſſed all men with the Byſhops bleſſing (as the maner is) he was guided forth vnto the Cardinall of Yorkes houſe, where as he was receaued by the ſayd Cardinall, and by him, on the next day beyng Monday, was conducted vnto the kyng, to fulfill his Ambaſſade agaynſt the Turke, which might haue deſtroyed all Hungary, in the meane tyme whiles they were ſtudyng with what ſolemnitie to furniſh out their Ambaſſade.

Ex Edouar. Hallo.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, he ſet vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued teſtamentes, and heard cauſes, to the great hynderaunce of all the Byſhops of the Realme. He viſited Byſhops and all the Clergy, exempt and not exempt: and vnder colour of reformation, he got much treaſure, & nothyng was reformed, but came to more miſchief: for by example of hys pride, Preiſtes and all ſpirituall perſons waxed ſo proude, that they weare veluet, and ſilke, both in gownes, iackets, dublets, and ſhoes, kept open lechery, and ſo hyghly bare thē ſelues, by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no mā durſt once reproue any thyng in them, for feare to be called hereticke, and then they would make him ſmoke or beare a Fagot. And the Cardinall himſelfe was ſo elated, that he thought himſelfe equall with the kyng: and when he had ſayd Maſſe, he made Dukes & Earles to ſerue him of wine with a ſay taken, and to hold the baſon at the Lauatories.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſp.

Furthermore as he was Ambaſſadour ſent to the Emperour at Bruxels, he had ouer with him the great Seale of England, and was ſerued with his ſeruitours kneelyng on their knees, and many noble men of England waytyng vpon him, to the great admiration of all the Germaines that beheld it: ſuch was his monſtrous pompe and pride. Ex Paralip. Abb. Vrſpur.

The climing of the Cardinall Wolſey.

This glorious Cardinall in his tragicall doynges, dyd exceede ſo farre all meaſure of a good ſubiect, that he became more like a prince then a Prieſt: for although the kyng bare the ſword, yet he bare the ſtroke, makyng (in a maner) the whole Realme to bend at his becke, and to daunce after his pype. Such practiſes and fetches he had, that when he had well ſtored his own cofers, firſt he fetched the greateſt part of the kynges treaſure, out of the realme, in xij. great barels full of gold & ſiluer, to ſerue the Popes warres. And as his auaricious minde was neuer ſatiſfied in gettyng, ſo his reſtles head was ſo buſie, ruffling in publicke matters, that he neuer ceaſſed, before he had ſet both Englād, Frāce, Flaunders, Spayne, and Italy, together by the eares.

Cardinall Wolſey a great cauſer of warres.

Thus this Legate well followyng the ſteppes of hys maiſter the Pope, and both of them well declaryng the nature of their religion, vnder the pretenſe of the Church, practiſed great hipocriſie, and vnder the authoritie of the kyng, he vſed great extorſion, with exceſſiue taxes and lones, and valuation of euery mans ſubſtaunce, ſo pillyng the cōmōs and Marchauntes, that euery man complayned, but no redreſſe was had. Neither yet were the Churchmen altogether free from the pillar, and pollar, from the pilling and pollyng (I meane) of this Cardinall, who vnder his power Legantine, gaue by preuentions, all benefices belongyng to ſpirituall perſōs: by which hard it is to ſay, whether he purchaſed to himſelfe, more riches then hatred, of the ſpiritualtie. So farre his licence ſtretched, that he had power to ſuppreſſe diuers Abbeyes, Priories, and Monaſteryes, and ſo dyd: takyng from them, all their goodes, moueables, and not moueables, except it were a litle penſion, left onely to the heades of certaine houſes. By the ſayd power Legantine, he kept alſo generall viſitations through the Realme, ſendyng Doct. Iohn Alein his Chaplein, ridyng in his gowne of Veluet, & with a great traine, to viſite all religious houſes: whereat the Friers obſeruauntes much grudged, & would in no wiſe condeſcend thereunto: wherfore they were openly accurſed at Paules croſſe, by frier Foreſt, one of the ſame order: ſo that the Cardinall at length, preuailed both agaynſt them, and all other. Agaynſt whome great diſdayne aroſe among the people, perceauyng how he by viſitations, makyng of Abbots, probates of teſtamentes, grauntyng of faculties, licences, and other pollynges in his courtes Legantine, had made his treaſure equall with the kynges, and yet euery yeare he ſent great ſummes to Rome. And this was their dayly talke agaynſt the Cardinall.

The pilling and polyng of the Cardinall.

The Friers obſeruaunts accurſed of the Cardinall.

Of Fryer Foreſt, vid. infra.

Ex Hallo. an. 17. Reg. Henric. 8.

Beſide many other matters and greuaūces which ſtyrred the hartes of the commons agaynſt the Cardinall, this was one, which much pinched them, for that the ſayd Cardinall had ſent out certaine ſtraite commiſſions in the kynges name, that euery man ſhould pay the vj. part of his goodes. Wherupon there folowed great mutteryng amongeſt the cōmōs, in ſuch ſort, that it had almoſt growen to ſome riotous commotion or tumult, eſpecially in the partes of Suffolke, had not the dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with wiſedome and gentlenes, kept in and appeaſed the ſame,

Ex Hallo, an. 19 Reg. Henric. 8.

An other thyng that rubbed the ſtomackes of many, or rather which moued them to laugh at the Cardinall, was this, to ſee his inſolent preſumption, ſo highly to take vpon hym, as the kynges chiefe counſailer, to ſet a reformation in the order of the kynges houſhold, makyng and eſtabliſhyng new ordinaunces in the ſame. He likewiſe made new officers, in the houſe of the duke of Richmond, which was thē newly begon. In like maner he ordained a Counſell, & eſtabliſhed an other houſhold for the Lady Mary, then beyng princes: ſo that all thing was done by his conſent, & by none other. All this with much more, tooke he vpō him, makyng the king beleue, that all ſhould be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any payne, inſomuch that the charge of all thynges was committed vnto hym: whereat many men ſmiled to ſee his great folly and preſumption.

At this tyme the Cardinall gaue the kyng the leaſe of the Manour of Hampton Court, which he had of the Lord of S. Iohns, and on which he had done great coſte. Therfore ẏ kyng agayne of his gētle nature, licenced him to lye in his Manour of Richmond, & ſo he lay there certaine tymes. But when the common people, and ſpecially ſuch as were kyng Henry the vij. ſeruauntes, ſaw the Cardinall keepe houſe in the royall Manour of Richmond, which king Henry the vij. ſo much eſteemed, it was a marueile to here, how they grudged, ſaying: See a butchers dogge lye in the Manour of Richmond. Theſe with many other opprobrious wordes, were ſpoken agaynſt the Cardinall, whoſe pride was ſo hygh, that he regarded nothyng: yet was he hated of all men.

Hampton court geuen to the king.

And now to expreſſe ſome part of the ruffling practiſes and buſie intermedlynges of this Cardinall in Princes warres, firſt here is to be noted, that after long warres betwene England and Frāce. 1524. (in the which warres, K. Henry takyng the Emperours part againſt Fraunces the French kyng, had waged with his money, the Duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the Emperours armie, to inuade and diſturbe certaine partes of Fraunce) it happened that the French kyng commyng with his armye toward Millan, at the ſiege of Pauia, was there taken by the Duke of Bourbon, and Viceroy of Naples, and ſo led priſoner into Spayne.

The Cardinall ruffling in matters & warres of Princes.

Fraunces the French kyng taken priſoner.

Here note by the way, that all this while, the Cardinall held with the Emperour, hopyng by him to be made Pope: but when that would not be, he went cleane from the Emperour, to the French kyng, as (the Lord willyng) ye ſhall heare.

After this victory gotten, and the French kyng beyng

taken

The French kyng priſoner a yeare and a halfe.

taken priſoner, who remained in cuſtody about a yeare and halfe: at length through great labour & ſolicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinall, and kyng Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded betwene the French kyng and the Emperour, among whiche other diuers conditions, it was agreed, that they ſhould reſiſte the Turkes, & oppreſſe the Lutheranes: and ſo was the kyng ſet at libertie, leauyng behynd him, his ij. eldeſt ſonnes, for pledges: But ſhortly after he reuoked his othe, being abſolued by the Byſhop of Rome, and ſayd, that he was forced to ſweare, or els he ſhould neuer haue bene deliuered. Which was. an. 1526. Pope Clement vij. ſeyng the French kyng reſtored to libertie, and miſdoubting the puiſance and domination of the Emperour in Italy ſo neare vnder his noſe, abſolueth the French king from his othe: alſo ioyneth together a confederacie of Venetians and other Princes againſt the Emperour, bearyng great hatred agaynſt all them that any thyng fauoured the Emperours part, eſpecially the familie of Columna in Rome, which familie was then Imperiall, and therfore to ſhew his hatred agaynſt them, he ſayd to Pompey Cardinall of the ſame familie, in threatnyng wordes, that he would take away his Cardinals hatte. To whom it was aunſwered agayne of the Cardinall, that if he ſo dyd, he would put on a helmet, to ouerthrow the popes triple crowne. Whereby it may appeare, here by the way, what holynes and vertue lyeth in the Pope and Cardinals in that Catholicke ſea of Rome.

The Pope abſolueth the French kyng from hys othe.

The anſwer of the Cardinall to the Pope.

The Pope ſtirreth vp warres.

Thus the falſe Pope, vnder the lying title of holynes, was the father of much miſchief & of great warres, which after enſued. For the Duke of Bourbon and other of the Emperours Captaines, hauyng intelligence of the Popes purpoſe and cõfederacie, gathered their armye together, and after much bloudſhed and fightyng, about Millan, Pauie and Cremona, at length they approched and bent their ſiege agaynſt Rome, and after three ſharpe aſſaultes obteined the Citie with the whole ſpoyle therof: where alſo they beſieged the foreſayd Pope, with his Cardinals, in the mount of Adrian and tooke hym priſoner. an. 1527. As touchyng the cauſe of the beſiegyng of Rome, now ye haue heard: for the maner of takyng of Rome, and of the Pope, the order therof is thus deſcribed in Hall, and other.

¶The ſacking of Rome, and takyng of Pope Clement.

The taking of Rome.

In Paralip. Abbat. Vrſp.

THe Emperours army departyng from Florence, to the city of Seynes, where they loſt their ordenaunce, tooke counſaile there to go to Rome, and ſo much they trauayled by night and day, commonly paſſing xl. myle day and nyght (their good will was ſuch) that the vj. day of May wyth banners diſplayed, they came before the citie of Rome being Saterday, the ſame day: and on Monday the Romaynes made Bulwarkes, Rampires, and other defences, and layd ordinaunce on the walles, and ſhot at them wythout fiercely.

The Duke of Bourbon.

The Duke of Bourbon determined that it was not beſt to lye ſtill without, and be ſlayne with ordinaunce, conſideryng that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce: wherfore he determined to take the chaunce and to geue the aſſault, and ſo manfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo Nouo & old Rome. But the Romaines valiauntly defended them with handgunnes, pykes, ſtones, and other weapons, ſo that the enemyes were fayne to retreit. Then the Romaines were glad, and ſet many fayre banners on their towers and bulwarkes, and made great ſhoutes: which ſeyng the Duke of Bourbone, cryed to a new aſſault. Then the drumſlades blew and euery mã with a ladder mounted: and at firſt encounter, agayne the Romaynes put them a little backe: Which the duke of Bourbon perceiuing, cryed: God and the Emperour. Then euery man manfully ſet on. There was a ſore fight, many an arrow ſhot, and many a man felled, but at laſt the Emperors men got the wall, and betwene euery aſſault fell a myſt, ſo that they within coulde not ſee what parte they wythout would aſſayle, which was profitable to the emperors partie. At the thre aſſaultes were ſlayne 300. Switzes of the Popes garde. In this laſt aſſault was the Duke of Burbon ſtriken in the thigh with a handgonne, of the which he ſhortly died in a chappell of S. Syſt, whether his ſouldiors had brought him: and this chance notwithſtanding, the army entred into Rome, and toke the popes palace and ſet vp the Emperors armes.

Three aſſaultes agaynſt Rome

The Duke of Bourbon wounded.

The Pope curſeth hys enemyes.

The ſame day that theſe three aſſaultes were made, Pope Clement paſſed litle on the Emperours armye: for he had accurſed them on the Saterday before, and in hys curſe he called the Almaines Lutheranes, and the Spanyardes Marranes or Mores: and when he was hearyng of Maſſe, ſodenly the Almaines entred into the Church, and ſlue hys Garde and diuers other. He ſeeing that, fledde in all haſt by a priuie way, to the Caſtle of S. Angell: and all they that folowed hym that way and coulde not enter, were ſlayne, and if he in that fury had bene takẽ, he had ben ſlaine. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to the Caſtle of S. Angell, ouer the bridge, where many of the cõmõ people were ouerpreſſed and trodden downe, as they gaue way to the Cardinals and other eſtates, that paſſed towarde the Caſtle for ſuccour.

The pope flyeth.

The Cardinals beſieged.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Seſaryne, of Tudertine, of Iacobace and of the Valle, taried ſo long, that they could not get to the Caſtle for the multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take an other houſe, called the Palace of S. George, where they kept themſelues for a while as ſecretly as they might. You muſt vnderſtand, through the Citie of Rome, runneth a famous Riuer, called Tyber: and on the one ſide of the Ryuer ſtandeth the Caſtle of S. Angell, or the Borough of S. Angell: and the other ſide is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Bridge of Sixte, which lyeth directly before the Caſtle. At the end of thys Bridge was a wonderfull ſtrong Bulwarke, well ordinaunced and well manned. The Emperours men ſaw that they could do nothing to the Pope, nor to that porte of the Citie, but by ÿ bridge, determined to aſſaulte the Bulwarke, and ſo, as mẽ without feare, came on the bridge, and the Romaynes ſo well defended them, that they ſlue almoſt iiij. M. men. That ſeyng the Prince of Orenge, and the Marques of Guaſto, wyth all ſpeede gaue aſſault, and notwithſtanding that the Romaynes ſhot great ordinaunces, hãdgunnes, quarelles, and all that might be ſhot: yet the Imperiall perſonnes neuer ſhranke, but manly entred the Bulwarke and ſlue and threw downe, out of the loupes, all the Romaynes that they founde, and after raſed the Bulwarke to the ground. The Pope was in the Caſtle of S. Angel, and beheld this fight, and with him were xxiij. Cardinals, of which one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche, was ſlayne, and wyth hym were a M. Prelates and Prieſtes, v.C. Gentlemen, v.C. Souldiers: wherfore immediatly the Captaines determined to lay ſiege to the Caſtle of S. Angell, leaſt they within myght iſſue out and turne them to damage: wherfore ſodeinly a ſiege was planted round about the Caſtle.

The Bulwarke of the Romaines beſieged & taken.

The caſtell of S. Angell beſieged.

Rome ſpoyled.

In the meane ſeaſon the ſouldiers fell to ſpoyle. Neuer was Rome ſo pylled, eyther of the Gothes or Vandales, for the Souldiers were not content wyth the ſpoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the churches, brake vp the houſes of cloſe religious perſons, and ouerthrew the Cloiſters, and ſpoyled virgines, and rauiſhed maryed women. Men were tormented if they had not to geue euery new aſker or demaunder: ſome were ſtrangled, ſome were puniſhed by the priuie members, to cauſe them to confeſſe their treaſure. This woodnes continued a great while, & ſome mã myght thinke that whẽ they had gotten ſo much, then they would ceaſe & be quiet, but that was not ſo, for they played continually at dyce, ſome v.C. ſome a M. Ducates at a caſt: and he that came to play ladẽ wyth plate, went againe almoſt naked, and then fell to ryflyng agayne. Many of ÿ Citizens which coulde not paciently ſuffer that vexation, drowned themſelues in Tyber. The Souldiers dayly that lay at the ſiege, made Ieſtes of the Pope. Sometime they had one rydyng like the Pope wyth a whore behynde hym, ſometyme he bleſſed, and ſometyme he curſed, & ſometime they would with one voyce call hym Antichriſt: and they went about to vndermyne the Caſtle, and to haue throwen it downe on hys head, but the water that enuironeth the caſtle, diſappointed their purpoſe.

The Pope mocked and ſcorned openly in Rome, before his owne face.

In this ſeaſon the Duke of Vrbine, with xv. M. mẽ, came to ayde the Pope: but hearing that Rome was takẽ, he taryed xl. myle from Rome, tyll he heard other wordes. The Marques of Saluce, and Syr Frederico de Bodſo, wyth xv. M. footemen and a M. horſemẽ, were at Viterbe the x. day of May: where they hearing that the Citye of Rome was taken, alſo taryed. The Cardinall of Columne, came wyth an armye of Neapolitans to helpe the Emperours men: but when he ſaw the crueltie of the Souldiers, he did litle to helpe them, but he hated them much.

The Pope beſieged and taken.

The Byſhop of Rome was thus beſieged till the viij. Ides of July, at which day he yelded hymſelfe for neceſſitie and penury of all thynges in the Caſtle, and thẽ he was reſtored to geue Graces and graunt Bulles as he did before: but he taryed ſtill in the Caſtle of S. Angell, and had a great number of Almaines and Spanyardes to keepe him: but the Spanyardes bare moſt rule in the Caſtle, for no mã entred nor came out of the Caſtle but by them. When the moneth of July came, corne began to fayle in Rome, and the peſtilence began to waxe ſtrong: wherfore the great armye remoued to a place called Naruia, xl. mile from Rome,

Warre and peſtilence in Rome.

leauing

leauyng behynd them ſuch as kept the Byſhop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes neuer were contented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the Caſtle of S. Angeli, and ſo they had the whole cuſtody of the Pope. And thus much for the ſackyng of Rome. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

The Cardinall beſtyrreth hym for the Pope.

When the Cardinall here in England, heard how his father of Rome was taken priſoner, hee began to ſtyrre coales, and hearyng of his captiuitie hee laboured with the kyng all that he might, to ſtyrre hym vp, to fight with the ſayd Pope agaynſt the Emperour, and to bee a defendour of the Churche: whiche if hee would do, the Cardinall perſwaded hym that hee ſhould receiue great rewarde at Gods hand. To whom the kyng aunſwered agayne and ſayd in this maner: My Lord, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tong can tell, but where you ſay I am the defendour of the fayth, I aſſure you, that this warre betwen the Emperour & the pope, is not for the fayth, but for temporall poſſeſſions and dominions, and now ſith Pope Clemēt is taken by men of warre, what ſhould I do? My perſon nor my people can not reſcue him, but if my treaſure may helpe him, take that which ſeemeth to you moſt conuenient.

The pope fighteth for temporall poſſeſſions.

Thus the Cardinall, when he could not obteine at the kynges handes what he would, in ſtyrryng him vp to mortall warre, he made out of the kings treaſure .xij. ſcore thouſand poundes, which he caryed ouer the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinal ſent his commiſſion as Legate, to all the Biſhops, commaundyng faſtynges & ſolemne proceſſiōs to be had, wherein they did ſing the Letany after this ſort, Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa, and ſo forth, all the Letanie.

xij ſcore thouſand poundes conueyed out of England, by the Cardinall.

A new found Letanie of the Lord Cardinals making.

This Cardinall paſſyng the Seas with the foreſayd ſummes of money, departed out of Callis, accompanyed with Cuthbert Tunſtall Byſhop of London, the Lord Sandes the kynges Chamberlaine, the Earle of Darbye, Syr Henry Guilford, and Syr Thomas Moore, with many other Knightes and Squiers, to the number of xij. hundred horſe, hauyng in his cariage lxxx. wagonnes, and lx. moyles and ſumpter horſes.

It were long to diſcourſe in this place, the manifold abuſes and treaſons, which he practiſed when he came to the French Court at Amias, conuertyng the great ſummes of money, whiche before you heard he had obteined of the kyng for the relief and raunſome of Pope Clement, which at that tyme was priſoner in the Emperours armye, and beſtowed the ſame in the hyring of ſouldiours & furniſhyng out the French kynges armye, appoyntyng alſo certaine Engliſh Captaines in the kyng of Englandes name, to go agaynſt the Emperour, to reſcue the Pope: all which army was payd with the kyng of Englandes money.

Warre waged by the Cardinall.

Beſides that, he priuely by his letters, cauſed Clarentius kyng of the armes, to ioyne with the Frēch Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperour: whereby there began great diſpleaſure to riſe betwen the Emperour & the kyng, but that the Emperour of his politicke nature would take no occaſion of diſpleaſure agaynſt the kyng of England.

Now agayne he vttered an other of his practiſes, for vpon the ſayd defiaunce, the Cardinall ſurmiſing & whiſperyng in the kings eare, that the Emperour had euill intreated and impriſoned the kynges Ambaſſadours in Spayne, cauſed Hugo de Mendoſa the Emperours Ambaſſadour in England, to be attached and put in ſafe keepyng, and hys houſe with all his goodes, to be ſeaſed. Which ſo remayned vntill that manifeſt letters came of the gentle intreatie of the kynges Ambaſſadours in Spayne, and there was agayne ſet at libertie. When as the Ambaſſadour complayned hereof to the Cardinall, he layd all the fault vpon Clarētius, ſaying alſo that Clarētius had defied the Emperour, without the kynges knowledge, at the requeſt of the Herauld of Fraūce: wherfore at his returne, he ſhould loſe his head at Callis. Wherof Clarentius beyng aduertiſed by the Captaine of Bayon, in his returne tooke ſhyppyng at Bullen, and ſo priuely came into England, and by meanes of certaine of his frendes of the kynges priuie chamber, he was brought vnto the kynges preſence, before the Cardinall knew of it, where as he ſhewed vnto the kyng, the Cardinalles letters of commiſſion, and declared the whole order and circumſtaunce of their gentle intreatie. When the kyng heard the whole circumſtaunce therof, and had a while muſed thereupon, he ſayd: O Lord Ieſus, he that I truſted moſt, told me all theſe thynges contrary. Well Clarentius, I will no more be ſo light of credēce hereafter: for now I ſee well that I haue bene made beleue the thyng, that was neuer done, and from that tyme forward the kyng neuer put any more confidence or truſt in the Cardinall.

The craftie practiſe of the Cardinall.

The Cardinall ſet Clarentius to defie the Emperour, and afterward would be excuſed by his death.

The cauſe why the Cardinall ſhould beare the Emperour all this malice and grudge, after ſome writers, it appeareth to be thus. At what tyme as Pope Clement was taken priſoner (as is before ſayd) the Cardinall wrote vnto the Emperour, that he ſhould make hym Pope. But when he had receaued an aunſwere that pleaſed hym not, he waxed furious madde, and ſought all meanes to diſpleaſe the Emperour, writyng very ſharply vnto him, many manacyng letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make ſuch a ruffling betwene Chriſtian Princes, as was not this hundred yeares before, to make the Emperour repent, yea though it ſhould coſt the whole Realme of England.

The Cardinals prowde threates agaynſt the Emperour.

Whereunto the Emperour made aunſwere in a little booke, Imprinted both in Spanyſhe and Dutche, aunſweryng vnto many manacynges of the Cardinall, and diuers of his Articles: but ſpecially to that his ruffling threat, wherein hee manaced hym, that if hee would not make hym Pope, hee would ſet ſuch a ruffling betwixt Chriſtian Princes, as was not this hundred yeare, though it ſhould coſt the whole Realme of England. Whereunto the Emperour aunſweryng agayne, byddeth him looke well about hym, leſt through his doynges and attemptes, he might bryng the matter in that caſe, that it ſhould coſt hym the Realme of England in deede.

The Emperours aunſwere vnto the Cardinals threates.

You haue heard before, how that when Pope Clement was priſoner in the Emperours armye, the Cardinall required the kyng, becauſe he dyd beare the title of defendour of the fayth; that he would reſcue the Pope; alſo what the Kynges aunſwere was thereunto, and what ſummes of money he had obteined of the kyng. Now, becauſe you ſhall not alſo be ignoraunt by what meanes and vpon what occaſion this title of the defender of the fayth was geuen vnto the kyng, we thinke it good ſomewhat to ſay in this place. When as Martin Luther had vttered the abhominacion of the Pope and his Clergy, & diuers bookes were come into England, our Cardinall here thinkyng to finde a remedy for that, ſent immediatly vnto Rome, for this title of defendour of the faith, which afterward the Vicare of Croydon preached, that the kynges grace would not looſe it, for all London & xx. myle about it. Neither is it maruaile, for it coſt more then London and xl. myle about it, conſideryng the great ſummes which you haue heard the Cardinall obteined of the kyng, for the Popes relief, beſide the effuſion of much innocent bloud.

The title of defendour of the faith.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the Cardinall brought it vnto the kynges grace at Grenewich, and though that the kyng had it already, and had read it, yet agaynſt the mornyng, were all the Lordes and Gentlemen that could in ſo ſhort ſpace be gathered, ſent for, to come and receaue it with honour. In the mornyng, the Cardinall gate him through the backe ſide, into the Frier obſeruaūts, and part of the Gentlemen went round about and welcomed him from Rome, part met him halfe way, and ſome at the Court gate. The kyng himſelfe, met him in the hall, and brought him vp into a great chamber, whereas was a ſeate prepared on hygh, for the kyng and the Cardinall to ſit on, whiles the Bull was read. Which pompe all men of wiſedome and vnderſtandyng, laughed to ſcorne.

The glorious vanitie of the Cardinall laughed to ſcorne.

This done, the kyng went to hys Chappell to heare Maſſe accompanyed with many nobles of his Realme, and Ambaſſadours of ſundry Princes. The Cardinall beyng reueſted to ſing Maſſe, the Earle of Eſſex brought the baſe of water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the aſſay, & the Duke of Norfolke held the towell & ſo he proceded to Maſſe. Whē Maſſe was done, the Bull was agayne publiſhed, the trōpets blew, the ſhawmes and ſackbuts played, in honour of the kynges new ſtyle. Then the kyng went to dyner, in the middeſt wherof, the kyng of Heraulds and his company began the largeſſe: cryng: Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, defenſor fidei & Dominus Hiberniæ. Thus was all thynges ended with great ſolemnitie.

The kynges ſtile augmented.

Not much vnlyke to this, was the receiuyng of the Cardinalles hatte, which when a ruffian had brought vnto him to Weſtminſter, vnder his cloke, he clothed the meſſenger in riche araye, and ſent him backe agayne to Douer, appoyntyng the Byſhop of Canterbury to meete hym, and then an other company of the Lordes and Gentlemen, I wote not how often, before it came to Weſtminſter, where it was ſet vppon a cupbourde, and tapers rounde about it, ſo that the greateſt Duke in the land muſt make curteſie thereunto, and to his empty ſeate, he beyng away.

The thraſonicall receauing of the Cardinals hatte.

And for ſomuch as we are in hand with the actes and doynges of Cardinall Wolſey, among many other thynges, whiche of purpoſe we ouerpaſſe, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touchyng his vncourteous or rather curriſh handlyng of Richard Pacie, Deane of Paules. This Pacie beyng the kynges Secretarie for the Latine toung, was of ſuch rypenes of wyt, of learnyng & eloquence, alſo in foreine languages ſo expert, that for the one he was thought moſt meete to ſucceede after Iohn Colet in the Deanry of

Paules,

The cruell dealing of the Cardinall agaynſt Richard Pacie.

Richard Pacie, Deane of Paules.

Paules: beſide which he was alſo preferred to the Deanry of Exceter. For the other he was ſent in the kynges affaires, Ambaſſadour to Venice. Whiche function there he ſo diſcharged, ẏ it is hard to ſay whether he procured more commendation, or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexteritie of his witte, and eſpecially for the ſingular promptneſſe in the Italian toung, wherein he ſeemed nothyng inferiour, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the kynges Secretarie for the Italian toung nor yet to any other, which were the beſt in that toung in all Venice. For opinion & fame of learning, he was ſo notoriouſly accepted, not onely here in Englãd with Linacre, Grecinus, More, & other, but alſo knowen & reported abroad in ſuch ſort, that in all the great heape of Eraſmus Epiſtles, he wrote almoſt to none ſo many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacie.

Richard Pacie Ambaſſadour at Venice.

As the ſayd Pacie was reſident Ambaſſadour at Venice, the kyng hauyng warre the ſame tyme, with Fraunces the French kyng (as is afore rehearſed) through the conductyng of the Duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged with his expenſes, ſent commaundement to Pacie to geue attendaunce to the Duke of Bourbon, concernyng the receate of that money, and other neceſſities and exploytes to that expedition apperteinyng. In the meane while, as the French kyng with his armye, and the Duke of Bourbon were approchyng in battaile together, neare about the Citie of Pauia, it ſo happened (ſome thinke through the craftie packyng of the Cardinall) that the kynges money was not ſo ready, as it was looked for. By reaſon wherof, the Duke of Bourbon perceauyng his ſouldiours about to ſhrynke from hym to the French kyng for lacke of payment, called to hym the Ambaſſadour, complaynyng vnto hym how the kyng of England had deceaued hym, and broke promiſe with hym, to his great diſhonour and vtter vndoyng. &c. Pacie then beyng ſure of the kynges will, and ſuſpectyng the crafty fetche of the Cardinall, deſired the Duke not to take diſcomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kynges aſſured promiſe, excuſing the delay of the money, as well as hee could, by interception, or other cauſes by the way incident, rather then for any lacke of fidelitie on the kynges behalfe: addyng moreouer, that if it would pleaſe hym happely to proceede, as he had couragiouſly begon, he ſhould not ſtay for the kynges money: ſo ſure he was of the kynges mynde therein, that he would ſupply the lacke of that payment vpon his owne credite, amongeſt his frendes at Venice, and ſo dyd. Whereupon the ſouldiours beyng ſufficiently ſatiſfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the Duke, vnto the battaile. In the whiche battaile, the foreſayd French kyng, the ſame tyme, before the Citie of Pauie, was taken priſoner, as is afore declared. Which beyng eftſoones knowen to the kyng of England, Pacie had both condigne thankes for his faythfull ſeruice, and alſo his money repayd agayne with the vttermoſt, as hee well deſerued. But as the laude, and the renowmed prayſe of men, for their worthy proweſſes, commonly in this world neuer go vnaccompanyed without ſome priuye canker of enuy & diſdayne folowyng after, ſo the ſingular induſtry of Pacie, as it wanne much commendation with many, ſo it could not auoyde the ſecret ſtynge of ſome Serpentes. For the conceaued hatred of this Cardinall ſo kyndled againſt him, that he neuer ceaſed, till firſt he brought him out of the kynges fauour, and at laſt alſo, out of his perfect wittes.

The Duke of Bourbon waged wyth the kyng of Englandes money.

The Duke of Bourbon diſapointed of the kings money.

Richard Pacie helpeth the Duke of Bourbon with money.

Richard Pacie was the meanes why the French kyng was taken.

The Cardinall hated Pacie.

The occaſion how he fell beſide hym ſelfe, was this, for that the Cardinall after the death of Pope Adrian, hopyng no leſſe, but that he ſhould haue bene aduaunced vnto the Papacie, and yet miſſyng thereof, he ſuppoſed with hym ſelfe, the fault chiefly to reſt in Pacies negligence, by whoſe great wytte and learnyng, and earneſt meanes and ſute, he thought eaſely he might haue achieued and compaſſed the triple crowne. Wherfore he ſeyng it otherwiſe come to paſſe, and inflamed agaynſt Pacie for the ſame, wrought ſuch wayes and meanes, that by the ſpace almoſt of two yeares, Pacie continuyng at Venice, had neither writyng from the kyng, nor his counſaile, what he ſhould do, nor yet any maner of allowaunce for his dyet (although he wrote, and ſent letters for the ſame to England very often) for the Cardinall had altogether incenſed the kyng agaynſt hym. Whereupon the ſayd Pacie tooke ſuch an inward thought and conceite, that his wyttes began to fayle hym, he beyng notwithſtandyng in ſuch fauour among the Senatours of Venice, that neither for gold nor ſiluer he could their haue lacked. By ſome it is reported, that the Venitian Legate here in England, commyng to the Cardinall, required if he would commaunde any thyng to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadour at Venice. To whom he ſhould aunſwere agayne in hygh wordes, ſaying: Paceus decepit Regem. Whiche wordes commyng to Pacies eares, ſo deepely pearced hys ſtomacke, that he fell quite beſides himſelf. I heard it moreouer of an other thus teſtified, who had a brother the ſame tyme dwelling wyth Pacie: that the Cardinall, about the returnyng of Pacie from Venyce, ſent him a letter ſo poudered (wyth what ſpyces I can not tell) that at the readyng therof, Pacie then beyng in the fieldes, fell ſodenly in ſuch a mighty runnyng, for the ſpace of two myles, that his ſeruaunts had much a do, to take him, and bring hym home.

The Cardinall practiſeth agaynſt Pacie.

Pacie in great credite wyth the Venetians.

The Cardinall falſely belyeth Pacie.

Pacie beſtraught of hys wittes.

This pitious caſe of Pacie was not a litle lamented by the whole Senate, and chiefe learned men in Venice, inſo much that the king was not onely certified therof by Thomas Lupſet (who then was chiefe man about Pacie, and hys Secretary, for that Ambaſſage) but alſo the ſayd Senate of Venice wrote in ſuch ſharpe and vehemẽt wiſe, vnto their Ambaſſadour then being in Englãd, that he ſhould ſignifie to the kyng, touchyng Pacies caſe, that therby the kyng knowing the truth, and the whole circumſtaunce of the matter, was not a litle ſorowfull therefore. Whereupon Pacie was forthwith ſent for home, and when he came to England, he was commaunded by the king, to be ſpecially well tended, & to lacke no keeping: In ſo much that within a ſmall proceſſe of tyme, he was pretely well come agayne to hys wittes, and began to ſtudie the Hebrue tõgue, with Wakfielde, ſo that (the Cardinall then beyng abſent) ſuch wayes was founde by hys frends, that he was brought to the kyng, lying then at Richmond, where he and ẏ kyng ſecretly communed together, by the ſpace of two houres & more, not without great reioyſing to the kyng, as it was perceaued, to ſee hym ſo well amẽded, and returned to himſelfe agayne, geuing likewiſe ſtreite charge and commaundement, that he ſhould lacke nothyng.

Pacie pretely recouered.

Pacie brought to the kings ſpeech.

The Cardinall, being then not preſent, when he heard of this, fearing leaſt he had diſcloſed ſomewhat to the king, which he would not haue knowen, and doubting that the kyng ſhould caſt hys fauour agayne vnto Pacie, beganne within a while after, to quarell, and pyke matters, and to lay certeine thynges to Pacies charge, where as he rather ſhould haue cleared hymſelfe of thoſe thynges, which Pacie layd vnto hym before the king, which was contrary to all good forme and order of iuſtice. For where the king had willed the Cardinall to trye himſelf of thoſe things, which Pacie had rightly charged hym withall, he ſittyng in iudgement with the Duke of Northfolke, and other ſtates of the Realme, not as a defendent, but as a Iudge in hys owne cauſe, ſo bare out himſelfe, and wyped downe Pacie, that Pacie was commaunded to the tower of London, as priſoner: where he continued by the ſpace of two yeares, or thereabout, and afterwarde by the kynges commaundement, was diſcharged. But he beyng there priſoner, was therewith ſo deadly wounded, and ſtrocken, that he fell worſe from hys wittes then euer he was before, beyng in ſuch a phreneſie, or lunaſie, that to hys dying day, he neuer came perfectly to hymſelfe agayne. Notwithſtanding, thys in him was no perpetuall frenſie, but came by fittes, and when the fitte was paſt, he coulde looke on his booke, and reaſon and talke hanſomely, but that now and then he ſhewed hys deſeaſe. And thus much betwene the Cardinall and Pacie.

Pacie commaunded to the Tower by the Cardinall

Pacie diſcharged out of the tower.

By this ſtory of Pacie, and alſo by other places aboue mentioned, ye may partly conceaue, how greedy this Cardinal was, to be made Pope. Touching which matter, here by the way ſomthing to entreate, firſt is to be vnderſtãded, that forſomuch as Pacie either woulde not, or coulde not ſerue the Cardinals purpoſe herein, he thought to accompliſhe his deſire, by other meanes, and namely by Steuen Gardiner, who was then ſhortly after, ſent Ambaſſadour to Rome by the king and the Cardinall, in the time of pope Clement the 7. and that for two ſpeciall cauſes: one was about the diuorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinall to be Pope. As touching the diuorcement, we wyll ſpeake (the Lord willyng) hereafter. In the meane tyme, as concernyng the aduauncement of the Cardinall, great labour was made, as in letters may appeare ſent from the Cardinall to the ſayd Steuen Gardinar, in which letters he did ſollicite the ſayd Gardiner by all meanes, to purſue the ſute, willing hym to ſticke for no coſte, ſo farre as ſixe or ſeuen thouſand poundes woulde ſtretche: for more he ſayd he would not geue for the triple crowne. Marke here (Chriſtian Reader) what an holy Catholicke Church thys is, which rather may be called a Burſe or Marte of Marchauntes (ne quid dicam durius) then any true forme of a Church.

The Cardinals labour to be Pope.

Steuen Gardiner Ambaſſadour at Rome for the king, and the Cardinall.

Many, both of thys, and alſo of the kinges letters, I coulde here inſerte, but for growyng of the volume, I let them paſſe. One for example ſake, ſent by the Cardinall to Gardiner, an other alſo from the kyng to the ſayd Gardiner, ſhall at thys tyme ſuffice, concerning this matter. And firſt the Copie of the Cardinalles ambitious letter here, in forme foloweth.

The copy of an ambitious letter, written by Tho.Wolſey, Cardinall of Yorke, vnto Stephen Gardiner, one of kyng Henries Oratours in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papall dignitie to the ſayd Cardinall.

MAiſter Stephen, albeit ye ſhalbe ſufficiently with your Colleages, by ſuch inſtructions as be giuē to Monſieur Vincēt, informed of the kynges mynde and myne, cōcernyng my aduauncement vnto the dignitie Papall, not doubtyng but that for the ſingular deuotion, whiche you beare towardes the kyng and his affaires, both generall and particular, and perfect loue, which ye haue towardes me, ye will omit nothyng that may be excogitate to ſerue and cōduce to that purpoſe, yet I thought conuenient for the more feruēt expreſſion of my mynde in that behalfe, to write vnto you (as to the perſon whō I moſt entierly do truſt, and by whō this thyng ſhalbe moſt pithely ſet forth) theſe few wordes folowing, of my own hand. I doubt not but ye do profoūdly cōſider, as well the ſtate, wherin the Church & all Chriſtēdome doth ſtād now preſently, as alſo the ſtate of this Realme, and of the kynges ſecret matter, which if it ſhould be brought to paſſe, by any other meanes thē by the authoritie of the Church, I accōpt this Prince and Realme vtterly vndone. Wherfore it is expedient to haue ſuch a one to be pope and cōmon father of all Princes, as may, can, and will geue remedie to the premiſſes. And albeit I accompt my ſelfe much vnhable, and that it ſhalbe now incōmodious in this myne old age, to be the ſayd common father, yet when all thynges be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinals well conſidered (Abſit verbū iactanciæ) there ſhalbe none founde that can and will ſet remedy in the foreſayd thynges, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke, whoſe good wil and zeale is not to you of all mē, vnknowē. And were it not for the reintegration of the ſtate of the Church, and ſea Apoſtolicke to the priſtine dignitie, and for the conducyng of peace amōgeſt Chriſtiā princes, and ſpecially to relieue this Prince and realme frō the calamities that the ſame be now in, al the riches or honor of the world ſhould not cauſe me, Ne dū aſpirare, ſed ne cōſentire, to accept the ſayd dignitie, although the ſame with all commodities were offered vnto me. Neuertheles conforming my ſelfe to the neceſſitie of the tyme, and the will and pleaſure of theſe ij. Princes, I am cōtent to appone all my witte and ſtudy, and to ſet forth all meanes and wayes, Vt bene faciam rebus Chriſtianitatis, for the atteinyng of the ſayd dignitie. For the atchieuyng and atteynyng wherof, for as much as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not onely of theſe two Princes and their Realmes, but of all Chriſtendome, nothyng is to be omitted that may cōduce to the ſayd end and purpoſe. Wherfore M. Stephen, ſince you be ſo playnly aduertiſed of my minde and intent, I ſhall pray you to extende, omnes neruos ingenij tui, vt iſta res ad effectum produci poſſit, nullis parcendo ſumptibus, pollicitationibus, ſiue laboribus: ita vt hominum videris ingenia & affectiones, ſiue ad priuata ſiue ad publica, ſic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deeſt tibi & collegis tuis ampliſſima poteſtas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata ſeu reſtricta, & quicquid feceris, ſcito omnia apud hunc regem & me eſſe grata & tuta. Nam omnia (vt paucis abſoluam) in tuo ingenio & fide repoſuimus. Nihil ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum, niſi quod ſupplex orem, vt omnes actiones tuas ſecundet Deus opt. maximuſq;, & ex corde vale. Ex edibus meis Weſtmoneſt. vij. Febr.

Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis cupidiſſimus. T. Ebor.

A letter of the Cardinall to Steuen Gardiner Lieger at Rome.

Craftie pretēces to ſerue ambitious purpoſes.

O fayned hypocriſie.

Belike the Cardinall here lacketh good neighbours ſeeing hee is compelled to prayſe hymſelfe.

You may long ſay ſo, before we will beleue you.

Steuen Gardiner the Cardinalles truſtie factor.

After this letter of the Cardinall, conſequently here enſueth an other letter of the kyng, to the foreſayd Stephen Gardiner, and other his Oratours at Rome, conteinyng ſuch inſtructions and documentes, as they ſhoulde practiſe with the Cardinalles of Rome, in canueſing for the ſayd Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke, to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead. Or if hee were not dead, yet at leaſt, to inſtruct them, what to doe, when he ſhould dye.

The contentes of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly neceſſary for our ſtory, yet for the ridiculous maner of the handlyng, and the curious Secretaryſhyp thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought, it not here vnmeete for the ſtudyes and appetites of ſome, to exemplifie the ſame, or at leaſt, to make the Reader ſome paſtime by the way, in beholdyng the glorious ſtile of this vaynglorious Cardinall, beyng ſute lyke to his glorious lyfe. The copy of the letter, bearyng the name of the kyng, but in deede ſauouryng altogether of the Cardinals deuiſe and ſwellyng vayne, doth thus procede in forme and ſtile, as followeth.

❡Inſtructions ſent by the kynges highnes, to his truſty Counſailours and ſeruaunts, M. Stephen Gardiner Doctour of both lawes, Syr Fraunces Bryan, Syr Gregory de Caſſalis Knightes, and maiſter Peter Vanne the Kynges Secretarye for the Italian toung, his Ambaſſadours in the Court of Rome, for the election of the Cardinall of Yorke, to the Papacie, if Pope Clement were dead.

Marke the ſtile, & you ſhall ſee that it is all one with the Cardinals former letter, which he ſayth he wrote wyth hys owne hand.

FIrſt, where as a good ſeaſon ſince the depeache of M. Stephen Gardiner, on Ambaſſiate towardes the Court of Rome, the kynges highnes by ſondry wayes, hath bene aduertiſed of the death of our holy father the Pope Clement of that name the vij. whoſe ſoule Ieſu pardon, by meane wherof, the charge heretofore committed by his grace vnto his Oratours, to haue bene now executed with the ſayd late Pope, cā not at his hādes take effect, his highnes pondering and profoundly conſideryng, the preſent ſtate of Chriſtēdome, miſerably & piteouſly afflicted wyth the inteſtine warres, diſſentiōs, and diſcordes, reignyng amōgeſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignity of the ſea Apoſtolicke, by ſuch trouble and perſecution, as hath bene inferred therunto, theſe yeares paſſed, is not a litle diminiſhed and empayred, lyke to come to totall ruine, if by the helpe and aſſiſtaunce of good and vertuous Princes, the ambitiō of thoſe, which ſtudy the exterminion therof, be not in tyme repreſſed: conſideryng furthermore, that aſwell to cōduce reſt and tranquillitie in Chriſtendome, as to reſtore, repayre, and reintegrate the ſtate, authoritie, and reputation of the ſayd ſea Apoſtolicke, nothyng is more requiſite and neceſſary, then that ſuch a head and commō father, be now at this tyme of vacation of the dignitie Papall, prouided and elected to ſucceede in the ſame, as both may, can, and will puruey to the reſtauration of the ſayd Sea, and that hath, and may haue the aſſiſtaunce of ſuch vertuous and puiſſaunt Princes, as tender the defence, mainteynaunce, and encreaſe of the dignitie aforeſayd, and that may meete with the inordinate ambition of the Emperour, who nothyng more ſtudieth, then for his owne exaltation, to ſuppreſſe the Church and Sea Apoſtolicke: remembryng alſo the high importaūce of the kynges great and weighty cauſe of Matrimony, committed to the charge of his ſayd Oratours, and how manifold daungers and irreparable damages depende vpon the tracte, delay, or diſappoyntement therof, which by no way or meane can be conduced to the kynges purpoſe, and deſire, by the authoritie of the Church, but onely by ſpeciall, aſſured, and perfect fauour of the head of the ſame Church, his highnes alſo beyng as loth as any liuyng Prince or perſon may be, to recurre vnto other refuge, ſuccour, or remedy in his ſayd cauſe, then to the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke, if his grace may there finde the fauour and benignitie, that to his merites towardes the ſame be correſpondent, of which fauour hys hyghnes ſhould be clearely depriued and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope, ſhould paſſe vpon any perſon, of whom his grace were not perfectly aſſured: his hyghnes for the reſpectes and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiuyng hys good brother and perpetuall alye the Frenche kyng, in the ſayde intention to be vnite, knitte, and in all actions and doynges of importaunce, aſſuredly combined vnto his grace, proceedyng together in one will, mynde, purpoſe, and conformitie, hath by good and mature deliberation, ſtudyed, deuiſed, and excogitate with hymſelfe, who were and might be the moſt able, meete, and conuenient perſon, hauyng the qualities before ſpecified, to be auaunced at this tyme, vnto the ſayd dignitie Papall. And finally when his grace hath well reuolued with himſelfe, all the reſpectes and conſiderations aforeſayd, notyng alſo all thynges meete to be regarded in euery of the Cardinals of the Church of Rome, both preſent now in the Court there, and abſent from the ſame, it can not be founde that there is any perſon ſufficiently furniſhed, with the requiſites before ſpecified, but onely the moſt reuerend father in God, and his moſt truſty Counſellor, the Lord Legate Cardinall, Archbyſhop of Yorke, Primate and Chauncellour of this Realme. Who beyng well knowen to haue as feruent zeale, ſtudy, mynde, and deſire, to the vniuerſall weale, repoſe, and tranquillitie of Chriſtēdome, to the reintegration and reſtauration of the dignitie, authoritie, reputation, and rightes of the Church and ſea Apoſtolicke, to the ſuerty, weale, and exaltation of the kynges highnes, the French kyng, and other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kyngs ſayd great and weighty cauſe, wherupon dependeth the ſurety of his royall perſon, ſucceſſion, Realme, people, and dominions, as any perſon liuing can or may haue, and that the ſayd moſt reuerend father hath the faſt aſſured fauour herein of the ſayd Frēch

Inſtructiōs in the kings name, to his Legates at Rome.

The totall ruine of the Apoſtolicke Papacie, God ſend it.

He meaneth the matrimonye betwene kyng Henry.8. and queene Katherine, his brother Arthurs wyfe whether it was lawful or no.

See how this Prelate is all in hys exaltation.

kyng (who of hys owne mere motion hath frankly and liberally, offred vnto hym all that by himſelfe,his frends,his power, his agentes, or otherwiſe he may,or can poſſible do for his auauncement to the ſayd dignitie Papall) is the perſon who for his ſingular vertue, his entire deuotió to peace, and reſtauration of the ſayd Sea,the excellency of his wiſedome,learning and experiéce, the magnanimitie in his actions and doynges, the dignitie wherin he is already conſtitute,the promotions which he hath atteyned, the ſubſtãce that he is of, his reputation,his conduite, his diligence, hys dexteritie, his diſcretion, his policie,and finally the notable and high fauour that the kynges hyghnes and the ſayde French kyng beare vnto hym, is onely,that he called to the ſaid dignitie Papall,may,can,& wil meete with the inordinate ambition of the ſaid Emperour,and conſequently with eſtabliſhment of tranquilitie amongeſt Chriſten Princes, is by the aſſiſtaunce of his frendes,meete,conuenient, & hable to ſuccor,releue,& clerely to repayre the piteous iacture & decay,that the Church & Sea Apoſtolicke hath ſo long ſuffered,and to defend the ſame fró the immenét daũger now apparant to enſue, if the ſayd Emperour (who as the kings highnes is aſſerteyned) determined in the begynning of Ianuary now paſſed, to take hys iourney towardes Rome, ſhould vpon this vacation of the ſayd Sea,chaunced(as it is vpon many euident preſumptions to be thought, by ſome deteſtable acte committed,for the ſaid late Popes deſtruction)now by force,violence,cautele,blandiſhyng,promiſes,or otherwiſe,haue the election to proceede at his will, fauour, and deuotion:wherby,hauing a Pope at his * arbitre, either he ſhould not faile to vſurpe and take from hym the rights, prouentes, and patrimony of the Church, vſing him as hys chaplaine and vaſſell, or els by litle and litle vtterly to exclude and extincte him and his authority.

The Thraſonicall prayſe of the Cardinall.

Note this cauſe: The Cardinall is moſt mete to be Pope becauſe he can beſt bridle the Emperour.

* That is, after his owne deſire.

For this cauſe,if euer it were expedient that good Chriſten Princes looke to the tuitió,mainteinaunce, defence,and continuaunce of Chriſtes Church,faith,and religió, now is it the time aboue all other, to prouide and beware by all wayes poſſible,leſt the ſame neglected,forgotten and not in tyme releued,be brought vnto extreme* ruine. And therfore the kings highnes hauing ſingular & ſpeciall truſt & confidence in the wiſedomes,diſcretions,fidelities,diligences,and circumſpections of his ſayd Oratours,(to whom no part of the premiſſes is vnknowen, ne how neceſſary,& in any wiſe expedient it ſhalbe for perfection of the kyngs ſayd great & *weighty matter to them committed,to haue the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke,and none other, aduaunced to the ſayde dignitie Papall) willeth, deſireth, ordeineth, and expreſly chargeth and commaundeth hys ſayd Oratours, and euery of them, no leſſe to employ,endeuor,and determine themſelues,to ſollicite,ſet forth,further,promote,labour and conduce the aduauncement of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, to that dignitie,then they would that thing,which the kinges highnes moſt highly, next God and his ſoule, with all earneſtnes and feruent minde,doth aboue all other thinges, couete and deſire, and alſo no leſſe then they woulde the ſpeedy obteining & perfection of all ſuch thinges, touching the kynges ſayd weighty matter cómitted to their charges: the making or marring wherof, beyng now the ſayde late Pope deceſſed,conſiſteth onely in the aduauncement of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke,to the dignitie Papall.

* If his vſurped authoritie were cleane extinct, the fayth and religion of Chriſt ſhould ſtand and floriſh much better.

* By this weightie matter here, is ment the cauſe of the kinges diuorce.

For (as the kyngs ſayd Ambaſſadours may by their wiſdomes well thinke and conſider the ſame muſt of neceſſitie come, and fortune either to one that is an aſſured frende to his grace and the French kyng, or to one that is a manifeſt enemy to them,fauoring the Emperours part, or to one indifferent and meane betwene both. And if it ſhould chaũce vpó a manifeſt enemy,it is euidét that the kings deſire at his hand were merely impoſſible te be had,and neuer were to be accepted that way. If it ſhould come to one being indifferent & meane betwene both,it is more thé notorious,that his grace at the leaſt,ſhould be conteyned with faire words and promiſes, & yet ſuch reſpect ſhould be had to the Emperour,that finally vnder hope of obteyning ſome thyng, there ſhould be no more but tracte, delaye, and finally no maner fruite nor effect: whereof experience hath alreadye bene ſeene in one that had cauſe to be more frendly to the kyng,then indifferent or meane betwene both,and yet how long the matter hath depended,is to the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours well knowen. So that of neceſſitie this thynge muſt be conduced to one that is an aſſured frend. Then noting ſubſtantially the thinges neceſſary to concurre in ſuch a frend,both for the weale of Chriſtendome,the reliefe of the Church,the firme adhering to the kings highnes & the French king,with other their confederates, and the perfite códucing of the kings great matter,which ſuffreth no tract, delay,or negatiue: it ſhalbe founde that there is none other for this purpoſe,but onely the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke.

The kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours ſhall therfore plant the foundation of all their ſtudie, labour, and ſolicitation, onely to that purpoſe. And for the better introduction of the wayes and meanes, how thys thyng ſhalbe ſolicited, they ſhall receiue herewith a ſcedule,wherin is métioned & noted by name,how many and what Cardinalles of likelyhode, ſhalbe preſent at the election,& how many & which of the other,ſhalbe abſent. Semblablie,how many of them that be lyke to be preſent, may be thought to be frendes to the kynges highnes and the French kyng, whoſe names in the ſayd ſcedule be noted wyth A. and how many are thought to be Imperiall,whoſe names be noted with B. In the ſame ſcedule be alſo ſet out the number and names of thoſe that be thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore,they be firſt mentioned therein, which be thought moſt like to aſpire vnto that dignitye.

A. Signifieth the Cardinals of the kinges & the French kinges ſide

B. ſignifieth the Cardinals of the Emperours ſide. But here is neuer a *C.* to ſignifie any Cardinals of Chriſtes ſide.

Herein be many thinges well to be regarded. Fyrſt the number of the Cardinals that are lyke to be preſent, which (as is thought here) ſhall not excede xxxix. Secódly,that to haue election to the kinges purpoſe,ſhalbe requiſite to haue 2. partes of the 3. of the ſayd number, which 2. partes muſt be *26*. Then is it to be noted, that they which be thought to be frendes to the kyngs highnes and the French king, be in number xx. So that if they may be made ſure to the kinges deuotion, there ſhall lacke but *6*. of the number which ſhal ſuffice to make the election: which number the kings ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhall moue, winne & attaine,either of them that be thought to be indifferent,or ſome other.

In the conducing wherof,two wayes be ſpecially to beremembred. One is,if the Cardinals preſent,hauing God & the holy Ghoſt before them,ſhalbe minded(as to their dutie apperteineth)to haue reſpect vnto the preſent calamitie of the Church,and all Chriſtédome, intending the reliefe, ſuccour,and reſtauration of the ſame,and to preſerue themſelues, and the dignitie of the Sea Apoſtolicke,thé looking profoundly vppon the ſtate of the thyngs, they cã not faile *facily of themſelues,to finde & perceiue, that to conduce their purpoſe,there is onely the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke. And in this caſe,it is verely to be thought,that very reaſon it ſelfe, and their owne conſcience ſhall lead them like vertuous fathers, to haue their principall reſpecte hereunto, & (particular affections ſet a part) to accorde and agree without difficultie,to that, which ſo manifeſtly is knowen to be the thing,aboue all other,expedient. Neuertheles, becauſe percaſe humaine fragilitie ſuffereth not all thynges to bee pondered,trutinate,and weyed in iuſt balaũce, but that (as we be men) errours may rũne,vnles then remedie be prouided: it apperteineth in matter of ſo high importaunce, to the comfort and releue of all Chriſtendome,to ſuccour the infirmitie,that may chaunce, not for corruption or to any peruerſe,vnlefull, or euill entent,but rather to helpe to the lackes and defaults,which by ſuch fragilitie might els take place:and therfore expedient ſhall it be,that the kyngs ſayd Oratours,to ſo notable a purpoſe,where they ſhal perceiue the cóſideration and reſpect wherunto reaſon leadeth,to be in any part to be ayded or ſupplyed,do the ſame with policitatiós of promotions,ſpirituall offices, dignities,rewardes of money,or other things,ſuch as to them ſhal ſeme mete to the purpoſe: inculking into the mindes of ſuch perſons as ſhalbe requiſite,firſt what thinges the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke ſhal leaue,if he ſhould be aduaũced to the ſaid dignitie,which be ſuch as the eſtablimét of his ſtate cóſidered, be farre more to his cómoditie(if he ſhould regarde his priuate weale)thé to enter into this daũgerous ſtorme, and troublous tépeſt,for the reliefe of the church and all Chriſtédome,wherunto (his ſaid priuate weale ſet a part) he is totally deuoued & dedicate,to the expoſition of hys bodye, bloud,& life,glad & ready with the ſacrifice thereof,to doe ſeruice to God,his church,his faith & religion: which ſayde promotions, the kynges highnes finding cauſe geuen vnto hym,by the gratitude & cóformitie of his frendes, will not ſayle to beſtow to their benefite, beſides large rewardes, to haue thys ſo vertuous an acte brought to perfection. For policitation wherof,the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours be furniſhed at thys tyme, wyth ample Commiſſion, as by the ſame they ſhall perceiue: the effecte wherof they ſhal execute without exception, as by their wyſedomes ſhalbe thought conuenient, ſo alwayes as it be done wyth ſuch circumſpection, as may be apparaunce of good fruite to enſue. And ſemblablie they be furniſhed with letters,aſwell to the Colledge of Cardinals in generall,as to thé all that be lyke to be preſent in particular: which they ſhall nowe deliuer to the beſt furtherance and auauncement of their purpoſe, not ſparyng to declare vnto them the liberalitie of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the ſubſtaunce that he is of, the aſſured aſſiſtaunce that he ſhall haue of theſe Princes and their confederates,wherby he ſhalbe able aboue a-

As though the Popes election had any thyng to doe with the holy ghoſt.

* He might as well haue ſayd, eaſely, as *facily*, if it had pleaſed hym: but our groſſe termes are to lowe for this high Prelate, as here commonly you may ſee.

Yea ſyr, now ye ſpeake to the purpoſe. Now we begin to feele you, when ye bring your bribes and rewardes of money.

Well byd, and lyke a good chapman.

Thou muſt imagine here good reader, to be no corruption, but honorable pollicitation.

To accede, that is, to come.

ny other that they can deuiſe, to reward, promote, aduance, and recompence his frends to the vttermoſt, aſſuryng them that theſe.ij. princes wyl not faile alſo highly & in the beſt ſort, to conſider their gratitudes, with any thyng that they may excogitate to their profites and promotions, or any of their frends. So that by this meane, & with ſuch good pollicitatiōs, groūded vpō a lefull, honorable, & iuſt cauſe, and not vpō any corrupt or indue intent, to cōduce things to ſiniſter purpoſe, the kings ſaid Oratours by their good policies ſhall attaine the perfite and ſure good wyll of a great many of them, and by that way ſhall with good dexteritie combine and knyt thoſe whiche wyl adhere hereunto, in a perfite faſtnes, and in an indiſſoluble knot, firmely to ſticke and holde together, without varriatiō or declinyng from their purpoſe, for any perſuaſion, practiſe, or meane, that cā be made to the contrary. Whiche thyng ſurely to be prouided, and ſuch a knot of. xx. xviij. or at the leaſt if it may be, of. xvj. Cardinals to be had, is in any wiſe expedient. For they perſiſtyng in their determination, ſhal not faile to impeche, that no aduerſe part can haue a ful number to make a due and lawful election. And yet they beyng founde in a conſtantnes to this good purpoſe, ſhall by litle and litle allure and bring other vnto them, ſo as the reſidue perceiuing ſo great a towardnes, & fearing a ſufficient number * to accede without thē, and thereby the election to paſſe againſt their wils, ſhal percaſe be the more prone & ready to come vnto that partie: whereunto nothyng ſhould of reaſon ſooner moue them, then the very reſpect to the infinite goodnes, that therby to thē ſelues in particular, & the vniuerſall church and religion in general, is apparant to enſue.

An other ſhift if the worſt fall.

* That is not due.

Neuertheleſſe, if leauyng the directe waye, they wyll be abuſed with any other incantations, or for priuate ambition perſiſt in contendyng for them ſelues, then is it euident, they ſearche nothyng more then the ruine of the ſayd See apoſtolike. In whiche caſe other wayes be to be deuiſed, and their * indue demeanour to be remedyed and reſiſted. For this cauſe, and to be ſure in al euentes, the kynges ſayde Oratours ſhall by their wiſedomes finde the meanes to haue ſome faſt and ſure perſons in the Conclaue, ſuch as may not onely practiſe and ſet forth thynges there to the purpoſe, but alſo geue ſuche knowledge outwarde, as the kynges ſayd Oratours may therby the better know how to order their proceedynges. And amongſt other it is thought that Monſieur de Vaulx, one of the French Ambaſſadours, (whō the French kyng hath cōmaunded expreſſely to further this matter, by al the meanes to hym poſſible) ſhoulde be one to enter the ſayde Conclaue, not as an ambaſſadour, but as the Miniſter of ſame Cardinal, frende of the French kyng. And ſemblably Syr Gregory de Caſſalis, who for his wiſedome, conduit, language, acquaintāce, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalfe.

The caſe of the Cardinall muſt haue no negatiue ſo eger he is of his game.

Secret threatninges to the Cardinals to cauſe thē to cōſēt with Cardinall Wolſey.

Prouiſo againſt the Cardinals if they will not condeſcend to the Cardinall of Yorke.

And in this matter it is to be conſidered, that ſince this election in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, by one way or other ſuffereth no negatiue, albeit the kynges highnes truſteth that the ſame ſhal haue his courſe directly: yet if for lack of grace or entendemēt, there ſhould be any diſpaire thereof, other wayes be to be prouided. And for that cauſe to ſhew the ſayd Orators ſecretly, there is a proteſtatiō paſſed by the Cardinals beyng in Englande and in France, accordyng to a copy which the ſaid Oratours ſhal receyue herewith, which is & ſhalbe kept ſecret, vnles then by the indue proceedyng vſed in the election, the ſame ſhal neede to be publiſhed. So that the kynges ſayde oratours nowe aduertiſed therof, ſhal note for a ſpecial ground, that if it ſhal appeare that the electiō cā not be had in the perſon of the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the bande and number vnite and knitte together to the kinges deuotion, in findyng none other remedie, muſt be inſtructed beforehand in that caſe, to perſiſt in their determination, and when tyme ſhalbe, by reaſon of ſuch diſpayre, to proteſt, groūdyng the ſame their proteſtation vpō ſuch reſpectes, as can not lacke to be introduced for the auoyding of the extreme daungers by the pertinacitie & wilfulnes of the aduerſe Cardinals, imminent to the ruine of the Churche, and of all Chriſtendome: which proteſtation may before hand be couched and deuiſed by the ſaide M. Steuen Gardiner, and by the policie of the ſayd Mōſieur de Vaulx, and ſir Gregory, be ſet forth in tyme conuenient: and thereupon the Cardinals of the kynges and the Frenche kynges adherentes, to departe the Conclaue, whereby, repayryng to other ſure place, they with the reſidue of the Cardinals abſent, may proceede to ſuch an election, as maye be to Gods pleaſure, the weale of his Church, & fayth, & of al Chriſtēdome, any election that thus by pertinacie maye enſue at Rome, notwithſtandyng.

Note theſe procedinges in chuſing Popes.

And to the entent the Cardinals maye be the better animated to finiſh the ſaid election to the kynges deſire, the kynges ſayde Oratours ſhall as they ſee good, offer them a preſidie of.ij. or.iij. M. mē to be in the citie of Rome, for the tyme of the ſame election, whiche if they wyl accepte, the ſayd Orators ſhal ſee furniſhed, takyng money by exchāge and otherwiſe, for their entertaynmēt, as ſhalbe requiſite. Which money or any other that they ſhall take for conducyng this the kynges purpoſe, ſhalbe truely repayde, with *inpeſſe and all requiſites as they ſhall aſſigne. And ſemblably, leaſt terrour or dread of the Imperials in Naples, ſhould induce the Cardinals to any errour, the French king hath ordeyned that Seignior Renzio ſhal lye in a preſidye, betwene the armye of Naples & the Citye of Rome, like as the Vicecoūt of Turein is alſo cōmaūded to lye on the other ſide, & ſemblably, the Venetiās. So that by thoſe meanes not onely they ſhalbe out of all feare of the Imperials, but alſo in the more deuotion of theſe two Princes, which ſhal much cōfer to the kynges purpoſe, & ēbolden the Cardinals fauoring the deſire of theſe two princes, both to perſiſt in their deliberatiō, & alſo in tyme of extreme diſpayre, to proteſt and depart, as is aforeſayde.

Search here thy dictionaries good reader, for this eloquence paſſeth my intelligence.

* Demorari, that is to ſay, tary.

The firſt reaſon.

Puſillanime * Puſillo animo that is, weake harted.

The ſecond reaſon.

This Cardinall dreameth that he is Pope already.

And becauſe nothing ſhould withdrawe the mynds of the Cardinals frō this purpoſe, who percaſe might thinke that the ſayd L. Legate of Yorke beyng elected, would not repayre to the Court of Rome, but * demore in Auinion or ſome other place, out of Italie, the kynges ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhal remoue all ſuch ſuſpition, by two euident argumentes and reaſons. One is, that the ſayde Cardinall of Yorke auanced to that dignitie, muſt therby leaue al other his promotions, and conſequently ſhoulde be diſpurueyed of any habitation, place, or conuenient lyuyng, if remaining in an other ſtrange coūtrey, he ſhould deferre to come vnto Rome, where ſhould be the place of his See, and entyre lyuyng. Wherfore it werre farre from reaſon, to think that he which hytherto for his eſtate hath lyued in ſuch abundāce, ſhould be ſo * puſillanime for this promotiō, to bring him ſelfe into condigne penurie and pouertie, or to lyue in place priuate, to the hynderance of his honour, profite, or reputation. Secondly, the thyng principally mouyng hym to be contented at theſe princes requeſtes, to chaunge his ſtate preſent, is the feruēt zeale he hath to expone his ſtudy, trauayle, labor, ſubſtance, wit, body, bloud, and lyfe in the quarel of Gods Churche, fayth, and of Chriſtendome, whiche is too high an exception and a grounde to be taken, to remayne and lye in a corner or priuate place: but that rather then he woulde ſuffer ſo high an exception to be found in him, he would expone al that he might do, who hauing the aſſiſtance of theſe two Princes, ſhould not fayle (God wyllyng) to paſſe directly to his See, with honour and comfort vnto al Italie, and the diſcourage of the partye that would be aduerſe therunto: And therfore the Cardinals ſhoulde not neede to feare of any ſuch thyng, but might be wel aſſured to haue his preſence there to their comfort, in al celeritie and diligence poſſible.

The Cardinall caſteth all his nettes to catch the triple crowne.

Two faces in one Cardinalls hatte.

Furthermore, to the entent the kynges ſayd Ambaſſadours maye haue all the freendes that maye be, to this purpoſe, expedient it ſhalbe, that they with the Venetians, the Florētines, the duke of Ferrare, & al other whom they ſhal thinke good to wynne vnto their partie, vſe the wayes that may beſt cōduce therunto. And amongſt other, foraſmuch as they which depended vpon the Cardinall de Medices, ſhall doubt in this caſe to be reiect, the kynges ſayde Oratours ſhall inculke vnto them the ſingular deuotion and ſpecial fauor that the ſayd Lord Legate of Yorke hath alwayes borne vnto their familie, aſſuryng them that he wyll take them in no further diſtaunce of entire loue, then they were with Pope Leo, Clemēt, or any other. And ſemblably they ſhall put the Florentines in comfort of the excluſion of the gouernance of the ſaid familie de Medices in Florence, and of their enioying of their libertie: Likewiſe putting the cardinals in perfect hope of recouery of the patrimonies of the church: to cōtaine the Venetians in good truſt of a reaſonable way to be taken for Saruia, & Rauēna, to their contentment: and alſo to ſhew the Duke of Ferrare, how the ſayd L. Legate was the meane of the cōiunctiō of hym in league with the Frenche kyng, with aſſured promiſe of his continuaunce, in as much loue and fauour as he may beare vnto hym, in al his cauſes and affayres. And thus hauyng thoſe folkes to their frendes, whoſe Oratours ſhal haue the vttermoſt cuſtodie of the Conclaue, and the kynges Ambaſſadours, and the Frenche Ambaſſadours beyng in the interiour partes thereof, they beyng ſo amply inſtructed and furniſhed, ſhall not fayle (God wyllyng) by one or other of the ſayde two wayes, and ſpecially by the direct election at Rome, if it be poſſible, or at the leaſt by the way of the ſayde proteſtation & departure of the Cardinal, to conduce the kynges purpoſe in the ſayd election, to the deſired end. In the doyng wherof, albeit there is no doubt, but that the French Orators wyll ioyne with them

How politike the children of this worlde be in their generation.

ſincerely, to the perfection of the premiſſes, in omnē euentum, it ſhalbe well done that the kinges ſaid Orators haue a ſubſtantiall and politike regarde to the proceedyng of the ſame French Orators, leaſt that if percaſe they ſhould find any diſpaire in the electiō to paſſe in the perſon of the ſaid Lord Legate of Yorke, they makyng ſome other Cardinals to their ſide, for the aduancemēt of any of thē to the ſaid dignitie, ſhould be the more, ſtraunge alienc, or peraduenture refuſe to come vnto the ſaide protection & departure out of the Conclaue, which is the onely remedy and refuge (the Cardinals perſiſting in their wilfulnes) to interrupt, diſappoynt, infringe, and make voyd their election.

Is not here an holy election meete for such an holy Sea?

Sides against the Emperour.

One other thyng there is to be wel noted by the ſayd ambaſſadours, and by thē to be inculcate in the myndes of the Cardinals, that if any maner of difficultie ſhalbe made by the Imperials to condeſcend vnto this election vpon the ſaid L. Legate of Yorke, & that they of the Emperours part, would refuſe al waies of good order and reaſon, proceding to any electiō without the cōſent of the reſidue that would proteſt, they may be ſure that vnto that their ſiniſter and indue way they ſhould haue no prince or potētate adherent, but only the Emperour and his brother, & that the other part ſhould haue the reſt of al Chriſtendome, that is to ſay, the kyngs highnes, the French kyng, the king of Hūgary, Polonie, Scotland, and Denmarke, with the Venetiās, the dukes of Ferrare, Millā, the Florentines, & the reſt of all Italie, beſides the marchants of the Almaine or Hanſe, and other leages beyng in the dominion of the ſayd king of Polonie: and ouer that the king of Portugale, who is loth & ſory to ſee the Emperor come vnto ſo great hight as he aſpireth vnto. So that hauing theſe mighty & noble puiſſances to their aſſiſtance, and the corroboratiō of their act, it is facile to thinke the other could be of no validitie, ne haue or take any maner of place: which is no ſmal groūd wherupon the ſaide Cardinals may be the better animate to the kyngs and the French kyngs ſayd deuotion, and therfore it is to be imprinted in their myndes accordyngly.

By this one election, note the common order of Rome in chusing for the Popedome.

Finally, if the kings ſaid orators endeuouring thē ſelues to the cōducyng of the ſaid electiō in the perſon of the ſaid L. legate of Yorke, ſhould at the laſt find out that ther wer none other difficulty, but only that the electiō in his perſon being totally deſperate, the ſame were conducible to the Cardinal Cāpegius: then, rather then al ſhould faile, if the other coulde by no meanes be brought to paſſe, the kinges pleaſure is, that being aſſured it may, the other lackyng, be conduced to the ſame Cardinal Campegius, they take ſuch way as in that caſe the proteſtaſion be ſuborne, and for the laſt refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the leaſt to paſſe in the perſon of the ſayde Cardinal Campegius: wherof there is no apparance, conſideryng that the reſpects for the which the ſaid lord Legate of Yorke, ſhould by the kyngs and the French kyngs meanes be brought hereunto, do for the greateſt part faile and ceaſe by the election of any other then hym ſelfe, which is in this caſe to be remembred accordingly.

Epilogus.

Thus be the kings ſaid Orators inſtructed as far as mans reaſon can here deuiſe, what is to be done for cōducyng the kings purpoſe to effect, knowing well of what importance the thing is, and what cōſequences depend vpon it, namely for the perfectiō of the kings high & weighty matter, whiche otherwiſe then by election of the ſaid Lorde Legate of Yorke, hath no maner way to be conduced by authoritie of the See Apoſtolike. There reſteth no more but they who wel knowe the ſame great matter, to ſuffer no nay ne repulſe, but by the election in the perſon of the ſaid L. legate do imploy the vttermoſt that in their harts, powers, wyts, bodyes, and myndes that may be, to the perfection thereof, wherby they ſhal do the greateſt ſeruice that cā be, for this tyme excogitate to do vnto their prince, deſerue immortall laud, thanks, & praiſe, & be ſure to conſecute therby ſuch reward, as ſhalbe to their cōforts, reioyce, & honor, beſides manifold other notable goodneſſes, wherof thei ſhalbe the procurers and ſoliciters, to their merite perpetual. Al which they may be ſure ſhalbe conſidered accordingly.

Out of the Original, ſubſcribed by king
Henry the eyght his owne hande.

Man purposeth, & God disposeth.

In theſe ſo great labors, purſuites, & trauailes of ỹ king & of the Cardinall, as in theſe their inſtructions aboue inſerted, may appeare, thou haſt for thine inſtruction (louyng reader) to note & learne howe man purpoſeth one thing, and how God diſpoſeth another. For the kings purpoſe was to haue the Cardinal & Legate of Yorke placed in ỹ See Papal, thinking by ỹ meanes if this Cardinal had ben pope, ỹ cauſe of his diuorce more eaſily might be cōpaſſed, which otherwiſe he thought vnpoſſible to contriue. But god omnipotent, which only is directer of al affayres, brought it otherwiſe to paſſe, not as the king deuiſed, but after his own wiſedome, ſo that both the diuorcemēt was cōcluded, & yet neither Cardinall Wolſey made Pope, nor yet Pope Clemēt was dead, yea, ſo he ruled ỹ matter, that notwithſtādyng pope Clement was aliue, yet both ỹ diuorce proceeded, & alſo the popes authoritie was therby vtterly extinct & aboliſhed out of this realme of England, to ỹ ſingular admiration of Gods wondrous workes, & perpetual prayſe to his mercyful goodnes. Of which diuorcemēt, & ſuppreſſing of ỹ popes authority, we haue likewiſe to make declaratiō. But firſt, as we haue begun with ỹ Cardinal of Yorke, ſo we wil make an end of him. That don, we wil (god willing) addreſſe our ſelfe to other matters of more importance.

Fryer Barnes with two Marchantes of the Stilliard, caused by the Cardinall to beare fagots.

As theſe ambaſſadours were thus trauailyng in Rome to promote the Cardinall to be Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the meane tyme the Cardinal played the Popiſh perſecuter here at home. For firſt he ſitting in his Pontificalibus, in the Cathedral Church of Paules, vnder his cloth of eſtate, of rich cloth of gold cauſed Fryer Barnes, an Auguſtine fryer, to beare a fagot, for certaine poyntes, which he called hereſie. Alſo he cauſed the ſame two marchantes of the Stilliard likewiſe to beare fagots, for eating fleſhe on a fryday. At the which tyme the biſhop of Rocheſter made a ſermō in reproofe of M. Luther, who had before written againſt the power of the Biſh. of Rome. This biſhop in his Sermon ſpake ſo muche of the honour of the pope & his cardinals, & of their dignitie & preeminēce that he forgat to ſpeake of ỹ goſpel which he tooke in hand to declare, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1526.

An. 1528.

After this the ſaid Cardinal likewiſe, an. 1528. and in ỹ moneth of Nouemb. ſitting at Weſtminſter, as legate, called before hym the whole Clergie, & there promiſed that all abuſions of the church ſhould be amēded, but there nothing els was done, ſaue onely he cauſed to be abiured, Arthur, Bilney, Geffrey Lome, & Garret, for ſpeaking againſt the popes authority, & his pōpous pride. Of whō more ſhalbe ſaid (ỹ lord aſſiſting vs) hereafter. And this was an. 1528

An. 1529.

The occasion of the Cardinals fall.

The cause of the kinges mariage with his brothers wife, was dangerous to the pope for this. For if it were vnlawful, the the dispensation of pope July, was voyde. If it were lawfull, then the iudgementes of so many vniuersities were false.

The king deluded by the two Cardinalls.

The yeare next folowing, which was ann. 1529. began the queſtion of the kings mariage to be reuiued. Whervpon Cardinal Campegius was ſent againe into Englande frō Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who thē with Cardinal Wolſey conſulting with the king, although at firſt he ſeemed with his felow Cardinal, to incline to the kinges diſpoſition, yet afterward perceiuyng the ſequele of the caſe, whether it tended ſo farre, as peraduenture might be ỹ occaſion of a blot to ỹ court of Rome, and might ſhake perhaps the chayre of the Popes omnipotent authoritie, as wel in other caſes like, if this one caſe were throughly decided by learnyng, & truth of Gods word: he therfore ſlipping his necke out of the collar, craftily ſhifted hym ſelf out of the realme, before the day came appoynted for determination, leauing his ſuttle felow behynd hym, to wey with the king in the meane time, while the matter might be brought vp to the court of Rome. The king thus ſeing him ſelf diſappoynted, fedde with falſe promiſes, and craftily dallied withal by the Cardinals, & at laſt after ſo many delayes & long expectation, nothing to be cōcluded, was ſore agreued in his mynde with thē, but eſpecially with Cardinal Wolſey, whō he had before ſo highly exalted, and promoted to ſo many great dignities, as to the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke, ỹ Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, of Dureſme, the Abbey of ſaint Albones, beſides the Chancelorſhip of Englande, & many other high roumes & preferrmētes in ỹ realme, which cauſed hym clearely to caſt him out of his fauour, ſo that after that tyme he neuer came more to the kinges preſence. Ex Hallo.

A Counsaile of the nobles called.

The Cardinall cast in the Premunire.

Then folowed firſt a counſaile of the Nobles, called the firſt of Octob. During the which counſaile, al the Lordes, & other the kinges Counſaile agreeyng together, reſorted to Windſore to the king, & there informed ỹ king, that al thinges which he had done almoſt, by his power Legātine, were in the caſe of the Premunire and prouiſion: and that ỹ Cardinal had forfeited al his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels to the kyng: wherfore the king wyllyng order to him, according to ỹ order of his lawes, cauſed his attorney Chriſtopher Hales to ſue out a Writ of Premunire againſt him, in the which he licenced hym to make an Attorney.

The Cardinall depriued of the Chauncelorship.

And further, the. xvij. day of Nouemb. he ſent the two Dukes of Norfolke & Suffolke, to his place at Weſtminſter, to fetch away the great Seale of England, whiche he was loth to deliuer, if there had bin any remedy, but in concluſion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, whiche deliuered the ſame to Doctor Taylour Maiſter of the Rolles, to carry to the king, which ſo dyd the next day.

Steuen Gardiner, the kinges secretarye.

Beſides this the king ſent Syr William Fitzwilliams Knight of the Garter, and Treaſurer of his houſe, & Doctor Steuen Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to ſee that no goodes ſhould be embeſiled out of his houſe: and further, ordeined that ỹ Cardinal ſhould remoue to Aſher, beſide Kingſton, there to tary the kings pleaſure, & to haue all thinges deliuered to hym, whiche were neceſſarye for hym, but not after his old pompous and ſuperfluous faſhion, for all his goodes were ſeaſed to the kinges vſe. When the Seale was thus taken from the Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, with many Earles, Biſhops, and Barons came into the Starre chamber, the.xix. day of October, where the Duke of Norfolke declared that the kinges highnes, for diuers and ſundry offences had taken from hym his great Seale, and depoſed hym of al offices, and leſt men might complaine for lacke of iuſtice, he had appointed him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the aſſent of the other Lordes, to ſit in the Starre chamber, to heare & determine cauſes indifferently, and that of all thinges the kinges pleaſure & commaundement was, that they ſhould keepe their handes cloſe from any rewardes taking, or maintenance: and ſo that weeke they ſate in the Starre chamber, and determined cauſes.

The Cardinals goods ſeaſed to the king.

The Cardinals remouing from Yorke place.

A fewe dayes after in the ſame moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his houſe, called Yorke place, with one Croſſe, ſaying, that he woulde he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his croſſe, that which he bare as Legate, which degree taking, was his confuſion, as you ſee openly: and ſo he tooke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there tooke his horſe and rode to Aſher, where he remayned tyl Lent after.

During whiche tyme, he beyng called on for an vnſweare in the kinges Bench to the Premunire, for geuyng benefices by preuention, in diſturbance of mens inheritāce, and diuers other open cauſes in the Premunire, accordyng to the kinges licence, conſtituted John Scute & Edmond Jenny, Apprentiſes of the lawe, his attorneys, whiche by his own warrant ſigned with his hand, confeſſed al things concernyng the ſaid ſuit, for they were too open to be cloked or hydden, and ſo iudgement was geuen, that he ſhoulde forfeite all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattels, and ſhoulde be out of the kinges protection: but for all that, the king ſent hym a ſufficient protection, and of his gentlenes leaft to hym the biſhoprikes of Yorke and Wincheſter, and gaue to hym plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degree, and the Biſhoprike of Dureſme he gaue to Doctour Tonſtall Biſhop of London, and the Abbey of Saint Albenes he gaue to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Doctour John Stokeſley, then Ambaſſadour to the vniuerſities for the marriage, as you hearde before. For al this kindnes ſhewed to the Cardinal, yet ſtil he maligned againſt the king, as you ſhal hereafter perceiue, but firſt we wil proceede in the courſe of theſe matters, as they paſſed in order.

Doctour Tunſtall byſhop of Dureſme.

John Stokeſly made Byſhop of London.

1530.

A parlament called.

The next yeare folowing, whiche was, ann. 1530. in the moneth of Nouemb. was ſummoned a generall parlament, to be holden at Weſtminſter. In the which yeare, about the.xxiij. day of Octob. the king came to his manor of Grenwich, and there much conſulted with his Counſaile, for a meete man to be his Chauncelour, ſo that in no wiſe he were no man of the Spiritualtie, and ſo after long debate, the king reſolued him ſelfe vpon ſir Thomas Moore knight, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, a man wel learned in the tongues, and alſo in the common lawe: whoſe wyt was fine, and full of imaginations, by reaſon wherof he was a litle too muche geuen to mocking, more then became the perſon of M. More: and then on the ſonday, the xxiiij. day of the ſame moneth, ẏ king made hym his Chancelor, and deliuered him the great Seale, which lord Chancelor the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and there ſworne, and then the Mace was borne before hym.

Sir Thomas More made lord Chauncelour of England.

Of this fall of the Cardinal, and of the placyng of Syr Thomas More in the Chauncelourſhip, Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to John Vergera thus writeth: The Cardinal of Yorke hath ſo offended the kings mynd, that he beyng turned out of his goodes and all his dignities, is cōmitted not into priſon, but into a certaine Lordſhip of his, with.xxx. ſeruaunts or kepers, to geue attendance vpon hym. Many and ſundry cōplaintes are cōmenced agaynſt hym, ſo that he is not like to eſcape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a ſcholemaiſter to be made a king. For ſo he raigned more like a king, then the king hym ſelfe. He was dreaded of all men: he was loued but of a fewe, almoſte of none. A litle before he was apprehended, he cauſed Richard Pacie to be caſt in the tower. Alſo he threatned my Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Salomon ſaith, That before the fal of man, his ſpirit ſhalbe eleuated. The Archb. of Canterbury was called or reſtored to be choſen Lord Chauncelor, which is ẏ chiefeſt office in all that Realme, but he excuſed hym ſelfe by his age, as beyng not able to welde ſuch a function, wherefore the ſaide office was beſtowed vpon Tho. More, no leſſe to the reioycyng of many, then the other was diſplaced from it. Theſe newes my ſeruaunt brought me out of England. &c. Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Ioan. Vergeram.

Ex Eraſ.

By this Archbiſhop he meaneth William Warham.

A Parlament ſummoned in Nouemb. anno. 1530.

You heard before, howe a counſaile of the Nobles was appoynted by the king in the moneth of October, to aſſemble in the Starre chamber, about the Cardinalles matter: and alſo how a parlament was ſummoned to begyn in the moneth of Nouember in the yeare folowing, ann. 1530. At the beginnyng of which parlament, after that M. Moore the newe Chauncelour had finiſhed his oration, the commons were commaunded to chuſe them a Speaker, who was Thomas Audeley Eſquier, and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaſter. Thus the parlament beyng begun the ſixt day of the foreſaid moneth of Nouemb. at Weſtminſter, where the kyng with al the Lordes were ſet in the parlament chamber, the commons, after they had preſented their Speaker, aſſembling in the nether houſe, began to cōmune of their grieues, wherwith the ſpiritualtie had before time greuouſly oppreſſed them, contrary both to al right, & to the lawe of the Realme, and eſpecially were ſore moued with theſe ſixe great cauſes.

Thomas Audely ſpeaker of the Parlament.

Sixe greuances of the commons agaynſt the clergie.

❡ Greeuances againſt the Clergie of Englande.

Exceſſiue fines for probates of teſtamentes.

A thouſand Markes for the probate of one teſtament.

1. The firſt for the exceſſiue fines, which the Ordinaries tooke for probate of Teſtamentes, in ſo much that Syr Henry Guilford, knight of the Garter, & Comptrolour of the kynges houſe, declared in the open Parliament, of hys fidelitie, that he and other being executours to Syr William Compton knight, payed for the probate of his wil, to the Cardinall & the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a thouſand marke ſterlyng. After this declaration, were ſhewed ſo many extortiōs done by Ordinaries for probates of wils, that it were to much to rehearſe.

The vnreaſonable exactiō of the clergie for Mortuaries.

2. The ſecond cauſe was, the great poling & extreame exaction, which the ſpirituall men vſed, in taking of corps preſentes or Mortuaries: for the childre of the dead ſhould all dye for hunger and go a begging, rather then they would of charitie geue to thē the ſely cowe which the dead mā ought, if he had but onely one: ſuch was the charitie of them.

Fermes and Granges in prieſtes handes.

3. The third cauſe was, that Prieſtes beyng Surueyers, Stuardes, and officers to Byſhops, Abbots, and other ſpirituall heades, had and occupyed Farmes, Graūges, and graſing in euery countrey, ſo that the poore huſbandmen could haue nothyng but of them, and yet for that they ſhould pay dearely.

Monkes & prieſtes marchauntes.

4. The fourth cauſe was, that Abbots, Priors, and ſpirituall men kept Tannehouſes, and bought and ſolde woll, clothe, and all maner of Marchaundiſe, as other temporall marchauntes dyd.

Beneficed men take of their flocke, but geue nothing.

5. The fift cauſe was, becauſe the ſpirituall perſons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their liuing of theyr flocke, were lyng in the Court of Lordes houſes, & tooke all of their pariſhoners, and nothing ſpent on them at all, ſo that for lacke of reſidēce, both the poore of the pariſhe lacked refreſhing and vniuerſallye all the pariſhoners lacked preaching, and true inſtruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their ſoules.

Pluralities of benefices.

6. The ſixt cauſe was, becauſe one Prieſt being litle learned, had tenne or twelue benefices, and was reſident on none, and many well learned ſcholers in the Vniuerſitie, which were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

Theſe thynges before this tyme, might in no wyſe be touched, not yet talked of by no man, except he woulde be made an hereticke, or loſe all that he had: for the Byſhops were Chauncellours, and had all the rule about the kyng, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt any thyng contrary to their profite, or commoditie.

But now whē God had illumined the eyes of the king, and the tyme ſo ſerued, that men more boldly durſt expreſſe wyth voyce ſuch grudges, as they had long conceaued in their hartes againſt the Clergie: the Burgeſſes of the parlament appoynted certaine of the common houſe, men learned, in ẏ lawe to draw one byll of ẏ probates of teſtaments, an other for mortuaries, & ẏ third for none reſidence, pluralities, and taking fermes by ſpiritual men.

Three bils drawen out againſt the miſorder of the clergie.

The firſt byll for mortuaries.

And firſt to ẏ byl of Mortuaries being drawen, and being alſo paſſed the common houſe, and ſent vp to the higher, the Spiritual Lords ſhewed a fayre face, ſaying, that aſſuredly Prieſtes and Curates tooke more thē they ſhould, & therefore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order. Thus they ſpake, becauſe it touched them but litle.

The ſecond bill for probates of teſtamentes.

After this, within two dayes, was ſent vp the ſecōd bil, concernyng probates of teſtamentes, which byll becauſe it touched their profite ſomewhat neare, both the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and all other Biſhops in generall beganne to frowne and grunt, in ſo much as Doctor John Fiſher

Biſhop

biſh. of Rocheſter, ſtanding vp in the parlament chamber, openly proteſted, that ſuch bylles were ſet vp from the cõmon houſe, tending to no other thing, but to the deſtruction of the church: which church being downe, the glory thẽ of the whole kingdome (ſaide he) muſt needes fal, deſiryng therfore the Lordes, for Gods ſake, to take example by the kingdome of Boheme: For as it was then with the people there, ſo nowe what ſay the cõmons here, but downe with the church. And al this (ſaid he) ſemeth onely to be for lacke of fayth. When theſe wordes were reported to the cõmons of the lower houſe, what the Biſhop had ſayd, in noting all their doings to be for lacke of fayth, they tooke the matter greeuouſly, ſo to be eſteemed of the Biſh. for no better then heretikes, vnderſtanding moreouer, how that he by thoſe ſlaunderous wordes, went about to perſwade the Lordes temporal againſt them, and ſo to ouerthrow the two bylles by them paſſed before, as ye haue heard.

D. Fyſher chargeth the commons with lacke of fayth.

The grudg of the cõmons, in the lower houſe againſt Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the ſaid commons, that Thomas Audeley their ſpeaker with .xxx. of ẏ chiefe of that houſe, ſhould be ſent to the king, being then in his palace at weſtminſter, before called yorke place: where they eloquently declared, what a diſhonour to the kyng & ẏ realme it was, to ſay, that they whiche were elected for the wiſeſt men of all the Shyres, cities, and boroughes within the realme of England, ſhould be declared in ſo noble and open preſence, to lacke fayth, whiche was equiualent to ſay, that they were Infidels, and no Chriſtians, as yll as Turkes or Saraſins: ſo that what paine or ſtudy ſoeuer they tooke for the cõmon wealth, or what acts or lawes ſoeuer they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould be taken as lawes made by Paynims & heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men: wherefore they moſt humbly beſought the kinges highnes, to call the ſaid Biſhop before hym, and to cauſe hym to ſpeake more diſcretly of ſuche a number as was in the common houſe.

The king not contented with the Byſhop of Rocheſter.

The biſhops excuſe.

The king being not well contented with the ſaying of the biſhop, yet gently anſweared the ſpeaker, and ſent them away. Who immediatly ſent for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & ſixe other biſhops, and Rocheſter alſo, ſignifying vnto them the grudge of the commons. The biſhop of Rocheſter excuſing hym ſelfe, anſweared, that he in ſo ſaying, meant only the doings of the Bohemians to be for lacke of faith, and not the doynges of them that were in the cõmon houſe, whiche ſaying was confirmed by the Biſhops there preſent, whiche had hym in great reputation, and ſo by that onely ſaying, the kyng accepted his excuſe, and therfore ſent word to the cõmons by ſir William Fitzwilliams knight, Treaſurer of his houſhold: which blinde excuſe pleaſed the commons nothyng at al.

Difference betwene the laitye and ſpiritualtie, about certaine conſtitutions.

Longe vſe maketh not euill thinges lawfull.

Mortuaries as they wer vſed differed litle from theft.

After this, diuers aſſemblies were kept betwene certayne of the Lordes, and certayne of the Commons, for the Bylles of the probates of Teſtamentes, and Mortuaries. The temporaltie layde to the ſpiritualtie, their owne lawes and conſtitutions, and the Spiritualtie ſore defended them by preſcription and vſage. To whom it was thus anſwered by a Gentleman of Greyes Inne: The vſage hath euer bene of theeues, to rob on Shoters hyl. Ergo, is it lawful? With this anſwere the ſpiritual men were ſore offended, becauſe their doings wer called robberies, but the temporal men ſtood ſtyll by their ſayinges, in ſo muche that the ſaide Gentleman ſaide to the Archb. of Canterburye, that both the exaction of probates of Teſtamentes, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vſed, were open robbery and theft. After long diſputation, the temporal Lordes began to leane to the commons, but for al that, the Bylles remained vnconcluded a while.

It folowed ſhortly after in the Parlament, that a Byll was aſſented to, by the Lordes of the higher houſe, and ſent downe to the commons in the lower houſe, and by them alſo, with much labour agreed vnto, of whom the moſt part were the kinges ſeruauntes: in the which Bill it was required, and concluded, that the kyng ſhoulde be releaſed of all ſuch loane of money, which he had borowed of hys ſubiectes, in the .xv. yeare of his reigne. The paſſing of which Byll went ſore agaynſt the ſtomackes of the poore commons, for many reſted vpon it, countyng and paſſing it ouer one to an other for good debte, as if it had bene readye money in their purſes. Wherfore the kyng to regratifie thẽ agayne, graunted to them a generall pardon of all offences, onely certeine great offences and debts excepted: alſo he ayded them for the redreſſe of their grieues agaynſt the ſpiritualtie, and cauſed two new Bylles to be made indifferẽtly, both for the probate of Teſtamentes, and mortuaryes, which Bylles were ſo reaſonable, that the ſpirituall Lordes aſſented to them all, though they were ſore againſt their myndes, and in eſpeciall the probate of Teſtamentes ſore diſpleaſed the Biſhops, and the Mortuaries ſore diſpleaſed the Parſons and Vicares.

Redreſſe of the greeues of the commons.

After theſe Actes thus agreed, the commons made an other Acte for pluralities of benefices, none reſidence, buying and ſelling, and takyng of fermes by ſpirituall parſons. Which Acte ſo diſpleaſed the ſpiritualtie, that the Prieſtes rayled on the commons of the lower houſe, and called them heretickes and ſchiſmatikes, for the which diuers Prieſtes were puniſhed.

The third bill of the commons for pluralities, &c.

This Acte was ſore debated aboue in the Parlament chamber, and the Lordes ſpirituall would in no wiſe conſent. Wherefore the king perceiuing the grudge of his commons, cauſed viii. Lordes and viii. of his commons to mete in the ſtarre chamber at an afternoone, and there was ſore debating of the cauſe, in ſo much that the temporall Lordes of the vpper houſe, which were there, tooke part wyth the Commons, agaynſt the ſpirituall Lordes, and by force of reaſon cauſed them to aſſent to the Bill with a litle qualifyng, which Byll the next day was wholy agreed to, in the Lordes houſe to the great reioyſing of the lay people, and to the great diſpleaſure of the ſpirituall perſons.

And thus much concerning theſe Bylles againſt the Clergye, by the way. Now, to returne to the Cardinall agayne: during the time of the ſaid Parlament, there was brought downe to the cõmons, the booke of Articles which the Lordes had put vp to the king, agaynſt the Cardinall The chiefe Articles were theſe.

Articles againſt the Cardinall.

1 FIrſt, that he without the kinges aſſent had procured to bee Legate, by reaſon whereof he tooke away the right of al biſhops and ſpiritual perſons.

2 In al writinges that he wrote to Rome, or to any other Prince, he wrote: Ego & rex meus, I and my king, as who would ſay, that the king were his ſeruaunt.

3 That he ſlaundered the Church of England to ẏ court of Rome: for his ſuggeſtion to bee Legate, was to reforme the church of England, which (as he wrote) was Facta in reprobum ſenſum.

4 He without the kinges aſſent caryed the kinges great Seale with hym into Flaunders, when he was ſent Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

5 Without the kinges conſent, he ſent commiſſion to Sir Gregory de Caſſalis, knight, to conclude a legue betweene the kyng and the Duke of Ferrarie.

6 That he hauyng the French pockes, preſumed to come and breathe on the king.

7 That he cauſed the Cardinalles Hat to be put on the kinges coyne.

8 That he had ſent innumerable ſubſtance to Rome, for the obteinyng of his dignities, to the great impoueriſhment of the Realme, with many other things, which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

Theſe articles with many moe, being read in the cõmon houſe, were confeſſed by the Cardinal, and ſigned with his hand. Alſo there was ſhewed an other writing ſealed with his ſeale, by the which he gaue to the king al his moueables and vnmoueables.

1530.

You haue heard hytherto declared how ẏ Cardinal was attainted in the Premunire, & how he was put out of ẏ office of the Chauncelour, & lay at Aſher: which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1530. The next yeare after in the Lent ſeaſon, the kyng by the aduice of his counſaile, licenced hym to goe into his dioces of yorke, and gaue hym commaundement to kepe hym in his dioces, and not to returne Southward, without the kinges ſpeciall licence in writing.

So he, made great prouiſion to go Northward, & appareled his ſeruaunts newly, and bought many coſtly things for his houſholde, but diuers of his ſeruaunts at this tyme departed from hym, to the kinges ſeruice, and in eſpeciall Thomas Crumwel, one of his chiefe counſaile, and chiefe doer for hym in the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys. After that all things neceſſary for his iourney were prepared, he toke his iourney Northward, til he came to Southwel, which was in his dioces, and there he continued that yeare, euer grudgyng at his fal, as you ſhal heare hereafter: but the landes which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford & Ipſwich, were nowe come to the kinges handes, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet ẏ kyng of his gentlenes, and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kinges College, and endued it with fayre poſſeſſions, and ordeyned newe ſtatutes and ordinaunces, and for becauſe the College of Ipſwiche was thought to be nothyng profitable, therefore he left that diſſolued.

The Cardinalls Colledge, now called Chriſtes College in Oxforde.

Notwithſtãding that the Cardinal of yorke was thus attainted in the Premunire, (as is aboue mentioned) yet the kyng beyng good vnto hym, had graunted him ẏ Biſſhoprikes of Yorke and Wincheſter, with great plentie of ſubſtance, & had licenced hym to lye in his dioces of Yorke, where he ſo continued the ſpace of a yeare. But after, in the yeare folowing, which was. 1531. he being in his dioces, wrot to ẏ Court of Rome, and to diuers other Princes, letters in reproch of the king, and in as much as in him lay, he ſtyrred them to reuenge his cauſe againſt the king and his realme, in ſo much, that diuers opprobrious wordes againſt the king, were ſpoken to Doct. Edward Kerne, the kinges Oratour at Rome, and it was ſaid to hym, that for the Cardynalles ſake, the king ſhould haue the worſe ſpeede in the ſuite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall alſo would ſpeake fayre to the people to winne their harts, and declared euer, that he was vniuſtly and vntruely ordered, which fayre ſpeaking, made many men beleue that he ſaide true: & to Gentlemen he gaue great gyftes, to allure them vnto hym: and to be had in more reputatiō among the people, he determined to be inſtalled or inthroniſed at Yorke, with al the pompe that might be, and cauſed a throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in ſuch an height and faſhion, as was neuer ſeene, and ſent to all the Lordes, Abbots, Priors, Knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen of his dioces, to be at his manor of Cawood the ſixt day of Nouember, and ſo to bring hym to Yorke, with all maner of pompe and ſolemnitie.

The Cardinall complayneth to the Pope, of the King.

The Cardinalls proude iourney toward Yorke.

The king which knewe his doyngs and priuie conueiance, al this yeare diſſembled the matter, to ſee what he would do at length, tyl that he ſaw his proud hart ſo highly exalted, that he would be ſo triumphātly inſtalled, without making the king priuie, yea and in manner, in diſdaine of the king, thought it not meete nor conuenient to ſuffer hym any longer, to cōtinue in his malitious & proud purpoſes and attemptes: wherefore he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland, willyng hym with al diligence, to arreſt the Cardinal, & to deliuer hym to the Earle of Shrewſbury, great Steward of the kinges houſholde. When the Earle had ſeene the letters, he with a conueniēt number came to the Manor of Cawood the fourth daye of Nouemb. and whē he was brought to the Cardinal in his chāber, he ſaid to him, My Lord, I pray you take patiēce, for here I arreſt you. Arreſt me ſaid ẏ Cardinal? yea, ſaid the Earle, I haue a commaundement ſo to do. You haue no ſuch power, ſaid the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall and a Legate De Latere, and a Pere of the College of Rome, & ought not to be arreſted by any tēporal power, for I am not ſubiect to that power, wherfore if you arreſt me, I wyl withſtand it. Wel, ſaid the Eale, here is the kynges commiſſion (which he ſhewed hym) and therfore I charge you to obey. The Cardinall ſomewhat remembred hym ſelfe, and ſaid, Wel my Lord, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fel into the puniſhment of the Premunire, and loſt by the lawe all my landes and goodes, yet my perſon was in the kinges protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruell why I nowe ſhould be arreſted, & ſpecially cōſidering that I am a member of the Sea Apoſtolique, on whom no temporall man ought to lay violent handes. Wel, I ſee the king lacketh good counſaile. Well, ſaid the Earle, when I was ſworne Wardē of the Marches, you your ſelf told me, that I might with my ſtaffe arreſt al men, vnder the degree of a king, & nowe I am more ſtronger, for I haue a commiſſion ſo to do, which you haue ſeene. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a priuie chamber, and his goodes ſeaſed, and his officers diſcharged, and his Phiſitiō called Doctor Auguſtine, was likewiſe arreſted, and brought to the Tower by Syr Walter Welſh, one of the kings chamber. The ſixt day of Nouember he was conueyed from Cawood, to Sheffeld caſtle, & there deliuered to the Earle of Shrewſburies keeping, tyl the kinges pleaſure were knowen. Of this attachement was much comunyng amongſt the common people, wherefore many were glad, for he was not in the fauour of the commonaltie.

The Cardinall arreſted.

When the Cardinall was thus arreſted, the kyng ſent ſir William Kingſton Knight, Captaine of the Garde, and Conſtable of the Tower of Lōdon, with certaine yeomen of the gard, to Sheffeld, to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinall ſawe the Captaine of the Garde, he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and ſhortly became ſicke, for then he perceiued ſome great trouble toward him, and for that cauſe mē ſaid, that he willingly toke ſo much quātitie of a ſtrong purgatiō, that his nature was not able to beare it. Alſo the matter that came frō hym was ſo blacke, that the ſtayning therof could not be gottē out of his blākets by any meanes. But ſir William Kingſton comforted hym, and by eaſie iorneyes he brought hym to the Abbey of Leyceſter, the.xxvij. day of Nouember, where for very feebleneſs of nature, cauſed by purgations and vomites, he dyed the ſeconde night folowing, and in the ſame Abbey lyeth buried.

The Cardinall brought vp toward London.

The Cardinall poyſoneth hym ſelfe.

It is teſtified by one, yet being aliue, in whoſe armes the ſaid Cardinal died, that his body being dead, was black as pitch, alſo was ſo heauie, that ſixe could ſcarſe beare it. Furthermore, it dyd ſo ſtinke aboue the ground, that they were conſtrayned to haſten the buriall thereof in the night ſeaſon, before it was day. At the which burial, ſuch a tempeſt, with ſuch a ſtinch there aroſe, that al the torches went out, and ſo he was throwen into the tombe, and there was layde.

By the ambitious pride and exceſſiue worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, al men may eaſily vnderſtand & iudge what the ſtate and condition of all the reſt of the ſame order (whom we cal ſpiritual men) were in thoſe dayes, as well in all other places of Chriſtendome, as eſpecially here in England, where as the princely poſſeſſions and great pride of the Clergie, did not only farre paſſe and exceede the common meaſure and order of ſubiectes, but alſo ſurmounted ouer kinges and princes, and al other eſtates, as may well appeare by his doynges and order of his ſtyle aboue deſcribed.

The pride of the Cardinall.

Amongeſt other actes of the foreſaid Cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a newe College in Oxford, for the furniture wherof, he had gathered together all the beſt learned he could heare of, amongeſt which number were theſe: Clarke, Tindal, Sommer, Frith, and Tauerner, with other mo: which holding in aſſemble together in the College, were accoūted to be heretiques (as they called them) and thereupon were caſt into a priſon of the college, where ſaltfiſhe lay, through the ſtinke wherof the moſt part of them were infected, and the ſaide Clarke beyng a tender young man, and the moſt ſingular in learnyng amongeſt them al, dyed in the ſaid priſon, and other in other places in the towne, alſo of the ſame infection deceaſed.

Clarke dyed in the Cardinalls Colledge in priſon.

And thus hauyng deteined the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vaineglorious Cardinall, now we wyl reduce our ſtorie again to more other fruiteful matter, and as the order of tyme requireth, firſt beginnyng with M. Humfrey Mummuth, a vertuous and a good Alderman of London, who in the tyme of the ſaid Cardinal was troubled, as in the ſtorie here foloweth.

¶ The trouble of Humfrey Mummuth,

Alderman of London.

Maiſter Humfrey Mummuth was a right godly & ſincere Alderman of London, who in the dayes of Cardinall Woolſey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and for mainteinyng them that fauoured the ſame.

The ſtory of Humfrey Mummuth.

Stokeſley then Biſhop of London, miniſtred articles vnto him, to the number of.xxiiij. as for adhering to Luther and his opinions: for hauing and reading heretical bookes and treatiſes, for geuyng exhibition to William Tyndall, Roy, and ſuch other, for helping them ouer the ſea to Luther, for miniſtring priuie helpe to tranſlate, as wel the Teſtament, as other bookes into Engliſhe, for eating fleſhe in Lēt, for affirming faith only to iuſtifie, for derogating from mens conſtitutions, for not praying to Saintes, not allowing Pilgrimage, auricular confeſſion, the Popes pardons: briefly, for beyng an aduauncer of al Martin Luthers opinions, &c.

Articles miniſtred againſt Humfrey Mummouth by Byſhop Stokeſly.

He being of theſe articles examined, and caſt in the Tower, at laſt was compelled to make his ſute or purgation, writing to the foreſaid Cardinal, then Lord Chauncelor, and the whole Counſaile, out of the Tower. In the contentes wherof he anſweared to the criminous accuſation of them whiche charged hym with certaine bookes, receyued from beyond the ſea: Alſo for his acquayntaunce with M. Tyndall. Whereunto he ſaide, that he denyed not, but that foure yeares then paſt, he had heard the ſaid Tyndal preach two or three ſermons at S. Dunſtons in the Weſt, and afterward meeting with the ſaid Tyndall, had certaine communication with hym concerning his liuing, who then told hym that he had none at al, but truſted to be in the Biſhop of London his ſeruice: for then he laboured to be his chaplayne. But beyng refuſed of the Biſhop, ſo came againe to the ſaide Mummuth this examinate, and beſought hym to helpe hym. Who the ſame tyme tooke hym into his houſe, for halfe a yeare, where the ſaid Tyndal lyued (as he ſayd) like a good prieſt, ſtudying both night & day. He would eat but ſoddē meate, by his good wyl, nor drinke but ſmale ſingle beere. He was neuer ſeene in that houſe to weare lynnen about hym, al the ſpace of his being there. Whereupon the ſayd Mummuth had the better likyng of hym, ſo that he promiſed hym ten pound (as he then ſayd) for his father and mothers ſoules, and all Chriſten ſoules, which money afterward he ſent him ouer to Hamborow, according to his promiſe. And yet not to hym alone he gaue this exhibition, but

The purgation and aunſwere of Humfrey Mummuth to the articles.

Tyndal refuſed of Byſhop Stokeſley to be his Chaplein.

The temperate conuerſation of W. Tyndall.

but to diuers other moe likewiſe, which were no heretikes: as to D. Royſton, the Biſhop of Londons Chaplayne he exhibited fourtie or fiftie poundes: to D. Wodiel, Prouinciall of the Frere Auſtens, as much, or more: to D. Watſon the kinges Chaplayne: alſo to other ſcholars, and diuers Prieſtes, beſides other charges beſtowed vppon religious houſes, as vpon the Nunrye of Denney, aboue fiftie poundes ſterling beſtowed, &c.

And as touchyng his bookes, as Enchiridion, the Pater noſter, De libertate Chriſtiana, an Engliſhe Teſtamēt, of whom, ſome W. Tindall left with hym, ſome he ſent vnto hym, ſome were brought into his houſe, by whome he could not tell, theſe bookes he ſayd, did lye opē in his houſe, the ſpace of two yeares together, he ſuſpecting no harme to be in them. And moreouer, the ſame bookes being deſired of ſondry perſons, as of the Abbeſſe of Denney, a Fryer of Grenewich, the father confeſſour of Sion, he let them haue them, and yet he neuer heard Frier, prieſt, or lay man, finde any fault wyth the ſayd bookes. Likewiſe to D. Watſon, to D. Stockehouſe, Maiſter Martin, Parſon of Totingbecke, he committed the peruſing of the bookes of Pater noſter, & De libertate Chriſtiana, which founde no great fault in thē, but onely in the booke De libertate Chriſtiana, they ſayde there were thynges ſomewhat hard, except the Reader were wiſe.

Thus he excuſing hymſelfe, and moreouer complaining of the loſſe of hys credite, by his impriſonmēt in ẏ Tower, and of the detrimentes of hys occupying, who was wont yearely to ſhip ouer v. hundreth clothes to ſtraungers, and ſet many clothiars a worke, in Suffolke and in other places, of whom he bought all their clothes, which almoſt were now all vndone: by this reaſon at length was ſet at libertie, beyng forced to abiure, and after was made knight by the kyng, and Shriue of London.

A notable example of Chriſtian pacience, in an Aldermā.

M. George Stafford, reader in Cambridge.

Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Chriſtian patience, in the Sermons of M. Latimer, which the ſayd Latimer heard in Cambridge of M. George Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie lecture in that Vniuerſitie. who expounding the place of S. Paule to the Romaines, that we ſhall ouercome our enemy wyth well doyng, and ſo heape whote coales vpō his head. &c. brought in an example, ſaying, that he knew in London a great rich Marchaunt (meanyng this Humfrey Mummuth) which had a very poore neighbour: yet for all hys pouertye, he loued hym very well, and lent hym money at his neede, and let hym come to his table whenſoeuer he woulde. It was euen at that tyme, when D. Colet was in trouble, and ſhould haue bene burnt, if God had not turned the kynges hart to the contrary. Now the richman began to be a ſcripture man, he began to ſmell the Goſpell. The poore man was a Papiſt ſtill. It chaunced on a tyme, when the riche man talked of the Goſpell ſittyng at hys table, where he reproued Popery, and ſuch kynde of thynges. The poore man being there preſent, tooke a great diſpleaſure agaynſt the rich man: in ſo much, that he would come no more to his houſe: he would borow no money of hym, as he was wont to do before tymes: yea and conceiued ſuch hatred and malice againſt hym, that he went and accuſed hym before the Biſhops. Now the riche man not knowing of any ſuche diſpleaſure, offred many tymes to talk with him, and to ſet hym at quiet. It would not be. The poore man had ſuch a ſtomak, that he would not vouchſafe to ſpeake with him. If he met the rich man in the ſtreat he would go out of his way. One tyme it happened that he met him ſo in a narow ſtreate, that he coulde not auoyde, but come neare him: yet for all that this poore man (I ſay) had ſuche a ſtomacke againſt the rich man, that he was minded to goe forwarde, & not to ſpeake with hym. The riche man perceiuyng that, caught hym by the hand, and aſked him, ſaying, Neighbor, what is come into your hart, to take ſuch diſpleaſure with me? what haue I done againſt you? tel me, and I wyll be ready at al times to make you amendes.

Ex concione Doct. Hug. Latimeri.

Agree with thine enemie while thou art in the way with him. Math. 5.

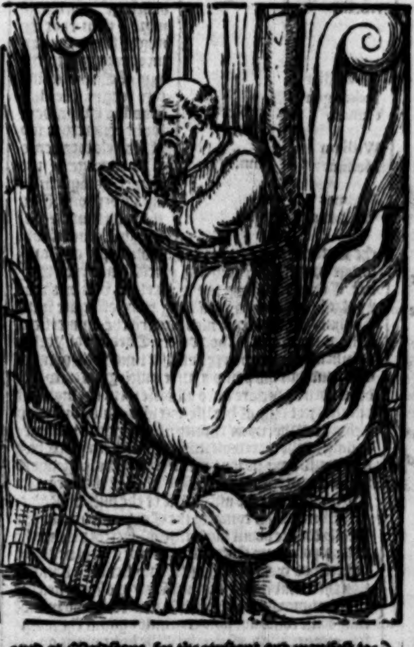
Finally, he ſpake ſo gently, ſo charitably, ſo louingly, and frendly, that it wrought ſo in the poore mans hart, that by and by he fel downe vpon his knees, and aſked hym forgeuenes. The riche man forgaue him, and ſo tooke hym agayne to his fauour, and they loued as wel as euer they dyd afore.

¶ The hiſtorie of Thomas Hitten.

Tho. Hitten Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Will. Warham Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye. Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter.	Thomas Hytten. At Maydſtone. Ann. 1530.	Touchyng the memoriall of Thomas Hytten, remayneth nothing in wrytyng, but onely hys name, ſaue that William Tyndall in his Apologie agaynſte More: and alſo in an other booke, entituled, The Practiſe of Prelates, dooth once or twiſe make mention of hym by waye of digreſſiō. He was (ſaith he) a preacher at Maidſton, whom the Biſhop of Canterbury Williā Warham, and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, after they had lōg kept and tormēted hym in priſon with ſundrye tormentes, and that notwithſtanding, he continued conſtant, at the laſt they burned at Maidſtone, for the conſtant and manifeſt teſtimonie of Jeſu Chriſte, and of his free grace & ſaluation. In the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

¶ The burnyng of Thomas Hytten.



1531.

Thomas Bilney Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Cardinall Wolſey. Nixe, Biſhoppe of Norwich. Fryers of Ipſwich. Fryer Byrde Fryer Hogekins.	Thomas Bilney.	In the ſtorye aboue paſſed of Cardinall Wolſey, mention was made of certaine, whom the ſaid Cardinal cauſed to abiure, as Bilney, Geffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, & ſuche other, of whom we haue nowe (the Lord directing vs) ſpecially to entreat. This Thom. Bilney was brought vp in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, euen from a childe, profiting in all kind of liberall ſciēce, euen vnto the profeſ-

Thomas Bilney Bacheler of both lawes.

Perſecuters.	Martyrs.	The Cauſes.
Doctour Stokes. Syr Thom. Moore. Fryer Bruſyerde. Fryer Iohn Huggen, Prouincial of the Dominikes. Fryer Geffrey Iulles. Fryer Iugworth. M. William Iecket, gentleman. William Nelſon. Thomas Williams.	Arthure, which abiured. At Norwiche. Ann.1531.	ſion of both lawes. But at the laſt, hauyng gotten a better ſcholemaiſter, euen ẏ holy ſpirit of Chriſt, who enduyng his hart by priuie inſpiratiõ with ẏ knowlege of better & more wholeſome thinges, he came at ẏ laſt vnto this poynt, that forſaking the knowledge of mans lawes, he conuerted his ſtudye to thoſe thinges, whiche tended more vnto godlynes then gainefulnes. Finaly, as he him ſelf was gretly inflamed with the loue of true religion & godlynes, euen ſo againe was in his hart an incredible deſire to allure many vnto the ſame, deſiringe nothynge more, then that he might ſtirre vp and incourage any to the loue of Chriſt & ſincere religiõ. Neither was his labors vain for he cõuerted many of his felowes vnto ẏ knowledge of the goſpel, amõgſt whiche nũber was Thomas Arthur, & M. Hugh Latimer,

Maiſter Latimer Croſſekeper in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge

whiche Latimer at that time was croſſekeper at Cambridge bringing it forth vpõ proceſſion dayes. At ẏ laſt Bilney forſaking the vniuerſitie, wẽt into many places, teaching & preaching, being aſſociate with Arthur, which accõpenied him frõ the vniuerſitie. The authoritie of Tho. Wolſey Cardinal of Yorke, of whom ye heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp & pride much greater, which did euidently declare vnto all wiſe men, the manifeſt vanitie, not only of his life, but alſo of all ẏ biſhopps & clergie. Wherupon Bilney, & other good mẽ marueiling at the incredible inſolencie of ẏ clergie, which they could now no longer ſuffer or abide, beganne to ſhake & reproue this exceſſiue põpe of the clergie, & alſo to plucke at the authoritie of the biſh. of Rome.

Bilney agaynſt the pride of the pope, and of his Cardinalls.

Then it was tyme for the Cardinal to awake, & ſpedily to loke about his buſines. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or ſubtiltie of a ſerpent, for he vnderſtood wel enough vpon how ſlender a foundation their ambitious dignitie was grounded, neither was he ignoraunt that their Luciferous and proude kingdome could not long continue againſt the manifeſt word of God, eſpecially if the light of the goſpel ſhould once open the eyes of men. For otherwiſe he dyd not greatly feare the power and diſpleaſure of kinges and princes. Onely this he feared, the voyce of Chriſt in his Goſpel, leaſt it ſhould diſcloſe & detect their hypocriſie and deceites, and force them to come into an order of godly diſcipline: wherefore he thought good, ſpeedily in tyme to withſtãd theſe beginnynges. Whereupon he cauſed the ſaide Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and caſt in priſon, as before ye haue heard.

Cardinall Wolſey with his complices, agaynſt Bilney and Arthur.

After this, the. xxvij. day of Nouemb. in the yere of our Lord. 1527. the ſaid Cardinall accompanyed with a great number of biſhops, as the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury, Cuthbert of Lõdõ, John of Rocheſter, Nicholas of Ely, Joh. of Exeter, Joh. of Lincolne, John of Bathe & Welles, Harry of S. Aſſe, with many other both Diuines and Lawyers, came into the Chapterhouſe of Weſtminſter, where the ſaide M. Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the ſaide Cardinall there enquired of M. Bilney, whether he had priuately or publiquely preached or taught to the people, ẏ opinions of Luther or any other, condẽned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Churche. Whereunto Bilney anſweared, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luthers opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholique Church. Then the Cardinall aſked hym, whether he had not once made an othe before, that he ſhoulde not preache, rehearſe, or defende any of Luthers opinions, but ſhould impugne the ſame euerywhere? He anſweared that he had made ſuch an othe, but not lawfully, whiche interrogatories ſo miniſtred, and anſweares made, the Cardinal cauſed him to ſweare, to anſwere plainly to the articles and errors preached and ſet forth by him, as well in the citie and dioces of London, as in the dioces of Norwiche and other places, & that he ſhould do it without any craft, qualifying or leauyng out any parte of the truth.

Thomas Arthur, examined.

After he was thus ſworne and examined, the ſaid Cardinal proceded to the examination of M. Thomas Arthur there preſent, cauſing hym to take the like othe, that M. Bilney dyd. Whiche done, he aſked of hym whether he had not once told ſir Tho. More knight, ẏ in the Sacramẽt of the altar was not the very body of Chriſt? which interrogatory he denyed. Then the Cardinal gaue him tyme to deliberate tyl noone, and to bring in his anſweare in writing. After noone the ſame daye, what tyme the examination of the foreſaid Tho. Arthur was ended, the Cardinal & Biſhops by their authoritie, Ex officio, dyd cal in for witneſſes before M. Bilney, certayne men, namely John Huggen, chiefe Prouincial of the Fryers preachers throughout all Englande, Geffrey Julles, and Richarde Jugworth, profeſſours of Diuinitie of the ſame order. Alſo William Iecket Gentleman, William Nelſon, and Thomas Williams, which were ſworne, that all fauour, hate, loue, or rewarde ſet apart, they ſhould without concealing of any falſehood, or omittyng any truth, ſpeake their myndes vppon the articles layd againſt them, or preached by hym, as wel within the Dioces of London, as the Dioces of Norwiche: and becauſe he was otherwiſe occupyed about the affayres of the Realme, he committed the hearyng of the matter to the Biſhop of London, and to other Biſhoppes there preſent, or to three of them, to proceed againſt al men, as wel ſpiritual as temporal, as alſo againſt ſchedules, writynges, and bookes, ſet forth and tranſlated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the. x. and by al maner of probable meanes, to enquire and roote out their errors and opinions, and al ſuch as were found culpable, to compell them to abiuration, accordyng to the lawe, or if the matter ſo required, to deliuer them vnto the ſecular power, and to geue thẽ ful power and authority to determine vpon them.

Bilney and Arthure brought before Tunſtall byſhop of London.

The. xxvij. of Nouemb. in the yeare aforeſaid, the Biſhop of Lond. with the Biſh. of Elye and Rocheſter, came vnto the Biſh. of Norwiches houſe, whereas likewiſe Ex officio, they dyd ſweare certaine witneſſes agaynſte M. Tho. Arthur, in like ſorte as they had done before agaynſt M. Bilney, and ſo proceded to the examination of M. Arthur: which beyng ended vppon certayne interrogatories, the biſh. of London warned hym by vertue of his othe, that he ſhould not reueale his examinations, nor his anſweres, nor any part or parcel thereof.

Worke they neuer ſo ſecretly, yet God bringeth their practiſes to light at length.

The ſeconde day of December, the Biſhoppes aſſembled againe in the ſame place, and ſware more witneſſe agaynſt Maiſter Bilney. That done, they called for Maiſter Arthur, vnto whoſe charge they layd theſe articles folowyng.

¶ Articles agaynſt Thomas Arthur.

Articles agaynſt Thomas Arthur.

1 IN primis, that he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray ſpecially for thoſe that now be in priſon, which article he denyed.

2 That he ſayde, though men be reſtrayned to preache nowe adayes (whiche is agaynſt Gods lawes) yet I may preache: Firſt by the authoritie of my Lorde Cardinal, for I haue his licence. Secondly, by the authoritie of the vniuerſitie. Thirdly, by the Pope. Fourthly, by the authoritie of God, where he ſayth: Euntes in mundum, prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. By whiche authoritie euerye man may preach, and there is neyther Biſhop nor Ordinarye, nor yet the Pope, that maye make any lawe to let any man to preache the Goſpell. This Article he confeſſed that he ſpake.

Authoritie to preach.

3 When he ſpake of Lawes, he broughte a ſimilitude of Croſſes ſet vp agaynſte the walles of London, that men ſhoulde not pyſſe there. Whan there was but one Croſſe or a fewe more, men dyd reuerence them, and pyſſed not there: but when there was in euerye corner a Croſſe ſet, then men of neceſſitie were compelled to pyſſe vppon the Croſſes: So in like manner, when there was but a fewe holy and deuoute lawes in the Church, then men were a-

frayde

The multitude of lawes, make lawes to be contemned.

Palea in the popes decrees.

afrayde to offend them. Afterward they made many lawes for their aduauntage, and ſuch as were pecuniall, thoſe they do obſerue, and ſuch as are not pecuniall, thoſe they cal Palea, and regard them not: and ſo nowe adayes there are ſo many lawes, that wether a man do yll or wel, he ſhalbe taken in the lawe. He confeſſed that he ſpake the very ſame, or the like wordes.

The preaching of the Goſpell is to be left for no perſecution.

4 He ſaid, Good people, if I ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the preaching of the goſpel of God, yet there is .7000. more that would preach the goſpel of God, as I do nowe. Therfore good people, good people (whiche wordes he often rehearſed as it were lamenting) thinke not that if theſe tyrants and perſecuters put a man to death, the preaching of the Goſpel therfore is to be forſaken. This article he confeſſed that he ſpake in like wordes and ſenſe, ſaying that he made no mention of tyrantes.

5 That euery man, yea euery lay man is a prieſt. He confeſſed that he ſpake ſuche wordes, declaring in his ſermon, that euery chriſtian man is a prieſt, offring vp the ſacrifice of prayer: & if they dyd murmur agaynſt the order of prieſthood, they did murmure againſt them ſelues.

6 That men ſhoulde pray to no Saintes in heauen, but onely to God, and they ſhoulde vſe no other Mediatour for them, but Chriſt Jeſu our redeemer onely. This article he denyed.

Againſt Images.

7 He preached that they ſhoulde worſhip no Images of Saintes, which were nothyng but ſtockes & ſtones. This he alſo denyed.

8 He dyd preache vpon whitſonday laſt within the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, ſuch or like wordes and ſentences: That a Batcheler of Diuinitie admitted of the vniuerſitie, or any other perſon hauyng or knowing the goſpel of God, ſhoulde goe foorth and preache in euery place, and let for no man, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer he were: and if any Biſhop dyd accurſe them for ſo doyng, their curſes ſhoulde turne to the harme of them ſelues. He confeſſed this.

Arthur ſubmitteth him ſelfe.

Whiche anſweares thus made and acknowledged, the ſaid M. Arthur dyd reuoke and condemne the ſaid articles againſt him miniſtred, and ſubmitted hym ſelfe to the puniſhment and iudgement of the Church.

V. letters of Bilney to the Byſhop of London.

The third day of December, the Biſhop of London, with the other Biſhoppes, aſſemblyng in the place aforeſaide, after that Bilney had denied vtterly to returne to the Churche of Rome, the Biſhop of London in diſcharge of his conſcience (as he ſayde) leaſte he ſhoulde hyde anye thyng that had come to his handes, he dyd really exhibite vnto the Notaries, in the preſence of the ſayde Maiſter Bilney, certayne letters, to wytte, fiue letters or Epiſtles, with one ſchedule in one of yͤ Epiſtles, conteynyng his articles and anſweares folded therein, and another Epiſtle folded in maner of a booke, with ſixe leaues, whiche all and euery one he commaunded to be written out and regiſtred, and the originals to be deliuered to hym againe.

Ex Regiſt. Londinenſi.

This was done in the preſence of Maiſter Bilney, deſiryng a copie of them, and he bounde the Notaries with an othe, for the ſafe keepyng of the copies, and true regiſtring of the ſame. Whiche Articles and aunſweares, with three of the ſame Epiſtles, with certayne depoſitions depoſed by the foreſaide witneſſe, here folowe truely drawen out, partly of his owne hand writing, & partly out of the Regiſter.

¶ Interrogatories wherupon M. Thomas Arthur, and M. Bilney were accuſed and examined.

Interrogatories againſt Bilney and Arthur.

1 Whether they dyd beleue with their hartes, that the aſſertions of Luther, whiche are impugned by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, were iuſtly and godly condemned, & that Luther with his adherentes, was a wicked and deteſtable heretique.

Conſtitutions.

2 Whether they dyd beleue that the general Councelles and eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions once receyued and not abrogate agayne, ought to be obſerued of al men, euen for conſcience ſake, and not onely for feare.

3 Whether they dyd beleue that the Popes lawes were profitable and neceſſary to the preferment of godlyneſſe, not repugnant to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reuerenced of al men.

The church.

4 Whether they dyd beleue that the Catholique churche may erre in the fayth or no, and whether they thinke that chatholique church to be a ſenſible church, whiche maye be demonſtrate and poynted out as it were with a finger, or that it is onely a ſpiritual Church, intelligible, and knowen onely vnto God.

Images.

5 Whether they thinke that the Images of Saintes are Chriſtenly ſet in the churches, and ought to be worſhipped of al true Chriſtians.

Whether ſoules be already iudged.

6 Whether that a man maye beleue without hurte to his fayth, or note of hereſie, the ſoules of Peter and Paule, and of our Ladye, eyther to be, or not to be in heauen, and that there is yet no iudgement geuen vpon the ſoules departed.

7 Whether that a man may beleue without ſpot of hereſie, that our Lady remayned not alwayes a virgin.

Breaking of faſting dayes ſinne.

8 Whether holy dayes & faſting dayes ordeyned and receyued by the church, may be broke by any priuate man, at his wyl and pleaſure, without ſinne or obſtinacie.

9 Whether we are bound to be obedient vnto Prelates, Biſhops, and Kinges by Gods commaundement, as we are vnto our parentes.

10 Whether they beleue that the church doth wel & godly in praying to the Saintes.

Chriſt not onely to be prayed to.

11 Whether they thinke that Chriſt onely ſhould be prayd vnto, & that it is no hereſie, if any man affirme that ſaintes ſhould not be prayed vnto.

22 Whether they doo thinke all true Chriſtians to be by like right, prieſtes, and all thoſe to haue receyued the keyes of bindyng and looſing, at the handes of Chriſt, which haue obteyned the ſpirite of God, and onely ſuch, whether they be lay men or prieſtes.

13 Whether they beleue with their hart, that fayth maye be without workes and charitie.

Prayer in a learned tongue.

14 Whether they beleue that it is more agreeable to the fayth, that the people ſhould pray in their owne tongue, then in a learned vnknowen tongue, and whether they commende the prayer in a ſtraunge tongue or no.

15 Whether they would haue the maſſes and Goſpels openly to be read in churches in the vulgare tongue, rather then in the Latine tongue.

16 Whether they commend that children ſhould onely be taught the Lords prayer, and not the ſalutation of the virgine, or Crede.

Beades.

17 Whether they do thinke the wooden beades which the common people doth vſe, worthy to be denyed, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be trāſlated into Engliſh, or that it ſhould be more profitable for the people, then as it is nowe read.

Organs.

19 Whether they would haue the Organes and al maner of ſonges to be put out of the church of God.

20 Whether they do think that it perteineth to yͤ biſhops to puniſhe any man with bondes or impriſonment, or that they haue any temporal power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that conſtitution to be godly, that no man ſhould preach in an other mās dioces, without letters of commendation, and licence obteyned of the Biſhop.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men and priuate religion, to be conſtitute and ordeyned by the ſpirite of God, neyther by any meanes to be repugnant to a free & perfect Chriſtian life.

Purgatory.

23 Whether they beleue that we ſhould pray for the dead, or beleue that there is a Purgatorie, or that we are bounde by neceſſitie of fayth, to beleue neyther of them: but that it is free without ſinne, either to beleue it, or not to beleue it.

Philoſophy.

24 Whether they beleue that moral Philoſophie and natural, to preuaile any thyng for the better vnderſtanding of the ſcriptures, & for the expoſition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the Popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be reiected then receiued.

26 Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Chriſte and his apoſtles, that Chriſtians ſhoulde by any meanes contend in the lawe, to ſeeke any maner of reſtitution.

27 Whether they beleue all thinges perteynyng to ſaluation and damnation to come of neceſſitie, and nothyng to be in our owne wylles.

28 Whether they beleue God to be the authour of euyl, as wel of the fault, as of the puniſhment.

Maſſe.

29 Whether they thinke Maſſe onely to be profitable to hym which ſaith it, & whether euery mā may alter or leaue out the rite and order of the maſſe, without hurt of fayth.

30 Whether they beleue that there can be any moral vertues without yͤ grace of Chriſtian liuyng, or yͭ yͤ vertues which Ariſtotle hath ſet out, are rather fayned.

31 Whether they thinke it hereſie, to teach the people, that it is free to geue tythes vnto prieſtes, or to any other poore man.

Images.

32 Whether they doe thinke it more Chriſtianlike to take away the Images out of the churches, or to permit them to adorne them and honour them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Chriſtian man, that preachers ſhoulde exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worſhipping of reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, beyng cited vpō hereſie to appeare before my Lord Cardinall, and before the day of thy appearance, not hauyng made thy purgation vpon

Reliques.

those poyntes that thou waſt cited: haſt preached openly in diuers churches of the citie and dioces of London, without ſufficient licence from the Biſhop, or any other.

Concernyng the anſweares vnto theſe articles, (gentle reader) for ſo muche as in the moſt part of them, Bilney with Arthur ſeemed to conſent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and maner of qualifying) yet becauſe he dyd not expreſſely deny them, it ſhal not be needful here to recite them al, ſaue onely ſuch wherin he ſeemed to diſſent from them.

Aunsweres to the Interrogatories aforeſayd.

To the firſt and ſecond articles he anſweared affirmatiuely.

To the thirde he ſayde, I beleeue that manye of the Popes Lawes are profitable and neceſſarye, and doo prepayre vnto godlyneſſe, neyther in any poynt are repugnant vnto the Scriptures, nor by any meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to bee obſerued and reuerenced. But touchyng all thoſe Lawes I can not determine: for, as for ſuche as I haue not readde, I truſte notwithſtandyng they are good alſo: and as for thoſe that I haue read, I dyd neuer reade them to the ende and purpoſe to reproue them, but accordyng to my power, to learne and vnderſtande them. And as touchyng the multitude of lawes, S. Auguſtine in his tyme dyd much complaine, and Gerſon alſo, who marueiled that we coulde by any meanes lyue in ſafetie amongeſt ſo many ſnares of conſtitutions, when as our forefathers beyng pure before their fall, coulde not obſerue one onely precept.

Against the multitude of lawes.

To the fourth Article he ſayde that the Catholique Church can by no meanes erre in fayth, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and ſo knowen onely vnto God, whiche knoweth who are his: otherwiſe no man ſhoulde be aſcertayned of an other mans ſaluation, or of his owne, but onely through fayth and hope. For it is written: No man knoweth whether he be woorthy of hatred or loue. It is alſo ſenſible, and may be demonſtrate ſo farre foorth as it is ſufficient to eſtabliſhe vs in all thynges, that are to be beleeued and done: For I maye truely ſay of the generall Councel being congregate in the holy Ghoſt, Beholde here the Catholique church, denominatyng ẏ whole by the moſte woorthy part.

The true church can not erre in fayth.

Eccle. 9.

To the fiſt article, he anſweared affirmatiuely in theſe wordes: Cum ſint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, ſed prototypon.

To the ſixt article he anſweared, that he dyd not beleue that they are in heauē, beyng ſo taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church.

To the ſeuēth article he ſaid, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eight article, whether a man maye not obſerue the Feaſtes and Faſtes of the Churche preſcribed, he thought that there is no man, but he ought to obſerue them.

To the ninth article he ſayd, that we are likewiſe boūd as vnto parentes.

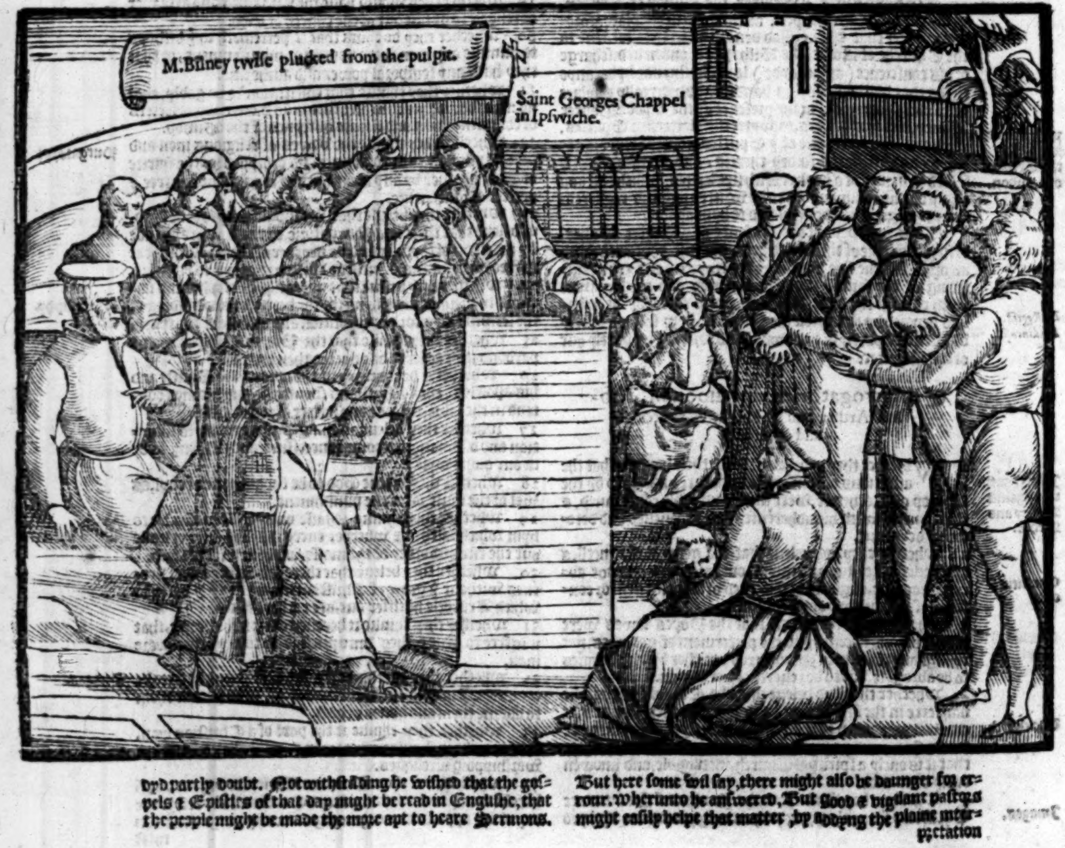
To the .xiiij. Article he anſweared thus, the fourteenth Chapter of Saint Paul, in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians moueth mee to beleeue, that it is beſt, that the people ſhoulde haue the Lordes Prayer, and the Apoſtles Crede in Engliſhe, ſo that their deuotion might the more be furthered by the vnderſtandyng thereof, and alſo that thereby they myght be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their fayth: of the whiche it is to be feared, a great number are ignoraunt. Surely I haue heard many ſay, that they neuer hearde ſpeake of the reſurrection of the body: and beyng certified thereof, but they became muche more apte and readye vnto goodnes, and more fearefull to doo euyl.

Scripture to be in Engliſhe.

1. Cor. 14.

To the fifteenth article he ſayde, he woulde wiſhe that the Goſpelles and Epiſtles ſhoulde be readde in Engliſhe. For I woulde (ſaith Paul) rather haue fiue woordes. &c. That the Church might be edified. &c. And Chriſoſtome exhorteth his hearers to loke vpon bookes, that they might the better commyt vnto memorye thoſe thynges which they had hearde. And S. Bede dyd tranſlate S. Johns Goſpel into Engliſhe.

S. Johns goſpel tranſlated into engliſhe by Bede.


M.Bilney twiſe plucked from the pulpit.
Saint Georges Chappel in Ipſwiche.

Touchyng the eightteenth article, for the tranſlation of the Scripture into Engliſhe, concernyng the whole, he dyd partly doubt. Notwithſtādyng he wiſhed that the goſpels & Epiſtles of that day might be read in Engliſhe, that the people might be made the more apt to heare Sermons.

But here ſome wil ſay, there might alſo be daunger for errour. Wherunto he anſwered, But good & vigilant paſtors might eaſily helpe that matter, by addyng the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in Engliſh, vpon the darke and obſcure places, which woulde put awaye all doubtes. O how great profite of ſoules ſhould the vigilant paſtors get hereby, which contrariwiſe through their ſlothfulnes bryng great ruine and decay.

The Popes pardons iniurious to Chriſtes paſſion.

To the .xxv. article, as touching pardons, he ſaid, that as they be vſed, & haue too long ben, it wer better that they ſhould be reſtrained, thẽ that they ſhould be any longer vſed as they haue ben, to the iniurie of Chriſtes paſſion.

How Chriſtians may goe to the lawe.

1 Cor.6.

Touching the .xxvi. article, he ſaid, that it is not againſt the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, to contende in the Lawe, ſo it be done with charitie. If Saint Auſten, and the reuerẽd father Marcus Marulus dyd not erre, which graunted that libertie to the weake Chriſtians: albeit that true Chriſtians ought to geue eare vnto S. Paules ſaying: Why doo ye not rather ſuffer iniurie? And to Chriſt hym ſelfe which ſaith: He that would cõtend with thee in the law, & take away thy coate, geue hym thy cloke alſo.

Amos. 3.

Touchyng the .xxviij. he anſweared, that God is the authour of that puniſhment onely, but not of the offence, as Baſilius magnus teacheth in his Sermon vppon theſe wordes of the Prophet: Non eſt malum in ciuitate quod non fecit dominus. And S. Auguſtine in an other place (as I remember) prayeth: That he be not ledde into that temptation, that he ſhoulde beleue God to be the authour of ſinne and wickednes.

Here enſueth a briefe ſummarie or collection of certaine depoſitions, depoſed by the ſeuerall witneſſes aforenamed, vpõ certaine interrogatories miniſtred vnto them, for the inquirie of Maiſter Bilneyes doctrine and preachyng.

Deſpoſitiõs agaynſt M. Bilney.

First it was depoſed, that in his ſermõ in Chriſts church in Ipſwich, he ſhould preach and ſay, our ſauiour Chriſt is our mediatour betwene vs and the father: what ſhould we neede then to ſeke to any Saint for remedie? wherfore it is great iniurie to the bloud of Chriſt, to make ſuche petitions, and blaſphemeth our Sauiour.

Hereſie in the Popes church to confeſſe Chriſt onely to be our mediatour.

That man is ſo vnperfect of him ſelfe, that he can in no wiſe merite by his owne deedes.

John. 9.

Alſo that ẏ cõmyng of Chriſte was long propheſied before, & deſired by the Prophetes: But Joh. Baptiſt being more thẽ a prophet, did not only prophecie, but with his finger ſhewed hym ſaying: Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi. Then if this wer the very lambe which John dyd demõſtrate, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world, what iniurie is it to our ſauiour Chriſt, that to be buryed in S. Frances cowle ſhould remit foure partes of penance, what is then leaft to our ſauiour Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde? This I wyll iuſtifie to be a greate blaſphemie to the bloud of Chriſt.

S. Fraunces cowle remitteth 4. partes of pennance: What remayneth then for Chriſt to remitte.

Againſt pilgrimage.

Alſo that it was great folly to goe on pilgrimage, and that preachers in tymes paſt haue bene Antichriſtes, and now it hath pleaſed God ſomwhat to ſhew forth their falſhood and errours.

Againſt blinde miracles.

Alſo that the myracles done at Walſingham, at Canterbury, & there in Ipſwich, wer done by the deuil, thorow the ſufferance of God, to blynde the poore people: and that the Pope hath not the keyes that Peter had, except he folow Peter in his liuyng.

Moreouer, it was depoſed againſt hym, that he was notoriouſly ſuſpected as an heretike, and twiſe pulled out of the pulpit in the dioces of Norwich.

Alſo it was depoſed againſt hym, that he ſhould in the pariſh Church of Willeſdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of ſyluer and gold, and leaue their offrings vnto thẽ, for that ſuch things as they offred, haue bene knowen oftentymes afterward to haue ben geuen to whores of the ſtewes. Alſo that Iewes and Saraſens would haue become Chriſten men long ago, had it not ben for the idolatrie of Chriſten men in offring of candles, waxe, and money to ſtockes and ſtones.

The Idolatry of the papiſtes is a lette to the Iewes and Turkes, why they are not conuerted.

Ouer and beſides theſe cauellyng matters, articuled & depoſed againſt hym, here folowe certaine other articles, wherupõ he was detected, gathered out of his ſermõ, whiche he preached in the pariſhe Church of S. Magnus, in Whitſon weeke, in the yeare of our Lord. 1527.

Certaine other Articles producted
againſt maiſter Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

First he ſaid, pray you only to God, and to no Saints, rehearſing the Letanie, and when he came to Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, he ſayd, ſtay there.

He ſayd that Chriſten men ought to worſhip God onlye, and no Saintes.

He ſaid that Chriſtian people ſhoulde ſet vp no lightes before the Images of ſaints, for ſaintes in heauen neede no light, and the Images haue no eyes to ſee.

He ſaid, as Ezechias deſtroyed the braſen Serpent that Moſes made by the commaundement of God, euen ſo ſhould kinges and princes now adayes deſtroye and burne the Images of Saintes ſet vp in the Churches.

One fiftie good popes ſince Chriſt.

Theſe fiue hundred yeres there hath ben no good pope, nor in al the tyme paſt, we can find but fiftie, for they haue neither preached, ne lyued wel, or conformably to their dignitie: wherfore tyl now they haue borne the keyes of Symonie. Againſt whom, good people, we muſt preache and teache vnto you. For we can not come to them, it is great pitie, they haue ſore ſclaundered the bloud of Chriſt.

The people hath vſed fooliſhly of late, pilgrimages, which for them had bene better to haue bene at home.

Many haue made certaine vowes, which be not poſſible for them to fulfil, and thoſe nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this, haue bene Antichriſtes and now it hath pleaſed our Sauiour Chriſt, to ſhew their falſe errours, and to teache an other way and manner of the holy Goſpel of Chriſt, to the comfort of your ſoules.

The propheſie of Bilney.

I truſt that there ſhall and wyll come others beſides me, whiche ſhal ſhewe and preach to you the ſame fayth and maner of liuyng, that I do ſhew and preach to you, whiche is the very true Goſpel of our Sauiour Chriſte, and the mynd of the holy fathers, wherby you ſhalbe brought from their errours, wherein you haue bene long ſeduced: for before this, there haue bene many that haue ſclaundered you, and the Goſpel of our ſauiour Chriſt, of whom ſpake our Sauiour, Math. xviij. Qui ſcandalizauerit vnum de puſillis iſtis, qui in me credit. &c.

These & many other ſuche like depoſitions were depoſed againſt hym by the deponentes and witneſſes before ſworne, which wholy to recite, would be too long & tedious: wherfore theſe ſhal ſuffice at this tyme, being the principall matters, & in maner the effect of all the reſt. But nowe, before we wil returne againe to the order of his examination, we thinke it good here to inferre a certaine Dialogue contaynyng a communication betweene a Frier named John Bruſierd, and maiſter Thomas Bilney, whiche we haue thought meete for this place, becauſe it was done in Ipſwiche, and alſo about the tyme of theſe examinations: the copie wherof we haue, written with the fryers owne hand in Latine, & haue expreſſed the ſame in our former edition. Wherfore referring the reader for the Latin copie, vnto the editiõ aforeſaid, pag. 475. it ſhal ſuffice here to expreſſe the ſame in Engliſh, the copie wherof here enſueth.

A Dialogue.

A Dialogue betwene Fryer Iohn Bruſierd, and maiſter Thomas Bilney, in Ipſwich, concernyng worſhipping of Images.

A Dialogue betwene Bilney, and Frier Bruſierd.

Bruſierd.

Although you haue blaſphemed moſt perniciouſly ẏ immaculate flocke of Chriſt, with certaine blaſphemies of yours: yet being moued partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your caſe & towardly diſpoſition, I am come hyther to talke with you ſecretly, before the rumor be diſcloſed, vpon the conſideration of the threefold errors which I ſee in you.

A great blaſphemye among the Fryers to ſet vp Chriſt onely to be our mediatour.

First for that, whẽ you began to ſhoot ẏ dart of your peſtiferous errour more vehemẽtly thẽ you ought, againſt the breſt of ẏ ignorant multitude, you ſeeme to poure vpon the ground, the precious bloud of Chriſt, as with a certain vehemẽt violence out of ẏ miſerable veſſel of your hart. Wher as you ſaid, that none of the ſaints do make interceſſion for vs, nor obtaine for vs any thing, you haue perilouſly blaſphemed the efficacie of the whole church, cõſecrated wᵗ the precious bloud of Chriſt. Whiche thing you are not able to deny, eſpecially ſeeing the ſame ſo inceſſantly doth knocke at the gates of heauen, through the continuall interceſſion of the ſaints, according as in the ſeuenfold Letanie manifeſtly appeareth to be ſeene.

Bilney. I marueil at you, and doubtles can not marueill enough, but that the ſtrong & vaine cuſtome of ſuperſtitious mẽ, thinking thẽſelues not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end of my admiratiõ. For our heauenly father knoweth what we haue neede of before we aſke. Alſo it is written: There is one mediatour of God and men, the man Chriſt Ieſus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Chriſte Jeſus, where is our bleſſed Lady? where is then S. Peter and other ſaints?

One mediatour, and no moe.

Bruſierd. I ſuppoſe no man is ignorant, but that ẏ Diuines of ẏ primitiue church haue al affirmed to be one mediatour betweene God and man. Neither could any at that tyme praiſe or pray to the ſaints, whẽ as yet they lyuing in the calamities of this body, and wraſtling with the cõtrary windes of this worlde, were not yet com to the port of reſt whereunto they wer trauailing. Paul (I grant) did rightly affirme to be but one mediator of God & men, what tyme as yet there was no ſaint canoniſed or put in ẏ Kalẽder. But now ſeing the church doth knowe, & doth certainly beleue, through ẏ vndoubted reuelatiõs of God, that ẏ bleſſed virgin

The Popes Calender maketh moe Mediatours now, then were in the primitiue church gin & other ſaintes are placed in the boſome of Abraham, ſhe therfore like a good mother hath taught, and that moſt diligētly, vs her chuldrē, to prayſe the omnipotent Jeſus in his ſaints, & alſo to offer vp by the ſame ſaintes, our petitions vnto God. Therefore it is that the Pſalm. ſaith: Prayſe ye the Lord in his ſaints. Rightly alſo do we ſay and affirme, that ſaints may pray for vs. One man may pray for another, Ergo, much more may ſaints that do enioy the fruitiō of his high maieſtie. For ſo it is writtē: God is my witnes whom I ſerue in my ſpirite, in the Goſpel of his ſonne, that without ceaſing I remember you in my prayer alwayes for you. &c.

Note this argument, we muſt prayſe God in his Sainctes, Ergo we muſt pray to ſainctes.

Rom. 1.

Bilney. I maruel doubtles, that you a mā learned are not yet deliuered out of the confuſe dūgeon of hereſie, through the helpe of ẏ holy goſpel: eſpecially ſeing that in the ſame goſpel it is written: Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you, what ſoeuer you aske the father in my name, he wyll geue it vnto you. He ſaith not, what ſoeuer ye aske ẏ father in ẏ name of S. Peter, S. Paul, or other ſaints, but in my name. Let vs aſke therfore helpe in the name of hym which is able to obteyne for vs of his father, what ſoeuer we aſke, leaſt peraduenture hereafter in the end of the world at ẏ ſtrayte iudgement we ſhall heare: Hytherto in my name ye haue asked nothing.

John. 16.

In nomine meo.

Bruſierd. Where ye maruel (with what mynde, I can not tel) that I being a learned man (as you ſay) am not deliuered yet frō the cōfuſe dungeon of hereſie, through the helpe of the Goſpel: much more do you that are far better learned then I, cauſe me to maruel at your fooliſh admiratiō. Neither can I chuſe but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heauen of ſuche high myſteries, and yet ſee not thoſe thinges whiche be done here in the lower partes of terrene Philoſophie, for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to looke ſo long vpon the Sunne, that he can ſee nothyng els but the Sunne, nor can not tell whyther to turne hym? Moreouer, what ſtudent is there in al Cambridge, be he neuer ſo young, that knoweth not, that the argument of authoritie brought out negatiuely, hath no force?

Argumentum ab autoritate deſtructiue.

Bilney. So as the Phariſees tooke Chriſt, you take my wordes much otherwiſe then I meant.

Bruſierd. Your words which wander farre from the ſcope of Scripture, I doo not like. What is in your meanyng, and lyeth inwardly in your minde, I can not tel.

Bilney. Such as inuocate the helpe either of Chriſt, or of any other Saint, for any corporal infirmitie, to be deliuered frō the ſame, may be wel reſembled to delicate paciēts, who being vnder the hand of phiſitions, & hauyng medicines miniſtred againſt their diſeaſes: not abiding the paine thereof, ray al a ſunder: wherfore I ſay, no man ought to implore ẏ helpe of God or of any ſaint, * for corporal infirmitie.

Praying for taking away temporall infirmites

* He meaneth abſolutely, without condition.

Bruſierd. O moſt pernicious & perilous hereſie of all that euer I heard. Thus you fleeing the ſmoke, fal into the fire, & auoydyng the daunger of Scylla, you run vpon Caribdis. O hart of man wrapped in palpable darknes. I wiſhe M. Bilney, that you would but once ſearche & ſet out the firſt origine of theſe rogatiō dayes: For ſo we reade in ẏ church ſtory, that they were firſt ordeyned by pope Gregory, with faſting, prayers, & holy proceſſions againſt the peſtilence, by the infection of the ayre thē raigning among the people. At what tyme ẏ people thē going in ẏ proceſſion, a certain Image like to our bleſſed Lady, painted with ẏ hands of S. Luke ẏ Euāgeliſt, dyd go before thē, about ẏ which image, in ẏ honor of ẏ virgin, angels dyd ſing this Antheme: Regina cœli lætare: &c. O Queene of heauen be glad. To the which Antheme the pope alſo adioyned this: Ora pro nobis dominū. &c. Pray to the Lord for vs. Wherfore ſeeing the angels dyd worſhip the image of the glorious virgin Mary, in the honor of her: & ſeing moreouer the holy father pope Gregory, with al the clergie, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifeſtly that we ought to worſhip ẏ ſaints, & alſo to geue honor in a maner to their Images: further alſo to pray to almighty God & al ſaints, for corporall infirmitie, that we may be deliuered from the ſame, ſo that they may ſay the like for vs, which is ſaid in the Goſpel: Sende thē away, becauſe they cry after vs. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the holy ſcripture, wherwith we might eaſily reſiſt this your error: yet ſtanding herewith content, as ſufficient at this preſent, we wyl procede now to your ſecōd peſtiferous error, wherin you, like an ingrate childe go about to teare out ẏ bowels of your mother. For in that you ſay & affirme blaſphemouſly the biſh. of Rome to be the very Antichriſt, & that his priuileges haue no force againſt the gates of hel: in ſo ſaying, what do you but like a moſt vnkind and vnnaturall childe, ſpoile your louing mother of al her treaſures, & wound her being ſpoyled, & being woūded, plucke out her bowels moſt miſerably vpō ẏ earth. But for ſo much as there is nothing ſo abſurd or ſo heretical, but ſhalbe receiued of ſome itching eares: I would therfore now heare you declare, how he ſitteth in the tēple of God, as god, being exalted & worſhipped aboue al ẏ is named god, or how that he ſheweth hym ſelfe as Lord in power and ſignes, and wonders deceitful.

Scylla and Charibdis be two daungerous rockes in the ſea.

By this church ſtorye he meaneth bylyke, *Legenda aurea.* otherwiſe called the legend of lies

The Popes Letanye at Rome.

Scripture well applyed.

Whether the Pope be Antichriſt.

Bilney. Although incredulitie doth not ſuffer you, notwithſtanding your learnyng, to vnderſtand theſe thynges, yet I wyl goe about ſomething to helpe your incredulitie herein, through the helpe of the Lorde, beſeechyng you, that ſetting all ſuperſtition aparte, you wyll vnderſtande thoſe thinges that are aboue. Do ye know the table of the tenne Commaundements?

Bruſierd. According as the Catholique Doctours do expound them, I know them meanely. But howe you do expound them, I can not tel.

Bilney. And doo you knowe alſo the conſtitutions of men, which are deuiſed onely by the dreames of men, wherunto men are ſo ſtraightly bound, that vnder paine of death they are compelled to obſerue them?

Bruſierd. I knowe certaine ſanctions of the holy fathers, but ſuche as you ſpeake of to be deuiſed by mens dreames, I knowe none.

Bilney. Nowe then let vs ſet & compare theſe two together, and ſo ſhal you eaſily vnderſtand the Biſhop of Rome whom they call the Pope, to ſit in the Temple of God, as God, and to be extolled aboue al that is named God. It is written, The temple of the Lorde is holye, whiche is you. Therefore the conſcience of man is the temple of the holy Ghoſt: in whiche temple I wyll proue the Pope to ſit as God, & to be exalted aboue all that is called God. For who ſo contemneth the decaloge or the table of the Commaundements of God, there is but a ſmal puniſhment for hym, neyther is that puniſhment to death: but contrarywiſe he that ſhal contemne or violate the conſtitutions whiche you cal the ſanctions of men, is counted by all mens iudgement gyltie of death. What is this, but ẏ hye biſhop of Rome to ſit and to raigne in the temple of God, that is, in mans conſcience, as God?

2. Theſſa. 2

1. Cor. 3.

The place of S. Paule expounded concerning Antichriſt, ſitting in the temple of God &c.

Bruſierd. Although this expoſition ſeemeth vnworthy for chriſtē eares, yet I would heare you further how he ſheweth him ſelfe in ſignes and wonders deceitful.

Bilney. Theſe woonders (whiche they call myracles) be wrought dayly in the Church, not by the power of God, as many thinke, but by the illuſion of Satan rather, who (as the Scripture witneſſeth) hath ben looſe now abrod. 500. yeres, according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalyps: After a thouſande yeares, Satan ſhalbe let looſe. &c. Neither are they to be called myracles of true chriſtē men, but illuſiōs rather, wherby to delude mens myndes, to make them put their fayth in our Lady, and in other ſaintes, and not in God alone, to whom be honor and glory for euer.

Signes and miracles wrought by illuſion.

Apocal. 20.

Bruſierd. But that I beleue and knowe that God and al his Saintes wyll take euerlaſtyng reuengement vppon thee, I woulde ſurely with theſe nayles of myne, be thy death, for this horrible and enorme iniure agaynſt the precious bloud of Chriſt. God ſaith, I wyl not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuert and lyue. And thou blaſphemeſt hym, as though he ſhoulde laye priuie ſnares of death for vs ſecretely, ẏ we ſhoulde not eſpie thē. Which, if it were true, we might wel ſay then with Hugh De ſaint Victore in this manner: If it be an * errour, it is of thee (O God) that we be deceyued, for theſe be confirmed with ſuche ſignes and woonders, whiche can not be done but by thee. But I am aſſured, it is vntrue, & heretical: and therfore I wyl leaue this matter, and wyl talke with you concernyng the merites of Saintes. For once I remember, in a certayne Sermon of yours, you ſayde, that no Sainte, thoughe his ſufferyng were neuer ſo greate, and his lyfe moſt pure, deſerued any thyng for vs with God, eyther by his death or lyfe, which is contrary to ſaint Auſten.

* We reade of a like ſaying of another Fryer Auguſtin of Antwerpe, teſtified by Eraſm. in hys epiſtles: who openly in the pulpit at Antwerpe preaching to the people, wiſhing that Luther were there, that he might bite out his throte wyth his teeth. So doing hee woulde nothing doubt with the ſame bloudy teeth to reſort to the aultar, and receaue the body of Chriſt. Eraſ. Epiſt. Lib. 16. Ad obtrectatorem.

* God leadeth not into errour, but hath left his ſcriptures, to lead vs into truth.

Bilney. Chriſte ſayth one thyng, Saint Auſten another. Whether of theſe two ſhoulde we beleue? For Chriſt willyng to deliuer vs out of this darke dungeon of ignorance, gaue forth a certayne parable of ten virgins, of which, fiue were fooles and fiue were wiſe. By the fiue fooliſhe virgins wantyng the oyle of good workes, he meant vs al ſinners. By the wiſe virgins he meant the company of al holy Saintes. Nowe let vs heare what the fiue wiſe virgins aunſweared to the fiue fooliſhe, crauyng oyle of them: No, (ſaye they) leaſte peraduenture we haue not ſufficiente for vs and for you. Get you rather to them that ſell, and buye of them to ſerue your turne. Wherefore, if they had not oyle ſufficiente for them ſelues, and alſo for the other, where then be the merites of Saintes, wherwith they can deſerue both for them ſelues, and for vs? Certes I can not ſee.

Math. 25.

Saintes haue not merites ſufficient for them ſelues, much leſſe to ſpare to others.

Bruſierd. You wraſt the Scripture from the right vnderſtādyng, to a reprobate ſenſe, that I am ſcarſe able to holde myne eyes from teares, hearing with myne eares theſe wordes of you. Fare ye wel.

The ſubmiſſion of M. Thomas Bilney.

Bilney conuented agayne before the Byſhop of London.

The fourth day of December, the biſhop of London with the other biſhops his aſſiſtauntes, aſſembled againe in the Chapter houſe of weſtminſter, whether alſo M. Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admoniſhed to abiure and recant: who aunſwered that he would ſtand to his conſcience. Then the Biſhop of London wyth the other Byſhops, Ex officio, dyd publiſh the depoſitiōs of the witneſſes, wyth hys Articles and aunſwers, commaundyng that they ſhould be read. That done, the biſhop exhorted hym agayne to deliberate with hymſelfe, whether he would returne to the Church, and renounce hys opinions or no, and bad hym to depart into a voyd place, and there to deliberate with him ſelfe. which done, the byſhop aſked hym agayne if he would returne. Who aunſwered: Fiat iuſticia & iudicium in nomine domini, and beyng dyuers tymes admoniſhed to abiure, he would make no other aunſwer, but Fiat iuſticia, &c. And, hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Then the Byſhop, after deliberation had, puttyng of his cap, ſayd: In nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici eius: and makyng a croſſe on hys forehead and hys breſt, by the counſaile of the other Byſhops, he gaue ſentence agaynſt M. Bilney, beyng there preſent in thys maner.

Bilney denieth to recāt.

Pſal. 118.

In nomine domini incipit omne malum.

I by the conſent and counſail of my brethren here preſent do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who haſt bene accuſed of dyuers Articles, to be conuict of hereſie, and for the reſt of the ſentence, we take deliberation till to morow

Bilney conuented agayne before the Byſhop.

Bilney refuſeth againe to recant.

The v. day of December the Biſhops aſſembled there agayne, before whom Bilney was brought: whom the byſhop aſked if he would returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke hys hereſies which he had preached. Whereunto Bilney aunſwered, that he would not be a ſlaunder to the Goſpell, truſtyng that he was not ſeparate from yͤ Church, and that, if the multitude of witneſſes myght be credited, he myght haue 30. men of honeſt lyfe on hys part, againſt one to the contrary brought in againſt hym: which witneſſes yͤ biſhop ſayd came to late, for after publication, they could not be receyued by the law. Then Bilney alleaging the ſtory of Suſan and Daniel, the biſhop of London ſtill exhorted hym to returne to the vnitie of the Church and to abiure his hereſies, and permitted hym to go into ſome ſecret place, there to conſult with hys friendes, till one of the clocke at after noone, of the ſame day.

Like byſhoppes like lawes.

Bilney conuented the third time.

Bilneys witneſſes refuſed.

At afternoone, the biſhop of London agayne aſked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge hys hereſies. Bilney aunſwered that he truſted he was not ſeperate from the Church, and required tyme and place to bryng in witneſſes, which was refuſed. Then the Biſhop once againe required of hym whether he would turne to the Catholicke Churche. Wherunto he aunſwered, that if they coulde teach and proue ſufficiently that he was conuict, he would yelde and ſubmit hymſelfe, and deſired agayn to haue time and ſpace to bring in againe his refuſed witneſſes, and other anſwer he would geue none.

Bilney denieth the third time to recant.

Dancaſter conferreth with Bilney

Then the Byſhop put M. Bilney a ſide, ⁊ tooke counſell with his felowes, and afterward callyng in M. Bilney, aſked him agayn whether he would abiure: but he woulde make no other aunſwer then before. Then the Byſhop wͭ the conſent of yͤ reſt, dyd decree and determine that it was not lawfull to heare a peticion which was agaynſt the law and enquiring agayne whether he would abiure, he aūſwered playnly no, and deſired to haue time to conſulte wyth hys frendes in whom his truſt was: and beyng once agayne aſked whether he would returne and inſtantly deſired thereunto, or els the ſentence muſt bee read: he required the Byſhop to giue him licence to deliberate with him ſelfe vntill the next morow, whether hee might abiure the hereſies wherwith he was defamed, or no. The Byſhop graūted him, that he ſhould haue a litle tyme to deliberate wyth M. Dancaſter: but Bilney required ſpace till the next morow to conſult with M. Farmar and Maiſter Dancaſter But the Byſhop would not graunt him hys requeſt, for feare leſt he ſhould appeale. But at the laſt, the Byſhop enclinyng vnto him, graunted him two nyghts reſpite to deliberate: yͭ is to ſay, til Saterday at ix. of yͤ clocke afore noone, and then to geue a playne determinate aunſwere, what he would do in the premiſſes.

Bilney through infirmitie rather then by cōuictiō, recanteth.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

M. Bilney enioyned penaūce.

The vij. day of December, in the yeare and place aforeſayd, the Byſhop of London, with the other Biſhops beyng aſſembled, Bilney alſo perſonally appeared. Whom the Byſhop of London aſked, whether he would now returne to the vnitie of the Church, and reuoke the errours and hereſies whereof he ſtode accuſed, detected: and conuicted. Who aunſwered yͭ now he was perſuaded by Maiſter Dancaſter and other his frendes, hee woulde ſubmit hym ſelfe, truſtyng that they would deale gentillye with hym, both in his abiuration, and penaunce. Then he deſired that hee might read his abiuration: whiche the Byſhop graunted. When he had read the ſame ſecretly by hym ſelfe, and was returned, beyng demaunded what he would do in the premiſſes he aunſwered that he would abiure and ſubmitte him ſelfe, and there openly read hys abiuration, and ſubſcribed it and deliuered it to the Byſhop, whiche then dyd abſolue hym: and for his penaunce enioyned him, yͭ he ſhoulde abyde in priſon, appoynted by the Cardinall, till hee were by hym releaſed: and moreouer, the next day hee ſhoulde goe before the proceſſion, in thee Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule, bare headed, with a Fagot on his ſhoulder, and ſhoulde ſtand before thee preacher at Pauls Croſſe, all thee Sermon tyme. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Here for ſomuch as mention is made before, of v. letters or Epiſtles, which this good man wrote to Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, and by the ſayd Byſhop deliuered vnto the Regiſters, wee thought good to inſerte certeine therof, ſuche as coulde come to our handes. The Copie of which letters, as they were written by hym in Latine, becauſe they are in the former Edition to bee ſene and read in the ſame Latin, wherein he wrote them, it ſhall ſuffice in this booke to expreſſe the ſame onely in engliſhe. Cōcerning the firſt Epiſtle, which conteineth the whole ſtorye of his conuerſion, and ſemeth more effectuall in the Latin, then in the Engliſhe, we haue exhibited it in the ſecond edition, pag. 1141. and therfore haue here onely made mention of the ſame briefly. The Copye whereof beginneth thus.

¶ Reuerendo in Chriſto patri D. Cutb. Tonſtallo, Lond. Epiſcopo, T. Bilneus Salutem in Chriſto, cum omni ſubiectione tanto præſuli debitam.

HOc nomine, pater in Chriſto obſeruande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Parernitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) vt ipſemet non poſſis, &c.

Quæ ſequuntur vide ſuperiore editione, pag. 1141.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ To the reuerent father in Chriſt, Cuthbert Biſhop of London, Thomas Bilney wiſheth health in Chriſt, with all ſubmiſſion due vnto ſuch a Prelate.

A letter of M. Bilney, to Tonſtall Byſhop of London.

Commendation of Tonſtals learnyng.

IN this behalfe (moſt reuerent father in Chriſt) I thinke my ſelfe moſt happy, that it is my chaunce to be called to examination before your Reuerence, for that you are of ſuch wiſedome and learnyng, of ſuch integritie of lyfe (which al men do confeſſe to bee in you) that euen you your ſelfe can not chuſe (if ye doe not to lightly eſteme Gods giftes in you as often as you ſhall remember the great thinges whiche God hath done vnto you, but ſtraight wayes ſecretly in your hart, to his high praiſe, ſay: hee that is mighty hath done great thinges vnto me, and holy is his name. I reioyce, that I haue now happened vpon ſuch a iudge, and with all my harte giue thankes vnto God, whiche ruleth all thynges.

Iannes ⁊ Iambres were two of Pharaos prieſtes which reſiſted Moyſes, but their names be not expreſſed in the 7. chap. of Exod. but onely in 2. Tim. 3.

God neuer buildeth a church, but the deuill hath ſome chappel by.

*Elymas magus. Act. 13.

*Pithoniſſa. Act. 16.

*Nicolaites of Nicolaus. Apoc. 2.

And albeit (God is my witnes) I know not my ſelfe gilty of any errour in my Sermons, neither of any hereſie or ſedition, whiche diuers do ſclaunder me of, ſekyng rather their owne luker and aduauntage, then the health of ſoules: notwithſtādyng I do exceedyngly reioyce: that it is ſo foreſene by Gods diuine prouidence, that I ſhould bee brought before the tribunall ſeate of Tonſtall, who knoweth aſwell as any other, that there will neuer bee wantyng Iannes and Iambres, whiche will reſiſte the truth: that there ſhall neuer be lackyng ſome* Elemates, whiche wil go about to ſubuert the ſtraight wayes of the Lorde: and finally, that ſome Demetrius, *Pithoneſſe, Balaames, Nicolaites, Cayns, ⁊ Iſmaelis, will be alwayes at hand which will gredely hunte and ſeeke after that, whiche perteineth vnto them ſelues, and not that whiche perteineth to Ieſus Chriſt. How can it then be, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to be truly and ſincerely preached (For if the people begyn once wholy in euery place, to put their confidence in Chriſt, which was for them crucified, thē ſtraight wayes that which they haue hetherto embraced in ſtede of Chriſte ſhall vtterly decaye in the hartes of the faythfull. Thē they ſhall vnderſtand that Chriſt is not in this place, or in that place, but the kyngdome of God to be in them ſelues. Then ſhall they playnly ſee that yͤ father is not to be worſhipped.

Ezech 34.

neyther in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hieruſalem, but in all places, in ſpirit and truth. Which thyng, if it come once to paſſe, the beaſtes of the field will thinke all their gain and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of Ezechiell is fulfilled: My ſhepe are diſperſed becauſe they had no ſhepeheard, & are deuoured of the beaſtes of the field, and ſtrayed abroad: my flocke hath erred and wandred in euery mountayne, and vpon euery high hill, and is diſperſed thoroughout all the earth, and there is no man which hath ſought to gather thē together: no, there was no man which once ſought after them. But if any man would ſeeke to reduce thoſe which were gone aſtray into the fold of Chriſt, that is, the vnitie of fayth: by and by, there ryſe vp certayn againſt him, which are named Paſtors, but in dede are wolues, which ſeeke no other thyng of theyr flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leauyng both theyr own ſoules, and the ſoules of theyr flocke, vnto the deuill.

Demetrius the ſiluer ſmith cryed out agaynſt Paul Act. 19.

Pretenſed prieſtes and prelates vnder colour of perſecuting heretickes, crucifie Chriſt & treade downe his truth.

These men (I ſay) ryſe vp lyke vnto Demetrius, crying out, this hereticke diſſuadeth and ſeduceth much people euery where, ſaying: that they are not Gods, which are made with handes. Theſe are they, theſe I ſay (moſt reuerent father) are they, which vnder the pretence of perſecutyng heretikes, follow their owne licentious lyfe: enemies vnto yͤ croſſe of Chriſt, which can ſuffer and beare any thing rather, then the ſincere preachyng of Chriſt crucified for our ſinnes. Theſe are they vnto whome Chriſt threateneth eternall damnation, where he ſayth: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariſeis, and hypocrites, which ſhut vp the kyngdome of heauen before men, and you your ſelues enter not in, neither ſuffer thoſe which would enter, to come in. Theſe are they which haue come in another way, to the charge of ſoules, as it appeareth. For if any man (ſayth Chriſt) come in by me, he ſhall be ſaued, and ſhall come in and go out, and find paſture. Theſe men do not finde paſture (for they neuer teach) and drawe others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, which alone is the dore, wherby we muſt come vnto the father: but ſet before the people an other way, perſwadyng them to come vnto God through good workes, oftentymes ſpeakyng nothyng at all of Chriſt, therby ſeekyng rather their owne gayne and lucre: thē the ſaluation of ſoules: in this poynt beyng worſe then they which vpon Chriſt beyng yͤ foundation, do build wood, hay & ſtraw. Theſe mē confeſſe yͤ they know Chriſt, but by their dedes they deny hym.

Iohn. 10.

A wronge way to come to God by good workes.

1. Cor. 3.

Falſe prieſtes & prelates compared to the Phiſitiōs, vpō whome the woman with the bloudy flixe, ſpent all her goods, and was not helped.

Bilney here ſpeaketh by hys owne experience.

Theſe are thoſe Phiſitions, vpon whom that woman which was xij. yeares vexed with the bloudy flixe, had conſumed all that ſhe had, and felt no helpe, but was ſtill worſe and worſe, vntill ſuch tyme as at the laſt, ſhee came vnto Chriſt, and after ſhe had once touched the hemme of his veſture through fayth, ſhe was ſo healed that by and by, ſhee felte the ſame in her body. O mighty power of the moſte hygheſt: which I alſo miſerable ſinner, haue often taſted and felt. Whiche before that I could come vnto Chriſt, had euen likewiſe ſpent all that I had vpon thoſe ignoraunt Phiſitions, that is to ſay, vnlearned hearers of confeſſion ſo yͤ there was but ſmall force of ſtrength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) ſmall ſtore of mony, and very litle witte or vnderſtādyng: for they appoynted me faſtinges watchyng, byyng of pardons, and Maſſes: in all whiche thynges (as I now vnderſtand) they ſought rather their own gayn, thē the ſaluation of my ſick & languiſhing ſoule.

The end & effecte of the Popes diuinitie.

The firſt conuerſion of M. Bilney by readinz the new Teſtament ſet out by Eraſmus.

But at the laſt I heard ſpeake of Ieſus, euen then when the new Teſtament was firſt ſet forth by Eraſmus Which, when I vnderſtode to be eloquently done by hym, beyng allured rather for the Latine, then for the word of God (for at yͤ time, I knew not what it ment) I bought it euen by the prouidence of God, as I do now wel vnderſtand and perceiue: And at the firſt readyng, as I remēber I chaunced vpon this ſentence of S. Paul (O moſt ſwete and comfortable ſentence to my ſoule) in his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy and firſt chapter: It is a true ſaying and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Chriſte Ieſus came into the world to ſaue ſinners, of whō I am the chiefe & principall. This our ſentence, through Gods inſtruction, and inward workyng, whiche I dyd not then perceiue, did ſo exhilerate my hart, beyng before wounded with the gilte of my ſinnes and beyng almoſt in diſpayre, that immediatly, I felt a merueilous comforte and quietnes, in ſo much, that my bruſed bones leapt for ioye.

Pſal. 50.

All the trauailes of men, without Chriſt are but an haſtie running out of the right way.

After this, the Scripture began to bee more pleaſaunt vnto me then the hony or the hony combe: wherin I learned that all my trauailes, all my faſtyng and watchyng, all the redemption of Maſſes and pardons, beyng done without truſt in Chriſt, whiche onely ſaueth his people from their ſinnes: theſe (I ſay) I learned to bee nothyng elles but euen (as S. Auguſtin ſayth) a haſty and ſwift runnyng out of the right way, or els much lyke to the veſture made of figge leaues, wherewithall Adam and Eue went about in vayne, to couer their priuities, and could neuer before obteyne quietnes and reſt, vntill they beleued in the promiſe of God, that Chriſt the ſeede of the woman, ſhoulde treade vpon the ſerpentes head: Neither could I be releued or eaſed of the ſharpe ſtinges and bytynges of my ſinnes, before that I was taught of God that leſſon, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of, in the third chapiter of Iohn: Euen as Moyſes exalted the ſerpent in the deſert, ſo ſhall the ſonne of man be exalted, that al which beleue on hym ſhould not periſh, but haue lyfe euerlaſtyng.

M. Bilney looking vp to the Braſe ſerpent. Iohn. 3.

As ſoone as (accordyng to the meſure of grace geuen vnto me of God) I began to taſt and ſauour of this heauenly leſſon, whiche no man can teache but onely God, whiche reueled the ſame vnto Peter: I deſired yͤ Lord to encreaſe my fayth: and at laſt, I deſired nothyng more, then that I beyng ſo comforted by hym, might bee ſtrengthened by his holy ſpirite and grace from aboue, that I might teache the wicked his wayes, which are mercy and truth, and yͤ yͤ wicked might be conuerted vnto him by me, which ſometime was alſo wicked, whiche thyng, whileſt that with al my power, I dyd endeuour before my Lorde Cardinall and your fatherhoode, Chriſt was blaſphemed in me (and this is my onely comfort in theſe my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teache and ſet forth, beyng made for vs by God his father, our wiſedome, righteouſnes, ſanctification, and redemption, and finally, our ſatiſfaction. Who was made ſinne for vs (that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for ſinne) that we through hym, ſhould be made the righteouſnes of God. Who became accurſed for vs, to redeeme vs from the curſe of the law: Who alſo came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentaunce. The righteous (I ſaye) which falſely iudge & thinke themſelues ſo to be (for all men haue ſinned and lacke the glory of God, wherby he freely forgeueth ſinnes vnto all beleuers, through the redēption which is in Chriſt Ieſu) becauſe that all mankynde was greuouſly wounded in him whiche fell amongeſt theeues betwene Ieruſalem and Ierico.

The wayes of the Lord, be mercy & truth.

1. Cor. 1.

2. Cor. 5.

Gal. 3.

Math. 9.

Rom. 3.

The ſumme of all M. Bilneys teaching.

Rom. 3.

And therfore withall my whole power I teach that all men ſhould firſt acknowledge their ſinnes and condemne them, and afterwarde hunger and thirſt for that righteouſneſſe, wherof Saint Paule ſpeaketh: The righteouſnes of God by fayth in Ieſu Chriſt, is vppon all them which beleue in hym, for there is no difference: all haue ſinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are iuſtified freely thorough hys grace, by the redemption which is in Ieſus Chriſt. The which, who ſo euer doth hunger or thirſt for, without doubt, they ſhall at the length ſo be ſatiſfied, that they ſhall not hunger and thirſt for euer.

A difference betwene mans righteouſnes, & the righteouſnes of God.

Voluntary deuotions ſpoke againſt.

Deut. 4. 12.

But forſomuch as this hunger and thirſt was wont to be quenched with the fulnes of mans righteouſnes, which is wrought through the fayth of our owne elect and choſen workes, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offring of candles, elect and choſen faſtes, and oftentymes ſuperſticious, and finally all kynd of voluntary deuotions (as they call thē) againſt the which gods word ſpeaketh plainly in the fourth of Deut. and in the xij. ſaying: Thou ſhalt not do that which ſeemeth good vnto thy ſelfe, but that which I commaunde thee for to do, that do thou neyther addyng to, neyther diminiſhyng any thyng from it: therfore (I ſay) oftentymes I haue ſpoken of thoſe workes, not condemnyng them (as God I take to my witnes) but reprouyng their abuſe, makyng the lawfull vſe of them manifeſt, euen vnto children, exhortyng all men not ſo to cleaue vnto them, that they beyng ſatiſfied therwith, ſhould loth or waxe wery of Chriſt, as many do. In whom I bid your fatherhode moſt proſperouſly well to fare.

And this is the whole ſumme. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the thinges here touched, I wyll not refuſe to do it, ſo that you wyll graunt me tyme: For to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weakenes of my body, beyng redy alwayes if I haue erred in any thyng, to be better inſtructed.

An other letter or epiſtle of M. Bilney, to
Cuthbert Tonſtall B. of London.

An other letter of M. Bilney.

Malchus hearing of ſermons.

ALbeit I do not remēber, reuerent father in Chriſt, whether I haue eyther ſpoken or written, that the Goſpell hath not bene ſincerely preached now of long tyme, whiche your Lordſhippe ſeemeth to haue gathered eyther by ſome Monkes and ſiniſter hearers of my Sermons, who lyke Malchus hauyng their right eare cut of, onely bryng theyr left eare to Sermons) or els by ſome wordes or writinges of myne, which haue raſhly paſſed me, rather then vppon any euill entent: yet forſomuch as in this behalfe, your Reuerence doth commaund me, and that of a good mynde, I truſt (for how can I thinke in Tonſtall any craft or doubleneſ to dwell:) I wyl briefly declare vnto you, what I haue learned of God through Chriſt, in the Scriptures, and how that the doctors euen of great name and renowme, haue not taught the ſame of late in their ſermons, referring or rather

ſubmit-

Notes and differences betwene the true and falſe church.

ſubmittyng all thinges vnto your fatherly iudgement, which is more quicke and ſharpe, then that it can by any meanes be blynded, and ſo ſyncere, that it will not in any poynt ſeeke ſlaunder or diſcord. Therfore I do confeſſe that I haue often bene afrayd, that Chriſt hath not bene purely preached now a long tyme. For who hath bene now a long ſeaſon offended through hym? Who hath now this many yeares ſuffred any perſecution for the Goſpels ſake? Where is the ſworde which he came to ſend vpon the earth? And finally, where are the reſt of the ſyncere and vncorrupt fruites of the Goſpell? which, becauſe we haue not a long tyme ſene, is it not to be feared that the tree which bringeth forth thoſe fruites hath now a long tyme bene wantyng in our region or countrey? much leſſe is it to be beleued, that it hath bene nouriſhed amongeſt vs. Haue we not ſeene all thinges quiet and peaceable a long tyme? But what ſayth the Church? My grieſe moſt bitter, is turned to peace, &c.

Eſay.38.
Iere.6.8.
Luke.11.

But the malignant church ſayth: Peace, peace, and there is no peace: but onely that whereof it is written: When the mighty armed man kepeth his gates, he poſſeſſeth all things in quiet. But whē he ſeeth, that he ſhal be vanquiſhed of a ſtronger then he him ſelfe is, he ſpoyleth and deſtroyeth all thinges. What now a dayes beginneth agayne to be attempted, I dare not ſay. God graunt vs grace that we do not refuſe and reiect (if it be Chriſt) hym that commeth vnto vs, leſt that we do feele that terrible iudgement agaynſt vs: becauſe (ſaith he) they haue not receiued the loue of truth, that they might be ſaued: therfore God will ſende vpon them the blyndneſſe of errour, that they ſhall geue credite vnto lyes.

2.Theſſ.2.

Notes and argumentes prouing, that it is not the true word of God, which hath bene preached in the popes Church.

O terrible ſentence (which God knoweth whether a great number haue not already incurred) that all they might be iudged which haue not geuen credite vnto the truth, but conſented vnto iniquitie. The tyme ſhall come (ſayeth he) when that they will not ſuffer the true doctrine to be preached. And what ſhall we then ſay of that learning, which hath now ſo long tyme raigned and triumphed, ſo that no man hath once opened hys mouth againſt it? Shall we thinke it ſound doctrine? Truely iniquitie dyd neuer more abound, nor charitie was neuer ſo colde. And what ſhould we ſay to be the cauſe therof? hath the cauſe bene for lacke of preachyng agaynſt the vices of men, and exhortyng to charitie? That cannot be, for many learned and great Clerkes ſufficiently can witneſſe to the contrary. And yet all theſe notwithſtandyng, we ſee the lyfe and maners of men do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianitie, and ſeeme to cry out in deede, that it is fulfilled in vs, which God in tymes paſt threatned by his Prophet Amos, ſaying: Behold, the day ſhall come (ſayth the Lord) that I wil ſend hunger vpon the earth, not hunger of bread, neyther thirſt of water, but of hearing the worde of God, and the people ſhall be moued from ſea to ſea, and from the Weſt vnto the Eaſt, and ſhall run about ſekyng for the worde of God, but ſhall not find it. In thoſe dayes the faire virgins and yong men ſhall periſh for thirſt &c.

Amos.8.

This letter may wel anſwere to the note of D. Saunders booke, intituled: The rocke of the Church. fol.14.& nota 5.

But now to paſſe ouer many things, wherby I am moued to feare, that the word of God hath not bene purely preached, this is not the leaſt argument, that they which come and are ſent, and endeuour themſelues to preach Chriſt truly, are euill ſpoken of for hys name, which is the rocke of offence, and ſtumblyng blocke vnto them which ſtomble vpon hys worde, and do not beleue on hym, on whom they are builded.

But you will aſke who are thoſe men, and what is theyr doctrine? Truely I ſay, whoſoeuer entreth in by the dore Chriſt, into the ſhepefold: which thyng all ſuch ſhall do, as ſeeke nothyng els but the glory of God, and ſaluation of ſoules. Of all ſuch it may be truly ſayd, that whom the lord ſendeth, he ſpeaketh the worde of God. And why ſo? Becauſe he repreſenteth the Angell of the church of Philadelphia, vnto whom Saint Iohn writeth, ſaying: This ſayeth he, which is holy and true, which hath the keyes of Dauid, which openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth.

Apoc.3.

Behold, ſayeth he (ſpeakyng in the name of Chriſt which is the dore and dorekeper) I haue ſet before thee an open dore, that is to ſay, of the Scriptures openyng thy ſenſes, that thou ſhouldeſt vnderſtand the ſcriptures, and that, becauſe thou haſt entred in by me which am the dore: For whoſoeuer entreth in by me which am the dore ſhal be ſaued, he ſhall go in and come out and finde paſture, for the dorekeper openeth the dore vnto hym, and the ſhepe heare his voyce.

Iohn.10.

Who entreth in by the doore, & who not.

But contrarywiſe, they which haue not entred in by the dore, but haue climed in ſome other way, by ambition, auarice or deſire of rule, they ſhall, euen in a moment goe downe into hell, except they repent. And of them is the ſaying of Ieremy verified: All beautie is gone awaye from the daughter of Syon, becauſe her Princes are become lyke rammes, not finding paſture.

Lament.1.

And why ſo? Becauſe like theues and robbers they haue climed vp an other way, not beyng called nor ſent. And what meruaile is it, if they do not preach, when as they are not ſent, but run for lucre, ſekyng their owne glory, and not the glory of God and ſaluation of ſoules? And this is the roote of all miſchiefe in the Church, that they are not ſent inwardly of God. For without this inward callyng, it helpeth nothyng before God to be a hundreth tymes electe and conſecrate, by a thouſande Bulles, eyther by Pope, kyng, or Emperour.

Outward calling by kinges & princes in Chriſtes miniſtery auayleth nothing without the inward calling of God.

God beholdeth the harte, whoſe iudgementes are accordyng to truth, how ſo euer we deceyue the iudgement of men for a tyme: which alſo at the laſt, ſhall ſee their abhomination. This (I ſay) is the originall of all miſchiefe in the Churche, that we thruſt in our ſelues into the charge of ſoules, whoſe ſaluation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the dore) we do not thirſt nor ſeeke for, but altogether our owne lucre and profite.

Hereupon it commeth, that we know not howe to preach Chriſt purely: For how ſhould they preach Chriſt (ſayth yͤ Apoſtle) except they be ſent? for otherwiſe many theeues and robbers do preach hym, but with their lippes onely, for their hart is farre from him. Neither yet do we ſuffer thoſe whiche do know how to preach, but perſecute them, and go about to oppreſſe the Scriptures nowe ſpringyng, vnder yͤ pretence of godlines, fearing (as I ſuppoſe) leaſt the Romaines ſhould come and take our place.

The roote of all miſchiefe in the Church.

ex Prudentio.

Lay this letter agaynſt Doct. Sanders booke aforeſayd.

Ah thou wicked enemie Herode, why art thou afrayde that Chriſte ſhoulde come? he taketh not away mortall and earthly kingdomes, which geueth the heauenly kyngdomes. O blindnes, O our great blindnes, yea more then that of Egypt? of the which if there be any that would admoniſhe the people, by and by ſayth Pharao: Moyſes and Aron, why do ye cauſe the people to ceaſe from their labours? and truely called their labours. Get you to your burdens: Lay more worke vppon them, & cauſe them to do it, that they harken not vnto lyes.

Exod.5.

The perſecuters of our time compared to Pharao.

Thus the people was diſperſed throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather vp chaffe: I ſay to gather vp chaffe. Who ſhall graunt vnto vs yͤ God ſhall ſay: I haue looked down, and beholden the affliction of my people, whiche is in Ægypt, and haue heard their ſighes, and am come downe to deliuer them. But whether hath thys zeale carryed me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not ſay: it perteineth to you, reuerent father, to iudge therupon.

Now you do looke that I ſhould ſhew vnto you at large (as you write) how that they ought ſyncerely to preach, to the better edifyyng hereafter, of your flocke. Here I confeſſe I was afraide, that you had ſpoken in ſome deriſion, vntill that I well perceaued, that you had written it with your owne hand. Then agayne, I, beganne to doubt for what intent Tonſtall ſhould require that of Bilney: an olde ſouldiour, of a younge begynner: the chiefe Paſtor of London, of a poore ſillie ſheepe. But for what intent ſo euer you did it, I truſt it was of a good mynde. And albeit that I am weake of bodye, yet through the grace of Chriſt geuē vnto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do farre paſſe my power: vnder the which burden, if I be oppreſſed, yet I will not deceiue you, for that I haue promiſed nothyng, but a prompt and ready will to do that which you haue commaunded.

As touching that pertayneth to the preaching of the goſpell, I would to God you would geue me leaue priuately to talke with you, that I might ſpeake freely, that which I haue learned in the holy Scriptures for the conſolation of my conſcience: which if you will ſo do, I truſt you ſhall not repent you. All thinges ſhall be ſubmitted vnto your iudgement: who (except I be vtterly deceaued) wil not breake the reede that is bruiſed, and put out the flaxe that is ſmokyng, but rather, if I ſhall be founde in any errour (as in deede I am a man) you as ſpirituall, ſhall reſtore me thorough the ſpirite of gentleneſſe, conſideryng your ſelfe, leaſt that you alſo be tempted: For euery Byſhop which is taken from among men, is ordayned for men, not violently to aſſault thoſe which are ignoraunt and do erre, for he himſelf is compaſſed in with infirmitie, that he beyng not voyde of euils, ſhould learne to haue compaſſion vpon other miſerable people.

Eſa.42.

Heb.5.

I deſire you that you will remember me to morowe, that by your ayde, I may be brought before the tribunall ſeate of my Lord Cardinall, before whom I had rather ſtand, then before any of hys deputies.

¶Yours Thomas Bilney.

¶A letter of M.Bilney fruitfull and neceſſary for all Miniſters to read.

An other letter of M. Bilney, to Tonſtall Biſh. of London.

MOſt reuerēt father, ſalutatiōs in Chriſt. You haue required me to write vnto you at large, wherin men haue not preached as they ought, and how they ſhould haue preached better. This is a burden too heauy for my ſtrength: vnder the which if I ſhall faint, it belongeth to you which haue layde this burden vpon my ſhoulders, to eaſe me thereof.

Preachers of the popes church leauing the word of God, preach their owne traditions.

Prieſtes of the Popes church, fewe learned in the ſcriptures.

As touching the firſt part, they haue not preached as they ought, which leauyng the worde of God, haue taught theyr own traditiõs: of yͤ which ſort there are not a few, as it is very euident, in that they do report thoſe which preach yͤ word of God ſincerely to teach new doctrine. This alſo is no ſmal teſtimony thereof, that in all England you ſhall ſcarce finde one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures, and what meruaile is it if all godly thinges do ſeme new vnto them, vnto whom the Goſpell is new and ſtraunge, beyng nouſled in mens traditions now a long tyme? Would to God theſe thinges were not true, which I vtter vnto you, but alas they are to true.

Preachers in the popiſhe tyme haue wraſted the Scriptures.

They alſo haue preached euill, which eyther haue wraſted the Scriptures themſelues, or haue raſhly gathered them out of old rottẽ papers, beyng wraſted by others. And how ſhould it be but that they ſhould wraſt them, or els how ſhould they iudge them beyng falſly interpreted by others, when as they haue not once read ouer the bible orderly? Of this ſorte there is truely a very great number, from which number many great Rabines or maiſters ſhal hardly excuſe themſelues, whome the people hitherto haue reuerenced in ſtead of Gods. And theſe are they which now ſerue theyr bellies, ſeekyng their owne glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be ſet forth euẽ by Balaams Aſſe: much leſſe then ought we to contemne ſuch abiectes which preach the word of God. We haue (ſayth S. Paul) this treaſure in brickle veſſels, that the glory of the power might be of God and not of vs. God hath choſen the fooliſh thinges of the world, to confound the wyſe: and the weake thinges God hath choſen to confound the mighty: and vile thinges of the world and deſpiſed, hath he choſen, and thinges that are not, to bryng to nought thinges that are, that no fleſh ſhould glory in hys ſight. But now all men in a maner wil be wiſe, and therfore they are aſhamed of the ſimple Goſpel, they are aſhamed truely to ſay with Paule: & to performe it in dede: I brethren when I came vnto you, did not come with excellency of wordes, or of wyſedome, preaching the teſtimonie of Chriſt, for I eſtemed not my ſelfe to know any thyng amongeſt you, but onely Ieſus Chriſt and hym crucified. O voyce of a true Euangeliſt? But now we are aſhamed of this fooliſh preaching, by the which it hath pleaſed God, to ſaue all thoſe which beleue in hym, and beyng puffed vp with our owne fleſhly mynde, chuſe rather, proudly to walk in thoſe thinges which we haue not ſeene, preachyng fables and lyes, and not the law of God, which is vndefiled, conuertyng ſoules.

Balaams Aſſe is not to be deſpiſed ſettyng forth gods word, ergo, much leſſe other abiectes.

1. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 2.

Pſal. 18.

But how ſhould they teach the law of God, which they haue not once read in the bookes, much leſſe learned at the mouth of God? But in a Paſtor and a Biſhop this is required: Thou ſonne of man (ſayth God) lay vp in thy harte all my wordes which I do ſpeake vnto thee. &c. And ſhortly after he ſaith: Thou ſonne of man, I haue ordeyned and geuen thee a watchman vnto the houſe of Iſraell. I haue geuen thee ſayth he, not commyng in by ambitiõ nor thruſtyng in thy ſelfe nor climyng in another way, but I gaue thee when thou lookedſt not for it, that thou ſhouldeſt attende thereupon and geue warnyng from the toppe of the watch Tower, if any enemies ſhould approche. I haue geuen thee vnto the houſe of Iſraell, and not the houſe of Iſraell vnto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge thy ſelfe to be the ſeruaunt of the ſhepe, and not theyr Lord, for I haue not geuen the ſheepe for the ſhepeheard, but the ſhepeheard for the ſhepe. He that ſitteth downe is greater then he that doth miniſter and ſerue vnto hym. Which thyng was well known of hym which truely ſaid: We are your ſeruauntes for Chriſtes cauſe.

Ignoraunce of the lawe of God in Prelates noted.

Ezech. 3.

God geueth paſtours to hys flocke: and not hys flocke to paſtours.

The congregatiõ ſitteth downe: The paſtours be but ſeruitors.

But for what purpoſe haue I geuen thee vnto the houſe of Iſraell? That thou ſhouldeſt onely miniſter the Sacramentes, conſecrate wood, ſtones, and churchyardes? (this I take God to witneſſe) with great ſighes and grones I write vnto you, pouryng out before you the griefe of my hart.) No truely. What then? Firſt followeth the office of the Biſhop. Thou ſhalt heare the word out of my mouth. This is but a ſhort leſſon, but ſuch, as all the world cannot comprehende, without they be inwardly taught of God. And what elles meaneth thys, Out of my mouthe thou ſhalt heare the worde, but that thou ſhalt be taught of god. Therfore as many as are not taught of God although they be neuer ſo well exerciſed in the Scriptures by mans help, yet are they not watchmen geuen by God, and much leſſe they which do not vnderſtand and know the Scriptures. And therfore ſuch as theſe be, leaſt they ſhould kepe ſilence and ſay nothing, are alwayes harping vpon the traditions and documẽtes of men, that is, lies: for he that ſpeaketh of hymſelfe, ſpeaketh lyes. Of theſe it is written; They would be doctours of the law, not vnderſtandyng what they ſpeake neyther of whom they ſpeake. Such of neceſſitie they muſt all be, who ſpeake that with their mouth which they do not beleue, becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſuaded in their hartes, that it is true: and therfore they are not to be accompted as ſhepe, although they boaſt themſelues to be ſhepeheardes. But contrarywyſe touching the true and learned Paſtors geuen by God, it may be truly ſaid: we ſpeake that which we know, and that which we haue ſeene (euen with the vnfallible eyes of our fayth) we doe witneſſe: and theſe are neither deceiued, neyther do deceiue. Moreouer the deceiuers procede to worſe and worſe, erring themſelues, and bringing others alſo to errour, and becauſe they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them. They are of the world (ſaith S. John) and therfore they ſpeake thoſe thinges which are of the worlde, and the world geueth eare vnto them.

Paſtours ſeruauntes to the congregation for Chriſtes cauſe & not maiſters.

The true office of paſtors well deſcribed out of Ezechiell.

1. Tim. 1.

1. John. 1.

The propertie of true paſtors.

1. John. 4.

Behold reuerent father, this is the touchſtone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world geuen eare vnto them now a long tyme with great pleaſure and delite? But the fleſh could neuer ſuffer the preaching of the croſſe, nor yet the wiſedome of the fleſh, which is enemy vnto God, neyther is ſubiect vnto his law, nor cannot be. And why then are they accuſed to be heretickes and Schiſmatickes, whiche will not ſeeke to pleaſe men, but onely to their edifiyng? beyng myndfull of that place of Scripture: God hath diſperſed the bones of them which pleaſe men, ſaying vnto them, ſpeake vnto vs pleaſaunt thinges. But now lettyng theſe matters paſſe, we will come vnto the ſecond poynt, wherin you aſke how a man ſhould preach better? Forſooth if we had heard hym of whom the father ſpake ſaying: This is my dearely beloued ſonne in whome I am well pleaſed, heare hym. Who alſo ſpeakyng of hymſelfe, ſayd: It was mete that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe agayne the third day frõ death and that in hys name repentaunce and remiſſion of ſinnes ſhould be preached vnto all people. What other thyng is that, then the ſame which the other Euangeliſts doe write; Go ye into the whole world and preache the Goſpell vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is Baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued. What can be more pleaſaunt, ſweet, or acceptable vnto afflicted conſciences beyng almoſt in diſpaire, then this moſt ioyfull tydinges?

A true note of ſyncere doctrine.

Eſay. 30.

An information to preachers, to preach rightlye.

Math. 28.

But here, whether Chriſt haue bene a long tyme heard I know not, for that I haue not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this yeare or two, I could not ſufficiently iudge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirme, yͭ as many as I haue heard of late preach (I ſpeake euen of yͤ moſt famous) they haue preached ſuch repentaunce, that if I had heard ſuche preachers of repentaunce in times paſt, I ſhoulde vtterly haue bene in deſpayre. And to ſpeake of one of thoſe famous men (not vttering his name) after he had ſharpely inueyed agaynſt vyce, (wherein he pleaſed euery godly man, for ſo much as it could not be ſufficientlye cryed out vpon) he concluded: behold (ſayd he) thou haſt lyen rottyng in thyne own luſtes, by the ſpace of theſe lx. yeares, euen as a beaſt in his owne dunge, and wilt thou preſume in one yeare, to go forward toward heauen, and that in thyne age, aſmuch as thou wenteſt backwardes from heauẽ towardes hell in .lx. yeres? Is not this thinke you a goodly argument? Is this the preachyng of repentaunce in the name of Ieſus? or rather to tread down Chriſt with Antichriſtes doctrine? for what other thyng dyd he ſpeake in effect, then that Chriſt dyed in vayne for thee? He will not bee thy Ieſus or Sauiour, thou muſt make ſatiſfaction for thy ſelfe, or els thou ſhal periſhe eternally. Then doth S. Iohn lye whiche ſayth: Behold the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde. And in an other place: His bloud hath cleanſed vs from al our ſinnes: And again: He is the propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole worlde: Beſide an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, then that whiche was ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt, by the mouth of Peter, ſaying: There ſhall be falſe teachers that ſhall deny the Lord Ieſus, which hath redeemed them. And what followeth vpon ſuch doctrine of Deuils ſpeaking lies through hypocriſie? a conſcience diſpairing and without all hope, and ſo geuen ouer vnto all wicked luſtes, according to the ſaying of S. Paule: After that they be come to this poynte that they ſorow no more, they geue themſelues ouer vnto wantonnes, to commit al kynd of filthines, euen with a gredy deſire: For ſeyng that it is impoſſible for them to make ſatiſfaction to God, either they murmure againſt god, or els they do not beleue hym to be ſo cruell as they doe preach and declare him to be. The lack of paper will not ſuffer me to write any more, and I had rather to ſpeake it in priuate talk vnto your ſelfe. Wherunto if you would admitte me, I truſt you ſhould not repẽt you therof: & vnto me (Chriſt I take to my witnes) it would be a great comfort: in whom I wiſh you

The preaching after the Popes church, is all to beate downe, & not to lift vp.

By this one you may ſee what all the reſt are.

Marke the maner of the common preaching of the papiſtes.

1. John. 1.

The effect & end of the popes doctrine.

with all your flocke hartily well to fare.

Your priſoner and humble beadman
vnto God for you. Tho. Bilney.

Bilney caſte downe wyth repentance.

Thus haue you the letters, the abiuration and Articles of Thomas Bilney. After which abiuratiõ made about the yere of our Lord. 1529. the ſayd Bilney toke ſuch repentãce and ſorrow, that he was nere the poynt of vtter diſpayre: as by the wordes of M. Latimer is credibly teſtified, whoſe wordes for my better diſcharge, I thought here to annexe, written in hys ſeuenth Sermon preached before king Edward, which be theſe: I knew a man my ſelfe, Bilney, litle Bilney that bleſſed Martyr of God, who what tyme he had borne hys fagot, and was come agayne to Cambridge, had ſuch conflictes within hymſelfe (beholdyng this Image of death) that hys frendes were afrayde to let hym be alone. They were fayne to be with hym day and night, and comfort hym as they could, but no comfortes would ſerue. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring thẽ vnto hym it was as though a man would run hym thorough the hart with a ſword. Yet for all this, he was reuiued and tooke hys death paciently, and dyed well agaynſt the tyrannicall ſea of Rome. Hæc Latim. Serm. 7.

Ex Latim. Serm. 7.

Agayne, the ſayd M. Latimer ſpeaking of Bilney in an other of hys ſermons preached in Lincolneſhire, hath theſe wordes followyng: That ſame M. Bilney, which was burnt here in England for gods wordes ſake, was induced and perſuaded by his frendes to beare a fagot at the tyme, when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the ſwinge. Now when the ſame Bilney came to Cambridge agayne, a whole yere after, he was in ſuch an anguiſh and agony, that nothyng did hym good, neither eatyng nor drinkyng, nor any other communication of gods word: for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were againſt hym, and ſounded to hys condemnation. So that I many a tyme cõmoned with hym (for I was familiarly acquainted with hym) but all thynges whatſoeuer any man could alleage to hys comfort, ſemed vnto hym to make agaynſt hym. Yet for all that, afterwardes he came agayne: God indued him with ſuch ſtrẽgth and perfectnes of fayth: that he not only confeſſed his faith the Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, but alſo ſuffered hys body to be burned for that ſame goſpels ſake, which we now preach in England. &c. Hæc ille, Serm. 8. fol. 132.

Furthermore, in the firſt ſermon of the ſayd M. Latimer before the Duches of Suffolke, fol. 5. he yet ſpeakyng more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: Here I haue (ſayth he) occaſion to tell you a ſtory which happened at Cambridge. M. Bilney or rather S. Bilney, that ſuffred death for gods wordes ſake, the ſame Bilney was the inſtrument wherby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke hym next to God for that knowledge that I haue in the word of god. For I was an obſtinate Papiſt as any was in England: inſomuch that when I ſhould be made bacheler of Diuinitie, my whole Oration went agaynſt Philip Melancthon, and againſt hys opiniõs. Bilney heard me at that tyme, and perceiued that I was zelous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my ſtudy, and deſired me for Gods ſake to heare hys confeſſion. I did ſo: and (to ſay the truth) by hys confeſſion I learned more: then afore in many yeares. So from that tyme forward I began to ſmell the worde of God, and forſake the Scholedoctors and ſuch fooleries. &c. And much more he hath of the ſame matter, which ye may ſee hereafter in the lyfe of M. Latimer.

Latimer called, & conuerted by Bilney.

Bilney returneth agayne from his abiuration.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pearced with ſorow and remorſe for hys abiuration, the ſpace almoſt of ij. yeres, that is, from the yere 1529. to the yere 1531. It followed then that he by gods grace and good counſaile, came at length to ſome quiet of conſcience, beyng fully reſolued to geue ouer his lyfe for the confeſſion of that truth, which before he had renounced. And thus beyng fully determined in hys mynde, and ſettyng his tyme, he tooke hys leaue in Trinitie hall at tenne of the clocke at night, of certayne of hys frendes, and ſayd that he would go to Ieruſalem, alludyng belyke to the wordes and example of Chriſt, in the Goſpell, goyng vp to Ieruſalem, what tyme he was appoynted to ſuffer his paſſion. And ſo Bilney meanyng to geue ouer his lyfe for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpel, told hys frendes that he would go vp to Ieruſalem, & ſo would ſee them no more, and immediatly departed to Northfolke, and there preached firſt priuily in houſeholdes to confirme the brethren and ſiſterne, and alſo to confirme the Anchres, whom he had conuerted to Chriſt. Then preached he openly in the fieldes, confeſſyng his fact, and preaching publikely that doctrine, which before he had abiured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and neuer to truſt to their fleſhly frendes in cauſes of religion. And ſo ſettyng forward in his iourney toward the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, he departed from thence to the Anchres in Norwiche, and there gaue her a new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, and the obedience of a Chriſtian man, whereupon he was apprehended & caryed to pryſon there to remayne, tyll the blynd Byſhop Nixe ſent vp for a writte to burne hym.

Nam facies eius erat euntis Hieroſolymã.

Bilney goeth vp to Hieruſalem.

4. Orders of Fryers againſt Bilney.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Fryers and relygious men, with the reſidue of theyr Doctours, Ciuill and Canon, reſorted to hym, buſilie labouring to perſwade him not to dye in thoſe opinions, ſaying: he ſhould be damned bodye and ſoule, if he ſo continued. Among whom, firſt were ſent to hym of the Byſhop. Doct. Call miniſter (as they cal him) or Prouinciall of the graye Fryers: and Doct. Stokes an Auguſtine Fryer, who laye with him in priſon in diſputation, till the writte came that he ſhould be burned. Doctor Call, by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, & good lyfe, wherof he had good experience, was ſomewhat reclamed to the Goſpells ſide. Doctor Stokes remayned obdurate, and doth yet to this day, whoſe hart alſo the Lord, if it be his will, reforme, and open the eyes of his olde age, that he may forſake the former blindenes of hys youth. An other great doer agaynſt hym, was one Fryer Byrde, with one eye, Prouinciall of the white Friers. Thys Byrde was a Suffragane in Couentrie, and after, Byſhop of Cheſter, and was hee that brought, apples to Boner, mentioned in the ſtorye of Haukes. An other was a blacke Fryer, called Hodgekyns, who after, beyng vnder the Archebyſhop of Canterbury, maried, and afterward in Queene Maryes tyme, put away his wyfe. Theſe iiij. orders of Fryers were ſent (as is ſayd) to baite Bilney: who notwithſtandyng, as hee had planted hym ſelfe vpon ỹ firme rocke of Gods word, was at a poynt, and ſo continued vnto the end.

Doct. Call, and Doct. Stokes, ſent to diſpute with Bilney.

Doct. Call, called by Bilney.

Fryer Byrde buſie about Bilney.

Fryer Hodgekyns a blacke Fryer, agaynſt Bilney.

But here now commeth in Syr Thomas More trumpyng in our way, with his paynted carde, & would needes take vp this Tho. Bilney from vs, and make hym a conuert after his ſect. Thus theſe coated cardes, though they could not by playne ſcriptures conuince hym beyng alyue, yet now after his death, by falſe play they wil make him theirs whether he will or no. This Syr Thomas More in his raylyng preface before his booke agaynſt Tyndall, doth chalenge Bilney to his catholicke church, and ſayth, that hee, not onely at the fyre, but many dayes before, both in wordes and wrytyng, reuoked, abhorred, and deteſted hys heriſies before holden, And how is this proued? By iij. or iiij. mightie argumentes, as bigge as milpoſtes, ſet out of * Vtopia, from whence, thou muſt know reader, can come no fyttons but all fine Poetrie.

4. reaſons of Syr Tho. More.

*Vtopia one of Mores phantaſies.

Fyrſt, he ſayth, that certayne Norwych men writing to London, and denying that Bilney dyd recante, afterward, beyng therupon examined, were compelled to graunt, that he at his examination redde a bill, but what it was, they could not tell, for they ſtoode not ſo neare to heare him. And albeit they ſtoode not ſo neare, yet ſome of them perceaued certeine thinges there ſpoken, wherby they thought that he dyd reuoke. Some agayne added to thoſe thynges ſpokẽ certaine additions of theyr owne, to excuſe hym from recantation.

Aunſwere to Syr Tho. More.

Firſt to aunſwer hereunto, and to try out thys matter ſomewhat roundly with M. More, let vs ſee with what conueyaunce he proceedeth in this narration. At his firſt examination (ſayeth he) he waxed ſtiffe in hys opinions, but yet God was ſo good Lord vnto hym, that he was fully cõuerted to the true Catholicke fayth, &c. And when myght this goodly conuerſion begin? Many dayes (quoth he) before hys burnyng. Here is no certayne day aſſigned, but many dayes left at large, that he might haue the larger roume, to walke inuiſible. Well then, but how many dayes could theſe be, I would fayne learne of M. More, when he was not many dayes in theyr handes, no longer then they could ſende vp to London for a writte to burne hym? Beſyde then ſhortly after his apprehenſion, at the firſt commyng of the Friers vnto hym, by and by he reuolted. A ſtraunge matter, that he which ij. yeres before had layne in ſuch a burnyng hell of diſpaire, for his firſt abiuration, and could finde no other comfort, but onely in returnyng to the ſame doctrine agayne, which before he had renyed, vtterly reſigning hymſelfe ouer to death, and takyng hys leaue of hys frendes, and ſettyng his face with Chriſt purpoſely to go to Hieruſalem, voluntarily there to fall into the handes of the Scribes and Phariſeis for that doctrines ſake, ſhould now ſo ſoone, euen at the firſt brunt, geue ouer to the contrary doctrine agayne. It is not lyke. God was ſo good Lorde vnto hym, ſayth M. More. That God was good Lorde vnto him, very true it is. But that God did ſo turne him in deede, to be a member of the Romiſhe Church, that hath not M. More yet ſufficiently proued. To affirme without proufe or demonſtration, in matters of ſtorie, it is not ſufficient. But what hath bene done in deede, that muſt be proued by good euidence and ſpeciall demonſtration of witneſſes, that we may certainly know it ſo to be.

A lykely tale of M. More.

The firſt reaſon of M. More.

Read of Sinon in the 2. booke of Virgil: who craftely mixeth true thinges with falſe, to betray the Citie of Troye.

It followeth moreouer in M. More. And there lacked not ſome (ſayth he) that were ſory for it. No doubt, but if Bilney had ſo relented, ſome would haue ben very ſory therfore. But what one man in all this ſumme, in all Norwich was ſory that M. More muſt ſpecifie vnto vs before we beleue hym: ſo well are we acquainted with his Poeticall fictiõ. But how els ſhould this narratiõ of M. More ſeme to runne with probabilitie, if it were not watered with ſuch additions? He addeth moreouer, and ſaith: And ſome wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not reuoked his heresies at all, but ſtill did abyde in them. This ſoundeth rather to come more nere to a truth. And here is a knacke of Sinons arte, to enterlard a tale of vntruth with ſome parcell of truth now and then among, that ſome thinges beyng found true, may winne credite to the reſt which is vtterly falſe. And why then be not the letters of theſe Norwich men beleued, for the not recantyng of Bilney? Becauſe (ſaith he) afterward they beyng called to examination, it was there proued plainly to their faces, that Bilney reuoked. By whõ was it proued? By thoſe (ſayth he) which at his execution ſtode by, and heard him read hys reuocation hymſelfe. &c. What men were theſe? or what were their names? or what was any one mans name in all the City of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There M. More wyll geue vs leaue to ſeeke them out if we can, for he can name vs none. Well, and why could not the other part heare Bilney read his reuocation, as well as theſe? Becauſe (ſayth More) he read it ſo ſoftly, that they could not heare hym.

M. More here painteth Alktiches.

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read hys reuocation ſo ſoftly, that ſome could heare, ſome could not heare him, thẽ this would be knowen, what was the cauſe why Bilney read his reuocation ſo ſoftly? which muſt nedes bee either for lacke of good wil to read, or good voyce to vtter. If good will were abſent in reading that reuocation, then it appeareth that he recanted agaynſt his owne mynd and conſciẽce. If it were by imbecillitie of voyce and vtteraunce, then how followeth it M. More in this your narration, where you ſay, that the ſayd perſons, which could not heare hym read the bill, yet notwithſtandyng could heare him reherſe certayne other thinges ſpoken by him the ſame tyme at the fire, wherby they could not but perceaue well, that he reuoked his errours. &c. Ah M. More for all your powder of experience, do ye thinke to caſt ſuch a myſte before mens eyes, that we cannot ſee how you iuggle with truth, and take you tardy in your owne narration? vnleſſe peraduenture you wyll excuſe your ſelfe, per licentiam Poeticam, after the priuiledge of Poetes and paynters, for as ye know the olde liberty of theſe two: Pictoribus atque Poetis,

Quælibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.

Marke how theſe thinges hang together.

Now if this vayne of yours, which ſo extremely rayleth and fareth agaynſt the poore Martyrs and ſeruauntes of Chriſt, be ſo copious that you dare take in hande any falſe matter to proue, and to make men beleue, that Bilney dyed a Papiſt, yet the maner of handlyng hereof would haue required ſome more artificiall conueyaunce: Mendacem enim (vt ſcis) memorem eſſe oportet: that men, although they ſee the matter to be falſe, yet might commend the workemanſhip of the handler, which (to ſay the truth) neither hãgeth with it ſelfe, nor beareth any ſemblaunce of any truth. But becauſe M. More is gone and dead, I will ceaſe any further to inſult vpon him, leſt I may ſeme to incurre the ſame vice of hys in mordendo mortuos. Yet for ſo much as hys bookes be not yet dead, but remayne alyue to the hurt of many, hauyng therfore to do not with hym, but with his booke diſciples, this would I know how hangeth this geare together: Bilney was heard, and yet not heard: he ſpake ſoftly and yet not ſoftly. Some ſayd he did recant, ſome ſayd he dyd not recant. Ouer and beſides, how will this be anſwered, that for ſo much as the ſayd Bilney (as he ſayth) reuoked many dayes before his burning, & the ſame was known to him at London, then how chaunced the ſame could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as hys own ſtory affirmeth) knew nothing therof before the day of his execution, then ſeyng a certaine bill in hys hande, which ſome ſayd was a bill of hys reuocation, ſome other heard it not. All this would be made playne, eſpecially in ſuch a matter as this is, which he knew himſelfe peraduenture to be falſe, at leaſt, he knew would be doubted, ſuſpected, and contraried of a great multitude.

The ſecond reaſon of M. More.

I paſſe now to his ſecond reaſon, where he reporteth, that the ſayd Bilney forthwith vpon hys iudgement & degradation, kneled downe in the preſence of all the people, and asked of the Chauncellor abſolution from the ſentence of excommunicatiõ, holding him well contẽt with his death which he confeſſed himſelfe to haue deſerued. &c.

Aunſwere.

* That is, he ſo ſayth.

As touchyng the pacient receiuyng of his death, I doe well aſſent, although I do not thinke that he had deſerued any ſuch for his doctrine. And as for hys kneelyng downe in the preſence of the people, vpon hys iudgement and degradation, as I do not deny but he myght ſo do, ſo I ſuppoſe agayne the cauſe of hys kneling not to be vnto the Chauncellor to aſke abſolution from hys excommunication. And if he were aſſoyled from his excommunication, yet doth it not therupon follow that he recanted, no more then before, when he came to M. Latimer in his ſtudy, humbly to be confeſſed and aſſoyled from hys ſinnes as the blyndnes of that tyme then led hym. But whether he kneled downe and was aſſoyled or no, neyther was I there to ſee hym, nor yet M. More himſelfe. And therfore with the lyke authoritie as he affirmeth, I may deny the ſame, vnleſſe he brought better demonſtration for hys aſſertion thẽ he doth, hauing no more for hymſelf, but only his owne * ἀυτὸς ἔφη. And yet neuertheleſſe admit he ſo did, beyng a man of a timorous conſciẽce of an humble ſpirit, and not fully reſolued touching that matter of the church, yet it followeth not therby (as is ſaid) that he reuoked hys other Articles and doctrine, by hym before profeſſed.

The third reaſon of M. More.

Aunſwere.

The lyke aunſwer may alſo be ſhaped to his third reaſon where he ſayth: that certayn dayes after hys iudgement, he made great labour that he might receaue the bleſſed bodye of Chriſt in forme of bread, which the Chauncellour after a great ſtickyng a while, at length did graunt, perceiuing his deuotion therto. &c. Wherunto I aunſwer as before, that it is not vnpoſſible, but that Bilney might both heare Maſſe, and deſire to receiue the Sacrament: For in that matter it may be, that he was not reſolued otherwiſe, then common cuſtome then led both hym and many other. Neither doe I finde in all the articles obiected agaynſt Bilney, that euer he was charged with any ſuch opinion, concerning eyther the Maſſe or the Sacrament: whiche maketh mee thyncke, that he was yet ignoraunt and alſo deuoute as other then were.

The fourth reaſon of M. More.

Status inficialis, in Rethoricke is whẽ one ſtandeth to the denial of the facte.

An argumẽt of Mores authoritie.

M. Mores credite cracht.

Alſo fourthly, be it admitted, as M. More ſayth, that in receauing of the Sacramẽt, he holdyng vp hys hands ſhould ſay the collect: Domine Ieſu Chriſte: and comming to theſe wordes, eccleſiæ tuæ pacem & concordiam, he knocked vpon his breſt, diuers tymes repeatyng the ſame wordes. &c. all this beyng graunted to M. More, yet it argueth no neceſſarye alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I lyſted here to ſtand dalying with M. More, in the ſtate inficiall, and denye ȳ he affirmeth: how will he make good that which he ſayth? He ſayth that Bilney knelyng before the Chauncellour, deſired abſolution: Then commyng to Maſſe full deuoutly, required to receaue the body of Chriſt in forme of breade, repeatyng diuers tymes the woordes of the collect: Domine Ieſu Chriſte. &c. By what argument proueth he all this to be ſo? M. More in his preface before the booke agaynſt Tindall ſo ſayth, Ergo, it is certain. If M. More had neuer made fiction in his writinges beſide, or had neuer broken the head of veritie, in ſo many places of his bookes: as I coulde ſhew him, then might this argument goe for ſomwhat. But here I aſke, was this M. More preſent at the iudgement of Bilney? No. Or els what regiſters had hee for his direction? None. Or els by what witneſſes will he auouch this to bee certeine? Goe, and ſeke theſe witneſſes (good reader) where thou canſt finde them, for M. More nameth none. Onely becauſe M. More ſo ſayth, this is ſufficient. Well, giue this to M. More, (althoughe hee hath crakte his credite ſo often, and may almoſt bee banckrout) yet let his word goe for paymẽt at this time, and let vs imagine all to be oracles, ȳ he ſayth: yet neuertheles, here muſt nedes remayne a ſcruple. For what will M. More (or becauſe he is gone) what will his diſciples ſay to this, that if Bilney was before aſſoyled vpon his iudgement, as they pretend, how was he then afterward degraded? What aſſoylyng is this, to be forgeuen firſt, and then to be puniſhed after? Agayne, if he were (as they ſurmiſe) conuerted ſo fully to the Catholicke fayth, and alſo aſſoyled, why then did the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly for a while, to houſel him with the body of Chriſt, in forme of bread? I am ſure that if Chriſte had bene here him ſelfe in forme of his owne fleſhe, he would nothyng haue ſtucke to receaue him, being ſo conuerted at the firſt.

The law of relapſe, Extrauag. de heret. ſuper co-

To bee ſhort, if Bilney was ſo graciouſly reduced to the holy mother the Catholicke Church, repẽtyng his errours, and deteſtyng his heriſies, and now beyng in no Purgatory, but beyng a very Saint in heauen, as ye ſay he is: why then dyd ye burne him, whom your ſelues knew ſhould be a Saint? Thus ye burne both Gods enemies, and Gods Saintes too, what cruell men are you? But here you wil alledge perhaps, your law of relaps, by the which the firſt fall is pardonable, but the ſecond fall into hereſie, is in no

caſe

Mores wordes in hys preface.

The Popes lawe diſagreeing from the condition of the true church of Chriſt.

caſe pardonable: for ſo ſtandeth your law, I graunt. But how this law ſtãdeth with the true Church of Chriſt, and wͭ his word, now let vs reaſon. For this beyng a law, not of politicke or ciuil gouernement, (where ſuch lawes be expedient for publicke neceſſitie) but onely beyng a law mere Eccleſiaſticall, what a cruel mother Church is this, which will not and can not forgeue her children ryſing and repentyng the ſecond fault or errour committed, but needes muſt burne their bodyes, that their ſoules may be ſaued from the paynefull paſſion of Purgatory, whom neuertheleſſe they know forthwith ſhall be bleſſed in heauen? If God do ſaue them, why do you burne them? If God do pardon thẽ, why do you condẽne them? And, if this be the law of your church, accordyng to your doctrine, to burne them at the ſecõd tyme, though they be amended: how then doth this Church agree with the word of Chriſt, & nature of his true ſpouſe, which onely ſeeketh the repentaunce and amendement of ſinners? which once beyng had, ſhe gladly openeth her boſome, and motherly receaueth them, whenſoeuer they returne.

Heb. 5.

Bilney needed not to be burned by the ſentence of the Canon lawe.

Ex tractatu cuiuſdam Doct. Canoniſtæ.

Wherfore, if Bilney did returne to your Church (as ye ſay he did) then was your Church a cruell mother and vnnaturall, which would not open her boſome vnto him, but thruſt him into the fire when he had repẽted. Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, who in expreſſe wordes teachyng all Byſhops and Paſtors, by the example of Chriſt the great Byſhop of our ſoules, (beyng compaſſed about with tentations, that he might haue the more compaſſion of them which be infirme) exhorteth all other ſpiritual paſtours by the lyke example, ſaying: Hebr. 5. For euery Byſhop, which is taken from among men, is ordeined for men, in thyngs perteinyng to God, to offer giftes and ſacrifice for ſinnes, that he may be mercyfull to the ignoraunt, and to ſuch as erre, for ſomuch as he himſelfe is cõpaſſed about with infirmitie.&c. Beſides which Scripture, adde alſo that ſome Doctours of the Canon law, if they be well ſcande, will not deny but that they which be fallen in relapſe, whether it be verè, or fictè, yet if they earneſtly returne from their errours before the ſentence be giuen, they may be ſent to perpetuall priſon in ſome monaſtery.&c. Wherfore, if Bilney did ſo earneſtly retract and deteſt his former opinions, ſo many dayes (as More ſayth) before his ſufferyng, then needed not he to ſuffer that death as he dyd, but might haue bene ſent to perpetuall priſon.

M. Mores tale full of abſurdities.

Thus, although I neede not to ſtand lõger vpon this matter, beyng ſo playne, and hauyng ſayd inough: yet (briefly to repeate that before hath bene ſayd) this I ſay agayne: firſt if Thomas Bilney was aſſoyled from excommunication, and after that heard his Maſſe ſo deuoutly, and at the end of the Maſſe, was confeſſed, and conſequently after cõfeſſion was houſſeled, and laſtly aſked mercy for contẽnyng of the Church, as M. More doth beare vs in hand (to ſee now how this tale hangeth together) why then did the Chauncellour ſticke ſo greatly to giue him the Sacrament of the aultar, whom he himſelfe had aſſoyled, and receaued to the Sacrament of penaunce before, whiche is playne agaynſt the Canõ law? Agayne, the ſayd Thomas Bilney, if hee were nowe receaued to the mother Churche by the Sacraments both of penaunce, and of the aultar: why then was he afterward diſgraded, and cut from the Church, ſith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to them which onely be incorrigible? Furthermore, the ſayd Bilney, if he beyng conuerted ſo many dayes before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholicke fayth, was now no hereticke, how then did the ſentence pronounce him for an hereticke? or finally how could they, or why would they burne him beyng a Catholicke, eſpecially ſith the Canon law would beare with him to be iudged rather to perpetuall priſon in ſome Monaſtery, as is afore touched, if they had pleaſed?

A ſummarye aunſwere to M. More, or in his abſence, to Alane Cope.

Wherfore, in three wordes to aunſwere to M. More. Firſt all this tale of his may be doubted, becauſe of the matter not hangyng together. Secondly, it may alſo as well be denyed, for the inſufficiencie of probation, and teſtimonie. Thirdly, if all this were graunted, yet neither hath M. More any great aduauntage agaynſt Bilney to proue hym to haue recanted: nor yet M. Cope agaynſt me, which by the authoritie of M. More ſeeketh to beare me downe, and diſproue my former ſtory.

Mores conſequent denyed.

For be it graunted that Bilney at his death, dyd hold with the Maſſe, with confeſſion, and with the authoritie of their Romiſh Church, beyng an humble ſpirited man, and yet no further brought: yet all this notwithſtandyng proueth not that he recanted. For ſo much as he neuer held nor taught any thyng before agaynſt the premiſſes, therfore he could not recant that which he neuer did hold. For the better demonſtration wherof, I will recite out of yͤ Regiſters, ſome part of his teaching and preaching, as was obiected agaynſt him by one Richard Nele, Prieſt: who among other witneſſes, depoſed agaynſt hym for preachyng in the towne of Wyliſedone, theſe wordes folowing.

Ex Regiſtro London. fol. 82.

Bilney agaynſt offeringes to Images.

Put away your goldẽ Gods, your ſiluer Gods, your ſtony Gods, and leaue your offeringes, and liſt vp your hartes to the Sacrament of the aultar. Alſo the ſayd M. Bilney ſayde in hys Sermon: I know certaine thinges haue bene offered in ſuch places, which haue bene afterward geuẽ to whores, of the ſtewes: and I call them whores of the ſtewes, that be naught of their lyuing.&c. Ex Regiſt.

Item, by an other witnes named W. Cade, it was depoſed agaynſt hym, thus to preach: That Iewes and Saracenes would haue become Chriſten men long ago, had not Idolatrie of Chriſten men bene, by offering of Candels, waxe, or money to the ſtockes, and the ſtones of Images ſet and ſtanding in the Churches.&c.

Bilney agaynſt Pilgrimage.

Item, by the ſayd deponent agaynſt Bilney: That the Prieſtes take away the offeringes, and hange them about their whores neckes: and after that, they take them agayne from the whores, if they pleaſe them not, and hange them vpon the Images: and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there agayne?

Item, by the ſaid deponent it was teſtified againſt Bilney: That goyng on Pilgrimage is naught, and that no man ſhould vſe it: For it were better not, and rather to tarye at home, and geue ſomwhat in almoſe, and offer your hartes, willes, and myndes to the Sacrament, and leaue your Idolatry to Saintes.

Item, by W. Nelmys of Wylſedone, that Bilney ſhould preach: They gilde their Gods, and beare them about, and men ſay, they do ſpeake: and if they do ſpeake, it is the deuil that ſpeaketh in them, and not God.&c.

Item, by Tho. Daly of Wilſdone, that Bilney thus preached: You come hether on pilgrimage to ſtockes & ſtones. You do naught: keepe you at home, and worſhip the Sacrament at home.&c.

Item, by Fryer Iohn Hogekyn, that Bilney thus preached at Ipſewych: The commyng of our Sauiour Chriſt was long deſired, and by diuers and many Prophetes propheſied, that he ſhould come. But Iohn the Baptiſte, more then a Prophet, did not onely propheſie, but wyth his finger ſhewed: Beholde the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the worlde. Then, if this were the very Lambe, which Iohn did demõſtrate, and ſhewed, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, what iniurie is this Bul of the Byſhop of Rome to our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, that to be buryed in the cowle of S. Frances, ſhould or may remit 4. parts of penance? What is left to our Sauiour Chriſt, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world? This I will iuſtifie to be a great blaſphemie agaynſt the bloud of Chriſt.&c.

Bilney agaynſt falſe merites. Vid. ſupr. pag. 975.

Item, by an other Frier Iulles, that Bilney thus preached, I truſt there ſhall and will come other beſide me, the which ſhall ſhew and preach to you the ſame fayth, & maner of lyuing that I do, which is the very true Goſpell of our Sauiour, whereby you ſhall be brought from your errours, wherein you haue bene long ſeduced: for before this, there hath bene many, that hath ſclaundered you, and the Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt. Of whom ſpeaketh our Sauiour Chriſt. Mat. 18. Qui ſcandalizauerit vnum de puſillis iſtis qui crediderunt.&c.

Adde moreouer to theſe, the teſtimonie of Richard Seman: that Bilney in Ipſwitch ſhould preach theſe wordes: Our Sauiour Chriſt is our Mediatour betwene vs and the father: what then ſhould neede vs to ſeeke to any Saint for remedy, inferiour to Chriſt? Wherfore to make ſuch petition to any, but to our Sauiour Chriſt, truſting therby to haue remedie, doth great iniurie to the bloud of Chriſt, and deformeth our Sauiour Chriſt: like as, if a man ſhoulde take and ſtrike of the head, and ſet it vnder the foote, and to ſet the foote aboue.

Bilney agaynſt moe mediatours then one.

Thus much being partly touched before, I thought here to inſinuate againe out of the Regiſters, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney. Whereby may appeare the whole ſumme of his preaching & doctrine to proceed chiefly againſt Idolatry, inuocation of Saintes, vaine worſhip of Images, falſe truſt to mens merites, & ſuch other groſſe pointes of religion, as ſeemed preiudiciall & derogatorie to the bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus. As touching the Maſſe, & Sacrament of the aultar, as he neuer varied from himſelfe, ſo he neuer differed therein from the moſt groſſeſt Catholiques. And as concernyng his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blynde it was at that time, may ſufficiently appeare by his owne aunſweres in tyme of his abiuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, which I haue to ſhew, as foloweth: Credo plæraſq; legis pontificias vtiles eſſe, neceſſarias, & ad pietatem quoq; plurimum promouentes, nec ſacris Scripturis repugnantes, imò ab omnibus plurimum obſeruandas.&c. De omnibus non poſſum pronunciare, vtpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, vt reprehenderem, ſed vt diſcerem intelligere, ac pro

Note here how groſſe Bilney was yet in the Sacrament.

Ex Regiſt. London. fol. 37.

virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum, queſtus eſt ſuo tempore S. Auguſtinus, & item Gerſonius, qui miratur quomodo nos poſt lapſum, inter tot laqueos Conſtitutionũ, tuti eſſe poſſimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapſum, vnicum præceptum non obſeruarint. &c.

Moreouer, concernyng the authoritie of the keyes, thus he writeth, aunſweryng to his. 12. Article: Soli ſacerdotes ordinati ritè per pontifices, habent claues, quarum virtute ligant & ſoluunt (* claue non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet ſint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit miniſtrorum indignitas, q̃diu ab Eccleſia tolerantur. &c.

At hęc clauis rat perpetuò.

By theſe wordes of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignoraunt and groſſe hee was after the rudeneſſe of thoſe dayes: yet by the ſame notwithſtandyng it may appeare, how falſely hee is noted and ſclaundered by M. More, and Cope my frend, to haue recanted the Articles, which he did neuer hold or mainteyne otherwiſe in all his life. And therfore (as I ſayd) though it be graunted to M. More, or in his abſence, to my frende Cope, that Bilney was aſſoyled, was cõfeſſed, & houſſeled, before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Contrary reaſons to proue that Bilney did not agayne recãt.

Now that I haue ſufficiently (I truſt) put of the reaſons of M. More and of others, wherby they pretend falſely to face vs out, that Bilney the ſecond tyme agayne recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewiſe do inferre my probations, whereby I haue to argue & conuince, that Bilney did not the ſecond tyme recant, as he is vntruely ſclaundered. And firſt I will begyn euen with the wordes and teſtimony of M. Mores owne mouth, who being Lord Chauncellour when meſſage was ſent to him, for a writte of diſcharge to burne Bilney, ſpeakyng in this wiſe to the meſſengers, that came: Go your wayes (ſayd he) and burne him firſt, and then afterward come to me for a bill of my hãd. Which wordes may giue vs euidẽce inough, that Bilney was not thought then to haue recanted, for thẽ the Lord Chauncellour would not haue bene ſo greedy and haſty (no doubt) to haue him diſpatched. And how ſtandeth this with M. Mores wordes now, which beareth vs in hand that he recanted many dayes before his burnyng?

Mores owne wordes agaynſt himſelfe.

The lyke euidence we may alſo take by the verdict of the Byſhop himſelfe, that burned him: whoſe wordes were theſe. After he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doct. Sharton: Chriſtes mother, ſayde he (that was his othe) I feare I haue burnt Abell, and let Cain go. &c. As who would ſay: I had thought before, that I had puniſhed Cain, and let Abell go: but now I feare I haue burnt Abell, and let Cain eſcape. Wherby it is playne to vnderſtand, what was the Byſhops iudgement of Bilney, before his burnyng: that is, that he was a Cain and the other an Abell. But after the burnyng of Bilney, the Byſhop hearing now of Sharton, turneth his iudgemẽt, and correcteth himſelfe, ſwearyng now the contrary: that is, leſt he had burned Abell, and let Cain go.

Proued by Byſhop Nixes wordes that Bilney did not recant at his burning.

Furthermore, where the Byſhop feared, in burnyng Bilney, that he had burned Abell, what doth this feare of the byſhop import, but a doubtyng of his mynde vncertaine? For who feareth that wherof he is ſure? Wherfore ỹ caſe is playne, that Bilney at his burnyng did not recant, as More reporteth: For then the Byſhop knowyng Bilney to dye a Catholicke conuert, & a true member of the church, would not haue feared, nor doubted, but would haue conſtantly affirmed Bilney to haue dyed a true Abell in deede. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney dyed an Abell, then the Byſhop by his owne confeſſion, muſt needes proue himſelfe to be a Cain, whiche ſlue him. What more clearer probation could we bryng, if there were a thouſand? Or what neede we any other, hauyng this alone?

Cain burneth Abell.

Now for teſtimonie and witneſſe of this matter, to be produced, for ſomuch as M. More alledgeth none to proue that Bilney at his death, did recant: I will aſſay what teſtimonie I haue on the contrary ſide, to auouche and proue that Bilney dyd not recant.

Teſtimonies prouing that M. Bilney did not recant at his death.

And for ſomuch as Bilney was a Cambrige man, and the firſt framer of that Uniuerſitie in the knowledge of Chriſt, and was burned at Norwich, beyng not very farre diſtant from Cambrige: there is no doubt, but among ſo many frendes as hee had in that Uniuerſitie, ſome went thether to heare, and ſee hym. Of whom one was Thomas Alen felow thẽ of Penbroke Hall, who returnyng the ſame tyme, from Bilneys burnyng, declared to Doct. Turner, Deane of Welles, beyng yet alyue (a man whoſe authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credite to be diſtruſted) that the ſayd Bilney tooke his death moſt paciently, and ſuffered moſt conſtantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had profeſſed.

Witnes for Bilney.

Doct Turner Deane of Welles.

In the Citie of Norwich Necton, and many other be now departed, which were then preſent at the burnyng of Bilney: neuertheleſſe ſome be yet alyue, whoſe witneſſes, if neede were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willyng) as tyme ſhall require. In the meane tyme, at the writyng hereof, here was one Thom. Ruſſell, a right honeſt occupyer, and a Citizen of Norwich, who likewiſe beyng there preſent on horſebacke at the execution of this godly man, beholdyng all thynges that were done, did neither heare hym recant any worde, nor yet heard of hys recantation.

An other witnes for Bilney.

I could alſo adde hereunto the teſtimonie of an other, beyng brother to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, named M. Baker, a man yet alyue, who beyng the ſame tyme preſent at the examination of Bilney, both heard hym, and ſaw him, when as a certaine Frier called him hereticke, wherunto Bilney replying agayne, made aunſwere: if I be an hereticke (ſayd he) then are you an Antichriſt, who of late haue buried a certaine Gentlewoman wͭ you, in S. Fraunces coule, aſſuryng her to haue ſaluation thereby. Whiche fact, although the Frier the ſame tyme did denye, yet this cã not be denyed, but Bilney ſpake theſe wordes: whereby he may eaſily be iudged to be farre from the mynde of any recãtation: accordyng as by the ſayd Gentleman, it is alſo teſtified, that after that, he neuer heard of any recantation that Bilney either ment or made.

An other witnes for Bilney.

If I ſhould recite all, which here might be brought, I might ſooner lacke rowme in my booke to conteine them, then names enough to fill vp a grand iurye. But what neede I to ſpend tyme about witnes, when one M. Latymer may ſtand for a thouſand, one Martyr to beare witnes to an other? And though my frend Cope, preſſyng me with the authoritie of M. More, ſayth, that he will beleue hym before me: yet I truſt, he will not refuſe to credite this ſo auncient a Senior, father Latimer, beyng both in Bilneys time, and alſo by Bilney conuerted, and familiarly with him acquainted: who beyng the ſame tyme at Cãbridge, I ſuppoſe would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, then maiſter More. Touchyng the teſtimoniall of which Latymer, I haue noted before, how he in. iij. ſondry places in his Sermõs, hath teſtified of good Bilney, of that bleſſed Bilney, of Saint Bilney, how he dyed paciently agaynſt the tyrannicall Sea of Rome. &c. An in an other Sermon alſo, how the ſayd Bilney ſuffered his body to be burned for the Goſpels ſake. et cet. Item, in an other place, how the ſayd Bilney ſuffered death for Gods wordes ſake. vid. pag. 981.

One martyr witnes for an other Martyr.

The teſtimonie of M. Latimer cõcerning M. Bilney.

Vid. ſupra pag. 981.

I may be thought perhaps of ſome, to haue ſtayd to lõg about the diſcourſe of this matter. But the cauſe that moued, and halfe conſtrayned me thereunto, was Syr Tho. More, ſometymes Lord Chauncellour of England, & now a great Archpiller of all our Engliſh Papiſtes, a man otherwiſe of a pregnaunt witte, full of pleaſaunt conceites, alſo for his learnyng aboue the common ſort of his eſtate, eſteemed induſtrious, no leſſe in his ſtudyes, then well exerciſed in his penne. Who, if he had kept himſelfe within hys owne ſhoppe, and applied the facultie, being a lay man, wherunto hee was called, and had not ouer reached himſelfe to proue meſtries in ſuch matters, wherein he had litle ſkill, leſſe experience, and which perteined not to his profeſſion, he had deſerued, not onely much more commendation, but alſo longer lyfe. But for ſomuch as he, not contented with hys own vocation, hath with Oza reached out his vnmeete hãd to medle with Gods Arke matters, wherein hee had little cunnyng, and while he thinketh to helpe religion, deſtroyeth religion, and is an vtter enemy to Chriſt, and to his ſpirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted Church, to the intent therfore that he beyng taken for a ſpeciall ryngleader, and a chief ſtay in the Popes Church, might the better be knowẽ what he is, and that the ignoraunt and ſimple may ſee, what little credite is to be giuẽ vnto him, as well in his other falſe facyng out of matters, as namely in this preſent hiſtory of Bilneys recantation: I haue diligently ſearched out & procured the true certificate of M. Bilneys burnyng, with all the circumſtaunces, and pointes thereto belongyng, teſtified not by ſomeſayes and by hearſayes (as M. More vſeth) but truly witneſſed, & faythfully recorded by one, who as in place and degree ſurmounteth the eſtate of M. More (though he were Lord Chauncellour) ſo beyng alſo both a ſpirituall perſon, and there preſent the ſame tyme, commyng for the ſame purpoſe the day before, to ſee his burnyng, was a preſent beholder of thynges there done, αὐτόπτης τε καὶ μάρτυς of Martyrdome, whoſe credite I am ſure will counterpeaſe with the credite of M. More. The order of which Martyrdome was this, as foloweth.

Doct Parker Archb. of Canterbury, preſent witnes at the burnyng of Bilney.

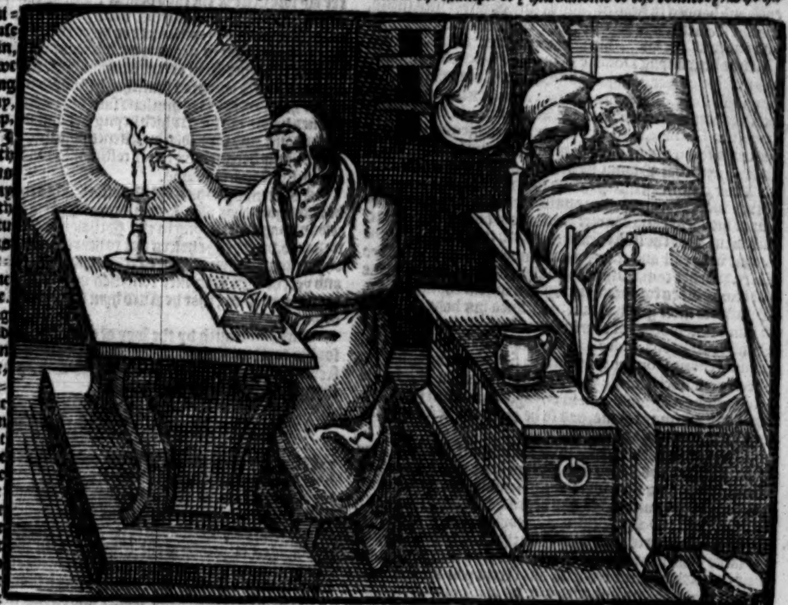
Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doct. Pelles Doctour of law and Chancellour, firſt was degraded by Suffragan Underwoode, accordyng to the cuſtome of their Popiſh maner, by the aſſiſtaunce of

Tho. Necton Shriffe of Norwith.

all the Friers and Doctours of the ſame ſute. Which done, he was immediatly committed to the lay power, and to the two Shriffes of the citie, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Tho. Necton was Bilneys ſpeciall good frend, & ſory to accept him to ſuch execution as folowed. But ſuch was the tyranny of that tyme, and dread of the Chauncellour and Friers, that he could no otherwiſe do, but needes muſt receiue him. Who notwithſtandyng, as he could not beare in his conſcience himſelfe to be preſent at his death: ſo, for the tyme that he was in his cuſtody, he cauſed him to be more frendly looked vnto, and more holeſomly kept, concernyng his dyet, then he was before.

The good courage of Bilney before hys death.

After this, the Friday folowyng at night, which was before the day of his execution, beyng S. Magnus day and Saterday, the ſayd Bilney had diuers of his frendes reſortyng vnto him into the Guild hall, where he was kept. Amongeſt whom one of the ſayd frendes findyng him eatyng of an Alebrew with ſuch a chearefull hart and quyet mynde as he did, ſayd that he was glad to ſee him at that tyme, ſo ſhortly before his heauy and paynefull departure, ſo hartily to refreſh himſelfe. Wherunto he aunſwered: Oh ſayd he, I follow the example of ÿ husbandmē of the country, who hauyng a ruinous houſe to dwell in, yet beſtowe coſt as long as they may, to hold it vp, and ſo do I nowe with this ruinous houſe of my body, & with Gods creatures in thāk to hym, refreſh ÿ ſame as ye ſee.



Tho. Bilney being in priſon, diuers tymes proued the fire wyth hys finger.

The ſittyng with his ſayd frendes in godly talke, to their edification, ſome put hym in mynde that though the fire, which hee ſhoulde ſuffer ÿ next day ſhoulde bee of great heate vnto his body, yet the comforte of Gods ſpirite ſhould coole it to his euerlaſting refreſhyng.

Bilney taſted the fire with his finger.

At that word, the ſayd Tho. Bilney puttyng his hand toward the flame of the candle burnyng before them (as alſo he did diuers tymes beſides) and feelyng the heate thereof, O (ſayd he) I feele by experience, and haue knowen it long by Philoſophie, that fire by Gods ordinaūce is naturally heat, but yet I am perſwaded by gods holy word, and by the experience of ſome ſpokē of in the ſame, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felt no conſumption: and I conſtantly beleue, that how ſoeuer the ſtouble of this my body ſhalbe waſted by it, yet my ſoule and ſpirite ſhalbe purged thereby: a payne for the tyme, wheron notwithſtanding followeth ioye vnſpeakeable. And here he much entreated of thys place of ſcripture:

Eſay. 43.

Noli timere quia redemi te & vocaui te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum tranſieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaueris in igne, non combureris & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus ſanctus Iſrael, ſaluator tuus. That is: Feare not, for I haue redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art myne owne. When thou goeſt thr ugh the water, I wyll be wyth thee, and the ſtronge floudes ſhall not ouerflow thee. When thou walkeſt in the fire, it ſhall not burne thee, and the flame ſhall not kindle vpon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy one of Iſraell. Which he did moſt comfortably entreate of, aſwell in reſpect of himſelfe, as applying it to the particular vſe of hys frendes there preſent, of whom, ſome tooke ſuch ſweete fruit therein, that they cauſed the whole ſaid ſentence to be faire written in Tables, and ſome in their bookes: The comforte whereof (in diuers of them) was neuer taken from them to their dying day.

Conſtant Bilney exhorted to conſtancie.

The Saterday next following, when the Officers of execution (as the maner is) wyth their gleaues and halbardes were ready to receaue hym, and to leade hym to the place of execution without the Citie gate, called Byſhops gate, in a low valley commonly called the Lollards pit, vnder S. Leonardes hill inuironed about with great hylles (which place was choſen for the peoples quiet ſitting to ſee the execution) at the comming forth of the ſayde Thomas Bilney out of the priſon doore, one of hys frendes came to hym and with fewe wordes, as he durſt, ſpake to hym and prayed hym in Gods behalfe, to be conſtant and to take hys death as paciently as he coulde. Whereunto the ſayd Bilney aunſwered wyth a quiet and a mylde countenaunce: ye ſee when the Mariner is entred hys ſhippe to ſayle on the troublus Sea, how he for a while is toſſed in ÿ byllowes of the ſame, but yet in hope that he ſhall once come to the quiet hauē, he beareth in better comfort, ÿ perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this ſayling, & whatſoeuer ſtormes I ſhall feele, yet ſhortly after ſhall my ſhip be in the hauen: as I doubt not therof by the grace of God, deſiring you to help me with your prayers to ÿ ſame effect.

Tho. Bilney going to hys death.

And ſo he going forth in the ſtreetes, geuing much almes by the way, by the handes of one of his frends, and accompanyed with one D. Warner Doct. of Diuinitie and parſon of Winterto, whom he did chuſe as hys olde acquaintaunce, to be wyth him for hys ghoſtly comfort: came at the laſt, to the place of execution, and deſcended downe from the hil to the ſame, apparelled in a laymans gowne wyth the ſleues hanging downe, and hys armes out, hys heare beyng pitteouſly mangled at hys degradation (a litle ſingle body in perſon, but alwayes of a good vpright countenaunce) and drew neare to the ſtake prepared, and ſomwhat taryng the preparation of the fire, he deſired that he might ſpeake ſome wordes to the people, and there ſtanding, thus he ſayd:

The wordes of Tho. Bilney at the ſtake.

Good people, I am come hether to dye, and borne I was to lyue vnder that condition, naturally to dye agayne, and that ye might teſtifie that I depart out of this preſent lyfe as a true Chriſtian man in a right belief towardes almightie God, I will rehearſe vnto you in a faſt fayth, the Articles of my Creede, and then began to rehearſe them in order as they bee in the common Creede, with oft eleuatyng his eyes and handes to almightie GOD, and at the Article of Chriſtes incarnation hauynge a little meditation in hym ſelfe, and commyng to the worde Crucified, hee humbly bowed hym ſelfe and made great reuerence, and then proceedyng in the Articles and commyng to theſe wordes, I beleue the Catholicke Churche, there hee pauſed and ſpake theſe wordes: Good people I muſt here confeſſe to haue offended the Churche in preachyng once agaynſt the prohibition of the ſame, at a poore Cure belongyng to Trinitie hall in Cambridge where I was felow, earneſtly intreated therunto by the Curate and other good people of the Pariſhe, ſhewyng that they had no Sermon there of a lōg tyme before: & ſo in my cōſcience moued, I dyd

Tho. Bilney put to death preaching, beyng therunto deſired.

make a pore collation vnto them, and thereby ranne into the diſobedience of certaine authoritie in the Churche, by whom I was prohibited: how beit I truſt at the generall day, charitie that moued me to this acte, ſhall beare me out at the iudgement ſeate of God: and ſo he proceeded on, without any maner of wordes of recantation, or chargyng any man for procuryng him to his death.

M. More proued a lyer, by witnes preſent at Bilneys death.

This once done, he put of his gowne, and went to the ſtake, and kneelyng vppon a litle ledge commyng out of the ſtake, whereon he ſhould afterward ſtand to be better ſene, he made his priuate prayer with ſuch earneſt eleuatiō of his eyes and handes to heauen, and in ſo good quyet behauiour, that he ſeemed not much to cōſider the terrour of his death, and ended at the laſt, his priuate prayers with the. 143. Pſalme begynnyng Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obſecrationem meam. et cet. That is, Heare my prayer O Lord, conſider my deſire: and the next verſe he repeted in deepe meditation thriſe: Et ne intres in iudiciū cum ſeruo tuo Domine. i. And enter not into iudgemēt with thy ſeruaunt, for in thy ſight ſhall no man liuyng be iuſtified, & ſo finiſhyng that Pſalme he ended his priuate prayers.

Tho. Bilney prayng at the ſtake.

Pſal. 143.

After that, he turned himſelfe to the officers, aſkyng thē if they were ready, and they aunſwered, yea. Whereupon he put of his iacket and doublet and ſtode in his hoſe and ſhyrt, and went vnto the ſtake, ſtandyng vpon that ledge, and the chayne was caſt about him, and ſtandyng thereon, the ſayd Doct. Warner came to him to byd him farewel, which ſpake but few wordes for weepyng. Vpon whom the ſayd Tho. Bilney did moſt gentlye ſmile, & inclined his body to ſpeake to him a few wordes of thankes, and the laſt were theſe: O Maiſter Doctour, Paſce gregem tuum, Paſce gregem tuū, vt cum venerit Dominus, inueniat te ſic facientem. That is. Feede your flocke, feede your flocke, that when the Lorde commeth, he may finde you ſo doyng, and farewel good M. Doctour, and pray for me, and ſo he departed without any aunſwere, ſobbyng and weepyng.

Doct. Warner takyng his farewell of Thomas Bilney.

The wordes of Tho Bilney to Doct. Warner.

And while he thus ſtode vpon the ledge at the ſtake, certaine Friers, Doctours and Priors of their houſes beyng there preſent (as they were vncharitably and maliciouſly preſent at his examination and degradation. &c.) came to him and ſayd: O M. Bilney the people be perſwaded that we be the cauſers of your death, and that we haue procured the ſame, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable almes from vs all, except you declare your charitie towardes vs, and diſcharge vs of the matter. Whereupon the ſayd Tho. Bilney ſpake with a loude voyce to the people, and ſayd: I pray you good people, be neuer the worſe to theſe men for my ſake, as though they ſhould be the authors of my death. It was not they and ſo he ended.

The Friers deſire Bilney to ſpeake for them.

Then the officers put reede and Fagots about his body and ſet fire on the reede, which made a very great flame, whiche ſparcled and deformed the viſour of his face, he holdyng vp his handes and knockyng vppon his breſt, cryyng ſometymes Ieſus, ſometymes Credo. Whiche flame was blowen away from him by the violence of the wynde, which was that day and two or iij. dayes before, notable great, in which it was ſayd that the fieldes were merueilouſly plagued by the loſſe of corne: and ſo for a litle pauſe, he ſtode without flame, the flame departyng and recourſing thriſe ere the woode tooke ſtrength to be the ſharper to conſume him: and then he gaue vp the ghoſt, & his body being withered bowed downward vpon the chayne. Then one of the officers with his halbard ſmite out the ſtaple in the ſtake behynde him, and ſuffered his body to fall into the bottome of the fire, laying woode on it, and ſo he was conſumed.

The pacient death & Martyrdome of M. Bilney.

Thus haue ye (good readers) the true hiſtory, & Martyrdome of this good man, that is, of bleſſed Saint Bilney (as M. Latymer doth call hym) without any recantation, teſtified and ratified by the authoritie aboue ſayd. By the which authoritie and partie beyng there preſent & yet alyue, it is furthermore conſtantly affirmed, that Bilney not onely did neuer recant, but alſo that he neuer had any ſuch Bill, or ſcript, or ſcrolle in his hand to read, either ſoftly, or apertly, as M. More per licentiā Poeticam, would beare vs down. Wherfore euen as ye ſee M. More deale in this, ſo ye may truſt him in the reſidue of his other tales, if ye will.

Saint Bilney.

M. Mores falſe report refuted.

¶Maiſter Stafford of Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly Bilney dyd much good in Northfolke where he was burnt: ſo his diligēt trauaile, in teachyng and exhortyng other, and example of life correſpondent to his doctrine, left no ſmall fruite behynde hym in Cambridge, beyng a great meanes of framyng that Vniuerſitie, & drawyng diuers vnto Chriſt. By reaſon of whō, and partly alſo of an other called M. Stafford, the word of God began there moſt luckely to ſpread, and many toward wittes to floriſh. In the company of whom was, M. Latymer, Doctour Barnes, Doct. Thiſtell of Penbrokehall, M. Fooke of Benet Colledge, and M. Soude of the ſame Colledge, Doctour Warner aboue mentioned, with diuers other moe.

M. Bilney the chiefe conuerter or Apoſtle of Cambridge.

This M. Stafford was then the publicke reader of the Diuinitie lecture in that Vniuerſitie. Who, as he was an earneſt profeſſour of Chriſtes Goſpell: ſo was he as diligent a folower of that which he profeſſed, as by this example here folowyng may appeare.

For as the plague was then ſore in Cambridge, and amongeſt other, a certaine Prieſt called Syr Henry Coniurer lay ſore ſicke of the ſayd plague, M. Stafford hearyng therof, and ſeyng the horrible daunger that his ſoule was in, was ſo moued in conſcience to helpe the daungerous caſe of the Prieſt, that he neglectyng his owne bodely death, to recouer the other from eternall damnation, came vnto him, exhorted, and ſo laboured him, that he would not leaue him, before he had conuerted him, and ſaw his coniuryng bookes burned before his face. Which beyng done, maiſter Stafford went home, and immediatly ſickened, and ſhortly after, moſt Chriſtianly deceaſed. Ex fideli teſtimonio D. Ridlei, et Edmund. Epiſcoporum Lond.

The notable zeale of M. Stafforde, in ſauing a damnable prieſt.

Concernyng which M. Stafford, this moreouer is to be noted how that M. Latymer beyng yet a feruent and a zelous Papiſt, ſtandyng in the Schooles when M. Stafford read, bad the Scholers not to heare hym: and alſo preachyng agaynſt hym, exhorted the people, not to beleue hym, and yet the ſayd Latymer confeſſed hymſelfe, that he gaue thankes to God, that he aſked hym forgeueneſſe before hee departed.

M. Latimer aſketh M. Staffordes forgeuenes.

And thus much by the way of good M. Stafford, who for his conſtant and godly aduenture in ſuch a cauſe, may ſeeme not vnworthy to go with bleſſed Bilney, in the felowſhyp of holy and bleſſed Martyrs.

¶The ſtory of M. Symon Fiſhe.

BEfore the tyme of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I ſhould haue placed the ſtory of Symō Fiſh with the booke called the Supplication of Beggars, declaryng how and by what meanes it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynges, eſpecially of the Clergy. But the miſſyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great ſquare in our ſtory, though it be now entred here which ſhould haue come in ſixe yeares before. The maner and circumſtaunce of the matter is this:

M. Simon Fyſhe, author of the booke, called the Supplication of Beggars.

After that the light of the Goſpel workyng mightely in Germanie, began to ſpread his beames here alſo in England, great ſtyrre and alteration folowed in the harts of many: ſo that colored hypocriſie, and falſe doctrine, and painted holynes began to be eſpyed more and more by the readyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not ſo high, but ſuch as had freſh wittes ſparcled with Gods grace, begā to eſpy Chriſt from Antichriſt, that is, true ſinceritie, from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the ſayd M. Symon Fiſh, a Gentlemā of Grayes Inne. It happened the firſt yeare that this Gentleman came to Lōdon to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1525. that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the ſame Inne Gentlemā, in which play partly was matter agaynſt the Cardinal Wolſey. And where none durſt take vpon thē to play that part, whiche touched the ſayd Cardinall, this foreſayd M. Fiſh tooke vpon him to do it, whereupon great diſpleaſure enſued agaynſt him, vpon the Cardinals part: In ſo much as he beyng purſued by the ſayd Cardinall, the ſame night that this Tragedie was playd, was compelled of force to voyde his owne houſe, & ſo fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall: vpon occaſion wherof the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (beyng about the yeare. 1527.) and ſo not long after in the yeare (as I ſuppoſe) 1528. was ſent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which booke her brother ſeyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gaue it her agayne, willyng her earneſtly to giue it to the kyng, which thyng ſhe ſo dyd.

Ex certa relatione, viuoq; teſtimonio propriæ ipſius coniugis.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord. 1528. The kyng after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her who made it. Whereunto ſhe aunſwered and ſayd, a certaine ſubiect of his, one Fiſh, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the kyng had kept the booke in his boſome iij. or iiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, ſuch knowledge was giuen by the kynges ſeruauntes, to the wife of yͤ ſayd Symō Fiſhe, yͭ ſhe might boldly ſend for her husband, without all perill or daunger. Whereupon ſhe thereby beyng incouraged, came firſt and made ſute to the kyng for the ſafe returne of her husband. Who vnderſtādyng whoſe wife ſhe was, ſhewed a maruelous gentle and

The booke of the ſupplication of beggars geuen to the kyng.

chearefull countenaunce towardes her, aſkyng where her huſband was. She aunſwered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then ſayth he, fetch him, and he ſhall come and go ſafe without perill, and no man ſhal do him harme, ſaying moreouer that hee had much wrong that hee was from her ſo long: who had bene abſent now the ſpace of two yeares and a halfe. In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was depoſed, as is aforeſhewed, and M. More ſet in his place of the Chauncellourſhyp.

M. Fiſhe brought, and gently entertayned of the kyng.

Thus Fiſhes wife beyng emboldened by the kynges wordes, went immediatly to her huſband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. When the kyng ſaw him and vnderſtode he was the authour of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenaunce: who after lõg talke: for the ſpace of iij. or iiij. houres, as they were ridyng together on huntyng, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wife, for ſhe had taken great paynes for him. Who aunſwered the kyng agayne and ſayd, he durſt not ſo do, for feare of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellour, & Stokeſley then Byſhop of London. This ſeemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

M. Fiſhe reſcued by the kyng.

Syr Tho. More perſecuteth M. Fiſhes wyfe.

M. Fiſhe dyeth of the plague.

The kyng takyng his ſignet of his finger, willed hym to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellour, chargyng him not to bee ſo hardy to worke him any harme. M. Fiſhe receiuyng the kynges ſignet, went and declared hys meſſage to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as ſufficient for his owne diſcharge, but he aſked him if he had any thyng for the diſcharge of his wife: for ſhe a litle before had by chaunce diſpleaſed the Friers, for not ſufferyng them to ſay their Goſpels in Latine in her houſe, as they did in others, vnleſſe they would ſay it in Engliſh. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had diſcharged the man, yet leauyng not his grudge towardes the wife, the next mornyng ſent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay ſicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her huſbãd, the ſayd M. Fiſh deceaſing within halfe a yeare, ſhe afterward maryed to one M. Iames Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams ſonne, a worſhypful knight of Gloceſterſhyre. The which foreſayd M. Iames Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the proceſſe of this ſtory, ſhall appeare.

The ſumme of the ſcripture tranſlated by M. Fiſhe.

And thus much concernyng Symon Fiſhe, the author of the booke of beggars, who alſo tranſlated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys the kynges footeman, touchyng the ſame matter.

M. Moddys the kynges footeman.

The booke of Beggars brought to the kyng by George Elyot, & George Robynſon.

This M. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the ſeas, ſayde if it might pleaſe hys grace to pardon him, & ſuch as he would bryng to his grace, hee ſhould ſee ſuch a booke, as was maruell to heare of. The kyng demaunded what they were. He ſayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot, & George Robinſon. The kyng poynted a tyme to ſpeake with them. When they came afore his preſence in a priuye cloſet, he demaunded what they had to ſaye, or to ſhew him. One of the ſaid ỹ there was a boke come to their hãdes, which they had there to ſhew his grace. When he ſaw it, hee demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea ſayd George Elyot, if it pleaſe your grace to heare it. I thought ſo, ſayd the kyng, for if neede were thou canſt ſay it without booke.

The kynges aunſwere vpon the booke of beggars.

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pauſe, and then ſayd, if a man ſhould pull downe an old ſtone wall and begyn at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head: and then he tooke the booke and put it into his deſke, and commaunded them vpon their allegiance, that they ſhould not tell to any man, that he had ſene the booke. &c. The Copie of the foreſayd booke, intituled of the Beggars, here enſueth.

¶A certaine Libell or booke intituled the Supplication of beggers, throwen and ſcattered at the proceſſion in Weſtminſter vpon Candlemas day, before kyng Henry the viij. for hym to read and peruſe, made and compiled by Maiſter Fiſhe.

¶To the kyng our ſoueraigne Lord.

A libel called the ſupplication of beggars.

MOſt lamentably complayneth their wofull miſery, vnto your highnes, your poore dayly bedemen the wretched hydious monſters, on whom ſcarſly for horror any eye dare looke, the foule vnhappy ſort of lepers, and other ſore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and ſicke, that lyue onely by almes, how that their number is dayly ſo ſore increaſed, that all the almes of all the well diſpoſed people of this your realme is not halfe enough for to ſuſteine them, but that for very conſtraint, they dye for hunger. And this moſt peſtilent miſchiefe is come vpon your ſayde poore beadmen, by the reaſon ỹ there is in the tymes of your noble predeceſſors paſſed, craftely crept into this your realme, an other ſorte, not of impotent, but of ſtrong, puiſſant, and counterfeit holy, and idle beggers and vagabundes, which ſince the tyme of their firſt entrie, by all the craft and wylines of Sathan, are now encreaſed vnder your ſight, not onely into a great number, but alſo into a kyngdome.

Stronge valiant, ſturdie and idle beggars.

More then the thyrd part of the realme in the ſpirituall mens handes.

These are not the herdes, but the rauinous wolues, goyng in herdes clothing, deuouring the flocke, Byſhops, Abbots, Priours, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffraganes, Prieſts, Monkes, Chanõs, Friers, Pardoners & Somners. And who is able to number this idle rauenous ſort, which (ſetting all labour aſide) haue begged ſo importunatly, that they haue gotten into their handes, more thẽ the third part of all your Realme. The goodlyeſt Lordſhyps, manors, landes, and territories are theirs. Beſides this, they haue the x. part of all the corne, medow, paſture, graſſe, woode, coltes, calues, lambes, pygs, geeſe, and chickens. Ouer and beſides, the x. part of euery ſeruauntes wages, the x. part of wolle, milke, hony, waxe, cheeſe, and butter: yea and they looke ſo narrowly vpon their profites, that ỹ poore wyues muſt be countable to them for euery x. egge, or els ſhe getteth not her rightes at Eaſter, and ſhalbe taken as an hereticke. Hereto haue they their foure offryng dayes. What money pull they in by probates of Teſtamentes, priuie tithes, and by mens offringes to their pilgrimages, and at their firſt Maſſes. Euery man and child that is buried, muſt pay ſomewhat for Maſſes and Dirges, to be ſong for hym, or els they will accuſe their friendes and executours of hereſie. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confeſſions (and yet they will keepe thereof no counſell) by halowing of Churches, altares, ſuperaltares, Chappels, and belles, by curſing of men, and abſoluing them agayne for money? What a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a yeare? How much money get the Somners by extortion in a yeare, by aſciting the people to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterward releaſing the apparaunces for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a yeare?

*Here if it pleaſe your grace to marke, you ſhall ſee a thing far out of ioint. There are wythin your realme of Englãd. 52000. Pariſhe Churches. And this ſtandyng, that there be but x. houſholdes in euery Pariſhe, yet are there v.C. M. & xx. M. houſholdes. And of euery of theſe houſholdes hath euery of the fiue orders of Friers, a peny a quarter, for euery order: that is, for all the fiue orders, fiue pence a quarter, for euery houſe: that is, for all ỹ fiue orders. xx. d. a yeare of euery houſe. Summa v. C. and xx. M. quarters of Angels. That is, cclx. M. halfe Aungels. Somma cxxx. M. Angels. *Summa totalis xliij. M. poundes & cccxxxiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. ſterlyng. Whereof not iiij. C. yeares paſſed, they had not one peny. *Oh greuous & paynefull exactions thus yearely to be payde: from the which the people of your noble predeceſſours the kynges of the auncient Britaines, euer ſtoode free. And thys will they haue, or els they will procure hym that will not geue it to them, to be taken as an hereticke. What Tyraunt euer oppreſſed the people, lyke this cruell and vengeable generation? What ſubiectes ſhalbe hable to helpe theyr Prince, that be after this faſhion yearely polled? What good Chriſten people can bee able to ſuccour vs poore lepers, blynde, ſore, and lame, that be thus yearely oppreſſed? Is it any maruaile that your people ſo complayne of pouertie? Is it any maruaile that the taxes, fiftenes and ſubſidies, that your grace moſt tenderly of great compaſſion, hath taken among your people to defende them from the threatened ruine of their common wealth, haue bene ſo ſlouthfully, yea painfully leuied,

ſeyng

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* Paraduenture the common counte of the pariſhes of England, among men, and in Mappes of the olde time ſo went. And albeit the ſayd Pariſhes doe not amount now to the ſame rate of 52000: yet neuertheleſſe the number (no doubt) is great, and therfore the quarterage of the Fryers can not be little, but ryſeth to a great pennye through the Realme. Whereupon the ſcope of thys mans reaſon foundeth to good purpoſe. For although he hit not perfectly on the iuſt ſumme, yet it can not be denyed, but the Fryers had verye much, and much more, then they deſerued. Agayne, neither can it be denyed, but the more they had, the leſſe redounded to the impotent needie beggars in deede. And what reaſon is it, that ſuch valiaunt beggars, which may worke, and yet will needes be idle, ſhoulde reape any peece of the croppe, which beare no burden of the harueſt, but wilfully do ſit idle, and ſerue to no vſe neceſſarie in the common wealth.

* Admitte the Summa totalis came not to ſo much, yet it came to more then the Fryers deſerued, which coulde well worke and woulde not, and woulde needes begge, and needed not. Whereof reade more pag. 404. and 407. in the ſtory of Armachanus.

* Oh greuous, &c. theſe wordes, ſayth M.More, the ſoules themſelues did heare, euen into Purgatory. Belyke M.More hymſelfe ſtoode behinde Purgatorye doore the ſame time, or els how coulde he tell, that the ſoules dyd heare hym?

ſeeing almoſt the uttermoſt peny that mought haue bene leuied, hath bene gathered before yearely, by this rauenous & inſatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the tyme of the auncient Britons, ſhould euer haue bene able to haue brought their armies from ſo farre, hether into your land, to haue cōquered it, if they had had at ye time ſuch a ſort of idle glottons to finde at home. The noble king Arthur had neuer bene able to haue caryed his armie to the foote of the mountaines, to reſiſte the commyng downe of Lucius the Emperour, if ſuch yearely exactions had bene taken of his people. The Greekes had neuer bene able to haue ſo long continued at the ſiege of Troy, if they had had at home ſuch an idle ſort of cormorantes to finde. The auncient Romaines had neuer bene able to haue put all ye whole world vnder their obeyſaunce, if their people had bene thus yearely oppreſſed. The Turke now in your tyme ſhoulde neuer bene able to get ſo much ground of Chriſtendome, if he had in his Empire ſuch a ſort of Locuſtes, to deuour his ſubſtaunce. Lay then theſe ſummes to the foreſayde third part of the poſſeſſions of the realme, that ye may ſee whether it draw nigh vnto the halfe of the whole ſubſtāce of ye Realme, or not: ſo ſhall ye finde that it draweth farre aboue.

He meaneth all this onely of idle Fryers.

Now, let vs then compare the nomber of this vnkynde idle ſort, vnto the nomber of the lay people, and we ſhall ſee whether it be indifferently ſhifted or not, that they ſhould haue halfe. Compare them to the number of mē, ſo are they not the hundreth perſon. Compare them to men, women & children, then are they not the foure hundreth perſon in nūber: One part therefore in foure hundreth partes diuided, were to much for them, except they did labour. What an vnequall burthē is it that they haue halfe with the multitude, and are not the foure hundreth perſon of their number? What toung is able to tell that euer there was any common wealth ſo ſore oppreſſed, ſince the world firſt began?

An vnequall diuiſion that the Friers ſhoulde haue halfe wyth the multitude, they being not the foure hundreth perſon of the number.

And what doth all this greedy ſort of ſturdy, idle, holy theeues, with theſe yearely exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothyng but exempt themſelues from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but tranſlate all rule, power, Lordſhyp, authoritie, obedience and dignitie, from your grace, vnto thē. Nothyng but that all your ſubiectes ſhould fall into diſobedience and rebellion agaynſt your grace, and be vnder thē, as they did vnto your noble predeceſſour kyng Iohn: which for becauſe that he would haue puniſhed certaine traytours that had conſpired with the French kyng, to haue depoſed him from his crowne and dignitie (among the whiche a Clerke called Stephen, whom afterward agaynſt the kynges will, the Pope made Byſhop of Caunterbury, was one) interdited his land. For the which matter your moſt noble realme wrōgfully (alas for ſhame) hath ſtand tributary not vnto any kynde of temporal Prince, but vnto a cruell deuiliſh bloudſupper, dronken in the bloud of the Saintes and Martyrs of Chriſt, euer ſince.

The title of kinges empayred by the popes clergie

Here were an holy ſort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a righteous kyng, all his realme and ſucceſſion, for doyng right. Here were a charitable ſorte of holy men, that could thus interdite an whole Realme, and plucke away the obedience of the people from their naturall liege Lord, and kyng, for none other cauſe, but for his righteouſnes. Here were a bleſſed ſort, not of meeke heardes, but of bloudſuppers, that could ſet the French kyng vpon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe hym to loſe his crowne and dignitie, to make effuſion of the bloud of his people, vnleſſe this good and bleſſed kyng, of great compaſſiō, more fearyng and lamentyng the ſhedyng of the bloud of his people, then the loſſe of his crowne and dignitie, agaynſt all right and conſcience, had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto them.

K. Iohn ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the Pope, read before, pag. 257.

O caſe moſt horrible, that euer ſo noble a kyng, Realme and ſucceſſion, ſhould thus be made to ſtoupe to ſuch a ſorte of bloudſuppers. Where was his ſword, power, crown, and dignitie become, whereby he might haue done iuſtice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that, ſhould haue bene ſubiect vnder his high power in this matter? Yea where was the obedience of all his ſubiectes become, that for maintenaunce of the common wealth ſhould haue holpē him manfully to haue reſiſted theſe bloudſuppers, to the ſhedyng, of their bloud? was it not altogether by their policie, tranſlated from this good kyng vnto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothyng, but apply themſelues by all the ſleightes they may, to haue to do with euery mans wife, euery mans daughter, and euery mans mayde, that cuckoldry and bawdry ſhould reigne ouer all, among your ſubiectes, that no man ſhould know hys owne child, that their baſtardes might inherite the poſſeſſions of euery man, to put the right begotten children cleare beſide their inheritaunce, in ſubuerſion of all eſtates and godly order. Theſe be they that by their abſteinyng from Mariage, do let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realme at length, if it ſhould bee continued, ſhalbe made deſert and inhabitable.

If this be not true in the whole, I woulde the greateſt part were not ſuch.

Theſe be they that haue made an C. M. idle whores in your Realme, which would haue gotten their liuyng honeſtly, in the ſweat of their faces, had not their ſuperfluous riches illected them to vncleane luſt and idlenes. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole generatiō of mankynd in your Realme, that catche the pockes of one woman, and beare them to an other, that be burnt with one woman, and beare it to an other, that catche the lepry of one woman, and beare it to an other. Yea ſome one of them ſhall boaſt among his felowes, that he hath medled with an C. women. Theſe be they, that when they haue ones drawen mēs wiues to ſuch incontinencie, ſpend away their huſbands goodes, make the women to runne away from their huſbandes, yea, runne away themſelues both with wife and goodes, bryngyng both man, wife, and children, to idleneſſe, theft, and beggery. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomles Oceanne Sea, full of euils, that this miſchieuous and ſinfull generation may lawfully bryng vpon vs, vnpuniſhed.

100000. idle whores made in England by the Popes clergie.

Where is your ſword, power, crowne, and dignitie, become, that ſhould puniſhe by puniſhement of death, euen as other men are puniſhed, the felonyes, rapes, murthers, and treaſons committed by this ſinnefull generation? Where is their obedience become that ſhould be vnder your hyghe power in this matter? Is it not altogether tranſlated and exempt from your grace vnto them? Yes truly.* What an infinite number of people might haue bene increaſed to haue peopled the Realme, if this ſort of folke had bene maryed lyke other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? ſuch truely as was neuer ſince the world began, amōg the whole multitude of the Heathen. Who is ſhe that will ſet her handes to worke, to get iij. d. a day, and may haue at leaſt xx. d. a day to ſleepe an houre with a Frier, a Monke, or a Prieſt? What is hee that would labour for a grote a day, and may haue at leaſt xij. d. a day to be bawde to a Prieſt, a Monke, or a Frier? What a ſort are there of them that mary Prieſtes ſoueraigne Ladyes, but to cloke the Prieſtes incontinencie, and that they may haue a liuyng of the Prieſtes, themſelues for their labour? How many M. doth ſuch lubricitie bryng to beggery, theft & idlenes, which ſhould haue kept their good name, & haue ſet themſelues to worke, had not bene this exceſſiue treaſure of the ſpiritualtie? what honeſt mā dare take any man or woman into his ſeruice, that hath bene at ſuch a ſchole with a ſpirituall man?

*The realme of England is diminiſhed and decayed by the number of 200000. perſons at leaſt, or els repleniſhed with ſo many whores and whoremaiſters, by reſtraining of mariage from prieſtes, Monkes, Friars, Nunnes, Colleges, Hoſpitalles, Beadmen, and ſuch like orders within the realme of England. The increaſe of which number might be recouered, and the realme more peopled, and alſo Gods Commaundementes better kept, if theſe vowes of bōdage were broken, and matrimonie permitted free to all men.

Prieſtes and Doues make foule houſes.

Oh the greuous ſhypwracke of the common wealth, which in auncient tyme before the commyng of theſe rauenous wolues, were ſo proſperous, that then there were but few theeues: yea theft was at that tyme ſo rare, that Cæſar was not compelled to make penaltie of death vpon felony, as your grace may well perceiue in his inſtitutes. There was alſo at that tyme, but fewe poore people, and yet they did not begge, but there was geuen them inough vnaſked, for there was at that tyme, none of theſe rauenous wolues to aſke it from them, as it appeareth in the Actes of the Apoſtles. Is it any maruell though there be now ſo many beggers, theeues, and idle people? Nay truly.

The Popes clergie a ſhipwracke to all common wealthes.

The cauſe of ſo many beggers, theeues, and idle people in England.

What remedy? make lawes agaynſt them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not ſtronger in your owne Parliament houſe then your ſelfe? What a nomber of Byſhops, Abbots, and Priours, are Lordes of your Parliamēt? Are not all the learned men of your realme in fee with them, to ſpeake in your Parliament houſe for them agaynſt your crowne, dignitie, and common wealth of your realme, a few of your own learned Counſaile onely excepted? What law cā be made agaynſt thē that may be auaylable? Who is he (though he be greued neuer ſo ſore) that for ye murther of his aunceſter, rauiſhmēt of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, treſpaſſe, mayme, dette, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action: and if he do, then is he by and by, by their wylines, accuſed of hereſie: yea they will ſo handle him ere he paſſe, that, except he will beare a Fagot for their pleaſure, he ſhalbe excommunicate, and then be all his actions daſhed.

The Popes clergie ſtronger in Parlamentes, then princes, as hath appeared by their cruell lawes againſt the poore Goſpellers.

No lawe nor remedie agaynſt the clergie.

So captiue are your lawes vnto them, that no man whom they liſte to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any actiō in any of your Courtes. If any man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to endite a Prieſt of any ſuch crime, he hath ere the yeare go out, ſuch a yoke of hereſie layde in his necke, that it maketh him wiſh that he had not done it. Your grace may ſee what a worke there is in London: how the Byſhop rageth for endityng of certaine Curates of ex-

All lawes & actions captiue to the clergie men.

tortion

Of Richard Hunne read before pag. 780.

The ſtatute of Mortmayne.

Halfe the profite of the realme in the clergies handes.

tortion, and incontinency the laſt yere in the Wardmote queſt. Had not Richard Hunne commenced action of Premunire agaynſt a Prieſt, he had bene yet aliue and no heretike at all, but an honeſt man. Did not diuers of your noble progenitours, ſeyng their crowne and dignitie runne into ruine, and to be thus craftily tranſlated into the handes of thys miſchieuous generation, make diuers ſtatutes for the reformation thereof: among which the ſtatute of Mortmayne was one, to the entent that after that tyme they ſhould haue no more geuen vnto them? But what auayled it? haue they not gotten into their handes more landes ſince, then any Duke in England hath, the ſtatute notwithſtandyng? yea, haue they not for all that tranſlated into theyr handes from your grace, halfe your kingdome throughly, the onely name remaynyng to you for your aunceſters ſake? So you haue the name and they the profite. yea I feare, if I ſhould way all thinges to the vttermoſt, they would alſo take the name vnto them, and of one kyngdome make twayne: the ſpirituall kyngdome as they call it (for they wyll be named firſt) and your temporall kyngdome. And which of theſe ij. kyngdomes ſuppoſe you, is lyke to ouergrow the other, yea to put the other cleare out of memory? Truly the kingdome of the bloudſuppers, for to them is geuen dayly out of your kingdome: and that that is once geuen them, commeth neuer from them agayne. Such lawes haue they, that none of them may neyther geue nor ſell nothing. What law can be made ſo ſtrong agaynſt them, that they either with mony, or els with other pollicie, will not breake and ſet at naught? What kyngdome can endure, that euer geueth thus frõ him, and receiueth nothing agayne? Oh how all the ſubſtaunce of your realme, your ſword, power, crowne, dignitie and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the inſatiable whirlepole of theſe gredy goulfes, to be ſwallowed and deuoured?

The moſt good that ŷ popes clergie doth in England is to pray mẽs ſoules out of purgatory.

Purgatory denyed.

Neyther haue they any other colour to gather theſe yearely exactions into theyr handes, but that they ſay they pray for vs to God, to deliuer our ſoules out of the paynes of Purgatory, without whoſe prayer they ſay, or at leaſt without the Popes pardon, we could neuer be deliuered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reaſon that we geue thẽ all theſe thynges, although it were a hũdred tymes as much. But there be many men of great litterature and iudgement, that for the loue they haue vnto the truth and vnto the common wealth, haue not feared to put themſelues into the greateſt infamy that may be, in abiection of all the world, yea in perill of death, to declare their opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thyng inuented by the couetouſnes of the ſpiritualtie, onely to tranſlate all kyngdomes from other princes vnto thẽ, and that there is not one word ſpokẽ of it in all holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope with hys pardons for money may deliuer one ſoule thence: he may deliuer hym as well without mony: if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thouſand: if he may deliuer a thouſand, he may deliuer them all, and ſo deſtroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruell tyrant without all charitie, if he kepe them there in priſon and in payne, tyl men will geue hym mony.

* If the Pope may deliuer ſoules out of Purgatorye for money, hee may then as well deliuer them without money, if it pleaſed him.

Agayne, if he deliuer one, he can deliuer a thouſand, if he cã deliuer a thouſand, he can deliuer all, and ſo make a gaile deliuerie, and a cleane diſpatch of all Purgatorie, if he would: & if he will not whẽ he may, than is there no charitie in him.

Chriſt ſubmitted himſelfe vnder temporall gouernment.

The cauſe touched, why the popes clergie will not let the new Teſtament goe abroad in the mother tongue.

Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole ſorte of the ſpiritualtie, that if they wyll pray for no man but for them that geue them mony, they are tirauntes and lacke charitie, and ſuffer thoſe ſoules to be puniſhed and payned vncharitably for lack of their prayers. This ſort of folkes they call heretickes, theſe they burne, theſe they rage agaynſt, put to open ſhame, and make them beare Fagots. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wot, ŷ this Purgatory & the popes Pardons are all the cauſe of the tranſlation of your kyngdome ſo faſt into their handes: wherfore it is manifeſt, it cã not be of Chriſt, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdom, he hymſelfe payd tribute to Ceſar. he tooke nothyng from hym, but taught that the high powers ſhould be alwayes obeyed, yea he himſelfe (although he were moſt free Lord of all, & innocẽt) was obedient vnto ŷ high powers vnto death. This is the great ſcabbe, why they will not let ŷ new teſtament goe abroad in your mother tongue, leaſt men ſhould eſpie that they by their cloked hipocriſie do tranſlate thus faſt your kyngdome into their handes: that they are not obedient vnto your high power: that they are cruell, vncleane, vnmercifull and hypocrites: that they ſeeke not the honour of Chriſt but their owne: that remiſſion of ſinnes are not geuen by the Popes pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure faith and truſt that we haue in him.

* M.More here playeth the cauiller, noting the authour of this ſupplication to deſire leaue to raile of the whole clergie, as though the hipocriſie of the Friers could not otherwiſe be diſcloſed wythout rayling of the whole clergie.

Here may your grace well perceiue, that except you ſuffer their hypocriſie to be diſcloſed, all is lyke to runne into theyr handes, and as long as it is concealed, ſo long ſhall it ſeeme to euery man to be a great impietie, not to geue them. For this I am ſure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father: why may I not as well geue them as much as my father did? And of this mynde I am ſure, are all the Lordes, Knightes, Squiers, Gentlemen and yeomen in England: yea and vntill it be diſcloſed, all your people will thinke that your ſtatute of Mortmaine was neuer made wyth no good conſcience, ſeyng that it taketh away the libertie of your people, in ŷ they may not as lawfully buy their ſoules out of Purgatory by geuing to the ſpiritualtie, as their predeceſſours did in tymes paſt.

Of doctour Alen the Cardinalles Chauncellour, read before, pag. 960.

Of this Doct. Horſey, the byſh. of Londons Chauncellour, read before pag. 780.

X. times, that is, x. times as much as he had in benefices before, and not as he payde to the kyng. And although theſe murderers of Hunne were not recompenced with x. tymes, or with iiij. tymes as much (which More denyeth) yet can he neuer be able to denie the ſubſtaunce of the ſtorie, that is, that Hunne by theſe was brought to his death, and that they being put to their fines, were afterward ſufficiently recompenced with benefices vpon benefices.

Wherfore, if you will eſchew the ruine of your crowne & dignitie, let theyr hypocriſie bee vttered, and ŷ ſhalbe more ſpeedefull in this matter, then all the lawes that may bee made, be they neuer ſo ſtrong. For to make a lawe for to puniſhe any offender, except it were more for to geue other men an enſample to beware how they commit ſuch lyke offence, what ſhould it auaile? Did not Doct. Alen moſt preſumptuouſly now in your time, agaynſt all his allegiaũce all that euer hee coulde, to puſh from you the knowledge of ſuch plees, as belong vnto your hyghe Courtes, vnto an other Court in derogatiõ of your crowne and dignitie? Did not alſo Doct. Horſey and hys complices moſt heynouſly (as all the worlde knoweth) murder in priſon that honeſt Marchaunt Richard Hunne, for that he ſued your writte of Premunire agaynſt a Prieſt that wrongfully helde hym in plee in a ſpiritual Court, for a matter wherof the knowledge belonged vnto your hygh Courtes? And what puniſhment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of lyke offence? Truly none, but that the one payd v.C.li. (as it is ſayd) to the buildyng of your chãber, & when that payment was once paſſed, the Captaynes of his kyngdome (becauſe hee fought ſo manfully agaynſt your crowne and dignitie) haue heaped to hym, benefice vpon benefice, ſo that hee is rewarded * x. tymes as much. The other (as it is ſayde) payd vi.C.li. for him & his cõplices: which for becauſe that he had likewiſe fought ſo manfully againſt your crowne and dignitie, was immediately as he had obteined your moſt gracious pardon, promoted by the captaines of his kingdom, with benefice vpon benefice, to the value of foure tymes as much. Who can take example of puniſhment, to beware of ſuch lyke offence? who is he of their kyngdome that will not rather take courage to commit lyke offence, ſeyng the promotions that fell to theſe men for theyr ſo offending? ſo weake & blunt is your ſword to ſtrike at one of the offenders of this crooked & peruerſe generation.

Vnconuenient for a ſpirituall man to be Lord Chauncellour.

More expoſiteth this to meane the abuſe of the ſacrament of the aultar.

And this is by the reaſon that the chiefe inſtrument of your law, yea the chief of our Councell, and he whiche hath your ſword in his hand, to whom alſo all the other inſtrumentes are obedient, is alwayes a ſpirituall man, whiche hath euer ſuch an inordinate loue vnto hys own kyngdome, that he will maynteyne that, though all the temporall kingdomes and common wealthes of the worlde, ſhoulde therefore vtterly be vndone. Here leaue we out the greateſt matter of al, leſt that we declaryng ſuch an horrible carein of euill agaynſt the miniſters of iniquitie, ſhoulde ſeme to declare the one onely fault, or rather the ignoraunce of our beſt beloued miniſter of righteouſnes, which is to be hyd till hee may be learned by theſe ſmall enormities that we haue ſpoken of, to know it playnly hym ſelfe.

Prieſtes turne the Hoſpitals to their owne profite.

But what remedy to releue vs your poore, ſicke, lame, and ſore bedemen? To make many hoſpitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truly. The moe the worſe, for euer the fat of the whole foundatiõ hangeth on the Prieſtes beardes. Diuers of your noble predeceſſours, kynges of this realme, haue geuen landes to Monaſteries, to geue a certeyne ſumme of money yearely to the poore people, wherof for the aunciẽtye of the tyme, they geue neuer one peny. They haue lykewiſe geuen to them, to haue a certayne of maſſes ſayd dayly for them: wherof they ſay neuer one. If ŷ Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhould ſing euery day as many maſſes for hys founders, as he is bound to do by his foundatiõ a M. Monkes were to few. Wherfore, if your grace will builde a ſure hoſpital that neuer ſhall fayle, to releue vs all your poore bedemen, then take from them all theſe things. Set theſe ſturdy lubbers abroad in the world to gette them wyues of their owne, to get their liuyng with theyr labour in the ſweate of theyr faces, accordyng to the commaundement of God, Gen. 1. to geue other idle people by theyr example, occaſion to goe to labour.

Tye theſe holy idle theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne, till they fall to labour, that they by theyr importunate beggyng, take not away the

What wealth & goodnes commeth to the realme, by putting out Monkes, Friers, and Chaunteries.

almes ỹ the good chriſtẽ people would geue vnto vs, ſore, impotent, miſerable people, your bedemẽ. Then ſhall as wel the number of our foreſayd monſtruous ſort, as of the baudes, whores, theeues, and idle people decreaſe. Then ſhall theſe great yearely exactions ceaſe. Then ſhall not your ſworde, power, crowne, dignitie, and obedience of your people be trãſlated from you. Then ſhall you haue full obedience of your people. Then ſhall the idle people be ſet to worke. Then ſhall matrimony be much better kept. Then ſhall the generation of your people be encreaſed. Then ſhall your commons encreaſe in riches. Then ſhall the Goſpel be preached. Then ſhall none beg our almes from vs. Thẽ ſhal we haue enough and more then ſhall ſuffice vs: which ſhall be the beſt hoſpitall that euer was founded for vs. Then ſhall we daily pray to God for your moſt noble eſtate long to endure.

The ſupplication of the ſoules of Purgatory, made by Syr Tho. More, agaynſt the booke of beggars.

Agaynſt this booke of the Beggers aboue prefixed, beyng written in the tyme of the Cardinall, another contrary booke or ſupplication, was deuiſed and written ſhortly vpõ the ſame, by one ſir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaſter, vnder the name and title of the poore ſely ſoules pewlyng out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the ſayd M. More writer therof, had firſt deuided the whole world into foure partes, that is, into heauen, hell, middle earth, and Purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens ſoules by a Rhetoricall Proſopopœa, to ſpeake out of Purgatory pynfolde, ſometymes lamentably complaynyng, ſometymes pleaſantly dalying and ſcoffing at the authour of the Beggers booke, ſometymes ſcoldyng and raylyng at hym, callyng hym foole, witleſſe frantike, an aſſe, a gooſe, a madde dogge, an hereticke, and all that naught is. And no meruel, if theſe ſely ſoules of Purgatory ſeeme ſo fumiſh & teſty. For heate (ye know) is teſtie, & ſoone inflameth choler, but yet thoſe Purgatory ſoules, muſt take good hede how they call a man a foole and heretike ſo often. For if the ſentence of the Goſpell doth pronounce them guiltie of hell fire, which ſay, fatue, foole: it may be douted leſt thoſe poore ſely melancholy ſoules of Purgatory, calling this man foole ſo oft as they haue done, do bryng themſelues therby out of Purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by ỹ iuſt ſentẽce of the goſpell: ſo that neyther the v. woundes of S. Fraunces, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friers can releaſe them poore wretches. But yet for ſo much as I do not, nor cannot thincke, that thoſe departed ſoules, eyther would ſo farre ouerſhoote themſelues if they were in Purgatory, or els that there is any ſuch fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnleſſe it be in M. Mores Utopia) as Maiſter Mores Poeticall vayne doth imagine, I ceaſe therfore to burden the ſoules departed, and lay all the wyte in maiſter More the authour and contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not keppyng Decorum perſonæ, as a perfect Poet ſhould haue done. They that geue precepts of Arte, do note thys in all Poeticall fictions, as a ſpeciall obſeruation to foreſee and expreſſe what is conuenient for euery perſon, accordyng to hys degree and condition to ſpeake and vtter. Wherefore if it be true that maiſter More ſayeth in the ſequele of hys booke, that grace and charitie encreaſeth in them that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that ſuch ſoules lyng ſo long in Purgatory, ſhould ſo ſoone forgette their charitie, and fall a raylyng in their ſupplication ſo fumiſhly, both agaynſt this man, with ſuch opprobrious and vnſittyng termes, and alſo againſt John Badby, Richard Howndon, John Gooſe, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of the Lord burned for hys worde: alſo agaynſt Luther, William Tindall, Richard Hunne and other mo, falſly belying the doctrine by them taught and defended: which is not lyke that ſuch charitable ſoules of Purgatory would euer doe, neyther were it conuenient for them in that caſe, whichin dede though their doctrine were falſe, ſhould redound to the more encreaſe of their payne. Agayne, where the B. of Rocheſter defineth the Angels to be miniſters to Purgatory ſoules ſome wyll thinke peraduenture maiſter More to haue miſſed ſome part of his Decorum in makyng the euill ſpirite of the authour and the deuill to be meſſenger betwene middle earth, and Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the priſoned ſoules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

Math. 5.

Utopia, that is to ſay, Nuſquam, no place.

A Poete ſayth Horace, Reddere perſonæ ſit conuenientia cuiq;.

M. Mores Antickes.

Satan naſturciatur.

Now, as touchyng the maner how this deuill came into Purgatory, laughyng, grynnyng, and gnaſhyng his teeth, in ſothe it maketh me to laugh, to ſee ỹ mery Antiques of M. More. Belike thẽ this was ſome mery deuil, or els had eaten in his teeth ſome Naſturcium before: which commyng into Purgatory, to ſhew the name of this man, could not tell hys tale without laughing. But this was (ſayth he) an enuious & an enuious laughing, ioyned with grynnyng and gnaſhyng of teeth. And immediatly vpõ the ſame, was contriued this ſcoffing and raylyng ſupplication of the pewlyng ſoules of Purgatory, as hee hym ſelfe doth terme thẽ. So then here was cumping, enuying, laughing, grinning, gnaſhyng of teeth, pewlyng, ſcoffing, raylyng, and begging and altogether to make a very blacke Sanctus in Purgatory. In dede we read in Scripture, that there ſhall bee wepyng and gnaſhyng of teeth in hell, where the ſoules & bodyes of men ſhall be tormented. But who woulde euer haue thought before, that the euill aungell of this man, that made the booke of Beggers, beyng a ſpirituall and no corporall ſubſtance, had teeth to gnaſhe, & a mouth to grynne? But where then ſtode M. More I meruell all this meane while, to ſee the deuill laugh with his mouth ſo wyde, ỹ the ſoules of Purgatory might ſee all hys teeth? Belyke this was in Utopia, where M. Mores Purgatorye is founded, But becauſe M. Moore is hence departed, I leaue hym with his mery Antiques. And as touchyng hys booke of Purgatory, whiche he hath lefte behynde, becauſe John Frith hath learnedly and effectuouſly ouerthrowne the ſame, I will therfore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre agayne (the Lord willyng) to the hiſtorye.

A blacke Santus in Purgatory.

The aunſwere of Joh. Frith agaynſt M. Mores purgatory.

After that the Clergye of England, and eſpecially the Cardinall, vnderſtode theſe bookes of the Beggers ſupplication aforeſayd, to be ſtrawne abroade in the ſtreetes of London, and alſo before the kyng, the ſayd Cardinall cauſed not onely his ſeruauntes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they ſhould not come into the kynges handes but alſo when he vnderſtode, that the kyng had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maieſty ſaying: If it ſhall pleaſe your grace, here are diuers ſeditious perſons which haue ſcattered abroad books conteynyng manifeſt errours and heriſies, deſiryng his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the kyng puttyng his hand in his boſome, tooke out one of the bookes and deliuered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Byſhops, conſulted, how they might prouide a ſpedy remedy for this miſchief, & therupon determined to geue out a Commiſſion to forbid the readyng of all Engliſhe bookes, and namely this booke of Beggars, and the new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation: which was done out of hand by Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, who ſent out his prohibitiõ vnto his Archdeacons, with all ſpede, for the forbiddyng of that booke and diuers other more: the tenor of whiche prohibition here foloweth.

Prouiſion by the byſhops, agaynſt Engliſhe bookes.

¶ A prohibition ſent out by Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of London, to the Archdeacons of his dioceſſe, for the callyng in of the new Teſtaments tranſlated into Engliſh, with diuers other bokes: the Cataloge wherof hereafter enſueth.

A prohibitiõ againſt Engliſh bookes.

CUthbert by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, vnto our welbeloued in Chriſt the Archdeacon of London, or to hys Officiall, health grace and benediction. By the duety of our paſtorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power, to foreſee, prouide for, roote out, and put away all thoſe thynges, which ſeeme to tend to the peril & daunger of our ſubiectes, and ſpecially the deſtruction of their ſoules. Wherefore we hauyng vnderſtandyng by the report of diuers credible perſons, and alſo by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many children of iniquitie, maintayners of Luthers ſect, blynded through extreme wickednes wandryng from the way of truth and the Catholicke fayth, craftely haue tranſlated the new Teſtament into our Engliſh tongue, entermedlyng therwith many hereticall Articles & erroneous opinions, pernicious and offenſiue, ſeducyng the ſimple people, attemptyng by their wicked and peruerſe interpretations, to prophanate the maieſtye of the Scripture, which hetherto hath remained vndefiled, & craftely to abuſe the moſt holy worde of God, and the true ſence of the ſame: of the which tranſlation there are many bookes imprinted, ſome with gloſes and ſome without, contaynyng in the Engliſh tongue that peſtiferous and moſt pernicious poyſon diſperſed throughout all our dioceſſe of London in great number: which truly without it be ſpedely foreſeene, wythout doubt, wyll contaminate and infect the flock committed vnto vs, with moſt deadly poyſon and hereſie, to the grieuous peril and danger of the ſoules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maieſty. Wherfore we Cuthbert the biſhop aforeſayd, greuouſly ſorowyng for the premiſſes, willyng to withſtand the craft and ſubtletie of the auncient enemy and hys miniſters, which ſeeke the deſtruction of my flock, and with a diligẽt care, to take hede vnto the flock cõmitted to my charge, deſiring to prouide ſpedy remedies for the premiſſes, do charge you ioyntly and ſeuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, ſtraightly enioyne and commaunde you, that by our authority you warne or cauſe to be warned all & ſingular,aſwel exempt as not exempt,dwelling within your Archdeaconries,that within.xxx.dayes ſpace,wherof x.dayes ſhalbe for the firſt.x. for the ſecond.&.x. for the third and peremptory terme,vnder paine of excommunication, and incurring the ſuſpicion of heriſie, they do bryng in and really deliuer vnto our vicare generall,all & ſingular ſuch bookes as conteyne the tranſlation of the new Teſtament in the Engliſhe tongue and that you doe certifie vs or our ſayd Commiſſarye, within ij.monethes after the day of the date of theſe preſentes, duely,perſonally or by your letters,together with theſe preſentes,vnder your ſeales,what you haue done in the premiſſes,vnder payne of contempt, geuen vnder our ſeale the, xxiij. of October, in the v. yere of our conſecration.an.1526.

¶ The lyke Commiſſion in lyke maner and forme, was ſent to the three other Archdeacons of Middleſexe, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, for the execution of the ſame matter, vnder the Byſhops ſeale.

The names of the bookes that were forbidden at this tyme,together with the new Teſtament.

Bookes condemned and forbidden.

The ſupplication of beggers.
The reuelation of Antichriſt,of Luther.
The new Teſtament of Tindall.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Chriſten man.
An introduction to Paules Epiſtle to the Romanes.
A Dialogue betwixt the father and the ſonne.
Oeconomicæ Chriſtianæ.
Vnio diſſidentium.
Piæ precationes.
Captiuitas Babiloniſca.
Ioannes Hus in Oſeam.
Zwinglius in Catabaptiſtas.
De pueris inſtituendis.
Brentius de adminiſtranda Republica.
Luther ad Galatas.
De libertate Chriſtiana.
Luthers expoſition vpon the Pater noſter.

¶ Beſides theſe bookes here before mentioned, within a ſhort tyme after,there were a great number more of other bookes in lyke maner prohibited by the kynges proclamation: but yet by the Byſhops procurement,an.1529.the Catalogue wherof with the names and the authors, are to be ſene in the former edition,pag.1157.

The new Teſtament in the Catalogue aboue recited, began firſt to bee tranſlated by William Tyndall, and ſo came foorth in Printe,about the yeare of our Lorde.1529. wherewith Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of London, wyth Syr Tho. More beyng ſore agreued, deuiſed how to deſtroye that falſe erroneous tranſlation, as hee called it. It happened that one Auguſtine Packington a Mercer,was then at Antwarpe,where the Byſhop was. This man fauoured Tyndall, but ſhewed the contrary vnto ẏ Byſhop. The Byſhop beyng deſirous to bryng his purpoſe to paſſe commoned how that hee would gladly bye the new Teſtamentes. Packyngton hearyng hym ſay ſo,ſayd: my Lorde I can do more in this matter then moſt Marchauntes ẏ be heare, if it be your pleaſure: for I know the Dutchmen and ſtraungers that haue bought them of Tyndall, & haue them here to ſell, ſo that if it bee your Lordſhyps pleaſure I muſt diſbource money to pay for them, or els I can not haue them, and ſo I will aſſure you to haue euery booke of them that is printed and vnſolde. The Byſhop thinkyng he had God by the too, ſayd: do your diligence gentle Maiſter Packyngton, get them for me, and I will pay what ſo euer they coſt, for I entend to burne and deſtroy them al at Paules Croſſe. This Auguſtine Packyngton, went vnto William Tyndall and declared the whole matter, and ſo vpon compact made betwene them, the Byſhop of London had the bookes, Packyngton had the thankes,& Tyndall had the money. After this,Tyndall corrected the ſame new Teſtamentes agayne, and cauſed them to bee newlye imprinted, ſo that they came thicke and threefolde ouer into England. When the Byſhop perceaued that, he ſent for Packyngton, and ſayd to hym. how commeth this ẏ there are ſo many new Teſtamentes abroade? you promiſed mee that you would buy them all. Thē aunſwered Packyngton: ſurely I bought all ẏ was to bee had, but I perceaue they haue printed more ſince. I ſee it will neuer bee better ſo long as they haue letters & ſtampes, wherfore you were beſt to bye ẏ ſtampes too,and ſo you ſhalbe ſure. At whiche aunſwere the Byſhop ſmyled and ſo the matter ended.

Auguſtine Packinton, the Byſhop of Londons marchaūt.

George Conſtantine.

In ſhort ſpace after, it fortuned that George Conſtantine was apprehended by Syr Thomas more,whiche was then Chauncellour of England, ſuſpected of certaine hereſies during the tyme that he was in the cuſtodye of M. more. After diuers cōmunications amongeſt other thinges M. more aſked of hym, ſaying: Conſtantine I would haue thee playne with me in one thyng that I will aſke, and I promiſe thee I will ſhow the fauour in all other thynges, wherof thou art accuſed. There is beyond the Sea, Tyndall, Ioye, and a great many of you, I know they can not liue without helpe. There are ſome that helpe and ſuccour them with money, and thou beyng one of them,haddeſt thy part therof, and therfore knoweſt from whence it came. I pray the tell me, who bee they that helpe them thus? My Lorde quoth Conſtantine, I will tell you truly: it is the Byſhop of London that hath holpen vs,for hee hath beſtowed among vs a great deale of money vpō new Teſtamētes to burne them, and that hath bene and yet is our onely ſuccour and comfort: Nowe by my truth, quoth More I thinke euen the ſame,for ſo much I tolde ẏ Byſhop before he went about it.

Out of Mores preface agaynſt Tyndall.

Of this George Conſtantine moreouer it is reported by Syr Tho. More that hee beyng taken and in hold, ſemed well content to renounce hys former doctrine,and not only to diſcloſe certene other of hys felowes, but alſo ſtudied and deuiſed, how thoſe bookes, which him ſelfe and other of his fellowes had brought and ſhypped, might come to the Byſhops handes to be burned, and ſhewed to the foreſayd Syr Tho. More Chauncellour, the ſhypmans name that had them, and the markes of the fardels,by the which ẏ bookes afterward were taken and burned. Beſides this hee is reported alſo to haue diſcloſed diuers of hys companions, of whom ſome were abiured after, ſome had abiured before, as Rich. Necton, who was committed to Newgate vpon the ſame, and is thought there to haue dyed in priſon, or els had not eſcaped their handes, but ſhould haue ſuffered burnyng, if the reporte of M. More be to be credited. More in hys preface agaynſt Tyndall.

George conſtantine, a diſcloſer of his fellowes.

Notwithſtandyng the ſame Conſtantine afterward, by the helpe of ſome of hys frendes, eſcaped out of priſon ouer the ſeas, and after that, in the time of kyng Edward, was one of them that troubled the good Byſhop of S. Dauides whiche after in Queene Maryes tyme, was burned. But of Conſtantine enough.

George Conſtantine a troubler of Ferrar Byſhop of S.Dauids.

Mention was made in the leafe before.pag. 990. howe the Byſhops had procured of the kyng a proclamation to be ſet forth in the yeare of our Lord.1529. for ẏ aboliſhyng of diuers bookes aforenamed,and alſo for withſtandyng of all ſuch as taught or preached any thyng agaynſt ẏ dignitie and ordinaunces of the Church of Rome. Vpon this proclamation inſued great perſecution and trouble agaynſt the poore innocent flocke of Chriſt, as here folowyng you may ſee, with the ſayd proclamation alſo prefixed before ẏ ſame the tenor whereof is this.

¶ A Proclamation for reſiſting and withſtanding of moſt damnable hereſies, ſowen within this realme by the diſciples of Luther and other heretikes,peruerters of Chriſtes religion.

Thys proclamation was made through out all England, the yeare of our Lorde.1519.and the xxi.yeare of K. Henry.8.

THe kyng our ſoueraigne Lorde, of his moſt vertuous and gratious diſpoſition, conſidering that this noble realme of England, hath of long tyme continued in the true Catholike fayth of Chriſtes religion, and that hys noble progenitours,kynges of this his ſayd realme, haue before thys tyme made and enacted,many deuout lawes, ſtatutes & ordinaunces,for the maintenaunce & defence of the ſayd faith agaynſt the malicious and wicked ſectes of heritickes and Lollardes,who by peruerſion of holy Scripture, to induce erroneous opinions, ſowe ſedition among Chriſten people, and finally do diſturbe the peace and tranquilitie of Chriſten realmes, as late happened in ſome parties of Germany, where, by the procurement and ſedition of Martin Luther & other heritickes, were ſlayne an infinite number of Chriſten people: conſideryng alſo, that aſwell by the corruptiō and malice of indiſcrete preachers, fautours of the ſayd erroneous ſectes, as by certaine hereticall and blaſphemous bookes lately made,and priuily ſent into this realme,by the diſciples, fautors, and adherentes of the ſayd Martin Luther and other heritickes, the kynges ſubiectes are lyke to be corrupted, vnleſſe hys hyghnes (as the defenſor of thee fayth) do put to his moſt gratious helpe & authoritie royal, to the due and ſpedy reformation therof.hys hyghnes therfore, like a moſt gratious Prince, of hys bleſſed and vertuous diſpoſition, for the incomparable zeale,which he hath to Chriſtes religion and fayth, and for the ſingular loue & affection that he beareth to al his good ſubiectes of this hys realme,and ſpecially to the ſaluation of theyr ſoules, accordyng to hys office and duety in that behalfe, wylleth and intendeth to prouide withall conuenient expedition, that this hys noble realme may be preſerued from the ſayd peſtiferous,curſed,and ſeditious errours.And for as much as hys hyghneſſe is credibly infourmed, that ſome of the ſayde errours be already ſowen and ſpread within this his realme, partly by the corruption of indiſcrete preachers, partly by erroneous bookes,compiled,printed and written, as well in the Engliſh tongue,as in latine and other languages, repleat with moſt venemous hereſies,blaſphemies and ſlaunders,intollerable to the cleane eares of any good chriſten man: hys highneſſe therfore,lyke a moſt gracious and chriſtian prince onely entending the ſauegard of this hys realme,the preſeruation of hys ſubiectes,and ſaluation of their ſoules,willeth to put now in execution,with all diligẽce poſſible,all good lawes,ſtatutes and ordinaunces concerning the premiſſes before this tyme prouided,made,and ordeyned by his moſt noble progenitours kynges of England, for that purpoſe and entent.Which lawes and ſtatutes by our ſoueraigne Lorde, and hys moſt honourable counſayle,by long and deliberate aduiſe for the extirpation ſuppreſſyng and withſtandyng of the ſayd hereſies,haue bene ſeene,examined, and by them in euery parte, thought good and neceſſary to be put in execution.

Wherfore his hyghneſſe chargeth and ſtraightly commaundeth all and euery his Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, Iudges,Iuſtices of peace,Shiriffes,Mayors, Baylifs, Conſtables,and all other hys Officers, Miniſters, and all hys true and louyng ſubiectes,that all fauour,affection, and partialitie layd apart,they effectually with all diligence and ſtudy, endeuour themſelues ſubſtantially for the executyng of all and euery of the Articles hereafter enſuyng, without diſſimulation, intermiſſion or excuſe, as they will auoyde hys high indignation and diſpleaſure.

Firſt,that no man within the kinges realme or other hys dominions, ſubiect to hys highneſſe, hereafter preſume to preach,teach,or informe any thyng openly or priuely,or cõpile and write any booke,or hold,exerciſe,or kepe any aſſembles or ſcholes,in any maner of wyſe, contrary to the Catholike fayth,or determination of holy Church, nor that any perſon within this his ſayd realm and dominions,do preſume to preach openly or ſecretly, without they haue firſte obtayned licence of the Biſhop of the dioceſſe, where they entend to preach,curates in theyr pariſhes, perſons priuileged,and other by the law of the church only except.

Alſo that no man wittinly hereafter fauour,ſupporte, or maintayne any perſon,which preacheth in forme aforeſaid, or maketh any ſuch or lyke conuenticles and aſſembles, holdeth or exerciſeth any ſchooles, maketh, writeth, or publiſheth any ſuch booke,teacheth, infourmeth, or ſtirreth the people or any of them,in any maner of forme to the ſayd errours.Moreouer,that all and euery perſon and perſons hauyng any bookes or writinges of any ſuch errours,erroneous doctrine and opinion,do deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered effectually and actually,all and euery ſuch bookes and writyngs,to the Biſhops of the dioces,or to the ordinary of the place,within 15.dayes after this proclamation ptonounced. And in caſe any perſon or perſons,of what eſtate,condition, or degree ſoeuer they be,doe or attempt any thing contrary to this Acte and proclamation,or do not deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered ſuch bookes,within the tyme aforeſayd,that euery biſhop in hys dioces,or Ordinary,ſhall cauſe that perſon or perſons,and euery of them to be arreſted in that behalfe diffamed or euidently ſuſpected,and detayne & kepe them vnder ſafe cuſtody in their priſons, vntill ſuch tyme, that the ſayd perſons and euery of them,either haue purged themſelues of the ſayd errours,or els do abiure their ſaid erroneous ſectes,preachings,doctrines,or opinions, as the law of holy church doth require.

Penaltie.

Furthermore,if any perſon by the law of holy Church be conuicted before the biſhop of the dioces or his Commiſſaries in any caſe aboue expreſſed, that the ſayd Biſhop may kepe in priſon,the ſayd perſon or perſons ſo conuicted, as it ſhall ſeme beſt to hys diſcretion,after the greuouſnes or qualitie of the cryme,and further,may ſet a fine to be paid to the behouſe of the kyng, by the perſon or perſons conuicted, as it ſhalbe thought conuenient to the ſayd Biſhop, hauyng reſpect to the greuouſnes of the offence of the ſaid perſon or perſons: the ſayd fine to be certified by the biſhop, into the kings Eſchequer,there to be leuied to the kinges vſe, except in ſuch caſes in which by the lawes of holy church,the ſaid perſons conuict of hereſies,ought totally to be left to the ſecular iuriſdiction.

Alſo,if any perſon within this hys realme of England or other hys dominions,be by ſentence iudicial conuicted of the ſayd preachyng and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions,ſcholes and informations or any of them,and before the Biſh.or his Cõmiſſary do abiure,accordyng to the forme of the lawes of holy church,the foreſaid erroneous ſectes, doctrines,ſcholes,or informatiõs,or els be pronoũced by the biſhops or their Cõmiſſaries after theyr abiuratiõ by them before made, to be relapſed, ſo that after the lawes of holy church,they ought to be relinquiſhed to the iuriſdictiõ ſecular (wherin fayth is to be geuen to the biſhop or his Cõmiſſaries in that behalf) then the Shiriffe of the Countie,Maior,Shrifes,or Mayor and Bayliffes of the ſame citie, towne, or borough, next vnto the ſayde Biſhop or Commiſſaries ſhalbe perſonallie preſent in the ſentence geuinge, by the ſayd Byſhop or Commiſſaries therunto required, and after the ſayd ſentence geuen, ſhall receyue the ſayd perſons and euery of them, and put them to further execution, according to the lawes of this realme.

Extrau. de hæret. Super eo.

Shiriffes to be preſent at the ſentence.

Alſo the Chauncellor,treaſurer of England, the Iuſtice of the one Bench and the other, Iuſtices of peace, Shiriffes, Mayors,and Baylifs of cities and townes,and other Officers hauyng gouernãce of people,which now be,or for the time, hereafter ſhall be, ſhall make othe in takyng theyr charge and miniſtration,to put theyr whole power and diligence,to put away and to make vtterly to ceaſe,and deſtroy all maner of hereſies and errours,commonly called Lollardies,within the precincts of theyr offices and adminiſtrations, from time to tyme with all theyr power.

Alſo they ſhall aſſiſt the Biſhops, and theyr Commiſſaries,and them ſhall fauour and maintayne as oftentymes as that to do,they or any of them, ſhall be required by the ſayd Biſhops or their Commiſſaries, ſo that the biſhops or their Commiſſaries, ſhall beare and paye the reaſonable coſtes of the ſayde officers and miniſters, when and as often as they ſhall trauayle or ryde to arreſt heretickes and Lollardes,or to aſſiſt the ſayd Biſhops or Commiſſaries by vertue of the kyngs lawes and ſtatutes.

Inquiſition at Seſſions.

Moreouer,the Iuſtices of the kinges Bench, Iuſtices of peace,and Iuſtices of Aſſiſe ſhall inquire at theyr Seſſions and ſittings,of all thoſe that hold any errours or hereſies, & who be theyr mayntainers,receptors,fauourers and ſupporters,commõ writers of bokes,as alſo of their ſermõs, ſcholes conuenticles,congregations,and confederacies.

Furthermore,if any perſon be endicted of any of the points aboueſayd,the Iuſtices of the peace haue power to awarde agaynſt them A capias, and the ſhriues be bounde to arreſt ſuch perſons ſo endicted,as ſoone as they may be founde by themſelues,or by their Officers. And forſomuch as cogniſaunce of hereſie,errours,and Lollardies,appertaineth to the iudge of holy church,and not to the iudge ſecular, the perſons ſo indicted to be deliuered to the biſhops of the places or theyr Commiſſaries,by indenture betwene them to bee made within x.dayes after their arreſt, or ſooner if it can be done, thetof to be acquite or conuict by the lawes of holy Church,in caſe that thoſe perſons be not indited of other thynges,wherof the knowledge appeareth to the iudges & Officers ſecular.In which caſe,after they be acquite and deliuered afore the Iuſtice ſecular,of thoſe thinges pertaining to the iudge ſecular, that they be conueyed in ſafegard to the ordinaries or theyr Commiſſaries,and to thẽ to be deliuered by Indentures (as is aboueſaid) there to be acquite or conuicted of the ſaid hereſies,errours and Lollardies (as is aboueſaid) after the lawes of holy church.Prouided that the Inditements be not taken in euidence,but for an information afore the Iudges ſpirituall,againſt ſuch indicts, but that the Ordinaries commence their proces againſt thoſe indicts in the ſame maner as no inditement had bene,hauing no regard to ſuch inditements.

Moreouer,that no maner of perſon or perſons, of what eſtate,degre or condition he or they be,do from henceforth preſume to bryng into this realme,or do ſell,receiue,take or detayne any booke or worke printed or written, which is made,or hereafter ſhall be made againſt the fayth Catholike,or againſt the holy decrees, lawes and ordinaunces of holy Church,or in reproch,rebuke,or ſlaunder of the king, hys honourable counſayle,or hys Lordes ſpirituall or temporall.And in caſe they haue any ſuch booke or worke,they ſhall incontinent,vpon the hauyng of them, bryng the ſayd booke or worke to the biſhop of the dioces, wythout concealement or fraude : or if they know any perſon hauing any of the ſayd bookes,they ſhall detect them to the ſayd biſhop,all fauour or affection layd apart, and that they fayle not thus to do,as they will auoyd the kings high indignation and diſpleaſure.

The bookes whiche in this Proclamation generally are reſtrayned and forbidden, be afterwarde in the Regiſter more ſpecially named by the Byſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in Latine, as are aboue recited, and ſome were in Engliſh, as theſe and other partly alſo aboue expreſſed.

Bookes in Engliſhe forbidden.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

- A diſputation betwene the father and the ſonne.
- A booke of the olde God and new.
- Godly prayers.
- The Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony.
- The burying of the Maſſe.
- The ſumme of Scripture.
- Mattens and Euenſong, vij. Pſalmes, and other heauenly Pſalmes, with the commendations, in Engliſh.
- An expoſition vpon the vij. chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth.
- The Chapters of Moſes, called Geneſis.
- The Chapters of Moſes, called Deuteronomos.
- The Matrimonie of Tyndall.
- Dauids Pſalter in Engliſh.
- The practiſe of Prelates.
- Hotlulus animæ in Engliſh.
- A.B.C. againſt the Clergy.
- The examination of William Thorpe. &c.

Although theſe bookes with all other of the lyke ſort by the vertue of this proclamation were inhibited to all engliſh men to vſe or to read: yet licence was graunted before, to ſir Tho. More by Tonſtall Biſhop of London, an. 1527. that he notwithſtandyng might haue and peruſe them, with a letter alſo ſent to hym from the ſayd Biſhop, or rather by ÿ aduiſe of other biſhops, deſiring hym that he would ſhew hys cunning and play the prety man, lyke a Demoſthenes, in expugnyng the doctrine of theſe bookes and opiniõs: who albeit he was no great diuine, yet becauſe he ſaw ſome towardnes in hym by his boke of Vtopia, and other fine Poetry of hys, therfore he thought hym a meete man for theyr purpoſe, to withſtand the procedings of the Goſpell, eyther in makyng ſome apparance of reaſon agaynſt it, or at leaſt, to outface it and daſh it out of countenaunce. Wherein there lacked on hys part, neither good wyll nor labour to ſerue the biſhops turne, ſo farre forth as all hys Rhetoricke could reach: ſillyng vp with fineneſſe of wit, and ſcoffyng termes, where true knowledge and iudgement of Scripture dyd fayle: as by hys works and writings againſt Bilney, Tindall, Frith, Fiſh, Barnes, Luther &c. may ſoone be diſcerned, if the reaſons and maner of hys handling be wel wayd, and rightly examined with the touchſtone of the ſcriptures. But now to fall into our ſtory agayne:

M. More the byſhops agent in confuting the Lutherans.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation aforeſayde, thus deuiſed and ſet out in the kynges name, an. 1529. the Biſhops which were the procurers hereof, had that now, which they would haue: neither dyd there lacke on theyr part any ſtudy vnapplied, any ſtone vnremoued, any corner vnſearched, for the diligent execution of the ſame. Whereupon enſued grieuous perſecution, and ſlaughter of the faithfull. Of whome the firſt that went to wracke was Thomas Bilney, of whome ſufficiently afore hath bene ſayde: and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the ſtorye here followeth.

Richard Bayfield Martyr.

Rich. Bayfilde, martyr.

Followyng the order of yeres and of tymes, as the courſe of our hiſtory requireth, next after the conſummation of Tho. Bilney, we haue to entreate of the Martyrdome of Rich. Bayfield, which in the month of Nouemb. the ſame yere, which was the yere of our Lord, 1531. was burned in Smithfield.

Marwell and Stacis Lõdoners.

This Rich. Bayfild ſometime a Monke of Bury, was conuerted by D. Barnes, and ij. godly men of London, Brickemakers, M. Marwell, and M. Stacy wardens of their company. Who were grafted in the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and through their godly conuerſation of life, conuerted many men and women, both in London and in the countrey: and once a yeare of their owne coſt, went about to viſite the brethren and ſiſterne ſcattered abroad. D. Barnes at that tyme much reſorted to the Abbey of Bery, where Bayfild was to one D. Ruſſam, who had bene at Louaine together ſtudentes. At that tyme it happened that this Bayfild the Monke, was Chamberlaine of the houſe to prouide lodgyng for the ſtraungers, and to ſee them well interteined: who delited much in D. Barnes talke, and in the other lay mens talke afore rehearſed, and at the laſt D. Barnes gaue him a new Teſtament in Latine, and the other ij. gaue hym Tyndals Teſtament in Engliſhe, with a booke called the wicked Mammon, and the Obedience of a Chriſten man: wherein he proſpered ſo mightely in ij. yeares ſpace, that he was caſt into the priſõ of his houſe: there ſore whipped, with a gagge in his mouth and then ſtocked, and ſo continued in the ſame torment, iij. quarters of a yeare before D. Barnes coulde get him out, whiche he brought to paſſe, by the meanes of M. Ruſſam aforeſayd, & ſo he was committed to D. Barnes to goe to Cambridge with hym. By that time hee had bene there a good while, he taſted ſo well of good letters, that hee neuer returned home agayn to his Abbey, but went to London to Marwell and Stacy, and they kept him ſecretly a while, & ſo conueyed hym beyond the Sea, D. Barnes beyng then in the Fleete for Gods word. This Bayfild mightely proſpered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficiall to M. Tyndall and M. Frith, for hee brought ſubſtance with hym, and was their own hande, and ſolde all their works and the Germaines workes both in Fraunce & in England, and at the laſt comming to London, to M. Smithes houſe in Bucklers Bury, there was he bewrayed, & dogged from that houſe to hys Bookebynders in Marke lane, and there taken and caryed to Lollardes Tower, and from thence to ÿ Colehouſe, by reaſon that one perſon Patmore, Parſon of Much Haddam in Eſſex thẽ lying in Lollardes Tower, was in the doctrine and in the kingdome of Chriſt there confirmed by hym. This Parſon Patmore bare a fagot at Paules croſſe, & afterward dyed in Lollardes tower. He was taken becauſe he maryed his prieſt in thoſe dayes. He had alwayes corne plentye, and whẽ the markets were very deare, hee woulde ſend plentye of hys corne thether to plucke downe the prices therof.

Rich. Baifilde a maintayner of Tyndall & Frith.

Parſon Patmore dyed in Lollards Tower.

Rich. Bayfilde Mõke and chamberlein of the Abbey of Berye.

Rich. Bayfilde whypped & priſoned amõgeſt the Friers.

This Richard Bayfield beyng in the Colehouſe, was worſer handled then he was before in the Lollards tower, for there he was tyed both by the necke, middle and legges, ſtandyng vpright by the walles, diuers tymes manicled, to accuſe other that had bought hys bokes, but he accuſed none but ſtoode to his religion and confeſſion of his fayth vnto the very end, and was in the conſiſtory of Paules, thriſe put to hys triall, whether he would abiure or no. He ſaid he would diſpute for his fayth, and ſo did, to theyr great ſhame, Stokeſley then being his iudge, wyth the aſſiſtance of Wincheſter and other biſhops, wherof here followeth now the circumſtance in order to be ſene.

The cruell handling of Richard Bayfilde in the Colehouſe.

The Articles layd to Rich. Bayfield, by the foreſaid Biſhops were theſe, an. 1531. Nouemb. x.

Articles layd to Rich. Bayfield.

Articles obiected agaynſt Rich. Bayfilde.

First, that he had bene many yeres a Monke profeſſed of the order of S. Benet, of S. Edmonds Bury in the dioces of Norwich.

2. That he was a prieſt and had miniſtred and continued in the ſame order, the ſpace of 9. or 10. yeres.

3. That ſithens the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, he beyng beyonde the ſea, brought and procured to haue dyuers & many bookes and treatiſes of ſondry ſortes, as well of Martine Luthers owne workes, as of dyuers other of hys damnable ſect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretike, and diuers other heretikes, both in Latine and Engliſh, the names of which bookes were conteyned in a little bill written with his own hande.

4. That in the yere of our Lord, 1528. he was detected and accuſed to Cuthb. then B. of London, for affirming and holding certaine Articles contrary to the holy church, and ſpecially that all laud and prayſe ſhould be geuen to God alone, and not to ſaintes or creatures.

A rancke hereſie in the popes Church, to geue all laude & praiſe to God alone.

5. That euery prieſt might preach the word of God by the authoritie of the Goſpell, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for licence, as it appeared (they ſayd) by his confeſſion before the ſayd biſhop.

6. That he iudicially abiured the ſayd Articles before the ſayd Biſhop, and did renounce and forſweare them and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promiſing that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a ſolemne othe vpon a booke, & the holy Euangeliſts, to fulfill ſuch penaunce as ſhould be enioyned hym by the ſayd Biſhop.

8. After his abiuration, it was enioyned to hym for penance that he ſhould go before the croſſe in proceſſion, in the pariſh church of S. Buttolphes at Billingsgate, and to beare a fagot of wood vpon hys ſhoulder.

9. It was enioyned hym in penaunce, that he ſhould prouide an habite requiſite and meete for hys order and profeſſion, as ſhortly as he myght, and that he ſhould come or goe no where wythout ſuch an habite, the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewyſe enioyned hym in penaunce, that ſometyme before the feaſt of the aſcenſiõ then next enſuyng, his abiuration, he ſhould goe home vnto the Monaſtery of Bury, and there remayne accordyng to the vow of his profeſſion, which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appoynted by the ſayd Biſhop of London to appeare before the ſayd Biſhop, the 25. day of Aprill, next after hys abiuration, to receyue the reſidue of hys penance, and after hys abiuration, he fled beyond the ſea, and appeared not.

12. That the xx. day of June, next following his abiuration, he did appeare before the ſayd Biſh. Tonſtall in the Chap-

pell of the biſhop of Norwich hys place, and there it was newly enioyned hym in part of penaunce, that he ſhould prouide him an habite conuenient for his order & profeſſion, within 8. dayes then next followyng, which he had not done.

That it was there agayne enioyned him, that he ſhould depart from the city, dioceſſe, and iuriſdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the ſpeciall licence of the biſhop of London, or hys ſucceſſor for the tyme being, which he had not fulfilled.

The aunſwer of Richard Bayfild to the Articles prefixed.

The aunſwere of Rich. Bayfilde, to the Articles.

TO the firſt Article he confeſſed that he was profeſſed a Monke in the monaſtery aforeſayd, in the yeare. 1514.

To the ij. Article he aunſwered that he was a prieſt, and toke orders. An. 1518.

To the thyrd Article he confeſſed the byll and ſcedule to be written with hys hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he brought ouer the ſayd bookes and workes a yeare and a half paſt, and a great number of euery ſort. Being further demaunded for what intent he brought them into the realme, he aunſwered, to the intent that the goſpel of Chriſt might be ſet forward, and God the more gloriſied in thys realme amongſt Chriſten people, and that he had ſolde and diſperſed many of thoſe bookes before named, to ſondry perſons within thys Realme, and to diuers of the dioceſſe of London. Beyng further demaunded whether Martin Luther were condemned as an heretike by the Pope, he aunſwered that he heard ſay, that Martin Luther with all his ſect and adherents, were and are condemned as heretikes by the Pope. And beyng demaunded, whether Zwinglius was of Luthers ſect: he aunſwered that he neuer ſpake with hym. Beyng aſked whether Zwinglius was a Catholicke: he aunſwered, that he could not tell. Beyng inquired whether the bookes contayned in the ſcedules, did contayn any errors in them: he ſayd: he could not tell, neither could he iudge. Alſo he confeſſed that the common fame hath bene within theſe ij. or iij. yeres, that Oecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretikes: alſo that ſuch as leane to Martin Luther be heretikes. Alſo he confeſſed, that beyng beyond the ſea, he heard ſay before he brought into this realme the bookes contained in the ſayd bils, that the kyng had by proclamation prohibited that no man ſhould bryng into this realme any of Martine Luthers bookes, or of hys Secte. Which confeſſion thus ended, the Biſhop appoynted hym to appeare the next daye.

Saterday beyng the xj. day of Nouember, Richard Baifield appeared and acknowledged the aunſwers, that he had made in the Seſſion the day before. Which thyng done, the Officiall obiected the 4. Article vnto him: wherunto he anſwered, that he could not tell whether there be any hereſies in them, for he had read no hereſies in them. And beyng demaunded whether he had read any of thoſe bookes, he aunſwered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

The booke of Thorpes examination.
The booke of I. Fryth againſt Purgatory.
The practiſe of Prelates, & wicked Mammon.
The booke of obedience.
The ſumme of holy Scripture.
A Dialogue betwene the plowman and the gentleman.

He was demaunded, whether he beleued the forenamed bookes to be good, and of the true fayth. He aunſwered that he iudged they were good, and of the true fayth. Beyng enquired, what bookes he read in the realme: he ſayd that he had read the new Teſtament in Latine, and other bookes mentioned in the bils, but he read none tranſlated: notwithſtanding he did confeſſe that he read a booke called Thorpe, in the preſence and audience of others, and alſo a booke of John Frithes purgatory, which he had read to hymſelfe alone as he ſayd, and alſo had read to hymſelfe a booke called the practiſe of Prelates, and alſo ſayd, that he had read a booke called the parable of the wicked Mammon, but in the preſence and hearyng of others, which he knew not.

Alſo he confeſſed that he had read the obedience of a chriſtian man, and the ſumme of ſcripture among company, and alſo the dialogue betwixt the Plowman and the Gentlemã among company, as he thought: alſo he had read a piece of the anſwer of Tindall made to ſir Thomas More: likewiſe he had read the dialogue of Frith to himſelf: he had read alſo the Prologues of the v. bookes of Moſes contayned in the long ſcedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which bookes he had read vnder maner aforeſayde within theſe ij. yeres laſt paſt. And as for the new teſtamẽt in engliſh, he read it before he had theſe bookes ſpecified in the ſcedules before reherſed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he ſuppoſed that they held ÿ ſame doctrine that Luther did, but that he thought them to vary in ſome pointes.

The 16. day of Nouember, Richard Baifield appeared again before the biſhop, who inquired of hym of what ſecte Zuinglius was. He ſaid, he thought that he held with Luther in ſome poyntes, &c.

Alſo he confeſſed that firſt he brought bokes of the ſortes abouenamed into this realm, about Midſomer was xij. moneth, and landed them at Colcheſter, and afterward brought part of them to this city, and ſome he diſperſed and ſolde in this city. The ſecond tyme that he brought bookes, was about all Hollowntide was xij. month, and landed them at S. Catherines, the which bookes the L. Chauncelor tooke frõ hym. Alſo that at Eaſter laſt, was the 3. tyme ÿ he brought ouer the bookes now ſhewed vnto hym, and contayned in theſe two bils, and landed with them in Northfolke, & from thence brought them to the city of London in a male.

To the v. vj. and vij. articles, he aunſwered and confeſſed them to be true.

To the viij. he aunſwered, that it was enioyned hym, as is conteyned in the Article, the which iniunction he fulfilled.

To the ix. he anſwered, that he dyd not remember it.

To the x. he aunſwered, that it was adioyned hym that he ſhould go to the Abbey of Bery, and there continue: the which he ſayd he did 3. tymes, but he did not weare his monkes cowle, as he was enioyned.

The xj. Article he confeſſed.

For the xij. Article, that he dyd were his monkes habite according to the abiuration, he referred hym ſelfe to ÿ actes whether he were ſo enioyned or no.

To the xiij. Article he ſaid, ÿ he dyd not remẽber ÿ contẽts therof, but referred him ſelfe to the actes. Notwithſtandyng he confeſſed, that he had no licence of the Byſhop of London, to come to the Citie or dioceſſe of London, nor to make any abode there. Ex Regiſtro Lond.

The ſentence geuen agaynſt him in a caſe of relapſe.

The ſentence geuẽ agaynſt Richard Bayfilde.

IN the name of God, Amen. We John by the ſufferaunce of God, Byſhop of London, in a caſe of inquiſiton of hereſie and relaps of the ſame, firſt begon before M. Rich. Foxford, Doctor of both lawes, our officiall, now dependyng before vs vndecided, agaynſt ÿ Rich. Bayfeld Prieſt and Monke, profeſſed to the order and rule of S. Benedict, in the Monaſterye of S. Edmondus Bery in the dioces of Norwich, and by the meanes of the cauſes within written vnder our iuriſdiction, and withall fauour rightly and lawfully proceedyng, with all fauour poſſible ÿ merites and circumſtances of the cauſe of this inquiſition heard, wayed, vnderſtand and fully diſcuſſed by vs the ſayd Byſhop, reſeruing vnto our ſelues, that whiche by law ought to be reſerued: haue thought good to procede in this maner to the pronouncyng of our definitiue ſentence.

For ſomuch as by the Actes enacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, and by thee iudicially cõfeſſed, we do finde that thou haſt abiured certeine errours and heriſies & damnable opinions, by the confeſſed, aſwell particularly as generally, before our reuerent fellow and brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the forme and order of the Churche and that one M. Luther together with hys adherentes & complices, receiuers and fauourers what ſo euer they bee, was condemned as an heriticke by the authoritie of Pope Leo the x. of moſt happy memory, and by the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke Sea, and the bookes & all writings, ſcedules and Sermons of the ſayd M. Luther, his adherentes and complices whether they be found in Latine or in any other languages, imprinted or tranſlated, for the manyfolde heriſies and errours, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproued, and vtterly reiected, and inhibition made by the authoritie of the ſayd Sea to al faithfull Chriſtians, vnder the payne of excommunication and other puniſhmentes in that behalfe to bee incurred by the law, that no man by any meanes preſume to read, teache, heare, imprint, or publiſhe, or by any meanes to defend, directly or vndirectly, ſecretly or openly, in their houſes or in any other publicke or priuat places, any ſuch maner of writinges, bookes, errours or Articles, as are contayned more at large in the Apoſtolicke letters, drawne out in forme of a publicke inſtrument, whereunto and to ÿ contentes therof, we referre our ſelues as farre as is expedient, and no otherwiſe: And for ſomuch as we do perceiue that thou diddeſt vnderſtand the premiſſes, and yet theſe thinges notwithſtandyng, after thy abiuration made (as is aforeſaid) thou haſte brought in diuers & ſondry tymes, many bookes of the ſayd Martine Luther and his adherentes and complices, and of other heretickes, the names, titles, and authors of whiche bookes here folow and are theſe, Martine Luther of the abrogating of the priuate Maſſe. The declarations of M. Luther vpon ÿ Epiſtles of Peter. Luther vpon the Epiſtles of Paul and Jude. Luther vpon monaſticall vowers. Luthers commentary vpon the Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Galathians.

A catologe of the bookes brought in by Richard Bayfilde.

Io-

Johannes Oecolāpadius vpō the expoſitiō of theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum. The Annotations of Oecolampadius vpon the Epiſtles of Paule to the Romaines. Oecolampadius his Commentary vpon the iij. laſt Prophetes, Aggeus, Zacharie, and Malachie. The Sermons of Oecolampadius vpon the Catholicke Epiſtles of John. A booke of Annotations vpon Geneſis, gathered of Huldericus Zwinglius. The Commentaries of Pomeran vppon foure chapters of the i. Epiſtle to the Corinthiās. Annotations of Pomeran vpon Deut. and Samuell. Pomeran vpon the Pſalmes. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert of Auinion, vpon the Goſpell of S. Luke. A Congeſt of all matters of Diuinitie by Fraunces Lambert. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpon the Prophet Joel. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpō the Prophetes, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, and Oſee. A new Gloſe of Philip Melancton vppon the Prouerbes of Salomon. The Commentaries of Philip Melancton, vpō the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Coloſ. The Annotations of Philip Melancton, vppon the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romaines, and vpō i. Epiſtle to the Coloſ. Salomons ſentences trāſlated accordyng to the Hebrewe by Philip Melancton. Moſt wholeſome Annotations vpon the Goſpell of S. Marke, by Chriſtopher Hegendorphinus. The Cōmentaries of John Brentius vpon Job. The Commentary of John Brentius vpon Eccleſiaſtes of Salomon. Homilies of Brentius vpō the Goſpell of S. John. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus, and Brentius vpon the Epiſtle of S. James. The Commentaries of Bucer vpon Sophonias. Bucer vpon the iiij. Euangeliſtes. The proces Cōſiſtoriall of the Martyrdome of John Huſſe. A brief commendatory of M. Luther vnto Otho Brunfelſius, as touchyng the lyfe, doctrine and Martyrdome of John Hus. Felinus vpon the Pſalter, his expoſition vpon Eſay, his expoſitions vpon Jeremie. Capito vpon Oſeas. Capito vpon Abacuc. Vnio deſſidentium. The Pandect of Otho. The Cataloge of famous men. An aunſwere of Tyndall vnto Syr Thomas More. A diſputation of Purgatory made by Joh. Frith in Engliſh. A prologue to the v. booke of Moyſes called Deuteronomy. The firſt booke of Moyſes called Geneſis. A prologue to the iij. booke of Moyſes called Leuiticus. A prologue to the iiij. booke of Moyſes Num. A prologue to the ij. booke of Moyſes called Exod. The practiſe of prelates. The new Teſtament in Engliſh, with an introduction to the Romaines. The parable of the wicked Mammon. The Obedience of a Chriſten man. A. B. C. of Thorpes. The Summe of Scripture. The primer in Engliſh. The Pſalter in Engliſh. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman: Of all which kynde of bookes both in Latin and Engliſh, tranſlated, ſet forth and imprinted, contaynyng not onely Lutherian hereſies, but alſo the damnable hereſies of other heretickes condemned, for as much as thou haſt brought ouer from the parties beyond the Sea a great nomber into this Realme of England, and ſpecially to our Citie and Dioces of London, and haſt procured them to be brought and conueyed ouer, alſo haſt kept by thee and ſtudyed thoſe bookes, and haſt publiſhed & read them vnto diuers men, and many of thoſe bookes alſo haſt diſperſed and geuen vnto diuers perſons dwellyng within our Citie and Dioces of London, and haſt cōfeſſed and affirmed before our Officiall, that thoſe bookes of M. Luther and other heretickes his complices and adherentes, and all the contentes in them are good & agreable to the true fayth, ſaying thus, that they are good and of the true fayth, and by this meanes and pretence, haſt commēded and prayſed M. Luther, his adherents and complices, and haſt fauoured and beleued their errours, hereſies and opinions: Therefore we John the Byſhop aforeſayd, firſt callyng vpon the name of Chriſt, and ſettyng God onely before our eyes, by the counſell and conſent of the Diuines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalfe we haue conferred, do declare and decree thee the foreſayd Richard Bayfild, otherwiſe called Somerſam, for the contempt of thy abiuration, as a fauourer of the foreſayd M. Luther, his adherentes, complices, fauourers, and other condemned heretickes, and for commendyng and ſtudying, readyng, hauyng, retaynyng, publiſhyng, ſellyng, giuyng, and diſperſing the bookes and writynges, as well of the ſayd M. Luther, his adherentes and diſciples, as of other heretickes before named, and alſo for credityng, and maintayning the errours and hereſies, and damnable opinions contained in the ſayd bookes and writynges, worthely to be and haue bene an hereticke, and that thou by the pretence of the premiſſes art fallen agayne moſt damnably into hereſie, and we pronounce that thou art and haſt bene a relapſed hereticke, and haſt incurred and oughteſt to incurre the payne and puniſhment of a relapſe, and we ſo decree & declare, and alſo condemne thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premiſſes, thou haſt euen by the lawe, incurred the ſentence of greater excommunication, and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to haue bene and to be excommunicate, and clearely diſcharge, exonerate and diſgrade thee from all priuiledge and prerogatiue of the Eccleſiaſticall orders, and alſo depriue thee of all Eccleſiaſticall office and benefice: alſo we pronounce and declare thee by this our ſentence or decree, the whiche wee here promulgate and declare in theſe writynges, that thou art actually to be diſgraded, depoſed, and depriued, as followeth.

The Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe forbidden.

If Chriſt were before your eyes, ye would not condemne this good mā for theſe good bookes

The ſentence of degradation agaynſt bleſſed Bayſilde.

And they ſhall caſt you out of their Synagoges for my names ſake.

In the name of God. Amen. We John by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, rightly and lawfully proceeding in this behalfe, doe dimiſſe thee Richard Bayfield, aliâs Somerſam, beyng pronounced by vs a relapſed hereticke, and diſgraded by vs frō all Eccleſiaſtical priuiledge, out of the Eccleſiaſticall Court, pronouncing that the ſecular power here preſent ſhoulde receiue thee vnder their iuriſdiction, earneſtly requiring and deſiring in the bowels of Jeſu Chriſt, that the execution of this worthy puniſhment, to be done vpon thee, and againſt thee in thys behalfe, may be ſo moderated, that there be neither ouermuch crueltie, neither to much fauorable gentlenes, but that it may be to the health and ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the extirpation, feare, terrour, and conuerſion of all other heretickes vnto the vnitie of the Catholike faith. This our finall decree by this our ſentence definitiue, we haue cauſed to be publiſhed in forme aforeſayd.

An. 1531.

Of this ſtatute read before pag. 507.

M. Rich. Bayſilde agayne brought before the Byſhop.

Monday the xx. of Nouemb. 1531. In the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul before the ſayde John Byſhop of London iudicially ſitting, beyng aſſiſted wyth John Abbot of weſtminſter, and Robert Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Chriſt Church in London, theſe honorable Lordes beyng alſo preſent, Henry Earle of Eſſex, Richard Gray, brother of the Marques of Somerſet, John Lambert Maior of London, Richard Greſham and Edward Altam Shrieffes (the which Maior and Shriues were required to be there preſent by the Byſhop of Londons letters hereafter written, and by vertue of a ſtatute of kyng Henry the fourth kyng of England) alſo in the preſence of diuers Chanons, the Chauncellour, Officiall, and Archdeacon of London, wyth the Byſhops Chaplaynes, and a great number both of the Clergie and Laitie, Mathew Greſton the Regiſter beyng alſo there preſent: M. Rich. Bayfild aliâs Somerſam, was brought forth by Thomas Turnor the Aparator hys keeper, in whoſe preſence the tranſumpt of the Apoſtolicke Bull of Pope Leo the x. vpon the condemnation of Martin Luther and hys adherentes, was brought forth and ſhewed, ſealed with the ſeale of Thomas Wolſey late Legate de Latere, and ſubſcribed wyth the ſigne and name of M. Robert Tunnes, publike Notary, and alſo the decree vpon the condemnation of certeine bookes brought in by hym, ſealed wyth the ſeale of the archbyſhop of Canterbury, and ſubſcribed by three Notaries.

The ſaying of Rich. Bayſilde to the Byſhop of London.

Sentēce againſt Rich. Bayſilde.

Then the Byſhop of London repeated in effecte before hym, his abiuration which he had before made, and other hys demerites committed and done, beſide hys abiuration: and the ſayde Baſfeld ſayde, that he was not culpable in the articles that were obiected agaynſt hym, and deſired that the hereſies contayned in the bookes whiche he brought ouer, myght be declared in open audience. Then the Byſhop, after certeine talke had wyth the ſayd Bayfeld as touching the deſerte of hys cauſe, aſked hym whether he coulde ſhewe any cauſe why he ſhoulde not be deliuered ouer vnto the ſeculer power, and be pronounced as a relaps, and ſuffer puniſhment as a relaps. The ſayd Batfeld declared or propoſſded no cauſe, but ſaid, that he brought ouer thoſe bookes for lacke of money, and not to ſowe any hereſies. And incontinent the ſayd Bayfeld with a vehement ſpirite (as it appeared) ſayde vnto the Byſhop of London, the life of you of the ſpiritualtie is ſo euill, that ye be heretickes, and ye doe not onely liue euill, but doe maintayne euill lyuing, and alſo do let, that what true lyuing is, may not be knowen, and ſayde that their liuyng is agaynſt Chriſtes Goſpell, and that their beliefe was neuer taken of Chriſtes Church. Then the ſayde Byſhop, after long deliberation had, for ſo much as the ſayde Rich. Bayfild (he ſayd) coulde ſhew no cauſe why he ſhould not be declared as relapſe, he read the decree and ſentence agaynſt him: by the which amongeſt other thinges, he condemned him as an hereticke, and pronounced him to be puniſhed with the puniſhment due vnto ſuch as fall againe into hereſie, and by his wordes did diſgrade him, and alſo declared that he ſhould be actually diſgraded, as is more at large conteined in the long ſentence.

The foreſayd ſentence beyng ſo read by the Byſhop of London, he proceeded immediatly to the actuall and ſolemne diſgradyng of the ſayd Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somerſam, and there ſolemnely and actually diſgraded hym before the people, the which thyng beyng done, he diſmiſſed hym by the ſentence aforeſayd, from the Eccleſiaſticall Court. Whervpon the ſecular power beyng there preſent, receiued hym vnto their iuriſdiction, without any writte in that behalfe obtayned, but onely by vertue of the Byſhops letters by the ſtatute of kyng Henry the 4. in that behalfe prouided and directed vnto them vnder the Byſhops ſeale. The tenour of which letters here after folow.

¶ The Letters of requirie directed to the Maior and Shiriffes of the Citie of London, that they ſhould be preſent that day, when the ſentence ſhould be geuen, to receiue the hereticke (as they called hym) that was condemned.

The letters of requiry to the Maior & Shiriffes of Londõ.

IHon by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London, vnto our dearely beloued in Chriſt, the right honourable Lord Maior of the Citie of London, and the Shriffes of the ſame, health, grace, and benediction. Where as we haue already by our Vicare generall proceded in a certaine cauſe of hereſie and relaps into the ſame, agaynſt one Richard Bayfilde, aliâs Somerſam, and intend vpon Monday next beyng the xx. day of this preſent moneth of Nouember, to geue a ſentence difinitiue agaynſt the ſayd Richard Bayfild aliâs Somerſam, and to leaue and deliuer him ouer vnto the ſecular power: We require you the Lord Maior and Shriffes aforeſayd, the Kynges Maieſties Vicegerentes, euen in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, that accordyng to the forme and effect of the ſtatute of our moſt noble and famous prince in Chriſt our Lord, the Lord Henry the fourth by the grace of God, late Kyng of England, that you will be perſonally preſent in the Queere of the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, with your fauourable ayde and aſſiſtaunce in this behalfe, the day that the ſentence ſhall be geuen, and to receiue the ſayd Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somerſam, after his ſentence ſo giuen, to diſcharge vs and our Officers, and to do further accordyng to the tenour and effect of the ſayd ſtatute, as farre as ſhall be required of you accordyng to the Canonicall Sãctions, and the laudable cuſtomes of the famous kyngdome of England, in this behalfe accuſtomed.

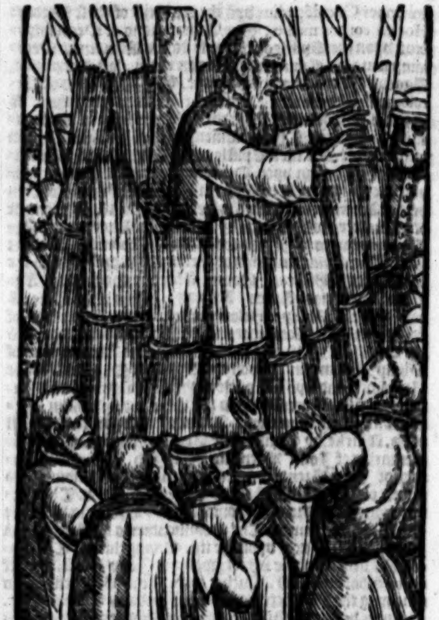
☞ In witnes whereof we haue ſet our ſeale vnto this preſent, Dated the 19. day of Nouember. An. 1531. and in the firſt yeare of our conſecration.

Rich. Bayfilde, geuen to the ſecular power.

Rich. Bayfilde diſgraded.

Bayfilde throwẽ downe wyth the byſhops ſtaffe.

On Monday the xx. day of Nouember in the yeare aforeſayd, in the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule, the Biſhop of London callyng vnto him John Abbot of weſtminſter, Robert Abbot of Waltam, Nicholas Prior of Chriſtes Church of the Citie of London, maiſter John Coxe Auditor and Vicare generall to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Peter Ligham Officiall of the Court of Caunterbury. Thomas Baghe Chauncellour of the Church of S. Paules, William Clief, Archdeacon of London, John Incent Chanon reſidentary of the ſame, William Brytton, Robert Birche, and Hugh Aprice, Doctours of both lawes, in the preſence of vs Mathew Greſton Regiſter, Anthony Huſſy, Richard Martin and Thomas Shadwall publicke Notaries and Scribes appoynted in this behalfe, briefly rehearſed the aunſweres of the ſame Bayfild in effect, and his abiuration, and other his demerites by him done beſide his abiuration. The which religious perſons and other Eccleſiaſticall men aboue ſayd, thought it good and agreed that the ſayd Byſhop ſhoulde procede agaynſt hym in this caſe of relaps, and ſhoulde pronounce and geue forth the ſentence agaynſt him, in caſe aforeſayd, and ſo he was deliuered to the Shriffes to cary to Newgate, beyng commaunded to bryng him agayne vpon Monday folowyng, into Paules vpper Queere, there to geue attendaunce vppon the Byſhop of London with the reſidue, till they had done with him, and by and by the Sheriffes were commaunded to haue him into the Veſtry, and then to bryng hym forth agayne in Antichriſtes apparell to be diſgraded afore them. When he had diſgraded hym kneelyng vpon the higheſt ſteppe of the aultar, he tooke his Croſier ſtaffe, and ſmote him on the breaſt, that he threw hym downe backewardes, and brake his head that hee ſounded, and when he came to himſelfe agayne, he thanked God that hee was deliuered from the malignaunt Church of Antichriſt, and that he was come into the true ſincere Church of Ieſus Chriſt militaunt here in earth, and I truſt anone (ſayd he) to be in heauen with Ieſus Chriſt, & the Church triumphaunt for euer, and ſo was he lead forth through the Queere to Newgate, and there reſted about an houre in prayer, and ſo went to the fire in his apparell manfully and ioyfully, and there for lacke of a ſpeedy fire, was two quarters of an houre alyue. And when the left arme was on fire and burned, hee rubbed it with his right hand, & it fel from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end, without mouyng.



The Martyrdome and ſuffering of Richard Bayfilde, Martyr.

Syr Tho. More againſt Bayfilde.

M. More a partial iudge in matters of hereſie.

Syr Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceaſed not after his death, to raue in hys aſhes, to prye and ſpie out what ſparkes he coulde finde of reproche and contumely, whereby to raſe out all good memory of hys name and fame. In ſearching whereof, he hath found out two thynges to lay againſt hym. The one is, that he ſayth, he went about to ſure himſelfe to two wiues at once, one in Brabant, an other in England. The ſecond, that after his takyng, all the while that he was not in vtter diſpayre of his pardon, he was cõtent to forſweare his doctrine, and letted not to diſcloſe his brethren. For the aunſwere wherof, although there were no more to be ſayd, yet this were inough to ſay, that M. More thus ſayth of him, a mã ſo blynded in the zeale of Popery, ſo deadly ſet againſt the one ſide, and ſo partially affectionate vnto the other, that in them whom he fauoureth, he can ſee nothing but all fayre roſes and ſweete vertue: in the other which he hateth, there is neuer a thyng can pleaſe his phantaſie, but all is blacke as pitche, vice, abhomination, hereſie, and foly, what ſoeuer they do, or entend to do. But as touchyng the defence of this Bayfild, as alſo of other moe, I will deferre the defence of them, to a ſeuerall Apologie by it ſelfe, hereafter (God willyng) to be adioyned.

¶ Iohn Teukeſbery Leatherſeller of London Martyr.

Joh. Tewkeſbery Leatherſeller of London, Martyr.

IOhn Tewkeſbery was cõuerted by the readyng of Tyndals Teſtament, and the wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In all pointes of religion he openly did diſpute in the Biſhops Chappell in his palace, who in the doctrine of iuſtification and all other Articles of his faith, was very expert, and prompt in his aunſweres, in ſuch ſort as Tonſtall and all his learned men were aſhamed, that a Leatherſeller ſhould ſo diſpute with them, with ſuch power of the Scriptures and heauenly wiſedome, that they were not able to reſiſte him. This diſputation continued a ſeuennight. The proceſſe of whoſe examinations, Articles, and aunſweres, here folow as they are out of the Byſhops Regiſter extracted.

Ex Regiſt. London.

On Wenſday the xxi. day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. John Tewkeſbery was brought into the Cõſiſtory at London before Cutbert Byſhop of London and his aſſiſtaunces, Henry Byſhop of S. Aſſe, and John Abbot of Weſtminſter. Vnto whom the Byſhop of London declared that he had at diuers tymes exhorted him to recant the errours and hereſies, which he held and defended, euen as he did then agayne exhort him, not to truſt to much to his owne wyt and learnyng, but vnto the doctrine of the holy mother the Church. Who made aunſwere that in his iudgement, he dyd not erre from the doctrine of the holy mother

The examination of John Tewkeſbery before Tõſtall Byſhop of London.

the Church. And at the laſt, beyng examined vpon the errours, which (they ſayd) were in the ſayd booke called the wicked Mammon, he aunſwered thus: Take ye the booke and read it ouer, and I thinke in my conſcience, ye ſhal finde no fault in it. And being aſked by the ſayd Biſhop, whether he dyd rather geue credite to his booke or to the Goſpell: he aunſwered, that the Goſpell is & euer hath bene true. And moreouer beyng particularly examined what he thought of this Article, that the Iewes of good intent and zeale ſlue Chriſt, he aunſwered: looke ye the booke through, before and after, as it lyeth, and ye ſhall finde a better tale in it, then ye make of it, & further thought that whoſoeuer tranſlated the new Teſtament, and made the booke, meanyng the wicked Mammon, he did it of good zeale, and by the ſpirite of God.

Articles miniſtred to John Tewkeſbery, out of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

Alſo beyng farther aſked by the ſayd Byſhop of London, whether he would ſtand to the contentes of his booke, hee aunſwered: looke ye the booke before and after, and I will be content to ſtand to it. Then beyng examined, whether that all good workes muſt be done without reſpect of any thyng, he aunſwered, that a man ſhould do good workes for the loue of God onely, & for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in heauen: for if he ſhould, it were preſumption. Alſo beyng demaunded whether that Chriſt with all hys workes dyd not deſerue heauen. He aunſwered and ſayd: that it was playne inough. Which thynges beyng done, the Byſhop ſayd further to John Tewkeſbery thus: I tell thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent, in examination of my conſcience, that the Articles aboue named, and many other more conteyned in the ſame booke, are falſe, hereticall, and condemned by the holy Church: how thinkeſt thou? And further, the ſayd Byſhop of London ſayd vnto hym agayne: I tell thee before God and thoſe which are here preſent. &c. and ſo aſked him agayne what he thought of thoſe Articles. And after many exhortations, hee commaunded him to aunſwere determinatly vnder payne of the law, ſaying further vnto him, that if he refuſed to aunſwere, he muſt declare him an open and obſtinate hereticke accordyng to the order of the law. Which things ſo done, the Byſhop aſked John Tewkeſbery agayne, whether the ſayd booke called the wicked Mammon were good?

Merites by workyng.

The biſhops iudgemẽt of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

To which interrogatory he aunſwereth, that he thinketh in his cõſcience, there is nothyng in the booke, but that which is true. And to this Article obiected, that is, that fayth onely iuſtifieth without workes, he aunſwereth that it is well ſayd. Whereunto the Byſhop inferred agayne, that the Articles before obiected, with diuers other contained in the booke called the wicked Mammon, were falſe erroneous, damnable, and hereticall, and reproued and condemned by the Church: and before God and all thoſe that were preſent, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, he had often and very gently exhorted the ſayd John Tewkeſbery, that hee would reuoke and renounce his errours, otherwiſe if he dyd intend to perſeuere in thẽ, he muſt declare him an hereticke, whiche he would be very ſory to do. Theſe thynges thus done, the Byſhop oftentymes offered him, that hee ſhould choſe what ſpirituall or temporall man he would to be his Cõſellour, and gaue him tyme as before, to deliberate with hymſelfe, vntill the next ſittyng.

The iudgemẽt of John Tewkeſbery of the booke of the wicked Mammon.

Alſo in the ſame moneth of April, in the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, the Byſhop of London Cutbert Tonſtall ſittyng in the Conſiſtory, with Nicolas of Elye, John of Lincolne, and John of Bathe, and Welles. &c. This John Tewkeſbery was brought before them. After certaine Articles beyng repeated vnto him, the Byſhop of London brought out before him a certaine booke called the wicked Mammon, aſking him whether the booke was of the ſame impreſſion and makyng, as was his booke that he had ſold to others. Who aunſwered and ſayd, it was the ſame. Whereupon the Byſhop of Lõdon aſked hym agayne, whether the booke conteined the ſame errours or no. Who aunſwered agayne, ſaying. I pray God, that the condemnation of the Goſpell and tranſlation of the Teſtament, be not to your ſhame, and that ye be not in perill for it: for the cõdemnation of it, and of the other is all one. Farther he ſayd, that he had ſtudyed holy Scripture by the ſpace of theſe xvij. yeare, and as he may ſee the ſpottes of his face through the glaſſe, ſo in readyng the new Teſtament he knoweth the faultes of his ſoule. Further, he was examined vpon certaine pointes and Articles, extracted out of the ſayd booke of the wicked Mammon, as followeth.

An other examinatiõ of John Tewkeſbery.

Articles extracted out of the booke of the wicked Mãmõ. His opinion of Antichriſt. Antichriſt no outwarde thing, but a ſpirituall thyng.

FIrſt, that Antichriſt is not an outward thyng, that is to ſay, a man that ſhould ſodenly appeare with wonders, as your forefathers talked of hym, but Antichriſt is a ſpirituall thyng. Whereunto he aunſwered and ſayd that he findeth no fault in it. Agayne it was demaunded of him touching the article whether fayth onely iuſtifieth a man. To thys he ſayd, that if he ſhould looke to deſerue heauẽ by workes, he ſhould do wickedly, for workes follow fayth, and Chriſt redemed vs all wyth the merites of his paſſion.

That the deuill holdeth our harts ſo hard, that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to Gods law. To that he aunſwered, that he findeth no fault in it.

No man iuſtified by merites.

That the law of God ſuffereth no merites, neither any man to be iuſtified in the ſight of God. To that he aunſwered, that it is playne enough conſidering what the lawes is, and he ſayth, he findeth no ill in it.

The law requireth thynges to our fleſh impoſſible.

That the lawe of God requireth of vs thynges impoſſible. To that he aunſwered, that the law of God doth commaunde, that thou ſhalt loue God aboue all thinges, and thy neighbours as thy ſelfe, which neuer man could doe, and in that he doth finde no fault in his conſcience.

No law to the iuſt man.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruite, ſo there is no law put to him that beleueth & is iuſtified through faith. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, he findeth no ill in it.

All good workes muſt be done without reſpecte of any thyng, or any profite to be had therof. To that he aunſwered, it is truth.

Chriſt wyth all hys workes did not deſerue heauẽ. To that he aunſwered, that the text is true as it lyeth, and findeth no fault in it.

The Saintes be frends, how and to whom.

Peter and Paule and Saintes that be dead, are not our frendes, but their frendes whom they did helpe when they were alyue. To that he ſayd, he findeth no ill in it.

Almes deſerueth no rewarde of God. To that he aunſwered, that the text of the booke is true.

The deuil not caſt out by mans merites.

The deuil is not caſt out by merites of faſting or prayer. To that he aunſwered, thinking it good inough.

The law worketh not in vs the loue of God.

We can not loue except we ſee ſome benefite and kyndnes, as long as we liue vnder the law of God onely, where we ſee but ſinne and damnation, and the wrath of God vpon vs, yea where we were damned afore we were borne. We cã not loue God, nor cã not but hate him as a Tyrãne, vnrighteous & vniuſt, and flee from him, as did Caine. To that he aunſwereth, and thinketh it good & playne enough.

Man by nature is condemned.

We are damned by nature, as a toode is a toode by nature, and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he aunſwered it to be true as it is in the booke.

Item, as concerning the article of faſting. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, the booke declareth it ſelfe.

He meaneth by communication, not by vendication: and yet this poynt ſeemeth to be falſely gathered.

Euery one man is a Lord, of what ſoeuer another man hath. To that he aunſwered, what lawe can be better than that, for it is plainely mente there.

Loue in Chriſt putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he aunſwered and ſayde, it is playne inough of it ſelfe.

As concerning the preachyng of the worde of God, and waſhing of diſhes, there is no difference, as concerning ſaluation, and as touchinge the pleaſing of God. To that he aunſwered, ſaying, it is a plaine text, and as for pleaſing of God, it is all one.

For if they had knowen the lord of glory, they would not haue crucified hym.

That the Iewes of good intent and zeale put Chriſt to death. To that he aunſwered, that it is true, and the text is playne inough.

The ſectes of Saint Frances, Saint Dominicke, and others be damnable. To that he aunſwered and ſayd, S. Paule repugneth agaynſt them. Which articles being ſo obiected and aunſwere made vnto them by John Tewkeſberie, the ſayde Byſhop of London aſked hym whether he would continue in hys hereſies and errours aboue rehearſed, or renounce and forſake them. Who aunſwered thus: I pray you reforme your ſelfe, and if there be any errour in the booke, let it be reformed: I thinke the booke be good inough.

Further, the Byſhop exhorted him to recant his errors. To the which the ſayd John Tewkeſberie aunſwered as is aboue written: to witte, I pray you reforme your ſelfe. and if there be any error in the booke, let it be reformed, I thinke it to be good inough. Which thyng being done, the Byſhop appointed him to determine better with hym ſelfe agaynſt the morow, in the preſence of M. John Cox, vicar generall to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, M. Galfride Warton, Rouland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, profeſſors of diuinitie.

An other appearance of John Tewkeſbery.

The 13. day of April, in the yeare of our Lord aboue ſayde, in the chappell within the pallace of London, before Cutbert byſhop of Londõ, with his aſſiſtance, Nicolas byſhop of Elye. &c. Tewkeſberie agayne appeared and was examined vpon the articles drawen out of the booke, called the wicked Mammon, as foloweth.

Firſt, Chriſt is thyne and all his deedes be thy deedes: Chriſt is in thee and thou ſo knit in hym inſeperably: neither canſt thou be dãned, except Chriſt be dãned with thee, neither cãſt thou be ſaued except Chriſt be ſaued with thee. To this he aunſwered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, we deſire one an other to pray for vs. That done, We are not ſaued by other mens prayers.

& we muſt put our neighbour in remembraunce of his duty, and that we truſt not in his holynes. To this he aunſwered: take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Almes whom and how farre it profiteth.

Item, now ſeeſt thou what almes meaneth and wherfore it ſerueth. He that ſeeketh with his almes, more then to be mercyfull: to be a neighbour, to ſuccour his brothers neede: to do his duty to his brother: to geue his brother that he ought him: the ſame is blynd & ſeeth not Chriſtes bloud. Here he aunſwereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the booke, but all the booke is good, and it hath geuen hym great comfort and light to his conſcience.

God to be ſerued and worſhipped only, as he commaundeth: other wiſe not.

Item, that ye do nothyng to pleaſe God, but that he cōmaunded. To that he aunſwereth and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, ſo God is honored on all ſides, in that we count him righteous in all his lawes and ordinaunces. And to worſhyp him otherwiſe then ſo, it is Idolatry. To that he aunſwered, that it pleaſeth him well.

The examination of theſe Articles beyng done, the Byſhop of London did exhorte the ſayd John Tewkeſbery to recant his errours aboueſayd: and after ſome other communication had by the Byſhop with hym, the ſayd Byſhop dyd exhort hym agayne to recant his errours, and appoynted him to determine with hymſelfe agaynſt the next Seſſion, what he would do.

John Tewkeſbery ſubmitteth himſelfe.

IN this next Seſſion he ſubmitted himſelfe and abiured his opinions and was enioyned penaunce, as followeth, which was the viij. of May.

In primis, that he ſhould keepe well his abiuration vnder payne of relaps.

Secondly, that the next Sonday followyng in Paules Church in the open proceſſion, he ſhould cary a Fagot, and ſtand at Paules Croſſe with the ſame.

That the Wedniſday folowyng, he ſhould cary the ſame Fagot about Newgate market and Chepeſide.

That on Friday after, he ſhould take the ſame fagot agayne at S. Peters church in Cornhill, and cary it about the market of Leden hall.

That he ſhould haue ij. ſignes of fagots embrothered, one on his left ſleue, & the other on his right ſleue, which he ſhould weare all his lyfe tyme, vnles he were otherwiſe diſpenſed withall.

That on Whytſonday euē he ſhould enter into the Monaſtery of S. Bartholemew in Smithfield, and there to abyde, and not to come out vnles he were releaſed by the byſhop of London.

That he ſhould not depart out of the citie or dioces of Lōdō, without the ſpeciall licence of the B. or his ſucceſſours. Which penaūce he entred into the viij. day of May, an. 1529

Tewkeſbery returned againe to the truth.

And thus much concernyng his firſt examinatiō, which was in the yeare. 1529. at what tyme he was inforced through infirmitie as is before expreſſed to retract and abiure his doctrine. Notwithſtādyng, the ſame John Tewkeſbery, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moued by the exāple of Baylfild aforeſayd that was burned in Smithfield, did returne and conſtantly abyde in the teſtimony of the truth and ſuffered for the ſame. Who recoueryng more grace, & better ſtrength at the hand of the Lord, two yeares after beyng apprehended agayne, was brought before Syr Thomas More, and the Biſhop of London, where certain Articles were obiected to hym: the chief wherof we intend briefly to recite, for the matter is prolixe.

Articles agayne obiected to Tewkeſbery.

In primis, that he confeſſeth that he was baptiſed, and intendeth to keepe the Catholicke fayth.

Secondly, that he affirmeth that the abiuration, othe, & ſubſcription that hee made before Cutbert late Byſhop of London, was done by compulſion.

Thirdly, that he had the bookes of the obedience of a Chriſtian man, and of the wicked Mammon in his cuſtody, and hath read them ſince his abiuration.

Fourthly, that he affirmeth that he ſuffered the two Fagots that were embrothered vpon his ſleue, to be taken frō him for that he deſerued not to weare them.

Fiftly, he ſayth that fayth onely iuſtifieth, which lacketh not charitie.

Sixtly, he ſayth that Chriſt is a ſufficient mediatour for vs, and therfore no prayer is to be made vnto any Saintes. Whereupon they layd vnto him this verſe of the Antheme. Salue Regina, aduocata noſtra, &c. To the which he aūſwered, that he knew none other Aduocate but Chriſt alone.

Chriſt is our Purgatorye.

Seuenthly, he affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this lyfe, but that Chriſt our Sauiour is a ſufficiēt purgation for vs.

Eightly, he affirmeth that the ſoules of the faythfull departyng this life, reſt with Chriſt.

Ninthly, he affirmeth ỷ a prieſt by receauyng of orders, receaueth more grace, if his fayth be increaſed, or els not.

Tenthly, and laſt of all, he beleueth that the Sacramēt, of the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, is not the very body of Chriſt, in fleſh and bloud as it was borne of ỷ virgin Mary. Whereupon the Byſhops Chauncellour aſked the ſayd Tewkeſbery, if he could ſhew any cauſe why he ſhould not be taken for an hereticke fallyng into his hereſie agayne, and receaue the puniſhment of an hereticke. Whereunto he aunſwered, that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckeneth that he hath wrong agayne.

Then the Chaūcellour cauſed the articles to be read opēly, with the aunſweres vnto the ſame, the which the ſayd Tewkeſbery confeſſed, & thereupon the Byſhop pronounced ſentence agaynſt him, & deliuered him vnto the Shyriffes of Lōdō for the tyme being, who were Rich. Greshā, & Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield vpō S. Thomas euē beyng the xx. of December, in the yeare aforeſayd, the tenour of whoſe ſentence pronounced agaynſt hym by the Byſhop, doth here enſue word for word.

> IN the name of God. Amen. The deſeruynges and circūſtaunces of a certaine cauſe of hereticall prauitie, & fallyng agayne thereunto by thee John Tewkeſbery of the Pariſh of S. Michaels in the Querne, of the Citie of Lōdon, & of our iuriſdiction, appearyng before vs ſittyng in iudgement, being heard, ſene, & vnderſtand, & fully diſcuſſed by vs John by the ſufferaunce of God, Byſhop of Lōdon, becauſe we do finde by inquiſitiōs manifeſtly inough, that thou diddeſt abiure freely & voluntarily before Cutbert, late Byſhop of Lōdō thy ordinary, diuers & ſondry hereſies errours & dānable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy Church, as well ſpeciall, as generall, & that ſince and beſide thy foreſaid abiuration, thou art agayne fallen into the ſame damnable hereſies, opiniōs, & errours, (which is greatly to be lamented) & the ſame doeſt hold, affirme & beleue: we therfore John the Byſhop aforeſayd, the name of God firſt beyng called vpon, & the ſame onely God ſet before our eyes, & with the counſell of learned mē aſſiſtyng vs in this behalfe (with whō in this cauſe we haue cōmunicated of our definitiue ſentence & finall decree, in this behalfe to be done) do intend to proceede & do procede in this maner. Becauſe as it is aforeſayd, we do finde thee, the foreſayd John Tewkeſbery of our iuriſdiction, to be a contēner of the firſt abiuration, & moreouer, before & after the foreſaid firſt errours, and other damnable opinions, to haue fallen & to be an hereticke fallen, & to haue incurred the payne of ſuch fallen heretickes: we do pronounce, determine, declare, & condemne thee of the premiſſes, to haue incurred the daunger of the great excōmunication, & do pronounce thee to be excōmunicated, & alſo do declare thee the ſayd Tewkeſbery ſo damnably fallē agayne into hereſie, to be in the ſecular power & in their iudgement, (as the holy Canōs haue decreed) and here we do leaue thee to the foreſayd ſecular power & to their iudgement, beſechyng them earneſtly in the bowelles of Jeſus Chriſt, that ſuch ſeuere puniſhment and execution as in this behalfe is to be done agaynſt thee, may be ſo moderated, that no rigorous rigour be vſed, but to the health and ſaluation of thy ſoule, and to the terrour feare and rootyng out of heretickes and their cōuerſion to the Catholicke fayth & vnitie, by this our finall decree, which we declare in theſe our wrytynges.

In wordes they pretend moderation, but their doynges be cleane contrary.

This foreſayd ſentence definitiue agaynſt John Tewkeſbery was read and pronounced by the Byſhop of London, the xvj. day of the moneth of December, the yeare aforeſayd, in the houſe of Syr Thomas More hygh Chauncellour of England, in the Pariſh of Chelſey. After the which ſentence, the Shiriffes receaued the foreſayd Tewkeſbery into their cuſtody, and caryed him away with them, and afterwardes burned him in Smithfield, as is aforeſayd, hauyng no writte of the kyng for their warrant.

The death and Martirdome of John Tewkeſbery.

¶The apprehenſion of one Edward Freſe, a Paynter.

The ſtory of Edward Freeſe.

EDward Freeſe was borne in Yorke, and was Prentiſe to a Paynter in the ſame Citie, and by the reaſon of workyng for his maiſter in Bearſie Abbay, or by ſome ſuch occaſion, was knowen vnto the Abbot of the ſame houſe, for he was a boye of a pregnaunt wytte, and the Abbot fauoured him ſo much, that he bought his yeares of hys maiſter, and would haue made him a Monke. And the ladde not lykyng that kynde of liuyng, and not knowyng how to get out, becauſe he was a Nouice, ranne away after a lōg ſpace, and came to Colcheſter in Eſſex, and remaynyng there accordyng to his former vocation, was maryed and liued lyke an honeſt man. After hee had bene there a good tyme, he was hyred to paynt certaine clothes for the new Inne in Colcheſter, which is in the middle of the market place, and in the vpper border of the clothes, he wrote certaine ſentēces of the Scripture, and by that he was playnly knowen to be one of them which they call heretickes.

The cauſe of the taking of Edward Freeſe.

And on a tyme he beyng at his worke in the ſame Inne they of the Towne, when they had ſene his worke, went about to take him, and hee hauyng ſome inclyng thereof, thought to ſhift for himſelfe, but yet he was taken forceibly in the yarde of the ſame Inne, & after this he was brought to London, and ſo to Fulham to the Byſhoppes houſe, where he was cruelly impriſoned, with certaine others of Eſſex, that is to wytte, one Johnſon and his wife, Wylye, his wife and his ſonne, & father Bate of Rowſhedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of ſawe duſt, or at ý leaſt, a great part therof, & were ſo ſtraitly kept, that their wiues and their frendes could not come at them.

Johnſon & his wyfe. Wylye, hys ſonne. Father Bate.

After the Painter had bene there a long ſpace, by much ſute he was remoued to Lollardes tower. His wife in the tyme of her ſute, whiles he was yet at Fulham, beyng deſirous to ſee her huſband, and preaſing to come in at the gate, beyng then bygge with child, the porter lift vp his foote and ſtroke her on the belly, that at lẽgth ſhe dyed of the ſame, but the child was deſtroyed immediatly.

A cruell facte of the byſhops porter.

After that, they were all ſtocked for a long time, & then they were let loſe in their priſons agayne. Some had horſe lockes on theyr legs, & ſome had other yrons. This painter would euer be wrytyng on the walles with chauke or a coale, and in one place he wrote Doct. Dodipall would make me beleue that the Moone were made of greene cheeſe. And becauſe he would be wrytyng many thynges, he was manicled by the wreſtes, ſo long till the fleſh of his armes was growne higher then his yrons. By the meanes of his manicles he coulde not kemme his head, and he remained ſo long manicled that his heare was felded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother ſued to the kyng for hym, and after long ſute, he was brought out in the Conſiſtory at Paules, and as his brother dyd report, they kept him three dayes without meate, before he came to hys aunſwere. Then, what by the long impriſonment and much euill handlyng, and for lacke of ſuſtenaunce, the man was in that caſe, that he could ſay nothyng, but looke and gaſe vpon the people lyke a wilde man, and if they aſked hym any queſtion, he could ſay nothyng, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had ſpylte hys body, and deſtroyed his wyttes, they ſent hym backe agayne to Bearſie Abbey, but he came away agayne from thence, and would not tary amongeſt them: albeit he neuer came to his perfect mynde, to his dying day.

Crueltie ſhewed to the paynter.

His brother, of whom I before ſpake, whoſe name was Ualentine Freeſe and his wife, gaue their lyues at one ſtake in Yorke, for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

Valentine & his wife burned in Yorke.

Alſo the wife of the ſayd father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many ſupplications to the kyng, without redreſſe, and at the laſt ſhe deliuered one to his own handes, and hee read it hym ſelfe, whereupon ſhe was appoynted to go into Chauncery Lane, to one whoſe name (as is thought) was maiſter Selyard, and at the laſt, ſhe gote a letter of the ſame Selyard to the Byſhop, and when ſhe had it, ſhe thought all her ſute well beſtowed, hopyng that ſome good ſhould come to her huſband thereby. And becauſe the wicked officers in thoſe dayes, were very crafty and deſirous of bloud, as ſome others had proued their practiſe, ſome of her frendes would nedes ſee the content of her letter, and not ſuffer her to deliuer it to the Byſhop, & as they thought, ſo they found in deede, for it was after this maner.

Gods good prouidence.

After commendations had. &c. Looke what you can gather agaynſt father Bate, ſend me worde by your truſty frend Syr William Sazie, that I may certifie the kynges Maieſtie. &c. Thus the poore woman, when ſhe thought her ſute had bene done, was in leſſe hope of her huſbandes lyfe thẽ before. But within ſhort ſpace after, it pleaſed God to deliuere him: for he gate out in a darke night and ſo was caught no more, but dyed within a ſhort tyme after.

A craftie letter of a wicked officer.

In this yeare alſo, as we do vnderſtãd by diuers notes of old Regiſters and otherwiſe, Frier Roy was burned in Portugale: but what his examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, we can haue no vnderſtãding. But what his doctrine was, it may be eaſely iudged by the teſtimonies, which he left here in England.

Roye burned in Portugale.

In ý begynnyng of this yeare which we are now about, through the complaynt of the Clergy made to the kyng, the tranſlation of the new Teſtament with a great number of other bookes, were forbydden. For the Byſhoppes commyng into Starre chamber the 25. day of May, and continuyng with the Kynges Counſell, after many pretences and long debatyng, alledged that the tranſlation of Tyndall and Joye were not truely tranſlated, and moreouer that in them were Prologues and Prefaces, that ſmelled of hereſie, & rayled agaynſt the Byſhops, wherfore all ſuch bookes were prohibited, and commaundement geuen by the kyng to the Byſhops, that they callyng to them the beſt learned men of the Uniuerſities, ſhould cauſe a new tranſlation to be made, ſo that the people might not be ignoraunt in the law of God. Notwithſtanding thys commaundement, the Byſhops did nothing at all, to the ſetting forth of any new tranſlation, which cauſed the people much to ſtudie Tyndals tranſlation, by reaſon whereof many thinges came to light, as ye ſhall hereafter heare.

The tranſlation of the new teſtament inhibited by the byſhops.

The byſhops commaunded by the king to ſet forth a new trãſlation of the new Teſtament.

This yeare alſo, in the moneth of May, the Byſhop of London cauſed all the new Teſtamẽts of Tyndals trãſlation, and many other bookes which he had bought, to be brought vnto Paules Churchyarde, and there openly to be burned.

James Baynham Lawyer and Martyr.

James Baynham Martyr.

James Baynham Gentleman, ſonne to one M. Baynhã a Knyght of Gloceſterſhyre, beyng vertuouſly brought vp by hys parents, in the ſtudies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latine and ý Greeke tongue. After that, he gaue himſelfe to the ſtudie of the lawe, beyng a man of vertuous diſpoſition, and godly conuerſation, mightely addicted to prayer, an earneſt reader of the Scriptures, a great mainteyner of the godly, a viſitour of the priſoners, liberal to ſchollers, very mercifull to hys clientes, vſing equitie & iuſtice to the poore, very diligent in geuing counſell to all the needy, wydowes, fatherles, and afflicted, without money or reward, briefly a ſingular example to all Lawyers.

Thys M. Baynham, as is aboue noted, maryed the wyfe of Symon Fiſhe aforeſayd, for the which he was the more ſuſpected, and at laſt was accuſed to Syr Tho. More Chauncellour of England, and arreſted wyth a Sergeant at Armes, and caryed out of the middle Temple to the Chauncellours houſe at Chelſey, where he cõtinued in free priſon a while, till the tyme that Syr Tho. More ſaw he could not preuaile in peruerting of hym to his ſecte. Then he caſt hym in priſon in his owne houſe, and whipped hym at the tree in his garden, called the tree of troth, and after ſent hym to the Tower to be racked, and ſo he was, Syr Tho. More beyng preſent hymſelfe, till in a maner he had lamed him, becauſe he would not accuſe the Gentlemen of the Temple of hys acquaintaunce, nor woulde not ſhewe where hys bookes lay: and becauſe his wife denyed them to be at hys houſe, ſhe was ſent to the Flete, & their goods confiſcate.

After they had thus practiſed agaynſt hym what they coulde, by tortures and tormentes, then was he brought before John Stokeſly Byſhop of London, the xv. of December, an. 1531. in the ſayd towne of Chelſey, and there examined vpon theſe Articles and interrogatories enſuing.

Interrogatories miniſtred to Baynham.

First whether he beleued there were any Purgatory of ſoules hence departed.

Wherunto he made aunſwere as foloweth: If we walke in light euen as he is in light, we haue ſocietie together wyth hym, and the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt his ſonne, hath clenſed vs from all ſinne. If we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues and the truth is not in vs. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faythfull and iuſt, & wil forgeue vs our ſinnes, and will purge vs from all our iniquities.

2. Secondly, whether the Saintes hence departed, are to be honored and prayed vnto, to pray for vs.

Aunſwere.

To which he aunſwered on this wiſe: My litle childrẽ I write this vnto you, that you ſinne not. If any man doe ſinne, we haue an Aduocate with the father, Ieſus Chriſt the iuſt, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, and not onely for our ſinnes, but alſo for the ſinnes of the whole world. And further, vppon occaſion of theſe wordes: Omnes ſancti Dei orate pro nobis, beyng demaunded what he ment by theſe wordes, Omnes ſancti, he aunſwered: that he ment them by thoſe that were alyue, as S. Paule did by the Corinthians, and not by thoſe that be dead: for hee prayed not to them (he ſayd) becauſe he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole Churche is gathered together, they vſe to pray one for an other, or deſire one to pray for an other, with one hart: and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled and not ours: and I pray, ſayd he, as our Sauiour Chriſt prayed at his laſt houre: Father, take this cuppe from me if it be poſſible, yet thy will be fulfilled.

Omnes ſancti dei.

3. Thirdly, he was demaunded whether he thought that any ſoules departed were yet in heauen or no.

To this he aunſwered and ſayd: That he beleued that they be there as it pleaſeth God to haue thẽ, that is to ſay, in the fayth of Abraham, and that herein he would commit hymſelfe to the Church.

Aunſwere. Soules departed.

4. Fourthly, it was demaunded of him, whether hee thought it neceſſary to ſaluation, for a man to confeſſe his ſinnes to a Prieſt.

Whereunto his aunſwere was this: That it was lawfull for one to cõfeſſe and knowledge his ſinnes to an other,

Aunſwere.

He

Confeſſion and remiſſion of ſinnes.

As for any other confeſſion he knew none. And further he ſayd, that if he came to a Sermõ, or any other where, where as the word of God is preached, and there take repentaunce for his ſinnes, he beleued his ſinnes forwith to be forgiuen of God, and that he needed not to go to any confeſſion.

5. **Fiftely, that he ſhould ſay and affirme, that the truth of holy Scripture hath bene hyd, and appeared not theſe viij. hundreth yeares, neither was knowen before now.**

Aunſwere.

To this he ſayd: That he ment no otherwiſe, but that the truth of holy Scripture was neuer, theſe viij. hundreth yeares paſt, ſo plainly and expreſſely declared vnto the people, as it hath bene within theſe vj. yeares.

6. **He was demaũded further, for what cauſe holy Scripture hath bene better declared within theſe vj. yeares, then it hath bene theſe viij. hundreth yeares before.**

Aunſwere.

The truth of the Scripture, long hyd.

Whereunto he aunſwered: To ſay playnly, he know no mã to haue preached the word of God ſincerely and purely, and after the vayne of Scripture, except M. Crome, and M. Latimer, and ſaid moreouer, that the new Teſtamẽt now tranſlated into Engliſh, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time, men dyd preach but onely: that folkes ſhould beleue as the Church did beleue, and thẽ if the church erred, mẽ ſhould erre to. Howbeit the church ſayd he, of Chriſt cã not erre: & that there were ij. churches, that is, the Church of Chriſt militant, and the Church of Antichriſt, and that this church of Antichriſt may and doth erre, but the Church of Chriſt doth not.

Two churches.

7. **Seuenthly, whether he knew any perſon that dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt, ſince the Apoſtles tyme.**

Aunſwere.

He ſayd: He knew Bayfild, and thought that he dyed, in the true fayth of Chriſt.

8. **Eightly, he was aſked what he thought of Purgatory and of vowes.**

Aunſwere.

Purgatory.

Crome before was now ſlipt from that he had before taught.

He aunſwered: If any ſuch thyng had bene moued to S. Paul of Purgatory after this life, he thought S. Paul would haue condemned it for an hereſie. And when he heard M. Crome preach and ſay, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this lyfe, hee thought in his mynde that the ſayd M. Crome lyed, and ſpake agaynſt his conſcience, and that there was a hundreth moe, which thought the ſame as he dyd: ſaying moreouer that he had ſene the confeſſion of M. Crome in Print, God wott a very foliſh thing, as he iudged.

Vowes.

And as concernyng vowes, he graunted that there was lawfull vowes as Ananias vowed Act. 5. for it was in his owne power, whether he would haue ſold his poſſeſſiõ or not, and therfore he did offend. But vowes of chaſtitie, and all godlynes is giuẽ of God by his abũdãt grace, the which no mã of himſelfe can kepe, but it muſt be giuẽ him of God. And therfore a Mõke, Frier, or Nunne, that haue vowed the vowes of Religion, if they thinke, after their vowes made, that they cã not kepe their promiſes that they made at Baptiſme, they may go forth and mary, ſo that they keepe after their mariage, the promiſe that they made at Baptiſme. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vowes, but onely the vow at Baptiſme.

9. **Ninthly, he was demaũded whether Luther beyng a Frier, & takyng a Nunne out of religiõ, and afterward maryng her, dyd well or no, and what he thought therein.**

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered: That he thought nothyng. And when they aſked him, whether it was lechery, or no. He made aunſwere, he could not ſay ſo.

As concernyng the Sacrament of anneling, beyng willed to ſay his mynde:

Aunſwere.

Extreme vnctiõ.

He aũſwered & ſayd: It was but a ceremony, neither did he wotte what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch an oylyng and annoyntyng. The beſt was, that ſome good prayers he ſaw to be ſayd thereat.

Likewiſe, touchyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, his wordes were theſe:

Aunſwere.

The ſacrament of baptiſme.

That as many as repẽt, and do on them Chriſt, ſhalbe ſaued: that is, as many die as cõcernyng ſinne, ſhal lyue by fayth with Chriſt. Therfore it is not we that lyue after that, but Chriſt in vs. And ſo whether we lyue, or dye, we are Gods by adoption, and not by the water onely, but by water, and fayth: that is, by keepyng the promiſe made. For ye are kept by grace and fayth, ſaith S. Paule, and that not of your ſelfes for it is the gift of God.

He was aſked moreouer of matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace, being commaunded in the old law, and not yet taken away.

Aunſwere.

Matrimony.

His aunſwere was: that Matrimony is an order or law, that the Church of Chriſt hath made, and ordeined, by the which men may take to them women and ſinne not.

Laſtly, for his bookes of Scripture, & for his iudgemẽt of Tyndall, becauſe he was vrged to cõfeſſe the troth, he ſayd:

Aunſwere.

That he had the new Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſh toung by Tyndall, within this moneth, and thought he offended not God in vſing and kepyng the ſame, notwithſtãdyng that he knew the kynges proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Paules croſſe. But for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbyd it: confeſſing moreouer, that he had in hys keepyng within this moneth, theſe bookes: the wicked Mãmon, the Obedience of a Chriſten man, the practiſe of Prelates, the aunſwere of Tyndall to Tho. Mores Dialogue, the booke of Frith agaynſt Purgatory, the Epiſtle of George Gee, aliás George Clerke: addyng furthermore, that in all theſe bookes he neuer ſaw any errours. And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſayd bookes. And as concerning the new Teſtament in Engliſh, he thought it vtterly good, and that the people ſhould haue it, as it is. Neither dyd he euer know (**ſayd he**) that Tyndall was a naughty felow. And to theſe aunſweres he ſubſcribed his name.

Readyng of bookes forbidden.

This examinatiõ (as is ſayd) was ye 15. day of Decẽber.

M. Baynham ſubmitteth himſelfe.

The next day folowyng, which was the 16. day of December, the ſayd Iames Baynham appeared agayne before the Byſhop of London, in the foreſayd place of Syr Thomas More at Chelſey, where, after the guyſe and forme of their proceedynges, firſt his former Articles with his aunſweres were agayne repeted, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they aſked him whether he would perſiſte in that which he had ſayd, or els would returne to the Catholicke Church from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet receaued, as they ſayd: adding moreouer many fayre intyſing & alluryng wordes, that hee would recõcile himſelfe, ſaying the time was yet that he might be receaued: the boſome of his mother was opẽ for him. Otherwiſe if he woulde continue ſtubburne, there was no remedy.

Now was the tyme either to ſaue, or els vtterly to caſt himſelfe away. Whiche of theſe wayes he would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent aunſwere, for els the ſentence diffinitiue was there ready to be read. &c.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

To conclude long matter in fewe wordes, Baynham waueryng in a doubtfull perplexitie betwene lyfe on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giuyng ouer to the aduerſaries, gaue aunſwere vnto them that he was contented to ſubmit himſelfe, in thoſe thynges wherein he had offended, excuſing that he was deceaued by ignoraunce. Thẽ the Byſhop requiryng hym to ſay his mynde playnly of his aunſweres aboue declared, demaunded what hee thought therof, whether they were true, or no.

To this Baynham ſayd, that it was to hygh for him to iudge. And then beyng aſked of the Biſhop, whether there was any Purgatory, he aunſwered, and ſayd: he could not beleue that there was any Purgatory after this lyfe.

Upon other Articles beyng examined and demaunded, he graũted as followeth: That he could not iudge whether Bayfild dyed in the true fayth of Chriſt or no. That a man makyng a vowe, can not breake it without deadly ſinne. That a Prieſt promiſing to lyue chaſte, may not mary a wife. That he thinketh the Apoſtles to be in heauen. That Luther did naught in maryng a Nunne. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keepe bookes prohibited by the Church, the pope, the Byſhop, or the Kyng, and ſayd that he pondered thoſe poyntes more now, then he dyd before. &c.

Upon theſe aunſweres the Byſhop thinkyng to keepe him in ſafe cuſtody, to further triall, committed hym to one of the Counters.

1532.

Baynham agayne brought before the byſhops Chaũcellour.

The tyme thus paſſyng on, which bryngeth all thyngs to their ende, in the moneth of February next followyng, in the yeare of our Lord. 1532. the foreſayde I. Baynham was called for agayne to the Byſhops Conſiſtory, before his Vicare generall, and other his aſſiſtaunce: to whom Foxford the Byſhops Chaũcellour recited agayne his Articles and aunſweres aboue mentioned, proteſtyng that he intended not to receaue him to the vnitie of the holy mother Church, vnleſſe he knew the ſayd Baynham to be returned agayne purely and vnfeynedly to the Catholicke fayth, and to ſubmitte hymſelfe penitently to the iudgement of the Church. To whom Baynham ſpake in this effect, ſaying that he hath and doth beleue the holy Church, and holdeth the fayth of the holy mother the Catholicke Church.

Wherunto the Chauncellour offeryng to him a Bill of his abiuration, after the forme of the Popes Church conceaued, required hym to read it. Who was contented and read to the clauſe of the abiuration, cõteinyng theſe wordes: I voluntarily, as a true penitent perſon returned from my hereſies, vtterly abiure. &c. and there he ſtayd and would read no farther, ſaying that he knew not the Articles conteined in his abiuration to be hereſie, therfore he could not ſee why he ſhould refuſe them. Which done, the Chauncellour proceeded to the readyng of this ſentence diffinitiue, cõmyng

comyng

myng to ẏ place of this ſentence: the doctrine & determination of the church. &c. and there pauſed, ſaying he would reſerue ẏ reſt tyl he ſaw his time. Who then Bainhã deſired to be good vnto him, affirming that he did acknowledg that there was a Purgatory: that ẏ ſoules of the apoſtles wer in heauen. &c. Thẽ began he againe to reade the ſentence, but Bainham againe deſired hym to be good vnto hym. Wherupon he ceaſed the ſentence, & ſayd that he would accept this his confeſſion for that tyme as ſufficient.

Baynham agayn brought to the Conſiſtorye.

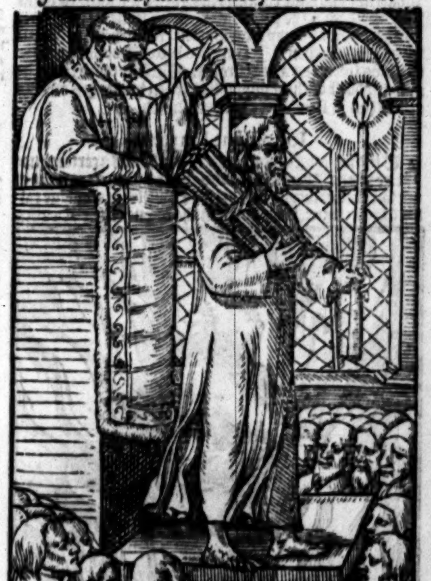
Baynham loth to abiure.

So Bainhã for that preſent was returned to his priſõ againe. Who thẽ the .v. day after, which was ẏ .viij. day of Febr. appeared as before, in the cõſiſtory. Whõ the foreſaid chancelor repeating againe his articles & anſweres, aſked if he would abiure & ſubmit hym ſelfe: who anſwered that he would ſubmit hym ſelf,, as a good chriſten man ſhould. Againe, the chãcelor the ſecond tyme aſked if he would abiure. I wyl (ſaid he) forſake al my articles, & wyll medle no more with thẽ, & ſo being cõmaunded to lay his handes vpõ the booke, read his abiuratiõ openly. After the readyng whereof he burſt out into theſe wordes, ſaying, that becauſe there were many wordes in the ſaid abiuration, whiche he thought obſcure & difficile, he proteſted that by his othe he intended not to go from ſuch defence, which he might haue had before his oth. Which done, ẏ chancelor aſked him why he made that proteſtatiõ? Bainhã ſaid, for feare leaſt any man of yl wyl do accuſe me hereafter. Thẽ the chãcelor taking ẏ definitiue ſentẽce in his hand, diſpoſing him ſelf (as appeared) to reade the ſame: Wel M. Bainham (ſaid he) take your othe & kiſſe the booke, or els I wyl do myne office againſt you, and ſo immediatly he tooke the boke in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Baynham enioyned penaunce.

Which done, the Chancelor receiuing the abiuration at his hand, put hym to his fine, firſt to pay .xx. li. to the king. After that, he enioyned hym penaunce, to goe before the Croſſe in proceſſion at Paules, & to ſtand before the preacher during the ſermõs at Paules croſſe, with a fagot vpõ his ſhoulder the next ſonday, & ſo to returne with ẏ Sumner to the priſon againe, there to abide the biſhops determination: and ſo the .xvij. day of Febr. he was releaſed & diſmiſſed home. Where he had ſcarſe a moneth continued, but he bewayled his fact & abiuration, and was neuer quiet in mynd & conſcience, vntyl the tyme he had vttered his fall to al his acquaintaunce, and aſked God and al the world forgeuenes before the congregation in thoſe dayes, in a warehouſe in Bowlane: and immediatly the next ſonday after, he came to S. Auſtens, with the newe Teſtament in his hand in Engliſh, and the obedience of a chriſten man in his boſome, and ſtoode vp there before the people in his pewe, there declaryng openly with weeping teares, that he had denyed God, and prayed all the people to forgeue hym, and to beware of his weakenes, and not to doo as he dyd. For, ſayde he, if I ſhoulde not turne againe vnto the truth (hauyng the newe Teſtament in his hande) this worde of God woulde damne me both bodye and ſoule at the daye of iudgement. And there he prayed euery bodye rather to dye by and by, then to doo as he dyd: for he woulde not feele ſuche an hel againe, as he dyd feele, for al the worldes good. Beſides this, he wrote alſo certaine letters to ẏ biſhop, to his brother, and to others, ſo that ſhortly after he was apprehended, and ſo committed to the Tower of London.

¶ Iames Baynham enioyned Penance.



Iames Baynham.

1532.

Baynham diſmiſſed out of pryſon.

Repentaũce of Baynham after his fall.

Baynham agayn apprehended and caſt in the Tower.

The proces againſt Iames Baynham,
in caſe of relaps.

An other proceſſe agaynſt Iames Baynham.

Ex Regiſtro Lond.

1532

The .xix. day of April. 1532. M. Rich. Foxford vicar general to the biſhop of London, accõpanied with certaine Diuines, & Mathew Grefton the Regiſter ſitting iudicially, Iames Bainhã was brought before hym by the Lieutenãt of the tower, before whõ ẏ vicar general rehearſed ẏ articles cõteined in his abiuration before made, & ſhewed him a bound booke, which the ſayd Bainhã acknowledged to be his owne writing, ſaying that it was good. Then he ſhewed hym more of a certain letter ſent vnto the biſhop of London, ẏ which alſo he acknowledged to be his: obiecting alſo to the ſayd Bainhã, that he had made & read the abiuration which he had before recited: ſhewyng him moreouer certain letters which he had written vnto his brother, the whiche he confeſſed to be his owne writing, ſaying moreouer, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the ſame that is nought, if it be as my Lord Chancelour ſaith. Then he aſked of Bainhã how he vnderſtood this which foloweth, which was in his letters: yet coulde they not ſee nor know hym for God, whẽ in dede he was both God and man, yea he was three perſons in one, the father, the ſonne, & the holy ghoſt: and Bainhã ſayd it was nought. Which thinges thus done, there was further obiected vnto hym theſe wordes, that he had as leefe pray to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady, The which article Bainhã denied. The ſaid Bainhã amongſt other talke as touchyng the ſacramẽt of ẏ altar, ſayd: Chriſtes body is not chawed wᵗ teeth, but receiued by fayth. Further it was obiected againſt him, that notwithſtandyng his abiuration, he had ſaid that ẏ ſacramẽt of the altar was but a myſticall or memorial body: the which article Bainham denyed. It was further laid vnto hym, that he ſhould ſay, that S. Thomas of Canterburye was a thiefe and murtherer, and a deuyl in hel. Whereunto he anſweared thus, ẏ S. Thomas of Canterbury was a murtherer, and if he dyd not repent hym of his murther, he was rather a deuyl in hel, then a ſaint in heauen.

Articles falſlye depraued by the aduerſaryes.

Thomas Becket.

An other appearaunce.

The .xx. day of April, in the yere aforeſaid, ẏ ſaid Iames Bainhã was brought before the vicar general in ẏ church of al ſaintes of Barking, where as he miniſtred theſe interrogatories vnto hym. Firſt, that ſince the feaſt of Eaſter laſt paſt, he had ſayd, affirmed, and beleued, that the ſacrament of the altar was but a myſticall body of Chriſte, and afterward he ſayd, it was but a memorial: the which article Bainham denyed. Then the vicar general declared vnto hym, that our holy mother ẏ catholike church determineth & teacheth in this maner: that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the wordes of conſecration, there remayneth no bread. The official aſked Bainham whether he dyd ſo beleue or not. Whereunto Bainhã anſwered, ſaying that S. Paul calleth it bread, rehearſing theſe wordes: Quotieſcũque comederitis panẽ hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis: and in that poynt he ſayth as ſaint Paul ſaith, and beleueth as the church beleueth. And beyng demaunded twiſe afterward what he thought therein, he would geue no other anſweare.

S. Paul calleth the ſacrament bread.

Item, that ſince the feaſt of Eaſter aforeſaid, he had affirmed & beleued that euery man that would take vpõ hym to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which article he anſweared thus: he that preacheth the worde of God, what ſoeuer he be, and lyueth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looſeth both in heauen and earth. The which key is the ſame ſcripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bynde and to looſe but by the key of Scripture.

True preachers haue as much power of the keyes as the Pope.

Item, that he affirmed that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a thiefe and a murtherer, and in hel. Whereunto he anſweared as before.

Articles falſlye depraued.

Item, that he ſayd he had as leefe praye to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady: the which he denyed as before.

Itẽ, that he affirmed & beleued, that Chriſt him ſelf was but a man, the which article he alſo denyed.

The premiſſes thus paſſed, the vicar generall receiued Frances Realmes, Iohn Edwardes, Raph Hilton, Iohn Ridley, Frances Dyyland, and Raph Noble, as witneſſes to be ſworne vpon the articles aforeſaid, and to ſpeake the truth before the face of the ſaide Iames Bainã, in the preſence of M. Iohn Maſter vicar of Barking, M. Iohn

Witnes agaynſt M. Baynham.

Rode Bacheler of diuinitie, Williã Smith, Richard Griuel, Tho. Wimple, and Richard Gil.

The laſt appearance of Iames Bainham.

The .xxvi. day of April in the yeare aforeſaid, before M. Io. Foxford vicar general of the biſh. of London, in ỹ preſence of Mathew Greſtõ Regeſter, and Nicolas Wilſon, & Will. Philley profeſſors of diuinitie, Iohn Oliuer, Williã Midleton, & Hugh Aprice, doctors of the lawe, M. Richard Greſham Sheriffe of London, & a great cõpanye of others, Iames Bainham was brought forth by ỹ Lieutenant of the Tower, in whoſe preſence the vicar generall rehearſed the merites of the cauſe of inquiſition of hereſie againſt hym, & proceded to the reading of ỹ abiuratiõ. And whẽ the Iudge read this article folowing contained in the abiuration: Itẽ, that I haue ſaid that I wil not determin whether any ſoules departed be yet in heauen or no, but I beleue that they be there as it pleaſeth God to haue them, that is to ſay, in ỹ faith of Abrahã: and I wote not whether the ſoules of the apoſtles or any other be in heauen or no. To this Iames anſweared, that I dyd abiure, and if that had not bene, I would not haue abiured at al.

Soules departed

The ſacrament of baptiſme.

After al the articles were read contained in the abiuration, & certaine talke had as touching the ſacrament of baptiſme, the ſaid Iames Bainham ſpake theſe wordes: If a Turke, a Iewe, or Saraſen do truſt in God and kepe his law, he is a good Chriſtian man. Then the officiall ſhewed vnto hym the letters whiche he ſent vnto his brother, written with his owne hand, and aſked hym what he thought, as touching this clauſe folowing: yet coulde they not ſee and know hym for God, whẽ in dede he was both God & man, yea he was three perſons in one, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt. Wherunto Bainham ſaid, that it was nought, & that he did it by ignorance, & did not ouerſee his letters. Thẽ M. Nicolas Wilſon amongſt other talke as touching the ſacrament of the altar, declared vnto hym that the churche did beleeue the very body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the altar. Bainham anſweared: The bread is not Ieſus Chriſt, for Chriſtes body is not chawed with teeth, therefore it is but bread. Being further demaunded whether in the ſacrament of the altar, is the very body of Chriſt God and man in fleſhe and bloud: after diuers doubtful anſweares, Bainham anſweared thus: He is there very God and man in forme of bread.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

This done, the official declared vnto him the depoſitiõs of the witneſſes whiche were come in againſt hym, & obiected vnto him, ỹ a litle before Eaſter he had abiured al hereſies, as wel particularly as generally. Then the ſaid vicar general, after he had takẽ deliberation & aduiſe with the learned his aſſiſtantes, dyd procede to the reading of the deffinitiue ſentence againſt him, & alſo publiſhed the ſame in writing: wherby amongſt other thinges beſides his abiuratiõ, he pronoũced & cõdẽned hym as a relapſed heretike, damnably fallen into ſundry hereſies, & ſo to be left vnto ỹ ſecular power, that is to ſay, to one of ỹ Sheriffes being there preſent. After the pronouncing of which ſentence, M. Nicolas Wilſon counſelled & admoniſhed the ſaid Iames, that he would conforme hym ſelfe vnto the Churche. To whõ he anſweared, that he truſted that he is the very child of God, whiche ye blynde aſſes (ſayde he) do not perceiue. And laſt of al, departyng from his iudgemẽt, he ſpake theſe wordes: M. Wilſon, nor you my Lord Chauncelour, ſhal not proue by ſcripture, that there is any Purgatorie. Thẽ the ſentence of condemnation was geuen agaynſt hym, the which here to repeat worde for worde, is not neceſſary, for ſo much as the tenor therof is all one with that which paſſed before in the ſtory of Bayfeld, aliás Somerſam. Here alſo ſhould enſue the letter of the Biſhop of London, directed vnto the Mayor and Sheriffes of the ſame Citie, for the receiuyng of him into their power, & ỹ puttyng of hym to death, the tenour wherof is alſo of like effect to that before written in the ſtorye of Bayfeld. After this ſentence geuen, Iames Baynham was deliuered into the handes of Syr Richarde Greſham Sheriffe, then beyng preſent, who cauſed hym by his officers to be carryed vnto Newegate, & the ſaid Iames Baynham was burned in Smithfielde the laſt day of April, in the yeare aforeſaid, at three a clocke at afternoone.

Sentence read agaynſt Baynham.

The wordes of Iames Baynham to M. Wilſon.

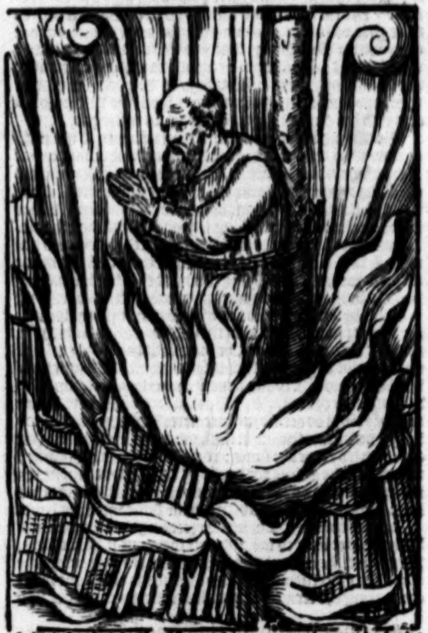
The cruell handlyng of Baynham

This maiſter Baynham during his impriſonment was very cruelly handled. For almoſt by the ſpace of a fortnight he lay in the biſhops Colehouſe in the ſtockes, with yrons vpon his legges. Then he was caryed to the Lord Chauncelours, and there chayned to a poſt two nightes. Then he was caryed to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the ſpace of a ſeuennight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight ſcourged with whippes, to make hym reuoke his opinions. From thence he was carryed to Barkyng, then to Chelſey, and there condemned, and ſo to Newgate, to be burned.

At whoſe burnyng here is notoriouſly to be obſerued, that as he was at the ſtake in the midſt of the flamyng fire which fire had halfe cõſumed his armes & legges, he ſpake theſe wordes: O ye papiſtes, behold, ye looke for myracles, and here nowe ye may ſee a myracle, for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of Downe: but it is to me as ſweete as a bed of roſes. Theſe wordes ſpake he in the middeſt of the flamyng fire, when his legges and his armes (as I ſayd) were halfe conſumed.

A miracle & a wondrous worke of God to behold.

¶ The burnyng of Iames Baynham.



The death and Martyrdome of M. Iames Baynham.

Iames Baynham.

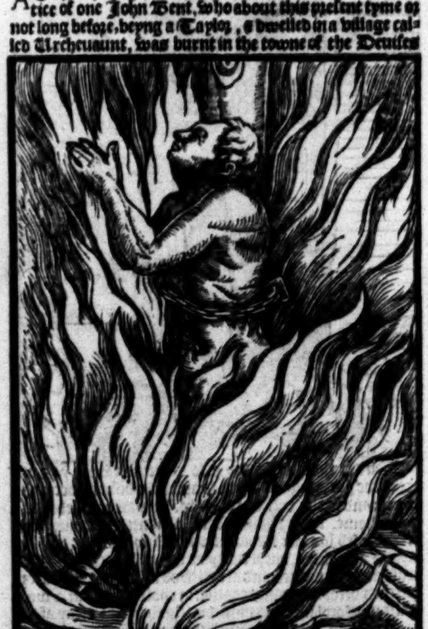
Anno. 1532.

Iohn Bent Martyr.

Ioh. Bent, Martyr.

Ioh. Bent, burnt at Deuiſe.

AT the writyng herof, came to our handes a certaine notice of one Iohn Bent, who about this preſent tyme or not long before, beyng a Taylor, & dwelled in a village called Vrcheuaunt, was burnt in the towne of the Deuiſes within the countie of Wiltſhire, for the denying of the ſacrament of the altar, as they terme it.



One

Thomas Chriswell

¶ One Trapnel martyr.

Trapnell Martyr, burnt at Brodford.

ALſo muche about the ſame tyme, was one Trapnell burned in a Towne called Brodford, within the ſame Countie.

¶ The hiſtorie of three men hanged for the burnyng of the Roode of Douercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, whiche was one of the doers of the ſame.

Out of a letter of Robert Gardner, written to Chapman Londoner, and yet aliue

The Roode of Douercourt.

Robart King Rob. Debnam, Nicolas Marſh, Martyrs.

IN the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1532. there was an Idoll named the Roode of Douercourt, whereunto was much and greate reſorte of people. For at that tyme there was great rumour blowen abroade amonges the ignoraunt ſort, that the power of the Idoll of Douercourt was ſo greate, that no man had power to ſhut the Churche doore where he ſtoode, and therefore they lefte the Churche doore bothe nyght and daye continually ſtande open, for the more credite unto their blynde rumour. Whiche once beyng conceiued in the heades of the vulgar ſort, ſeemed a greate maruayle unto many men, but to many againe, whom God had bleſſed with his ſpirite, was greatly ſuſpected, eſpecially unto theſe, whoſe names here folow, as Robert Kyng of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eſtbergholt, Nicholas Marſhe of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whoſe conſciences were ſore burdened to ſee the honor and power of the almighty liuyng God ſo to be blaſphemed by ſuch an Idoll. Wherfore they were moued by the ſpirite of God, to trauaile out of Dedham in a woondrous goodly night, both hard froſt and fayre moone ſhine, although the night before, and the night after were exceedyng foule and raynie. It was from the towne of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Roode ſtood, x. miles. Notwithſtanding they were ſo willyng in that their enterpriſe, that they went theſe x. myles without payne, and found the Church doore open, accordyng to the blynd talke of the ignoraunt people: for there durſt no unfaythful body ſhut it. Which happened wel for their purpoſe, for they founde the Idol, which had as much power to keepe the doore ſhut, as to keepe it open. And for proofe therof, they tooke the Idol from his ſhrine, and caryed hym a quarter of a myle from the place where he ſtoode, without any reſiſtaunce of the ſayd Idol. Whereupon they ſtrake fire with a Flint ſtone, and ſodenly ſet hym on fire, who burned out ſo brym, that he lighted them homeward one good myle of the ten.

The blinde opinions of the people.

Experience of falſe Idolatrye.

The Idoll ſet on a lyght fyer.

This done, there went a great talke abroade, that they ſhould haue great riches in that place, but it was very untrue, for it was not their thought or enterpriſe, as they them ſelues afterward confeſſed, for there was nothing taken away but his coate, his ſhooes and tapers. The tapers dyd helpe to burne hym, the ſhooes they had againe, and the coate one ſir Thomas Roſe dyd burne, but they had neyther peny, halfe peny, gold, grote, nor iewel.

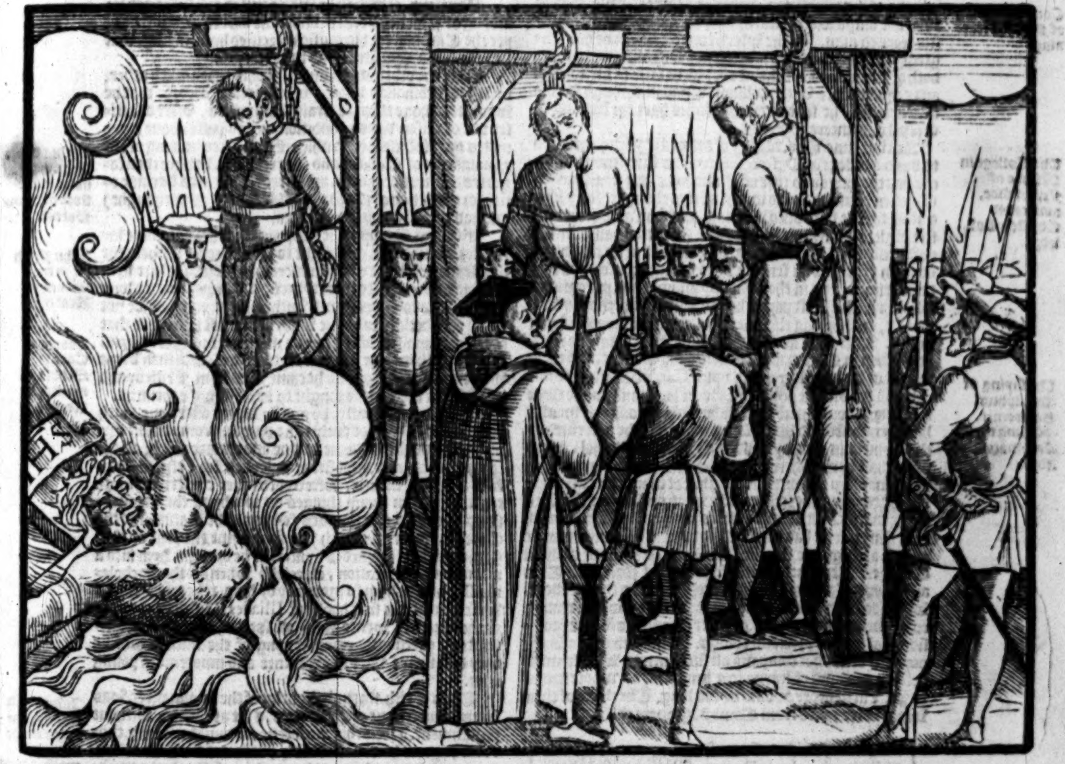
Falſe ſurmiſe alwayes readye.

The right handling of an Idoll.

Notwithſtandyng three of them were afterwarde indited of felonie, and hanged in chaynes within halfe a yere after, or thereabout. Robert Kyng was hanged in Dedham at Burchet. Robert Debnam was hanged at Cattawaye Cauſey: Nicholas Marſhe was hanged at Douercourt. Which three perſons, through the ſpirite of God at their death, dyd more edifie the people in godly learning, then all the Sermons that had bene preached there a long tyme before.

Robert Kyng. Robart Debnam Nicolas Marſh, Martyrs.

¶ Robert Kyng, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marſhe hanged for takyng downe the Roode of Douercoutr.



Robart Gardner eſcaped.

The fourth man of this companye named Roberte Gardner, eſcaped their handes and fledde. Albeit he was cruelly ſought for, to haue had ẏ like death, but ẏ lyuyng Lord preſerued hym, to whom be all honour & glory world without ende.

Ex teſtimonio ipſius Gardner.

Images deſtroyed.

The ſame yeare, and the yeare before, there were manye Images caſte downe and deſtroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifixe in the hygh waye by Cogſhall, the Image of ſaint Petronil in the Church of great Horkſleigh, the Image of ſaint Chriſtopher by Sudburye, and an other Image of Saint Petronil in a Chappell by Ipſwiche.

Alſo John Seward of Dedham, ouerthrew a Croſſe in Stoke Parke, and tooke two Images out of a chappel in the ſame parke, and caſt them into the water.

The ſtorie, examination, death, and martyrdome of Iohn Frith.

1533.

John Frith Martyr.

AMongeſt al other chaunces lamentable, there hath bene none a great tyme whiche ſeemed vnto me more greeuous, then the lamentable death and cruell handlyng of John Frith, ſo learned and excellent a young man, who had ſo profited in al kinde of learnyng and knowledge, that ſcarſely there was his equal amongeſt al his companions, and beſides withal had ſuch a godlynes of life ioyned with his doctrine, that it was hard to iudge, in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly prayſe worthy in them both. But as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Chriſt, we wyl ſpeake hereafter. Of the great godlynes which was in him, this may ſerue for experiment ſufficiẽt, for that notwithſtanding his other manyfold and ſingular gyftes & ornaments of yͤ mynd in hym moſt pregnãt, wherwithal he might haue opened an eaſie way vnto honor and dignitie, notwithſtanding he choſe rather wholy to conſecrate hym ſelfe vnto the Church of Chriſt, excellently ſhewing forth & practiſing in hymſelf the precept ſo highly cõmended of the Philoſophers, touching the life of man, which life they ſay, is geuen vnto vs in ſuch ſort, that how much better yͤ man is, ſo much the leſſe he ſhould liue vnto hym ſelf, but vnto other, ſeruyng for the cõmon vtilitie, and that we ſhoulde thinke a great part of our byrth to be due vnto our parentes, a greater part vnto our countrey, & the greateſt part of al to be beſtowed vpon the Churche, if we wyl be counted good men. Firſt of al he began his ſtudy at Cambridge. In whõ nature had planted being but a child, marueilous inſtinctions & loue vnto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had alſo a wonderful promptnes of wit, & a ready capacitie to receiue and vnderſtand any thing, in ſo much that he ſeemed not to be ſent vnto learnyng, but alſo borne for the ſame purpoſe: neither was there any diligence wanting in hym, equall vnto that towardnes, or worthy of his diſpoſition. Wherby it came to paſſe, that he was not only a louer of learnyng, but alſo became an exquiſite learned man. In the which exerciſe, when he had diligently laboured certaine yeares, not without great profite both of Latine and Greke, at the laſt he fel into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndall, through whoſe inſtructions, he firſt receiued into his hart the ſeede of the Goſpel and ſincere godlynes.

John Fryth. firſt ſtudent in Cambridge.

Commendation of Frythes learning.

At that time Tho. Wolſey Cardinal of Yorke, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marueilous ſumptuous, whiche had the name and title of Frideſwide, but nowe named Chriſtes churche, not ſo much (as it is thought) for yͤ loue & zeale that he bare vnto learning, as for an ambitious deſire of glory & renoume, & to leaue a perpetual name vnto yͤ poſteritie. But that building, he being cut of by the ſtroke of death (for he was ſent for vnto yͤ king, accuſed vpõ certaine crimes, and in the waye by immoderate purgations killed him ſelfe) leaſt partly begun, partly halfe ended & vnperfect, and nothing els ſaue only the kitchin was fully finiſhed. Wherupon Rodulphus Gualterus a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the College, ſaid theſe words in Latine: Egregium opus Cardinalis iſte inſtituit collegiũ, & abſoluit popinam. Howe large and ample thoſe buildings ſhould haue bene, what ſumptuous coſt ſhoulde haue bene beſtowed vpõ yͤ ſame, may eaſily be perceiued by that whiche is already builded, as yͤ kitchin, the hal, & certaine chambers, where as there is ſuch curious grauing & workmanſhip of ſtonecutters, that al things on euery ſide did glytter for the excellẽcie of yͤ workmãſhip, for the fines of the matter, with yͤ gilt antikes, & emboſſings, in ſo much that if al the reſt had ben finiſhed to that determinate ende as it was begunne, it might wel haue excelled not onely all Colleges of ſtudentes, but alſo palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinall gathered together into that College, what ſoeuer excellent thing there was in yͤ whole realme, either veſtments, veſſels, or other ornaments, beſide prouiſion of al kind of precious things. Beſides that, he alſo appoynted vnto that company all ſuch men as were found to excel in any kind of learnyng & knowledge. Whoſe names to recite al in order, would be too long. The chiefe of them which were called from Cambridge were theſe.

The College in Oxforde of Frydeſwide, now called Chriſtes College.

The ſaying of Rodulphus Gaulterus touching the Cardinals College.

M.Clarke, Maiſter of art, of.xxxiiij. yeares of age.
M.Fryer, afterwarde Doctor of Phiſicke, after that a ſtrong papiſt.
M. Sumner, maiſter of Art.
M.Harman, maiſter of Art, and after felow of Eaton College, after that a papiſt.
M.Bettes, maiſter of Art, a good man and zelous, and ſo remayned.
M.Coxe, maiſter of Arte, who conueyed hym ſelfe away toward the North, and after was Scholemaiſter of Eaton, & then Chaplaine to D. Goodrich Biſhop of Ely, and by hym preferred to K. Henrie, and nowe Biſhop of Ely.
Iohn Frith, Bacheler of Art.
Bayly, Bacheler of Art.
Goodman, who being ſicke in the priſon with the other, was had out, and dyed in the towne.
Drumme, who afterwardes fell away, and forſooke the truth.
Thomas Lawney, Chapleine of the houſe, priſoner with Iohn Frith.

To theſe ioyne alſo Tauerner of Boſton, the good Muſitian, beſides many other called alſo out of other places moſt piked young men of graue iudgement and ſharpe wittes, who conferring together vppon the abuſes of religion, beyng at that tyme crept into the Churche, were therfore accuſed of hereſie vnto the Cardinal, and caſt into a priſon, within a deepe caue vnder the ground, of the ſame College, where their ſalt fiſhe was layde, ſo that through the filthy ſtinche thereof, they were al infected, and certaine of them takyng their death in the ſame priſon, ſhortly vpõ the ſame being taken out of the priſon into their chambers, there deceaſſed.

This Tauerner repented hym very much that he had made ſonges to popiſh ditties in the tyme of his blindnes.

The troublers and examiners of theſe good men were theſe, Doct. London, Doct. Higdon, Deane of the ſame College, and Doct. Cotteſford, Commiſſary.

Perſecuters.

Maiſter Clarke, maiſter Sumner, and Syr Bayly eating nothing but ſalt fiſhe from February, to the middeſt of Auguſt, dyed all three together within the compaſſe of one weeke.

M. Clarke, M. Sũner, Syr Baily, killed through impriſonment.

Maiſter Bettes a wittye man, hauyng no bookes founde in his Chamber, through entreatie and ſuretye gote out of priſon, and ſo remaynyng a ſpace in the College, at laſt ſlipt away to Cambrige, and after was Chapleine to Queene Anne, and in great fauour with her.

Tauerner, although he was accuſed and ſuſpected for hidyng of Clarkes bookes vnder the bordes in his ſchole, yet the Cardinal for his muſicke excuſed hym, ſaying, that he was but a Muſitian, and ſo he eſcaped.

After the death of theſe men, John Frith, with other, by the Cardinalles letter, whiche ſente worde that he woulde not haue them ſo ſtraightly handled, were diſmiſſed out of priſon vppon condition, not to paſſe aboue tenne myles out of Oxforde. Which Frith after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, whiche bare then fagottes, went ouer the ſea, and after two yeares he came ouer for exhibition of the Prior of Readyng (as is thought) and had the Prior ouer with hym.

Of this Dalabar, reade more in the ſtory of Tho. Garret.

Being at Readyng, it happened that he was there taken for a vacabond, & brought to examination: where the ſimple man whiche coulde not craftily enough colour hym ſelf, was ſet in the ſtockes. Where after he had ſitten a long tyme, and was almoſt pined with hunger, and woulde not for all that declare what he was, at the laſt he deſired that the Scholemaiſter of the towne might be brought to hym, whiche at that tyme was one Leonard Coxe, a man verye wel learned. As ſoone as he came vnto hym, Frith by and by began in the Latine tongue to bewaile his captiuitie.

John Fryth ſet in the ſtockes at Reading.

Leonard Coxe, Schole maiſter of Readyng.

The Scholemaiſter by and by beyng ouercome with his eloquence, dyd not onely take pitie and compaſſion vpon hym, but alſo beganne to loue and embrace ſuche an excellent wytte and diſpoſition vnlooked for, eſpecially in ſuch a ſtate & miſerie. Afterward, they conferryng more together vppon many thinges as touchyng the Vniuerſities, Scholes, and tongues, fell from the Latine into the Greeke, wherein Frith dyd ſo inflame the loue of that Scholemaiſter towardes hym, that he brought hym into a marueilous admiration, eſpecially when as the Scholemaiſter hearde hym ſo promptly by hart, rehearſe Homers verſes out of his firſt booke of Iliades. Whereuppon the Scholemaiſter wente with all ſpeede, vnto the Magiſtrates, greeuouſly complaynyng of the iniurie whiche they dyd ſhewe vnto ſo excellente and innocente a young man.

Thus Frith, through the helpe of the ſcholmaiſter, was freely dimitted out of the ſtockes, & ſet at libertie without puniſhment. Albeit this his ſafetie continued not long, throwe the great hatred and deadly purſuit of ſir Tho. More, who at that tyme being Chauncelour of Englande, perſecuted hym both by land and ſea, beſetting al the wayes and hauens, yea & promiſing great rewardes, if any man could bring hym any newes or tydinges of hym.

John Frith through the helpe of the Scholemaiſter, was deliuered out of the ſtockes.

Thus Frith beyng on euery part beſet with troubles, not knowyng whiche way to turne hym, ſeeketh for ſome place to hyde hym in. Thus fleing from one place to an other, and often chaunging both his garmentes and place, yet coulde he be in ſafetie in no place, no not long amongeſt

Syr Tho. More a deadly perſecuter of John Fryth.

his

The occaſion of Frythes wryting againſt More

his frendes: ſo that at the laſt, beyng trayterouſly taken, (as ye ſhall after heare) he was ſente vnto the Tower of London, wheras he had many conflictes with the biſhops, but ſpecially in wrytyng with Syr Thomas More. The firſt occaſion of his wrytyng was this: Vppon a tyme he had communication with a certaine olde familiar freende of his, touching the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt. The whole effect of whiche diſputation, conſiſted ſpecially in theſe foure poyntes.

1 FIrſt, that the matter of the Sacrament is no neceſſarye article of faith vnder paine of damnation.

2 Secondly, that for ſo muche as Chriſtes naturall bodye in like condition hath all properties of our bodye, ſinne onely except, it can not be, neyther is it agreeable vnto reaſon, that he ſhould be in two places or moe at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3 Moreouer it ſhall not ſeeme meete or neceſſarye, that we ſhoulde in this place vnderſtande Chriſtes wordes, according to the literall ſenſe, but rather according to the order and phraſe of ſpeache, comparing phraſe with phraſe, according to the Analogie of the ſcripture.

4 Laſt of all, howe that it ought to be receiued accordyng to the true and right inſtitution of Chriſt, albeit that the order whiche at this tyme is crept into the Churche, & is vſed nowe a dayes by the prieſtes, do neuer ſo much differ from it.

The occaſion of Frithes wrytyng vpon the ſacrament.

And for ſo muche as the treatiſe of this diſputation ſeemed ſomewhat long, his freende deſired hym that ſuche thinges as he had reaſoned vppon, he woulde briefly commyt vnto wrytyng, and geue vnto hym for the helpe of his memorie. Frith, albeit he was vnwillyng, and not ignoraunt howe daungerous a thyng it was to enter into ſuch a contentious matter, at the laſt notwithſtanding he beyng ouercome by the intreatie of his freende, rather folowed his wyl, then looked to his owne ſafegard.

William Holte, a Iudas.

Syr Tho. More Chauncelor.

There was at that time in London a Taylour named William Holt, which faynyng a great frendſhip toward this partie, inſtantly required of him to geue hym licence to reade ouer that ſame wryting of Frithes, whiche when he vnaduiſedly dyd, the other by and by caryed it vnto More being then Chauncelour, which thing afterward was occaſion of great trouble, and alſo of death vnto the ſaide Frith. For More hauing gotten a copie of this booke, not onely of this Sicophant, but alſo two other copies, whiche at the ſame tyme, in a maner were ſent hym by other promoters, he whetted his wyts, & called his ſpirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a cōtrary booke.

The ſumme of Frythes booke of the ſacrament.

This in a maner was the whole ſumme of the reaſons of Frithes booke: Firſt to declare the Popes beliefe of the Sacrament, to be no neceſſary article of our fayth, that is to ſay, that it is no article of our fayth neceſſary to be beleued vnder paine of damnation, that the Sacrament ſhoulde be the natural body of Chriſt, whiche he thus proueth: For many ſo beleue, and yet in ſo beleuyng the Sacrament to be the natural body, are not therby ſaued, but receiue it to their damnation.

The not beleuing the corporall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, is no damnation.

Agayne, in beleuyng the Sacrament to be the naturall body, yet that naturall preſence of his bodye in the bread, is not that whiche ſaueth vs, but his preſence in our hartes by fayth. And likewiſe the not beleuyng of his bodyly preſence in the Sacrament, is not the thyng that ſhall damne vs, but yͤ abſence of him out of our hart, through vnbelief. And if it be obiected, that it is neceſſary to beleue gods worde vnder payne of damnation: to that he anſwereth, that the worde taken in the right ſenſe as Chriſte meant, mainteineth no ſuch bodyly preſence as the Popes church doth teache, but rather a Sacramentall preſence. And that (ſaith he) may be further confirmed thus.

Argument.

Ce. None of the olde fathers before Chriſtes incarnation, were bound vnder paine of damnatiō to beleue this poynt:

la. All we be ſaued by the ſame fayth that the olde fathers were.

rent. Ergo, none of vs are bounde to beleue this poynt vnder paine of damnation.

The firſte parte (ſaith he) is euident of it ſelfe. For howe coulde they beleue that whiche they neuer hearde nor ſawe?

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

The ſeconde part (ſaith he) appeareth plainly by ſaint Auguſtine, wryting ad Dardanum, and alſo by an hundreth places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate thē this, that yͤ ſame fayth yͭ ſaued our Fathers, ſaueth vs alſo. And therefore vpon the truth of theſe two parts thus proued, muſt the cōcluſion (ſaith he) needes folowe.

An other Argument.

None of yͤ olde fathers before Chriſtes incarnation, did eate Chriſt corporally in their ſignes, but onely myſtically & ſpiritually, and were ſaued:

All we do eate Chriſt euen as they dyd, and are ſaued as they were:

Ergo, none of vs do eate Chriſte corporally, but myſtically and ſpiritually in our ſignes as they did.

For the probation of the firſt part, Frith proceeding in his diſcourſe, declareth howe the auncient fathers before Chriſtes Incarnation, dyd neuer beleue any ſuch poynt of this groſſe and carnall eating of Chriſtes bodye: and yet notwithſtanding they dyd eate hym ſpiritually, and were ſaued: as Adam, Abraham, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, and other godly Iſraelites beſides. All whiche (ſaith he) dyd eate the body of Chriſt, and dyd drinke his bloud, as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was ſpiritual, perteinyng onely to fayth, and not to the teeth: For they were all vnder the cloude, and dranke of the rocke which folowed them, this rocke was Chriſte, which was promiſed thē to come into yͤ world. And this promiſe was firſt made vnto Adā, whē as it was ſaid vnto yͤ Serpent: I wyll put hatred betwene thee and the woman, betwene her ſeede and thy ſeede. &c. And afterward agayne vnto Abraham: In thy ſeede ſhal al people be bleſſed. &c. Adding alſo the Sacrament of Circumciſion, which was called the couenant, not becauſe it was ſo in deede, but becauſe it was a ſigne and a token of yͤ couenant made betwene God & Abrahā, admoniſhing vs therby how we ſhould iudge & thinke touching the ſacrament of his body & bloud: to wyt, that albeit it be called the body of Chriſt, yet we ſhould properly vnderſtand therby yͤ fruit of our iuſtification, which plentifully floweth vnto al faythful by his moſt healthful body & bloud. Likewiſe the ſame promiſe was made vnto Moſes the moſte meeke & gentle captaine of the Iſraelites, which dyd not only hym ſelf beleue vpō Chriſt, which was ſo often promiſed, but alſo dyd prefigurate hym by diuers meanes, both by yͤ Manna whiche came downe from heauen, and alſo by the water whiche iſſued out of the rocke, for the refreſhing of the bodyes of his people.

1 Cor. 10.

Gen. 30.

Gen 26.

Bread is called the bodye, as the ſacrament of circumciſion is called the couenaunt.

Manna, a figure of Chriſtes body.

The water of the rocke a figure of Chriſtes body.

Bread & wine, a figure likewiſe of Chriſtes body

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a Propheticall myſterie in them, declaring the very ſelfe ſame thing then, whiche the bread & the wine do now declare vnto vs in yͤ ſacrament. For thus ſaith S. Auguſtine: Who ſo euer dyd vnderſtand Chriſt in the manna, dyd eate the ſame ſpirituall foode that we do. But they which by that Manna ſought onely to fil their bellyes, dyd eate therof, and are dead. So likewiſe ſaith he of yͤ drinke: For the rocke was Chriſt. And by and by after he inferreth thus: Moſes dyd eate Manna and Phinees alſo, and many other alſo dyd eate therof, which pleaſed God, & are not dead. Why? becauſe they dyd vnderſtand the viſible meate ſpiritually. They did ſpiritually hunger, and did ſpiritually taſte of it, that they might ſpiritually be ſatiſfied. They all did eate the ſame ſpiritual meat, & al did drinke the ſame ſpiritual drinke: al one ſpiritual thing, but not al one corporall matter (for they dyd eate Manna, & we an other thing) but the ſelfe ſame ſpiritual thing that we do, and although they dranke the ſame ſpiritual drinke that we do, yet they dranke one thing, and we an other: which neuertheles ſignified all one thing in ſpirituall effecte. Howe did they drink all one thing? The apoſtle anſwereth: Of the ſpiritual rocke whiche folowed them, for the rocke was Chriſt. And Bede alſo adding theſe wordes, ſaith: Behold the ſignes are altered and yet the fayth remayneth one. Therby a man may perceiue that the Manna, whiche came downe from heauen, was the ſame vnto them, that our Sacrament is vnto vs, and that by eyther of them is ſignified that the bodye of Chriſte came downe from heauen, and yet notwithſtanding neuer any of them ſayde, that Manna was the verye bodye of Meſſias, as our Sacramentall bread is not in deede the body of Chriſt, but a myſtical repreſentation of yͤ ſame. For like as the Manna which came down frō heauen, and the bread whiche is receiued in the Supper, dooth nouriſh the body, euen ſo the body of Chriſt comming down from heauen and beyng geuen for vs, dooth quicken vp the ſpirits of the beleuers vnto life euerlaſting. Then if the ſaluation of both people be alike, and their faith alſo one, there is no cauſe why we ſhoulde adde tranſubſtantiation vnto our ſacrament, more then they beleued their Manna to be altered & chaunged. Moreouer, for becauſe they are named ſacraments euen by the ſignification of the name, they muſt needes be ſignes of things, or els of neceſſitie they can be no Sacraments.

1 Cor 10.

The olde fathers dyd eate the ſame ſpirituall foode that we doe, but not the ſame corporal foode, For they dyd eate Chriſt in Mānā, we do eate him in bread.

Bede.

A ſimilitude betwene Manna, & the body of Chriſt.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Three cauſes why Sacramentes are ordeyned.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum.

The ſecond cauſe

Sacramentes not to be worſhipped for the thinges.

The third cauſe.

But ſome may here obiect and ſay: If only fayth, both vnto them and alſo vnto vs, be ſufficient for ſaluation, what neede then any Sacraments to be inſtituted? He anſweared, that there are three cauſes why Sacraments are inſtituted. The firſt S. Auſten declareth in theſe wordes, writing againſt Fauſtus: Men (ſaith he) can not be knyt together into one name of religion, be it true, or be it falſe, except they be knyt by the ſocietie of ſignes and viſible Sacramentes, the power whereof doth wonderfully preuaile, in ſo muche, that ſuche as contemne them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without the whiche godlynes can not be made perfecte. &c. An other cauſe is, that they ſhould be helpers to grafte and plante fayth in our hartes, and for the confirmation of Gods promiſes. But this vſe of Sacramentes many are yet ignoraunt of, and more there be whiche doo prepoſterouſly iudge of the ſame, takyng the ſignes for the thing it ſelfe, and worſhipping the ſame: euen by like reaſon in a maner, as if a man would take the buſhe that hangeth at the Tauerne doore, and ſucke it for to ſlake his thirſt, & wyl not go into the Tauerne where the wine is. Thirdly, they doo ſerue vnto this vſe, to ſtirre vp the myndes and harts of the faythful to geue thankes vnto God for his benefites. And theſe in a maner are the principall pointes of his booke.

More wryteth agaynſt Iohn Fryth.

Fryth aunſwereth to More.

When More (as is before ſaide) had gotten a copie of this treatiſe, he ſharpened his pen al that he might, to make anſwer vnto this yong man (for ſo he calleth hym throughout his whole booke) but in ſuche ſort, that when the booke was once ſet forth, and ſhewed vnto the worlde, then he endeuoured hym ſelfe all that he might, to keepe it from printing, peraduenture leaſt that any copie thereof ſhoulde come vnto Frithes handes. But notwithſtanding, when at the laſt Frith had gottẽ a copie therof by meanes of his frends, he anſwered hym out of the priſon, omitting nothing that any man coulde deſire to the perfect and abſolute handlyng of the matter. And as it were a great labour, ſo do I thinke it not muche neceſſarye to repeate all his reaſons and argumentes, or the teſtimonies which he had gathered out of the Doctors: ſpecially for ſo much as the Archb. of Canterbury Cranmer, in his Apologie againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſeemeth to haue collected them abundantly, gatheryng the principall and chiefeſt helpes from thence that he leaned vnto againſt the other: and I doubt muche whether the Archbiſhop euer gaue any more credite vnto any authour of that doctrine, then vnto this aforeſaid Frith.

Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cãterburye holpen by the booke of Iohn Frith.

What dexteritie of wyt was in hym, and excellencie of doctrine, it maye appeare, not only by his bookes whiche he wrote of the Sacrament, but alſo in them which he entituled of Purgatorie. In which quarrel he withſtood the violence of three moſt obſtinate enemies, that is to ſaye, of Rocheſter, More, and Raſtal. Whereof the one by the helpe of the Doctors, the other by the wreſting of the ſcripture, and the third by the helpe of natural Philoſophie had conſpired againſt hym. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not agaynſt two onely, but euen with them al three at once, dyd ſo ouerthrowe & confound thẽ, that he cõuerted Raſtall to his part.

Rocheſter, More and Raſtall, agaynſt Frith.

Iohn Fryth conuerted Raſtall.

The prudent temperance and moderation of Iohn Frith.

Beſides al theſe cõmendations of this young man, there was alſo in him a frendly & prudent moderation in vttering of the truth, ioyned with a learned godlines. Which vertue hath alwayes ſo much preuailed in the Churche of Chriſte, that without it all other good gyftes of knowledge, be they neuer ſo great, can not greatly profite, but oftẽtymes do very much hurt. And would God that al thinges in al places were ſo free from all kinde of diſſenſion, that there were no mention made amongeſt Chriſtians, of Zuinglians & Lutherians, when as neither Zuinglius, neyther Luther died for vs, but that we might be al one in Chriſt. Neither do I thinke that any thing could happẽ more greuous vnto thoſe worthy men, then their names ſo to be abuſed to ſectes and factions, whiche ſo greatly withſtood and ſtroue againſt all factions. Neyther doo I here diſcourſe whiche part came neareſt vnto the truth, neither ſo raſhely intermeddle in this matter, that I wyl detract any thing from eyther part, but rather wiſhe of God I might ioyne either part vnto other. But nowe for ſo much as we entreate of the ſtorye of Iohn Frith, I can not chuſe, but muſt needes earneſtly and hartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who mainteynyng this quarrell of the Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper, no leſſe godly then learnedly, (and ſo as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly, godly, and pithily) yet he dyd it ſo moderately, without any cõtention, that he would neuer ſeeme to ſtriue againſt ẏ papiſtes, except he had ben driuen to it euen of neceſſitie. In al other matters, where neceſſitie did not moue him to cõtend, he was ready to graunt al thinges for quietnes ſake, as his moſt modeſt reaſons and anſweares dyd declare.

For when as More diſputyng in a certayne place vpon the Sacrament, layde agaynſte hym the authoritie of Doctour Barnes, for the preſence of the body and bloud in the Sacrament, he anſweared vnto More and his companions, that he would promiſe vnder this condition, that the ſentence of Luther and Barnes might be holdẽ as ratified, he would neuer ſpeake more woordes of it: for in that poynt they dyd both agree with hym, that the ſacrament was not to be worſhipped, and that Idolatrie beyng taken away, he was content to permit euery man to iudge of the Sacrament, as God ſhould put into their harts: for then there remayned no more poyſon, that any man ought or might be afraide on. Wherefore if they dyd agree in that whiche was the chiefe poynt of the ſacrament, they ſhould eaſily accorde and agree in the reſt.

Iohn Fryth ſpeaking according to that tyme, wyſhed the opinion of Luther myght be receaued.

Moderation commended in matters of diſputation.

Thus muche he wrote in the treatiſe, entituled, The exile of Barnes agaynſt More. Which wordes of this moſt meeke martyr in Chriſt, if they woulde take place in the ſeditious dyuyſions and factions of theſe our dayes, with great eaſe and litle labour men might be brought to a vnitie in this controuerſie, and muche more concorde and loue ſhould be in the Church, and much leſſe offence geuen abrod then there is.

But to our ſtory againe of Iohn Frith, who after he had nowe ſufficiently contended in his writinges with More, Rocheſter, and Raſtal, Mores ſonne in lawe, he was at the laſt caryed to Lambeth, firſt before the Biſhop of Canterburie, and afterwarde vnto Croydon, before the Biſhop of Wincheſter to pleade his cauſe. Laſt of all, he was called before the Biſhoppes in a common aſſemble at London, where as he conſtantly defended hym ſelfe, if he might haue bene hearde.

Iohn Fryth conuented before the byſhops.

The order of his iudgement, with the maner of his examination and articles whiche were obiected againſt hym, are compriſed and ſet forth by hym ſelfe, in a letter written and ſent vnto his freendes, whileſt he was priſoner in the Tower.

¶ A Letter of Iohn Frith to his frendes, concernyng his troubles: wherein after he had firſt with a briefe preface ſaluted them, entring then into the matter, thus he writeth.

This letter is to be ſeen in the end of that excellẽt and worthey work which he made in the Tower concerning the ſacramẽt of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

I Doubt, not deare brethrẽ, but that it doth ſõe deale vexe you, to ſee the one part haue all the wordes, and freely to ſpeake what they liſt, and the other to be put to ſilence, and not to be harde indifferently. But referre your matters to God, which ſhortly ſhal iudge after an other faſhiõ. In the meane tyme I haue written vnto you as briefly as I maye, what articles were obiected againſt me, and what were the principall poyntes of my condemnation, that ye might vnderſtand the matter certainely.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two ſpecial articles, that is to ſay, of Purgatorie, and of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Purgatorye.

And firſt of al, as touching Purgatorie, they enquired of me, whether I did beleue that there was any place to purge the ſpottes and filthe of the ſoule after this life. But I ſaide that I thought there was no ſuch place. For man (ſaide I) doth conſiſt, and is made onely of two partes, that is to ſay, of the body and the ſoule, whereof the one is purged here in this worlde, by the Croſſe of Chriſte, whiche he layeth vpon euery childe that he receyueth: as affliction, worldly oppreſſion, perſecution, impriſonment. &c. and laſte of all the rewarde of ſinne, whiche is death, is laide vpon vs: but the ſoule is purged with the woorde of God, which we receiue through fayth, to the ſaluation both of body & ſoule. Now if ye cã ſhew me a third part of mẽ beſide the body & the ſoule, I wyl alſo graunt vnto you a thirde place, whiche you do cal Purgatory. But if ye can not do this, I muſt alſo of neceſſitie denie vnto you the Biſhop of Romes Purgatory. Neuertheles I count neither part a neceſſary article of our fayth, to be beleued vnder paine of damnation, whether there be ſuch a Purgatorie or no.

Secondly, they examined me touching the ſacrament of the aultar, whether it was the very body of Chriſt, or no.

The Sacrament of Chriſtes bodye.

I anſweared, that I thought it was both Chriſtes body and alſo our body, as Saint Paul teacheth vs in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our bodye, whiche beyng diuers and many members, are aſſociate and gathered together into one felowſhip or bodye. Likewiſe of the wine wiche is gathered of many cluſters of grapes, and is made into one licour. But the ſame bread againe, in that it is broken, is the body of Chriſt, declaring his bodye to be broken and deliuered vnto death, to redeeme vs from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is diſtributed, it is Chriſtes body, ſignifying that as verily as that Sacrament is diſtributed vnto vs,ſo verily is Chriſtes body and the fruit of his paſſion diſtributed vnto al faythful people.

In that it is receiued, it is Chriſtes body, ſignifying that as verily as the outward man receiueth the ſacrament with his teeth & mouth, ſo verily doth the inward man through faith receiue Chriſtes body and fruite of his paſſion, and is as ſure of it, as of the bread which he eateth.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Well (ſaid they) doeſt thou not thinke that his very natural body fleſhe, bloud and bone, is really conteyned vnder the Sacrament, and there preſent without all figure or ſimilitude? No, ſaide I, I doo not ſo thinke. Notwithſtanding I woulde not that any ſhoulde count, that I make my ſaying (which is the negatiue) any article of fayth. For euen as I ſay, that you ought not to make any neceſſary article of the fayth of your part (which is the affirmatiue) ſo I ſay againe, that we make no neceſſary article of the fayth of our part, but leaue it indifferent for al men to iudge therein, as God ſhall open his hart, and no ſide to condemne or deſpiſe the other, but to nouriſh in al things brotherly loue, and one to beare an others infirmitie.

Ferebatur manibus proprijs.

The place of S. Auguſtine expounded.

Auguſtinus ad Bonefacium.

After this they alleged the place of Saint Auguſtine, where he ſayth: Ferebatur in manibus proprijs. That is to ſay, he was caryed in his owne handes.

Whereunto I aunſweared, that Saint Auguſtine was a playne Interpreter of hym ſelfe: for he ſayth in an other place: Ferebatur tanquam in manibus ſuis: That is to ſay, he was caried as it were in his owne handes: whiche is a phraſe of ſpeache, not of one that dooth ſimply affirme, but onely of one expreſſing a thyng by a ſimilitude. And albeit that Saint Auguſtine had not thus expounded hym ſelfe, yet he writyng vnto Boniface, dooth plainely admoniſhe all men, that the Sacramentes do repreſent and ſignifie thoſe thinges whereof they are Sacramentes, and many tymes euen of the ſimilitudes of the thinges them ſelues they doo take their names: and therefore according to this rule it may be ſaid, he was borne in his owne handes, when as he bare in his hands the Sacrament of his body & bloud.

The place of Chriſoſtome aunſwered.

Then they alleged a place of Chryſoſtome, whiche at the firſt bluſhe maye ſeeme to make muche for them: who in a certaine Homilie vppon the Supper, writeth thus: Doeſt thou ſee bread and wyne? Do they departe from thee into the draught as other meates doo? No, God forbyd. For as in waxe when it commeth to the fire, nothing of the ſubſtaunce remayneth nor abideth: ſo likewiſe thinke that the myſteries are conſumed by the ſubſtaunce of the bodye. &c.

Chriſoſtome expoundeth him ſelfe.

Theſe wordes I expounded by the wordes of the ſame Doctour, which in an other Homilie ſaith on this manner: The inwarde eyes (ſaith hee) as ſoone as they ſee the breade, they flee ouer all creatures, and doo not thinke of the bread that is baken of the baker, but of the bread of euerlaſting lyfe, whiche is ſignified by the myſticall breade. Nowe conferre theſe places together, and you ſhall perceiue that the laſte expoundeth the firſt plainely. For he ſayth, Doeſt thou ſee the bread and wine? I anſweare by the ſecond, nay. For the inwarde eyes as ſoone as they ſee the bread, doo paſſe ouer all creatures, and doo not any longer thinke vppon the bread, but vppon hym whiche is ſignified by the bread. And after this manner he ſeeth it, and agayne he ſeeth it not: for as he ſeeth it with his outwarde and carnall eyes, ſo with his inwarde eyes he ſeeth it not, that is to ſay, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not vppon it, but is otherwiſe occupyed. Euen as when we playe or doo any thing els negligétly, we cómonly are woont to ſay, we ſee not what we doe not that in deede we do not ſee that which we go about, but becauſe our mynde is fixed on ſome other thing, and doth not attend vnto that which the eyes do ſee.

In like maner may it be anſweared vnto that which foloweth: Doo they auoyde from thee (ſaith he) into the draught as other meates doo? I wyll not ſo ſay. For other meates paſſing through the bowels, after they haue of thé ſelues geuen nouriſhment vnto the bodye, be voyded into the draught, but this is a ſpiritual meate, which is receyued by fayth, & nouriſheth both body & ſoule vnto euerlaſting life, neither is it at any tyme auoyded as other meates are.

Argumentum ex Chriſoſt.

The bellye of man cannot auoyde any part of Chriſtes bodye.

The belley of man auoydeth ſome part of euery thyng that the mouth receaueth.

Ergo, the mouth of man receaueth not the bodye of Chriſt.

And as before I ſaid, that the externall eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes being otherwiſe occupied do not beholde or thinke vpon, euen ſo our outwarde man doth digeſt the bread, and voyde into the draught, but the inward man doth neither regard nor thinke vpon it, but thinketh vpon the thing it ſelf that is ſignified by that bread. And therfore Chriſoſtõe a litle before the wordes which they alleged, ſayth: Lyft vp your myndes and hartes. Whereby he admoniſheth vs to looke vpon and conſider thoſe heauenly thynges which are repreſented and ſignified by the bread and wyne, and not to marke the bread and wyne in it ſelfe.

All myſteries are to be ſeene wyth inward eyes.

Here they ſaid, that was not Chriſoſtomes minde: but that by this example he declareth that there remained no bread nor wyne. I anſweared, that was falſe: for the example that he taketh, tendeth to no other purpoſe, but to cal away our ſpirituall eyes from the beholdyng of viſible thinges, and to tranſport them an other way, as if the thinges that are ſeene, were of no force. Therfore he draweth away our mynde from the conſideration of theſe thinges, and fixeth it vppon hym, whiche is ſignified vnto vs by the ſame. The very woordes whiche folowe, ſufficiently declare this to be the true meanyng of the authour, where as he commaundeth vs to conſider all thinges with our inwarde eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually.

Chriſoſtome agaynſt the popiſh doctrine of the Sacrament.

The obiection of Chriſoſtome auoyded by a ***Dilemma.***

But whether Chriſoſtomes wordes doo tend eyther to this or that ſenſe, yet do they indifferétly make on our part againſt our aduerſaries, which way ſo euer we vnderſtande them. For if he thought that the breade and wine doo remayne, we haue no further to trauaile: but if he meant contrarywiſe, that they do not remaine, but that the natures of the bread & wine are altered, then are the breade & wine falſely named Sacramentes and myſteries, which can be ſaid in no place to be in the nature of thinges: For that whiche is in no place, howe can it be a Sacramente, or ſupplye the roume of a myſterie? Finally, if he ſpeake onely of the outwarde fourmes and ſhapes (as we call them) it is moſte certayne that they do continually remaine, and that they by the ſubſtaunce of the body are not conſumed in any place, wherefore it muſt neceſſarily folowe, the wordes of Chriſoſtome to be vnderſtãded in ſuch ſenſe as I haue declared.

A queſtion aſked wyth the cauſe declared, why that ſeeing the matter of the Sacrament of it ſelfe, importeth neyther ſaluation nor damnation, why then Fryth offereth hym ſelfe to death for the ſame.

Here peraduenture many woulde maruaile, that for ſo muche as the matter touching the ſubſtaunce of the Sacrament, beyng ſeperate from the articles of fayth, and bindyng no man of neceſſitie eyther vnto ſaluation or damnation, whether he beleue it, or not, but rather may be leaft indifferently vnto al mé, freely to iudge eyther on the one part or on the other, accordyng to his owne mynde, ſo that neyther part do contemne or deſpiſe the other, but that al loue and charitie be ſtyll holden and kept in this diſſenſion of opinions: what then the cauſe is, why I woulde therefore ſo wyllingly ſuffer death. The cauſe why I dye is this, for that I can not agree with the Diuines and other head Prelates, that it ſhoulde be neceſſarily determined to be an article of fayth, and that we ſhoulde beleue vnder payne of damnation, the ſubſtaunce of the bread and wine to be chaunged into the bodye and bloud of our Saueour Ieſus Chriſte, the fourme and ſhape onely not beyng chaunged. Whiche thing if it were moſt true (as they ſhall neuer be able to proue it by any authoritie of the Scripture or Doctours) yet ſhal they not ſo bring to paſſe, that that doctrine, were it neuer ſo true, ſhould be holden for a neceſſary article of fayth. For there are many thinges both in the Scriptures & other places, whiche we are not bounde of neceſſitie to beleeue as an article of faith.

* This is to be weyed with the tyme when Fryth wrote.

So it is true, that I was a priſoner and in bondes when I wrote theſe thinges, and yet for all that I wyll not holde it as an article of fayth, * but that you maye alſo without daunger or damnation, eyther beleeue it, or thinke the contrary.

Three cauſes why the doctrine of tranſubſtantiatiõ is not to be beleued.

But as touchyng the cauſe why I can not affirme the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, diuers reaſons doo leade me thereunto. Firſt, for that I do plainely ſee it to be falſe and vaine, and not to be grounded vpon any reaſon, either of the Scriptures, or of approued Doctours.

The ſecond cauſe

Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an authour vnto Chriſtians to admit any thing as a matter of fayth, more then the neceſſary points of their Crede, wherin the whole ſumme of our ſaluation dooth conſiſt, ſpecially ſuche thynges, the beleefe whereof haue no certayne argument of authoritie or reaſon.

I added moreouer, that their Churche (as they call it) hath no ſuch power and authoritie, that it eyther ought or may binde vs vnder the peryl of our ſoules, to the beleuyng of any ſuche articles.

The thyrd cauſe.

Thirdly, because I will not for the fauour of our Diuines or Prieſtes, be preiudicial in this poynt, vnto ſo manye nations of Germanes, Heluetians, and other, whiche altogether reiecting the tranſubſtantiation of the bread and wine into the body and bloud of Chriſte, are al of the ſame opinion that I am, as well thoſe that take Luthers part, as thoſe whiche hold with Oecolampadius. Which thinges ſtandyng in this caſe, I ſuppoſe there is no man of any vpright conſcience, whiche wyll not allowe the reaſon of my death, which I am put vnto for this onely cauſe, that I do not thinke tranſubſtantiation, although it were true in deed, to be eſtabliſhed for an article of faith.

And thus muche hytherto as touchyng the articles and whole diſputation of John Frith. whiche was done with all moderation and vprightnes. But when as no reaſon woulde preuaile againſt the force and crueltie of theſe furious foes, the. xx. daye of June, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1733. he was brought before the Biſhoppes of London, Wincheſter, and Lincolne. who ſittyng in Paules vpō Fryday, the. xx. daye of June, miniſtred certaine interrogatories vppon the Sacrament of the Supper and Purgatorie, vnto the ſaide Frith, as is aboue declared. To the whiche when he had anſweared and ſhewed his mynd in forme and effect, as by his owne wordes aboue doth appeare, he afterwarde ſubſcribed to his anſweares with his owne hande, in theſe wordes.

The ſubſcription of John Fryth.

Ego Frithus ita ſentio, & quemadmodum ſentio, ita dixi, ſcripſi, aſſerui, & affirmaui.

That is to ſay.

¶ I Frith thus do thinke, and as I thinke, ſo haue I ſaid, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes haue publiſhed.

But when as by no meanes he coulde be perſwaded to recant theſe articles aforeſaide, neither be brought to beleue that the ſacrament is an article of fayth, but ſaid, Fiat Iudicium & iuſtitia: he was condemned by the Biſhop of London to be burned, and ſentence geuen againſt hym: the tenor whereof here enſueth.

John Frith condemned.

¶ The ſentence geuen againſt Iohn Frith.

Sentence againſt John Frith.

* As they had which crucified Chriſt.

IN the name of God, Amen. We John by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, lawfully and rightly proceedyng with all godly fauour by authoritie and vertue of our office, againſt thee John Frith, of our iuriſdiction, before vs perſonally here preſent, beyng accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſclaundered of hereſie, hauyng hearde, ſeene, and vnderſtande, and with diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, & conſidered ẏ merites of ẏ cauſe, al thinges being obſerued which by vs in this behalfe, by order of law ought to be obſerued, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate, the name of Chriſt beyng firſt called vppon, and hauyng * God onely before our eyes, becauſe by the actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we doo finde that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended diuers errours and hereſies, and damnable opinions, contrarye to the doctrine and determination of the holy Church, and ſpecially againſt the reuerende Sacrament, and albeit that we folowing the example of Chriſte, whiche woulde not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhoulde conuerte and lyue, haue oftentymes gone aboute to correcte thee, and by all lawfull meanes that we coulde, and moſte wholeſome admonitions that we did knowe, to reduce thee againe vnto the true fayth, and the vnitie of the vniuerſall Catholique Churche, notwithſtanding we haue founde thee obſtinate and ſtiffe necked, willingly continuyng in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, and refuſing to returne agayne vnto the true fayth and vnitie of the holy mother Churche, and as the childe of wickedneſſe and darkeneſſe, ſo to haue hardened thy harte, that thou wylt not vnderſtande the voyce of thy ſheepeheards, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeeke after thee, nor wylt not be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions. We therefore John the Biſhop aforeſaid, not wyllyng that thou whiche arte wicked, ſhouldeſt become more wicked, and infecte the Lordes flocke with thy hereſie, whiche we are greatly afraide of, do iudge thee, and definitiuely condemne thee, the ſaide John Frith, thy demerites and faultes beyng aggrauate through thy damnable obſtinacie, as giltie of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate vnpenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to returne to the lappe and vnitie of the holy mother Churche, and that thou haſte bene, and arte by Lawe excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: alſo we pronounce and declare thee being an heretique to be caſt out from the Churche, and leaft vnto the iudgment of the ſecular power, and nowe preſently ſo do leaue thee vnto the ſecular power, and their iudgement, moſte earneſtly requiring them in the bowels of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthyly to be done vpon thee, maye ſo be moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſſe too muche mitigated, but that it maye be to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terrour, and conuerſion of heretiques, to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, by this our ſentence definitiue or finall decree, whiche we here promulgate in this fourme aforeſayde.

Moderation pretended but none ſhewed.

This ſentence thus readde, the Biſhop of London directed his letter to Syr Steuen Pecocke, Mayor of London, and the Sheriffes of the ſame Citie, for the receyuyng of the foreſaide John Frith into their charge. Who beyng ſo deliuered ouer vnto them the fourth daye of Julie, in the yeare aforeſaide, was by them carryed into Smithfielde to be burned, and when he was tyed vnto the ſtake, there it ſufficiently appeared with what conſtancie and courage he ſuffered death: for when as the fagottes and fire were put vnto hym, he willyngly embraced the ſame, thereby declaryng with what vprightneſſe of mynde he ſuffered his death for Chriſtes ſake and the true doctrine, whereof that daye he gaue with his bloud, a perfecte and firme teſtimonie. The wynde made his death ſomewhat the more longer, whiche bare away the flame from hym vnto his felowe that was tyed to his backe: but he had eſtabliſhed his mynde with ſuche patience, God geuing hym ſtrength, that euen as though he had fealt no paine in that long torment, he ſeemed rather to reioyce for his felow, then to be careful for hym ſelfe.

John Frith deliuered to the ſecular handes.

The conſtant death of John Frith.

This truely is the power and ſtrength of Chriſte, ſtriuing and vanquiſhing in his Saintes: who ſanctifie vs together with them, and direct vs in al thinges to the glorye of his holy name. Amen.

This daye, before the burnyng of theſe worthy men of God, the Biſhop of London certified king Henry the eight of his worthy, yea rather wooluiſh proceeding againſt theſe men: the tenour whereof, for as muche as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referring the reader to the ſame.

¶ Andrewe Hewet burned with Maiſter Frith.

ANdrewe Hewet borne in Feuerſham, in the countie of Kent, a yong man of the age of foure and twentie yeares, was apprentiſe with one maiſter Warren Taylor, in Watlyng ſtreate. And as it happened that he went vppon a holy daye into Fleeteſtreate, towarde Saint Dunſtanes, he met with one William Holt, whiche was foreman with the kinges Taylour at that preſent, called mayſter Malte: and being ſuſpected by the ſame Holt, (which was a diſſembling wretche) to be one that fauoured the Goſpell, after a litle talke had with hym, he wente into an honeſt houſe aboute Fleete Bridge, whiche was a bookeſellers houſe. Then Holt thinking he had founde a good occaſion to ſhewe forth ſome fruite of his wickedneſſe, ſent for certayne officers, and ſearched the houſe, and findyng the ſame Andrewe, apprehended hym, and carryed hym to the Biſhoppes houſe, where he was caſt in yrons, and being there a good ſpace, by meanes of a certayne honeſt man, he had a File conueyed vnto hym, wherewith he filed of his yrons, and when he ſpyed his tyme, he got out of the gate. But beyng a man vnſkilfull to hyde hym ſelfe, for lacke of good acquaintaunce he wente into Smythfielde, and there mette with one Wythers, which was an hypocrite as Holt was. Whiche Wythers vnderſtandyng howe he had eſcaped, and that he knewe not whyther to goe, pretendyng a fayre coūtenance vnto hym, willed hym to goe with hym, promiſing that he ſhould be prouided for, and ſo kept hym in the countrey where he had to doo, from Lowe ſonday tyll Whitſontide, & then brought hym to Londō, to the houſe of one John Chapman in Hoſier lane beſide Smithfielde, and there leaft hym by the ſpace of two dayes.

Andrewe Hewet, Martyr.

1533.

Andrew Hewet apprehended.

The man that gaue him this file was Valentine Freeſe the Painters brother, who was afterward with his wife burned in Yorke.

Then he came to the ſaide Chapmans houſe againe, and brought Holt with hym. And when they mette with the ſayde Andrewe, they ſeemed as though they meante to doo hym very muche good: and Holt for his part ſaide, that if he ſhoulde bring any man in trouble (as the voyce was that he had done the ſaide Andrewe) it were pitie but that the earth ſhould open and ſwalow hym vp: in ſo much that they would needes ſup there that night, and prepared meate of their owne charges. At night they came and brought certaine geaſtes with them, becauſe they would haue the matter to ſeeme as though it had come out by others. When they had ſupped, they went their waye, and Holt tooke out of his purſe two groates, and gaue them to the ſayde Andrewe, and embraced hym in his armes. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibaulde, whiche was baniſhed from his owne houſe by an Iniunction, for he had bene foure times in priſon for Chriſtes Cauſe. And within an houre after that Holt and Wythers were gone, the Biſhops Chauncelour, and one called Sergeaunt Weuer came and brought with them the watche, ann ſearched the houſe, where they founde the ſayde John Chapman and the forenamed Andrewe, and John Tibaulde, whom they

bound

John Chapman.

W. Holte playeth the Judas.

John Tibaulde fiue tymes in bandes for Chriſt.

Andrewe Hewet againe taken.

bounde with ropes, whiche Sergeant Weuer had brought with hym, and ſo carryed them vnto the Biſhops houſe: but Andrewe Hewet they ſente vnto the Lollardes Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibaulde aſunder, watched with two Prieſtes ſeruauntes. The next daye Biſhop Stokeſley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a fewe threatnyng woordes, Chapman was committed to the ſtockes with this threat, that he ſhoulde tell an other tale, or els he ſhoulde ſitte there tyll his heeles dyd droppe from his arſe, and Tibaulde was ſhutte vp in a cloſe chamber, but by Gods prouiſion he was well deliuered out of priſon: albeit he coulde not enioye his houſe and lande, becauſe of the Biſhoppes Iniunction, but was fayne to ſell all that he had in Eſſex, for the tenour of his Iniunction was, that he ſhoulde not come within ſeuen miles of his owne houſe, and the foreſayde Chapman, after fiue weekes impriſonment (whereof three weekes he ſate in the ſtockes) by muche ſuite made vnto the Lord Chauncelour, whiche at that tyme was Lord Audley, after many threatnynges was deliuered: but the ſaide Andrewe Hewet after long and cruel impriſonment, was condemned to death, and burned with Iohn Frith: whoſe examination here foloweth.

Chapman ĩ the ſtocks.

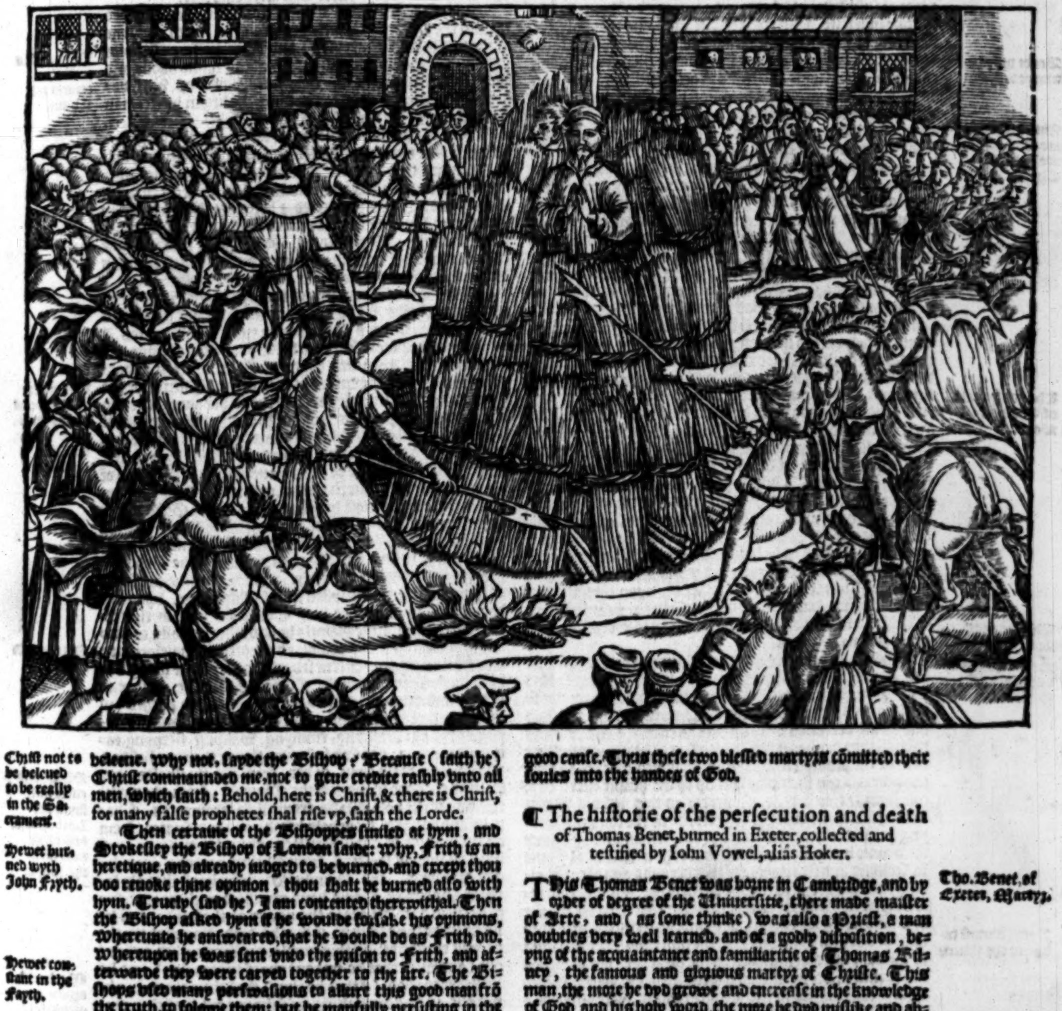
Tibaulde inioyned, not to come within vii. myle of hys houſe.

Andrewe Hewet brought and examined before the Byſhop.

The twentie day of the moneth of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the Chauncelour of London, where was obiected againſt hym, that he beleued the Sacrament of the aultar after the conſecration, to be but a ſignification of the bodye of Chriſte, and that the hoſt conſecrated was not the verye bodye of Chriſte. Nowe for ſo much as this article ſeemed haynous vnto thē, they would doo nothing in it without the conſent of learned counſayle. Whereupon the Biſhop of London, aſſociate with the biſhops of Lincolne & Wincheſter, called hym agayne before them. Where he beyng demaūded what he thought as touchyng the Sacrament of the laſt Supper, anſweared: euen as Iohn Frith doth. Then ſaid one of the Biſhops vnto hym: doſt thou not beleeue that it is really the bodye of Chriſt, borne of the virgin Mary? So (ſaith he) do not I beleeue. Why not, ſayde the Biſhop? Becauſe (ſaith he) Chriſt commaunded me, not to geue credite raſhly vnto all men, which ſaith: Behold, here is Chriſt, & there is Chriſt, for many falſe prophetes ſhal riſe vp, ſaith the Lorde.

Chriſt not to be beleued to be really in the Sacrament.

The burnyng of Iohn Frith, and Andrewe Hewet.



Hewet burned wyth Iohn Fryth.

Then certaine of the Biſhoppes ſmiled at hym, and Stokeſley the Biſhop of London ſaide: Why, Frith is an heretique, and already iudged to be burned, and except thou doo reuoke thine opinion, thou ſhalt be burned alſo with hym. Truely (ſaid he) I am contented therewithal. Then the Biſhop aſked hym if he woulde forſake his opinions, Whereunto he anſweared, that he woulde do as Frith did. Whereupon he was ſent vnto the priſon to Frith, and afterwarde they were caryed together to the fire. The Biſhops vſed many perſwaſions to allure this good man frō the truth, to folowe them: but he manfully perſiſting in the truth, would not recant. Wherfore, the fourth day of Iuly at after noone, he was caryed into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned. When they were at the ſtake, one Doctor Cooke a perſon in London, openly admoniſhed all the people, that they ſhould in no wiſe pray for them, no more then they would do for a dogge. At which woordes Frith ſmilyng, deſired the Lord to forgeue hym. Theſe his wordes did not a litle moue the people vnto anger, and not without good cauſe. Thus theſe two bleſſed martyrs cōmitted their ſoules into the handes of God.

Hewet conſtant in the Fayth.

Hewet holdeth with Iohn Fryth.

The hiſtorie of the perſecution and death
of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter, collected and
teſtified by Iohn Vowel, aliàs Hoker.

Tho. Benet, of Exeter, Martyr.

THis Thomas Benet was borne in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the Vniuerſitie, there made maiſter of Arte, and (as ſome thinke) was alſo a Prieſt, a man doubtles very well learned, and of a godly diſpoſition, beyng of the acquaintance and familiaritie of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Chriſte. This man, the more he dyd growe and encreaſe in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he dyd miſlike and abhorre the corrupt ſtate of Religion then vſed, and therfore thinkyng his owne countrey to be no ſafe place for hym to remayne in, and beyng deſirous to liue in more freedome of conſcience, he dyd forſake the Vniuerſitie, and went into Deuonſhire, in the yere of our Lord. 1524. and firſt dwelled in a market towne named Torriton, both towne and countrey beyng to hym altogether vnknowen, as he alſo was vnknowen to al men there. Where for ẏ better maintenaunce

Tho. Benet, comming from Cambridge to Deuonſhyre.

Benet came to Exeter.

tenaunce of hym ſelfe and his wife, he dyd practiſe to teach yong children, and kept a ſchole for the ſame purpoſe. But that towne not ſeruyng his expectation, after his abode one yeare there, he came to the citie of Exceter, and there hyring an houſe in a ſtreate called the Bocher rowe, dyd exerciſe the teaching of children, and by that meanes ſuſteined his wife and familie. He was of a quiet behauiour, of a godly conuerſation, and a very courteous nature, humble to al men, and offenſiue to no bodye. His greateſt delight was to be at al Sermons and preachings, wherof he was a diligent and an attentiue hearer. The tyme whiche he had to ſpare frō teachyng, hee gaue holy to his priuate ſtudy in the Scriptures, hauyng no dealings nor conferences with any bodye, ſauyng with ſuch as he coulde learne and vnderſtand to be fauourers of the goſpel, & zelous of Gods true religion: of ſuch he would be inquiſitiue and moſt deſirous to ioyne hym ſelfe vnto them. And therfore vnderſtanding that one William Strowde of Newnham, in the countie of Deuonſhire Eſquier, was cōmitted to the Biſhops priſon in Exeter, vpon ſuſpition of hereſie, although he were neuer before acquainted with hym, yet dyd he ſend his letters of cōfort & conſolation vnto hym. Wherin, to auoide al ſuſpition which might be conceiued of hym, he dyd diſcloſe hym ſelfe, & vttere what he was, and the cauſes of his being in yͤ countrey, writing among other things theſe wordes: Vt ne ſcortator aut immundus eſſem, vxorē duxi, cū qua hiſce ſex annis, ab iſtorū Antichriſtianorū manibus in deuonia latitaui. That is to ſay, becauſe I woulde not be a whoremōger, or an vncleane perſon, therfore I maried a wife, with whom I haue hidden my ſelfe in Deuonſhire from the tyrannie of the Antichriſtians, theſe ſixe yeares.

W. Strowde priſoned in Exeter for Gods worde.

Benet why he maryed.

Antichriſtians are thoſe which are againſt Chriſt.

But as euery tree & hearbe hath his due time to bryng forth his fruit, ſo did it appere by this mā. For he daily ſeing yͤ glory of God to be ſo blaſphemed, idolatrous religion ſo embraced & mainteined, & that moſt falſe vſurped power of the biſh. of Rome ſo extolled, was ſo greued in conſcience & troubled in his ſpirit, that he could not be quiet tyl he dyd vtter his mind therin. Wherfore dealing priuately with certain of his frends, he did plainly opē & diſcloſe how blaſphemouſly and abominably God was diſhonored, his word cōtemned, and his people whō he ſo dearely bought, were by blynd guides caryed headlong to euerlaſtyng damnation, & therfore he could no lōger endure, but muſt nedes & would vtter their abominations, and for his owne part, for the teſtymonye of his conſcience, and for the defence of gods true religion, would yeeld hym ſelf moſt patiently (as nere as God would geue hym grace) to die and to ſhed his bloud therin, allegyng that his death ſhould be more profitable to the churche of God, and for the edifying of his people, then his lyfe ſhould be. To whoſe perſwaſions when his frends had yeelded, they promiſed to praye to God for hym, that he might be ſtrong in the cauſe, and continue a faythful ſouldier to the end. Which done, he gaue order for the beſtowing of ſuch bookes as he had, and very ſhortly after, in the moneth of October, he wrote his mynd in certaine ſcrols of paper, which in ſecrete maner he ſet vp vpon the doores of the Cathedral church of the citie, in whiche was written: The Pope is Antichriſt, and we ought to worſhip God onely, and no Saintes.

The godly zeale of Thomas Benet.

The Pope is Antichriſt.

Benet ſetteth vp billes againſt the Pope.

These byls beyng found, there was no ſmal adoo, & no litle ſearch made for the inquiry of the heretike that ſhould ſet vp theſe byls: and the Mayor & his officers were not ſo buſie to make ſearches to find this heretique, but yͤ biſhop and all his doctours were as hote as coales, & enkindled as though they had ben ſtong with a ſort of waſpes. Wherfore to kepe the people in their former blyndnes, order was takē that the doctors ſhould in haſt vp to the pulpit euery day, and confute this hereſie. Neuertheles this Thom. Benet keping his owne doinges in ſecret, went the ſonday folowyng to the Cathedral Church to the ſermon, and by chance ſat downe by two men, which were the buſieſt in al yͤ citie in ſeekyng and ſearchyng for this heretike, and they beholding this Benet, ſayd the one to the other, Surely this felow by al likelyhoode is the heretike that hath ſet vp the byls, and it is good to examine hym. Neuertheles whē they had wel beheld hym, and ſaw the quiet and ſober behauior of the man, his attentiuenes to the preacher, his godlynes in the church, beyng alwayes occupied in his booke, which was a Teſtament in the Latine tongue, were aſtonyed & had no power to ſpeake vnto hym, but departed and leaft hym readyng in his booke. As touching this poynt of Benets behauiour in the Church, I find the reportes of ſome other a litle to varye, and yet not muche contrary one to the other. For in receyuyng the letters and writyngs of a certaine miniſter, which at the ſame tyme was preſent at the doyng herof in Exeter, thus I find moreouer added cōcernyng the behauiour of this Thomas Benet in the church.

Benet almoſt taken in the church

The ſtories a litle vary touching the takyng of Benet.

At that tyme (ſaith he) as I remēber, doct. Moreman Criſpin, Caſeley with ſuche other, bare the ſwing there. Beſide theſe there were alſo preachers there, one Doctour Baſcauild, an vnlearned doctor god knoweth, and one D. Dauid, as well learned as he, both Gray fryers, and doct. I know not who, a Blacke fryer, not much inferiour vnto them. Moreouer there was one Bacheler of Diuinitie, a Gray fryer, named Gregory Baſſed, in deede learned more then they al, but as blynde and ſuperſtitious as he whiche was moſt. Whiche Gregory not long before, was reuolted from the way of righteouſnes, to the way of Belial: for in Briſtow (ſaith the author) he lay in priſon long, & almoſt famiſhed, for hauyng a booke of M. Luther, called his queſtions, which he a long tyme priuily had ſtudyed, & for teachyng of youth a certaine Cathechiſme. To be ſhorte, the braynes of the Canons and Prieſtes, the officers and commons of that citie were very earneſtly buſied, howe or by what meanes ſuche an enormious heretique, whiche had pricked vp thoſe Bylles, might be eſpied and knowen, but it was long firſt. At laſt the Prieſtes found out a toye to curſe hym what ſoeuer he were, with booke, bell, and candle, which curſe at that day ſeemed moſt fearful and terrible. The maner of the curſe was after this ſort.

Doctors & fryers in Exeter.

Gregory Baſſed fryer of Exeter.

One of the Prieſtes, apparelled al in white, aſcended vp into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certayne of the two orders of Fryers, and certayne ſuperſtitious Monkes of S. Nicholas houſe ſtanding round about, and the Croſſe (as the cuſtome was) being holdē vp, with holy candles of waxe fixed to the ſame, he began his ſermon with this Theme of Joſue: Eſt blaſphemia in Caſtris. There is blaſphemie in the army: and ſo made a long proteſtation, but not ſo long as tedious and ſuperſtitious, and ſo concluded, that that foule and abominable heretike, whiche had put vp ſuche blaſphemous bylles, was for that his blaſphemie, damnably accurſed, & beſought God, our Lady S. Peter Patrone of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, Confeſſours, and virgins, that it might be knowen what heretike had put vp ſuche blaſphemous bylles, that Gods people might auoyde the vengeance.

The prieſtes curſe they cannot tell whom.

The maner of the curſing of the ſayd Benet was maruelous to beholde, for as muche as at that tyme there was fewe or none, vnles a Sherman or two (whoſe houſes I well remember were ſearched for Bylles at that tyme and for bokes) that knew any thyng of Gods matters, or how God doth bleſſe their curſes in ſuch caſes. Then ſaide the Prelate, by the authority of God the father almighty, and of the bleſſed vigin Mary, of S. Peter and Paule, and of the holy Saints, we excommunicate, we vtterly curſe and banne, commyt and deliuer to the deuyl of hel, hym or her, what ſoeuer he or ſhee be, that haue in ſpite of God and of S. Peter, whoſe church this is, in ſpite of al holy ſaintes, and in ſpite of our moſt holy father the Pope Gods vicare here in earth, and in ſpite of the reuerende father in God John our Dioceſane, and the worſhipfull Canons, Maiſters, and Prieſtes, and Clarkes, whiche ſerue God dayly in this Cathedrall Churche, fixed vp with waxe ſuche curſed and hereticall Bylles full of blaſphemie, vpon the doores of this and other holy Churches within this citie. Excommunicate plainely be he or ſhee plenally, or they and deliuered ouer to yͤ deuyll, as perpetuall malefactours and ſchiſmatiques. Accurſed might they be, & geuen body and ſoule to the deuyll. Curſed be they, he, or ſhee, in Cities and townes, in fieldes, in wayes, in pathes, in houſes, out of houſes, and in all other places, ſtandyng, lyyng, or ryſing, walkyng, runnyng, wakyng, ſleepyng, eatyng, drinkyng, and what ſo euer thyng they doo beſides. We ſeparate them, hym, or her, from the threſholde, and from all the good prayers of the Churche, from the participation of the holy Maſſe, from all Sacramentes, Chapels, and aultars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merites of gods Prieſtes, and religious men, and from all their Cloyſters, from all their pardons, priuileges, grauntes, and immunites, whiche all the holy fathers Popes of Rome haue graunted to them: and we geue them ouer vtterly to the power of the feende, and let vs quenche their ſoules, if they be dead, this night in the paynes of hel fire, as this candle is now quenched, and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles) and let vs praye to God, (if they be aliue) that their eyes maye be put out, as this candle light is (ſo he put out the other candle) and let vs pray to God and to our Lady, & to S. Peter and Paul, and all holy Saintes, that all the ſenſes of their bodyes maye fayle them, and that they maye haue no feelyng, as nowe the light of this candle is gone (and ſo he put out the thyrd candle) except they, he, or ſhee, come openly nowe and confeſſe their blaſphemie, and by repentaunce (as muche as in them ſhall lye) make ſatiſfaction to God, our Lady, S. Peter, and the worſhipfull company of this Cathedral church, and as this holy Croſſe ſtaffe nowe falleth

The maner of the popes blacke curſe, with booke, bell, and candle.

Here is cold charitie.

Bleſſe, and curſe not, ſayth the Lord. Curſe, and bleſſe not, ſayth the Pope.

Marke the apiſhe pageantes of theſe popelinges.

l th downe, ſo might they, except they repent and ſhew thẽ ſelues: and one firſt taking away the Croſſe, the ſtaffe fell downe. But Lorde what a ſhoute and noyſe was there, what terrible feare, what holding vp of handes to heauen, that curſe was ſo terrible.

Tho. Benet laugheth at their curſing.

Nowe this fond fooliſhe phantaſie and mockerie beyng done & plaied, which was to a Chriſtian hart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbeare, but fell to great laughter, but within hym ſelf, & for a great ſpace could not ceaſe: by ỹ which thing ỹ poore man was eſpied. For thoſe that were next to hym, wondring at that great curſe, & beleuing that it coulde not but light on one or other, aſked good Benet for what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh. My frends (ſaid he) who can forbeare, ſeyng ſuch mery conceites and enterludes plaid of the prieſtes? Straytway a noyſe was made, Here is the heretike, here is the heretike, holde hym faſt, hold hym faſt. With that there was a great confuſion of voyces, & much clapping of handes, and yet they wer vncertain whether he were ỹ heretike or no. Some ſay, that vpõ the ſame he was taken & apprehended. Other report, that his enemies beyng vncertaine of him, departed, & ſo he went home to his houſe. Where he being not able to digeſt the lyes there preached, renued his former byls, and cauſed his boy early in the morning folowing to ſet the ſaid bylles vpõ the gates of the churchyarde. As the boy was ſetting one of the ſaid byls vpon a gate called the litle ſtile, it chanced that one W. S. going to the Cathedral church to heare a maſſe called Bartons Maſſe, which was thẽ daily ſayd about fiue of the clocke in the mornyng, found ỹ boy at the gate, and aſking him whoſe boy he was, did charge him to be the heretike, which had ſet vp the byls vpon the gates, wherefore pulling downe the byl, he brought the ſame together with the boy before the maior of the citie, and thereupon Benet being knowen and taken, was violently committed to ward.

Tho. Benet ſetteth vp newe billes.

Tho. Benet taken by meanes of his boy ſetting vp hys billes.

Tho. Benet willingly confeſſeth.

The cauſe why Benet ſet vp hys billes.

On the morow began both the Canons and heades of the citie ioyned with thẽ, to fall to examination. With whõ for that day he had not much cõmunication, but confeſſed & ſaid to thẽ, it was euen I that put vp thoſe byls, and if it were to do, I would yet doo it againe, for in them haue I written nothing but that is very truth. Couldſt not thou (ſaid they) as wel haue declared thy mynd by mouth, as by putting vp byls of blaſphemie? No (ſaid he) I put vp the bylles that many ſhould reade and heare what abominable blaſphemers ye are, & that they might ỹ better know your Antichriſt the Pope to be the Bore out of the wood, which deſtroyeth & throweth downe the hedges of Gods church: for if I had bene heard to ſpeake but one word, I ſhoulde haue bene clapped faſt in priſon, and the matter of God hidden. But nowe I truſt more of your blaſphemous doinges wyll thereby be opened and come to light, for God wyll ſo haue it, and no longer wyl ſuffer you.

Tho. Benet, ſent to the Byſhops priſon.

Articles layd againſt Benet.

The next day after he was ſent vnto the biſh. who firſt cõmitted hym vnto priſon called the biſhops priſon, where he was kept in ſtockes & ſtrong yron, with as much fauor as a dog ſhould find. Then ỹ biſh. aſſociating vnto him one Doct. Brewer his chancelor, & other of his leud clergie and fryers, began to examine him & burden him, that cõtrary to the catholike faith, he denied praying to the ſaints, and alſo denied the ſupremacie of the Pope. Wherunto he anſwered in ſuch ſober maner, and ſo learnedly proued & defended his aſſertions, that he did not only confound and put to ſilence his aduerſaries, but alſo brought thẽ in great admiratiõ of hym, the moſt part hauing pitie & compaſſion on him. The fryers tooke great paines with him, to perſwade him from his erronious opinions, to recãt and acknowledge his fault touching the byls, but they dyd but dig after day, for God had appointed him to be a bleſſed witnes of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their falſe perſwaſions.

Greg. Baſſet priſoned at Briſtowe.

Greg. Baſſet compelled by the Fryers to recant

To declare here with what crueltie ỹ officers ſearched his houſe for byls and bookes, how cruelly and ſhamefully they hãdled his wife, charging her with diuers enormities, it were too long to write. But ſhee like a good womã toke all thinges paciently that they dyd to her: like as in other things ſhee was cõtented to beare the croſſe with hym, as to fare hardly with hym at home, & to liue ẃ courſe meate and drinke, that they might be the more able ſomewhat to helpe the poore, as they did to the vttermoſt of their power. Amongſt al other prieſtes & fryers, Gregory Baſſet was moſt buſie with him. This Gregory Baſſet, as is partly touched before, was learned, & had a pleaſant tongue, & not long before, was fallen frõ the truth, for the which he was priſoned in Briſtow long time, at whoſe examination was ordeined a great pan of fire, where his holy brethrẽ (as report went abroade) menaced him to burne his handes of, wherupõ he there before thẽ recanted, & became afterwarde a mortal enemie to the truth al his life. This Gregory (as it is ſaide) was feruent with the poore man, to pleaſe the Canons of that Church, and maruelouſly tormented his braines, how to turne hym frõ his opiniõs, yea and he was ſo diligent and feruent with him, that he would not depart the priſon, but laye there night and day, who notwithſtanding loſt his labor: for good Benet was at a poynt not to deny Chriſt before men. So Gregory, as wel as the other holy fathers, loſt his ſpurres, in ſo much that he ſaid in opẽ audience, that there was neuer ſo obſtinate an heretike.

Greg. Baſſet buſie againſt Tho Benet.

The matter betwene Baſſet, & Tho. Benet.

Rayling againſt Benet.

The abuſes of the Pope, noted

Selling of ſoules.

The popes Church, painted in her coulers.

The principal poynt betwene Baſſet and him was touching the ſupremacie of the biſh. of Rome, whõ in his byls he named Antichriſt, the thiefe, the mercenary, and ỹ murtherer of Chriſtes flocke: and theſe diſputations laſted about eight dayes, where at ſundry times repayred to hym both the blacke and gray fryers, with prieſtes and monkes of that citie. They that had ſome learning, perſwaded him to beleue the Churche, and ſhewed by what tokens ſhee is knowen. The other vnlearned rayled, & ſaid, that the deuyl tempted him, and ſpit vpon him, calling him heretike: who prayed God to geue thẽ a better minde, and to forgeue thẽ: For (ſaid he) I wyll rather die, then worſhip ſuch a beaſt, the very whoore of Babylon, and a falſe vſurper, as manifeſtly it doth appeare by his doinges. They aſked what he did, that he had not power and authoritie to do, being gods vicar? He doth (quoth he) ſel the ſacraments of ỹ Church for money, he ſelleth remiſſion of ſinnes dayly for money, & ſo doo you likewiſe: for there is no daye but ye ſay diuers Maſſes for ſoules in fained Purgatorie, yea and ye ſpare not to make lying ſermons to ỹ people, to maintayne your falſe traditions and foule gaines. The whole worlde doth begin now to note your doinges, to your vtter cõfuſion and ſhame. The ſhame (ſaid they) ſhalbe to thee and to ſuch as thou art, thou foule heretike. Wylt thou allowe nothyng done in holy Church? What a peruerſe heretike art thou? I am (ſaid he) no heretike, but a Chriſtian man, I thanke Chriſt, and with al my hart wyl allow al thinges done and vſed in the Church to the glory of God, and edifying of my ſoule: but I ſee nothing in your church, but that mainteyneth the deuil. What is our church, ſaid they? It is not my church (quoth Benet) God geue me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plaine church of Antichriſt, the malignant church, the ſecond church, a denne of theeues, an awmry of poyſon, and as farre wide from the true vniuerſal and Apoſtolike church, as heauen is diſtant from the earth.

The keyes geuen not onely to Peter but to all the Apoſtles.

The church builded vpon man, is the deuils church.

The Whore of Babilon.

Doſt not thou thinke (ſaid they) that we pertain to the vniuerſal church? Yes (quoth he) but as dead mẽbers, vnto whõ ỹ churche is not beneficial, for your workes are the deuiſes of man, & your church a weake foũdatiõ, for ye ſay & preach, that the popes word is equal ẃ Gods word in euery degree. Why (ſaid they) did not Chriſt ſay to Peter, To thee I wyl geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? He ſaid that (quoth he) to al, as wel as to Peter, & Peter had no more authoritie geuen hym then they, or els ỹ churches planted in euery kingdome by their preaching, are no churches. Doth not S. Paul ſay, Vpon the foũdatiõs of the apoſtles & prophets? Therfore I ſay plainly, that the church that is built vpon a man, is the deuils church or cõgregatiõ, & not gods. And as euery church this day is appointed to be ruled by a biſhop or paſtor, ordeined by ỹ word of God in preaching & miniſtration of the ſacramentes vnder the prince the ſupreme gouernor vnder God. ſo to ſay, that al the churches with their princes & gouernors be ſubiect to one biſhop, is deteſtable hereſie, & the pope your God chalenging this power to him ſelfe, is the greateſt ſchiſmatike that euer was in the Church, and moſt foule whore, of whom Iohn in the Reuelation ſpeaketh.

Conſent of the world.

Where the true church is.

O thou blind & vnlearned foole (ſaid they) is not the cõfeſſion & cõſent of al the world as we confeſſe & cõſent, that the Popes holynes is the ſupreme head & vicar of Chriſt? That is (ſaid Benet) becauſe they are blinded & know not the ſcriptures, but if God would of his mercy open ỹ eyes of princes to knowe their office, his falſe ſupremacie would ſone decay. We thinke (ſaid they) thou art ſo malicious that thou wylt cõfeſſe no church. Loke (ſaid he) where they are that confeſſe the true name of Ieſu Chriſt, & where onely Chriſt is ỹ head, & vnder him the prince of ỹ realme, to order al biſhops, miniſters, & preachers, & to ſee thẽ doo their dueties in ſetting forth the onely glory of God by preaching the word of God, & where it is preached that Chriſt is our only aduocate, mediator, & patrone before God his father, making interceſſion for vs, & where the true fayth & confidence in Chriſtes death and paſſion, and his onely merites and deſeruings are extolled, and our owne depreſſed, where the ſacramẽt is duely without ſuperſtition or idolatrie adminiſtred in remembraunce of his bleſſed paſſion and onely ſacrifice vpon the croſſe once for all, and where no ſuperſtition raigneth, of that churche wyl I be.

Doth not ỹ Pope (ſaid they) cõfeſſe the true Goſpel? do not we al the ſame? yes (ſaide he) but ye denye the fruites therof in euery poynt. ye buyld vpon the ſandes, not vpon the rocke. And wylt not thou beleue in deed (ſaid they) that ẏ pope is Gods vicar? No (ſaid he) in dede. And why, ſaid they? Becauſe (quoth he) he vſurpeth a power not geuen hym of Chriſt, no more thẽ to other apoſtles, & alſo becauſe he doth by force of that vſurped ſupremacie, blynd ẏ whole world, & doth cõtrary to al that euer Chriſt ordained or cõmaunded. What, ſaid they, if he do al things after Gods ordinance & cõmaundement, ſhould he then be his vicar? Thẽ (ſaid he) would I beleue hym to be a good biſhop at Rome ouer his owne dioces, & to haue no further power. And if it pleaſed God, I would euery biſhop did this in their dioces: thẽ ſhould we liue a peaceable lyfe in the church of Chriſt, & there ſhould be no ſuch ſeditions therin. If euery biſhop would ſeke no further power then ouer his owne dioces, it were a goodly thyng. Now becauſe al are ſubiect to one, al muſt do & conſent to al wickednes, as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cauſe of great ſuperſtition in euery kingdome. And what biſhop ſoeuer he be ẏ preacheth the Goſpel, & mainteyneth the truth, is a true biſhop of the church. And doth not (ſaide they) our holy father the Pope mainteine the Goſpel? yes (ſaid he) I thinke he doth reade it, & peraduenture beleue it, & ſo do you alſo, but neyther he nor you do fixe the anker of your ſaluatiõ therin. Beſides that, ye beare ſuch good wyll to it, that ye keepe it cloſe, that no mã may reade it, but your ſelues: and whẽ you preach, god knoweth howe you handle it: in ſo muche that the people of Chriſt knoweth no Goſpel welneare, but the Popes Goſpel, & ſo the blynd leade the blind, & both fal into the pyt. In the true Goſpel of Chriſte, confidence is none, but onely in your popiſh traditions and phantaſtical inuentions.

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and why?

What inconuenience followeth, that all Byſhops ſhould be ruled by man.

Thẽ ſaid a blacke fryer to him, God knoweth, a blockehead: do we not preache the Goſpel dayly? yes (ſaid he) but what preaching of the Goſpel is that, when therwith ye extol ſuperſtitious thinges, and make vs beleue that we haue redemption through pardons and buls from Rome, à pœna & culpa, as ye terme it, and by the merites of your orders ye make many brethren and ſiſters, ye take yearely money of them, ye bury them in your coates, and in ſhrift ye begyle them: yea, ye do a thouſande ſuperſtitious thynges more: a man may be wery to ſpeake of them. I ſee (ſaide the fryer) that thou art a damned wretche: I wyl haue no more talke with thee.

The Popes Goſpell.

Then ſtept to hym a gray fryer, a doctor (God knoweth) of ſmal intelligence, & layd before him great and many daungers. I take God to record, ſaid Benet, my lyfe is not deare to me. I am contẽt to depart frõ it, for I am weary of it, ſeeing your deteſtable doinges, to the vtter deſtructiõ of Gods flocke, & for my part, I can no longer forbeare: I had rather by death (which I know is not farre of) depart this life, ẏ I may no lõger be partaker of your deteſtable idolatries & ſuperſtitions, or be ſubiect to Antichriſt your pope. Our Pope (ſaid the fryer) is the vicar of God, & our wayes are the wayes of God. I pray you (ſaid Benet) depart frõ me, & tel not me of your waies. He is only my way, which ſaith: I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his waye wyll I walke, his doynges ſhall be my example, not yours, nor your falſe Popes. His truth wyll I embrace, not the lyes & falſehoode of you & your Pope. His euerlaſting life wil I ſeeke, the true reward of al faithful people. Away frõ me, I pray you. Vexe my ſoule no lõger: ye ſhal not preuayle. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your handes. Ye are all more vaine then vanitie it ſelfe. If I ſhould heare & folowe you this day, euerlaſting death ſhoulde hang ouer me, a iuſt reward for al them that loue the life of this world. Away frõ me, your company liketh me not.

Benet weary of the Fryers talke

Thus a whole weeke, night and day was Benet applyed of theſe and ſuch other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare al thinges done and ſaid to him in the tyme of his impriſonment, and the hate of the people that tyme, by meanes of ignorance, was hot againſt him: notwithſtanding they could neuer moue his pacience. He anſwered to euery matter ſoberly, & that more by the aide of gods ſpirite, then by any worldly ſtudy. I thinke he was at the leaſt fiftie yeares olde. Being in priſon, his wife prouided ſuſtenance for hym, & when ſhee lamented, he cõforted her and gaue her many good and godly exhortations, and prayd her to moue hym nothing, to apply vnto his aduerſaries.

Tho. Benet pacient and conſtant.

Thus when theſe godly Canons & prieſtes with the monkes & fryers had done what they could, and perceiued that he would by no meanes relẽt, then they proceding vnto iudgemẽt, drewe out their bloudy ſentence againſt hym, condẽnyng hym (as the maner is) to be burned. Which being done, & the writ which they had procured De cõburendo, beyng brought frõ London, they deliuered hym the .xv. of January. 1531. vnto ſir Tho. Denys knight, thẽ Sheriffe of Deuonſhire, to be burned. The myld martyr reioycing his end to approch ſo neare, as the ſhepe before ẏ ſhearer, yelded hym ſelfe with al humblenes, to abyde and ſuffer the croſſe of perſecution. And beyng brought to his execution, in a place called Liuery dole, without Exeter, he made his moſte humble confeſſion and prayer vnto almightie God, and requeſted all the people to doo the like for hym, whom he exhorted with ſuch grauitie and ſobrietie, and with ſuch a pithie oration to ſeeke the true honouring of God, and the true knowlege of hym, as alſo to leaue the deuiſes, fantaſies, and imaginations of mans inuentions, that all the hearers and beholders of hym were aſtonied and in great admiration: In ſo much that the moſte part of the people, as alſo the Scribe who wrote the ſentence of condemnation againſt hym, dyd pronounce and confeſſe that he was Gods ſeruaunt, and a good man.

Sentence read agaynſt Tho. Benet.

Tho. Benet deliuered to the ſecular power.

Tho. Benet brought to the place of execution.

Neuertheleſſe two Eſquiers, namely Thomas Carewe and John Barnehouſe ſtandyng at the ſtake by him, firſt with fayre promiſes & goodly wordes, but at length rough threatnynges, willed hym to reuoke his errours, and to call to our Lady and the Saintes, and to ſay, Precor ſanctam Mariam & omnes Sanctos Dei. &c. To whõ he with al meeknes anſweared, ſaying: No, no, it is God onely, vppon whoſe name we muſt call, and we haue no other aduocate vnto hym, but onely Jeſus Chriſte: Who dyed for vs, and nowe ſitteth at the right hande of his father, to be an aduocate for vs, and by hym muſte we offer and make our prayers to God, if we wyll haue them to take place and to be hearde. With whiche aunſweare the foreſayde Barnehouſe was ſo enkindled, that he tooke a furſe buſhe vppon a pike, and beyng ſette on fire, thruſte it vnto his face, ſaying, Ah whoreſonne heretique, praye to our Ladye, and ſaye, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or by Gods woundes I wyll make thee to doo it.

Tho. Benet refuſeth to pray to our Ladye.

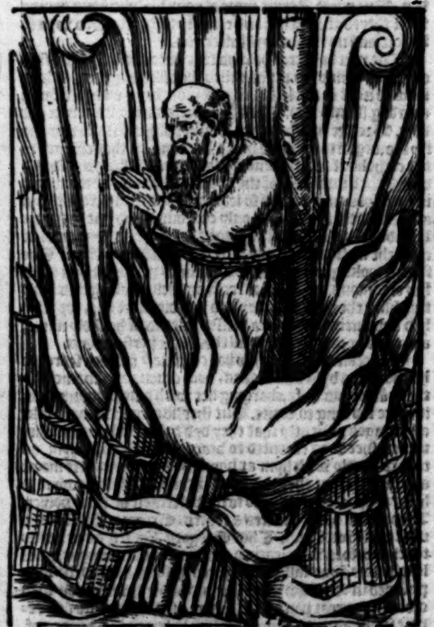
One Aduocate Chriſt.

A furſe buſh thruſt in hys face; becauſe he would not pray to our Ladye.

To whom the ſayde Thomas Benet with an humble and a meeke ſpirite, moſte paciently anſweared: Alas Syr, trouble me not. And holding vp his handes, ſayde: Pater ignoſce illis. Whereupon the Gentlemen cauſed the wood & furſes to be ſet a fire, & therewith this godly man lyfted vp his eyes and handes to heauen, ſaying, O Domine, recipe ſpiritum meum: and ſo continuyng in his prayers, dyd neuer ſtyrre nor ſtriue, but moſte paciently abode the crueltie of the fire, vntyl his lyfe was ended. For the which the Lord God be praiſed, and ſend vs his grace and bleſſing, that at the latter day we may with hym enioy the bleſſe and ioy prouided and prepared for the elect children of God.

The conſtant end and Martyrdõe of Tho. Benet.

The burnyng of Thomas Benet.



This Benet was burned in a Jerkine of neates lether, at whoſe burnyng, ſuche was the deuiliſhe rage of the blynde people, that wel was he or ſhe that coulde catche a ſticke or furſe to caſt into the fire.

The Martyrdome of Tho. Benet.

The kinges proclamatiō, Vid ſupra. pag. 971.

HItherto we haue run ouer (good reader) the names, the Actes and doynges of them which haue ſuſteined death and the torment of burning for Chriſtes cauſe, through the rigorous proclamation aboue ſpecified, ſet out (as is ſayd) in the name of kyng Henry, but in dede procured by the byſhops. Which proclamation was ſo ſtraitly looked vpon and executed ſo to the vttermoſt in euery poynt, by the ſayd popiſh Prelates, that no good man habens ſpiramentum, (wher of Eſdras ſpeaketh) could peepe out with hys hed neuer ſo little, but he was caught by the backe, & brought eyther to the fire, as were theſe aboue mentioned: or els compelled to abiure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women: whoſe names if they were ſought out through all regiſters in England, no doubt, it would make to long a diſcourſe. Neuertheleſſe omittyng the reſt, it ſhal content vs at this preſent, briefly as in a ſhort Table, to inſinuate the names, with the ſpeciall Articles, of ſuch as in the dioceſſe of London vnder Biſhop Stokeſley, were moleſted and vexed, and at laſt compelled to abiure, as here vnder may appeare.

4. Eſdr. 7.

Abiured.

A bill read by the preacher at the Spittell.

It was the maner at thys time to take money for reading of billes at ſermons.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Geffrey Lome. 1528.	HIs Articles were theſe: For hauing and diſperſing certain bokes of Luther. Item, for tranſlating certayne chapters of his booke De bonis operibus. For holding that faith without workes, is ſufficient to bryng vs to heauen. That chriſten men ought to worſhip God onely and no ſaintes That chriſten men ſhould not offer to images in churches, nor ſet any light before them. That pardons graunted by pope or Biſhop do not profite man.
Sygar Nicolſon, Stationer of Cambridge. 1528.	His Articles were lyke: and moreouer for hauing in hys houſe certain bokes of Luther and other prohibited, and not preſenting them to the Ordinary. The handling of this man was to cruell, if the report be true, that he ſhould be hanged vp by thoſe partes, which nature well ſuffereth not to be named.
Iohn Raymund a Dutchman. 1528.	For cauſing fyftene hundreth of Tyndals new Teſtamēts to be printed at Antwerpe, and for bryngyng fyue hundreth into England.
Paule Luther Gray Frier, and warden of the houſe at Ware. 1529.	Hys Articles: For preachyng & ſaying that it is pytye, that there bee ſo many Images ſuffered in ſo many places, where as vndiſcret and vnlearned people bee: for they make theyr prayer and oblations ſo intirely and hartely before the Image, that they beleue it to be ẏ very ſelfe ſaint in heauen. Item, that if he knew his father & mother were in heauen, he would count thē as good as Sainct Peter or Paule, but for the payne they ſuffered for Chriſtes ſake. Item that there is no nede to go on pilgrimage. Item, that if a man were at the poynte of drownyng or any other daunger: he ſhould call onely vppon God, and no Sainct, for Saintes in heauē can not help vs, neither know no more what men doe here in thys worlde, thē a man in the North countrey knoweth what is donne in the South countrey.
Roger Whaplod Merchaunt Taylor. 1529.	Roger Whaplod ſente by one Tho. Northfolke vnto Doct. Goderyge this Bill folowyng to be read at hys Sermon in the Spittel: If there be any well diſpoſed perſon willyng to doe any coſt vppon the reparation of the cundette in Fletſtreet, let him or them reſort vnto the adminiſtrators of the goods and cattell of one Rich. Hunne, late Marchaunt Taylor of London, which dyed inteſtate, or els to me, & they ſhall haue toward the ſame vj.li.xiij.ſ.iiij.d. and a better penny, of the goodes of the ſayd Richard Hunne: vpō whoſe ſoule and all Chriſten ſoules Ieſu haue mercy. For the which Byl both Whaplod and Northfolke were brought and troubled before the Byſhop, and alſo Doct. Goderige, which toke a groate for readyng the Byll, was ſuſpēded for a tyme, from ſaying Maſſe, & alſo was forced to reuoke the ſame at Paules Croſſe, readyng this Byll as followeth.

The reuocation of Doct. Wil. Goodrige read at Paules Croſſe.

Doct. Godrige reuoketh his praying for the ſoule of Richard Hunne.

MAſters, ſo it is that where in my late ſermon at S. Mary Spittle the Tewſday in Eaſter weke laſt paſt, I did pray ſpecially for the ſoule of Richard Hunne late of Londō merchant Taylor, an heretike by the lawes of holy Church iuſtly condemned, by reaſon whereof I greatly offended god and hys church and the lawes of the ſame, for the which I haue ſubmitted me to my Ordinary and done penance therfore: for as much as peraduenture the audience that was there offended by my ſaid wordes, might take any occaſion therby to thinke that I did fauour the ſayd heretike or any other, I deſire you at the inſtance of almighty God to forgeue me, and not ſo to thinke of me, for I did it vnaduiſedly. Therfore here before God and you, I declare my ſelfe that I haue not fauoured hym or any other heretike, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all tymes ſhall defend the Catholike fayth of holy church, according to my profeſſion to the beſt of my power.

Via lata, via anguſta.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Rob. Weſt, Prieſt. 1529.	Abiured for bookes and opinions contrary to the proclamation.
Nicholas White of Rye. 1529.	Hys Articles: For ſpeakyng agaynſt the Prieſtes ſaying of Mattens. For ſpeakyng agaynſt praying for them that be dead: Agaynſt praying to God for ſmall trifles, as for ẏ cow caluing, the henne hatchyng, &c. For ſpeakyng agaynſt the relicke of S. Peters finger: Agaynſt oblations to Images: Agaynſt bowyng of Pilgrimage: Agaynſt Prieſthode: Agaynſt holy bread & holy water, &c.
Rich. Kitchin, prieſt. 1529.	Hys Articles: That pardōs graunted by the Pope, are naught, & that men ſhould put no truſt in them, but onely in the Paſſion of Chriſt. That he beyng lead by the wordes of the Goſpell: Mat. 7. De via lata, & anguſta, & alſo by the epiſtle of ẏ Maſſe beginning: Vir fortiſſimus Iudas, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, ẏ there were but ij. wayes and no Purgatory. That men ought to worſhyp no Images, nor ſet vp lyghtes before them. That Pilgremage doth nothyng auayle. That ẏ Goſpell was not truely preached for the ſpace of three hundreth yeares paſt, &c.
Wil. Wegen prieſt at S. Mary hill. 1529.	His Articles: That hee was not bounde to ſay his Mattins nor other ſeruice, but to ſing with ẏ Quiere till they came to pryme, and thē ſaying no more ſeruice, though he might well go to Maſſe. That he had ſayd Maſſe oftetimes, & had not ſaid hys Mattins and hys diuine ſeruice before. That he had gone to Maſſe without confeſſiō made to a Prieſt. That it was ſufficient for a man beynge in deadly ſinne, to aske God mercy onely for his ſynne, without farther confeſſion made to a Prieſte. That hee helde agaynſt Pilgremages, and called Images ſtockes and ſtones, and witches. Item, that hee beyng ſicke went to the Roode of S. Margerete Patens, and ſayd before him xx. Pater noſters, and when he ſaw him ſelfe neuer the better, then hee ſayd,

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
	a foule euill take hym, and all other images. Itẽ, that if a mã keepe a good tongue in his hed, he faſteth well. Item, for commending Luther to be a good man for preaching twiſe a day. &c. For ſaying that the Maſſe was but a ceremony, and made to the entent that men ſhould pray only. Itẽ, for ſaying, that if a man had a paire of beades, or a booke in hys hand at the church, and were not diſpoſed to pray it was naught. &c.
Wil. Hale holywater clerke of Tolenham. 1529.	His Articles: That offring of money and candles to images did not auayle, ſith we are iuſtified by ȳ bloud of Chriſt. Item, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saintes, and the Popes pardons. For ſaying, that ſith the Sacramentes that the Prieſt doth miniſter, bee as good as they, which the Pope doth miniſter, he did not ſee but the prieſt had as good authoritie as the Pope. Item, that a man ſhould confeſſe himſelfe to God only, and not to a prieſt. &c.
Wil. Blomfeld Monke of Bury.	Abiured for the lyke cauſes.
John Tyndall. 1530.	For ſending v. markes to his brother Wil. Tindall beyond the ſea, and for receiuing and keping with hym certaine letters from his brother.
Wil. Worſley Prieſt, & Hermite. 1530.	His Articles: For preachyng at Halſtede, hauyng the curates licence but not the biſhops. Item, for preachyng theſe wordes: that no man ridyng on Pilgrimage, hauyng vnder hym a ſoft ſaddle, and an eaſie horſe, ſhould haue any merite therby, but ȳ horſe and the ſaddle. &c. Item, for ſaying that hearing of Mattens & maſſe is not the thing that ſhall ſaue a mans ſoule, but only to hear ȳ word of God.
John Stacy Tyler. 1530.	His Articles were agaynſt Purgatory, which he ſayd to be but a deuiſe of the Prieſtes to get money. Againſt faſting dayes by mans preſcription, and choice of meates. Agaynſt ſuperfluous holydayes. Itẽ, agaynſt Pilgrimage. &c
Laurence Maxwell Taylor. 1530.	His Articles: That the ſacrament of the alter was not the very body of Chriſt in fleſh and bloud: but that he receiued hym by the worde of God, and in remembrance of Chriſtes paſſion. Item, that the order of prieſthode is no ſacrament. That there is no Purgatory. &c.
Tho. Curſon, Monke of Eaſtacre in Northfolke. 1530.	His Articles were theſe: For goyng out of the monaſtery & changing his weede, and letting his crowne to grow, working abroade for his liuing, making copes and veſtmentes. Alſo for hauyng the new teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, and an other booke conteyning certayne bookes of the old Teſtament, tranſlated into Engliſh by certayne, whom the Papiſtes call Lutherans.
Tho. Cornwell, or Auſty. 1530.	Hys Articles: It was obiected, that he beyng enioyned aforetyme by Rich. Fitziames B. of London, for hys penaunce to weare a fagot broydered vpon hys ſleue vnder payne of relapſe, he kept not the ſame, & therfore he was condemned to perpetuall cuſtody in the houſe of S. Bartlemew, from whence afterward he eſcaped and fled away.
Thomas Philip. 1530.	Thomas Phillip was deliuered by Syr Thomas More, to Byſhop Stokeſley by indenture. Beſides other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the altar, holydayes, keping of bookes, and ſuch lyke, it was obiected to hym, that he beyng ſearched in the Tower, hadde founde about hym Tracyes Teſtament, and in hys chamber in the Tower was found cheeſe and butter in Lent tyme. Alſo that he had a letter deliuered vnto hym goyng to ȳ Tower. Whiche letter, with the Teſtament alſo of Tracye, becauſe they are both worthy to be ſeene, wee mynde (God willing) to annexe alſo to the ſtory of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentymes examined before M. More & the Byſhop, he alwaies ſtode to hys denyall, neither coulde there any thyng be proued clearely agaynſt hym, but onely Tracyes Teſtament and hys butter in Lent. One Stacy firſt bare witnes againſt him but after in the Court openly he proteſted that hee dyd it for feare. The Byſhop thẽ willyng him to ſubmit hym ſelfe, & to ſweare neuer to holde any opinion contrary to the determination of holy Churche, hee ſayde he woulde. And when the forme of hys abiuration was geuen him to read, he read it, but the Byſhop not content with that, woulde haue him to read it openly. But that hee woulde not, and ſayde he would appeale to ȳ kyng ſupreme head of the Churche, and ſo dyd. Still the Byſhop, called vpon to hym to abiure. He aunſwered, that he would bee obedient, as a Chriſten man ſhoulde, and that hee woulde ſweare neuer to hold any hereſye duryng hys lyfe, nor fauour any heretickes. But the biſhop not yet content, would haue hym to read the abiuration after the forme of the Churche conceaued, as it was geuen him. He aunſwered agayn that he would forſweare al hereſies, and that he would maynteine no hereſies, ne fauour any heretickes. The Byſhop with this would not be aunſwered, but needes woulde driue hym to the abiuration formed after ȳ Popes Churche. To whom he ſayd, if it were the ſame abiuration, that he read, he would not read it, but ſtãd to hys appeale made to the kyng, the ſupreme head of the Church vnder God. Agayne the byſhop aſked hym, if hee would abiure or not. Except (ſaid he) you will ſhew me the cauſe, why I ſhould abiure, I will not ſay yea nor nay to it, but will ſtand to my appeale, and requyred the Byſhop to obey ȳ ſame. Thẽ the Byſhop readyng openly the Bill of excommunicatiõ agaynſt hym, denounced hym for contumax and an excommunicate perſon, charging al mẽ to haue no company nor any thyng to do with hym. After this excommunicatiõ, what became of hym, whether he was holpen by hys appeale, or whether he was burned, or whether he dyed in the tower, or whether he abiured, I finde no mention made in ȳ regiſters.

¶ A letter directed to Thomas Phillip in the name of the brethren, and geuen him by the way going to the tower.

A letter ſent by the congregation to Tho. Philippe.

THe fauour of him that is able to keepe you that you fall not, and to confeſſe your name in the kyngdome of glory and to geue you ſtrength by his ſpirite to confeſſe hym before all his aduerſaries, be with you euer, Amen.

Sir the brethren thinke that there be diuers falſe brethrẽ craftily crept in among them, to ſeke out their freedome in the Lord, that they may accuſe them to the Lordes aduerſaries, as they ſuppoſe they haue done you. Wherfore if ſo bee it, that the ſpirite of God moue you therunto, they as counſayloures deſire you aboue all thynges to bee ſtedfaſte in the Lordes veritie without feare, for hee ſhall and wyll be your helpe accordyng to hys promiſe, ſo that they ſhall

not

2.Pet.2. 1.Pet.4. 1.Pet.4. Heb.12.

not miniſh the leſt heire of your hed without his will: vnto the which will, ſubmitte your ſelfe, and reioyce: for the Lord knoweth how to deliuer the godly out of temptation, and how to reſerue the vniuſt vnto the day of iudgement to be puniſhed: and therfore, caſt all your care on hym, for he careth for you. And in that you ſuffer as a Chriſten man, be not aſhamed, but rather glorifie God on that behalfe: looking vpō Chriſt the author and finiſher of our faith: which for the ioy that was ſet before him, abode the Croſſe & deſpiſed the ſhame. Notwithſtanding though we ſuffer the wrong, after the example of our maiſter Chriſt, yet we bee not bound to ſuffer the wrong cauſe, for Chriſt himſelf ſuffred it not, but reproued hym that ſmitte him wrongfully.

Act.23. Act.20. Math.18. 1.Tim.5.

What is a Seniour by S.Paule.

And ſo likewyſe ſayeth S.Paule alſo: So that we muſt not ſuffer the wrong, but boldly reproue them that ſit as righteous iudges and do contrary to righteouſnes. Therefore according both to Gods law and mans, ye be not bounde to make no aunſwer in no cauſe, till your accuſers come before you. Which if you require and theron do ſticke, the falſe brethren ſhalbe known to the great comfort of thoſe that now ſtand in doubt whom they may truſt: and alſo it ſhall bo a meane that they ſhall not craftily by queſtions take you in ſnares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the xx. Chapter of the Actes it is written. It is not the maner of the Romans to deliuer any man that he ſhould periſh before that he which is accuſed, haue his accuſers before him, and haue licence to aunſwer for himſelfe, as pertainyng to the crime whereof he is accuſed. And alſo Chriſt will, that in the mouth of two or thre witneſſes all things ſhall ſtand. And in the v. cha. to Timoth. the firſt epiſtle it is written: Againſt a Seniour receiue none accuſation but vnder two or thre witneſſes. A Seniour in this place is any man that hath an houſe to gouerne. And alſo their owne lawe is agreeable to this. Wherfore ſeing it is agreable to the worde of God, that in accuſations ſuch witneſſes ſhould be, you may with a good conſcience require it. And this the God of grace which hath called you vnto his eternall glory by Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall hys owne ſelfe after a little affliction, make you perfect, ſhal ſettle, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you, that to him may be glory & prayſe for euer. Amen.

Thus ye haue heard the letter deliuered to Tho. Philip. Now followeth the Teſtament of William Tracy.

¶Tracy his Teſtament.

M.Tracie taken vp being dead and burnt.

A Litle before thys tyme, William Tracy a worſhypfull Eſquyre in Gloceſterſhyre, & thē dwellyng at Todington, made in his wil, that he would haue no funeral pompe at hys buryng, neither paſſed he vppon Maſſe, and farther ſayd that he truſted in God onely, and hoped by hym to bee ſaued, and not by any Sainte. This Gentleman dyed, and hys ſonne as executor, brought the will to the Byſhop of Canterbury to proue, whiche he ſhewed to the conuocation and there moſt cruelly they iudged that he ſhould be taken out of the ground and bee brent as an heriticke, anno. 1532. This commiſſion was ſent to Doct. Parker Chauncellour of the dioces of Worceſter, to execute their wicked ſentence, whiche accompliſhed the ſame. The kynge hearyng his ſubiect to bee taken out of the ground and brent without hys knowledge or order of hys lawe, ſent for the Chauncellour and layd hygh offence to hys charge: who excuſed hym ſelfe by the Archbyſhop of Canterbury whiche was late dead, but in concluſion it coſt hym CCC. pounde to haue his pardon. The will and Teſtament of this Gentleman thus condemned by the Clergie, was as here vnder foloweth.

The Teſtament of William Tracie.

Job.19.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Todyngton in the Countye of Gloceſter Eſquyre, make my Teſtament and laſt will, as here after foloweth. Firſt and before all other thynges, I commit my ſelfe vnto God and to hys mercy, beleuing without any doubt or miſtruſt that by hys grace and the merites of Ieſus Chriſt, and by the vertue of his Paſſion and of hys reſurrection, I haue and ſhall haue remiſſiō of all my ſinnes and reſurrection of body and ſoule, accordyng as it is written: I beleue that my redemer lyueth, and that in the laſt day I ſhall riſe out of the earth, and in my fleſhe ſhall ſee my Sauiour: thys my hope is layde vp in my boſome.

And touchyng the wealth of my ſoule, the fayth that I haue taken and rehearſed is ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe) without any other mans workes or merites. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God and one Mediatour betwene God and man, whiche is Ieſus Chriſte: ſo that I accept none in heauen nor in earth to bee Mediatour betwene me and God, but onely Ieſus Chriſt: all other to be but as peticioners in receyuyng of grace, but none able to geue influence of grace: And therfore will I beſtowe no part of my goodes for that entente that any man ſhould ſay or do, to helpe my ſoule, for therin I truſt onely to the promyſes of Chriſt: He that beleueth and is Baptiſed ſhalbe ſaued, and he that beleueth not ſhalbe dampned.

Marke.16.

Funeral pompes ſerue onely for the liuing, and geue no helpe to the dead.

As touchyng the buryng of my body it auayleth me not what ſoeuer be done therto, for S. Auſten ſayth De cura agenda pro mortuis, that the funerall pompes are rather the ſolace of them that lyue, then the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therfore I remitte it onely to the diſcretion of myne executors.

Our merites be onely our fayth in Chriſt.

And touchyng the diſtribution of my temporall goodes, my purpoſe is, by the grace of God, to beſtowe them to bee accepted as the frutes of fayth, ſo that I doe not ſuppoſe ẏ my merite ſhalbe by ẏ good beſtowing of them, but my merite is the faith of Ieſus Chriſt onely, by whō ſuch workes are good accordyng to the wordes of our Lord: I was hungry and thou gaueſt me to eate, &c. And it foloweth: that ye haue done to the leaſt of my brethren, ye haue done it to me. &c. And euer we ſhould cōſider that true ſaying: that a good worke maketh not a good mā, but a good mā maketh a good worke: for fayth maketh the man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liueth by fayth: and whatſoeuer ſpringeth not of fayth is ſinne. &c.

Rom.14.

And all my temporall goodes that I haue not geuen or deliuered, or not geuen by wrytyng of myne own hand, bearyng the date of thys preſent wrytyng, I doe leaue and geue to Margaret my wyfe, and to Richard my ſonne whom I make myne Executors. Witnes hereof myne owne hand, ẏ x. of October in the xxij. yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry the eyght.

This is the true copie of hys will, for the which, as you heard before, after he was almoſt ij. yeares dead, they tooke him vp and burned hym.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Iohn Periman Skinner. 1531.	His Articles were much lyke vnto the others before: Addyng moreouer that all the Preachers then at Paules Croſſe, preached nothyng but lyes and flatteringes, and ẏ there was neuer a true preacher but one: namyng Edward Crome.
Rob. Goldſton Glaſier. 1531.	Hys Articles: That men ſhoulde pray to God onely, & to no Saintes. That Pilgrimage is not profitable. That men ſhoulde geue no worſhyp to Images. Item, for ſaying, that if he had as much power as any Cardinall had, he would deſtroy all ẏ Images that were in al the Churches in England.
Laurence Staple Seruing man. 1531.	Hys Articles: For hauyng ẏ Teſtament in Engliſhe, the v. bookes of Moſes, the practiſe of Prelates, the ſumme of Scripture, the A.B.C. Item, about ẏ burning of Bainhā, for ſaying: I woulde I were wyth Baynhā, ſeing that euery man hath forſakē hym, that I might drinke wt hym, and he myght pray for me. Item, that he moued Henry Tompſō to learne to read the new Teſtamēt callyng it the bloud of Chriſt. Item, in Lent paſt when he had no fiſh, he did eate egges, butter, & cheſe. Alſo about 6. wekes before M. Bilney was attached, the ſaid Bilny deliuered to hym at Grenewich, 4. new teſtamentes of Tindals tranſlation, which he had in hys ſleue, and a budget beſides of bookes, which budget he ſhortly after riding to Cambridge deliuered vnto Bilney, &c. Item, on Fridayes he vſed to eate egges, and thought, that it was no great offence before God. &c
Henry Tompſon Taylor. 1531.	His Articles: That which ẏ prieſt lifteth ouer hys head at the ſacryng tyme, is not the very body of Chriſt, nor it is not God, but a thyng that God hath ordeyned to be done. This poore Tomſon although at the firſt he ſubmitted hymſelfe to the biſhop: yet they with ſentence condemned hym to perpetuall priſon.
Iaſper Wetzell of Colen. 1531.	His Articles: that he cared not for goyng to the church to heare Maſſe, for he could ſay Maſſe as wel as the Prieſt. That he would not praye to our lady, for ſhe could do vs no good.

Eating of egges made hereſie.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
	Item, beyng aſked if he would goe heare Maſſe, he ſayd he had as lieue go to the gallowes, where the theues were hanged. Item, beyng at S. Margaret Patens, and there holdyng his armes a croſſe, he ſaid to the people, ẏ he could make as good a knaue as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.
Robert Man, Seruingman. 1531.	His Articles: There is no purgatory. The pope hath no more power to graunt pardon then an other ſimple prieſt. That god gaue no more authority to S. Peter, then to an other prieſt. That the Pope was a Knaue and his Prieſts knaues all, for ſuffering his pardons to go abroad to deceyue the people. That S. Thomas of Cant. is no ſaint. That S. Peter was neuer Pope of Rome. Item, he vſed commonly to aſke of Prieſtes where he came, whether a man were accurſed if he handled a chalice or no? If the prieſt would ſay yea, then would he reply again thus: If a man haue a ſhepes ſkin on his handes, meanyng a payre of gloues, he may handle it. The prieſtes ſaying yea: well thē (quoth he) ye wil make me beleue, that God put more vertue in a ſhepes ſkin, then he did in a chriſten mans hand, for whom he died.
Henry Feldon. 1531.	His trouble was, for hauing theſe bokes in engliſh: a proper Dialogue betwene a gentleman, and a huſbandman. The ſumme of ſcripture. The prologue of Marke. A written boke conteyning the Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Credo in Engliſh. The ten Commaundements, and the 16. conditions of Charitie.
Rob. Cooper, prieſt. 1531.	His Article only was this: for ſaying that the bleſſing with a ſhoe ſole is as good as ẏ biſhops bleſſing, &c.
Thomas Row. 1531.	His Articles were, for ſpeaking againſt auricular confeſſion, & prieſtly penance, and againſt the preaching of the doctors.
Wil. Waltham. 1531.	His opinion: That the ſacrament of the aulter is not the body of Chriſt in fleſh and bloud, and that there is a God, but not that God in fleſh and bloud in the forme of bread.
Grace Palmer. 1531.	Witnes was brought againſt her by her neighbors John Rouſe, Agnes his wyfe, John Pole of S. Oſithes, for ſaying: ye vſe to beare Palmes on Palme Sonday: it ſkilleth not whether ye beare any or not, it is but a thyng vſed and neede not. Alſo ye vſe to goe on Pilgrimage to our Lady of grace, of Walſingham, & other places: ye were better tarye at home, and geue mony to ſuccor me & my children and other of my poore neighbors, thē to go thether: for there ye ſhal find but a piece of timber painted, there is neither God nor our lady. Item, for repentyng that ſhe dyd euer light candles before images. Item, that the ſacrament of ẏ aulter is not the body of Chriſt: it is but bread which ẏ prieſt there ſheweth for a token or remembrance of chriſtes body.
Philip Braſier of Bockſted. 1531.	His Articles: That the ſacrament holden vp betwene the prieſts hādes, is not the body of Chriſt, but bread, & is done for a ſignification. That confeſſion to a prieſt nedeth not. That images be but ſtockes & ſtones. That pilgrimage is vayne. Alſo for ſaying that when there is any miracle done, the prieſtes do noynte the images, and make mē beleue that the Images doe ſweate in labouryng for thē, and with the offrings the prieſts finde their harlots.
Ioh. Fayreſtede of Colcheſter. 1531.	His Articles: For wordes ſpoken agaynſt pilgrimage and images. Alſo for ſaying theſe wordes: that the day ſhould come, that men ſhall ſay: curſed be they that make theſe falſe gods meanyng images.
George Bul of Much hadham, Draper. 1531.	His Articles: That there be 3. cōfeſſiōs: One principal to god, another to hys neighbour, whome he had offended: and the third to a Prieſt: and that without the two firſt confeſſiōs to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be ſaued. The 3. confeſſion to a prieſt, is neceſſary for counſaile to ſuch as be ignorant and vnlearned, to learne how to make their confeſſion with a contrite hart vnto god, & how to hope for forgeueneſſe: and alſo in what maner they ſhould aſke forgeuenes of theyr neighbor, whō they haue offended, &c. Item, for ſaying ẏ Luther was a good man. Item, that he reported, thorough the credence & report of M. Patmore perſon of Hadham, that where Wickliffs bones wer brent, ſprang vp a wel or welſpryng.
Ioh. Haymond Milwright. 1531.	His Articles: For ſpeaking & holding againſt pilgrimage & images, & againſt preſcribed faſtingdayes. That prieſtes & religious men notwithſtādyng theyr vowes made, may lawfully forſake theyr vowes & mary. Item, for hauing bookes of Luther, and Tyndall.
Rob. Lamb a Harper. 1531.	His Article: For that he ſtandyng accurſed ij. yeres together, & not fearyng the cēſures of the popes church, went about with a ſong in the commendation of Mart. Luther.
Ioh. Hewes Draper. 1531.	His Articles: For ſpeakyng againſt Purgatory, and Thomas Becket. Item, at the towne of Farnham, he ſeyng Edward Frenſham kneling in the ſtrete to a croſſe carued before a corſe, aſked, to whome he kneeled? he ſayd, to his maker. Thou art a fole (ſayd hee) it is not thy maker, it is but a peece of copper or woode. &c. Item, for theſe wordes: Maiſters ye vſe to goe on pilgremage: it were better firſt that ye looke vpon your poore neighbours whiche lacke ſuccour. &c. Alſo, for ſaying that hee heard thee Vicar of Croydon thus preach opēly: That there is as much bawdrye kept by goyng in Pilgremage to Willesdone or Mouſwell, as is in the ſtewes ſyde. &c.
Tho. Patmore Draper. 1531.	This Patmore was brother to M. Patmore Perſon of Hadham, who was priſoned in Lollardes tower for marying a Prieſt, and in the ſame priſon continued 3. yere. Thys Patmore was accuſed by diuers witneſſes, vpō theſe Articles: That he had as leue pray to yonder hunter pointyng to a man paynted there in a ſtayned cloth, for a peece of fleſhe, as to pray to ſtocks that ſtand in walles meanyng Images. Item, that men ſhould not praye to Saintes, but to God onely: for why ſhould we pray to Saintes (ſaid he) they are but blocks and ſtocks? Itē, that the truth of ſcripture hath bene kept from vs a long tyme, & hath not appeared til now. Item, comming by a tree wherin ſtode an image, he toke away the waxe which hanged there offred. Item, that he regarded not the place whether it was halowed, or no, where he ſhould bee buried after he was dead. Alſo, in talke with the curate of S. Peters, he defended that prieſtes might mary.

Prieſtes ſet more by a payre of gloues, thē by a lay mās hand.

Againſt bearing of Palmes.

A Prophesie.

Three confeſſions.

A welſpring where Wickliffes bones were burned

Againſt kneeling to the croſſe.

Much bawdery in Pilgrimage.

The truth of ſcripture a long tyme kept frō vs.

This

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
	This Patmore had long hold with the B. of Londō. Firſt he would not ſweare infamia non præcedente. Thē he would appeale to the kyng, but all would not ſerue. He was ſo wrapt in the biſhops nets, that he could not get out, but at laſt he was forced to abiure, & fined to the kyng an C.li.

A note.

The papiſts ſay falſely that prieſtes haue bene vnmaryed theſe 1500. yeares.

*Note in the communication betwene this Patmore, and the prieſt of S. Peters, that where as the prieſt obiected againſt him (as is in the regiſter) that prieſts haue liued vnmaried, & without wiues theſe 1500. yeres in the church: he & all other ſuch prieſtes therin ſay falſly and deceiue the people, as by ſtory is proued in this volume, that prieſts here in England had wiues by the law within theſe 500. yeres & leſſe.

Prieſtes maryage.

Remember here (good reader) to amende the place aboue pag. 993. where is ſayd that Patmore dyed in Lollards tower. *Ex Regiſt. Lond.*

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Simō Smith maiſter of Arte of Gūwell hall in Cambridge, and Benore hys wyfe. 1531.	This Simon Smith and Benore his wife were the parties, whō M. Patmore perſon of Hadham aboue mentioned did mary, & was condemned for the ſame to perpetuall priſon. For the which mariage, both the ſaid Simon & Benore his wife were called to examination before the B. and he cauſed to make ẏ whole diſcourſe of all his doings, how, and where he maried. Then, after his mariage, how long he taried, whether he went beyond ſea, where he was, and wyth whom. After his returne, whether he reſorted, how he liued, what mercery ware he occupied, what fayres he frequented, where he left his wyfe, how he caried her ouer, and brought her home againe, & how ſhe was found. &c. All this they made him confeſſe, & put it in their regiſter. And though they could faſten no other crime of hereſie vpon him, but only his mariage: yet calling both hym and her being great with child to examination, they cauſed them both to abiure and ſuffer penaunce.
Tho. Patmore Perſon of Hadham. 1531.	This Tho. Patmore a good man, was he that maried the foreſaid M. Smith, & Ioane Benore his mayde together (as is ſaid) vpon the conſent and erneſt requeſt of the parties. For this godly acte he ſuſteined long trauaile in the biſhops court, being many times examined of his conſcience, whether a prieſt might mary a wyfe without offence to God. Wherein he ſtucke a great while and appealed to the king. When that would not help, he required to know how prieſts mariage could be proued hereticall by the ſcripture. Then Foxford the biſhops vicar, the great perſecutor, allegyng generall councels & determination of the church, ſtil was vpon hym wyth his interrogatories, aſking whether he would abiure or heare the ſentence red. His anſwer was, that he beleueth the holy church, as a chriſten mā doth, and it paſſeth his capacitie, and deſireth to be inſtructed, & if ẏ ſcripture do teach it, he will beleue it: and he doth not know by the ſcripture the contrary, but that a prieſt may mary a wife, but by the lawes of the church he thinketh ẏ a prieſt may not mary. But the Chancellor ſtill aſked whether a prieſt might mary without offence to God. At length he graunted that a prieſt might not mary without offence to God, becauſe ẏ church hath forbid it, and therfore a prieſt can not mary without deadly ſinne. Item, an other Article was obiected to hym for ſaying that he did not ſet a bottle of hay by ẏ popes curſe. But at laſt he ſubmitted himſelf after much ado, and was abiured and condemned to perpetuall priſon. Neuertheleſſe I finde in the Regiſters, that after 3. yeares he was releaſed out agayne by the biſhop.

Chriſtopher a booke ſeller dyed in priſon.

A dogge offered to S. Nicholas Byſhop.

Why then doth M. More ſay that Bilney recanted and dyed a good man, if they be puniſhed for commending him to be a good man.

A Ladde of Colcheſter dyed in priſon for bringing to Bayfilde hys bookes.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Iohn Row Bookebinder, a Frēchman. 1531.	This man for byndyng, beyng, & diſperſing of bookes inhibited, was enioyned beſide other penaunce, to go to Smithfield with hys bookes tyed about hym, and to caſt them in ẏ fire and there to abide till they were all brent to aſhes.
Chriſtof. a dutchmā of Antwerpe. 1531.	This man, for ſellyng certeine new Teſtamentes in Engliſhe to Iohn Row aforeſayd, was put in priſon at weſtminſter, and there dyed.
W. Nelſon Prieſt. 1531.	His crime was, for hauing and bying of Perpynā certeine bokes of Luther, Tyndall, Thorpe. &c. & for readyng and peruſing the ſame, contrary to the kynges proclamation: for the which he was abiured, he was prieſt at Lith.
Tho. Eue Weauer. 1531.	His Articles: That the Sacrament of the aultar was but a memory of Chriſtes Paſſion. That men were fooles, to go on Pilgrimage, or to ſet any candle before Images. Item, it is as good to ſet vp ſtaues before ẏ Sepulchre, as to ſet vp tapers of waxe. That Prieſtes might haue wiues.
Rob. Hudſun of S. Pulchers. 1531.	His Article: On Childermas day (ſayth the Regiſter) hee offered in Paules Church at offering tyme, to the child biſhop (called S. Nicolas) a dogge for deuotion (as he ſayd) and meant no hurt, for he thought to haue offered a halfepenye or els the dogge, & thought the dogge to bee more better then a halfpenye, and thee dogge ſhould rayſe ſome profite to the child and ſayde moreouer it was the tenth dogge. &c. Ex regiſt.
Edward Hewet ſeruingman. 1531.	His crime: That after the kinges proclamatiō he had and read the new Teſtament in Engliſhe: Alſo ẏ boke of I. Fryth agaynſt Purgatory. &c.
Walter Kiry ſeruant. 1531.	Hys Article: That he, after thee kynges proclamation, had and vſed theſe bookes, the Teſtament in Engliſhe, the Summe of Scripture, a Primer and Pſalter in Engliſhe hydden in his bedſtraw at worceſter.
Michaell Lobley. 1531.	Hys Articles: That hee beyng at Antwerpe bought certeine bokes inhibited, as the Reuelation of Antichriſt, ẏ obedience of a Chriſten man the wicked Mammon, Frith againſt Purgatory. Item, for ſpeakyng agaynſt Images and Purgatory. Item, for ſaying that Bilney was a good man, and dyed a good man, becauſe of a Byll that one dyd ſend frō Norwiche, ẏ ſpecified that hee tooke hys death ſo paciently & dyd not forſake to dye with a good wil. &c.
A boy of Colcheſter 1531.	A boy of Colcheſter, or Northfolk brought to Rich. Bayfield, a budget of bokes about 4. dayes before ẏ ſaid Bayfield was taken: for the which the lad was taken & laid in ẏ counter by M. More Chācellor, & there died.
Wil. Smith Taylor. 1531.	His Articles: that he lodged oftentymes in his houſe, Rich. Bayfield & other good mē. That he receiued his bookes into hys houſe, & vſed much readyng in the new Teſtament. He had alſo the Teſtament of William Tracye. He beleued there was no Purgatory.
Wil. Lyncoln Prentiſe. 1531.	His Articles: For hauyng and receiuyng bokes from beyonde the ſea, of Tindall, Frithe, Thorpe & other. Item, he doubted whether there wer any Purgatory: whether it were well done to ſet vp candels to ſaints: to go on pilgrimage. &c.
Iohn Mell of Bockſted. 1531.	His hereſie was this: for hauyng and reading the newe Teſtament in engliſh, the pſalter in engliſh, and the booke called A.B.C.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Iohn Medvvell ſeruant to M. Carkit, Scriuener. 1532.	¶ This Medwell lay in priſon xxiiij. weekes, till he was almoſt lame. Hys hereſies were theſe: That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not truſt in pardons, but rather in the promiſes of Chriſt. He doubted wether the merites of any but, only of Chriſt did helpe hym. He doubted whether pilgrimages & ſetting vp of candles to images were meritorious or not. He thought hee ſhould not put his truſt in any ſaint. Item, he had in his cuſtody the new teſtament in engliſh, the examination of Thorpe, the wicked Mammon, a boke of Matrimony. Ex ipſius ſcedula ad Epiſc. Scripta.
Chriſtofer Fulman, ſeruant to a Goldſmith. 1532.	¶ This yong man was attached for receiuyng certain bokes at Antwerp of George Conſtantine, & tranſporting them ouer into England, and ſelling them to ſondry perſons, beyng bokes prohibited by the proclamatiõ. Item, he thought then thoſe bookes to haue bene good, and that he had bene in errour in tymes paſt.
Margaret Bovvgas. 1532.	Her hereſies were theſe: Beyng aſked if ſhe would go on pilgrimage, ſhe ſayd, I beleue in God, and he cã do me more good, then our lady or any other ſaint, and as for them, they ſhall come to me, if they will. &c. The Rich. Sharples perſon of Mullende by Colcheſter, aſked her, if ſhe ſayd her Aue Maria. I ſay (ſaid ſhe) haile Mary, but I will ſay no further. Then ſaid he if ſhe left not thoſe opinions, ſhe would beare a fagot. If I do (ſayd ſhe) better then I ſhall: adding moreouer that ſhe would not go from that to dye therfore. To whom the prieſt anſwered & ſayd, ſhe would be burned. Hereunto Margarete agayn replying, aſked the Prieſt, who made martyrs? Tyrants (quoth the prieſt) make Martyrs, for they put Martyrs to death. So they ſhall, or may me, quoth Margaret. At length with much ado and great perſuaſiõs ſhe gaue ouer to Foxford the Chãceller, and ſubmitted her ſelfe.
Iohn Tyrel an Iriſhman of Billery key, Taylor.	His articles were theſe: That the ſacrament of the aulter was not the body of Chriſt, but onely a cake of bread. Furthermore the occaſion beyng aſked, how he fell into that hereſie: he anſwered and ſayd, that about 3. weekes before Midſomer laſt paſt, he heard M. Hugh Latimer preach at S. Mary Abchurche, that men ſhould leaue goyng in pilgrimage abroad, & do their pilgrimage to theyr poore neighbours. Alſo the ſayde M. Latimer in his Sermon did ſet the Sacrament of the aulter at litle.
William Lancaſter Tailor. 1532.	The cauſe layd to this man was: That he had in his keping the boke of Wickliffes wicket. Item, that he beleued the Sacrament of the aulter after the wordes of conſecration not to be the body of Chriſt really. &c. Item, vpon the day of Aſſumption he ſaid, that if it were not for the ſpeach of the people, he would not receiue the ſacrament of the aulter.
Rob. Topley Frier. 1532.	His articles. He beyng a frier Auguſtine of Clare, forſooke his habite, and goyng in a ſecular mans weede, x. yeres, maried a wife called Margaret Nixon, hauing by her a child: and afterward beyng brought before the B. he was by him abiured and condemned to be priſoned in hys former monaſtery: but at laſt he eſcaped out, and returned to his wyfe agayne.

Hereſie with the Pope, to truſt onely to the merites of Chriſt.

Tyrauntes make Martyrs.

M. Latimer preached agaynſt pilgrimages.

A fryer maryed.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Tho. Topley Auſten Frier at Stokeclare.	By the occaſion of this Rob. Topley aforeſaid, place is offred to ſpeake ſomthing likewyſe of Tho. Topley, his brother belike, and alſo a frier of the ſame order and houſe of Stokeclare. This Tho. Topley had bene conuerted before, by one Rich. Foxe prieſt of Bumſtede, and Miles Couerdale, in ſo much that he beyng induced partly by thẽ, partly by reading certain bokes, caſt of both hys order and habite, and went lyke a ſecular prieſt. Wherupon he was eſpied and brought to Cuthbert B. of London. an. 1528. before whom this confeſſiõ he made as followeth.

Myles Couerdale.

The recantation of Tho. Topley.

ALl Chriſten men beware of conſentyng to Eraſmus fables, for by conſentyng to them, they haue cauſed mee to ſhrynke in my fayth that I promiſed to God at my Chriſtening, by my witneſſes. Firſte as touchyng theſe fables, I red in Colloquium by ẏ inſtruction of Syr Richard Foxe, of certeine Pilgremes, which (as the boke doth ſaye) made a vowe to go to S. James, & as they went, one of them dyed & he deſired his felowes to ſalute S. James in hys name: and an other dyed homeward, and hee deſired that they would ſalute his wyfe and hys children: & the iij. dyed at Florence, and hys felow ſayd he ſuppoſed that he was in heauen, and yet he ſayd that he was a great lyer. Thus I muſed of theſe opiniõs ſo greatly, that my mynde was almoſt withdrawne from deuotiõ to Sainctes. Notwithſtandyng I cõſented that the diuine ſeruice of thẽ was very good, & is though I haue not had ſuch ſweetnes in it as I ſhoulde haue had, becauſe of ſuch fables, and alſo becauſe of other fooliſhe paſtimes, as dauncing, tennes and ſuch other, whiche I thinke haue ben great occaſions that the goodnes of God hath bene voyde in me, and vyce in ſtrength.

Moreouer, it fortuned thus about halfe a yeare agoe, that the ſayd Syr Richard went forth and deſired me to ſerue hys Cure for hym, and as I was in hys chamber, I found a certein boke called Wickleffes Wicket, wherby I felt in my conſcience a great wauering for the tyme that I dyd read vpon it, and afterward alſo when I remembred it, it wounded my conſcience very ſore. Neuertheles I conſented not to it, vntill I had heard hym preach, and that was vpon S. Anthonies day: yet my mynde was ſtil much troubled w̃ the ſaid booke (which did make the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, in forme of bread, but a remẽbrãce of Chriſtes Paſſion) till I heard Syr Myles Couerdale preach, and then my mynde was ſore withdrawen from that bleſſed Sacramẽt, in ſo much ẏ I tooke it then but for ẏ remembrãce of Chriſtes body. Thus haue I wretchedly wrapped my ſoule with ſinne, for becauſe I haue not ben ſtedfaſt in that holy order ẏ God hath called me vnto by Baptiſme, neither in the holy order that God & S. Auguſtine hath called me to by my religion. &c. Furthermore he ſayd and confeſſed, that in the Lent laſt paſt, as he was walkyng in ẏ field at Bumſtede w̃ ſir Miles Couerdale late frier of ẏ ſame order, going in ẏ habite of a ſecular prieſt, which had preached the 4. Sonday in Lent at Bumſtede, they did common together of Eraſmus workes, & alſo vpõ confeſſion: ẏ which ſir Miles ſayd & did hold, ẏ it was ſufficiẽt for a mã to be contrite for his ſins betwixt god & his conſciẽce, without confeſſiõ made to a prieſt: which opinion this reſpondẽt thought to be true & did affirm & hold the ſame at ẏ tyme. Alſo he ſaith ẏ at the ſayd ſermon made by ẏ ſaid ſir Miles Couerdale at Bũſtede, he heard him preach againſt worſhipping of Images in ẏ church, ſaying & preaching that mẽ in no wiſe ſhould honor or worſhip thẽ: which likewyſe he thoght to be true, becauſe he had no lerning to defẽd it.

The recantati on of Tho. Topley, frier

Colloquia Eraſmi.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Wickliffes Wicket.

Myles Couerdale.

M. Couerdale.

Perſons abiured,	with their Articles.
Wil. Gardiner Auſten frier of Clare.	With this Topley I may alſo ioyne Wil. Gardiner one of the ſame order and houſe of Clare, who likewyſe by the motiõ of the ſayd Rich. Foxe curate of Bumſtede, & by ſhewyng him certain bookes to read was brought lykewiſe to the like learning & iudgement, and was for the ſame abiured by Cuthbert B. the ſame yere. 1528.

This

Richard Iohnſon of Bocſtede and Alyce his wife.
1531.

This Richard and his wife were fauourers of Gods word, ⁊ had bene troubled for the ſame of long tyme. They came frõ Saliſbury to Bockſtede by reaſon of perſecution, where they continued a good ſpace. At lẽgth by reſort of good men, they began to be ſuſpected, and ſpecially for a booke of Wickleffes wicket which was in their houſe, they were conuerted before Stokeſly Byſhop of London, and there abiured.

Perilous dayes.

So great was ỹ trouble of thoſe tymes, that it would ouercharge any ſtory to recite the names of all them, whiche durying thoſe bitter dayes before the comming in of Queene Anne, either were driuen out of the Realme, or were caſt out from their goodes and houſes, or brought to open ſhame by abiuration. Such Decrees and Iniunctions then were ſet forth by the Byſhoppes, ſuch lawes and proclamations were prouided, ſuch watch and narrow ſearche was vſed, ſuch wayes were taken by force of othe to make one detect an other ſo ſubtelly, that vnneth any good men could or dyd eſcape their handes, but either his name was knowen, or els his perſon was taken, yet neuertheleſſe ſo mightely the power of Gods Goſpell dyd worke in the hartes of good men, that the number of them dyd nothyng leſſen for all this violence or policie of the aduerſaries, but rather increaſed in ſuch ſorte, as our ſtory almoſt ſuffereth not to recite the particular names of all and ſingular ſuch as then groned vnder the ſame Croſſe of affliction ⁊ perſecution of thoſe dayes as: of which number were theſe.

Perſons of Bumſted abiured.

Arthur.
Geffray Lome.
Iohn Tibolde, his mother, his wife, his two ſonnes, and hys two daughters.
Edmond Tibold, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preſton, and his wife.
Ioane Smith, widow.
Robert Smith, her ſonne.
Richard Smith, her ſonne.
Margarete Smith, her daughter.
Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
Rob. Hempſtede, and his wife.
Tho, Hemeſtede, and his wife.
Iohn Hemeſtede, his ſonne.
Robert fayre.
William Chatwals.
Ioane Smith widow, otherwiſe called Agnes widow.
Iohn her ſonne.
Thomas her ſonne.
Chriſtopher her ſonne.
Alyce her daughter.
Ioane her daughter.
Iohn Wiggen.
Nicolas Holders wife.
Alyce Shypwright.
Henry Browne.
Iohn Craneford.

¶ All theſe were of the towne of Bumſtede, who beyng detected by Syr Richard Fox their Curate, and partly by Tibolde, were brought vp to the Byſhop of London, and all put together in one houſe, to the number of xxv. to be examined and abiured by the ſayd Byſhop.

Moreouer in other townes about Suffolke and Eſſex, other alſo were detected, as in the towne of Byrbroke, theſe followyng.

Men ⁊ women of Eſſex and Suffolk troubled for the Goſpell.

Iſabell Choote widow.
Iohn Choote her ſonne.
William Choote her ſonne.
Chriſtopher Choote her ſonne.
Robert Choote her ſonne.
Margerete Choote her daughter.
Katherine her mayde.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harry, and his wife.
Agnes his daughter.
Thomas his ſonne.
Bateman, and his wife.
Iohn Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlyn, a ſpoure maker.
Chriſtmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife, and his two ſonnes.
Iohn Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girlyng, his wife ⁊ his daughter.
Mathewes wife and his ſonne.
Iohnſon, his wife.
Thomas Hilles.
Roger Tanner.

Joh. Chapman.

Chriſtopher Rauen, and hys wyfe.
Iohn Chapman, hys ſeruaunt.
Richard Chapman, his ſeruaunt and brother to Iohn Chapman.

Who remayneth yet aliue, and hath bene of a long time a great herberour of many good men and women that were in trouble and diſtreſſe, and receiued them to his houſe, as Thomas Bate, Symont Smyth, the Prieſtes wife, Roger Tanner, with a number moe, which ye may ſee and read in our firſt edition. pag. 415.

Rich. Chapman.

Cruelties ſhewed for mercy.

¶ Touching this Richard Chapman, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his coate and ſhyrt enioyned bare head, bare foote, and bare legge to go before the proceſſion, and to kneele vpon the colde ſtones in the Church all the Sermon tyme, a litle ladde ſeeing him kneele vpon the colde ſtone with his bare knees, and hauing pitie on hym, came to him, and hauing nothing els to geue him, brought him his cappe to kneele vpõ. For the which the boy immediatly was taken into the Veſtry, and there vnmercifully beaten for his mercy ſhewed to the poore penitent.

Beſides theſe, diuers other were about London, Colcheſter and other places alſo partakers of the ſame Croſſe and affliction for the like cauſe of the Goſpell, in which number commeth in theſe which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Prieſt.
Iohn Turke.
Robert Beſt.
William Raylond of Colcheſter.
Henry Raylond, hys ſonne.
Marion Mathew, or Weſſden.
Dorothe Long.
Thomas Parker.
Alyce Gardiner.
Iohn Tompſon.
Ioh. Bradley, and his wife. } of Colcheſt.
Iohn Hubert of Eſtdoniland, and hys wife.
M. Forman, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Parſon of Hony lane.
Robert Necton.
Katherine Swane.
Maſters Cowbrige, of Colcheſt.
Wydow Denby.
Robert Hedill, of Colcheſter.
William Butcher, whoſe fathers graundfather was burned for the ſame Religion.
Abraham Water, of Colcheſt.
Robert Wygge.
William Bull.
George Cooper.
Iohn Toy, of S. Fayth.
Richard Foſter. } of London.
Sebaſtian Harrys, Curate of Kenſington.
Ex Regiſt. Lond.

¶ All theſe in this table conteyned, were troubled and abiured. an.1527. and 1528.

This Wa[illegible]ker was abiured 14. yeares before this.

All theſe in this table were troubled ⁊ abiured. an.1527.1528.

Perſons abiured.

1532.

Ioh. Wyly the elder.
Catherine Wyly, hys wife.
Io. Wyly, his ſonne.
Chriſtian Wyly, his wyfe.
W. Wyly, his ſonne.
Margaret Wyly, his wife.

These 8. perſons were accuſed, an. 1532. for eating pottage ⁊ fleſh meate fiue yeares before, vpon S. Iames eue. Alſo an other time, vpõ S. Peters euen, as Catherine wyly did lie in childbed, ỹ other wiues, ⁊ the ij. gyrles, were found eating altogether of a brothe made with ỹ forepart of a racke of Mutton.

Item, the foreſayd Iohn Wyly the elder, had a Primmer in Engliſh in his houſe, and other bookes.

Alſo he had a younge daughter of x. yeares olde, which coulde reade by hart ỹ moſt part of the 24. chapt. of S. Mathew: alſo coulde reherſe without booke, ỹ diſputation betwene the clarke and the Frier.

Lucye Wylye, Agnes Wyly, two younge gyrles.

An.1532.

Item, the ſayd Ioh. Wyly had in his houſe a treatiſe of William Thorpe, and Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle.

¶ A note of Richard Bayfilde, aboue mentioned.

Mention was made before of Richarde Bayfilde Monke of Burye, pag. 996. who in theſe perillous dayes, amongeſt other good ſainctes of God, ſuffered death, as ye haue heard, but how and by whom he was detected, hath not bene ſhewed: which now in ſearchyng out of Regiſters, as we haue found, ſo we thought good here to adioyne the ſame with the wordes and confeſſion of the ſame Edmund Peerſon, which detected him in maner as followeth.

The accuſation of Edmund Peerſon agaynſt Bayſilde.

The accuſation of Edmund Peerſon agaynſt Rich. Bayſilde.

The xiij. day of September at iiij. of the clocke at after noone, the yeare of our Lord. 1527. Syr Richard Bayſilde ſayd that my Lord of Londons Commiſſary was a playne Phariſey, wherfore he would ſpeake with him, and by his wholeſome doctrine he truſted in God, hee ſhould make him a perfect Chriſten man and me alſo, for I was a Phariſey as yet, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayd, that he cared not and if the Commiſſary and the Chauncellour heard him both, for the Chauncellour, he ſayd, was alſo a Phariſey, and truſted to make him a Chriſten man.

Alſo he ſayd, he was entreated by his frendes, and in maner conſtrayned to abyde in the Citie agaynſt his will, to make the Chauncellour and many moe, perfect Chriſten men, for as yet many were Phariſeis, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Alſo he ſayd, that M. Arthur and Bilney were and be more pure and more perfecter in their liuyng to God, then was or is the Commiſſary, the Chauncellour, my Lord of London, or my Lord Cardinall.

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Alſo he ſayd, that if Arthur and Bilney ſuffer death in the quarels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they ſhall be Martyrs before God in heauen.

Alſo he ſayd, after Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet ſhould there be hundrethes of mē, that ſhould preach the ſame that they haue preached.

Alſo he ſayd, that he would fauour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their liuyng to be ſo good: for they dyd weare no ſhyrtes of lynnen cloth, but ſhyrtes of heyre, and euer were faſting, praying, or doyng ſome other good deedes: & as for one of them, whatſoeuer he haue of money in his purſe, he will diſtribute it for the loue of God, to poore people.

Tim. 1.

Alſo he ſayd, that no man ſhould geue laude nor prayſe in no maner of wiſe, to no creature, nor to no Saint in heauen, but onely to God. Soli Deo honor et gloria, that is. To God alone be all honour and glory.

Alſo he ſaid, ah good Syr Edmund, ye be farre from the knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Phariſey with many other of your company: but I truſt in God I ſhall make you and many other moe, good and perfect Chriſten men ere I depart from the Citie, for I purpoſe to read a common lecture euery day at S. Foſters Church, which lecture ſhall be to the edifying of your ſoules that be falſe Phariſeis.

The godly courage of Rich. Bayſilde.

Alſo he ſayd, that Bilney preached nothyng at Wilſedone, but that was true.

Alſo he ſayd, that Bilney preached true at Wilſedone, if he ſayd that our Ladyes crowne of Wilſedone, her ryngs & beades that were offered to her, were beſtowed amongeſt harlots, by the Miniſters of Chriſtes Churche: for that haue I ſene my ſelfe, he ſayd, here in London, and that will I abyde by.

The peoples offringes beſtowed vpon harlots.

Alſo he ſayd, he dyd not feare to commen and argue in Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinall.

Alſo he ſayd, that he would hold Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, & abyde by them that they were true opinions, to ſuffer death therfore: I know them (ſayd he) for ſo noble and excellent men in learnyng.

Alſo he ſayd, if he were before my Lord Cardinall, he would not let to ſpeake to hym, and to tell hym that he hath done nought in priſonyng of Arthur and Bilney, whiche were better diſpoſed in their liuynges to GOD, then my Lord Cardinall, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make themſelues.

Alſo he ſayd, my Lord Cardinall is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the Commaundementes of God: for Chriſt (he ſayd) neuer taught him to folow riches, nor to ſeeke for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor Chriſt neuer taught him to weare ſhoes of ſiluer and gilt ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, nor Chriſt had neuer ij. croſſes of ſiluer, ij. axes, nor piller of ſiluer and gilt.

The Cardinals ſhooes.

Alſo he ſayd, that euery Prieſt might preach the Goſpell without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinall, my Lord of London, or any other man. And that would he abyde by, and thus he verified it as it is written. Marke. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ. Chriſt commaunded euery Prieſt to goe forth throughout all the world and preache the word of God, by the authoritie of this Goſpell, and not to runne to the pope, nor to no other man for licence, and that would hee abyde by, he ſayd.

Alſo he ſayd: Well Syr Edmūd, ſay you what you will, and euery man, & my Lord Cardinall alſo, and yet will I ſay and abyde by it, my Lord Cardinall doth puniſhe Arthur and Bilney vniuſtly, for there be no truer Chriſten mē in all the world liuyng, then they two be, and that puniſhment that my Lord Cardinall doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who ſay, this may I do, and this will I do, who ſhall ſay nay, but he doth it of no iuſtice.

Alſo, about the xiiij. day of October laſt paſt at iij. of the clocke at after noone, Syr Richard Bayſilde came to S. Edmundes in Lumbardſtreete, where he founde me Syr Edmund Peerſon, Syr James Smith, and Syr Myles Garnet, ſtandyng at the vttermoſt gate of the perſonage, & Syr Edmund ſayd to Syr Richard Bayſilde: how many Chriſten men haue ye made ſince ye came to the Citie? Quoth Syr Richard Bayſilde, I came euen now to make thee a Chriſten man, and theſe two other Gentlemen with thee, for well I know ye be all iij. Phariſeis, as yet.

Alſo he ſayd to Syr Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Chriſten men then he was, or any of them that did puniſh Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerſon.

And thus we haue, as in a groſſe ſumme, compiled together the names & cauſes, though not of all, yet of a great, and to great a number of good men and good women, which in thoſe ſorowfull dayes (from the yeare of our Lord 1517. to this preſent yeare. 1533. that is, till the commyng in of Queene Anne) were manifold wayes vexed and perſecuted vnder the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome. Where agayne we haue to note, that from this preſent yeare of our Lord. 1533. duryng the tyme of the ſayd Queene Anne, we read of no great perſecution, nor any abiuration to haue bene in the Church of England, ſaue onely that the Regiſters of London make mention of certaine Dutchmen, counted for Anabaptiſtes, of whom x. were put to death in ſondry places of the Realme. an. 1535. other x. repented and were ſaued. Where note agayne that two alſo of ẏ ſayd cōpany albeit the diffinitiue ſentence was read, yet notwithſtandyng were pardoned by the kyng, which was contrary to the Popes law.

Ten Dutchmen Anabaptiſts put to death.
Segor,
Kerche,
Symon,
Runa,
Derycke,
Dominicke
Dauid,
Cornelius,
Elken,
Milo.

1533.

Now to proceede forth in our matter, after that the Byſhops and heades of the Clergy had thus a long tyme take their pleaſure, exerciſing their cruell authoritie agaynſt the poore waſted flocke of the Lord, and began furthermore to ſtretch forth their rigour and auſteritie, to attach and moleſt alſo other greater perſons of the temporaltie: ſo it fel that in the begynnyng of the next or ſecond yeare folowyng, which was an. 1534. a Parlament was called by the kyng, about the xv. day of January. In the whiche Parlament, the commons renuyng their old griefes, complayned of the crueltie of the Prelates and Ordinaries, for callyng men before them Ex officio. For ſuch was then the vſage of the Ordinaries and their Officials, that they would ſend for men, and lay accuſations to them of hereſie, onely declaryng to them, that they were accuſed, and would miniſter Articles to them, but no accuſer ſhould be brought forth: whereby the commons was greuouſly anoyed and oppreſſed, for the partie ſo acited, muſt either abiure, or do worſe, for purgation he might none make.

Complaynt of the Commons agaynſt the Clergie.
Ex Edw. Hallo.
A Parliament. an. 1534.

Crueltie of the clergie agaynſt the temporaltie.

As theſe matters were long debatyng in the common houſe, at laſt it was agreed, that the temporall men ſhould put their griefes in writyng, and deliuer them to the kyng. Wherupon, the xviij. day of Marche, the common ſpeaker accompanyed with certaine Knightes and Burgeſes of the common houſe, came to the kynges preſence, and there declared, how the temporall men of his Realme were ſore agreeued with the cruell demaynour of the Prelates & Ordinaries, which touched their bodyes and goodes ſo neare, that they of neceſſitie were inforced to make their humble ſute by their ſpeaker vnto his grace, to take ſuch order and redreſſe in the caſe, as to his high wiſedome might ſeeme moſt conuenient. &c.

Unto this requeſt of the commons, although the kyng at that tyme gaue no preſent graunt, but ſuſpended them with a delay, yet notwithſtandyng this ſufficiently declared the grudgyng myndes of the temporall men, agaynſt the ſpiritualtie, lackyng nothyng but Gods helpyng hand to worke in the kynges hart for reformation of ſuch thynges, which all they ſawe to be out of frame. Neither did the Lordes diuine prouidence faile in tyme of neede, but eftſoones miniſtred a ready remedy in tyme expedient. He ſaw the pride and cruelty of the ſpiritual Clergy growen to ſuch an hight, as was intollerable. He ſaw agayne and heard the

Gods helping hand in tyme of neede.

groning hartes, the bitter afflictions of his oppreſſed flocke, his truth decayed, his Religion prophaned, the glory of his ſonne defaced, his Church lamentably waſted: wherefore it was hygh time for his high maieſtie to looke vpon the matter (as he did in deede) by a ſtraunge & wonderous meanes, which was thorough the kynges deuorſement from Lady Katherine Dowager, and maryyng with Lady Anne Bullen, in this preſent yeare: which was the firſt occaſion and beginnyng of all this publicke reformation, which hath followed ſince in this Church of England to this preſent day, accordyng as ye ſhall heare.

¶ The mariage betwene kyng Henry viij. and Queene Anne Bullen, and Queene Katherine diuorced.

Queene Anne maryed, and Lady Katherine diuorced.

IN the firſt entrey of this kynges reigne, ye heard before pag. 774. how after the death of Prince Arthur, the Lady Katherine Princes Dowager and wife to Prince Arthur, by the conſent both of her father and of his, and alſo by the aduiſe of the nobles of this Realme, to the end her dowrie might remaine ſtil within the Realme, was eſpouſed after the deceaſſe of her huſband, to his next brother, which was this kyng Henry.

K. Henry maryeth his brothers wife.

The Pope diſpenſeth for the brother to mary the brothers wyfe.

This Mariage ſeemed very ſtraunge and hard, for one brother to mary the wife of an other. But what can be in this earth ſo hard or difficulte, wherewith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicare of Chriſt, can not by fauour diſpenſe, if it pleaſe him? The Pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Iulius the ſecond, by whoſe diſpenſation, this Mariage, which neither ſenſe of nature would admit, nor Gods law would beare, was cōcluded, approued and ratified, and ſo continued as lawfull, without any doubt or ſcruple, the ſpace neare of xx. yeares, till about the tyme, that a certaine doubt began firſt to be moued by the Spanyardes themſelues of the Emperours counſaile. an. 1523. at what tyme Charles the Emperour beyng here in England promiſed to mary the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng of Englād, with the which promiſe the Spanyardes themſelues were not well contented, obiectyng this amōg many other cauſes, that ẏ ſaid Lady Mary was begotten of ẏ king of Englād by his brothers wife.

The Spanyardes firſt doubted of the kynges maryage.

Wherupon the Emperour forſakyng that Mariage, did couple himſelfe with Lady Iſabel, daughter to king Emanuell of Portugall. Which Mariage was done in the yeare of your Lord. 1526. After this Mariage of the Emperour, the next yeare followyng, kyng Henry beyng diſapoynted thus of the Emperour, entred talke, or rather was laboured too by the French Ambaſſadours, for the ſayd Lady Mary to be maryed to the French kynges ſonne, Duke of Orleance. Vpon ẏ talke wherof, after long debatyng, at length the matter was put of by a certaine doubt of the Preſident of Paris, caſting the like obiectiō as the Spanyardes had done before, that was, whether the Mariage betwene the kyng and the mother of this Lady Mary, whiche had bene his brothers wife before, were good or no. And ſo the Mariage twiſe vnluckely attempted, in like ſort brake of agayne and was reiected: whiche happened in the yeare of our Lord. 1527.

The ſecond doubt whether the Ladye Mary was rightly borne.

Two perplexities in the kynges mynde.

The kyng vpon the occaſiō herof caſtyng many thynges in his mynde, began to conſider the cauſe more deepely, firſt with himſelfe, after with certaine of his neareſt counſaile, wherein two thynges there were which chiefly pricked his minde, wherof the one touched his conſcience, the other concerned the ſtate of his Realme. For if that Mariage with his brothers wife ſtode vnlawfull by the law of God, then neither was his conſcience cleare in retainyng the mother, nor yet the ſtate of the Realme firme by ſucceſſion of the daughter. It happened the ſame tyme, that the Cardinall which was then neareſt about ẏ kyng, had fallen out with the Emperour, for not helping hym to the Papacie, as ye before haue heard: for the which cauſe he helped to ſet the matter forward, by all practiſe he myght. Thus the kyng perplexed in hys conſcience, and carefull for the common wealth, and partly alſo incited by the Cardinall, coulde not ſo reſt, but inquired further, to feele what the worde of God and learnyng woulde ſay vnto it. Neither was the caſe ſo hard, after it began once to come in publicke queſtion, but that by the word of God and the iudgementes of the beſt learned clerkes, and alſo by the cenſure of the chiefe Uniuerſities of all Chriſtēdome, to the number of x. and moe, it was ſoone diſcuſſed to be vnlawfull.

Cardinall Wolſey an helper to the kynges diuorce.

The iudgementes of x. or xij. Uniuerſities agaynſt the kynges mariage.
Orleance.
Paris.
Tolouſe.
Angiewe.
Bononye.
Padua.
The Facultie of Paris.
Bitures.
Orforde.
Cambridge.

All theſe cenſures, bookes and wrytinges of ſo many Doctors, Clerkes, and Uniuerſities ſent from all quarters of Chriſtendome, to the kyng, albeit they might ſuffice to haue full reſolued and did in deede reſolue the kynges conſcience touching this ſcruple of hys mariage: yet would not he ſtreight way vſe that aduauntage which learnyng did geue hym, vnles he had withall the aſſent, as well of the Pope, as alſo the Emperour: wherein he perceaued no litle difficultie. For the Pope, he thought, ſeeing the mariage was authoriſed before, by the diſpenſation of his predeceſſour, would hardly turne his keyes about, to vndoe that which the Pope before him had locked: & much leſſe would he ſuffer thoſe keyes to be foyled, or to come in any doubt, which was like to come, if that maryage were proued vndiſpenſable by Gods word, which his predeceſſour, thorough his plenary power had lycenced before. Agayne, the Emperour, he thought, would be no leſſe hard for his part on the other ſide, for as much as the ſayd Lady Katherine was the Emperours neare Aunte and a Spanyard borne. Yet neuertheles hys purpoſe was to proue and feele what they both would ſay vnto it, and therfore ſent Steuē Gardiner to Rome, to waye wyth Pope Clement. To ẏ Emperour was ſent Syr Nicolas Herny knyght, Ambaſſadour in the Court of Gaunt. Firſt Pope Clement, not weyng belike, the full importaunce and ſequele of the matter, ſent Cardinall Campeius (as is ſaid) into England, ioyned with the Cardinall of Yorke.

Campeius the Popes Legate.

The kinges perſwaſion to the Legate.

At the commyng of which Legates, the king firſt opening vnto them the griefe of hys conſcience, ſeemed with great reaſons and perſwaſions, ſufficiently to haue drawen the good will of theſe two Legates to his ſide. Who alſo of their owne accorde, pretended no leſſe but to ſhewe a willing inclination to further the kynges cauſe. But yet the mouthes of the common people, and in eſpeciall of women, and ſuch other as fauoured the Queene, and talked their pleaſure, were not ſtopped. Wherfore, to ſatiſfie the blinde ſurmiſes, and fooliſhe communication of theſe alſo, who ſeeing the commyng of the Cardinalles caſt out ſuch leawde wordes, that the kyng woulde for his owne pleaſure haue an other wyfe, with lyke vnſeemyng talke, he therfore willyng that all men ſhould know the truth of his proceedinges, cauſed all hys Nobilitie, Iudges, and Coūſailours, with diuers other perſons, to reſort to hys Pallace of Bridewell the viij. day of Nouember. an. 1529. where he openly ſpeaking in hys great chamber, had theſe wordes in effecte as followeth.

Euill language of the people about the kinges diuorce.

The kinges oration to his ſubiectes.

Our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiectes, both you of the nobilitie, and you of the meaner ſort, it is not vnknowen to you how that we, both by Gods prouiſion and true and lawfull inheritaunce, haue reigned ouer this realme of Englād, almoſt the terme of xx. yeares. During which time, we haue ſo ordered vs, thanked bee God, that no outward enemy hath oppreſſed you, nor taken any thyng from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victory & honour, ſo that we thinke that you nor none of your predeceſſors neuer lyued more quietly, more wealthely, nor in more eſtimation vnder any of our noble progenitours. But when we remember our mortalitie and that we muſt die, then we thinke that all our doings in our lyfe tyme, are clearely defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leaue you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowen at the time of our death, ſee what miſchiefe & trouble ſhall ſucceede to you and to your children. The experience therof ſome of you haue ſeene after the death of our noble grandfather, K. Edward. 4. and ſome haue heard what miſchiefe & māſlaughter cōtinued in this realme betwene the houſes of Yorke & Lācaſter: by the which diſſenſion, this realme was like to haue bene clearely deſtroyed.

And although it hath pleaſed almighty God to ſende vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and ioye, yet it hath bene tolde vs by diuers great Clarkes, that neither ſhee is our lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wyfe, but that we lyue together abominably and deteſtably, in open adulterie: in ſomuch, that whē our Ambaſſade was laſt in France, and motion was made that the Duke of Orleance ſhoulde marrye our ſayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counſailours to the French kyng, ſayde: It were well done, to knowe whether ſhee be the kyng of Englandes lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begotte her on hys brothers wyfe, whiche is directly agaynſt Gods lawe and hys precepte. Thynke you my Lordes, that theſe wordes touch not my bodye and ſoule? Thynke you that theſe doynges do not dayly and hourely trouble my conſcience, and vexe my ſpirites? Yes we doubt not, but and if it were your cauſe, euery man woulde ſeeke remedie, when the peril of your ſoule, and the loſſe of your inheritaunce is openly layd to you. For thys onely cauſe, I proteſte before God, and in the worde of a Prince, I haue aſked counſell of the greateſt Clarkes in Chriſtendome, and for this cauſe I haue ſent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, onely to knowe the truth, and ſo to ſettle my conſcience, & for none other cauſe, as God can iudge.

And as touchyng the Queene, if it be adiudged by the law of God that ſhe is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thyng more pleaſaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the diſcharge and clearyng of my conſcience, and alſo for the good qualities and cōditions the which I know to be in her. For I aſſure you all, that beſide her noble parētage of the which ſhe is diſcended (as you well know) ſhe is a woman of moſt gentlenes, of moſt humilitie and buxūnes yea and of all good qualities appertainyng to nobilitie, ſhe is without compariſon, as I this xx. yeares, almoſt haue had the true experiment: ſo that if I were to mary agayne, if the mariage might be good, I would ſurely choſe her aboue all other women. But if it be determined by iudgemēt that our Mariage was agaynſt Gods law and clearely voyde, then I ſhall not onely ſorow the departyng from ſo good a Lady and louyng companion, but much more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue ſo long lyued in adultery to Gods great diſpleaſure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this Realme. Theſe be the ſores that vexe my mynde, theſe be the panges that trouble my conſcience, and for theſe greues I ſeeke a remedy. Therefore I require of you all, as our truſt & confidence is in you, to declare to our ſubiectes our mynde and entēt, accordyng to our true meanyng, and deſire them to pray with vs that the very truth may be knowen for the diſcharge of our cōſcience and ſauyng of our ſoule, and for the declaration hereof I haue aſſembled you together, and now you may depart.

The Legates talke wyth the Queene.

Ex Edw. Hall.

Shortly after this Oration of the kyng, wherewith he ſtyrred the hartes of a number, then the two Legates, being requeſted of the kyng for diſcharge of his conſciēce, to iudge and determine vpon the cauſe, went to the Queene lying then in the place of Bridwell, and declared to her, how they were deputed Iudges indifferent betwene the Kyng and her, to heare and determine, whether the Mariage betwene them ſtode with Gods law, or not. When ſhe vnderſtode the cauſe of their commyng, beyng thereat ſome thyng aſtonyed at the firſt, after a litle pauſing with her ſelfe, thus ſhe began, aunſweryng for her ſelfe.

Queene Katherines aunſwere to the Cardinalles.

Alas my Lordes (ſayd ſhe) is it now a queſtion whether I be the Kynges lawfull wife or no, when I haue bene maryed to him almoſt xx. yeares, and in the meane ſeaſon neuer queſtion was made before? Diuers Prelates yet beyng alyue and Lordes alſo and priuy counſailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adiudged our Mariage lawfull and honeſt, and now to ſay it is deteſtable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruell: and in eſpeciall when I conſider what a wiſe Prince the Kyngs father was, and alſo the loue and naturall affection, that Kyng Ferdinādo my father bare vnto me. I thinke in my ſelfe that neither of our fathers were ſo vncircumſpect, ſo vnwiſe, and of ſo ſmall imagination, but they foreſaw what might folow of our Mariage, and in eſpeciall the Kyng my father ſent to the Court of Rome, and there after lōg ſute, with great coſte and charge, obteined a licence and diſpenſation, that I beyng the one brothers wife and peraduenture carnally knowen, might without ſcrupule of conſcience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which licence vnder lead I haue yet to ſhew: which thynges make me to ſay, and ſurely beleue, that our Mariage was both lawfull, good and godly. But of this trouble I onely may thanke you my Lord Cardinall of Yorke.

The Cardinall cauſe of this diuorce, and why?

For, becauſe I haue wōdered at your high pride & vaynglory, & abhorred your voluptuous life & abhominable lechery, & litle regarded your preſumptuous power and tyranny: therfore of malice you haue kindled this fire, & ſet this matter abroche, & in eſpecial for the great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worſe then a Scorpion, becauſe he would not ſatiſfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue ſayd more then once, that you would trouble him and his frendes: and you haue kept him true promiſe, for of all his warres and vexations, he onely may thanke you. And as for me his poore Aunte and kinſwoman, what trouble you haue put me too by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cauſe accordyng to the truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excuſed himſelfe ſaying, that he was not the begynner nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was ſore agaynſt his will that euer the Mariage ſhould come in queſtion, but he ſayd that by his ſuperiour the Byſhop of Rome, he was deputed as a Iudge to heare the cauſe, which he ſware on his profeſſion to heare indifferētly. But whatſoeuer was ſayd, ſhe beleued him not, and ſo the Legates tooke their leaue of her and departed. Theſe wordes were ſpoken in French, and written by Cardinall Campeius Secretary, which was preſent, and afterward by Edward Hall tranſlated into Engliſh.

The vayne pompe of the Romiſhe Legates.

In the next yeare enſuyng, an. 1530. at the blacke Friers of London was prepared a ſolemne place for two Legates, who commyng with their croſſes, pillers, axes, and all other Romiſhe ceremonies accordyngly, were ſet in two chayres couered with cloth of gold, and cuſhiōs of the ſame. When all thyngs were ready, then the Kyng & the Queene were aſcited by Doct. Sampſon, to appeare before the ſayd Legates the 28. day of May: where (the Commiſſiō of the Cardinals firſt beyng read, wherein it was appointed by the Court of Rome, that they ſhould be the hearers and iudges in the cauſe betwene them both) the Kyng was called by name, who appeared by two Proctors. The the Queene was called, who beyng accompanyed with iiij. *Byſhops, and other of her Counſaile, and a great company of Ladyes, came perſonally her ſelfe before the Legates: who there after her obeyſaunce, with a ſadde grauitie of countenaunce, hauyng not many wordes with them, appealed frō the Legates, as iudges not competent, to the Court of Rome, and ſo departed. Notwithſtandyng this appeale, the Cardinals ſat weekely, and euery day argumentes on both ſides were brought, but nothyng definitiuely was determined.

The king & Queene aſcited before the Legates.

*Theſe 4. byſhops were Warham of Canterbury, Weſt of Ely, Fyſher of Rocheſter, Stādiſhe of S. Aſaph.

The Queene appealeth frō the Cardinall to the Pope.

As the tyme paſſed on, in the moneth of Iune, the kyng beyng deſirous to ſee an ende, came to the Court, and the Queene alſo, where he ſtandyng vnder his cloth of eſtate, vttered theſe or like wordes in effect as followeth.

The kinges oration to the legates.

MY Lordes Legates of the Sea Apoſtolicke, which be deputed iudges in this great and waighty matter, I moſt hartely beſech you to ponder my mynde and entent, which onely is to haue a finall end for the diſcharge of my conſcience: for euery good Chriſten man knoweth what payne and what vnquietnes he ſuffreth which hath his conſcience greued. For I aſſure you on myne honour, that this matter hath ſo vexed my mynde, and troubled my ſpirites, that I cā ſcātely ſtudy any thyng, which ſhould be profitable for my Realme and people, and for to haue a quietnes in body and ſoule, is my deſire and requeſt, and not for any grudge that I beare to her that I haue maryed, for I dare ſay that for her womāhode, wiſedome, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer prince had ſuch an other, and therfore if I would willingly chaūge I were not wiſe. Wherfore my ſuite is to you my Lordes at this tyme, to haue a ſpeedy end, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conſcience onely, and for no other cauſe, as God knoweth.

When the king had ſayd, the Queene departed without any thyng ſaying. Then ſhe was called, to know whether ſhe would abide by her appeale, or aunſwere there before the Legates. Her Proctor aunſwered that ſhe would abyde by her appeale. That notwithſtandyng, the Counſaillers on both ſides euery day almoſt, mette and debated this matter ſubſtauncially, ſo that at the laſt the Diuines were all of opinion, that the Mariage was agaynſt the law of God, if ſhe were carnally knowen by the firſt brother, which thyng ſhe clearely denyed. But to that was aūſwered, that prince Arthur her huſband confeſſed the acte done, by certaine wordes ſpoken, which beyng recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather ſhould there be read, then by me here vttered. Furthermore, at the tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, ſhe thought and iudged that ſhe was with child, and for that cauſe, the kyng was deferred from the title and creation of the Prince of Wales, almoſt halfe a yeare, whiche thyng could not haue bene iudged, if ſhe had not bene carnally knowen.

The Queene abydeth by her appeale.

Alſo ſhe her ſelfe cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe wordes, Vel forſan cognitam, which is aſmuch to ſay, as peraduenture carnally knowen, whiche wordes were not in the firſt Bull graunted by Iuly at her ſecond Mariage, to the kyng, which ſecond Bull with that clauſe was onely purchaſed, to diſpence with the ſecond Matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before. Which Bull needed not to haue bene purchaſed, if there had bene no carnall copulation, for then the firſt Bull had bene ſufficient.

Moreouer, for the more cleare euidence of this matter that Prince Arthur had carnall knowledge of the ſayd Lady Catherine his wife, it appeareth in a certaine booke of Recordes which we haue to ſhew touchyng this mariage, that the ſame tyme when Prince Arthur was firſt maryed with this Lady Catherine daughter to Ferdinando, certaine Imbaſſadours of Ferdinando his Counſaile were then ſent hether into England for the ſayd purpoſe to ſee and to teſtifie, concernyng the full conſummation of the ſayd matrimoniall coniunction. Which Counſaillers here reſident, beyng ſolemnely ſworne, not onely did affirme to both their parentes, that the Matrimony was conſummate by that acte: but alſo dyd ſend ouer into Spayne to her father, ſuch demonſtrations of their mutuall coniunction, as here

Queene Katherine carnally knowē by the kinges brother.

I will not name, ſparyng the reuerẽce of chaſt eares: which demonſtrations otherwiſe in thoſe Recordes beyng named and teſtified, do ſufficiently put the matter out of all doubte and queſtion.

Beſides that, in the ſame recordes appeareth that both he and ſhe not onely were of ſuch yeares as were meete and hable to explete the cõſummation hereof, but alſo they were and did lye together both here and in Wales by the ſpace of three quarters of a yeare.

Out of a written booke of Recordes, contaynyng certaine conferences betwixt the Cardinall and Queenes Catherines Amner about this matter, remainyng in our cuſtody to be ſene.

Three reaſons for Queene Catherine.

Fiſher Biſh. of Rocheſter a great doer for Queene Catherine.

Thus when the Diuines on her ſide, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perſwaſions of Naturall reaſon, how this ſhould not be vndone for three cauſes. One was becauſe, if it ſhould be broken, the onely child of the kyng ſhould be a Baſtard, which were a great miſchief to the realme. Secondly, the ſeparation ſhould be cauſe of great vnkyndnes betwene her kinred and this Realme. And the third cauſe was, that the continuaunce of ſo long ſpace, had made the Mariage honeſt. These perſwaſions with many other, were ſet forth by the Queenes Counſaile, and in eſpeciall by the Byſhop of Rocheſter, which ſtode ſtiffe in her cauſe. But yet Gods precept was not aunſwered, wherfore they left that ground and fell to pleadyng that the court of Rome had diſpenced with that Mariage. To this ſome Lawyers ſayd, that no earthly perſon is able to diſpence with the poſitiue law of God.

The ſearching of the kings mariage, brought moe thinges to light.

Cardinall Campeius ſlippeth frõ the kyng.

When the Legates heard the opinions of the Diuines, and ſaw wherunto the end of this queſtion would tende, for aſmuch as men began ſo to diſpute of the authoritie of the Court of Rome, & eſpecially becauſe the Cardinall of Yorke perceaued the kyng to caſt fauour to the Lady Anne, whõ he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought beſt to winde them ſelues out of that brake by tyme, & ſo Cardinal Campeius diſſemblyng the matter conueyed himſelfe home to Rome agayne, as is partly aboue touched, pag. 967. The kyng ſeyng himſelfe thus to be differred & deluded by the Cardinals, tooke it to no litle grief: wherupon, the fall of the Cardinall of Yorke folowed not long after.

The kyng ſendeth to the Emperour and the Pope.

The Popes aunſwere to the king.

This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1530. Shortly after it happened the ſame yeare, that the king by his Ambaſſadours was aduertiſed that the Emperour and the Pope were both together at Bonony: Wherfore he directed Syr Tho. Bulleyn late created Earle of Wiltſhyre, and Doct. Stokeſley (afterward Byſhop of London) and Doct. Lee (afterward byſhop of Yorke) with his meſſage to the popes Court, where alſo the Emperour was. Pope Clemẽt vnderſtandyng the kynges caſe and requeſt, and fearyng what might follow after, if learnyng and Scripture here ſhould take place agaynſt the authoritie of their diſpenſations, and moreouer doubtyng the Emperours diſpleaſure, bare hym ſelfe ſtraunge of from the matter, aunſweryng the Ambaſſadours with this delay: that he preſently would not define in the caſe, but would heare the full matter diſputed when he came to Rome, and accordyng to right he would do iuſtice.

The kyng gaue more to the Pope thẽ he needed.

Although the kyng ought no ſuch ſeruice to the Pope, to ſtand to his arbitremẽt either in this caſe, or in any other, hauyng both the Scripture to leade him, and his law in his owne handes to warrant him: yet for quietnes ſake: and for that he would not raſhly breake order (which rather was a diſorder in deede) he bare ſo long as conueniently he might. At length, after long delayes and much diſſemblyng, when he ſaw no hope of redreſſe, he began ſomwhat to quicken and to looke about him, what was beſt both for his owne conſcience, and the ſtabliſhment of his Realme, to do.

Gods prouidence, working merueilouſly in this matter.

Vid. ſupr. pag. 965.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by mans deuiſe, but by the ſecrete purpoſe of the Lord himſelfe, to bryng to paſſe further thinges (as afterward folowed) which his diuine prouidẽce was diſpoſed to worke. For els as touchyng the kynges intent and purpoſe, he neuer meant nor mynded any ſuch thyng as to ſeeke the ruine of the Pope, but rather ſought all meanes contrary, how both to ſtabliſh the Sea of Rome, & alſo to obteine the good will of the ſame Sea and Court of Rome, if it might haue bene gotten. And therfore intendyng to ſue his diuorſe from Rome, at the firſt begynnyng, his deuiſe was, by Stephen Gardiner his Ambaſſadour at Rome, to exalte the Cardinall of Yorke, (as is before ſhewed pag. 965.) to be made Pope and vniuerſall Byſhop, to the end that he rulyng that Apoſtolicke Sea, the matter of his vnlawfull Mariage, which ſo troubled his conſcience, might come to a quiet concluſiõ, without any further rumor of the world. Which purpoſe of his if it had taken effect as he had deuiſed it, and the Engliſh Cardinall had once bene made pope, no doubt, but the authoritie of that Sea had neuer bene exterminate out of England. But God beyng more mercyfull vnto vs, tooke a better way then ſo. For both without, and contrary to the kynges expectation, he ſo brought to paſſe, that neither the Cardinall of Yorke was Pope (which ſhould haue bene an infinite coſt to the kyng) and yet neuertheles the kyng ſped of his purpoſe too, and that much better then he looked for: For he was ridde, by lawfull diuorcement, not onely from that vnlawfull mariage which clogged his conſcience, but alſo from the miſerable yoke of the Popes vſurped dominion, which clogged the whole realme, and all at one tyme.

Man purpoſeth, but God diſpoſeth.

Thus Gods holy prouidence rulyng the matter (as I ſayd) when the kyng could get no fauorable graunt of the Pope touching hys cauſe beyng ſo good and honeſt, he was enforced to take the redreſſe of his right into his owne handes, and ſeeing this * Gordian knotte would not be looſed at Rome, he was driuen againſt hys will (as God would) to play the noble Alexander hymſelfe, and wyth the ſworde of hys princely authoritie knapt the knotte at one ſtroke cleane aſunder, looſing, as it were wyth one ſolution, infinite queſtions. For where the Doctours and Canoniſtes had long diſputed, and yet could neuer thoroughly diſcuſſe the largenes and fulnes of the Popes two ſwordes both temporall and ſpirituall: the kyng with one ſworde dyd ſo cutte of both hys ſwordes, that he diſpatched them both cleane out of England, as ye ſhall ſee more anone. But firſt, the kyng lyke a prudent Prince, before he would come to the head of the ſore, thought beſt to pare away ſuch rancke fleſhe and putrified places as were about it, and therefore folowyng hys owne prouerbe, lyke as one goyng about to caſt downe an olde rotten wall, wyll not beginne wyth the foundation firſt, but wyth the ſtones that lye in the toppe: ſo he to prepare hys way better vnto the Pope, firſt beganne with the Cardinall, caſtyng him by the lawe of Premunire, out of his goodes and poſſeſſions, & ſo at lẽgth by poyſonyng himſelfe, he procured his owne death: which was in the yeare 1530. This done, ſhortly after about the yeare 1532. the kyng to prouide by time agaynſt myſchiefes that might come from Rome, gaue forth eftſoones this proclamation as foloweth.

*Gordium was a Citie in Aſia, where there was a knotte ſo faſt tyed, and folded ſo many wayes, that (as the ſaying was) whoſoeuer could looſe it, ſhould haue all Aſia. So Alexander cõming to it, when he could not looſe it wyth his handes, he cutte it a ſunder with his ſworde.

The kings prouerbe. Looke before pag. 987.

A reſtraynt of the king that nothing ſhould be purchaſed from Rome.

THe kynges hyghnes ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner of perſon, what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he or they be of, do purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of Rome or els where, nor vſe and put in execution, diuulge or publiſhe any thing heretofore within this yeare paſſed, purchaſed, or to be purchaſed hereafter contayning matter preiudiciall to the hygh authoritie, iuriſdiction and prerogatiue royall of thys hys ſayd realme, or to the let, hinderaunce or impechment of his graces noble and vertuous intẽded purpoſes in the premiſes, vpon payne of incurryng his highnes indignation and impriſonment, and further puniſhment of their bodies for their ſo doyng, at his graces pleaſure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

The whole clergie of England in the Premunire.

After this was done, the king then proceedyng farther, cauſed the reſt of the ſpirituall Lordes to be called by proces into the kinges benche to make their appearaunce, forſomuch as the whole Clergie of England, in ſupportyng & mainteynyng the power Legatiue of the Cardinall, by the reaſon thereof were all entangled likewiſe in the Premunire, and therefore were called into the kinges bench, to anſwere. But before the day of their appearaunce, the Prelates together in their conuocation, concluded among themſelues an humble ſubmiſſion in writing, and offered the kyng for a ſubſidie or contribution, that he would be their good Lord and releaſe them of the Premunire by act of Parliament, firſt to be gathered in the prouince of Canterbury a C. M. poundes. And in the Prouince of Yorke, xviij. hundreth, and xl. pound. x. pence. The whiche offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promiſed. In this ſubmiſſion the clergie called the king ſupreme head of the Church of England, which thing they neuer confeſſed before: wherupon many thinges folowed, as after (God willing) ye ſhall heare.

The Clergie geueth to the king 11840. pound, to be releaſed from the Premunire.

But firſt, forſomuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borow by the way, a few wordes of the reader, to ſpeake of this clergie money, of a 118840. poundes & x. pence, to be leuied to the king, as is aboue touched. For ỹ leuying of which ſumme, an order was taken among the prelates, that euery byſhop in his Dioces ſhould call before him all the Prieſtes, Parſons, & Vicars, amongeſt whom D. Stokeſley B. of London, a man then counted to be of ſome witte and learning, but of litle deſcretion and humanitie (which cauſed hym to be out of the fauour of the common people) called before hym all the Prieſtes wythin the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the firſt day of September being Friday, in the Chapter houſe of S. Paul. At which day the prieſts appeared, and the Byſhops policie was to haue onely vj. or viij. Prieſtes together, and by perſwaſions to haue cauſed them to graūt ſome portion toward the payment of the foreſayd hundreth. M. pound. But the number of the Prieſtes was ſo great (for they were vj. hundreth at the leaſt, & with them came many temporall men to heare the matter) that the Byſhop was diſapointed of his purpoſe. For when the Byſhops Officers called in certaine Prieſtes by name into the Chapter houſe, with that, a great number entred, for they put the Byſhops Officers that kept the doore a ſide.

The byſhops policie wyth the Prieſtes, for payment of the kynges money.

After this, the Officers got the doore ſhut agayne. Thē the Prieſtes without, ſayd: we will not be kept without, and our felowes be within: we know not what the Biſhop will do with them. The temporall men beyng preſent, comforted and encouraged the Prieſts to enter, ſo that by force they opened the doore, and one ſtrake the Byſhops Officer ouer the face, and entred the Chapter houſe, and many temporall men with them, and long it was ere any ſilence could be made. At laſt, when they were appeaſed, the Byſhop ſtode vp and ſayd: Brethrē, I meruaile not a litle, why you be ſo heady and know not what ſhal be ſayd to you: therfore I pray you to keepe ſilence and to heare me paciently.

The byſhops perſwaſion to the prieſtes to helpe them to pay their forfait.

My frendes all, you know well that we be men frayle of condition and no Aungels, and by frayltie and lacke of wiſedome, we haue miſdemeaned our ſelfe towarde the kyng our ſoueraigne Lord and his lawes, ſo that all we of the Clergy were in the Premunire, by reaſon wherof, all
„ our promotions, landes, goodes and cattels were to him
„ forfaite, and our bodies ready to be impriſoned: yet his grace
„ moued with pitie and compaſſion, demaunded of vs what
„ we could ſay, why he ſhould not extend his lawes vpon vs.
„ Then the Fathers of the Clergy humbly beſought his
„ grace, of mercy. To whom he aunſwered that he was euer
„ enclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences, we had
„ litle penaunce: For where hee might by the rigour of hys
„ law haue taken all our liuelode, goodes and cattels, he was
„ contented with one hundreth thouſand poundes to be payde
„ in fiue yeares. And although that this ſumme be more then
„ we may eaſely beare, yet by the rigour of his lawes we
„ ſhould haue borne the whole burthen. wherfore my brethrē,
„ I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liue-
„ lode and ſalary toward ẏ pament of this ſumme graunted.

Then it was ſhortly ſayd to the Byſhop: My Lord, twenty nobles a yeare is but a bare liuyng for a Prieſt: for now victayle and euery thyng is ſo deare, that pouertie, in maner, enforceth vs to ſay nay. Beſide that, my Lord, we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medled neuer with the Cardinals faculties: let the Byſhops and Abbottes which haue offended, pay.

The prieſts aunſwere to the biſh.

Then the Byſhops Officers gaue to the Prieſtes high wordes, which cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo diuers temporall men whiche were preſent, comforted the Prieſtes, and bad them agree to no payment. In this rumour, diuers of the Byſhops ſeruaunts were buffeted and ſtricken, ſo that the Byſhop began to be afrayde, and with fayre wordes appeaſed the noyſe, and for all thynges which were done or ſayd there, he perdoned them, and gaue to thē his bleſſyng, and prayed them to depart in charitie. Then they departed, thinkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were deceiued: For the Byſhop went to Syr Tho. More thē beyng Lord Chauncellour (which greatly fauoured the Byſhop & the Clergy) & to him made a greuous cōplaynt, & declared the fact very greuouſly. Wherupon commaūdemēt was ſent to Syr Tho. Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attach certaine Prieſtes and temporall men, and ſo xv. Prieſtes and fiue temporall men were arreſted, of the which, ſome were ſent to the Tower, ſome to the Fleete & other priſons, where they remained long after.

B. Stokeſley cōplaineth to Syr Tho. More.

Certaine prieſts and temporall men committed to priſon.

This beyng done in the yeare of our Lord. 1532. it followeth moreouer the ſame yeare, that diuers preachynges were in the realme, one contrary to an other, concerning the kynges Mariage: and in eſpeciall one Tho. Abell Clerke, which was the Queenes Chaplaine, to pleaſe her withall, both preached and alſo wrote a booke in defence of the ſayd Mariage: wherby diuers ſimple mē were perſuaded. Wherfore the kyng cauſed to be cōpiled and reduced into a booke, the determination of the Uniuerſities, with the iudgemēts of great Clerkes, which booke beyng Printed and ſet abroad, dyd agayne ſatiſfie all indifferent and reaſonable perſons, which were not to much wedded to their willes.

Preaching agaynſt the kings firſt mariage.

Mention was made a litle before, of a Parlamēt begon the xv. day of January. an. 1533. in the which Parlament the cōmons had put vp a Supplication, complaynyng of the ſtrait dealyng of the Clergy in their procedyng Ex officio. This cōplaint, although at the firſt it ſeemed not greatly to be tendered of ẏ kyng, yet in prorogation of the Parlamēt, the tyme ſo wrought withall, that the kyng hauyng more cleare vnderſtandyng of the abuſes & enormities of the clergye, and in eſpeciall of the corrupt authoritie of the Sea of Rome, prouided certaine actes againſt the ſame: Firſt as concernyng the lawes, decrees, ordinaunces & conſtitutions made & ſtabliſhed by the pretēſed authoritie of the Byſhops of Rome, to the aduauncement of their worldly glory: that who ſo did or ſpake any thyng either agaynſt their vſurped power, or agaynſt the ſayd lawes, decrees, or cōſtitutions of theirs not approued nor groūded vpō holy Scripture or els beyng repugnant to the kynges prerogatiue royall, ſhould therefore ſtand in no daunger nor be impeachable of hereſie. And likewiſe touchyng ſuch cōſtitutions ordinaunces & canons prouinciall or Synodall, which were made in this realme in the cōuocation of Biſhops, beyng either preiudiciall to ẏ kynges prerogatiue, or not ratified before by the kyngs aſſent, or beyng otherwiſe onerous to the kyng & his ſubiectes, or in any wiſe repugnaunt to the lawes & ſtatutes of this realme, they were cōmitted to the examination & iudgement of xxxij. perſons choſen by the kyng, out of the hygher & lower houſe, to be determined either to ſtand in ſtrength, or to be abrogate at their diſcretiōs: and farther that all the Clergy of this realme ſubmittyng themſelues to the kyng ſhould and did promiſe in verbo Sacerdotij, neuer hereafter to preſume to aſſemble in their conuocations without the kyngs writte, nor to enact or execute ſuch conſtitutiōs without his royall aſſent. &c. Ex Statut. Henr. 8.

The wicked acte Ex officio, broken by the kyng.

Statut. an. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

An act concerning the popes lawes.

Decrees and conſtitutiōs prouinciall of thys realme, committed to examination.

Farther, in the ſame Parliament was enacted and decreed, that in cauſes and matters happenyng in contention, no perſon ſhould appeale, prouoke, or ſue, out of the kynges dominions, to the Court of Rome, vnder payne of prouiſours, prouiſion, or Premunire.

No man to appeale to Rome.

Item, in the ſame Parlament was defined and concluded, that all exportatiō of Annates and firſt frutes of Archbiſhoprickes and Byſhoprickes out of this Realme to the Sea of Rome, for any bulles, breues, or palles, or expeditiō of any ſuch thyng, ſhould vtterly ceaſe.

*Boner in his prologue before De vera Obedientia, ſaith: that this rauinous pray of the pope, cōmeth to as much almoſt as the kings reuenues.

Alſo for the inueſtyng of Archbyſhops, Byſhops, or other of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, ſuch order in the ſayd Parlament was taken, that the kyng ſhould ſend a licence vnder the great ſeale, with a letter miſſiue, to the Priour & Couent, or to the Deane and Chapter of thoſe Cathedrall Churches where the Sea was vacant: by the vertue of which licēce or letters miſſiue, they within xij. dayes, ſhould choſe the ſayd perſon nominated by the kyng, & none other, & that election to ſtand effectuall to all intentes, which election beyng done, then the partie elect, makyng firſt his othe and fealtie to the kyng, if it were a Byſhop that was elect, then the kyng by his letters patentes, to ſignifie the ſayd election to the Archbyſhop of that prouince, and two other Byſhops, or els to foure Byſhops within this Realme, to be aſſigned to that office, without any other ſuyng, procuryng, or obteinyng any bulles, breues, or other thyngs from the Sea of Rome.

The maner of Inueſting by the king.

Moreouer, agaynſt all other whatſoeuer intolerable exactiōs & great ſummes of money vſed to be payd out of this Realme to the Byſhop of Rome, in penſiōs, cenſures, Peterpence, procuratiōs, fruites, ſuites for prouiſions & expeditions of bulles, for Archbyſhops, & Byſhops, for delegacies & reſcriptes in cauſes of cōtentions and appeales, iuriſdictions legatiue: alſo for diſpenſations, licences, faculties, grauntes, relaxations, writtes called Perinde valere, rehabilitations, abolitiōs, canonizations, & other infinite ſortes of bulles, breues, & inſtrumentes of ſundry natures, the number wherof were tedious particularly to be recited, in the ſayd Parlament it was ordeined, that all ſuch vncharitable vſurpatiōs, exactions, pentions, cenſes portions, & Peterpence wont to be payed to the Sea of Rome, ſhould vtterly surceaſe, & neuer more to be leuied: ſo that the kyng with his honorable counſaile ſhould haue power & authoritie frō time to tyme, for the ordering, redreſſe, & reformation of all maner of indulgences, priuileges, &c. within this Realme.

Peter pence ſtopped frō Rome.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touchyng theſe Peterpence aforeſayd, that the ſame were firſt brought in and impoſed by king Iua, about the yeare of our Lord. 720. Which Iua kyng of the Weſtſaxons, cauſed through all his dominiō in euery houſe hauyng a chimney, a peny to be collected and payed to the Byſhop of Rome in the name of S. Peter, and therof were they called Peterpence. vid. ſupra pag. 128. The ſame likewiſe did Offa kyng of Mercians after hym, about the yeare of our Lord. 794. vid. pag. 131. And theſe Peterpence euer ſince, or for the moſt part, haue vſed of a long cuſtome to be gathered & ſummoned by the popes Collectours here in England, from the tyme of Inas aforeſayd, to this preſent Parlament, an. 1533.

Peter pence, how they came, & how long they continued. *Vid ſupra. pag. 128.* *Vid. ſupra. pag. 131.*

Finally, by the authoritie of the Parlament it was conſulted and conſidered concernyng the legalitie of the lawfull ſucceſſion vnto the crowne, in ratifiyng and inhablyng the heires of the kinges body and Queene Anne. In the which parliament moreouer the degrees of mariage plainly & clerely were explaned and ſet forth, ſuch as be expreſly prohibited by gods lawes, as in this Table may appeare.

A Table of degrees prohibited by Gods law to mary.

Statut. an. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

Degrees prohibited to mary.

The ſonne not to mary the mother, nor ſtepmother.
The brother not to mary the ſiſter.
The father not to mary his ſonnes daughter, nor hys daughters daughter.
The ſonne not to mary hys fathers daughter gotten by his ſtepmother.
The ſonne not to mary his aunte, beyng either his fathers or hys mothers ſiſter.
The ſonne not to mary hys vncles wyfe.
The father not to mary hys ſonnes wyfe.
The brother not to mary his brothers wyfe.
No man to mary his wyues daughter.
No man to mary his wyues ſonnes daughter.
No man to mary his wyues daughters daughter.
No man to mary hys wyues ſiſter.
All theſe degrees be prohibited by the ſcripture.

Separation betwene the king and the Ladie Catherine by acte of Parlament.

The mariage betwene the kyng and Queene Anne approued by publicke Parlament.

The heyres of K. Henry and Queene Anne ratified by Parlament.

All theſe thinges thus beyng defined and determined in this foreſayde Parliament, and alſo beyng in the ſame parliament concluded, that no man of what eſtate degree, or condition ſoeuer, hath any power to diſpenſe wyth Gods lawes, it was therfore by the authoritie aforeſayd, agreeyng with the authoritie of Gods word, aſſented that the mariage aforetyme ſolemniſed betwene the kyng and the Lady Katherine, beyng before wyfe to prince Arthur the kynges brother, and carnally knowen by hym (as is aboue proued) ſhould be abſolutely demed and adiudged to be vnlawfull and againſt the law of God, and alſo reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect: and that the ſeparation therof by Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Caunterbury ſhould ſtande good and effectuall to all intentes: and alſo that the lawfull matrimony betwene the kyng and the Lady Anne his wife ſhould be eſtabliſhed, approued, and ratified for good & conſonant to the lawes of almighty God. And further alſo for the eſtabliſhyng of this kinges lawfull ſucceſſion, it was fully by the ſayd parliament adiudged that the inheritaunce of the crowne ſhould remayne to the heires of their two bodies, that is, of the kyng and queene Anne hys wyfe.

The kinges wordes to ſyr Tho. Audley ſpeaker of the Parlament.

During the tyme of this Parlament, before the Mariage of Queene Anne, there was one Temſe in the Common houſe, which moued the Commons to ſue to ẏ kyng, to take the Queene agayne into hys company, declaryng certayne great miſchiefes like to inſue thereof, as in baſtarding the Lady Mary the kinges onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences: which being reported to the kynges eares, he ſent immediatly to ſyr Thomas Audley, Speaker then of the Parlament, expreſſing vnto hym amongeſt other matters, that he marueiled much, why one of the Parlament did ſo openly ſpeake of the abſence of the Queene from him: which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (ſayd he) his ſoule and wyſhed the Matrimony were good, for then had he neuer bene ſo vexed in conſcience. But the Doctors of Vniuerſities (ſayde he) haue determined the Mariage to be voyd, and deteſtable before God, which grudge of conſcience (he ſayd) cauſed him to abſteine from her company, and no fooliſhe, nor wanton appetite. For I am (ſayd he) xli. yeare olde, at which age the luſt of man is not ſo quicke, as it is in youth. And ſauing in Spayne and Portugale, it hath not ben ſene, that one man hath maryed two ſiſters, the one being carnally knowen before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife, was ſo abhorred amongeſt all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any chriſtian man ſo did, but me ſelfe. Wherfore ye ſee my conſcience troubled, and ſo I pray you report. And ſo the Speaker departyng, declared to the Commons the kynges ſaying.

The kinges wordes to certayne of the common houſe.

The ſpirituall men the popes ſubiectes more then the kinges.

Not long after that, the kyng perceiuyng belyke the myndes of the Clergy not much fauouryng hys cauſe, ſent for the Speaker agayne and xij. of the Common houſe, hauyng with hym 8. Lordes, and ſayd to them: Welbeloued ſubiects, we had thought the Clergy of our realme had bene our ſubiectes wholye, but now we haue well perceyued that they bee but halfe our ſubiectes: yea, and ſcarce our ſubiectes: For all the Prelates at theyr conſecration, make an othe to the pope, cleane contrary to the othe ẏ they make to vs, ſo that they ſeme to be his ſubiects and not ours: and ſo the king deliuering to them the copy of both the othes, required them to inuent ſome order that he might not thus be deluded of hys ſpirituall ſubiects.

The Speaker thus departed & cauſed the othes to be read in the Common houſe, the very tenor wherof here enſueth.

The othe of the Clergy to the Pope.

The othe whiche the Clergie commonly geueth to the Pope.

I Iohn Biſhop or Abbot of A. from this houre forward, ſhal be faythful & obedient to S. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the Pope, and his ſucceſſours Canonically entryng. I ſhall not be of counſaile nor conſent, that they ſhall looſe eyther lyfe or member, or ſhall be taken or ſuffer any violence, or any wrong, by any meanes. Their counſaile to me credited by them, their meſſengers or letters, I ſhall not willingly diſcouer to any perſon. The Popedome of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of S. Peter I ſhall helpe and retayne, and defende agaynſt all men. The legate of the ſea Apoſtolicke going & comming, I ſhall honourably entreat. The rightes, honours, priuiledges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and hys ſucceſſors, I ſhal cauſe to be conſerued, defended, augmented, and promoted. I ſhall not be in counſell, treaty, or any acte, in the whiche any thyng ſhall be imagined againſt hym or the church of Rome, their rightes, ſtates, honours, or powers: and if I know any ſuch to be moued or compaſſed, I ſhall reſiſt it to my power, and as ſoone as I can, I ſhal aduertiſe him, or ſuch as may geue him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, ſentences, diſpoſitions, reſeruations, prouiſions and cõmaundementes Apoſtolike, to my power I ſhal kepe and cauſe to be kept of other. Heretikes, ſchiſmatickes, and rebels to our holy father and his ſucceſſors, I ſhall reſiſt and perſecute to my power. I ſhall come to the Synode when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment. The lightes of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſite perſonally or by my deputie, I ſhall not aliene nor ſell my poſſeſſions, without the Popes councell, ſo God me helpe and the holy Euangeliſts.

Pope Quondam.

¶ This othe of the Clergie men, which they were wont to make to the Byſhop of Rome (nowe Pope quondam) was aboliſhed and made voyde by ſtatute, and a new othe miniſtred and cõfirmed for the ſame, wherin they acknowledged the kyng to bee the ſupreme head vnder Chriſte in this Church of England, as by tenour therof may appeare here vnder enſuing.

The othe of the Clergy to the kyng.

The othe of the Clergie to the kyng.

I Iohn biſhop of A. vtterly renounce and clerely forſake all ſuch clauſes, wordes, ſentences, and graunts, which I haue or ſhall haue hereafter of the Popes holynes, of and for the biſhoprike of A. that in any wiſe hath bene, is, or hereafter may be hurtfull or preiudicial to your highnes, your heires, ſucceſſors, dignitie, priuiledge or eſtate royall: and alſo I do ſweare that I ſhalbe faythfull and true: and fayth and truth I ſhal beare to you my ſoueraigne Lord, and to your heyres kyngs of the ſame, of lyfe and limme, and earthly worſhyp aboue all creatures, for to lyue and die with you and yours agaynſt all people, and diligently I ſhalbe attendaunt to all your nedes and buſines, after my wit and power, & your cõſell I ſhall kepe and hold, knowledging my ſelf to hold my biſhopricke of you onely, beſeechyng you of reſtitution of the temporalties of the ſame, promiſing (as before) that I ſhalbe faythfull, true, and obedient ſubiect to your ſaid highnes, heires, and ſucceſſours during my lyfe, and the ſeruices and other thynges due to your hyghnes, for the reſtitution of the temporalties of the ſame Byſhopricke, I ſhall truely doe and obediently performe, ſo God me helpe and all Saintes.

Syr. Tho. More.

Tho. Audley made Lord Chauncellour.

Theſe othes thus beyng recited and opened to the people were the occaſion that the Pope loſte al his intereſt & iuriſdiction here in England, within ſhort while after. Vpon ẏ occaſion and reaſon wherof, the matter fallyng out more & more agaynſt the Pope, Syr Thomas More, of whom mention is made before beyng a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heauy troubler of Chriſtes people, and nowe not lykyng well of this othe, by Gods good worke, was enforced to reſigne vp his Chauncelorſhyp and to deliuer vp the great ſeale of England into the kynges handes. After whom ſucceded Syr Thomas Audley, Keper of the great ſeale, a man in eloquence and giftes of tongue no leſſe incomparable, then alſo for hys godly diſpoſed mynde, and fauorable inclynatiõ to Chriſtes Religion, worthy of much commendation.

The mariage of Queene Anne.

Theſe thynges beyng done in the parliament, the kyng [illegible] in ſhort tyme after, proceded to the Mariage of the foreſaid lady Anne Bullen, mother to our moſt noble Queene now, who wͭout all controuerſie was a ſpeciall comforter & aider of all the profeſſours of Chriſtes Goſpell, as well of ẏ learned as the vnlearned: her lyfe beyng alſo directed accordyng to the ſame, as her weekely almes did manifeſtly declare: who beſides the ordinary of a C. crownes, and other apparell that ſhe gaue weekely a yeare before ſhe was crowned, both to men and women gaue alſo wonderfull much priuy almes to widowes and other poore houſeholders continually till ſhe was apprehended, and ſhe euer gaue three or fower pound at a tyme to the poore people, to buy them Kine withall, and ſent her Subamner to the townes about where ſhe lay, that the pariſhioners ſhould make a bill of all the poore houſeholders in their pariſh, and ſome townes receyued vij. viij. or x. pound to buy kyne withall, according as the number of the poore in the townes were. She alſo mainteyned many learned men in Cambridge. Likewiſe did the Erle of Wilſhire her father, and the lord Rochford her brother, and by them theſe men were brought in fauour with the king: of whom ſome are yet alyue and can teſtifie the ſame, which would to God they were now as great profeſſours of the Goſpell of Chriſt, as then they appeared to be, which were Doct. Heath, and D. Thirlby: with whom was ioyned the lord Paget, who at that preſent was an earneſt Proteſtāt, and gaue vnto one Raynold Weſt, Luthers bookes, and other bookes of the Germaines, as Franciſcus Lambertus, de Sectis, and at that tyme he read Melancthons Rhetorike openly in Trinitie hall in Cambridge, and was with his maſter Gardiner a mainteyner of D. Barnes and all the Proteſtants that were then in Cambridge, and holpe many religious perſons out of their cowles.

The great almes of Queene Anne.

Heath. Thirleby, L. Paget.

L. Paget a mainteyner of D. Barnes.

It hath bene reported vnto vs by diuers credible perſons which were about this Queene, and daily acquainted with her doyngs concernyng her liberall and bountifull diſtribution to the poore, how her grace caried euer about her a certayne little purſe, out of the which ſhe was wont daily to ſcatter abroad ſome almes to the nedy, thinkyng no day well ſpent, wherein ſome man had not fared the better by ſome benefite at her handes. And this I write by the relation of certayne noble perſonages which were chiefe & principall of her wayting maydes about her, eſpecially the Duches of Richmond by name.

The praiſe of Queene Anne.

Alſo concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomē about her, one that was her ſilkewoman, a Gentlewoman not now alyue, but of great credite and alſo of fame for her worthy doyngs, did credibly report, that in all her tyme ſhe neuer ſaw better order amongſt the ladies and gentlewomē of the Court, then was in this good Queenes dayes, who kepte her maydes and ſuche as were about her ſo occupied in ſowyng and workyng of ſhirtes and ſmockes for the poore, that neither was there ſene any idlenes then amongſt them, nor any leiſure to follow ſuch paſtymes as daily are ſene now a dayes to raigne in princes courtes.

The name of this gentlewoman was Maiſtres Wilkinſon.

The good order of the Court in Queene Annes tyme.

Thus the kyng being diuorced from the lady Dowager hys brothers wyfe, maried this gracious Lady, makyng a proſperous and happy chaunge for vs, beyng diuorced from the foreſayd Princeſſe and alſo from the Pope both at one tyme. Notwithſtandyng as good and godly purpoſes are neuer without ſome incommoditie or trouble followyng, ſo it happened in this diuorcement that the ſayd Princeſſe procuring from Rome the Popes curſe, cauſed both ẏ king and the realme to be interdited, wherof more is hereafter to be ſpoken.

The king diuorced from Ladye Catherine & frō the Pope, both at one tyme.

An. 1533.

Queene Anne crowned.

Queene Elizabeth borne.

In the meane tyme Queene Anne, ſhortly after her Mariage, beyng great with chylde, the next yeare followyng, which was 1533. after the firſt diuorcement publikely proclaymed, was crowned with high ſolemnitie at Weſtminſter: and not long after her Coronation, the vij. day of September ſhe was brought a bedde, and deliuered of a fayre Ladye, for whoſe good deliueraunce Te Deum was ſong in all places, and great preparation made for the chriſtenyng.

The Mayor and hys brethren with xl. of the chiefe Citizens were commaunded to be preſent with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The kynges Pallace and all the wals betwene that and the Friers, was hanged with Arras, and the Friers Churche. Alſo the Fonte was of ſiluer, and ſtood in the midſt of the Church three ſteppes hygh, which was couered with a fine cloth, and dyuers Gentlemē wyth aprons and towels about their neckes, gaue attendaunce about it. Ouer the Fonte hong a fayre Canapy of crimoſine ſatten fringed with Golde. About it was a rayle couered with Saye. Betwene the Quire and the body of the church was a cloſe place with a panne of fire to make the childe redy in. Theſe thinges thus ordered, the childe was brought into the Hall, and then euery man ſet forward. Firſt the citizens ij. and ij. Then the Gentlemen, Eſquiers and Chapleins. Next after followed the Aldermen and the Mayor alone. Next the Mayor followed the kyngs Councell. Then the kynges Chappell. Then Barons Byſhops and Erles. Then came the Earle of Eſſex, bearyng the couered Baſons gilt. After hym the Marques of Exeter wyth the taper of Virgin waxe. Next hym, the Marques Dorſet bearyng the Salt. Behynde hym the Lady Mary of Northfolke bearyng the Chriſome which was very rich of Perle and ſtone. The olde Duches of Northfolke bare the chylde in a mantle of purple Veluet, with a long trayne furred with Ermine. The Duke of Northfolke with hys Marſhall rod went on the right hand of the ſayd Ducheſſe, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of armes. The Counteſſe of Kent bare the long trayne of the chyldes mantell. Betwene the Counteſſe and the chyld, went the Erle of Wilſhire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darby on the left hand, ſupportyng the ſayd trayne. In the middeſt ouer the chylde was borne a Canapy by the lord Rochford, the Lord Huſſey, the lord William Haward, and the lord Thomas Haward the elder. In this order they came vnto the Church dore where the Byſhop of London mette it, wyth dyuers Abbottes and Byſhops, and began the obſeruaunces of the Sacrament. The Archbiſhop of Caunterbury was Godfather, and the olde Ducheſſe of Northfolke, and the olde Marchioneſſe of Dorſet wydowes, were Godmothers, and the childe was named Elizabeth.

Cranmer godfather to Queene Elizabeth.

After All thynges were done at the Churche doore, the child was brought to ẏ Fonte and Chriſtened. This done, Garter the chief kyng of Armes cryed aloud: God of his infinite goodnes ſend proſperous lyfe and long, to the hygh and mighty Princeſſe of England, ELIZABETH. Then the Trompettes blewe, and the child was brought vp to ẏ aultare, and immediatly confirmed by the Archbyſhop, the Marchioneſſe of Exceter beyng Godmother. Then the Archbyſhop of Canterbury gaue to the Princeſſe a ſtandyng cuppe of Gold. The Ducheſſe of Northfolke gaue to her a ſtandyng cuppe of Gold, fretted with Pearle. The Marchioneſſe of Dorſet, three gilt boles pounced, with a couer. The Marchioneſſe of Exeter, three ſtandyng boles gilt and grauen with a couer. And ſo after a ſolemne banket ended with Ipocras, wafers and ſuch lyke in great plenty, they returned in lyke order agayne vnto the Courte, with the Princeſſe, and ſo departed.

At the Mariage of this noble Lady, as there was no ſmall ioy vnto all good and godly men, and no leſſe hope of proſperous ſucceſſe to Gods true Religion, ſo in lyke maner on the contrary part, the Papiſtes wanted not their malicious and ſecrete attemptes, as by the falſe hypocriſie and fained holynes of a falſe fayned hypocrite this yeare beyng eſpyed and found out, may ſufficientlye appeare what their deuilſhe deuiſes & purpoſes were. For certeine Mōkes Friers, and other euill diſpoſed perſons, of a deuiliſhe intent, had put into the heades of many of the kynges ſubiectes, that they had reuelation of God and his Saintes, ẏ he was highly diſpleaſed with kyng Henry, for the diuorcement of the Lady Katherine, and ſurmiſed amongeſt other thinges, that God had reueled to a Nunne, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called thee holy mayde of Kent, that in caſe the kyng proceded in the ſayd diuorce, he ſhould not be kyng of this realme, one moneth after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor houre. This Elizabeth Barton by falſe diſſimulation practiſed and ſhewed to the people, merueilous alteration of her viſage and other partes of her body, as if ſhe had bene rapt or in a traunce, & in thoſe fayned traunces by falſe hipocriſie (as though ſhee had bene inſpired of God) ſhe ſpake many wordes in rebukyng of ſinne, and reprouyng the Goſpell which ſhee called heriſie, and among them vttered diuers thinges to the great reproch of the kyng and Queene, & to the eſtabliſhing of Idolatrie, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory: whiche her naughtines beyng ſpyed out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Maiſter Hugh Latimer, ſhee was condemned and put to death with certeine of her affinitie & Councell in the moneth of April. an. 1533. The names of whiche conſpiratours with her, were theſe: Edward Bockyng, Monke of Canterbury. Richard Maſter, Perſon of Aldingtō. John Deryng, Monke of Canterbury. Hugh Riche, Frier Warden of the Gray Friers of Canterbury Richard Riſby. Henry Gold, bacheler of Diuinitie, and Perſon of Aldermary. Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter. John Adeſon Prieſt, hys Chaplein Thomas Laurence, ẏ Byſhops Regiſter of Canterbury. Edwarde Thwates. Thomas Abell. Of the which perſons the ſaid Elizabeth Berton, Henry Gold, Richard Maſter, Edward Bockyng, John Deryng, Hugh Riche, Richard Riſby, were attainted of treaſon by Acte of Parliament, and put to execution.

The mayde of Kent with her falſe fained hypocriſie apprehended.

Elizabeth Bartō wyth her falſe cōſpiratours.

The reſidue as Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwates, John Adeſon, Thomas Abell, beyng conuicte and atteynted of miſpriſon, were condemned to priſon, and forfaited their goods & poſſeſſions to the king. Ex Statut.an.25.Reg.Hē.8.

A marueilous iudgement of god againſt Pauier an open enemie to his worde.

Edward Hall, a writer of our Engliſh Stories, makyng mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforeſayd, adioyneth next in his booke, the narration of one Pauier or Pauie, a notorious enemye (no doubt) to Gods truth. Thys Pauier beyng the towne Clerke of the Citie of London, was a man (ſayth he) that in no caſe coulde abide to heare that the Goſpell ſhoulde be in Engliſhe: In ſo much that the ſayd Halle hym ſelfe heard hym once ſay vnto hym, and to other by, ſwearyng a great othe: that if he thought the kynges highnes would ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſhe and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather thē he would ſo long liue, he would cut his owne throat, but he brake promiſe (ſayth Halle) for he dyd not cut hys throate wyth any knyfe, but with an halter dyd hang him ſelfe. Of what mynde and intent, he ſo dyd, God iudge.

Pauier a bitter enemy againſt Rich. Bainham.

My information farther addeth this, touchyng the ſayd Pauier or Pauie that hee was a bitter enemie, very buſie at the burnyng of Rich. Baynham aboue mentioned, who hearyng the ſayd Bainham at the ſtake ſpeakyng agaynſt Purgatory and tranſubſtantiation: ſet fire (ſayd hee) to this heriticke and burne hym. And as the trayne of gunne pouder came toward the Martyr, hee lifted vp hys eyes and hands to heauen, ſaying to Pauier: God forgiue thee, and ſhew thee more mercy thē thou doeſt to me. The Lord forgiue Syr Thomas More, and pray for me all good people: and ſo continued he prayng, till the fire tooke hys bowels and hys head, &c.

After whoſe Martyrdome, the next yeare folowyng, this Pauier the towne Clerke of the Citie, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went vp to an hygh garret in hys houſe to pray, as he was wont to doe, to a roode which hee had there, before whome he bitterly wept: And as his owne mayde commyng vp founde hym ſo doyng, hee bad her take the ruſtye ſword, and go make it cleane, and trouble hym no more, and immediatly he tyed vp the rope, and hong him ſelfe. The maydes hart ſtill robbed, and ſo came vp, and found hym but newly hanged. Then ſhee hauing no power to helpe him, ranne cryng to the Churche to her miſtres to fetche her home. His ſeruauntes and Clerkes hee had ſent out before to Finiſbery, and to M. Edney Sergeaunt to the Lord Maior, dwellyng ouer Byſhops gate, to tary for hym at Finiſebery Court, till he came: but he had diſpatched hym ſelfe before, ſo that they might long looke for him before he coulde come. Which was an.1533.

Pauier a perſecutor hāged himſelfe.

To this ſtory of Pauier, may alſo be added the lyke terrible example of Doct. Foxford Chauncellour to the Byſhop of London, a cruell perſecutor and a common butcher of the good Saintes of God: who was the condemner of al thoſe aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled, or abiured vnder B. Stokeſly through al the dioces of London. Thys Foxford dyed about thys preſent yeare and tyme: of whoſe terrible ende it was then certainly reported and affirmed by ſuch as were of right good credite, vnto certayn perſons, of whom ſome be yet alyue, that hee dyed ſodenly ſittyng in hys chayre, his belley beyng bruſt, and his gutts fallyng out before him.

The terrible hand of Gods iudgement vpon Forford the Biſhops Chauncellour.

About the ſame tyme dyed alſo W. Warham Archbyſhop of Canterbury: in whoſe roume ſucceded Tho. Cranmer, which was the kynges Chapleine, and a great diſputer agaynſt the vnlawfull Mariage of Ladye Catherine Princeſſe Dowager beyng then ſo called by Acte of Parlament.

The death of W. Warham Archb. of Cant.

Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Cant.

Ye heard before, how the Parlament had enacted, that no perſon after a certeine day, ſhould appeale to Rome for any cauſe. Notwithſtandyng whiche Acte, ÿ Queene, now called Princeſſe Dowager, had appeared to the Court of Rome, before that Acte made: ſo that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This queſtion was well handeled in the Parlament houſe, but much better in the Conuocation houſe, and yet in both houſes it was alleaged, yea and by bookes ſhewed, that in the Councels of Calcedone, Affrike, Toletane, and diuerſe other famous Councels in the primatiue Church, yea in ÿ tyme of ſainct Auguſtine it was affirmed, declared, and determined that a cauſe riſing in one prouince, ſhould be determined in ÿ ſame, & that neither ÿ Patriark of Cōſtātinople ſhould medle in cauſes moued in the iuriſdictiō of ÿ Patriarke of Antioche, nor no byſhop ſhould entermedle win an others prouince or countrey. Which thinges were ſo clerkely opened, and ſo cōningly ſet forth to all intentes, that euery man that hadde witte, and was determined to folowe the truth, and not wilfully wedded to hys owne mynd, might playnly ſee that all appeales made to Rome, were clerely voyde and of none effect. Which doctrines and counſayles, were ſhewed to the lady Katherin Princeſſe Dowager, but ſhe (as womē loue to loſe no dignitie) euer continued in her old ſong, truſtyng more to the Popes partialitie, then to the determination of of Chriſtes veritie.

Queene Catherine appealeth to Rome.

Concluded by coūcels of the primitiue church, that none ſhould appeale out of their prouince.

Whereupon the Archebyſhop of Caunterbery Cranmer aboue named, accompanied with the Byſhops of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, & diuerſe other great clerkes in a great number, roade to Dunſtable, whiche is ſixe mile from Ampthyl, where the Princeſſe Dowager lay: & there by a doctor called Doctor Lee, ſhee was aſcited to appeare before the ſayd Archebyſhop, in cauſe of matrimonye, in ÿ ſayd towne of Dunſtable: and at the day of apperaunce, ſhe would not appere, but made default, and ſo was called peremptorilye, euery day. xv. dayes together, and at the laſt, for lacke of apperaunce, and for contumacie, by the aſſent of all the learned men there beyng preſent, ſhee was diuorced from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to bee voyde & of none effecte: whiche ſentence geuen, the Archebyſhop & all the other, returned backe agayne.

Lady Catherine ſolemnly diuorced frō the king.

¶ Where note that although this diuorce folowing after the new Mariage, neded not at all to be made, the firſt Mariage beyng no Mariage at all before God, yet to ſatiſfie ÿ voyce of the people, more then for any neceſſitie, the kyng was contented through the perſuations of ſome, ſo to do. For els as touchyng God and conſcience, what great nede was of any diuorſe, where before God, no Mariage was to be accounted, but rather an inceſtuous & deteſtable adultery, as the Acte of Parlament doth terme it. But to our matter agayne.

A note.

After the diſſolution of this firſt mariage made betwene the kyng and the lady princeſſe Dowager, ſhe neuertheleſſe bearyng a ſtout mynd, would not yet relent, neyther to the determination of the Uniuerſities, nor to the cenſure of the Clergy, nor of the whole realme, but followyng the counſaile rather of a few Spanyards, to moleſt the king and the realme by ſuite, and meanes made to the pope, procured certaine writinges, firſt of monition and aggrauation, then of excommunication and interdiction to bee ſent downe from Rome, wherin the Pope had interdicted both the king and the whole realme. But the Popes Curſor beyng not the hardieſt man (belike) that euer ſhewed hys head, thought it much more ſure for hym to diſcharge hys Popiſh cariage without the kynges reach, and ſo keppyng hymſelf aloofe of (lyke a prety man) ſet vp hys writinges in the towne of Dunkirke in Flaunders. In the which towne, firſt vpon the Northdore of the Church was ſet vp a monition, that the kyng of England ſhould ſurceaſe the ſuite of diuorce, the which Iohn Butler clerke, then Commiſſary of Calice, by commaundement tooke downe in a night.

Writinges ſet vp at Dunkirke againſt the king.

Iohn Butler of Calys tooke downe the writs at Dunkerke againſt the king.

After that, before Whitſonweke there was ſet vp in the ſame place an excommunication, aggrauation, regrauation, and interdiction. For the which alſo, the ſayd Butler by cōmaundement was ſent to Dunkirke to take it downe. And becauſe the counſell of Calice would be certified of hys diligence therin, they ſent a ſeruant of the Lord Liſle, thē deputie of Calice, whoſe name was Cranuel, and vpō Wenſday in Whitſonweke, at vij. of the clocke in the mornyng, he tooke it downe whole and brought it with hym, and deliuered the ſame to the Lord deputie aforeſayd. Which was about the yere.1533.

K. Henry & the realme interdited by the Pope.

This beyng knowen and certified vnto the king, he was motioned by hys counſell, that ſuch as were about her, and moued her therto, ſhould be put from her. And therfore the Duke of Suffolke was ſent to Bugden beſide Huntyngdon, where the ſayd lady Katherine lay, who perceiuing her ſtomacke to continue froward ſtill, in anſweryng hym wyth high wordes, and ſodenly ſo in a fury to part from hym into her priuy chamber, and ſhut the dore: brake vp the order of her Court, and diſcharged a great ſort of her houſholde ſeruauntes, and yet left her a conuenient number to ſerue her lyke a Princeſſe. They that remayned ſtill, were ſworne to ſerue her as Princeſſe onely, and not as Queene. Of whom ſome ſayd they were once ſworne to ſerue her as Queene, and otherwyſe woulde not ſerue, and ſo were diſmiſſed. The other whiche were ſworne to ſerue her as Princeſſe, ſhe vtterly refuſed for her ſeruantes, & ſo ſhe remained with the fewer, lying after this about the ſpace of two yeares.

The Lady Catherines court diſcharged.

¶ The aboliſhyng the Pope out of England.

An.1534.

These thinges thus finiſhed and diſpatched concernyng the mariage of Queene Anne and diuorce of Lady Katherine Dowager, next followeth the yere.1534. In ÿ which was aſſembled the hye Court of Parliament agayne after many prorogatiōs, vpō the 3. day of February, wherin was made an Act of ſucceſſion, for ÿ more ſuretie of the crowne, to the whiche euery perſon beyng of lawfull age, ſhoulde

Preaching againſt the pope,

be ſworne. During this Parliament tyme, euery Sonday preached at Paules croſſe a biſhop, which declared the pope not to be head of the church.

Ex Edw. Halle.

The Byſhop of Rocheſter, & ſyr Tho. More, ſent to the Tower.

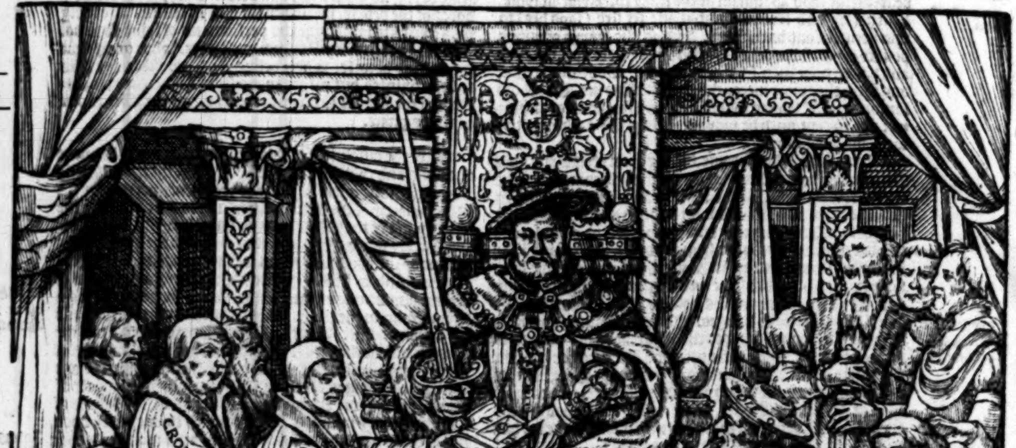
Fyſher byſhop of Rocheſter, & ſyr Tho. More, refuſe to be ſworne

After this, Commiſſions were ſent ouer all England, to take the othe of all men and women, to the Act of ſucceſſion. At which, few repined except D. John Fiſher byſhop of Rocheſter, ſir Tho. More late lord Chauncellor, and D. Nicholas wylſon perſon of S. Thomas Apoſtles in London, wherfore theſe 3. perſons, after long exhortation to thẽ made by the biſhop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refuſing to be ſworne, were ſent to the tower, where they remayned, & were oftentymes motioned to be ſworne: but the Byſhop and ſir Tho. More excuſed thẽ by their writings, in which they ſayd, that they had written before the ſayd Lady Katherine to be Queene, & therfore coulde not well goe frõ that which they had written. Likewiſe the Doctor excuſed, that he in preachyng had called her Queene, and therefore now could not withſay it agaime: Howbeit at length he was wel contented to diſſemble the matter, and ſo eſcaped: but the other two ſtoode agaynſt all the realme in their opinion.

From the moneth of Marche this Parliament farthermore was prorogued to the iij. day of Nouember aboueſayd. At what tyme, amongeſt other diuers ſtatutes, moſt graciouſly and by the bleſſed will of God it was enacted, that the Pope, and all his colledge of Cardinals, with his pardons Indulgences, whiche ſo long had clogged this realme of England, to the miſerable ſlaughter of ſo many good men, & which neuer could be remoued away before, was now aboliſhed eradicate, & exploded out of this land, & ſent home agayne to their owne countrey of Rome, from whence they came, God be euerlaſtingly prayſed therfore. Amen.

¶ The Pope ſuppreſſed by K.Henry the eight.

1534.



The Pope vnhorſed, but his chapleines ready to holte the ſtirrup for him to get vp agayne.

The lamentable weeping & howling of all the religious route for the fall of their god the Pope.

An olde prophecie of the fall of the Pope.

Papa citò moritur, Cæſar regnabit vbiq;, Et ſubito vani ceſſabunt gaudia cleri.

¶ An Acte concerning the kinges highnes to be the ſupreme head of the Church of England, and to haue authoritie to reforme and redreſſe all errours, hereſies, and abuſes in the ſame. Cap.1.

Albeit the kings maieſtie iuſtly and rightfully is & ought to be the ſupreme head of the church of England, and ſo is recogniſed by the Clergy of this realme in theyr Conuocations, yet neuertheleſſe for corroboration and confir-

mation therof, and for encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes Religion within this Realme of England, and to repreſſe and extirpe all errours, hereſies, and other enormities and abuſes heretofore vſed in the ſame: be it enacted by authoritie of this preſent Parliament, yͤ the kyng our ſoueraigne Lord, his heyres & ſucceſſours, kings of this realme, ſhalbe taken, accepted, and reputed the onely ſupreme head in earth of yͤ church of England, called Anglicana eccleſia, **& ſhal haue & enioy annexed and vnited to the Imperiall crowne of this realme, as well the title and ſtyle therof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, iuriſdictions, priuiledges, authorities, immunities, profites, and commodities to the ſayd dignitie of ſupreme head of the ſame Church belongyng and apperteinyng: and that our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord, hys heires & ſucceſſours, kynges of this realme, ſhall haue full power & authoritie from tyme to tyme, to viſite, repreſſe, redreſſe, reforme order, correct, reſtrayne, and amend all ſuch errours, abuſes, offences, contemptes and enormities, whatſoeuer they be, which by any maner of ſpirituall authoritie or iuriſdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repreſſed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrayned, or amended, moſt to the pleaſure of almighty God, the encreaſe of vertue in Chriſtes religiō, and for the conſeruation of the peace, vnitie, and tranquillity of this realme, any vſage, cuſtome, foreine lawes, forreyne authoritie, preſcription or any thing or thinges, to the contrary hereof notwithſtandyng.**

The kinges Proclamation, for the aboliſhing of the vſurped power of the Pope.

The kinges proclamatiō agaynſt the Pope.

The ſtile of ſupreme head annexed to the crowne of England.

TRuſtie and welbeloued, we greete you well, and where as not onely vpon good and iuſt and vertuous groundes and reſpectes, edified vppon the lawes of holy Scripture, by due conſultation, deliberation, aduiſement and conſent, aſwell of all other our nobles and commons temporall, as alſo ſpirituall aſſembled in our hyghe Court of Parliament, and by authoritie of the ſame, wee haue by good and wholeſome lawes and ſtatutes, made for this purpoſe extirped, aboliſhed, ſeparated and ſecluded out of thys our Realme, the abuſes of the Byſhop of Rome, his authoritie and iuriſdiction of long time vſurped, as well vpon vs and our Realme, as vpon al other kynges and Princes and their Realmes (lyke as they them ſelues haue confeſſed and affirmed) but alſo for as much as our ſayd nobles and cōmons both ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in our hygh Court of Parlament, haue vpon good, lawfull, and vertuous groundes, & for the publicke weale of this our Realme by our whole aſſent, graunted, annexed, knit and vnited to the crowne imperiall of the ſame, the title, dignitie, and ſtyle of ſupreme head or gouernour in eath immediatlye vnder God of the Churche of England, as we be, and vndoubtedly haue hetherto bene, whiche title and ſtile both the Biſhops and Clergie of this our realme, haue not onely in cōuocation, aſſembled, conſented, recogniſed, and approued lawfullye and iuſtly to apperteine vnto vs, but alſo by word, othe, profeſſion and writing vnder their ſignes and ſeales, haue confeſſed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the ſame, vtterly renouncyng all other othes and obedience to any other foreine Potentates, and all foreine iuriſdictions and powers, as well of the ſayd Byſhop of Rome, as of all other whatſoeuer they be, as by their ſayd profeſſions and writinges corroborated with the ſubſcription of their names and apenſion of their ſeales more playnely appeareth: We let you wytte that callyng to our remēbraūce the power, charge, and commiſſiō geuen vnto vs of almighty God, and vpon a vehement loue and affection towarde our louing and faythfull ſubiectes, perceiuing right well what great reſt, quietnes, and tranquilitie of conſcience, & manyfold other commodities myght inſurge and aryſe vnto them, if that the ſayd Byſhops and other of the Clergye of this our realme, ſhoulde ſet forth, declare and preache to them the true and ſincere word of God, and without all maner colour, diſſimulation and hypocryſie, manyfeſt and publiſhe the great and innumerable enormities and abuſes whiche the ſayd Biſhop of Rome, as well in the title and ſtile, as alſo in authoritie and iuriſdiction of long tyme vnlawfully and vniuſtlye hath vſurped vpon vs and our progenitours, and alſo other Chriſten Princes: haue therfore adreſſed our letters vnto the Biſhop of the dioces ſtraightly chargyng and commaundynge hym in the ſame, that not onely he in his owne proper perſon, ſhall declare, teache, and preach vnto the people forthwith vpō the receat of our ſaid letters vnto him directed, euery Sonday and other high feaſtes through the yere, the true, mere, & ſincere word of God, and that the ſame title, ſtile, and iuriſdiction of ſupreme head apperteineth onely to our crowne and dignitie Royall, likewiſe as the ſayd Byſhop and al other the Biſhops of our Realme, haue by othe affirmed and confirmed by ſubſcription of their names, and ſettyng to their ſeales, but alſo geue warnyng, monition and charge to all maner Abbottes, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Prouoſtes, Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and all other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, with in hys ſayde dioceſſe, as well to teache, preache, publiſh, and declare in all maner Churches, our foreſayde iuſt title, ſtile, and iuriſdiction, euery Sonday and high feaſt thorough the yeare, & further to moniſh & cōmaunde all other ſcholemaiſters within hys ſaid dioceſſe, to inſtruct and teach the ſame vnto the children committed vnto them, as alſo to cauſe all maner prayers, orizons, rubrickes, Canons of Maſſe bookes, and all other bookes in the Churches, wherein the ſayd Biſhop of Rome is named, or his preſūptuous & proud pompe and authoritie preferred, vtterly to be aboliſhed, eradicate, and raſed out, and hys name and memory to be neuer more (except to hys contumely and reproche) remembred, but perpetually ſuppreſſed and obſcured: and finally to deſiſt and leaue out all ſuch articles as be in the generall ſentence, which is vſually accuſtomed to be read foure tymes in the yeare, and do tend to the glory and aduauncemēt of the biſhop of Rome, his name, title, and iuriſdiction.

The Popes name & memory aboliſhed.

Whereupō we eſteming and reputing you to be of ſuch ſingular and vehement zeale and affection toward the glorye of almightye God, and of ſo faythfull, louyng and obedient hart towards vs, as ye will not onely do & accompliſh with all power, wiſedome, diligence and labour, whatſoeuer ſhould or might be to the preferment and ſetting forward of Gods worde, but alſo practiſe, ſtudye, and endeuour your ſelfe, with all your pollicie, witte, power, and goodwil, to amplify, defēd, and maintaine all ſuch intereſt, right title, ſtile, iuriſdiction, and authoritie, as is in any wiſe apertaining vnto vs, our dignitie, prerogatiue, and crowne imperiall of this our realme, haue thought good and expedient, not onely to ſignifye vnto you by theſe our letters, the particularities of the charges, monition, and commaundement geuen by vs vnto the ſayd byſhop, as before is ſpecified: but alſo to require, and ſtraightly charge and commaund you, vpon payne of your allegeance, and as ye ſhall auoyde our high indignation and diſpleaſure at your vttermoſt peril, laing apart all vayne affections, reſpectes, or other carnall cōſiderations, and ſetting onely before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignitie of your ſoueraigne Lord and kyng, and the great concorde and vnitie, and ineſtimable profite and vtilitie, that ſhall by the due executiō of the premiſſes, inſue to your ſelfe and all other faythfull and louing ſubiectes, ye make or cauſe to be made diligēt ſearch and waite, and eſpecially in euery place of your ſhirewicke, whether the ſayd Byſhop do truely, ſincerely, and without all maner cloke, colour, or diſſimulation, execute, & accompliſh our will and commaundement, as is aforeſayd. And in caſe ye ſhall heare, perceiue, and approuably vnderſtād, and know that the ſayd Biſhop or any other eccleſiaſtical perſon within his dioces, doe omitte and leaue vndone any part or parcell of the premiſes, or ells in the execution and ſetting forth of the ſame, doe coldelye and faynedlye vſe any maner ſiniſter addition, wronge interpretatiō or painted colour: then we ſtraightlye charge and cōmaund you, that forthwith vpon any ſuch default, negligence, or diſſimulation, of the ſayd byſhop or any other eccleſiaſticall perſon of his dioces, contrary to the true tenour, meaning, and effecte of the ſayd charge by vs to hym appointed aforeſayd, ye do make indelaidly, and withall ſpeede and diligence, declaratiō and aduertiſement to vs and our counſell, of the ſayd defaulte, and of the behauiour, maner, and faſhion of the ſame.

And for as much as we vpon ſingular truſt, and aſſured confidence which we haue in you, and for the ſpeciall loue and zeale we ſuppoſe and thinke ye beare towardes vs and the publicke and common wealth, vnitie, and tranquillitie of this our realme haue ſpecially elected and choſen you among ſo many, for this purpoſe, and haue reputed you ſuch men, as vnto whoſe wiſdome, diſcretion truth and fidelitie, we might commit a matter of ſuch great waight, moment, and importaunce, as wherupon the vnitie and trāquillitie of our realme doth conſiſte, if ye ſhould contrarye to our expectation and truſt which we haue in you, and agaynſt your duetie and allegeaunce towardes vs, neglect or omitte to do with all your diligence and wiſdome, whatſoeuer ſhall be in your power for the due performaunce of our minde and pleaſure to you before declared in this behalfe, or halte, or ſtomble at any parte or ſpecialitie of the ſame, be ye aſſured that we like a prince of iuſtice, wyll ſo extremely puniſh you for the ſame, that al the world beſids ſhall take by you enſample, and beware cōtrary to their allegeaunce, to diſobey the lawfull commaūdement of their ſoueraigne Lord and prince in ſuch thinges: as by the faythful execution wherof, ye ſhall not only aduance the honor of almightie God, and ſet forth the maieſtie and Imperiall dignitie of your ſoueraigne Lord, but alſo bryng an ineſtimable weale, profite and commoditie, vnitie and tranquillitie, to all the common ſtate of this our realme, whereunto both by the lawes of God, nature, and man, ye be vtterly bound.

Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Pallace
of Weſtminſter the 9. day of Iune.

Furthermore, that no man ſhall cauill or ſurmiſe this fatall fall and ruine of the Pope to haue come raſhly vppon the kinges owne partiall affection, or by any ſenſuall temeritie of a few, and not by the graue and aduiſed iudgement, approbation and conſent generally and publikely, as well of the nobles and commons temporall, as alſo vpon ſubſtantiall groundes, and the very ſtrength of truth, by the diſcuſſion & conſultation of the ſpirituall and moſt learned perſons in this realme: it ſhalbe requiſite moreouer to theſe premiſſes to adioyne the wordes and teſtimonies alſo of the Byſhops owne othes and profeſſion made to the kyng, yeldyng and rendering vnto hym onely the ſtile of ſupreme head next vnder Chriſt, of the Church of England, all other ſeruice, ſubiection, and obedience to be geuen to any other forreine Potentate, which ſhould be preiudiciall to the kinges hyghnes in this behalfe beyng excluded, and that both frankely & freely, of their owne voluntary motion, and alſo vpon the faith and fidelitie of their prieſthode, as by their own wordes and hand writing may appeare, in forme as here vnder followeth.

The othe of Steuen Gardiner to the king.

EGo Stephanus Wintonien. Epiſcopus pure, ſponte, & abſolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac ſpondeo, Illuſtriſſimæ veſtræ Regiæ maieſtati, ſingulari ac ſummo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ, Regi, fidei defenſori, Domino Hiberniæ, atq; in terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanę ſupremo immediatè ſub Chriſto capiti, quod poſt hac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Pręlato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In Engliſh.

The oth of Steph. Gardiner to the kyng.

I Steuen biſhop of Wincheſter do purely of myne own voluntary accorde and abſolutely, in the worde of a Biſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingulare and chiefe Lord and Patrone, Henry the 8. by the grace of God king of England and of France, defendor of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth of the Church of England ſupreme head immediately vnder Chriſt, that from this day forward I ſhall ſweare, promiſe, geue, or cauſe to be geuen to no forrein potentate, emperour, king, prince or prelate, nor yet to the B. of Rome, whom they call Pope, any othe or feaultie directly or indirectly, eyther by worde or writyng, but at all tymes and in euery caſe and condition I ſhall obſerue, hold, and mainteine to all effects and intents, the quarell and cauſe of your royal maieſtie and your ſucceſſors, and to the vttermoſt of my power, ſhall defend the ſame againſt al maner of perſons whom ſoeuer I ſhall know or ſuſpect to be aduerſaries to your maieſtie or to your ſucceſſours, & ſhall geue my fayth, truth, and obedience ſincerelye and with my very harte, onely to your Royall maieſtie, as to my ſupreme Prince. I profeſſe the Papacie of Rome not to bee ordeined of God by holy Scripture, but conſtantly doe affirme and openly declare and ſhall declare it to bee ſet vp onely by man, and ſhall cauſe diligently other men likewiſe to publiſhe the ſame. Neither ſhall I enter any treatie wͭ any perſon or perſons either priuely or apertly, or ſhall conſent therto, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhall haue or exerciſe here any authoritie or iuriſdiction, or is to be reſtored to any iuriſdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardiner abrenounceth the Pope.

Furthermore that the ſayd Byſhop of Rome now beyng or any that ſhall ſuccede him hereafter in the ſayd Sea, is not to bee called Pope nor ſupreme Byſhop or vniuerſall Byſhop, nor moſt holy Lord, but onely ought to be called Byſhop of Rome and felow brother (as the old maner of yͤ moſt auncient byſhops hath bene) this I ſhal to my power openly mainteine and defende.

Alſo I ſhall firmely obſerue and cauſe to be obſerued of other, to the vttermoſt of my cunning, witte, and power, al ſuch lawes and Actes of this realme, how and what ſoeuer, as haue ben enacted and eſtabliſhed for the extirpation and ſuppreſſion of the Papacie, and of thee authoritie, and iuriſdiction of the ſayde Byſhop of Rome. Neither ſhall I appeale hereafter to the ſayd Byſhop of Rome, nor euer cōſent to any perſon, that ſhall appeale to hym, neither ſhall I attempt, proſecute or folowe any ſuite in the Court of Rome for any cauſe of right or Iuſtice to bee had, or ſhall make aunſwere to anye plee or action, nor ſhall take vppon me the perſon and office either of the plaintife or defendent in the ſayd Courte. And if the ſayd Byſhop by his meſſenger or by his letters ſhall make any meanes or ſignification vnto me of any matter what ſo euer it be, I ſhall with all ſpeede & diligence make declaration & aduertiſement therof, or cauſe that ſame to be ſignified, either to your princely maieſtie, or to ſome of your ſecret counſail, or to your ſucceſſors or any of their priuy counſell: Neither ſhall I ſende or cauſe to be ſende at any tyme, any writyng or meſſēger to yͤ ſayd Byſhop or to his Court without thee knowledge and conſent of your maieſtie or your ſucceſſoures willing me to ſend writing or meſſenger vnto him. Neither ſhall I procure or geue counſail to any perſon to procure buls, brieues or reſcripts whatſoeuer, either for me or for any other, from the ſayd B. of Rome or his court. And if any ſuch ſhall be procured againſt my wil and knowledge either in generall or in ſpeciall, or els howſoeuer they ſhall be graunted vnto them, I ſhall vtter and diſcloſe the ſame, and not conſent therunto, nor vſe them in any caſe, and ſhal cauſe them to be brought to your maieſtie or your ſucceſſors.

Furthermore for the cōfirmation hereof, I giue my faith & truth by firme promiſe and in the fayth of a byſhop that againſt this my foreſaid profeſſion, & promiſe made, I ſhal defend my ſelfe by no diſpenſation, exception, nor any remedy or cautell of law or example, during this my naturall lyfe. And if heretofore I haue done or made any proteſtatiō in preiudice of this my profeſſion and promiſe here made: the ſame I do reuoke at this preſent and for euer hereafter, and here vtterly do renounce, by theſe preſentes. Wherunto I haue ſubſcribed and vnder written the name both of my ſelfe and of my Byſhopricke, with my proper hand, and thereto alſo haue put to my ſeale, in perpetuall & vndoubted teſtimony of the promiſſes. Geuen the x. day of February. an. 1534. and of our ſoueraigne Lord K. Henry viij. 26.

Steph. Winton.

The lyke othe of Iohn Stokeſley
Byſhop of London.

The oth of Stokeſley.

I Iohn Biſhop of London, do purely, and of myne own voluntary accord, and abſolutely in the word of a biſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your princely maieſtie, my ſingular, and chiefe Lord and patrone Henry 8. by the grace of God king of England, and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lorde of Ireland, and in earth of the ſame Church of England Supreme head immediatly vnder Chriſt, &c. Lyke to the othe before.

Ioan. London.

The lyke othe and handwriting of Edward Lee Archb. of Yorke.

The oth of Lee Archb. of Yorke.

I Edward by the permiſſion of God, Archb. of Yorke, doe purely of myne owne voluntary accord, and abſolutely, in the worde of a biſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your royall Maieſtie, my ſingular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. In lyke forme to the othe before.

Edovardus Eborac.

The lyke othe and handwrityng of Cuthbert biſhop of Dureſme.

The oth of Tonſtall of Dureſme.

I Cuthbert by the permiſſion of God biſhop of Dureſme, do purely of myne owne voluntary accord, and abſolutely. in the worde of a Biſhop, profeſſe and promiſe to your royall maieſtie, my ſingular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. As before.

Per me Cutbertum Dunelm.

And ſo likewiſe all the other Byſhops after the ſame order and forme of othe were obliged and bound to the kyng, as to their ſupreame hed of the Church of England immediatly vnder Chriſt renouncing and abiuring vtterlye and voluntarilye, the Popes too long vſurped iuriſdiction in this realme: teſtifiing moreouer the ſame, both with their own hand, and alſo with their ſeale.

Beſides theſe cōfirmations & teſtimonials of the byſhops aforeſayd, ye ſhall heare yet moreouer, the decree and publicke ſentence of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge written likewiſe and ſubſcribed & ſigned with the publicke ſeale of their vniuerſitie, the tenor of which their letter here followeth.

A letter of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge agaynſt the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome.

VNiuerſis Sanctæ matris Eccleſiæ filijs, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenturæ ſunt, cœtus omnis regentium et nō regentium Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, ſalutem in omniū ſaluatore Ieſu Chriſto. Cū de Romani pontificis poteſtate, &c

In Engliſh.

A letter of the vniuerſitie of Cambrige.

TO all and ſingular children of the holy mother Church, to whoſe handes theſe preſentes ſhall come, the whole ſocietie of Regentes and not Regentes of the Vniuerſitie of Cābridge, ſendeth greetyng in our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt. Where as now of late it hath riſen vp in queſtion amōg vs, concernyng the power of the Byſhop of Rome, which he doth both clayme to himſelfe by the holy Scripture ouer all prouinces and nations in Chriſtendome, and hath now of long tyme exerciſed in this Realme of England: and for aſmuch as our cenſure concernyng the cauſe is required, to witte: whether the byſhop of Rome hath any power or authoritie in this kyngdome of England allotted to hym by God in the Scripture, more then any other forreine Biſhop, or no: we thought it therfore good reaſon & our duety, for ẏ ſearchyng out of the veritie of the ſayd queſtion, that we ſhould employ therin our whole indeuour and ſtudy, wherby we might render and publiſh to the world, what our reaſon and cēſure is, touchyng the premiſſes. For therfore we ſuppoſe, that Vniuerſities were firſt prouided and inſtituted of Princes, to the ende that both the people of Chriſt might in the law of God be inſtructed, and alſo that falſe errours, if any dyd ryſe, might through the vigilaunt care and induſtry of learned Diuines, be diſcuſſed, extinguiſhed, and vtterly rooted out. For the which cauſe, we in our aſſēblies and conuocations (after our accuſtomed maner) reſortyng and conferryng together vpon the queſtion aforeſayd, and ſtudiouſly debatyng and deliberatyng with our ſelues, how and by what order we might beſt proceede for the findyng out the truth of the matter, and at length chooſing out certaine of the beſt learned Doctours and Bachelers of Diuinitie, and other Maiſters, haue committed to them in charge, ſtudiouſly to enſearch and peruſe the places of holy Scripture, by the viewyng and conferryng of which places together, they might certifie vs what is to be ſayd to the queſtion propounded.

The cenſure of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge agaynſt the popes ſupremacie.

For aſmuch therfore, as we hauyng heard, and well aduiſed, and throughly diſcuſſed in open diſputations, what may be ſayd on both partes of the foreſayd queſtion, thoſe reaſons and argumentes do appeare to vs more probable, ſtronger, truer, and more certaine, and ſoundyng much more neare to the pure and natiue ſenſe of Scripture, which do deny the Byſhop of Rome to haue any ſuch power geuen him of God in the Scripture. By reaſon and force of which argumentes, we beyng perſwaded and conioynyng together in one opinion, haue with our ſelues thus decreed to aunſwere vnto the queſtion aforeſayd, and in theſe writynges thus reſolutely do aunſwere in the name of the whole Vniuerſitie, and for a concluſion vndoubted, do affirme, approue, & pronounce, that the Byſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate, authoritie, and iuriſdiction geuen him of God in the Scriptures, ouer this Realme of Englād, then any other externe Byſhop hath. And in teſtimony & credence of this our aunſwere and affirmation, we haue cauſed our common ſeale to be put to theſe our foreſayd letters accordyngly.

The byſhop of Rome hath no more ſtate in England, thē hath any other foreine byſhop.

At Cambridge in our Regent
houſe. an. Domini. 1534.

¶Steph. Wint. De Vera Obedientia.

Steph. Wint. agaynſt the mariage of the king wyth his brothers wife, in hys booke De vera obedientia.

YOu haue heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonſtall, & of Stokeſley, how of their voluntary minde, they made their profeſſion to the kyng, euery one ſeuerally, takyng and acceptyng a corporall othe, vtterly and for euer to renounce and reiect the vſurped ſuperioritie of the Biſhop of Rome. Now for a further teſtimonie and declaration of their iudgementes and opinions which then they were of, followyng the force both of truth and of tyme then preſent, ye ſhall heare ouer and beſide their othes, what the foreſayd Byſhops in their owne Bookes, Prologues, and Sermōs do write, and publiſh abroad in Printe touchyng the ſayd cauſe of the Popes ſupremacie.

Steph. Wint. De vera obedientia.

And firſt (God willyng) to begyn with Stephen Gardiners booke De vera Obedientia, we will briefly note out a few of his owne wordes, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not onely confuteth the Popes vſurped authoritie, but alſo proueth the Mariage betwene the Kyng and Queene Katherine his brothers wife, not to be good nor lawfull, in theſe wordes:

Steph. Wint. De vera obedientia.

Of the which morall preceptes in the old law, to ſpeake of ſome (for to rehearſe all it needeth not) the Leuiticall preceptes touchyng forbidde and inceſtuous mariages, as farre as they concerne chaſt and pure wedlocke, wherein the Originall of mans increaſe cōſiſteth, are alwayes to be reputed of ſuch ſorte, that although they were firſt giuen to the Iewes: yet becauſe they apperteine to the law of nature, & expounde the ſame more playnly vnto vs, therfore they belong as well to all maner of people of the whole world for euermore. In which doubtles, both the voyce of nature & Gods Commaundement agreeing in one, haue forbidden that which is contrary and diuers from the one, and from the other. And amongeſt theſe, ſithe there is commaundement that a man ſhall not mary hys brothers wyfe, what coulde the kinges excellent maieſtie doe otherwiſe, then he did by the whole conſent of the people, and iudgemēt of his Church, that is, to be diuorced from vnlawfull maryage, and vſe lawfull and permitted copulation, and obeying (as meete it was) conformably vnto the commaundement, caſt of her whom neyther lawe nor right permitted hym to retayne, and take hym to chaſte and lawfull mariage? wherin although the ſentence of Gods worde (whereunto all thynges ought to ſtoupe) myght haue ſuffiſed: yet his Maieſtie was content to haue the aſſiſting conſentes of the moſte notable graue men, and the cenſures of the moſte famous Vniuerſities of the whole worlde: and all to the entent, that men ſhould ſee he did that, both that he myght doe and ought to do vprightly, ſeeing the beſt learned and moſt worthy men haue ſubſcribed vnto it, ſhewing therein ſuch obedience, as Gods word requireth of euery good and godly man: ſo as it may be ſayd, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed hym truely. Of which obedience foraſmuch as I am purpoſed to ſpeake, I coulde not paſſe this thyng ouer with ſilence, wherof occaſion ſo commodiouſly was offered me to ſpeake.

Ste. Wint. agaynſt the kinges mariage wyth his brothers wife.

¶Winchesters reaſons agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie.

Ste. Wint. a mere Lutherane in his booke De vera obedientia.

Moreouer, the ſaid Gardiner in the forenamed booke De vera obedientia, what conſtancie he pretendeth, what argumentes he inferreth, how earneſtly and pythely he diſputeth on the kynges ſide agaynſt the vſurped ſtate of the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, by the wordes of his booke it may appeare: wherof a briefe collection here followeth.

The ſword of the Church how farre it extendeth.

IN the proceſſe of hys foreſayd booke, he alledgyng the old diſtinction of the Papiſtes, wherein they geue to the Prince the regiment of thyngs temporall, and to the church of thynges ſpirituall, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the leſſer light, he confuteth and derideth the ſame diſtinction, declaring the ſworde of the Church to extende no farther then to teaching and excommunication, & referreth all preeminence to the ſworde of the Prince, alleadging for this the Pſal. 2. And now you kyngs be wiſe, and be learned you that iudge the earth. &c.

Pſal. 2.

Alſo the example of Salomon: who beyng a king, accordyng to his fathers appointemēt ordeined the offices of the Prieſtes in their miniſteries, and Leuites in their order, that they might geue thankes, and miniſter before the Prieſtes, after the order of euery day, and porters in their diuiſions gate by gate. &c.

2. Par. 8.

And ſpeaking more of the ſayd Salomon, he ſayth: For ſo commaunded the man of God, neither did the Prieſtes, nor Leuites omitte any thing of all that he had commaunded. &c.

Beſide this he alleageth alſo the example of kyng Ezechias. 2. Paralip. 28. He alledgeth moreouer the example & facte of Iuſtinian, which made lawes touching the faith, Byſhops, Clerkes, herretickes, and ſuch other.

Aaron, (ſayth he) obeyed Moſes. Salomon gaue ſentence vpon Abiathar the hygh Prieſte.

Exod. 32.
1. Reg. 2.
1. Mach. 10.
1. Mach. 14.
Math. 16.

Alexander the kyng in the firſt of Machabees, writeth thus to Ionathas: Now haue we made thee this day the high prieſt of thy people. &c. So did Demetrius to Simō.

Then commyng to the wordes of Chriſt ſpoke to Peter, Mat. 16. vpon which wordes the Pope pretendeth to builde all his authoritie: to thys he aunſwereth, that if Chriſt by thoſe wordes had limited vnto Peter any ſuch ſpeciall ſtate or preeminence aboue all princes, then were it not true that is written, Cœpit Ieſus docere & facere: for aſmuch as the wordes of Chriſt ſhould then be contrary to his owne factes and example, who in all his lyfe neuer vſurped eyther to himſelfe any ſuch domination aboue Princes, ſhewing hymſelfe rather ſubiecte vnto Princes, nor yet did euer permitte in hys Apoſtles any ſuch example of ambition to be ſeene: but rather rebuked them for ſeeking any maner of maioritie amongeſt them.

The kinges ſtile and title approued by St. Wint.

And where he reaſoneth of the kynges ſtile and title, being called the king of England, and of Fraunce, defendour of the faith, Lord of Irelād, and ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England immediatly vnder Chriſt, &c. thus he addeth his minde, & cenſure, ſaying that he ſeeth no cauſe in this title, why any mā ſhould be offended, that the king is called head of the church of England, rather then of the realme of England, and addeth his reaſon therunto ſaying: If the Prince and kyng of England be the head of his kyngdome, that is, of all engliſhe men that be his ſubiectes, is there any cauſe why the ſame Engliſhe ſubiectes ſhould not be ſubiect to the ſame head likewiſe in this reſpect becauſe they are Chriſtians, that is to ſay, for the title of godlynes, as though that God which is the cauſe of all obedience, ſhould now be the cauſe of rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation, ſaying: To ſay (ſayth he) that a kyng is the head of the kyngdome, and not of the Church what an abſurde, and a fooliſh ſaying is this?

The king is as well the head of the church as of hys kingdome.

And farther, addyng for example, the ſubiection of the ſeruaunt and wife: If the ſeruaunt (ſayth he) be ſubiect to his maiſter, or wife to her huſbād beyng infidels, doth their conuerſion afterward, or name of Chriſtiās make them leſſe ſubiectes, then they were before? As religion therfore doth not alter the authoritie of the Maiſter ouer the ſeruaunt, nor of the huſband ouer the wife: no more (ſayth he) doth it betwene the Prince and ſubiectes.

Paule makyng no exception nor diſtinction of ſubiection, ſaue onely of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes, and what Princes? Thoſe Princes which beare the ſword. And although we be bounde by the Scripture to obey our Biſhops and ſpirituall Paſtours of the Churche, yet that obedience diminiſheth nothyng the chief & head authoritie that ought to be giuē to the Prince, no more then the obedience of the ſeruaunt to his Maiſter, or of the wife to her huſband exempteth them from ſubiection due to their ſuperiour powers.

A rule of the lawe.

And herewithall he inferreth a principle of the law. Diuers Juriſdictions (ſayth he) proceedyng from one perſon do not marre nor hinder themſelues, but rather do cōfirme and fortifie one an other.

Wincheſters wiſhe, that the Pope were Peters ſucceſſor.

Agayne, where as the Biſhop of Rome vnder the name of Peter doth appropriate to hymſelfe the higheſt place in the Church, for that he is the ſucceſſour of Peter: thereunto he aunſwereth in one word, but in that one word he aunſwereth enough and to the ful: I would (ſayth he) he were: for ſo in very deede he might well excede & paſſe all kynges and princes, if not in preheminence of dignitie, yet in admiration & excellency of vertue. In which kynde of superioritie the Lord Chriſt would his Apoſtles and Miniſters to go before all kynges and Emperours in the whole world.

Argument. The prerogatiue was geuen to him which confeſſed. Fleſhe and bloud in Peter did not confeſſe Chriſt. Ergo, the prerogatiue was not geuen to the fleſhe and bloud of Peter.

After this, in proſecutyng the argument of Peters confeſſion, he argueth thus and ſayth: That as fleſh and bloud did not reuele to Peter that confeſſion: ſo neither was that prerogatiue giuen to the fleſh and bloud of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the ſpirite of Peter, whiche is to meane in reſpecte of the ſpirituall confeſſion of Peter, and not in reſpect of any carnall place or perſon. &c.

Item, if the ſcholer ought not to be aboue the maiſter, how then could either Peter take that vppon him, whiche Chriſt his maiſter ſo conſtantly did refuſe, or how can the Byſhop of Rome now clayme that by ſucceſſion, wherof no example is to be founde either in the head, or his predeceſſor before him? For ſo we read in Euſebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no ſuch primacie vnto them, but were content that James ſurnamed Iuſtus, ſhould be the Byſhop of the Apoſtles.

Primatus or Primacie, what it ſignifieth.

And as for the name and ſignification of the word Primatus. i. primacie, if it be taken for the firſt nomination, or the firſt place giuen, ſo he graunteth that Peter had the preferment of the firſt name and place in the order of the Apoſtles. But it foloweth not, that with this primacie he had alſo a kyngdome giuē. And though he were byd of the Lord to confirme his brethren: yet was he not byd to exerciſe an imperie vpon his brethren, for ſo were they not his brethrē, but his ſubiectes.

He ſayth, cōfirme thy brethren, but not thy ſubiectes.

Primus, Primatus. i. Primacie meaneth as much as the firſt ſtādyng in vocation, and is the name of vertue, and not of power.

Then Peter was Primus, that is, firſt or chief in the number of them which confeſſed Chriſt, it is not to be denyed. For firſt he confeſſed, firſt he taught the Jewes, firſt he ſtode in defence of the veritie, and was the firſt and chief prolocutor amongeſt them: but yet that maketh not, that he ſhould therfore vendicate a generall primacie and rule ouer all other ſtates, and poteſtates of the world, no more thē Apelles because he is noted the firſt and chief of all paynters, therfore he ought to beare rule ouer all Paynters? or because the Vniuerſitie of Paris is nominate for the firſt and chief of other Vniuerſities, ſhall therfore the French kyng, and all other Princes in their publicke adminiſtratiō, wherein they are ſet of God, become ſubiectes and vnderlynges to that Vniuerſitie?

Thus after many other reaſons and perſuaſions conteined in the ſayd booke De obedientia (for I do but ſuperficially ſkymme ouer the toppe onely of his probations and argumentes) finally in the end of his peroration, he concludeth the whole ſumme of hys mynde, in this effect: firſt denying that the Byſhop of Rome had euer any ſuch externe iuriſdiction aſſigned to him abſolutely from God, to reigne ouer kynges and Princes. For the probation whereof he hath alledged ſufficiently (as hee ſayth) the examples and doynges of Chriſt him ſelfe, whiche ought to be to vs all a ſufficient document.

And as concernyng the terme of primacie, albeit it be vſed ſometyme of the fathers, yet the matter beyng wel conſidered & rightly expounded maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Byſhop of Rome, which now he doth vſurpe.

Alſo as for the prerogatiues graunted vnto Peter, by the whiche prerogatiues our Sauiour would crowne his owne giftes giuen vnto him, crowning not the fleſh & bloud of Peter, but the meruelous teſtimonie of his confeſſion, all this maketh nothyng for the Popes purpoſe.

Succeſſion of Peter.

Likewiſe as concernyng the locall ſucceſſion of Peter, the pope hath nothyng thereby to clayme. If he will be ſucceſſour of Peter, he muſt ſucceede him in fayth, doctrine, and conditions, and in ſo doyng, he neither will neither yet ſhall neede to ſeeke for honor, but ſhall be honored of all good mē, accordyng as a good man ſhould be, and that much more thē he beyng a good man would require.

Steph. Wint. taketh hys vale of the Pope, but not his vltimum vale.

And thus Stephē Wincheſt. taking his leaue, & bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a frendly exhortation, willyng hym to be wiſe and circumſpect, and not to ſtriue ſtubburnely agaynſt the truth. The light of the Goſpell (ſayth he) ſo ſpreadeth his beames in all mens eyes, that ẏ workes of the Goſpell be knowen, the myſteries of Chriſtes doctrine are opened: both learned and vnlearned, men and women being Engliſhmen borne, do ſee and perceiue, that they haue nothyng to do with Rome nor with the Byſhop of Rome, but that euery Prince in his owne dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a Vicare of God, and Vicegerent of Chriſt in his owne boundes. And therfore ſeyng this order is taken of God, that one in the Churche ſhould beare the office of teachyng, an other ſhould beare the office of rulyng, (which office is onely limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to conſider the truth, and to folow the ſame, wherein conſiſteth our true and ſpeciall obedience. &c.

The office of teaching. The office of ruling.

To this booke of Stephen Wincheſter De obedientia, we wil adioyne for good felowſhip, the Preface alſo of Edmund Boner Archdeacō then of Leyceſter, prefixed before the ſame, to the entent that the reader ſeyng the iudgemētes of theſe men, as they were then, and agayne the ſodein mutation afterward of the ſayd parties to the contrary opinion, may learne thereby what vayne glory and pompe of this world can worke in the frayle nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to ſuſteyne. The Preface of Boner before the ſayd booke of Wincheſter De obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as foloweth.

The Preface of Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leyceſter, prefixed before Stephen Gardiners booke, De obedientia.

Boners preface before Wincheſters booke of Obedience.

Queene Anne.

FOr aſmuch as ſome there be, no doubt (as the iudgemēts of men be alwayes variable) which thinke the controuerſie which is betwene the kyngs royall Maieſtie, and the Byſhop of Rome conſiſteth in this poynt, for that his Maieſtie hath taken the moſt excellēt and moſt vertuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deede is farre otherwiſe, and nothyng ſo: to the intent therfore that all true harty fauourers of the Goſpell of Chriſt, which hate not, but loue the truth, may the more fully vnderſtand the chief poynt of the controuerſie, & because they ſhall not be ignoraūt what is the whole voyce and reſolute determination of the beſt and greateſt learned Byſhops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not onely in that cauſe of Matrimonie, but alſo in defendyng the doctrine of the Goſpel: here ſhall be publiſhed the Oration of the Byſhop of Wincheſter (a man excellently learned in all kynde of learnyng) entituled DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, that is, concernyng true obedience. But as touchyng this Byſhops worthy prayſes, there ſhalbe nothyng ſpoken of me at this tyme, not onely because they are infinite, but because they are farre better knowē to all Chriſtendome, thē becōmeth me here to make rehearſal. And as for the Oration it ſelfe (which as it is moſt learned, ſo it is moſt elegant) to what purpoſe ſhould I make any wordes of it, ſeyng it prayſeth it ſelfe inough, and ſeyng good wyne needeth no tauerne buſhe to vtter it? But yet in this Oratiō, whoſoeuer thou art, moſt gētle Reader, thou ſhalt beſide other matters, ſee it notably & learnedly hādled of what importaunce and how inuincible the power and excellencie of Gods truth is: which as it may now and then be preſſed of the enemyes, ſo it can not poſſibly be oppreſſed and darkened after ſuch ſorte, but it ſheweth it ſelfe agayne at length, more glorious and more welcome. Thou ſhalt ſee alſo touchyng obedience, that it is ſubiect to truth, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Beſides this of mens traditions, whiche for the moſt part, be moſt repugnaunt agaynſt the truth of Gods law. And there by the way, he ſpeaketh of the

The doctrine of the Goſpell.

See how theſe clawbackes can clunge together in truth and in falſhode, and all to faſhion themſelues to the world and the time preſent.

Mens traditions.

The contentes of Wincheſters booke De vera obedientia.

The kinges mariage with Quene Anne.

Supreme head.

The Biſhop of Romes pretenſed ſupremacie.

the kyngs ſayd hyghnes Mariage, which by the ripe iudgement, authoritie and priuiledge of the moſt and principall Vniuerſities of the world, and then with the conſent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the moſt excellent, and moſt noble Lady Queene Anne. After that, touchyng the Kynges Maieſties title as perteinyng to the ſupreme head of the Church of England. Laſtly of all, of the falſe pretenced ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome in the realme of England, moſt iuſtly abrogated: and how all other Byſhops beyng felowlyke to him in their function, yea and in ſome pointes aboue him within their owne prouinces, were before tyme bound to the kyng by their othe.

Bonner knew well what morſell would beſt pleaſe his father of Rome, and that money and bribes would ſoone ſtoppe hys mouth.

*Seeing thou knewest the pope to be ſuch a cruell tyrant, why then wouldeſt thou againſt thy knowledge, become hys ſlaughterman?

But be thou moſt ſurely perſwaded of this, good reader, that the Byſhop of Rome, if there were no cauſe els but onely this Mariage, would eaſely content hymſelfe, ſpecially hauyng ſome good morſell or other geuen him to chaw vpon. But when he ſeeth ſo mighty a kyng, beyng a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, ſo ſincerely and ſo hartly fauour the Goſpell of Chriſt, and perceiueth the yearely and great praye (ye ſo large a praye, that it came to as much almoſt as all the kynges reuenues) ſnapped out of his handes, and that he can no longer exerciſe his tyranny in the kyngs Maieſties realme (* alas heretofore, to cruell and bitter) nor make lawes as he hath done many to the cōtumelie and reproche of the Maieſtie of God, whiche is euident that he hath done in tyme paſt, vnder the title of the Catholicke Church and the authoritie of Peter and Paule, (when notwithſtandyng hee was a very rauenyng Wolfe dreſſed in ſheepes clothyng callyng hym ſelfe the ſeruaunt of ſeruauntes?) to the great damage of the Chriſten common wealth: here, here began all the miſchief, therof roſe theſe diſcordes, theſe deadly malices, and ſo great and terrible buſtlyng. For if it were not thus, could any man beleue that this Iuppiter of Olympus (whiche falſely hath arrogated vnto him ſelfe an abſolute power without controlment) would haue wrought ſo diligently by all meanes poſſible, to ſtyrre vp all other Kynges and Princes ſo trayterouſly agaynſt this, ſo good, and godly and ſo true a Goſpellyke Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it moue thee (gentle Reader) that Wincheſter did not before now, apply to this opinion, for he him ſelfe in this Oration ſheweth the cauſe, why he did it not. And if he had ſayd neuer a word, yet thou knoweſt well what a wittye part it is for a man to ſuſpend his iudgement, and not to be to raſh in geuing of ſentence. It is an old ſayd ſawe: Mary Magdalene profited vs leſſe in her quicke belief that Chriſt was riſen, thē Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call him Fabius that with his aduiſed takyng of leaſure, reſtored the matter; Albeit I ſpeake not this as though Wincheſter had not boulted out this matter ſecretly with him ſelfe before hand (for he without doubt tryed it out long ago) but that runnyng fayre and ſoftely, he would firſt with his paynefull ſtudy, plucke the matter out of the darke, although of it ſelfe it was cleare enough, but by reaſon of ſondry opiniōs, it was lapped vp in darkenes, & thē dyd he debate it wittely to & fro, and ſo at laſt after long and great deliberatiō had in the matter, becauſe there is no better counſeller then leaſure and tyme, he would reſolutely with his learned and conſummate Iudgement confirme it.

Wint. writeth agaynſt the pope with aduiſed iudgement.

No newe matter, to write againſt the Byſhop of Rome.

Note.

Thou ſhouldeſt gentle Reader, eſteeme his cenſure and authoritie to be of more weighty credence, in aſmuch as the matter was not raſhly and at all aduētures, but with iudgement (as thou ſeeſt) and with wiſedome examined and diſcuſſed. And this is no new example, to be againſt the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome, ſeyng that not onely this man, but many men often tymes, yea and right great learned men afore now, haue done the ſame euen in writyng, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his ſleightes, falſhode, fraudes, and diſceitfull wiles openly knowen to the world. Therfore if thou at any tyme heretofore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the kynges maieſties mariage, or title, either els of the B. of Romes falſe pretēſed ſupremacy, as if thou haddeſt a good ſmelling noſe, and a ſound iudgemēt, I thinke thou diddeſt not: yet hauing read this Oration, (which if thou fauour the truth, and hate the tyrāny of the B. of Rome and his Sathanicall fraudulēt falſhode, ſhal doubtles wōderfully cōtēt thee) forſake thine errour and acknowledge the truth now frely offred thee at lēgth, conſideryng with thy ſelfe, that it is better late ſo to do, thē neuer to repēt. Fare thou hartly wel moſt gētle reader, and not onely loue this moſt valiāt king of Englād & of Frāce, who vndoubtedly was by the prouidēce of God, borne to defend the Goſpell, but alſo honor hym and ſerue him moſt obediently. As for this Wincheſter, who was long ago without doubt reputed amōg the greateſt learned men, geue him thy good word with higheſt commendations.

The end of Byſhop Boners Prologue.

The inconſtant mutabilitie of Wint. & Boner.

What man reading and aduiſing this booke of Wincheſter De vera obedientia, with Boners preface before the ſame, would euer haue thought, any alteration coulde ſo worke in mans hart, to make theſe men thus to turne the catte (as they ſay) in the panne, and to ſtart ſo ſodenly frō the truth ſo manifeſtly knowen, ſo pithely proued, ſo vehemently defended, and (as it ſeemed) ſo faithfully ſubſcribed. If they diſſembled all this that they wrote, ſubſcribed, and ſware vnto: what periurye moſt execrable was it before God & man? If they mente good fayth, and ſpake then as they thought, what peſtilent blindnes is this ſo ſodenly fallen vpon them, to make that falſe now, which was true before, or that to be now true, which before was falſe? Thus to ſay & vnſay, & then to ſay againe, to doe and vndoe, & as a mā would ſay, to play faſt and looſe with truth, truely a man may ſay, is not the doyng of a man, which is in any caſe to be truſted, whatſoeuer he doth or ſayth. But here a man may ſee what man is of hymſelfe, when Gods good humble ſpirite lacked to be his guide.

The ſermon of Tonſtall before the king, made on Palme Sonday.

Furthermore, to adde vnto them, the iudgemēt alſo and argumentes of Tonſtall Byſhop of Dureſme, let vs ſee how he agreeth with them or rather much exceedeth, thē in his ſermō made before king Henry vpon palme ſonday, remaynyng yet in print. In ẏ which ſermō, diſputing againſt the wrongfull ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, he proueth by manifeſt groundes moſt effectuouſly, both out of ẏ ſcripture, auncient Doctors, & of Councels, not onely that the byſhop of Rome hath no ſuch authoritie by the word of God cōmitted to him, as he doth challenge: but alſo in requiring & challenging the ſame, he reproueth and condemneth him with great zeale & ardent ſpirit to be a proude Lucifer, diſobedient to the ordinarie Powers of God ſet ouer hym, contrary to Chriſt and Peter, & finally in raiſing vp warre agaynſt vs for the ſame: he therefore rebuketh and defieth hym, as a moſt deteſtable ſower of diſcorde, and murtherer of Chriſtian men.

That popes and biſhops ought to be ſubiecte to their ſoueraignes.

1. Pet. 2.

First, by the ſcripture he reaſoneth thus & proueth, that all good men ought to obey the poteſtates, & Gouernours of the world, as Emperours, kings, & princes of all ſortes, what name ſoeuer the ſayd ſupreme powers do beare or vſe for their countreys in which they be, for ſo S. Peter doth playnely teach vs. 1. Pet. 2. ſaying: Be ye ſubiecte to euery humane creatur for Gods cauſe, whether it be king as chief head, or Dukes or Gouernours, &c. So that S. Peter in his Epiſtle commaundeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Miniſters of God, by all Chriſtian men. And accordyng vnto the ſame, S. Paule Rom. 13. ſayth: Let euery liuyng man be ſubiect to the high powers, for the high powers be of God, and whoſoeuer reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God, and purchaſeth therby to himſelfe damnation. &c.

Whoſoeuer reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth God. The Pope reſiſteth the high powers: Ergo, the Pope reſiſteth God.

And in the ſame place of Tonſtall, it foloweth: and leſt men ſhould forget their duetie of obedience to their Princes, it is thriſe repeated: that they be the miniſters of God, whoſe place in their gouernance they repreſent: ſo that vnto them all men muſt obey, Apoſtles, Patriarches, Primates, Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Prieſtes, and all of the Clergie. &c. And therefore (ſayth he) the Byſhoppe of Rome oweth to hys ſoueraigne and ſuperiour lyke ſubiection by the worde of God, taught vnto vs by Peter and Paule, as other Byſhops do to their Princes, vnder whom they be. &c.

Luke. 22.

Alſo, an other expreſſe commaundement we haue of Chriſt, Luk. 22. who vpō ẏ occaſiō of his diſciples ſtriuing for ſuperioritie, diſcuſſeth the matter, ſaying on this wiſe: The kinges of the people and nations haue dominion ouer them, and thoſe that haue power ouer them be called gracious Lords, but ſo it ſhal not be amongeſt you But whoſoeuer amongeſt you is the greater, ſhalbe as the younger. And whoſoeuer amongeſt you ſhall be chiefe, ſhall be as a ſeruaunt, and a miniſter. &c.

John. 18.

And agayne, Chriſt ſpeaking to Pilate of his kyngdome declareth that his kingdome is not of this world, and therefore ſayth Tonſtall, thoſe that go about to make of Chriſtes ſpirituall kyngdome, a worldly kyngdome, doe fall into the errour of ſome herettickes that loke that Chriſt after the day of iudgement, ſhall raigne withal his ſaintes heare in earth carnally in Hieruſalem, as the Iewes doe beleue that Meſſias is yet to come, & when he ſhall come, he ſhall raigne worldly in Hieruſalem.

By theſe and ſuch other places it may well appeare, that Chriſt neither before his Incarnation, (as Tonſtall ſayth) nor after his incarnation, did euer alter the authoritie of worldly kynges and Princes, but by his owne worde, commaunded them ſtill to be obeyed of their ſubiectes, as they had bene in the auncient tyme before. &c. And for examples of the ſame, he alledgeth firſt, the example of Chriſt him ſelfe,

Math. 12.

Examples of Chriſtes humble ſubiection.

ſelfe. Math. 12. who beyng aſked of the Iewes, whether they ſhould giue tribute to Cæſar, or no, he bad them giue to Cæſar thoſe thynges, that be his, and to God thoſe thynges that be his, ſignifying that tribute was due to Cæſar, and that their ſoules were due to God. &c.

Math 17.

Alſo, in the xvij. of Mathew it appeareth that Chriſt bad Peter paye tribute for him and his Diſciples, when it was demaunded of him. And why? Becauſe he would not chaunge the order of obeiſaunce to worldly Princes due by their ſubiectes. &c.

Iohn. 6.

An other example of Chriſt hee citeth out of the vj. of Iohn, where after Chriſt had fedde fiue thouſand and moe, with a fewe loaues, and fewer fiſhes, and that the Iewes would haue taken him and made him their kyng, he fled frō them, and would not conſent vnto them. For the kyngdome (ſayth he) that he came to ſet here in earth, was not a worldly and temporall kyngdome, but an heauenly and ſpirituall kyngdome, that is, to reigne ſpiritually by grace and fayth in the hartes of all Chriſten and faythfull people, of what degree, or of what nation ſo euer they be, and to turne all people and natiōs, which at his commyng were carnall and lyued after the luſtes of the fleſh, to be ſpirituall and to lyue after the luſtes of the ſpirite, that Chriſt with his father of heauen, might reigne in the hartes of all men. &c.

And here in theſe examples of Chriſtes humilitie, farther is to be noted, how Chriſt the ſonne of God did ſubmit hymſelfe, not onely to the rulers and powers of this world, but alſo deiected hymſelfe and in a maner, became ſeruaunt to his owne Apoſtles: ſo farre of was he from all ambitious and pompous ſeekyng of worldly honour: For ſo it appeared in hym, not onely by waſhyng the feete of his Apoſtles, but alſo the ſame tyme a litle before his paſſion, when the Apoſtles fell at contention among them ſelues, who among them ſhould be ſuperiour, he ſettyng before them the example of his owne ſubiection, aſketh this queſtion: Who is ſuperiour, he that ſitteth at the Table, or he that ſerueth at the Table? Is not he ſuperiour that ſitteth? but I am amongeſt you, as he that miniſtreth, and ſerueth. &c.

Luke. 22.

Examples of Peters ſubiectiō Act. 10.

The lyke examples Tonſtall alſo inferreth of Peters humilitie. For where we read in the Actes, how the Centurion a noble man of great age, did proſtrate hymſelfe vpon the grounde at the feete of Peter: then Peter not ſufferyng that eftſoones tooke him vp and bad him ryſe, ſaying: I am alſo a man as thou art.

Apoc. 19. 22.

So lykewiſe dyd the Aungell Apocal. 19. and. 22. to whom when Iohn would haue fallen downe to haue adored hym which ſhewed hym thoſe viſions, the Aungell ſayd vnto hym: See thou do not ſo, for I am the ſeruaunt of God, as thou art. &c.

Agayne in the foreſayd Peter what an example of reuerent humilitie is to be ſene in this, that notwithſtandyng he with other Apoſtles hauyng his commiſſion to go ouer all, yet neuertheleſſe he beyng at Ioppa and ſent for by Cornelius, durſt not go to hym, without the viſion of a ſheete let downe from heauen, by the which viſion he was admoniſhed not to refuſe the Gentiles: or els he knew in hymſelfe no ſuch primacie ouer all people and places geuen vnto hym, nor no ſuch commiſſion ſo large aboue the other. &c.

Furthermore, the ſayd Peter beyng rebuked of Paule his felow brother, tooke no ſcorne therof, but was content, ſubmittyng himſelfe to due correction.

The popes obiections.

Math. 16.

But here, ſayth Tonſtall, ſteppeth in the B. of Rome and ſayth that Peter had authoritie giuen aboue all the reſidue of the Apoſtles, & alledgeth the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to him. Matth. 16. Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church, and will gyue to thee, the keyes of the kingdome of heauē: and whatſoeuer thou ſhall binde vppon earth, ſhall be bound in heauen. This ſayd Chriſt, ſayth the Pope, and S. Peter is buryed at Rome, whoſe ſucceſſour I am, and ought to rule the Churche, as Peter did, and to be porter of heauen gates, as Peter was. &c.

Iohn. 21.

And Chriſt ſayd alſo to Peter after his reſurrection: Feede my ſheepe, which he ſpake to him onely, ſo that therby he had authoritie ouer all that be of Chriſtes flocke, and I as his ſucceſſour, haue the ſame. And therfore who ſo will not obey me, Kyng, or Prince, I will curſe hym, and depriue him of his kyngdome or ſeignorie: For all power is giuen to me, that Chriſt hath, and I am his Vicare generall, as Peter was here in earth, ouer all and none but I, as Chriſt is in heauen.

The ambitious pride of the pope.

The ſcriptures falſely peruerted by the Pope.

This ambitious and pompous obiection (ſayth Tonſtall) of the Pope, and his adherentes, hath of late yeares much troubled the world, and made diſſenſion, debate, and open warre in all partes of Chriſtendome, & all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if he would take thoſe places after the right ſenſe of them, as both the Apoſtles themſelues taught vs, and all the auncient beſt learned interpretours do expounde them, the matter were ſoone at a poynt. But otherwiſe, ſith they peruert the Scripture, and preach an other Goſpell in that poynt to vs, then euer the Apoſtles preached, we haue therin a generall rule to folow: That though an Aungell came from heauen, and would tell vs ſuch new expoſitiōs of thoſe places, as are now made, to turne the wordes, which were ſpoken for ſpirituall authoritie of preachyng the word of God, and miniſtryng of the Sacramēts, to a worldly authoritie, we ought to reiect him, as S. Paule willeth vs. Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

The place of Math. 16. expounded.

To open therfore the true ſenſe of the Scripture in the places aforeſayd, and firſt to begyn with the. xvj. Chapter of Matthew here is to be obſerued that ẏ queſtiō beyng put in generall of Chriſt to all his Apoſtles, what they thought or iudged of hym, Peter aunſweryng for them all, as hee was alwayes ready to aunſwere, ſayd: Thou art Chriſt, the Sonne of the lyuyng God. To whom Ieſus aunſwered agayne: Bleſſed be thou Symon the Sonne of Iona: for fleſh and blond hath not reueled this vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen: And I ſay to thee, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle agaynſt it. That is to ſay: vpon this rocke of thy cōfeſſion of me to be the Sonne of God, I will build my Church: for this fayth conteyneth the whole ſummary of our fayth and ſaluation, as it is written Rom. 10. The worde of fayth, that we do preache is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine hart. For if thou cōfeſſe with thy mouth our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & with thy hart do beleue that God rayſed him from death to lyfe, thou ſhalt be ſaued. &c. And this confeſſion beyng firſt vttered by the mouth of Peter, vpon the ſame confeſſion of his, and not vpon the perſon of Peter, Chriſt buildeth his Church, as Chryſoſtome expoundeth that place in the. xxvj. Sermon of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, ſaying: Not vpō the perſō of Peter, but vpō the fayth, Chriſt hath builded his Churche. And what is the fayth? This: Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the liuyng God. What is to ſay, vpon this rocke? That is, vpon this confeſſion of Peter. &c. And with this ſaying of Chryſoſtome, all auncient expoſitours, ſayth Tonſtall treatyng that place, do agree. For if we ſhould expoūd that place, that the church is builded vpō the perſon of Peter, we ſhould put an other fundation of the Church, then Chriſt, which is directly agaynſt S. Paule, ſaying: No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Chriſt Ieſus. &c.

Rom 10.

Fayth the mother of ſaluation. Peter the firſt confeſſer of Chriſt.

The church builded vpō the confeſſiō of Peter, not vpon the perſon of Peter.

1. Cor. 3.

What is the primacie of Peter and how it commeth.

And becauſe Peter was the firſt of all the Apoſtles, that confeſſed this, that Chriſt is the Sonne of God, by the which fayth all men muſt be ſaued: therof commeth the primacie, that is, the firſt place or ſtandyng of Peter in the number of all the Apoſtles.

And as Peter was the firſt of them that confeſſed Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, ſo was he moſt ardent in his fayth, moſt bold and hardy in Chriſt, as appeared by hys commyng out of the ſhyppe in the great tempeſt, and alſo moſt vehement in his maiſters cauſe, as appeared by drawyng out his ſword, and after the Lordes reſurrection, is declared in the 2. 3. 4. chapter of the Actes: where as the Iewes withſtandyng the Apoſtles preachyng the fayth of Chriſt, Peter as moſt ardent in fayth, was euer moſt ready to defend the fayth agaynſt the impugners therof, ſpeakyng for them all vnto the people. &c. and therfore hath theſe honorable names giuen him, by the auncient interpreters, that ſome tymes he is called the mouth of the Apoſtles, the chief of the Apoſtles, ſome tyme the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſome tyme the Preſident of the whole Church, & ſome time hath the name of primacie, or prioritie attributed to him.

The honorable names of Peter in the olde Doctors, how and wherefore they be geuē.

And yet the ſayd Peter notwithſtandyng theſe honourable names giuen vnto hym, that he ſhould not haue a rule, or a iudiciall power aboue all the other Apoſtles, it is playne by S. Paule, and many other.

Gala. 2.

The authoritie of the Apoſtles all a lyke.

Ambroſius.

Firſt, S. Paule Gal. 2. playnly declareth the ſame, ſaying: That as the Apoſtleſhyp of the Circumciſion, that is, of the Iewes, was giuē by Chriſt to Peter: ſo was the Apoſtleſhyp of the Gentiles giuen to me among the Gentiles. Here by it appeareth that Paule knew no primacie of Peter concernyng people & places, but among the Iewes. And therof S. Ambroſe expoundyng that place, ſayth thus: The primacie of the Iewes was giuen chiefly to Peter, albeit Iames & Iohn were ioyned with hym: as the primacie of the Gentiles was giuē to Paul, albeit Barnabas was ioyned with him: So that Peter had not a rule ouer all.

Act. 10.

Alſo in the Actes 10. when Peter was ſent for to Cornelius a Gentile, he durſt not go to hym without a ſpeciall viſion giuen hym from heauen by the Lord.

Epheſ. 2.

The church founded not of Peter onely, but of the Apoſtles

Item, that all the Apoſtles had like dignitie and authoritie, it appeareth by S. Paule Epheſ. 2. Where he ſayth: Now ye are not ſtraungers, nor foreners but ye be Citizens with the Saints and of the houſhold of almighty God, builded (ſayth he) vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles, and the Prophetes, Chriſt beyng the corner ſtone: vpō whom euery edifice being builded, groweth vp to an holy temple in our Lord.&c. Here he ſayth ỷ they be builded, not vpon the foundation of Peter onely, but vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles, ſo that all they be in the foũdation ſet vpon Chriſt the very rocke, wherupon ſtandeth the whole Church.

Apoc.21.

In the xxj.chap. alſo of the Apoca. the new Citie, and the heauenly Hieruſalem of almighty God is deſcribed of the holy Ghoſt, not with one foundation onely of Peter, but with xij. foundations, after the number of the Apoſtles.

Cypria.lib.De ſimplic.Prelato.

Euery byſhop hath his part wholy to hymſelfe.

S. Cyprian Lib. De ſimplic.præl. giueth record likewiſe to the ſame, that the Apoſtles had equall power and dignitie giuen to them by Chriſt. And becauſe all ſhould preach one thing, therfore the beginning therof firſt came by one, which was Peter, who confeſſed for them all: That Chriſt was the Sonne of the liuyng God, ſaying further, that in the Church there is one office of all the Byſhops, wherof euery man hath a part allowed wholy vnto him. Now, if the Byſhop of Rome may meddle ouer all, where he will: then euery mã hath not wholy his part, for the Byſhop of Rome may alſo meddle in his part ioinctly, with him: ſo that now he hath it not wholy: which is agaynſt Cyprian.

Aug.in Ioan. tractat.50.

S. Auſten likewiſe expoundyng the Goſpell of Iohn, in the 50. treatie, ſpeaketh there of the keyes of Peter. Which he ſayth were giuen of Chriſt to Peter, not for hymſelfe alonely, but for the whole Church.

Cyrillus in vlt. cap.Ioannis.

Cyrillus expoundyng the laſt chapter of Iohn, and there ſpeakyng of the wordes of Chriſt ſpoken vnto Peter, Feede my ſheepe.&c. thus vnderſtandeth the ſame: That becauſe Peter had thriſe denyed Chriſt, wherby he thought himſelfe he had loſt his Apoſtleſhyp: Chriſt to comfort hym agayne, and to reſtore him to his office that he had loſt, aſked hym thriſe, whether he loued hym, and ſo reſtored hym agayne to his office, which els he durſt not haue preſumed vnto, ſaying to hym: Feede my ſheepe. &c. With which expoſition the auncient holy expoſitours of that place, do likewiſe agree: So that by theſe wordes of feedyng Chriſtes ſheepe, the Byſhop of Rome can take no aduauntage to maintaine his vniuerſall paſtoralitie ouer all Chriſtian dominions.

Paſce oues meas, maketh nothing for the popes vniuerſall paſtoralitie.

Act.20.

ποιμαίνειν

Agayne, where as the Byſhop of Rome ſayth, that Peter by theſe wordes of Chriſt ſpoken to hym, hath a preeminence aboue the other, S. Paule Actes. 20. proueth the contrary: where he ſpeakyng to the Byſhops aſſembled at Milete, ſayth to them: Take heede to your ſelues, and to all your flocke, in which the holy ghoſt hath put you to gouerne.&c.

And Peter himſelfe likewiſe. 1. Pet. 5. ſayth: Ye that be Prieſtes feede the flocke of God amongeſt you.&c.

Scriptures wrongfully alleaged, for the popes ſupremacie.

So that by theſe Scriptures conferred together, it may appeare that neither the. xvj. chapter of Matthew nor the xxj. of Iohn do proue that Peter had power, authoritie, or dignitie giuen him by Chriſt, ouer all the other, that they ſhould be vnder him: and yet notwithſtandyng his primacie, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the Sonne of the liuyng God (with the which his confeſſion all the other Apoſtles dyd conſent, & alſo preached the ſame) ſtandeth ſtill. Which confeſſion firſt by Peter made, all other that will be ſaued, muſt follow alſo, & be taught to confeſſe the ſame. And thus the Byſhop of Romes power ouer all, which he would proue by thoſe places wrongfully alledged for his purpoſe, vtterly quayleth, and is not proued. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctours.

Now farther proceedyng in this matter, the ſayd Tonſtall commeth to Councels and examples of the primitiue Church, as followeth.

Examples of the primitiue church againſt the popes ſupremacie.

The ſupremacie of Rome reproued by the councell of Nice.

Fauſtinus, Legate to the Byſhop of Rome in the vj. Councell of Carthage, alledged that the Byſhop of Rome ought to haue the orderyng of all great matters in all places by his ſupreme authoritie, bringyng no Scripture for hym (for at that tyme no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledged for him, and that vntruly, the firſt Councell of Nice, to make for his purpoſe. After this, when the booke was brought forth, & no ſuch article founde in it, but the cõtrary, yet the Coũcell at that tyme, ſent to Conſtãtinople, Alexandria, & Antioche, where the Patriarchall ſeas were, to haue the true copy of the Councell of Nice, which was ſent vnto them. And an other copye alſo was ſent frõ Rome whether alſo they ſent for the ſame purpoſe.

Vid ſupra.pag. 10.

The councell of Nice falſified by Fauſtinus the popes Legate.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no ſuch Article found in it, but in the fift chapter therof the contrary, that all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall ſhould either be determined within the Dioces, or els, if any were greeued, then to appeale to the Councell Prouinciall, and there the matter to take full end, ſo that for no ſuch cauſes men ſhould go out of their Prouinces: the whole Councell of Carthage wrote to Celeſtine at that tyme beyng Byſhop of Rome, that ſince the Councell of Nice had no ſuch article in it, as was vntruly alledged by Fauſtinus, but the contrary, they deſired him to abſteine after, to make any more ſuch demaund denouncing vnto him, that they would not ſuffer any cauſe great or ſmall, to be brought by appeale, out of their countrey, and therupon made a law that no man ſhould appeale out of the countrey of Aphrike vpon payne to be denounced accurſed. Wherwith the Byſhop of Rome euer after helde hym content, and made no more buſines with them, ſeeing he had naught to ſay for himſelf to the cõtrary. And at thys Councell S. Auſten was preſent, and ſubſcribed the ſame, read more hereof, pag. 10.

The ſixt Article of Nicene councell.

It was determined alſo in the ſixt Article of the ſayde Councell of Nice: that in the Orient the Byſhop of Antioche ſhoulde be chiefe: in Egypt the Byſhop of Alexandria: about Rome, the Byſhop of Rome, and likewiſe in other countreys, the Metropolitanes ſhould haue their preheminence: ſo that the Biſhop of Rome neuer had medling in thoſe countreyes.

The 4. chiefe patriarches equall in power.

And in the next Article folowing, the Byſhop of Hieruſalem (which Citie before had bene deſtroyed, and almoſt deſolate) was reſtored to his olde prerogatiue, to be the chiefe in Paleſtine and in the countrey of Iurie.

By this ye ſee how the Patriarcke of Rome during all this tyme of the primitiue Churche, had no ſuch primacie preeminent aboue other Patriarkes, much leſſe ouer kinges & Emperours, as may appeare by Agatho Byſhop of Rome long after that, in whoſe tyme was the ſixt Councell generall. Which Agatho after his election, ſent to the Emperour then beyng at Conſtantinople, to haue his election allowed before he woulde be conſecrate, after the olde cuſtome at that tyme vſed.

Pope Agatho ſubiected to the Emperour.

In like ſort, an other Byſhop of Rome called Vitalianus did the ſame, as it is writtẽ in the Decrees in the lxiij. Diſtinct.cap. Agatho.

Pope Vitalianus ſubiect to the Emperour.

63.Diſt.Agatho.

The lyke did S. Ambroſe, and S. Gregory, before thẽ, as it is written in ỹ chap. Cum longe, in the ſame Diſtinct. During all which time, the Biſhops of Rome folowed wel the doctrine of S. Peter and S. Paule lefte vnto them, to be ſubiectes and to obey their Princes.

63.Diſt.cum longe.

Biſhop Tonſtall a right Lutherane.

Thus, after that Byſhop Tonſtal playing the earneſt Lutheran, both by ſcriptures and auncient Doctours, alſo by examples ſufficient of the primitiue church, hath proued and declared, how the Byſhops of Rome ought to ſubmit themſelues to their higher powers, vnder whom God hath appointed euery creature in this world to obey: now let vs likewiſe ſee how the ſayd Byſhop Tonſtal deſcribeth vnto vs his diſobedience intollerable, his pride incomparable, & his malignant malice moſt execrable.

The diſobedience, the pride, & the malice of the pope deſcribed.

And firſt ſpeaking of the diſobedience of Adam & Eue, then of the pride of Nabugodonoſor, & of Lucifer, at length he compareth the Byſhops of Rome to them all. Who firſt for diſobedience refuſe to obey Gods commaundement, but contrary to hys word, will be aboue their gouernours, in refuſing to obey them.

The pride of the pope deſcribed.

Secondly, beſide this rebellious diſobedience in theſe Byſhops of Rome not ſufferable, their pride moreouer ſo farre exceedeth all meaſure, that they will haue their princes, to whom they owe ſubiection, proſtrate vpõ ỹ ground, to adore them by godly honour vpon the earth, and to kiſſe their feete, as if they were God, where as they be but wretched men, and yet they looke that their princes ſhould do it vnto them, and alſo all other chriſten men owing them no ſubiection, ſhould do the ſame.

The pope compared to Lucifer.

And who be theſe I pray you, that men may knowe them? Surely (ſaith he) the Byſhops of Rome be thoſe whom I do meane. Who followyng the pride of Lucifer their father, make themſelues fellowes to God, and do exalte their ſeate aboue the ſtarres of God, and do aſcende aboue the cloudes, and will be lyke to almyghtie God. The ſtarres of God be ment the Aungels of heauen, for as ſtars doe ſhewe vnto vs in part, the lyght of heauen, ſo do Aungelles ſent vnto men, ſhewe the heauenly lyght of the grace of God, to thoſe to whome they be ſent. And the cloudes ſignified in the olde Teſtament the Prophetes, and in the newe doe ſignifie the Apoſtles and preachers of the worde of God. For as the cloudes do conceyue and gather in the ſkye moyſture, which they after poure downe vpon the grounde to make it thereby more fruitfull: ſo the Prophets in the olde Teſtament, and the Apoſtles and Preachers in the newe, doe poure into our eares the moyſture of their heauenly doctrine of the worde of God, to make therewith by grace, our ſoules beyng ſeere and drye, to bringe forth fruite of the ſpirite. Thus doe all auncient expoſitours, and amongeſt them S. Auguſtine, interprete to be ment in Scripture, ſtarres and cloudes, in the expoſition of the xlv. Pſalme.

The pope exalted aboue the cloudes and the ſtarres of heauẽ.

Apoc.19.22.

But S. Iohn the Euangeliſt writeth in the xix. chap. of the Apocalips, & in the xxij. alſo, that whẽ he would haue fallen downe at the Aungels foote that did ſhew hym thoſe viſions there written, to haue adored him with godly wor-

ſhip

ſhyp, the Aungell ſayd vnto hym: See thou doe not ſo, for I am the ſeruaunt of God as thou art. Geue adoration and godly worſhyp to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Byſhops of Rome ſufferyng all men proſtrate before them to kyſſe their feete (yea the ſame Princes, to whom they owe ſubiection) do clyme vp aboue the ſtarres and Aungelles too, offeryng their feete to be kyſſed, with ſhoes and all. For ſo I ſaw my ſelfe beyng preſent. xxxiij. yeare ago, when Iulius then Byſhop of Rome ſtode on his feete, and one of his chamberlaynes held vp his ſkyrt because it ſtode not (as he thought) with hys dignitie, that hee ſhould doe it hym ſelfe, that his ſhoe might appeare, whyles a noble man of great age dyd proſtrate hym ſelfe vpon the grounde, and kyſſed hys ſhoe: whiche hee ſtatelye ſuffered to be done, as of duetye. Where me thinke I ſaw Cornelius the Centurion, Captaine of the Italians bande, ſpoken of in the tenth Chapiter of the Actes, ſubmittyng hym ſelfe to Peter, and much honouryng hym: but I ſaw not Peter there to take hym vp, and to byd hym ryſe, ſaying: I am a man as thou art, as S. Peter dyd ſay to Cornelius: ſo that the Byſhops of Rome, admittyng ſuch adoration due vnto God do clime aboue the heauenly cloudes, that is to ſay, aboue the Apoſtles ſent into the worlde by Chriſt, to water the earthly and carnall hartes of men, by their heauenly doctrine of the word of God.

The pope exalted aboue Angels.

The Pope climeth aboue the Apoſtles.

Thus Byſhop Tonſtall hauyng deſcribed the paſſing pride of the Pope, ſurmountyng lyke Lucifer, aboue Byſhops, Apoſtles, Aungels, and ſtarres of heauen, proceedyng then further to the latter end of his Sermon, commeth to ſpeake of his rage and malice moſt furious and peſtilent, in that he beyng iuſtly put from his kyngdome here: to wreke his ſpiteful malice, ſtyrreth vp warre againſt vs, and bloweth the horne of miſchief in giuyng our land for a ſpoyle and praye to all, who ſoeuer at his ſettyng on, will come and inuade vs. But let vs heare his owne wordes preachyng to the kyng and all Engliſhmen, touching both the popes malice, and the treaſon of Cardinall Poole.

The Pope ſtirreth vp warre agaynſt Englād.

The treaſon of Cardinal Poole.

Now (ſayth he) becauſe he can no longer in this realme wrongfully vſe his vſurped power in all thinges, (as he was wont to do) and ſucke out of this realme by auarice inſatiable, innumerable ſummes of money yearely, to the great exhauſtyng of the ſame: he therfore moued & replete with furious ire & peſtilent malice, goeth about to ſtyrre all Chriſtē natiōs, that wil geue eares to his deuiliſh enchauntementes, to moue warre agaynſt this realme of England, geuing it in pray to all thoſe, that by his inſtigation will inuade it.

And here expoundyng theſe foreſayd wordes (to giue in pray) hee declareth what great miſchief they conceyue, and willeth euery true Engliſhman well to marke the ſame. Firſt to make this realme (ſayth he) a pray to all venturers, all ſpoylers, all ſnappehaunſes, all forlornehopes, all cormorantes, all rauenoures of the world, that will inuade this Realme, is to ſay: thou poſſeſſioner of any landes of this Realme, of what degree ſoeuer thou be, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhalt be ſlayne and deſtroyed, and thy landes taken from thee by thoſe that will haue all for them ſelues: and thou mayeſt be ſure to be ſlayne, for they will not ſuffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to lyue, to make any clayme afterward or to be reuenged, for that were their vnſurety. Thy wife ſhalbe abuſed before thy face: thy daughter likewiſe defloured before thee: thy children ſlayne before thyne eyes: thy houſe ſpoyled: thy cattell driuen away and ſold before thy viſage: thy plate, thy money by force taken from thee, all thy goodes, wherein thou haſt any delight, or haſt gathered for thy children, rauened, broken and diſtributed, in thy preſence, that euery rauenour may haue his ſhare. Thou Marchaunt art ſure to be ſlayne, for thou haſt either money or ware, or both, which they ſearch for. Thou Byſhop or Prieſt, what ſoeuer thou be, ſhalt neuer eſcape, becauſe thou wouldeſt not take the Byſhop of Romes part, and rebell agaynſt God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou ſhalt flee, and ſcape for a ſeaſon, what ſoeuer thou be: thou ſhalt ſee and heare of ſo much miſerie and abhomination, that thou ſhalt iudge them happy, that be dead before: for ſure it is, thou ſhalt not finally eſcape: For, to take the whole realme in pray, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themſelues, as they will do it they can.

The Pope geueth England as way for a pray.

Cardinall Poole traytor to England.

And the Byſhop of Rome now of late, to ſet forth hys peſtilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpoſe a ſubiect of this realme, Reginald Poole, comen of a noble bloud, and thereby the more errant traytor, to go about frō Prince to Prince, and from countrey to countrey, to ſtyrre them to warre agaynſt this Realme, and to deſtroy the ſame beyng his natiue countrey: whoſe peſtilent purpoſe, the Princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhomination, both for that the Byſhop of Rome (who beyng a Byſhop ſhould procure peace) is a ſtyrrer of warre: and becauſe this moſt errant and vnkynde traytour is his miniſter to ſo deuiliſh a purpoſe, to deſtroy the coūtrey that he was borne in, which any heathen man would abhorre to do.

The popes name & memory aboliſhed.

And ſo continuyng in his diſcourſe agaynſt Cardinall Poole and the Byſhop of Rome for ſtyrryng the people to warre and miſchief, he further ſayth, and ſayth truly, that for theſe many yeares paſt, little warre hath bene in theſe partes of Chriſtendome, but the Byſhop of Rome either hath bene a ſtyrrer of it, or a nouriſher of it, and ſeldome any compounder of it, vnleſſe it were for his ambition or profite. Wherfore, ſince, as S. Paule ſayth, that God is not the God of diſſenſion but of peace, who commaundeth by hys word, peace alway to be kept: we are ſure that all thoſe, that go about to breake peace betwene Realmes, and to bryng them to warre, are the children of the deuill, what holy names ſoeuer they pretend to cloke their peſtilent malice withall: which clokyng vnder hypocriſie is double deuiliſhnes, and of Chriſt moſt deteſted, becauſe vnder his bleſſed name, they do play the deuils part.

1.Cor.14.

Ezech.39.

And in the latter ende of his Sermon concludyng with the 39. Chapter of Ezechiell, where the Prophet ſpeaketh agaynſt Gog and Magog, goyng about to deſtroy the people of God, and propheſieth agaynſt them, that the people of God ſhall vanquiſhe and ouerthrowe them on the mountaines of Iſraell that none of them ſhall eſcape, but their carkaſes ſhall there be deuoured of kytes, and crowes, and byrdes of the ayre: ſo likewiſe ſayth he of theſe our enemyes, wiſhyng, that if they ſhall perſiſte in their peſtilent malice, to make inuaſion into this Realme, then their great captaine Gog (the byſhop of Rome he meaneth) may come with them, to drinke with them of the ſame cup, which he maliciouſly goeth about to prepare for vs, that the people of God might after quietly lyue in peace.

The Pope compared to Gog.

We haue heard hetherto the othes, cenſures, and iudgementes of certaine particular Byſhoppes, as of Yorke, of Wincheſter, of London, of Dureſme, and alſo of Edmund Boner, Archdeacon then of Leyceſter, agaynſt the Popes vnlawful vſurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and ſatiſfying of the Reader, it ſhall not be much out of purpoſe, beſides the conſent and approbation of theſe aforeſayd, to inferre alſo the publicke and generall agreement of the whole Clergy of England, as in a totall ſumme together, confirmed and ratified in their owne publicke booke, made and ſet forth by them about the ſame tyme, called then the Byſhops booke. In the which booke, although many things were very ſlēder & vnperfect, yet as touchyng this cauſe of the Byſhop of Romes regalitie, we will heare (God willyng) what their whole opinion & prouinciall determinatiō did conclude, accordyng as by their own wordes in the ſame booke, is to be ſene word for word, as foloweth, ſubſcribed alſo with their owne names: the Catalogue of whom vnder their owne confeſſion, ſhall appeare.

Teſtimonies out of the byſhops booke, agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie.

WE thinke it conuenient, that all Byſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach the people committed vnto their ſpirituall charge, that where as certaine men do imagine and affirme, that Chriſt ſhould gyue vnto the Byſhop of Rome power and authoritie, not onely to be head & gouernour of all Prieſtes & Byſhops in Chriſtes Church, but alſo to haue and occupy the whole Monarchie of the world in his handes, and that he may thereby lawfully depoſe Kynges and Princes from their realmes, dominions, and ſeignories, and ſo transferre and gyue the ſame to ſuch perſons as hym lyketh: that is vtterly falſe and vntrue: For Chriſt neuer gaue vnto S. Peter, or vnto any of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſours, any ſuch authoritie. And the Apoſtles, S. Peter and S. Paule, do teach and commaunde, that all Chriſten people, as well Prieſtes and Byſhops as others, ſhould be obedient and ſubiect into the Princes and Potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the byſhop of Rome, it was many hundreth yeares after Chriſt, before he could acquire or get any primacie or gouernaunce aboue any other Byſhoppes, out of his prouince in Italy: ſith the which tyme he hath euer vſurped more and more. And though ſome part of hys power was geuen vnto hym by the conſent of the Emperours, Kynges, and Princes, and by the conſent alſo of the Clergy in generall Councels aſſembled: yet ſurely he attayned the moſt part therof by meruaylous ſubtilitie and craft, and ſpecially by colludyng with great kynges and princes, ſometyme traynyng them into his deuotion by pretence and colour of holynes and ſanctimonie, and ſometyme conſtraynyng them by force and tyranny. Whereby the ſayd Byſhops of Rome aſpired and aroſe at length vnto ſuch greatnes in ſtrength and authoritie, that they preſumed and tooke vpō them to be heades, & to put lawes by their own authoritie, not onely vnto all other Byſhops within Chriſtēdome, but alſo vnto the Emperours, Kynges, & other the Princes

How the Byſhop of Rome roſe by Ambition.

and Lordes of the worlde, and that vnder the pretence of the authoritie committed vnto them by the Goſpel. Wherin the ſayde Biſhoppes of Rome doo not onely abuſe and peruert the true ſenſe and meanyng of Chriſtes worde: but they doo alſo cleane contrarye to the vſe and cuſtome of the primitiue Churche: and alſo doo manifeſtly violate, as well the holy Canons made in the Churche immediately after the tyme of the Apoſtles, as alſo the decrees and conſtitutions made in that behalfe, by the holye Fathers of the Catholique church aſſembled in the firſt general Councelles. And finally they do tranſgreſſe their owne profeſſion, made in their creation. For all the Biſhoppes of Rome alwayes when they be conſecrated and made Biſhoppes of that See, doo make a ſolemne profeſſion and vowe, that they ſhall inuiolably obſerue and keepe all the ordinances made in the eight firſt general Councels: among the which it is ſpecially prouided & enacted, that al cauſes ſhal be finiſhed & determined within the prouince where ỹ ſame be begun, & that by ỹ biſhops of ỹ ſame prouince: & ỹ no biſhop ſhal exercyſe any iuriſdiction out of his own dioces or prouince. And diuers ſuch other Canons were thẽ made & cõfirmed by the ſayd councels, to repreſſe & take away out of the church, al ſuch primacie and iuriſdiction ouer kyngs & biſhops, as the biſhops of Rome pretende nowe to haue ouer the ſame. And we finde that diuers good fathers biſhops of Rome dyd greatly reproue, yea & abhorre (as a thyng cleane contrary to the Goſpel, and the decrees of the church) that any biſhop of Rome, or els where ſhoulde preſume, vſurpe, or take vpon hym the title and name of the vniuerſal biſhop, or of the head of al prieſtes, or of the higheſt prieſt, or any ſuch like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of al doubt, that there is no mẽtion made, neither in Scripture, nor in the writynges of any Autentical doctour or authour of the Church, beyng within the tyme of the apoſtles, that Chriſt dyd euer make or inſtitute any diſtinction or difference to be in the preeminence of power, order, or iuriſdiction, betweene the apoſtles thẽ ſelues, or betwene ỹ biſhops them ſelues: but ỹ they were al equall in power, order, authoritie, & iuriſdiction. And that there is now & ſith the tyme of the apoſtles, any ſuch diuerſitie, or difference among the biſhops, it was deuiſed by the anciẽt fathers of ỹ primitiue church, for the cõſeruation of good order and vnitie of the catholike church, & that eyther by the conſent and authoritie, or els at the leaſt by the permiſſion & ſufferaunce of the princes and ciuil powers for the tyme rulyng, &c.

Firſt the generall Councell of Nice decreed, that the Patriarkes of Alexandria, & Antiochia, ſhould haue lyke power ouer the countreies about thoſe cities, as the Byſhops of Rome had ouer the coũtries about Rome.

In the Counſell of Mileuitane it was decreed, that if a clerke of Aphricke would appeale out of Aphricke, vnto any byſhop beyond the ſea, he ſhould be taken as a perſon excommunicate.

In the generall Councell of Conſtantinople the firſt, it was likewiſe decreed, that euery cauſe betwene any perſons, ſhould be determined within the prouinces where the matters did lye: And that no byſhop ſhould exerciſe any power out of his owne dioces or prouince. And this was alſo the minde of holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Aphrica.

To conclude therfore, the Pope hath no ſuch primacye geuen hym, eyther by the wordes of Scripture, or by any generall Coũcell, nor by common conſent of the holye catholicke Church.

Concilium tertium Carthaginenſe, cap. 26. Gregorius lib. 4. epiſtolarum indictione 13. epiſt. 13.

And ſhortly after foloweth: And for the better confirmatiõ of this part, we thinke it alſo conuenient, that al byſhops and preachers ſhal inſtruct and teach the people committed vnto theyr ſpirituall charge, that Chriſte dyd by expreſſe wordes prohibit, that none of his apoſtles nor any of their ſucceſſors, ſhould vnder the pretence of the authoritie geuen vnto thẽ by Chriſt, take vpon thẽ the authoritie of ỹ ſword: that is to ſay, the authoritie of kyngs, or of any ciuill power in this worlde, yea or any authoritie to make lawes or ordinances in cauſes appertaynyng vnto ciuil powers. Truth it is, ỹ prieſtes & byſhops may execute al ſuch temporal power and iuriſdiction, as is committed vnto them by the ordinance & authoritie of kyngs or other ciuil powers, & by the conſent of the people (as officers and miniſters vnder the ſayd kynges and powers) ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe the ſayd kynges and people to permit and ſuffer them ſo to vſe and execute the ſame. Notwithſtandyng if any Biſhop of what eſtate or dignitie ſoeuer he be, be he biſhop of Rome or of any other citie, prouince, or dioces, doo preſume or take vppon hym authoritie or iuriſdiction in cauſes or matters whiche appertayne vnto kynges and the ciuyll powers and their Courtes, and wyl maynteyne or thinke that he may ſo do by the authoritie of Chriſt and his Goſpel, although the kynges and princes would not permyt and ſuffer hym ſo to doo: No doubt that Biſhop is not worthy to be called a Biſhop, but rather a tyraunt and an vſurper of other mens rightes, contrarye to the lawes of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwiſe, then he that goeth about to ſubuert the kyngdome of Chriſt. For the kyngdome of Chriſte in his Churche is a ſpirituall, and not a carnall kyngdome of the worlde, that is to ſay, the very kyngdome that Chriſt by hym ſelfe, or by his Apoſtles and Diſciples ſought here in this worlde, was to bryng all nations from the carnall kyngdõ of ỹ prince of darknes, vnto ỹ lyght of his ſpirituall kyngdome, & ſo to raygne hym ſelfe in the hartes of the people by grace, fayth, hope, and charitie. And therfore ſith Chriſt dyd neuer ſeeke nor exerciſe any worldly kyngdome or dominion in this worlde, but rather refuſing and fleeyng from the ſame, dyd leaue the ſayde worldly gouernaunce of kyngdomes, realmes, & nations, to be gouerned by princes and potentates (in lyke maner as he dyd find them) & commaunded alſo his Apoſtles and Diſciples to do the ſemblable, as it was ſayde before: what ſoeuer prieſt or Biſhop wyl arrogate or preſume vpon hym any ſuch authoritie, and wil pretend the authoritie of the goſpel for his defence therin, he doth nothyng els, but (in a maner as you would ſay) crowneth Chriſt agayne with a crowne of thorne, and traduceth and bryngeth him forth agayne with his mantle of purpure vppon his backe, to be mocked and ſcorned of the world, as the Iewes dyd to their owne damnation.

The Byſhop of Rome iudged to be a tyraunt and vſurper.

This doctrine was ſubſcribed and allowed by the witnes and teſtimonie of theſe Biſhops and other learned men, whoſe names hereunder folow, as appeareth in the biſhops booke aforenamed.

Teſtes.

Thomas Cantuarien.
Edouardus Ebor.
Iohannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunel.
Stephanus Winton.
Robertus Carliolen.
Iohannes Exon.
Iohannes Lincoln.
Ioannes Bathonien.
Rolandus Couen. & Lich.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Ioannes Bangor.
Edouardus Herefor.
Hugo Wigornien.
Ioannes Roffen.
Ricardus Ciceſtren.
Guliel. Norwicen.
Guilielmus Meneuen.
Robertus Aſſauen.
Robertus Landauen.

Ricardus Wolman. Archdiaco. Sudbur.
Gulielmus Knight. Arch. Richmond.
Ioannes Bel. Arch. Glouceſter.
Edmundus Boner. Archdia. Leiceſter.
Gulielmus Skippe, Archdiaco. Doſet.
Nicolaus Heth. Archdiaco Stafford.
Cuthbertus Marſhal. Arch. Notingham.
Ricardus Curten. Archdia. Oxon.
Gulielmus Gliſe.
Galfridus Downes.
Robertus Okyng.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Mathewe.
Ioannes Prin.
Guliel. Buckmaſter.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Ricardus Coxe.
Ioannes Edmundes.
Thomas Robertſon.
Ioannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.
Ioannes Haſe.
Ioannes Tyſon.

These were Doctours of Diuinitie, and of both Lawes.

Teſtimonies of byſhopes of England agaynſt the Pope.

Iudge nowe thy ſelfe (louyng reader) per confeſſata & allegata: that is, by theſe thynges heretofore confeſſed, alleged, allowed, proued, and confirmed, by penne ſet forth, by wordes defended, and by othe ſubſcribed by theſe Biſhops and Doctours, if eyther Martin Luther hym ſelfe, or any Lutherane els coulde or dyd euer ſay more againſt ỹ proude vſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome, then theſe men haue done. If they diſſembled otherwiſe then they meant, who coulde euer diſſemble ſo deepely, ſpeakyng ſo pithyly? If they meãt as they ſpake, who could euer turne head to taple ſo ſodenly and ſo ſhortly as theſe men dyd? But becauſe theſe thynges we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let vs marke therfore their reaſons and let the perſons goe.

The Byſhops of England then good Lutherans.

And although the ſayde proufes and argumentes heretofore alleged, might ſuffice to the ful diſcuſſiõ of this matter agaynſt the Popes vſurped primacie: yet becauſe many do yet remaine, which wil not be ſatiſfied, to refel therfore & confute this popiſhe article of the Popes vaine and proude primacie, with as much matter and furniture of reaſons & allegations as the writynges and teſtimonies of theſe Biſhops and others do miniſter vnto vs: we mynd (the Lord willyng) to annexe to theſe former confirmations of the biſhops aforeſayd, an other ſupplement alſo of a certayne Epiſtle ſent by biſhop Tonſtal, and by Iohn Stokeſley biſhop of London, to Cardinal Poole, for a more ample confutation of the vſurped power.

The epiſtle of Tonſtall and Stokeſley, to Cardinall Poole.

Concernyng the argument of whiche Epiſtle, here is firſt to be vnderſtanded, that about this tyme or not muche ouer, Cardinall Poole brother to the Lorde Montagew, was attaynted of high treaſon, and fled away vnto Rome, where win a ſhort tyme after, he was made Cardinall of S. Mary Coſmedon: of whom more is to be ſpoken hereafter, the Lorde ſo permittyng, when we come to the tyme of Queene Marye. In the meane tyme he remaynyng at Rome, there was directed vnto hym a certayne Epiſtle exhortatory by Stokeſley Biſhop of London, and Tonſtal Biſhop of Dureſme, perſwadyng hym to relinquiſhe and abandon the ſupremacie of the Pope, and to conforme him ſelf to ẏ religiō of his K. The copie of which his epiſtle for the reaſons and argumentes therein conteyned about the ſame matter, we thought here not vnworthy to be put in or vnprofitable to be read. The tenour whereof here followeth.

¶ The true copie of a certaine letter, written by Cutbert Tonſtal Biſhop of Dureſme, and Iohn Stokeſley Biſhop of Londō, to Cardinall Poole, prouyng the Biſhop of Rome to haue no ſpecial ſuperioritie aboue other Biſhoppes.

This letter was teſtified by Cutbert Tonſtall to Mathew Archb. of Canterbury and others to be his owne, about 14. dayes before his death.

FOr the good wyl that we haue borne vnto you in tymes paſt, as long as you continued the kings true ſubiect, we can not a litle lament & mourne, that you neyther regarding the ineſtimable kindnes of the kings highnes heretofore ſhewed vnto you in your bryngyng vp, nor the honor of ẏ houſe that you be come of, nor the wealth of the countrey that you were borne in, ſhoulde ſo decline from your duetie to your prince, that you ſhould be ſeduced by fayre wordes & vaine promiſes of the Biſhop of Rome, to wynde with hym, goyng about by all meanes to hym poſſible, to pull downe and put vnder foote, your naturall Prince and Maiſter, to the deſtruction of the countrey that hath brought you vp, and for a vayne glorye of a red Hat, to make your ſelf an inſtrumēt to ſet forth his malice, who hath, ſtyrred by all meanes that he coulde, all ſuche Chriſtian Princes as would geue eares vnto hym, to depoſe the kynges highnes from his kyngdome, and to offer it as a pray to them that ſhould execute his malice, and to ſtyrre if he cold, his ſubiects agaynſt him, in ſtyrring & nouriſhing rebellions in his realme: wher the office & duetie of al good Chriſtian men, and namely of vs that be prieſtes, ſhould be to bryng al commotion to trāquilitie, al trouble to quietnes, al diſcorde to concorde, and in doyng the contrary, we doo ſhewe our ſelues to be but the miniſters of Satan, and not of Chriſt, who ordeyned al vs that be prieſtes, to vſe in al places the legation of peace, and not of diſcorde.

Read his trayterous Oration to the Emperour in his booke intituled, *De Ecclesiæ Concordia*, mouing him to ſeeke the deſtruction of king Henry and the whole realme of England.

Luke. 15.

But ſince that can not be vndone that is done, ſeconde it is to make amendes, and to folowe the doyng of the prodigal ſonne ſpoken of in the Goſpel: who returned home to his father, and was wel accepted, as no doubt you might be, if you wyll ſay as he ſaide in knowledgyng your follye, and doo as he dyd, in returnyng home agayne from your wandryng abroade in ſeruice of them, who litle care what come of you, ſo that their purpoſe by you be ſerued. And if you be moued by your conſcience, that you can not take the kyng our maiſter as ſupreme head of the Churche of Englande, becauſe the Biſhop of Rome hath heretofore many yeres vſurped that name vniuerſally ouer al the Churche, vnder pretence of the goſpel of S. Math. ſaying: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wyl buyld my church. Surely that text many of ẏ moſt holy & anciēt expoſitors, wholy do take to be meant of ẏ fayth, the firſt confeſſed by the mouth of Peter, vpon which faith, confeſſing Chriſt to be ẏ ſonne of God, the church is builded, Chriſt being the very loweſt foundation ſtone, whervpon both the apoſtles them ſelues, and alſo the whole fayth of the Churche of Chriſt by them preached through the world, is founded and builded, and other foundation none can be, but that only as S. Paul ſaith: No other foundation can any man lay, beſides that whiche is layde, which is Chriſt Ieſus.

Math. 18.

The place of Mathew *Tu es Petrus* expounded.

1 Cor. 3.

And where you thinke that the Goſpell of Luke proueth the ſame authoritie of the biſhop of Rome, ſaying: Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhoulde not fayle: and thou beyng once conuerted, confirme thy brethren. Surely ẏ ſpeaketh only of ẏ fal of Peter knowē to Chriſt by his godly preſcience, wherof he gaue hym an ynkeling that after the tyme of his fal, he ſhould not diſpayre, but returne againe, and confirme his brethren, as he euer beyng moſt feruent of them, was woont to doo. The place dooth plainely open it ſelfe that it can not be otherwiſe taken, but this to be the very meanyng of it, and not to be ſpoken but to Peter: For els his ſucceſſours muſte firſt fayle in the fayth, and then conuert, and ſo confirme their brethren. And where as you thinke that this place of the Goſpel of Iohn Feede my ſheepe, was ſpoken only to Peter, and that thoſe wordes make hym ſhepheard ouer al, and aboue al: S. Peter hym ſelfe teſtifieth the contrary in his Canonical Epiſtle, wher he ſaith to al prieſtes: Feede the flocke of Chriſt which is among you: which he bade them do by the authoritie that Chriſt had put them in, as foloweth: And when the chiefe ſheepehard ſhall appeare, ye ſhal receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternal glory.

Luke 22.
The place of Luke expounded

The place of Iohn 21. expounded.
1. Pet. 5.

The ſame likewiſe Saint Paul in the Actes, teſtifieth ſaying: Geue heede to your ſelues and to the whole flocke, wherin the holy ghoſt hath ſet you to gouerne the church of God. Where, in the original text, the word ſignifying Regere, to gouerne, ποιμαίνειν, is the ſame that was ſpokē to Peter, Paſce, Feede, for it ſignifieth both in the Scripture. And that by theſe wordes he was not cōſtitute a ſhepheard ouer al, it is very playne by the fact of ſ. Peter, which durſt not enterpriſe much cōuerſation among the Gentils, but eſchewed it as a thyng vnlawful, and much rather prohibited then commaunded by Gods lawe, vntyl he was admoniſhed by the reuelation of the ſheete full of diuers viandes, mentioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles; where if Chriſt by theſe wordes, Feede my ſheepe, had geuen ſuche an vniuerſal gouernance to Peter, then Peter beyng more feruent then other of the apoſtles to execute Chriſtes commaundement, would of his owne courage haue gone without any ſuch new admonitiō to Cornelius: except peraduēture you would ſay, ẏ Peter dyd not vnderſtand ẏ ſayde wordes of Chriſt, for lacke of the light which the latter mē haue obteyned to perceyue, & therby vnderſtand the wordes of Chriſt to Peter, better then Peter hym ſelfe dyd. And ſtraunge alſo it were to condemne Peter as an high traytour to his maiſter, after his aſcenſion: as he in deede were worthy, if his maiſter had ſignified vnto hym, that the Biſhops of Rome, by his dying there, ſhoulde be heades of all the churche, and he knowyng the ſame by theſe wordes, Feede my ſheepe, yet notwithſtādyng his maiſters high legacie & commaundemēt, would flee as he dyd, from Rome, vntyll his maiſter encoūtryng hym by the way with terrible wordes, cauſed hym to returne. And becauſe this hiſtorie peraduenture can not weigh againſt an obſtinate mynd, to the contrary, what ſhal we ſay to the wordes of S. Ambroſe, declaryng and affirmyng that as great and as ample primacie was geuen to Paul, as to Peter? Uppen theſe wordes of Paul: He that wrought by Peter. &c. thus he writeth: Petrum ſolum nominat, & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam: ſe quoque pari modo electum vt primatum habeat in fundandis Eccleſijs Gentium. &c. That is to ſay, He nameth Peter only, and compareth hym to hym ſelfe, becauſe he receyued a primacie to builde a church: and that he in like ſort was choſen hym ſelfe to haue a primacie in buildyng the churches of the Gentiles. And ſhortly after it foloweth: Of thoſe (that is to ſay, of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, his gyft, he ſayth, was allowed, whiche he had receyued of God, ſo that he was founde worthy to haue the primacie in preachyng to the Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to the Iewes. And as he aſſigned to Peter for his companions, thoſe whiche were of the chiefeſt men amongeſt the Apoſtles, euen ſo alſo dyd he take to hym ſelfe Barnabas, who was ioyned vnto hym by Gods iudgement: and yet dyd he chalenge to hym ſelfe alone the prerogatiue of primacie whiche God had geuen hym, as to Peter alone it was graunted among the other Apoſtles. So that the apoſtles of the Circumciſion gaue their handes to the Apoſtles of the Gentiles, to declare their concorde in felowſhip, that eyther of thē ſhould know that they had receyued the perfection of the ſpirite in the preachyng of the Goſpell, and ſo ſhoulde not neede eyther other in any matter. And ſhortly after, ſaith ſaint Ambroſe, who durſt reſiſt Peter the chiefe Apoſtle, but an other ſuche a one, whiche by the confidence of his election might knowe hym ſelfe to be no leſſe, and ſo might reproue boldly that thing which he vnconſiderately had done.

Actes. 20.

Actes. 10

Of this flying away of Peter from Rome read before pag. 34. col. 2.

As great primacye geuen to S. Paul, as to Peter.

Equalitie of degree among the Apoſtles

This equalitie of dignitie which S. Ambroſe affirmeth by ſcripture to be equally geuen to Peter & Paul, S. Cyprian and S. Hierome do extend to al the apoſtles. Cyprian ſaying thus: Hoc erant vtiq; & cæteri apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis: Al the reſt of the apoſtles were the ſame that Peter was, beyng endued with like equalitie of honour and power. And S. Hierome thus: Cuncti Apoſtoli claues regni cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur: Al the apoſtles receyued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, & vpon them, as indifferently and equally, is ẏ ſtrength of the Churche grounded and eſtabliſhed. Whiche S. Hierome alſo, as wel in his Commentaries vppon the Epiſtle to Tite, and in his epiſtle to Euagrius, ſheweth that theſe primacies long after Chriſtes aſcenſion, were made by the deuiſe of men, whiche before by the cōmon agreemēt & conſent of the clergie, euerye of the Churches were gouerned, yea the patriarchal Churches.

Cyprian *De ſimplicitate Clericorum.*

Contra Iouinianum.

The wordes of S. Hierome be theſe: Sciant ergo epiſcopi ſe magis ex conſuetudine, quàm diſpenſationis domi-

Cap. 1. ſuper Titum.

nicæ

Difference betwixt Byſhops and prieſtes how it is come.

miniœ veritate, presbyteris eſſe maiores: Let the Biſhops vnderſtand, that they be greater then other prieſtes, rather of cuſtome, thē by ẏ vertue & veritie of ẏ Lordes ordinance. And in his ſaid epiſtle to Euagrius he hath ẏ like ſentēce, & addeth therto: Vbicunq; fuerit Epiſcopus, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Cōſtātinopoli. &c. Whereſoeuer a biſhop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubiū, or at Conſtātinople, he is of al one worthynes, & of al one prieſthood. & that one was elected which ſhould be preferred before other, it was deuiſed for ẏ redreſſe of ſchiſmes, leſt any one chalēging to much to hym ſelf, ſhould rent ẏ church of Chriſt. Theſe wordes onely of S. Hierome, be ſufficient to proue that Chriſt by none of theſe three textes (which be al that you & others do alledge for your opinion) gaue to Peter any ſuch ſuperioritye, as the biſh. of Rome by thē vſurpeth: and that Peter nor no other of the chiefe Apoſtles dyd vendicate ſuch primacie or ſuperioritie, but vtterly refuſed it, and therefore gaue preeminence aboue them ſelues, to one that though he be ſometymes called an apoſtle, yet he was none of the .xij. as Euſebius in the beginnyng of his ſecond booke, called Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, doth teſtifie, alleging for hym the great & auncient clerke Clemēs Alexandrinus, ſaying thus: Petrus, Iacobus, ac Iohannes, poſt aſſumptionē Saluatoris, quāuis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus penè prælati, tamē nō ſibi vendicarūt gloriam, ſed Iacobū qui dicebatur Iuſtus, apoſtolorum Epiſcopum ſtatuunt: Peter, Iames, & Iohn, after Chriſtes aſcēſion into heauē, although they were by hym preferred almoſt before al other, yet they chalenged not that glory to thē ſelues, but decreed that Iames, who was called Iuſtus, ſhould be chiefe biſhop of the Apoſtles. By theſe wordes it is cleare, that Iames was ẏ biſhop of the apoſtles, not becauſe as ſome men do gloſe, he was elected by the apoſtles, but becauſe he had thereby the primacie and honour of a biſhop in Ieruſalem, aboue the reſt of the apoſtles.

Iames the Iuſte made the Byſhop of the Apoſtles.

Seing Paul was chiefe primate of the Gentiles it is agaynſt reaſon that the Romans ſhould chalenge the primacie by Peter.

And one thing is eſpecially to be noted, and alſo marueiled at, that the biſhops of Rome do challēg this primacie alonely by Peter, and yet S. Paul, which was his equall, or rather ſuperior by ſcripture, in his apoſtleſhip amongeſt the Gentiles, wherof Rome was the principal, ſuffered at Rome where Peter did, & is commonly in al the Romane Church, ioyned with Peter in al appelations and titles of preeminence, and both be called Principes Apoſtolorum: The chiefe of the Apoſtles. Upon both is equally founded the Churche of Rome. The accountyng of Biſhoppes of Rome, many yeres agreeth therunto. For Euſebius ſaith, that Clemens tertius poſt Paulū & Petrū, pontificatū tenebat: Clement was the third biſhop after S. Paul and Peter: reckonyng them both as Biſhops of Rome, & yet therin preferring S. Paul: with like wordes, ſaying of Alexander biſhop of Rome: ẏ Quinta ſucceſſione poſt Petrū atque Paulū plebis gubernacula ſortitus eſt: Alexander obtained ẏ gouernaunce of the people by ſucceſſion, ẏ fift Biſhop after Peter and Paul. Irenæus alſo ſayth, as Euſebius reciteth: that Fundata & ædificata Eccleſia, beati apoſtoli Lino officium Epiſcopatus iniungunt: After the church was once founded and builded, the holy apoſtles charged Linus with the Biſhopricke. Whereby appeareth, that they both ioyntly conſtituted hym biſhop of Rome, and reſerued onely their apoſtleſhip enioyned vnto them by Chriſt. And therfore if the Biſhops of Rome challenge any preeminence of authoritie by Peter, they ſhoulde as wel or rather chalenge them by Paul, becauſe they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there ſuffered: reſignyng firſt that Biſhopricke to Linus, and al at once.

Lib. 3. Cap. 21.

Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

And if you wil peraduenture, leane to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture can not be proued, yet then at the leaſt Saint Paule and his ſucceſſors in Epheſus ſhould haue like primacie, becauſe he founded firſt that church, though S. Iohn after that did builde it, as witneſſeth Euſebius, ſaying: Eccleſia quæ eſt apud Epheſum, à Paulo quidem fundata eſt, à Iohanne vero ædificata: The Church which is at Epheſus, was founded of Paule, but it was builded of Saint Iohn. And ſo Peter ſhould haue no other primacie in Rome, but as Paule had in Epheſus, ẏ is to ſay: to be counted as ẏ firſt Preacher and conuerter of the people there to the faith of Chriſt. And as well might all the byſhops of Epheſus, chalenge the primacie of all nations, both Gentiles & Iewes by S. Paule the Apoſtle of the Gentiles their founder, as the Byſhop of Rome by S. Peter the Apoſtle onely of the circumciſion, in caſe he were the firſt founder, chalenging primacie ouer all. But vndoubtedly this primacie ouer all, that the Biſhops of Rome of late do chalenge, was not allowed nor yet knowen nor heard of amongeſt the auncient fathers, though they had their church of Rome in high eſtimation, aſwell for the notable vertuous orders that the clergie dyd there ſhew and exerciſe aboundantly to their neighbours (as witneſſeth the ſayd Euſebius, alleaging there the Epiſtle that Dionyſius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter Byſhop of Rome, teſtifying the ſame) as for that the Citie of Rome was the moſt ample and chiefe Citie of the worlde, witneſſing S. Cyprian, ſaying: Planè, quoniam pro magnitudine ſua debeat Charthaginem Roma præcedere, illic maiora & grauiora cōmiſiti: Certeinly, becauſe that Rome ought for the greatnes therof to excel Carthage, there Nouatus committed the greater and more greuous offences. Which S. Cyprian alſo, when he had ordeined and appointed certeyne decrees and ſtatutes vnto the biſhop of Rome, he did not ſubmit them to his reformation or iudgemēt, but onely ſignified his owne ſentence to like him alſo: and yet adding therunto, ẏ if any biſhops (meaning aſwel of Rome as of others) which were of the cōtrary opinions to hym, would otherwiſe thinke or do, he would not then, that hys ſentence ſhould be to them preiudiciall, neither woulde he therby cōpel them to any thing: but would that they ſhould follow their owne mindes and cuſtomes: partly for that euery one of the byſhops hath libertie of hys owne will, and partly for that euery gouernour ſhall make an accompt to God of his owne dede, as it appeareth plainely in his epiſtle to Stephanus and Iulianus. And in the 3. Epiſtle to Cornelius, towardes ẏ end, ſpeaking of the appeale that one Feliciſſimus & Nouatian, after his condemnation in Africa, made to Rome, he impugneth ſuch appeales, ſaying: Quia ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis eſt aſſcripta, quam regat vnuſquiſque & gubernet, rationē ſui actus Domino redditurus. &c. Foraſmuch as euery paſtour hath his owne flock cōmitted to him, which euery one ought to rule & gouerne, and muſt geue accompt to the Lord of hys adminiſtration, it is decreed of vs all, and we thinke it both meet and iuſt, that euery mās cauſe and plee ſhould there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerke & Martyr S. Cyprian would neuer haue eyther impugned their appeale to Rome frō their owne primacies, or ſo earneſtly haue mayntayned his determinations in the Councels of Afrike cōtrary to ẏ opiniō of the byſhops of Rome, and to their cuſtomes, without any ſubmiſſion by word or writyng, if the primacie ouer all, which the Byſhops of Rome do chalenge & vſurpe, had bene grounded vpon the plaine ſcriptures, as you with ſome others doe thinke: and it is to be ſuppoſed alſo, that he woulde in all his Epiſtles haue called them Patres or Dominos, fathers or Lordes, as Superiours, and not alwayes Fratres & collegas, brothers and fellowes in office, as but onely his equalles.

Lib. 3. Cap. 23.

The firſt foundation of a church maketh no primacye.

Lib 4. Cap. 23.

Cipri. Lib. 2. ad Cornelium.

Cipri. Lib. 3. epiſt. ad Cornelium.

Appeale to Rome forbidden.

Which thing yet more plainely doth appeare by ẏ actes of the Councels of Afrike in S. Auguſtines tyme, by the which it is euident, that though the faith of Chriſt was by ẏ Romaines firſt brought into Afrike (as S. Auguſtine doth confeſſe) yet it was not read nor knowen, that the byſhops of Rome vſed or chalenged any ſoueraigntie in Afrike, vnto this tyme. And yet then he did not chalenge it by the right of Gods worde, but by the pretence of a certayne Canon ſuppoſed to be in the Councell of Nice: which article could neuer be found, though it were the very diligently ſought for through all the principal Churches of ẏ Eaſt and South: but onely was alleaged of Iulius Byſhop of Rome, out of his owne Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the ſcriptures had made for it, neither the byſhop of Rome would haue left that certaine proofe by ſcriptures, and truſted onely to the teſtimonie of an Article of that Coūcell, being in doubt and vnlykely to be found, nor yet S. Auguſtine with hys holy & learned cōpany, woulde haue reſiſted this demaunde, if it had bene eyther grounded vpon ſcriptures, or determined in that or other Councels, or yet had ſtand with equitie, good order or reaſon. Howbeit ẏ largenes & magnificence of buildings of that Citie, and the auncient excellencie & ſuperioritie of the ſame in temporall dominion, was the onely cauſe that in the councels (where the Patriarchall ſeas were ſet in order) ẏ byſhop of Rome was located to the firſt place, and not by any ſuch conſtitution made by Chriſt, as appeareth wel by that, that Conſtantinople being at the ſame time of this ordering of the Patriarchall ſeas, moſt amply enlarged by the Emperours, being before a ſmal towne & of no renowme, and by thē moſt magnificently builded & aduaunced worldly with all titles, prerogatiues & priuileges temporall lyke vnto Rome, & therefore called Noua Roma, new Rome, was therfore aduaunced alſo to the ſecond ſea and place Antiochia in the Eaſt, (where S. Peter firſt tooke the chayre before he came to Rome, & where Chriſtē mē had firſt their name geuē thē) yea & Ieruſalem (which was the firſt mother Citie of our faith, and where Chriſt himſelfe firſt founded the faith) & alſo Alexandria being reiected to the 3. 4. and 5. places, becauſe at that time they were not in ſo high eſtimation in ẏ world, though in the faith of Chriſt all they were auncientes and ſome of them mothers to Rome.

Concil. Aphrican.

Auguſt. epiſt. 16.

Vide duas epiſtolas ad Bonifacium, [illegible] concilii Africani. fol. 307. 308.

Diſt. 16. Viginti.

Truth it is, that the Byſhops of the Orient, for debates in matters of ÿ fayth amonges thẽ ſelues, made ſuites to the Biſhop of Rome: but that was not for the ſuperioritie of iuriſdiction ouer them, but becauſe they were greatly diuided, and thoſe countreys, as well Biſhoppes as others, much infected with the hereſies of the Arrians, wher of the Weſt was in a maner cleare, and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were al ſuſpected of affection for one cauſe or other: wherfore they deſired ÿ opinions of the Biſhops of ÿ Weſt, as indifferent, and not tangled with affections of any of thoſe parties, neither corrupted with any of the Arrians, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of S. Baſil, written in all their names for the ſayd purpoſe. In the whiche alſo it is eſpecially to be noted that their ſuite was not to the biſhop of Rome ſingularly, or by name: but (as the titles do ſhew) to the whole congregation of the Biſhoppes of Italie, and France, or of the whole Weſt, and ſometime preferryng the French and Italian Biſhops, ſaying, Gallis & Italis, and neuer namyng the Romanes. And for a cleare proofe that the auncient fathers knewe not this primacie of one aboue al, we neede none other teſtimonie, but their determination in the Coũcel of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antiochia, and vniuerſally all other Primates, ſhoulde haue the whole gouernaunce of their confine countreys, like as the Biſhop of Rome had of thoſe that inhabited within his ſuburbes. And this determination proueth alſo, that your three Scriptures ment nothyng leſſe, then this primacie ouer al. For God forbyd that we ſhould ſuſpect that Coũcel as ignoraunt of thoſe playne ſcriptures, to ÿ which ſith that tyme, al Chriſtendome hath leaned, as the anker of our fayth. And if you like to reade the ancient Eccleſiaſtical hiſtories, there you may ſee, that Athanaſius & other patriarkes dyd execute that primacie, as in makyng, conſecratyng, and orderyng of churches, biſhops, & clerkes in their coũtreys Eaſt and South, as the biſhops of Rome in that tyme dyd in the Weſt and North.

The olde fathers neuer knew the primacie of the church of Rome.

And if you woulde yet any thyng obiect agaynſt any of theſe witneſſes, then for to eſchewe contention, & for a final cõcluſiõ, let the biſhop of Rome ſtand to his own confeſſion made many yeres paſt by his predeceſſor Agatho, to ÿ Emperour Conſtãtine, Heraclius, & Tiberius, in his Epiſtle writtẽ to thẽ in his name, & in the name of al the Synodes which he thought to be vnder the See apoſtolike: wherein ſoone after the beginnyng of the Epiſtle, he cõprehẽdeth thẽ all vnder the name of the biſhops dwellyng in the North & Weſt partes of their Empire: So that there in his own Epiſtle, he confeſſeth al his ſubiectes & obedienciaries to be only of the North & Weſt: and ſo it appeareth euidently by his own cõfeſſion, that neyther by Gods law nor mãs lawe he had to do wͭ any perſon of the Eaſt or South. And this his high ſoueraintie ouer al, chalẽged (as you & others ſay) by Scripture, as by his owne confeſſion dooth appeare, is brought into litle & a ſtrayt angle. And this Agatho was not a man vnlearned, as appeareth by ÿ actes of the vi. Synode of Conſtantinople in the. 4. act, wherin is written at large & expreſſed the ſayd article & confeſſion. And the primacie of Peter, which anciẽt doctors ſpeake of, which was only in preachyng & teachyng the fayth of Chriſt, which he firſt among al the Apoſtles, & firſt of al mortal men, did expreſſe with his mouth, dyd after ſo adhere to his owne perſon, that it was neuer deriued eyther to any ſucceſſor, or to any other apoſtle, but chiefly to hym ſelfe: for al other afterwardes profeſſing the ſame, ſpake it accordyng vnto hym, who had profeſſed it before. Moreouer, al the Apoſtles (as S. Iohn ſayth) be foundations in the heauẽly Ieruſalem, & not Peter only. Alſo Cyprian affirmeth (as is aforeſayd) that al the apoſtles were of equal dignitie & power: whiche al ancient authors likewiſe doo affirme. For Chriſt gaue ÿ apoſtles like power in the Goſpel, ſaying: Goe and teach al nations, baptiſing them, &c. And S. Paul (as is ſayd before) knewe no other primacie geuen to Peter to preache in any place, but among ÿ Iewes, as he hym ſelf had among ÿ Gentiles, as he writeth to the Galat. Whereupon S. Ambroſe writyng (as is aforeſayde) affirmeth the ſame. And that the mother of al Churches is Ieruſalem (as afore is ſaide) and not Rome, the Scripture is playne, both in the prophet Eſay: Out of Syon ſhal the lawe procede, and the word of the Lord out of Ieruſalem. Upon the which place S. Hierome ſayth: In Hieruſalem primum fundata eccleſia, totius orbis eccleſias ſeminauit: Out of the Church being firſt foũded in Hieruſalẽ, ſprõg al other churches of the whole worlde.) And alſo in ÿ goſpel which Chriſt before his aſcenſiõ cõmaũded his apoſtles to preach throughout al ÿ world, beginnyng firſt at Ieruſalẽ: So that the biſhop of Romes vniuerſal power by hym claymed ouer al, can not by any ſcripture be iuſtified: as if you haue read ÿ anciẽt fathers expoſitions of the ſayd ſcriptures) as we ſuppoſe you haue, ſith your letters ſent hyther cõcernyng this matter) ÿ would geue more credence to their humble & playne ſpeaking thẽ to the latter contentious & ambitious writers of that high & aboue the Ideas of Plato his ſubtilitie (which paſſeth, as you write) the lawyers learnyng and capacitie: we doubt not, but that you perceyue and thinke the ſame.

In the tyme of Pope Agatho, the Sea of Rome had no rule ouer the Eaſt and South Churches.

Peters primacie hath no ſucceſſours.

Apoc. 21.

Math. 28.

Eſa. 2.

And where you thinke that the kyng can not be takẽ as ſupreme head of the Church, becauſe he can not exerciſe the chiefe office of the church in preachyng & miniſtring of ÿ ſacramentes: it is not requiſite in euery body natural, that the head ſhould exerciſe eyther al maner of offices of the body, or the chiefe office of the ſame. For albeit the head is ÿ higheſt & chiefe mẽber of the natural body, yet the diſtribution of life to al the mẽbers of the body, as wel to the head as to other mẽbers, cõmeth frõ the hart, & it is the miniſter of lyfe to the whole body, as the chiefe act of ÿ body. Neyther yet hath this ſimilitude his ful place in a myſticall body, that a kyng ſhoulde haue the chiefe office of adminiſtration in the ſame: And yet notwithſtãdyng ÿ ſcripture ſpeaking of kyng Saul, ſayth: I made thee head amõgſt the tribes of Iſrael. And if a kyng amõgſt ÿ Iewes were the head in the tribes of Iſrael, in the tyme of the law, much more is a Chriſtian kyng head in the tribes of ſpirituall Iſraell, that is, of ſuch as by true fayth ſee Chriſt who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the biſhops in the myſtical body, is to be as eyes to the whole body, as almighty God ſaith to the prophet Ezechiel: I haue made thee an ouerſeer ouer the houſe of Iſrael. And what biſhop ſoeuer refuſeth to vſe the office of an eye in the myſtical body, to ſhew vnto the body ÿ right way of beleuyng & liuyng, whiche apperteyneth to the ſpiritual eye to do, ſhal ſhew hym ſelfe to be a blynd eye: and if he ſhal take any other office in hande thẽ apperteyneth to the right eye, he ſhal make a confuſion in the bodye, takyng vpõ hym an other office thẽ is geuẽ to hym of god. Wherfore if ÿ eye wil not take vpõ him ÿ office of ÿ whole head, it may be anſwered, it cã not ſo do, for it lacketh brayn. And examples ſhew likwiſe, that it is not neceſſary alway that ÿ head ſhould haue the facultie or chiefe office of adminiſtration, as you may ſee in a nauie by ſea, where ÿ admirall, who is captayne ouer al, doth not meddle with ſteryng or gouernyng of euery ſhyp, but euerye maiſter particular muſt directe the ſhyppe to paſſe the Sea in breakyng the waues by his ſteryng and gouernaunce, whiche the Admirall the head of al doth not hym ſelfe, nor yet hath the facultie to do, but cõmaundeth the maiſters of the ſhyp to do it. And likewiſe many a captayne of great armyes, whiche is not able, nor neuer could peraduẽture ſhoote, or breke a ſpeare by his owne ſtrength, yet by his wiſedome and commaundement onely atchieueth the warres, and attayneth the victorie.

A Prince may be head of his church and yet not preach nor miniſter Sacramentes.

1. Reg. 15.

Ezech. 3.

A Byſhop is an eye in the head, but not the head of the myſticall bodye.

The office of an head ſtandeth not in doing but in commaunding.

And where you thinke that vnitie ſtandeth not only in the agreeyng in one fayth and doctrine of the Church, but alſo in agreeyng in one head: if you meane the very and onely head ouer al the church our Sauiour Chriſt: Whom the father hath ſet ouer al the Churche, which is his bodye, wherin al good Chriſtian men do agree, therin you ſay truth. But if you meane of any one mortal mã to be head ouer al the Church, and that to be the Biſhop of Rome, we do not agree with you: For you doo there erre in the true vnderſtandyng of Scripture, or els you muſt ſay, that the ſayde Councel of Nice, and other moſt auncient dyd erre, whiche diuided the adminiſtration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the South from the North, as is before expreſſed. And that Chriſt the vniuerſal head is preſent in euery church, the Goſpel ſheweth: Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there I am in the middes of them. And in another place: Behold, I am wyth you, vntill the ende of the worlde. By which it may appeare Chriſt the vniuerſall head, euery where to be wyth hys myſticall body the Church: who by his ſpirite worketh in all places (how farre ſo euer they be diſtaunt) the vnitie and concorde of the ſame. And as for any other vniuerſall head to be ouer all, then Chriſt hymſelfe, Scripture proueth not, as it is ſhewed before. And yet for a further proufe, to take away the ſcruples, that peraduenture doe to your appearaunce ryſe of certayne wordes in ſome auncient authors, and eſpecially in S. Cyprians epiſtles, as that the vnitie of the church ſtode in the vnitie with the Byſhop of Rome, though they neuer call hym ſupreme head, if you wel wey and conferre all their ſayinges together, you ſhall perceiue that they neither ſpake nor ment otherwyſe, but when the biſhop of Rome was once lawfully elected & enthroned, if then any other would by faction, might, force, or otherwiſe, (the other liuyng and doyng his office) enterpriſe to put hym downe, & vſurpe the ſame biſhoprike, or exerciſe the others office hym ſelf, as Nouatianus did attempt in ÿ tyme of Cornelius: thẽ the ſaid fathers reckened the catholikes ÿ dyd communicate wͭ hym ÿ was ſo lawfully elected, & ÿ cuſtome was, one primate to haue to do wͭ an other, by congratulatory letters ſoone after the certaintie of their

Unitie what it is, and wherein it conſiſteth.

Math. 18.

Math. 28.

Anſwere to S. Cyprian.

election was knowen, to keepe the vnitie of the church: and that they that dyd take part or mainteyne the vſurper, to be ſchiſmatikes, becauſe that vſurper was a ſchiſmatike: Quia non ſit fas in eadem eccleſia, duos ſimul Epiſcopos eſſe, nec priorē legitimū epiſcopū ſine ſua culpa deponi. Becauſe it was not lawfull for two Biſhops to be at once together in one Churche, neyther the former biſhop beyng lawful, to be depoſed without his fault were proued. And this is not a prerogatiue of the Church of Rome, more then of any other cathedral, ſpecial, patriarchal, or metropolitical Church, as appeareth in the third Epiſtle of the firſt booke, and in the eight of the ſecond, and of the fourth booke of S. Cyprian to Cornelius. Whoſe wordes and reaſons, although peraduenture they might ſeeme to conclude the vnitie of the Church in the vnitie of the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe they were all written to hym in his owne caſe, maye as well be written vnto any other biſhop lawfully choſe, who percaſe ſhoulde be likewiſe diſturbed as the biſhops of Rome then were, by any factions of ambitious heretikes.

The church of Rome hath no more prerogatiue then any other Church.

The vnitie of the church ſtandeth not in the vnitie of the biſhop of Rome.

And where you thinke the name of ſupreme head vnder Chriſte, geuen and attributed to the kynges maieſtie, maketh an innouation in the Churche, and perturbation of the order of the ſame, it can not be any innouation or trouble to the Churche, to vſe the roume that God hath called hym to, whiche good Chriſtian Princes dyd vſe in the begynnyng when fayth was moſt pure, as S. Auguſtine ad Glorium & Eleuſium ſayth: At enim quidam, non debuit Epiſcopus pro conſulari iudicio purgari. &c. One there is whiche ſaith, that a Biſhop ought not to haue bene put to his purgation before the iudgement ſeate of the Deputie, as though he hym ſelfe procured it, & not rather the Emperour hym ſelfe cauſed this inquirie to be made, to whoſe iuriſdictiō (for the whiche he muſt anſweare to God) that cauſe dyd eſpecially pertayne. Chriſoſtome writeth of that Imperial authoritie thus: Læſus eſt qui non habet parem vllum ſuper terram: ſummitas & caput eſt omnium hominum ſuper terram: He is offended that hath no peere at al vpō the earth, for he is the higheſt potentate, & the head of al men vpon earth. And Tertullian ad Scapulum ſaith: Colimus ergo & Imperatorē ſic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, vt hominem a Deo ſecundum. &c. We honour & reuerence the Emperour in ſuche wiſe, as is lawful to vs and expedient to hym, that is to ſay, as a man next and the ſecond to God, from whom he hath receyued all the power he hath: & alſo inferiour to God alone, whoſe pleaſure it is ſo to haue it: For thus is he greater then al men, whyles he is inferiour but to God alone.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

The imperiall authoritie is next vnder God.

And the ſayde Tertullian in his booke Apologeticall ſpeakyng of Emperours, ſayth: Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium. &c. They know who hath geuen to them their gouernement: they knowe that God is he alone, vnder whoſe onely power they be, and take them ſelues as ſecond to God, after whom they be the chiefe before al other. Theophilacte alſo to the Rom. vpon this place: Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit, ſayth: The Apoſtle there teacheth euery man, Siue ſacerdos ille ſit, ſiue Monachus, ſiue Apoſtolus, vt ſe principibus ſubdat: that whether he be a prieſt, or a monke, or an apoſtle, he ſhold ſubiect him ſelfe to princes. That is, although thou be an Apoſtle, an Euangeliſt, a Prophet, or what ſoeuer thou art, be ſubiect. Non enim (ſayth he) ſubuertit pietatem hæc ſubiectio: For this ſubiection ouerthroweth no godlynes. And the Apoſtle ſayth not onely, Let hym obey: but let hym be ſubiect.

Tertul. in Apologet.

Theophil. in Rome.

And if the Apoſtles be ſubiect to Princes, muche more all Biſhoppes and Patriarkes, yea the Biſhops of Rome and al other.

It is written alſo in the Chronicles: Dauid ſaid to Salomon, behold the prieſtes and Leuites diuided in cōpanies, to do al manner of ſeruice that perteineth to the houſe of God. Alſo Dauid dyd appoynt chiefly to thanke the lord, Aſaph and his brethren. &c. And, Ioſaphat the king did cōſtitute Leuites and prieſts, and the ancient families of Iſrael for the iudgement and cauſe of the Lord towards al the inhabitantes of the earth: and he charged them, ſaying, thus ſhal ye do in the feare of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect hart. Furthermore, Ezechias appointed the prieſtes & the Leuites in their order, to wait by courſe euery man according to his office. And it foloweth, Ezechias gaue commaundemēt to the people dwellyng in Hieruſalē, that they ſhould geue their portions to the prieſtes and Leuites, that they might attend on the lawe of the Lord. Where it foloweth alſo that by the precept of Ezechias the kyng, & of Azarias the biſhop of the houſe of the Lord, al thynges were done: to whō perteyned al the diſpenſation of the houſe of ỹ Lord. And in the end it is ſayd: Ezechias dyd al theſe thinges in al Iurie: he wrought that which was good, right, & true before his lord God in al the furniture of the miniſterie of the houſe of the Lord, according to the lawe & ceremonies, deſirous to ſeeke his Lord God with al his hart, as he did, and proſpered therein. Ioſias alſo dyd ordeine prieſtes in their offices, and commaunded many thynges.

1. Paral. 28.

1. Paral. 16.

2. Paral. 19.

Chron. 31.

Chron. 35.

By all whiche it maye appeare, that Chriſtian kynges be ſoueraignes ouer the Prieſts, as ouer al other their ſubiectes, and maye commaunde the Prieſtes to do their offices, as wel as they do others: and ought by their ſupreme office, to ſee that al men of al degrees do their duties, whereunto they be called eyther by God, or by the kyng: and thoſe kynges that ſo do, chiefely do execute wel their office. So that the kinges highnes takyng vpon him as ſupreme head of the Churche of Englande, to ſee, that as well ſpiritual men as temporal, doo their dueties, dooth neither make innouation in the Church, nor yet trouble the order thereof: but doth as the chiefe and beſt of the kynges of Iſrael dyd, and as al good Chriſtian kynges ought to doo. Whiche office good Chriſtian Emperours alwayes tooke vpon them, in callyng the vniuerſal Councelles of all countreys, in one place and at one tyme, to aſſemble together, to the intente that al hereſies troublyng the Churche, might there be extirped: callyng and commaundyng as well the Biſhop of Rome, as other Patriarkes and al Primats, as wel of the Eaſt as of the Weſt, of the South as of the North, to come to the ſayde Councelles. As Martianus the Emperour dyd in callyng the great Councell of Chalcedon, one of the foure chiefe and firſt general Councels, commaundyng Leo then Biſhop of Rome, to come vnto the ſame. And albeit Leo neither liked the tyme, whiche he woulde for a ſeaſon ſhould haue bene deferred: nor yet the place, for he woulde haue had it in Italy, where as the Emperour by his owne cōmaundement had called it to Chalchis in Aſia: yet he anſweared the Emperour, that he would gladly obey his cōmaundement, and ſent thither his agentes to appeare there for hym, as doth appeare in the Epiſtles of Leo to Martiane then Emperour, xl. xlvij. xlviij. and in the xlix. Epiſtle to Pulcheria the Empres. And likewiſe he deſireth Theodoſius the Emperour to commaūd a Councel of Biſhops to be called in Italy, for takyng away ſuch contentions and troubles, as at that tyme troubled ỹ quietnes of the Churches. And in many moe Epiſtles of the ſame Leo it dooth manifeſtly appeare, that the Emperours alwayes aſſembled generall Councels by their cōmaundementes. And in the firſt general Councel it appeareth very plainly, that at that tyme the Biſhops of Rome made no clayme, nor vſed any title to cal them ſelues heades vniuerſal ouer al the catholike Church, as there doth appeare in the ſuperſcription or ſalutation of the foreſaid Synodical preamble, which is thus worde for worde.

Generall Councels called by the Emperours.

To the moſt godly Lordes and moſt noble victors and conquerours, the welbeloued children of God & of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, Conſtantine the great Emperour, and to Heraclius and Tiberius Ceſars, Biſhop Agatho the ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, with al the conuocations ſubiect to the Councell of the See apoſtolike, ſendeth greeting. And he expreſſeth what countreys he reckened and comprehēded in that ſuperſcriptiō or ſalutation: For it foloweth that thoſe were vnder his aſſembly, which were in the North & Eaſt partes, ſo that at that tyme the biſhop of Rome made no ſuch pretence to be ouer and aboue al, as he now doth by vſurpation, vendicatyng to hym ſelf the ſpiritual kyngdome of Chriſte, by whiche he raigneth in the hartes of all faythfull people, and then chaungeth it to a temporall kyngdome ouer and aboue all kynges, to depoſe them for his pleaſure, preachyng thereby the fleſhe for the ſpirite, and an earthlye kyngdome for an heauenly, to his owne damnation, if he repent not. Where he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of Saint Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying: Be ye ſubiecte to euery ordinaunce of man, for the Lordes ſake, whether it be to the kyng as to the chiefe, or vnto gouernours, as ſent of hym to the puniſhment of the euyll dooers, and to the prayſe of the good. Agayne S. Paul: Let euerye ſoule be ſubiecte to the higher powers. With other thynges before alleged. So that this his pretenſed vſurpation to be aboue al kynges, is directly agaynſt the Scriptures, geuen to the Church by the apoſtles: whoſe doctrine who ſoeuer ouerturneth, can be neyther the head, nor yet the leaſt member of the Church.

1. Pet. 2.

Rom. 13.

Wherefore, albeit ye haue hytherto ſticked to the ſayde wrongfully vſurped power, moued thereto, as ye write, by your conſcience, yet ſithence nowe ye ſee further, if ye luſt to regarde the meere truth, and ſuch auncient authours as haue bene written to you of in tymes paſte, we woulde exhort you for the wealth of your ſoule, to ſurrender into the Biſhop of Romes handes, your red hat, by which he ſeduced you, truſtyng ſo to make you, beyng come of a noble bloud, an inſtrument to aduaunce his vayne glory. Whereof, by the ſayd hat, he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpoſe.

“ In whiche doyng ye ſhall returne to the truth, from
“ whiche ye haue erred: doo your duetie to your ſoueraigne
“ Lorde, from whom ye haue declined, and pleaſe thereby almightie
“ God, whoſe lawes ye haue tranſgreſſed, and in not
“ ſo doyng, ye ſhal remaine in error, offending both almightye
“ God, and your naturall ſoueraigne Lord, whom chiefely ye
“ ought to ſeeke to pleaſe. Whiche thyng, for the good mynde
“ that we heretofore haue borne you, we pray almighty God
“ of his infinite mercy, that you do not. Amen.

1535.

When all other the kinges ſubiectes, and the learned of the Realme had taken and accepted the othe of the kinges ſupremacie, onely Fiſher the biſhop of Rocheſter and Syr Thomas More refuſed (as is aforeſaid) to be ſworne: who therfore fallyng into the daunger of the law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the ſame, anno. 1535. This John Fiſher aforeſaide, had written before againſte Oecolampadius, whoſe booke is yet extant, and afterward againſt Luther.

John Fyſher Byſhop of Rocheſter enemye to Chriſtes Goſpell.

Alſo amongeſt other his actes he had bene a great enemie and perſecuter of John Frith, the godly learned martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, whom he and Syr Thomas Moore cauſed to be burned a yeare and a halfe before, and ſhortly after the ſaid Fiſher, to his confuſion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton (called the holy mayd of Kent) and founde gyltie by act of Parlament, as is aboue recorded. For his learnyng and other vertues of life, this Biſhop was well reputed and reported of many, and alſo muche lamented of ſome. But what ſoeuer his learnyng was, pitie it was, that he beyng indued with that knowledge, ſhoulde be ſo farre drowned in ſuch ſuperſtition: more pitie that he was ſo obſtinate in his ignoraunce: but moſt pitie of all, that he ſo abuſed the learnyng he had, to ſuche crueltie as he dyd. But thus commonly we ſee come to paſſe, as the Lorde ſaith: That who ſo ſtriketh with the ſworde, ſhall periſhe with the ſword, & they that ſtaine their handes with bloud, ſeldome do bring their bodyes drye to the graue: as commonly appeareth by the ende of bloudy tyrantes, and eſpecially ſuch as be perſecuters of Chriſtes poore members. In the number of whom was this Biſhop and ſir Thom. More, by whom good John Frith, Tenkeſbery, Thomas Hytten, Bayfild, with diuers other good Saintes of God, were brought to their death. It was ſayde, that the Pope, to recompence Biſhop Fiſher for his faythfull ſeruice, had elected him Cardinal, and ſent hym a Cardinals hat as farre as Calyce, but the head it ſhould ſtand vpon, was as hie as London bridge, ere euer the Popes hat could come to him. Thus Biſhop Fiſher and Syr Thomas More, whiche a litle before had put John Frith to death for hereſie agaynſt the Pope, were themſelues executed and beheaded for treaſon againſt the king, the one the .xxij. of June, the other the .vi. of July, ann. 1535.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

Byſhop Fyſher and Syr Tho. More, perſecutours.

Byſhop Fyſher and Syr Tho. More beheaded.

Of ſir Tho. More ſome thing hath bene touched before, who was alſo recompted a man both witty and learned, but what ſoeuer he was beſide, a bytter perſecuter he was of good men, and a wretched enemie againſt the truth of the Goſpell, as by his bookes leaft behynde him maye appeare, wherin moſt ſlaunderouſly and contumeliouſly he writeth againſt Luther, Zuinglius, Tindal, Frith, Barnes, Bayfild, Bainham, Teukeſbery, falſely belying their articles & doctrine, as (God graunting me life) I haue ſufficient matter to proue againſt hym.

The lying bookes of Syr Tho. More.

M. More a perſecutour.

Briefly, as he was a ſore perſecuter of them that ſtood in defence of the Goſpel: ſo againe on the other ſide, ſuch a blynd deuotion he bare to the Popeholy See of Rome, and ſo wilfully ſtoode in the Popes quarrell againſte his owne prince, that he woulde not geue ouer tyll he had brought the Scaffolde of the Tower hyll with the axe and all vpon his owne necke.

Edwarde Hall in his Chronicle writing of the death and manners of this Syr Thomas Moore, ſeemeth to ſtande in doubt, whether to call hym a fooliſhe wiſe man, or a wiſe fooliſhe man. For as by nature he was indued with a great witte, ſo the ſame agayne was ſo mingled (ſayth he) with tauntyng and mockyng, that it ſeemed to them that beſt knewe hym, that he thought nothyng to be wel ſpoken, except he had miniſtred ſome mocke in the communication: in ſo much as at his commyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaundyng his vpper garment for his fee, meanyng his gowne, he anſweared that he ſhoulde haue it, and tooke hym his cappe, ſaying it was the vppermoſte garment that he had. Likewiſe, euen goyng to his death, at the Tower gate a poore woman called vnto hym, & beſought hym to declare that he had certayn euidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehended, ſhee coulde not come by) and that he would intreat that ſhee might haue them againe, or els ſhee was vndone. He anſweared, Good woman, haue pacience a litle while, for the kyng is good vnto me, that euen within this halfe houre he wyl diſcharge me of al buſineſſes, and helpe thee hym ſelfe. Alſo when he went vppe the ſtayre on the Scaffolde, he deſired one of the Sheriffes officers to geue hym his hande to helpe hym vp, and ſayde, when I come downe againe, let me ſhyfte for my ſelfe ſo well as I can. Alſo the hangman kneeled downe to hym, aſkyng hym forgeueneſſe of his death, as the manner is. To whom he ſaid, I forgeue thee, but I promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt neuer haue honeſtie of ŷ ſtriking of my head, my necke is ſo ſhort. Alſo, euē whē he ſhould lay downe his head on ŷ blocke, he hauyng a great gray beard, ſtriked out his beard, & ſayd to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer ŷ block leaſt you ſhoulde cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his lyfe.

M. More ſcoffer vnto hys death.

There is no doubt but that the Popes holyneſſe hath halowed & dignified theſe two perſons long ſince, for Catholike martyrs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred yeares expired, they ſhal alſo be ſhrined & portiſſed, dying as they dyd in that quarrel of the church of Rome, that is, in takyng the biſhop of Romes part againſt their owne ordinary & natural prince. Wherunto (becauſe ŷ matter aſketh a long diſcourſe, and a peculiar tractation) I haue not in this place, much to contend with Cope my frend. This briefly for a memorandum may ſuffice, that if the cauſes of true martyrdome ought to be pondered, & not to be nũbred, & if the ende of martyrs is to be weyed by iudgement, & not by affection: then the cauſe and quarrel of theſe men ſtanding as it doth, & beyng tried by Gods word, perhaps in the Popes kingdome they may go for martyrs, in whoſe cauſe they dyed: but certes in Chriſtes kingdome their cauſe wil not ſtand, howe ſoeuer they ſtand them ſelues.

The like alſo is to be ſaid of the three monkes of Charterhouſe, Exmewe, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the ſame yeare in the moneth of June, were likewiſe attached and arraigned at Weſtminſter, for ſpeaking certaine trayterous wordes againſt the kinges crowne and dignitie: for the whiche they were hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tiborne, who alſo, becauſe Cope my good frẽd doth repute & accept in the number of holy Catholique Martyrs, here would be aſked of hym a queſtion: What martyrs be they, which ſtanding before the Judge, denye their owne wordes and ſayinges, and pleade not giltie, ſo as theſe Carthuſians dyd? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither haue ſtand nor haue dyed in that cauſe, as they dyd, if they might otherwiſe haue eſcaped by denying. Wherefore if my frende Cope had bene ſo well aduiſed in ſetting out his martyrs, as God might haue made hym, he woulde firſt haue ſeene the true recordes, & bene ſure of ŷ ground of ſuch matters wherupon he ſo confidently pronounceth, and ſo cenſoriouſly controlleth others.

Rocheſter, More. Exmew, Myddlemore, Nudigate, executed for treaſon.

In the ſame cauſe & quarrell of treaſon alſo, the ſame yeare, a litle before theſe aforeſaide in the moneth of Maye, were executed with the like puniſhmẽt, John Houghton, Priour of the Charterhouſe in London, Robert Laurence Prior of the Charterhouſe of Beluale, Auſten Webſter Prior of the Charterhouſe of Exham.

Ex actis intermino Paſcha. Anno. 27. Reg. Hen. 8.

Beſide and with theſe three Priors, ſuffered likewiſe the ſame tyme two other Prieſtes, one called Reginold, brother of Syon, the other named John Haile vicare of Thiſtleworth.

Diuers other Charterhouſe monkes alſo of Londõ were then put in priſon, to the number of nyne or tenne, and in the ſame priſon dyed, for whom we wyll (the Lorde wyllyng) reſerue an other place hereafter to intreate of more at large.

9. Carthuſians dyed in priſon, refuſing the kinges ſupremacie.

In ŷ meane tyme, for ſo much as ŷ foreſaide Cope in his doughtie Dialogues, ſpeaking of theſe nyne worthyes, doth commende them ſo highly, and eſpecially the three priors aboue recited, here by the way I woulde deſire maiſter Cope, ſimply and directly to anſweare me to a thing or two that I would put to hym, and firſt, of this John Houghtõ that angelical Prior of the Charterhouſe, his olde companion & acquaintance, of whõ thus he writeth: Atqui cũ Ioannẽ illum Houghtonium cogito, non tam hominem quàm angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cuius eminentes virtutes, diuinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo vnquam poterit ſatis pro dignitate explicare, &c. By theſe his owne wordes it muſt needes be confeſſed, that the author of theſe Dialogues, who ſo euer he was, had well ſeene and conſidered the forme & perſonable ſtature, proportion and ſhape of his excellent bodye, with ſuche admiration of his perſonage, that (as he ſayth) ſo oft as he calleth the ſaid John Houghton to mynd, it ſemeth to hym, euen as though he ſawe an angell in the ſhape and forme of a man. Whoſe eminent vertues moreouer, whoſe diuine gyftes, and heroical celſitude of mind, no man (ſaith he) may ſufficiently expreſſe. &c. And how old was this M. Cope then

M. Copes ix. worthyes.

Copus in Dialog. 6. pag. 995.

Copes Dialogues ſuſpected not to be hys owne.

then I would knowe, when he ſawe and diſcerned al this? For as I vnderſtande, M. Cope beyng yet at this preſent ſcarſe come to the age of. xl. yeares, he coulde not be then aboue nine yeare olde (the other ſufferyng ann. 1535.) in the whiche age, in my mynde, M. Cope had ſmal diſcretion to iudge eyther of any ſuch angelical proportion of mans perſonage, or of his diuine qualities, and heroical celſitude of his mind as yet he remembreth in his Dialogues. Whiche thing among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to ſuſpect, that theſe Dialogues printed in Antwerp, an. 1566. were brought ouer by M. Cope, there to be printed, but were penned & framed by an other Pſeudocopus, what ſoeuer, or in what Fleete ſo euer he was, vnles my markes doo greatly faile me. But as the caſe is of no great weight, ſo I let it paſſe, returnyng to other matters of more importance.

Shortly after, the ouerthrow of the Pope conſequently began by litle and litle to folow the ruine of Abbeyes and religious houſes in Englande, in a right order and methode by Gods diuine prouidence. For neither coulde the fall of Monaſteries haue folowed after, vnleſſe that ſuppreſſion of the Pope had gone before, neither could any true reformation of the church haue bene attempted, vnles ẏ ſubuerſion of thoſe ſuperſtitious houſes had ben ioyned withal.

Suppreſſion of Abbeyes firſt beginneth in England.

Religious men vnder age, let out of monaſteryes.

The king firſt beginneth with the iuells of Abbeyes.

Whereupon the ſame yeare in the moneth of October, the king hauyng then Tho. Cromwel of his Counſel, ſent Doct. Lee to viſite the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunryes in al England, & to ſet at libertie al ſuche religious perſons, as deſired to be free, & al other that were vnder the age of. 24. yeares: Prouidyng withal that ſuch Monkes, Chanons, & Fryers as were dimiſſed, ſhould haue geuē them by the Abbot or Prior, in ſteede of their habite, a ſecular Prieſtes gowne, and. xl. ſhillynges of money: & likewiſe the Nunnes to haue ſuch apparel as ſecular women dyd then commonly vſe, and ſuffered to goe where they would. At which tyme alſo from the ſayde Abbeys and Monaſteries were taken their chiefe iewels and reliques.

Anno. 1536.

When the kyng had thus eſtabliſhed his ſupremacie, and all thinges were well quieted within the Realme, he like a wiſe prince, & hauing wiſe counſaile about him, forecalling with hym ſelfe, what forreine daungers might fal vnto hym by other countreys about, whiche all were yet in ſubiection to the Biſhop of Rome, ſaue onely a fewe Germane princes, and miſdoubting the malice of the pope: to prouide therefore by tyme for perilles that might enſue, thought good to keepe in by all meanes poſſible with other Princes.

A ſolemne proceſſion in London for ioy of the French kinges health.

And firſt to entertaine the fauour of the French king, who had bene ſicke a litle before, and nowe was lately recouered to health, in ſignification of publique ioye and frendſhip, the kyng cōmaunded a ſolemne and famous proceſſion to be ordeyned through the citie of London, with the Waits and chyldren of Grammar ſcholes, with the maiſters and vſhers in their array: Then folowed the orders of the Fryers and Chanons, and the Priours with their pompe of Copes, Croſſes, Cādleſtickes, and Vergers before them. After theſe folowed the next pageant of Clerkes & prieſtes of London, all in Copes likewiſe. Then the monkes of Weſtminſter and other Abbeys, with their glorious gardernance of Croſſes, Candleſtickes, and Vergers before thē in like ſort. Laſt of al came the queere of Paules, with their reſidenſaryes, the Biſhop of London and the Abbots folowyng after in their Pontificalibus. After theſe courſes of the Clergie, went the companies of the citie, with ẏ lord Maior & Aldermē in their beſt apparel, after their degrees. And leaſt it might be thought this Proceſſion of the church of London, to make but a ſmal or beggerly ſhewe, the furniture of the gay Copes there worne, was counted to the number of. 714. Moreouer, to fill vp the ioy of this proceſſion, and for the more high ſeruice to almightye God, beſide the ſingyng queeres, & chaunting of the prieſtes, there lacked no minſtrels withal, to pipe at the Proceſſion. Briefly here lacked nothyng els, but only ẏ ordinānce to ſhoot of alſo. But becauſe that is vſed in the Proceſſions at Rome, therfore for difference ſake, the ſame is reſerued onely for the Popes own Proceſſions, and for none other, in the moneth of October.

A pyping proceſſion.

This grand proceſſion was appoynted, for a triumphe or a thankes geuyng for the late recouerye of the Frenche kynges health, as is aforeſayd.

Ambaſſadours ſent to ſundry kinges.

Ouer and beſides this, the kyng to nouriſhe and reteine amitie with kinges and princes, leaſt the Pope beyng exiled nowe out of England, ſhould incite them to warre agaynſt hym, directed ſundry Ambaſſadours and meſſengers with letters and inſtructions. To the Emperour was ſent ſyr Tho. Wyat, to the French kyng ſyr Fraunces Brian, and Doct. Edw. Foxe, who was alſo ſent to the Princes of Germanie, to the Scottes king was ſent ſir Raffe Sadler, gentleman of the kinges priuie chamber.

Syr Raffe Sadler ambaſſadour to the Scottes king.

In Scotlande the ſame tyme were caſt abroade diuers railing ballets, and ſclaunderous rimes againſt the king of England, for caſting of the Ladye Dowager, and for aboliſhing the Pope: for the which cauſe the foreſaid Sir Raffe Sadler being ſent into Scotland, with leſſons and inſtructions howe to addreſſe him ſelfe accordingly, after he had obteyned acceſſe vnto the king, and audience to be hearde, firſt declareth the affectuous and harty comendations from the kinges maieſtie his graces vncle, and withal deliuered his letters of credence. Which done, after a fewe wordes of courtly entertenement, as occaſion ſerued hym to ſpeake, the ſayde Syr Raffe Sadler obteynyng audience, thus beganne in the king his maiſters behalfe, to declare, as foloweth.

¶ The Oration of the kynges ambaſſadour.

The Oration of Syr Raffe Sadler to the Scottiſh king.

Whereas there is nothing after the glorye of almightye God, in this world ſo muche to be tendered by kynges, Princes, or any honeſt perſons, or ſo highly to be regarded and defended, as their honor, eſtimation, good fame & name, which who ſoeuer neglecteth, is to be eſteemed vnnatural, and vnleſſe a man labor to auoyde and extinguiſhe the falſe reportes, ſclaunders, and diffamations made of him by malitious perſons, he may wel be ſuſpected, in conſcience to cōdemne him ſelfe: the kyng your vncle conſidering ẏ ſame, and hearing of ſundry ballettes, criminations, and famous libelles, made and vntruely forged and deuiſed in Scotland againſt his grace, by your graces ſubiectes, not onely vpon truſt to finde with your grace ſuch natural affection, frendſhip, and amitie, as the nearnes of bloud betwene vncle and nephewe, neceſſitude of reuerence, proximitie both of kinne & of dominions together doth require: but alſo vpon aſſuraunce, that your grace and wiſedome wyll conſider howe theſe ſclaunders and diffamations, although they were but againſte a priuate perſon, what ſoeuer he were, moſte commonly redounde and are imputed to the whole degree and eſtate: as the diffamation of kynges toucheth kynges, and ſo of other degrees and dignities: dooth ſende at this tyme to your grace, his nephewe (other he might haue ſent more worthy, but me at this tyme, for lacke of a better hath he ſente) to deſire, pray, and require your grace, that accordyng as the nearenes of bloud, connexion of eſtate, and other thinges before expreſſed, of right and iuſtice do require: beſeeching your grace, gently to weigh and balaunce, and wel to ponder the malice of theſe the ſaide ſclaunderers, and to call in againe all the ſaide diffamatorie ballettes, libelles, and other writinges, puniſhing the authours and ſetters forth thereof, accordyng to their demerites: and furthermore to cauſe open proclamations to be made through your realme, that none of the inhabitauntes there ſhall in anye manner wiſe ſo miſuſe him ſelfe hereafter, vpon ſuche great paine and puniſhment, as to your grace, and your Counſayle ſhall be thought conuenient for the tranſgreſſion thereof: ſo that other by their correction, and by the fearefull example of the penaltie, may beware howe to commit the like offence in tyme commyng.

Euill example a pernitious thing in a common wealth.

The example of ſuch ſclaunders is very pernitious to al kinges. For by ſuch ſclaunders of other princes, ẏ ſclaūderers take boldneſſe ſo to deale afterward with their own king, as they haue done with other, and the next ſtep from ſuch ſclaunderous wordes, is to attempt dedes, and ſo to fal to ſedition: of the importance and daunger wherof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore, your grace, at the contemplation of your deare vncle, in tendering his proceedynges, ſhall doo well to folowe therein the louyng ſteppes of his good brother and allye the Frenche king, who hath alreadye at Roane and ſundrye places els, cauſed certaine ſclaunderous preachers to be ſore puniſhed: and further directed commiſſions thorowe his Realme for repreſſing the ſame: As alſo other Princes ſhalbe readye (his Maieſtie truſteth) to doo the like in their dominions, if like occaſion ſhalbe geuen to require the ſame of them. In whiche ſo doyng, your grace maye be aſſured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to winne your vncles moſt ſincere & kind hart, to the encreaſe of your amitie and alliance, which, as to you ſhalbe moſt honorable, ſo ſhal it be no leſſe profitable vnto hym.

The ſecond poynt.

And thus to conclude with the firſt parte of my narration concernyng the ſclaunderous and diffamatorie libelles, leaſte I ſhoulde ſeeme with prolixitie of matter more then needes, to abuſe your graces ſilence: I wyll nowe deſcende to the other poynt of that whiche I haue to vtter vnto your grace, as touchyng the Popes Nuntio or meſſenger. Of whoſe arriual, the kinges Maieſtie your vncle hauyng partly intelligence, but not certainely knowing the ſpecial cauſe of his commyng from Rome, and yet fearyng by the common bruite and talke of your ſubiectes, what his erande ſhoulde be: that is, to practiſe ſome annoyaunce by his pretended cenſures againſte the kinges Maieſtie your vncle: he therefore premoniſhing your grace before, as fearing the worſt, moſt iuſtly maketh his complaint therof vnto your grace his nephewe, requiryng you, that for as muche as the foreſaide bruites and reportes are ſclaunderous to his Maieſtie: and ſeeing that neyther the Emperour, nor the Frenche kyng, nor any other Princes haue conſented therto, or vnderſtood thereof, the kinges maieſtie therefore your vncle willyng to ſtop thoſe bruites & talkes, deſireth & moſt hartily prayeth your grace at his inſtant requeſt, to vouchſafe, to conſider 4 way. Firſt, the ſupremacie of princes by the holy ſcripture graunted vnto hym & other princes in earth vnder Chriſt, vpon their churches.

Supremacie of Princes.

Secondly, to weigh what the Goſpel and Gods word calleth a Church.

Alſo, what ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and blynde abuſes haue crept into al realmes, to yͤ high diſpleaſure of almightye God by reaſon therof.

Fourthly, what is to be vnderſtanded by the true cenſure or excommunication of the Churche, and howe no ſuch can be in the power of the Biſhop of Rome, or of any other man, againſt his Maieſtie, or any other Prince, hauyng ſo iuſte grounde to auoyde from the roote, and to aboliſhe that execrable authoritie, which the Biſhop of Rome hath vſurped and doth vſurpe vpon al princes, to their great detriment and dammage.

As touching the conſideration of which foure poyntes, although the kinges maieſtie your vncle doubteth not your grace to be furniſhed & prouided with ſufficient knowledge, rightly to diſcerne and iudge vpon the ſame, yet if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your grace further to know your vncles mynd touching the ſaid poyntes, I aſſure your highnes in the behalfe of your foreſaid vncle his maieſtie, that he wyl not ſticke to ſende vnto you ſuch learned, wiſe and diſcrete men, as ſhall amply enfourme you therof, and of ſuch other thinges as your grace hauyng once a ſmacke therof, ſhal thinke moſte worthy for a prince to knowe.

His requeſt therefore to your highnes is, that you wyl conſider of what moment and importaunce it ſhalbe vnto your grace (hauyng the Scottes your ſubiectes ſo euyl inſtructed in the premiſſes) for you to aſſent and agree to any ſuch cenſure, and ſo by ſuch example to geue ſuch an vpper hand ouer your ſelfe and other princes, to that vſurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Chriſtendome, where ſo euer the true declaration of the truth and word of God ſhal haue free courſe, to ſcourge them, vnleſſe they wyll adore, worſhyp, and kyſſe the feete of that corrupt holyneſſe, which deſireth nothing els but pride, and the vniuerſall thral of Chriſtendome vnder Romes yokes.

Romes yokes.

But becauſe the cenſures of that Nuntio be not yet opened, but lye ſecrete and vncertaine vnder mutteryng, I ſhall ceaſe further to procede therein, tyl further occaſion ſhall miniſter to me more certaine matter for to ſaye and to iudge. In the meane tyme for ſo muche as it is moſt certainely come to the intelligence of the kings maieſtie, that yͤ Abbot of Arbroth ſhoulde be choſen of late & elected to be a Cardinall in this your Realme of Scotlande, his maieſtie therfore for the good loue & harty wyl he beareth vnto your grace, as the vncle is bound vnto the nephew, knowing that you as yet perceiue not ſo wel the hypocriſie and deceitfull guile and malice of the Romanes and their practiſes, as he hym ſelf doth by his long experience: could not but hearing thereof, aduertiſe your grace, that his aduiſe is, you ſhould not ſuffer any of your ſubiectes to take vpon hym that red hatte of pride: wherby he ſhal incontinently, the ſame beyng receyued, (vnleſſe he be of a contrary nature to any man that euer was yet of that ſort) not only be in maner diſcharged of his obedience, and become the biſhop of Romes true liege man, but alſo ſhall preſume of his Cardinalſhyp to be your felowe, and to haue the rule as well as you. Then ſhall the Biſhop of Rome creepe into your owne very boſome, knowe al your ſecretes, and at laſt, vnleſſe you wyl be yoked, and ſerue their pleaſure in al poyntes, your grace is like to ſmart for it. The thyng perchance in the beginnyng ſhal ſeeme to your grace very honourable and pleaſant: but wiſdome would to beware of the taple, which is very black and bytter.

The Abbot of Arbroth choſen Cardinall of Scotland.

Inconuenience that commeth by Cardinals.

His maieſties father, and Graundfather to your grace, had a Cardinal, wherof he was weary, and neuer admitted other after his deceaſe, knowyng the importable pride of them. In like maner alſo his highnes by the experience of one, hath vtterly determined to auoide al the ſort: So wel his grace hath knowen & experienced their miſchiefe, yoke, and thraldome, that thereby is layd vpon princes. By reaſon whereof, as his highnes is the more able by his owne experience to infourme your grace: ſo of good wyll & meere propenſitie of hart, cauſed partly by nature and kinne, partly by coniunction and vicinitie of dominions adioynyng ſo neare together, he is no leſſe ready to forewarne your grace before, wiſhing that God wyll ſo worke in your princely hart and noble ſtomake, that his maieſties monition and frendly warnyng, as it proceedeth from a ſincere affection and tender care of his parte vnto his nephewe, ſo it maye preuaile and take place in your mynd, that your grace wiſely weighing with your ſelfe, what ſupreme right Princes haue and ought to haue vppon their Churches and landes where they gouerne, & what litle cauſe the biſhop of Rome hath therto, to procede by vniuſt cenſures againſt thē, your grace may therin not onely ſtand to the iuſt defence of your deare vncle, but alſo may endeuor to folow his ſteps therin, and to take his counſaile, whiche he doubteth not, but ſhall redounde not onely to your graces honour, to the benefite, weale, & profit of your realme & ſubiects, but eſpecially to yͤ glory of almighty God, and aduauncement of his true religion.

And thus haue I expounded to your grace, the ſumme of my errand and meſſage from the kinges maieſtie your vncle, who as he would be glad to be aduertiſed by anſweare, of your graces purpoſe, mynd, and intention in this behalfe, ſo for my part, accordyng to my charge and duetie, I ſhall be preſt and ready with al diligence, to geue mine attendance vpon your pleaſure for the ſame accordingly.

¶ The ſumme and effecte of the kynges meſſage ſent to the Frenche kyng, in defence of his proceedynges.

The kyng conſidering the preſent ſtate of his marriage whiche was not yet well digeſted nor accepted in the Courtes of other Princes: and alſo hauyng intelligence of the ſtrayte amitie intended by the marriages betweene the Emperour and the French king, and alſo of the popes inclination to pleaſure the Emperour, and further vnderſtādyng of the order & meanyng of the French kinges Counſaile, not greatly fauouring his purpoſes, ſent therfore vnto Fraunce for his ambaſſadour Edw. Foxe doct. of Diuinitie, his Chaplaine and Coūſailour, with inſtructions and admonitions howe to frame and attemper him ſelfe in thoſe the kynges affayres. The contentes of whiche his inſtructions came to this effecte: That the ſaide Edward Foxe, firſt declaring to the French king the moſt affectuous commendations made on the kinges behalfe, with declaration of the kings moſt entire and hartie good wyl to vnderſtand of his proſperitie, & the good ſucceſſe of his affayres, which his maieſtie no leſſe deſired then his owne: and alſo after the kyngs letters being deliuered to hym and to other perſonages of his Counſaile, then, after his acceſſe made vnto the kyng, ſhoulde vtter & inſinuate vnto the kyng, his maiſters mind & intent in theſe three ſpecial poyntes folowing.

The kinges meſſage to the French kyng.

The firſt was, to declare the iuſtnes of the kings cauſe, concernyng the late mariage with queene Anne, and diuorcement of the king, from his brothers wife.

Three cauſes to be declared in the kinges defence.

The ſecond, to ſignifie and expreſſe the iniuries done by the Pope, as afterward ſhalbe declared.

The thirde was, to winne and allure to the kinges deuotion the Chauncelour of Fraunce.

And as touching the declaration of the iuſtnes of the kynges cauſe, firſt he takyng with hym certaine bookes printed, conteynyng the determinations of Uniuerſities in that behalfe, with reaſons and authorities confirming the ſame, ſhould diſtribute the ſaid bookes to the Biſhop of S. Line, and to other biſhops, to Monſieur de Langez, & other of the kinges counſaile moe, and to proue after the beſt faſhion, to obtaine their approbations of the ſame bookes, and with dexteritie to aſſay whether he could induce them of the Uniuerſitie of Paris, and other learned men, to ſend forth this booke with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he being acquainted with al thoſe pointes & articles of the kinges cauſe, in communication and conference (as the caſe required) ſhoulde not onely make anſweare to ſuch thinges as ſhould be obiected, but alſo furniſh & mainteyne the iuſtnes of that opinion, with his learnyng, in ſuch ſort as he could beſt inuent and cogitate.

As touching the ſecond part, which conteyned the iniuries done by the pope agaynſt the king, the ſaid ambaſſador in that behalfe beyng a man no leſſe acquainted, then alſo wel beaten and ripe in the manifold miſbehauiours of the Pope, from the beginnyng of the cauſe, ſhould declare & expreſſe to the French king, howe iniuriouſly the ſaide Pope had demeaned hym ſelf toward the kinges highnes: firſt in ſendyng a commiſſion decretal, and then commaunding it to be burnt: as alſo in promiſing by ſchedule of his own hand,

The Popes iniuryes donne to the kyng of England.

not

The Pope inconſtant in his decrees, and contrary to him ſelfe.

not to call the cauſe out of Englande: and moreouer approuing firſt yͤ iuſtnes of the kinges cauſe, yet notwithſtanding afterward went from the ſame, and dyd contrary.

Touchyng all whiche iniuries receyued at the Popes hand, although the king had great cauſe iuſtly to complaine, yet other iniuries there were beſide theſe, wherewith the kyng moſt eſpecially was moued.

The Pope calleth and citeth the K. to Rome.

The one was for calling and cityng the kings highnes to appeare at Rome.

Two ſpeciall iniuries of the pope againſt the king.

The other was for reiectyng the perſon of the kynges truſtie ſubiect and Chaplayne, maiſter Kerne his ambaſſadour, from making ſuche allegations, as to the king in that caſe apperteined: beſide ſundrye other no ſmall greues and inconueniences, whiche here might be ſhewed and alleged: But in theſe two eſpeciall iniuries the kyng thought hym ſelfe moſt chiefly touched, and agreeued. In openyng & ripping vp of which iniuries, and firſt in the ſaid iniurious calling of the king to Rome, inſtructions were geuen to the ſaid ambaſſadour to explicate the open violation therin, of yͤ moſt ancient and general Councels, the Councel of Nice, the Councel of Aphrike, & the Councel of Mileu. In which Councels, the cōtrary was, for quietnes of the world, prouided & ordered: Declaryng withal, how agreeable yͤ ſame is to al lawes, reaſon, & equitie, that Princes ſhould not be cōpelled to repayre to Rome, at the Popes callyng, nor be bound in a matter of ſuch weight & moment, to ſende out of their realmes & dominions, the writings, inſtrumentes, & monuments conteinyng the ſecretes of their affayres, or to make & truſt a proctor beyng in ſo farre diſtant parties, in a matter of ſuch importance, to abide & fulfill that whiche the ſaid Proctor ſhould agree vnto there. The matter and caſe whereof dyd not ſo much concerne yͤ eſtate of any one prince alone, as it touched the dignitie of all other Chriſten kings, ſo neare, that vnles they would ſuffer them ſelues to be yoked with the Popes authoritie, it was tyme (in as muche as the Pope nowe made this enterpriſe on thē) to enſearch and know the bottome & grounde both of his & of their authoritie: & if any thing by negligence or miſuſe had ben loſt, to recouer the ſame, rather then to ſuffer it to decaye any more. As touchyng al which greeues, hurts, inconueniences, preiudice, & euyl example which might therof enſue, the kyngs highnes doubted not, but that his good brother the French kyng would aſſiſt and concurre with his highnes for maintenance and defence of the ſame.

The Pope violateth the Councells of Nice, Aphricke, and Meleuitaine.

The ſecond poynt to be declared.

For declaration of the ſecond notable griefe and iniurie done by the Pope to the kyngs highnes, thus furthermore he was willed to inſinuate to the Frenche kyng, what iniurie or rather contumelie the kynges highnes receyued at the Popes hand, in not ſufferyng the kynges ſubiect & ambaſſadour to allege ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by law, reaſon, and equitie was to be hearde & admitted, for as much as the ſayd ambaſſadour doctor Kerne the kinges Chaplain beyng at Rome, at ſuche tyme as citations were there publiſhed againſt yͤ kyngs highnes, & vnderſtanding his grace by thē to be called before one Capaſuccha, Deane of yͤ Rote, was there ready to make anſwere to the quenes Agents cōplaynt, & had by the aduice of other great learned men, conceyued a certayne matter cōteynyng cauſes reaſonable & lawful, why the kyngs highnes ſhould not be boūd to appeare there, eyther by him ſelf, or by his proctor. Which matter alſo he dyd exhibite on the kynges behalfe, as a true ſubiect by lawe of nature is bound to mainteyne & to allege in defence of his prince that is abſent, & ought by equitie to preſerue hym frō condemnation. And yet this notwithſtādyng the ſayde Capaſuccha not regardyng nor conſideryng the matter alleged, demaunded whether the ſayde Doctour had any proxie from the kyng or no, for ſuche purpoſe, and vpon default and lacke of the ſayd Proxie (whiche was not neceſſary in this caſe) Proceeded in the principal cauſe. By reaſon wherof the ſayd doctor Kerne appealed to the pope, alleging iniurie to be done, not onely to the kyngs highnes, but alſo to hym ſelfe, for that ſuche matter as he dyd allege, was not conſidered nor regarded, but proces made. To the whiche appellation, notwithſtandyng the ſayd Capaſuccha gaue an ambiguous and a doubteful anſweare, which was, that as muche as Doctor Kerne was by the lawe a lawfull perſon, ſo much he would geue place, & deferre appellationi, and otherwiſe not.

The kinges Ambaſſadour could not be heard at Rome.

Thus vpon declaration of this doubteful anſweare, paſſed certayne dayes, the ſaid Capaſuccha promiſing alwaies to open his ſayd anſweare and ſentence more playnely, and to geue a determinate reſolution. Whiche he neuertheleſſe dyd not, albeit he was diuers tyms vrged thereunto: but ſo paſſed the tyme, and ſodenly returned to proceſſe. Whervpon the ſayde Doctor Kerne appealed eftſoones agayne, and put a ſupplication to the Pope, for admiſſion of the ſayde appeale. By reaſon whereof the matter was reaſoned in the ſignature. In which ſignature by no lawe it coulde be ſhewed why the ſayd doctor Kerne ſhoulde not be admitted to allege in defence of the kinges highnes: but only that they there amongeſt them ſelues being the greater nūber, which were of the Emperours dominions, and fered of hym (amōg which was alſo the ſaid Capaſuccha) gaue their voyces as the Pope ſayde, that Doctour Kerne ſhoulde not be hearde, Sine mandato Regiæ maieſtatis. Whereunto when Doctor Kerne replyed, ſaying: what ſoeuer they decreed or ſaid, there was no lawe to mainteine and beare it: it was ſayd againe by Cardinal Ancontane, that the Pope might iudge after his conſcience. And vpon this reſolution, they determined there to proceede in the principall cauſe, vnleſſe the kyng woulde ſende a Proxie, intendyng by this iniurie & wrong, to enforce his highnes to yͤ exhibitiō of a Proxie there, to his highnes highe preiudice, to the pernitious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and alſo to the derogation of the liberties and prerogatiues of his gratious Realme. Vnto the obſeruation wherof his highnes is bounde by his othe, and alſo by the ſame othe bounde to recouer and reſtore ſuche liberties and priuileges, as by any of his predeceſſours hath bene loſt, diminiſhed, or decayed in tyme paſt.

The pope would haue the king to appeare by proxie at Rome.

Theſe with other like iniuries and wronges of the pope done to the kyng, the foreſayde ambaſſadour M. Foxe, accordyng as he had in charge and commiſſion, dyd declare, open, and ſhewe vnto the Frenche kyng, to the intent to ſolicite the ſayd kyng, to doo by his mediation, for the remedying and redreſſing of thoſe foreſayd iniuries and wrongfull dealynges of the Pope in this behalfe.

The third parte or purpoſe of this meſſage.

Furthermore, for the thyrde purpoſe touchyng the Chaunceiour of Fraunce, for as muche as he was one of the chiefe perſonages whom the Frenche kyng moſte truſted in his great affayres (by whoſe aduice all matters of learnyng were then conduced and trayned) the king thought it not vnprofitable, by al wayes and meanes to wynne and allure his frendſhip and amitie alſo, vnto his deuotion, eyther that by his meanes and dexteritie the kynges purpoſes might be aduaunced the better: or at leaſt for a Ne noceat: yͭ is to mitigate & diminiſh ſuch fauour as he by yͤ admyrall or otherwiſe, was moued to ſhewe to the Imperialles. For the which cauſe the king committyng in charge to his ambaſſadour aforeſayde, willed and inſtructed hym howe and what to doo, and after what maner to attemperate hym ſelfe to all occaſions and tymes of oportunitie: as firſt to deliuer to hym frō the kyng, his letters of credence, and withal to declare and extend the kyngs moſt affectuous commendations, with the hartie good wyl, and ſincere affection which his highnes bare to the ſayd Cardinal chancelour of Fraunce, with no leſſe deſire alſo moſte gladly to do that thyng which might be to his commoditie and benefite, accordyng as the manyfolde pleaſures, gratuities, and kyndnes done on his part for the kynges hyghnes, did worthyly deſerue. Then after ſuche wordes of mollification, to enter into further communication with hym, in ſuch ſort as might beſt ſerue his honour.

The vayne glory and auarice of the Cardinall.

The faſhion of princes courtes to be noted.

And for as much as the Cardinal was then noted much to be moued with the affections of vayne glory, & couetous, therfore amōgeſt other cōmunication, it was deuiſed to inferre mention of the Papalitie, notyng what wayes and meanes might be vſed to attaine vnto that dignitie. Wherin if the kynges highnes could ſtand hym to any ſteed, as he thought the perſon of the ſayd Chauncelour moſt meete for the ſame: ſo he would not fayle to moue and to procure it to the beſt furtherance of his aduancement. And finally to declare howe deſirous the kynges highnes was to retayne and make ſure vnto hym, the amitie and frendſhip of the ſayd Chauncelour, and that his highnes deuiſing by what meanes and wayes he myght do the ſame (albeit his grace knewe wel, that the fayth and ſinceritie of the ſayd Chauncelour towardes his maiſter was ſuch, as no gyft, penſion, or other offer coulde aduaunce or encreaſe that good wyll whiche for his mayſters ſake, he would employ in the kinges hyghnes affayres) thought that for declaration of his hartye good wyll towardes the ſayde Chauncellour, it were conuenient to offer vnto hym ſome yearely remembraunce. &c.

This was the ſumme and effecte of the meſſage of the kyng ſent vnto the Frenche kyng, and to other of his counſayle, by his ambaſſadour maſter Edwarde Foxe, whiche was eſpecially to ſignifie and make manifeſt vnto the ſayde Frenche kyng the vniuſt dealynges and preiudicial proceedynges of the Pope, in callyng vp the kyng of England to appeare at Rome, by Proxie, which was derogatory to the kynges dignitie and crowne, and alſo preiudiciall both to general Councelles of the primitiue tyme, and to the auncient lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme (as is afore declared) and no leſſe hurtfull for example to all other princes and kynges likewiſe. &c.

This

Stephen Gardiner Ambaſſadour to the French king.

The French kinges ſaying agaynſt the kinges ſucceſſion.

The kinges aunſwere to the French king.

Kynges in the ryght of their realmes are not bounde to the agreement of outwarde realmes.

This meſſage ſo done, ſhortly after was ſent to the ſaid French king, Stephen Gardiner biſh. of Wincheſter, with the kings anſwere & meſſage againe on this maner: that for ſo much as the ſaying of the Frenche king to the ambaſſadors was this: that notwithſtanding all the kinges realme ſhould agree & condeſcend neuer ſo much to that right & title, which the ſucceſſion procreated of this his lawfull matrimonie hath in this his realme: yet when outwarde parties ſhal conceyue any other or cõtrary opinion therof, great trouble and vexation might enſue. &c. Whereunto the kyng made anſwere againe, declaring that he could not but greatly maruelle, that yͤ king his brother being ſo wiſe a prince, and thereto ſo well expert and learned in Chronicles and hiſtories, not onely of his owne realme, but alſo of al others, or any of his Counſaile, being men of ſuche experience as they were taken to be, woulde thinke that the opinion and conſent of other outward Realmes was ſo highly to be cõſidered and regarded of any Prince or king, in ſtabliſhyng or in execution of thinges whiche might be lawfully done, and which touched the preſeruation of the rightes, preeminences, dignitie, and ſtate of his realme, and dyd alſo notably conferre vnto the ſingular benefite and tranquilitie of the ſame, ſo as the wordes both of the ſaid king his brother, and of the great Maiſter did pretende. Who furthermore were not ignoraunt them ſelues, that many thinges haue bene by his noble progenitours kinges of Fraunce attempted & done, as wel in caſes of matrimonie, as otherwiſe, which in ſome part in the opinion of yͤ popes of Rome then being, & in ſome part in the opinion of diuers other outwarde Princes, ſtates, Seigniories, and common people haue bene thought not perfectly good, nor yet muche acceptable vnto them: and yet that notwithſtanding his ſaide progenitors knowing thẽ ſelues yͤ proſecuting of thoſe cauſes to be beneficial to thẽ & to yͤ realme, haue not therefore deſiſted from their ſaid purpoſes, but diligently employing their owne ſtrength and powers with the ſuccours of their frendes, haue finally atchieued their ſaid enterpriſes, without requiryng or greatly regarding the opinion or agrement therunto of outward princes.

The ouerture of the Chaũcellour of Fraunce, to the king, to take indifferent iudges by the Popes authoritie.

The kinges aunſwere to the ouerture.

Againe, wheras the Chauncelour of France made this ouerture to the ſaide Biſhop of Wincheſter, whether the kyng woulde be content to haue indifferent Judges to be appoynted by the authoritie of the Pope, to determyne his cauſe, with a commiſſion decretal from the ſame, declaring Quid iuris. &c. The king by his ambaſſador therunto anſwearing, declared that the Pope hauyng done vnto hym ſo notable and euident iniuryes, as he had donne, it were his office and ducty, now to labour hym ſelfe to end this matter, and to ſtudy how to make due ſatiſfaction to God & his iuſtice whiche he hath tam indignis modis offended and violated, and to deliuer hym ſelf out of the daunger, and the perpetual infamie of the world, whiche he hath incurred by reaſon of theſe his moſt vngodly doynges, and not to looke that the kyng ſhoulde make any requeſt or ſuite vnto hym therfore, or recompence for the ſame. &c.

Furthermore, where as the Pope, at the requeſt of the Frenche kyng, had in open Conſiſtorie prorogued execution of his cenſures and excommunication againſt the king vnto the firſt day of Nouember, and word therof was ſent to the king by his ambaſſadours, from the great maiſter of Fraunce, that the kyng might haue the ſayde prorogation made autentikely in writing, if he woulde: The kyng anſwearyng therunto, thought it not vnprofitable, that his ambaſſadours reſidẽt in France, ſhould receyue vnto their handes, yͤ poſſeſſion of the ſaide newe prorogation conceyued and written in autentike forme and maner according to the order of the lawes.

The king requeſted by the french king to relent to the Pope.

After this againe, came other letters to the king from France, namely frõ the great maiſter of Fraunce, tendyng to this end, that if the king would do nothing for the Pope, (meanyng by the reuocation of ſuch actes of parlament, as were made in the Realme of Englande, to the Popes preiudice) it were no reaſon, neither ſhould it be poſſible for the Frenche king to induce the Pope to any gratuitye or pleaſure for the king in his affayres.

The kinges aunſwere to the French kinges requeſt.

Wherunto the king anſwearing againe, ſendeth worde to the French king, truſting and hopyng wel of the perfect frendſhip of the French kyng his good brother, that he wyl neuer ſuffer any ſuche perſwaſion to enter into his breaſt, what ſoeuer the great maiſter or any other ſhal ſaye to the contrary therof, nor that he wyll require any thyng more of hym to doo for the Pope, Chauncelour, or other, then his Counſaile hath already deuiſed to be done in this behalfe: eſpecially conſideryng the wordes of the ſaid French kings promiſe made before, as wel to the Duke of Northfolke, as to the other ambaſſadours, promiſing his frendſhip to the king ſimply without requiryng hym to reuocate or infringe any ſuche acte or conſtitution made by the Realme & Parlament, to the contrary: Perſwading moreouer and laying before the eyes, as wel of the Pope, as of the French king, howe much it ſhould redounde to the Popes diſhonour and infamie, and to the ſclaunder alſo of his cauſe, if he ſhould be ſeene ſo to pact and couenaunt with the kyng vpon ſuch conditions, for the adminiſtration of that thyng, whiche he in his owne conſcience hath reputed and iudged to be moſte rightfull and agreeable to iuſtice and equitie, and ought of his office and duetie to do in this matter ſimpliciter & gratis, and without all worldly reſpectes, either for the aduancement of his priuate lucre and commoditie, or for the preſeruation of his pretenſed power and authoritie. For ſurely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope beyng mynded and determined to geue ſentence for yͤ inualiditie & nullitie of the kinges firſt pretenſed matrimonie, hath conceyued and eſtabliſhed in his owne conſcience a firme & certaine opinion and perſwaſion, that he ought of iuſtice and equitie ſo to do.

The Pope ſeeketh not for iuſtice, but his owne lucre and commoditye.

The Pope ſelleth iuſtice.

The Pope doth agaynſt his owne conſcience.

Then to ſee the Pope to haue this opiniõ in deede, and yet refuſe this to doo for the king, vnleſſe he ſhalbe content for his benefit and pleaſure, Cedere iuri ſuo, and to do ſome thinges preiudicial vnto his ſubiectes contrarye to his honour: it is eaſie to be foreſeene, what the worlde and the poſteritie ſhal iudge de tã turpi nundinatione iuſtitiæ, & illius tam fœda & ſordidi lucri & honoris ambitione. And as for the kynges part, if he ſhal not atteyne nowe iuſtice at yͤ mediatiõ of his good brother, knowing yͤ Pope to be of this diſpoſition and determination in his hart, to ſatiſfie all his deſires, beyng moued thereunto by iuſtice, and that the let therof is no default of iuſtice in the cauſe, but onely for that the kyng woulde not condeſcende to his requeſt: it is to the kyng matter ſufficient enough for diſcharge of his conſcience to God and to the worlde, although he neuer dyd execute in deede his ſaide determination. For ſith his corrupt affection is the onely impediment thereof, what neede eyther the kyng to require hym any further to doo in the cauſe, or els his ſubiectes to doubt any further in the iuſtnes of the ſame.

The Pope forgetteth his old benefactours and frendes.

The benefits of the king vpon the Pope, when he was taken by the Duke of Burbone.

Albeit if reſpectes to benefites & merites done towardes the Pope & the ſee of Rome, ſhoulde be regarded in the attaynyng of iuſtice in a cauſe of ſo high conſequencie as this is, reaſon would, that if it would pleaſe the Pope to conſider the former kindnes of the kyng ſhewed vnto hym in tymes paſt (wherof he is very loth to enter the rehearſall, ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de alijs fecerit bene) he ſhould not now require of hym any newe benefite or gratuitie to be ſhewed vnto hym, but rather ſtudy to recompence hym for the old graces, merites, pleaſures, & benefits before receyued. For ſurely he thinketh that the pope can not forget, howe that for the conſeruation of his perſon, his eſtate and dignitie, the king hath not heretofore ſpared for any reſpect, in vſing the office of a moſt perfect and ſtedfaſt frend, to relinquiſh the lõg cõtinued good wil eſtabliſhed betwene hym and the Emperour, & to declare openly to al the world, that for the Popes ſake, and in default of his deliueraunce, he would become enemye to the ſayd Emperour, & to make agaynſt hym actual warre.

Of this read before pag. 962.

All is loſt that is done for a churle.

Beſide this, the kyng hath not fayled hym with right large and ample ſubuentions of money, for the better ſupportyng of his charges, agaynſt the enterpriſes of the ſayde Emperour, combyndyng and knittyng hym ſelfe with the Frenche kyng, to procure the aduauncement of the ſayde Frenche kynges armie into Italie, to the charges wherof, the kyng dyd beare litle leſſe then the one halfe: Beſides notable loſſes ſuſteyned as wel in his cuſtomes, ſubſidies, and other duties, as alſo to the no litle hynderaunce and dammage of his ſubiectes and marchauntes, occaſioned by diſcontinuance of the traffike and entercourſe heretofore vſed with the Emperours ſubiectes. In dooyng of all whiche thynges, the kyng hath not bene thus reſpectiue, as the Pope nowe ſheweth hym ſelfe towardes hym, but like a perfect frende hath bene alwayes contented frankly, liberally, and openly to expone all his ſtudye, labour, trauaile, treaſure, puiſaunce, Realme, and ſubiectes for the Popes ayde & yͤ mayntenaunce of the ſtate and dignitie of the Churche and See of Rome. Which thynges although he doth not here rehearſe animo exprobrãdi, yet he doubteth not, but the ſame weighed in the ballaunce of any indifferent mans iudgement, ſhalbe thought to be of that weight & valure, as that he hath iuſtly deſerued to haue ſome mutual correſpondencie of kindenes to be ſhewed vnto hym at the Popes handes: eſpecially in the miniſtration of iuſtice, and in ſo reaſonable & iuſt cauſe as this is, and not thus to haue his moſt righteful petition reiected and denyed becauſe he wyll not folowe his deſire and appetite in reuocatyng of ſuch actes as be here made and paſſed for the weale & commoditie of his realme and ſubiectes.

¶ Thus haue you hearde howe inſtantly the king had laboured by the meanes of the French kyng, to the Pope beyng then in Fraunce, for right and iuſtice to be done, for the diſſolution and nullitie of hys firſt pretenſed matrimony wyth hys brothers wife. Which when it coulde not be attayned at the Popes handes, vnles the kyng would recompence and requite the ſame by reuoking of ſuch ſtatutes as were made and enacted here in the hygh Court of Parlament, for the ſuretie of ſucceſsion and ſtabliſhment of the Realme: what the kyng thereunto aunſwered agaynſt, ye heard, declaryng that to be a farre vnequall recompence and ſatiſfaction for a thing which ought of right and iuſtice to be miniſtred vnto hym, that a kyng therefore ſhould reuocate and vndoe the Actes and ſtatutes paſſed by a whole Realme, contrary to hys owne honour, and weale of hys ſubiectes. &c.

The craftie packing of the Papiſtes.

Where is moreouer to be vnderſtanded, how that the Pope with all hys Papiſtes, and the French kyng alſo, & peraduenture Steuen Gardiner too, the kinges own Ambaſſadour, had euer a ſpeciall eye to diſproue and diſapoint the kinges ſucceſsion by Queene Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy vnto the Pope, thinkyng thereby, that if that ſucceſsion were diminiſhed, the Popes kyngdome might ſoone be reſtored againe in England. But yet for all their vniuſt and craftie packing, they were through Gods prouidence, fruſtrate of their deſired purpoſe. For although they ſo brought to paſſe the next yeare folowing, to adnulle the order of that ſucceſsion by a cōtrary Parlamēt: yet neither did they ſo adnihilate it, but that both king Edward folowed, yea and alſo the ſame ſucceſsion afterward by the ſayd kyng and other Parlaments was reſtored agayne, and yet (God be praiſed) hath hetherto reigned and doth yet floriſhe in the Realme of England.

The Papiſtes fruſtrate of their purpoſe.

Now, as we haue declared the kynges doinges in the Realme of Scotland and of Fraunce, proceeding further in the kinges procedings with other Princes, let vs ſee how the king defended himſelf & his cauſe before the Emperour, ſending hys Ambaſſadour vnto him, vſing theſe wordes before his maieſtie, as here foloweth.

¶The Oration of the kinges Ambaſſadour before the Emperour in defence of his cauſe.

The Oration of the Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

SIr the kyng my maiſter taking and reputing you as his perfect frende, confederate, and allye, and not doubtyng but you remembring the mutuall kyndnes betwene you in tyme paſt, will ſhew your ſelf in all occurrētes to be of ſuch mynde and diſpoſition, as iuſtice, truth, and equitie doth require: hath willed me by hys letters, to open and declare vnto you, what he hath done, and in what wyſe he hath proceeded concernyng ſuch Mariage as by many yeares was ſuppoſed to haue bene betwene your Aunte and hys grace. In which matter being two principall pointes ſpecially to be regarded and conſidered: that is to ſay, the iuſtice of the cauſe, and the order of the proceſſe therein, his highnes hath ſo vſed him in both, as no man may right wyſely complayne of the ſame.

Diuiſions conſiſting in ii. partes.

The iuſtnes of the kings cauſe.

Firſt as touching the iuſtnes of the cauſe, that is to ſay, of that Mariage betwene him and your ſayde Aunte to be nought, and of no moment ne effect, but agaynſt the lawe of God, nature, and man, and indiſpenſable by the Pope, and in no wiſe vailable: hys highnes hath done therein, aſmuch as becommeth him for diſcharge of hys conſcience, and hath founde ſo certaine, ſo euidēt, ſo manifeſt, ſo open, and approued truth, as wherunto his maieſtie ought of good congruence to geue place, & which by all other ought to be allowed and receiued, not as a matter doubtfull, diſputable, or depending in queſtion and ambiguitie: but as a playne determined and diſcuſſed veritie of the true vnderſtanding of Gods word and lawe, which all Chriſtian men muſt followe and obey, and before all other worldly reſpectes, preferre and execute. In attaynyng the knowledge whereof, if his hyghnes had vſed onely his owne particular iudgement & ſentence or the mynde only & opinion of his own natural ſubiectes (although ỹ ſame might in his conſcience haue ſuffiſed) would not much haue repugned, if ſome other had made difficultie to aſſent to him in the ſame, till further diſcuſſion had bene made thereupon. But now, foraſmuch as beſides hys owne certaine vnderſtādyng, and ỹ agreemēt of the whole Clergie to the ſame in both prouinces of his realme, hys maieſtie hath alſo for hym the determinations of the moſt famous Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and moſt indifferent to pronounce and geue iudgement in this caſe, and among them, the Vniuerſitie of Bonony, (all feare of the Pope ſet apart) concluding agaynſt his power: and alſo Padua (the Venetiās threates not regarded) geuing their ſentence for the truth & euident wordes of Gods law: there ſhould no man, as ſeemeth to hym, gaynſay or withſtand, eyther in worde or deede, the truth thus opened, but for his honor and duetie to the obſeruation of God lawe, willingly embrace and receaue the ſame.

Vniuerſities ſtanding with the kings cauſe.

According whereunto his grace perceiueth alſo aſwell in his realme, as els where, a notable conſent and agreement amongeſt all Diuines, and ſuch as haue ſtudyed for knowledge of of Gods lawe without contradiction of any number, vnles it be ſuch applying their minde to the maintenaunce of worldly affections, doe either in defence of ſuch lawes as they haue ſtudied, eyther for ſatiſfaction of their priuate appetite, forbeare to agree vnto ỹ ſame. The number of who is ſo ſmall, as in the diſcerning of truth, it ought not to be regarded in a caſe ſo playnely deſcribed and determined by Gods word, as this is.

And if percaſe your maieſtie here not regarding the number, but the matter, ſhall ſeeme to conſider in thys caſe, not ſo much who ſpeaketh, as what is ſpoken, to aunſwere thereunto, I ſay: Syr, the kyng my maiſter is of the ſame mynde, for his owne ſatiſfaction, and taketh hymſelfe to be in the right, not becauſe ſo many ſayth it, but becauſe he beyng learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Neuertheleſſe, reaſon woulde, and enforceth alſo, that ſtraungers to the cauſe and not parties therein, ſhould be induced to beleue that to be truth, that ſuch a number of Clerkes do ſo conſtantly affirme, ſpecially not beyng otherwiſe learned to be Iudges of their ſayinges, as your maieſtie is not. And if you were, then could your highnes ſhewe ſuch reaſons, authorities, and groundes as cannot be taken away, and be ſo firme & ſtable, as they ought not of Chriſten men in any part to be impugned, lyke as hath bene partly heretofore ſhewed by his ſundry Ambaſſadours to your Imperial maieſtie, and ſhould eftſoones be done, were it not too great an iniurie to that is already paſſed in the realme, to diſpute the ſame againe in any other countrey: which beyng contrarious to the lawes and ordinaunces of hys realme, he truſteth your prudencie will not require, but take that is paſt, for a thyng done, and iuſtly done: and as for Gods part, to leaue his conſcience to himſelfe, qui domino ſuo ſtat aut cadit: and for the world, to paſſe ouer as a frende, that which nothing toucheth you, and not to meruaile though the ſayd kyng my maiſter regarding ỹ wealth of hys ſoule principally, with the commoditie of his perſon, and ſo great benefite and quiet of hys Realme, haue percaſe done that he for hys priuate fantaſie, woulde not had chaunced: lyke as hys highnes alſo would wiſhe it had not happened that ſuch cauſe had bene geuen vnto him to compell hym ſo to do.

Both the number and matter maketh with the kyng.

The ſecond part of his Oration touching the maner of the kinges procedinges.

But theſe things in their outward viſage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concerne the ſoule. Quid autem prodeſt homini ſi vniuerſum mundum lucretur, animæ vero ſuæ detrimentum patiatur. Primum quærite regnū Dei. &c. And yet neither is hys highnes ignoraunt what reſpect is to be had vnto the worlde: and how much he hath laboured and trauayled therin, he hath ſufficiently declared and ſhewed to the world in his actes and procedinges. For if he had vtterly contemned the order and proceſſe of the world, or the frendſhip and amitie of your maieſtie: he needed not to haue ſent ſo often and ſundry Ambaſſates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and ſpent his tyme in delayes, as he hath done hetherto, but might many yeares paſt, haue done that he hath done now, if it had ſo liked him, and with as litle difficultie then as now, if he woulde haue without ſuch reſpect, folowed his pleſure in ỹ behalfe. But now I doubt not, your maieſtie doth wel remember how often the kyng my maiſter hath ſent vnto your highnes, and that your maieſtie hath heard alſo what ſutes he hath made to the Pope, and how the ſayd Pope hath hādled him agayne onely in delay and dalyaunce, with open commiſſion geuen to hys Legates to determine and geue ſentence for hym by a commiſſion decretall, and ſecretly to geue them inſtructions to ſuſpend and put ouer the ſame. By which meanes and other ſemblable, he perceiued playnely hymſelfe to be brought in ſuch a laberinth as going forwarde that way, he were like to come to no end, and was therfore compelled to ſteppe right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quiet and repoſe himſelfe at the laſt.

How the pope dalyed with the by delayes.

And was it not tyme to haue end in ſeuen yeare, or els to ſeeke for it an other way? The Pope hath ſhewed himſelfe both vnwilling to haue an ende, and alſo ſo ready and prone to do him iniurie, as well in cityng him to Rome, as alſo ſending forth certeine breues to his grace ſclaunderous, and for the iniuſtice and iniquitie of them, to himſelfe diſhonorable: & he gaue his highnes good and iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect, leaſt any ende to be made at his hand (if any he would make) myght be in hys conſcience receiued and folowed. For the Pope doyng iniurie in ſome point, why ſhoulde he be thought conuenient Iudge, not vſing hymſelfe indifferently in the matter, (as many moe particularities may be ſhewed and declared) conſidering, there is a generall

Com-

This generall Councell was the firſt Coūcell of Conſtantinople.

Councell, willyng all matters to bee determined where they firſt began, and that the whole body of our Realme hath for the wealth of the ſame, by a law eſtabliſhed the determination of ſuch cauſes? By reaſon whereof the Byſhop of Caunterbury as metropolitane of our Realme, hath geuen ſentence in due iudgement for the Kynges partie. It is not to be aſked nor queſtioned, whether that matter hath bene determined after the common faſhion, but whether it hath in it common iuſtice, truth and equitie of Gods lawe. For obſeruation of the common order, hys grace hath done that lay in hym, and inforced by neceſſitie hath founde the true order mainteinable by Gods worde and generall Counceis, whiche he hath in ſubſtaunce folowed with effect, and hath done as becommeth hym, tenderyng either Gods law, or his perſon, or the wealth of his Realme: lyke as he doubteth not but your maieſtie (as a wiſe Prince) remembryng hys cauſe from the begynnyng hetherto, will of your ſelfe conſider and thinke, that among mortall men, nothyng ſhould be immortall, and ſutes muſt once haue an ende: Si poſſis rectè, ſi non, quocunque modo. And if he can not as he would, his wyſeneſſe then to doe as he may, and that hath a iourney to be perfited, muſt if he can not go one way, aſſay an other. What ſoeuer hath bene herein done, neceſſitie hath enforced hym (that is to ſay, Gods law) in the matter, and ſuch maner of dealyng of the Pope, as he hath ſhewed vnto hym in ỷ ſame, doyng ſundry iniuries without effect of Iuſtice, wherein he promiſed the ſame. But as for the Kynges matter to the Pope: he ſhall entreate with him a part. As touchyng your Maieſty, he taketh you for his frend, and as to a frend he openeth theſe matters vnto you, truſtyng to finde your Maieſtie no leſſe frendly hereafter vnto him, then he hath done heretofore.

The kynges diuorce iuſt.

The kynges mariage with Q. Anne lawful.

By theſe matters thus paſſed and diſcourſed to and fro betwene the Kyng and theſe forreine Princes aboue rehearſed, many thinges are to be vnderſtanded of ỷ Reader, who ſo is diſpoſed to behold and conſider the ſtate and proceedyng of publike affaires, as well to the Church appertainyng, as to the common wealth. Firſt how the kyng cleareth hym ſelfe both iuſtly and reaſonably for his diuorce made with the Lady Katherine the Emperours Aunte. Secōdly, how he proueth and defendeth his Mariage with Queene Anne, to be iuſt & lawfull, both by the authoritie of Gods word, and the comprobation of the beſt and moſt famous learned men and Vniuerſities, and alſo by the aſſent of the whole Realme.

The Pope ſuppreſſed.

The kinges title of ſupremacie.

Furthermore for the ſtabliſhyng of the kynges ſucceſſion in the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, for the ſuppreſſion of the Pope and vnityng the title of ſupremacie vnto the kynges crowne, what order therein was taken, and what penaltie was ſet vpō the ſame, as may appeare by the Act of Parlament ſet forth, an. 1534. Et Henr. Reg. 26. cap. 13. in theſe wordes folowyng:

Statut. An. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13.

Denying of the kinges ſupremacie made treaſon.

If any perſon or perſons after the firſt of February next, do maliciouſly imagine, inuent, practiſe, or attempt to depriue the kyng of the dignitie, title, or name of his royall eſtate. &c. that then euery ſuch perſon and perſons ſo offendyng in any of the premiſſes, their ayders, counſellours, conſenters, and abbettours beyng therof lawfully conuict, accordyng to the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged traytours, and that euery ſuch offence in any the premiſſes committed or done after the ſayd firſt day of February, ſhalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged hygh treaſon: and the offenders, therin their ayders conſenters, counſellers and abbettours beyng lawfully conuict of any ſuch offence, ſhal haue and ſuffer ſuch paynes of death and other penalties, as is limited and accuſtomed in caſes of high treaſon.

Vppon this and ſuch other Actes concluded in thoſe Parlaments, what ſtomacke the Pope tooke, what ſtyrre he kept, and what practiſes he wrought with Cardinall Poole, to ſtyrre vp other nations to warre agaynſt vs, what difficultie alſo there was with the Emperour, with the French kyng, and with the kyng of Scottes about the matter, and what labour was vſed on the kynges part, to concile theſe Princes for his owne indemnitie, to keepe hym from their warres & inuaſions, & eſpecially to obteyne the Popes approbation, and to auoyde his cenſures of excommunication, and finally what deſpitefull iniuries and open wronges the Pope wrought agaynſt him, vppon the which Pope the Kyng had beſtowed ſo much money, and great treaſours before, all this lykewiſe by the premiſſes may appeare.

Wherefore, to end now with theſe, and to go forward in our ſtory, as the order and computation of yeares do geue, we haue now conſequently to enter into the ſtory of the good Martyr of GOD William Tyndall, beyng this preſent yeare falſely betrayed and put to death. Which William Tyndall, as he was a ſpeciall organe of the Lord appointed, and as Gods mattocke to ſhake the inward rootes and foundation of the Popes proud prelacie: ſo the great Prince of darkenes, with his impious Impes, hauyng a ſpeciall malice agaynſt him, left no way vnſought, how craftily to entrappe hym, and falſely to betray him, and maliciouſly to ſpill his life: as by the proces of his ſtory here folowyng may appeare.

The lyfe & ſtory of the true ſeruaūt & Martyr of God William Tyndall: Who for his notable paynes and trauell may well be called the Apoſtle of England in this our latter age.

W. Tyndall Martyr.

1536.

William Tyndall the faithfull Miniſter and conſtaunt Martyr of Chriſt, was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a child in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, where he by long continuaunce grew vp, and increaſed as well in the knowledge of tounges, and other liberall Artes, as eſpecially in the knowledge of the Scriptures: whereunto his mynde was ſingularly addicted: In ſo much that he lying then in Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certaine ſtudentes & felowes of Magdalene Colledge, ſome parcell of Diuinitie, inſtructyng them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whoſe maners alſo and conuerſation beyng correſpondent to the ſame, were ſuch that all they which knew hym, reputed and eſteemed hym to be a man of moſt vertuous diſpoſition, and of lyfe vnſpotted.

The firſt taſte of gods truth in Magdalen Colledge, by the meanes of Mayſter Tyndall.

Thus he in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford increaſing more and more in learnyng and proceedyng in degrees of the ſcholes, ſpying his tyme, remoued from thence to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where after hee had likewiſe made his abode a certeine ſpace, beyng now further rypened in the knowledge of Gods word, leauyng that Vniuerſitie alſo, he reſorted to one M. Welche a Knight of Gloceſterſhyre, and was there Scholemaſter to his children, and in good fauour with his maſter. This Gentleman, as he kept a good ordinarie commōly at his table, there reſorted to him many tymes ſondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, with other diuers Doctours and great beneficed men: who there together with M. Tyndall ſitting at the ſame table, did vſe many tymes to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Eraſmus: Alſo of diuers other controuerſies and queſtions vpon the Scripture.

Tyndall diſputing with the Doctors.

Then Maiſter Tyndall, as he was learned and well practiſed in Gods matters, ſo he ſpared not to ſhew vnto them ſimply and playnely his iudgement in matters, as he thought: and when as they at any tyme did vary from Tyndall in opinions and iudgement, he would ſhew them in the booke, and lay playnly before them the open and manifeſt places of the Scriptures, to cōfute their errours, and to confirme his ſayings. And thus continued they for a certaine ſeaſon, reaſonyng and contendyng together diuers and ſondry tymes, till at length they waxed wery, and bare a ſecret grudge in their hartes agaynſt him.

Tyndall inſtructeth M. Welch and his wyfe in the truth.

Not long after this, it happened that certaine of theſe great Doctours had inuited M. Welche and his wife to a banket: where they had talke at will and pleaſure, vtteryng their blindenes & ignoraunce without any reſiſtaunce or gaynſaying. Then M. Welche and his wife commyng home and callyng for M. Tyndall, began to reaſon with him about thoſe matters, whereof the Prieſtes had talked before at their banket. M. Tyndall anſweryng by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproued their falſe opinions. Then ſayd the Lady Welche, a ſtoute and a wiſe woman (as Tyndall reported) well (ſayd ſhe) there was ſuch a Doctour which may diſpend a C. li. and an other. ij. C. li. and an other. iij. C. li. and what? were it reaſon, thinke you, that we ſhould beleue you before them? Maiſter Tyndall gaue her no aunſwere at that tyme, nor alſo after that (becauſe he ſawe it would not auaile) he talked but litle in thoſe matters. At that tyme he was about the tranſlation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani, which beyng tranſlated he deliuered to his Maiſter and Lady. Who after they had read and well peruſed the ſame, the Doctorly Prelates were no more ſo often called to the houſe, neither had they the cheare and countenaunce when they came, as before they had. Which thyng they markyng and well perceiuyng, and ſuppoſing no leſſe but it came by the meanes of M. Tyndall, refrayned them ſelues, and at laſt vtterly withdrew thē ſelues, and came no more there.

Enchiridion a booke of Eraſmus, tranſlated by Tyndall.

The prieſtes ſtorme agaynſt Tyndall.

As this grewe on, the Prieſtes of the countrey cluſtryng together, began to grudge and ſtorme agaynſt Tyndall, raylyng agaynſt hym in Alehouſes and other places. Of whom Tyndall him ſelfe in his Prologue before the firſt booke of Moſes, thus teſtifieth in his own wordes and reporteth that he ſuffered much in that countrey by a ſort of vnlearned Prieſtes, beyng full rude and ignoraunt (ſayth he)

The rudenes of the country prieſtes.

he, God knoweth: whiche haue ſene no more Latine then that onely which they read in theyr Porteſſes & Miſſalles: (whiche yet many of them can ſcarſely read) excepte it bee Albertus de ſecretis mulierum, in whiche yet though they be neuer ſo ſorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therin, and all to teach the mydwyues, as they ſaye: and alſo an other called Lynwod, a booke of conſtitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offeringes, cuſtomes, and other pillage, whiche they call not theirs, but Gods parte, the duetie of holy Churche, to diſcharge their conſciences withall. For they are bound that they ſhall not diminiſhe but encreaſe all thynges vnto the vttermoſt of theyr powers, which perteyne to holy church. Thus theſe blynd and rude Prieſtes flockyng together to the Alehouſe (for that was their preachyng place) raged and rayled agaynſt hym, affirmyng yͤ hys ſayinges were hereſie: addyng moreouer vnto hys ſayinges of their owne heades: more then euer he ſpake, and ſo accuſed hym ſecretly to the Chauncellour and other of the Byſhops Officers.

Tyndall troubled by the prieſtes of the country.

Tyndall called before the byſhops Chauncellor.

It folowed not long after this, that there was a ſitting of the byſhops Chauncellour appointed, and warning was geuen to the prieſtes to appeare: amongeſt whom M. Tyndall was alſo warned to be there. And whether he had any miſdoubt by there threatnynges, or knowledge geuen him that they woulde lay ſome thynges to his charge it is vncerteine: but certeine this is (as hee him ſelfe declared) that hee doubted their priuie accuſations: ſo that he by the way in goyng thether wardes, cryed in hys mynde hartily to God, to geue hym ſtrength faſt to ſtand in the truth of hys worde.

Then when the time came of his apperaunce before the Chauncellour, hee threatned hym greuouſly, reuilyng and ratyng hym as though he had bene a dogge, and layd to hys charge many thynges, whereof no accuſer yet coulde bee brought forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bryng foorth the accuſer) notwithſtandyng that the Prieſtes of yͤ countrey the ſame tyme were there preſent. And thus M. Tyndall after thoſe examinations eſcapyng out of their handes, departed home and returned to his maiſter agayne.

Tyndall could not haue his accuſers brought out.

There dwelt not farre of a certeine Doctour that hadde bene an old Chauncellour before to a Byſhop, who hadd bene of olde familiar acquayntance with M. Tyndall and alſo fauored hym well. Unto whom Maiſter Tyndall went and opened hys mynde vpon diuers queſtions of the Scripture: for to hym he durſt bee bold to diſcloſe his hart. Unto whom the Doctour ſayd: doe you not know that the Pope is very Antichriſt, whom the Scripture ſpeaketh of. But beware what you ſay: for if you ſhalbe perceiued to be of that opinion, it will coſt you your lyfe: and ſayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of hys, But I haue gyuen it vp and defie hym and all his workes.

One good olde doctour amongſt many nought.

The Pope Antichriſt.

It was not long after, but M. Tyndall happened to be in the company of a certaine Diuine recounted for a learned man, and in communing and diſputyng with him, he droue him to that iſſue, that the ſaid great Doctuor burſt out into theſe blaſphemous wordes, and ſayd: wee were better to be without Gods lawe then the Popes. M. Tyndall hearyng thys, full of godly zeale and not bearyng that blaſphemous ſaying, replyed agayne and ſayd: I defie the Pope and al hys lawes: and further added that if God ſpared him lyfe, ere many yeares he woulde cauſe a boy that driueth yͤ plough to know more of the Scripture, then he dyd.

The blaſphemie of a blynd doctor. The popes lawe preferred before Gods lawe.

After this yͤ grudge of the Prieſtes increaſing ſtill more and more agaynſt Tyndall, they neuer ceaſed barkyng and ratyng at him, and layd many ſore thynges to his charge, ſaying that he was an heriticke in Sophiſtry, an hereticke in Logicke, an hereticke in Diuinitie: and ſayd moreouer to hym that he bare hymſelfe bolde of the Gentlemen there in that countrey: but notwithſtandyng, ſhortly hee ſhoulde be otherwiſe talked withall. To whom M. Tyndall aunſweryng agayne thus ſayd, yͤ he was contented they ſhould bryng hym into any countrey in all Englãd, giuyng hym x. l. a yere to lyue with, and byndyng hym to no more but to teache children and to preache.

To be ſhort, M. Tyndall beyng ſo moleſted and vexed in yͤ countrey by the Prieſtes, was conſtrayned to leaue that countrey and to ſeke an other place: and ſo commyng to M. Welche he deſired hym of his good will, that hee myght departe from hym, ſaying on this wiſe to hym: Syr I perceaue I ſhall not be ſuffered to tarye long here in this countrey neither ſhall you be hable though you woulde, to kepe me out of the handes of the ſpiritualitie, and alſo what diſpleaſure might grow therby to you by kepyng me, God knoweth: for the which I ſhoulde be right ſorye. So that in fine, M. Tyndall with the good will of his maſter, departed and eftſoons came vp to London, and there preached a while, accordyng as he had done in the countrey before, and ſpeciallye about the towne of Briſtowe, and alſo in the ſayd towne, in the common place called Saint Auſtins Greene.

Tyndall departeth from M. Welche.

Tyndall cōmeth to London.

At length hee bethinkyng hym ſelfe of Cutbert Tonſtall then Byſhop of London, and eſpecially for the great commendatiõ of Eraſmus, who in his annotations ſo extolleth hym for hys learning, thus caſt wyth himſelfe, that if he might attayne vnto his ſeruice he were a happy man. And ſo commyng to Syr Henry Gilford the kynges Controler, and bryngyng with hym an Oration of Iſocrates, whiche hee had then tranſlated out of Greke into Engliſhe, hee deſired hym to ſpeake to the ſayd B. of London for hym. Which he alſo dyd, and willed him moreouer to wryte an Epiſtle to yͤ Byſhop, and to go hym ſelfe with hym. Which he dyd lykewiſe, and deliuered his Epiſtle to a ſeruaunt of hys named William Hebilthwaite, a man of hys olde acquayntaunce. But God who ſecretly diſpoſeth the courſe of thynges ſaw that was not beſt for Tyndals purpoſe nor for yͤ profite of hys Churche, and therfore gaue him to finde litle fauor in the Biſhops ſight The aunſwere of whom was this, that hys houſe was full: he had mo then he could well finde, and aduiſed hym to ſeeke in London abroade, where he ſayd he coulde lacke no ſeruice. &c. and ſo remayned he in London the ſpace almoſt of a yeare, beholdyng and markyng with hym ſelfe the courſe of the world, and eſpecially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boaſted them ſelues and ſet vp their authoritie and kyngdome: beholdyng alſo the pompe of the Prelates, with other thynges moe whiche greatly miſlyked hym: In ſo much that he vnderſtode, not onely there to be no rowme in the Byſhops houſe for hym to tranſlate the new Teſtament: but alſo that there was no place to do it in all England. And therfore findyng no place for hys purpoſe within the realme, and hauyng ſome ayde and prouiſion, by Gods prouidence miniſtred vnto him by Humphrey Mummoth aboue recited as you may ſee before pag. 970. and certeine other good men, hee tooke his leaue of the realme and departed into Germanie. Where the good man beyng inflamed with a tender care and zeale of hys countrey, refuſed no trauell nor diligence how by all meanes poſſible, to reduce hys brethren and countreymen of England to the ſame taſt and vnderſtandyng of Gods holy word and veritie, which the Lord had endued hym withall.

An oratiõ of Iſocrates trãſlated out of Greke into Engliſhe by W. Tyndall.

Tyndall ſueth to byſhop Tonſtall to be hys Chaplaine.

Tonſtall refuſeth M. Tyndall.

Tyndall departeth into Germany.

Whereupon he conſyderingin hys mynde, and partely alſo conferryng with John Frith, thought with him ſelfe no way more to conduce therunto, then if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar ſpeache, that the poore people might alſo reade and ſee the ſimple playne worde of God. For fyrſt he wiſely caſtyng in hys mynde, perceyued by experience, how that it was not poſſible to ſtablyſhe the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo playnly layed before theyr eyes in theyr mother tongue, that they myght ſee the proceſſe, order, and meanyng of the texte: For els what ſo euer truth ſhoulde be taught them, theſe enemies of the truth woulde quenche it agayne, eyther wt apparant reaſons of ſophiſtry, and traditions of theyr owne makyng, founded without all ground of ſcripture: eyther els iugglyng with the texte, expoundyng it in ſuch a ſenſe as impoſſible it were to gather of the texte, if the right proceſſe, order, and meanyng therof were ſeene.

The cauſes mouing Tyndall to tranſlate the ſcripture into the Engliſhe tounge.

Agayne, right wel he perceyued and conſidered this onely or moſt chiefly to be the cauſe of all miſchiefe in the Church that the Scriptures of God were hydden from the peoples eyes: For ſo long the abominable doynges and Idolatries mayinteyned by the Phariſaicall Clergye, coulde not be eſpyed, and therfore all theyr labour was with myght and mayne to kepe it downe ſo that eyther it ſhoulde not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right ſenſe with the myſte of theyre ſophiſtrye, and ſo entangle them whiche rebuked or deſpiſed theyr abominations, with arguments of philoſophy, and with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparant reaſons of naturall wiſedom: and with wreſtyng the ſcripture vnto theyr owne purpoſe, contrary vnto the proceſſe, order, and meanyng of the texte, woulde ſo delude them in deſcantyng vpon it with allegories, and amaze them, expoundyng it in many ſenſes layed before the vnlearned laye people, that though thou feltſt in thy harte, and were ſure that all were falſe that they ſayd yet couldeſt not thou ſolue theyr ſubtell rydels.

Hydyng of ſcripture the cauſe of miſchiefe.

For theſe and ſuch other conſiderations, this good man was moued (and no doubt ſtyrred vp of God) to tranſlate the Scripture in to his mother tongue, for the publicke vtilitie and profite of yͤ ſimple vulgar people of his countrey: fyrſt, ſettyng in hand with the new Teſtament, whiche hee fyrſt tranſlated about the yeare of our Lorde. 1527. After yͤ he tooke in hand to tranſlate the olde Teſtament, finiſhyng the fiue bookes of Moyſes, with ſondry moſt learned and godly prologues prefixed before euery one, moſt worthy to be reade and read agayne of all good Chriſtians: as the like alſo he dyd vpon the new Teſtament.

The new teſtament and the fiue bookes of Moyſes tranſlated with Tyndalles prologues.

He wrote alſo diuers other workes vnder ſundrye titles among the whiche is that moſt worthy monument of hys intituled: The obedience of a Chriſtian man: wherein with ſingular dexteritie he inſtructeth all men in the office and duetie of chriſtian obedience, with dyuers other treatiſes: as The wicked Mammō: the Practiſe of Prelates, with expoſitions vpon certayne partes of the Scripture, and other bookes alſo anſwering to ſir Thom. More and other aduerſaries of the truth, no leſſe delectable, then alſo moſt fruitfull to be read, which partly before beyng vnknowen vnto many, partly alſo beyng almoſt aboliſhed and worne out by tyme, the printer hereof (good Reader) for conſeruyng and reſtoryng ſuch ſingular treaſures, hath collected and ſet forth in print the ſame in one generall volume all and whole together, as alſo the workes of John Frith, Barnes, and other, as are to be ſeene moſt ſpeciall and profitable for thy readyng.

These bokes of William Tyndall beyng compiled, publiſhed and ſent ouer into England, it cannot be ſpoken what a dore of light they opened to the eyes of the whole Engliſh nation, which before were many yeares ſhut vp in darkeneſſe.

Tyndall went into Saxonie.

At hys firſt departing out of the realme, he tooke hys iorny into the further partes of Germany, as into Saxony where he had conferēce with Luther and other learned men in thoſe quarters. Where, after that he had continued a certaine ſeaſon, he came down from thence into the netherlandes and had his moſt abiding in the towne of Antwerpe, vntill the tyme of his apprehenſion: whereof more ſhalbe ſaid God willyng hereafter.

Tyndall came to Antwerpe.

Amongſt his other bokes which he compiled, one worke he made alſo for the declaration of the ſacrament (as it was then called) of the aulter: the which he kept by hym, conſidering how the people were not as yet fully perſuaded in other matters tendyng to ſuperſticious ceremonies and groſſe idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet tyme was not come, to put forth that worke, but rather that it ſhould hinder the people from other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it would ſeme to them odious to heare any ſuch thyng ſpoken or ſet forth at that tyme, ſounding agaynſt their great Goddeſſe Diana, that is, againſt their maſſe, being had euery where in great eſtimation, as was the Goddeſſe Diana amongeſt the Epheſians whom they thought to come from heauen.

Wherfore M. Tyndall beyng a man both prudent in his doyngs, and no leſſe zelous in the ſettyng forth of gods holy truth, after ſuch ſort as it myght take moſt effect wyth the people, did forbeare the puttyng forth of that worke, not doubting but by gods mercifull grace, a tyme ſhould come, to haue that abhomination openly declared, as it is at this preſent day: the Lord almighty be alwayes prayſed therefore. Amen.

Tyndall bearing with tyme.

These godly bookes of Tindall, and ſpecially the new Teſtament of his tranſlation, after that they began to come into mens handes, and to ſpread abroad, as they wrought great and ſinguler profite to the godly: ſo the vngodly enuiyng and diſdainyng that the people ſhould be any thing wyſer then they, and agayne fearing leſt by the ſhining beames of truth, their falſe hypocriſie & workes of darkenes ſhould be diſcerned: began to ſtirre with no ſmall adoe, lyke as at the birth of Chriſt, turbatus eſt Herodes & tota Hieroſolyma cum eo. But eſpecially Sathan the prince of darkenes, maligning the happy courſe and ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, ſet to his might alſo, how to empeach and hinder the bleſſed trauailes of that mā: as by this, & alſo by ſondry other wayes may appeare. For at what tyme Tindall had tranſlated the fift booke of Moiſes called Deuteronomium, myndyng to print the ſame at Hamborough, he ſayled thereward: where by the way vpon the coſt of Holland, he ſuffred ſhipwrack, by the which he loſt all his bokes, writings, and copies, and ſo was compelled to begin all agayne a new, to his hinderāce and doubling of his laboures. Thus hauyng loſt by that ſhip both money, his copies, and time, he came in an other ſhip to Hamborough, where at his appointment M. Couerdale taried for hym, and helped him in the tranſlatyng of the whole v. bookes of Moiſes, from Eaſter till December in the houſe of a worſhipfull widow Maiſtres Margaret van Emmerſon, an. 1529. a great ſweating ſickneſſe beyng the ſame tyme in the towne. So hauyng diſpatched hys buſines at Hamborough, he returned afterwarde to Antwerpe agayne.

Darknes hateth lyght.

Sathan an enemye to all good purpoſes, eſpecially to the Goſpell.

Williā Tyndall loſt his bookes and copies by ſhipwracke.

M. Couerdale a helper of M. Tyndall in the tranſlation of the teſtament.

Thus as Sathan is, and euer hath bene an enemy to all godly endeuors, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods word, as by this and many other experimēts may be ſene: ſo his miniſters and members followyng the like qualitie of their maiſter, be not altogether idle for their partes: as alſo by the Popes Chapleins and Gods enemies, and by their cruell handlyng of the ſaid M. Tyndall the ſame tyme, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appeare.

Whē Gods will was, that the new Teſtament in yͤ cōmon tongue ſhoulde come abroade, Tyndall the tranſlator therof added to the latter ende a certayne Epiſtle, wherein he deſyred them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amyſſe. Wherefore, if any ſuch default had bene, deſeruyng correction, it hadde bene the parte of courteſy and gentlenes, for men of knowledge and iudgement to haue ſhewed their learnyng therein, and to haue redreſſed yͭ was to be amended. But the ſpirituall fathers thē of the clergye beyng not willing to haue that booke to proſper, cryed out vpon it, bearyng men in hand, that there were a thouſand hereſies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but vtterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into Engliſhe: ſome that it was not lawfull for the lay people to haue it in their mother tongue, ſome yͭ it would make them all hereticks. And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers alſo vnto their purpoſe, they made more matter, and ſayd, that it woulde make the people to rebell, & riſe agaynſt yͤ kyng. All thys Tyndall hymſelfe in hys own prologue before the firſt booke of Moſes declareth: and addeth further, ſhewyng what great paynes was taken in examining that tranſlatiō, and comparyng it with their owne imaginations and termes, that with leſſe labour (he ſuppoſeth) they myght haue tranſlated themſelues a great parte of the Bible: Shewyng moreouer, that they ſcanned and examined euery tytle and poynt in the ſayde tranſlation, in ſuch ſort and ſo narrowlye, that there was not one. i. therin but if it lacked a pricke ouer hys head, they dyd note it, and numbered it vnto the ignoraunt people for an hereſie. So great was then the froward deuiſes of the Engliſhe Clergye (who ſhoulde haue bene the guides of light vnto the people) to dryue the people from the texte and knowledge of the Scripture, which neyther they would tranſlate themſelues, nor yet abyde it to be tranſlated of others: to the intent (as Tyndall ſayth) that the word beyng kept ſtill in darknes, they might ſit in the conſciences of the people through vayne ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine, to ſatiſfie their luſtes, their ambition, and vnſaciable couetouſnes, and to exalte their owne honour aboue Kyng and Emperour, yea and aboue God him ſelfe. Hæc ille.

The practiſe of popiſh prelates to keepe the Scripture from the people.

The cauſes why the popes clergy coulde not abyde the Scripture in the common tounge.

The biſhops and Prelates of the realme, thus (as ye haue heard) incenſed and inflamed in their myndes, although hauyng no cauſe, agaynſt the olde and new Teſtament of the Lord newly tranſlated by Tindall, and conſpiring together with all their heds and counſails, how to repeale the ſame, neuer reſted before they had brought the kyng at laſt to their conſent. By reaſon wherof a proclamatiō in all haſt was deuiſed and ſet forth vnder publike authoritie: but no iuſt reaſon ſhewed, that the teſtament of Tindals tranſlation, with other workes moe both of his and of other wryters, were inhibited and abandoned, as he heard before, pag. 991. Which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceded further, how to entangle hym in their nettes, and to bereft hym of his lyfe. Which how they brought to paſſe, now it remayneth to be declared.

The popiſhe prelates procured not onely the cōdemnatiō of M. Tyndals bookes, but alſo burned both them & the Teſtamēt, calling it Doctrinam peregrinam, ſtraunge doctrine.

In the regiſters of London it appeareth manifeſt, how that the Biſhops and ſir Tho. More hauyng any poore mā vnder Coram, to be examined before them, namely, ſuch as had bene at Antwerpe, moſt ſtudiouſly would ſearch & examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whō he hoſted, where aboutes ſtood the houſe, what was his ſtature, in what apparell he went, what reſort he had. &c. All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appeare by the examination of Symon Smith, and others) then began they to worke their feates, as you ſhall heare by the relation of his owne hoſt.

Priuie conſpiracion of the Biſhops agaynſt M. Tyndall.

William Tyndall being in the towne of Antwerpe, had bene lodged about one whole yeare in the houſe of Thomas Pointz an Engliſhman, who kept there an houſe of engliſh merchantes. About which tyme came thether one out of England, whoſe name was Henry Philips, hys father beyng cuſtomer of Poole, a comely fellow, lyke as he had bene a Gentleman, hauyng a ſeruaunt with hym: but wherfore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thether, no man could tell.

The order & maner of taking of Tindall, teſtified by Poyntz his hoſt.

Maiſter Tyndall diuers tymes was deſired forth to diner and ſupper amongſt merchantes: by the meanes wherof this Henry Philips became acquainted with hym, ſo that within ſhort ſpace M. Tyndall had a great confidence in hym: and brought him to his lodging to the houſe of Tho. Pointz, and had hym alſo with him once or twiſe to dinner and ſupper, and further entred ſuch frendſhip with him that through hys procurement, he lay in the ſame houſe of the ſayd Pointz: To whom he ſhewed moreouer hys bookes and other ſecrets of hys ſtudy, ſo little did Tindall then miſtruſt this traytour.

The frendſhip of Tyndall ſhewed to Philips his betrayer.

But Pointz hauyng no great confidence in the fellowe, aſked Maiſter Tyndall howe hee came acquaynted with thys Phillippes. Maiſter Tyndall aunſwered, ẏ he was an honeſt man handſomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz perceyuyng ẏ hee bare ſuch fauour to hym, ſayd no more, thinkyng that he was brought acquaynted with hym by ſome frend of hys. The ſayd Phillippes beyng in the towne iij. or iiij. dayes, vppon a tyme deſired Pointz to walke with hym fourth of the towne to ſhewe hym the commodities therof, and in walkyng together about the towne, had communication of diuers thynges, and ſome of the kynges affayres. By the whiche talke Pointz as yet ſuſpected nothyng, but after by the ſequele of ẏ matter hee perceaued more what hee entended. In the meane tyme this he well perceaued, that he bare no great fauour, either to the ſettyng forth of any good thyng, either to the proceedynges of the kyng of England. But after when the tyme was paſt, Pointz perceaued this to bee hys mynde, to feele if he could perceiue by hym, whether he myght breake with hym in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe hym to his purpoſe: for he perceyued before that he was monyed, & would that Pointz ſhoulde thynke no leſſe: but by whom, it was vnknowne: For hee had deſired Pointz before to helpe him to diuers thyngs, and ſuch thyngs as he named, he required might be of the beſt for ſayd he, I haue money enough. But of this talke came nothyng but ẏ men ſhould thinke hee had ſome thynges to doe, for nothyng els folowed of hys talke. So it was to be ſuſpected, ẏ Phillippes was in doubt to moue this matter for hys purpoſe to any of the Rulers or Officers of the towne of Antwarpe, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome Engliſhemen, and by the meane therof, M. Tyndall ſhoulde haue had warnyng.

The papiſtes will ſpare no coſte to fulfill their malicious enterpriſes.

Phillippes well monyed by the Engliſhe byſhops.

So Phillippes went from Antwarpe to the Court of Bruxelles, whiche is from thence xxiiij. Engliſh myles, the kyng hauing there no Ambaſſadour: for at that tyme the kyng of England and ẏ Emperour were at a controuerſie for the queſtion betwixt the kyng and the Lady Katherine which was Aunte to the Emperour: and ẏ diſcorde grewe ſo much, that it was doubted leſt there ſhoulde haue bene warre betwene the Emperour and the kyng, ſo that Phillippes as a traitour both agaynſt God and the kyng, was there the better reteined, as alſo other traitours moe beſides him: who after hee had betrayed M. Tyndall into their handes, ſhewed him ſelfe agaynſt the kynges owne perſon, and there ſet forth thynges agaynſt the king, to make ſhort the ſayde Philippes did ſo much there: that hee procured to bryng from thence with him to Antwerpe that Procurour general, which is ẏ Emperours Atturney, with other certaine Officers: as after foloweth. The which was not don with ſmall charges and expences, from whome ſo euer it came.

Within a while after, Pointz ſittyng at hys doore, Phillippes man came vnto hym and aſked whether Maiſter Tyndall were there, and ſayd hys maiſter would come, to hym, and ſo departed. But whether hys M. Phillippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that tyme Pointz heard no more, neither of the maſter nor of ẏ man. Within three or iiij. dayes after, Pointz went forth to the towne of Barrowe, beyng xviij. Engliſhe myles frõ Antwerpe, where hee hadd buſines to doe for the ſpace of a moneth or vj weekes, and in the tyme of his abſence, Henry Philips came agayne to Antwerpe to the houſe of Pointz, and comming in, ſpake with his wyfe, aſking her for M. Tyndall, and whether he woulde dyne there with him, ſaying: what good meate ſhall wee haue? She aunſwered, ſuch as the market will gyue. Then went he forth agayne (as it is thought) to prouide, and ſet the Officers whiche he brought with hym from Bruxelles, in the ſtreete, and about the doore. Then about noone he came agayne & went to M. Tyndall, and deſired hym to lende hym forty ſhyllinges, for (ſayd he) I loſt my purſe this mornyng, commyng ouer at the paſſage betwene this and Machelyn. So M. Tyndall tooke hym xl. ſhyllynges, the which was eaſie to be had of hym, if he had it: for in the wylye ſubtilities of thys worlde he was ſimple and vnexperte.

Henry Phillippes traytour & betrayer of M. Tyndall.

The ſimplicitie of M. Tyndall.

Then ſayd Phillippes, M. Tyndall you ſhalbe my geſt here this daye. No ſayd M. Tyndall, I go forth thys day to dynner, and you ſhall go with me and be my geſte, where you ſhalbe welcome. So when it was dynner tyme, M. Tyndall went forth with Phillippes, and at ẏ goyng forth of Pointz houſe, was a long narrowe entrie, ſo that ÿ could not go in a frount. M. Tyndall would haue put Phillippes before hym, but Phillippes woulde in no wiſe, but put M. Tyndall afore, for that he pretended to ſhewe great humanitie. So M. Tyndall beyng a man of no great ſtature, went before, and Phillippes a tall comely perſon folowed behynde hym, who had ſet Officers on either ſide of the doore vpon ij. ſeates: whiche beyng there, might ſee who came in the entrie, and commyng through the ſame entrie, Philips poynted with his finger ouer M. Tyndals head downe to hym, that the Officers whiche ſat at the doore, might ſee ẏ it was he whõ they ſhould take, as the officers that tooke M. Tyndall, afterward told Pointz, and ſayd to Pointz when they had layd hym in priſon, that they pitied to ſe his ſimplicitie when they tooke hym. Then they tooke hym & brought hym to the Emperours Attourney or Procurour generall, where he dyned. Then came the Procuror generall to the houſe of Pointz, and ſent away all that was there of M. Tyndals, as well hys bookes as other thynges: and from thence Tyndall was had to the caſtle of Filford, 18. Engliſh myles from Antwerpe, and there he remayned vntill he was put to death.

How Tyndall was betrayed into his enemies handes.

Tyndall had to the Caſtle of Fylforde.

Then incontinent by the helpe of engliſh merchauntes, were letters ſent in the fauour of Tyndall, to the Court at Bruxels. Alſo not long after, letters were directed out of England to the counſaile at Bruxels, and ſent to the merchauntes aduenturers to Antwerpe, commaundyng them to ſee that with ſpede they ſhould be deliuered. Then ſuch of the chiefeſt of the Merchauntes as were there at that tyme beyng called together, required the ſayde Pointz to take in hand the deliuerie of thoſe letters, with letters alſo from thẽ in the fauour of M. Tyndall, to the Lord of Barrow and others, the which lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that tyme was departed from Bruxels, as the chiefeſt conductor of the eldeſt daughter of the kyng of Denmarke, to be maried to the Palſgraue, whoſe mother was ſiſter to the Emperour, ſhe beyng chiefe Princeſſe of Denmarke. Who after he heard of hys departure, did ryde after the next way, and ouertooke hym at Akon, where he deliuered to him his letters. The which when he had receiued and read, he made no direct aunſwer, but ſomewhat obiecting, ſayd: there was of their countrymen that were burned in Englãd not long before, as in dede there were Anabaptiſtes burnt in Smithfield, and ſo Pointz ſayd to hym: howbeit ſayd he, what ſo euer ẏ crime was, if his Lordſhip or any other noble man had written, requiryng to haue had them, he thought they ſhoulde not haue bene denied. Well ſaid he, I haue no leyſure to write, for the Princeſſe is redy to ryde.

Letters ſent frõ England by the Lord Cromwell and others, in the behalfe of M. Tyndall.

Then ſayd Pointz, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhyp, I wil attend vpõ you vnto the next baytyng place, which was at Maſtright. If you ſo do, ſayd the Lord, I wyll aduiſe my ſelf by the way, what to write. So Pointz folowed him from Akon to Maſtright, the which are 15. engliſh myles aſonder, and there he receyued letters of hym, one to the counſaile there an other to the company of the merchants aduenturers, & an other alſo to the lord Cromwell, in England.

Letters from the Lord of Barrow to the Lord Cromwell, concerning Maiſter Tyndall.

So Pointz rode from thence to Bruxels, and then and there deliuered to the counſail, the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrowes letters alſo: & receiued eftſones aunſwer into england of ẏ ſame by letters, which he brought to Antwerp to the engliſh merchants, who required hym to go wt them into England, and he very deſirous to haue M. Tyndall out of priſon, let not for to take paynes with loſſe of tyme in hys owne buſines and occupying, but diligently followed with the ſayd letters, which he there deliuered to the counſaile, and was commaunded by them to tary vntill he had other letters, of the which he was not diſpatched thence in a moneth after. At length the letters beyng deliuered him, he returned againe and deliuered them to the Emperors counſaile at Bruxels, and there taried for aunſwere of the ſame.

Poyntz ſent wyth letters frõ Bruxels to England.

When the ſayd Pointz had taried 3. or 4. dayes, it was tolde hym of one that belonged to the Chauncery, that M. Tyndall ſhould haue bene deliuered to hym accordyng to the tenour of the letters: But Phillippes beyng there, folowed the ſuite agaynſt maiſter Tyndall, and hearyng that he ſhould be deliuered to Pointz, and doubtyng leaſt he ſhould be put from hys purpoſe, he knew none other remedy but to accuſe Pointz, ſaying: that he was a dweller in the towne of Antwerpe, and there had bene a ſuccourer of Tyndall, and was one of the ſame opinion, and that all this was only hys owne labour and ſute, to haue M. Tyndall at libertie, and no mans els.

The ſute of Philips agaynſt M. Tyndall.

Thus vpon hys information and accuſation, Pointz was attached by the Procurour generall, the Emperours attorny, and deliuered to the kepyng of two Sergeantes of armes: and the ſame euening was ſent to hym one of the Chancery with the Procurour generall, who miniſtred vnto him an othe, that he ſhould truely make aunſwere to all ſuch thinges as ſhould be inquired of hym, thinkyng they would haue had no other examinations of hym but of his Meſſage. The next day lykewyſe they came agayne and had hym in examination, and ſo fiue or ſixe dayes one after an other, vpon not ſo few as an hundreth Articles, as well of the kings affaires as of the meſſage concernyng Tindall

Poyntz attached by Philips.

Pointz examined.

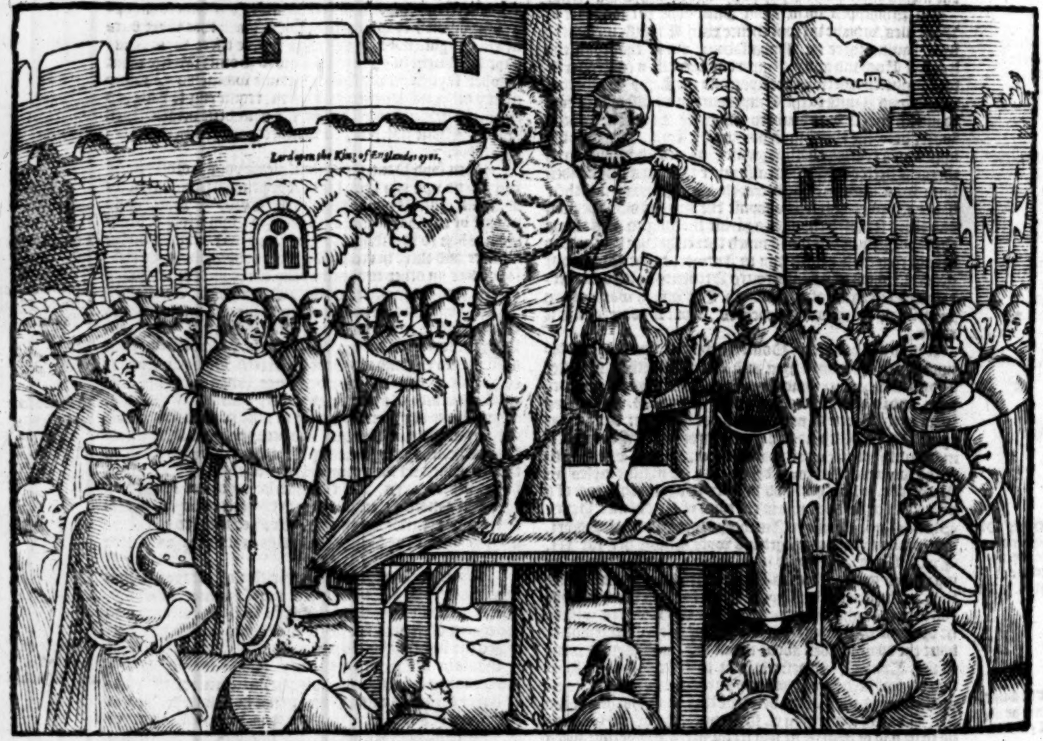
of his ayders and of hys religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procurer generall drew 23. or 24. articles, and declared the ſame againſt the ſaid Pointz: the copy wherof he deliuered to hym to make aunſwer therunto, and permitted hym to haue an Aduocate and Procurour, that is a doctour and Proctor in the law: and order was taken, that 8. dayes after, he ſhould deliuer vnto them hys aunſwer, and from 8. dayes to 8. dayes, to procede til the proceſſe were ended: Alſo that he ſhould ſend no Meſſenger to Antwerpe, where as his houſe was, beyng 24. Engliſh myles from Bruxels, where he was priſoner, nor to any other place, but by the poſte of the towne of Bruxels: nor to ſend any letters, nor any to be deliuered to him, but written in Dutche, and the Procurour generall, who was partie againſt hym, to read them, to peruſe and to examine them thorowly, contrary to all right and equitie, before they were ſent or deliuered: Neither might any be ſuffred to ſpeake or talke with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue, ſo that hys kepers who were Dutchemen, myght vnderſtand what the contentes of the letters or talk ſhould be, ſauyng that at one certaine tyme the Prouinciall of the white Friers came to dinner where Pointz was priſoner, and brought with hym a yong Nouice beyng an engliſhman, whom the Prouinciall after dinner, of hys owne accord, did bid to talke with the ſayd Pointz, and ſo wyth hym he was licenced to talke. The purpoſe and great policy therin was eaſie to be perceyued. Betwene Pointz & the Nouice was much prety talke, as of ſir Tho. More, and of the biſhop of Rocheſter, and of their putting to death: whoſe death he ſemed greatly to lament, eſpecially dying in ſuch a quarell, worthy (as he ſayd) to be accounted for Martyrs, with other noble doctrine and deepe learnyng in Diuinitie, meete to fede ſwine withall. Such blyndnes then in thoſe dayes raigned amongſt them. After thus Pointz deliuered vp hys aunſwer to the Procurour generall, and then after, at the dayes appoynted, went forth with replication duplicke, with other aunſwers eche to other in wrytyng what they could.

Talke betwene Poyntz and a Nouice.

As the Commiſſioners came to Pointz, Philips the traytour accompanied them to the dore in followyng the proceſſe agaynſt hym, as he alſo did againſt M. Tyndall, for ſo they that had Pointz in keping, ſhewed him. Thus Pointz for M. Tyndall was ſore troubled and long kept in pryſon: but at length whē he ſaw no other remedy, by night he made hys eſcape, and auoyded their handes. But good Tyndall could not eſcape their handes, but remayned in priſon ſtyll, who beyng brought vnto his aunſwer, was offered to haue an aduocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cauſe there, it ſhalbe permitted to haue counſaile, to make aunſwer in the law. But he refuſed to haue any ſuch, ſaying: that he would aunſwer for himſelfe: and ſo he did.

Poynty troubled for M. Tyndall.

The Martyrdome and burnyng of Maiſter W. Tyndall, in Flaunders, by Filford Caſtle.


Lord open the King of Englandes eyes.

The condemnation of Mayſter Tyndall.

The Martyrdome of W. Tyndall.

An. 1536.

The prayer of M. Tyndall.

At laſt, after much reaſonyng, when no reaſon would ſerue, although he deſerued no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperours decree made in the aſſemble at Auſbrough (as is before ſignified) & vpon the ſame, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tyed to the ſtake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the hangman, and afterwardes with fire conſumed in the mornyng at the towne of Filford an. 1536. crying thus at the ſtake with a feruent zeale, and a loud voyce: Lord open the king of Englands eyes.

M. Tyndall conuerted his keeper.

Such was the power of hys doctrine, and ſinceritie of hys life, that during the tyme of hys impriſonment (which endured a yere and a halfe) it is ſayd, he conuerted hys keper, his daughter, and other of his houſehold. Alſo the reſt that were with hym conuerſaunt in the Caſtle, reported of hym, that if he were not a good chriſten man, they could not tell whom to truſt.

Commendation of M. Tyndall by them that were about hym.

The Procuror generall the Emperours Attourney beyng there, left this teſtimony of him, that he was Homo doctus, pius, & bonus: that is, a learned, a good and a godly man.

The ſame mornyng in which he was had to the fire, he deliuered a letter to the keper of the caſtle, which the keper himſelf brought to the houſe of the foreſaid Pointz in Antwerpe, ſhortly after: which letter, with his examinations & other his diſputations, I would might haue come to our hādes: al which I vnderſtād did remaine, & yet perhaps do, in the hādes of ẏ keepers daughter. For ſo it is of him reported that as he was in the Caſtle priſoner, there was much writyng, and great diſputation to and fro, betwene hym & them of the Uniuerſitie of Louaine (whiche was not paſt ix. or x. myles from the place where he was priſoner) in ſuch ſort, that they all had enough to do, and more thẽ they could well weld, to aunſwere the authorities and teſtimonies of the Scripture, whereupon hee moſt pithely grounded hys doctrine.

Gods iudgement vpon Philippes the betrayer of Tyndall.

Of Iudas that betrayed Chriſte, it is written: that hee returned the money agayne to ẏ Phariſeis, and afterwarde dyd hange hym ſelfe: So Philippes this miſerable traytour, after he had bene receaued of Tyndall, and borowed money of hym, and yet betrayed hym and purſued hym to death: albeit he reioyſed a while after that he had done, yet the ſaying ſo goeth, that he not long tyme after enioyed the price of innocent bloud, but was cõſumed at laſt with lyce.

The worthy vertues and doynges of this bleſſed Martyr, who for hys paynefull trauailes, and ſingular zeale to hys countrey, may be called in theſe our dayes, an Apoſtle of England, it were long to recite. Amongeſt many other, this becauſe it ſemeth to me worthy of remembraunce, I thought not in ſilence to ouerpaſſe, whiche hath vnto mee credibly bene teſtified by certeine graue Marchauntes, and ſome of them alſo ſuch as were preſent the ſame tyme at ẏ facte, and men yet alyue. The ſtory whereof is this.

There was at Antwerpe on a tyme, amongeſt a company of Marchauntes as they were at ſupper, a certeine iuggler, which through his diabolicall inchauntements or Art Magicall, would fetch all kyndes of viandes, & wyne from any place they woulde, and ſet it vppon the table incontinent before them, with many other ſuch lyke thynges. The fame of this iuggler beyng much talked of, it chaunced that as M. Tyndall heard of it, hee deſired certaine of the Marchauntes, that he myght alſo be preſent at ſupper, to ſee him play his partes.

To bee brief, the ſupper was appointed, and the Marchauntes with Tyndall were there preſent. Then ẏ iuggler beyng required to play his feates, and to ſhew his cunnyng, after his wonted boldnes began to vtter all that hee could do, but al was in vayne. At the laſt, with hys labour ſweatyng and toylyng, when he ſaw that nothyng would goe forward, but that all hys enchauntmentes were voyde, he was compelled openly to confeſſe that there was ſome man preſent at ſupper, which diſturbed and letted all hys doynges. So that a man euen in the Martyrs of theſe our dayes can not lacke the miracles of true fayth, if miracles were now to be deſired.

The power of Gods ſaintes againſt the deuill.

As concernyng ẏ workes and bookes of Tyndall, which extende to a great number, thou waſt tolde before (louyng reader) howe the Printer hereof myndeth by the Lordes leaue, to collect them al in one Volume together, & put them out in print. Wherefore it ſhall not greatly at this tyme bee nedefull to make any ſeuerall rehearſall of them.

W. Tyndals workes looked for to be all ſet out in one volume.

And as touchyng his tranſlation of the new Teſtament becauſe his enemies dyd ſo much carpe at it, pretendyng it to be ſo full of hereſies, to aunſwere therefore to their ſclaunderous tongues and lying lyppes, thou ſhalt heare and vnderſtand, what faythfull dealyng, and ſincere conſcience he vſed in the ſame, by the teſtimonie & allegation of hys owne wordes, writtẽ in hys Epiſtle to Iohn Frith as foloweth: I call God to recorde agaynſt the day wee ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckenyng of our doings, ẏ I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods word agaynſt my conſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches might be giuen me. &c.

The faithfull dealing of Tyndall in tranſlating the newe teſtament.

And as ye haue heard Tyndals owne wordes thus proteſtyng for hym ſelfe: now let vs heare likewiſe the faythful teſtimonie of Iohn Frith, for Tyndall hys deare companiõ and brother, thus declaryng in hys aunſwere to M. More, as foloweth.

The teſtimony of Iohn Frith in his booke of the Sacrament concerning William Tyndall.

The teſtimony of Iohn Frith, for Tyndall.

AND Tyndall I truſt liueth, well content with ſuch a poore Apoſtles lyfe, as God gaue hys ſonne Chriſte, and hys faythfull Miniſters in thys worlde, whiche is not ſure of ſo many mites, as ye be yearely of poundes, although I am ſure that for his learnyng and iudgement in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, then al the byſhops in England. I receaued a letter from hym, whiche was written ſince Chriſtmas, wherein among other matters he writeth this: I call God to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lorde Ieſus to geue a reckenyng of our doynges, ẏ I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods worde agaynſt my conſcience, nor woulde doe this day if all that is in earth, whether it bee honour pleaſure, or riches might be geuen me.

The wordes of Tyndall written to Iohn Frith.

Moreouer I take God to witneſſe to my conſcience, ẏ I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this worlde, no more then ẏ without whiche I can not kepe his lawes. &c. Iudge Chriſtian reader whether theſe wordes be not ſpoken of a faythfull cleare innocent hart. And as for his behauiour, is ſuch that I am ſure no man can reproue hym of any ſinne, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth ẏ hart. This muche out of Frith.

And thus beyng about to conclude and finiſhe with the lyfe and ſtory of Williã Tyndall, it ſhalbe requiſite now ẏ the reader do heare ſome thyng lykewiſe of his ſupplication made to the kyng, and nobles of the realme, as they are yet extant in his workes to be ſene, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenour whereof tendeth to this effecte as foloweth.

Ex lib. Tind. praxis Prælatorum.

Tyndals ſupplications to the kyng, nobles and ſubiectes of England.

Tyndals ſupplicatiõ to the king and ſtates of England.

I Beſeche the kynges moſt noble grace, well to conſider all the wayes, by the whiche the Cardinall, and our holy Byſhops haue led hym ſince hee was firſt kyng, and to ſee whereunto all the pride, pompe, and vayne boaſt of ẏ Cardinall is come, and howe God hath reſiſted hym and oure Prelates in all their wyles. We hauing nothing to doe at all haue medled yet with all matters, and haue ſpent for our Prelates cauſes, more then all Chriſtendome, euen vnto the vtter beggeryng of our ſelues, and haue gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mocke and a ſcorne of them, whom we haue moſt holpẽ. For ẏ Frenchemen (as the ſaying is) of late dayes made a playe, or a diſguiſing at Paris, in whiche the Emperour daunſed with the Pope, and the Frenche kyng, and weryed them: the kyng of England ſitting on a hye bench, and lookyng on. And when it was aſked why hee daunced not, it was aunſwered, that he ſat there, but to pay the minſtrels their wages. As who ſhould ſay, wee payd for all mens dauncyng. We monyed the Emperour openly, and gaue the Frenche kyng double, and treble ſecretly: and to the Pope alſo. Yea and though Ferdinandus had money ſent openly to blynd the world withall, yet the ſaying is through all Dutchland that we ſent money to the kyng of Pole. &c.

The king of England payes for all.

Furthermore I beſeche hys grace alſo to haue mercy of his owne ſoule and not to ſuffer Chriſt and his holy Teſtament to be perſecuted vnder hys name any longer: that the ſword of the wrath of God may bee put vp agayne, whiche for that cauſe, no doubt, is moſt chiefly drawne.

The ſecond petition of Tyndall.

Thyrdly, my petition is to his grace, to haue compaſſion on hys poore ſubiectes, that the realme vtterly periſhe not with the wicked counſayle of our peſtilent Prelates. For if his grace, whiche is but a man, ſhoulde dye, the Lordes & commons not knowyng who hath moſt right to enioy the crowne, the realme could not but ſtand in great daunger.

The third petitiõ of Tyndall.

My fourth ſute and exhortation is to all the Lordes tẽporall of the realme, that they come and fall before ẏ kinges grace, and humbley deſire his maieſtie, to ſuffer it to be tryed, who of right ought to ſuccede: And if hee or ſhee fayle, who next, and who thyrd. And let it be proclaymed openly: and let all the Lordes temporall be ſworne therto, and al the knyghtes and ſquyers and gentlemen, and the commons aboue xviij. yeares olde, that there be no ſtrife for the ſucceſſion. If they trye it by the ſword, I promiſe them, I ſee no other likelyhode but it will coſte the realme of England. &c.

The fourth petition of Tyndall.

Limitation of ſucceſſion to the Crowne.

I pray God thys be not a propheſie agaynſt England.

Further, of all the ſubiectes of England this I craue: that they repent. For the cauſe of euill rulers is the ſinne of the ſubiectes as teſtifieth the Scripture. And the cauſe of falſe Preachers is, that the people haue no loue vnto the truth, ſayth Paule in the 2. Chapter of the 2. Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. We be al ſinners an hundred tymes greater then al that we ſuffer. Let vs therfore eche forgiue other, remembryng the greater ſinners, the more welcome if we repent accordyng to the ſimilitude of the riotous ſonne Luke. xv. For Chriſt dyed for ſinners & is theyr Sauiour, and hys bloud theyr treaſure to pay for theyr ſynnes. He is that fatted calfe whiche is ſlayne to make them good cheare withall, if they will repent and come to their father agayne: and hys merites is the goodly rayment to couer the naked deformities of their ſinnes.

The fifte petitiõ of M. Tyndall.

Finallye if the perſecution of the kynges grace and of other temporall perſons conſpiryng with the ſpiritualtie, be of ignoraunce, I doubt not but that their eyes ſhall be opened ſhortly and they ſhall ſee and repent, and god ſhall ſhew them mercy. But if it be of a ſet malice againſt the truth, and of a grounded hate agaynſt the law of god, by the reaſon of a ful conſent they haue to ſinne and to walke in theyr olde wayes of ignoraunce, whervnto beyng now paſte all repentaunce, they haue vtterlye yelded themſelues, to folowe wyth full luſte wythout bridle or ſnaffle, which is the ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt: then ye ſhall ſee euen ſhortly, that God ſhall turne the poynt of the ſwoorde wherewyth they now ſhed Chriſtes bloud,homeward to ſhed their own agayne,after all the examples of the Bible.

Theſe thinges thus diſcourſed pertaynyng to the ſtory and doinges of Tyndall,finally it remayneth to inſerte certayne of his priuate letters and epiſtles, wherof among diuers other which haue not come to our handes,two ſpeciall he wrote to Ioh. Frith,one properly vnder his own name, an other vnder the name of Iacob, but in very dede was written and deliuered to Iohn Frith, beyng priſoner then in the tower, as ye ſhall further vnderſtand by the ſequele hereafter. The copye and tenour of the Epiſtles here followeth.

A letter ſent from Tyndall,vnto maiſter Frith beyng in the tower.

A letter of M. Tyndall to M. Fryth.

THe grace and peace of God our father,& of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord be with you. Amen. Dearely beloued brother Iohn,I haue heard ſay, how the hypocrites nowe that they haue ouercome that great buſines which letted them, or at the leaſt way,haue brought it at a ſtay,they returne to their old nature agayne. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordeyned to be ere the world was made, that come,and his glory raigne ouer all.

Pet.2.

1.Iohn.3.

Math.5.
Rom.8.
Phil.3.

Dearely beloued,how euer the matter be, commit your ſelfe wholy and onely vnto your moſt louyng father, and moſt kynd Lord,and feare not men that threat,nor truſt mē that ſpeake faire: but truſt hym that is true of promiſe, and able to make hys word good. Your cauſe is Chriſtes goſpel, a light that muſt be fed with the bloud of fayth. The lampe muſt be dreſſed & ſnuffed daily, and that oyle poured in euery euening & morning,that the light go not out. Though we be ſinners,yet is the cauſe right. If when we be buffeted for well doyng,we ſuffer paciently and endure,that is acceptable to God: for to that ende we are called. For Chriſt alſo ſuffred for vs,leauing vs an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps,who did no ſinne. Hereby haue we perceyued loue,that he layed downe his lyfe for vs: therfore we ought alſo to lay downe our lyues for the brethren. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. For we ſuffer with him that we may alſo be glorified with him: who ſhal chaunge our vile body, that it may be faſhioned lyke vnto hys glorious body, according to the workyng wherby he is able euen to ſubiect all thinges vnto hym.

Boldnes of ſpirite.

Wounde not conſcience.
Standing vpon things neceſſary.

Death after denying euil ſpoke of by the aduerſaries.

Obedience to God.

To looke for no mās helpe, bryngeth Gods helpe.

Conſtancie in ſtanding.
Patience in ſuffering.

Dearely beloued,be of good courage and comfort your ſoule with the hope of this hye reward, & beare the image of Chriſt in your mortall body,that it may at his commyng be made lyke to hys immortall: and follow the enſample of all your other deare brethren,which chuſe to ſuffer in hope of a better reſurrection. Kepe your conſcience pure and vndefiled,and ſay againſt that nothyng. Sticke at neceſſary things and remember the blaſphemies of the enemies of Chriſt,ſaying: they finde none but that will abiure rather then ſuffer the extremitie. Moreouer,the death of them that come agayne after they haue once denied, though it be accepted with God and all that beleue,yet is it not glorious, for the hypocrites ſay,he muſt nedes dye,denying helpeth not: But might it haue holpen,they would haue denied v. hundreth tymes: but ſeyng it would not helpe them,therfore of pure pryde and meere malice together, they ſpake with theyr mouthes, that their conſcience knoweth falſe. If you geue your ſelfe,caſt your ſelfe,yelde your ſelfe,commit your ſelfe wholy and onely to your louing father: then ſhal his power be in you and make you ſtrong,and that ſo ſtrong, that you ſhall feele no payne: which ſhould be to an other preſent death: and hys ſpirit ſhal ſpeake in you and teach you what to aunſwere,accordyng to his promiſe. He ſhall ſet out hys truth by you wonderfully,and worke for you aboue all that your hart cā imagine: Yea,and you are not yet dead,though the hypocrites all,with all they can make, haue ſworn your death. *Vna ſalus victis, nullam ſperare ſalutem*: To looke for no mans helpe,bringeth the helpe of God to them that ſeme to be ouercome in the eyes of the hypocrites: Yea it ſhall make God to cary you through thicke and thinne for hys truthes ſake, in ſpite of all the enemies of hys truth. There falleth not an heare tyll hys houre be come: & when hys houre is come,neceſſitie carieth vs hence though we be not willyng. But if we be willyng, then haue we a reward and thanke.

Bilney.

Perſeueraunce to the ende.

Math.21.

Feare not threatening therfore, neither be ouercome of ſwete wordes: with which twayne the hypocrites ſhall aſſaile you. Neither let the perſuaſions of worldly wyſedome beare rule in your hart: no, though they be your friendes that counſaile you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their viſure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end,ſhalbe ſaued. If the payne be aboue your ſtrength,remember: What ſo euer ye ſhall aſke in my name,I will geue it you. And praye to your father in that name,and he will ceaſe your payne,or ſhorten it. The Lord of peace,of hope,and of fayth,be with you,Amen.

William Tyndall.

Two Martyrs at Antwerpe.
Foure Martyrs in Flaunders, and one at S.Luke.
Perſecution at Roane.
Fiue Doctors at Paris taken for the Goſpell.

TWo haue ſuffred in Antwerpe In die ſanctæ Crucis, vnto the great glory of the goſpell: foure at Ryſels in Flanders,and at Luke,hath there one at the leaſt ſuffered,and al the ſame day. At Rone in Fraunce they perſecute. And at Paris are v. Doctors taken for the goſpell. Se you are not alone: Be chereful and remember that among the hard harted in england,there is a nūber reſerued by grace: for whoſe ſakes if nede be, you muſt be redy to ſuffer. Sir if you may write,how ſhort ſoeuer it be, forget it not, yͭ we may know how it goeth with you,for our hartes eaſe. The Lorde be yet agayne with you,with all hys plenteouſnes,and fil you that you flow ouer. Amen.

If when you haue read this,you may ſend it to Adrian, do I pray you, that he may know how that our harte is with you.

George Ioy at Candlemas being at Barrow,printed ij. leaues of Gen. in a great forme,and ſent one copy to yͤ king, and another to the new Queene, with a letter to N. for to deliuer them: and to purchaſe licence, that he might ſo goe through all the Bible. Out of that is ſprong the noiſe of the new Bible: and out of that is the great ſekyng for Engliſh bokes at all printers and bokebynders in Antwerpe, and for an Engliſh prieſt that ſhould print.

This chaunced the 9. day of May.

Sir,your wyfe is well content with the will of God,⁊ would not for her ſake haue the glory of God hindred.

William Tyndall.

An other notable and worthy letter of Maiſter William Tyndall ſent to the ſayd Iohn Frith, vnder the name of Iacob.

¶The grace of our Sauiour Ieſus, his pacience, meekeneſſe, humblenes,circumſpection,and wiſedome be with your hart,Amen.

An other letter of W. Tyndall.

High queſtions to be auoyded.

All deedes before they be iuſtified by fayth, are ſinne.

Preaching the lawe of God, ⁊ mercy of Chriſt.
Sacramētes without ſignificatiōs to be refuſed.

DErely beloued brother Iacob, myne hartes deſire in our Sauiour Ieſus,is,that you arme your ſelfe with pacience, and be cold,ſober,wyſe and circumſpect,and that you keepe you alow by the ground,auoyding hie queſtions that paſſe the common capacitie. But expound the law truly,and open the vayle of Moſes to condemne all fleſh,and proue all men ſinners,and all dedes vnder the law, before mercy haue taken away the condemnation therof,to be ſinne and damnable: and then as a faythfull miniſter, ſet abroche the mercye of our Lord Ieſus,and let the wounded conſciences drynke of the water of hym. And then ſhal your preaching be with power,and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites:and the ſpirit of God ſhall worke with you, and all conſciences ſhall beare record vnto you,and feele that it is ſo. And all doctrine that caſteth a miſte on thoſe two,to ſhadow and hide them I meane the law of god and mercy of Chriſt,that reſiſt you withall your power. Sacramentes without ſignification, refuſe. If they put ſignifications to them, receiue them, if you ſee it may helpe,though it be not neceſſary.

M. Tyndall here beareth wyth tyme.

*By the affirmatiue he meaneth the opinion which M. Luther and the Saxons do holde of the ſacramēt.

M. Tyndall agayne beareth wyth tyme.

Vbiquitie can not be proued.

Of the preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacrament, meddle as little as you can,that there appeare no diuiſion among vs. Barnes will be whote againſt you. The Saxons be ſore on the affirmatiue,whether conſtant or obſtinate,I omitte it to God. Philip Melancthon is ſaid to be with the French king. There be in Antwerpe that ſay,they ſaw him come into Paris with an c. and l. horſes,and that they ſpake with hym. If the Frenchmen receiue the word of God, he will plant the *affirmatiue in them. George Ioy would haue put forth a treatiſe of the matter, but I haue ſtopt him as yet, what he will do if he get mony, I wot not. I beleue he would make many reaſons little ſeruyng to the purpoſe. My mynde is, that nothing be put forth till we heare how you ſhall haue ſped. I would haue the right vſe preached,and the preſence to be an indifferent thyng,till the matter might be reaſoned in peace at layſure,of both parties. If you be required, ſhewe the phraſes of the ſcripture, and let them talke what they wil. For as to beleue that God is euery where, hurteth no mā that worſhippeth him no where but within in the hart, in ſpirit and veritie: euē ſo to beleue that the body of Chriſt is euery where (though it cannot be proued) hurteth no mā that worſhippeth hym no where ſaue in the fayth of hys goſpell. You perceiue my mynd: howbeit if God ſhew you otherwiſe,it is free for you to do as he moueth you.

I geſſed long agoe that God would ſende a daſing into the hedd of the ſpiritualtie, to catche themſelues in theyr owne ſubtletie,and I truſt it is come to paſſe. And now me thinketh I ſmell a counſaile to be taken, litle for their profites in tyme to come. But you muſt vnderſtand, that it is not of a pure hart and for loue of the truth, but to aduēge them ſelues, and to eate the whores fleſh, and to ſuck the mary of her bones. Wherfore cleaue faſt to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the end of all thynges to him: and if God ſhall call you, that you may then vſe the wiſedome of the worldly, as farre as you perceiue the glory of God may come therof, refuſe it not: and euer among, thruſt in, that the Scripture may be in the mother toung, and learnyng ſet vp in the vniuerſities. But & if ought be required cōtrary to the glory of God and his Chriſt, then ſtand faſt, and committe your ſelfe to God, and be not ouercome of mens perſuaſions, which happely ſhall ſay: we ſee no other way to bryng in the truth.

Eatyng the whores fleſhe, is to ſpoyle the Popes Church onely for the pray & ſpoyle thereof.

Worldly wiſedome ſo farre as it may ſerue to Gods glory, may be vſed.

Brother Iacob, beloued in my hart, there lyueth not in whom I haue ſo good hope and truſt, and in whom myne hart reioyſeth and my ſoule comforteth her ſelfe, as in you: not the thouſand part ſo much for your learnyng, and what other giftes els you haue, as that you will creepe allow by the ground, and walke in thoſe thynges that the conſcience may feele, and not in the imaginatiōs of the brayne: in feare and not in boldnes: in open neceſſary thynges, and not to pronoūce or define of hyd ſecrets, or things that neither helpe or hynder whether they be ſo or no: in vnitie & not in ſeditious opiniōs: in ſo much that if you be ſure you know, yet in thinges that may abyde layſure, you will deferre, or ſay (til other agree with you): me thinke the text requireth this ſenſe or vnderſtandyng: Yea and that if you be ſure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it paſſe, and referre the thyng to other men, and ſticke you ſtifly and ſtubburnely in earneſt and neceſſary thynges. And I truſt you be perſwaded euen ſo of me. For I call God to recorde agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus, to geue a reckenyng of our doynges, that I neuer altered one ſyllable of Gods word agaynſt my conſcience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleaſure, honour or riches, might be geuen me. Moreouer I take God to recorde to my conſcience: that I deſire of God to my ſelfe in this world, no more then that without whiche I can not keepe hys lawes.

Low walking.

The vpright handling in the tranſlation of M. Tyndall.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could helpe at hād, and ayde you if neede required: I promiſe you I would not be farre of, and commit the end to God: my ſoule is not faynt, though my body be wery. But God hath made me euill fauoured in this world, and without grace in the ſight of men, ſpecheles and rude, dull and ſlow wytted: your part ſhalbe to ſupply that lacketh in me, remembryng, that as lowlynes of hart ſhall make you hygh with God, euen ſo meekenes of wordes ſhall make you ſinke into the hartes of men. Nature geueth age authoritie, but meekenes is the glory of youth, and geueth them honour. Aboundaunce of loue maketh me exceede in bablyng.

A low harte maketh a mā hygh with God.

Authority is the glory of age.

Meeknes is the glory of youth.

Syr as concernyng Purgatory, and many other thyngs, if you be demaunded, you may ſay, if you erre, the ſpiritualtie hath ſo led you, and that they haue taught you to beleue as you do. For they preached you all ſuch thynges out of Gods word, and alledged a thouſand textes, by reaſon of which textes you beleued as they taught you. But now you finde them lyers, and that the textes meane no ſuch thyngs, and therfore you can beleue them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and beleue no ſuch thyng: howbeit you are ready to beleue, if they haue any other way to proue it, for without profe you cā not beleue them, when you haue founde them with ſo many lyes. &c. If you perceyue wherein we may helpe, other in beyng ſtill, or doyng ſomewhat, let vs haue word, and I will do myne vttermoſt.

Purgatory hath no proofe by ſcripture.

My Lord of London hath a ſeruaunt called Iohn Tiſen with a red beard, and a blacke reddiſhe head, and was once my ſcholler, he was ſene in Antwerpe, but came not among the Engliſhmen: whether he is gone an Ambaſſadour ſecret, I wotte not.

The mighty God of Iacob be with you to ſupplant his enemyes, and geue you the fauour of Ioſeph: and the wiſedome, and the ſpirit of Stephen be with your hart and with your mouth, and teach your lyppes what they ſhall ſay, and how to aunſwere to all thynges. He is our God if we deſpayre in our ſelues, and truſt in hym: and his is the glory. Amen.

William Tyndall.

¶ I hope our redemption is nygh.

¶ This letter was written. an. 1533. in the moneth of January. Which letter although it do pretend the name of Iacob, yet vnderſtand (good Reader) that it was written in very deede to Iohn Frith, as is aboue tolde thee. For the more proofe and euidence wherof, read Frithes booke of the Sacrament, and there thou ſhalt finde a certayne place of this Epiſtle repeated worde for worde, beginning thus: I call God to recorde, agaynſt the day we ſhall appeare before our Lord Ieſus to geue a reckening of our doynges, that I neuer altered one ſillable of Gods worde agaynſt my conſcience. &c. which Epiſtle Iohn Frith himſelfe witneſſeth that he receaued from Tyndall, as in hys teſtimonie aboue appeareth.

¶ The death of the Lady Katherine and of Queene Anne.

An. 1536.

The death of Lady Katherine, Princeſſe Dowager.

The ſame yeare in the which W. Tyndall was burned, which was the yeare of our Lord 1536. in the begynning of the yeare, firſt died Lady Katherine Princes Dowager in the moneth of January.

The death of Queene Anne.

After whom the ſame yeare alſo, in the moneth of May next folowing, folowed the death alſo of Queene Anne, who had now bene maried to the kyng the ſpace of iij. yeares. In certeine recordes thus we finde, that the kyng being in his Iuſtes at Grenewich, ſodenly with a fewe perſons, departed to Weſtmynſter, and the next day after Queene Anne his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certayne other: and the xix. day after was beheaded. The wordes of this worthy and Chriſtian Ladye at her death were theſe:

The wordes of Queene Anne at her death.

Good Chriſten people, I am come hether to die, for according to the lawe, and by the lawe I am iudged to death, and therfore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it. I am come hether to accuſe no mā, nor to ſpeake anything of that, wherof I am accuſed and condemned to dye, but I pray God ſaue the kyng, and ſende hym long to raigne ouer you, for a gentler, or a more mercifull Prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and ſoueraigne Lord. And if any perſon will medle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartely deſire you all to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me. To God I commende my ſoule. And ſo ſhee kneeled downe, ſaying: to Chriſt I commende my ſoule: Ieſu receiue my ſoule: repeating the ſame diuers tymes, till at length the ſtroke was geuen, and her head was ſtriken of.

Queene Anne beheaded.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queene. Godly I call her, for ſundry reſpectes, what ſoeuer the cauſe was, or quarell obiected agaynſt her. Firſt, her laſt wordes ſpoken at her death, declared no leſſe her ſincere fayth and truſt in Chriſt, then did her quiet modeſtie vtter forth the goodnes of the cauſe and matter, what ſoeuer it was. Beſides that, to ſuch as wiſely can iudge vpon caſes occurrent, this alſo may ſeeme to geue a great clearing vnto her, that the kyng the third day after was maryed in hys whites vnto an other. Certaine this was, that for the rare and ſingular gyftes of her mynde ſo well inſtructed, and geuen towarde God, with ſuch a feruent deſire vnto the truth, and ſetting forth of ſincere Religion, ioyned wyth lyke gentlenes, modeſty, and pitie toward all men, there hath not many ſuch Queenes before her borne the Crowne of England. Principally this one commendation ſhee lefte behynde her, that duryng her lyfe, the Religion of Chriſt moſt happely floryſhed, and had a right proſperous courſe.

Commendation of Queene Anne.

Many thinges myght be written more of the manyfolde vertues, and the quyet moderation of her mylde nature, how lowly ſhee woulde beare, not onely to be admoniſhed, but alſo of her owne accorde woulde require her Chapleynes playnely and freely to tell whatſoeuer they ſaw in her a miſſe. Alſo how bountifull ſhee was to the poore, paſſing not onely the common example of other Queenes, but alſo the reuenues almoſt of her eſtate: in ſo much that the almoſe which ſhee gaue in three quarters of a yeare, in diſtribution, is ſummed to the number of xiiij. or xv. thouſand poundes. Beſide the great peece of money which her grace intended to impart into iiij. ſundry quarters of the Realme, as for a ſtocke there to be employed to the behoofe of poore artificers and occupiers. Agayne, what a zelous defender ſhee was of Chriſtes Goſpell, all the worlde doth know, and her actes doe and will declare to the worlds ende. Amongeſt which other her actes, this is one, that ſhee placed M. Hugh Latymer in the Byſhopricke of Worceſter, and alſo preferred Doctor Shaxton to hys Byſhopricke, beyng then accompted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith ſhee bare vnto the Lord, this one example may ſtand for many: for that when kyng Henry was with her at Woodſtocke, and there being a ſayde of an olde blynde prophecie, for the which neither he, nor other kinges before hym durſt hunte in the ſayd parke of

The mylde nature of Queene Anne in takyng admonition.

The great almoſe of Queene Anne.

Woodſtoke, nor enter into the town of Oxford, at laſt thorough the Chriſtian and faythfull counſayle of that Quene he was ſo armed agaynſt all infidelitie, that both he hunted in the foreſayd parke, and alſo entred in the towne of Oxford, and had no harme. But becauſe touchyng the memorable vertues of this worthy Queene, partly we haue ſayd ſome thyng before, partly becauſe more alſo is promiſed to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord ſo permittyng) by other who thẽ were about her: I will ceaſe in this matter further to procede.

Statut. An. 28. Hen. 8. cap. 7.

This I can not but meruayle, why the Parlament holden this yeare, that is, the. xxviij. yeare of the kyng, (which Parlament three yeares before had eſtabliſhed and confirmed this Mariage as moſt lawfull) ſhould now ſo ſodeinly and contrary to their owne doynges, repeale and diſable the ſayd Mariage agayne as vnlawfull, beyng ſo lawfully before contracted. But more I meruaile, why the ſayd Parlament, after the illegitimation of the Mariage enacted, not contented with that, ſhould further procede, and charge her with ſuch carnall deſires of her body, as to miſuſe her ſelfe with her own naturall brother the Lord Rochford, and others, beyng ſo contrary to all nature that no naturall man will beleue it.

Parlamentes not alwayes conſtant.

But in this Acte of Parlament dyd lye (no doubt) ſome great miſtery, which here I will not ſtand to diſcuſſe, but onely that it may be ſuſpected ſome ſecrete practiſing of the Papiſtes here not to be lackyng, conſideryng what a mighty ſtoppe ſhe was to their purpoſes and proceedynges, and on the contrary ſide, what a ſtrong Bulwarke ſhe was for the maintaynaunce of Chriſtes Goſpell and ſyncere religiõ, which they then in no caſe could abyde. By reaſon wherof, it may eaſily be conſidered that this Chriſtian and deuoute Orbora could lacke no enemies amongeſt ſuch a number of Philiſtians, both with in the realme and without.

Agayne, neither is it vnlyke but that Stephen Wincheſter, beyng then abroad in Ambaſſie, was not altogether a ſleepe. The ſuſpition wherof may be the more coniecturall, for that Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leyceſter, and thẽ Ambaſſadour in Fraũce ſucceedyng after Stephen Wincheſter, dyd manifeſtly detect him of playne Papiſtry, as in the ſequele of their ſtories, when we come to the time, more ample (the Lord grauntyng) ſhall be expreſſed.

The lawfulnes of Queene Annes ſucceſſion defended.

And as touchyng the kyngs mynde and aſſent, although at that tyme through crafty ſetters on, he ſeemed to be ſore bent both agaynſt that Queene and to the diſherityng of his owne daughter: yet vnto that former will of the kyng ſo ſet agaynſt her thẽ, I will oppoſe agayne the laſt will of the kyng, wherein expreſſely and by name he dyd accept, and by playne ratification dyd allow the ſucceſſion of his Mariage to ſtand good and lawfull.

Defence of Queene Anne agaynſt priuie backbyters.

Furthermore, to all other ſiniſter iudgementes and opinions, what ſoeuer can be conceiued of man agaynſt that vertuous Queene: I obiect and oppoſe agayne (as in ſtede of aunſwere) the euident demonſtration of Gods fauour, in mainteynyng, preſeruyng, and aduaunſing the offpryng of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, now Queene, whom the Lord hath ſo meruailouſly conſerued from ſo manifold daungers, ſo royally hath exalted, ſo happely hath bleſſed w̃ ſuch vertuous patience, & with ſuch a quyet reigne hetherto, that neither the reigne of her brother EDVVARD, nor of her ſiſter Mary, to her is to be compared, whether we conſider the number of the yeares of their reignes, or the peaceableneſſe of their ſtate. In whoſe royall and floriſhyng regiment we haue to behold, not ſo much the naturall diſpoſition of her mothers qualities, as the ſecret iudgement of God in preſeruyng and magnifying the fruite and offpryng of that godly Queene.

Paulus Iouius can finde no whoredome in all Rome, but muſt come and pike matter where none is, in England.

And finally, as for the blaſphemous mouth both of Cardinall Poole, and of Paulus Iouius, that Popiſh Cardinall, who meaſuryng belike other women by his curteſanes of Rome, ſo impudently abuſeth his penne in lying and raylyng agaynſt this noble Queene: to aunſwere agayne in defence of her cauſe to that Italian, I obiect and oppoſe the conſent and iudgement of ſo many noble Proteſtantes and Princes of Germany, who beyng in league before with kyng Henry, and myndyng no leſſe but to haue made hym the head of their confederation, afterward hearyng of the death of this Queene, vtterly brake from him and refuſed him, onely for the ſame cauſe.

The proteſtants of Germanie forſake kyng Henry for the death of Queene Anne.

The wyly practiſes of the Papiſtes.

But all this ſeemeth (as is ſayd) to be ỹ drift of the wylie Papiſtes, who ſeyng the Pope to be repulſed out of England by the meanes chiefly of this Queene, and fearyng alwayes the ſucceſſion of this Mariage in tyme to come: thought by ſiniſter practiſe to preuente that perill before, whiſperyng in the kynges eares, what poſſibly they could, to make that Matrimonie vnlawfull, and all for the diſherityng of that ſucceſſion.

Agayne, Stephen Gardiner (who was a ſecret worker agaynſt that mariage, and a perpetual enemy agaynſt Lady Elizabeth) beyng then abroad with the French kyng and the great Maiſter of Fraunce, ceaſed not in his letters ſtill to put the kyng in feare, that the foreine Princes and powers of the world, with the Pope, would neuer be reconciled to the kyng, neither ſhould he be euer in any perfect ſecuritie, vnleſſe he vndyd agayne ſuch actes before paſſed for the ratification of that ſucceſſion. Which thyng when they had now brought to paſſe after their owne deſire, that both now the Queene was beheaded, and Elizabeth the kings daughter diſherited, they thought all thynges to be ſure for euer. But yet Gods prouidence ſtill went beyond them, and deceaued thẽ. For incontinently after the ſufferyng of Queene Anne, the kyng with in three dayes after, maryed Lady Iane Semer, of whom came kyng Edward, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as euer his Father was, and greater too.

Gods prouidence ſtill diſappointeth the papiſtes.

The king maryed Lady Iane.

In the meane tyme, as theſe troublous tumultes were in doyng in England, Paule the third Biſhop of Rome, for his part was not behynd to helpe forward for his owne aduauntage. Who ſeyng his vſurped kyngdome & ſeate to be darkened in the countreys of Germany and alſo in Englãd, thought it hygh tyme to beſtyrre him, and therfore, to prouide ſome remedy agaynſt further daungers, appointed a generall Councell at Mantua in Italy, requiryng all kynges and princes either perſonally to be there, or els to ſend their Imbaſſadours, vnder fayre pretenſes, as to ſuppreſſe hereſies and to reſtore the Church, and to warre agaynſt the Turke, &c. This Bull was ſubſcribed with the handes of 26. Cardinals, and ſet vp in diuers great Cities, that it might be knowen and publiſhed to the whole world. Unto the which Bull, firſt the Proteſtants of Germany do aunſwere, declaring ſufficient cauſes why they refuſed to reſort to that Councell beyng indicted at Mantua in the Popes owne countrey. Whoſe declaration, with their cauſes graue and effectuall, beyng ſet forth in Printe and in the Engliſh toung, although they were worthy here to be inſerted, yet for breuitie and more ſpede in our ſtory, I will pretermit the ſame, and onely take the Oration or aunſwere of our kyng here: wherein he likewiſe rendereth reaſons and cauſes moſt reaſonable, why he refuſeth to come or to ſend at the Popes call to his Councel, indicted at Mantua. Whoſe Oration or Proteſtation, becauſe it conteineth matter of ſome weight and great experience, I thought here good to expreſſe, as foloweth.

The ſeate of the beaſt darckned. Apoc. 16.

Ex Ioan Sledano. Lib. 10.

¶ A Proteſtation in the name of the kyng, and the whole Counſaile, and Clergy of England, why they refuſe to come to the Popes Councell at his call.

SEyng that the Byſhop of Rome calleth learned men frõ all parties, cõductyng them by great rewardes, makyng as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh moſt meete and moſt ready to defend fraudes and vntrouthes: we could not but with much anxietie caſt with our ſelues, what ſo great a preparaũce of wittes ſhould meane. As chaunce was, we geſſed euen as it folowed. We haue bene ſo long acquaynted with Romaine ſubtilties and popiſh deceites, that we well and eaſely iudged the Byſhop of Rome to intend an aſſemble of his adherents and men ſworne to thinke all his luſtes to be lawes. We were not deceiued. Paule the Byſhop of Rome hath called a Councell, to the which he knew wel either few or none of the Chriſten Princes could come. Both the tyme that he indicted it, and alſo the place where he appointed it to be, might aſſure him of this. But whether wandereth not theſe Popiſh Bulles? whether go they not a ſtray? what kyng is not cyted and ſummoned by a proude miniſter and ſeruaunt of kynges, to come to bolſter vp errours, fraudes, deceites, and vntrouthes, and to ſet forth this feyned generall Councell? For who will not thinke that Paul the byſhop of Rome goeth ſooner about to make men beleue that he intendeth a generall Councell, then that he deſireth one in deede? No, who can leſſe deſire it, then they that do diſpayre of their cauſe, except they be iudges, & geue ſentence them ſelues agaynſt their aduerſaries? We, which very ſore agaynſt our will, at any tyme leaue of the procurement of the Realme and cõmon weale, neede neither to come our ſelues, nor yet to ſend our procuratours thether, no nor yet to make our excuſe for either of both. For who can accuſe vs, that we come not at his call, which hath no authoritie to call vs?

The kinges proteſtation why he ſendeth not to the Popes Councell.

The popes craftes eſpyed.

The kyng not bound to come at the Popes call.

But for a ſeaſon let vs (as a ſorte of blyndlynges do) graunt that he may call vs, and that he hath authoritie ſo to do: yet (we pray you) may not all men ſee, what auayleth it to come to this Councell, where ye ſhall haue no place, except ye be knowen both willyng to oppreſſe truth, and alſo

Who be they that haue place in the popes councell.

ready to confirme and ſtabliſh errours? Do not all men perceiue as well as we, with what integritie, fidelitie, and Religion theſe men go about to diſcuſſe matters in controuerſie, that take them in hand in ſo troubleſome a tyme as this is? Is it not playne what fruite the common weale of Chriſtendome may looke for there, where as Mantua is choſen the place to keepe this Councell at? Is there any Prince, not beyng of Italy, yea is there any of Italy, Prince or other diſſentyng from the Pope, that dareth come to this aſſemble, & to this place? If there come none, that dare ſpeake for troden trouth, none that will venture his lyfe, is it meruaile if the Byſhop of Rome being iudge, no man repynyng, no man agaynſaying, the defenders of the Papacie obteyne that Popiſh authoritie now quaylyng, and almoſt fallen, be ſet vp agayne?

The place of the Councel not indifferent.

No reaſon that the pope ſhould be iudge in hys owne cauſe.

Is this the way to helpe things afflict? to redreſſe troubled Religion? to lift vp oppreſſed trouth? Shall men this way know, whether the Romane Byſhops (which in very deede are, if ye looke either vpon their doctrine or life, farre vnder other Biſhops) ought to be made like their felowes, that is, to be paſtours in their owne Dioces, and ſo to vſe no further power: or els whether they may make lawes, not onely vnto other Byſhops, but alſo to Kynges & Emperours? O boldneſſe, meete to be beaten downe with force, and not to be conuinced with argumentes. Can either Paul that now Lordeth, or any of his, earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at the leaſt without any aduerſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heale the ſickeneſſes, to take away the errours, to plucke downe the abuſes that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolſtered vp, by ſuch Councels as now is like to be at Mantua?

The byſhop of Rome in learning and lyfe farre vnder other Byſhops.

It is very like, that theſe, which prole for nothyng but profite, will right gladly pull down all ſuch thinges, as their forefathers made, onely for the increaſe of money. Where as their forefathers, when their honour, power, primacie, was called into queſtiō, would either in ſpite of Gods law, maintaine their dignitie, or (to ſay better) their intollerable pride: is it like, that theſe will not trede in their ſteppes, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old euill decrees? Howbeit, what neede we to care, either what they haue done, or what they intend to do hereafter, for as much as Englād hath taken her leaue of Popiſh craftes for euer, neuer to be deluded with them hereafter? Romane byſhops haue nothyng to do with Engliſh people: the one doth not traficke with the other: at the leaſt, though they will haue to do with vs, yet we will none of their Marchaūdiſe, none of their ſtuffe. We will receiue them of our Coūcell no more. We haue ſought our hurt, & bought our loſſe a great while to long. Surely their Decrees, either touchyng thynges ſet vp, or put downe, ſhall haue none other place with vs, then all Byſhops Decrees haue, that is, if we like them, we admit them: if we do not, we refuſe them. But leſt peraduenture men ſhall thinke vs to folow our ſenſes to much, & that we, moued by ſmall or no iuſt cauſes, forſake the authoritie, cenſures, Decrees, and Popiſh Councels, we thought it beſt here to ſhew our mynde to the whole world.

Paule the pope proleth for his owne profite.

England taketh her leaue of the pope for euer.

England refuſeth the popes marchandiſe.

Wherfore we proteſt before God and all men, that we embrace, profeſſe, and will euer ſo do, the right and holy doctrine of Chriſt. All the Articles of his fayth, no iot omitted, be all ſo deare vnto vs, that we ſhould much ſooner ſtād in ieoperdy of our Realme, then to ſee any point of Chriſtes religiō in ieoperdy with vs. We proteſt that we neuer went from the vnitie of this fayth, neither that we will departe an inche from it. No, we will much ſooner loſe our lyues, then any Article of our beliefe ſhall decay in England. We, which in all this cauſe, ſeeke nothyng but the glory of God, the profite and quyetnes of the world, proteſt that we can ſuffer deceiuers no longer. We neuer refuſed to come to a generall Councell: no, we promiſe all our labour, ſtudy, and fidelitie, to the ſettyng vp of troden trouth, and troubled religion, in their place agayne: and to do all that ſhall lye in vs, to finiſh ſuch controuerſies as haue, a great while to long, vexed Chriſtendome. Onely we will all Chriſtē men be admoniſhed, that we can ſuffer no longer, that they be eſteemed willyng to take away errours, whiche in deede, by all the wayes their wittes will ſerue them, go about this alone, that no man, vnder payne of death, may ſpeake agaynſt any errour or abuſe.

England goeth not from the vnitie of fayth, although it goeth from the Pope.

The fayth of England Catholicke.

England ready to ſend to any generall Councell, where trouth may be aduaunced.

We would haue a Councell, we deſire it, yea and craue nothyng ſo oft of God, as that we may haue one. But yet we will that it be ſuch, as Chriſten mē ought to haue, that is franke and free, where euery man, without feare may ſay his mynde. We deſire that it be an holy Coūcel, where euery man may go about to ſet vp godlynes, and not apply all their ſtudy to oppreſſyng of trouth. We will it be generall, that is to ſay, kept at ſuch tyme, and in ſuch place, that euery man which ſeeketh the glory of God, may be preſent, and there frankely vtter his mynde. For then it ſhall ſeeme generall, whether when no man yͭ diſſenteth frō the Biſhop of Rome, is compelled to be from it, or when they that be preſent, are not letted by any iuſt terrour, to ſay boldly what they truely thinke. For who would not gladly come to ſuch a Coūcell, except it be the Pope, his Cardinalles, and Popiſhe Byſhops? On the other ſide, who is ſo fooliſhe, where as the chiefe point that is to be handled in this Councel, is yͤ Popes owne cauſe, power and primacie, to graunt that the Pope ſhould reigne, ſhould be iudge, ſhould be Preſident of this Councell? If he which in deede, can neuer thynke himſelfe able to defend his cauſe, before any other Iudge, be euermore made his owne iudge, and ſo controuerſies not decided, but errours ſet vp, what can be deuiſed in the common wealth of Chriſtendome more hurtfull to the trouth, then generall Councels?

What a true generall Councell ought to be.

Conditions of a true generall Councell.

The pope would be iudge in hys owne cauſe.

And here to touch ſomewhat their impudent arrogancie, by what law, power, or honeſt title, take they vpon them to call kynges, to ſummon Princes to appeare, where their Bulles commaunde them? In tyme paſt, all Councelles were appointed by the authoritie, conſent, and commaundement of the Emperour, Kynges, and Princes: why now taketh the Byſhop of Rome thys vpon hym? Some wyll ſay, it is more lykely that Byſhops will more tender the cauſe of religion, gladlyer haue errours taken away, then Emperours, Kinges, or Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and euery man ſeeth, how faythfully they haue handled Religious matters. Is there any man that doth not ſee, how vertuouſly Paule now goeth about by this occaſiō to ſet vp his tyrāny agayne? Is it not like that he yͭ chooſeth ſuch a time as this is, to keepe a coūcel, much entendeth the redreſſe of thinges that now are amiſſe? that he ſeeketh the reſtoryng of religion that now calleth a Coūcell, the Emperour and the French kyng, two Princes of great power, ſo bent to warres, that neither they, nor any other Chriſtē Prince can, in maner, do any thyng but looke for yͤ end of this long warre? Go to, go to biſhop of Rome, occaſion long wiſhed for offreth her ſelfe vnto you: take her, ſhe openeth a window for your fraudes to creepe in at. Call your Cardinals, your owne creatures, ſhew them that this is a ripe tyme to deceiue Princes in.

The Pope hath no power to ſummon Councels.

The pope how he can watch his tyme.

O fooles: O wicked men. May we not iuſtly ſo call you? Are ye not fooles, which being long ſuſpected, not onely of Princes, but of all Chriſten people in maner, that in no caſe you coulde be brought to a generall Councell, plainely ſhewe the whole worlde, that by theſe your conciliables, your hucker mucker in corners, you take away all hope of a lawfull Catholicke and generall Coūcell? Are you not wicked, which ſo hate trouth, that excepte ſhee be vtterly baniſhed, ye will neuer ceaſe to vexe her? The lyuing God is alyue, neither trouth his dearlyng, he beyng aliue, can be called to ſo great ſhame, contumely, and iniurie: or if it may be called to all theſe, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that greuouſly lamenteth not, men to be of ſuch ſhamefull boldenes, to ſhew openly, that they be enemies vnto Chriſt himſelfe? On the other ſide, who will not be glad to ſee ſuch men as fooliſhe, as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light ſuſpition, as it hath bene hetherto, that you will no reformation of errours, but euery man ſeeth before hys eyes, your deceites, your wicked myndes, your immortall hatred that ye beare againſt the trouth. Euery man ſeeth, how many miſerable tragedies your pretence of an vnitie and concorde, hath brought into Chriſtendome. They ſee, your faire face of peace hath ſerued ſedition, and troubled almoſt all Chriſten Realmes. They ſee, ye neuer oppugne religion more, then whē ye will ſeeme moſt to defend it. They be ſory to ſee, yͭ great wits, a long ſeaſon, haue ſpent their whole ſtrength in defence of deceites: reaſon to put his whole power to the promotyng of pride, and vngodlines: vertues to ſerue vices: holynes to be ſlaue to hypocriſie: prudencie, to ſubtilitie: Iuſtice, to tyrannie. They be glad, that Scripture now fighteth for it ſelfe, and not agaynſt it ſelfe. They be glad that God is not compelled to be agaynſt God: Chriſt agaynſt Chriſt. They be glad, that ſubtilitie hath done no more hurt to Religion in time paſt, then now conſtancie doth good to trouth. They ſee the markes, that ye haue ſhot at in all your Councels paſt, to be lucre, money, gaines. They ſee you ſought your profite, yea, though it were ioyned with the ſlaughter of trouth. They ſee, ye would euer, that ſooner iniurie ſhould be done to the Goſpell, then that your authoritie, that is to ſay, arrogent impudencie, ſhould in any point be diminiſhed.

Trouth may be preſſed, it can not be oppreſſed.

The pope enemy to Chriſt.

The popes hatred agaynſt the trouth.

The pope troubler of all Chriſten realmes.

The popes markes whereto he ſhooteth.

And we pray you, What may Paule, the Byſhop of Rome, ſeeme now to go about, which ſeeing all Princes occupied in great affaires, would ſteale (as he calleth it) a generall Councell? What other thyng, then hereby to haue ſome excuſe to refuſe a general Coūcel hereafter whē time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion,

The popes craftes in ſtealing a generall Councell.

gion ſhall be giuen vnto Princes of Chriſtēdome? He will thinke he may then do as Princes now do. He will thinke it lawfull not to come then, becauſe Princes now come not. We pray God, that we euer brawle not one with an other for Religion: and where as diſſenſion is amongeſt vs, yet we for our partes, do ſay that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enioy peace, and tranquillitie, and that then we may haue both tyme and place to ſettle Religion. For except firſt Princes agree, and (warre layde aſide) ſeeke peace, he loſeth his labour that ſeeketh a generall Councell. If the Byſhop of Rome may keepe his Councell while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretye Decrees? If they which would come if they had layſure, be abſente, and we which, though we ſafely might come, will not loſe any part of our right, trowe you, in all our abſence, that the Byſhop of Rome will not handle his profite and primacie well?

The tyme & place pretely pyked of the Pope.

What an hereticke is among the Papiſtes.

The way to Mantua long & daungerous.

The falſhode of Popes no new thyng.

Paul, how can any of ours not refuſe to come to Mantua, through ſo many perils, a Citie ſo farre ſet from England ſo nigh your frendes, kynſmen and adherentes? Is he not vnworthy lyfe, that where he may tary at home, will paſſe through ſo many ieoperdyes of lyfe? Can he, whiche commeth to Cremona, a Citie not farre from Mantua, be ſafe, if he be takē not to be the Byſhop of Romes frend, that is (as the common ſort of deceiued people doth interpret) an hereticke? And if there come to Mantua ſuch a nomber, as would furniſh a generall councell, may not Mātua ſeeme to litle, to receiue ſo many geſtes? Put theſe two together, all the way from England to Mantua, is full of iuſt perils, & yet if ye eſcape all thoſe, the very place where the Councell is kept, is more to be ſuſpected, then all the way. Do ye not know all ciuile lawes to compell no mā to come to any place, where he ſhal be in ieoperdy of his life all the way? We haue no ſafe conduct to paſſe and returne by the dominions of other Princes. And if we had a ſafe conduct, yet ſhould not we be charged with raſhnes, that, where iuſt terrour might haue diſſwaded vs from ſuch a iourney, we committed our ſelues to ſuch perils? Surely, he that, the tyme beyng as it is, thynges ſtandyng as they do, will go from England to Mantua, may be careles, if he lacke witte: ſure of his arriuall or returne from thence, he can not be. For who doth not know, how oft the byſhops of Rome haue playd falſe partes with them, that in ſuch matters haue truſted to their ſafeconductes? How oft haue they cauſed, by their perfidie, ſuch mē to be ſlayne, as they haue promiſed by their fayth before, that they ſhould both come ſafe, and go ſafe? Theſe be no newes, Popes to be falſe, Popes to keepe no promiſe neither with God nor mā: Popes contrary to their othes, to defile their cruell handes with honeſt mens bloud. But we tary to long in thynges that as well touch all men, as vs.

The hatred of the pope agaynſt England.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the ſworde to the earth, otherwyſe then Chriſt did.

We will, theſe now layde a part, turne our Oration vnto ſuch thynges, as priuately touch both vs, Kyng Henry the viij. and all Engliſh men. Is it vnknowē to any man what mynde Paule the Byſhop of Rome, beareth to vs kyng Henry the viij: to vs his nobilitie: to vs his graces Byſhops: and to vs all his graces ſubiectes, for the pullyng downe of his vſurped power, and proude primacy: for expellyng of his vſurped iuriſdiction: and for deliueryng of our Realme from his greuous bondage and pollage? Who ſeeth not him euen inflamed with hatred againſt vs, & the flames to be much greater, then he can now keepe them in? He is an open enemy, he diſſembleth no longer, prouokyng all men by all the meanes that he can to endammage vs & our countrey. Theſe three yeares he hath bene occupyed in no one thyng ſo much, as how he might ſtyrre vp the commons of England, now corruptyng ſome with money, ſome with dignities. We let paſſe, what letters he hath written to Chriſten Princes: with how great feruent ſtudy, he hath exhorted men to ſet vpon vs. The good Vicare of Chriſt, by his doyng ſheweth how he vnderſtandeth the wordes of Chriſt. He thinketh, he playeth Chriſtes part well, when he may ſay as Chriſt did: Non veni pacem mittere in terrā, ſed gladium: I come not to make peace in earth, but to ſend ſwordes about: and not ſuch ſwordes, as Chriſt would his to be armed with all, but ſuch as cruell manquellers, abuſe in the ſlaughter of their neighbours. We meruaile little, though they vexe other Princes oft, ſeyng they recompence our fauour ſhewed to them, with contumelyes, our benefites with iniuries.

Benefites caſt a way vpon the Pope.

We will not rehearſe here, how many our benefites beſtowed vpon Romaine Byſhops, be loſt. God be with ſuch vngrate Carls, vnworthy to be nombred amongeſt men: Certes, ſuch that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cauſe to hate them. But that we haue learned to owe good wil, euen to them that immortally hate vs, what could we wiſh them ſo euill, but they haue deſerued much worſe? We wiſh them this hurt alone, that God ſend them a better mynde. God be thanked, we haue made all their ſeditious intentes, ſooner to ſhew their great malice towardes vs, then to do vs much hurt: yet they haue well taught vs, euermore to take good heede of our enemies. Vndoubtedly it were good goyng to Mātua, and to leaue their whelpes amongeſt the lambes of our flocke. When we be wery of our wealth, we will euen do then, as they would haue vs now do. No, no, as long as we ſhall ſee his hart ſo good towardes vs, we truſt vpon his warnyng, we ſhall well prouide to withſtād his cruell malice. No, let him now, ſpende his deceites, when they can hurt none but ſuch as would deceiue, and are deceiued.

The Popes curſes not feared in England.

The Popes trumpery diſpatched out of England.

Golde geuen for leade.

They haue by ſundry wayes, made vs priuy, how much we be bound to them. It went nygh their harts, to ſee the iudgement of Iuly, of Clement the vij. of Paule the iij, nothyng to be regarded with vs. They be afrayde, if we ſhould ſuſteine no hurt becauſe we iuſtly reiected their primacie, that other Princes would begyn to do likewiſe, and to ſhake of their ſhoulders, the heauy burthens that they ſo long haue borne, agaynſt Scripture, all right and reaſon. They be ſory to ſee the way ſtopped, ỹ now their tyranny, auarice, and pride can haue no paſſage into England, which was wont to walke, to triumph, to toſſe, to trouble all men. They can ſcarſe ſuffer priuileges, that is to ſay, licence to ſpoyle our Citizens, giuen them by our forefathers and brought in by errorfull cuſtome, to be taken frō them. They thinke it vnlawfull, that we require thynges lawfull of thē that will be vnder no lawes. They thinke, we do thē wrōg, becauſe we wil not ſuffer them to do vs wrong any longer. They ſee their marchaundiſe to be baniſhed, to be forbiddē. They ſee, that we will bye no lōger, chalke for cheeſe. They ſee they haue loſt a fayre fleſe, vengeable ſory, that they can diſpatch no more pardons, diſpenſations, tot quottes, with the reſt of their baggage and tromperie. Englād is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now hee knoweth that they do fooliſhly, ỹ giue gold for leade, more weyght of that then they receiue of this. They paſſe not, though Peter and Paules faces be grauen in the leade, to make fooles fayne. No, we be ſory that they ſhould abuſe holy Saintes viſages, to the begilyng of the world.

God graunt.

The popes foundatiō is all deceits.

The Pope doth a fewe thinges wel, that many euills may the better proceede.

The Pope ought to be called and not to call.

Surely, except God take away our right wittes, not onely his authoritie ſhall be driuē out for euer, but his name alſo ſhortly ſhall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth, aſke counſell of him and his, when we luſt to be deceiued, when we couet to be in errour, when we deſire to offende God, trouth, and honeſty. If a man may geſſe the whole worke by the foundation, where deceites beginneth the worke, can any other then deceites be builded vpon this foundation? What can you looke for in this Mantuā Coūcell, other then the oppreſſion of truth and true Religiō? If there be any thyng well done, thinke as euery man doth, byſhops of Rome to be accuſtomed to do a few thynges well, that many euill may the better be taken at their handes. They whē they luſt, cā yeld ſome part of their right. They are cōtent, that ſome of their Decrees, ſome of their errours and abuſes be reprehended: but they are neuer more to be feared, then when they ſhew themſelues moſt gentill. For if they graūt a few, they aſke many: if they leaue a litle, they will be ſure of a great deale. Scarſe a man may know how to handle himſelfe, that he take no hurt at their handes, yea when they bleſſe him: which ſeldome do good, but for an intent to do euil. Certainly come who ſo will to theſe ſhoppes of deceites, to theſe fayres of fraudes, we will loſe no part of our right in commyng at his cal, that ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor ſend thether for this matter. &c.

The pope againe prorogeth his Councell.

And ſo the kyng proceedyng in the ſayd his Proteſtation, declareth moreouer, how the Pope, after he had ſummoned his Councell firſt to be kept at Mantua, the 23, of May. an. 1537. ſhortly after directed out an other Bull, to prorogate the ſame Councell to the moneth of Nouember, pretēdyng for his excuſe, that the Duke of Mantua would not ſuffer him to keepe any Councell there, vnles he mainteined a number of warriours, for defence of the town. And therfore in his latter Bul, he prorogeth this aſſemble, commaundyng Patriarckes, Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Abbots, and other of the ſpiritualty, by the vertue of obedience & vnder payne of curſing, to be preſēt, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whether they ſhould come. And in very deede no great matter, though no place were named. For as good Councell no where to be called, as where it could not be. And aſwell no place ſerued him, that intended no Councell, as all places. And to ſay truth much better no place to be named, then to name ſuch, as he purpoſed not to come too: for ſo ſhould he breake no promiſe, whiche maketh none. And ſo goyng forward in his Oration, toward the latter ende, he thus inferreth by his wordes of Proteſtation, ſaying.

No,

Princes as they gaue the pope hys primacie, ſo they take it from hym agayne.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to vnderſtand that, that we oft haue ſayd, and now ſay, and euer will ſay: He nor his hath no authoritie, no iuriſdiction in England. We gaue him no more then hee hath, that is neuer a deale. That which he hath vſurped agaynſt Gods law, and extorted by violence, we by good right, take frō him agayne. But he and his will ſay: we gaue them a primacie. We heare thē well. We gaue it you in deede. If you haue authoritie vpon vs, as long as our conſent giueth it you, and you euermore will make your plee vpon our conſent, then let it haue euen an ende, where it began: we conſent no longer, your authoritie muſt neede be gone. If we being deceiued by falſe pretenſe of euill alledged Scriptures, gaue to you ẏ ye ought to haue refuſed: why may we not, our errour now perceiued, your deceite eſpyed, take it agayne? We Princes wrote our ſelues to be inferiours to Popes. As long as we thought ſo, we obeyed them as our ſuperiours. Now we write not as we dyd, and therefore they haue no great cauſe to maruayle, if we hereafter do not as we did. Both the lawes ciuill, and alſo the lawes of God, be on our ſide. For a free mā borne doth not loſe his libertie, no nor hurt the plee of his libertie, though he write himſelfe a bondeman.

Cuſtome.

Agayne, if they leane to cuſtome, we ſend them to S. Cyprian, which ſayth that cuſtome, if trouth be not ioyned with it, is nothyng, but erroris vetuſtas, that is, an old errour. Chriſt ſayd: Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita: I am the way trouth and life. He neuer ſayd: Ego ſum conſuetudo, I am the cuſtome. Wherfore, ſeyng cuſtome ſerueth you on the one ſide, and Scripture vs vppon the other, are ye able to match vs? In how many places doth Chriſt moniſh you to ſeeke no primacie, to preferre your ſelues before no body? no, to be obedient vnto all creatures? Your old title, Seruus ſeruorum, euil agreeth with your new forged dignitie. But we will not tary in matters playne: we onely deſire God, that Ceſar & other Chriſtian Princes, would agree vpon ſome holy Councell, where trouth may be tryed and Religion ſet vp, which hath bene hurt by nothyng ſo ſore, as by generall not generall Councels. Errours and abuſes grow too faſt. Erudimini, erudimini qui iudicatis terram: Get you learning you ẏ iudge the earth, & excogitate ſome remedy for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of the ſicke Church. They that be wiſeſt, do diſpayre of a generall Councell, wherfore we thinke it now beſt, that euery Prince call a Councell prouinciall, and euery Prince to redreſſe his owne Realme. We make all men priuy, what we thinke beſt to be done for the redreſſe of Religion. If they like it, we doubt not, but they will follow it, or ſome other better. Our truſt is, that all Princes will ſo handle them ſelues in this behalfe, that Princes may enioy their owne, and Prieſts of Rome content themſelues with that they ought to haue. Princes as we truſt, will no longer nouriſh wolues whelpes: they will ſubſcribe no more to Papiſh pride, to the Papacie. &c.

The popes title and hys dignitie, agree not together.

Beſt that euery Prince reforme his owne realme and tary not for generall Councels.

Fauour our doynges, O Chriſten Princes. Your honor and auncient Maieſtie is reſtored. Remember, there is nothyng pertainyng ſo much to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to helpe religion. Take you hede, that their deceite worke not more miſchiefe, then your vertue can do good: & euerlaſtyng warre we would all Princes had with this Papacy. As for their Decrees, ſo harken to them, that if in this Mantua aſſemble, thynges be well done, ye take them, but not as authoriſed by them, but that trouth and thynges that mainteine religion, are to be taken at all mens handes. And euen as we will admit thynges well made, ſo if there be any thyng determined in preiudice of trouth, for mainteinaunce of their euill grounded primacy, or that may hurt ẏ authoritie of kings, we proteſt vnto ẏ whole world, that we neither allow it, nor will at any tyme allow it.

Ye haue, Chriſten Readers, our mynde concernyng the generall Councell. We thinke you all ſee, that Paul and his Cardinals, Byſhops, Abbots, Monkes, Friers, with the reſt of the rablement, do nothing leſſe intend, then the knowledge or ſearch of trouth. Ye ſee, this is no time meete, Mātua no place meete, for a generall Cōcell. And though they were both meete, yet except ſome other call this Councell, you ſee, that we neither neede to come, nor to ſend. You haue heard how euery Prince in his owne Realme, may quyet thynges amyſſe. If there be any of you, that can ſhew vs a better way, we promiſe with all harty deſire, to do that, that ſhalbe thought beſt for the ſettyng of Religion, and that we will leaue our owne aduiſes, if any man ſhew vs better. Which mynde of ours, we moſt hartly pray GOD, that gaue it vs, not onely to encreaſe in vs, but alſo to ſend it vnto all Chriſten Princes, all Chriſten Prelates, and all Chriſten people.

A litle before the death of Queene Anne, there was a Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherin was geuē to the kyng by conſent of the Abbots, all ſuch houſes of religiō, as were vnder 300. markes. Which was a ſhrewde prognoſticate of the ruine of greater houſes, which in deede folowed ſhortly after, as was & might eaſily be perceiued before of many, who then ſayd: that the low buſhes and brambles were cut downe before, but great okes would follow after.

The papiſtes purpoſe diſappointed.

Queene Iane maryed to the kyng.

Although the proceedyng of theſe thynges did not well lyke the myndes of the Popes frendes in England, yet notwithſtandyng they beganne agayne to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſaw the foreſayde Queene Anne diſpatched. Neuertheles they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as is afore ſhewed) and that doublewiſe. For firſt, after they had their wiſhes of Queene Anne, the Lorde raiſed vp an other Queene, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her ſonne Kyng Edward. And alſo for that the Lord Cromwell the ſame time beganne to grow in authoritie. Who lyke a mighty piller ſet vp in the Church of Chriſt, was enough alone to confounde and ouerthrow all the malignant deuiſes of the aduerſaries, ſo long as God gaue hym in lyfe here to continue: whoſe ſtory hereafter foloweth more at large.

L. Cromwell groweth in authoritie.

Alteration of religion a litle beginneth.

Shortly after this foreſayde maryage of the king with this Queene Iane Semer aboue mētioned, in the moneth of Iune, duryng the continuation of the Parlament, by the conſent of the Clergie holdyng then a ſolemne conuocation in the Church of S. Paule, a booke was ſet forth cōteynyng certeine Articles of religion neceſſary to be taught to the people, wherein they intreated ſpecially but of three Sacramentes: Baptiſme, Penance, and the Lordes ſupper. Where alſo diuers other thynges were publiſhed concernyng the alteration of certeine pointes of Religion, as that certeine holy dayes were forbidden, and many Abbayes began to be ſuppreſſed. For the which cauſe, the rude multitude of Lincolnſhyre fearing the vtter ſubuerſion of their olde religion, wherein they had bene ſo long nouſled, did riſe vp in a great cōmotion, to the number wel neare of 10. thouſand, hauing for their Captaine, a Monke named D. Makerell, calling himſelfe then Captaine Cobler: but theſe rebels being repreſſed by the kinges power, and deſiring pardon, ſoone brake vp their aſſemblye. For they hearing of the royall armie of the king cōming againſt them with his owne perſon there preſent, and fearing what would folow of this, firſt the noble men and Gentlemen, which before fauoured them, began to withdraw thēſelues, ſo that they were deſtitute of Captaines: and at the laſt, they in writing made certeine petitions to the king, proteſting that they neuer intended hurt toward hys royall perſon. Theſe petitiōs the king receiued, and made this aunſwere againe to them as foloweth.

Commotion in Lincolnſhire.

A monke ſtirrer of the commotiō.

The kinges aunſwere to the rebels.

The kinges aunſwere to the rebels.

FIrſt, we begin and make aunſwere to the fourth & ſixte articles, becauſe vpon them dependeth much of the reſt. Concerning choſing of Counſailours, I neuer haue read, heard, nor knowen, that Princes Counſailours and Prelates, ſhould be appointed by rude and ignoraunt common people, nor that they were perſons meete, or of habilitie to diſcerne and chooſe meete and ſufficient Counſaylors for a Prince: How preſumptuous then are ye the rude cōmons of one ſhire, and that one the moſt baſe of the whole realme, and of the leaſt experience, to finde faulte with your Prince, for the electing of his Counſailours and Prelates, and to take vppon you, contrary to Gods lawe, and mans lawes, to rule your Prince, whom ye are bounde by all lawe, to obey and ſerue with both your lyues, landes and goods, and for no worldly cauſe to withſtand?

For ſuppreſſiō of religious houſes.

As to the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes and Monaſteries, we will that ye and all our ſubiectes ſhould wel know, that this is graunted vs by all the nobles ſpirituall & temporall of this realme, and by all the commons in the ſame, by Acte of Parliament, and not ſet forth by any Counſailour or Counſailours vpon their mere will and fantaſie, as ye full falſely would perſwade our realme to beleue.

And where ye alleage, that the ſeruice of God is much diminiſhed, the truth thereof is contrary: for there be no houſes ſuppreſſed where God was well ſerued, but where moſt vice, miſchiefe, and abomination of liuyng was vſed, and that doth well appeare by their owne confeſſions ſubſcribed with their owne handes in the tyme of their viſitations, and yet we ſuffered a great many of them (more thē we needed by the Acte) to ſtand: wherin, if they amend not theyr liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunſwere for, then for the ſuppreſſion of all the reſt. And as for the hoſpitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not aſhamed to affirme, that they haue bene a great reliefe of poore people, when a great many or the moſt part hath not paſt foure or fiue religious perſons in them, and diuers but one, which ſpent the ſubſtaunce of the goodes of their houſes in

In theſe viſitatiōs of religious houſes, horrible it is to read what wickednes & abominatiō was there founde and regiſtred by the viſitors.

nouriſhyng of vice and abhominable lyuyng. Now, what vnkyndnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you & all our ſubiectes that be of that mynde, which had leuer ſuch an vnthriftye ſort of vicious perſons ſhoulde enioye ſuche poſſeſſions profites and emolumentes, as grow of the ſayd houſes, to the maintenaunce of their vnthriftye life, then we your naturall Prince, ſoueraigne Lord and Kyng, which doth and hath ſpent more in your defences of our owne, the ſix tymes they be worth?

The act of vſes.

As touchyng the act of vſes, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye would take authoritie vpon you, to cauſe vs to breake thoſe lawes and ſtatutes, which by all the noble Knightes and Gentlemen of this Realme (whom the ſame chiefly touched) hath bene graunted and aſſented to: ſeyng in no maner of thynges, it toucheth you the baſe commons of our Realme.

Alſo, the groundes of all thoſe vſes were falſe, and neuer admitted by law, but vſurped vpon the Prince, contrary to all equitie and iuſtice, as it hath bene openly both diſputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realme of England, in Weſtminſter hall: whereby ye may well perceyue, how madde and vnreaſonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the reſt, and how vnmeete it is for vs, and diſhonorable, to graũt or aſſent vnto, and leſſe meete and decent for you in ſuch a rebellious ſort, to demaunde the ſame of your Prince.

The acte of fiftene.

As touchyng the fiftene whiche ye demaunde of vs to be releaſed, thinke ye that we be ſo fayntharted, that perforce ye of one ſhyre (were ye a great many moe) could compell vs with your inſurrections and ſuch rebellious demeanour, to remitte the ſame? or thinke ye that any man will or may take you to be true ſubiectes, that firſt make & ſhew a louyng graunt, and then perforce would compell your ſoueraigne Lord and Kyng to releaſe the ſame? The tyme of payment wherof is not yet come: yea and ſeyng the ſame will not countreuayle the tenth peny of the charges, which we haue and dayly do ſuſteyne for your tuition & ſafegarde: make you ſure by your occaſiõs of theſe your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnes, and vnkyndnes to vs now adminiſtred, ye geue vs cauſe (which hath alwayes bene aſmuch dedicate to your wealth, as euer was Kyng) not ſo much to ſet our ſtudy for the ſettyng forward of the ſame, ſeing how vnkindly and vntruly ye deale now with vs, without any cauſe or occaſion. And doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to conſider your duety of allegiaunce to your Kyng & ſoueraigne Lord, the reſt of our Realme (we doubt not) hath, & we and they ſhall ſo looke on this cauſe, that we truſt it ſhalbe to your cõfuſion, if accordyng to your former letters you ſubmit not your ſelues.

The acte of firſt fruites.

As touchyng the firſt fruites, we let you to witte, it is a thyng graunted vs by Act of Parliament alſo, for the ſupportation of part of the great and exceſſiue charges, which we ſupport & beare for the maintenaunce of your wealthes and other our ſubiectes: and we haue knowen alſo that ye our commons haue much complayned in tymes paſſed, that the moſt part of our goodes, landes, and poſſeſſions of the Realme, were in the ſpirituall mens handes: and yet bearyng vs in hand, that ye be as louyng ſubiectes to vs as may be, ye can not finde in your hartes, that your Prince and ſoueraigne Lord ſhould haue any part thereof (and yet it is nothyng preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but do rebell and vnlawfully riſe agaynſt your Prince, contrary to the duety of allegiaunce and Gods cõmaundement. Syrs, remember your folyes and trayterous demeanours, and ſhame not your natiue countrey of England, nor offende no more ſo greuouſly your vndoubted kyng & naturall prince, whiche alwayes hath ſhewed him ſelfe moſt louyng vnto you, and remember your duety of allegiaunce, and that ye are bounde to obey vs your kyng, both by Gods cõmaundement, and law of nature.

Wherfore we charge you eftſoones vppon the foreſayd bondes and paynes, that ye withdrawe your ſelues to your owne houſes euery man, and no more to aſſemble contrary to our lawes and your allegiaunces, and to cauſe the prouokers of you to this miſchief, to bee deliuered to our Lieutenauntes handes or ours, and you your ſelues to ſubmitte you to ſuch condigne puniſhement, as we and our nobles ſhall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not els, that we & our nobles can nor wyl ſuffer this iniurie at your hands vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of ſoueraignetie, and ſhewe your ſelues as bounden and obedient ſubiectes, and no more to entermeddle your ſelues from henceforth with the weighty affayres of the Realme, the direction wherof onely apperteyneth to vs your kyng, and ſuch noble men and counſailours, as we lyſt to elect and choſe to haue the orderyng of the ſame.

And thus we pray vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to do your dueties, to vſe your ſelues towardes vs lyke true and faythfull ſubiectes, ſo as we may haue cauſe to order you therafter: and rather obediently to conſent amongeſt you, to deliuer into the handes of our Lieutenaũt, a hundreth perſons to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleaſure, then by your obſtinacy and wilfulnes, to put your ſelues, your wiues, children, landes, goodes and cattelles, beſide the indignation of GOD, in the vtter aduenture of totall deſtruction, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the ſword.

The commotion of Lincolnſhire aſſwaged.

After the Lyncolneſhyre men had receiued this the Kynges aunſwere aforeſayd, made to their petitions, eche miſtruſtyng other who ſhould bee noted to be the greateſt medler, euen very ſodeinly they began to ſhrinke and out of hand, they were all diuided, and euery man at home in his owne houſe in peace: but the Captaines of theſe rebels eſcaped not all cleare, but were after apprehended, and had as they deſerued. Ex Edw. Hallo.

A popiſhe inſurrection in Yorkſhire.

After this, immediatly within ſixe dayes, vppon the ſame, followed a new inſurrection in Yorkeſhyre for the ſame cauſes, through the inſtigation and lying tales of ſeditious perſons, eſpecially Monkes and Prieſtes, makyng them beleue, that their ſiluer chalices, croſſes, iewels, and other ornamentes ſhould be taken out of their Churches, and that no man ſhould be maryed, or eate any good meate in his houſe, but ſhould giue tribute therfore to the kyng: but their ſpeciall malice was agaynſt Cromwell, and certaine other Counſaillours.

The badges of the rebels

The number of theſe rebels were neare about 40. thouſand, hauyng for their badges the fiue woundes, with the ſigne of the Sacrament, and Ieſus written in the middeſt.

A holy pilgrimage.

This their deuiliſh rebellion, they termed by the name of a holy Pilgrimage, but they ſerued a wrõg and a naughtie Saint. They had alſo in the field their ſtreamers and banners, whereupon was paynted Chriſt hangyng vpon the Croſſe on the one ſide, and a chalice with a paynted cake in it, on the other ſide, with other ſuch enſignes of lyke hypocriſie and fayned ſanctitie, pretendyng thereby to fight for the fayth, and right of holy Church.

The kinges power agaynſt the rebels in the North.

As ſoone as the kyng was certified of this new ſeditious inſurrection, he ſent with all ſpeede agaynſt them, the Duke of Northfolke, Duke of Suffolke, Marques of Excetor, Earle of Shrewſbury & other, with a great armye, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

The blynde ſtubburnes of ſuperſtitious people, rebelling where they haue no cauſe.

Theſe noble Captaines and Counſailours thus well furniſhed with habilement of warre, approchyng toward the rebels, and vnderſtandyng both their number, and how they were full bent to battaile, firſt with policie went about to aſſay and practiſe how to appeaſe all without bloudſhedyng: but the Northern men ſtoutly and ſturdely ſtandyng to their wicked cauſe and wretched enterpriſe, would in no caſe relent frõ their attemptes. Which when the nobles perceiued, and ſaw no other way to pacifie their furious mindes vtterly ſet on miſchief, determined vpõ a battaile. The place was appointed, the day aſſigned, & the houre ſet, but ſee the wonderous worke of Gods gracious prouidence.

A great myracle of God in defending the cauſe of his Goſpell.

The night before the day of battaile came (as teſtifieth Edward Hall) fell a ſmall rayne, nothyng to ſpeake of: but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very ſmall forde, & that men, in maner, the day before, might haue gone driſhod ouer, ſodeinly roſe of ſuch a height, deepenes, and breadth, that the lyke no mã that there did inhabite, could tell that euer they ſaw afore: ſo that the day, euẽ when the houre of battaile ſhould come, it was impoſſible for the one armye to come at the other.

After this, the appointment made betwene both the armyes beyng thus diſappointed, as it is to be thought, onely by God, (who extended his great mercy and had compaſſion on the great number of innocent perſons, that in that deadly ſlaughter had lyke to haue ben murthered) could take no place: then by the great wiſedome and policie of the ſayd Captaines, a cõmunication was had, and a pardon of the Kynges Maieſtie obteyned, for all the Captaines and chief doers of this inſurrection, and they promiſed that ſuch thynges as they founde themſelues agreeued with all, they ſhould gently bee heard, and their reaſonable peticions graunted, and ỹ their Articles ſhould bee preſented to the Kyng, that by his highneſſe authoritie, and wiſedome of his Counſayle, all thynges ſhould bee brought to good order and concluſion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and thoſe which before were bent as hote as fire, to fight, being letted therof by God, went now peaceably to their houſes, and were as cold as water. A Domino factum eſt iſtud.

Popiſhe prieſtes rebelling agaynſt the K.

In the tyme of this ruffle in Yorkeſhyre, and the kyng lying the ſame tyme at Windſore, there was a Butcher dwellyng within fiue myles of the ſayd towne of Windſore.

Which

whiche cauſed a Prieſt to preach, that all they that tooke parte with the Yorkeſhyre men, whõ he called Gods people did fight in Gods quarell: for the whiche both hee and the prieſt were apprehẽded, and executed.

Diuers other Prieſtes alſo, with other, about the ſame tyme committyng in lyke ſorte treaſon agaynſt the kyng, ſuffered the lyke execution. Such a buſines had the kyng then to ridde the Realme from the ſeruitude of the Romiſh yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam euertere Sedem.

But Gods hand dyd ſtill worke with all, in vpholdyng his Goſpell and trodẽ truth, agaynſt all ſeditious ſturres, commotions, rebellions, and what ſoeuer was to the contrary as both by theſe ſtoryes afore paſſed, & by ſuch alſo as hereafter followe, may notoriouſlye appeare.

1537.

The yeare next after this, which was of the Lord. 1537. after that great execution had bene done vppon certeine rebellious Prieſtes and a fewe other lay men, with certeine noble perſons alſo and Gentlemen, amongeſt whom was the Lord Darcy, the Lord Huſſy, Syr Robert Conſtable, Syr Thomas Percy, Syr Fraunces Bygot, Syr Steuen Hamelton, Syr Iohn Bulmer, and hys wyfe, Williã Lomley, Nicolas Tempeſt, with the Abbottes of Ierney and of Ryuers &c. in the moneth of October, the ſame yere folowyng, was borne prince Edward. Shortly after whoſe byrth, Queene Iane his mother, the ſecond day after, dyed in childbed, and left the kyng agayne a wydower, whiche ſo continued the ſpace of two yeares together. Upon the death of which Queene Iane, and vpon the birth of prince Edward her ſonne, theſe 2. verſes were made which follow.

Prince Edward borne.

Queene Iane dyed in childebed.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

These verſes were thought to be made by M. Armigyl Wade.

Here is by the way to be vnderſtand, that duringe all this ſeaſon, ſince the time that the king of England had reiected the Pope out of the Realme, both the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Scottes, with other forrein potentates (which were yet in ſubiection vnder the pope,) bare to hym no great good fauour inwardly, what ſoeuer outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lackyng preuy ſetters on, nor ſecret workyng among them ſelues, how to compaſſe vngracious miſchiefes, if God by contrary occaſions had not ſtopped their intended deuiſes, For firſt the Pope had ſent Cardinall Poole to the Frenche kyng, to ſtyrre hym to warre agaynſt the Realme of England.

The Pope ſtirreth war agaynſt England by Cardinall Poole.

Secondly where as the Frenche kyng, by treatie of perpetuall peace, was bound yearely to pay to the kyng of England at the firſt dayes of May, and Nouember about xxv. thouſand crownes of the ſunne, and odde money: and ouer that, x. thouſand crownes at the ſayd ij. termes, for recõpence of ſalt due, as the treaties therof did purport: that penſion remayned now vnpayed iiij. yeares and more.

The Emperour, the Frẽch king, and the king of Scottes, ſet agaynſt the king of England.

Furthermore, the Emperour and the French kyng both reteined Grancetor a traiterous rebell agaynſt the kyng, & condemned by Acte of Parlament, with certeine other traitors moe, and yet would not deliuer hym to the kyng at his earneſt ſuite and requeſt.

The Frenche kyng alſo digreſſyng from his promiſe & treaty, made alliance with the Byſhop of Rome Clement in maryyng the Dolphine to hys Niece, called Katherine de Medicis.

The ſayd Frenche kyng moreouer, contrary to his contracte made, maryed his daughter to the kyng of Scottes. All which were preiudiciall: and put the kyng (no doubt) in ſome feare and perplexitie (though otherwiſe a ſtoute and valiaunt Prince) to ſee the Pope, the Emperour, ÿ Frẽch kyng, and kyng of Scottes ſo bent agaynſt hym.

And yet all this notwithſtandyng, the Lord ſtill defended the iuſtnes of his cauſe agaynſt them all. For although the French kyng was ſo ſet on by the Pope, and ſo lynked in mariage with the Scottes, and lacked nothyng now but onely occaſion to inuade the Realme of England: yet notwithſtandyng he hearyng now of the byrth of Prince Edward, the kynges ſonne by Queene Iane, and vnderſtandyng alſo by the death of the ſayd Queene Iane, that the kyng was a wydower, and perceauyng moreouer talke to be that the kyng would ioyne in mariage with the Germaynes, began to waxe more calme and cold, and to geue much more gently wordes, and to demeane hym ſelfe more curtuouſly, labouryng to mary the Queene of Nauare hys ſiſter to the kyng.

The Ambaſſadours reſident thẽ in Fraunce for the kyng were Ste. Gardinar, with Doctor Thyrleby, &c. Whiche Steuen Gardinar, what he wrought ſecretly for the popes deuotion, I haue not expreſſely to charge him. Whether hee ſo dyd, or what he dyd, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certeine, that when Doct. Boner Archdeacon thẽ of Leiceſter, was ſent into Fraunce by the kyng (through the meanes of the Lord Cromwell (to ſuccede Steuen Gardinar in Ambaſſie, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1538. he found ſuch dealyng in the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter, as was not greatlye to bee truſted, beſide the vnkynde partes of the ſayd Byſhop agaynſt the foreſayd Boner, commyng then from the kyng and Lorde Cromwell, as was not to be lyked.

An. 1538.

Doct. Boner, the kinges Ambaſſadour in Fraunce.

Long it is to recite frõ the begynning and fewe men peraduenture woulde beleue, the brawlyng matters, the priuy complaintes, the contentious quarels, and bitter diſſentions betwene theſe two, and eſpecially what deſpightfull contumelies D. Boner receiued at the handes of Wincheſter. For vnderſtand (good reader) that this doctor Boner all this while remayned yet (as he ſemed) a good man, and was a great furtherer of the kinges procedinges, and a fauourer of Luthers doctrine, and was aduaunced only by the Lord Cromwell. Whoſe promotions here to reherſe: firſt he was Archdeacon of Leiceſter, perſon of Bledon, of Dercham, Cheſwike, and Cheriburton. Then was made Biſhop of Hereford, and at laſt preferred to be Biſh. of London. The chiefe of which prefermentes and dignities were conferred vnto him only by the meanes and fauour of the L. Cromwell, who was then his chiefe and only Patrone, and ſetter vp: as the ſaid Boner himſelfe in all his letters doth manifeſtly proteſt and declare. The Copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibite, but for prolonging my ſtory with ſuperfluous matter. yet that the world and all poſteritie may ſee, how the commyng vp of D. Boner was onely by the goſpell (how ſo euer he was after vnkynd vnto the Goſpell) this one letter of hys, which I wyll here inſerte, written to the Lord Cromwell out of Fraunce, may ſtand for a perpetuall teſtimonie, the tenour wherof here enſueth.

Doct. Boner in the beginning a fauourer of the truth and a Lutherane.

L. Cromwel the onely ſetter vp of Doct. Boner.

Doct. Boners cõming vp, was by the Goſpell.

A letter of Doctor Boner the kinges Ambaſſadour reſident in France, ſent to the Lord Cromwell declaring the order of his promotions and comming vp.

My very ſingular eſpeciall good Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commend me vnto your honorable good Lordſhip. And where as in tymes paſſed in hath lyked the ſame, without any my deſertes or merites, euen only of your ſingular excedyng goodnes, to beſtow a great deale of loue, beneuolence, and good affection vpon me ſo poore a man and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſyng in deede, ſondry wayes, the good effectes therof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby vnto your honourable good Lordſhip, and thought it alway my duetie (as in dede it was) bothe to beare my true harte agayne vnto your Lordſhip, and alſo, remembryng ſuch kyndnes, to do vnto ÿ ſame all ſuch ſeruice and pleaſure as might then lie in my ſmall power to do.

Out of Boners owne hand writing.

D. Boner cõfeſſeth himſelfe much bound to the L. Cromwel.

But where of your infinite and ineſtimable goodnes, it hath further lyked you of late, firſt to aduaunce me vnto the office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as the kyng my ſoueraigne Lord is, vnto the Emperour and French kyng, and next after to procure and obtayne myne aduauncement to ſo honourable a promotion as is the biſhopricke of Herford: I muſt here knowledge the excedyng greatnes of your Lordſhips benefite, with myne owne imbecillitie to recompence it, and ſay (as Virgil writeth) Grates perſoluere dignas nõ opis eſt noſtræ.

Boner preferred to the byſhopricke of Herefoorde, by the L. Cromwel.

Surely my good Lord, I neither am, neyther ſhall bee hable to requite thus your Lordſhyps moſt ſpeciall kindenes and bountifull goodnes at any tyme, vnleſſe I ſhoulde vſe that ciuile remedye called in lawe acceptilation whiche great detters eſpecially, are accuſtomed to procure at the handes of theyr creditours: wherby yet neuertheleſſe your goodnes the onely doer therof, ſhoulde rather bee encreaſed then my duetye towardes the ſame, therby diminiſhed. And ceſſio Bonorum (the onely extreme refuge and help of poore detters deuiſed alſo in ciuile) myght ſomwhat helpe herein, ſauyng that it is not poſſible that I ſhall come Ad tam pinguem fortunam (wherupon that remedye is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this dette worthelye.

Acceptilation.

Here ſeemeth to lacke ſome word, but that I would not alter any thyng in hys owne copie.

So that in concluſion there reſteth this, that vnleſſe your Lordſhyps ſelfe doe loſe me as you haue bound me, I ſhall (and that full gladly) remayne continually your moſt bounden beadeſman. And Syr I moſt humblye beſech your good Lordſhyp, in the honour of God, ſeyng thys thyng is begonne and aduaunced onely by your goodnes & meanes you will to the entent the acte may bee wholy your owne, ſtretch out your goodnes, not ſufferyng the reſt to be perfited otherwiſe then by your owne handes: whereunto I muſt and ſhall knowledge my ſelfe to be exceedyngly beholden vnto your good Lordſhyp: ſo ſhall the ſame more e-

L.Cromwell onely the aduaūcer of D. Boner, and therfore in an other letter he calleth him his only Mœcenas.

ſteeme and ſet vp, during my lyfe, hauing ſo attayned it by your only goodnes: And verily, if your good Lordſhip be not better to me herein then I can, vnleſſe it be of your own goodnes, deſire you, I know not how I ſhalbe able to ouercome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore, were right honeſt and good, yea, and ſuch as one of farre better qualities then I was or am of, ought therwith to haue bene contented, yet conſideryng that of diuers of them, it is to witte, Leiceſter, Bledō, Derham, Cheſwicke, and Cheryburton, the firſt fruites, tenthes, and charges borne, I haue not receyued clerely one peny, I am now neuer a whitte the more able to beare the great charges of this.

The promotions of Boner.

I ſhall therfore herein and in all things els pertaynyng hereunto, ſeyng your Lordſhip is ſo great a patrone, and will nedes bynde me for euer to be your own (as in dede I will) referre all together vnto your goodneſſe, beſeeching you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your owne handes. I cannot tell whether the late Biſhop ſtandeth bounden for the firſt fruites, tēthes, or other duties, which by ſtatute may be demaunded of hys ſucceſſour, but I feare it greatly, and beſech your Lordſhip therefore that I may bee holpen therein. My charges now here enforceth me the more to ſpeake and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the begynnyng are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good I haue of fiue hundreth crownes, remaynyng fortie, beſtowed vpon horſes, mule, mulet, rayment, and other neceſſaries, ſtandyng debter to M. Thirlby neuertheles, and alſo to M. Doctor Heynes for one hundreth markes or faſt vpon, to them both. And beſides this (ſuch is my chaunce now at the beginning) diuers of my ſeruauntes haue fallen ſicke, beyng in great perill and daunger, puttyng me to no little charges.

Ouer & beſides theſe diſpleaſures cōmyng vnto me, by not hauyng theyr ſeruice, and other to kepe them, and alſo wantyng myne other ſeruauntes in England, which though I haue ſent for them, yet neyther they neyther my horſes or ſtuffe are come, I muſt and doe take pacience, truſtyng it wyll mende.

Vppon the cloſing vpp of this letter and depeche of thys bearer, God willyng I will packe vp my geare, and to morrowe betime followe the French kyng, who yeſterdaye departed from Shambour and maketh haſte towardes Paris. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerue your good Lordſhyp in health. At Bloyſe the ij. of September in the euening.

Scribled by the very hand of him that is bounden to be and is in dede, your Lordſhips beadeſman and at commaundemēt.

Edmund Boner.

Diuers other letters beſide this, of Doctor Boner remayne in writing vpon the like effect and purport, whiche here alſo I myght adde for a further demonſtration hereof: but thys one in ſtede of many, may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe agayne: whiche is to declare how this Doct. Boner in the tyme of hys fyrſt ſpryngyng vp, ſhewed him ſelfe a good man, and a faſt frend to the Goſpell of Chriſte and to the kyngs procedynges and contrariwiſe, how Steuen Gardinar did halt then both with God and with the kynge. Alſo what vnkyndnes and contumelies the ſayd Boner receaued at his handes: what rancour and hartburnyng was betwene them, and what complaintes the one moueth againſt the other, remayneth conſequently by their writinges and recordes to be opened. For the more euident demonſtratiō wherof, they that haue the letters of the ſayd Doct. Boner written from France to the kyng, and the Lord Cromwell may ryght well perceaue. And fyrſt to note what a Goſpeller hee was, in hys letter from Roan, hee ſpeakyng of hys truſtie companion, and bearer of his letters (who was belyke D. Heynes) he geueth this report both of him, and of hymſelfe, ſaying:

D.Boner all this while ſhewed himſelfe to be a good mā, and a good Goſpeller.

Rancor & hartburning betwene the biſh.of Winchester & Boner.

The wordes of Boner declaring himſelfe to be a Goſpeller.

If this bearer had bene ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperour and follow his religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerue truly your grace: and to aduaunce the truth: he had not wāted, &c. And agayne:

Boner recompted a Lutherane.

And beſides that he hath not wanted the euill report of naughty fellowes, namyng him Lutheran: wherin for company I was ioyned, ſuch was their goodnes, &c.

Agayne in an other letter wrytten to the Lord Cromwell theſe wordes he hath, ſpeakyng of hys companion Doctor Heynes:

Doct.Boner & Doct.Heynes noted for Lutheranes.

Eſpecially for that the ſaid D.Heines by his vpright dealing herein, and profeſſing the truth, neither gate thanckes nor reward, but was blaſed abroad by honeſt folkes to be a Lutheran. The leſſe he pleaſeth in Spayne, the better argument it is, that his entent was to ſerue none but the kynges highnes, and the truth, &c.

And furthermore in an other minute wrytyng to the L. Cromwel of Steuen Wint, and of hys churliſhnes toward hym, thus he ſayth:

And there found I in M.Doct.Thirlby much kindnes, and in the biſhop of Wincheſter as little, &c. And in the ſame letter it followeth:

Winchester againſt Boner.

And if I had receiued any intertainment of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, I would likewiſe haue ſente you worde. But I thanke God, I nede not, for I had nothing of him. &c.

Alſo in an other letter the ſaid Boner writyng to ye Lord Cromwell concernyng one Barnabe, and hym ſelfe, what colde welcome they both had at the handes of Winchester, vſeth theſe wordes folowyng.

St.Wint. agaynſt Barnabe, becauſe the Lord Cromwell fauoured him.

And my good Lord I beſeech you to continue your good fauour to this honeſt poore man Barnabe, who is body and ſoule aſſuredly your owne, and as well beloued of the B. of Wincheſter as I am: and of my trouth I ſuppoſe and beleue verily, one of the chiefe grudges the Biſhop hath agaynſte him, is becauſe your lordſhip of your charitable goodneſſe doth loue and fauour him, &c.

❡ An other letter of Doct. Boner to the Lord Cromwell, complayning of Wincheſter, and alſo declaring how he was promoted by the ſaid lord Cromwell, to the biſhoprike of Herford.

My very ſingular eſpeciall good Lord, accordyng to my moſt bounden duety, I recommend me right humbly vnto your good Lordſhip, aduertiſing the ſame, that the 29. of the laſt, about 4. of the clocke at after noone, there arriued here Bernabe with your Lordſhips letters dated at Ewrige, the 24. of the ſame, and thinking that at his ſaid arriuall, the Biſh. of Wincheſter, M.Thirleby and I had bene all lodged together, where in very dede we had ſeuerall lodginges, he went ſtraight to the Biſhop of Wincheſters lodging (Maiſter Thirleby and I beyng then walkyng in the fieldes) and the Biſhop incontinently enquired of him, not how the kings grace did as was his duety: but (as Barnabe told me) inquired of him where he left the kinges grace at his commyng away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether M.Brian and M. Wallop were in the Court at his departyng: and finally what newes were in England. To the which queſtions, when Barnabe had made aunſwer, ſaying, that he left the kinges grace at Byrling, and that M.Brian, & M.Wallop were in the Court at his departing, and withall that he had no letters from them, ne any other to hym, and finally for the newes that the kinges highnes had geuen me the biſhopricke of Herford: the Biſhop (as Barnabe reporteth and I doubt not but he ſayth truly) caſt down his hed, making a plaice mouth with his lippe, and afterwardes liftyng vp his eyes and handes (as curſing the day and houre it chaunced) ſeemed ſo euill contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnabe drinke, or tary ſupper, ne yet further commō with hym, but turning from him called one M.Medow and ſhewed hym of the ſame tydinges, takyng it (as appeared) very heuily, ſemblably as he doth euery thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnabe perceiued that I was not there, and that alſo this comfortable countenaunce and good chere made vnto him, he went thence and ſearched me, who then was walkyng with maiſter Thirleby (as is afore) and by chaunce commoning with him of the biſhop of Wincheſter, geuing him aduertiſement that he ſhould not be abuſed by the ſaid Biſhop, whome I ſaid made of him not for any harty loue I thought he bare vnto hym, but either in deſpite of me, to whom he thought it ſhould be greatly diſpleaſaunt: either els vnder colour therof, and by familiaritie, for to grope him and to ſerue his owne crafty purpoſes by him. And ſone after the departure of M.Thirlby from me, who then went to the Biſh. to ſupper, I returned towardes my lodging, and by the way mette with Bernabe, whoſe ſalutation was after that ſorte, that it cauſed me to wonder at it, eſpecially I hauing no expectation or hope of ſuch thing as he rehearſed vnto me. And ſurely my good Lorde, I would not beleue him in the thyng he tolde, till I perceiued the ſame by the ſuperſcription of your Lordſhips letter, which he afterwardes deliuered vnto me: declaring withall (to my great comfort) the proſperous eſtate of the kinges highneſſe and of your good Lordſhip. Which knowen, I beſought almighty God to graunt the long continuaunce thereof, and alſo as was my duetie, did geue moſt humble thankes to the kinges highneſſe and to your ſaid good Lordſhip. And hereupon, keepyng your Lordſhips letters ſtill in my handes vnbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Maiſter Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate theſe my newes and great good fortune with hym, and not finding hym there, I redde ouer your Lordſhippes letters, ſendyng the ſame afterward

The Biſh.of Wint. inquired not how the king did.

The playce mouth of Winchester agaynſt Boner.

Ste.Wint. againſt Boners preferment.

D.Boner made Byſh. of Hereford.

See how Boner reioyceth at hys great good fortune, as though he had not enough before hauing iij. liuinges and being meetly well ſped for one man.

to M. Thirleby, and perceiuyng by Barnabe that he had other letters for me, which he told me he muſt deliuer vnto me ſecretly, I went to myne owne lodging with hym, and there receiuyng them accordingly, did read them ouer, both that your lordſhips ſecond letter ſent to me, and alſo the other ſent to maiſter Wyat.&c.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden
beadeſman and alwayes at
commaundement.
Edmund Boner.

When the kynge, by the aduiſe of the Lord Cromwel and other of hys Counſaile had appoynted D. Edmund Boner to returne from the Emperour, and to bee reſident in Fraunce, in the place of Wincheſter and of Doct. Thyrleby he ſent hys letters to the ſayd B. of Wyncheſter, and to M. Thirleby ſhewyng hys pleaſure vnto them in that behalfe, with this clauſe in the ſame letters conteyned in expreſſe wordes as foloweth.

And where the ſayd M. Boner wanteth furniture of ſtuffe and plate mete for that office, our pleaſure is, that you M. Thirlby ſhall deliuer vnto hym by Indenture, all the plate you haue of ours in your cuſtody, and that you my Lorde of Wincheſter ſhall furniſh him with all ſuch other ſtuffe, as ſhall be neceſſary for him. Wherin as you ſhall doe vnto vs pleaſure, ſo we ſhall be contēt at your returne, to ſatiſfie you for the ſame.&c.

The kinges pleaſure was not regarded of the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter receiuing theſe letters from the king, and beyng lothe to come into England (what ſo euer the matter was) alſo hearing that Doctor Boner ſhould ſucceede him, his diſdainfull nature did ſtomacke him exceedingly. But becauſe there was no other remedy but the kings commaundement muſt be done, firſt he ſendeth the kings letters, with his alſo to the Emperours court, vnto M. Boner, and to D. Heynes, willyng them in all haſt to repaire to Lions within two dayes. Beſides theſe letters of Wincheſter, D. Thirlby adioyned hys letters alſo with like quickneſſe to the ſaid D. Heynes and to Boner, the contentes wherof here followeth.

The letter of Doct. Thirlby to Doct.
Heynes and Boner.

Doct. Thirlebyes quicke letter to D. Heynes & D. Boner.

With my harty commendations and the deſire of your cōpany, and now ſo much rather that I ſhall therby haue a great benefite, viz. the deliueraunce from trouble to eaſe, from a ſtraunge countrey to myne owne, from the wayting vpon * him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the ſeruice of hym whoſe proſperitie and loue I accompt as my lyfe: theſe ſhall be to pray you to make no leſſe ſpeede hether, then you would make to a good feaſt, when that you be hungry. M. Boner ſhal know many things but when you come I ſhall tell you more, ſo that you haſte you. Come I pray you, I would fayne be at home. I ſaw not my * maiſter theſe 4. monthes. When as you M. Boner ſhall come to Lions, it ſhalbe good to go to Bonuiſe, he is a good money maker. In fayth I can write no more, but bidde you come hartily, haſtly I would haue written, and the ſooner, the better welcome to Lions, where this was geuen the laſt of Iuly.

*He meaneth here the French king

*The king of England he meaneth.

By him that hath loued you well,
and now will loue you better, if
you haſt you hether. Th. Thirlby.

At the receipt of theſe letters, Doctor Boner and Doctor Heynes did put themſelues in a readines to repaire incontinent vnto Lions, thinking there to haue found Wint. and Thirlby, according to the purport of their letters. But Wint. and Thirleby not abiding theyr cumming, made haſte away from Lions to la Barella: where Boner ridyng in poſt after him, ouertoke hym. With whom what entertainment and talke he had, and what accuſations he laid to hys charge, and what brawling wordes paſſed betwene thē, and what great miſlikyng Boner had of hym for ſpeciall cauſes here in this brablyng matter, or brawling dialogue vnder folowyng may appeare, which for thy recreation, and the further vnderſtanding of Wincheſters qualities, I wiſhe thee (louing reader) to peruſe and conſider.

But firſt here is to be noted, that the kyng and the lord Cromwell, at what tyme they had appointed D. Edmund Boner to be reſident Embaſſadour in Fraunce, required in their letters, that he ſhould aduertiſe them by writing, what he miſliked in the doings and behauiour of certaine perſons whom they did note then vnto hym. Wherupon the ſaid D. Boner ſendeth this declaration of Ste. Gardiner Biſh. of Wint. as followeth.

A declaration ſent by Doct. Boner to the Lord Cromwell, deſcribyng to hym the euill behauiour of Steuen Wincheſter, with ſpeciall cauſes therin contayned, wherfore and why he miſliked him.

Out of the copie of Boners owne letters by hys owne hand writing, which I haue to ſhewe.

Complaintes of Doct. Boner agaynſt Steuen Gardiner.

FIrſt I miſlike in the Byſhop of Wincheſter, that when any man is ſent in the kinges affayres and by hys highnes commaundement, the Byſhop, vnles he be the onely and chiefe inuentour of the matter and ſetter forth of the perſon, he will not onely vſe many cauillations, but alſo vſe great ſtraungenes in countenaunce and chere to the perſon that is ſent: ouer and beſides, as ſmall comfort and counſell as may be in the matter, rather diſſwading and diſcoraging the perſon earneſtlye to ſet forthward hys meſſage, thē boldning and comforting hym, as is his duetie, with helpe and counſell to aduenture and doe hys beſt therein. The experience wherof I haue had my ſelfe with him, as well at Roan the firſt tyme I was ſent to Rome, cōmaunded by ỹ kinges highnes to come by hym, and at Marſelis, the tyme of the intimation of the kyngs proteſtation, prouocation, & appeale as alſo lately going to Nice, touching the generall Counſel and the authoritie of the Byſhop of Rome: and finally, now laſt of all, at my returne from Spayne, where neither my diligence in cōming to him and vſing him in the beginning with all the reuerence I could, neither the kinges letters written vnto hym in my fauour, ne yet other thyng coulde mollifie his hard harte, and cancred malicious ſtomacke, but that hee woulde ſpightfullye ſpeake, and vnkindely doe, as in deede he did, to his great ſhame and my diſhoneſtie, as followeth.

The vaineglorious pride & ambition of the B. of Wincheſter.

What experience Doct. Boner hath of Wincheſters pride.

The cankered malicious ſtomacke of Wincheſter.

When riding in poſt I came to La Barella, a poſt a this ſide Lyons, the vij. day of Auguſt, he beyng in bedde there, I taried till he ryſing vp and makyng hym ſelfe readye, came at the laſt out to me ſtanding and tarying for him in a ſecond chamber, and at his cumming thether, he ſayd: what M. Boner, good morow. A Syr ye be welcome, and herewithall he put out his hand, and I kiſſing mine, toke hym by it, and incontinently after he ſayd: Come on, let vs goe & walke a while into ỹ fieldes, & withal drew towardes ỹ dore preparing him to walke. To whom I ſaid I would wayte vpon hym. His going to the fieldes (as appeared afterwardes) was not ſo much to walk, as to haue a place where he might ſpeake loude, and triumphe alone agaynſt me, calling in hys wordes agayne, if he ſpake any amiſſe, or vtterly deny them if that made for his purpoſe. And by chaunce, rather then by good wiſedome, afore I went forth, I aſked for M. Thirleby, and deſired I might ſee him & ſpeake with hym. The Byſhop that perceiuing, and withal that I ſtacke vpō it he commaunded one of his ſeruauntes to call M. Thirleby, but yet afore his cumming, the Biſhop could not be idle, but ſayd this to me:

The dialogue betwene Boner and Gardiner beginneth.

M. Boner, your ſeruaunt was yeſterday with me, and as I told hym, I wil tell you. In good faith, ye can haue nothing of me. Nothing my lord (quoth I) merely ſpeaking, & mary God forbid, that is a heauie worde, & much vncōfortable to hym that wanteth all thinges, & truſteth much vpon your goodnes, that hath a great deale. In faith (quoth he) ye ſhall haue nothing of me, mary ye ſhall haue of M. Thirleby, his carpage Mules, his bed, & diuerſe other thinges, that he may ſpare, and which he hath kept for you. Well my lord (quoth I) if I ſhall haue nothing of you, I muſte make as good ſhift as I cā for my ſelfe otherwiſe, & prouide it where I may get it. And here the Biſhop, becauſe I would not geue him thankes, for that thing whiche was not worthy thankes, and that alſo I woulde not ſhewe my ſelfe greatlye contented and pleaſed, though I receiued nothing at his handes, he began ſomewhat to kindle, and aſked what I wanted. I tolde hym agayne, that I wanted all thing ſauing money and good will to ſerue the kings highnes.

Wincheſter will do nothing for Doctor Boner.

Doct Boner will geue no thankes to Wincheſter for nothyng.

Wincheſter beginneth to humble.

Tell me one thing (quoth he) that ye want. One thing quoth I? Mary, amongeſt many thynges that I want, I want napery. That ſhall ye not nede (quoth he) here in this countreye, and here he beganne to tell a long tale, that none vſed that, but M. Wallop and hee in the beginnyng: whiche is not true generally. And from this, hee began to goe, deſcendyng by his negatiues: my Mulettes (ſayth he) ye can not haue: for if ye ſhoulde, I muſt nedes prouide other for them agayne: my Mulet clothes ye can not haue, becauſe mine armes are on thē, not mete for you to beare: my rayment (I beyng a Byſhop) that is not mete for you: and ſo proceedyng forth in the reſt, nothyng had he for me and nothyng ſhould I haue.

Wincheſters negatiues.

And here came M. Thirleby, who welcōmed me very gently and after an honeſt ſorte: to whom the B. reherſeth agaynſt his negatiues & maketh a long diſcourſe, bringing in

D. Thirleby preſent at this parle.

concluſion for all that he could doe, that nothing I ſhould haue of him, and this rehearſed he ſtill on end, I am ſure aboue a doſen tymes, and that with a Pylates voyce, ſo yͭ all hys company ſtandyng more then three or four payre of butte lengthes of, heard him.

The Pilates voyce of Wincheſter.

When I ſaw that he woulde make no end, but euer rehearſing one thing ſtill, I ſayd to hym, my Lord, I beſech you, ſeyng I ſhal haue nothyng of you, but of M. Doctour here, let me geue hym thankes that deſerueth it, and not trouble you therein no more, but leauing communication therin, let me deſire and pray you, that we may common of the kynges matters. And that I may haue therin knowledge aſwell of the ſtate therof, as alſo of your counſaile in that behalfe. The Byſhop was ſo hoate and warme in his owne matters, that he would not heare, but nedes woulde returne agayne, and ſhew why that I coulde haue nothyng of him. My L. (quoth I) here is ſtil on end one tale, which me thinketh, ſeyng that I vnderſtand it, ye nede not ſo oft to repete it, eſpecially ſeyng that it cōmeth alwayes to this concluſion, that I ſhall haue nothyng of you. ye lye (quoth he) I ſayd not ſo. I report me (quoth I) to M. Thirleby here preſent, whom I ſhall deſire to beare record of your ſadde and diſcrete honeſt behauiour with me. I ſay you lye (quoth he). My Lord (quoth I) I thanke you.

Steuen Gardiner more reſpectiue to hys owne matters, then to the kinges affayres.

Ye lie, quoth Wincheſter.

I do not ſay (quoth he) that ye ſhall haue nothyng of me: but I ſaye, ye can haue nothyng of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diuerſitie betwene theſe ij. maners of ſpeakynges: I can ſpare nothyng vnto you, and therfore ye ſhall haue nothyng and though I can ſpare you, yet you ſhall haue nothyng: for in the one is an honeſty in the ſpeaker, whiche would if he could doe pleaſure, and in the other, there lacketh that honeſtie.

Wincheſters old ſophiſtication.

My Lord (quoth I), to examine whether I ſhall haue nothyng, becauſe ye can ſpare nothyng: or ſhall haue nothyng, though ye haue plentye, becauſe ye wil I ſhall haue nothyng, it ſhall not muche helpe me in my iourney. Wherfore, ſeyng ye byde vpon this, yͭ I ſhal haue nothyng, I will thanke you for nothing, and prouide other wiſe for my ſelfe. Torde in your teethe (quoth he) & prouide as ye will. Biſhoplike ſpokē, by my fayth (quoth I) and well it becōmeth you to ſpeak thus to me. Yea mary doth it becōme me (quoth he) & repetyng the wordes agayne, ſayd wͭ a ſharpe accent: haue nothyng of me? torde in your teethe. Well my Lorde (quoth I) this nedeth not. ſauyng that ye haue a full ſtomacke & your wit abroad willingly hereby to eaſe your ſtomacke agaynſt me, yes mary quoth hee) it nedeth for me, though it nedeth not for you, for I entende (quoth he) I would ye ſhould knowe it, to iuſtifie my ſelfe to the kyng in all thynges. If ye ſo do (quoth I) ye ſhall do the better. Nay (quoth he) I do it, and wyll do it. Well (quoth I) ye are the more to be commēded, if ye ſo can do. yes (quoth he) I can do it.

Byſhoplyke ſpoken.

The melliſluous and hony mouthed wordes of Wincheſter to Boner.

Now by my trouth (quoth I) ſeyng the kings hyghnes hath written ſo tenderly for me vnto you, as appeareth by hys highnes letters that hys grace hath done: me thynketh, ye hauyng ſo great plenty of all things, and I ſo great nede therof, commyng poſte as I do: ye go about as euill to iuſtifie your ſelfe to the kyng, as any one that I haue ſene: And iwiſſe my Lorde (quoth I) I would haue reckoned that, commyng as I do come, I ſhould haue bene both better welcome, and better entreated of you then now I am, euen and it had bene for no other reſpect, then becauſe I am an Engliſhman.

I ſhall tell you (quoth he) for the kinges ſake, ye may loke to haue: but for your owne ſake ye get nothyng. Well (quoth I) thē hauyng nothyng, I wyll geue no thankes at all, & hauing any thing, I ſhall geue thanks to the kyng, and none to you. I tell you (quoth he) ye get nothyng. And I tel you again (quoth I) that I wil not thanke you for nothing: and here his fleſh of hys cheke began to ſwell and tremble, & he loked vpon me, as he would haue run through me, and I came and ſtoode euen by hym and ſayd: trow you my Lorde (quoth I) that I feare your great lokes? Nay fayth do I not. ye had nede to get another ſtomacke to whet vpon, then mine, and a better whetſtone then any ye haue. For I aſſure you, ye ſhall not whet me to your purpoſe: and if ye knewe how little I do ſet by this vnlouyng and indiſcrete behauiour of yours, ye would not vſe it vpon me. And I ſhall tell you (quoth I) if I were not brideled, and had other reſpects both to the kynges highnes my ſoueraigne Lord, and alſo to other that may commaund me, I would haue tolde you ere this tyme my mynd after an other ſort. Tell me, quoth he? tord in your teeth. Well my lord (quoth I) ye would, I perceiue by you and by your wordes, prouoke me to ſpeake as vndiſcretly and * bedlemly, as ye do. But ſurely ye ſhal not, howſoeuer ye ſhall ſpeake. But this will I tell you, I ſhal ſhew how I am hādled of you. Mary ſpare not (quoth he,)

The ſtomacke of Step. Gardiner againſt Boner.

The like trembling & leaping of his vaines & fleſhe for anger, did M. Bucer alſo note in thys Gardiner, diſputing with hym in Germany.
Vid. Bucer. De Cœlibatu.

* Step. Gardiner Bedlemlike.

Well my Lord (quoth I) you haue here full well played the part of a Biſhop, and it is great ioy of you, that with thys your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be aſhamed of you, as I am ſure they are. And for my part, if ye your ſelf be not aſhamed, or commyng to your ſelfe (for now your anger is ſuch that you heare not your ſelfe) be not diſpleaſed, I ſhall be aſhamed & pity this your doyng without wiſdome, and the oftener you vſe this maner, the more ſhal it be to your diſhoneſty.

All the company aſhamed of Gardiners talke.

Lo (quoth he) how fondly ye ſpeaketh, as who ſayth, I were all in the blame. Will you not heare (quoth he) thys wiſe man? My Lord (quoth I) I would you could heare with indifferent eares, and ſee with indifferent eyes your ſelfe. ye haue made a brablyng here for nothing, and woulde that I would geue you thankes for that thyng which maiſter Thirleby hath done for me. I looke for no thankes of you (quoth he) and ſayd withall loking ſpitefully, that he knew me well enough, and that he was not deceyued in me. Well (quoth I) and me thynke I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye ſay you are not deceyued in me, ſo I truſt I will not be deceyued by you. But I pray you ſir (quoth I) becauſe ye ſay ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceyued in me, how do you know me? for honeſt and true, or otherwyſe? If you do, ſay it, and I ſhall make aunſwer.

Brabling for nothing.

The ſpitefull lookes of Wincheſter.

I could not driue hym to aunſwer hereunto, ſo that I ſuppoſe, either of his owne naughty nature he hath made me an image after hys owne fantaſie, or els beleued the report of ſuch in conditions, as he is hymſelfe, who in malice, I ſuppoſe, and diſdaine may be compared to the deuill in hell, not geuyng place to hym in pride at all. In communication he repeted oft the prouiſiō of the thouſand crownes. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good whyle, afore they were come out: and further I ſaid, that ſeyng they had ben *simpliciter* geuen to me, I would neuer thāke hym for them, but the kinges highnes: and I ſayd, that if they were xx. thouſand, he ſhould breake ſo many ſleepes afore he ſhould haue any part therof, intreating me as he did. Well (quoth he) you haue them. That is trouth (quoth I) and nothing thankfull to you.

Step. Gardiner for malice and diſdayne and pride, compared by Boner to the deuill of hell.

Why then (quoth he) ſeing you haue here diuers things of M. Thirlbies, and all other thinges are *parabilia pecunia*, which you haue, ye may make therby good prouiſion for your ſelfe. That is trouth (quoth I) and that can I & will do, though ye tell me not, ſeing I haue nothing of you, and afore this, had prouided at Lions for all thinges neceſſary, if ye without neceſſitie had not made that great haſte to depart thence, enforcing me therby to follow you. And yet (quoth I) one thing may I tell you: ye are very deſirous I ſhould be prouided wel for, as appeareth in that you haue taken away at Lyons one horſe that Fraunces had prouided for me, and alſo your ſeruaunt Mace hauing a horſe to ſell and knowing my nede, by your conſent hath ſold his hors to a ſtraunger, rather then he would ſell hym to me, ſo that nothing ſuffering me to haue of you, and taking away that prouiſion which I make and go about to make, you wel declare how hartily you deſire I ſhould be prouided for. In faith (quoth he) choſe you, ye may prouide and you will, and ſeeing your iourney hether from Lions is vayne, you may thether returne agayne and make there prouiſion for your ſelfe. I thought (quoth he) departing from Lions, to haue made eaſie iourneys, and to haue followed the court till you had come, and now come you ſquirting in poſt, and trouble all. I came forth in poſt (quoth I) by the commaundement of the king my maiſter, and had liberty to returne at pleſure by hys graces letters, and ſeing that I had no horſes for the iourney, me thought better to ryde in poſt then go a foote. Well (quoth he) I wyll not depart hence this xij. month, except ye be otherwiſe prouided. Prouided (quoth I?) I muſt tary till I may be prouided for horſes, if ye ſpeake of that prouiſion: and ſeyng that this riding in poſt greueth you, it cauſeth me to thinke you are lothe to depart, and angry that I ſhal ſuccede you. I haue here alredy ij. gownes, & a veluet iacket, ſo that you ſhall not be letted an houre by me.

Wincheſter putteth Boner to hys ſhiftes for prouiſion.

The churliſh dealing of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter angry that Boner ſhould ſuccede hym.

I tell you (quoth he) ye ſhall otherwiſe prouide, or els I wyll not departe, For I tell you (quoth he) though ye care not for the kinges honour but wretchedly doe lyue with ten ſhillinges a day, as ye did in yonder partes, you and your companion, I muſt and will conſider the kynges honor. And I tel you againe (quoth I) I will and do conſider the kinges honour, as much as ye at any tyme wyll do, and as ſory will be that it ſhould be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea and I ſay more to you (quoth I) though ye may ſpend farre aboue me, I ſhall not ſticke if any thing be to be ſpent for the kinges honour, to ſpende as liberally as you, ſo long as either I haue it, or can get it to ſpend. And whoſoeuer enformed you of the wretchednes & ſpending ſcarcely of my companion and me in the partes where we haue bene, made a falſe lye, and ye ſhewe your wiſedome full well in ſo lightly beleuyng and reherſing ſuch a tale.

I can not tell (quoth he) but this was openly reherſed by M. Brians ſeruants at my table. Yea was (quoth I?) yea mary was it (quoth he.) Now by my trouth (quoth I) then was the fare that was beſtowed vpon them, very well caſt away. For of my fidelitie, that weeke that M. Brian and hys ſeruauntes were with vs at Villa Franca, it coſt my companion and me xxv. pounde in the charges of the houſe. This they ſay (quoth he.) Yea (quoth I) and therin they lye. And here I ſhewed hym, that beyng well ſetled at Nice, and hauyng made there good and honeſt prouiſion to our no little charges, M. Wyat would not reſt, till he had gotten vs to Villa Franca, where euen vpō the firſt word of M. Heynes, he was right well content to take of vs xx. ſhillings by the day. Which was not during x. dayes: where at his commyng to vs to Nice, hymſelfe and all hys ſeruauntes, and then taryng with vs two dayes, we tooke not one peny of hym. And moreouer, at the departyng of M. Wyat from Villa Franca, in poſt into England, we foūd our ſelues, our ſeruauntes, all M. Wyates ſeruants to the number of 16. all hys acquaintaunce, which dinner and ſupper continually came to vs, ſometymes xij. ſometymes x. and when they were leaſt, vj. or viij. and for this, had not one peny of M. Wyat, and yet at our commyng from Barcelone where we taried about viij. dayes, we gaue to M. Wyat 28. li. and to hys ſeruantes v. li. beſides xl. ſhillings, that priuately I gaue to ſome beyng of gentle faſhion out of myne owne purſe: ſo that I told him, it was neither M. Wyat, ne Maſon that found vs and our ſeruaunts, but we payed for the finding of them, and here it chaunced to vs to haue all the charge and other men to haue all the thankes.

Wincheſter reproued to his face of falſe ſlaūder.

The biſhop when he heard this, was amazed and ſtode ſtill, finally ſaying: By my trouth (quoth he) I tell you as it was told me, and M. Doctour here can tell whether it was ſo or no. yea and I will tell you more (quoth he) they ſayd that M. Heynes would haue ben more liberall a great deale, if you had not bene. Now by my trouth (quoth I) I ſhall therin make M. Heynes hymſelfe iudge thereof, who can beſt tell what communication hath bene betwene hym and me therin.

Thinking that this communication had dryuen the other matters out of the Biſhops wylde head, I helde my peace, and by and by was he in hand agayne with them as euer he was. My Lord (quoth I) I deſired ere whyle, your lordſhip to make an ende of this communicatiō, wherin the longer ye talke, the more ye make me beleue that ye would, where ye haue ſpoken vndiſcretely, yea, and vnkindly, not regardyng yͤ kings letters, with multitude of wordes and great countenance, I ſhould thinke ye had not done amiſſe: but ſurely you loſe your labor, for ye ſhal neuer make me thinke that ye are deſirous to do me pleaſure, neyther for myne owne ſake, nor for the kinges. For if your wordes be wel wayed, I haue as much of you in dede for myne own ſake, as I haue for the kinges ſake, that is nothyng at all. Here both of vs were talkyng together, but I held on ſtill, and euer enforced hym to this: My Lord (quoth I) this is the thyng that I ſhall only deſire of you: that where the kyngs grace hath here in the French Court diuers affairs (as I take it) ye would therin inſtruct me of the ſtate therof, and geue me your beſt counſell and aduiſe: and this I proteſt vnto you, that if ye this wil do: I wil attently heare you, and if ye will not, I ſhal with payne heare you in your other things, but I wil make no aunſwer at all.

The byſhop of Wincheſters wylde heade.

Wincheſter regarded not the kynges letters.

For all this, the Biſhop ended not, but in concluſion, when he ſaw by no meanes that he could induce me to aunſwer, he returned homewardes, and I brought hym to hys lodging and chamber. It beyng diner tyme, and all thynges prouided, and ſtanding afore hym, and he turning his backe from me into a window, I at his turnyng towardes me agayne, put of my bonet, and ſaid: God be with you my lord. He gaue no aunſwer to me at all, nor countenance, but ſuffred me to go. Wherupon, returnyng to my lodgyng, which was in M. Thirlbies chāber, I cauſed my diner to be prouided, and when it was almoſt redy, the Biſhops Steward called Myrell came for me, (whether ſent from the biſhop or not, I cannot tell) and I told hym, my dinner was prouided for, and withall, that my Lord his maiſter had geuen me ſuch a breakefaſt, that I nede no diner nor ſupper, and ſo the Steward drinking with me, returned agayne, and I went to diner in M. Thirlbies lodging: and after diner I went to the biſhops lodging, who at my cōmyng very gently put of his bonet, & ſo we walked together quietly a while and ſhortly after, the Biſhop began after this maner: M. Boner, to day we cōmoned of prouiſion for you, and becauſe ye ſhall lay no blame vpon me, I will tell you what I will do for you. I will prouide you mules, mulets, horſes, ſeruantes, mony, yea and all thinges that ſhalbe neceſſary. My Lord (quoth I) here is a large offer and a great kyndneſſe come vpon you. I maruell (quoth I) that I could heare nothing of this, to day in the morning. I tell you (quoth he) this wil I do, for know you that I will conſider the kings honour and pleaſure, & doubt not but the kyng will pay me again. My Lord (quoth I) I haue ſent my ſeruaūt alredy to Lions, to make prouiſiō for me, and I haue ſent other abroad here in the towne and country, to do the ſame: ye ſhal neuer nede to trouble your ſelfe herewith. I wil (quoth he.) you ſhall not ſay another day, that ye could not be prouided for. My lord (quoth I) let me haue inſtructions in yͤ kings matters, and as for other things I ſhal not aſke of you, becauſe this day ye made me ſo plaine aunſwer. After much communication, I departed from him louingly, telling him that I would be at Terrara that night where he intended to be lodged. And ſo the B. bidding me farewell, tooke ſoone after, his horſe riding to Terrara to bed.

Boner out ſcoulded by Wincheſter, and driuen to ſilence. Doct. Boner taketh hys leaue of Wincheſter.

Wincheſters good will come vpon hym at laſt.

Wincheſters offer to Boner refuſed.

Wincheſter and Boner depart.

And by the way I ouertoke him, and paſſing by, doing my duety to him and to his company, I came to Terrara lodging at the poſt houſe, and euen as the biſhop came into the towne, ſtode at the poſt houſe dore: To whom the Biſhop ſaid, we ſhall ſee you ſoone M. Boner. Yea my Lord (quoth I) thinking that therby he had deſired me to ſupper and at ſupper tyme I went to his lodging, hauing other to eate my ſupper at home, and glad he appeared to be, that I was come, making mery communication all ſupper while, but nothing at all yet ſpeaking to me, or geuing any thing to me, ſauyng at the commyng of the fruite, he gaue me a peare I trow, becauſe I ſhould remember mine own countrey. After ſupper he walked, taking M. Thirlby with him and I walked with an Italian beyng Embaſſadour for the countie Mirandula, and after a good ſpace we returned and bad the biſhop good night.

An other meetyng of Wincheſter and Boner.

Boner ſeemeth by this Peare to be a Worceſterſhyre man.

I did not after that night dine nor ſup with the Biſhop till he came to Burges in Berry, where vpon the depeche of Fraunces, and cloſing vp of our letters ſent to the kings highnes, the ſupper was ſo prouided and ſet vpon the bourd and the biſhop in waſhing, ſtandyng ſo betwene me and the dore that I could not get out: and there would he nedes that I ſhould waſh with hym and ſup: and I ſuppoſe all the way from Barcella to Bloys, he talked not aboue foure tymes with me, and at euery tyme ſauyng at Molyns, (where he by mouth told me ſomwhat of the kings affaires here in Fraunce) and a Vierronne. (when he aunſweryng to my requeſts in wrytyng, deliuered me hys booke of hys owne hand for myne inſtructions, the copy whereof is now ſent here withall) there was quicke cōmunication betwene vs. His talking by the way was with M. Thirleby, who I thinke, knoweth a great deale of hys doyng, and wil if he be the man I take hym for, tell it plainely to your lordſhip. I my ſelfe was out of * credence with the biſhop, not being appliable to his maners and deſires.

The ſtraungenes betwene Wincheſter & Boner.

Wincheſters booke of inſtructions to Boner.

Thyrleby and Wincheſter great together.

* Why Boner was out of credite with Wincheſter.

And ſurely, as M. Thirleby told me, at hys firſt cōming to Lyons, and then ſpeaking with the byſhop, the Byſhop ſemed to be ſo well content to returne, and ſo glad of hys commyng to ſuccede him, that his fleſh in hys face began all to tremble, & yet would the byſhop make men beleue that he would gladly come home. Which thing, beleue it who wyll, I wyll neuer beleue: for euer he was lokyng of letters out of England from M. Wallop, and M. Brian, whom he taketh for hys great frendes: and M. Wyat hymſelf reckoned that the byſhop ſhould haue come into Spayne, or els my Lord of Durham, ſo that the biſhop of Wincheſter euer coneted to protract the tyme, deſiring yet withal to haue ſome ſhadow to excuſe & hide hymſelfe, as tarying at Barcella he made excuſe by my not cōming to Lyons, & cōming to Varennes and there hearyng by the Embaſſadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the goyng of the French kyng towardes Bayone to mete the Emperour, by and by he ſaid: lo, where is maiſter diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night) we would to the Court and preſent him and take our leaue. But when, I in the mornyng was vp afore hym, and redy to horſe, he was nothing haſty. No, commyng to Molyns afore him, and there taryng for him, the Frenche kyng lying at Schauenna, three ſmall leagues of, he made not halfe the ſpeede and haſte that he pretended.

Wincheſters fleſhe trembled at the firſt commyng of Doct. Thirleby to ſucceede hym.

Wincheſter loth to returne into England.

Boner called Maiſter diligēce.

I miſlike in the biſhop of Wincheſter, that he cannot be content that any ioyned in commiſſiō with hym, ſhould kepe houſe, but to be at hys table. Wherein eyther he ſearcheth therby a vayne glory and pride to hymſelfe, with ſome diſhonour to the kyng, as who ſayth, there were among al the kings Embaſſadours, but one able to mainteyne a table, & that were he: either els he doth the ſame for an euill entent and purpoſe to bring them therby into his danger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh hym alone, which I ſuppoſe verily hath bene hys entent.

The ſecond complaint.

Wincheſter would be alone.

The third complaint.
The pompe and glory of Wincheſter.

I miſlike in the ſayd Byſhop that where he for his own pompe and glory, hath a great number of ſeruants in theyr veluets and ſilkes, with their chaynes about their neckes, and kepeth a coſtly table, with exceſſiue fare and exceeding expenſes many other wayes: he doth ſay, and is not aſhamed to report, that he is ſo commaunded to do by the kings grace, and that is hys anſwer commonly, when his frendes telleth hym of his great charges, and ſo vnder colour of the kinges commaundement and honour, he hideth hys pryde which is here diſdayned.

The fourth complaynt.
Wincheſter geuē more to his owne affections, then to the kinges affayres.

I miſlike in the ſayd biſhop, that he hauing priuate hatred againſt a man, will rather ſatiſfie hys owne ſtomacke and affection, hindering, & neglecting the kings affayres, thē relentyng in any part of his ſturdy & ſtubburne will, geue familiar and harty counſaile (whereby the kinges highnes matters and buſines may be aduaunced and ſet forth) to hym that he taketh for hys aduerſary.

The 5. complaint.
Wincheſter ſuſpected to be Imperiall.

I miſlike in the ſayd Biſhop, that he euer continually here in this court of Fraunce, made incomparably more of the Emperours, kyng of Portugals, Venetians, and duke of Ferraries Ambaſſadours, then of any Frenchmen in the Court, which with his pride cauſed them to diſdaine hym, and to thinke that he fauoured not the French kyng, but was imperiall.

The 6. complaint.
Boner like a true Goſpeller, complayneth of papiſtes.
Wincheſter ſuſpected of vntrue dealing.

I miſlike in the Biſhop, that there is ſo great familiaritie and acquaintaunce, yea and ſuch mutual confidence betwene the ſayd biſhop and M. as naughty a fellow, and as very a papiſt as any that I know, where he dare expreſſe it. The Byſhop in his letters to M. Wyat euer ſendeth ſpeciall commendations to Maſon, and yet refuſeth to ſend any to M. Heynes and me, beyng with M. Wyat, as we perceiued by the ſayd letters. And Maſon maketh ſuch foundation of the Biſhop, that he thinketh there is none ſuch. And he telled me at Villa Franca, that the Biſhop vpon a tyme, when he had fallen out with Germayne, ſo truſſed him, that weping and ſobbyng he came vnto hym, deſiring and praying hym that he would ſpeake with Germayne, and reconcile hym, ſo that no wordes were ſpoken of it, and what the matter was, he would not tell me. That yong fellow Germaine knoweth all, and Preſton which is ſeruaunt to the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhewed me one night in my chamber at Bloys after ſupper, that Germaine is euer buſie in ſhewyng the kinges letters to ſtraungers, and that he hymſelfe hath geuen hym warnyng therof. This thing Preſton told me the night before that the Byſhop departed hence, and when I would haue more of him therin, he conſidering how the Biſhop and I ſtode, kept hym more cloſe and would ſay no further.

Thinges in the foreſayd declaration to be noted.
The rancour and pride of Steuen Gardiner.

In this declaration of D. Edmund Boner ſent to the lord Cromwell aboue prefixed, diuers thinges we haue to note: Firſt, as touching Steuen Gardiner, Biſh. of Wint. here we haue a playne demonſtration of his vile nature and peſtilent pride, ioyned with malice and diſdayne intollerable: wherof worthely complayneth D. Boner aforeſayd, ſhewyng, 6. ſpeciall cauſes, why and wherfore he miſliketh that perſon, according as he was willed before by the kings cõmaundement, ſo to do.

2.
Steuen Gardiner reuolteth to papiſtry.

Secondly, in the ſaid Steuen Wint. this we haue alſo to note and vnderſtand, that as he here declareth a ſecret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in hys booke De obedientia) to papiſtry, ioyning part & ſide with ſuch as were known papiſts:: ſo he ſemeth likewiſe to beare a lyke ſecret grudge agaynſt the lord Cromwel, and all ſuch whomſoeuer he fauoured.

3.

Thirdly, as concernyng the forenamed D. Edmund Boner the author of this declaration, here is to be ſene and noted, that he all this while appeared a good man and diligent friend to the truth, and that he was fauoured of the Lorde Cromwell for the ſame.

4.
D. Boners commyng vp onely by the Goſpell.

Fourthly, that the ſaid D. Boner was not only fauoured of the lord Cromwell, but alſo by him was aduaunced firſt to the office of legation, then to the biſhopricke of Hereford, and laſtly to the biſhopricke of London, whom the ſayd D. Boner in hys letters agniſeth and confeſſeth to be hys only Patron, and ſingular Mecænas.

5.

Which beyng ſo, we haue in this ſaid D. Boner, greatly to meruail, what ſhould be the cauſe, that he ſeyng all his ſettyng vp, making, and preferring, came onely by the Goſpell and by them of the Goſpels ſide, he beyng then ſo hated of Steuen Gardiner and ſuch as he was, beyng alſo at that tyme ſuch a furtherer and defender of the Goſpel (as appeared both by his Preface before Gardiners booke De obedientia, and by his writings to the Lorde Cromwell, alſo by helping forward the printed Bibles at Paris) could euer be a mā ſo vngratefull and vnkynd, afterward to ioyne part with the ſayd Steuen Gardiner againſt the goſpell (without the which Goſpell, he had neuer come to be biſhop, neither of Hereford nor yet of London) and now to abuſe the ſame biſhopricke of London to perſecute that ſo vehemently, which before ſo openly he defended. Wherin the ſame may well be ſayd to hym in this caſe, ỹ he hymſelf was reported once to ſay to the French kyng in the cauſe of Grancetor: to wytte, that he had done therein agaynſt his honour, agaynſt iuſtice, agaynſt reaſon, againſt honeſty, againſt frendſhip, agaynſt his owne promiſe and hys othe ſo often made, agaynſt his owne doctrine and iudgement, which then he profeſſed, againſt all truth, agaynſt the treates and leagues betwene hym and his ſetters vp, and agaynſt all together, and to conclude, agaynſt the ſaluation of hys owne ſoule.

Boners owne wordes retorted agaynſt himſelfe.

But to referre this to the booke of hys accomptes who ſhall iudge one day all thinges vprightly, let vs procede further in the continue of this D. Boners legation. Who beyng now Ambaſſadour in the court of Fraunce (as ye haue heard) had geuen in commiſſion from the kyng, to entreate with the French king for ſondry poyntes, as for the printyng of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, and the Bible at Paris: alſo for ſlaunderous preachers, and malicious ſpeakers agaynſt the kyng: for goods of merchauntes taken & ſpoyled: for the kings penſion to be payd: for the matters of the Duke of Suffolke: for certayne priſoners in Fraunce. Item, for Grancetor the traytour, and certayne other rebels to be ſent into England. &c. Touching all which affayres, the ſayd D. Boner did employ hys diligence and trauaile to the good ſatiſfaction and contentment of the kinges mynde, and diſcharge of hys duetie, in ſuch ſort as no default could be found in hym, ſaue onely that the French kyng one tyme toke diſpleaſure with hym, for that the ſayd Boner, beyng now made biſhop of Hereford, and bearyng hymſelfe ſomewhat more ſeriouſly and boldly before the kyng in the cauſe of Grancetor the traytour (wherein he was willed by the aduertiſement of the kinges pleaſure, to wade more depely and inſtantly) vſed theſe wordes to the French kyng, as ẏ Frẽch king himſelf did afterward report them) ſaying, that he had done in deliuerance of that foreſayd Grancetor being an Engliſhman, againſt God, againſt his honor, agaynſt iuſtice, againſt reaſon, againſt honeſty, agaynſt friendſhip, agaynſt all law, againſt the treates and leagues betwene him and his brother the kyng of England, yea and agaynſt all together, &c. Theſe wordes of Byſhop Boner, although he denyeth to haue ſpoken them in that forme and qualitie, yet howſoeuer they were ſpoken, did ſtirre vp the ſtomacke of the French kyng, to conceyue high diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, in ſo much that he aunſwering the lord Ambaſſadour agayne, bad hym write theſe 3. things vnto his maiſter.

Printing the new Teſtament in Engliſh and the Bible at Paris.

The diligēce & truſt of D. Boner in legation.

The wordes of D Boner vſed to the French king

The French king diſpleaſed with Biſhop Boner. Bids Boner byddē to write to the king his maiſter 3. thinges.

First, among other thinges that his Embaſſadour was a great foole.

Secondarily, that he cauſed to be done better iuſtice there in hys realme in one houre, then they dyd in England in a whole yeare.

Thirdly, that if it were not for the loue of hys maiſter, he ſhould haue an hundreth ſtrokes with an Haulbard, &c.

And furthermore, the ſayd Frenche kyng beſide this, ſendyng a ſpeciall meſſenger with his letters to the kyng of England, willed hym to reuoke and call this Ambaſſadour home, and to ſend hym an other. The cauſe why the French kyng tooke theſe wordes of Biſhop Boner ſo to ſtomacke (as the L. Chauncelour ſayd) was this, for that the kings of Fraunce ſtandyng chiefly and in maner onely vpon theyr honour, can ſuffer that in no caſe to be touched. Otherwiſe in thoſe wordes (if they had bene well taken) was not ſo much blame perchaunce, as boldnes, beyng ſpoken ſomewhat vehemently in hys maiſters behalfe. But this one thyng ſemeth to me much blame worthy, both in this Byſhop & many other, that they in earthly matters, & to pleaſe terrene kynges, will put forth themſelues to ſuch a boldnes and forwardnes: and in chriſtes cauſe the kyng of all kings, whoſe cauſe they ſhould only attend vpon and tender, they are ſo remiſſe cold and cowardly.

Biſhops cōmonly boldes in princes matters, then in the cauſe of Chriſt.

To theſe letters of the French kyng, the king of England ſent aunſwer agayne by other letters, in which he reuoked and called home agayne byſhop Boner, geuyng vnto hym about the ſame tyme, the Biſhopricke of London, and ſent in ſupply of hys place, Syr Iohn Wallop, a great frend to Steuen Gardiner. Which was in February, about the beginnyng of the yere of our Lord. 1540. Here now followeth the othe of Boner to the kyng, when he was made Biſhop of London.

The othe of Doct. Edmund Boner, when he was made Byſhop of London, agaynſt the Pope of Rome.

D. Boners othe agaynſt the pope.

YE ſhall neuer cōſent nor agree that the byſhop of Rome ſhall practiſe, exerciſe, or haue any maner of authoritie, iuriſdiction, or power within this Realme or any other the kynges dominion, but that you ſhall reſiſte the ſame at all tymes, to the vttermoſt of your power: and that from henceforth ye ſhall accept, repute, and take the Kynges Maieſtie to be the onely ſupreme head in earth of the church of England, and that to your cunning, witte, and vttermoſt of your power, without guile, fraude, or other vndue meane, ye ſhal obſerue, keepe, mainteine, and defend the whole effectes and contentes of all and ſingular Actes and Statutes made and to be made within this Realme, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguiſhment of the Byſhop of Rome and his authoritie, and all other Actes and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the Kynges power of ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and this ye ſhall do agaynſt all maner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignitie, degree, or condition they be, and in no wiſe do, nor attempt, nor to your power, ſuffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thyng or thynges, priuely or apertly, to the let, hinderaunce, dammage, or derogatiō therof, or of any part therof, by any maner of meanes or for any maner of pretenſe: And in caſe any othe be made or hath bene made by you to any perſon or perſons in maintenaūce or fauour of the Byſhop of Rome or his authoritie, iuriſdiction, or power, ye repute the ſame as vayne and adnihilate, ſo helpe you God.&c.

In fidem præmiſſorum ego Edmundus Boner,
electus & confirmatus Londonenſis Epiſcopus, huic præſenti chartæ ſubſcripſi.

¶Eccleſiaſticall matters. an.1538.

1538.

It wilbe iudged, that I haue lyngred peraduenture to much in theſe outward affaires of Princes and Ambaſſadours. Wherefore, leauyng with theſe by matters pertainyng to the Ciuill ſtate a while, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to put my ſtory in order agayne of ſuch occurrentes as belong vnto the Church, firſt ſhewyng ſuch Iniunctions and Articles, as were deuiſed and ſet forth by the kyng, for the behouſe of his ſubiectes. Wherin firſt is to be vnderſtanded, that the kyng, when he had taken the title of ſupremacie from the Byſhop of Rome, and had tranſlated the ſame to himſelfe, and was now a full Prince in his owne realme, although he well perceiued, by the wiſedome and aduiſe of the Lord Cromwell and other of his Counſaile, that the corrupt ſtate of the Church had neede of reformation in many thynges: yet becauſe he ſaw how ſtubburne and vntoward the hartes of many Papiſtes were to be brought from their old perſuaſions and cuſtomes, and what buſineſſe he had with them, onely about the matter of the Popes title, he durſt not by and by reforme all at once (whiche notwithſtandyng had bene to be wiſhed) but leadyng them fayre and ſoftely, as he might, proceded by litle and litle, to bryng greater purpoſes to perfection (which he no doubt would haue done, if the Lord Cromwell had lyued) and therefore firſt hee began with a little booke of Articles (partly aboue touched) bearyng this title. Articles deuiſed by the Kynges hyghneſſe, to ſtable Chriſten quietneſſe and vnitie among the people.&c.

The king & his counſaile bearing with the weakenes of the people.

The booke of articles deuiſed by the king for quietnes of the people. &c.

¶Articles deuiſed by the Kyng.

Of 3. ſacramentes.

IN the contentes of which booke, firſt be ſet forth the Articles of our Chriſtian Creede, which are neceſſarely and expreſſely to be beleued of all men. Then with the Kynges Preface going before, foloweth the declaration of three Sacramentes: to witte, of Baptiſme, of Penaunce, and of the Sacrament of the Aulter. In the tractation wherof, he altereth nothyng from the olde trade receaued heretofore from the Church of Rome.

Of iuſtification.

Further then, proceedyng to the order and cauſe of our iuſtification, he declareth, that the onely mercy and grace of the father promiſed freely vnto vs for his ſonnes ſake Ieſu Chriſt, and the merites of his Paſſiō and bloud, be the onely ſufficient and worthy cauſes of our iuſtification: yet good workes with inward contrition, hope, and charitie, and all other ſpirituall graces and motions, be neceſſarily required, and muſt nedes concurre alſo in remiſſion of our ſinnes, that is, our iuſtificatiō: & afterward we being iuſtified, muſt alſo haue good workes of charitie, and obedience towardes God, in the obſeruing and fulfilling outwardly of his lawes and commaundementes.&c.

Of Images.

As touchyng Images, he willeth all Byſhops & preachers to teach the people in ſuch ſorte, as they may know, how they may vſe them ſafely in Churches, and not abuſe them to Idolatry, as thus: that they be repreſenters of vertue and good example, and alſo by occaſion, may be ſtyrrers of mens myndes, and make them to remember them ſelues and to lament their ſinnes, and ſo farre he permitteth them to ſtand in Churches. But otherwiſe, for auoydyng of Idolatrie, he chargeth all byſhops and preachers diligently to inſtructe the people, that they commit no Idolatrye vnto them, in ſenſing of them, in kneelyng and offeryng to them, with other lyke worſhyppynges, whiche ought not to bee done, but onely to God.

Of honoring of Saintes.

And lykewiſe for honoryng of Saintes, the Byſhops and preachers be cōmaunded to informe yͤ people, how Saintes hence departed ought to bee reuerenced and honored and how not. That is, that they are to be prayſed and honored as the elect ſeruauntes of Chriſte, or rather Chriſte to bee prayſed in them for theyr excellent vertues planted in them and for theyr good example left to vs, teachyng vs to lyue in vertue and goodnes, and not to feare to dye for Chriſte, as they dyd: and alſo as aduauncers of our prayers, in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any ſuch honour to bee giuen vnto them, whiche is onely due to God: And ſo forth chargyng the ſayd ſpirituall perſons to teache their flocke that all grace and remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſaluation, can no otherwiſe be obteyned, but of God onely, by the mediation of our Sauiour Chriſte, who is onely a ſufficient mediatour for our ſinnes: and that all grace and remiſſion of ſinne muſt procede onely by mediation of Chriſt and no other.

No mediation but by Chriſt.

Of rites and ceremonies.

From that, he commeth further to ſpeake of rites and ceremonies in Chriſtes Churche, as in hauyng veſtimentes vſed in Gods ſeruice, ſprinklyng of holy water, giuyng of holy bread, bearing of Candles on Candlemas day, takyng of aſhes, bearyng of Palmes, crepyng to the Croſſe, ſettyng vp the Sepulcher, hallowyng of the fonte, & other like cuſtomes, rites, and ceremonies, all which old rites and cuſtomes, the foreſayd booke doth not by and by repeale, but ſo farre admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembraunce of ſpirituall thynges: but ſo, that yͤ people withall muſt be inſtructed, how the ſayd ceremonies conteyne in them no ſuch power, to remitte ſinne, but onely that to bee referred vnto God, by whome onely our ſinnes be forgiuen vs.

Of purgatory.

And ſo concludyng with Purgatorye, he maketh an end of thoſe Articles, thus ſaying therof: that becauſe yͤ boke of Machabees aloweth praying for ſoules departed, he therfore diſproueth not that ſo laudable a cuſtome, ſo long continued in the Churche. But becauſe there is no certeine place named, nor kynde of paynes expreſſed in Scripture, he therfore thinketh neceſſarie ſuch abuſes clearely to bee put away, which vnder the name of Purgatory haue bene aduaunced: as to make men beleue, that by the Byſhop of Romes pardons, or by Maſſes ſayd, at Scala cœli, or other where, in any place or before any Image, ſoules might clearly be deliuered out of purgatory, and from the paynes therof to bee ſent ſtraight to heauen, and ſuch other like abuſes.&c.

And theſe were the contentes of that boke of articles deuiſed, and paſſed by the kynges authoritie, a litle before the ſtyrre of Lyncolneſhyre and Yorkeſhyre. Wherin, although there were many and great imperfections and vntrouthes not to bee permitted in any true reformed Churche: yet notwithſtandyng, the kyng and his counſaile to beare with the weakelynges, whiche were newely weyned from their mothers mylke of Rome, thought it might ſerue ſomwhat for yͤ time, in ſtede of a litle beginning, til better might come.

Milke for new weanlinges.

Iniunctions for abrogation certeine, holydayes.

And ſo conſequently, not long after theſe Articles thus ſet forward, certeyne other Iniunctions were alſo giuen out about the ſame yere, 1536. wherby a number of holye daies were abrogated, and eſpecially ſuch as fell in the harueſt time: the kepyng of which redounded greatly to yͤ hynderaunce of gatheryng in theyr corne, hay, fruite, and other ſuch lyke neceſſarie commodities. The copie and tenour of whiche Iniunctions I haue alſo hereunto annexed, as vnder foloweth.

¶The kynges Iniunctions.

Iniunctions by the king.

FOraſmuch as the nomber of holy dayes is ſo exceſſiuely growen, and yet dayly more and more by mens deuotion yea rather ſuperſtition, was lyke further to encreaſe, that the ſame was and ſhould be not onely preiudiciall to the cōmon weale, by reaſon that it is occaſion aſwell of muche ſlouth and idlenes, the very nourſe of theeues, vagabundes: and of diuers other vnthriftines and inconueniences, as of decay of good miſteries and Artes profitable and neceſſarie for the common wealth, and loſſe of mans foode, many times beyng cleane deſtroyed through yͤ ſuperſtitious obſeruaūce of the ſayd holydayes, in not takyng the oportunitie of good and ſerene weather, offered vpon the ſame in tyme of harueſt, but alſo pernicious to the ſoules of many men, which beyng enticed by the licencious vacation & libertie of thoſe dayes do vpon the ſame, commonly vſe and practiſe more exceſſe riot, and ſuperfluitie, then vppon any other dayes. And ſith the Sabboth day was vſed and ordeined, but for mans vſe, and therfore ought to geue place to the neceſſitie and behouſe of the ſame whenſoeuer that ſhall occurre, much rather any other holydaye inſtitute by man: It is therfore by the kynges highnes authoritie as ſupreme head in earth of the Churche of England, with the common aſſent and conſent of the Prelates and clergye of this hys Realme, in conuocation lawfully aſſembled and congregate, amongeſt other thynges decreed, ordeyned and eſtabliſhed.

Feaſtes of dedication to be kept all vpon one day.

Firſt, that the feaſt of dedication of Churches ſhall in al places through out this Realme, bee celebrate and kept on the firſt Sonday of the moneth of October, for euer, and vpon none other day.

Church holydayes forbidden.

Item, that the feaſt of the patron of euery Churche within this Realme, called commonly the Churche holyday ſhall not from hence forth be kept or obſerued as a holy day, as heretofore hath bene vſed, but that it ſhalbe lawfull to all and ſingular perſons reſident or dwellyng within this Realme, to go to their worke, occupation or miſtery and the ſame truely to exerciſe and occupy vppon the ſayd feaſt, as vpon any other worke daye: except the ſayd feaſt of Church holy daye bee ſuch as muſt bee elles vniuerſally obſerued and kept as a holyday by this ordinaunce folowyng.

Holydayes in the harueſt time put downe.

Alſo that all thoſe feaſtes or holydayes, whiche ſhall happen to fall or occurre either in the harueſt tyme, which is to be counted from the firſt daye of July, vnto the xxix. day of September, or els in the terme tyme at Weſtminſter, ſhal not be kept, or obſerued from hence forth as holidayes, but that it may be lawfull for euery man to go to his worke or occupation vpon the ſame, as vppon any other worke day: excepte alwayes the feaſtes of the Apoſtles, of ẏ bleſſed Virgin, and of Saint George: and alſo ſuch feaſtes as wherein the kynges highnes Judges at Weſtminſter doe not vſe to ſit in Judgement. All whiche ſhall be kept holy and ſolemne of euery man, as in tyme paſt, haue bene accuſtomed: Prouided alwayes that it may bee lawfull vnto all Prieſtes and Clerkes aſwell ſecular as regular, in the foreſayd holydayes now abrogate, to ſinge or ſay their accuſtomed ſeruice for thoſe holydayes, in their Churches: ſo as they doe not the ſame ſolemnly nor doe ryng to the ſame after the maner vſed in hygh holydayes, ne do commaunde, or indicte the ſame to be kept or obſerued as holydayes.

Foure offering dayes.

Finally that the feaſtes of the Natiuitie of our Lord, of Eaſter day, of the Natiuitie of S. John the Baptiſt, and of S. Michaell the Archaungell ſhalbe from hence forth counted, accepted, and taken for the foure generall offering dayes.

Eaſter Terme.

And for further declaration of the premiſſes, be it knowē that Eaſter terme begynneth alwayes the xviij. daye after Eaſter day, reckenyng Eaſter day for one, and endeth the Monday next folowyng the Aſcenſion day.

Trinitie, Terme.

Trinitie terme begynneth alwayes the Wedenſdaye next after the Octaues of Trinitie Sondaye, and endeth the xi. or xij. day of July.

Michaelmas Terme.

Michaelmas terme begynneth the ix or x. day of October and endeth the xxviij. or xxix. day of Nouember.

Hilary Terme.

Hilary terme begynneth the xxiij. or xxiiij. day of January and endeth the xij. or xiij. day of February.

In Eaſter terme, vpon the Aſcenſion day: in Trinitie terme, vppon the Natiuitie of S. John Baptiſte: in Michaelmas terme vppon Alhalow day: in Hilarye Terme, vpon Candlemas day, the kynges Judges at Weſtminſter do not vſe to ſit in iudgement nor vppon any Sonday.

After theſe Articles and Iniunctions thus giuen out by the kyng and his Counſaile, thē folowed moreouer (as time ſerued) other Iniunctions moe, concernyng Images, reliques, and blynd miracles, and for abrogatyng of Pilgrimages deuiſed, by ſuperſtition, and maynteyned for luker ſake, alſo for the Pater noſter, Crede, and Gods Commaundementes, and the Bible to bee had in Engliſhe, with diuers other pointes moe neceſſarye for Religiō. The wordes of whiche Iniunctions here alſo enſue.

¶ Other Iniunctions geuen by the authoritie of the kynges hyghnes to the clergye of this his Realme.

Other Iniunctions.

IN the name of God. Amen. In the yeare of our Lord god 1536. and of the moſt noble reigne of our ſoueraigne Lord Henry the eyght, kyng of England and of Fraunce, defendour of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head of the Church of England, the xxviij. &c I Thomas Cromwell knyght, Lorde Cromwell, keper of the priuie Seale of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde the kyng, and vicegerent to the ſame, for and concernyng al his iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, to the glory of almightie God, to the kynges highnes honour, the publike weale of thys Realme, and increaſe of vertue in the ſame: haue appointed and aſſigned theſe Iniunctions enſuyng to be kept and obſerued of the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and Stipendaries, reſident or hauyng cure of ſoules, or any other ſpirituall adminiſtration within thys Deanrye: vnder the paynes here after limited and appoynted.

Cōfirmatiō of the kings ſupremacie.

The firſt is, that the Deane, Perſons, Vicares, and other hauyng cure of ſoule any where within this Deanrye ſhall faythfully keepe and obſerue, and as farre as in them may lye, ſhall cauſe to be kept and obſerued of all other, all and ſingular lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme, made for the aboliſhyng and extirpation of the byſhop of Romes pretented and vſurped power, and iuriſdiction within thys Realme, and for the ſtabliſhment and confirmation of the kynges authoritie and iuriſdiction within the ſame, as of the ſuppreame head of the Church of England, ſhall to the vttermoſt of theyr wytte, knowledge, and learnyng, purely, ſincerely, and without any colour or diſſimulation, declare manyfeſt, and open, by the ſpace of one quarter of a yeare now next enſuyng, once euery Sondaye, and after at the leaſtwiſe, twiſe euery quarter of a yeare, in their Sermōs and other collations, that the Byſhop of Romes vſurped power and iuriſdiction, hauyng no eſtabliſhment, nor groūd by the law of God, was of moſt iuſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, and that therfore they owe vnto him no maner of obedience or ſubiection, and that the kynges power is within his dominion, the hygheſt potentate & power vnder God to whom all men within the ſame dominion, By Gods commaundement, owe moſt loyaltie and obedience afore and aboue all other potentates in earth.

Agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie.

Item, whereas certeine Articles were lately deuiſed and put forth by the kynges hyghneſſe authoritie, and condiſcended vpō by the Prelates and clergye of this his Realme in conuocation (wherof parte were neceſſarye to be holden and beleued for our ſaluation, and the other parte do conſerne and touch certeine laudable ceremonies, rites, and vſages of the Churche, meete and conuenient to be kepte, and vſed for a decent and politike order in the ſame) the ſayde Deane, Perſons Vicares, and other Curates, ſhall ſo open and declare in their ſermons and other collations, the ſayd Articles vnto them that be vnder theyr cure, that they may playnly knowe and diſcerne which of thē be neceſſarye to be beleued and obſerued for their ſaluation and whiche be not neceſſarye, but onely do concerne the decent and politike order of the ſayd Church, accordyng to ſuche cōmaundement & admonition, as hath bene giuen vnto them heretofore by the authoritie of the kyngs hyghnes in that behalfe.

The kinges Articles to be read to the people.

Moreouer, that they ſhall declare vnto all ſuch as be vnder their cure, the Articles likewiſe deuiſed, put forthe & authoriſed of late, for and concernyng the abrogation of certayne ſuperſtitious holydayes, accordyng to the effect & purport of the ſame Articles and perſuade their pariſhioners to kepe and obſerue the ſame inuiolably as thinges wholeſom prouided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed by common conſent and publike authoritie for the weale commoditie, and profite of all this realme.

Images abolished.

Beſides this, to the entent that all ſuperſtition and hypocriſie crept into diuers mens hartes, may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth nor extol any images, reliques, or miracles, for any ſuperſtition or lucre, nor allure the people by any intreatments, to the pilgrimages of any Saintes, otherwyſe then is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the authority of the kings maieſty, and condeſcended vpō by the Prelates and Clergy of this hys realme in conuocation as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint, to geue this commodity or that, ſeyng all goodnes, health, and grace ought to be both loked and aſked for, only of God, as of the very author of the ſame, and of none other, for without hym it cannot be geuen: but they ſhall exhorte as well their pariſhioners, as other pilgrimes, that they do rather apply thēſelues to the kepyng of Gods commaundements, and fulfillyng of his workes of charitie, perſwading thē that they ſhal pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of their bodily labor, trauayle or occupation, and prouidyng for theyr families, thē if they went about to the ſayd pilgrimages: and it ſhal profit more theyr ſoule helth if they do beſtow that on the poore and nedy, which they would haue beſtowed vpon the ſayd images or reliques.

Pilgrimages forbidde.

Prayers in the mother tounge.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons and other collations, the Perſons, Vicares, and other Curates aforeſayd, ſhall diligently admoniſhe the fathers and mothers, maiſters and gouernours of youth, beyng within their cure, to teache or cauſe to be taught, theyr children and ſeruaunts euen from theyr infancy, the Pater noſter, the Articles of our fayth, and the ten commaundements in theyr mother tongue, and the ſame ſo taught, ſhall cauſe the ſayd youth oft to repeate & vnderſtand. And to the intent, this may be the more eaſily done, the ſayd Curates ſhall in theyr ſermons deliberately and plainly recite of the ſayd Pater noſter, Articles, or commaundementes, one clauſe or article one day, and an other an other day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and ſhall deliuer the ſame in writing, or ſhewe where printed bookes conteinyng the ſame, be to be ſolde to them that can read, or will deſire the ſame: and therto that ye ſaid fathers and mothers, maiſters and gouernours doe beſtow theyr children and ſeruauntes euen from theyr chyldhoode, eyther to learnyng, or to ſome honeſt exerciſe, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counſayling, and by all the wayes and meanes they may, as well in their ſayd ſermons and collations, as other wayes, the ſayd fathers, mothers, maiſters, and other gouernours beyng vnder their cure and charge, diligently to prouide and foreſee, that the ſayd youth be in no maner wyſe kept or brought vp in idlenes, leaſt at any tyme afterward, they be driuen, for lacke of ſome myſtery or occupation to lyue by, to fall to beggyng, ſtealing, or ſome other vnthriftines, forasmuch as we may daily ſee, through ſlouth and idlenes, diuers valiaunt men fal, ſome to begging and ſome to theft and murder, which after brought to calamitie and miſery, impute a great part therof to their frendes and gouernors, which ſuffred thẽ to be brought vp ſo idlely in their youth, where if they had bene educated & brought vp in ſome good litterature, occupation or myſtery, they ſhould (beyng rulers of theyr owne family) haue profited as well themſelues, as diuers other perſons, to the great commoditye and ornament of the common weale.

For bringing vp of youth in ſome arte or occupatiõ.

Alſo that the ſayd Perſons, Vicars, and other curates ſhall diligently prouide, that the Sacramentes and Sacramentals be duely and reuerently miniſtred in their pariſhes. And if at any tyme it happen them other in any of the caſes expreſſed in the ſtatutes of this realme, or of ſpecial licence geuen by the kinges maieſty, to be abſent from theyr benefices they ſhall leaue their cure, not to a rude and vnlearned perſon, but to an honeſt, well learned, and expert curate, that may teach the rude and vnlearned of theyr cure, wholſome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not erre: & alwayes let them ſee, ye neyther they nor their vicars do ſeke more their owne profite, promotion or aduantage, then the profite of the ſoules that they haue vnder their cure or the glory of God.

Placing of good vicares & Curates.

Item, that euery perſon or proprietary of any Pariſh church within this realme, ſhall on this ſide the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula, next commyng, prouide a boke of ye whole Bible both in Latin and alſo in Engliſh, and lay the ſame in the quire for euery man that will, to looke and read theron, and ſhal diſcourage no mã from the readyng of any part of the Bible eyther in Latin or Engliſh, but rather comfort exhort, and admoniſh euery man to read the ſame, as the very word of God, and the ſpiritual food of mans ſoule, whereby they may the better know their dueties to God, to their ſoueraigne Lord the kyng and theyr neighbour, euer gentlely and charitably exhortyng them, that vſing a ſober and a modeſt behauiour in the readyng and inquiſitiõ of the true ſence of the ſame, they do in no wyſe ſtifly or egerly contend or ſtriue one with another, about the ſame, but referre the declaration of thoſe places that be in controuerſie, to the iudgement of them that be better learned.

Euery pariſhe to prouide a Bible in Engliſhe.

Alſo the ſayd Deane, Perſons, Vicars, Curates and other prieſts ſhall in no wyſe at any vnlawfull tyme, nor for any cauſe then for theyr honeſt neceſſitie, haunt or reſort to any Tauernes or Alehouſes, and after their diner & ſupper, they ſhall not geue themſelues to drinkyng or riot, ſpending their tyme idlely by day or by night, at tables or cardes playing, or any other vnlawfull game: but at ſuch tymes as they ſhall haue ſuch leyſure, they ſhall read or heare ſomewhat of holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy themſelues with ſome honeſt exerciſe, and that they alwayes do thoſe thinges which appertayne to good congruence and honeſty, with profite of ye common weale, hauing alwayes in mynd, that they ought to excell all other in puritie of lyfe, and ſhould be example to all other, to lyue well and Chriſtianly.

Prieſtes not to haunt Alehouſes.

Furthermore, becauſe the goods of the Church are called the goodes of the poore, and in theſe dayes nothyng is leſſe ſeene then the poore to be ſuſteyned with the ſame, all Perſons, Vicares, Prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this Deanry, not beyng reſident vpon their benefices, which may diſpend yerely xx.li. or aboue, eyther wythin this Deanry or els where, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearely amongs theyr poore pariſhioners or other inhabitãts there, in the preſence of the Churchwardens, or ſome other honeſt men of the pariſh, the xl. part of the fruites and reuenues of theyr ſayd benefices, leſt they be worthely noted of ingratitude, which reſeruyng ſo many partes to themſelues cannot vouchſafe to impart the xl. porcion therof, amongeſt the poore people of that pariſh, that is ſo fruitfull and profitable vnto them.

Parſons not reſident, to pay the xl. part to their pariſhes.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter ſpring the more, for the executing of the ſayde premiſſes, euery Parſon, Vicare, Clarke, or beneficed man within thys Deanry, hauinge yearely to ſpend in benefices or other promotions of the Church, an C. poundes, ſhall geue competent exhibition to one ſcholer, and for as many C. poundes more as he may diſpend, to ſo many ſcholers more ſhal geue lyke exhibition in the vniuerſitie of Oxford or Cambridge, or ſome Grammer ſchoole, which after they haue profited in good learning, may be parteners of their patrones cure & charge, as well in Preaching, or otherwiſe in the execution of their offices, or may when neede ſhall be, otherwiſe profite the common wealth with their counſell and wiſedome.

Euery beneficed man worth a hundreth poũde, to finde a ſcholer at the vniuerſitie.

Alſo, that all Parſons, Vicares, and Clerkes, hauing Churches, Chappels, or manſions within thys Deanrye, ſhall beſtowe yearely hereafter vpon the ſame manſions or Chauncels of their Churches beyng in decay, the v. part of thoſe their benefices, till they ſhall be fully repayred, and the ſame ſo repayred they ſhal alwayes keepe and mainteine in good eſtate.

Beneficed men to mayntayne their manſions.

All which and ſingular Iniunctions ſhall be inuiolably obſerued of the ſayd Deane, Parſons, Vicares, Curates, Stipendaries, and other Clerkes and beneficed men, vnder the payne of ſuſpenſion, and ſequeſtration of the fruits of their benefices, vntill they haue done their dueties, according to theſe iniunctions.

¶ After theſe Iniunctions and Articles afore expreſſed (which were geuen about the yeare of our Lord 1536. and 1537.) it was not aboue the ſpace of a yeare, but other iniunctions alſo were publiſhed, to the further inſtruction of the people in the proceedinges of religion, whereby both the Parſons of Churches, and the Pariſhes together were enioyned to prouide in euery church to be a Bible in Engliſhe, alſo for euery Pariſhoner to be taught by the Miniſter, to vnderſtand and ſay the Lordes Prayer and Creede in their owne vulgare tounge, with other neceſſary & moſt fruitefull Iniunctions, the tenour whereof here foloweth.

¶ Iniunctions exhibited. an. 1538.

IN the name of God Amen. By the authoritie & commiſſion of the moſt excellent Prince, Henry by the grace of God, king of England, and of Frãce, defendour of ye faith, Lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head vnder Chriſt, of the Church of England, I Thomas Lord Cromwell, Lord priuie ſeale, Vicegerent to the kinges ſayd highnes for all hys iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme, do for the aduauncement of the true honour of almighty God, encreaſe of vertue, and diſcharge of the kings maieſtie, geue and exhibite vnto you N. theſe Iniunctions folowing to be kept, obſerued, & fulfilled vpon the payne hereafter declared.

Iniunctions by the kyng.

Firſt, that ye ſhall truely obſerue and keepe all & ſingular the kynges hyghnes Iniunctions geuẽ vnto you heretofore in my name by his graces authoritie, not onely vpon the paynes therin expreſſed, but alſo in your default now after this ſecond monition cõtinued, vpon further puniſhmẽt to be ſtraightly extended towardes you by the kinges highnes arbitrement or his vicegerent aforeſayd.

Item, that ye ſhall prouide on this ſide the feaſt of N. next commyng, one booke of the whole Byble of the largeſt volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet vp in ſome conuenient place within the ſayd Church that ye haue cure of, whereas your pariſhoners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame & read it. The charges of which booke ſhalbe ratably borne betwene you, the parſon and pariſhoners aforeſayde: that is to ſay, the one halfe by you, & the other halfe by thẽ.

For the Bible to be ſet vp in Churches.

Item, that ye ſhall diſcourage no man, priuely nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the ſayd Bible, but ſhall expreſly prouoke, ſtirre and exhort euery perſon to read the ſame, as that which is ye very liuely word of God, that euery Chriſten perſon is bounden to embrace, beleue, and folow, if he looke to be ſaued, admoniſhing them neuertheleſſe to auoyde all contention and altercation therein, and to vſe an honeſt ſobrietie in the inquiſition of the true ſence of the ſame, and to referre the explication of the obſcure places, to men of higher iudgement in ſcripture.

Item, that ye ſhall euery ſonday and holy day through the yeare, openly & playnely recite to your pariſhners, twiſe or thriſe together, or oftner if neede require, one article or ſentence of the Pater noſter, or Creede in Engliſhe, to the entent they may learne ye ſame by hart, & ſo frõ day to day, to geue thẽ one lyke leſſon or ſentẽce of the ſame, till they haue learned the whole Pater noſter, and Creede in Engliſhe by rote, and as they be taught euery ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expounde & declare the vnderſtanding of ye ſame vnto them, exhorting all parentes and houſholders, to teach their children and ſeruauntes the ſame, as they are bound in

The Lordes prayer to be learned in Engliſhe.

conſcience to doe: and that done, ye ſhall declare vnto them the .x. commaundementes, one by one, euery ſonday and holy day, til they be lykewiſe perfect in the ſame,

Item, that ye ſhall in confeſſions euery lent, examine euery perſon that commeth to confeſſiõ to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our fayth, and the Pater noſter in Engliſhe, and heare them ſay the ſame particularly: wherin if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to them, that euerye Chriſtē perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receyue the bleſſed Sacrament of the Alter, and moniſhe them to learne the ſame more perfectlye by the next yeare folowyng, or els, lyke as they ought not to preſume to cõe to Gods bord without perfect knowledge of the ſame (and if they doe, it is to the great perill of their ſoules) ſo ye ſhall declare vnto them, that ye loke for other Iniunctions from the kynges highnes by that tyme, to ſtay and repeale al ſuch from Gods bord, as ſhall bee found ignoraunte in the premiſſes: wherfore do ye thus admoniſhe them, to the entent they ſhoulde both eſchue the perill of theyr ſouls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they myght incurre hereafter by the ſame.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, that ye ſhall make or cauſe to be made in ẏ ſayde Churche, and euery other cure ye haue, one Sermon euery quarter of a yeare at the leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely & ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your hearers to the workes of charitie, mercy, and fayth, ſpecially perſcribed and commaunded in ſcripture, & not to repoſe their truſt or affiaunce in other workes deuiſed by mennes fantaſies beſides ſcripture: as in wanderyng to Pilgrimages, offeryng of money, candles, or tapers to fained Reliques or Images, or kiſſynge. or lickynge, the ſame ſaying ouer a number of beades not vnderſtanded ne mynded on, or ſuche lyke ſuperſtitions: for the doyng wherof, ye not onely haue no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe great threates and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, whiche of all other offences, God almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhorre, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glorye.

Images pulled downe.

Item, that ſuche fayned Images as ye know in any of your cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or offeringes of any thyng, made therunto, ye ſhall for auoydyng of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatrye, forthwith take down without delay, and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no candels, tapers, or Images of waxe to be ſet afore any Image or picture, but onely the light that commonly goeth a croſſe the Church by the roode lofte, the lyght afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the ſepulchre: whiche for the adornyng of the Church and diuine ſeruice ye ſhall ſuffer to remayne ſtyll, admoniſhyng your pariſhners that Images ſerue for none other purpoſe, but as the bookes of vnlearned men that can no letters, wherby they might bee admoniſhed of the liues and conuerſation of them, that the ſayd Images do repreſent. Which Images, if they abuſe for any other intent then for ſuch remembraunces, they cõmit Idolatrie in the ſame to the great daunger of their ſoules: and therfore the kynges highnes graciouſlye tenderyng the weale of his ſubiectes ſouls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter trauaill for the aboliſhyng of ſuch Images, as might be occaſiõ of ſo great offence to God, and ſo great a daunger to the ſoules of his louing ſubiects.

Good miniſters to be placed.

Item, that in all ſuch benefices or cures, as ye haue, wherupon ye be not your ſelfe reſident, ye ſhall appoint ſuch Curates in your ſtead, as both can by habilitie, and will alſo promptly execute theſe iniunctions, and do their duetie otherwiſe, that ye are bounden to do in euery behalfe accordingly and profite their cure no leſſe with good example of liuing, then with declaration of the worde of God, or els their lacke and defaultes ſhalbe imputed vnto you, who ſhall ſtraightly aunſwer for the ſame, if they do otherwiſe.

Item, that you ſhall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, but ſuch as ſhall appeare vnto you to be ſufficiently licenced therunto by the kings highnes or his graces authoritie, or the biſhop of the dioces, and ſuch as ſhalbe ſo licenced, ye ſhal gladly receiue, to declare ẏ word of God without any reſiſtaunce or contradiction.

Pilgrimage and images abandoned.

Item, if ye haue heretofore declared to your pariſhners any thing to the extolling and ſetting forth of pilgrimages, to fained reliques or images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, ye ſhall now openly afore the ſame, recant & reproue the ſame, ſhewing them (as the trouth is) that you did the ſame vpon no ground of Scripture, but as beyng led and ſeduced by a cõmon errour and abuſe crept into the Church, thorough the ſufferance and auarice of ſuch as felt profit by the ſame.

The worde of God to be preached without ſtop or interruption.

Item, if ye do or ſhall know any within your pariſhe, or els where, that is a letter of the word of God to be reade in engliſh, or ſincerely preached, or of the execution of theſe iniunctions, or a fautor of the B. of Romes pretenſed power, now by the lawes of this realme iuſtly reiected & extirped: ye ſhall detect the ſame to the kinges highnes or his honourable counſail, or to his vicegerent aforeſaid, or to the iuſtice of peace next adioyning.

Regiſter booke for euery pariſhe.

Item, that you and euery Perſon, Vicar, or Curate, within this dioceſſe, ſhall for euery church kepe one booke of regiſter, wherein ye ſhall write the day and yeare of euery weddyng, chriſtenyng, and burying, made within your pariſh for your tyme, and ſo for euery man ſucceding you likewiſe, and alſo therin ſet euery perſons name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened or buried, and for the ſafe keping of the ſame booke, the pariſhe ſhall be bounde to prouide of their common charges, one ſure coffer with ij. lockes and keyes, wherof the one to remaine with you, and the other with the Wardens of euery ſuch pariſh wherin the ſaid booke ſhalbe layd vp: which booke ye ſhall euery Sonday take forth, and in the preſence of the ſaide Wardens or one of them, write and record in the ſame, all the weddinges, chriſtenynges, and buryinges, made the whole weeke before, and that done, to lay vp the ſayd booke in the ſayd coffer as afore, and for euery tyme the ſame ſhall be omitted, the party that ſhalbe in the fault therof, ſhall forfaite to the ſayd Church iij. ſhillings iiij. pence, to be emploid on the reparation of the ſame Church.

Item, that ye ſhall once euery quarter of a yere, read theſe and the other former iniunctions geuen vnto you by authoritie of the kings highnes, openly and deliberately before all your pariſhners, to the entent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your duetie, and your ſaid pariſhners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

Tythes to be payed.

Item, for as much as by a law eſtabliſhed, euery man is bound to pay his tithes, no man ſhall by colour of duetie omitted by their Curates, deteine their tithes, and ſo redub one wrong with another, or be his own iudge, but ſhal truly pay the ſame as hath bene accuſtomed to their perſones & curates, without any reſtraint or diminution: and ſuch lack and default as they can iuſtly finde in their perſons and curates, to call for reformation therof, at their Ordinaries and other ſuperiors handes, who vpon complaint & due proofe therof, ſhall reforme the ſame accordingly.

Beckets day abrogate.

Item, that no Perſon ſhall from henceforth alter, or chaunge the order and maner of any faſting day that is commaũded & indicted by the church, nor of diuine prayer, nor of ſeruice, otherwiſe the is ſpecified in ẏ ſayd iniunctiõs, vntill ſuch time as the ſame ſhal be ſo ordered and tranſpoſed by ẏ kings highnes authoritie, the Euens of ſuch ſaintes, whoſe holydaies be abrogated, only excepted, which ſhalbe declared henceforth to be no faſting dayes, except alſo the commemoration of Tho. Becket ſometyme Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, which ſhalbe cleane omitted, and in ſtead therof, the feriall ſeruice vſed.

Knoling of Aues forbidden.

Item, that the knoling of the Aues after ſeruice, & certain other tymes, which hath bene brought in and begon by the pretence of the B. of Romes pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, leſt the people do hereafter truſt to haue pardõ, for the ſaying of their Aues betwene the ſayd knolyng, as they haue done in tymes paſt.

Suffrages of ſaintes reiected.

Item, where in tymes paſt, men haue vſed in diuers places in their Proceſſions, to ſing Ora pro nobis to ſo many ſaintes, that they had no tyme to ſing the good Suffrages, following: as Parce nobis Domine, and Libera nos Domine it muſt be taught and preached, that better it were to omit Ora pro nobis, and to ſing the other ſuffrages beyng moſte neceſſary and effectuall. All which and ſinguler Iniunctiõs I miniſter vnto you and to your pariſhners by the kinges highnes authoritie to me committed in this part, which I charge and commaund you by the ſame authoritie to obſerue and kepe, vpon payne of depriuation, ſequeſtration of your fruites, or ſuch other coherciõ as to the king or hys vicegerent for this tyme beyng, ſhalbe ſene conuenient.

The king better deſeruing the name of ſupreme gouernour thē the Pope.

By theſe Articles and Iniunctions thus comming forth one after an other, for the neceſſary inſtruction of the people, it may appeare, how well the kyng deſerued then the title of his ſupreme gouernement, geuen vnto hym ouer the church of Englãd: by ẏ which title & authoritie, he did more good for the redreſſyng and aduauncing of Chriſtes Church and religion here in England, in theſe thre yeares, then the Pope, the great Vicar of Chriſt, with all his Biſhops and Prelates had done the ſpace of iij. hundreth yeares before. Such a vigilant care was then in the kyng and in his counſaile, how by all wayes and meanes, to redreſſe religion, to reforme errours, to correcte corrupte cuſtomes, to helpe ignoraunce, and to reduce the miſleadynges of chriſtes flock drowned in blynd popery, ſuperſtition, cuſtomes & idolatry, to ſome better forme of more perfect reformation. Wherunto he prouided not only theſe articles, precepts, and iniunctions aboue ſpecified, to informe the rude people: but alſo procured the Biſhops to helpe forward in the ſame cauſe of

decayed

Read afore pag.1028.

decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as he heard before, pag. 1028. how that in the yere 1534. duryng all the whole tyme of the parliament, there was appoynted euery ſonday a B. to preache at Paules Croſſe agaynſt the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome.

Read afore pag.956.

Amongſt which Biſhops, Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, the kinges confeſſor, and a great perſecutor of the poore flocke of Chriſt (as is before ſufficiently recorded, pag. 956.) made a Sermon before the kyng, vpon good Friday this preſent yere. 1538. at Grenewich, ſeriouſly and effectuouſly preaching on the kinges behalfe, agaynſt the vſurped ſupremacie of the biſhop of Rome, the contentes of whoſe ſermon wholy to expreſſe, were here to long & tedious. So much as may ſuffice for our purpoſe, I thought ſhould remayne to the poſteritie, beginnyng at his Theame, whiche then he toke in hond to entreat vpon, written in the 13. chap. to the Hebrues, as followeth.

¶The Sermon of Iohn Longland Biſhop of Lincolne, on good Friday, before the kyng at Grenewich, an. 1538.

1538.

A ſermon of Biſh. Longland before the kyng. an. 1538. The Theam. Heb. 13.

THe wordes of the Apoſtle are theſe: Habemus altare de quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur ſanguis pro peccato in ſancta per pontificem: horum corpora cremantur extra caſtra. Propter quod, & Ieſus extra portam paſſus eſt. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra caſtra, improperium eius portantes.

Theſe are the wordes of the Apoſtle. Many thynges conteyned in few wordes, and the Engliſh therof is this: We haue an aulter, we haue an aulter (ſayth the Apoſtle) an aulter, and a ſacrifice vpon this aulter. And they that ſerueth the Tabernacle, may not eate of this aulter, may not eate of the Sacrifice that is offred vpon this aulter. For the Apoſtle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the aulter for that that is ſacrificed vpon the aulter. The bloud of thoſe beaſtes that were ſlayne for the ſacrifice, was brought into the holy ſecret high place of the temple where yͤ Arke was, betwene the high aulter (as ye will ſay) and the veyle by the byſhop, and there offred vp for the ſinne of the people. The bodies of the beaſtes that were burned without the pauilions or tentes for the which, Propter quod, for which what? for the fulfillyng of which myſtery. Alſo to verifie and fulfill the figure, and that the thing figured, might be correſpondent to the figure. Ieſus ſuffred without the gate, to ſanctifie the people by hys bloud. Let vs go out therfore and ſuffer with Chriſt bearyng his opprobries and rebukes. Theſe be the wordes of the Apoſtle now taken.

I will by the helpe of our lord God, declare theſe wordes in order, euen as they do ſtande. Here is an aulter, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Byſhop which dyd offer thys Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a ſeruing of the Tabernacle, the bloud of the ſacrifice which was offered by the Byſhop for the ſinnes of the people, in the moſt holy place of the temple, and the bodies of the beaſtes (whoſe bloud was offered) were burned without the tentes. And this was done the x. day of the vij. month. ye heare now the wordes of the Apoſtle. wherin appeareth the manifeſt figure of the Paſſion of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which we this day do honour.

Num.19.

Heb.11.

In theſe wordes the Apoſtle toucheth the figure of the law. And bringeth it to a ſpirituall vnderſtanding. For it was commaunded in the law, in the booke of Numbers, that the x. day of the vij. month, in the feaſt that was called the feaſt of the propitiation, of mercy, of remiſſion, or the feaſt of purgation, when the people were purged. At which time, they ſhould take a calfe and a kydde, and ſlay them: whoſe bloud the only Biſhop ſhould bring, In ſancta ſanctorum, into the moſt holy, ſolemne, and ſecret place of the temple: wherin the Biſhop neuer came, vnles hee brought with him bloude, to offer in Sacrifice. Quia omnia ferè in ſanguine ſecundum legem mundabantur, & ſine ſanguinis effuſione non fit remiſſio, ſayth yͤ Apoſtle. Almoſt all thinges after the law, or in the law, were cleanſed in bloud, and by bloud: and without the effuſion of bloud, was no remiſſion. And in that place of the temple called Sancta ſanctorum, the Byſhop prayed and offred for the people. The fleſh and corps of the ſacrifice was burned without the tentes, without their pauilions. And it was not lawfull to any that did ſerue the tabernacle, to eate of the fleſh of that ſacrifice.

Here is a manifeſt figure (as I ſayd) of the Paſſion of our Sauiour Chriſt. The alter that was conſecrate and halowed in this ſolemnitie of the bloud of the eternall Teſtament, was that holy croſſe that Chriſt ſuffered on. Which as on this day, he did conſecrate, hallow, dignifie and dedicate, and dyd adourne and decke the ſame with the members of hys moſt precious body, more gloriouſly then if it had ben embrodered and inſet with precious ſtones. For as golde which is the moſt precious metall, is made more precious when it is ſet with precious ſtones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be aulter, Image, crowne, ringe or owch: ſo was this aulter the holy Croſſe, beautified, dignified, adourned and made precious wyth the members of that moſt precious ſtone Chriſt, which is as Peter ſayth: Lapis viuus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a deo electus: probatus, angularis & præcioſus. This Chriſt is (he ſayth) the liuely ſtone, which men did reproue, which God did elect for the approued ſtone, for a corner ſtone, for the chiefe ſtone in the building of hys church, for the ſtone that ioyneth yͤ walles of the Church together, for the ſtone whereupon the fayth of Chriſt and his Church is builded. A precious ſtone, a ſtone of price, a ſtone of high value, farre paſſing in the eſtimation of a good Chriſten man, all other precious ſtones in the world. This precious ſtone Chriſt, with the members of hys moſt precious body, did decke, adourne, and made precious this aulter of the Croſſe, when hys body was by the Iewes, with violency, extremely ſtrayned vppon the ſame, that all hys bones (as teſtifieth yͤ Prophet) mought be numbred. Vpon this aulter was the great Sacrifice of the world offred, Chriſt himſelfe. He was the Sacrifice, and he was the Prieſt. He offred vp himſelfe to God his father, for the ſinne of man. Obtulit ſemetipſum immaculatum deo, vt ſanctificaret inquinatos, ſayth the Apoſtle. He offered himſelfe a pure, cleane, immaculate hoſte to God, to redeeme the world, to ſanctifie ſinners, to iuſtifie man.

1.Pet.2.

The ſtone Chriſt.

Pſal.21.

Chriſt the ſacrifice of the world.

Heb.9.

This Chriſt the Byſhop of good thinges to come (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) entred once into the place called Sancta ſanctorum, not onely of the temple, but in Sancta ſanctorum, into that holy place of places, into heauen. He entred wyth ſacrificed bloud lyke a Byſhop. Not wyth the bloud of goates or calues, not wyth the bloud of rammes or bulles: but with his owne moſt precious bloud. For if the bloud of goates and bulles, and the aſhes of yͤ burned calfe ſprinkled abroad, were ſufficient to the making cleane of fleſhe: how much more then, the bloud of Chriſt (who by the holy Ghoſt, did offer vp himſelfe to God, a moſt pure, moſt cleane, and immaculate ſacrifice) is able to purge, clēſe and make fayre our conſciences from the workes of death, and to liue in the lyuing God?

Heb.9.

Heb.9. Leuit.16.

This is our great Byſhop, as the Apoſtle ſayth, Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetrauit cœlos, Ieſum filiũ dei. We haue a great byſhop, which did penitrate yͤ heauēs whoſe name is Ieſus the ſonne of God. This is our great Byſhop, our high Byſhop, our vniuerſall Byſhop. This is the head Byſhop of all Biſhops and of the world, named of God (as the Apoſtle ſayth) to be our great Byſhop, properly called Summus pontifex, the higheſt Byſhop, the Biſhop of Biſhops. For this is he onely that is Summus, maximus & vniuerſalis pontifex.

Heb.4. Our great, high, and vniuerſall Byſhop is onely Chriſt.

Heb.5.

The byſhop of Rome therfore ought herein to be abaſhed, aſhamed, and to abhorre his owne pride. For in thys he outragiouſly doth offend God and blaſphemeth hym, in that he preſumeth to take thys high name from our byſhop Chriſt: In that, he taketh away (as much as lyeth in hym) the glory of God, the maieſtie apperteinyng vnto Chriſt: In that he taketh vpon him theſe names onely appropriate vnto Chriſt, Sũmus pontifex, maximus pontifex, vniuerſalis pontifex: the higheſt Byſhop, the greateſt Byſhop, the vniuerſall Byſhop, the Byſhop of all the worlde. I much maruaile how he dare be ſo bolde to vſurpe & take theſe great names vpō hym. Greater blaſphemy can not be, then to take from God, that that naturally belongeth vnto hym: then to take from God, hys glory and honour: then to vendicate and take vpon hym ſuch high names, as beſemeth no Chriſten man to vſurpe. God ſaid by his prophet: Nō dabo gloriā meā alteri: I wil not geue my glory away to any other, to any creature. He doth reſerue yͤ glory, that laude & honour that belōgeth onely vnto hym, vnto himſelf: no man to attempt ſo farre, no mā to take ſo much vpō him.

The pride of the Pope.

The pope blaſphemeth God.

No greater blaſphemie then in the Pope.

Ezech.42.

Peter, Peter, thou waſt once Biſhop of Rome, and the firſt Byſhop of Rome: Diddeſt thou euer take this name vpon thee, Summus, Maximus, Vniuerſalis? No, no, no. And why? For the holy ghoſt was in thee. Thou wouldeſt take no more vpon thee then God gaue thee. Thou waſt not deſirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou ſoughteſt for, was for the glory of God: as all that will read thy ſermons, thy Epiſtles, & thy lyfe, ſhall ſoone perceaue. Looke a great number of Biſhops that next folowed Peter in the ſame. See: what were they? holy Martyrs, holy lyuers, which neuer attempted thus farre. Let the biſhop of Rome therfore knowledge his great fault, his high folie, his vnlawfull vſurpation, his vnprieſtly preſumption, & humble himſelfe to Chriſt and God his great byſhop. would God he would reforme himſelf. would god he would keepe himſelf within that compaſſe of his authoritie, & no more to encroch vpon other mens iuriſdictions, but diligently keepe yͤ

Peter neuer tooke vpon hym at Rome, as the Pope doth.

place

Gregorius in Regiſtro. Lib. 4. indictione 30. Epiſt. 38.

Idem.

ouerloke hys own dioces, and be content with that, would God he would looke vpon hys predeceſſour S. Gregory in hys Regiſter, which was a Biſhop of Rome, a holy man. Let hym learne there how he dyd rebuke Iohn, that tyme the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, for takyng on him ſo highly, in ſuch names, vniuerſall Biſhop, higheſt Biſhop, greateſt Biſhop: and how he proued it to be againſt the law of God. He ſayth there in one place to this proude Byſhop Iohn, what aunſwer ſhalt thou make in that ſtraite examination at that laſt iudgement, to Chriſt the head of the vniuerſall holy Church, that goeſt about to haue ſubiect vnto thee all the members of Chriſt, by takyng on thee the name of vniuerſall Biſhop. In an other place agayn in the ſame boke he ſayth vnto him, who art thou that doeſt preſume to vſurpe a new name vpon thee, of vniuerſal biſhop, contrary to the ſtatutes of the goſpell, and the decrees.

Heb. 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9.

The titles & properties attributed to Chriſt in the ſcripture.

God forbid that euer this blaſphemy ſhould come in the hartes of Chriſten people, in the which the honour of all prieſthode is taken away, when a man ſhall raſhly and arrogantly take that name vpon hym. Let this Biſhop of Rome therfore humble himſelfe vnto our great vniuerſall Biſhop Chriſt, humble hymſelfe vnder the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apoſtle doth write of the honor and power of this Chriſt our great and high Biſhop. He is (he ſayth) Pontifex miſericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus noſtris, offerens dona & ſacrificia pro peccatis noſtris, condolens ijs qui ignorant & errant: Qui poteſt ſaluum facere a morte, offerens preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis, & exauditus eſt pro reuerentia ſua: Pontifex appellatus a deo: Pontifex ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus a peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis: Non habens neceſſitatem (quemadmodum alij) prius pro ſuis delictis hoſtias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex ſedens in dextris dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conſcientias noſtras ab operibus mortuis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem. Hic eſt pontifex confeſſionis noſtræ.

Miſericors.

Let all earthly Biſhops learne of this heauenly biſhop Chriſt. Some of theſe properties are appropriate and belongeth onely to God and not to man. In ſome we ought to follow hym, In ſome we can not, ne ought to do. This our high and great Biſhop is Miſericors (ſaith ẏ Apoſtle) mercifull. A mercifull Biſhop, redy to forgiue, ready to remitte thoſe that haue offended hym. He is not cruell, not vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow hym.

Potens.

Rom. 14.

Math. 28.

Marc. 2.

He is Pontifex potens, a mighty Biſhop, mighty and full of power. we be but weake and feble Biſhops, not able to do any thing but by hys permiſſion and helpe. He is able to make ſicke, to make hole: to make riche, to make poore: to ſet vp, to put downe. Potens, a mighty biſhop, mighty and able to remit ſinne, to forgeue, to ſaue both body and ſoule from damnation. Potens, a mighty Biſhop & full of power. No power in this world but of hym. Omnis poteſtas a domino deo eſt. All power is of hym. And as he hymſelfe witneſſeth: Data eſt mihi omnis poteſtas in cœlo & in terra. All power is geuen vnto me in heauen and in earth. Potens ſaluare a morte. He can ſaue the body, and ſaue the ſoule. He can deliuer the one, and deliuer the other from euerlaſtyng death. Who can forgeue ſinne but he? Quis poteſt dimittere peccatum niſi ſolus deus? Eſt potens. He is a mighty Biſhop. Of hym and by hym, Emperours, Kings, Magiſtrates and Poteſtates, Biſhops, Prieſtes, with all other that haue power, haue their power and authority. Who is able to turne the wynd? to make the wynd blow or ceaſe but he? Who is able to ſay and proue, I wyll now haue it rayne, now cleare: the ſonne to ſhyne, the water to flow, to ebbe, with ſuch other, but only he? This is our mighty biſhop. Pontifex potens, mighty, yea Omnipotens, almighty. He can do all. Nothing is to hym impoſſible. Ipſe dixit & & facta ſunt omnia. Mandauit, & creata ſunt vniuerſa. Potens ergo eſt. He is a mighty Biſhop, we are not ſo.

Omnipotens.

Pſal. 32.

Fidelis.

Three offices of a Byſhop.

It he had placed here adminiſtrare ſacramenta, for ſacrificare, hys partitiō ſo myght haue ſtand.

Math 14.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faythfull Biſhop: faithfull. He is a faythfull Biſhop to God, referryng all laudes, all honour and glory to hys father. In all thynges that he dyd, miracles or other, he toke neuer the more vpon hymſelf. He was alſo a faythfull Byſhop to the world: For he dyd all that belonged to the office of a good Biſhop. The very office of a Biſhop is, prędicare, orare & ſacrificare, ſiue offerre. To preach, to pray, to do ſacrifice or to offer. He preached to his people: He taught the world moſt wholeſome doctrine, wherby he called the people to God: he conuerted ſinners, he called them to penance. He made them weepe & lament their ſinnes. They folowed hys perſon, they followed his word, they folowed his enſample. They came out of all coſtes to ſee hym, to heare him, to learne of him. They forſoke meate and drinke, houſe and home, and followed hym wherſoeuer he went, as well in wildernes, as els where. In ſo much that after they had followed him thre dayes, he beyng moued with pity leſt they ſhould periſh for lacke of foode beyng in wildernes farre from ſuccour, he fed them twiſe miraculouſly. Once in the deſert with fiue loaues & two fiſhes, he fed v. M. men, beſides women and children, & there were left xij. great baſkets, xij. maundes full of the brokelets, and offals at that meale. At another tyme he fed in wildernes to the number of iiij. M. men, beſides women and children, with ſeuen loues and a few ſmall fiſhes, and there was left of fragments, vij. maundes full.

Math. 15.

The ſecond office of a Byſhop is to pray.

The ſecond office of a Byſhop he fulfilled alſo: For he prayed. He was moſt deuout in prayer, ſo to teach all Byſhops and Preachers not to preſume in their witte or learnyng, neither in their capacitie, memory, fayre tongue or vtteraunce: but that the preacher do ſtudiouſly apply his boke w all diligence to ſtudy how to ſpeake, what to ſpeake: afore whō he ſhal ſpeak: and to ſhape his ſermō after ẏ audience. The preacher ought alſo beſides his ſtudye & preaching to pray. For by deuout prayer, he ſhal attaine percaſe as much or more, as by ſtudy or learning. For wout prayer ẏ wordes will litle preuaile. Loke in Chriſt his life, & thou ſhalt find, that in euery thing he went about, he prayed, to ſhew the valiauncie, the vertue and ſtrength of prayer: to ſhew our neceſſities, our weakenes and feblenes of nature. He prayed for his people (as Luke witneſſeth) the ſpace of one whole night. And what a maruelous deuout prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his paſſion, when the Chalice of death was repreſented vnto him: whē he ſwet water and bloud: when he cried thriſe, Tranſeat à me Calix iſte: let this Chalice, let this paſſion and bloud, let the vertue therof paſſe from me vnto all mankynd. Let euery man haue the vertue and merite therof: let it worke in all folkes: let euery faythfull man and woman be pertyner therof: let it not be loſt, but worke to the worldes end. This was a meruelous deuout mercifull prayer. And agayne, he ſuffering and hanging on the croſſe, offered vp for his people, Preces & ſupplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis. He offred vp his prayers and ſupplications with a huge cry, with a piteous voyce, with a lamentable & deadly ſhrich, and with weping teares to God his father, he hāging on the croſſe, euen when the ſpirit ſhould departe the body, not then forgetting his people at that houre when all the people forgetteth both the world and thēſelues. Which cry was ſo huge and great, ſo maruelous and of that effect that the heauens trembled therat, the Angels mourned for pitie, the Sunne loſt his light, the vaile in the temple rited in two, the earth quaued, the ſtones rent aſonder and braſt in gobbets, the graues opened, the dead bodies roſe to lyfe, & appeared in the Citie. Centurio & thoſe that kept Chriſt to ſee the execution done, cried: Verè, filius Dei erat iſte: This was the vndoubted ſonne of God. His prayer and weeping teares were ſo pleaſaunt vnto the father, that it was heard: Exauditus eſt pro reuerētia ſua: He was heard and why? For it was ſo entire, ſo deuout, ſo reuerently done, in ſuch a maner and faſhion, with ſuch a zeale grounded vpon ſuch a charitie, ſuffering for our gilt, and not for his owne. And for that he did the very office of a Biſhop, ſo entirely to pray, and ſo reuerently to offer, vp himſelfe in ſacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard, his praier was heard of God. And that is the third propertie of a good Biſhop, to offer ſacrifice for his people. Euery Biſhop, euery Biſhop for his Dioceſanes and for the whole vniuerſall Churche. In theſe three we ought as much as we may, to follow Chriſt.

Luke. 6.

Math. 26.

Heb. 5.

The cry of Chriſt on the Croſſe.

The heauēs trembled.

The Angels mourned.

The Sunne loſt his light

The veile rited.

The earth quaued.

The ſtones rent.

The graues opened.

The dead roſe.

The Cēturiō cōfeſſed.

Heb. 5.

Marc. 15.

The third office of a Byſhop is to miniſter and not to ſacrifice or offer.

Thus this Chriſt was and is Pontifex fidelis, a faythfull Byſhop. Faythfull, faythfull, in his word, true in his promiſe, deceiuyng no man, but profityng all. In all that he dyd or ſpake, he ſought nothyng hys owne glory, but the glory of God: teachyng therby all Byſhops of the worlde in al that they go about, to do it to the laude, prayſe and glorye of God. And herein we ought alſo to folowe hym.

Magnus.

Magnus Pontifex. He is the great Byſhop, the high Byſhop, the ſupreme Byſhop, the vniuerſall Byſhop ouer all the worlde. No great byſhop but hee. None high, none ſupreme nor vniuerſall Byſhop, but he.

No great byſhop but onely Chriſt.

The Pope blaſphemeth God.

What is blaſphemy.

Apoc. 9.

And herein the Byſhop of Rome outragiouſly vſurpeth vppon God, as he doth vpon the worlde, to take the honour and names (onely to God appropriate) to himſelfe, & doth greuouſly blaſpheme and offend God therin, Greater blaſphemye can not be, then to aſcribe to God, that that no wayes belongeth vnto him, or to take from God, that ẏ vnto hym is appropriate. It is meete therfore he doe betimes and in ſeaſon, leaue his vniuſte encrochementes both agaynſt his Lorde God, and alſo agaynſt the world, leaſt he do prouoke God to poure out all hys vialles of wrath vpō him: the Væs, I meane, the maledictions and vengeaunce that Iohn ſpeaketh of in the Apocalips. I would aduiſe hym to ceaſe the iniuries whiche hee hath and dayly doth

againſt

agaynſt the Chriſte our great hygh vniuerſall Byſhop, leſt thou excommunicate and ſtryke hym, leſt thou ſhewe thy wrath and iudgement agaynſt hym and vtterly extincte his pride and ambitious pretenſed authoritie. For thou wilt be knowen, thou wilt be knowen to bee God. And thou arte & wilt be our great vniuerſall and ſupreme Byſhop, what ſo euer the Byſhop of Rome ſhall attempte to the contrary: and thou wylt puniſhe, hys worldely arrogancy, and ſtrike when thou ſeeſt thy tyme. And though it be long ere thou ſtrike, yet let hym beware, for ſtrike thou wilt if thou bee vtterly prouoked: And when thou doeſt ſtrike, thy ſtroke is great, thy ſtrooke is dreadful and ſoore. It vanquiſheth the body, it ſlayeth the ſoule, it dampneth both. Beware therfore thou Byſhop of Rome, and be content with thyne own dioces, with thyne owne charge, as other Byſhops are ẘ theirs: For further then thyne owne dioces, thy iuriſdictiō do not ſtretch.

The ſtroke of God is ſlow, but ſore.

The popes power ſtretcheth no farther thē his owne dioces

A merueilous blyndnes in the therfore, to take vpon thee to aunſwere for al the worlde, and arte not able to aunſwer our great Biſhop Chriſt, for thy ſelfe at the dreadfull daye of Iudgement, when he ſhal aſke but theſe fewe queſtions of thee, Quomodo intraſti? Quomodo rexiſti? Quomodo vixiſti? Quomodo pauiſti? Quæ & qualia exempla dediſti? Quid ad meam gloriam feciſti? & huiuſmodi. How diddeſt thou enter into the Byſhoprike? by mee or by the worlde? vnlawfully, or lawfully? by Symonie, or freely? by labour, by paction, or called of God? How diddeſt thou rule thy cure thy dioces? Diddeſt thou pray for thy people? diddeſt thou preach me to thy dioceſans? diddeſt thou giue them ghoſtly and bodely foode? diddeſt thou miniſter ſpirituall and ghoſtly ſalues (the Sacraments I meane) to heale the ſores of their ſoules? How dyddeſt thou lyue? Dyddeſt thou caſt awaye the care, the glory and pompe of the worlde? Dyddeſt thou folow me in humilitie, in charitie, in compaſſion, in pouertie, in cleanes, and in chaſt lyuyng?

Queſtions to be aſked of the Pope in the laſt iudgement.

Nay rather ghoſtly doctrine you ſhould ſay.

How diddeſt thou gouerne thy dioceſans? Diddeſt not yͧ make of all thynges that thou diddeſt medle with a money matter, in ſellyng that whiche was not in thee to ſell nor giue, whiche thou calledſt thy pardons, thy commiſſions, thy breues, thy delegacies, reſeruations, exemptions, appellations, bulles, and diſpenſations? Dyddeſt not thou vnder theſe pretenſes and lyke other doynges, deceiue yͤ world What aunſwere ſhalt thou make to this at that daye, to our and thy great Byſhop Chriſt, when hee ſhall viſite the and all thy dioces, me and all my dioces, yea when hee ſhall viſite all the worlde? What aunſwere ſhalt thou then make? I thinke verely thou ſhalte then haue enoughe to doe, yea & more then yͧ canſt wynde thy ſelf out of, to make aunſwere for thy ſelfe, for thyne own dioces, & for thine own dioceſās, though thou vſurpe not vpō other mēs as thou doeſt. The Apoſtle writeth of Chriſt humbly, & calleth hym, Magnum pontificem, the great byſhop. And he of Rome is not with this worde contented, but will haue a hygher worde for him ſelfe, in the ſuperlatiue degree, Maximum: pontificem Maximum, The greateſt Byſhop. Oh, where is the humblenes and mekenes that ſhould be in hym? Alas, hee that taketh on hym to teach all the worlde, how can hee for ſhame ſuffer ſuche blaſphemous wordes to paſſe in hys name, to his great ſhame and rebuke: to the great daunger of hys ſoule: and to the perilous enſample vnto other? Oh: fye vpō pryde. It is a common Prouerbe, pride will haue a fal.

The Pope maketh all thinges a money matter.

Pontif. Maximus.

The popes pride will haue a fall.

Humilis.

Our Byſhop Chriſt was Humilis, meke, lowely, and humble in harte. He rode not vpon any palfray nor couragious horſe, but vpon an Aſſe and that but once. He neuer was borne pompouſly abroad in chayre, vpon mens ſhoulders. He neuer profered his foote to any body to kyſſe. We read that he waſhed the feete of hys Diſciples and wypped them. Wee read that Mary Magdalene profered to haue kyſſed his feete, but hee dyd prohibite her, ſaying: Noli me tangere: Touch me not. He woulde not ſuffer the woman then to touche hym. He neuer had garde to defend hym. Hee neuer folowed the pompe of the worlde. Hee diſdayned not to goe vppon the ground with hys bare feete. What ſhall I ſay? He gaue enſamples enough to the Byſhop of Rome, to me and to all Byſhops, to be meeke and humble: hee to knowe him ſelfe, and we our ſelues, as if he and we diligētly looke in ſcripture, wee ſhall finde. And herein, in meekenes we are bound to followe hym.

Iohn. 13.

Math. 20.

The humilitie of Chriſt.

Compatiens.

Compatiens infirmitatibus. Thys Biſhop Chriſt, hadde compaſſiō of our infirmities of our frailties. It is impoſſible for a man to knowe the afflictions of the miſerable perſon, that neuer ſuffered hym ſelfe affliction, that neuer had experience of paynes, that neuer felte what payne mente. But this byſhop Chriſt, had experience of our nature: how weake, how feble yͤ nature of mā is: how weak of hymſelfe to do any good worke without yͤ helpe of God: how feble to reſiſte temptations. He ſuffered and felte the infirmities & paynes of his naturall body. Hee hath therfore compaſſion vpon man, whē he doth ſee him fall. He ſoroweth his ruine teachyng Byſhops in eſpeciall afore all other, to haue compaſſion and pitie vpon the ſinner, to helpe hym ſpiritually, to comfort him ghoſtly, to helpe hym to ariſe frō ſinne, to allure him to penaunce, to draw him to vertue, to make him know God, to feare his iuſtice, to loue his lawes, and thus to ſeeke all the wayes he and we can, to ſaue the ſinners ſoule for whome he ſhall make aunſwere to God for his owne dioceſans: ſoule for ſoule, bloud for bloud, payne for payne hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which ſoule, our great biſhop Chriſt (as the Apoſtle doth witnes) did offer giftes and ſacrificed himſelfe, hauyng compaſſion of them that by ignorance and by errour, did ſinne and offend God. Euen when he was in his greateſt agony vpon the croſſe, he cryed to his father: forgeue them father, forgeue thē, they know not what they do, they are ignorāt people, they know not what is what, nor what daunger they run into by this entreatyng me. They know not their offences: forgeue them father, forgeue them. In this compaſſion we ought alſo to follow our great biſhop Chriſt.

Chriſt ful of compaſſion.

Heb. 5.

Luke. 23.

Pontifex appellatus.

It followeth in the former letter: Eſt Pontifex appellatus a Deo. He is a Biſhop, and ſo named of God. He is the very Byſhop. He offred vp the very ſacrifice, the ſacrifice of hys owne moſt bleſſed body and bloud, wherby the ſinne of the world was put away. Euery Biſhop of the worlde is not named a Biſhop by God. For ſome commeth into that office, not by the holy ghoſt, not elect of God (as Iohn ſayeth) not entring in ouile ouium per oſtium, ſed aſcendens aliunde. Some there are that entreth into the folde of the ſheepe of God, not by the dore. Some there bee that entreth in, hauynge charge and cure of ſoule, not by God: but by worldly meanes, by worldly labour, by importune ſutes and interceſſion of frendes, or by theyr owne vnlawfull labour, by ſimonie, and ſuch other wayes. Suche are not named Byſhops by God. Such entreth not by the dore, not by hym that ſayth: Ego ſum oſtium. Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita. I am the dore, I am the way, I am the lyfe, I am truth, I am Paſtor bonus, the very true and good biſhop that entred by God. And all, that entreth otherwyſe then by God, Chriſt calleth them fures & latrones, theues ſpoylers, raueners, deuourers, and deceyuers of the ſheepe. Their lyuyng ſhall declare the ſame. For ſuch as ſo wilfully do enter, do ſtudy their owne profites & commodities. Such receyueth the fruites and do nothyng for them. Such ſuffereth theyr ſhepe to periſh for lacke of bodily and ghoſtly food and ſuſtenance for lacke of preachyng, for lacke of geuyng good counſayle, for lacke of good liuyng, for lack of good enſample. And ſuch, for the moſt part, lyueth naughtily, carnally, fleſhly, viciouſly, pompouſly, worldly, and not biſhoply nor prieſtly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Chriſt ſayth: Qui intrat per me, ſaluabitur, et ingredietur, & egredietur, et paſcua inueniet. He that entreth by me, ſhalbe ſaued. Et ingredietur, et egredietur. And he ſhall go in, and he ſhall go out, what is that to ſay: he ſhall go in, & he ſhal go out? I thinke he meaneth by goyng in, that he ſhal haue grace to enter ſtudiouſly into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to ſtudy, and to profite in the lawes of God. Et egredietur. And he ſhall explane and truely interpretate and publiſh it vnto the people. Et paſcua inueniet And he ſhall finde there plenty of ſpirituall food for hymſelf and for hys people, to edifie theyr ſoules, to inſtruct and cal them to the knowledge of God to feed them plentifully, that they ſhall not lacke neceſſaries to theyr ſoules. Let vs therfore ſo lyue, yͭ we may be called Pontifices appellati à Deo.

Iohn. 10.

All biſhops be not called of God.

Iohn. 14.

Iohn. 10.

Iohn. 10.

Heb. 7.

This our great Byſhop Chriſt is alſo: Pontifex, ſanctus, innocens, impollutus, ſegregatus à peccatoribus, excelſior cœlis, ſedens à dextris Dei, emundans conſcientias noſtras à peccatis, intrans ſancta ſanctorum per proprium ſanguinem. He is Sanctus. A holy byſhop, and willeth vs to be holy in our conuerſation, applying our ſelues vnto godlines to the ſeruice of God, to lyue lyke Biſhops, like prieſts, pure cleane, chaſt, deuout, ſtudious, faythfully labouring in hys word, praying, doyng ſacrifice, and euer to be godly and vertuouſly occupied.

Sanctus.

Innocens.

He is Innocens, an innocent. He neuer ſinned, he neuer offended [illegible] word, thought, nor dede. Innocens, noying no creature, [illegible]ng all folkes, meekely ſuffring aduerſities, opprobri[illegible]ngs, rebukes, & reproches, without grudge or cōtradiction. Innocens & ſimplex: ſimplex ſine plica. An innocent, without pleite or wrincle, without errour or doublenes, without hypocriſie or diſſimulation, without flatteryng or gloſing, without fraude or deceyte: not ſeruing the body nor the world, but God. In this we ought alſo to follow our heauenly Byſhop.

Simplex.

Impollutus.

Impollutus. He was vndefiled. He lyued cleane without ſpot or blot, without wemme or ſtayne. No immundicie in hym, no vncleannes, nor filthyneſſe: but all pure and cleane, all chaſte and immaculate, all bright and ſhinyng

Segregatus a peccatis.

Math. 9.

Excelſior cœlis.

in grace and godlynes: In ſo much that he was Segregatus à peccatoribus, cleane ſegregate from all kynde of vncleanes, from all maner of ſinnes, and from ſinners. Segregate from them, not from their company: For as Mathew wryteth: Publicans and ſinners came and eate and dranke wyth him and his Diſciples in the houſe of Leui. And he alſo came as a Phiſition, to heale the ſinner. And yet he was ſegregate from them, quantũ ad participationẽ cum eis in peccato: as touching their ill lyuinges, not beyng participant wt them in ſinne: but came onely to heale thẽ, & to ridde them from ſinne and ſores of the ſoule. He entred the heauens, not wyth the bloud of kydde nor goate, but wyth hys owne proper bloud. For which and for his holynes & perfectnes, Excelſior cœlis factus eſt. He is extolled & exalted aboue all the Aungels, and beatitudes: aboue all the heauens, ſittyng on the right hand of the father. Whom all the heauenly creatures doe worſhip, honour and do reuerẽce vnto. Where he prayeth for his people, and is mediatour in his manhead to his father for vs.

Magnus.

This our Byſhop purgeth our conſciences (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) he clenſeth our ſoules, he maketh vs inwardly beautious and fayre. The Byſhop of Rome lacketh many of theſe notable vertues. He hath fewe, or none of theſe properties, fewe or none of theſe qualities. He is (as we all are ſinners) a ſinner. To whõ thys word Magnus great, is not conuenient, nor can be in hym any wayes verified. For he cannot forgeue ſinne as our Byſhop doth, nor iuſtifie as he doth, neither enter in Sancta Sanctorum, wyth hys owne bloud, as he did. How can he then be called a great Byſhop that is (as we all be ſinners) a ſinner, a breaker of the lawes of God, and dayly doth or may fall and ſinne? And for that cauſe the law commaunded that euery byſhop and Prieſt ſhould firſt offer hoſtes and ſacrifice for hys own ſinnes, and afterward, for the ſinnes of the people. How can he therfore be called a great Byſhop or Prieſt?

Luke 1.

Luke. 7.

No ſinner called great in the ſcripture.

Gene. 26.

Exod. 11.

Luke. 1.

Psal. 18.

Our Byſhop we ſpeake of, is the very great byſhop. No dole, no fraude, no guile, was euer founde in his mouth. And when the Prince of the world the deuill came to him, he could finde no poynt of ſinne in hym. Wherfore Gabriell the Archangell ſhewing his natiuitie vnto Mary hys mother, ſayd: Hic erit magnus, & filius altiſſimi vocabitur. He ſhall be greate and ſhalbe called the ſonne of God, And agayne it is written of hym: Propheta magnus ſurrexit inter nos: A great prophet is riſen among vs. Sinne maketh a man ſmale and little: litle in reputation both afore God and man. Vertue maketh man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where ye haue redde, ẏ a ſinner was called great? I trow it ſhall not be fõde. Will you heare who were called great in ſcripture? It is writtẽ of Iſaac, quod proficiebat valde, & factus eſt magnus valde. He profited greatlye in vertue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moyſes was called Magnus, great for his vertue. Abraham and Iohn Baptiſt likewiſe. Now Ieſus our Byſhop is called magnus Epiſcopus, magnus Sacerdos. And after hym neuer Byſhop called Magnus in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of man vnles it be in compariſon one of an other (and ſo Sainctes and holy lyuers are called great in reſpect of ſinners, or other meane liuers) but where Chriſt our byſhop commeth: there he, not in compariſon of other, but ſimpliciter, by hys owne magnitude and greatnes, and of hymſelfe, euer was and is greate of whom it is written: A ſummo cœlo egreſſio eius: & occurſus eius vſque ad ſummum eius. And as the Apoſtle alſo proueth in many places by expreſſe wordes. But now there is no Byſhop nor Prieſt in this worlde, that may worthely of hymſelfe be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus vpon him.

Leuit. 21.

This is he therfore of whom it is writtẽ: Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis. The great Byſhop aboue all other. And as he is called and in very deede is, Paſtor paſtorum Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus ſanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum: Ita & magnus magnorum eſt. And he is called the heardeſman of heardeſmen, the Byſhop of biſhops, the Prophet of prophets, the Holye of holyeſt, the Lorde of lordes, and Kyng of kynges: euen ſo is he called, & verely is Epiſcopus magnus. Therfore the Prophet did ad, Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis, the great Byſhop or Prieſt: great of hymſelfe, great in vertue and power, great of himſelfe, and great in compariſon afore all other. And therfore the Apoſtle ſayd: Habemus Põtificem magnũ, qui Penetrauit cœlos, IESVM filium DEI. We haue a great Byſhop, which did penetrate the heauens, Ieſus the ſonne of God.

The pope encrocheth vpon Chriſt.

Here may ye now ſee how the Byſhop of Rome doth wrongfullye encroch vpõ our great Byſhop Ieſus Chriſt, to take from hym, not onely this name Magnus, and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, Videlicet, Maximus, Summus, Sanctus, Beatiſſimus, Vniuerſalis, and ſuch other. The greateſt, the hygheſt, the holyeſt, the bleſſedſt and vniuerſall in ẏ ſuperlatiue degrees & yet there is no great byſhop but Chriſt only no ſupreme byſhop, but he only, none holy, none bleſſed, none vniuerſal, Biſhop, but onely he. The B. of Rome, & all other biſhops are but vnderlings & vnworthy ſuffragans vnto this Biſhop Chriſt.

This our Chriſt (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) is Pontifex noſtræ confeſſionis, the Byſhop whome we doe confeſſe to be our great byſhop, our high Byſhop, our ſupreme biſhop, our holy, bleſſed, and vniuerſall Byſhop. Which names are reſerued onely vnto Chriſt, and to no earthly Byſhop: Not to the Byſhop of Rome, not to the Biſhop of Ieruſalem, not to the Byſhop of Antioch, nor of Conſtantinople, nor to any other Byſhop. No earthly biſhop to preſume to take vpon him theſe high and holy names, onely to God appropriate.

God of thy goodnes thou maiſt and I truſt wilt once make this vaineglorious byſhop of Rome, firſt to know & knowledge thy ſonne Chriſt to be the onely ſupreame and vniuerſall Byſhop of the world, Secondaryly to know him ſelfe, his weakenes, his frailtye and his preſumption. To knowe his office and bounden duety vnto thee. To knowe his owne dioces, and to vſurpe no further. Thirdly to haue a low, humble, meeke harte and ſtomake: to feare thee God and thy iudgementes, to knowledge his owne faultes, and vſurpations, and to redreſſe the ſame.

Now to returne vnto our matter, it followeth in the letter firſt taken: De quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſeruiũt. &c. And thus much out of Iohn Lõglandes Sermon agaynſt the Pope.

Read afore, pag. 1070.

1538.

Images and pilgrimages deſtroyed in England.

You heard before by the kynges Iniunctions aboue expreſſed, and directed out an. 1538. how all ſuch Images & pictures, which were abuſed with Pilgrimage or offrings or any Idolatrie, where aboliſhed: by vertue of which Iniunction, diuers Idols & eſpecially ẏ moſt notable ſtockes of Idolatrie, were taken downe the ſame yeare. 1538. as ẏ Images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the Ladye of Wilſdõ, Thomas Becket, with many moe, hauing engings to make their eyes to open and role about, and other partes of their body to ſtyrre, and many other falſe iugglynges, as the bloud of hayles, and ſuch lyke, wherwith the ſimple people a long tyme had bene deceiued. All which were eſpyed out, and deſtroyed.

The Idoll of Daruell Gatheren in Wales.

Read afore pag 960.

Among diuers other of theſe foule Idols, there went alſo in the ſame reckening, a certaine olde Idolatrous Image in Wales named Daruell Gatheren: whiche in the moneth of May, in the yeare aboue mẽtioned, was brought vp to London and brent in Smithfield. With the which Idoll alſo was brent the ſame tyme, and hanged for treaſon, Frier Foreſt, of whome ſome mention was partly touched before in the ſtory of Cardinall Wolſey. pag. 960.

¶ Frier Foreſt.

Frier Foreſt executed for rebelling agaynſt the kinges ſupremacie.

This Foreſt was an obſeruaunt Frier, and had ſecretly in confeſſions declared to many of the kynges ſubiectes, that the kyng was not ſupreme head, and beyng therof accuſed and apprehended, he was examined how he could ſay that the kyng was not ſupreame head of the Church, whẽ he hymſelfe had ſworne to the contrarye. He aunſwered that he tooke his oth with his outwarde man, but his inwarde man neuer conſented thereunto. And being further accuſed of diuers damnable Articles, and thereupon conuicted, he gladly ſubmitted hymſelfe to abide the puniſhment of the Church. Upon this his ſubmiſſion hauing more libertie then before he had to talke with whome he would, he became as farre from hys ſubmiſſion as euer he was. And when his abiuration was ſent him to reade, he vtterly refuſed it and obſtinatly perſeuered in hys errours: wherefore he was iuſtly condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in chaynes vpon a gallowes quicke, by the middle and arme holes, and fire was made vnder hym, and ſo was he conſumed and brent to death.

Frier Foreſt burnt in Smithfield.

A Welſhe prophecie of Daruell Gatheren.

In the place of execution, there was a ſcaffold prepared for the kynges moſt honorable Counſaile and the nobles of the Realme to ſitte vpon: to graunt hym pardon, if he had any ſparke of repentaunce in hym. There was alſo a pulpite prepared where the rightreuerẽd father Hugh Latimer B. of Worceſter declared hys error, & manifeſtly confuted thẽ by the Scripture, with many godly exhortations to moue hym to repentaũce. But he was ſo froward, that he neither would heare neither ſpeake. A little before, the foreſayd Image called Daruell Gatheren cõming out of Wales, was brought to the gallowes, and there alſo with the foreſayd Fryer (as is ſayde) was ſet on fire, whome the Welſhmen muche worſhipped, and had a Prophecye amongeſt them, that this Image ſhould ſet a whole foreſt on fire. Which prophecy tooke effect, for he ſet this Frier Foreſt on fire and conſumed hym to nothing. The Frier when he ſaw the fire come, and that preſent death was at hand, he caught hold vpon the lader, and would not let it goe, but ſo vnpaciently toke his death, as neuer any man that put hys truſt in God at any tyme, ſo vngodly or vnquietly ended his lyfe.

The ruine & diſſolutiõ of Abbeyes & monaſteries in England.

In the month of October and Nouember the ſame yere, ſhortly after the ouerthrow of theſe images and pilgrimages, followed alſo the ruine of the Abbeys & religious houſes, which by the ſpeciall motion of the Lord Cromwell) or rather and principally, by the ſingular bleſſing of almighty God) were ſuppreſſed, beyng geuen a little before by acte of Parliament, into the kings hand: wherupon not onely the houſes were raſed, but theyr poſſeſſions alſo diſparcled among the nobility, in ſuch ſort, as all friers, Monks, Chanons, Nunnes, and other ſectes of religion, were then ſo rooted out of this realme from the very foundation, that there ſemeth by Gods grace, no poſſibilitie hereafter left for the generation of thoſe ſtraunge weedes to grow here any more, accordyng to the true verdict of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, in hys Goſpell, ſaying: Euery plantation beyng not plãted of my father, ſhalbe pluckt vp by the rootes. &c.

Math. 15.

The hiſtory of the worthy Martyr of God Iohn Lambert, otherwyſe named Nicolſon, with hys troubles, examinations and aunſwers, as well before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Warham, and other Biſhopeps: as alſo before kyng Henry 8. by whome at length he was condemned to death & burned in Smithfield.

An. 1538.

1538.

Immediatly vpon the ruine and deſtruction of the monaſteries, the ſame yere, and in the month of Nouember followed the trouble and condemnation of Iohn Lambert the faythfull ſeruaunt of Jeſus Chriſt, and Martyr of bleſſed memory. This Lambert beyng borne and brought vp in Northfolke, was firſt conuerted by Bilney, and ſtudied in the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge. Where after that he had ſufficiently profited both in Latine and Greeke, and had tranſlated out of both tonges ſondry thinges into the Engliſh tongue, beyng forced at laſt by violence of the tyme, he departed from thence to the partes beyond the ſeas, to Tyndall and Frith, and there remayned the ſpace of a yeare and more, beyng preacher and Chaplein to the Engliſh houſe at Antwerpe, tyll he was diſturbed by ſir Thom. More, and by the accuſation of one Barlow was caried frõ Antwerpe to London: where he was brought to examination, firſt at Lambeth, then at the Biſhops houſe at Otford, before Warham the Archb. of Cant. and other aduerſaries, hauyng 45. articles miniſtred againſt hym, wherunto he rendred aunſwer agayne by wrytyng. The which anſwers for as much as they conteyne great learnyng, & may geue ſome light to the better vnderſtandyng of the common cauſes of religion now in controuerſie, I thought here to exemplifie the ſame, as they came ryght happely to our hands The copy both of the articles, and alſo of hys anſwers, here in order followeth.

Lambert preacher to the Engliſh houſe at Antwerpe.

Lambert brought frõ Antwerpe to London.

Lambert accuſed by one Barlow.

Articles to the number of 45. layd to Lambert.

Articles agaynſt John Lambert.

IN primis, whether thou waſt ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie?

2. Whether euer thou hadſt any of Luthers bookes, and namely ſith they were condemned, & how long thou kepſt them, and whether thou haſt ſpent any ſtudy on them.

3. Whether thou was conſtitute prieſt, and in what dioces, and of what biſhop?

4. Whether it be lawfull for a Prieſt to mary a wyfe, and whether a prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the law of god to mary a wyfe?

5. Whether thou beleueſt that whatſoeuer is done of man whether it be good or ill, commeth of neceſſitie.

6. Whether the ſacrament of the alter be a ſacrament neceſſary vnto ſaluation, and whether after the conſecration of the bread and wyne done by the prieſt, as by the miniſter of God, there is the very body and bloud of Chriſt, in likenes of bread and wine?

7. Item, what opinion thou holdeſt touching the Sacrament of Baptiſme, whether thou doeſt beleue that it is a ſacrament of the Church, and a neceſſary ſacrament vnto ſaluation and that a prieſt may baptiſe, and that the order of baptiſing ordeyned by the church, is neceſſary and wholſome?

8. Item, whether you beleue that matrimony be a ſacrament of the church neceſſary to be obſerued in the church, & that the order appoynted by the Church for the ſolemniſing therof, is allowable to be holden.

Sacrament of orders.

9. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue orders to be a ſacrament of the church, and that ſaying of maſſe ordeyned by the church, is to be obſerued of Prieſtes: whether it be deadly ſinne or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Prieſthode were inuented by mans imagination or ordeyned by God?

Sacrament of penance.

10. Item, whether penaunce be a ſacrament of the church and neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether auricular confeſſiõ is to be made vnto the prieſt, or is neceſſary vnto ſaluation: and whether thou beleueſt that a chriſtiã is bound, beſides contrition of hart, hauyng the free vſe of an apte or meete prieſt, vnder neceſſity of ſaluation, to be confeſſed vnto a Prieſt and not vnto any lay man, be he neuer ſo good and deuout, and whether thou beleueſt that a prieſt in caſes permitted vnto hym, may abſolue a ſinner (beyng contrite and confeſſed) from his ſinnes, and enioyne hym wholſome penaunce?

Sacrament of confeſſion.

11. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue and hold, that the ſacrament of confirmation and extreme vnction, be ſacramẽts of the church, and whether that they doe profite the ſoules of them which receiue them, and whether thou beleueſt the foreſayd ſeuen ſacramentes, to geue grace vnto them that do duly receyue them?

Vnwritten verities.

12. Whether all thinges neceſſary vnto ſaluation, are put in holy Scripture, and whether thinges onely there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome thinges vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, are to be beleued and obſerued, which are not expreſſed in ſcripture?

Purgatory.

13. Whether thou beleueſt that Purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therin tormented and purged?

Praying to ſaintes.

14. Whether holy martyrs, apoſtles, and confeſſours, departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called vpon, and prayed vnto.

15. Whether the Saintes in heauen, as mediatours, praye for vs?

Pilgrimage.

16. Whether thou beleueſt that oblations and pilgrimages, may be deuoutly and meritoriouſly done to the ſepulchers & reliques of ſaintes?

Lent faſt.

17. Whether the faſt in Lent and other appoynted by the Canon lawe, and receyued in common vſage of Chriſtian people (vnleſſe neceſſitie otherwyſe requireth) are to bee obſerued?

Worſhipping of Images.

18. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhipfull images be ſet in churches for the remembraunce of Chriſt and hys ſaintes?

Praying for ſoules departed.

19. Whether thou beleueſt that prayers of men liuyng, doe profit ſoules departed and beyng in Purgatory?

Merites.

20. Whether men may meritte and deſerue both by their faſtings, and alſo by other dedes of deuotion?

Preaching without lycence.

21. Whether thou doeſt beleue, that men prohibited of Byſhops to preache, as ſuſpect of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching and teaching, vntil they haue purged themſelues of ſuſpition afore an higher iudge?

22. Whether thou beleueſt that it is lawfull for all Prieſtes freely to preach the word of God or no?

Lay men to preach.

23. Whether thou beleueſt, that it is lawfull for lay men of both kyndes, that is to wit, both men and women to ſacrifice and preach the word of God?

The popes excõmunication.

24. Whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynſt all heretikes, do oblige and bynd them before God?

Saying of Mattens.

25. Whether euery prieſt is bound to ſay daily his mattins and euenſong, according as it is ordeyned by the Church, or whether he may leaue them vnſayd without offẽce or dead ly ſinne?

Scripture in the mother tounge.

26. Whether thou beleueſt that the heds or rulers, by neceſſitie of ſaluatiõ, are bound to geue vnto the people, holy ſcripture in theyr mother language?

27. Whether it is lawfull for the rulers for ſome cauſe, vpon their reaſonable aduiſement, to ordeyne that the ſcripture ſhould not be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgare language?

28. Whether thou beleueſt that conſecrations, hallowyngs and bleſſings vſed in the Church, are to be prayſed?

Making of lawes in the Church.

29. Whether thou beleueſt that the pope may make lawes, and ſtatutes, to bynd all chriſten men to the obſeruaunce of the ſame, vnder payne of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes & ſtatutes be not contrary to the law of God?

30. Whether thou beleueſt, that the pope and other prelates and their deputies in ſpirituall things, haue power to excõmunicate Prieſtes, and lay people that are inobedient and ſturdy, from entring into the church, and to ſuſpend or let them from miniſtration of the ſacraments of the ſame?

Iuſtification.

31. Whether fayth only without good workes, may ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after hys baptiſme, for his ſaluation and iuſtifiyng?

32. Whether a Prieſt maryıng a wyfe, and that without

the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begettyng alſo children of her without ſlaunder geuing, do ſinne deadly?

33. Item, whether a laten prieſt after he hath taken the order of prieſthode, beyng ſore troubled and ſtyrred with prickyng of luſt and lechery, and therefore maryng a wyfe for remedy of the ſame, do ſinne deadly?

Praying for Wickliffe, Hus and Hierome of Prage.

34. Item, whether thou didſt euer pray for Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, or Hierome of Prage condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance, or for any of them ſith they dyed, or whether thou haſt done openly or ſecretly any dedes of charity for them, affirmyng them to be in bliſſe and ſaued?

35. Item, whether thou haſt recounted them or any of thē to be ſaintes, and worſhipped them as ſaintes?

Generall Councels.

36. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue, holde and affirme, that euery generall Councel, and the Councel of Conſtance alſo, do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or church?

The Councell of Conſtance.

37. Item, whether thou doeſt beleue that the ſame thinges which the Councell of Conſtance (repreſentyng the vniuerſal church) hath approued, and doth approue for yͤ maintenance of fayth, and ſoules helth, that the ſame is to be approued and holden of all chriſtians?

38. Whether the condemnatiō of Iohn Wickliffe, I. Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, done vpon their perſons, bookes, and documents by the whole generall councell of Conſtāce were duely and rightfully done, and ſo for ſuch, of euery catholike perſon, they are to be holden?

Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

39. Whether thou beleueſt that Ioh. Wickliffe of Englād Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were heretikes and for heretikes to be named, and theyr bookes and doctrines to haue bene and now be peruerſe, for the which bookes and pertinacie of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy councell of Conſtance for heretikes?

40. Item, whether thou beleue or affirme, that it is not lawfull in any caſe to ſweare?

To ſweare.

41. Whether thou beleue that it is lawfull at the commaundement of a iudge, to make an othe to ſay the truth, or any other othe in caſe conuenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamie?

The number of ſacramentes.

42. Item, whether a chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the receite of the ſacramentes of confirmation, extreme vnction, or ſolemniſing of matrimony, do ſinne deadly?

The power of Peter.

43. Item, whether thou beleue, that ſ. Peter as Chriſtes vicar, haue power vpon earth to bynd and loſe?

The power of the Pope.

44. Item, whether the Pope ordinately choſen for a time hys proper name being expreſt, be the ſucceſſor of ſ. Peter?

45. Item, whether thou haſt euer promiſed at any tyme by an othe, or made any confederacie or league with any perſon or perſons, that you would always hold and defend certain concluſions or articles, ſemyng to you and your accomplices, right and conſonant vnto the fayth, and that you certefie vs touching the order and tenour of the ſayd opinions and concluſions, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were your adherents, and promiſed to be adherent vnto you in this behalfe?

❡ The aunſwer of Iohn Lambert to the firſt Article.

Aunſwere to the firſt Article.

The ſpeach of people diuers & inconſtant. Iohn. 7.

Luke. 6. Prayſe of the world not to be regarded.

No man bounde to bewray him ſelfe.

VNto your firſt demaund wherin you do aſke, whether I was ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie, I aunſwer that I am not certayne what all perſons at all ſeaſons haue demed or ſuſpected of me, peraduenture ſome better, ſome worſe, lyke as the opiniō of the people was neuer one, but thought diuerſly of all the famous prophets, and of the Apoſtles, yea and of Chriſt hymſelf: as appeareth in S. Iohn, how, whē he came into Ieruſalem in the feaſt called Scenopegia, anone there aroſe vpon hym a great noyſe, ſome ſaying that he was a very good man, other ſaid nay, and called him a ſeducer, becauſe he led the people frō the right wayes of Moſes law, into errour. Seyng therfore that all men could not ſay wel by Chriſt, which is the author of veritie and truth, yea, the very truth it ſelfe, and likewiſe of his beſt ſeruāts: what ſhould I nede to regard, if at ſome tyme, ſome perſon for a lyke cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſſe, and euill reporte of me. Seyng moreouer it is ſayd in the Goſpell. Væ vobis, cum laudauerint vos omnes homines, &c. Woe be to you when all men ſpeake well of you: for ſo did their fathers to the falſe Prophetes. If therfore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamie was put vpon me, I am glad that I haue ſo little regarded the ſame, that now I haue forgotten it. And though I dyd remember any ſuch, yet were I more then twiſe a foole to ſhew you therof: for it is written in your owne law: Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum: No man is bound to bewray hym ſelf. But this I enſure you, I was neuer ſo charged with ſuſpicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any tyme, conuicted and reproued afore any iudge afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for whiche I was at the firſt put into your handes: and of them ſeyng you could not proue me faultie, I wonder why you woulde neuer yet pronounce me quite and innocēt, accordyng as I haue euē lowly deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame.

But lettyng thoſe paſſe, you haue imagined new matters to charge me with, wherin I thinke certainely, that you could no more haue proued me culpable, then you did in the firſt: that is, to wit, no whit culpable in neyther, had it not bene, yͭ by long impriſonmēt you enforced me to tel what I thought in them, which I haue and will freely do: and that indifferently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhal not deſerue any ſore puniſhment, vnleſſe you wyll heare the truth, wherunto I hope it ſhall not diſagree.

Aunſwere to the ſecond Article.

The profite of Luthers bokes.

❡ To your ſecond demaund, where you doe inquire whether euer I had any of Luthers bookes, and namely ſith they were cōdemned, and how long I kept them, and whether I haue ſpent any ſtudy in them? I ſay that in dede I haue had of them, and that both before they were cōdemned and alſo ſith, but I neyther will ne can tell you, how long I kept them: but truth it is that I haue ſtudied vpon thē and I thanke God that euer I ſo dyd: For by them hath God ſhewed vnto me, and alſo to an huge multitude of other, ſuch lyght, as the deceiuable darkenes of them (I beſeche God amend it) that name them ſelues (but amiſſe) to be the holy Church, cannot abyde, And that appeareth euidently, for they dare not ſtand to any triall. Hee coueteth aboue all thynges, as all his aduerſaries doe well know, yͭ all his writings & the writings of all hys aduerſaryes myght be tranſlated into all languages, to the intent that all people might ſee & know, what is ſayd of euery part, wherby men ſhould the better iudge what the truth is. And in this me thinketh he requireth nothyng but equitie, for yͤ law would haue no body condemned, ne yet iuſtified, vntill his cauſe were both heard and knowen.

Ouer riche prelacie.

Popiſhe doctrine will abide no tryall

The facing doctrine of the papiſtes. Triall and reading of bokes fre in Germanie.

But the contrarye parte, I meane our ouer riche prelacy which is ſo drowned in voluptuous lyuyng that they can not attende to ſtudie Gods Scripture ne preache the ſame, whiche ſhould be the principal parte of theyr office, abhorre this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferent and ful of equitie) no leſſe thē they do abhorre death. And no meruell for doubtleſſe if it ſo coulde be obteyned, that the writinges of al parties might be openly ſeene and conferred, we woulde ſoone ſee their ſleightly dealyng and facyng doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly ouerthrowne: As appeareth well in Almayne, for there be yͤ bookes of euery partie ſene openly and tranſlated in the vulgare language, that all people may ſee and read vpon them: and ſo vppon the ſight of the bookes, they lightly folowe the true light of Gods word refuſing the horror of darkenes and falſe doctrine, whereby before, they haue bene ſeduced from the right teachyng and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundreth ne of a thouſand, but generally of whole Cities & countreys, both high and low, few or none except.

Why Luthers bokes be reſtrained of popiſhe prelates.

The tyme of popiſhe prelates, and of the Phariſes reſembled and compared together.

But our Prelates ſeyng this, and that there dealyng ſhould, if this light were ſet vp, ſoone be detect and diſcouered, haue ſent out commaundements, that if any perſons ſhall aduenture to keepe any ſuche bokes, they ſhal be, in ſo doyng, excommunicate from God, and al hys Saintes, and curſed as blacke as pitche, whether the bookes be in Latin Engliſhe, Frenche, Dutch, or any other tongue: as in dede men ſeyng the frute conteined in them haue ſet them forth in all languages, But this ought not Chriſtē men to think any neweltie, for ſo dyd their forefathers the Prelates in Chriſtes time, and after to the Apoſtles, yea, and if it were well tryed I thinke it ſhould be ſoone founde out, that they haue ſo dealt euer ſince, vnto this day. For when Chriſte went about preachyng, the Scribes and Phariſeis which were Byſhops then & Prelates gaue a generall cōmaūdement, that who ſoeuer confeſſed him to be Chriſt, ſhould be curſed and put out of the Synagoge, that we cal yͤ church, and ſo they were. Looke in the Actes of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall finde how they were in lyke maner ſerued: yea looke in the olde Teſtament and you ſhall finde (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporall ruler at that ſeaſon, to haue the prophecy of Ieremy (for he of all other is moſt vehement agaynſt the diſſimulation of prieſtes) to be burned: why then ſhould we eſchew them or their workes, vnles we knew a better cauſe why, whome our prelates reiect and caſt away, ſeyng they render no reaſonable cauſe of theyr enterpriſe? but preſumyng of theyr power, without any due authoritie, that I can find, graunted vnto them ſo to do, will, becauſe they ſo commaunde, ſo haue all done, accordyng to the tyrannicall ſaying (as I trow) of Sardanapalus: Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas: That is to ſay: So will I, ſo do I commaund: and that my wyll for reaſon ſtand.

The Papiſts render no reaſon of their doings The proud procedinges of the papiſts, only vpon will and commaundement without all reaſō.

But I would to god that ſuch knew what ſpirit they haue in thē. For if they had in dede, the ſpirit which they clayme & pretend to haue, I meane the ſpirit of Chriſt, I dare ſay, The ſpirite of Chriſt, & the ſpirite of the papiſtes farre vnlike.

it ſhould ſoone alter them from ſuch hawtie language & doyng, and cauſe them to turne a new leafe: for that ſpirit is ful of ſoftnes and lenitie, lowlines and humilitie, pacience & temperancie, voyde of all wilfulnes & tiranny, yea, it ſhould cauſe them not to preuent, but eaſily to follow the counſaile and doctrine of Chriſtes Apoſtles, and holy ſaintes that be their interpretours. As S. Paul which writyng vnto the Theſſalonians, would them all to proue all things, and to retayne or hold that onely, which is good, in refrayning frō all that hath ſemblaunce of euill. And S. Iohn would haue chriſten people, to try the ſpirites of thē that ſhould ſpeake whether they were of God or no. Alſo he writing in another epiſtle vnto a noble woman & vnto her children, ſayth: If any perſon ſhall come vnto you, bringyng with them the doctrine that is not of Chriſt, receiue hym not into your houſe, ne make hym any chere. So that in this he would haue women to know the doctrine of Chriſt, and to loue that, refuſing to geue credence vnto forrayne teaching, not fauouryng the ſame.

1.Theſſ.5.

Chriſtians bydden to try ſpirites.
1.Iohn.4.

2.Iohn.1.

In the 1. Epiſtle alſo to the Corinthians, S. Paule writyng in generall to all the inhabitants of that city, ſaith: Brethren, be you not children in wit and vnderſtanding, but as concernyng maliciouſnes, be you children. In wit I would haue you perfite: and why? Verily for none other cauſe, but that we ſhould (as he writeth vnto the Hebrues) haue diſcretion to iudge the good from ill, & the ill from the good, and ſo to be lyke men differing from beaſtes: accordyng to ý ſaying of the prophet: See that ye be not lyke vnto an horſe or a mule which lacke vnderſtandyng. And we ſhould pray with hym in an other Pſalme: O Lord teach me the way that I ſhould walke in, for I lift vp my ſoule vnto thee.

1.Cor.14.

Pſal.32.

Pſal.143.

Saint Chryſoſtome accordyng vnto this, in a certayne of hys Commentaries vpon Mathew, the booke is called Opus imperfectum, writeth after this faſhion, ſo neare as my remembraunce doth ſerue, and certayne I am that I ſhall not miſreport hym, and that I wyll be tried when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to bryng the booke. The prieſtes that were Phariſeis in the tyme (ſayth he) of Chriſt, made an ordinance, that whoſoeuer ſhould knowledge Ieſus to be Chriſt ſhould be accurſed and excommunicate. If then the Phariſes or Prieſtes that now do occupy their rownes, ſhould make a lyke ordinance, becauſe they would not haue Chriſtes doctrine to be profeſſed for hindryng of their lucre, ſhould we therfore geue in all poyntes credence vnto them, and leaue of to ſeke after the knowledge of Chriſtes doctrine? Nay truly. Why (quoth he) ſhall we not be excuſed herein by ignoraunce, ſeyng we be forefended by the rulers to haue knowledge? He aunſwereth, no verily: for if (ſayth he) when thou deſireſt to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to ſee one Merchaunts ware, but go from the firſt to the ſecond, from the ſecond to the third, and ſo further, to know where is the beſt cloth and beſt cheape: thou vſing ſuch carefull diligence for a temporall profite art well worthy great reproche, that wilt be more remiſſe and negligent for thy ſoule health. Seeke therfore about from one Doctor or teacher vnto an other, that thou mayeſt know who doth moſt duely and truely teach Chriſt, and hym follow, accordyng to the ſaying of the Apoſtle: Proue all and hold the good: and as it is ſayd in the Goſpell, that thou mayeſt know: Qui ſunt probati nummularij, & qui non. That is to witte, know who be true or lawfull chaungers or coyners, and who be not.

Chriſoſt. in opere imperfecto.

Authoritie of rulers will not diſcharge our ignorance

1.Theſſ.5.

Math.25.

He alſo addeth an other ſimilitude or parable. When thou goeſt (quoth he) a iourney, not knowyng perfitely the way, thou wylt, leſt thou ſhould fayle of the right way, enquire of one man and after of an other, and if thou ſhouldeſt chaunce to go ſomewhat wyde, yet thou wilt not ſo leaue of thy iourney vndone, but make inquiſition agayn, to come where thou wouldeſt reſt: So likewiſe (ſayth hee) ought we to ſeeke about intentiuely for the wealth of our ſoule: Qui ſunt probi clauigeri, & qui non, that is to ſaye, who are the right key bearers and who not: meanyng thereby the key bearers, Chriſtes Apoſtles, and berers of his teſtimonie or meſſage. Whiche ſaying, although it were written of no autenticall author (how beit, it is written euen of hym whō I ſhewed you in the ſayde worke) but vttered of one that were in litle eſtimatiō, euery indifferent perſon hauyng wyt and reaſon, would aſſent (I doubt not) that it is full true.

Chriſoſt. Ibid.

The ſame author alſo, in an Epiſtle whiche you ſhall finde in a worke called Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi, ſheweth (as I remēber) how certein men deemed ill of hym, for becauſe he did ſtudy Origines workes, whiche afore was condemned for an heriticke: but he maketh an Apologie to the ſame ſhewyng that Chriſtian men ought not to bee reprehended for ſo doyng. In whiche Apologie he bryngeth for his defence, the ſaying of Paul aboue rehearſed. Proue all thinges, &c. Lykewiſe did S. Hierome, I wote not well in what place of his workes, but you ſhall finde it in a treatiſe called vnio diſſidentium where hee entreateth De mandatis hominum. When it was obiected agaynſt hym that hee retained by hym the workes of Euſebius and of Origene, ſtudying vpon them: he bryngeth for hym that it was ſo lawfull, the ſayd place of the Apoſtle, makyng therwith an aunſwere worthy to be greatly noted:

Pſegmata Chriſoſt.

Lawfull to read and try all bokes.

Hierome.

The ſame is alſo reported in the boke called Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, or els Hiſtoria Tripartita, I wote not now preciſely whether. So that theſe and other moe authorities of the Scripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy interpretours ſhall proue, that I and other may ſafely (no good law inhibityng, vnles conſtitutions phariſaicall) read and ſearch the workes, not onely of Luther, but alſo of all other, bee they neuer ſo ill or good: namely ſeyng I am a Prieſt, whō the Byſhop of Norwich ought not to haue admitted into orders, vnles he had ſeene me to haue had iudgement to diſcern good from ill, neither ought any of you to geue orders to any ſuch, in whom you do not fynde lyke habilitie for to iudge the light from darkenes, and the truth from falſhode: and therfore, if for this you would puniſh me, I can not ſee but you ſhall condemne your ſelues, iudgyng rather of ſenſuall pleaſure then of equitie, whiche in men of your order, were a great ſhame and much vncomely.

¶ Unto your thyrd demaund, where you do aſke whether I was conſtitute Prieſt, and in what dioces, and of what Byſhop: I ſay that I was made Prieſt in Norwich, and of the Byſhops Suffragan of the ſame dioces.

Aunſwere to the third article.
Lambert made prieſt in Norwich.

¶ Unto the fourth, wherein you do demaund, whether it be lawful for a Prieſt to mary a wyfe, and whether a prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the law of God to mary a wyfe: I ſay that it is lawful, yea, and neceſſarye for al men that haue not giuen to them of God, the gift of chaſtitie, to mary a wyfe, and that ſheweth both Chriſt and S. Paule. In the xix. of Mathew Chriſt ſpeakyng vnto the Phariſeis that came for to tempt hym, in the concluſion, ſayth in this wiſe: Whoſoeuer, ſhall forſake his wyfe except it be for fornication, and marieth an other, committeth adultrie, and whoſoeuer maryeth her ſo forſaken, committeth adultrie.

Aunſwere to the fourth article.

Mariage of prieſtes whether it be lawfull and expedient.

Math.19.

With that ſpeaketh hys diſciples: If thus the caſe ſtād betwixt a man and his wyfe: it ſhall be hurtfull and not expedient to contract matrimony. He made anſwer: Euery mā cannot away wyth that ſaying, but they vnto whom it is geuen of god: Meanyng that euery man could not abide ſingle or vnmaried, but ſuch vnto whom was geuen of God a ſpeciall grace ſo to continue. And if with your better aduiſe I might be ſomewhat herein bolde, I would ſuppoſe that whereas he doth ſay: Non omnes ſunt capaces huius dicti (Euery man can not away with that ſaying) this worde Non omnes, ought to be here taken lyke as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the Pſalme it is ſaid: Non iuſtificabitur in conſpectu tuo omnis viuens. It is mēt that no perſon liuyng ſhalbe iuſtified afore God. And in the Epiſtle to the Galathians, and to the Romaynes, where it is ſaid: Ex operibus legis nō iuſtificabitur omnis caro. (By the workes of the law, no fleſh ſhalbe iuſtified in his ſight) it is ment therby nulla caro, ſo that non omnis, after the rule of equipollence, ſhould be taken for as much as nullus: and then the ſence ſhould be thus: Nulli ſunt capaces huius dicti niſi hi quibus datum ſit. No man can be capax of this ſaying, or can ſo paſſe their lyfe without mariage, except thoſe whiche haue it geuen them by a ſingular grace of God to lyue chaſte.

Math.19.

Non omnes, taken vniuerſally in ſcripture.

Gal.2.
Rom 9.

Chaſtitie is a gifte onely of God.

Then he proceedeth further ſaying: There be gelded mē that ſo were borne from their mothers wombe: and there bee ſome gelded men, that haue bene ſo made by men, and there be gelded men that haue ſo made themſelues, for loue of the kingdome of heauen. In concluſion he ſaith: who that receiueth thys ſaying, thinking that it ſhould be vnexpedient for hym to mary, and that he may lyue chaſte thorow ý gift geuen him of God, let hym take it, and ſo liue. So he leaueth ſinglenes of lyfe to all mens election, without any compelling them therto.

Math.19.
Gelded men three wayes to be taken in ſcripture.

Singlenes ought not to be compelled.

Hereunto aſſenteth S. Paule, when that by many reaſons he had perſwaded the Corinthians to ſingle lyfe. Finally, he concludeth thus: This (quoth he) ſay I vnto you, willing ý which ſhould be for your profite: but not to bring you in bondage. And a little afore: I would (quoth he) ý all men were euen as I my ſelfe am. But euery one hath a ſeuerall gifte of God, one wiſe, an other otherwiſe, ſhewing therby, that vnto ſome it is geuen of God to liue continent, and to other for to engēder & procreat children, and therfore his will can not come to effect. Which thing you may eaſely perceiue in this: that after he had ſhewed forth hys good wiſh and deſire, ſaying: Velim omnes homines, &c. I would that all men were euen as I am: he putteth a coniunction aduerſatiue, that declareth an obſtacle or ſtop, ſaying: Sed vnuſquiſque proprium donum habet, &c. But euerie man hath his proper gifte of God.

1.Cor.7.

1.Cor.7.

Upon this he proceedeth further, wherby you may apert-

Mariage neceſſary for all men, whoſoeuer lacke continencie of hart.

ly ſee, that he would haue al men, none except, to mary, wãtyng the gifte of continencie. This (quod he) I ſay to the vnmaried and widowes: expedient it were for them to remayne as I do: but if they cannot liue continent, let them contract mariage, for better it is to mary then to burn. This proueth well that all prieſtes wanting continency of hart, had nede to mary for to auoid burnyng luſt, vnles they be inobedient to the mynd of Chriſt, that ſpake in Paule, in obſeruyng the traditions of men.

In the beginnyng alſo of the ſame Chapter he ſayth: It is good that a man ſhould not deale with a woman. Notwithſtanding for auoyding fornication (quod he) let euery man haue his wyfe, and euery woman haue her huſband.

Quiſque, Quæque, not quidam, quædam.

He ſayth here: Quiſque & quæque, euery man & euery woman: and not quidam nec quædam, ſome man nor ſome woman. He excepteth neither prieſt ne nunne, but euery both mã & womã is bound for auoyding of burnyng and fornication to mary, not hauyng the gift geuen of chaſtitie.

Diſt.xxix.

Mariage left free by the Popes law. Diſt.xxxi.

The ſame alſo confirmeth your own law. diſt. 29. where it is written thus: Si quis diſcernit præſbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, anathema ſit. If any man do hold that a prieſt being maried, in that reſpect that he is maried, ought not to miniſter in hys function: be he accurſed. And in the 31. diſt. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro ſuo fidelem, ac religioſam deteſtatur, aut culpabilẽ æſtimat, velut quæ regnum Dei introire non poſſit, anathema ſit. If any man ſhall finde fault with matrimony, and deteſt a faythfull and deuout woman lying with her huſband, and thynke her culpable, as one that could not therfore, enter into the kingdom of God: be he accurſed. And euery where els, ſuch lyke are to be ſeene.

Paphnutius.

Mariage permitted free by the Councell of Nice.

Moreouer, in hiſtoria tripartita, it is written, that a noble Martyr of Chriſt called Paphnutius, in Nicene Councell, when all other biſhops were purpoſed to haue enacted there that prieſtes ſhould liue vnmaried, this holy man reſiſted thẽ ſo mightily both with reaſons, and alſo with authority of ſcripture, that then theyr purpoſe altered, & theyr firſt deuiſe could not paſſe. And one authority I remember was this, which he borowed of Paul in the ſecond epiſtle to Timoth. your deuiſe (quod he) may haue a ſemblance of holines: but in dede it ſhall be the deſtruction and vndoyng of the ſame.

Les illuſtrations de gaulles.

Read afore, pag. 193.

Moreouer, in one of the principall hiſtories of Fraunce called, Les illuſtrations de gaulles. Whoſoeuer pleaſe, may there read it as it ſtandeth, within 6. leaues afore the end of the ſame: how the author with depe ſorrow lamenteth the ordinance that decreed firſt, prieſts to lyue vnmaried, ſhewing, and that amply, the miſeries that haue enſued in Frãce therby, imputyng it vnto Calixt the pope: of whom he maketh a doleful mention in Meter, wherof the firſt I yet remember, and it is thus: O ſancte Calixte, totus mundus odit te. &c. O holy Calixte, all the world hateth thee. Which followeth in writyng to all that luſt to behold therein. But what nede I to make longer treatiſe hereof, for ſo much as you do daily both heare and ſee, what foule abhomination ariſeth in euery corner, of this pitious law made of men that would preſume to be wyſer then God, thinkyng (as we euer do) that eyther he would not, or els for lacke of wiſdom he could not ſhew vs a ſufficient law or way, to direct our lyfe and conuerſation, to come to the ioy and reſtyng place of hym promiſed, and ſo of vs longed and looked for. Wherby we both be farre vnreaſonable in ſo deemyng of him after our vnwyſe wit, and he much diſhonoured. The which I beſech hym to helpe, Amen.

Men will be wiſer then God.

Aunſwere to the 5. article.

¶ Unto the v. where ye do aſke, whether I beleue that whatſoeuer is done of man, whether it be good or ill, commeth of neceſſity: that is (as you conſtrue) to wit, whether man hath free wyll, ſo that he may deſerue ioy or payne? I ſay (as I ſayd at the beginnyng) that vnto the firſt part of your riddle, I neyther can, ne wyl geue any diffinitiue aunſwer, forſomuch as it ſurmounteth my capacitie, truſtyng that God ſhall ſende hereafter, other that ſhall be of better learnyng and wit then I, for to endite it. As cõcernyng the ſecond part, where as you do interpret, that is to ſay, whether man haue free wyll or no, ſo that he may deſerue ioy or payne: as for our deſeruyng ſpecially of ioy, I thinke it very ſlender or none, euen when we do the very commaundementes and law of God, and that am I taught by our ſauiour, in ſ. Luke where he ſayth thus: Which of you (quod he) hauyng a ſeruant that hath eared your land, or fed your beaſts, wil ſay vnto him, whẽ he cõmeth home out of the field, go thy way quickly, & ſit down to thy meat: & rather wil not ſay vnto him, make redy my ſupper, ſeruing me therat vntil I haue made an end therof, and afterward take thy ſelfe meat and drinke. Thinke you that he is boũd to thãke his ſeruaunt which thus ſhall doe hys commaundement? I trow (ſayth he) nay. Euen ſo you (ſayth he) when you haue done al things to you commaunded, ſay yet you be vnprofitable ſeruãts, & haue done that which you wer boũd to do.

Free will to deſerue ioy or payne.

Merites not to be eſteemed.

In which wordes you may clearly ſee, that he would not haue vs greatly eſteeme our merites, when wee haue done that is commaunded by God, but rather reckenyng our ſelues to be but ſeruauntes vnprofitable to God, for ſomuch as he hath no nede of our well doyng, for his owne aduauncement, but onely that he loueth to ſee vs doe well for our owne behoufe: and moreouer, that when we haue done hys byddyng, we ought not ſo to magnifie, neither our ſelfe, ne our owne free wyll, but laud hym with a meeke hart, thorowe whoſe benefite we haue done (if at any tyme we doe it) hys lykyng and pleaſure: not regardyng our merite, but hys grace and benefite. wherby onely is done all that in anye wiſe is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attende our merites in doyng the commaundement of God, much leſſe ſhoulde we looke for merite, for obſeruyng our owne inuentions, or traditions of them, vnto whiche there is no benefite in all Scripture which Paul calleth ẏ word of truth and of fayth, promiſed.

Obſeruing of Godes workes worketh in vs no merite: Ergo, much leſſe the obſeruing of mens traditions.

But here may be obiected agaynſt me, that the rewarde is promiſed in many places to them that do obſerue the preceptes of God. That I affirme to be very ſoth. Notwithſtandyng ſuch rewarde ſhal neuer be atteyned of vs, except by the grace and benifite of hym, which worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well S. Auguſtin, S. Ambroſe, Fulgentius, with other, as you may ſee euery where in their workes, and ſpecially in the treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, where he entreateth de gratia & meritis And of S. Auguſtine I remember. ij. or iij. right notable ſentences, concernyng the ſame. One is in the 9. booke of hys Confeſſions, in this fourme: Væ etiam laudabili, vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia verè non exquiris delicta, vehementer fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem locum apud te inuenire indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? O ſi cognoſcerent ſe omnes, & qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur: Woe bee to the lyfe of men, be they neuer ſo holy, if thou ſhalt examine them, ſettyng thy mercy aſyde. Becauſe thou doeſt not exactly examine the faultes of men, therfore we haue a vehement hope & truſt to finde ſome place of mercy with thee. And who ſoeuer recounteth vnto thee hys merytes, what other thyng doth he recounte, but thy benefites? O would God al men would ſee & know them ſelues and that hee whiche glorieth, woulde glorie in the Lord. Agayne, in the fyrſt booke hee ſayeth thus vnto God: Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid auarus & vſuras exigis? Superogatur tibi vt debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens. Doth any man gyue that he oweth not vnto the, that thou ſhouldeſt be in his debte? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendreſt debte, and yet oweſt to no man. Thou forgyueſt debte, and yet loſeſte nothyng. And therfore his vſuall prayer was this: Domine da quod iubes, et iube quod vis. Lord geue that thou commaundeſt, and commaund what thou wilt.

Vnio diſſidentium.

Reward how it is promiſed to workes. Auguſt.lib. Confeſſion. 9.

Conf.lib.1.

Alſo in the booke called, Manuale Auguſtini, or De contemplatione Chriſti, he ſayth in this wyſe: Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini. Mors eius meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus, vita, & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus nõ defuerit. Et ſi miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego ſum in meritis. All my hope is in the Lordes death. His death is my merite, my refuge, my helth, and my reſurrection. My merite is the mercy of the lord. I am not without merite, ſo long as the lord of mercy ſhall continue. And if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I alſo great and rich in merites.

And to conclude, they be Chriſtes owne merites and good workes (as ſaith S. Ambroſe wel nigh euery where) that he worketh in vs, which he doth reward and crowne, and not ours, if one ſhould loke narowly vpon the thyng, & ſpeake properly. Howbeit, they yet neuertheleſſe are oures by hym, for ſo much as hys mercifull bountie imputeth hys goods to be ours. So that in this, I wote not how other do meane, which luſt to ſel their merites vnto theyr neighbors that happely haue ſkarce enough for themſelues: but I do wholy deme & beleue, accordyng as the ſcripture with theſe holy doctors, and ſuch other, do teach, wiſhyng that men euer for good doyng (ſhould not ſo much (as the cõmon people doth) regard their merite or reward, for that is not the thyng that engendreth the loue of god in vs, but rather maketh men to honour God in a ſeruile faſhion, and for ẏ loue of themſelues, in doyng workes for loue of reward, or for dread of payne, more then becauſe it ſo pleaſeth God, & lyketh him: where as if we regarded firſt (yea & altogether) that it is our duty to do wel (which is the kepyng of hys cõmaundements) & that ſo we ſhould content his pleaſure,

Good workes how they be Gods, and how they be ours.

To walke with god after a ſeruile faſhion, is to worke for merite.

Reward followeth good workes, but yet good workes be not done for rewarde.

reward ſhould vndoubtedly enſue good dedes, although we mynded no whit the ſame, as heat followeth euermore the fire vnſeparate therefrom. And thus we ſhould ſerue god with harty loue as children, and not for meede or dread, as vnlouyng thraldes and ſeruauntes.

No abilitye in man to doe the wyll of God. Rom. 7.11.

Concernyng free will, I meane altogether, as doth S. Auguſtine, that of our ſelfe we haue no libertie ne habilitie to do the wyll of God, but are ſubiect vnto ſinne & thraldes of the ſame, concluſi ſub peccatum, & vænundati ſub codē: ſhut vp and ſold vnder ſinne, as witneſſeth both Eſay & alſo Paule, but by the grace of God, we are rid and ſet at liberty, accordyng to the portion that euery man hath takē of the ſame, ſome more ſome leſſe.

Aunſwere to the 6. article.

The ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord.

¶ Wheras in your firſt demaund, you doe enquire whether the ſacramēt of the aulter be a ſacramēt neceſſary vnto ſaluatiō, & whether after the conſecration of the bread & wyne done by the prieſt, as by the miniſter of God there, is the very body & bloud of Chriſt in lykenes of bread & wyne: I neyther can ne wyll aunſwere one word, otherwyſe then I haue told ſith I was firſt deliuered into your hands. Neither would I haue aunſwered one whit therunto, knowyng ſo much at the firſt as I now do, till you had brought forth ſome that would haue accuſed me to haue treſpaſſed in the ſame: which I am certayne you cannot do, bringing any that is honeſt and credible.

Aunſwere to the 7. article.

¶ As concernyng the other vj. ſacraments, I make you yͤ ſame aunſwer that I haue done vnto the Sacrament of the aulter, and none other. That is, I will ſay nothing vntil ſome mē appeare to accuſe me in yͤ ſame, vnles I know a more reaſonable cauſe then I haue yet heard, why I ſo ought to do. But as touchyng the forme and faſhiō, I ſhal aunſwer willingly ſo farreforth as my rudenes will ſerue. I hold well that ſuch as be duely elect Miniſters in the Church, ought to baptiſe except neceſſitie requireth otherwiſe, and that the forme vſed in the Church, is in myne opinion not vncommendable. Neuertheles it ſhould edifie much more, if it were vttered in the vulgare language, and cauſe people in the Baptiſme of children, more effectuouſly to thanke God for hys inſtitution and high benefite therby repreſented.

Baptiſme to be in the vulgate tounge.

Aunſwere to the 8. article.

¶ In lyke condition do I alſo deeme of miniſtration in all the other, that it ſhould be expediēt to haue them miniſtred openly in the vulgare language, for the edifiyng of the people. As concernyng the forme vſed in matrimony, I like it right well, and thinke it commendable, ſauyng in all cōtreys lightly Iudas hath ſet in hys foote ouer farre, and taketh in hand to ſell his maiſter, accompanied with Symon Magus, ſaying: what wyll you geue me if I deliuer vnto you Chriſt? This is the ſaying of all them that require, without any lawfull authoritie, in ſome places, xij. pence, in ſome vj. pence, in ſome more, in ſome leſſe, but in euery place lightly ſome money, when a couple ſhould be maried: and this they call the churches right. Moreouer, that they will not ſuffer mariage to be ſolemniſed at all tymes of the yeare, I thinke it ſtandeth not with Chriſtes rule, but rather is agaynſt the ſame: and that they will not ſuffer the banes vpon all holydayes to be proclaymed vnles a diſpenſation for money be purchaſed therfore. Al this god forbiddeth, Finally, lyke as no mony ought to be geuen for this: no more ſhould any be taken for any other. But the contrary is ſene, which is great pity, yea euen at the receyuyng of the ſacrament of the aulter, prieſtes euery where vſe to clayme ſomewhat, and in ſome part of the weſt coūtrey, no leſſe then ij. pence of euery pole.

Matrimony ought freely to be miniſtred & without money.

Aunſwere to the 9. article.

Byſhops & prieſtes all one in the olde time.

¶ As touchyng Prieſthoode in the primitiue Churche, when vertue bare (as auncient Doctors do deeme, & ſcripture, in myne opiniō recordeth the ſame) moſt roume, there were no mo officers in the Church of God, then Biſhops and Deacons, that is to ſay, miniſters: as witneſſeth beſide ſcripture full apertly, Hierome in hys Commentaries vpon the Epiſtles of Paule, wheras he ſayth, that thoſe whom we call Prieſtes were all one, and none other but Biſhops: and the Biſhops none other but Prieſtes, men auncient both in age and learnyng, ſo nere as could be choſen: neyther were they inſtitute and choſen as they be now a dayes, with ſmall regard of a Biſhop or his Officer only appoſing them if they can conſtrue a Collect, but they were choſen not onely of the B. but alſo with the conſent of the people, among whō they ſhould haue their liuyng, as ſheweth S. Cyprian: and the people (as he ſayth) ought to haue power to chuſe prieſts that be men of good learning, of good & honeſt report, but (alack for pity) ſuch elections are now baniſhed, & new faſhions brought in. Which if we ſhould cōferre wͭ the forme of the election ſhewed of Chriſt by his apoſtle Paul, we ſhould find no ſmal diuerſitie, but al turned vp ſide down. To conclude, I ſay, yͤ order or ſtate of prieſts and Deacons was ordayned by God, but Subdeacons and coniurers otherwiſe called Exorciſtæ and Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collect, were inſtitute by the inuention of men. And this you may finde in the law, Dict. 21. 21. and other places, where is written: Subdiaconatus tempore Apoſtolorum non fuit ſacer. Subdeaconſhip in the tyme of the Apoſtles was no holy order.

The order & ſtate of prieſtes.

Election of miniſters in the olde time not without the aſſent of the people.

Subdeacons, Exorciſtes.

Benet & Collet, not ordeined of God but men.

Subdeaconſhip in the time of the Apoſtles was no holy order.

Aunſwere to the 10. Article.

Auricular confeſſion not ordeined by God.

¶ As touchyng eare confeſſion, I ſay, that the common faſhion now vſed was neuer ordayned by Chriſtes law, that is written in the Bible: neyther can you proue by any authoritie of the ſame, that we ought to confeſſe all our offences particularly, wyth the circumſtances of all & of euery ſuch, to any man. Agayne, for the maintenaunce of thys which I haue ſayd, you ſhall know that Chriſoſtome ſtādeth ſtiffly with me, in hys Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Hebrues. In an homely alſo that he maketh vpon the Pſalme Miſerere. And moreouer in a Sermō that he maketh, De pœnitentia: beſide many other treatiſes, wherin he cōtinueth euer one, teſtifiyng in ſemblable wiſe.

Chryſoſt. in epiſt. ad Heb.

In Pſal. Miſerere. Serm. de pœnitētia.

In lyke maner doth one of your principall Doctours, writing vpon your Canon lawe, named Panormitanus, teſtifie that it is made by the lawe of man, and not of God, in cap. Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. In the booke alſo called hiſtoria tripartita, you ſhal finde how it was firſt inſtitute (as I remember) and after vndone againe, becauſe of an huge vilany committed wyth a woman by a Miniſter of the Church thorow confeſſion.

Panormitanus Abbas in cap. omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. Hiſtoria tripartita.

Alſo it is mentioned in the end of firſt Diſtinct. De pœnitentia, how the Greeke Church, whom I thincke you do not note to be heretickes, will not yet hetherto alowe it. There are alſo many reaſons brought forth, both to proue that cōfeſſion made to a prieſt, ſhould not be neceſſary, & alſo that confeſſion made vnto God, ſhould ſuffice, cōcluding in thys wiſe: Quibus authoritatibus. &c. I could bryng forth other that be yet lyuing men, of ſurmounting and excellent litterature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reaſons, doe ſhewe and confirme thys my ſaying to be iuſt: but I keepe ſilence and will not name them, leaſt I ſhould bryng them in hatred. Notwithſtandyng, I neuer ſayd, ne will ſay, but that men feeling themſelues agrieued in conſcience wyth ſome great tentatiō, had nede to go vnto ſuch, whom they know and truſt to be of ſtedfaſt credence, and to haue good ſkill in the law of God, opening their griefe vnto them, to the entēt they may know thorough counſell ſome eaſe and remedy thereof.

Diſt. 1. de pœnitētia.

The greke church alowed not confeſſion auricular.

But in thys I meane not that they ought to go vnto their Curate or to any other Prieſt, whoſe credence they deeme not all truſty, or their Councell not ſage, but to any other, what ſoeuer he be, whom they know moſt ſufficient in properties aboue ſhewed, when their Curate doth lacke them. And thys thing is the moſt behouable, when men needyng counſell, be ſo voyde of knowledge in Chriſtes law, that they can not finde therein remedie themſelues. For the doctrine of Chriſt, if it were well knowen, conteyneth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mynde, ſo that men by ſpirituall knowledge myght eaſe themſelues.

Aſking counſell in the church is good, but is not tyed to any perſon.

To the other part of your queſtion, where ye doe aſke whether a Prieſt in caſes vnto hym limited, may looſe a ſinner confeſſed and contrite for hys ſinne, inioyning hym holſome penaunce? I ſay that onely Chriſt looſeth a ſinner which is contrite, by his worde and promiſe, and the prieſt doth nothyng but ſhewe and declare the worde: Neyther doth declaration or miniſtery of the Prieſt any whit auayle for to loſe any perſon, vnleſſe he that ſhould be loſed, geue credence vnto the worde miniſtred and ſhewed by the prieſt. Which worde or promiſe of Chriſt is called the word of reconciliation or atonement makyng betwixt God and man. And this teſtifieth S. Paule in the 2. to the Cor. where he ſayth in this wyſe: God hath reconciled vs vnto him thorough Ieſus Chriſt. See how it is God that loſeth vs frō ſinne, which is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt vs and hym, and that thorow Chriſt, whom he cauſed to dye for the ſame purpoſe. And he (quoth S. Paule) hath ordayned vs Miniſters of the ſayd atonemēt. See how Chriſtes Apoſtles called not themſelues the authors of byndyng and looſing, but Miniſters: for he (that is to wit, God) recōciled the world vnto him forgeuing their ſinnes. Wher you may know what reconcylyng is. And hath committed (ſayth Paule) vnto vs to be meſſengers of the ſame worde or tydinges of atonement or reconcilyng.

The ſecond part of the queſtions, whether a prieſt loſeth a ſinner.

Chriſt, & not the Prieſt, loſeth the ſinner.

2. Cor. 5.

Chriſt onely loſeth vs from ſinne.

The Apoſtles not the authors of byndyng and loſing, but miniſters.

Alſo that the power whereby men are loſed from ſinne, is not the prieſtes power you may know by the vulgar ſaying, which is right true: yea and with leiſure, I doubt not but that I cā ſhew the ſame in yͤ Decrees which is thus: Solus deus remittit peccata. Onely God forgeueth and pardoneth vs of our ſinnes. And this was preached at Paules Croſſe the ſonday next after the Epiphany laſt, the Byſhop of London ſitting by: the Preacher ſpeaking after thys forme, treating of this text: Ecce agnus dei qui tollit

This ſaying is taken out of Peter Lombert, lib. and cited in the decrees.

Iohn. 1.

peccata mūdi: Behold the lamb of God which taketh away
the ſins of the worlde. In ÿ ſayd the preacher, teſtimony is
geuē of Chriſt to be a Lābe, it is ſhewed ÿ he was an inno=
cent man. But in that it is ſayd, that he taketh away the
ſinne of the world, is ſhewed that he was God, alleaging
there for the confirmation of thys part of his purpoſe, the
vulgare ſaying aboue ſayde by me: Solus Deus remit-
tit peccata. And the ſame propoſition, or an other equall
with the ſame, vſeth Chriſoſtome in an Homely that is
made vpon this text of Math. Vocabitur nomen eius Ieſus.
&c. His name ſhalbe called Ieſus: for he ſhall ſaue his peo-
ple from theyr ſinnes. Alſo Saint Chriſoſtome in opere
imperfecto, vppon this texte, Væ vobis Scribæ et Phariſæi,
qui clauditis regnū cœlorum. &c. Wo be vnto you Scribes &
Phariſeis, becauſe ye ſhut vp the kingdome of heauen be-
fore men, &c. As nere as my remembraunce doth ſerue me:
or els in ſome other place, but in the ſame booke (as I ſup=
poſe) he affirmeth that the keyes of heauen are the worde
& doctrine of God. This witneſſeth moreouer S. Gregory
(I trow) in hys booke called Paſtoralia, or els it is in an
Epiſtle that he writeth, ad Epiſcopū Conſtantinopolita-
num, in theſe wordes: Clauis appertionis eſt ſermo correc-
toris, qui increpando, culpam detegit, quam ſæpe neſcit qui
perpetrauit. The key of looſing is the word of the corrector
who rebukyng doth diſcloſe the fault, whiche many times
he knoweth not that committeth the ſame.

Math.1.

Math.23.

The keyes of byndyng and looſing are the word of God.
Grego. in Paſtoral.

Saint Ambroſe agreeing to the ſame, ſayeth: Verbum
Dei dimittit peccata: The worde of God forgeueth ſinne,
But ſhall we then ſay, that Gods miniſters doe not bind &
loſe? I ſay no, not as the authors of ſo doing but they doe
loſe and binde in like maner, as it is ſayd of Paul in ÿ Act.
of ÿ Apoſtles, where our Sauyour ſpake vnto him in this
maner: I ſhall (ſayd our Sauiour) delyuer thee from the
people & nations, vnto whom I ſend thee, that thou ſhoul-
deſt open their eyes, that they may be conuerted frō dark-
nes to light. Here Paule is ſayd to open the eyes of mens
hartes. Albeit to ſpeake properly, it is God that ſo doth:
And therfore Dauid prayeth vnto him: Reuela oculos me=
os: Open mine eyes O Lorde. And in lyke maner it is ſpo=
ken of John Baptiſt in the 1. of Luke: that he ſhould goe
before Chriſt in the ſpirite and power of Helias, and turne
the hartes of the fathers to their children, and the vnbele-
uers to the wiſedome of the rightwiſe. Albeit to turne mēs
hartes, and to worke in them belongeth vnto God. But ſo
vſe we to ſpeake Metonymicè: As if your lordſhip had de=
fined me to be excommunicate, and therupon ſhould ſende a
commaundement to the perſon of Knol to declare the ſame,
the people would ſay that the perſon of Knoll proclayming
your commaundement had accurſed me: but yet doth he not
properly curſe me, but you rather, when he in pronouncing
the ſame, doth your acte and commaundement, rather then
hys owne.

Ambroſe.

How miniſters bynde and looſe.
Act.26.

Pſal.119.

Luke.1.

Metonymia is a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to an other thing

Touching caſes limited to Prieſtes and Miniſters, for
loſing frō ſinne, or binding in the ſame, I do know no ſuch
thynges ſhewed in Scripture, whiche is the perfect way of
our lyfe. Neither can any man (I ſuppoſe) ſhew by autho:
ritie therof, that one ſhould haue more or leſſe limited hym,
thē an other. And if you can or will thereby teache it me,
I ſhal thanke you for your doing, & pray god to acquit you.

Power in byndyng & looſing, limitted no more to one miniſter, then an other.

Concerning enioyning of pennaunce, I know of none ÿ
men neede to admitte, nor you to put or enioyne the ſame, ex
cept it be renouation of lyuyng, in caſting apart olde vyce,
and taking them vnto new vertue: which euery true peny
tent entendeth, or ought to entend verely by the grace & aſſi=
ſtance of our ſauiour Chriſt, to ſhew and performe.

Inioyning of penaunce.

¶ Unto the .xi. I ſaye, that grace is geuen vnto them, that
duely receyue the Sacramentes of Chriſt and hys church
but whether by them or no, that I can not define: for God
ſendeth his grace where he pleaſeth, either with them, or
without them, and when he pleaſeth: ſo that it is at his ar=
bitrement, how, and when. Moreouer, many a lewd perſon
receiueth the ſacramētes, that are deſtitute of grace, to their
confuſion. So that I cannot affirme, that the Sacramētes
geueth grace: yet in due recept of the Sacramentes, I ſup=
poſe and thinke, that God geueth vnto them grace that ſo
taketh thē, as he doth vnto all good, euen without thē alſo.

Aunſwere to the 11. Article.

Sacramentes whether they geue grace or no.

¶ Wheras in your xij. article you do aſke, whether all thin=
ges neceſſary vnto ſaluatiō, are put in holy Scripture, &
whether things only there put, be ſufficiēt, & whether ſome
things vpō neceſſitie of ſaluatiō, are to be beleued & obſer=
ued, which are not expreſſed in ſcripture: this is ÿ queſtiō,
as great learned mē haue ſhewed me, whome I do coūt my
frēds, ſith ÿ time I appeared at your lordſhips aſſignemēt
before maiſter Doctor Leſſe, & maiſter Melling, & other
in your chappell of Lambeth, when theſe queſtions were
fyrſt propounded: this (I ſay) is the queſtion, whiche
(as they told me) is the head and whole content of all o=
ther obiected agaynſt me. Yea this is both the helme and
ſterne of al together, and that which they contended right
ſore to impugne: but loue of the truth (wherewith in this
poynt I reckoned me well fenced) would not ſuffer me
to apply and yeld to their will, thinking quòd ſanctum eſt
veritatem præferre amicitiæ, that the truth ought to be pre
ferred before all friendſhip and amitie: And alſo, Si dextra
manus ſcandalizet, deberet præſcindi & abijci: if the right
hand offend, it ought to be cut of and caſt away.

Aunſwere to the 12. Article.

Doctor Leſſe.
M. Melling.

Truth to be preferred before frendſhip.
Math.5.

But touching an aunſwer vnto this queſtion, I ſup=
poſe verily, that if I had Saint Cyrils workes by me, I
ſhould not nede to ſhew any other anſwer in this, then he
hath ſhewed afore tyme, writing vpon this ſaying of S.
John: Sunt & alia multa quæ fecit Ieſus, there are many
thinges moe which Ieſus did. Notwithſtandyng, for ſo
much as euery man at all ſeaſons, cannot haue what he
would, and therfore muſt make other ſhift: ſuch as he may
I ſay (as I ſuppoſe) the firſt part of your queſtion to be
very true, and therfore to be affirmed: that is to wit, that
all thinges nedefull for mans ſaluation, be mencioned and
ſhewed in holy ſcripture, and that the thinges onely there
put, be ſufficient for the regiment of ſpirituall liuing and
mans ſoule health. And in thys ſhal you finde both ÿ aun=
cient Doctors ſtanding with me: and moreouer, the ſuf=
frage of holy writte, whoſe autoritie is of moſt ſoueraign
and vnfallible ſtedfaſtnes.

Cyrillus in Iohannem.

John.21.

All thinges neceſſary to ſaluation, conteined in ſcripture.

Looke what S. Hierome ſayeth vpon this verſe:
Dominus narrabit in ſcripturis populorum: The Lord ſhall
rehearſe it, when he wryteth vp the people. S. Ambroſe
alſo in a treatiſe, De Paradiſo, doth ſhew likewyſe, where
he bringeth this text of Paul written in the 2. to the Co=
rinth. I am afrayd leaſt it may by ſome meane be brought
to paſſe, that as the Serpent deceiued Eue thorow wilines,
ſo your mindes may be corrupt from the ſimple veritie that
is in Chriſt. And alſo in his Commentaries vpon the epi=
ſtle to the Coloſſ. vpon this text. In Chriſt Ieſus is all trea
ſure of wiſedō, & in other diuers places of the ſame worke.

Hierome.
Pſal.87.
Ambroſ. lib. de paradiſo.

S. Chryſoſtome alſo in his Commentaries vppon
Paul declaring this ſaying: Omnis ſcriptura diuinitus in-
ſpirata. &c. The whole Scripture geuen by inſpiratiō of god.
&c. And in hys booke called Opus imperfectum, I wote
not preciſely vpon what text, but there you ſhall find, that
he would haue a true preacher of gods law, not ſwaruyng
therefro, neyther vpon the right hand, neither vpon ÿ left,
but keppyng therafter, according to the teachyng of Salo=
mō: for he that ſhould therunto adde or withdraw, ſhould
enterpriſe, as ſayeth Chriſoſtome, to be wiſer then God.
Theſe or els ſuch lyke wordes doth he ſay. I will be de=
ined by the booke brought forth, becauſe my remembraunce
can not retayne perfectly all ſuch thinges.

2.Tim.3.
Chryſoſtomus in Epiſt. Pauli. & in opere imperfecto.

The preacher muſt not ſwerue neither on the right hand, or left, from the expreſſe worde of God.

S. Cyprian mainteineth well the ſame in an Epiſtle
that he writeth ad Cecilium fratrem. which I would to
God were in Engliſh, that all mē might learne the deuout
goodnes in it conteyned. In the ſame he teacheth clerely,
how we ought to heare Chriſt onely and his learning, not
regarding ne attending to the traditions of men: lyke as
he doth alſo in many other places. And thys agreeth well
with Scripture, which is called the worde of ſaluation:
the adminiſtration of righteouſnes, the word of truth, yea
and the truth it ſelfe: the rod of direction: our ſpirituall
food: the ſpirituall ſword that we ought to fight with a=
gaynſt all temptations and aſſaultes of our ghoſtly ene=
mies, the ſeede of God, the kingdome of heauen and keyes
of the ſame: the power of God: the light of the worlde,
which who ſo followeth, ſhal not be ouercome with dark=
nes: the law of God: his wiſedom, and Teſtament. Of
which wordes and ſuch lyke, euery one will geue matter
of ſubſtantial argument, that we followyng the ſame doc=
trine onely, ſhall haue ſufficient ſafe conduict to come vn=
to the inheritaunce promiſed, albeit none other wayes or
meanes were annexed with the ſame. And certaine I am
that in this bleſſed doctrine of Chriſt is taught, how we
ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we nede to
do, as teſtifieth the Pſalme, in theſe wordes: Vniuerſæ viæ
domini miſericordia et veritas. &c. All the wayes of the lord
are mercy and truth. And agayne, the Prophet willyng vs
to do as he did, ſayth in this maner: Adhæſi teſtimonijs
tuis domine, noli me confundere. I haue cleaued to thy te=
ſtimonies O Lord, confound me not. In lyke maner the
ſayd whole Pſalme warneth vs. Yea all the Scripture
biddeth vs ſtick faſt to the ſtedy and true word of god: ſay
ing that he is verax, et viæ eius veritas: omnis autem homo
vanitas et mendax: For he is true and all his wayes are
truth: but all men are vayne & liers. For that is the ſure
foundation which cannot faile them that ground therupō
as reporteth Chriſt: Euery one (ſayth he) that heareth my
words, & doth them, is lyke to a wyſe mā that buildeth vpō
a ſure foundation. And there ought to be none other foun=

Cyprianus ad Cecilium fratrem.

Scripture how many names it hath.

The word ſufficient for all our direction.

Scripture ſufficient to ſaluation without any other addition.

Pſal.25.

Pſal.118.

1.Cor.3.

Ephe.2.

dation to chriſten mē but only the vndoubted truth of Ieſus, to build our faith vpon, & direct our liuing thereafter, as ſheweth ſ. Paul ſaying: Fundamentum aliud nemo,&c. Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is layd which is Ieſus Chriſt. And lykewiſe in the Epiſtle, vnto the Epheſians, where he ſayth: Iam non eſtis hoſpites & aduenæ ſed cōciues ſanctorum, et domeſtici dei.&c. Now ye are no more ſtraungers and foreyners, but Citizens with the Saintes and of the houſhold of God.

Ephe.4.

And in the ſame Epiſtle S. Paul dilatyng Chriſtes benificence, ſheweth, how that he ordayned in the Church diuers officers, to the edyfiyng of Chriſten people, that he calleth Chriſtes body, vntill all we may come vnto the vnitie of fayth which cōmeth by folowyng of one doctrine whiche is Chriſtes, wherby wee may growe to bee perfect men, and that we ſhould not be here lyke to children caryed about with euery wynde of doctrine by deceite & wilines of men that ſtudy to deceiue vs.

Heb.13.

The incōſtancie and variablenes of mens conſtitutions. The popes lawes were neuer wholy receiued of all men.

Heb.13.

In lyke forme doth he warne vs in the epiſtle to the Hebrues, that we ſhould not be caried about as the wind with diuers and ſtraunge doctrines, but continue in that which euer continueth lyke and all one, agreeable for all men in all partes, and that at all tymes: not beyng chaungeable as mens conſtitutions be, whereof loke what one doth counſayle and ordayne to be of effect, another annulleth the ſame, accordyng as mens myndes do alway alter and are full vnſtedy. Neither doe ſuch pertayne vnto all men, for the Greekes with other (whome the Pope, ne none of hys people will yet deny to be of Chriſtes church) will in no condition admitte ſuche, neyther for men to lyue after them, nor to beleeue them as pertaynyng to their fayth: But they allow well the doctrine that perſeuereth euer one, and is vnmutable, as ſheweth ſ. Paule ſaying: Ieſus Chriſt yeſterday, and to day is all one: and ſo euer ſhall be. He is white bread without any ſower leuen of Phariſaicall traditions: veritie without guile, light without any darkenes: the very ſtraight way, that hath neither hoke, ne croke. From this ought not we to turne neither vpon one hand, ne other, vnleſſe we wil goe from hym that is our felicitie and anker of ſafetie.

The chiefe article obiected agaynſt Iohn Lambert.

But what ſhould I more entreat of this, excepte I would recite all Scripture, which in euery part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warnyng vs to cleaue faſt vnto this way, which is the doctrine of the goſpel: which God I beſech hym graunt vs all, both to know and loue takyng hede that in no wyſe we be ſeduced therefro, by lawes & doctrines of men. Loke alſo in the ij. chap. to the Coloſſians, and the epiſtle of Timothe and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy ſcripture to be conteined ſufficiently enough of doctrine, for the regiment and ſaluation of our ſoules. And this becauſe learned men do call the hed Article layd againſt me: I would that all mē ſhould wel note it, and record my ſaying therin hereafter, whatſoeuer ſhall betide of me, for the truth is ſo in dede, that hereupō hangeth the ſumme of all. Therfore, I ſhall recite it once agayne. I ſay that in holy ſcripture, the doctrine there only conteyned, is ſufficient for the ſaluation of chriſten mēs ſoules. God geue vs grace we may know it, to build our faith ſtedfaſtly vpon the ſame in workyng therafter.

Doctrine in the holy ſcripture ſufficient to ſaluation of Chriſten mens ſoules Vnwritten verities.

As touching the latter part of your queſtion, I ſaye that there are many things both to be obſerued and to be beleued, that are not expreſſed in ſcripture: as the Ciuill lawes of princes and communalties ordeyned for ciuill regiment of the body and all other, ſo that they be not hurtfull to faith or charitie, but helpefull to the ſame, I recken that we ought to kepe them, not only for feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake, although ſuch ordinances be not expreſly and perticularly in ſcripture expreſſed, for they are generally therein conteined & ſpoken of,

What this word expreſſed meaneth in Scripture.

Whether any thyng be to be beleued neceſſarily to ſaluatiō, which is not conteyned in ſcripture.

Moreouer, if you mean by this word expreſſed, that which in ſcripture is cleerly ſhewed out, & appeareth euidētly to euery reader or hearer yͭ hath but a meane vnderſtanding, ſo do I affirme yͭ there are ſome things which a man ought to beleeue, although they bee not of him expreſly vnderſtand: As I haue euer beleued that the virgin Mary was and is a perpetuall virgine. and that the ſame might be gathered by the ſcripture. But if by thys word expreſſed you meane comprehended, or conteyned, (as me thinke the minde of him that wrote the demaund ſhould be) ſo that he meaneth by this queſtion, thus: whether any thing ought to be obſerued and beleued, whiche is not conteyned in ſcripture and that (vpon neceſſitye of ſaluation) then I ſay, that there is nothing neither to bee obſerued ne to be beleued vpō neceſſitie of ſaluatiō, which is not conteined in ſcripture, and mentioned in the ſame, either generally or ſpecyally, yet I do not deny but other thinges are to be beleued as I beleued that Doct. Warham was Byſhop of Caunterbury, ere euer I ſawe your Lordſhyp: and I beleue that I know verily who was my father & mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and ſuch lyke: and yet in ſuch pointes, although man haue not a ſteady beliefe, he may be ſaued.

Aunſwere to the 13. article. A Purgatory in this world.

2.Tim.3. The Purgatory of Chriſtians.

1.Pet.1.

¶ To the xiij. where ye do aſke whether I beleue yͭ purgatory is, and whether that ſoules departed be therein tormented & purged? I ſay that there is a Purgatory in this World, & that doth the ſcripture, and alſo the holy doctors call the fire of tribulation, thorow which all Chriſtians ſhal paſſe, as teſtifieth Saint Paule in the ſecond chapt. of the ij. Epiſtle to Timoth. whoſe teſtimony is full notable and true, albeit that fewe do knowe it, and fewer peraduenture will beleue it. Marke you the wordes (good people) and know that they be his, and not myne. They be thus: All that will godly liue in Ieſu Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecutiō. In this Purgatory doe I now recken my ſelfe to ſtand: God ſend me well to perſeuere vnto his honour. Of thys ſpeaketh alſo S. Peter in theſe wordes which perteyne to the inſtruction of all Chriſten people: Virtute Dei cuſtodimini per fidem ad ſalutem, quæ in hoc parata eſt vt patefiat in tempore ſupremo: in quo exultatis nunc, ad breue tempus, afflicti in varijs experimentis ſi opus ſit, quò exploratio fidei veſtræ multo precioſior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam & honorē. Ye (quoth he) are preſerued thorow the power of God by fayth, vnto ſaluation, which is prepared to be reuealed in the laſt tyme wherein ye now reioyce, though for a ſeaſon (if neede require) ye are ſundry wayes afflicted and tormēted, that the triall of your fayth, beyng much more precious then golde that periſheth, though it be tryed wyth fire, might be founde vnto laude, glory, and honour at the appearing of Ieſu Chriſt.&c. Other Purgatory know I none, yͭ you can proue by ſcripture, vnleſſe it be by one place of the ſame, which well examined, I trowe, ſhall make but litle agaynſt me, for the maintenaunce of any other then I haue ſhewed.

No third place by S. Auſten.

*What our deſeruing is, S. Auguſtine declareth before in the 5. Article. Fol.1074.

No Purgatory.

But what ſoeuer be brought agaynſt me, I truſt that holy Doctours ſhall by their interpretation, ſuſtayne the parte the which I do take vpon me, making aunſwere for me ſufficient, ſo that you ſhal ſay, it is no new thyng which I haue or ſhall ſpeake: yet that you ſhould ſee euen now ſomewhat written of auncient Doctours concernyng the ſame, I ſhall ſhewe you what I haue read in S. Auguſtine: firſt in a ſermon that he maketh De Ebrietate, in this wyſe, ſaying: Nemo ſe decipiat fratres: duo enim loca ſunt, & tertius non eſt viſus. Qui cum Chriſto regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo abſque vlla dubitatione peribit. That is to ſay: Brethren, let no man deceiue hymſelfe, for there be two places, and the third is not knowen. He that *Chriſt hath not deſerued to reigne, ſhal without doubt periſh wyth the Deuill. In an other alſo that he maketh, De vanitate huius ſeculi, it is ſayde thus: Scitote vos, quòd cum anima à corpore auellitur ſtatim in paradiſo pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certè pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut ſine fine cruciari cum impijs: Which is thus to ſay: Know you that when the ſoule is departed frō the body, it is incontinent, for his good dedes, put in paradiſe, or els throwen hedlong into the dungeon of hell, for his ſinnes. Chooſe you now what ye liſte, and purpoſe thys while you be here in thys life, eyther to ioy perpetually with Saintes, or els to be tormented wythout end among wicked ſinners. Thus ſaith holy Auguſtine.

The third part of ſinnes forgeuen them, that be buryed in a graye Fryers weede. Auguſt in Enchiridion.

To make an end, I hope ſurely that by the ayde of our Sauiour, I ſhall come to heauen and reigne wyth Chriſt, ere that I ſhall feele of any purgatory, beſide that I haue and ſhall ſuſteine in this life. And he that beleueth not ſtedfaſtly any other to be, ſhall yet be ſaued as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I thinke no whit leſſe) as ſuch as teach the people or ſuffer them to be taught, that in going from this ſtation to that, from one altar to another they ſhall cauſe ſoules to be delyuered: yea and aſwell ſuche as ſay that a man being buryed in a gray Friers frock, ſhal ſo haue remiſſion of the third part of his ſinnes, as is graūted in a Bull vnto the ſayd religion: and ſuch like. For S. Auguſtine ſhall make with me in his booke called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opinion of ſome that in the Church of Chriſt, liuing in miſchiefe vngratiouſly, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falſly deem that they ſhould be ſaued through the cleanſing of purgatory: where he concludeth thus: Such a thing after this life to be (ſayth he) is not vncredible, but whether it be ſo or no, a doubt may be therof moued or a queſtion demaunded. The ſame wordes doth he agayn recite in a booke called Quæſtiones ad dulciū, or dulcitium, I wotte not whether he is called, and there he intreateth the ſame more copiouſly: and would I might ſee the place once agayne.

2.Cor.5.

Heb.13.

To this agreeth S. Paule writyng thus to the Cor. Omnes nos manifeſtari oportet coram tribunali Chriſti, vt reportet quiſque ea quæ ſunt per corpus, iuxta id quod fecit, ſiue bonum ſiue malum. For we muſt all appeare before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt, that euery man may receyue the thinges which are done in hys body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill. And agayne where he writeth vnto ẏ Hebrues, I trow it be ſayd in this wiſe. Memores ſitis vinctorum tanquam vna cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur, veluti ipſi quoq; verſantes in corpore: Remẽber them that are in bondes, euen as though ye were bound with them: be myndfull of them which are in affliction, as if ye were alſo afflicted in the body.

Aunſwere to the 14. article.

Praying to ſainctes.

*Id eſt, eiuſdem meriti cuius ipſi ſunt participes.

Angels woulde haue no Temples builded to them.

To the 14. where you aſke whether holy Martirs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſours departed from thys worlde, ought to be honored, called vpon, and prayed vnto? I aunſwere as touching the honouring of them, with the very wordes of S. Auguſtine in his booke De vera religione, in he laſt leafe, where he ſayth thus: Non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: Quia ſi piè vixerunt, non ſic habentur vt tales quærant honores, ſed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur *meriti ſui nos eſſe conſortes: honorandi ſunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem malè vixerent, vbicunq; ſunt, non ſunt colendi. Agayne, a little after the ſame, he ſayth: Nam idipſum actum eſt temporali diſpenſatione ad ſalutem noſtram, vt naturam humanam, ipſa Dei virtus & Dei ſapientia incommutabilis & conſubſtantialis patri & coæternus, ſuſcipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret id eſſe homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum eſt: Hoc eſt, ipſos optimos angelos, et excellentiſſima Dei miniſteria velle credamus, vt vnũ cum ipſis colamus Deum, cuius contemplatione beati ſunt: neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati ſumus, ſed videndo veritatem, qua ipſos etiam diligimus Angelos, et his congratulamur. Nec inuidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis moleſtijs interpedientibus perfruuntur, ſed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid ſperare a communi domino iuſſi ſumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non ſeruitute: nec eis templa conſtruimus. Nolunt enim ſe ſic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipſi cùm boni ſumus, templa ſummi Dei eſſe nouerunt. Rectè itaque ſcribitur hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne ſe adoraret, ſed vnum Deum, ſub quo ille eſſet & conſeruus. Thus ſayth S. Auguſtine, handlyng the ſame matter a little after, more at large.

Men departed are not to be worſhipped.

Aungels are not to be worſhipped

The beſt worſhipping of ſaintes, is in following their good actes.

The content of this vnto you I expound that knowe no latin, for I couet that all perſons ſhoulde knowe both my thought in this, and all maner of doyng, to the intent that of al perſons I would haue true reporte and teſtimonie, what ſoeuer ſhall betyde me. S. Auguſtine in theſe wordes would haue, that we ſhould worſhyp no men departed, be they neuer ſo good & holy, for they ſeeke no ſuch honour, but would haue vs to worſhyp God alone: no nor yet no Aungell, ne honour the ſame, but onely in imitation of them, folowyng their good actes in our lyuyng, as they folowed our moſte mercifull God whiles they were alyue, not buildyng Churches in the name or honour of them, for they would haue no ſuch honour done vnto them: it is to them no pleaſure, but contrariwiſe. No, the Aungels will not that wee ſhoulde builde anye Churches in reuerence of them, but would, ẏ with them we ſhould honour the originall marke, and performer of all. They refuſe all honour, ſauyng that whiche is called honor charitatis, whiche is nothyng els, but to bee loued. Thus ſayth S. Auguſtine. Whiche loue wee ſhall teſtifie in folowyng theyr good actes, by helpyng the poore or helpeles with almes and mercy, and dealyng truely in worde and dede, accordyng to our ſtate and callyng, both towardes God and man. Which is no light matter to them that do conſider the thyng well. But who ſoeuer ſhall truely and duelye folowe that trade, ſhall feele it (I dare ſay) as the burden of Chriſtes Croſſe was vnto hym ryght weyghty and greuous, when he bare it to Caluarie: ſauing that we nede not to feare, for he hath promiſed to bee with vs in tribulation, to rydde vs from the ſame. For the Prophet Dauid ſayth: Cum ceciderit iuſtus non collidetur, quia Dominus ſupponit manum ſuam. That is to witte when a iuſt perſon begynneth to fall, he ſhall not be borne flatte down to be broken, for the Lord ſhall put his hand vnder hym, to reare him vp agayne. And in ẏ Goſpell he biddeth: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati eſtis & ego reficiam vos. That is to ſay, Come you vnto me all that do trauaile and are ſore charged, and I ſhall comforte or refreſhe you. Take my yoke vpon you, learnyng of me, that I am ſofte and meeke mynded, and you ſhall fynde eaſe therby in your ſoules, for my yoke is eaſy, and my burden light. See you here, how he is euer ready to ſupporte them, that for truth ſhall ſuſtein the chargeable and ſore vexations put vpon them of the worlde, whiche can not endure the truth to preuayle, and the vntruth to be diſcloſed.

Pſal.35.

Math.11.

Inuocation.

Pſal.50.

God onely to be exalted.

What is to call truely vpon God.

Pſal.145.

As touchyng inuocation: that is to witte, callyng vpon them, we haue in Scripture, how we ſhoulde call vpon almightye God in all neceſſities or tribulations. As in the Pſalmes euery where: as in thys: Call vpon me in tyme of your tribulation, and I ſhall deliuer. Marke how hee ſayeth, here call vpon me, appointinge neyther. S Thomas, ne maiſter Iohn Shorne. Alſo in an other place: The Lorde is nigh vnto them that call vppon hym, that call vpon him truely, and with that he ſheweth who calleth truely vppon him, ſaying thus: He ſhall do the will or deſire of them that reuerenceth hym, and ſhall heare graciouſly their prayer, and make them ſafe, for the Lord loueth al that loueth hym, and al ſynners ſhall be deſtroyed.

Pſal.4.
Pſal.18.
Pſal.127.

God onely is the geuer of helpe and not ſaintes.

And thus vſed the holy prophets, Patriarks, Apoſtles, & other good faythfull people in olde tyme, in all tribulation & anguiſh, to reſort vnto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is ſhewed in other places in this wiſe: In my trouble I called vpon the Lord (ſayth Dauid) & hee heard me gratiouſly, when I was troubled, I cryed vnto the Lord and he mercifully heard me. Alſo I lift myne eyes vp vnto the mountaynes but from whence ſhall helpe come vnto me Myne helpe (quoth he) ſhal come from the Lord that made both heauen and earth. I read the fyrſt of theſe verſes in forme of interrogation, folowyng S. Auguſtine, whiche (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wyſe. If I recite not authorities in all places in the moſte perfite forme, I would pray you ſomewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lacke bookes, and haue not them lying by me. Notwithſtandyng I am certein I ſhall not declyne much from him The hylles toward the which Dauid dyd lyfte vp his eyes were Sainctes and holy men, of whome when he could not haue hys mynde ſatiſfied, he turned an other way, ſaying: frõ whence ſhal help come vnto me? Anone he remẽbring hym ſelfe better, ſued vnto God him ſelfe, of whome incontinent he obteyned the accompliſhment of his wiſhe and ſo witneſſed the ſame for our inſtruction ſaying: Myne helpe is of the Lord, or commeth from the Lord, whiche made heauen and earth. This interpretation (as neare as I remember) is after the mynde of S. Auguſtine: and I ſuppoſe verely, that it is not contrarye vnto the mynde of God ne diſagreyng with the ſequele of Scripture.

Marke.13.

Ioel.2.

*That is, with a ſpeciall efficacie for vs to marke more attentiuely.

1.Ioh.3.

Auguſt. in Iohannem.

Chriſt is aduocate as well for ſaintes & Apoſtles, as for vs.

Alſo in this wiſe it is reported in the new teſtament by authoritie deduced out of the olde, where it is writen: Euery one that calleth vpon the name of the Lorde ſhalbe ſaued. And marke how, cum* energia, it is ſayd: vpon the name of the Lord, without any ſendyng vs, either to S. Chriſtopher (though he be paynted neuer ſo ſtout) either to S. Patrickes purgatorye in Ireland or to S. Iames in Galicia, in the yeare of grace, or yet to any other ſainct or place: but would vs, that we ſhoulde call vppon almightye God, and vpon his name, for the loue that he beareth to Chriſte, that is alway our Aduocate before our father: to purchaſe mercye for our ſinnes: and not for our ſynnes onely qouth S. Iohn: who is the wryter of this ſaying & teſtimonie) but alſo for the ſinnes of all the worlde. S. Auguſtine vpon ẏ ſame noteth, that S. Iohn in that place, ſayeth: wee haue an Aduocate, and that Chriſte is Aduocate for hym aſwell as for other, to purchaſe mercy for him, lyke as he doth for all other that ſhall be ſaued: and that S. Iohn wyll not bee knowen for our Aduocate, but that Chriſt ſhould be taken for Aduocate of all.

Bede vpon S.Iohn.

2.Cor.1.

Pſal.103.
Pſal 46.

Scripture in no place ſendeth vs to ſaintes departed.

S. Bede (as I remember (vppon the ſame, maketh as much for thys purpoſe, as doth ſainct Auguſtine, or well more ſo that by courſe of ſcripture, we are taught to reſort for all ayde and reliefe (as I haue ſayd) vnto ẏ head ſpring and fountayne of all comfort and mercye, as S. Paule calleth hym, the father of mercies and of all comforte, whiche is ready to comforte vs in all tribulation: which (As ẏ pſalme reporteth) healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy vpon all our iniquities For he is ſweete (as is ſaid in an other place) and gentle, and many mercies are layde vppe for all thoſe that call vppon him, yet he ſheweth vs no where (I trowe) of benefytes that we ſhall purchaſe by prayyng vnto ſainctes departed, and if any perſon can or wyll vouchſafe to teache me that, by ſome authoritie of ſcripture, I woulde thinke my ſelfe hyghlye beholdyng to hym, what ſoeuer hee were, eyther great or ſmall, yonge or olde: but I weene it can not be.

The light of Gods worde open to children: & hidde from the wyſe.

I haue made truely long ſearch yet coulde I neuer finde any ſuch ſubſtantiall teachyng. Howbeit, I offer my ſelfe euer to learne, and know that my rude witte, fooliſh youth vnexpert experience, and feble diſcretion, had nede of good inſtruction, as much as any other. Howbeit, I ſee (thanked bee God) that ſometyme hee ſheweth ſome ſparkle of lyght and wiſedome to children, hydyng the ſame from other that are reputed of hygher prudence: ſo that the worlde therby many tymes is brought into admiration, ſeyng ſuch factes done of God before their face, and laugh thereat ſomtyme with indignation, as the Phariſeis dyd at the blynde man whome Chriſt had reſtored to ſight, where they ſaid to him Thou caitiſe was borne blynd for thy ſinnes, and wylt thou teache vs, that are a great multitude of hygh officers of the temple, and Doctours to teache the lawe? As who woulde ſaye, it becommeth the full ill. yet we ought not to meruell greatly at ſuch doyng, for ſo much as S. Paule. 1. Cor. 1. ſheweth of lyke practiſe done in hys tyme, and that hee writeth for the inſtruction of all ages after enſuyng, ſo that it perteineth (lyke as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our tyme, as it dyd to that it was firſt written in. The doctrine of Chriſtes croſſe, that is to wit, of the new teſtamēt, is to thē that periſh foly, (ſayth he) but to vs that obtaine therby ſaluation (meanyng therby, to ſuch as beleue) it is the myght or power of God for it is written (ſayth he) by the Prophet Eſay: that God aforetyme ſayde he would deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and the vnderſtandyng or learnyng of the learned would he throw away and deſpiſe.

John. 9.

1. Cor. 1.

Thus propheſie alleged, Paule thought to be authoritie ſufficient to diſſwade the Corinthians from the foliſh affiaunce, vaynglory or opinion that they had in men, whome they parauenture euer hyghly eſteemed for their offices, or ſolemne titles. So that hee procedeth forth in the ſame: where are ye now (quoth he) the worldly wiſe, the ſcribes that is to ſay, Doctours and ſuch other lyke officers. Hath not God ſhewed the wiſedom of the world to be foliſh & vnſauery? for after that by the wiſdome of God (whiche is ſhewed in Scripture I ſuppoſe) the world hath not ſtudied to know God by wiſedome, it hath pleaſed God nowe to ſaue thē that beleue: thorow the foliſhnes of preaching. He calleth the word of god fooliſhe preachyng, not becauſe it was fooliſhe, for afore he called it godly wiſedome, but hee ſpake after the opinion of them, that ſet litle or nought therby, eſtemyng it as Eſopes Cocke dyd the precious ſtone, & as ſwyne do pearles.

1. Cor. 1.

The wiſedome of this world confounded.

Why the Goſpell is called foliſhe preaching.

After long proces in the ſame matter, he concludeth thus Brethren (ſayth he) you ſe your callyng, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſhe, are called to the beliefe of the Goſpell, nor many mighty men: ne manye of noble parentage: but thoſe that bee fooles after the eſtimation of thee world, hath God choſen to confound the wiſe.&c.

Therfore, I ſay (as I ſayd afore) that thankes bee to God, albeit I am (as I ſhewed before) voyde of ſuch great prudencie that other be well endued with, yet I ſee partly how their great reaſons be not very ſubſtantiall, wherby they contende by the treatyſe of reaſon, when authoritie fayleth them, to ſhewe, that we ought to pray to Sainctes departed, for to bee Mediatours for vs to Chriſte. And amonge other, this is one, that they leane much vpon, bringyng it forth ſo vſually that common people, well nighe altogether harpe vpon the ſame: Some ſauoryng it other contrarywiſe eſtemyng it of no value.

The reaſon is this: If when one ſhould deſire to come to the ſpeach of our ſoueraigne to obteine ſome boone of him, nede it were firſt to purchas the fauour of his Chamberlaynes or ſome lyke officers to bryng hym to the kynges preſence, for els he maye watch long in vayne, vntill he be full a colde, ere that he ſhall ſpeake with his grace, and much leſſe is he lyke to obteine his petition. In lykewiſe it fareth (as they ſaye) betwixt God and vs: of whome if wee ſhould purchaſe any benefite, we muſt firſt breake vnto the Sainctes departed makyng them our frēdes to go betwixt God and vs, as Mediatours, and interceſſours. But ſuch (with their leaue I would ſpeake it) I thinke are deceyued, in that they reſemble God and the king together. For though the kyng be a full gracious Prince (as I heare by common reporte he is) yet hee is not in graciouſnes to bee conferred with God: and though hee were as gracious as myght be, yet hath not he the knowledge whiche is in God, for God knew of all thynges before the begynnyng of the worlde, and is euery where, to ſee, not onely our outwarde dealyng, but alſo all ſecret thoughtes of all mens hartes, ſo that he nedeth no Mediatours to enforme hym of our deſires, as the kyng doth neede: And he is ſo full of infinite mercy: that I may as lyghtly or as ſoone obteyne of hym yͭ is for my behouſe, as I ſhoulde wynne by praying holye Sainctes to be interceſſours to hym for me.

Objection to proue inuocation of Saintes taken out of reaſon.

Anſwere to the objection wherein is declared that God and an earthly king are not to be colleted.

Therfore, I paſſyng ſuch apparant reaſons, take me to the enſample of antiquitie, I meane of the Patriarkes, Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, and authoritie of Scripture, whiche teache that we neede not to feare, but may boldlye reſort vnto Chriſte hym ſelfe and hys holye father, for ſo much as he byddeth vs in theſe wordes and other lyke, ſo for to doe, ſaying. Come vnto me all ye that trauaile, are vexed, and ſore charged, and I wyll refreſhe and eaſe you. Mark how he biddeth vs reſort vnto him ſelf & that w̃out feare. For he & hys father which are all one, geueth aboundantly of all goodnes, vnto all mē, and vpbrayd no body for their vnworthines. But if we entēd to obteyne of hym, we muſt al doubtfulnes (as I ſayd afore) put a parte, with a ſure cōfidēce of his mercy, aſke of him yͤ wee woulde haue. So yͭ I leaue vnto other, what they luſt to do, praying Ieſu, yͭ we all may luſt for that, that is moſt pleaſing to hym.

No compariſon betwene God an earthly king.

Math. 11.

The Lord only to be ſought vnto with prayer.

But I thinke, concerning my ſelfe, that accordyng to Chriſtes owne cōmaundement, I may without any doubt caſting, reſort in all encombraunces, to ſeeke eaſe thereof, euen vnto hymſelfe, and to his bleſſed father. Therefore he byddeth vs when we ſhould pray, to ſay after this faſhion: Our father that art in heauen.&c. For there is no creature ne creatures, that euer were or be, that hath more, nor ſo much, neither of might, wherby commeth habilitie to geue helpe: ne of mercy and tendernes, which ſhould make them wyllyng in proportion agreable wyth habilitie: ne of knowledge, that ſhould teach to miniſter both the other, as is our Lord God: which not onely is almyghtie, all mercyfull: & all wyſe: but alſo infinite in all theſe glorious properties, ſo that vndoubtedly he can, wyll, and beſt knoweth how to relieue and ſuccour vs in all neceſſity & anguiſhe: vnto whom be honour wythout end for euer. Amen.

God in might, mercy, and knowledge incomparable.

Might, mercy, knowledge, how when and whom to helpe.

One thyng yet I will ſhewe you in thys caſe, of which thyng I was once aduertiſed by a great learned man, who (as I ſuppoſe) is now lyuing. I will not name hym, leaſt I ſhould perhaps cauſe any diſpleaſure to be conceiued agaynſt hym thorough my relation. The thyng was thys: I will (quoth he) pray vnto Saintes, but that ſhall be, when I thinke that God, either can not, or will not geue me my petition. But that (as I ſhewed in the conuocation houſe) ſhall neuer be, I hope. And therfore it is to me needles to ſeeke any further about, ſtanding in ſuch truſt and beliefe, as I hope I haue founde vpon Gods ſure promiſe.

The ſaying of a learned man.

Saintes are to be prayed to whē God is not able or will not heare vs.

¶ To the xv. Article, where you doe demaunde whether the Saints in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs? I ſay, that I beleue Saintes in heauen do pray for vs, for I ſuppoſe they know that all men generally lyuing vpon earth, be wrapped in manifolde myſeries, lyke as they alſo were, their ſoules beyng impriſoned wythin their bodyes beyng mortall. Albeit I thynke they know not what particular myſeries men vpon earth be entangled and clogged with, as ſheweth Auguſtine, or els ſome other (as I thinke rather) vnder hys name in a certayne worke, ſaying in thys wiſe: Ibi ſunt ſpiritus defunctorum, vbi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eueniunt in iſta vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos ſuos aut corpora ſua, vtrum abiecta iaceant, an ſepulta? Quomodo interſunt miſeriæ viuorum, cum vel ſua ipſi mala patiantur ſi talia merita cōtraxerūt, vel in pace requieſcant, vbi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo ſuſtineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & compatiendo cum hic viuerent, ſuſtinebant. The ſumme hereof is, that ſoules departed, feele nor know of no particular miſeryes ſuſteyned of men lyuing in thys world, wherby they ſhould nede to take eyther patience, or els compaſſion after their deceaſſe. yet for ſomuch as they know in generall, that all men lyuing are clad wyth frayletie, and their charitie is not miniſhed after they be hēce departed, but increaſed, therfore I beleue verely that they do pray for vs as petitioners, but not as mediatours, ſo farforth as I cā ſee. For ſcripture vſeth to ſpeake but of one Mediatour, which I thinke, ſignifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixte God the father, and man. Record I take of Paule, which 1. Timo. 2. ſayth: Vnus eſt deus, vnus eſt & mediator dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Ieſus, qui dedit ſemetipſum redemptionem pro omnibus. Eraſmus tranſlateth it, conciliator dei & hominum. That is to ſay. There is one God & Mediator or peace maker betwixt God & mā, the mā called Chriſt Ieſus, which gaue himſelf for the redemptiō of all.

Anſwer to the xv article.

Saintes know no particular miſeries on earth.

Saintes in heauen whether they pray for vs.

One Mediatour and what a Mediatour is.
1. Tim. 2.

1. Tim. 2.

Thus (I ſay) I beleue Saintes in heauen do pray for vs, as pititioners, but not as Mediators. yea, all they, I weene, do pray & long that the day of iudgement may ſoone come, according to the ſaying of Paul: Solicita creaturæ expectatio reuelationem filiorum dei expectat. The feruēt deſire of the creature waiteth when the ſonnes of God ſhalbe reueled. And agayne: Omnis creatura congemiſcit, & nobiſcum parturit vſque ad hoc tempus. Euery creature groneth with vs and trauaileth in paine together vnto this preſent. which ſhalbe for the accompliſhment of glory both to them and to all other elect of God to be hys children and coinheritours with Chriſt.

Rom. 8.

¶ In the xvi. Article where you demaunde whether I beleue that oblations and Pilgrimages may be deuoutly & meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchers and Reliques of Saintes? I ſay, that what they may be, I can not perfectly tell: For God can ſo worke, that vnto thoſe, whom he hath choſē to be inheritours with him, all things ſhal turne

Aunſwere to the xvi. article.

Rom. 8.
Pilgrimages & oblations.
Pſal. 33.
Ezech. 33.
Luke. 7.
All thinges worke to the beſt to the godly.

to a good concluſion, as ſayth S. Paule to the Romaynes in this wiſe: Vnto thoſe that loue God, all thinges ſhall well ſucceede and worke together for their furtheraunce in goodnes. Of whom it is written in the Pſalme: Bleſſed is that nation that hath the Lorde for their God, the people whom he hath choſen to be his inheritours. Yea their euill deedes ſhall not hurt them, but come wel to paſſe for the increaſe of vertue. For, as it is ſayd in the Goſpell: Cui minus remittitur minus diligit. To whom leſſe is forgeuen, he loueth leſſe. And agayne, it hurted not Oneſimus, that he ran away from his maiſter Philemon, but God wrought, that by occaſion thereof, he mette with Paule, which conuerted hym to the fayth of the Goſpell, who before was without beliefe. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriouſly or no, I will not define: God wotteth. But this I ſay, that God did neuer inſtitute any ſuch thing in ẏ new teſtament, which is ẏ veritie and rule for all Chriſten people to folow and beleue. Yea that onely is of perfect ſurety, and none other, but as it is agreable and hath ground of the ſame. And lyke as we haue no certaine doctrine inſtitute of Chriſt, ne his diſciples, teachyng vs thus for to do: no more is there any merite appointed of hym therefore, as I ſhewed afore where I tolde my mynde of our merites.

Piè Pietas defined.
1 Tim. 4.
Pſal. 11.
Ierem. 23.
True deuotion, or pure religion, what it is.
Iac. 1.
Pure religion.

Moreouer, where ye put Piè, which I call deuoutly: very true deuotion (that is called in Latine Pietas) is that, which hath annexed therewith diuine promiſes for thys preſent lyfe to come: as witneſſeth Paule 1. Tim. 4. which is nothyng els but the obſeruation of Chriſtes lawe, that in the Pſalme for the purenes therof, is called argentum igne examinatum, purgatum ſeptuplum, Siluer fined often & many tymes thorow fier. It hath no chaffe in it, as hath mens traditions, but is pure and cleane wheate, as ſheweth Ieremy writyng in this wiſe. Quid paleis ad tirticum? Propter hoc ego ad prophetas, dicit dominus, qui furantur verba mea vnuſquiſque a proximo ſuo, & ſeducunt populum meum in mendacijs ſuis & in erroribus ſuis. What is the chaffe to the wheate? Therefore beholde; I will come agaynſt the Prophets, ſayth the Lord, that ſteale my worde euery one from hys neighbour, and deceiue my people in their lyes and in their errours. And this deuotion is that which S. Iames calleth the pure Religion of Chriſt, ſaying: Pure and immaculate religion afore God the father is, to viſite fatherles children and wydowes in their vexation. Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are ſuccourles & helpeleſſe, without counſell and other almes, according to our habilitie, whẽſoeuer we ſee them in neede or diſtreſſe.

The other part of this Religion ſhewed by S. Iames is: That a man ſhould keepe hymſelfe cleane frõ the world: and that do they, which be not affectionate ſo vnto any thing therein, but that they haue the things of the world, or occupie the ſame by true dealing, ſo that they can finde in their hart to depart from them when God ſhall pleaſe, or charitie ſo requireth.

1. Cor. 7.
Math. 19.
What it is to ſell away all for the Goſpell.

Thus doyng we ſhall folow the exhortation of bleſſed Paule, which writyng to the Corinth. ſayth thus: Brethren, the tyme is ſhort, thys remayneth, that they which haue wyues ſhould be as they had them not: & thoſe that weepe, ſhould be as they wept not: and thoſe thet bye, as if they were without poſſeſſion: and they that occupye thys world, as though they occupyed it not: for the faſhion of thys worlde paſſeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we ſhoulde not loue ne dread any worldly thing, paſſing meaſure or inordinatly, but God aboue all thinges, and all other thinges in him or for him: and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commaundement of Chriſt, ſpoken to the rich mã in the Goſpell, where he ſaith: Go and ſel all that euer thou haſt, and come folow me. For he hath ſolde away all that euer he hath, that ſurely entendeth for the loue of Chriſt, to helpe the poore with all that he may. Voluntas reputatur pro facto: The will is accepted for the deede, as is ſayd cõmonly. And this ſaying both of Iames, and alſo of the Euangeliſt, I thincke verely belongeth to all Chriſten men that they ſhould performe it, none excepte, neither lay man, ne woman (as we vſe to ſay) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

Reliques and Tombes of ſaintes.
Our Ladies milke.
The bloud of Hayles.

As cõcerning ẏ reliques & tombes of ſaints, I haue ſaid vnto your Lordſhip afore, what I do thinke of the milke of our Lady, ẏ bloud which they ſay, is at Hayles, Norwich, & other places, & ſuch other: whereof (I truſt) you do know what ought to be done. And I beſech god you may do therin as your office doth require, ſo ſhewing exãple vnto other prelates, to folow your lordſhip in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do, remẽbring alway, as Paule ſayth: the tyme is ſhort, & therfore it were good to ſet to hand in time.

Moyſes Tombe vnknowen.

Finally, holy Moyſes, when he died, would be ſo buried that no man ſhould know which was hys graue, as it is witneſſed in the booke of Deuteronomie: and that (as ẏ expoſitors teſtifie) was becauſe ẏ Iewes, which were prone to new fangled worſhipping, ſhould not fall into Idolatry, worſhippyng hym as God, for the great and manifold myracles that were wrought by hym while he wes alyue.

To thinke Pilgrimage to be meritorious, is no point of our beliefe.

To conclude, I ſay, it is no poynt of my beliefe, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at ſaintes graues and reliques, are meritorious workes, ne yet that there is any deuociõ in ſo doing: That is godly which is inſtitute by ſcripture. If you thinke contrary, I would deſire to know for mine inſtruction, what part of ſcripture ſhould make therfore, agaynſt me.

Aunſwere to the 17. article
The ſaying of Hierome.

¶ In the .xvij. where ye doe aſke, whether the faſt of lent, and other apoynted by the common lawe, and receaued in common vſage of Chriſten people (vnleſſe neceſſitie otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerued. I ſay that in mine opinion they are to be obſerued, and faſtyng diſcretly done is commendable, for ſo ſhall a man auoyde ſlouth & be the more ready to ſerue God and alſo hys neighbours: & therby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiſcence, according to ẏ ſaying of the Poete: Sine cerere & baccho friget venus Without wyne & good fare, luſt waxeth cold. And as ſaynt Hierome: Venter mero eſtuans ſpumat in libidinem: The body enflamed with wyne, burſteth out into luſte.

Faſt broken is of it ſelfe no ſinne.
No poſitiue law without the foundacion of ſcripture, bindeth to deadly ſinne.
How to faſt truely after the ſcripture.

Yet ſhall not the breakyng of theſe feaſtes make a man to do deadly ſinne, excepte in his minde be ſome other malicious affection therwyth annexed, as raſhnes of mynde, deſpite, or ſuch lyke, for ſo much as no poſitiue law of man, made without foundation of ſcripture, may bynde any perſon: ſo that in breakyng of ſuch, he ſhall therfore ſinne deadly. And of thys ſort made by man, is the faſt of Lent and other dayes ordeyned in your lawes wythout authoritye of ſcripture, which wylleth vs to faſt perpetually, eatyng and drinkyng, but when nede requireth (not for any voluptuouſnes, as many that recounteth themſelues great faſters, I feare haue done) yea and that ſparely, foreſeyng alway that our ſtomackes be neuer cloyed with dronkenſhyp or ſurfettyng, as is commaunded by our ſauiour in Luke: but contrarywiſe, after the faſhion rather of a certayne Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in Valerius Maximus, that neuer roſe from hys meales meate, with a full ſtomacke, but rather ſomewhat empty, or hungry: which, as the ſtory teſtifieth, cauſed hym to lyue ſo wonderfull a long ſeaſon, that a man could vnneth thinke it poſſible for ones lyfe, to bee ſo prolonged, had not ſuch a notable author reported it.

Faſting rather to be perſwaded thẽ enforced.
Church holy dayes ſolemniſed in England.
Gownes ſowed before.
Multitude of lawes.
Multitude of lawes vnprofitable.

And (to tell the truth) I ſuppoſe the prelates ſhould better haue perſwaded the people to pure faſting, by inſtant preachyng of the worde of God, and fatherly exhortations, then by ordeinyng of ſo ſore a multitude of lawes and conſtitutions: For the nature of man is well deſcribed of Horace ſaying: Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimuſq; negata. Looke what is forbyd, that we moſt deſire, and always couet the things that be denyed vs. And in another prouerbe: Funis plus æquo tenſus rumpitur. The rope by ouermuch ſtraynyng burſteth aſonder. According to this, ſayd a good old father in Cambridge, I remember hys ſaying wel yet: He was an olde doctor of diuinity, when a Legate came into England at a tyme, and he with certayne Biſhops, had ordeyned that the dedication of all churches thorough England (as I remember) ſhould be kept holy and ſolemnized vpon one day, and prieſtes ſhould haue their gownes made cloſe before, with ſuch other lyke ordinaunces: he reſiſted, not condeſcendyng to haue them put in execution, when his Dioceſane required hym, declaring how this multitude of lawes pleaſed hym not: For we had enough and aboundantly afore, addyng this reaſon: Adam beyng in Paradiſe had but one law to obſerue, and yet he brake it: what other thyng then ſhall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply tranſgreſſion? For when a Fagot is bound ouer ſtrait, the bond muſt breake.

God therfore I beſech hym, ſend vs of the ſwete dew of hys heauenly doctrine, to moyſten and ſupple the earthly ground of our hartes, that we may grow like faſhioned vnto hym, putting apart our olde Adam, with all his diſſimulation and painted ſhew, that is much cauſed by humayne lawes and conſtitutions, and do vpon Chriſt, that is ẏ very truth and the way directing men to the ſame. Amen.

Aunſwere to the 18. article
Againſt Images.
Pſal 97.

¶ Unto the .xviij. where you aſke, whether it be laudable and profitable, that worſhypfull Images be ſet in churches for the remembraunce of Chriſt and hys ſaintes? I ſay, that I know of no images ẏ ought to be worſhipped, ſpecially made by the hand of men: for the Pſalme ſayth: Confuſion or ſhame be vpon them that worſhyp or make obeyſãce vnto carued Images, & that glory in their pictures.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Moreouer Saynt Auguſtine in hys booke de vera religione, ſayth thus: Let vs not haue deuotion in worſhippyng ẏ workes of men: or els thus, let vs not be bound to worſhip the workes of men, for the workmẽ are more excellẽt thẽ the things which they make: whõ notwithſtãding we ought not to worſhip: The latin is thus. Nõ ſit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim ſunt ipſi artifices qui talia fabricantur, quos tamen colere non debemus.

Lactantius. Origines contra Celſum.

Lactantius alſo maketh ſtrongly with the ſame. I can not without ÿ booke recite his ſaying, for he teacheth largely of the ſame matter. Origen alſo cõtra Celſum (I trowe) wyl likewiſe teſtifie, where (as I remẽber) he concludeth, ſaying, that he would haue no Goldſmithes ne Grauers in a Communaltie, for they do but litle profite or none thereto.

Goldeſmithes and Caruers, needles in a common wealth.

Gregorius ad Seruum.

And S. Gregory that was chiefe, either inuentor that Images ſhould be ſet in churches, or els mayntey ner therof, would not as I haue read (I trowe it is in an Epiſtle which he writeth ad Seruum) haue them worſhipped.

And as concernyng the excityng of mens memorie, I woulde ſuppoſe, that if Chriſtes doctrine were ſo ſhewed and opened, that people might clearely vnderſtande it (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to doo, by diligent teachyng therof) I thinke verely we ſhould haue litle neede of any other Images, then that ſhould by wholſome doctrine be ſhewed vnto vs by word of mouth & wrytyng: Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad comonefaciendum diſcipulos, quam viua vox: Nothing is ſo effectual to excite the remembrance of diſciples, as the liuely voyce of good teachers: as it is teſtified both by common report, and alſo by the ſentence of learned men.

So that I ſuppoſe, if this liuely doctrine of God had afore tyme bene apertly and diligently opened vnto the people, as curates ought to haue done, we ſhould haue ſuch profite therby, that we ſhould not neede to contende for ſettyng vp or takyng downe of other dumme ſtockes & liueles ſtones carued or made by men. And if prelates woulde begin to ſet vp Chriſtes word, which, alas for pitie, is not loked vpon, but rather troden downe and deſpiſed, ſo that many are not aſhamed to ſay, I wyl haue no more learnyng in Chriſtes lawe, then my predeceſſors, for they that magnifie it, muſt be ſore puniſhed, and taken for heretikes, with ſuch other greeuous wordes) if this doctrine were yet ſet vp in Churches (I ſaye) and truely opened, that all men might haue their iudgement thereby reformed and made cleare, I thinke we ſhoulde not greatly neede the profite that commeth by Images made of men, to excite our remembraunce to liue Chriſtenly.

The worde and doctrine ſerueth to put vs in remembrance, and not Images.

For that worde which came from the breſt of Chriſte hym ſelfe, and was written of other, that wrote and ſpake by the ſuggeſtion of his ſpirite the holy ghoſt, ſheweth full perfectly his bleſſed wyll, whiche is the true and certayne Image of his mynd and deuiſe. If this therfore were diligently inculcate, I thinke we ſhoulde be transfourmed anewe, accordyng to the mynde of Paul, whiche wrytyng to the Coloſſians, ſaith thus: See that you lye not one to an other, after that now you haue put of the old man with his woorkes, and haue put vpon you the newe man, whiche is transformed and renouate after the knowledge and Image of him that made vs. Yea, thus ſhould we al be docti à deo: taught of God, as is ſaid in Ioh. and al ſhould know God both ſmall and great, according to the promiſe recited in the Hebrues: yea thus ſhould we be reſtored to goodnes, that we ſhould haue the Image of God carued in our harts ful expreſſely. For euery man is transformed into the faſhion of vertuous thinges that he is accuſtomed to reade & heare. And therefore it were a great grace, if we might haue the word of God diligently & often ſpoken and ſong vnto vs in ſuche wiſe, that the people might vnderſtande it. Yea, then ſhould it come to paſſe, that craftes mẽ ſhould ſing ſpiritual pſalmes ſittyng at their worke, and the huſbandman at his plough, as wiſheth S. Hierome.

The true Image of God in his worde and his workes.

Colloſſ. 3.

Iohn. 6.

Heb. 8.

As a man readeth, ſo is he faſhioned.

Yea this holy Image of Chriſte, I meane his bleſſed doctrine doth appoynt vs alſo to conſider the workes made by the hand of God, ſuch as no man can make like, wherby as ſaith S. Paul wrytyng to the Romanes: The inuiſible power and diuinitie of God is knowen and ſene by the creation of the worlde, of ſuch as wyl conſider his workes, that are therein by hym made. Looke in the Pſalmes: Laudate Dominum de Cœlis: Cœli enarrant. &c. Prayſe ye the Lord, frõ the heauen. The heauens declare the glorye of God, with other. And theſe two Images, Gods woorkes, and his doctrine hath, ere any Images made by men were ſet vp in Churches wel and ſufficiently inſtructed the primitiue church, and ſhould yet inſtruct vs wel, if they were well conſidered: ſo that we ſhoulde not neede ſo ſore to contend for ſettyng vp of other made by men. Wherby I haue perceyued much harme to ariſe, & no great profite: nor the ſcripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary. As concernyng which matter, I would your Lordſhip woulde pleaſe to reade the Epiſtle of Baruch once agayne, writing of the ſame matter.

The beſt Image of God is his word.

Rom. 1.

Pſal. 148.

Pſal 19.

Gods workes and his word, be the right Images of God.

Anſwere to the 19. ar.

Vnto the.xix. where you aſke, whether I beleue that prayers of men liuyng doo profite ſoules departed, & beyng in Purgatorie? I made anſweare in the.xiij. article.

Aunſwer to the 20. article.

Vnto the.xx. where you do aſke, whether men merite and deſerue both by their faſting and alſo by other deedes of deuotion? I haue ſhewed what I do thinke therof, in the fift demaund.

Aunſwer to the 21. article.

In the.xxi. where you do aſke, whether I do beleue that men prohibited of biſhops to preache, as ſuſpect of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching & teachyng, vntyll they haue purged them ſelues of ſuſpition, afore an higher Iudge? I ſay, that men may be wrongfully ſuſpected of hereſie, eyther becauſe they neuer thought to beleue ſuch errours, as men by falſe ſuſpition doo deeme them to fauour: or els when men as wel of high eſtate, as of low, by ſiniſter iudgement may thinke that to be errour, which is the very truth. And of this ſpeaketh Eſay: Woe be to them (quoth he) that calleth the light darkenes, and the darknes light: the truth falſehoode, and falſehoode truth: as the Biſhops and the prieſtes, with their Oratour Tertullus called Paul, ſaying thus before a Iudge called Felix, vnto whoſe Courte they brought hym to be condẽned to death: We haue (quoth they) gotten here a peſtilent felowe, a ſower of ſedition or diſcorde among al the Iewes of the worlde, and bringer vp of the Secte of the Nazarens, whiche was alſo mynded to haue polluted our temple. &c. This is to call by peruerſe iudgement, truth falſhoode. And thus dyd their predeceſſours ſpeake of the Prophetes, yea and of Chriſte hym ſelfe, callyng hym a ſeducer and preacher of hereſie: whiche is written for our inſtruction. And men thus beyng ſuſpected (as I would none were) ought in no wiſe therefore to ceaſe neyther from preaching, ne teaching.

Truth taken many tymes for hereſie, and hereſye for truth.

Eſay. 5.

Whether men prohibited ought to ceaſe from preaching.

Actes 24.

Truth taken for falſhode.

Chriſt taken for a ſeducer.

In what cauſes, men forbidden, ought not to ceaſe from preaching.

Act. 4. 5. 6.

Enſample of this we haue in the Actes of the apoſtles, where is ſhewed, that whẽ Peter & Iohn had done a myracle vpon a man that had bene lame frõ his natiuitie (whõ by the power of Chriſt they healed, & cauſed to go where he pleaſed) the people hearyng of this, came runnyng about Peter & Iohn. Peter ſeeyng this, dyd exhort the people in a ſermon, that they ſhould not thinke hym & his felowe S. Iohn, to haue done this wonderful thyng by their owne power or holynes, but by the vertue of Chriſte, whom they & their head rulers had ſlayne.

While they were thus ſpeaking with the people, there came vpõ them the prieſtes & officers of the temple, accompanyed with the Saduces, being ſore diſpleaſed that they ſhould enterpriſe to teach ÿ people, & preach that mẽ ſhould ariſe frõ death by the name of Chriſt, whõ they had cauſed to be crucified, & therwith they layd handes vpon them, and put them in warde vntyl the next day. The next day they ſent for the apoſtles before them, demaundyng by what power, & in whoſe name they dyd this myracle? Peter made anſweare, If you (quoth he) that are head rulers ouer the people, luſt by examination to knowe by what meanes we dyd it, we would you ſhould al knowe, that we dyd it throwe the name of Chriſt Ieſu of Nazareth, whom you dyd crucifie: but God dyd cauſe him to ariſe againe. In the vertue of his name doth this man that afore was lame, nowe ſtande before you here both whole and ſounde. For Chriſt is that high corner ſtone, whõ you caſt away, which ſhould haue builded the peoples fayth vpon hym, neither is there any ſaluation without him.

Act. 4.

Theſe great men, ſeyng that Peter ſpake ſo frely, and that he with his felowe Iohn, were ſimple men, without any pompous apparel, or great garde of ſeruauntes, beyng like ideots and men vnlearned, wondred thereat. At the laſt they dyd commaunde them to depart out of their Councell houſe, whiles they ſhould cõmon more largely of ÿ matter. Afterward they called ÿ Apoſtles afore them agayne, commaundyng them that they ſhould no more preach ne teache in the name of Ieſus. But the Apoſtles anſwered, ſaying: I beſeeche you iudge better: ought we to obeye you more then God, or no? For certainely we muſt needes teſtifie of thoſe thinges which we haue both hearde and ſeene. Then the head prieſtes threatnyng thẽ ſore, dyd geue them ſtrayt charge, not to breake their precept, and ſo dyd let thẽ goe, not knowyng any cauſe why they might puniſh them: for they feared leaſt the people would haue taken part with the apoſtles, for the people gaue glory to God for the myracle ſhewed by them.

Peter and the Apoſtles prohibited by the Phariſes to preach Chriſt.

Act. 4.

Notwithſtãdyng al theſe great threates, Peter wrought myracles ſtyl amongeſt the people, doyng thẽ to knowe that glory therfore ought to be geuen to Ieſus, by whoſe power and name they were done. Wherwith the hartes of the people melted for ioye: ſo that they folowed after the Apoſtles, whyther ſoeuer lightly they went.

Peter diſobeyed the precept of the Phariſeis.

The primate of the prieſtes hearyng of thys, and al that were about hym, repleate with indignation, layde handes vpon the Apoſtles, puttyng them in the commen Priſon. But the Aungel of God in the nyght opened the Priſon doores, and brought them out, ſaying: Goe you into the Temple, and ſtande there preachyng vnto the people al the

Peter deliuered out of priſon.

woordes of lyfe. That is to ſaye, Chriſtes doctrine: and ſo they dyd early in the mornyng. Then came forth the chiefe prieſt, and they whom he vſed to haue about him, and called a Councel, in whiche were al the prieſtes of Iſrael, or auncientes of Iſrael. So they ſent vnto the priſon houſe for to haue the apoſtles brought forth before them. When their ſeruantes came to the priſon houſe, and found the apoſtles gone thence, they returned to their maiſters, ſaying: we found the priſon faſt ſhut roūd about in euery part, and the keepers watching at the dores without, ful diligently, But when we had opened the priſon, we could find no body within.

Act. 5.

Then as the high prieſtes & officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would therof come. Then came one vnto them & ſhewed thē, ſaying: Behold, the men that ye put in priſon, are ſtanding in the temple preaching vnto the people. Then went they thyther, and brough the apoſtles with them, without any violence: but they were afrayd leſt the people would haue beaten them downe with ſtones.

God to be obeied more then men.
Act. 5.

Then they cauſed the apoſtles to be brought into their Councel houſe, the high prieſt beginning his propoſition againſt the apoſtles in this forme: Haue we not ſtraitly commaunded you (ſaid he) that you ſhoulde not preache in the name of Chriſt? And ſee, you haue filled all Hieruſalem with your doctrine. Wyll you bring this mans bloud vpon vs, that we ſhould vnrighteouſly haue cauſed hym to ſuffer death? Then anſweared Peter and the other apoſtles, ſaying: We ought to obey God more then any men. The God of our fathers hath raiſed Ieſu from death, whom you did ſlay, hanging hym vpon a tree. Hym notwithſtandyng hath God raiſed, and by his power aduaunced to be our king and Saueour: by whom ſhalbe geuen to al Iſrael, that wyl take repentance, forgeuenes of ſinne.

These great rulers hearing this, their harts wer therwith clouen aſunder, and they cōſailed together for to ſlay the apoſtles. But one good man among their multitude aduiſed them otherwiſe, whoſe aduice they dyd approue. Thē they called the apoſtles againe afore them, cauſing them to be ſcourged, and charged thē no more to preach in the name of Ieſu, and ſo dyd let them depart.

The counſell of Gamaliell.

Then went they awaye out of the Councel, reioycyng that god had made them worthy to ſuffer ſuch rebukes for his name ſake. But yet they neuer ceaſed to teach & preach of Ieſus Chriſt, euery day in ẏ temple, & in all houſes that they came into. This is written in the .iiij. v. and. vi. of the Actes of the apoſtles, and for our inſtructiō, doubt you not: for ſuch practiſe is ſhewed in all ages. So that hereby you may ſee, when men be wrongfully ſuſpect or infamed of hereſie, and ſo prohibited by Biſhops for to preache the worde of God, that they ought for no mans commaundement to leaue or ſtop, though they do neuer purge them ſelues afore them: for ſuche wyl admit no iuſt purgation many tymes, but iudge in their owne cauſes, and that as they luſt, which me thinketh, is not al comely. Therfore in the olde lawe the prieſtes and other Iudges did ſit together, hearing of matters that were in controuerſie.

Act. 4. 5. 6.

Wrongfull prohibytion ought not to ſtoppe the preaching of Gods worde.

Popiſh prelates iudges in their owne cauſes.

Yet this I thinke reaſonable, that a man iuſtly and not cauſeleſſe ſuſpect, and namely if he be ſo founde faultie of hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching, after he is inhibited, vntyl he haue made his purgation before ſome Iudge. But in my rude opinion, it were neceſſary and conuenient, that our heades ſhoulde not be ouer ready of ſuſpition, and ſo inhibityng men approued, from preachyng, ſpecially in this Seſſion, when the people doth ſuſpect them to do it more for loue of them ſelues, and mainteynyng of their priuate lucre, or honor, then to do it for loue of God, and maintenance of his honor.

Swiftnes of ſuſpition reproued.

Anſwere to the xxii. article.

In the. xxij. where you demaunde, whether I beleeue that it is lawful for al prieſtes freely to preache the word of God or no, and that in al places, at al ſeaſons, and to al perſons to whom they ſhal pleaſe, although they be not ſent? I ſay, that prieſtes are called in Scripture by two diſtinct woordes, that is to wyt, Præſbyteri & Sacerdotes. The firſt is to ſay, ancient men, Seniors, or elders: and by that worde or vocable, are the ſecular Iudges or ſuch like head Officers, ſometyme alſo ſignified, as we reade in Daniel, that they were called, which defamed and wrongfully accuſed Suſanna: but this is ſeldome, and nothing ſo cuſtomably, as thoſe to be called Præſbyteri, which are ſet to be Prelates in the Churche to guide the ſame by the worde of God and his bleſſed doctrine, that is, the rodde of direction, and the foundation of Chriſtes fayth. And Prieſtes thus called Præſbyteri, in the Primitiue Churche (what tyme were but fewe traditions and ordinances to let vs frō the ſtrayte trade or inſtitution made by Chriſte and his Apoſtles) were the very ſame and none other, but Biſhops, as I ſhewed you in the firſt part of myne anſweare, by authoritie of S. Hierome.

Prieſtes whether they ought to preach, though they be not ſent.

Epiſcopi and *Præſbyteri*, all one.

Paul alſo recordeth the ſame right euidently in the firſt to Titus, in this forme: I leaſt thee Titus (quoth bleſſed Paul) behinde me in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in a due order, ſuche thinges as lacke or be not els perfectly framed, and that thou ſhouldeſt ſet prieſtes in euery towne, like as I dyd appoynt thee, if any be without reproche, or blameleſſe, the husbande of one wyfe, hauyng faithfull children, not geuen to riotte, or that be not vnruly, for ſo ought a Biſhop to be. &c. These are not my wordes, but S. Paules, in the Epiſtle to Titus. Where you may ſee, that a prieſt called Præſbyter, ſhoulde be the ſame that we cal a biſhop, whom he requireth a litle after, to be able by wholſome doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to folow the ſame doctrine, & if any ſhal ſpeake againſt it, to reproue thē therby. And marke you how he would haue a biſhop (otherwiſe called an anciēt man, or a prieſt) to make exhortatiō by holy ſcripture, & therby to repproue thē ẏ ſhal ſpeake againſt the truth, & not to condemne them by might or authoritie only, or els by traditions of men made in general Councels. And as many as are in this wiſe Prieſtes which are called commonly Præsbyteri, otherwiſe biſhops) ſuch as in the church are ſet to take cure of ſoule, and to be ſpirituall paſtors, ought to preach freely the word of God in al places and times conuenient, and to whom ſoeuer it ſhal pleaſe thē, if they ſuppoſe & ſee that their preaching ſhould edifie and profite.

Prieſtes haue two names in ſcripture, *Presbyteri & Sacerdotes.*
Tit. 1.

Deſcription of a true Prieſt.

Gaynſayers of truth are to be reproued by ſcriptures, and not by authoritie only, or traditions of men, made in generall Councels.

What miniſters be ſent.

And where as you adde this particle: Though they were not ſent: I ſay, that all ſuche are choſen to be preachers, and therefore ſent: for of this ſpeaketh S. Gregorye in his Paſtorals, in this wiſe: Prædicationis quippe officium ſuſcipit, quiſquis ad ſacerdotium accedit. Who ſoeuer taketh prieſthoode vpon hym, taketh alſo vpon hym the office of preachyng. Yea your lawe reporteth in like manner, Diſtinct. 43. where it is thus ſaid: A prieſt ought to be honeſt, that he may ſhewe honeſtie both in wordes and conditions. Wherefore it is ſayd in the Canticles: The chekes of the ſpouſe, that is to wyt, of preachers, are to be compared to a Turtle doue.

Gregor. in Paſtoral.

Diſt. 43.

Where is moreouer added: He muſt alſo haue the gift of teaching, becauſe (as ſaith ſ. Ierome) innocēt cōuerſation, without ſpeach or preaching, how much it is auaylable by example geuyng, ſo much doth it hurt againe by ſilence keping: for wolues muſt be driuen away by barking of dogs, & by the ſhepheards ſtaffe, which as ẏ gloſe ſheweth) ſignifieth preaching & ſharpe wordes of the prieſt. And this I vnderſtād of ſuch as ſhould be prieſtes elect both by god and men, in Gods church, whoſe office is to preach.

And though many of them whiche nowe do miniſter in the church, and are elect by biſhops, otherwiſe thē after the maner of Chriſtes inſtitution, and the forme of the primitiue Church, neyther do, ne can preach: yet ought not the multitude of ſuch to be layd for an authoritie againſt me, or other that are compelled to ſhewe the truth and right ordinance of the apoſtles, that was vſed afore tyme in the Primitiue church: God bring it in agayne. Neyther ought we for the negligence of biſhops, which haue choſen ſuch an ignorant multitude (wherby the principal ductie of prieſtes is growen out of knowledge) when we do ſhew you therof, to be ſo enforced by a booke othe, and therefore noted as heretikes, impriſoned, and burned.

Multitude ſerueth not for authoritye.

Other be called prieſtes in the new Teſtament by this word, Sacerdotes, that is to ſay (I thinke) ſacrificers. And thus as Chriſt was called Rex & Sacerdos, kyng & prieſt, ſo be al true Chriſten men in the newe Teſtamente (as is teſtified, Apocal. 1.) by Chriſt, made kinges and prieſtes. The wordes in the Apocal. be thus: To Ieſu Chriſt which hath loued vs, and waſhed vs from our ſinnes through his bloud, and made vs kings and prieſtes vnto God euen his father, vnto him be glory and rule for euer and euer. Amen, Thus ſayth S. Iohn, ſpeakyng of al Chriſten people. In like maner is it ſaid. 1. Pet. 2. where he writeth vnto all Chriſten men: You (quoth he) be a choſen generation, a regal prieſthood, an holy people. S. Bede expounding the ſame (as my remembrance doth ſerue) ſhal teſtifie playnely with me. And S. Auguſtine I wot wel, in diuers places recordeth, that al Chriſten men be ſo called, Regale ſacerdotium. And likewiſe doth Faber in his Commentaries vpon the ſame place. Who ſoeuer looketh vpon the treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, ſhal finde a multitude of auncient Fathers ſayinges, declaryng the ſame.

Sacerdotes.

Apoc. 1.

1. Peter. 2.

Bede vpon the epiſtle of S. Peter.

But this may yet ſeme a ſtrange thing & a newe, that al perſons ſhould be called prieſts, and that in ſcripture, which can not lye. Truth it is in dede, it maye ſeeme ſtraunge to diuers, as it dyd to me, and many other, when we reade it firſt, becauſe we neuer read ne heard of the ſame before: and ſo dyd Chriſtes doctrine and his apoſtles ſeeme newe to his audience, when he hym ſelfe preached.

How all men are Prieſtes.

Albeit

Rom. 1.
John. 5.

Albeit he yet proued his doyng and ſayinges by authoritie of the lawe and prophetes, as is ſhewed in the firſte to the Rom. where Paul reporteth, That he was choſen apart to be a miniſter of the Goſpel that was promiſed before by the prophetes. And our ſauiour teſtifieth the ſame in S. John, ſaying to ẏ Jewes: Think you not (quoth he) that I ſhall accuſe you before my father? There is one to accuſe you, whiche is Moſes, in whom you doo truſt. But if you beleeued Moſes, you ſhoulde certaynely beleeue me, for he writeth of me. &c. Likewiſe a litle aboue, he biddeth them ſearche the Scriptures, for they make reporte of hym.

The ſaying of a Doctour preaching at Paules.
All bee prieſtes, but not all miniſters publicke.
Euery man myniſter of good inſtruction in his owne houſe.
Eph. 6.

But although theſe ſayinges doo ſeeme newe for lacke that we haue not had old familiaritie with Scripture, and vſage in readyng the ſame, (God amend and helpe it, when it ſhall pleaſe hym) yet truely ſo ſtandeth it written, as I haue ſaid, and ſo is interpreted by the Doctours aboue named, and ſo was it preached of a certaine Doctour alſo of Diuinitie in London, the ſecond day of Aduent laſt paſt, in this ſentence. I wote not whether theſe were the ſelfe wordes or no. The church (quoth the doctor) is nothyng els but the congregation of faythful people: and you all (quoth he to the people) are of the church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewiſe we ẏ al mē are prieſts, but yet are not al alike ordeyned Miniſters (ſaid he) for to conſecrate the body of Chriſt in the church. Thus ſaid the preacher: whom when I ſee opportunitie, I dare be bold to name. And theſe I ſay ought not al to preach openly in generall conuētions or aſſemblies, neither cā they, but they rather ſhould come to learne: yet priuately are they bound for inſtructions of their ſeruauntes, children, kinsfolke, and ſuch like, to ſpeake that ſhould be for the deſtructiō of vice, and encreaſe or vpholdyng of vertue, when ſoeuer time and place ſo behoueth, as ſheweth ſ. Paul, ſaying in this wiſe: You that are fathers, prouoke not your chyldren to wrath or anger, but bring thē vp in the doctrine and diſcipline of the Lorde.

Aunſwer to the 23. article
No man to preach openly, except he be choſen.
Gal. 1.
Rom. 5.

In the .xxiij. where you doo aſke, whether I beleeue that it is lawfull for laye people of both kyndes, that is to wyt, both men and women, to ſacrifice and preach the word of God, I ſay, that it is not meete for none, in myne opinion to preach openly the word of God, except they be choſen & elect to the ſame, eyther by God, or ſolemnely by men, or els by both, and therfore Saint Paul calleth him ſelf in al his Epiſtles an Apoſtle of God, that is to wyt, a meſſenger of God. And to the Galathians he writeth thus: Paul an apoſtle, not ſent by mē, neither by man, but by Ieſus Chriſt. Alſo to the Romanes: Howe ſhall men preache truely, (quoth he) except they be ſent?

In tyme of great neceſſitye, lay people, man or woman may preach.
1. Cor. 14.
1. Cor. 11.

Notwithſtanding, I ſay this, both by ſupportation of Gods lawe, and alſo of lawes written in the Decrees, that in tyme of great neceſſitie, laye people may preache, and that of both kindes, both men and women, as you may ſee in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where as he ſaith: That it is a ſhame for a woman to ſpeake in a multitude or congregation. Yet in an other place he ſaith: That euery woman praying or propheſying, hauyng no thing vpon her head, doth diſhonour her head.

Joell 2.
Act. 2.
Luke. 2.
Women that prophecied in the ſcripture.

To this accordeth the propheſie of Joel recited Act. 2. where in the perſon of God is ſayd thus: I ſhal poure out of my ſpirit vpō al fleſh, & both your ſonnes & your daughters ſhall propheſie. Thus dyd Anna the Propheteſſe daughter of Phanuel, geue praiſe vnto Chriſt in the Temple, and ſpake of hym to all men of Hieruſalem, that looked after the redemption of Iſrael.

Act. 7.
Deſtinct 9. de conſecrat.
Cap. 16. queſt. 1.
Diſt. 18. ca. *adijcimus.*

This alſo doth yet ſpeake vnto vs in Scripture, the virgine Mary, by the ſong which ſhee made, that is dayly recited in the Church, called Magnificat. Yea Steuen alſo being no Prieſt, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good ſermon. Act. 7. This alſo willeth your Decrees, Diſt. 9. de Conſe. where is thus ſaide: A woman although ſhee is learned & holy, may not preſume to teache men in the congregation, ne baptiſe, except neceſſitie requireth. So that where neede is, I ſhal adde this, but not without the mind of hym that wrote the Lawe: like as a woman maye baptiſe, ſo may ſhee teache the worde of God, or preache, as is declared more playnely, Cap. 16. queſt. 1. & in Gloſa. 11. Cap adijcimus diſt. 18. And I beſeeche God, that for lacke of true and well learned Officers, ſuche neceſſitie doo not come now vpon vs, that ſuch ſhal neede to take vpon them to preache.

He meaneth the Dialoge of Eraſmus, intituled *Abbas & Erudita.*

There is a learned man, whiche in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot and a Gentlewomā, hauing ſkyl in learning, ieſteth, but with pretie earneſt (as his maner is) and geueth a watch worde touching ſomewhat my purpoſe. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The gentlewoman anſwearing the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her, becauſe ſhee was quicke in vtterance of learnyng: Sir (quoth ſhee) if you continue therein ſo dul as you haue don and dayly do, the world perceyuyng it (as they begin faſt to growe quicke in ſight) it is to be feared, leaſt they wyll ſet you beſide the ſaddle, and put vs in your roumes.

Sacrifice doing.
Sacrifice in offering our bodyes.
Sacrifice true and lyuely.
Rom. 12.
Sacrifice of mortification.
Reaſonable worſhipping.
Eſa. 29.

As concernyng ſacrifice doyng (ſo I do vnderſtand ẏ the word which you do vſe, Libare, not knowing els what it ſhoulde meane) I ſaye, that it is lawfull for all men and women to doo ſacrifice, of what ſort ſoeuer they be: but I meane not by ſacrifice doing, to ſay Maſſe, as prieſtes vſe to doo, thereunto appoynted: but like as Chriſtē people be Sacerdotes, that is to ſay, Sacrificers, as is ſhewed before, ſo ought they to offer, and do offer ſpirituall Sacrifices, as writeth S. Paul to the Romanes, ſaying: I beſeeche you brethren, for the loue of Gods mercy, that you wyll geue your body a liuing ſacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reaſonable worſhipping. In that he ſaith our bodye ſhould be a ſacrifice, he would haue it ſlayne: for that was the maner, that all beaſtes that were wont to be ſacrificed ſhoulde be firſt ſlaine. But he ioyneth therewith, Liuyng, ſaying: Geue your body to be a lyuyng ſacrifice. So that he would we ſhoulde continue to lyue in this body to Gods pleaſure, but ſleeing the euyll luſtes & appetites thereof, and ſo ſhal our worſhippyng be reaſonable, if we doo not geue vnto our reaſon ouer much of the bridle, wherby it may run at riot, folowing fleſhly concupiſcence, & wicked vanitie or arrogancie: as when men wyll take in hande to deuiſe, by their owne wyt, a more godly way of liuyng, then is inſtitute by Chriſte (whiche is the wiſedome of his heauenly Father) ſaying, that his is not ſufficient enough for vs to folowe. Of whom it is ſaid by the Prophete Eſay in theſe wordes: This people approche neare vnto me, and honoreth me with their lyppes, but their hart is farre from me: but they doo worſhip me in vaine, teaching doctrines that are lawes or preceptes of men.

Rom. 12.

Then Paul proceedeth, ſhewing of this Chriſtian ſacrifice, ſaying: And applye not your ſelues vnto the faſhion of this world, but be you trāſformed by renouation of your mynd, that you may know what is the wyl of God, what is good, acceptable, & rightful afore hym. See how he would haue vs do this ſacrifice, & mortifie our luſtes, in refuſing the corrupt faſhion and behauiour of the worlde, alteryng our myndes by a newe way, by knowing the wyll of God, and folowing after the ſame.

Sacrifice of prayſe.
Vituli labiorum.
Oſe. 14.
Hebr. 13.

An other manner of Sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we ſhoulde alwaye offer vnto God the Sacrifice of prayſe, that is to wit, the fruite of our lyppes, that Oſee calleth, Vitulos labiorum, geuyng laude vnto his name: and that we ſhoulde not forget to doo good, and to be beneficiall to our neighbours, For in ſuch ſacrifice (ſaith he) God hath delight.

Thus I ſay, that by plaine ſuffrage of your lawe, in the Decrees, and alſo of Scripture, laye perſons in neceſſitie, & in tyme of neede, may lawfully preach or ſhew the worde of God, and alſo do ſacrifice, but I thinke, except great neede require, they ought not ſo to do.

Thus haue you herein my mynde, whiche if it be not firme and ſubſtantial, I wyl yet reforme it when any better is ſhewed, as I wyl alſo doo in all other thinges: for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit me thinke the decrees do paſſe euidently with me.

To the 24. article
Excommunication.
Excommunication requireth conſent of other.

In the .xxiiij. where you doo aſke, whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynſt al heretiques, doo oblige and bynde them before God? I ſay, that it byndeth them afore God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deede, as they be named, and if he denounceth thē ſo to be, not of his owne proper head or affection onely: but with the conſent of other gathered with hym in Chriſtes name, for the behouſe of Chriſtes Churche: For ſo vſed Saint Paul, when he dyd excommunicate the man of Corinth, whiche had ful horribly defiled his mother in lawe, as appeareth. 1. Cor. 5.

1 Cor. 5.
Math. 18.

And the ſame forme declareth the Goſpel, Mathew. 18 in theſe wordes: If thy brother hath treſpaſſed againſt thee, go & reproue him betwixt thee & him alone. If he wil hear thee, thou haſt ſo wonne thy brother. If he wil not heare thee, take one or two with thee, that in the reporte of two or three, euery thing may be aſſured. If he wyl not heare the, ſhew it vnto the congregation. If he wyl not folowe the mynd of the cōgregatiō, let him be vnto thee as a paynime or a notable ſinner. For verily I ſay vnto you, what ſoeuer you ſhal bynd vpon earth, ſhalbe bound in heauē. So that ſuche excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the congregatiō aſſembled together with their paſtour, whoſe aduiſe they ought principally to eſteeme and folowe, if it be vertuous and godly.

The Pope may erre.

And thus is it conuenient to be done: For the Pope is made of fleſhe as well as other men, and therefore he maye ſometyme iudge awrye, curſing the bleſſed, and bleſſing

Ezech. 13.
Mat. 11.
Iohn. 19.

the curſed: and likewiſe mayſt other Prelates, iudging the Chriſten to be heretikes, and heretikes Chriſten. Of whō it is alſo written in the prophetie of Ezechiel: Mortificabant animas, quæ non moriuntur, & viuificabant animas, quæ non viuunt: They ſlewe the ſoules of them that ſhould not dye, and gaue lyfe to the ſoules that ſhould not lyue. As dyd the Phariſees when they dyd caſt Chriſte out of the vineyard, which ſignifieth the Church. Mar. xi. And as our Sauiour propheſied in the. xix. of Iohn, ſaying vnto his Diſciples: There ſhalbe (quoth he) ſome that ſhal excommunicate you: yea, and the tyme ſhal come, that who ſoeuer ſhal ſlay you, ſhall thinke to do honor to God, and this ſhal they doo vnto you, becauſe they doo neyther knowe my father nor me. Theſe wordes be written in the Goſpel of Iohn. xix. Wherby you ſee, that for lacke of knowledge of God, whiche is taught and ſeene by the light of Scripture, Chriſt propheſied howe lewde men ſhoulde lewdly excommunicate the good, yea and ſlay his true ſeruantes, thinking through ſuch factes to pleaſe God, and to do hym good ſeruice.

Oſe. 4.

Wherfore ſend O lord I beſeech thee, the knowledge of thee, to be dilated vpon earth, which Oſee bewayleth ſore, ſeyng it abſent, wherby mens iudgement may be rectified, and ſo to do accordinly to the leadyng of the ſame.

To the 25 article.
Exod. 17.
The vertue of prayer.

In the. xxv. where you aſke, whether euerye Prieſt is bound to ſay dayly his Matteins & Euenſong, according as it is ordeyned by the church, or whether he may leaue them vnſayd, without offence or deadly ſinne? I ſay, that prayer in ſcripture is much commended, and many great and vnmeaſurable benefites are ſhewed to enſue thereupon, that men ſhould the more luſtyly geue them ſelues therto. With praier doth S. Paul bid vs to fight, in diuers places, cōtinuyng in the ſame agaynſt our ghoſtly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Iſraelites fought in battayle agaynſt a nation of Infidels: I trowe their captayne was called Amalecke. Moſes ſtoode vpon a mountaine, to beholde what ſhoulde be the concluſion, and lifting vp his handes, prayed that it might well ſucceede with the Iſraelites, but in long holding them vp, at laſt his feruour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands ſagged downward, and euer as his handes grew heauye (which ſignyfieth, that his affectiō in praying abated and waxed cold) the Infidels preuayled: but as he kept them heaued vpwarde (wherby was meant intentiue prayer of a deuout mynde) he purchaſed victorie to the Iſraelites. Aaron and Hur, which endited the lawe to the people, and were therof the interpreters, ſtood with Moſes, which alway, as they dyd ſee his armes to faynt, dyd vphold them, ſo that finally the victorie came vnto Iſrael.

Deuotion and knowledge to be ioyned together.

By Moſes is ſignified, as ſheweth great Clerkes, deuotion. By Aaron and Hur, the knowledge of Gods doctrine. Which two thynges (deuotion I meane & knowledge) al men had nede to haue preſently with them: for deuotion doth eleuate the mynd to God: but knowledge doth ſuſteyne or vphold the ſame, that it may with courage continue not falling downe, but ſo alway doth incenſe and kindle it, that it mounteth vp into the preſence of our heauenlye father, where they ſauour together farre more ſweetly then any fumigation eyther of Iuniper, Incenſe, or what ſoeuer els, be they neuer ſo pleaſaunt, doth ſauour in any mans noſe.

Rom. 10.
Moſes not to be without Aaron.

Therefore S. Paul ſeeyng how neceſſarye the knot of theſe two deuotion, & knowledge of Gods wyl was, which is ſhewed in ſcripture (as teacheth ſaint Cyprian in theſe wordes: The wyl of God, ſaith he, is that whiche Chriſt both taught and wrought) Paul, I ſay, ſeeyng this, wiſhed to be excommunicate and ſeparate from God, for to haue the Iewes to come to the knowledge of Chriſtes church, which is the only right way to ſaluation, for whom he prayed right ſtudiouſly, as appeareth a litle after, in the tenth chap. to the Romanes, ſaying: I beare them recorde, that they haue a zeale and deuotion to God, but not accordyng to the knowledge of Chriſtes doctrine. &c. Where you may clearely ſee howe the Iewes (as S. Paul whiche is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeale and deuotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. Moſes was amongeſt them, but Aaron was away: whoſe abſence payned Paul ſo ſore, that he rauiſhed with exceedyng charitie, wiſhed no ſmall harme vnto hym ſelfe, vppon condition that the multitude of them might be holpē, and haue a better iudgement: euen to be ſeparated from God.

Deuotion without knowlege hurtfull.

It muſt nedes be then greatly hurtful, albeit men haue deuotiō to be without the knowledge of God and his lawe, ſignified by Aaron.

Act. 26.
The zeale of Saule without deuotion.

S. Paul alſo before that he came to knowledge, had ſuch like deuotion hym ſelfe, as he reporteth, Act. xxvi. in theſe wordes: Al the Iewes (quoth he) haue knowen my liuyng, that I haue led ſith I entred into mans age (which tyme as I remēber, is recounted frō the. xvi. or. xviii. yere of a mans lyfe, in Latine he calleth it, adoleſcentia) which frō the begynnyng thereof, was (ſaith he) at Ieruſalem among myne owne nation, that did knowe me afore alſo frō the begynnyng, if they would ſay truth, that I lyued after the moſte ſtrayteſt order or ſect of our religion, beyng a Phariſee. And I (quoth Paul a litle after) thought to doo many thinges in fightyng againſt the name of Ieſus Chriſt, yea and dyd alſo being at Ieruſalem, and I thruſt many Saintes or holy men into priſon, hauyng power geuē me therto of the high prieſtes, and when they ſhould be put to death I gaue ſentence: and I (quoth he) was cōmonly in all Sinagogues puniſhing them, and compellyng them to blaſpheme (as men are fayne now adayes, when the biſhops make them to abiure, and to denye the truth of the Goſpel) yea moreouer did I (quoth Paul) rage agaynſt them, purſuing after them into ſtraunge landes.

Zeale without knowledge.
Act. 9.
Zach. 2.

See what zeale Paul had to God, afore he was inſtructed in the doctrine of Chriſte. He thought to haue pleaſed God highly in perſecuting his ſeruantes, of whom one was S. Steuen. He was then ſore blynded through ignorance, and wanted the aſſiſtance of Aaron. But anone, as Chriſt which is the true Aaron, had appeared to hym, aſking hym and ſaying in a lamentable fourme: O Saul, Saul, why doſt thou perſecute me, in troublyng and ſtrikyng my ſeruantes the members of myne owne body, of whom it is ſayde, He that ſmyteth you, ſhall ſmyte the tender ball of myne eye: His hart fel (I dare ſay) ſo lowe as his bodye, that is, euen downe to the earth, repentyng hym ſelfe full ſore, beyng readye to amende, and folowe after a newe waye, as appeareth by his anſweare, where he ſayth: O Lord what wylt thou haue me to doo? As though one would ſaye: Nowe I ſee all that I thought to haue done afore of good intention, and good purpoſe or deuotion, hath deceyued me. I finde it otherwiſe. That whiche I eſteemed good, in very deede is, and was nought.

Deuotion a deceaueable thyng.

Teach me therfore good Lord (quoth he) a better way, & amend my iudgement, that myne owne wyll or intention forſakē, I may now folow thine, to pleaſe thee, & to doo thy wil. And ſo he came to Ananias, by ẏ aſſignemēt of Chriſt the thicke filthynes of his olde wayward iudgement, fel away, as appeareth by the droſſe or rubbiſhe that came from his eyes, euen like ſcales, as the Scripture maketh relatiō, and he put vpon hym a newe iudgement, which is directed after the ſtrayt rule of the Goſpell. Whereby you may ſee that mens deuotiō may oft beguile and ſeduce them, except knowledge do aſſiſt the ſame, for to ſuſteyne and direct it: which knyt together, ſhal much ſtrengthen men in al trouble and temptations.

Eraſmus in Enchiridio.
Saying of Mattens.
Pſal. 1.

So that, it is much expedient for al men, as nigh as they may, to haue prayer annexed with knowledge: and that ſheweth full notably Eraſmus, in the ſeconde paſſage of Enchiridiō, where he teſtifieth but of eaſie likyng, that he hath in ſaying of Mattens, yea rather contrarywiſe he ſheweth diſlikyng, and ſo he doth alſo in his expoſition of the firſt Pſalme: Beatus vir, where the text maketh agreeably for the ſame, it is written in this wiſe: Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone after the counſaile of the wicked, and hath not ſtand in the way of ſinners, ne ſit in the chayre of peſtilence, but hath his wyl in the lawe of God, and ſhall muſe or be occupied in it both day and night.

What is true godlynes, or piety.
1 Tym. 4.

See howe the Prophete (whiche I doubt not but he knewe as perfectly that wyll and pleaſure of God, as euer dyd any poore or general Cōſcel, or what ſo euer they were beſide, that ordeyned long ſeruice to be ſayd of Prieſtes) teſtifieth them to be bleſſed, that ſtudy and are exerciſed in the lawe of God both day and night, that is to wyt, alwayes. A great promiſe put of God to ſuch bleſſed exerciſe, whiche we maye call right deuotion, or true godlynes. For Paule defining godlynes ſayth thus: Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt, vt quæ promiſsiones habeat præſentis vitæ & futuræ: That is to wyt, Godlynes is profitable vnto all thinges, for that hath annexed thereto, promiſes of this lyfe preſent, & of the lyfe to come.

No promiſe of God for ſaying Mattens.
The xv. Oos.
Our Ladyes Pſalter.
Faſting our Ladyes Faſt.

But no ſuch promiſe is made of God, I am certayne, to them that ſay dayly mattens. Neither are we certayne by the word of God, that we ſhal therfore be bleſſed of him, no more then we are certaine, that for ſaying ouer the. xv. Oos, euerye day once through an whole yeare, we ſhall apertly ſee our Lady to ayde vs afore our death, as it is teſtified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by ſcripture of the Bible: or that we ſhal haue a like benefite for ſaying of her Pſalter vpon ẏ ten beades that cōmeth frō the croſſed fryers, or vpon ẏ fiue beades halowed at the Charterhouſe, or faſtyng our Ladyes faſt, as men cal it: ne for faſtyng on the wedneſday, as is ſhewed by a booke that is allowed to be printed and read of al men that luſteth, for it is neyther the Newe Teſtament ne the Olde.

They

Math. 15.

They are condemned, you wote wel, and I perhaps ſhall haue a litle leſſe fauour becauſe I tel yͤ truth freely, for ſuch thinges are called offenſiue. But would God, that al perſons ſo thinking, would remember what anſweare Chriſte made vnto his diſciples in the .xv. of Math. whē they came vnto hym, and warned hym to beware, ſaying: you knowe that the Phariſees are offended, hearyng ſuch wordes ſpoken. I wyl leaue out Chriſtes anſweare, leaſt I ſhould be thought ouer free and playne in ſaying or vttering of abuſions, and ſpeake no further.

Luke. 11.

Faſting commended.

I like demaunde with anſweare thereto annexed, ſhall you finde in the .xi. of Luke, where Chriſt woulde not refrayne to ſpeake any deale more eaſily. Therefore I beſeeche them that deeme me (God wotteth whether righteouſly or no) ſclaunderouſly to reuiſe the ſayde places, and thē counſel me to do that ſhalbe moſt expedient to folowe, if their charitie wyl ſo require. Yet woulde I that all people ſhould knowe, that I do not reproue that ſaying of the .xv. Oos, which (ſo farre forth as my remembraunce doth ſerue) is a very good prayer, or ſuch like prayers: ne would I that any perſon ſhould think me to diſallow any diſcreet faſtings, for ſuch, not only preſent with you, but euen from hence abſent, haue I commended in earneſt ſpeaking, and ſo entend to do by the aſſiſtaunce of Gods grace. Neuertheles ſuche vaine promiſes I do abhorre, as be with thē annexed, with the vpholders of the ſame. For ſuch doo cauſe vayne confidence in the people, withdrawing and ſeducyng them from the right beliefe of the Goſpel, (which Chriſten men ought onely to builde their fayth vppon) vnto newe inuentions of vanitie. S. Paul calleth ſuch, old womens tales, where he writeth vnto Timothe, biddyng hym to beware of them, & to throwe them away.

Pſal. 40.

Mattens ſaying inſtituted by fantaſye.

Joh. 10.

The Prophete Dauid likewiſe doth accorde thereunto, ſaying: Beatus vir cuius eſt nomen Domini ſpes eius, & non reſpexit in vanitates & inſanias falſas: Bleſſed (quoth he) is the man that hath in the name of God his affiaunce or hope, and hath not looked backe to vanities and falſe dotages or madnes. And this I ſay agayne, that the Mattens ſaying, hath no more promiſe of God made to the ſayers, thē hath the other aboue named, for they were inſtitute by the fantaſie or mynd of men, and not by the rule of ſcripture. Neither do I think yͤ prieſtes which wyl truely folow yͤ rule of God, written in yͤ Bible, ought to be ſo charged or encombred with ſaying of them, that they ſhoulde thereby be hindered from the ſtudy of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their owne ſoules ſaluation, and alſo to the diſcharge of their dutie, and which God moſt highly of Prieſtes doth require, (I meane the ſtudy of his Goſpell) whereby they them ſelues ſhoulde be ſpiritually nouriſhed, and thereafter ſhoulde feede Chriſtes flocke, the congregation of his people, accordyng to the ſaying of our Sauiour in John. I (quoth he) am the doore, who ſoeuer ſhall come in by me, ſhall both come in, and goe out, and finde good paſture or feedyng. That is to ſaye, who ſoeuer ſhall enter to be a Paſtour or Miniſter in Chriſtes church or congregation by Chriſt, ſhal both enter into contemplation of Gods glory declared abundantly in ſcripture, and after goe forth and ſhew that ſame abroade to other for their wealth and edifying.

Luk. 22.

1 Pet. 5.

To this accordeth that is written in Luke, whereas our Sauiour ſpeaketh to all his Churche ſignified in the perſon of S. Peter. Peter (quoth he) I haue prayed that thy faith ſhould not faile, and thou being conuerted, go thē about to cōfirme thy brethren. So that he would haue Peter ſtabliſhed firſt in fayth of his ſure doctrine, & then to go forth, as he dyd, to teache other to be grounded in the ſame likewiſe. And thus ought al prieſts to be called Presbyteri, which wyl be miniſters in the church, for ſo biddeth S. Peter in his firſt Epiſtle, in the laſt chap. ſaying thus: I beſeech the prieſtes (quoth he) that are among you, I my ſelfe beyng a prieſte, and a witnes bearer of Chriſtes afflictions, and alſo a partaker of the glorye which ſhalbe reuealed, ſee that you with all diligence doe feed the flock of Chriſt taking care of the ſame, not as enforced thereto, but wyllyngly: not deſiring filthy lucre, but with a louyng mynde: neither as men exerciſing dominion ouer the children or inheritours of God, but ſo that you be paternes, or enſample geuer to the flocke. See, how he requireth of prieſtes that they ſhould ſpend al their diligence to feede Chriſtes flocke, and to ſhewe good enſample of lyuing, making no mention of long Mattens ſaying, whiche then were not mentioned nor ſpoken of.

Ignorance mother of errour.

1 Timo. 4.

Diſt. 38.

Prieſtes ought to geue them ſelues rather to ſtudy then to ſaying of mattens.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this fourme: Ignorance ſayth the Lawe (marke it well I beſeche you al) is the mother of all errours, whiche ought to be eſchewed eſpecially of Prieſtes, that among the people of God haue taken vpon thē the office of preaching: prieſts are commaunded to reade holy Scriptures, as ſaith Paul the Apoſtle to Timothe: Geue heede to readyng, exhortation, and teaching, and continue alwayes in the ſame. Let prieſtes therfore knowe holy Scripture, and let al their labour be in preaching and teachyng, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of fayth, and in diſcipline of good workes. Theſe be the wordes of the lawe in the Decrees Diſt. 38. Where you ſee howe the Lawe lamenteth ignoraunce in al perſons, for it is the original of al errours. God ſend vs therfore the knowledge of his true Goſpel. It biddeth that ignorance ſhould be vtterly eſchewed, and principally of prieſtes, whoſe labor and diligence it would ſhoulde be beſtowed al in reading of ſcripture, & preaching the ſame, bringyng in for the ſame purpoſe, the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which willeth in like maner.

What prieſtes ought to ſtudy.

Moreouer, it requireth that prieſtes ſhould geue al their ſtudy to edifie other in fayth and vertuous liuyng. Whereof I doo gather both by the ſaying of the Prophet, that wylleth vs to be ſtudyous in the Lawe of God daye and night, and by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, which would haue Timomo. he to be occuped euer in readyng and teachyng, and by the report of your owne Lawe, which ſaith likewiſe, that a prieſt ought to beſtowe al his labour in reading & preaching. So yͭ a prieſt ſet thus truely to ſtudy, that he may ſtabliſh hym ſelfe in the fayth of Chriſtes doctrine, intendyng after to helpe other with true preaching of the ſame, or doyng other like deedes of charitie, aſſigned in the law of God, ſhall not offend deadly, if ſo ſpendyng his tyme, he omitteth to ſay Mattens, which is an ordinance of men.

Negligence of Byſhops in making prieſtes noted.

Neuertheles, concernyng the huge multitude of ſuch as be nowe made prieſtes by negligent admiſſion of Biſhops, and their owne preſumption, that labour to be made prieſts before they be any Clerkes, and ere euer they knowe what is the very office of a prieſt, do not feare to take vpon them, if they may attayne therto, to be a Curate, they recke not of howe many, ſo they may get a good lumpe of money, neuer myndyng after that the ſtudye of Scripture, after they are come to Dominus vobiſcum: for ſuch I do thinke long mattens to be needefull, for to reſtrayne them from other enormities, that they ſhould els runne in. Of which you may be weary to ſee the experience dayly therof aryſing. Yea and if ſuch would be content to admit it, I would euery one mattens were as long to them as fiue, except they could beſtow their tyme better.

To the 26. article

Scripture in the vulgare toung.

The French Bible tranſlated into the French tongue, with the kinges priuiledg aboue 50. yeares before Lamberts tyme.

In the .xxvi. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the heades or rulers by neceſſitie of ſaluation, are bounde to geue vnto the people, holy ſcripture in theyr mother language? I ſay, that I thinke they are bounde to ſee that the people may truely know holy ſcripture, & I do not knowe, how that may be done ſo wel, as by geuyng it to them truly tranſlated in the mother tongue, that they may haue it by thē at al times to paſſe yͤ tyme godly, whē ſoeuer they haue leyſure therto, like as they haue in France vnder yͤ French kynges priuilege, and alſo with the priuilege of the Emperour, & ſo do I know that they haue had it this fiftie yeres and foure in France at the leaſt, and it was trāſlated at the requeſt of a kyng called I trowe, Lewes, as appeareth by the priuilege put in the begynnyng of the booke.

The Pſalter tranſlated by the king of England into the Saxon tongue. Reade before Page. 145.

S. Guthlakes Pſalter.

Bede tranſlated the Goſpell of S. John into Engliſh.

Joh. 3.

The cauſes why the ſcripture is not ſuffered to come to light.

In like maner haue they it in Flanders, printed with yͤ priuilege of the Emperour. In Almayne alſo & in Italie, & I ſuppoſe through al nations of Chriſtendome. Likewiſe hath it bene in England, as you may finde in the Engliſhe ſtory called Polychronicō. There it is ſhewed, how whē yͤ Saxons dyd inhabite the land, the king at that time, which was a Saxon, dyd hym ſelfe tranſlate the Pſalter into the language that then was generally vſed. Yea I haue ſeene a booke at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relique, the booke is called Saint Guthlakes Pſalter, and I weene verily it is a copie of the ſame, that the kyng dyd tranſlate, for it is neither Engliſhe, Latine, Greeke, Hebrue, nor Dutche, but ſomewhat ſoundyng to our Engliſh, & as I haue perceiued ſith yͤ tyme I was laſt there, beyng at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth ſound likewiſe after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the ſame ſtorye of Polychronicon is alſo ſhewed, howe that Saint Bede dyd tranſlate the Goſpel of John into Engliſhe, and the author of the ſame booke promiſed that he would tranſlate into Engliſh al the Bible, yea & perhaps he dyd ſo, but (I wot not how it cōmeth to paſſe) al ſuch thyngs be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are ſome walking priuily in darknes, that wyll not haue their doynges knowen. It is no lye that is ſpokē in the Goſpel of John: Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem: Al that doth noughtyly, hateth the light, and wyl not haue their doynges knowen. And therfore they keepe downe the light ſtrongly: for that opened and generally knowen, all wrongfull conueyaunce ſhould anone be diſcloſed and reproued, yea & al men ſhould ſee anone, whether thoſe that holde agaynſt vnrighteouſneſſe, beyng therefore ſometyme horribly infamed and ſclaundered, named heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, were in dede, as they be called or no.

Diuers ſuch teſtamentes are yet to be ſeene in diuers places, of a long continuance

Yea, moreouer I dyd once ſee a booke of the new Teſtamēt, which was not vnwritten by my eſtimatiō this hundred yeres, & in my mynd, right wel tranſlated after the example of that which is read in the Church in Latine. But he that ſhewed it me, ſayd, he durſt not be knowen to haue it by him, for many had bene puniſhed aforetime for keping of ſuch, and were conuict therefore of hereſie.

Errours found in the tranſlated teſtament where none was.
Malice neuer ſayth well.

Moreouer, I was at Paules Croſſe, when the newe Teſtament imprinted of late beyond the ſea, was firſt forfended: and truely my hart lamēted greatly, to heare a great man preaching againſt it, whiche ſhewed foorth certaine thynges that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea & not I, but likewiſe dyd many other think verily to be none. But (alacke for pitie) malice can not ſay wel. God helpe vs al, and amend it.

So that to conclude, I thinke verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scripture were deliuered by authoritie of the head rulers, vnto the people, truely trāſlated in the vulgare tongue, in like maner as it is in all other countreys. And where as you adde, whether they be bound by neceſſitie of ſaluation, to deliuer it to yͤ people? I wyl not ſo narowly touch that poynt nowe, but I ſay, that they are bound by right & equitie, to cauſe it to be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgare tongue, for their edifying and conſolation, which the people by Gods grace, ſhould thereof gather, that now it is like they want, & are deſtitute of.

To the 27. article.

Whether for any cauſe the ſcripture may be reſtrayned from the people.

In the .xxvij. where you doo demaunde, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for ſome cauſe, vpon their reaſonable aduiſemēt, to ordeyne that yͤ Scripture ſhould not be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgare language? al men may here ſee, that who ſoeuer deuiſed theſe queſtions, thought not contrary (what ſoeuer they wyll yet ſay) but that it is good for the people to haue the Scripture in the vulgare tongue, & that they thought, that I ſo ſaying coulde not be wel reproued, and therefore are layd out al theſe additions, as it were to ſnare and trappe me in: whether the heades be bound, and that by neceſſitie of ſaluation, to deliuer it to the people: and whether for oportunitie of tyme, they may ordeyne to reſtrayne it for ſome cauſe, and by ſome reaſonable aduiſement of them taken. Sed fruſtra iacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum: But without cauſe you ſpreade the nette before the eyes of the byrdes or foules. I ſhewe you playnely, that notwithſtanding al theſe thynges, in myne opinion, it was not well done to inhibite it, and worſe, that the Biſhoppes haue not ſith amended it, if ſo be they coulde, that the people might haue it to vſe and occupie vertuouſly.

Prouerb. 1.

A perfect reaſon why ſcripture ought not to be withdrawen from the people at any tyme.

And here I wyll adde one reaſon. The Scripture is the ſpirituall foode and ſuſtenaunce of mans ſoule. This is ſhewed to be true in many places of Scripture: like as other corporal meate is the foode of the body. Then if he be an vnkinde father that keepeth bodyly meate awaye the ſpace of a weeke or a moneth frō his children, it ſhould ſeme that our biſhops be no gentle paſtors or fathers, that keepe away the foode of mens ſoules frō them (ſpecially when other do offer the ſame) both monethes, yeres, & ages. Neyther do I ſee any oportunitie of tyme, or reaſonable aduiſement, that ſhould cauſe it to be withdrawen & taken away, but the contrary rather: for it is reaſon cōuenient & needful for men to eate their meate euer whē they are right hūgry, & bleſſed are they that hūger & thirſt after the word of god, which teacheth to knowe hym, and to do his pleaſure at all tymes: for that we do craue euery day in our Pater noſter ſaying: Geue vs Lord our heauenly bread.

Math. 5.

To the 28. article

In the .xxviij. where you doo aſke, whether I beleeue that conſecrations, halowings, & bleſſings vſed in yͤ church are to be prayſed? I ſay that I know not of al, & therfore I wyl not diſprayſe thē, neither can I therfore ouer much ſpeake of them al, ſeeyng I know them not: ſuch as are the halowing of belles, the halowing of pilgrimes, when they ſhould goe to Rome, the halowing of beades, and ſuch like. But thoſe whiche I am aduiſed of and do remember, be in myne opinion, good: ſuch as is this. When the prieſte hath conſecrated holy bread, he ſaith: Lord bleſſe this creature of bread, as you dyd bleſſe the fiue loaues in deſart, that all perſons taſting thereof, may receiue health. &c. Whiche I would euery man might ſay in Engliſh, when he ſhould go to meate, I like it ſo wel.

Halowinges and bleſſinges, ſome alowed, ſome not.

Halowing of bread.

Bleſſyng of hym that goeth to reade the Goſpell.

Alſo this is a right good one, that is ſaid ouer him that ſhal reade the Goſpel: The Lord be in your hart & in your mynd and mouth, to pronounce and ſhewe forth his bleſſed Goſpel. Which is alſo ſpoken ouer a preacher taking benediction, when he ſhal go into a pulpite. Al ſuch good thinges I like very wel, and thinke them commendable, wyſhing therfore that al people might know what thei meane, that they with reioyce of hart might pray ioyfully with vs, and delight in al goodnes: which ſhould be, if they were vttered in engliſh, accordyng to the mynd of ſ. Paul. 1. Cor. 9. where he wiſheth, rather to ſpeake fiue woordes in the Church hartily with vnderſtanding, whereby other might haue inſtruction, then tenne thouſand wordes in a tongue vnknowen. Yea, to ſay truth, and truth it is in deede, that I ſhal ſay: a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is knowen, the further the vertue thereof ſpreadeth, and rooteth in mens hartes and remembraunce. God ſend therefore the blynde to ſee, and the ignoraunt to haue knowledge of al good thinges.

1. Cor. 1.

Thus I conclude, that conſecrations, halowinges, and bleſſinges vſed in the Churche (ſo farre foorth as I remember and knowe) be commendable. Of other I can geue no ſentence, wiſhing euen as I truſt men ſhall once ſee it come to paſſe, that al good thinges may be ſong and ſpoken in our vulgare tongue.

To the 29. article.

Lawes and obſeruaunces of the pope, whether they bynde to deadly ſinne.

In the .xxix. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the Pope may make lawes and ſtatutes to bynde all Chriſten men to the obſeruaunce of the ſame, vnder the payne of deadly ſinne, ſo that ſuch lawes and ſtatutes be not contrary to the law of God? I ſay, that if it be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wyt: Lawes be neuer confirmed vntyl they be approued by common maners of them that ſhal vſe them: then can not the Popes lawes bynd al Chriſten men: for the Greekes, and the Bohemes wyl (as you do knowe ful wel) neuer admit them, but do refuſe thē vtterly, ſo that I do not finde, that his lawes may bynd al Chriſten men.

The Popes not receiued of all men.

The pope hath no power to make lawes binding vnder deadly ſinne, more then hath the king or Emperour.

Finally, I can not ſee, that he hath authoritie to make lawes, bindyng men to the obſeruance of them vnder payn of deadly ſinne, more then hath the kyng or the Emperour: and to ſay ſoth, I ſay (as I haue ſaid afore) I thinke verily that the Churche was more ful of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the tyme of Conſtantine, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees Diſt. 15. cap. Canones generalium,) then it hath bene ſith: God repayre it, and reſtore it agayne to the auncient puritie and perfection.

Diſt. 15. cap. Canones generalium.

To the 30. article.

The power of the Pope and prelates to excommunicate.

In the .xxx. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the Pope and other prelates and their deputies in ſpiritual thynges, haue power to excommunicate Prieſtes, and laye people that are inobedient and ſturdy, from entring into the Church, and to ſuſpend or let them from miniſtration of the Sacramentes of the ſame? I thinke, that the Pope and other prelates haue power to excommunicate both prieſtes and lay men, ſuch as be rebellious againſt the ordinaunce of God, and diſobedient to his lawe, for ſuch are ſundred from God, afore the prelates do geue ſentence, by reaſon of their ſinne and contumacie, according as it is ſaid in Eſay by almighty God: Your ſinnes (quoth he) do make diuiſion betwixt you and me. And the Prelates by right iudgement, ſhould pronounce of ſinners as they do finde them, and that is, to pronounce ſuch to be excommunicate of God, and vnworthy to miniſter any Sacramentes, or to be conuerſant with Chriſtian folke, that wyll not amende. For thus biddeth Paul. 1. Corinth. 5, If any amongeſt you called a brother, ſhalbe an whooremonger, or a couetous perſon, or a worſhipper of Images or Idolles, or a rayler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, ſee that with ſuch you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Churche, and not be ſuffered to come within it.

Eſa. 59.

1. Cor. 5.

A doubte whether prelates haue any ſuch power to exclude any from the church.

I am not certaine that prelates haue any ſuch power, And though they had, I doubt whether charitie ſhould permit them to ſhewe it foorth and execute it, without ſingular diſcretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the whiche the ſturdy commyng thyther and hearing it, might ſoone be ſmitten with compunction and repentaunce, and thereupon come to amendement. This confirmeth well a lawe made in the Councel of Carthage, which is this: A Biſhop ought to prohibite no perſon to come into the Churche, and to heare the worde of God, whether he be Gentile or Iewe, or heretike, vntyl the maſſe tyme of them that are called Catechumini de Conſe. diſtinct. 1.

Diſtin. 1. de conſecra.

Diſt. 1. de conſecr.

Moreouer, where you ſpeake of Prelates Deputies, I thinke ſuche be but litle behoueable to Chriſtes flocke. It were neceſſarye and right, that as the Prelates them ſelues wil haue the reuenewes, tythes, & oblations of their benefices, they them ſelues ſhoulde labour and teache diligently the worde of God therfore, and not to ſhift the labor from one vnto an other, tyll all be leaft (pitie it is) vndone. Such doth S. Iohn cal, Fures & latrones: Theeues and murtherers, although they make neuer ſo goodly a worldly ſhewe outwarde, and beare a ſtout port.

Byſhops deputies not behoueable.

This I ſaye, that the Pope and other Prelates, haue power to excommunicate rebelles agaynſt Gods ordinance, and to ſuſpend them frō receyuyng or miniſtring the ſacrament,

ment, but I am not ſure, that they haue power to forfende them from out of Churches, eſpecially when Gods word is there preached, vnles the ſinners be ſo ſore deſperate, that they ſcorne the ſame. And I would, that euery Prelate receauyng his liuyng of benefices, ſhould him ſelfe worke in the ſame, ſpecially in true preachyng of Chriſtes doctrine, without windyng his owne necke out of the yoke, & chargyng therewith, other called deputies or Vicares, Curates, and ſuch lyke. For God would haue euery man to get his liuyng by ſweate of his owne face, that is to ſay, by his labour, accordyng to his eſtate and callyng. And like as euery workeman is worthy his meate: ſo contrarywiſe they that labour not, vnleſſe they be let by impotencie, are worthy to haue no meate, and much leſſe to take of, thoſe, to whom they do no ſeruice. 50. or. 40. pounde a yeare, for waytyng after none other thyng, then the Moone ſhinyng in the water. The Canon law maketh clearely with the ſame. Looke in the Decrees, Cap. 21, queſt. 2. Capitulo præcipimus, and you ſhall finde playnly, as I ſay.

Euery prelat and benificed perſõ, ought himſelfe to diſcharg his cure without deputie or vicar.

21. queſt. 2. cap. præcipimus.

To the 31. article. Fayth only to iuſtifye.

¶ In the xxxi. where you aſke, whether fayth onely without good workes, may ſuffice vnto a man fallen into ſinne after his Baptiſme, for his ſaluation and iuſtifying? I ſay, that it is the vſage of Scripture to ſay, that fayth onely doth iuſtifie and worke ſaluation, afore a man do any other good workes, and that is ſhewed by many authorities both of Scripture, & alſo of many holy Fathers, in a treatiſe called Vnio diſſidentium, which I would to Chriſt, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly tranſlated in Engliſh. And truly I do thinke in this matter (like as is here ſhewed by many authorities of holy fathers) that a mã fallẽ into ſinne after Baptiſme, ſhalbe ſaued through fayth, and haue forgiuenes by Chriſtes paſſion, although he doth no more good deedes thereafter: as when a mã hauing ſhort lyfe, lacketh leaſure to exerciſe other deedes of mercy. Notwithſtandyng, true fayth is of ſuch vertue and nature, that when oportunity commeth, it can not but worke plenteouſly deedes of charitie, which are a teſtimony and witnes bearers of a mans true fayth. This declareth S. Auguſtine vpon Iohn. I trow it is where he expoundeth this text: Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſeruate: If you loue me, keepe my commaundementes. Where as within a litle after, he ſpeaketh in this wiſe, Opera bona non faciunt iuſtum, ſed iuſtificatus facit bona opera. That is to ſay, good workes make not a iuſt or righteous man, but a man once iuſtified, doth good workes.

Vnio diſſidentium to be put in Engliſh.

Workes make not a man iuſtified but a iuſtifyed man maketh good workes.

Auguſt. in Ioannem.

To the. 32. article.

¶ In the .xxxij. where you aſke, whether a Prieſt marying a wife, & that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, & begettyng alſo children of her without ſclaunder geuyng, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that he doth not ſo much offende, as thoſe, which in Wales (as I haue heard ſay) and alſo in many partes beyõd the Sea, or rather in all places, do geue openly diſpenſations for money, to Prieſtes to take concubines: neither doth he offende ſo much, as the purchaſers of ſuch diſpenſations: for they on euery hand, do clearely cõmit fornication and aduoutry, vtterly forfended by Gods law, and the Prieſt, of whom ſpeaketh your demaunde, offendeth but mans law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written, I weene it be in a Gloſe, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turne to it hauyng a booke. The ſentence is thus: Præſbyter fornicans eſt plus puniendus quàm vxorem ducens. That is to ſay, a Prieſt doyng fornication, ought to be puniſhed more, thẽ one which hath maried a wife. Finally I thinke ſuch a Prieſt as before is named in your demaunde, ſinneth not deadly.

A prieſt fornicating is more to be puniſhed thẽ a prieſt marying, by the Popes own lawes.

To the 33. article.

¶ In the .xxxiij. where you aſke, whether a Latin Prieſt, after he hath taken the order of Prieſthode, beyng ſore and oft troubled and ſtyrred with prickynges of luſt or lechery, & therfore maryyng a wife, for a remedy of the ſame, do ſinne deadly? I ſay, that a Latin Prieſt, and a Greeke Prieſt is all one before God, if they folow both one rule of Chriſt, left to vs in holy Scripture: neither doth Chriſt put any ſuch differẽce: but the one hath by that rule the ſame liberty, that an other, and no more nor leſſe, for there is the ſame God in Greece, that is here: and hath left one way for vs to liue after, both here and there. And therefore, I can not ſee by his law, but that a Latin Prieſt may mary, as well as they do. And if the Greekes ſhould not folow Chriſtes law in beleuyng the ſame, and liuyng thereafter, you would call them heretickes. But that will not the Pope haue done. Wherfore ſeyng they do let Prieſtes mary, affirmyng it may ſo be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretickes: why ſhould other mẽ that ſay the ſame, be called heretickes, or be therfore burned? Therfore, folowyng the law of God, I make the ſame aũſwere of a Latin Prieſt, that I made before of all Prieſtes, that a Prieſt not hauyng the gift of chaſtitie, is bound to mary, for auoydyng fornication.

Mariage of prieſtes as well Latin as Greke, permitted a lyke in the ſcripture.

The Greke Churches ſuffer prieſtes to mary.

To the 34. article.

¶ In the xxxiiij. where you do aſke, whether euer I prayed for Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and for Hierome of Prage, condemned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance, or for any one of them, ſith they dyed, and whether I haue openly or ſecretly done any deedes of charitie for them, affirmyng them to be in bliſſe and ſaued? I ſay, that I neuer prayde for any of them, ſo farre forth as I can remember. And though I had, it foloweth not, that in ſo doyng I ſhoulde be an hereticke. For you note well, that there is a mightie great countrey called Boheme, which yet do follow (as mẽ ſay) that ſame doctrine which Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage taught their Aunceters, whom (as I trowe) neyther the Pope nor you do recount heretickes and infidels.

To the 35. article.

¶ In the 35. where you aſke, whether I haue recounted and ſayd them or any of them to be Saintes, and worſhipped them as Saintes? I ſay, that in ſuch ſecrete and hidde thynges, which I doe not perfectly know, I followe the Coũcell of Paule, which biddeth that we ſhould not iudge ouer ſoone, but to abide (vnleſſe the thinges, whiche we ſhould paſſe vpon, be the more euident) vntill the comming of the Lord, which ſhall illumine & ſhew forth clearely, thinges, that now lye hid in darknes. Therefore hetherto haue I neither iudged with them, ne agaynſt them, but haue reſigned ſuch ſentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whoſe iudgement I wotte is vnfallible.

And where as you ſay, they were cõdẽned of hereſie in the Councell of Conſtance: if ſo the Coũcell did right, God ſhall alowe it (I doubt not) and that ſhall ſuffice to haue commendation of him: So that it is no neede to aſke of me, whether the actes of the ſame are cõmendable or no? Neither can I geue any direct aunſwere therto: for I do not verely know thẽ. And though I did, yet am not I verely perſwaded, that I, becauſe the Councell hath condemned them, muſt therefore beleue them to be damned: for a Coũcell (as I weene) may ſometyme ſlippe beſide the right truth: but what that Councell did in condemning them, I can not preciſely ſay: God wotteth. yea and that one ſingular perſon may iudge more rightly, then a great multitude aſſembled in a Councell, appeareth both by Gods law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you ſee by the Councell that is ſpoken of in the xi. of Iohn. where is ſhewed, that after our Sauiour had reſtored Lazarus to lyfe, the Byſhops and Phariſeis then were gathered in a Councell ſaying: what ſhall we do? Truth it is, that this man Ieſus doth many myracles, and if we ſuffer him thus, all the world will beleue hym, whereupon the Romaynes will come, and put vs out of Hieruſalẽ our dwelling place, and deſtroy our nation. At which tyme Cayphas did ariſe, ſhewing forth hys ſentence, which the whole Councell did admitte.

Councels may ſomtyme ſlippe awrye.

Iohn. 11.

Actes. 5.

In likewiſe is ſhewed Actes. v, where in a Coũcel of the byſhops and Prieſtes aſſembled to know what puniſhment ſhould be done vnto Chriſtes Apoſtles, for becauſe they preached in the name of Chriſt, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commaunded the Apoſtles no more to ſpeake in Chriſtes name) there among a ſhrewde multitude of them, gathered together, did ariſe a certayne wiſe man, called Gamaliel (a pitifull thing verely to ſee but one good man in ſuch a great conuocation or Coũcel of Prieſtes, that ſhould be the lightes of vertue to all the people) which Gamaliell was a Doctour of the lawe, and had in good reputation among the people: much like he was (as ſeemed to me) to Doct. Collet ſometime Deane of Paules in Lõdon, while he lyued. I may come no neare for to name ſome other of our tyme, leaſt I ſhould be thought offẽſiue. This Gamaliell did byd ỹ Apoſtles to go aſide, for a while, out of the Councell or conuocation houſe, and ſo he ſpake vnto ỹ other Prieſtes or Byſhoppes in ỹ Councell thus: You men (quod he) of Iſraell, take heede to your ſelues what you ſhall do vppon theſe men the Apoſtles: For afore thys tyme haue ryſen one called Teudas, and after him an other named Iudas of Galilee, which haue turned the people after them: and in concluſion they periſhed, and all they that followed after them vaniſhed away. And now (quod he) I ſay vnto you, refraine from hurting theſe mẽ, the Apoſtles, and let them alone, or ſuffer them. For if this enterpriſe and worke that they haue made, be of men, vndoubtedly it ſhall periſhe, and be fordone: but if (quod he) it be of God, you can not fordoe it. And thys I tell you (ſayd Gamaliell) leſt you ſhould be founde to ſtriue and fight agaynſt God.

Gamaliell, and Doct. Collet compared together.

The counſell of Gamaliell to the Phariſeis.

Vnto this ſentence of Gamaliell did all the other of the conuocation or Parlament agree, and ſo they called in the Apoſtles of Chriſt afore them, cauſing them to be ſcourged and charging them, no more after to preach of Chriſtes name, and ſo did let them depart. This was vndoubtedly done in the time of our Sauiour and of his Apoſtles, and cauſed to be written for our comfort and learning: For the holy Ghoſt knew afore, that like practiſe ſhould come in the latter tyme of the worlde, which we are in. Whereby you

Councells goe not alwayes ryght.

Councels may and doe erre.

may clearely ſee, that Councels do not alway diſcerne with Chriſt, but ſometyme they may doe agaynſt hym. And therefore ſayd Dauid: Non ſedi cum concilio vanitatis, & cum iniquè agentibus non introibo. Odiui Eccleſiam malignantium, & cum impijs non ſedebo: ſed lauabo inter innocentes manus meas.&c. I did not (quoth Dauid) ſit with the aſſembly or Councell of vayne doers, or lyers, and I wil not go in amongeſt them that worke iniquitie: for I hate the conuocation of them, that are malicious or maligners, and amōgeſt the wicked will not I ſit: But I will waſh my handes among innocentes.&c.

Pſal. 26.

Pſal. 33.

Alſo, in an other Pſalme he writeth thus: Dominus diſſipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Concilium autem Domini, in æternū manet. &c. The Lord (quoth he) doth deſtroy or annihilate the councell of the Gentiles, he reproueth the councels of the people, and of the rulers, But the councell or deuiſe of the Lord endureth euer, and the purpoſe of his mynde abydeth into the world of worldes. For that purpoſe, doth S. Peter in the Actes of the Apoſtles alledge this verſe out of the Pſalme: Quare fremuerunt gentes.&c. Why did the Gētiles rage, and the people imagine vayne thynges. &c. Like vnto this is written Eſay. 1. Alſo you may ſee in the Councels of the Phariſeis aboue ſhewed, yͤ one ſingulare perſon may ſometyme perceiue a thyng more then a generaltye or a multitude: for onely Gamaliel did ſee better what was houable, then could all the other there congregate.

Pſal. 2.

Eſay. 1.

Some one man ſometyme may ſee more then a whole Councell.

Diſt. 31. cap. Nicena.

Agreable vnto this we finde in the Decrees Diſt. 31. where it is written, that the Councell of Nice, willyng to correct or amende the life of men of the Church, ordeined lawes called Canons or rules. And as they treated vppon ſuch ordinaunces, ſome thought it expedient to bryng in a law, that Byſhops, Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould not lye with their wiues, whom they had maryed afore they were conſecrate into the order. With that aroſe Paphnutius a Confeſſor of Chriſt, and gaynſayd it, teſtifying that Mariage was an honorable thyng: ſaying alſo, that it is chaſtitie for a man to lye with his owne proper wife. And ſo he perſwaded the Councell, that they ſhould cōſtitute no ſuch law, affirmyng, that it was a ſore matter, that they were mynded to do, which ſhould be, either to the Prieſtes, or els to their wiues, an occaſion of fornicatiō: and this was Paphnutius reaſon. The wordes of the Canon procede thus.

The ſtory of Paphnutius in Nicene Councell.

Chaſtitie ſtandeth not by ſinglenes of lyfe, but purenes of matrimonye.

This declared Paphnutius, he neuer beyng maryed, nor hauyng experience of Mariage, & yͤ Councell commended his ſentence, makyng no ſtatute in this matter, but put it to euery mans free will and libertie, without any enforcement or neceſſitie. Theſe wordes ſtand (as I haue recited them vnto you) written in the Decrees, albeit they are ſomwhat otherwiſe rehearſed In hiſtoria tripartita, as I haue ſhewed before in the fourth Article. Vpon this, that Paphnutius did thus reſiſte and preuaile agaynſt all the other Councell, doth the Gloſe note in the ſame law: that one ſingulare perſon may gaynesay or ſpeake agaynſt an vniuerſall generaltie, hauyng a reaſonable cauſe on his ſide. Suffrage alſo of the ſame haue we in Abbot Panormitane, where he ſayth thus: I would (quoth he) rather beleue one lay perſon, bringing for him authoritie of Scripture, thē an vniuerſall Councell that ordeineth or defineth a thyng, without Scripture.

One man hauing ſcripture wyth hym, is more to be beleued then a wholl Councel without ſcripture

Finally I ſay, that I neuer recounted them neither Saintes, ne deuils, but reſigned the iudgement therof to God, neither haue I in earneſt reported them the one, or the other. Neither haue done vnto them particular worſhyp ſo farre forth, as I can remember.

To the 36. Article.

Whether euery generall councell repreſenteth the vniuerſall church

¶ In the. xxxvi. where you do aſke, whether I beleue hold, and affirme, that euery generall Councell, & the Councell of Conſtaunce alſo do repreſent the vniuerſall congregation or Church? I ſay that what ſuch Councels do repreſent, I can not certainly tell, and therfore beleue neither yea, nor nay, neither can I therfore make any affirmation pro, & contra, with this demaund, or agaynſt it: and no maruell. For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the ſame, ne yet any ſufficient reaſon. And me thinketh this (vnder correction I ſpeake) that Councels might repreſent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the vniuerſall church, not being yet the ſame, as I wot well they neither are ne were: For the Church I do take for to be all thoſe, that God hath choſen or predeſtinate to be inheritours of eternall bliſſe and ſaluation, whether they be temporall, or ſpirituall, kyng, or ſubiect, Biſhop, or Deacon, father or child, Grecian or Romaine. And this Church ſpreadeth through the vniuerſall world, where as any do call for helpe truly vpon the name of Chriſt: and there do they euer moſt grow and aſſemble commonly, where as his bleſſed word is purely and openly preached, and declared, for that is the relief of mans ſoule, whereunto all men louing their ſoules health, luſt to reſort & ſeeke (as all thynges do naturally ſeeke after that, which ſhould nouriſh and prolong their life) for in it is ſhewed, that righteouſnes, which whoſoeuer doth thirſt after, and is an hungred for, ſhall come in the kyngdome of heauen. Of this may well the Prouerbe into yͤ Goſpell (although it be applyed to the iudgement of God, when he ſhall appeare in the generall dōe) be verified where ſoeuer is a dead carion, thether will ſoone be aſſembled Egels. That is to wit, where ſoeuer is declared by the courſe of Scripture, the benefites and commodities graunted to vs by Chriſtes death, thether will mē ſeeke and flye, to know how they may enioy & attaine them, which I beſeech him to graunt vs. Amen.

What is the Church.

He meaneth here the Church inuiſible.

Luke. 7.

To the 37. article.

¶ In the xxxvii. where you do aſke, whether I beleue that the ſame thyng, which the Councell of Conſtance repreſentyng the vniuerſall Church hath approued and doth approue for the maintenaunce of fayth and ſoules health, is to be approued, and holden of all Chriſten people: and that which the ſame Councell hath condemned and doth condemne, to be contrary to faith and good maners, ought of the ſame Chriſten people to be beleued and affirmed for a thyng condemned? I ſay, that whatſoeuer the ſame Councell, or any other haue approued, beyng approbation or allowaunce worthy, is of all Chriſten people to be likewiſe approued, holden and allowed. And agayne, what ſoeuer the ſame or any other hath condemned, beyng reprofe and condēnation worthy, for bycauſe it is hurtfull to fayth, or good liuyng, I ſay, the ſame ought of all Chriſten people to be condemned & reproued. But this ſurmounteth my knowledge, to diſcerne, in what wiſe their iudgement paſſed: whether with right, or vnright, for becauſe I neuer looked vpon their Actes, neither do I greatly couet for to do: wherfore I referre the determination to thē, that haue better aduiſed their doyngs, and therby haue ſome more ſkill in them, then I.

Touching the authoritie of the Councell of Conſtance.

To the 38. article.

In the xxxviii. you demaunde, whether the condemnations of John Wickleffe, John Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, done vpon their perſons, bookes, and documentes, by the holy generall Councell of Conſtance, were duely and rightfully done, and ſo for ſuch, of euery Catholicke perſon, whether they are to be holden and ſurely to be affirmed? I aunſwere, that it paſſeth my knowledge, and I can not tell: thinkyng ſurely, yͭ though I am ignoraunt of the ſame, ſo that I cā not diſcuſſe the thing determinatly, yet my Chriſtendome ſhalbe therfore neuer the leſſe, and that I and all Chriſten men may well ſuſpend our ſentence beyng thereof ignoraunt, affirming neither the one, ne the other, neither yea, nor nay.

To the 39. article.

In the xxxix. you aſke whether I beleue hold, & affirme that John Wickleffe of England, John Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes, and for heretickes to be named, and their bookes and doctrines to haue ben and now be peruerſe, for the which bookes & pertinacitie of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Councell of Conſtance for heretickes? I ſay, that I know not determinately whether they be heretickes or no, ne whether their bokes be erroneous or no, ne whether they ought to be called heretickes or no.

To the 40. article.

¶ In the. xl. where you aſke, whether I beleue and affirme, that it is not lawful in any caſe, to ſweare? I ſay, that I neither ſo do beleue, ne affirme, ne neuer did.

To the 41. article.

¶ In the xli. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that it is lawfull at the commaundemēt of a iudge, to make an othe to ſay the truth, or any other othe in a caſe conuenient, and that alſo for Purgation of infamy? I aunſwere, that I neuer ſayd the contrary: but that I thinke and haue thought it lawful to giue an othe afore a iudge, to ſay the truth, if the iudge ſo require, and that by requeſt lawfull and conuenient. As when a thyng is in controuerſie betwixt two perſons, and thereupon they ſue vnto a iudge for ſentence, when the iudge can none otherwiſe boult out the truth, he may require an othe. As when the two women, which contended before Salomon, to auoyde the crime of murther, which the one had committed in oppreſſyng her child to death, and would haue put the ſame vpon the other, if Salomon could not by his wiſedome otherwiſe haue inueſtigated the truth, he might (I ſuppoſe) for to come by the more certaine information of the thyng, haue cauſed one of them or both, ſeyng it expedient for him, to ſweare, wherein the women had bene bounde to obey him. But Iudges had neede to be ſpare in requiryng of othes: For in cuſtomable or oft Iuries, creepeth in alway betwixt tymes ſome periury, as ſheweth Chriſoſtome in wordes ſemblable to theſe, and thynges precious, thorough oft haunt or occupying, loſeth their eſtimation. And ſo reuerent othes vnaduiſedly required for euery trifle vſually, do cauſe men to regarde litle for makyng of them, yea, and I feare, to breake them.

An oth before a iudge in a cauſe conuenient is lawful.

How an oth ought to be required of a iudge, and how it may be geuen before a iudge.

Ouer much vſe of othes in Courtes reprehended.

Judges muſt be ſpare and warye in requiring othes.

Therfore in Almaine, they haue made of late (as I haue heard ſay by credible perſōs which haue come from thence) many notable ordinaūces for yͤ cōmon wealth within a while, and amongeſt other this is one: If a man be ſet, for to enter

Where many othes be there is ſome periury

plea

plee agaynſt an other in any towne, the Peeres therof afore whom all actions are vſed to be debated, hearing ſuch a plee entred, ſhall call the parties priuately together, before they come into any open Court. And the matter examined, they ſhall exhorte them to let the plee ceaſſe without further proceſſe, ſhewyng them the great dammage both godly and worldly, commyng of wagyng the law, and the great eaſe and commoditie, that is in agreement and concorde. Which exhortation they vſe to ſhew with ſo great grauitie, and fatherly loue (ſuch wonders are wrought where the Goſpell hath free paſſage) that very few will commence plee. And though any plee be commenced, through ſuch ſage admonition, it falleth lightly to ſequeſtration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do ſet the ſuters at vnitie, ere the matter do come to diſcuſſion in open Court.

The vſe and maner of Germaynes in cauſes iudiciall.

Fruit of the Goſpell in Germany.

In Germany few cõtrouerſies come to the open court, but commonly are compounded at home.

Notwithſtandyng if ſome be ſo weywardly mynded (as in a multitude all are not one mans childe, and therfore vnlike of intent) that they will needes proceede and follow the law, they ſhall be heard to ſpeake their matters in opẽ court, and taught as the matter is moſt like to ſucceede, counſailed with new exhortation to ſtoppe their proceſſe. If they will not be perſwaded, and then the Iudges ſeyng the matter ſo ambiguous that they cã not geue perfect ſentẽce therin, except by vertue of an othe made by one of the parties, they be firſt better certified. Then will they ſhew the ſame before the ſuters, declaryng what a chargefull thyng it is to geue a ſolẽne oth for loue of winnyng ſome worldly profit: & how (vnles ſuch as ſhall make it, be the better ware to eſchew the ſame) they ſhall, (beſide an euill enſãple geuyng to a multitude,) worke themſelues happly ſhame or diſhoneſty.

Cuſtome among the Germaynes of taking othes.

Upon this, they ſhall geue reſpite vntill a certaine day appoynted. So that in the meane while the ſuters may take deliberation therof, what is beſt to be done. If after this, they will not thus reſt, at the day appointed, ſhall they come forth into a common place, and the great Bell of the Citie cauſed to be rõg, wherby ẏ people ſhalbe warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the Iudges ſhal in full chargeable and lamentable wiſe, charge the parties, vnder vertue of their othe, to make true relation of that ſhal be demaunded. So that by reaſon of ſober and fatherly exhortations made of the Iudges or Peeres of the Towne, and perſwaſion of neighbours, and for auoydyng of Gods diſpleaſure, and ſhame of men there is litle ſute in courtes: and if at any tyme, any be made, they be lightly ſtopped. So that Iurye and ſwearyng is well excluded and neede not much to be required.

Iurye and ſwearing well excluded out of Germanye.

This haue I ſhewed, becauſe it pitieth me to heare and ſee the contrary vſed in ſome of our nation, and ſuch alſo as name themſelues ſpirituall men, and ſhould be head Miniſters of the Church, who incontinent as any man commeth before them, anone they call for a booke, and do moue him to ſweare, without any longer reſpite, yea and they will charge him by vertue of the contentes in the Euangely, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demaunde him, he not knowyng what they will demaunde, neither whether it be lawfull to ſhew them the truth of their demaundes or no? For ſuch thinges there be, that are not lawfull to be ſhewed. As if I were accuſed of fornication, and none could be foũd in me, or if they ſhould require me to ſweare to bewray any other, that I haue knowen to offend in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to hold me ſtill, and not to folow their will, for it ſhould be contrary to charitie, if I ſhould ſo aſſente to bewray them, that I neede not, and to whom perhappes, though I haue knowen them to offend, yet truſting of their amendement, I haue promiſed afore to keepe their fault ſecret without any diſcloſing of the ſame. Yea, moreouer, if ſuch Iudges ſometyme not knowyng by any due prouffe, that ſuch as haue to do afore them, are culpable, will enforce them by an othe, to detect themſelues in openyng before them their hartes: in this ſo doyng, I can not ſee that men neede to condeſcende in their requeſtes. For it is in the law (but I wotte not certainly the place) thus. Nemo tenetur prodere ſemetipſum, that is to ſay: No man is bound to bewray himſelfe. Alſo in an other place of the law is written: Cogitationis pœnam nemo patiatur: No man ſhould ſuffer puniſhment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common Prouerbe, that is thus: Cogitationes liberæ ſunt à vectigalibus. That is to ſay, thoughtes be free and neede to pay no tole. So that to conclude, I thinke it lawfull, at the commaundement of a Iudge, to make an othe, to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a Iudge requireth an othe duely, and in lawfull wiſe, or to make an othe in any other caſe conuenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamie, when any infamie is lawfully layd agaynſt a man.

The raſh leuitie in ſpirituall men, cauſing men ſtraight wayes for euery light matter to ſweare.

A man is not bound to detect an other mans fault before a iudge in caſe.

Lawe compelleth no man to bewraye hymſelfe.

Law puniſheth no man for thought.

Thoughtes bee free and neede to pay no tole.

No man is bound to bewray hymſelfe by the lawe.

To the 42. article.

¶ In the.xlij. where you aſke, whether a Chriſten perſon deſpiſing the receite of the Sacramentes of confirmation, extreme vnction, or ſolemniſing of Matrimony, do ſinne deadly? I ſay like of the receite of them, as I haue ſayd before of the ſelfe thynges, and none otherwiſe.

To the.43.article.

¶ In the.xliij. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that S. Peter was Chriſtes Vicare, hauing power vpon earth to bynde & loſe? I ſay, that I do not perceiue clearely what you meane by this terme Vicare: For Chriſt neuer called Peter, ne none other ſo in Scripture. If you meane therby, that after the departing hence of Chriſt, when he was ryſen from death in hys immortall body, and ſo ſtyed into heauen, whereas he remayneth ſitting vpon the right hand of hys Father, that he ſo beyng away from hence, S. Peter occupied his roume: then I ſay, it is not vntrue but Peter in a maner (which I ſhall ſhewe here vnder) was his Vicare, and like as Peter was his Vicare, euẽ ſo was Paule, and the other Apoſtles, and the one no leſſe then the other, if it be true, that S. Cyprian doth write: which is alſo conſenting to Scripture. He ſayth thus: That Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter, ſaying: I ſay (quoth our Sauiour,) that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke of ſtone ſhall I builde my congregation, and the gates of hell ſhall not ouercome it. To thee will I geue the keyes of heauen, and what thinges thou ſhalt binde vpon earth, the ſame ſhall be bounde alſo in heauen: and what ſo euer thou ſhalt loſe vpõ earth, ſhall be loſed alſo in heauen. And to him after his reſurrection doth Chriſt ſay: fede my ſheepe.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Peter no more vicar of Chriſt, then Paule and other Apoſtles.

Math. 16.

And albeit that he gaue equall power vnto all his Apoſtles after his reſurrectiõ, and ſayth: Like as my Father ſent me, do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy Ghoſt: If you ſhal retaine to any man his ſinnes, they ſhalbe retayned: If you ſhall remitte to any man his ſinne, to hym they ſhall be remitted. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe he would declare vnitie, he ordained by his authoritie, the originall of the ſame vnitie beginning of one. The other Apoſtles truely were ẏ ſame that Peter was, indued with equall partaking both of honour, and authoritie, or power, but the beginning commeth of one that the congregation ſhould be ſhewed to be one. Theſe are the wordes of Cyprian in a treatiſe that is called, De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, wherein you may ſee that Chriſt made all the Apoſtles of equall honour and like authoritie. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he would teſtifie the vnitie of hys Church or congregation, he ſpake, as it were, alonely vnto Peter, when he ſayd: feede my ſheepe: And, I ſhall geue thee Peter, the keyes of heauen: but in ſo ſaying, though the wordes ſeeme ſpoken to Peter onely, yet they were ſpoken vnto him, in that he ſuſtayned the generall perſon of all the Church, being as yt were a common ſpeaker for the ſame. So that in ſpeaking to him, Chriſt ſpake vnto all other the Apoſtles, vnto whom alſo he gaue all the ſame authoritie, that he gaue vnto Peter, as you may ſee both in theſe wordes of Cyprian, and alſo the ſame is clearely ſhewed of S. Auguſtine in diuers places, but no where more playnely in a few wordes then in a treatiſe called de Agone Chriſtiano.

Cypria. de ſimplicitate Prælatorum.

John. 20.

Vnitie.

Reade afore pag. 1047. col. 2.

The only perſon of Peter declareth the vnitie of the Church.

Peter beareth the perſon of the whole Church.

Auguſt. de Agone Chriſtiano.

To this accordeth well that is written of Paule. Gal. 2. Ab his qui videbãtur aliquid eſſe: quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert. &c. Of thoſe Apoſtles (quoth Paul) which ſeemed to be of authoritie, I was not taught (what they were in tyme paſſed, it ſkilleth me nothyng: God regardeth not the exterior appearaunce of man) neuertheleſſe they which appeared to be of price, ſhewed me no learning, or gaue me no counſell: But contrary, when they had ſene that the Goſpel of vncircumciſion was committed vnto me, lyke as the Euangely of circumciſion was vnto Peter for he that was mightier thẽ Peter cõcernĩg the apoſtleſhip toward the Iewes was mighty alſo in me toward the Gẽtiles: Therfore, whẽ Iames, Peter, & Iohn, which appeared to be as pillers, knew the grace geuẽ me, they gaue vnto me & Barnabe their right hãds in ſignes of felowſhip to be their partners, ſo that we ſhould exerciſe the office of Apoſtles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Iewes. Wherin you may clearely ſee, ẏ Paule tooke no inſtruction of them which ſeemed to be in high authoritie, & that Peter, Iames, and Iohn, which were noted principals, tooke Paule and Barnabas to be their mates & felowes. Which they would not haue done (I ſuppoſe) if they had knowen, that God had graunted to them a prerogatiue ſingulare to excell Paule, and to be his ſoueraigne: but according to the prerogatiue of God graunted, they might ſafely haue ſhewed it, and enioyed the ſame: lyke as they did reioyce in other benefites graunted to them of God, to be miniſters in hys church for the edifiyng of the ſame: and as S. Iohn calleth hymſelfe the diſciple loued of his maiſter Ieſus, and teſtifieth how that vnto him Chriſt hanging vpõ the Croſſe, did commit his bleſſed mother.

Gal. 2.

Apoſtles mates and fellowes together.

Moreouer, if theſe three Apoſtles, Iames, Peter, and Iohn ſhould haue by humilitie, left out to make mention of their owne prerogatiue, when they tooke Paule and Barnabas into their felowſhip: yet is it to be thought that Paule, which vſeth neuer any inordinate arrogancie, wry-

Obiection diſcuſſed.

tyng

ting the wordes aboue ſayd for the magnifiyng of his owne priuilege and authoritie geuen him of God, would not haue ſuppreſſed and paſſed ouer their primacie vnſpoken of, with whome hee maketh here compariſon: for then it might be thought he were enuious, and to pyke away authoritie frō other to himſelfe vnlawfull: that can not ſo be. Moreouer he ſayth a litle after the wordes afore rehearſed, that he reproued S. Peter euen before his face. Whereupon S. Hierome expoundyng the ſame Epiſtle, ſaith (as I remember) that Paule would not haue bene bold ſo to do, except he had knowen himſelfe equall to Peter.

Hierome.

Paule equall to Peter.

Apoſtles equall together without any difference of ſuperioritye. James named before Peter.

In the wordes alſo of Paule aboue written, this might be noted, as ſeruing to my purpoſe, that Peter had no preeminence or primacie aboue the other, for James is named afore him, which Paule would not haue done, (I thinke) knowyng Peter to be James ſuperiour. Therfore he makyng no ſuch varietie in order, put James afore, ſaying: And Iames, Peter and Iohn, that appeared the principals (quoth he) gaue vnto me and to Barnabe their right hands in ſigne of felowſhyp. Yet notwithſtandyng Paule loued good order (I ſuppoſe) as well as any that now are, which contendeth ſo ſore for ſuperiour rowmes and preeminencis, claymyng to be the Apoſtles ſucceſſours. I would it were ſo much for the common wealth of Chriſten people, as it is ſuſpect that they do it for vayne glory, and worldly lucre. Accordyng to this, ſhall you finde. Actes xj. where is ſhewed, that after Peter by inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt, had gone vnto one of the Gentiles called Cornelius a petie Captaine, hauyng the gouernaunce of an hundreth men, teachyng him the wayes and doctrine of Chriſt, and Baptiſing him and other with him aſſembled, being like as he afore was, Paganes: the Apoſtles and other Chriſten brethren that were in Iewry, hearyng thereof, when Peter came into Hieruſalem, they which held vpō Circumciſion, made none obeyſaunce vnto him (albeit I thincke verily he had more holines them euer had any other Pope) as the Emperour is fayne to do to the Pope at his coronation, fallyng downe to kiſſe ẏ popes feete, or to hold the Popes ſtyrrup while he mounteth vpon his horſebacke, accordyng to the forme of law written, I am not certaine whether in the Decrees or els in the Decretals, or in both rather (for ſuch ordinaunces are inuiolable and worthy to be principally recorded) but they reaſoned ſore and diſputed both agaynſt S. Peter, and alſo his doyng, ſaying: you haue gone amongeſt them that you ought not haue had to do with, ne to haue medled among them, that are men vncleane, bycauſe they are vncircumciſed: yea and that is more, you haue eate and drōke with them. Peter mildly and coldly made aunſwere agayne, rehearſing all the maner of his doyng in order ſhewyng: that he was ſo inſtruct to do by mightey and cleare reuelations of God, and not by his owne fantaſie and pleaſure.

Contention about ſuperioritye whence it procedeth.

Act. 11.

Emperours geue more obeyſance to the Pope, then euer did the Apoſtles vnto Peter.

Difference betwene Peter, and the Pope.

Peter was content to be charged of the brethren.

The Pope requireth his feete to be kiſſed of Emperours.

Which aunſwere beyng heard, the other that afore had made ſore obiections agaynſt him (which were both of the Apoſtles, and other Chriſten brethren) were content, holdyng their peace without any more complainyng, and gaue glory therfore to God, ſaying: Then hath God graunted alſo vnto the Gentiles to take repentaunce, and ſo to come to eternall lyfe. Where in you may ſee, that the other Apoſtles were as bold with Peter, as before is ſhewed of Paule, to diſpute agaynſt him. Neither were they therfore by Peter reproued of inobedience. He did not alleage any preeminence or authoritie, to rebuke them for their complaynyng, as one would ſay: why ſhould you that are my ſheepe, cōtrolle me, that am the head of the church and your paſtor, or Chriſtes generall vicare, hauyng both iuriſdiction temporall, and ſpirituall: with ſuch other like? but ſhewed them it was the will of God, that he had done, goyng to the Gentiles to tell them of eternall life, which God pleaſed to geue to them as well as to the Iewes. In token wherof the holy ghoſt did ſenſibly come among them, and ſo were they Baptiſed.

Peter vicar of Chriſt no more then other Apoſtels.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Thus may you ſee, that if Peter were the Vicare of Chriſt, euen ſo likewiſe was Paule, and all the other Apoſtles. And I do not thinke contrary, but that Peter and all other of the Apoſtles were Chriſtes Vicares, if you meane by this word Vicare, a deputie or ſuch like for to preach his Euangelie (which is an office of all other moſt ſoueraigne) to miniſter Sacramentes, and to do ſuch other diuine ſeruice in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Chriſtes true Apoſtles, Byſhops, Prieſtes, Legates, or any ſuch like. Which authoritie was geuen thē by Chriſt after his reſurrection, when he ſayd vnto them theſe wordes: Peace be amongeſt you. Like as my father hath ſent me, ſo do I ſend you. Take you the holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer you ſhall forgeue, are forgeuen them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retaine, are retained. And the ſame authoritie did they receiue when Chriſt ſpake vnto all the church, after the mynde of S. Auguſtine and other, in Peter, ſaying: Peter feede my ſheepe.

Luke. 24.

Joh. 21.

To the 44. article.

¶ In the xliiij. where you aſke, whether I beleue, that the Pope ordinarily choſen for a tyme (his proper name beyng expreſſed) be the ſucceſſour of S. Peter? I ſay, that it ſeemeth to me a thyng of no great value, whether a man beleue ſo or no. I can not ſee that it ſhould be nōbred amōgeſt the Articles of our fayth. Notwithſtandyng I will ſhew my rude thought in it, which is this.

Succeſſour of Peter.

How the pope may be a ſucceſſour of Peter.

Euery good Biſhop may be ſucceſſour of Peter.

The Pope may ſucceede in S. Peters ſtead or office, and do the ſame duely & diligently feedyng Chriſtes flocke, and ſhewyng vertuous enſample of liuyng to the ſame, and ſo doyng, he may and ought to be thought and named a true ſucceſſour of S. Peter. And thus is your Lordſhip, S. Peters ſucceſſour, performyng the conditions aforeſayd, with other like properties requiſite to your order and duety: yea, and as many other as do truely their duety and duely the office of a Byſhop. And otherwiſe may not the Pope be called the ſucceſſour of Peter, for becauſe he is entred into S. Peters office, not regardyng to do that is requiſite for the ſame, ne folowing the trace of vertue, but the contrary. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any tyme ſuch be, which is not vnpoſſible. For what ſhould men call thoſe Peters ſucceſſors, that play the pageantes and folow with the conditions of Cayphas, Symon Magus, or Iudas? Such verely if any be, can not rightwiſly clayme to be Peters ſucceſſours, no more then the night may clayme to be ſucceſſour of the day: for Peter was neuer ſo mynded, ne taught them ſo. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peters aduerſaries, for ſomuch as they do not his will, that is ſhewed by his owne actes and wrytyng, but worke agaynſt the ſame. Of ſuch may be ſayd: Non Sanctorum filij ſunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum. That is to ſay, they are not all Saintes children, that occupy the rowmes of Saintes, but they are their children, that exerciſe their workes. Yea, of ſuch may be ſayd, that is written of S. Hierome. All Byſhops (quoth he) are not Byſhops, marke you well Peter, but marke alſo Iudas. Behold Stephen, but behold Nicolas. Eccleſiaſticall dignitie maketh not a Chriſten man. Cornelius the Centurion beyng yet a pagan, was made cleane through the benefite of the holy ghoſt. Contrariwiſe, Daniel beyng a child, condemneth Prieſtes, or auncient men. It is no eaſie thyng (ſayth he) to ſtand in the rowme of Peter and Paule, & to keepe the ſeate of them now reignyng with Chriſt: For vnſauery ſalt is nought els worth, but to be throwen out of the doores, and troden downe of hogges. This ſayth S. Hierome.

The pope rather may be Peters aduerſarye, then his ſucceſſour.

Hierome. As the night is the ſucceſſor of the day So is the pope ſucceſſour of Peter except he follow the ſteppes of Peter.

August.

Whereunto agreeth wel S. Auguſtine. Euery one (quoth he) that ſayth vnto you, Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be beleued, as a doue. Crowes be fedde of dead carion: and ſo is not a doue: but liueth by the fruites of the earth. Her liuyng is pure, innocent and hurtleſſe. Whereby you may ſee, that ill Byſhops are no Byſhops, and that they which folow no Saintes in vertuous liuyng, are not the ſucceſſors of Saints, but vnſauerie ſalt, that is, neither of the church, ne ſhall come in heauen to reigne there with Peter & Paul, but be throwen out with great cōtempt. For God knoweth a doue from a crow, and an innocent liuer from a deuourer of carion. But ſuch as declare and ſhew good deedes, as the Saintes did, be their childrē and ſucceſſours, and ſhall with them reigne in heauen.

Let vs marke not how the byrde ſpeaketh, but how he fedeth.

The Crow feedeth vpon carion, the Doue not ſo.

How the pope is the ſucceſſour of Peter, and how not.

Zach. 11.

So that to conclude, I ſay, that the Pope ordinarily choſen is the ſucceſſour of S. Peter, folowyng S. Peters godly liuyng. And els, except he ſtudy to do diligently, that he may be ſo called worthily, it ſhall be but a vayne name. For rather may he els be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Biſhop accordyng as ſuch be called of the Prophet: O Paſtor & Idolum: O Idoll ſhepheardes.

To the laſt article.

Joh. Lambert required to detect his fellowes.

¶ In the xlv. where you aſke, whether euer I haue promiſed at any tyme by an othe, or made any confederacie or league with any perſon or perſons, that I would alway hold and defend certaine concluſions or articles ſeemyng to me and to my complices right and cōſonant vnto the faith: and will that I ſhould certifie you of the courſe and forme of the ſayd opinions and concluſions by row, & of the names and ſurnames of them that were to me adherent, and promiſed to be adherent in this behalfe: I ſay, that I do not remēber, that euer I made pact or cōfederacie with any perſon or perſons, ne made any promiſe by othe, that I would alway hold and defende any concluſions, or articles ſeemyng to me and other, right and conſonant to the fayth, vnleſſe it hath chaunced me to ſay in this forme: that I would neuer with the ayde of God, forſake ne decline from the truth, neither for feare, nor yet for loue of man or men.

Thus I haue perhaps ſayd in ſome tyme, or ſome place, becauſe I haue in deede ſo intended, and do entend, Gods grace aſſiſtyng me. But I can not yet tell you, whether I haue ſo ſayd or no, nor to what perſōs, ne at what tyme, neither in what place. Neither I do recken me to haue any cōplices, but ſuch as do loue me, and I them, for God and in

God. And thoſe do I recken all them that are or will be truly Chriſten, in callyng vppon Chriſtes name. And concernyng opinions or cõcluſions, I can tell you of none other, thẽ I haue ſhewed: the ſumme wherof I recken and thinke vtterly be concluded in two propoſitions, which both are written in the new Teſtament.

All the opinions of Iohn Lambert ingroſſed in two propoſitions.

The firſt propoſition. Act. 4.

The firſt is in the Actes of the Apoſtles in this wiſe: Chriſtus eſt caput anguli, nec eſt in alio quoquam ſalus. Non enim aliud nomen ſub cœlo datum eſt inter homines, in quo oporteat nos ſaluos fieri. That is to ſay: Chriſt is the head corner ſtone of our fayth, whereupon it ſhould be ſet and grounded: neither is ſaluation in any other, for there is none other name vnder heauen geuen amongeſt men, wherein we may be ſaued. This is ẏ one of ẏ propoſitions, wherein is ingroſſed or comprehended my ſaying, whiche S. Paule doth thus otherwiſe explicate: Chriſt is made of God our wiſedome, our rightuouſnes, our purenes, or ſatiſfaction, and our redemption. And in an other place: There is none other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Chriſt Ieſus.

1 Cor. 1.

The ſecond propoſition.

The other propoſition is written of the Prophet Eſay, and recited of our Sauiour in the Euangelie of Mathew, in theſe wordes: Men do worſhyp me in vayne teachyng doctrines and preceptes, or lawes humaine. Of this writeth Paule very largely in diuers places, & euery where welnigh. Amongeſt other, Colloſ. 2. where he warneth the Colloſſians to take heede that no man do ſpoyle them, to ſteale them away, by Philoſophy or vayne deception, accordyng to the conſtitutions of men, and ordinaunces of this world. Thus I do certifie you of all the opinions and concluſions, which I entend, or haue entended to ſuſtaine, beyng contained in the two propoſitions aboue written. Other hold I none, but ſuch as are mẽtioned in ẏ Creed, both that is ſong at Maſſe, and alſo in the other Creede, that all people do dayly ſay euery day.

Eſa. 29.

Coloſſ. 2.

Finally, that you require to know of the names and ſurnames, in order particularly of them, that be to me adherentes, or that haue promiſed me to be adherent in this part: I ſay, that I know of none particular, that I remẽber, without I ſhould note vnto you a great multitude, which you may know, and heare of (I ſuppoſe) through all regions and realmes of Chriſtendome, that do thinke likewiſe, as I haue ſhewed. I wene the multitude mounteth nigh vnto the one halfe of Chriſtẽdome: and more ſhould do likewiſe, by a great ſort within a while (I doubt not) but that our ghoſtly enemy laboreth a mayne, to haue the knowledge of the truth ſuppreſſed, and letteth, that it cã not come abroad for to be ſene. I ſay therfore agayne, I know of no particular adherẽtes, ne of none that hath ſo promiſed me to be in theſe matters. And though I did, I would not (except I knew that charitie ſo required, which I do not finde yet hetherto) detect, ne bewray any one of them, for no mans pleaſure: For I am bound to obey God aboue men. Who be with vs and graunt the truth to be knowen. Amen.

The number of Goſpellers wel nye halfe Chriſtendome.

Iohn Lambert denyeth to detect any by his othe.

Theſe aunſweres of Iohn Lambert, to the. 45. Articles aboue expreſſed, were directed and deliuered to Doctour Warham Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, as it appeareth, about the yeare of our Lord. 1532. at what tyme, the ſayd Lambert was in cuſtody in the Archbyſhops houſe of Otford, beyng there deſtitute of all helpe and furniture of bookes, as by his owne wordes is to be gathered. But ſo the prouidence of God wrought for Lambert, that within ſhort ſpace after, an. 1533. the ſayd Archbyſhop Warham dyed: whereby it ſeemeth that Lambert for that tyme was deliuered. In this meane while Doct. Cranmer was ſent ouer in Ambaſſage, with the Earle of Wilſhyre, Doctour Stokeſley, Doct. Kerne, Doctor Benet, and other learned men, to the Byſhop of Rome lying then at Bonony, to diſpute the matter of the Kynges Mariage, openly firſt in the Court of Rome, then in the Court of the Emperour. Where after ſondry promiſes, and appointementes made, yet when the tyme came, no man there appeared, to diſpute wt thẽ, in theſe two propoſitions: 1. That no man, iure diuino, could or ought to mary his brothers wife. 2. That the Byſhop of Rome by no meanes ought to diſpenſe to the contrary. But of this more copiouſly we will entreate (the Lordes grace permittyng) in the ſequele of our ſtory, commyng to Doctour Cranmers life.

Theſe aunſweres of Lambert were geuen to Warham Archb. of Cant.

Lambert at Otford in cuſtodye.

The death of Archb. Warham.

Doct. Cranmer ambaſſadour to the B. of Rome.

Cranmer offered diſputations before the pope and Emperour in the kinges cauſe.

Two propoſitions of Cranmer.

After the death of William Warham, ſucceeded in that ſea the ſayd Doctour Cranmer. Lambert in the meane ſeaſon beyng deliuered, partly by the death of this Archbyſhop, partly by the commyng in of Queene Anne, returned into London, and there exerciſed himſelfe about the Stockes, in teachyng children, both in the Greeke, and Latine toung. And for ſomuch as Prieſts in thoſe dayes could not be permitted to haue wiues, he left his Prieſthode, & applied himſelfe to that function of teachyng, entẽdyng ſhortly after alſo to be free of the Grocers, & to be maryed. But God, who diſpoſeth all mens purpoſes after hys ſecret pleaſure, dyd both intercept hys maryage, and alſo his freedome, & maryed him to hys ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, as now conſequently foloweth to be declared.

Doct. Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Canterburye.

Lambert deliuered out of cuſtody.

Lambert taught childẽ about the Stockes.

Thus then after that Iohn Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendatiõ, and no leſſe commoditie to the youth: it happened this preſent yeare. 1538. he was preſent at a Sermon, in S. Peters Church at London. He that preached was named D. Taylor, a man in thoſe dayes not farre diſagreeyng from the Goſpell, and afterward in the tyme of K. Edward was made Byſhop of Lincolne, and at laſt in the tyme of Queene Mary was depriued from the ſame, and ſo ended hys lyfe, among the confeſſours of Ieſu Chriſt.

1538.

Doct. Taylor B. of Lincolne, who after was depriued in Q. Maryes tyme, and dyed. 1554.

When the Sermon was done, Lambert hauing gottẽ opportunitie, went gently vnto the Preacher to talke wyth hym, and vttered diuers argumentes wherein he deſired to be ſatiſfied. All the whole matter of controuerſie was concerning the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. Taylor excuſing hymſelfe at that preſent for other buſines, willed hym to write his mynde, and to come againe at more leyſure.

Lambert ſeeketh conference with the preacher.

The firſt occaſiõ of Lambertes trouble.

Lambert was contented, and ſo departed. Who within a while after, when he had writtẽ his mynde, came againe vnto hym. The ſumme of hys argumẽtes were ten, which he comprehended in wryting, approuing the truth of the cauſe, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reaſon, and by the Doctours. The which argumentes, although they came not all vnto our handes, yet ſuch men as were preſent at thoſe aſſayes, reported them to be of great force and authoritie. And of a fewe which were borne away in memory, the firſt reaſon was this, gathered vpon Chriſtes wordes, where it is ſayd in the Goſpell: This cup is the new Teſtament.

Lambartes argumentes.

And if (ſayth he) theſe wordes do not chaunge neither the Cup, neither the wine corporally into the new Teſtament: by lyke reaſon it is not agreeable that the wordes ſpokẽ of the bread, ſhould turne the bread corporally into the body of Chriſt.

The wordes of conſecration chaunge not the cup: Ergo neyther do the wordes chaunge the bread corporally into the bodye.

An other reaſon was this: that it is not agreable vnto a naturall body to be in two places or more at one tyme: wherfore it muſt follow of neceſſitie, that either Chriſt had not a naturall body, or els truely according to the common nature of a body, it can not be preſent in two places at once, and much leſſe in many: that is to ſay, in heauẽ and in earth, on the right hand of his father, and in the Sacrament.

One body can not fyll many places at once naturallye.

Moreouer, a naturall bodye can not be without hys forme and ſhape, conditions, and accidentes, lyke as ẏ accidentes and conditions alſo can not be without their ſubiecte or ſubſtaunce. Then, for ſomuch as in the ſacrament there is no qualitie, quantitie, or condition of the body of Chriſt, and finally no apparaunce at all, of fleſhe: who doth not playnely perceiue that there is no tranſubſtantiate bodye of hys in the ſacrament? And to reaſon by the contrary: all the proper conditions, ſignes, and accidentes whatſoeuer they be pertayning vnto bread, we do ſee to be preſent in the ſacrament, which can not be there without the ſubiect: therfore we muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe the bread to be there. He added alſo many other allegations out of the Doctours. But to be ſhort, thys Taylor the preacher, whom I ſpake of before, willing and deſiring (as is ſuppoſed) of a good mynde to ſatiſfie Lambert in this matter, amongeſt other, whom he tooke to counſayle, he alſo conferred wyth Doct. Barnes, which Barnes, although he did otherwiſe fauour the Goſpell, and was an earneſt preacher, notwythſtandyng ſeemed not greatly to fauour this cauſe, fearyng peraduenture, that it would breede ſome let or hynderance among the people, to the preachyng of the Goſpell, which was now in a good forwardnes, if ſuch ſacramentaries ſhould be ſuffered: He perſwaded Taylor by & by to put vp ẏ matter to Thomas Crãmer Byſhop of Caunterbury. And hereby may we ſee it truely verified, which William Tyndall before writing to Iohn Frith, dyd note in Doct. Barnes, ſaying: that Doct. Barnes will be whote againſt you. &c. pag. 1054.

The formes can not be without the ſubiect.

D. Barnes.

Upon theſe originals, Lamberts quarell firſt beganne, and was brought vnto this point, that through the ſiniſter doynges of many, it beganne of a priuate talke, to be a publicke and common matter. For he was ſent for by ẏ archbyſhop and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend his cauſe openly: for the Archbyſhop had not yet fauoured the doctrine of the ſacrament, whereof afterwarde he was an earneſt profeſſor. In that diſputation, it is ſaid, ẏ Lambert did appeale from the Biſhoppes, to ẏ kinges Maieſtie. But howſoeuer the matter was, the rumour of that diſputation, was by and by ſpread throughout the whole Court.

Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury fauoured not yet the Sacrament.

In

I told you before, how ẏ kyng Henry for two yeares paſt ſhewyng the part of an hard huſbād, had beheaded Quene Anne his wife, which deede did not onely greatly diſpleaſe the Germaine Princes (who for that onely cauſe had broken of the league with him. an. 1536.) but alſo many other good men in England.

Moreouer, how that within a while after, Abbayes began to be ſubuerted and all their goods to be confiſcate and geuen abroad. For which cauſes, but eſpecially for the late aboliſhyng of the Byſhop of Rome, the commons had conceiued a very euill opinion of him, in ſomuch that the ſeditious ſort rebelled agaynſt him.

Stephen Gardiner byſhop of Wincheſter.

The pernicious councell of the byſhop of Wincheſter.

At that tyme Stephen Gardiner then Byſhop of Wincheſter, was in authoritie amongeſt the kynges Counſellers: who as he was of a cruell nature, ſo was he no leſſe of a ſubtile and craftye witte, euer gapyng for ſome occaſion how to let and hynder the Goſpell: albeit a long tyme he was not ſo greatly eſteemed with the kyng, that he could much preuaile to atchiue his conceaued purpoſe: But at length: vpon this matter aduiſing him ſelfe, he thought he had apte occaſion and opportunitie to accompliſh his deſire. Neither did he forſlacke the occaſion miniſtred, but went ſtraight vnto the kyng, priuely admoniſhyng him, and with fayre flattering wordes, geuyng him moſt pernicious counſell, declaryng how great hatred and ſuſpition was rayſed vpon him, almoſt in all places:

Firſt, for aboliſhing the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, then for ſubuerſion of the Monaſteries, and alſo for that the diuorcement of Queene Katherine was yet freſh in mens myndes: and now the tyme ſerued, if he would take it, eaſely to remedy all theſe matters, and pacifie the myndes of them, which were offended with him, if onely in this matter of Iohn Lamber, he would manifeſt vnto the people, how ſtoutly he would reſiſt heretickes: and by this new rumor he ſhould bryng to paſſe, not onely to extinguiſh all other former rumours, and as it were with one nayle to driue out an other, but alſo ſhould diſcharge himſelfe of all ſuſpition, in that he now began to be reported to be a fauourer of new ſectes and opinions.

The kyng geuing eare more willingly, then prudently or godly to this Syrene, immediatly receiued the wicked counſaile of the Biſhop, and by and by ſent out a generall Commiſſion, commaundyng all the nobles and Biſhops of this Realme, to come with all ſpeede, to London to aſſiſte kyng agaynſt heretickes and hereſies, which the kyng him ſelfe would ſit in iudgement vpon.

The nobles and biſhopes aſſembled to Lāberts diſputation.

Theſe preparations made, a day was ſet for Lambert, where a great aſſembly of the Nobles was gathered from all partes of the Realme, not without much wonder and expectation in this ſo ſtraunge a caſe. All the ſeates and places were full of men rounde about the ſcaffold.

Lābert brought before the king to diſpute.

By and by the godly ſeruaunt of Chriſt Iohn Lambert was brought from the priſon with a gard of armed men, euen as a Lambe to fight with many Lyons, & placed right ouer agaynſt where the kynges royall ſeat was, ſo that now they taried but for the kynges commyng to the place.

At the laſt the kyng him ſelfe did come as Iudge of that great controuerſie, with a great garde, clothed all in white, as couering by that colour and diſſimulyng ſeueritie of all bloudy iudgement.

The kynges ſterne looke agaynſt Lambert.

On his right hand ſate the Byſhops, and behynd them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in purple, accordyng to the maner. On the left hand ſat the Peeres of the Realme, the Iuſtices, and other Nobles in their order: behynde whom ſat the Gentlemen of the Kynges priuye Chamber. And this was the manner and forme of the Iudgement, which albeit it was terrible inough of it ſelfe, to abaſh any innocent, yet the kynges looke, his cruell countenaunce, and his browes bent vnto ſeueritie, did not a little augment this terrour, playnly declaryng a mynde full of indignation farre vnworthy ſuch a Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a matter and agaynſt ſo humble and obedient a ſubiect.

When the kyng was ſet in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a ſterne countenaunce, and then turnyng himſelfe vnto his counſellours, he called forth Doct. Day Byſhop of Chicheſter, commaundyng him to declare vnto the people, the cauſes of this preſent aſſembly and iudgement.

The Oration of Doctour Day.

The whole effect of his Oration tended in a manner, to this point: That the kyng in this Seſſion would haue all ſtates, degrees, Byſhops and all other, to be admoniſhed of his will and pleaſure, that no man ſhould conceaue any ſiniſter opinion of hym, that now the authoritie and name of the Byſhop of Rome beyng vtterly aboliſhed, he would alſo extinguiſh all Religion, or geue libertie vnto heretickes to perturbe and trouble the Churches of England, without puniſhment, whereof he is the head: and moreouer that they ſhould not thinke, that they were aſſembled at that preſent, to make any diſputation vpon the hereticall doctrine, but onely for this purpoſe, that by the induſtry of him and other Byſhops, the hereſies of this man here preſent (meanyng Lambert) and the hereſies of all ſuch lyke, ſhould be refuted or openly condemned in the preſence of them all.

The kinges wordes to Lambert.

When he had made an ende of his Oration, the kyng ſtandyng vp vpon his feete leaning vpon a cuſhion of white cloth of tiſſue, turnyng him ſelfe toward Lambert with his browes bent, as it were threatnyng ſome greuous thyng vnto him, ſayd theſe wordes: Hoe good felow, what is thy name? Then the humble Lambe of Chriſt, humbly kneelyng down vpō his knee, ſayd: My name is Iohn Nicolſon, although of many I be called Lābert. What (ſayd the kyng) haue you two names? I would not truſt you hauyng two names, although you were, my brother. Lambert. O moſt noble Prince, your byſhops forced me of neceſſitie to chaūge my name. And after diuers Prefaces and much talke had in this maner, the king cōmaunded him to go vnto the matter, and to declare his mynde and opinion what he thought as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar.

Lambertes oration to the king.

The crueltye of Byſhops noted.

Then Lambert beginnyng to ſpeake for himſelfe, gaue God thankes which had ſo inclined the hart of the kyng, that he himſelfe would not diſdaine to here and vnderſtand the controuerſies of Religion: for that it happeneth oftentymes, through the crueltie of the Biſhops, that many good and innocent men in many places are priuely murthered and put to death without the kynges knowledge.

But now for ſomuch as that hyghe and eternall kyng of kynges, in whoſe handes are the hartes of all Princes, hath inſpired and ſtirred vp the kynges mynde, that he him ſelfe wilbe preſent to vnderſtand the cauſes of his ſubiectes, ſpecially whom God of his diuine goodnes hath ſo aboundantly endued with ſo great giftes of iudgement and knowledge, he doth not miſtruſt, but that God will bryng ſome great thyng to paſſe through him, to the ſettyng forth of the glory of his name.

Then the kyng, with an angry voyce, interruptyng his Oration: I came not hether (ſayd he) to heare myne owne prayſes thus paynted out in my preſence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumſtaunce. Thus hee ſpake in Latine.

But Lambert beyng abaſhed at the Kynges angrye wordes, contrary to all mens expectation, ſtayd a while conſideryng whether hee might turne him ſelfe in theſe great ſtraites and extremities.

The king fierce vpon Lambert.

But the kyng beyng haſty, with anger and vehemencie ſayd: why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Aunſwere as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar, whether doeſt thou ſay, that it is the body of Chriſt, or wilt deny it? And with that word the kyng lifted vp his cap.

Lambert. I aunſwere with S. Auguſtine, that it is the body of Chriſt, after a certaine maner.

Quodam modo . i. after a certaine maner.

The Kyng. Aunſwere me neither out of S. Auguſtine, neither by the authoritie of any other, but tell me playnly, whether thou ſayeſt it is the body of Chriſt, or no? Theſe wordes the kyng ſpake agayne in Latin.

Lambert. Then I deny it to be the body of Chriſt.

The Kyng. Marke well, for now thou ſhalt be condemned euen by Chriſtes owne wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

The Archbiſhops reaſons.

Then he commaunded Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury to refute his aſſertion: who firſt makyng a ſhort Preface vnto the hearers, began his diſputation with Lambert, very modeſtly, ſaying: Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled betwene vs indifferently, that if I do conuince this your argument to be falſe by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuſe the ſame: but if you ſhall proue it true by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the Scripture, I do promiſe, I will willingly embrace the ſame.

The Archbiſhops argument.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Actes of the Apoſtles, where as Chriſt appeared vnto S. Paule by the way: diſputyng out of that place, that it is not diſagreable to the word of GOD, that the body of Chriſt may be in two places at once, which beyng in heauen was ſene vnto S. Paule ẏ ſame tyme vpon earth: and if it may be in two places, why by the like reaſon, may it not be in many places?

In this maner the Archbyſhop began to refute the ſecōd argument of Lambert, which as we haue before ſayd, was written & deliuered by the ſayd Lābert, vnto the preacher: For the kyng had firſt diſputed agaynſt his firſt reaſon.

Lamberts aunſwer to Cranmers obiection.

Lambert aunſwered vnto this argument, ſaying: that the Minor was not thereby proued, that Chriſtes body was diſperſed in two places, or more, but remained rather ſtill in one place, as touching the maner of his body. For the Scripture doth not ſay, that Chriſt beyng vpon earth did ſpeake vnto Paule: But that ſodenly a light from heauen did ſhyne round about hym, and he fallyng to the grounde, heard a voyce ſaying vnto him, Saule, Saule, why doeſt

Act. 9.

thou perſecute me? I am Ieſus whom thou perſecuteſt. et cet. Here this place doth nothyng let but ẏ Chriſt ſittyng in heauen, might ſpeake vnto Paule, and be heard vpon earth, for they whiche were with Paule verely heard the voyce, but did ſee no body.

The Archbiſhops replie.

The Archbyſhop on the contrary part, ſayd: Paule him ſelfe doth witneſſe. Actes. xxvj. that Chriſt dyd appeare vnto him in the ſame viſion.

Aunſwere to the replye.

But Lambert agayne ſayd, that Chriſt dyd witneſſe in the ſame place, That he would agayne appeare vnto hym, and deliuer hym out of the handes of the Gentiles: Notwithſtandyng we read in no place, that Chriſt did corporally appeare vnto him.

The haſtie impudencye of the byſhop of Wincheſter.

The reaſon of Stephen Wint.

1. Cor. 15.

Thus, when they had contended about the conuerſion of S. Paule, and Lambert ſo aunſweryng for hymſelfe, that the kyng ſeemed greatly to be moued therwith, and the Byſhop hymſelfe that diſputed, to be entangled, and all the audience amaſed: then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, whiche was appointed ẏ vj. place of the diſputation, fearyng leſt ẏ argument ſhould be taken out of his mouth, or rather beyng drowned with malice agaynſt the poore man, without the kynges commaundement, obſeruyng no order, before the Archbyſhop had made an ende, vnſhamefaſtly kneeled downe to take in hand the diſputation, alledged a place out of the xj. Chapter to the Corinthians, where S. Paule ſayth: Haue not I ſene Ieſus? And agayne in the. xv. Chapter: He appeared vnto Cephas: and afterward vnto Iames, then to all the Apoſtles, but laſt of all, he appeared vnto me as one borne out of due tyme. &c.

Hereunto, Lambert aunſwered, he dyd nothyng doubt but that Chriſt was ſene, and dyd appeare, but he dyd deny that he was in two or in diuers places, accordyng to ẏ maner of his body.

Wint. replyeth.

2. Cor. 5.

Then Wincheſter agayne, abuſing the authoritie of Paule, repeateth the place out of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians and. v. Chapter: And if ſo be, we haue knowen Chriſt after the fleſh, now henceforth know we hym ſo no more. &c.

Lambert aunſwereth to Wint.

Lambert, aunſwered, that this knowledge is not to be vnderſtanded accordyng to the ſenſe of the body, and that it ſo appeared ſufficiently by S. Paule, whiche ſpeakyng of his owne reuelation, ſayth thus: I know not whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, which was rapt into the third heauē, I know not, whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Whereby, euen by the teſtimony of S. Paule, a mā ſhal eaſely gather, ẏ in this reuelation he was taken vp in ſpirite into the heauens, and did ſee thoſe things, rather then that Chriſt came downe corporally from heauen, to ſhew thē vnto him: eſpecially, for that it was ſayd of the Aungell: That euen as he aſcended into heauen ſo he ſhould come agayne. And S. Peter ſayth, whom it behoueth to dwell in the heauens. And moreouer appointing the meaſure of tyme, he addeth: Euen vntill that all thynges be reſtored. &c. Here agayne, Lambert beyng taunted and rebuked could not be ſuffered to proſecute his purpoſe.

Tonſtall Byſhop of Durſme agaynſt Lambert.

After the Byſhop of Wincheſter had done, Tonſtall Biſhop of Durham tooke his courſe, and after a long Preface, wherein he ſpake much of Gods omnipotencie, at the laſt he came to this poynt, ſaying: that if Chriſt could performe that which he ſpake touchyng the conuertyng of his body into bread, without doubt he would ſpake nothyng, but that he would performe.

The aūſwere of Lambert to Tunſtall. The figuratiue phraſe of the ſcripture to be marked.

Lambert aunſwered, that there was no euident place of Scripture, wherein Chriſt doth at any tyme ſay, that he would chaunge the bread into his body: and moreouer, that there is no neceſſitie why he ſhould ſo do. But this is a figuratiue ſpeach, euery where vſed in the Scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thyng ſignified, is attributed vnto the ſigne. By which figure of ſpeach, Circumciſion is called the couenaūt, the Lambe, the paſſeouer: beſide vj. hundreth ſuch other.

Now it remayneth to be marked, whether we ſhall iudge all theſe after the wordes pronounced, to be ſtraight way chaunged into an other nature. Then agayne began they to rage a freſh agaynſt Lambert, ſo that if he could not be ouercome with argumentes, he ſhould be vanquiſhed with rebukes and tauntes. What ſhould he do? He might well hold his peace like a Lambe, but byte or barke agayne he could not.

The wicked boaſt of Stokeſley.

Next orderly ſtepped forth the valiant champion Stokeſly Byſhop of London, who afterward lying at the poynt of death, reioyſed, boaſtyng, that in his life tyme he had burned 50. heretickes. This man amongeſt the reſidue, intendyng to fight for his belly, with a long Proteſtation promiſed to proue, that it was not onely a worke of a diuine miraracle, but alſo that it dyd nothyng abhorre nature. For, it is nothyng diſſonant from nature (ſayth he) the ſubſtaūces of like thynges to be oftentymes chaunged one into an other: So that neuertheles, the accidentes do remaine, all be it the ſubſtaunce it ſelfe, and the matter ſubiect be chaunged. Thē he declared it by the example of water boylyng ſo long vpon the fire, vntill all the ſubſtaunce therof be euaporate. Now (ſayth he) it is the doctrine of the Philoſophers, that a ſubſtaunce can not be chaunged, but into a ſubſtaūce: wherfore we do affirme the ſubſtaunce of the water, to paſſe into the ſubſtaunce of the ayre. Notwithſtanding the qualitie of the water, which is moyſtneſſe, remaineth after the ſubſtaunce is chaunged, for the ayre is moyſt, euen as the water is.

The wateriſh cold argument of Stokeſley.

One ſubſtance may be chaunged into an other, but then the accidentes chaunge alſo with it.

The biſhops triumph before the victorye.

When this argument was heard, the Byſhops greatly reioyſed, and ſodenly their coūtenaunce chaunged, as it were aſſuryng themſelues of a certaine triumphe and victory by this Philoſophicall tranſmutation of elementes, & lyke as it had bene of more force, then Criſippus argument, which paſſed all maner of ſolution.

Lambertes aunſwer to Stokeſley.

Lambertes aunſwere was long looked for here of all men. Who, as ſoone as he had obtained ſilence and libertie to ſpeake, firſt of all denyed the Byſhoppes aſſumpt, that the moyſture of the water dyd remaine after the ſubſtaunce was altered. For albeit (ſayth he) that we do graunt with the Philoſophers, the ayre to be naturally moyſt, notwithſtandyng it hath one proper and a diuers degree of moyſture, and the water an other. Wherefore, when as the water is conuerted into the ayre, there remaineth moyſture, as you do ſay, but that is not the moyſture of water, but the proper and naturall moyſture of the ayre. Whereupon there is an other doctrine amongeſt the Philoſophers, as a perpetuall rule, that it can by no meanes be, that the qualities and accidentes in naturall thynges ſhould remaine in their owne proper nature, without their proper ſubiect.

Tauntes & raging agaynſt Lambert.

Then agayne the kyng and the Byſhops raged agaynſt Lambert, inſomuch that he was not onely forced to ſilence, but alſo might haue bene driuen into a rage, if his eares had not bene acquaynted with ſuch tauntes afore. After this the other Byſhops, euery one in his order, as they were appointed, ſupplyed their places of diſputation.

Ten diſputers agaynſt Lambert.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performyng of this Tragedy, for his ten Argumentes, which (as before we haue declared) were deliuered vnto Taylor the preacher. It were to long in this place, to repeate the reaſons and argumentes of euery Byſhop: and no leſſe ſuperfluous were it ſo to do, ſpecially for ſomuch as they were all but cōmon reaſons, & nothyng forceable, and ſuch as by the long vſe of diſputation haue bene beaten, & had litle in them, either worthy the hearer, or the reader.

Lambert in great perplexitie.

Lambert keepeth ſilence when ſpeaking would do no good.

Lambert in the meane tyme beyng compaſſed in with ſo many and great perplexities, vexed on the one ſide with checkes and tauntes, and preſſed on the other ſide, with the authoritie and threates of the perſonages, and partly beyng amazed with the maieſtie of the place in the preſence of the kyng, and eſpecially beyng weryed with long ſtandyng, which continued no leſſe then fiue houres, from twelue of the clocke, vntill fiue at night, beyng brought in deſpayre that he ſhould nothyng profite in this purpoſe, and ſeyng no hope at all in ſpeakyng, was at this poynt, that he choſe rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to paſſe, that thoſe Byſhops, whiche laſt of all diſputed with him, ſpake what they luſted without interruption, ſaue onely that Lambert now and then, would alledge ſomewhat out of S. Auguſtine for the defēce of his cauſe, in which author he ſemed to be very prōpt and ready. But for the moſt part (as I ſayd) beyng ouercome with werynes and other griefes, he held his peace, defendyng himſelfe rather with ſilence, then with argumētes, which he ſaw would nothyng at all preuaile.

The kinges wordes to Lambert.

At the laſt, when the day was paſſed, and that torches began to be lighted, the kyng myndyng to breake vp this pretenſed diſputation, ſayd vnto Lambert in this wiſe: What ſayſt thou now (ſayd he) after all theſe great labours which thou haſt taken vpon thee, and all the reaſons & inſtructiōs of theſe learned men, art thou not yet ſatiſfied? Wilt thou liue, or dye? What ſayeſt thou? Thou haſt yet free choyſe. Lambert aunſwered: I yeld and ſubmit my ſelfe wholy vnto the will of your Maieſtie. Then ſayd the kyng. Commit thy ſelfe vnto the handes of God, and not vnto myne.

The king cōdemneth the Martyr of Chriſt Iohn Lambert.

L. Cromwell commaunded by the king to reade the ſentence.

Lambert. I commende my ſoule vnto the handes of God, but my body I wholy yeld and ſubmit vnto your clemencie. Then ſayd the kyng, if you do committe your ſelfe vnto my iudgement, you muſt dye, for I will not be a patron vnto heretickes, and by and by, turnyng hymſelfe vnto Crōwell, he ſayd: Crōwell, read ẏ ſentence of cōdēnation agaynſt him. This Cromwell was at that tyme the chief frend of the Goſpellers. And here is it much to be maruayled at, to ſee how vnfortunatly it came to paſſe in this matter, that through the peſtiferous & craftie counſaile of this one Byſhop of Wincheſter, Sathā (which oftentymes doth raiſe vp one brother to the deſtruction of an other) dyd here performe the condẽnation of this Lambert by no other miniſters, then Goſpellers thẽſelues, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer and Crõwell, who afterwardes in a maner all, ſuffered the lyke for the Goſpels ſake: of whom (God willyng) we will ſpeake more hereafter.

The crafty fetch of Steph. Wint.

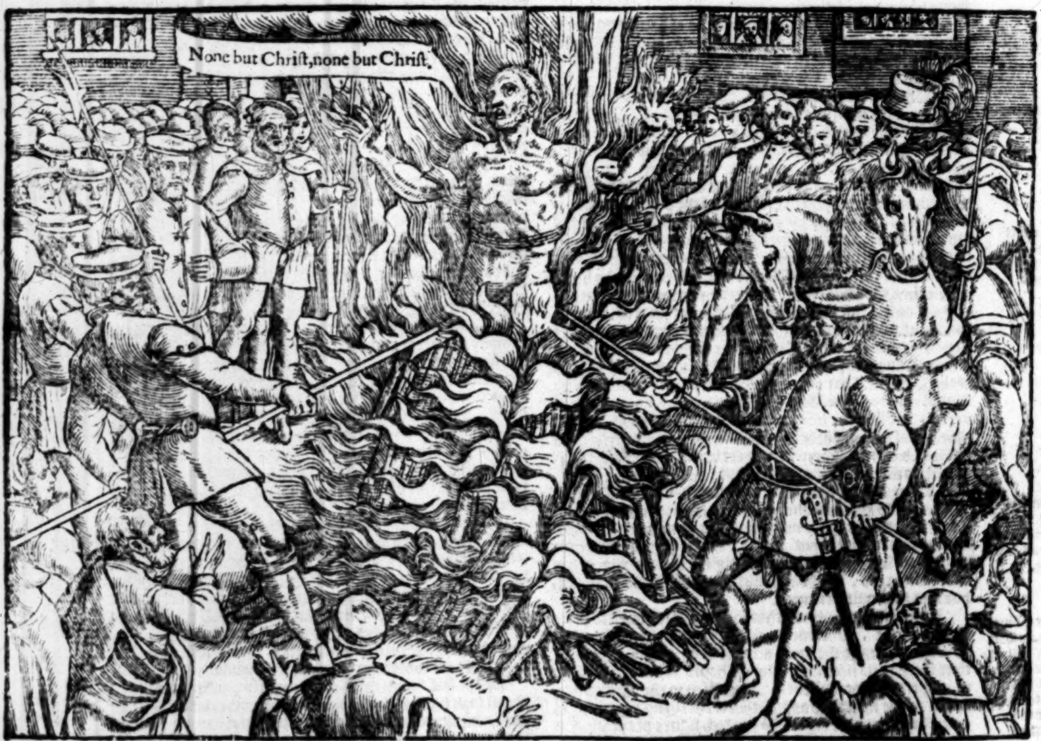
This vndoubtedly was the malicious and crafty ſubtilty of the Byſhop of winchester, whiche deſired rather, that the ſentence might be read by Cromwell, then by any other, ſo that if he refuſed to do it, he ſhould likewiſe haue incurred the lyke daunger. But to be ſhort, Cromwell at the Kynges commaundement takyng the ſcedule of condemnation in hand, read the ſame: Wherein was conteyned the burnyng of heretickes, which either ſpake or wrote any thyng, or had any bookes by them, repugnaunt or diſagreeyng from the Papiſticall Churche and their tradition, touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar: alſo, a Decree that the ſame ſhould be ſet vppe vppon the Churche porches, and bee read foure tymes euery yeare, in euery Churche throughout the Realme, whereby the worſhyppyng of the bread ſhould bee the more firmely fixed in the hartes of the people. And in this maner was the condemnation of Iohn Lambert. Wherein great pitie it was, and much to be lamented, to ſee the Kynges hyghneſſe that day ſo to oppoſe and ſet his power and ſtrength ſo fiercely and vehemently in aſſiſtyng ſo many proude and furious aduerſaries, agaynſt that one poore ſeely ſoule, to be deuoured. Whom his Maieſtie with more honour might rather haue ayded and ſupported beyng ſo on euery ſide oppreſſed and compaſſed about without helpe or refuge, among ſo many woulues and vultures, eſpecially in ſuch a cauſe tendyng to no derogation to hym nor to his Realme, but rather to the neceſſary reformation of ſyncere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein eſpecially conſiſteth the honour of Princes, to pitie the miſerable, to releue the oppreſſed, to reſcue the wronges of the poore, and to tender and reſpect the weaker part, eſpecially where right and truth ſtandeth with hym: whiche if the Kyng had done that day, it had bene, in my mynde, not ſo much for the comforte of that poore perſecuted creature, as it would haue redounded to the immortall renoume of hys Princely eſtate to all poſteritie.

The ſentence agaynſt Iohn Lambert.

The part of a good Prince, what to doe.

But thus was Iohn Lambert, in thys bloudy Seſſion, by the kyng iudged and condemned to death, whoſe iudgemẽt now remayneth with the Lord againſt that day, when as before the tribunall ſeate of that great iudge, both Princes and ſubiectes ſhal ſtand and appeare, not to iudge, but to be iudged, according as they haue done and deſerued. Ex teſtimonio cuiuſdã αὐτόπτου. A.G.

¶The order and maner of the burnyng of the conſtant Martyr in Chriſt Iohn Lambert.


None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt.

And thus much hetherto of Lambertes articles, aunſweres, diſputation, and his condemnation alſo. Now to proceede further to the ſtory of his death.

Lambert going to his death.

Vpon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to ſuffer, he was brought out of the priſon at 8. of ẏ clocke in the mornyng, vnto the houſe of the L. Cromwell, and ſo caryed into his inwarde chamber, where as it is reported of many, that Crõwel deſired him of forgeuenes, for that he had done. There, at the laſt, Lambert being admoniſhed, that the houre of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted & cheared, and being brought out of the chamber into the Hall, he ſaluted the Gentlemen, and ſat downe to breakfaſt with them, ſhewing no maner of ſadnes or feare. When as the breakfaſt was ended, he was caryed ſtreight way to the place of execution, where as he ſhoulde offer himſelfe vnto the Lord a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauor, who is bleſſed in his Saintes for euer and euer. Amen.

L. Cromwell deſired of Lambert forgeuenes.

As touching the terrible maner and faſhion of the burnyng of thys bleſſed Martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other: which haue bene burned and offered vp at Smithfilde, there was yet none ſo cruelly and piteouſly handled, as he. For after that his legges were conſumed and burned vp to the ſtumpes, and that the wretched tormentors and enemyes of God had withdrawne the fire from hym, ſo that but a ſmall fire and coales were left vnder hym, then two that ſtoode on ech ſide of hym with their Halbardes pitched him vpon their pikes, as farre as the cheyne woulde reach, after the maner and forme here in this picture aboue deſcribed. Then he liftyng vp ſuch handes as he had, and his fingers endes flaming with fire, cried vnto the people in theſe wordes: None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt, and ſo beyng let downe againe from their Halbardes, fell into the fire and there gaue vp his life.

The wordes which he ſpake at his death.

Thus ye haue heard by what crafte and ſubtiltie this good man was intrapped, and with what crueltie he was oppreſſed, ſo that now remayneth nothing, but onely his puniſhment and death, which the drunken rage of the Byſhops thought not to be long protracted.

Du=

Duryng the tyme that he was in the Archbyſhoppes Warde at Lambeth, which was a litle before his diſputation before the kyng, he wrote an excellent confeſſion or defence of his cauſe vnto kyng Henry.

Wherein he firſt mollifiyng the kynges mynde and eares, by a modeſt & ſober Preface, declaryng how he had a double hope of ſolace layd vp, the one in the moſt high and mighty Prince of Princes, God: the other next vnto God, in his Maieſtie, whiche ſhould repreſent the office and miniſtery of that moſt highe Prince in gouernyng here vppon earth: after that proceedyng in gentle wordes, he declared ẏ cauſe which moued him to that which he had done.

The Apologie of Iohn Lambert vnto the king.

The preface of his Apologie.

And albeit he was not ignoraunt how odious this doctrine would be vnto the people, yet notwithſtandyng, becauſe he was not alſo ignoraunt how deſirous the kynges mynde was to ſearch out the truth, he thought no tyme vnmeete to performe his duetie eſpecially for ſomuch as hee would not vtter thoſe thynges vnto the ignoraunt multitude, for auoydyng of offence, but onely vnto the Prince him ſelfe, vnto whom he might ſafely declare his mynde.

After this Preface made, hee entryng into the booke, confirmed his doctrine touchyng the Sacrament, by diuers teſtimonies of the Scriptures, by the which Scriptures, he proued the body of Chriſt, whether it riſeth, or aſcendeth, or ſitteth, or be conuerſaunt here, to be alwayes in one place.

Then he gathering together the myndes of the auncient Doctours, did proue and declare by ſufficient demonſtration, the Sacrament to be a miſticall matter. Albeit he ſo ruled him ſelfe in ſuch temperaunce and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the holy Sacrament was the very naturall body of our Sauiour, and the wyne his naturall bloud, and that moreouer his naturall body and bloud were in thoſe miſteries, but after a certaine maner, as the aunciẽt Doctours, in a maner, all do interprete it.

After this Proteſtation thus made, he inferreth the ſentence of his confeſſion, as here foloweth.

¶A treatiſe of Iohn Lambert to the kyng.

A treatiſe of Iohn Lambert vpon the Sacrament to the kyng.

CHriſt is ſo aſcended bodyly into heauen, & his holy manhode thether ſo aſſumpt, where as it doth ſit vppon the right hand of ẏ Father, that is to ſay, is with the Father there remanent and reſident in glory, that by the infallible promiſe of God, it ſhall not or can not from thence returne before the generall dome, whiche ſhall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world: ſo can I not ſee how he can be corporally in the Sacrament or his holy ſupper. And yet notwithſtandyng do I knowledge and confeſſe, that the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, is his very body & bloud in a certaine maner, which ſhall be ſhewed hereafter with your graces fauour & permiſſiõ, accordyng to the wordes of our Sauiour inſtitutyng the ſame holy Sacrament, & ſaying: This is my body, which is geuen for you. And agayne: This is my bloud which is of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes. Math. 26.

But now for approuyng of the firſt part, that Chriſt is ſo bodyly aſcended into heauen, and his holy manhode ſo thether aſſumpte. &c. that by the infallible promiſe of God, he ſhall not, or can not any more from thence bodyly returne, before the generall dome, I ſhall for this alledge firſt the Scriptures, and folowyng the authorities of old holy Doctours, with one conſent teſtifiyng with me. Beſides this, I neede not to tell, that the ſame is no other thyng, but that we haue taught to vs in theſe iij. articles of our Creede: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, from thence he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. For Chriſt did aſcend bodyly, the Godhead which is infinite, vncircumſcriptible, repleniſhing both heauẽ and earth, beyng immutable, and vnmoueable, ſo that properly it can neither aſcende nor deſcend.

¶Scriptures affirming the ſame.

The Scriptures which I promiſed to alledge for the confirmation of my ſayd ſentence, be theſe: He was lifted vp into heauen in their ſight and a cloude receaued him from their eyes: and when they were looking vp into heauen they ſaw two men. &c. Here it is euidently ſhewed, that Chriſt departed and aſcended in a viſible and circumſcript body. That this departyng was viſible and in a viſible body, theſe wordes do teſtifie: And when they were lookyng vp Why ſtand ye here looking vp into heauen. And: euen as ye haue ſene him. &c. That ſecondly it was in body, I haue afore proued, & moreouer the deity is not ſene, but is inuiſible, as appeareth: To God onely inuiſible. &c. and, He dwelleth in the inacceſſible light, which no mã ſeeth nor may ſee. &c. Therfore the manhead and naturall body was aſſumpt, or dyd aſcend. That thirdly it was in a circumſcript body, appeareth manifeſtly in this. Firſt, ẏ his Aſcẽtion and bodyly departyng, cauſed them to looke vp. And ſecondly, that he was lift vppe, that is to witte, from beneath or from a low. And thirdly, that a cloud receaued hym. Where as no cloude nor cloudes can receiue or embrace the Deity. &c.

Act. 1.
1. Tim. 1.
1. Tim. 6.

I am fayne to leaue out other euident Argumentes for the ſame purpoſe, leſt I ſhould be ouer prolixe and tediouſe. It doth there alſo further folow in like forme, how the Aungels made aunſwere to the Diſciples ſaying: Ye men of Galile, why ſtand ye gaſing into heauen? This Ieſus whiche is taken vp from you into heauen, ſhall ſo come agayne, as you haue ſene him going vp into heauen. Here we ſee agayne, that Ieſus is aſſumpt, or taken away into heauen. And then it muſt be from out of the world, accordyng to that we read, Iohn. xvj: I wẽt forth from the father, and I came into the worlde. I leaue the world agayne, and I go vnto the Father: That is not els, but as he came from the father of heauen into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man, for his Godhead was neuer abſent, either from heauen, or yet from earth: euen ſo ſhould his manhode leaue the world agayne, to go to heauen. Moreouer, in that it is ſayd: So ſhall he come, is playnly teſtified, that he is away and now corporally abſent. Iohn. 16.

Finally it is ſhewed further, after what maner he ſhall come agayne, by theſe wordes: Euen as you haue ſene hym goyng vp into heauen. Which is not els, but, as you did viſibly ſee hym aſcende or go away to heauen, a cloud embracing hym and takyng hym from among you: euen ſo ſhall you viſibly ſee hym to come agayne in the cloudes as we read, Math. 26. You ſhall ſee the ſonne of man to come in the cloudes of heauen. And agayne, Math. 24. And they ſhall ſee the ſonne of man. Such other textes haue we full many, declaryng my ſentence to be Catholicke and true. Of which I here ſhall briefly note ſome places, and paſſe ouer them, knowing that a litle rehearſal is ſufficiẽt to your noble wiſedome. The places be, Marke. 16. Luke. 24. Iohn. 13. 14. 16. and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1. and 2. and 2. Cor. 6. Heb. 8. 9. 10 and 12. and 1. Theſſ. 4. and. 1. Pet. 2. which all do teſtifie, that Chriſt hath bodyly forſaken the world, departed from it vnto his father, aſcended into heauen, ſittyng ſtill vpõ the right hand of the father aboue all dominion, power, and principalitie, where he is preſent aduocate and interceſſour before his father, and that he ſhall ſo bodyly come agayne, lyke as he was ſene to depart from hence.

Math. 26.
Math. 24.

Nothyng can better or more clearely teſtifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Chriſtes holy body and bloud, then do the wordes of Scripture, whereby it was inſtitute. Marke doth agree with Mathew, ſo that in a maner he reciteth his very wordes. And no maruayle it is. For as the Doctours do ſay, the Goſpell of Marke is a very Epytome or abridgement of Mathew. I ſhall therfore write the relations of them touchyng the inſtitution of this Sacrament together. The relatiõ or teſtimony of Mathew is this: As they were eatyng, Ieſus tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes he brake and gaue to his diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body. And takyng the cup, and geuyng thankes, he gaue it to them, ſaying: drink ye al of this, for this is my bloud of the new Teſtamet which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of ſinnes. And I ſay vnto you, I will not drinke hence forth of this frute of the vyne, vntil that day, that I drinke it new with you in the kyngdome of my father.

The Goſpell of Marke is as an abridgement of Mathew.

Math. 26.

The teſtimony or relation of Marke, is this: And as they dyd eate Ieſus tooke the bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it and gaue it to them, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup and whẽ he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them and they all dranke of it, and he ſayd vnto them? This is my bloud of the new Teſtament which is ſhed for many. Verely, I ſay vnto you, I will drinke no more of the fruite of the vyne vnto that day that I drinke it new in the kyngdome of GOD. Luke beyng the companyon of Paule, as appeareth in the Actes, and. 2. Timothy. 4, doth ſo next agree with hym in makyng relation of this Supper, and holy inſtitution of the Sacrament. His relation or reporte is this: When he had taken bread & geuen thankes, he brake it & gaue to them ſaying: This is my body whiche is geuen for you, doe this in remembraunce of me. Likewyſe alſo after ſupper, he tooke the cup ſaying: This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud which is ſhed for you.

Mark. 14.
2. Tim. 4.
Luke. 22.

Paules teſtimonye doth followe nexte, agreablye to Luke, and it is thus: For I haue receaued of the Lord, that which I alſo haue deliuered to you. That our Lord Ieſus in the ſame night wherein he was betrayed, tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in the remembraunce of me. After the ſame maner alſo he 1. Cor. 11.

tooke the cup when he had ſupped: ſaying : This cup in the new Teſtament in my bloud: this do as oft as ye drinke it, in the remembraunce of me : for as often as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death, till he come. By theſe teſtimonies ſhall I declare my ſentence to your grace, whiche I conceiue of the holy Sacrament of Chriſtes bleſſed body and bloud, and in all pointes of difficultie, ſhall I annexe the very interpretation of the old holy Doctours and Fathers, to ſhewe that I doe not grounde any thyng vpon my ſelfe. Thereafter ſhall I adde certaine argumentes, whiche I truſt ſhall clearely proue and iuſtifie my ſentence to be true, Catholicke, & accordyng both with God and his lawes, and alſo with the mynde of holy Doctours.

My ſentence is this, that Chriſt aſcended into heauen, and ſo hath forſaken the world, and there ſhall abyde, ſittyng on the right hand of his Father, without returnyng hether agayne vntill the generall dome : at what tyme he ſhall come from thence, to iudge the dead and liuyng. This all do I beleue, done in his naturall body, which he tooke of the bleſſed virgin Mary his mother, in the whiche he alſo ſuffered paſſion for our ſafety and redemption vpon a croſſe: which dyed for vs & was buried: in which he alſo did ariſe agayne to lyfe immortall. That Chriſt is thus aſcended in his manhode and naturall body, and ſo aſſumpt into heauen, we may ſoone proue, for as much as the Godhead of him is neuer out of heauen, but euer repleniſhyng both heauen and earth, and all that is beſides, beyng infinite and interminable or vncircumſcriptible, ſo that it neither can properly either aſcende or deſcend, beyng without all alterations and immutable or vnmoueable.

So that now his naturall body beyng aſſumpt from among vs, and departed out of the world, the ſame can no more returne from thence vnto the end of the world. For as Peter witneſſeth. Act. 3. Whom the heauen muſt conteine vntill the tyme that all thynges be reſtored which God had ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophetes, ſince the world began. And the ſame doth the Article of our Creede teach vs, which is: Frõ thence (.i. from heauen) he ſhal come to iudge the quicke and the dead. Which tyme Paul calleth the appearyng of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, 1. Timot. 6.

Act. 3.

1. Tim. 6.

Seyng then, this naturall body of our Sauiour, that was borne of his mother Mary, beyng a virgine, is all whole aſſumpt into heauen, and departed out of this world, and ſo, as ſayth S. Peter : He muſt remaine in heauen vntill the end of the world, which hee calleth the tyme when all thynges muſt be reſtored : This (I ſay) ſene and beleued accordyng to our Creede and the Scriptures, I can not perceiue how ỹ naturall body of him can contrarywiſe be in the world, and ſo in the Sacrament. And yet notwithſtãdyng is this true, that ỹ holy Sacramente is Chriſtes body and bloud, as after ſhall be declared.

¶ Doctors affirmyng the ſame.

Teſtimonies out of the doctors.

But firſt, for the eſtabliſhyng of my former purpoſe, that the naturall body of our Sauiour is ſo abſent from this world, and aſcended to heauen, that it can be here no more preſent vntill the generall dome, I would beſech your grace to conſider the mynde and ſentence of old holy Doctours, in this purpoſe or matter, how agreably they teſtifie with that is before ſhewed. Amongeſt whom we haue firſt S. Auguſtine, writyng thus to Dardanus : Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt Chriſtus : Omnia enim per ipſum facta ſunt. Quod verò ad hominem. &c. Therfore as concernyng the word, Chriſt is the Creator : all thynges are made by hym: but as touchyng man, Chriſt is a creature made of the ſeede of Dauid accordyng to the fleſh, and ordeyned accordyng to the ſimilitude of men. Alſo becauſe man conſiſteth of two thynges, the ſoule and the fleſh : in that he had a ſoule, he was penſiue and ſorrowfull vnto death, in that he had fleſh he ſuffered death. Neither when we call the ſonne of God Chriſt, we do ſeparate his manhode, nor when we call the ſame Chriſt the ſonne of man, we do ſeparate his Godhead from him. In that hee was man, he was conuerſaunt vppon the earth (and not in heauen where he now is) when he ſayd: no man aſcendeth vp into heauen but he whiche deſcended from heauen, the ſonne of man which is in heauen. Although in that reſpect that he was the ſonne of God, he was in heauen, and in that hee was the ſonne of man, hee was yet in the earth, and as yet was not aſcended in heauen. Likewiſe in that reſpect that he is the ſonne of God, he is the Lord of glory: and in that he is the ſonne of man, he was crucified. And yet notwithſtandyng the Apoſtle ſayth : And if they had knowen the Lord of glory, they would neuer haue crucified him. And by this both the ſonne of man was in heauen, and the ſonne of God in that he was man, was crucified vpon earth. Therfore as he might well be called the Lord of glory beyng crucified, when as yet that ſufferyng dyd onely pertayne vnto the fleſhe, ſo it myght well be ſayde: Thys day thou ſhalt be wyth me in paradiſe, when accordyng to the humilitie of his manhode in his fleſhe, he lay in graue, and according to his ſoule he was in the bottome of hell that ſame day. According to his diuine immutabilitie he neuer departed frõ paradiſe, becauſe he by hys Godhead is alwayes euery where. Doubt you not therfore that there is Chriſt Ieſus accordyng to his manhode, from whence he ſhal come. Remẽber it well and keepe faithfully thy Chriſtian confeſſion: for he roſe from the dead, he aſcended into heauen, he ſitteth at the ryght hand of the father : neither will he come from any other place, then frõ thence to iudge the quicke and the dead. And he ſhal come, as the voyce of the Angel beareth witnes, as he was ſeene to goe into heauen, that is to ſay, in the ſelfe ſame forme and ſubſtaunce of fleſhe, wherunto vndoubtedly he gaue immortalitie, but he did not take away the nature thereof: According to thys form of his fleſh he is not to be thought to be euery where. And we muſt take heede that we do not ſo affirme the diuinitie of his manhode, that we therby take away the truth of his body. For it is not a good conſequent, that that thyng which is in God, ſhould ſo be in euery place as god, For the ſcripture ſaith very truely of vs, that in him we liue, moue, and haue our being: and yet notwithſtanding we are not in euery place as he is, but * that man is otherwiſe in God, becauſe that God is otherwiſe in mã, by a certaine proper and ſingular maner of being: for God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. In that he is God, he is in euery place: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Act. 7.

* The meanety Chriſt.

By which wordes of holy Auguſtine, your grace may euidently ſee, that he teſtifieth and teacheth the bleſſed body or fleſhe of Chriſt to be no where els then in heauen. For to it beyng aſſumpt or aſcended into heauẽ, God (as he ſaith) hath geuen immortalitie, but not taken away nature. So ỹ by the nature of that holy fleſhe or body, it muſt occupie one place. Wherfore it foloweth: Accordyng to this forme: that is to witte, of hys fleſh, Chriſt is not to be thought to be in euery place. For if Chriſt should in hys humanitie be euery where diffuſed or ſpread abroade, ſo should his bodely nature or naturall body be taken from him. And therefore he ſayth; For we muſt beware that we doe not ſo affirme the diuinitie of man, that we do take away the humanity of his body. But in that he is God, ſo is he euery where, accordyng to my wordes before written: and in that he is man, ſo is he in heauen. And therfore it is ſayde : For God and man is one perſon, and onely Ieſus Chriſt is both. He in that he is euery where, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.

Chriſtes body occupieth one place.

And yet do we read agreeably to the ſame matter, more largely in the ſame Epiſtle, by theſe wordes : Chriſtum dominum noſtrum vnigenitum Dei filium, equalem patri eundemq; hominis filium, quo maior eſt pater, vt vbiq; totum, præſentem eſſe non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei eſſe tanquam inhabitantem Deum, & in loquo aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum. Thou ſhalt not doubt Chriſt our Lord the onely ſonne of God, equall with his father, & the ſãe being the ſõne of mã wherby the father is greater, is preſent euery where as God, and is in one and the ſame Temple of God as God, and alſo in ſome place of heauen as concerning the true ſhape of his bodye. Thus finde we clearely, that for the meaſure of his very body, he muſt be in one place, and that of heauen, as concernyng his manhode, and yet euery where preſent in that he is the eternall ſonne of God and equal to his father. Like teſtimony doth he geue in the xxx. treatiſe that he maketh vpon the Euangely of Iohn. Theſe be hys wordes there written: Donec ſæculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt dominus, ſed etiam hic eſt veritas domini. &c. Vntill the world be at an ende, the Lord is aboue, but here is the truth of the Lorde alſo, for the bodie of our Lord in which he roſe, muſt be in one place : but hys truth is abroad in euery place. The firſt parcell, that is, vntill the worldes end, is ſo put, that it may ioyne to the ſentence going before, or els to theſe wordes folowing: The Lord is aboue. &c. And ſo ſhould it well accorde to my ſentence before ſhewed, which is, the Lord is ſo bodely aſcended, that in his naturall body he cannot againe returne from heauen vntill the generall dome.

Auguſt in Ioan. tract. 30.

But how ſoeuer the ſayd clauſe or parcell be applyed, it ſhall not greatly ſkill : for my ſentence notwithſtandyng remaineth full ſtedfaſt. In ſo much, as the ſcripture doth mẽtion but of ij. Aduentes or commynges of Chriſt, of which the firſt is performed in his bleſſed incarnatiõ, and the ſecond is the commyng at the generall dome. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creede : From thence ſhall he come to iudg the quicke and the dead, is not onely ſhewed wherfore hee ſhall come agayne, but alſo when hee ſhall come againe

The reall preſence agaynſt the article of our Creede.

ſo that in the meane while, as the other Article of our Creede witneſſeth: He ſitteth at the right hand of God his father, that is not els to ſay, then hee remaineth in glory with the father. Furthermore, euen as I haue before rehearſed the foreſayd authoritie of Auguſtine, ſo haue I read it in his Quinquagenes vppon a Pſalme, of which I can not now preciſely note or name the nūber. And the ſame wordes doth he alſo write in an Epiſtle to S. Hierome. So that we may know, he had good likyng in it, that he ſo commonly doth vſe it, as his vſuall prouerbe or by word.

The body of Chriſt can be but in one place at once.

In the ſame is alſo teſtified, that his bleſſed body can be but in one place, ſo that it beyng now accordyng to the ſcripture and article of our beliefe or Creede, in heauen, it cā not be in earth: and much leſſe can it be in ſo vnnumerable places of the earth, as we may perceiue that the Sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Sauiour muſt be in one place, as hee writeth agreably to ẏ ſaying of Peter: Whom the heauens muſt receaue vntill the tyme of the reſtitution of all thyng: yet as the wordes folowyng make mention: Veritas autem eius vbique diffuſa eſt. But his veritie is ſcattered euery where. This veritie of Chriſt, or of his body, do I take to be that he in other places, doth call Virtus Sacramenti: The vertue of the Sacrament. As in the xxv. treatiſe vpon Iohn we finde thus written: Aliud eſt Sacramentū, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacramēt is one thyng, and the vertue of the Sacrament, is an other thyng. And agayne: Si quis manducauerit ex ipſo, nō moritur, ſed qui pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad viſible Sacramentum. &c. If any man eate of him he dyeth not, but he meaneth of him, which doth appertain to the vertue of the Sacrament, & not of him which perteineth to the viſible Sacrament. And to declare what is the vertue of the Sacrament, that I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body, he ſayth: Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. He which eateth inwardly in ſpirite, not outwardly: he that eateth in hart, and not he which chaweth with teeth.

The veritie of Chriſt. The vertue of the ſacrament.

The veritie of the Lord or of his body expounded.

So that finally, this truth of the Lord or his body, which is diſperſed euery where abroad, is the ſpirituall profite, fruite, and comforte, that is opened, to be receiued euery where of all men by fayth in the veritie of the Lord, that is to witte, in the very and true promiſe or Teſtament made to vs in the Lordes body that was crucified and ſuffered death for vs, and aroſe agayne aſcendyng immortall into heauen: where he ſitteth, that is, abydeth on the right hand of his father, from thence not to returne vntill the generall dome or iudgement. This bodily abſence of our Sauiour is likewiſe clearely ſhewed in the 50. treatiſe that he maketh vpon Iohn: where he doth expounde this text: Ye haue the poore alwayes with you, but you ſhal not alwaies haue me with you, to my purpoſe, that thereby I count and holde myne opiniō to be rather Catholicke, then theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the ſame doth he confirme in his Sermons of the ſecond & third Feries of Eaſter, and in ſo many places beſides forth, as here can not be recited, the number of them is ſo paſſing great.

ugust in tract.50

Fulgentius ad Traſimundum. lib.2.

With him conſenteth full playnly Fulgentius in his ſecond booke, to Traſimundus, writyng in this wiſe: Vnus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui eſt Deus immenſus ex patre. Vnus idemque ſecundum humanam ſubſtantiam, abſens cœlo cum eſſet in terra. et cet. One and the ſame man being locall, in that he is mā which is God almighty of the Father. One and the ſame accordyng to humane ſubſtaunce beyng abſent from heauen when he was in the earth, and leauyng the earth when he aſcended vppe into heauen. But accordyng to his diuine and almighty ſubſtaunce, neither departyng from heauen, when he deſcended from heauen, neither leauyng the earth, when he aſcended into heauen. The which may well be knowen by the vndoubtfull ſaying of our Lord hym ſelfe: which that he might the better ſhew his humanitie occupying a place, ſayd vnto his Diſciples: I aſcende vp vnto my father and your father, vnto my God and your God. Alſo when he had ſayd of Lazarus: Lazarus is dead, he adioyned ſaying: And I am glad for your ſakes, that you may beleue, becauſe I was not there. But ſhewyng the greatnes of his diuinitie, he ſayd to his Diſciples: Behold I am with you vnto the end of the world. For how did he aſcende into heauē: but becauſe he is locall and true mā? And how is he preſent to his faythfull, but becauſe he is almighty and true God? et cet. In this maner doth he procede forth, ſpeakyng much full agreably to my ſentence, which is now ouerlōg here to write. But what can be ſaid more playnly in ſo few wordes makyng for me?

Chriſt in his humane ſubſtaunce is locall.

Firſt he ſayth, that Chriſt beyng a man, is as concernyng his manhede, locall, that is to ſay, conteined in one place. And to expreſſe that more clearely, he addeth to it, ſaying: He is one and the ſame accordyng to his humane ſubſtaunce, abſent from heauen when he was in earth, and leauyng the earth when he aſcended into heauen. Where as he hath a contrary Antitheſis for the godly nature, to ſhew forth the firſt point the more effectually. The Antitheſis is thus: But according to his diuine and incomparable ſubſtaunce, neither leauyng heauen when he deſcended from heauen, neither forſakyng the earth when he aſcended into heauen. Whereby is alſo confirmed, that I ſayd: Chriſt did deſcende and aſcende, as touchyng his humanitie, but not in his Deitie, which is immutable and vnmoueable: as we may perceiue by that hee here doth call it, Almightye ſubſtaunce. Furthermore, to ſhew, that Chriſt (as touchyng his humane and naturall body) is locall, and in one place: he alledgeth, and that right iuſtly, two textes of Scripture. The firſt is: I aſcende to my father. &c. And the ſecond is of Lazarus, I am glad for your ſakes. et cet.

Antitheſis that is to ſay, contrary poſition or relation.

Finally, he maketh this demaūd: But how he did aſcend into heauen, but becauſe he is a locall and very man? Whereby we may ſee, that by this ſentence, Chriſt could not aſcende, except hee had bene locall, that is conteined in one place, and ſo very man. And that is accordyng to S. Auguſtine, writyng as is aboue ſhewed: And hee ſhall ſo come (as the Aūgell witneſſeth) euen as you haue ſene hym goyng vp into heauen, that is to ſay, in the ſame forme and ſubſtaunce of his fleſhe. Accordyng to this forme he is not ſpread abroad in euery place: for we muſt beware that we do not ſo eſteeme his diuinitie, that we thereby do take away the veritie of his body. So that they both doe teſtifie, that Chriſt could not haue aſcended, except he had bene locall, that is to witte, conteined in one place, and very man: and that if he were not locall, he could not be a man. Wherefore Saint Auguſtine ſayth further, ad Dardanum: Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nuſquam erunt, & quia nuſquā erunt, nec erunt. That is to witte: Take away localitie or occupying of place from bodyes, and they ſhall be no where: and for becauſe they ſhall be no where, they ſhall haue no beyng at all.

Auguſt.

We muſt not ſo defend Chriſtes diuinitie, that we muſt deſtroy his humanitie

Auguſt. ad Dardanum.

Bodyes can not be without limitation of place

We therefore couetyng to finde Chriſt or his naturall body, ſhould ſeeke for him in heauen, where his naturall manhede is ſittyng on the right hand of his father. So willeth vs S. Ambroſe in the x. booke which he writeth vpon Luke, ſpeakyng of Chriſtes humanitie aſſumpt, in this wiſe: Ergo non ſupra terram, nec in terra, nec ſecundum carnem te quærere debemus, ſi volumus te inuenire. &c. Therfore we ought not to ſeeke thee vpon the earth, nor in the earth, neither accordyng to the fleſh, if we will finde thee: for now accordyng to the fleſhe we do not know Chriſt. Furthermore, Stephen did not ſeeke thee vppon the earth, when that hee dyd ſee thee ſtandyng on the right hand of God the father. But Mary which ſought thee vppon the earth, could not touch thee, Stephen touched thee becauſe hee ſought thee in heauen. Stephen amongeſt the Iewes ſawe thee beyng abſent. et cet. Thus we muſt ſeeke for the naturall body of Chriſt, not vpon the earth, but in heauen, if we will not be deceiued. And that doth he more largely ſhew in the ſame treatiſe, ſpeakyng thus of the veritie of Chriſtes body: Quomodo non corpus quieſceret, in quo manebant inſignia vulnerum, veſtigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpāda obtulit? &c. How could it come to paſſe that the body could not reſt in the ſepulcher, in which the tokēs of the woundes and ſcarres did appeare, which the Lord himſelfe did offer to be touched (in which doyng he did not onely ſtabliſh the fayth, but alſo augmented deuotion)? Becauſe he would rather cary vp into heauen the woundes receaued for vs, and would not put them away, that he might preſent to God the father, the price of our libertie. Such a one the father doth place at his right hand, embracyng the triumph and victory of our ſaluation. et cet.

Ambroſ. in Luc.

Gregor. in homel. Pentec.

Gregory alſo in an Homely of Pentecoſte, ſayth agreably to the other, in theſe wordes: Quando non maneret apud eos, qui aſcenſurus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum omnibus diebus vſque ad conſummationem ſæculi? &c. When was it that he did not tary with them, which aſcendyng vppe into heauen, promiſeth, ſaying: Behold I am here with you continually vntill the end of the world? But the word incarnate taryeth and alſo goeth away. It departeth in body, and taryeth in diuinitie. And therefore he ſayth that he taryed with them: euen he which was euer preſent with them by his inuiſible power, and now departed by his corporall viſion. In likewiſe doth he teſtifie in the Homely of Eaſter day.

Bede in homil. in cap. 16. Ioan.

With theſe doth Bede accord in an Homely of Eaſter, in which he declareth this text, Ioh. 16. A litle while, and ye ſhall not ſee me: And agayne, a litle while & ye ſhal ſee me. And alſo in an homely of the vigill of Pentecoſte. And who can otherwiſe ſay or thinke, knowyng the Scripture and our beliefe, but that the naturall body of Chriſt is ſo aſſumpt into heauē all whole, that it muſt there abide without returnyng, vntill the generall iudgement. Notwithſtandyng, ſeing this is the chief point wherupõ I ſeeke to eſtabliſh my ſentẽce in this matter of the holy Sacramẽt, that Chriſtes holy and naturall body is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, that there it muſt remaine all whole without returnyng vntill the generall dome: I will yet with the permiſſion of your grace, adde one or ij. argumentes deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my ſentence to be faithfull and Catholicke.

¶Argumentes out of Scripture.

Chriſt in his manhead not in many places at once.

Math. 28.

Actes. 1.

Firſt, as Chriſt was encloſed and ſo borne about in the wombe of his mother beyng a Virgine vndefiled, and after was borne into this world, and put in a maunger, and ſo he growyng in age did abyde in diuerſe places, but in one after an other, ſometyme in Galile, ſometyme in Samaria, ſometyme in Iury, ſometyme beyond, and ſometyme on this ſide of Iordane, and conſequently he was crucified at Hieruſalem, there beyng encloſed and buried in a graue, from whence he did ariſe, ſo that the aũgels teſtified of him: He is riſen and is not here. Mathew. 28. and as at the tyme appointed, after his reſurrection, he was aſſumpt or lifted vp into heauen, from the top of the Mount of Oliuet, in the ſight of his Diſciples, a cloude compaſſing him about: Euen ſo ſhall he come from the ſame celeſtiall place corporally, as they did ſee him to depart out of thone place corporally, accordyng to yͤ teſtimony of yͤ aungels, Actes. 1. So that in this we may vndoubtedly finde that Chriſt, as touchyng his manhead, can not be corporally in many and diuers places at once, & ſo to be corporally in his naturall body in heauen and alſo in the earth, and that it is moreouer, in ſo many partes of the world, as men haue affirmed.

The propertye of mans nature not to be ſequeſtred frõ Chriſt.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we ſhould ſpoyle Chriſt of the propertie of mans nature, which is to be in one place, whom the ſame Scripture doth perpetually witneſſe and teach to be man, and ſo to confounde the cõdition of his bodily nature, with the nature Diuine. Paule doth teach that Chriſt in manhead, was made in all pointes like vnto vs his brethren, ſinne excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, vnlike vnto the naturall propertie of the bodyes of vs his brethren? But here do ſome wittie Philoſophers, yea, rather Sophiſters then Diuines, bryng in to the anullyng of Chriſtes humanitie, a ſimilitude of mans ſoule which beyng one, is yet ſo all whole in all our whole body, that it is ſayd to be all whole in euery part of the body. But ſuch ſhould remember, that it is no conuenient ſimilitude whiche is made of thinges different and diuerſe in nature, ſuch as be the ſoule & body of man, to proue thẽ to haue like properties. This is as if they would proue Chriſtes body to be of one nature and propertie with his ſoule, & that thinges naturally corporall, were not moſt diuers from creatures naturally ſpirituall.

Thinges corporall and thinges ſpirituall, not to be compared.

The body of Chriſt is locall and in one place.

Iohn. 13.

Luke 24.

Furthermore, if ſo it might be, that the body or fleſh of Chriſt, were meerly ſpirituall, and full like vnto the ſubſtaunce of aungels, yet could it not in this wiſe follow, that his body could be euery where, or in diuers places at once. Wherefore ſuch ſubtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture ſhould well like vs, by which the old Doctors do define, that the body of Ieſu exalted or aſſumpt into heauen, muſt be locall, circumſcript, and in one place: notwithſtandyng that the veritie, ſpirituall grace, and frute that commeth of it, is diffuſed and ſpread abroad in all places, or euery where. How could Chriſt corporally depart out of this world, and leaue the earth, if he in the kyndes of bread and wyne be, not onely corporally conteined and receiued, but alſo there reſerued, kept, & encloſed? What other thing els do theſe wordes teſtifie, Iohn. xiij. But Ieſus knowyng that his houre was come that he ſhould paſſe out of this world to his father. &c. And in like forme, Luke. 24. And it came to paſſe that as he bleſſed them, he departed frõ them, & was caried vp into heauẽ: What do they ſignifie, if Chriſt went not verily out of this world, his naturall body beyng ſurely aſſumpt into heauen?

Phil 2.

2. Cor. 13.

They do therfore vndoubtedly declare that Chriſt, beyng very God and very man, did verely departe out of this worlde in his naturall body, his humanitie beyng aſſumpt into heauen, where it remaineth ſittyng in glory with the father: where as yet his Deitie did not leaue the world, ne depart out from the earth. Paule doth ſay Philippians. 1. that of ij. thynges he wyſt not which he might rather choſe, that is to wytte, to abyde in the fleſh for preaching the Goſpell, or els to be diſſolued from the fleſhe, ſeyng that to abyde with Chriſt is much & farre better. By the which Paule doth manifeſtly proue, that they be not preſently wͭ Chriſt, which yet do abyde mortall in the fleſh. Yet they be with Chriſt in ſuch wiſe, as the Scripture doth ſay that the beleuyng be the Temple of Chriſt. And as Paule doth ſay. 2. Cor. 13. Do you not know your ſelues that Ieſus Chriſt is in you? In which ſenſe he alſo promiſed to be with vs vnto the ende of the world. Chriſt therefore muſt be otherwyſe in that place, in which the Apoſtle deſired to be wyth hym, being diſſolued, and departed from his body, then he doth abyde eyther in the ſupper, or els in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth vndoubtedly meane heauen, which is the paradiſe of perfect bliſſe and glory: where as Chriſt being a victour, triumpher, and conquerour ouer death, ſinne, and hell, and ouer all creatures, doth reigne & remayne corporally. Thus doe I truſt that your grace doth ſee my ſentence, this farforth to be right Catholicke, Chriſten, and faithfull, according to holy ſcripture, to holy Fathers, and to the Articles of our Chriſten beliefe. Which ſentence is thus: Chriſtes naturall body is ſo aſſumpt into heauen, where it ſitteth or remayneth in glory of the father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to witte, from heauen returne, vntill the ende of the world: and therefore can not the ſame naturall bodye, naturally be here in the world, or in the Sacrament: For then ſhould it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be ſtill remaynyng in the world. It ſhould then be both to come, and already come, which is a contradiction, and variaunt from the nature of his manhede.

The naturall body of Chriſt cannot be both in heauen, and in earth locally.

The ſecond part of this matter.

The ſecond part, how the naturall body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

Now my ſentence in the ſecond part of this matter, is this (if ſo be your grace ſhall pleaſe to know it, as I your poore and vnworthy, but full true ſubiect, woulde wyth all ſubmiſſion and inſtaunce beſeech you to know it) I graunt the holy ſacrament to be the very and naturall bodye of our Sauiour, and his very naturall bloud, and that the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour, is in the ſacrament after a certaine wiſe, as after ſhall appeare. For ſo doe the wordes of the ſupper teſtifie: Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geuen for you. And againe: Drinke ye all of thys, this is my bloud which is of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhedde for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes. Of whiche wordes, ſeeing in them dependeth a great triall and proufe of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them, is & hath bene all controuerſie of this matter, I therefore ſhall ſhewe the interpretation, that holy Doctours haue made of them, that as to me ſeemeth, be full worthy credite.

Tertul. contra Marcionem, lib. 2.

The bread repreſenteth the body of Chriſt.

Tertul. contra Marcionem, lib. 4.

Bread beareth a figure of Chriſtes bodye.

Fyrſt, we finde in the ſecond booke of Tertullian which he writeth againſt Marcion: Ipſe Chriſtus nec panem reprobauit. &c. Chriſt did not reproue the bread, becauſe it doth repreſent his body. This Marcion, agaynſt whom Tertulliã doth thus write, did erroneouſly reproue all creatures as euill. Which thing Tertullian doth improue by the ſacrament, ſaying as is aboue written: Chriſt dyd not reproue the bread, which repreſẽteth his body. As who would ſay: If Chriſt had iudged the bread euill, thẽ would he not haue left it for a ſigne or ſacrament to repreſent hys bleſſed body. Agreably to the ſame doth he alſo ſay in the fourth booke made againſt the ſayd Marcion in theſe wordes: Chriſtus acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illud fecit. &c. Chriſt made that ſame breade which he tooke and diſtributed to his Diſciples, hys bodye, ſaying: This is my body, that is to ſay, the figure of my body. But it coulde not haue bene a figure, vnleſſe it were the body of a very true thyng in deede. Furthermore, a voyde thyng which is a phantaſie, coulde not receiue a figure or a forme. Thys Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Chriſt had no naturall body, but a body phãtaſticall, which errour or hereſie, this famous Doctor Tertullian doth improue by the holy ſacrament, ſaying as a fore is written, that the Sacrament is a figure of Chriſtes bodye: Ergo, Chriſt had a very and true body. For a thing which is vaine and fantaſticall, can receiue no figure. So that in both places we may clearely perceiue his interpretatiõ of theſe wordes: Thys is my bodye: which interpretation is not new but authentike or full auncient, like as is the writer. And thys interpretation do I the rather allowe, becauſe none of the olde Doctours, which folowed him, did euer improue hym therefore, but rather haue folowed it, as appeareth by holy Auguſtine. In the Preface vpon the third Pſalme, doth the ſayd Auguſtine highly commend the wonderfull ſufferaunce of Chriſt, which ſo long did ſuffer and forbeare Iudas, as if he had bene a good and an honeſt man: where as notwithſtanding he did know hys traytrous thoughtes, when he receiued hym to the feaſt or ſupper, in whiche he did commende and deliuer to his Diſciples, the figure of his body and bloud. The wordes of Auſten in Latine, be theſe. In hiſtoria noui Teſtamenti, ipſa Domini noſtri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat, quòd cum tandiu pertulit tanquam bonum. &c. In the ſtory of the new teſtament, the patience of our Lorde was ſo great and ſo to be marueiled at, becauſe he ſuffered Iudas ſo long as a good man, when

This is my body expounded.

The pacyence of Chriſt in ſuffering Iudas.

Auguſt.

as

The ſacrament a figure of the Lordes body.

as he knewe his thoughtes when he receiued hym to the feaſt, in the which he dyd commend and deliuer the figure of his body and bloud to his diſciples.

Auguſt. contra Adamantum.

The ſame holy Doctour alſo writyng againſt Adamantius, ſaith thus: Non enim dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cùm daret ſignum corporis ſui: For the Lord dyd not doubt to ſay: This is my bodye, when he gaue a ſigne of his body. And for a further declaration of the ſame Chapter he ſaith: Sic enim ſanguis eſt anima, quomodo petra erat Chriſtus. &c. For the bloud is ſo the ſoule, as the rocke was Chriſte. Notwithſtanding he dooth not ſay, that the rocke did ſignifie Chriſt: but he doth ſaye that the rocke was Chriſte.

Expreſſely doth Auguſtine here call the ſigne of Chriſtes body, his body, plainely interpretyng theſe wordes, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian dyd before.

The phraſe of Scripture.

Moreouer, he taketh theſe three ſentences: This is my body: The ſoule is the bloud: and Chriſt was the ſtone, to be of one phraſe, and to be like ſpeaches, or to be expounded, after one faſhion. And this text: The rocke was Chriſte doth he commonly thus expounde: The rocke did ſignifie Chriſte, as appeareth Lib. 18. de Ciuitate Dei. Cap. 48. Alſo in the booke of Queſtions vppon Geneſis, and in the booke of Queſtions vpon Leuiticus, handlyng the. 28. Chapter of John: and in his Sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

Auguſt. de Ciuit. lib. 18. ca. 48.

Hierom. in 1. Cor. cap. 1.

Lyranus.

In like maner alſo ſaint Hierome expoundeth it in the ſmal ſcholies, written vpon the firſt chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, and all other writers with one conſent, ſo farre as I can reade: and ſo doth the text require it to be expounded. For Chriſte was not a naturall ſtone, as al men may well perceyue, and yet was he the very true ſtone figuratiuely, as Lyra ſaith: Solet res quæ ſignificat, nomine rei quam ſignificat, nominari: The thing whiche ſignifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thīg whiche it doth ſignifie. And ſo is the ſtone ſignifying Chriſt, called Chriſt, which therby is ſignified. And as he doth approue this text, The ſtone was Chriſt, likewiſe doth he expounde: The bloud is the ſoule, with the whiche he dooth knyt this text: This is my body, to be figuratiuely expounded, as they be. Accordyng to this, doth the holy Doctour write. Pſalme. 50. Niſi quis manducauerit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam. &c. Vnleſſe a man do eate my fleſhe, he ſhall not ſee eternal life. They vnderſtoode that very fooliſhly, and conceyued the ſame carnally, & thought that our Lorde woulde cutte away lumpes or peeces of hys body and geue to them. And they ſaide: This is an harde ſaying. But they were harde of beliefe, and not the ſaying. For if they had not bene hard, but meeke, they would haue ſaid to them ſelues: He ſpeaketh not this without a cauſe, but becauſe there is ſome hyd Sacrament or myſterie therin. They ſhould haue aboden with hym, eaſie of beliefe, and not hard, and thē ſhould they haue learned of him that which other learned, that taryed, after they were gone awaye.

This is my body, a figuratiue ſpeach. Auguſt. in Pſal. 50.

In this maye we ſee, that our Saueour willeth his precious fleſhe to be eaten. But for the manner of eatyng, is, and hath bene much controuerſie. The Jewes of Capernaum were offended with Chriſte, when he ſayde, he would haue his fleſhe eaten: and except a man ſhoulde eate his fleſhe, he could not come to lyfe eternal. They ſuppoſed groſſely, and vnderſtoode hym (if a man might ſo plainely ſpeake it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumpes and peeces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beaſtes, and ſo geue it them to eate of, as Auguſtine dooth here ſay. And vpon this groſſe, or (as holy Auguſtine doth here call it) fooliſhe and fleſhly vnderſtandyng, they were offended, and ſayd to hym: This is a ſore or hard ſaying. They did ſhoote foorth their bolt, and vnwiſe ſaying ouer ſoone, and were offended before they had cauſe. They tooke that for hard and ſore, which ſhould haue bene paſſing pleaſant and profitable to them, if they would haue hearde the thing declared throughly to the ende.

The groſſe Capernaites.

And euen ſo nowe, that which in this matter maye appeare at the firſt bluſh, a ſore, ſtrange, and intollerable ſentence, for as much as we haue not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of long tyme ben beaten into our heades, and perſwaded to our myndes, yet by deliberation and indifferent, and abidyng a trial of that which at the firſt may appeare ſore and intollerable, ſhal (I truſt) be found a ſweete truth, to ſuch ſpecially as your grace is, louing to heare and to knowe all truth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here ſaith Auguſtine, and not the word. For if they had not bene hard, but ſoft and pacient to heare, they woulde haue ſayd in them ſelues, Chriſt ſaith not this without a cauſe, and there is ſome hyd myſterie therin: and ſo by pacient tariance, they ſhould haue knowen the truth, that they coulde not attain to, for peruerſe haſtines, or haſt, which is a great ſtoppe and let of true iudgement. But the Diſciples taryed paciently to heare further, and ſo dyd they knowe this ſpeache of Chriſt to be the wordes of lyfe, that to the other, ouer readyly departyng from Chriſt, were wordes of death: For they tooke them literally and groſſely, and the letter (as Paul ſaith) ſlayeth.

Haſtynes a great hynderance of true iudgment.

2. Cor. 3.

But to ſhewe what the Diſciples remainyng with Chriſt dyd learne, ſaint Auguſtine doth conſequently ſhew by the wordes of the Goſpel, ſaying thus: Ille autem inſtruxit eos, & ait illis: Spiritus eſt qui viuificat, caro nihil prodeſt. &c. But he inſtructed them, and ſaide vnto them: The Spirite is that whiche geueth life, the fleſhe profiteth nothing. The wordes that I haue ſpoken vnto you, are ſpirite and life. Vnderſtande you that whiche I haue ſpoken, ſpiritually. You ſhal not eate this body which you ſee, neither ſhal you drinke that ſame bloud which they ſhal ſhed forth, that ſhal crucifie me. I haue ſet forth to you a certain Sacrament or myſterie, which beyng ſpiritually vnderſtād, ſhall geue you lyfe: and although it be requiſite that this be celebrated viſibly, yet it ought to be vndeſtand inuiſibly. In this do we ſee, that both Chriſt and Auguſtine woulde haue Chriſtes wordes to be vnderſtande ſpiritually, & not carnally: figuratiuely, and not literally, and therfore dooth he ſay: You ſhal not eate this body which you ſee, neither ſhal you drink that ſame bloud which they ſhal ſhed forth that ſhal crucifie me. And what els is this, but that Chriſt would, his bodye to be eaten, and his bloud to be drunken: But he would not his body to be carnally eatē, which was materially ſeene of them to whom he ſpake, nor his material or natural bloud to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers ſhould cauſe to iſſue from his naturall body crucified, as ſaith Auguſtine: but he ordeyned and willed his body and bloud to be ſpiritually eaten and drunken in fayth & beliefe, that his body was crucified for vs, & that his bloud was ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes.

The wordes of the ſacrament are to be vnderſtand ſpiritually.

The body of Chriſt is not to be eaten carnally.

This eating and drinking is nothing but ſuch true fayth and beliefe as is ſhewed. Wherfore as Chriſte ſayth: He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, hath lyfe euerlaſtyng. Euen ſo doth he ſay: He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlaſting. And S. Auguſtine agreeably to the ſame, treatyng vpon John, doth ſay: At quid paras dentē & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti, &c. Why doſt thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Beleue, and thou haſte eaten. I do knowe that Chriſt ordeyneth his Sacrament to be receyued and eaten, which is in a certaine wiſe called his body, as after ſhal be more largely opened: but the ſame doth not feede the mynd of them, except it be takē ſpiritually and not corporally. Heb. 13. It is good to ſtabliſh the hart with grace, and not with meate.

Auguſt. in Ioan.

And ſaint Auguſtine aſſentyng to the ſame, doth ſaye in a ſermon, that he maketh vpon theſe wordes, in the goſpel of Luke: Lord teache vs to pray. Panem dixit, ſed Epiouſion, hoc eſt ſuperſubſtantialem. &c. He ſayd bread, but ſuperſubſtantial bread. This is not the bread, which goeth into the body: but that bread whiche doth ſatiſfie the ſubſtance of our ſoule. Our ſoules therefore, into whom nothyng corporal, can corporally enter, dooth not carnally receyue the bodye and bloud of our Saueour, neyther did he ordeyne his bleſſed body and bloud ſo to be eaten and drunken. Although our ſoules can not lyue, except they be ſpiritually fed with the bleſſed body and bloud of him, ſpiritually eating and drinking them, in taking alſo at times conuenient, the bleſſed Sacrament, whiche is truely called his body and bloud: Not ẏ it is ſo really, but as is ſhewed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Auguſtine, becauſe it is a ſigne or figure of Chriſtes bodye and bloud. And the ſignes or Sacramentes both commonly, as ſayth Auguſtine, both ad Bonifacium, and in his worke, De Ciuitate Dei, take their denomination of the thinges by them repreſented and ſignified.

Auguſt. in Serm. de verbis Lucæ.

The Sacrament truly called the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Sacramentes take their denomination of the thinges which they repreſent.

But for ſo much as ſome wyll obiect, that Auguſtine in the worde afore rehearſed, doth not ſpeake of eating the Sacrament, for the text of the Scripture, vpon the whiche he doth ground, is not ſpoken by eatyng the Sacramente, whiche text is this: Vnleſſe a man eate my fleſhe. &c. I I anſweare, that true it is, he began of ſpiritual eatyng, and thereto ſerueth the text recited. Neuertheleſſe, he meaneth that Chriſt is not ordeyned to be eaten, either without the Sacramente, or in the Sacramente, but ſpiritually of the faythful: as more euidently doth appeare by theſe wordes there folowing: Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui, quod ſpiritualiter intellectum viuificabit vos. &c. I haue commended vnto you a Sacrament, which being vnderſtand of you ſpiritually, ſhal quicken you. Although it were neceſſary that the ſame ſhoulde be celebrated viſibly, yet notwithſtanding it ought to be vnderſtand inuiſibly.

Obiection anſwered.

Here dooth he ſhewe, that he meaneth of eatyng, not without the Sacrament only, but alſo in the Sacrament:

And therfore he doth not onely ſay, I haue commended vnto you a certayne Sacrament. &c. but he addeth moreouer, Although it is requiſite the ſame to be celebrate viſibly. Howe therefore can the eatyng of Chriſte, and the Sacrament therof be viſibly celebrate, but in the Maundye, or in his Supper? Which is celebrate viſibly in viſible thinges of bread and wyne: whiche can not quicken or relieue vs and our ſoules, except they be vnderſtande and ſo receyued ſpiritually.

This is my body, exponded by Auguſt.
Auguſt. ad Boniſacium.

Furthermore, as concernyng the expoſition of theſe wordes of the ſupper, This is my body. &c. S. Auguſtine wrytyng to Bonifacius, ſaith thus: Sæpe ita loquimur, vt Paſcha appropinquante, craſtinam vel perendinam Domini paſſionem dicamus. &c. We vſe oftentymes this maner of phraſe, that when Eaſter doth approche, we name the day that commeth after, or the next daye after that, the paſſion of the Lord, when as he notwithſtanding had ſuffered before that, many yeares: neither that paſſion was done but once for al. So truely do we ſay vpon the Lordes day: This day the Lord hath riſen, when ſo many yeares are paſt ſince he roſe. Wherfore no man is ſo fonde, that he wyll reproue vs as lyers, for this maner of ſpeaking, becauſe we cal theſe dayes according to the ſimilitude of thoſe, in whiche theſe thinges were done: ſo that it is called the ſame day which is not the ſame, but by courſe of time of the yeare comming about, is like vnto it: and alſo becauſe that thing is ſaide to be done that day, through the celebration of the ſacrament, whiche was not done that daye, but long before that time. Was not Chriſt once offred vp in him ſelfe? And yet notwithſtanding he is not onely offered vp in the Sacrament, in the ſolemne feaſtes of Eaſter, but euery day myſtically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, whiche being demaunded, anſweareth, that Chriſte is offered vp. For if the Sacramentes had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thinges wherof they are ſacramentes, then ſhould they be no ſacramentes at all. By reaſon of this ſimilitude or likenes, ſacramentes oftentymes do receiue the names of the ſelfe ſame thinges, wherof they are ſacramentes.

How the ſacrament of the body is the body of Chriſt after a certayne maner.

Therefore, as after a certayne maner, the ſacramente of Chriſtes body, is the body of Chriſte, and the ſacramente of Chriſtes bloud, is the bloud of Chriſte: euen likewiſe the ſacrament of fayth, is fayth. For to beleeue is none other thing, then to haue fayth. And by this it is anſweared, that the verye infantes haue faith, becauſe of the ſacramente of fayth, and conuert them ſelues vnto God, becauſe of the ſacrament of conuerſion: for the verye anſweare it ſelfe doth appertayne vnto the celebration of the ſacrament: as the apoſtle ſpeaketh of Baptiſme. For he ſaith, We are buried by Baptiſme into death. He doth not ſay, we haue ſignified a burying, but he plainely ſayth, we are buryed. Therfore he named the ſacramēt of ſo weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the verye name of the thing it ſelfe.

Nothing can be more plainely ſpoken, nor more agreeably to the natural vnderſtanding of the textes of the Supper, and to the expoſition afore ſhewed, of Tertullian and of hym ſelfe. For ſeeing that Chriſt is bodyly in heauen, and ſo abſent from the earth, it is needefull to knowe, howe the holy Sacrament, which he doth cal his body and bloud, ſhould be his body and bloud.

By Analogie of the ſcripture, ſpeaches muſt be expounded, one ſpeach by another.

This holy Doctor therfore Auguſtine, doth this matter manifeſtly & ſincerely declare by other like ſpeaches, and firſt by common ſpeaches, and ſecondly by ſpeaches of ſcripture. The common ſpeache is this: we doo (ſaith he) vſe often to ſay, that when Eaſter dooth approch to drawe nigh, to morowe or the next daye, is the Lordes Paſſion, whereas he did ſuffer afore many yeares paſt, and that paſſion was neuer but once done.

The ſecond common ſpeache is: And of that Sondaye we ſaye, that this day the Lorde dyd riſe from death, whereas ſo many yeares be yet paſt ſith the tyme he aroſe. Wherefore, to conclude he ſaith: No man is ſo fooliſh, that he wyll reproue vs for ſo ſaying, or to ſaye, that we haue lyed, for becauſe we do cal theſe dayes after the ſimilitude of thoſe, in which theſe thinges were done. So that it is called the ſame day, not for that it is the ſelfe ſame, but by reuolutiō of tyme, like vnto it. And the reſurrection is ſaid to be done in the ſame day, through the celebrating of the Sacrament of that whiche is not done that day, but long tyme afore paſt.

Chriſt is offered in the ſacrament myſtically, that is in remembrance of his oblation.

The third ſpeache: was not Chriſt offered vp once for all in his owne perſon? yet is he neuertheleſſe offered in the Sacrament myſtically for the people, not only euery yere at the feaſt of Eaſter, but alſo euery day. Neither doth he lye, which when he is demaunded, ſhal anſware, that he is offered vp or ſacrificed. For if the Sacraments had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thinges, of whiche they be Sacramentes, then ſhoulde they be no Sacramentes at all. By reaſon of which ſimilitude, they do for the moſt part receiue the denomination or name of thoſe thinges ſignified. And therefore after a certaine maner, the ſacrament of Chriſtes body, is the body of Chriſt. and the Sacramēt of Chriſtes bloud, is the bloud of Chriſt, and ſo alſo be the Sacramentes of fayth, called fayth.

Quodam modo. i. after a certeine maner.

This doth he yet proue by an other example of ſpeach, whiche is this: It is none other thing to beleeue, then to haue fayth. And therfore when anſweare is made, that the infantes haue fayth, which in deede haue it not in full working, it is anſweared, that ſuche haue fayth for the Sacrament of fayth, and that they doo conuert them ſelues vnto fayth, for the Sacrament of Conuerſion. For the very anſwere it ſelfe doth pertayne to the celebration of the Sacrament. &c. Thus doth it ſufficiently appeare, that as we vſe truely to call that good Frydaye, or yͤ day of Chriſtes paſſion, which is not in deede the day of Chriſtes Paſſion, but onely a memorial therof once done for euer: and as we vſe to cal the next Eaſter day, the day of Chriſtes reſurrection, not becauſe that Chriſt in the ſame day ſhal ariſe, but onely for a memorial of his reſurrection once done for euer, & that of long tyme paſſed.

The celebration of the ſacrament repreſenteth the oblation of Chriſtes body.

The ſacrament of Chriſtes body is not his body in deede, but in memoriall or repreſentation.

And Chriſte being offered vp once for all in his owne proper perſon, is yet ſaide to be offered vp, not onely euerye yeare at Eaſter, but alſo euery day in the celebration of the Sacramente, becauſe his oblation once for euer made, is thereby repreſented. Euenſo (ſaith Auguſtine) is the ſacramēt of Chriſtes body, the body of Chriſt. and the ſacrament of Chriſtes bloud, the bloud of Chriſte, in a certaine wiſe or faſhion. Not that the Sacrament is his naturall body or bloud in deede, but that it is a memorial or repreſentation therof, as the dayes before ſhewed, be of his very and natural body crucified for vs, and of his precious bloud ſhed for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And thus be the holy ſignes or ſacramentes truely called by the names of the very thinges in them ſignified. But why ſo? For they (ſaith Auguſtine) haue a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thinges wherof they be ſignes or Sacramentes, for els they ſhould be no Sacramentes at al: And therefore do they commonly, and for the moſt part receyue the denomination of the thinges wherof they be Sacramentes.

A Fallax in Logike, a ſecundum quid, ad ſimpliciter.

The Popes argument: The Sacrament of Chriſtes body is Chriſtes bodye. Ergo, the ſacrament is Chriſtes body really and ſubſtantially.

So that we may manifeſtly perceiue that he calleth not the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but as he ſaid before. But yet he ſaith in a certaine manner or wiſe: Not that the Sacramente abſolutely and plainely, is his natural body or bloud. For this is a falſe argument of Sophiſtrie, which they call, Secundū quid ad ſimpliciter, that is to ſay, that the Sacramēt of Chriſtes body, is in a certaine wiſe, the body of Chriſte, Ergo, it is alſo plainely and expreſſely the natural bodye of Chriſt. For ſuch an other reaſon might this be alſo: Chriſt is after a certaine maner, a Lion, a Lambe, and a doore: Ergo, Chriſte is a natural Lion and Lambe, or materiall doore. But the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, is therefore called his body and bloud, becauſe it is thereof a memorial, ſigne, ſacrament, token, and repreſentation, ſpent once for our redemption. Whiche thyng is further expounded by an other ſpeach, that he dooth here conſequently alledge of baptiſme: Sicut de ipſo baptiſmo apoſtolus dicit. &c.

The Apoſtle (quoth Auguſtine) ſayth not, we haue ſignified burying, but he ſaith vtterly, we be buryed with Chriſt. For els ſhould al falſe Chriſtians be buryed with Chriſt from ſinne, which yet do lyue in al ſinne. And therfore ſaith Auguſtine immediately therupon, he called therefore the ſacrament of ſo great a thyng, by none other name, then of the thyng it ſelfe. Thus (O moſte gracious and godly prince) doo I confeſſe and knowledge, that the bread of yͤ ſacrament is truely Chriſtes body, and the wyne to be truely his bloud, accordyng to the wordes of the inſtitution of the ſame Sacrament: but in a certaine wiſe, that is to wyt, figuratiuely, ſacramētally, or ſignificatiuely, according to the expoſition of the Doctours before recited and hereafter folowyng. And to this expoſition of the olde Doctours, am I enforced, both by the articles of my Creede, and alſo by the circumſtances of the ſayd Scripture, as after ſhall more largely appeare. But by the ſame can I not finde the natural body of our Sauiour to be there naturally, but rather abſent, both from the ſacrament, and from al yͤ world, collocate and remaynyng in heauen, where he by promiſe muſt abyde corporally, vnto the ende of the world.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum.

The ſame holy Doctor writing agaynſt one Fauſtus, ſayth in like manner: Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia eſcas quibus nunc Chriſtiani licitè vtuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptiſmo Chriſti, pro Euchariſtia Chriſti, pro ſigno Chriſti. &c. If we doo preferre with great admiration the Machabees, becauſe they woulde not once touche the meates which Chriſtian men nowe lawfully vſe to eate of, for that it was not lawful for that time then being prophetical, that is, in the time of the olde Teſtament: howe muche rather nowe ought a Chriſtian to be more ready to ſuffer al thinges for the Baptiſme of Chriſt, and for the Sacrament of thankes geuyng, and for the ſigne of Chriſte, ſeeing that thoſe of the olde Teſtament were the promiſes of the thinges to be complet and fulfilled, and theſe ſacramēts in the new Teſtament are the tokens of things cōplete and finiſhed? In this do I note that according to yͤ expoſitiōs before ſhewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptiſme and the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, otherwiſe properly named Euchariſtia, ſignum Chriſti, and that in the ſingular number, for as much as they both do ſignifie welnigh one thing. In both them is teſtified the death of our Sauiour. And moreouer he calleth thē, Iudicia rerum completarum: that is to wyt, The tokens or benefites that we ſhal receiue by the beliefe of Chriſte for vs crucified. And them dooth he cal vſually both the ſacramentes, ſignum Chriſti, in the ſingular number. And as the ſame ſaint Auguſtine in his. 50. treatiſe vpon the Goſpel of Saint John teacheth, where he ſayth thus: Si bonus es, ſi ad corpus Chriſti pertines, (quod ſignificat Petrus) habes Chriſtum, & in præſenti, & in futuro. In præſenti per fidem. &c. If thou be good, if thou pertaine to the body of Chriſt (whiche this worde, Petrus, doth ſignifie) then haſt thou Chriſt both here preſent, and in time to come: Here preſent through fayth: here preſent by the ſigne and figure of Chriſt: here preſent by the Sacrament of Baptiſme; here preſent by the meate and drinke of the altar. &c.

The ſigne of Chriſt.

Auguſt. in Ioan tract. 50.

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much onely came to our handes.

The death of Robert Packington.

Robert Packington

1538.

AMong other actes and matters paſſed and done this preſent yeare, whiche is of the Lorde. 1538. here is not to be ſilenced the vnworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, Mercer of London, wrought and cauſed by the enemies of Gods worde, and of all good proceedinges. The ſtory is this: The ſaid Robert Packington, beyng a man of ſubſtance, and dwelling in Chepeſide, vſed euery day at fiue of the clocke, wynter and Sommer to goe to prayer at a Churche then called S. Thomas of Acres, but nowe named Mercers Chappel. And one morning amongeſt al other, being a great myſtie mornyng, ſuche as hath ſeldōe bene ſeene, euen as he was croſſing the ſtreate from his houſe to the Churche, he was ſodenly murthered with a gunne, which of the neighbours was plainly heard: and by a great number of labourers ſtanding at Sopor lane ende, he was both ſeene goe foorth of his houſe, and the clap of the gunne was hearde, but the deede doer was a greate while vneſpied and vnknowen. Although manye in the meane tyme were ſuſpected, yet none coulde be founde faultie therein. The murther ſo couertly was conueyed, tyll at length by the confeſſion of Doctour Incent Deane of Paules in his death bed, it was knowen, and by hym confeſſed, yͭ he him ſelfe was the authour thereof, by hyring an Italian for .lx. crownes or therabout,, to doo the feate. For the teſtimonie whereof, and alſo of the repentaunt wordes of the ſaid Incent, the names both of them whiche hearde him confeſſe it, and of them which hearde the witneſſes report it, remayne yet in memorie, to be produced, if neede required.

Doct. Incent Deane of Paules, murderer of Packinton.

The cauſe why he was ſo litle fauored with the clergie, was this, for that he was knowē to be a man of great courage, and one that could both ſpeake, & alſo would be heard: for at the ſame time he was one of the burgeſſes of the parlamēt for the citie of Londō, & had talked ſomwhat againſt the couetouſnes & crueltie of the clergie, wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought alſo to haue ſome talke with the king, for the whiche he was the more had in diſdaine with them, & murdered by the ſaid Doctour Incent, for his labour, as hath bene aboue declared.

And thus much of Rob. Packington, whiche was the brother of Auſten Packington aboue mentioned, who deceiued biſhop Tonſtal, in bying the newe tranſlated Teſtament of Tyndal. Whoſe pitious murder, although it was priuie and ſoden, yet hath it ſo pleaſed the Lord, not to kepe it in darknes, but to bring it at length to light.

Read before pag. 991.

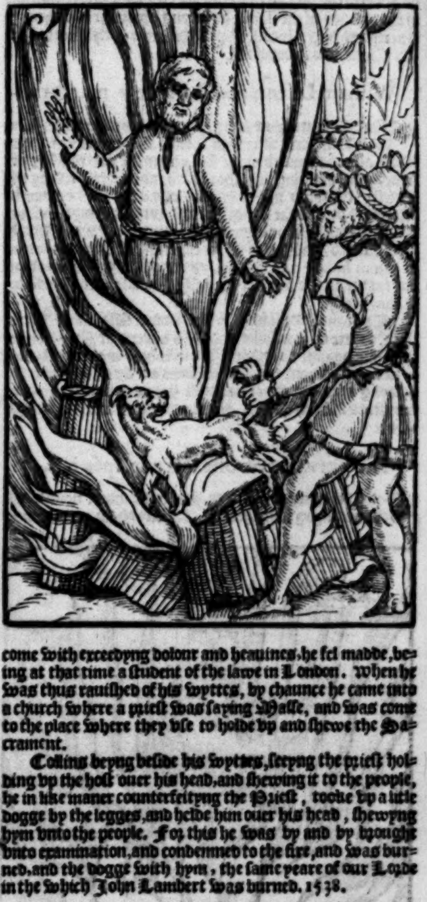
The burnyng of one Collins at London.

Collyns with hys dogge burned.

NEyther is here to be omitted the burnyng of one Collins, ſometyme a Lawyer and a Gētleman, which ſuffered thekper this yeare alſo in Smithfielde, ann. 1538. Whom although I doo not here recite, as in the number of Gods profeſſed martyrs, yet neither do I thinke hym to be cleane ſequeſtred from the companye of, the Lordes ſaued flocke and family, notwithſtanding that the biſh. of Romes church dyd condēme and burne hym for an heretike: but rather doo recount him therefore, as one belonging to the holy companye of Saintes. At leaſtwiſe this caſe of hym and of his end may be thought to be ſuche, as maye well reproue and condemne their crueltie and madneſſe, in burnyng ſo without al diſcretion, this man being madde and diſtract of his perfect wittes, as he then was, by this occaſion as here foloweth.

This Gentleman had a wife of exceeding beautie and comelynes, but notwithſtanding of ſo light behauiour and vnchaſte conditions (nothing correſpondent to the grace of her beautie) that ſhee forſaking her huſband, whiche loued her entirely, betoke her ſelfe vnto an other paramour. Which thing when he vnderſtood, he tooke it very greeuouſly and heauyly, more then reaſon woulde. At the laſt being ouercome with exceedyng dolour and heauines, he fel madde, being at that time a ſtudent of the lawe in London. When he was thus rauiſhed of his wyttes, by chaunce he came into a church where a prieſt was ſaying Maſſe, and was come to the place where they vſe to holde vp and ſhewe the Sacrament.

¶ Collins with his dogge burned.



Collins beyng beſide his wyttes, ſeeyng the prieſt holding vp the hoſt ouer his head, and ſhewing it to the people, he in like maner counterfeityng the Prieſt, tooke vp a litle dogge by the legges, and helde him ouer his head, ſhewyng hym vnto the people. For this he was by and by brought vnto examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dogge with hym, the ſame yeare of our Lorde in the which John Lambert was burned. 1538.

Collyns burned for holding vp a dogge at Maſſe.

¶ The burnyng of Cowbridge
at Oxforde. ann. 1538.

Cowbridge burnt at Oxforde

WIth this foreſaide Collins, maye alſo be adioyned the burnyng of Cowbridge, who likewiſe being madde, and beſide his right ſenſes, was either the ſame, or the next yere folowing, condemned by Longland, biſhop of Lincolne, and committed to the fire by hym, to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearſe. For as he was thē a mā madde, and deſtitute of ſenſe and reaſon, ſo his wordes and ſayinges coulde not be founde. Yea rather, what wiſe man woulde euer collect articles againſte him, whiche ſayde, he coulde not tell what? And if his articles were ſo horrible and madde, as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my iudgement, a man more fitte to be ſente to Bethlehem, then to be had to the fire in Smithfielde to

Cope in his Dialogues.

be burned. For what reaſon is it to require reaſon of a creature mad or vnreaſonable, or to make hereſie of the wordes of a ſenſeleſſe man, not knowing what he affirmeth?

But this is the manner and propertie of this holy mother Church of Rome, that what ſoeuer commeth in their handes and inquiſition, to the fire it muſte. There is no other way: neither pitie that wyl moue, nor excuſe that wyl ſerue, nor age that they wyll ſpare, nor any reſpect almoſte that they conſider: as by theſe two miſerable examples both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appeare. Who rather ſhoulde haue bene pitied, and all wayes conuenient ſought, howe to reduce the ſeely wretches into their right myndes againe, according as the true Paſtours of Iſrael be commaunded by the ſpirite of God, to ſeeke againe the thinges that be loſt, to bynd vp the thynges that be broken &c. and not ſo extremely to bruiſt the thinges that be bruiſed before. But to ende with this matter of Cowbridge, what ſoeuer his madnes was before, or howe ſo euer erroneous his articles were (which for the fonde fantaſies of them, I do not expreſſe) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the myddeſt of the flame, he liftyng vp his head to heauē, ſoberly and diſcretely called vpon the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo departed.

The right confeſſion of Cowbridge, at his departing.

William Leiton and Puttedew martyrs.

Puttedew Martyred.

ABout the ſame tyme and yeare, or not much before, whē Iohn Lambert ſuffered at Londō, there was one Puttedew alſo condemned to the fire, about the partes of Suffolke, who comming into the church, and merylye telling the Prieſte, that after he had drunke vp all the wyne alone, he afterward bleſſed the hungry people with the emptie Chalice, was for the ſame immediately apprehended, and ſhortly after burned, leauyng to vs an experiment, Quàm parùm ſit tutum ludere cum ſanctis, as the olde ſaying was then: but rather as we may ſee now, Quàm malè tutum ſit ludere cum impijs.

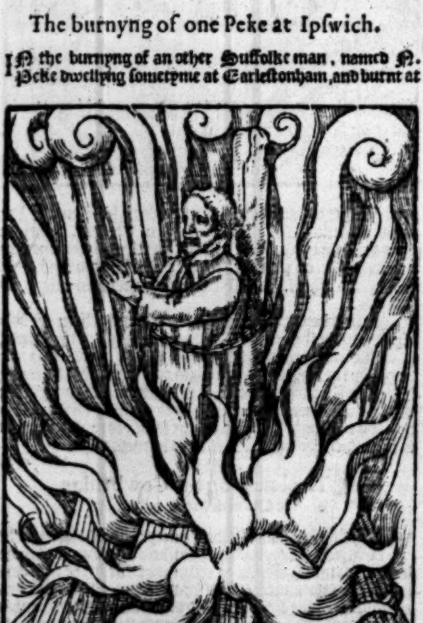
Prouer. Non eſt bonum ludere cum impijs.

The other, William Leyton, was a Monke of Eye, in the Countie of Suffolke, and was burned at Norwich, for ſpeaking againſt a certayne Idole, which was accuſtomed to be carried about the Proceſſions at Eye: and alſo for holdyng that the Sacramentall Supper ought to be adminiſtred in both kindes, aboute the yeare and tyme aforeſayde.

W. Leyton, Martyr.

The burnyng of one Peke at Ipſwich.

N. Peke burned at Ipſwich, Martyr.



IN the burnyng of an other Suffolke man, named N. Peke dwellyng ſometyme at Earleſtonham, and burnt at Ipſwich, ſomewhat before the burning of theſe aforeſaide thus I finde it recorded and teſtified: That when as he being faſt bound to a ſtake, and Furſe ſet on fire rounde about hym, was ſo ſcorched, that he was as blacke as ſoote, one Doctour Redyng there ſtanding before him, with Doctour Heyre and doctour Springwel, hauyng a long white wande in his hande, dyd knocke him vpon the right ſhoulder, and ſaide, Peke, recant, and beleue that the Sacrament of the aultar, is the very body of Chriſte, fleſhe, bloud, and bone, after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of Conſecration ouer it, and here haue I in my hande to abſolue thee for thy miſbeliefe that hath ben in thee, hauing a ſcrole of paper in his hande. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, Peke anſweared, and ſayde, I deſie it and thee alſo, & with a great violence he ſpyt from hym very bloud, whiche came by reaſon that his vaines brake in his body for extreme anguiſhe. And when the ſaide Peke had ſo ſpoken, then D. Redyng ſaide: To as many as ſhal caſt a ſticke to the burning of this heretique, is graunted fourty dayes of pardon by my Lord Biſhop of Norwich. Then Barne Curſon, Syr Iohn Audley knyght, with many others of eſtimation beyng there preſent, dyd riſe from their ſeates, and with their ſwordes dyd cut downe boughes, and throw them into the fire, and ſo dyd al the multitude of the people.

Fortie dayes of pardon proclaymed for caſting ſtyckes into Pekes fyer.

Witnes Iohn Ramſey and others,
who dyd ſee this acte.

In the yeare laſt before this, which was of the Lorde. 1537. it was declared how Pope Paul the third indicted a general Councel to be holden at Mantua. Whereunto the kyng of England among other Princes beyng called, refuſed either to come or to ſende at the Popes call, and for defence of hym ſelfe, directed out a publique Apologie or Proteſtation, rendring iuſt and ſufficient matter, why neyther he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes commaundement. Which Proteſtation is before to be read. pag. 1056. This Councel appoynted to begyn the. 23. day of Maye, the yeare aforeſayde, was then ſtopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretending that he woulde ſuffer no Councell there, vnleſſe the Pope would fortifie the citie with a ſufficient armye. &c. For whiche cauſe the Pope prorogued the ſayde Councel, to be celebrate in the moneth of Nouember folowing, appoynting at yͤ firſt no certaine place. At length named and determined the citie of Vincence (lyeng within the dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the Councel. Whereunto when the kyng (the yeare next folowyng, whiche is this preſent yeare of the Lorde. 1538.) was requeſted by the Emperour and other ſtates, to reſort eyther hym ſelfe, or to ſende: he agayne refuſing (as he dyd before) ſendeth this Proteſtation in waye of defence and aunſweare for hym ſelfe, to the Emperour and other Chriſten princes: the copie and effect whereof here vnder foloweth, and is this.

Of this Councell of *Mantua*, read before 1056.

Henrye the eight by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and Fraunce, &c. ſaluteth the Emperour, Chriſtian princes, and al true Chriſten men, deſiryng peace and concorde amongeſt them.

1538.

The kinges letter to the Emperour.

WHereas not long ſithens, a booke came forth in our and al our Counſailors names, which conteyned many cauſes why we refuſed the Councell, then by the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power firſt indicted at Mantua, to be kept the. xxiij. day of May, after prorogued to Nouember, no place appoynted where it ſhoulde be kept, and whereas the ſame booke doth ſufficiently proue, that our cauſe coulde take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in ſuch a company of addict men to one ſect, nor in any other Cōucel called by his vſurped power: we thinke it nothing neceſſary ſo oft to make newe proteſtations, as the biſhop of Rome and his Courtes by ſuttletie and craft, doo inuente wayes to mocke the world, by new pretenſed general Councels. yet notwithſtanding, becauſe that ſome thyngs haue nowe occured, eyther vpon occaſion geuē vs by change of the place, or els through other cōſiderations, which now being knowē to the world, may do much good, we thought we ſhould doo but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Chriſtes fayth and religion, to adde this Epiſtle. And yet we proteſt, that we neither put forth that booke, neither yet we woulde this Epiſtle to be ſet afore it, that thereby we ſhould ſeeme leſſe to deſire a general Cōucell, thē any other Prince or potentate, but rather to be more deſirous of it, ſo it were free for al partes, and vniuerſal. And further we deſire al good Princes, potentates and people, to eſteeme and thinke that no Prince would more wyllyngly be preſent at ſuche a Councel then we: ſuche a one we meane, as we ſpake of in our proteſtation made concernyng the Councel of Mantua.

Of this boke reade before 1056.

Of this read before, pag. 1058. col. 2.

The Pope doth but mocke the world with his pretenſed Councels.

Generall Councels are to be wiſhed ſo they might be free vniuerſally for all partes.

Truely

Nothing more pernicious to the church, then generall Councels, if they be abuſed.

Truely as our forefathers inuented nothyng more holyer then generall Councels, vſed as they ought to be, ſo there is almoſt nothing that may do more hurt to the Chriſtian cōmon wealth, to the fayth, to our religion, then generall Cōūcels, if they be abuſed to lucre, to gaynes, to the eſtabliſhment of errours. They be called generall, and euen by their name do admoniſh vs, that al Chriſten men which do diſſent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, & without feare of puniſhment or diſpleaſure, ſay their mynd. For ſeeing ſuche thynges as are decreed in generall Councels, touche equally al men that geue aſſent therunto, it is meete that euery man maye boldly ſaye there, that he thinketh. And verely we ſuppoſe, that it ought not to be called a generall Councel, where alonely thoſe men are heard, which are determined for euer, in al poyntes, to defende the Popiſhe parte, and to arme them ſelues to fight in the Biſhop of Romes quarell, though it were againſt God & his ſcriptures. It is no generall Councell, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the ſame men be onely Aduocates and aduerſaries: the ſame accuſed and iudges. No it is agaynſt the lawe of nature, eyther that we ſhould cōdeſcend to ſo vnreaſonable a law againſt our ſelues, eyther that we ſhould ſuffer our ſelues to be leaft without all defence, and beyng oppreſſed with greateſt iniuries, to haue no refuge to ſuccour our ſelues at. The Biſhop of Rome and his, be our great enemyes, as we and all the worlde maye well perceyue by his doynges.

The Popes Councels, are no generall Coūcels

The pope in his Coūcels is the partye accuſed and alſo the iudge.

He deſireth nothing more then our hurt, and the deſtruction of our Realme: Doo not we then violate the iudgement of nature, if we geue hym power and authoritie to be our Judge? His pretended honor firſt gotten by ſuperſtition, after encreaſed by violence, & other wayes, as euyll as that: his power ſet vp by pretence of religion, in deede both againſt religion, and alſo contrary to the word of God: his primacie borne by the ignorancie of the world, nouriſhed by the ambition of Biſhoppes of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falſely vnderſtand: theſe three thinges (we ſay) whiche are fallen with vs, and are like to fal in other Realmes ſhortly, ſhall they not be eſtabliſhed agayne, if he maye decide our cauſe as hym luſteth? if he may at his pleaſure oppreſſe a cauſe moſt righteous and ſet vp his, moſt againſt truth? Certainely he is very blynde, that ſeeth not, what ende we may looke for of our controuerſies, if ſuch our enemye may geue the ſentence.

Agaynſt all reaſon that he which is our accuſer ſhould alſo be our iudge.

The Popes honor firſt gotten by ſuperſtition borne by ignorance, nouriſhed by ambition, increaſed by violence, defended by falſe vnderſtanding and wraſting of ſcriptures.

We deſire, if it were in any wiſe poſſible, a Councell, where ſome hope maye be, that thoſe thinges ſhall be reſtored, which nowe being depꝛauate, are like (if they be not amended) to be the vtter ruine of Chriſten religion. And as we doo deſire ſuche a Councel, and thinke it meete that all men in all their prayers ſhould deſire & craue it of God: euen ſo we thinke it perteyneth vnto our office, to prouide both that theſe Popiſhe ſubtilties hurte none of our ſubiectes, and alſo to admoniſhe other Chriſtian Princes, that the Biſhop of Rome maye not by their conſent, abuſe the authoritie of kyngs, eyther by the extinguiſhyng of the true preaching of Scripture (that nowe beginneth to ſpryng, to growe, and ſpreade abroade) eyther to the troublyng of Princes liberties, to the diminiſhyng of kynges authorities, and to the great blemiſhe of their princely maieſtie. We doubt nothing but a Reader not parcial, wyll ſoone approue ſuche thinges as we here write, not ſo muche for our excuſe, as that the worlde maye perceyue both the ſundrye deceites, craftes, and ſubtilties of the papiſtes, and alſo how much we deſire that controuerſies in religion maye once be taken away.

Prouiſion to be made agaynſt popiſhe ſubtilties.

Al that we ſaid there of Mantua, may here wel be ſpoken of Vincence. They do almoſt agree in al poyntes. Neither is it like, that there wyl be any more at this Councell at Vincence, then were the laſt yeare at Mantua. Truely he is worthy to be deceyued, that being twiſe mocked, wyll not beware the thirde tyme. If any this laſt yeare made forth towarde Mantua, and beyng halfe on their way, then perceiued that they had taken vppon them that iourney in vaine, we do not thinke them ſo fooliſh, that they wyl hereafter ryde farre out of towne to be mocked. The tyme alſo, and the ſtate of thinges is ſuche, that matters of Religion may rather nowe be brought further in trouble (as other thinges are) then be commodiouſly intreated of and decided. For wheras in maner ẏ whol world is after ſuch ſort troubled with warres, ſo incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, cā there be any man ſo againſt the ſetlyng of religion, that he wyl thinke this tyme meete for a general Councel? Undoubtedly it is meete that ſuch controuerſies as we haue with the biſhop of Rome, be taken as they are, that is, much greater then that they may either be diſcuſſed in this ſo troubleſome a tyme, or els be cōmitted vnto Proctors, without our great ieopardye, albeit the tyme were neuer ſo quiet.

This Councel of Mantua which the pope prorogued, he afterward traſferred to Vincence. This was the yeare 1537.

This time vnmeete for a generall Councell, and why?

What other princes wyl do, we cā not tel: but we wil neither leaue our realme at this tyme, neyther wyll we truſt any Proctour with our cauſe, wherein the whole ſtaye and wealth of our realme ſtandeth, but rather we [illegible] be at the handlyng therof our ſelfe. For except both an other Judge be agreed vpon for thoſe matters, and alſo a place more cōmodious be prouided for the debating of our cauſes, albeit al other thinges were as we would haue them, yet may we lawfully refuſe to come or ſend any to this pretended Coūcel. We wyll in no caſe make hym our arbeter, whiche not many yeares paſt, our cauſe not hearde, gaue ſentence agaynſt vs. We wyl that ſuch doctrine, as we folowyng the Scripture do profeſſe, be rightly examined, diſcuſſed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the onely touchſtone of true learnyng.

Neyther the iudge, nor the place conuenient for a generall Councell.

Read before pag. 1027. col. 2.

We wyl not ſuffer them to be aboliſhed, ere euer they be diſcuſſed, ne to be oppreſſed, before they be knowen: muche leſſe we wyl ſuffer them to be troden downe being ſo clearly true. No, as there is no iote in Scripture, but we wyl defende it, though it were with ieopardye of our life, and peryll of this our Realme: ſo is there nothing that dooth oppreſſe this doctrine, or obſcure it, but we wyll be at continual warre therewith. As we haue abrogated all olde popiſhe traditions in this our Realme, whiche eyther dyd helpe his tyrannie, or encreaſe his pride: ſo if the grace of God forſake vs not, we wyll well foreſee, that no newe naughtie traditions be made with our conſent, to blynde vs or our Realme.

Spoken lyke a kyng.

Would God the king here had kept promiſe, when he made the 6. Articles.

If men wyl not be wyllingly blynde, they ſhal eaſily ſee euen by a due and euident proufe in reaſon, though grace doth not yet by the worde of Chriſte enter into them, howe ſmal the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome is, by the lawfull denyal of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For if the Biſhop of Rome did earneſtly intende to keepe a Coūcel at Mantua, and hath power by the lawe of God, to call Princes to what place hym liketh: why hath he not alſo authoritie to chuſe what hym lyſteth? The Biſhop choſe Mantua: the Duke kept hym out of it. If Paule the Biſhop of Romes authoritie be ſo great as he pretendeth, why could he not compell *Fredericus* Duke of Mantua, that the Councel might be kept there? The Duke would not ſuffer it. No, he forbad hym his towne.

The Duke of Mantua denyeth the Pope his Cytie for his Coūcell.

Howe chaunceth it, that here excommunications flee not abroade? Why doth he not puniſhe this Duke? Why is his power, that was woont to be more then full, here emptie? wont to be more then all, here nothyng? Dooth he not call men in vayne to a Councell, if they that come at his callyng be excluded the place, to the whiche he calleth them? Maye not kynges iuſtly refuſe to come at his call, when the Duke of Mantua may deny hym the place that he chooſeth? If other Princes order hym as the Duke of Mantua hath done, what place ſhalbe leaft hym, where he maye kepe his general Councel?

Agayne, if Princes haue geuen hym this authoritie to cal a Councel, is it not neceſſary, that they geue hym alſo al thoſe thynges, without the whiche he can not exerciſe that his power? Shal he call men, and wyll ye let hym to finde no place to cal them vnto? Truely he is not woont to appoynt one of his owne cities, a place to keepe the Councell in. No, the good man is ſo faythful and frendly toward other, that ſeldome he deſireth Princes to be his geſtes.

If the Popes authoritie may be ſtopped by a Duke, what authoritie then hath he ouer kinges and Emperours?

And admytte he ſhoulde call vs to one of his Cities, ſhoulde we ſafely walke within the walles of ſuche our enemies towne? Were it meete for vs there to diſcuſſe controuerſies of Religion, or to keepe vs out of our enemyes trappes? meete to ſtudy for the defence of ſuch doctrine as we profeſſe, or rather how we might in ſuch a throng of perylles be in ſafegarde of our lyfe? Wel, in this one acte the Biſhop of Rome hath declared, that he hath none authoritie vpon places in other mens dominions, and therefore if he promiſe a Coūcel in any of thoſe, he promiſeth that, that is in an other man to performe, and ſo may he deceyue vs againe.

Example that the pope hath no power vpon places in other mens dominiōs.

Nowe if he cal vs to one of his owne townes, we be afrayd to be at ſuche an hoſtes table. We ſaye, better to ryſe an hungred, then to go thence with our bellyes full. But they ſay, the place is found, we nede no more to ſeeke where the Councel ſhal be kept. As who ſaith, that that chaunced at Mantua, maye not alſo chaunce at Vincence: and as though it were very like, that the Venetians, men of ſuche wiſedome, ſhoulde not both foreſee, and feare alſo, that the wiſe Duke of Mantua ſeemed to feare. Certes, when we thinke vppon the ſtate that the Venetians be in nowe, it ſeemeth no very likely thyng, that they wyll eyther leaue Vincence their Citie to ſo manye Nations, without ſome great garriſon of ſouldiers, or els that they beyng els where ſo ſore charged already, wyl nowe nouriſh an armye there?

Dilemma againſt the Pope.

Vincence a cytie vnder the dominion of the Venetians.

And if they woulde, dooth not Paule hym ſelfe graunt that it ſhould be and euyll Preſident, an an euyll example, to haue an armed Councell?

Of this writing read before pag. 1056.

Howe ſo euer it ſhall be, we moſt hartily deſire you, that ye wyl vouchſafe to reade thoſe thinges that we wrot this laſt yeare, touchyng the Mantuan Councel. For we nothyng doubt, but you, of your equitie, wyll ſtande on our ſide againſt their ſubtiltie and fraudes, and iudge (excepte we be deceyued) that we in this buſines, neyther gaue ſo much to our affections, neither without great and moſt iuſt cauſes, refuſed their Councelles, their Cenſures, and Decrees.

Whether theſe our writynges pleaſe all men, or no, we think we ought not to paſſe much. No, if yͤ which indifferētly is written of vs, may pleaſe indifferent readers, our deſire is accōpliſhed. The falſe & miſtaking of thinges by mē parcial, ſhal moue vs nothyng, or els very litle. If we haue ſayde ought againſt the deceites of the Biſhop of Rome, that may ſeeme ſpoken too ſharpely, we pray you, impute it to yͤ hatred we beare vnto vices, & not to any euyll wil that we beare hym. No, that he and al his may perceyue that we ar rather at ſtrife with his vices, then with him & his: our prayer is, that it maye pleaſe God, at the laſte to open their eyes, to make ſoft their hard hartes, & yͭ they once may with vs (their owne glorye ſet apart) ſtudy to ſet forth the euerlaſtyng glory of the euerlaſtyng God.

Thus mighty Emperour, fare you moſt hartily well, and ye Chriſten Princes, the pyllers and ſtay of Chriſtendome, fare ye hartyly wel. Alſo al ye, what people ſo euer ye are, which do deſire that the goſpel and glory of Chriſt may floriſhe, fare ye hartyly wel.

As the Lorde of his goodnes had rayſed vp Thomas Cromwel to be a frende and patrone to the Goſpell: ſo on the contrary ſide Sathan (which is aduerſary, and enemye to all good thinges) had his organe alſo, which was Steuen Gardiner, by al wyles and ſubtile meanes to empeache and to put backe the ſame. Who after he had brought his purpoſe to paſſe, in burnyng good John Lambert (as ye haue hearde) proceedyng ſtyl in his craftes and wyles, and thinking vnder the name of hereſies, ſectes, Anabaptiſtes, & ſacramentaries, to exterminate al good bookes, and faythful profeſſours of Gods word out of England, ſo wrought with the kyng, that the next yeare folowyng, which was of our Lord. 1539. he gaue out theſe Iniunctions, yͤ copy and contentes wherof I thought here alſo not to be pretermitted, and are theſe.

Certayne other Iniunctions ſet forth by the authoritie of the kyng, againſt Engliſhe bookes, ſectes, and Sacramentaries alſo, with putting downe the day of Thomas Becket.

1539.

FIrſt, that none without ſpecial licence of the king, tranſporte, or bring from outwarde parties into Englande, any manner of Engliſhe bookes, neyther yet ſell, geue, vtter, or publiſhe any ſuche, vppon payne to forfeyte all their goodes and cattelles, and their bodyes to be impriſoned, ſo long as it ſhal pleaſe the kynges maieſtie.

Item, that none ſhal print, or bring ouer any Engliſhe bookes with annotations or Prologues, vnles ſuch bookes before be examined by the kinges priuie Counſayle, or others appoynted by his highneſſe, and yet not to put thereto thoſe wordes: Cum priuilegio Regali, without addyng, Ad imprimendum ſolum: neither yet to print it, without the kinges priuilege be printed therewith in the Engliſhe tongue, that al men may reade it. Neither ſhal they printe any tranſlated booke, without the plaine name of the tranſlatour be in it, or els the printer to be made the tranſlatour, and to ſuffer the fine and puniſhment therof at the kinges pleaſure.

No bookes to be tranſlated, without the name of the tranſlator.

Item, that none of the occupation of Printyng ſhall within the Realme, print, vtter, ſell, or cauſe to be publiſhed any Engliſhe bookes of Scripture, vnleſſe the ſame be firſte viewed, examined, and admitted by the kings highneſſe, or one of his priuie Counſaile, or one Biſhop within the Realme, whoſe name ſhall therein be expreſſed, vppon paine of the kinges moſt high diſpleaſure, the loſſe of their goodes and cattels, and priſonment, ſo long as it ſhal pleaſe the king.

Engliſhe bookes of ſcripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, thoſe that be in any errours, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptiſtes, or any other, or any that ſel bookes, hauyng ſuche opinions in them, being once knowen, both the bookes and ſuche perſons ſhalbe detected and diſcloſed immediately vnto the kinges Maieſtie, or one of his priuie Counſaile, to the intent to haue it puniſhed without fauor, euen with the extremitie of the lawe.

Agaynſt Sacramentaries.

Item, that none of the kinges ſubiectes ſhal reaſon, diſpute, or argue vpon the ſacrament of the aultar, vpon paine of looſing their lyues, goodes, and cattels, without al fauor, onely thoſe excepted that be learned in Diuinitie: they to haue their libertie in their ſcholes and appoynted places, accuſtomed for ſuch matters.

No man to diſpute of the ſacrament.

Item, that holy bread and holy water, proceſſion, kneeling, and creeping on good Fryday to the croſſe and Eaſter day, ſetting vp of lights before the Corpus Chriſti, bearing of candles on Candlemas day, Purification of women deliuered of chyld, offering of Criſomes, keeping of the foure offeryng dayes, paying their tythes, and ſuch like ceremonies muſt be obſerued and kept, tyl it ſhal pleaſe the king to chaunge or abrogate any of them. This article was made for that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then vſed.

Holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the Church eſtabliſhed.

Finally, all thoſe Prieſts that be maryed, and openly knowen to haue their wiues, or that hereafter do intend to marrye, ſhall be depriued of all Spirituall promotion, and from doyng any duetie of a Prieſte, and ſhal haue no maner of office, dignitie, cure, priuilege, profite, or commoditie in any thyng appertainyng to the Clergie, but from thence foorth ſhalbe taken, had, and reputed as laye perſons, to all purpoſes and intentes: and thoſe that ſhall after this proclamation marry, ſhal runne in his graces indignation, and ſuffer puniſhmente and impriſonment at his graces wyll and pleaſure.

Maryed prieſts puniſhed.

Item, he chargeth all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouoſtes, perſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Miniſters, and euery of them in their owne perſons, within their cures diligently to preach, teache, open, and ſet forth to the people, the glory of God, and truth of his word: and alſo cōſideryng the abuſes and ſuperſtitions that haue crept into the hartes and ſtomackes of many, by reaſon of their fonde ceremonies, he chargeth them vpon paine of impriſonment at his graces pleaſure, not onely to preache and teach the worde of God accordingly, but alſo ſincerely and purely, declaring the difference betwene things commaunded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their Church then vſed, leaſt the people therby might growe into further ſuperſtition.

Difference to be taught betwene thinges commaunded of God, and ceremonies by commaunded.

Item, for as muche as it appeareth nowe clearely, that Thomas Becket ſometyme Archbiſhop of Canterburye, ſtubburnely withſtandyng the wholeſome lawes eſtabliſhed againſt the enormities of the Clergie, by the kynges highnes noble Progenitour kyng Henry the ſecond, for the common wealth, reſt, and tranquilitie of this Realme, of his frowarde mynde fledde the Realme into Fraunce, and to the Biſhop of Rome, mayntayner of thoſe enormities, to procure the abrogation of the ſayde Lawes, (whereby aroſe much trouble in this ſayd Realme) and that his death whiche they vntruely called Martyrdome, happened vpon a reſcue by hym made, and that (as it is written) he gaue opprobrious wordes to the Gentlemen, whiche then counſayled hym to leaue his ſtubberneſſe, and to auoyde the commotion of the people ryſen vp for that reſcue, and he not onely called the one of them bawde, but alſo tooke Tracie by the boſome, and violently ſhooke hym, and plucked hym in ſuche manner, that he had almoſte ouerthrowen hym to the pauement of the Churche, ſo that vpon this fray, one of their companye perceyuyng the ſame, ſtrake hym, and ſo in the throng Becket was ſlayne: and further, that his canonization was made onely by the Biſhop of Rome, becauſe he had bene a champion to mayntayne his vſurped authoritie, and a bearer of the iniquitie of the Clergie.

Thomas Becket vnſaincted.

Thomas Becket noted of ſtubberneſſe.

For theſe and for other great and vrgent cauſes long to recite, the kynges Maieſtie by the aduice of his Counſayle, hath thought expedient to declare to his louyng ſubiectes, that notwithſtandyng the ſayd canonization, there appeareth nothyng in his life and exterior conuerſation, wherby he ſhould be called a Saint, but rather eſteemed to haue bene a rebel and traytour to his Prince.

Tho. Becket a rebell rather then a Saint.

Therefore his grace ſtraytly chargeth and commaundeth, that from henceforth the ſayde Thomas Becket ſhal not be eſteemed, named, reputed, and called a Sainte, but Biſhop Becket, and that his Images and Pictures throwe the whole Realme ſhalbe pluckt downe and auoyded out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, & that from henceforth the dayes vſed to be feſtiuall in his name, ſhal not be obſerued, nor the ſeruice, office, Antiphons, Collectes, and prayers in his name read, but raſed and put out of al the bookes: and that al other feſtiual dayes already abrogated, ſhalbe in no wiſe ſolemnized, but his graces ordinaunces, and Iniunctions therupon obſerued, to the intent his graces louyng ſubiectes ſhalbe no longer blyndly ledde and abuſed to cōmit Idolatrie, as they haue done in tymes paſſed, vpō payne of his maieſties indignation, & impriſonment at his graces pleaſure.

The canonization of Tho. Becket raſed.

Finally,his grace ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth that hys ſubiectes do kepe and obſerue all and ſinguler hys iniunctions made by hys maieſty,vpon the payne therin contayned.

Here followeth how religion began to go backeward.

The variable chaunges and mutations of religion in kyng Henries dayes.

To many which be yet alyue,and can teſtifie theſe thinges, it is not vnknowen,how variably the ſtate of Religion ſtood in theſe dayes:how hardly and with what difficultie it came forth: what chaunces and changes it ſuffered. Euen as the kyng was ruled and gaue eare ſometime to one,ſomtyme to an other,ſo one whyle it went forward, at an other ſeaſon as much backward agayne,and ſometyme cleane altered & changed for a ſeaſō,accordyng as they could preuaile which were about the kyng. So long as Queene Anne lyued,the Goſpell had indifferent ſucceſſe.

The courſe of the goſpel interrupted by malicious enemyes.

After that ſhe,by ſiniſter inſtigation of ſome about the kyng was made away,the courſe of the Goſpell began again to incline,but that the Lord then ſtirred vp the lord Cromwell,opportunely to helpe in that behalfe. Who,no doubt, dyd much auayle for the encreaſe of Gods true Religion, and much more, had brought to perfection, if the peſtilent aduerſaries malignyng the proſperous glory of the Goſpell,by contrary practiſing had not craftily vndermined him and ſupplanted hys vertuous proceedinges. By the meanes of which aduerſaries it came to paſſe after the takyng away of the ſayd Cromwell,that the ſtate of Religion more and more decayed, durÿng all the reſidue of the raygne of kyng Henry.

The mariage of Queene Anne of Cleue.

Among theſe aduerſaries aboue mentioned, the chief captayne was Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wint.who with his confederates and adherentes,diſdaynyng at the ſtate of the L.Cromwell,and at the late mariage of the Lady Anne of Cleue(who in the beginnyng of the yere of our Lord,1540, was maried to the kyng) as alſo greued partly at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries,and fearyng the growyng of the Goſpell, ſought all occaſions how to interrupt theſe happy beginnynges,and to trayne the kyng to their owne purpoſe. Now what occaſion this wilye Wincheſter founde out to worke vpon,ye ſhall heare in order as followeth.

The occaſions which Wincheſter did worke by.

This Ladye Anne of Cleue was maryed to the kyng.an. 1540.

It happened the ſame tyme that the Lord Cromwell for the better eſtabliſhyng of ſincere religion in this realme, deuiſed a mariage for the kyng to be concluded betwene him & the Lady Anne of Cleue,whoſe other ſiſter was already maried vnto the duke of Saxony. By this mariage it was ſuppoſed that a perpetual league,amitie,and alye ſhould be nouriſhed betwene this realme and the princes of Germany,and ſo therby godly religion might be made more ſtrong on both partes agaynſt the biſhop of Rome and his tyrannicall religion. But the deuil euer enuying the proſperity of the goſpell, layd a ſtumblyng blocke in that cleare way, for the kyng to ſtumble at. For when the parentes of the noble lady were commoned withall for the furtheraunce of ÿ ſaid mariage,among others of her frendes,whoſe good wil was required,the duke of Saxony her brother in law miſliked ÿ mariage,partly for that he would haue had her beſtowed vpon ſome prince of Germany more nigh vnto her ſiſter, and partly for other cauſes,which he thought reaſonable. Whervpon it followed that the ſlackneſſe of the Duke in that behalfe beyng eſpyed,crafty Wincheſter takyng good holdfaſt theron,ſo alienated the kynges mynd from the amitie, that ſemed now to begyn and grow betwene the Duke and the king,that by the occaſiō therof,he brought the king at lēgth cleane out of credite with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintayned many yeres before.

The kyng brought out of credite with the doctrine of the Germayne Princes.

The wicked counſell of St.Gardiner,& other about the K.

Thus wily Wincheſter with his crafty fetches partly vpon this occaſion aforeſayd,and partly alſo by other peſtilent perſwaſions creepyng into the kynges eares,ceaſed not to ſeeke all meanes how to worke his feate & to ouerthrow Religion,firſt bringing him in hatred with the Germane Princes,thē putting hym in feare of the Emperour,of the French kyng,of the Pope, of the kyng of Scottes, and other forreine powers to riſe agaynſt hym, but eſpecially of Ciuill tumultes and commotions here within this realme(which aboue all thinges he moſt dreaded)by reaſō of innouation of religiō and diſſoluing of Abbies:and for aboliſhing of rites,and other cuſtomes of the Church,ſtickyng ſo faſt in the mindes of the people,that it was to be feared, leaſt their hartes were or would be ſhortly ſtyrred vp agaynſt him,vnleſſe ſome ſpedy remedye were to the cōtrary prouided: declaryng moreouer what a daungerous matter in a common wealth it is to attempt new alterations of any thing,but eſpecially of Religion. Which being ſo, he exhorted the kyng,for his owne ſafegard and publicke quiet and trāquillitie of his realme, to ſee betime how and by what policie theſe ſo manifolde miſchieſes might be preuented. Agaynſt whiche no other way nor ſhifte, coulde better be deuiſed, then if he woulde ſhewe himſelfe ſharpe and ſeuere agaynſt theſe new Sectaryes, Anabaptiſtes,& Sacramētaries(as they called thē)and would alſo ſet forth ſuch Articles,confirming the auncient & Catholicke fayth, as whereby he might recouer agayne his credence with Chriſten Princes,and whereby al the world beſides,might ſee and iudge hym to be a right and perfit Catholicke.

The kyng abuſed by wicked counſell.

By theſe, and ſuch lyke crafty ſuggeſtions, the kyng beyng to much ſeduced and abuſed, begin to withdrawe hys defenſe from the reformation of true Religion, ſuppoſing therby to procure to him ſelfe more ſafetie both in hys owne realme, and alſo to auoyde ſuch daungers, which otherwiſe myght happen by other Princes. eſpecially ſeyng of late hee had refuſed to come to the generall Councell at Vincence, beyng therto inuited both by the Emperour, & other foreine potentates,as ye haue heard before. And therfore, although he had reiected the Pope out of hys realme, yet becauſe hee woulde declare him ſelfe neuertheleſſe to bee a good Catholicke ſonne of the mother Churche, and a withſtander of new innouatiōs and hereſies(as the blynd opinion of the world dyd then eſteme them)firſt he ſtretched out hys hand to the condemnyng and burnyng of Lambert,then after he gaue out thoſe Iniunctions aboue prefixed:& nowe further to encreaſe this opinion withall men, in the yeare next folowyng,which was of the Lorde.1540.through the deuiſe and practiſe of certeine of the Popes factors about hym,he ſummoned a ſolemne Parliament to be holden at Weſtminſter the 28.day of Aprill, of all the ſtates and Burgeſſes of the Realme: Alſo a Synode or conuocation of all ÿ Archbyſhops, Byſhops,and other learned of the Clergye of this Realme to be in lyke maner aſſembled.

An.1540.

The Popes craftye factors in England.

The acte of the vi.Articles.

The 6.Articles.

In which Parliament Synode,or conuocation, certain Articles,matters and queſtions,touchyng religion,wer decreed by certayn prelates,to the number eſpecially of vj.commonly called the vj.Articles(or the whip with 6.ſtrings) to be had and receyued among the kings ſubiectes in pretēce of vnity. But what vnity therof folowed,the groning hartes of a great number,and alſo the cruel death of diuers both in the dayes of kyng Henry,& of Queene Mary,cā ſo well declare,as I pray God,neuer the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of theſe wycked articles in the bloudy acte conteyned,although it be worthy of no memory amongeſt chriſten men,but rather deſerueth to be buried in perpetual obliuion,yet for that the office of hyſtory compelleth vs therunto,for the more lyght of poſterity to come: faythfully and truly to compriſe thinges done in the church,as well one as another,this ſhalbe briefly to recapitulate the ſumme & effect of the foreſayd vj.articles,in order as they were geuen out,and here vnder do follow.

The firſt Article.

Trāſubſtātiation.

THe firſt Article in this preſent Parliament accorded and agreed vpon was this: that in,the moſt bleſſed Sacramēt of the aulter,by the ſtrength and efficacie of Chriſtes mighty word(it beyng ſpoken by the prieſt)is preſent really vnder the forme of bread and wyne,the natural body & bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, conceyued of the virgine Mary and that after the conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtāce of bread or Wyne,or any other ſubſtance,but the ſubſtaunce of Chriſt God and man.

The 2.Article.

The ſacrament in both kindes excluded.

Secondly,that the communion in both kyndes, is not neceſſary ad ſalutem,by the law of God to all perſons: and that it is to be beleued and not doubted of, but that in the fleſh,vnder forme of bread,is the very bloud, and wyth the bloud,vnder forme of wyne,is the very fleſh as well aparte, as they were both together.

The 3.Article.

Thirdly,that prieſtes after the order of prieſthode receyued as afore,may not mary by the law of God.

The 4.Article.

Aduiſedly,that is made, aboue the age of 21.yeares, Prieſtes onely excepted.

Fourthly,that vowes of chaſtitie or widowhed,by mā or woman made to god aduiſedly,ought to be obſerued by the law of God: and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Chriſten people, which without that they myght enioy.

The 5.Ariicle.

By theſe benefites of priuate maſſes,is meant, the helping of ſoules in purgatory.

Fiftly,that it is mete and neceſſary, that priuate Maſſes be continued and admitted in this engliſh church and congregation,as wherby good Chriſten people,ordering them ſelues accordingly,do receiue both godly & goodly conſolations and benefites: And it is agreable alſo to gods law.

The 6. Article.

The 6. Article.

Sixtly, that auricular confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retayned, and continued, vſed and frequented in the Church of God.

After theſe Articles were thus concluded and conſented vpon, the Prelates of the Realme craftilie perceiuing, that ſuch a foule and violent acte could not take place or preuail, vnleſſe ſtraight and bloudy penalties were ſet vpon them, they cauſed through their accuſtomed practiſe, to be ordayned and enacted by the kyng and the Lordes ſpirituall, and the commons in the ſayd parliament, as followeth.

The penalties vpon the .6. Articles.

The penalties of vpon the vi. articles.

Tranſubſtantiation.

That if any perſon or perſons within this Realme of England, or any other the kinges dominions, after the .xii. day of Julie next comming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphring, or any otherwiſe, ſhould publiſhe, preach, teach, ſay, affirme, declare, diſpute, argue, or holde any opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, vnder forme of bread and wine (after the conſecration therof) there is not preſent really, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, conceiued of the virgine Mary, or that after the ſayd conſecration, there remaineth any ſubſtance of bread or wine, or any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of Chriſt, god and man, or after the tyme aboueſayd, publiſh, preach, teach, ſay, affirme, declare, diſpute, argue, or holde opinion, that in the fleſh, vnder forme of bread, is not ẏ very bloud of Chriſt, or that with the bloud of Chriſt, vnder the forme of wine, is not the verye fleſhe of Chriſt, aſwell aparte, as though they were both together: or by any of the meanes aboue ſaid or otherwiſe, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the ſayde ſacrament to be of other ſubſtaunce then is aboue ſayd, or by any meane contemne, depraue, or deſpiſe the ſayd bleſſed Sacrament: that then euery ſuch perſon, ſo offending, their ayders comforters, counſaylers, conſenters and abbetters therein (being therof cōuicted in fourme vnder written, by the authoritye aboue ſayd) ſhould be deemed and adiudged heretickes, and euery of ſuch offence ſhould be adiudged manifeſt hereſye: and that euery ſuch offēder and offēders, ſhould therfore haue & ſuffer iudgemēt, execution, paine & paines of death, by way of burning, without any abiuration, benefite of the cleargie, or Sanctuarye, to be therfore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or ſuffred: and alſo ſhould therfore forfaite and looſe to the kinges highnes, his heires and ſucceſſours, all his or theire honours, manours caſtells, landes, tenemēts rentes, reuerſions, ſeruices, poſſeſſions, and all other his or theire hereditamentes, goods and cattell, termes and freeholdes, whatſoeuer they were, which any ſuche offender or offenders ſhould haue at the time of any ſuch offence or offences, committed or done, or at any tyme after, as in any caſes of high treaſon.

Suffering without any abiuration.

Loſſe of goodes.

Opinion agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar made treaſon.

The penaltie of the laſt v. Articles.

The penalties of the laſt v. articles

And as touching the other v. Articles following, the penaltie deuiſed for them, was this: That euery ſuch perſon or perſons, which did preach, teache obſtinatly affirme, vphold, maintaine, or defend, after the 12. day of July, the ſayd yeare, any thing cōtrary to ẏ ſame, or if any being in orders, or after a vow aduiſedly made did mary, or make Maryage, or contract matrimony, in ſo doing ſhould be adiudged as felones, and loſe both lyfe, and forfaite goodes, as in caſe of felonie, without anye benefite of the cleargie, or priuiledge of the Church, or of Sanctuarye, &c.

Item, that euery ſuch perſon or perſons, which after ẏ day aforeſayd, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwiſe, did publiſh, declare, or holde opinion contrary to the v. Articles aboue expreſſed, being for any ſuch offence duely cōuict or attainted, for the firſt tyme, beſides the forfaite of all hys goodes and cattel and poſſeſſions what ſo euer, ſhoulde ſuffer impriſonment of his body at the kynges pleaſure: & for the ſecond tyme, beyng accuſed, preſented, and therof conuict, ſhould ſuffer, as in caſe aforeſayd, of felonye.

Item, if any within order of prieſthoode, before the time of the ſayd Parliament, had maryed or contracted Matrimonie, or vowed wydowhead, the ſayd Matrimonie, ſhould ſtand vtterly voyde and be diſſolued.

Item, that the ſame daunger that belonged to prieſtes marying their wiues, ſhould alſo redownd to the wemē maryed vnto the Prieſtes.

Inquiſition vpō the vi. articles.

Furthermore, for, the more effectuall execution of the premiſes, it was enacted by the ſayd Parliament, that full authoritie of Inquiſition of all ſuch hereſies, fellonies, and contemptes, ſhould be committed and directed downe into euery ſhyre, to certeine perſons ſpecially therūto appointed: of the which perſons three at leaſt (prouided alwayes the Archbyſhop or byſhop, or hys Chauncellour, or hys Commiſſarye to be one) ſhould ſitte foure tymes at leaſt, in the yeare, hauing full power to take information and accuſation by the depoſitions of any two lawfull perſons at the leaſt, as well as by the othes of xii. men, to examine and inquire of all and ſingular the hereſies, felonies, and contempts aboue remēbred, hauing alſo as ample power to make proces agaynſt euery perſon or perſons indited, preſented, or accuſed before them: alſo to heare and determine the foreſayd hereſies, felonies, contempts and other offences, as well as if the matter had bene preſented before the Juſtices of peace in their Seſſions: And alſo that the ſayd Juſtices in their Seſſions, and euery Steward or vnderſteward, or his Deputie in their law dayes, ſhould haue power by the othes of xij. lawful men to enquire likewyſe of all and ſingular the hereſies fellonies, contemptes and other offences, and to heare and determine the ſame, to all effectes of this preſent Acte, &c.

A bloudy inquiſition.

Prouided withal that no perſon nor perſons therupon accuſed, indited, or preſented, ſhoulde be admitted to chalenge any that ſhould be empanelled for the tryall of any matter or cauſe, other then for malice or enuy: which chalenge ſhould forthwith be tryed in like maner, as in caſes of felony, &c.

Prouided moreouer that euery perſon that ſhoulde bee named Commiſſioner in this Inquiſition, ſhould firſt take a corporall oth, the tenor of which oth here enſueth,

The othe of the Commiſſioners.

Ye ſhall ſweare, that ye to your cunnyng, wytte and power, ſhal truly and indifferently execute the authoritie to you giuen by the kynges Commiſſion, made for correction of heretickes and other offenders, mentioned in the ſame Commiſſion without any fauour, affection, curruptiō, dread or malice, to be borne to any perſon or perſons, as God you helpe, and all Sainctes.

The oth geuē to the Commiſſioners, to enquire vpon true Chriſtians.

And thus much briefly collected out of the act and Originals, which more largely are to be ſeene in the Stat. an. 31. Reg. Henr. 8. concerning the ſixe Articles, which otherwiſe for the bloudy cruelty therof are called the whippe with ſixe ſtringes, ſet forth after the death of Queene Anne, and of good John Lambert, deuiſed by the cruelty of ẏ Biſhops, but ſpecially of the Biſhop of Wint. and at length alſo ſubſcribed by K. Henry. But herein, as in many other partes moe, the crafty policie of that Byſhop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, moſt ſlyly watching his time, if hee had not taken the King comming out vpon a ſoddayne, there where it was (I ſpare here to report as I herd it) it was thought and affirmed by certayne, which then were pertaininge to the Kinge, that Wincheſter had not obtained the matter ſo eaſely to be ſubſcribed as he did.

Stat. an 31. Reg Henr. 8.

Theſe ſixe Articles aboue ſpecyfied, althoughe they cōtayned manifeſt errors, hereſies, and abſurdities agaynſt all Scripture and learning (as all men hauing any iudgement in Gods word may plainly vnderſtand) yet ſuch was the miſerable aduerſity of that time and the power of darckneſ, that the ſimple cauſe of truth and of Religion, was vtterly left deſolate and forſaken of all frendes. For euery mā ſeeing the Kinges minde ſo fully addict vpon politicke reſpectes, to haue theſe Articles to paſſe forwarde, fewe or none in all that Parliament would appeare, whiche either could perceiue that was to be defended, or durſt defend that they vnderſtoode to bee true, ſaue onely Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who then beinge maryed (as is ſuppoſed) like a conſtant Patron of Gods cauſe, tooke vpon hym the earneſt defence of the truth oppreſſed in ẏ Parliamēt, three dayes together diſputing agaynſt thoſe ſixe wycked articles, bringing forth ſuch allegations and authorityes, as might eaſely haue helped the cauſe niſi pars maior viciſſet, vt ſæpe ſolet, meliorem. Who in the ſayd diſputation, behaued himſelfe with ſuch humble modeſtye, and with ſuche obedience in wordes toward his Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but the cauſe of almighty God, that nether his enterpriſe was miſlyked of the King, and agayn his reaſōs and allegations were ſo ſtronge, that well they could not be refuted. Wherfore the King (who euer bare ſpeciall fauour vnto him) well liking his zealous defence, only willed hym to departe out of the Parliament houſe, into the Counſell Chamber, for a time (for ſauegarde of his conſcience) till the Acte ſhould paſſe and be graunted: which he notwithſtanding, with humble proteſtation refuſed to doe.

Truth in daunger, left deſolate.

Cranmer ſtood openly in the Parliamēt againſt the vi. articles.

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parliament houſe for his conſcience.

Cranmer refuſed to goe out of the Parliament for matters againſt his conſcience.

After the Parliament was finiſhed, & that matter concluded, the King conſidering the conſtant zeale of the Archbyſhoppe, in defence of his cauſe, and partly alſo weighing the many authorities, & reaſons wherby he had ſubſtantially confirmed the ſame, ſent the Lord Cromwell (which within few dayes after was apprehended) the ij. Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and all the Lordes of the Parliament, to dyne with him at Lambeth, where they ſignified vnto hym that it was the Kinges pleaſure that they all ſhoulde in his highnes behalfe, cheriſh, cõfort, and animate hym, as one that for his trauell in that parliament had declared him ſelfe both greatly learned, and alſo a man diſcrete & wyſe, and therfore they willed hym not to bee diſcouraged in anye thing that was paſſed in that Parliament contrary to his allegations. He moſt humbly thanked firſt ẏ Kinges highnes, of his ſingular good affection towardes hym, and them all for their paynes, addinge moreouer, that hee ſo hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities ſhoulde take place to the glory of God, and commodity of ẏ Realme. Which allegations and authorities of his, I wiſhe were amongeſt vs extãt to be ſeene & read no doubt but they would ſtand in time to come in great good ſteade, for the ouerthrowe of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforeſayd.

Cranmer comforted agayne by the kyng.

Allegations againſt the vj. Articles.

Allegations agaynſt the vj. Articles.

IN the meane while for ſo much as the ſayd hereticall articles are not ſo lightly to be paſſed ouer, wherby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceiued in ẏ falſe & erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they haue beene in times paſt, for lack of right inſtruction, and experience of the auncyẽt ſtate, and courſe of times in our forelders daies, I thought therfore (the Lord therunto aſſiſting) ſo muche as antiquitie of ſtories may helpe to the reſtoring agayne of truth and doctrine decayed, to annexe hereunto ſome allegations out of auncyent recordes, which may geue ſome lyght to the conuincing of theſe newfangled Articles and hereſies aboue touched.

And firſt as touching the Article of tranſubſtantiation wherin this Parlyament doth enact that the Sacramente of ẏ Altar is the very naturall body of Chriſt the ſelfe ſame which was borne of the Virgin Mary: and that in ſuch ſort as there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, after ẏ Prieſtes conſecration, but only the body & bloud of Chriſt, vnder the outward formes of bread and wine: Firſt here is to be noted, that this monſtruous article of theirs, in that forme of wordes as it ſtandeth, was neuer obtruded, receaued, or holden either in the Greek Church, or in the Latine Church vniuerſally for a Catholick, that is, for a generall opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Laterane Counſell at Rome, vnder Pope Innocent the 3, an. 1216.

The Article of tranſubſtantiatiõ

And for ſo much as it hath been a common perſuaſion amongeſt the moſt ſorte of people, that this Article in ẏ forme of wordes as here ſtandeth is & hath been, euer ſince Chriſt his time, a true, Catholick, and generall doctrine commõly receaued and taught in the Church, being approued by the Scriptures and Doctors, and conſent of all ages vnto this preſent time. To the intent therfore that the contrary may appeare, & the people may ſee how far they haue herein bene beguiled: we will here (Chriſt willing) make a litle ſtay in our ſtory, and examine this forſayd Article by true antiquity and courſe of hiſtories, to try whether it bee a doctrine olde or new.

The article of the ſacrament conſiſteth in two partes.

Now therfore for the better diſcuſſing of ẏ matter, let vs firſt orderly and diſtinctly aduiſe the wordes of the Article, the contentes of which Article conſiſt in 2. partes or mẽbers. In the firſt wherof, is noted to vs a preſence of a thinge which there was not before. In the ſecond is noted a priuation or abſence of a thinge which there before was preſent.

The preſence is noted by theſe wordes of the Article where is ſayd, that in the bleſſed Sacrament, by the wordes pronounced, is preſent the naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour, vnder ẏ formes of bread and wine: ſo that in theſe wordes, both the ſacrament, and the naturall body is imported neceſſaryly to be preſent. For els, how cã the naturall body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wine, if the Sacrament there were not preſẽt it ſelfe? or how can a thing be ſayd to be in that, which is not there? Wherfore, by theſe wordes, both the Sacrament and alſo the bodye muſt neceſſaryly haue their beyng and preſence, the one being in the other. And this preſence both of the Sacrament, and of the body, beyng rightly taken, may right well ſtand together, the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the bodye of Chriſt to the inward eyes of fayth and mouth of the ſoule.

Two thinges preſent in the ſacramẽt: the thing that repreſenteth, & the thing repreſented.

And therfore touching theſe prepoſitions in thys Article, (In) and (vnder) if queſtion be aſked in what is the bodye of Chriſt, it may be well aunſwered, in the Sacramẽt to the eyes of our fayth, lyke as the outward ſacrament is alſo preſent to the outward eyes of the body. Agayne, if the queſtion be aſked vnder what is the body of Chriſt? it may be well aunſwered, vnder the formes of bread and wine, ſo as the Doctors do take the formes, to meane the outwarde elementes and natures of the Sacrament, and not the accidences.

(In)
(Vnder)

And thus, to the firſt part of the article beyng well expounded, we do aſſent, and confeſſe the ſame to haue ben ẏ true Catholicke opinion approued by the auncient Doctors, and conſent of all tymes, euen from the firſt inſtitutiõ of this Sacrament.

The preſence of the naturall body of Chriſt well expounded may be graunted in the ſacrament.

But as concerning the ſecond member or part of the article, which taketh away all preſence and ſubſtance of bread from the Sacrament: to that we ſay, that firſt it ſtandeth not with their owne Article. Secondly, that it ſtandeth not with the doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it ſtandeth not with antiquitie, but is meerly a late inuention.

Abſence of bread in the ſacrament.

And firſt, that it agreeth not with their owne Article, it is manifeſt. For where as in the former part of their article, they ſay that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread & wine, how can the naturall body of Chriſt be preſent in the Sacrament, if there remaine no ſacrament? or how can any ſacramẽt of the body remayne, if there remaine no ſubſtaũce of bread which ſhould make the ſacrament? For how can the body of Chriſt be in that thing, which is not? or how cã the ſacrament of the body haue any beyng, where the ſubſtãce of bread hath no beyng?

The article of the ſacramẽt agreeth not with it ſelfe.

The body of Chriſt can not be in the Sacrament of his body.

For firſt, that the bodye it ſelfe can not be the ſacramẽt of the body, it is euident of it ſelfe.

Secondly, that the accidences of bread without the ſubſtaunce of bread, can not be any Sacrament of Chriſtes body, certaine it is and demonſtrable by this argument.

The accidences of the body can not be the ſacramẽt of Chriſtes naturall body.

Argumentum a definitione.

Ca- A ſacrament is, that beareth a ſimilitude of that thing wherof it is a Sacrament.

meſt- Accidences beare no ſimilitude of that thing, whiche is there ſignified.

res- Ergo, Accidences can in no wiſe be a Secrament.

Sacramentes if they had no ſimilitude with the thinges which they repreſent, they were no Sacramentes. Aug. ad Bonif. epiſt. 23.

Wherfore vpon this argument beyng thus concluded, vpon the ſame this alſo muſt nedes folow.

¶Argument.

Da In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, the thing that repreſenteth muſte needes beare a ſimilitude of thee thing repreſented.

ti- The ſubſtance of bread in the Sacrament is onley that which beareth the ſimilitude of Chriſtes body:

ſi- Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread, muſte nedes bee in the Sacrament.

The reſemblaunce betwene the Sacrament, and the body of Chriſt, conſiſteth in this: that as the bread and drinke geue nouriſhment to our outward life: ſo the body & bloud of Chriſt doe nouriſhe vnto ſpirituall life.

And therfore by this demonſtration, it is apparant, that theſe ij. partes in the Article aforeſayd, are euill couched together, wherof the one muſt nedes deſtroy the other. For if the firſt parte of the Article be true, that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and ſeyng the Sacrament wherin the body of Chriſt is preſent, muſt nedes be the ſubſtance of bread and not the accidences onely of bread, as is aboue proued, then the ſubſtance of bread can not be euacuated from the Sacrament, and ſo the ſecond member of the Article muſt needes be falſe.

The popiſhe preſence in the ſacrament & tranſubſtantiatiõ cã not ſtand together.

Or if the ſecond part be true that there is no ſubſtaunce of bread remaynyng, and ſeyng there is nothing els to make the ſacrament of the naturall bodye of Chriſt, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread, for as much as the accidences of bread can make no Sacrament of Chriſtes body, as is aboue ſhewed: then takyng away the ſubſtance of bread, the firſt part of the Article muſt needes be falſe, which ſayth that the naturall body of Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament for aſmuch as the ſubſtance of bread beyng euacuated, there remayneth no Sacrament, wherein ẏ body of Chriſt ſhould be preſent.

2. Secondlye, that it diſagreeth from the whole order & courſe of ẏ ſcriptures, it is ſufficiently explaned before, in the treatiſe of Iohn Lambert, vpon the ſacrament, pag. 1099. as alſo in other ſondry places in this volume beſides.

The article of tranſubſtantiatiõ diſagreeth from the ſcripture.

3. Thirdly, that the ſayd Article of tranſubſtantiation is no auncient nor authentike doctrine in the Churche publickly receaued: but rather is a noueltye lately inuẽted, reaching not much aboue ẏ age of 3. or 4. hundred yeares, or at moſt aboue the tyme of Lancfrancus, An. 1070. it remayneth now to be proued.

The doctrine of tranſubſtãtiatiõ, is but a late opinion, and ſtandeth with no antiquitie.

Wherin firſt may be ioyned this iſſue, that this mõſtrous

Lancfrācus was an Italian and biſhop of Canterbury, about the yeare of our Lord 1063.

paradoxe of tranſubſtantiation was neuer induced or receiued publikely in the church, before the tyme of the Laterane Councel, vnder pope Innocentius the 3.an.1216.or at moſt before the tyme of Lanfrancus, the Italian. Archbiſhop of Cant.an.1070.

In whiche tyme of Lanfrancus, I denye not, but that this queſtion of tranſubſtantiation began to come in cōtrouerſie. and was reaſoned vpon, amongſt certeine learned of the clergye. But that this Article of tranſubſtantiation was publickely determined, or preſcribed in the Church for a generall lawe or Catholicke doctrine, of al men neceſſarely to be beleued, before the tyme of the foreſayd Innocētius that 3. it may be doubted, and alſo by, hiſtories of tyme proued to be falſe.

Innocent 3.was Biſhop of Rome an.1215. Read before pag. 262.

Phraſes of the Doctors ſpeaking of the Sacrament.

The Papiſtes falſely pretend antiquitie for their tranſubſtātiation.

And though our aduerſaries ſeeme to alledge out of the olde Doctours certeine ſpeaches and phraſes, whiche they wraſt and wryng to their purpoſes: wherin they ſaye, that the breade is called, is beleued, & is the body of Chriſt that of bread is made the bodye of Chriſt: that the bread is chaunged, altered, or conuerted to the body of Chriſte, or is made to be his body: that the creatures bee conuerted into the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſte: that the bread and wyne doe paſſe into the diuine ſubſtance, with ſuch other lyke ſentences: and beare them ſelues bragge vpon the ſame as though this doctrine of tranſubſtātiatiō ſtode vpon the conſent of the whole vniuerſall Churche, of all ages and tymes of nations and people, & that the iudgement of the Churche was neuer other then this: and yet if the olde Doctors ſayings be well weyed, and the diſcourſe of tymes by thys hyſtory wel examined, it wil bee founde that this prodigious opinion of tranſubſtantiation hath no ſuch ground of conſent & antiquitie as they imagine: nor yet that any hereſie or treaſon was made of denying of tranſubſtantiation before the tyme of Innocentius, the 3. or at the furtheſt of Lanfrancus, as is aforeſayde: about the whiche tyme Sathan the olde Dragon was propheſied by the Apocalyps to be let loſe, to ſeduce the worlde.

Doctors againſt tranſubſtantiation.
Tertullian.
Auguſt.

For probation wherof, fyrſt I wyll begynne with the tyme of Tertullian, and of Auguſtine: whiche both doe teache the Sacrament to be a figure, a ſigne, a memoriall, & repreſentation of the Lordes body, and knewe no ſuche tranſubſtantiation: & yet were no traytors nor heretickes.

Ambroſ.
¶An.408.

Neyther was S. Ambroſe any hereticke or traytor, where he wryteth theſe wordes: Vt ſint, quæ erant, & in aliud conuertantur.&c. Whiche wordes Lanfrancus could not aunſwere vnto any other wiſe, but by denying them to be the wordes of Ambroſe.

Gelaſius lib. contra Eutichen.
An.500.

Gelaſius was byſhop of Rome, and lyued about 500, yeres after Chriſt, and ſpeaketh of a tranſmutation of the bread and wyne into the diuine nature, but there expoundyng hymſelfe, he declareth what hee meaneth by that mutation, ſo that hee expreſſely ſheweth the elementes of bread and wyne, notwithſtandyng to remayne ſtill in their proper nature, with other wordes moe, very playne, to the ſame effect: vnto the whiche wordes Contarenus in the aſſemble of Ratiſbone, coulde not well aunſwere, but ſtoode aſtonied.

Theodoretus ſecūd. dial. contra Eutichē.

Theodoretus likewiſe ſpeakyng of the viſible ſymboles, hath theſe wordes: μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους. i. after the ſanctificatiō they remayne in their former ſubſtance, figure, and forme.&c.

Ireneus.

Ireneus, where he ſayeth, that the bread broken and the cuppe mixte, after the vocation of God, ceaſe to be common bread any more, but are the Euchariſte of the body & Bloud of Chriſt: and explicatyng hys wordes more playnely, addeth moreouer, that the euchariſte conſiſteth in.ij. thinges, one beyng earthly, which is bread and wyne: the other heauenly: whiche is the body and and bloude of Chriſt.&c. declareth in theſe wordes, both his owne opinion playnely, and alſo teacheth vs what was, then the doctrine of hys tyme.

Heſichius lib.20.in Leuit.cap.8.
¶An.500.

Heſichius alſo who was.500 yeares after Chriſt where he ſpeaketh of the ſayd miſtery, quod ſimul panis et caro eſt i. whiche hee ſayeth to bee both fleſhe, and breade, declareth thereby.ij. ſubſtances to bee in the Sacrament. By the whiche we haue to vnderſtande, that tranſubſtantiation in hys age was not crepte into the Churche: and yet neyther hereſie nor treaſon therfore was euer laid to his charge for ſo ſaying.

Emiſſenus de conſecra. Diſtinct. 2. Quia corpus.

Emiſſenus, comparing a man conuerted to Chriſt, by regeneration, vnto the holy miſteries conuerted into the body and bloud of our Lorde, expreſſeth plainely, quod in exteriori nihil additum eſt, & totum in interiori mutatum eſt. That is, that outwardly nothing is chaunged, and that all the chaunge is inward. &c. wherein (no doubt) hee ſpake plaine agaynſt thys Article, and yet no man in all that age dyd accuſe hym therfore eyther to be heretike, or traytour.

Fulgentius, et Haymone.

Heare might be added the wordes of Fulgentius, Hic calix eſt nouum Teſtamentum: id eſt. hic calix quē vobis trado, nouum Teſtamentum ſignificat. i. This cup is the new Teſtament: that is, this cup which I deliuer vnto you, ſignifieth the new Teſtament.

Bede alſo who liued about the yeare 730. writing vpon the pſalme 21. hath theſe wordes: Edent pauperes.&c. Pauperes id eſt mundi contemptores, edent quidē realiter, ſi ad ſacramenta referantur, et ſaturabuntur æternaliter, qui intelligent in pane et vino viſibiliter ſibi Propoſito, inuiſibile ſcilicet corpus verū & ſanguinē verū domini, quę verus cibꝰ et verus potus ſunt, quo nō vēter diſtenditur, ſed mens ſaginatur.&c. that is: Poore men, to witte, deſpiſers of the world, ſhal eate indede really, if it be referred vnto the Sacraments, and ſhalbe filled eternally, becauſe they ſhal vnderſtand in bread & in wyne, beyng viſibly ſet before them, a thyng inuiſible, to wit, the true body and true bloud of the Lorde, which are true meat, & true drinke, wherwith not the belly is filled, but the mynd is nouriſhed.

And thus in theſe wordes of Bede likewiſe is to be vnderſtand, that no tranſubſtantiation as yet in hys tyme was receiued in the Church of England.

Haymo.
¶An.800.

Long it were to ſtand vpon all particulares. Briefly to conclude, the farther the Churche hath bene from theſe our latter dayes, the purer it was in all reſpectes, and eſpecially touching this barbarous article of trāſubſtantiation. We wil now draw more neare our owne time, comming to ẏ age of Bertrame, and of Haimo, who were about the yeare of our Lord. 810. vnder Carolus Magnus.

Haymo de Sermonū proprietate lib.5. cap.11.

By whoſe writinges it is euidēt, that the church was infected as yet with no ſuch phantaſie of tranſubſtantiatiō neyther did any almoſt, dreame of taking away the ſubſtāce of bread from the Sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and other whiche lyued in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, the honorable name, and reuerence (as we alſo do) of the Lordes bodye and bloud: yet they exclude not from thence al ſubſtaunce of mele and bred and leaue the bare accidences, as our newe come Catholicks do, as by the wordes of Haymo doth appeare. Where he following the wordes of Bede, ſheweth alſo the cauſe, why it is ſo called by the name of the Lordes bodye. Quia (ſayth hee) panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. That is: Becauſe bread confirmeth the hart of man, therfore it is called conueniently the bodye of Chriſt, and becauſe wine worketh bloud in the fleſh of man, thereof is it referred to the bloud of Chriſt. What can be more effectually ſpoken to proue the ſubſtance of bread there to remayne? For take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine, what is in the accidences left, that can confirme mans hart, or ingender bloud in the fleſh And therfore ſeeing there muſt needes ſomething remaine, that muſt be referred to Chriſtes bodye and bloud in that Sacrament. eyther it muſt be the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, or els it can bee no Sacrament. And furthermore, ſpeaking of the viſible thinges which are ſanctified, how & wherein they be cōuerted, he ſayth: that by the holy ghoſt they paſſe to a Sacrament of the Lordes body.

Haymo lib.7.in eccleſiaſ.cap.8.

And likewiſe the ſame Haymo in an other place, ſpeaking of the fruites of the earth, that is, of corne and wine, declareth, how our Sauiour making of them an apt miſterye, conuerteth them to a Sacrament of his body and bloud.&c, Lib 7.in Eccleſiaſt.cap.8

Haim. ibid.

Bertramus likewiſe, as he lyued in the ſame age, ſo in like ſort he ſhewed his opinion therein, to the lyke effect as Haymo did. For as Haymo writing in theſe wordes declareth, quia aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti: ſacramētum enim ore percipitur, virtute Sacramenti interior homo ſatiatur, that is: the ſacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the ſacrament is an other thyng: for the ſacrament is receiued with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament, the inward man is ſatiſfied.

So after lyke manner, Bertramus according to ẏ ſame, thus writeth: Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis miniſteriū Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat.&c.

¶An.810.
Bertram lib. de corpore & ſāg. Domini.

That is: the bread, which by the miniſterye of the prieſt is made the body of Chriſt, doth import one thing outwardly to the ſenſes of man, and an other thing it ſpeaketh to the mindes of the faythfull. Outwardly it is bread, the ſame as was before, the ſame forme is pretended, the colour appeareth, the ſame taſte remayneth. But inwardly there is an other matter farre more precious, and more excellēt, becauſe it is heauenly, which is the body of Chriſt, that is ſeene, not with the outwarde eyes of fleſhe, but with the ſight of a faythfull minde.&c.

We will now proceede to the teſtimonye of Rabanus Maurus byſhop of Mentz & ſcholer ſomtime to Alcuinus

Rabanus Maurus Byſhop of Mentze. An. 800.

in Paris, an Engliſh man: who lyuing alſo in the ſame age with Haymo and Bertrame, (which was 800. yeres after Chriſt) geueth the lyke teſtimony of this doctrine in hys booke of Inſtitutions. Where he aſkyng the queſtion, why the Lord would geue the myſteries of his bodye and bloud, vnder ſuch thinges as may be eaten and dronken, rather then vnder thoſe thynges which might be kept and reſerued whole with great honour? thus he aunſwereth agayne: The Lorde (ſayeth he) would rather that the Sacramentes of hys body and bloud ſhould be receyued with the mouth of the faythfull, and made to be theyr food, that by the viſible action, the inuiſible effect myght be ſhewed. For lyke as material meate outwardly nouriſheth & quickneth the body, ſo alſo the worde of God inwardly nouriſheth and ſtrengtheneth the ſoule. For man lyueth not only by bread, but by euery worde proceding from the mouth of God.

Rabanus De inſtitut. clericorum. 1. cap. 31.

And after followeth: For this bread and drynke, ſignifieth the eternall ſocietie of the head, and of the members together.

And agayne: For the Sacrament is one thyng, and the vertue of the Sacrament is an other thyng. The Sacrament is receaued with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is nouriſhed: For the Sacrament is turned to the nouriſhment of the body, but by the vertue of the Sacrament, the dignity of eternall lyfe is gotten.

Wherfore, lyke as the ſame is turned into vs, when we eate of it: ſo alſo are we turned into the bodye of Chriſt, whẽ we lyue obediently and godly. &c. Who ſeeth not by theſe wordes of this Byſhop, what forme of doctrine was then in the Church receiued concernyng this article of the Sacrament, much dyuers from this our groſſe opinion of tranſubſtantiation.

Chriſtianus Druthmarus monachus ord. Bened. in Mat.

With the ſayd Rabanus alſo accordeth an other of the lyke ſtandyng and alſo doctrine, called Chriſtianus Druthmarus: who wrytyng vpon Math. The wine (ſaith he) doth chere and cheriſh the bloud, and therfore not inconueniently the bloud of Chriſt is figured therby: for whatſoeuer proceedeth from him to vs, it cheareth vs wyth true gladnes, and encreaſeth all goodnes vnto vs.

And a litle before, the ſayd Druthmarus ſayeth: The Lord gaue to hys Diſciples the Sacrament of his bodye, to the remiſſion of ſinnes, and kepyng of charitie, that they alwayes remembryng hys doyng, might doe that in figure, which he ſhould do for them. This is my body (ſayeth he) that is, in Sacrament. This Druthmarus lyued alſo in the tyme of Carolus Magnus, as witneſſeth Abbas Spaynehemenſis.

Ioan Scotus.

An. 880.

After Bertramus was Ioannes Scotus, or els as ſome call hym, Ioannes Erigena, a man well accepted with Carolus Caluus, and afterward with Ludouicus Balbus, about the yere of our lord 880. He wrote a booke De corpore et ſanguine Domini, ſo affirmyng therin & teachyng, as he knew that Bertramus had taught a litle before in Fraunce. This booke ÿ pope cauſed to be condẽned in Vercellenſi Synodo. Of the lyfe and conuerſation of this Ioannes Scotus, & alſo of hys death, read before, pag. 146.

Ioan Scotus. lib. de corpore & ſanguine Domini. Read afore pag. 146.

An. 950.

In the yere of our Lord. 950. lyued Odo Archbyſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe tyme it appeareth by the catholickes owne confeſſion, that many prieſtes then affirmed, that the bread and wyne after conſecration, did remayne in their former ſubſtance, and that the ſayd myſteries were onely a figure of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as we finde it witneſſed by Oſberne hymſelfe, who dyd write the lyues of Odo, Dunſtane, and Elphege, at the byddyng of Lanfrãke Archbyſhop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anſelmus Chaplain. The wordes of Oſberne be theſe: Hoc ferè tempore, quidam clerici maligno errore ſeducti, aſſeuerare conabantur panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, poſt conſecrationem, in priori ſubſtantia manere, et figuram tantummodo eſſe corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti. &c. That is: About this tyme (ſayeth Oſberne, writing in the dayes of Lancfranke) certayne of the Clergy, beyng ſeduced by wycked errour, dyd hold and maintayn, that bread and wyne, which are ſet vpon the aulter, after the conſecration do remayne in theyr former ſubſtaunce, and are but only a figure of the body and bloud of Chriſt. &c. And no doubte but at that tyme, the common opinion of moſt of the Clergy was ſo, that the Sacrament was the body and bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſubſtaunce of breade and wyne notwithſtandyng were not tranſubſtantiate, as the Romiſh Catholikes doe now teache. But this is the guiſe of theſe men, that in their wrytynges and ſtories, ſtill they diminiſh the better number, wherby their faction may ſeme euer to be the bigger, and therfore to extenuate the common opinion then receyued in the Church, he inferreth mention of certayne of the Clergy. &c.

The witnes of Oſberne.

Oſbernus in vita Odonis.

And as he faileth in the number of theſe Clergymen, which then held againſt tranſubſtantiation, ſo he vpholdeth the ſame with as lying a myracle: Which myracle, hee fayneth to be wrought the ſame tyme, for the conuerſion of the ſayd Clergie men, by the bloud dropping out of the hoſt at Maſſe, as Odo was breakyng the hoſt ouer the chalice. At the ſight wherof, firſt Odo himſelfe (ſaith he) wept for ioye, ſeeing hys petition accompliſhed, which he ſo earneſtly prayed for. Secondarely, all thoſe Clergie men (ſaith he) which before beleued not this tranſubſtantiation, by & by were conuerted, and bleſſed the Archbyſhop, that euer he was borne, deſiring him to pray againe, that the bloude might returne to his former ſhape, & ſtreight it was done. And this was the miracle: which ſeemeth as true, as that which W. Malmesbery writeth of the ſayd Odo, how by his prayers, he cauſed a ſworde to come flying from heauen into kyng Æthelſtanes ſcabbard, whẽ he had loſt his owne, as he ſhould fight againſt Analanus: or els as that myracle where the ſayd Odo is ſayd to couer and defend the church of Caũterbury, that no droppe of rayne could touch it, ſo long as the roofe therof was in makyng. Ex W. Malmesb. Vid. ſupra, pag. 152.

A lying myrac to proue trãſub ſtantiation.

Ex Malmeſb.

Read afore pag. 152.

In the which ſo myraculous a myracle, many things are to be merueiled. Firſt I meruell, that at thys great myracle of the Archb. in his Cathedrall church, amongeſt ſo many ſinging men, we read of no Te Deum there to be ſong, after the doyng therof.

Reaſons and proufes alleaged agaynſt thys miracle.

Secondly I meruell, that thoſe Prieſtes and Clerks, which then denyed tranſubſtantiation, were ſuffered to be ſo neare the Archb. at his Maſſe, and that they were not committed rather toward like heretickes and traytours, if this Article of tranſubſtantiatiõ had bene then ſuch a Catholicke doctrine, and ſo publickely receaued in the Church as they ſay it was.

Thirdly I meruell, ſeeyng the tyme of myracles is expired, we hauing the ſcriptures to guide vs, why ÿ Archbyſhop would ſeeke to myracles and apparations to conuert men, rather then to the lawe and Prophets, accordyng as we are commaunded, eſpecially hauing no ſuch example of all the olde Doctours, which in confutatiõ of ſo many erroneous opinions, yet neuer ſought to ſuch myracles, or blynde meanes.

The authours of this fabulous myracle, do not agree wyth themſelues.

Fourthly, I maruell much at the diſcrepance in telling thys tale, betwene Oſberne and other whiche ſince haue written Legendes of Odo. For where Oſberne ſpeaking of certeine Prieſtes, nameth no place, but leaueth the matter at large, and ſpeaketh abſolutely: quidam clerici: all other which haue ſince written the Legendes of Odo, doe tell thys tale agaynſt certeine Prieſtes of Canterbury, addyng to the wordes of Oſberne, quidam clerici Cantuarienſes. But to conuict the falſehood of them all, as well of Oſberne as of the reſt, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oſwald together, more auncient then this of Oſberne, written (as it may ſeeme) in the time of Ælfricus Archb. of Canterbury & Elphege then Biſhop of Winchester, wherin mention is made in deede of this miracle, but after an other ſorte, then this of Oſberne, and to an other purpoſe, thẽ to diſſuade certayne prieſtes infected with that errour, frõ the opinion before declared: which is onely brought to ſhew the holines of Odo: as commonly the maner of Legends is to doe. So that in this olde Legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo diſcloſed the matter, not to many prieſtes of England, that were in that error, as Oſborne would: ſed vocat protinus fidelem ſeruum, qui cominus erat, et miraculum ſecretè demonſtrat. etc., that is, but called vnto him a certayne faithfull ſeruaunt, which was neare aboute him, and ſhewed to him the miracle ſecretlye. Whereupon the Prieſt (ſayth the Legende) muche reioyced at the holines of Odo, and deſired him to make his prayer to almighty God, that the body might returne agayne to the former ſhape. &c. Out of this olde lying Legende, Oſberne, and other lykewiſe that folowed hym, ſeemeth to haue takẽ thys tale: ſo that out of the errour of one (as the maner is) ſpringeth the errour of a number mo.

Lying Legendes.

But this much more I meruell, why this miracle is not ſtoried in Henry Huntyngton, which profeſſedly writeth of ſuch myracles, nor in Rog. Houeden, and ſuch other: but onely in ſuch blynde Legendes, which commonly haue no ſubſtaunce of veritie, nor certeintie of tyme or writer, to know when, and by whom they were written, and for the moſt part are ſtuffed wyth lying viſions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this myraculous fictiõ of Oſberne were true, that for the conuertyng of the Prieſtes of England, which would not beleue trãſubſtantiatiõ, this bloud did droppe out of the hoſte (of the whiche bloude peraduenture came the bloud of Hales) and that by the ſight thereof the Prieſtes eftſoone were all conuerted (as Oſberne pretendeth) how thẽ came it to paſſe, that after the tyme of Odo, in ÿ dayes of

Elfricus, which was after hym Archb. of Canterbury, the third from Dunſtane, and fourth from Odo, not onely the Prieſtes of England, but alſo the Archbiſhop himſelf, wer not yet brought to the belief of this tranſubſtantiation, but taught the very ſame doctrine of the ſacrament then, which we do now: as moſt clearely appeareth both by the Epiſtles and Homelies of the foreſayd Archbiſhop Elfricus, which here vnder, for the more euidence (Chriſt willyng) we wyll annexe.

Ælfricus Archb. of Cant. ¶ An. 996. Capgraue in vita Oſwaldi Epiſc. Wigorn.

W. Malmeſberienſ. in vita Adelmi.

This Elfricus, as ſayth Capgraue, in the lyfe of Oſwald biſhop of Worceter, was firſt Abbot of S. Albones, and after made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, about the yeare of our Lord. 996. in the tyme of kyng Etheldred, and of Wulfſinus biſhop of Scyrburne. Elfricus alſo (as witneſſeth Wil. of Malmeſbery, in Vita Adelmi) was Abbot of Malmeſbery. Furthermore the ſayd Wil. of Malmeſbery wrytyng of Elfricus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaith that he was before biſhop of Wels, and afterward Archbiſhop of Canterbury. So that Elfricus was Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, it is out of all ambiguitie. But whether Elfricus which was Abbot (of whom we do here entreate) were the ſame Archbiſhop, or not, by this diuerſity of Capgraue and Malmeſbery, it may be doubtfull. But whether he were or no, to this our preſent purpoſe is not greatly materiall, for ſomuch as the ſayd Elfricus, & Elfricus, although they were diuers perſons yet were they both in on age, and liued in one tyme together.

The writings of Ælfricus authentike.

A booke of Canons in the Saxons tounge.

Furthermore, the ſame Elfricus (of whome now we ſpeake) of what callyng ſo euer he was, yet notwithſtandyng he was of ſuche eſtimation and good likyng in thoſe dayes among the moſt learned, that for hys learning, authoritie, and eloquence, hys writings were accepted and authoriſed among the Canons and conſtitutions of the Church in that tyme, as hereby may appeare: For where as the biſhops and prieſtes before the commyng of William Conquerour had collected together a certayne booke of Canons and ordinances, to gouerne the Clergy, gathered out of generall and perticular councels, out of the bookes of Gildas, out of the pœnitentiall bookes of Theodorus Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, out of the writings of Egberthus Archbiſhop of yorke, and out of the epiſtles of Alcuinus, as alſo out of the writinges of the olde fathers of the primitiue Church. &c. among the ſame Canons and conſtitutions be placed theſe two Epiſtles of the ſayd Elfricus here vnder followyng, wherof the one was ſent to Wulfſinus biſhop of Scyrburne, the other to Wulfſtane Archb. of yorke, as yet are to be ſene in ij. bokes belongyng to the Library of the Church of Worceter, the one written in the olde Saxones tongue intituled Be preoſt ſinoþe, the other for the moſt part in latine, with this title: Admonitio ſpiritualis doctrinæ. Which booke of Saxon Canons and conſtitutiōs belongyng ſometyme to Wulfſtane Byſhop of Worceter, was geuen by hym as for a great iewell, to the Church of Worceter, as by the ſame booke appeareth.

Ex Archiuis Eccleſiæ Wigornenſis.

Ex archiuis eccleſiæ Exonienſis.

Moreouer, beſides this booke of Worceter aboue touched, there is yet extant alſo another lyke booke of Canons belonging to the church of Exeter, wherin the ſame two epiſtles of Elfricus be conteyned in the olde Saxon tongue, and alſo in Latine, and preſcribed yerely to be reade to the Clerkes and prieſtes of that Church: which booke in lyke maner was geuē to the church of Exeter by Leofricus the firſt, and moſt famous biſhop of that ſea.

The bookes of Sermons tranſlated by Ælfricus out of Latine, into the Saxons ſpeach.

Of this Elfricus further is to be vnderſtand, that he tranſlated two bokes of lxxx. ſermons out of Latin, into the Saxon ſpeach, vſed then orderly to be read in Churches on ſondayes and other feſtiual dayes of the yere, as by his own wordes may appeare in the ende of one of the ſayd bokes of ſermons, whoſe wordes be theſe: Fela fægere godſpell ƿe forlætað on þiſum dihte. þa mæg aƿendan ſe ðe ƿile; Ne durre ƿe ðas boc na micle ſƿiþor gelængan. ðẏles þe heo ungemetegod ſẏ. ⁊ mannum æþræt ðurh hire micelniſſe aſtirige; We let paſſe many good goſpels which he that lyſt, may tranſlate. For we dare not enlarge this booke muche further, leſt it be ouergreat, and ſo be a cauſe of lothſomnes to men, through the bignes therof, &c.

Lxxx ſermons tranſlated by Ælfricus into the Engliſhe or Saxon tounge.

Alſo in an other place he confeſſeth the ſame of hymſelfe: whoſe wordes in the preface before hys grammer be theſe. Ic Ælfric ƿolde ða lytlan boc aƿendan to engliſcum gereorde of ðam ſtæf cræfte ðe iſ gehaten grammatica, ſyððan ic tƿa bec aƿende on hund eahtatigum ſpellum; I Elfricke was deſirous to turne into our Engliſh tongue from the arte of letters, called grammer, this little boke, after that I had tranſlated the two bokes of fourescore ſermons. &c.

4. Epiſtles written of Ælfricus in the Saxon or Engliſhe tongue.

Of hys Epiſtles eſpecially we read of foure, which he wrote. One to the monkes of Egneſham, De conſuetudine monachorum. An other to Wulfſtane Archb. of yorke, wherin is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The third, he wrote agaynſt prieſtes mariage, to one Sygeferth, wyth whom there was a certayne Anker abidyng, which defended the mariage of prieſtes, affirmyng it to be lawfull. The fourth, he wrote to Wulfſinus B. of Scyrburne, touching the matter of the ſacramēt. In the which epiſtle he taking occaſion by a certayne abuſe in his tyme, which was, that prieſtes on Eaſter day filled their houſell boxe, and ſo kept it for the ſpace of the whole yeare, till Eaſter came agayne, for ſicke perſons, writeth vpon that occaſion, in theſe wordes as follow in hys own Saxons tongue.

A writing of Ælfrike to Wulfſine.

The wordes of Ælfricus written to Wulfſinus biſhop of Scyrburne, againſt tranſubſtantiatiō.

Man ſceal healden þæt halige huſel mid mẏcelre gymene ⁊ ne forhealdan hit. ac halgian oþer edniƿe to ſceocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oððe embe xiiii. niht ꝥ hit huru fynig ne ſẏ. forðon ðe eal ſƿa halig bið ꝥ huſel ðe nu to dæg ƿæſ gehalgod. ſƿa ꝥ þe on eaſterdæg ƿæſ gehalgod; Ðæt huſel iſ Criſteſ lichama na lichamlice ac gaſtlice; Na ſe lichama ðe he on ðroƿode. ac ſe lichama ðe he embe ſpræc. ða ða he bletſode hlaf and ƿin to huſel anre nihte ær hiſ ðroƿunge. ⁊ cƿæþ be þam gebletſode hlafe. ðiſ iſ min lichama. and eft be ðam halgan ƿine. ðiſ iſ min blode þe bið for manegum agoten on ſynna forgyfeneſſe; Vnderſtandaþ nu ꝥ ſe drighten ðe mihte aƿendon ðone hlaf ær hiſ ðroƿunge to hiſ lichaman. and ꝥ ƿin to hiſ blode gaſtlice. ðæt ſe ylca dæghƿamlice bletſaþ ðurh ſacerda handa hlaf ⁊ ƿin to hiſ gaſtlican lichaman. and to hiſ gaſtlican blode.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An Epiſtle of Ælfricke to Wulfſine.

The Sacrament is the Lordes body, not bodely, but ghoſtly.

Men ſhal reſerue more carefully that holy houſell, & not reſerue it to long, but hallow other of new for ſicke men alwayes within a weke or a fortnight, that it be not ſo much as hory. For ſo holy is the houſell which to day is halowed, as that which on Eaſterday was halowed, That houſel is Chriſtes body not bodily but ghoſtly. Not the body which he ſuffred in, but the body of which he ſpake, when he bleſſed bread and wyne to houſell the night before hys ſufferyng, and ſayd by the bleſſed bread: this is my body, & agayne by the holy wyne, this is my bloud, which is ſhed for many in forgeuenes of ſinnes. Vnderſtand now that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his ſuffering to hys body, and that wyne to hys bloud ghoſtly, that yͤ ſelf ſame Lord bleſſeth dayly thorough the prieſtes handes, bread and wyne to hys ghoſtly body, and to his ghoſtly bloud.

After this Epiſtle aboue prefixed of Elfricus, written to Wulfſinus B. of Shyrburne, concerning the ſacramentall bread, how it is not Chriſtes body, lichamlice that is, bodily, or (as we terme it now) really: and alſo how the ſame ought not to be ouerlong kept in the pixe: here followeth further an other epiſtle of the ſayd Elfricus written to Wulfſtane Archb. of yorke, both reprehending yͤ ſayd abuſe aboue touched, and alſo conteynyng matter more at large agaynſt yͤ bodily preſence in the ſacramentall bread. The copy of his epiſtle, both in hys owne Saxon, and in our Engliſh here followeth.

An other Epiſtle of Ælfricus againſt the bodily preſence to Wulfſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke.

An Epiſtle of Ælfrike to Wulſtane.

SVme preoſtaſ gefyllað heora huſel box on eaſtron. ⁊ healdaþ ofer tƿelf monaþ to untrumum mannum, ſƿylce ðæt huſel ſẏ haligre ðonne oþer. Ac hi doþ unƿiſlice. forðam he hit ƿannað. oððe mid ealle forrotað on ſƿa lāgum fẏrſte, and he bið þonne ſcẏldig ſƿa ſƿa uſ

sægþ seo boc; Se ðe husel forhylt. oððe hit forlyst. oððe mys eton. oððe oðre nytenu. sceaƿa þa pœnitentialē. hƿæt he sægð be þisum; Eal sƿa halig is ðæt husel ðe bið gehalgod to dæg. sƿa ðæt ðe bið gehalgod on ðam halgan easter dæge; Healdaþ forþig ic bidde þone halgan Cristes lichaman mid maran ƿisdome to seocum mannum fram sunnan dæge to sunna dæge on sƿiþe clænum boxe. oððe be ðam mæstan feoƿertyne niht. and ðicgaþ hit þonne. and leggað ðær oþer; ƿe habbaþ bysene be ðam on Moyses bocum. sƿa sƿa God sylf bebead on Moyses æ. ðæt se sacerd sceolde on ælcum sæterneſ dæge ƿettan tƿelf hlafas on ðam tabernaculo ealle niƿe bacene. ða ƿæron gehatene Panes propoſitionis. and hig sceoldon ðær standan on ðam Godes getælde oð oþerne sæterneſ dæg. ⁊ etan hi ðonne ða sacerdas sylfe. ⁊ settan ðær oþre; Sume preostas nellað ðicgan ðæt husel ðe hi halgiað; Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ secgan. hu seo boc segð be þam; Presbyter missam celebrans. ⁊ non audens sacrificium accusante conscientia sua anathema est; Se mæsse preost ðe mæssaþ. and ne dear ðæt husel ðicgan. ƿat hine scyldigne. se is amansumod; Læsse pleoh is to ðigenne ðæt husel. ðonne to halgienne; Se ðe tuƿa halgaþ ane ofletan to husle. se bið ðam gedƿolan gelice. ðe an cild fullaþ tuƿa; Crist sylf gehalgod husel ær his ðroƿunge. he bletsode ðone hlaf. ⁊ tobræc þus cƿeþende to his halgum apostolum: etað þisne hlaf. hit is min lichama: and he eft bletsode ænne calic mid ƿine. and cƿæþ heom ðus to. drincaþ ealle of þisum. hit is min agen blode ðære niƿan gecyðnysse. ðe biþ for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenysse; Se drihten þe halgode husel ær his ðroƿunge. and cƿæð ꝥ se hlaf ƿære his agen lichama. and þæt ƿin ƿære ƿitodlice his blod. se halgaþ dæghƿamlice þurgh his sacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. ⁊ ƿin to his blod on gastlicere geryne. sƿa sƿa ƿe rædaþ on bocum; Ne biþ se liflica hlaf lichamlice sƿa þeah se ylca lichama. ðe Crist on þroƿode; Ne þæt halige ƿin nis þæs hælendes blod þe for us agoten ƿæs on lichamlican þinge. ac on gastlicum andgyte; Ægþer bið soþlice se hlaf his lichama. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin eac his blod sƿa sƿa se heofonlica hlaf ƿæs. ðe ƿe hataþ manna. ðe feoƿertig geara afedde Godes folce. ⁊ þæt hlutre ƿæter ƿæs ƿitodlice his blod. ðe arn of ðam stane on ðam ƿestene ða; Sƿa sƿa Paulus aƿræt on sumon his pistole Omnes patres noſtri eandē eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt: & omnes eundē potū ſpiritualem biberunt. &c. Ealle ure fæderas æton on þam ƿæstene þone ylcan gastlican mete. ⁊ þone gastlican drenc druncon; Hi druncon of þam gastlican stane. ⁊ se stane ƿæs Crist; Se apostol sæde sƿa sƿa ge nu gehyrdon þæt hi ealle æton ðone ylcan gastlican mete. and hi ealle druncon ðone gastlican drenc; Ne cƿæð he na lichamlice. ac gastlice; Næs Crist ða gyt geboren. ne his blod næs agoten. þa þæt Israhela folc geæt ðone mete. ⁊ of ðam stane dranc. ⁊ se stan næs lichamlice Crist ðeah he sƿa cƿæde; Hit ƿæron ða ylcan gerynu on þære ealdam æ. ⁊ hi gastlice getacnodon þæt gastlice husel ures hælendes lichaman. ðe ƿe halgiaþ nu.

The ſame in Engliſh.

An Epiſtle of Ælfricke to Wulſtane, touching the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper.

SOme Prieſtes fill their boxe for houſel on Eſter day, and ſo reſerue it a whole yere for ſicke men, as though that houſel were more holy thē any other. But they do vnaduiſedly, becauſe it waxeth hory, or altogether rottē by keping it ſo long ſpace: and thus are they become gilty, as the boke witneſſeth to vs. If any do kepe yͤ houſell to long or loſe it or myſe or other beaſtes doe eate it, ſee what the penitentiall booke ſayth by thys: So holye is altogether that houſell, whiche is hallowed to daye, as that whiche is hallowed on Eaſter day. Wherfore I beſeche you to keepe that holy body of Chriſt with more aduiſement: for ſicke men, frō Sonday to Sonday, in a very cleane boxe: or at the moſt not to keepe it aboue a fortnight, and then eate it, laying other in the place. We haue an example hereof in Moyſes bookes, as God hym ſelfe hath commaunded in Moyſes lawe, how the Prieſtes ſhould ſet euery Saterday, twelue loaues all new baked, vpon the tabernacle: the whiche were called Panes propoſitionis: and thoſe ſhoulde ſtand there on Gods tabernacle, till the next Saterday, and then dyd the Prieſtes thē ſelues eate them, and ſet other in the place. Some Prieſts will not eate the houſell, whiche they do hallowe: But wee will nowe declare vnto you how the booke ſpeaketh by thē Preſbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium, accuſante conſcientia, anathema eſt. The Prieſte that doth ſaye maſſe and deare not eate the houſell, his conſciēce accuſing him, is accurſed It is leſſe daunger to receyue the houſell, then to hallowe it. Hee that doth twiſe hallowe one hoſt to houſell, is lyke vnto thoſe heretickes, who do Chriſten twiſe one childe. Chriſt him ſelfe bleſſed houſell before his ſuffring: hee bleſſed the bread and brake it, thus ſpeakyng to his Apoſtles: Eate thys bread, it is my bodye. And agayn, he bleſſed one Chalice with wyne, & thus alſo ſpake vnto them: Drinke ye all of this, it is myne owne bloude of the new teſtamēt, which is ſhed for many, for the forgeuenes of ſinnes. The Lord which hallowed houſell before his ſuffering, & ſayth that the bread was his owne body, & that the wyne was truly his bloud, halloweth dayly by yͤ handes of the prieſt, bread to hys bodye and wyne to his bloud in ghoſtly myſtery, as wee read in bookes. And yet notwithſtandyng that liuely bread is not *bodily ſo, nor the ſelf, ſame body that Chriſt ſuffered in: nor that holy wyne is the Sauiours bloud whiche was ſhed for vs in bodily thinge: but in ghoſtly vnderſtandyng. Both bee truely that bread hys bodye, and that wyne alſo hys bloude, as was the heauenly bread, whiche wee call manna that fedd forty yeares Gods people. And the cleare water whiche dyd then runne from the ſtone in yͤ wildernes, was truly hys bloud, as S. Paul wrote in one of his Epiſtles: Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducauerunt, & omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt. &c. Al our fathers dyd eate in the wildernes the ſame ghoſtly meate, and dranke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. They dranke of that ghoſtly ſtone, and that ſtone was Chriſte. The Apoſtle hath ſayde (as you nowe haue heard) that they all dyd eate the ſame ghoſtly meate, & they all dyd drynke the ſame ghoſtly drynke. And he ſayth not bodily, but ghoſtly. And Chriſte was not yet borne, nor hys bloud ſhedde, when that the people of Iſrael dyd eate that meat, and dranke of that ſtone. And the ſtone was not bodily Chriſt, though he ſo ſayd. It was the * ſame myſtery in the olde lawe, and they dyd ghoſtlye ſignifie that ghoſtly houſell of our Sauiours bodye whiche we conſecrate now.

*Bodely preſence denyed.

*That is, a myſtery of the ſame thing that was in the olde law.

Beſides theſe Epiſtles aboue prefixed, of Elfricus to Wulſinus, and Wulſtane, whiche fight directly agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, mention was touched alſo before of certeine Sermons to the number of lxxx. tranſlated by the ſaid Elfricus, out of Latine into the Saxon, that is, into our Engliſhe tongue, as ye partely haue heard before. Of the whiche lxxx. Sermons, xxiiij. were chiefly ſelected, to bee read, as in ſtede of Homelies, or treatiſes, vnto the people: in ſuch order, as the firſt xij. Sermons or treatiſes, intreatyng of generall matters (as De initio creaturæ, de auguriis, de die iudicij, vnius confeſſoris, de vaniloquio & negligentia, de auaritia, de falſis dijs, &c) were appointed to be read at pleaſure, and at the diſcretion of the Miniſter. The other xij. ſermons were preſcribed for proper feaſtes: (as De annunciatione beatæ Mariæ, de natiuitate domini, de circumciſione domini, de Epiphania, de purificatione ſanctæ Mariæ. Dominica prima in Quadrageſima, Dominica palmarū, Die Paſcæ. &c. Wherof this teſtimony remayneth in yͤ ſame booke yet to be ſene both in the Saxon tongue, and alſo in the Preface of the latter xij. Sermons in Latine, in theſe wordes followyng: In hoc codicillo continentur Sermones

Lxxx. Sermons tranſlated out of Latine into Saxon by Ælfricus.

A booke of xxiiij. ſpeciall ſermons ſelected out of the 80. ſermons tranſlated by Ælfricus.

Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos Ælꝼꞃicuꞅ Abbas Anglicè tranſtulit.&c.

Sermo ad plebem in die ſancto Paſchæ.

Furthermore as touchyng theſe lxxx. Sermons aforeſayd, whiche Elfricus tranſlated into Engliſh, here is to be vnderſtanded, that in the ſayd Sermons vſed then orderly to be recited to the people, there is one appointed to be red in die Sancto Paſce, that is, vpon Eaſterday, which Sermon beyng tranſlated by the ſayd Elfricus, wee haue here exibited both in Saxon ſpeache and in Engliſhe, to the entent, that the Chriſten and indiffirent reader peruſyng the ſame, may iudge therby, how ẏ fantaſticall doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, in thoſe dayes of Alfricus & before his time, was not yet receiued nor knowen in the Churche of England: for ſo muche as the ſayd Sermon beyng in Latin before, doth leaue vnto vs an euident declaratiõ, what was the common opinion of this Sacrament in the Churche receaued: before that Elfricus did euer ſet hande to tranſlate the ſame out of the Latin.

The Latine bookes written agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, craftely by the Papiſtes aboliſhed.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of theſe foreſayd Sermons, are not remaynyng in our Libraries, let ẏ be no meruel to thee, louyng reader: but vnderſtand therbye the craftie packyng of the Popes Clergie, who in the tyme of Lancfrancus, & Pope Innocent, ſtudying by al meanes, how to preferre and further this their newcome doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, dyd aboliſh and raſe out of Libraries and Churches, all ſuch bookes whiche made to the contrary. And therfore becauſe Lancfrancus and other Italian Prieſtes here in England vnderſtode not ẏ Saxon bookes as they dyd the Latine all that whiche they vnderſtode, they made away. the Saxon bookes, becauſe they knewe them not, they let remaine. And this is the cauſe why our Latine copies now are not to be founde. Whiche to be true by iij. reaſons coniecturall it may probably be ſuppoſed.

Three cõiectures prouing that the Papiſtes haue made away of purpoſe the olde Latine bookes agaynſt their tranſubſtãtiatiõ.

First, for that theſe Saxon Sermons beyng tranſlated out of the Latine (as ye haue heard by the wordes of Elfricus already proued) onely wee ſee the Saxon bookes reſerued: of the Latin none doth appeare.

Secondly, there is yet remaynyng one certayne peece or fragment of an epiſtle of Elfricus in the Library of Worceter, wherin, ſo much as maketh agaynſt the matter of tranſubſtantiation, we haue found in the middle of the ſayd Latine epiſtle, vtterly raſed out, ſo that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appeare. The wordes cut out, were theſe: Non eſt tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus eius, in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neq; ſanguis eius quem pro nobis effudit, ſed ſpiritualiter corpus eius efficitur et ſanguis, ſicut Manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus, &c. 1. Notwithſtandyng this ſacrifice is not the ſame bodye of hys, wherein he ſuffered for vs, nor the ſame bloude of his, which he ſhed for vs, but ſpiritually it is made hys body and bloud: as the Manna which rayned from heauen, and the water which did flow out of the rocke, as Paul. &c.

The words craftely raſed out by the Papiſts, and reſtored agayne by the Saxon booke of Exeter.

Theſe wordes ſo raſed out are to be reſtored agayne by an other Saxon boke found in Exceter. By ẏ raſing of which one place, it may eaſily be coniectured, what theſe practiſers haue lykewiſe done in the reſt.

An Italiã tricke of Polydore Virgill to burne his bookes, which he had gotten into hys handes.

Thirdly, by one Italian tricke of Polydore Virgil in our dayes, the propertie and doyngs of all other Italiã papiſtes of elder tyme, may partly be cõiectured. For ſo I am informed by ſuch, as preciſelye will affirme it to bee true, that when Polidore beyng licenſed by the kynge to vewe and ſearche all Libraries, hadde once accompliſhed hys ſtory by the helpe of ſuch bookes as he had cõpiled out of Libraries, in ẏ end, when he had taken out what he would: lyke a true factor for ẏ popes own tooth, he pyled hys bokes together & ſet them all on a lyght fire. For what cauſe he ſo dyd, I can not certeinely pronounce: but who ſo conſidereth well hys religion, may ſhrewdly ſuſpect hym. For a probation wherof, this may ſerue for a ſufficient tryall, that where as of all other writers of hiſtories that haue bene in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Raſtall, More, Leland, Bale, Halle, & ſuch other, ſome of their bookes which they then occupyed yet remayne in handes to be ſene. Onely of ſuch bookes, as Polydore vſed and whiche paſt hys handes, what Engliſhe man is he that hath ſene or can ſhew me one? Whereby it may wel be thought, the foreſayd information to be true. As alſo by this one Italian tricke of polidore, may other Italians lykewiſe be ſuſpected, in makyng away ſuch Latin bookes within this land, as made not for their purpoſe. But forſomuch as thoſe Latine bookes be now aboliſhed, and can not be had, let vs returne to our Saxon tongue agayne, and ſee what this Saxon Sermon of Elfricus tranſlation, doth ſay for tranſubſtantiation: The Copye whereof here enſueth.

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¶A Sermon tranſlated out of Latin into the Saxon tonge by Ælfricus, agaynſt tranſubſtantiation. An. 996.

In die Sancta Paſcæ.

¶The Alphabet of the Saxon tongue.

f. g. r. ſ. t. w. y. z.
¶ a.b.c.d.e.ꝼ.ᵹ.h.ı.l.m.n.o.p.ꞃ.ꞅ.ꞇ.u.ƿ.y.ȝ.

Abbreuiations

Æ. Th. Th. S. W. And th. th.
Æ. Ð. Þ. ꞅ. ƿ. ⁊. ð. þ.

A Sermon vſual to be read in the Church here in England in the Saxons tyme.

¶An.366.

MEn ða leoꝼoꞅꞇan . ᵹelome eoƿ iꞅ ᵹeꞅæꝺ ẏmbe uꞃeꞅ hælenꝺeꞅ æꞃiꞅꞇe . hu he on þiꞅum anꝺƿeaꞃꝺan ꝺæᵹe æꝼꞇeꞃ hiꞅ ðꞃoƿunᵹe mihꞇiᵹlice oꝼ ꝺeaþe aꞃaꞅ ; Nu ƿille ƿe eoƿ ᵹeopenian ðuꞃh Goꝺeꞅ ᵹiꝼe be þam halᵹan huꞅle ðe ᵹe nu ꞇoᵹan ꞅceolon. ⁊ ᵹeƿiꞅꞅian eoƿeꞃ anꝺᵹẏꞇ ẏmbe ðæꞃe ᵹeꞃẏnu. æᵹðeꞃ ᵹe æꝼꞇeꞃ þæꞃe ealꝺan ᵹecẏþnẏꞅꞅe. ᵹe æꝼꞇeꞃ þæꞃe niƿan. ðẏlæꞅ ðe æniᵹ ꞇƿeonunᵹe eoƿ ꝺeꞃian mæᵹe be ðam liꝼlicum ᵹeꞃeoꞃꝺe ; Se almihꞇiᵹa Goꝺ bebeaꝺ þam heꞃeꞇoᵹan on eᵹẏpꞇa lanꝺe ; ꝥ he ꞅceolꝺe bebeoꝺan Iꞅꞃahela ꝼolce . ꝥ hi namon æꞇ ælcum heoꞃþe aneꞅ ᵹeaꞃeꞅ lambe on þæꞃe nihꞇe ðæ hi ꝼeꞃꝺon oꝼ þam lanꝺe ꞇo þam behaꞇenan eaꞃꝺe. ⁊ ꞅceolꝺon ꝥ lambe Goꝺe ᵹeoꝼꝼꞃian. ⁊ ꞅẏþþan ꞅniþan. anꝺ ƿẏꞃcan ꞃoꝺe ꞇacn on heoꞃa ᵹeꝺẏꞃum. ⁊ oꝼeꞃꞅleᵹum miꝺ þæꞅ lambeꞅ bloꝺ. eꞇan ꞅẏþþan þæꞅ lambeꞅ ꝼlæꞅc ᵹebꞃæꝺ. ⁊ ðeoꞃꝼe hlaꝼaꞅ miꝺ ꝼelꝺlicꞃe lacꞇucan ; Goꝺ cƿæþ ꞇo Moẏꞅen. ne eꞇe ᵹe oꝼ þam lambe nan þinᵹ bꞃeaƿ. ne on ƿæꞇeꞃe ᵹeꞅoþen ac ᵹebꞃæꝺ ꞇo ꝼẏꞃe ; Eꞇaþ ꝥ heaꝼoꝺ. ⁊ þa ꝼeꞇ. ⁊ ꝥ inneƿeaꞃꝺe. ne hiꞅ nan þinᵹ ne beliꝼe oþ meꞃᵹen. ᵹiꝼ þæꞃ hƿæꞇ ꞇo laꝼe ꞅẏ. ꝼoꞃbæꞃneþ ꝥ. ðicᵹaþ hiꞇ on ðaꞅ ƿiꞅan ; Beᵹẏꞃꝺaþ eoƿeꞃe lenꝺenu. anꝺ beoþ ᵹeꞅceoꝺe. habaþ eoƿ ꞅꞇaꝼ on hanꝺe. ⁊ eꞇaþ heaꞃꝺlice. ðeoꞅ ꞇiꝺ iꞅ Goꝺeꞅ ꝼæꞃelꝺ ; Anꝺ ƿeaꞃþ þa on ðæꞃe nihꞇe oꝼꞅleᵹen on ælcum huꞅe ᵹeonꝺ eal Phaꞃaoeꞅ ꞃice. ꝥ ꝼꞃumcenneꝺe cilꝺ. ⁊ ƿæꞅ ꝥ Goꝺeꞅ ꝼolc Iꞅꞃahel ahꞃeꝺ ꝼꞃam þam ꝼeꞃlican ꝺeaðe. ðuꞃh ðæꞅ lambeꞅ oꝼꝼꞃunᵹe . ⁊ hiꞅ bloꝺeꞅ meaꞃcunᵹe ; þa cƿæþ Goꝺ ꞇo Moẏꞅen . healꝺaþ ðiꞅneꝺæᵹ on eoƿꞃū ᵹemẏnꝺe. ⁊ ꝼꞃeolꞅiaþ hine mæꞃlice on eoƿꞃum cẏnꞃenum miꝺ ecum biᵹencᵹe. anꝺ eꞇaþ ðeoꞃꝼne hlaꝼ ꞅẏmle ꞅeoꝼan ꝺaᵹaꞅ æꞇ ðiꞅꞃe ꝼꞃeolꞅ ꞇiꝺe ; Æꝼꞇeꞃ ðiꞅꞅeꞃe ꝺæꝺe læꝺꝺe Goꝺ ꝥ Iꞅꞃahela ꝼolc oꝼeꞃ þa ꞃeaꝺan ꞅæ. miꝺ ꝺꞃium ꝼoꞇum. anꝺ aꝺꞃæncꞇe þæꞃ on Phaꞃao. ⁊ ealne hiꞅ heꞃe ꞅamoꝺ ðe heoꞃa ehꞇon. ⁊ aꝼeꝺꝺe ꞅẏþþan ꝥ Iꞅꞃahela ꝼolc ꝼeoƿeꞃꞇiᵹ ᵹeaꞃa miꝺ heoꝼonlicum biᵹleoꝼan. ⁊ him ꝼoꞃᵹeaꝼ ƿæꞇeꞃ oꝼ heaꞃꝺum ꞅꞇan cluꝺe. oð ꝥ hi comon ꞇo þam behaꞇenū eþele ; Sume þaꞅ ꞃace ƿe habbaþ ᵹeꞇꞃahꞇnoꝺ on oþꞃe ꞅꞇoƿeꞅume. ƿe ƿẏllað nu ᵹeopenian. ꝥ þe belimpþ ꞇo þam halᵹan huꞅle ; Cꞃiꞅꞇene menn nemoꞇon healꝺan nu ða ealꝺan æ lichamlice. ac him ᵹeꝺaꝼenaþ ꝥ hi cunnon hƿæꞇ heo ᵹaꞅꞇlice ꞇacnie ; ꝥ unꞅcæþþie lambe þe ꞅe ealꝺe Iꞅꞃahela þa oꝼꞅnaþ. hæꝼꝺe ᵹeꞇacnunᵹe æꝼꞇeꞃ ᵹaꞅꞇlicum anꝺᵹẏꞇe Cꞃiꞅꞇeꞅ ðꞃoƿunᵹe ꞅe þe unꞅcæþþiᵹ ꝼoꞃ uꞃe alẏꞅeꝺniꞅꞅe hiꞅ haliᵹe bloꝺ aᵹeaꞇ ; Be þam ꞅinᵹaþ Goꝺeꞅ ðeoƿaꞅ æꞇ ælceꞃe mæꞅꞅan. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis ; ꝥ iꞅ on uꞃum ᵹeꞃeoꞃꝺe . Ðu Goꝺeꞅ lamb þe æꞇbꞃeꞇꞅꞇ miꝺꝺan eaꞃꝺeꞅ ꞅẏnna ᵹemilꞇꞅa uꞅ ; ꝥ Iꞅꞃahela

ꝼolc

folc ƿearþ ahred fram þam færlicum deaþe. ⁊ fram Pharaoes þeoƿte ðurh þæs lambes offrunge. þe hæfde getacnunge Cristes ðroƿunge. þurh þa ƿe sind alysede fram ðam ecũ deaþ. ⁊ ðæs reþan deofles anƿealde. gif ƿe rihtlice gelifaþ on ðone soþan alysend ealles middaneardes hælend Crist; ꝥ lamb ƿæs geoffrode on æfnunge. and ure hælend ðroƿode on ðære sixtan ylde þissere ƿorulde; Seo yld is geteald to æfnunge þises ateorigendlican middaneardes; Hi mearcodan mid þæs lambes blode on heora gedyrum. ⁊ ouerslegum tau. ꝥ is rode tacen. ⁊ ƿurdon sƿa gescilde fram þam engle. þe acƿealde ðæra egiptiscra frumcennedan cild; And ƿe sceolon mearcian ure foreƿearde heafod. and urne lichaman mid Cristes rode tacne. ꝥ ƿe beon ahredde fram forƿyrde. þonne ƿe beoþ ge mearcode ægþer ge on forã heafde ge on heortan mid blode þære drihtenlicã ðroƿunge; ꝥ Israhela folc æt þæs lambes flæsc on heora easter tide þa þa hi ahredde ƿurdon. ⁊ ƿe þicgaþ nu gastlice cristes licaman. and his blod drincaþ. þõne ƿe mid soþũ geleafã ꝥ halige husel ðicgaþ; Ðone timan hi heoldon him to easter tide seofan dagas mid micclum ƿurþmynte ðe hi ahredde ƿurdon ƿiþ Pharao. ⁊ of ðam earde ferdon. sƿa eac cristene men healdaþ Christes ærist us to easter tide ðæs seofan dagas. forþan þe ƿe sint ðurh his ðroƿunge ⁊ ærist alysede. ⁊ ƿe beoþ geclænsode ðurh þæs halgan husel ganges. sƿa Crist sylf cƿæþ on his godspelle; Soþ soþ ic eoƿ secge. næbbe ge lif on eoƿ. buton ge eten min flæsc. and drincon min blod; Se ðe et min flæsc. ⁊ min blod drincþ, he ƿunaþ on me. and ic on him. and he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif ⁊ ic hine arære on þam endenextan dæge; Ic eom se liflica hlaf þe of heofonum astah. na sƿa sƿa eoƿere forþ fæderas æton ðone heofonlican hlaf on ƿestene. ⁊ syþþan sƿulton; Se ðe et þisne. hlaf. he leofaþ on ecnysse; He halgod hlaf ær his þroƿunge. ⁊ todælde his discipulum þus cƿeþende; Etaþ þisne hlaf hit is min lichama. ⁊ doþ þis on mynum gemynde; Eft he bletsode ƿin on anum calice. ⁊ cƿæþ; Drincaþ ealle of ðisum. ðis is min blod ꝥ þe biþ for manegum agoten on synna forgyfenysse; Ða apostoli dydõ sƿa sƿa Crist het. ꝥ [illegible]algodon hlaf. ⁊ ƿin to husle eft syþþan on his gemynde; Eac sƿylce he ora æfter genegan. ⁊ ealle sacerdas be Cristes hæse halgiaþ hlaf ⁊ ƿin to husle on his naman mid þære apostolican bletsunge; Nu smedon gehƿilce men oft . and git gelome smeagaþ. hu se hlaf ðe biþ of corne gegearcod. and ðurh fyres hætan abacẽ mage beon aƿend to Cristes lichaman. oððe ꝥ ƿin þe biþ of manegũ berium aƿrungen. ƿeorhe aƿend ðurh anigre bletsunge to drihtnes blod; Nu secge ƿe gehƿilcum mannum ꝥ sume þing sind gecƿedene be Crist ðurh getacnunge. sume þurh geƿissum þinge; Soþ ðing is. and geƿis ꝥ Crist ƿæs of mædene acenned. ⁊ sylf ƿilles ðroƿode deaþ. ⁊ ƿæs bebyriged. ⁊ on þisum dæge of deaþ aras; He is gecƿeden hlaf þurh getacnunge. ⁊ lambe. ⁊ leo. ⁊ gehuelles; He is hlaf gehaten. forþan þe he is ure lif ⁊ engla; He is lamb gecƿeden for his unscæþþinysse; Leo forþære strencþe. þe he ofersƿiþde þone strangan deofol; Ac sƿa þeah æfter soþũ gecynde nis Crist naþor ne hlaf. ne lamb. ne leo; Hƿi is þonne ꝥ halige husel gecƿeden Cristes lichama. oþþe his blod. gif hit nis soþlice ꝥ ꝥ hit gehaten is; Soþlice se hlaf. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin ðe beoþ ðurh sacerda mæssan gehalgode oþer ðing he æteoƿiaþ mẽniscum andgitum ƿiþ utan. ⁊ oþer ðing hi clypiaþ ƿiþ innan gelaffullum modũ; ƿiþ utan hi beoþ geseƿene hlaf ⁊ ƿin ægþer geon hiƿe ge on sƿæcce. ac hi beoþ soþlice æfter þære halgũge Cristes lichama. ⁊ his blod ðurh gastlice gerynu; Hæðen cild biþ gefullod. ac hit ne bræt na his hiƿ ƿiþ utan ðeah ðe hit beo ƿiþ innan aƿend; Hit bið gebroht synfull ðurh adames forgægednysse to ðam fant fate; Ac hit bið aþƿogen fram eallum synnũ ƿiþ innan. þeah ðe hit ƿiþ utan his hiƿ ne aƿende; Eac sƿylce ꝥ halige fant ƿæter ðe is gehatẽ lifes ƿylspring. is gelic on hiƿe oþrum ƿæterum. ⁊ is underþeod brosnunge. ac ðæs halgan gastes miht genealæcþ ðam brosnigendlicum ƿætere. þurh sacerda bletsunge. ⁊ hit mæg syþþan lichaman. and saƿle aðƿean fram eallum synnum ðurh gastlice miht; Efne nu ƿe geseoþ tƿa ðing on þisum anum gesceafte; Æfter soþum gecynde. ꝥ ƿæter is brosniendlic ƿæte. ⁊ æfter gastlicere gerynu hæfþ halƿende mihte; Sƿa eac gif ƿe sceaƿiaþ ꝥ halige husel æfter lichamlicum andgyte. ðonne geseo ƿe ꝥ hit is gesceaft brosniendlic ⁊ aƿendlic; Gif ƿe ða gastlican mihte ðær on tocnaƿaþ ðonne undergite ƿe ꝥ ðær is lif on. ⁊ forgifþ undeadlicnysse. ðam ðe hit mid geleafan ðicgaþ; Micel is betƿux ðære ungeseƿenlican mihte ðæs halgan husles. ⁊ þam geseƿenlican hiƿe agenes gecyndes; Hit is on gecynde brosniendlic hlaf. ⁊ brosniendlic ƿin. ⁊ is æfter mihte Godcundes ƿordes. soþlice Cristes lichama and his blod. na sƿaþeah lichamlice ac gastlice; Micel is betƿux ðam lichaman ðe Crist on ðroƿode. ⁊ ðam lichaman ðe to husle biþ gehalgod; Se lichama soþlice ðe Crist on ðroƿode ƿæs geboren of Marian flæsc. mid blod ⁊ mid banũ. mid felle ⁊ mid sinũ. on mẽniscũ limũ . mid gesceadƿisre saƿle gelifæst ⁊ his gastlica lichama ðe ƿe husel hataþ is of manegũ cornũ gegaderod. buton blode. ⁊ bane. limleas. ⁊ saƿulleas. ⁊ nis forþi nan ðing þær on to understandenne lichamlice. ac is eal gastlice to understandene; Sƿa hƿæt sƿa on ðam husle is ðe us lifes edƿist forgifþ. ꝥ is of ðære gastlican mihte. and ungeseƿenlicre fremminege; Forþi is ꝥ halige husel gehaten gerynu, forþan ðe oþer ðing is þær on geseƿen. ⁊ oþer ðing undergiten; ꝥ ꝥ ðær geseƿen is hæfþ lichamlic hiƿ and ꝥ ꝥ ƿe ðær on understandaþ hæfþ gastlice mihte; Ƿitodlice Cristes lichama ðe deaþ ðroƿode. and of deaþe aras. ne sƿylt næfre heonon forþ. ac is ece ⁊ unþroƿiendlic; ꝥ husel is hƿilƿẽdlic. na ece; Brosniendlic. ⁊ biþ sticc mælum todæled; Betƿux toþum tocoƿen. ⁊ into þam buce asend. ac hit bið ðeah hƿæþere æfter gastlicre mihte on ælcum dæle eall; Manega underfoþ ðone halgan lichaman. and he biþ sƿa ðeah on ælcum dæle eall æfter gastlicre gerynu; þeah sume men gesceote læsse dæl ne bið sƿa ðeah namare might on ðam maran dæle ðone on ðam læssan. forðan þe hit biþ on ælcum men ansund æfter ðære ungesewenlican mihte; þeos gerynu is wedd. ⁊ hiw; Cristes lichama is soþfæstnysse; Ðis wedd ƿe healdaþ gerynelice. oþ ꝥ ƿe becumó to þære soþfæstnysse. ⁊ þonne biþ þis wedd geendod; Soþlice hit is swa swa ƿe ær cwædon Cristes lichama. ⁊ his blod. na lichamlice ac gastlice; Uton nu gehyran ðæs Apostoles ƿord embe ðas gerynu; Paulus se apostol cwæþ be ðam ealdan folce Israhela. ðus ƿritende on his pistole to geleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forþfæderas ƿæron gefullude on ƿolcne. ⁊ on sæ. ⁊ eall hi æton ðone ylcan gastlicā mete ⁊ ealle hi druncon þone ylcan gastlican drenc; Hi druncon soþlice of æfter filigendan stane. ⁊ se stan ƿæs Crist; Næs se stan þe ꝥ ƿæter of fleoƿ lichamlice crist. ac he getacnode crist. ðe clypode þus to eallum geleaffullum mannū swa hƿam swa ðyrste come to me ⁊ drince ; ⁊ of his innoþe fleoƿþ liflic ƿæter; þis he sæde be ðam halgan gaste ðe ða underfengon. ðe on hine gelyfdon; Se apostol Paulus cwæþ ꝥ ꝥ Israhela folc æte ðone ylcan gastlican mete. and drunce ðone ylcan gastlican drenc. forþan ðe se ylca heofonlica mete þe hi afedde.xl.geara. ⁊ ꝥ ƿæter ðe of þan stane fleoƿ. hæfde getacnunge cristes lichaman. ⁊ his blodes. þe nu beoþ geoffrode dæghƿomlice on Godes cyrcan; Hit ƿæron þa ylcan ðe ƿe nu offriaþ. na lichamlice. ac gastlice; ƿe sædon eoƿ hƿene ær ꝥ Crist halgode hlaf ⁊ ƿin ær his þroƿunge to husle. ⁊ cwæþ. ðis is min lichama. ⁊ min blod; Ne ðroƿode he þa gyt. ac swa ðeah he aƿende ðurh ungeseƿēlice miht þone hlaf to his agenū lichama. ⁊ ꝥ ƿin to his blod; swa swa he ær dyde. on þā ƿestene ærðan þe he to men geboren ƿurde. ða þa he aƿende ðone heofonlicā mete to his flæsc. ⁊ ꝥ floƿende ƿæter of ðam stane to his agenū blode; Fela manna æton of þam heofonlican mete on þam ƿestene. ⁊ druncon þone gastlicā drenc. ⁊ ƿurdon swa þeah deade. swa swa crist sæde; Ne mænde Crist þone deaþ þe nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde ðone ecan deaþ ðe sume of þam folce for heora geleafleste gearnodon; Moyses ⁊ Aaron. ⁊ manega oþre of ðam folce ðe God gelicodon. æton ðone heofonlican hlaf. ac hi næron deade þam ecū deaþ. ðeah þe hi gemænum deaþe forþferdon; Hi gesaƿon ꝥ se heofonlica mete ƿæs geseƿenlic. and brosniendlic. ac hi understodon gastlice be þam geseƿenlicum þinge. ⁊ hit gastlice þigdon; Se hælend cwæþ. se ðe æt min flæsc. and drincþ min blod. he hæfþ ece lif; Ne het he na etan þone lichaman. ðe he mid befangen ƿæs. ne ꝥ blod drincan. ðe he for us ageat. ac he mænde mid þam ƿorde ꝥ halige husel. ðe gastlic is his lichama ⁊ his blod. ⁊ se þe þæs onbyrigþ mid geleaffulre heortan. he hæfþ ꝥ ece lif; On ðære ealdan æ geleaffulle men offrodon Gode mistlice lac. þe hæfdon toƿeardre getacnunge cristes lichama. ðe sylf for urum synnum syþþan geoffrode his heofonlicon fæder to onsægednysse; ƿitodlice ðis husel þe nu bið gehalgode æt godes ƿeofode. is gemynd Cristes lichamā ðe he for us geoffrode. ⁊ his blodes ðe he for us ageat. swa swa he sylf het. doþ ðis on minum gemynde; Ne ðroƿode crist ðurh hine sylfne ac swa þeah dæghƿomlice biþ ðis ðroƿung geedniƿod ðurh gerynu ðæs halgan husles æt þære halgan mæssan; Us is eac termeagenne. ꝥ ꝥ halige husel is ægðer ge Cristes lichama. ge ealles geleaffulles folces. æfter gastlicre gerynu; Swa swa se ƿisa Augustinus be ðam cwæþ; Gif ge ƿillaþ understandan be Cristes lichaman. gehyraþ ðone apostol Paulū ðus cweþende; Ge soþlice sindon Cristes lichama. ⁊ leomu; Nu is eoƿer gerynu geled on godes mysan. ⁊ ge underfoþ eoƿer gerynu to ðam ðe ge sylfe sind; Beoþ ꝥ ꝥ ge geseoṅ on ðam ƿeofode. ⁊ underfoþ ꝥ ꝥ ge sylfe sind; Eft cwæþ se apostol Paulus be ðisum. ƿe manega syndō an hlaf. ⁊ an lichama; Understandaþ nu. ⁊ blissiaþ. fela sindan hlaf. ⁊ an lichoma on Criste; He is ure heafod. ⁊ ƿe sind his lima; Ne biþ se hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum ; Ne ꝥ ƿin of anre berian . ac of manegum. Swa ƿe sceolon eac habban annysse on urū drihtne. swa swa hit aƿritē is be þā geleaffullā ƿeorode. ꝥ hi ƿærō on swa micelre annysse. swilce him eallū ƿære an saƿul. ⁊ an heorte; Crist gehalgode on his beode þa gerynæ ure sibbe. ⁊ ure annisse. se þe underfehþ ðære annysse gerynu. ⁊ ne hilt ðe ne bend ðære soþā sibbe. ne underfehþ he na gerynu for him sylfum. ac gecydnysse togeanes him sylfum; Micel God biþ cristenum mannum. ꝥ hi gelome to husle gan. gif hi unscæþþignysse on heora heortan beraþ to ðam ƿeofode. gif hi ne beoh mid leahtrum ofsette; þam yfelan men ne becymþ to nanum gode. ac to forƿyrde. gif he þæs halgan husles unƿurþe onbyrigþ; Halige bec beodaþ ꝥ man gemæncge ƿæter to þam ƿine þe to husle sceal. forþan ðe ꝥ ƿæter hæfþ ðæs folces getacnunge. swa swa ꝥ ƿin Cristes blodes; ⁊ forþi ne sceal naþor buton oþrum beon geoffrode. æt ðære halgan mæssan. ꝥ Crist beo mid us. ⁊ ƿe mid Criste. ꝥ heafod mid ðam leomum. ⁊ þa leomu mid ðam heafode ; ƿe ƿoldon gefyrn trahtnian be ðam lambe ðe se ealde Israhel æt heora eastertyde geoffrodon. ac ƿe ƿoldon ærest eoƿ gereccan ymbe ðas gerynu. ⁊ syþþan hu hit man ðicgan sceal; ꝥ getacniendlice lamb ƿæs geoffrode æt heora eastertide. ⁊ se apostol Paulus cwæþ on ðisum dægþerlicum pistole. ꝥ Crist is ure eastertide. se þe for us ƿæs geoffrod. ⁊ on ðisum dæge of deaþe aras; Israhel ðigde þæs lambes flæsc. swa swa God bebead. mid þeorfum hlafum. ⁊ feldlicum lactucum. ⁊ ƿe sceolon þicgan ꝥ halige husel cristes lichaman. ⁊ his blod buton beormā yfelnysse ⁊ manfulnysse; Swa swa se beorma aƿent ða gesceafta of heora gecynde. swa aƿendaþ eac leahtras ðæs mannes gecynde frā unscæþþignysse to geƿemmednysse ; Se Apostol tæhte ꝥ ƿe sceoldon geƿistfullian na on yfelnysse beorman. ac on ðeorfnyssum sifernysse . and soþfæstnysse ; Lactuca hatte seo ƿyrt ðe hi etan sceoldon mid ðam ðeorfum hlafum. heo is biter on ðicgene ; And ƿe sceolon mid biternysse soðre behreoƿsunge ure mod geclænsian . gif ƿe ƿillaþ Cristes lichaman þicgan ; Næs ꝥ Israhela folc geƿunod.

to hreaƿum flæsc. Ðeah ðe God him bebude. ꝥ hi hit hreaƿ ne eton. ne on ƿætere gesoden. ac gebræd to fyre; Se ƿile ðicgan Godes lichamā hreaƿne. se ðe buton gesceade ƿenþ ꝥ he ƿære anfeald man us gelice. ⁊ nære God; ⁊ se ðe æfter menniscum ƿisdom ƿyle smeagan ymbe þa gerynu cristes flæsclicnysse. he deþ sƿylce he seoþe ðæs lambes flæsc on ƿætere. forþan ðe ƿæter getacnað on ðissere stoƿe mennisc ingehid; Ac ƿe sceolō ƿitan ꝥ ealle ða gerynu cristes mēniscnysse ƿærō gefadode þurh mihte ðæs halgan gastes. ðonne ðicge ƿe his lichamā gebrædne to fyre. forðā ðe se halga gast com on fyres hiƿe to ðam apostolum on mistlicū gereordum; Israhel sceold etan ðæs lambes heafod. ⁊ ða fet. ⁊ ꝥ inneƿearde. ⁊ ðær nan þing belifan ne moste ofer niht; Gif þær hƿæt belife. forbærnnan ꝥ on fyre. and ne tobræcan ða baan; Æfter gastlicum andgite ƿe etað ðæs lābes heafod. ðonne ƿe underfoþ cristes godcundnysse on urum geleafan; Eft ðōne ƿe his menniscnysse mid lufe underfoþ. ðonne ete ƿe ðæs lambes fet. forðan ðe Crist is angin and ende, God ær ealle ƿorulda. ⁊ man on ðissere ƿorulde geendunge; Hƿæt is ðæs lābes inneƿearde buton Cristes digelan bebodu ða ƿe etaþ þonne ƿe lifes ƿord mid grædignysse underfoþ; Nan ðing ne moste þæs lābes belifā oþ merigē. forþan þe godes cƿydas sind to smeagenne mid sƿa mycelre carfulnysse. sƿa ꝥ ealle his beboda mid andgite ⁊ ƿeorce beon asmeade on nihte ðises andƿeardan lifes. ærðan ðe se endenexta dæg ðæs gemænelican æristes ætеoƿige; Gif ƿe ðonne ealle ða gerynu Cristes flæslicnysse ðurh smeagan ne magon. ðonne sceole ƿe ða lafe betæcan ðæs halgan gastes mihte mid soþre eadmodnysse. ⁊ na to dyrstelice ymbe ða deoƿan digelnysse ofer ures andgytes mæðe smeagan; Hi æton ꝥ lamb mid begyrdū lendenū; On lendenum is seo galnysse ðæs lichoman ⁊ se ðe ƿyle ꝥ husel ðicgan he sceal geƿryþan ða galnysse. ⁊ mid clænnysse ða halgan ðigene onfon; Hi ƿæron eac gescode; Hƿæt sind gescȳ buton deadra nytene hyda; ƿe beoþ soþlice gesceode. gif ƿe efenlæcaþ mid urum ferelde ⁊ ƿeorce forþfarenra manna lif. ðæra þe Gode geðugon þurh gehealdsumnysse his beboda; Hi hæfdon him staf on handa æt ðæra ðigene; Se staf getacnaþ gymene. and hyrdnysse; þa ðe bet cunnon ⁊ magon. sceolon gyman oþra manna. ⁊ mid heora fultume underƿriþan; þam gemettum ƿæs beboden ꝥ hi sceoldō caflice etan. forðam þe God onscunaþ ða sleacnysse on his ðegnum. ⁊ þa he lufaþ ðe mid modes cafnesse þæs ecanlifes mirþe secaþ; Hit is aƿriten. Ne elca þu to gecyrranne to God. þylæs ðe se tima losie ðurh ða sleacan elcunge; þa gemettan ne moston þæs lambes ban scænan. ne þa cempan þe Crist ahengon ne mostō tobræcan his halgan sceancan sƿa sƿa hi dydō þæra tƿegra sceaþena þe him on tƿa healfa hangodō. ac drihten aras of deaþ gesund buton ælcere forrotodnysse; ⁊ hi sceolon geseon æt þam micclan dome hƿæne hi geƿundodon ƿælhreoƿlice on rode; þeos tid is gehatē on ebreiscū gereorde Pasca. ꝥ is on leden Transitus. ⁊ on englisc Færeld. forþan ðe on þisum dæge ferde godes folc frā egipta landa ofer ða readā sæ. frā ðeoƿte to ðā behatenā earde; Ure drihten ferde eac on þisne timā. sƿa sƿa se godspellere Iohns cƿæþ frā ðisū middā earde to his heofōlicū fæder; ƿe sceolon fylian urū heafde. ⁊ farā fram deofle to Crist. fram ðissere unstæþþigan ƿorulde. to his staþelfæstan rice. ac ƿe sceolon ærest on urū andƿeardan life faran frā leahtrum to halgum mægnum. fram unþeaƿū to godum þeaƿum. gif ƿe ƿillaþ æfter ðisum lænan life faran to þam ecan. ⁊ æfter urum æriste to hælende Criste; He us gelæde to his lifigendan fæder. þe hine sealde for urum synnum to deaþe; Si him ƿuldor ⁊ lof. þære ƿeldæda on ealra ƿorulda ƿoruld. AMEN.

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Sermon on Eaſter day.

A Sermon in old Saxon tongue tranſlated into Engliſhe.

Men beloued, it hath ben often ſayd vnto you about our Sauiours reſurrection, how hee on this preſent day, after his ſufferyng mightelye roſe from death. Now wyll wee open vnto you through Gods grace, of the holy houſell, whiche ye ſhould nowe goe vnto, and inſtructe your vnderſtandyng about this miſterye, both after the olde couenaunte, and alſo after the new, that no doubtyng may trouble you about this liuely foode. The almightye God bad Moſes hys Captayne in the Lande of Egypt, to commaunde ẏ people of Iſrael to take to euery familye a lambe of one yere olde, the night they departed out of the countrey to the land of promiſe, and to offer that lambe to God, and after to cutte it, and to make the ✠ ſigne of the croſſe with the lambes bloud vpon the ſide poſtes, and the vpper poſte of their dore, and afterwarde to eate the lambes fleſhe roſted, and vnleauened bread with wyld lettiſſe. God ſayth vnto Moyſes: Eate of the Lambe nothyng rawe, nor ſoddē in water, but roſted at the fire. Eate the head, the feete, and the inwards, and let nothyng of it be left vntil the mornyng if any thyng therof remayne, that ſhall you burne wyth fire Eate it in this wyſe: Gyrd your loynes, & do your ſhoes on your feete, haue you ſtaues in your handes, & eate it in haſte. This tyme is the Lordes Paſſouer. And there was ſlayne on that night in euery houſe through out Pharaos raigne the firſte borne childe: and Gods people of Iſrael were deliuered frō that ſodeyne death through the lambes offering and hys bloudes markyng. Then ſayde God vnto Moyſes Keepe thys day in your remembraunce, and holde it a great feaſt in your kindredes with a perpetuall obſeruation, and eate vnleauened bread alwayes ſeuen dayes at this feaſte. After this deede God ledde the people of Iſraell ouer the read Sea with dry foote, & drowned therein Pharao & all hys armie together with their poſſeſſiōs, & fedde afterward the Iſraelites fortye yeares with heauenly foode, and gaue them water out of the hard rocke, vntill they came to the promiſed land. Part of this ſtorye wee haue treated of in an other place, part we ſhall now declare, to witte, that which belongeth to the holy houſell. Chriſten men may not nowe kepe that olde law bodily, but it behoueth them to knowe what it ghoſtlye ſignifieth. That innocent lambe whiche the olde Iſraelites dyd then kyll, hadde ſygnification after ghoſtly vnderſtandyng, of Chriſtes ſufferynge, who vngyltye ſhedde hys holy bloud for our redemption. Hereof ſyng Gods ſeruauntes at euery* Maſſe: Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis. That is in our ſpeech: Thou lambe of God that takeſt away ẏ ſinnes of the worlde haue mercy vpon vs. Thoſe Iſraelites were deliuered from that ſodayne death, and from Pharaos bondage by the lambes offeryng, whiche ſignified Chriſtes ſufferyng: through whiche wee be deliuered from euerlaſtyng death, and from the diuils cruell raygne, if we ryghtly beleue in the true redemer of the whole worlde Chriſt the Sauiour. That lābe was offered in the euenyng: and our ſauiour ſuffered in the ſixt age of this worlde, This age of this corruptible worlde is reckened vnto the euenyng. They marked with the lābs bloude vpon the dores, and the vpper poſtes* Thau, that is the ſigne of the croſſe, and were ſo defēded frō the Angel ẏ killed the Egyptians firſt borne childe. And we * ought to marke our forheads and our bodies with the token of Chriſtes roode, that we may be alſo deliuered from deſtruction, when we ſhall be marked both on forhead, and alſo in hart

with

✠ Thys ſigne of the croſſe is beſide the text, but here we muſt beare with the ignoraunce of that tyme.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 14.

Exod. 17.

*This Maſſe was not then lyke to theſe our popiſh & blaſphemous maſſes now.

*This Hebrewe letter [Thau] was not marked for the ſigne of the croſſe, but for the worde [Torat] that is, the lawe of God: the firſt letter for the whole worlde. Ezech. 9.

*That onely croſſe is it wherewith we are marked, that Saint Paule ſpeaketh of Ephe. 2. Chriſt reconciled both to God in one body through his croſſe.

with the bloud of our Lordes ſuffering. Thoſe Iſraelites did eate the lambes fleſh at their Eaſter tyme, when they were deliuered, and we receaue ghoſtly Chriſtes body, and drinke his bloud, when we receaue with true belief, that holy houſell. That tyme they kept with them at Eaſter ſeuen dayes with great worſhyp, when they were deliuered from Pharao, and went from that land. So alſo Chriſten men kepe Chriſtes reſurrection at the tyme of Eaſter theſe vij. dayes, becauſe through hys ſufferyng and ryſing we be deliuered, and be made cleane by goyng to this holy houſell, as Chriſt ſayth in hys Goſpell: Verelye, verelye I ſay vnto you ye haue no lyfe in you excepte ye eate my fleſhe and drynke my bloud. He that eateth my fleſhe and drynketh my bloud abydeth in me, and I in hym, and hath that euerlaſtyng life and I ſhall rayſe him vp in the laſte daye. I am the liuely bread that came downe from heauen: not ſo as your forefathers dyd eate that heauenlye bread in the wildernes, & afterward dyed. He that eateth thys bread, liueth for euer.

John.6.

He bleſſed breade before hys ſufferyng, & diuided it to hys Diſciples, thus ſaying: Eate of this bread, it is my bodye, and do this in my remembraunce. Alſo hee bleſſed wyne in one cuppe, and ſayd: Drynke ye all of this: This is my bloud that is ſhedde for many, in forgiueneſſe of ſinnes. The Apoſtles dyd as Chriſt commaunded, that is, they bleſſed bread and wyne to houſell agayne afterward in his remembraunce.

Math.26.
Luke.22.
Marke.14.

1.Cor.11.

Euen ſo alſo their ſucceſſors and all prieſtes by Chriſtes commaundement do bleſſe bread and wyne to houſell in his name wyth the Apoſtolicke bleſſyng. Nowe men haue often ſearched and doe yet often* ſearch, howe bread that is gathered of corne, and through fyers heate baked, maye bee turned to Chriſtes body: or how wyne that is preſſed out of many grapes is turned through one bleſſyng, to þ Lords bloud. Now ſaye we to ſuche men, that ſome thynges bee ſpoken of Chriſt by* ſignification, and ſome bee thinges certaine.

* Note how Chriſtes wordes were takē by ſignificatiō before Berengarius time.

* A neceſſary diſtinction.

True this is and certaine that Chriſte was borne of a mayde, and ſuffered death of hys own accorde, and was buried, and on this daye roſe from death. Hee is ſayd to bee bread by ſignification, and a lambe, and a lyon, and a mountayne. He is called bread, becauſe hee is our lyfe and Angels lyfe. He is ſayde to bee a lambe for his innocencie: a Lyon for ſtrength wherwith he ouercame the ſtrong deuill. But Chriſt is not ſo notwithſtandyng after true nature, neyther bread, nor a lambe, nor a lyon. Why is then þ holy houſel called Chriſtes bodye, or his bloude, if it bee not truely that it is called?

Why is the houſell called Chriſtes body, when it is not ſo truly?

Truely the bread and the wyne which in the ſupper by the prieſt is halowed, ſhew one thing without to humaine vnderſtandyng, and an other thyng within to beleuing myndes. Without they be ſene bread and wine both in figure & in taſt, and they be truely after theyr hallowyng Chriſtes body and his bloud through ghoſtly myſterye. An heathen childe is chriſtened, yet he altereth not hys ſhape without, though he be chāged within. He is brought to the fontſtone ſinfull through Adams diſobedience: howbeit he is waſhed from all ſinne within, though he hath not chaunged his ſhape without.

*The water in baptiſme, & bread and wine in the Lordes ſupper compared.

*Euen ſo the holy fonte water that is called the welſpryng of lyfe, is lyke in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubiect to corruptiō, but the holy ghoſtes might commeth to the corruptible water through the prieſts bleſſyng, and it may after waſh the body and ſoule frō al ſinne, through ghoſtly myght. Behold now we ſee two thynges in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moyſture, and after ghoſtly myſtery, hath wholeſome vertue. So alſo if we behold þ holy houſel after bodily vnderſtanding, thē ſee we that it is a creature corruptible & mutable. If we acknowledge therin ghoſtly might, then vnderſtand we that lyfe is therin, and that it geueth immortalitie to them that eate it with beliefe. Much is betwixt the inuiſible might of the holy houſell, and the viſible ſhape of proper nature.

* No tranſubſtātiation.

It is* naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine: & is by might of Gods worde truely Chriſtes body and his bloud: not ſo notwithſtādyng bodily, but ghoſtely. Much is betwixt the* body of Chriſt whiche he ſuffered in, and the bodye that is hallowed to houſell. The body truly þ Chriſt ſuffred in, was born of þ fleſh of Mary with bloud & with bone, wt ſkin & with ſinews, in humayn lims, wt a reaſonable ſoule lyuing: & his ghoſtly body, which we call þ houſel, is gathered of many cornes, without bloud and bone, without limme, without ſoule, and therfore nothing is to be vnderſtand therein bodily, but all is ghoſtly to bee vnderſtande.

*Difference betwixt Chriſtes naturall body, & the ſacrament thereof.
*1. Difference.
* Not the bodye that ſuffred is in the houſell.

What ſoeuer is in that houſell, which geueth ſubſtance of lyfe that is of the ghoſtlye might, and inuiſible doyng. Therfore is that holy houſell, called a myſtery, becauſe there is one thing in it ſeene, and an other thing vnderſtanded. That which is there* ſene, hath bodily ſhape: & that we do there vnderſtand, hath ghoſtlye might. Certainly Chriſtes bodye which ſuffered death and roſe from death neuer* dyeth henceforth, but is eternal & vnpaſſible. That houſell is temporall, not eternall, *corruptible and dealed into ſundry partes, chewed betweene teeth, and ſent into the bellye: howbeit neuertheleſſe after ghoſtly might it is all in euery part.

*2. Difference.

*3 Difference.
*4. Difference.

Math.15

Many receaue that holy body: and yet notwithſtanding it is ſo all in euery part after ghoſtly miſterye. Though ſome chewe the leſſe, yet is there no more might notwithſtandinge in the more part, then in the leſſe, becauſe it is whole in all men after the inuiſible might. This miſterie is a *pledge and a figure: Chriſtes body is truth it ſelfe. This pledge we do keepe miſtically, vntill that we be come to the truth it ſelfe, and then is this pledge ended.

*5. differēce.

Truely it is ſo as we before haue ſayd, Chriſtes body and hys bloud: not bodily, but ghoſtlye. But now here the Apoſtles wordes about this miſtery. Paule the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the olde Iſraelites thus writing in his epiſtle to faythful mē: Al our forefathers were baptiſed in the cloud and in the ſea, and all they did eate the ſame goſtly meate, and dranke the ſame ghoſtly drinke. They dranke truelye of the ſtone that followed them, and that ſtone was Chriſte. Neither was that * ſtone then from whiche the water ran bodylye Chriſt, but it ſignified Chriſt, that calleth thus to all beleuing and faythful men: Who ſoeuer thirſteth, let him come to me and drinke, and from hys bowels ſhall flowe liuely water.

1.Cor.10.

*Note this expoſition which is now a dayes thought new
John.4.

1.Cor.10.

This he ſayd of the holy ghoſt, which they receaued who beleued on him. The Apoſtle Paule ſayth: that the Iſraelites did eate the ſame ghoſtly meate, and dranke the ſame ghoſtlye drinke, becauſe that heauenly meate that fed them xl. yeares, and that water which from the ſtone did flowe, had ſignification of Chriſtes body and his bloud, that now be offred dayly in Gods Church. It was the ſame which we now offer, not bodely, but ghoſtly.

Exod.17.

We ſayd vnto you ere while, that Chriſt halowed bread and wyne to houſell before hys ſufferyng, and ſayd: Thys is my bodye and my bloud, yet hee had not then ſuffered: but ſo notwithſtandyng he * turned through inuiſible myght þ bread to his owne body: and that wyne to hys bloud: as he before dyd in the wildernes, before that he was borne to be a man, when hee* turned that heauenly meate to hys fleſhe and the flowyng water from that ſtone to hys owne bloude. Very many did eate of that* heauenly meat in the wildernes & drinke þ ghoſtly drink: & were neuertheles dead, as Chriſt ſayd.

Math.26.
Luke.22.
Marke.14.
*Now we eate that body which was eaten before he was borne by fayth.
*There is no tranſubſtantiation.
*Manna.

And Chriſt ment not that death whiche none can eſcape, but that euerlaſtyng death whiche ſome of that folke deſerued for their vnbeliefe. Moyſes and Aaron, and many other of that people whiche pleaſed God, dyd eate that heauenly bread: & they dyed not that euerlaſtyng death, though they dyed the common death. They ſawe that the heauenly meate was viſible and corruptible, and they ghoſtly vnderſtode by that viſible thing, and ghoſtly receiued it. The Sauiour ſayeth: He that eateth my fleſhe, and drynketh my bloud, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. And hee bad them not eate that body wherwith hee was encloſed, nor to drynke that bloud whiche he ſhed for vs:* but he ment wt thoſe wordes that holy houſell, which ghoſtly is his body and his bloude and he that taſteth it with beleauyng hart, hath that eternal lyfe.

John.6.

*What body the faythfull do now eate.

In the olde lawe faythfull men offred to God diuers ſacrifices, that had * foreſignification of Chriſtes bodye, which for our ſinnes he himſelfe to hys heauenly father hath ſince* offered to ſacrifice. Certaynly this houſell which we do now halow at gods Alter, is a * remēbraunce of Chriſtes body which he offered for vs: and of his bloude whiche hee ſhed for vs: So he himſelfe commaunded: Do this in my remembraunce. Once ſuffered Chriſte by hym ſelfe, but yet neuertheleſſe hys ſufferyng is dayly renued at this ſupper through miſtery of the holy houſell.

*A ſignification before Chriſt.
*A ſacrifice in Chriſtes tyme.
*A remembraunce of Chriſt.
Math.26.
Hebr.10.

Therefore wee ought to conſider diligently: howe that this holy houſell is both Chriſtes bodye, and the bodye of all * faythfull men, after ghoſtly miſterye. As wiſe Auguſtine ſayth of it: yf ye will vnderſtand of Chriſtes bodye heare the Apoſtle Paull thus ſpeakyng: Ye truely bee Chriſtes body and hys members. Nowe is your miſterye ſet on Gods table, and ye receyue your myſterye, whiche miſterye ye your ſelues bee. Be that whiche ye ſe on the alter, and receyue that whiche ye your ſelues bee. Agayne the Apoſtle Paule ſayth by it: We many be one bread, and one bodye. Underſtand nowe and reioyce, many be one bread, and one body in Chriſt. He is our head, and we be hys limmes: and the bread is not of one corne, but of many: nor the wyne of one grape, but of many. So alſo we al ſhould haue one vnity in our Lord, as it is written of the faythfull armye, howe that they were in ſo great an vnitie, as thoughe all of them were one ſoule, & one harte. Chriſte halowed on his table the miſtery of our peace and of our vnitye. He which receyueth that myſtery of vnitie, and keepeth not the bonde of true peace, receyueth no myſtery for hymſelfe, but a witneſſe agaynſt himſelfe.

*The houſell is alſo the body of all faythfull mē.

It is very good for chriſten men that they go often to houſell, if they bring with them to the alter, vnguiltines and innocency of hart: if they be not oppreſſed with ſinne. To an euill man it turneth to no good, but to deſtruction, if he receyue vn-

*No ſcripture inforceth the mixture of water with the wine.

*The wyne ſignifieth Chriſtes bloud.

*How we ſhould come to the holy communion.

Exod. 12.

worthely that holy houſell. Holy * bookes commaund that water be mingled to that wyne which ſhall be for houſell, becauſe the water ſignifieth the people, and the * wyne Chriſtes bloud, and therfore ſhall neyther the one without the other bee offered at the holy maſſe, that Chriſt may bee with vs, and we with Chriſt, the head with the lymmes, and the lymmes with the head. We woulde before haue intreated of the lambe whiche the olde Iſraelites offered at theyr Eaſter tyme, but that we deſired firſt to declare vnto you of this miſtery, and after how we ſhoulde receyue it. That ſignifying lambe was offred at the Eaſter, And the Apoſtle Paul ſayth in the Epiſtle of this preſent day, that Chriſt is our Eaſter, who was offered for vs, and on this day roſe from death. The Iſraelites dyd eate the lambes fleſhe as God commaunded, with vnleauened bread and wilde lettiſſe: * ſo we ſhould receyue that holye houſell of Chriſtes body and bloud without the leauen of ſinne, and iniquitie. As leauen turneth the creatures from theyr nature: ſo doth ſynne alſo chaūge the nature of man from innocencye to vncleanneſſe. The Apoſtle hath taught how wee ſhoulde feaſt, not in the leauen of the euilneſſe, but in the ſweete doughe of puritie and truth. The herbe whiche they ſhoulde eate with the vnleauened bread is called lettiſſe and is bitter in taſte. So wee ſhould, with bitterneſſe of vnfayned repentance purifye our mynde, if we will eate Chriſtes bodye. Thoſe Iſraelites were not wont to eate rawe fleſhe, and therfore God bad them to eate it neither raw, nor ſodden in water, but roſted with fyer. He ſhall receiue the body of God rawe, that ſhall thinke without reaſon, that Chriſt was onely man lyke vnto vs, and was not God. And he that will after mās wiſedome ſearch of ỳ miſtery of Chriſts incarnation, doth lyke vnto hym that doth ſeeth lambes fleſhe in water, becauſe that water in this ſame place ſignifieth mans vnderſtandyng: but we ſhoulde vnderſtand, that all the miſtery of Chriſtes humanitie was ordered by the power of the holy ghoſt: and then eate wee his body roſted with fier becauſe the holy ghoſt came in fiery lykenes to the Apoſtles in diuers tonges. The Iſraelites ſhoulde eate the lambes head, and the feete: and the purtenaunce, and nothyng therof muſt be lefte ouer night. If any thyng therof were lefte, they dyd burne that in the fier: and they breake not the bones. After ghoſtly vnderſtandyng we do then eate the lambes head, when we take holde of Chriſtes diuinitie in our beliefe. Agayne when we take holde of his humanitye with loue, then eate we the lambes feete, becauſe that Chriſte is the begynnynge and end, God before all worlde, and man in the end of this worlde. What bee the lambes purtenaunce but Chriſtes ſecret preceptes, and theſe we eate whē we receiue with the greedines the word of lyfe. There muſt nothyng of the lambe be left vnto the mornyng, becauſe that all Gods ſayinges are to bee ſearched with great carefulneſſe: ſo that all his preceptes may be knowen in vnderſtandyng and deede in the nyght of this preſent lyfe, before that the laſt daye of the vniuerſall reſurrection doe appeare. If wee can not ſearche out throughly all the miſtery of Chriſtes incarnation, thē ought we to betake the reſt vnto the might of the holy ghoſt with true humilitye, and not to ſearche raſhely of that deepe ſecretnes aboue the meaſure of our vnderſtandyng. They dyd eate the lambes fleſhe with theyr loynes gyrt. In thee loynes is the luſt of the body, and hee whiche will receyue that houſell, ſhall couer or wrap in that concupiſcence, and take with chaſtitie that holy receite. They were alſo ſhod. what be ſhoes but of the hydes of dead beaſtes? we be truely ſhod if we watch in our ſteppes and dedes, the lyfe of men departed thys lyfe, whiche pleaſe God with kepyng of hys commaundementes. They had ſtaues in theyr handes whē they dyd eate. This ſtafe ſignifieth a carefulnes and diligēt ouerſeyng. And all they, that beſt knowe and can, ſhoulde take care of other men, and ſtay them vpp with their helpe. It was inioyned to the eaters that they ſhould eate the lābe in haſte, for God abhorreth ſlouthfulnes in his ſeruauntes and thoſe hee loueth, that ſeke the ioye of euerlaſtyng life with quickenes, and haſt of mynd. It is written: Prolong not to turne vnto God, leſt the tyme paſſe awaye through thy ſlowe tarrying. The eaters mought not breake ỳ lābes bones. No more mought ỳ ſouldyers that did hange Chriſt breake his holy legges, as they dyd of the two theeues that hanged on eyther ſide of hym. And the Lord roſe frō death ſound without all corruption: and at the laſt iudgement they ſhall ſee hym, whom they dyd moſt cruelly wound on the croſſe. This time is called in the Ebrue tongue Paſca, ⁊ in Latine Tranſitus, and in Engliſhe a Paſſeouer, becauſe that on this day the people of Iſraell paſſed from the Land of Egypt ouer the read ſea: from bondage to the land of promiſe. So alſo dyd our Lord at this tyme departe as ſayeth Iohn the Euangeliſte, from this world to his heauenly father. Euen ſo we ought to folowe our head, and to go from the deuill to Chriſt: from this vnſtable world, to his ſtable kyngdome. Howbeit we ſhoulde firſt in this preſent lyfe departe from vice to holy vertue: from euill manners to good manners. if we will after this our lente lyfe go to that eternall lyfe, and after our reſurrection, to Chriſt. He bryng vs to his euerlaſtyng father, who gaue hym to death for our ſinnes. To him bee honour and prayſe of well doyng world without ende. Amen.

Sathan let at large. Apoc. 20.

The matter of tranſubſtantiatiō neuer called in queſtion, before the 1000 yeare after Chriſt.

And thus I ſuppoſe, it ſtandeth cleare ⁊ euidently proued by courſe of all theſe ages afore recited, from the tyme of Tertullian and Auſten vnto the dayes of this Elfricus aboue mentioned, and after hym. that this newcome miracle of tranſubſtantiation was not yet crept into the heades of men, nor almoſt came in any queſtion amongeſt learned mē, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the Churche, at leaſt for any generall doctrine of all men to be receyued til a thouſand yeare complete after Chriſt, that is, till that Sathan began to be let at large. Apoca. 20. For who euer heard in al the primitiue Churche, or euer read in the workes of the old auncient Doctors this queſtion once to bee aſked, or diſputed, whether any ſubſtance of bread and wyne remayned in the Lordes Supper? Or what man was euer ſo doltiſhe to beleue any ſuch thyng, or euer called hereticke for not beleuyng the ſame, before the tyme of ſeduction that is before the. 1000, yeares aforeſayd were expired.

They that thinke tranſubſtantiatiō to be otherwyſe then a new doctrine, are ignoraūt of hiſtories and antiquitie.

Wherfore they that ſtand ſo much vppon the antiquitie of this Article as a doctrine which hath euer ſince Chriſts tyme ben receaued in the Church, taught by the Apoſtles, beleaued of all Catholickes, and confirmed by conſent of all ages, of Councels, of nations, and people vnto this preſent day: theſe I ſaye, either ſhew them ſelues very ignoraunt in hyſtoryes and in all ſtate of antiquitie or els moſte impudently they do abuſe the ſimple credulitie of the people.

Tranſubſtantiation when it firſt came in queſtion

To procede now farther in this diſcuſſion of antiquitie, it followed, that after the tyme of Elfricus aforeſayd, this matter of tranſubſtantiation began fyrſt to bee talked of and to come in queſtion among a fewe ſuperſtitious monkes: ſo that as blyndnes and ſuperſtition began more and more to encreaſe, ſo the ſayd groſſe opinion ſtill more and more, both in number and authoritye preuayled, in ſo muche that about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. the denying of traſubſtantiatiō began to be counted hereſie.

Berengarius the firſt that euer was counted hereticke for denying tranſubſtantiation.

And in this number fyrſt was one Berengarius a Frenchman, and Archdeacon of Angeowe, whiche of all Chriſten men, whiche we read of, was fyrſt called and counted an hereticke for denying of tranſubſtantiation and troubled for the ſame, as ye ſhall heare.

Vide Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Bibliandri.

Acta Concilij Romæ habiti contra Berengarium.

This Berengarius lyued in the tyme of Pope Leo 9. Victor, and Nicholas 2. which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. Albeit I do finde our writers here in ſome diſcrepaunce. For the moſt of them do hold, that he firſt recanted vnder pope Leo 9. in the Councell of Vercellenſe: and afterward agayne vnder pope Nicholas 2. about the yeare, 1063. as is to be gathered of Gratian, De conſecrat. diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius, where he ſayth, that Pope Nicholas dyd ſend all about to Byſhops and Archbyſhops, the Copy of hys recantation.

Agayne, by the Actes of the Councell of Rome, it there appeareth, that the ſayd Berengarius made this hys ſayd laſt recantation vnder Pope Hildebrande, called Gregory 7. But this difference of tymes is no great matter to ſtand vpon. The truth of the ſtory is this: that when Berengarius had profeſſed the truth of the ſacrament, ⁊ had ſtande in the open confeſſion thereof, accordyng to the auncient verity of the doctrine receaued in the Churche before, he was ſo handled by certayne malignaunt ⁊ ſuperſtitious monkes that what by euill entreaty, and what for feare of death (ſuch is the weake frailtye of man) hee began to ſhrinke, and afterward dyd in deede recante the truth.

Of theſe malicious enemies agaynſt Berengarius, the chiefeſt troubler was Lancfranke, Abbot of Cadune, afterward Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Guimond Monke likewyſe firſt of the abbey of Leufrede, ⁊ afterward Archb. of Auerſane: Algerius alſo monke of Corbein: Fulbertus alſo monke and biſhop: and Hildebrand ſometyme Monke of Cluniake, and then Archdeacon of Turon, ⁊ afterward Byſhop of Rome.

Lancfranche a perſecutour of Berengarius.

Paſchaſius the firſt beginner of the faction of tranſubſtantiatiō.

By theſe and ſuch other monkes of the lyke fraternity the errour and hereſy of tranſubſtantiation began firſt to be defended, and parties publickly in wrytyng to be takē about that matter. Of the which ſides and parties, the firſt that began to ſet vp that faction by wrytyng, ſemeth to be Paſchaſius, who was a little before Berengarius about the tyme of Bertrame: and likewyſe Lancfranck the firſt that brought it into England.

On the contrary ſide agayne the firſt that was openly impugned ⁊ troubled for denying tranſubſtantiatiō, was this

Berengarius: wyth whom Lancfranck alſo was ſuppoſed at the firſt beginnyng to holde and take part, but afterward to cleare hymſelfe, he ſtoode openly agaynſt him in the Councell, and wrote agaynſt him.

In VV. Malmeſb.

It foloweth then in the Acte of the Coũcell, that whẽ the Synode of Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Abbots, & other Prelates were together aſſembled, ỹ greater number (ſaith the ſtory) did hold, that the bread and wyne were turned ſubſtantially into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding (ſayth he) diuers there were in the ſayde Councell which helde the contrary with Berengarius, but at laſt were driuen to geue ouer. Berengarius among the reſt, after he had long ſtand in the conſtant defence of the truth, at laſt relented to their willes, confeſſing hys errour where none was, and deſired pardon of the Councell. And thys was (as ſeemeth to W. Malmeſb.) hys firſt geuing ouer. Who afterwarde returning to hymſelfe agayne after the death of Pope Leo, and prickte with the ſtinge of conſcience, was driuen agayne to recogniſe the truth, which he before had denyed.

The ſtory and recantation of Berengarius declared by W. Malmeſb. De geſtis Anglorum. Lib. 3.

The Pope (ſayth Malmeſb.) perceauing this, would not leaue hym ſo, but ſent into Fraunce Hyldebrande hys Cardinall Chapleine (as meete a mate for ſuch a feate, as was in all Satans courte) and made hym with a warrand to come agayne coram nobis: who ſo handled Berengarius and bringing hym before the face of the Councell holden at Turon, that he made him to ſay, erraui, once agayne: againſt whom ſtoode vp in that Councell Lanfrancus, and Guimundus aforeſayd, impugning his aſſertion. And thus ſtãdeth the narration of W. Malmeſbery. But by the Actes of the Councell of Rome appeareth an other declaratiõ, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius ſhould be at Rome vnder Hyldebrand, beyng then Pope, in the yeare of our Lord. 1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the ſayd Councell holden in Eccleſia Saluatoris, thys recantation of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he enioyned by the ſayde Pope Hyldebrand, vpon his oth, neuer hereafter to teach or diſpute contrary to that fayth of the Sacrament there holden. &c.

The order of his recantation declared
Ex Actis Romani Concilij.

Agayne, Henry Bullinger in hys booke, De origine erroris, folowyng belyke ſome other author, expreſſeth the order of the foreſayd recantation after thys ſort, and ſayth, that in the tyme of Pope Leo. 9. Anno. 1051. there was a Romane Councell holden at Vercellenſe, in the whiche Councell Lanfrancke beyng then preſent, the booke of Ioh. Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Alſo Berengarius was ſent for, who ſeeing the preiudiciall proceedyng of that Councell, refuſed hymſelfe to come, but ſent two Clerkes, which openly there defended his cauſe and quarell, and were for the ſame cõmitted vnto priſon. Such is the freedome of the popes generall Councels, with priſons and violence to defend their verities. Agaynſt the doyngs of this Councell notwithſtanding, the French men ſtoode ſtiffe, both at Angew, and Turon, ioynyng and conſenting wyth Berengarius.

The order of the ſayd recantation reported out of Henr. Bulling. De origine erroris. ca. x.

Concilium Vercellenſe.

Not long after this, dyed Pope Leo, and after him ſucceeded Pope Victor, by whom an other Synode was kept at Florence, where the Actes and doyngs of the foreſayde Councell of Vercellenſe, were confirmed, and a Legate alſo appointed to be ſent to Turon in Fraunce. This legate was Hyldebrand aboue mentioned, who callyng the clergie of Fraunce together in a Synode, fell there in hand wyth the cauſe of the Sacrament. Berengarius not beyng ignoraunt of theſe Romaine Councels, ſo kept hymſelfe, that in all his action, he would geue none other aunſwere, but that he beleued and conſented wyth the fayth of the Catholicke Church: and ſo for that tyme did fruſtrate the purpoſe of ỹ Councell, rather deludyng the pretenſes of hys enemyes, then freely confeſſing the ſimple truth.

Concilium Florentinum.

Concilium Turonenſe.

Agayne, after Victor came Pope Nicolas. 2. who cõgregating an other Councell at Rome. An. 1058. ſent for Berengarius there to appeare, who beyng preſent, argued what he could, for the iuſtnes of his cauſe, but all woulde not ſerue: In the Popes generall Councels, ſuch a ſtroke and maſterſhyp beareth authoritie aboue veritie. Berengarius beyng thus borne downe on euery ſide by might & ſuperioritie, when no remedye woulde ſerue, but he muſte needes recant agayne (for the law of relapſe was not yet in ſeaſon) he deſired to know what other confeſſion of the ſacrament the Pope woulde require of hym, beſides that which he had there confeſſed. Then Pope Nicolas committed that charge to Humbart a Monke of Lotharinge, & after a Cardinall, that he ſhoulde drawe out in formable wordes, the order of his recantation, after the preſcription of Rome, which he ſhould read and publickely profeſſe before the people. The forme of which wordes is regiſtred in the Decrees, De conſecrat. diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius. &c. The effect whereof is thys: That he pretendeth wyth hart and mouth, to profeſſe, that he acknowledging the true, catholicke, and Apoſtolicall fayth, doth execrate all hereſie, namely, that, wherewith he hath lately bene infamed, as holding that the bread and wyne vpon the Altar, after the conſecration of the Prieſte, remayne onely a Sacrament, and are not the very ſelfe body and bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, neyther can be handled or broken with the prieſtes handes, or chewed with the teeth of the faythfull, otherwiſe then onely by maner of a Sacrament. Conſenting now to the holy and Apoſtolicall Church of Rome, he profeſſeth wyth mouth and hart, to hold the ſame faith touching the Sacramentes of the Lordes maſſe, which the Lord pope Nicolas, with his Synode here preſent doth holde, and commaundeth to be holden by his Euangelicall and Apoſtolicall authoritie, that is, that the bread and wyne vpon the Altar, after conſecration are not onely a Sacrament, but alſo are the very true and ſelfe body, and bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, and are ſenſibly felt and broken with handes, and chewed with teeth: ſwearing by the holy Euangeliſtes, that whoſoeuer ſhall hold or ſay to the contrary, he ſhall hold them perpetually accurſed, and if he himſelfe ſhall hereafter preſume to preach or teach agaynſt the ſame, he ſhall be content to abyde the ſeueritie and rigour of the Canons. &c.

Concilium Romanum ſub. Nicol. 2.

Might beareth downe right.

The laſt recantation of Berengarius.
Humbertus **author of the decree,** Ego Berengarius.

De conſecra. Diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The effecte of Berengarius recantation.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly ſort: ſo it gaue to the contrary part no litle triumph, wherby euer ſince they haue taken the greater courage to tread downe the truth.

Tranſubſtantiatiõ in his triumphe.

It happened ſhortly after this, that Hyldebrande the Popes graunde Captaine, in the behalfe of hys Maſter pope Nicolas, went in warfare agaynſt the Normandes which warre beyng finiſhed, ſhortly after, he ſet vpõ a new viage to fight for Pope Alexander, agaynſt Cadolus: which victory beyng alſo atchieued, it was not long, but he put the new pope Alexander beſide the cuſhion, and was made pope hymſelfe: ſo that during the buſie ſtyrre of theſe warres, the popes holynes had no layſure to attend the debatyng of this controuerſie of the Sacrament.

At length, when all was quieted, and Pope Hyldebrand now was where he would be, hys reſtleſſe brayne coulde not be vnoccupyed, but eftſoone ſummoneth a new Councell at Rome in the Church of Laterane, to reuiue agayne the olde diſceptation of Berengarius, about the yeare (as ſome holde) 1079.

Concilium Romanum 3.

Thus, Berengarius beyng toſte by theſe Monkes and Phariſeis, was ſo confounded, and bayted on euery ſide, that partly for worldly feare, ſtraynyng him on the one ſide, partly for ſhame and griefe of conſcience, that he had now twiſe renyed the truth, on the other ſide, that the man (as is of him reported) after theſe ſuch turbulent tragedies, forſakyng his goods, his ſtudies, learnyng, and former ſtate of life, became a laborer, and wrought with his handes for liuing, all the reſidue of his lyfe.

The opinion which Berengarius ſuſteyned touchyng the Sacrament (as by his owne wordes in Lancfranckes booke may appeare) was this: The ſacrifice of the church conſiſteth of two thinges: The one viſible: the other inuiſible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thyng (which is to meane, the body of Chriſt) if it were here preſent before our eyes, it were a thyng viſible and to be ſene: but beyng lift vp into heauen, and ſittyng on the right hand of his father, to the tyme of reſtoryng of all thing (as S. Peter ſayth) it cannot be called downe from thence. For the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and man: the Sacrament of the lordes table conſiſteth of bread and wyne, which beyng conſecrate are not chaunged, but remayne in their ſubſtances, hauyng a certayne reſemblance or ſimilitude of thoſe things, wherof they be ſacraments, &c. Ex lib. Lancfranci.

The true opinion and iudgement of Berengarius of the Sacrament.
Ex lib. Lancfranci. Archepiſc. contra Bereng.

By theſe wordes of Berengarius doctrine, all indifferent readers may ſee and iudge, that he affirmed nothyng but that was agreable to the holy ſcripture, beleuing with S. Auſten, & all other auncient elders of the Church, that in the holy ſupper all faithfull beleuers be refreſhed ſpiritually, with the body and bloud of the Lord, vnto euerlaſting lyfe. Wherefore moſt impudently they doe miſreporte hym (as they doe many other beſides) which falſely lay to hys charge, as though his teaching ſhould be, that in ỹ ſacrate ſupper of the Lord, nothing els were receaued of ỹ faithful, beſides onely ỹ bare ſignes, which is the bread & the wyne.

The doctrine of Berengarius falſely ſclaundered.

And now that you haue ſeene the doctrine of Berengarius, let vs alſo take a vewe of the contrary teachyng of Lancfrancus and his felowes, conferring and comparyng together the inſtitution of ỹ one ſide, with the inſtitution of the other, to marke and conſider which of them ſoundeth nearer to the truth of the ſcriptures. The wordes of Lancfrancke be theſe:

I beleue the earthlye ſubſtances, which vpõ the Lords table are diuynlye ſanctified, through the miniſtratiõ of the

Prieſt

The groſſe opinion of Lanfrancus and the Papiſtes concerning the Sacrament.

Prieſt,to be conuerted vnſpeakably,incomprehenſibly, and miraculouſly by the operation of Gods mighty power, into the eſſence of the Lordes body, the outward formes onely of the thinges themſelues, and certaine qualities reſerued, and that for two reſpects: The one leſt the ſight of the raw and bloudy fleſh might otherwiſe make men to abhorre from eating therof: The other,for that they which beleue the thing they ſee not, might haue the greater merite for their beliefe. The conuerſion of which earthly ſubſtaunces into the eſſence of the Lordes body,notwithſtanding,yet is the ſelfe ſame body of the Lord in heauen, and there hath his eſſentiall beyng at the right hand of his father immortal inuiolate,perfect, vndeminiſhed, and vncorrupted : ſo that truly it may be affirmed,the ſelfe ſame body both to be receiued of vs,and yet not the ſelfe ſame. The ſelfe ſame, I meane,as touching the eſſence,propertie,and vertue of hys true nature: & yet not the ſelfe ſame as touching the formes of bread and wyne, and other outward qualities incurryng to our outward ſenſes.&c. **And thus haue ye the confeſſion of Lancfranke Archb.of Cant.**

From this confeſſion of Lancfranke, the opinion and aſſertion alſo of Guimundus Archb.of Auerſane, doth nothyng differre in groſſenes and impietie,but rather paſſeth the ſame,thus affirmyng and defendyng: That the body of Chriſt is preſſed, and torne with teeth euen lyke as it was felt and touched with the handes of Thomas.

The impious & groſſe opinion of Guimundus of tranſubſtantiation.

And moreouer the ſayd Guimundus(if his boke be not rather counterfeited at Louaine) in the ſame place anſweryng to an obiection put out,that it is not lawful for Chriſt to be torne in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearyng for hard bityng, or ſofte bityng,it is not repugnant nor diſagreeyng, but ỹ (by the wil of God agreyng therunto) the body of Chriſt may be touched with handes,bitten with mouth,cruſhed, yea and deuided in pieces,with hard or ſoft preſſing of the teeth: and that as he was bruſed vpon the croſſe,according to the prophete ſaying : He was bruſed for our iniquities, &c. **ſo the ſame body for the health of the faythfull, may deuoutly be torne and rent with theyr teeth any thyng to the contrary notwithſtandyng &c.** Guimund.lib.Sacram. fol.30. **Iudge now all good ſtudious readers, what is to be thoughte of this kynd of doctrine,and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voyce of gods word,ſaying:** Exod. And of him ye ſhall not breake a bone.&c.

Eſay 53.

This rude and miſhapen doctrine of theſe monkes concerning tranſubſtantiation,as ye haue heard,when and by whom it began firſt to be broched:ſo if ye would now know by what learnyng and ſcriptures they did, confirme & eſtabliſh the ſame, ye muſt here thinke and vnderſtande, how their chiefeſt groundes and ſubſtance to perſuade the people was at this tyme,certayne miracles by them forged,& publiſhed both in their writings and preachinges, wherof one was the ſame of Odo aboue recited , which Oſberne, or ſome other monkiſh legend inuented of him, how he ſhould ſhew vnto certayn the hoſt turned into the lykenes of fleſh & bloud droppyng into the chalice for the conuerſiō of thoſe clerkes,which before would not beleue it.

The groſſe confirmatiō of this doctrine of tranſubſtantiatiō was by miracles.
A miracle to proue tranſubſtantiatiō

An other lyke miracle is alſo told by the ſayd Oſberne of Dunſtane in this order, how the ſayd Dunſtane appeared to a certayne lame crepill in the night, willyng hym to reſort vnto hys tombe, to haue his lymmes agayne reſtored. Which crepil,accordyng as he was willed,after he had there continued prayyng for health a long tyme, and could not obtayn,began to returne home agayn after long taryyng,without all hope of recouery. To whom the ſayd Dunſtane appearyng agayn by the way, aſked from whence he came, & whether he would. The crepil anſwering, declared how he came thether vpon hope of helth, where he had long taried, and becauſe he could find no recouery,therfore he now was returning home. To whom then ſaid Dunſtan: I am(ſayde he)Dunſtan the fellow ſeruaunt of all gods ſeruantes,and haue bene occupied with certaine neceſſary buſines,for the which I could not be preſent there with my children. For Elfrike(ſayd he)otherwiſe ſurnamed Bata hath attempted to diſherite my church,but I haue ſo ſtopped him, that he could not preuayle.

Ex Oſberna lib.2.de vita Dunſtani.

An other miracle to proue tranſubſtantion.

By thys it appeareth that *Ælfricke* the tranſlator of the Saxon ſermon was Archbyſhop of Canterb.

Many other fabulous miracles of the lyke ſtampe are ryfe in popiſh ſtories,counterfeited and forged vnder diuers and ſondry names,ſome referred to Gregory, ſome to Paſchaſius, and to other moe, which to recite all, would fill a whole ſea full of lyes and fables. Among many, one is thus inuented of Paſchaſius. There was a Prieſt,ſayth he, of Almain,named Plegildus,**who did ſee and handle with his handes viſibly the ſhape of a child vpon the aulter, and ſo after he had embraced and kiſſed hym,it returned again into the lykenes of bread, as he ſhould come to the receiuyng therof. This miracle when it was obiected againſt Berengarius, he merily deridyng the blynde fable, aunſwered in theſe wordes:**ननन

An other lying miracle of Paſcaſius to proue trāſubſtantiation.

Vir pius atque grauis, vir ſic in vtroque modeſtus,
Vt liuor neutro rodere poſſit eum.
Liuor eum defleт, quem carpſerat antea, nec tam
Carpſit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat:
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiſcit,
Et queritur celeres huius abiſſe dies.
Vir verè ſapiens & parte beatus ab omni:
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Poſt obitum ſecum viuam precor ac requieſcam,
Nec fiat melior ſors mea ſorte ſua.

Although in this tyme of Berengarus, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. (as ye haue heard) thys errour of tranſubſtantiation beganne to growe in force and ſtrength, by the ſupporting of certaine popiſhe Monkes aboue rehearſed, as Lancfrancus, Guimundus, Algerius, Hugo, Byſhop of Lincolne. Fulbertus, (of whom it is ſaid in ſtories, that our Ladye gaue him ſucke being ſicke, with her owne breſtes) and ſuch other: yet notwithſtanding, all this while the ſayd tranſubſtantiation was decreed for no publicke lawe, nor doctrine to be holden by any generall conſent, eyther of the Church of Rome, or any other Councell, before the Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Innocent ỷ 3. who in the yeare of our Lord. 1215. celebratyng in the church of Laterane a generall councell of 1300. biſhops, enacted there diuers conſtitutions, as of yerely confeſſion, and the communion to be vſed of the whole multitude once a yeare through euery pariſh church.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt decreed for a generall law, by pope Innocent the 3.
The generall Councell of Laterane.

Item, for the recouerie of the holy land, with a ſubſidie alſo to be leuied for the ſame.

Item for the aboliſhing of the bookes and writings of Joachim Abbas, and alſo the opinions of Almaricus afore mentioned: notwithſtanding that the ſayd Joachim did ſubſcribe with his owne hande that he held the ſame doctryne, which was in the Church of Rome, and alſo ſubmitted his bookes to be preſented to the Sea of Rome, there to bee corrected or approued. And yet was he iudged though he not an hereticke yet to be erroneous, & eſpecially in thoſe bookes which he wrote agaynſt Peter Lombard, called afterwarde the maſter of Sentence.

Ex Antonin.part. 3. tit.19.cap.1.

In the ſayd Councell, beſides diuers other conſtitutions and the Articles of the Creede there in order repeated, as appeareth Extr.De ſumma trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. 1. firmiter. there was alſo enacted, decreed, and eſtabliſhed the fayth and beliefe of tranſubſtantiation, in theſe wordes followyng.

Extrau.De.Sum. trin.cap.1.firmiter credimus.

There is one vniuerſall Church of the faythfull, wythout which none can be ſaued, in the which Church the ſelf ſame Ieſus Chriſt is both Prieſt & alſo the ſacrifice, whoſe body and bloud are truely conteyned in the Sacrament of the aulter, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, the breade beyng tranſubſtantiated into the body and the wyne, into the bloud, by the power and workyng of God: ſo that to the accompliſhyng of this myſtery of vnitie, we myght take of hys, the ſame which he hath taken of oures. And this ſacrament none can make or conſecrate, but he that is a prieſt lawfully ordeyned, according to the keyes of the Churche, which Ieſus Chriſt hath left to hys Apoſtles, and to theyr ſucceſſours.&c.

The wordes of the Councell, whereby tranſubſtantiation was firſt eſtabliſhed.

And thus was the foundation layd for the buildyng of tranſubſtantiation, vpon the conſent of theſe foreſaid. 1300. Byſhops, in the yere of our lord aboue ſpecified, vnder pope Innocentius, and the doctrine therof intruded for an article of fayth into the church, neceſſarily to be beleued of all men, vnder payne of hereſie.

But yet all this whyle, notwithſtandyng that the ſubſtance of bread and wyne was now baniſhed out of the ſacrament, and vtterly tranſcorporated into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes very body and bloud: yet was not this body eleuated ouer the prieſtes hed nor adored of the people, tyll the dayes of Pope Honorius the 3. ſuccedyng after Innocentius, who by his councell likewyſe commaunded adoration and eleuation to be ioyned with tranſubſtantiation, as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth an other.

Eleuation and adoratiõ brought in by Pope Honorius the 3.
¶ An.1220.

Agayne, the ſaid ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper being now conſecrated, tranſubſtantiated, eleuated, and adored, yet it was not offred vp for a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, nor for a remedy of the ſoules in Purgatory, nor for a merite operis operati, ſine bono motu vtentis. &c. before that other Popes commyng after, added ſtyll new additions to the former inuentions of theyr predeceſſours.

And thus haue you the whole order and origine of theſe Idolatrous partes of the Maſſe deſcribed by their times & ages which firſt began with conſecratiõ and the forme therof which were the wordes of the Canon. Then came tranſubſtantiation by Innocentius, and after eleuation and adoration by Honorius, and laſt of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quicke and dead in remiſſion of ſinnes, Ex opere operato.

Conſecration.
Trãſubſtãtiatiõ.
Eleuation.
Adoration.
Oblation.

Which thynges beyng thus conſtituted by the to much vſurped authority of the Church of Rome, ſhortly after followed perſecution, tyranny and burnyng among ỷ Chriſtians, firſt beginnyng with the Albingenſes, and the faythfull congregation of Tholouſe, neare about the tyme of the ſayd Innocentius, as is afore remembred, pag.271.

Perſecution firſt begynning in theſe latter dayes. Read before pag.271.

And thus much for the firſt article of tranſubſtantiation, which (as ye haue hearde) was not admitted into the Church for any generall doctrine of fayth, before the yeare and tyme aboue aſſigned, of Pope Innocent the 3. & therfore if any haue bene otherwyſe perſwaded, or yet do remain in the ſame perſuaſion ſtill of this doctrine, as though it had bene of a longer continuaunce then from the tyme aboue expreſſed, let hym vnderſtand that by ignoraunce of hiſtories he is deceyued, and for the more ſatiſfying of hys mynde, if he credite not me, let hym beleue the wordes of one of hys owne catholike ſort, John Duns I meane, who in hys 4. booke wrytyng of tranſubſtantiation, in what tyme and by whoſe authoritie it was firſt eſtabliſhed, hath theſe wordes which alſo are before mentioned pag.257. Theſe wordes of the Scripture myght be expounded more eaſily and more plainly without tranſubſtantiation: but the Churche dyd chuſe this ſence, which is harder, being therto moued (as ſemeth) chiefly becauſe men ſhould hold of the Sacraments, the ſame which the Church of Rome doth holde.&c. And further in the ſame place the ſayd Duns expoundyng hymſelf what he meaneth by the church of Rome, maketh there expreſſe mention of the ſayd Innocentius the 3. and of this Councell of Laterane.&c.

Read before pag.257.
Ioh.Dũs, in li. 4.lib.Sentent.

And furthermore, to the entent that ſuch as be indifferent ſeekers of the truth, may be more amply ſatiſfied in this behalfe, that this tranſubſtantiation is of no antiquity but of a late inuention: I will alſo adioyne to this teſtimony of Iohan.Scotus, the iudgement and verdite of Eraſm.lib. Annot. where he writeth in theſe wordes: In Synaxi tranſubſtãtiationẽ ſerò definiuit Eccleſia. Diu ſatis erat credere ſiue ſub pane conſecrato, ſiue quocunq; modo adeſſe verum corpus Chriſti.&c. That is, In the Sacrament of the cõmunion, the Church concluded tranſubſtantiation but of late dayes. Long before that it was ſufficient to beleue the true body of Chriſt to be preſent eyther vnder bread, or els by ſome other maner.&c.

Eraſm. lib.Annot.in 1.Cor. cap.7.
Serò.

The ſecond Article.

As touchyng the ſecond Article, which debarreth from the lay people the one halfe of the Sacrament, vnderſtandyng that vnder one kynd, both partes are fully conteyned, for ſo much as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, inuented, decreed, and concluded no longer ſince then at the Councell of Conſtance, not paſt ij. hundreth yeres agoe: I ſhall not nede to make any long ſtanding vpon that matter, eſpecially for that ſufficient hath bene ſayd therof before in our long diſcourſe of the Bohemiãs ſtory, pag. 613.

The ſecõd article of both kindes.
Read afore pag.613.

Firſt, let vs ſee the reaſons and obiections of the aduerſaries in reſtraynyng the Laitie from the one kynde of this Sacrament. The vſe (ſay they) hath bene ſo of long continuaunce in the Churche. Whereunto we aunſwere, that they haue no euident nor authentike example of any auncient cuſtome in the Church, which they can produce in that behalfe.

The reaſons and obiections of the Papiſtes agaynſt both kyndes.

Item, where they alledge the place of S. Luke, where Chriſt was known in breakyng of bread.&c. cityng moreouer many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breakyng of bread: to aunſwer therunto, althoughe we do not vtterly repugne, but that ſome of thoſe places may bee vnderſtanded of the Sacrament, yet that beyng graunted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was onely miniſtred to the people without the other, when as by the common vſe of ſpeach, vnder the namyng of one part, the whole action is ment. Neither doth it folow, becauſe that bread was broken among the brethren, therfore the cuppe was not diſtributed vnto them. For ſo we finde by the words of S. Paule, that the vſe of the Corinthians was to communicate not onely in breakyng of bread, but in participatyng the cuppe alſo. The cup (ſaith he) which we participate.&c.

Luke.24.
1.Cor.10.

Alſo after the Apoſtles, in the tyme of Cyprian, of Hierome, of Gelaſius and other ſucceſſiuely after them, it is euident that both the kindes were frequented in the Churche. Firſt Cypriã in diuers places declareth that ỷ ſacrament of the bloud was alſo diſtributed. How do we (ſayth he) prouoke them to ſtand in the confeſsion of Chriſt, to the ſheding of their bloud, if we deny vnto thẽ the bloud of Chriſt when they prepare themſelues to the conflict?

Cypria.lib.1. Epiſt.2.De laicis Martyribus Scribens.

To

Hieronimus in Sophon.cap.3.

The wordes of Hierome are playne. Prieſtes (ſaith he) which miniſter the Euchariſt, and deuide the bloud vnto the people.

In Hiſtor tripart.lib.9.

In hiſtoria tripartita, it was ſaid to the emperor Theodoſius, how will you receaue the body of the Lorde, with ſuch bloudy handes, or the cup of his precious bloud, wyth that mouth, which haue ſpilled ſo much innocent bloud?

De conſecrat. Diſt.2.Comperimus.

The councell of Conſtāce a ſacrilegious councel.

In the Canon of Gelaſius, & in the popes own decrees, theſe wordes we read: We vnderſtand that there be ſome, which receauyng onely the portion of the Lordes body, doe abſtaine from the cuppe of his ſacrate bloud, to whom we enioyne, that eyther they receaue the whole Sacrament in both the kyndes, or els that they receaue neyther: for the diuidyng of that whole and one Sacrament cannot be done without great ſacriledge, &c. So that this decree of Pope Gelaſius beyng contradictorie to the councell of Conſtance, it muſt follow, that either the Pope did erre, or els ẏ councell of Conſtance muſt nedes be a ſacrilegious Councel, as no doubt it was.

The forbidding of both kindes of the Sacrament hath no grounde of auncient cuſtome.

The like teſtimony alſo appeareth in the councell of Toletan, that the laitie dyd then communicate in both kyndes, beſides diuers other olde preſidentes, remaynyng yet in the churches both of Germany and alſo of Fraunce declaryng likewiſe the ſame.

No cuſtome may derogate frō the Lordes expreſſe commaundemēt.

And thus it ſtandeth certayne and demonſtrable by manifold probations, how farre this newfound cuſtome differeth from all antiquitie and preſcription of vſe and tyme. Agayne, although the cuſtome therof were neuer ſo auncient, yet no cuſtome may be of that ſtrength to gaynſtand or countermaunde the open and expreſſe commaundement of God, which ſayth to all men: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drycke ye all of this.&c.

The Lordes Teſtament ought not to be altered for any reſpect.

Agayne, ſeyng the cup is called the bloud of the new teſtament, who is he that dare or can alter the Teſtament of the lord, when none may be ſo hardy to alter the teſtament of a man, beyng once approued or ratified?

In fractione panis.

Further, as concernyng thoſe places of Scripture before alledged, De fractione panis, that is, of breaking of bread wherupon they thynke themſelues ſo ſure that the Sacrament was then miniſtred but in one kynd: To aunſwere therunto, firſt we ſay, it may be doubted whether all thoſe places in Scripture, De fractione panis, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the ſame beyng geuen vnto them, yet can they not inferre therby, because one parte is mencioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not miniſtred. The common maner of the Hebrue phraſe is, vnder breakyng of bread to ſignifie generally the whole feaſt or ſupper: as in the Prophet Eſay, theſe wordes, Frange eſurienti panem tuum, do ſignifie as well geuyng drinke as bread, &c. And thirdly howſoeuer thoſe places, De fractione panis be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather agaynſt them. For if the Sacrament were adminiſtred amongſt them in fractione panis. i. in breaking of bread, then muſt they nedes graunt, that if bread was there broken. Ergo, there was bread, foraſmuch as neyther the accidences of bread without bread can be broken, neyther can the naturall body of Chriſt be ſubiect to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which ſayeth: And ye ſhall breake no bone of him.&c. Wherfore take away the ſubſtance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breakyng, where as neither the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body, neither yet the accidences without theyr ſubſtance can be broken, neither agayne wyll they admit any bread there remaynyng to be broken? And what then was it in this their Fractione panis, that they did breake, if it were not Panis, that is, Subſtantia panis quæ frangebatur? To conclude, if they ſay that this fraction of bread was a Sacramentall breakyng of chriſtes body, ſo by the lyke figure let them ſay that the beyng of Chriſtes naturall body in the ſacrament is, a ſacramentall beyng, and we are agreed.

Exod.12.

The naturall body of Chriſt may not be broke, Accidences no man can breake.

No bread is there to be broken: Ergo, there is nothing in the Sacrament broken.

An other obiection, agaynſt both kindes.

Item, they obiect farther and ſay, that the church vppon due conſideration may alter, as they ſee cauſe, in rites, ceremonies, and Sacraments.

Aunſwere.

1.Order.
2.Example.
3.commaundement.

Aunſwer. The inſtitution of this ſacrament ſtandeth vpon the order, example, & commaundement of Chriſt. This order he tooke: Firſt he deuided the bread ſeuerally frō the cuppe, and afterward the cuppe ſeuerally from the bread. Secondly this he dyd not for any nede on hys behalfe, but onely to geue vs example how to do the ſame after hym, in remembraunce of hys death to the worldes ende. Thirdly, beſide this order taken, and example left, he added alſo an expreſſe commaundement: Hoc facite, Doe this. Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drinke ye all of this.&c. Agaynſt this order, example, and commaundement of the Goſpell, no Church nor councell of men nor aungel in heauen hath any power or authority to chaunge or alter, accordyng as we are warned: If any bryng to you any other goſpell beſide that ye haue receaued, hold hym accurſed.&c.

Galat.1.

An other obiection agaynſt both kindes.

Act.2.

Item, an other obiection. And why may not the church (ſay they) as well alter the forme of this Sacrament, as the Apoſtles dyd the fourme of Baptiſme, where in the Actes Saint Peter ſayth: Let euery one be baptiſed in the name of Ieſu Chriſt, &c.

Aunſwere.

The Apoſtles chaunged not the forme of Baptiſme.

Aunſwer. This text ſayth not, that the Apoſtles vſed this forme of baptiſing: I baptiſe thee in the name of Chriſt.&c. but they vſed many tymes this maner of ſpeach, to be baptiſed in the name of Chriſt, not as expreſſyng therby the formable wordes of baptiſing, but as meanyng this ẏ they would haue them to become members of Chriſt, and to be baptiſed as Chriſtians, entryng into hys baptiſme, and not only to the Baptiſme of Iohn: and therfore, although the apoſtles thus ſpake to the people, yet notwithſtanding whē they baptiſed any thēſelues, they vſed (no doubt) the forme of Chriſt preſcribed, and no other.

Item, among many other obiections, they alledge certaine perils and cauſes of weight and importaunce, as ſpillyng, ſhedyng, or ſhakyng the bloud out of the cuppe, or ſouryng, or els ſtickyng vpon mens beardes, &c. for the which they ſay it is well prouided, the halfe communion to ſuffice. Wherunto it is ſoone aunſwered, that as theſe cauſes were no let to Chriſt, to the Apoſtles, to the Corinthians, & to the brethren of the Primitiue Churche, but that in theyr publick aſſemblies they receyued all ẏ whole Communion, as well in the one parte as in the other: ſo neyther be the ſayde cauſes ſo important now, to adnull and euacuate the neceſſary commaundement of the Goſpell, if we were as carefull to obey the Lorde, as we are curious to magnifie oure owne deuiſes, to ſtrayne gnattes, to ſtumble at ſtrawes, and to ſeeke knottes in ruſhes, which rather are in our owne phantaſies growyng, then there where they are ſought.

Mans curioſitie in magnifiyng his own deuyſes aboue Gods.

Obiections of priuate example make no inſtāce againſt publicke vſages and doctrine of the Church.

Communio Sacerdotum.

Communio Laicalis.

In ſumma, diuers other obiections and cauillations are in Popiſhe bookes to be found as in Gabriell the difference made betwene the laitie and Prieſtes, alſo the diſtinction vſed to be made betwene the Prieſtes communion and the laicall communion. Where is to bee vnderſtand, that when Prieſtes were bydde to vſe the laicall communion, thereby was ment not receauyng vnder one kynde as lay men doe nowe, but to abſteine from conſecratyng, and onely to receaue as the lay men then dyd. Some alſo alledge certeine ſpeciall or particular examples, as of the cuppe onely ſeruyng for the bread, or of the bread onely ſent to certein ſicke folke for the cuppe. And here they inferre the ſtorye of Sozomenus, touchyng the woman in whoſe mouth the Sacrament of bread, which ſhee onely receaued without thee cuppe was turned to a ſtone, &c. other alledge other priuate examples likewiſe of infantes, aged men, ſicke perſons, mē excommunicate, phrentickes and madde men, or men dwellyng far of from churches, in mountaynes or wildernes. &c. All whiche priuate examples neyther make any inſtance agaynſt the auncient cuſtome of publicke congregations frequented from the Apoſtles tyme, and much leſſe ought they to derogate from the expreſſe and neceſſarye precept of the Goſpell which ſayth to all men without exception: Hoc facite.&c. Bibite ex hoc omnes. &c.

Hiſt.eccle.Lib.8. Cap.5.

All reſpectes muſt geue place to the obedience of the worde.

The 3. Article.

The third Article

Definition of the Maſſe

Priuate Maſſes, trentall Maſſes, and dirige Maſſes, as they were neuer vſed before the tyme of Gregory, vi.C. yeares after Chriſt: ſo the ſame do fight directly againſt our Chriſtian doctrine, as by the definition therof may wel appeare: The Maſſe is a worke or action of the prieſt, applied vnto men for meriting of grace, Ex opere operato, in the which Action the Sacrament is firſt worſhipped, and then offered vp for a ſacrifice for remiſſion of ſinnes, a pœna & culpa, for the quicke and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their owne teachyng: ſo is there no part therof which diſagreeth not from the rules of chriſtian doctrine, eſpecially theſe, as follow.

The firſt rule of Chriſtian doctrine.

1. The firſt rule is: Sacramentes be inſtituted for ſome principall end and vſe, out of the which vſe they are no Sacraments. As the ſacrament of Baptiſme is a Sacrament of regeneration, and forgiuenes of ſinnes to the perſon that is Baptiſed. But if it be caried about to be worſhipped and ſhewed to other as meritorious for their remiſſion, and regeneration, to them it is no ſacrament.

The 2 rule.

2. No ſacrament nor ceremony doth profite or conduce, but them onely which take and vſe the ſame.

The 3.rule.

3. Only the death of Chriſt and the worke of his ſacrifice vppon the croſſe is to be applied to euery man by fayth for ſaluation and health of hys ſoule. Beſide this worke alone, to apply any action or worke of Prieſt or any other perſon, as meritorious of it ſelfe, and conducible to ſaluation, to ſoules health or to remiſſion of ſinnes, it is Idolatry and derogatory to the Teſtament of God and to the bloude of Chriſt preiudiciall.

The 4. rule. 1. Cor. 10.

4. To make Idoles of ſacraments and to worſhyp dūme thynges for the liuyng God, it is Idolatry. Fugite Idola. &c. 1. Cor. 10.

The 5 rule.

5. Euery good worke what ſo euer it be that a man doth, profiteth only hymſelfe, and cannot be applied to other men, Ex opere operato, to profite hym vnto merite or remiſſion, only the Actions of Chriſt except.

The 6. rule.

6. No man can apply to an other the ſacrifice of Chriſtes death by any worke doyng: but euery man muſt apply it to hymſelfe by his owne beleuyng. Iuſtus ex fide ſua viuet. Habacuc. 2.

The 7. rule.

7. The Sacrifice of Chriſtes death doth ſaue vs freely by it ſelfe, and not by the meanes of any mans workyng for vs.

The 8. rule.

8. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done and no more, is a full and a perfecte oblation and ſatiſfaction for the ſinnes of the whole world, both originall and Actuall: by the vertue of which Paſſion, the wrath of God is pacified toward mankynd for euer. Amen.

The 9. rule.

9. The Paſſion of Chriſt once done is onely the obiect of that fayth of ours whiche iuſtifieth vs and nothyng els. And therfore who ſoeuer ſetteth vp any other obiect, beſide that Paſſion once done, for our fayth to apprehend and to beholde the ſame, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatrye.

Agaynſt all theſe rules, priuate Maſſes directly do repugne. For firſt beſide that they tranſgreſſe the order, example, and commaundement of Chriſt (whiche diuided the bread and cuppe to them all) they alſo bryng the Sacramēt out of the right vſe whereunto principally it was ordeined. For where as the vſe of that Sacrament is principally inſtituted for a teſtimoniall, and remembraunce of Chriſtes death the priuate Maſſe transferreth the ſame to an other purpoſe, eyther to make of it a gaſing Idoll, or a worke of application meritorious, or a Sacrifice propiciatory for remiſſion of ſinnes, or a commemoration for ſoules departed in Purgatory, accordyng as it is writtē in their Maſſe book: Pro quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur. Pro quorum memoria ſanguis Chriſti ſumitur. &c. where as Chriſt ſayeth contrary, Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.

The Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper put out of his right vſe by priuate maſſes.

Furthermore the Inſtitution of Chriſte is broken in this, that where the communion was giuen in common the priuate Maſſe ſuffereth the Prieſt alone to eate and drinke vp all, and when he hath done, to bleſſe the people with the empty cuppe.

Chriſtes memorie put out in dirige maſſes.

Secondly, whereas Sacramentes properly profite none but them that vſe the ſame in the priuate Maſſe the Sacrament is receaued in the behoufe not onely of hym that executeth, but of them alſo that ſtand lookyng on, and of them alſo whiche be farre of, or dead and in Purgatory.

Application.

Thirdly, when by the ſcripture nothyng is to be applied for remiſſion of our ſinnes, but onely the death of Chriſt, cōmeth in the priuate Maſſe as a worke meritorious done of the Prieſt, whiche beyng applyed to other, is auaylable Ex opere operato, both to hym that doth it, and to them for whome it is done, ad remiſſionem peccatorum.

Adoration. Oblation.

Fourthly, priuate Maſſes and al other Maſſes now vſed, of the Sacrament make an Idoll of commemoration make adoratiō, in ſtead of a receauyng, make a deceauyng, in place of ſhewyng forth Chriſtes death, make new oblation of his death, and of a cōmunion, make a ſingle ſole ſupping, &c.

Meriting for other,

Fiftly, whereas in this general frayltie of mans nature, no man can merite by any worthynes of workyng for hym ſelfe, the Prieſt in hys priuate Maſſe taketh vpon him to merite both for him ſelfe, and for many other:

Opus operatum.

Sixtly, it ſtandeth agaynſt Scripture, that the Sacrifice and death of Chriſt can bee applyed any other wiſe to our benefite and iuſtification, then by fayth: wherfore it is falſe that the Action of the Maſſe can apply the benefite of Chriſtes death vnto vs. Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis vel ſacrificantis.

Priuate maſſes agaynſt the free grace of God.

Seuenthly, wher as the benefite of our ſaluation and iuſtifiyng ſtandeth by yͤ free gyft and grace of God through our fayth in Chriſt: contrary the application of theſe Popyſhe maſſes ſtoppeth the freenes of Gods grace and maketh that this benefite muſt firſt come through the Prieſts handes and hys opus operatum, vnto vs.

Heb. 10.

The eight contrarietie betwene priuate Maſſe, and gods worde, is in this: That where the Scripture ſayth Vnica oblatione conſummauit eos, qui ſanctificantur in perpetuum With one oblation he hath made perfecte thē that be ſanctified for euer: agaynſt this rule the priuate Maſſe proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, makyng of one oblation a dayly oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finyſhed, new to be done agayne: And finally, that which was inſtituted onely for eatyng and for a remembraunce of that oblation of Chriſt once done, the Popiſhe Maſſe, maketh an oblation and a new ſatiſfaction dayly to be don, for the quick and the dead.

Priuate maſſes turne our fayth frō Chriſtes body crucified, to Chriſt ſacrificed in their maſſes.

To conclude theſe both priuate and publicke Maſſes of Prieſtes, turne away the obiecte of our fayth from the body of Chriſte crucified, to the body of Chriſte ſacrificed in their Maſſes. And where as God annexeth no promiſe of iuſtification, but onely to our fayth in the body of Chriſte crucified: they do annexe promiſe of remiſſion a pœna et culpa, to the body in their Maſſes ſacrificed, by their application: beſides diuers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which ſpryng of theſe their priuate & publicke Maſſes, whiche here I leaue to other at theyr leyſure further to cōceaue and to conſider. Now let vs procede to the other Articles folowyng.

The iiii. and v. Articles of vowes and Prieſtes Mariage.

The 4. and 5. article of vowes and prieſtes marryage.

As we haue diſcourſed before by hyſtoryes and order of tyme, the antiquitie of the iij. former Articles aboue mentioned, to witte, of tranſubſtantiation, of the half communiō and of priuate Maſſes, ſo now commyng to the Article of vowes and of prieſtes mariage, the reader will looke perchance to be ſatiſfied in this likewyſe, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuaunce of tyme theſe vowes and vnmaried lyfe of prieſtes haue continued. Wherin although ſufficient hath bene ſayd before in the former proceſs of this hiſtory, as in the lyfe of Anſelmus. pag. 197. alſo of Pope Hildebrand, pag. 176. &c. yet for the better eſtabliſhing of the readers mynd agaynſt this wicked article of prieſtes mariage, it ſhalbe no great labour loſt, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath bene ſayd, or what more is to be added.

Read afore pag. 197. Read afore pag. 176.

Prieſts marryage firſt forbidden by Anſelmus in England.

And to the entent that the worlde may ſee and iudge the ſayd lawe and decree of Prieſts ſingle ſole lyfe, to be a doctrine of no auncient ſtandyng here within this realme, but onely ſince the tyme of Anſelmus, I will firſt alledge for me the wordes of Henr. Huntyngton. lib. 7. De hiſtoria Anglorum here folowyng.

Ex Henr. Hunting. lib. 7. De hiſtoria Anglorum.

Eodem anno ad feſtum Michaelis tenuit Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit ſacerdotibus Anglorum, vxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum: ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent. &c. That is. The ſame yeare at rhe feaſt of S. Michaell. Anſelme the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury held a Synode at London: In the which Synode he forefended Prieſtes here in England to haue wyues, which they were not inhibited before to haue. Which conſtitution ſeemed to ſome perſons very pure and chaſte. To other ſome agayne it ſemed very daungerous, leſt while that men ſhould take vpon them ſuch chaſtitie more then they ſhould be able to beare, by that occaſion they might happily fall into horrible filthines, which ſhould redound to the exceding ſlaunder of chriſtian profeſſion. &c.

Read afore pag. 192.

The wordes of Huntington,

Prieſts not reſtrayned from their wiues before Anſelmus tyme.

Albeit I deny not but before the tyme alſo of Anſelmus, both Odo, and after hym Dunſtane Archb. of Canterbury, and Ethelwold B. of Wincheſter, and Oſwold B. of Worceter in the dayes of Kyng Edgar, an. 963. as they were all monkes themſelues, ſo were they great doers agaynſt the mariage of prieſtes, placyng in monkes in churches and Colledges & putting out the maried prieſts, as ye may read before pag. 154. yet notwithſtanding neither was that in many Churches, and alſo the prieſtes then maried were not conſtrayned to leaue theyr wyues, nor theyr roumes, but onely at theyr owne choyce. For ſo writeth Malmeſbury in Vita Dunſtani: Itaq; clerici multarum Eccleſiarum, data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent ceſſere. &c. That is: Therfore diuers & ſondry clerkes of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to chaunge their weede, or to part from theyr places, wente their wayes. &c. So alſo Elfricus after them (of whome mention was made before) was ſomewhat buſie in ſetting forward the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, and Lanfrancus lykewyſe. But yet this reſtreynt of Prieſtes lawfull mariage was neuer publickely eſtabliſhed for a law here in the church of england, before yͤ commyng of Anſelme in yͤ dayes of Wil. Rufus, & kyng Henry 1. writing in theſe wordes: Boldly I commaund by the authoritie which I haue by my Archbiſhoprike, not only within my Archbiſhoprike but alſo throughout England, that all prieſtes that keepe women ſhalbe depriued of their churches, & al eccleſiaſtical benefices. &c. As ye may read more at large before, pag. 197. Which was

Read afore pag. 154.

Malmesb. in vita Dunſtani.

Prieſtes firſt reſtrayned frō their wiues generall in England.

Read afore pag. 197.

was much about the ſame tyme whẽ as Hildebrand alſo at Rome begã to attempt the ſame matter, as before hath ben ſhewed: & alſo beſides hym were other popes mo, as Innocent the 3. Pope Nicholas the 2. and Calixtus the 2. by whom the acte againſt Prieſtes mariage was brought at length to hys ful perfection, and ſo hath cõtinued euer ſince.

Ex actis Synodi Mediolanenſis.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all ſuch conſtitutions of Councels prouinciall and generall, namely of the councel of Carthage, and of Toledo, which ſemed to worke ſomethyng in that behalf, againſt the matrimony of prieſts. Agayne, longer it were to number vp the names of all ſuch biſhops and prieſtes, which notwithſtanding haue ben maried ſince that tyme, in diuers countreys, as more amply ſhalbe ſhewed (the Lord willyng) in the ſequele hereof. In the meane ſeaſon, as touching the age and tyme of this diueliſh prohibition for prieſtes to haue their wyues, this is to be found by credible proues and conferryng of hiſtories, that in the yeare of our Sauiour 1067. at what tyme pope Hildebrand began firſt to occupy the Papall chayre, this othe began firſt to be taken of Archbiſhops and Byſhops, that they ſhould ſuffer none to enter into the miniſtery, or into any eccleſiaſticall function hauyng a wyfe: and likewyſe the Clergy to be bound to promiſe the ſame.

S. Paule propheſieth of forbidding of maryage. 1. Tim. 4.

And this was (as I ſayd) about the yeare of our lord. 1067. well approued and teſtified by courſe of hyſtories. Wherby appeareth the propheſie of S. Paul truly to be verified, ſpeakyng of theſe latter tymes. 1. Tim. 4. Where he writeth in theſe wordes. The ſpirit ſpeaketh plainely, that in the latter tymes, there ſhall ſome depart from the fayth, harkening vnto ſpirites of errour, and to doctrines of deuils, forbidding to mary, and commaundyng to abſtayne from meates, which the Lorde hath created to be taken with thankes geuyng. &c.

S. Paules propheſie found true for the count of tymes.

In this propheſie of S. Paul ij. things are to be obſerued: Firſt the matter which he propheſieth of, that is, the forbiddyng of mariage, and forbidding of meates, which god generally hath left free to all men. The ſecond thyng in this propheſie to be noted is the tyme when this propheſie ſhall fall, that is, in the latter tymes of the world. So that thys concurreth right well with theſe yeres of Pope Hildebrand aforeſayd, beyng a M. yeares complete after the Aſcenſion of our Sauiour: ſo that they may well be called the latter tymes.

The maryed life of prieſts more aũcient in the church then the ſingle life of Prieſtes.

This propheſie of S. Paul thus ſtandyng (as it doth) firme and certayne, that is, that forbiddyng of mariage muſt happen in the latter tymes of the world, then muſt it nedes conſequently follow therby, that the maryed life of prieſtes is more auncient in the church, then is the ſingle lyfe, then the law I meane commaundyng the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes, which may ſoone be proued to be true, by the true count of times and ſearch of hyſtories.

For firſt at the Councell of Nice, it is notorious that this diueliſh law of mariage to be reſtrayned, was ſtopped by Paphnutius.

2. Before this Councel of Nice, in the yeare of our Lord, 180. we read of Polycrates B. of Epheſus, who diſſentyng from Pope Victor about a certayne controuerſie of Eaſter day, alledgeth for hymſelfe how his progenitoures before hym, 7. together: one after an other ſucceeded in that ſeat, and he now the 8. after them was placed in the ſame: vſing this hys diſcent of hys parents, not only as a defence of hys cauſe, but alſo a glory to hymſelfe. &c.

Syricius enemie to Prieſtes.

Rom 8.

3. Pope Syricius about the yere of our Lord. 390. wrote to the prieſtes of Spayne about the ſame matter of putting theyr wyues from them, if hys Epiſtle be not counterfeyt. Theſe Spaniſh prieſtes had then wyth them a Byſhop of Terragon. Who aunſweryng to Syricius in this behalfe, alledged the teſtimonies of ſ. Paule, that Prieſtes myght lawfully retayne their wyues &c. To this Syricius replyed agayne (if hys writyng be not forged) moſt arrogantly and no leſſe ignorauntly, reprouyng the Prieſtes that were maried, and for the defence of hys cauſe, alledged this ſentence of ſ. Paule: Si ſecundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini. That is: If ye ſhall lyue after the fleſhe ye ſhall die. &c. Wherby may appeare, not onely, how they in Spayne then had wiues, but alſo how blynd theſe men were in the ſcriptures, which ſhewed them ſelues ſuch aduerſaries againſt Prieſtes Mariage.

Diuers of the Apoſtles were maried.

Clemens Alexandrinus lib. Strom. 7.

4. To be ſhort, the further we go and nearer to the auncient tyme of the church, the leſſe auncient we ſhall finde the depriuation of lawfull matrimony amongſt chriſtian miniſters beginnyng if we wyll, wyth the Apoſtles, theyr examples and Canons, who although were not all maryed, yet dyuers of them were, and the reſt had power and liberty to haue and kepe theyr wyues, witneſſyng S. Paule, where he writeth of hymſelfe: Non habemus poteſtatem ſororem mulierem circumducendi ſicut & reliqui Apoſtoli? That is to ſay: haue not we power to lead about a ſiſter to wyfe, as alſo the other Apoſtles haue? Wherby is to be ſeene, both what he myght do, and what the other Apoſtles did. Albeit Clemens Alexandrinus, which was CC. yeares after Chriſt, Lib. Strom. 7. denyeth not but that Paule was maryed beyng an Apoſtle, as wel as Peter and Philip.

Diſtinct. 28.

Canon of the Apoſtles.

And as the ſayd Apoſtles in their doctrine admoniſhe all men to mary that can not otherwyſe doe, ſaying to euery one beyng in daunger of temptation: Vnuſquiſque ſuam vxorem habeat ne tentet vos Satanas. &c. That is, Let euery man haue hys owne wife, leaſt Sathan tempt you. &c. So lykewiſe the ſame Apoſtles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees cited) do preciſely charge, that no Biſhop nor prieſt, ſhould ſequeſter from him hys wife for any matter or pretence of Religion, ſaying: if any ſhall teach that a prieſt for religion ſake, ought to contemne his owne wife, let him be accurſed. &c.

A ſophiſticall gloſe.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The cauſe why Chriſt had no wyfe.

1 Tim 4.

Concilium Gangrenſe.

Diſtinct. 28.

As for the Gloſe there in the margent, which expoundeth this worde contemning for exhibityng thynges neceſſary for her ſuſtenaunce, all the world may ſee that to be a Gloſe of mere Sophiſtrie. And becauſe I haue here made mention of Clemens Alexandrinus, it ſhal not be to our purpoſe impertinent, to inferre the wordes of thys worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Prieſtes lawfull matrimony, agaynſt certayne vayne boſters of virginity in his time. Dicunt glorioſi iſti iactatores, ſe imitari dominum, qui neque vxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid poſſedit: ſe magis quam alios Euãgelium intellexiſſe gloriantes. That is: Theſe glorious braggers doe vaunte themſelues to be the folowers of the Lord, who neither had wyfe, nor yet poſſeſſed any thyng here in the world. &c. And it followeth: Eis autem dicit ſcriptura, deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde neſciunt cauſam cur dominus vxorem non duxerit primum quidem propriam ſponſam habuit eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, vt opus haberet etiam adiutore aliquo ſecundum carnem. &c. To theſe the Scripture maketh aunſwere: God withſtãdeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble. Againe, they conſider not the cauſe why the Lorde tooke no wyfe. Firſt he had hys owne peculiar ſpouſe: which is ẏ church. Moreouer, neyther was he as a cõmon man, that he ſhould ſtand in ſuch neede of a helper after the fleſhe, &c. And in the ſame booke a litle after alleadgynge agaynſt them that abhorre matrimonye, he inferreth the wordes of S. Paule: how that in the latter dayes ſome ſhall fall from the faith attending to ſpirites of errour, and to doctrine of deuils, forbiddyng to mary, and to abſtayne from meates. &c. Which place of S. Paule, Clement here applyeth not agaynſt the Nouatians, and them that condemne matrimony in generall in all men, as naught: but he applyeth it onely agaynſt ſuch, as forbyd maryage in part, and namely in Prieſtes. &c. Thys Clement wrote after Chriſt, ij. hundreth yeres, and yet if we come downeward to lower tymes, we ſhall finde both by the Councell of Gangren CCC. yeares, & alſo by the Councel of Nice CCCC. yeares after Chriſt, the ſame liberty of prieſtes maryage eſtabliſhed and enacted as a thyng both good and godly. The wordes of Gangren Councell be theſe: Si quis diſcernit Præsbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit. &c. That is: If any do iudge that a Prieſte for hys maryage ſake, ought not to miniſter, and therefore doth abſtaine from the ſame, let hym be accurſed.

Concilium Conſtãtinopolitanum. Diſtinct. 35. cap. Quoniam.

Ibidem.

Moreouer, proceedyng yet in tymes and Chronicles of the Church, we ſhall come to the vi. Councel called Synodus Conſtãtinopolitana, almoſt vij. C. yeares after Chriſt: the wordes of the which Councell be alleadged in the Decrees, and be theſe in Latine. Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognouimus traditum, eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel Præsbyteri, confiteri quod non ſuis iam copulenter vxoribus, antiquum ſequentes canonem Apoſtolicæ diligentię et conſtitutiones ſacrorum virorum, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum vxoribus ſuis eorum connubia diſſoluentes, aut priuantes eos familiaritate adinuicem, in tempore oportuno. &c. That is: Becauſe in the order of the Romaine Canon, we know it ſo to be receiued, that ſuch as bee Deacons and Prieſtes, ſhall profeſſe themſelues to haue no more copulation with theyr wyues, we folowyng the auncient Canon of the diligent Apoſtles and conſtitutions of holy men, enacte that ſuche lawfull maryage, from henceforth, ſhall ſtand in force, in no caſe diſſoluing their coniunction wyth their wyues, neyther depriuing them of their mutuall ſocietie and familiaritie together, in ſuch tyme as they ſhall thinke conuenyent. &c. Hetherto ye haue heard the decree: heare now the penaltie, in the ſame Decree and diſtinction conteyned. Si quis igitur præſumpſerit contra Apoſtolicos canones aliquos Præsbyterorum & Diaconorum priuare a contactu et communione legalis vxoris ſuæ deponatur. &c. That is: If any therefore ſhall preſume, agaynſt the Canons of the Apoſtles, to depriue eyther prieſt or Deacon from the touchyng and company of his lawful wyfe, let hym be depriued. And lykewiſe thys Priſt and Deacon, who ſoeuer for Religion ſake ſhal put away hys wyfe, let hym be excommunicate. &c. And ÿ Councell of Gangren ſayth: let him be accurſed. By theſe wordes of the Councell recited, ſixe thynges are to bee noted.

vi. thinges in this Councell to be noted.

1. Firſt, howe this Councel calleth ÿ Mariage of prieſtes lawfull, contrary to theſe vj. articles, and to a certeine late Engliſhe wryter of our countrey, entitulyng his booke agaynſt the vnlawfull mariage of Prieſtes.
2. In that this Coũcel ſo foloweth the Canons of the Apoſtles, and conſtitutions of holy men: wee haue to vnderſtand, what the cenſure both of the Apoſtles: and determination of other holy men were therein.
3. If the Iniunction of this Councell, agreeyng thus with the Apoſtles and holy men, ſtode with truth, the contrary Canon of the Romanes, and alſo of theſe vj. Engliſhe articles, muſt nedes be condemned of errour,
4 By this Councell appeareth that ſo long tyme, almoſt. 700. yeares after Chriſt, thys prohibition of Prieſtes mariage was not yet entred into the Orient church, but ſtoutly was holden out.
5. By the Romane Canon here mentioned (which began with Gregorius 600 yeares after Chriſt, a litle before this Councell) it can not be denyed, but the Churche of Rome began then to diſceuer, not onely from the veritye, but alſo from the vnitie of all other Churches, folowyng the Apoſtolicke doctrine. Albeit the ſayd Romane Canon, at that time ſtode not long, but was ſhortly diſanulled by the ſayd Gregorius agayne by the occaſion of infantes heades founde in hys fiſhe ponde, whereof (Chriſt willyng) more ſhalbe ſpoken hereafter.

Gregorius reuoked his owne acte concerning the mariage of Prieſtes.

The craftie packing of the Romanes in ſuppreſſing & counterfaiting the Canons of Councels.

6. Sixtly, here is to be noted & remembred the craftie falſe packyng, and fraude of the Romanes: which in the Latine booke of Councels, in diuers new impreſſions, haue ſuppreſſed this Canon, becauſe be like, it maketh litle with their purpoſe: playing much lyke with this, as Pope Zoſimus Bonifacius and Celeſtinus played with ÿ ſixt councel of Carthage, which for their ſupremacy would haue forged a falſe Canon of Nice, had not the Councell ſent to Conſtantinople for the true exemplar therof and ſo proued them open lyers to their faces. So lykewiſe this Canon aboue mẽtioned although it be omitted in ſome bookes, yet beyng founde in the auncient and true written copyes being alleged of Nilus a Greke Byſhop of Theſſalonica. CC. yeare before and moreouer beyng founde and alledged in the Popes own booke of Decrees diſtin.31. muſt nedes conuince them of manifeſt theft and falſehode. Thus it may ſtand ſufficiently proued that the depriuation of Prieſtes lawfull mariage al this ſpace was not entred into ÿ Church neyther Greke nor Latine, at leaſte toke no full poſſeſſion before Pope Hildebrandus tyme anno domini.1070, and eſpecially Pope Calixtus tyme anno domini.1120. whiche were ÿ firſt open extortors of Prieſtes mariage.

Diſt.31.

Hildebrand & Calixtus firſt extorters of prieſtes lawful mariage.

Auentinus in hiſtor. Boiorum.

Auentinus a faythful writer of his time wrytyng of the Councell of Hildebrand, hath theſe wordes: Sacerdotes illa tempeſtate publice vxores, ſicut cæteri Chriſtiani habebant filios procreabant, ſicuti inſtrumentis donationum quæ illi templis, Myſtis, & Monachis fecere: vbi hæ nominatim cum cõiugibus teſtes citantur, & honeſto vocabulo Presbyteriſſæ nuncupantur, inuenio. Cæſar tum &c. That is: In thoſe dayes Prieſtes commonly hadde wyues as other Chriſten men had, and had children alſo, as may appeare by auncient inſtrumentes, and dedes of gift, whiche were then giuen to Churches to the Clergy & to religous houſes in the which inſtrumentes both the Prieſtes, and theyr wyues alſo with them (whiche there be called Præſbyteriſſæ) I finde to bee alleged for witneſſes. It happened moreouer the ſame time (ſayth Auentine) that the Emperour had the inueſting of diuers Archbiſhoprickes, Byſhopricks, Abbayes & Nunries within his dominions. Pope Hildebrande diſdaynyng agaynſt both theſe ſortes afore ſayd, that is, both agaynſt them that were inueſted by the Emperour & alſo agaynſt all thoſe Prieſts that had wyues, prouided ſo in his Councell at Rome, that they whiche were promoted by the Emperour into lyuynges of the Church were counted to come in by Symony: the other which were maryed prieſts were counted for Nicolaitanes, whereupon Pope Hildebrande wrytynge his letters to the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other greate Prelates, and Potentates: namely to Bertholdus, Zaringer, to Rodolphus of Sueuia, to Welphon of Bauaria, to Adalberon, and to theyr Ladies, and to dyuers other to whome he thought good: alſo to Biſhoppes, namely, to Otto Byſhoppe of Conſtance, wyth other Prieſtes and lay people, willeth them in hys letters to refuſe and to kepe no company with thoſe Symoniake, and thoſe Nicolaitane Prieſtes (for ſo were they termed then, which had eyther any Eccleſiaſticall lyuing by the Emperour, or els whiche had wyues to auoyde theyr Maſſes, neither talke: neyther to eate nor drinke wyth them, nor once to ſpeake to them, nor to ſalute them, but vtterly to ſhunne them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwiſe then they woulde eſchue the plague or peſtilence.

Simoniacke Prieſtes. Nicolaitan Prieſtes.

Ex Auentino Annal.Boiorum.Lib.5.

By reaſon wherof enſued a myghty ſchiſme & afflictiõ among the flocke of Chriſt, ſuch as lightly the like hath not bene ſeene. For the Prieſtes went againſt their Byſhops, the people agaynſt ÿ Prieſt, the laytie againſt the Clergie: briefly all ranne together in heapes and in confuſion. Men and women, as euery one was ſet vpon miſchiefe, wickednes, contention and auarice, tooke thereby occaſion vpon euery light ſuſpicion, to reſiſte their Miniſter, to ſpoyle the goods of the Church. The vulgare people contemned the Prieſtes which had maryed wyues, deſpiſed their Religion, and all thynges that they dyd: yea and in many places would purge the places where they had bene, wyth holy water, and brent their tythes. Alſo ſuch was the miſchiefe of them, that they would take the holy myſteries, which thoſe maryed Prieſtes had cõſecrated, and caſt them in the dyrt, and tread them vnder their feete: For ſo then had Hildebrand taught them, that thoſe were no Prieſts, neyther that they were Sacramentes, which they did conſecrate. So that by this occaſion, many falſe Prophetes roſe, ſeducing the people from the truth of Chriſt, by forged fables, and falſe myracles, & feyned Gloſes, wraſting the Scriptures as ſerued beſt for their owne purpoſes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chaſtitie. Many coulde make glorious boaſtes and bragges thereof, but the greateſt part vnder the ſhew and pretence of honeſty and purenes of lyfe committed inceſt, fornication, adultery, euery where almoſt, and no puniſhment was for the ſame. &c. Thus much out of Auentinus. lib.5. Annal.

Gebuilerus.

To this teſtimonie of Auentinus aboue mentioned, we will alſo adioyne the recorde of Gebuilerus a writer of thys our latter tyme, and one alſo of their owne crew, who doth teſtifie that in tyme of the Emperour Henricus the 4. an 1057. to the number of 24. Byſhops both in Germany, Spayne, and in Fraunce, were maryed, wyth the Clergie alſo of their dioces.

Iſidorus de vita clericorũ.

Diſt.23.cap. Ius igitur.

Of the which Spaniſhe Byſhops we read alſo in Iſidorus, which wrote more then ſixe hundreth yeares after Chriſt (and the place alſo cited in the Popes Diſtinctions) in hys booke De clericorum vita, how they ought eyther to leade an honeſt chaſt lyfe, or els to keepe themſelues wythin the bande of matrimonye. &c. whereby is declared the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, eyther to be then voluntary, or els their mariage not to be reſtrayned as yet, by any law.

Caliſtian Prieſts, that is, of Calixtus ſecte, who chiefly forbad prieſtes maryage.

Moreouer ſuch Caliſtian Prieſtes as be now a dayes, countyng Prieſtes maryage as a new deuiſe, and not ſtandyng wyth auncient tymes, let them looke vpon the Decree of Pope Symmachus, and anſwere there to the Gloſe. Diſt. 81. where it is written: Let Prieſts be all reſtrayned frõ the conuerſation of all women, except it be their mother, ſiſter, or their owne wyfe. &c. where the gloſe in the margent, geueth a note, ſaying: Hic loquitur ſecundum antiqua tempora.

All the Apoſtles were maryed, except John & Paule.

Ex Ambroſe. 2.Cor.11.

Thus if eyther the voyce of ſcripture myght take place wyth theſe men which be ſo rigorous agaynſt Prieſts maryage: or if the examples of the Apoſtles myght moue them (whom S. Ambroſe witneſſeth to haue bene all maryed, except onely Paule and John) or els if the multitude of maryed Byſhops and Prieſtes might preuayle with them, here might be rehearſed:

That Tertullian was a maryed Prieſt, as witneſſeth Hierome.

Spiridion Byſhop of Cyprus, had wife and children.
Hylary Byſhop of Poytiers, was alſo maryed.
Gregory Byſhop of Nyſſa.
Gregory Byſhop of Nazianzum.
Proſper Byſhop of Rhegium.
Cheremon Byſhop of Nylus. All theſe were maryed Byſhops.

Ex Epiſt. Hilarij ad Abram filiam.

Ex Ruffino. Lib.2.cap.9.

Ex Nazianzeno.

Of Polychrates, and his 7. aunciters Byſhops & maryed men, we ſpake before.

Ex Nouel. conſtit.3. ¶ Finali.

Epiphanius Byſhop of Conſtantinople in Iuſtinians tyme was the more commended, becauſe his father's & aunciters before hym, were Prieſtes and Byſhops maryed.

Ex Hiero. aduerſus Iouinian. Lib.1.

Hierome ſayth, that in his tyme, Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia. That is, many Prieſtes were then maryed men.

Pope Damaſus reciteth vp a great number of Byſhops of Rome, which were Prieſtes ſonnes, as:

Syl-

Diſtinct.56. Hoſius.

Ex Vicelio de ſacrificio miſſæ

Sylueriuſ.an.544.
Deuſdedit,about the yeare.622.
Adrianus.2. about the yeare.873.
Fœlix 3.about the yere 474.
Hoſius.
Agapetus.an.534.
Gelaſius,484.
Boniſacius.
Theodorus,whoſe Father was Biſhop of Hieruſalem, about the yeare.634.
Ioannes.10.an.924
Ioannes.15. the ſonne of Leo a Prieſt, about the yeare.984.
Richard Archdeacō of Couentry.
Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon.
Voluſianus Biſhop of Carthage.
Tho.Archb. of Yorke, ſonne of Sampſon B.of Worceter.

And howe many other Byſhops and Prieſtes in other countreys beſides theſe Byſhops of Rome, myght be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leaſure were ſuche, to make a whole beadrole of them all?

Ex Æneas Siluio.Epiſt. 321.

In the meane tyme the wordes of Syluius Cardinall,& afterward B. of Rome,are not to bee forgotten,whiche he wrote to a certeyne frende of hys,whiche after his orders taken,was diſpoſed to mariage. To whome the foreſayd Syluius aunſwereth agayne in theſe wordes folowyng: Credimus te vti non inſulſo conſilio, ſi cum nequeas continere, coniugium quæris: quāmuis id prius cogitandum fuerat,anteaquam initiaueris ſacris ordinibus. Sed non ſumus dij omnes qui futura proſpicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum eſt,vt legi reſiſtere nequeas,melius eſt nubere quam vri.&c. That is: We beleue that you in ſo doyng, follow no ſiniſter counſaile,in that you chuſe to be maried, when otherwyſe you are not able to lyue chaſte. Albeit this counſaile ſhould haue come into your heade, before that you entrede into eccleſiaſticall orders. But we are not all gods to foreſee before,what ſhal happen hereafter. Now for ſo much as the matter and caſe ſtandeth ſo,that you are not able to reſiſt the law,better it is to mary then to burne.&c

All theſe premiſſes wel conſidered,it ſhal ſuffice, I truſt though no more were ſayd, to proue that this generall law and prohibition of Prieſts mariage pretended to be ſo auncient,is of no ſuch great tyme, nor lōg continuance of yeres as they make it,but rather to be a late deuiſed doctrine gendered by the Monkes, and grounded vpon no reaſon,law nor Scripture,but that certeine,which be repyners againſt the truth, do racke and wraſt a fewe places out of Doctors and ij. or iij. Councels for their pretenſed purpoſe. whoſe obiections and blynde cauillations, I as profeſſing here but to wryte ſtoryes,referre to the further diſcuſſion of Diuines: in whoſe bookes this matter is more at large to bee ſought and ſearched. In the meane ſeaſon ſo much as appertayneth to the ſearching of times & antiquitie,and to the conſeruation of ſuche Actes and monumentes as are behoueable for the Churche, I thought hereunto not vnprofitable to be adioyned a certayne Epiſtle learned and auncient of Voluſianus Biſhop ſometymes of Carthage, tendyng to the defence of Prieſtes lawfull wedlocke, which Æneas Syluius in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, alſo Illyricus in Catal. and Melancth.Lib. De coniugio do father vpon Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta in the tyme of Pope Nicolas 2. but as I finde it in an old written example, ſent by John Bale to Math. Archbyſhop of Canterbury,as it is ioyned in the ſame booke: ſo it beareth alſo the ſame title and name of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage: ioynyng alſo withall, an other Latine Epiſtle, whiche perhappes hath not bene ſene in Print before. The Copyes of whiche both Epiſtles as beyng pertinent to the purpoſe preſent,here vnder enſue in forme as foloweth.

Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage.

Hulderichus Byſhop of Auguſta, about the yeare of our Lord.900.

The epiſtle in Latin of Voluſianus,or as ſome thinke of Huldericus biſhop of Auguſta,to Pope Nicholas,againſt the forbidding of Prieſtes Mariage.

Epiſtola Voluſiani Carthanigenſis Epiſcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Epiſcopum.

Quæ ſecuntur vide ſuperiori æditione. pag. 1320.

¶Hæc eſt reſcriptio Voluſiani Carthanigenſis Epiſcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao de continentiam clericorum,non iuſtè ſed impiè,nec canonicè,ſed indiſcretè tractanti ita reſpōdit.

Nicolao Domino & patri peruigili ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Prouiſori, Voluſianus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorē vt filius,timorem vt ſeruus.

The Epiſtle of Voluſianus: or as ſome ſay,of Huldericus to the Pope in defence of Prieſtes mariage.

CVm tua, ô Pater & Domine,decreta ſuper clericorum cōtinentia nuper mihi tranſmiſſa, à diſcretione inuenirem aliena,timor me turbauit cum triſtitia. Timor quidem propter hoc,quod dicitur,paſtoris ſententia,ſiue iuſta,ſiue iniuſta timenda eſt.&c.

The antiquitie of the Epiſtle before mentioned.

As touchyng the antiquitie of this epiſtle aboue prefixed it appeareth by the copye whiche I haue ſeene, and receaued of the aboue named Matthewe Archbyſhop of Canterbury,to be of an olde and auncient wrytynge,bothe by the forme of the characters,and by the wearyng of the Partchment,almoſt conſumed by length of yeares and tyme.

The author of the foreſayd Epiſtle doubtfull whether he be Hulderichus or Voluſianus.

And as concernyng the author therof, the ſuperſcriptiō (if it be true) playnely declareth it to bee the epiſtle of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage. Albeit heretofore it hath commonly bene taken and alleaged by the name of Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta,and partely appeareth to be ſo, both by the teſtimonie of Æneas Syluius,in Deſcriptione Germaniæ, who in the ſayd treatiſe affyrmeth that Huldericus Byſhop of Auguſta,dyd conſtantly reſiſte the Pope abolıſhyng the maryage of Prieſtes.&c. and alſo by the recorde of Illyricus, teſtifying that the ſayd epiſtle not onely remayneth yet to this day in olde monumentes, but alſo ẏ he him ſelfe dyd ſee two exemplars of the ſame, both pretēdyng the name of the ſayd Hulderichus to bee the author, Notwithſtandyng this copye here aboue prefixed,beareth ẏ title not of Hulderichus Byſhop of Auguſta,but of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage in Aphricke, as ye may ſee by the wordes of the preamble, ſaying, This is the reſcripte of Voluſianus Byſhop of Carthage, vnto Pope Nicholas concernyng prieſtes not to bee reſtrayned from lawfull mariage.&c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was to whō theſe epiſtles were written,it is not playnely ſhewed in the ſame,but that by probable coniecture it may be geſſed rather to be Pope Nicholas.2.for ſo much as in hys tyme,prieſts mariage began ſomwhat earneſtly to be called in,more then at other tymes before.

Read before pag.139.

Now as touchyng the Engliſhe of this Latine epiſtle aboue exhibited forſomuch as the ſame is before inſerted, pag.139. wee will referre the reader vnto the ſame place. wherein if the tranſlation of the Engliſhe doe ſwarue any thyng from the Latin here aboue prefixed, the cauſe was, for that the Latine copie whiche here we followe came not before to our handes.

An other epiſtle of the ſaid Voluſianus, concerning mariage not to be reſtrayned from prieſtes and miniſters of the Church.

Quæ ſequntur vide ſuperiore æditione pag.1321.

CVm ſub liberi arbitrij poteſtate creati ſimus,& non ſub lege,ſed ſub gratia,qualiter creati ſumus,viuamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis inuitis,imponitis,liberi arbitrij nos poteſtate priuatis. Quod nolumus velle,& quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis, & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo,à quo ipſa gratia nos in libertatem liberati ſumus, alligare,& ſpiritum ſeruitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipſamq; gratiam,ſine qua nihil facere poſſumus, omninò euacuare ſatagitis, ita vt (ſicut ait Apoſtolus) ipſa gratia iam non ſit gratia,& Dei donum non ſit Dei donum: Et non ex Deo ſed ex homine,nec ex vocante,ſed ex operante: cum idem Apoſtolus dicat: Quia non eſt volentis neq; currentis, ſed Dei miſerentis.&c.

Rom.8.

Rom.11.

Rom.9.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Epiſtle of Voluſianus Byſh. of Carthage for prieſtes mariage.

* What he meaneth here by free will he expoundeth playnely hereafter.

FOr as much as we are created vnder the power of* free will, and not vnder ẏ lawe but vnder grace let vs ſo liue as we are created. You whiche lay vpon vs the law of continencie agaynſt our will,do depriue vs of the libertie of free will. you commaunde vs, and by commaundyng compell vs to will that we would not, & not to will that we would doe. you bynde vs to the law,from the whiche by grace we are made free: and you conſtrayne vs to receaue the ſpirite of bondage agayne to feare: and go about to make the grace of God of no effect,without the whiche we can do nothing, ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſayth: Grace is now no grace: and the gift of God is not the gift of God. And not of God,but of man: not of hym that calleth, but of hym that worketh where as the Apoſtle ſayth, It is not in hym that willeth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercie.

Rom.9.

For where as there be three principall & effectual things whereby euery humane ſoule endued with reaſon apprehēdeth and perceiueth what ſoeuer ſpirituall thing it is able to apprehend and perceiue,and without the which it can perceiue nothing: the which three thinges be theſe: to wit free will,the commaundement,and grace(for by free wil we diſcerne and choſe the good from the euill: by the commaundement we are prouoked and ſtyrred vp to doe al thynges: by grace we are furthered and holpen to performe the ſame) yet of all theſe, grace is the lady and miſtreſſe, and as a mighty Empreſſe and Queene, vppon whoſe becke the other doe wayte and geue attendance, receyuing of her both ſtrength and efficacy,and without her can do nothyng, but remayne

1.Free will.
2.The Cōmaundement,or the lawe.
3.Grace.

Grace Lady and Queene ouer the commaundemēt & free will.

as thinges of themſelues dull and dead, much lyke as amongſt the Philoſophers, their Materia without Forma, beyng therto adioyned. For in the ſteade of Materia, we may, after a maner not vnfitly place free will: and in the place of Forma we may ſet grace, & the commaundement (which is the meane betwene them both, as a certaine inſtrument) to haue reſpecte to both: whereby the principall artificer whiche is God, furthereth and ſetteth forward free will as a rude dul matter, applyeth to it his grace as the forme therof. And lyke as the ſayd Materia without Forma is rude and ſhapeleſſe, ſo free will is a thing rude and deforme, if it be not holpen with grace comming therunto, to moue it and to further it, the commaundement commyng as a meane betwene them both in the ſtead of the inſtrumẽtal cauſe, as is before ſayd.

Free will likened to materia. Grace to Forma.

Therfore lyke as Forma is in reſpecte of Materia, the lyke reſemblance beareth free will in reſpect of grace. And agayne, as Materia is in reſpect of Forma, the ſame alſo is free will in reſpecte of grace. And as the inſtrument ſerueth betwene the foreſayd Materia and Forma, ſo doth the commaundement betwene free will and grace. The inſtrument commyng and workyng vpon the ſayd Materia beyng of it ſelfe ougle, rugged, and a thyng without all ſhape and faſhion, doth forme it, ſhape it and pulliſhe it, & maketh it hanſome, ſightly, lightſome, bright and cleare: euen ſo lykewiſe the commaundement commyng and workyng vppon free will, beyng of it ſelfe a thyng rude, groſſe, vnſhapen and deformed, blynd and obſcure, doth clarifie it deck it adourne it, bewtifie, and lighten it throughe the brightnes of grace cõmyng vnto it, accordyng to the ſaying of the Prophet: The commaundement of the Lorde is bryght and cleare, giuyng ſight to the eyes.

Free will whiche after he calleth voluntary deuotion, without the law, and the law without grace, can doe nothyng.

Pſalme 19.

And as the matter and the inſtrumẽt without the forme can do nothyng, euen ſo free will and the commaundement without grace haue no power to worke. For what can eyther free will or the commaundement doe except they be holpẽ with grace both goyng before and folowyng? For grace ſẽdeth the commaundement as a meſſenger and miniſter to free will: the commaundement prouoketh frewill and ſtyrreth it vp, as out of a ſlepe to do good workes and leadeth it as a blynd man, by the hand, teachyng hym the way wherin to go. Whiche both if they be deſtitute of grace, are hable of them ſelues to do nothyng. And if they begynne, yet they procede not, neyther doe they performe or accompliſhe anye thyng: and if they preſume, it proſpereth not, and is but labour loſt. For where the commaundement commeth, eyther by man or by Aungell: and alſo where frewill is moued, prouoked and enformed eyther by the motion of man or of Aungell, yet vnleſſe Gods grace go withall preuentyng and folowyng the ſame what is it hable to do? For when man was put in Paradiſe, what auayled hym the commaundement whiche he heard: Thou ſhalt eate of euery tree of Paradiſe, but onely of the tree of knowledge of good and euil, thou ſhalt not eate. Whiche commaundement wrought not to hys ſaluation but to hys condemnation. And why? becauſe grace that ſaueth and helpeth, was wantyng, which he preſumyng vniuſtly vppon his owne ſtrength deſpiſed. Or what dyd the commaundement of the lawe giuen by Moyſes, profite the people of Iſraell in yͤ wildernes, which lawe they refuſed to obey? Or what profite wrought it to hym whiche preſumed to folow the Lorde of his owne free will and not of the Lordes callyng, ſaying vnto hym: Lord I will folow thee whether ſo euer thou goeſt. By theſe and many other places of holy Scripture both of the olde and newe Teſtament, it may be proued that neyther the commaundement nor free will haue power to worke of them ſelues, vnleſſe they be holpen by Gods grace preuentyng & folowyng them.

Free will and the law without grace haue no power.

Gen. 2.

The commaundement without grace auayled Adã nothing in Paradiſe.

Math. 8.

Seyng therfore the gifte of continencie, as al other giftes be, is the gifte onely of Gods grace, and commeth not by the commaundement nor by free will: they erre therfore & ſtryue in vayne whiche labour to obteyne it by theyr owne power. And much more they alſo do erre, whiche by force conſtrayne men agaynſt their will thereunto, mouyng thẽ to offer giftes into the ſanctuary oᶠ God, not of their owne accord but by coaction, eyther not knowing or els not remẽbryng the ſaying of the Lorde to Moyſes: Seperate amongeſt you the firſt frutes vnto the Lorde, and let euery man of his owne voluntary and willyng mynde, come and offer the ſame vnto the Lorde. What is this, to ſeparate wͭ you the fyrſt frutes to the Lorde, but onely to waye and cõſider diligently in your hartes, and with diſcretion to laye downe and ſeparate vnto the Lord, what wee ought to preſent vnto hym out of the treaſure of our hart? For if thou offer ryghtly and doeſt not rightly diuide, thou ſinneſt. And what is to offer with a willyng and ready mynde, but as the Pſalmiſt ſayth: I wil offer ſacrifice vnto thee willyngly and chearfully? And the Apoſtle ſayth: Not grudgingly or of neceſſitie: for God loueth a cherefull geuer. And Salomon ſayth: Geue the lord his glory with a good and free hart, and in euery gift thou geueſt, ſhew a ioyful countenaunce, and ſanctifie thy tithes with gladnes: and with a cherefull eye do all that thou takeſt in hand. And the Apoſtle James ſayth: The Lord loueth not conſtrayned ſeruice And curſed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, that is, not carefully and with a willing mynde.

Continency only the gifte of God.

Num. 15.

Pſal. 54.

2. Cor. 9.

Eccle. 35.

Jerem 48.

Wherfore, as the Lord willeth vs not to offer any thing to hym agaynſt our willes: ſo doth hee forbid vs to compell any man to offer any thing agaynſt theyr willes by the foreſayd Moyſes where he ſayth: Thou ſhalt not do thy neighbour wronge, neither oppreſſe hym with violence. To doe wrong to thy neighbour, is to correct hym for hys ſynne, not of any compaſſiõ or mercy towardes hym, but to reproue hym and to cauſe him in diſdainyng, vpbraydyng, and rebukyng hym: not to informe hym in the ſpirite of lenitie: but to deſtroy hym in the ſpirite of bitternes and rigour, as the Apoſtle ſayth: If a man be taken in any faulte, you that are ſpirituall informe ſuch in the ſpirite of lenitie, cõſidering thy ſelfe leſt thou alſo be tempted.

Leuit. 9.

Gal. 6.

To oppreſſe our neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him aboue his power, and to lay vpon him more then he is able to beare, and more peraduenture then they thẽſelues are able to welde, which lay it vpon him. Whereas the Lord ſpeaking of the Phariſeis to his diſciples, forbiddeth them the ſame, saieng: The Scribes and Phariſeys do ſit vpon the chayre of Moyſes, &c. And the Apoſtle Peter: Feede (ſaith he) as much as in you lyeth, the Lordes flocke, prouidyng for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly after a godly ſorte, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mynd: not as though ye were Lordes ouer the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flocke of good wyll.

1. Pet. 5.

This ſhepheard of ſhepheardes and Prince of the Apoſtles doth playnely and euidently declare and inſinuate what all other Paſtours and Apoſtles ought to do: how to entreate the flocke of the Lord committed vnto them, and what great care and compaſſion of mynde they ought to haue towardes their Cure: and remoueth farre out of their harts all power of Tyrannicall Lordſhyp and all ambition, whiche ſome do exerciſe with gredynes vpon thoſe that are committed to their charge, and pronoũceth that they ought not to be Lordes, but fathers ouer their flocke: and not imperiouſly to commaunde them, as exerciſing ſtately authoritie and power vpon them, but gently to admoniſhe them and beſeech them in the zeale of pietie, accordyng to the ſtrength of euery perſon, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their owne will, or ambiciouſly ſettyng forth their owne power and iuriſdiction, not & that they ought to be an example to the flocke, doyng firſt them ſelues that thyng, whiche they commaunde others, and ſo to teach them no leſſe by examples then by wordes. Willingly (ſaith he) and not by conſtraynt: of charitie, & not for greedy gayne. For there be many which beyng inflamed with affection, not of charitie, but of couetous gredynes and ambition, commaund others that which they are not hable to accompliſh, and while they pretend to ſeeke the gayne of ſoules, they hunt and ſeeke rather for wordly lucre. Which Balaam the Prophet did well expreſſe: who conuerted the gift of Prophecie, and the grace of bleſſing which he had receiued of God, not to the profite of others, but to his owne commoditie.

Lordſhip ouer the cleargie forbidden

Num. 22.

And ſome there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretend to do it with the zeale of God: and whiles they would ſeeme to be better then other, this they do with a certaine preſumption and raſhnes, and ſo fall in their owne preſumption and temeritie. Of whome the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: Whiche haue a zeale of God, but not accordyng to knowledge. To haue a zeale of God accordyng to knowledge, is to do any thyng in Gods matters prudently and circumſpectly. Of whom Oza beareth a type and reſemblaunce: Who whiles that he went about with his hand to ſtay the Arke of the Lorde ſtaggeryng a little by reaſon of the kickyng of the Oxen whiche caried it, fell downe therfore dead. The Arke of the Lorde to ſtagger or miſcary by the kicking of the Oxen, ſignifieth the lawe of the Lorde (which the Prieſtes thẽſelues ought to beare and hold vp) to be contraried of them in not obſeruing the ſame, and to be turned out of the right courſe to the contrary part, which Oza, who is interpreted to be a helper of God, attempteth to hold vp. For there be certaine Prelates, whiche while they ſee the order of prieſthode by ſome enormitie or exceſſe, to ſtrayne the law of God neuer ſo litle out of the right courſe, and labour to redreſſe and rectifie that miſorder, rather by vayne oſtentation of their owne ſtrength, then for any pure zeale to God, while they thus preſume inordinately to do, thinking to ſeeme to be the helpers of God, many tymes do mortally fall, and incurre therby great daunger and perill.

Rom. 10.

Zeale without knowledge what it is.

2 Kin. 6.

Oza puniſhed for holding vp the Arke.

Some other alſo there be whiche hauyng before theyr eyes no conſideratiõ of mans infirmitie neither beyng touched with any reſpect of mercy and compaſſion, nor knowyng

yng how to ſay with the Apoſtle: Who is infirme & I am not infirme? theſe whiles they compare them ſelues to ſuch as be vnder their charge, not in condition wherein they are equal, but in authoritie wherein they are ſuperiours, & couet to be theyr maiſters, & more to rule ouer them thē to profite thē, they oppreſſe ÿ weakenes of thē by force & violēce of authoritie, & cōpel them to their obedience: which is rightly figured by ÿ fact, which is read in ÿ Goſpel of Symon Cyreneus, whom the perſecuters of ÿ Lord cōſtreined to take vp ÿ Croſſe of Chriſt. Whoſe name alſo doth fytly agree wt the ſame figure. For Symon by interpretation is called obedient. Symon then, that is to ſay, the obedient man is forced to beare the Croſſe of the Lord, when as ſubiectes beyng conſtreyned of their mayſters by the rigour either of Lordſhip, or authoritie, or feare of their curſe, and ſo compelled to obey them, are driuen to ſuſteyne the Croſſe of continencie agaynſt their willes: who neither do loue the Croſſe whiche they beare, becauſe they beare it rather to theyr deſtruction then to their health: neither by bearyng the Croſſe do dye vnto ſynne, but by the bearyng therof are rather quickned vnto ſinne. For therof ryſe diuers other more greuous ſynnes. For by the inhibityng of lawfull and naturall mariage with one woman, ryſeth the vnnaturall and moſt execrable Sodomiticall fornication: ryſeth alſo the vnlawfull and damnable defilyng of others mens wyues: ryſeth furthermore curſed and whoriſhe filthynes and pollution: and moreouer riſeth moſt abominable inceſt againſt all nature, with their owne kyndred, with a heape of manyfolde other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutiōs, wherby the fraile infirmitie of man is brought (no doubt) into great peril.

Luke. 23.

What inconuenience riſeth of coacted matrimonie.

Wherfore Loth beyng deliuered from the burnyng of Sodome through the guidyng of the Lordes Aungel, and bereued of the felowſhip of his wyfe, whiles that he conſideryng his owne infirmitie durſt not aſcende vnto the mountayne as the Angell badde him, did chooſe rather to dwell in Segor a litle Citie nere by, the Aungell thus byddyng him & ſpeakyng vnto him: Saue thy ſoule and looke not behynd thee, but ſaue thy ſelfe in the mountayne leſt thou alſo periſhe. To whom Loth aunſwered: I pray thee Lord, becauſe thy ſeruaunt hath founde ſuch grace in thy ſight that thou wilt ſaue me, I can not bee ſaued in the mountayne, leſt perhappes ſome euill take me and I dye: There is a litle Citie hereby whereunto I may flye and may be ſaued in it.

Gen. 19.

What meaneth this that Loth flying from Sodome by the commaundement of the Aungell to be ſaued in ÿ mountayne, would not aſcend vp to the hill fearyng there to periſhe but dyd choſe rather to dwell in Segor a ſmall Citye nere vnto the hyll, there to be ſaued, but that euery faythfull man couetyng to eſchue the burnyng & daūger of Sodomiticall luſt, while neither hee is able to mount vp to the toppe of virginitie, and alſo is afeard to aſcend to the mountayne of the ſtate of widowhode, leſt he periſhe therein, flyeth therfore to the ſtate of matrimony, which is a ſmall cōtinēcie in reſpect of the other two, & alſo nere vnto the both. For after thoſe two kyndes of continencie, this chaſtitie is alſo proued to be laudable, and is not depriued of the reward of the kyngdome of heauen.

Lothes refuſing to goe vp to the mountaine, what it meaneth.

The chaſtitie of mariage, as neare to heauen as virginitie.

Unto this chaſtitye, he is commaunded to flye which can not otherwiſe cōteine, & to be ſaued in it, leſt peraduenture if he clyme vp to the mounte, he fall into incōuenience & periſh therin: that is, leſt if hee ſhall attempt to obteine by hys owne ſtrength the continencie whiche is not giuen vnto hym of God, the euill of incontinencie or fornication, or of ſome of the other euills afore rehearſed, do fall vpon hym, and ſo he periſhe in them mortally. For there be many who while they conſider not their own infirmitie, and while they ſtryue to atchyue greater thynges thē they are hable to reach in this their clymyng doe fall headlong into worſe incontinence, and while they fooliſhly ſeeke for great thynges, doe loſe the leſſe, whiche before they ſeemed to haue. Whiche wee may well vnderſtand by the example of Loth aforeſayde: who what tyme he lefte the ſmall Citie Segor, whiche he choſe before to inhabite, in the whiche hee ſought to be ſaued: went vp to the mountayne and there abydyng fell into the ſtrong inceſt of hys owne daughters, as the ſcripture witneſſeth, ſaying: Loth went vp from Segor and remained in the mountayne, and his daughters gaue to their father wyne to drynke that night. And the elder of thē went and lay with her father. Whiche thyng hadde not happened vnto hym, if he hadde kept hym ſelfe ſtill in Segor, where he might haue bene ſaued at the byddyng of the Aungel, as he hym ſelfe required. But becauſe he forſoke that, whiche was graunted to hym of the Aungell, and preſumed to that vppon his own will, contrary to the precept of the Aungell, whiche was not graunted: therfore he fell into great daunger of his ſoule and committed the greuous ſinne of inceſt.

Euery man ought to be contented with his owne giftes.

No otherwiſe doth it happen to many other, who while eyther they forſake ÿ thyng which is graūted them of God, or ambitiouſly clyme after that whiche is to them not graūted, both they loſe that which they had graunted vnto thē, and fall into that whiche to them was not graunted. For diuers there be, whiche whyle they forſake eyther willingly or agaynſt theyr will, the maryed lyfe whiche is to them lawfully permitted, and in whiche they might be ſaued, and ſtraue with a preſūptuous deſire to leade a ſingle life, both they loſe that health and ſafety, whiche they might haue had in one, and incurre great daunger in the other: ſo that, wherby they ſuppoſe moſt to gayne, by the ſame they loſe & fall into the pit of greater ruine. Which thing S. Paule the Doctour of the Gentiles well conſidering, and tenderly prouiding for the infirmitie of the weake Corinthiās writing to hym for counſayle touching this matter, did write to them agayne in this wiſe, ſaying: As concerning the thinges whereof ye wrot vnto me, as it is good for a mā not to touch a woman, Neuertheleſſe to auoyd whoredome, let euery man haue his wife and let euery woman haue her huſband. Let the huſbād geue vnto his wife due beneuolēce: likewiſe alſo the wife vnto her huſband. And a little after: withdraw not (ſayth he) your ſelues one from an other, except it be with conſent for a tyme, that you may geue your ſelues vnto faſtyng and prayer: and afterward come together again leſt Sathan tempt you for your incontinencie. For as the Poet ſayth, we can not all do all thinges, and as the Apoſtle ſayth: it is not in hym that willeth nor in hym that rūneth, But in God that ſheweth mercy. Alſo an other place: For to euery one of vs is geuen grace according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. And that euery one of vs ought to keepe and not to tranſgreſſe thys meaſure, he teacheth anone after ſaying: I wiſhe that al men were as I my ſelfe am but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, an other after that.

1. Cor. 7.

Rom. 9.

Ephe. 4.

1. Cor. 7.

And that we are to be kept within our compaſſe and meaſure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth moreouer as followeth: Let euery man abyde in that vocation wherein he is called. And ſhortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the ſame agayne and ſayth: Let euery mā wherein he is called, therein abyde with the Lord. And becauſe he perceiued that the infirmitie of man was not able to ſuſteine the burning motions and heates of nature ſtyrring in man, but onely by the grace of God, neyther to be hable to conquere the fleſhe fightyng agaynſt the ſpirite, according to that whiche he ſayth of himſelfe in an other place: For I ſee an other Lawe in my members rebelling agaynſt the Law of my minde, he therefore of mercy & compaſſion, as condeſcending vnto their weakenes: and not by rigor of lawe and force of commaundement, thus ſayd. As alſo in an other place in hys Epiſtles hee ſpeaketh in lyke wordes ſaying: I ſpeake thus groſly after the maner of men, becauſe of the infirmitie of your fleſhe. And in this foreſayde Epiſtle, moreouer a little before, vſing the ſame maner of ſpeache, he ſaith: Thus I ſay to you as of fauour and not of commaundement. And adding moreouer, he ſheweth: As touching virgines I haue no commaundement of the Lord: but onely do geue counſell, as one that haue found mercye with God, that I ſhould be faythfull: That is, after the ſame mercy wherewith the Lord hath enformed and inſtructed me when he called me to the fayth, and made me faythfull to hym: ſo I likewiſe do geue counſell to other and ſhew the ſame mercy to them.

Rom. 6.

1. Cor. 7.

And for aſmuch as both are good: to witte to haue a wife or not to haue: to haue a huſband or not to haue: neyther is there any ſinne in hauing wife or huſband: ſhortly after he inferreth ſaying: I ſuppoſe therfore this to be good for the preſent neceſſitie: I meane, that it is good for a man ſo to be: What meaneth this, for preſent neceſſitie? What is this neceſſitie preſent, but preſent infirmitie? or the inſtant neceſſitie, compelling to doe, as the order of neceſſitie requireth. Or els he meaneth by thys preſent neceſſitie, the diſtreſſe of that tyme which then was inſtant, & cōpelled hym ſo to write & ſo to beare wt them which was for ÿ auoyding of fornicatiō amongeſt them, & many other kindes of filthyneſſe aboue touched whiche might haue happened. For the which fornication he tooke occaſion to write vnto the Corinthians and to anſwere to their letters: and therfore he vehemently agaynſt the ſayd Corinthians in the former parte of the ſayd Epiſtle vttereth theſe wordes: What will you ſhall I come to you with a rodde? or in loue and in the ſpirite of meekenes? There is heard among you to be fornication, and ſuch fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould haue his owne fathers wife. &c. And therfore for this neceſſitie of auoydyng ſuch fornication, he ſayth: It is good for a man ſo to be: that he whiche can not conteine, ſhould mary and take a wife. Which afterward he expoundeth thus inferring: Art thou bound to a wife? ſeeke not to be loſed. And if thou be loſed from a wife, ſeeke not a wife. But

For preſent neceſſitie to marye what it meaneth.

1. Cor. 4.

1. Cor. 7.

if thou takeſt a wife thou ſinneſt not, and if a virgine mary, ſhe ſinneth not. &c. And that he ſpake not this by way of commaunding, but of ſufferance and compaſſion, he ſheweth plainly in theſe wordes followyng: But I ſpare you: that is to ſay, I beare with your infirmity: and therfore he leaueth it in the free power and will of euery man, to chuſe what he beſt lyketh. Neither doth he inforce any man (he ſaith) violently, nor charge them with any ſtraight commaundement and therfore addeth theſe wordes followyng: And this I ſpeake for your owne commoditie, not to tangle you as in a ſnare, but for that it is good and honeſt for you, that you may ſerue the Lord without ſeparation.

Thus he ſaith to them whom before he exhorted to continencie, and wheme he woulde not to be let or troubled by matrimoniall coniunction. But to other he ſayth thus: If any man thinke that it is vncomely for his virgin to remayne ouer long vnmaried, and if nede ſo require, let him do what he thinketh good, he ſinneth not: let them mary: And agayn both be good he ſayth, but yet the one to be better he concludeth ſaying: Therfore he that ioyneth in Matrimony, his virgin doth wel, but he that doth not doth better. Which agreeth wel wt the text aboue, ſpeaking of both kyndes, as well ẏ man as the womā, where he ſaith: If thou take a wife thou ſinneſt not, and if the virgin take a huſband ſhe ſinneth not.

If therfore it be no ſinne for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgin to take a huſband, after the apoſtles mynde, neither doth diminiſh their felicitie, but rather encreaſe it, & for as much as both do well, & ſo both be bleſſed: we then which take wyues for our infirmitie, what do we ſinne in hauyng them? Or if the apoſtle do ſuffer & permit to euery man for the auoyding of fornication to haue his wife, we thē which come of the ſame lumpe or maſſe and taking our ſinfull fleſh of the ſinfull fleſh of Adam, are not able otherwyſe to conteyne, why are we not permitted for the ſame cauſe & by the ſame permiſſiō, to haue likewyſe our wyues, but are enforced to forſake them beyng maried?

Maryage is permitted to the infirmitie of all men: Prieſts are infirme as other men be, Ergo, mariage ought to be permitted to Prieſtes alſo.

Wherfore either do you permit vs, followyng the apoſtle, to haue our wyues, or els teach vs that we come not of the ſame maſſe, either els ſhew vs that the ſame ſufferaunce & permiſſion is not graunted to vs by the Apoſtle which is graunted to other. Which cauſe peraduenture you will thus pretend: that this ſufferance was graunted of the Apoſtle, not to the clergy or to any of our order, but onely to lay men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the wordes of the Apoſtle, nor by any circumſtance of his Epiſtle, for as much as there is no certayne diſtinction or denomination either of perſons or degrees, or profeſſions there mentioned, neyther doth he make any difference eyther in names or offices of mē, either of thē which wrote vnto him, either of thoſe perſons of whō he wrote, or els of thoſe to whō he aunſwereth, but only in general to ẏ whole church of ẏ Corinthians, as he himſelfe in the beginnyng of his Epiſtle purporteth in theſe wordes: Paul called the apoſtle of Ieſus Chriſt, by the wil of God & Soſthenes his brother to the Church which is at Corinthe, ſuch as be ſanctified in Chriſt Ieſus, called ſaints, with al that inuocate the name of the lord. &c. [And after a few other wordes, which here for breuities ſake we omit, as not beyng greatly to the purpoſe pertinēt: thus he inferreth:] Theſe premiſſes being thē wel cōſidered, we beſech you to haue regard & compaſſion of our infirmitie, moſt humbly deſiring you, not to oppreſſe vs with this violence. For as we haue ſufficiently before proued, no mā ought to be conſtrayned vnto continency againſt his wyll, neyther is this kynd of vertue commaunded of god to any man, of neceſſitie, but only of voluntary deuotion to be offred vnto the Lord: as he hymſelfe ſpeaketh in the Goſpell: All men can not receiue this ſaying, but to whom it is geuen. Wherunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, ſaying: He that is able to receiue this, let him receiue it. &c.

1. Cor. 1.

Forced continencie, is no vertue.

Math. 19.

Wherfore for diſtinctions ſake Moyſes is not hymſelfe commaunded to clothe Aaron and hys ſonnes with breches as in theſe wordes goyng before: Thou ſhalt clothe wyth theſe Aaron thy brother, and his ſonnes with hym. &c. but he thus ſayeth: Thou ſhalt make linnen breches that they themſelues may couer the filth of their fleſh. That they thē ſelues (ſayeth he) may couer the filth of theyr fleſh. Thou (ſaith he) ſhalt make the breches for the biſhop & his ſons: thou ſhalt teach the rule of chaſtity: thou ſhalt exhort thē to abſteyne from the cōpany of their wyues, which ſhal do the prieſtes office: yet laying vpon none violently the ſayd yoke of continency, but whoſoeuer ſhall be prieſtes and ſhal ſerue the aulter, ſhall of their owne accorde ſurceaſſe from the vſe of matrimony: which when they ſhal do, & of their own voluntary conſent ſhal take vpon them the purpoſe of continēcy to ſerue the alter, then ſhal the grace of God be preſent, which as it did apparell thoſe other prieſtes aforeſayd with attire for them conuenient: ſo ſhall it inſtruct theſe aboundantly how they ought to lyue and to teache. And thys ſence well agreeth with the texte that followeth, ſaying: And when thou ſhalt waſh the father and his ſonnes with water, thou ſhalt take the garments, that is, the ſtraite cote, the tunicle and the breſtlappe, and put them vpon Aaron, & gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou ſhalt put the miter vpon his head, and ſhalt put the holy crowne vpon the miter, and thus ſhall he be conſecrated. Alſo thou ſhalt bryng his ſonnes and put coates vpon them, and ſhalt girde them with girdles, both Aaron & his ſonnes, and ſhalt put bonettes on them, and the Prieſtes office ſhall be theirs for a perpetuall law.

Exod. 19.

The place o Moyſes Exod 29. applyed.

Thus then you ſee a commaundement of receiuing the lynen breches of Moyſes. Whereby it playnely appeareth, that Aaron and hys ſonnes, firſt did apparell themſelues wyth this kynd of apparell, and ſo entred in to be waſhed, inducted, annointed and conſecrated by ẏ hands of Moyſes.

By the which we are plainly taught, that the yoke of continēcy is not to be inforced vpō any mā againſt his will, but is to be receiued of god with a prompt & a deuoute will. Which thing alſo Dyoniſius Areopagita that godly wyſe man, the Diſciple of S. Paule and ordeyned of him B. of Athenes, in a certayne Epiſtle of his ſent to Pynitus B. of the Gnaſians, in which he toucheth many things of mariage and chaſtitie (as is in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory rehearſed) doth admoniſh the ſaid Pynitus, and prayeth him that he will lay no greuous burthens vpon the neckes of ẏ Diſciples, neither inferre any neceſſitie of compelled chaſtitie vpon the brethren, wherby the infirmity of ſome of them might be in daunger. And Pynitus anſwering to Dionyſius againe, ſheweth himſelf willing to embrace the ſentēce of hys holeſome counſaile. The ſame alſo did Paphnutius, ẏ diuine & chaſt Biſhop, who in the Cōcell of Nice (as ẏ Tripertite hiſtory doth ſhew vs) when the fathers, which there were preſent wēt about to reſtraine prieſts frō mariage: he riſing vp amōgeſt them and moued with the zeale of mās infirmitie, deſired them that they would not ſo do, but rather to leaue it vnto the voluntary diſcretiō of euery mā, leaſt in ſo doyng they might peraduenture geue occaſion of adultery and fornication. For thoſe holy men did then vſe this cautele and moderation in Religion, that when they treated any thing concernyng inſtruction and edification of the people, and would haue them ſtyrred vp to a better lyfe by godly inſtructions, they would rather perſwade thinges to be obſerued with patience and lenitie, then commaunde with rigour and authoritie: neither would they compel any man to their obedience againſt his will.

Ex Hiſtor. Tripartita.

The ſpirite of lenitie required in Byſhops.

Whoſe examples you alſo followyng, which ſucceede in their roumes and name, do you not lay vpō vs infirme perſons, ſuch importable burthens, leſt you be partakers with the Phariſeys and lawyers of the Lords curſe: who ſaith: Woe to you lawyers which lay burthens vpon men, which they can not beare, and you your ſelues touch not the burdens with one finger. And leaſt the cry of the children of Iſraell aſcend vp to the Lord for the cruell dealing of them which are ouerſeers of the workes: Neither do you make ſuch Eunuches which are ſo borne from their mothers wombe, or ſuch Eunuches which are violētly made by mē, but rather thoſe Eunuches which of their owne accorde haue gelded themſelues for the kyngdome of heauen. Neyther do you bryng vpō the holy order of Gods miniſters for vs onely, ſuch an offence & ſclaunder, that for our wicked life you make the miniſtry to be deſpiſed of others, whyle you will not ſuffer them either to heare vs, or to receiue the ſacramentes of vs, infamyng thereby our leude lyfe, & cauſing ẏ ſauour of vs to ſtinke before Pharao, & his ſeruauntes. Wherein it ſemeth to vs ẏ you deale not ſoundly & vprightly, if a mā may ſo ſay (I pray you take it in good worth ẏ I ſpeak) & alſo to be againſt ẏ autority of gods word, & ẏ canonical cōſtitutiōs which you do: whereas ẏ lord ſaith by Moſes ẏ law geuer: the ſhame of thy mother thou ſhalt not diſcloſe, & her ignominy thou ſhalt not diſcouer. Our mother is ẏ church: ẏ ſonnes of this mother be al ẏ faithful, which name yet moſt fitly is appropriate vnto prieſts: for they do beget ẏ faithful, both by ẏ word of preaching & ſacrament of baptiſm. Was not he to be coūted a right mother: who ſaid, My litle childrē of whō I trauell in birth again? The ſhame & ignominy of our mother, what is it but ẏ reprouable cōuerſatiō of ẏ life of prieſts? which ſhame & ignominy is thē reueled when the life of prieſts is publikely infamed. Which thing you do, ẏ diſcouer & notifie vnto mē our fragilitie, lying before as hid & couered, becauſe before it was not knowen and for the ſame you bring the holy miniſtery & myſteries of god into contempt & hatred: as though the polluted life of other did any thing perteyne therto to pollute the ſame, and as though our vncleannes did any thing blemiſh them, or diminiſh the pureneſſe thereof, where as the Pſalmiſt ſayeth: The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate: Or as though they were any white polluted by our infection, which do receyue the ſayd myſteries eyther by our mouth,

Luke 11.

Exod. 3.

Read the Canons of the Apoſtles. Can. 22.

Math. 19.

Exod. 3.

Leuit. 18.

Gal. 4.

Pſal. 18.

or by our miniſterie. Which if you graunt to be ſo, then the Lord would neuer haue ſpoken ſo to his Diſciples and the people, touching the Phariſeis, ſaying: What ſo euer they byd you obſerue, that obſerue and do.

Math. 23.

The wickednes of the Miniſters make not the miniſterye worſe.

And agayne, if it were ſo, the Lord would not haue ſent forth Iudas, whom he knew ſhould betray hym, with the other Diſciples to preache, neither would haue committed to him the power of working myracles, & of geuing health, nor admitted hym to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impuritie ſhould infect our holy miſteries or miniſtrations, and make them worſe that heare and receiue the ſame, then the Lorde would neuer haue touched the Leper whom he had healed, neyther woulde he haue kyſſed hym, neyther woulde haue eaten with Symon an other Leper, neyther would haue ſuffered his feete to be kyſſed, & with the teares to be waſhed and with the heare to be dryed, and his head to be annoynted of Mary the ſinner.

Therefore the holy Canons haue thus decreed, that no man whiche rightly receyueth the Lordes Sacramentes of an heretique, ſhoulde be therfore any thyng corrupted by his hereticall prauitie, nor the ſaide Sacramentes ſhoulde be any whytte diſtayned by the infection of hym. Whereupon the Church of Rome in a certaine Epiſtle directed vnto Anaſtaſius the Emperour, by Anaſtaſius the Pope, did ſo ordeyne & write, that none of al them whom Acatius dyd baptiſe, or whō he ordeyned Canonically to be prieſtes or Leuites, ſhould be any thyng hurt by the name of the ſaide Acatius: ſo that thereby the Sacramentes whiche by him were miniſtred, ſhould ſeeme the leſſe firme and effectual. For the ſacrament of Baptiſme alſo beyng miniſtred of an adulterer or a theefe (which God forfend to be in the Church) doth come vnto the receyuer neuer a whyt the worſe. What meant that voyce which ſounded by the Doue, but that it excluded al euyl and impuritie of the corruption of man? in the which it is declared and ſaid: This is he which baptiſeth. &c. For if the beames of this viſible Sunne paſſing by the filthye places, receiue no ſpotte of filthynes thereby, much more the grace of hym which made this viſible Sunne, is not tyed to any worthynes of our workes. What ſoeuer therfore any miniſter of the Church worketh in his function to the behoofe of the people, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witneſſeth Paul by whom Chriſt ſpeaketh: I haue planted, and Apollo hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath geuē the encreaſe. God regardeth not ſo much, who or what maner of perſon dooth preache, but that he ſo preache, that he may confirme them that be nought, and cauſe thē to preach well of Chriſt. For ſuch is the operation of Gods mighty grace, that by euyll men he wynneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked perſons he getteth and gathereth together thoſe that be good.

Math. 3.

1. Cor. 3.

By theſe and ſuche other reaſons and authorityes aboue alleged, you ought to be perſwaded, neyther to abandon vs that be maryed, from the adminiſtration of diuine ſeruice, nor yet to excommunicate ſuche, to whom the matter nothing perteyneth, from the communion therof. And if we be euyl, we are euyll to our ſelues, and hurt our ſelues more then others. And ſuche as you ſuppoſe peraduenture to be vitious, yet may haue ſome good thing inwardly whiche you knowe not of.

1. Cor 7.

For many there be whom you iudge to be incontinent, which lyue more chaſtly then they whom you ſo greatly extoll for their continencie. We that haue wyues, according to the Apoſtles mynde, ſo haue them as though we had them not. Which gyft of continencie for as muche as you can not geue vs, pray therfore with vs and for vs, that he wil geue it vnto vs, who only is the geuer therof, and without whō no man is able to lyue continently. For otherwiſe we can not haue it, vnles we pray vnto hym frō the botome of our hartes, who is knowen to be the authour and geuer therof. And this ſame (ſaith Salomon) is wiſedome, to knowe whoſe gyft it is: neyther is there any gyft aboue this.

Sap. 8.

Theſe two Epiſtles written to Pope Nicolas vnder the title of Voluſianus, geueth vs to vnderſtande by the contentes therof, firſt that he hym ſelfe was then a maryed Biſhop.

Secondly, that the libertie of prieſtes Marriage ought not to bee reſtrayned by any generall Lawe, of compulſion: but to be leaft to euerye mans free choyſe and voluntarye deuotion.

Thirdly the ſaid Epiſtles being written to Pope Nicolas (if the title be true) declare, that this law prohibityng the lawfull matrimonie of Churchmen, began firſte in this Popes tyme, generally to be enacted.

Diſt. 32. Præter.

And although it be not here expreſſed, whiche Pope Nicolas this was, yet by the circumſtaunce of tyme, and eſpecially by the wordes of Pope Alexander 2. Diſtinct. 32. Præter, it may probably be eſteemed to be Nicolas. 2. and not Nicolas the firſt, as ſome doo ſuppoſe, amongſt whom is Illyricus in Centur. 9. cap. 10. and alſo Iohn Bale, De Scriptoribus Cent. 2. with certaine other: from whoſe iudgementes although I am loth to diſſent, yet notwithſtanding modeſtly and freely to vtter herein my opinion, this I ſuppoſe, that if ẏ truth of this matter were throughly tryed, it might peraduenture be founde, that they be herein deceyued, and all by miſtakyng a certaine place of Gracian. For the better explanation wherof, here is to be vnderſtanded, that amongſt the diſtinctiōs of Gracian there is a conſtitution, Diſt. 32. Nullus, the tenour wherof is this: Nullus Miſſam audiat Præbyteri, quem ſcit Concubinam indubitanter habere, aut ſubintroductam mulierem. &c. That is, That no man ſhall heare maſſe of any prieſte, whom he knoweth vndoubtedly to haue a Concubine, or a woman priuily reſortyng to hym. &c.

Flac. Illyric. Centur 9. cap. 10.

Ioan. Baleus, De ſcriptoribus Centur. 2.

A doubt diſcuſſed whether this Nicolas, was 1. or 2. to whom *Voluſianus* wrote.

Diſt. 32. Nullus.

This Decree for as much as Gracian doth allege vnder the name and title of Pope Nicolas, not namyng what Nicolas he was, therefore Iohn Bale and Illyricus, one folowyng the other, & they both folowing Volaterane Lib. 22. do vouch this conſtitution vpon Nicolas the firſt. The wordes of Volateran be theſe, writing of Nicolas the firſt: Multa hic vtilia conſtituit, inter quæ, nequis Concubinam habēti præsbytero aut ſacrificanti intereſſet, vt teſtatur Gracianus. &c.

Volateran. Lib. 22.
Diſt. 32. Præter.

In like effecte folowe alſo the wordes of Illyricus aforeſaide: Decretum fecit, ne quis à Sacerdote Sacramentum ſuſcipiat, , quem ſciret habere Concubinam, ſeu vxorem, and allegeth, as Volaterane dooth, the ſayde Diſtinction of, Gratiam Diſtinct. 32. Nullus. In allegyng wherof both they ſeeme to be deceyued, miſtakyng belike one Nicolas for an other, as may be proued, and made good by three or foure reaſons.

First, by the wordes of Pope Alexander the ſecond, in the nexte Chapter folowing, who being the ſucceſſour of Leo and Nicolas the ſecond, vſeth the ſame wordes in his Synode of Mantua (which Gracian referreth vnto Nicolas, and proſecuteth the ſame more amply and fully, alleging moreouer the former conſtitution of both his predeceſſours Pope Leo and Nicolas: whiche by al ſtoryes are knowen to be Leo the nynth, & Nicolas the ſecōd, which both were nexte before hym. The wordes of Alexander. 2. be theſe: Præter hoc autē præcipiendo mandamus, vt nullus Miſſam audiat præsbyteri quem ſcit Cōcubinam habere indubitanter, vel ſubintroductam mulierem, vnde etiam ſancta Synodus hoc capitulum ſub excommunicatione ſtatuit, dicens: Quicunque Sacerdotum, diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt cōſtitutum beatæ memoriȩ prȩdeceſſoris noſtri ſancti Leonis Papȩ et Nicolai, de caſtitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit. &c. By the whiche wordes ſpeakyng of Nicolas his predeceſſour, it is euident to vnderſtande this to be Pope Nicolas the ſeconde, which was his next predeceſſor, and not pope Nicolas the firſt, who was about. 200. yeares before hym.

The firſt reaſon to proue this Nicolas to whom *Voluſianus* wrote, to be Nicolas. 2.

The conſtitution of Pope Alexander. 2. agaynſt prieſtes mariage

The ſeconde reaſon. I take out of the next Chapter of Gracian goyng before, where he allegeth agayne the ſame Nicolas writyng to Otho Archbiſhop. Which Otho was then in the tyme of this Nicolas the ſecond Archbiſhop of Colen, and was afterwarde in the Councell of Mantua, vnder Pope Alexander 2, teſte Ioan. Quintio, Iure conſulto. Wherby it muſt needes be graunted, that this was Nicolas the ſecond, and not the firſt.

The 2. reaſon.

Ex Ioan. Quintio In Speculo Sacerdotij.

The thyrde coniecture or reaſon is this, for that Pope Nicolas ẏ firſt neuer made any ſuch Act or Decree, ẏ Prieſtes ẏ were entangled with a Concubine, ſhould neyther ſing Maſſe, nor that any ſhould reſort to heare the Maſſe of ſuche. &c. but rather the contrarye. For ſo we reade in ẏ hiſtorie of Antoninus, and in the Decrees 15. q. 8. Sciſcitantibus. Sciſcitantibus vobis ſi a ſacerdote qui fuerit comprehenſus in adulterio, ſiue de hoc ſola fama reſperſerit, debeatis Communionem ſuſcipere, nec ne, reſpondemus: Non poteſt aliquis quantumcunque pollutus ſit, ſacramenta diuina polluere, quȩ Purgatoria cunctarum contagionum exiſtunt. &c.

The thyrd reaſon

Antoninus Tart. 2. tit. 16.

And yet more playnely alſo afterwarde he ſayth: Conſulendum decernitis vtrum præsbyterum habentem vxorem debeatis ſuſtentare et honorare, an à vobis proijcere? In quo reſpondemus, quoniam licet ipſi valdè ſint reprehenſibiles, vos tamen conuenit Deum imitari, qui ſolem ſuum oriri facit ſuper bonos et malos, deijcere enim à vobis eos nō debetis. Diſtinct. 18. Cōſulendum. &c. That is, Where ye demaunde concernyng the Prieſte that hath a wyfe, whether ye ought to ſuſteyne hym, and honour him, or reiecte hym from you, we anſweare: That albeit they be verye muche blame worthy, yet ye ought to be folowers of God, whiche maketh his ſunne to ryſe both vpō the good, and vpon the badde. And therefore ye ought not to reiecte ſuch away from you. &c.

Diſt. 18. Conſulendum.

Ex Antonio ibidem.

And this Nicolas, Antoninus confeſſeth playnely to be Nicolas the firſte. whereby it is not onely vnlike, but alſo moſte certayne that Nicolas the firſte was not the father of this conſtitution, eyther to exterminate marryed prieſtes from their churches, or to excommunicate the people from receyuyng their Communion, much leſſe then frõ hearing their ſeruice.

The fourth reaſon out of the wordes of Voluſianus,

Fourthly, for as muche then as it is vndoubted that Nicolas. 2. and Alexander. 2. through the inſtigation of wicked Hildebrand, were the authours of that conſtitution whereof Gracian ſpeaketh, it remayneth playne by the wordes of Voluſianus, in the latter ende of his Letter, (wherin he maketh mention both of diſchargyng the prieſt from ſingyng Maſſe, & the people from hearyng) that the ſaide Epiſtle was written, not to Pope Nicolas the firſt, but to the ſecond. for becauſe both theſe wer decreed againſt marryed prieſtes vnder Nicolas. 2. and Alexander. 2. as is afore declared.

Ex teſtimonio Ioan. Quintij De Clericorum moribus.

And further, leaſt my iudgement herein ſhoulde ſeeme to ſtande alone and ſingular, without ſome to take my part, I wyl here produce for me a Pariſian Doctour, and a famous Lawyer, Ioannes Quintius aboue mentioned, who in his booke De Clericorum moribus, playnely accordeth with myne opinion, touching this Nicolas authour of the Decree aforeſaide, where he writeth in theſe wordes: Nicolaus Papa Othoni Colonienſi Archiepiſc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices. Primum, ſecundumue oportuit eſſe, qui hæc reſcripſerit, ille Romanus, ann. 860. hic Burgundus, ann. 1059. Reliquos Nicolaos anteceſſit Gratianus, qui ſcripſit hæc, anno. 1150. Poſteriorem fuiſſe credo, qui in Panomiæ lib. 3. Tit. de lapſis, nominatur Nicolaus iunior, cuius eſt et aliud Decretum ſequens. &c. That is to ſay in Engliſh: Pope Nicolas writing to Otho Archbiſhop of Colen. Gloſ. There haue bene in all, fiue Popes called by this name of Nicolas. Of the whiche fiue, this Nicolas the writer hereof muſte be eyther the firſte, or ſeconde: the one a Romane, ann. 860. the other a Burgundian, ann. 1059. or. 1060. the other Nicolas lyued after Gratian, who wrote in the yeare. 1150. In my iudgement I ſuppoſe this to be Nicolas the ſeconde, whiche in the thyrde booke of the Lawes called Pannoniæ. Tit. de Lapſis, is named Nicolas the younger. Whiche Nicolas alſo is authour of the next Decree that foloweth. &c.

The authour of this booke of *Panomia*, was *Iue Carnotenſis*, in which booke he compiled diuers Canons of Popes and Byſhops.

Obiection anſwered,

Wherefore if any ſhall obiecte hereafter, that becauſe Gratian in the Diſtinction aforeſayde, nameth Pope Nicolas abſolutely without any addition, it is therefore to be taken for Nicolas the firſt: vnto this obiection I ſet here theſe two Lawyers to anſweare. Unto whoſe anſweare this I adde alſo, that the common manner of Gracian lightly in al his Diſtinctions is, that when he ſpeaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and ſuche other, verye ſeldome he expreſſeth the difference of their names. So in the Diſt. 18. Præsbyteris, where he bringeth in yͤ Decree of Pope Calixtus in like mãner againſt yͤ Matrimonie of prieſtes, Deacõs, & Subdeacõs, he addeth thereto no diſcrepance of his name: and yet al the world knoweth, that this was Calixtus the ſecõd, and not the firſt. &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters (no doubt) by their title appeare to be written by Voluſianus. Moſt certaine this is, by whõ ſo euer they were written, fruitful Epiſtles they are, & effectual to the purpoſe.

But leaſt we ſhal ſeeme too much to digreſſe from our purpoſe, let vs returne to the ſtory & tyme of Nicolas the ſecond againe, which was about the yeare, as is ſaid. 1060 a litle before Hildebrand was Pope. Whiche Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a Cardinall, yet was he the whole doer of all thynges, and concluded what hym lyſted in the Church of Rome, and alſo made Popes, whom he would, as appeared both by this Nicolas, & alſo pope Alexander which folowed him. pag. 174. So that this diſſolutiõ of prieſtes mariage begã ſomewhat to kindle vnder this pope Nicolas, through the peſtilent meanes of Hildebrand, and after him increaſed more vnder Pope Alexander, as appeareth by the Synode holden at Millane, an. 1067. but moſt of al it burſt out vnder the ſayd Hildebrand hym ſelfe beyng Pope. the yeare (as is ſayd) 1076.

Reade afore p. 3. 174.

The tyme examined of this Voluſianus Epiſtle to Pope Nicolas.

Although as touchyng this prohibition of prieſtes to be marryed, I am not ignoraunt, that certayne of the contrary faction, in ſearchyng out the reache and antiquitie of this tradition, for prieſtes to abſtayne from wyues, do referre the ſame to the tyme of the ſeconde Councell of Carthage, which was about yͤ tyme of Pope Syritius, a great enemy to Miniſters wyues, as appeareth Diſtinct. 84. Cũ preterito. yet notwithſtandyng to the ſame maye be anſweared, that this was no vniuerſall or general Councell, but ſome particular Synode, and therfore of no ſuch great forceable authoritye.

Diſt. 84. cap. Cum preterito.

Concilium Carthag. 2. Can. 2.

2 Secondly, the ſame Synode beyng about the tyme of Pope Syritius, who was a capital enemy againſt prieſtes marryage, may ſeeme to drawe ſome corruption of the tyme then preſent.

3 Thyrdly, neyther is it vnpoſſible, but as dyuers baſtarde Epiſtles haue bene falſely fathered vpon certayne auncient Biſhoppes of the Primitiue Churche, and diuers Canons alſo (as of the Councell of Nice) haue bene corrupted by Byſhoppes of Rome, ſo ſome falſehoode likewiſe or forgerye myght be vſed in this ſeconde Councell of Carthage.

4 Fourthly, although no falſe conueyaunce had bene vſed therein, yet for ſo much as the ſayd Canon of this ſecõd Councell of Carthage dooth miſreport and falſifie the Canons of the Apoſtles, in ſo doyng it dooth iuſtly diminiſhe his owne credite.

5 Fiftly, ſeeyng the foreſayde Canon of this ſeconde Councel of Carthage tendeth cleane contrarye to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to the Councel of Gangra, and other Councelles moe, and commaundeth that, whiche they doo accurſe, the authoritie thereof ought to haue no great force, but rather may be reiected.

6 Finally, though this conſtitution of the Councell of Carthage were perfectly ſounde without all corruption, yet playne and euident it is by this Voluſianus, Byſhop alſo of Carthage, that the ſame conſtitution tooke no great holde in the Churche, for ſo muche as we ſee, that both this Voluſianus was marryed after that in Carthage hym ſelfe, and alſo beſides hym manye hundreth yeares after, Marryage was a common matter through moſt churches of Chriſtendome, amongeſt Biſhoppes and prieſtes, as partly before hath bene declared. And more maye be ſeene in hyſtoryes, what great tumultes and buſineſſe was long after that in Hildebrandes tyme, and after hym alſo amongeſt the Clergie men, both in Italie, Spayne, France, and in al quarters of Chriſtendome, for ſeparatyng prieſts frõ their libertie of marryng.

Prieſtes and byſhops maried long after the 2. Councell of Carthage.

And agayne, if this tradition concernyng the vnmarryed lyfe of Prieſtes had ſtande vppon ſuche an olde foundation frõ yͤ ſecond Cõucel of Carthage (as they pretend) what needed then in the tyme of Pope Nicolas. 2. Pope Alexander. 2. Pope Gregory. 7. and of other Popes after them, ſo muche labour to be taken, ſo many Lawes and decrees to be deuiſed & enacted, for the aboliſhing of prieſts marryage, if the ſame had bene of ſuch a long antiquitie as they would make men beleue?

By theſe thynges conſidered it may appeare, that this diſtraction of Prieſtes marriage, by publique Lawe compellyng them to ſingle life, was neuer receyued for a ful law generally to be obſerued in the Church of Rome, but onely ſince the begynnyng of Hildebrand, that is, ſince theſe fiue hundred yeares.

The generall law for bidding prieſtes to marye, when it firſt beganne.

Aboute whiche tyme firſte is to be noted, that vnder Pope Leo and this Pope Nicolas, Cranzius, and certayne Germayne Chronicles doo ſaye, that Symonie and Prieſtes Marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was, ann. 1051.

After hym Pope Nicolas (to whom the foreſaid Letter of Voluſianus ſeemeth to be written) made this ordinance: Vt nullus miſſam audiat præsbyteri quẽ ſcit concubinã indubitanter habere, aut ſubintroductã mulierẽ. Et mox: Quicunq; Sacerdotũ, Diaconorũ, Subdiaconorũ, poſt conſtitutũ beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtris ſanctiſſ. Papæ Leonis, de caſtitate clericorũ, concubinã palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte omnipotentis Dei et authoritate beati Petri et Pauli præcipimus, et omninò cõtradicimus vt Miſſam non cantet. &c. That is, What ſo euer prieſte, Deacon, or Subdeacon, accordyng to the conſtitution of Pope Leo our predeceſſour, concernyng the chaſtitye of Clerkes, ſhal openly mary a Concubine, or ſhal not put her away beyng marryed: in the behalfe of almighty God. &c. we vtterly charge and forbydde the ſame, that he ſing no Maſſe, nor reade the Goſpel or Epiſtle at Maſſe, nor execute any diuine ſeruice. &c. And this was aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 1058.

Ex Romana Sinodo. 4.

Although in this conſtitution of Pope Nicolas, this worde Concubine may be vnderſtanded for no wyfe, but ſo as Gratian vnderſtandeth it in the. 16. Canon of the Apoſtles in theſe wordes: Concubina verò intelligenda eſt præter vxorem: That is, for one beſides a mans wyfe. Then after this Pope Nicolas, commyng Pope Alexander, and ſpecially Pope Hildebrande, doo expounde this Concubine forbydden, for a wyfe, and ſuch prieſts as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans: for ſo we reade in the Synode of Millane, vnder Pope Alexander the ſecond: Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra caſtitatis Eccleſiaſticæ regulam fœminis admiſcentur. &c.

Concubina.

Diſt. 33. quis.

Ex Sinod. Mediolaneſ.

Maryed Prieſtes called Nicolaitas.

And further it foloweth in the ſame Synode: Nicolaitarum quoq; hæreſin nihilominus condemnamus, et nō modo præsbyteros, ſed et Diaconos et Subdiaconos ab vxorum, vel cōcubinarum fœdo conſortio noſtris ſtudijs, in quantum nobis poſſibilitas fuerit, arcendos eſſe promittimus. &c.

And after it followeth in this wiſe: Si hæc de Simoniaca et Nicolaitarum hæreſi delenda et funditus deſtruenda fideliter non obſeruauero, ab omnipotenti Deo, et omnibus Sanctis ſim excommunicatus et anathematizatus, et ab omni Chriſtianorum conſortio inueniar alienus.

Ibidem.

The Sinode of Millane agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

(1067.)

And moreouer it foloweth vpon the ſame: Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreſes extollentes ſe aduerſus ſanctam Catholicam et Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſpecialiter verò et nominatim Simoniacam hæreſin: deinde Nicolaitarum æquè abominabilem hæreſin, quæ impudenter latrat, ſacri altaris Miniſtros debere vel poſſe licenter vti coniugibus, quomodo et laicos. &c. As muche to ſaye in Engliſhe, as, I doo accurſe all hereſies, extollyng them ſelues agaynſte the holy Catholique and Apoſtolique church, but eſpecially and namely, the hereſie of Simonie: and in like manner, the abominable hereſie of the Nicolaitanes, whiche impudently barketh, that the Miniſters of the holy aultar may and ought to vſe wyues lawfully, as wel as laye men. &c. And thus much concerning the Synode of Millaine, vnder Pope Alexander. 2. anno. 1067.

Pope Hildebrand the greateſt enemye to prieſtes mariage.

Next after this Alexander, roſe vp Pope Hildebrande, of al other, the chiefeſt and moſt principal enemie agaynſte Prieſtes Marriage. For whereas all other approued Canons and Councelles were contented, that any Clergie man hauing a wife before his entryng into his miniſterie, might enioye the libertie of his marriage, ſo that he marryed not a wydowe, or a knowen harlotte, or kept a Concubine, or were twiſe marryed, nowe commeth in Pope Hildebrande, makyng Prieſtes Marriage to be hereſie, and further enactyng: That what ſo euer Clerke, Deacon, or Myniſter had a wyfe, what ſo euer ſhee was, (mayde or other) eyther before his orders, or after, ſhoulde vtterly put her from hym, or elles forſake his Miniſterie. &c.

1 Tim. 4.

Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgenſi.

Math, 19.

Although notwithſtandyng the greateſt parte of Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters ſeeyng thus ſtraunge doctrine and proceedinges (whiche Saint Paule expreſſely calleth the doctrine of Deuylles) dyd what they coulde to withſtande the ſame. Of whom Lambertus Scafnaburgenſis thus writeth: Aduerſus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum, et veſani dogmatis eſſe clamitans, qui oblitus ſermonis Domini, quo ait: Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum: Qui poteſt capere, capiat. &c. Et Apoſtoli: Qui ſe non continet, nubat: Melius eſt nubere, quàm vri, Violenta exactione homines viuere cogeret ritu Angelorum. Quod ſi pergeret, malle ſe ſacerdotium, quàm coniugium deſerere. &c. In Engliſhe thus: Agaynſte this Decree, the whole number of the Clergie dyd vehemently ſtorme and grudge, crying oute vppon hym, as a pernicious heretique, and one that maynteyned phantaſticall doctrine: who forgettyng what the Lorde ſayth: All men can not take this woorde: He that can take it, let hym take it. And alſo what the Apoſtle ſayth: Who ſo can not otherwiſe conteyne, let hym marrye: better it is to marrye, then to burne. &c. Yet notwithſtandyng woulde bynde men to lyue lyke Aungelles. Who if he continued as he beganne, they woulde (they ſayde) ſooner forſake the order of Prieſtehoode, then theyr order of Matrimonie. &c.

The Councell of Rome agaynſt prieſtes mariage vnder Pope Hildebrand.

(1074.)

Which Hildebrande, all this notwithſtandyng, yet ceaſed not ſtyll to call vpon them, and to ſende to the Biſhops euery where to execute his commaundement with all ſeueritie, threatnyng to laye the Apoſtolicall Cenſure vppon thē, if otherwiſe they ſhewed not their diligence therein to the vttermoſte. Ex Lamb. This was, ann. 1074. Of the ſame Hildebrande, Radulphus de Diceto alſo writing hath theſe woordes:

Ex Radulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius Papa ſeptimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Symoniacos anathematizauit, vxoratos ſacerdotes à Diuino remouit officio, et Laicis Miſſam eorum audire interdixit, nouo exemplo, et (vt multis viſum eſt) inconſiderato præiudicio, contra ſanctorum patrum ſententiam. etc. The Engliſhe is this: Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth called Hildebrande holdyng a Synode, accurſed, ſuche as commytted Symonie, and remoued marryed Prieſtes from ſaying ſeruice, forbyddyng alſo the laye men to heare their Maſſe, after a newe and ſtraunge example, and as manye thought, after an vnconſiderate preiudice, agaynſte the ſentence of holy fathers.

And thus muche for the antiquitie of bryngyng in the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes, whiche firſt ſpryngyng from the tyme of Pope Nicolas and Alexander. 2. began firſt with a cuſtōe, & afterward was brought into a law, chiefely by Pope Hildebrand, and ſo ſpread from Italie into other coūtreys, and at length into England alſo, albeit not without muche adoo, as ye ſhal heare, the Lord wyllyng.

Lanfranckes lawe for prieſtes not to marye.

In the meane while as Pope Nicolas and Hildebrand were buſie at Rome, ſo Lanfranke Archb. of Canterbury likewiſe was doing here in Englande about the ſame matter, although he beganne not altogether ſo roughly as pope Hildebrand dyd, for ſo it appeared by his Councell holden at Wincheſter: Where though he inhibited ſuche as were Prebendaries of Cathedrall Churches to haue wyues, yet dyd he permytte in his Decree, that ſuche Prieſtes as dwelt in townes and villages, hauyng wyues, ſhoulde retaine them ſtill, and not to be compelled to be ſeparate from them: and they which had none, ſhould be inhibited to haue: enioynyng moreouer the Biſhoppes thus, to foreſee hereafter, that they preſumed not to admit into order, any prieſtes or Deacons, vnles they ſhoulde firſt make a ſolemne profeſſion to haue no wyues.

Ex actis Concilij Wintonienſis ſub Lanfranco.

The woordes of the Councell be theſe: Decretumque eſt, vt nullus Canonicus vxorem habeat, ſacerdotum verò in caſtellis et in vicis habitantium habentes vxores, non cogantur vt dimittant, non habentes, interdicantur vt habeant: et deinceps caueant Epiſcopi, vt Sacerdotes vel Diaconi non præſumant ordinare, niſi profiteantur vt vxores non habeant. etc.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ.

Lanfranche ſuppoſed not to be a pure virgine.

And here to note by the way, of the ſayd Lanfranke, for all his glorious gaye ſhewe of his monkiſhe virginitie and ſingle lyfe, yet he eſcaped not altogether ſo vnſpotted for his part, but that the Storie of Mathewe Paris, writyng of Paulus Cadonenſis, whom Lanfranke preferred ſo gladly to be Abbot of S. Albons, thus reporteth of hym: Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadonenſis Archiepiſcopi Lanfranci nepos, iure, aliquorum relationibus, conſanguinitate propinquior. etc. That is, Paul a Monke of Cadune, and nephewe of the Archbiſhop Lanfranke, yea and as ſome ſaye further, more neare in bloud to hym, then ſo. etc.

Anſelme Archb. of Canterburie a conſtant doer agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

Concil. Lateran. Cau. 14. De Clericis matrimonio copulatis.

Then after Lanfranke, came Anſelme into the See of Canterburye, who takyng to hym a ſtouter ſtomacke, more fiercely and egerly laboured this matter, in abrogating vtterly the Marriage of Prieſtes, Deacons, Subdeacōs, and of the vniuerſal Clergie, not permittyng, as Lanfrāke dyd, Prieſtes that had wyues, in villages and townes, to keepe them ſtyll, but vtterly commaundyng, and that vnder great paine, not only Prieſts and Deacons, but Subdeacons alſo (which is againſt the Councell of Laterane) which were already maryed, to be ſeparated, and that none ſhould be receyued into order hereafter, without profeſſion of perpetual chaſtitie.

And yet notwithſtandyng, for all this great bluſtering and thundering of this Romiſhe Μισόγαμος, the Prieſtes yet ſtyll holdyng their owne, as well as they coulde, gaue not muche place to his vnlawfull Iniunction, but kept ſtyll their wyues almoſt two hundred yeares after, refuſing and reſiſting of long tyme, the yoke of that ſeruile bondage, to keepe ſtyl their freedome from ſuch vowing, profeſſing, and promiſing, as maye well appeare by thoſe Prieſtes of Yorke, of whom Gerardus Archbiſhop of Yorke ſpeaketh, wrytyng to Anſelme in theſe woordes: Sitio Clericorum meorum integritatem, ſed preterquam in paucis admodum, vt Aſpidis ſurditatem, vel fabuloſi cuiuſdam Prothei mutabilitatem inuenio. Varijs linguarum aculeis, minas, modò conuitia infligunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores ſunt, tolero. Illud omninò graue genus mali eſt, quod hi qui quaſi in ſinu meo ſunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent, canones aſpernāt, aduerſus cōcilij noſtri ſtatuta, quaſi Sophiſtici diſputatores argumētantur: profeſſiones verò mihi penitus abnegant Canonici illi, qui ſine profeſſione ad ſacros ordines inordinabiliter ſunt prouecti, et qui in præsbyteratu vel Diaconatu conſtituti, vxores ſiue Concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla ſe reuerentia continuerunt. Cùm verò ad ordines aliquos inuito, dura ceruice nituntur, ne in ordinando caſtitatem profiteantur: In Engliſhe thus: I muche deſire the puritie of my clergye men. Howbeit, except it be in very fewe, I finde in thē the deafnes of the ſerpēt aſpis, & the incōſtācie of Protheus that the Poetes fable ſpeake of. With their ſtinging tonges they caſte out ſome whyle threates, ſome whyle tauntes and rebukes. But this greeueth me leſſe in them that be further of. This greeueth me moſt of all, that they whiche be of myne owne Churche, as in myne owne boſome, and Prebendaryes of myne owne See, contemne our Canons, and argue lyke Sophiſtical diſputers, agaynſte the ſtatutes of our Councel. The Prebendaryes whiche vnordinatly haue bene taken into orders heretofore without makyng vowe or profeſſion, refuſe vtterly to make profeſſion to me. And they that be prieſtes or Deacons, hauyng marryed before openly wyues or Concubines, wyll not be remoued for any reuerence from the Aultare. And when I cal vpon any to receyue order, ſtyffely they deny to profeſſe chaſtitie in theyr orderyng. etc.

Hereby appeareth that prieſtes in the olde tyme here in England neuer made vow of chaſtitie at their orders, before thys tyme.

Thus for all the rigorous auſteritie of this Anſelme in forcyng his Decree made at London, agaynſte the marriage of Prieſtes, yet the ſame had no greate ſucceſſe, neyther in his lyfe tyme, nor after his lyfe. For although ſundrye Prieſtes duryng his lyfe tyme, were compelled by his extremitie, to renounce their wiues, yet many denyed to obey hym.

Ex Edmero lib. 4.

Diuers were contented rather to leaue their benefices, then their wyues. A great number were permitted by kyng Henry, for money to enioy their wyues. which was ſo chargeable vnto them (ſayth Edmer in his fourth boke) that at length two hundred Prieſtes, in their Albes and Prieſtly veſtementes, came barfoote to the kynges Palace crying to hym for mercye, and eſpecially makyng their ſuite to the Queene, who vſing much compaſſion towardes them, yet durſt not make for them any interceſſion.

Read afore pag. 195.

Anſelme at this tyme was ouer the Sea, makyng his voyage to the Pope. Who hearyng hereof, writeth to the kyng, declaryng that ſuche forfeytures apperteyned nothyng to hym, but onely vnto Biſhoppes, and in their defaulte to the Archbiſhoppes. whereof reade more, pag. 195. So wylfull was the blynde zeale of this Prelate, agaynſte all reaſon, agaynſte nature it ſelfe, agaynſte the example of his forefathers, agaynſt publique cuſtome of his owne tyme, agaynſte the doctrine of the Apoſtles, the conſtitution of Councelles, agaynſte al honeſtie, and al Gods forbode, that he neyther at the contemplation of the kyng, nor at the cryyng out and publique dolour of ſo many prieſtes, nor yet moued with the letters of Pope Paſchalis hym ſelf (who puttyng hym in remembraunce of ſo many prieſtes ſonnes, wylled hym to conſider the neceſſitie of the tyme. pag. 197.

Read afore pag. 197. col. 2.

would yet nothyng relente from his ſtubburne purpoſe, vnto his latter end. In whom as many great crimes may iuſtly be noted, ſo of all other, this is moſt principally in him to be reprehended: for ÿ he ſeyng & perceyuyng what Sodomiticall filthe and abomination, with other inconuenienceſ, dyd ſpryng incontinently vpon this his Diabolicall doctrine, yet for al that woulde not geue ouer his peſtilent purpoſe.

After the prohibition of Matrimonye followed the vice of Sodomitrye.

For ſo the ſtorye recordeth, that when Anſelme had eſtabliſhed his Synodall conſtitution, in ſeparating Prieſtes from their wyues (whiche was, ann. 1103.) not long after, rumours and complayntes were brought to hym, of the execrable vice of Sodomitrie, whiche then begaune ſpecially to raigne in the Clergie, after this inhibitiõ of Matrimonie.

An acte of Anſelme agaynſt Sodomitrie.

Whereupon Anſelme was conſtrayned to call an other Councell at Paules within London, to prouide for this miſchefe. In whiche Councell this Acte was made: Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, et eos in hac voluntate iuuantes, graui anathemate damnamus, donec pœnitentia et confeſſione abſolutionem mereantur. &c. All them that commyt the vngratious ſinne of Sodomitrye, and them alſo which aſſiſt them in this theyr wicked purpoſe, with greeuous curſe we do condemne, tyl ſuch tyme as they ſhall deſerue abſolution by penance and confeſſion, &c.

Thus ye haue hearde what abominable wickednes enſued after that Prieſtes were debarred from marriage, & what ſore puniſhment was deuiſed by this mayde nly prelate, for extirping ÿ ſinful wickednes: in ÿ aboliſhing whereof, more wiſely he ſhould haue remoued away the occaſion, whereof he was the authour hym ſelfe, then by penaltie to ſuppreſſe it, which he could neuer do.

The pennaltie prouided agaynſt Sodomitrie.

Nowe let vs heare further, what folowed in that worthy Councel: Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, ſtatutum eſt, ſiquidem fuerit perſona religioſi ordinis, vt ad nullum amplius gradum promoueatur, et ſi quem habet, ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, vt in toto Regno Angliȩ legali ſua condignitate priuetur. Et ne huius criminis abſolutionem, iјs qui ſe ſub regula viuere vouerunt, aliquis niſi Epiſcopus deinceps facere præſumat. Statutum quoque eſt, vt per totam Angliam in omnibus Eccleſijs, et in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renouetur. &c. Which is as much to ſay in Engliſh: It is enacted, that who ſo euer ſhalbe publikely knowen to be gylty hereof, if he be a religious perſon, he ſhal from thence forth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, ſhalbe take from hym. If he be a lay perſon, he ſhalbe depriued of al his fredome within the whole Realme of Englande. And that none vnder a Biſhop ſhal preſume to aſſoyle ſuch as haue ben Monkes profeſſed, of that treſpaſſe. It is alſo enacted, that euery ſonday in the yeare, and in euery pariſhe Church in Englãd, this general curſe aforeſayd ſhalbe publiſhed and renued. &c. Ex Rog. Houed. et Epiſt. Anſelm. 278.

Ex epiſt. Anſelm. Rog. Houeden.

Is not here (trowe you) good diuiſion of Juſtice, that lawful wedlocke of prieſtes can finde no grace nor pardon, yea, is made now hereſie: where adulterie & horrible Sodomitrie is waſhed awaye with a litle confeſſiõ? And ſee yet what foloweth more. After that this penall curſe ſhoulde now go abroade and be publiſhed in Churches, the monkes perceyuyng this matter to touche them ſomewhat neare, whiſpered in Anſelmes eare, perſwadyng hym that ÿ publication of that Acte might growe to great daunger and inconuenience, in opening ÿ vice which before was not knowen: in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort tyme after, that curſe was called in agayne.

The curſe agaynſt curſed Sodomitrie called in agayne.

Ex Ioan Treuiſa.

And ſo curſed Sodomitrie & adulterie paſſed free without puniſhment, or worde ſpoken againſt it, where contrary godly matrimonie could finde no mercy.

Vertue puniſhed, vyce ſcapeth free.

Nowe what reaſons and argumentes this Anſelme ſucked out of the Court of Rome, to proue the matrimonie of Prieſtes vnlawful, were it not for combryng the reader with tediouſnes, here would be ſhewed. Briefely, the chiefe groundes of al his long diſputation, in his booke entituled, Offendiculum Sacerdotum, betweene the Maiſter and ſcoler, come to this effect.

Anſel. Offendiculum Sacerdotum,

Argument.

The reaſons and argumentes of Anſelme agaynſt the mariage of prieſtes.

Prieſtes of the old law, duryng the tyme of their miniſtration, abſteined from their wyues:

Ergo, Prieſtes in the tyme of the Goſpel, which euery day miniſter at the aultar, muſt neuer haue any wyues.

¶ An other Argument.

Moſes, when he ſhould ſanctifie the people, goyng vp to the hyll, commaunded them to ſequeſter them ſelues from their wyues three dayes:

Ergo, Prieſts that muſt be ſanctified to the lord alwayes, ought to lyue chaſte alwayes without wyues.

¶ An other Argument.

Dauid, before he ſhoulde eate of the ſhewbread, was aſked whether he and his company had ben without the company of their wiues three dayes:

Ergo, Prieſtes that be continually attending vpon the table and Sacramentes of the Lorde, ought neuer to haue company with any ſuch.

¶ An other Argument.

Oza, which put his hand to the Arke, was ſlaine therefore, as it is thought, becauſe he lay with his wife the night before: 2 King. 6.

Ergo, Prieſtes whoſe handes be alwayes occupyed aboute the Lordes ſeruice, muſt be pure from companye of wife, or any woman.

¶ An other Argument.

Nadab, and Abiud, which ſacrificed with ſtraunge fire, were deuoured therefore, becauſe they companyed with their wyues the ſame night: Num. 4.

Ergo, Prieſtes and Sacrificers muſte haue no wyues to companye withal.

¶ An other Argument.

The Prieſtes of the Gentiles, in olde tyme when they ſacrificed to their Idoles, are ſayd to lye from their wyues:

Ergo, muche more the Prieſtes that ſacrifice to the lyuyng God, ought ſo to do.

¶ An other Argument.

Chriſt was borne of a Virgin, Chriſt liued euer a virgine, and commaundeth them that wyl ſerue hym, to folow hym. Qui mihi miniſtrat, me ſequatur: id eſt, Si vis mihi miniſtrare, me caſtè viuendo imitare. John. 12.

Ergo, Prieſts that haue wyues are not meete to ſerue hym.

1. Corinth. 7.

Let euerye man haue his owne wyfe for auoydyng of fornication.

The expoſition of Anſelme.

That is meant and graunted of the Apoſtle, only to lay men: Hoc ſolis laicis eum conceſsiſſe, nemo ignorat.

The groſſe expoſitions of Anſelme, vpon the wordes of S. Paule.

1. Corinth. 7.

Melius eſt nubere quàm vri: It is better to marry then to burne.

Melius

The expoſition.

Melius, id eſt, leuius eſt legitimæ vxori nubere, quàm vri, id eſt, quàm alienarum mulierum concupiſcentia conſumi It is a lighter faulte to marrye one lawfull wyfe, then to be conſumed with concupiſcence of ſtraunge women.

1. Timoth. 3.

Oportet eſſe epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem, vnius vxoris virum. &c. A Biſhop ought to be vnreproueable, the husbande of one wyfe. &c.

The expoſition.

Præcipit Apoſtolus, ne quis ad ſacerdotium accedere præſumat, niſi is qui nō niſi vnicam vxorē laicus habuiſſet: Accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione ſe copularet, tantum vitæ neceſſaria ei ſubminiſtraret: That is, The Apoſtle here commaundeth, that none ſhould preſume to be Prieſt, but he who beyng a lay man before, hath had no more but one wyfe: And after he be made prieſt, not to couple hym ſelfe any more wyth her, but onely to miniſter to her, thynges neceſſary for her lyuyng. &c.

The concluſion or cenſure of Anſelme vpon maried prieſtes.

And finally after theſe thynges thus diſputed, and alleged, the ſaid Anſelme concludeth the matter with this final cenſure and determination, as foloweth: Per hoc autem quod ſacras veſtes induunt, vel ſacra vaſa tangunt, Chriſto violenter manus iniiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præſumunt, Chiſtum quodam modo viſibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur miniſterium eorum, Chriſti perſecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur: In Engliſh thus: In that theſe mē (he ſpeaketh of married Prieſtes) doo putte on the holy veſtementes, or doo touche the holy veſſelles, they doo laye violent handes vpon Chriſte. And in that they preſume impudently to offer, they do in a maner, viſibly crucifie Chriſte vpon the altare. The miniſterie of ſuch is read to be a perſecution, or rather a crucifying of Chriſte. &c.

Aunſwere to Anſelmes reaſons.

Lo here the mighty reaſons, the ſtrong tymbered argumentes, and the deepe Diuinitie wherewith this Anſelme and all other that drawe after his ſtringe, goe about to impugne the lawfulneſſe of Prieſtes Marriage. Becauſe the Iſraelites when they ſhoulde appeare before the Lorde at Mount Sinai, were commaunded to keepe from their wyues three dayes: and becauſe the Prieſtes of the olde Lawe in doyng their function, as their turne came about, refrained the companie of their wyues for that preſent tyme: Ergo, Prieſtes of the newe Law muſt at no tyme haue any wyues, but lyue alwayes ſingle. &c.

And why might not Anſelme as wel argue thus: The people of Iſrael approching to the Mounte, were commaunded in like ſorte to waſhe their garmentes: Ergo, Prieſtes of the newe Lawe, whiche are occupied euerye day about the Aultar, ought euerye daye to waſhe all their garmentes.

Moſes approching to the preſence of the Lorde in the buſhe, was commaunded to put of his ſhooes: Ergo, prieſts of the new lawe, which are euer approching to the preſence of their God, ſhould neuer weare ſhooes.

Of kyng Dauid and his companye, whiche but once in all their lyfe dyd eate of the ſhewbread, it was demaunded by the high Prieſte, whether they had kept them from their wyues three dayes before: Ergo, kynges and the people of the newe Teſtament, which euery yere eate the bread of the Lordes borde, more precious then euer was that Panis propoſitionis, ſhould abide al their lyfe wyueles and vnſpouſed.

A tyme for all thynges.

1. Cor. 7.

But here Anſelme ſhoulde haue conſidered by theſe Scriptures, howe we are taught not to putte awaye our wyues, but wiſely to diſtincte tymes, when and howe to haue them. For, as Salomon teacheth, to be a tyme for al thynges: ſo is there a tyme to marrie, and a tyme not to marry, a tyme to reſorte, a tyme to withdrawe, a tyme of company, a tyme of abſtinence and prayer, which S. Paul calleth, πρὸς καιρὸν, And as he ſpeaketh of a time of prayer and abſtinence, ſo he ſpeaketh alſo of a tyme of reſortyng together, and addeth the cauſe why: Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incōtinentiā veſtram. &c. That is, Leaſt Satā (ſaith he) tempte you for your incontinencie.

Speciall examples breake no general orders.

And thus ſhoulde Anſelme with Salomon & Paul, haue conſidered the order and diſtinction of times. Oftentymes in Scripture that is commaunded to ſome, and at ſometime, whiche extendeth not to others. And that which for a time is conuenient, is not by and by alwayes conuenient. Neither that whiche for a tyme is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for euer. Neither ought ſpecial examples, to breake general orders: neither agayne doo extraordinary prohibitions, make an vniuerſal rule.

Separation of the Iſraelites frō their wyues for 3. dayes, is no argument that prieſtes ſhould neuer marye.

They were then commaunded to ſequeſter them ſelues from their wyues at the commyng of the Lord: Not that the comming of the Lorde dyd breake wedlocke, but his commaundement dyd bynde obedience: and therefore obeyed they, becauſe they were commaunded. And yet were they not commaunded to put awaye their wyues, but onely to ſeparate thē ſelues for a time, and ẏ not for monethes and yeares, but onely for three dayes, whiche abſtinence alſo was inioyned thē, not in the preſence, nor at the apearing of the Lorde, but three dayes before his deſcending to them on the hyll. Whereby it appeareth, that the vſe of their wedlocke, neither diſpleaſed God being preſent, nor yet dyd dryue his preſence away when he was come: for he remained there preſent amongeſt them on the hyll. xl. dayes notwithſtanding.

Furthermore, this tyme of ſeparation from their wyues, as it was expreſſely commaunded to them by God: ſo was it not long nor tedious, but ſuche as was neither hard for them, nor vnconuenient for the time: geuyng vs therby to vnderſtande, howe to vſe ſeparation in wedlocke wiſely, that is, neither at noe time, nor yet too long

Seperation in wedlocke, how it is to be vſed.

For as they doo not well, which neuer folowe the time of S. Paul, called, πρὸ καιρὸν, for abſtinence and prayer: ſo do they worſe which fal into that παρακαίριον, wherof S. Paul agayne geueth vs warnyng Ne tētet vos Satanas per incontinentiam veſtram. But worſt of al do they, which ſo ſeparate their wiues cleane from them, and ſo abiure all matrimonie, that they fall headlong into the Deuylles pytfall of fornication, and all fylthie abomination. And therefore the Lorde foreſeeing the perill thereof, ſaide vnto the people: Eſtote parati in diem tertium, et ne appropinquetis vxoribus veſtris. etc. Appoyntyng in deede a ſeparation from their wiues, but yet knowing the infirmitie of man, limiteth the time withal, adding, In diem tertium, and goeth no further.

Exod. 19.

He ſaith not, as Anſelme ſaid in the Councel of Wincheſter: Iurabunt preſbyteri, diaconi, et Subdiaconi, vxores ſuas omnino abiurare, nec vllam deinceps cum eis conuerſationē habere, ſub diſtrictione cenſurę. etc.

The like order alſo was taken by the Lorde with the prieſtes of the old Teſtament, who although they were enioyned to withdraw them ſelues from their wiues during the tyme of their prieſtly ſeruice: yet for auoydyng fornication, they were permitted to haue their wiues notwithſtanding. So that both their abſentyng from their wiues, ſerued to ſanctification, & their reſortyng agayne vnto thē ſerued to auoide adulterye and fornication.

Obiection of the papiſtes why prieſtes ſhould lyue without wyues.

But here our prieſtly prelates wyl obiect, that becauſe they be continually conuerſant about the prieſtly function, therefore a perpetuall ſanctification is of them ſpecially required. Wherunto I anſweare:

Aunſwere to the obiection.

1 Firſt the prieſtly function of thoſe high prieſtes ſacrificing for the people in the old lawe, repreſenteth only the function of Chriſt the high prieſt ſacrificing for the ſinnes of the world: which truely and onely perfourmed that pure chaſtitie in his ſanctified body, which the lawe then in thoſe prieſtes prefigured.

No ſacrificer for ſinne but only Chriſt.

2 Secondarily, ſpeakyng nowe of the Prieſtes of the newe Teſtament (and ſpeakyng properly) the Scripture knoweth nor admitteth no Prieſte to ſacrifice to GOD for the ſinnes of man, but onely the high kyng and Prieſte Chriſte Ieſus.

3 Thirdely, vnto that Prieſte all other be but ſeruauntes and Miniſters: of whom, ſome be Apoſtles, ſome Prophetes, ſome Euangeliſtes, ſome Preachers, hauyng the gyfte of vtteraunce, ſome Interpreters and Doctours, hauyng the gyfte of vnderſtanding, ſome deacons ſeruing the Lordes borde. The office of al whom chiefly conſiſteth in miniſtring the worde, next in adminiſtring the Sacramentes.

Mariage more conuenient for prieſtes of the new lawe, then of the olde.

1. Cor. 7.

4 Fourthly, for ſo muche as in theſe principally aboue all other, pureneſſe and ſanctification of lyfe is required, as muche and more too, then was in the Prieſtes of the olde Lawe, from whom al fornication, adulterie, inceſt, and vncleanneſſe of lyfe ought moſte to be baniſhed: therefore in theſe eſpecially aboue the Priſtes of the olde Lawe, matrimonie and ſpouſage is moſt requiſite and conuenient, who ſo euer he be, which otherwiſe can not conteyne, according to the Apoſtle, ſaying: Vnuſquiſque vxorem ſuam habeat propter fornicationem.

Matrimonie is no hinderance, but a furtheraunce to ſanctification.

Bernard. ſup. Cant. Serm. 66.

5 Fiftly, neyther is this matrimonie in theſe, any hynderaunce to their ſanctification before GOD, but rather furthereth and helpeth their ſanctification, for as muche as where matrimonie is not, there commonly reigneth adulterie, fornication, and all kindes of filthynes according to the true ſaying of Bernarde: Tolle de Eccleſia honorabile connubium et thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam concubinarijs, inceſtuoſis, ſeminifluis, molli-

bus, maſculorum concubitoribus et omni denique genere immundorum? That is, Take from the Churche honourable marriage, & the bed vndefiled, ſhalt thou not repleniſhe it with Concubinaries, with inceſtuous perſons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with al kynde of beaſtly ſylthyneſſe?

The truth of whiche ſaying, lacketh no kynde of examples for confirmation, if we lyſted here to ranſacke the liues of theſe glorious deſpiſers of matrimonie, euen from Lanfranke the firſt ryngleader of this daunce here in England, with * Paulus Monke of Cadone his nephewe, whom Matthewe Paris miſdoubted to be his owne ſonne, vnto Steuen Gardiner with his goldylockes, the authour and workemaiſter of theſe ſixe articles. But to the reaſons of Anſelme hytherto ſufficient: whiche of them ſelues be ſo friuolous and groſſe, that onely to recite them, is enough to confute the ſame.

* Math. Pariſ. Paulus Monachus Cadomenſis Archiepiſc. Lanfranci nepos, vno aliquorum relationibus, conſanguinitate propinquior.

Permyttyng therfore the reſt to the diſcuſſion of Diuines, it ſhal ſuffice for our purpoſe, profeſſing here to write Storyes, to declare and make manifeſt by proceſſe of times and hiſtories, that this cruel lawe compellyng miniſters of the Church to abiure matrimonie, entred not into this land before Lanfranke, and Anſelme his ſucceſſor, as both may appeare by the multitude of prieſtes ſonnes lawfully begotten in matrimonie, and ſucceedyng in the Churches here of Englande, teſtified by the Epiſtle of Pope Paſchalis to Anſelme, before, pag. 197. and alſo may appeare likewiſe by the Councel of Anſelme holden at Wincheſter, which partly was touched before, and nowe the ful acte we haue more largely expreſſed to be read and ſeene of al poſteritie, as vnder foloweth.

No publiſhe law in England agaynſt prieſtes mariage before Lanfrancke & Anſelme.
Anno. 1104.
Read afore pag. 197. col. 1.

The acte agaynſte Prieſtes marryage concluded in the Councel at Wincheſter, vnder Anſelme, ann. 1104.

Actes concluded at the Councell in Wincheſter.

HÆc ſunt ſtatuta de Archidiaconibus, Præsbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu conſtitutis, quæ Wintoniæ ſtatuerunt Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, & cum eo Girardus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, & omnes alij Angliæ Epiſcopi, in præſentia glorioſi Regis Henrici, aſſenſu omnium Baronum ſuorum. Statutum eſt vt Præsbyteri, & Diaconi caſte viuant, & fœminas in domibus ſuis non habeant præter proxima conſanguinitate ſibi iunctas, ſecundum hoc quod ſancta Nicena Synodus definiuit. Illi verò presbyteri, diaconi, ſiue ſubdiaconi, qui poſt interdictum Londonẽſis Cõcilij, fœminas ſuas tenuerint vel aliás duxerint, ſi elegerint in ſacris ordinibus remanere, iurent quòd cũ eis carnale cõmertiũ non habebunt amplius. Statutũ eſt etiam vt prædictæ fœminæ in domo cũ eis ſcienter non conueniant, neq; huiuſmodi fœminæ in territorio Eccleſiæ habitent. Si autẽ propter aliquã honeſtã cauſam eos colloqui oporteat, cũ duobus ad minus legitimis teſtibus extra domũ colloquãtur. Si verò in duobus aut tribus legitimis teſtibus vel publica parochinorũ fama, aliquis eorum accuſatus fuerit, quòd hoc ſtatutũ tranſierit, purgabit ſe adiunctis ſecũ ordinis ſui idoneis teſtibus, ſex ſi presbyter, quinq; ſi diaconus, quatuor ſi ſubdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, vt tranſgreſſor ſacri ſtatuti iudicabitur. Illi verò præsbyteri qui diuini altaris & ſacrorũ ordinum cõtemptores prælegerint cũ vxoribus ſuis habitare, à diuino officio remoti, extra * hortum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadẽ ſententia Archidiaconos & Canonicos omnes complectitur & de abiurandis vxoribus, et de vitanda earũ conuerſatione, et de diſtrictione cenſuræ ſi ſtatuta trãſgreſſi fuerint. Iurabũt et Archidiaconi omnes quòd pecuniã non accipient pro tolleranda trangreſſione huius ſtatuti. Sed neq; vllo modo tollerabũt præsbyteros vxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, & quòd ipſi non diſſimulabunt per Archidiaconos ſuos hoc inquirere, & fideliter epiſcopis ſuis renunciabũt, & attentè & fideliter de exequenda huius rei vindicta Epiſcopos ſuos adiuuabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus vel Diaconus hoc iurare noluerit, Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreperabiliter perdet. Præsbyteri verò qui relictis vxoribus Deo et ſacris ordinibus ſeruire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio ceſſantes, pro ſe vicarios habebunt, iniuncta eis pœnitentia ſecundum quod Epiſcopis eorum viſum fuerit.

* Forte extra hortum paradiſi intelligit.

The cruell lawes of Anſelme toke no great place.

And yet this vnreaſonable ſtatute of Anſelme, ſo diligently defenced with ſharpe cenſures and penalties, had no great ſpede, neyther in the lyfe tyme of the ſayde Anſelme, nor long after his death, but that diuers prieſtes notwithſtandyng kept ſtyl their wyues, or that after his death, they returned to their wyues againe, through the ſufferance of the famous & learned kyng named then Henry Bewclark, who ſomethyng ſtayed the opportunitie of this Monkiſhe prelate, and wylled that prieſtes ſhould kepe both their wiues and their Churches, as they did before in Lanfrankes dayes.

Ex epiſt. Anſel. 77.
Rodulphus Archiepiſc. Cã.

Then after Anſelme, folowed Radulphus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe tyme was no great ſturre againſt the Prieſtes that were marryed. About the tyme of this Archbiſhop, kyng Henry called a Counſaile at London, where he obtayned of the ſpiritualtie a graunt to haue the puniſhment of maryed Prieſtes (which the ſpiritualtie afterward did much repẽt) wherby yͤ prieſtes paying a certaine to the king, were ſuffered to retaine their wyues ſtyl, as is aboue ſtoried, pag. 200.

Read afore pag 200.
Ricardus de Turbine Archi. Cant.

Nexte after this Radulphe, then ſucceeded William Turbile, ſurnamed De Turbine, who renued againe the conſtitution of Anſelme, agaynſt maried prieſtes, eſpecially by the helpe of Ioannes Prieſt and Cardinall of Crema the Popes Legate, ſent the ſame tyme into Englande, ann. 1129. Of which Cardinal Cremenſis, becauſe enough hath bene before declared, how after his ſtout replying in yͤ Councel of Londõ, againſt the maryed ſtate of prieſtes, exclaming what a ſhamefull thing it was, to riſe from the ſides of an whoore to make Chriſtes body, the night folowing was ſhamefully taken with a notable whore. &c. as is apparant before, pag. 200.

Of this Cardinall Cremenſis read before pag. 200. col. 2

I wyll therefore paſſe ouer that matter, returnyng againe to William the Archbiſhop, who with the Cardinall Legate aforeſayde, although he buſily occupyed hym ſelfe in repriuyng yͤ matrimonie of prieſtes: in ſo muche, that he woulde geue them no longer reſpite to put away their wyues, but from Michaelmas to Saint Andrewes daye folowyng, yet could he not bryng his purpoſe to paſſe, but that the prieſtes ſtyl continued with their wyues by the kyngs leaue, as the Saxon ſtorie plainly recordeth in theſe wordes: Þiꞅ bebed ꞅe Aꞃcebiꞅcop Ƿilliam oꝼ Canteꞃbꞃigeꞅ. and ealle þa leod Biꞅcopeꞅ ða ða ƿæꞃon on Engelonde. and ne ꝼoꞃꞅtod noht ealle ða bodlaceꞅ. eall heoldon heꞃ ƿiꝼeꞅ be ðæꞅ Kingeꞅ leue. ꞅƿa ꞅƿa hi eaꞃ didon; that is to ſay in eng. This Wil. the Archb. of Caunterbury & the Biſhops which wer in Englãd did cõmaũd, & yet al theſe decres & biddings ſtood not: all hold theyr wyues by the kyngs leaue, euen ſo as they before dyd. &c. So hard was this cauſe to be won, that the Archb. at length gaue it ouer, & left the cõtrouerſie wholy vnto the kyng. Whereupon he decreed that yͤ prieſtes ſhould remaine with their wyues ſtyl. And ſo continued they after that, in the tyme of Theobaldus after him, of Tho. Becket, Rich. Baldwyne, Steuẽ Longton, Rich. Edmunde, Boniface, Pecham, and other, during welnere the tyme after Anſelme. 200. yeares.

Cronic. Saxonic.
The prieſtes kept their wyues contrary to the Archbiſhops commaundement.
¶ An. 25 Hen. 1.

And leaſt the quarrellyng aduerſarye beyng peraduenture diſpoſed here to cauyll, ſhoulde obiecte and ſaye, that ſuche marryage among the Spirituall men might be priuate and ſecrete, but not openly knowen, nor quietly ſuffered by any lawe of this Realme: to auoyde therefore what maye be by them obiected, I thought it good, and as a thyng neyther impertinent nor vnprofitable to this ſtorye, and for the further ſatiſfying of the Readers mynde herein, to inſerte and make knowen by good recorde, not onely that the libertie of marriage amongeſt ſpirituall men, hath continued within this Realme durying the tyme aforeſayde, (videlicet) two hundred yeares or thereabouts, after Anſelme, and that not in ſecrete wiſe, but alſo openly, and beyng knowen, the ſame too be ſuffered and lawfully allowed of, in ſuche ſorte, as both they, their wyues, children, and aſſignes myght inherite and enioye landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, by waye of feoffament, deede of gyfte, or any other aſſuraunce, in ſuche ſorte, manner, and fourme, as laye men, their heyres and aſſignes at this daye lawfully may doo. As by diuers wrytynges and inſtrumentes ſhewed vnto vs at the wrytyng hereof, by diuers men (whoſe names hereafter folow) ſome to this daye remaynyng fayre ſealed, ſome by antiquitie and long keepyng, much worne, and their ſeales mouldred and waſted, is very euident and manifeſt to be ſeene. The copies whereof beyng by vs truely and faythfully excerpted out of the very originalles (beyng yet extant) we haue here vnder inſerted, as foloweth.

Prieſtes with their wyues how long they cõtinued in England after Anſelme.

¶ Certayne inſtrumentes and euidences of auncient recorde, declaryng the marryage of prieſtes to haue ſtande in tymes paſte, both with auncient cuſtome, and publique Lawes of this Realme.

Carta feoffamẽt. Williel. de Blunwille milit. fact. Stephan. de Saxlinghã Clerico & Matildæ vxori ſuæ, de terris in Newton in Com. Norff.

SCiant preſentes et futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwille miles, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſẽti charta mea confirmaui Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, et Matildæ vxori ſuæ pro homagijs et ſeruicijs ſuis, et pro ſex marcis argẽti quas mihi dederunt

dederūt in * gerſumā, vnā peciā terræ arablis, quæ iacet in cāpo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſuagium Galfridi Sulyard et cœmeterium Eccleſiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Ioānis de Neuton, et abuttat ſuper Regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quæ fuit Hērici Popiltele verſus occidentem: Habend. et tenend. de me et hȩredibus meis, illis & hæredibus ſuis, aut quibuſcunq; dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocunq; ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hæreditariè: Reddēdo inde annuatim mihi et hȩredibus meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad feſtum ſancti Andreȩ denarium, & ad natiuitatem Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ vnum denarium. Et ad ſcutagium domini regis quando euenit vnum obolum tantū et non amplius pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, ſectis curiæ, et exactionibus ſecularibus. Et ego Williel. de Blunwell, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & deffendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano & Matildæ vxori ſuæ & hæredibus ſuis, aut cuicunq; dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint contra omnes gentes tam Iudæos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per præfatum ſeruitium. Et vt hæc mea conceſſio & donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc cartam ſigillo meo roboraui: His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reyneſtorp, Ioanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebot, Ioan. filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Williel. de Cāpo, Thomæ Croce. Andr. Waleys, Williel. Valiāt, & alijs.

One peece of Euidence in the cuſtodie of M. Tho. Blunneuill.

☞ **This ſayd peece of Euidence called a deede of Feofement of landes remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blunneuill of Neuton Flotman in the Countie of Northfolke Eſquier at this preſent** (videlicet) 22. die Nouembris, Anno R. Eliz. R. decimo. Et anno Domini. 1567. **Who (I know) will not refuſe to ſhewe the ſame to any man that ſhall deſire the ſight therof.**

1. ¶ Other deedes and inſtrumentes of lyke antiquitie, declaryng the ſame, receiued of Maiſter Iohn Forde.

Carta Williel. Filij Walteri de Ridware fact. Ioan. de Edinghall Clerico & Matildæ vxori ſuæ, de terris in Edinghall in Com. Darb.

Sciant omnes præſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. Filius Walteri, dominus de Rideware Hamſtall, conceſſi, & tradidi, Ioanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico & vxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, vnam dimidiam virgatā terræ in Edinghall, cum omnibus pertinētijs in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghall: illam ſcilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit: Habend. & tenend. de me & de hæredibus meis, ſibi et vxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum, liberè et quietè, benè et pacificè. &c. Et ego verò Williel. et hæred. mei prædict. dimidiā virgatam terræ cum pertinentijs prædict. Ioanni et vxori ſuæ prædict. ad totā vita eorū cōtra omnes gētes Warrantizabimus, et cet. In huius conceſſionis et traditionis robur et teſtimonium vterq; noſtrum alterius ſcripto ſigillum ſuū appoſuit: His teſtibus, Roberto Saluein de Haſeloure, Andrea Salucin de eadem, Ioāne Filio Radulphi de Edinghall, Richardo de Ykebrom, Roberto de Fryeford, et alijs.

2. An other euidence touching the ſame, of landes in the Countie of Leiceſter.

Carta feoffament. Radulphi Wiſcarde de Sceyle fact. Agneti de Willintona & pueris ſuis de Wilhel. Perſona de Lollinton procreat.

* **Note the wife and children of this Perſon of Lollinton being knowen, might enioy and enherite according to thys deede.**

SCiant præſentes et futuri quòd ego Radulphus filius et hȩres Ioannis Wiſcarde de Sceyle dedi, et conceſſi, et hac mea prȩſenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Welintona vnā acram terræ in territorio de maiori Sceylæ quæ iacet ſuper le Wouelondis, inter terram monachorū de Miriuall, extendentem ſe ad vnum caput ſuper forcram monachorum de Miriuall, er aliud caput verſus villā de Sceyle: Habendū et tenendum de me et hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis et eorum hȩredibus prædict. Agneti de Welintona et pueris ſuis de Will. Perſona de Loſſintō procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri eius. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori. Deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit. Ita quidē quòd quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cū pertinentijs licencialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi et omnibus meis prædictis facienda: et quòd hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, bene et in pace iure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis meis et corū hæredibus vnū obolū argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſeruitijs, et exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, taliagijs, et omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum et curiæ meæ et hæredum meorum, et aliorum, et ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel aſſignati et eorum hæredes, totam prȩdictam terrā cum pertinentijs, prȩdictæ Agneti et filijs ſuis et filiabus poſt deceſſum prȩdictæ Agnetis, ſingulis eorū de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterum ſucceſſiuè, et hȩredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis (vt prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuū warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt hȩc omnia ſupradicta rata et inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Willielmo tunc Perſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorpe, Richardo et Roberto filijs ſuis. Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle, Willielmo filio ſuo, Ioanne filio Radulphi Aky, Williel. Clerico de eadem, & multis alijs.

3. An other euidence of lyke effect.

Carta Radulphi Wiſcarde de Sceyla fact. Agneti de Willinton & pueris ſuis de Williel. Perſona de Lollinton procreat. de terris in Sceyle in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſētes & futuri, quòd ego Radulphus Wilſcharde, filius et hæres Ioannis Wilſcardi de Sceyle, dedi & cōceſſi, & hac mea præſenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Willington, quatuor acras & vnam rodā terræ meæ arabilis in campo de maiori Sceyle. Quarū vna acra iacet ſuper Wodde Hulles. &c. [Et Paulo infra:] Habend. et tenend. de me & hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis et eorum hæredibus, prȩdict. Agnetæ de Willingtō et pueris ſuis de Willielmo perſona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio ſuo primogenito ſi ſuperuixerit matri ſuæ, deinde Galfrido fratri eius, poſtea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori, deinde ſororibus corū ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit, ita quidē quòd quilebet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram cum pertinētijs, licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quòd hæredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis remaneat vlterius in perpetuum liberè, et quietè, benè, et in pace iure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus vel aſſignatis et corū hȩredibus, vnum obulum argenti ad paſcha, aut vnum par albarum chirothecarum de prȩcio vnius obuli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem ſoluentis, pro omnibus ſeruitijs & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, talliagijs & omnimodis ſectis comitatus hundredorum & curiæ meæ vel hœredum meorum et aliorum, et ſeruitijs forinſecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel aſſignati et eorum hȩredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs, prædictȩ Agneti et filijs eius et filiabus poſt diſceſſum prȩdictæ Agnetis ſingulis eorum de dicta perſona genitis vni poſt alterū ſucceſſiuè, et hȩredibus vel aſſignatis vltimi vel vltimæ poſſidentis (vt prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et vt hæc omnia ſupradicta, rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, prȩſentem cartam ſigilli mei impreſſione corroboraui: His teſtibus, Willielmo tunc Perſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorpe, Richardo et Roberto filijs ſuis. Henr. filio Perſonæ de Sceyle, Ioanne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Poberto Haſtyng, Williel. Grym, et alijs.

4. ¶ An other euidence vpon the lyke matter.

Carta Henrici de Apilby fact. Henrico de Adoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, de terris in paruo Apilby in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apilby militis, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, illud meſuagium quod Matheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in paruo Apilby, in longitudine iuxta altam viam: tenendum & habendum de me et hȩredibus meis, ſibi & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ et eorum hæredibus, & cui vel quibus comunibus horis quandocunq; dare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene et in pace. &c. Et ego prȩdict. Henricus & hæredes mei prædictum meſuagiū cum omnibus aiſiamentis & pertinentijs ſuis prȩfatis, Henrico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ et eorum hæredibus & aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. &c. Vt hæc omnia ſubſcripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioāne de Norton, Willielmo Huelen de Apilby. &c.

5. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Carta Rogeri Peſcher de Apilbi fact. Henrico de Aldeleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, de terris in territorio de Apilby in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant prȩſentes et futuri, quòd ego Rogerus Peſcher de Apilby dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldoleſter Clerico & Amiciæ vxori ſuæ, viginti buttes terræ arabilis cum pertinentijs ſuis in territorio de Apilbe. Quarum tres buttes iacent ſuper Brodelein. &c. [Et Paulo poſt:] Tenendum et habendum prædictis Henrico et Amiciæ vxori ſuæ et eorum hȩredibus et aſſignatis, cui bel quibus in ſanitate vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vēdere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene et hæreditariè in perpetuum. &c. [Et rurſus:] Et ego prædictus Rogerus Peſcher et hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentijs ſuis vbicunq; memoratis, Hērico et Amiciæ vxori

ori ſuæ et corum hæredibus et aſſignatis (vt ſupra ſcriptum eſt) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, et in omnibus et per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum.&c. Vt hæc mea donatio, conceſſio, & cartæ meæ cōfirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum pro me & hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante: His teſtibus, Willielmo de Meycham, Ioanne filio Henrici de Norton.&c.

6. An other euidence touching the ſame,
of landes in the Countie of Darb.

Carta feoffament. Williel. filij & hered. Will. Mahenmey de Banquell Clerici fact. Nic. de Crumford de omnibus terris & tenement. quæ iure hæreditario per Williel. patrem ſuum habuit.

* Note, a ſonne of a prieſt did inherite his fathers landes and ſolde them, as by this deede appeareth.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Willielmus filius et hæres quondam Willielmi Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & omninò quietum clamaui de me & hęredibus meis in perpetuum Nicholao de Crūford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam idem Nicholaus mihi præ manibus donauit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs & edificijs, & cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in omnibus rebus & locis, ſine aliquo retinemento, quæ & quas habuit iure hęreditario in feodo de Banquell per Willielmum de Banquell Clericum quondam patrem meū: Habēd. & tenēd. ipſo Nicholao & hęredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis in feodo & hęreditate de capitali Domino de Banquell, liberè, benè, quietè & in pace cum omnibus libertatibus & aiſiamētis in omnibus locis & ſingulis ad prędicta terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquell & terra: Ita quidē quòd nec ego Willielm. nec heredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine noſtro ius, vel clameū in prędictis terris & tenementis, gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs, edificijs & omnibus pertinentijs ſuis de cętero habere, exigere, vēdicare vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prędictis terris & tenementis capitali Domino ſeptē ſolidos, tres denarios & obulum argenti annui redditus ad terminos ſtatutos Paſchatis & Sancti Michaelis. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto preſenti ſigillum meum appoſui & munimenta inde eidem Nicholao tradidi: His teſtibus, domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Banquell, Mathęo de Reynedon, Mathęo Drabill, Elio de Banquell Clerico, Richardo de Yollegraue, Rogero Filio Yoke, & alijs.

7. An other euidence concerning the ſame.

Alia Carta dicti Will. Mahenmey fact. dicto Nich. de Crumford de vno capitali meſuag. & diuerſis terris in villa & territorio de Banquell in Com. Darb.

SCiant pręſentes & futuri quod ego Willielmus Filius & hęres quondam Willielmi Mahenmey de Bāquell Clerici, dedi, conceſſi, & hac pręſenti carta mea conſumaui de me & hęredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicholao de Crumford pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, vnum capitale meſuagium ædificatum, & vnam bouatam terræ, cū prato & omnibus pertinent. ſuis ſine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bouatam terræ cum pertinentijs quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit & tenuit in villa & territorio de Banquell: & octo acras terræ arabilis, & vnam particulam prati diuiſim iacientes in campis de Banquell.&c. Habend. & tenend. ipſo Nicholao & hęredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis in feodo & hęreditate, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus, & aiſiamentis in omnibus rebus & locis infra villā de Bāquell & extra, ad prędict. terras & tenementa cum pertinētijs pertinentibus de capitali Domino de Banquel.&c. Et ego Willielmus & hęredes mei omnia prędicta terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinent. ſuis vt (prędictum eſt) dicto Nicholao & hęredibus ſuis vel ſuis aſſignatis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium pręſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Domino Ioanne de Oſemondiſton perpetuo Vicario de Bāquel, Mathęo de Reynedon, Mathęo Drabill, Elio de Banquell, Richardo de Yollegraue, Rogero Filio Yoke de Banquell, & alijs.

8. An other euidence touchyng the ſame.

Carta Thomæ de Bylleſton Clerici & Leticiæ vx. eius fact. Gerardo et Cæcilio vx. ſuæ, de certis terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Darb.

SCiant pręſentes & futuri quòd nos Thomas de Billeſton Clericus & Leticia vxor mea, dedimus, conceſſimus, & hac pręſenti carta noſtra confirmauimus Gerardo Filio Alexandri de Wiſton & Cicilię vxori ſuæ, omnia illa burgagia, meſuagia: gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, parta & edificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis, paſturis & cæteris omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in feodo de Banquell, quæ habuimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ vxori ſuæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & hęredibus noſtris, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs: faciēdo inde annuatim nobis & hęredibus noſtris, prædict. Gerardus et Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, vnum denarium argenti ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hęredibus noſtris capitali Domino feodi illius ſeruitia, inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et nos vero prędicti Thomas & Letitia & noſtri hęredes omnia prędicta burgagia, meſuagia, gardina curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata & edificia, ſeldas cum redditibus, ſeruitijs, paſcuis, communis paſturis, & cęteris omnibus pertinentijs ſuis prędictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic pręſenti cartæ noſtræ ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus: His teſtibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Williel. de Crumford. Williel. de Gratton, Nich. de Crūford in Banquell, Rad. Bercario in eadem, Roberto de Walley in eadem, & alijs.

* Note to haue and to holde of the prieſt, his wyfe & their heyres, buying the landes of the feoffers for a peny of yearly rent.

9. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptum Confirmationis Leticiæ quondam vx. dict. Tho. de Bylleſton Cleric. fact. in viduitate ſua dict. Gerardo de Wiſton, & Cæciliæ vx. eius de terris in Banquell in Com. Darb. Dated An. R. Edward. R. 2. nono which was An. D. 1315.

VNiuerſis ad quos pręſens ſcriptū peruenerit, Leticia quæ fuit vxor Thomæ de Bylleſton, ſalutem in domino. Noueritis me in pura viduitate mea conceſſiſſe & confirmaſſe pro me & hęredibus meis Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyſton, & Ceciliæ vxori ſuæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis in Banquell, quæ idem Gerardus & Cicilia vxor eius habent ex conceſſioni Thomæ de Bylleſton quondam viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eiſdem Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me & hęredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus petinentijs ſuis: faciēdo inde mihi & hęredibus meis vnum denarium argenti ad feſtū Sancti Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & hęredibus meis capitalibus Dominis ſeruitia inde annuatim debita & conſueta. Et ego pręfata Leticia & hæredes mei prædicta tenemēta cum pertinent. prędictis Gerardo & Ciciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrātizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium pręſentibus ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Roberto le Walley, Roberto le Taylor, & alijs. Datum apud Banquell, die veneris proximo poſt feſtū Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi nono.

10. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptum W. Basket fact. Ioanni de Bradburne Clerico & Aliciæ vx. ſuæ, & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. dictus Baſket, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti mea carta confirmaui Ioāni de Bradburne Clerico & Aliciæ vxori ſuæ, & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, vnam particulam curtilagij mei (videlicet) centum pedes in lōgitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentijs & aiſiamentis eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Ioanni & Aliciæ & eorum hęredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum: reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis vnum florem Roſæ ad feſtū Natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Baſket & hæredes mei prædictam placeā cum aiſiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & cōtra omnes getes defēdemus. Et ſi cōtingat (quòd abſit) quòd prædictus Ioānes & Alicia ſine hæredibus de corporibus eorū legitimè procreatis obierint, quòd prædicta placea ſine alicuius cōtradictione reuertatur. Et vt hæc mea donatio, cōceſſio, & præſentis cartæ meæ confirmatio rata ſit & ſtabilis permaneat, huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Richardo de Lōgdun, Roberto Brag, Rogero Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Ioanne Glākirion, et alijs. Datum apud Yelgraue in feſto Sancti Ioānis ante portam Latinam. Anno Domini milleſimo tricenteſimo decimoquarto.

Dated An. 1314. which was An. R. Edw. R. 1. octauo.

11. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptum Rogeri le Potter fact. M. Rich. de Hampton Clerico & Margareta vx. eius, de terris in feodo de parua Ridware in Com. Staff.

SCiant præſentes et futuri quòd ego Rogerus le Potter hęres Aliciæ filiæ Williel. de Downedale de parua Ridware dedi, conceſſi, et hæc pręſenti carta mea confirmaui magiſtro Richardo de Hampton Clerico et Margaretæ vxori eius, et hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Richardi, omnes terras et tenementa mea quæ habeo in diuerſis locis in feodo de parua Ridware: Habend. et tenend. omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentijs eorum prædictis Rich. et Margaretæ vxori eius et hæredibus vel aſſignatis predicti Richardi de capitali Domino feodi illius per ſeruitia debita et de iure conſueta, liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace in perpetuum. Et ego verò prædictus Rogerus et hęredes mei omnes prędictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs eorum, predictis Richardo et Margaretæ vxori eius et hæredibus vel aſſignatis prædicti Richardi contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimoniū huic pręſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Thoma de Pipe, Richardo Iulian, Roberto Ka, Edmund le Walſhemon, Williel. le Flecher, et alijs. Datum apud paruā Ridware die Lunæ proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Gregorij Papæ, Anno regni Regis Edwardi tertij, poſt Conqueſtum viceſimo octauo.

Dated An. R. Edw. R. 3. 28. which was An. 1351

☞ There

M. Ioh. Forde hath xi. peeces of Euidences for prieſtes mariages.

The originals of theſe xi. peeces of Euidences laſt recited I receiued, in ÿ writing of this ſtory, of a right honeſt & worſhipfull Gentleman called M. Iohn Forde, a ſtudent of ÿ Lawes in the Inner Temple: in whoſe handes (I truſt after ÿ finiſhyng of this ſtory) ſhall remaine to be ſeen of them that ſhal deſire the ſame.

1. The copyes of other Euidences touchyng the ſame matter, receyued of Maiſter Iohn Hunte.

Carta feoffa. Phil poup de parua bradley, fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Alicæ vxori eius, de terris in Greuecroſt, in villa de parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes et futuri quòd ego Philippus Poup de parua Bradley, dedi, cõceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea cõfirmaui Henrico de Denardiſtone Clerico et Aliciæ vxori eius, pro ſeruitijs eorum et pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quã mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinẽtijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout bundæ teſtantur, in campo vocato Grenecroſt, in villa de parua Bradley, iacentem inter terram meam ex parte vna, et terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, vno capite abuttante ſuper Cœmeterium de parua Bradley, et alio capite abuttanto ſuper terram prædicti Henrici: Habend. et tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico et Aliciæ vxori eius, hered. et aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicũq; vel quibuſcunq; dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, legare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè, in pace in perpetuum et hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi ſeruitium inde debitum et cõſuetum, videlicet vnum obulum ad Natiuitatem beati Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum ſectis, et ſecularibus demaund. Et ego prædict. Phil. hered. et aſſignat. mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus et aſſignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gẽtes in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum apposui: His teſtibus, Petro de Walpol. Rich. de Hanuile, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtell, Thoma de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, et alijs.

2. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Carta relaxacionis Williel. le Bygot tunc Domini de parua Bradley fact. Henrico Denardiſton Clerico & Alicæ vxori eius. & eorum hæredibus.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, Williel. le Bygod, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omninò tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamaſſe Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico et Aliciæ vxori eius, hered. et aſſignat. eorũ totũ ius et clameum quòd habui vel habere potui aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagijs, wardis, releuijs, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertinẽt. ſuis, quæ in aliquo modo ſeu tẽpore facere debuerunt vel conſueuerunt pro terris et tenemẽt. quæ quódam fuerunt Rich. Poup, in villa de parua Bradley, et in alijs terris et tenement, quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. et Alicia tenent vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis præſentium in prædicta villa de parua Bradley: Ita quòd ego Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine noſtro amodò in præmiſſis aliquid iuris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maueyſin, Richardo Bercar, Henr. Maueyſin, Ioh. Bercar, Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell, Williel. Attegrene, Waltero Bercar, et alijs.

3. An other euidence touchyng the lyke matter.

Carta Reginaldi filij Iordani Wethreſſeld fact. Henrico de Denardiſtõ Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, de terris in parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes et futuri quòd ego Reginaldus filius Iordani de Wethreſſeld, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico et Aliciæ vxori eius pro homagijs et ſeruitijs eorum, et pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in * gerſumam, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato heldhey, iacentem inter terram Williel. de Mampford quondam, & terram Ioannis le Rede quondam, ex parte vna in longitudine, et terram Richar. de Hanuyle ex altera, et abuttat ad vnũ caput ſuper terram Ioannis le Lumbard, et aliud caput ſuper cãpum vocatum Crõdon, cum ſepibus et foueis et omnibus alijs pertinentijs ad dictam terram ſpectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus et aſsignatis meis, prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus et aſsignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuicunq; vel quibuſcunq; dict. Henricus prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentijs prædict. dare, vendere vel aliquo modo aſsignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace et hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi hæredibus, et aſſignat. meis, vnam roſam ad feſtum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſeruitijs, conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum ſectis et ſecularibus demaundis. Et, ego prædict. Reginaldus, heredes, et aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prędictam terram cum ſepibus & foueis et omnibus alijs pertinentijs prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ vxori eius, heredibus, & aſſignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. ſeruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Ioanne Maueyſin, Petro de Walepol. Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ricard. Bercar, Henr. Maueyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Williel. Waſtel, Hugone Waſtell, Thoma de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & alijs.

* Gerſuma ſignifieth money payd before hand, which we call a fine.

4. An other euidence of lyke effect.

Carta Rich. de Hanuile de parua Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Alicæ vxori eius & eorum hæredibus de terris in parua Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quòd ego Richard. de Hanuyle de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardeſton Clerico et Aliciæ vxori eius, vnam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent, in parua Bradley in campo vocato Mortecroſt, pro homagijs et ſeruitijs eorum, et pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumã, iacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex vtraq; parte, & vnum caput abuttat ſuper campum vocat. Wodecraft: Habend. & tenẽd. de me, hęred. vel aſſignatis meis, ipſis, hęred. et aſſignat. eorum, vel cuicumq; vel quibuſcumq; dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentijs, dare, vẽdere, legare, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè, in pace et hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis vnum denarium, & ad Paſcha vnum denarium pro omnibus ſeruitijs conſuetudinibus, auxilijs, Curiæ ſectis & ſecularibus demaundis. Et ego prædict. Ricar. hæred. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defẽdemus prædict. tenementũ cum omnibus pertinẽtijs prędictis, Henrico & Aliciæ vxori eius, hæred. & aſſignat. eorũ per prædictum ſeruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillũ meum oppoſui: His teſtibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell, Ricard. Bercar, Hẽrico Maueyſin, Ioanne Bercar, Roberto de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & alijs.

5. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptum Mathei de Racliſde, fact. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, de terris in parua Bradly in Com. Suff.

SCiant pręſentes et futuri, quòd ego Mathæus de Racliſde dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Amiciæ vxori eius, hered. et aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vnam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Ricar. de Hanuyle ex vna parte, et terrã dict. Henrici de Denardiſton ex alia parte, et vnam caput abuttat ſuper viam vocatam Lebreddich, et aliud caput ſuper terram Ricar. de Hanuyle antedict: Habend. et tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, et cuicunq; vel quibuſcunq; prædictus Henr. predictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iurè, benè, in pace, hereditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita et cõſueta. Et ego prædict. Mathæus et heredes mei prædictam peciam terræ com omnibus ſuis pertinent. (vt prædictum eſt) prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ, hered. & aſſignat. dict. Henr, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum apoſui: His teſtibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioãne de Stonham, Ioanne Godfrey, Williel. Waſtel, Clement. de Bures, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sãcti Michaelis. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi, octauo.

Dated An. R. Edw. R. 2. 8. which was An. D. 1315.

6. An other euidence touching the ſame.

Scriptum Rich. de Louerhall de parua Bradley, fact. Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ vxori eius, de terris in parua Bradley preced.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Richardus de Louerhall de parua Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, et hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Amiciæ vxori eius, & hæred. dict. Henr. vnam peciam terrę meæ arabilis, ſiue habeatur plus ſiue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Hẽrici Coſin ex vna parte, et terram Tho. Bercar ex alia parte, vno capite abduttante ſuper croſtam Williel. Attegræne, et alio capite ſuper le Ouerhallmede: Habend. et tenend. dictã peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, prædict. Henr. et Aliciæ et hered. dict. Henr. cuicunq; et quibuſcunq; dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè iure, benè, in pace hereditariè, in feodo et in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino

feodi ſeruitia inde de iure debita. et cōſueta Et ego prædict. Ricar. & hered. mei præd. peciā terræ præd. Henr. et Aliciæ et hered. dict. Henr. et ſuis aſſignat. contra omnes gētes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium huic præſenti cartæ ſigillum meum appoſui. His teſtibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioanne Godfrey, Ioanne de Stonham, Williel. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Williel. Aleyne, et alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Paſchale. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi x.

This deede ſeemeth by the date to be made An. R. Edw. R. 2. 10. An. D. 1317. which was about 100. yeares after Anſelme.

7. An other euidence touchyng the lyke matter.

Scriptum Clementis de Clopton, fact. Ioanni de Boſco de Cowlinge Clerico & Baſiliæ vxori eius, de terris in Cowlinge in Com. Suff.

Sciant Præſentes & futuri quòd Ego Clemens de Cloptone, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti carta mea confirmaui Ioāni de Boſco de Coulynge Clerico & Baſiliæ vxori eius. & heredibus præd. Ioannis, tres acras terræ cū omnibus ſuis pertinentijs in Coulynge, ſiue ſit ibi maius ſiue minus prout ſimul iacent inter terram domini Roberti de Aſpal ex parte vna, & terram quondam Ioannis le Pogeys ex alia, vno capite abuttante ſuper viam communem, & alio ſuper terrā quondam prędict. Ioānis Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. prędict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus ſuis pertinent, prædict. Ioanni & Baſiliæ & hered. prędict. Ioannis de capitalibus Domini feodi illius per ſeruitia inde debita & de iure conſueta. Et ego prędictus Clemens & heredes mei, prędictis Ioāni & Baſiliæ & hered. prędict. Ioannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs contra omnes gentes in perpetuū warrantizabimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium, huic præſenti chartæ ſigillum meum appoſui: His teſtibus, Thoma de Caldebeke, Ricard. Farewell, Ioāne de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum apud Coulynge die dominica proxima poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Euangeliſtæ. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi, tertiodecimo.

Dated. R. Edw. R. 2. 13. which was An. D. 1320.

☞ All the Originals of theſe ſeuen ſeuerall peeces of Euidences, the true copies wherof are here before inſerted and laſt recited at this preſent (videlicet) this 23. of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord. 1575. are in the cuſtody and do remaine among the Euidences, and writynges of John Hunte of Eſſe alias Aſhen, in the Countie of Eſſex Eſquier, and are perteinyng, and belongyng to his Manor of Ouerhall, alias Parua Bradley aforeſayd, in the County of Suffolke. At whoſe handes they are eaſely at this preſent and long tyme (I truſt) after the writyng of this hiſtory, ſhall remaine to be ſene, of good recorde, if any man either be deſirous of the ſight thereof, or doubtfull of the truth of the ſame.

M. John Hunte hath 7. peeces of Euidences for Prieſtes mariages in his cuſtody.

Although theſe Inſtrumentes & Euidences aboue here ſpecified, be of themſelues euidente & playne enough, ſo that no man can reaſonably obiect any thyng to the contrary: yet to ſtoppe the mouthes of all ſuch wranglers and cauillers, who beyng ſatiſfied with no truth, will here peraduenture take ſome occaſion vpon this word Clericus; ſo oftentymes named in theſe Euidences aforeſayd, to obiect that this word may as well be taken for other, as for Prieſtes: therfore, to preuent the cauillyng obiections of ſuch, this ſhalbe briefly to reply thereunto, that in the common lawes of this Realme, in all giftes or feoffementes made to any ſpirituall perſon (vnles he be ſome graduate of Diuinitie in the ſcholes) the ſayd ſpirituall perſon is named by no other terme, but by the word Clericus: as by diuers places, as well in the Printed bookes, as in old Regiſters and writynges of the Lawyers, as well in the common law, as Statute law, remaineth of Recorde very euident to be ſene, Some ſpeciall notes whereof as well for the eaſe of the Reader in the ſearche of the ſame, as alſo for the further ſatiſfiyng of ſome, who peraduenture ſhall want the bookes, I thought good here to exhibite in forme and tenour as foloweth.

Obiections concerning the word Clericus reſolued.

¶ Certaine notes how this word Clericus is taken in the Law bookes.

In Stat. de Marlebrige. An. 52. Henr. 3. Cap. 27.

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quòd ad Coronā pertineat, areſtatus fuerit, & poſtmodum per præceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quòd hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eū habeant coram Iuſticiarijs, non amercientur de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alij plegij ſui, ſi corpus ſuum habeant coram Iuſticiarijs, licet coram eis propter priuilegium clericale reſpōdere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios ſuos.

¶ An other Note.

Articuli Cleri. An.

9. Edw. 2. in fine cap. 8.

Rex & anteceſſores ſui a tempore cuius contrarij memoria non exiſtit, vſi ſunt quòd Clerici ſuis immorantes obſequijs, dum obſequijs illis intenderint, ad reſidentiam in ſuis beneficijs faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tēdere in præiudicium Eccleſiaſticæ libertatis quòd pro Rege & republica neceſſarium inuenitur.

¶ An other Note.

In eiſdem articulis in fine. ca. 15.

Clericus ad Eccleſiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate Eccleſiaſtica obtinenda, ſi aſſerit ſe eſſe Clericum, regnum non compellatur abiurare, ſed legi regni ſe reddēs, gaudebit Eccleſiaſtica libertate, iuxta laudabilem conſuetudinē regni hactenus vſitatam.

¶ An other Note.

In Cap. 16.

Appellatori in forma debita tanq̄ Clerico per Ordinariū petito libertatis Eccleſiaſticæ beneficium non negabitur.

In the Statute intituled Articuli Cleri, made onely for the benefite of the Clergy, An. R. Edwardi. R. 2. nono. are diuers notes to like effect.

But what needeth many argumētes for the proufe hereof? The Statutes and law bookes of this Realme are very full of them in diuers and many places, beſides the Preſidentes, for the forme of giuyng of benefices, wherof none are capable but ſuch as are ſpirituall men and of the Clergy, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or terme in the Latin toung, then Clerici, for the moſt part, not in the kynges owne graunt or the Lord Chauncellours, or any other ſubiectes of his, as very well appeareth both by diuers old written Preſidentes whiche haue bene ſhewed vnto me, and alſo by the formes of preſentations collected & ſet forth for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ignoraunt, or not very perfite in the order of them, in a Printed booke called The booke of ſundry Inſtrumentes. In whiche forme in the ſayd booke ẏ wordes in ẏ kynges graunt be theſe: Rex Reuerendiſſimo in Chriſto. &c. ad Eccleſiam Parochialem de N. veſtræ diocæſis modo per mortem vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad noſtram donationem pleno iure ſpectātem, dilectum Capellanum noſtrum A. B. Clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præſentamus, & mandamus vti dictum A. Capellanum noſtrum ad præfatam Eccleſiam admittere, eumq; Rectorem eiuſdem inſtituere, cum ſuis iuribus. &c.

Clericus in the lawe euer taken for a Prieſt.

But if the preſentation be from a Knight, an Eſquier, or a Gentleman, then theſe wordes Capellanum noſtrum are alwayes left out, as in the ſayd booke appeareth in this ſort. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri. &c. A. B. de. N. ad Eccleſiam de N. prędictam veſtræ dioc. modo per mortem T. D. vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præſentationem pleno iure ſpectantem, dilectum mihi in Chriſto Iacobum P. Clericum veſtræ paternitati præſento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum I. ad dictā Eccleſiam admittere, ipſumq; in Rectorem eiuſdem Eccleſiæ inſtitui & induci facere velitis cum ſuis Iuribus & pertinentijs vniuerſis. &c. As in the ſayd booke is more at large to be ſene or peruſed.

Thus I doubt not, louing reader, but by theſe ſo playne Euidences aboue prefixed, thou haſt ſufficiently to vnderſtand, that this violent reſtraynte of Prieſtes lawfull Mariage within this Realme of England, is of no ſuch long reach and antiquitie, as hath bene thought of many, and all by reaſon of ignoraūce of hyſtories, and courſe of tymes. So that briefly as in a Summary Table to comprehend that whole effect hereof:

946.

First about the yeare of our Lord. 946. the profeſſion of ſingle lyfe, and diſpraiſyng of Mariage began to come into example here in Englād, by reaſon of S. Benettes monkes, which then began to encreaſe here about the tyme of Kyng Ædgar, and eſpecially by the meanes of Oſwald Byſhop of Yorke, Odo and Dunſtane, Archbyſhops of Canterbury, and Æthelwold Byſhop of Wint. ſo that in diuers Cathedrall Churches, and Byſhops ſeas, Mōkes with their profeſſed ſinglenes of lyfe, crept in, & maried Miniſters (which were then called ſecular Prieſtes) with their wiues out of ſondry Churches were diſpoſſeſſed not frō wiues, but onely from their places: and yet not in all Churches, but onely in certaine.

Prieſtes mariage, how and when it began firſt to be excluded out of Churches.

1067.

Not long after that, about the tyme of Pope Nicolas 2. an. 1060. of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the ſea of Canterbury an other Monke called Lanfranck, who alſo beyng a promoter of this profeſſed chaſtitie, made the Decree more generall, that all Prebendaryes beyng maryed in any Churches, ſhould be diſplaced: yet the Prieſtes in Townes & Villages ſhould not be compelled to leaue their maryed wiues, vnleſſe they would.

1106.

Laſt of all folowed Monkiſhe Anſelme. an. 1106. by whom was made this law of Wincheſter aforeſayd, that Prieſtes, Archdeacons, Deacons, and Subdeacons, which had wiues & ſpirituall liuyng, ſhould be put from them both and alſo that none after ſhould be admitted to their orders but ſhould firſt profeſſe ſingle lyfe, that is, to lyue without wiues. And thus much concernyng Prieſtes Mariage forbydden.

Let vs adde moreouer to theſe euidences aboue rehearſed, for more confirmation of the auncient vſe and libertie of Prieſtes Mariage an other teſtimonie or two out of like auncient recordes with like playne wordes declaryng vnto vs, how the matrimony of Prieſtes, before the tyme of Lanfranke aforeſayd was no ſtraunge example in the Church. and firſt we will inferre the wordes of an old Martyrologe pertaynyng to the Recordes of Canterbury. The wordes of which Martyrologe be theſe.

Ex antiq. Martyrilogio Eccleſiæ Cant.

Liuingus Præſbiter cum vxore

LAnfrancus Archiepiſcopus reddidit Eccleſiæ Sancti Andreæ, quia de iure ipſius Eccleſiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Suthrege, Mutelac, Lōdoniæ, monaſterium Sanctæ Mariæ, cum terris & domibus, quas Liuingus Præſbyter & vxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.

To this alſo may be adioyned an other like antiquitie out of an old written hiſtory belongyng to the Churche of S. Aſaph, after the tyme of Lanfrancke, as foloweth.

Anno domini. 1261. ex antiq. libro Aſſaphenſi manu ſcripto.

* Forbonizatum, is a Saxō terme, and ſignifieth as much, as a man outlawed.

* 1161.

DE Clerico vxorato receptante publicè * forbonizatum ſciēter, et poſſit contra ipſum probari, nobis videtur quòd tenetur reſpondere in foro Eccleſiaſtico. Si verò facit reſidentiam in terra principis, et contingat ipſum mulctari, tota mulcta ſua principi debetur. Si verò reſidentiam in terra Epiſcopi facit, mulcta diuidatur inter Epiſcopū et Principem. Si verò vxor alicuius talis ſcienter vel nolenter in eius abſentia receptauerit, Mulier in foro Eccleſiaſtico reſpondeat, et Clericus ratione ſui facti, non puniatur, nec pro ea (niſi velit) reſpondere cogatur. *

Neither is ȳ teſtimonie of Mantuanus vnworthy alſo hereunto to be added, writyng in ȳ life of Hylarius Biſhop of Pictauium, as foloweth.

Ex Mantuano.

Baptiſta Mantuanus, in vita Hilarij.

INtegras vitæ, legum prudentia cultus
Cœlicolūm, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumq;
Pictauienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum viuis tibi, ſorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obſtitit vxor
Legitimo coniuncta toro, non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, & attrito viuit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quæ ſunt connubia contra,
Eſſe malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non ſatis aduertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuſet,
Quid valeat natura pati. Ceruicibus, aiunt,
Hoc inſuaue iugum noſtris imponere Chriſtus
Noluit, iſtud onus quod adhuc quàm plurima monſtra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius eſſe volunt, qua lex diuina ſinebat
Iſſe via, veterumq; ſequi veſtigia patrum:
Quorum vita fuit melior cum coniuge, quàm nunc
Noſtra ſit excluſis thalamis & coniugis vſu.

The ſixt Article touchyng Auricular Confeſſion.

Three kindes of confeſſion. Confeſſion to God. 1 John. 1.

OF confeſſion iij. kyndes we finde in the Scriptures expreſſed and approued. The firſt is our confeſſion priuately or publickely made vnto God alone: and this confeſſion is neceſſary for all men at all tymes. Whereof Saint John ſpeaketh: If we confeſſe our ſinnes, hee is faythfull to forgiue vs. &c.

Confeſſiō to the publicke congregation.

The ſecond is the confeſſion whiche is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confeſſion alſo hath place when any ſuch thyng is committed, wherof riſeth a publicke offence and ſclaunder to the Church of God: As appeareth by ȳ inceſtuous Corinthians, & other ſondry examples of penitentiaries in the primitiue Churche, as of Melciades and other. &c.

Priuate confeſſion to our brother. Math. 5. Jacob. 5.

The thyrd kynde of confeſſion is that, which we make priuately to our brother. And this confeſſion is requiſite, when either we haue iniuried or by any way dammified our neighbor, whether he be rich or poore. Whereof ſpeaketh ȳ Goſpell: Go & reconcile thy ſelfe firſt vnto thy neighbour. &c. Alſo S. James: Confeſſe your ſelues one to another, &c. Or els thys confeſſion may alſo haue place, when any ſuch thyng lyeth in our conſcience, in the openyng wherof we ſtand in neede of the counſell and comfort of ſome faithfull brother.

Certayne pointes of ſuperſtition to be auoyded in priuate confeſſion.

But herein muſt we vſe diſcretion in auoydyng theſe poyntes of blynd ſuperſtition. Firſt that we put therein no neceſſity for remiſſion for our ſinnes, but to vſe therin our owne voluntary diſcretion, accordyng as we ſee it expediēt for ȳ better ſatiſfying of our troubled minde. The ſecond is, that we be not bounde to any ennumeration of our ſinnes. The third, that we tie not our ſelues to any one perſon, more then to an other, but to vſe therin our free choyſe, whom we thinke cā geue vs the beſt ſpiritual counſell in the Lord.

But as there is nothyng in the Church ſo good and ſo ghoſtly, which through peuiſh ſuperſtition either hath not, or may not be peruerted: ſo thys confeſſion alſo hath not lacked hys abuſes. Firſt the ſecret confeſſion to God alone, as it hath bene counted inſufficient, ſo hath it bene but lightly eſteemed of many. The publicke confeſſion to ȳ congregation hath bene turned to a ſtandyng in a ſheete, or els hath bene bought out for money. Furthermore, ȳ ſeacret brekyng of a mans mynde to ſome faithful or ſpiritual brother in diſcloſing his infirmitie or temptations, for counſaile, and godly comfort, hath bene turned into auricular confeſſion in a Prieſtes eare for aſſoylyng of hys ſins. In ȳ which Auricular confeſſion, firſt of the free libertie of the penitēt in vtteryng hys griefes, they haue made a mere neceſſitye, and that vnto ſaluation and remiſſion of ſinnes. Secondly, they require withall, ennumeration and a full recitall of all ſinnes whatſoeuer, both great and ſmall. Alſo beſides the neceſſitie of thys eare confeſſion, they adde therto a preſcription of tyme, at leaſt once in the yeare for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confeſſed: makyng moreouer of the ſame a Sacrament. And laſtly, where as before it ſtoode in the voluntary choyſe of a man to open hys hart to what ſpirituall brother he thought beſt, for an eaſement of his griefe and ghoſtly conſolation, they bynde hym to a Prieſt (vnleſſe ſome Fryer come by the way to be hys ghoſtly father) to whom he muſt needes confeſſe all, whatſoeuer he hath done, and though he lacke the key of knowledge, and peraduenture of good diſcretion, yet none muſt haue power to aſſoyle hym, but he through the authoritie of his keyes.

4. or 5. abuſes in auricular confeſſion.
1. Neceſſitye.
2. Ennumeration of ſinnes.
3. Preſcription of tyme.
4. Confeſſion made a ſacramēt.
5. To a prieſt onely.

And thys maner of confeſſion, ſay they, was inſtituted by Chriſt, and hys Apoſtles, & hath bene vſed in ȳ Church euer ſince to this preſent day. Which is a moſt manifeſt vntruth, and eaſie by ſtories to be conuinced.

Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 19. Sozo. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

For Socrates lib. 5. cap. 19. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16. in ȳ booke of Eccleſiaſticall hyſtory, do geue vs playnely to vnderſtād, that thys Auricular confeſſion neuer came of Chriſt, but onely of men.

Beat. Rhenanus in argum. libel. Tertulliani de penitentia.

Item, in the tyme of Tertullian, Beat. Rhenanus teſtifieth, ȳ there was no mētion made of this Auricular cōfeſſion. Which may well be gathered therof, for that Tertullian wryting vpon repentaunce, maketh no mention at all therof.

Criſoſt. in Pſal. 30. hom. 1.

Item, in the tyme of Chryſoſtome, it appeareth there was no ſuch aſſoylyng at the Prieſts handes, by theſe wordes where he ſaith: I require thee not that thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe thy ſinnes to thy felow ſeruaunt. Tell them vnto God, who careth for them.

Chryſoſt. in hom. de penit. & confeſſione.

Item, the ſayd Chryſoſtome in an other place wrytyng vpon repentaunce, and confeſſion: Let the examination of thy ſinnes, and thy iudgement (ſayth he) be ſcarete & cloſe without wytnes. Let God onely ſee and heare thy confeſſion. &c.

De penit. diſt. 1. Petrus in Gloſa.

Item, in the tyme of Ambroſe, De pœnit. Diſt. 1. Petrus, the gloſe of ȳ popes owne decrees recordeth: That the inſtitution of Baptiſme was not then begon, which now in our dayes is in vſe.

De penit Diſt. 5. in principio.

Item, it is truely ſayd therfore of the Gloſe in another place, where he teſtifieth: That this inſtitutiō of penaunce began rather of ſome tradition of the vniuerſal church, thē of any authoritie of the new Teſtament, or of the old. &c.

Eraſm. in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ.

The like alſo teſtifieth Eraſm. wrytyng vpō Hiero. in theſe wordes: Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum inſtitutam fuiſſe. &c. That is: It appeareth, that in the tyme of Hierome, this ſecrete confeſſion of ſinnes was not yet ordeined, which the church afterward did inſtitute holſomely, if our Prieſtes & lay men would vſe it rightly. But herein, diuines not conſidering aduiſedly what the old Doctours do ſay, are much deceiued. That which they ſay of generall & opē confeſſiō, they wraſt by and by to this priuie & ſecret kinde of confeſſion, which is farre diuers, and of an other ſort. &c.

Gracian. De penitent. Diſt. 1. Quidam.

The lyke teſtimonie may alſo be taken of Gracian hymſelfe, who ſpeakyng of confeſſion vſed then in hys tyme, leaueth the matter in doubtfull diſpenſe, neyther pronouncyng on ȳ one ſide, nor on ȳ other, but referreth the matter

ter to the free iudgement of the Readers, which the Acte of theſe ſixe Articles here enioyneth as neceſſary, vnder payne of death.

The firſt inſtitution of auricular confeſſion, when and by whom it begunne.

Briefly, in few wordes to ſearche out and notifie the very certaine tyme, when this Article of eareconfeſſion firſt crept into the Church, & what antiquitie it hath in folowyng the iudgement of Ioannes Scotus, and of Antoninus, it may be well ſuppoſed, that the inſtitution therof tooke his firſt origine by Pope Innocent the thyrd, in his Councell of Laterane, an. 1215. For ſo we read in Ioannes Scotus Lib. 4. Sent. Diſt. 17. Artic. 3. Precipua autem ſpecificatio huius præcepti inuenitur in illo cap. Extra. de pœnit. & remiſs: Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. &c. And after in ÿ ſame Article it foloweth: Nam ex prima inſtitutione Eccleſiæ non videntur fuiſſe Diſtincti proprij ſacerdotes. Quando enim Apoſtoli hinc & inde ibant predicando verbum Dei. &c. By the which wordes it appeareth that there was no inſtitution of any ſuch confeſſion ſpecified before the conſtitution of Innocentius the thyrd.

Ioan. Scotus, Lib. 4. Sent. Diſt. 17. Artic. 3.

Antoninus part. 3. Hiſtor. tit. 19.

But more playnly the ſame may appeare by the wordes of Antoninus in 3. parte Hiſtor. Whiche be theſe Innocentius tertius in Concilio generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta confeſſionis & communionis ſic ſtatuit: Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus fidelis, poſtquam ad annū diſcretionis peruenerit, omnia peccata ſua ſolus ſaltem ſemel in anno confiteatur proprio ſacerdoti, et iniunctam ſibi pœnitentiam proprijs viribus ſtudeat adimplere, alioqui et viuens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & moriens Chriſtiana careat ſepultura. Vnde hoc ſalutare ſtatutum frequenter in Eccleſijs publicetur: ne quiſquam ignorantiæ cæcitate velamen excuſationis aſſumat. et cet. That is to ſay. Pope Innocent the 3. in his generall Councell aforeſayd, touchyng the Sacramentes of confeſſion and the communion, made this conſtitution as followeth. That euery faythfull perſon, both man and woman, after they come to the yeares of diſcretion, ſhall confeſſe all theyr ſinnes by themſelues alone, at leſt once a yeare, to their owen ordinary Prieſt, & ſhall endeuour to fulfill by their owne ſtrength, their penaunce to them enioyned. Or els who ſo doth not, ſhall neither haue entraunce into the Churche beyng alyue, nor beyng dead ſhall enioye Chriſtian buriall. Wherfore this wholeſome cōſtitution we will to be publiſhed oftē in the Churches, leſt any mā through the blyndneſſe of ignoraunce may make to them ſelues a cloke of excuſe. et cet. And thus much hetherto we haue alledged by occaſion incident of theſe vj. Articles for ſome part of confutation of the ſame, referryng the reader for the reſt, to the more exquiſite tractation of Diuines, which profeſſedly write vpon thoſe matters.

The cōſtitution of Pope Innocent 3. touchyng auricular confeſſion.

In the meane tyme, for aſmuch as there is extant in Latin a certaine learned Epiſtle of Philippe Melancthon, written to kyng Henry agaynſt theſe vj. wicked Articles aboue ſpecified, I thought not to defraude the Reader of the fruite therof, for his better vnderſtandyng and inſtruction. The tenour and effect of his Epiſtle tranſlated into Engliſh thus foloweth.

¶ The Copie of Melancthons Epiſtle ſent to kyng Henry, agaynſt the cruell Acte of the vj. Articles.

A fruitfull epiſtle of Phil. Melancton ſent to kinge Henry touchyng the vi. Articles

MOſt famous and noble Prince, there were certaine Emperours of Rome, as Adrianus, Pius, and afterward the two brethren Verus and Marcus, which did receiue gently the Apologies and defenſes of the Chriſtians: which ſo preuayled with thoſe moderate Princes, that they ſwaged their wrath agaynſt the Chriſtians, and obteyned mitigation of their cruell Decrees. Euen ſo, for aſmuch as there is a Decree ſet forth of late in your Realme agaynſt that doctrine whiche we profeſſe, both godly and neceſſary for the Churche, I beſeeche your moſt honorable Maieſty fauorably both to read and conſider this our complaint, eſpecially ſeyng I haue not onely for our owne cauſe, but much rather for the common ſauegard of the Churche, directed this my wrytyng vnto you. For ſeyng thoſe Heathen Princes dyd both admitte and allowe the defences of the Chriſtians, how much more is it beſeemyng for a kyng of Chriſtian profeſſion, and ſuch a one as is occupied in the ſtudyes of holy hiſtories, to heare the cōplaintes & admonitions of the godly in the Churche? And ſo much the more willyngly I write vnto you, for that you haue ſo fauorably heretofore receiued my letters, with a ſingular declaration of your * beneuolence towardes me. This alſo geueth me ſome hope that you will not vnwillyngly read theſe thynges, for aſmuch as I ſee that the very phraſe and maner of wrytyng doth playnly declare, not your ſelfe, but onely the Byſhops to be the authors of thoſe Articles and Decrees there ſet forth: Albeit, through their wily and ſubtile ſophiſtications, they haue induced you (as it hath happened to many other worthy Princes beſides you) to condeſcend and aſſent vnto thē: as the rulers perſwaded Darius beyng otherwiſe a wiſe and a iuſt Prince, to caſt Daniell vnto the Lyons.

* He meaneth here the kinges liberall reward ſent to hym before in money, by M. Iohn Hales which money he then diſtributed among the miniſters and learned men of Wittenberge.

Dan. 3.

It was neuer vnſeemely for a good Prince to correct and reforme cruell and rigorous lawes, and (as it is commonly ſayd) to haue a ſecond vewe and ouerſight of thynges before paſſed and decreed.

Example of the Athenians reuokyng their Decree.

The wiſe Athenians made a Decree when the Citie of Mitilene was recouered, which before had forſaken thē, that all the Citizens there ſhould be ſlayne, and the Citie vtterly deſtroyed. Wherupon there was a ſhyp ſent forth with the ſame commaundement to the armye. On the next morow the matter was brought agayne before the ſame iudges, and after better aduiſe taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude ſhould not be put to the ſword, but a fewe of the chief authours of their rebellion, ſhould be puniſhed and the Citie ſaued. There was therfore an other ſhyp ſent forth wt a countermaunde in all haſt, to ouertake and preuent the former ſhyppe, as alſo it happened. Neither was that noble Citie whiche then ruled and reigned farre and wyde, aſhamed to alter and reforme their former Decree. Many ſuch examples there be, the moſt part wherof, I am ſure are well knowen vnto you. But in the Church eſpecially, Princes haue many tymes altered and reformed their Decrees, as Nabugodonoſor & Darius. There was a Decree ſet forth in the name of Aſſuerus, concernyng the killyng of the Iewes. That Decree was afterwardes called in agayne. So did Adrianus & Antoninus alſo correct and reforme their Decrees.

Eſter. 8.

Therfore, although there be a Decree ſet forth in England, which threatneth ſtraunge puniſhmentes and penalties, diſagreeyng from the cuſtome of the true Church, and ſwaruyng from the rules and Canōs therof: yet I thought it not vnſeemely for vs to become peticioners vnto you, for the mitigation of theſe your ſharpe and ſeuere proceedynges. The whiche when I conſider, it greueth my mynde, not onely for the perill and daunger of them whiche profeſſe the ſame doctrine that we doe, but alſo I doe lament for your cauſe, that they ſhould make you an inſtrument and a miniſter of their bloudy tyranny and impietie. And partly alſo I lament, to ſee the courſe of Chriſtian doctrine peruerted, ſuperſtitious rites confirmed, whoredome and lecherous luſtes mainteyned.

Mitigation of the vi. Articles deſired

Beſides all this, I heare of diuers good mē, excellyng both in doctrine and vertue, to be there deteyned in priſon, as Latymer, Cromer, Sharton and others, to whom I wiſh ſtrength, pacience, and cōſolation in the Lord. Unto whom albeit there can nothyng happen more luckely or more gloriouſly, then to giue their lyues in the confeſſion of the manifeſt truth and veritie: yet would I wiſh that you ſhould not diſteyne your handes with the bloud of ſuch men: neither would I wiſhe ſuch Lanternes of lyght in your Churche, to bee extinguiſhed: neither theſe ſpitefull and malicious Phariſeis, the enemyes of Chriſt, to haue their willes ſo much fulfilled. Neither agayne would I wiſhe that, you ſhould ſo much ſerue the will and deſire of that Romiſhe Antichriſt, which laugheth in his ſleue to ſee you now to take part with hym, agaynſt vs hopyng well by the helpe of his Byſhops, to recouer agayne his former poſſeſſion whiche of late by your vertuous and godly meanes he loſt. He ſeeth your Byſhops, for the tyme, loyall vnto you, and obſequious to obey your will: but in hart he ſeeth them lynked vnto him in a perpetuall bond of fidelitie and obedience. In all theſe feates and practiſes, the Romiſhe Byſhops are not to ſeeke. They ſee what great ſtormes and blaſtes heretofore they haue paſſed by bearyng & ſufferyng. They ſee that great thynges bee brought to paſſe in tyme. Neither do they forget the old Verſe of the Poete.

Latimer, Cromer, Sharton, and others, impriſoned for the vi. Articles.

The Byſhops pretend outward obedience to the kyng, but their hartes be with the Pope.

Multa, dies variuſq; labor mutabilis æui
Retulit in melius.

Many good and learned men in Germany conceiued of you great hope, that by your authoritie and example other Princes alſo would be prouoked to ſurceaſe lykewiſe from their vniuſt crueltie, and better to aduiſe them ſelues for the reformation of errours crept into the Church: truſtyng that you would be as a guyde and Captaine of that godly purpoſe and enterpriſe. But now ſeyng theſe your contrary proceedynges, we are vtterly diſcouraged: the indignation of other Princes is confirmed: the ſtubburnes of the wicked is augmented: and olde and great errours are thereby ſtabliſhed.

But here your Byſhops will ſay agayne (no doubt) that they defend no errours, but the very truth of Gods holy worde. And although they be not ignoraunt that they ſtriue in very deede, both agaynſt the true word of God, and the Apoſtolicke Churche, yet lyke craftie Sophiſters, they can finde out fayre gloſes, pretendyng a goodly ſhew outwardly, to colour their errours and abuſes.

The Byſhops mainteine errours agaynſt their knowledge.

And

Falſehode oftentimes beareth a fayrer ſhewe, then truth.

John. 1.

And this ſophiſtication not onely nowe in England is had in great admiration, and eſteemed for great wiſedome, neither in Rome onely reigneth, where Cardinall Conterenus, Sadolet, and Cardinall Poole, go about to paynt out abuſes with new colours and goodly gloſes: but alſo in Germany diuers noble men are likewiſe corrupted and ſeduced with the lyke ſophiſtication. And therfore I nothyng maruell that ſo many there with you bee deceaued with theſe crafty iugglynges. And although you for your parte, lacke neither learnyng nor iudgement, yet ſome tymes we ſee it ſo happen, that wiſe men alſo be caryed away by fayre and colourable perſuaſions, from the veritie. The ſaying of Simonides is prayſe worthy: Opinion (ſayth hee) many tymes peruerteth veritie. And many tymes falſe opinion hath outwardly a fayrer ſhew, then ſimple truth. And ſpecially it ſo happeneth in caſes of Religion, where the deuill trãſformeth himſelfe into an Angel of light, ſetting forth wͭ all colourable and goodly ſhewes, falſe opinions. How fayre ſeemeth the gloſe of Homoſatenus, vpon the Goſpell of S. John: In the begynnyng was the word.&c. and yet is it full of impietie. But I omit foreine examples.

Confeſſion

In theſe Articles of yours, how many things are craftely and deceitfully deuiſed? Cõfeſſion ſayth the Article, is neceſſarie, & ought to be reteined. And why ſay they not playnly, that the rehearſing & numbryng vp of ſinnes is neceſſary by Gods word? This the Byſhops knew well to be very falſe, & therfore in the Article they placed their wordes generally, to bleare the eyes of the ſimple people, that when they heare confeſſion to be neceſſary, they ſhould thereby thinke the enumeration of ſinnes to be neceſſary by Gods word.

Priuate Maſſes.

By application of Maſſes is ment, when the paſſion and merites of Chriſt is applyed to any by vertue of the Maſſe,

The like legerdimaine alſo they vſe in yͤ Article of priuate Maſſes, albeit the begynnyng the ſayd Article conteineth a manifeſt vntruth, where they ſay that it is neceſſary to reteyne priuate Maſſes. What man in all the primatiue Church, more then iiij. hundreth yeares after the Apoſtles tyme, did euer ſo ſay, or thinke, at what tyme there were no ſuch priuate Maſſes vſed? But afterward in the proceſſe of yͤ Article, followe other blynd ſophiſtications, to make the people beleue that they ſhould receiue by them, diuine conſolations and benefites. And why do they not plainly declare what conſolations and benefites thoſe be? The Byſhops here do name no application, and merite, for they knowe that they can not be defended. Yet they dally with gloſing wordes, whereby they may winde out & eſcape, if any ſhould improue their application. And yet notwithſtandyng they would haue this their application to bee vnderſtanded and beleued of the people. They would haue, this Idolatrous perſuaſion confirmed: to witte, that this ſacrifice doth merite vnto others, remiſſion A pœna & culpa: releaſe of all calamities, and alſo gayne and luker in common trafficke, and to conclude, what ſoeuer els the carefull hart of man doth deſire.

Prieſtes mariage. 1. Tim. 3.

The lyke ſophiſtication they vſe alſo, where they ſay that Prieſtes Mariage is agaynſt the law of God. They are not ignoraunt what S. Paule ſayth: A Byſhop ought to be the huſband of one wife: and therefore, they knowe right well that Mariage is permitted to Prieſtes by the law of God. But becauſe now, they ſay, they haue made a vow, they go craftely to worke, and do not ſay yͤ prieſtes for their vowes ſake can not mary, but playnly giue out the Article after this ſorte: that Mariage of Prieſtes is vtterly agaynſt the law of God. Agayne, what impudencie and tyranny do they ſhew moreouer, when they compell Mariages to be diſſolued, & commaunde thoſe to be put to death, which will not put away their wiues, and renounce their Matrimony? where as the vow of Prieſtes, if it had any force at all ſhould extend no further but onely to put them from the miniſterie if they would mary. And this (no doubt) is the true meanyng of the Councels and Canons.

Wincheſter cunning in the arte of iugling, called *deceptio viſus*.

O curſed Byſhops. O impudent and wicked Wincheſter, who vnder theſe colourable fetches, thincketh to deceiue the eyes of Chriſt, and the iudgementes of all the godly in the whole world. Theſe thynges haue I written that you may vnderſtand the craftie ſleightes and ſo iudge of the purpoſe and policie of theſe Byſhops. For if they would ſimply and hartly ſearch for the truth, they would not vſe theſe crafty colluſions and deceitfull iugglynges.

The worde of God ought ſimply to be handled without al ſophiſtrie.

This ſophiſtication, as it is in all other affaires pernitious and odious, ſo aboue all thynges, moſt ſpecially it is to be auoyded in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heynous impietie to corrupt or peruerte the pure word of God. And hereof the deuill whiche is called Diabolus, ſpecially taketh his name, becauſe he wraſteth the word of God out of mens hartes by ſuch falſe iugglyng and ſophiſticall cauillations. And why do not theſe Byſhops as well playnly vtter and confeſſe that they will abyde no reformation of doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it ſhall make agaynſt their dignitie, põpe and pleaſure? Why do not their adherents alſo and ſuch as take their part, playnly ſay that they will retaine ſtill this preſent ſtate of the Churche for their owne profite, tranquilitie, and mainteynaunce? Thus to confeſſe, were true and playne dealyng.

The cloked hipocriſie of falſe Papiſtes.

Eſa. 10.

Eſa. 5.

Now, whiles they pretend hipocritically a falſe zeale and loue to the truth and ſincere Religion, they come in with their blynd ſophiſtications, wherewith they couer their errours: for their Articles ſet forth in this acte be erroneous, falſe and impious, how glorious ſoeuer they ſeme outwardly. Wherfore it were to be wiſhed that theſe byſhops would remember Gods terrible threatnyng in the prophet Eſay: Woe to you (ſayth he) whiche make wicked lawes: What will you do in the day of viſitation and calamitie to come? &c. Woe vnto you that call euill good.&c.

Mans traditiõs couted for Gods ſeruice.

Now to come more nere to the matter which we haue in hand: this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkenes hath bene in the church of Chriſt. Mens traditions not onely haue bene a yoke to good mens conſciences, but alſo (which is much worſe) they haue bene reputed for Gods holy ſeruice, to the great diſworſhip of God. There were vowes, thynges bequethed to churches, diuerſitie of garmentes, choyce of meates, long babling prayers, pardõs, imageworſhip, manifeſt idolatry committed to ſaintes, the true worſhip of God and true good workes not knowen. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Chriſtian and Heathen religion, as ſtil is yet at Rome, to this preſent day, to be ſeene. The true doctrine of repentaunce, of remiſſion of ſinnes, which cõmeth by fayth yͭ in Chriſt, of iuſtification of fayth, of the difference betwene the law and the goſpell, of the right vſe of the Sacramentes, was hid and vnknowen. The keyes were abuſed to the maintenance of the Popes vſurped tyranny. Ceremonies of mens inuention were much preferred before ciuile obedience and duties done in the common wealth.

The filthy lyfe of the Clergie, for lacke of mariage.

This reſtoring of the Goſpell is onely of God and not of man.

Vnto theſe errours moreouer was ioyned a corrupte lyfe, full of all lecherous and filthy luſtes, by reaſon of the law forbiddyng Prieſtes to mary. Out of this miſerable darkenes, God ſomethyng hath begon to deliuer his church through the reſtoryng agayne of true doctrine. For ſo we muſt needes acknowledge, that theſe ſo great and long feſtred errors haue not bene diſcloſed and brought to lyght by the induſtry of man, but this lyght of the Goſpell, is onely the gift of God, who now agayne hath appeared vnto the Church. For ſo doth the holy ghoſt prophecie before, how in the later tymes the godly ſhould ſuſteine ſore and perilous conflictes with Antichriſt, forſhowing that he ſhould come, enuironed with a mightey and ſtrong army of Byſhops, hipocrites and Princes: that he ſhould fight againſt the truth and ſlay the godly.

By the vi. Articles all errours, and traditions are maintayned.

And that now al theſe thinges are ſo come to paſſe, it is moſt euident, and can not be denied. The tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome hath partly brought in errors into yͤ Church partly hath confirmed thẽ, and now maintayneth the ſame with force and violence, as Daniell well foreſhewed. And much we reioyced to ſee you diuided from hym, hoping and truſting well that the Church of England would now floriſhe. But your Byſhops be not deuided from the Romiſh Antichriſt: his Idolatrie, errours, and vices they defende and maintaine with toth and nayle: for the Articles now paſſed, are craftely picked out. They confirme all humane traditions in that they eſtabliſh ſolemne vowes, ſingle lyfe, and auricular confeſſion. They vphold and aduaunce not onely their pride and authoritie, but all errours withall, in reteynyng the priuate Maſſe.

Marke. 7.

Thus haue they craftly prouided that no reformation cã take any place, that their dignitie & wealth may ſtill be vpholden. And this to be the purpoſe of the byſhops, experiẽce it ſelfe doth playnely teach vs. Now what man will not lament to ſee the glory of Chriſt thus to be defaced? For (as I ſayd before) this matter concerneth not onely theſe Articles whiche there be enacted, but all other Articles of ſound doctrine are likewiſe ouerthrowne, if ſuch traditions of men ſhalbe reputed as neceſſary and to be reteyned. For why doth Chriſt ſay? For they worſhyp me in vayne with the preceptes of men? or why doth S. Paule ſo oft deteſt mens traditions?

God will not be worſhipped but after his worde. Prou. 3.

It is no light offence to ſet vp new kindes of worſhipping and ſeruing of God, without his worde, or to defend the ſame. Such preſumptiõ God doth horribly deteſt, which will be knowen in his word onely. He will haue none other Religions inuented by mans deuiſe: for els all ſortes of religions of all nations might be approued and allowed. Leane not (ſayth he) to thine own wiſedome. But he ſent Chriſt, and commaundeth vs to heare him, and not the inuention of ſubtile and politicke heades, whiche apply Religion to their owne luker and commoditie.

Furthermore, priuate Maſſes, vowes, the ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, numbryng vp of ſinnes to the Prieſt, with other thynges moe, beyng but mere ordinaunces of men, are

Agaynſt priuate Maſſes and the Canon of the Maſſe.

Chriſt but once offered.

The true vſe of the Lordes Supper.

vſed for Gods true ſeruice and worſhyp. For although the Supper of the Lord was truely inſtituted by Chriſt, yet the priuate Maſſe is a wicked prophanation of the Lordes Supper. For in the Canon what corruption is conteined in this, where it is ſayd that Chriſt is offered, and that the worke it ſelfe is a ſacrifice which redeemeth the quicke and the dead? These thynges were neuer ordeined of Chriſt: yea manifold wayes, they are repugnaunt to the Goſpell. Chriſt willeth not him ſelfe to be offered vppe of Prieſtes, neither can the worke of the offerer or of the receiuer, by any meanes, be a ſacrifice. This is manifeſt Idolatrie, and ouerthroweth the true doctrine of fayth, and the true vſe of the Sacramentes. By fayth in Chriſt we are iuſtified, and not by any worke of the Prieſt. And the Supper is ordeined that the Miniſter ſhould diſtribute to others, to the intent that they repenting for their ſinnes, ſhould be admoniſhed firmely to beleue the promiſes of the Goſpell to perteine vnto them: Here is ſet a playne teſtimonie before vs, that we are made the members of Chriſt, and waſhed by his bloud.

Sacramentes ought not to be remoued out of their right vſe.

1. Cor. 10.

Math. 24.

Dan. 11.

And this is the true vſe of that Supper, whiche is ordeined in the Goſpell, and was obſerued in the primatiue Churche 3 0 0. yeares and more, from the which we ought not to be remoued. For it is playne impietie to transferre the Lordes inſtitution to any other vſe, as we are taught by the ſecond commaundement. Wherefore theſe priuate Maſſes, for aſmuch as they ſwarue from the right inſtitution of Chriſt manifold wayes, as by oblation, ſacrifice, application and many other wayes beſides, they are not to be retened but to be aboliſhed. Flye (ſayth S. Paule) from all Idolatry. In theſe priuate Maſſes much Idolatry is committed, which we ſee our biſhops now ſo ſtoutly to defend: & no maruell. For in the latter tymes the Scripture playnly ſheweth that great Idolatry ſhall reigne in the Church of God. As Chriſt himſelfe alſo ſignifieth, ſaying: When ye ſhall ſee the abhomination of deſolation, which is foretold of the Prophet Daniell, ſtandyng in the holy place, he that readeth, let hym vnderſtand. And Daniell in the xi. Chapter. And he ſhall worſhyp the God Maozim in his place, and ſhall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with Golde, Siluer, and precious ſtones. Both theſe places ſpeake of the Maſſe.

What impietie is in the Maſſe.

This kynde of worſhyp and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament, God abhorreth. For how many ſundry kyndes of manifeſt impietie are here committed in this one action of the Maſſe? Firſt, it is ſet forth to ſale. Secondly they that are vnworthy, are compelled to receiue whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applyed for meritorious and ſatiſfactory for the quicke and the dead. Fourthly, many thynges are promiſed thereby, as proſperous nauigation, remedies agaynſt diſeaſes both for man and beaſt, with other infinite moe. Theſe be moſt manifeſt and notorious abhominations. But beſides theſe, there be other alſo no leſſe to be reprehended whiche the ſimple people do not ſo playnly ſee. Such worſhyppyng and ſeruyng of God is not to be ſet vp after the phantaſie of men.

No priuate Maſſes vſed in the olde tyme.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer ſacrifice to God without his commaundement. For when of this worke they make a ſacrifice, they imagine that priuate Maſſes are to be done, becauſe God would be worſhypped after this ſorte, And we ſee that Maſſes are bought with gold and ſiluer, great riches and ſumptuous charges: alſo the Sacrament to be caryed about in gold and ſiluer to be worſhypped, whereas the Sacrament was neuer ordeined for any ſuch purpoſe. Wherfore ſeyng the commaundement of God biddeth, flye from Idolatry, priuate Maſſes are not to be mainteyned. And I maruell why they ſay that ſuch priuate Maſſes are neceſſarily to be reteyned, when it is euident that in the old tyme there was none ſuch. Shall we thinke that thynges perteinyng to the neceſſary worſhyp of G O D, could ſo long be lackyng in the primatiue Church 300. yeares after the Apoſtles and more? What can be more abſurde and agaynſt all reaſon?

We ſee theſe priuate Maſſes to be defended with great labour and much adoe: of ſome, for feare leſt their gayne ſhould decay: of ſome, becauſe they would ſerue the affection of the vulgare people (which thinketh to haue great ſuccour thereby, and therefore are loth to leaue it) rather then for any iuſt cauſe or reaſon to lead them. But howſoeuer they do, a moſt manifeſt and euident cauſe there is why theſe priuate Maſſes ought to be aboliſhed. For firſt their application vndoubtedly is wicked: neither doth the worke of the Prieſt merite any grace to any perſon, but euery one is iuſtified by his owne fayth. Neither agayne would God haue any man to truſt vpon any ceremony, but onely to the benefite of Chriſt. And moſt certaine this is, that the application of theſe Maſſes for the dead, is full of great errour and impietie.

Application of the Maſſe Idolatrous.

But here come in blynd gloſes (albeit to no purpoſe) to excuſe this application. For vniuerſally amonges all ye people, who is he that thinketh otherwiſe, but that this worke is auailable for the whole Church? yea the Canon of the Maſſe it ſelfe declareth no leſſe. And why then doe ſome of theſe craftie ſophiſters dally out the matter wyth their gloſing wordes, denying that they make any application of their Maſſes, when they know full well that the errour of the people is confirmed by this their doing: although they themſelues do thinke otherwiſe? Albeit how fewe be there in very deede which do otherwiſe thinke?

The olde inſtitution of Chriſt is not to bee altered by new inuentions.

We ought not to diſſemble in Gods matters. Let vs vſe them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the auncient cuſtome of ye primitiue church doth lead vs. Why ſhould any man be ſo preſumptuous to ſwerue from auncient cuſtome? Why now do they defend the errours of other which haue peruerted the inſtitution of Chriſt?

Now, although ſome perhaps will pretend and ſay, that he maketh no application of hys Maſſes, yet notwithſtandyng he ſo dealeth in handlyng the ceremony priuately by himſelfe, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high ſeruice done to God, and ſuch as God requireth: which is alſo eroneous and to be reproued. For why, no ſeruice nor worſhip perteinyng to God ought to be ſet vp by mans deuiſe, without the commaundement of God.

Wherfore I beſeeche you for the glory of Chriſt, that you will not defend the article of this Acte concerning theſe priuate Maſſes, but that you will ſuffer the matter to be well examined by vertuous and learned men. All thynges that we here wyth vs do, we do them by euident & ſubſtantiall teſtimony of the primitiue Church, which teſtimonye I dare be bold to ſet agaynſt the iudgementes of all that haue ſince followed, ſuch as haue corrupted ye auncient doctrine and olde rites with manifolde errours.

Agaynſt vowes of Prieſtes ſingle lyfe.

The common errour concerning vowes.

Marke. 7.

1. Tim. 4.

Coloſſ. 2.

As touching the other articles, they haue no neede of any long diſputation. Vowes that be wicked, fayned, and impoſſible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt, but thys is the common perſwaſion of all men touching vowes, that all theſe wilworkes deuiſed by man, are the true ſeruice and worſhip of God: and ſo thinke they alſo which ſpeake moſt indifferently of them. Other adde thereunto more groſſe errours, ſaying that theſe workes bring wyth them perfection, and merite euerlaſting lyfe. Now all theſe opinions the Scripture in many places doth reproue. Chriſt ſaith: They worſhip me in vayne with the precepts of men. And Paul ſayth, that theſe obſeruations be the doctrine of deuils: for they aſcribe to the power and ſtrength of man, falſe honour becauſe they are taken for the ſeruice of God: they obſcure fayth and the true worſhipping of God. Item, the ſayde Paule to the Coloſſ. ſayth: Let no man deceiue you by fayned humilitie. &c. Why make you Decrees? &c. Wherefore theſe corrupt traditions of men are in deede a wicked and deteſtable ſeruice of God.

Cauſes why vowes ought to be broken.

Unto theſe alſo are annexed many other corrupt & wicked abuſes. The whole order of monkery, what ſuperſtition doth it conteine: What prophanations of Maſſes, inuocation of Saintes, colours and faſhions of apparell, choiſe of meates, ſuperſtitious prayers without all meaſure? Of which cauſes euery one were ſufficient, why theſe vowes ought to be broken. Beſides thys, a great part of men are drawen to thys kinde of lyfe chiefely for the bellyes ſake, and then afterward they pretend the holynes of their vowe and profeſſion.

Math. 19.

Furthermore, thys vowe of ſingle lyfe is not to all men poſſible to be kept, as Chriſt hymſelfe ſayth: All men doe not receiue this. Such vowes therefore which without ſinne can not be performed are to be vndone, but theſe things I haue diſcuſſed ſufficiently in other of my workes.

The vi. articles make the vowe of prieſtes as ſtreight as the vowe of Monkes, which is contrary to their owne lawe.

No lawe of death euer ſtabliſhed for prieſtes mariage, before the vi. Articles.

But this cauſeth me much to maruell, that this vowe of Prieſtes in your Engliſhe Decree, is more ſtraite and hard, then is the vowe of Monkes, whereas the Canons themſelues doe bynd a Prieſt no farther to ſingle lyfe: but onely for the tyme that he remayneth in the miniſtery. And certeynely it made my hart to tremble when I reade thys Article which ſo forbiddeth matrimony, and diſſolueth the ſame beyng contracted, and appointeth moreouer the puniſhment of death for the ſame. Although there haue bene diuers godly Prieſtes which in certeyne places haue bene put to death for their maryage, yet hath neuer man hetherto bene ſo bolde to ſtabliſhe any ſuch law. For euery man in a maner, well perceiued that all well diſpoſed and reaſonable perſons would abhorre that crueltie: and alſo they feared leaſt the poſteritie woulde thinke euill thereof. Who woulde euer thinke, that in the Church of Chriſt, wherein all lenitie towarde the godly ought moſt principally to be ſhewed, ſuch cruelnes and tyrannie could take place, to ſet forth bloudy lawes to be executed vpon the godly for lawfull matrimonie?

Why prieſts vowes ought not to ſtand.

But they brake their vowes, will the Byſhops ſay. For (as I ſaid) that vow ought not to ſtād ſeyng it is turned to a falſe worſhip of God, and is impoſſible to be kept. Agayne, although it ſtode in force, yet it ſhould not extend to them which forſake the miniſtery. Finally, if the Byſhops here would haue a care and regarde to mens conſciences, they ſhould then ordaine Prieſtes without any ſuch profeſſion or vow makyng, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the miniſtery without profeſſing of any vowe, and the ſame afterward, when they had maried their wiues, to haue remained in the miniſtery, as is teſtified Cap. Diaconi. Diſtinct. 28.

Diſt. 28. cap. Diaconi.

Byſhops reſtraine Prieſtes mariage agaynſt all reaſon and excuſe.

Certeinely what here I may complaine, I can not tell. Firſt, in this Article I can not impute it to ignoraūce that they do. For no man is ignoraūt of the commaundement of God, which ſaith: Let euery man haue his wife for auoyding of fornication. Agayne, who is ſo blind but he ſeeth what a life theſe vnmaried Prieſtes do liue? The complayntes of good men are well knowen. The filthynes of the wicked is to to manifeſt. But peraduenture your Biſhops holdyng wͭ the ſect of Epicures, do thinke that God is not offended with filthy luſtes. Whiche if they ſo thinke, then do we ſuſteine doubtleſſe a hard cauſe where ſuch muſt be iudges.

Complaint of vniuſt lawes ſeruing to the luker of men agaynſt the glory of God.

I am not ignoraunt that this ſingle life is very fitte to ſet out the glory and brauerie of Biſhoppes and Colledges of Prieſtes, and to mainteine their wealth and portly ſtate, and this I ſuppoſe to be the cauſe why ſome do abhorre ſo much that Prieſtes ſhould be maried. But O lamentable ſtate of the Church, if lawes ſhould be ſo forced to ſerue, not the veritie and the will of GOD, but the priuate gayne and commoditie of men. They erre which thinke it lawfull for them to make lawes repugnaunt to ẏ cōmaundement of God and to the law of nature, ſo that they be profitable to attaine wealth and riches. And of trouth from my very hart I do mourne and lamēt, right noble Prince, both for your ſake and alſo for the cauſe of Chriſtes Church. You pretende to impugne and gainſtand the tyranny of the Romiſh Byſhop, and truly do call him Antichriſt, as in deede he is: and in the meane tyme you defend and maintaine thoſe lawes of that Romiſhe Antichriſt, which be the ſtrength ⁊ ſinowes of all his power, as priuate Maſſes, ſingle life of Prieſtes, and other ſuperſtitions. You threaten horrible puniſhmentes to good men and to the members of Chriſt, you violently oppreſſe and beare downe the veritie of the Goſpell beginnyng to ſhyne in your Churches. This is not to aboliſh Antichriſt, but to eſtabliſh him.

I beſeech you therfore for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you file not your conſcience in defendyng thoſe Articles which your Byſhops haue deuiſed and ſet forth touchyng priuate Maſſes, Auricular confeſſion, vowes, ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes, and prohibition of the one halfe of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to eſtabliſh Idolatry, errours, crueltie ẏ filthy luſtes of Antichriſt. If ẏ Romane biſhop ſhould now call a Councell, what other Articles chiefly would he deuiſe and publiſh vnto the world, but the very ſame which your Byſhops haue here enacted.

The ſubtiltie of Sathan in abuſing the power of princes to maintayne his kingdōe.

Vnderſtand and conſider I praye you, the ſubtile traynes and deceites of the deuill, whiche is wont firſt to ſet vpon and aſſayle the chief gouernours. And as he is the enemy of Chriſt from the begynnyng of the world, ſo his chief purpoſe is by all craftie and ſubtile meanes, to worke contumely agaynſt Chriſt in ſparſing abroad wicked opinions and ſettyng vp Idolatrie: and alſo in pollutyng mankynd with bloudy murthers and fleſhly luſtes: in the workyng whereof he abuſeth the policies and wittes of hypocrites: alſo the power and ſtrength of mighty Princes: as ſtories of all tymes beare witneſſe what great kyngdomes and Empires haue ſet themſelues with all might ⁊ maine, agaynſt the poore Church of Chriſt.

Example of good princes.

And yet notwithſtandyng God hath reſerued ſome good princes at al tymes, out of ẏ great multitude of ſuch giātes, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worſhyp: as Abraham taught Abimelech, Ioſeph the Egyptian kynges, and after them came Dauid, Ioſaphat, Ezechias, Ioſias excellyng in true godlynes. Daniell conuerted to the knowledge of God the kynges of Chaldea and Perſia. Alſo Britanny brought forth vnto the world the godly Prince Conſtantine. In this number I wiſhe you rather to be, then amongeſt the enemyes of Chriſte, defiled with Idolatrie and ſpotted with the bloud of the godly: of whom GOD will take puniſhement, as he doth many tymes forewarne, and many examples do teach.

Yet agayne therefore I pray and beſeeche you for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Byſhops: In which doing you ſhall aduaūce the glory of Chriſt, and prouide as well for the wealth of your owne ſoule, as the ſauegarde of your Churches.

Let the harty deſires of ſo many godly men through the whole worlde, moue you, ſo earneſtly wiſhing that ſome good kynges would extende their authoritie to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the aboliſhyng of all Idolatrous worſhyp, and the furtheryng of the courſe of the Goſpell. Regarde alſo and conſider I beſeech you, thoſe godly perſons, which are with you in bandes for the Goſpels ſake, being the true members of Chriſt.

He meaneth Shaxton, Latimer, Cromer, and others.

And if that cruell Decree be not altered, the Byſhops will neuer ceaſe to rage agaynſt the Churche of Chriſte without mercy or pitie. For them the deuill vſeth as inſtrumentes and miniſters of his furie and malice agaynſt Chriſt. Theſe he ſtyrreth vp to ſlay and kill the members of Chriſt. Whoſe wicked and cruell proceedynges and ſubtile ſophiſtications, that you will not preferre before our true and moſt righteous requeſt, all the godly moſt humbly and hartly do pray and beſeech you. Whiche if they ſhall obteine, no doubt but God ſhall recompence to you great rewardes for your pietie, and your excellent vertue ſhalbe renowmed both by penne and voyce of all the godly, whiles the world ſtandeth. For Chriſt ſhall iudge all them that ſhall deſerue either well or euill of his Church. And whiles letters ſhall remaine, the memoriall worthy of ſuch noble deſertes, ſhall neuer dye or be forgotten with the poſteritie to come. And ſeyng we ſeeke the glory of Chriſt, and that our Churches are the Churches of Chriſt, there ſhall neuer be wantyng ſuch as both ſhall defend the righteous cauſe, and magnifie with due commendation ſuch as haue well deſerued, ⁊ likewiſe ſhall condemn the vniuſt crueltie of the enemies.

The deuils inſtrumentes by whom he worketh.

Chriſt goeth about hungry, thyrſtie, naked, priſoned, complaynyng of the ragyng furie of the Byſhops, and of the wrongfull oppreſſion and crueltie of diuers kynges and Princes, entreatyng that the members of his body be not rent in peeces, but that true Churches may be defended and his Goſpell aduaunced. This requeſt of Chriſt to heare, to receiue, and to embrace, is the office of a godly kyng, and ſeruice moſt acceptable vnto God.

☞ Intreatyng a litle before, pag. 1143. col. 1. of certaine old inſtrumentes for prouſe of Prieſtes lawfull Mariage in tymes paſt, I gaue a litle touche of a certaine recorde taken out of an old Martyrologe of the church of Cant. touching Liningus a Prieſt, and his wife, in the tyme of Lanfrancke. Wherein I touched alſo of certaine landes and houſes reſtored agayne by the ſayd Lanfrancke to the Church of S. Andrew. Now for aſmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my handes, and partly conſideryng the reſtoryng of the ſayd landes, to be to Chriſtes Church in Canterbury and not S. Andrew in Rocheſter: and alſo for that I haue founde ſome other preſidentes approuyng the lawfull Mariage of Prieſtes, and legitimation of their children, I thought good for the more full ſatiſfying of the reader, to enter the ſame, as foloweth.

Liningus Prieſt, and his wyfe.

A Note out of an old Martyrologe of Caunterbury.

Ex Archiuis, Eccleſ. Cant.

OBijt Guilliełmus Rex Anglorum. &c. Hic reddidit Eccleſiæ Chriſti oēs ferè terras. &c. That is: After the death of William kyng of England, the ſayd Lanfrancke reſtored agayne to Chriſtes Church in Cant. all the landes whiche from auncient memory vnto theſe latter dayes, haue bene taken away from the right of the ſayd Church. The names of whiche landes be theſe: In Kent, Raculfe, Sandwich, Ratburch, Wodetun, the Abbay of Limming, with the landes and cuſtomes vnto the ſame Monaſtery belongyng, Saltwude, &c. (Stocke and Denentun, becauſe they belōged of old tyme to the Church of S. Andrew, them he reſtored to the ſame Church.) In Sutherey, Murtelac, the Abbay of S. Mary in London, with the landes and houſes, which Liuingus Prieſt, and his wife had in London. All theſe Lanfranke reſtored agayne for the health of his own ſoule, freely and without money. &c.

S. Andrewes Church in Rocheſter.

Liuingus Prieſt and maried man.

A note for the legitimation of Prieſtes children, ex termino Michael. Anno. 21. Henr. 7. fol. 39. pag. 2.

M. 21. H. 7.

A Deacon taketh a wyfe, hath iſſue and dyeth, the iſſue adiudged not Baſtarde.

NOte that in the xix. yeare of this kyng in an Aſſiſe at Warwicke, before Syr Guye Fairfax, and Syr Iohn Vauiſour, it was founde by Verdite, that the father of the tenaunt had taken the order of Deacon, and after maryed a wife, and had iſſue the tenaunt and dyed, and the tenant dyd enter. Vpon whom the pleyntife did enter as next heyre collaterall to the father of the tenaunt. Vpon whom he dyd reenter. &c. and for difficultie the Iuſtices dyd adiourne the Aſſiſe. And it was debated in the Eſcheker chamber: If the tenaunt ſhall be a Baſtard. &c. And here by aduiſe it was adiudged that he ſhall not be baſtard. &c. ¶ Frowicke chief Iuſtice ſayd to me in the xix. yeare of Henry the vij. in the common place, that he was of counſayle in this matter, and that it was adiudged as before, which Vauiſour dyd graunt. ¶ And Frowicke ſayd that if a Prieſt mary a wife and hath iſſue and dyeth, his iſſue ſhall enherite for that the eſpouſals be not voyde but voydable. ¶ Vauiſour: if a man take a Nunne te wife this eſpouſall is voyde.

Frowickes opinion that the iſſue of a Prieſt ſhall inherite.

☞ Note that in the latter Impreſſion of Henry the vij. yeares of the law, this word Prieſt in this caſe aforeſayd in ſome bookes is left out: whether of purpoſe or by negligence, I leaue it to the Reader to iudge.

¶ An other Note for legitimation
of Prieſtes children.

AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariæ Dei gratia. &c. xvj. die Iulij, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginæ, primo & tertio irrotulatur ſic. Præſentatum eſt per totum homagium quòd Symon Heynes* Clericus diu ante iſtam Curiam, vid. per duos annos iam elapſos, fuit ſeſitus ſecundum conſuetudinem huius Manerij in dominico ſuo vt de feodo, de & in duabus acris terræ, percellis de xxxv. acris & dimidij terræ, nuper in tenura Ioannis Heynes. Ac de & in vno tenemento vocat. Bernardes nuper in tenura Ioannis Cotton. Ac de & in lvij. Acris & iij. rodis terræ & paſturæ, ſiue plus ſiue minus, prout iacent in campis de Myldenhall prędicta in diuerſis pecijs, vt patet in Curia hic tenta die Iouis proximo poſt feſtum Sancti Lucæ Euangeliſtæ, An. regni Regis Henrici viij. xxxviij. Necnon de & in xij. acris terræ natiuæ iacentibus in Towneſield & Twamelfield in diuerſis pecijs. Ac de & in quatuor Acris & dimidio terræ iacentibus in Mylden hall prędicta. Ac de & in quinq; rodis terræ iacentibus in Halywelfield. Quua propter pręmiſſa, idem Symon nuper habuit ex ſurſum redditione Williemi Heynes prout pater in Curia hic tenta die Martis proximo poſt Dominicam in Albis Anno regni Regis Edwardi vj. primo. Et ſic ſeſitus idem Symon de omnibus ſupradictis præmiſſis inde obijt ſolus ſeſitus. Et quòd Ioſeph Heynes eſt filius & hæres eius propinquior, & modo ætatis quinq; annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Ioſeph præſens hic in Curia in propria perſona ſua, petit ſe admitti ad omnia ſupradicta pręmiſſa tanquam ad ius et hæreditatem ſuam. Et D. Rex & D. Regina ex gratia ſua ſpeciali, per Clementem Heighā militem Seneſcallum ſuū, conceſſerunt ei inde ſeſinam tenēdam ſibi, heredibus, & aſſignatis eius, per virgā ad volūtatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginæ ſecundum conſuetudinem huius Manerij, per ſeruitia & redditus inde debita. &c. Saluo iure. &c. Et dat Domino Regi & D. Reginæ v. lib. de fine pro ingreſſu ſuo habendo, & fidelitas inde reſpectuatur quouſq;. &c. Et vlterius conſideratū eſt per Curiam quòd dict. Ioſeph eſt infra ætatem vt pręfertur. Ideo determinatum eſt & conceſſum eſt per conſenſum Curiæ quòd Ioāna Heynes nuper vxor prędicti Simonis, ac mater prędicti Ioſeph habebit cuſtodiā eiuſdē Ioſeph quouſq; idem Ioſeph peruenerit ad ſuam legitimam ætatem.

* Note that thys Symon Heynes a Doctour and Prieſt is not called otherwiſe here in forme of law then *Clericus*, as in the Euidences before, other Prieſtes are called.

Note that the opinion of Frowicke hath alway bene taken to be law as may appeare by this preſident that paſſed before. Syr Clement Heygham being learned in the lawe, and late chiefe Baron of the Exchequer in the tyme of the late Queene Marye.

Concernyng theſe vj. Articles paſſed in this Acte aforeſayd in the 21. yeare of king Henry, ſufficiently hetherto hath bene declared, firſt what theſe Articles were: ſecondly by whom and from whom chiefly they proceded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnaunt and contrarious to true doctrine, chriſtian religion, and the word of God, to nature alſo it ſelfe, all reaſon and honeſty, and finally to the auncient lawes, cuſtomes, and examples of our forefathers duryng the dayes of a thouſand yeares after Chriſt they were. Fourthly, ye haue heard alſo what vnreaſonable and extreme penalty was ſet vpon the ſame, that a man may deeme theſe lawes to be written not with the inke of Steuen Gardiner, but with the bloud of a Dragon, or rather the clauſe of the deuill. The breach wherof was made no leſſe then treaſon and felony, and no leſſe puniſhment aſſigned therto then death.

The penalte of the 6 Articles declared.

Draconis leges ſanguine Scripta.

Beſides all this, the wordes of the Acte were ſo curious and ſubtile, that no man could ſpeake, write or cyphar agaynſt them, without preſent daunger, yea ſcarcely a man might ſpeake any word of Chriſt and his Religion, but he was in perill of theſe vj. Articles. Ouer & beſides the Papiſtes began ſo finely to interprete the Act, that they ſpared not to indite men for abuſing their countenaunce & behauiour in the Church. So great was the power of darkeneſſe in thoſe dayes. And thus much concernyng this Acte.

Poteſtas tenebrarum.

Beſides theſe vj. Articles in this foreſayd Acte concluded, there was alſo an other conſtitution annexed withall, not without the aduiſe (as may ſeeme) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: that Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Church, ſeyng now they would needes thēſelues be bounde from all Matrimony, ſhould therefore by law likewiſe be bounde to ſuch honeſty and continencie of lyfe, that carnally they ſhould vſe and accuſtome no maner of woman maryed or ſingle, by way of aduoutrie or fornication: the breache whereof, for the firſt tyme, was to forfaite goods, & to ſuffer impriſonment at the kynges pleaſure: and for the ſecond tyme, beyng dulye conuicted, it was made felonie as the other were.

An Acte agaynſt fornication of vnmaried prieſtes.

Statut. an. 32. Reg. Henr. 8. cap. 14.

In thys conſtitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good men of the Parliament myght haue had their wyll, there is no doubt, but the firſt crime of theſe concubinarye Prieſtes, as well as the ſecond, had had the ſame penaltie, as the other vi. Articles had and ſhould haue bene puniſhed wyth death. But Steuen Gardiner wyth hys felow Byſhops, who then ruled all the roſte, ſo baſted thys extraordinarie Article wyth their accuſtomed ſhiftes, that if they were taken and duely conuicte for their not caſtè nor caute, at firſt tyme it was but forfaite of goods. Alſo for the ſecond conuiction or atteinder, they ſo prouided that the next yeare folowyng, that puniſhement and payne of death by Acte of Parliament was cleane wyped away and repealed. And why ſo? Becauſe (ſayth the Statute) that puniſhment by payne of death is very ſore, and much extreme therfore it pleaſeth the king, with the aſſent of the Lordes, that that clauſe aboue writtē concerning felonie, and payns of death, and other penalties and forfaitures, for and vpō the firſt and ſecond conuiction or atteynder of any prieſt or woman, for any ſuch offences (of whordeme or aduoutrie) afore ſayd, ſhalbe from hence forth voyd and of none effect. &c. So that by this ſtatute it was prouided, for all ſuch votaries as lyued in whoredome and adulterie, for the firſt offence to loſe his goods and all his ſpirituall promotions except one. For the ſecond, to forfaite all that he had to the kyng. For the third conuiction to ſuſteyne continuall impriſonment.

Statut. an. 32. Reg. Henr. 8. cap. 10.

The Acte agaynſt the whoredome of prieſtes qualified, & after what maner.

In theſe vngodly proceedings of the popes Catholicke Clergie, two thynges we haue to note.

1. Firſt, the horrible impietie of their doctrine, directly fightyng againſt the expreſſe authoritie of God & his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they reſtrayne: that which he byddeth, they forbyd. Habeat, ſayth he: non habeat ſay they, takyng exceptions agaynſt the worde of the Lord. That which he calleth honorable and vndefiled, they call hereſie: that which he cōmendeth and inſtituteth, they puniſhe with paynes of death. Not onely the prieſtes that mary, but thē alſo that ſay or wryte that a Prieſt may mary, at the firſt they kill as felons. Neither can any Miſerere take place for chaſte and lawfull wedlocke: where as contrarywyſe a ſpirituall man may thriſe defile his neyghbours wife, or thriſe deflowre his Brothers daughter, and no felonie at all layde to hys charge. What is thys in plaine wordes to ſay, but that it is leſſe ſinne thriſe to commit aduoutry, then once to mary.

The manifeſt impietye of the popes doctrine, diſcloſed.

2. The ſecond is to be noted, how theſe paynted hypocrites do bewray their falſe diſſembled dealinges vnawares wyth whom a man might thus reaſon. Tell vs you prieſtes and votaries, which ſo preciſely flye the ſtate of Matrimonie, intende you to lyue chaſte, and are able ſo to doe without wiues, or do you keepe your ſelues chaſte and honeſt without them, and without burnyng, or not? If ye be not able, why thē mary you not? why take you not ẏ remedie appointed of God? Why make you thoſe vowes, which you can not performe? or why do you not breake them being made, falling therby in daunger of breaking Gods cōmaundemēt, for keeping your owne? If you be able, and ſo do intend to continue an honeſt and a continent conuerſation without wyues, then ſhall I aſke of you, according as Doct. Turner grauely and truely layeth to your charge: why doe you ſo carefully prouide a remedie by your lawes aforehand for a miſchiefe to come, which you may auoyde if ye liſt, vnleſſe eyther ye lyſted not to ſtand, though ye might, or els ſaw your owne infirmitie, that you coulde not though ye would? And therfore fearing your owne weake fragilitie, you prouide wiſely for your ſelues aforehand, that where other ſhall ſuffer paynes of death at the firſt for well doing, you may fall thriſe in abhominable adultery, and yet by the law haue your liues pardoned.

Dilemma, againſt votaries that will not marry.

Doct. Turner hunting the Romiſh Fox.

And here commeth out your owne hypocriſie by your ſelues bewrayed. For where as you all confeſſe, that you are able to liue chaſte if ye will without wiues, this moderation of the law prouided before againſt your aduouterous incontinencie, plainly declareth that either ye purpoſe willingly to fall, or at leaſt ye feare and ſtand in doubt not to be able to ſtand. And why then doe you ſo confidently take ſuch vowes vpon you, ſtanding in ſuch doubt and feare for the performance therof?

The Papiſtes bewray their owne hypocriſie.

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that ſome keepe their vow, though ſome viciouſly runne to other mens wiues and daughters: then here againe I aſke you, ſeyng theſe vicious whorehunters and aduouterous perſons amongeſt you, do liue viciouſly (as you can not deny) & may do otherwiſe if they lyſt (as you cōfeſſe) what puniſhment then are they worthy to haue, which may lyue continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedy prouided by God, but refuſe it? Which beyng ſo, then what iniquitie is this in you, or rather impietie inexcuſable agaynſt God and man, to procure a moderation of lawes for ſuch, and to ſhewe ſuch compaſſion and clemencie to theſe ſo heynous adulterers, whorehunters, and beaſtly fornicatours, that if they adulterate other mens wiues neuer ſo oft, yet there is no death for them: and to ſhewe no compaſſion at all, nor to finde out any moderation for ſuch, but at the very firſt to kill them as felons and heretickes, which honeſtlie doe mary in the feare of GOD, or once ſaye that a Prieſt may mary? How can ye heare bee excuſed, O you children of iniquitie? What reaſon is in your doyng, or what truth in your doctrine, or what feare of God in your harts? you that neither are able to auoyde burnyng and pollution without wedlocke, nor yet will receaue that remedy that the Lorde hath giuen you, how will you ſtand in his face, when he ſhall reuele your operatiōs and cogitations to your perpetuall confuſion, vnleſſe by tyme ye conuerte and repent? And thus being aſhamed of your execrable doynges I ceaſe to defile my penne any further in this ſo ſtinking matter of yours, leauyng you to the Lord.

The impietie of the papiſtes inexcuſable.

Read afore pag. 1110. col. 2.

It was declared before, pag. 1110. that what tyme theſe vj. Articles were in hand in the Parliament houſe, Cranmer then beyng Archbyſhop of Caunterbury onely withſtode the ſame, diſputyng three dayes agaynſt them: whoſe reaſons and Argumentes I wiſhe were extant and remaynyng. After theſe Articles were thus paſſed and concluded, the kyng, who alwayes bare a ſpeciall fauour vnto Cranmer, perceiuyng him to bee not a litle diſcomforted therewith ſent all the Lordes of the Parliament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dyne with him at Lambeth (as is afore declared) and within few dayes alſo vppon the ſame, required that he would giue a note of all his doynges and reaſonynges in the ſayd Parliament, which the ſayd Crāmer eftſoones accompliſhed accordyngly, drawing out his reaſons and allegatiōs, the copy wherof beyng fayre written out by his Secretary, was ſent and deliuered vnto the kyng and there remained.

Cranmers reaſons and allegations agaynſt the vi. Articles, written to the kyng.

Now after theſe thynges thus diſcuſſed as touchyng the vj. wicked Articles, it foloweth next, in returnyng to the order of our ſtory agayne, to declare thoſe thyngs, which after the ſettyng out of theſe Articles enſued, commyng now to the tyme & ſtory of ẏ Lord Cromwell, a man whoſe worthy fame and deedes are worthy to liue renowmed in perpetuall memory.

The hiſtory concernyng the life, actes, and death of the famous and worthy Counſailour Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Eſſex.

The ſtory of the Lorde Thomas Cromwell.

Thomas Cromwell although borne of a ſimple parentage, and houſe obſcure, through the ſingulare excellencie of wiſedome and dexteritie of witte wrought in hym by God, coupled with like induſtrie of mynde and deſertes of life, roſe to high preferrement and authoritie, in ſomuch that by ſteppes & ſtaires of office and honour, he aſcended at length to that, that not onely hee was made Earle of Eſſex, but alſo moſt ſecret and deare Counſellour to kyng Henry, and Vicegerent vnto his perſon, which office hath not commonly bene ſupplied, at leaſt not ſo fruitfully diſcharged with in this Realme.

The baſe degree of the L. Cromwell recompenſed with noble Ornamentes.

First as touchyng his byrth, he was borne at Putney or thereabout, beyng a Smithes ſonne, whoſe mother maried after vnto a ſhereman. In the ſimple eſtate and rude begynnynges of this man (as of diuers other before him) we may ſee and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues and heroicall proweſſes, which aduaunce to fame and honour, ſtād not onely vpon byrth and bloud, as priuileges onely intayled appropriat to noble houſes: but are diſpoſed indifferently and procede of the gift of God, who rayſeth vp the poore abiect many tymes out of the donghill, and matcheth him in throne with Peeres and Princes. Pſal. 113.

Commendation of the L. Cromwell.

As touchyng the order and maner of his commyng vp, it would bee ſuperfluous to diſcourſe what may be ſayd at large: onely by way of ſtory it may ſuffice to giue a touch of certaine particulars, and ſo to procede. Although the humble condition and pouertie of this man was at the begynning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderaunce for vertue to ſhew her ſelfe, yet ſuch was the actiuitie and forward rypenes of nature in him ſo pregnant in witte and ſo ready he was, in iudgemēt diſcrete, in toung eloquent, in ſeruice faythfull, in ſtomacke couragious, in his penne actiue, that beyng conuerſant in the ſight of men, he could not long be vnſpied, nor yet vnprouided of fauour and helpe of frendes to ſet him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put vnto him, whereunto he was not apt and fitte. Nothing was ſo hard, which with witte and induſtrie he could not compaſſe. Neither was his capacitie ſo good, but his memory was as great in reteinyng whatſoeuer he had atteyned. Which well appeared in cannyng the text of the whole new Teſtament of Eraſmus tranſlation without booke, in his iourney goyng and commyng from Rome: wherof ye ſhall heare anone.

Tho. Cromwell learned the newe Teſtament in Latin without booke.

Thus in his growyng yeares, as he ſhot vp in age, and rypenes, a great delite came in his mynde to ſtray into foreine countreys, to ſee the world abroad, and to learne experience: wherby he learned ſuch tounges and languages, as might better ſerue for his vſe hereafter.

And thus paſſing ouer his youth, beyng at Antwerpe he was there reteined of the Engliſhe Marchauntes to be their Clerke or Secretary, or in ſome ſuch like cōdition placed perteinyng to their affaires.

The towne of Boſton.

It happened the ſame tyme, that the Towne of Boſton thought good to ſend vp to Rome, for renuyng of their two Pardons, one called the greater Pardon, the other the leſſer Pardon. Which thyng although it ſhould ſtand them in great expenſes of money (for the Popes Marchaundiſe is alwayes deare ware) yet notwithſtādyng ſuch ſweetneſſe they had felt thereof and ſuch gayne to come to their Towne by that Romiſh Marchaundiſe (as al ſuperſtition is commonly gaynefull) that they like good Catholicke Marchauntes and the Popes good cuſtomers, thought to ſpare for no coſte, to haue their leaſes agayne of their Pardons renewed, what ſoeuer they payde for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then: ſuch was the lamentable blindnes of that tyme.

The Popes marchaundiſe deare ware.

Superſtition commonly is gainfull.

The Popes leaſes of pardons

This then beyng ſo determined & decreed amongeſt my coūtreymen of Boſton, to haue their pardōs needes repayred & renewed from Rome, one Geffray Chābers with an other cōpanion was ſent for the meſſēgers, with wrytynges & money, no ſmall quantitie, well furniſhed & with all other thynges appointed, neceſſary for ſo chargeable and coſtly exployt, who commyng in his iorney to Antwarpe & miſdoubtyng himſelfe to bee to weake for the compaſſing of ſuch a weyghtie peece of worke, cōferred & perſwaded with Tho. Cromwell to aſſociate him in that legacie, and to aſſiſte him in the contriuyng thereof. Cromwell although perceauing the enterpriſe to be of no ſmall difficultie, to trauerſe the popes Court, for the vnreaſonable expenſes amongeſt thoſe greedy cormorantes, yet hauing ſome ſkill of the Italian toung, and as yet not grounded in iudgement of Religion in thoſe his youthfull dayes, was at length obteined and content to gyue the aduenture, and ſo tooke his iourney toward Rome. Cromwell loth to ſpend much tyme, and more loth to ſpend his money: and agayne perceiuyng that the Popes greedy humor muſt needes be ſerued with ſome preſent or other (for without rewardes there is no doyng at Rome) began to caſt with him ſelfe, what thyng beſt to deuiſe, where in he might beſt ſerue the Popes deuotion.

Cromwell goeth to Rome.

At length hauyng knowledge how that ẏ popes holy touth greatly delited in new fangled ſtraunge delicates and dayntie diſhes, it came in his mynde to prepare certeine fine diſhes of gelly, after the beſt faſhion, made after our countrey maner here in England, which to them of Rome was not knowen nor ſene before.

This done, Cromwell obſeruyng his tyme accordyngly, as the Pope was newly come from hunting into his pauilion, he with his companions approched with his Engliſh preſents brought in with a threemans ſong (as we call it) in the Engliſh tongue, and all after the Engliſh faſhion. The Pope ſodenly merueilyng at the ſtraungenes of the ſong, and vnderſtandyng that they were Engliſhe men, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Crōwell there ſhewyng his obediēce, & offeryng hys iolye iunkets, ſuch as Kynges and Princes onely (ſayd he) in the realme of Englād [illegible] to feede vpon, deſired the ſame to be accepted in beneuolent part, which he and his companions as poore ſuters vnto his holynes, had there brought, and preſented as nouelties meete for his recreation. &c.

Cromwels preſentes to the Pope.

Cromwell a ſuter for Boſton Pardons.

Pope Julius ſeyng the ſtraungenes of the diſhes, commaunded by and by his Cardinall to take the aſſay. Who in taſtyng therof, liked it ſo well, and ſo lykewiſe the Pope after him, that knowyng of them what their ſutes were, and requiring them to make knowen the making of that meate, he incōtinent without any more adoe, ſtāped both their pardons, as well the greater as the leſſer.

Boſton pardons obtayned at Rome.

And thus was the iolye pardons of the Towne of Boſton obteyned as you haue heard, for the maintenaunce of their decayed Port. The Copy of which Pardons (which I haue in my handes) briefly comprehended, commeth to this effect: That all the brethren and ſiſters of the gylde of

The effecte and contentes of Boſton pardons

our Lady in S. Botulphes church at Boſton, ſhould haue free licence to chuſe for their confeſſor or ghoſtly father, whō they would, either ſeculare Prieſt, or religious perſon, to aſſoyle them plenarely from all their ſinnes, except onely in caſes reſerued to the Pope.

Alſo ſhould haue lycence to cary about with them an aultar ſtone whereby they might haue a Prieſt to ſay them Maſſe, or other diuine ſeruice, where they would, without preiudice of any other Church or Chappell, though it were alſo before the day, yea and at iij. of the clocke after midnight in the Sommer tyme.

Pardon for viſiting our Ladyes Chappell in Boſton.

Furthermore, that all ſuch brethren and ſiſters of the ſayd gylde, which ſhould reſort to the chappel of our Lady in S. Botulphes Church at the feaſt of Eaſter, Whitſontyde, Corpus Chriſti, the Natiuitie or Aſſumption of our Lady, or in ẏ Octaues of them, the feaſt of S. Michaell, and firſt Sonday in Lent, ſhould haue Pardon no leſſe then if they themſelues perſonally had viſited the Stations of Rome.

The price of Boſton pardon. Craftye marchauntes.

Prouided that euery ſuch perſon, man or woman, entryng into the ſame gylde, at his firſt entraunce ſhould giue to the findyng of vij. Prieſtes, xij. Quereſters, and xiij. bedmen, and to the lightes of the ſame brotherhode and a Grammer ſchole, vj. ſhillynges viij. pence, and for euery yeare, after, xij. pence.

And theſe premiſſes beyng before graunted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Julius 2. this Pope Clement alſo confirmed, grauntyng moreouer, that whatſoeuer brother or ſiſter of the ſame gylde thorough pouertie, ſickenes, or any other let could not reſort perſonally to the ſayd chappell, notwithſtandyng hee ſhould bee diſpenſed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, cenſures Canonicall whatſoeuer, onely the vowe of goyng the Stations of Rome, and going to S. James of Compoſtella excepted. &c.

Full remiſſion *a pœna & culpa.*

He alſo graunted vnto them power to receaue full remiſſion A pœna & culpa once in their lyfe, or in the houre of death.

Good ſtuffe I trowe.

Item, that heuyng their aultar ſtone, they might haue Maſſe ſayd in any place, though it were vnhallowed. Alſo in the tyme of interdict, to haue Maſſe or any Sacrament miniſtred: and alſo beyng departed, that they might be buried in Chriſten buriall notwithſtandyng the interdict.

Extendyng moreouer his graunt, that to all ſuch brethren and ſiſters, in reſortyng to the foreſayd Chappell of our Lady vppon the Natiuitie, or Aſſumption of our Lady, giuyng ſupportation to the ſayd Chappell, at euery ſuch Feſtiuall daye, to haue full remiſſion of all theyr ſinnes. Or if they for any impediment could not bee preſent at the Chappell aforeſayd, yet if they came to their owne Pariſhe Churche, and there ſayd one Pater noſter, and Aue Maria, they ſhould enioy the ſame remiſſiō, aboue ſpecified: or whoſoeuer came euery Friday to the ſame Chappel, ſhould haue as much remiſſion, as if he went to the Chappel of our Lady called Scala cœli.

The chappell of Scala Cœli about Rome.

The Pope ſelleth egges, butter, and cheeſe.

Furthermore, that whatſoeuer Chriſtē people, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer, either ſpirituall or tēporall, would ayde & ſupport the chamberlaines or ſubſtitutes of the foreſayd gylde, ſhould haue fiue hundreth yeares of Pardon.

Item, to all brothers and ſiſters, of the ſame gylde was graunted free libertie to eate in tyme of Lent, or other Faſtyng dayes, egges, milke, butter, cheeſe, and alſo fleſh, by the counſaile of their ghoſtly father and phiſition, without any ſcruple of conſcience.

Item, that all partakers of the ſame gylde, and beyng ſupporters thereof, which once a quarter, or euery Friday or Saterday, either in the ſayd Chappell in S. Botulphes Church, or any other Chappell, of their deuotion ſhall ſay a Pater noſter, Aue Maria, and Creede, or ſhall ſay or cauſe to be ſayd Maſſes for ſoules departed in paynes of Purgatory, ſhall not onely haue the full remiſſion due to them which viſite the Chappell of Scala Cœli, or of S. John Lateran, but alſo the ſoules in Purgatory ſhall enioy full remiſſion, and be releaſed of all their paynes.

Pardon for ſoules in purgatorye.

Item, that all the ſoules departed of the brothers and ſiſters of the ſayde gylde: alſo the ſoules of their fathers and mothers ſhall be partakers of all the prayers, ſuffrages, almoſes, faſtynges, maſſes, and mattens, pilgrimages, and of all other good deedes of all the holy Churche militant for euer. &c.

Ex literis Papæ Clementis 7. ad Guliel. VVaranum Archiep.

Theſe indulgencies, pardons, grauntes, and relaxations, were giuen and graunted by Pope Nicolas the fift, Pope Pius 2. Pope Sixtus, and Pope Julius the ſecond, of whiche Pope Julius it ſeemeth, that Cromwell obteyned this Pardon aforeſayd about the yeare of our Lord. 1510. Which Pardon agayne afterward through the requeſt of kyng Henry. an. 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement the ſeuenth. And thus much concernyng the pardon of Boſton, renued by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the ſecond.

All this whyle it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no ſounde taſte nor iudgement of Religion, but was wylde & youthfull, wythout ſence or regarde of God and his worde, as he hymſelfe was wont ofttymes to declare vnto Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. ſhewyng what a ruffine he was in hys young dayes, and how he was in the warres of duke Bourbon at the ſiege of Rome, alſo what a great doer he was wyth Geffray Chambers in publyſhing and ſettyng forth the pardon of Boſton euery where in Churches as he went, and ſo continued, tyll at length by learnyng the texte of the newe Teſtament without booke, of Eraſmus tranſlation in hys goyng and commyng from Rome (as is aforeſayd) he began to be touched and called to better vnderſtandyng.

Cromwell was in the warres of the Duke of Burbon beſieging Rome.

Cromwell receiued into the Cardinalls ſeruice.

In this meane tyme Thomas Wolſey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great porte in England, and almoſt to rule all vnder ẏ kyng, or rather with ẏ kyng, ſo that the freſheſt wyttes, and of beſt towardnes, moſt commonly ſought vnto hym. Among whō was alſo Thomas Cromwell to hys ſeruice aduaunced, where he contynued a certayne ſpace of yeares, growing vp in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be ſollicitour to the Cardinall.

Cromwell ſolliciter to the Cardinall.

Cromwell More, and Gardiner, companions in the Cardinalls houſe.

There was alſo about the ſame tyme, or not much different, in the houſhold of the ſayd Cardinall, Tho. More, afterward knight and Chauncelour of England: & Steuē Gardiner Byſhop after of Wint. and of the kynges Coūſayle. All theſe three were brought vp in one houſhold, and all of one ſtanding almoſt together. Whoſe ages as they were not greatly diſcrepant, nor their wyttes much vnequall: ſo neither was their fortune and aduauncementes greatly diuers, albeit their diſpoſitions and ſtudies were moſt contrary. And though peraduenture in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of letters, & ſkil of learning: yet notwithſtanding there was in this man a more heauenly light of minde, and more prompt and perfect iudgement, eloquence equall, and as may be ſuppoſed, in this man more pregnant: and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely diſpoſition, borne to greater affayres in ẏ common wealth, and to the ſingular helpe of many.

A compariſon betwene Cromwell More, and Gardiner.

It happened that in thys meane ſeaſon, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be ſollicitour to the Cardinall, the ſayd Cardinall had then in hand the buildyng of certeine Colledges, namely his Colledge in Oxforde, called then Frideſwide, now Chriſtes Church. By reaſon whereof certayne ſmall Monaſteries and Priores, in diuers places of the realme, were by the ſayd Cardinall, ſuppreſſed, and the landes ſeaſed to the Cardinals handes. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition whereof he ſhewed hymſelfe very forwarde, & induſtrious, in ſuch ſort as in the handlyng thereof, he procured to himſelfe much grudge with diuers of the ſuperſtious ſort, and wyth ſome alſo of noble callyng about the kyng. And thus was Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by the Cardinall, to ſuppreſſe religious houſes. Which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1525.

Small Monaſteryes ſuppreſſed by the Cardinal

Cromwell firſt ſet a worke by the Cardinall, to ſuppreſſe religious houſes.

As this paſſed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall which had gotten vp ſo high, began to come downe as faſt, firſt from the Chauncellorſhip (in which rowme was placed Syr Tho. More, as is aforeſayde) then he fell into a Premunire: So that his houſhold beynge diſſolued, Tho. Cromwell amongeſt other, laboured alſo to be reteyned into the kynges ſeruice.

Syr Chriſtopher Hales helper of Cromwell to the kyng.

Cromwell commended to the kyng by Syr Chriſtopher Hales M. of the Rolles.

There was at the ſame tyme one Syr Chriſtopher Hales Knight, Maiſter of the Rolles, who notwithſtandyng was then a mightie Papiſt, yet bare hee ſuch fauour and good lykyng to Cromwell, that he commended hym to the kyng, as a man moſt fitte for hys purpoſe, hauing then to do agaynſt the Pope. But here before is to be vnderſtand, that Cromwell had greatly bene complayned of, and diffamed by certeyne of authoritie about the kyng, for hys rude maner, and homely dealyng in defacing the Monkes houſes, & in handling of their aultars. &c. Wherfore ẏ kyng hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to deteſt the mention of him: neither lacked there ſome ſtāders by, who with reuilyng wordes ceaſed not to encreaſe and inflame ẏ kynges hatred agaynſt him. What their names were, it ſhall not neede here to recite. Among other there preſent at the ſame hearyng, was the Lord Ruſſell Earle of Bedforde, whoſe lyfe Cromwell before had preſerued at Bononye, through politicke conueyance, at what tyme, the ſayd Earle commyng ſecretly in the kyngs affaires, was there eſpied, and therfore being in great daunger to be taken, through the meanes and pollicie of Cromwell eſcaped.

Cromwell complayned of to the king.

The Lorde Ruſſell Earle of Bedforde, through the polecye of Cromwell, eſcaped at *Bononie.*

This Lord Ruſſell therfore not forgetting the old benefits paſt, & with like gratuitie willing agayne to requite that he had receaued, in a vehement boldnes ſtoode forth.

The Lorde Ruſſell commendeth Cromwell to the kyng.

to take vpon hym the defence of Thomas Cromwel, vtteryng before the kyng many commendable wordes in the behalfe of hym, and declaryng withall howe by his ſingulare deuice and policie, he had done for hym at Bononie, beyng there in the kynges affayres, in extreme peryl. And for as much as nowe his maieſtie had to do with the Pope, his great enemie, there was (he thought) in all England none ſo apt for the kynges purpoſe, which coulde ſay or do more in that matter, then coulde Thomas Cromwel, and partly gaue the kyng to vnderſtand wherein. The king hearing this, and ſpecially marking the latter end of his talke, was contented and willyng to talke with hym, to heare & know what he could ſay.

This was not ſo priuyly done, but Crõwel had knowledge incontinent, that the king would talke with him, and whereuppon: and therefore prouidyng before hande for the matter, had in readynes the copie of the Biſhoppes othe, which they vſe commonly to make to the Pope at their cõſecration: and ſo being called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Weſtminſter, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

Cromwell brought to talke with the kyng.

Cromwel after moſt loyal obeyſaunce, doing his duetie to the king, according as he was demaunded, made his declaration in all pointes, this eſpecially making manifeſte vnto his highnes, howe his princely authoritie was abuſed within his owne Realme, by the Pope and his Clergie, who beyng ſworne vnto hym, were afterwarde diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworne anewe vnto the Pope, ſo that he was but as halfe kyng, & they but halfe his ſubiects in his owne land: which (ſayd he) was derogatorie to his crown, and vtterly preiudicial to the common lawes of his realme: Declaryng therupon howe his maieſtie might accumulate to hym ſelfe great riches, ſo muche as all the Clergie in his Realme was worth, if it ſo pleaſed hym to take the occaſion nowe offered. The kyng geuyng good eare to this, and liking right wel his aduice, required, if he could auouch that which he ſpake. All this he could (he ſaid) auouche to be certaine, ſo wel, as that he had the copie of their owne othes to the Pope, there preſent to ſhewe, and that no leſſe alſo he coulde manifeſtly proue, if his highnes woulde geue hym leaue: and therewith ſhewed the Biſhoppes othe vnto the kyng.

Cromwels wordes to the king, concerning the premunire of the Clergie.

The kyng folowing the veyne of his counſayle, tooke his ryng of his finger, and firſte admittyng hym into his ſeruice, ſent hym therwith to the Cõuocation houſe among the Biſhops. Cromwel commyng with the kynges ſignet boldlye into the Clergie houſe, and there placyng hym ſelfe among the Biſhops (W. Warham being then Archbiſhop) beganne to make his Oration, declaryng to them the authoritie of a kyng, and the office of ſubiectes, and eſpecially the obedience of Biſhops and Churchmen vnder publique Lawes, neceſſaryly prouided for the profite and quiet of the common wealth. Which lawes notwithſtandyng they had al trãſgreſſed, and highly offended in derogation of the kynges royall eſtate, fallyng in the Lawe of Premunire, in that not onely they had conſented to the power Legatiue of the Cardinal, but alſo in that they had al ſworne to the Pope, contrarye to the fealtie of their ſoueraigne Lord the king, and therfore had forfeyted to the king all their goodes, catteles, landes, poſſeſſions, and what ſoeuer lyuinges they had. The Biſhops hearing this, were not a litle amaſed, and firſt began to excuſe and denye the fact. But after that Cromwel had ſhewed them the very copie of their othe made to the Pope at their conſecration, and the matter was ſo plaine, that they could not denye it, they began to ſhrinke, and to fal to entreatie, deſiring reſpite to pauſe vpon the matter. Notwithſtanding the end therof fel ſo out, that to be quitte of that Premunire, by Act of Parlament, it coſt thẽ to the kyng for both ẏ prouinces, Canterbury and Yorke, no leſſe then. 118840. poundes, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. whereof before you may reade more at large, pag. 1025.

Cromwell ſent by the king to the conuocation houſe.

For the copie of the Byſhops othe to the pope, read before pag. 1025.

The Clergie condemned in the Premunire.

After this, ann. 1522. Syr Thomas Cromwel growyng in great fauour with the kyng, was made knight & maiſter of the kynges Jewel houſe, and ſhortly after was admitted alſo into the kyngs Counſaile, which was about the commyng in of Queene Anne Bullen. Furthermore within two yeares after the ſame, ann. 1524. he was made maiſter of the Rolles, Doct. Taylor being diſcharged.

Syr Tho. Cromwell made knight and M. of the kinges Jewel houſe.

Cromwell made M. of the Rolles.

Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

L. Cromwell made Earle of Eſſex, great Chamberlaine of England, and Vicegerent to the kyng.

Thus Cromwel ſpringyng vp in fauour and honour, after this, in the yeare. 1537. a litle before the byrth of kyng Edward, was made knight of the Garter, and not long after, was aduaunced to the Earldome of Eſſex, and made great Chamberlaine of Englande. Ouer and beſides all which honours, he was conſtitute alſo Vicegerent to the kyng, repreſentyng his perſon. Whiche office although it ſtandeth wel by the Law, yet ſeldome hath there bene ſeene any beſides this Cromwel alone, eyther to haue ſuſteyned it, or els to haue ſo furniſhed the ſame with counſayle and wiſedome, as Cromwel dyd. And thus much hytherto concernyng the ſteppes and degrees of the Lord Cromwels riſing vp to dignitie and high eſtate.

Nowe ſomewhat would be ſayd likewiſe of the noble Actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by eaſe of honour in him, but encreaſed rather and quickened by aduauncement of authoritie & place, to worke more abundantly in the common wealth. Among ẏ which his worthy actes and other manyfolde vertues, in this one chiefely aboue al other ryſeth his commendation, for his ſingular zeale and laborious trauaile beſtowed in reſtoryng the true Church of Chriſt, and ſubuertyng the Synagogue of Antichriſt, the Abbeys, I meane, and religious houſes of Fryers and Monkes. For ſo it pleaſed almighty God, by the meanes of the ſaid lorde Cromwel, to induce the kyng to ſuppreſſe firſt the Chauntreys, then the Fryers houſes and ſmal Monaſteries, tyl at length all the Abbeys in Englãd both great and leſſe were vtterly ouerthrowen and pluckt vp by the rootes. The which acte and enterpriſe of hym, as it may geue a preſident of ſingular zeale to al Realmes chriſtened, which no Prince yet to this day ſcarſe dare folow: ſo to this realme of England it wrought ſuch benefit and commoditie, as the fruite therof yet remaineth, and wyl remaine ſtyll in the Realme of England, though we ſeeme litle to feele it. Rudely & ſimply I ſpeake what I ſuppoſe, without preiudice of other which can inferre any better reaſon. In the meane tyme my reaſon is this: that if God had not rayſed vp this Cromwell as he dyd, to be the inſtrument of rootyng out of the Abbeys and Celles of ſtraunge religion, what other men ſee, I knowe not: for my part I neuer yet ſaw in this Realme any ſuch Cromwel ſince Cromwels tyme, whoſe hart and courage might not ſooner haue bene ſubuerted with the money and brybes of Abbots, then he to haue ſubuerted any Abbey in al England.

The actes and doynges of the L. Cromwell deſcribed.

The L. Cromwell a profitable inſtrument in ſuppreſſing Abbayes.

But here I muſt of neceſſitie anſweare the complaynt of certayne of our countrey men. For ſo I heare of many, the ſubuerſion of theſe Monaſteries to be reprehended, as euyl and wicked. The buildyng (ſay they) might haue bene conuerted vnto ſchooles and houſes of learnyng. The goodes and poſſeſſions might haue bene beſtowed to much better and more godly vſe of the poore, and mayntenyng of hoſpitalitie. Neyther doo I denye, but that theſe thynges are wel and godly ſpoken of them, and could wyllyngly embrace their opinion with my whole hart, if I dyd not conſider herein a more ſecrete and deeper meanyng of Gods holy prouidence, then at ẏ firſt bluſh peraduenture to all men doth appeare.

The defence of the L. Cromwell for ouerthrowing the Abbayes.

And firſt to omyt the wicked and execrable lyfe of theſe religious orders, ful of al ſeditie, & found out by the kynges viſitours, and in their Regiſters alſo recorded, ſo horrible to be heard, ſo incredible to be beleued, ſo ſtinking before the face of God and man, that no maruayle it is if Gods vengeance from heauen prouoked, woulde not ſuffer any ſtone or monument of theſe abominable houſes to be vnplucked vp. But (as I ſayde) lettyng theſe thynges paſſe vnder chaſte ſilence, which for very ſhame wyll abhorre any ſtorie to diſcloſe: let vs nowe come to the firſt inſtitution of theſe orders and houſes of Monkerie, and conſider howe and to what ende they were firſte inſtituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the firſt foundation of them, about the tyme. 666.

The abhominable lyfe in Monaſteries, bewrayed by their owne confeſſion.

In the former parte of this Hiſtorie, declaration was made before, pag. 134. 135. firſte by whom and at what tyme theſe Monkiſhe houſes here in England among the the Saxons (flowyng no doubt out of the order of S. Benet, and brought in by Auguſtine) beganne firſt to be founded, as by Auguſtine the Monke, Furſeus, Meldulphus, Aidanus, Ceadda, kyng Wlferus, Oſwius, Elfreda, K. Oſwys daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botulphus, Edeldreda, kyng Oſwald, Edgar, Erkenewaldus Biſhop, Ethelwoldus Biſhop of Winchester, Oſketelius Archbiſhop of Yorke, Oſwaldus Biſhop of Worceſter, Leſwinus biſh. of Dorceſt. Dunſtane, and diuers other.

Read afore pag. 134. 135.

The firſt beginning of religious houſes in the tyme of the Saxons.

The end and final cauſe why they were builded, appeareth in ſtories to be, pro remiſſione et redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio et liberatione animę: pro amore cœleſtis patriæ: in eleemoſinam animæ: in remiſſionem criminum: pro ſalute Regnorum: pro ſalute et requie animarum patrũ et matrũ, fratrũ, et ſororũ noſtrarum parẽtũ, et omnium benefactorum: in honorem glorioſæ Virginis. etc. As may appeare in auncient hiſtories, in old Charters and donations vnto religious houſes, & in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as alſo al other ſtoryes be ful of the ſame.

The ende and cauſe of bulding religious houſes.

So king Ethelſtane for ſlaying his brother Edwine, buylded two Monaſteries, Midelton, and Michelneye, for his ſoule, pag. 153. Which doctrine and inſtitution, for ſo

The damnable doctrine and inſtitutions of religious ſectes and orders.

Gods continuall plague agaynſt Monaſteryes.

much as it tendeth and ſoundeth directly agaynſt the foundation of Chriſtian religion, againſt the Teſtament of god, the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the freedome of our redemption, and free iuſtification by fayth, it is therfore to be condemned as execrable and horrible, as euyl or worſe then the lyfe of the perſons, and not onely worthy to be ſuppreſſed to the foundation, but to be marueled rather that God would ſuffer it to ſtand ſo long. Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and ſcourge hath not ceaſed frō tyme to tyme, to worke againſt ſuch impious foundations from the tyme of their firſt ſettyng vp. For beſides the inuaſions of the Danes (whiche may ſeme to be ſtyrred vp of God, eſpecially for the ſubuerſion of Abbeys) let olde hiſtories be ſearched, what Monaſterie almoſte in all this Realme, was eyther leaſte by the Danes, or reedified againe after the Danes, but by ſome notorious caſualtie of fire ſent by Gods hand, it hath bene burnt vp.

Ex Chroni ch. Geruaſij. Ingulphi. Peterborow. VValteri. VVeekes. Houedeni. Gaulteri Couentr. Fabiani. VVilliel. Malmeſb.

First, the Monaſterie of Canterbury called the houſe of S. Gregory was burnt, an. 1145. and afterwarde againe burnt, an. 1174. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

The Abbey of Croylād alſo was twiſe burnt. Ex hiſt. Ingulphi.

The Abbey of Peterborow twiſe ſet on fire, an. 1070. Ex Chron. Peterb.

The Abbey of S. Maries in yorke burnt, with the Hoſpital alſo.

The Abbey of Norwich burnt.

The Abbey of S. Edmunds Bury burnt and deſtroyed. Ex Chron. S. Edmund.

The Abbey of worceſter burnt.

The Abbey of Glocester was alſo burnt.

The Abbey of Chicheſter burnt.

The Abbey of Glaſtenbury burnt.

The Abbey of S. Mary in Southwarke burnt.

The Church of the Abbey at Beuerley burnt.

The ſteeple of the Abbey of Eueſham burnt.

Abbayes burnt and plaged with fire.

The doctrine of the Monkes worſe then their lyues.

These, with many other monaſteries mo, god brought downe to ẏ ground, ſo that fewe or none of all the Monaſtical foundations in all England, either before the Conqueſt eſcaped the handes of the Danes and Scottes, or els after the Conqueſt eſcaped deſtructiō of fire, and that not without iuſt cauſe deſerued: for as the trade of their lyues was too too wretched, and beſtiall, ſo the profeſſion of their doctrine was intollerable, fraught with al ſuperſtition, full of much Idolatrie, & vtterly contrary to the grace of the Goſpel and doctrine of Chriſt.

16.q.1. *Monachus.* 16.q.1. *Alia cauſa. Gloſa.*

Furthermore, the more theſe Abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued, in tyme the more corruption ſtyll they drewe vnto them. And albeit we reade the name of Monkes to haue continued from olde auncient tyme, yet notwithſtanding the Monkes of thoſe dayes were not like to the Monkes of our tyme, nor their houſes then, like to our Abbeys nowe. So we reade of the Monkes of Bangor before the commyng of Auguſtine: but thoſe monkes got their liuyng with toyle and labour of their handes, and had no other landes nor lordſhippes to liue vpon. Againe, neither were they as miniſters then, but as laye men: accordyng as Hierome deſcribeth the monkes of his time, ſaying: Monachus non docentis, ſed plāgentis habet officium. And againe he ſaith: Alia cauſa eſt Monachi, alia Clerici. Clerici oues paſcunt. Ego paſcor. That is, A Monkes office is not to preach, but to mourne. The ſtate of a Monke is one thyng, and the ſtate of a prieſt is an other. Prieſts feede the flocke of Chriſt. I am fedde. &c.

Ex Chron. Ingulphi Abbat. Croylandeſ.

Laye men receaued for Monkes into Monaſteries.

Alſo in the ſtorie of Ingulphus Abbot of Croylande, thus I finde, an. 1075. In Croylandiam primum inſtallatus inueni tunc in iſto Monaſterio Croylandenſi Monachos numero, 62. Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monaſteriorum Monachos noſtri capituli conprofeſſos. &c. That is, Beyng inſtalled in the Abbey of Croylande, I founde there to the number of lxij. Monkes. Of whiche Monkes, foure of them were laye brethren, beſides the Monkes of other Monaſteries, whiche were alſo profeſſed to our Chapter. &c.

Monkes forbidde to intermeddle in eccleſiaſticall matters.

The like matter alſo appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Councel of Chalcedon, where it is prouided, Ne Monachi ſe Eccleſiaſticis negotijs immiſceant. etc. Et Leo Epiſt. 62. Vetat Monachos et laicos etſi ſcientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi. Whereof reade more, pag. 155. col. 2.

Monkes diuers from other men in trade of lyfe.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that Monkes in the firſte perſecutions of the Primitiue Church were lay men, and companies of Chriſtians aſſociatyng them ſelues together, either for feare of perſecution or for eſchewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of tyme, when the Gentiles began to be called to Chriſtianitie, the monkes yet keepyng their name, and growing in ſuperſtition, woulde not ioyne with other Chriſtians, but keepe ſtyll their brotherhoodes, diuidyng them ſelues from other Chriſtians, and profeſſing a kinde of lyfe ſtraunge and diuers from the common trade. Upon this diuerſitie of lyfe and profeſſion, folowed alſo like diuerſitie of garmentes and attyre differyng from their other brethren. After this moreouer came in the rule of S. Benedict, enioynyng to them a preſcribed fourme of going, of wearing, of watching, ſleeping, ryſing, praying, of ſilence, ſole life and diet, and all thinges almoſt differing from the vulgar ſort of common Chriſtians.

Monkes diuers from other in apparell.

Monkes of lay men, made Clergye men.

Whereby men ſeeing their auſteritie, beganne to haue them in great admiration. And thus growyng vp in opinion of holynes, of lay men and laborers they came at length to be Clergie men, and greateſt doers of all other in Chriſtes religion: In ſo muche that at laſt there was none reputed almoſt for a religious man or perfect chriſtiā, vnleſſe he were a monke: neyther almoſt was any aduaunced to any dignitie of the Church, but eyther he was a monke, or afterward he put on a monkes weede: Accordyng as in the ſtories of this Realme is to be ſeene, howe in the tyme of Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of Ethelwold Biſhop of worceſter, and of Oſwald Biſhop of winchester, Pope John. 13. writyng to kyng Edgar, wylled hym in his letters, to ſee in his Cathedrall Churches none to be promoted to be Biſhops, but ſuch as were of the Monaſtical religion, and wylled hym moreouer to exclude the ſecular prebendaries at winchester, and to place in monkes, and that none of the ſeculer Clerkes there ſhoulde be choſen Biſhop, but eyther taken out of the ſame Couent of that Church, or of ſome other Abbey.

Pope John 13. wrote to K. Edgar, that none ſhould be made Byſhops but Monkes.

Secular Prieſtes put out, and Monkes intruded into Churches.

So was alſo kyng Henry the ſeconde commaunded to do in the houſe of waltham, where the ſecular Chanons were remoued out, and regular Chanons intruded. The ſame dyd Oſwald Biſhop with the Churche of worceter, likewiſe in their Sees dyd Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Oſketellus Archbiſhop of yorke, Ethelwold Biſhop of worceſter (who in ſtory is reported to be Multorum fundator Monaſteriorum,) Leſwinus alſo Biſhop of Dorceſter, with other Biſhoppes moe about the tyme and raigne of kyng Edgar. Odo Archbiſhop of Canterbury before Dunſtane, an. 934. after his election refuſed to take that dignitie vpon hym, before he had receyued the habite of a monke in the Abbey of Florence in Fraunce, becauſe as the ſtory telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus niſi monachali ſchemate indutus, Archiepiſcopus fuiſſet. etc. That is, Becauſe all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury before hym, had bene Monkes. etc. In like maner Baldwinus alſo, an. 1114. after he was elected Archbiſh. of Canterbury, tooke vppon hym the habite and profeſſion of Mercton Abbey. And ſo dyd Reginaldus his next ſucceſſour after hym. &c.

Ex Guliel. Malmeſb. in vita Odonis.

Ex Neuburgenſ. Lib. 4. cap. 33.

Monkes firſt lay men, then made regulars and votaryes, at length made Churchmen Pope Boniface.

Read be pag. 156.

Difference betwene Monkes Prieſtes.

As concernyng therefore the origine of Monkes, ye haue heard how firſt they began of lay men onely, leadyng a ſtrayter lyfe from the ſocietie of other perſons, who then folowyng the rule of S. Benet, were called regulars & votaries, and yet all this whyle had nothyng to doo with anye Eccleſiaſtical miniſterie, tyll the tyme of Pope Bonifacius the fourth, an. 606. who then made a decree, that monkes might vſe the office of preachyng, of chriſtenyng, of hearing confeſſions, and aſſoylyng them of their ſinnes, differing frō prieſtes onely in this, that they were called Regulares, and prieſtes were called Seculares: the monkes were votaries, the prieſtes had free libertie to haue wyues, tyl the tyme of Lanfranke and Anſelme, as is aforeſayd. Albeit Athanaſius in his Epiſtle Ad Dracontium, witneſſeth alſo, that he knewe Monkes in the old tyme and Biſhops, which were marryed and had children. Furthermore, as ignoraunce & ſuperſtition with tyme increaſed, ſo the number & ſwarme of monkes ſtyll more and more multiplyed, in ſuch ſort, as not onely they thruſt out ſecular Prieſtes from their houſes, but alſo out of them were made, Popes, Cardinalles, Archbiſhops, and Biſhoppes, to gouerne Churches. Of which number began Auſten the firſt Archbiſhop of the See of Cant. and the moſt part of al other Archbiſhoppes after hym, vntyl the tyme of the Conqueſt, and after.

The comming in of the fryers.

Read afore pag. 261.

Al this whyle the Fryers were not yet come, neyther the diſcipline of S. Dominike, nor the Teſtament of S. Fraunces, nor the order of the Auſten brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet hearde of. Whiche laſte of all came in with their pageans, and played their part likewiſe, an. 1220 beyng much more ful of hypocriſie, blindnes, Idolatrie, and ſuperſtition, then were the monkes: So that, what with monkes of ẏ one ſide, and wẏ ẏ fryers of ẏ other ſide, while al thynges were ruled by the Rules of Saint Benet, by the Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the Teſtament of ſaint Fraunces, Chriſtes Teſtament was trode vnder foote, the rule of Gods word neglected, true Chriſtian religion defaced, fayth forgotten, the right way of ſaluation aboliſhed, ſound doctrine oppreſſed, Chriſtes

ſtes ſeruauntes perſecuted, and the peoples ſoules vncomforted: yea and the true Churche of Chriſt almoſt cleane extirped, had not almightye God (who can not forget his promiſe, prouided remedie in tyme, in rayſing vp this Cromwel his ſeruaunt, and other like champions, to cut vp from the roote of the houſes of them, whiche otherwiſe would vtterly haue rooted vp the houſe of the Lord, & had ſubuerted a great part already.

The doctrine of Monkes and Fryers to be expended.

The lyfe of Monkes and Fryers conſidered.

Wherfore, who ſoeuer findeth hym ſelfe agreeued with Cromwels doynges in ſuppreſſing theſe Monaſteryes of Monkes and Fryers, let hym wiſely conſider with hym ſelfe, firſt the doctrine, lawes, and traditions of theſe men, which he ſhal find rebellyng to the religion of Chriſte, pernitious to our ſaluation, derogatorie to Chriſtes glory, full of much blaſphemie and damnable idolatrie. Secondly, let hym likewiſe wel aduiſe the horrible and execrable lyues of theſe Cloyſterers, or at ỹ leaſt ſearche out the rolles and regiſters of matters found out by inquiſition in kyng Henry the eight his dayes, agaynſt them: which here is not to be ſpoken of, vnles we wyl ſpeake as Mathewe Paris ſpeaketh of the Court of Rome: Cuius fœtor vſque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat: That is, Whoſe filthye ſtinch (ſaith he) did breathe vp a moſt peſtiferous fume, euē vnto the cloudes of heauen. &c.

The Lord Cromwell defended in ſuppreſſing Abbayes.

Diſſipation of Abbay landes in England expedient.

Al which thynges wel conſidered, what marueyle is it then, if God of his wiſe iudgement dyd ſet vp the foreſayde Lord Cromwel to deſtroy theſe ſinful houſes, whom their owne corruptions coulde ſuffer no longer to ſtande? And as touchyng the diſſipation of their landes and poſſeſſions to the handes of ſuche as they were beſtowed vpon: if it ſo pleaſed the kyng in beſtowyng thoſe Abbey landes vpon his Nobles and Gentlemen, eyther to reſtore them agayne vnto them from whence they came, or els to gratifie his nobilitie, by that meanes of policie not to miſlike his doyngs, what is that to Cromwel? But they might (ſay you) haue bene much better employed to other more fruitefull vſes. Briefly to anſweare therunto, what may be done preſently in a common wealth, is not enough to ſaye: but what may alſo folowe muſt be conſidered. If this throwyng downe of Abbeys had happened in ſuch free and reformed cities or countreys, as are amongeſt the Germanes, where the ſtate gouerned and directed by lawes, rather thē by rulers, remayneth alwayes alike and vnmutable, who doubteth but ſuch houſes thereſtādyng ſtill, ỹ poſſeſſiōs might wel be tranſpoſed to ſuch vſes abouesayde, without any feare or peryll? But in ſuche Realmes and kyngdomes as this, where Lawes and Parlamentes be not alwayes one, but are ſubiecte to the diſpoſition of the prince: neyther is it certaine alwayes what Princes maye come: ỹ ſureſt way therfore to ſed Monkerie & Popery packing out of the Realme, is to do with their houſes and poſſeſſions as kyng Henry here dyd, through the motion & counſel of Cromwel. For els who ſeeth not in Queene Maryes time, if either the houſes of Monkes had ſtande, or their landes had bene otherwiſe diſpoſed then into the handes of ſuch as they were, how many of them had bene reſtored and repleniſhed againe with monkes and fryers, in as ample wiſe as euer they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the Nobilitie ſcarce were able to retaine the lands and poſſeſſions of Abbeys diſtributed to them by kyng Henry, from the deuotion of queene Mary, ſeekyng to build againe the walles of Hierico: what then ſhould the meaner ſorte haue done, let other men coniecture. Wherefore it is not vnlike, but that Gods heauenly prouidence dyd wel foreſee and diſpoſe theſe thynges before by this man, in workyng the deſtruction of theſe Abbeys: wherupon, as often as he ſent out any men to ſuppreſſe any monaſterie, he vſed commonly to ſend thē with this charge, that they ſhould throw downe thoſe houſes euen to the foundation.

The vtter ruine of Monaſteries, was Gods worke.

Which wordes although maye ſeeme percaſe to ſome to be cruelly ſpoken of hym: yet contrarywiſe doo I ſuppoſe the doyng therof not to be without Gods ſpeciall prouidence and ſecrete guidyng: Or els we might peraduenture haue had ſuche ſwarmes of fryers and monkes poſſeſſed in their neaſtes again, before this day in England, in ſo great a number, that tenne Cromwels afterwarde vnneth ſhould haue ſufficed to haue vnhouſed them.

Math. 15.

Wherfore, yf the plantation which the Lord God neuer planted, be pluckt vp by the rootes, let God alone with his workyng, and let the monaſteries go.

Malleus Monachorum Crōwellus.

Nowe that you haue ſeene, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacing the Synagogue of the pope: let vs ſee howe the ſaide Cromwel agayne dyd trauayle in ſetting vp Chriſtes Church and congregation.

Cromwell the Forte and defence of the Church.

After that the Biſhop of Romes power and authoritie was baniſhed out of England, the Biſhops of his ſect neuer ceaſed to ſeeke all occaſions, howe eyther to reſtore his head agayne, beyng broken and wounded, or at the leaſt to keepe vpright thoſe thynges which yet remayned: wherein although their labours were not altogether fruſtrate, yet had they brought muche more to paſſe, if Cromwel (as a mighty wal and defence of the church) had not reſiſted continually their enterpriſes.

An aſſemblie of learned men appoynted by the kyng.

Cromwell wyth Alex. Aleſius reſort to the aſſemblye.

It happened, that after the aboliſhyng of the Pope, certayne tumultes began to ryſe about religion. Wherupon it ſeemed good vnto kyng Henry, to appoynt an aſſemblie of learned men and Biſhoppes, whiche ſhoulde ſoberly and modeſtly entreate and determine thoſe thynges which perteyned vnto Religion. Briefly, at the kynges pleaſure all the learned men, but ſpecially the Biſhoppes aſſembled, to whom this matter ſeemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought alſo to be preſent hym ſelfe with the Biſhoppes, who by chaunce meetyng with Alexander Aleſius by the way, a Scottiſhe man, brought hym with hym to the parlament houſe, where all the Biſhops were aſſembled together. Which was in the yeare. 1537. The Biſhops and Prelates attendyng vpon the commyng of Cromwell, as he was come in, roſe vp, and dyd obeyſaunce to hym as to their vicar general, and he againe ſaluted euery one in their degree, and ſate downe in the higheſt place at the table, accordyng to his degree and office, and after hym euery Biſh. in his order, and Doctours. Firſt ouer agaynſt hym ſate the Archb. of Canterbury, then the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhops of London, Lincolne, Saliſbury, Bath, Ely, Herford, Chycheſter, Norwiche, Rocheſter, and Worceſter. &c. There Cromwel in the name of the kyng (whoſe moſt dere and ſecret Counſaylour at that preſent he was, and Lorde priuie Seale, and vicar general of the Realme) ſpake theſe wordes in maner folowyng.

Cromwells Oration to to the Byſhops.

Right reuerende fathers in Chriſte: The kynges maieſtie geueth you high thanks that ye haue ſo diligētly without any excuſe, aſſembled hyther according to his commaūdement. And ye be not ignoraunt that ye be called hither to determyne certaine controuerſies, whiche at this time be moued concernyng the Chriſtian Religion and fayth, not onely in this Realme, but alſo in all nations through the worlde. For the kyng ſtudyeth day and night to ſet a quietneſſe in the Churche, and he can not reſt, vntyll all ſuche controuerſies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you & of his whole parlamēt. For although his ſpeciall deſire is to ſet a ſtaye for the vnlearned people, whoſe conſciences are in doubt what they may beleue: and he hym ſelfe by his excellent learnyng, knoweth theſe controuerſies well enough, yet he wyl ſuffer no common alteration, but by the conſent of you and of his whole parlament. By the which thing ye maye perceyue both his high wiſedome, and alſo his great loue toward you. And he deſireth you for Chriſtes ſake, that all malice, obſtinacie, and carnal reſpect ſet apart, ye wil frendly and louingly diſpute amōg your ſelues, of the cōtrouerſies moued in the church, and that ye wyl conclude al thinges by the worde of God, without al brawling or ſcoldyng: neither wyl his maieſtie ſuffer the Scripture to be wraſted and defaced by any Gloſes, any papiſtical Lawes, or by any authoritie of Doctours or Councelles, and muche leſſe wyll he admit any articles or doctrine, not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onely by continuaunce of tyme and olde cuſtome, and by vnwritten verities, as ye were woont to doe. Ye knowe well enough that ye be bounde to ſhewe this ſeruice to Chriſte and to his Churche, and yet notwithſtandyng his maieſtie wyll geue you high thankes, if ye wyll ſette and conclude a godly and a perfecte vnitie: whereunto this is the onely waye and meane, if ye will determine all thynges by the Scripture, as God commaūdeth you in Deuteronomie, whiche thyng his maieſtie exhorteth and deſireth you to doo.

The kinges requeſt to the Byſhops.

When Cromwel had ended this his Oration, the Biſhops roſe vp altogether, geuyng thankes vnto the kynges maieſtie, both for his great zeale towarde the Churche of Chriſte, and alſo for his moſt godly exhortation, worthy ſo Chriſtian a prince.

Stokeſley defendeth the 7. Sacramentes.

Immediately they roſe vp to diſputation, where as Stokeſley Biſhop of London, firſt of all, beyng the moſte earneſt champion and maynteyner of the Romiſh Decrees, (whom Crōwell a litle before had checked by name, for defendyng vnwritten verities,) endeuoured hym ſelfe with al his labour and induſtrie, out of the olde Schole Gloſes, to mainteyne the ſeuen Sacramentes of the Churche. The Archb. of Yorke, Lincolne, Bath, Chicheſter, & Norwiche alſo fauoured his part and ſect. On the contrary part, was the Archb. of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Ely, Harford, and Worceſter, with many other.

After much communication had on eyther part, & that they had long contended about the teſtimonies of the Do-

ctours,

ctors, which as it ſeemed vnto them, diſſented & diſagreed among them ſelues, the Archbiſhop of Cāter. at the laſt ſpake and ſaid thus vnto them.

The Archb. of Canterburies Oration to the Biſhops.

It beſeemeth not men of learning and grauitie to make much babling and brauling about bare wordes, ſo that we agree in the very ſubſtaunce and effect of the matter. For to braule about wordes, is the propertie of Sophiſters & ſuch as meane diſceite and ſubtiltie, which delight in the debate and diſſeſion of the world, & in the miſerable ſtate of the Church: and not of them which ſhould ſeeke the glory of Chriſt, and ſhould ſtudye for the vnitie and quietnes of the Church. There be waightye controuerſies now moued & put forth not of ceremonies and light thynges, but of the true vnderſtandyng, and of the right difference of the lawe and of the Goſpel: of the maner and waye how ſinnes be forgeuen: of comfortyng doubtfull and wauering conſciences, by what meanes they maye be certified, that they pleaſe God, ſeeyng they feele the ſtrength of the Lawe, accuſing them of ſinne: of the true vſe of the Sacramentes, whether the outwarde worke of them doth iuſtifie man, or whether we receiue our iuſtification by fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true ſeruice and honour which pleaſeth God: & whether the choyſe of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of Monkes and prieſtes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to confirme them: whether theſe (I ſaye) be right good woorkes, and ſuche as make a perfecte Chriſtian man or no. Item, whether vaine ſeruice, and falſe honouring of God, and mans traditions, doo binde mens conſciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremonie of Confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, aud ſuche other, (whiche can not be proued to be inſtitute of Chriſt, nor haue any worde in them to certifie vs of remiſſion of ſinnes) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, or no?

Sophiſtication of wordes to be auoyded in matters of weight.

Queſtions and controuerſies of religion neceſſary to be diſcuſſed

Falſe worſhipping. Ceremonies.

Theſe be no light matters, but euē the principal points of our Chriſtian religion. Wherfore we contend not about wordes and trifles, but about high & earneſt matters. Chriſt ſaith: **Bleſſed be the peace makers, for they ſhalbe called the Sonnes of God.** And Paul writing vnto Timothie, cōmaundeth Biſhops to auoyde brawling and contention about wordes, whiche be profitable to nothing but vnto the ſubuerſion and deſtruction of the hearers: and moniſheth him ſpecially, that he ſhould reſiſt with the ſcriptures whē any man diſputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cauſe where as he ſaith: **Doing this, thou ſhalt preſerue both thy ſelfe, and alſo them which heare thee.** Nowe if ye wyll folowe theſe Counſailers, Chriſte and Paul, all contention and brawling about wordes muſt be ſet apart, and ye muſt ſtabliſh a godly and a perfecte vnitie and concord out of the Scripture. Wherfore in this diſputation, we muſt firſt agree of the number of the Sacramentes, and what a Sacrament doth ſignifie in the holy ſcripture, and when we cal Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord Sacramentes of the Goſpel, what we meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambroſe and other Authours call the waſhing of the Diſciples feete and other thynges, Sacramentes: whiche I am ſure, you your ſelues would not ſuffer to be nūbred among the other Sacramentes.

Math. 5. 2. Tim. 2.

All be not ſacramentes of the new Teſtament, which may haue the name of Sacramentes.

When he had ended his Oration, Cromwel commaunded Aleſius which ſtoode by (whom he perceyued to geue attentiue eare to that whiche was ſpoken) to ſhewe his mynd and opinion, declaryng to the Biſhops before, that he was the kynges ſcholer, and therfore deſired them to be cōtented to heare hym indifferently.

Aleſius after he had firſt done his duetie vnto the Lord Cromwel, and to the other Prelates of the Churche, ſayde in this wiſe.

Alexander Aleſius reaſoneth with the Byſhop.

Right honorable & noble Lord, and you moſt reuerend Fathers and Prelates of the Churche, although I come vnprepared vnto this diſputation yet truſting in the ayde of Chriſt which promiſeth to geue both mouth and wiſedome vnto vs when we be required of our fayth, I wyl vtter my ſentence and iudgement of this diſputation. And I thinke that my Lord Archbiſhop hath geuen you a profitable exhortation, that ye ſhoulde firſt agree of the ſignification of a Sacrament, whether ye wyl cal a Sacrament, a ceremonie inſtitute of Chriſt in the goſpel, to ſignifie a ſpecial or a ſingular vertue of the Goſpel, and of godlynes (as Paul nameth remiſſion of ſinnes to be) or whether ye meane, euery ceremonie generally, which may be a token or a ſignification of an holy thing, to be a ſacrament. For after this latter ſignification, I wyl not ſticke to graunt you that there be ſeuen Sacramentes and more too, if ye wyll. But yet Paul ſeemeth to deſcribe a ſacrament after the firſt ſignification, where as he ſayth: That Circumciſion is a token & a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of fayth. **This definitiō of the particular ſacrament, muſt be vnderſtand to perteyne vnto al ſacramentes generally, for the Iewes had but one Sacrament only, as al the ſcholaſtical writers do graunt. And he deſcribed Baptiſme after the ſame maner, in the fift to ỹ Epheſians, whereas he ſayth, That Chriſte doth ſanctifie the Churche (that is to ſaye, all that be baptiſed through the bath of water in ỹ word of lyfe. For here alſo he addeth the worde and promiſe of God vnto the ceremonie. And Chriſte alſo requireth fayth, where he ſayth:** Who ſo euer beleueth, and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued.

The name of a ſacrament how farre it extendeth.

Rom. 4.

Ephes. 5.

What is a Sacrament properly.

And S. Auguſtine deſcribeth a Sacrament thus The word of God comming vnto the element, maketh the Sacrament. **And in an other place he ſayth:** A ſacrament is a thing wherin the power of God, vnder the forme of viſible thinges, doth worke ſecretly ſaluation. **And the Maiſter of the Sentences doth deſcribe a Sacrament no other wiſe.** A Sacrament (**ſayth he**) is an inuiſible grace, & hath a viſible forme: & by thys inuiſible grace, I meane (**ſayth he**) remiſſion of ſinnes. **Finally Saint Thomas denieth that any man hath authoritie to inſtitute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree vnto thys definition of a Sacrament, it is an eaſye thyng to iudge of the number of thoſe Sacramentes which haue the manifeſt word of God, and be inſtitute by Chriſt to ſignifie vnto vs the remiſſion of our ſinnes.**

Gods worde and promiſe going with an outward ceremonye, maketh a Sacrament. A definition of a Sacrament. No man hath power to make any Sacrament.

S. Auguſtine ſayth, that there be but two ſuch Sacramentes in the cxviij. Epiſtle to Ianuarius. His wordes be theſe: Firſt, I would haue thee to vnderſtand the ſumme and effecte of this diſputation, which is this: that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (**as he himſelfe ſayth in the Goſpell**) hath ladē vs, but with a light and eaſye yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knitte together the fellowſhip of his new people with Sacramentes, very few in number, verye eaſie to be kept, and very excellent in ſignification, which be Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord, and ſuch other, if there be any moe cōmaunded in the holy Scripture, thoſe except which were burdens for the ſeruitude of the people in the olde lawe, for the hardnes of their hartes. &c. **And agayne, in ỹ iij. booke of the learning of a Chriſtian man, he ſayth:** The Scripture hath taught vs but few ſignes, as be the Sacramēt of Baptiſme, and the ſolemne celebration and remembraūce of the body and bloud of the Lord. &c.

Auguſt. ad Ianuarium Epiſ. 118.

Chriſtes Church charged but with few & eaſie ſacramentes.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana. lib. 3.

Then the Byſhop of London which could ſcarſly refraine hymſelfe all this while, and now could forbeare no lōger, brake out in this maner. Firſt of all (ſayth he) where you alledge, that al the Sacramentes which are in ỹ Church inſtituted by Chriſt hymſelfe, haue either ſome manifeſt ground in the Scripturs, or ought to ſhewe forth ſome ſignification of remiſſion of ſinnes, it is falſe and not to be allowed.

Stokeſley replyeth agaynſt Aleſius.

Then ſayd Aleſius, that he would proue it, not onely by manyfeſt authoritie of ſcriptures, but alſo by euident teſtimonies of auncient Doctours and ſchole writers.

But the Byſhop of Herford whiche was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had bene Ambaſſadour for the kyng to the Proteſtantes) being moued with the Byſhop of Londons frowardnes, turning hym ſelfe firſt to Alexander Aleſius, willed hym not to contend with the Byſhop in ſuch maner, by the teſtimonies of Doctours & ſcholemen, for ſomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they ſtedfaſt among them ſelues in all poyntes, but do varye and in many poyntes are vtterly repugnaunt. wherefore if this diſputation ſhalbe decided by their myndes and verdites, there ſhalbe nothing eſtabliſhed neither ſhall appeare any way of agreement to folow. Furthermore we be commaunded by the kyng that theſe controuerſies ſhoulde bee determined onely by the rule and iudgement of the Scripture. This he ſpake vnto Aleſius. Then he turning himſelfe vnto the Byſhops, likewiſe admoniſhed them with a graue and ſharpe Oration, whiche we thought not good to omit in this place.

Foxe Byſhop of Herford ſpeaketh.

Doctours not to bee ſticke vnto in matters of fayth, for that they varye in them ſelues.

Thinke ye not (ſayd he) that we can by any Sophiſtical ſubtilties ſteale out of the world agayne, the light which euery man doth ſee. Chriſt hath ſo lightned the world at this tyme, that the light of the Goſpell hath put to flight al miſtye darckenes, and it will ſhortly haue the higher hand of all cloudes, though we reſiſt in vaine neuer ſo much. The lay people do now know the holy Scripture better then many of vs. And the Germaines haue made the text of the Bible ſo playne and eaſie by the Hebrue and Greeke tōgue that now many thinges may be better vnderſtand without any gloſes at all, then by all the commentaries of the doctours. And moreouer they haue ſo opened theſe controuerſies by their writinges, that women and children may won

The Oration of Foxe Byſhop of Herford. vnto the Byſhops

The Goſpell ſhyning in all places.

The faythful diligence of the Germaines in tranſlating the Bible.

der at the blindnes and falſehoode that hath bene hytherto. Wherefore ye muſt conſider earneſtly, what ye wyl determine of theſe controuerſies, that ye make not your ſelues to be mocked and laughed to ſcorne of all the worlde, and that ye bring thē not to haue this opinion of you, to thinke euer more hereafter, that ye haue neither one ſparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus ſhall ye looſe al your eſtimation and authoritie with them, whiche before tooke you for learned men, and profitable members vnto the common wealthe of Chriſtendome. For that whiche you doo hope vppon, that there was neuer hereſie in the Churche ſo great, but that proceſſe of tyme with the power and authoritie of the Pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpoſe. But ye muſt turne your opinion, and thinke this ſurely, that there is nothing ſo feeble and weake, ſo that it be true, but it ſhal find place, and be able to ſtand againſt all falſhoode.

The worlde now able to iudge vpon errours.

It is a vaine hope to truſt vpon the Popes authoritie.

Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And what ſo euer is beſieged of truth, can not long continue, and vpon whoſe ſide truth doth ſtande, that ought not to be thought tranſitory, or that it wyl euer fall. All thinges conſiſt not in painted eloquence and ſtrength or authoritie. For the truth is of ſo great power, ſtrēgth, & efficacie, that it can neither be defended with wordes nor be ouercome with any ſtrength, but after ſhe hath hydden her ſelfe long, at length ſhee putteth vp her head and appeareth, as it is written in Eſdras: **A kyng is ſtrong, wine is ſtronger, yet women be more ſtrong, but truth excelleth all.**

Truth will come out at laſt.

Truth daughter of tyme

The nature of truth.

3. Eſd. 4.

To this effect in a maner, & much more, dyd he ſpeake and vtter in that conuocation, both copiouſly and diſcretly, Through whoſe Oration, Aleſius being encouraged, proceeded further, to vrge the Biſhop with this argument.

The Argument in fourme.

Ba. Sacraments be ſeales aſcertayning vs of Gods good wyll:
ro. Without the word there is no certaintie of Gods good wyll:
co. Ergo, without the worde there be no Sacramentes.

Sacramentes be ſeales certifying vs of Gods good will.

The firſt part of this reaſon is S. Paules owne ſaying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he ſaith: That circumciſion is a token and a ſeale of the righteouſnes of faith. Ergo, it requireth fayth to certifie mans hart of the wyll of God. But the worde of God is the foundation of fayth, as S. Paul witneſſeth, Rom. 10. Fayth commeth by hearyng, and hearing commeth by the worde of God. For the mynde muſt be taught and inſtructed to the wyll of God by the worde, like as the eye is taught and inſtructed by the outwarde ceremonie. And ſo Paul by that ſaying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacramentes ſhould make men righteous and iuſt before God, for the very outward worke, without faith of them that receiue them.

Rom. 4.

The word is the ground of fayth. Rom. 10.

Ex opere operato.

And after this manner dooth Paule ſpeake vnto the Epheſians: that Chriſte dooth ſanctifie his church through the bathe of water in the worde of lyfe. And for as much as he ioineth the word vnto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifeſtly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and euen as it were the very ſubſtaunce & body of the ſacrament: and the outward ceremonie to be nothing els then a token of that liuely inflamation which we receyue through faith in the word: and promiſe. S. Paul alſo in miniſtring the Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper, doth manifeſtly adde the wordes of Chriſt: He tooke bread (ſaith he) and whē he had geuen thanks, he brake it, and ſaid, take ye this, & eate ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance. Beſide this he teacheth euidently that only Chriſt & none but he had power to inſtitute a ſacrament: and that neither the Apoſtles, nor the Church hath any authoritie to alter or to adde any thing vnto his ordinance, where as he ſaith: For I haue receiued of the Lord that which I deliuered vnto you, &c. To what purpoſe ſhould he go about to moue the people to beleue hym, & to wyn their hartes with this proteſtatiō, if it had ben lawful for hym to haue made any ſacraments, or to haue altered ẏ forme & maner of miniſtring this ſacramēt, as ſome men both wickedly and ſhameleſly do affirme, ẏ the Apoſtles did alter the forme of Baptiſme.

Eph. 5.

Sacramētes only to be gathered out of the word of God.

The inſtitution of Chriſt ought not to bee altered. 1. Cor. 11.

When he had ſpoken thus much, the biſh. of Londō did interrupt him, and ſaid: Let vs graunt that the ſacramentes may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceiued, if ye thinke that there is none other word of God, but that whiche euery ſowter and cobler doo reade in their mother tongue. And if ye thinke that nothing perteyneth vnto the Chriſtian fayth, but that onely that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For S. Iohn ſaith, that Ieſus did many things which be not written. And S. Paul commaundeth the Theſſ. to obſerue & keepe certain vnwritten traditions & ceremonies. ij. Theſſ. ij. Moreouer he hym ſelfe did preach not the ſcripture only, but euen alſo the traditions of the Elders. Act. xvi. Finally we haue receiued many things of the Doctors & Councels by tymes, whiche although they be not written in the Bible, yet for as much as the old Doctors of the Churche do make mention of them, we ought to graunt that we receiued them of the Apoſtles, and that they be of like authoritie with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the word of God vnwritten.

The anſwere of the Byſhop of London agaynſt Aleſius.

Iohn. 21.
2. Theſſ. 2.

Actes 16.
Vnwrytten verities and traditions of fathers in equall force with Gods written worde.

The vnwritten worde of God.

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwel, the Archbiſhop, with the other Biſhops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, heard this, they ſmiled a litle one vpō an other, for as much as they ſaw him flee euē in ẏ very beginnyng of the diſputation, vnto his old ruſtie Sophiſtry and vnwritten verities. Then Aleſius would haue proceded further with the Biſhop to haue confuted this blaſphemous lye, but the Lord Cromwel bade hym be content, for the time began to go away, and it was. xij. of the clocke, and thus he made an end wt this proteſtation. Right reuerende maiſter Biſhop, you deny that our Chriſten faith and religion doth leane only vpon the word of God which is written in the Bible, whiche thing if I can proue and declare, then you wyll graunt me that there be no ſacramentes, but thoſe that haue the manifeſt word of God to confirme thē. Unto this he dyd conſent, and then immediatly that aſſemble was diſſolued for that day.

Stokeſley laughed to ſcorne.

The next day when the Biſhops were ſet againe, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſendyng his Archdeacon, commaunded Aleſius to abſtaine from diſputation, whereupon he wrote his minde, and deliuered it vnto Cromwell, who afterward ſhewed the ſame vnto the Biſhops. Thus through the induſtrie of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this ende, that albeit religion could not wholy be reformed, yet at that time there was ſome reformatiō had throughout al England.

How deſirous and ſtudious this good Cromwel was in ẏ cauſe of Chriſts religiō, exāples nede not to be brought. His whole life was nothing els, but a continuall care and trauaile how to aduaunce and further the right knowledge of the Goſpell, and reforme the houſe of God: As by ſo many Proclamations aboue ſpecified by his meanes ſet forth, may well appeare, wherein firſte he cauſed the people to be inſtructed in the Lordes Prayer, and Crede in Engliſhe, then procured the Scripture alſo to be read and ſet forth in the ſame language, for euery Engliſh man to vnderſtand: after that to reſcue the vulgare people from damnable Idolatrie, cauſed certaine of the moſt groſſeſt pilgrimages to be deſtroyed. And further for the more commoditye of the poore ſort, which get their liuing with their daily labour & worke of their handes, he prouided that diuers idle holy dayes were diminiſhed. Item, he procured for thē libertie to eate egges and whitmeate in lent. Furthermore by hym it was alſo prouided for the better inſtructiō of the people, that beneficed men ſhould be reſident in their Cures and pariſhes, there to teache and to keepe hoſpitalitie, with many other thinges els moſte fruitfullye redreſſed for the reformation of religion & behofe of Chriſtes church: as by the Proclamations, Iniunctions, and neceſſary articles of Chriſtian doctrine aboue ſpecified, ſet foorth in the kinges name, by his meanes, may more abundantly appere, pag. 1069. 1070. &c.

The publicke care of Cromwell for the common wealth.

Read afore pag. 1069. 1070. 1071. 1072. &c.

Nowe to adioyne withall his priuate benefites in helping diuers good men and women at ſundrye times out of troubles and great diſtreſſes, it woulde require a long diſcourſe. Briefly his whole life was ful of ſuch examples, being a man to that entent ordeyned of God (as his deedes well proued) to do many men good, and eſpecially ſuche as were in daunger of perſecutiō for religions ſake. Amongſt other infinite ſtories, one or two examples ſhall ſuffice for a teſtimonie of his worthy doinges.

Howe Cromwel holpe a poore woman with childe, out of great trouble, longyng for a peece of meate in time of Lent.

Perſecuters.	Perſecuted.	The Cauſe.
Fiſhers wife of Harnſey.	Thamas Frebarne & his wyfe.	In the yeare of our Lord god. 1538. Syr William Formā beyng Maior of the citie of London, three weekes before Eaſter, the wyfe of one Tho-

A ſtory of one Frebarnes wife, longing for a peece of meate in Lent.

Perſecuters.	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
D. Cockes. Biſhop Stokeſley. Hollond his Sumner. M. Garter, kyng of Armes.		mas Frebarne dwelling in Pater noſter row, being with childe, longed after a morſel of a pygge, and tolde her mynde vnto a Mayde dwelling in Abchurch lane, deſiring her, if it wer poſſible, to helpe her vnto a peece. The maid perceiuyng her ear-

nest deſire, ſhewed vnto her huſbande, what his wife had ſaid vnto her, telling hym that it might chaunce to coſt her her life and the childes too which ſhee went withal, if ſhee had it not. Uppon this Thomas Frebarne her huſbande ſpake to a butter wife which he knew, that dwelled at Harnſey, named goodwife Fiſher, to helpe hym vnto a pygge for his wife, for ſhee was with chyld, & longed ſore to eate of a pigge. Unto whom the ſaide good wyfe Fiſher promiſed that ſhe would bring hym one the Fryday folowing, and ſo ſhee dyd, being ready dreſſed and ſcalded before. But when ſhee had deliuered hym the pygge, ſhee craftily conueyed one of the pigges feete, and caried it vnto doctor Cockes, at that time being Deane of Canterbury, dwellyng in Iuie lane, who at the time of his dynner, before certaine geſtes which he had byddē, ſhewed this pigges foote, declaryng who had the body thereof: and after yͭ they had talked their pleaſure, and dinner was done, one of his geſtes being landlord vnto Frebarne aforeſayd, called M. Garter, & by his office king of Armes, ſent his man vnto the ſayd Frebarne, demaundyng if there were no body ſicke in his houſe. Unto whom he anſweared, that they were all in good health, he gaue God thankes. Then ſaide he agayne, it was tolde his Maiſter that ſome bodye was ſicke, or els they woulde not eate fleſh in Lent. Unto whom Frebarne made anſweare, that his wyfe was with chylde, and longed for a peece of a pygge, and if he coulde get ſome for her, he woulde. Then departed his Landlordes man home agayne.

A craftye part of a falſe Iudas.

Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke, or in reſpect of an holy day, &c. *Colloſ. 2.*

And ſhortly after his Landlord ſent for hym. But before that he ſent for hym, he had ſent for the biſhop of Londons Sumner, whoſe name was Hollōd, & whē this Frebarne was come, he demaunded of hym, if he had not a pyg in his houſe, whiche he denyed not. Then commaunded Maiſter Garter the ſayde Sumner called Hollond, to take hym, and goe home to his houſe, and to take the Pygge, and carry both hym and the Pigge vnto Doctour Stokeſley his Maiſter, beyng then Biſhop of London, and ſo he dyd. Then the Biſhop beyng in his chamber, & diuers other of yͤ Clergie, called this Frebarne before hym, and had hym in examination for this Pigge, laying alſo vnto his charge, that he had eatē in his houſe that Lent, poudred beefe and Calues heades. Unto whom Frebarne anſweared, My Lord, if the heades were eaten in my houſe, in whoſe houſes were the bodyes eaten? Alſo if there be eyther man or woman that can proue, that either I, or any in my houſe hath done as your Lordſhyp ſayth, let me ſuffer death therfore. You ſpeake (ſaid he) againſt pilgrimages, and wyll not take holy bread nor holy water, nor yet go on Proceſſiō on Pamles ſōday: Thou art no Chriſtian man. My Lord, ſaid Frebarne, I truſt I am a true Chriſten man, & haue done nothyng neyther againſt Gods lawe nor my princes.

Holland the Byſhop of Londons Sumner.

Tho. Frebarne examined before the Byſhop.

In the tyme of this his examination, which was duryng the ſpace of two houres, diuers came vnto the biſhop, ſome to haue their children confirmed, & ſome for other cauſes. Unto whom as they came, hauing the pigge before him couered, he woulde lyft vp the cloth and ſhewe it them, ſaying: How thinke you of ſuch a felowe as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this bleſſed tyme of Lent, yea and alſo poudred Beefe and Calues heades too beſide this?

Pharſaicall iudgment.

After this the Biſhop called his Sumner vnto hym, and commaunded hym to go and carry this Thomas Frebarne and the pyg openly thorow the ſtreates, into the Olde Bayly, vnto Syr Roger Chomley, for the Biſhop ſayd, he had nothyng to do to puniſh him, for that belonged vnto the ciuil magiſtrates, and ſo was Frebarne caryed & the pyg before hym, to ſir Roger Chomleys houſe in the old Bayly, & he being not at home at that tyme, Frebarn was brought likewiſe backe againe vnto the biſhops place with the pyg, and there lay in the porters lodge tyll it was. ix. a clocke at night. Then the biſhop ſent hym vnto the Counter in the Poultry by the Sumner and other of his ſeruauntes.

Thomas Frebarne brought to the Counter. Thomas Frebarne brought before the Lord Maior.

The next day beyng Saterday, he was brought before the Maior of Londō and his brethren, vnto Guild hall, but before his commyng, they had the pyg deliuered vnto them by the Biſhops officer. Then the Maior and the Benche layde vnto his charge (as they were infourmed from the Biſhoppe) that he had eaten poudred Beefe and Calues heades in his houſe the ſame Lent, but no man was able to come in that would iuſtifie it, neyther coulde any thyng be found, ſaue onely the Pigge, which (as is before ſayde) was for the preſeruation of his wyues life, and that ſhee went withall. Notwithſtanding the Maior of London ſaid, that the Monday next folowing, he ſhould ſtand on the Pillary in Chepeſide, with the one halfe of the Pig on the one ſhoulder, and the other halfe on the other.

Then ſpake the wyfe of the ſayde Frebarne vnto the Maior and the Benche, deſiryng that ſhee might ſtande there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of hym. After this they tooke a Hattē liſt, & tide it faſt about yͤ pigges necke, and made Frebarne to cary it hangyng on his ſhoulder vntyl he came vnto the Counter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wyfe of this priſoner tooke with her an honeſt woman, the wyfe of one Michaell Lobley, whiche was well acquainted with diuers in the Lorde Cromwels houſe, vnto whom the ſayde woman reſorted for ſome helpe for this priſoner, deſiryng them to ſpeake vnto their Lorde and Maiſter for his deliueraunce out of trouble.

It happened that the ſame tyme came in Doctour Barnes and Maiſter Barlowe, who vnderſtandyng the matter by Lobleys wyfe, went vp to the Lord Cromwell, and certified hym thereof: who vpon their requeſt, ſent for the Maior of the citie of London: but what was ſaid vnto the Lorde Maior, is vnknowen, ſauing that in the after noone of the ſame day, the wyfe of the perſon aforeſayde reſorted agayne vnto the Lord Maior, ſuing to get her huſbād deliuered out of priſon, declaryng how that ſhe had two ſmall chyldren, and had nothyng to helpe her and them, but onely her huſband, who laboured for their liuynges. Unto whom the Maior anſweared, what come ye to me? you are taken vp with the kyngs Counſayle. I ſuppoſed that you had come to deſire me that your huſbande ſhoulde not ſtande vppon the Pillary in Chepeſide on Mondaye next, with the one halfe of the pygge on his one ſhoulder, and the other halfe on the other. Alſo the Maior ſaid vnto her, that he coulde not deliuer hym without the conſent of the reſt of his brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next daye folowing, which was Monday, to reſort vnto Paules to Saint Dunſtones Chappell, and when he had ſpoken with his brethren, he woulde then tell her more. Other anſweare coulde ſhee get none at that tyme. Wherfore ſhee went vnto M. Wilkenſon, then beyng Sheriffe of London, deſiring him to be good vnto her, and that ſhee might haue her poore huſbande out of priſon. Unto whom M. Wilkenſon anſweared: O woman, Chriſt hath layd a peece of his croſſe vpon thy necke, to proue whether thou wylt helpe hym to beare it or no, ſaying moreouer to her, that if yͤ Lord maior had ſent hym to his Cōter, as he ſent hym to his brothers, he ſhoulde not haue taryed there an houre, & ſo cōmaunded her to come the next day vnto hym to dynner, & he would do yͤ beſt for her he could. So the next day came, & this womā reſorted againe to M. Wilkenſons, according as he bad her, who alſo had bidden diuers geſtes: vnto whō he ſpake in her behalfe. But as they were ſet at dynner, and ſhee alſo ſittyng at the table, when ſhe ſawe the hote fiſhe come in, ſhee fell downe in a ſwounde, ſo that for the ſpace of two houres they could keepe no lyfe in her. Wherefore they ſent her home to her houſe in Pater noſter rowe, & then they ſent for the Midwife, ſuppoſing that ſhee would haue bene deliuered incontinent of her child that ſhee went with, but after that ſhe came ſomewhat againe to her ſelfe, where ſhe lay ſicke & kept her bed the ſpace of. xv. weekes after, beyng not able to helpe her ſelfe, but as ſhee was helped of others, duryng the tyme of. xv. weekes.

D. Barnes and Barlow ſue to the L. Cromwell for Tho. Frebarne.

The Lord Maiors aunſwere to the poore woman.

The gentle wordes of M. Wylkinſon Shirife of London to the poore woman.

Nowe to ſhewe further what became of this Pigge, whereof we haue ſpoken ſo muche, it was carryed into Finſburye fielde by the Biſhop of Londons Sumner, at his Maiſters commaundement, and there buryed. The Monday folowing, being the fourth day after that this priſoner aforeſayde was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the reſidue of his brethren beyng at Guild hall, ſente for the priſoner aforenamed, and demaunded ſureties of hym for his foorth commyng, what ſo euer hereafter ſhoulde or might be layde vnto his charge, but for lacke of ſuche ſureties as they required, vpon his owne bande, whiche was a Recogniſaunce of twentie pounde, he was deliuered out of their handes. But ſhortly after yͭ he was deliuered out of this his trouble, maiſter Garter, of whom we haue ſpoken before, beyng his Landlord, warned him out of his houſe, ſo that in foure yeres after, he could not get an other, but was conſtrayned to be within other good folkes, to his greate hynderaunce and vndoyng.

That God ordeyneth to be eaten, ſuperſtition buryeth.

Thomas Frebarne deliuered out of priſon. Tho. Frebarne diſcharged out of his houſe by M. Garter his Landlorde.

Gray a Smith accuſed of hereſie and deliuered by the L. Cromwel.

Hard it were, and almoſt out of number to rehearſe the names and ſtories of all them, whiche felt the gentle helpe of this good man in ſome caſe or other. Where myght be remembred the notable deliuerance of one Gray, a Smyth of Byſhops Starford, who beyng accuſed for denying the Sacrament of the alter to be our Sauiour, was ſent vp for the ſame to London and their ſhould haue bene condemned to be burnt, but that by the meanes of the L. Cromwel he was ſent home agayne and deliuered. One other example, though it bee ſomewhat long with the circumſtaunces and all, I will declare, howe he helped the Secretary that then was to Doctor Cranmer Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, whiche Secretarye is yet alyue, and can beare preſent recorde of the ſame.

How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmers Secretary.

The Archb. Cranmer diſputed iij. dayes in the Parlament againſt the vj. Articles.

MEntion was made before howe Kyng Henry in ẏ yeare of his reigne 31, cauſed the vj. Articles to paſſe, much agaynſt the mynd and contrary to the conſent of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, who had diſputed three dayes agaynſt the ſame in the Parlament houſe, with great reaſons and authorities. Whiche Articles after they were graunted and paſt by the Parlament, the kyng for the ſingular fauour which he euer bare to Cranmer, and reuerence to his learnyng, beyng deſirous to knowe what hee had ſayd and obiected in the Parlament agaynſt theſe Articles, or what coulde bee alleaged by learnyng agaynſt the ſame required a note of ẏ Archbyſhop of his doyngs, what he had ſayd and oppoſed in the Parliament touchyng that matter. And this worde was ſent to hym from the kyng by Cromwell, and other Lordes of the Parlament whom the kyng then ſent to dyne with him at Lambeth, ſomewhat to comforte agayne his greued mynde, and troubled ſpirites as hath ben aboue recited, pag. 1110.

Whereupon when his dinner was finiſhed, the next day after the Archbyſhop collectyng both his argumentes, authorities of ſcriptures, and Doctors together, cauſed hys Secretary to write a fayre booke thereof for the kynge, after this order. Firſt the Scriptures were alledged, then the Doctours, thirdlye folowed the Argumentes deducted frō thoſe authorities. This booke was written in his Secretaries chamber. Where in a by chamber lay ẏ Archbyſhops Almoſiner, when this boke was fayre written, and whiles the Secretarie was gone to deliuer the ſame vnto the Archbyſhop his maiſter, who was (as it then chaunced) ridde to Croydon: returnyng backe to hys chamber, found hys doore ſhut, and the key caryed away to London by the Almoſiner.

The name of this Secretary was M. Rafe Morice, being yet aliue.

At this ſeaſon alſo chaunced the father of the ſayd Secretarye to come to the Citie, by whoſe occaſion it ſo fell out, that he muſt nedes go to London. The booke hee could not lay into his chamber, neither durſt he committe it to any other perſon to keepe, beyng ſtraitly charged in any conditiō of the Archbyſhop hys maiſter, to be circumſpect therof, ſo that he determined to go to his father and to kepe the booke about hym. And ſo thruſtyng the booke vnder his girdill, he went ouer vnto Weſtminſter bridg with a ſculler, where he entered into a whirry that went to London, wherein were iiij. of the garde, who ment to land at Paules wharfe and to paſſe by the kynges highnes, who then was in hys Barge with a great number of Barges and boates about hym, then baiting of Beares in the water ouer agaynſt the bancke.

Theſe foreſayd yomen of the garde, when they came agaynſt the kynges Barge, they durſt not paſſe by towardes Paules wharfe, leſt they ſhould be eſpyed, and therfore entreated the Secretary to goe with them to the Bearebaytyng, and they woulde finde the meanes, beyng of the garde to make rowme and to ſee all the paſtyme, the Secretary perceiuyng no other remedy, aſſented therto. Whē the whirry came nye the multitude of the boates, they with pollaxes got in the whirry ſo farre, that beyng compaſſed with many other whirryes and boates there was no refuge if the Beare ſhould breake looſe and come vppon them, as in very deede within one pater noſter while, the Beare brake loſe and came into the boate where the yomen of the garde were and the ſayd Secretary. The garde forſooke ẏ whirry and went into an other Barge, one or two of them leapyng ſhort, and ſo fell into the water. The Beare and the dogs ſo ſhaked the whirry wherin the Secretary was, that the boate being ful of water, ſoncke to the ground, and being alſo as it chanced an ebbing tide, he there ſate in the end of the whirry vp to the middle in water. To whom came ẏ Beare and all the dogges. The Beare ſekyng as it were, aide and ſuccour of him, came backe with his hinder partes vpō him and ſo ruſhing vpon him, the booke was loſed from his girdle and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

Talle yomen but ill keepers.

A Bearebaytyng vpon Thamys before the kyng.

The booke of D. Cranmer agaynſt the vj. articles loſt in the Thamys

The flying of the people, after that the Beare was looſe, from one boate to an other, was ſo comberous, that diuers perſons were throwne into the Thamys, the kyng commaunding certeine men that could ſwimme, to ſtrippe themſelues naked and to helpe to ſaue them that were in daunger. Thys paſtime ſo diſpleaſed the kyng that he bad away away, with the Beare, and let vs all goe hence.

The Secretary perceauing his booke to flete away in the Thamys, called to the Beareward to take vp ẏ booke. When the Beareward had the booke in his cuſtodie, beinge an errant Papiſt, farre from the Religion of his Miſtres (for he was the Lady Elizabethes Beareward, now the Queenes maieſtie) ere that the Secretary coulde come to land, he had deliuered the booke to a Prieſt of his owne affinitie in Religion ſtanding on the bancke, who readyng in the booke and perceiuing that it was a manifeſt refutation of the vj. Articles, made much a doe and tolde the Beareward that whoſoeuer claymed the booke, ſhould ſurely be hanged. Anone the Secretary came to the Beareward for his booke. What quoth the Beareward, dare you chalenge this booke? Whoſe ſeruaunt be you? I am ſeruaunt to one of the Counſaile, ſayd the Secretary, and my Lord of Cāterbury is my maiſter. Yea mary, quoth the Beareward, I thought ſo much. You be like I truſt, quoth the Beareward, to be both hanged for this booke. Well (ſayd he) it is not ſo euill as you take it, and I warrant you my L. will auouch the booke to the kinges maieſtie. But I pray you let me haue my booke, and I will geue you a Crowne to drinke. If you would geue me v. C. crownes, you ſhall not haue it, quoth the Beareward. With that ẏ Secretary departed from him, & vnderſtanding the malicious frowardnes of the Beareward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheapeſide might doe much with the Beareward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring hym to ſend for the Beareward to ſupper, and he would pay for the whole charge therof, and beſides that, rather thē he would forgoe his booke after this ſort, the Beareward ſhould haue xx. ſhillinges to drincke. The ſupper was prepared. The Beareward was ſent for, and came. After ſupper the matter was entreated of and xx. ſhillinges offered for the boke. But do what coulde be done, neither frendſhip, acquaintaunce, nor yet reward of money could obteine the booke out of his handes, but that the ſame ſhoulde be deliuered vnto ſome of the Counſaile that would not ſo ſleightly looke on ſo waightie a matter, as to haue it redeemed for a ſupper or a peece of monie. The honeſt man M. Blage with many good reaſons would haue perſwaded him not to be ſtiffe in his owne conceite, declaring that in the ende he ſhoulde nothing at all preuaile of his purpoſe, but be laught to ſcorne, getting neither peny nor praiſe for his trauaile. He hearing that, ruſhed ſodenly out of the doores from his frende M. Blage without any maner of thankes geuing for his ſupper, more like a Beareward then like an honeſt man. When the Secretary ſaw ẏ matter ſo extremely to be vſed againſt him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practiſing of entreatie with the Beareward, as with hym that ſeemed rather to be a Beare himſelfe then the maiſter of the beaſt, determinyng the next morning to make the L. Cromwell priuie of the chaunce that happened.

This Bearewarde was Princeſſe Elizabethes ſeruaunt.

D. Cranmers booke agaynſt the vj Articles deliuered to a Popiſhe Prieſt.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwel went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter vnto him, & how he had offered him xx. s. for the finding thereof. Where is the felow, quoth the Lord Cromwell? I ſuppoſe, ſayde the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliuer the booke vnto ſome of the Counſaile. Well ſaide the Lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thether and I ſhal get you your booke againe. When the Lorde Cromwell came into the halle of the Court, there ſtoode the Beareward with the booke in his hand, wayting to haue deliuered the ſame vnto Syr Anthony Browne, or vnto the Byſhop of Wincheſter, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell ſayd, come hether fellow. What booke haſt thou there in thy hand? and with that ſnatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he ſayd, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, ſayd he to the Secretary. But where haddeſt thou this booke, quoth the Lord Cromwell to the Beareward? This Gentleman loſte it two dayes agoe in the Thamys ſayde the Beareward. Doeſt thou know whoſe ſeruaunt he is, ſayd the Lord Cromwell? He ſayth, quoth the Beareward, that he is my Lord of Canterburies ſeruaunt. Why then diddeſt not thou deliuer to him the booke, when he required it, ſayd the L. Cromwell. Who made thee ſo bold as to deteine and withhold any booke or writing from a Cōſelers ſeruaunt, ſpecially being his Secretary? It is more meter for thee to medle with thy Beares thē with ſuch writing, & it

The Beareward waytyng to geue Cramers booke to the Counſell.

The L. Cromwell getteth the booke from the Beareward.

were not for thy maiſters ſake, I would ſet thee faſt by the feete, to teach ſuch malapert knaues to meddle with Counſellers matters. Had not mony bene well beſtowed vppon ſuch a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a Councelers man from a Coblers mā? And with thoſe wordes the Lord Cromwell went vp into the kynges chamber of preſence and the Archbiſhops Secretary with hym, where he found in the chamber the Lord of Caunterbury. To whō he ſaid, my Lorde I haue found here good ſtuffe for you (ſhewyng to hym the paper booke that he had in his hand) redy to bring both you and this good fellow your man to the halter, namely if the knaue Bearewarde now in the Hall, might haue well compaſſed it. At theſe wordes the Archbiſhop ſmiled and ſayd, he that loſt the booke is lyke to haue the worſe bargayne, for beſides that he was well waſhed in the Thames, he muſt write the booke fayre agayne: and at thoſe wordes the Lord Cromwell caſt the booke vnto the Secretary ſaying, I pray thee Morice go in hand therwith by & by with all expedition, for it muſt ſerue a turne. Surely my Lord, it ſomwhat reioyceth me, quoth the L. Cromwell, that the varlet might haue had of your man xx. s. for the boke, and now I haue diſcharged that matter with neuer a peny. And ſhaking hym wel vp for his ouermuch malipertnes, I know the fellow well enough (quoth he) there is not a rancker Papiſt within this realme, then he is, moſt vnworthy to be ſeruaunt vnto ſo noble a Princeſſe. And ſo after humble thankes geuen to the Lord Cromwell, ẏ ſaid Morice departed with hys booke, which when he agayne had fayre written, was deliuered to the kynges Maieſty by the ſayd lord Cromwell, within 4. dayes after.

The wordes of the L. Cromwell to the Archb. Cranmer.

The Lord Cromwell not forgettyng his olde frendes and benefactours.

The gentle behauiour of the L. Cromwell, in remembring his old frendes.

IT is commonly ſene, that men aduaunced once from baſe degree, to ample dignities doe ryſe alſo with fortune into ſuch inſolencie and exaltation of mynd, that not only they forget themſelues what they were, and frō whence they came but alſo caſt out of remembraunce all their old frendes and former acquaintance, which haue bene to them before beneficiall. From which ſort of men, how farre the curteous condition of this chriſten Erle did differre, by diuers examples it may appeare. As by a certayn poore woman keping ſome tyme a vitailing houſe about Hownſloe, to whom the ſayd Lord Cromwell remayned in debt for certaine olde reckonings, to the ſumme of xl. s. It happened that the L. Cromwel with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury riding thorough Chepeſide toward the Court, in turnyng his eye ouer the way, and there eſpying this poore woman, brought now in nede and miſery, eftſones cauſed her to be called vnto hym. Who being come, after certayne queſtions aſked of her if ſhe were not ſuch a woman, and dwellyng in ſuch a place At laſt he demaunded, if he were not behynd for a certayne payment of mony betwene hym and her. To whō ſhe with reuerent obeyſance, confeſſed that he ought her money for a certaine olde reckonyng which was yet vnpayd, wherof ſhe ſtoode now in great neceſſitie, but neuer durſt call vpō hym nor could come at hym for to require her right. Then the L. Cromwell ſendyng the poore woman home to hys houſe, and one of his ſeruantes withall, that the Porter ſhould let her in, after hys returne from the Court, not onely diſcharged the debte which he ought, but alſo gaue her a yearely penſion of foure poundes, and a liuery euery yeare while ſhe lyued.

Example of a gratefull debter.

The like curteſie the ſayd L. Cromwell ſhewed alſo to a certayne Italian, who in the city of Florence, had ſhewed hym much kyndnes in ſuccouring and relieuing his neceſſitie, as in this ſtory followyng may appeare. Which ſtory ſet forth and compiled in the Italian tonge by Bendello, & imprinted at Luke by Buſdrago, an. 1554. I thought here to inſert, with the whole order and circumſtance therof, as it is reported.

Ex hiſtoria Italica.

Not many yeares paſt, ſayth the authour, there was in Florence a merchant whoſe name was Fraunces, deſcended from the noble and aūcient family of the Freſcobaldes: this Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall mynde, vnto whome alſo thorough proſperous ſucceſſe and fortunate lucke in his affayres and doynges, much aboundaunce of riches increaſed, ſo that he grewe in great welth, hauyng his cofers repleniſhed with many heapes of much treaſure. He according to the cuſtome of Merchantes, vſed hys trade into many countreys, but chiefly into England, where long tyme he liued ſoiournyng in London, kepyng houſe to his great commendation and prayſe.

A notable ſtory of the L. Cromwell, and an Italian.

It happened, that Fraunces Freſcobald beyng in Florence, there appeared before hym a poore yong man, aſkyng his almes for Gods ſake. Freſcobald as he earneſtly beheld this ragged ſtriplyng, who was not ſo diſguiſed in his tottered attire, but that hys countenaunce gaue ſignification of much towardnes and vertue in hym, with conformitie of maners agreyng to the ſame, beyng mooued with pity, demaunded of what Countrey he was, and where he was borne. I am Sir (quoth he) of England and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloth ſherer. I am ſtrayed from my countrey, and am now come into Italy with the campe of Frenchemen, that were ouerthrown at Gatilyon, where I was the page to a footeman, caryyng after him his pike and burganet. Freſcobald partly conſideryng the preſent ſtate of this yong man, and partly for the loue he bare to the engliſh nation, of whō he had receiued in tymes paſt ſondry pleaſures receiued hym into his houſe, and with ſuch curteſie interteyned his geſt, as at his departure when he was in mynde to returne to his coūtrey, he prouided ſuch neceſſaries as he any way neded. He gaue him both horſe and new apparell, and 16. Ducates of golde in hys purſe, to bryng hym into his country. Cromwel rendering hys harty thankes, tooke leaue of his hoſte and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage and heroicall ſpirit, geuen to enterpriſe great matters, very liberall, a graue Counſailour. &c. But to our purpoſe.

Cromwel aſking his almes of Freſcobald.

Note that this cloth ſherer was his father in lawe.

Cromwell page to a ſouldiour.

The gentlenes of Freſcobald ſhewed to Cromwell.

At what tyme Cromwell was ſo highly fauoured of his prince, and aduaunced to ſuch dignitie as is aforeſayd, Frāces Freſcobald (as it many tymes happeneth vnto Merchantes) was by many miſfortunes and great loſſes, caſte backe and became very poore. For according to conſcience and equitie, he payd whatſoeuer was due to any other from himſelf, but ſuch debts as were owyng vnto him, he coulde by no meanes obtaine: yet calling further to remembraunce that in England by certain merchantes there was due to him the ſumme of 15000. ducates, he ſo purpoſed with him ſelf, that if he could recouer that mony, he would well content himſelfe, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants but quietly paſſe ouer the reſt of his dayes.

An Italian Ducate commeth to as much as our Engliſhe crowne.

All thinges prepared for his iourney, he ſetting forward towardes Englād, at laſt arriued at Lōdon, hauing vtterly forgotten what curteſie long before he had ſhewed to Crōwel: which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a mā to forget what benefits he hath ſhewed to other, but to keepe in mynde continually what he hath receiued of other. Freſcobald thus being now arriued at Lōdō, & there trauelyng earneſtly about his buſines, it chaunced him by ẏ way to meete with this noble man, as he was rydyng towardes ẏ Court. Whom as ſoone as the ſayd Lord Cromwell had eſpied, & had earneſtly beheld, he bethought with himſelf ẏ he ſhould be the man of Florence, at whoſe handes in times paſt he had receiued ſo gentle intertainment, and thereupon ſodenly alighting (to the great admiration of thoſe that wer with hym) in his armes he gently embraced the ſtraunger, and with a broken voyce ſcarce able to refraine teares, hee demaunded, if he were not Fraunces Freſcobalde the Florentine. Yea ſir (he aunſwered) and your humble ſeruaunt. My ſeruaunt (quoth Cromwell?) no, as you haue not ben my ſeruaunt in tymes paſt, ſo will I not now accompte you otherwayes then my great and eſpeciall frend, aſſuring you that I haue iuſt reaſon to be ſory, that you knowing what I am (or at the leaſt what I ſhould be) will not let me vnderſtand of your ariuyng in this land, which knowen vnto me, truely I ſhould haue payd part of that debte which I confeſſe to owe you: but thanked be God I haue yet tyme. Well ſir, in concluſion, you are hartely welcome. But hauyng now waighty affaires in my princes cauſe, you muſt hold me excuſed, that I can no longer tary with you. Therfore at this tyme I take my leaue, deſiring you with the faythfull mynd of a friend, that you forget not to come this day to my houſe to dinner, and then in remountyng on his horſe, he paſſed to the Court. Freſcobald greatly maruelling with himſelfe who this Lord ſhould be, at laſt after ſome pauſe, his remembraunce better called home, he knew hym to be the ſame, whome long before (as you haue heard) he had relieued in Florence, and therat not a little ioyed, eſpecially conſidering how that by his meanes he ſhould ẏ better recouer his duety.

The wordes of the Lord Cromwell to the Italiā Marchaunt.

Old frendſhip remembred.

The hower of dinner drawing nere, he repaired to the houſe of this honourable Counſellour, where walkyng a while in hys baſe Court, he attended his commyng. The Lord ſhortly returned from the Court, and no ſooner diſmounted, but he agayne embraced this Gentleman, with ſo friendly a countenaunce, that both the Lord Admirall and all the other noble men of the Court beyng then in hys company, did not a little meruaile therat.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceiued, he turnyng towardes them and holding Freſcobalde faſt by the hand: do ye not meruaile my Lordes (quoth he) that I ſeeme ſo glad of this man? This is he by whoſe meanes I haue atchieued the degree of this my preſent calling: and

The curteſie of the Lord Cromwel in reteyning his old hoſt.

becauſe ye ſhall not be ignoraunt of hys curteſie when I greatly needed, I ſhall tell it you: and ſo there declared vnto them euery thing in order, accordyng as before hath bene recited vnto you. His tale finiſhed, holdyng hym ſtill by the hande, hee entered hys houſe, and comming into the chamber where hys dynner was prepared, he ſate hym downe to the Table, placing hys beſt welcomed gueſt next vnto hym.

The dinner ended, and the Lordes departed, he would know what occaſion had brought Freſcobald to London. Fraunces in few wordes opened his cauſe, truely tellyng, that from great wealth, he was fallen into pouertye, and that his onely portion to maintayne the reſt of his life was xv. thouſande Ducates which were owyng hym in England, and two thouſande in Spayne. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell aunſweryng agayne, ſayd. touchyng the thinges Maiſter Freſcobalde that be already paſt, although it cannot now be vndone by mans power, nor by pollicy called agayne, which hath happened vnto you by the vnſtable condition and mutabilitie of this world alteryng to and fro: yet is not your ſorrow ſo peculiar to your ſelfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall loue, I muſt alſo bewaile with you this your ſtate and condition: which ſtate and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of iuſt heauines, yet notwithſtandyng, to the intent you may receaue in this your heauy diſtreſſe, ſome conſolation, for your old curteſie ſhewed to me in tyme paſt, the lyke curteſie nowe requireth of me agayne, that I likewyſe ſhould repaye ſome portion of that debte wherein I ſtand bound vnto you, accordyng as the part of a thankfull man byndeth me to doe, in requityng your benefites on my part heretofore receiued. And this further I auouch in the worde of a true friende, that during this lyfe and ſtate of myne, I will neuer fayle to do for you, wherin my authoritie may preuaile to ſupply your lack and neceſſitie. And ſo let theſe few wordes ſuffice to geue you knowledge of my frendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

Example of a faythfull debter.

The Lord Cromwells vſurye.

Then takyng him by the hand, he led hym into his chamber, whence, after that euery man by his commaundement was departed, he locked faſt the dore. Then openyng a coffer full heaped with treaſure, he firſt tooke out ſixtene Ducates, and deliueryng them to Freſcobald, he ſayd: loe here (my friend) is your mony which you lent me, at my departure from Florence, and here other tenne which you beſtowed in my apparell, with tenne more that you diſburſed for the horſe I rid away on. But conſideryng you are a merchant it ſemeth to me not honeſt to returne your money without ſome conſideration for ỹ long detaynyng of it. Take you therfore theſe 4. bags, and in euery of them is 400. Ducates, theſe you ſhall receiue and enioy from the handes of your aſſured frend.

Ferſcobald, although frõ great wealth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almoſt) an vtter decay, yet expreſſyng the vertue of a modeſt mynde, after gentle thanckes geuen to the Lord Cromwell for hys exceedyng kyndneſſe ſhewed, curteouſly would haue refuſed that which was offered, had not the other enforced him againſt his wyll to receiue it.

Kindnes requited wyth kyndnes.

Modeſtie in an Italian.

This done, he cauſed Freſcobald to geue hym a note of ỹ names of all his debtours, & the ſumme that frõ euery of them was owyng him. This ſchedule he deliuered to one of his ſeruauntes, vnto whõ he gaue charge diligẽtly to ſearch out ſuch men whoſe names therin were conteyned, if they were within any part of the Realme: and then ſtraightly to charge them to make payment of thoſe ſummes within fiftene dayes, or els to abide the hazard of his diſpleaſure. The ſeruaunt ſo well performed his maiſters commaundement, that in very ſhort tyme they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had lyked Freſcobald ſo to haue demaunded, they ſhould haue aunſwered to the vttermoſt, ſuch commoditie, as the vſe of his money in ſo many yeares would haue geuen hym profite: but he contented with his principall, would demaund no further. By which meanes he gat both harty loue and great eſtimation and the more, for that he was ſo deare to the Lord Cromwell, and ſo highly eſtemed of hym.

The Ducates after the Italian count came much neare to our Engliſh crownes

And duryng all this tyme, Freſcobald continually lodged in the houſe of the Lord Cromwel, who euer gaue him ſuch intertainment as he had right well deſerued, and oftentymes moued him to abide in England, offering him the lone of 60000. ducates for the ſpace of 4. yere, if he would continue and make his banke in London. But Freſcobald, who deſired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his lyfe, with the great fauour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thankes for his high and noble intertaynement, departed towardes his deſired home, where richly arriuyng, he gaue himſelfe quietly to liue. But this wealth he ſmall tyme enioyed, for in the firſt yeare of his returne he dyed.

An other example of the kynde & lowly minde of the L. Cromwell.

So plentifull was ỹ life of this man in ſuch frutes full of ſingular gratitude & curteſie, ỹ to reherſe all, it would require to long a tractation. Yet one example amongeſt many other I may not ouerpaſſe, wherby we may euidently conſider or rather maruell at the lowly mynde of ſuch a perſon, in ſo high a ſtate and place of honour. For as he commyng with other of the lordes of the Counſaile and Commiſſioners to the houſe of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monkes whiche there denyed the kynges ſupremacie, after the examination done was there ſittyng at dinner, it chaunced hym to ſpye a farre of, a certayne poore manne whiche there ſerued to ſweepe their Selles and Cloiſter, and to ringe the belles. Whom when the Lorde Cromwell had wel aduiſed, he ſent for the poore man to come vnto him and before all the table moſt louingly and frendely, callyng him by his name, tooke hym by the hand, and aſked how he dyd, with many other good wordes, and turnyng therwith to the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth hee) ſee ye this poore man (Thys mans father hath bene a great frende to me in my neceſſitie, and hath giuen me many a meales meate. Thẽ ſayd he to the poore man, come vnto me and I will prouide for the, and thou ſhalt not lacke as long as I liue. Suche as were preſent and ſawe and heard the ſame, report it to be true.

Three thinges in the L. Cromwell.
1. Zeale.
2. Wiſdome.
3. Authoritie.

In this worthy and noble perſon, beſides diuers other eminent vertues, iij. thinges eſpecially are to bee conſidered, to wytte, floriſhyng authoritie, excellyng wyſedome, and feruent zeale to Chriſt & to his Goſpell. Firſt as touching his feruent zeale in ſettyng forward the ſinceritie of Chriſten fayth, ſufficient is to be ſene before by the Iniunctions proclamations, and Articles aboue ſpecified, that more can not almoſt be wyſhed in a noble man, and ſcarſe the lyke hath bene ſene in any.

The wiſedome & pollicie of the L. Cromwell.

The L. Cromwell a continuall nouriſher of peace.

Secondly, with his wiſedome and policie no leſſe ſingular, ioyned with hys Chriſten zeale, he brought great thinges to paſſe, as well on this ſide the ſea as in the other partes beyond. But eſpecially his workyng was to nouriſhe peace abroade with foreine Realmes, as may well by the kynges letters and inſtructions ſent by his meanes to his Ambaſſadours reſident both with the Emperour the French kyng, and the kyng of Scottes, and alſo with ỹ pope appeare. In all whoſe Courtes ſuch watch and eſpiall hee had, that nothyng there was done, nor pretended, wherof he before hadde not intelligence. Neither was there any ſparke of miſchiefe kyndlyng neuer ſo litle agaynſt the Kynge and the Realme whiche he by wytte and policie dyd not quenche and keepe downe. And where policie would not ſerue to obteyn peace, yet by money he brought it out: ſo that duryng all the time of Cromwels proſperitye, the kyng neuer had warre with any foreyne nation: notwithſtandyng, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the kyngs of Fraunce and Scotland were mightely bent and incenſed agaynſt him.

The authoritie of the L. Cromwell employed to the publicke commoditie of the realme.

A ſkirmiſhe or fray in Pater noſter rowe, ſtopped by the comming of the L. Cromwell.

Thus, as the prudent policie of this man was euer circumſpect abroad, to ſtay the Realme from foreyne warres: ſo his authoritie was no leſſe occupyed in keepyng good order and rule at home: Firſt in hamperyng the Popiſhe Prelates and diſapoyntyng their ſubtile deuiſes: ſecondly, in bridlyng and kepyng other vnruly ſubiectes vnder ſubiectiõ and diſcipline of the lawes. Whereby as he was a ſuccour and refuge to al godly perſons: ſo was he a terrour to the euill doers: ſo that not the preſence of hym onely, but alſo the hearyng of the commyng of Cromwell brake many frayes, and much euill rule: as well appeared by a certeine notorious fray or ryot appoynted to be fought by a company of ruffins, in the ſtreete of Londõ called Pater noſter row. Where cartes were ſet on both ſides of purpoſe, prepared to incloſe them, that none might breake in to part them. It happened, that as this deſperate ſkyrmiſh ſhould begyn, the Lorde Cromwell commyng the ſame tyme from the Court through Paules Churchyard, and enteryng into Chepe, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and becauſe of the cartes he could not come at thẽ, but was forced to go about the litle Cundet, and ſo come vpon them through Pannier Alley.

Thus as the conflicte began to ware hoate, and the people were ſtandyng by in great expectation to ſee them fight ſodenly at the noiſe of the Lord Cromwels commyng, the campe brake vppe and the Ruffins to goe, neither could the cartes keepe in thoſe ſo couragious campers, but well was he that firſt could be gone. And ſo ceaſed this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only through the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

A ſtory betwene the L. Cromwell and a Ruffin.

One example more of the lyke affinitie commeth here in mynde, which ought not to be omitted, concernyng a certaine ſeruyng man of the lyke ruffinly order, who thinkyng to diſceuer himſelf from the common vſage of all other men in ſtrange newfangleneſſe of faſhions by himſelfe (as many there be whom nothyng doth pleaſe, whiche is dayly ſene & receaued) vſed to goe with his heare hangyng about hys eares downe vnto hys ſhoulders, after a ſtraunge monſtruous maner counterfeiting belyke the wilde Iriſhe men, or els Crinitus Ioppas, whiche Vergill ſpeaketh of, as one wery of his owne Engliſhe faſhion: or els as one aſhamed to be ſene lyke a man, woulde rather go lyke a woman, or lyke to one of the Gorgon ſiſters, but moſt of al lyke to him ſelfe, that is, lyke to a ruffin, that coulde not tel howe to go.

The Ruffin wyth the long heare.

As this ruffine ruffling thus with his lockes, was walkyng in ẏ ſtreates, as chaunce was, who ſhould meete him but the Lorde Cromwell, who beholdyng the deforme and vnſeemly maner of his diſguiſed goyng, full of muche vanity, & hurtfull example, called the mã to queſtion wͭ him whoſe ſeruaunt he was, whiche beyng declared, then was it demaunded, whether his maſter, or any of his felowes vſed ſo to goe, with ſuch heere about their ſhoulders as hee dyd, or no? Whiche when hee denyed, and was not able to yelde any reaſon for refuge of ẏ his monſtruous diſguiſing at length he fel to this excuſe that he had made a vowe. To this the Lord Cromwell aunſwered agayne, ẏ for ſo much as he had made him ſelfe a votarie, he would not force hym to breake his vowe, but vntill his vowe ſhould be expyred, he ſhould lye the meane tyme in priſon, & ſo ſent him immediatly to the Marſhalſey: where hee indured, till at length, this intõſus Cato beyng perſuaded by his maſter to cut his heare, by ſuyte and petition of frendes, hee was brought agayne to the Lord Cromwell with his head poled accordyng to the accuſtomed ſorte of his other felowes, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Frier Barteley caſteth away hys Friers coule.

Hereunto alſo perteineth the example of Frier Bartley, who wearyng ſtill his Friers coule after the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes Cromwell commyng through Paules churche yarde, and eſpiyng him in Rheines his ſhop yea ſaid he, wil not that coule of yours be left of yet? And if I heare by one a clocke that this apparel be not chaunged, thou ſhalt be hanged immediatly for example to all other. And ſo puttyng his coule away, he neuer durſt weare it after.

If the ſame Lorde Cromwell, whiche coulde not abyde this ſeruyng man ſo diſfigured in his heare, were now in theſe our dayes alyue with the ſame authoritye, whiche thẽ he had, and ſawe theſe newe fangled faſhions of attire, vſed here amongeſt vs both of men and women, I ſuppoſe verely, that neither theſe mõſtruous ruffes nor theſe prodigious hoſe, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall barbarous breeches (whiche ſeme rather lyke barels, then breeches) would haue any place in England. In whiche vnmeaſurable exceſſe of veſture, this I haue to meruell: firſt how theſe ſeruyng men, whiche commonly haue nothyng els but their wages, and that ſo ſlender and bare, can mayntaine ſuche ſloppes, ſo huge, and ſo ſumptuous whiche commonly ſtand them in more, then their three yeares wages do come vnto. Secondly I meruell, that their maſters and Lordes (who ſhall yelde to God a counte of their ſeruauntes doynges) do not ſearche & trye out their ſeruauntes walkes, how they come by theſe expenſes, wherwith to vpholde this brauery, ſeyng their ſtipendary wages and all reuenues els they haue, will not extende therunto. Thirdly, this moſt of all is to be marueled, that Magiſtrates, which haue in their handes the orderyng and guidyng of good lawes, do not prouide more ſeuerely for the nedefull reformatiõ of theſe enormities. But here we may well ſee, and truely this may ſay that England once had a Cromwell.

Theſe mõſtrous ſloppes of England lacke a Cromwell.

Long it were to recite, what innumerable benefites this worthy Counſellour by his prudent pollicie, hys graue authoritie, and perfect zeale wrought and brought to paſſe in the publicke Realme, and eſpecially in the Churche of England: what good orders hee eſtabliſhed, what wickednes and vices he ſuppreſſed, what corruptions he reformed what abuſes he brought to light, what crafty iugglynges, what Idolatrous deceptions, and ſuperſtitious illuſions he detected and aboliſhed out of the Churche. What poſteritie will euer thinke the Churche of the Pope pretendyng ſuch Religion, to haue bene ſo wicked, ſo long to abuſe the peoples eyes, with an olde rotten ſtocke (called the roode of grace) wherin a man ſhould ſtand incloſed with an hũdreth wyers within the roode, to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nodde with his head, to hang the lyppe, to moue and ſhake his iawes accordyng as the value was of the gift whiche was offered? If it were a ſmall peece of ſiluer, hee would hang a frownyng lyppe: if it were a peece of golde, then ſhould his iawes go merely. Thus miſerably was the people of Chriſte abuſed, their ſoules ſeduced, their ſenſes begyled, and ther purſes ſpoyled, till this Idolatrous forgery at laſt, by Cromwels meanes was diſcloſed, and the Image, with al his ingines ſhewed opẽly at Paules Croſſe, and there torne in peeces by the people. The lyke was done with the bloud of Hales, whiche in lyke maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules Croſſe and there proued to be the bloud of a Ducke.

Diuers corruptions in the Church detected and reformed by Cromwell.

The Roode of Grace gogling with his eyes.

The bloud of Hales.

The holy maide of Kent, read before pag. 1026.

Who would haue iudged, but that the mayde of Kent hadde bene an holy woman, and a Propheteſſe inſpyred, hadde not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules Croſſe to be a ſtrong whore?

What ſhould I ſpeake of Daruell Gartharen, of the Roode of Cheſter, of Tho. Becket, our Ladye of Walſingham, wͭ an infinite multitude more of the lyke affinite? All whiche ſtockes and blockes of curſed Idolatrie, Cromwell ſtyrred vp by the prouidence of God, remoued out of the peoples way, that they might walke more ſafely in the ſincere ſeruice of almighty God.

Stockes & blockes remoued out of the way.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus bleſſedly occupied in profityng the common wealth, and purgyng the Church of Chriſte, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellencie of vertue appeareth, there enuye creepeth in: and where true pietie ſeeketh moſt after Chriſt, there ſome perſecution foloweth withall,

Thus (I ſay) as he was labouring in the cõmon wealth and doyng good to the poore afflicted Saintes, helpyng thẽ out of trouble, the malice of his enemies ſo wrought, continually huntyng for matter agaynſt hym, that they neuer ceaſed, till in the end they by falſe traynes and crafty ſurmiſes, brought him out of the kynges fauour.

Ste. Gardiner chiefe enemie to the L. Cromwell.

The chiefe and principal enemie againſt him, was Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, who euer diſdaynyng and enuiyng the ſtate and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell, and now takyng hys occaſion by the Maryage of Ladye Anne of Cleue, beyng a ſtraunger and forener, put in the kynges eares what a perfect thyng it were for the quyet of the realme, and eſtabliſhment of the kynges ſucceſſion to haue an Engliſhe Queene and Prince that were mere Englyſhe: ſo that in concluſion the kyngs affection, ẏ more it was diminiſhed from the late maried Anne of Cleue, the leſſe fauour he bare vnto Cromwell. Beſids this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe frendes alſo and ilwillers in the Court about the kynge, which litle made for Cromwell both for his Religion whiche they maligned, and for other priuate grudges alſo incident by the way.

Read before pag. 1109.

Ouer and beſides all which, it is moreouer ſuppoſed, that ſome part of diſpleaſure myght ryſe agaynſt hym, by reaſon of a certayne talke, which happened a little before at Lambeth, at what tyme the kyng after the makyng of the vi. Articles, ſent the ſayd Lord Cromwell hys Vicegerẽt, with the two Dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, wyth all the Lords of the Parliamẽt to Lambeth to dyne wyth the Archbyſhop) who mightely had diſputed & alleaged in the Parliament agaynſt the ſayd Articles) to cheare & comfort hys daunted ſpirites agayne.

The talke betwene the L. Cromwel & certeine of the Lords at Lambeth.

There the ſayd Cromwell, wyth the other noble Lordes ſitting with the Archbyſhop at his table in talke, as euery Lord brought forth hys ſentence in commendation of Cranmer, to ſignifie what good wyll both the kyng, and they bare vnto hym: among the reſt one of the company entryng into a compariſon betwene the ſayd Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolſey late Cardinall of Yorke, declared in hys iudgement, that Cranmer was much to be preferred for hys mylde and gentle nature, where as the Cardinall was a ſtubberne and a churliſhe Prelate, and one that could neuer abyde any noble man, and that (ſayd he) know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was your Mayſter. &c. At theſe wordes the Lord Cromwell beyng ſomewhat touched to heare the Cardinals ſeruice ſo caſt in hys teeth, inferred agayne, ſaying: that he could not denye but he was ſeruaunt ſometyme to Cardinall Wolſey, neyther did repent the ſame, for he receiued of hym both fee, meate and drinke, and other commodities: but yet he was neuer ſo farre in loue wyth hym, as to haue wayted vpon hym to Rome, if he had bene choſen Pope, as he vnderſtoode that he would haue done if the caſe had ſo fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell ſtill perſiſted affirmyng the ſame, and ſhewyng moreouer what number of Florenes he ſhould haue receaued, to be his Admirall, and to haue ſauecõducted hym to Rome in caſe he hade bene elected Byſhop of Rome. The partie not a litle moued wyth theſe wordes: told hym, he lyed. The other agayne affirmed it to be true. Upon thys, great and hygh wordes roſe betwene them. Which contention although it was through intreatie of the Archbyſhop and other nobles ſomewhat pacified for the tyme, yet it myght be, that ſome bitter roote of grudge remayned behynde, which afterward grew vnto hym to ſome diſpleaſure. And thys was an. 1540. in the moneth of Iulye. Ex teſtimonio, Secretarij. Cantuar.

1541.

¶ Parliament.

After this the next yeare folowyng, which was 1541. in the moneth of Aprill, was holden a Parliament, which

after

The Lord Cromwell apprehended

after diuers prorogations was continued till the moneth of Iuly, the ſayd yeare. In the whiche moneth of Iuly, the Lord Cromwel beyng in the Counſayle chamber, was ſodenly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. Whereat, as many good men which knewe nothyng but truth by hym dyd lament, and prayed hartely for him: ſo moe there were on the contrary ſide that reioyſed, eſpecially of the Religous ſorte, and of the Clergye, ſuch as had bene in ſome dignitie before in the Churche, and nowe by his meanes were put from it. For in dede ſuch was his nature: that in all his doynges he coulde not abyde any kynde of Popery, nor of falſe Religion creepyng vnder hipocriſie and leſſe coulde abyde the ambitious pryde of Popiſhe Prelacie, whiche profeſſyng all humilitie, was ſo elated in pride that kynges coulde not rule in their owne Realmes for them. Theſe ſnuffyng Prelats as hee could neuer abide ſo they agayne hated him as much, whiche was the cauſe of ſhortenyng hys dayes, and to bryng hym to his end: So that the xix. day of the moneth aforeſaide he was attainted by Parliament.

Crimes and accuſations brought agaynſt the L. Cromwel.

In the which Atteinder diuers and ſondry crimes ſurmyſes, obiections and accuſatiõs were brought againſt him but chiefly and aboue all other, hee was charged and accuſed of hereſie, for that he was a ſupporter of them (whome they recounted for heretickes) as Barnes, Clerke, and many other, whom he by his authoritie and letters written to Shriffes and Iuſtices in diuers Shires reſcued and diſcharged out of priſon. Alſo that hee dyd euulgate and diſparſe abrode amongeſt the kynges ſubiectes, great numbers of bookes, conteynyng (as they ſaid) manifeſt matter of much hereſie, diffidence, and miſbeliefe. Item, that hee cauſed to bee tranſlated into our Engliſhe tounge, bookes compriſing matter expreſly agaynſt the Sacrament of the alter, and that after the tranſlation therof, hee commended and maynteyned the ſame for good and Chriſtian doctrine.

Ouer and beſides all this, they brought in certeine witneſſes (what they were, ẏ Atteinder expreſſeth not) which moſt eſpecially preſſed (or rather oppreſſed) hym with heynous wordes ſpoken agaynſt the kynge in the Churche of S. Peter the poore in the moneth of March, in the xxx. yeare of the kynges reigne. Whiche wordes if they be true, as the Atteinder doth purport, iij. thinges I haue here much to meruell at. Fyrſt, if his aduerſaryes hadde ſo ſure holde and matter agaynſt hym, then what ſhould moue thẽ to make ſuch haſtie ſpeede in all poſte haſte, to haue him diſpatched and ridde out of the way, and in no caſe could abyde hym to come to his purgation? Which if he might haue done it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he would eaſilye haue cleared hym ſelfe therof.

Witneſſes agaynſt Cromwell ſuſpected.

Secondly, this I meruell, that if the wordes had bene ſo heynous agaynſt the kyng, as his enemies dyd pretend, why then dyd thoſe witneſſes, which heard thoſe woordes in S. Peters Church in the xxx. yeare of the kynges reigne conceale the ſayd wordes of ſuch treaſon ſo long, the ſpace almoſt of ij. yearrs, and nowe vttered the ſame in the xxxij. yeare of the kynges reigne, in the moneth of Iuly.

What miſchiefe malicious make bates make in a common wealth.

Thirdly, here is agayne to be meruelled, if the kyng had knowen or beleued theſe wordes to be true, and that Crõwell had bene in deede ſuch a a traytour to his perſon, why then dyd the kyng ſo ſhortly after lament his death, wiſhyng to haue his Cromwell alyue agayne? What Prince will wiſh the lyfe of him whome he ſuſpecteth vndoubtedly to bee a traitour to his life and perſon? wherby it may appeare what iudgement the kynge had of Cromwell, in hym ſelf, howſoeuer the Parlament by ſiniſter information was otherwiſe incenſed to iudge vpon him.

Examples of mẽ falſly accuſed, and wrongfully iudged.

Such malicious makebates about Princes ⁊ parlamẽts neuer lacked in common weales. By ſuch kyng Ethelſtane was incenſed to kill his brother Edwine. pag. 150. So was kyng Edward 2. depoſed. So likewiſe when kynge Richard 2. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accuſations were layd againſt him in the Parlament? So was Humfrey the good Duke of Glocester, the kyngs vncle, by Henry Beauford Byſhop of winchester and other in the Parlament holden at Bery, arreſted as a traitour, and falſely made away. pag. 680. What great treaſon was in the wordes of him, who dwelling in Chepeſide at the ſigne of the Crowne, ſayde merely to his ſonne, that if he liued, he would make him heyre of the crowne: and yet was he therfore atteinted, and iudged for a traitor? pag. 701. col. 2. In the tyme of kyng Henry. 8. How was that Parlament incenſed: wherein both Queene Anne was falſely condemned, and Queene Elizabeth her daughter as falſely diſhereted? To omitte here the attaynder of the Duke of Buckyngham wrought by the Cardinal of yorke: Of the Lord Cobham likewiſe, and Syr Roger Acton. pag. 154. If the cauſe of the Lord Hẽry late Earle of Surrey were wel tried out, perauẽture no ſuch heynous purpoſe of any treaſõ ſhoulde be found therin, as then was made. Who incenſed the late Duke of Somerſet to beheade his own brother, but ſuch makebates as theſe? And afterward when the ſaide Duke him ſelfe was attaynted for a traitor and condemned for a felon, a briber and extortioner: how was the Parlament then incenſed? Adam Damlipe receaued of Cardinal Poole at Rome, but a ſelye crowne in way of almoſe, and therfore by meanes of Steuẽ Gardinar was attainted for a traytor. George Egles dyd but read ſome tyme in woods and by the ſaid Gardiner was alſo condemned and ſuffered as a traytour.

Authoritie of Parliamentes.

Not that I here ſpeake or meane agaynſt the hygh Courtes of Parliamentes of thys our Realme, neceſſarily aſſembled for the common wealth, to whom I alwayes attribute their due reuerence and authoritie. But as it happeneth ſometimes in general Councels, which though they be neuer ſo generall, yet notwithſtandyng ſometymes they may and doe erre in waightie matters of Religion: ſo lykewiſe they that ſay, that Princes and Parliaments may be miſinformed ſometymes, by ſome ſiniſter heads, in matters ciuill and politicke, do not therein derogate or empaire the high eſtate of Parliamentes, but rather geue holſome admonition to Princes ⁊ Parliamẽt mẽ, to be more circumſpect and vigilant what counſell they ſhall admitte, and what witneſſes they do credite. For priuate affectiõ which commonly beareth a great ſtroke in all ſocieties and doings of men, creepeth ſometymes into ſuch generall Councels, and into Princes Courtes alſo, either to much amplifiyng thynges that be but ſmall, makyng mountaynes of molehils, or els to much extenuatyng thynges that be of themſelues great and waightie, accordyng as it is truely ſayd of the Poete Iuuenal: Dat veniam coruis, vexat cenſura columbas, or as our Engliſhe Prouerbe ſheweth: As a mã is frended, ſo is his matter ended: And where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leapes: or rather to ſpeake after the French phraſe: Qui ſon chien veult tuer, la rage luy met ſus. That is: He that is diſpoſed to haue hys dogge killed, firſt maketh men beleue that he is mad. And thus much hauing declared touching the matter of his accuſation, the reſt I referre to the high Parliamẽt of that mightie king, who ſhall one day bringe all thinges to perfecte light.

A French prouerb.

In the meane ſeaſon, howſoeuer the cauſe of the Lord Cromwell ſtandeth, true, or falſe, this is certaine that Steuen Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet priuie aſſiſters, which cunningly could fetch thys matter about, and watch their tyme, when as the kyng being diſpoſed to mary an other wyfe, which was the Lady Catherine Hawarde, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, dyd repudiate Ladie Anne of Cleue, which otherwiſe is to be thought, during the life of Cromwell, could not ſo well be brought to paſſe.

Lady Anne of Cleue diuorced from the kyng.

But theſe thyngs beyng now done ⁊ paſte, let vs paſſe them ouer and returne agayne from whence we digreſſed, that is to the Lord Cromwell beyng now atteinted ⁊ committed to the Tower. Who ſo long as he went wyth full ſayle of fortune, how moderately ⁊ how temperately he did euer beare himſelf in his eſtate, before hath ben declared. So now the ſaid L. Cromwel, alwayes one man, by the cõtrary wynde of aduerſitie being ouerblowen, receaued the ſame with no leſſe conſtancie and patience of a Chriſtian hart. Neither yet was he ſo vnprouided of counſayle ⁊ forecaſte, but that he did foreſee this tempeſt long before it fell, ⁊ alſo prepared for the ſame. For two yeares before, ſmelling the conſpiracie of his aduerſaries, and fearing what might happen, he called vnto him hys ſeruauntes, and there ſhewyng vnto them in what a ſlippery ſtate he ſtoode, and alſo perceauing ſome ſtormy wether already to gather, required thẽ to looke diligently to their order and doynges, leaſt through their default any occaſion might riſe agaynſt him. And furthermore, before the tyme of his apprehenſion, ſuch order he tooke for hys ſeruauntes, that many of them, eſpecially the yonger brethren, which had litle els to take vnto, had honeſtly left for them in their frendes hands, to relieue them, whatſoeuer ſhould him befall.

The Chriſten patience of the L. Cromwell in his aduerſitie.

Cromwell foreſeing and preparing for his trouble before it fell.

Cromwell good to his ſeruauntes.

Briefly, ſuch a louing ⁊ kinde maſter he was to his ſeruauntes, that he prouided aforehand almoſt for them all: In ſo much, that he gaue to xij. children which were hys Muſitions, twentie pound a peece, ⁊ ſo committed them to their frends. Of whom ſome yet remayne aliue, who both inioyed the ſame, and alſo geue recorde of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a priſoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiãtly he behaued himſelf, how grauely and diſcretely he anſwered ⁊ entertained ẏ Cõmiſſioners ſent vnto him, it is worthy noting. Whatſoeuer articles or interrogatories they propoũded, they could put nothing vnto him, either concerning matters Eccleſiaſticall or temporall, wherein he was not more rypened, and more furniſhed in euery condition then they them ſelues.

Amongſt the reſt of thoſe Comiſſioners whiche came vnto hym: one there was, whom the Lorde Cromwell deſired to carye for hym a letter to the kyng, whiche when he refuſed, ſaying that he woulde carye no letter to the kyng, from a traytour: then the Lorde Cromwell deſired hym at leaſte to do from hym a meſſage to the king. To that the other was contented, & graunted, ſo that it were not againſt hys allegeance. Then the Lorde Cromwell takyng witnes of the other Lordes, what he had promiſed: You ſhall commend me (ſayde he) to the kyng, and tell hym: by that hee hath ſo well tryed, and throwly proued you, as I haue done, hee ſhall finde you as falſe a man as euer came about hym.

Syr Rafe Sadler the L. Cromwels truſty frend

Cromwels letter to the kyng.

Beſides this he wrote alſo a letter from the Tower to the kyng, whereof when none durſt take the cariage vpon him, Syr Raffe Sadler (whom he alſo had preferred to the kyng before, beyng euer truſty & faythfull vnto hym) went to the kyng, to vnderſtand his pleaſure, whether he woulde permitte hym, to bryng the letter or not. Whiche, when the kyng had graunted, the ſayd M. Sadler, as he was required, preſented the letter vnto the kyng, which he cõmaunded thriſe to be read vnto him, in ſomuch the kyng ſeemed to be moued therwith.

The L. Cromwell not ſuffered to come to hys aunſwere.

Notwithſtandyng, by reaſon of the Acte of Parliament afore paſſed, the worthy and noble Lorde Cromwell oppreſſed by hys enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not commyng to his aunſwere, the xxviii. day of July. an. 1541. was brought to the ſcaffolde on Tower hill, where he ſayd theſe wordes folowyng.

The L. Cromwell brought to the ſcaffold.

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my ſelfe, as ſome thinke perauenture ẏ I will. For if I ſhould ſo do I were a very wretch & a miſer. I am by the law condemned to dye, and thanke my Lorde God that hath appoynted me this death for myne offence. For ſithens the tyme that I haue had yeares of diſcretion, I haue lyued a ſinner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aſke him hartely forgeuenes. And it is not vnknowen to many of you, that I haue bene a great traueler in this world, and beyng but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithens the time I came therunto, I haue offended my Prince, for ẏ which I aſke hym hartily forgeuenes, and beſeech you all to praye to God with me, that he will forgeue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare me record I die in the Catholicke fayth, not doubting in any Article of my faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many haue ſlaundered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is vntrue. But I confeſſe, that lyke as God by his holy ſpirit doth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the deuill is redy to ſeduce vs, and I haue bene ſeduced: but beare me witnes that I die in the catholike fayth of the holy Church. And I hartely deſire you to pray for the kinges grace, that he may long lyue with you in health and proſperitie: and that after hym hys ſonne prince Edward that goodly impe, may long raigne ouer you. And once agayne I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as lyfe remayneth in this fleſh, I wauer nothing in my fayth. And ſo makyng his prayer, kneelyng vpon hys knees, he ſpake theſe wordes, the effect wherof here followeth.

A true Chriſtian confeſſion of the L. Cromwell at his death.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell ſayd at the houre of his death.

The prayer of the L. Cromwell at his death.

O Lord Ieſu, which art the onely health of all men liuing, and the euerlaſting life of thẽ which die in thee: I wretched ſinner do ſubmit my ſelf wholy vnto thy moſt bleſſed will, and being ſure that the thing can not periſh which is committed vnto thy mercy, willingly now I leaue this frail and wicked fleſh in ſure hope that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it to me againe at the laſt day in the reſurrection of the iuſt. I beſech thee, moſt mercifull lord Ieſus Chriſt, that thou wilt by thy grace make ſtrong my ſoule againſt all tẽptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy againſt all the aſſaults of the deuil. I ſee and knowledge that there is in my ſelfe no hope of ſaluation, but all my confidence, hope and truſt, is in thy moſt mercifull goodnes. I haue no merites nor good workes, which I may alledge before thee. Of ſinnes and euill workes (alas) I ſee a great heape: but yet thorow thy mercy I truſt to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their ſinnes: but wilt take and accept me for righteous and iuſt, and to be the inheritour of euerlaſting lyfe. Thou mercifull lord waſt borne for my ſake, thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for my ſake: thou didſt teach, pray, & faſt for my ſake: all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughteſt for my ſake: thou ſuffredſt moſt greuous paines and torments for my ſake: finally, thou gaueſt thy moſt precious body and thy bloud to be ſhed on the croſſe for my ſake. Now moſt mercifull Sauiour, let all theſe thinges profite me, that thou freely haſt done for me, which haſt geuen thy ſelfe alſo for me. Let thy bloud cleanſe and waſhe away the ſpots and foulenes of my ſinnes. Let thy righteouſnes hide and couer my vnrighteouſnes. Let the merites of thy paſſion and bloudſheading be ſatiſfaction for my ſinnes. Geue mee Lord thy grace that the fayth of my ſaluatiõ in thy bloud wauer not in me, but may euer be firme and conſtant. That the hope of thy mercy and life euerlaſting neuer decay in me, that loue waxe not colde in me. Finally that the weaknes of my fleſh bee not ouercome with the feare of death. Graunt me mercyfull Sauyour, that when death hath ſhut vp the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my ſoule may ſtil beholde and looke vpon thee, and when death hath taken away the vſe of my tongue, yet my harte may cry and ſay vnto thee: Lord into thy handes I commende my ſoule: Lorde Ieſu receaue my Spirite. Amen.

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly & louingly exhorted them that were about hym on the ſcaffold, he quietly committed hys ſoule into the handes of God, & ſo paciently ſuffred the ſtroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miſer, which very vngodly performed the office.

The death of the Lord Cromwell.

¶ Of the Bible in Engliſh printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner preferred to the Biſhoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

The Bibles of the greateſt volume printed in Paris.

The doers herof were Rich. Grafton and Whytchurch.

ABout the tyme and yere, when Edmund Boner biſhop of Herford, and ambaſſadour reſident in Fraunce, begã firſt to be nominate and preferred by the meanes of the lord Cromwell to the biſhopricke of London: which was, anno. 1540. it happened that the ſayd Thomas Lord Cromwell and Erle of Eſſex, procured of ẏ kyng of england hys gracious letters to the Frenche kyng to permitte and licence a ſubiect of hys to imprint the Bible in Engliſh within the vniuerſitie of Paris becauſe paper was there more meete and apt to be had for the doyng therof, then in the realme of England, and alſo that there were more ſtore of good workmen for the redy diſpatch of the ſame. And in lyke maner at the ſame tyme the ſayd kyng wrote vnto his ambaſſadour, who then was Edmund Boner Byſhop of Herford lying in Paris, that he ſhould ayde and aſſiſt the doers thereof in all their reaſonable ſutes. The which Biſhop outwardly ſhewed great frendſhip to the merchaunts that were ẏ imprinters of the ſame, and moreouer did dyuers and ſundry tymes call and commaund the ſayd perſons, to be in maner daily at hys table both dynner and ſupper, and ſo much reioyced in the workemanſhip of the ſayd Bible, that he himſelfe would viſite the imprinters houſe, where the ſame bibles were printed, and alſo would take part of ſuch dinners as the Engliſhmen there had, and that to hys coſte, which, as it ſeemed he little wayed. And further the ſayd Boner was ſo feruent that he cauſed the ſayd Engliſhmen to put in print a new teſtament in engliſh and latine, and hymſelfe toke a great many of them and payd for them and gaue thẽ to hys frendes. And it chaunced the meane tyme, while the ſayd Bible was in printyng, that king Henry the 8. preferred the ſayd Boner from the biſhopricke of Herford, to bee biſhop of London, at which tyme the ſayd Boner according to the ſtatute law of england, tooke hys othe to the kyng, knowledging his ſupremacie, and called one of the aforeſayd Engliſhmen that printed the bible, whom he then loued, although afterward vppon the chaunge of the world he dyd hate hym as much, whoſe name was Richard Grafton: to whom the ſayd Boner ſayd when he toke hys othe, maiſter Grafton, ſo it is, that the kyngs moſt excellent maieſtie hath by hys gracious gift preſented me to the Biſhopricke of London, for the which I am ſory, for if it would haue pleaſed hys grace, I could haue bene well content to haue kept myne old Biſhoprike of Herford. Then ſayd Grafton I am right glad to heare of it, and ſo I am ſure wyll bee a great number of the City of London: for though they yet know you not, yet they haue heard ſo much goodnes of you from hence, as no doubt they wyll hartily reioyce of your placyng. Then ſayd Boner, I pray God I may doe that may content them, and to tell you M. Grafton. Before god (for that was commonly his othe) the greateſt fault that I euer found in Stokeſley, was for vexing and troublyng of poore men, as Lobley the bookebynder and other, for hauyng the ſcripture in engliſh, and God willyng he did not ſo much hynder it, but I wyll as much further it, & I wil haue of your Bibles ſet vp in the Churche of Paules, at the leaſte in ſondrye places ſixe of them, and I wyll pay you honeſtly for them and geue you harty thankes. Which wordes he then ſpake in the hearyng of diuers credible perſons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But

now

Edm. Boner a great furtherer in printing the Bybles in Engliſhe.

The new teſtament in Engliſhe & Latine put in print by Boner.

Edm. Boner made Byſh. of London.

Boners wordes to Grafton, when he tooke hys oth to the kyng.

Boner reproueth Stokeſley for his perſecuting.

Boners promiſe to ſet forth the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

now M.Grafton at this tyme I haue ſpecially called you to be a witnes with me that vpon this tranſlation of Biſhops Sees, I muſt accordyng to the ſtatute take an othe vnto the kyngs maieſtie knowledgyng hys Supremacy, which before God I take with my hart and ſo thinke hym to be, and beſeech almighty God to ſaue hym, and long to proſper hys grace: hold the booke ſirah, and read you the oth (ſayd he) to one of hys chapleins, and he layd his hande on the booke and ſo tooke hys othe. And after this he ſhewed great frendſhippe to the ſayd Grafton, and to hys partener Edward Whitchurch, but ſpecially to Myles Couerdall, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

Boner ſweareth hartely to the kynges ſupremacie.

Myles Couerdale corrector in printing the Bible of the large volume.

Now, after that the foreſayd letters were deliuered, the French kyng gaue very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doyng therof. And ſo the printer went forward and printed forth the booke euen to yͤ laſt part, & then was the quarell picked to the printer, and he was ſent for to the inquiſitors of the fayth, and there charged with certayne articles of hereſie. Then were ſent for the Engliſhmen that were at the coſt and charge therof, and alſo ſuche as had the correction of the ſame, which was Myles Couerdale, but hauyng ſome warnyng what would folow, the ſayd engliſhmen poſted away as faſt as they could to ſaue themſelues, leauing behynd them all their Bibles, whiche were to the number of 2500. called the Bibles of the great volume, and neuer recouered any of thẽ, ſauing that yͤ Lieftenaunt criminall hauing them deliuered vnto him to burn in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Maulbert place was ſomewhat moued with couetouſnes, and ſolde 4. great dry fattes of them to a Haberdaſher to lappe in cappes, and thoſe were bought agayne but the reſt were burned, to the great & importunate loſſe of thoſe that bare yͤ charge of thẽ. But notwithſtandyng the ſayd loſſe after they had recouered ſome parte of the foreſayde bookes, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lorde Cromwel, the ſayd Engliſhe men went agayne to Paris, and there gotte the preſſes letters, and ſeruantes of the aforeſaid Printer, & brought them to Londõ, and there they became printers themſelues (which before they neuer entended) and printed out the ſaid Bible in London, and after that printed ſundry impreſſiõs of them: but yet not without great trouble and loſſe, for the hatred of the biſhops namely Steuen Gardiner, and his felowes, who mightily did ſtomacke and malign the printyng therof.

The printing of the Byble ſtayed at Paris thorough the practiſe of Engliſhe Byſhops.

Engliſhe bibles burnt at Paris.

How Grafton & Whitchurch became printers.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the ſtory, thou haſt louyng Reader, to note and vnderſtand that in thoſe dayes there were ij. ſũdry Bibles in Engliſh, Printed and ſet forth, bearyng diuers titles, and Printed in diuers places. The firſt was called Thomas Mathewes Bible, printed at Hambrough, about the yeare of our Lord. 1532. the Correctour of which Printe was then Iohn Rogers, of whom ye ſhall heare more Chriſt willing hereafter. The Printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the tranſlation of this Bible, the greateſt doer was in deede William Tyndall, who with the helpe of Miles Couerdale had tranſlated all the bookes thereof, except onely the Apocripha, and certeine notes in the margent, which were added after. But becauſe the ſayd William Tyndall in the meane tyme was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing therof, to chaunge the name of William Tyndall, becauſe that name then was odious, and to father it by a ſtraunge name of Thomas Mathew, Iohn Rogers the ſame tyme beyng Correctour to the Print, who had then tranſlated the reſidue of the Apocripha, and added alſo certaine notes thereto in the margent, and thereof came it to bee called Thomas Mathewes Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and preſented to the Lord Cromwell, and the Lord Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the ſayd Cromwell preſented it to the kyng, and obteined that the ſame might freely paſſe to be read of his ſubiectes with his graces licence: So that there was Printed vpon the ſame booke, one lyne in red letters with theſe wordes: Set forth with the Kynges moſt gracious licence.

Of this Bible printed at Hambrough, read before pag.

Tho. Mathewes Byble, by whõ and how.

The Bible preſented to the kyng by the Lord Cromwell. The Bible put forth wyth the kinges priuiledge.

The ſettyng forth of this booke did not a litle offend the Clergy, namely the Byſhop aforeſayd, both for the Prologues, & ſpecially becauſe in the ſame booke was one ſpeciall table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the ſame, & chiefly about the Supper of the Lord and Mariage of Prieſtes, and the Maſſe, which there was ſaid not to be found in Scripture.

Furthermore, after the reſtreynt of this foreſayd Bible of Mathew, an other Bible began to be Printed at Paris, an. 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Printers whereof were the foreſayd Richard Grafton, and Whitchurche whiche bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord Cromwel. The chiefeſt ouerſeer was Myles Couerdale, who taking the tranſlation of Tyndall, conferred the ſame with the Hebrue, and amended many thynges.

An other Byble of the great volume printed at Paris.

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Mathew was omitted, yet ſondry markes and hands were annexed in the ſides, which ment that in thoſe places ſhould be made certeine notes, wherewith alſo the Clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

The Byſhops offended at the Byble tranſlated into Engliſhe.

After this, the Byſhops bringyng their purpoſe to paſſe brought the Lorde Cromwell out of fauour, and ſhortly to hys death: and not long after great complaint was made to the king of the tranſlation of the Bible, and of the preface of the ſame, and then was the ſale of the Bible commaunded to be ſtayed, the B. promiſing to amend & correct it, but neuer performyng the ſame: Then Grafton was called, & firſt charged with the Printyng of Mathewes Bible, but he beyng very fearefull of trouble, made excuſes for hymſelfe in all thynges. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purpoſed to make. To the which he aunſwered, that hee knewe none. For his purpoſe was to haue retayned learned men to haue made the notes, but when he perceaued the kynges maieſtie, and hys Clergye not willyng to haue any, he proceded no further. But for al theſe excuſes, Grafton was ſent to the Fleete, and there remayned vi. weekes, and before he came out, was bounde in CCC. li. that he ſhould neyther ſell nor imprint or cauſe to be imprinted any moe Bibles, vntill the kynge and the clergye ſhoulde agree vpon a tranſlation. And thus was yͤ Bible from that tyme ſtayed, duryng the reygne of Kynge Henry the viij.

The ſale of the Bible ſtayde by the king through the byſhops meanes.

Rich Grafton impriſoned for printing the byble.

But yet one thyng more is to be noted, that after the imprinters hadde loſt theyr Bibles, they contynued ſuters to Boner, as is aforeſayd to bee a meane for to obteyne of the Frenche kyng theyr bookes agayn: but ſo long they continued ſuters, and Boner euer fedde them with faire wordes promyſing them much, but dyd nothyng for them, til at the laſt Boner was diſcharged of hys ambaſſade, and returned home, where he was right ioyfully welcomed home by the Lorde Cromwell, who loued hym very dearely, and had a meruelous good opinion of hym. And ſo long as Cromwell remayned in authoritie, ſo long was Boner at his becke, & frende to hys frendes, and enemy to his enemyes: as namely at that tyme to Gradiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who neuer fauoured Cromwell, and therfore Boner could not fauour hym, but that hee and Wincheſter were the greateſt enemies that might be. But ſo ſone as Cromwell fell, immediatly Boner and Wincheſter pretended to bee the greateſt men that lyued, and no good word coulde Boner ſpeake of Cromwell, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, & bittereſt that hee coulde ſpeake, callyng hym the rankeſt heretycke that euer lyued: and then ſuch as the ſayd Boner knew to be in good fauour with Cromwell, hee coulde neuer abide their ſight. In ſo muche as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the abouenamed Grafton, who before had bene very familiar with Boner, mette with the ſayd Boner ſodenly, and ſayd vnto him, that hee was ſory to heare of the newes that then was abroad. What are they, ſayd hee? Of the apprehenſion of the L. Cromwell, ſayde Grafton. Are ye ſory for that (ſayd he?) It had bene good that he had ben diſpatched long agoe. With that Grafton looked vppon hym and knew not what to ſaye, but came noe more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the ſayde Grafton beyng charged for the imprintyng of a Balet made in the fauour of Cromwel was called before the Councell where Boner was preſent, and there Boner charged hym with the wordes that hee ſpake to hym of Cromwell, and tolde out a great long tale. But the Lord Awdeley, who then was Lorde Chauncellour, ryght diſcretly and honorably cut of the matter, and entered into other talke.

Edm. Boner a great frend to the L. Cromwell, all the tyme of hys proſperitie.

S. Gardiner and Boner, of enemies made frendes.

Doct. Boner altereth his frendſhip & religion.

Doctor Boner againſt the Lords Cromwell.

The hiſtory of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, diuines.

LIke as in foreine battailes the chief poynt of Victorye conſiſteth in the ſafetie of the Generall or Captayne: euen ſo whẽ the valiaunt ſtanderd bearer and ſtay of the Church of England, Tho. Cromwell I meane, was made away, pitie it is to beholde, what miſerable ſlaughter of good men and good wemen enſued therupon, whereof we haue nowe (Chriſt willyng) to entreat. For Wincheſter hauyng now gotten his full purpoſe, and fre ſwynge to exerciſe his crueltye, wonder it was to ſe that Aper Calydonius, or (as the ſcripture ſpeaketh) that Ferus ſingularis, what troubles he raiſed in the Lords vineyard. And leaſt by delayes he might looſe the occaſion preſently offered, he ſtrayght wayes made his firſt aſſaultes vpon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret & Williã Hierom, whom in the very ſame moneth within ij. dayes after Cromwels death, he cauſed to be put to execu-

Rob. Barnes, T. Garret, W. Hierome Martirs.

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tion. Whoſe hiſtories ſeuerally to comprehend, firſt of all we wyll ſomewhat ſpeake of Barnes Doctour of Diuinitie, whoſe perticular ſtory here followeth.

Robert Barnes Prior of the houſe of Auguſtines in Cambridge.

This Barnes, after he came from the Vniuerſitie of Louaine, went to Cambridge, where he was made Prior, and maiſter of the houſe of the Auguſtines. At that tyme the knowledge of good letters was ſcarcely entred into the Vniuerſitie, all thinges beyng full of rudenes and barbaritie, ſauyng in very few, which were priuy and ſecret. Wherupon Barnes hauyng ſome felyng of better learnyng and authors, began in hys houſe to read Terence, Plautus, & Cicero, ſo that what with his induſtry, paynes & labours, and with the helpe of Tho. Parnell his ſcholer, whome he brought from Louane with hym, reading Copia verborum & rerum, he cauſed the houſe ſhortly to floriſh with good letters, and made a great part of the houſe learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeneſſe) as M. Cambrige, Maiſter Felde, M. Colman, M. Burley, M. Couerdall, with diuers other of the Vniuerſitie, that ſoiourned there for learnings ſake. After theſe foundations layd, then did he read openly in the houſe, Paules Epiſtles, and put by Duns and Dorbel, and yet he was a queſtionary hymſelfe: and onely becauſe he would haue Chriſt there taught and his holy worde, he turned their vnſauery Problemes and fruitles diſputations to other better matter of the holy ſcripture, and therby in ſhort ſpace he made diuers good Diuines. The ſame order of diſputatiõ which he kept in hys houſe, he obſerued likewyſe in the vniuerſitie abrode when he ſhould diſpute with any man in the common ſcholes. And the firſt man that aunſwered Doctor Barnes in the Scriptures, was maiſter Stafford for hys forme to be Bacheler of Diuinitie, which diſputation was marueilous in the ſight of the great blynd Doctors, and ioyfull to the godly ſpirited.

Thomas Parnel a Londoner borne, ſcholer to Barnes. M. Cambridge M. Felde. M. Colman. M. Couerdall. Bachelers of diuinitie.

Thus Barnes what with his reading, diſputation & preachyng, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching euer againſt biſhops and hypocrites, and yet dyd not ſee hys inward and outward Idolatry, which he both taught and mainteined, till that good M. Bilney, with other (as is aforeſayde in the lyfe of M. Bilney) conuerted him wholy vnto Chriſt.

The firſt Sermon that Doct. Barnes preached in defence of the truth.

The firſt Sermon that euer he preached of this truth, was the Sonday before Chriſtmas day, at S. Edwardes church longing to Trinitie hall in Cambridge by the peaſe market: whoſe theame was the epiſtle of the ſame ſonday, Gaudete in domino. &c. and ſo poſtilled the whole Epiſtle, followyng the Scripture and Luthers poſtill, and for that ſermon he was immediately accuſed of hereſie by ẏ fellows of the kings hall. Then the godly learned in Chriſt both of Penbroke hall, S. Iohns, Peter houſe, Queenes colledge the kynges colledge, Gunwell hall, & Benet colledge, ſhewed themſelues and flocked together in open ſight, both in the ſcholes, and at open ſermons at S. Maries, and at ẏ Auſtens, and at other diſputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The houſe that they reſorted moſt cõmonly vnto, was the white horſe, which for deſpite of thẽ to bring gods word into contempt was called Germany. This houſe eſpecially was choſen becauſe of them of S. Iohns. The kynges Colledge and the Queenes Colledge, came in on the backe ſide. At this tyme much trouble began to enſue. The aduerſaries of D. Barnes accuſed hym in the Regent houſe before the Vicechauncelor, where as hys Articles were preſented with him and receiued, he promiſing to make anſwer at the next conuocation, and ſo it was done. Then Doctor Nottoris a ranke enemy to Chriſt, moued Doct. Barnes to recant, but he refuſed ſo to doe: which appeareth in hys booke that he made to kyng Henry the 8. in Engliſh, confuting the iudgement of Cardinall Wolſey, and the reſidue of the Byſhops papiſticall, and ſo for the tyme ſtoode ſtedfaſt. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preachyng agaynſt an other in trying out of gods truth, vntill within vj. dayes of Shrouetyde. Then ſodenly was ſente downe to Cambridge a Sergeaunt of armes called maiſter Gibſon, dwellyng in ſ. Thomas Apoſtles in London, who ſodenly reſted D. Barnes openly in the conuocation houſe to make all other afrayd: and priuily they had determined to make ſearche for Luthers bookes, and all the Germaynes workes ſodenly.

Trouble amõgſt the Cambridge men for the Goſpell.

D. Barnes areſted by M. Gibſon

But good Doctor Farman of the Queenes Colledge, ſent worde incontinently thereof to the chambers of thoſe that were ſuſpected, which were in number xxx. perſones. But God be prayſed they were conueied, by that time that the ſergeant at armes, the Vicechauncellor and the Proctors were at euery mans chamber, goyng directly to ẏ place where the bookes lay (wherby it was perceiued that there were ſome priuy ſpies amongſt that ſmall company) & that night they ſtudied together & gaue hym his aunſwer, which aunſwer he caried with hym to London the next mornyng, which was the Tueſday before Shroueſonday, and came on the wedneſday to London, and lay at M. Parnels houſe by the ſtockes. In the mornyng he was caried by the Sergeant at armes to cardinal Wolſey to Weſtminſter, waiting there all day and could not ſpeake with hym til night. Thẽ by the reaſon of D. Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinall (of whoſe familiar acquaintance he had ben before) and M. Foxe maiſter of the wardes, he ſpake the ſame night wyth the Cardinal in hys chãber of eſtate, kneelyng on his knees. Then ſayd the Cardinall to them, is this D. Barnes your man that is accuſed of hereſie? yea and pleaſe your grace, & we truſt you ſhall finde hym reformable, for he is both well learned and wyſe.

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Falſe Brethren.

D. Barnes brought to London,

D. Gardiner Secretarie to the Cardinall

What M. Doctor (ſayd the cardinal) had you not a ſufficient ſcope in the ſcriptures to teach the people, but that my golden ſhewes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cuſhiõs, my croſſes did ſo ſore offend you, that you muſt make vs Ridiculum caput amongſt the people? We were iolily ẏ day laughed to ſcorne. Verily it was a ſermon more fitter to be preached on a ſtage, then in a pulpit: for at the laſt you ſayd, I weare a paire of red gloues, I ſhould ſay bloudy gloues (quoth you) that I ſhould not be cold in the middeſt of my ceremonies. And he anſwered. I ſpake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conſcience and according to the old Doctors: and thẽ did he deliuer him vj. ſhetes of paper written to confirme and corroborate hys ſayings..

The talke betwene Cardinall Wolſey and D. Barnes

D. Barnes preached agaynſt the pride of the Cardinal,

He receyued thẽ ſmilyng on him and ſaying, we perceiue then that you intend to ſtand to your Articles and to ſhew your learning.

Yea ſaid Barnes that I do intend by gods grace, wyth your lordſhips fauour.

He anſwered, ſuch as you are beare vs little fauour and the catholike church. I will aſke you a queſtion: whether do you thinke it more neceſſary that I ſhould haue all this royaltie, becauſe I repreſent the kings maieſties perſon in all the hie courtes of this realme, to the terrour and kepyng downe of all rebellions, treaſons, traytors, and all the wicked and corrupt members of this common wealth, or to be as ſimple as you would haue vs, to ſell all theſe aforeſayde things, and to geue it to the poore, which ſhortly wil piſſe it againſt the walles, and to pul away this maieſty of a princely dignity, which is a terrour to all the wicked, & to follow your counſail in this behalfe.

The pretenſed reaſons of the Cardinall, wherby he maintained his pomp.

He anſwered I thinke it neceſſary to be ſold and geuen to the poore. For this is not comely for your callyng, nor the kings maieſtie is not mainteined by your pompe & pollaxes, but by God, who ſaith: Per me reges regnant. Kynges and their maieſties raigne and ſtand by me.

Then anſwered he: Lo M. doctors, here is the learned & the wiſe man that you told me of. Then they kneled downe and ſaid: we deſire your grace to be good vnto him, for he will be reformable.

Then ſaid he, ſtand you vp: for your ſakes and the Vniuerſitie, we will be good vnto him. How ſay you M. doctor do you not know that I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to diſpence in all matters concerning religion within this realme, as much as the pope may? He ſaid, I know it to be ſo.

Doct. Gardiner a ſuter for Barnes.

Will you then be ruled by vs, & we wil do all thinges for your honeſty, and for the honeſty of the Vniuerſitie?

He anſwered, I thanke your grace for your good will: I wil ſticke to the holy ſcripture and to gods booke, according to the ſimple talent that God hath lent me.

Anſwere wel ſayd he, thou ſhalt haue thy learnyng tryed to the vttermoſt, and thou ſhalt haue the law.

Then he required him that he might haue iuſtice with equity, and forthwith he ſhould haue gone to the tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his ſureties that night, & ſo he came home to M. Parnels houſe agayne & that night fel to writing again and ſlept not M. Couerdal, M. Goodwin & M. Feld beyng his writers: and in the mornyng he came to Yorke place to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the Sergeant of armes to bring him into the chapter houſe at Weſtminſter before the Biſhops, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter called Iſlip.

The ſame tyme when D. Barnes ſhould appeare before the cardinal, there were v. Stilliard mẽ to be examined for Luthers bookes and Lollardy, but after they ſpied Barns they ſet the other aſide, and aſked the Sergeaunt of armes what was his errand. He ſayd he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of hereſie, and preſented both hys Articles and his accuſers. Then immediatly after a little talke, they ſware him and laid his articles to him. Who lyke as he anſwered the cardinall before, ſo ſaid he vnto thẽ, and then he offred the booke of his probations vnto them. Who aſked hym whether he had another for himſelfe, and he ſayd

Stilliard mẽ examined for Lolardie.

yea, ſhewing it vnto them. Who then toke it from him, and ſaid they ſhould haue no laiſure to diſpute with hym at that preſent for other affaires of the kings Maieſty, which they had to do, and therfore bad hym ſtand aſide. Then they called the Stilliard mē againe one by one, and whē they were examined, they called forth the M. of the Fleete, and they were committed all to the Flete. Then they called Doctor Barnes againe, and aſked him whether he would ſubſcribe to his Articles or no, and he ſubſcribed willingly: and then they committed him and yong M. Parnell to the Flete alſo with the other. There they remayned till Saterday in the mornyng, and the Warden of the Fleete was commaūded that no man ſhould ſpeake with hym.

The Stilliard men cōmitted to the Fleete.

D. Barnes with younge Parnell cōmitted to the Fleete.

On the ſaterday he came again afore them into the chapter houſe, and there with the ſtilliard men remained till v. a clocke at night. And after long diſputatiōs, threatnings, & ſcornings, about v. a clock at night, they called him, to know whether he would abiure or burne. He was then in a great agony, & thought rather to burn thē to abiure. But thē was he ſent againſt to haue the counſel of Gardiner and Foxe, and they perſuaded hym rather to abiure then to burne, becauſe (they ſaid) he ſhould do more in time to come, & with diuers other perſwaſiōs that were mighty in the ſight of reaſon & fooliſh fleſh. Vpon that, kneelyng vpon his knees, he conſented to abiure, and the abiuration put in hys hand, he abiured as it was there written, and then he ſubſcribed with hys owne hand: and yet they would ſcarcely receiue him into the boſome of the Church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an othe, and charged hym to execute, doe, & fulfill all that they commaunded hym, and he promiſed ſo to do.

D. Barnes & the Stilliard men brought agayne before the Cardinall.

D. Barnes perſwaded by Gardiner and Foxe, to abiure.

Then they commaunded the Warden of the Fleete to cary hym with his fellowes to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in cloſe priſon, and in the mornyng to prouide v. fagots for D. Barnes, and the 4. Stilliard men. The 5. Stilliard man was commaunded to haue a taper of v. pound waight to be prouided for hym, to offer to yͤ roode of Northen in Paules, and all theſe thinges to be ready by 8. of the clocke in the mornyng, and that he with all that he could make, with bils and gleaues, and the knight Marſhal with all hys tipſtaues that he could make, ſhould bring thē to Paules, and conduct them home againe. In the mornyng they wer all redy by their houre appointed in Pauls church the church beyng ſo full that no man could get in. The Cardinall had a ſcaffold made on the top of the ſtaires for hymſelfe, with 36. Abbots, mitred Priors and Biſhops, and he in hys whole pompe mitred (which Barnes ſpake againſt) ſate there inthronized, hys Chaplens and ſpirituall doctors in gownes of Damaſke and ſatine, and he hymſelfe in purple, euen lyke a bloudy Antichriſt. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the ſtayres alſo, for the Byſhop of Rocheſter to preach againſt Luther and D. Barnes: & great baſkettes full of bookes ſtanding before them within the rayles, which was commaunded after the great fire was made afore the roode of Northen there to be burned, & theſe heretikes after the ſermon to goe thriſe about the fire and to caſt in their fagots.

D. Barnes & the Stilliard mē beare fagottes.

Now while the ſermon was a doyng, D. Barnes and the ſtilliard men were commaunded to knele down and aſke God forgeuenes, the catholike church and cardinals grace, and after that he was commaunded at the ende of the ſermon to declare that he was more charitablier handled, then he deſerued or was worthy (his hereſies were ſo horrible & ſo deteſtable) and once agayne kneeled downe on hys knees and deſiring the people of forgeuenes and to pray for hym, and ſo the Cardinall departed vnder a canapy with all hys mitred men with hym, till he came to the ſecond Gate of Paules, and then he tooke hys Mule, and the mitred men came backe agayne. Then theſe poore men beyng cōmaunded to come downe from the ſtage (whereon the ſwepers vſe to ſtande when they ſwepe the Church) the Biſhops ſate them downe againe and commaunded the knight marſhall and the Warden of the Fleete with their company to cary them about the fire, and ſo were they brought to the biſhops, and there for abſolution kneled downe. Where Rocheſter ſtoode vp and declared vnto the people how many dayes of pardon and forgeuenes of ſinnes they had for beyng at that Sermon, and there did aſſoile D. Barnes with the other, and ſhewed the people that they were receiued into the church agayne.

Dayes of pardon geuē for hearing a Popiſhe ſermon.

This done, the Warden of the Fleete and the Knight Marſhall were commaunded to haue them to the Flete againe, and charged that they ſhould haue the libertie of the Flete as other priſoners had, and that their frendes might reſort vnto them, and there to remaine till the lord cardinals pleaſure were knowen.

After that Barnes there in the Flete had cōtinued the ſpace of halfe a yeare, at length beyng deliuered, was committed to be free priſoner at the Auſten friers in London. When thoſe Caterpillers and bloudy beaſtes had there vndermined hym, they complained agayne to their Lord Cardinall. Wherupon he was remoued to the Auſten Fryers of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himſelf vnderſtādyng nothing therof, but ſuppoſing ſtill yͭ he ſhould there remayne and continue in free priſon, at laſt one M. Horne, who had brought hym vp, and was hys ſpeciall frend, hauyng intelligence of the writte which ſhould ſhortly be ſent downe to burne hym, gaue hym counſayle to fayne hymſelfe to be deſperate, and that he ſhoulde write a letter to the Cardinall and leaue it on hys table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whether he was gone to drowne himſelf, & to leaue his clothes in the ſame place: and there an other letter to be left to the Maior of the towne to ſearch for him in the water, becauſe he had a letter written in parchment about hys necke, cloſed in waxe, for the Cardinall, which would teach all men to beware by hym. Vpon thys, they were vij. dayes in ſerchyng for hym, but he was conueyed to London in a poore mans apparell, and ſo taryed not there but tooke ſhippyng and went by long Seas to Antwerpe, and ſo to Luther, and there fell to ſtudye till he had made aunſwere to all the Byſhops of the Realme, and had made a booke intituled, Acta Romanorum pontificum, and an other booke wyth a ſupplication to Kyng Henry. Immediatly it was tolde the Cardinall, that he was drowned, and he ſayd, Perit memoria eius cum ſonitu. But thys did light vpon hymſelfe ſhortly after, which wretchedly dyed at Leiceſter.

Doct. Barnes fayned himſelfe to be drowned.

Acta Romanorum pontificum, made by D. Barnes.

In the meane ſeaſon D. Barnes was made ſtrong in Chriſt, and got fauour both of the learned in Chriſt, & forreine Princes in Germany, and was great wyth Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Iuſtus Ionas, Hegendorphinus and Æpinus, and wyth the Duke of Saxon, and the kyng of Denmarke, which kyng of Dēmarke in the time of More and Stokeſley ſent hym wyth the Lubeckes, as an Ambaſſadour, to kyng Henry the viij. He lay wyth the Lubeckes Chauncellor at the Stilliard.

Doct. Barnes ſent Amballadour from the kyng of Denmarke to kyng Henry, into England.

Syr Tho. More then Chauncelour, would faine haue entrapped hym, but the kyng would not let him, for Cromwell was hys great frend. And ere he went, the Lubeckes and he diſputed wyth the Byſhops of thys realme in defēce of the truth, and ſo he departed agayne wythout reſtraynte wyth the Lubeckes. After hys going agayne to Wittenb. to the Duke of Saxon, and to Luther, he remayned there to ſet forwardes hys workes in Print that he had begon, from whence he returned agayne in the beginning of the raygne of Queene Anne, as other did, & continued a faithfull preacher in this Citie, beyng all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was ſent Amballadour by K. Hēry the 8. to the Duke of Cleue, for the maryage of the Lady Anne of Cleue, betwene yͤ king and her, and was wel accepted in that Amballade & in all hys doyngs, vntyll the tyme that Ste. Gardiner came out of Fraunce: but after he came, neyther Religion proſpered, nor the Queenes maieſtie, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers, who after the maryage of the Lady Anne of Cleue, neuer ceaſed vntyll he had grafted the maryage in an other ſtocke, by the occaſion whereof he began hys bloudy broyle.

Syr Thomas More ſought the death of Doct. Barnes.

Doct. Barnes returned agayne into England in the tyme of Queene Anne.

Doct. Barnes ſent Amballadour by kyng Henry, to the Duke of Cleue.

For not long after, Doct. Barnes wyth hys brethren were apprehended and caryed before the kynges maieſtie to Hampton court, and there he was examyned. Where the kynges maieſtie ſeekyng the meanes of hys ſafetie, to bring Win. and hym agreed, at Wyncheſters requeſt, graunted him leaue to go home wyth the biſhop to conferre wyth hym, and ſo he dyd. But as it happened they not agreeyng, Gardiner and hys cōpartners ſought by all ſubtile meanes, how to entangle and to entrappe them in further daunger, which not long after was brought to paſſe. For by certayne complayntes made to the kyng of them, they were enioyned to preach three ſermōs the next Eaſter followyng at the Spittle. At the which Sermons, beſides other reporters which were thether ſent, Ste. Gardiner alſo was there preſent ſitting with the Maior, eyther to beare recorde of their recantation, or els as the Phariſeis came to Chriſt, to trippe them in their talke, if they had ſpokē any thing awry. Whē theſe three had thus preached their Sermons, amōgſt whō Barnes preaching the firſt Sermon, and ſeeyng Ste. Gardiner there preſent, humbly deſired hym in the face of all the audience, if he forgaue hym, to holde vp hys hand, and the ſayd Gardiner thereupon helde vp his finger: yet notwithſtanding ſhortly after by the meanes of the ſayd reporters, they were ſent for to Hampton Court: who from thence were caryed to the tower by Syr Iohn Goſtwike. From whence they neuer came out till they came to their death, as hereafter Chriſt willing ſhall more appeare.

And thus hetherto concerning the hyſtory of Barnes. Now let vs lykewiſe conſider the ſtorye and doynges of Thomas Garet.

The ſtory of Tho. Garret or Garrerd, and of hys trouble in Oxford, teſtified and recorded by Antony Dalaber, who was there preſent the ſame tyme.

Tho. Garret brought bookes to Oxford.

ABout the yere of our Lord.1526. Maiſter Garret Curate of Hony Lane in London, came vnto Oxford, and brought with him ſondry bookes in Latin treatyng of the Scripture, with the firſt part of Vnio diſſidentium, & Tindals firſt tranſlation of the new Teſtament in Engliſh, the which bookes he ſold to diuers ſcholers in Oxford.

Garret ſought for at London.

A priuie ſearch in Oxford for Garret.

M. Cole of Magdalene Colledge in Oxforde.

After he had bene there a while, and had diſpatched thoſe bookes, newes came from London that he was ſearched for through all London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to be impriſoned for ſellyng of thoſe hereticall bookes (as they termed them) becauſe they ſpake agaynſt the vſurped authoritie, and erroneous doctrine of the B. of Rome, and his no leſſe impure and filthy Synagoge. For it was not vnknowen to Cardinall Wolſey, and to the B. of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that M. Garret had a great nūber of thoſe bookes, and that he was gone to Oxford to make ſale of them there, to ſuche as he knew to be the louers of the Goſpell. Wherfore they determined forthwith to make a priuy ſearch through all Oxford to apprehend and impriſon hym, and to burne all and euery his foreſayd bookes and hym to, if they coulde: ſo burnyng hote was their charitie. But yet at that tyme one of the foreſayd Proctors, called M. Cole of Magdalene colledge, who after was Croſſe bearer vnto Cardinall Wolſey, was well acquainted with M. Garret, and therfore he gaue ſecret warnyng vnto a frend or two of M. Garret of his priuy ſearch, and willed therefore that he ſhould forthwith as ſecretly as he could, depart out of Oxford, for if he were taken in the ſame ſearch, no remedy but he ſhould be forthwith ſent vp vnto the Cardinall, and ſo ſhould be committed vnto the Tower.

Anthony Dalaber ſcholer of Alborne Hall, reporter hereof.

The Chriſtmas before that tyme, I Antony Dalaber then ſcholer of Alborne Hall, who had bookes of M. Garrets, had bene in my country in Dorſetſhire at Stalbridge where I had a brother Perſon of that Pariſh, who was very deſirous to haue a Curate out of Oxford, and willed me in any wyſe to get hym one there if I could. This iuſt occaſion offered, it was thought good amonge the brethren (for ſo did we not onely call one an other, but were in deede one to an other) that M. Garret chaunging his name, ſhould be ſet forth with my letters into Dorcetſhyre vnto my brother, to ſerue him there for a tyme, vntill he might ſecretely from thence conuey hymſelfe ſomewhether ouer the Sea. Accordyng hereunto I wrote my letters in all haſt poſſible vnto my brother, for M. Garret to be hys Curate, but not declaring what he was in deede, for my brother was a rancke Papiſt, and after was the moſt mortall enemye that euer I had for the Goſpels ſake.

Brother agaynſt brother.

Garret taken in the priuy ſearch.

So the Wedenſday in the mornyng before Shroftyde, M. Garret departed out of Oxforde, toward Dorſetſhyre, wyth my letters for his new ſeruice. How farre he went, & by what occaſion he ſo ſoone returned, I know not. But the Fryday next, in the night tyme he came agayne to Radleyes houſe, where he lay before, and ſo after mydnight in the priuie ſearch, which was then made for hym, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by ẏ two Proctours and on the Satterday in ẏ mornyng was deliuered vnto one D. Cottiſford, M. of Lincoln Colledge, then being Cōmyſſarye of the vniuerſitie, who kept hym as priſoner in his owne chamber. There was great ioy and reioycing among all the Papiſtes for his apprehenſion, and ſpecially wyth Doctour London, Warden of the newe Colledge, and Doctor Higdon Deane of Frideſwides, two Archpapiſts. Who immediatelye ſent their letters in poſt haſt vnto the Cardinall, to enfourme hym of the apprehention of this notable Herreticke: for the which their doing, they were well aſſured to haue great thankes. But of all this ſoudaine hurley burley, was I vtterly ignoraunt, ſo that I knew neyther of M. Garrets ſo ſodayne returne, neyther that hee was ſo taken, vntyll that afterwardes he came vnto my chamber, being then in Gloceſter Colledge, as a man amaſed, and as ſoone as hee ſaw me, he ſayd he was vndone, for he was taken. Thus he ſpake vnaduiſedlye in the preſence of a young man that came with hym. When the young man was departed, I aſked hym what he was, and what acquaintaunce he had with hym. Hee ſayd he knew hym not, but he had bene to ſeeke a Moonke of his acquaintaunce in that Colledge, who was not in his chamber, and therupon deſired this his ſeruaunt (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly remoued thether) to bring hym to me: and ſo forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in ẏ priuie ſearch, as ye haue heard: and that now whē the Commiſſarye and all his company were gone to Euenſong, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he hearyng no body ſtirring in the Colledge, put backe the barre of the locke with his finger, and ſo came ſtraight vnto Gloceſter Colledge, to ſpeake with that Monke, if he had bene within, who had alſo bought bokes of him.

The myraculous deliueraunce of Garret out of the Commiſſaries chamber.

Then ſayd I vnto hym: Alas M. Garret, by this your vncircumſpect commyng vnto me, and ſpeakyng ſo before thys young man, you haue diſcloſed your ſelfe, and vtterly vndone me. I aſked hym why he went not vnto my brother with my letters accordingly. He ſayde, after that he was gone a dayes iourney and a halfe, he was ſo fearefull, that his hart would no other, but that he muſt needes returne agayne vnto Oxford, and ſo came agayne on Friday at night, and then was takē, as ye heard before. But now with deepe ſighes, and plentie of teares, he prayed me to helpe to conuey him away, and ſo he caſt of his hoode & hys gowne, wherein he came vnto me, and deſired me to geue him a coat with ſleeues, if I had any, and tolde me that he would go into Wales, and thence conuey himſelf into Germany, if he might. Thē I put on him a ſleeued coat of mine. He would alſo haue had an other maner of cappe of me, but I had none but prieſtlike, ſuch as hys owne was.

Garret chaungeth his apparell and flieth.

Then kneeled we both downe together on our knees, and liftyng vp our hartes and handes to God our heauenly father, deſiring him with plentie of teares, ſo to conducte and proſper him in his iourney, that he might well eſcape the daunger of all his enemies, to ẏ glory of his holy name, if his good pleaſure and will ſo were, and then we embraced and kyſſed the one the other, the teares ſo aboundauntly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and ſcarcely for ſorow could we ſpeake one to the other, and ſo he departed from me, apparelled in my coate, being committed vnto the tuition of our almightie and mercifull father.

The partyng betwene M. Garret and Dalaber.

When he was gone downe the ſtaires from my chamber, I ſtraightwayes did ſhut my chamber doore, & went into my ſtudy, and tooke the new Teſtament in my handes, kneeled downe on my knees, and with many a deepe ſigh and ſalt teare, I did with much deliberation read ouer the x. chapter of S. Mathew his Goſpell: and when I had ſo done, with feruent prayer I did cōmit vnto God, that our dearely beloued brother Garret, earneſtly beſeeching hym, in and for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, his onely begotten ſonne our Lord, that he would vouchſafe, not onely ſafely to conducte and keepe our ſayde deare brother, from the handes of all his enemies, but alſo that he would endue hys tender and lately borne litle flocke in Oxford, with heauēly ſtrēgth by his holy ſpirite, that they might be well able thereby valiauntly to withſtand, to his glory, all their fierce enemies, and alſo might quietly, to their owne ſaluation, with all godly pacience, beare Chriſtes heauy croſſe, which I now ſaw was preſently to be layd on their young & weake backes, vnable to beare ſo huge a burden, without the great helpe of his holy ſpirite.

Dalabers prayer for M. Garret.

This done, I layd a ſide my bookes ſafe, folded vp M. Garrets gowne and hoode, and layde them into my preſſe among myne apparell, & ſo hauing put on my ſhort gowne, ſhut vp my ſtudy and chamber doores, and went towardes Friſwides, to ſpeake with that worthy martir of God M. Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what had happened that after noone. But of purpoſe I went by S. Mary Church, to go firſt vnto Corpus Chriſti Colledge, to ſpeake with Diet and Udall, my faithfull brethren and fellowes in the Lord there. But by chaunce I met by the way with a brother of ours, one M. Eeden, fellow of Magdalen Colledge, who, as ſoone as he ſaw me, came with a pitifull countenaunce vnto me, ſaying that we were all vndone, for M. Garret was returned agayne to Oxford, taken the laſt night in the priuie ſearch, and was in priſon with the Commiſſary. I ſaid it was not ſo. He ſayd it was ſo. I told him it could not be ſo, for I was ſure he was gone. He aunſwered me and ſayde, I know he was gone with your letters, but he came agayne yeſterday in the euen, & was taken in his bed at Radleis this night in the priuie ſearch: for (quod he) I heard our Proctour M. Cole ſay and declare the ſame this day in our Colledge, to diuers of the houſe. But I told him again, that I was wel aſſured he was now gone, for I ſpake with him later thē either the Proctor or Commiſſary did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto him, how and when he came vnto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the ſame vnto other our brethren whom he ſhould meete withall, and to geue God harty thankes for his wonderfull deliueraunce, and to pray him alſo that he would graunt him ſafely to paſſe away frō all his enemies, and tolde him that I was going vnto Maiſter Clarke of Friſwides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knew, and thought verely

M. Clarke a famous or worthy learned man.
M. Diet.
M. Udall.
M. Eeden.

that

M. Tauerner.

that he and diuers others there, were then in great ſorowe for this matter. Then went I ſtraight to Friſwides, and Euenſong was begon, and the Deane and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices: they were almoſt at Magnificat before I came thether, I ſtode at the quier dore and heard maiſter Tauerner play, and others of the Chappell there ſing, with and among whome I my ſelfe was wont to ſing alſo, but now my ſingyng and muſick was turned into ſighyng and muſing.

The Do. hartis troubled at Maiſter Garrets eſcape out of priſon.

M. Clarke.

M. Sumner M. Bettes.

As I thus and there ſtoode, in commeth D. Cotiſforde the Commiſſary, as faſt as euer hee coulde go, bare headed, as pale as aſhes (I knew his griefe well inough) and to the Deane he goeth into the Quier, where he was ſittyng in his ſtall, and talked with him verye ſorrowfully: what I know not, but wherof I myght and dyd well and truely geſſe. I went a ſide from the Quier dore: to ſee and heare more. The Commiſſarye and Deane came out of the Quier wonderfully troubled, as it ſeemed. About the middle of the Church met them D. London, puffyng, bluſteryng: and blowyng lyke a hungry and greedy Lion ſeeking his pray. They talked together a while but the Commiſſary was much blamed of them for kepyng of his priſoner ſo negligently, in ſo much that he wept for ſorrow: and it was knowen abroade, that Maiſter Garret was eſcaped, & gone out of the Commiſſaries chamber at Euenſong tyme, but whether no man could tell. Theſe Doctours departed, and ſent abrode their ſeruauntes and ſpies euery where. Maiſter Clarke about the middle of Compline, came forth of the Quier: I followed hym to his chamber, and declared what was happened that after noone, of maiſters Garrets eſcape. He was glad, for he knew of hys foretakyng. Then he ſent for one M. Sumner and M. Bets, fellowes and Canons there. In yͤ meane while he gaue me a very godly exhortation, praying God to geue me & all the reſt of our brethrē, prudentiam ſerpentinam, & ſimplicitatem columbinam, for we ſhould haue ſhortly much nede therof, as he verely thought. When M. Sumner and M. Bets were come vnto hym, he cauſed me to declare agayne the whole matter vnto them two, and they were very glad, that M. Garret was ſo deliuered, truſting that he ſhould eſcape all his enemies. Thē deſiring them to tell vnto our other brethren, what was happened (for there were diuers other in that Colledge) I went to Corpus Chriſti Colledge to comfort our brethren, there beyng in lyke heauines. There I taried and ſupped with them. At which ſupper we were not very mery, conſidering our ſtate and perill at hand.

Dalabers Chamber ſearched for M. Garret.

When we had ended our Supper, and committed our whole cauſe with feruent ſighes and harty prayers vnto God our heauenly father, I went to Alborne hall, & there lay that night. In the mornyng I was vp very early, and as ſoone as I could get out at the dore, I went ſtraight toward Glouceſter Colledge to my chamber. It had rayned that mornyng, and with my goyng I had all to be ſprinckled my hoſe and my ſhoes with myre. And when I was come vnto Glouceſter colledge, which was about vj. of the clocke, I found yͤ gates faſt ſhut. Wherat I did much maruel, for they were wōt to be opened daily long before yͤ time. Then did I walke vp & downe by the wall there, a whole houre before the gates were opened. In the meane whyle, my muſing head beyng full of forecaſting cares, and my ſorowfull hart flowyng with dolefull ſighes, I fully determined in my conſcience before God, that if I ſhould chance to be taken & be examined, I would accuſe no man, nor declare any thing further then I did already perceiue was manifeſtly knowen before. And ſo when the gate was opened, thinkyng to ſhift my ſelfe and to put on a longer gowne, I went in towardes my chamber, and goyng vp the ſtayres, would haue opened my dore, but I could not in a long ſeaſon do it. Wherby I perceiued that my locke had bene medled withall, and therwith was ſomewhat altered. Yet at laſt wyth much ado I opened the locke and went in. When I came in, I ſaw my bed all to toſſed and tumbled, my clothes in my preſſe throwen downe, and my ſtudy dore open. Whereof I was much amaſed, and thought verily that ſome ſearche was made there that night for M. Garret, and that it was knowen of his beyng with me, by the Monkes man that brought hym to my chamber.

Dalaber brought to the Prior of Glocester Colledge.

Anthony Dalabers ringe taken from hym.

Now was there lying in the next chamber vnto me a Monke, who as ſoone as he heard me in the chāber, came to me, and told how M. Garret was ſought in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the Commiſſary and the two Proctors, with bils and ſwordes thruſted thorow my beadſtraw, and how euery corner of my chamber was ſearched for maiſter Garret. And albeit hys gowne & his hoode lay there in my preſſe with my clothes, yet they perceiued them not. Then he told me that he was cōmaunded to bryng me as ſoone as I came in, vnto the Priour of the ſtudentes named Antony Dunſtane a Monke of Weſtminſter. This ſo troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hoſe and ſhoes, and to ſhift me into an other gowne: and therfore, ſo all to be dirted as I was, & in my ſhorte gowne I went with him to the ſayde Priours chamber, where I found the ſayd Prior ſtandyng and lookyng for my cōming. He aſked me where I hadde bene that night. I told him, I lay at Alborne Hall with my old bedfelow, Fitziames, but he would not beleue mee. He aſked me if M. Garret were with me yeſterday, I told hym yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he were at Woodſtocke. For ſo (ſayd I) hee had ſhewed me that he would goe thether, becauſe one of the kepers there his frend, had promiſed hym a peece of veneſon to make mery withall yͤ Shroftyde, and that he woulde haue borowed a hatte and a payre of hygh ſhoes of me, but I hadd none in deede to lend hym. This tale I thought meeteſt, though it were nothyng ſo. Then hadd hee ſpyed on my fore finger a byg ryng of ſiluer very well double gylted with ij. letters A. D. ingraued in it for my name: I ſuppoſe he thought it to be gold. He required to ſee it. I tooke it vnto him. When hee hadde it in his hand, he ſayd it was his ryng, for therein was his name, an A. for Antony, and a D. for Dunſtane. When I heard him ſo ſay, I wiſhed in my hart to bee as well deliuered from and out of his company, as I was aſſured to be deliuered from my ryng for euer.

Anthony Dalaber apprehended and troubled for M. Garret.

Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commaunded me to write when and how Garret came vnto me, & where he was become. I had not written ſcarſly three wordes, but the chief bedle with ij. or iij. of the Commiſſaries men, were come, vnto Maiſter Prior, requiryng hym ſtraight wayes to bryng vs awaye vnto Lyncolne Colledge to the Commiſſary and to D. London. Whether when I was brought into the chapell, there I found D. Cotiſforde Cōmyſſarye, D. Higdon then Deane of the Cardinals Colledge, and D. London Warden of the newe Colledge ſtandyng together at the alter in the chappell. When I was brought vnto them, after ſalutations geuen and taken betwene them, they called for chayres and ſat downe, and called for me to come to them. and fyrſt they aſked what my name was. I told them that my name was Antony Dalaber. Then they alſo aſked me how long I hadde bene ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie. and I told them almoſt iij. yeares. And they aſked me what I ſtudied. I tolde them that I had read ſophiſtrie and Logicke in Alborne Hall, and now was remoued vnto Glocester Colledge to ſtudy the Ciuil lawe, the whiche the foreſayd Prior of the ſtudentes affirmed to be true. Then they aſked me whether I knew M. Garret, and how long I had knowen hym. I told them I knew hym well, & had knowen hym almoſt a tweluemonth. They aſked me when hee was with me. I told them yeſter day at after none.

The examination of Anthony Dalaber.

D. London Warden of the newe Colledge, an Archphariſey.

Now by this time whiles they had me in this talke, one came in vnto them which was ſent for, with pē, inke & paper. I trowe it was the Clerke of the vniuerſitie. As ſoone as he was come, there was a bourd & treſſles with a forme for him to ſit on, ſet betwene the Doctours and me, and a great Maſſe booke layd before me, and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it and to ſweare that I ſhoulde truely aunſwere vnto ſuch articles and interrogatories as I ſhould be by them examined vpon. I made daunger of it a while at firſt, but afterward beyng perſuaded by them, partly by fayre wordes, and partly by great threates, I promiſed to do as they would haue me, but in my hart nothing ſo ment to doe. So I layd my hand on the boke, and one of them gaue me my othe, and that done commaunded mee to kyſſe the booke. Then made they great curteſie betwene them who ſhould examine me, and miniſter interrogatories vnto me. At the laſt, the Rankeſt Papiſticall Phariſey of them all D. London tooke vpon him to do it.

Then hee aſked me agayne by my othe, where M. Garret was, and whether I had conueyed him. I tolde hym I had not conueyed hym, nor yet wyſt not where he was, nor whether hee was gone, except he were gone to Wodſtocke (as I had before ſayd) as he ſhewed me hee would. Then he aſked me agayne when hee came to me, howe he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whether he went from me, I told him he came to me about euenſong tyme, and that one brought him vnto my Chamber doore, whom I knowe not and that hee told me he woulde goe to Woodſtocke for ſome veniſon to make mery withall this Shroftyde, and that he would haue borowed a hat, and a payre of hygh ſhoes of me, but I had none ſuch to lend hym, and then he ſtraight went his way from me but whether I know not. All theſe my ſayinges the ſcribe wrote in a paper booke.

Then they earneſtly required mee to tell them whether I had conueyed hym, for ſurely they ſayde I brought hym goyng ſome whether this morning, for that they might wel perceiue by my foule ſhoes and dirty hoſen, that I had trauailed with him the moſt part of this night. I aunſwered plainly that I lay at Albone Hall with ſir Fitziames, and that I had good witnes therof there. They aſked me where I was at Euenſong. I told them at Friſwides, and that I ſaw firſt maiſter Commiſſary, and thē maiſter D. London come thether at that tyme vnto M. Deane of Friſewides, and that I ſaw them talking together in ẏ Church there. D. London and the Deane threatned me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done him, or whether he was gone, I ſhould ſurely be ſent vnto the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into little eaſe. But M. Commiſſary prayed me with gentle wordes to tell him where he was, that he might haue him agayne, & he would be my very great friend & deliuer me out of trouble ſtraight way. I told him I could not tell where he was nor whether he was become. Thus did they occupy and toſſe me almoſt two houres in the chappell, ſometymes with threatnings and foule wordes, and then with fayre wordes and faire promiſes flatteryng me. Then was he that brought M. Garret vnto my chamber, brought before me, and cauſed to declare what M. Garret ſayd vnto me at hys commyng to my chamber, but I ſaid plainly I heard him ſay no ſuch thing: for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, ſeing it was to rid and deliuer my godly brother out of trouble and perill of his lyfe.

Anthony Dalaber ſet in the ſtockes.

At the laſt, when they could get nothing of me wherby to hurt or accuſe any man, or to know any thing of ẏ which they ſought, they al 3. together brought me vp a long ſtaires into a great chamber ouer M. Cōmiſſaries chamber, wherin ſtode a great paire of very high ſtockes. Then M. Commiſſary aſked me for my purſe and girdle, toke away my mony and my kniues, and then they put both my legs into the ſtockes, and ſo locked me faſt in them: in which I ſate, my feete being almoſt as high as my head, and ſo departed they (I thinke to their abominable maſſe) locking faſt ẏ chamber dore, and leauing me alone. When all they were gone, then came vnto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that moſt conſtant Martyr of god, M. John Clarke my father in Chriſt, who welnigh two yeares before that, whē I did earneſtly deſire him to graūt me to be his ſcholer, & that I might go with him cōtinually whē & whereſoeuer he ſhould teach or preach (ẏ which he did daily) ſaid vnto me much after this ſorte: Dalaber, you deſire you wot not what, and that you are, I feare me, vnable to take vpon you. For thoughe now my preachyng be ſweete and pleaſaunt vnto you, becauſe there is yet no perſecution laid on you for it, yet the tyme will come, and that peraduenture ſhortly, if ye continue to liue godly therin, that God will lay on you the croſſe of perſecutiō to try you withall, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as ſtubble and droſſe be conſumed therewith. For the holy Ghoſt plainly affirmeth by S. Paule, quod omnes qui pie volunt viuere in Chriſto Ieſu, perſecutionem patientur. Yea, you ſhall be called and iudged an heretike, you ſhall be abhorred of the world, your owne friendes and kinſfolke will forſake you, and alſo hate you, and you ſhall be caſt into priſon, and no man ſhall dare to helpe or comfort you, and you ſhalbe accuſed and brought before the Biſhops, to your reproche and ſhame, to the great ſorrow of all your faithfull friendes and kinſfolke. Then will ye wiſh ye had neuer known this doctrine. Then will ye curſe Clarke, and wiſh that ye had neuer knowen him, becauſe he hath brought you to all theſe troubles. Therfore rather then that ye ſhould do this, leaue of from medling of this doctrine, and deſire not to be & continue in my company.

The exhortation of M. Clarke to Anthony Dalaber.

2.Tim.3.

The croſſe commonly followeth the Goſpell.

At which wordes I was ſo grieued, that I fell downe on my knees at his feet, and with aboundance of teares and ſighes euen from the bottome of my hart, I earneſtly beſought him, that for the tender mercy of god ſhewed vnto vs in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he would not refuſe me, but receiue me into his company, as I had deſired, ſaying that I truſted verily, that he which had begon this in me, woulde not forſake me, but geue me grace to continue therein vnto the ende. When he heard me ſay ſo, he came to me, and tooke me vp in his armes, kiſſed me, the teares trickling downe from his eyes, and ſaid vnto me: The Lord almighty graūt you ſo to do, and from henceforth for euer take me for your father, and I will take you for my ſonne in Chriſt. Nowe were there at that time in Oxford, diuers Graduates and Scholers of ſundry Colledges and Halles, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all reſorted vnto M. Clarkes diſputations and lectures in diuinitie at all times as they might: and when they might not come cōueniently, I was by M. Clarke appointed to reſorte vnto euery of them weekely, and to know what doubtes they had in any place of the ſcriptures, that by me frō him they might haue the true vnderſtanding of the ſame: which exerciſe did me moſt good and profite, to the vnderſtanding of the holy Scriptures, which I moſt deſired.

This foreſaid forewarning and godly declaration (I ſay) of this moſt godly martir of God M. Clarke, comming to my remembrance, cauſed me with depe ſighes to cry vnto God from my hart to aſſiſt me with his holy ſpirite, that I might be able paciently and quietly to beare & ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him of his fatherly loue to lay on me, to his glory and the comfort of my dearely beloued brethren, whom I thought now to be in great feare and anguiſh, leſt I would be an accuſer of them all, for vnto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But God be bleſſed, I was fully bēt neuer to accuſe any of thē, whatſoeuer ſhould happen of me. Before dinner M. Cotiſforde came vp to me and requeſted me earneſtly to tell him where maiſter Garret was, and if I would ſo do, he promiſed me ſtraightwaies to deliuer me out of priſon. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more in dede I could. Then he departed to dinner, aſking me if I would eate any meate, and I tolde him, yea right gladly. He ſaid he would ſende me ſome. When he was gone, his ſeruauntes aſked me diuers queſtions, which I doe not now remember, and ſome of them ſpake me faire, and ſome threatened me, calling me hereticke, and ſo departed, locking the dore faſt vpon me.

Dalaber armed with patience and conſtancie.

D. Cotiſford perſecuter of Dalaber and Garret.

Thus farre Anthony Dalaber hath proſecuted this ſtory, who before the finiſhing, departed the yeare. 1562. in the Dioces of Saliſbury: the reſidue therof as we could gather it of auncient and credible perſons, ſo haue we added here vnto the ſame.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by maiſter Cole the Proctor or his men, goyng weſtward, at a place called Hinkſey a little beyond Oxford, and ſo beyng brought backe agayne, was committed to ward, that done, he was conuented before the Commiſſary, Doctour London and Doctour Higdon Deane of Friſwides (now called Chriſtes Colledge) into S. Maries Church, where they ſitting in iudgement, conuicted him accordyng to their law as an hereticke (as they ſayd) and afterward compelled him to carie a Faggot in open Proceſſion from Saint Maries Churche to Friſwides, and Dalaber likewiſe with him, Garret hauing his red hoode on his ſhoulders like a maiſter of Arte. After that, they were ſent to Oſney, there to be kept in priſon till farther order was taken.

Tho. Garret apprehended and brought to Oxford.

D. Lōdon & D. Higdon perſecuters of Garret. Garret and Dalaber bare fagotts in Oxford.

There were ſuſpected beſide, a great number to be infected with hereſie, as they called it, for hauing ſuch bookes of Gods truth, as Garret ſold vnto them, as M. Clarke, whiche died in his chamber, and could not be ſuffered to receiue the Communion, beyng in priſon, and ſaying theſe wordes: Crede, & manducaſti. Maiſter Somner, Maiſter Bettes, Tauerner the Muſition, Radley, with other of Friſwides Colledge, of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, as Udall and Diet, with other of Magdalene Colledge one Eeden, with other of Glocceſter Colledge, and two blacke Monkes, one of S. Auſtines of Canterbury named Langporte, the other of S. Edmōdes bury Monke, named Joh. Saliſbury, two white Mōkes of Barnard Colledge, two Canons of S. Maries Colledge, one of them named Robert Ferrar afterward Byſhop of S. Dauies, and burned in Queene Maries tyme. Theſe two Canons, becauſe they had no place in the Uniuerſitie with the other, they went on the contrary ſide of the Proceſſion bare headed, and a Bedell before them, to bee knowen from the other. Diuers other there were, whoſe names I cannot remember, which were forced and conſtrained to forſake their Colledges, and ſought their frendes. Agaynſt the Proceſſion time, there was a great fire made vppon the toppe of Carfaxe, whereinto all ſuch as were in the ſayd Proceſſion, either conuict or ſuſpect of hereſie, were commaunded, in token of repentaunce and renouncing of their errours, euery man to caſt a booke into the fire as they paſſed by.

The names of godly brethen at Oxford.

Rob. Ferrar Byſhop of S. Dauids.

After this M. Garret flying from place to place, eſcaped their tiranny vntill this preſent time, that he was agayne apprehended & burned wt D. Barnes. With whome alſo W. Hierome ſometyme vicar of Stepney, was likewiſe drawen into Smithfield, and there together with them, conſtantly endured martirdome in the fire.

W. Hierome burned in Smithfield.

Now let vs adde alſo to theſe, the ſtory of Hierome.

The lyfe and ſtory of W. Hierome Vicar
of Stepney and Martyr of Chriſt.

The third companion which ſuffered with Barnes and Garret, was williā Hierome Vicar of Stepney. This

The ſtory of William Hierome.

Hierome beyng a diligent preacher of gods worde, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached diuers & ſondry ſermons, wherin to the entent to plant in the conſciences of men, the ſincere truth of chriſten religion, he laboured as much as tyme then ſerued, to extirpe and weede out the rootes of mens traditions, doctrines, dreames, and fantaſies. In ſo doing it coulde not otherwyſe bee, but he muſt nedes prouoke much hatred againſt hym amongeſt the aduerſaries of Chriſtes goſpell.

he ſermon of M. Hierome preached at Paules croſſe he 4. ſonday of Lent.

It ſo happened, that the ſaid Hierome preaching at Paules in the 4. Sonday of Lent laſt paſt, made there a ſermon, wherin he recited and mentioned of Agar, and Sara, declaring what theſe ij. ſignified. In proceſſe, wherof he ſhewed further, how that Sara and her childe Iſaac, and al they that were Iſaacs, and borne of the free woman Sara, were freely iuſtified: Contrary they that were borne of Agar the bondwoman, were bound and vnder the law, and cannot be freely iuſtified. In theſe wordes, what was here ſpoken, but that S. Paul himſelfe vttereth and expoundeth in his Epiſtle to the Galath. 4. Or what could here be gathered of any reaſonable or indifferent hearer, but conſonant to ſound doctrine, and veine of the Goſpell? Now ſee what rancour and malice armed with crafty and ſubtill ſophiſtry can doe. This ſermon finiſhed, it was not long but he was charged and conuented before the king at Weſtminſter, and there accuſed for erroneous doctrine.

Gal. 4.

Quarrel picked agaynſt Hieromes ſermons.

Percaſe thou wilt muſe (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine here could be piked out. Note therfore for thy learning: & he that liſteth to ſtudie how to play ẏ Sicophãt, let him here take exãple. The knot found in this ruſhe was this, for that he preached erroneouſly at Paules croſſe, teaching the people, that all that were borne of Sara, were freely iuſtified, ſpeaking there abſolutely without any condition either of Baptiſme or of penaunce. &c. Who doubteth here, but if S. Paule himſelfe had bene at Paules croſſe, and had preached the ſame wordes to ẏ engliſhmen, which he wrote to the Gal. in this behalfe, Ipſo facto, he had bene apprehended for an heretike for preaching againſt the Sacrament of Baptiſme and repentaunce?

M. Hierome accuſed for preaching againſt Magiſtrates.

Furthermore it was obiected againſt him, touching matter againſt magiſtrates, and lawes by them made. Wherunto he aunſwered agayne and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magiſtrate of himſelfe could make any law or lawes, priuate or otherwiſe, to bynde the inferior people, vnles it were by the power, authoritie, and commaundement of his or their Princes to him or them geuen, but onely the Prince. And moreouer, to confirme the ſame he added, ſaying: that if the Prince make lawes cõſentyng to gods lawes we are bound to obey them. And if he make lawes repugnãt to the lawes of God, and be an euill and wicked prince: yet are we bound humbly to ſuffer hym, and not violently to reſiſt or grudge againſt hym.

Workes no part of our ſaluation.

Good workes auayle not but onely by imputation.

Alſo concernyng his ſermons, one Doct. Wilſon entred into diſputation with hym, and defended that good workes iuſtified before God, and were neceſſary and auaylable to ſaluation. To whõ Hierome anſwered agayne, that all workes whatſoeuer they were, were nothing worth, nor no part of ſaluation of themſelues, but only referred to the mercy and loue of God, which mercy and loue of god directeth the workers therof, and yet is it at hys mercy and goodnes to accept them. Which to be true Doct. Wilſon neither could, nor dyd denye.

And thus much concernyng the ſeuerall ſtories of theſe iij. good men. Now let vs ſee the order of their martyrdome, ioynyng them all together: what was the cauſe of their condemnation, and what were theyr proteſtations and wordes at their ſuffering.

Out of the preface of Steuẽ Gardiner againſt George Ioye.

Ye heard before how Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, were cauſed to preach at Eaſter at the ſpittle. The occaſion wherof as I finde it reported by Steuen Gardiner writyng agaynſt George Ioy, I thought here to diſcourſe more at large.

St. Gardiner hearyng that ẏ ſayd Barnes, Hierome & Garret ſhould preach ẏ Lẽt followyng, an. 1541, at Paules croſſe, to ſtoppe the courſe of theyr doctrine, ſent his chaplaine to the Biſhop of London the Saterday before the firſt ſonday in Lent, to haue a place for him to preach at Paules. Which to him was graunted, and tyme appoynted that he ſhould preach the ſonday following, which ſhould be on the morrow: which ſonday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that roome. Gardiner therfore determining to declare the Goſpell of that ſonday, conteining the Deuils thre temptations, began amongeſt other thinges to note the abuſe of ſcripture amongeſt ſome, as the Deuill abuſed it to Chriſt, and ſo alluding to the temptation of the Deuil, wherin he alledged the ſcripture againſt Chriſt, to caſt hymſelfe downward, and that he ſhould take no hurt, he inferred thervpon, ſaying:

The effecte of Ste. Gardiners ſermon at Paules croſſe the firſt ſonday in Lent. an. 1541.

Now a dayes (quoth he) the Deuill tempteth ẏ world, and biddeth them to caſt themſelues backwarde. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backwarde. Nowe the Deuill teacheth, come backe from faſting, come backe from praying, come backe from confeſſion, come backe from weepyng for thy ſinnes, and all is backeward: In ſo much that we muſt now learne to ſay their Pater noſter backward For where we ſayd, forgeue vs our debtes, as we forgeue our debters, now it is, as thou forgeueſt our debtes, ſo I will forgeue my debters, and ſo God muſt forgeue firſt, and all I ſay, is turned backward, &c.

Pardons procured by the deuill, quod Steuen Gardiner.

Gardiner againſt Friers & pardons.

Steuen Gardiner can not abide onely, onely.

And amongeſt other thinges, moreouer he noted the deuils craft and ſhifte in deceiuing man: who enuying hys felicitie, and therefore coueting to haue man idle, and voyde of good workes, and to be lead in that idlenes, with a wan hope to lyue merely at his pleaſure here, and yet to haue heauen at the laſt, hath for that purpoſe procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heauen was ſold for a litle money, and for to retaile that merchaundiſe, the Deuill vſed Friers for his miniſters. Now they be gone with all their trumpery, but the Deuill is not yet gone. &c. And now that the Deuill perceiueth that it can no longer be borne, to buy and ſell heauen by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offer heauen without workes for it, ſo freely, that men ſhall not neede for heauen to worke at all, what ſoeuer opportunitie they haue to worke: mary if they will haue any higher place in heauen, God will leaue no worke vnrewarded, but as to be in heauen, needes no workes at all, but onely beliefe, onely, onely, and nothing els. &c.

The ſermon of D. Barnes replying to Wincheſter.

This ſermon of Steuen Wincheſter finiſhed, Doctor Barnes who was put of from that ſonday, had his day appoynted, which was the third Sonday next enſuyng, to make hys ſermon: who taking the ſame text of the Goſpell which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary ſide no leſſe vehement in ſetting forwarde the true doctrine of Chriſtian religion, then Wincheſter had done before in plucking men backwarde from truth to lies, from ſinceritie to hypocriſie, from religion to ſuperſtition, from Chriſt to Antichriſt. In the proceſſe of which ſermon he procedyng, and calling out Steuen Gardiner by name to aunſwere hym, alluded in a pleaſaunt allegory, to a Cockfight, termyng the ſayd Gardiner to be a fightyng Cocke, and himſelfe to an other, but the Garden Cocke (he ſayd) lacked good ſpurres, obiectyng moreouer to the ſayd Gardiner, and opposing him in his Grammer rules, thus ſaying: that if he had aunſwered him in the ſcholes, ſo as he had there preached at ẏ croſſe he would haue geuen him vj. ſtripes: declaring furthermore what euill herbes this Gardiner had ſet in the Garden of Gods ſcripture. &c

Ste. Gardiner complayneth to the king of Doct. Barnes.

Finally, with this ſermon Gardiner was ſo tickled in the ſplene, that he immediatly went to the king to cõplaine, ſhewyng how he beyng a biſhop and a prelate of the realme, was handled and reuiled at Paules croſſe.

The king diſpleaſed agaynſt Barnes.

D. Cockes and D. Robinſon Arbiters betwene D. Barnes and Ste. Gardiner.

Whereupon the king geuing to much eare to Gardiners griefe, was earneſtly incenſed agaynſt Barnes, & with many high wordes rebuked hys doyngs in his priuy cloſet, hauyng with him the Erle of Southhampton which was the Lord Wriſley, and the maiſter of the horſe which was Anthony Browne, D. Cockes, and D. Robinſon. Unto whom when Barnes had ſubmitted himſelfe: Nay ſaid the kyng, yeld thee not to me, I am a mortall man, and therewith riſing vp, and turning to the Sacrament, and puttyng of his bonet, ſayd: yonder is the maiſter of vs all, author of truth, yeld in truth to hym, and that truth will I defend, & otherwiſe yeld thee not vnto me. Much ado there was, and great matter layd againſt Barnes. In concluſion this order was taken, that Barnes ſhould goe apart with Wincheſter, to conferre and common together of their doctrine, certain witneſſes beyng therunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers of whom the one was Doctor Cockes, the other was D. Robinſon, with ij. other alſo to them aſſigned, which ſhould be reporters to the kyng of the diſputation. At the firſt entry of which talke, Gardiner forgeuing him (as he ſaith) all that was paſt, offred hym the choyce, whether he would anſwer, or oppoſe, (which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The queſtion betwene D. Barnes & Steuen Gardiner.

God forgeueth vs firſt, before we forgeue our neighbour.

Rom. 15.

The queſtion betwene them propounded, by Gardiners narration was this: Whether a man could doe any thyng good or acceptable, before the grace of iuſtification or not? which queſtion roſe vpon a certayne contention which had bene betwene them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of vs to forgeue our neighbour, to obtayne forgeuenes of him: yet he ſaid that God muſt forgeue vs firſt, before we forgeue our neighbour: For els to forgeue our neighbour were ſinne by the text that ſayeth: All that is not of faith, is ſinne, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to proue the contrary, came forth wyth hys argumentes two or three, to the whiche argumentes

Gardiners report.

Diſputation betwene Barnes & Gardiner.

Steuen Gardiner in his preface to George Ioye.

Steuen Gardiner offereth to Doct. Barnes xl. pounde a yeare.

(ſayth Gardiner) Barnes could not aunſwer, but deſired to be ſpared that night, and the next mornyng he would anſwer hys argumentes. In the mornyng Gardiner with ỹ hearers being againe aſſẽbled, D. Barnes, according to the appoyntment, was preſent, who then went about to aſſoyle hys argumentes. To his ſolutions Gardiner againe replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the ſpace of two houres. In the ende of this Cockfight Winchester thus cõcludeth hys glorious tale, and croweth vp the triumph, declaring how Barnes beſought hym to haue pity of hym, to forgeue hym, and to take hym to be hys ſcholer, whom then the ſayd Winchester (as he confeſſeth himſelfe) receiuing, not as hys ſcholer, but as his companion, offred to hym a portion out of his liuyng, to the ſumme of xl. li. a yeare. Which if it be true, as Steuen Gardiner hymſelfe reporteth, why then doth this glorious Cockatriſe crowe ſo muche agaynſte Barnes afterward, and caſt hym in the teethe, bearyng all the worlde in hande, that Barnes was hys ſcholer, where as he hymſelfe here refuſeth Barnes to bee hys Scholer, but receyueth him as hys companion fellowlike? But to the ſtory.

This done, the kyng being aduertiſed of the concluſion of this matter betwene Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes ſhould repaire to the Biſhoppes houſe at London, the Monday folowing. Which he did, with a certaine other companion ioyned vnto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not expreſſe, only he ſaith, that it was neither Hierome nor Garret. In this next meeting betwene Barnes and the biſhop vpon the foreſaid Monday the ſayd biſhop ſtudying to inſtruct Barnes, vttered to him certain Articles or concluſions, to the number of x. the effect wherof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles againſt Barnes.

Winchesters articles agaynſt Doct. Barnes.

1. The effect of Chriſtes paſſion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminiſheth nothyng the effecte of Chriſtes paſſion.

2. They that will enioy the effect of Chriſtes paſſion muſt fulfill the condition.

3. The fulfillyng of the condition requireth firſt knowledge of the condition, which knowledge we haue by fayth.

4. Fayth commeth of God, and this fayth is a good gift. It is good and profitable to me: it is profitable to me to doe well, and to exerciſe this fayth: Ergo, by the gift of God I may do well before I am iuſtified.

5. Therfore I may do well by the gift of God before I am iuſtified, towardes the attainment of iuſtification.

6. There is euer as much charitie towardes god, as faith, And as faith encreaſeth ſo doth charitie encreaſe.

7. To the atteinment of iuſtification is required fayth and charitie.

8. Euery thing is to be called freely done, wherof the beginnyng is free and at libertie without any cauſe of prouocation.

9. Faith muſt be to me the aſſuraunce of the promiſes of God made in Chriſt (if I fulfill the condition) and loue muſt accompliſh the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promiſe according to Gods truth.

10. A man beynge in deadly ſinne, may haue grace to doe the workes of penance, wherby he may attaine to his iuſtification.

The aunſwere and the reioynder of George Ioye agaynſt Winchester.

These Articles for ſo much as they be ſufficiently aunſwered and replied vnto by George Ioy in his Ioynder, and Reioynder againſt Winchester, I ſhall not neede to cumber this worke with any new adoe therwith, but only referre the reader to the bookes aforeſayd: where he may ſee matter enough to aunſwer to theſe popiſh Articles.

I told you before how the king was contented ỹ Barnes ſhould reſort to the houſe of the biſhop of Winchester, to be traded and directed by the biſhop, which Barnes then hearing the talke of the people, and alſo hauyng conference with certaine learned men, within two dayes after his commyng to the biſhops houſe, waxed wery therof, and ſo commyng to the Biſhop, ſignified vnto hym, that if he would take him as one that came to conferre, he would come ſtill, but els he would come no more, and ſo cleane gaue ouer the Biſhop.

Doct. Barnes refuſeth to come to Gardiner to be inſtructed of hym, but onely to conferre with hym.

This beyng knowen vnto the kyng, thorough ſiniſter complaintes of popiſh Sycophantes, Barnes agayne was ſent for, and conuented before the king, who grieuouſly beyng incenſed againſt him, enioyned both him, Hierome, and Garret, at the ſolemne Eaſter ſermons at S. Mary ſpittle, openly in writyng to reuoke the doctrine which they before had taught. At which ſermons Ste. Gardinar alſo himſelfe was preſent to heare their recantation.

First Doctor Barnes, accordyng to his promiſe made to the king, ſolempnely and formally beganne to make hys recantation, which done, he with much circumſtaunce and obteſtation called vppon the Byſhop (as is aboue touched) and aſking of him forgeuenes, required hym in token of a graunt to holde vp his hand, to the entent that he there openly declaring his charitie before the worlde, the Byſhop alſo would declare his charitie in like maner. Which when ỹ biſhop refuſed to do at the firſt, as he was required, Barnes agayne called for it, deſiring him to ſhewe his charitie, and to holde vp his hand. Which when he had done with much a do, wagging his finger a litle: then Barnes entring to his Sermon after hys prayer made, beginneth the proceſſe of a matter, preaching contrary to that, which before he had recanted. In ſo much, that the Maior, when the Sermon was finiſhed, ſitting with the Byſhop of Winchester, aſked hym whether he ſhoulde from the pulpitte ſende hym to warde, to be forth comming for that his bold preaching contrary to his recantation. The like alſo did Hierome, and Garret after him.

D. Barnes deſired Winchester at his ſermõ to hold vp his hand.

The Maior of London ready to trouble D. Barnes for his ſermon.

The king had appointed before certaine to make report of the ſermons. Beſides them there was one who writing to a frend of his in the Court, in the fauour of theſe preachers, declared how gayly they had all handled the matter, both to ſatiſfie the recantation, and alſo in the ſame Sermons to vtter out the truth, that it might ſpread wythout let of the world. Wherfore partly by theſe reporters, & partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwels handes (ſayth Gardiner) Barnes with hys other fellowes were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Steuen Gardiner in hys foreſayde booke agaynſt George Ioye woulde needes cleare hymſelfe, that he was in no part nor cauſe of their caſting into the tower, and geueth this reaſon for hym, for that he had then no acceſſe, ne had not after, ſo long as Cromwels tyme laſted, to the kynges ſecrete Counſaile: yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Gardiner can not perſuade vs to the contrary, but that hys priuie complaynyng to the king and his ſecrete whiſperinges in hys frendes eares, and his other workings by his factours about the kyng, was a great ſparcle to ſet theyr fagottes a fire.

Barnes, Garret, and Hierome cõmitted to the Tower.

Ste. Gardiner had no acceſſe to the kinges counſell a yeare & more before the L. Crõwels fall.

Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret being committed to the Tower, after Eaſter, there remayned tyll the xxx. day of Iulye, which was two dayes after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then enſued proceſſe agaynſt them by the Kinges Counſell in the Parliament, to the which proceſſe Gardiner confeſſeth himſelfe that he was priuie amongeſt the reſt. Wherupon all theſe three good ſaintes of God, the xxx. day of Iuly, not comming to any aunſwere, nor yet knowing any cauſe of their condemnation, without any publike hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smythfield, where they preparing themſelues to the fire, had there at the ſtake diuers and ſundry exhortations, amongeſt whom D. Barnes firſt beganne wyth thys proteſtation following.

Proceſſe agaynſt Barnes, Hierom and Garret.

The proteſtation of Doct. Barnes at the ſtake.

I am come hether to be burned as an hereticke, and you ſhal heare my beliefe, whereby you ſhall perceiue what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I neuer (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but onely thoſe thinges which ſcripture lead me vnto, and that in my ſermõs I neuer maintained any errour, neither moued nor gaue occaſion of any inſurrection. Although I haue bene ſclaundered to preach that our Lady was but a ſaffrõ bag, which I vtterly proteſt before God, ỹ I neuer ment it nor preached it: but all my ſtudy & diligẽce hath bene vtterly to confound & cõfute all mẽ of that doctrine, as are ỹ Anabaptiſtes, which deny that our Sauiour Chriſt did take any fleſhe of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which ſects I deteſt and abhorre. And in this place there hath bene burned ſome of them, whom I neuer fauored nor maintained, but wyth all diligence euermore did I ſtudie to ſet forth the glory of God, the obedience to our ſoueraigne Lord the king, and the true and ſincere religion of Chriſt. And now harken to my faith.

D. Barnes falſely ſclaundered.

D. Barnes confeſſion.

I beleue in the holy and bleſſed Trinitie, three perſons and one God, that created and made all the world, and that this bleſſed Trinitie ſent downe the ſecond perſon Ieſu Chriſt into the wombe of the moſt bleſſed and pureſt virgin Mary. And here beare me recorde, that I do vtterly condemne that abhominable and deteſtable opinion of the Anabaptiſtes, which ſay that Chriſt tooke no fleſhe of the virgine. For I beleue that without mans will or power, he was conceiued by the holy Ghoſt, and tooke fleſh of her, and that he ſuffered hunger, thirſt, colde, & other paſſions of our body (ſinne except) accordyng to the ſaying of S.Peter: He was made in all thinges like to his brethren, except ſinne. And I beleue that this his death and paſſion was the ſufficient raunſome for the ſinne of all ỹ world. And I beleue that through his death, he ouercame ſinne, death, & hell, and

All mens workes vnperfite.

and that there is none other ſatiſfaction vnto the Father, but this his death and paſſion only: and that no worke of man did deſerue any thyng of God, but onely his paſſion, as touchyng our iuſtification. For I know the beſt worke that euer I dyd, is vnpure and vnperfit. And with this he caſt abroad his handes, and deſired God to forgiue him his treſpaſſes. For although perchaunce (ſayd hee) you knowe nothyng by me, yet do I confeſſe that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherfore I beſech thee O Lord not to enter into iudgement with me, accordyng to the ſaying of the Prophet Dauid: Non intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo domine.i. Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruaunt O Lord. And in an other place: Si iniquitates obſeruaueris domine quis ſuſtinebit? Lorde, if thou ſtraitely marke our iniquities, who is able to abyde thy iudgement? Wherfore I truſt in no good worke that euer I dyd, but onelye in the death of Chriſte. I do not doubt, but through him to inherite the kyngdome of heauen. Take me not here that I ſpeake agaynſt good workes for they are to bee done, and verely they that do them not, ſhall neuer come in the kyngdome of God. We muſt do them, becauſe they are commaunded vs of God to ſhewe and ſet forth our profeſſion, not to deſerue or merite, for that is onely the death of Chriſt.

Pſal.143.

Pſal.130.

Good workes are to be done.

I beleue that there is a holy Church, & a companie of all them that profeſſe Chriſt: and that al that haue ſuffered and confeſſed his name, be Saintes, and that all they do prayſe and laude God in heauen, more then I, or any mans tongue can expreſſe, and that, alwayes I haue ſpoken reuerently, & prayſed them as much as ſcripture willed me to doe And that our Lady (I ſay) was a Virgine immaculate and vndefiled and that ſhe is yͤ moſt pureſt virgine that euer God created and a veſſel elect of God of whom Chriſt ſhould be borne. Then ſayd M. Shiriffe, you haue ſayd well of her before. And being afrayde that M. Shriffe hadde bene or ſhould be agreeued with any thyng that he ſhould ſay, hee ſayd: Maiſter Shriffe, if I ſpeake any thyng that you wil me not, do no more but becken me with your hande, and I wyll ſtraight waye holde my peace, for I will not be diſobedient in any thyng, but wyll obey.

D. Barnes obedient to magiſtrates.

Praying to Saintes.

Then there was one that aſked hym hys opiniō of praying to Saintes, Then ſayd he: Now of Saintes you ſhall here my opinion. I haue ſayd before ſomwhat I thinke of them, how that I beleue they are in heauen with God, and that they are worthy of al the honour that Scripture willeth them to haue. But I ſay throughout all Scripture we are not commaunded to pray to any Saintes. Therfore I can not nor will not preach to you that Saintes ought to be prayed vnto: for then ſhould I preach vnto you a doctrine of myne owne head. Notwithſtandyng whether they pray for vs or no, that I referre to God. And if Saintes do pray for vs, then I truſt to pray for you with in this halfe houre maiſter ſhriffe, and for euery Chriſtian man lyuyng in the fayth of Chriſt and dying in the ſame as a ſaint Wherfore if the dead may pray for the quick:, I will ſurely pray for you.

No cauſe ſhewed why D. Barnes dyed.

D. Barnes praying for his enemies.

Well, haue ye any thyng more to ſay? Then ſpake hee to maiſter Shriffe and ſayd, haue ye any Articles agaynſt me for the which I am condemned? And the Shriffe aunſwered, no. Then ſayd he, is there here any man els that knoweth wherfore I dye, or that by my preachyng hath taken any errour? Let them now ſpeake and I will make them aunſwere. And no man aunſwered. Then ſayd he, well I am condemned by the lawe to dye, and as I vnderſtand, by an Acte of Parliament, but wherfore, I cānot tell, but belyke for herisie, for we are lyke to burne. But they yͭ haue bene yͤ occaſion of it, I pray God forgiue them, as I would be forgiuen my ſelfe. And D. Steuen Byſhop of Wincheſter yͭ now is, if hee haue ſought or wrought this my death either by worde or dede, I pray God forgiue hym as hartely, as freely, as charitably, and without, faynyng, as euer Chriſt forgaue them that put him to death.

D. Barnes prayeth for the kyng.

And if any of the Councell, or any other haue ſought or wrought it through malice or ignoraunce, I pray God forgiue their ignoraunce and illuminate their eyes that they may ſee and aſke mercy for it. I beſeche you all to pray for the kynges grace, as I haue done euer ſince I was in priſon, and do nowe, that God may geue hym proſperitie, and that he may long raigne among you, and after hym that godly Prince Edward may ſo raigne, that he may finiſh thoſe thynges that his father hath begun. I haue bene reported a preacher of ſedition and diſobedience vnto the kynges maieſtie, but heare I ſay to you, that you all are bound by the commaundement of God to obey your Prince with all humilitie, and with all your harte, yea not ſo muche as in a looke to ſhewe your ſelues diſobedient vnto hym, and that not onely for feare of the ſword, but alſo for conſcience ſake before God. yea and I ſay further, if the kyng ſhould cōmaund you any thyng agaynſt Gods lawe, if it bee in your power to reſiſte hym, yet may you not do it.

Fiue requeſtes of D. Barnes to the kyng.

The firſt requeſt.

The king of England made a whole king by poore preachers.

¶ Then ſpake he to the Shriffe and ſayd, maiſter Shriffe I require you on Gods behalfe, to haue me commended vnto the kynges grace, and to ſhew hym that I require of his grace theſe fiue requeſtes: Firſt that where hys grace hath receiued into his handes, all the goods and ſubſtance of the Abbeys. Then the Shriffe deſired hym to ſtoppe there. Hee aunſwered, Maiſter Shriffe I warrant you I wil ſpeake no harme. for I know it is well done that all ſuch ſuperſtition be cleane taken away, and the kynges grace hath well done in takyng it away. But hys grace is made a whole kyng, & obeyed in hys Realme as a kynge, (whiche neyther his father nor graundfather, neither his aūceters yͭ raigned before him euer had) and that through the preachyng of vs and ſuch other wretches as we are, whiche alwayes haue applied our whole ſtudies, and giuen our ſelues for the ſettyng forth of the ſame, and this is now our reward. Well it maketh no matter. Now hee raigneth among you: I pray God long may he liue and reigne among you. Would to god it might pleaſe his grace to beſtow the ſayde goods or ſome of them, to the comfort of his poore ſubiectes, whiche ſurely haue great nede of them.

The 2. requeſt of D. Barnes to the king.

The ſecond that I deſire his grace, is, that he wil ſee that matrimonie be hadde in more reuerence then it is, and that men for euery light cauſe inuented, caſt not of their wiues and lyue in adultery and fornication, and that thoſe that be not maried ſhould not abominablye lyue in whoredome, folowyng the filthy luſtes of the fleſhe.

The 3. requeſt.

Doct. Barnes requeſt to M. Edgar to leaue ſwearing.

The third, that the abominable ſwearers may be puniſhed and ſtraitly looked vpō: for the vengeance of God will come on them for their miſchieuous othes. Then deſired he maſter Pope to haue him commended to M. Edgar and to deſire him for the deare bloud of Ieſu Chriſt, that he woulde leaue that abhominable ſwearyng which he vſed, for ſurely except he dyd forſake it, he woulde come to ſome miſchieuous ende.

The 4. requeſt.

The fourth, that his grace would ſet forth Chriſts true Religion, and ſeyng he hath begonne, that he would go forward and make an end, for many thynges haue bene done, but much more is to do: and that it woulde pleaſe his grace to looke on Gods word him ſelfe, for it hath ben obſcured with many traditions inuented of our owne braynes. Now ſayd he, how many petitions haue I ſpoken of? And yͤ people ſayd foure. Well ſayd hee: euen theſe foure be ſufficient, which I deſire you: that the kynges grace may be certified of, and ſay that I moſt humbly deſire hym to loke earneſtly vpon them: and that his grace take heede that hee be not deceiued with falſe preachers and teachers and euill Councell for Chriſte ſayth that ſuche falſe Prophetes ſhall come in Lambes ſkynnes.

Doct. Barnes cleareth himſelfe of all hereſie.

Then deſired he all men to forgeue him, and if hee hadde ſayd any euill at any time vnaduiſedly, wherby he had offended any man, or giuen anye occaſion of euill, that they woulde forgiue it him, and amende that euyll they tooke of hym, and to beare hym witnes, that he deteſted and abhorred all euyll opinions and doctrines agaynſt the worde of God, and that he dyed in the fayth of Ieſu Chriſte, by whō he doubted not, but to be ſaued. And with thoſe wordes he deſyred them all to pray for him, and then hee turned him about, and put of his clothes, makyng him ready to the fire, paciently there to take his death.

The proteſtation and confeſſion of Hierome & Garret.

The like cōfeſſiō made alſo Hierome & Garret, profeſſing in lyke maner their beliefe, reciting al the articles of yͤ Chriſtian fayth, briefly declaryng their myndes vpon euery article, as the tyme woulde ſuffer: whereby the people myght vnderſtande that there was no cauſe nor errour in their fayth, wherfore iuſtly they ought to be condemned: Proteſtyng moreouer that they denyed nothyng that was eyther in the old or new Teſtament, ſet foorth by theyr ſoueraigne Lord the king: whom they prayed the Lord long to cōtinue amongeſt thē, with his moſt deare ſonne Prince Edward. Which done Hierome added this exhortation in fewe wordes folowyng.

The exhortation of Hierome to the people.

I ſay vnto you good brethren, that God hath bought vs all with no ſmall price, neither with golde nor ſyluer, or other ſuch thynges of ſmall value, but with his moſt precious bloud. Be not vnthankfull therfore to him agayne, but do as much as to Chriſtian men belongeth, to fulfill his cōmaundementes, that is, loue your brethren. Loue hurteth no man, loue fulfilleth al thinges. yf God haue ſent thee plenty, helpe thy neighbour that hath neede. Geue hym good councell. yf ye lacke, conſider if thou wert in neceſſitie thou wouldeſt gladly be refreſhed. And agayne, beare your croſſe with Chriſt. Conſider what reproofe, ſclaunder, and reproche he ſuffered of his enemies, and how paciently he ſuffered all thynges. Consider that all that Chriſt did, was of his meere goodneſſe, and not of our deſeruyng. For if we coulde merite our owne ſaluation, Chriſt would not haue dyed for vs. But for Adams breaking of Gods precept, we had bene al loſt, if Chriſt had not redeemed vs againe. And like as Adam broke the preceptes, and was driuen out of Paradiſe: ſo we, if we breake Gods commaundementes, ſhal haue damnation, if we do not repent and aſke mercye. Nowe therefore let all Chriſtians put no truſt nor confidence in their workes, but in the bloud of Chriſt, to whom I commit my ſoule to guide, beſeeching you all to praye to God for me and for my brethren here preſent with me, that our ſoules leauyng theſe wretched carcaſes, may conſtantly depart in the true fayth of Chriſt.

In much like ſort Garret alſo proteſting and exhorting the people, after his confeſſion made, ended his proteſtation in maner as foloweth.

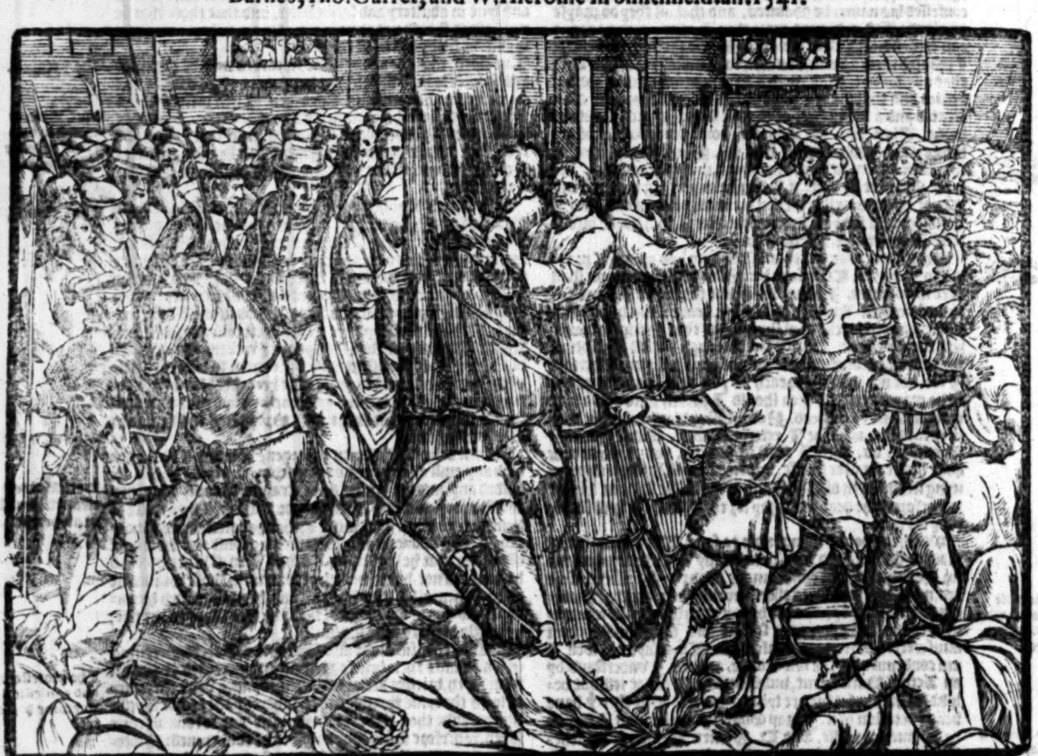
Tho. Garret cleareth himſelfe

I alſo deteſt, abhorre, and refuſe all hereſies & errours, and if either by negligence or ignoraunce I haue taught or mainteyned any, I am ſory for it, and aſke God mercy. Or if I haue bene ſo vehement or raſhe in preaching, whereby any perſon hath taken any offence, errour, or euyll opinion, I deſire hym, and all other perſons which I haue any way offended, of forgeuenes. Notwithſtanding to my remembraunce, I neuer preached wittingly or willingly any thing againſt Gods holy worde, or contrary to the true fayth, to the maintenaunce of errours, hereſies, or vicious liuyng, but haue alway for my litle learnyng and wit, ſet foorth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his lawes, and alſo the kinges accordingly. And if I could haue done better, I would. Wherefore Lord if I haue taken in hand to doo that thing which I coulde not perfectly perfourme, I deſire thee pardon for my bold preſumption. And I pray God ſend the kinges grace good and godly counſaile, to his glorye, to the kinges honour, and the encreaſe of vertue in this his Realme. And thus now I yeelde vp my ſoule vnto almighty God, truſting and beleuyng that he of his infinite mercye for his promiſe made in the bloud of his ſonne our moſt mercyfull ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt, wyll take it, and pardon me of all my ſinnes, whereby I haue moſt greeuouſly from my youth offended his maieſtie: wherefore I aſke hym mercy, deſiring you all to praye with me and for me, that I may paciently ſuffer this paine, and die ſtedfaſtly in true faith, perfect hope and charitie.

Garret prayeth for the kyng.

1541.

¶ The death and burning of the moſt conſtant Martirs in Chriſt, D. Rob. Barnes, Tho. Garret, and W. Hierome in Smithfield. an. 1541.



The pacient ſuffering of theſe three Martyrs.

And ſo after their prayer made, wherein moſt effectually they deſired the Lord Ieſus to be their comfort and conſolation in this their affliction, and to ſtabliſh them with perfect faith, conſtancy and pacience thorough the holy Ghoſt, they taking themſelues by the handes, and kiſſing one another, quietly and humbly offred themſelues to the handes of the tormentors, and ſo tooke their death both Chriſtianly & conſtantly with ſuch patience as might well teſtifie the goodnes of their cauſe and quiet of their conſcience.

Difference betwene them that ſuffer for Gods truth and other that die for their one deſertes.

Wherin is to be noted how mightily the Lorde worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hartes of his ſeruants, eſpecially in ſuch, which cauſeleſſe ſuffer with a giltles conſcience for his religions ſake, aboue other which ſuffer otherwiſe for their deſertes. For whereas they which ſuffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to go heauy and penſiue to their death, ſo the other with heauenly alacritie and chearefulnes do abide whatſoeuer it pleaſeth the Lord to lay vpon them: Example wherof we haue right well to note, not only in theſe 3. godly Martyrs, aboue mentioned, but alſo in the L. Cromwell, who ſuffred but ij. dayes before, the ſame no leſſe may appeare. Who although he was brought to his death, atteinted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a giltles conſcience he bare to his death, his Chriſtian pacience well declared. Who firſt calling for his breakfaſt: and cherefully eatyng the ſame, and after that paſſing out of his priſon downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford going likewiſe to his execution (who for other matter here not to be ſpoken of, was there alſo impriſoned) and perceiuing him to be all heauy & doulfull, with cheerfull countenaũce and comfortable wordes, aſking why he was ſo heauy, he willed him to plucke vp his hart, and to be of good comfort: For ſayd he, there is no cauſe for you to feare. For if you repent, and be hartely ſory for that you haue done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Chriſtes ſake will forgeue you, and therfore be not diſmayde. And though the breakfaſt which we are going to, be ſharpe, yet truſting to the mercy of the Lorde, we ſhall haue a ioyfull dinner. And ſo went

The cheerefull patience in the Lorde Cromwell at his death.

The comfortable wordes the L. Crõwell to the L. Hungerforde, they both going to their death.

went they together to the place of execution, and tooke their death patiently.

¶ A note of three Papiſtes executed the ſame tyme with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

Three Papiſtes executed. Powell, Fetherſtone, and Abell.

1541.

The ſame tyme and day and in the ſame place, where & when theſe three aboue mentioned dyd ſuffer, three other alſo were executed, though not for the ſame cauſe, but rather the contrary: for denying the kinges ſupremacie, whoſe names were Powell, Fetherſtone and Abell. The which ſpectacle ſo happening vpon one day, in two ſo contrary partes or factions, brought the people into a marueilous admiration and doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take: as might ſo well happen amongeſt ignoraunt and ſimple people, ſeeing two contrary partes ſo to ſuffer, the one for popery, the other agaynſt popery, both at one tyme. In ſomuch that a certayne ſtraunger beyng there preſent the ſame tyme, and ſeeing three on the one ſide, and three on the other ſide to ſuffer, ſayde in theſe wordes: Deus bone quomodo hic viuunt gentes, hic ſuſpenduntur Papiſtæ, illic comburuntur Antipapiſtæ? But to remoue & take away all doubt hereafter from the poſteritie, whereby they ſhall the leſſe maruell how this ſo happened, here is to be vnderſtand, how the cauſe thereof did riſe and procede. Which happened, by reaſon of a certeine diuiſion and diſcord amongeſt the kynges Councill, which were ſo diuided amongeſt themſelues in equall partes, that the one halfe ſeemed to holde with the one Religion, the other halfe wyth the contrary

The wordes of a ſtraunger ſeeing both papiſts & proteſtantes to ſuffer.

The names of whom although it were not neceſſary to expreſſe, yet beyng compelled for the ſetting forth of ẏ truth of the ſtory, we haue thought good here to annexe, as the certeintie thereof came to our handes.

The counſaile deuided in religion.

Proteſtantes.	Papiſtes.
Canterbury.	Wyncheſter.
Suffolke.	Dureſme.
Vicount Beawcham.	Norfolke.
Vicount Liſle.	Southampton.
Ruſſell Treaſurer.	Anthony Browne.
Pagyt.	William Paulet.
Sadler.	Iohn Baker.
Audeley.	Rich. Chaunc. of the augmentation.
	Wingfield Vic. Chaſie.

This diuiſion and ſeparation of the Councell amongeſt themſelues, cauſed both theſe partes aboue mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for an other, to ſuffer together. For as the one part of the Councell called vpon the execution of Barnes, Garret, & Hierome, ſo the other part likewiſe called vpon the execution of the law vpon Powell, Fetherſtone, & Abell. Which ſixe beyng cōdemned & drawen to the place of execution, two vpon an hyrdle, one beyng a Papiſt, the other a Proteſtant, thus after a ſtraunge maner were brought into Smithfield, where all the ſayde ſixe together for contrary doctrine ſuffered death, three by the fire for the Goſpell, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.

Two together layde vpon the hyrdle: the one a Papiſte the other a Proteſtant.

Alane Cope.

Allen Cope in his worſhipfull Dialogues, makyng mention of theſe three aforeſayd, Powel, Fetherſtone, and Abell, amongeſt other which died in king Henries dayes in the like Popiſhe quarell, that is, for the like treaſon againſt their Prince (being in all to the number of 24.) extolleth them not onely in wordes, but with miracles alſo, vp to the height of heauen, amōg the crowned martirs, & Saintes of God. To the which Cope, becauſe in this haſt of ſtory, I haue no layſure at this preſent to geue attendaunce, I ſhall waite attēdaūce (the Lord willing) an other time, to ioyne in this iſſue with him more at layſure. In the meane time, it ſhall ſuffice at this preſent, to recite the names onely of thoſe 24. rebelles, whom he of his Popiſhe deuotion ſo dignifieth with the pretenſed title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkiſhe rebelles be theſe here folowing.

Traytours made Martyrs.

24. neyther good martyrs to God, nor good ſubiectes to the kyng.

- Iohn Houghton.
- Robert Laurence.
- Aug. Webſter.
- Reynald of Syon.
- Iohn Haile.
- Iohn Rocheſter.
- Iac. Wannere.
- Iohn Stone.
- Iohn Trauerſe.
- William Horne.
- Powell.
- Fetherſtone.
- Abell.

Beſide theſe were other ix. Cartuſian Monkes which dyed in the priſon at Newgate. To the which number if ye adde M. More, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter, the ſumma totalis commeth to 24. whom the ſayd Cope vniuſtly crowneth for martyrs. But of theſe more ſhall be ſayd (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Thus hauing diſcourſed the order of the ſixe Articles, wyth other matter likewiſe folowing in ẏ next Parliamēt, concerning the condemnation of the L. Cromwell, of Doct. Barnes, and his felowes. &c. Let vs now (proceeding further in this hiſtory) conſider what great diſturbaunce and vexation enſued after the ſetting forth of the ſayd Articles, through the whole Realme of England, eſpecially amongeſt the godly ſort. wherein firſt were to be mentioned the ſtraite and ſeuere commiſſions ſent forth by the kynges authoritie, to the Byſhops, Chaūcelors, Officials, to Iuſtices, Maiors, & Bailiffes in euery ſhyre, and other Commiſſioners by name in the ſame commiſſions expreſſed, & amongeſt other, eſpecially to Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, to the Maior, Shriffes, and Aldermen of the ſame, to enquire diligently vpon all hereticall bookes, and to burne them, alſo to enquire vpon all ſuch perſons whatſoeuer culpable or ſuſpected of ſuch felonies, hereſies, contemptes, or tranſgreſſions, or ſpeakyng any wordes contrary to ẏ foreſayd Acte ſet forth of the vi. Articles. The tenour of which Commiſſions being ſufficiently expreſſed in auncient Recordes, and in the byſhops Regiſters, and alſo partly touched before, pag. 1110. therefore for tediouſnes I here omit, onely ſhewing forth the commiſſion directed to Ed. Boner B. of London, to take the oth of the Maior of London, and of others, for the execution of the Commiſſion aforeſayde. The tenour whereof here foloweth.

Great diſturbaunce in England after the vi. articles.

Read before, pag. 1110.

¶ The Commiſsion for takyng the oth of the Maior of London, and others, for the execution of the Acte aforeſayd.

Henry the eight by the grace of God, kyng of England & of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, & in earth ſupreme head of the Churche of England, vnto the Reuerend father in Chriſt Edm. Boner Byſhop of London, and to his welbeloued the Byſhops Chauncellour, health. Know ye that we haue geuē you ioyntly and ſeuerally power and authoritie to receaue the othes of William Roche Maior of Lōdon, Iohn Allen Knight, Raffe Warren knight, Rich. Greſham Knight, Roger Chomley knight, ſergeant at law, Iohn Greſhā, Michael Dormer Archdeacon of Lōdon, the byſhops Commiſſary and Officiall, Robert Chidley, Gwy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, & Iohn Morgan, and euery of them our Commiſſioners for hereſies and other offences done within our Citie of London, and Dioces of the ſame, according to the tenour of a certaine ſchedule hereunto annexed. And therfore we commaunde you, that you receiue the othes aforeſayd, and when you haue receiued them, to certifie vs into our Chauncery vnder your Seales, returning this our writte. T. meipſo. at Weſtminſter the 29. of Ianuary in the 32. yeare of our reigne.

Commiſſion directed to Edm. Boner Byſhop of London from the kyng.

What the oth was of theſe Commiſſioners, whereunto they were bounde, read before, pag. 1110. col. 2.

Read before, pag. 1110.

¶ A note how Boner ſat in the Guildhall in Commiſſion for the 6. Articles. And of the condemning of Mekins.

Vpon thys commiſſion geuen vnto Edmund Boner, he comming to the Guilde hall with other commiſſioners, to ſit vpon the ſtatute of the vi. Articles, began eftſoones to put in execution his authoritie after a rigorous ſort, as ye ſhall heare. And firſt he charged certaine Iuries, to take their oth vpon the ſtatute aforeſayd: who being ſworne had a day appointed to geue their verdicte. At the which day they indited ſundry perſons, which ſhortly after were apprehended and brought to warde, who after a while remaynyng there, were by the kyng and his Counſaile diſcharged at the ſtarre chamber, without any further puniſhment.

The ſtory of Rich. Mekins condemned by Boner.

Not long after this, Syr W. Roche being Maior, Boner with other Commiſſioners, ſat at the Guilde halle aforeſayd, before whom there were a certaine number of Citizens warned to appeare, and after the Commiſſion read, the ſayd parties were called to the booke, and when v. or vi. were ſworne, one of the ſayd perſons being called to the booke, Boner ſeemed to miſlike, and ſayd: Stay a whyle, my Maiſters (quoth he) I would ye ſhould conſider thys matter well that we haue in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the kyng, and the wealth of the realme, and if there be any here amonge you, that doth not conſider the ſame, it were better that he were hence then here. Then commoned the Commiſſioners with Boner about that man, ſo that at length he was called to the booke and ſworne, not all together with his good will.

When the ij. Iuries were ſworne, Boner taketh vpō him to geue ẏ charge vnto the Iuries, and beganne with a tale of Anacarſis, by whiche example, he admoniſhed the Iuries to ſpare no perſons, of what degree ſoeuer they

Rich. Mekins preſented by Boner.

W. Robyns Jurer.

were. And at the end of hys charge he brought forth to the barre a boy, whoſe name was Mekins, declaryinge how greuouſly he had offended by ſpeaking of certayne wordes agaynſt the ſtate, and of the death of D. Barnes: and produced into the ſayd court two witneſſes, which were there ſworne in the face of the court. So a day was aſſigned, vpõ which the Iuries aforeſayd ſhould geue vp their verdicte: at which day both the Commiſſioners, & the ſayde Iuries met at Guilde hall aforeſayd. Then the Clarke of yͤ peace called on the Iuries by their names, and when their appearaunce was taken, Boner bad them put in their preſentmentes. Then ſayd the foreman, whoſe name was W. Robins of that Iurie. My Lord (with a low curteſie) we haue found nothyng. At which wordes he fared as one in an agonie, & ſayd: Nothing? haue ye found nothing? what nothyng? By the fayth I owe to God (quoth he) to the foreman, I would truſt you vpon your obligation: but by your oth I will truſt you nothing. Then ſayd ſome of the Commiſſioners: My Lord, geue them a longer day. No (quoth he) in Lõdon they euer finde nothyng. I pray you, what ſay you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth the foreman, we can ſay nothing to him, for we finde the witneſſes to diſagree. One affirmeth that he ſhould ſay the ſacrament was nothing but a ceremonie, and the other nothyng but a ſignificatiõ. Why, quod Boner, did he not ſay, that Barnes died holy? Then pauſing a while, he bad call yͤ other Iury. Put in your verdicte, quod he. My Lord ſaid one, we haue found nothing. Ieſus quoth he, is not this a ſtraunge caſe.

Rafe Foxley Jurer.

This Recorder was ſyr Rog. Chomley.

Againſt Popiſhe Prieſtes of London.

Boner calleth vpon the condemnation of Mekins.

Mekins brought to the barre.

Then ſpake one of the ſame Iury, whoſe name was Raph Foxley, and ſayd: My L. when you gaue vs charge, we deſired to haue the Perſons and Curates of euery pariſhe to geue vs inſtructions, and it was denyed vs. Then ſtoode vp the Recorder and ſayd, it was true in deede that he had ſpoken, and therwithall ſaide, this laſt yeare were charged two Iuries, which did many thinges naughtely and fooliſhly, and did, as much as in them lay, to make an vprore among the kinges people, & therfore it was thought not meete, that they ſhould geue information to you. Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this was the cauſe: If the Perſon or Curate ſhould geue information according to his knowledge, then what will they ſay? I muſt tell my confeſſion to a knaue prieſt, and he ſhall go vp and by and open it. What, ſayd my Lord Maior, there is no man (I trow) that will ſay ſo. Yes by my trouth, quoth Boner, knaue Prieſt, knaue Prieſt. Then ſayde the Lord Maior, ſomewhat ſmiling, there be ſome of them ſlipper fellowes, and as men finde them, ſo will they oft times report. Boner not well contẽted with thoſe wordes, ſayd to the Iurie: My maiſters, what ſay you to Mekins? They aunſwered, the witneſſes doe not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why, quod Boner, this court hath alowed them. Thẽ ſayd one of the Iurie to the Recorder: Is it ſufficient for our diſcharge, if this court do alow them? Yea ſayde the Recorder, it is ſufficiẽt, & ſayd: Go you aſide together a while, & bring in your verdicte. After the Iury had talked together a litle while, they returned to the bar againe with their inditement, which at Boners hand was frendly receaued: ſo both they and the other Iurie were diſcharged, & bidden take their eaſe. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they ſat for life and death. Mekins beyng brought to the barre, and the inditement read, Boner ſayde to hym: Mekins confeſſe the truth, and ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the kinges lawe, that thy death may be an example to all other.

Ex Edw. Hallo.

And how could he take that learning of D. Barnes, when Doct. Barnes was neuer of that opinion?

This Rich. Mekyns being a childe which paſſed not the age of xv. yeares (as Halle reporteth) as he had heard ſome other folkes talke, ſo chaunced he to ſpeake againſt yͤ ſacrament of the altar. Which commyng to Boners eares, he neuer left him (as afore doth plainely appeare) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his impriſonment, neither his poore father nor mother for feare durſt ayde him with any reliefe: wherby he there indured in great miſery. At what time he was brought vnto the ſtake, he was taught to ſpeake much good of the Byſhop of Londõ, and of the great charitie he ſhewed to him, and to defie and deteſt all heretickes and hereſies, but ſpecially Doct. Barnes, vnto whom he imputed the learning of that hereſie, which was the cauſe of his death. The poore ladde would for ſauegard of his life, haue gladly ſayde that the xij. Apoſtles had taught it him: ſuch was his childiſhe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many ſpake and ſayd, it was great ſhame for the Byſhop, whoſe part and dutie it had bene rather to haue laboured to ſaue his life, then to procure that terrible execution, ſeeing that he was ſuch an ignoraunt ſoule that he knew not what the affirming of hereſie was.

Richard Spenſer, Ramſey, and one Hewet, ſuffred at Saliſbury.

Spenſer, Ramſey, and Hewet, Martirs.

ABout the ſame tyme alſo a certeine Prieſt was burned at Saliſbury, who leauing his Papiſtry, had maryed a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramſey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned: Agaynſt whom, and ſpecially againſt Spenſer, was layde matter concerning the Sacrament of the altar. He ſuffered at Saliſbury.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Fryer Ward. Syr Tho. Roſe.

Although this Inquiſitiõ aboue mentioned was ment properly and eſpecially concerning the vi. Articles, yet ſo it fell out, that in ſhort ſpace doutes beganne to riſe and to be moued by the Queſt, whether they might enquire as well of all other opinions, articles and caſes of Lollardy, or for ſpeaking againſt holy bread, holy water, or for fauoring the cauſe of Barnes, of Frier Warde, Syr Tho. Roſe. &c. Wherupon great perturbation folowed in all Pariſhes almoſt through London in the yeare aforeſayd, which was 1541. as here enſueth in a brief ſummary Table to be ſene.

A briefe Table of the troubles at London, in the vj. Articles time.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
Ioh. Dixe.	This Dixe was noted neuer to be confeſſed in Lent nor to receiue at Eaſter, & to be a ſacramentary.
Rich. Chepeman.	Chepeman for eating fleſh in Lent, and for working on holydayes and not commyng to the church.
Miſtres Cicely Marſhall.	Cicely, for not bearyng her Palme, & deſpiſing holy bread and holy water.
Michaell Haukes.	Haukes, for not commyng to the Church, & receauyng yong men of the new learnyng.
M. Ioh. Browne.	Browne, for bearyng with Barnes.
Annes, Bedikes wife.	Bedikes wife, for deſpiſing our Lady, and not praying to Saintes.
Andrew Kempe. Wil. Pahen. Rich. Manerd.	Kempe, Pahen, Manerd, for diſturbyng the ſeruice of yͤ Churche with brablyng of the new Teſtament,
Wil. Wyders.	Wyders denyed ij. yeares before, yͤ ſacrament to be Chriſtes body, and ſaid that it was but onely a ſigne..
Wil. Stokeſley.	Stokeſly, for rebukyng his wife at the Churche, for takyng holy water.
Roger Dauy.	Dauy, for ſpeaking agaynſt worſhipping of ſaintes.
M. Blage.	M. Blage, for not cõmyng to his pariſh church, not confeſſing, nor receauing.
Wil. Clinch.	For ſaying, when he ſeeth a prieſt preparyng to the maſſe, ye ſhall ſee a prieſt now goe to maſking. Item, for calling the B. of Wincheſter, falſe flatteryng knaue. Item, for buryng his wife without Dirige, and cauſing the Scotte of S. Katherines to preach the next day after the buriall.
Wil. Playne.	Playne, ſeyng a prieſt go to Maſſe, ſaid, now you ſhall ſee one in maſking. Itẽ, when he came to the church with loude reading the engliſh bible, he diſturbed the diuine ſeruice.
Herman Iohnſon. Hierome Akon. Giles Hoſteman. Rich. Bonfeld. Tho. Couper. Humfrey Skinner Ioh. Sneudnam. Rich. Philips. Iohn Celos.	These ix. perſons were preſented for that they were not confeſſed in Lent, nor had receiued at Eaſter.
Ioh. Iones. Wil. Wright. Peter Butcher. Roger Butcher.	Theſe 4. were preſented for not keeping the diuine ſeruice in the holydayes.
Briſleys wife.	Briſleys wife, for buſie reaſoning on the new learning, & not keping the church.

S. Albons pariſhe in London.

The pariſhe of Trinitie the litle.

S. John Baptiſt in Walbroke.

S. Buttolphes at Billingſgate.

S. Nicholas in the fleſhe ſhambles.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.	
Miſtres Caſtle.	M.Caſtle for beyng a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the church.	
M.Galias of Bernardes Inne.	M. Galias, for withſtanding the curate ſenſing the alters on Corpus Chriſti euen, and ſaying openly that he dyd nought.	S.Andrewes in Holborne.
M.Pates of Dauids Inne.	M.Pates and M. Galias for vexing the Curate in the body of the church, in declaring the kings Iniunctions, & reading the biſhops booke, ſo that he had much adoe to make an ende.	
Wil.Beckes & hys wife.	Beckes and his wyfe ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creping to ÿ croſſe on good Friday.	S.Mildreds in Bredſtrete.
Thomas Langhā. Wil.Thomas. Rich.Beckes. Wil.Beckes.	These foure were preſented for interruptyng the deuine ſeruice.	
Rafe Symons.	Symondes for not keepyng our Ladies Maſſe, which he was bound to kepe.	
Ioh. Smith prētiſe	Smith, for ſaying, that he had rather heare the crying of dogges, then Prieſts ſingyng Mattins or Euenſong.	
Tho.Bele. Ioh.Sturgion. Ioh.Wilthire. Tho Symon. Rafe Cleruis, and his wife. Iames Banaſter. Nicolas Barker. Iohn Sterky. Chriſtofer Smith. Thom.Net. Nich.Philips. Rich.Bygges.	These xi. perſons of Saint Magnus pariſh were preſented and accuſed, for mainteyning of ceraine preachers, as then it was called, of the new learning, as Wiſedome, Roſe, frier Ward, ſir Wil. Smith, aliās Wright. Philips for mainteining heretikes and ſcripture bookes, and for vſing neither faſtyng, nor prayer. Bigges, for deſpiſing holy bread, putting it in the throte of a bitch, and for not lookyng vp to the eleuation.	S.Magnus pariſhe.
Miſtres Elizabeth Statham.	For mainteining in her houſe Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome and diuers other.	S.Mary Magdalene in Milkeſtrete.
Iohn Duffet.	Duffet for marying a woman, which was thought to be a Nunne.	S.Owens pariſhe in Newgate market.
Wil.Hilliard.	Hilliard & Duffet for mainteining, Barnes, Hierom, and Garret, with other mo.	
Grafton. Whitchurch.	Grafton & Whitchurch ſuſpected not to haue ben cōfeſſed.	S.Martyns at the well with two buckets.
Ioh.Grene. Mother Palmer. Chriſtop. Cootes. Wil.Selly. Alexander Frere. Wil.Bredy. Iohn Buſhe. W.Somerton. George Durant. M.Dauids prētiſe.	All theſe being of ÿ pariſh of ſ. Martins at the wel with ij. buckets, were preſented for contemning the ceremonies of the church. Alſo ſome for walking in the ſacring time, with their caps on. Some for turnyng their heds away. Some for ſitting at their pores when ſermons were in ÿ church &c.	
Rob.Andrew. Ioh.Williamſon: Tho.Buge. Tho.Gilbert. W.Hickſon. Rob.Daniel. Rob.Smitton.	Andrew, for receiuing heretikes into his houſe, & keping diſputation of hereſie there. These other 6. were ſuſpected to be ſacramentaries, and rancke heretikes, & procurers of heretikes to preach, & to be followers of their doctrine.	S.Michaels in Woodſtrete.
Ioh.Mayler.	To be a Sacramentary and a rayler agaynſt the Maſſe.	S.Buttolphes at Billingeſgate.
Rich.Bilby Draper.	Bilby preſented for ſaying theſe wordes, ÿ Chriſt is not preſent in ÿ bleſſed ſacrament.	
Henry Patinſon. Anthony Barber. Rob.Norman:	These ij. were detected for mayntaynyng their boyes to ſing a ſong againſt ÿ ſacramēt of ÿ alter. Alſo Patinſō came not to confeſſion. Normā alſo refuſed to come to cōfeſſion, ſaying, ÿ none of his ſeruauntes ſhold be ſhriuē of a kna. prieſt	S.Gyles without Criplegate.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.	
Ioh.Humfrey.	For ſpeakyng agaynſt the ſacraments & ceremonies of the Churche.	
Wil.Smith, and his wife. Iohn Cooke & his wife.	These ij. couples were preſented for not commyng to ſeruice in their Pariſh Churche, and for ſaying, it was lawfull for prieſts to haue wyues.	
W.Gate or Cote. Wil.Aſton. Iohn Humfrey. Iohn Cooke.	To theſe foure it was layde for ſaying that the Maſſe was made of peeces & patches. Alſo for deprauyng of Mattyns, Maſſe, and Euenſong.	
Ioh.Miles and his wife. Ioh.Millen. Ioh.Robinſon. Rich.Millar. Ioh.Grene and his wife. Arnold Cheſt.	All theſe were put vpp for raylyng againſt the ſacramēts and ceremonies.	
Ioh.Croſdall. Ioh.Clerke. Ioh.Owell.	These iij. labouryng men, for not comming to diuine ſeruice on holydayes: and for labouryng in the ſame.	S.Gyles wythout Criplegate.
Tho.Granger. Ioh.Dictier.	Noted for common ſyngars agaynſt the ſacramentes & ceremonies.	
Ioh.Sutton and his wyfe. Ioh.Segar.	These iij. were noted to bee deſpyſers of auricular cōfeſſiō.	
Ioh.Raulins. Ioh.Shiler. W.Chalinger. Ioh.Edmunds. Ioh.Richmond & his wife.	For deſpiſyng holy bread & holy water, and lettyng diuine ſeruice.	
Margaret Smith.	For dreſſing fleſhment in Lēt.	
Tho.Trentham.	For reaſonyng agaynſt the ſacrament of the aulter, & ſaying that the ſacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men tooke it, very God,	
Rob.Granger. W.Petyngale. Wil. May and his wife. Iohn Henriſon, & his wife. Rob.Welſh. Ioh.Bengloſſe. Ioh.Pitly. Henry Foſter. Rob.Cauſy. W. Pinchbecke & his wife.	All theſe 13. were put vp by ÿ Inquiſitiō, for giuyng ſmall reuerence at the ſacryng of the Maſſe.	S.Thomas the Apoſtle.
Martin Biſhops wife.	She was preſented by her Curate for beyng not ſhriuen in Lent nor receiuyng at Eaſter. Alſo ſhe dyd ſet light by ÿ curate, whē he told her therof.	S.Benet Fynche.
Rob.Platte and his wife.	These were great reaſoners in ſcripture, ſaying ÿ they had it of the ſpirite: and that confeſſion auaileth nothing: and that he not able to read would vſe no beades.	S.Michaell at Queene hyth.
Tho.Aduet. Ioh.Palmer. Rob.Cooke.	The cauſe layd to theſe thre perſōs, was for reaſonyng of the ſcripture & of ÿ ſacramēts. The Regiſter ſayth, ÿ they denyed all the ſacramentes. But this Popiſhe hyperbole wil finde litle credite, where experience acquaynted wt popiſh practiſes, ſitteth to be ÿ iudge.	
Ioh.Cockes.	This man was noted for a great ſearcher out of new preachers, & mainteiner of Barns opinions.	
Ioh.Boultes.	Forbiddyng his wife to vſe beads.	
*Tho.Kelde.	*He refuſed to take penāce & abſolutiō, & did eat fleſh vpon a Friday before Lent.	S.Mary Wolchurch.
Nich.Newell.	Newel a Frenchmā preſented to be a man far gone in ÿ newe ſect: & that he was a great ieſter at ÿ ſaintes & at our lady.	

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

	Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
	Ioh. Hawkins and his ſeruant. Tho. Chamberlain and his wife. Iohn Curteys.	Theſe eight were great reſoners and deſpyſers of ceremonies.
S. Catherine Colmã.	M. Diſſel, his wife and his ſeruant.	He was noted for callyng of ſuſpecte perſons to his Sermons by a bedle, without ringyng of any bell: and when he preached, he lefte his matters doubtfull.
	The Curate of S. Katherine Colmã.	Item, for preachyng without the cõmaundement of hys perſon. Itẽ, for that he was a Scottiſhe Frier driuen out of hys countrey for hereſie.
	Tulle Buſtre, his wife and his ſon in law.	Theſe were noted for commyng ſeldome to the Churche and many times were ſene to labour vpon the holy dayes.
S. Matthewes pariſhe.	Wil. Ettis and his wife.	Ettys and hys wyfe were noted for mayntenyng certein preachers: and for cauſing one Tauerner being no Prieſt, to preach agaynſt yͤ kinges Iniunctions.
	Merifield and his ſonne in law. Nicholas Ruſſell. The goodman of the Saracens head in Fridayſtrete. W. Callaway. Io. Gardiner, with 3. prentiſes.	Againſt this company preſentation was made for gatheryng together in the euenyng, and for bringing ill preachers (that is to ſay good preachers) amongeſt the people.
	Tho. Plummer.	This Thomas was preſented for ſaying, that the bleſſed Sacrament was to him yͤ doth take it, ſo: and to hym that doth not, was not ſo.
Shordych.	Shermons.	Shermons, keper of the Carpenters Hall in Chriſtes pariſhe, was preſented for procuryng an interlude to be openly played, wherin Prieſtes wer rayled on, and called knaues.
S Benets at Paules wharfe.	Lewes Morall, a ſeruant. Iames Ogule, and his wife.	Noted not to haue ben cõfeſſed certayne yeares before.
S. Margarets in Fyſhſtrete.	Tho. Babam.	Accuſed not to haue ben confeſſed nor houſeled in his Pariſh church.
S. Antlins.	The perſon & Curate of S. Antlyns.	For not vſing the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keping their proceſſiõs on Saterdayes.
S. Mary Hill.	Lewys Bromfield.	For not taking his houſell, and for abſentyng hym ſelfe frõ the Church on holy dates.
	Iohn Sempe. Iohn Goſſe.	For deſprayſyng a certaine Antyme of our Lady, begynnyng: Te matrem. &c. ſaying, that ther is hereſie in yͤ ſame.
	Gilbert Godfre.	For abſentyng hym ſelfe frõ the Churche on holy dayes.
	Th. Cappes prieſt.	For ſaying theſe wordes, yͤ the Sacrament of the aulter was but a memory & a remẽbraunce of the Lordes death.
S. Mary Magdalen in old Fiſhſtrete. S. Buttolphes at Billingſgate.	Io. Mayler, Grocer.	For calling the ſacramẽt of the aulter, the bakẽ God: and for ſaying that yͤ Maſſe was called beyond the Sea, Miſſe for that all is amiſſe in it.
Martins in Iremonger lane.	Ioh. Hardyman, Prieſt.	Hardiman perſon of S. Martins in Yremunger lane, preſented for preachyng openly, yͤ confeſſiõ is confuſiõ & deformatiõ: & that yͤ butchery ceremonies of yͤ church wer to be abhorred. Alſo for ſaying, what a miſchief is this to eſteme the ſacramẽts to be of ſuch vertue for in ſo doing they take yͤ glory of God from him: and for ſaying that fayth in Chriſt is ſufficient without any other Sacramentes to iuſtifie.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.	
Chriſtopher Dray Plummer.	For ſaying of the Sacrament of the aulter, that it was not offered vp for remiſſiõ of ſins: and yͤ the body of Chriſt was not there, but onely by repreſentation and ſignification of the thyng.	S. Brides in Fleteſtrete.
Rob. Ward, Shomaker.	Preſented by three wytneſſes for holdyng agaynſt the Sacrament of the aulter, hee dyed in priſon in Bredſtrete.	
Micolas Otes.	For not cõmyng to yͤ houſel at eaſter he was ſet to Newgate.	S. Andrewes in Holborne
Herman Peterſon. Iames Goſſon.	For not commyng to ſhrift & houſel at the tyme of Eaſter. These were committed to priſon in Bredeſtrete.	All Halows Barkyng.
Rich. White, Haberdaſher.	For ſaying that he dyd not thinke that Chriſt was in the ſacramẽt of the alter within yͤ ſepulcher, but in heauẽ aboue.	S. Olaues in the old Iury.
Giles Hariſon.	Hariſon being in a place without Algate merily ieſting in a certain company of neighbors, where ſome of them ſaide: let vs go to Maſſe: I ſay, tary, ſaid he: and ſo taking a peece of bread, in his hands, lift it vp ouer his hed: And likewiſe taking a cup of wine, & bowyng down his hed made therewith a croſſe ouer the cuppe, & ſo taking the ſaid cup in both hys handes, lift it ouer his hed: ſaying theſe wordes: haue ye not heard maſſe now? For yͤ which he was preſented to Boner the B. of London. Againſt whom came theſe witneſſes. Thomas Caſtell. Andrew Morice. W. Grene. Iohn Margetſon. *Witneſſes againſt Gyles.*	S. Buttolphes without Algate.
Rich. Boſtock, prieſt.	For ſaying that auricular cõfeſſion hath killed moe ſoules, thẽ all the bils, clubs, & halters haue done, ſithens K. Henry was king of england. &c. Alſo for ſaying, that the water in Thamis hath as much vertue as the water which yͤ prieſts do halow.	
Margaret Ambſworth.	For hauing no reuerence to yͤ ſacrament at ſacring time. Item, for inſtruction of maides, & being a great Doctreſſe.	
Ioh. Leiceſter. W. Raynold. Chriſt. Touneſend Tho. Dauid, Skinner. Tho. Mabs. Tho. Starchey. Chriſt. Holybread Martine Donam. W. Derby.	All theſe noted & preſented, for maynteynyng of Barnes and ſuch other preachers, and many of their wiues for not takyng holy bread, nor goyng in proceſſion on Sondayes.	
Laurence Maxwel Bricklayer.	For ſpeakyng and reſoning agaynſt auriculare cõfeſſion.	Aldermanbury.
Ioh. Coygnes, of Lyuelond.	For holdyng agaynſt the Sacrament of the alter, and not receiuyng at Eaſter.	S. Martyns the great.
Gerard Friſe.	Preſented by two wytneſſes, for affirmyng that a Sermon preached is better then yͤ Sacrament of the alter, and that he had rather go to heare a ſermõ, thẽ to heare a maſſe.	S. Clementes without Temple barre.
Dominicke Williams Frenchman.	For not receiuing the Sacrament of the aulter at Eaſter.	S. Katherines.
Tho. Lancaſter, prieſt.	Laye in the Counter in the Pultrye, for compilyng and bringyng ouer bookes prohibited. Item, Gough the Stacioner troubled for reſortyng vnto hym.	
Frier Warde.	Layd in the Counter in bredſtrete, for maryyng one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vowe made of chaſtitie.	

Perſons preſented.	Their cauſes.
Frier Wilcocke.	Wilcock a ſcottiſh frier priſoned in ẏ Fleete, for preaching againſt confeſſion, holywater, againſt praying to ſaintes, and for ſoules departed, againſt Purgatory, and holding that prieſtes might haue wiues. &c.
Ioh. Taylour D. in Diuinitie.	Doc. Taylour preſented for preching at S. Brides in Fleete ſtrete, that it is as profitable to a man to heare maſſe, & ſee the Sacrament, as to kiſſe Iudas mouth, which kiſſed Chriſt our ſauiour. &c
W. Tolwine, Perſõ of S. Anthonies.	Preſented and examined before Edm. Boner, for permitting Alexand. Setõ to preach in hys church hauyng no licẽce of his ordinary, & alſo for allowing the Sermons of the ſaid Alexander Seton, which he preached againſt D. Smith. To the ſaid Tolwine moreouer it was obiected, that he vſed the ſpace of ij. yeares, to make holy water, leauyng out ẏ general exorciſme, beginning Exorciſo te, &c. vſing theſe wordes for the ſame: Benedicite: Dominus. Ab eo ſit benedicta, a cuius latere fluxit ſanguis & aqua: Adioyning thereto, commixtio ſalis & aquæ fiat in nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus Sancti. The lyke vſage of makyng holy water was alſo vſed in Aldermary church, where D. Crome was, & in Hony lane. Againſt this obiection thus Tolwine defended himſelf saying: that he toke occaſion ſo to do by the kings Iniunctions, whiche ſay, that ceremonies ſhould be vſed, all ignorance & ſuperſtition ſet apart. In the ende, this Tolwyne was forced to ſtand at Paules croſſe to recant hys doctrine and doings.
Rob. Wiſedome. Tho. Becon, preachers.	The ſame tyme alſo Rob. Wiſdome, pariſh prieſt of S. Katherines in Lothbery, and Tho. Becon, were brought to Paules croſſe, to recant and to reuoke their doctrine, & to burn their bokes.
Sir George Parker Perſon of S. Pancrace.	This prieſt and perſon of S. Pancrace, and curate of litle Alhallowes, was noted, ſuſpected and conuented before the Ordinary for certaine bookes, eſpeciallye, for hauyng Vnio diſſidentium. &c.
Sir Iohn Birch, Prieſt.	I. Byrch prieſt of S. Botolphes lane was complayned of by one M. Wilſon, for beyng a buſie reaſoner in certain opinions, which agreed not with the popes church.
Alexander Seton a Scottiſhman and a worthy Preacher.	Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, & preſented by 3. prieſts, of whõ one was felow of Whittingtõ colledge, called Rich. Taylor. An other was Ioh. Smith. The third was Ioh. Huntingdon, who after was conuerted to ẏ ſame doctrine himſelfe.

Tolwyns making of holy water.

The recantation of W. Tolwyn.

Litle All halowes.

Alex. Seton Chaplein to the Duke of Suffolke.

This Seton was Chaplaine to the duke of Suffolke and by him was made free Deniſon. In his ſermon preached at S. Anthonies, hys aduerſaries picked againſt hym matter conteining 15. obiections, or rather cauillatiõs, which for example I thought here to exhibite to the reader, to the intent that men may ſee, not only what true doctrine Setõ then preached, conſonant to the Scriptures: but alſo what wrangling cauillers can do, in deprauing that is right, or in wraſtyng that is well ment, or in carpyng that they vnderſtand not, or in ſekyng out faults where none is, as by theſe theyr ſiniſter cauillations may appeare.

Certaine places or Articles, gathered out of Setons Sermons by his aduerſaries.

Articles gathered out of Alex. Setons ſermõs by his aduerſaries.

The ſayings and wordes of Alexander Seton, ſpoken and preached by him in hys ſermon, made the xiij. day of Nouember, at after none in the Pariſh Churche of Sainte A. in London, Paul ſayth, of our ſelues we can do nothing I pray the then where is thy wil? Art thou any better thẽ Paule, Iames, Peter, and all the Apoſtles? Haſt thou any more grace then they? Tell me now if thy wyll bee any thyng, or nothyng. If it be any thyng, tel me whether it be to do good, or yll? If thou ſay to do yll, I wyll graunt thou haſt a greater deale. If thou ſay to doo good, I aſke whether is more ſomewhat, or nothyng? For Paule ſayde hee could do nothyng, and I am ſure thou haſt no more grace, then Paul and his companions.

Scripture ſpeaketh of three thynges in man: the fyrſt is will: the other two are conſent and deede. The fyrſt (ẏ is wyll) God worketh without vs, and beſides vs. The other two he worketh in vs, and with vs. And here he alledged S. Auguſtine, to proue that we cã wil nothyng that is good. Moreouer he ſayd, thou haſt not one iot, no not one title to do any good.

1. Will.
2. Conſent.
3. Deede.

No will in man of hymſelfe to do good.

There is nothyng in heauen, nor earth, creature nor other, that can bee any meane towardes our iuſtification, nor can or may ſatiſfie God the father for our ſinne, ſaue onely Chriſt, and the ſhedding of his bloud.

He that preacheth that workes doe merite, or bee any meane to our ſaluation, or any part of our iuſtification preacheth a doctrine of the deuill.

Our workes merite nothing to ſaluation.

If any thing els ſaue onelye Chriſte, be anye meane towards our iuſtificatiõ, then dyd not Chriſt only iuſtifie vs.

I ſay that thy good workes, nor any thyng that thou cãſt doe, can be one iot or title towards thy iuſtificatiõ. For if they be, then is not Chriſt a ful iuſtifier, and that I wyll proue by a familiar example. Be it in caſe that I haue two ſeruauntes, the one is called Iohn, and the other Robert, and I promiſe to ſend you ſuch a day, xx.li. by Iohn my ſeruaunt and at my day I ſende you by Iohn my ſeruaunt xix.li. xix.s. xi.d. ob. q and there lacketh but one farthyng, whiche Robert doth bryng thee, and ſo thou haſt the. xx.li. euery peny and farthyng. Yet wyll I aſke if I bee true of my promiſe, or no, and thou mayeſt ſay nay. And why? becauſe I promiſed to ſend the that whole, xx. pound by Ihõ and dyd not, for there lacked a farthyng, whiche Robert brought. Wherfore I ſay, if thy workes do merite or bring one litle iot or title toward thy iuſtification, then is Chriſt falſe of his promiſe, which ſayd ẏ he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bryng you (whiche they can not wrythe) to proue that onely Chriſt was promiſed to be our onely Iuſtifier, our onely meane, and that is in the xxij. of Geneſis, where it is written: In thy ſeede ſhall all people be bleſſed, meanyng therby onely Chriſt: and he ſayd not in thy ſeedes, nor in the workes of thy ſeedes. Wherfore al they that preache, that workes be any part or meane toward our iuſtification, do make God falſe of his promiſe.

They that preach that workes do merite, do make workes the tree, which are but ẏ fruites of Iuſtice, wrought by him that is already a iuſt man, whiche can not chuſe but bryng forth good fruite.

I would aſke a queſtiõ, whether he that worketh be a good man, or a bad, for he muſt be one of them. If hee bee a good man, he can not chuſe but bryng foorth good fruites: if he be an ill mã, he can bryng forth no fruite, but ill fruit, for a good tree can not bryng forth ill fruite.

Good fruites make not a good man, but a good man can not chuſe but to make good fruites.

He that ſayth that workes do merite any thyng towards our ſaluation, doth make workes checke mate with Chriſt and plucketh from Chriſt ẏ is his, and geueth it to works. Some will aſke, wherfore then ſhould I do good workes I aunſwere, good woorkes are to be done for no cauſe els, but onely for the glory of God, and not that they do merite any thyng at all. And hee that ſayth that workes are to bee done for any other cauſe, thẽ for the glory of God onely, and will haue thẽ to merite, or be any meane towardes our iuſtification, I ſay he lyeth, and beleue him not.

Mans workes made checke mate with Chriſt.

He that can ſhew me in any ſcripture, that works do merite, or be any meane to our iuſtificatiõ: for ẏ firſt ſcripture I wyll (without any further iudgement) loſe both myne eares, for the ſecond, my tongue, and for the third my necke. For I dare ſaye he can not proue in all the whole ſcripture one title: wherfore beleue them not.

Men ſay that we deny good workes, and faſting, and prayer. They lie on vs, we deny nothing but popiſh works, and popiſh faſting, and popiſh prayer, and he that preacheth that works do merite, or faſting doth merite, or prayer doth merite, doth preach a popiſh doctrine.

The papiſtes belie the Proteſtantes, as though they denied good workes.

If you aſke when we will leaue preaching of workes, euen when they do leaue to preach that workes do merite, & ſuffer Chriſt to be a whole ſatiſfier, & only meane to our iuſtificatiõ, & til thẽ, we wil not ceaſe in gods cauſe to ſet forth only Chriſt to be a full and perfite, and only ſatiſfaction.

Good workes how they be rewarded.

If you aſke, if good workes ſhalbe rewarded, I ſay yea, and with no leſſe then eternall glory, but for no merite that they deſerue, for they deſerue nothing: but only becauſe god hath promiſed, not for the merite of the worke, but for hys promiſe ſake, and he will not breake his promiſe.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

Other articles out of Setons ſermons.

2. Cor. 5.

TOuching reconciliation ſpoken of by Doct. Smith, preaching in ẏ forenoone at Paules croſſe, Alexander Setõ preaching at afternoone, at ſ. Anthonies, & reciting his ſayings & ſcriptures, reproued him for alledging this ſaying, Recõciliamini Deo, & engliſhyng the ſame thus: Recõcile your ſelues to God: becauſe it is there ſpoken paſſiuely, and not actiuely, ſo that there ſhould be nothyng in man pertaynyng to reconciliation, but all in God.

D. Smyth reproued for naughtye preaching.

Alſo reprouing the ſayd D. Smith, for that the ſaid D. ſayd, that man by his good workes might merite. Which ſaying of D. Smith, the ſaid Alexander Seton reproued in the pulpit at ſ. Anthonies, the 13. day of Nouember, the yeare of our lord, 1541. as naughtely ſpoken.

Rom. 8.
Luke. 17.

Moreouer the ſayd Alexander Seton ſaid in the ſame place, that it was ſhame that any ſuch preacher ſhould be ſuffred ſo openly to preach ſuch erroneous doctrine, as to ſay that workes ſhould merite, adducyng: non ſunt condignæ paſſiones, &c. Et poſtquam feceritis omnia, &c.

Finally Seton ſaid, peraduenture ye wil ſay the church hath determined this matter touching workes. And I ſay (quoth he) that it is Eccleſia malignantium, ſo determinyng any thing againſt ſcripture.

To theſe pretenſed obiections of his aduerſaries, he made his aunſwer againe by writing, firſt denying many thinges there preſented, taking vpon hys conſcience, that he neuer ſpake diuers of thoſe wordes: and agayn many things, that he neuer ment to ſuch end nor purpoſe, as in the ſaid regiſter may appeare. But all this notwithſtanding, for all that he could ſay for himſelf, the ordinary proceded in his conſiſtory iudgement, miniſtring to him certaine Interrogatories (after the popiſh courſe) to the number of x. articles. The greateſt matter layd againſt him was for preaching free Iuſtification by faith in Chriſt Ieſu, againſt falſe confidẽce in good workes, & mans fre will. Alſo it was layd vnto him, for affirming ẏ priuate maſſes & diriges, & other prayers profited not ẏ ſoules departed: ſo that in the ende, he with Tolwing aforeſaid was cauſed alſo to recant at Paules croſſe. an. 1541.

Seton bearing a fagot at Paules croſſe.

Adde to theſe aforeſaid, D. Taylor perſon of S. Peters in Cornehill.
South, Pariſh prieſt of Allhalowes in Lombardſtrete
Some, Prieſt.
Giles, the kinges bearebruer at the redde Lion, in S. Katherines.
Tho. Lancaſter, prieſt. All which were impriſoned likewiſe for the vj. Articles.

All priſons in London to litle to holde them that were taken for the 6. articles.

The Lord Audley L. Chauncellour of England.

To be ſhort, ſuch a nomber out of all pariſhes in London & out of Calice, and diuers other quarters, were thẽ apprehended through the ſaid Inquiſition, that all priſons in Lõdon were to litle to hold them, in ſo much that they wer faine to lay thẽ in the Halles. At ẏ laſt by ẏ meanes of good Lord Audley, ſuch pardon was obteyned of the king, that ẏ ſayd L. Audley, then L. Chancellor, beyng cõtent that one ſhould be bound for another, they were all diſcharged, being bound only to appeare in the ſtarre chamber the next day after All ſoules, there to anſwer if they were called: but neither was there any perſon called, neither did there any appeare.

¶ The ſtory of Iohn Porter, cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in Paules.

A ſtory of Iohn Porter Martyr.

Read afore, pag. 1162.

The Bible commaunded by the kyng to be ſet vp in churches. Read afore, pag. 1069.

IN the number of theſe afore named, commeth the remembraunce of Iohn Porter, who in the ſame yeare 1541. for readyng the Bible in Paules Church, was cruelly hãdled and that vnto death, as ye ſhall heare. It was declared in this hiſtorie aboue, pag. 1162. how Edm. Boner biſhop of London (in the dayes of the L. Cromwell) beyng then Ambaſſadour at Paris, was a great doer in ſettyng forward the Pryntyng of the Bible in the great volume: promiſing moreouer, that he would for his part haue vi. of thoſe Bibles ſet vp in the Churche of S. Paule in London. Whiche alſo at his comming home, he no leſſe performed, accordyng to the kynges proclamation ſet forth for the ſame, whereof read before, pag. 1069.

1541.

J. Porter a great reader in the Bible at Paules.

The Bibles thus ſtandyng in Paules by the commaundement of the kyng, and the appointment of Boner ẏ Byſhop, many well diſpoſed people vſed much to reſorte to the hearyng therof, eſpecially when they could get any that had an audible voyce to read vnto them, miſdoubtyng therin no daunger toward them: and no more there was, ſo long as the dayes of Cromwel laſted. After he was gone, It happened amongeſt diuers and ſondry godly diſpoſed perſons, which frequented there the readyng of the foreſayde Bible, that one Iohn Porter vſed ſometymes to bee occupyed in that godly exerciſe, to the edifiyng as well of hym ſelfe, as of other. This Porter was a freſhe young man, and of a bygge ſtature. Who by diligent readyng of the Scripture, and by hearyng of ſuch Sermons as then were preached by them that were the ſetters forth of Gods truth, became very experte. The Bible then beyng ſet vp by Boners commaundement vpon diuers pillers in Paules Churche, fixed vnto the ſame with chaines for al men to read in them ẏ would, great multitudes woulde reſort thether to heare this Porter, becauſe he could read well and had an audible voyce. Boner and his chappleines beyng greued withal (& the worlde begynnyng then to frowne vppon the Goſpellers) ſent for the ſayd Porter, and rebuked hym very ſharply for his readyng. But Porter aunſwered hym that hee truſted he had done nothyng contrary to the law, neither cõtrary to his aduertiſementes which he had fixed in print ouer euery Bible.

Boner & hys Chapleines greued wyth the Bybles which he before cauſed to be ſet vp himſelfe.

J. Porter ſent to Newgate by Boner.

This Porter was aliue at the writyng hereof.

The cruell handlyng of J. Porter in Newgate.

Boner then layd vnto his charge, that he had made expoſitions vppon the texte, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumultes. Hee aunſwered: hee truſted ẏ ſhould not be proued by hym. But in fine Boner ſent him to Newgate, where he was miſerably fettred in yrons both legges and armes, with a coller of yron about his necke faſtened to the wall in the dungeon, beyng there ſo cruellye handled, that he was compelled to ſend for a kinſman of his whoſe name is alſo Porter, and yet aliue and can teſtifie that is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate, who ſeyng hys kinſman in this miſerable caſe, intreated Iewet, then keper of Newgate, that hee might bee releaſed out of thoſe cruell yrons, and ſo through frendſhip and money, had him vp among other priſoners, whiche lay there for felony and murder: where Porter beyng amongeſt them, hearyng and ſeing their wickednes and blaſphemie exhorted them to amendment of life, and gaue vnto them ſuch inſtructions as he had learned of the Scriptures: for whiche his ſo doyng hee was complayned on and ſo caryed downe, and layd in the lower dungeon of all, oppreſſed with boltes and yrons, where within vi. or viij. dayes after, he was found dead.

The death & Martyrdom of J. Porter.

It is ſignified vnto vs by credible information, that the ſame night before he was found dead, they that dwelt neare to the ſame place of the priſon where Porter lay, dyd heare hym pitcouſly to grone and make a lamentable noyſe, where ſome ſuppoſe that he was put in certaine ſtrait yrons which be there in the houſe, called The deuill on the necke, beyng after an horrible ſort deuiſed, ſtreinyng and wrenchyng the necke of a man with his legges together, in ſuch ſorte, as ẏ more hee ſturreth in it, the ſtrayter it preſſeth hym, ſo that within 3. or 4. houres, it breaketh & cruſheth a mans backe and body in peeces. In whiche deuiliſhe torment, whether Iohn Porter was ſlayne or no, it is not certayn. But how ſo euer it was, this is knowen, that he was found dead (as is aforeſayd) in the dungeon, with ſuch gronyng and piteous noyſe heard the night before in the ſayd dungeon, as is declared.

¶ A note of one Thomas Sommers priſoned for the Goſpell.

Th. penaũce of Th. Sommers, Marchaunt.

AMongeſt theſe Londiners thus troubled by the clergie wee will adde alſo (although a litle out of place) an other note of a Marchaunt called Tho. Sommers, who dyed in the Tower of London for confeſſing of the Goſpell. Which Thomas beyng a very honeſt Marchant and welthy, was ſent for by the Lord Cardinall and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luthers bookes (as they termed them) and after great ſute made for hym to the ſayde Cardinall, his iudgement was that he ſhoulde ryde frõ the Tower into Cheape ſide caryyng a new booke in his hande and behanged with bookes round about him, with three or iiij. other Marchauntes after the ſame order: whiche was done. And when M. Sommers ſhoulde be ſet on a colliars nagge as the reſt of his felow priſoners were, a frende of his called M. Copland brought him a very good geldyng, fayre dreſſed with byrdle and ſadle, and when the Byſhops Officers came to dreſſe hym with bookes, as they had trimmed the other, and would haue made holes in his garment to haue thruſt the ſtringes of the bookes therin, nay ſayde Sommers, I haue alwayes loued to goe hanſomely in my apparell, and takyng the bookes and openyng them, hee bounde them together by the ſtringes and caſt them about his necke (the leaues beyng all open) like a coller, and be-

yng

M. Luthers bokes burnt in Chepeſide

yng on horſe backe, rode formoſt thorow the ſtreetes,tyll they came aboue the ſtandard in Cheapeſide,where a great fire was made to burne their bookes in, and a Pillery ſet vp there for 4.perſons in token that they had deſerued it.

In the meane tyme, by the way as they ſhoulde come it was appointed, that one ſhould go before them with a baſon. At the noyſe wherof, M. Sommers horſe beyng a loftye geldyng and fierce,was in ſuch a rage,that he which ronge the baſon beyng afeard of him ſelfe, was fayne to go alone a great ſpace before that any horſeman dyd folow after. At length whẽ they came to the fire, euery of them hauyng a booke in his hand, they were commaunded to caſte their bookes into the fire. But when M. Sommers ſaw that his new Teſtament ſhoulde be burned,he threwe it ouer the fire: whiche was ſeene by ſome of Gods enemyes, and brought to him agayne,commaundyng hym to caſt it in to the fire: whiche hee would not doe,but caſt it thorow the fire. whiche thyng was done iij.times. But at laſt a ſtander by tooke it vp, and ſaued it frõ burnyng. But not long after,the ſayde M. Sommers was caſte agayne into the Tower by the Cardinall, thorow the crueltye of the Byſhops, and their adherentes, who ſoone after dyed in yͤ ſayd priſon for the teſtimonie of his fayth.

The papiſtes burnt the new Teſtament.

Tho. Sommers dyed in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happned amongeſt the godly brethren in London, for the vi. Articles, hetherto we haue diſcourſed. Albeit neyther haue I cõprehended all, which were moleſted through all the Pariſhes of London: neyther agayne dyd thys rigorous Inquiſition ſo ceaſe within the precinctes of this Citye onelye, but alſo extended further to Saliſburye, Northfolke. Lincolne, and through all other Shyres and quarters of the realme:ſo that where as any papiſhe Prelate moſt bare ſtroke, there moſt perſecution encreaſed. The Byſhop of Lyncolne the ſame tyme was Iohn Longland,and Doct,Dracotte his Chauncellour,Of whoſe rigorous doynges ye haue hearde enough & to much before. His ready diligence in all popiſh quarels as it neuer lacked before: ſo nowe in the execution of theſe vi. Articles,it was not farre behynde:in whoſe dioceſſe diuers good men and women, namely about Buckingham and Amerſhame, and quarters therabouts, were greuouſly diſquieted,appearyng yet in the ſame Regiſter: as one

Ex Regiſt. Lincoln.

Of great Marlow.	Elinore Godfrey.	For laughing & ſpeaking certaine wordes againſt one Tho.Collerd, who like a popeholy hypocrite in the church of Merlow, vſed at Maſſe tyme to crouche behynde the children:and when the prieſt croſſed his hed with the ſaucer(as ſhe termed it) he would croſſe his hed likewiſe. And for theſe wordes ſhe was conuented before the biſhop, & miſerably vexed.
Of great Brychhill.	W.Hart.	For ſaying theſe wordes : Thinkeſt thou that God almighty will abide ouer a knaue prieſtes hed?
Of Ryſhborogh.	Chriſtoph. Erle.	Becauſe he did no reuerence vnto the ſacrament comming to the church,and for looking vpon his boke at tyme of eleuation,and that he would not come to ſee the eleuation, &c. Item,as he was working vpon a piece of Fuſtian on an holyday, and being aſked why he kept not the holyday, he aunſwered, that was no worke, and that it was better to do that, then to ſit at the Alehouſe drinking dronke.
Of Wooborne.	W.Faſtendiche.	For ſpeaking certaine wordes againſt the ſacrament of the alter,and beleued not, that it was the very body of Chriſt.
	W.Garland	W.Garland, talking of extreme vnction, ſayd that thoſe thinges were godly ſignes, but there were but two ſacraments.&c.
Of Weſtwycombe.	W.Webbe.	Becauſe he ſet the Image of a headleſſe Beare in the Tabernacle of S.Roke.

¶Thomas Bernard, and Iames Morton Martyrs.

Tho. Bernard. Iames Morton, Martyrs.

ABout the ſame tyme Iohn Longland Byſhop of Lyncolne,burned two vpon one day,the one named Thomas Bernard,and the other Iames Morton: The one for teaching the Lordes prayer in Engliſhe, and the other for kepyng the Epiſtle of S. Iames tranſlated into Engliſhe.

The recantation of M. Barber in Oxford.

In Oxford alſo the ſame tyme or much therabout, recãted one M. Barber Maiſter of Arte of that Vniuerſitie, a man excellently learned, who beyng called vp to Lambeth before the Archbyſhop Thomas Cranmer,was in his examinatiõ ſo ſtoute in the cauſe of the Sacrament,& ſo learnedly defended himſelfe therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them,whiche yet be aliue,and were preſent thereat) neither Cranmer hym ſelfe,nor al they could well aunſwer to his allegations brought out of Auſten. Wherein he was ſo prompt and rype of him ſelfe, that the Archbyſhop with the reſidue of his company, were brought in great admiration of hym. Notwithſtandyng by compulſion of the tyme, and daunger of the vi. Articles, at laſt hee relented, and returnyng agayne to Oxford,was their cauſed to recant. After whiche the good man long proſpered not, but ware away. Ex teſtimonio Rad.Morys.

¶A mery,and pleaſaunt narration,touching a falſe fearefull imagination of fire,rayſed among the Doctors and Maiſters of Oxford in S.Maries Church at the recantation of M.Mallary M.of Arte of Cambridge.

The recantation of M.Malary Graduate of Cambridge,who recanted at Oxforde.

This recantation of M. Barbar aforeſayd in the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde,bryngeth me in remembraunce of an other recantation likewiſe happenyng not long before, in the ſayd Vniuerſitie,whiche I thought here not to ouer paſſe, and namely for that the ſame caryeth withall, a merye ridiculous ſpectacle,not vnworthy to be remembred and here to be inſerted,ſomewhat to recreate and refreſh by the way the werye mynde of the reader,after ſo many bloudy and lamentable ſtoryes,executions,recantations,and tragedies aboue paſſed. The ſtorye is this.

Malary brought into S. Maryes Church wyth his fagotte.

D. Smith preached at the recantatiõ of Mallary

There was one M. Malary, maiſter of Arte of Cambridge,ſcholer of Chriſtes Colledge, who for the like opinions to thoſe aboue rehearſed, holden contrary to the Catholicke determination of holy mother Churche of Rome, that is,for the right truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, was conuicted before the Byſhops,and in the ende, ſent to Oxford, there openly to recant,and to beare his fagot,to the terrour of the Studentes of that Vniuerſitie. The tyme and place was appointed,that he ſhould be brought ſolemnly into S. Maryes Church vpon a Sonday:where a great number of the head Doctors and Diuines, and other of the Vniuerſitie, were together aſſembled : beſide a great multitude of Citiſens and towne dwellers whiche came to beholde the ſight. Furthermore,becauſe that ſolemnitie ſhould not paſſe without ſome effectuall Sermon, for the holding vp of the mother Church of Rome,D. Smith reader then of the Diuinitie lecture, was appointed, to make the Sermon at this recantation. Briefly at the preaching of this Sermõ there was aſſembled a mightye audience of all ſortes and degrees as well of Studentes as other. Few almoſt were abſent, which loued to heare or ſee any newes: In ſo much yͭ there was no place almoſt in the whole Churche which was not fully repleniſhed with concourſe and throng of people.

The ſacramẽt of the altar brought into the pulpitte.

All thinges thus beynge prepared and ſet in a readynes, commeth forth poore Mallarye with his fagotte vpõ hys ſhoulder. Not long after alſo proceedeth the Doctor into the pulpitte to make his Sermon: the purpoſe and argument wherof was wholy vppon the Sacrament. The which Doctor for the more confirmation and credite to his wordes,had prouided the holy catholicke cake,and the Sacrament of the alter, there to hange by a ſtringe before hym in the pulpitte. Thus the Doctor with his God almightye entryng his godly Sermon, had ſcarce proceded into yͤ mideſt therof (the people geuyng great ſilence with all reuerence vnto his doctrine) but ſodenly was heard into the Church the voyce of one crying in the ſtreete.fire.fire. The partie which firſt cryed thus in the ſtreete, was called Heuſter. The occaſion was thys:for that he commyng from Alhalowes Pariſh, ſaw a Chimney on fire, and ſo paſſing in the ſtreete by S. Maries Church,cryed fire ,fire,as the faſhion is,meanyng no hurte.

A maze amõg D. Smithes audience in Oxforde.

S. Maries church in Oxford falſly ſuppoſed to be ſet on fire by heretickes.

Thys ſounde of fire beyng heard into the Churche, firſt of them whiche ſtoode vttermoſt next to the Church doore ſo encreaſed and went from one to an other, that at length it came vnto the eares of the Doctors,and at laſte to yͤ preacher hym ſelfe. Who as ſoone as they heard the matter, beyng amazed with ſodeine feare,, and maruelyng what the matter ſhould meane,beganne to looke vp into the toppe of the Churche,and to beholde the walles, The reſidue ſeing them looke vp,looked vp alſo. Then began they in the mideſt of the audience to crye out with a loud voyce, fire, fire. Where ſayth one? where ſayth an other? In the Churche, ſayth one. The mention of the Churche was ſcarſly pronounced,whẽ as in one moment there was a common crie amongeſt them, the Church is on fire,the Churche is ſet on fire by heretickes.&c. And albeit no man dyd ſee any fire at all,yet forſomuch as al mẽ cryed out ſo,euery man thought it true that he heard. Then was there ſuch feare,concourſe and tumult of people,through the whole churche,that it can not be declared in wordes,as it was in dede.

And as in a great fire (where fire is in dede) we ſee many tymes how one litle ſparke geueth matter of a myghtye flame, ſettyng whole ſtackes and pyles on burnyng, ſo here vppon a ſmall occaſion of one mans worde, kyndled firſt a generall crye, then a ſtrong opinion runnyng in euery mans head within the Churche, thinking the Churche to bee on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleaſed almightye God, to delude theſe deluders, that is, ẏ theſe great Doctours and wiſe menne of the Scholes, whiche thinke them ſelues ſo wiſe in Gods matters as though they coulde not erre, ſhould ſee by theyr owne ſenſes and iudgementes, how blynde and infatuated they were in theſe ſo ſmall matters & ſenſible trifles.

Deluders deluded.

We ſee great examples how they are deceaued oftimes in ſmall trifles.

Thus, this ſtrong imagination of fire beyng fixed in their heades as nothyng coulde remoue them to thinke contrary but that the Churche was on fire: ſo euery thyng that they ſawe or heard, encreaſed this ſuſpition in them, to make it ſeme moſt true, whiche was in dede moſt falſe. The firſt & chiefeſt occaſion that augmented this ſuſpition, was the hereticke there bearyng his fagotte, whiche gaue them to imagine, that all other heretickes, had conſpired with hym to ſet the Churche on fire.

What ſtrong imagination can do in deluding mans ſenſes.

After this, through the rage of the people & runnyng too and fro, the duſte was ſo rayſed, that it ſhewed as it hadde bene the ſmoke of fire. Which thyng together with the outcrye of the people, made all men ſo afrayde, that leauyng the Sermon, they began altogether to runne away. But ſuche was the preaſſe of the multitude runnyng in heapes together, that the more they laboured, the leſſe they coulde gette out. For whileſt they ranne all headlong vnto the doores euery man ſtriuyng to gette out firſt, they thruſt one an other in ſuch ſorte, and ſtucke ſo faſt, that they whiche were without, neyther coulde gette into the Churche, agayne, neither they ẏ were within could gette out by any meanes. So then one doore beyng ſtopped, they ranne to an other litle wicket on the North ſide, towardes the Colledge called Brazon noſe, thinking ſo to paſſe out. But there agayn was the lyke or greater thronge. So the people cluſtryng & thronging together, it put many in daunger and broughte many vnto their ende, by bruſing of their bones and ſides. There was yet an other doore towardes the Weſt, whiche albeit it was ſhutte and ſeldome opened: yet now rãne they to it with ſuch ſway, that the great barre of yron (whiche is incredible to bee ſpoken) beyng pulled out and broken by force of mens handes, the doore notwithſtandyng could not be opened, for the preaſſe or multitude of people.

Much hurt done in the thronge, whereof ſome dyed, ſome yet are aliue whoſe mothers armes were there broken.

At the laſt, when they were there alſo paſte all hope to gette out, then they were al exceedingly amazed and ranne vp and downe, crying out vppon the heretickes which had conſpired their death. The more they ranne about & cryed out the more ſmoke & duſte roſe in the Church, euen as though all thynges nowe had bene on a flamyng fire. I thinke there was neuer ſuch a tumultuous hurley burley ryſing ſo of no thyng heard of before, nor ſo great a feare where was noe cauſe to feare, nor perill at all: ſo that if Democritus ẏ mery Philoſopher ſittyng in the toppe of the Church, and ſeyng all thynges in ſuche ſafetie as they were, hadde looked downe vpon the multitude, and beholden ſo great a number ſome howlyng and weepyng, runnyng vpp and downe, and playing the madde men, nowe hether, nowe thether, as beyng toſſed too and fro with waues or tempeſtes, trembling and quakyng, ragyng & faryng without any manifeſt cauſe ſpecially if he had ſeene thoſe great Rabbines the Doctors laden with ſo many badges or cogniſaunces of wiſedome, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly ſeekyng holes and corners to hyde them ſelues in, gaſpyng, breathyng, and ſweatyng, and for very horror, beyng almoſt beſide them ſelues. I thinke he woulde haue ſatiſfied him ſelfe with thys one laughter, for all hys life tyme, or els rather would haue laughed his hart out of his belly, whileſt one ſayd that he playnely heard the noice of the fire, an other affirmed that hee ſawe it with hys eyes, and an other ſwore that he felte the molten leade droppyng downe vppon hys head and ſhoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in mens hartes through feare. In all the whole company there was none that behaued him ſelfe more modeſtly then the hereticke that was there to do penaunce, who caſting his Fagotte of from hys ſhoulders vppon a Mounkes head that ſtoode by, kept hym ſelfe quiet, myndyng to take ſuch part as the other dyd.

Democritus was a Philoſopher which vſed to laugh at all thinges: as Heraclitus vſed to weepe at all thinges.

Some ſay that the Monkes head was broken with the fagotte.

All the other beyng carefull for them ſelues, neuer made an end of runnyng vp and downe and crying out. None cryed out more earneſtly then the Doctor that preached (who was, as I ſayd, D. Smith) who in a maner firſt of al cryed out in the pulpite, ſaying: Theſe are the traines and ſubtilties of the heretickes agaynſt me. Lord haue mercy vpon me: Lorde haue mercye vpon me. But might not God, as it had ben (to ſpeake with Iob) out of a whirlewynd haue aunſwered agayne vnto this preacher thus: Thou doeſt now implore my mercy but thou thy ſelfe ſheweſt no mercy vnto thy felowes and brethren. Howe doth thy fleſhe trembel now at the mention of fire, but you thinke it a ſporte to burne other ſimple innocentes, neither do you any thing at all regarde it? If burnyng ſeme ſo greuous a matter vnto you, and to ſuffer the torment of fire: then you ſhoulde alſo haue the lyke conſideration in other mens perils and daungers, when as you do burne your felowes and brethren.

Iob. 42.

Proſopopœia.

Or if you thinke it but a light or triflyng matter in them go to now, do you alſo with lyke courage, contemne, & with like pacience ſuffer nowe the ſame tormentes your ſelues. And if ſo bee it I ſhoulde nowe ſuffer you with the whole Churche to be burned to aſhes, what other thyng ſhoulde I do vnto you, then you doe dayly vnto your felowes and brethren? Wherefore ſince you ſo litle eſteme the death of others, be nowe content that other men ſhoulde alſo little regard the death of you. With this (I ſaye) or with ſome other lyke aunſwere, if that either God, or humane charitie, eyther the common ſenſe of nature would expoſtulate with them, yea if there had bene a fire in dede (as they were more feared then hurt) who would haue doubted but that it had happened vnto them accordyng to their deſertes? But now worthy it is the notyng, how the vayne feare and folye of thoſe catholickes either was deluded, either how their crueltie was reproued, wherby they beyng better taught by their owne example, might hereafter learne what is to put other poore men to the fire whiche they them ſelues here ſo much abhorred.

Iuſt expoſtulation agaynſt theſe burners of gods people.

A good warning for the Papiſtes to know what burning meaneth.

But to returne agayne to the deſcriptiõ of this pageant: wherin (as I ſayd before) there was no daunger at all, yet were they all in ſuch feare, as if preſent death had bene ouer their heades.

In all this great maze and garboyle there was nothyng more feared then the meltyng of the lead, which many affirmed that thy felte droppyng vpon their bodies. Now in this ſodeine terrour and feare, which tooke from them all reaſon and counſell out of theyr myndes: to beholde what practiſes and ſondry ſhiftes euery man made for him ſelfe, it woulde make not onely Democritus, and Heraclitus alſo to laugh but rather an horſe welnere to breake his halter. But none vſed them ſelues more ridiculouſly, then ſuch as ſemed greateſt wyſe men, ſauyng that in one or ij. peraduenture ſome what more quietnes of mynde appeared. Amongeſt whom was one Claymund Preſidẽt of Corpus Chriſti Colledge (whom for reuerence and learnyngs ſake I do here name) and a fewe other aged perſons with him, whiche for their age and weakenes, durſt not thruſt them ſelues into the throng amongeſt the reſt, but kneeled downe quietly before the high alter, committyng them ſelues and their liues vnto the Sacrament. The other whiche were yonger & ſtronger, ran vp and downe through the preaſſe maruelyng at the vnciuilitie of men, and waxt angry with the vnmanerly multitude that would geue no rowme vnto the Doctours, Bachelers, Maiſters, and other graduates and regent maſters. But as the terror and feare was common vnto all men, ſo was there no difference made, of perſons or degrees euery man ſcamblyng for him ſelfe. The violet cap or purple gowne, did there nothyng auayle the Doctour, neither the maſters hode nor the Monkes coule was there reſpected.

Claymundus Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge.

Yea if the kyng or Queene had bene there at that preſent and in that perplexitie, they had bene no better then a common man. After they had long ſtriuen and aſſayed all maner of wayes and ſawe no remedy, neither by force neither authoritie to preuayle: they fell to intreating and offeryng of rewardes, one offeryng xx. pounde, an other his ſcarlet gown ſo that any man would pull hym out, though it were by the eares.

Some ſtoode cloſe vnto the pillers, thinking themſelues ſafe vnder the vautes of ſtone for the droppyng of the leade. Other ſome beyng without money & vnprouided of all ſhift, knew not which way to turne them. One beyng a preſident of a certayne Colledge (whoſe name I nede not here to vtter) pulling a bourd out from the pues, couered his hed and ſhoulders therwith againſt the ſcalding lead, which they feared much more then the fall of the Churche. Nowe what a laughter would this haue miniſtred vnto Democritus amongeſt other thynges, to behold there a certayne graunde paunch, who ſeyng the dores ſtopped and euery way cloſed vp, thought by an other compendious means to get out through a glaſſe wyndow if it might be by any ſhift. But here the iron grates letted hym: notwithſtanding his gredy mind would nedes attempt if he could happily bring his purpoſe to paſſe. Whẽ he had broken ẏ glaſſe, & was come to the ſpace betwene ẏ grates where he ſhould crepe out, firſt he thruſt in his head with the one ſhoulder, & it went through wel enough. Thẽ he laboured to get the other ſhoulder after, but there was great labor about ẏ, & lõg he ſtuck by ẏ ſhoulders

but

with muche ado. For what doth not importune labour ouercome? Thus farreforth he was nowe gotten. But by what parte of his bodye he dyd ſticke faſte, I am not certaine, neither may I faine, for ſo much as there be yet witneſſes whiche dyd ſee theſe thinges, which woulde correct me if I ſhould ſo doo. Notwithſtanding this is moſt certaine that he dyd ſticke faſt betweene the grates, and coulde neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being in deede a Monke, and hauing but ſhort hoſe, by the which way he ſuppoſed ſoneſt to eſcape, by the ſame he fel into further inconuenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outſide, thoſe parts which did hang out of the window had ben in danger: and contrarywiſe if the flame had raged within the Church, al his other parts had lyen open to the fire. And as this man dyd ſticke faſt in the window, ſo dyd the reſt ſticke as faſt in the doores, that ſooner they might haue bene burned, then they coulde once ſtyrre or moue one foot. Through the which preſe at the laſt there was a way found, that ſome going ouer their heades gat out.

Here alſo happened an other pageaunt in a certayne Monke (if I be not miſaduiſed) of Gloceſter College, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened that there was a young lad in this tumult, who ſeing the doores faſt ſtopped with the preſe or multitude, & that he had no way to get out, clymed vp vpon the doore, and there ſtaying vppon the toppe of the doore, was forced to tary ſtyl. For to come downe into the church againe, he durſt not for feare of the fire, and to leape downe toward the ſtreate he could not without daunger of fallyng. When he had taried there a while, he aduiſed him ſelf what to do: neither dyd occaſion want to ſerue his purpoſe. For by chaunce, amongeſt them that gat out ouer mens heades, he ſawe a Monke comming towardes hym, whiche had a great wide Coule hanging at his backe. This the boye thought to be a good occaſion for hym to eſcape by. When the Monke came neare vnto hym, the boye whiche was in the toppe of the doore, came downe, and pretily conueied hym ſelfe into the Monkes Coule, thinkyng (as it came to paſſe in deede) that if the Monke dyd eſcape, he ſhould alſo get out with hym. To be brefe, at the laſte the Monke gat out ouer mens heades, with the boye in his Coule, and for a great while felt no weight or burden.

Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore Horat.

A boye gotte into a Monkes coule.

At the laſte, when he was ſomewhat more come to him ſelfe, and did ſhake his ſhoulders, feelyng his Coule heauier thē it was accuſtomed to be, & alſo hearing ẏ voyce of one ſpeaking behinde his Coule, he was more afrayde then he was before, when he was in the thronge, thinkyng in very deede, that the euyl ſpirit which had ſet the Church on fire, had flyen into his Coule. By and by he began to pleye the Exorciſt: In the name of God (ſaid he) and all ſaintes, I commaunde thee to declare what thou art that art behynde at my backe. To whom the boy anſweared: I am Bertrames boy, ſaid he (for that was his name.) But I, ſayd the monke, adiure thee in the name of the vnſeparable Trinitie, that thou wicked ſpirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou commeſt, and that thou get thee hence. I am Bertrames boy, ſaid he, good maiſter let me goe: and with that his Coule began with the weight to cracke vppon his ſhoulders. The monke when he perceyued the matter, toke the boy out and diſcharged his Coule. The boy tooke his legges and ranne away as faſt as he could.

Among other, one wiſer then the reſt, ranne with the Church doore key, beating vpon the ſtone walles, thinking therwith to breake an hole through to eſcape out.

In the meane tyme, thoſe that were in the ſtreate lookyng diligently aboute them, and perceyuyng all thynges to be without feare, marueyled at this ſodaine outrage, & made ſignes and tokens to them that were in the church, to keepe them ſelues quiet, cryng to them that there was no daunger.

But for ſo much as no worde could be heard by reaſon of the noyſe that was within the Churche, thoſe ſignes made them much more afraide then they were before, interpreting the matter, as though all had bene on fire without the Churche, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other thinges, they ſhould rather tary ſtyl within ẏ church, and not to venter out. This trouble continued in this maner by the ſpace of certaine houres.

The next daye, and alſo all the weeke folowing there was an incredible number of byls ſet vp vpon the Church doores, to enquire for thinges that were loſt, in ſuch varietie & number, as Democritus might here againe haue had iuſt cauſe to laugh. If any man haue foūd a payre of ſhooes yeſterday in S. Mary Church, or knoweth any man that hath founde them, &c. An other byl was ſet vp for a gowne that was loſt. An other intreateth to haue his cappe reſtored. One loſt his purſe and gyrdle with certaine money: an other his ſworde. One enquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, an other for an other. To be ſhort, there was fewe in this garboyle, but that either through negligence loſſe, or through obliuion leaſt ſomething behynd hym.

Thus haue you hitherto hard a tragical ſtorie of a terrible fire whiche dyd no hurt. The deſcription whereof, although it be not ſo perfectly expreſſed according to the worthynes of the matter, yet becauſe it was not to be paſſed with ſilence, we haue ſuperficially ſet forth ſome ſhadowe therof, whereby the wiſe & diſcret may ſufficiently conſider the reſt, if any thing els be lacking in ſetting forth the full narration therof. As touching the heretike, becauſe he had not done his ſufficient penaunce there by occaſion of this hurley burley, therfore the next day folowing he was reclaimed into the Church of S. Frideſwide, where he ſupplied the reſt that lacked of his plenary penance.

The. 4 and. 5. mariage of K.Henry the. 8.

THe ſame yeare and moneth next folowing, after the apprehenſion of the Lord Cromwel, which was, an. 1541. the king immediately was diuorced from the Ladye Anne of Cleue. The cauſe of whiche ſeparation being wholy committed to the Clergie of the Conuocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and graunted, that the kyng being freed frō that pretenſed matrimonie, (as they called it) might mary wher he would, & ſo might ſhe likewiſe: who alſo conſenting to the ſame diuorcement her ſelfe, by her owne letters, was after that taken no more for Queene, but onely called Ladye Anne of Cleue. Whiche thinges thus diſcuſſed by the Parlament and Conuocation houſe, the king the ſame moneth was marryed to his fift wyfe, whiche was the Ladye Katherine Haward, Niece to the Duke of Northfolke, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Hawarde the Dukes brother. But this marriage likewiſe continued not long.

1541.

Auguſt.

The Ladye Anne of Cleue diuorced from the king.

The king permitted to mary after his diuorce.

The king maried to the Lady Katherine Haward his 5. wyfe.

In the ſame moneth of Auguſt, and the ſame yeare, I finde moreouer in ſome recordes, beſide the. xxiiij. Chapterhouſe monkes aboue recited, whom Cope doth ſanctifie for holy martyrs, for ſuffering in the Popes deuotion, agaynſt the kinges ſupremacie, other ſixe which were alſo brought to Tiborne and there executed in the like caſe of rebellion. Of whom, the firſt was the Prior of Dancaſter, the ſecōd a monke of the Charterhouſe of Lōdō, called Gyles Horne, ſome cal hym William Horne: the third one Tho. Epſam a Monke of Weſtminſter, who had his Monkes garment pluckt from his backe, being the laſt monke in K. Henryes dayes that dyd weare that monkiſh weede: the fourth one Philpot: the fift one Carewe: the ſixt was a Fryer. See what a difficultie it is to plucke vp blynd ſuperſtition once rooted in mans hart by a litle cuſtome.

VI. popiſh Monkes for denying the kinges ſupremacye, executed.

Now as touching the late marriage betwene the king and the Lady Haward, ye heard how this matrimonie endured not long: for in the yere next folowyng. 1542. the ſaid Ladye Katherine was accuſed to the kyng of incontinent liuyng, not only before her mariage with Fraunces Direham, but alſo of ſpouſebreche ſith her marriage, with Tho. Culpeper. For the which both the men aforeſayd, by acte of Parlament were atteinted and executed for high treaſon, and alſo the ſaid Lady Katherine late queene, with the Lady Iane Rochford widowe, late wyfe to George Boleyne Lord Rochford, brother to Queene Anne Boleyne, were beheaded for their deſertes within the Tower. Ex Hallo & alijs.

1542.

It is reported of ſome, that this Lady Rochforde forged a falſe letter agaynſt her huſband, and Queene Anne his ſiſter, by the which they were both caſt away. Which if it be ſo, the iudgement of God then is here to be marked.

After the death and puniſhmente of this Ladye his fourth wyfe, the king callyng to remembraunce the wordes of the Lorde Cromwell, and miſſing nowe more and more his olde Coūſailour, & partly alſo ſmellyng ſomewhat the wayes of Wincheſter, beganne a litle to ſet his foot agayne in the cauſe of Religion. And although he euer bare a ſpeciall fauour to Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury (as you ſhall heare more hereafter, God wyllyng in the life of Cranmer,) yet nowe the more he miſſed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the Archbiſhop, and alſo to the right cauſe of Religion. And therefore in the ſame yeare and in the moneth of October, after the execution of this Queene, the kyng vnderſtanding ſome abuſes yet to remayne vnreformed, namely about pilgrimages and idolatrie, and other thinges moe beſides to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters vnto the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the ſpeedie redreſſe and reformatiō of the ſame. The tenour of which letters hereafter fully enſueth, in theſe wordes.

The kinges mynde inclining to reformation of religion.

The kynges letters to the Archbiſhop, for the aboliſhing of Idolatrie.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſtie and well beloued, we greet you wel, letting you to wyt, that wheras

The kinges letters to the Archbyſhop for reforming of Idolatry.

heretofore vppon the zeale and remembraunce whiche we had to our bounden ductie towardes almightye God, perceiuyng ſundry ſuperſtitions and abuſes to be vſed and embraced by our people, whereby they greeuouſly offended hym and his woorde: we dyd not onely cauſe the Images and bones of ſuche as they Reſorted and Offered vnto, with the ornamentes of the ſame, and all ſuche writinges and monumentes of fayned myracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken awaye, in all places of our Realme, but alſo by our Iniunctions commaunded, that no offering or ſetting vp of lightes or candles ſhoulde be ſuffered in anye Churche, but onely to the bleſſed Sacramente of the aultar: it is lately come to our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpoſe, notwithſtādi ng the ſhrines, coueringes of ſhrines, and monumentes of thoſe thinges doo yet remayne in ſundrye places of this Realme, muche to the ſclaunder of our doinges, and to the greate diſpleaſure of almightye God, the ſame being meanes to allure our ſubiectes to their former hypocriſie and ſuperſtition: and alſo that our Iniunctions be not kept as apperteyneth. For the due and ſpeedie reformation whereof, we haue thought meete, by theſe our letters, expreſſely to wyll and cōmaund you, that incontinent vpon the receite hereof, you ſhall not onely cauſe due ſearche to bee made in your Cathedrall Churche for thoſe thinges, and if any ſhrine, coueryng of ſhrine, table, monumente of myracles, or other pilgrimages, doo there continue, to cauſe it to be ſo taken awaye, as there remaine no memorie of it, but alſo that you ſhall take order with all the Curates, and other hauyng charge within your Dioces, to doo the ſemblable, and to ſee that our Iniunctions be duely kept, as apperteyneth, without faylyng, as we truſt you, and as you wyll anſweare for the contrary.

Shrines and monumentes of Idolatrye aboliſhed by the king.

Geuen vnder our Signet at our towne
of Hull. the fourth day of October in
the. 33. yeare of our raigne.

Furthermore, the next yeare after this enſuyng, which was. 1543. in the moneth of Februarye, folowed an other Proclamation geuen out by the kinges authoritie, wherein the Popes Lawe forbiddyng white meates to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of ſuch meates ſet at libertie, for the behoofe of the kynges ſubiectes. The copie of which Proclamation I thought here good alſo to be remembred.

A Proclamation concernyng eating of white meates, made the. 9. of February, the. 34. yeare of the raigne of the kinges moſt Royal maieſtie.

An. 1543.

The eating of white meates in Lent ſet at lybertye.

FOr as muche as by diuers and ſundrie occaſions, as well Heringes, Linges, Saltfiſhe, Samond, Stockfiſhe, as other kindes of fiſhe bene this yeare ſcant, and alſo enhaunced in prices aboue the olde rate and common eſtimation of their valour, ſo that if the kinges louing ſubiectes ſhould be enforced onely to buye and prouide Hering and other ſalt ſtore of fiſhe, for the neceſſarie and ſufficient ſuſtentation and maintenaunce of their houſholdes and families al this holy time of Lent, according as they haue bene woont in tymes paſt to doo, and ſhould not be by ſome other conuenient meanes relieued therin, the ſame might and ſhould vndoubtedly redounde to their importable charge and detriment: and for ſo muche as his highnes conſidereth, howe this kinde and maner of faſting, (that is to ſay) to abſtayne from mylke, butter, egges, cheeſe, and other white meates, is but a mere poſitiue Lawe of the Churche, and vſed by a cuſtome within this Realme, and of none other force or neceſſitie, but the ſame may be vpon good conſiderations and grounds altered and diſpenſed with frō time to time, by the publike authoritie of kinges & princes, whē ſoeuer they ſhal perceiue the ſame to tende to the hurt and damage of their people: The kings highnes therfore moſt graciouſly cōſidering & tendring the wealth and commoditie of his people, hath thought good for the cōſiderations aboue rehearſed, to releaſe & diſpenſe with the ſayd law and cuſtome of abſteinyng frō white meates this holy time of Lent, & of his eſpecial grace and mere motion geueth and graunteth vnto al and ſingular his ſubiectes within this his Realme of England, Wales, Callis, Guiſnes, and Hāmes, & in al other his graces dominiōs, free liberty facultie & licēce to eate al maner of white meates, as Mylke, Egges, Butter, Cheeſe, and ſuche like, during the time of this Lent, without any ſcruple or grudge of conſcience, any Lawe, Conſtitution, vſe, or cuſtome to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Wherein neuertheleſſe his highneſſe exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth all ſuche his faythful ſubiectes, as may, wyll, or ſhall enioy this his ſaide graunt or facultie, that they be in no wiſe ſcrupulous or doubtfull thereof, nor abuſe or turne the ſame into a fleſhly or carnall libertie, but rather endeuour them ſelues to their poſſible powers, with this libertie of eating of white meates, to obſerue alſo that faſt which God moſt ſpecially requireth of them, that is to ſaye, to renounce the worlde and the deuyl, with all their pompes and woorkes, and alſo to ſubdue and repreſſe their carnal affectiōs & the corrupt workes of their fleſh, according to their vowe and profeſſion made at the Font ſtone, for in theſe poyntes conſiſteth the very true and perfect abſtinence or faſting of a Chriſtian man: thus to endure and continue from yeare to yeare, tyl the kinges highnes pleaſure ſhal by his maieſties proclamation be publiſhed to the contrary.

The trouble and perſecutiō of foure Windſore men, Robert Teſtwood, Henry Filmer, Anthonye Perſon, and Iohn Marbecke, perſecuted for righteouſneſſe ſake, and for the Goſpell.

Anno. 1544.

COmmyng nowe to the Storie and time of the foure Windſore men troubled and perſecuted for the true teſtimonie of Gods woorde, whereof three were martyred and ſacrificed in fire, the fourth (whiche was Marbecke) had his pardon: firſt I haue to ſhew the original of their troubles in ſeuerall partes: ſecondly the manner and order of their death as they ſuffered together, which was. an. 1544. thirdly to anſweare partly in purgation of my ſelfe, againſt certaine clatterers, which haue hytherto taken their pleaſure in railing againſt my former edition of Actes and monumentes, for miſtaking the name of Marbecke, whom in one place I reported to haue ben burned, albeit in the end of the ſtorie, correcting my ſelfe againe, I declare hym not to haue bene burned. Wherefore to ſtoppe the brawlyng mouthes of ſuch quarrellers, I thought here to ſet foorth the ful narration, both of the ſaid Marbecke, and of his felowes, in truth as I truſt none of them ſhal haue iuſt cauſe to quarrel thereat.

¶ The original of Teſtwoods trouble.

The firſt beginning of Teſtwoodes troubles.

Perſecuters	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
Maſter Ely. Symons, a Lawyer. D. London. Steuē Gardiner B. of Wincheſter. Wriſley. Southarne Treaſurer of Exeter. D. Bruerwoode, Chauncelour of Exeter. M. Knight, Wincheſters Gentleman. D. Oking. D. Capon, B. of Sarum Sir Wil. Eſſex, knyght. Sir Thomas Briges, knight. Syr Hūfrey Foſtar, knight. M. Franklen Deane of Windſore. M. Fachel of Reding.	Rob. Teſtwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Perſon. Iohn Marbecke. Rob. Benet. Sir Philip Hobby, his wyfe. Syr Thom. Cardine his wyfe. M. Edmund Harman. M. Thom. Weldone. Snobal, his wife, of the kings chamber.	**IN the yeare of our Lorde. 1544. there was one Roberte Teſtwood dwellyng in the city of Londō, who for his knowledge in muſicke had ſo great a name, that the Muſitions in Windſore Colledge, thought hym a worthye man to haue a roume among them. Whereupon they enfourmed Doctoure Sampſon (being thē their Deane) of him. But for ſo muche as ſome of the Canons at that tyme hadde hearde of Teſtwood, howe that he ſmelled of the newe learnyng (as they called it) it woulde not be conſented vnto at the firſt. Notwithſtandyng, with often ſute of the foreſayd Muſitions made to one doctour Tate (who beyng halfe a Muſition hym ſelfe, bare a great ſtroke in ſuche matters) a roume beyng voyd, Teſtwood was ſente for to be hearde. And beyng there foure or fyue dayes amonge the queeremen, he was ſo wel liked, both for his voyce, and cunnyng, that he was admyt-**

Teſtwoode receaued in to Windſore

Perſecuters	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
Bucler the kinges Attorney. Filmers brother. Hyde, a Iurate, dwelling beſide Abington. Robert Ockam, a Lawyer.	D.Heynes Deane of Exeter. At Windſore. Ann. 1544.	

admitted, and after ſetled in Windſore, with his houſhold, and had in good eſtimatiõ with the Deane and Canons a great while. But when they had perceyued hym by his often talks at their tables (for he coulde not wel diſſemble his Religion) that he leaned to Luthers ſecte, they began to miſlike hym. And ſo paſſing forth among them, it was his chaũce one day to be at dynner with one of the Canons, named D. Rawſon. At the which dynner, amongſt al other, was one of kyng Edwardes 4. Chauntrie Prieſtes named Maiſter Ely, an old Bacheler of Diuinitie. Which Ely in his talke at the borde, began to rayle agaynſt laye men, which tooke vppon them to mell with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the Engliſhe tongue) then they which had bene ſtudentes in the Uniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge al the dayes of their liues. Thẽ Teſtwood perceyuyng he meant that by hym, could forbeare his raylyng no longer, but ſaid: Maiſter Ely, by your patience I thinke it be no hurt for lay men, as I am, to reade and to knowe the ſcriptures.

M. Ely perſecuter.

Rom. 12.

The Papiſtes make the ſcriptures more hard for lay men, then needeth.

Which of you (quoth Ely) that be vnlearned knoweth them or vnderſtandeth them? S. Paul ſaith: If thine enemie hunger, feede him: if he thirſt, geue him drinke, and in ſo doing, thou ſhalt heape coales of fire vppon his head. Nowe ſir (quoth Ely) what meaneth ſaint Paul by theſe coales of fire? Marye ſir, quoth Teſtwood, he meaneth nothyng els by them (as I haue learned,) but burnyng charitie, that with doyng good to our enemies, we ſhoulde therby wynne them. A ſirah, quoth he, you are an old ſcholer in deede.

Euery king in his owne realme and church, is head vnder Chriſt.

After this, they fell into further communication of the Pope, whoſe ſupremacie was much ſpokẽ of at that tyme, but not knowen to be ſo farre in queſtion in the Parlament houſe as it was. And in their talke Ely demaũded of Teſtwood, whether the Pope ought to be head of the church, or no. Againſt the whiche, Teſtwood durſt not ſaye his full mynd, but reaſoned within his boundes a great while. But when they were both well ſtriken in an heate, Teſtwood forgettyng hym ſelfe, chaunced to ſay that euery king in his owne realme & dominion, ought to be the head of the church vnder Chriſt. At the which wordes Ely was ſo chafed, that he roſe vp from the table in a great fume, callyng hym heretike, and al that nought was, and ſo went brawling and chydyng away, to ẏ great diſquieting of al the company that were there. Then was Teſtwood very ſory to ſee the olde man take it ſo greeuouſly. Wherupon after dynner he went and ſought maiſter Ely, & found hym walking in the body of the church, thinking to haue talked with him charitably, & ſo to haue bene at one againe: but euer as Teſtwood preſſed towardes hym, the other ſhunned hym, and woulde not come nye hym, but ſpyt at hym, ſaying to other that walked by: Beware of this felowe, for he is the greateſt heretique and ſchiſmatique that euer came in Windſore.

The firſt newes of the kinges ſupremacie brought to Windſore.

Nowe began the matter to brewe. For after that Ely had made his complaint to the Deanes Deputie, and other of the Canons, they were all againſt Teſtwood, purpoſing ſurely at the Deanes commyng home (if all thynges had chaunced euen) to haue put hym to his trumpe. But ſee the fortune. It was not twelue dayes after, ere that the kynges ſupremacie paſſed in the Parlament houſe. Wherupon the Deane (Doctour Sampſon) came home ſodainly in the night late, & forthwithall ſent his Uerger about to all the Canons and Miniſters of the College, from the higheſt to the loweſt, commaũding them to be in the Chapter houſe by eyght of the clocke in the mornyng. Then Ely conſulted with the Canons ouer nyght (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to haue put Teſtwood to a great plundge. But he that layeth a ſnare for another man (ſayth Salomon) ſhalbe taken in it hym ſelfe. And ſo was Ely. For when the Deane and euerye man were come and placed in the Chapter houſe, and that the Deane had commended the Miniſters of the Churche for their diligence in tendyng the Queere, exhortyng them alſo to continue in the ſame: he beganne (contrary to euery mans expectation) to inueye agaynſt the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacie and vſurped authoritie, confoundyng the ſame by manifeſt Scriptures and probable reaſons, ſo earneſtly, that it was a woonder to heare: and at length declared openly that by the whole conſent of the parlament houſe, the popes ſupremacie was vtterly aboliſhed out of this realme of England for euer, & ſo cõmaunded euery man there vpon his allegiãce, to cal hym pope no more, but biſhop of Rome: & what ſo euer he were that would not ſo do, or dyd frõ that day forth mainteine or fauour his cauſe by any manner of meanes, he ſhould not onely looſe the benefite of that houſe, but be reputed as an vtter enemy to god & to the king. The Canons hearing this, were all ſtriken in a dumpe. Yet notwithſtanding Elyes hart was ſo great, that he would fayn haue vttered his cankerd ſtomacke againſt Teſtwood: but the Deane (breaking his tale) called hym old foole, and toke hym vp ſo ſharpely, ẏ he was fayne to hold his peace. Thẽ the Deane cõmaunded all the Popes pardons which hanged about the church, to be brought into the Chapter houſe, and caſt into the chimney, and brent before al their faces, and ſo departed.

M. Ely thinking to complaine of other, was called foole for his labour.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoodes trouble.

An other trouble of Teſtwood.

Idolatry to kin Henry of Wynſore.

AS it chanced Teſtwood one day to walke in the church at after noone, & beholde the pilgrimes (ſpecially of Deuonſhire & Cornwale) how they came in by plumpes with candles & Images of waxe in their handes to offer to good kyng Henry of Windſore (as they called hym) it pitied his hart to ſee ſo great idolatrie cõmitted, & how vainly ẏ people had ſpent their goods in cõmyng ſo farre to kiſſe a ſpur, & to haue an old hat ſet vpon their heades: In ſo much that he could not refraine, but (ſeing a certaine cõpany which had done their offring ſtand gaſing about the church) went vnto thẽ, & with al gentlenes began to exhort thẽ to leaue ſuch falſe worſhipping of dombe creatures, & to learn to worſhip the true liuyng God aright, putting them in remembraunce what thoſe thinges were which they worſhipped, and how God many tymes had plagued his people for runnyng a whoryng to ſuch ſtockes and ſtones, & ſo would plague thẽ and their poſteritie, if they would not leaue it.

Teſtwood exhorteth the people from Idolatrye.

Idolatrye to an image of a white Lady made of Alabaſter in Windſore.

Teſtwoode defaceth the Image.

After this ſort he admoniſhed them ſo long, tyll at the laſt, his wordes (as God would) tooke ſuch place in ſome of thẽ, that they ſaid, they would neuer go a pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found an other ſort, lickyng and kiſſyng a white Ladye made of Alabaſter, whiche Image was mortreſt in a wall behynd the hye altar, and bordred about with a pretty border, which was made like braunches with hangyng apples & floures. And when he ſawe them ſo ſuperſticiouſly vſe the Image (as to wipe their handes vpon it, & then to ſtrake them ouer their hands and faces as though there had bene great vertue in touchyng ẏ picture) he vp with his hand in the which he had a key, and ſmote a peece of the border about the Image downe, and with the glaunce of the ſtroke chaunced to breake of the images noſe. Loe, good people, quoth he, ye ſee what it is, nothyng but earth & duſt, and can not helpe it ſelfe, & how wyl you then haue it to helpe you? For Gods ſake brethren be no more deceyued: and ſo he gate hym home to his houſe, for the rumour was ſo great, that many came to ſee the Image, how it was defaced. And among all other came one Williã Symons (a Lawyer) who ſeeyng the Image ſo berayed, and to lacke her noſe, tooke the matter greeuouſly, and lookyng down vpon the pauement, he ſpied the Images noſe where it lay, which he tooke vp & put in his purſe, ſaying, it ſhould be a deare noſe to Teſtwood one day.

W. Simons a perſecuter.

O blinde Popery to ſeeke the death of a liuing man for the noſe of a dead ſtocke.

Magna Diana Epheſiorum. Act. 18.

Now wer many offended with Teſtwood: the Canons for ſpeaking agaynſt their profit: the waxe ſellers for hyndryng their market, & Symons for the Images noſe. And more thẽ that, there wer of the Canons mẽ that threatned to kyl hym. Wherupon Teſtwood kept his houſe, & durſt not come forth, myndyng to haue ſent the whole matter in wrytyng by his wyfe, to M. Crõmwel the kynges ſecretary, who was his ſpecial frend. The Canons hearyng that Teſtwood would ſend to Cromwel, they ſent the Uerger vnto hym, to wyl hym to come to the Church: who ſent thẽ word agayne, that he was in feare of his lyfe, and therfore would not come. Thẽ ſent they two of the eldeſt Peticanõs to entreat hym, & to aſſure hym that no man ſhould do hym harme. He made thẽ a playne anſwere, that he had no ſuch truſt to their promiſes, but woulde cõplayne to his frendes. Then wyſt they not what ſhyft to make (for of al mẽ they feared Cromwel) but ſent in poſt haſt for olde M. Warde, a Juſtice of peace dwelling 3. or 4. myles of: who being come, & hearing the matter, was very loth to medle in it. But notwithſtandyng, through their entreaty he went to Teſtwood, & had much ado to perſwade hym, but at the laſt, he dyd ſo faythfully promiſe hym by the othe he had made to God & the kyng, to defend hym from al daungers & harmes, that Teſtwood was content to go with hym.

The Papiſtes of Windſore afrayde of Cromwell.

The Canons of Windſore glad to fall in agayne with Teſtwoode

And when M. Warde and Teſtwood were come into the Church, and were goyng towarde the Chapter houſe, Teſtwoode in daunger of hys lyfe.

where the Canons abode their commyng, one of the Canons men drue his daggar at Teſtwood, and would haue bene vppon hym, but M. Warde with his men reſiſted, and gat Teſtwood into the Chapter houſe, cauſing the ſeruing men to be called in, and ſharpely rebuked of their maiſters, who ſtraytly commaunded them vppon payne of leeſing their ſeruice, and further diſpleaſure, not to touch him, nor to geue hym an euyl worde. Nowe Teſtwood being alone, in the Chapter houſe with the Canons and M. Warde was gently intreated, & the matter ſo pacified, that Teſtwood might quietly come and goe to the Church, and do his duetie as he had done before.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoodes trouble

An other cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.
Tho. Beckets Rachet made a Relique.
Teſtwoode refuſeth to beare the Relique.
S. Georges dagger made a Relique.

VPon a Relique Sonday (as they named it) when euery Miniſter after their olde cuſtome ſhoulde haue borne a Relique in his hand about a Proceſſion, one was brought to Teſtwood. Which relique (as they ſaid) was a Ratchet of biſhop Beckets. And as the Sexten would haue put yͤ Ratchet in Teſtwoods handes, he puſhed it from him ſaying, if he dyd geue it to hym, he would wipe his taile withal, & ſo the Rachet was geuen to an other. Then came the Verger down from the hie altar with S. Georges dagger in his hand, demaūding who lacked a relique. Mary quoth Teſtwood, geue it to M. Hake (who ſtood next him) for he is a prety man of his handes, & ſo the dagger was geuē vnto hym. Now Teſtwood perceyuyng the dagger in maiſter Hakes hand, and being meryly diſpoſed (as he was a mery conceited man) ſtepped forth out of his place to doctor Cliſton ſtanding directly before hym in the midſt of the queere, with a glorious golden Cope vpon his backe, hauyng the Pixe in his hand, and ſaid: Sir, maſter Hake hath S. Georges dagger. Nowe if he had his horſe, and S. Martins cloke, and maiſter John Shornes bootes, with king Harries ſpurres, and his hat, he might ride when he would, and ſo ſtepped into his place againe. Wherat the other chaunged colour, and wiſt not what to ſay.

An other cauſe of Teſtwoods trouble.

M. Francklen Deane of Windſore.

Blaſphemie and Idolatry to our Ladye.

IN the dayes of M. Franklen, who ſucceded D. Sampſon in the Deanrye of Windſore, there was on a time ſet vp at the Queere doore, a certaine fooliſhe printed paper in meter, all to the prayſe and commendation of our Lady, aſcribing vnto her, our iuſtification, our ſaluatiō, our redemtion, the forgeuenes of ſinnes. &c. to the great derogation of Chriſte. Which paper, one of the Canons called maiſter Magnus (as it was reported) cauſed to be ſet vp in deſpite of Teſtwood and his ſect. When Teſtwood ſaw this paper, he pluckt it downe ſecretly. The next day after was an other ſet vp in the ſame place. Then Teſtwood commyng into the Churche, and ſeeyng an other paper ſet vp, and alſo the Deane commyng a litle way of, made haſte to be in at the queere doore, while the Deane ſtayd to take holy water, and reachyng vp his hande as he went, pluckte away the paper with hym. The Deane being come to his ſtall, called Teſtwood vnto hym, and ſaid, that he marueyled greatly howe he durſt be ſo bolde to take downe the paper in his preſence? Teſtwood anſweared againe, that he marueiled muche more, that his maiſterſhip woulde ſuffer ſuch a blaſphemous paper to be ſet vp, beſeeching hym not to be offended with that he had done, for he would ſtand vnto it. So M. Deane being a timerous man, made no more ado wͭ him. After this were no mo papers ſet vp, but poore Teſtwood was eaten & drunken among thē at euery meale, and an heretique he was, and woulde roſte a fagot for this geare one day.

Teſtwoode taketh downe the blaſphemous paper.

M. Magnus magnus idololatra.

Now maiſter Magnus being ſore offended with Teſtwoode for pluckyng downe his papers, to be reuenged on hym, deuiſed with the Deane and the reſt of the Canons, to ſende their letters to D. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the kings Phiſition, who lay (for the moſt part) at the Court, to ſee what he would do againſt Teſtwood. Which letters being made, were ſent with ſpeede. But what ſoeuer the cauſe was, whether he durſt not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what els I can not tell, their ſute came to none effecte. Then wyſt they not what to do, but determined to let the matter ſleepe, tyll S. Georges feaſt, whiche was not farre of.

Conſpiracie of the Prieſtes of Windſore agaynſt Teſtwood

Nowe in the meane tyme there chaunced a pretye ſtorie, betweene one Robert Philips, Gentleman of the kings Chappel, and Teſtwood. Which ſtorie, though it was but a mery pranke of a ſingyng man, yet it greeued his aduerſarie wonderfully. The matter was this. Robert Philips was ſo notable a ſingyng man (wherein he gloryed) that where ſoeuer he came, the beſt and longeſt ſong, with moſt counteruerſes in it, ſhould be ſet vp at his commyng. And ſo his chaūce being now to be at Windſore, agaynſt his cōming to yͤ Antheme, a long ſongue was ſet vp, called Lauda viui. In which ſong there was one cōuteruerſe toward thend, that began on this wiſe: O redemptrix & ſaluatrix. Whiche verſe of all other, Robert Philips would ſing, becauſe he knewe that Teſtwood could not abide that ditty. Now Teſtwood knowing his mynd wel enough, ioined wͭ hym at the other part: and when he hearde Robert Philips begyn to fetch his flooriſhe with O redemptrix & ſaluatrix, repeating the ſame one in an others necke, Teſtwood was as quicke on the other ſide to anſweare hym agayne with Non redemptrix, nec ſaluatrix, and ſo ſtriuyng there with O and Non, who ſhould haue the maiſtry, they made an ende of the verſe. Whereat was good laughyng in ſleeues of ſome, but Robert Philips with other of Teſtwoodes enemies were ſore offended.

A blaſphemous Antheme calling the virgin Marye our ſauiour and redeemer.

A mery contention betweene Rob. Philips of the kinges chappell, and Teſtwoode, about *O Redemptrix*, and *Non Redemptrix*.

Within 14. dayes after this, the Lordes of the Garter (as their cuſtome is yearely to doe,) came to Wyndſore to keepe Saint Georges Feaſt: at whiche Feaſt the Duke of Northfolke was Preſident:, vnto whom the Deane and Canons made a greeuous complaynt on Teſtwoode. Who beyng called before the Duke, he ſhooke hym vp and all to reuiled hym, as though hee would haue ſent hym to hangyng by and by. yet neuertheleſſe Teſtwoode ſo behaued hymſelfe to the Duke, that in the ende hee let him go, without any farther moleſtyng of hym, to the great diſcomfort of the Deane and Canons.

Teſtwoode complayned of, to the olde Duke of Northfolke.

Here haue ye heard the cauſes whiche moued Teſtwoodes enemyes to ſeeke his deſtruction, and could not attaine their purpoſe, till that wicked Aman Doctour London came, as ſhall be ſhewed in the proces followyng.

The originall of Henry Filmers trouble.

Filmers trouble beginneth.

Fryer Melſter Vicar of Windſore.

Our Lady ſpouting milke in S. Bernardes eyes.

ABout the yeare of our Lord. 1541. after all the orders of ſuperſtitious and beggyng Friers were ſuppreſſed and put downe, there chaunced one Sir Thomas Melſter, which had bene a Frier before, and chaunged his Friers coate (but not his Friers hart) to be Vicare of Wyndſore. This Prieſt on a tyme made a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, in the whiche he declared ſo many fond and Frieriſh tales, as that our Lady ſhould hold out her breſtes to S. Barnard, and ſpoute her milke into his eyes, with ſuch like feſtiuall tales, that many honeſt men were offended therewith, and ſpecially this Henry Filmer then one of the Church Wardens: who was ſo zelous to Gods word, that hee could not abyde to heare the glory of Chriſt ſo defaced with ſuperſtitious fables. Whereupon he tooke an honeſt man or two with him, and went to the Prieſt, with whom he talked ſo honeſtly and ſo charitably, that in the ende the Prieſt gaue him hartie thankes, and was content at hys gentle admonition, to reforme himſelfe without any more ado, and ſo departed frendly the one from the other.

Now was there one in the towne, called William Symons a Lawyer (as is aforeſayd) who hearyng that Filmer had bene with the Prieſt, & reproued him for his Sermon, tooke pepper in the noſe, and gat him to the Vicare, & did ſo animate him in his doynges, that he ſlipped quyte away from the promiſe he had made to Filmer, and followed the mynde of Symons: who meetyng with Filmer afterward, all to reuiled hym, ſaying he would bryng him before the Byſhop, to teach him to be ſo malaperte. Then Filmer hearyng the matter renued, which he had thought had ben ſuppreſſed, ſtode agaynſt Symons and ſayd, that the Vicare had preached falſe and vnſound doctrine, and ſo would he ſay to the biſhop when ſoeuer he came before hym. Then Symons ſlipt not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of hym and his brethren a letter, ſigned with their own handes, in the prieſtes fauour, as much as could be deuiſed, and ſo prepared hym ſelfe with other his frendes to goe to the biſhop (whoſe name was doctor Capon) and to take the prieſt with them: which was a paynful iourney for the ſelye poore man, by reaſon he had a ſore legge.

Simons the Lawyer agaynſt Filmer.

Simons complayneth of Filmer to D. Capon Biſhop of Sarum.

Now Filmer hearing how Symons went about to put him to a foyle, conſulted with his frends what was beſt to do: who concluded to drawe out certaine notes of the vicars ſermon, & to prepare thē ſelues to be at Saliſbury as ſoone as Symons, or before hym, if it might be poſſible. Thus both the parties being in a readynes, it chaunced them to ſet foorth of Windſore all in one daye. But by reaſon the Prieſt (beyng an impotent man) coulde not endure to ride very faſt, Filmer and his company gate to the towne an houre and more before Symons, and wente to the Biſhop and deliuered vp their Byl vnto hym. Whiche Byll when the Biſhop had ſeene and peruſed well, he gaue them great thankes for their paynes, ſaying it dyd behoue hym to looke vpon it, for the Prieſte had preached hereſie, and ſhoulde be puniſhed.

Filmer forced to complayne to the Byſhop of Sarum.

Then Filmer declared vnto the Biſhop, the fourme of his talke he had with the Prieſt, and the ende thereof: and howe the matter being renued againe by Symons, forced hym and his companye to trouble his Lordſhip therewith. Wel ſaid the Biſhop, ye haue done like honeſt men. Come to me ſoone againe, and ye ſhal knowe more, and ſo they departed from the Biſhop to their Inne. And while they were there repoſing themſelues, Symons with his company came to the towne, and (not knowing the other to be come) gat them vp to the Biſhop in al poſt haſt, taking the prieſt with them.

Symons and the Vicar come to Saliſbury.

The Vicar of Windſore rebuked of the Byſhop.

The biſhop hearing of moe Windſore men, demaunded what they were, & being informed how it was the vicar of the towne with other moe, he cauſed ẏ vicar to be brought in. To whom he ſaid: Are you the vicar of Windſore? Yea forſooth my Lord, quoth he. Howe chaunceth it, quoth the biſh. that you are cōplained on? for here hath ben with me certaine honeſt men of your town, which haue deliuered vp a byl of erroneous doctrine againſt you. If it be ſo, I muſt nedes puniſh you, and opening the bil, he read it vnto him. How ſay you, quoth the biſh. is this true or no? The vicar could not deny it, but humbly ſubmitted him ſelfe to the biſhoppes correction. Then was his company called in, and when the Biſhop ſaw Symons, he knew hym wel, & ſaid: Wherfore come you M. Symons? Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip (quoth he) we are come to ſpeake in our vicars cauſe, which is a man of good cōuerſation & honeſtie, and doth his duetie ſo well in euery poynt, that no man can finde fault w̄ him, except a lewd felowe we haue in our towne called Filmer, which is ſo corrupt with hereſie, that he is able to poiſon a whole countrey: And truely my lord (quoth Symōs) there is no man that can preache or teache any thing that is good & godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to ſay it is ſtarke nought. Wherfore we ſhal beſeech your Lordſhip, he maye be puniſhed, to the enſample of other, that our vicar may do his duetie quietly, as he hath done before this buſie felow troubled him. And that your Lordſhip ſhal the better credite my ſayinges, I haue brought with me theſe honeſt men of the towne, and beſide al that, a teſtimonial from the maior and his brethren to confirme the ſame, and ſo he held out the writing in his hand.

The wordes of Symons to the Byſhop.

B. Capons aunſwer to Symons.

Then ſaid the Biſhop: So God helpe me maiſter Symons, ye are greatly to blame, and moſt worthy to be puniſhed of all men, that wyll ſo impudently go about to mainteine your Prieſt in his errour, which hath preached hereſie, & hath cōfeſſed it: wherfore I may not, nor wil not ſee it vnpuniſhed. And as for ẏ honeſt mā Filmer, on whō ye haue cōplained, I tell you plainely he hath in this poynt ſhewed him ſelfe a great deale more honeſter man then you. But in hope you wyll no more beare out your vicar in his euyll doinges, I will remit al thinges at this tyme: ſauing that he ſhall the next Sonday recant his Sermon openly before al his pariſhioners in Windſore Church: and ſo the Biſh. called in Filmer and his cōpany which waited without, & deliuered the Prieſtes recantation vnto them, with a great charge to ſee it truely obſerued in al poynts. Then Symōs tooke his leaue of the biſhop, & departed with a flea in his eare, diſappointed of his purpoſe, & ſore aſhamed of the foile. For this cauſe Symons coulde neuer brooke Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would holde vp his finger (as his maner was where he ought diſpleaſure) and ſay: I wyl be euen with you one day, truſt me.

Fryer Melſter cauſed to recant his Sermon.

The grudge of Simons agaynſt Filmer.

¶ The original of Anthony Perſons trouble.

The trouble of Anth Perſon Prieſt.

There was a certaine Prieſt named Anthony Perſon, which frequented muche to Windſore, about the yeare of our Lord. 1540. and vſing the talent that God had geuen him in preaching, was greatly eſteemed among the people: who flocked ſo much to his ſermons which he made both in ẏ towne & countrey, that ẏ great prieſts of the Caſtle, with other papiſtes in the towne (ſpecially Symons) were ſore offended: In ſo much that Symons at the laſt began to gather of his ſermons, & to marke his auditors: wherof enſued the death of diuers, and trouble of many honeſt men. For about a yere and more after, a miniſter of Satan called D. London, Warden of the newe College in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Windſore, who at his firſt comming to Windſore, began to vtter his ſtomake and to ſhewe his affection. For at his firſte reſidence dynner which he made to the Clerkes (which cōpany for the moſte part at that time fauoured ẏ Goſpel) al his whole talke to two Gentlemen ſtraungers at his boord (tyl the table was a taking vp) was nothing els but of heretikes, & what a deſolation they would bring the realme vnto, if they might be ſo ſuffered. And by S. Mary maſters (quoth he to the clerkes at the laſt) I cānot tel, but there goeth a ſhrewd report abroad of this houſe. Some made anſwer, it was vndeſerued. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a ſtranger and haue ſmal experience among you: but I haue heard it ſaid before I came hither, that there be ſome in this houſe, that wil neither haue prayer nor faſting.

W. Simons perſecuter of Anth. Perſon and of many other.

D. London, Warden of new Colledge in Oxforde, a miniſter of Sathan.

D. Londons wordes to the Clerkes of Windſore.

Then ſpake Teſtwood: By my troth ſir (quoth he) I think that was ſpokē but of malice, for praier (as your maiſterſhip knoweth better then I) is one of the firſt leſſons that Chriſt taught vs. Yea mary ſir, quoth he, but the heretikes wil haue no inuocatiō to ſaintes, which al the olde fathers do allow. What the old fathers do allow, quoth Teſtwood, I cannot tel, but Chriſt doth appoint vs to go to his father, & to aſke our petitiōs of him in Chriſtes name. Thē ye wil haue no meane betwene you & God, quoth D. Lōdō. Yes ſir, quoth Teſtwood, our meane is Chriſt, as S. Paul ſaith: *There is one Mediatour betwene God and man,* euē *Ieſus Chriſt.* Geue vs water, quoth Doct. London. Which being ſet on the boord, he ſaid grace and waſhed, and ſo falling into other communication with the ſtraungers, the Clerkes tooke their leaue and departed.

Teſtwoode aunſwereth for the Clerkes.

Goſpellers falſely ſclaundered of the Papiſtes.

Whē D. Londō had ben in Windſore a while among his catholike brethrē, & learned what Teſtwood was, and alſo of Symons, who ſhewed him our Ladyes noſe, as he called it) what a ſort of heretikes were in the towne & about the ſame, & how they increaſed daily by reaſon of a naughty prieſt, called Anthony Perſon: he was ſo malitiouſly bent againſt thē, that he gaue him ſelfe wholy to the deuyll to do miſchiefe. And to bring his wicked purpoſe about, he cōſpired w̄ the foreſaid Symōs (a meet clerke to ſerue ſuch a curate) and other of like ſort, how they might cōpaſſe the matter, firſt to haue al the Archheretikes (as they termed thē) in Windſore and thereabout, indicted of hereſie, and ſo to proceede further. They had a good ground to worke vpon, (as they thought) which was the ſixe articles, wherupon they began to build and practiſe thus. Firſt they drew out certaine notes of Antony Perſons ſermons, which he had preached againſt the Sacrament of the altar, & their popiſh Maſſe. That done, they put in ſir Philip Hobby with the good Lady his wife, ſir Thomas Cardine, Maiſter Edmund Harman, M. Thomas Weldon, with Snowbal and his wife, as chiefe aiders, helpers, & mainteiners of Anthony Perſon. Alſo they noted doctor Haynes Deane of Exceter & a Prebendary of Windſore, to be a common receyuer of al ſuſpected perſons. They wrote alſo the names of al ſuch as commonly haūted Anthony Perſons ſermons, and of al ſuch as had the Teſtament, and fauored the Goſpel, or dyd but ſmel therof.

D. London a malicious perſecuter.

D. London and W. Symons inflamed with malice agaynſt the good men of Windſore.

Syr Phillip Hobby, and his wyfe.
Syr Thomas Cardyne, and his wife.
M. Edmund Harman.
M. Thomas Weldone.
Snowball and his wyfe.
Doct. Haynes Deane of Excter

Then had they priuie ſpies to walke vp and down the Church, to harken and heare what men ſaid, and to marke who dyd not reuerence the Sacramente at the leuation tyme, and to bring his name to Doctour London. And of theſe ſpies ſome were Chauntrie Prieſtes: among the whiche there was one notable ſpie, whoſe name was called Syr William Bowes, ſuch a ſleeryng Prieſt as would be in euery corner of the church pattering to hym ſelfe, with his Portuous in his hand, to heare and to note the geſture of men towardes the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they coulde, and made a perfect booke there of, doctor Londō w̄ two of hys catholike brethrē moe, gaue thē vp to ẏ Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuē Gardiner, with a great complaynt againſte the heretiques that were in Windſore, declaryng vnto hym how the towne was ſore diſquieted through their doctrine and euyll example. Wherefore they beſought his Lordſhips helpe, in purgyng the towne & Caſtle of ſuch wicked perſons. The Biſhop hearyng their complaint, and ſeeing their booke, prayſed their doinges, and bade them make frends and go forward, and they ſhould not lacke his helpe. Then they applyed the matter with tooth & nayle, ſparing for no money nor paines taking: as Marbecke ſayth ẏ he hym ſelfe heard one of thē ſay, who was a great doer therin, & afterward ſory for ẏ he had done, that ẏ ſuite therof coſt him that yeare for his part only an hundred markes, beſide the death of three good geldinges.

W. Bowes Prieſt. Doct. Londons ſpye.

Ste. Gardiner a perſecuter.

D. Lo[illegible]ns complaint to Steph. Gardiner

What coſt the Papiſtes can be at, to trouble their euen Chriſten.

Nowe Biſhop Gardiner, whiche had conceiued a further fetche in his brayne then Doctour London had, made Wriſley and other of the Counſaile on his ſide, and ſpying a tyme conuenient, went to the king, complaynyng what a ſort of heretiques his grace had in his Realme, and howe they were not onely crept into euerye corner of his Court, but euen into his priuie Chamber, beſeeching therefore his maieſty, that his lawes might be proſecuted: ẏ king geuing credit to ẏ cōſailers wordes, was cōtēt his lawes ſhould be executed on ſuch as were offenders. Thē had ẏ biſh. that he deſired, & forthwith procured a cōmiſſiō for a priuy ſerch to be had in Windſore for bokes & letters that Anth. Perſon ſhould ſend abroad, whiche cōmiſſion the kyng graunted to take place in the towne of Windſore, but not in the Caſtle.

Wincheſter and Wriſley complayne to the king of the Goſpellers.

Wincheſter procureth a priuie ſearch in Windſore.

D. Haynes Deane of Exceſter accuſed to the Counſayle.

M. Hobby and Doct. Haynes ſent to the Fleete.

At this time the Canons of Exceſter (ſpecially Sutharne, Treaſurer of the Church, & Doctour Brurewod yͤ Chācellour) had accuſed Doctor Haynes there Deane to the counſell, for preaching agaynſt holy bread and holy water: and that he ſhould ſay in one of hys ſermons (hauing occaſion to ſpeake of Matrimonie) that mariage and hanging were deſtinie: vpon the which they gathered treaſon agaynſt hym, becauſe of the kynges maryage. The byſhop of Wincheſter (at the ſame tyme) had alſo enformed the counſayle of maiſter Hobby, how he was a bearer of Antony Perſon, and a great maintayner of heretickes. Whereupon both he and Doctor Haynes were apprehēded & ſent to yͤ Fleete. But it was not very long after ere yͭ by mediation of frendes, they were both deliuered.

The ſecret ſearch beginneth. Bennet, Filmer, Teſtwoode, and Marbecke, apprehended for bookes agaynſt the vi. Articles.

Nowe, as touching the Commiſſion for ſearchyng of bookes, maiſter Warde & Fachel of Reding were appoynted Commiſſioners, who came to Windſore the Thurſday before Palme ſonday, in the yeare of our Lord. 1543. and began their ſearch about. xi. of the clocke at night. In the whiche ſearche were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbecke, and Robert Teſtwood, for certaine bookes and wrytynges found in their houſes agaynſt the ſixe articles, and kept in ward tyl monday after, and thē ſet vp to yͤ Counſaile, all ſaue Teſtwood, with whom the Bailiffes of the towne were charged, becauſe he laye ſore diſeaſed on the Goute. The other three beyng examined before the Counſaile, were committed to priſon, Filmer and Bennet to the Biſhop of Londons Gayle, and Marbecke to the Marſhalſey: whoſe examination is here ſet out, to declare the great goodnes of the Counſaile, and the crueltie of the Biſhop.

The firſt examination of Iohn Marbecke,

before the Counſayle, on the Monday after Palme Sonday. 1544.

The firſt examination of Marbecke.

The Concordaunce of the Bible in Engliſh by Marbecke.

THis Marbecke had begonne a great worke in Engliſhe, called, The Concordaunce of the Bible. Whiche booke being not halfe finiſhed, was among his other bookes taken in the ſearch, and had vp to the Counſaile. And whē he came before them to be examined, the whole worke laye before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Steuen Gardiner, at the vpper ende of the borde. Who beholding the poore man a while, ſaide: Marbecke, doeſt thou knowe wherfore thou art ſent for? No, my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth the Biſhop, That is a marueylous thing. Forſooth my lord quoth he, vnles it be for a certaine ſearche made of late in Windſore, I can not tel wherfore it ſhould be. Then thou knoweſt the matter wel enough, quoth the Biſhop, and takyng vp a quere of the Concordance in his hand, ſayd: Vnderſtandeſt thou the Latine tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but ſimply. No, quoth yͤ Biſhop? And with that ſpake M. Wriſley (thē ſecretary to the king) he ſaith, but ſimply. I can not tell, quoth the biſhop, but the booke is tranſlated word for word out of the Latine Concordance, & ſo began to declare to yͤ reſt of the Counſayle, the nature of a Concordaunce, and how it was firſt compiled in Latine by the great diligence of the learned men for the eaſe of preachers, concluding with this reaſon, that if ſuch a booke ſhould goe forth in Engliſh, it would deſtroy the Latine tongue. And ſo caſtyng down the quere againe, he reached an other boke, which was the booke of Eſay the Prophet, and turning to the laſt chap. gaue the boke to Marbecke, & aſked him who had written the note in the margent. The other lokyng vpon it, ſaid: forſooth my Lord, I wrote it. Reade it, quoth the biſhop. Then he read it thus, Heauen is my ſeate, and the earth is my foot ſtoole. Nay, quoth yͤ biſh. reade it as yͧ haddeſt written it. Then ſhal I reade it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it falſe. Howe haddeſt thou written it, quoth the biſhop? I had written it, quoth he, thus: Heauē is my ſeate, and the earth is not my foot ſtoole. Yea marye quoth the biſhop, that was thy meanyng. No, my Lorde, quoth he, it was but an ouerſight in wrytyng, for as your lordſhip ſeeth, this word (Not) is blotted out. At this tyme came other matters into the Coūſaile, ſo yͭ Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had ſtande there a while, one of the Counſaile (named Syr Anthonye Wingfield Captaine of the Garde) came forth, and callyng for Marbecke, committed hym to one Welſon of the Gard, ſaying vnto hym on this wiſe: Take this man & haue hym to the Marſhalſey, and tell the keeper that it is the Counſailes pleaſure, that he ſhall entreate hym gently. And if he haue any mony in his purſe (as I think he hath not much) take you it from hym, leaſt the priſoners do take it, & miniſter it vnto hym as he ſhall haue neede. And ſo the meſſenger departed with Marbecke to the Marſhalſey, and dyd his cōmiſſion moſt faythfully & truely, both to the keeper & to the priſoner, as he was commaunded.

Wriſley, Secretary to the king, and after Lord Chauncellour.

Wincheſters reaſons, how the Concordance in Engliſh would deſtroy the Latin tong.

Marbecke ſent to the Marſhalſey.

The ſeconde examination of Marbecke, before the Biſhops Gentleman in the Marſhalſey.

The ſecond examination of Marbecke.

ON the next day (which was Tueſday) by eight of the clocke in the mornyng, there came one of the Biſhop of Wincheſters Gentlemen into the Marſhalſey, whoſe man brought after hym two great bookes vnder his arme, and findyng Marbecke walkyng vp and downe in the Chappell, demaunded of the keeper why he was not in yrons. I had no ſuch commaundement, quoth he: for the meſſenger which brought hym yeſter nyght from the Counſaile, ſayd, It was their pleaſure he ſhould be gently vſed. My Lord quoth the Gentlemā, wyl not be content with you, & ſo takyng the bokes of his man, called for a chāber, vp to yͤ whiche he caryed the priſoner, & caſting the bokes frō hym vpon a bed, ſat him down, & ſaid: Marbecke, my Lord doth fauor thee well, for certaine good qualities thou haſt, & hath ſent me hyther, to admoniſh thee to beware and take heede leaſt thou caſt away thy ſelfe wylfully. If thou wylt be plaine, thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe much good: if not, thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe much harme. I aſſure thee, my Lorde lamenteth thy caſe, for as much as he hath alwayes heard good report of thee: wherfore now ſee to thy ſelfe, and play the wiſe man. Thou art acquainted with a great ſort of heretiques (as Hobby and Haynes, with other moe) and knoweſt much of their ſecretes: if thou wylt now open them at my Lords requeſt, he wyl procure thy deliueraunce out of hand, & preferre the to better liuyng.

Talke betwene Wincheſters gentleman & Marbecke in priſon.

The name of this gentleman was M. Knight.

Alas ſir, quoth he, what ſecretes do I know? I am but a poore man, and was neuer worthy to be ſo conuerſant eyther with M. Hobby or M. Haynes, to know any part of their myndes. Wel, quoth the Gentleman, make it not ſo ſtrange, for my lord doth know wel enough in what eſtimatiō they had both thee and Anthony Perſon for your religion. Of Anthony Perſon, quoth he, I cā ſay nothing, for I neuer ſaw hym with them in all my lyfe. And as for my ſelfe, I can not deny, but that they haue alwayes (I thanke them) taken me for an honeſt poore man, and ſhewed me much kindnes: but as for their ſecretes, they were too wiſe to commyt them to any ſuch as I am.

Peraduenture, quoth the Gentleman, thou feareſt to vtter anye thing of them, becauſe they were thy frendes, leaſt they hearyng therof, might hereafter withdraw their frendſhip from thee: whiche thou needeſt not to feare, I warrant thee, for they are ſure enough, and neuer like to pleaſure thee more, nor no man els.

Marbecke can not be perſwaded to detect others.

With that the water ſtood in Marbeckes eyes. Why weepeſt thou, quoth the Gentleman? Oh ſir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me, theſe men haue don me good, wherfore I beſeech the liuyng God to comfort them, as I would be comforted my ſelfe.

Well, quoth the Gentleman, I perceiue thou wylt play the foole: and then he opened one of the bookes, and aſked hym if he vnderſtood any Latine. But a litle ſir, quoth he. How is it then, quoth the Gentleman, that thou haſt tranſlated thy booke out of the Latin Concordance, & yet vnderſtandeſt not the tongue? I wyll tell you, quoth he. In my youth I learned the principles of my Grammar, wherby I haue ſome vnderſtādyng therin, though it be very ſmal. Thē the Gentleman began to try hym in the Latin Concordāce & Engliſh Bible, which he had brought: and when he had ſo don, & was ſatiſfied, he called vp his man to ſet away the bookes, & ſo departed, leauyng Marbecke alone in the chāber, the doore faſt ſhut vnto hym.

About two houres after, the Gentleman came agayne, with a ſheete of paper folded in his hande, & ſate hym down vpon the beds ſide (as before) and ſaid: By my troth Marbecke, my lord ſeeth ſo much wylfulnes in thee, that he ſaith it is pitie to do thee good. When waſt thou laſt wᵗ Haynes? Forſooth, quoth he, about a three weekes agoe, I was at dynner with hym. And what talke, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his bord? I cā not tel now, quoth he. No, quoth yͤ Gentleman, thou art not ſo dull wytted, to forget a thyng in ſo ſhort ſpace. Yes ſir, quoth he, ſuch familier talke as mē do vſe at their bordes, is moſt commonly by the next daye forgotten, and ſo it was with me. Diddeſt thou neuer, quoth the Gentleman, talke with hym, nor with none of thy felowes, of the Maſſe, or of the bleſſed Sacrament? No, forſooth, quoth he. Nowe for ſooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou lieſt, for thou haſt ben ſene to talke with Teſtwood, and other of thy felowes, an houre together in the Churche, when honeſt men haue walked vp and downe beſide you, & as euer they haue drawen neare you, ye haue ſtayed your talke til they haue ben paſt you, becauſe they ſhould not heare whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I haue talked with Teſtwood & other of my felowes, I cānot tel how oft, which maketh not that we talked eyther of the Maſſe, or of the Sacrament: for men may common & talke

An other talke betwene Wincheſters gentleman and Marbecke.

How Wincheſter hunteth for D. Haynes.

of many matters, that they would not that euery mã ſhould heare, and yet farre from any ſuch thyng: therfore it is good to iudge the beſt. Well quoth the Gentleman, thou muſt be playner with my Lorde then this, or els it wyll be wrong with thee, and that ſooner then thou weeneſt. How playne wyll hys Lordſhip haue me to be Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and ſay with a ſafe conſcience, but I am redy to do it at his lordſhips pleaſure. What telleſt thou me quoth the gentleman of thy conſcience? Thou mayeſt with a ſafe conſcience vtter thoſe that be heretikes, and ſo doyng thou canſt do God and the kyng no greater ſeruice. If I know ſir, quoth he, who were an hereticke in deede, it were a thyng: but if I ſhould accuſe hym to be an heretike that is none, what a worme would that be in my conſciẽce ſo long as I lyued: yea it were a great deale better for me, to be out of this lyfe, then to lyue in ſuch torment. In faith quoth the Gentleman, thou knoweſt as well who be heretikes of thy fellowes at home, and who be none, as I doe know this paper to be in my hand: but it maketh no matter for they ſhall all be ſent for and examined: and thinkeſt thou that they wyll not vtter and tell of thee all that they can? yes I warrant thee. And what a fooliſh dolt art thou, that wylt not vtter aforehand what they bee, ſeyng it ſtandeth vpon thy deliueraunce to tell the truth? Whatſoeuer quoth he, they ſhall ſay of me, let them do it in the name of God, for I wyl ſay no more of thẽ, nor of no man els, then I know. Mary quoth the Gentleman if thou wilt do ſo, my lord requireth no more. And for as much as now peraduenture, thy wits are troubled, ſo that thou canſt not call thinges euen by and by to remembraunce, I haue brought thee ynke and paper, that thou mayeſt excogitate with thy ſelfe, and write ſuch thynges as ſhall come to thy mynde. O Lord, quoth Marbecke, what wyll my Lord do? Wyll his lordſhip compell me to accuſe men, and wot not whereof? No, quoth the gentleman, my Lorde compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to ſay the trouth. Therfore make no more ado but write, for my Lord wyll haue it ſo, and ſo layd downe the ynke and paper and went his way.

Conſcience litle paſſed of among theſe Papiſtes.

Marke here the wiles of Wincheſter.

Marbecke vrged to accuſe his brethren.

Marbecke brought to great diſtres.

Now was Marbecke ſo full of heauineſſe and woe, that he wyſt not what to do, nor how to ſet the penne to the booke, to ſatiſfie the Byſhops mynd, vnleſſe he did accuſe men, to the woundyng of hys owne ſoule. And thus beyng compaſſed about with nothyng but ſorrow and care, he cried out to God in hys harte, fallyng downe with weepyng teares and ſayd:

Marbeckes prayer vnto God.

O moſt mercifull father of heauen, thou that knoweſt the ſecret doyngs of all men, haue mercy vpon thy poore priſoner which is deſtitute of all helpe and comfort. Aſſiſte me (O Lord) with thy ſpeciall grace, that to ſaue this fraile and vile body, which ſhall turne to corruption at his tyme, I haue no power to ſay or to write any thing, that may be to the caſting away of my Chriſten brother: but rather (O Lorde) let this vyle fleſhe ſuffer at thy will and pleaſure. Graunt this, O moſt mercyfull father, for thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

Then hee roſe vp and began to ſearche his conſcience what he might write, and at laſt framed out theſe wordes: Where as your Lordſhyppe will haue me to write ſuch thynges as I knowe of my fellowes at home: pleaſeth it your Lordſhyp to vnderſtand, that I can not cal to remembraunce any maner of thyng, whereby I might iuſtly accuſe any one of them, vnleſſe it be that the readyng of the new Teſtament (which is cõmon to all men) be an offence: more then this I know not.

Marbeckes wordes written in Wincheſters paper.

Now the Gentleman, about his houre appoynted, came agayne, and founde Marbecke walking vp and downe the chamber. How now, quoth he, haſt thou written nothyng? yes Syr, quoth he, as much as I know. Well ſayd, quoth the Gentleman, & tooke vp yͤ paper. Which whẽ he had read, he caſt it from him in a great fume, ſwearyng by our Lords body that he would not for .xx.l. cary it to his Lord and maſter. Therfore quoth he, go to it agayne, and aduiſe thy ſelfe better, or els thou wilt ſet my Lord agaynſt thee, and then art thou vtterly vndone. By my trouth Syr, quoth Marbecke, if his Lordſhyp ſhall keepe me here theſe vij. yeares, I can ſay no more then I haue ſayd. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman, and ſo puttyng vp his penner and inke horne, departed with the paper in his hand.

Wincheſters gentleman returneth the third tyme to Marbecke.

Well ſworne and lyke a right Papiſt.

¶The thyrd examination of Marbecke, before the Byſhop of Wincheſter hym ſelfe in his owne houſe.

The third examination of Marbecke

The next day, which was Wedneſday, by viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, the Byſhop ſent for Marbecke to his houſe at S. Marie Ouers, and as he was entryng into the Byſhops Hall, he ſaw the Byſhop himſelfe commyng out at a doore in the vpper end therof, with a rolle in his hand, and goyng toward the great wyndow, he called the poore man vnto hym and ſayd: Marbecke, wylt thou caſt away thy ſelfe? No my Lord quoth he, I truſt. Yes, quoth yͤ byſhop, thou goeſt about it, for thou wylt vtter nothing. What a deuill made thee to medle wyth the ſcriptures? Thy vocation was an other way, wherin thou haſt a goodly gyfte, if thou diddeſt eſteeme it? Yes my Lord, quoth he, I do eſteeme it and haue done my part therin, accordyng to that litle knowledge that God hath geuen me. And why the deuill quoth the byſhop, diddeſt thou not holde thee there? and wyth that he flange away from the wyndow out of the Hall, the poore man folowyng him from place to place, tyll he had brought him into a long gallery, and beyng there, the byſhop began on this wyſe: A ſirha, quoth he, the neaſt of you is broken I trow. And vnfolding his rolle (which was about an eine long) he ſayd: Behold, here be your captaines, both Hobby and Haynes, wyth all the whole packe of thy ſecte about Wyndſore, & yet wilt thou vtter none of them. Alas my lord, quoth he, how ſhould I accuſe thẽ, by whom I know nothyng? Well, quoth yͤ biſhop, if thou wylt nedes caſt away thy ſelfe, who can let thee? What helpers hadeſt thou in ſettyng forth thy booke? Forſoth my lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the byſhop? how can that be? It is not poſſible that thou ſhouldeſt do it without helpe. Truely my L. quoth he, I can not tell in what part your lordſhip doth take it, but howſoeuer it be, I wyll not denye but I did it without the helpe of any man ſaue God alone. Nay quoth the B. I do not diſcõmend thy diligẽce, but what ſhouldeſt thou medle wyth that thyng which perteyned not to thee?

Chriſt ſayth, *Scrutamini Scripturas*: And Wincheſter ſayth, the deuill maketh men to medle with the Scriptures.

Marbecke charged for ſetting forth the Concordance.

And in ſpeakyng theſe wordes, one of his Chaplaynes (called M. Medow) came vp and ſtayd himſelfe at a wyndow, to whom the byſhop ſayd: here is a meruelous thing. Thys felow hath taken vpon hym to ſet out the Concordance in Engliſhe, which booke when it was ſet out in latine, was not done wythout the helpe and diligence of a doſen learned men at the leaſt, and yet wyll he beare me in hand that he hath done it alone. But ſay what thou wilt, quoth the Byſhop, except God himſelfe would come downe from heauen and tell me ſo, I will not beleue it: and ſo goyng forth to a wyndow, where two great Bibles lay vpon a cuſhyon, the one in Latine and the other in Engliſhe, he called Merbecke vnto him, and poynting hys finger to a place in the Latine Bible, ſayd: Canſt thou Engliſhe thys ſentence? Nay my L. quoth he, I trow I be not ſo cũning to geue it a perfite Engliſhe, but I can ſet out the engliſhe therof in the Engliſhe Byble. Let ſee, quoth the Byſhop. Then Marbecke turning the Engliſhe Byble, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Byſhop. So he tryed hym a three or foure tymes, till one of his men came vp and told him the Prieſt was ready to go to Maſſe.

M. Clawbacke commeth agayne to Marbecke.

And as the Byſhop was going, ſayde the gentleman which had examined Marbecke in the Marſhalſey the day before: Shall this fellow write nothyng while your Lordſhip is at Maſſe? for he paſſeth not on it. It maketh no matter quoth the Byſhop, for he wil tell nothyng, and ſo went downe to heare Maſſe, leauing Marbecke alone in yͤ gallery. The Biſhop was no ſooner downe, but the gentleman came vp agayne with inke and paper. Come Syrha quod he, my Lord wil haue you occupied till maſſe be done. perſwadyng hym wyth fayre wordes, that he ſhoulde be ſoone diſpatched out of trouble, if he would vſe truth and playnenes. Alas Syr quoth he, what wyll my Lorde haue me to do? for more thẽ I wrote to his lordſhip yeſterday, I can not? Well, well, goe to, quoth the gentleman, & make ſpeede, and ſo went hys way. There was no remedy but Marbecke muſt nowe write ſome thyng: wherefore hee callyng to GOD agayne in his mynde, wrote a fewe wordes as nye as he could frame them, to thoſe he had written the day before. When the Biſhop was come frõ Maſſe, and had looked on the writyng, he puſht it from him, ſaying: what ſhall this doe? It hath neither head nor foote. There is a meruelous ſect of them (quoth the Byſhop to his men) for the deuill can not make one of them to bewray an other. Then was there nothyng among the Byſhoppes Gẽtlemẽ, as they were makyng him ready to go to yͤ court, but *Crucifige* vpon the poore man. And when the Biſhops white rachet was on him and all: Well Marbecke, quoth he, I am now going to the Court, and was purpoſed, if I had founde thee tractable, to haue ſpoken to the Kynges Maieſtie for thee, and to haue geuen thee thy meate, drinke, & lodging here in myne houſe: but ſeyng thou art ſo wilfull and ſo ſtubburne, thou ſhalt go to the deuill for me.

Marbecke preſſed agayne to vtter his fellowes.

Then was he caried downe by the Byſhops men with many raylyng wordes. And commyng thorough the great chamber, there ſtode D. London, with two moe of his felowes, waytyng the Byſhops commyng: and paſſing by thẽ into the Hall, he was there receiued of his keper and caried to priſõ again. It was not halfe an houre after, ere that the

Marbecke brought agayne from Wincheſters houſe to the Marſhalſey.

Biſhop ſent one of his Gentlemen, to the vnder keeper called Stokes, commaundyng him to put yrons vpon Marbecke, and to keepe him faſt ſhut in a chamber alone, & when he ſhould bryng him downe to dyner or ſupper, to ſee that he ſpake to no man nor no mā to him: and furthermore, that he ſhould ſuffer no maner of perſō (not his owne wife) to come and ſee him or miniſter any thyng vnto him. When the porter (who was the crueleſt man that might be, to all ſuch as were layd in for any matter of Religion, and yet as GOD would, fauourable to this poore man) had receiued this commaundement from the Byſhop, he clapt yrōs vpon him and ſhut him vp, geuyng warnyng to all the houſe, that no man ſhould ſpeake or talke to Marbecke, when ſoeuer he was brought downe: & ſo he continued for the ſpace of iij. weekes and more, till his wife was ſuffered to come vnto him.

A cruell porter of the Marſhalſey, but yet good to Marbecke.

¶The ſute of Marbeckes wife to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Marbeckes wife flieth to Wincheſter for her huſband.

MArbeckes wife, at the tyme of her huſbandes apprehenſion, had a young child of a quarter old, ſuckyng vpō her breſt: and when her huſband was taken from her, and had away to the Counſaile, not knowyng what ſhould become of him, ſhe left the child and all, and gat her vp to London, & hearyng her huſbād to be in the Marſhalſey, goeth thether. But when ſhe came there, ſhe could in no wiſe be ſuffered to ſee him, which greatly augmented her ſorrow. Then by counſaile of frendes, ſhe gat her to the Byſhop of Wincheſter (for other helpe was there none to be had at that tyme) makyng great ſute to haue his licence to go and ſee her huſband, and to helpe him with ſuch things as he lacked. Nay, quoth the Byſhop, thy huſband is acquainted with al ỳ heretickes that be in the Realme, both on this ſide the Sea & beyond, and yet will he vtter none of them. Alas my Lord, quoth ſhe, my huſband was neuer beyond the Seas, nor no great trauailer in the Realme to be ſo acquainted, therefore good my Lord let me go ſee him. But all her earneſt ſute from day to day would not helpe, but ſtill he put her of, harpyng alwayes vpon this ſtryng: thy huſband will vtter nothing. At the laſt, ſhe finding him in the court at S. James goyng toward his chamber, was ſo bold to take him by the ratched and ſay: O my Lord, theſe 18. dayes I haue troubled your Lordſhyp: Now for the loue of God, and as euer ye came of a womā, put me of no longer, but let me go to my huſband. And as ſhe was ſtandyng with the Byſhop and his men in a blynd corner goyng to his chamber, one of the kynges ſeruauntes called Harry Carrike, & her next neighbour chaunced to be by: and hearyng the talke betwene the Byſhop and her, deſired his Lordſhyp to be good Lord vnto the poore woman, which had her owne mother lying bedred vpon her handes, beſide v. or vj. children. I promiſe you quoth the Byſhop, her huſband is a great hereticke, & hath read more Scripture then any mā in the realme hath done. I cā not tell my Lord, quoth Carricke, what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honeſt a quyet neighbour as euer I dwelt by. He will tell nothyng, quoth the Byſhop. Hee knoweth a great ſorte of falſe harlots, & will not vtter them. Yes my Lord, quoth Carricke, he will tell, I dare ſay, for he is an honeſt man. Well, quoth the Biſhop (ſpeaking to the wife) thou ſeemeſt to be an honeſt woman, and if thou loue thy huſband well, go to him, and gyue him good counſaile, to vtter ſuch naughty felowes as he knoweth, and I promiſe thee he ſhall haue what I cā do for him: for I do fanſie him well for his arte, wherein he had pleaſed me as well as any man: and ſo ſtepping into his chamber, ſayd ſhe ſhould haue his letter to the keeper. But his mynde beyng chaunged, he ſent out his ryng by a Gentleman, which Gentleman deliuered the ryng to his man, charging him with the Biſhops meſſage. And ſo his man went with the woman to the water ſide, & tooke boate, who neuer reſted rayling on her huſband all the way, till they came to the priſon: which was no ſmall croſſe vnto the poore woman.

Marbeckes wife denyed a great while to goe to her huſband.

Wincheſters argument. He hath read much ſcripture: Ergo he is an hereticke

Henry Carricke playeth the part of a good neighbour.

Marbeckes wife permitted at laſt to go to her huſband.

And when they were come to the Marſhalſey, the meſſeger ſhewed the Byſhops ryng to the Porter ſaying: Maiſter Stokes, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye ſuffer this woman to haue recourſe to her huſband: but he ſtraightly chargeth you, that ye ſearch her both commyng & going, leſt ſhe bryng or cary any letters to or fro, and that ſhe bryng no body vnto him, nor no word from no man. Gods bloud, quoth the Porter (who was a foule ſwearer) what will my Lord haue me to do? Can I let her to bryng word from any man? Either let her go to her huſband, or let her not go, for I ſee nothing by him, but an honeſt man. The poore woman fearing to be repulſed, ſpake the Porter fayre, ſaying: Good Maiſter be cōtent, for I haue foūd my Lord very good Lord vnto me. This yoūg man is but the Gētlemans ſeruaunt, which brought the ring from my Lord, and I thinke doth his meſſage a great deale more ſtraiter then my Lord commaunded the Gentleman, or that the Gentleman his maiſter commaunded hym. But neuertheleſſe good Maiſter, quoth ſhe, I ſhall be content to ſtrip my ſelfe before you, both commyng and goyng, ſo farre as any honeſt woman may do with honeſty. For I entend no ſuch thyng, but onely to comfort and helpe my huſband. Then the meſſenger ſayd no more, but went his way, leauing the woman there, who from that tyme forth, was ſuffered to come and go at her pleaſure.

Like maiſter, lyke man.

The part of a good wyfe & an honeſt Matrone.

¶The fourth examination of Marbecke before the Commiſſioners in the Byſhop of Londons houſe.

The 4. examination of Marbecke. Commiſſioners for the vj. Articles. D. Capon Byſhop of Saliſburye. D. Skippe Byſhop of Harforde. D. Goodricke. Byſhop of Ely. D. Oking. D. May.

ABout a three weekes before Whitſonday, was Marbecke ſent for to the Byſhop of Londons houſe, where ſat in Commiſſion Doctour Capon Byſhop of Saliſbury, Doct. Skyp Byſhop of Harford, Doct. Goodricke Biſhop of Ely, Doct. Okyng, Doct. May, and the Byſhop of Lōdons Scribe, hauing before them, all Marbeckes bookes. Then ſayd the Byſhop of Saliſbury: Marbecke, we are here in Commiſſion ſent frō the kynges maieſtie, to examine thee of certaine things, whereof thou muſt be ſworne to aunſwere vs faythfully & truly. I am cōtēt my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth, ſo farre as I cā, and ſo tooke his oth. Then the Byſhop of Saliſbury layd forth before him, his 3. bookes of notes, demaundyng whoſe hand they were. He aunſwered, they were his owne hand, & notes which he had gathered out of other mēs workes vj. yeares ago. For what cauſe, quoth the Byſhop of Saliſbury diddeſt thou gather them? For none other cauſe my Lord, quoth he, but to come by knowledge. For I beyng vnlearned and deſirous to vnderſtand ſome part of Scripture, thought by reading of learned mens workes, to come the ſooner therby: and where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by thē, that I noted as ye ſee, with a letter of his name in the margent, that had ſet out the worke. So me thinke, quoth the Byſhop of Ely (who had one of the bookes of notes in his hād all the time of their ſitting) thou haſt read of al ſortes of bookes both good and bad, as ſeemeth by the notes. So I haue my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpoſe, quoth the Byſhop of Saliſ. by my trouth, quoth he, for no other purpoſe but to ſee euery mans mynde. Then the Byſhop of Saliſbury drew out a quire of the Cōcordance, & layd it before the Byſhop of Harford, who lookyng vpon it a while, lifted vp his eyes to Doctour Okyng (ſtandyng next him) and ſayd: This man hath bene better occupied, then a great ſort of our Prieſtes. To the which he made no aunſwere.

Then ſayd the Byſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe helpe hadſt thou in ſettyng forth this booke? Truly my Lord, quoth he, no helpe at all. How couldeſt thou, quoth the Byſhop, inuent ſuch a booke, or know what a Concordance ment, without an inſtructer. I will tell your Lordſhyp, quoth he, what inſtructer I had to begyn it. When Thomas Mathewes Bible came firſt out in print, I was much deſirous to haue one of them: & beyng a poore mā not able to bye one of them, determined with my ſelfe to borrow one among my frendes and to write it forth. And when I had writtē out the fiue bookes of Moyſes in faire great paper, & was entred into the boke of Joſua, my frend Maiſter Turner chaunced to ſteale vpon me vnwares, and ſeing me writing out the Bible, aſked me what I ment thereby. And when I had told him the cauſe: Tuſh, quoth he, thou goeſt about a vayne & tedious labour. But this were a profitable worke for thee, to ſet out a Concordaunce in Engliſh. A Concordance ſayd I, what is that? Then he told me it was a booke to finde out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, & that there was ſuch a one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learnyng to goe aboute ſuch a thyng. Enough, quoth he, for that matter, for it requireth not ſo much learnyng, as diligence. And ſeing thou art ſo painfull a man, and one that cannot be vnoccupied, it were a goodly exerciſe for thee. And this (my Lord) is all the inſtruction that euer I had before or after, of any man. What is that Turner, quoth the Byſhop of Saliſbury? Mary, quoth D. May, an honeſt learned man, and a Bacheler of Diuinitie, and ſometime a felow in Magdalene Colledge in Oxford. How couldeſt thou, quoth the Biſhop of Saliſbury with this inſtruction, bring it to this order & forme, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practiſe my wit, and at laſt with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your Lordſhip doth ſee. A good wit with diligēce, quoth the byſh. of Harford, may bring hard thyngs to paſſe. It is great pitie quoth the Byſhop of Ely, he had not the Latine toung. So it is, quoth Doct. May. yet can not I beleue, quoth the Biſh. of Saliſ. that he hath done any more in this worke, then written it out after ſome other that is learned.

The occaſion why Marbecke began the Concordance in Engliſhe.

M. Richard Turner of Magdalen Colledge in Oxforde and after of Windſore, a godly lerned man and a good preacher: who in Queene Maryes tyme fledde into Germanye, and there dyed.

My Lordes, quoth Marbecke, I ſhall beſech you all to pardon me what I ſhall ſay, and to graunt my requeſt if it

Marbeckes wordes to the Byſhops

ſhall ſeeme good vnto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Byſhops. I do maruaile greatly wherefore I ſhould be ſo much examined for this booke, and whether I haue committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I haue, then were I loth any other to be moleſted or puniſhed for my fault. Therfore to cleare all men in this matter, this is my requeſt, yͤ ye will try me in the reſt of the booke that is vndone. Ye ſee yͭ I am yet but in yͤ letter. L. Begynning now at M. & take out what word ye will of that letter, and ſo in euery letter folowyng, and geue me the wordes in a peece of paper, and ſet me in a place alone where it ſhall pleaſe you, with ynke and paper, the Engliſh Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bryng you not theſe wordes written in the ſame order & forme that the reſt before is, then it was not I that did it, but ſome other.

By my trouth Marbecke, quoth the Byſhop of Ely, that is honeſtly ſpoken, and then ſhalt thou bryng many out of ſuſpicion. That he ſhall, quoth they all. Then they bad Doct. Okyng draw out ſuch wordes as he thought beſt in a peece of paper, and ſo roſe vp: and in the meane tyme fell in to other familiar talke with Marbecke (for the Byſhop of Ely and Harford both, were acquainted with him afore, & his frendes, ſo farre as they durſt) who perceiuing the Biſhops ſo pleaſauntly diſpoſed, beſought them to tell him in what daunger he ſtode. Shall I tell the Marbecke, quoth the Byſhop of Sarum? Thou art in better caſe then any of thy felowes, of whom there be ſome would geue xl. l. to be in no worſe caſe then thou art, whoſe ſayinges the other affirmed. Thē came Doct. Okyng with the wordes he had written and while the Byſhops were peruſing them ouer, Doctour Okyng ſayd to Marbecke (very frendly) on this wiſe: Good M. Marbecke make haſt, for the ſooner ye haue done, the ſooner ye ſhalbe deliuered. And as the Byſhops were goyng away, the Biſhop of Harford tooke Marbecke a litle aſide, and enformed him of a word which D. Okyng had written falſe, and alſo to comfort him ſayd: Feare not, there can no law condemne you, for any thyng that ye haue done, for if ye had written a thouſād hereſies, ſo lōg as they be not your ſayinges nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you. And ſo went they all with the Byſhop of Sarum to dyner, takyng the poore man with them, who dyned in the Haull at the Stewardes borde: and beſide that, had wyne and meate ſent downe from the Byſhops table.

The biſhops of Saliſburye and Harford, lyke well the caſe of Marbecke.

D. Skippes comfortable wordes to Marbecke.

When dyner was done, the Byſhop of Sarum came downe into the Hall, commaundyng inke and paper to be geuē to Marbecke, & the two bookes to one of his men to go with him, at whoſe goyng hee demaunded of the Byſhop, what tyme his Lordſhyp would appoint him to do it in. Agaynſt to morow this tyme, quoth the Byſhop, which was about two of the clocke, and ſo departed.

Marbecke now beyng in his priſon chamber, fell to his buſines, and ſo applied the thing, that by the next day whē the Biſhop ſent for him agayne, he had written ſo much, in the ſame order and forme he had done the reſt before, as cōteined iij. ſheetes of paper and more. The which, when he had deliuered to the Byſhop of Sarum (Doct. Okyng ſtādyng by) he merueiled and ſayd: Well Marbecke, thou haſt now put me out of all doubt. I aſſure thee, quoth he (puttyng vp the paper into his boſome) the kyng ſhall ſee this or I be 24. houres elder: but he diſſembled euery word, and thought nothyng leſſe then ſo. For afterward, the matter beyng come to light, and knowen to his grace what a booke the poore man had begō, which the Biſhops would not ſuffer him to finiſh: the kyng ſayd he was better occupied then they that tooke it from him. So Marbecke departed from the Byſhop of Sarum to priſon agayne, and heard no more of hys booke.

A falſe diſſembling biſhop.

The 5. examination of Marbecke, before D. Okyng and M. Knight Secretary to the Byſhop of Wyncheſter, in S. Mary Ouers Church.

The 5. examination of Marbecke.

VPon Whitſonday folowyng, at after noone, was Marbecke ſent for once agayne to S. Mary Ouers, where he found D. Okyng wyth an other gentleman in a gowne of Damaſke, wyth a cheyne of gold about his necke (no mo in all the Church but they two) ſitting togethers in one of the ſtalles, their backes toward the Church doore, looking vpon an Epiſtle of M. John Caluines, which Marbecke had written out. And when they ſawe the priſoner come, they roſe and had hym vp to a ſide alter, leauyng his keeper in the body of the Church alone. Now as ſoone as Marbecke ſaw the face of the gentleman (which before he knew not by reaſon of his apparell) he ſaw it was the ſame perſon that firſt examined hym in the Marſhalſey, and did alſo cauſe hym to write in the Byſhops gallery, but neuer knew hys name, till now he heard Doct. Okyng call hym M. Knight. This M. Knight helde forth the paper to Marbecke and ſayd: Looke vpon this, and tell me whoſe hand it is. When Marbecke had taken the paper, and ſene what it was, he confeſſed it to be all hys hand ſauing yͤ firſt leafe, and the notes in the margent. Thē I perceiue, quoth Knight, thou wilt not goe from thine owne hand. No Syr quoth he, I will deny nothyng that I haue done. Then doeſt well in that, quoth Knight, for if thou ſhouldeſt, we haue teſtimonyes enough beſides, to trye out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whoſe hand is the laſt leafe? That I cannot tell you, quoth Marbecke. Thē how cameſt thou by it, quoth Knight? Forſoth I will tell you, quoth he. There was a Prieſte dwelling wyth vs vpon a v. or vi. yeares ago, called Marſhall, who ſent it vnto me with the firſt leafe written, deſiryng me to write it out wyth ſpeede, becauſe the coppie coulde not be ſpared paſte an houre or twaine: and ſo I wrote it out, and ſent hym both the coppye and it agayne.

Thys gentleman of Wincheſters was M. Knight.

And how came thys hand in the margent, quoth he, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I wyll tell you, quoth Marbecke. When I wrote it out at the firſt, I made ſo much haſt of it, that I vnderſtoode not the matter: wherefore I was deſirous to ſee it agayne, and to read it with more deliberation, and beyng ſent to me the ſecond tyme, it was thus coted in the margent as ye ſee. And ſhortly after thys, it was hys chaunce to go beyond yͤ ſeas (where he lyued not long) by reaſō whereof the Epiſtle remayneth wyth me: but whether the firſt leafe, or the notes in the margent were hys hand, or whoſe hand els, that I cannot tell. Tuſhe, quoth D. Okyng to M. Knight, he knoweth well enough, that the notes be Heynes own hand. If you know ſo much, quoth Marbecke, ye know more thē I do, for I tell you truely I know it not. By my fayth Marbecke, quoth Knyght, if thou wylt not tell by fayre meanes: thoſe fingers of thyne ſhall be made to tell. By my trouth Syr, quoth Marbecke, if ye do teare the whole body in peeces (I truſt in God) ye ſhall neuer make me accuſe man wrongfully. If thou be ſo ſtubburne, quoth D. Okyng, thou wilt dye for it. Dye M. Okyng, quoth he? wherfore ſhould I dye. You tolde me the laſt day before the Byſhops, that as ſoone as I had made an ende of the peece of Concordance they tooke me, I ſhould be deliuered, and ſhall I now dye? This is a ſodayne mutation. You ſeemed then to be my frend: but I know the cauſe, ye haue read the ballet I made of Moſes chayre, and, that hath ſet you agaynſt me, but when ſoeuer ye ſhall put me to death, I doubt not to dye Gods true man and the kynges. How ſo, quoth Knight? how cāſt thou die a true mā vnto the kyng, when thou haſt offended hys lawes? Is not this Epiſtle and moſt of thy notes thou haſt writtē, directly agaynſt the vi. Articles? No Syr, quoth Marbecke: I haue not offended the kynges lawes therein: for ſince the firſt tyme I began wyth the Concordance (which is almoſt vi. yeares ago) I haue bene occupyed in nothyng els: So that both this Epiſtle, and all the notes I haue gathered, were written a great while before the vi. Articles came forth, & are clearely remitted by the kyngs generall pardon. Truſt not to that, quoth Knight, for it will not helpe thee. No I warrant hym, quoth Doct. Okyng, and ſo going downe to the body of the Church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to priſon agayne.

Surmiſe agaynſt D. Haynes.

Inconſtancy and litle trueth in Papiſtes.

The kinges generall pardon claymed.

The ſute of Filmers wyfe to the Byſhops which ſat in commiſſion, for her huſband.

IN lyke maner, the wife of Filmer knowing her huſbands trouble to be onely procured of malice by Simons his olde enemy, made great ſute and labour vnto the Byſhoppes which were Commiſſioners, deſiring no more of them, but that it woulde pleaſe their goodnes to examine her huſband before them, and to heare hym make his purgation. This was her onely requeſt to euery of the Byſhops from day to day, wherſoeuer ſhee coulde finde them. In ſo much that two of the Byſhops (Ely and Harford) were very ſorye (conſidering the importune and reaſonable ſute of the woman) that it lay not in them to helpe her. Thus trauaylyng long vp and downe from one to an other, to haue her huſband examyned, it was her chaunce at the laſt to finde the Byſhops all three together in the Byſhop of Ely hys place, vnto whom ſhee ſayd: O good my Lords for the loue of God, let now my poore huſbande be brought forth before you, whyle ye be here all togethers. For truely my Lordes, there can nothyng be iuſtly layde agaynſt hym, but that of malicious enuie and ſpite, Simons hath wrought hym this trouble. And you my Lord of Saliſbury, quoth the poore woman, can teſtifie (if it would pleaſe your lordſhip to ſay the truth) what malice Simōs bare to my huſband when they were both before you at Saliſbury (litle more then a yeare agoe) for the Vicar of Wyndſore

Filmers wyfe laboureth for her huſband.

The wordes of Filmers wyfe to the Byſhops.

matter. For as your Lordſhyp knoweth, when my huſbād had certified you of the Prieſtes Sermon, whiche you ſayd was playne hereſie: then came Symons (after the Prieſt himſelfe had confeſſed it) & would haue defended the prieſtes error before your Lordſhip, & haue had my huſbād puniſhed. At what tyme it pleaſed your Lordſhyp to commende and prayſe my huſband for his honeſty, and to rebuke Symons for maintaynyng the Prieſt in his errour, and therupon commaūded ẏ Prieſt to recāt his hereſie at his commyng home to Windſore. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lordes, quoth the woman, it is moſt certaine, that for this cauſe onely did Symōs euermore afterward threaten my huſband to be euen with him. Therefore good my Lordes, call my huſband before you, and heare him ſpeake: and if ye finde any other matter agaynſt him then this that I haue told you, let me ſuffer death. Is this ſo my Lord, quoth the Biſhop of Ely and Harford? and the other could not deny it. Then they ſpake Latine to the Byſhop of Saliſbury, and he to them, & ſo departed. For the matter was ſo wrought betwene Doctour London and Symons, that Filmer could neuer be ſuffered to come before the Commiſſioners to be examined.

Filmer could not come to hys aunſwere.

¶The maner of their condemnations, and how they dyed.

1544.

The kyng maryed to the Ladye Katherine Parre.

Steuen Gardiner great about the kyng.

Gardiners bowe bēt to ſhoote at the head Deare.

Perſon, Filmer, and Marbecke, ſēt to Windſore.

Teſtwoode brought out of his bed vpon crouches into pryſon.

Bennet ſicke of the peſtilence at London.

A ſpeciall Seſſions procured.

When the tyme drew nye that the kyngs Maieſtie (who was newly maried to that good & vertuous Lady Katherine Parre) ſhould make his progreſſe abroad, the foreſayd Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter had ſo compaſſed his matters ẏ no man bare ſo great a ſwynge about the kyng as he did. Wherwith the Goſpellers were ſo quayled, that the beſt of them all looked euery houre to be clapt in the necke. For the ſaying wēt abroad, that the Byſhop had bent his bow to ſhoote at ſome of the head Deare: but in the meane tyme iij. or foure of the poore Raſcals were caught, that is to ſay, Anthony Perſon, Henry Filmer, and Iohn Marbecke, and ſent to Wyndſore by the Sheriffes men, the Saterday before S. Iames day and laid faſt in the townes Gaile: and Teſtwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his houſe vpon crouches, and layd with them. But as for Bennet, (which ſhould haue bene the fift man) his chaūce was to be ſicke of the Peſtilence, and hauyng a great ſore vpon him, was left behynd in ẏ Byſhop of Londons Gaile, whereby he eſcaped the fire.

Now theſe mē beyng brought to Windſore, there was a ſeſſiōs ſpeciall procured to be holden ẏ thurſday after which was S. Annes day. Agaynſt the whiche Seſſions (by the counſell of Doctour London and Symons) were all the Farmers belongyng to the College of Wyndeſore, warned to appeare: becauſe they could not pyke out Papiſtes enough in the towne, to go vpō the Iury. The Iudges that day were theſe.

The Iudges.

Doctor Capon Byſhop of Saliſbury.
Syr William Eſſex Knight.
Syr Thomas Bridges Knight.
Syr Humfrey Foſter Knight.
Maiſter Franklen Deane of Wyndſore.
And Fachel of Readyng.

Rob. Ockam Clerke of peace.

When theſe had taken their places, and the priſoners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam occupying for that day the Clarke of peace his rowme, called Anthony Perſon, accordyng to the maner of the Court, and read his Inditement which was this.

The Iuditement agaynſt Anth. Perſon.

Firſt, that he ſhould preach two yeares before, in a place called Wyngfield, and there ſhould ſay: that like as Chriſt was hanged betwene two theeues, euen ſo when the Prieſt is at Maſſe, and hath cōſecrated and lifted him vp ouer his head, then he hangeth betwene two theeues, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken vpon him to do.

Alſo that he ſayd to the people in the Pulpet: yee ſhall not eate the body of Chriſt, as it did hang vpon the Croſſe, gnawyng it with your teeth that the bloude runne about your lyppes, but you ſhall eate him this day, as ye eate hym to morrow, the next day, and euery day: for it refreſheth not the body, but the ſoule.

Alſo, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he ſayd as followeth: This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Chriſt.

Alſo he ſayd, that Chriſt ſittyng with his Diſciples, tooke bread and bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples, ſaying: Take and eate it. This is my body. What is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

Anth. Perſon aunſwereth to his Inditement.

To this Anthony aunſwered & ſayd: I wilbe tryed by God and his holy word, and by the true Church of Chriſt, whether this be hereſie or no, whereof ye haue Indited me this day. So long as I preached the Byſhop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was neuer troubled: but ſince I haue taken vppon me to preach Chriſt and his Goſpell, ye haue alwayes ſought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you haue taken your pleaſure of my body, I truſt it ſhall not lye in your powers to hurt my ſoule. Thou calleſt vs theeues, quoth the Byſhop. I ſay, quoth Anthony, ye are not onely theeues but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the worde of God purely and ſincerely to the people, whiche ye do not nor neuer did, but haue allured them to all Idolatrie, ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, for your owne lucre & glory ſake, through the which ye are become rather Bite ſheepes then true Byſhops, byting and deuouring the poore ſheepe of Chriſt like rauening Wolues neuer ſatiſfied with bloud: which God wil require at your hādes one day, doubt it not. Then ſpake Symons his accuſer, ſtanding within the barre, ſaying: It is pitie this felow had not bene burnt long ago as he deſerued. In fayth (quoth Anthony) if you had as you haue deſerued, you were more worthy to ſtand in this place then I: but I truſt in the laſt day when we ſhall both appeare before the tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, that then it wilbe knowen which of vs ij. hath beſt deſerued this place. Shall I haue ſo long a day, quoth Symons, holdyng vp his finger? Nay, then I care not: and ſo the matter was ieſted out.

Tarbiſia Perſonia.

W. Simons replyeth agaynſt Perſon.

The Papiſtes left at Gods iudgement.

¶Robert Teſtwoode.

Teſtwoodes inditement.

Then was Teſtwoode called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould ſay in the tyme that the Prieſt was liftyng vp the Sacrament: what wilt thou lift him ſo hye? what yet hyer? Take heede, let him not fall.

Teſtwoode aunſwereth to his inditement.

To this Teſtwoode aunſwered ſaying it was but a thyng maliciouſly forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth ẏ byſhop) thou haſt bene ſene, that whē ẏ Prieſt ſhould lift vp the Sacrament ouer his head, then wouldeſt thou looke downe vpon thy booke, or ſome other way, becauſe thou couldeſt not abide to looke vpon the bleſſed Sacrament. I beſeech you my Lord, quoth Teſtwood, whereon did he looke that marked me ſo wel? Mary quoth Bucklayer the Kynges Atturney, he could not be better occupyed, then to marke ſuch heretikes that ſo deſpiſed the bleſſed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Filmers inditement.

Then was Filmer called and his Inditement read: that hee ſhould ſay that the Sacrament of the aultar is nothyng els but a ſimilitude and a ceremonie: And alſo if God be in the Sacrament of the aultar, I haue eaten twentie Gods in my dayes.

Here ye muſt vnderſtand, that theſe wordes were gathered of certaine cōmunication which ſhould be betwene Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus.

This Henry Filmer commyng vppon a Sonday from Clewer his Pariſh Church, in the cōpany of one or two of his neighbours, chaunced in the way to meete his brother (whiche was a very poore labouryng man) and aſked him whether he went. To the Church ſayd he. And what to do, quoth Filmer? To do, quoth he, as other men do. Nay, quoth Filmer, you go to heare Maſſe and to ſee your God. What if I do ſo, quoth he? If that be God (ſhould Filmer ſay) I haue eaten xx. Gods in my dayes. Turne agayne foole and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that ſhalbe better then all that thou ſhalt heare or ſee there.

D. London ſetteth brother agaynſt brother.

This tale was no ſooner brought to Doct. London by William Symons (Filmers bitter enemy) but he ſēt for the poore man home to his houſe, where he cheriſhed him with meate and money, tellyng him he ſhould neuer lacke, ſo long as he lyued: that the ſelye poore man (thinkyng to haue had a dayly frēd of Doct Lōdon) was cōtent to do & ſay whatſoeuer he and Symons would haue him ſay or do agaynſt his owne brother. And when Doct. London had thus won the poore man, he retained him as one of his houſhold men, vntill the Court day was come, and then ſent him vp to witneſſe this foreſayd tale agaynſt his brother. Which tale Filmer denied vtterly, ſaying that Doct. London (for a litle meate and drinke ſake) had ſet him on, and made him to ſay what his pleaſure was: wherfore my Lord (quoth Filmer to the Byſhop) I beſeech your Lordſhyp weye the matter indifferently, for as much as there is no mā in al this towne ẏ can or will teſtifie with him, that euer he heard any ſuch talke, betwene him & me: & if he cā bryng forth any that will witneſſe the ſame with him, I refuſe not to dye. But ſay what he could, it would not preuayle.

Filmers owne brother witnes agaynſt hym.

One witnes to ſtand, is agaynſt the lawe.

Then Filmer ſeing no remedy but that his brothers ac-

cuſe-

Filmer caſt away by hys owne brother.

cuſement ſhould take place, he ſayd: Ah brother, what cauſe haſt thou to ſhew me this vnkyndnes? I haue alwayes ben a natural brother vnto thee and thyne, and helped you all, to my power, from tyme to tyme, as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt: & is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindnes? God forgeue it thee my brother, & geue þ grace to repẽt. Then Filmer lookyng ouer his ſhoulder, deſired ſome good body to let him ſee the booke of Statutes. His wife beyng at the end of the Hall, and hearyng her husband call for the booke of Statutes, ranne downe to the Keper and brought vp the booke and gat it conueyed to her husband.

The Byſhops condemne men not onely without all lawe, but alſo ſtoppe the lawe that it ſhould not be knowen.

The Byſhop ſeyng the booke in his hand, ſtarte him vp from the bench in a great fume, demaundyng who had geuẽ the priſoner that booke, commaundyng it to be taken from him, and to make ſearch who had brought it, ſwearyng by the fayth of his body he ſhould go to priſon. Some ſayd it was his wife, ſome ſay the keper. Like enough (my Lord) quoth Symõs, for he is one of the ſame ſort, and as worthy to be here as the beſt, if he were rightly ſerued. But howſo euer it was, the truth would not be knowen, and ſo the Byſhop ſat him downe agayne.

Filmer condemned by one witnes agaynſt the lawe: and how do the Byſhops then ſay that they did nothing but by a lawe?

Then ſayd Filmer: O my Lord, I am this day Iudged by a law, & why ſhould not I ſee the law that I am Iudged by? The law is, I ſhould haue two lawfull witneſſes and here is but one, whiche would not do as hee doth, but that hee is forced thereunto by the ſuggeſtion of myne enemies. Nay, quoth Bucklayer the kynges Atturney, thyne hereſie is ſo heynous and abhorreth thyne owne brother ſo much, that it forceth him to witneſſe agaynſt thee, which is more then two other witneſſes.

Example of Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon a popiſhe accuſer accuſing his owne brother.

Thus (as ye ſee) was Filmer brought vniuſtly to his death, by the malice of Symõs and Doct. London, who had enticed that wretched catiffe his brother, to be their miniſter to worke his confuſion. But God which is a iuſt reuẽger of all falſehode and wronges, would not ſuffer that wretch long to lyue vpõ earth, but the next yeare folowyng, he beyng taken vp for a labourer to go to Bullayne, had not bene there three dayes, ere that (in exoneratyng of nature) a Gunne tooke him and tore him all to peeces: And ſo was theſe wordes of Salomon fulfilled: A falſe witneſſe ſhall not remaine vnpuniſhed.

¶ Iohn Marbecke.

The inditement of Marbecke.

THen was Marbecke called, and his Inditement read, whiche was that he ſhould ſay: That the holy Maſſe, when the Prieſt doth conſecrate the body of our Lord, is poluted, deformed, ſinnefull, and open robbery of the glory of God, from the whiche a Chriſtian hart ought both to abhorre and flee. And the eleuation of the Sacrament is the ſimilitude of the ſetting vp of Images of the Calues in the Temple buylded by Ieroboam: and that it is more abhomination then the Sacrifices done by the Iewes in Ieroboams Temple to thoſe Calues. And that certaine and ſure it is that Chriſt himſelfe is made in the Maſſe, mans laughyng ſtocke.

Marbecke aunſwereth to his inditement.

To this hee aunſwered and ſayd, that theſe wordes whereof they had indited him, were not his, but the wordes of a learned man called Iohn Caluine, and drawne out of a certaine Epiſtle which the ſayd Caluine had made, whiche Epiſtle hee had but onely written out, and that long before the vj. Articles came forth: ſo that now he was diſcharged of that offence by the kynges generall pardon, deſiryng that he might enioy the benefite therof.

Partiall dealing in calling the Iurye.

Then was the Iury called, whiche were all Farmers belongyng to the Colledge of Wyndſore, whereof fewe or none had euer ſene thoſe men before, vppon whoſe lyfe and death they went. Wherfore the priſoners (countyng the Farmers as partiall) deſired to haue the Townes men, or ſuch as dyd know them, and had ſene their dayly conuerſations, in the place of the Farmers, or els to be equally ioyned with them: but that would not be, for the matter was otherwiſe foreſene and determined.

Bucklayer the kinges atturney, a perſecuter.

Syr Humfrey Foſter ſpeaketh for Marbecke.

Fachell a perſecuter.

Now when the Iury had takẽ their oth and all, Bucklayer the kynges Atturney began to ſpeake: and firſt he alledged many reaſons againſt Anthony Perſõ, to proue him an hereticke. Which when Anthony would haue diſproued, the Byſhop ſayd: let him alone, Syr, he ſpeaketh for the K. and ſo went Bucklayer forth with his matter, makyng euery mãs cauſe as haynous to the hearers, as he could deuiſe. And when he had done and ſayd what he would, then Syr Humfrey Foſter ſpake to the Queſt in the fauour of Marbecke on this wiſe: Maiſters quoth he, ye ſee there is no man here that accuſeth or layeth any thyng to the charge of this poore man Marbecke, ſauyng he hath written certaine thynges of other mens ſayinges with his owne hand, wherof he is diſcharged by the kynges generall pardon: therfore ye ought to haue a conſcience therin. Then ſtart vp Fachell at the lower end of the Benche, and ſayd: what can we tell whether they were writtẽ before the pardõ, or after? They may as well be written ſince as afore, for any thing that we know. Theſe wordes of Fachell (as euery man ſayd) were the cauſe of Marbeckes caſting that day.

Marbecke caſt by the Iurye.

The knightes & gentlemen refuſe to be at their condemnation.

Hyde a Farmer of Wyndſore Colledge, a perſecuter.

Then went the Iury vp to the Chamber ouer þ place where the Iudges ſat, and in the meane tyme, went all the Knightes and gentlemen abroad, ſauyng the Byſhop, Syr William Eſſex, and Fachell, which three ſat ſtill vpon the Bench tyll all was done. And when the Iury had bene togethers aboue in the Chamber, about the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, vp goeth Symõs (of his owne braine) vnto them, and taryed there a prety while, and came downe agayne. After that, came one of the Iury downe to the Byſhop, and talked wyth hym and the other twayne a good while, whereby many coniectured, that the Iury coulde not agree of Marbecke. But whether it were ſo or no, it was not long after hys going vp againe, ere that they came downe to geue their verdite. And being required according to the forme of the law to ſay their myndes: one called Hyde dwelling beſide Abyngton, in a lordſhippe belonging to the Colledge of Wyndeſore, ſpeaking in the mouth of the reſt, ſayd they were all giltie.

Fachell geueth iudgement againſt them.

Then the Iudges beholding the priſoners a good while (ſome wyth watery eyes) made curteſie who ſhould geue iudgement. Fachell requiring the byſhop to doe it, he ſayde he might not: the other alſo being required, ſaid they would not. Then ſayd Fatchell, it muſt be done: one muſt doe it, and if no man will, then wil I. And ſo Fatchell being loweſt of all the Benche, gaue iudgement. Then Marbecke being the laſt vpon whom ſentence was geuen, cryed to the Byſhop, ſaying: Ah my Lord, you told me otherwiſe whẽ I was before you and the other two Byſhops. You ſayde then, that I was in better caſe then any of my felowes, and is your ſaying come to this? Ah my Lord you haue deceaued me. Then the Byſhop caſtyng vp his hand, ſayde he could not do withall.

Perſon, Teſtwood, Filmer, and Marbecke, condemned for heretickes.

Now the priſoners being condemned and had away, prepared themſelues to die on the morow, comforting one an other in the death and paſſion of their maiſter Chriſt who had led the way before them, truſting that the ſame Lord which had made them worthy to ſuffer ſo farre for his ſake, would not now withdraw his ſtrength from them, but geue them ſtedaſt fayth & power to ouercome thoſe fierie tormentes, and of his free mercy and goodnes (without their deſertes) for his promiſe ſake, receiue their ſoules.

The godly prayers of the condẽned Martyrs, almoſt all the night.

Thus lay they all the night long (till very dead ſleepe tooke them) calling to God for his ayde and ſtrength, and praying for their perſecuters, which of blinde zeale and ignoraunce had done they wiſt not what, that God of his mercifull goodnes would forgeue them, and turne their hartes to the loue and knowledge of his bleſſed and holy worde: yea ſuch heauenly talke was among them that night, that the hearers watching the priſõ without, whereof the Shiriffe hymſelfe was one, with diuers gentlemen moe, were conſtrayned to ſhed out plenty of teares, as they themſelues confeſſed.

A letter ſent by certayne of the Cõmiſsioners to Gardiner for Marbecke.

On the next morow, which was Friday, as the priſoners were all preparing themſelues to go to ſuffer, worde was brought them that they ſhould not dye that day. The cauſe was this. The Byſhop of Sarum and they among them had ſent a letter by one of the Shriffes gentlemen called Maiſter Froſt, to the Byſhop of Winchester (the Court beyng then at Okyng) in the fauour of Marbecke. At the ſight of whiche letter, the Byſhop ſtraight way went to the kyng and obteyned hys pardon.

Marbeckes pardon obteyned.

Which beyng graunted, he cauſed a warrant to be made out of hand for the Shriffes diſcharge, deliueryng the ſame to the meſſenger, who wyth ſpede returned wyth great ioye (for the loue he bare to the partie) bryngyng good newes to the towne, of Marbeckes pardon: whereat many reioyſed. Of thys pardon were diuers coniectures made. Some ſayde it was by the ſute of the good Shriffe Syr William Baryngton, and Syr Humfray Foſter (wyth other Gentlemen moe that fauoured Marbecke) to the Byſhop of Sarum and the other Commiſsioners, that the letter was ſent.

Diuers iudgementes why Marbecke was pardoned.

Some ſayd agayne, that it came of the Byſhop of Sarum and Fachels firſt motion, being pricked in conſcience for that they had ſo ſlederly caſt him away. Other thought againe, that it was a policie purpoſed afore, by the Byſhop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of D. London, becauſe they would ſeeme to be mercifull. Which coniecture roſe vpon thys occaſion. There was one Sadocke dwelling in the towne which was great with D. London and Symons: and he ſhould ſay iiij. dayes before the ſeſsions began, that the priſoners ſhould be all caſt and condemned, but Marbecke ſhould haue his pardon.

Other there were that thought the foreſayd Byſhops with D. London,had done it for this purpoſe: that he now hauing his lyfe,would rather vtter ſuch mẽ as they would haue him to do,then to come in like daunger agayne. which coniecture roſe vpon this: Symons meetyng with Marbeckes wife,ſayd thus vnto her: your huſband may thanke God & good frendes: my Lord of Wincheſter is good Lord vnto hym,which hath got his pardon. But ſhal I tell you, quoth he? his pardon wilbe to none effect, except he tell the truth of thyngs to my Lord & other of the counſell, whẽ he ſhalbe demaũded,for vnto that purpoſe onely is he reſerued. Alas ſir,quoth ſhe,what cã he tell? well womã,quoth Symons. I tell thee playne,if he do not ſo, neuer looke to haue thy huſband out of priſon,and ſo departed from her.

Marbecke reſerued to vtter others.

The like meaning did M. Arche make to Marbecke him ſelfe,on the Saterday in the mornyng that the mẽ ſhould be brẽt,whẽ he came to cõfeſſe thẽ. I haue nothing,quoth he,to ſay vnto you Marbecke at thys tyme, but hereafter you muſt be content to do as ſhalbe enioyned you: meanyng hee ſhould be forced to do ſome vnlawfull thyng, or els to lye in perpetual priſõ. And this was moſt likely to haue bene attẽpted, if they had proceded in their purpoſe: whoſe intent was to haue gone thorough the whole Realme, in the lyke ſorte as they had began at Wyndſore,as the Biſhop of Sarum confeſſed openly and ſayd, that he truſted ere Chriſtmas day folowyng, to viſite and clenſe a good part thereof. But moſt commonly, God ſendeth a ſhrewed Cowe ſhort hornes,or els many a thouſand in England had ſmarted.

The peſtelent intent of the Byſhops.

On Saterday in the mornyng,that the priſoners ſhould go to execution, came into the priſon two of the Canons of the Colledge,the one called Doctour Blythe, and the other Maiſter Arche,which two were ſent to be their confeſſors. Maiſter Arche aſked them, if they would bee confeſt, and they ſayd yea. Then he demaunded if they would receiue the Sacrament. yea ſayd they,with all our hartes. I am glad quoth Arche,to heare you ſay ſo,but the law is (quoth he) that it may not be miniſtred to none that are condemned of hereſie. But it is enough for you that ye do deſire it. And ſo badde them vp to the Hall to heare their Confeſſions, becauſe the priſon was ful of people. Doctour Blythe tooke Anthony Perſon to him to confeſſe, and maiſter Arche the other two. But howſoeuer the matter went betwene the Doctour & Anthony, he taried not long wt him but came downe agayne,ſaying he would no more of his doctrine. Do you call him Doct. Blythe,quoth Anthony? He may be called Doct. Blynde for his learnyng, as farre as I ſee. And ſoone after,the other two came downe alſo. Then Anthony ſeyng much people in the priſon, began to ſay the Lordes prayer, whereof he made a maruelous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the Officers came to fet them away,and ſo made an ende. And takyng their leaue of Marbecke (their priſon fellow) they prayſed God for his deliueraunce,wiſhyng to him the encreaſe of godlynes and vertue, and laſt of all beſought him hartely to helpe them with his prayer vnto God, to make them ſtrong in their afflictions, and ſo kiſſyng him one after another,departed.

The Popes law is, that they that bee condemned of hereſie, muſt not receaue the Sacrament.

D. Blyth. or rather D. Blynde.

Now as the priſoners paſſed thorough the people in the ſtreetes,they deſired all the faithfull people to pray for them, and to ſtand faſt in the truth of the Goſpell, and not to bee moued at their afflictions, for it was the happyeſt thyng that euer came to them. And euer as Doctour Blythe and Arche (who rode on eche ſide the priſoners) would perſwade them to turne to their mother holy Churche: away would Anthony cry, away with your Romiſhe doctrine and all your trompery,for we will no more of it. When Filmer was come to his brothers doore,he ſtayed and called for his brother, but he could not be ſene, for Doctour London had kept him out of ſight that day for the nonce.

The priſoners led toward their death.

And when he had called for hym a three or foure tymes, and ſawe he came not,he ſayd: and will he not come? Then God forgeue hym and make hym a good man. And ſo goyng forth, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Perſon with a chearefull countenaunce, embraced the poſt in his armes, and kiſſyng it, ſayd: Now welcome myne owne ſweete wife, for this day ſhalt thou and I be maryed together in the loue and peace of God.

The wordes of Anth. Perſon at the ſtake.

And beyng all three boũd to the poſt, a certaine yoũg mã of Filmers acquaintaunce,brought hym a pot of drinke,aſkyng if he would drinke. Yea quoth Filmer, I thanke you. And now my brother, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you in the name of the lyuyng Lorde, to ſtand faſt in the truth of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt,which you haue receaued, and ſo takyng the pot at his hand, aſked his brother Anthony, if he would drinke. Yea brother Filmer quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

The wordes of Henry Filmer at his death.

And when he had dronke, he gaue the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewiſe gaue it to Teſtwood. Of which drinkyng their aduerſaries made a ieſtyng ſtocke, reportyng abroad that they were all dronke and wiſt not what they ſayd, when as they were none otherwiſe dronke then as the Apoſtles were, when the people ſayd they were full of new wyne, as their deedes declared. For when Anthony and Teſtwood had both dronken, and geuen the pot from them, Filmer reioycing in the Lord,ſayd: Be mery my brethren,and lift vp your harts vnto God,for after this ſharpe breakefaſt, I truſt we ſhall haue a good dynner in the kingdome of Chriſt our Lord & redemer. At the which wordes Teſtwood liftyng vp his hãdes and eyes to heauen, deſired the Lord aboue to receiue his ſpirite. And Anthony Perſon,pullyng the ſtraw vnto him,layd a good deale therof vpon the top of his head, ſaying: This is Gods hat: now am I dreſſed like a true ſouldiour of Chriſt, by whoſe merites onely, I truſt this day to enter into his ioye. And ſo yelded they vp their ſoules to the father of heauen, in the fayth of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt,with ſuch humilitie and ſtedfaſtnes, yt many which ſaw their patient ſufferyng, cõfeſſed that they could haue found in their hartes (at that preſent) to haue dyed with them.

The ſclaũderous mouth of the Papiſtes.

Filmers cõfortable wordes to his felowes.

Gods hatte.

The conſtant death of theſe Martyrs.

How all their conſpiracies were knowen.

YE haue heard before of one Robert Bennet, how hee was at the firſt apprehended with the other foure perſons aforeſayd, and committed to the Byſhop of Lõdons priſon, and about the tyme he ſhould haue gone to Wyndeſore fell ſicke of the peſtilence, by meane whereof he remayned ſtill in priſon.

Bennet a lawyer, ſicke of the peſtilence.

This Bennet, & Symons (ye ſhall vnderſtãd) were the greateſt familiars & cõpany keepers that were in all Wyndſore, & neuer (lightly) ſwarued the one frõ the other, ſauyng in matters of Religion,wherin they could neuer agree. For Bennet the one Lawyer,was an earneſt Goſpeller, & Symons the other Lawyer,a cankered Papiſt: but in all other worldly matters,they cleaued together lyke burres.

Bennet and Simons ioynte companions,but contrarye in religion.

This Bennet had ſpoken certaine wordes agaynſt their little rounde God, for the whiche he was as farre in as the beſt,and had ſuffered death with the other, if he had gone to Wyndſore when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finiſhed,it was determined by the Biſhop of Saliſbury, that Robert Ockam on the Mondaye after the men were burnte ſhoulde goe to the Byſhop of Wincheſter with the whole proceſſe done at the Seſſiõs the Thurſday before.

R. Ockam ſent vp by the Biſhop of Saliſbury and by others, to Gardiner with letters.

Then Symons,at Bennets wiues requeſt, procured of the Byſhop of Saliſbury his fauourable letter to the biſhop of Wincheſter for Bennets deliueraunce, which letter Bennets wife (for aſmuch as her owne man was not at home,which ſhould haue gone with the letter) deſired Robert Ockam to deliuer to the Byſhop, & to bryng her word agayne: who ſayd he would. So forth went Ockam toward the Byſhop of Wincheſter with his budget full of writynges,to declare and open all thynges vnto him that were done at Wyndſore Seſſions: but all their wicked intentes (as God would haue it) were ſoone cut of and their doings diſcloſed. For one of ye Queenes mẽ (named Fulke) which had lyen at Wyndſore all the tyme of the buſines, and had got knowledge what a number were priuily Indited, and of Ockams goyng to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, gat to the Court before Ockam, and told ſir Thomas Cardine and other of the priuie chamber,how all the matter ſtode. Whereupon Ockam was layd for and had by the backe, as ſoone as he came to Okyng,and kept from the Byſhop.

The conſpiracie of the aduerſaryes diſcloſed.

Many good men,and certayne of the priuie chamber, indited by the Byſhops.

On the next morow very early, Bennetes wife ſent her man to the Court after Ockam, to ſee how hee ſped with her huſbandes letter. And when he came there, hee founde ſir Thomas Cardine walkyng with Ockam vp and downe the greene before the Court gate: whereat he marueiled,to ſee Ockã with him ſo early, miſtruſtyng the matter: whereupon he kept himſelfe out of ſight, till they had broken of their communication.

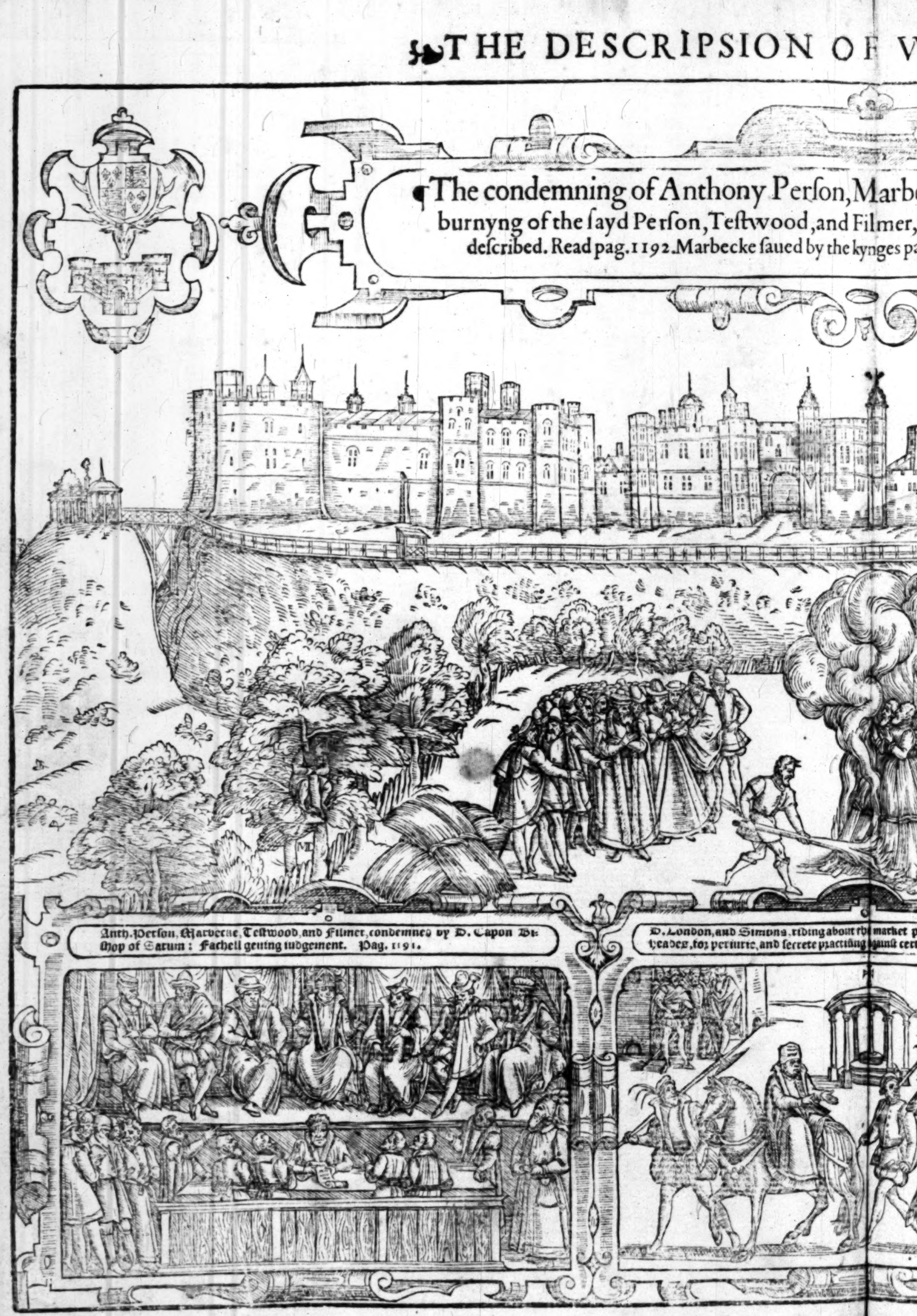
And as ſoone as he ſawe Maiſter Cardine gone (leauyng Ockam behynde) he went to Ockam and aſked him, if hee had deliuered his Maiſters letter to the Byſhoppe. No,ſayd Ockam,the kyng remoueth this day to Gilforde, and I muſt go thether, and will deliuer it there. Mary, quoth hee, and I will go with you, to ſee what aunſwere you ſhall haue,and to cary word to my miſtres, and ſo they rode to Gilford together. Where Bennets man (beyng better acquaynted in the Towne then Ockam was) gat a lodgyng for them both,in a kynſmans houſe of his.

That done,he aſked Ockam, if he would go and deliuer his miſtres letter to the Byſhop. Nay (ſayd Ockam) you ſhall go and deliuer it your ſelfe,and tooke him the letter. And as they were goyng in the ſtreete togethers, and commyng by the Earle of Bedfordes lodgyng (then Lord priuie Seale) Ockã was pulled in by the ſleeue, and no more ſene of Bennets man, till he ſawe him in the Marſhalſey.

Bẽnets man goeth with his miſtres letter to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Then

THE DESCRIPSION OF W



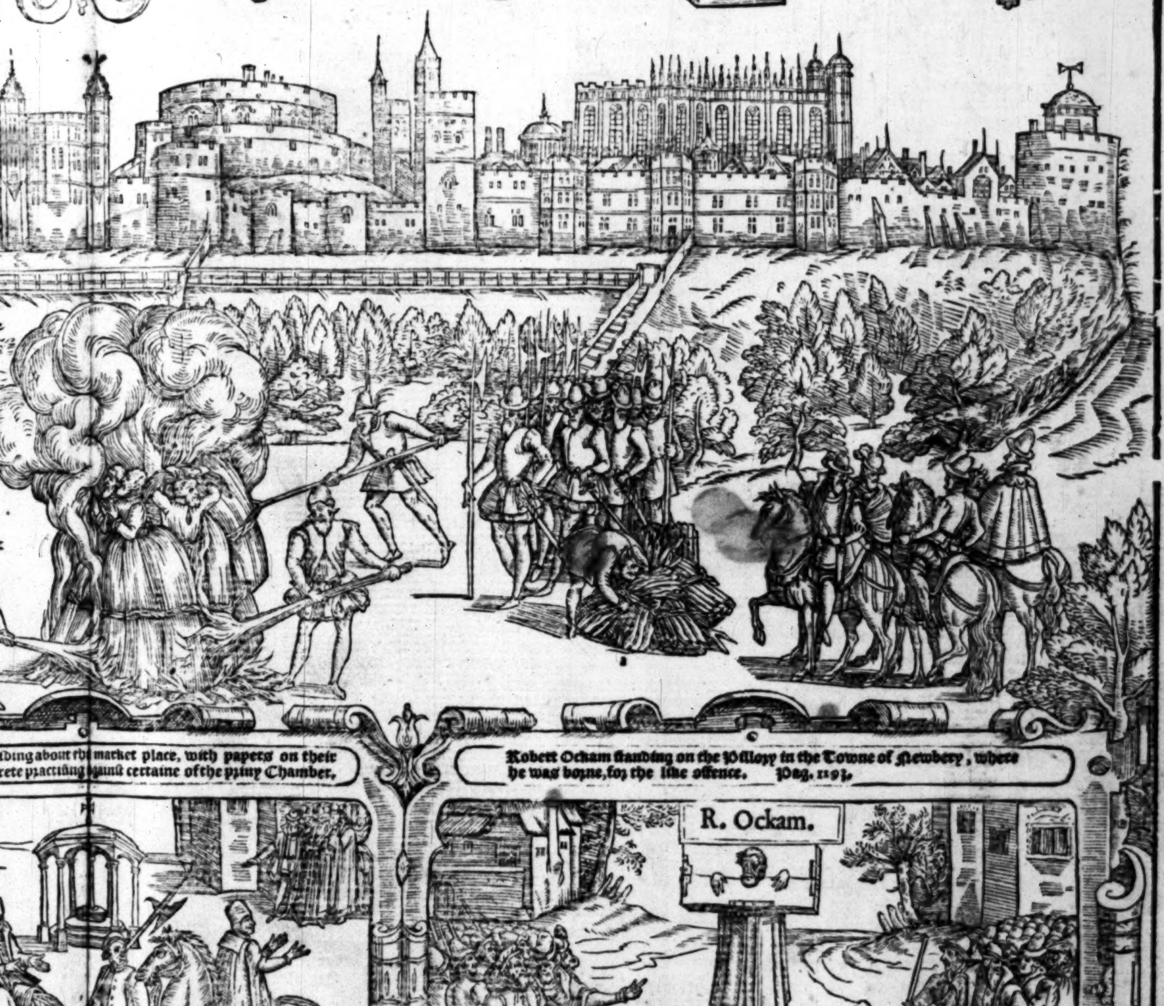
The condemning of Anthony Perſon, Marbe
burnyng of the ſayd Perſon, Teſtwood, and Filmer,
deſcribed. Read pag. 1192. Marbecke ſaued by the kynges pa

Anth. Perſon, Marbecke, Teſtwood, and Filmer, condemned by D. Capon Biſhop of Sarum: Fachell geuing iudgement. Pag. 1191.

D. London, and Simons, riding about the market p
heades, for periurie, and ſecrete practiſing againſt cert

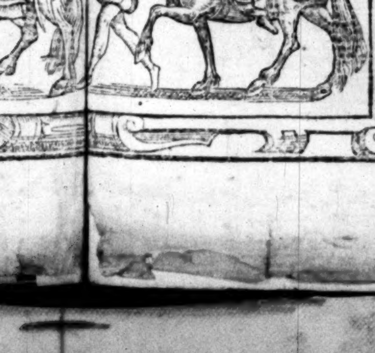
N OF WINDSORE CASTLE.

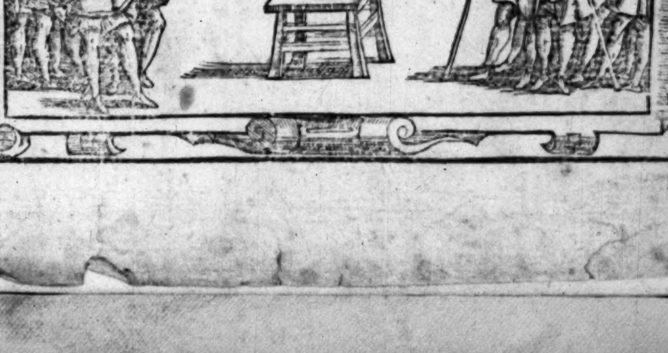
erſon, Marbecke, Teſtwood, and Filmer, with the
d, and Filmer, vnder the Caſtle of Windſore, here liuely
d by the kynges pardon. ❧ *Imprinted at London, by Iohn Daye.*



ding about the market place, with papers on their
crete practiſing againſt certaine of the priuy Chamber,

Robert Ockam ſtanding on the Pillory in the Towne of Newbery, where
he was borne, for the like offence. Pag. 1193.





Then went Bennets man to the Biſhops lodgyng and deliuered his letter. And when the Byſhop had read the contentes therof, he called for the man that brought it. Come Syrha, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth, then the letter ſpecifieth, & had him into a litle garden. Now, quoth the Byſhop, what ſay you to me? Forſoth my Lord, quoth he, I haue nothyng to ſay vnto your Lordſhyp, for I dyd not bryng the letter to the Towne. No quoth the Byſhop, where is he that brought it? Forſoth my Lord quoth he, I left him buſie at his lodgyng. Then he will come, quoth the Byſhop. Byd him be with me betymes in the mornyng. I will, quoth he, do your Lordſhyps cōmaundement, and ſo he departed home to his lodgyng. And when his kynſfolkes ſaw him come in, alas coſin, quoth they, we are all vndone. Why ſo, quoth he, what is the matter? Oh ſayd they, here hath bene ſince you went, M. Padget the kyngs Secretarie, with ſir Tho. Cardine of the priuye Chamber & ſearched all our houſe, for one that ſhould come to the town with Ockā: therfore make ſhift for your ſelfe as ſoone as you cā. Is that all the matter, quoth he? thē cōtent your ſelfe, for I will neuer flee one foote, hap what hap will. And as they were thus reaſonyng together, in came ẏ foreſayd ſearchers agayne, and when M. Cardine ſaw Bennets mā, he knew him very well, & ſayd: was it thou that came to the towne with Ockā? yea ſir, quoth he. Now who the deuill (quoth Maiſter Cardine) brought thee in cōpany with that falſe knaue? Then he tolde them his buſines, & the cauſe of his cōming: which being knowen, they were ſatiſfied, & ſo departed. The next day had Bennets mā a diſcharge for his maiſter (procured by certain of ẏ priuy Chāber) & ſo wēt home.

Bennets man ſearched for at Oking.
Bennet diſcharged out of priſon by good men of the priuie chamber.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord priuye Seales, where he was kept ſecret, til certaine of the Counſaile had peruſed all his wrytynges, among the which they found certaine of the priuye Chāber indited, with other the kyngs Officers, with their wiues, that is to ſay, ſir Tho. Cardine, ſir Philip Hobby, with both their Ladyes. M. Edmund Harman, M. Thomas Weldone, with Snowball & his wife. All theſe they had indited by the force of the vj. Articles, as ayders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Perſon. And beſide thē, they had indited of hereſie (ſome for one thyng, and ſome for an other) a great nomber moe of the kynges true and faythfull ſubiectes, wherof the kynges Maieſtie being certified, his grace of his ſpecial goodnes (w'out ẏ ſute of any mā) gaue to ẏ foreſayd Gētlemē of his priuie Chamber, & other his ſeruaūtes with their wiues, his gracious pardō. And, as God would haue ẏ matter further knowē vnto his Maieſtie, as he roade one day a huntyng in Gilford Parke, and ſawe the Shiriffe with Syr Humfrey Foſter ſittyng on their horſe backes together, he called them vnto him, and aſked of them, how his lawes was executed at Windſore: Then they beſechyng his grace of pardon, told him playnly, that in all their lyues they neuer ſat on matter vnder his Graces authoritie, that went ſo much agaynſt their conſciences, as the death of theſe men did, and vp and told his Grace ſo pitifull a tale of the caſting away of theſe poore men, that the kyng turnyng his horſehead to depart from them, ſayd: Alas poore Innocentes.

Certayne of the priuie Chamber indited.
Syr Tho. Cardine, and his wyfe.
Syr Philip Hobby, and his wyfe.
M. Edmund Harman.
M. Thomas Weldone.
Snowball and his wife.
All theſe were indited for the vi. Articles, with a great number moe.
The kyng gaue his pardon to his gentlemen of his priuye chamber.
The king certified of the pitifull death of theſe godly Martyrs at Windſore.
The kinges teſtimonie of the Martyrs of Windſore.

After this, the kyng withdrew his fauour frō the Byſh. of Winchester, & beyng more and more enformed of the conſpiracie of Doctour London and Symōs, he commaunded certaine of his Counſaile, to ſearch out the grounde therof.

The B. of Winchester out of the kynges fauour.

Whereupon Doctour London and Symons were apprehended and brought before the Counſaile, and examined vpon their othe of allegiance. And for denying their miſcheuous and trayterous purpoſe, which was manifeſtly proued to their faces, they were both periured, and in fine, adiudged as periured perſons, to weare papers in Wyndſore, and Ockam to ſtand vppon the Pillery in the Towne of Newbery, where he was borne.

The iudgemēt of all theſe three was to ride about Windſore, Readyng, and Newbery, with papers on their heades, and their faces turned to the horſe tayles, and ſo to ſtand vpon the Pillery in euery of theſe Townes, for falſe accuſation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for periurie.

D. London, W. Symons and R. Ockham, apprehended and condemned of periurye.
The puniſhment of D. London, W. Symons, and of Rob. Ocham, for falſe accuſation and periurye.

And thus much touchyng the perſecution of theſe good ſaintes of Windſore, according to ẏ copie of their own Actes, receaued and written by Iohn Marbecke, who is yet aliue, both a preſent witnes, and alſo was then a partie of the ſaid doynges, and can teſtifie the truth therof.

Ex teſtimonio Ioan. Marbecki.

Aunſwere to the cauillyng aduerſaries touchyng Iohn Marbecke.

Wherfore agaynſt theſe crooked cauillers, which make ſo much ado agaynſt my former booke, becauſe in a certaine place I chaunced to ſay that Bennet and Filmer had their pardon (when in deede it was Bennet and Marbecke) be it therfore knowen, proteſted, denounced, and notified, to all and ſingular ſuch carpers, wranglers, exclamers, depprauers, with the whole broode of all ſuch whiſperers, raylers, quarrelpickers, cornercreepers, faultfinders & ſpydercatchers, or by what name els ſo euer they are to be titled, that here I openly ſay, affirme, profeſſe, hold, maintaine & write the ſame as I ſayd & wrote before in the latter caſtigations of my booke: that is, that Iohn Marbecke was with the other condemned, but not burned, caſt by the law, but by pardō ſaued, appointed with the reſt to dye, & yet not dead, but liueth (God be prayſed) & yet to this preſent day ſingeth merely, and playeth on the Organes, not as a dead man, amongeſt Foxes Martyrs (as it hath pleaſed ſome in the court to counter agaynſt me) but as one witneſſed & teſtified truely in the booke of Foxes Martyrs to bee aliue. And therfore ſuch maner of perſons, if the diſpoſitiō of their nature be ſuch, that they muſt needes finde faultes, thē let thē finde thē where they are, & where thoſe faultes by their findyng may be corrected. But where as they be corrected already, & founde to their handes, & alſo amended before, let then theſe Legendlyers looke on their owne Legendes, and there cry out of lyes, where they may finde inough, & ceaſe their bityng there, where they haue no iuſt cauſe to barke.

The ſtory doth purge it ſelfe if it had pleaſed theſe men to take one place with an other.

Marke you wranglers and bee ſatiſfied.

And admitte, that I had not foreſene and corrected this eſcape before, touchyng the matter of Iohn Marbecke, but that the place ſtil had remained in the booke, as it was, that is, that the ſayd Iohn Marbecke, which is yet alyue, had thē dyed & ſuffered with the other 3. the ſame tyme at Windſore: yet what gentle or courteous reader, could haue therin any iuſt matter to triūphe & inſulte agaynſt me, ſeyng the iudiciall actes, the recordes, & regiſters, yea & the Biſhops certificate, & alſo the write of execution remaynyng yet in Recorde, ſent to the king, did lead me ſo to ſay and thinke? For what mā writyng hyſtories, who cā not be in all places, to ſee all thynges, but folowyng his recordes & regiſters, wherin he ſeeth the ſayd Marbecke to be iudged and condemned with the reſt, would otherwiſe write or thinke, but that alſo he was executed and burned in the ſame company?

But now I correct and reforme the ſame agayne, and firſt of all other, I finde the fault, & yet am I founde faultie withall. I correct my ſelfe, and yet am I corrected of other. I warne the Reader of the truth, & yet am I a lyer. The booke it ſelfe ſheweth the eſcape, and byddeth in ſtede of 4. to read 3. burned, and yet is the booke made a Legēd of lyes.

The death John Marbecke in the former booke amended.

Thus, where I preuent all occaſion of cauillyng to the vttermoſt of my diligence, yet can not I haue that law, which all other bookes haue, that is, to recogniſe & reforme myne owne errata.

Wherfore to cōclude, theſe mē, whoſoeuer they are, if they will be ſatiſfied, I haue ſayd inough: if they will not, whatſoeuer I cā ſay, it will not ſerue, & ſo I leaue thē: I would I could better ſatiſfie them. God himſelfe amende them.

¶ The perſecution in Calyce, with the Martyrdome of George Bucker, otherwiſe called Adam Damlyp, and others.

1544.

At what tyme Iohn Marbecke was in the Marſhalſey, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1544. there was in the ſayd priſon with him one George Bucker, named otherwiſe Adam Damlyp, who hauyng continued in the ſayd priſon three or foure yeares, at laſt by the commaundement of Winchester, was had to Calyce by Iohn Maſſy, ẏ keeper of ẏ Marſhalſey, & there hanged, drawen, and quartered for treaſon pretenſed, which was a litle before the condemnation of the Windſore men aforeſayd, as is by the letters of the ſayd Iohn Marbecke to me ſignified.

George Bucker *alias* Adam Damlip Martyr.

Touchyng which ſtory of Adā Dālyp, for ſomuch it includeth matter of much trouble & perſecution that happened in Calyce, to digeſt therfore & comprice the whole narration therfore in order, firſt I will enter (the Lord willyng) the ſtory of Dālyp, and ſo procede in order to ſuch as by the ſayd occaſion were afflicted & perſecuted in the towne of Calyce.

Ex literis Ioan. Marbecki.

¶ Perſecution in the towne of Calice.

Perſecutors.	Perſecuted.	The Cauſes.
Ioh. Doue, Prior of the gray Friers in Calice. Syr Gregory Buttol, Prieſt.	George Bucker, or els called Adā Damlip. A poore labouring mā W. Steuens.	In the yeare of our Lord. 1539. the Lord Crōwell beyng yet alyue, there came to Calyce one George Bucker, aliās, Adam Dālyp, who had bene in tyme paſt a great Papiſt & Chapleyne to Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, & after the death

Perſecutors.

- Steuē Gardiner, Byſh. of Wincheſter.
- D. Sāpſon Byſhop of Chicheſter.
- D. Clarke Byſhop of Bathe.
- D. Repſe B. Norwich.
- Haruey, Cōmiſſary in Calice.
- Lady Honor, wife to the L. Liſle deputie of Calice.
- Syr Thom. Palmer, Knight.
- Ioh. Roochwoode Eſquier.
- Rich. Long, ſouldiour of Calice.
- Frãces Haſtings ſouldiour.
- Hugh Coũcell ſeruaũt.
- Syr Rafe Ellerker Knight.
- Syr Ioh Gage.

Perſecuted.

- Tho. Lancaſter.
- Ioh. Butler Cōmiſſary.
- W. Smith Prieſt.
- Raffe Haire
- Iacob a Surgion.
- A Fleming.
- Clement Philpot ſeruaunt.
- Ieffrey Loueday.
- Dodde.
- Sir Edmud, Prieſt.
- W. Touched, Poſtmaiſter.
- Pet. Bequet
- Anthony Pickeryng, gentleman.
- Hēry Tourney, gentleman.
- George Darby, Prieſt.
- Iohn Shepard.
- W. Pellam.
- W. Keuerdall.
- Ioh. Whitwood.
- Ioh. Boote.
- Ro. Cloddet.
- Copen de Hane, aliàs Iames Cocke.
- Math. Hounde.
- W. Croſbowmaker.

The Cauſes.

Adam Damlip requeſted by Cardinall Poole to tarye at Rome

This French crowne was dearely bought, for by the ſame he was peached of treaſon. W. Steuens. Tho. Lancaſter,

death of the Byſh. his maiſter had trauailed thorough Fraunce, Dutchland, and Italy, & as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controuerſie in Religion: and ſo proceding in his iourney, to Rome, whereas he thought to haue foūd all godlynes and ſincere Religion, in the end he foūd there (as he confeſſed) ſuch blaſphemie of God, cōtēpt of Chriſtes true Religion, looſenes of life, and aboūdaunce of all abhominations & filthynes, that it abhorred his hart and conſciēce any lōger there to remaine: although hee was greatly requeſted by Cardinall Poole, there to continue, and to read three Lectures in ÿ weeke in his houſe, for the which he offered him great entertainement. Which he refuſed, and ſo returnyng homeward, hauyng a peece of money giuen him of the Cardinall at his departure, to the value of a Frenche crowne towarde hys charges, came to Calyce, as is aforeſayd. Who as he was there waytyng without the gate for paſſage into England, and beyng there perceaued by certaine Calyce men, namely, William Steuens, and Tho. Lancaſter through conference of talke to bee a learned man, and alſo well affected: & moreouer how that hee beyng of late a zelous Papiſt, was now returned to a more perfect knowlege of true Religion, was by the hartely intreated to ſtay at Calyce a certaine ſpace, & to read there a day or two, to the intent he might do ſome good there after his paynfull trauaile, vnto the people. To this requeſt Adam gladly conſented, ſo as he might be licenced by ſuch as were in authoritie, ſo to do.

Adam brought to the Lord Deputie of Calice.

Whereupon the ſayd Steuens at the openyng of the gates, brought him vnto the Lord Liſle the kynges Deputie of the Towne and marches of Calyce, vnto whom hee declared throughly what conference and talke had bene betwene Adam Damlyp and him. Whiche knowen, the ſayd Lord Deputie inſtauntly deſired the ſayd Damlyp to ſtay there and to preach three or foure dayes or more at his pleaſure, ſaying that he ſhould haue both his licence and the Cōmiſſaries alſo (which then was ſir John Butler) ſo to do. Where after he had preached three or foure tymes, he was ſo well lyked both for hys learnyng, his vtteraunce, and the truth of his doctrine, that not onely the ſouldiours and commoners, but alſo the ſayd Lord Deputie and a great part of the Counſell, gaue him maruelous great prayſe & thākes for it, and the ſayd Lord Deputie offered vnto him a chamber in his owne houſe, to dyne and ſuppe euery meale at his own meſſe, to haue a man or two of his to wayte vpon him, and to haue what ſoeuer it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea and what hee would in his purſe to bye bookes or otherwiſe, ſo as he would tary there among them, and preache onely ſo long as it ſhould ſeeme good to him ſelfe. Who refuſing his Lordſhyps great offer, moſt hartily thanked him for the ſame, and beſought him to be onely ſo good vnto him, as to appointe him ſome quiet and honeſt place in the towne where he might not bee diſturbed nor moleſted, but haue oportunitie to geue him ſelfe to hys booke, and would dayly once in the forenoone, and agayne by one a clocke at after noone, by the grace of God, preach among thē accordyng vnto the talent that God had lent him. At which aunſwere the Lord Deputie greatly reioyſed & therupon ſent for the foreſayd W. Steuens, whom he earneſtly required to receiue and lodge the ſayd Damlyp in his houſe, promiſing what ſoeuer he ſhould commaūd, to ſee it payd with the moſt: & moreouer would ſēd euery meale frō his one meſſe a diſhe of the beſt vnto them, and in deede ſo dyd: albeit the ſayd Damlyp refuſed that offer, ſhewyng his Lordſhyp that thinne dyet was moſt conuenient for Studentes. Yet could not that reſtrayne him but that euery meale he ſent it.

Adam receiued of W. Steuens by the L. Deputies requeſt.

Adam Damlip preacheth agaynſt tranſubſtantiation and the Romiſhe Maſſe.

This godly man by the ſpace of xx. dayes or more, once euery day at vij. of the clocke preached very godly, learnedly and playnly, the truth of the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, mightely inueyhing agaynſt all Papiſtrie and confutyng the ſame, but eſpecially thoſe two moſt pernitious errours or hereſies, truſtyng Tranſubſtantiation, and the peſtilent propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Romiſhe Maſſe, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the auncient Doctours, earneſtly therewith oftentymes exhortyng the people to returne from their Poperie, declaryng how Popiſh he himſelfe had bene, and how by the deteſtable wickednes that he dyd ſee vniuerſally in Rome, he was returned ſo farre homeward, and now became an enemy thorough Gods grace, to all Papiſtrie: ſhewyng therewith, that if gayne or ambition could haue moued hym to the contrary, he might haue bene entertained of Cardinall Poole (as you haue heard before) but for very conſcience ſake ioyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods moſt holy word, he now vtterly abhorred all Papiſtrie, and willed them moſt earneſtly to do the ſame.

And thus he continued a while readyng in the Chapter houſe of the White Friers, but the place beyng not bygge enough, he was deſired to read in the Pulpit, and ſo proceedyng in his Lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceaued by the Romane Byſhops, which had ſet forth the damnable doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation and the reall preſence in the Sacrament, as is aforeſayd) hee came at length to ſpeake agaynſt the Pageaunt or Picture ſet forth of the Reſurrection whiche was in Saint Nicholas Churche, declaryng the ſame to be but mere Idolatrie, and illuſion of the Frenchmen before Calyce was Engliſh.

The idolatrous pageāt of the reſurrection moſt ſumptuouſly pictured out of Calice.

Commiſſion ſent from the kyng to ſearch out the falſe iuggling of thys Idolatrye at Calice.

Upon whiche Sermon or Lecture, there came a Commiſſion from the Kyng to the Lord Deputie, M. Grendfield, ſir John Butler Commiſſary, the Kynges Maſon, and Smith, with others, that they ſhould ſearche whether there were (as was put in writyng, and vnder Bull and Pardon) three hoſtes lying vppon a Marble ſtone beſprinkled with bloud, and if they founde it not ſo, that immediatly it ſhould be plucked downe, and ſo it was. For in ſearchyng therof, as they brake vp a ſtone in a corner of the Tumbe, they in ſtead of the iij. hoſtes, founde ſouldered in the Croſſe of Marble lying vnder the Sepulcher, three playne white counters whiche they had paynted like vnto hoſtes, and a bone that is in the typ of a ſheepes tayle. All which trumpery Damlyp ſhewed vnto the people the next day folowyng, which was Monday, out of the Pulpit, & after that they were ſent by the Lord Deputie to the kyng.

The falſe iugglinges of the Papiſtes eſpyed.

3. painted counters in ſtead of 3. hoſtes.

John Doue Fryer, peacher of Damlip.

Damlip ſent for to appeare before the Councell in England.

Notwithſtandyng the deuill ſtyrred vppe a Doue (hee might well be called a Cormorant) the Priour of the White Friers. Who with Syr Gregory Buttoll Chapleine to the Lord Liſle, began to barke agaynſt hym. Yet after the ſayd Adam had in three or foure Sermons confuted the ſayd Friers erroneous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and of the propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Maſſe: the ſayd Frier outwardly ſeemed to geue place, ceaſing openly to inuey, and ſecretly practiſed to peach him by letters ſent vnto the Clergie here in England: ſo that within viij. or x. dayes after, the ſayd Damlyp was ſent for to appeare before the Biſhop of Canterbury, with whom was aſſiſtant Steuen Gardiner, Byſhop of Wincheſter. D. Sampſon Byſhop of Chicheſter and diuers other, before whom he moſt conſtantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, in ſuch ſort aunſweryng, confutyng, & ſolutyng the obiectiōs, as his aduerſaries, yea euen among other, the learned godly and bleſſed Martyr Cranmer then yet but a Lutheran, Damlip threatned by the byſhops.

marueiled at it, and ſayd playnly that the Scripture knew no ſuch terme of tranſubſtantiation. Then began the other Byſhops to threaten him, ſhortly to confute him with their accuſtomed argument, I meane fire and Fagot, if he ſhould ſtill ſtand to the defence of that he had ſpoken. Wherunto he conſtauntly aunſwered that he would the next day deliuer vnto them fully ſo much in wrytyng as he had ſayd: whereto alſo he would ſtand, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

Damlip ſecretlye warned to voide

The next day at the houre appointed to appeare, when they looked ſurely to haue apprehended him, in the meane ſeaſon he had ſecret intimation from the Byſhop of Canterbury, that if he did any more perſonally appeare, he ſhould be committed vnto Warde, not like to eſcape cruell death.

Whereupon he (playing in drede then ſomewhat old Adams part, for ſuch is man, left in his owne handes) had hym commended vnto them and ſent them foure ſheetes of paper learnedly written in the Latin toung, conteinyng his fayth with his argumentes conferences, of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctours, by a meſſenger or frend of his. Which done, he hauyng a little money giue hym in his purſe by his frendes, ſtepped aſide and went to the Weſtcountrey, and there kept all the tyme, while great trouble kyndled agaynſt Gods people in Calyce, vpon the ſame, as ye ſhall heare, the Lord permittyng.

D. Champion and M. Garret, ſent to preach at Calyce.

After his departure, the Kynges Maieſtie was aduertiſed that there was great diſſention and diuerſitie of pernitious opinions in his ſayd towne of Calyce, greatly tendyng to the daunger of the ſame. Wherupō, duryng yet the dayes of the Lord Cromwel, were ſent ouer Doctour Champion Doctour of Diuinitie, and M. Garret who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preache and inſtruct the people and to confute all pernitious errours, who in effect preached and mainteined the ſame true doctrine which Adam Damlyp had before ſet forth, and by reaſon therof, they left the Towne at their departure very quyet, and greatly purged of the ſclaunder that had runne on it.

Syr. W. Smith Curate, and a zelous preacher at Calyce.

After the departure of the ſayd Champion and Garret, one Syr William Smith Curate of our Lady Pariſhe in Calyce, a man very zelous, though but meanely learned, dyd begyn to preache and earneſtly to inuey agaynſt Papiſtry & wilfull ignoraunce: exhortyng men obediently to receaue the word, and no longer to cōtemne the ſame, leſt Gods heauy plagues and wrath ſhould fall vpō them, which alwayes foloweth the contempt of his holy worde.

Which Syr Williā Smith, for that ſometyme he would be very feruent and zelous, ſharply inueying agaynſt the deſpiſers of the word, was moued by ſome of the Counſell there, who would ſeeme to fauour Gods worde, that hee ſhould not be ſo earneſt agaynſt them that yet could not away with the ſame, willyng him to beare with ſuch, for by bearyng with them they might hap to be wonne.

Well, well, ſayd the ſame Smith (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) ſome men ſay I am to earneſt, and will me to beare with ſuch as continue open enemyes agaynſt Chriſtes holy Goſpell, and refuſe, nay forbyd that any ſhould read the Bible or holy Scripture within their houſe: but let all ſuch take heede, for before God, I feare that God for their contemnyng of his word, will not long beare with them, but make them in ſuch caſe as ſome of the ſhall not haue a head left them vpō their ſhoulders to beare vp their cap withall: which alſo after came to paſſe.

This Smith continued in the diligent beſtowyng of his talent there, till ſhortly after the deuill got ſuch hold in the hartes of a number of Gods enemyes, that he with diuers other godly men were called ouer into England, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great puniſhment, as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

The L. Liſle baſe ſonne to K. Edward the fourth.

Firſt ẏ Lord Liſle ẏ Kinges deputy there, whom we ſhewed to be the maintainer of Damlyp (all be it he were hymſelfe of a moſt gentle nature and of right noble bloud, the baſe ſonne of that noble Prince Kyng Edward the fourth) beyng fiercely ſet on, and inceſſauntly entiſed by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an vtter enemy to Gods honour, and in Idolatry, hypocriſie, and pride incomparably euill, ſhe beyng dayly and hourely thereunto incited and prouoked by Syr Thomas Palmer Knight, and John Rookewoode Eſquyre, two enemies to Gods word, begynnyng now to floriſh at Calyce: theſe I ſay, with certaine other of the Counſell of the ſayd Towne of Calyce, to the number of vij. moe beſides themſelues, ſeekyng occaſion or rather a quarell, where no iuſt cauſe was geuen, begā to write very heynous letters and greuous complaintes vnto the Lordes of the priuy Counſell, agaynſt diuers of the Towne of Calyce, affirmyng that they were horribly infected with hereſies and pernitious opinions: As firſt the foreſaid Adā Dālip, who though he were for a time eſcaped their handes, yet ſtacke ſtill in their remembraunce from tyme to tyme, vntill at laſt the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traytour, as herafter ſhall appeare.

Syr Thomas Palmer.
M. Rookwoode.
The Counſell of Calice letters againſt the Proteſtātes.

Alſo beſides this Damlip, they complayned of Thomas Broke, Rafe Hare, likewiſe of ſyr John Butler then Commiſſarie, and ſyr W. Smith, James Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber & other, and the names of them all ſent ouer. Of the which perſons, firſt the ſayde Thomas Broke, and Rafe Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber were apprehended and ſent ouer, and committed to priſon in Weſtminſter gate, and then commaunded to appeare before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the byſhop of Wincheſter, the byſhop of Chicheſter, and ten other appointed by the kynges Maieſties commiſſion, for the examination of them. And their accuſers alſo were ſent ouer wyth letters from the Counſell there, vnto his priuie Councell here, in the furtheraunce of their malicious ſutes agaynſt thoſe honeſt men, wyth certaine ſpeciall letters directed vnto the Lord Fitzwilliams then Earle of Southhampton, & great Admirall of Englād, to the L. Sandes, Lord Chamberlayne of the Houſhold, likewiſe alſo to ſyr William Kingſtone knight, Comptroller of the Houſhold, & to D. Sampſon, then B. of Chicheſter, and other tēding all to one effect, that is to ſay, to the vtter deſtructiō of thoſe godly men, (if God after his wonted maner) had not mightely preſerued them, and, as it were ouerſhadowed them with the winges of his mercy.

The trouble of Rafe Here, ſouldiour of Calyce.

That the ſame may the better appeare, you ſhall vnderſtand that firſt Rafe Hare, a man rude and ſo vnlearned, that ſcarce he coulde read yet through Gods grace, was very zealous, and therwith lead ſo godly and temperate a life, as not one of hys enemyes coulde accuſe or blame the ſame his ſober lyfe and conuerſation. Thys Rafe Hare was charged to be one, that had ſpoken agaynſt auricular confeſſion, agaynſt holy bread and holy water, yea and beſide that, he was one which would not lightly ſweare an othe, nor vſe almoſt any maner of paſtime, nor good fellowſhip, as they terme it, but was alwayes in a corner by himſelfe, lookyng on his booke. The poore ſimple man being charged by the Cōmiſſioners, that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwiſe, comming out of a towne ſo infected with pernicious errours & ſectes as that was, was willed by them to take good heede to himſelfe, leaſt through obſtinacie he turned his erroneous opinions to playne hereſie: for an errour defended, is hereſie.

Rafe Hare charged.

My good Lordes ſayd the poore man, I take God to recorde, I woulde not willyngly maynteyne an errour or hereſie, wherefore I beſeech you let my accuſers come face to face before me. For if they charge me wyth that which I haue ſpoken, I will neuer denie it. Moreouer, if it be truth, I will ſtand vnto it, and otherwiſe if it be an errour, I will with all my hart vtterly forſake it, I meane if it be agaynſt Gods holy worde. For the Lord is my witnes, I ſeeke, & dayly pray to God, that I may know the truth, & flee from all errours, and I truſt the Lord will ſaue me & preſerue me from them.

The aunſwere of Rafe Hare.

A ha, quoth the byſhop of Wincheſter, do you not heare what he ſaith my Lord? I perceiue now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, ſayd Rafe Hare, what euill ſayd I? Mary Syr, you ſayd, the Lord, the Lord, and that is, Symbolum hæreticorum, ſayd Wincheſter. What is that my Lord, for Gods ſake tell me, ſayde Hare? Thou art nought, thou art nought, ſayd he. At which wordes ẏ ſimple man began to tremble, and ſeemed much diſmayde and driuen into a greater agony and feare. Which thing Wincheſter wel perceiuing, ſayd vnto him: Rafe Hare, Rafe Hare, by my trouth I pitie thee much. For in good faith I thinke thee to be a good ſimple man, & of thy ſelfe wouldeſt meane well enough, but that thou haſt had ſhrewd and ſubtile ſchoolemaiſters, that haue ſeduced thee good poore ſimple ſoule, and therefore I pitie thee,: and it were in deede pitie that thou ſhouldeſt be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a talle man, and haſt ſerued ẏ king right well in his warres. I haue heard thee well commēded, & thou art yet able to do the kyng as good ſeruice as euer thou was, and we all will be a meane to his grace to be good and gracious Lord vnto thee, if thou wilt take pitie of thy ſelfe, & leaue thy errours. For I dare ſay for vs all, that be Commiſſioners, that we would be loth that thou ſhould be caſt away. For alas poore ſimple man, we perceiue thou haſt bene ſeduced (I ſay) by others.

Wincheſters cauillation about the Lord, and our Lorde.

How ſayeſt thou therfore? thou knoweſt my Lord of Canterburies grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be lothe thou ſhould be caſt away. Tell me, canſt thou be cōtent to ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto him, and to ſtand vnto ſuch order, as he and we ſhal take in this matter? How ſayeſt thou man? ſpeake. The poore man therwith falling vpon hys knees, and ſheding teares, aunſwered, ſpeaking to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury in this wiſe: My good lord, for Chriſtes ſake be good vnto me, and I referre my ſelfe vnto your graces order, do with me what you pleaſe.

The wordes of the Archb. of Cant. to Hare.

The Byſhop of Canterbury, conſideryng what daunger he was ready to fall in, and pityng the ſame (though the ſimplicitie of the man was ſo great, that he perceiued it not) ſayd nay Raſe Hare, ſtand vp, and aduiſe thy ſelfe, and commit not thy ſelfe to me, for I am but one man, and in Commiſſion but as the other are, ſo that it lyeth in me to do nothyng. But if thou do commit thy ſelfe vnto all, then thou committeſt thy ſelfe vnto the law, and the law is ordayned to do euery man right. Go to Raphe Hare ſayd Wincheſter, ſubmit thy ſelfe to my Lord and vs: it is beſt for thee to do ſo. Whereupon he fell vpon his knees agayne, and ſayd: My Lordes and maiſters all, I ſubmitte my ſelfe wholy vnto you. And therewithall a booke was holden him, and an othe geuen him to be obedient vnto them, and to all Eccleſiaſticall lawes: and ſtraightway he was enioyned to abiure, and to beare a Fagot three ſeuerall dayes, & moreouer the poore man loſt the liuyng that he had at Calyce.

Pennance inioyned to Raſe Hare.

This ſimple man hearing his penaunce, piteouſly lamented, and earneſtly at the firſt denied to ſtand thereunto, with piteous exclamation, ſaying: O my Lord of Wincheſter, my Lord of Wincheſter, haue you made me a logge ready to be layd vppon the fire when ſoeuer any wicked man falſly of malice by prouocation of the deuill, ſhall lay any ſmall trifle to my charge? Or ſhall I be thus handled, nothyng proued to my face agaynſt me? Alas I haue alwayes hated errours and hereſies. Content thy ſelfe Hare: there is now no remedy, thou muſt either do thy penaunce, or be burnt, ſayd the Commiſſioners. Thus haue you heard howe Raſe Hare did ſpede.

The examinatiõ and trouble of T. Broke.

Accuſers of T. Broke.

Then was Thomas Broke called for, agaynſt whom it was obiected by ſome of the Counſels letters of Calyce, that he was a ſeditious fellow. Among theſe accuſers beſides the reſt, was one Richard Long, an other Fraunces Haſtynges, men of armes, who charged the forenamed Thomas Broke, and one Geffray Loueday Eſquire, for ſtaying and mainteinyng the foreſayd Adam Damlyp at Calyce: as who had promiſed vnto him a ſtipend to preache ſuch hereſies and pernitious opinions, as afterward hee taught there: and that theſe two dayly gathered many ſeuerall ſummes of money, for the entertainement of the ſayd Adam. Howbeit the foreſaid Haſtinges fayled in the proofe therof. For Loueday proued that he was viij. dayes before Damlyps commyng to Calyce, and duryng xiiij. dayes continually after he began to preach, abidyng at Paris, there occupyed about neceſſarye affaires of Charles Duke of Southfolke. And Broke duryng the ſayd tyme was at London dayly attendant in the Parliament houſe, whereof he had enough to beare witnes, againſt that vntrue ſurmiſe.

Falſe accuſation.

Three other accuſers agaynſt T. Broke, and Geffrey Loueday.

After that, came three at once agaynſt the ſayd Broke, well armed as they thought, who had not onely conſulted together before of the matter, and put it in writyng at Calyce, beſide their conference and talke by the way keepyng company from thence hether, but alſo had obtained from the Lord Deputie and others of the Counſel, ſpecial letters as is aforeſayd: and among other, one letter vnto ẏ Biſhop of Chicheſter, for the earneſt and ſpeedy furtheraũce of the aduauncement of their accuſations agaynſt Brooke.

Payton the firſt accuſer.

The firſt of theſe three was a young Gentleman lately brought vp vnder the ſayd Brooke in the office of cuſtome, whoſe name was Edmund Payton.

R. Poole the ſecond accuſer.

The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both baſe borne, and alſo ſuch a one as in his youth for murtheryng a man with a clubbe in Bow lane in London, was fayne by obtainyng the kynges pardon, to ſaue his necke.

Th. Boyſe the thyrd accuſer.

The thyrd was one Tho. Boyſe, who ſhewyng more honeſty then the reſt, affirmed not that he himſelfe heard the ſayd Broke ſpeake any thyng of that whiche was obiected agaynſt him, but teſtified that either of the other two had ſtedfaſtly affirmed to him, that Broke had ſpoken vnto thẽ thoſe thynges here vnder obiected agaynſt him.

The depoſition of the firſt witnes againſt T. Broke.

The young man firſt obiected agaynſt the ſayd Broke, that he ſhould ſay that the thyng which the Prieſt vſeth to hold vp ouer his head at Maſſe, is not the naturall body of Ieſu Chriſt: for if that were ſo, who ſo would, might haue their belly full of Gods, their guttes full of Gods, & he that had lately receiued the Sacramẽt before he went to the ſea, might happely vomit God vp agayne on ſhypboorde.

And thus much he brought ouer in writyng with him from Calyce, and added thereto, as it ſhould ſeeme, to exaſperate the Commiſſioners and the reſt of the Clergy agaynſt him, certaine other heynous wordes ſpoken agaynſt Byſhops and Prieſtes. Whiche wordes the ſayd Broke there denyed, confeſſyng neuertheleſſe that certaine priuate talke he had with hym touchyng the Sacrament, wherein he ſhewed to the young man the right vſe of the ſame, concludyng, that albeit with our mouthes we receiued very materiall bread and wine, yet by fayth, all Chriſtian men do receiue, eate, and drinke, to their great comfort and benefite, the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt, which was both borne of the virgine Mary, and ſuffred death on the Croſſe for the remiſſion of their ſinnes: which moſt holy Sacrament, who ſo came vnworthely vnto, the ſame was ſo farre from the eating of Chriſtes body and bloude, that all ſuch (without harty repentaunce) do eate their owne damnation. And to conclude with him in that priuate talke he tolde hym that if the groſſe and vnlearned errour of trãſubſtantiation, were in deede matter of truth and ſincere doctrine, then not onely this ſhould follow of it, that euery man who would, might haue euerlaſting life (for they might when they would receiue the outwarde Sacrament, ſeene wyth our eyes, which the Prieſtes call Chriſtes naturall body, and who ſo eateth Chriſtes body, and drinketh hys bloud, hath euerlaſting lyfe, ſayth Chriſt) but alſo there ſhould great abſurdities follow therby, as when a mã happeneth to go to the ſea, hauing lately receiued the ſacrament, he ſhould put it ouer boorde, or do it on the hatches, & therefore exhorted the ſayd Payton to leaue that groſſe errour.

The priuate talke of T. Broke and Payton, touching the Sacrament.

Pooles accuſation agaynſt Brooke.

The ſecond accuſer was Poole, who obiected agaynſt him ẏ about two yeares paſt, he hymſelfe dyning with the ſayd Brooke, with xv. or xvi. other honeſt men, heard hym thus ſay at the table, that the thyng which the Prieſtes vſe to hold vp ouer their heades, was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but a ſacrament to put vs in remembraũce therof. Unto whoſe obiectiõs the ſayde Broke aunſwered, that a man in myrth myght well enough with charitie beſhrewe ſuch a geſt, as when he had dyned wyth a man, could ſo long after remember to ſay hym ſuch a grace: and required of Poole, of whence the reſt of the geſtes were. He aunſwered they were of the towne all. Then inferred he, that he was ſure Poole could as well remember ſome of their names which then were preſent, as freſhely to keepe in mynde (for ſo by oth vpon a booke he had affirmed) euery word of the whole matter which he obiected: but for that the matter was vtterly vntrue. Whereupon the ſayde Brooke deſired their honours to conſider the ſlenderneſs of hys tale.

To be ſhort, he wyth the reſt of his felowes, to witte, Raſe Hare, Coppen, and Iames the Barber, were for that tyme diſmiſſed.

The trouble and examination of Syr W. Smyth and Iohn Butler Commiſſarye.

Duryng the tyme while theſe foure were thus in examination at London, the other two, to witte, Syr William Smith preacher, and Iohn Butler, by commaundement were apprehended in Calyce, and bounde by ſuretie not to paſſe the gates of the towne of Calyce. In the which towne, the ſayd Iohn Butler Commiſſary was accuſed by Rich. Thorpe and Iohn Ford, ſouldiours of Calyce, ſaying that he ſhould ſay, that if the Sacrament of the aultar be fleſhe, bloud, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at Iohn Spiſers. Upon which accuſation the ſayde Thorpe and Forde brought for recordes before the Counſayle of Calyce, Marraunt Haynes, Iohn Luckes, Harry Huſſon, and Harry Troſſe, all of the pariſh of Oye beſide Calyce. Wherupon ſhortly after, the ſayde Iohn Butler and Sir William Smith were ſent for, and by one Swallow a purſeuant, which fet vp the other aforeſayd, brought into England, vnto the houſe of the ſayd Swallow, dwellyng by S. Iames, where the kynges maieſtie lay at that tyme, and the next day being Thurſday, after dinner, Butler and Smyth were brought to the ſtarre chamber before the priuie Counſaile, where both ſedition and hereſie was obiected agaynſt them: and after much talke, was ſayde vnto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they ſhoulde make their purgation by the law: And frõ thẽce by the foreſayd Swallow they were ſent to the Fleete.

The accuſers of J. Butler. *Aqua vitæ* to digeſt the bloud and bones of the ſacrament.

The next day being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smyth were ſent for to come to Bathe place, where they were brought into ẏ chappell, there ſitting D. Clarke Byſhop of Bathe, Doct. Sampſon, then Byſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Repſe, the byſhop of Norwiche, who was a Monke, beyng faſt a ſleepe. Thẽ was obiected vnto Butler with great reuerence, the opprobrious wordes ſpoken agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament, rehearſing (as is aforeſaid) the articles. Butler required to haue them in wrytynge, and ſo would make aunſwere in wrytyng. The which they would not graunt him: and vpon that aunſwere he ſtoode. Then coler gathered in the Byſhop of Chicheſter. The ſtory were to long to wryte: yet part ye ſhall vnderſtand.

The examination of Iohn Butler.

Chicheſter found great fault that Butler made not lowe curſie, being ſtubborne & arrogant, as he ſaide, and in fine founde fault with his ſhyrt. Then turning him about hee called to his brother Banneſter being preſent (ẏ time dwelling in Pater noſter Row) to make aunſwere for the ſhirte. He ſayd, I can make aũſwere for the ſhyrt. No good aunſwere ſayd Chicheſter. Forſoth, ſayd he, ẏ ſhyrt is myne I lent it him, becauſe he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to haue any ſeruaunt. A good aunſwere ſayd the Byſhop of Bath. Then Butler made low curteſie, & ſayd, the ſhyrt is aũſwered. Then Chicheſter ſayd thou mockeſt vs. But he ſayd no. This is parſell of the ſtory.

The ſtory of William Smith.

The trouble and examination of Syr W. Smith. Curate.

Then after Butler, was ſir Williã Smith Curate of our Lady Pariſh in Calyce, called before them, and charged in a maner with the ſame haynous errours and pernitious opinions, that were obiected agaynſt the ſayd Rafe Hare, and thereto was added, that hee had ſpoken and preached agaynſt our bleſſed Lady, agaynſt praying to Saintes, agaynſt doyng of good workes, and many other lyke thynges: and there withall one Richard Long, a man of armes of Calyce proued agaynſt the ſayd ſir Smith, & the foreſayd Broke by an othe taken vpon a booke, that the ſayd Smith & Broke did eate fleſh together in Lent in the ſaid Brokes houſe. For a Millers boy, ſayd he, came into Brokes kitchen, and ſaw halfe a Lambe lye a roaſtyng at the fire.

False accuſation and periurye puniſhed of God.

Where as the truth is, that the ſayd ſir William Smith duryng all the Lent, came neuer once within the ſayd Brokes houſe, And it is as true alſo that the ſayd Richard Long, vpõ a diſpleaſure taken with his wife, went ſhortly after out of his owne houſe, to the Juttie end of the Hauen at Calyce, where deſperately he drowned him ſelfe, not one boy, but many men, women, girles and boyes ſeyng him miſerably taken vp agayne ſtarke dead: all whiche lamented his pityfull ruine. A terrible enſample vnto all ſuch as are ready to forſweare them ſelues on a booke vppon malice, or what ſoeuer other cauſe it bee: a thyng in theſe dayes ouer ryfe, euery where, and almoſt no where regarded as it ought to be.

The trouble of John Butler.

The trouble of John Butler Commiſſarye.

There was alſo called before them ſir John Butler, then Commiſſary of Calyce, whom they would haue burdened with the maintenaunce, or (at the leaſt wiſe) ſufferaũce, of the foreſayd Adam Damlip, which preached ſo lõg tyme there, and was not by him puniſhed. Who for his defence aunſwered, that the Lord Deputie and the whole Counſell there ſo highly intertayned, and ſo frendly vſed the ſayd Damlyp, and with their owne preſence and hygh commendations outwardly ſo allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwiſe then he did: & therfore humbly beſought their Lordſhyps and other the Commiſſioners to be good vnto hym. At whoſe handes, after long attendaunce geuen, he was diſcharged, & ſo returned home agayne, beyng alſo dimiſſed of his Commiſſaryſhyp.

The recantation of certaine Calyce men.

The recantation and penaunce of Syr W. Smith, Rafe Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber at Calyce.

Now to declare what order was taken with theſe foreſayd Calyce men, it was appoynted that ſir W. Smith, Rafe Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber ſhould be ſent to Calyce, there to abiure and to do penaunce. Where ſir W. Smith was enioyned to make the Sermon, Rafe Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber ſtandyng with Fagots vpõ their ſhoulders. The Sermon was made in ẏ Market of Calyce. Which being done, they went with their Fagottes about the market place, the Drumme and Fife goyng before them, and then returnyng to the Commiſſioners with teſtimoniall of the ſame, they departed. Albeit in this recãtation, the ſayd W. Smith Curate of our Ladyes Church handled his Sermon after that ſort, as in effect he denyed nothyng at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it ſatiſfied ſomewhat his aduerſaries malicious hartes, in that it bare the name of a recãtation, accordyng to the Commiſſioners order, appointyng him thus openly to preach, and ſo to depart the towne and marches.

James Barber.

As touchyng James Barber aforeſayd, for ſomuch as his dwellyng was not at Calyce, but foure myles of from the Towne, it was therfore enioyned him to beare his Fagot, not at Calyce, but on the Saterday next folowyng to ſtand in the Market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot vppon his ſhoulder, and the ſayd Syr William Smith likewiſe there preached, as before.

And thus much concernyng the firſt Commiſſion ſent ouer to Calyce to enquire vpon the heretickes there.

An other Commiſsion ſent ouer to Calice.

A new Commiſſion ſent towne to Calyce.

After all theſe thynges done and paſt, the grudgyng myndes of the aduerſaries yet were not ſatiſfied, but ſtill ſuggeſted new complayntes to the kynges eares agaynſt the towne of Calyce, makyng the kyng beleue, that through new opiniõs the towne was ſo diuided, that it was in great daunger of the aduerſary to be ouercome.

False accuſation agaynſt the towne of Calyce.

The Commiſſioners appointed

Wherupon ſhortly after, the weeke before Eaſter next folowyng, other new Commiſſioners were ſent ouer by the kyng to Calyce, to witte, the Earle of Suſſex, Lord great Chamberlaine, the Lord S. John, ſir John Gage Knight, ſir John Barker Knight, M. Layton Clerke of the cloſet, and Doct. Currin, with ſpeciall inſtructions beſides ſigned by the Kynges Maieſties owne hand: for his highnes had bene incenſed once agayne from the Counſell at Calyce, that the towne was in perill thorough diſſenſion and diuerſitie of opinions. Upon their arriuall, maiſter Doct. Currin preached a notable Sermon exhortyng all men to charitie, hauyng nothyng in his mouth but charitie, charitie. But as it ſeemed afterward, ſuch a burnyng charitie was in him and the reſt of the Commiſſioners that, had not God pitied the innocẽcie of mens cauſes, there had a hũdred bene burnt or hanged ſhortly after.

Example of Gods puniſhment vpon falſe accuſers.

But it happened farre otherwiſe. For of the number of thoſe accuſers, foure were by thoſe Commiſſioners ſent ouer into England, to witte, Clement Philpot, ſeruaunt to the Lord Liſle, ſir Edmund, Curate of our Ladyes Church, W. Touchet a Poſtmaiſter, Peter Bequet, of the which foure, Touchet and Bequet were ſent to their places agayne: the other ij. were drawen, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all thẽ that were accuſed, there was not one that loſt one heare of his head.

After the Sermon was done, on the morow to witte, on Sherethurſday, all the Commiſſioners ſolemnely receiued the Sacrament. And at after noone, the Counſell were with the Commiſſioners, and after their conſultation, typped ſtaues warned, aboue the number of foure ſcore, ſo peruers perſons as the lyke were not in the towne or Marches, to appeare on the morrow, at. vij. of the clocke before the Counſell at the Staple Jnne, who at their appearaunce were commaunded vpon their allegiaunce, to preſent all ſuch heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, and ſeditious perſons, as they did know: and in no wiſe to doubt or dread ſo to do, for they ſhould haue great aduauntage thereby, yea they ſhould haue either their liuynges, or their goodes, and beſides that, they ſhould haue great thankes at the kynges Maieſties hand, and his honorable Counſell, and what frendſhyp they of the Kynges Counſell there could ſhew them. All that good Friday, euen till. x. of the clocke at night thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupyed their tyme in aunſweryng to diuers and ſondry queſtions.

An other inquiſition at Calice againſt heretickes.

Theſe thynges were not ſo ſecretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch feare and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that neighbour miſtruſted neighbour, the maiſter the ſeruaunt, the ſeruaunt the maiſter, the huſband the wife, the wife the huſband, and almoſt euery one the other, that lamentable it was to ſee how mournyngly men and women went in the ſtreetes, hangyng downe their heades, ſhewyng euident tokens of the anguiſh of their hartes.

Great perturbation at Calice.

The ſecond trouble of Thomas Broke.

The ſecond trouble of T. Broke.

Vpon Eaſter Monday, one Hugh Councell an honeſt man, ſeruaunt to the ſayd Broke, was conuented before them, and by the ſpace of. xiiij. dayes, not ſuffered to returne to his maiſters houſe, but kept in cuſtody, and many tymes examined vpon Articles & Interrogatories, in hope to haue founde worthy matter, either of hereſie or treaſon agaynſt the ſayd Broke: and the ſame day that Broke was committed to warde, the ſayd Hugh Councell was diſcharged.

The wenſday in the Eaſter weke ſundry Queſtes were charged by their othes to make inquiſition for all maner of hereſies, erroneous opinions and ſeditions, as a Queſt of Aldermen, an other of men at armes, and an other of Conſtables and Uintners, an other of common Souldiours, and an other of Commoners.

xiij. Calice men impriſoned for their fayth.

And ſhortly after their preſentementes, on good Friday, there was conuented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraite were ſent to cloſe priſon, Anthony Pickering gẽtleman, Harry Tourney Gentleman, Syr George Darby Prieſt, John Shepheard, William Pellam, William Reuerdale, John Whitwoode, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, & Mathew de Hound. Upon whom ranne ſundry brutes: Some ſayd they ſhould bee hanged, ſome ſayd burnt, ſome ſayd hanged, drawen, and quartered, ſome ſayd nayled to the Pillery: ſo that pitifull it was to ſee the lamentation that their wiues, their children, ſeruaunts, and frendes made ſecretly where they durſt, for that they found euery where wordes of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtill Jnquiſition was made.

The ſecond trouble of William Steuens.

Falſe crimes forged agaynſt W. Steuens.

The foreſayd William Steuens after his returne from London aboue mentioned, beſides many other Articles layd to him for religion, to ẏ number of 40. or well nye, was by ẏ Lord Deputie charged ẏ he had ſtayed the foreſayd Adam Damlypp, hyred him to preache, and gaue hym meate, drinke and lodgyng, commyng from the arrant traytor Cardinall Poole, and ſuborned by him: and that he had receyued money of him, to the entent he ſhould preach in Calyce falſe and erroneous doctrine, whereby the town beyng deuided & at contention within it ſelfe, might eaſely be ouercome and wonne by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the ſayde Steuens aunſwered, that what ſoeuer he had done vnto the ſayd Adam Damlypp, he had done it at the earneſt requeſt and commaundement of the ſayd Lord Deputie. wherupon if it had bene treaſon in deede, he muſt haue bene more faultie.

W. Steuens committed to the Tower.

L. Liſley Deputie of Calice, committed to the Tower.

Example of Gods puniſhment vpon his perſecuters.

Then the ſayd William Steuens was agayne the ſecōd tyme by the ſayd Commiſſioners ſent ouer into England, & clapt in the tower, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the ſayd Commiſſioners repayre vnto the kyngs hyghnes, the ſaid Lord Deputy was ſent for ouer, & likewiſe put into the Tower, where he continued a long tyme. And whē the kynges maieſtie mynded to haue bene gracious vnto him, & to haue let him come forth, God toke him out of this world, whoſe body reſteth in the Tower, & his ſoule with God, I truſt, in heauen, for he dyed very repentaunt. But the wicked Lady his wife immediately vpon his apprehenſion, fell diſtraught of mynde, & ſo continued many yeares after. God for his mercy, if ſhe yet liue, geue her his grace to repent.

Broke committed to priſon.

The ſecond Monday after Eaſter, the foreſayd Broke was conuented before the Commiſſioners, and committed to cloſe priſon in the Mayors Gayle.

Then the Counſell of Calyce, doubting leſt there ſhould not be any ſedition or hereſie proued agaynſt him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupyed the Controllers office in the cuſtome houſe. This man was kept in cloſe priſon, ſo as neither his wife then great with child, nor any other his frendes might repayre vnto him. Where, after that hee had often tymes beene borne in hande, that there were diuers concealmentes come to light that were made by Broke in the office of Cuſtome, and that the ſaid Bradway ſhould be greuouſly puniſhed if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the ſayd Broke with no kynde of concealement: the poore ſimple man, hopyng thereby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſayd Broke, that he had for a long tyme concealed foure grotes euery day for his Clarkes wages, and to that accuſatiō they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet his owne hand before witneſſes.

Falſe accuſation puniſhed by Gods hand.

Gods mercy in puniſhing.

Whereupon after a day or two, the ſayd Bradway greued in his conſcience for the ſame his moſt vntrue accuſation, did with a knife enterpriſe to cut his owne throte: but God of his mercy ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the backe of his knife was toward his weſand. Wherby though the wounde were broad, yet he eſcaped with life. And as he gaue a grone with the ſodayne payne that he felt, the Gayler came vp, and bereft him of the knife. But through the giltynes of the falſe accuſation, and ſhame of the world, the mā loſt his wyts, who then ſtaryng and diſmayde was diſmiſſed out of priſon, and a long tyme after went in piteous caſe ſo diſmayed about the ſtreete, to the great impoueriſhyng of him, his poore wife and familie.

Letters ſent to the Lord Cromwell from Calice.

This kynde of handlyng of the ſayd Broke, made all his frendes, but ſpecially his wife, to be greatly afeard of the malice of his enemyes: the rather alſo, for that all his goodes and landes were ceiſed. And his wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her children and familie, the keyes of al ẏ doores and cheſtes beſide taken from her. Who for that ſhe was rigorouſly entreated at ſir Edward Ryngleis hand, Controller of the Towne (an office of no ſmall charge, though he knew not a B. from a battledoore, nor euer a letter of the booke) ſaying vnto her, that if ſhe lyked not the rowme, he would thruſt her quyte out of the doores: well Syr, ſayd ſhe, well, the kynges ſlaughter houſe had wrong when you were made a Gentleman, and with all ſpeede ſhe wrote a letter to the Lord Cromwell, therein diſcourſing how hardly and ſore thoſe poore men were hādled, that were committed to ward and cloſe priſon, and that all men feared (what through the malice of their Papiſticall enemyes, and the great rigour and ignoraunt zeale of thoſe that were in authoritie) they ſhould ſhortly for theyr fayth and conſciences, beyng true men, and ſuch as reuerently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her huſband, who was yet more extremely handled then any other: So that, vnleſſe his honour voutchſaued to be a meane to the kynges maieſtie, that they with theyr cauſes might be ſent ouer into England, they were but dead men.

The Lord Cromwels letters to the Commiſſioners at Calice.

Wherupon the ſayd Lord Cromwell wrote ſpeedely his letters vnto the Cōmiſſioners, declaryng the kynges Maieſties pleaſure and commaundement was, that the arrant traitour and hereticke Broke, with a doſen or xx. complices ſhould with their accuſers be immediately ſent ouer, ẏ here in England they myght receiue their iudgement, and there at Calice to the great terrour of lyke offenders hereafter ſuffer according to their demerites.

The xiij. priſoners of Calice ſent to London.

The crueltie of a popiſh perſecuter.

Now by the tyme, that the ſaid Commiſſioners had receiued theſe letters, they had made out preceptes for 8. or 9. ſcore honeſt men more to be caſt in priſon. But theſe letters ſo appalled them, that they ſtayde, and afterwarde ſent no moe to warde. But making then as diligent inquiſition as was poſſible, to haue founde ſome worthy matter agaynſt thoſe before named, whereby there might haue bene ſome colour, both of the Counſels greuous complaintes, and of the Commiſſioners rigorous dealing, whē no ſuch thing could fall out, becauſe they would be aſſured ẏ they ſhoulde not goe vnpuniſhed, they firſt baniſhed thē the towne and Marches of Calice with a Trumpet blowne, vnder payne of death, for a hundred yeare and a day if that one day had bene left out, all had bene marde) and then ſent them backe to priſon, ſtaying them there vpon hope that the L. Cromwell ſhoulde come into captiuitie ſooner then he dyd. But at laſt, to wit, on May day, they ſent the xiij. priſoners through the market, the ſayde Broke goinge before wyth yrons on his legges, as the chiefe captayne, the reſt followyng hym, two and two without yrons, vnto ſhipborde, and then were they all coupled in yrons two and two together. Where, becauſe they were lothe to go vnder the hatches, Syr John Gage with a ſtaffe ſmote ſome of them cruelly. Wherupon Anthony Pickering ſayd vnto hym: Syr I beſech you yet be as good vnto vs as you would be to your horſes or dogs: let vs haue a litle ayre that we be not ſmothered. Yet that requeſt could not be obtained, but the hatches were put downe cloſe, and they garded and kept with a great company of men, and ſo ſayling forwarde, by Gods mercifull prouidence, were within 24. houres at anker before the Tower of London.

And when the Lord Cromwell vnderſtoode they were come, he commaunded their yrons to be ſmyt of at the Tower wharfe, and the priſoners to be brought vnto hym.

The xiij. priſoners put in the Fleete.

When he ſaw them he ſmiled vpon them, ſtedfaſtly beholding ech of them, and then ſayd: Syrs, you muſt take paine for a tyme. Go your way to the Fleete, and ſubmit your ſelues priſoners there, and ſhortly you ſhall know more. So in deede they did, for that euening he ſent them worde they ſhould be of good cheere, for if God ſent him life, they ſhould ſhortly go home with as much honeſty, as they came with ſhame.

Mathew de Hounde a bleſſed Martyr of God, burned in Flaunders.

Whileſt theſe xiij. perſecuted men lay in the Fleete, and W. Steuens in the tower, to witte, the xix. day of July. an. 1541. the foreſayd Lord Cromwel for treaſon layde againſt hym, was at Tower hill beheaded, as is before ſpecified in hys ſtory, who made there a very Chriſtian end. Then had the poore Calyce men great cauſe to feare, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful prouidence of their heauenly father, whoſe bleſſed will they knew directed all thinges. But he in the middeſt of their deepe troubles and myſeries ſo comforted them, that euen as the daungers and troubles increaſed, ſo likewiſe did their conſolation and ioy in hym: ſo farre forth, as Mathew de Hound one of thoſe xiij. who was in trouble onely for that he heard Copen de Hall read a Chapter of the new Teſtament, and was as deepe in puniſhment, and in baniſhment frō hys wyfe, children, and countrey as the reſt, gotte in ſhort tyme ſuch inſtruction, that hauinge therewith a ſoule and conſcience freighted full of godly zeale vnto Gods glory and the true doctrine of Chriſt, within a fewe mōthes after hys deliuerance out of the Fleete: for inueying conſtantly agaynſt the wicked honouring of Images and praying vnto ſaints departed, was cruelly in a moſt conſtant faith and patience, burned in Flaunders.

The Lorde Audley good to the perſecuted members of Chriſt.

The common ſaying of the Lord Audley concerning popiſhe prieſtes.

Now therfore, when all hope in man was paſt, the right honourable L. Audeley, lord Chancellor of England, without further examination, diſcharged firſt the ſayd 13. that were in the Flete, and at length two yeares after, he deliuered W. Steuens alſo by the kings owne motion, out of the Tower, ſaying at the diſcharging of thoſe 13. ſirs praye for the kings maieſty, his pleaſure is ẏ you ſhall al be preſently diſcharged. And though your liuings be taken from you, yet diſpaire not: God wil not ſee you lacke. But for Gods ſake ſirs beware how you deale with popiſh prieſtes: for, ſo God ſaue my ſoule, ſome of them be knaues all. Sirs, ſayde he, I am commaunded by the counſaile to tell you, that you are diſcharged by vertue of the kings generall pardon, but ẏ pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all ſacramentaries, and the moſt part or all of you are called ſacramentaries. Therefore I can not ſee how that pardon doth you any pleaſure. But pray for the kynges highneſſe, for hys graces pleaſure is, that I ſhoulde diſmiſſe you, and ſo I doo, and pitie you all:

Farewel ſirs.

Callice men diſmiſſed.

Example how God proſpereth the fauourers and frendes to hys Goſpel.

Example how God turneth the malice of the enemies vpon their owne heades

Example of Gods iudgment vpon a cruell perſecuter.

So geuyng God moſt hartie thankes for his mightye and mercyful deliuering of them, they departed diſmiſſed, as you haue heard, being in deede in very poore eſtate: but not in ſo miſerable ſtate as all thoſe eight Counſailours of Calice were within one yere and a halfe after. For wheras the other three Counſailers which ſeemed more fauourable to them: to wit, the Lord Gray, ſir George Carow, and ſir Rich. Grinfielde, which purged the towne of thoſe ſclaūders that vntruely were rayſed vpon it, and therefore for a time were in their Princes high diſpleaſure: win ẏ yeare were al three in greater fauour then euer they were before, and that not without the reward of .xx. pound by yeare to hym & to his heyres, who had leaſt: the other eight Counſailours, vniuſtly charging them and the towne of ſedition and hereſie: to ſay, the Lord Liſle, the Lord Sandes, Sir John Wallop, ſir Edward Rinſley, Rob. Fowler Eſquier vicetreaſurer, ſir Tho. Palmer knight, called long Palmer, W. Sampſon Eſquier vndermarſhal, and Joh. Rockwod, were either greatly out of their Princes fauour, and in the Tower or els where priſoners, either els by very deſperate deathes in outward appearaunce, taken out of this world: For tediouſnes I wyl rehearſe but onely the horrible end of the ſaid Rockwood, the chiefe ſtirrer vp of all the afflictions afore ſpoken of: who euen to the laſt breath ſtaring and raging, cryed, he was vtterly damned: and being wylled to aſke god mercy, who was ready to forgeue al ẏ aſked mercy of hym, he brayed & cryed out, Al too late, for I haue ſought maliciouſly the deathes of a number of the honeſteſt men in the towne, and though I ſo thought them in my hart, yet I dyd that lay in me to bring them to an euyll death: all too late therfore, al too late. Which ſame wordes he anſwered to one that at the departure of the .xiij. in yrons towardes England ſaid: Sir, I neuer ſawe men of ſuch honeſtie, ſo ſharpely corrected, and taking it ſo paciently and ioyfully. Rockwod thē fetching a friſke or two, ſcoffingly anſwered: All too late. The vndermarſhall ſodenly fell downe in the Counſaile chamber, and neuer ſpake worde after, nor ſhewed any token of remembraunce. The plagues of the other alſo, as I am credibly infourmed, were litle better.

The ſecond apprehenſion and martyrdome of Adam Damlip.

Adam Damlip agayne apprehended

CONcernyng Adam Damlip, otherwiſe called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, pag. 1194. howe he being conuented before the Biſhops at Lambeth, and afterward ſecretely admoniſhed, and hauyng money geuen hym by his frendes, to auoyde, and not to appeare againe before the Biſhops: after he had ſent his allegations in wrytyng vnto them, departed into the Weſt countrey, and there continued teaching a ſchole a certaine ſpace, about a yeare or two. After that, the good man was againe apprehended by the miſerable inquiſition of the ſixe articles, and brought vp to Londō, wher he was by Ste. Gardiner cōmaunded into the Marſhalſey, and there lay the ſpace of other two yeres or therabout.

George Bucker, confeſſour to the priſoners in the Marſhalſey.

Acquaintāce betwene John Marbecke and George Bucker otherwiſe called Adam Dāplip.

During the impriſonment of this George in the Marſhalſey, Jo. Marbecke (as partly ye heard before) alſo was cōmitted into the ſame priſon, which was the morow after Palme ſonday. The maner of that tyme ſo required, that at Eaſter euery perſon muſt nedes come to cōfeſſion. Wherupon Marbecke with the reſt of the priſoners there, was enforced to come vpon Eaſter day to ſir George aforeſaid, to be confeſſed, who was then cōfeſſor to the whole houſe. By this occaſion Jo. Marbecke, which had neuer ſene him before, entring into cōference ẇ hym, perceiued what he was, what he had bene, what troubles he ſuſteined, how long he had lyen there in priſon, by whō, & wherfore: who declared moreouer his mynd to Marbecke, to the effect as foloweth: And now becauſe, ſaid he, I thinke they haue forgottē me, I am fully mynded to make my humble ſute to the biſh. of Wincheſter, in an Epiſtle, declaring therin mine obedience, humble ſubmiſſion, and earneſt deſire to come to examination. I knowe the worſt. I can but leeſe my lyfe preſent, which I had leuer doo, then here to remaine, and not to be ſuffered to vſe my talent to Gods glorye. Wherefore (God willing) I wyl ſurely put it in proofe.

Adam Damlip well beloued among the priſoners, ſpecially of the keeper

Maſſy keeper of the Marſhalſey.

This Damlip, for his honeſt and godly behauiour was beloued of al the whole houſe, but ſpecially of the keper him ſelfe, whoſe name was Maſſy, whō he alwayes called maſter: and being ſuffred to go at libertie within ẏ houſe whether he would, he dyd much good among the cōmon & raſcal ſort of priſoners in rebuking vice & ſinne, and kept them in ſuch good order & awe, that the keeper thought hym ſelfe to haue a great treaſure of hym. And no leſſe alſo Marbecke him ſelfe confeſſeth, to haue found great cōfort by him. For notwithſtanding the ſtrayt precept geuen by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that no mā ſhould come to hym, nor he to ſpeak with any man: yet the ſaid Adam many tymes would find the meanes to come and comfort hym.

Adam Damlip writeth to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Now when he had made and drawen out his Epiſtle, he deliuered the ſame to his maſter the keper, vpon Saterday in the mornyng, which was about the ſecōd weeke before Whytſonday folowing, deſiring hym to deliuer it at the Court to the B. of Wincheſter. The keeper ſaid, he would, and ſo dyd. The biſhop, what quicke ſpeede he made for his diſpatch, I know not, but thus it fel out, as ye ſhall heare.

Steuen Gardiner ſendeth out a precept for the execution of Adam Damlip.

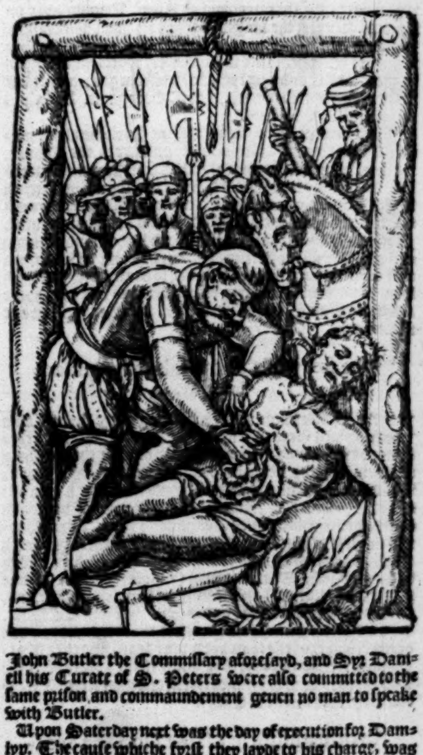
The chereful conſtancie of Adam Damlip.

The keper came home at night very late, and when the priſoners (which had taryed ſupper for his comming) ſaw hym ſo ſad and heauy, they deemed ſomething to be amyſſe. At laſt the keeper caſting vp his eyes vppon Syr George ſayd: O George I can tell thee tydyngs. What is that maſter, quoth he? Vppon Monday next thou and I muſt goe to Calice. To Calice maiſter? What to doe? I know not, quoth the keeper, and pulled out of his purſe a peece of waxe with a litle label of parchment hangyng out thereat, whiche ſeemed to be a precept. And when Syr George ſaw it, hee ſayde: well well Maiſter, nowe I knowe what the matter is, what, quoth the keeper? Truely maiſter I ſhall dye in Calice. Nay, quoth the keeper, I truſt it be not ſo. Yes, yes mayſter, it is moſt true, and I prayſe God for his goodnes therin. And ſo the keeper and they went together to ſupper with heauy cheare for Syr George as they there called him. Who notwithſtandyng was mery himſelf, and dyd eate his meate as well as euer he did in all his life: In ſo much that ſome at the borde ſayd vnto hym, that they merueyled how he coulde eate his meate ſo well, knowyng hee was ſo neare hys death. Ah maiſters quoth he, do you thinke that I haue ben Gods priſoner ſo long in the Marſhalſey, and haue not yet learned to dye? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will ſtrengthen me therin. Ex litteris Ioa. Marbecki.

Adam Damlip brought to Calice to ſuffer.

And ſo vpon Monday early in the mornyng before day, the keeper with iij. other of the Knight Marſhalles ſeruauntes, ſettyng out of London, conueyed the ſayde Adam Damlyp vnto Calice vpon the Aſcenſion euen, and there committed him to the Maiors priſon. Upon whiche daye John Butler the Commiſſary aforeſayd, and Syr Daniell his Curate of S. Peters were alſo committed to the ſame priſon, and commaundement geuen no man to ſpeake with Butler.

The cruel death & martyrdome of Damlip.



Upon Saterday next was the day of execution for Damlyp. The cauſe whiche fyrſt they layde to his charge, was for hereſie. But becauſe by an acte of Parlament, all ſuche offences done before a certaine daye, were pardoned (through whiche Acte he could not bee burdened with any thyng that he had preached or taught before (yet for the receiuyng of the foreſayd French crowne of Cardinall Pole, (as you heard before) hee was condemned of treaſon, and in Calice cruelly put to death, being drawen, hanged, and quartered.

The daye before his execution, came vnto hym one M. Mote, then perſon of our Lady Church of Calice, ſaying: your foure quarters ſhalbe hanged at foure partes of the towne. And where ſhal my head be, ſayd Damlip? Vppon the Lanterne gate, ſaid Mote. Then Damlip anſweared, Then ſhal I not neede to prouide for my buryall. At his death ſir Rafe Ellerker knight, thē knight Marſhal there, would not ſuffer the innocent and godly man, to declare eyther his fayth, or the cauſe he dyed for, but ſayd to the executioner, diſpatche the knaue, haue done. For ſir Will. Mote appointed there to preach, declared to the people how he had ben a ſower of ſeditious doctrine, and albeit he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for beyng a traytor againſt the king. To the which when Adā Damlip would haue replyed and purged him ſelfe, the foreſayd ſir Rafe Ellerker woulde not ſuffer hym to ſpeake a word, but commaunded hym to be had away. And ſo moſt meekely, patiently, and ioyfully, the bleſſed & innocent martyr tooke his death, ſir Rafe Ellerker ſaying, that he would not away before he ſaw the traytors hart out. But ſhortly after the ſaide ſir Rafe Ellerker in a ſkirmiſh or roade betweene the French men and vs, at Bullayne was among other ſlaine. Whoſe onely death ſufficed not his enemies, but after they had ſtripped hym ſtarke naked, they cut of his priuy members, and cut the hart out of his body, and ſo left hym a terrible example to all bloudy and mercyleſſe men. For no cauſe was knowen, why they ſhewed ſuch indignation againſt the ſaide ſir Rafe Ellerker, more then againſt the reſt, but that it is written: Faciens iuſtitias Dominus et iudicia omnibus iniuria preſſis.

The conſtant courage of Adam Damlip, not caring for his death

Damlip falſly accuſed of treaſon and innocentlye put to death.

An example of Gods iuſt reuengment.

Of the death of Syr Rafe Ellerker, read in Halles Chronicles.

As touching Ioh. Butler, and ſir Daniel his Curate, impriſoned (as ye heard) the ſame day with Damlip, vpon Sonday next folowing they were committed to Io. Maſſy aforeſaid, keeper of the Marſhalſey, and his companye, and brought to the Marſhalſey, where he continued & his Curate nine monethes & more. At laſt being ſore laid vnto by ſir George Gage, ſir Iohn Baker, and ſir Thomas Arūdell knightes, but eſpecially by Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, for the reteynyng of Adam Damlip, yet by frendes ſolicityng the kinges highnes for hym (namely Sir Leonard Muſgraue, and his brother Baunſter, who were bound for his appearance in a thouſand pound) he at length by great labour and long tyme was diſcharged, and at laſt by licence permitted to returne to Calice againe. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.

An other trouble of Iohn Butler, and Syr Daniell his Curate.

Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Caletienſium.

Furthermore, as touching William Steuens aboue mētioned, who remained al this while priſoner in the Tower, the ſame was alſo cōdemned with Adam Damlip of treaſon, whiche was for note and crime of Poperie in lodgyng Adam Damlip, which came from Cardinal Poole the traitor in his houſe, at the Lorde Deputies commaundement. Notwithſtanding the king afterward vnderſtanding more of the ſayd William Steuens, howe innocent he was from that crime, being knowen to al men to be an earneſt and zelous Proteſtant, gaue hym his pardon, and ſent hym home agayne to Calice, and ſo likewiſe all the other. xiij. aboue mentioned.

W. Steuens an earneſt Proteſtant falſly condemned for Poperye.

W. Steuens with the reſt pardoned of the kyng.

The ſtory of a poore labouryng man in Calice.

By the credible information & writyng of the ſayde Calice men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certaine poore laboring man of Calice, who after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in certaine company, ſayd, that he would neuer beleue, that a prieſt could make the Lords body at his pleaſure. Wherupon he was then accuſed, and alſo condemned by one Haruey Commiſſary there. Which Haruey in tyme of his iudgement inueying againſt hym with opprobrious wordes, ſayd, that he was an heretike, & ſhould dye a vile death. The poore man (whoſe name yet I haue not certainly learned) anſwearing for hym ſelfe againe, ſaid, that he was no heretike, but was in the fayth of Chriſte. And where as thou ſayeſt (ſayd he) that I ſhall dye a vile death: thou thy ſelfe ſhalt dye a viler death, and that ſhortly, and ſo it came to paſſe: For within halfe a yeare after the ſayd Haruey was hanged, drawen, and quartered for treaſon in the ſayd towne of Calice.

A poore man burned at Calice for the right fayth of the Sacrament.

A notable example of Gods iudgement vpon a bloudy perſecuter.

An other hiſtorie of one Dodde a Scottiſhe man, burned in Calice.

One Dodde burned in Calice.

After the burnyng of this poore man, there was alſo an other certaine ſcholer, counted to be a Scottiſh man, named Dodde, who commyng out of Germanie, was there taken with certaine Germane bookes about hym, and being examined therupon, and ſtanding conſtantly to the truth that he had learned, was therfore condemned to death, and there burned in the ſayde towne of Calice, within the ſpace of a yeare, or thereabout, after the other godly Martyr aboue mentioned.

And for ſo much as I am preſently in hand with matters of Calice, I can not paſſe from thence without memorie of an other certaine honeſt man of the ſame townſhip, named William Button, aliás Croſbowmaker, although the tyme of this ſtory is a litle more anciēt in yeares: which ſtorie is this: William Croſbowmaker, a ſouldier of Calice & the kings ſeruaunt, being a man as ſome natures be, ſomewhat pleaſantly diſpoſed, vſed whē he met wͭ prieſtes, to demaund of them certaine mery queſtions of paſtime, as theſe: Whether if a man were ſodenly taken, and wanted an other thing, he might not without offēce occupy one of yͤ Popes pardons, in ſteed of a broken paper?

An other queſtion was, whether in the worlde might better be wantyng, Dogges, or Prieſtes. And if it were anſweared, that Dogges might rather be ſpared: to that he woulde replie agayne and inferre, that if there were no Dogges, we could make no moe, but if there lacked ignoraunt Prieſtes, we might ſoone, and too ſoone, make too many of them.

The ſtory of W. Croſbowmaker, bearing a billet in Calice.

W. Croſbowmakers queſtions.

It happened that in the tyme of D. Darley, Perſon of our Ladyes church in Calice, being Commiſſary there for Archbiſhop Warham, there came a blacke Fryer to Calice with the Popes pardons: who for. iiij. d. would deliuer a ſoule out of Purgatory. The fryer was ful of Romiſh vertues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This foreſaid William Button aliás Croſbowmaker, commyng to the pardons, and pretending that he would deliuer his father and frends ſoules, aſked if the holy father the Pope could deliuer ſoules out of Purgatory? The fryer ſaid, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth Button, dooth he not of charitie deliuer all the ſoules therout? Of which wordes he was accuſed to the Commiſſarye, who at his appearing before the ſaide Commiſſary, confeſſed to haue aſked ſuch queſtions. The Commiſſary being angry thereat, ſayd: Doubteſt thou thereof, thou heretike? There was ſtanding by a blacke fryer named Capel, an Engliſh man, who ſayd to the Commiſſarye, There is Tenne thouſand of theſe heretikes betweene Graueling and Terre. Button anſweared, Maſter fryer, of all men you may keepe ſilence. For your coate hath bene twiſe cut of from the faith. The firſt tyme your order was enioyned to haue your blacke coate ſhorter thē your white, and for the ſecond tyme your order muſt goe to the furtheſt part of their church, and there ſing an Antheme of our Lady. The Commiſſary at theſe wordes chafed, calling Button heretike, with many other opprobrious wordes. Then ſaide Button to the Commiſſarye, If your holy father the Pope may deliuer ſoules out of Purgatory, and wil not of charitie deliuer them, thē I would to God the king would make me Pope, and I would ſurely deliuer all out without money. At theſe woordes the Commiſſary raged, and reuiled Button exceedingly, cauſing hym to beare a billet, and procured his wages (which was vj. d. a day) to be taken frō him. Then wēt Button to the kinges maieſtie, declaryng all the whole matter to his grace, who ſent hym to Calice agayne, and gaue hym after that. viij. d. a day.

Hereſie to doubt of the Popes charitie.

This Antheme the blacke friers were inioyned to ſing euery night to our Ladye, in prayſe of her Conception. Wherof read before pag. 774.

W. Croſbowmaker pardoned of the king.

A notable example, wherin may appeare, as well the deſpite of D. London, and other papiſtes, againſt the Goſpellers, as alſo the fidelitie of a matrone towardes her huſband.

For ſo muche as mention was made a litle before of D. London, we wyll ſomewhat more adde of hym, becauſe the matter ſeemeth neyther impertinent nor vnfruitefull, to the entent it maye more euidently appeare what truth and truſt is to be looked for of this cruel kynde of papiſtes. This Doctor London was warden of the newe College in Oxford, where it happened that certaine plate was ſtolen and conueyed, and brought vp to London, and ſolde to a Goldſmyth, named William Calaway. This Calaway was a man of good and honeſt name, and reputation amongeſt his neighbours, but ſpecially earneſt and zelous towardes the Goſpell, and a great mainteyner thereof. He had oftentimes before bought muche plate of the ſame man without any peril or daunger, wherfore he doubted the leſſe of his fidelitie.

The cruell malice of D. London againſt the Goſpell.

Ex Edw. Halle.

W. Calaway Goldſmith of London.

At the laſt the principall of the theft being taken, and the Goldſmyth alſo that was the byer being knowen, D. London, when he vnderſtoode hym to be a fauourer of the Goſpel,

This principall was a Chaplein of the ſayd Colledge.

Goſpel, whereof he was an extreme aduerſary, began ſtrayt wayes to be in a rage, and to ſweare great and deepe othes that he woulde ſpare neither labour nor coſt, but woulde bring the Goldſmyth to the gallowes, although it ſhoulde coſt hym fiue hundred pound. To be ſhort, this good Goldſmith was arraigned as acceſſary, and an action of Felonie brought againſt hym. He contrarywiſe alleged that they ought not to proceede agaynſt hym, the principall beyng aliue. D. London on the contrary part, affirmed that the principall was hanged: which was moſt falſe, for he was one of the ſame College, and was alyue, and but lately ſet at libertie. To be briefe, he beyng found gyltie, the Judge aſked hym what he coulde allege, why he ſhould not dye? He required to haue the priuilege of his booke, according to the auncient cuſtome and maner. But here it was obiected againſt hym that he was Bigamus, and therfore he might not haue his booke by the lawe, notwithſtandyng that he neuer had tow wyues, but becauſe his wife had two huſbandes, it was imputed to hym for Bigamia.

Calaway clameth the priuiledge of his booke.

Bigamus, that is, a man that hath had 2. Wiues.

A ſingular example of a faythfull wyfe toward her huſband.

Thus this good Goldſmyth being ſecluded from all hope of lyfe, by the craftie ſpite of his malignant aduerſaries: his wyfe being a woman of prooued honeſtie and good fame, came in before the Judges, and perceyuyng her former marriage to be hurtfull vnto her huſband, to ſaue her huſbandes life, ſhee tooke an othe before the Judges, that ſhee was not Bigama, and that ſhee was neuer marryed to moe men then to the ſaid Goldſmith: and although ſhee had children by her other huſbande, and continued diuers yeares with hym, yet ſhee ſware that ſhee was neuer married vnto hym. Thus this woman by defamyng of her ſelfe to her great prayſe, and ſingular example of loue, deliuered her innocent huſband: thinkyng it better for her to lyue ꝧ ignominie and reproch, then for her huſband to die, leſſe eſtemyng the loſſe of her good name, then of his life. Ex Ed. Hallo.

True loue betwene man and Wyfe.

Caſe of periurye.

As touchyng the qualitie of this fact or periury, I intermeddle not here to diſcuſſe, but leaue it at large to the iudgement of Lawyers to define vpon. Truth it is, that periurie neither in man nor woman is to be cōmended, neither ought to be defended. But yet the true hart and faythful loue betwene this man and his wyfe, counterpeaſing agayne as much or more on the other ſide, the more rare and ſtraunge I ſee it in many couples now adayes, the more I thinke it worthy, not onely to be prayſed, but alſo for examples ſake to be notified. But in the meane tyme, what ſhal we ſay to theſe prieſtes and aduerſaries, who in ſuch ſorte violently do preſſe and force the poore ſheepe of Chriſt with peryl of their conſciences vnto ſuch periury, and that in ſuch cauſes where no ſuche truth is ſought, but innocencie oppreſſed, true religiō perſecuted, and only their ſpite ꝸ wrath againſt Gods word wreaked.

During the tyme of theſe ſixe articles aforeſaid, which brought many good men vnto death: yet ſo it happened by an other contrary acte ſet foorth before, for the kynges ſupremacie (as ye haue heard) that the contrary ſect alſo of the Papiſtes was not all in quiet. For beſides the death of More, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and the other Charterhouſe Monkes, Fryers and Prieſtes aboue ſpecified, about this yeare were alſo condemned and executed by the ſame lawe, two other, of whom one was a Prieſt of Chelſey, named Larke, which was put to death at London for defendyng the biſh. of Romes ſupremacie, aboue the kyngs authoritie. The other was Germine Gardiner (nere kinſman to Steuen Gardiner, and yet more neare to his ſecrete counſel, as it is ſuppoſed) who likewiſe in practiſing for the Pope, againſt the kynges iuriſdiction, was taken with the manner, and ſo brought vnto the Gibbet.

Larke, prieſt of Chelſey, Germaine Gardiner, traytours agaynſt the kinges Supremacye.

Upon the detection of this Germaine Gardiner being Secretary to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter his kinſman, it ſeemed to ſome, and ſo was alſo inſinuated vnto the king, not to be vnlike, but that the ſayd Germaine neither would nor durſt euer attempt any ſuch matter of poperie, without ſome ſetting on, or conſent of the Biſhop, he beyng ſo neare vnto hym, ꝸ to all his ſecretes as he was. Whereby ẏ king began ſomewhat more to ſmel and miſdoubt the doynges of the Biſhop: but yet he ſo couertly and clearly conueyed his matters, playing vnder the boord, after his wonted fetches, in ſuch ſort, as (I can not tel how) ſtil he kept in with the king, to the great inquietatiō of the publike ſtate of the Realme, and eſpecially of Chriſtes Church.

Suſpicion agaynſt Steuen Gardiner.

In declaryng the dreadfull lawe before ſet foorth of the ſixe articles, which was, ann. 1540. ye heard what penaltie was appoynted for the breche of the ſame, in like caſe as in treaſon ꝸ felony, ſo ẏ no remedy of any recantatiō would ſerue. This ſeueritie was a litle mitigated by an other Parlament, holden afterward ann. 1544. by the whiche Parlament it was decreed, that ſuche offendours whiche were conuict in the ſayde articles, for the firſt tyme ſhoulde be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the partie refuſed to recant in ſuch fourme as ſhould be laid vnto hym by his Ordinarye, or after his recantation, if he eftſoones offended agayne, thē for the ſecond time he ſhould be admitted to abiure, and beare a fagot. Which if he denyed to do, or els beyng abiured, if he the thyrd tyme offended, then he to ſuſteyne puniſhment according to the Lawe, ꝸc. Although ẏ ſtraytnes ꝸ rigour of ẏ former acte was thus ſomewhat tempered, as ye ſee, and refourmed by this preſent Parlament: yet notwithſtanding the venome and poyſon of the errours and miſchiefe of thoſe articles remayned ſtyl behynd not remoued, but rather confirmed by this parlament aforeſaid. By the which Parlamēt moreouer many thinges were prouided for the aduauncement of Poperie, vnder the colour of Religion: ſo that al maner of bookes of the olde and new Teſtament, bearing the name of Williā Tindall, or any other hauyng Prologues, or conteinyng any matters, annotations, preambles, wordes, or ſentences, contrary to the ſixe articles, were debarred. In like maner al ſonges, playes, and Enterludes, with al other bookes in Engliſhe, conteynyng matter of religion, tendyng any way againſt the ſaid articles, were alſo aboliſhed.

Stat. an. 35. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the vi. Articles a litle aſwaged.

In the which Parlament furthermore it was prouided, that the text of the new Teſtament or of the Bible, being prohibited to al womē, artificers, prentiſes, iourneymē, ſeruyng men, yeomen, huſbandmen, and labourers, yet was permitted notwithſtanding to Noble men and gentlemen, and gentlewomē to reade and peruſe, to their edifiyng, ſo that they dyd it quietly without arguing, diſcuſſing, or expounding vpon the Scripture.

Ouer and beſides, wheras before the offender or defendaunt might not be ſuffered to bring in any witneſſes to purge and trye hym ſelfe: In this Parlament it was permitted to the party detect, or complained on, to trie his cauſe by witneſſes, as many, or mo in number, as the other which depoſed againſt hym. ꝸc.

Qualification of the acte of the vi. Articles.

Other qualifications of the acte of the ſixe Articles.

After this Parlament moreouer folowed an other Parlament. ann. 1545. wherein other qualifications more ſpeciall of the ſixe articles were prouided: That where as before the cruel ſtatute of the ſixe articles was ſo ſtrait, that if any of the kinges ſubiectes had ben cōplayned of by any maner of perſon, as well being his enemy, as otherwiſe, he ſhoulde be indicted preſently vppon the ſame, without any further examination or knowledge geuen to the party ſo accuſed, ꝸ ſo therupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was therfore by this parlament prouided, that all ſuch preſentmentes and indictmentes ſhoulde not be brought before the Commiſſioners, otherwiſe then by the othes of .xij. men or moe, of honeſty and credite, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, that no ſuch indictmentes or preſentments ſhould be taken, but within one yeare of the offences committed, eyther els the ſaid indictmentes to ſtand voyd in lawe.

Itē, that no perſon accuſed vpon any ſuch offence againſt the ſixe Articles, ſhould be attached, or committed to ward, before he were therof indicted, vnles by ſpecial warrant from the king. &c.

Item, by the authoritie of the ſayde Parlament it was conſidered and enacted, that if any preacher or Reader, for anye woorde ſpoken, ſuppoſed to be agaynſte the ſixe Articles, ſhoulde be accuſed, not within the ſpace of. xl. dayes of the ſaid his readyng or preaching, then the partie accuſed to be acquited.

Item, that the Iuſtices or inquirers of ſuche preſentmentes ſhould haue full power to alter and reforme al panelles of inquirie, returned before them, in like manner as the Iuſtices of peace may doo in their Seſſions, vpon any other inquiries.

Item, that the party ſo accuſed or indicted, vpon his trial, may haue al maner of chalenges (peremptory only excepted) as other perſons arraigned for felonie maye haue, by the lawes of this realme.

By theſe qualifications ꝸ moderatiōs of the vi. articles, it may appere that the king began ſomwhat to grow out of fauor with Ste. Gardiner, ꝸ to diſcredit his doings, wherby he was ẏ more forward to incline ſomwhat in furthering the deſolate cauſe of religion, as may appeare both by theſe premiſſes, ꝸ alſo by other prouiſions ꝸ determinatiōs of the foreſaid parlamēt. an. 1545. wherin it was decreed by act of parlamēt, that the king ſhould haue ful power ꝸ authority to appoint xxxij. perſons, to wit. xvi. of the clergy, and. xvj of the temporalty, to peruſe, ouerſee, ꝸ examine the Canōs, conſtitutions ꝸ ordinācés of the Canon law, as wel Prouincial, as Synodal, ꝸ ſo, according to their diſcretions, to ſet

Stat. an. 1545. R. Hen. 8.

A Statute for examination of the Canon lawe.

ſet & eſtabliſh an order of eccleſiaſtical lawes, ſuch as ſhould be thought by the kyng and them conuenient to be receiued and vſed within this realme. Whiche ſtatute as it is moſte neadful for the gouernment of the Church of Englande: ſo would God it had ben brought to perfection.

An. 1545.

John Athee recanted.

In this yeare touching matters of hiſtories, we read no great thing worthy of memorie, but onely of two perſons, Joh. Athee, & Jo. Haywood. Of which two, we finde firſt Jo. Athee to be indicted by ẏ kings writ, for certain wordes againſt the ſacramēt, which wordes in the indictmēt are ſpecified to be theſe: that he woulde not beleue in ẏ thing whiche ẏ knaue prieſt made, neither in that which Longs wife ſelleth: but only in God that is in heauē. And when it was told hym that God through his word could make it fleſh & bloud, he anſwered: ſo he might do if he would turne it into a Chickens leg, meanyng the ſacrament of the altar.

The recantation of John Heywoode.

The ſame yere alſo folowed the recātation of Joh. Heywood, who although he was tached for treaſon, for denying the kyngs ſupremacie, yet vſing ẏ clemēcie of the king, vpō his better reformatiō & amēdment, made an opin & ſolemne recantation in the face of al the people, abandonyng & renoūcing the Popes vſurped ſupremacie, & confeſſing the kyng to be chiefe ſupreme head & gouernor of this church of England, al forein authority & iuriſdictiō being excluded. The tenor & effect of whoſe recantation, for aſmuch as it is alredy expreſſed in our firſte edition of Actes & Monuments pag. 627. I ſhall not neede here againe to repeat the ſame, but to referre the reader to the place and page aforeſaid.

In this yeare of our Lord. 1545. as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, ſo now the order of ſtorye here requireth by the courſe of yeares, next to infer the diſcourſe of the troubles & perſecutiōs which happened in Scotland, agaynſt M. George Wyſard, & diuers other good men of the ſame countrey, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 1545. & ſomewhat before. But becauſe now we are come to the latter end almoſt of K. Henryes raigne, we will make an end (the Lord willyng) with a few other Engliſh ſtoryes pertaynyng to that tyme: and that finiſhed, ſo to ſet vpon thoſe matters of Scotland, ioynyng thē whole together. The tractation wherof thou ſhalt ſee (good reader) in the latter end and cloſing vp of this kinges raigne.

Kerby and Roger Clarke of Suffolk martyrs.

1546.

Saxie a prieſt, hanged in St. Gardiners porters lodge.

COmming now to the yeare of our Lord. 1546. firſt paſſing ouer the prieſt, whoſe name was Saxie, which was hāged in ẏ porters lodge of Ste. Gardiner B. of Wincheſt. and that (as it is ſuppoſed) not ẇout ẏ cōſēt of ẏ ſaid biſh. & ẏ ſecret cōſpiracy of that bloudy generation: to paſſe ouer alſo one Henry, ẇ his ſeruāt burned at Colcheſter: I wyl now procede to ẏ ſtory of Kerby & Rog. Clarke of Mēdelſhā, who were apprehēded at Ipſwich, an. 1546. ẏ ſaterday before Gang mōday, & brought before ẏ lord Wentworth, ẇ other cōmiſſioners appoynted there to ſyt vpō their examinations, iudgmēts, & cauſes. The night before they wer arreyned, a byl was ſet vp vpō the townhouſe doore (by whō, it was vnknowen) and brought the next day vnto the Lord Wentworth: who anſweared, that it was good counſell. Which byll in the latter end ſhal appeare.

A bill brought to the Lord Wentwor. at the arreignment of Kerby and Roger

The wordes of M. Wingfield to Kerby and Roger, in priſon.

In the meane tyme Kerby & Roger beyng in the Gaylers houſe, named Jo. Byrd, an honeſt & a good man (who had checkes diuers tymes at ẏ bar, that he was more meet to be kept, then to be a keeper) came in Maiſter Robert Wingfielde, ſonne and heyre of Humfreye Wingfielde knight) ẇ M. Brueſſe of Wennenhā: who thē hauing conference with Kerby (beyng thē in a ſeueral chāber ſeparate frō the other) maſter Wingfield ſaid to Kerby: Remēber ẏ fire is hot, take heede of thyne enterpriſe, that thou take no more vpō thee thē thou ſhalt be able to performe. The terror is great, the payne wyl be extreme, & lyfe is ſweet. Better it were betime to ſticke to mercy, while there is hope of life, thē raſhly to begyn, & thē to ſhrink: with ſuch like wordes of perſwaſion. To whō he anſwered againe: Ah M. Winkfield, be at my burnyng, & you ſhal ſay, there ſtandeth a chriſten ſouldier in the fire. For I knowe that fire and water, ſword, and all other thinges, are in the handes of God, & he wyl ſuffer no more to be layd vpon vs, then he wyl geue vs ſtrength to beare. Ah Kerby, ſaid maſter Winkfield, if thou be at that poynt, I wyl byd thee farewell: For I promiſe thee I am not ſo ſtrong, that I am able to burne. And ſo both the Gentlemen ſaying that they would pray for them, tooke handes with them, and ſo departed.

The anſwere of Kerby, to M. Wingfield.

The behauiour of Kerby and Roger, when they were brought before the Judges.

Now (firſt touching the behaueour of Kerby & Roger) whē they came to the iudgemēt ſeat, the Lord Wentworth, with all the reſt of the Iuſtices there ready, the Cōmiſſary alſo by vertue ex officio, ſittyng next to the L. Wentworth, but one betwen, Kerby & Roger lifted vp their eyes & hādes to heauē, with great deuotion in al mens [illegible], making their prayers ſecretly to God for a ſpace of tyme, whileſt they might ſay the Lordes prayer fiue or ſixe tymes.

Queſtions propounded to Kerby and Roger.

That done, their articles were declared vnto them, with al circūſtances of the lawe: and then it was demaunded and enquired of thē, whether they beleued, that after the wordes ſpoken by a prieſt (as Chriſt ſpake them to his Apoſtles) there were not the very body & bloud of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, & bone, as he was borne of the virgin Mary, and no bread after.

Their anſweres.

Vnto the which wordes they anſweared and ſayd, No, they dyd not ſo beleue: but that they dyd beleue the Sacrament which Chriſte Ieſus dyd inſtitute at his laſt ſupper, on Maundy Thurſday at night to his diſciples, was only to put al men in remembrance of the precious death & bloud ſheddyng for the remiſſion of ſinnes, & that there was neither fleſh nor bloud to be eatē ẇ ẏ teeth, but bread & wine: & yet more thē bread & wyne, for that it is cōſecrated to an holy vſe. Thē ẇ much perſwaſions, both ẇ fayre meanes & threates beſides (if it would haue serued) were theſe two poore men hardly laid to: but moſt at the handes of Foſter an inferior Iuſtice, not being learned in ſuche knowledge. But theſe two cōtinued both faythfull & conſtant, chuſing rather to dye then to liue, and ſo continued vnto the end.

The Sacrament more then bare bread and wyne.

Foſter a ſore enemie to Gods people

Sentence geuen agaynſt Kerby and Roger.

Then ſentence was geuen vpon them both, Kerby to be burned in the ſayd towne ẏ next Saterday, and Roger to be burned at Burye the Gang Monday after. Kerby when his iudgement was geuen by the Lorde Wentworth, with moſt humble reuerence holdyng vp his handes, and bowing hym ſelfe deuoutly, ſaid: Praiſed be almighty God, and ſo ſtood ſtyl without any moe wordes.

Then dyd the Lorde Wentworth talke ſecretely, puttyng his heade behynde an other Iuſtice that ſate betweene them. The ſaide Roger perceiuyng that, ſaide with a loude voyce: Speake out my Lorde, and if ye haue done any thing contrary to your conſcience, aſke God mercye, and we for our partes doo forgeue you: and ſpeake not in ſecrete, for ye ſhall come before a Judge, and then make anſweare openly, euen he that ſhal iudge al men: with other like wordes.

Rogers wordes to the Lorde Wentworth.

The Lord Wentworth ſomewhat bluſhing, and changyng his countenaunce through remorſe (as it was thought) ſaide, I dyd ſpeake nothing of you, nor I haue done nothing vnto you, but as ẏ Law is. Thē was Kerby and Roger ſent forth: Kerby to priſon there, and Roger to ſaint Edmundes Bury. The one of the two bruſting out with a loude voyce (Roger as it is ſuppoſed) thus ſpake with a vehemencie: Fight (ſaide he) for your God. For he hath not long to continue.

Roger ſent to Bury to be burned.

A Propheſye.

Kerby brought to the ſtake at Ipſwych.

The next day, which was Saterday, about ten of the clocke, Kerby was brought to the market place, where as a ſtake was ready, wood, broome, & ſtraw, & dyd of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, hauyng a night cap vpon his head, & ſo was faſtned to the ſtake with yrons, there beyng in the gallery, the lord Wentworth, with the moſt part of al the Iuſtices of thoſe quarters, where they might ſee his executiō, howe euery thing ſhould be done, & alſo might heare what Kerby dyd ſay: & a great nūber of people, about two thouſand by eſtimation. There was alſo ſtandyng in the gallery by the L. Wentworth, D. Rugham, which was before a monke of Bury & ſexten of the houſe, hauing on a Surplis and a ſtoole about his necke. Then ſilence was proclaimed, and the ſaid doctor began to diſable hym ſelfe, as not meete to declare the holy Scriptures (being vnprouided becauſe the tyme was ſo ſhort) but that he hoped in Gods aſſiſtāce it ſhould come wel to paſſe.

D. Rugham Monke of Bury preached at the burning of Kerby.

The chearful countenance and courage of Kerby.

Al this whyle Kerby was trymming with yrons & fagots, broome, & ſtrawe, as one that ſhould be marryed with new garments, nothyng changyng cheare nor countenāce, but with moſte meeke ſpirite glorified God: whiche was wonderful to behold. Then maſter doctor at laſt entred into the ſixt Chap. of S. John. Who in handling that matter, ſo oft as he alleged the ſcriptures, and applyed them rightly, Kerby tolde the people, that he ſayd true, and bade the people beleue hym. But when he dyd otherwiſe, he tolde hym agayne: You ſay not true: beleue hym not good people.

Wherupon, as the voyce of the people was, they iudged doctor Rugham a falſe prophet. So when M. doctor had ended his collation, he ſaid vnto Kerby: Thou good man, doeſt not thou beleue that the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is the very fleſhe and bloud of Chriſt, and no bread, euen as he was borne of the virgin Mary? Kerby anſwering boldly, ſayd: I do not ſo beleue. How doeſt thou beleue, ſaid the doctor? Kerby ſayde, I doo beleue that in the Sacrament that Ieſus Chriſt inſtituted at his laſt ſupper on Maundy Thurſday to his Diſciples (which ought of vs likewiſe to be done) is the death and paſſion, and his bloud ſhedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembred: and (as I ſaid before) yet bread, and more then bread, for that it is conſecrated to a holy vſe.

Kerbyes confeſſion of the Sacrament.

Then was maſter doctor in his dumpes, and ſpake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then ſayd the vnder Sheriffe to Kerby, Haſte thou any thyng more to ſay? Yea ſir, ſaid he, if you wyl geue me leaue. Say on, ſaid the Sheriffe.

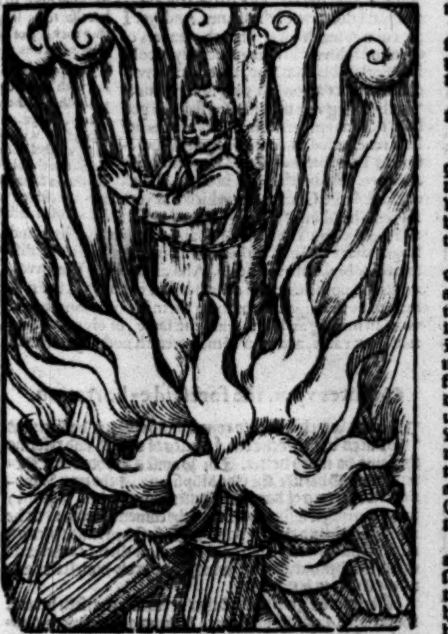
The Lorde Wentworth wept at Kerbyes burning.

Then Kerby takyng his night cappe from his heade, put it vnder his arme, as though it ſhould haue done hym ſeruice againe: but remembring him ſelfe, he caſte it from hym, and liftyng vp his handes, he ſayd the hymne, Te Deum, and the Beliefe, with other prayers in the Engliſhe tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whileſt Kerby was thus doyng, dyd ſhroude hym ſelfe behynde one of the poſtes of the Gallery, and wept, and ſo dyd many other. Then ſayd Kerby, I haue done: you may execute your office good maſter Sheriffe.

The conſtant Martyrdome of Kerby.

Then fire was ſet to the wood, and with loude voyce he called vnto God, knocking on his breſt, and holding vp his handes ſo long as remembraunce would ſerue, and ſo ended his life, the people geuyng ſhoutes, and praiſing God, with great admiration of his conſtancy, being ſo ſimple and vnlettered.

The burnyng and martyrdome of Kerby.



Roger Clarke of Mendelſham brought to the ſtake at Burye.

Roger Clarke geueth no reuerence to the proceſſion.

John. 1.

On the Gang Monday, an. 1546. about tenne of the clocke, Roger Clarke of Mendelſham was brought out of priſon, and went on foote to the gate, called Southgate in Burye, and by the way the Proceſſion met with them, but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with moſt vehement wordes rebuked that idolatrie and ſuperſtition, the officers being muche offended. And without the gate, where as was the place of execution, the ſtake beyng ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled downe, and ſaid Magnificat in the Engliſhe tongue, making as it were a Paraphraſe vppon the ſame: wherein he declared how that the bleſſed virgine Mary, who might as wel reioyce in purenes, as any other, yet humbled her ſelfe to her Sauiour. And what ſayeſt thou John Baptiſt, ſayd he, the greateſt of al mens children? Beholde the Lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And thus with loude voyce he cryed vnto the people while he was in faſtnyng to the ſtake, & then the fire was ſet to hym. Where as he ſuffred paynes vnmercyfully, for yͤ wood was greene and woulde not burne, ſo that he was choked with ſmoke: and moreouer being ſet in a pitche barrel, with ſome pitche ſticking ſtyll by the ſides, was therwith ſore payned, tyll he had got his feete out of the barrell. And at length one ſtandyng by tooke a fagotte ſticke, and ſtrikyng at the ryng of yron about his necke, ſo paſſhed him, and ſtroke hym behinde vpon the head, that he ſhronke downe on the one ſide into the fire, and ſo was diſſolued.

The painfull burning and Martyrdome of Rog. Clarke of Mendelſham.

In the beginnyng of this ſtorye of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certaine Byll put vpon the towne houſe doore, and brought the next daye to the Lorde Wentworth: the wordes of which Byl were theſe.

The Byll ſet vpon the townehouſe doore in Ipſwiche.

The wordes of the bill ſet vp on the Townehouſe doore.

IVſtè iudicate filij hominum: yet when ye ſhall iudge, miniſter your Juſtice with mercy.

A fearful thing it is to fal into the handes of the liuyng God: be ye learned therfore in true knowledg, ye that iudge the earth, leaſt the Lord be angry with you.

The bloud of the righteous ſhalbe required at your hands. What though the veile hanged before Moſes face? yet at Chriſtes death it fel downe.

The ſtones wyl ſpeake, if theſe ſhould holde their peace: therfore harden not your hartes againſt the veritie.

For fearfully ſhall the Lord appeare in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conſcience. No excuſe ſhal there be of ignorance, but euery fat ſhal ſtand on his owne bottome. Therfore haue remorſe to your conſcience: feare hym that may kyl both body and ſoule.

Beware of innocent bloud ſheddyng: take heede of iuſtice ignorantly miniſtred: worke diſcretely as the Scripture doth commaunde: looke to it, that ye make not the truth to be forſaken.

We beſeech God to ſaue our king, kyng Henry yͤ eight, that he be not lead into temptation. So be it.

The Engliſh proceſſion.

This yeare alſo it was ordeined & decreed & ſolemnly geuen out in Proclamation by the kynges name & authoritie and his Counſel, that the Engliſh Proceſſion ſhould be vſed throughout all England, according as it was ſet forth by his ſaid Counſell, and none other to be vſed throughout the whole Realme.

The Scottes ſubdued.

Bollayne wonne.

Stat. an. 37. Reg. Hen. 8.

Colledges and Chauntreis geuen to the king.

A Parlament.

About the latter ende of this yeare. 1545. in the moneth of Nouember, after that the kyng had ſubdued the Scots, and afterwarde ioynyng together with the Emperour, had inuaded France, and had got from them the towne of Bollayne, he ſummoned his high Court of Parlament. In the whiche was graunted vnto hym beſides other ſubſidies of money, al Colledges, Chauntreis, free Chappels, Hoſpitals, fraternities, brotherhoodes, guildes, & perpetuities of ſtipendary prieſtes, to be diſpoſed at his wyl and pleaſure. Wherupon in the moneth of Decem. folowing, the king after the woonted maner, came into the parlament houſe, to geue his royal aſſent to ſuch actes as were there paſſed: where after an eloquent Oration made to hym by the Speaker, he anſwering againe vnto the ſame, not by the lord Chancelor (as the maner was) but by hym ſelf, vttered forth this oration word for word, as it is reported, and leaft in ſtory.

The thyrd parte lacking in thys Oration of the king.

In the contentes of whiche Oration, firſt eloquently and louingly he declared his gratefull hart to his louyng ſubiectes, for their grauntes and ſubuentions offered vnto hym. In the ſecond part, with no leſſe vehemencie he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and vnitie. Wherunto if he had alſo ioyned the third part, that is, as in wordes he exhorted to vnitie, ſo had begon in deede firſt hym ſelf to take away the occaſion of diuiſion, diſobedience, and diſturbance frō his ſubiectes: that is, had remoued the ſtūblyng blocke of the ſixe articles out of the peoples way, which ſet brother againſt brother, neighbour againſt neighbour, the ſuperior againſt ſubiect, and the wolues to deuoure the poore flocke of Chriſt: then had he not onely ſpoken, but alſo done like a worthy prince. But of this more ſhalbe ſaid in the ſequele hereof, God willyng.

¶ The kynges Oration in the Parlament houſe.

The kinges Oration made in the Parlament houſe.

Although my Chauncelour for the tyme beyng, hath before this tyme vſed, very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make anſweare to ſuche Orations, as haue bene ſet foorth in this high Court of Parlament: yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my mynde and meaning, and the ſecretes of my hart, in ſo plaine and ample maner, as I my ſelfe am and can do. Wherefore I taking vpon me, to anſweare your eloquent Oration Maiſter Speaker, ſay: that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, haue both prayſed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that ye haue conceyued to be in me, I moſt hartyly thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duetie, whiche is to endeuour my ſelfe to obteyne and get ſuche excellent qualities, and neceſſary vertues, as a prince or gouernour ſhould or ought to haue: of whiche gyftes I recognise my ſelfe both bare and barraine.

But of ſuche ſmall qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodneſſe my moſt humble thanks, entendyng with all my wytte and diligence, to get and acquire to me ſuche notable vertues and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my perſon.

The kinges thankes to his commons.

Theſe thankes for your louing admonition and good counſaile firſt remembred, I eftſoones thanke you againe, becauſe that you conſidering our great charges (not for our pleaſure, but for your defence, not for our gayne, but to our great coſte) whiche we haue lately ſuſteyned, as wel in defence of our & your enemies, as for the conqueſte of that Fortreſſe, whiche was to this Realme moſte diſpleaſaunt and noyſome, and ſhalbe by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation moſte profitable and pleaſaunt, haue freely of your owne mynde, graunted to vs a certaine ſubſidie here in an acte ſpecified, which veryly we take in good part, regarding more your kindnes, then the profite thereof, as he that ſetteth more by your louing hartes, then by your ſubſtance. Beſide this harty kindneſſe, I can not a litle reioyce when I conſider the perfecte truſt and ſure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfayned beliefe in my good doinges, and iuſt proceedinges for that you, without my deſire or requeſt, haue committed to mine order and diſpoſition, all Chauntries, Colleges, Hoſpitalles, and other places ſpecified in a certaine act, firmely truſting that I wyl order them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common wealth. Surely, if I contrarye to your expectation, ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decaye, or learnyng (whiche is ſo great a iewell) to be miniſhed, or poore and miſerable people to be vnrelieued, you might ſay that I being put in ſo ſpecial a truſt, as I am in this caſe, were no truſty frende to you, nor charitable man to myne euen Chriſten, neither a louer of the publique wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accoumpt muſt be rendred of all our doinges. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation ſhalbe ſerued, more godly and goodlye then you wyll wiſhe or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall playnely perceiue.

The kinges promiſes for the wel beſtowing of Chauntries, and Colledges.

Nowe, ſithens I finde ſuche kindnes on your parte towarde me, I can not chuſe, but loue and fauour you, affirmyng that no prince in the worlde more fauoureth his ſubiectes then I doo you, nor no ſubiectes or commons more loue and obey their ſoueraigne lord, then I perceiue you do me, for whoſe defence my treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſon ſhall not be vnaduentured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfecte loue and concorde, this frendly amitie can not continue except both you my lords Temporal, and you my lords Spiritual, and you my louyng ſubiectes, ſtudy & take paine to amende one thing, whiche is ſurely amiſſe, and farre out of order, to the which I moſt hartily require you: which is, that charitie and concorde is not amongeſt you, but diſcorde and diſſenſion beareth rule in euery place. Saint Paul ſaith to the Corinthians, in the. xiij. chap. Charitie is gentle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and ſo forth in the ſaide Chapter. Beholde then what loue and * charitie is amongeſt you, when the one calleth the other Heretique and Anabaptiſt, and he calleth hym agayne papiſt, Hypocrite, and Phariſee? Be theſe tokens of charitie amongeſt you? Are theſe the ſignes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I aſſure you, that this lacke of charitie amongeſt your ſelues, wyll be the hynderaunce and aſſwaging the feruent loue betweene vs, as I ſaide before, except this wound be ſalued, and clearely made whole. I muſt needes iudge the fault and occaſion of this diſcorde, to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the Spiritualtie. For if I knowe a man whiche lyueth in adulterie, I muſt iudge hym a lecherous and a carnall perſon. If I ſee a man boaſt and bragge hym ſelfe, I can not but deeme hym a proude man. I ſee and heare dayly, that you of the Clergie preache one againſt an other, teach one contrary to an other, inueigh one againſt an other, without charitie or diſcretion. Some be to ſtiffe in their olde Mumpſimus, * other be too buſie and curious in their newe Sumpſimus. Thus al men almoſt be in varietie and diſcord, and fewe or none preache truely and ſincerely the worde of God, accordyng as they ought to doo. Shal I nowe iudge you charitable perſons doing this? No, no: I can not ſo do. Alas how can the poore ſoules lyue in concorde, when you preachers ſowe amongſt them in your Sermons, debate and diſcorde? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkeneſſe. Amend theſe crimes I exhort you, and ſet forth Gods * worde, both by true preaching, and good example geuing, or els I whom God hath appointed his vicar, and high miniſter here, wyll ſee theſe diuiſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected, according to my very duetie, or els I am an vnprofitable ſeruaunt, and vntrue officer.

* Charitie and concorde in common wealthes be thinges moſt neceſſary: but in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough without veritie and true worſhip of God.

* If true religion had bene maintayned, and errour reformed, theſe termes of variaunce had not neede now to be reproued.

* And wherin els conſiſteth all this variaunce, but onely becauſe Gods worde hath not his free courſe but they which ſet it forth are condemned therefore and baniſhed.

Although (as I ſay) the Spiritual men be in ſome fault, that charitie is not kept amongeſt you, yet you of the Temporaltie be not cleane and vnſpotted of malice and enuie: for you rayle on Biſhops, ſpeake ſclaunderouſly of prieſtes, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order, and Chriſtian fraternitie. If you know ſurely that a biſhop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruers doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Counſaile, or to vs, to whom is committed by God the authoritie to refourme and order ſuch cauſes and behaueours, & be not * iudges your ſelues, of your owne phantaſticall opinions, and vaine expoſitions, for in ſuch high cauſes ye may lightly erre.

* This can touch none but onely the papiſtes, who will needes be both accuſers, and alſo iudges in their owne opinions and cauſes.

And although you be permitted to reade holy ſcripture, and to haue the word of God in your mother tongue, you muſt vnderſtand, that it is licenced you ſo to do, only to informe your own conſcience, and to inſtruct your children & familie, and not to diſpute and make ſcripture a rayling and a taunting ſtocke againſt prieſtes & preachers, as many light perſons do. I am very ſory to knowe & heare how vnreuerently that moſt precious iewel the worde of God is diſputed, rymed, * ſong, & iangled in euery Alehouſe & Tauerne, contrary to the true meanyng and doctrine of the ſame. And yet I am euen as much ſorye, that the readers of the ſame folow it in doing ſo faintly & coldlye. For of this I am ſure, that charity was neuer ſo faynt amongeſt you, & vertuous & * godly liuing was neuer leſſe vſed, nor god hym ſelfe amongeſt Chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored, or ſerued. Therefore, as I ſaid before, be in charity one with an other, like brother and brother. Loue, dread, & ſerue God (to the which I as your ſupreme head and ſoueraigne Lord exhort and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I ſpake of in the beginnyng, ſhall neuer be diſſolued or broken betwene vs. And as touching the lawes, which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to be as diligent in puttyng them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the ſame, or els your labor ſhal be in vaine, and your cōmon wealth nothing relieued.

How are they permitted to read Gods worde, when none is permitted to read it vnder the degree of a gentleman.

* S. Hierome wiſheth the Scriptures not onely to be read of al mē but alſo to be ſong of women at their rockes, of plowmen at the plow, of weuers at their loome. &c.

* Godly liuing though it increaſe not with the Goſpell ſo muche as we wiſhe: yet the defect thereof is not to be imputed to the Goſpel. And yf we well cōpare time with time, we ſhal finde by vewing the bookes of the old warmot queſtes of whores & baudes & wicked liuers, ꝑreſented to one now beſides prieſtes and the cōmon ſtues.

¶ Notes vpon the foreſaid exhortation.

The Kinges Oration expended, with notes vpon the ſame.

PRinces which exhort to concord and charitie, do wel: but Princes which ſeeke out ẏ cauſes of diſcord, and reforme the ſame, do much better. The Papiſt & Proteſtant, Heretike and Phariſee, the olde Mūpſimus, & the new Sumpſimus, be termes of variance & diſſenſion, and be (I grant) Symptomata, of a ſore wound in the cōmon wealth: but he that wyll amend this wound, muſt firſt beginne to ſearch out the cauſes, and to purge the occaſion therof: otherwiſe to cut the ſore outwardly, whiche inwardly doth feſter and rancle ſtyl, it is but vaine.

The roote & ground of al this greeuaunce riſeth hereof: the prelates & clergie of Rome, ſeeking as it ſeemeth, altogether after riches, pompe, & honor of this worlde, to mainteyne the ſame vnder pretence of religion, doo in very deede ſubuert religion: vnder the title of the Church, they bring into the church manifeſt errors, and abſurdities intollerable, who pretēding to be fathers of the church, if they tranſgreſſed but in maners and lightnes of lyfe, or negligence of gouernment, they might be borne withal for peace and concordes ſake, and here modeſtie, ciuilitie, quietnes, vnitie, and charitie might haue place amongeſt modeſt natures. But nowe they obſcure the glory of the ſonne of God, whiche in no caſe ought to be ſuffered: they extinct the light & grace of the Goſpell: they clogge mens conſciences: they ſet vp Idolatrie, and mainteyne Idols: they bring in falſe inuocation: they reſtrayne lawful matrimonie, wherby groweth filthy pollution, adulterie, & whoredome in the Church vnſpeakeable: they corrupt the Sacramentes: they wreſt the ſcripture to worldly purpoſes: they kyll & perſecute Gods people. Briefly, their doctrine is damnable: their lawes be impious: their doinges are deteſtable. And yet after al this, they creepe craftily into the hartes of princes, vnder the title of the church & colour of concord, making kynges & princes beleue, that all be heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, whiche wyl not be ſubiect to their ordinary power.

Now almighty God, who is a ielous God, & not ſuffering the glory of his ſonne to be defaced, nor his truth to be troden vnder foot, ſtirreth vp againe the hartes of his people to vnderſtand his truth, & to defend his cauſe. Wherupō of theſe two partes, as two mighty flints thus ſmityng together, cōmeth out the ſparcle of this diuiſion, which by no wiſe can be quenched, but that one part muſt nedes yeeld & geue ouer. There is no neutralitie, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement that will ſerue betwene theſe two contrary doctrines, but either the Popes errors muſt geue place to gods word, or els the verity of God muſt geue place vnto them.

Wherfore, as the good intent and plauſible Oration of the king in this behalfe, was not to be diſcommended in exhorting his ſubiects to charitie: ſo had he much more deſerued commendation if he had ſought the right way to worke charitie, & to helpe innocency amongeſt his ſubiectes, by taking away the impious law of the vj. articles, the mother of all diuiſion and manſlaughter. For what is this to the purpoſe, to exhort in wordes neuer ſo much to charitie, and in dede to geue a knife to the murtherers hand, to run vpon his naked brother, which neither in conſcience can leaue his cauſe, nor yet hath power to defend himſelfe? As by experience here followeth to be ſeene, what charitie enſued after this exhortation of the king to charitie, by the racking and burnyng of good Anne Aſkew, with 3. other poore ſubiectes of the kyng, within halfe a yere after: wherof ſhortly you ſhall heare more declared.

D. Cromes Dilemma againſt priuate maſſes.

When theſe Chauntries and colledges thus by Acte of Parliament were geuen into the kings handes as is aboue remembred: which was about the month of December, an. 1545. the next Lent followyng D. Crome preaching in the Mercers chappell, among other reaſons and perſuaſions to reduce the people from the vayne opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, grounding vpon the ſaid Acte of parliamēt: that if Treytals and Chauntry maſſes could auayle the ſoules in Purgatory, then did the parliament not well in geuyng away monaſteries, colledges, and chauntries, which ſerued principally to that purpoſe. But if the Parliament did well (as no man could deny) in diſſoluyng them, and beſtowyng the ſame vpon the kyng, then is it a playne caſe, that ſuche Chauntries and priuate maſſes do nothing conferre to releue them in Purgatory. This dilemma of D. Crome, no doubt, was inſoluble. But notwithſtanding the charitable Prelates, for all the kinges late exhortation vnto charitie, were ſo charitable to him, that on Eaſter next they brought hym Coram nobis, where they ſo handled him yͭ they made hym to recant. And if he had not, they would haue diſſolued him and his argument in burnyng fire, ſo burning hote was their charitie, according as they burned Anne Aſkew and her fellowes in the month of Julye the yeare followyng. Whoſe tragicall ſtory and cruell handling now conſequently (the lord willyng) you ſhall heare.

D. Crome driuen to recant.

1545.

The charitie of the Byſhops.

The firſt examination of Miſtres Anne Aſkew, before the Inquiſitours. An. 1545.

The firſt examination of A. Aſkew.

TO ſatiſfie your expectation, good people (ſaith ſhe) this was my firſt examination in the yere of our Lord 1545. and in the month of March.

Chriſtopher Dare Inquiſitor.

The firſt article agaynſt An. Aſkew.

Firſt, Chriſtoph. Dare examined me at Sadlers Hall, beyng one of the Queſt, and aſked if I did not beleue that the ſacrament hanging ouer the alter, was the very body of Chriſt really. Then I demaunded this queſtion of hym: wherfore S. Steuen was ſtoned to death? and he ſayd, he could not tell. Then I anſwered, that no more would I aſſoile his vayne queſtion.

The ſecond article.

Secondly, he ſaid that there was a woman, whiche did teſtifie, that I ſhould read, how God was not in Temples made with handes. Then I ſhewed him the 7. and 17. chap. of the Actes of the Apoſtles, what Steuen and Paule had ſaid therein. Wherupon he aſked me how I tooke thoſe ſentences? I aunſwered I would not throw pearles among ſwine, for acornes were good enough.

The 3. article

Thirdly, he aſked me wherfore I ſaid that I had rather to read fiue lines in the Bible, then to heare fiue maſſes in the temple? I confeſſed, that I ſaid no leſſe: not for the diſprayſe of either the epiſtle or the goſpell, but becauſe the one did greatly edifie me, and the other nothing at all. As S. Paul doth witnes in the 14. chap. of his firſt epiſtle to the Cor. where as he ſaieth: If the trumpet geueth an vncertaine ſound, who will prepare himſelfe to the battayle?

1. Cor. 14.

The 4. article

Fourthly, he laid vnto my charge that I ſhould ſay: If an ill prieſt miniſtred, it was the deuil and not God.

Ill conditions of the miniſters hurt not the fayth of the receauers.

My aunſwer was, that I neuer ſpake any ſuch thyng. But this was my ſaying: that whoſoeuer he were that miniſtred vnto me, hys ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in ſpirit I receiued neuertheles, yͤ body & bloud of chriſt.

The 5. article

He aſked me what I ſayd concerning confeſſion? I anſwered him my meaning, which was as S. James ſayeth, that euery man ought to knowledge hys faultes to other, and the one to pray for the other.

The 6. article

Sixtly, he aſked me what I ſaid to the kinges booke? And I anſwered hym, that I could ſay nothing to it, becauſe I neuer ſaw it.

The 7. article

Seuenthly, he aſked me if I had the ſpirit of God in me? I anſwered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or caſt away. Then he ſaid he had ſent for a Prieſt to examine me, which was here at hand.

A Prieſt brought to examine Anne Aſkew.

The prieſt aſked me what I ſayd to the ſacrament of the aulter, and required much to know therin my meaning. But I deſired him agayne, to hold me excuſed concernyng that matter. None other anſwer would I make hym, becauſe I perceiued hym to be a Papiſt.

The 8. article.

Priuate Maſſes Idolatry.

Eightly he aſked me, if I did not thinke that priuate maſſes did helpe ſoules departed? I ſaid, it was great idolatry to beleue more in them, then in the death which Chriſt died for vs.

Anne Aſkew brought to the Lord Maior.

Then they had me thence vnto my L. Mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I anſwered him directly in all things, as I anſwered the Queſt afore.
Beſides this, my L. Maior laid one thing vnto my charge, which was neuer ſpoken of me, but of them: and that was, whether a mouſe eating the hoſt, receiued god or no? This queſtion did I neuer aſke, but in dede they aſked it of me. Wherunto I made them no anſwer, but ſmiled.

Women forbidden to ſpeake in the congregatiō, and how.

Then the biſhops Chancellor rebuked me, and ſaid, that I was much to blame for vttering the ſcriptures. For S. Paul (he ſaid) forbode women to ſpeake or to talke of the word of God. I anſwered him that I knew Paules meanyng as well as he, which is in the 1. Cor. 14. that a woman ought not to ſpeake in the congregation by the way of teaching. And then I aſked hym, how many women he had ſeene goe into the Pulpitte and preache? Hee ſayd hee neuer ſaw none. Then I ſayd, he ought to finde no fault in poore women, except they had offended the Law.

A. Aſkew commaunded to the Counter by the Lord Maior.

Then my Lord Mayor commaunded me to ward. I aſked him if ſuertyes would not ſerue mee, and he made mee ſhort anſwere, that he would take none. Then was I had to the Counter, and there remayned xi. dayes, no frende admitted to ſpeake with me. But in the meane time there was a prieſt ſent to me, which ſayd that he was commaunded of the Byſhoppe to examine me, and to giue me good counſell, which he did not. But firſt he aſked mee for what cauſe I was put in the Counter. And I tolde him I could not tel. Then he ſayd it was great pitty yͭ I ſhould be there without cauſe, and concluded that he was very ſory for me.

Talke betwene An. Aſkew and a Prieſt ſent to her in priſon.

Secondly he ſayd, it was tolde him, that I ſhould denye the Sacrament of the Aultar. And I anſwered him again that that I had ſayd, I had ſayd.

Thirdly he aſked me if I were ſhriuen, I told him ſo that I might haue one of theſe three, that is to ſay, Doctor Crome, Sir Gillam, or Huntingdon. I was contented becauſe I knew them to be men of wiſedome, as for you or any other I will not diſprayſe, becauſe I know you not. Then he ſayd I would not haue you thinke, but that I or an other that ſhall be brought you, ſhall be as honeſt as they for if we were not, you may be ſure the king woulde not ſuffer vs to preach. Then I aunſwered by the ſaying of Salomon: By communyng with the wiſe, I may learne wiſdome. But by talking with a foole, I ſhal take ſcath. Pro. 1.

Prou. 1.

Whether a mouſe may eate body in the ſacrament, or no.

Fourthly he aſked me, if the hoſt ſhould fall, and a beaſte did eate it, whether the beaſt did receiue God or no? I aunſwered, ſeeing you haue taken the paynes to aſke the queſtiō I deſire you alſo to aſſoyle it your ſelfe: for I will not doe it, becauſe I perceiue you come to tempt me. And he ſayd, it was againſt the order of ſcholes that he which aſked yͤ queſtiō, ſhould aunſwere it. I tolde him, I was but a woman, and knew not the courſe of Schooles.

Fiftely, he aſked me if I intended to receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, or no? I aunſwered, that els I were no Chriſten woman, and therat I dyd reioyce that thee tyme was ſo neare at hande, and then hee departed thence wyth many fayre wordes.

M. Britaine ſeeketh to baile An Aſkew his couſin.

The xxiij. day of March my couſin Britaine came into the Counter to mee, and aſked there whether I might bee put to baile, or no? Then went he immediatly vnto my lord Maior, deſiryng of him to bee ſo good vnto me, That I might be bayled. My Lorde aunſwered hym, and ſayd that he would bee glad to do the beſt that in hym lay. Howe be it he could not baile me, without the conſent of a ſpirituall officer: requiring him to go & ſpeake with the Chauncellor of London. For he ſaid, like as he could not commit me to priſon without the cōſent of a ſpirituall Officer, no more could he baile me without conſent of the ſame.

M. Britaine for the bailing of A. Aſkew, ſent from the Maior to the Chauncellour, fro the Chauncellour to the Byſhop.

So, vpon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Maior. He aunſwered him that the matter was ſo haynous, that he durſt not of himſelfe do it, without my Lorde of London were made priuy therunto. But he ſaid he would ſpeake vnto my Lord in it, and badde hym repaire vnto hym the next morrow, and he ſhould well know my lordes pleaſure: And vpon the morrow after, he came thether, and ſpake both with the Chancellor, and with the biſhop of London. The biſhop declared vnto hym, that he was very well contented that I ſhould come forth to a communication, & appointed me to appeare before him the next day after, at 3. of the clock at after noone.

Boners promiſe to M. Britaine.

Moreouer, he ſaid vnto him, that he would, there ſhould be at the examination ſuche learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might ſee, & alſo make report that I was handled with no rigour. He anſwered him that he knew no man yͭ I had more affectiō to, thē to other. Then ſaid the biſhop: yes as I vnderſtand, ſhe is affectioned to D. Crome, ſir Gillam, Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might heare the matter: for ſhe did know them to be learned, and of a godly iudgement. Alſo he required my coſine Britayne, that he ſhould earneſtly perſuade me to vtter euen the very bottom of my hart: and he ſware by his fidelitie, that no mā ſhould take any aduantage of my wordes: neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I ſhould there ſpeake: but if I ſaid any maner of thing amiſſe, he with other more would be glad to reforme me therein, wyth moſt godly counſaile.

Anne Aſkew brought forth to communication before Boner.

On the morrow after, the biſhop of London ſent for me, at one of the clocke, hys houre beyng appointed at three, and as I came before him, he ſaid he was very ſory of my trouble, and deſired to know my opiniō in ſuch matters as were layd againſt me. He required me alſo in any wiſe boldly to vtter the ſecretes of my hart, bidding me not to feare in any point, for whatſoeuer I did ſay in his houſe, no man ſhould hurt me for it. I anſwered: for ſo much as your lordſhip appointed three of the clocke, and my friendes ſhall not come til that houre, I deſire you to pardon me of geuing anſwer til they come. Then ſaid he, that he thought it meete to ſend for thoſe 4. men which were afore named & appointed. Thē I deſired him not to put them to the paine, for it ſhoulde not neede, becauſe the two gentlemen which were my friendes were able enough to teſtifie that I ſhould ſay.

Talke betwene the archdeacon & Anne Aſkew.

Anone after, he went into his gallery with M. Spilman, and willed him in any wiſe that he ſhould exhort me to vtter all that I thought. In the mean while he commaunded his Archdeacō to commō with me. Who ſaid vnto me: Miſtres wherfore are you accuſed & thus troubled here before the biſhop? To whom I anſwered agayne and ſaid: Sir, aſke, I pray you, my accuſers for I know not as yet. Thē toke he my booke out of my hand, and ſaid: Such bokes as this, haue brought you to the trouble ye are in. Beware (ſaith he) beware, for he that made this booke and was the author therof, was an heretike I warrant you, and burnt in Smithfield. Then I aſked him if he were certayne and ſure, that it was true that he had ſpoken. And he ſaid he knew well the booke was of I. Frithes making. Then I aſked him if he were not aſhamed for to iudge of the booke before he ſawe it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I ſaid alſo that ſuch vnaduiſed and haſtie iudgement is a token apparant, of a very ſlender witte. Then I opened the boke and ſhewed it him. He ſaid he thought it had ben an other, for he could find no fault therein. Then I deſired him no more to be ſo vnaduiſedly raſh and ſwift in iudgement, til he thoroughly knew the truth, and ſo he departed from me.

Raſhe iudgemēt reproued.
Good counſell geuen to the archdeacon.
M. Britaine.
Edward. Hall.

Immediatly after came my coſine Britaine in with diuers other, as M. Hall of Grayes Inne, & ſuch other like. Then my lord of London perſuaded my coſine Britaine as he had done oft before, which was that I ſhould vtter the bottom of my hart in any wiſe. My Lord ſaid after that vnto me, that he would I ſhould credite the counſaile of ſuch as were my frendes and well willers in this behalf, which was, that I ſhould vtter al things that burdened my cōſcience: for he enſured me that I ſhould not neede to ſtand in doubt to ſay any thing. For like as he promiſed thē (he ſaid) he promiſed me & would performe it: which was, that neither he nor any man for him, ſhould take me at aduantage of any word I ſhould ſpeake: and therefore he bad me ſay my mynd without feare. I aunſwered him that I had naught to ſay: for my conſcience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Talke betwene Anne Aſkew, and Boner.

Then brought he forth this vnſauery ſimilitude: that if a man had a wound, no wiſe Surgion would miniſter helpe vnto it before he had ſene it vncouered. In like caſe, ſaith he, cā I geue you no good cōſail, vnleſſe I know wherwͭ your conſcience is burdened. I anſwered, that my conſciēce was cleare in all things: & for to lay a plaiſter vnto the whole ſkin it might appeare much folly.

Boners ſimilitude.

Then you driue me (ſayth hee) to lay to you charge your owne report, which is this: you did ſay, he that doth receiue the Sacrament by the handes of an ill Prieſte or a ſinner, receiueth the deuill and not God. To that I aunſwered, yͭ I neuer ſpake ſuch wordes But as I ſayd afore both to yͤ Queſt and to my Lord Maior, ſo ſay I now agayne, that the wickednes of the Prieſt ſhould not hurt me, but in ſpirit and fayth I receiued no leſſe then the body and bloude of Chriſt. Then ſayd the Byſhop vnto me, what ſaying is this in ſpirite? I will not take you at the aduauntage. Then I aunſwered: my Lord, without fayth and ſpirite, I can not receiue hym worthely.

Boners firſt obiection agaynſt Anne Aſkew.

2. Article.

Then he ſayd vnto me, that I ſhould ſay, that the Sacrament remaynyng in the pixe, was but bread. I aunſwered that I neuer ſayd ſo, but in deede the Queſt aſked me ſuch a queſtion, whereunto I would not aunſwer (I ſayd) tyll ſuch tyme as they had aſſoyled me this queſtion of myne, wherfore Steuen was ſtoned to death? They ſayd they knew not. Then ſayd I againe, no more would I tel them, what it was.

3. Article.

Then ſayd my Lord vnto me that I had aledged a certeine text of the Scripture. I aunſwered that I aleadged none other but S. Pauls owne ſaying to the Athenians in the xvij. chap. in the Apoſtles actes, that God dwelleth not in Temples made with handes. Then aſked hee me what my fayth and beliefe was in that matter? I aunſwered him: I beleue as the Scripture doth teache me.

4. Article.

Then inquired hee of me, what if the Scripture doe ſay that it is the body of Chriſt? I beleue, ſayd I, as the ſcripture doth teache mee, Then aſked hee agayne, what if the Scripture do ſay that it is not yͤ body of Chriſt? My aunſwere was ſtill, I beleue as the Scripture informeth mee. And vpon this argument hee taryed a great while to haue driuen me to make him an aunſwere to his mynde. How be it I would not: but concluded this with him, that I beleue therin and in all other thynges as Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles dyd leaue them.

Anne Aſkew charged with few wordes.

Then he aſked me, why I had ſo fewe wordes? And I aunſwered, God hath geuen me the gifte of knowledge, but not of vtterance. And Salomō ſayth, that a woman of few wordes is a gift of God Prou. xix.

5. Article.

Fiftly my Lord laid vnto my charge that I ſhould ſay that the maſſe was ſuperſtitious, wicked, & no better then idolatry. I anſwered him no: I ſaid not ſo. How be it I ſay the queſt did aſke me whether priuate maſſe did relieue ſoules departed or no? Vnto whome then I anſwered: O lord what idolatry is this, that we ſho[illegible]ather beleue in priuate Maſſes, then in the healthſom [illegible]h of the deare ſonne of God? Then ſaid my Lord againe: what an aunſwere is that? Though it be but mean (ſaid I) yet it is good enough for the queſtion.

Then I told my lord that there was a prieſt, which did heare what I ſaid there before my L. Maior & them. With that the Chancellor anſwered, which was the ſame prieſt: So ſhe ſpake it in very dede (ſaith he) before my Lord Maior and me.

D. Stādiſhes demaunde.

Then were there certain prieſtes, as D. Standiſh and other, which tempted me much to know my minde. And I anſwered them alwaies thus: that I ſaied to my L. of London, I haue ſaid. Then D. Standiſh deſired my L. to bid me ſay my mind concerning the ſame text of S. Paules learning, that I being a woman, ſhould interprete the Scriptures, ſpecially where ſo many wiſe learned men were.

Anne Aſkew could not haue her accuſer.

Then my Lord of London ſaid he was infourmed that one ſhould aſke of me if I would receyue the ſacrament at Eaſter, and I made a mocke of it. Then I deſired that myne accuſer might come foorth: which my Lord woulde not. But he ſaid agayne vnto me, I ſent one to geue you good counſel, and at the firſt worde you called hym Papiſt. That I denyed not, for I perceyued he was no leſſe: yet made I hym none anſweare vnto it.

The prieſtes of Lincolne agaynſt An. Aſkew.

Then he rebuked me, and ſaide that I ſhoulde reporte, that there were bent againſt me threeſcore prieſtes at Lincolne. In deede (quoth I) I ſayd ſo. For my frendes told me, if I dyd come to Lincolne, the Prieſtes would aſſault me, & put me to great trouble, as therof they had made their boaſt: and whē I heard it, I went thither in deede, not being afrayd, becauſe I knew my matter to be good. Moreouer, I remained there .ix. dayes, to ſee what would be ſayd vnto me. And as I was in the Minſter, readyng vpon the Bible, they reſorted vnto me by .ij. & by .ij. by .v. and by .vi. mynding to haue ſpoken to me, yet went they their wayes agayne without wordes ſpeakyng.

Then my Lorde aſked, if there were not one that dyd ſpeake vnto me. I told hym yes, that there was one of thē at the laſt, whiche dyd ſpeake to me in deede. And my Lord then aſked me what he ſaid? And I told him, his wordes were of ſmal effect, ſo yͭ I did not now remēber thē: Then ſaid my L. there are many that read and know the ſcripture, and yet follow it not, nor liue therafter. I ſaid againe, my lord I would wiſh that all men knew my conuerſation and liuing in all pointes, for I am ſure of my ſelf this houre that there are none able to proue any diſhoneſty by me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bryng them forth.

Anne Aſkew ſtandeth vpō her honeſtye.

Then my Lord went away, and ſayd he would entitle ſomewhat of my meanyng, and ſo he wrote a great circumſtaunce. But what it was, I haue not all in memorie, for he would not ſuffer me to haue the copie thereof. Onely do I remember this ſmall portion of it:

Boners miſreport of An. Aſkewes confeſſion.

Be it knowen (ſayth he) of all men that I Anne Aſkew do confeſſe this to be my fayth and belief, notwithſtandyng my reportes made afore to the contrary. I beleue that they whiche are houſled at the handes of a Prieſt whether his conuerſation be good or not, do receiue the body & bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce really. Alſo I do beleue, that after the conſecration, whether it be receiued or reſerued, it is no leſſe then the very body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce. Finally I do beleue in this and in all other Sacramentes of holy Church, in all pointes accordyng to the old Catholicke faith of the ſame. In witnes wherof I the ſayd Anne haue ſubſcribed my name.

The tenor of D. Boners writing wherunto An Aſkew ſubſcribed.

There was ſomewhat more in it, whiche becauſe I had not the copy, I can not now remember. Then he read it to me and, aſked me if I did agree to it. And I ſayd agayne, I beleue ſo much therof as the holy Scripture doth agree vnto: wherefore I deſire you, that ye will adde that thereunto. Then he aunſwered that I ſhould not teach him what hee ſhould write. With that, he went forth into his great chamber, and read the ſame Bill afore the audience, which enueigled and willed me to ſet to my hand ſaying alſo, that I had fauour ſhewed me. Then ſayd the Byſhop I might thanke other and not my ſelfe, of the fauour that I found at his hād: for he conſidered (he ſayd) that I had good frendes, and alſo that I was come of a worſhipfull ſtocke.

Then aunſwered one Chriſtopher, a ſeruaunt to maiſter Dēnie: Rather ought you (my Lord) to haue done it in ſuch caſe, for Gods ſake then for mā. Then my Lord ſat down, and tooke me the writyng to ſet thereto my hand & I write after this manner: I Anne Aſkew do beleue all manner thynges conteined in the fayth of the Catholicke Church.

The wordes of the Regiſters.

And for as much as mētion here is made of the writyng of Boner, which this godly woman ſayd before ſhe had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to inferre the ſame, both with the whole circūſtaunce of Boner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the Regiſter, & alſo with her owne ſubſcription: to the intent the reader ſeyng the ſame ſubſcription, neither to agree with the tyme of the title aboue prefixed, nor with the ſubſcription after the writyng annexed, might the better vnderſtand thereby what credit is to be geuen hereafter to ſuch Byſhops, and to ſuch Regiſters. The tenour of Boners writyng proceedeth thus.

Ex Regiſt.

The true copy of the confeſſion and beliefe of Anne Aſkew, otherwiſe called Anne Kyme made before the biſhop of London the xx. day of March in the yeare of our Lord God after the computation of the Churche of England 1545. and ſubſcribed with her owne hande in the preſence of the ſayd Biſhop and other whoſe names hereafter are recited, ſet forth & publiſhed at this preſēt, to yͤ entent yͤ world may ſee what credence is nowe to be geuen vnto the ſame woman, who in ſo ſhort a tyme hath moſt damnably altered and chaunged her opinion and beliefe, and therfore rightfully in open Courte arrayned and condemned Ex. Regiſt.

The copie of the Biſhops report vpon the confeſſion of An Aſkew as it ſtādeth in the Regiſter.

BE it knowne to all faythfull people, that as touchyng the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, I do firmely & vndoubtedly beleue, that after the wordes of conſecration bee ſpoken by the Prieſt, accordyng to the common vſage of this Church of England, there is preſent really the body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt, whether the miniſter which doth conſecrat, be a good man, or a bad man, and that alſo whenſoeuer the ſayd Sacrament is receiued, whether the receiuer be a good man or a bad man, hee doth receiue it really and corporally. And moreouer, I do beleue, that whether the ſayd Sacrament then receiued of the Miniſter, or els reſerued to be put into the Pixe, or to be brought to any perſon that is impotent or ſicke, yet there is the very bodye and bloud of our ſayd Sauiour: ſo that whether the Miniſter or the receiuer be good or bad, yea whether the Sacrament be receiued or reſerued, alwayes there is the bleſſed body of Chriſt really.

And this thing with all other thinges touching the Sacrament and other Sacramentes of the Churche, and all things els touching the Chriſtē belief, which are taught & declared in the kynges Maieſties booke lately ſet forth for the erudition of the Chriſten people, I Anne Aſkew, otherwiſe called Anne Kyme, do truly & perfectly beleue, and ſo here preſently confeſſe and knowledge. And here I do promiſe that hence forth I ſhall neuer ſaye or doe any thyng agaynſt the premiſſes, or agaynſt anye of them. In witneſſe whereof, I the ſayd Anne haue ſubſcribed my name vnto theſe preſentes. written the xx. day of March in the yere of our Lord God, 1545, Ex Regiſt.

Ex Regiſt. Lond.

By me Anne Aſkew otherwiſe
called Anne Kime.

Edmund Biſhop of London.
Iohn Biſhop of Bathe.
Owen Oglethorpe doctour of diuinitie.
Richard Smith doctor of diuinitie.
Iohn Rudde bacheler of diuinitie.
William Pie bacheler of diuinitie.
Iohn Wymſley Archdeacon of London.
Iohn Cooke. Edward Hall.
Rob. Iohn. Alexander Bret.
Fraunces Spilman. Edmund Buts.

Witneſſes.

With diuers other mo beyng then preſent.

Boner and hys Regiſter reproued with an vntruth.

Here mayeſt thou note, gentle reader, in this confeſſion, both in the Byſhop & his Regiſter: a double ſleight of falſe conueiance. For although the cōfeſſiō porporteth the wordes of the Byſhops writyng, whereunto ſhe dyd ſet her hande yet by the title prefixed before, mayeſt thou ſee that both ſhe was araigned and condemned before this was regiſtred, & alſo that ſhe is falſly reported to haue put to her hand which in deede by this her owne booke appeareth not ſo to bee, but after this maner and condition: I Anne Aſkew do beleue all maner thinges conteyned in the fayth of the Catholicke Churche, and not otherwiſe. It foloweth more in yͤ ſtorye.

Boner Biſhop of London in a chafe againſt A. Aſkew.

Then becauſe I dyd adde vnto it the Catholicke Church he flounge into his chamber in a great furye, with that my coſen Brittaine followed hym, deſiryng hym for Gods ſake to be good Lord vnto me. He aunſwered that I was a woman, & that he was nothyng deceiued in me. Thē my coſyn Brittayne deſired hym to take me as a woman, and not to ſet my weake womans wit, to his lordſhips great wiſedō.

D. Weſton.

Then went in vnto him D. Weſton, and ſayd, yͤ the cauſe why I dyd write there the Catholicke Church, was that I vnderſtoode not the Church written afore. So wt much adoe, they perſwaded my Lord to come out agayne, & to take my name with the names of my ſuerties, whiche were my coſyn Brittaine, and maiſter Spylman of Grayes Inne.

Anne Aſkew brought to the Guilde Hall.

This beyng done, we thought that I ſhoulde haue bene put to bayle immediatlye accordyng to the order of the lawe, Howbeit he would not ſuffer it, but committed me frō thence to priſon agayne, vntill the next morrow, and then he willed me to appeare in the Guild Hall, and ſo I dyd. Notwithſtandyng they would not put me to bayle there neither, but read the Byſhops writyng vnto me, as before, and ſo commaunded me agayne to priſon.

A. Aſkew bayled at laſt vnder ſuerties with much adoe.

Then were my ſuerties appointed to come before them on the next morrowe in Paules Churche: whiche dyd ſo in deede. Notwithſtandyng they woulde once agayne haue broken of with them becauſe they woulde not be bound alſo for an other woman at their pleaſure, whom they knew not nor yet what matter was layde vnto her charge. Notwithſtandyng at the laſt, after much adoe and reaſonyng to & fro, they tooke a bonde of them of recogniſance for my forth cōmyng. And thus I was at the laſt deliuered.

Written by me Anne Aſkew.

¶The latter apprehenſion and examination of the worthy Martyr of God, Miſtres. A. Aſkew. an. 1546.

A. Aſkew martir.

An. 1546.

A declaration of A. Aſkew of theſe wordes of our Sauiour, this is my body.

I Do perceiue (deare freind in yͤ Lord) that thou art not yet perſwaded throughly in the truth concernyng the Lordes ſupper, becauſe Chriſt ſaid vnto his Apoſtles: Take, eate, thys is my bodye, which is geuen for you.

In geuyng forth the bread as an outward ſigne or token to be receiued with the mouth, hee minded them in perfecte beleue to receiue that body of his, whiche ſhoulde die for the people, and to thinke the death therof to bee the onelye health and ſaluation of their ſoules. The bread and the wine were left vs for a ſacramentall communion, or a mutuall participation of yͤ ineſtimable benefites of his moſt precious death and bloudſheddyng, and that we ſhoulde in the end therof be thankfull together for that moſt neceſſarie grace of our redemptiō. For in the cloſing vp therof, he ſaid thus: This do ye in remembraunce of me. Yea, ſo oft as ye ſhal eate it, or drink it. Luke. xi and. i. Corin. xi. Els ſhoulde wee haue bene forgetfull of that we ought to haue in dayly remembraunce, & alſo ben altogether vnthankfull for it. Therfore it is meete that in our prayers we call vnto God to graft in our foreheades, the true meanyng of yͤ holye Ghoſt concernyng this Communion. For Saint Paule ſayth: the letter ſlayeth: the ſpirite is it onely that geueth lyfe. ij. Corinth. iij. Marke well the firſt chapter of John, where all is applied vnto fayth. note alſo the 4. chapt, of S. Paules firſt Epiſtle to yͤ Corinth, and in the ende therof ye ſhall finde that yͤ thinges which are ſene, are temporall, but they that are not ſene, are euerlaſtyng. Yea, looke in the third chapter to the Hebrues and ye ſhall finde that Chriſt as a ſonne (and no ſeruaunt) ruleth ouer his houſe, whoſe houſe are we (& not yͤ dead temple) if we hold faſt the cōfidence & reioyſing of that hope to

Luke. 11.
1. Cor. 11.

2. Cor. 3.

1. Cor. 4.

Heb. 3.

Pſal. 95.

the ende, Wherfore, as ſayd the holy Ghoſt: To daye if ye ſhall heare his voyce, harden not your hartes. &c. Pſalm. 59.

The ſumme of my examination, before the kinges Councell at Grenewiche.

Concerning that which they here demaunded as touching M. Kime, read in the cenſure of Ioh. Bale writing vpon thys place.

YOur requeſt, as concernyng my priſon fellowes, I am not able to ſatiſfie, becauſe I heard not their examinations: but the effect of myne was this. I beyng before the Councell, was aſked of Maiſter Kyme. I aunſwered, that my Lord Chaũcellor knew already my mynde in that matter. They with that aunſwere were not contented, but ſaid it was the Kynges pleaſure, that I ſhoulde open the matter to them. I aunſwered them playnely I woulde not ſo do. But if it were ẏ kinges pleaſure to heare me, I would ſhewe hym the truth. Then they ſayd, it was not meete for the kyng to be troubled with me. I aunſwered, that Salomon was reckened the wyſeſt kyng ẏ euer liued: yet miſlyked hee not to heare ij. poore common women much more hys grace a ſimple woman, and his faythfull ſubiecte. So in concluſion I made them none other aunſwere in that matter.

This Lord Chauncellour was Wryſley.

Then my Lord Chauncellour aſked me of my opinion in the Sacrament, My aunſwere was this: I beleue that ſo oft as I in a Chriſtian congregation, doe receiue the bread in remembraunce of Chriſtes death and with thankes geuyng, accordyng to his holy inſtitution. I receiue therwith the frutes alſo of his moſt glorious paſſion, The Byſhop of Wincheſter bad mee make a direct aunſwere. I ſayde, I would not ſyng a new ſong of the Lorde in a ſtraung land. Then the byſhop ſayd, I ſpake in parables. I aunſwered it was beſt for hym. For if I ſhewe the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he ſayd, I was a Parret. I told him agayne: I was readye to ſuffer all thynges at hys hands, not onely hys rebukes, but all that ſhoulde follow beſides, yea and all that gladly.

Parables beſt for Wincheſter.

Wincheſter beginneth to ſcolde

Then had I diuers rebukes of the Councell, becauſe I woulde not expreſſe my mynde in all thinges as they woulde haue me. But they were not in the meane tyme vnaunſwered for all that, which now to rehearſe were to much for I was with them there about .v. houres. Then the Clerke of the Counſell conueyed me frõ thence to my Lady Garmiſh.

Anne Aſkew brought agayne before the Counſell.

The next day I was brought agayne before the councel. Then would they needes know of me, what I ſayd to the Sacrament. I aunſwered, that I already had ſayd that I could ſay. Then after diuers wordes, they bad me goe by. Then came my Lord Liſle, my Lord of Eſſex, and the byſhop of Wincheſter, requiryng me earneſtly that I ſhoulde confeſſe the ſacrament to bee fleſhe, bloud and bone. Then ſayd I to my Lord Parre and my Lord Liſle, that it was great ſhame for them to counſel contrary to their knowledg, whereunto in fewe wordes they dyd ſay, that they woulde gladly all thinges were well.

Wincheſter aunſwered home.

Then the biſhop ſayd, he would ſpeake with me familiarly. I ſayd, ſo dyd Iudas whẽ he vnfrendly betrayed Chriſt Then deſired the Byſhop to ſpeake with me alone. But ẏ I refuſed. He aſked me why? I ſayd that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euery matter ſhoulde ſtande, after Chriſts & Paules doctrine. Mathew. xviij. ij. Corinth. xiij.

Math. 18.
2. Cor. 13.

Then My Lorde Chauncellour began to examine me agayne of the ſacrament. Then I aſked hym how long hee would hault on both ſides? Then woulde he needes know where I found that. I ſayd in the ſcripture. iij. Reg. xviij. Then he went hys waye. Then the Byſhop ſayd I ſhould be burnt. I aunſwered that I had ſearched all the ſcriptures, yet could I neuer finde, that either Chriſt or his Apoſtles, put any creature to death. Well, well ſayde I, God wyll laugh your threatnynges to ſcorne. Pſalm. ij. Then was I cõmaunded to ſtand aſyde, Then came to me Doctour Cox, and Doctor Robinſon. In concluſion we coulde not agree.

3. Reg. 18.

The L. Chauncellour mute.

Pſal. 2.

Doct. Coxe, and Doct. Robinſon.

Then they made me a bill of the Sacrament, willyng me to ſette my hande therunto: but I would not. Then on the ſonday I was ſore ſicke, thinkyng no leſſe then to dye. Therfore I deſired to ſpeake with Maiſter Latimer: but it would not be. Then was I ſent to Newgate in my extremitie of ſickenes: for in all my life afore was I neuer in ſuch payne. Thus the Lorde ſtrengthen vs in the truth, Pray, pray, pray.

Anne Aſkew deſired to ſpeake with M. Latimer.

¶ The confeſſion of me Anne Aſkew for the tyme I was in Newgate, concerning my beliefe.

The confeſſion of Anne Aſkew in Newgate.

I Finde in the ſcriptures (ſayd ſhe) that Chriſt tooke the bread and gaue it to his diſciples ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you, meanyng in ſubſtance hys owne very body, the bread beyng therof an onely ſigne or Sacrament. For after lyke maner of ſpeakyng, he ſayd, he would breake downe the temple, and in three dayes build it vp agayne, ſignifying his owne body by the temple, as S. Iohn declareth it, Iohn 2. and not the ſtony temple it ſelfe. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death or a ſacrament of thankes geuyng for it, wherby we are knit vnto hym by a communion of chriſtian loue. Although there be many that cannot perceiue the true meanyng therof, for the veile that Moyſes put ouer hys face before the children of Iſrael, that they ſhould not ſee the clearenes therof. Exodus 24. and 2. Cor. 3. I perceyue the ſame veyle remayneth to this day. But when God ſhall take it away, then ſhall theſe blynde men ſee. For it is plainly expreſſed in the hiſtory of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thyng materiall. O kyng (ſayth Daniell) be not deceiued, for God will be in nothing that is made with handes of men. Dan. 14. Oh, what ſtifnecked people are theſe, that will alwayes reſiſt the holy Ghoſt? But as their fathers haue done, ſo do they, becauſe they haue ſtony hartes.

As Chriſtes body is called the temple in the ſcripture: ſo is the bread called Chriſtes body.

Exod. 24.
2. Cor. 3.

Dan. 14.

Actes. 7.

Written by me Anne Aſkew, that neyther wiſheth death, nor yet feareth his might, and as mery as one that is bound towardes heauen.

Truth is layd in priſon. Luke 21. The law is turned to wormewood. Amos. 6. And there can no right iudgement go forth. Eſay. 59.

Luke. 21.
Amos 6.
Eſay 59.

Oh forgeue vs all our ſinnes, and receyue vs graciouſly. As for the workes of our handes, we will no more call vpon them. For it is thou lord that art our God. Thou ſheweſt euer mercy vnto the fatherleſſe.

Oh if they would do this (ſayth the lord) I ſhould heale their ſores, yea with all my hart would I loue them.

O Ephraim, what haue I to doe with Idols any more? who ſo is wyſe ſhall vnderſtand this. And he that is rightly inſtructed will regard it: For the wayes of the Lord are righteous: Such as are godly, will walke in them: and as for the wicked, they will ſtumble at them. Oſe. 14.

Oſe. 14.

Salomon (ſayth S. Steuen) builded an houſe for the God of Iacob. Howbeit, the higheſt of all dwelleth not in Temples made with handes, as ſayth the Prophet: Heauen is my ſeat, & the earth is my footſtoole. What houſe wil ye build for me, ſayth the Lord? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? Hath not my hand made all things? Act. 7.

Eſai. 66.

Act. 7.

Woman beleue me (ſayth Chriſt to the Samaritan) the tyme is at hand, that ye ſhall neither in this mountayne, nor yet at Ieruſalem worſhip the father. Ye worſhip ye wotte not what, but we know what we worſhippe. For ſaluation commeth of the Iewes. But the houre commeth, and is now when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the father in ſpirite and veritie. Iohn. 3.

Ioh. 3.

Labour not (ſayth Chriſt) for the meate that periſheth, but for that that endureth into the lyfe euerlaſtyng, which the ſonne of man ſhall geue you: For hym God the father hath ſealed. Iohn. 6.

Ioh. 6.

The ſumme of the condemnation of me Anne Aſkew at the Guild Hall.

An other examinatiõ of Anne Aſkew at the Guild Hall.

They ſayd to me there that I was an hereticke, and condemned by the law, If I would ſtand in mine opinion. I aunſwered that I was no hereticke, neither yet deſerued I any death by the law of God. But as concerning ẏ faith whiche I vttered and wrote to the counſell. I would not (I ſayd) deny it, becauſe I knew it true. The would they needes know, if I would deny the Sacrament to be Chriſtes body and bloud. I ſayd yea. For the ſame ſonne of God, that was borne of the virgine Mary, is now glorious in heauen, and will come againe from thence at the latter day, like as he went vp. Act. 1. And as for that ye call your God, it is a peece of bread. For a more proofe therof (marke it whẽ ye liſt) let it lye in the boxe but iij. monethes, and it will be mouldy, and ſo turne to nothing that is good. Wherupon I am perſwaded, that it can not be God.

The ſubſtance of the ſacrament denyed to be God.

After that, they willed me to haue a Prieſt: and then I ſmiled. Then they aſked me, if it were not good? I ſayde, I would confeſſe my faultes vnto God. For I was ſure ẏ he would heare me with fauour. And ſo we were condẽned with a Queſt.

Anne Aſkew wyth her felowes condemned by a Queſt.

My beliefe which I wrote to the Counſall was this: that the ſacramentall bread was left vs to be receiued with thankes geuyng, in remembraunce of Chriſtes deathe, the onely remedy of our ſoules recouery: and that thereby wee alſo receyue the whole benefites and fruites of his moſt glorious Paſſion. Then would they needes knowe whether the bread in the boxe were God or no? I ſayd, God is a ſpirit, and wil be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth. Iohn. 4. Then they demaunded: wil you plainly deny Chriſt to be in the ſacrament? I aunſwered that I beleue faythfully the eternall ſonne of God not to dwell there. In witneſſe whereof

The beliefe of A. Aſkew concerning the ſacraments, written to the Councell. Iohn. 4.

I recited agayn the hiſtory of Bell,and the 19.chap.of Daniell,the 7.and 17.of the Actes, and the 24. of Mathew, concluding thus: I neither wiſh death, nor yet feare hys might,God haue the prayſe therof with thankes.

Dan.19. Actes.7.17. Math.24.

My letter ſent to the Lord Chauncellor.

The letter of Anne Aſkew to the Lord Chaūcelour.

THe Lord God,by whom all creatures haue theyr being, bleſſe you with the light of his knowledge.Amen.

My duety to your Lordſhippe remembred,&c. It might pleaſe you to accept this my bolde ſute, as the ſute of one, which vpon due conſiderations is moued to the ſame & hopeth to obtaine.My requeſt to your Lordſhip is onely: that it may pleaſe the ſame to be a meane for me to the kynges maieſty,that his grace may be certified of theſe fewe lynes which I haue written concerning my beliefe. Which when it ſhalbé truly conferred wirh the hard iudgement geuē me for the ſame,I thinke his grace ſhall well perceiue me to be weyed in an vneuen peire of balance.But I remit my matter aud cauſe to almighty God,which rightly iudgeth al ſecrets. Aud thus I commend your Lordſhip to the gouernaunce of him and fellowſhip of all ſaintes.Amen.

By your handmayd Anne Aſkew.

My faith briefly written to the kinges grace.

The beliefe of A.Aſkew touching the Sacrament, written to the king.

I Anne Aſkew,of good memory,although God hath geuen me the breade of aduerſitie and the water of trouble, yet not ſo much as my ſinnes haue deſerued, deſire this to bee known vnto your grace,that foraſmuch as I am by the law condemned for an euill doer: Here I take heauen and earth to record,that I ſhall die in my innocency. And according to that I haue ſayd firſt, and will ſay laſt, I vtterly abhorre and deteſt all hereſies. And as concernyng the ſupper of the Lord,I beleue ſo muche as Chriſte hath ſayde therein, whiche he confirmed with his moſt bleſſed bloud.I beleue alſo ſo muche as hee willed me to followe and beleeue ſo muche as the Catholicke Churche of him dothe teache For I will not forſake the cōmaundement of his holy lippes But looke what god hath charged me with his mouth that haue I ſhut vp in my hart:and thus briefly I ende, for lacke of learnyng.

Anne Aſkew.

The effect of my examination and handling,ſince my departure from Newgate.

The cruell handling & racking of Anne Aſkew after her cōdemnation.

ON Tueſday I was ſent from Newgate to the ſigne of the crowne,whereas M.Rich and the Biſhop of London withall their power and flattering wordes, went about to perſwade me from God, But I did not eſteeme their gloſing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicholas Sharton, and counſelled me to recant as he had done. I ſayd to hym, that it had bene good for hym,neuer to haue bene borne,with many other lyke wordes. Then M.Rich ſent me to the Tower,where I remayned till three a clocke.

This Counſeller was ſyr Iohn Baker.

Anne Aſkew vrged to accuſe others.

Then came Rich and one of the Counſell, cherging me vpon my obedience, to ſhew vnto them,if I knew any man or woman of my ſect. My aunſwere was, that I knewe none. Thē they aſked me of my Lady of Suffolke,my Lady of Suſſex, my Lady of Hertford,my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliams. I ſayd, if I ſhould pronounce any thing againſt them,that I were not able to proue it. Then ſayd they vnto me, that the kyng was informed, that I could name if I would, a great number of my ſect. I aunſwered, that the king was as well deceiued in that behalfe, as diſſembled wyth in other matters.

Then commaunded they me to ſhew how I was maintayned in the Counter, and who willed me to ſticke to my opinion, I ſayd that there was no creature that therein did ſtrengthen me. And as for the helpe that I had in the Counter, it was by the meanes of my mayde. For as ſhee went abroad in the ſtreetes,ſhee made mone to the Prentiſes,and they by her did ſend me money: but who they were I neuer knew.

Anne Aſkew refuſeth to accuſe any.

Thē they ſaid,that there were diuers gentlewomen,that gaue me money: but I knew not their names. Then they ſaid that there were diuers ladies that had ſent me money. I aunſwered, that there was a man in a blew coate,which deliuered me x.ſhillings,and ſaid that my Lady of Hertford ſent it me. And an other in a violet coate gaue me viij.ſhillings,& ſayd ÿ my lady Denny ſent it me. Whether it were true or no, I cā not tell. For I am not ſure who ſent it me, but as the mayd did ſay. Then they ſaide,there were of the Counſell that did maintaine me. And I ſayd no.

Anne Aſkew put on the racke.

Wryſley and Baker racking Anne Aſkew.

Then they did put me on the racke, becauſe I confeſſed no Ladies or Gentlewomē to be of my opinion, & thereon they kept me a long time. And becauſe I lay ſtill & dyd not cry,my L.Chācellour & ſyr Ioh.Baker,tooke paines to racke me with their owne handes,till I was nigh dead.

Then the Lieftenaunt cauſed me to be looſed from the racke. In continently I ſwounded, and then they recouered me agayne. After that I ſat two long houres reaſonyng with my Lord Chauncellour vpon the bare flore, whereas he with many flatteryng wordes, perſwaded me to leaue my opinion. But my Lord God (I thanke his euerlaſtyng goodnes) gaue me grace to perſeuer,and will do (I hope) to the very end.

Anne Aſkew conſtant in her fayth.

Then was I brought to an houſe, and layd in a bed, with as werye & paynfull bones, as euer had patient Iob, I thanke my Lord God therfore. Then my Lord Chauncellour ſent me worde if I would leaue my opinion, I ſhould want nothyng: If I would not, I ſhould forth to Newgate,and ſo be burned. I ſent him agayne word, that I would rather dye,then to breake my fayth.

Anne Aſkew threatned to be burned.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind harts, that the truth may take place. Farewell deare frend, and pray, pray,pray.

The order of the racking of Anne Aſkew.

Touchyng the order of her rakyng in the Tower thus it was. Firſt ſhe was led down into a dungeō,where Syr Anthonie Kneuet the Lieutenant commaunded his Gayler to pinch her with the racke. Which beyng done ſo much as he thought ſufficient,went about to take her downe,ſuppoſing hee had done enough. But Wriſley the Chauncellour, not contented that ſhe was looſed ſo ſoone confeſſyng nothyng, commaunded the Lieutenant to ſtreine her on ÿ racke agayne. Which becauſe he denyed to do,tenderyng the weakenes of the woman, hee was threatned therfore greuouſly of the ſayde Wriſley, ſaying that hee woulde ſignifie his diſobedience vnto the kyng: and ſo conſequently vppon the ſame,he & Syr Iohn Baker throwing of theyr gownes would nedes play the tormentors them ſelues: firſt aſkyng her if ſhe were with childe, To whom ſhee aunſweryng agayne,ſayd: ye ſhall not neede to ſpare for that, but do your wylles vpon me: And ſo quietlye and paciently prayíng vnto the Lord:ſhe abode their tyranny,til her bones & ioyntes almoſt were pluckt a ſonder,in ſuch ſort as ſhe was caried away in a chair. When the rakyng was paſt,Wriſley & hys felowe tooke theyr horſe toward the Court.

The L.Wryſley and ſyr Ioh.Baker play the tormentours.

Wryſley the L. Chauncelour preuented by the Lieutenaunt.

In the meane tyme,while they were makyng theyr way by land,the good Lieutenaunt eftſoones takyng boate, ſped hym in all haſt to the Court to ſpeake with the kynge before the other, and ſo dyd. Who there makyng hys humble ſute to the kyng, deſired his pardon and ſhewed hym the whole matter as it ſtoode,& of the rakyng of Miſtres Aſkew, and howe he was threatned by the Lorde Chauncellour,becauſe at his cōmaundement, not knowyng his highnes pleaſure,he refuſed to racke her: which he for compaſſiō coulde not finde in hys hart to do, and therfore humbly craued his highnes pardon. Which when the kyng had vnderſtand,ſemed not very well to lyke of their ſo extreme handlyng of the woman, and alſo graunted to the Lieutenaunt his pardon, willyng hym to returne & ſee to his charge.

The Lieutenaūt pardoned of the kyng.

Great expectation was in the meane ſeaſon among the Warders and other officers of the Tower, waytyng for hys returne. Whom when they ſaw come ſo chearfullye, declaryng vnto them how he had ſpedde with the kyng, they were not a litle ioyous,and gaue thankes to God therfore.

Anne Aſkews aunſwer vnto Io. Lacels letter.

The aunſwere of Anne Aſkew to M.Lacelles letter.

OH friend moſt dearely beloued in God,I meruaile not a little,what ſhould moue you te iudge in me ſo ſlender a fayth as to feare death,which is the ende of all miſery.In the Lord I deſire you not to beleue of me ſuch wickednes. For I doubt it not,but God will performe his worke in me, lyke as he hath begon.I vnderſtand the counſail is not a little diſpleaſed,that it ſhould be reported abroad,that I was racked in the tower.They ſay now,that they did there, was but to feare me: wherby I perceiue,they are aſhamed of theyr vncomely doings,and feare much leſt the kings maieſty ſhould haue information therof.Wherfore they would no man to noyſe it.Well,their cruelty God forgeue them.

Your hart in Chriſt Ieſu Farewell,and pray.

The purgation or aunſwer of Anne Aſkew againſt the falſe ſurmiſes of her recantation.

Anne Aſkew aunſwering to the falſe ſuſpicion of her recanting.

I Haue read the proceſſe whiche is reported of them that knowe not the truth, to bee my recantation. But as the Lord liueth, I neuer ment thing leſſe then to recant. Notwithſtandyng this I confeſſe, that in my firſt troubles, I was examined of the Byſhop of London about the Sacrament. Yet had they no graunt of my mouth, but this, that I beleued therin as the worde of god dyd bynde mee to beleue: more had they neuer of mee. Then hee made a copye whiche is nowe in print, and required mee to ſet thereunto my hand. But I refuſed it. Then my ij. ſuerties dyd will me in no wiſe to ſticke thereat, for it was no great matter, they ſayd.

Then with much ado, at the laſt I wrote thus: I Anne Aſkew do beleue this, if Gods worde do agree to the ſame

Anne Aſkew falſely ſuſpected to recant, & vpon what occaſion.

and the true Catholicke Churche. Then the Byſhop, beyng in great diſpleaſure with me becauſe I made doubtes in my wrytyng, commaunded me to priſon: where I was a while, but afterwardes by the meanes of frendes, I came out agayne. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concernyng the thing that ye couet moſt to know, reſort to the vi. of Iohn, & be ruled alwayes therby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Aſkew.

The confeſſion of the faith which A. Aſkew made in Newgate before ſhe ſuffered.

The cōfeſſion of Anne Aſkew going to her execution.

I Anne Aſkew of good memory, although my mercifull father hath geuen me the bread of aduerſitie and the water of trouble: yet not ſo much as my ſinnes haue deſerued: confeſſe my ſelfe here a ſinner before the throne of his heauenly maieſtie, deſiryng his forgeuenes and mercye. And for ſo much as I am by the law vnrighteouſly condemned for an euill doer concerning opinions, I take the ſame moſt mercifull God of mine, which hath made both heauen and earth to recorde that I hold no opinions contrarie to his moſt holy word. And I truſt in my mercifull Lord, whiche is the geuer of all grace, that he wyll graciouſly aſſiſt me agaynſt all euill opinions, whiche are contrary to his bleſſed verity For I take hym to witnes: that I haue done and will do vnto my liues end, vtterlye abhorre them to the vttermoſt of my power.

The matter and cauſe why Anne Aſkew ſuffered death.

But this is the hereſie whiche they report mee to holde that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, there remayneth bread ſtill. They both ſaye, and alſo teach it for a neceſſary article of fayth, yͭ after thoſe wordes be once ſpoken, there remayneth no bread, but euen the ſelfe ſame body that hoong vpon the croſſe on good Friday, both fleſhe, bloud, and bone. To this beleefe of theirs, ſay I nay: For then were our common Crede falſe, whiche ſayth that he ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence ſhal come to iudge the quicke and dead. Lo, this is the hereſie that I holde, and for it muſt ſuffer the death.

But as touchyng the holy and bleſſed ſupper of the Lorde, I beleue it to be a moſt neceſſary remembraunce of hys glorious ſufferynges and death. Moreouer, I beleue as much therein as my eternall and onely redemer Ieſus Chriſte would I ſhould beleue.

Scripture ſufficient to our ſaluatiō.

Finally, I beleue al thoſe ſcriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his moſt precious bloud. Yea, & as S. Paul ſaith, thoſe ſcriptures are ſufficient for our learning & ſaluatiō, that Chriſt hath left here with vs: So that I beleue, we nede no vnwrittē verities to rule his church with. Therfore looke what he hath ſayd vnto me with his owne mouth in his holy Goſpell, that haue I with Gods grace cloſed vp in my hart and my full truſt is (as Dauid ſaith) that it ſhalbe a lanterne to my footeſteps. Pſalm. xxviij.

Pſal. 28.

Anne Aſkew falſely reported to denye the holy Euchariſt.

There be ſome do ſay that I deny the Euchariſt or ſacrament of thankes geuyng: but thoſe people doe vntruely report of me. For I both ſay and beleue it, that if it were ordered lyke as Chriſt inſtituted it and left it, a moſt ſingular comfort it were vnto vs all. But as concerning your maſſe, as it is now vſed in our dayes, I do ſay and beleue it to bee the moſt abhominable Idoll that is in the world: For my God wil not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dyeth he again. And vpon theſe wordes that I haue now ſpoken, wyll I ſuffer death.

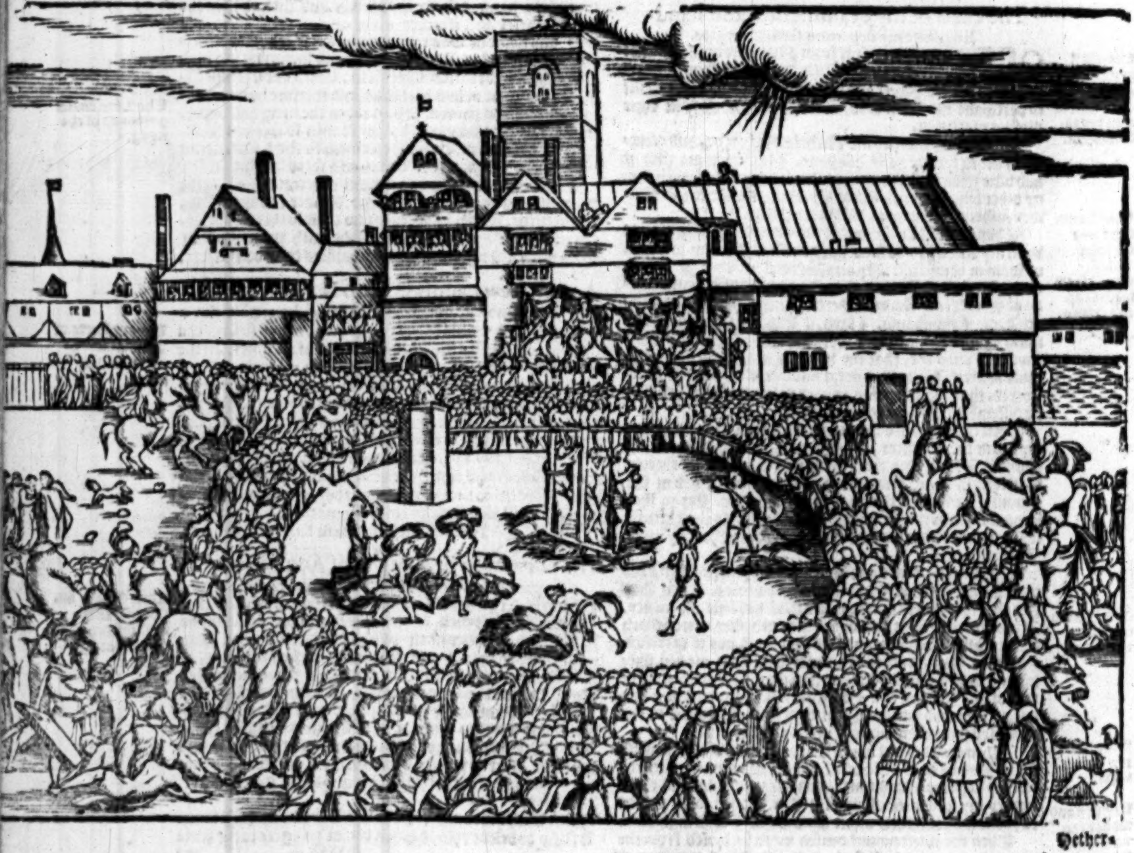
The Maſſe an abhominable Idoll.

The prayer of A. Aſkew.

O Lord, I haue mo enemies now, then there be heires on my hed. Yet Lord, let them neuer ouercome me with vayne wordes, but fight thou Lord in my ſtede, for on thee caſte I my care. With all the ſpight they can imagine, they fall vpō me, which am thy poore creature. Yet ſweete Lord, let me not ſet by thē which are againſt me: for in thee is my whole delight. And Lord I hartily deſire of thee, that thou wilt of thy moſt mercifull goodnes forgeue thē that violence which they do and haue done vnto me. Open alſo thou their blynd hartes, that they may hereafter doe that thyng in thy ſight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to ſet forth thy veritie aright, without all vayne fantaſies of ſinfull men. So be it. O Lord, ſo be it.

By me Anne Aſkew.

The order and maner of the burnyng of Anne Aſkew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian, with certayne of the Councell ſitting in Smithfield.



Nether=

HEtherto we haue entreated of this good woman. Nowe it remayneth that we touch ſomwhat as concerning her ende and Martyrdome. After that ſhe, beyng borne of ſuch ſtocke and kynrede, that ſhe might haue liued in great welth and proſperitie, if ſhe would rather haue followed the world, then Chriſt, now had bene ſo tormented, that ſhe coulde neither lyue long in ſo great diſtreſſe, neither yet by her aduerſaries be ſuffered to die in ſecret: the day of her execution beyng appointed, ſhe was brought into Smithfield in a chaire becauſe ſhe could not go on her feete, by meanes of her great tormentes. When ſhe was brought vnto the ſtake, ſhe was tied by the middle with a chayne, that held vp her body. Whē all thinges were thus prepared to the fire, Doctour Shaxton, who was then appoynted to preache, beganne hys ſermon. Anne Aſkew hearyng, and aunſweryng agayne vnto hym, where he ſayde well, confirmed the ſame: where hee ſayd amiſſe, there ſayd ſhe he miſſeth, and ſpeaketh without the booke.

Anne Aſkew brought vnto the ſtake.

Anne Aſkew lamed vpon the racke.

Shaxton preached at Anne Aſkews burning.

The Sermon beyng finiſhed, the Martyrs ſtandyng there tyed at three ſeuerall ſtakes redy to their martirdome, beganne their prayers. The multitude and concourſe of the people was exceedyng, ỹ place where they ſtood beyng rayled about, to kepe out the preaſe. Upon the bench vnder Saint Bartlemew Church ſate Wriſley, Chauncellour of England, the olde Duke of Northfolke, the olde Earle of Bedford, the Lord Mayor with diuers other moe. Before the fire ſhould be ſet vnto them, one of the Benche hearing that they had gunpouder about them, and beyng afrayd leaſt the fagots by ſtrength of the gunpouder would come flying about their eares, began to be afrayd: but the Erle of Bedford declaryng vnto hym, how the gunpouder was not layde vnder the fagottes, but onely about theyr bodies, to rydde them out of their payne, which hauyng vente, there was no daunger to them of the fagottes, ſo diminiſhed that feare.

Then Wriſley Lorde Chauncellour, ſent to Anne Aſkew letters, offering to her the kynges pardon, if ſhe would recant. Who refuſing once to looke vppon them, made this aunſwer agayne: that ſhe came not thither to deny her lorde and Maiſter. Then were the letters likewyſe offered vnto the other, who in lyke maner followyng the conſtauncie of the woman, denyed not onely to receyue them, but alſo to looke vpon them. Whereupon the Lord Mayor commaundyng fire to be put vnto them, cryed with a loude voyce, fiat iuſtitia.

Anne Aſkew refuſeth the kinges pardon.

Iuſticia iniuſta.

And thus the good Anne Aſkew with theſe bleſſed Martyrs, being troubled ſo many maner of wayes, and hauyng paſſed through ſo many tormentes, hauyng now ended the long courſe of her agonies, beyng compaſſed in with flames of fire, as a bleſſed ſacrifice vnto God, ſhe ſlept in the Lord. an. 1546. leauyng behynde her a ſingular example of Chriſten conſtancy for all men to follow.

¶ Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.

The Martyrdome of Anne Aſkew Io. Lacelles, Io Adams, Nich. Belenian.

THere was at the ſame tyme alſo burnt together with her, one Nicholas Beleman prieſt of Shropſhyre, I. Adams a Taylor, and Iohn Lacels Gentleman of the Courte and houſhold of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Aſkew. For albeit that of thēſelues they were ſtrōg and ſtout men, yet thorough the example and exhortation of her, they beyng the more boldened, receiued occaſion of greater comfort in that ſo painfull and doleful kind of death: who beholdyng her inuincible conſtancie, and alſo ſtirred vp thorough her perſwaſions, did ſet apart all kynde of feare.

Thus they confirming one another with mutuall exhortations, taried lookyng for the tormentor and fire, which at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed bodies in happy martirdome, in the yeare of our ſaluation. 1546. about the month of Iune.

There is alſo a certayne letter extant, which the ſaid I. Lacels briefly wrote beyng in priſon, touchyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud: wherein he doth both confute the errour of them, which not being contented with the ſpirituall receiuyng of the ſacrament, will leaue no ſubſtāce of bread therin, and alſo confuteth the ſiniſter interpretation of many therupon. The tenor of which letter is as here vnder followeth.

¶ The copy of the letter of Iohn Lacels written out of priſon.

The letter of M. Iohn Lacelles, written out of priſon.

SAint Paule becauſe of ſectes & diſſenſion among the Corinthians, wrote his epiſtle vnto thē: and in lyke caſe pertaynyng to my conſcience, I do proteſt my whole hart in the bleſſed ſupper of the Lord, wherin I truſt in God to bryng nothyng for me, but I ſhall be able with Gods holy worde to declare and manifeſt the ſame. And herein I take occaſion to recite the ſaying of S. Paule in the ſayd Epiſtle the xi. chapter. That which I deliuered vnto you, I receiued of the Lord. For the Lord Ieſus, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, tooke bread, gaue thanks and brake it, & ſayd, take ye, eate ye, this is my body, which is broken for you.

1.Cor.11.

Here me ſeemeth S. Paule durſt not take vpon hym hys Lord and maiſters authoritie. Wherfore, as at Gods hand the breaking of the moſt innocent and immaculate body and bloud of Chriſt, is the quietnes of all mens conſciences, the onely remedye of our ſinnes, and the redemptiō of mankynde which is called in the ſcripture the daily offring: ſo the Maſſe which is the inuention of man (whoſe author is the Pope of Rome, as it doth appeare in Polydore Virgill & many others) is the vnquietnes of all Chriſtendome, a blaſphemy vnto Chriſtes bloud, and (as Daniell calleth it) the abominable deſolation, as the ſcripture ſhall hereafter more manifeſt it. S. Paule was belyke, to learne of the Romaines Church, the maner of the conſecration (as they call it) with the breathing ouer the hoſte and other ceremonies beſides, that he durſt not take vpon hym, to ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum. But this I wil admit: it was the Lord Ieſus that made the ſupper, which alſo did finiſhe it, and made an end of the onely acte of our ſaluatiō, not onely here in this world, but with his father in heauē, as he declareth hymſelfe: that he will drinke no more of this bitter cup, tyll he drinke it new in his fathers kyngdome, where all bitternes ſhalbe taken away.

The blaſphemy & wickednes of the Maſſe.

A propheſie.

S.Paule dyd not take vpon him in the perſon of Chriſt, to ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum, as our prieſtes doe.

Now if any man be able to finiſhe the acte of our Sauiour, in breaking of his body and ſheddyng of hys bloude here, and alſo to finiſhe it with the father in heauen, then let hym ſay it. But I thinke that if men will looke vpō Saint Paules wordes well, they ſhalbe forced to ſay, as S. Paul ſaith: the Lord Ieſus ſayd it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For theſe wordes: Hoc eſt corpus meum, were ſpoken of hys naturall preſence (which no man is able to denye) becauſe the acte was finiſhed on the croſſe as the ſtorye doth playnely manifeſt it to them that haue eyes. Now thys bloudy ſacrifice is made an end of, the ſupper is finiſhed, foraſmuch as Chriſt hath once ſuffered for ſinnes, the iuſt for the vniuſt, to bryng vs to God, and was killed as pertayning to the fleſhe: and hath entred in by his owne blood once for all, into the holy place, and founde eternall redemption.

None but Chriſt can ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum: And he ſayd it once for all.

1.Pet.3.

Heb.9.

Here now foloweth the adminiſtration of the ſupper of the Lord whiche I will take at Chriſtes handes after the reſurrection, although other men will not bee aſhamed to bryng the wicked Councels of fooliſh inuentions for them. And it came to paſſe as Chriſt ſat at meate with them, he tooke bread, bleſſed and brake it, and gaue it to them, and their eyes were opened and knew him, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight. And the Apoſtles did know hym in breaking of bread.

Luke.24.

Here alſo it ſeemeth to me the Apoſtles to folow their Maiſter Chriſt, and to take the right vſe of the ſacrament, and alſo to teach it to thoſe that were conuerted to Chriſt, as mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles: where as is ſaid: They cōtinued in the Apoſtles doctrine & felowſhip in breaking of bread & praier, and they cōtinued dayly with one accord in the temple, & brake bread in euery houſe, and did eate there with gladnes and ſinglenes of hart, prayſing God, & had fauour with all the people. And S. Paule followyng the ſame doctrine, doth playnely ſhew the dutie of the Miniſter, and alſo of them that ſhal receiue it: As oft as you ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords death vntill he come. Here I do gather that ỹ Miniſter hath no farther power and authoritie, then to preach and pronounce the Lordes death, or els to ſay the Lord Ieſus ſayd it, which did fulfill it on the croſſe.

The right vſe of the ſupper in the Apoſtles tyme.

Actes.2.

1.Cor.11.

How farre the power of the miniſter extendeth in conſecrating the ſupper.

Furthermore I do ſtedfaſtly beleue, that where ỹ bread is broken according to the ordinaunce of Chriſt, the bleſſed and immaculate Lambe is preſent to the eyes of our fayth, & ſo we eate his fleſh, & drinke his bloud, which is to dwell in God, & God with vs. And in this we are ſure we dwell in God, in that he geueth vs his holy ſpirit, euen as the forefathers that were before Chriſtes cōming, did preſently ſee ỹ Lordes death, and did eate his body and drinke his bloud.

How the fleſhe of Chriſt is eate in the ſupper.

In this do I differ from the Popes Church, that the Prieſtes haue authoritie to make Chriſtes naturall preſence in the bread, for ſo doth he more then our Lord & Sauiour did: As the example is manifeſt in Iudas, which at Chriſtes handes receiued the ſame wyne and bread, as the other Apoſtles did. But the Pope and his adherentes, are euen they whom Daniell ſpeaketh of, ſaying: He ſhall ſet men to vnhalow the ſanctuary, and to put downe the dayly offering, and to ſet vp the abominable deſolation. Yea, he (of Rome) ſhall ſpeake maruaylous thynges againſt the God of heauen, and God of all Gods, wherin he ſhall pro-

Popiſhe prieſtes take vpon them to doe more then euer Chriſt did.

Dan.11.

ſper ſo long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the concluſion is deuiſed already. He ſhal not regard the God of heauen, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place ſhall he worſhip the mighty Idoll, and the God whō his fathers knew not, which is the God Maozim.

Maozim ſignifieth in Hebrew, as much as the god of diuers tēples.

For lacke of tyme, I leaue the commemoration of the bleſſed ſupper of the lord, and the abhominable idol the maſſe, which is it that Daniell meaneth by the God Maozim. Read the ſecond and laſt chap. of Daniel, the ij. to the Theſ. the 2. Epiſtle: where as they recite the abhomination of deſolation, which Mathew ſayeth, ſtandeth in the holy place, which is the conſciences of men. Marke ſayeth, where it ought not to ſtand, which is a playne deniall of all the inuentions of men. Further Luke ſayeth, the tyme is at hande. Paule ſayth, the myſtery of iniquitie worketh already, yea, and ſhall continue till the appearaunce of Chriſt, which in my iudgement is at hand.

The god Maozim in Daniel, alludeth much neare to Mazon, which ſignifieth bread. Math. 24. Mark. 13. Luke. 21. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Now for the ſupper of the Lord, I do proteſt to take it as reuerently as Chriſt left it, and as his Apoſtles did vſe it, accordyng to the teſtimonies of the Prophetes, the Apoſtles and our bleſſed ſauiour Chriſt, which accordingly S. Paul to the Epheſians doth recite.

The faythfull & reuerend confeſſion of Lacelles, touching the Lordes ſupper.

Now with quietnes I commit the whole world to their paſtor and heardman Ieſus Chriſt the onely Sauiour and true Meſſias, and I commend my ſoueraigne lord and maiſter the kings maieſty kyng Henry the 8. to God the father and to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: The Queene and my Lord the Prince, with this whole Realme, euer to the innocent & immaculate lambe, that hys bloud may waſhe and purifie their hartes and ſoules from all iniquitie and ſinne, to gods glory, and to the ſaluation of theyr ſoules. I doe proteſt that the inward part of my hart doth grone for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is aboue: yea and there to be with God for euer. Farewell in Chriſt Ieſu.

John Lacels ſeruaunt late to the king,
and now I truſt to ſerue the euerlaſting king, with the teſtimony of my
bloud in Smithfield.

Rogers Martyr, burned in Northfolke.

One Rogers in Norfolke, Martyr.

LIke as Wincheſter and other Biſhops did ſet on kyng Henry againſt Anne Aſkew and her fellowmartirs, ſo D. Repſe B. of Norwich did incite no leſſe the old Duke of Northfolke agaynſt one Rogers in the countrey of Northfolke: who much about the ſame yere and tyme, was there condemned and ſuffred Martyrdome for the vj. articles. After which tyme it was not long, but within halfe a yeare, both the kyng hymſelfe, and the dukes houſe decayed: albeit the dukes houſe by Gods grace recouered agayn afterward, and he hymſelfe conuerted to a more moderation in this kind of dealyng.

The martyrdome of Rogers.

¶ The ſtory of Queene Katherine Parre late Queene, and wife to king Henry 8. Wherin appeareth in what daunger ſhe was for the Goſpell, by the meanes of Steuen Gardiner and other of hys conſpiracie: and how graciouſly ſhe was preſerued by her kind & louing huſband the king.

An. 1546

AFter theſe ſtormy ſtories aboue recited, the courſe & order, as well of the tyme, as the matter of ſtory doth require now ſomewhat to intreate likewyſe touchyng yͤ troubles and afflictions of the vertuous & excellent lady Queene Katherine Parre, the laſt wyfe to kyng Henry. The ſtory wherof is this.

Queene Katherin Parre.

About the ſame tyme aboue noted, which was about the yeare after the kyng returned from Bulleine, he was informed that Queene Katherine Parre, at that tyme his wife, was very much geuen to the readyng and ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures: and that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained diuers well learned and godly perſons, to inſtruct her thoroughly in the ſame, with whom as at all tymes conuenient ſhe vſed to haue priuate conference touchyng ſpirituall matters: ſo alſo of ordinarie, but eſpecially in Lent, euery day in yͤ after noone for the ſpace of one houre, one of her ſayd Chaplaines in her priuy chamber made ſome collation to her and to her Ladies and gentlewomen of her priuy chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to heare: in which ſermons, they oft tymes touched ſuch abuſes as in the church thē were riſe. Which things as they were not ſecretly don, ſo neither were their preachings vnknown vnto the kyng. Wherof at the firſt, & for a great tyme, he ſeemed very well to lyke. Which made her the more bold (beyng in dede become very zelous toward the Goſpell, and the profeſſors therof) frankly to debate with the kyng, touching religion, and therin flatly to diſcouer her ſelfe: ofte tymes wiſhyng, exhortyng, and perſwadyng the kyng, that as he had to the glory of God and hys eternall fame, begon a good and a godly worke in baniſhyng that monſtrous Idoll of Rome, ſo he would thoroughly perfite and finiſh the ſame, cleanſing and purgyng hys Church of Englande, cleane from the dregges therof, wherin as yet remayned great ſuperſtition.

The religious zeale of Queene Katherine toward gods word.

The exhortation of Queene Katherine to the kinge.

And albeit the kyng grewe towardes his latter ende, very ſterne and opinionate, ſo that of fewe hee coulde bee content to be taught, but worſt of all to be contended with all by argument: notwithſtandyng towardes her hee refrayned hys accuſtomed maner (vnto others in like caſe vſed) as appeared by great reſpectes, eyther for the reuerence of the cauſe, wherunto of him ſelfe he ſemed well inclined, if ſome others coulde haue ceaſed from ſekyng to peruert him, or els for yͤ ſingular affection which vntill a very ſmall tyme before his death, he alwaies bare vnto her. For neuer handmaid ſought with more carefull diligence to pleaſe her miſtres, then ſhee dyd with all paynfull endeuour apply her ſelfe by all vertuous meanes, in all thinges to pleaſe his humour.

The king toward his latter ende waxed more impacient.

The vertuous inclinatiō of queene Katherin toward the kyng.

Moreouer, beſides the vertues of the mynde, ſhe was endued with very rare giftes of nature, as ſingular beautye, fauour, and comely perſonage, beyng thynges wherein the kyng was greatly delighted: and ſo enioyed ſhe the kinges fauour, to the great lykelyhode of the ſettyng at large of the Goſpell within this Realme at that tyme, had not the malicious practiſe of certayne enemies profeſſed agaynſt the truth (whiche at that tyme alſo were very great) preuented the ſame, to the vtter alienatyng of the kynges mynde from Religion, &, almoſt to the extreme ruine of yͤ Queene and certayne others with her, if God had not meruelouſly ſuccoured her in that diſtreſſe. The conſpireres and practiſers of her death, were Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, Wriſley then Lorde Chauncellour, and others more aſwell of the kynges priuie chamber, as of his priuie Councell. Theſe ſe kyng (for the furtheraunce of their vngodlye purpoſe) to reuiue, ſtyrre vp and kindle euill and pernicious humours in their Prince & ſoueraigne Lord, to the intent to depriue her of this here great fauour, which then ſhe ſtoode in with the kynge, (whiche they not a litle feared woulde turne to the vtter ruine, of their Antichriſtian ſecte, if it ſhould continue) and therby to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Goſpell: and conſequentlye, hauyng taken away her, who was the onely Patroneſſe of the profeſſours of the truth, openlye without feare of checke or controlemene, with fire and ſworde, after their accuſtomed maner, to inuade the ſmall remainder (as they hoped) of that poore flocke, made their wicked entrye vnto this their miſchieuous enterpriſe, after this manner following.

Enemies & conſpirers agaynſt the Goſpell.

Queene Katherine a patroneſſe of Gods truth.

The Kinges Maieſtie (as you haue heard) myſlyked to be contended with all in any kynde of argument. This humour of his, although not in ſmaller matters, yet in cauſes of Religion as occaſion ſerued, the Queene woulde not ſticke in reuerent termes and humble talke, entryng with hym into diſcourſe with ſounde reaſons of Scrpture, now and then to contrary. The whiche the kynge was ſo well accuſtomed vnto in thoſe matters, that at her handes hee tooke all in good part, or at the leaſt did neuer ſhew countenance of offence therat: which did not a little appall her aduerſaries, to heare and ſee. During which tyme, perceiuyng her ſo thoroughly grounded in the kinges fauour, they durſt not for their liues once open their lips vnto the kyng in any reſpect to touch her, eyther in her preſence, or behynde her backe: And ſo long ſhe continued this her accuſtomed vſage, not only of hearyng priuate ſermons (as is ſayd) but alſo of her free conference with the kyng in matters of religion, without all perill, vntill at the laſt by reaſon of his ſore leg (the anguiſh wherof began more and more to encreaſe) he waxed ſickly, and therwithall, froward, and difficult to be pleaſed.

The queene ſometyme contrary to the kyng in argument.

The kyng waxeth ſickly & difficulte to pleaſe.

In the tyme of this his ſicknes, he had left hys accuſtomed maner of comming and viſiting the Queene, & therfore ſhe, accordyng as ſhe vnderſtood hym by ſuche aſſured intelligence as ſhe had about hym, to be diſpoſed to haue her company, ſometymes beyng ſent for, other ſometymes of her ſelfe would come to viſite hym, either at after dinner, or after ſupper, as was moſt fit for her purpoſe. At which tymes ſhe would not fayle to vſe all occaſions to moue him, accordyng to her maner, zealouſly to procede in the reformation of the Church. The ſharpenes of the diſeaſe had ſharpned the Kinges accuſtomed pacience, ſo that he beganne to ſhew ſome tokens of miſlikyng: and contrary vnto his maner, vpon a day, breakyng of that matter, he tooke occaſion to enter into other talke, which ſomwhat amazed yͤ queene. To whom notwithſtandyng in her preſence, he gaue neyther euill worde nor countenaunce, but knitte vp all argumentes with gentle wordes and louyng countenaunce: and

The king beginneth to miſlyke of the Queene.

after

and after other pleaſaunt talke, ſhe for that tyme tooke her leaue of hys maieſty, who after his maner, biddyng her farewell ſweete harte (for that was hys vſuall terme to the Queene) licenced her to depart.

The Biſh. of Wincheſter taketh his occaſion to worke hys miſchiefe.

At this viſitation chaunced the Biſhop of Wincheſter aforenamed to be preſent, as alſo at the Queenes takyng her leaue (who very well had marked in his memory the kynges ſodayne interruptyng of the Queene in her tale, and fallyng into other matter) and thought that if the iron wer beaten whyleſt it was hote, and that the kynges humour were holpen, ſuch miſlikyng myght follow towardes the Queene, as might both ouerthrow her and all her endeuors: and only awayted ſome occaſion to renew vnto the kynges memory, the former miſliked argument. His expectation in that behalfe dyd nothing faile hym. For the king at that time ſhewed hym ſelfe no leſſe prompt and redy to receyue any information, then the biſhop was maliciouſly bent to ſtirre vp the kings indignation againſt her. The king immediately vpon her departure from hym, vſed theſe or lyke wordes: A good hearyng (quoth he) it is when women become ſuch Clerkes, and a thyng much to my comfort, to come in mine old dayes to be taught by my wyfe.

The Biſh. of Wincheſters poyſoned wordes to the kyng.

The Byſhop hearyng this, ſeemed to miſlyke that the Queene ſhould ſo much forget her ſelfe, as to take vpõ her to ſtand in any argument with his maieſtie, whom hee to his face extold for, his rare vertues, and eſpecially for hys learned iudgement in matters of Religion, aboue not onely Princes of that and other ages, but alſo aboue Doctours profeſſed in Diuinitie, and ſayde that it was an vnſemely thyng for any of his Maieſties ſubiects to reaſon and argue with him ſo malapertly, and greuous to hym for his part and other of his Maieſties Councellours and ſeruauntes, to heare the ſame: and that they all by prooſe knew hys wiſedome to be ſuch, that it was not nedefull for any to put him in mynd of any ſuch matters: inferryng moreouer how dangerous and perillous a matter it is and euer hath bene for a prince to ſuffer ſuch inſolent wordes at his ſubiects handes: who as they take boldneſſe to contrary their ſoueraigne in wordes, ſo want they no will but onely power and ſtrength to ouerthwart them in deedes.

Wincheſters accuſation agaynſt the Queene.

Beſides this, that the Religion by the Queene ſo ſtiffely mainteyned, did not onely diſallow and diſſolue the policie and politicke gouernement of Princes, but alſo taught the people that all thynges ought to be in common, ſo that what colour ſo euer they pretended, their opinions were in deede ſo odious, and for the Princes eſtate ſo perillous, that (ſauyng the reuerence they bare vnto her for his Maieſties ſake) they durſt be bold to affirme that the greateſt ſubiect in this land ſpeakyng thoſe wordes that ſhe did ſpeake, and defendyng thoſe argumentes that ſhe did defend, had with indifferent iuſtice, by law deſerued death.

Howbeit for his part he would not nor durſt not, without good warrant from his Maieſtie, ſpeake his knowledge in the Queenes caſe, although very apparaunt reaſons made for him, and ſuch as his dutyfull affection towardes his Maieſtie, and the zeale and preſeruation of his eſtate, would ſcarcely geue him leaue to conceale, though the vtteryng therof might through her, and her faction, be the vtter deſtruction of him, and of ſuch as in deede dyd chiefly tender the Princes ſafety, without his Maieſtie would take vpon him to be their Protector, and as it were, their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in reſpect of his owne ſafety he ought not to refuſe) he with others of his faythfull Counſellours, could within ſhort tyme diſcloſe ſuch treaſons, cloked with this cloke of hereſie, that his Maieſtie ſhould eaſily perceyue how perillous a matter it is to cheriſh a Serpent within hys owne boſome. Howbeit he would not for hys part willingly deale in the matter, both for reuerent reſpect aforeſayd, and alſo for feare leſt the faction was growẽ already to great, there with the princes ſafety to diſcouer the ſame. And therwithall with heauy countenãce & whiſperyng together with them of that ſect there preſent, he held hys peace.

Wincheſter abuſeth the king with his flattering.

Theſe and ſuch other kyndes of Wincheſters flattering phraſes, marueilouſly whetted the kyng both to anger and diſpleaſure towardes the Queene, and alſo to be ielous and miſtruſtfull of hys owne eſtate. For the aſſuraunce wherof, Princes vſe not to be ſcrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Wincheſter with hys flatteryng wordes, ſeekyng to frame the kynges diſpoſition after hys owne pleaſure, ſo farre crept in with the kyng at that tyme, and with doubtfull feares, he with other hys fellowes ſo filled the kynges miſtruſtfull mynde, that before they departed the place, the kyng, (to ſee belike what they would do) had geuen commaundement, with warrant to certayne of them made for ŷ purpoſe, to conſult together about the drawyng of certayne articles againſt the Queene, wherein her life might be touched: which the kyng by their perſwaſions pretended to be fully reſolued not to ſpare, hauing any regiſter or colour of lawe to countenaunce the matter. With this Commiſſion they departed for that tyme from the king, reſolued to put ther pernicious practiſe to as miſchieuous an execution.

How Wincheſter & his fellowes deuiſe agaynſt the Goſpellers.

During thys tyme of deliberation about this matter, they fayled not to vſe all kyndes of policies, and miſchieuous practiſes, aſwell to ſuborne accuſers, as otherwiſe to betray her, in ſeekyng to vnderſtand what bookes, by law forbidden, ſhee had in her cloſet. And the better to bryng their purpoſe to paſſe, becauſe they would not vpon the ſodeyne but by meanes deale with her, they thought it beſt, at the firſt, to begin with ſome of thoſe Ladies whom they knew to be great wyth her, and of her bloud. The chiefeſt wherof, as moſt of eſtimation and priuie to all her doynges, were theſe: the Lady Harbert, afterward Counteſſe of Pembroke and ſiſter to the Queene, and chiefe of her priuie chãber: the Lady Lane, beyng of her priuie chamber, and alſo her coſine germane: the Lady Tyrwitte of her priuie chãber, and for her vertuous diſpoſition, in very great fauour and credite with her.

Lady Harbert.

Lady Lane.

Lady Tyrwitte.

It was deuiſed that theſe three aboue named ſhoulde firſt of all haue bene accuſed and brought to aunſwere vnto the vi. Articles: and vpon their apprehenſion in the Court, their cloſet and coffers ſhould haue bene ſearched, ŷ ſomewhat might haue bene founde, whereby the Queene might be charged, which being found the Queene her ſelfe preſently ſhould haue bene taken, and likewiſe caryed by Barge by night vnto the Tower. This platforme thus deuiſed, but yet in the ende commyng to no effect, the kyng by thoſe aforeſayd, was forthwyth made priuie vnto the deuiſe, by Wyncheſter, and Wriſley, and his conſent therunto demaunded. Who, (belike to proue the Byſhops malice, how farre it would preſume) lyke a wyſe politike Prince, was contented (diſſemblingly) to geue hys conſent, and to allow of euery circumſtaunce (knowing notwithſtanding in the end what he would doe). And thus the day, the tyme, and the place of theſe apprehenſiõs aforeſayd was appointed: which deuiſe yet after was chaunged.

Wincheſters platforme.

The kyng at that tyme lay at White Hall, and vſed very ſeldome, beyng not well at eaſe, to ſtyrre out of his chãber or priuie gallery: and few of his Counſell, but by ſpeciall commaundement, reſorted vnto hym, theſe onely excepte: who by reaſon of this practiſe, vſed oftener then of ordinary to repayre vnto hym. Thys purpoſe ſo finely was handled, that it grew now within few dayes of the time appoynted for the execution of the matter, & the poore Queene knew not nor ſuſpected any thyng at all: and therefore vſed after her accuſtomed maner, when ſhee came to viſite the kyng, ſtill to deale with hym touching Religion, as before ſhee dyd.

The king al this while gaue her leaue to vtter her minde at the full, without contradiction: not vpon any euill minde or miſlykyng (ye muſt conceaue) to haue her ſpedy diſpatch, but rather cloſely diſſemblyng with them, to try out the vttermoſt of Wincheſters fetches. Thus after her accuſtomed conference wyth the kyng, when ſhee had taken her leaue of hym (the tyme and day of Wincheſters finall date approching faſt vpon) it chaunced that the kyng of himſelfe vpon a certayne nyght after her beyng wyth him, and her leaue taken of hym, in miſlykyng her Religion, brake the whole practiſe vnto one of hys Phiſicions, eyther Doctor Wendie, or els Owen, but rather Wendy as is ſuppoſed: pretendyng vnto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled wyth ſuch a Doctreſſe as ſhee was, and alſo declaring what trouble was in workyng agaynſt her by certayne of her enemyes, but yet charging hym withall vpon perill of his lyfe, not to vtter it to any creature liuing: and therupon declared vnto hym the parties aboue named, wyth all circumſtances, and when and what the finall reſolution of the matter ſhould be.

The Queene all this whyle compaſſed about with enemyes and perſecutours, perceiued nothing of all thys, nor what was workyng agaynſt her, and what trappes were layde for her by Wincheſter and hys fellowes: ſo cloſely the matter was conueyed. But ſee what the Lord God (who from hys eternall throne of wiſdome, ſeeth and diſpatcheth all the inuentions of Architophel, and comprehendeth the wyly begily themſelues) dyd for hys poore handmayden, in reſcuing her from the pyt of daunger, wherunto ſhe was redy to fall vnawares.

The wyles of this Architophel Wincheſter diſpatched.

The Articles drawen agaynſt the Queene how they came to her handes.

For as the Lord would, ſo came it to paſſe, that the bill of Articles drawen agaynſt the Queene, and ſubſcribed with the kings owne hand (although diſſemblingly ye muſt vnderſtand) falling from the boſome of one of the foreſayde Councellours, was founde and taken vp of ſome godly perſon, and brought immediatly vnto the Queene. Who readyng there the Articles compriſed agaynſt her, and perceiuing the kynges owne hand vnto the ſame, for the ſodaine

feare

The Queene in an agony.

feare thereof, fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewaylyng and takyng on in ſuch ſorte, as was lamentable to ſee: as certayne of her Ladies and gentlewomen beyng yet alyue, which were then preſent about her, can teſtifie.

D. Wendy the kinges Phiſition ſent to the Q.

The Kyng hearyng what perplexitie ſhe was in, almoſt to the perill and daunger of her lyfe, ſent hys Phiſitions vnto her. Who traueling about her, and ſeyng what extremitie ſhe was in, did what they could for her recouery. Then Wendy, who knew the caſe better then the other, and perceiuing by her wordes what the matter was, accordyng to that the kyng before had tolde hym: for the comfortyng of her heauy mynde, began to breake with her in ſecret maner, touchyng the ſayd Articles deuiſed agaynſt her, which he hymſelfe (he ſayd) knew right well to be true: although he ſtode in daunger of his lyfe, if euer he were knowen to vtter the ſame to any liuing creature. Neuertheles, partly for the ſafety of her lyfe, and partly for the diſcharge of hys owne conſcience, hauyng remorſe to conſent to the ſhedyng of innocent bloud, he could not but geue her warning of that miſchiefe that hāged ouer her head, beſechyng her moſt inſtantly to vſe all ſecretie in that behalfe, and exhorted her ſomewhat to frame and conforme her ſelfe vnto the kings mynde, ſaying he dyd not doubt, but if ſhe would ſo do, and ſhew her humble ſubmiſſion vnto hym, ſhe ſhould finde him gracious and fauourable vnto her.

The exhortation of D. Wendy to the Queene.

The kinges comming to the Q. to comfort her.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the daungerous ſtate wherin ſhe yet ſtill remayned: came vnto her himſelfe. Unto whome, after that ſhe had vttered her griefe, fearing leſt his maieſtie (ſhe ſayd) had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had vtterly forſaken her: he like a louing husband with ſwete and comfortable wordes ſo refreſhed & appeaſed her carefull mynd, that ſhe vpon the ſame beganne ſomewhat to recouer, and ſo the kyng after he had taried there about the ſpace of an houre, departed.

After this the Queene remembring with her ſelfe the wordes that M. Wendy had ſaid vnto her, deuiſed how by ſome good oportunitie ſhe might repayre to the kinges preſence. And ſo firſt commaundyng her ladies to conuey away their bookes, which were agaynſt the law, the next night followyng after ſupper, ſhe (wayted vpon only by the lady Harbert her ſiſter and the Lady Lane, who caried the candle before her) went vnto the kinges bed chamber, whome ſhe found ſittyng and talking with certaine Gentlemen of hys chamber. Whom when the kyng did behold, very curteouſly he welcomed her, and breaking of the talke, which before her commyng he had wyth the Gentlemen aforeſayde, began of himſelfe, contrary to his maner before accuſtomed to enter into talke of religion: ſeemyng as it were, deſirous to be reſolued by the Queene of certeine doubtes which he propounded.

The Queene perceiuyng to what purpoſe thys talke did tende, not being vnprouided in what ſort to behaue her ſelfe towardes the kyng, wyth ſuch aunſweres reſolued his queſtions as the tyme and oportunitie preſent did require, mildly and wyth a reuerent countenaunce aunſweryng agayne after this maner.

The Queenes politick ſubmiſſion to the king.

Your Maieſtie (quoth ſhee) doth right well know, neither I my ſelfe am ignoraunt, what great imperfection and weakenes by our firſt creation, is allotted vnto vs women, to be ordeyned and appointed as inferiour and ſubiect vnto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceede: and that, as God made man to his owne ſhape and lykenes, whereby he beyng indued wyth more ſpeciall giftes of perfection, myght rather be ſtyrred to the contemplation of heauenly thinges, and to the earneſt endeuour to obey hys commaundementes: euen ſo alſo made he woman of man, of whom and by whom ſhee is to be gouerned commaunded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakenes and naturall imperfection, ought to be tolerated, ayded and borne withall, ſo that by his wiſedome ſuch thynges as be lacking in her, ought to be ſupplyed.

Sithens therefore that God hath appoynted ſuch a naturall difference betwene man and woman, and your Maieſtie beyng ſo excellent in giftes and ornamentes of wiſedome, and I a ſeely poore woman ſo much inferiour in all reſpectes of nature vnto you: how then commeth it now to paſſe that your Maieſtie in ſuch diffuſe cauſes of Religion, will ſeeme to require my iudgement? which when I haue vttered and ſayd what I can, yet muſt I, & will I referre my iudgement in this and all other caſes to your Maieſties wiſedome, as my onely anker, ſupreme head and gouernor here in earth next vnder God, to leane vnto.

Not ſo by Saint Mary, quoth the kyng. You are become a Doctor, Kate, to inſtruct vs (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed, or directed by vs.

If your Maieſtie take it ſo (quoth the Queene) then hath your Maieſtie very much miſtaken me, who haue euer bene of the opinion, to thinke it very vnſeemely and prepoſterous for the woman to take vpon her the office of an inſtructer or teacher to her Lord and husband, but rather to learne of her husband, & to be taught by hym. And where I haue with your Maieſties leaue heretofore bene bolde to holde talke wyth your Maieſtie, wherein ſometimes in opinions there hath ſeemed ſome difference, I haue not done it ſo much to maintayne opinion, as I did it rather to miniſter talke, not onely to the end that your Maieſtie myght with leſſe griefe paſſe ouer this painefull time of your infirmitie, being intētiue to our talke, and hoping that your maieſtie ſhould reape ſome eaſe therby: but alſo that I hearing your maieſties learned diſcourſe, might receiue to my ſelfe ſome profite therof. Wherin I aſſure your maieſtie I haue not miſſed any part of my deſire in that behalfe, alwayes referring my ſelfe in all ſuch matters vnto your maieſtie, as by ordinaunce of nature it is conuenient for me to do.

Perfect agreement betweene the K. & the Q.

And is it euen ſo ſweete hart, quoth the kyng? And tended your argumentes to no worſe end? Then perfect frendes we are now agayne, as euer at any time heretofore: and as he ſatte in his chayre embracing her in his armes & kyſſing her, he added this ſaying: that it did him more good at that tyme to heare thoſe wordes of her owne mouth, then if he had heard preſent newes of an hundreth thouſand poundes in money fallen vnto him. And with great ſignes and tokens of marueilous ioy and liking, with promiſes and aſſurances, neuer agayne in any ſort more to miſtake her, entering into other very pleaſaunt diſcourſes with the Queene and the Lordes, & Gentlemen ſtanding by, in the end (being very far on the night) he gaue her leaue to depart. Whom in her abſence to the ſtanders by, he gaue as ſingular and as affectuous commendations, as before tyme to the Byſhop & the Chauncellor (who then were neither of them preſent) he ſeemed to miſlike of her.

The K. abhorred the malicious workinges of the bloudy Papiſtes.

Now then (God be thanked) the kinges mynde was cleane altered, and he deteſted in his hart (as afterwardes he plainely ſhewed) this tragicall practiſe of thoſe cruell Caiphaſes: who nothing vnderſtanding of the kinges well reformed mynde, and good diſpoſition towarde the Queene, were buſily occupied about thinking and prouiding for their next dayes labour, which was the day determined to haue caried the Queene to the Tower.

This purpoſe being altered that the ladies ſhould be firſt taken it was then appoynted that they with the Q. ſhould altogether be apprehended in maner as is here declared

The K. reuyleth Wriſley L. Chauncelour.

The L. Chancelour commaunded to auaunte out of the K. ſight. Wriſleis deuiſes & Wincheſters platforme lye in the duſte.

The day and almoſt the houre appointed beyng come, the king being diſpoſed in the after noone to take the ayre (waited vpon with two Gentlemen onely of his bed chamber) went into the Garden, whether the Queene alſo came, being ſent for by the kyng hymſelfe, the three Ladies aboue named alone waiting vppon her. With whom the king at that time diſpoſed himſelfe to be as pleaſant as euer he was in all his life before: When ſodainly in the middeſt of theyr myrth, the houre determined being come, in commeth the Lord Chauncellour into the Garden, wyth a fourtye of the kynges garde at his heeles, with purpoſe in deede to haue taken the Queene together with the three Ladies aforeſayd, whom they had before purpoſed to apprehend alone, euen then vnto the Tower. Whom the king ſternely beholdyng, breaking of his myrth with the Queene, ſtepping a litle aſide, called the Chauncellour vnto hym. Who vppon hys knees ſpake certeine wordes vnto the kyng, but what they were (for that they were ſoftly ſpoken, and the king a good pretye diſtance from the Queene) it is not well knowne: but it is moſt certayne that the kinges replying vnto hym was, knaue, for his aunſwere: yea arrant knaue, beaſt, and foole, and with that the kyng commaunded him preſently to auaunt out of his preſence. Which wordes although they were vttered ſomewhat low, yet were they ſo vehemently whiſpered out by the king, that the Queene did eaſely with her Ladyes aforeſayd ouer heare them: which had bene not a litle to her comfort, if ſhe had knowen at that time ỹ whole cauſe of his cōming ſo perfectly, as after ſhe knew it. Thus departed the L. Chauncellor out of the kinges preſence as he came, with all his trayne, the whole mould of all his deuiſe being vtterly broken.

The Q. maketh excuſe for her enemy.

The King after his departure immediatly returned to ỹ Queene. Whom ſhe perceiuing to be very much chafed (albeit comming towardes her he inforced himſelfe to put on a mery countenaunce) with as ſweete wordes as ſhee could vtter, endeuoured to qualifie the kinges diſpleaſure with requeſt vnto his maieſtye in the behalfe of the L. Chauncellor, whom hee ſeemed to be offended withall: ſaying for his excuſe, that albeit ſhe knew not what iuſt cauſe his maieſty had at that time to be offended with him, yet ſhe thought ỹ ignorance not will, was the cauſe of his errour, and ſo beſought his Maieſtie (if the cauſe were not very haynous,) at her humble ſuite to take it.

Ah poore ſoule (quoth hee) thou litle knoweſt how euill

The queene by Gods merueilous bleſſing deliuered of all her aduerſitie.

her deſerueth this grace at thy handes. Of my word (ſwete harte) he hath bene towardes thee, an arrant knaue, and ſo let hym goe. To this the Queene in charitable maner replying in few wordes, ended that talke: hauyng alſo by Gods onely bleſſyng happelye for that tyme and euer, eſcaped the daungerous ſnares of her bloudy and cruell enemies for the Goſpels ſake.

The peſtiferous purpoſe of this Biſhop, and of ſuch lyke bloudy aduerſaries practiſing thus agaynſt the queene, and proceedyngs of gods goſpell (as ye haue heard) putteth me in remẽbrance of ſuch an other lyke ſtory of hys wicked working in lyke maner, a litle before: but much more pernicious and peſtilent to the publicke churche of Jeſus Chriſt, then this was daungerous to the priuate eſtate of the Queene. Whiche ſtorye likewiſe I thought heare as in conuenient place, to be adioyned and notified to be knowen to all poſteritie, accordyng as I haue it faythfully recorded and ſtoryed by him, which heard it of the Archbyſhop Crãmers own mouth declared, in order and forme as foloweth.

❡A diſcourſe touching a certaine pollicie vſed by Steuen Gardiner byſhop of Wincheſter, in ſtaying Kyng Henry the viii. from redreſſyng of certayne abuſes of ceremonies in the Churche, beyng Ambaſſadour beyonde the ſeas.

Alſo the communication of Kynge Henry the viii. hadde with the Ambaſſadour of Fraunce at Hampton Court concernyng the reformation of religion, as well in Fraunce, as in England. an. 1546. Menſ. Auguſt.

Ste. Gardiner Ambaſſadour.

Wincheſter a great hinderer of the courſe of the Goſpell.

IT chaunced in the tyme of Kyng Henry the eyght, when his highnes dyd laſtly (not many yeares before his death) conclude a league betwene the Emperour, yͤ French kyng and hym ſelfe, that the byſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner by name, was ſent in Ambaſſage beyonde the Seas, for that purpoſe. In whoſe abſence the archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, attendyng vppon the kynges court, ſought occaſion ſomewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religiõ, not yet fully reſtored vnto a perfectiõ. For lyke as the ſayd Archbyſhop was alwayes diligent & forward to preferre and aduaunce the ſincere doctrine of the Goſpell: ſo was that other Byſhop a contrary inſtrument, continually ſpurnyng agaynſt the ſame, in what ſoeuer coaſt of the worlde he remayned. For euen now he beyng beyonde the Seas in the temporall affayers of yͤ realme forgat not but found the meanes, as a moſt vigilant Champion of the Byſhop of Rome, to ſtop and hinder, aſwell the good diligence of the ſayd Archbyſhop, as the godly diſpoſition of the kynges Maieſtye in that behalfe, whiche thus chaunced.

The kinges conference with D. Cranmer about reformatiõ of the Church. Rood loftes. Ringing on Alhallow night.

Letters of reformation to be ſent by the kyng.

Whileſt the ſayd byſhop of Wincheſter was now remaynyng beyond the Seas, about the affaires aforeſaid, yͤ kings Maieſtie and the ſaid Archbyſhop, hauyng conference together for reformation of ſome ſuperſtitious enormities in the Church: amongeſt other thinges, the king determined forthwith to pull downe the Roodes in euery churche, & to ſuppreſſe yͤ accuſtomed ringing on Alhalow night, with a few ſuch lyke vayne ceremonies: And therfore, when the ſayde Archb. takyng his leaue of the kyng, to go into Kent hys dioces, his highnes willed hym to remember that he ſhoulde cauſe ij. letters to be deuiſed: for me (quoth the kyng) to bee ſigned, the one to be directed vnto you my Lorde, and the other vnto the Archbyſhop of Yorke, wherein I will commaunde you both to ſend forth your precepts vnto all other Byſhops within your Prouinces, to ſee thoſe enormities and Ceremonies reformed vndelaydly that wee haue communed of.

The kinges minde altred by Winc.

Reformatiõ of Religion ſtopped by Ste. Gardiner.

So vpon this, the kinges pleaſure knowen, when the Archbiſhop of Canterburye was then come into Kent, he cauſed his Secretarye to conceiue and write theſe Letters accordyng to the kinges minde, and being made in a redynes, ſent them to the Court to Sir Anthony Deny, for him to get them ſigned by the kinge when Maiſter Deny had moued the king therunto: the kinge made aunſwere: I am now other wayes reſolued, for you ſhall ſend my Lord of Canterbury worde, that ſithence I ſpake with him about theſe matters, I haue receyued letters from my Lord of Wyncheſter, now being on the other ſide of the Sea, about the concluſion of a league betwene vs, the Emperour and the french king, and he wryteth playnly vnto vs, that the league will not proſper nor go forward, if wee make any other innouation, chaunge or alteration, either in Religion or ceremonies, than hearetofore hath bene already commenſed and done. Wherefore my Lorde of Canterburye muſt take patience herein, and forbeare vntyll we may eſpye a more apt and conuenient tyme for that purpoſe.

This Ambaſſadour was Admirall of Fraunce, whoſe name was Monſieur de Annebault, he came to Hampton Court the 20 day of Aug. an. 1546.

The matter of reformation agayne reuiued a litle before the kynges death.

The kings banket for the Frẽch Ambaſſadour.

Which matter of reformation began to be reuiued againe, at what tyme the great Ambaſſadour from the Frẽch king came to the kynges Maieſtie at Hampton Court not long before his death. Where then no Gentleman was permitted to waite vpon hys Lord and maiſter, without a veluet coat and a chayne of golde. And for that entertainement of the Ambaſſadour, were builded in the parke there three very notable great and ſumptuous bancketing houſes. At the which it was purpoſed, that the ſayd Ambaſſadour ſhould haue bene iij. ſundry nightes very richly bãketed. But as it chaunced, the French kynges great affaires were then ſodenly ſuch, that this Ambaſſadour was ſent for home in poſt haſt, before he had receiued halfe the noble entertainement that was prepared for hym, ſo that he had but the fruition of the firſt bankeryng houſe.

Secrete communicatiõ betwene the king the French Ambaſſadour, and the Archb. of Cant.

The teſtimonie and credite of the ſtorye.

Now what princelyke order was there vſed in the furniture of that bãket, as well in placing of the noble eſtates, namely the kynges Maieſtie and the French Ambaſſadour with the noble men both of England and Fraunce on the one part, and of the Queenes highnes and the Ladye Anne of Cleaue wyth other noble women & Ladyes of the other part, as alſo touching the great and ſumptuous preparatiõ of both coſtly and fine diſhes there out of number ſpent, it is not our purpoſe here preſently to entreate thereof, but onely to conſider the note of the conference and communication had the firſt night after the ſayd banket was finiſhed, betwene the kynges Maieſtie, the ſayd Ambaſſadour, and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury (the kynges highnes ſtanding openly in the banckettyng houſe in the open face of all the people, and leaninge one arme vpon the ſhoulder of the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and the other arme vpon the ſhoulder of the Ambaſſadour) touching the eſtabliſhing of godly religiõ betwene thoſe ij. princes in both their realmes: As by the report of the ſayd Archbiſhop vnto his Secretarie vpon occaſion of his ſeruice to be done in K. Edwardes viſitation, then being regiſter in the ſame viſitation, relation was made on that behalfe in this ſort.

The name of this Regiſter was M. Morice ſecretary ſometymes to the Archb. Thomas Cranmer.

When the ſayd viſitation was put in a readynes, before the Commiſſioners ſhould procede in their voyge, the ſaid Archbyſhop ſent for the ſayd Regiſter hys man vnto Hãpton Court, and willed hym in any wiſe to make notes of certayne thynges in the ſayd viſitatiõ: whereof he gaue vnto hym inſtruction, hauing then further talke wyth him touchyng the good effect and ſucceſſe of the ſayd viſitation. Upon which occaſion the Regiſter ſayd vnto his Maiſter the Archbyſhop: I do remember that you not long agoe, cauſed me to conceiue and write letters, which kyng Henry the 8. ſhould haue ſigned and directed vnto your grace, & the Archbyſhop of Yorke, for the reformation of certayne enormities in the Churches, as taking downe of yͤ Roodes, & forbidding of ryngyng on Alhallow night, & ſuch lyke vaine ceremonies. Which letters your grace ſent to the Court to be ſigned by the kynges Maieſtie, but as yet I thinke that there was neuer any thing done therein.

Marke the miſchieuous fetches of this olde Fox Wincheſter.

Why, quoth the Archbyſhop agayne, neuer heard you how thoſe letters were ſuppreſſed and ſtopped? Wherunto the Archbyſhops ſeruaunt aunſwering agayne: as it was (ſayd he) my dutie to write thoſe letters: ſo was it not my part to be inquiſitiue what became therupon. Mary, quoth the Archbyſhop, my Lord of Wincheſter then being beyond the Seas about a concluſion of a league betwene the Emperour, the French kyng, and the kyng our maiſter, and fearing that ſome reformatiõ ſhould here paſſe in the realme touchyng Religion in hys abſence agaynſt hys appetite, wrote to the kynges Maieſtie, bearing hym in hand, that the league then towardes, woulde not proſper nor go forwardes on his Maieſties behalfe, if he made any other innouation or alteration in Religion or ceremonies in the Church, then was already done: which his aduertiſement herein cauſed the kyng to ſtay the ſigning of thoſe letters, as Syr Anthony Deny wrote to me by the kynges commaundement.

Then ſayd his ſeruaunt agayne vnto hym: Foraſmuch as the kynges good intent tooke no place then, now your grace may go forward in thoſe matters, the opportunitie of the tyme much better ſeruing thereunto then in king Henryes dayes.

Not ſo, quoth the Archbyſhop. It was better to attempt ſuch reformations in king Henry the viij. his dayes, then at this tyme, the kyng beyng in his infancie. For if the kynges father had ſet forth any thyng for the reformation of abuſes, who was he that durſt agaynſay it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the chaunge or alteration of abuſes in the Church, and therfore the Counſaile hath forborne ſpecially to ſpeake thereof and of other thynges, which gladly they would haue reformed in this viſitation, referryng all thoſe & ſuch lyke matters, vnto the diſcretions of the Viſitours. But if king Henry the viij.

had liued vnto this day, with the Frẽch king, it had ben paſt my L. of Wincheſters power, to haue diſtured the kynges highnes as he dyd when he was about the ſame league.

I am ſure you were at Hamptõ Court, quoth the Archb. when the Fenche kynges Ambaſſadour was intertayned there at thoſe ſolemne banketyng houſes, not long before the kynges death: namely when after the banket was done the firſt night, the king leaning vpon the Ambaſſadour and vpon me, if I ſhould tell what communication between the kinges highnes and the ſayd Ambaſſador was had concerning the eſtabliſhing of ſincere Religion then, a man would hardly haue beleeued it. Nor I my ſelfe had thought the kings highnes had been ſo forward in thoſe matters as thẽ appeared. I may tell you it paſſed the pulling down of Roodes, and ſuppreſſing the ringing of Belles, I take it that few in England would haue beleued that the kinges Maieſtye and the French king had been at this poynte, not onely within halfe a yeare after to haue chaunged the Maſſe in both the Realmes into a Communion, as wee now vſe it, but alſo vtterly to haue extirped and banyſhed the Byſhop of Rome and his vſurped power out of both their Realmes and Dominions.

The purpoſe of K. Henry & of the French king a little before their deathes.

Yea they were ſo throughly and firmely reſolued in that behalfe, that they ment alſo to exhorte the Emperour to doe the like in Flaunders and other his Countreis and Seignories, or els to breake of from him. And herein the kinges highnes willed me (quoth the Archbiſhop) to penne a forme thereof to be ſent to the Frenche king to conſider of. But the deepe and moſt ſecret prouidence of almighty God, oweing to this Realme a ſharpe ſcourge for our iniquities, preuented (for a time) this their moſt godly deuiſe and intẽt, by taking to his mercy both theſe Princes.

¶A briefe narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Syr Gregory Blage falſely accuſed.

Syr George Blage ſent to Newgate & condemned.

The cauſe of hys condemnation.

HEre would alſo ſomthing be ſaid of Sir George Blage one of the kinges priuy chamber, who being falſely accuſed by Sir Hew Cauerley knight, and maſter Litletõ, was ſent for by Wriſley Lord Chauncelor the ſonday before An Aſkew ſuffered, and the next day was caryed to Newgate, and from thence to Guild Hall, where hee was condemned the ſame day, & appointed to be burned the Wenſday folowing. The wordes which his accuſers layde vnto him were theſe. What if a mouſe ſhould eate the bread? then by my conſent they ſhould hang vp the mouſe. Where as in deede theſe wordes he neuer ſpake as to his liues end he proteſted. But the truth as he ſayd, was this, that they craftely to vndermine him, walking with him in Paules church after a ſermon of D. Crome, aſked if he were at the Sermon, and hee ſayd yea, I heard ſay (ſayth M. Litletõ) that he ſayd in his ſermõ that the Maſſe profiteth neither for the quick nor for the dead, No ſayd M. Blage, wherfore then? belike for a gentleman when he rydeth a hunting to keep his horſe from ſtumbling. And ſo they departing immedyatly after he was apprehended (as is ſhewed) and condemned to be burned, when this was heard among them of the priuy Chamber, the king hearing them whiſpering together (which he could neuer abide) commaũded them to tell him the matter. Wherupon the matter being opened, and ſute made to the king, eſpecially by the good Earle of Bedford thẽ Lord priuy Seal, the king being ſore offended with their doings ỹ they would come ſo neare him, and euen into his priuy Chamber without his knowledge, ſent for Wriſley, commaunding him eftſoones to draw out his pardon himſelfe, and ſo was hee ſet at liberty. Who cõming after to the Kinges preſence: ah my pigge ſayth the king to him, (for ſo he was wõt to call him) yea ſayd he if your maieſtye had not been better to mee then your Byſhoppes were, your pigge had beene roſted ere this time.

The craftie vndermining of theſe falſe accuſers.

M. Blage pardoned by the kyng.

The kings pigge almoſt roſted.

An. 1546.

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage paſſe, wee will now reduce our ſtory agayne to Anne Aſkew and her felow Martirs, who the ſame weeke were burned, & could finde no pardon.

Then the catholick fathers when they had brought this chriſtian woman with the reſidue (as aboue hath beene declared) vnto their reſt, they being now in their ruffe and triumph, like as the Phariſies when they had brought Chriſt to his graue, deuiſed with thẽſelues how to keep him down ſtill, and to ouer tread truth for euer. Wherupon conſulting with certayne of the Counſell, they made out a ſtraight and hard proclamation, authoriſed by the kinges name, for the aboliſhing of the Scripture, and all ſuche Engliſhe bookes, which might geue any lighte to the ſettinge forthe of Gods true worde and grace of the Goſpel, the copye and tenour of of which Proclamation is this as followeth.

A Proclamation for the aboliſhing of Engliſh bookes, after the death of Anne Aſkew, ſet forth by the kyng. an. 1546. the 8. day of Iuly.

A proclamation for the aboliſhing of Engliſhe bookes.

May rather for the ignoraunce and lacke of Gods ſcripture, many haue taken occaſion of errour & hereſies intollerable.

The kynges moſt excellent Maieſtye vnderſtandyng how vnder pretẽce of expoundyng and declaryng the truth of Gods Scripture, diuers leude and euil diſpoſed perſõs haue taken occaſion to vtter and ſow abroade by bookes imprinted in the Engliſhe tongue, ſondry pernicious and deteſtable errours and hereſies, not onely contrary to the lawes of this realme, but alſo repugnant to the true ſenſe of Gods lawe and his worde, by reaſon wherof certayne men of late, to the deſtruction of their owne bodies and ſoules, and to the euill example of others, haue attempted arrogantly & maliciouſly to impugne the truth, and therwith trouble the ſober, quyet and godly Religion vnited and eſtabliſhed vnder the kynges Maieſtie, in this his realme: hys highnes minding to foreſee the daungers that might enſue of the ſayde bookes, is enforced to vſe his general prohibition commaundement and proclamation, as followeth.

The new teſtament of Tyndalles & of Couerdals tranſlation in Engliſhe forbidden.

Firſt, that from henceforth no man, woman or, perſon, of what eſtate condition, or degree, ſo euer he or they be, ſhall after the laſt daye of Auguſt next enſuyng, receaue, haue, take, or kepe in his or their poſſeſſion: the text of the newe Teſtament of Tyndals or Couerdals tranſlation in Engliſhe nor any other then is permitted by the Acte of Parliament made in the Seſſion of the Parlament holden at Weſtminſter in the xxxiiij. or. xxxv. yeare of hys Maieſties moſt noble reigne, nor after the ſayde daye, ſhall receiue, haue, take, or kepe in his or their poſſeſſion, any maner of bookes printed or written in the Engliſh tongue, which be or ſhall be ſet forth in the names of Frith: Tyndall, Wicklife, Ioy, Roy, Baſill, Bale, Barnes, Couerdall, Tourner, Tracy or by any of them, or any other booke or bookes, conteining matter contrary to the ſayd Acte made an. xxxiiij. or xxxv. but ſhal before the laſt day of Auguſt next comming, deliuer the ſame Engliſhe booke or bookes to his Maiſter in that houſholde, if he be a ſeruaunt or dwell vnder any other, and the maiſter or ruler of the houſe & ſuch other as dwell at large ſhall deliuer all ſuch bookes of the ſortes aforeſayd as they haue, or ſhall come to their handes, deliuered as afore or otherwiſe, to the Maior, Baliefe or chief Conſtable of the Towne where they dwell, to be by them deliuered ouer openly within forty dayes next folowyng after the ſayd deliuery, to the Shriffe of the ſhyre, or to the Byſhop Chaũcellour, Cõmiſſary of the ſame dioces, to the entent the ſaid Byſhop, Chauncellour, Commiſſary, and Shriffe, and euery of them ſhal cauſe them incontinently to be openly burned which thyng the kynges Maieſties pleaſure is, that euery of them ſhall ſee executed in moſt effectuall ſorte, and of their doyngs therof make certificate to the kynges Maieſties moſt honorable Councell, before the firſt of October next commyng

Engliſhe bookes in ſcripture reſtrayned.

Burning of ſcripture bookes.

A baite to bring in bookes.

And to the intent that no man ſhall miſtruſt any daunger of ſuch penall ſtatutes as be paſſed in this behalfe, for kepyng of the ſayd bookes, the kynges maieſtie is moſt graciouſlye contented by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the ſayd tyme appointed, by this proclamation for the deliuery of the ſayd bookes, and commaundeth that no Byſhop, Chauncellor, Commiſſary, Maior, Bailiffe, Shriffe, or Conſtable, ſhalbe curious to marke who bringeth foorth ſuch bokes, but onely order, and burne them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man after the laſt day of Auguſt next cõming, ſhall haue any of the ſaid bookes in his keping, or be proued, and conuinced by ſufficient witnes, before 4. of the kings moſt honourable counſail, to haue hidden them, or vſed them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of thẽ, wherby ſhould appeare that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the ſame ſhall not only ſuffer impriſonment and puniſhment of hys body at the kings maieſties will and pleaſure, but alſo ſhall make ſuch fine and raunſome to his highnes for the ſame, as by his maieſtie or foure of his graces ſaid counſaile ſhall be determined. &c.

The penaltie limited.

Finally, his maieſty ſtraightly chargeth and cõmaundeth that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degre, or conditiõ ſo euer he or they be, from the day of this proclamation preſume to bring any maner of Engliſh booke, concernyng any maner of Chriſten religion, printed in the parties of beyond the ſeas inro this realm, to ſel, geue or diſtribute any engliſh boke printed in outward parties, or the copy of any ſuche boke or any part therof to any perſon dwelling within this his graces realme, or any orher his maieſties dominions, vnleſſe the ſame ſhal be ſpecially licẽced ſo to do by his highnes expreſſe graunt to be obtained in writing for the ſame, vpon the paynes before limited, and therwithall to incurre his maieſties extreme indignation.

For

The vntrue dealing of the papiſtes, in gatheryng hereſies where none is.

For ſo much as it is and hath alwayes been the cōmon guiſe and practiſe of the Popes church to extinct, condemne and aboliſhe all good bookes and holeſome treatiſes of learned men, vnder a falſe pretence of errors and hereſies, wherof examples aboundantly may appeare in this hiſtory aboue pag. 507.509.573.629.859.991.991.1109.1163.&c.

Now for the better tryall hereof, to ſee and try the vnpudēt and ſhameles vanity of theſe Catholick Clergymen, in miſtaking, falſifying, deprauing, blaſphemyng & ſclaundering, where they haue no cauſe, agaynſt all right and honeſt dealing, yea agaynſt their owne knowledge, conſcience and manyfeſt verity of Gods worde. I ſhall therfore deſire the attentiue reader, before we paſſe any further to conſider and expend here 2. thynges by the way, Firſt what opinions and Articles theſe men gather out of their bookes for errours and hereſies. Secondly how wittinglye and willingly they wraſt, peruert, and miſconſtrue their ſayings and writings, in ſuch ſenſe as the wryters neuer ſpake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the worlde, after they haue burned their bookes.

Articles of Wicliffe and others falſified by the Papiſtes.

So did they before with John Wickliffe, John Hus, & Hierome, So did they with M. Luther, Tindall, Frithe, Lambert, Barnes, Joy, Roy, Seton, and briefly yet do ſtil with all the proteſtantes, either peruerting their ſayinges, otherwiſe then they meant, or noting for hereſies ſuch as are manifeſt principles and groundes of our Religion: Or els falſly belying them, or vntruely miſtakinge them, eyther in mangling the places, or adding to their wordes, as may ſerue for their moſt aduantage, to bring them out of credite wyth Princes and all the people.

For the more euydent probation and experience wherof thou ſhalt ſee here (Chriſten Reader) as in a table layd before thine eyes: the booke or catalogue of ſuch errours, blaſphemyes and hereſies, which the Catholicke Papiſtes in their own regiſters haue extracted out of their bookes whō in this and other proclamations they haue condemned. Wherunto moreouer, we haue annexed the very places alſo of the Authors, out of which euery Article is gathered, kepinge the ſame ſignature of verſe and page, which they in theire Regiſters doe ſend vs vnto. So that with a litle dilygence, thou mayeſt now (louing reader) eaſily perceiue, conferring the Articles and places together, what truth and fidelitie theſe bloudy Catholickes haue vſed towarde the children of God: firſt in burning vp their bodyes, then in conſuming and aboliſhing their bookes, and afterward drawing out Articles, ſuch as they liſt thēſelues out of their workes to make the people beleue what damnable hereticke they were, as by theſe articles here vnder enſuing collected & cōteined in their own regiſters may wel appeare. In al which Articles, there is not one (ſpeaking of theſe writers which here they haue condemned) but either it is a perfect truthe and a principle of Chriſten doctrine, or els it is falſly gathered or peruerſely recyted, or craftely handled and maliciouſly mangled, hauing either ſomething cut from it, or ſome more added, or els racked out of his righte place, or wraſted to a wrong meaning, which the place geueth not, or els which ſome other place folowing doth better expound and declare. This falſe and malicious dealing hath alwayes been a common practiſe amongeſt Gods enemyes from the beginning to falſifie, wraſt, and depraue all thinges what ſoeuer maketh not to their faction and affection, be it neuer ſo true & iuſt. So began they with Steuen the firſt Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo haue they continued ſtill, and yet doe to this preſent day.

The wordes of S. Steuen falſely depraued. Act.6.7.

Long it were to recite but more greeuous to behold what ſpite and falſehoode was vſed in the articles of the Albingenſes, Waldenſes, Wickliffe, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir John Oldcaſtle, John Hus, the Bohemians, and ſuch other: which thing if the bookes and places whence theſe articles were gathered agaynſt them, had been ſuffered to remayne, we might more playnlye vnderſtand. In the mean ſeaſon as touching theſe Articles here preſent, for ſo much as the Biſhops own Regiſters haue offered them vnto vs, and do yet remayne with the ſelfe ſame bookes from whence they be excerpted, I ſhall therfore deſire thee (frendly Reader) firſt to conſider the Articles, and lay them with the places which the Regiſters themſelues doe aſſigne, and then iudge thy ſelfe what is to be thoughte thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foreſayd bookes with the Biſhops Decree prefixed before the ſame, is as here vnder foloweth.

A publike Inſtrument by the biſhops, for the aboliſhing of the Scripture, and other bookes to be read in Engliſh.

A writing of the Biſhops againſt Engliſhe bookes.

IN the name of God, Amen. Bee it knowen to all and ſingular, true, and faythfull people, to whome theſe preſent letters teſtimoniall, or this preſent publicke and authenticke inſtrument ſhall come to bee ſeene, reade, hearde or vnderſtand, and whom this vnder written ſhall or maye teach, or appertayne vnto in any maner of wiſe in tyme to come, William by the ſufferaunce of almighty God, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all the Reame of England, ſendeth greetyng in our lord god euerlaſtyng, we ſignifie vnto you al and let you wel wit and know by theſe preſentes, that the kyng our ſoueraigne Lorde hearyng of manye bookes in the Engliſhe tongue contaynyng manye deteſtable errours, and damnable opinions, printed in the pertyes beyond the Seas, to be brought into diuers townes, & ſondry partyes of this his Realme of England, and ſowen abroade in the ſame, to the great decay of our fayth Catholyke, and perillous corruption of his people vnleſſe ſpedye remedy were briefly prouided, his highnes wyllyng euermore to employ all his ſtudy and mynde in the high degree which almighty god hath called hym vnto, to the wealth of his ſubiectes that they might lyue, not onely, in tranquilitye and peace but alſo be kept pure and cleane of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Chriſtes Religion: conſideryng alſo that he beyng defendour of the fayth, woulde be full loth to ſuffer ſuch euil ſede ſown amōgſt his people, & ſo take root that it might ouergrow the corne of the catholike doctrine before ſprong in the ſoules of his ſubiectes: for the repelling of ſuch bokes, callyng vnto him of his great goodnes, & gracious diſpoſition, not only certayn of the chief prelates and clerkes of his Realme, but alſo of ech Vniuerſitie a certaine number of the chief learned men propoſed ſuche of thoſe bookes, as his grace had ready to be read vnto them, requiryng to heare in that behalf their aduiſe and iudgement of them. Who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſing ouer the ſayd bookes, found in them manye errours and hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, beyng of ſuch a ſort, that they were lyke briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be ſuffered to remayne in their hands any ſpace) gatheryng alſo out of thē many great errours, and peſtilent hereſies, and notyng them in writing to the intent to ſhewe for what cauſe they reputed the ſaid bookes damnable, of which hereafter out of ech booke gathered many do enſue: albeit many more there be in the ſaid bookes, which bookes totally do ſwarme full of hereſies and deteſtable opinions.

¶Hereſies and errours collected by the Byſhops out of the boke of Tyndall, named the wicked Mammon with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame, out of which euery Article is collected.

Hereſies falſly gathered by the papiſtes out of wicked Mammon.

1 FAyth only iuſtifieth. Fol.59 — 1. Article.

This Article beyng a principle of the ſcripture, and the ground of our ſaluation, is playne inough by S. Paule and the whole body of the ſcripture: Neither can any make this an hereſie, but they muſt make S. Paul an hereticke, and ſhew them ſelues enemies to the promiſes of grace, and to the croſſe of Chriſt.

The Papiſtes of the principles of diuinitie, make hereſie.

2 The law maketh vs to hate God, becauſe we be borne vnder the power of the deuil. fol.59. — 2. Article.

3 It is impoſſible for vs to conſent to the wil of god. fol.59 — 3. Article.

The place of Tyndal from whence theſe articles be wraſted, is in the wicked Mammon, as followeth. Which place I beſech the indifferent to read, and then to iudge.

In the fayth which we haue in Chriſt, and in gods promiſes, find we mercy, lyfe, fauour, and peace. In the law we fynd death, damnation and wrath, moreouer the curſe and vengeance of God vpon vs. And it (that is to ſay, the law) is called of Paul, the miniſtration of death and damnation. In the law we are proued to be the enemies of god and that we hate hym. For how cān we be at peace with God & loue hym, ſeyng we are conceiued and borne vnder the power of the Deuill and are his poſſeſſion and kyngdome, his captiues and bondemen, and ledde at his wyll, and hee holdeth our hartes, ſo that it is impoſſible for vs to conſent to ÿ will of God: Much more is it impoſſible, for a man to fulfill the lawe of his owne ſtrengthe and power, ſeyng that we are by byrth and nature the heires of ÿ eternal damnation, &c.

Herein is nothyng conteined but that which is rightly conſonant to the ſcripture.

4 The lawe requireth impoſſible things of vs, Fol.59. — 4. Article.

Read the place. The law when it commaundeth ÿ thou ſhalt not luſt, geueth thee not power ſo to doe: but damneth thee becauſe thou canſt not ſo doe. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God and loue him, then muſt thou turne to the promyſes and to the goſpell, which is called of Paul the miniſtration of righteouſnes and of the ſpirite.

What hereſie is in theſe wordes. 2.Cor.3.

5 The ſpirit of God turneth vs and our nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree doth bryng foorth fruite. Fol.63 — 5. Article.

This place ſpeaking of the operation & effect of faith, conteineth nothing but which is maintaynable by the ſcripture.

The place is this: the ſpirite of God accompanieth fayth and bryngeth with her light, wherewith a mã beholdeth him ſelfe in the lawe of God, and ſeeth hys miſerable bondage & captiuitie, and humbleth hym ſelfe, and abhorreth hym ſelfe. She bryngeth Gods promiſes of all good things in Chriſt. God worketh wyth his worde, and in his woord. And as his worde is preached, fayth, rooteth her ſelfe in the hartes of the elect: and as fayth entreth, and the worde of God is beleued, the power of God looſeth the hart from captiuitie & bondage vnder ſinne, and knitteth and coupleth hym to God and to the wyll of God, altereth hym and chaungeth hym cleane, faſhioneth and forgeth hym a new, geueth hym power to loue & to do that whiche before was impoſſible for hym either to loue or do, and turneth hym into a newe nature: ſo that he loueth that whiche before hated, and hateth that whiche he before loued, and is cleane altered and chaunged, and contrary diſpoſed: and is knit and coupled faſt to gods will, and naturally bryngeth forth good woorkes: that is to ſay, that whiche god commaundeth to do, & not things of his owne imagination: and that doth he of his owne accorde, as a tree bryngeth foorth fruite of his owne accorde. &c.

6. Article.

6 Workes do onely declare to thee that thou art iuſtified Fol.65.

If Tyndall ſay, that workes do onely declare our iuſtification, hee dothe not thereby deſtroye good woorkes, but onely ſheweth the ryght vſe and office of good woorkes to be, noted to merite our iuſtification, but rather to teſtifie a liuely fayth, whiche onely iuſtifieth vs. The Article is plain by the Scripture and S. Paul.

7. Article.

7. Chriſt with all his wordes did not deſerue heauen. fol.69

Mat. 10.

* He meaneth in his diuinitie but in his humanitie he deſerued heauē by his workes, not onely for himſelfe, but for all.

Read the place. All good woorkes muſt be done freely w a ſingle eie, without reſpect of any thyng, ſo that no profite be ſought therby. That commaundeth Chriſte where hee ſayth: Free haue you receiued, free geue agayne. For looke as Chriſte with all his woorkes dyd not * deſerue heauen (for that was his already) but dyd vs ſeruice therewith, and neither looked for, nor ſought his own profite, but ours and the honour of god his father onely: euen ſo we with all our workes, may not ſeeke our owne profit, neither in this worlde, nor in heauen, but muſt and ought freely to worke to honour God wyth all, and without all maner of reſpect, ſeeke our neighbours profite, and do him ſeruice. &c.

8 Article.

8 Laboryng by good woorkes to come to heauen, thou ſhameſt Chriſtes bloud. fol.69

To ſay that heauen is gotten by our deſeruinges, is a popiſhe hereſie & contrary to the ſcriptures.

Read the place. If thou wouldeſt obteine heauen with the merites and deſeruinges of thine own workes, ſo doeſt thou wrong, yea and ſhameſt the bloud of Chriſt, and vnto ẏ Chriſt is dead in vaine. Now is the true beleuer heire of God by Chriſtes deſeruyngs, yea and in Chriſt was predeſtinate and ordeyned vnto eternall life before the worlde began. And when the goſpell is preached vnto vs, wee beleue the mercy of god, and in beleuyng we receiue the ſpirit of God, which is the earneſt of eternall life, and wee are in eternall lyfe already, and feele already in our hartes the ſweetnes therof, and are ouercome with the kyndnes of God and Chriſt: and therfore loue the wyll of God, and of loue are ready to woorke freelye, and not to obteyne, that whiche is geuen vs freely and whereof we are heires already. &c.

9. Article.

9 Saintes in heauen can not helpe vs thether. fol.69.

Whether Sainctes can helpe vs vnto heauen, ſee the ſcripture, and marke well the office of the ſonne of God our onely Sauiour and redeemer, and thou ſhalt not neede to ſeeke any further.

10. Article.

10 To builde a Church in the honour of our Lady or any other Saint, is in vayne: they cannot helpe the: they bee not thy frendes. fol.71.

The place anſwered.

Read the place of Tyndall. What buildeſt thou Churches foundeſt Abbeyes, Chauntreis, & colledges in the honour of Sanctes, to my mother, Sanct peter, Paule & Saintes that bee dead, to make of them thy frendes? They neede it not: yea they be not thy friends. Thy friendes are thy poore neighbours which neede thy helpe and ſuccour. The make thy friendes with thy vnrighteous Mammon, that they may teſtifie of thy fayth, and that thou mayeſt know & feele that thy fayth is right, and not fayned. &c.

Our frendes to be made of the wicked Mammõ, he ment the poore aliue, & not the ſaintes departed.

11. Article.

11 Al fleſhe is in Bondage of ſinne, and can not but ſinne fol.74.

Thys Article is euident inough of it ſelfe confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

12. Article.

12 Thou canſt not be damned without Chriſt be damned, nor Chriſt be ſaued without thou be ſaued. fol.76.

The place anſwered.

Read the place: A Phiſition ſerueth but for ſicke men, & that for ſuch men as fele their ſicknes and mourne therfore and long for health. Chriſt likewiſe ſerueth but for ſinners only that fele their ſinne, and that for ſuch ſinners as ſorow & mourne in their harts for health. Health is the power or ſtrength to fulfil the law, or to kepe the commaundements. Now he that longeth for that helth, that is to ſay, for to doe the law of God, is bleſſed in Chriſt, and hath a promiſe that his luſt ſhalbe fulfilled, and that he ſhal be made hole. Bleſſed are they which hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes ſake (ẏ is to fulfill the law) for their luſt ſhal be fulfilled. Mat. 5

The beleuing man ſtanding vpõ the certeintie of Gods promiſe, may aſſure himſelfe of his ſaluation, as ſurely as Chriſt himſelfe is ſaued, & he can no more then Chriſt himſelfe be damned. And although the ſcripture doth not vſe this phraſe of ſpeaking, yet it importeth no leſſe in effect, by reaſon of the veritie of Gods promiſe which impoſſible it is to faile.

This longing, and the conſent of the hart vnto the law of God, is the working of the ſpirite, which God hath powred into thine hart, in earneſt that thou mighteſt be ſure that God will fulfill all his promiſes that he hath made thee. It is alſo the ſeale & marke which God putteth on al men that he choſeth vnto euerlaſting life. So longe as thou ſeeſt thy ſinne, & mourneſt, and cõſenteſt to the law & longeſt (though thou be neuer ſo weake) yet the ſpirite ſhall keepe thee in al temptations from deſperation, and certifie thine harte, that God for his truth ſhall delyuer thee and ſaue thee, yea and by thy good deedes ſhalte thou bee ſaued, not whiche thou haſt done, but which Chriſt hath done for thee. For Chriſt is thine, and all his deedes are thy deedes, Chriſt is in thee, & thou in him, knit together inſeparably, neither canſt thou be damned, except Chriſt be dãned w thee, nether can chriſt be ſaued except thou be ſaued with him. &c. The like comfortable wordes he hath afterward. Fol. 38. which are theſe, He that deſireth mercy the ſame feeleth his own miſery and ſin, and mourneth in his hart to be delyuered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth muſt heare him, which ſayth by the mouth of Chriſt. Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt after righteouſnes for they ſhalbe ſatiſfied. God for his truthes ſake muſt put the righteouſnes of Chriſt in him, and waſhe his vnrighteouſnes away in the bloude of Chriſt. And be the ſinner neuer ſo weake, neuer ſo feeble & frail though he haue ſinned neuer ſo oft and ſo greeuous, yet ſo long as this luſt deſire and mourning, to be delyuered, remayneth in him, God ſeeth not his ſinnes, reckeneth thẽ not for his truthes ſake and loue to Chriſt. He is not a ſinner in the ſight of God that would be no ſinner. He that would be deliuered, hath his hart looſe already. His hart ſinneth not but mourneth repenteth and conſenteth vnto the lawe and will of God, and iuſtifieth God, that is, beareth recorde that God which made the law is righteous and iuſt. And ſuche an hart truſting in Chriſtes bloud, is accepted for ful righteous, and his weakenes, infirmitye, and frailty is pardoned, and his ſinnes are not looked vpon, vntill God put more ſtrength in him, and fulfill his deſire. &c.

13. Article.

13 The commaundementes be geuen vs, not to doe thẽ, but to know our dãnation, & call for mercy of God, Fol.76.

This Article is falſly wreſted out of theſe wordes which doe not ſay that wee ſhould not doe the commaundementes, but that we cannot doe them.

Read the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commaundementes. Mat. 19. Firſt remember that when God commaundeth vs to doe any thing, he doth it not therfore becauſe that we of our ſelues are able to doe that hee cõmandeth, but that by the law we might ſee and know our horrible damnation and captiuity vnder ſinne, and ſo repent and come to Chriſt and receaue mercy. &c.

14. Article.

15 Faſting is onely to auoyd ſurfet and to tame the body all other purpoſes be nought. Fol.81.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. Faſting is to abſtayne from ſurfetting or ouermuch eating, from dronkennes and cares of the worlde, as thou mayeſt read Luk. 20. And the ende of faſting is to tame the body, that the ſpirite may haue the free courſe vnto God and may quyetly talke with god. For ouer much eating and drinking, and care of worldly buſines preſſeth down the ſpirite, choketh it, and tangleth it, ẏ it cannot lift vp it ſelfe to God. Now he that faſteth for any other entent then to ſubdue the body, that the Spirite may wayt on god, and freely exerciſe it ſelfe in the thinges of god, the ſame is blinde, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, & ſhooteth at a wrong marke, and his entent and imaginatiõ is abominable in the ſight of God. &c.

The true end of faſting.

15. Article.

15 To bid the poore man pray for me, is onely to remember him to doe his duety: not that I haue any truſte in hys prayer. Fol.82.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. When we deſire one another to pray for vs, that doe we to put our neighbour in remembraunce of his duety, and not that we truſt in his holines, our truſt is in God, in Chriſt, and in the truth of gods promiſes. We haue alſo a promiſe that when two or three or moe agree together in one thing according to the will of god, God heareth vs, notwithſtanding as god heareth manye, ſo heareth he fewe, and ſo heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and deſire the honour of God. &c.

The place biddeth vs put our truſt in Chriſt, onely and not in poore mennes prayers, and ſo doth the Scripture likewiſe, yet no hereſie therein.

16. Article.

16 Thoughe thou geeue mee a thouſande pound to pray for thee, I am noe more bounde nowe then I was beefore. Fol.83.

The wordes be theſe. If thou geue me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before. Mannes imaginatiõ can make the commaundement of god neither greater nor ſmaller, neither can to the law of God either adde or diminiſhe. Gods commaundement is as greate as himſelfe. &c.

This place aunſwereth for it ſelfe ſufficiently.

17. Article.

This place tendeth to no ſuch meaning as is in the article, but only ſheweth our good deedes to be imperfect.

17 A good deede done and not of feruent charitie as Chriſtes was, is ſinne.fol.83.

The wordes of Tyndall be theſe. Though thou ſhew mercy vnto thy neighbour, yet if thou doſt not with ſuch burnyng loue, as Chriſt dyd vnto thee: ſo muſt thou knowledge thy ſinne, and deſire mercy in Chriſt, &c.

18. Article. This place pertaineth to none any proprietie of an other mannes goodes, but onely by way of Chriſtian admonition.

18 Euery man is Lord of another mans good.fol.83

The wordes of Tyndall be theſe. Chriſt is Lord ouer al, and euery chriſtian is heyre annexed wyth Chriſt, and therfore Lord of all, and euery one lord of whatſoeuer an other hath. If thy brother or neighbour therfore nede, & thou haue to helpe hym, and yet ſheweſt not mercy, but withdraweſt thy hands frō hym, then robbeſt thou hym of his owne, and art a theefe. &c. Read more hereof in the xx. Article following.

19. Article.

To loue the Turke to that end to win him to Chriſt, is no hereſie but charitye.

19 I am bound to loue the Turke with the very bottom of my hart.fol.83.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to loue the Turke with all my might and power, yea and aboue my power: euen from the ground of my hart, after the enſample that Chriſt loued me, neyther to ſpare goods, body or lyfe, to wyn hym to Chriſt. And what can I doe more for thee, if thou gaueſt me all the world? where I ſee nede, there can I not but pray, if gods ſpirite be in me. &c.

20. Article.

20 The woorſt Turke liuyng hath as muche right to my goodes at hys neede, as my houſholde, or myne owne ſelfe. fol.83.

Read and marke well the place in the wicked Mammon.

Loe Reader how peeuiſhly this place is wreſted. Firſt here is no mention made of any Turke. Secondly this place ſpeaking of an Infidell, meaneth of ſuche Chriſtians which forſake their owne houſeholdes. Thirdly, by his right in thy goodes, he meaneth no propriety that he hath to claime but onely to put thee in remembraunce of thy Chriſten duty what to geue.

In Chriſt we are all of one degre without reſpect of perſons. Notwithſtanding, though a chriſten mans hart be open to all men, and receyueth all men, yet becauſe that his habilitie of goods extendeth not ſo farre, this prouiſion is made that euery man ſhall care for his owne houſholde, as father and mother, and thine elders that haue holpen thee, wyfe, children and ſeruantes. If thou ſhouldeſt not care and prouide for thine houſhold, thē were thou an infidel, ſeing thou haſt taken on thee ſo to do, and forſomuch as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation. When thou haſte done thy duety to thine houſholde, and yet haſt further aboundaunce of the bleſſing of God, that oweſt thou to the poore that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no worke, and are deſtitute of friendes: to the poore I meane, which thou knoweſt: to them of thine owne pariſh. If thy neighboures which thou knoweſt, be ſerued, and thou yet haue ſuperfluitie, and heareſt neceſſitie to be amōg the brethren a thouſand mile of, to them art thou detter. Yea to the very Infidels we be detters if they nede, as farreforth as we maintayne them not againſt Chriſt, or to blaſpheme Chriſt. Thus is euery man that needeth thy helpe, thy father, mother, ſiſter, and brother in Chriſt: euen as euery man that doth the will of the father, is father, mother, ſiſter and brother vnto Chriſt.

Moreouer, if any be an Infidel and a falſe Chriſtian, and forſake his houſhold, hys wyfe, children, and ſuch as cannot helpe themſelues, then art thou bound to them, if thou haue wherwith, euen as much as to thine owne houſholde, and they haue as good right in thy goodes, as thou thy ſelfe. &c. And if the whole world were thine, yet hath euery brother hys right in thy goods, and is heire with thee, as we are all heyres with Chriſt. &c.

21. Article.

21 Almes deſerueth no meede.fol.84.

The place is playne.

The place is this: He that ſeketh with hys almes more then to be mercifull, to be a neyghbour, to ſuccour hys brothers neede, to doe hys duety to hys brother to geue his brother that he oweth hym, the ſame is blynde and ſeeth not what it is to be a chriſten man and to haue fellowſhippe in Chriſtes bloud. &c.

22. Article.

22 There is no worke better then another to pleaſe God, To make water, to waſhe diſhes, to be a ſowter or an Apoſtle, all is one. To waſhe diſhes & to preach is all one as touching the deede to pleaſe God. Fol.44.

These wordes of Tyndall ſufficiently diſcharge the Article of all hereſie, if they be well wayed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God ſtandeth onely vppon our fayth in Chriſt, and vppon no worke nor office whereby Crane line the Tanner beleuing in Chriſt is as well iuſtified before God as the Apoſtle or preacher: So that there is no reioycing now neyther in worke nor office, but onely in our fauth in Chriſt which onely iuſtifieth vs before God. Rom. 8.

The wordes of Tyndal be theſe. As pertaynyng to good workes, vnderſtand that all workes are good whiche are done within the law of God in fayth and with thankes geuing to God and vnderſtand that thou in thy doyng them pleaſeſt God, what ſo euer thou doeſt within the lawe of God, as when thou makeſt water. &c.

Moreouer, put no difference betwene workes, but whatſoeuer cōmeth into thy handes, that do, as time, place, and occaſiō geueth, & as God hath put thee in degre, high or low. As touching to pleaſe god, there is no worke better thē an other. God loketh not firſt on thy workes as the world doth, as though ye beutifulnes of the world pleaſed hym, as it doth the world, or as though he had nede of them, but god looketh firſt on the hart, what fayth thou haſt to his wordes how thou beleueſt hym, & how thou loueſt him for his mercy that he hath ſhewed thee: he looketh with what hart thou workeſt, and not what thou workeſt, how thou accepteſt ye degree that he hath put thee in, & not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apoſtle or a Shoomaker. Set this example before thine eyes. Thou art a kytchin Page, and waſheſt thy maiſters diſhes. An other is an apoſtle, & preacheth the worde of God. Of this Apoſtle harke what S. Paul ſaith: If I preach (ſayth he) I haue naught to reioyce in, for neceſſitie is put vnto me. As who ſhoulde ſay, God hath made me ſo, wo is vnto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly (ſaith he) then haue I my reward: that is, then am I ſure ye Gods ſpirit is in me, & that I am elect to eternall life. If I do it againſt my wil, an office is cōmitted vnto me: that is, if I do it not of loue to God, but to get a liuing therby, & for a worldly purpoſe, & had leauer other wayes lyue: thē do I that office which God hath put me in, & yet pleaſe not God my ſelfe. &c. Moreouer, howſoeuer he preach, he hath not to reioyce in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true hart and of conſcience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earneſt of eternall life, & the working of the ſpirite of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodnes and mercy, ſo be thou ſure, he feeleth his owne infirmitie, weakenes and vnworthynes, & mourneth and knowledgeth hys ſinne, in that the hart will not ariſe to worke with that feruent & loue that is in Chriſt our Lord. And neuertheleſſe is he yet at peace wyth God thorow fayth and truſt in Chriſt Ieſu. For the earneſt of the ſpirit that worketh in him, teſtifieth & beareth witneſſe vnto his hart that God hath choſen him, and that his grace ſhall ſuffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his workes putteth he no truſt.

Now thou that miniſtreſt in the kitchen, & art but a kitchen page, receiueſt all things of the hand of God, knoweſt that God hath put thee in that office: ſubmitteſt thy ſelfe to his wyll, & ſerueſt thy maiſter, not as a man, but as Chriſt hymſelf, with a pure hert, according as Paul teacheth: putteſt thy truſt in God, & with him ſekeſt thy reward. Moreouer, there is not a good deede done, but thy hart reioyceth therin, yea when thou heareſt that the word of God is preached by this Apoſtle, & ſeeſt the people turne to God, thou conſenteſt vnto the deede, thy hart breaketh out in ioy, ſpringeth and leapeth in thy breſt that God is honoured, and in thine hart doeſt the ſame that the Apoſtle doth, and happly with greater delectation, and a more feruēt ſpirit. Now, he that receaueth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhal receiue the reward of a prophet. That is, he that conſenteth to the deede of a Prophet, & maintaineth it, the ſame hath the ſame ſpirit and earneſt of euerlaſting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

No difference of men before God in reſpecte of deedes, but onely in reſpect of fayth.

Now if thou compare deede to deede, there is difference betwixt waſhing of diſhes, and preaching of the worde of God. But as touching to pleaſe God, none at all. For neyther that, nor this pleaſeth, but as farreforth as God hath choſen a man, hath put his ſpirite in him, and purified hys hart by faith and truſt in Chriſt. &c.

23. Article.

23 Ceremonyes of the Church haue brought the worlde from God. Fol.86.

The place annexed.

Read the place of Tyndal. Seeke the word of God in all thinges, and without the word of God do nothyng, though it appeare neuer ſo glorious. What ſo euer is done without the word of God, that count Idolatrie. The kingdome of heauen is within vs. Luk.7. Wonder therfore at no monſtrous appearaunce, nor at any outward thing without the word. For ye world was neuer drawen frō God, but with an outward ſhew & glorious appearaūce and ſhyning of hypocriſie, and of fained & diſguiſed faſting, praying, watching, ſinging, offering, ſacrificing, hallowing of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and monſtrous diſguiſing. &c.

24. Article.

24 Beware of good intentes: They are damned of God Fol.87.

25. Article.

25 See thou doe nothynge but that God biddeth thee. Fol.87.

The place annexed. Math. 16.

The wordes of Tyndall out of the which theſe two articles are gathered, are theſe. Beware of thy good intent, good mynde, good affection, or zeale as they call it. Peter of a good mynd, and of a good affection or zeale, chyd Chriſt, becauſe he ſayde that he muſt goe to Ieruſalem, and there be ſlayne. But Chriſt called hym Satan for his labour: a name that belongeth to the Deuill, and ſayde that he perceiued not godly thinges, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a feruent affection to Chriſt, the ſonnes of Zebede would haue had fire to come downe from heauen, to conſume the Samaritanes: but Chriſt rebuked them, ſaying, that they wiſt not of what ſpirit they were: that is: that they vnderſtoode not how that they were altogether worldly and fleſhly mynded. Peter ſmote Malchus of a good zeale, but Chriſt condemned his deed. The Iewes of

Luke. 9.

Good intentes.

Rom.10.

a good entent and of a good zeale ſhew Chriſt, & perſecuted ỹ Apoſtles, as Paul beareth them record. Rom. x. I beare thẽ record (ſaith he) that they haue a feruẽt mynd to Godward, but not accordyng to knowledge. It is an other thyng then to do of a good mynd, & to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayſt know Gods wil, and what he would haue thee to do.

Our mynd, entent, and affection, or zeale are blynd, and all that we do of them is damned of god, and for that cauſe hath God made a teſtament betwene hym and vs, wherin is conteined both what he would haue vs to do, & what he would haue vs to aſke of hym.

See therefore that thou do nothyng to pleaſe God withall, but that he commaundeth, neither aſke any thing of hym, but that he hath promiſed the. &c.

26. Article.

26 Churches are for preaching onely, and not as they be vſed now. fol.87.

This Article contayneth neyther errour nor hereſie, but is playne enough of it ſelfe, to all them that haue their minds exerciſed in the ſcriptures of God.

27. Article.

27 To worſhippe God otherwyſe then to beleeue that he is iuſt and true in his promiſe, is to make God an Idol. fol.87

The place annexed.

Read the wordes of Tyndall with this Article. God is honoured on all ſides, in that we count hym righteous in all hys lawes and ordinaunces, and alſo true in all his promiſes. Other worſhip of God is none, except we make an Idoll of hym. &c.

28. Article.

28 Pharao had no power to let the people depart at gods pleaſure, fol.95

29. Article.

29 Our prelates in ſinne, ſay they haue power. fol.95

The place annexed. Rom.10.

Read the place in the wicked Mammon out of ỹ which theſe two Articles are gathered. S. Paule ſayeth: If thou confeſſe with thy mouth that Jeſus is the Lord and beleue with thyne hart that God rayſed him vp from death, thou ſhalt be ſafe: that is, if thou beleue he rayſed him vp agayne for thy ſaluation. Many beleue that God is rich and almighty, but not vnto themſelues: and that he wyll be good to thẽ and defend them, and be their God. Pharao for payne, of the plague was compelled to confeſſe his ſinnes: but had yet no power to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the wyl of God and to let the children of Iſraell go, and to loſe ſo great profite for Gods pleaſure. As our prelates cõfeſſe their ſinnes, ſaying: though we be neuer ſo euill, yet haue we the power. And agayn, the Scribes and the Phariſeis (ſay they) ſate in Moyſes ſeat, do as they teach, but not as they doe. Thus confeſſe they that they are abominable. &c.

Articles of hereſy gathered by the Papiſtes out of W. Tyndalles Obedience.

Here follow other hereſies and errours, collected by the Biſhops out of the booke named, the Obedience of a Chriſtian man, with the places of the booke annexed to the ſame.

1. HE ſayeth we are bounde to make ſatiſfaction to our neighbour, but not to God. fol.. 132

Satiſfaction is a full recompence or amendes making to hym whom we haue offended, which recompence we are able to make, one man to another, and are bound ſo to do: but to God no man can make any mendes or recompence, but onely gods owne ſonne Chriſt Jeſus our Sauior. For els if man coulde haue made ſatiſfaction to God, then had Chriſt died in vayne, Gal.2. Loe, what hereſie or errour is in this Article?

2. Article.

2 He ſaith that children ought not to mary without the conſent of their parentes. fol.120.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tyndall in the Obedience be theſe. Let the fathers and mothers marke how they themſelues were diſpoſed at all ages, and by experience of theyr own infirmities, helpe their children, and kepe them from occaſions. Let them prouide mariages for them in ſeaſon: teaching thẽ alſo to know, that ſhe is not his wyfe which the ſonne taketh, nor he her huſband which the daughter taketh, without the conſent or good will of theyr Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them. If their friendes will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they mary themſelues. Let not the fathers & mothers alwaies take the vttermoſt of their authoritie of their childrẽ, but at al times ſuffer with them, & beare their weakenes, as Chriſt doth ours. &c.

The parents conſent in mariage.

3. Article.

3 He ſaith, that vowes are agaynſt the ordinaunce of god. fol.109.

They that ſay that this article is an hereſie. Let thẽ ſhew where theſe vowes in all the new teſtament be ordayned by god, eſpecially ſuch vowes of ſingle lyfe, & wilful pouertie, as by ỹ canon law be obtruded to yong prieſts & Nouices. S. Paul plainly forbẽdeth any widows to be admitted vnder ỹ age of lx. yeres. Is not here trow you a perilous hereſie?

4. Article.

4 He ſaith that a chriſtian mã may not reſiſt a prince being infidell & an Ethnike. This taketh away free will. fol.113.

S. Peter willeth vs to be ſubiect to our princes, 1.Pet.2. S. Paul alſo doth ỹ like Rom,13. who was alſo himſelfe ſubiect to the power of Nero: & although euery commaundement of Nero agaynſte God he did not follow, yet hee neuer made reſiſtaunce agaynſt the authoritye and ſtate of Nero, as the Pope vſeth to doe agaynſt the ſtate, not onely of Infidels, but alſo of Chriſten Princes.

5. Article.

5 What ſoeuer is done before the ſpirite of God commeth and geueth vs light, is damnable ſinne. Thys is agaynſt morall vertues. Fol.113.

What hereſie Ariſtotle in his Ethikes can finde by this article, I cannot tell: ſure I am that the worde and ſpirite of God well conſidered, can finde none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable hereſie.

6. Article.

6 He reproueth men that make holy Saintes their Aduocates to God & there he ſayth that Saintes were not rewarded in heauen for their holy workes. Fol.114.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. They turne from gods worde, and put their truſt and confidence in the Saint & his merites, and make an aduocate, or rather a God of the ſaint, &c. They aſcribe heauen to their imaginations and mad inuentions, and receiue it not of the liberalitie of God, by ỹ merites and deſeruing of Chriſt, &c.

7. Article.

7 God moued the hartes of the Egiptians to hate the people. Likewiſe he moued Kinges, &c. fol.118.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the obedience be theſe. In ỹ 107. Pſalme thou readeſt: He deſtroyed ỹ Riuers & dryed vp the ſprings of water, and turned the fruitefull lande into barrennes, for the inhabytaunces therof. When the children of Iſraell had forgotten God in Egipt, God moued the hartes of the Egiptians to hate them, and to ſubdue them with crafte and wylines. Pſalme. 105,

In the ſecond chapter of the firſt book of the Kings, God was angry with the people and moued Dauyd to number them, when Joab and the other Lordes wondered why he would haue thẽ numbred, and becauſe they feared leſt ſome euill ſhould follow, diſſwaded the King: yet it holpe not, god ſo* hardened his hart in his purpoſe, to haue an occaſion to ſley the wicked people. &c.

*God ſometimes hardeneth the hartes of good Princes for the wickednes of the people

8 Paul was of higher authoritye then Peter. Fol. 125.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the Obedyence bee theſe, I ſuppoſe ſaith he (ſpeaking of Paule) that I was not behinde the hye Apoſtles, meaning in preaching Jeſus Chriſt and hys Goſpell, and in miniſtring the ſpirite. And in the ſame Cha. he proueth by the doctrin of Chriſt, that he was greater thẽ the high Apoſtles. For Chriſt ſayth, to be great in the kingdome of God, is to doe ſeruice and take payne for other, Upon which rule Paul diſputeth ſaying: If they be the miniſters of Chriſt, I am more, in laboures more aboundant, in ſtripes aboue meaſure, in priſon more plenteous: in death oft, &c. If Paul preached Chriſt more then Peter & ſuffered more for his congregation, then is he greater then Peter, by the teſtymony of Chriſt. &c.

9. Article. The place annexed.

9 A Prieſt ought to haue a wife for ij. cauſes. Fol.133.

The wordes of Tindall be theſe. Hee muſt haue a wife for two cauſes: One ỹ it may thereby be knowen who is meete for the rowme, he is vnapt for ſo chargeable an office: which had neuer houſholde to rule. An other cauſe is, that chaſtitie is an exceeding ſeldome gifte, and vnchaſtity exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people looke as well vnto the liuing, as vnto the preaching, and are hurte at once if the liuing diſagree, and fall from the fayth, and beleeue not the worde. &c.

Truth turned into hereſie.

10. Article. Read afore pag. 1037.

10 He condemneth auricular confeſſion. Fol.140.

Of this read aboue, pag. 1037.

11. Article.

11 Euery man is a prieſt and we neede no other Prieſt, to be a meane for vs vnto God. Fol.144.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the obedyence be theſe. There is a worde called in Latin Sacerdos in Greeke ἱερευς, in Hebrue Cohã, that is, a Miniſter, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Prieſt, as Aaron was a Prieſt and ſacrificed for the people, and was a medyatour betweene God and them, and in the Engliſhe it ſhould haue had ſome other name then Prieſt. But Antichriſt hath deceiued vs with vnknowen and ſtraũge termes to bring vs into confuſion and ſuperſtitious blindnes. Of ỹ maner is Chriſt a Prieſt for euer, and all wee are Prieſtes through hym, and neede no more of any ſuch Prieſt to bee a meane for vs vnto God. &c.

And made vs Kinges and Prieſtes to god his father. &c. Apoc.1.

12. Article.

12 He deſtroyeth the Sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol.144.

As truly as matrimony and orders be Sacramentes: ſo truely is this Article an hereſie.

13. Article.

13 He ſayth that Purgatory is of the Popes inuention, and therfore he may doe there whatſoeuer he will. Fol.150.

Ioannes Angelus.

One of the Popes own writers ſayth thus, ſoules being in purgatory are vnder ỹ popes iuriſdiction, & the pope may if he will euacuate all purgatory. Furthermore ỹ olde Fathers make litle mentiõ of purgatory, ỹ Greeke church neuer

bele=

1.Iohn.1.

beleued Purgatorye: S. Auguſtine doubteth of purgatory and the Scriptures playnely diſproue Purgatory: Saint Iohn ſayth: The bloude of Ieſus Chriſte the Sonne of God purgeth vs from all ſinne. And the Pope ſayth: ſinne can not be purged but by the fire of purgatory, now whoſe inuention can Purgatory be, but onely the Popes.

14.Article.

14 Saintes be ſaued not by their merites,but onely by the merites of Chriſt.fol.151.

Veritie made hereſy.

What can be more manifeſt and playne by the Scriptures, then this? Eſay ſayth: Al we haue erred,euery man in his owne wayes, And God hath layd vpon him all our iniquities.&c.

15.Article.

15 He ſaith,no man may be hired to pray.fol.155.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the obedience be true, which are theſe: To pray one for an other are we equally bounde: and to pray is a thing that we may alwaies do what ſoeuer we haue in hand, and that to doe,may no man hyre an other: Chriſtes bloud hath hyred vs already. &c.

16.Article.

16 Why ſhould I truſt(ſaith he)in Paules prayer or holynes?If S.Paul were alyue,he would compare himſelfe to S. Paule,and be as good as he.fol.159.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tyndall,be theſe. Why am not I alſo a falſe Prophet if I teach thee to truſt in Paul, or in his holynes or prayer, or in any thing ſauyng in Gods worde, as Paule did? If Paule were here and loued me, as he loued them of his tyme,to whō he was a ſeruāt to preach Chriſt: what good could he do for me or with me,but preach Chriſt and pray to God for me to open myne hart, to geue me hys ſpirit,& to bring me vnto the ful knowledge of Chriſt? Unto which port or hauen whē I am once come, I am as ſafe as Paul,ioint heire with Paul of al the promiſes of god.&c

The wordes of Tyndall import no ſuch meaning as is in the Article.

17.Article.

17 He ſaith that all that be baptiſed, become Chriſt hymſelfe.fol.163.

The place annexed.

With this Article conferre the wordes of the Obedience, which be theſe. In Math.28.ſayth Chriſt: in as much as ye haue done it to any of the leaſt of theſe my brethrē,ye haue done it to me. And in as much as ye haue not done it vnto one of the leſt of theſe,ye haue not done it to me. Here ſeeſt thou that we are chriſtes brethren,& euen Chriſt hymſelf, & whatſoeuer we do one to another,that do we to Chriſt. &c.

18.Article.

18 He ſayth that the children of fayth be not vnder no law fol.163.

The place annexed.
The article is true,being truely taken.

The wordes of Tyndall are theſe. I ſerue thee not becauſe thou art my maiſter or my king, for hope of reward or feare of payne,but for the loue of Chriſt. For the children of fayth are vnder no law,as thou ſeeſt in the epiſtle to ẏ Romains,to the Galath.and the 1.to Tim.but are free. The ſpirit of Chriſt hath written the liuely law of loue in theyr hartes,which driueth them to worke of their owne accorde, freely and willingly for the great loue ſake onely which they ſee in Chriſt, and therefore neede they no lawe to compell them,&c.

19.Article.

19 There is no dede ſo good,but that the law condemneth it.fol.177.

The place annexed.

The place in the Obedience,is this. Thou haſt the ſtory of Peter how he ſmote of Malchus eare, and how Chriſt healed it agayne. There haſt thou in playne text,great fruite and great edifying,which I paſſe ouer. Then come I, whē I preach of the law and the Goſpell, and borow this example to expreſſe the nature of the law and of the Goſpel,and to paint it vnto thee before thine eyes, and of Peter and hys ſword make I the law,and of Chriſt the goſpell ſaying: as Peters ſword cutteth of the eare,ſo doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth and mangleth the conſciēce. There is no eare ſo righteous,that can abide the hearyng of ẏ law. There is no dede ſo good,but that the law damneth it. But Chriſt,that is to ſay the Goſpell,the promiſes and Teſtament that God hath made in Chriſt,healeth the eare & conſcience,which the law hath hurt.&c.

What hereſy is in this.

20.Article.

20 To aſke of God more then he hath promiſed, commeth of a falſe faith and is plaine idolatry.fol.171.

The place annexed.

The wordes of Tyndall are theſe. Looke wherin thou canſt beſt kepe the commaundements, thether get thy ſelfe, and therin abide.&c. If we haue infirmities ẏ draw vs frō the lawes of God, let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burne,marry,for God hath promiſed thee no chaſtitie,as long as thou mayeſt vſe the remedy that he hath ordeyned: no more thē he hath promiſed to ſlack thine hunger without meate. Now to aſke of God more thē he hath promiſed,commeth of a falſe fayth,and is playne Idolatry.&c.

What hereſy is in this.

21.Article.

21 Our payne taken in keping the commaundements, doth nothing but purge the ſinne that remayneth in the fleſhe. But to looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen then God hath promiſed for Chriſtes ſake, is abhominable in the ſight of God.fol.171.

The place annexed.

Conſider the place in the Obedience,which is this. To looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen , or in ẏ life to come, then that which God hath promiſed for Chriſtes ſake,and which Chriſt hath deſerued for vs with his payne taking, is abhominable in ẏ ſight of God: For chriſt onely hath purchaſed the rewarde, and our paine takyng to keepe the commaundementes,doth but purge the ſinne that remayneth in the fleſh,and certifie vs that we are choſen & ſealed with Gods ſpirite,vnto the reward that Chriſt hath purchaſed for vs.&c.

22.Article.

22. The Pope hath no other authoritie but to preach onely.fol.173.

This hereſie is onely to the pope: but none at all to God.

Chriſt ſayd to Peter: Feede my ſheepe. Iohn.21. And, thou being conuerted,cōfirme thy brethren. Luke.22. And to his Apoſtles he ſayd: Goe ye into all the world & preach the Goſpell.&c. Againe,S. Paule.1.Corinth.1.ſaith: That Chriſt ſent him not to baptiſe,but to preach . To what other office or function he ſent the pope,let them iudge which conſider the Scriptures.

23.Article.

23. If thou bynde thy ſelfe to chaſtitie to obteyne that which Chriſt purchaſed for thee, ſo ſurely art thou an infidell.fol.175.

The place annexed.

Read and conferre the place of Tyndall,which is this. Chaſtitie canſt thou not geue to God,further then God lendeth it thee. If thou canſt not liue chaſte, thou art bounde to mary,or to be damned.&c.

Chaſtitie.

For what purpoſe thou bindeſt thy ſelfe, muſt be ſeene. If thou doe it to obtaine therby that which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee,ſo art thou an Infidel,and haſt no part with Chriſt. If thou wilt ſee more of this matter,looke in Deuteronomy,& there ſhalt thou find it more largely intreated.&c

24. Article.

24. He denyeth,rebuketh and damneth miracles.fol.176.

The place annexed.
Miracles how farre to be beleued.

The wordes in Tyndals Obedience be theſe: And whē they cry myracles,myracles, remēber that God hath made an euerlaſting Teſtament which is in Chriſtes bloud, againſt which we may receiue no myracles , no neither the preaching of Paul himſelfe if he come agayne, by his owne teaching to the Galathians, neither yet by the preaching of the Aungels of heauen.&c.

The end of Gods myracles is good: the end of theſe miracles is euill. For the offeringes which are the cauſe of the myracles, do but miniſter and maintaine vice,ſinne, and all abhomination,and are geuen to them that haue to much, ſo that for very aboundaunce they fome out their owne ſhame and corrupt the whole world with the ſtinch of their filthineſſe.&c.

25.Article.

25. He ſayth that no man ſhould ſerue God with good intent or zeale: for it is playne Idolatry.fol.177.

The place annexed.
Good intentes without Gods word,God abhorreth.

The place is this in the Obedience. Remember Saul was caſt away of God for euer, for his good intent. God requireth obedience vnto hys word, and abhorreth all good intentes and good zeales which are without Gods worde: for they are nothing els but playne Idolatry and worſhipping of falſe Gods.&c.

Here folow other hereſies and errours

collected by the byſhops,out of the booke called the Reuelation of Antichriſt,with the places of the booke, out of the which they were gathered,annexed to the ſame.

Articles out of the booke called the reuelation of Antichriſt.

1. TO bynde a man perpetually to any vowe of Religion, is (without doubt) an errour.fol.19.

The place of the booke called the Reuelatiō, where this article is gathered,is this as foloweth: Which the Fathers did neither,make nor kepe (he meaneth vowes) but with the libertie of the ſpirite , bynding no man perpetually, to them. For if they did (without doubt) they erred according to mans fragilitie.

2. Article.

2. To ſay the conſtitutions of Religion are good , becauſe holy men did ordeyne them,as Auguſtine,Benedict,Fraunces,Dominicke,and ſuch other,and to folow ſuch examples of Fathers,is to leaue the fayth.fol.19.

The place annexed.

The place of the article is this. But they obiect the ſtatutes and ordinaunces are good. Holy men did make them, as Auguſtine, Benedict, Bernard, Frances, Dominike, & ſuch other. To this I anſwer: That is euen it that Chriſt and the Apoſtles did meane, that theſe workes ſhoulde be lyke to thoſe things which are taugh in the goſpell: for that they cal counterfeityng of the doctrine, and priuily bringyng in of ſectes & hereſies, becauſe they take only of the fathers examples of workes, and leaue the faith.&c.

2.Pet.2.

3.Article.

3 All moral diuines haue a wicked conſcience ful of ſcrupuloſitie.fol.3.

Morall diuines be they whoſe doctrine and hope of ſaluation conſiſteth in moral vertues, rather then in chriſtiā faith, apprehending ẏ fre promiſes of god in Chriſt. And they ẏ be ſuch can neuer be certified in conſcience of their ſaluation but alwaies be ful of feare & ſcrupuloſitie. S. Paul therfore ſaith, It is therfore of faith ẏ it might come by grace, & the promiſe might be firme and ſure to the whole ſede. Rom.4.

Rom.4.

4 Article.

4 Morall vertues,as iuſtice,temperaunce,ſtrength.chaſtitie deſcribed by naturall reaſon,maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Chriſtes fayth.fol.64.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat.is this: So many he (the Pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath ſubdued and led vnder hys lawes and impierie. And who is he in the world that is not ſubiect vnder him,except they be infantes,or peraducture ſome ſimple perſons,which are reſerued by the inſcrutable counſell & prouiſion of God? O thou man of ſinne: O thou ſonne of perdition: O thou abhomination: O thou corrupter: O thou author of euil cōſciences: O thou falſe maiſter of good conſciences: O thou enemy of faith and chriſten liberty, who is able to rehearſe, yea or to comprehend in his mynd the infinite waues of this monſtrous* Kings euils.

*By this king he meaneth the king of faces, which Daniell ſpeaketh of in the 8.chapter.

If he had ordeyned theſe his lawes in thoſe workes of vertues that are cōmended in the x.preceptes, or els in ſuch as the philoſophers and naturall reaſon did deſcribe, as are iuſtice,ſtrength.temperance,chaſtitie,myldnes,truth, goodnes,and ſuch other: peraducture they ſhould only haue made a Synagoge,or els haue ordeyned in the world a certaine ciuil iuſtice,for through theſe alſo fayth ſhould haue bene corrupted as it was amongſt the Iewes. Howbeit now he kepeth not himſelfe within theſe boundes,but runneth at riot, and more at large,rayſing infinite tempeſtes of miſchief,entiſing and drawyng vs to ceremonies and his owne fayned traditions, and byndeth vs lyke aſſes and ignorant fooles, yea and ſtockes vnto them.&c.

5.Article.

5 Chriſt toke away al lawes,and maketh vs free and at liberty,and moſt of all he ſuppreſſeth al ceremonies.fol.65.63

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: Chriſt taking away all lawes to make vs free and at liberty,did moſt of all ſuppreſſe and diſanull the ceremonies which did conſiſt in places,perſons,garments,meates,daies and ſuch other,ſo that their vſe ſhould be to all men moſt fre and indifferent,&c.

What he meaneth by taking away all lawes,he declareth a little before,ſaying: he hath not deliuered vs from the law, but from the power,and violence of the law,which is the very true loſing. But for all that,he hath not taken away frō the powers and officers their right,ſword, and authority to puniſh the euill,for ſuch pertayne not to his kingdome, vntill they are made ſpirituall,and then freely and with a glad hart they ſerue God.

6.Article.

6 If the Pope would make all the obſeruations of the ceremonies,as Lent,faſting,holydayes,confeſſion,matrimony, maiſſe,mattins,and reliques.&c.free and indifferēt, he ſhould not be Antichriſt: but now becauſe he commaundeth them in the name ef Chriſt, he vtterly corrupteth the Churche, ſuppreſſeth the faith,and aduanceth ſinne.fol.67.

If the Pope will inferre a neceſſitie of theſe things, which Chriſt leaueth free and indifferent,then what doth he make hymſelf but Antichriſt? The Article is plaine and is founded vpon the doctrine of Chriſt,and ſ. Paul.

7.Article.

7 To beleue in Chriſt maketh ſure inheritors with Chriſt fol.1.

8.Article.

8 If a man ſay,then ſhall we no good workes do? I anſwer as Chriſt did: This is the worke of God to beleue in hym whom he hath ſent.fol.1.

The place annexed.

John.1.

The place of theſe two Articles gathered out of the Reuelat.is this: Who is this light that we are exhorted to beleue in? Truly it is Chriſt,as ſ. Iohn doth teſtifie: He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the world. To beleue in this light, maketh vs the chyldren of light,and the ſure inheritors with Ieſus Chriſt. Euē now haue we cruell aduerſaries,which ſet vp theyr briſtles,ſaying: why? ſhall we then do no good workes? To theſe we aunſwer as Chriſt did to the people in the 6. of S. Iohn, which aſked hym what they ſhould do, ẏ they might worke the workes of God? Ieſus anſwered and ſayd vnto them: This is the worke of God that ye beleue on him whom he hath ſent. And after it followeth: Uerily,verily I ſay vnto you he that beleueth on me,hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. To this alſo cōdeſcēdeth S. Ioh.in his epiſtle ſaying: Theſe things haue I written vnto you that beleue on the name of the ſonne of God,that you may ſurely know how that you haue eternall lyfe. What is the name of the ſonne of God? Truely hys name is Ieſus,that is to ſay,a ſauiour: therefore thou muſt beleue that he is a ſauiour,

John.5.

But what auayleth this? The deuils do thus beleue & tremble. They know that he is the ſonne of God, and ſayd vnto him,crying: O Ieſu the ſonne of God,what haue we to do with thee? They know that he hath redemed mākind by his paſſion,and laboured to let it. For when Pilate was ſet downe to geue iudgement,hys wyfe ſent vnto him, ſaying: Haue thou nothyng to doe with that iuſt man, for I haue ſuffred many thinges this day in my ſlepe about hym. No doubt ſhe was vexed of the deuill,to the entent that ſhe ſhould perſwade her huſband to geue no ſentence vpon him, ſo that Satan might the longer haue had iuriſdiction ouer mankynd. They know that he hath ſuppreſſed ſinne & death as it is written. Death is conſumed into victory. Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? The ſtyng of death is ſinne: the ſtyng of ſinne is the law. But thankes be vnto God,which hath geuē vs victory through our lord Ieſus Chriſt: who by ſinne,damned ſinne in the fleſh. For God made hym to be ſinne for vs, that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for our ſinne (and ſo is ſinne taken in many places) whiche knew no ſinne,that we by hys meanes ſhould be that righteouſnes which before God is allowed. It is not therefore ſufficient to beleue that he is a ſauior and redemer: but that he is a ſauiour and redemer vnto thee,&c.

Iacob.1.
Math.8.
Math.27.
Oſee 13.
Heb.2.
1.Cor.15.
Rom.8.

9.Article.

9 Nombryng of ſinnes maketh a man a more ſinner yea a blaſphemer of the name of God.fol.3.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of Reuelat. is this: Knowledge thy ſelfe a ſinner, that thou mayeſt be iuſtified. Not that the numbryng of thy ſinnes can make thē righteous,but rather a greater ſinner,yea and a blaſphemer of the holy name of God,as thou mayeſt ſee in Cain,which ſayd that hys ſinnes were greater then that hee myght receiue forgiuenes,and ſo was a reprobate,&c.

10.Article.

10 God byndeth vs to that which is impoſſible for vs to accompliſhe.fol. 3

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of ẏ Reuelat.is this: If thou aſke of me why he byndeth vs to that which is impoſſible for vs to accompliſhe: thou ſhalt haue S. Auguſtine aunſwere,which ſayth in the ſecond booke that hee wrote to Hierome, that the lawe was geuen vs,that wee might knowe what to do, and what to eſchewe, to the entēt that when we ſee our ſelues not able to do that which wee are bound to do,nor auoyde the contrary,we may thē know what wee ſhall pray for, and of whome we ſhall aſke this ſtrength,ſo that wee may ſay vnto our father: Good father commaunde what ſoeuer it pleaſeth the.but geue vs ẏ grace to fulfill that thou commaundeſt. And when we perceiue ẏ we can not fulfil his will,yet let vs confeſſe that the lawe is good and holy, and that we are ſinners and carnall,ſold vnder ſinne. But let vs not here ſticke, for now are we at hell gates,and doubtles ſhould fall into vtter deſperation,except God dyd bryng vs agayne,ſhewyng vs his goſpell and promiſe,ſaying: feare not litle flocke,for it is your fathers pleaſure to geue you a kyngdome,&c.

Rom.7.
Luke.12.

11.Article.

11 Synne can not condemne vs: for our ſatiſfaction is made in Chirſt which dyed for vs.fol.4.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat.is this: Synne hath no power ouer vs,neither can condemne vs for our ſatiſfaction is made in Chriſte, whiche dyed for vs that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath. But God whiche is riche in mercy, through the great loue where with he loued vs,euen when we were dead through ſinne,hath quickened vs with Chriſt, & with him hath rayſed vs vp,and with him hath made vs ſit in heauēly things through Ieſus Chriſt, for to ſhewe in times to come,the exceding riches of his grace in kindnes towards vs through Chriſt Ieſus: for by grace are ye ſaued through fayth, and that not of our ſelues,for it is the gifte of God, and cōmeth not of workes,leaſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe.&c.

Epheſ.2.

12.Article.

12 I wil ſhew thee an euident arguement and reaſon that thou mayeſt knowe without doubte,who is Antichriſt. Al they that do purſue,are Antichriſts. The Pope,biſhops,Cardinals and their adherentes doe purſue: therfore the Pope, Byſhops, and Cardinals,& their adherentes are Antichriſts I weene our Sillogiſmus be well made.fol.9.

The place annexed.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat.is this: I wyll ſhewe the an euident reaſon that thou mayeſt knowe without doubtyng whiche is the very Antichriſt: & this argument may be grounded of their furious perſecutiō which Paule doth confirme writyng to the Galathyans. We (deare brethren) are the children of promiſe as Iſaac was (not the ſonnes of the bond woman as Iſmael:) but as he that was borne after the fleſh dyd perſecute him that was borne after ẏ ſpirite,euē ſo is it now. Marke Paules reaſon. By Iſaac are ſignified the elect,and by Iſmaell the reprobate. Iſaac did not perſecute Iſmaell, but contrarye, Iſmaell dyd perſecute Iſaac. Now let vs make our reaſō.

Bar- All they that do perſecute are Iſmaell,the reprobate and Antichriſtes.

ba- But all the popes,cardinals,biſhops,and their adherents do perſecute: Maior.

ra. Therfore all the popes,cardinals,biſhops, and theyr adherents be Iſmael,the reprobate and Antichriſtes. Minor.

I wene our Syllogiſmus is well made, and in the firſt figure.

Read the place and ſee how he proueth the partes of this argument more at large. Cocluſio.

13.Article.

13 I thinke verily that ſo long as the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martired,there were good chri-

ſten men and no longer.fol.10.

The biſhops of Rome in the primitiue church were vnder perſecution the ſpace wellneare of 300. yeres, vnder the which perſecution, as good as 30. of them and mo died martyrs. Since that tyme haue ſucceded 204. Popes whiche haue lyued in great wealth and aboundance, amongeſt whõ if the booke of Reuelation thinke that there is not 4. to bee found good chriſten men, I thinke no leſſe but that he maye ſo thinke without any hereſie.

14.Article.

14 It is impoſſible that the worde of the croſſe ſhould bee without affliction and perſecution.fol.10.

2.Tim.3.

S. Paule ſayth: who ſo euer wyl lyue vertuouſly in Chriſt Jeſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And how then can this be true in Paul, and in this mans hereſie?

15.Article.

15 That the Apoſtles did curſe euer any man, truely we can not read in Scripture: for Chriſt commaũded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them.fol.11.

The place annexed.

Upon what good ground of the Reuelatiõ this hereſie is wrõg out, let the place be conferred, which is writtten in theſe wordes folowing: They are as mercyfull as the Woolfe is on his pray. They were ordeyned to bleſſe men, but they curſe as the deuyl were in them. Paul ſayth, that he hath power to edifie, and not to deſtroy. But I wot not of whom theſe bloudy beaſtes haue their authoritie, which do ſo much reioyce in curſing & deſtruction. We reade how Paul did excõmunicate the Corinthian (and that for a great tranſgreſſion) to the entent that he might be aſhamed of his iniquitie, and deſired agayne the Corinthians to receyue hym with all charitie: but that the Apoſtles dyd curſe any man, truely we can not reade in ſcripture, for Chriſt commaunded them to bleſſe thoſe that curſed them, and to pray for thoſe that perſecuted them. &c.

1.Cor.10. 1.Cor.13. 1.Cor.5. 2.Cor.2.

16.Article.

16 By workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, we decay frõ the fayth, which alone doth truly iuſtifie and make holy. fol.15.

False wraſting.

Note here (good reader) how peruerſely & corruptly this article is drawen. For where the place of this booke, which is written, fol.15. expreſly ſpeaketh of truſtyng to workes, meanyng that wee ſhoulde put no confidence in workes, but onely in fayth in Chriſt Jeſus, this article to make it appeare more infamous and hereticall, leaueth out the falſe truſt, and ſpeakth ſimply, as though workes ſhould decay fayth. Reade the place which is written in theſe wordes folowing: Daniel calleth not this word, Peſchaim, any maner of ſinne, but thoſe ſpecial and chiefe ſinnes, which reſiſt and fight agaynſt the truth and the fayth: as at the truſtynge in workes, ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies, by the which we decay from the fayth. &c.

17.Article.

17 The abuſion of the Maſſe with all his ſolemnities, with vigils, yeare myndes, foundations, burials, and all the buſines that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloke of godlines and deceiuyng of the people: as they were good works, rather for the dead then for the quicke.fol.24.

True godlynes conſiſteth in fayth, that is, in the true knowledge of the ſonne of God whõ he hath ſent, & in the obſeruation of Gods cõmaundements. Al other rites & additions inſtituted by man, are no part of true godlines. And who ſo putteth truſt & cõfidence therein, as beyng thinges meritorious for the dead, is deceyued. Such funerals ſaint Auſten calleth rather refreſhynges of the liuyng, then releuynges and helpes of the dead.

18.Article.

18 To kepe and obſerue one day to faſt, and another to abſtaine, to forbeare ſuch a meat vpõ the faſting day to deſerue heauen therby, is a wicked face and cloke, and agaynſt Paul. fol.29.

Galat.2.

The truth of this Article is manifeſt enough, to be voyd of all errour and hereſie, vnleſſe it be hereſie, to beleue & hold with the ſcripture, S. Paul ſayth, if heauen and our righteouſnes come by the law, then Chriſt died in vayne. Gal.2

19.Article.

19 The multiplication of holydayes, of feaſtes of Corpus Chriſti, of the viſitation of our lady.&c. is a wicked face and colour, and in dede foliſh, vnprofitable and vayne.fol.30.

This Article likewiſe nedeth no declaration conteynyng in it a true & neceſſary cõplaint of ſuch ſuperfluous holydais of the popes making. Which as they bring with thẽ much occaſiõ of wickednes, idlenes, dronkenes, & vanitie, ſo hauyng alſo ioyned vnto them opinion of religion, and meritorious deuotion and gods ſeruice, they gender ſuperſtition, & nouriſh the people in the ſame.

20.Article.

20 Keping of virginitie and chaſtitie of religion is a diueliſh thyng.fol.30.

An other place falſly depraued by the papiſtes.

The place cited in the booke of the Reuelation of Antichriſt, doth ſufficiently open it ſelfe. ſpekyng and meanyng onely of thoſe Monkiſhe vowes, whiche by the canonicall conſtitution of the Pope, are violently forced vpon Prieſts and Monkes the coaction wherof S. Paule doth rightly call the doctrine of deuils. And here note by yͤ way an other tricke of a Popiſhe caniller. For where the wordes of the booke ſpeake playnely of the chaſtitie of the Religious, fraudulently turnyng it to an vniuerſalitie ſayth, the chaſtitie of religiõ, wherby it might ſeme to the ſimple reader more odious and hereticall. The wordes of the place be theſe.

1.Tim.4. Dan.11.

Keeping of virginitie & chaſtitie of the religious ſeemeth to be a godly & a heauenly thing: but it is a deuiliſhe thyng. Of the which it is ſpokẽ in the 4. of the firſt epiſtle to Tim. Forbidding to mary.&c. where as againe our moſt reuerẽd father maketh that thing neceſſary, that Chriſt would haue fre, wherof Daniel in the 11.chap. ſpeaketh: He ſhal not be deſirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtaine from mariage, for a cloke of godlynes, and not for loue of chaſtitie.

21.Article.

21. Worſhipping of Reliques is a proper thing and a cloke of aduauntage agaynſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men.fol.30.31.

The place annexed.

Theſe be the wordes in the Reuel. This (the worſhipping of reliques he meaneth) is a proper & moſt fruitefull cloke of aduãtage. Out of this were inuẽted innumerable pilgrimages, with the which the fooliſh & vnlearned people might leoſe their labour, monie and time, nothing in yͤ mean ſeaſon regarding their houſes, wiues & children, contrary to the commaundement of God: when as they might do much better deedes to their neighbors, which is the precept &c.

22.Article.

22. There is but one ſpeciall office that pertayneth to thine orders, and that is to preach the word of God.fol.36.

Read afore pag. 1221.

Of this matter ſufficient hath bene ſaid before in the 22. article alledged out of the booke of Obedience.

23 Article.

23. The Temple of God is not ſtones and woode, neither in the time of Paule was there any houſe which was called the Temple of God.fol.37.

The place ſpeaking of the temple where Antichriſt ſitteth, is not ſo greuous as the Article maketh.

The place of this article is this: which is an aduerſary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted aboue all that is called God or that is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in yͤ temple of God and ſhew hymſelfe as God. Doth not he ſit in yͤ Temple of God, which ſayth and profeſſeth hymſelfe to be the maiſter in the whole Church? what is the Temple of God? Is it ſtones and woode? Doth not Paule ſay: The Temple of God is holy, which Temple are ye? Neither in the tyme of Paule was there any houſe, which was called the tẽple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this ſitting, but reigning, teaching, and iudging? Who ſith the beginning of the Church, durſt preſume to call hymſelfe the maſter of the whole Church, but onely the Pope? &c.

24. Article.

24. He that faſteth no day, that ſayth no Mattens, and doth none of the preceptes of the Pope, ſinneth not, if he thinke that he doth not ſinne.fol.43

The place is there cleare and plaine without any daunger of hereſie.

The place in the Reuel. is thys: Becauſe he feareth the conſciences vnder the title & pretence of Chriſtes name, he maketh of thoſe things which in themſelues are no ſinnes, very greuous offences. For he that beleueth that he doth ſinne if he eate fleſh on the Apoſtles euẽ, or ſay not Mattẽs and Prime in the morninge, or els leaue vndone any of the Popes precepts, no doubt he ſinneth: Not becauſe the dede which he doth is ſinne, but becauſe he beleueth it is ſinne, and that agaynſt this fooliſhe beliefe & conſcience he offendeth. Of the which fooliſhe conſcience onely the Pope is head author. For an other doyng the ſame deede, thynking that he doth not ſinne, truely offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the ſpirit of Paul cõplayneth that many ſhall depart frõ the fayth. And for this fooliſhe conſcience mẽs traditions be pernicious & noyſome, yͤ ſnares of ſoules hurting the fayth & the libertie of the Goſpel. If it were not for this cauſe, they ſhould do no hurt. Therefore the deuill through the Pope abuſeth theſe conſciences to ſtabliſhe the lawes of his tyrãny, to ſuppreſſe the faith & libertie, and to repleniſhe the world with errour, ſinne and perdition. &c.

Traditions how they doe hurt.

25.Article.

25. Chriſt ordeyned the Sacrament of the aultar, onely to nouriſhe the fayth of them that liue: but the Pope maketh it a good worke, and a ſacrifice to be applied both to quicke and dead.fol.48.

The place toucheth the abuſe Sacrament and is not agaynſt the ſacrament.

The place is this: Sathan hated the Sacrament, and knew no way how to ſuppreſſe & diſanull it: Therefore he found thys craft, that the ſacrament which Chriſt did onely ordeine to nouriſhe & ſtabliſhe the faith of them that liue) ſhould be counted for a good worke and ſacrifice, & bought and ſold: And ſo faith is ſuppreſſed and this holeſome miniſtery is applied, not to the quicke, but vnto the dead, that is to ſay, neither to the quicke, neither yet to the dead. O this incredible fury of God. &c.

26 Article.

26. Theſe ſignes (he ſpeaketh of miracles and viſions or apparitions) are not to the increaſe of the faith and Goſpell, for they are rather agaynſt the fayth and Goſpell, and they are the operation of ſathan, and lying ſignes.fol.49.

The place conteyneth a true cõplaint of falſe illuſions, & may well be borne.

The place is as foloweth: Who is able to number the monſtrous maruells onely of them that are departed? Good Lord, what a Sea of lyes hath inuaded vs, of apparitions, coniuringes, and aunſweres of ſpirites? By the which it is brought to paſſe, that the pope is alſo made the kyng of them that are dead,and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profite of his Prieſtes, whiche haue all their lyuyng, riches,& pompe out of Purgatory: Howbeit they ſhoulde haue leſſe, if they dyd ſo well teache the fayth of them that lyue, as they do ridles of thẽ that are dead. Neither was there ſyth the begynnyng of the worlde, any worke founde of ſo little labour and great aduauntage. For truely to this purpoſe were gathered almoſt the poſſeſſions of al Princes and rich men. And through theſe ryches ſprang vp al pleaſures and idlenes, and of idlenes came very Babilone and Sodoma, &c.

* This booke of the reuelation of Antichriſt treating vpon the 8. chapt of Daniell, which there ſpeaketh of the kyng of faces & ridles, alludeth here to the ſame.

Neyther are theſe ſignes to the encreaſe of the fayth and Goſpell(for they are rather agaynſt the fayth and Goſpell) but they are done to ſtabliſhe the Tyrannye of theſe* facers and rydles,and to ſet vp and confirme the truſt in workes. Among theſe illuſions are thoſe miracles to bee reputed, which are ſhewed in viſions,pilgrimages,& worſhippinges of Saintes as their are plenty now a dayes,which the pope confirmeth by his Bulles,yea and ſome tyme doth canonize Saintes that he knoweth not. Now beholde what is the operation of Satan in lying ſignes. &c

27. Article.

27. The people of Chriſt,doth nothyng becauſe it is commaunded but becauſe it is pleaſaunte and acceptable vnto them.fol.63.

The place geueth an other meaning then the article pretendeth.

The wordes out of the which this Article is gathered, are theſe. They are the people of Chriſt, whiche willyngly do heare and folow hym,not for any feare of the law,but onely intyſed and lead with a gracious libertie and faythfull loue:not doyng any thing becauſe it is commaunded, but becauſe it is pleaſant & acceptable vnto them thoughe it were not commaunded:for they that would do otherwiſe ſhoulde be counted the people of the lawe and Synagoge.&c,

28. Article.

28 In the whole new law is no vrgent precept nor greuous,but onely exhortations to obſerue thynges neceſſarye for ſoule health.fol.63.

The place is ſound and ſtandeth well with Scripture.
1. Tim. 1.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: A chriſtian ſhould worke nothing by compulſion of ẏ law,but all through the ſpirit of liberty,as Paule ſayth in the 1.of the firſt epiſtle to Tim.The law is not geuen to a righteous man. For whatſoeuer is done by compulſion of the law,is ſinne: for it is not done with a glad and willyng ſpirite,but with a contrary will, and rebelling againſte the law,and this truly is ſinne. Therfore in the 4. of the ſecond Epiſtle to the Cor.he calleth the preachers of the new Teſtament,the Miniſters of the ſpirite, and not of the letter, becauſe they teach grace and not the law. Wherefore in the whole new teſtament are there no vrgent or greuous precepts,but onely exhortations to obſerue thoſe things which are neceſſary to our health. Neyther did Chriſt and his Apoſtles at any tyme compell any man. And the holy Ghoſt was for that cauſe called Paracletus,that is to ſay,an exhorter and comforter,&c.

2. Cor. 4.

29. Article.

29 All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament but no man is compelled,but to do according to theyr owne will.Therfore Chriſt teacheth.Math.28.that a rebel ſhould not be killed,but auoyded.fol.63.66.

The place annexed.

The wordes in the Reuelat.are theſe.In the new Teſtament are all things declared,which we ought to doe and leaue vndone:what reward is ordeined for them that do and leaue vndone: and of whom to ſeke, finde, and obteine helpe to do and leaue vndone: But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do according to their owne will.Therfore in the 18 of Math.he teacheth that a rebell ſhould not be killed, but auoyded and put out of company like a Gentile.&c

30. Article.

30 Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould be taken as holy & an other prophane: but would that all places ſhould be indifferent.fol.65.

The place annexed.

The Pope maketh difference of places: but the Goſpel maketh none.

The place is this.Chriſt taking away the difference of all places,wil be worſhipped in euery place.Neither is there in his kyngdome one place holy and an other prophane: but all places are indifferent,neither canſt thou more hartily and better beleue,truſt,and loue God in the temple at the altar, in the churchyard,then in thy barne,vineyarde, kitchine, or bed.And to be ſhort, the martyrs of Chriſt haue honoured hym in darke dungeons and priſons.&c

31. Article.

31 He rayleth againſt all the rites and ceremonies of the Maſſe,as he were mad.fol.68.

This place noteth onelye the prepoſterous iudgement of them, which ſet more by the preceptes of men, then by the commaundements of God: and yet herein he vſeth no railing terme.

The place out of the which this article is collected,is as followeth. If a Nunne touch the ſuperaltare or the Corpores (as they call it) it is a ſinne. To touch the Chalyce, is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay Maſſe with an vnhalowed Chalice, is a greuous offence. To doe ſacrifice in veſtimentes which are not conſecrated, is a hainous crime. It is reputed for a ſinne if in miniſtring any Sacrament, the Prieſt doe lacke any ornament that pertayneth thereunto. If he call a childe, or ſpeake in the wordes of the Canon. He ſinneth that toucheth the holy Reliques of Saintes. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the aulter eyther with hand or fingar, though it be for neceſſitie to plucke it from the roufe of his mouth,committeth ſuch vilanous iniquity, that they will ſcrape and ſhaue of the quicke fleſh from the parte which did touch it. I thinke at length they will fley the toung, the roufe of the mouth, the throte, and the bely, becauſe they touch the ſacrament. But to hurt thy neighbour, or priuely to conuey away any of hys goodes, or not to helpe hym in his neede, is in a maner neuer counted for ſinne, nor yet regarded.&c.

32 Article.

32 No labour is now a dayes more tedious then ſaying of Maſſe and Mattens.&c. Which before God are nothing but greuous ſinnes. Fol. 70.

33. Article.

33 The ſinnes of Manaſſes and other wicked kinges ſacrificing their owne children, are but light and childiſh offẽces to theſe. The curſed ſacrifices of the Gentils may not be compared to ours;we are vij. tymes worſe Gentiles thẽ we were before we knewe Chriſt. Fol. 70.

This place may ſeme to ſpeake ſomewhat vehemented peraduenture, but yet I ſee no hereſie in it.

The wordes out of the which theſe two Articles are gathered are theſe. They are ſo oppreſſed(thoſe hee meaneth which are vnder the ſeruitude of the Popes lawes & decrees) that they fulfill them onely with the outwarde worke: for their willes are cleane contrary, as we ſee by experience in troubleſome buſines of Vigilles, Maſſes, & Houres, which both muſt be ſayd and ſong. In the which they labour with ſuch wearines, that now a dayes no labour is more tedious. Yet neuertheleſſe ẏ cruell exactours of theſe moſt hard workes, compell men to worke ſuche thinges without ceaſing, which before God are nothing but greeuous ſinnes: although before men they bee good workes and counted for the ſeruice of God. Here are inuẽted the entyſementes of the ſenſes through organes, muſicke and diuerſitie of ſonges: but theſe are nothing to the ſpirite,which rather is extinct through theſe wantõ trifles. Ah Chriſt, with what violence, with what power are they driuen headlong to ſinne, & periſh through this abomination?

It is horrible to looke in to theſe cruell wherlepoles of conſciences,which periſh with ſo great paynes and labour what light offences to theſe are the ſinnes wherin Manaſſes and other wicked kings ſinned by doyng ſacrifice with their owne children and progenye? Truely the curſed ſacrifices of the moſt rude gentiles,no not of the Leſtrigones may be compared vnto ours.The ſaying of Chriſt may be verified in vs: ſeuen more wicked ſpirites make the ende worſe then the beginning. For I ſay that we Gentiles are worſe vij.times then we were before we knew Chriſt.&c.

3.Reg.21.
Leſtrigones were a people or giants about the borders of Italy,who as Homere ſaith,vſed to eate mens fleſh.

34 It were better to receiue neither of the partes of the ſacrament of the aulter,then the one alone.fol.73.

34.Article.
The truth of this place may well be auouched by good reaſon.

The wordes be theſe. Plainly I thinke that the whole is taken away,ſith I ſee manifeſtly the one part gone(for ẏ bread and ẏ wyne is but one ſacramẽt)the other is left only for a laughing ſtocke. For he that in one parte offendeth againſt God,is gilty in all. Therfore it were better to receiue neither of the partes,then the one alone:for ſo we might the more ſurely eſchue the tranſgreſſion of that which Chriſte did inſtitute.&c.

35. Article.

35 The law of the Pope that commaundeth euery man to communicate together vpon one day,is a moſt cruell law conſtrayning men to their owne deſtruction.fol.73.

The place annexed.

Men ought not to be driuen to the comunion agaynſt their willes, but to be exhorted, and left to their own diſpoſition.

The place is this. He(the pope he meaneth)ſettyng a moſt cruell and deadly ſnare to tangle the conſciences, ſuffereth not the vſe of this Sacrament to be fre, but compelleth all together on one certein day once in the yeare to communicate. Here I pray the good Chriſten brother, how manye doeſt thou thinke do communicate onely by the compulſion of this precepte, whiche truely in their hart had leuer not to communicate? And al theſe ſinne (for they do not communicate in ſpirite,that is to ſay, neither in fayth nor will, but by the compulſion of this letter and lawe(ſith that this bread requireth a hungery and not a full hart, & much leſſe a diſdaynyng and hateful mynde. And of all theſe ſinnes,the Pope is authour, conſtraynyng all men by his moſt cruell law to their owne deſtruction, where as hee ought to leaue this communion free to euery man, and onely call and exhorte them,and not compell and driue them vnto it.&c.

36. Article.

36 The ſpirite would that nothyng ſhould be done,but that which is expreſſly rehearſed in ſcripture. fol. 81.

In thinges perteining to gods worſhip, it is true.

In thinges appertaynyng to Gods worſhippe and ſeruice, true it is that he is not to be worſhipped,but only according to that which he hath reueled and expreſſed vnto vs in hys owne word.And this is the meanyng of the author, as by hys wordes doth playnely appeare.

37. Article.

27 Saint Thomas de Aquino ſauorerh nothyng of the ſpirite of God.fol.83.

Thomas Aquine.

The doctrine of Th. Aquine referreth ẏ greateſt or a very great parte of our righteouſnes to opus operatũ,& vnto merites.The ſpirite of God referreth all our righteouſnes before God,onely to our fayth in Chriſt. Nowe how theſe ſa-nour together, let any indifferent reader iudge.

38. Article.

Iohn Hus.

38 The Pope did condemne the truth of the word of god openly at Conſtance in Iohn Huſſ, perſeuering vnto this day in the ſame ſtubbernes.fol.15.

Touchyng the condemnation of Iohn Hus, and the maner of hys handlyng & the cauſe of his death, read his ſtorye before begynnyng pag. 568. and conſider moreouer hys Prophecie of the hundreth yeares after hym expyred pag. 612. how truly the ſequele dyd folow in M. Luther. & thē iudge of his cauſe, good reader, as the truth of Gods worde ſhall lead thee. And thus much concernyng theſe ſlaunderous articles.

Articles out of the Summe of the ſcripture.

Here follow other hereſies and errours, collected by the Byſhops out of the booke named the Summe of the Scripture, with the places of the booke anexed to the ſame.

1. Article.

THe water of the foūt hath no more vertue in it thē hath any other water.fol.1.

2. Article.

2 The water of Baptiſme lyeth not in halowed Water or in other outward thyng, but onely in fayth.fol.6.

The place annexed.

The place of theſe two articles gathered out of the Summe of the Scripture is this. The water of Baptiſme taketh not away our ſinne: for then were it a precious water, and then it behoued vs dayly to waſhe our ſelues therin. Neyther hath the water of the Fount more vertue in it ſelfe, thē the water that runneth in the riuer of Rhene. When Philip baptiſed the Eunuch, the ſeruant of Candace, the Queene of Ethiope, there was then no hallowed water, nor candell, nor ſault nor creame, neither white habite: but he baptiſed hym in the firſt water they came to vpō ẏ way. Here maieſt thou perceiue that the vertue of Baptiſme lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward thinges that we haue at the Founte, but in the fayth onely. &c. Chriſte hath healed vs (ſayth Saint Paule by the bath of regeneration and renouation of the holy Ghoſt.

Actes.8.

Tit.3.

3. Article.

3 God fathers and Godmothers be bound to helpe their childrē that they be put to ſchole, that they may vnderſtād the Goſpell, and the Epiſtles of S. Paul fol.15.

The place annexed.

The place of this article gathered out of the ſayde booke is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers bee bounde to helpe the children that they be put to ſchole, to the entent, ẏ they may vnderſtand the Goſpell, the ioyfull meſſage of God, with the Epiſtles of S. Paule. God hath commaūded to publiſhe, and to ſhew the Goſpell, not onely to prieſtes but to euery creature. Goe ye (ſayth Chriſt vnto his Diſciples) into the vniuerſall worlde and preach the Goſpell to euery creature. For we be all equally bounde to knowe the Goſpell and the doctrine of the new teſtament. &c. And S. Paul wrytyng to the Corinth, confeſſeth that hee ſendeth his Epiſtles to all the Churche, that is to ſay, to all the aſſemble of Chriſten men, and to all thē that call on the name of Ieſus. &c.

Marke.16.

4. Article.

4 We thinke when we beleue that God is God, and can our Crede, that wee haue the fayth that a Chriſtian man is bound to haue: but ſo doth the deuill beleue.fol.17.

5. Article.

5 To beleue that the Father, the Sonne, & the holy Ghoſt be one God, is not the principall that wee muſt beleue: our fayth doth not lye principally, in that, for ſo beleueth the deuill.fol.18.

The place annexed.

The place out of the whiche theſe two articles are collected, is this: We thinke, when we beleue that God is God, and can our Crede, that we haue the fayth whiche a Chriſtian is bounde to haue. The deuill beleueth alſo that there is a God and a life euerlaſtyng, and a hell, but hee is neuer the better for it: and he trembleth alwaye for this fayth, as ſayth Saint Iames. The deuils beleue, and they tremble. A man might aſke: what ſhall I then beleue? Thou ſhalt beleue playnely and vndoubtedly that the father, the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt is one onely God &c. But this likewiſe beleue the wicked ſpirites, and are nothyng the better therfore. There is yet an other fayth whiche Chriſt ſo much requireth of vs in the Goſpell, & wherunto alſo Saint Paull almoſt in all his Epiſtle ſo ſtrongly exhorteth vs, that is, that we beleue the Goſpell, when our Lorde began firſt to preach, he ſayd (as rehearſeth ſaynt Marke) repent and beleue the Goſpell. Of this fayth, read before in the firſt article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and in the ix. and x. of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

Iam.2.

What true fayth is that iuſtifieth.

Marke.1.

6. Article.

6 If wee beleue that God hath promiſed vs euerlaſtyng lyfe, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh.fol. 20.

The place of the author falſly wraſted

Lo here good Reader, an other manifeſt example of the vnhoneſt dealyng and falſe cogging of theſe mē. For where the place of the author, ſpeaketh expreſſely of puttyng oure truſt in god and his promiſes, the article pretily leaueth out our truſting in gods promiſe, and ſaith only: if we beleeue ẏ god hath promiſed. Read the place and conferre it with the article and thē iudge whether there be no differēce betwene truſtyng in the promiſe ẏ God hath made of euerlaſtyng lyfe & beleuing onely that God hath made the promiſe of euerlaſtyng lyfe. The place here foloweth as it is there written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our truſt in god and in his promiſes, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh, for he hath promiſed vs life euerlaſting. And for as much as he is almightye, he may well performe that that he hath promiſed: and in that he is mercifull and true, he will performe hys promiſe made vnto vs, if we can beleue it ſtedfaſtly, and put all our truſt in him.

7. Article.

7 If thou canſt ſurely and ſtedfaſtly beleue in God, he wil hold his promiſe. For he hath bound himſelfe to vs, and by his promiſe he oweth vs heauen, in caſe that we beleeue hym.fol.21.

True doctrine made hereſie.

Seyng all our hope ſtandeth onely vpon the promiſe of God, what hereſie then is in this doctrine, to ſay that God oweth vs heauen by his promiſe, which is no other to mean but that God can not breake promiſe. And now iudge thou good reader whether is more hereſie to ſay, that god oweth vs heauen by hys promiſe, as we ſay: or this, that god oweth vs heauen by the condignitie & congruitie of our workes as the Papiſts ſay?

8 Article.

8 All Chriſtes glory is ours.fol.27.

9. Article.

9 We nede not to labour for to be Chriſtes heires, & ſonnes of God, and to haue heauen: for we haue all theſe thinges already.fol.24.

The wordes out of the which theſe two hereſies are gathered, be theſe: We be made his heyres, and all his glory is ours, as ſ. Paul largely declareth. This hath God geuē vs without our deſeruyng and we nede not to labour for theſe things, for all theſe we haue alredy. &c

True doctrine made hereſie.

John.7.

They which note theſe articles for hereſie, by the ſame iudgement they may make hereſie of ſ. Iohns goſpel, and of Paules epiſtles, and of all together. S. Iohn ſaith, the glory which thou gaueſt me, I haue geuē them that they may be one, as we alſo are one. As many as receyued him, to thē gaue he power to be the ſonnes of god. S. Paul ſaith: The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the ſonnes of God. If we be ſonnes, then are we alſo heyres, the heyres I meane of God, and heyres annexed with Chriſt.

John.1.

Rom.8.

10. Article.

10 We nede not to labour by our good workes to get euerlaſting lyfe: for we haue it already: we be all iuſtified: we be all the children of God.fol.28,

11. Article.

11 All that thinketh that good workes helpe or profite any thing to get the gift of ſaluation, they blaſpheme againſt God, and rob God of his honour.fol.28.

12. Article.

12 If we be circumciſed, that is to ſay, if we put any truſt in workes, Chriſt ſhall not helpe vs.fol 28

13. Article.

13 We deſerue nothing of God.fol.30.

14. Article.

14 We deſerue not euerlaſting lyfe by our good workes, for God hath promiſed it vnto vs, before that we began to do good.fol.40

15. Article.

15 Euery chriſten man muſt kepe Gods commaundemēts by loue, and not by hope, to get for his ſeruice euerlaſtyng lyfe.fol.42

16. Article.

16 The Iewes kept the commaundementes, and the law of God: yet they could not come to heauen.fol.43.

17. Article.

17 Men truſtyng in their good workes, are like to the theſe on the left ſide, and are ſuch men as commeth to the church daily, kepeth holydayes and faſting dayes, and heareth maſſes, and theſe people be ſoneſt damned: for, this is one of the greateſt errours in Chriſtendome, to thinke that thy good workes ſhal helpe to thy ſaluation.fol.47.

True Chriſtianitie turned to hereſie.

If theſe articles be made hereſie, which referre the benefite of our inheritance of lyfe and ſaluation to Gods gift, and not to our labors: to grace and not to merites: to fayth, and not to the law of workes, then let vs ſhut vp clean the new teſtament, and away with gods word, and ſet vp a new diuinity of the Popes makyng: yea let vs leaue Chriſt with hys heretical goſpell, and in hys ſtede ſet vp the Byſhoppe of Rome with hys Talmud, and become the Diſciples of hys decretals. And certes, except chriſten princes begin betyme to take ſome zeale of God vnto them, and looke more ſeriouſly vpon the matter, the procedings of theſe men ſeme to tend to little better, then to driue vs at length from true Chriſtianitie, to an other kynde and forme of religion of theyr own inuention, if they haue not brought it welnere to paſſe alredy.

18. Article.

18 To ſerue God in a tediouſnes, or for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen, is but ſhadowes of good workes, & ſuch ſeruice doth not pleaſe God.fol.41

These conteine no matter either of errour or hereſie.

The place is this: Workes done in fayth, be alonely pleaſant vnto God, and worthy to be called good workes: for they be the workes of the holy ghoſt that dwelleth in vs by this fayth. But they that are done by tediouſnes & euil will, for feare of hell, or for deſire of heauē, be nothing els but ſhadowes of workes making hypocrites. The end of our good workes is only to pleaſe God, knowledging that if we doe neuer ſo much, we can neuer do our duety: for they that for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen do ſerue god, do a cōſtrayned ſeruice, which god will not haue. Such people doe not ſerue God becauſe he is their God and their father, but to haue their reward and to auoyde hys puniſhmentes, and ſuch people are hyred men and waged ſeruauntes, and are not children. But the children of God ſerue their father for loue. &c.

19 Article.

19 We muſt loue death, and more deſire to die, then to feare death fol.36.

Although our nature bee frayle & full of imperfection, ſo that we do not as we ſhould, yet doyng as we ought and as we are lead by the Scriptures to do, we ſhoulde not dread, but deſire rather to dye and to be with Chriſt, as the place it ſelfe doth well declare, which is this:

The place is ſound & perfect.

1. Cor. 15.

Phil. 1.

We muſt loue death, and more deſire to dye and to be with God, as dyd Saint Paule, then to feare death. For Ieſus Chriſt dyed for vs, to the intent that wee ſhoulde not feare to dye, and he hath ſlayne death, and deſtroyed the ſtinge of death, as writeth S. Paule, ſaying: O death where is thy ſting? Death is ſwallowed vp in victory. And to the Philippians: Chriſt is to me lyfe, & death, is to me aduauntage.

20. Article.

20 God made vs his children and his heyres, while we wer his enemies, and before we knew him. fol.44.

Hereſie made where none is.

Rom. 10.

I merueil what the Papiſtes meane in their Regiſters to condemne this article as an hereſie, vnleſſe their purpoſe be vtterly to impugne & gaynſtand the ſcripture, and ẏ wrytynges of Saint Paule, who in the fyft chapter to the Romaines, and other his Epiſtles, importeth euen the ſame doctrine in all reſpectes, declaryng in formall wordes that we be made the children and heyres of God, and that wee were reconciled vnto hym when we were hys enemies.

21. Article.

21 It were better neuer to haue done good worke, and aſke mercy therfore, then to do good workes, and thinke that for them God is bound to a man by promiſe. fol.48

22. Article.

22 We can ſhew no more honour to God, then fayth and truſt in him. fol.48

What hereſie can be drawen out of this place.

The place out of the which theſe two articles are gathered, is this: It were better for the a thouſand folde that thou haddeſt ben a ſinner, and neuer had done good deede, & to acknowledge thine offences and euill lyfe vnto God, aſkyng mercy with a good harte, lamentyng thy ſinnes, then to haue done good workes and in them to put thy truſt, thinkyng that therfore God were bound to thee. There is nothyng, which (after the maner of ſpeakyng) bindeth God, but fyrme and ſtedfaſt fayth and truſt in hym and his promiſes. &c. For we can ſhew vnto God no greater honour, thē to haue fayth and truſt in hym: For who ſo euer doth that, he confeſſeth that God is true, good, mighty & mercifull. &c.

23. Article.

23 Fayth without good workes, is no little nor no feble fayth, but it is no fayth. fol.50.

24. Article.

24 Euery man doth as much as he beleueth. fol.50

Iames. 3.

Hereſie picked out where none is.

1 Iohn. 3.

The place out of the whiche the two Articles be gathered, is this: If thy fayth induce the not to do good workes then haſt thou not ẏ right fayth, thou doeſt but onely think that thou haſt it. For S. Iames ſayth, that fayth without workes is dead in it ſelfe. He ſayth not that it is litle or feeble, but that it is dead and that is dead, is not. Therfore when thou art not moued by fayth vnto the loue of god and by the loue of god vnto good workes, thou haſt not faith but fayth is dead in the, for the ſpirite of God that by fayth commeth into our hartes to ſtyrre vp loue, canot be idle. Euery one doth as muche as he beleueth, and loueth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. Iohn. He that hath this hope that he is the ſonne of God, purifieth hymſelf as he is pure. He ſayth not, he that purifieth hym ſelfe hath this hope. for the hope muſt come before, procedyng from the fayth, as it behoueth that the tree muſt firſt be good which muſt bring forth good fruite.

25 Article.

25 We cannot be without motions of euill deſires: but we muſt mortifie them, in reſiſting them. fol.52.

No man cā finde any hereſie in this place except he be a Phariſey

They which note this article of hereſie, may note them ſelues rather to bee lyke the Phariſie, Luke. 18. who fooliſhly flatteryng hym ſelfe in the falſe opinion of hys owne righteouſnes, was not ſubdued to the righteouſnes which ſtandeth before God, by fayth, & therfore went home to his houſe leſſe iuſtified then the publican, If the ſcriptures condemne the hart of man to bee crooked euen from his youth Gene, 6. and alſo condemneth all ẏ righteouſnes of man to be lyke a fyled cloth, and if S. Paul could fynde in his fleſh no good thing dwellyng, but ſheweth a continuall reſiſtance betwene the olde man and the new, then muſt it folow, that theſe phariſeis whiche condemne this article of hereſie, eyther cary no fleſhe nor no olde man about them to be reſiſted or verelye, ſaye what they wyll, they cannot chuſe but bee combred with euill motions for the inwarde man continually to fight agaynſt. The place of the author ſufficiently defendeth it ſelfe, as foloweth.

Col. 3.

The place of the author.

Saint Paule byddeth vs mortifie all our euill deſires & carnal luſtes, as vncleanes, couetouſnes, wrath, blaſphemy, detraction, pride, and other lyke vices. And vnto ẏ Rom. 6. he ſayth: let no ſinne raigne in your mortall bodyes. That is to ſay, albeit that we cannot lyue without the motion of ſuch euill deſires, yet we ſhall not ſuffer them to rule in vs, but ſhall mortifie them in reſiſtyng them. &c.

26. Article.

26 All true chriſtianitie lyeth in loue of our neighbours for God, and not in faſting, keping of holy dayes, watching, praying, and ſinging long prayers daily and all day long, hearing Maſſe, running on pilgrimage. &c. fol.52

Conferre this article with the ſcripture, & thou ſhalt ſee no hereſie in it.

The place of this article is this: Thou haſt alwayes occaſion to mortifie thine euil deſires to ſerue thine neighbor, to comfort hym, and to helpe hym with worde and deede, with counſel and exhortation & other ſemblable meanes. In ſuch loue towards our neighbor for the loue of God, lieth al the law and the prophets (as ſayth Chriſt) yea and all chriſtianitie: and not in faſting, keping of holydays, watchyng, ſinging, and long prayers daily and all day long hearyng of maſſes ſettyng vp of candles, runnyng on pilgrimages and ſuch other things, which as wel the hypocrites, proud people, enuious and ſubiect to all wicked affections, do. &c

27. Article.

27 Many doctors in diuinitie, and not only common people beleueth that it is the part of Chriſten faith only to beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt hath liued here in earth. fol.53.54

To beleue that Chriſt here liued & died is good but this is not the thing onely that maketh a Chriſtiā mā. Iam. 2.

The place is this: We beleue that Ieſus Chriſt hath here lyued on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he dyed for vs, and did many other thinges. When we beleue theſe things after the ſtory, we beleue that this is our chriſten fayth. This not only the ſimple people beleueth, but alſo Doctors in diuinitie, which are taken for wyſe men. yea the deuil hath alſo this fayth, as ſayth S. Iames: The deuils beleue, and they tremble. For as we haue ſayd before, ẏ deuil beleueth that god is god, and that Ieſus Chriſt hath here preached, that he dyed, was buried, and roſe agayne. Thus muſt we alſo beleue but this is not the fayth, whereof ſpeaketh the goſpell and ſ. Paul. &c.

Of this fayth and what it is, read before in the place of ẏ 4. and 5. articles of this booke, and of the 1. Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and the 9. & 10. Article of the Reuelation of Antichriſt.

28 Article.

28 He that doth good againſt hys will, he doth euil. fol.56

The place aunſwering to the article.

The place is this: All good dedes which are not done by loue and good wyll, are ſinne before God as ſayth ſ. Auguſtine. He that doth good agaynſt hys wil, doth euil, albeit that he doth, be good. For that I do againſt my wil, I hate and when I hate the commaundemēt, I hate alſo him that hath commaunded it. &c

29 Article.

29. No man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good works. fol.59.

Eſay. 64.

Whoſoeuer gathereth hereſie of thys article muſt needes ſhew hymſelfe to be an heretike.

2. Pet.

Eſay. 53.

The wordes be theſe: The Prophet Eſay ſayth: we are all as an vncleane thyng, & all our iuſtice is as it were a filthy cloth. and therfore I can neuer merueil enough, that many of the religious perſons would make other partakers of their good workes, ſeyng that Chriſte ſayth in the Goſpell: when ye haue done all thoſe thinges which are commaunded you: ſaye, wee are vnprofitable ſeruauntes wee haue done but that whiche was our duety to do. For none can do to much. None doth more then hee is bounde to doe. but onely Ieſus Chriſt (whiche onely as ſayth S. Peter neuer dyd ſinne, neither was there deceite founde in hys mouth) hath done that he was not bounde to do: and as the prophet Eſay ſayth, hath taken vppon hym our infirmities, and borne our ſorowes, hee was wounded for our offences, and ſmitten for our wickednes, and by hys ſtrypes are we made whole. &c.

30. Article.

30 Chriſt hath gotten heauen by his paſſion, but that right hath he no nede of, but hath graunted it to al them that beleue in his promiſes. fol.59.

The doctrine of thys Article is ſound.

Read the place: Ieſus Chriſt poſſeſſeth the kyngdome of heauen by double right. Firſt becauſe he is the ſonne of god and very inheritour of hys kyngdom. Secondly becauſe he hath gotten it by hys paſſion and death. Of his ſecond ryght he hath no neede, and therfore he geueth it to all them that beleue and truſt in hym and in hys promiſes.

31. Article.

31 If God had promiſed vs heauen for our good woorkes, we ſhould euer be vnſure of our ſaluation. fol.59.

32. Article.

32 Be our ſinnes neuer ſo great, that it ſeemeth impoſſible to vs to be ſaued, yet without any doubt we muſt beleue to be ſaued. fol.59.

The doctrine of theſe articles be as true as the Goſpel.

The wordes out of the which theſe two Articles bee gathered are theſe: If god had promiſed heauen vnto vs becauſe of our workes, we ſhould euer then be vnſure of our ſaluation. For we ſhould neuer know how much, nor how long we ſhould labor to be ſaued, and ſhould euer be in feare that we had done to little, and ſo wee ſhoulde neuer die ioyfully. But God would aſſure vs of heauen by hys promiſe, to the entent we ſhould be certayn and ſure, for he is

the

truth and cannot lye: and alſo to the entent that we ſhould haue truſt and hope in hym. And notwithſtandyng that after the greatnes & multitude of our ſinnes, it ſeme to vs a thyng impoſſible, yet alwayes we muſt beleue it without any doubt, becauſe of hys ſure promiſe. And whoſoeuer doth this, he may ioyfully die and abide the iudgement of God, which els were intollerable. Read more hereof before in the xj. article taken out of the wicked Mammon.

33. Article.

33 If thou loue thy wife becauſe ſhe is thy wife, that is no loue before God: but thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhe is thy ſiſter in God. fol. 83.

A difference betwene carnall loue, & ſpirituall loue: & yet in matrimonie both are neceſſary.

The wordes be theſe: Our Sauiour Chriſt hath commaunded nothing ſo ſtraightly as to loue one another: yea to loue our enemies alſo. Then how much more ſhould the mā and wyfe loue together. But there be but few that knowe how to loue the one the other as they ought to doe. If thou loue thy wyfe onely becauſe ſhe is thy wife, and becauſe ſhe ſerueth and pleaſeth thee after the fleſh, for beauty, birth, riches, and ſuch lyke, this is no loue before God. Of ſuch loue ſpeaketh not S. Paule. For ſuch loue is among harlots, yea among brute beaſtes: But thou ſhalt loue her becauſe ſhe is thy ſiſter in the chriſtē fayth, & becauſe ſhe is inheritour together with thee of the glory of god, & becauſe ye ſerue together one God, becauſe ye haue receiued together one baptiſm &c. Thou ſhalt alſo loue her for her vertues, as ſhamefaſtnes, chaſtitie, diligence, ſadnes, pacience, temperance, ſecrecy obedience, and other godly vertues. &c.

34. Article.

34 It is nothing but al incredulitie to runne in pilgrimage and ſeke God in one certaine place, which is lyke mighty in all places. fol. 62.

The matter of this Article is euident to all indifferent & learned iudgements to be voyd of all doubt of hereſie.

35. Article.

35 Men ſhould ſee that their children come to Church to heare the ſermon. fol. 89.

The place of this article is this: Of the Feſtiuall dayes thou ſhalt bring thy children to the church to heare the ſermon, and when thou ſhalt come home, thou ſhalt aſke them what they haue kepte in memory of the Sermon. Thou ſhalte teache them the Chriſtian fayth. Thou ſhalte admoniſh them to lyue wel, and to put all their hope and truſt in god, and rather to die then to do any thing that is againſt the will of god. And principally thou ſhalt learne them the contents of the prayer of our ſauiour Chriſt, called ẏ Pater noſter, that is to ſay, how they haue an other father in heauen, of whom they muſt loke for all goodnes, and wythout whom they can haue no good thing: and how that they may ſeke nothyng in all their workes, and in all their intentes, but the honour of theyr heauēly father: And how they muſt deſire that this father would gouerne al that they do, or deſire: And how that they muſt ſubmit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good &c. Thou ſhalt buy them wholeſome bokes, as the holy goſpell, the epiſtles of the holy Apoſtles, yea both the new and the old Teſtament, that they may vnderſtand and drinke of the ſweete fountayne & waters of lyfe.

What meaneth these men, trowe you, to make this doctrine an hereſie?

36. Article.

36 Thou ſhalt not vexe or greue by iuſtice or otherwyſe the poore that oweth vnto thee: for thou mayeſt not do it without ſinne. fol. 97.

The place is this: Thou ſhalt not vexe nor greue by iuſtice, &c. as Chriſt ſayth: reſiſt not euill, but whoſoeuer ſtriketh thee on the right cheke, turne to hym the other alſo, &c. S. Paul ſayth: Render not euill for euil, and if it be poſſible, as much as is in you, lyue in peace with all men, not reuenging your ſelues my welbeloued, but geue place to wrath, for it is written: to me be the vengeance, and I will render it, ſayth the Lord god.

Mat. 5.

Rom. 12.

Heb. 10.

37. Article.

37 Some textes of Canon law ſuffreth warre, but the teaching of Chriſt forbiddeth all warres. Neuertheleſſe when a city is beſieged, or a country inuaded, the lord of the coūtrey is bound to put his lyfe in icopardy for his ſubiectes. fol. 119.

38. Article.

38 So a Lord may vſe horrible warre charitably and Chriſtianly fol. 119.

As touching warre, to be moued or ſtirred firſt of our partes againſt any people or countrey vpon any raſh cauſe, as ambition, malice, or reuenge, the goſpel of Chriſt geueth vs no ſuch ſworde to fight withall. Notwithſtandyng for defence of countrey and ſubiects, the magiſtrate being inuaded or prouoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to doe hys beſt, as the city of Maryburgh did well in defendyng it ſelfe againſt the Emperour. &c

How Chriſtians may warre lawfully.

39. Article.

39 The goſpell maketh all true chriſten men ſeruantes to all the world. fol. 79.

He that compiled this article craftily to make the matter to appeare more haynous, leaueth out the latter part which ſhould expound the other, that is: by the rule of charity: for that the author addeth withall. By which rule of charitie, and not of office and duety, euery chriſten man is bound one to helpe another, as Chriſt himſelf beyng Lord of all, yet of charitie was as ſeruant to euery man, to do him good. Read the place of the ſumme of the ſcripture, in the page as in the article it is aſſigned.

Craftie cogging in this Article.

40. Article.

40 The Goſpell is written for all perſons, eſtates, Prince, duke, pope, Emperour. fol. 112.

They which noted this Article for an hereſie, I ſuppoſe could little tell eyther what God, or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. Article.

41 When iudges haue hope that an euill doer will amend they muſt be always mercifull, as Chriſt was to the woman taken in aduoutry. The temporall law muſt obey the goſpel and them that we may amend by warning, we ſhal not correct by iuſtice. fol. 113.

The purpoſe of the booke whence this article is wraſted, beyng wel vnderſtand, intendeth not to bynd temporal iudges and maieſtrates from due execution of good lawes, but putteth both them, and eſpeciall ſpirituall iudges, in remembrance by the example of Chriſt to diſcerne who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwyſe, and where they ſee euidēt hope of earneſt repentaunce and amendment, if they be eccleſiaſtical Iudges, to ſpare them: if they be ciuil magiſtrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law (as much as they conueniently may) with mercifull moderation, which the Grekes do call

And thus much hitherto of theſe hereſies and Articles collected by the biſhops, and inſerted in theyr own regiſters out of the bokes aboue ſpecified. The names of the biſhops and collectors were theſe: Sir Tho. More L. Chancellour Wil. warham Archb. of Cant. Tonſtall Biſh. of London, Ste. Gardiner B. of Wint. Rich. Sampſon Deane of the chappel, Rich. wolman M. of Requeſts, Ioh. Bel, D. wilſon, with a great nūber mo, as in the regiſters doth appeare. Ex Regiſt. Cant. & Londinenſi.

I ſhal not nede I truſt (gentle reader) further here to tary thee with recityng mo places: when theſe already rehearſed may ſuffice for a taſt and a trial for thee ſufficiēt, to note and conſider how falſely and moſt ſlaunderouſly theſe catholikes haue depraued, and miſreported the bookes and writinges of good men. Who might almoſt gather hereſies as well of S. Iohns goſpell, and S. Paules epiſtles, as out of theſe places. Thus may we ſee what can not malice do, beyng ſet on miſchiefe? or what can not the ſpirit of ſpite and cauillyng finde out, beyng inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellowes of ambition and iniquity? And as they haue done with theſe, the lyke partes they haue and do practiſe ſtil agaynſt all other, whoſoeuer in defence of truth, dare touch neuer ſo little eyther the Popes crowne, or the bellies of hys clergy: for theſe ij. ſores in no caſe they can abyde to be touched. And hereof only cōmeth all this crying out, hereſie, hereſie, blaſphemy, errour & ſciſme. Although ẏ doctrine be neuer ſo ſound and perfect after the ſcripture, yet if the writer be not ſuch in all poyntes (eſpecially in theſe two aboue touched) as will ſing after their tune, and daunce after their pype, he is by and by an heretike, by vertue of their Inquiſition. So did they with the articles of the learned Erle Ioannes Picus Mirandula. So did they with I. Reuclinc or Capnion. So did they alſo with good Ioh. Colet here in england. Alſo with the lyke ſpirit of lying and cauillyng, the catholike faculties of Louane, Spayne and Paris condemned the workes and wrytyngs of Eraſmus & many mo. So ful they are of cenſures, articles, ſuſpicions, offences, inquiſitions, ſo captious they be in takyng, ſo raſhe in iudgyng, ſo ſlaunderous of reporte, ſo practiſed in deprauyng, miſconſtruyng and wraſtyng true meanynges into wrong purpoſes. Briefly, ſo pregnant they be in findyng hereſies where none are, that eyther a man muſt ſay nothyng or ſerue their deuotion, or els he ſhall procure their diſpleaſure, that is, ſhall be deemed for an heretike. yea & though no iuſt cauſe of any hereſie be miniſtred, yet where they once take diſliking, they will not ſticke ſometimes with falſe accuſatiōs to preſſe him with matter, which he neuer ſpake nor thought. If Luther had not ſtirred againſt the Popes pardons and authoritye, he had remayned ſtill a white ſonne of the mother Catholick church, and all had been wel done, what ſoeuer he did. But becauſe hee aduentured to touche once the triple crown, what floudes of hereſies, blaſphemies and articles were caſt out againſt him, enough to drowne a whole world? what lies and forged crimes were inuented againſt hym?

Truth maliciouſly ſlaundered & depraued of the Papiſtes.

The Popes crowne, and the monkes bellies, two perillous thinges to be touched.

The Popes Church vpholde with lying and cauilling.

Here now cōmeth Staphylus and furious Surius, wyth their fraternitie, and ſay, that hee learned his Diuinitie of the deuill. Then followeth another certaine Chronographer who in his lying ſtory reporteth moſt falſely that Luther dyed of drōkennes. With like malice the ſayd Chronographer writeth alſo of M. Bucer, falſely affirming vpon his information, that he ſhould deny at his death, Chriſt our Meſſias to be come. When not onely D. Redman whiche prea-

Impudent lyes vpon M. Luther.

Ex Gilb. Genebrardo.

M. Bucer moſt ſhamefully ſlaundered.

preached at his buriall, but alſo all Engliſhe men, whiche knewe the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

Singleton maliciouſly ſclaundered and condemned of ſedition.

So was it layd agaynſt on Syngleton Chapplein ſometyme to Queene Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packyngton, and afterward, that he was a ſtyrrer vp of ſedition and cōmotiō: who alſo ſuffered as a traytor for the ſame: Wherein very dede the true cauſe was for nothyng els, but for preaching the Goſpell vnto the people, whoſe purpoſe was euer ſo farre of from ſtyrryng ſedition, that he neuer once dreamed of any ſuch matter, as hee hymſelfe declared and proteſted to one R. Lante his ſcholer, who is yet alyue and can teſtifie the truth hereof. But this is not newe practiſe amongeſt the Romiſhe Byſhops: wherof enough hath ben ſayd before in the ſtory of Syr Jhon Oldecaſtle, and Syr Roger Acton. &c.

Meriall falſly betrayed and miſreported of the Papiſtes.

In other lyke practiſe of ſuch malicious ſclaunder we finde alſo in one Meriall a Brykelyr, whoſe name with his abiuration remayneth yet in the Regiſters of the Byſhop of London.

Biſh. Stokeſleis ſermon in the Shroudes.

The ſtory is this, and not vnworthy to bee remembred. In the yere of our Lord. 1534. whiche was about the firſt begynnyng of Queene Anne Bullen, at what tyme Purgatory and ſuch trumpery began to grow in contempt. Stokeſly Byſhop of London made a Sermon in the Shroudes vpon the ſonday before May day: where hee preachyng in the commendation and vertue of Maſſes, declared to the people that for a litle coſt, if thy procured Maſſes to be ſaid wyues might deliuer their huſbandes, and huſbandes their wyues out of the bytter paynes of Purgatory. At this ſermon, beſides many other, was Thomas Meriall, a zelous fauourer of gods word: who beyng in the watch on May euen, made relation of theſe wordes of the biſhop vnto the company about him, amongſt whom then was one John Twyford, a furious papiſt, and who had the ſame tyme the ſettyng vp of the ſtakes in Smithfield, whereat the good ſaints of god were burned.

Twyford the common tormentor of the Martyrs that ſuffered in Smithfield.

This Twyford which then kept a Tauerne and had an old grudge againſt the ſaid Meriall for ſtriking his boy, hearing theſe wordes, allured home to his houſe certain perſons, to the number of x. Beſides theſe he procured alſo ſecretly M. Chaunnbers Clerke whoſe name was Bright. And when he had craftily ouercome them with wyne, and made them to report what wordes he liſted, and which they knew not themſelues, the Clerke by and by receiued the ſame in writing. Wheruppon this article was gathered againſt Meriall, that he ſhould hold and affirm, that the paſſion of Chriſt doth not helpe them which came after hym, but onely them which were in Limbo before: & alſo that he ſhould ſay, ẏ his wife was as good as our Lady. Upō this writyng of the Notary, he was immediately brought to biſhop Stokeſley, and there by ẏ depoſitiō of theſe x. falſe witneſſes, wrōgfully accuſed, and alſo for the ſame ſhould haue bene condemned, had not Doctor Barret the ſame tyme, byd hym ſpeake one word (which he knew not, as the ſentence was in readyng, wherby the condemnatiō was ſtaid, and he put to do open penaunce & to beare a Fagotte. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Meriall ſware before the Byſhop that he neuer ſpake nor ment any ſuch word as there was layd vnto hym: but only recited the wordes of the byſhops ſermon reportyng the ſame in the perſon of the biſhop, and not hys owne. Which alſo was teſtified to be true, by the othes of 3. other, to witte, W. Tomſon, Gregory Newman, & W. Witte, who beyng in the foreſayd watch ẏ ſame tyme, dyd take vpon their othe before the biſhop: that hys wordes were no other, but as is aboue declared. Which 3. witneſſes at the ſecond edition hereof were alſo liuyng, with the wife of the foreſayd Meriall, who would then alſo be ſworn that the ſame is true. Where as contrary the other x. perſons be all gone, and none of them al remaynyng. Of whom moreouer the moſt of all the ſayd x. came to a miſerable end: where as the other 3. which teſtified the truth with Meriall, beyng liuyng at the 2. edition hereof, dyd ſee the end of all the other. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner to Frith, Bayfild, Baynham, Teukeſbery, Lambert, and other good men, he dyed rottyng aboue the ground, that none could abide hym, and ſo came to a wretched ende. Ex teſtimon. vxoris Meriall, W. Tomſon, Greg. Newman, W. Wit. &c

Falſe accuſation.

Meriall wrongfully accuſed, and put to penaūce.

Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon a cruell perſecutor.

Of this malicious and peruerſe dealyng of theſe mē contrary to all truth and honeſty, in diffamyng them for heretikes, which in dede are none, & with opprobrious raylyng to ſlaunder their cauſe, which is nothyng els but the ſimple truth of Chriſtes goſpel, who ſo liketh to ſearch further (if theſe examples hetherto recited do not ſuffice) let hym read the ſtory of Merindol, & Angrongne pag. 927. 937. Let hym conſider the furious Bull of Pope Martine pag. 625 The lyke ſlaunderous Bull alſo of Pope Leo x. with the Edict of Charles the Emperour againſt Luther. Alſo let him ſuruey the railyng ſtories of Surius the Monke of Colen, the bookes of Hoſius, of Lindus, the Chronologie of Genebrardus, the ſtory of Cochleus agaynſt ẏ Huſſites and the Lutherans, with the Preface of Conradus Brunus the Lawyer prefixed before the ſame, wherein he moſt falſely and vntruely raylyng againſt theſe Proteſtātes, whō he calleth heretickes, chargeth them to be blaſphemers of God, contemners of God and men, Church robbers, cruell falſe lyers, crafty deceiuers, vnfaithfull promiſe breakers, diſturbers of publicke peace and tranquillitie, corrupters and ſubuerters of common weales, and all els that naught is.

Pope Leo x. The Edict of Ceſar, Surius Carthuſ. Hoſius, Lindus, Genebrardus, Cochlaus, Brunus, agaynſt the Lutherans.

Ex Epiſt. Conrad. Bruni, qua præfatur in hiſt. Cochlei.

Examples of falſe accuſation.

Act. 21. Rom. 3.

Read afore pag. 55.

In much lyke ſort was Socrates accuſed of his countreymen for a corrupter of the youth, whō Plato notwithſtanding defendeth. Ariſtides the iuſt lacked not his vniuſt accuſers. Was it not obiected vnto S. Paule that he was a ſubuerter of the law of Moſes, and that we myght do euill that good may come thereof? How was it layd to the Chriſtian Martyrs in the primitiue Church for worſhipping an Aſſes head, and for ſacrificing of Infants, pag. 55? And to come more neare to theſe our latter dayes, you heard likewiſe how falſely the Chriſtian congregation of Frenchmen gathered together in ẏ night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accuſed of filthy commixtion of men and women together, and the Kyng the ſame tyme Henry. 2. was made to beleue that beds with pillowes & mats were founde there in the floore where they lay together: wherupon the ſame tyme diuers were condemned to ẏ fire and burned, pag. 891. Finally what innocēcie is ſo pure, or truth ſo perfect, which can be voyde of theſe ſclaunders or criminations, when alſo our Sauiour Chriſt himſelf was noted for a wyne drinker, and a cōmon haunter of the Publicanes? &c.

Read afore pag. 891.

No truth ſafe frō falſe detraction.

Euen ſo likewiſe it pleaſeth our Lorde and Sauiour Chriſt, to keepe vnder and to exerciſe his Church vnder ẏ lyke kinde of aduerſaries now reigning in the Church, who vnder the name of the church wil needes mainteyne a portly ſtate and kyngdome in this world, and becauſe they can not vphold their cauſe by playne ſcripture and the word of God, they beare it out with facyng, raylyng, and ſclaunderyng, makyng Princes and the ſimple people beleue, that all be heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, blaſphemers, rebels, & ſubuerters of all authoritie and cōmon weales, whoſoeuer dare reply with any ſcripture againſt their doynges.

Suetonius in Nerone.

It is written of Nero, that when he hymſelfe had burnt the Citie of Rome ſixe dayes and ſeuen nightes, he made open proclamations that the innocent Chriſtians had ſet the citie on fire, to ſtyrre the people againſt them, wherby he might burne & deſtroy them, as rebels and traytors.

Papiſtes accuſe the Proteſtantes of hereſie, and they be the heretickes themſelues.

Not much vnlyke ſeemeth the dealing of theſe religious Catholickes, who when they be the true heretickes themſelues, and haue burnt and deſtroyed the Churche of Chriſt, make out their exclamatiōs, Buls, Briefes, articles, bookes, cenſures, letters and Edicts againſt the poore Lutherans, to make the people beleue, that they be the heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, diſturbers of the whole world. Who if they could proue them as they reproue them to be heretickes, they were worthy to be heard. But now they crye out vpon them heretickes, and can proue no hereſie: they accuſe them of errour: and can proue no errour: they call them ſchiſmatickes, and what Churche ſince the worlde ſtoode, hath bene the mother of ſo many ſchiſmes, as the mother Church of Rome? They charge them with diſſentiō and rebellion. And what diſſention can be greater, then to diſſent from the ſcripture, and word of God? or what rebellion is like, as to rebell agaynſt the ſonne of God, & agaynſt the will of his eternall Teſtament? They are diſturbers (they ſay) of peace, and publicke authoritie: Which is as true, as that the Chriſtians ſet the Citie of Rome on fire. What doctrine did euer attribute ſo much to publike authoritie of Magiſtrates, as do the Proteſtantes, or who euer attributed leſſe to Magiſtrates, or depoſed mo Dukes, Kynges, and Emperours, then the Papiſtes? They that ſay, that the Byſhop of Rome is no more but the Byſhop of Rome, and ought to weare no crowne, is not by and by a rebell againſt his king and Magiſtrates, but rather a mainteiner of their authoritie, which in deede the Byſhop of Rome can not abyde. Briefly, wilt thou ſee whether be the greater heretickes, the Proteſtantes, or the Papiſtes? Let vs trye it by a meaſure, and let this meaſure be the glory onely of the ſonne of God, whiche can not fayle. Now iudge I beſeeche thee, who ſoeuer knoweſt the doctrine of them both, whether of theſe two do aſcribe more or leſſe to the Maieſtie of Chriſt Jeſus our king and Lord: the proteſtantes which admitte none other head of the Church, nor iuſtifier of our ſoules, nor forgeuer of our ſinnes, nor Aduocate to his father but hym alone? Or els the papiſtes which cā abide none of all theſe articles, but condemne the ſame.

A meaſure betweene the Proteſtants and the Papiſtes, to try whether of them two be the greater heretickes.

Compariſon betweene the doctrine of Papiſtes and of the Proteſtantes.

ſame for hereſie. Whiche being ſo (as they themſelues will not deny) now iudge (good reader) who hath ſet the Citie of Rome on fire, Nero, or els the Chriſtians.

But to returne agayne to the purpoſe of our former matter, whiche was to ſhew forth the proclamation of the Byſhops for the aboliſhing of Engliſhe bookes aboue rehearſed, as beyng corrupt and full of hereſie, whiche notwithſtanding we haue declared to conteine no hereſie, but ſound and holeſome doctrine, accordyng to the perfect word and Scripture of God.

Gods mercifull helpe in time of need.

Here now when the Prelates of the Popes ſide had procured this Edict and proclamation aforeſayd, for the condemnation of all ſuch Engliſh bookes Printed or vnprinted which made agaynſt their aduauntage, they triumphed not a litle, wenyng they had made a great hand againſt the Goſpel for euer to riſe agayne, and that they had eſtabliſhed their kingdome for euer, as in deede to al mans thinking, it might ſeme no les. For who would haue thought, after ſo ſtraight ſo preciſe, and ſo ſolemne a proclamation ſet forth and armed with the kinges terrible authoritie: alſo after the cruel execution of Anne Aſkewe, Lacels, and the reſt: Item after the buſie ſearche moreouer and names takyng of many other, of whom ſome were chaſed away, ſome apprehended and layde vp, diuers in preſent peril, and expectation of their attachment: who would haue thought (I ſay) otherwiſe poſſible, but that the goſpel muſt nedes haue an ouerthrow, ſeeing what ſure worke the papiſtes here had made, in ſetting vp their ſide, and throwing downe the contrary.

Gods power commonly worketh agaynſt mans preſumption

But it is no new thing in the Lord, to ſhew his power againſt mans preſumption, that when he counteth hym ſelf moſt ſure, then is he furtheſt of, and when he ſuppoſeth to haue done all, then is he newe to begyn againe. So was it in the primitiue Churche before Conſtantinus tyme, that when Nero, Domitianus, Maxentius, Decius, and other Emperours impugnyng the Goſpel & profeſſion of Chriſt, dyd not onely conſtitute lawes and Proclamations agaynſt the Chriſtians, but alſo dyd ingraue the ſame lawes in tables of braſſe, myndyng to make all thynges firme for euer and a daye: yet we ſee, howe with a litle turnyng of Gods hand, all their puiſſant deuiſes, and braſen lawes turned all to wynde and duſt. So litle doth it auayle for man to wraſtle againſt the Lord and his proceedynges. Howe ſoeuer mans buildyng is mortall and ruinous, of brickle bricke, and mouldryng ſtones, the Lorde neuer taketh in hande to builde, that either time can waſte, or man can plucke down. What God ſetteth vp, there is neyther, power nor ſtriuyng to the contrary. What he entendeth, ſtandeth: what he bleſſeth, that preuayleth. And yet mans vnquiet preſumption wyll not ceaſe ſtyl to erect vp towers of Babell againſt the Lorde, whiche the higher they are builded vp, fall with the greater ruine. For what can ſtand, that ſtandeth not with the Lord? which thyng as in example of all ages is to be ſeene: ſo in this late proclamation deuiſed by the Biſhops, is in like maner exemplified.

Towers of Babell agaynſt the Lorde.

The which proclamation, though it was ſore & terrible for the tyme, yet not long after, by reaſon of the kings death (whō the Lord ſhortly therupon toke to his mercy) it made at length but a Caſtle come down. So that where the prelates thought to make their Iubilie, it turned them to the Threnes of Ieremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hoſtes, whoſe name be ſanctified for euer.

Mans deuiſe agaynſt the Lord ouerthrowen.

This I do not inferre for any other purpoſe, but onely for the workes of the Lord to be ſeene: premoniſhyng thee (good Reader) w̄al yͭ as touchyng yͤ kyng (who in this Proclamation had nothyng but the name onely) here is nothyng ſpoken but to his laude and prayſe. Who of his owne nature and diſpoſition, was ſo inclinable and forward in all thynges vertuous and commendable, that the like enterpriſe of redreſſe of religion, hath not lightly ben ſeene in any other Prince Chriſtned: As in aboliſhyng yͤ ſtoute and almoſt inuincible authoritie of the Pope, in ſuppreſſing Monaſteries, in repreſſing cuſtome of Idolatry and pilgrimage &c. Which enterpriſes, as neuer kyng of Englande dyd accompliſhe (though ſome beganne to attempt them) before hym: ſo yet to this day we ſee but fewe in other Realmes dare folowe the ſame.

The prayſe of K. Henry the 8.

If Princes haue alwayes their Counſaile about them, that is but a common thyng. If ſome tyme they haue euyl counſel miniſtred, that I take to be the fault rather of ſuch as are about them, then of princes them ſelues. So long as Queene Anne, Tho. Cromwel, biſh. Cranmer, M. Denny, D. Buts, with ſuch like were about hym, & could preuaile with hym, what organe of Chriſtes glorye dyd more good in the church then he? as is apparant by ſuch munimentes, inſtrumentes and actes ſet forth by hym, in ſettyng vp the Bible in the church, in explodyng the pope with his vile pardons, in remouyng diuers ſuperſtitions ceremonies in bringyng into order the inordinate orders of Fryers & ſectes, in putting chantrie prieſtes to their penſions: in permittyng whyte meate in Lent: in deſtroying Pilgrimage worſhip: in abrogatyng idle & ſuperfluous holy dayes, both by act publike, and alſo by priuate letters ſent to Boner, tendyng after this effect.

Much ſuperſtition purged by K. Henry.

¶ By the kyng.

The kinges brief to Boner.

Abrogation of holy dayes.

Right reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. And whereas conſideryng the manyfolde inconueniences whiche haue enſued, and dayly doo enſue to our ſubiectes by the great ſuperfluitie of holy dayes, we haue by the aſſentes and conſentes of all you the biſhops, and other notable perſonages of the Clergy of this our Realme, in full congregation and aſſembly had for that purpoſe, abrogated and aboliſhed ſuche as be neither Canonical, ne meete to be ſuffered in a cōmon wealth, for the manyfolde inconueniences which doo enſue of the ſame, as is rehearſed: and to the intent our determination therin may be duely obſerued and accompliſhed, we haue thought cōuenient, to commaund you immediately vppon the receipte hereof, to addreſſe your commaundementes in our name to al the curates, religious houſes, & colledges within your dioces, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy dayes aforeſaide, a tranſumpt whereof ye ſhall receyue herewith, cōmaunding them and euery of them in no wiſe, eyther in the Church or otherwiſe, to indict or ſpeake of any of the ſaid dayes and feaſtes aboliſhed, wherby the people might take occaſion either to murmure, or to contemne the order takē therin, & to cōtinue in their accuſtomed idlenes, the ſame notwithſtanding: but to paſſe ouer the ſame with ſuch ſecret ſilence, as they may haue like abrogation by diſuſe, as they haue already by our authoritie in conuocatiō. And for as much as the tyme of harueſt now approcheth, our pleaſure is, ye ſhal with ſuch diligence and dexteritie, put this matter in executiō, as it may immediatly take place, for the benefite of our ſubiectes, at this tyme accordingly without faylyng, as ye wyl anſweare vnto vs for the contrarye. Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Monaſterie of Chertesey, the. 11. day of Auguſt.

K. Henry accordyng as hys Cōſell was about hym, ſo was he lead.

Thus while good Counſel was about hym, and could be heard, he dyd much good. So againe when ſiniſter and wicked Counſell, vnder ſubtile and craftye pretences had gotten once the foot in, thruſtyng truth & veritie out of the Princes eares, howe muche Religion and all good thynges went proſperouſly forward before, ſo much on the contrary ſide al reuolted backward againe. Whereupon proceeded this Proclamation aboue mentioned, concernyng the aboliſhing and burnyng of Engliſh bookes. Which proclamation bearing the name of the kings maieſty, but being the very dede of the biſhops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly ſort, bringing thē eyther into great daunger, or els keeping thē in much hindrāce, had not the ſhortnes of the kinges dayes ſtopped the malignant purpoſes of the foreſaid prelates, cauſing the king to leaue that by death vnto the people, which by his life he would not grāt. For within. iiij. monethes after, the proclamation cōmyng out in Auguſt, he deceaſed in the begynnyng of Ianuarye, in the 38. yeare of his raigne. an. 1547. leauyng behinde hym three childrē, who ſucceded him in his kingdome, K. Edwarde, Queene Marye, and Queene Elizabeth: of whom it remaineth now to proſecute (by the permiſſiō and ſufferance of Chriſt our high lord and prince) in the proces of this hiſtory, accordyng as the order of their ſucceſſion, and Actes done by them in the church ſhall require, after that firſt I ſhall haue proſecuted certayne other matters by the waye, accordyng to my promiſe, here to be inſerted.

The death of K. Henry 8.

An. 1547.

¶ The hiſtorie touching the perſecution in Scotlande, with the names and cauſes of ſuche bleſſed Martyrs, whiche in the ſame countrey ſuffered for the truth, after the tyme of Patriarke Hamelton.

Thus hauyng finiſhed the tyme and raſe of kyng Henry the eight, it remayneth nowe accordyng to my promiſe made before, here to place and adioine ſo much as hath come to our handes, touchyng the perſecution of Scotland, and of the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt, whiche in that countrey likewiſe ſuffred for the true religion of Chriſt, & teſtimony of their fayth.

To procede therefore in the hiſtory of theſe Scotlande matters, next after the mention of Dauid Straton and M. Nicholas Gurlay, with whom we ended before, pag. 956. the order of tyme woulde require nexte to inſerte the memorye of Sir Iohn Borthwike Knight, commonly called Captayne Borthwyke. Who beyng accuſed of hereſie (as the Papiſtes call it) and cited therfore, an. 1540. and not appearyng, and eſcaping out into other countreys,

Read before pag. 956.

Syr Ioh. Borthwicke knight, cited and condẽned of hereſie being abſẽt, & hys picture burned in Scotland. An. 1540.

was condemned for the ſame, being abſent, by the ſentence of Dauid Beaton Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, & other prelates of Scotland, and all his goodes confiſcate, and his picture at laſt burned in the open market place. &c. But for ſo muche as the ſtory of hym, with his articles obiected againſt hym, & his cõfutation of the ſame, is already expreſſed ſufficiently in the Firſte edition of Actes & monuments, & becauſe he being happily deliuered out of their handes, had no more but onely his picture burned, referring ẏ reader to ẏ booke aboue mentioned, we wyll now (the Lord willing) proſecute ſuche other as folowed, begynnyng firſte in order with Thom. Forret and his felowes. Their ſtory is this.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.
Dauid Beton, Biſhop and Cardinal of ſaint Andrewes.	Tho. Forret, prieſt. Fryer Iohn Kelowe. Fryer Benarage.
George Treichton Biſhop of Dunkelden.	Duncane Sympſon, prieſt. Rob. Foſter, a gentlemã, with three or foure other men of Striuelyng, Martyrs.

Their Cauſes.

Thomas Forret, Prieſt.

NOt lõg after the burnyng of Dauid Stratton, and M. Gurlay aboue mentioned, in the dayes of Dauid Beaton biſhop and Cardinall of ſ. Andrewes, & George Treichton biſh. of Dunkelden, a Canon of S. Colmes Inche, & vicar of Dolone, called Deane Thomas Forret, preached euery ſonday to his pariſhners, the Epiſtle or Goſpel, as it fell for ẏ tyme: whiche then was a great noueltie in Scotlande, to ſee anye man preach, except a Blacke fryer, or a gray frier: and therefore the Fryers enuyed hym, and accuſed hym to the Biſhop of Dunkelden (in whoſe Dioces he remayned) as an heretike and one that ſhewed the myſteries of the ſcriptures to the vulgare people in Engliſhe, to make the Clergie deteſtable in the ſight of the people. The biſhop of Dũkelden moued by the Fryers inſtigation, called the ſayde Deane Thomas, and ſaide to hym: my ioye Deane Thomas, I loue you well, and therefore I muſt geue you my counſayle, how you ſhal rule and guide your ſelfe. To whõ Thomas ſayd, I thanke your Lordſhip hartily. Thẽ the biſhop began his counſaile on this maner.

Georg Treichtõ B. of Dunkeldẽ and perſecuter.

My ioy Deane Thomas, I am enfourmed that you preache the Epiſtle or Goſpell euery ſonday to your Pariſhners, and that you take not the kowe, nor the vpmoſte cloth from your Pariſhners, whiche thyng is very preiudiciall to the Churche men: and therefore my ioye Deane Thomas, I would you tooke your kowe and your vpmoſt cloth, as other church mẽ do, or els it is too much to preach euery ſonday, for in ſo doyng you may make the people think that we ſhoulde preache likewiſe. But it is enough for you, when you finde any good Epiſtle, or any good Goſpel, that ſetteth foorth the libertie of the holy church, to preache that, and let the reſt be.

Tho. Forret preacheth, and will take no mortuary nor Chriſome of hys pariſhoners. Ergo, he is an heretike againſt the Popes Catholicke Church.

Thomas anſweared: My Lorde, I thinke that none of my pariſhners wyl complaine that I take not the kow nor ẏ vpermoſt cloth, but wyll gladly geue me the ſame together with any other thing that they haue, and I wyll geue and communicate with them any thyng that I haue, and ſo my Lord we agree right wel, and there is no diſcord among vs.

And where your Lordſhip ſayth, it is too muche to preache euery ſonday: in deede I thinke it is too litle, and alſo woulde wiſhe that your Lordſhyp dyd the like. Nay, nay, Deane Thomas (ſayth my Lord) let that bee, for we are not ordeyned to preache. Then ſaid Thomas, when your Lordſhip byddeth me preach, when I finde any good Epiſtle, or a good Goſpell, truely my Lorde, I haue readde the newe Teſtament and the olde, and all the Epiſtles and the Goſpels, and among them all I coulde neuer finde any euyl Epiſtle, or any euyl Goſpel: but if your Lordſhip wil ſhewe we the good Epiſtle and the good Goſpell, and the euyll Epiſtle and the euyll Goſpel, then I ſhall preache the good, and omyt the euyl.

It is to much in the Popes Church to preach euery ſonday. The Byſhop of Dunkelden was not ordayned to preach.

Then ſpake my Lord ſtoutly and ſaid, I thanke God that I neuer knewe what the olde and newe Teſtament was, (and of theſe wordes roſe a Prouerbe which is common in Scotland: ye are like the Biſhop of Dunkelden, that knewe neither newe nor olde lawe:) therefore Deane Thomas, I wyll know nothyng but my Portous and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be al theſe fantaſies: for if you perſeuer in theſe erroneous opinions, ye wyl repent it when you may not mende it.

A prouerbe in Scotland.

Thomas ſaid, I truſt my cauſe be iuſt in the preſence of God, and therefore I paſſe not muche what doo folowe thereupon, and ſo my Lorde and he departed at that tyme. And ſoone after a Summons was directed from the Cardinall of ſaint Andrewes and the ſaid Biſhop of Dunkelden vpon the ſaid Deane Thomas Forret, vpõ two blacke Fryers called fryer Iohn Kelow, and an other called Benarage, and vpõ one prieſt of Striuelyng called Duncane Sympſon, and one Gentleman called Robert Foſter in Striuelyng, with other three or foure, with them of the towne of Striuelyng: who at the day of their appearaunce after their ſummonyng, were cõdemned to the death without any place of recantation, becauſe (as was alleged) they were hereſiarkes or chiefe heretikes and teachers of hereſies, and eſpecially becauſe many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a Prieſt, who was vicar of Twybodye beſide Striuelyng, and dyd eate fleſhe in Lent at the ſaid brydal, and ſo they were altogether burnt vpon the caſtle hyll of Edenbrough, where they that were firſt bounde to the ſtake, godly and marueylouſly dyd comfort them that came behynde.

Thomas Forret, Fryer. Iohn Kelow Fryer. Benerage, Duncane Sympſon Prieſt, Robert Foſter gentleman, with iij. or iiij. other of Striueling Martyrs.

Here foloweth the maner of perſecution vſed by the Cardinall of Scotland, againſt certaine perſons in Perth.

Perſecuters	Martyrs.
Dauid Beton, Biſhop and Cardinall of ſaint Andrewes.	Robert Lambe. William Anderſon. Iames Hunter. Iames Raueleſon. Iames Foũleſon. Hellen Stirke his wyfe.

Their Cauſes.

1543.

Proclamation in Scotland permitting the priuate reading of ſcripture.

FIrſt there was a certayne Acte of Parliamente made in the gouernment of the Lorde Hamleton Earle of Arran, and Gouernour of Scotlande, geuyng priuilege to all men of the Realme of Scotlande, to reade the ſcriptures in their mother tongue, and language, ſecluding neuertheleſſe all reaſonyng, conference, conuocation of people to heare the ſcriptures readde or expounded. Which libertie of priuate reading being graunted by publike proclamation, lacked not his own fruit, ſo that in ſundry partes of Scotlande thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to ſee the truth, & abhorre the papiſtical abominations. Amongſt the which were certaine perſons in ſaint Iohnſton, as after is declared.

At this tyme there was a Sermon made by Fryer Spenſe, in ſaint Iohnſton, aliás called Perth, affirmyng prayer made to ſaintes to be ſo neceſſarye, that without it there coulde be no hope of ſaluation to man. Whiche blaſphemous doctrine a Burges of the ſaide towne called Robert Lambe, could not abide, but accuſed hym in open audience,, of erroneous doctrine, & adiured hym in Gods name to vtter ẏ truth. The which ẏ Fryer beyng ſtriken with feare, promiſed to do, but the trouble, tumult, and ſturre of ẏ people encreaſed ſo, that the fryer could haue no audience, and yet the ſaide Robert with great daunger of his life eſcaped the handes of the multitude, namely of the women, who contrary to nature, addreſſed them to extreme crueltie agaynſt hym.

Blaſphemous doctrine of a Papiſt.

Robert Lambe, Martyr.

Robert Lambe in great daunger.

At this tyme in the yeare of our Lord. 1543. the enemies of the truth procured Iohn Chartuous, who fauoured the truth, and was Prouoſt of the ſaide citie & towne of Perth, to be depoſed from his office by the ſayd Gouernours authoritie, and a Papiſt called Maſter Alexander Marbecke to be choſen in his roum, that they might bring the more eaſily their wicked enterpriſe to an ende.

A Papiſt ſet in office.

After the depoſing of the former Prouoſt, and election of the other, in the moneth of Ianuary the yeare aforeſaid, on ſaint Paules day, came to ſaint Iohnſton, the Gouernour, the Cardinall, the Earle of Argile Iuſtice, ſir Iohn Campbel of Lunde knight, and Iuſtice Defort, the Lord Borthwyke, ẏ biſhop of Dũblane, & Orkney, wͭ certeyne others of the Nobilitie. And although there were many accuſed for the crime of hereſie (as they terme it) yet theſe perſons were only apprehẽded vpon the ſaid ſaint Paules day, Rob. Lambe, Wil. Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Raueleſon, Iames Founleſon, & Hellen Stirke his wife, and caſt that night in the Spay tower of the ſaid citie, the morowe to abide iudgement.

Robert Lambe. Will. Anderſon, Iames Hunter, Iames Raueleſon, Iames Foũleſon, Hellen Styrke his wyfe caſt in priſon.

Upon the morow, when they appeared & wer brought forth to iudgement in the towne, was laid in general to all their charge, the violatyng of the act of parlament before expreſſed, and their conference and aſſemblies in hearing and expoundyng of ſcripture agaynſt ẏ tenour of the ſaide acte. Robert Lambe was accuſed in ſpeciall for interruptyng of the fryer in the pulpit: which he not only confeſſed, but alſo affirmed conſtantly, that it was the dutie of no man, which vnderſtood and knew the truth, to heare the ſame unpugned without contradiction, and therfore ſūdry which there wer preſent in iudgement, who hyd the knowledge of the truth, ſhould beare their burden in Gods preſence for conſenting to the ſame.

Lambe, Anderſon, Raueleſon, for hanging S. Fraunces in a corde.

The ſaid Robert alſo with William Anderſon, & James Raueleſon were accuſed for hanging vp the image of ſaint Fraunces in a corde, nailyng of Rammes hornes to his head, and a Cowes rumpe to his taile, and for eating of a Gooſe on Alhalow euen.

James Hunter for vſing ſuſpect company.

James Hunter being a ſimple man, and without learnyng, and a Fletcher by occupation, ſo that he coulde be charged with no greate knowledge in Doctrine, yet becauſe he often vſed the ſuſpect companye of the reſt, he was accuſed.

Hellē Stirke for calling vpon Jeſus and not our Lady in childebed.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accuſed, for that in her chyldbed ſhee was not accuſtomed to cal vpon the name of the virgine Mary, beyng exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but onely vpon God, for Jeſus Chriſtes ſake, and becauſe ſhee ſaide in like maner, that if ſhee her ſelfe had ben in the tyme of the virgin Mary, God might haue loked to her humilitie and baſe eſtate, as he dyd to the virgins, in making her the mother of Chriſte, thereby meaning, that ther was no merites in the virgin, which procured her that honor, to be made the mother of Chriſt, & to be preferred before other women, but Gods only free mercy exalted her to that eſtate. Which wordes were counted moſt execrable in the face of the Clergie and whole multitude.

Rauelſon, for ſetting vp in his houſe & triple crowne of S. Peter.

James Raueleſon aforeſaid building a houſe, ſet vpon the round of his fourth ſtayre, the three crowned Diademe of Peter carued of tree, which the Cardinal tooke as done in mockage of his Cardinals hat, and this procured no fauor to the ſaid James at their handes.

Sentence geuen agaynſt them.

Theſe forenamed perſons vpon the morow after ſaint Paules day were cōdemned and iudged to death, & that by an aſſiſe, for violatyng (as was alleged) ẏ act of parlament, in reaſoning and conferring vpō ſcriptures, for eatyng fleſh vpon dayes forbidden, for interruptyng the holy fryer in the pulpit, for diſhonoring of Images, and blaſphemyng of the virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After ſentence geuen, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly entreated. Which thyng the woman beholding deſired likewiſe to be bound by the ſergeantes with her huſband for Chriſtes ſake.

Cruell Prieſtes and vnkinde.

There was great interceſſion made by the towne in the meane ſeaſon for the lyfe of theſe perſons aforenamed, to the Gouernour, who of him ſelf was wyllyng ſo to haue done, that they might haue bene deliuered. But the Gouernour was ſo ſubiect to the appetite of the cruel prieſtes, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they manaced to aſſiſt his enemyes, and to depoſe hym, except he aſſiſted their cruelty.

There were certaine prieſtes in the citie, who dyd eate and drinke before in theſe honeſt mens houſes, to whō the prieſtes were much bounden. Theſe prieſtes were earneſtly deſired to entreate for their hoſteſſe, at the Cardinalles handes: but they altogether refuſed, deſiryng rather their death, then preſeruation. So cruell are theſe beaſtes from the loweſt to the higheſt.

Then after, they were caryed by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the towne, except they had their men of warre) to the place of execution, whiche was common to al theeues, and that to make their cauſe appeare more odious to the people.

The Martyrdome of theſe good men.

Robert Lambe at the gallowes foote made his exhortation to the people, deſiryng them to feare God, and leaue the leauen of papiſtical abominations, & manifeſtly there propheſied of the ruine and plague whiche came vppon the Cardinall thereafter. So euery one comfortyng an other, and aſſuring them ſelues to ſup together in the kingdome of heauen, that nyght cōmended them ſelues to God, and dyed conſtantly in the Lord.

The wordes of Hellen Styrke to her huſband.

The woman deſired earneſtly to dye with her huſband, but ſhee was not ſuffered: yet folowyng hym to the place of execution, ſhee gaue hym comfort, exhortyng hym to perſeuerance and pacience for Chriſtes ſake, and partyng from hym with a kyſſe, ſayd on this maner: Huſband, reioyce, for we haue lyued together many ioyful dayes: but this day, in which we muſt dye, ought to be moſt ioyful to vs both, becauſe we muſt haue ioy for euer. Therfore I wyll not byd you good night, for we ſhall ſodaynely meete with ioy in the kyngdome of heauen.

Hellen Styrke plucht from her ſucking childe, & drowned for the Goſpell.

Ex Regiſtris Scotorum.

The woman after was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit ſhee had a chyld ſucking on her breſt, yet this moued nothyng the vnmerciful hartes of the enemies. So after ſhe had commended her children to the neighbors of the towne for Gods ſake, and the ſuckyng barne was geuen to the nurſe, ſhee ſealed vp the truth by her death. Ex Regiſtris et inſtrumentis à Scotia miſſis.

The condemnation of M. George Wiſehart,

Gentleman, who ſuffered martydome for the fayth
of Chriſt Ieſus, at ſaint Andrewes in Scotland,
ann. 1546. Marche. 1. with the Articles
obiected againſt him, and his anſweares to the ſame.

An. 1546.

The examinatiō of M. George Wyſehart.

WIth moſte tender affection and vnfayned hart conſider (gentle reader) the vncharitable maner of the accuſatiō of Maſter George Wiſehart, made by the bloudye enemies of Chriſtes fayth. Note alſo the articles whereof he was accuſed, by order digeſted, and his meeke anſweares, ſo farre as he had leaue and leyſure to ſpeake. Finally, ponder with no diſſemblyng ſpirite the furious rage, and tragicall cruelnes of the malignant Churche, in perſecutyng of this bleſſed man of God: and of the contrarye, his humble, pacient, and moſt godly anſweares, made to them ſodaynely without al feare, not hauyng reſpect to their glorious manaſinges & boyſterous threates, but charitably and without ſtop anſwearing: not mouyng his countenaunce, nor chaunging his viſage, as in his accuſation hereafter folowyng manifeſtly ſhal appeare.

Gods ſpirite geueth boldnes to his ſeruaunt.

To the ſaid M. George beyng in captiuitie in the caſtle of ſaint Andrewes, the Deane of the ſame towne, was ſent by the commaundement of the Cardinall, and his wicked Coūſayle, and there ſummoned ẏ ſayd M. George, that he ſhoulde vppon the mornyng folowyng, appeare before the Judge, then and there to geue account of his ſeditious and heretical doctrine.

M. George Wyſehart ſummoned out of priſon to appeare.

To whom M. Georege anſweared, what needeth (ſaid he) my Lord Cardinal to ſummon me to anſweare for my doctrine, openly before hym, vnder whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraytly bounde in prons? Maye not my Lord compel me to anſweare of his extort power? Or beleueth he that I am vnprouided to render a count of my doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelues what men ye are, it is wel done that ye keepe your olde ceremonies and conſtitutions made by men.

M. George Wyſehartes anſwere to the Deane that ſummoned hym.

Upon the next mornyng, the Lord Cardinal cauſed his ſeruauntes to addreſſe them ſelues in their moſte warlike arraye, with Jacke, Knapſkal, Splente, Speare, & Axe, more ſeemyng for the warre, then for the preachyng of the true worde of God.

And whē theſe armed chāpions marching in warlike order had conueyed the biſhops into the Abbey church, incōtinently they ſent for M. George (who was conueyed into the ſayd church by the Captaine of the Caſtle, accompanied with an hundred men addreſſed in maner aforeſaid. Like a lambe lead they hym to ſacrifice.

M. Wyſehart brought agayne before the byſhops.

As he entred into the Abbey Church doore, there was a poore man lying, vexed with great infirmities, aſkyng of his almes: to whom he flang his purſe. And when he came before the Lorde Cardinall, by and by the Supprior of the Abbeg, called Dane John Wynryme, ſtoode vp in the Pulpite, and made a ſermon to all the Congregation there then aſſembled, takyng his matter out of the. xiij. Chapter of Mathewe, whoſe ſermon was diuided into foure principal partes.

M. Wyſehart caſteth his purſe to a poore man.

The firſt part was a briefe and ſhort declaration of the Euangeliſt.

The ſermon of Joh. Wyntime.

The ſecond part, of the interpretation of the good ſeede. And becauſe he called the word of God the good ſeede, and hereſie the euyll ſeede, he declared what hereſie was, and how it ſhould be knowen: which he defined on this maner. Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie, clearely repugnyng the worde of God.

Hereſie defined.

The third part of his ſermon, was the cauſe of hereſie within that Realme, and all other Realmes. The cauſe of hereſie (quoth he) is the ignoraunce of them whiche haue the cures of mens ſoules, to whom it neceſſaryly belongeth to haue the true vnderſtandyng of the woorde of God, that they maye be able to wynne agayne the falſe Doctours of hereſies with the ſworde of the ſpirite, whiche is the worde of God, and not onely to wynne agayne, but alſo to ouercome them, as ſayth Paul: A Biſhop muſt be faultles, as becōmeth the miniſter of God, not ſtubburne, not angry, no drūkard, no fighter, not geuē to filthy lucre, but harberous, one that loueth goodnes, ſober minded, righteous,

The cauſe of hereſie.

Tit. 1.

holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaueth vnto the true word of doctrine, that he maye be able to exhort with wholeſome learning, and to improue that which they ſay againſt him.

The maner to know an heretike.

The Goſpel was of letting the tares to growe vnto harueſt.

The fourth part of this ſermõ was how hereſies ſhould be knowen. Hereſies (quoth he) be knowen on this maner: As the Goldſmith knoweth the fine golde from the vnperfect, by the touchſtone: ſo likewiſe maye we knowe hereſie by the vndoubted touchſtone: that is, the true, ſincere, and vndefiled worde of God. At the laſt he added, that heretikes ſhoulde be put downe in this preſent life. To which propoſition the Goſpel appeared to repugne, which he entreated of: Let them grow vnto the harueſt: the harueſt is the end of the world. Neuertheleſſe, he affirmed that they ſhould be put downe by the Ciuile magiſtrate & lawe. And when he ended his ſermon, incontinently they cauſed maſter George to aſcend into the pulpit, there to heare his accuſation & articles. And right againſt hym ſtood by, one of the fed flocke a monſter, John Lauder, laden ful of curſinges, written in paper. Of the which he tooke out a roll, both long and alſo full of curſinges, threates, maledictions, and wordes of deuiliſh ſpite and malice, ſaying to the innocent M. George, ſo many cruel and abominable wordes, & hit hym ſo ſpitefully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded leaſt the earth then would haue ſwalowed hym vp quicke. Notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtyl with great pacience, hearing their ſayinges, not once mouyng or chaunging his countenance.

John Lauder, Accuſer.

The way to feare the ignoraunt.

The fruites of their charitie.

When that this fed ſowe had read throughout al his lying manaſinges, his face runnyng downe with ſweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boare, he ſpit at M. Georges face, ſaying: What anſwereſt thou to theſe ſayinges, thou runnagate traytor theefe, which we haue duely proued by ſufficient witnes againſt thee? M. George hearing this, kneeled downe vpon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetly and Chriſtianly he anſwered to them al in this maner.

¶ Maiſter George his anſweare.

M. Wiſehartes aunſwere.

Many and horrible ſayinges vnto me, a Chriſtian man, many wordes abominable for to heare, ye haue ſpoken here this daye. Whiche not onely to teache, but alſo once to thinke, I thought euer great abomination. Wherefore I pray your diſcretiõs quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my ſayings, & the maner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lordes) I deſire to be hearde for three cauſes.

Three cauſes why M. Wyſehart deſerued to be heard.

The firſt is, becauſe through preaching of the worde of God, his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therfore, for the aduauncing of the glorye of God, that ye heare me teaching truely the pure worde of God without any diſſimulation.

The 2. cauſe.

The ſecõd reaſon is, becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the word of God: for he worketh al thing by his worde. It were therefore an vnrighteous thing, if ye ſhould ſtop your eares from me teaching truely the worde of God.

The 3. cauſe.

The third reaſon is, becauſe your doctrine vttereth many blaſphemous and abominable wordes, not commyng of the inſpiration of God, but of the deuyl, with no leſſe peryl then of my life. It is iuſt therfore and reaſonable your diſcretions to know what my wordes and doctrine are, and what I haue euer taught in my tyme in this realme, that I periſhe not vniuſtly, to the greate perill of your ſoules. Wherfore both for the glory and honour of God, your owne health, and ſafegarde of my life, I beſeech your diſcretions to heare me, & in the meane tyme I ſhall recite my doctrine without any colour.

M. Wiſehartes doctrine.

Firſt & chiefely, ſince the time I came into this realme, I taught nothing but the ten cõmaundements of God, the xij. articles of the fayth, & the prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreouer, in Dundie I taught the Epiſtle of ſaint Paul to the Romanes. And I ſhal ſhew your diſcretions faythfully what faſhion and maner I vſed when I taught, without any humane dread, ſo that your diſcretions geue me your eares beneuolent and attent.

Sodenly then with an high voyce cryed the accuſer, the fedde ſowe: thou heretike, runnagate, traytor, and thiefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preache. Thou haſt taken the power at thine owne hande, without any authoritie of the church. We forethinke that thou haſt ben a preacher ſo long. Then al the whole congregation of the prelates with their complices, ſayd theſe wordes: If we geue hym licence to preach, he is ſo craftie, and in the holy ſcripture ſo exerciſed, that he wyl perſwade the people to his opiniõ, and raiſe thẽ againſt vs.

The cry of the ſcribes and Phariſeis.

M. Wiſehart appealeth to the Gouernour.

The ſtyle & titles of the Archb. of ſaint Andrewes.

Maſter George ſeyng their malicious and wicked entent, appealed from the Lord Cardinall to the Lord gouernour, as to an indifferent and equal Judge. To whom the accuſer John Lauder aforeſayde, with hoggiſhe voyce anſweared, Is not my Lord Cardinall ẏ ſecond perſon wͭin this realme, Chauncelour of Scotland, Archb. of S. Andrewes, biſhop of Meropois, Commendator of Aberbrothoke, Legatus natus, Legatus à Latere? And ſo reciting as many titles of his vnworthy honours, as would haue lodẽ a ſhyp, much ſooner an aſſe, is not he, quoth John Lauder, an equal Judge apparantly vnto thee? Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy Judge?

To whom this humble man anſweared, ſaying, I refuſe not my Lord Cardinal, but I deſire the word of God to be my iudge, and the temporall eſtate, with ſome of your lordſhips myne auditors, becauſe I am here my Lord Gouernors priſoner. Wherupon the prideful & ſcornful people that ſtood by, mocked hym, ſaying: Such man ſuch iudge, ſpeaking ſeditious and reprochfull wordes againſt the gouernour & other the Nobles, meanyng them alſo to be heretikes. And incontinent without al delay they would haue geuen ſentence vpon maſter George, and that without farther proceſſe, had not certain men there cõſailed the Cardinal to reade againe the articles, and to heare his anſweres therupon, that the people might not cõplayne of his wrongful condemnation.

The wordes of the people againſt the L. Gouernour.

And ſhortly to declare, theſe were the articles folowing, with his anſweares, as farre as they would geue hym leaue to ſpeake. For when he entẽded to mitigate their leaſinges, and ſhew the maner of hys doctrine, by and by they ſtopped his mouth with an other article.

1. Article.

1 Thou falſe heretike, runnagate, traytor, and thiefe, deceyuer of the people, thou deſpiſeſt the holy church, and in like caſe contemneſt my Lord gouernors authoritie. And this we know for ſurety, that whẽ thou preachedſt in Dundy, & waſt charged by my Lord Gouernours authority to deſiſt: neuertheleſſe thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſeueredſt in the ſame: and therfore the Biſhop of Brothen curſed thee, and deliuered thee into the deuylles handes, and gaue thee in commaundement that thou ſhouldeſt preache no more. That notwithſtanding thou diddeſt continue obſtinately.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I haue read in the Actes of the apoſtles, that it is not lawful to deſiſt from the preaching of the goſpell, for the threates and manaſſes of men. Therefore it is written: We ſhal rather obey God then men. I haue alſo read in the prophet Malachie: I ſhal curſe your bleſſinges, and bleſſe your curſinges, beleuyng firmely, that the Lorde wyl turne your curſinges into bleſſinges.

Act. 5.

Malach. 2.

2. Article.

2 Thou falſe heretike dyddeſt ſaye, that the prieſt ſtanding at the altar ſaying Maſſe, was like a Foxe waggyng his tayle in Iulye.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, I ſayd not ſo. Theſe were my ſayinges: The mouyng of the bodye outwarde, without the inwarde mouyng of the hart, is nought els, but the playing of an ape, and not the true ſeruyng of God: For God is a ſecrete ſearcher of mens hartes. Therefore who wyll truely adore and honour God, he muſt in ſpirite and veritie honour hym. Then the accuſer ſtopped his mouth with an other article.

3. Article.

3 Thou falſe heretike preachedſt againſt the ſacraments ſaying, that there were not ſeuen ſacramentes.

Aunſwere.

Of the 7. ſacramentes.

My Lordes, and it be your pleaſures, I neuer taught of ẏ number of ẏ ſacramentes, whether they were ſeuen or eleuen. So many as are inſtituted by Chriſte, and are ſhewed to vs by the Euangel, I profeſſe openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirme nothing.

4. Article.

4 Thou falſe heretike haſte openly taught, that auricular confeſſion is not a bleſſed Sacrament. And thou ſayeſt that we ſhould only confeſſe vs to God, and to no prieſt.

Aunſwere.

Confeſſion what it is, and to whõ it ought to be made.

My Lords, I ſay, that auricular confeſſion, ſeing that it hath no promiſe of the Euangel, therefore it can not be a Sacramente. Of the confeſſion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in ſcripture, as when Dauid ſayth: I thought I would knowledge myne iniquitie againſt my ſelf vnto the Lord, and he forgaue the puniſhment of my ſinne. Pſalm. 32. Here confeſſion ſignifieth the ſecrete knowledging of our ſinnes before God. When I exhorted the people in this maner, I reproued no maner of confeſſion. And farther ſaint James ſaith: Knowledge your faultes one to an other, and praye one for an other, that you maye be healed. When that he had ſayde theſe wordes, the biſhops and their complices cryed and grynned with their teeth, ſaying: Se ye not what colours hee hath in his ſpeakyng that hee may beguile vs and ſeduce vs to his opinion?

James 5.

5. Article.

5 Thou hereticke dydſt ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to euery man, to knowe and vnderſtand his Baptiſme, and what it was, contrary to generall Councels and the ſtates of holy Church.

Aunſwere.

Baptiſme, how neceſſary it is to bee knowen of all men.

Confirmation wherfore it ſerueth.

Ex ore infantium.

My Lordes, I beleue there be none ſo vnwiſe here, that wyl make marchaundiſe with a Frēch man, or any other vnknowen ſtraunger, except he know and vnderſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the Frenche man or ſtraunger. So likewiſe I woulde that we vnderſtoode what thing we promiſe in the name of the infant vnto God in Baptiſme. For this cauſe I beleue ye haue confirmation. Then ſayd maſter Bleiter Chaplen, that he had the deuyll within hym, and the ſpirite of error. Then anſweared hym a child, ſaying: The deuyl can not ſpeake ſuch wordes as yonder man doth ſpeake.

6. Article.

6 Thou heretique, traytour, and thiefe, thou ſaideſt that the Sacrament of the altar was but a peece of bread baken vpon the aſhes, and no other thing els, and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſtitious rite againſt the commaundemēt of God.

Aunſwere.

The Papiſtes reproued of lyers and miſreporters.

Oh Lord God, ſo manifeſt lyes & blaſphemies the ſcripture doth not teach you. As concernyng the ſacrament of yͤ aultar (my Lordes) I neuer taught any thing againſt the ſcripture, the which I ſhal (by Gods grace) make manifeſt this day, I being ready therfore to ſuffer death.

The lawfull vſe of the Sacrament of the alter

The ſtorie of a Iewe

The lawfull vſe of this ſacrament is moſt acceptable vnto God: but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable vnto hym. But what occaſion they haue to ſay ſuch wordes of me, I ſhal ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I once chanced to meete with a Iewe, when I was ſayling vpon the water of Rhene. I did enquire of hym what was the cauſe of his pertinacie, that he dyd not beleue that yͤ true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeene all the Prophecies which were ſpoken of him, to be fulfilled. Moreouer, the Prophecies taken away, and the ſcepter of Iuda, by many other teſtimonies of the ſcripture, I vanquiſhed hym, that Meſſias was come, the which they called Ieſus of Nazareth. This Iewe anſweared againe vnto me, when Meſſias commeth, he ſhal reſtore al thinges, and he ſhal not abrogate the law, which was geuen to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we ſee the pore almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you: yet you are not moued with pity towards them: but among vs Iewes (though we be poore) there are no beggers found.

The principall cauſes, which ſtop the Iewes from Chriſtianitie.

Images.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Lawe, to faine any kind of imagery of thinges in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea vnder the earth: but one God onely to honour: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are ful of Idolles.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Thirdly, a peece of bread baken vpon the aſhes, ye adore and worſhip, and ſay, that it is your God. I haue rehearſed here but the ſayings of the Iewe, which I neuer affirmed to be true. Then the biſhops ſhooke their heades, and ſpitted on the earth, and what he meant in this matter further they would not heare.

7. Article.

7 Thou falſe heretike diddeſt ſay, that extreme vnction was not a ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, forſooth I neuer taught any thing of extreme vnction in my doctrine, whether it were a ſacrament or no.

8. Article.

8 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, that holy water is not ſo good as waſhe, and ſuch like. Thou condemneſt coniuring, and ſaieſt that holy Churches curſinges auayle not.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, as for holy water, what ſtrength it is of, I taught neuer in my doctrine. Coniuringes and Exorciſmes, if they were conformable to the worde of God, I would commend them: but in ſo much as they are not conformable to the commaundement and worde of God, I reproue them.

9. Article.

9 Thou falſe heretike & runnagate haſt ſaid, that euery lay man is a prieſt, and ſuch like. Thou ſaieſt, that the Pope hath no more power, then any other man.

Aunſwere.

Apoc. 1. & 5.
1. Pet. 2.

My Lordes, I taught nothing but the worde of God. I remēber that I haue read in ſome places in S. Iohn & ſaint Peter, of the which one ſaith: He hath made vs kings and prieſtes. The other ſayth: He hath made vs a kingly prieſthood. Wherfore I haue affirmed that any man being cunnyng in the worde of God, and the true fayth of Ieſu Chriſt, hath his power geuen him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the worde of God, the which worde is called the power of God, as witneſſeth ſaint Paull euidently enough. And agayne, I ſay that any vnlearned man not exerciſed in the word of God, nor yet conſtant in his faith, what ſoeuer eſtate or order he be of, I ſay, he hath no power to bind or looſe, ſeing he wanteth the inſtrumēt, by the which he byndeth or looſeth, that is to ſay, the worde of God.

Rom. 1.

To inſtrument to binde and loſe.

After that he had ſayd theſe wordes, al the Biſhoppes laughed, & mocked hym. When that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye (ſaith he) my Lordes? Though that theſe ſayings appeare ſcornful & worthy of deriſion to your lordſhips, neuertheles they are verye weightie to me, and of a great value, becauſe they ſtand not onely vppon my life, but alſo the honor and glory of God. In the meane tyme many godly men beholding the woodnes & great crudelitie of the biſhops, & the inuincible pacience of M. George, did greatly mourne and lament.

10. Article.

10 Thou falſe heretike ſaideſt, that a mā hath no free wil, But is like to the Stoikes, whiche ſay, that it is not in mans wyll to doo any thing, but that all concupiſcence and deſire commeth of God, what ſoeuer kinde it be of.

Aunſwere.

Iohn. 8.

My Lordes, I ſaid not ſo, truely, I ſay, that as many as beleue in Chriſt firmely, vnto thē is geuē liberty, conformable to the ſaying of S. Iohn: If the ſonne make you free, thē ſhal ye verily be free. Of the contrary, as many as beleue not in Chriſt Ieſu, they are bond ſeruantes of ſinne: He that ſinneth, is bond to ſinne.

11. Article.

11 Thou falſe heretike ſayeſt, it is as lawful to eate fleſh vpon the fryday, as on ſonday.

Aunſwere.

Tim. 1.

Eating of meates.

Pleaſeth it your Lordſhips, I haue read in the Epiſtles of ſaint Paul, that who is cleane, vnto hym al things are cleane. Of the contrary, to the filthy men al thinges are vncleane. A faithful man cleane and holy, ſanctifieth by the worde, the creature of God. But the creature maketh no man acceptable vnto God. So that a creature may not ſanctifie any impure and vnfaithful man. But to the faythful man, all thinges are ſanctified by the prayer of the word of God. After theſe ſayinges of maſter George, then ſayde al the Biſhops with their complices: what needeth vs any witneſſe againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken Blaſphemye?

The creature doth not ſanctifie without the worde.

12. Article

12 Thou falſe heretike doeſt ſay, that we ſhould not pray to Saintes, but to God only. Say whether thou haſte ſaide this, or no: ſay ſhortly.

Aunſwere

To honour one God is certaine.
Math. 4.

For the weakenes and the infirmitie of the hearers, he ſaid without doubt plainly, that Saintes ſhould not be honoured. My Lordes (ſaid he) there are two thinges worthy of note. The one is certaine, the other vncertaine. It is found plainely and certaine in Scripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honor one God, accordyng to the ſaying of the firſt Commaundement: Thou ſhalt only worſhip and honour thy Lord God, with all thy hart. But as for praying to, and honouring of ſaintes, there is great doubt amōg many, whether they heare or no, inuocation made vnto thē. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they ſhoulde leaue the vnſure waye, and folowe that waye, which was taught vs by our maſter Chriſt. He is our only mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for vs to God his father. He is the doore by yͤ which we muſt enter in. He that entreth not in by this doore, but clymeth an other waye, is a theefe and murtherer. He is the veritie and lyfe. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubte but he ſhall fall into the myre: yea verily, is fallen into it alreadye. This is the faſhion of my doctrine, the whiche I haue euer folowed. Verily, that whiche I haue heard and readde in the worde of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now, ye ſhal witnes the ſame, if your Lordſhips wyll heare me. Except it ſtand by the worde of God, I dare not be ſo bolde to affirme any thing. Theſe ſayinges he rehearſed diuers tymes.

The ſureſt way is to be folowed.

13. Article.

13 Thou falſe heretike haſt preached plainly, ſaying that there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fayned thing, any mā after this lyfe to be puniſhed in Purgatory.

Aunſwere.

Purgatory not once named in ſcripture.

My Lordes, as I haue oftentymes ſayde heretofore, without expreſſe witnes and teſtimonie of the Scripture, I dare affirme nothyng. I haue oft and dyuers tymes read ouer the Bible, and yet ſuche a terme found I neuer, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therfore I was aſhamed euer to teache of that thyng, whiche I coulde not finde in the Scripture. Then ſayde he to maſter Iohn Lauder his accuſer: If you haue any teſtimonie of the ſcripture, by the which ye may proue any ſuche place, ſhew it nowe before this auditorie. But this dolt had not a word to ſay for hym ſelfe, but was as dumbe as a beetle in that matter.

14. Article.

14 Thou falſe heretike haſt taught plainly agaynſte the vowes of monkes, fryers, Nunnes, and prieſtes, ſaying: that who ſoeuer was bound to ſuch like vowes, they vowed thē ſelues to the eſtate of damnation: Moreouer, that it was lawful for prieſtes to mary wyues, and not to lyue ſole.

Prieſtes mariage.

Aunſwere.

Math. 19.

Of ſooth (my Lordes) I haue read in the Euangell, that there are three kindes of chaſte mē. Some are gelded from their mothers wombe: ſome are gelded by men: and ſome haue gelded them ſelues, for the kingdome of heauens ſake. Verily I ſay, theſe men are bleſſed by the ſcripture of God. But as many as haue not the gyft of chaſtitie, nor yet for the Euangell, haue not ouercome the concupiſcence of the fleſhe, and haue vowed chaſtitie: ye haue experience, although I ſhoulde holde my peace, to what inconuenience they haue vowed them ſelues.

Three kindes of chaſt men.
The daunger of vnchaſtitie.

When he had ſaide theſe wordes, they were all dumbe, thinkyng better to haue tenne Concubines, then one maryed wife.

15. Article.

15 Thou falſe heretike and runnagate ſayeſt, thou wylt not obey our General, nor Prouincial Councels.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, what your general Councels are, I know not, I was neuer exerciſed in them: but to the pure worde of God I gaue my labors. Reade here your general Cõcels, or els geue me a booke wherin they are conteyned, that I may reade them. If they agree with the worde of God, I wyl not diſagree. Then ẏ rauenyng wolues turned into woodnes, & ſaid, Wherfore let we hym ſpeake any further? Reade forth the reſt of the articles, & ſtay not vpon thẽ. Among theſe cruel tygers, ther was one falſe hypocrite, a ſeducer of ẏ people, called Joh. Grayſinde Scot, ſtanding behind Joh. Lauders backe, haſting hym to reade the reſt of ẏ articles, & not to tary vpõ his witty & godly anſweares: For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more then the deuyl may abide the ſigne of the Croſſe, when it is named.

They thriſte apaſe to ſhedde bloud.

John Grayſinde Scot, an haſtye butcher to hys ſlaughter.

16. Article.

16 Thou heretike ſaieſt, that it is vaine to builde to the honour of God, coſtly Churches, ſeing that God remaineth not in the Churches made with mens handes, nor yet God can be in ſo litle ſpace, as betwixt the prieſtes hãdes.

Aunſwere.

My Lordes, Salomon ſaith: If that the heauen of heauens can not comprehende thee, howe muche leſſe this houſe, that I haue builded? And Job conſenteth to the ſame ſentence: Seeing that he is higher then the heauens, therfore what canſt thou build vnto hym? He is deper then hel, then how ſhalt thou know hym? He is lõger then the earth, & broader then the ſea. So that God cannot be comprehended into one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I ſaid neuer that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed. But of ẏ contrarye I affirmed euer, that churches ſhould be ſuſteyned & vpholden, that the people ſhoulde be congregated into them, there to heare of God. And moreouer, where ſo euer is true preaching of the worde of God and the lawfull vſe of the Sacramentes, vndoubtedly there is God hym ſelfe. So that both theſe ſayinges are true together: God can not be comprehended into any place, and where ſoeuer are two or three gathered in his name, there is he preſent in the middeſt of them. Then ſayd he to his accuſer, If you thinke any otherwiſe then I ſay, ſhewe forth your reaſons before this auditorie. Then he without all reaſon being dumbe, and not anſweryng one worde, proceeded forth in his articles.

1. Reg. 8.
Job. 11.

Wherunto Churches ſhould ſerue.

17. Article.

17 Thou falſe heretique contemneſt faſting, and ſayeſt, thou ſhouldeſt not faſt.

Aunſwere.
True faſting he alloweth

My Lordes, I find that faſting is cõmended in the ſcripture: therefore I were a ſclaunderer of the Goſpell, if I contemned faſting. And not ſo only, but I haue learned by experience, that faſting is good for the health of the bodye: but God knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

18. Article.

18 Thou falſe heretik haſt preached openly, ſaying that the ſoule of man ſhal ſleepe to the latter day of iudgement, and ſhal not obtaine life immortal vntyl that day.

Aunſwere.

God ful of mercy and goodneſſe forgeue them that ſaye ſuch things of me. I wote and knowe ſurely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to haue the fayth of Jeſu Chriſt, and beleueth firmely in hym, I know ſurely that the ſoule of that man ſhall neuer ſleepe, but euer ſhall lyue an immortall life. The which lyfe from day to day is renued in grace and augmented: nor yet ſhal euer periſh, or haue an ende, but euer immortall ſhall liue with Chriſt. To the which life all that beleue in hym ſhall come, and reſt in eternal glory. Amen.

The faythfull ſoule ſhall neuer ſleepe.

When the Biſhoppes with their complices had accuſed this innocent man in manner and fourme aforeſayde, incõtinently they condemned hym to be burnt as an heretike, not hauyng reſpecte to his godly anſweares & true reaſõs whiche he alleged, nor yet to their owne conſciences, thinkyng verely that they ſhoulde doo to God good ſacrifice, conformable to the ſayinges of ſaint John: They ſhall excommunicate you: yea, and the tyme ſhall come, that he which kylleth you, ſhall thinke that he hath done to God good ſeruice.

John 16.

¶ The prayer of maiſter George.

The prayer of M. George Wyſehart for the congregation of God.

O Immortal God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the woodnes and great crudelitie of ẏ vngodly to exerciſe their furie vpon thy ſeruauntes which doo further thy worde in this worlde, ſeeing they deſire to be contrary, that is, to choke & deſtroye thy true doctrine and veritie, by the whiche thou haſte ſhewed thy ſelfe vnto the world, which was al drowned in blyndneſſe and miſknowledge of thy name. O Lord we knowe ſurely that thy true ſeruauntes muſte nedes ſuffer for thy names ſake, perſecution, affliction, and troubles in this preſent lyfe, whiche is but a ſhadowe, as thou haſte ſhewed to vs by thy Prophetes and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee hartily, that thou conſerue, defende, and helpe thy congregation, whiche thou haſte choſen before the beginnyng of the worlde, and geue them thy grace to heare thy woorde, and to be thy true ſeruauntes in this preſent lyfe.

Then by and by they cauſed the common people to voyde awaye, whoſe deſire was alwayes to heare that innocent man to ſpeake. Then the ſonnes of darkenes pronounced their ſentence definitiue, not hauyng reſpect to the iudgement of God. When all this was done and ſaid, the Cardinall cauſed his warders to paſſe againe with the meeke Lambe into the Caſtle, vntyll ſuch tyme as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Caſtle, then there came two Gray freers, fryer Scot & his mate, ſaying, Sir, ye muſt make your confeſſion vnto vs. He anſwered, and ſaid, I wyl make no confeſſion vnto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion vnto hym. Then they ſent for the Supprioure of the Abbey, who came to hym with al diligence. But what he ſaid in this confeſſion I can not ſhewe.

When the fire was made readye, and the gallowes at the weſt part of the Caſtle neare to the Priory, the Lorde Cardinall dreading that maſter George ſhoulde haue bene taken away by his freendes, commaunded to bende all the Ordinaunce of the Caſtle right againſt that part, and commaunded all his gunners to be ready and ſtand beſide their gunnes, vnto ſuch tyme as he were burned. Al this being done, they bounde Maiſter Georges handes behinde his backe, and leadde hym forth with their ſouldiers from the Caſtle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the Caſtle gate, there met him certaine beggers aſking his almes for Gods ſake. To whom he anſwered, I want my handes wherwith I ſhould geue you almes: but the mercyfull Lorde, of his benignitie and aboundaunce of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to geue you neceſſaryes both vnto your bodyes and ſoules. Then afterward met hym two falſe feendes, I ſhoulde ſay Fryers, ſaying: Maiſter George, pray to our Lady, that ſhee may be mediatrix for you to her ſonne. To whom he anſweared mekely: Ceaſe, tempt me not my brethren. After this he was lead to the fire with a rope about his necke, and a chaine of yron about his middle.

M. Wiſehart prayeth for the relief of the poore.

M. Wyſehart aunſwereth the Fryers tempting hym.

When that he came to the fire, he ſate downe vpon his knees, and roſe againe, and thriſe he ſayd theſe wordes: O thou Sauiour of the worlde haue mercy on me. Father of heauen, I commende my ſpirite into thy holy handes. Whẽ he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people & ſayde theſe wordes.

I beſeeche you Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, that ye be not offended in the worde of God for the affliction and tormentes, which ye ſee alreadye prepared for me. But I exhorte you that ye loue the worde of God, and ſuffer paciently and with a comfortable harte for the wordes ſake, whiche is your vndoubted ſaluation and euerlaſtyng comforte.

The wordes and exhortation of M. Wyſehart at his death to the people

Moreouer, I pray you ſhewe my brethren and ſiſters, whiche haue hearde me ofte before, that they ceaſe not, nor leaue of the worde of God, which I taught vnto them, after the grace geuen vnto me, for no perſecutions or troubles in this world, which laſteth not: and ſhew vnto them, that my doctrine was no wyues Fables after the conſtitutiõs made by men. And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten great thankes by men. But for the wordes ſake and true Euangel, which was geuen to me by the grace of God, I ſuffer this day by men, not ſorowfully, but with a glad harte and minde. For this cauſe I was ſente, that I ſhould ſuffer this fire for Chriſtes ſake. Conſider & behold my viſage, ye ſhal not ſee me change my colour. This grym fire I feare not. And ſo I pray you for to doo, if that any perſecution come vnto you for the wordes ſake, and not to feare them that ſlay the body, and afterward haue no power to ſlaye the ſoule. Some haue ſayde of me, that I taught, that the ſoule of man ſhould ſleepe vntyl the laſt day. But I know ſurely, and my faith is ſuch, that my ſoule ſhal ſup with my ſauiour Chriſt this night, ere it be ſixe houres: for whom I ſuffer this. Then he prayed for them which accuſed hym, ſaying: I beſeech thee (father of heauen) to forgeue thẽ that haue of any ignorance, or els of any euil mind, forged any lyes vpon me. I forgeue them with all my hart. I beſeech Chriſt to forgeue them that haue condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

The conſtãt patience of this good man.

M. George Wyſehart prayeth for his enemies & forgeueth them.

And laſt of all he ſaide to the people on this maner: I beſeeche you brethren and ſiſters, to exhorte your Prelates to the learnyng of the worde of God, that they at the laſte maye be aſhamed to doo euyll, and learne to do good. And if

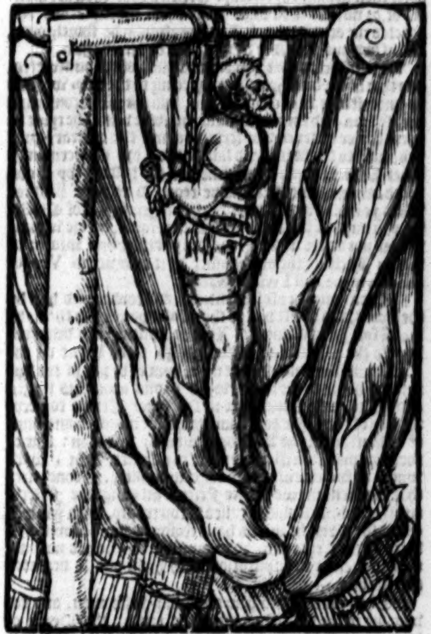
they

M. George Wyſehart propheſieth of the death of the Cardinall, which folowed after.

they will not conuert themſelues from their wicked errour, there ſhall haſtly come vpon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faythfull wordes ſayd he in the meane tyme, takyng no heede or care of the cruell tormentes which were then prepared for hym.

And laſt of all, the hangman that was his tormentor ſat downe vpon hys knees, and ſayd: Syr I pray you forgeue me, for I am not giltie of your death. To whom he aunſwered: come hether to me. When that he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheeke, and ſayd: Loe here is a token that I forgeue thee. My hart do thine office: and by and by, he was put vpon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to pouder. When that the people beheld the great tormentyng, they might not withhold from pitious mournyng and complaynyng of this innocent Lambes ſlaughter.

The Martyrdome of M. George Wiſehart.



The Martyrdome of M. George Wiſehart Gentleman and Martyr.

A note of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpõ the cruell Cardinall Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes, named Dauid Beaton.

The iuſt iudgment of God vpon Dauid Beaton, a bloudy murtherer of Gods Saintes.

It was not long after the Martyrdome of the bleſſed mã of God M. George Wiſehart aforeſayd, who was put to death by Dauid Beaton, the bloudy Archbyſhop and Cardinall of Scotland, as is aboue ſpecified, an. 1546. the firſt day of March, but the ſayd Dauid Beaton Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, by the iuſt reuenge of Gods mighty iudgement, was ſlayne within his own Caſtle of S. Andrewes by ẏ handes of one Lech & other Gẽtlemẽ, who by the Lord ſtyrred vp, brake in ſodeinly into his Caſtle vpon him, and in his bed murthered him the ſame yeare, the laſt day of May, crying out: Alas, alas, ſlay me not, I am a Prieſt. And ſo lyke a butcher he lyued, and like a butcher he dyed, and lay 7. monethes and more vnburyed, & at laſt like a carion buryed in a dunghill. an. 1546. Maij vlt. Ex hiſtor. impreſſa.

The death of Dauid Beaton Archb. of Saint Andrewes.

John Hamelton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

John Hamelton a perſecutour.

After this Dauid Beaton, ſucceeded John Hamelton Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes. an. 1549. who to the entent that he would in no wayes appeare inferiour to his predeceſſour in augmentyng the number of the holy Martyrs of God, in the next yeare followyng called a certaine poore man to iudgement, whoſe name was Adam Wallace. The order and maner of whoſe ſtory here foloweth.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

Adam Wallace, Martyr.

The condem

on of Adam W

lace a poore ma

Conuenerunt ſcribæ & Phariſei aduerſus dominũ, & aduerſus Chriſtũ eius.

There was ſet vpon a ſcaffold made hard to the Chauncelary wall of the blacke Friers Church in Edinbrough on ſeates made therupon, the Lord Gouernour. Aboue him at his backe ſat M. Gawin Hamelton Deane of Glaſgue, repreſenting the Metropolitane Paſtor thereof. Upon a ſeat on his right hand ſat the Archb. of S. Andrewes. At his backe, and aſide ſomewhat ſtoode the Officiall Lowthaine. Next to the Byſhop of S. Andrewes, the biſhop of Dunblane, the byſhop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermling, the Abbot of Glenluce, wyth other Churchmen of lower eſtimation, as the Official of S. Andrewes and other Doctours of that neſt and Citie. And at the other end of the ſeat ſat Maiſter Uchiltrie. On his left hand ſat the Earle of Argyle Juſtice, with his Deputye Syr John Campbell of Lundy vnder his feete. Next hym the Earle of Huntly. Then the Earle of Anguiſh, the Byſhop of Galloway, the Prior of S. Andrewes, the Biſh. of Orknay, the L. Forbes, Dane John Wynrime Supprious of S. Andrewes, and behinde the ſeates ſtoode the whole ſenate, the Clarke of the [illegible]. &c.

At the further end of [illegible] hauncelary wall in the pulpit was placed M. John Lauder Parſon of Marbottle accuſer, clad in a Surplice, and a red hood, and a great Congregation of the whole people in the body of the church, ſtanding on the ground. After that, Syr John Ker Prebendary of S. Gyles Church was accuſed, conuicted, and condemned, for the falſe making and geuing forth of a ſentence of diuorce, and thereby falſly diuorced and parted a man and hys lawfull wyfe in the name of the Deane of Roſtalrige and certayne other Judges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He graunted the falſhood, and that neuer any ſuch thing was done in deede, nor yet ment nor moued by the foreſayd Judges, and was agreed to be baniſhed the realmes of Scotland and England for hys lyfe tyme, and to loſe his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therin hereafter, and in the meane time to leaue his benefices for euer, and they to be vacant.

Barabas let goe poore Chriſt [illegible] ben and crucified

Adam Wallace brought in before the [illegible] and Phariſies.

After that was brought in Adã Wallace, a ſimple poore man in appearance, conueyed by John of Cunnyhe ſeruant to the B. of S. Andrewes, and ſet in the middeſt of ẏ ſcaffold, who was commaunded to looke to the accuſer: who aſked him what was hys name. He aunſwered, Adam Wallace. The accuſer ſayd, he had an other name, which he graunted, and ſayd he was commonly called Feane. Then aſked he where he was borne? Within two myle of Fayle (ſayd he) in Kyle. Then ſayd the accuſer, I repent that euer ſuch a poore man as you ſhould put theſe noble Lordes to ſo great encombraunce thys day by your vayne ſpeakyng. And I muſt ſpeake (ſayd he) as God geueth me grace, and I beleue I haue ſayd no euill to hurt any body. Would god (ſayd the accuſer) ye had neuer ſpokẽ, but you are brought forth for ſo horrible crimes of hereſie, as neuer was imagined in thys countrey of before, and ſhall be ſufficiently proued, that ye can not deny it: and I forethinke that it ſhould be heard, for hurting of weake conſciences. Now I wyll ye thee no more, and thou ſhalt heare the [illegible]ntes that thou art accuſed of.

John Lauder his accuſer.

Adam Wallace otherwiſe named John Feane.

The Sacrament of the popiſh alter.

Adam Wallace, alias Feane, thou art openly delated & accuſed for preaching, ſaying, and teaching of the blaſphemies and abominable hereſies vnderwritten. In the firſt, thou haſt ſayd and taught, that the bread and wyne on the altar, after the wordes of conſecration, are not the body and bloud of Jeſu Chriſt. He turned to the Lord Gouernour, and Lordes aforeſayd, ſaying: I ſayd neuer nor taught nothyng, but that I found in this booke and writte (hauyng there a Bible at his belte, in French, Dutch and Engliſh) which is the worde of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his worde be Judge to me and this his holy writ, here it is, and where I haue ſayd wrong, I ſhall take what puniſhment you will put to me: for I neuer ſaid nothyng concerning this that I am accuſed of, but that which I found in this writte.

The doctrine of Adam Wallace touching the Sacrament of the Lordes body.

What diddeſt thou ſay, ſayd the accuſer? I ſayd (quoth he) that after our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had eaten the Paſcall Lambe in hys latter Supper wyth his Apoſtles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the olde law, he inſtituted a new Sacrament in remembraunce of his death then to come. He tooke bread, he bleſſed, and brake it, and gaue it to hys Diſciples, and ſayde: Take ye, eate ye, thys is my bodye, which ſhall be broken and geuen for you: And lykewiſe the cuppe, bleſſed, and badde them drinke all therof, for that was the cup of the new teſtament, which ſhoulde be ſhedde for the forgeuing of many. How oft ye do thys, do it in my remembraunce.

Math 26.

The Archb. of S. Andrewes ſpeaketh.

The Earle of Huntly ſpeaketh.

Then ſayd the B. of S. Andrewes, and the Officiall of Lowthaine, with the Deane of Glaſgue, and many other Prelates: we know this well enough. The earle of Huntly ſayd: thou aunſwereſt not to that which is laide to thee: ſay either nay or yea therto. He aunſwered, if ye wyll admitte God & his word ſpoken by the mouth of hys bleſſed ſonne Jeſus Chriſt our Lord & Sauiour, ye wyll admit that I haue ſayd: for I haue ſayd or taught nothing, but that the word, which is the triall and touchſtone ſayth, whiche ought to be Judge to me, and to all the world.

Why (quoth the Earle of Hũtly) haſt thou not a Judge good inough? and troweſt thou that we know not God and his worde? Aunſwere to that is ſpoken to thee: and then they made the accuſer ſpeake the ſame thyng ouer agayne. Thou ſaydeſt (quoth the accuſer) and haſt taught, that the bread and wyne in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of ẏ conſecration, are not ẏ body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

1. Cor. 11.

He aunſwered: I ſayd neuer more then the writt ſayth, nor yet more then I haue ſayd before. For I know well by S. Paule when he ſayth: Whoſoeuer eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthely, receaueth to himſelfe damnation. And therfore when I taught (which was but ſeldome, and to them onely which required and deſired me) I ſayd, that if the Sacrament of the aultar were truly miniſtred, and vſed as the ſonne of the liuyng God did inſtitute it, where that was done, there was God hymſelfe by his diuine power, by the which he is ouer all.

The Byſhop of Orkney aſked him: Beleueſt thou not (ſayd he) that the bread and wyne in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of the conſecration, is the very body of God, fleſh, bloud, and bone?

Adam Wallace aunſwereth by hys Creede.

Chriſtes naturall body can not be in two places at once.

Math. 26.

John. 16.

Math. 28. John. 16.

He aunſwered: I wot not what that word conſecratiõ meaneth. I haue not much Latin, but I beleue that the ſonne of God was conceaued of the holy Ghoſt, and borne of the virgine Mary, and hath a naturall body with handes, feete, and other members, and in the ſame body hee walked vp and downe in the world, preached, and taught, he ſuffered death vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power hee rayſed that ſame body agayne the third day: and the ſame body aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, whiche ſhall come agayne to iudge both the quicke and dead. And that this body is a naturall body with handes and feete, and can not be in two places at once, hee ſheweth well him ſelfe: For the whiche euerlaſtyng thankes be to hym that maketh this matter cleare. When the woman brake the oyntment on hym, aunſweryng to ſome of his Diſciples whiche grudged thereat, hee ſayd: The poore ſhall you haue alwayes with you, but me ſhall you not haue alwayes, meanyng of his naturall body. And likewiſe at his Aſcenſion ſayd he to the ſame Diſciples that were fleſhly, and would euer haue had him remaynyng with them corporally: It is needefull for you that I paſſe away, for if I paſſe not away, the comforter the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come to you (meanyng that his naturall body behoued to be taken away from them): But be ſtoute and of good cheare, for I am with you vnto the worldes end.

The eating of the very fleſh of Chriſt profiteth nothing. John. 6.

And that the eatyng of his very fleſh profiteth not, may well be knowen by his wordes whiche he ſpake in the vj. of John, where after that he had ſayd: Except ye eate my fleſh and drinke my bloud, ye ſhal not haue life in you: they murmuryng thereat, he reproued them for their groſſe & fleſhly takyng of his wordes, and ſayd: What will ye thinke when ye ſee the ſonne of mã aſcend to the place that it came frõ It, is the ſpirite that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothyng, to be eaten as they tooke it, and euen ſo take ye it.

The B. of Orknay ſpeaketh.

It is an horrible hereſie, ſayd the Byſhop of Orknay. When he began to ſpeake agayne, and bad the Lord Gouernour iudge if hee had right by the writte, the accuſer cryed: Ad ſecundam. Nunc ad ſecundam, aunſwered the Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes.

The ſecond article agaynſt Adam Wallace.

Then was he bidde to heare the accuſer, who propounded the ſecond Article, and ſayd: Thou ſaydeſt lykewiſe, and openly dyddeſt teach, that the Maſſe is very Idolatry, and abhominable in the ſight of God.

Aunſwere.

The Maſſe not found in Scripture.

Argument.

He aunſwered and ſayd: I haue read the Bible and word of God in three tounges, and haue vnderſtand them ſo farre as God gaue me grace, and yet read I neuer that word Maſſe in it all: but I found (ſayd he) that the thyng that was hygheſt and moſt in eſtimation amongeſt men, and not in the word of God, was Idolatry, and abhominable in the ſight of God. And I ſay the Maſſe is holden greatly in eſtimation, and hygh amongeſt men, and is not founded in the word, therfore I ſayd it was Idolatry and abhominable in the ſight of God. But if any man will finde it in the Scripture, and proue it by Gods word, I will graunt myne errour, and that I haue fayled: otherwiſe not, and in that caſe I will ſubmit me to all lawfull correction and puniſhment. Ad tertiam, ſayd the Archbyſhop.

The third Article. Aunſwere.

Then ſayd the accuſer: Thou haſt ſayd and openly taught that the G O D which we worſhyp, is but bread, ſowen of corne, growyng of the earth, baked of mẽs handes, and nothyng els.

The Popes God.

He aunſwered, I worſhyp the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, three perſons in one Godhead, whiche made and faſhioned the heauen and earth, and all that is therein of naught, but I know not which God you worſhip: and if you will ſhewe me whom you worſhip, I ſhall ſhewe you, what he is, as I can by my iudgement.

Beleueſt thou not (ſayd the accuſer) that the ſacramẽt of the alter, after the wordes of the conſecration betwixt ẏ Prieſtes handes, is the very body and bloud of the ſonne of God, & God hymſelfe? what the body of God is, ſayd he, & what kynde of body he hath, I haue ſhewed you, ſo farre as I haue found in ſcripture.

Then ſayd the accuſer, thou haſt preached, ſayd, and openly taught diuers and ſundry other great errours and abhominable hereſies agaynſt all the vij. ſacramentes, which for ſhortnes of tyme I pretermit and ouer paſſe. Whether doeſt thou graunt thy foreſayd Articles that thou art accuſed of, or no, and thou ſhalt heare them ſhortly? and the repeted the accuſer the iij. Articles aforeſayde ſhortly ouer, and aſked him whether he graunted or denied them.

The wordes of Adã Wallace to the L. Gouernour and the Lordes.

Heb. 10.

He aunſwered that before he had ſaid of his aunſweres, and that he ſayd nothyng, but agreeing to the holy word as he vnderſtoode, ſo God iudge him, and his owne conſcience accuſe hym, and thereby woulde he abide vnto the tyme he were better inſtructed by ſcripture, and the contrary proued, euen to the death: and ſaid to the Lord Gouernour & other Lordes: if you condemne me for holding by Gods word, my innocent bloud ſhalbe required at your handes, when ye ſhalbe brought before the iudgemẽt ſeat of Chriſt, who is mightie to defend my innocent cauſe, before whome ye ſhall not denye it, nor yet be able to reſiſte hys wrath: to whom I referre the vengeaunce, as it is written: Vengeaunce is myne, and I will rewarde.

Sentence of condemnation geuen agaynſt Adam Wallace.

Syr Hew Terrye an impe of Sathan.

Fryers ſent to inſtruct Adam Wallace.

Then gaue they forth ſentence, and condemned him by the lawes, and ſo left him to the ſecular power, in the handes of ſyr John Campbell Juſtice deputie, who deliuered hym to the Prouoſt of Edenbrough to be burnt on the Caſtle hill, who incontinent made hym to be put in the vppermoſt houſe in the towne wyth Irons about his legges and necke, and gaue charge to ſyr Hew Terrye to keepe the key of the ſayde houſe, an ignoraunt miniſter and impe of ſathan, and of the Byſhops, who by direction, ſent to the poore man two Gray Friers to inſtructe hym, wyth whom he would enter into no communing. Soone after that was ſent in two blacke Friers, an Engliſhe Frier & an other ſubtile ſophiſter called Arbirtromy, with ẏ which Engliſhe Frier he would haue reaſoned and declared hys fayth by the ſcriptures. Who aunſwered, he had no commiſſion to enter in diſputation with hym, and ſo departed and left him.

The Deane of Roſcalrige ſent to Adam Wallace.

The bookes of the good man taken from hym.

Then was ſent to hym a worldly wiſe man, and not vngodly in the vnderſtanding of the truth, the Deane of Roſcalrige, who gaue hym Chriſtian conſolatiõ, amongeſt the which he exhorted him to beleue the realtie of the ſacrament after the cõſecration. But he would cõſent to nothing that had not euidẽce in the holy ſcripture, and ſo paſſed ouer that night in ſinging, and lauding god to the eares of diuers hearers, hauing learned the Pſalter of Dauid wͭout booke, to his conſolation: For before they had ſpoyled hym of hys Bible, which alwaies til after he was cõdẽned, was wͭ him where euer he wẽt. After that, ſyr Hew knew ẏ he had certaine bookes to read & cõfort his ſpirit, who came in a rage & tooke ẏ ſame frõ him, leauing him deſolate (to his power) of all conſolatiõ, and gaue diuers vngodly & iniurious prouocations by his deuiliſhe venome, to haue peruerted him a poore innocent, frõ the patience & hope he had in Chriſt hys Sauiour: but God ſuffered him not to be moued therwith, as plainely appeared to the hearers and ſeers for the tyme.

So all the next morning abode this poore man in priſõ, and prouiſion was cõmaunded to be made, for his burnyng agaynſt the next day. Which day the Lord Gouernour, and all the principall both ſpirituall and temporall Lords departed from Edenbrough to their other buſines.

The Deane commeth agayne to Adam Wallace.

After they were departed, came ẏ Deane of Roſcalrige to him againe & reaſoned with him after his wit. Who aunſwered as before, he would ſay nothing cõcerning his faith, but as the ſcripture teſtifieth, yea though an Aungell came from heauen to perſwade him to the ſame: ſauing that he confeſſed himſelfe to haue receaued good conſolation of the ſaid Deane in other behalfes, as becommeth a Chriſtian.

Syr Hew Terrye commeth agayne to Adam Wallace.

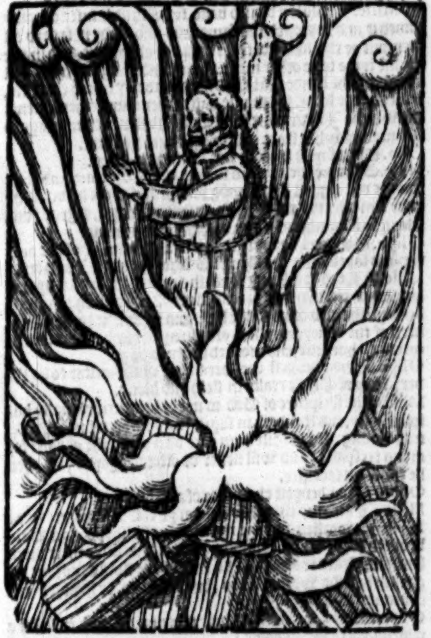
Then after came in the ſaid Terry again & examined him after his old maner, and ſaid, he would garre deuils to come forth of him ere euen. To whom he aunſwered: you ſhould be a godly man to geue me rather conſolation in my caſe. When I knewe you were come, I prayed God I myght reſiſte your temptations, which I thanke him, he hath made me able to doe: therfore I pray you let me alone in peace. Then he aſked of one of the Officers that ſtoode by, is your fire makyng ready? who tolde hym it was. He aunſwered, as it pleaſeth God: I am ready ſoone or late, as it ſhall pleaſe him: & then he ſpake to one faythfull in that company, & bad him cōmend him to all the faythfull, beyng ſure to meete together with thē in heauen. From that tyme to his forth commyng to the fire, ſpake no man with him.

The Prouoſt of Edenbrough forbiddeth hym to ſpeake to any man.

The wordes of Adam Wallace to the people.

At his forth commyng, the Prouoſt with great manaſing wordes forbad him to ſpeake to any man or any to him, as belyke he had commaundement of his ſuperiours. Commyng from the towne to the Caſtle hill, the common people ſayd, God haue mercy vpon him. And on you to (ſayd he). Beyng beſide the fire he lifted vp his eyn to heauen twiſe or thriſe, and ſayd to the people: Let it not offend you, that I ſuffer the death this day for the truthes ſake, for the Diſciple is not aboue his maiſter. Then was the Prouoſt angry that he ſpake. Then looked he to heauen agayne, and ſayd:

The burnyng of the bleſſed Martyr Adam Wallace.



The conſtāt Martyrdōe of Adam Wallace.

They will not let me ſpeake. The corde beyng about hys necke, the fire was lighted, and ſo departed he to God conſtantly, and with good countenaunce to our ſightes. Ex teſtimonijs & literis e Scotia petitis. an. 1550.

The ſchiſme that aroſe in Scotland for the Pater noſter.

A ſchiſme in Scotland by a ſermon of Richard Merſhall a blacke Fryer preaching that the Pater noſter ſhould not be ſaid to ſaints

After that Richard Merſhall Doctour of Diuinitie and Priour of the Blacke Friers at the new Caſtle in England, had declared in his preachynges of S. Andrewes in Scotland, that the Lordes Prayer (commonly called the Pater noſter) ſhould be done onely to God & not to Saints, neither to any other creature: the Doctours of the Uniuerſitie of S. Andrewes together with the Gray Friers, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater noſter to Saints, had great indignatiō that theyr old doctrine ſhould be repugned, & ſtyrred vp a Gray Frier called Frier Toittis, to preach agayn to the people that they ſhould and might pray the Pater noſter to Saintes. Who findyng no part of the Scripture to founde his purpoſe vpon, yet came to the Pulpit, the firſt of Nouember, beyng the Feaſt of Allhallowes. an. 1551. and tooke the text of the Goſpell for that day read in their Maſſe, written in the 5. of Mathew, contaynyng theſe wordes: Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirit, for to them pertayneth the kyngdome of heauen.

Math. 5.

The doctrine of the Papiſtes holdeth that the Pater noſter may be ſayd to ſaintes, and why?

This feeble foundation beyng layd, the Frier began to reaſon moſt impertinently, that the Lordes Prayer might be offered to Saintes: becauſe euery petition therof appertaine to them. For if we meete an old mā in the ſtreete (ſaid he) we will ſay to him: good day father, and therfore much more may we call the Saintes our fathers: and becauſe we graunt alſo that they be in heauen, we may ſay to euery one of them: Our father which art in heauen. Father, God hath made their names holy, and therfore ought we as followers of God to hold their names holy, and ſo we may ſay to any of the Saintes: Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name. And for the ſame cauſe, ſayd the Frier, as they are in the kyngdome of heauen, ſo that kyngdome is theirs by poſſeſſion: and ſo praying for the kyngdome of heauē, we may ſay to them and euery one of thē: Thy kingdome come. And except their will had bene the very will of God, they had neuer come to that kyngdome, and therfore ſeyng their will is Gods will, we may ſay to euery one of them: Thy will be done.

Blaſphemous doctrine agaynſt the glory and name of God.

A Fryerly gloſing vpon the Pater noſter.

The Fryers ſophiſtrye here fayled hym.

But when the Frier came to the fourth petitiō touching our dayly bread, he began to be aſtoniſhed and aſhamed, ſo that he did ſweate aboundantly, partly becauſe his ſophiſtry began to fayle him, not findyng ſuch a colour for that part as for the other whiche went before: and partly becauſe he ſpake agaynſt his owne knowledge and conſcience and ſo was compelled to confeſſe that it was not in the Saintes power to geue vs our dayly bread, but that they ſhould pray to G O D for vs (ſaid he) that we may obtaine our dayly bread by their interceſſion, and ſo gloſed hee the reſt to the ende. Not ſtandyng yet content with this deteſtable doctrine, he affirmed moſt blaſphemouſly, that S. Paules nap kyn and S. Peters ſhadow dyd miracles, and that the vertue of Eliſeus cloke deuided the waters, attributyng nothyng to the power of God: with many other errours of the Papiſtes, horrible to be heard.

A Scottiſhe prouerbe.

Upon this folowed incontinent a daungerous ſchiſme in the Church of Scotland: for not onely the Clergie, but the whole people were deuided among themſelues, one defendyng the truth, and an other the Papiſtry, in ſuch ſort, that there roſe a Prouerbe: To whom ſay you your Pater noſter? And although the Papiſtes had the vpper hand as then, whoſe wordes were almoſt holden for law (ſo great was the blindnes of that age) yet God ſo inſpired the harts of the common people, that ſo many as could get the vnderſtandyng of the bare wordes of the Lordes Prayer in Engliſh (which was then ſayd in Latin) vtterly deteſted that opinion, holding that it ſhould in no wiſe be ſayd to Saints: So that the craftes men & their ſeruauntes in their boothes, whē the Frier came, exploded him with ſhame enough, crying, Frier Pater noſter, Frier Pater noſter, who at the laſt beyng conuict in hys owne conſcience and aſhamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leaue the Towne of S. Andrewes.

Fryer Pater noſter driuen out of ſaint Andrewes.

In the meane tyme of this brute, there were two Paſquils ſet on the Abbay Churche, the one in Latin bearyng theſe wordes:

Doctores noſtri de Collegio,
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod Sancti ſunt ſimiles altiſſimo:
Et ſe tuentur grauatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad inſtantiam fiſcalis,
Gaw & Heruy non varij
In premiſſis connotarij.

M. Dauid Gaw and M. Tho. Heruy, two procuratours.

The other in Engliſh, bearyng theſe wordes:

Doctors of Theologie, of foure ſcore of yeares,
And old iolye Lupoys the bald gray Friers,
They would be called Rabbi and Magiſter noſter,
And wot not to whom they ſay their Pater noſter.

Diſputation in Scotland to whō they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

Pater noſter to bee ſayd to God *formaliter* and to ſaintes *materialiter.*

Vltimate to God *non vltimate* to ſayntes.

Principaliter to God *minus principaliter* to ſaintes.

Primarie to God *ſecundarie* to ſaintes.

Strictè to God *large* to ſaintes.

Shortly, the Chriſtians were ſo hotely offended, and the Papiſtes on the other ſide ſo proud and wilfull, that neceſſary it was, to eſchew greater incōueniences, that the Clergy at leaſt ſhould be aſſembled to diſpute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which beyng done, and the Uniuerſitie agreed, whoſoeuer had bene preſent might haue heard much ſubtile ſophiſtry. For ſome of the Popiſh Doctours affirmed, that it ſhould be ſayd to God formaliter, and to Saintes, materialiter. Others vltimatè, & non vltimatè. Others ſayd it ſhould bee ſayd to God principaliter, and to Saintes minus principaliter. Others, that it ſhould be ſayd to God primariè, and to Saintes ſecundariè. Others, that it ſhould be ſayd to God capiendo ſtrictè, & to Saintes capiendo largè. Which vayne diſtinctions beyng heard and conſidered by the people, they that were ſimple, remayned in greater doubtfulnes thē they were in before: ſo that a well aged man and ſeruaunt to the Supprioure of S. Andrewes called ꝧ Suppriours Thome beyng demaunded to whom he ſayd his Pater noſter: he anſwered, to God onely. Then they aſked agayne what ſhould be ſayd to the Saintes, he aunſwered, giue them Aues and Credes inough in the Deuils name, for that may ſuffice thē well inough: albeit they do ſpoyle God of his right. Others makyng their vauntes of the Doctours, ſayd, that becauſe

Chriſt (who made the Pater noſter) neuer came into the Ile of Brittaine, & ſo vnderſtode not the Engliſh tong, therfore it was that the Doctors cõcluded it ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

The aunſwere of an olde man, to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

A doctorly reaſon why the Pater noſter ſhould be ſayd in Latine.

This perturbation and open ſclaunder yet dependyng, it was thought good to call a principall Councell to decide the matter. Whiche beyng aſſembled at Edenbrough, the Papiſtes beyng deſtitute of reaſon, defended their partes with lyes, alledging that the Vniuerſitie of Paris had concluded that the Lordes Prayer ſhould be ſayd to Saintes. But becauſe that could not be proued, and that they could not preuayle by reaſon, they vſed their will in place of reaſõ, and ſometyme diſpytefull and iniurious talke. As Frier Scot beyng aſked of one to whom hee ſhould ſay the Pater noſter, he aunſwered, ſaying: ſay it to the deuill, knaue. So the Counſell perceauyng they could profite nothyng by reaſonyng, they were compelled to paſſe * votyng.

The Councell of Edenbrough could not agree to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

The Papiſtes maintaine their cauſe with lyes and rayling, whẽ reaſon lacketh.

* That is to the numbring of voyces.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmẽ, were found deuided and repugnaunt among themſelues. For ſome Byſhops with the Doctors and Friers, conſented that the Pater noſter ſhould be ſayd to Saintes: but the Byſhops of S. Andrewes, Catneſſe and Athens, with other more learned mẽ, refuſed vtterly to ſubſcribe ẏ ſame. Finally, with conſent of both ẏ parties, Cõmiſſiõ was geuen by the holy Churche to Dane * Iohn Wynrame, then Supprior of S. Andrewes, to declare to the people how and after what maner they ſhould pray the Lordes prayer. Who acceptyng the Commiſſion, declared that it ſhould be ſayd to God, with ſome other reſtrictions which are not neceſſary to be put in memory. And ſo by little and little, the brute and tumult ceaſed. Ex teſtimonio è Scotia allato.

The Fryers and Prelates could not agree among them ſelues about ſaying the Pater noſter.

* This Wintame is now become a godly miniſter in the Church of God, and a maried man.

The Martyrdome of the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, Walter Mille.

Walter Mylle, Martyr.

AMong the reſt of the Martyrs of Scotlãd, the marueilous conſtancie of Walter Mille is not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence. Out of whoſe aſhes ſprang thouſandes of his opinion and religion in Scotlãd, who altogether choſe rather to dye, then to be any longer ouertroden by the tyranny of the foreſayd cruell, ignoraunt, and beaſtly Byſhops, Abbots, Monkes, and Friers, and ſo began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true Religion of Chriſt agaynſt the Frenchmen and Papiſtes, who ſought alwayes to depreſſe and keepe downe the ſame: for it began ſoone after the Martyrdome of Walter Mille, of the which the forme here after followeth.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1558. in the tyme of Mary Duches of Longawayll Queene Regent of Scotland, and the ſayd Iohn Hamelton beyng Byſhop of S. Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had bene a papiſt) after that he had bene in Almaine, & had heard the doctrine of the Goſpell, he returned agayne into Scotland, and ſetting aſide all Papiſtry and compelled chaſtitie, maryed a wife, whiche thyng made him vnto the Byſhops of Scotland to be ſuſpected of hereſie: and after long watchyng of hym hee was taken by two Popiſhe Prieſtes, one called ſir George Straqwhen, and the other ſir Hew Turry ſeruaũtes to the ſayd Byſhop for the tyme, within the town of Dyſart in Fiffe, and brought to S. Andrewes and impriſoned in the Caſtle thereof. He beyng in priſon, the Papiſtes earneſtly trauailed and laboured to haue ſeduced him, and threatned him with death and corporall tormentes, to the entent they would cauſe him to recant and forſake the truth. But ſeyng they could profit nothyng thereby, and that he remained ſtill firme and conſtaunt, they laboured to perſwade him by fayre promiſes, and offered vnto hym a Monkes portion for all the dayes of his lyfe, in the Abbaye of Dunfermelyng, ſo that hee would denye the thynges he had taught, and graunt that they were hereſie: but he continuyng in the truth euen vnto the end, deſpiſed their threatnynges and fayre promiſes.

Walter Mille contrary to hys popiſhe vow maryed.

Walter Mylle firſt ſuſpected of hereſye.

Walter Mylle taken by two popiſh prieſtes George Straqwhen and Syr Hew Turry.

Then aſſembled together the byſhops of S. Andrewes, Murray, Brechin, Caitnes, and Athens, the Abbots of Dunfermelyng, Landors, Balundrinot, and Cowper, with Doctours of Theologie of S. Andrewes, as Iohn Greſon blacke Frier, and Dane Iohn Wynrame ſupprior of S. Andrewes, William Crãſton Prouoſt of the old Colledge, with diuers others, as ſondry Friers blacke & gray. Theſe beyng aſſembled, and hauyng conſulted together, he was taken out of priſon and brought to the Metropolitane church where he was put in a Pulpit before the Biſhops to be accuſed, the 20. day of Aprill. Beyng brought vnto the church and climyng vp to the Pulpit, they ſeyng him ſo weake and feeble of perſon, partly by age and trauaile, & partly by euill intreatment, that without helpe he could not clime vp, they were in diſpayre not to haue heard him for weakeneſſe of voyce. But when he began to ſpeake, he made the Churche to ryng and ſounde agayne, with ſo great courage & ſtoutnes, that the Chriſtians which were preſent, were no leſſe reioyced, then the aduerſaries were cõfounded and aſhamed. He beyng in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, ſir Andrew Oliphant one of the Byſhops Prieſtes, commaũded hym to ariſe and to aunſwere to his Articles, ſaying on this maner: ſir Walter Mille, ariſe and aunſwere to the Articles, for you hold my Lord here ouer long. To whom Walter after he had finiſhed his prayer, aunſwered ſaying: we ought to obey God more then men, I ſerue one more mighty, euen the omnipotent Lord: and where you call me ſir Walter, they call me Walter and not ſir Walter, I haue bene ouer long one of the Popes Knightes. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

Concilium malignantium.

Walter Mylle for age could ſcarce clyme to the pulpit.

God geueth ſtrength contrary to mans expectation.

Andrew Oliphant the Archbiſhops Chaplayne.

Theſe were the Articles wherof he was accuſed, with his aũſweres vnto the ſame.

Oliphant. Myle.

OLiphant. What thincke you of Prieſtes mariage?

Mille. I hold it a bleſſed band, for Chriſt himſelfe maintained it, and approued the ſame, and alſo made it free to all men: but ye thinke it not free to you: ye abhorre it, and in the meane tyme take other mens wiues and daughters, & will not keepe the bande that God hath made. Ye vow chaſtitie, & breake the ſame. S. Paule had rather marry then burne: the whiche I haue done, for God forbad neuer mariage to any man, of what ſtate or degree ſo euer he were.

Oliphant, Mylle.

Olip. Thou ſayeſt there is not vij. ſacramentes.

Mille. Geue me the Lordes ſupper and Baptiſme, and take you the reſt, & part them amõg you: For if there be vij. why haue you omitted one of them, to wit, mariage, & geue your ſelues to ſclaunderous and vngodly whoredome.

Oliphant.

Oliph. Thou art agaynſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, and ſayeſt, that the Maſſe is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Mylle. A ſimilitude aptely aplyed.

Mille. A Lord or a Kyng ſendeth & calleth many to a dyner, and when the dyner is in readyneſſe, he cauſeth to ryng a bell, and the men come to the hall, and ſit downe to be partakers of the dyner, but the Lord turnyng his backe vnto thẽ eateth all himſelfe, and mocked them: ſo do ye.

Oliphant,

Oliph. Thou denyeſt the ſacrament of the aultar to be the very body of Chriſt really in fleſh and bloud.

Mylle. The Sacrament and ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Mille. The ſcripture of God is not to be taken carnally but ſpiritually, and ſtandeth in fayth onely: & as for the Maſſe, it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſſe for mans treſpaſſe, and will neuer be offered agayne, for then he ended all ſacrifice.

Oliphant,

Oliph. Thou denyeſt the office of a Byſhop.

Mylle. Byſhops no Byſhops.

Mille. I affirme that they whom ye call Byſhops, do no Byſhops workes, nor vſe the offices of biſhops, (as Paul byddeth writyng to Timothy) but lyue after their owne ſenſuall pleaſure and take no care of the flocke, nor yet regarde they the word of God, but deſire to be honored and called, my Lordes.

Olyphant.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt agaynſt pilgrimage, and calleſt it a pilgrimage to whoredome.

Mylle.

Mille. I affirme that, and ſay that it is not commaunded in the ſcripture, and that there is no greater whoredome in no places, then at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothells.

Oliph. Thou preachedſt quietly and priuatly in houſes and openly in the fieldes.

Mille. Yea man, and on the ſea alſo ſailyng in ſhyp.

Walter Mylle conſtant in the truth.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thyne erroneous opiniõs? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce ſentence agaynſt thee.

Mille. I am accuſed of my lyfe: I know I muſt dye once, & therfore as Chriſt ſayd to Iudas: Quod facis, fac citius. Ye ſhall know that I wil not recant the truth, for I am corne, I am no chaffe, I wil not be blowen away with the winde nor burſt with the flaile, but I will abyde both.

Sentence pronounced againſt Walter Mylle.

These thynges rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their finall accuſation, and then ſir Andrewe Oliphant pronounced ſentence agaynſt him that he ſhould be deliuered to the temporall iudge, and puniſhed as an heretícke, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtandyng his boldnes and conſtauncie moued ſo the hartes of many, that the Byſhops Stuard of his regalitie, Prouoſt of the towne called Patrike Learmond, refuſed to be his temporall iudge: to whom it appertained if the cauſe had bene iuſt. Alſo the Byſhops chamberlaine beyng therewith charged, would in no wiſe take vppon hym ſo vngodly an office. Yea the whole Towne was ſo offended with his vniuſt condẽnation, that the Byſhops ſeruauntes could not get for their money ſo much as one corde to tye him to ẏ ſtake, or a tarre barrell to burne him, but were conſtrained to cut the cordes of their maiſters owne pauillon to ſerue their turne.

Patrike Learmond the Archbiſhops Stuard and Prouoſt, refuſeth to be his temporall iudge.

Alſo the Archbiſhops chamberlain refuſeth to be his iudge.

The towne offended with the condemnation of Walter Mylle.

Neuertheleſſe one ſeruaunt of the Byſhops more ignoraunt and cruell then the reſt, called Alexander Symmerwayll, enterpriſing the office of a tẽporall iudge in that part, con-

No corde in all the towne could be bought to tye hym to the ſtake.

Alexander Symmer, with the Byſhops ſeruaunt, made tempo ral iudge for Walter Mylle.

conueyed hym to the fire, where agaynſt all naturall reaſon of man, his boldnes and hardynes did more & more increaſe: ſo that the ſpirite of GOD workyng miraculouſly in hym, made it manifeſt to the people that his cauſe and Articles were iuſt and he innocently put downe.

The miraculous working of God in Walter Mille.

Now when all thynges were ready for his death, and he conueyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bad hym paſſe to the ſtake: and he ſayd, nay, but wilt thou put me vp with thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me paſſe vp gladly, for by the law of God I am forbydde to put handes vpon my ſelfe. Thē Oliphant put him vp with his hand, and he aſcended gladly, ſaying: Introibo ad altare Dei, and deſired that he might haue place to ſpeake to the people, the which Oliphant and other of the burners denyed, ſaying that he had ſpoken ouer much, for the Biſhops were altogether offended that the matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the young men committed both the burners, & the Byſhops their maiſters to the deuill, ſaying that they beleued that they ſhould lamēt that day, and deſired the ſayd Walter to ſpeake what he pleaſed.

W. Mille denyed by the byſhops to ſpeake.

W. Mille permitted by the young men to ſpeake.

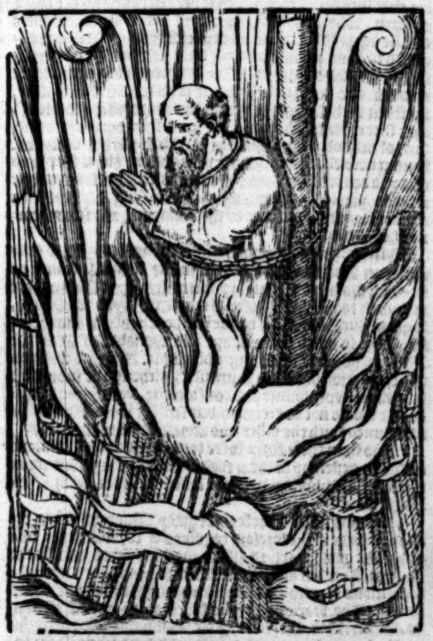
And ſo after he had made his humble ſupplicatiō to God on his knees, he aroſe, and ſtandyng vpon the coales ſayd on this wiſe. Deare frendes the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime layd to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable ſinner before God) but onely for the defence of the fayth of Jeſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the new and old Teſtament vnto vs, for which ẏ as the faythful Martyrs haue offered them ſelues gladly before, beyng aſſured after the death of their bodyes of eternall felicitie, ſo this day I prayſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the reſt of his ſeruāts, to ſeale vp his truth with my life: which as I haue receaued it of hym, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. Therfore as you will eſcape the eternall death, be no more ſeduced with the lyes of Prieſtes, Monkes, Friers, Priours, Abbots, Byſhops, and the reſt of the ſect of Antichriſt, but depend onely vpon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ye may be deliuered from condemnation. All that while there was great mournyng and lamentation of the multitude, for they perceiuyng his patience, ſtoutnes, and boldnes, conſtancie, and hardynes, were not onely moued and ſtyrred vp, but their hartes alſo were ſo inflamed, that hee was the laſt Martyr that dyed in Scotland for the Religion.

The wordes of W. Mille to the people

The cōſtant hardines of W. Mylle.

W. Mille the laſt Martyr in Scotland.

The Martyrdome of Walter Mille.



W. Mille of Scotland Martyr.

1558.

After his prayer, he was hoyſed vp on the ſtake, and beyng in the fire, he ſayd: Lord haue mercy on me: Pray people while there is tyme, and ſo conſtauntly departed.

Epitaphium.

Non noſtra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Chriſti ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, eſt mihi cauſa necis.

After this, by the iuſt iudgement of God, in the ſame place where Walter Mille was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which paſſed both in number and coſtlynes, were burnt in tyme of reformation. Ex fideli teſtimonio è Scotia miſſo.

And thus much concerning ſuch matters as happened, and ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered in the Realme of Scotland for the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, and teſtimony of his truth.

Perſecution in Kent.

IN reuoluyng the Regiſters of William Warrhā Archbyſhop of Canterbury, I finde moreouer beſides theſe aboue comprehended, in the tyme and reigne of kyng Henry, the names of diuers other, whereof ſome ſuffered Martyrdome for ẏ lyke teſtimonie of Gods worde, and ſome recanted, which albeit here do come a litle out of order, and ſhoulde haue bene placed before in the beginning of kyng Henryes reigne: yet rather then they ſhoulde vtterly be omitted, I thought here to geue them a place, though ſomewhat out of tyme, yet not altogether I truſt without fruit vnto the Reader, beyng no leſſe worthy to be Regiſtred and preſerued from obliuion, then other of their felowes before them.

Ex Regiſt. VV. VVarrham Archiepiſc. Cant.

Certayne Martyrs before omitted.

A Table of certaine true ſeruantes of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Dioces of Cant. vnder William Warrham Archbyſhop of Canterbury, with the names of their perſecuters and accuſers. an. 1511.

Perſecuters and Iudges.	Accuſers and witneſſes.	The Martyrs.
William Warrham, Archbyſh. of Caunterbury. D. Cutbert Tonſtall, Doctour of both lawes, and Chaūcelour of the Archb. D. Sylueſter, Lawyer. D. Wellys. Doctour Clement. Browne. Doct. Iohn Collet, Deane of Paules. Doctour Wodyngton.	William Rich of Benynden. Agnes Iue, of Cant. Robert Hilles, of Tenterden. Steuē Caſtelyn of Tenterden. Io. Grebill of Tēterdē, huſbād to Agnes Grebill the Martyr. Chriſtph. Grebill the naturall ſōne of Agnes Grebil the Martyr. Io. Grebill ẏ yonger, the naturall ſonne of Agnes Grebil ẏ martyr. Will. Oldbert of Godmerſham. Laur. Cheterdē. Tho. Harwood of Rowenden. Ioane Harwood hys wife. Phill. Hardwood. Williā Baker of Cramebroke. Edw. Walker. Robert Reynold, of Benynden.	Williā Carder, of Teterden, Weauer. Agnes Grebill, of Tenterdē, wife of Joh. Grebill ẏ elder, and mother to John & Chriſtopher Grebill, who with her owne huſbande accuſed her to death, being of three ſcore yeare of age. Rob. Harriſon of Halden, of the age of lx. yeares. Iohn Browne, of Aſhford. Edward Walker of Maidſtone, Cutler.

Martyrs in Kent before the tyme of M. Luther.

The Articles wherupon theſe v. bleſſed Martyrs were accuſed and condemned by the foreſayde Iudges and witneſſes, were theſe as folow.

FIrſt, for holding that the Sacrament of the aultar was not the true and very body of Chriſt, but onely materiall bread in ſubſtaunce.

Ex Regiſt. VV. VVarrham. Fol. 177.

2. That auricular cōfeſſion was not to be made to a prieſt.
3. That no power is geuen of God to Prieſtes of miniſtring ſacramentes, ſaying Maſſe, or other Diuine ſeruice, more then to lay men.
4. That the ſolemniſation of Matrimonie is not neceſſarie to ſaluation of ſoule, neither was inſtituted of God (for a Sacrament they ment.)
5. That the Sacrament of extreme vnction is not auaileable, nor neceſſary to ſoules health.
6. That the Images of the Croſſe, of the Crucifixe of the bleſſed virgin and other Saintes, are not to be worſhipped:

Their meaning was this: that prieſtes cā clame no more vertue or hye eſtate by their orders, then can a lay man.

and that they which worſhyp them, do commit Idolatry.

7. That pilgrimage to holy places and holy Reliques be not neceſſary nor meritorious to ſoules health.

8. That Inuocation is not to bee made to Saintes, but onely to God, and that he onely heareth their prayers.

9. That holy bread and holy water haue no more vertue after their conſecration, then before.

10. That they haue beleued, taught and holden all and euery of the ſame damnable opinions before, as they dyd at that preſent.

11. That where they now haue confeſſed their errours, they would not haue ſo done, but onely for feare of manifeſt proufes brought agaynſt them: either els but for feare to be conuicted by them, they would neuer haue confeſſed the ſame of their owne accorde.

12. That their haue commoned and talked of the ſaid damnable errours heretofore with diuers other perſons & haue had bookes concernyng the ſame.

¶The order and forme of proceſſe vſed agaynſt theſe v. Martyrs aforeſayd, and firſt of William Carder. Anno. 1511.

The proceſſe of iudgement againſt W. Carder Martyr.

William Carder beyng conuented before William Warrhã Archbyſhop, and his Chauncellour Cutbert Tonſtall, Doctour Syluester, Doctour Welles, Clement Browne with other moe, the Notaries beyng William Potkyng and Dauid Cooper, the Articles and interrogatories aboue ſpecified were layd vnto hym. Which Articles he there and then denyed, affirmyng that he neuer dyd, nor doth hold any ſuch opinions, otherwiſe then becommeth that euery Chriſten man ſhould do, ready to conforme himſelfe in all points to their doctrine: and therfore to cleare himſelfe yͤ better againſt thoſe Interrogatories obiected againſt thẽ, he ſtode in deniall of yͤ ſame. The lyke alſo did euery of the other foure Martyrs after him.

The ſtraite dealing of W. Warrham Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

Witneſſes againſt W. Carder.

All which notwithſtandyng, the vncharitable Archbyſhop ſeeking all aduauntage agaynſt him that he might, and more then right law would geue, brought in agaynſt hym ſuch witneſſes, as before were abiured, whom he knew for feare of relapſe, durſt do none other but diſcloſe whatſoeuer they knew: to wytte, Chriſtopher Grebyll, William Riche, Agnes Iue, Iohn Grebyll, Robert Hils, and Steuẽ Caſtelyn. Whoſe depoſitions beyng taken, and the ſayd Carder beyng aſked what he could ſay for himſelfe, he had nothyng, he ſayd, to produce agaynſt their atteſtations, but ſubmitted him vnto their mercy, ſaying moreouer, that if he had euer any miſbelief of the Sacrament of the Church, contrary to the common holdyng of the Catholickes, he now was ſory, and repented him therof. Which beyng done, the Archbyſhop, this his ſubmiſſion notwithſtandyng, & notwithſtãding that the Regiſter maketh no mẽtion of any relapſe, cõtrary to good law, at leaſt contrary to all Chriſtian charitie, proceeded to the readyng of his blynd ſentence, and ſo condemned hym: who neither ſtode ſtubburnely to that whiche he dyd hold, neither yet did hold any thyng contrary to the mynde of holy Scripture, to the execution of burnyng.

W. Carder wrõgfully condemned by W. Warrham the Archbyſhop.

Then after him was called for Agnes Grebyll, and examined of the ſayd xij. Articles aboue recited, which ſhe in like maner denyed, as the other had done before, puttyng her aduerſaries to their proofe. Then the Archbyſhop callyng for Iohn Grebyll her huſband, and Chriſtofer and Iohn Grebyll her two ſonnes (who before had bene abiured) cauſed them vpon their othe to depoſe agaynſt their owne naturall mother, and ſo they did.

Agn. Grebill, Martyr.

Agn. Grebill accuſed of her own huſband,

Firſt Iohn Grebyll the elder her huſband, examined by vertue of his othe, to ſay how Agnes his wife hath and doth beleue of the Sacrament of the aultar, of goyng in pilgrimage, offerynges, and worſhyppyng of Saintes, Images. &c. and how long ſhe hath ſo holden, thus depoſed: that firſt about the end of kyng Edwardes dayes the fourth, in his houſe, by the teachyng of Iohn Iue, ſhe was brought to that belief, & ſo forth frõ thence dayly, till this tyme of detection, ſhe hath continued.

And beſides that (ſayd he) when my children Chriſtofer and Iohn, beyng about vij. yeares of age, were then taught of me in my houſe the ſayd errour of the Sacrament of the aultar, & by yͤ ſaid Agnes my wife diuers times, ſhe was alwayes of one mynde in the ſayd miſbelief agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, that it was not Chriſtes body, fleſh and bloud, but onely bread. Furthermore beyng examined how he knew that ſhe was ſtedfaſt in the ſaid errour, he ſayd that ſhe alwayes without contradiction affirmed this teachyng, and ſayd, the ſayd opinion was good, and was well contẽted that her children aforeſayd, were of the ſame opiniõs againſt the Sacrament of the aultar. &c. Ex verbis Regiſtri.

The catholicke Clergie of the Papiſtes ſet the huſband agaynſt the wyfe.

The catholicke Papiſtes ſet the children to accuſe their owne mother.

The Byſhop with his Catholicke Doctours, not yet contented with this, to ſet the huſband agaynſt the wife, proceedyng further in their Catholicke zeale, cauſed her two children Chriſtopher and Iohn to be produced, one of the age of xxij. the other of xix. agaynſt their owne naturall mother. Who likewiſe being preſſed with their oth, wytneſſed and ſayd, that the foreſayd Agnes their mother held, beleued, taught, and defended, that the ſacrament of the aultar was but bread, and not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, and bloud: That Baptiſme was no better in the Fount, then out of the Fount: That confirmation was of no effecte: That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony was no ſacrament: That confeſſion to God alone was ſufficient: Alſo that going in pilgrimage and worſhipping of Saintes and Images was of none effect. &c. Item, that their father and the ſayd Agnes their mother held, taught, and communed of the ſayd errours wythin their houſe diuers tymes, by the ſpace of thoſe three yeares paſt, as well on holy dayes, as workyng dayes, affirming and teaching that the ſayd opinions were good and lawfull, and to be holden and maintayned, and agreement was made amongeſt them, that none of thẽ ſhould diſcouer or bewray either of theſe beliefes in any wyſe. Finally, that they neuer heard their ſayd father and mother, holding nor teaching any other opinions, then be yͤ ſayd errours agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offeringes, worſhipping of ſaintes and Images, as farre as they could remember. &c. Ex verbis Regiſt.

Chriſtopher Grebill and Iohn Grebill, witnes agaynſt Agnes Grebil their mother.

Here haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) before thine eyes, an horrible ſpectacle of a ſingular, yea of a double impietie, firſt of an vnnaturall huſband, witneſſing aganſt hys owne wyfe: and of as vnnaturall children, accuſing & witneſſing agaynſt their owne naturall mother. Which although they had ſo done, the cauſe beyng of it ſelfe iuſt and true (as it was not) yet had they done more then nature would haue led them to do. Now the caſe being ſuch, as which by gods word ſtandeth firme, ſounde, and perfect, what impietie were it for men to accuſe a poore innocent in caſe of hereſie, which is no hereſie? Now beſides all this, the huſband to come in agaynſt hys owne wife, and the children to bryng the knyfe wherwith to cut the throate of their owne naturall mother that bare thẽ, that nouriſhed thẽ, that brought them vp, what is this, but impietie vpon impietie, prodigious and horrible for all Chriſtian eares to heare? And yet yͤ greateſt impietie of all reſteth in theſe pretẽſed Catholickes and Clergiemen, which were the authors and cauſers of all this miſchiefe.

Example of an vnnatural huſband, and of vnnatural children.

Great impietye of the huſband toward the wyfe.

Greater impietie in the children agaynſt the mother.

Greateſt impietie of all in the Clergy men the authors hereof.

The cauſe why this good woman ſo ſtood (as ſhe dyd) in the deniall of theſe foreſayd articles obiected, was thys, for that ſhee neuer thought that her huſband and her owne children, who onely were priuye of her religion, woulde teſtifie agaynſt her. Whom notwithſtanding after ſhe perceiued to come in, and to depoſe thus agaynſt her, denying ſtill as ſhee did before) that ſhee did euer hold ſuch maner of errours, and being now deſtitute of all frends and comfort, braſt out in theſe wordes openly (as the regiſter reporteth) that ſhee repented the tyme that euer ſhee bare thoſe children of her body. And thus the Archb. wyth his doctours, hauing now the thing that they ſought for, albeit ſhee was ready to denye all errours, and to conforme her ſelfe to their religion, yet notwithſtanding, they refuſyng her readynes and conformitie, proceeded to their ſentence, and ſo condemned her to death.

Ex Regiſt. VV. VVarrham. Fol. 177.

Agnes Grebill condemned by the ſentence of the Archb.

After whoſe condemnation, next was brought to examination Rob. Harriſon, whom in like maner, becauſe he ſtoode in his deniall, contrary witneſſes agaynſt hym were produced: to wit, Chriſtofer Grebyll, W. Rych, W. Olberd, Agnes Iue, who a litle before had bene abiured, and therefore were ſo much the more apt and applyable to ſerue the Biſhops humour for daunger of relapſe. After yͤ depoſition and conuiction of which witneſſes, although he ſubmitted himſelfe to repentaunce and conformitie, yet notwithſtanding it would not be receaued, but ſentẽce was read and he condemned with the other two aforeſayd, vnto the fire.

Robert Harriſon examined.

W. Carder, Agnes Grebill, Robert Hariſon, Martyrs.

And thus theſe three were condemned and burned, and certificat geuen vp of them together to the king from Warrham the Archbyſhop vpon the ſame. An. 1511. Maij. 2. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

The biſhops certificate to the kyng.

Ouer and beſides theſe three godly Martyrs aboue recited, I finde in the foreſaid regiſters of W. Warrham, two other like godly martyrs alſo in the ſame yeare, and for the ſame xij. Articles aboue ſpecified, to be condemned vpon the depoſitions of certaine witneſſes brought in againſt them, to wyt, Tho. Harwod, Philip Harwod, Steuen Caſtelyn, W. Baker, Rob. Reynold, Ioh. Bampton, Rob. Bright, W. Rich. &c. wherupon they were adiudged likewiſe for heretickes to be burned, the yeare aforeſayd. 1511. the names of which two martyrs were Iohn Brown, and Edward Walker. Ex Regiſt. W. Warrh. Fol. 179.

Io. Browne Edward Walker Martyrs.

Witneſſes agaynſt theſe two Martyrs.

Now as you haue heard the names of theſe bleſſed Martyrs, with their articles recited, let vs alſo heare the tenor of the Biſhops ſentence, by which they were cõdemned

ned one after an other. Their ſentence conteineth one vniforme maner of wordes in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the Sentence.

The ſentence of condemnatiõ agaynſt the v. aforeſayd martyrs.

IN nomine Dei. Amen. Nos Willielmus permiſſione diuina Cantuarienſis Archiepiſ. totius Angliæ primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, in quodam negocio hereticæ prauitatis contra te Willielmũ Carder de Tenterden noſtræ Cant. Dioceſeos laicum ac noſtro imperio notoriè ſubditum & ſubiectum coram nobis in iudicio perſonaliter comparentem, nobis ſuper hæretica prauitate huiuſmodi detectum & delatum, ac per noſtram Dioceſim Cantuariæ antidictæ notoriè & publicè in ea parte apud bonos & graues diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè procedentes, auditis & intellectis, viſis & cognitis, rimatiſq; ac matura deliberatione diſcuſſis & ponderatis dicti negocij meritis, ſeruatiſq; in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure ſeruandis, ac quomodolibet requiſitis pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine inuocato & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram nobis in eodem negocio inuenimus te per probationes legitimas corã nobis in hac parte iudicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreſes, & dãnatas opiniones, iuri diuino & eccleſiaſtico obuiantes, contrarios, & repugnãtes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam & obſeruatam, tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, predicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe, & præſertim cõtra Sacramẽta altaris, ſeu euchariſtiæ, penitẽtiæ, ordinis, & alia Sacramẽta, & ſanctæ matris Eccleſię dogmata: Et quamuis nos Chriſti veſtigijs inhærendo, qui nõ vult mortẽ peccatoris, ſed magis vt conuertatur & viuat, ſepenumero conati ſumus te corrigere, ac vijs & modis licitis, & canonicis quibus potuimus aut ſciuimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per vniuerſalem Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, determinatam & obſeruatam, ac ad vnitatem eiuſdem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ reducere, tamen inuenimus te adeo duræ ceruicis quòd tuos errores & hæreſes huiuſmodi nolueris ſponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & vnitatem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ antedictas debitè reuerti & redire, ſed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum induraſti cor tuum, vt non velis intelligere vocem tui paſtoris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis pijs & paternis monitionibus allici, nec ſalubribus reduci blanditijs: Nos vero nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hereticæ prauitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de conſilio Iuriſperitorum nobis in hac parte aſſiſtentium cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte, te Willielmum Carder prædictum de meritis atq; culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggrauatis, de & ſuper huiuſmodi deteſtabili hereticæ prauitatis reatu conuictum, & ad Eccleſiæ vnitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hereticiſq; credentem ac eorum fautorem et receptatorem prætextu præmiſſorum fuiſſe et eſſe, cum dolore et amaritudine cordis iudicamus et declaramus finaliter et diffinitiuè in his ſcriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hereticũ iudicio ſiue curiæ ſeculari, teq; Willielmum Carder prędictum (vt præfertur) hereticum nihilominus in maioris excommunicationis ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe et incurriſſe, necnon excommunicatum fuiſſe et eſſe pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus etiam in his ſcriptis.

Moreouer, beſides theſe v. bleſſed Saintes of GOD whom they ſo cruelly by their ſentence did condemne to death, we finde alſo in the ſame Regiſters of William Warham, a great number of other, whom they for the ſame doctrine and lyke Articles cauſed to be apprehended and put to open recantation: the names of which perſons in the Catalogue here folowyng, be theſe.

Here foloweth a Table cõtainyng the names of them whiche were abiured the ſame tyme vnder William Wrrham Archbyſhop, in the Dioces of Canterbury. An. 1511.

A table or catalogue of them which were cauſed to abiure vnder. W. Warham.

Note what doctrine here reigned in England before the tyme of Luther.

Iohn Grebyll, the elder of Benynden.
Chriſtopher Grebyll, his ſonne.
Ioh. Grebil, ſonne of Ioh. the elder of Benyndẽ.
W. Riche of Benynden.
W. Olbert, the elder of Godmerſham.
Agnes Iue of Cãterbury.
Agnes Chytẽden of Cãterbury.
Thomas Manning of Benynden.
Ioanne Colyn of Tenterden.
Rob. Hilles of Tenterdẽ.
Alyce Hilles his wife.
Tho. Harwod.
Ioane Harwod, his wife. } of Rowende.
Phil. Harwod.
Steuen Caſtelin of Tenderden.
W. Baker of Cranbroke
Margaret Baker his wife.
W. Olbert the younger, of Godmerſham.
Rob. Reygnold of Godmerſham.
Agnes Reygnolde of Crambroke.
Thomas Field, of Boxley.
Ioane Olbert wyfe to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmerſham.
Elizabeth Whyte of Cãterbury.
Thomas Church of great Charte.
Vincent Linch of Halden.
Iohn Rych of Wyttiſham.
Ioane Lynch of Tenterden.
Tho. Browne of Crambroke.
Ioh. Franke of Tenterdẽ.
Ioyce Bampton, wyfe of Iohn Bampton, of Berſtede.
Rich. Bampton of Boxley.
Rob. Bryght of Maidſtone.
William Lorkyn of Eaſtforley.
Iohn Bans of Boxley.
1512.
Iohn Bukherſt of Stapleherſt.
Ioane Dodde, wyfe of Iohn Dodde.
Iohn Benet, of Stapleherſt.
Rebecke Benet his wife.
Ioane Lowes, wyfe of Tho. Lowes of Crambroke.
Iulian Hylles wyfe of Robert Hylles of Tenterden.
Robert Franke of Tenterden.

The Articles layde to theſe abiurers, appeare in the Regiſters to be the ſame which before were obiected to the other v. Martyrs aforeſayde: which was, for beleuing and defending.

Their articles.

1. FIrſt that the ſacrament of the aulter was not the very body of Chriſt, but materiall bread.
2. That confeſſiõ of ſinnes ought not to be made to a prieſt.
3. That there is no more power geuen of God to a Prieſt, then to a lay man.
4. That the ſolemniſation of Matrimony is not neceſſary for the weale of mans ſoule.
5. That the ſacrament of extreme vnction, called aneyling, is not profitable nor neceſſary for mans ſoule.
6. That Pilgrimages to holy and deuout places be not neceſſary nor meritorious for mans ſoule.
7. That Images of Saintes, or of the Crucifixe, or of our Lady, are not to be worſhypped.
8. That a man ſhould pray to no Saint, but onely to God.
9. That holy water and holy bread is not better after the benediction made by the Prieſt. Ex verbis Regiſt. W. Warham. Fol. 176. an. 1511.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham.

By theſe articles and abiurations of the forenamed perſons, thou haſt to vnderſtand Chriſtian Reader, what doctrine of religion was here ſpryng in this our Realme of England before the tyme that the name of Martyn Luther was euer heard of here amongſt vs.

The doctrine of the Goſpell in England before M. Luther begã.

Three diuers ſortes of iudgement amongſt the Papiſtes, againſt heretickes, as they call them.

Three ſortes of proceedinges of the papiſtes agaynſt the heretickes.

AS touching the penaunce and penaltie enioyned to theſe aforeſayd, as alſo to all other ſuch like, firſt here is to be noted, that the Catholike fathers in their proceſſes of hereticall prauitie, haue three diuers & diſtinct kyndes of iudgementes and proceedinges.

For ſome they iudge to be burned, to the entent that other beyng brought into terrour by them, they myght therfore more quietly holde vp their kingdome, & reigne as they liſt. And thus condemned they theſe v. aforeſaid, & notwithſtanding they were willing to ſubmit themſelues to the boſome of the mother Church, yet could they not be receaued, as by the wordes of the Regiſter, and by the tenour of their ſentence aboue ſpecified may well appeare.

The proceſſe of the papiſtes in condemning heretickes.

And this ſort of perſons thus by them condemned, conſiſteth either in ſuch as haue bene before abiured, and fallen agayne into relapſe: or els ſuch as ſtand conſtantly in theyr doctrine, and refuſe to abiure: either els ſuch as they intende to make a terrour and example to all other, notwythſtanding that they be willing and ready to ſubmitte themſelues, and yet can not be receaued. And of this laſt ſorte were theſe v. Martyrs laſt named. So was alſo Iohn Lambert, who ſubmitting hymſelfe to the kyng, could not be accepted: So was likewiſe Richard Mekins the ſeely lad, pag. 1174. and the three women of Gerneſey, whoſe ſubmiſſion would not ſerue to ſaue their liues, with many other in like caſe. Againſt this ſort of perſons, the proceſſe which the papiſtes vſe, is this. Firſt after they begyn once to to be ſuſpected by ſome Promotor, they are denounced and cited: then by vertue of Inquiſitiō they are taken and clapt faſt in Irons and priſō: from thence they are brought forth at laſt to examination, if they be not before kylde by famine, could, or ſtraitnes of the priſon. Then be Articles drawen or rather wraſted out of their writynges or preachynges, and they put to their othe to aunſwere truely to euery point and circumſtaunce articulated agaynſt them. Whiche Articles if they ſeeme to deny, or to ſalue by true expoundyng, thē are witneſſes called in & admitted, what witneſſes ſoeuer they are, be they neuer ſo much infamous, vſurers, ribaldes, women, yea and common harlots. Or if no other witneſſes can bee founde, then is the husband brought in and forced to ſweare agaynſt the wife, or the wife agaynſt the husband, or the children agaynſt their naturall mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebyll. Or if no ſuch witneſſe at all can be founde, then are they ſtrayned vppon the racke, or by other bitter tormentes forced to confeſſe their knowledge, and to peache other. Neither muſt any be ſuffered to come to them, what neede ſo euer they haue. Neither muſt any publike or quyet audience be geuen them to ſpeake for them ſelues: till at laſt ſentence be read agaynſt them, to giue them vp to the ſecular arme, or to degrade them, if they be Prieſtes, and ſo to burne them. Ex hiſt. Cochlæi cōtra Huſſitas.

Ex Hiſtor. Cochlæi contra Huſſitas Lib.

And yet the malignitie of theſe aduerſaries doth not here ceaſe. For after that the fire hath conſumed their bodyes, then they fall vppon their bookes and condemne them in like maner to be burned, and no man ſo hardy to read thē, or keepe them vnder payne of hereſie. But before they haue aboliſhed theſe bookes, firſt, they gather Articles out of thē, ſuch as they lyſt themſelues, and ſo peruerſly wraſt & wring them after their owne purpoſe, falſely & contrary to the right meanyng of the authour, as may ſeeme after their puttyng downe, to be moſt hereticall, & execrable. Which beyng done, & the bookes then aboliſhed, that no man may cōferre them with their Articles to eſpy their falſehode: thē they diuulge and ſet abroad thoſe Articles in ſuch ſort as Princes & people may ſee what heretickes they were. And this is the rigour of their proceſſe and proceedyng agaynſt theſe perſons, whom thus they purpoſe to condemne, and burne.

The vſe and maner how the Papiſtes drawe out articles of bookes after the authors be condemned.

To the ſecond order belongeth that ſorte of heretickes whom theſe Papiſtes do not condemne to death, but aſſigne them vnto Monaſteries there to continue, and to faſt all their lyfe, In pane doloris & aqua anguſtiæ, that is, with bread of ſorow, and water of affliction: and that they ſhould not remoue one myle out of the precinct of the ſayd Monaſterie, ſo long as they liued, without they were otherwiſe by the Archbyſhop hymſelfe or his ſucceſſours diſpenſed withall. Albeit many tymes the ſayd perſons were ſo diſpenſed withall, that their penaunce of bread and water, was turned for them to wollward Wedenſdayes and Fridayes euery weeke, or ſome other lyke puniſhment. &c.

The puniſhment of them whom the papiſtes condemne to perpetuall priſon after their ſubmiſſion.

The thyrd kynde of heretickes were thoſe whom theſe Prelates dyd iudge not to perpetuall priſon, but onely inioyned them penaunce either to ſtand before the preacher, or els to beare a Fagot about the market, or in proceſſion: or els to weare the picture of a Fagot brodered on their left ſleeues, without any cloke or gowne vppon the ſame: or els to kneele at the ſaying of certaine Maſſes: or to ſay ſo many Pater noſters, Aues, and Creedes to ſuch or ſuch a Saint: or to go in pilgrimage to ſuch or ſuch a place: or els to beare a Fagot to the burnyng of ſome hereticke: either els to faſt certaine Fridayes bread and water: Or if it were a womā, to weare no ſmocke on Fridayes, but to go wolward. &c. as appereth Regiſt. fol. 159.

The puniſhment of them which be inioyned penaunce after their recantation.

And thus much by the way out of the Regiſter of William Warham aforeſayd, like as alſo out of other Byſhops Regiſters many mo ſuch like matters and examples might be collected, if either layſure would ſerue me to ſearch, or if the largenes of this Volume would ſuffer all to be inſerted that might be found. Howbeit, amōgſt many other thynges omitted, the ſtory and Martyrdome of Lancelot, and hys felowes, is not to be forgotten. The ſtory of whō with their names, is this.

❡The Martyrdome of Lancelot one of the kynges gard, Iohn a Painter, and, Gyles Germane.

Lancelot, Iohn a Painter, Gyles Germane, Martyrs.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1539. one Iohn a Painter, and Gyles Germane were accuſed of hereſie, and whileſt they were in examination at London before the Byſhop and other Iudges, by chaunce there came in one of the Kynges ſeruauntes named Lancelot, a very tall mā, & of no leſſe godly mynde and diſpoſition, then ſtrong and tall of body.

This man ſtandyng by, ſeemed by his countenaunce and geſture to fauour both the cauſe & the poore men his frēdes Whereupon he beyng apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them, and the next day at v. of the clocke in the mornyng, was caried with them into S. Giles in the field, and there burned, beyng but a ſmal concourſe or company of people at their death.

One Stile Martyr burned in Smithfield with the Apocalips.

In the company and fellowſhip of theſe bleſſed Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt, which innocently ſuffered within the time of K. Henries reigne, for the teſtimonye of Gods worde and truth, an other good man alſo cōmeth to minde not to be excluded out of this number, who was wyth like crueltie oppreſſed and burned in Smithfield, about the latter end of Cuth. Tonſtals time Byſhop of London: whoſe name was called Stile, as is credibly reported vnto vs by a worthy and auncient Knight, named Syr Robert Outred, who was the ſame time preſent himſelfe at hys burning, and witneſſe of the ſame. With hym there was burned alſo a booke of the Apocalyps, which belike he was wont to read vpon. This booke when he ſawe faſtned vnto the ſtake to be burned with hym, lifting vp his voyce, O bleſſed Apocalyps (ſayd he) how happy am I, that ſhal be burned wyth thee? And ſo this good man, and the bleſſed Apocalyps were both together in the fire conſumed.

Ex teſtimonio D. Rob. Outredi.

And thus (through the gracious ſupportation of Chriſt our Lord) we haue runne ouer theſe 37. laborious yeares of kyng Henries race. Under whoſe tyme and gouernaunce, ſuch actes and recordes, troubles, perſecutions, recantations, practiſes, alterations and reformations as then happened in the church, we haue here diſcourſed, with ſuch ſtatutes iniunctions, & proclamations, as by him were ſet forth in cauſes & matters to the ſayd church apperteining: Albeit not cōprehending all thyngs ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting ſo few things as we coulde, of ſuch matters as came to our handes: ſaue onely, that certayne inſtrumentes with a few other occurrentes ſomewhat pertaining to the courſe of this kynges hiſtory, haue paſt our hands, as the falſe lying Bul of pope Leo x. againſt M. Luther: with the forme alſo of the ſayde M. Luthers appeale from the Pope, vnto a generall Councell. All which, with other matters mo beſides omitted, we haue differred by themſelues hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequele of thys preſent ſtory, as in his due place ſhal appeare.

Pope Leo hys Bull agaynſt Luther.

M. Luthers appeale frō the Pope to a generall Councell.

In the meane ſeaſon, amongſt other omiſſions here ouer paſt, for ſo much as a certayne inſtrument of the popes ſentence definitiue againſt K. Henries firſt diuorce with Lady Katherine Dowager, hath of late come to our handes, conteyning matter neither impertinent nor vnmeete to be committed to hiſtory, I thought here preſently to place ỹ ſame, to the entent that the Reader ſeyng the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſayd ſentence, goyng about by force and authoritie ſo to conſtraine and compell kings and princes againſt their wils, and againſt right and ſcripture to apply to his imperious purpoſe, may the better vnderſtand therby, what was the true cauſe and grounde why the kyng firſt began to take ſtomacke agaynſt the pope and to ſend hym cleane packyng out of this realme. But before I ſhall produce this foreſaid ſentence of the Pope definitiue, to make the matter more playne to the reader, it ſhal not be amiſſe, firſt to diſcipher and rip vp the original of ſuch occaſions as ſhal induce the reader to the better vnderſtanding of this falling out betwene the king and the Pope.

The ſentence definitiue of Pope Clement vij. agaynſt the diuorce of K. Henry.

For ſo I finde by the letters of D. Steuen Gardiner, writtē to Cardinall Wolſey frō rome, (at what tyme he & Foxe were ſent Ambaſſadors by the kyng to Pope Clement the 7. about the expedition of the kinges diuorce, anno. 1532.) that the ſayd Pope Clement with the counſaile of the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, and other Cardinals, at firſt was well willyng, and very inclinable to the accompliſhment and ſatiſfaction of the kinges deſire in that behalf and that for diuers reſpects.

As firſt, for the great benefites receyued, and the ſingular deuotion of the kyng toward the ſea Apoſtolike, in takyng warre for the Churches cauſe, in ſurceaſing warre at the Popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuryng the Popes deliuerāce, whereby the Pope then thought himſelfe with hys whole Sea, much obliged to the kyng in all reſpectes, to paſſe by his authoritie whatſoeuer reaſonably might be graunted in gratifiyng the kynges ſo ample merites and deſertes.

The cauſes mouing the Pope at the firſt to fauor the cauſe of the kinges diuorce.

Secondly, for the euident reaſons and ſubſtantiall argumentes in the * kynges booke conteyned, which ſeemed well to ſatiſfie the Popes likyng, and to remoue away all ſcruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion & confidence that the Pope had in the excellent wiſedome, profounde learnyng, and mature iudgement of the kyng, which the Pope (as he ſayd in formall wordes) would ſooner leane vnto, then to any other learned mans mynde or ſentence, ſo that the kings reaſons (he ſayd) muſt needes be of great efficacie and ſtrength of him ſelfe to order and direct this matter.

*This booke called the kinges booke, was a certayne treatiſe concernyng the reaſons and argumentes of diuers learned men, for the lawfull diſſolution of the kinges mariage, with anſwere alſo to the contrary obiections of Abell, and others. And this booke the king here ſent to the Pope.

The fourth cauſe mouyng the Pope to fauour the kynges requeſt, was for the quyet and tranquilitie of his conſcience, whiche otherwiſe in that vnlawfull Mariage with his brothers wife could not be ſatled.

The fifte cauſe.

The fift cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils and daungers, which otherwiſe might happen to the realme by the pretenſed titles of the kyng of Scottes, and other, without an heyre male to eſtabliſhe the kynges ſucceſſion: for the auoydyng of which perils and alſo for the other cauſes aboue rehearſed, the Pope ſhewed himſelfe at that tyme propenſe and forward to promote and ſet forward the kyngs deſired purpoſe in that behalfe.

Read afore pag. 1057.

The double dealing of the Pope with Kyng Henr.

The pope falſe, double, and contrary to hym ſelfe.

And thus much touchyng this by matter I thought here to ſuggeſt, & repeate to the reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before, pag. 1057. and 1058. to the end that the ſtudious Reader ponderyng theſe firſt proceedynges of the Pope, & comparyng them with this Sentēce definitiue, which vnder foloweth may the better vnderſtād what inconſtant leuitie, what falſe dealyng, what craftie packyng, and what contrarietie in it ſelfe, is in this Pope, holy Sea of Rome: as by this caſe of the Pope may well appeare, who in ſhort tyme after all this, was ſo cleane altered from that he was, that where as before he pretended to eſteeme ſo gratefully the kynges trauayle and benefites exhibited to the Sea Apoſtolicke, in his defence agaynſt the Emperour and the Spanyardes, now hee ioyneth vtterly with the Ceſarians agaynſt the kyng. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the kynges profounde learnyng and mature iudgement, eſteemyng his mynde & Sentence aboue all other learned mē, to be as a iudge ſufficient in the directiō of this caſe: now turnyng head to the tayle, he vtterly refuſeth to bryng the matter in iudiciū orbis, but will needes deteine it at home. Agayne, where before he pretēded a tender prouiſion for the ſtate of this Realme: now he ſetteth all other realmes agaynſt it. And finally where he before ſeemed to reſpect the quyet & tranquilitie of the kynges conſcience: now hee goeth about to commaunde & compell the kyng agaynſt his will and conſcience to do cleane contrary to that, which he himſelfe before in his iudgement had allowed, thinkyng to haue the kyng at his becke, and to do and vndoe what he lyſted and commaunded: as by the tenour and true copie of this his Sentence definitiue, ye may vnderſtand. Which as it came newly to our hāds, I thought here to exhibite vnto the world, that all mē might ſee what iuſt cauſe the kyng had, beyng ſo preſūptuouſly prouoked by the pope, to ſhake of his proude authoritie, and vtterly to exile him out of his realme. Marke, I pray thee, the maner of the Popes proude Sentence how preſumptuouſly it proceedeth.

The Pope how preſumptuouſly he compelleth and commaundeth kinges and Princes.

Anglici Matrimonij.

Sententia diffinitiua.

Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ad Catherinam miſſo.

¶ Lata per ſanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrū D. Clementem Papam vij. in ſacro Conſiſtorio, de Reuerendiſſimorum. 8. R.E. Cardinalium conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonij inter Sereniſſimos Henricū VIII. & Catherinam Angliæ Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Sereniſſima Catherina Angliæ Regina.

CONTRA

Sereniſſimum Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem.

Clemens Papa.7.

The tenour of the popes ſentence definitiue agaynſt kyng Henry. 8.

CHRISTI nomine inuocato in Throno iuſtitiæ pro tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſentētiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro. Ec. Car. Conſiſtorialiter coram nobis congregatorū Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his ſcriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam Catherinā Angliæ Reginam Illuſtrē a noſtris & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ deputatis interpoſitam legitimè deuolutis, & aduocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginā, & Chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium Henricū VIII. Angliæ Regem Illuſtrē, ſuper Validitate & inualiditate Matrimonij inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati rebuſq; alijs in actis, cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi latius deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capiſucho cauſarū ſacri palatij tunc decano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiā venerabili fratri noſtro Iacobo Simonetæ Epiſcopo Piſaurien. vnius ex dicti palatij cauſarū Auditoribus locū tenēti, audiēdis inſtruēdis, & in Cōſiſtorio noſtro Secreto referēdis cōmiſſis, & per eos nobis, & eiuſdem Cardinalibus Relatis, & maturè diſcuſſis, corā nobis pēdētibus, matrimoniū inter predictā Catherinā, & Hēricū Angliæ Reges cōtractū, & inde ſecuta quæcūq; fuiſſe & eſſe validū & canonicū validaq; & Canonica, ſuoſq; debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolēq; exinde ſuſceptā & ſuſcipiēdam fuiſſe, & fore legitimā, & præfatū Hēricū Anglię Regē teneri, & obligatū fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitādum cū dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima cōiuge illāq; maritali affectione & Regio honore tractādū, & eūdē Hēricū Angliæ Regē ad premiſſa omnia & ſingula cū effectu adimplendū, condemnādū omnibuſq; iuris remedijs cogēdum & cōpellendū fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſq; & denegationes per eūdem Henricū Regē eidem Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper inualiditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonij quomodolibet factas & preſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & iniuſtas, & eidē Hērico Regi ſup illis ac inualiditate matrimonij huiuſmodi perpetuū ſilentiū imponēdū fore, & imponimꝰ, eundēq; Henricū Angliæ Regē in expēſis in huiuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictę Catherinę Reginę corā nobis, & dictis omnibus legitime factis cōdēnādū fore, & condēnamus, quarū expenſarum taxationem nobis impoſterum reſeruamus.

Ita pronuntiamus. .I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apoſtolico publice in Conſiſtorio die. XXIII. Martij. M.D.XXXIIII.

Bloſius.

¶ The effect in Engliſh.

THe effect of this Sentence is as much to meane in Engliſhe: That Pope Clement the vij. with the conſent of his other brethren the Cardinals aſſembled together in his Conſiſtory, ſittyng there in ỹ throne of [a] Iuſtice, callyng vppon the name [b] of Chriſt, and hauyng GOD onely before hys [c] eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare in the cauſe & cauſes betwen his dere daughter Katherine Queene of England appealyng to the ſea Apoſtolicke, and his beloued [d] ſonne Henry the eight, kyng of England, concernyng the validitie & inualiditie of ỹ Matrimonie heretofore contracted betwene them, and yet dependyng in the Conſiſtory Court of the ſayd Pope Clement: that the ſayd Matrimonie alwayes hath [e] and ſtill doth ſtand firme and Canonicall, and that the iſſue proceedyng, or whiche ſhall proceede of the ſame, ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand lawfull and legitimate: and that the foreſayd Henry kyng of England, is and ſhall be bounde and obſtrict to the Matrimoniall ſocietie and cohabitation with the ſayd Lady Katherine his lawfull wife and Queene, to hold and maintayne her with ſuch loue and Princely honour, as becommeth a louyng huſband, and his Kyngly honour to do.

(A) The pope ſitteth in the throne of iuſtice, with the lyke humilitye & ſame faſhion, as Lucifer did ſit in the ſeate of the higheſt, and Antichriſt ſitteth in the Tēple of God.

(B) And ſayd neuer a worde.

(C) Id eſt, hauing no bribes of money in his handes, nor no feare of the Emperour in his hart.

(D) Is not this a glorious father that will haue no beggars to hys ſonnes, and daughters, but Emperours, kinges, and Queenes?

(E) And why then did you ſende Campeius to England to diſſolue the ſame matrimonie before? as appeareth aboue pag. 1021.

Alſo that the ſayd Henry kyng of England, if he ſhall refuſe ſo to performe and accompliſhe all and ſingular the premiſſes, in all effectuall maner, is to be condemned and compelled hereunto by all remedies of [f] the law, and enforced, accordyng as we do condemne, compell, and enforce hym ſo to do, prouidyng that all moleſtations and refuſals whatſoeuer, made by the ſayd Kyng Henry agaynſt the ſayd Queene Katherine, vppon the inualiditie of the ſayd Mariage, to haue bene and to be iudged vnlawfull and vniuſt: and the ſayd kyng from hēceforth for euer to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter [g] to ſpeake touchyng the inualiditie of the ſayd matrimonie: like as we alſo do here will & charge him to hold his peace, and do put hym to perpetuall ſilence herein: willyng moreouer and adiudgyng the ſayd kyng Henry to bee condemned and preſently here do condemne him in the expenſes on the ſayd Queene Katherines behalfe here in our Court, expoſed and employed in trauerſing the foreſayd cauſe, the valuation of which expenſes, we reſerue to our ſelues to bee limited and taxed, as we ſhall iudge meete hereafter.

(F) By his owne Canon law, he meaneth, and not by the lawe of God

(G) Here thou mayſt ſee (good reader) how the Pope may and doth erre lyke a falſe prophet. For where he thought to put the king to ſilence, the ſame ſilence lighted vpon hym ſelfe, & whereby the Pope is driuen hymſelfe to ſtand mute in England, and God graunt hee may ſo ſtand for euer. Amen.

We do ſo pronounce. .I.

At Rome in our Apoſtolicall palace publickely in our Conſiſtory. 23. Mart. M.D.XXXIIII.

Bloſius.

Pope Leo hys Bull agaynſt Luther, and the appellation of M. Luther from the Pope by way of an Appendix.

Now as you haue heard the preſumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh vpon hym, contrary to the ordinaunce of God in his Leuiticall law (as before is ſhewed pag. 1025.) and contrary to the beſt learned iudgementes of Chriſtendome, to commaunde and compell the kyng agaynſt his conſcience, to reteine in Matrimony his brothers wife: here foloweth in lyke order to be inferred, accordyng to my promiſe, an other like wicked, blaſphemous, and ſclaunderous Bull of Pope Leo agaynſt Martin Luther, with the iuſt Appellation alſo of the ſayd Martin Luther, from the Pope to a generall Councell. Wherein may appeare to all men the lying ſpirite of the Pope, both in teachyng moſt hereticall doctrine, derogatyng from the bloud of Chriſt, and alſo falſely deprauyng and peruertyng the ſounde doctrine of Luther, falſely and vntruely chargyng him with hereſie, when he is the greateſt hereticke him ſelfe. For what hereticke would euer ſay that the Churche of Rome was conſecrate and ſanctified by the bloud of Peter, but onely the Pope? Or who would call this hereſie, to referre all our ſaluation and ſanctification onely and totally to the bloud of the ſonne of God, vnleſſe he were an hereticke of all heretickes himſelfe?

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Achab played with Elias, ſaying, that he was the troubler of Iſraell, when it was he hym ſelfe and hys fathers houſe that ſo did.

After the like dealyng we read. 3. Reg. 18. of wicked kyng Achab, who beyng onely the diſturber of Iſraell him ſelfe, cryeth out vpon Elias, for troublyng Iſraell. So here in ſemblable wiſe Pope Leo, with what heape of tragicall wordes and exclamations doth he fare and rage agaynſt the true ſeruaūt of God poore Luther, for diſturbing the church of God, when it is the Pope onely & his fathers houſe that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doyngs all the world may ſee inough and to much. In the meane tyme read, I beſech thee, with iudgement this impudent & falſe ſclaunderous Bull of the Pope, with the appeale alſo of Luther agayne from the ſayd pope. The copie wherof becauſe they be rare to be gottē, and hath not bene hetherto commonly ſene, beyng before omitted I thought to cōmit here to hiſtory, as I had it out of certaine Regiſters: the maner & tenor wherof is this as foloweth.

A copy of the Bull of Pope Leo x, no leſſe ſclaunderous then barbarous, agaynſt Martin Luther and his doctrine. Leo Papa. x.

The Bul of pope Leo agaynſt M. Luther.

Que ſequuntur, vide ſuperiore æditione Pag. 1459.

LEo Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriā: Exurge Domine & iudica cauſam tuā. Memor eſto improperiorū eorum quæ ab inſipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuā ad preces noſtras, quoniā ſurrexerunt vulpes querētes demoliri vineam, cuius tu torcular ſolus calcaſti, & aſcenſurus ad patrem, eius curā, regimē, & adminiſtrationem Petro tanquam capiti, & tuo vicario eiuſq; ſucceſſoribus inſtar triumphantis Eccleſiæ commiſiſti. &c.

¶ The ſaid ſclaūderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the. x. agaynſt Luther, in Engliſh, with the aunſwere of Luther ioyned to the ſame.

The Popes Bul in Engliſhe.

LEo Byſhop, ſeruaunt of the ſeruaūtes of God, for a perpetuall memory hereof. Riſe vp O Lord, and iudge thy cauſe. Remember the rebukes wherewith we are ſcorned all the day long of fooliſh rebukers, Encline thyne eare to our prayers: for Foxes are riſen vp, ſeekyng to deſtroy thy Vineyard, the vinepreſſe wherof thou onely haſt troden, and aſcendyng vp to thy Father, haſt committed the charge and regiment therof vnto Peter as chief head, and to thy Vicare and his ſucceſſours. The wylde Bore out of the wood ſeeketh to exterminate and roote vp thy Vineyard. Riſe vp Peter, and for this thy paſtorall charge committed to thee from aboue, entēd to the cauſe of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all Churches, and of our fayth, which thou by the commaundement of God didſt conſecrate with thyne owne bloud: agaynſt which (as thou haſt foretold vs) falſe lyers haue riſen vp, bringyng in ſectes of perdition, to their own ſpeedy deſtruction. Whoſe toung is lyke fire, full of vnquietnes, and repleniſhed with deadly poyſon: who hauyng a wicked zeale, and nouriſhyng contentions in their hartes, do bragge and lye agaynſt the veritie.

Note here and marke good reader how the Church of Rome holdeth by the bloud of S. Peter, and not by the bloud of Chriſt.

Riſe vp Paule alſo, we pray thee, which haſt illuminate the ſame Church with thy doctrine and like Martyrdome. For now is ſprong vp a new Porphyrie, who, as the ſayd Porphyrie then vniuſtly dyd ſclaunder thy holy Apoſtles, ſo ſemblably doth this man now ſclaunder, reuile, rebuke, byte, and barke agaynſt the holy Byſhops our predeceſſours, not in beſeechyng them, but in rebukyng them. And where he diſtruſteth his cauſe, there he falleth to opprobrious checkes & rebukes, after the wonted vſe of heretickes, whoſe vtmoſt refuge is this (as Hierome ſayth) that when they ſee their cauſe go to wracke, then like Serpentes they caſt out their venome with their toung, and when they ſee themſelues, neare to be ouercome, they fall to rayling. For though hereſies (as thou ſayeſt) muſt needes be, for the exerciſe of the faythfull: yet leſt theſe hereſies ſhould further increaſe and theſe Foxes gather ſtrength agaynſt vs, it is needefull that by thy meanes and helpe, they be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed at the begynnyng.

Finally let all the whole vniuerſall Churche of Gods Saintes and Doctours riſe vp, whoſe true expoundyng of holy Scripture beyng reiected, certaine perſons (whoſe hartes the father of lyes hath blynded) & wiſe in their owne cōceites (as ẏ maner of heretickes is) do expoūde the ſcriptures otherwiſe then the holy Ghoſt doth require, followyng onely their owne ſenſe of ambition and vayngloꝛy: yea rather do wraſt and adulterate the Scriptures: ſo that as Hierome ſayth, now they make it not the Goſpell of Chriſt, but of man, or which is worſe, of the deuill.

Let all the holy Church I ſay, riſe vp, & with the bleſſed Apoſtles together make interceſſion to almighty God, that the errours of all ſchiſmatickes beyng rooted & ſtocked vp, his holy Church may be conſerued in peace and vnitie.

For of late (which for ſorow we can not expreſſe) by credible information and alſo by publicke fame it hath come to our eares, yea we haue ſene alſo and read with our eyes, diuers and ſundry errours, of which ſome haue bene condemned by Councels and conſtitutions of our predeceſſours cōtainyng expreſly ẏ hereſies of the Greekes & of the Bohemians: ſome agayne reſpectiuely, either hereticall, or falſe, or ſclaunderous, or offenſiue to good eares, or ſuch as may ſeduce ſimple myndes: newly to be rayſed vp, by certaine falſe pretenſed Goſpellers: who by curious pride, ſeekyng worldly glory agaynſt the doctrine of the Apoſtle, would be more wiſe then becommeth them, whoſe bablyng (as S. Hierome calleth it) without authoritie of the Scriptures, ſhould finde no credite, vnleſſe they ſhould ſeeme to cōfirme their falſe doctrine euen with teſtimonies of the Scripture, but yet falſely interpreted. Which worketh vs ſo much the more grief, for ẏ thoſe hereſies be ſprōg in ẏ noble nation of the Germaines, vnto the which nation we with our predeceſſours, haue alwayes borne ſpeciall fauour and affection. For after the Empire was firſt tranſlated by the Church of Rome, from the Greekes vnto the Germaines, the ſayd our predeceſſours and we, haue alwayes had them as ſpeciall fautours & defenders of this our Church, and they haue alwayes ſhewed themſelues as moſt earneſt ſuppreſſours of hereſies: as witnes wherof remayne yet thoſe laudable conſtitutiōs of the Germane Emperours, ſet forth and confirmed by our predeceſſours, for the libertie of the Church, and for expulſing heretickes out of all Germanye, and that vnder greuous penaltie and loſſe of all their goods and landes. Which conſtitutions, if they were obſerued this preſent day, both we and they ſhould now be free from this diſturbaūce.

Reſpectiuely

The Germanes in olde tyme moſt addicted to popery aboue all other nations.

Furthermore, the hereſie of the Huſſites, Wicleuiſtes, & of Hierome of Prage, beyng condemned and puniſhed in the Coūcell of Conſtance, doth witnes ẏ ſame. Moreouer doth witnes the ſame, ſo much bloud of ẏ Germaines ſpilt fightyng agaynſt the Bohemians. To conclude, the ſame alſo is confirmed & witneſſed by the learned & true confutation, reprobation and cōdemnation ſet forth by the Vniuerſities of Colein and Louaine in Germany agaynſt the foreſayd errours. Many other witneſſes alſo we might alledge, which here, leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to write a ſtory, we pretermit.

Wherfore we for the charge of our Paſtorall office committed vnto vs, can no longer forbeare or wincke at the peſtiferous poyſon of the foreſayd errours: of the which errours we thought here good to recite certaine. The tenour of which is this, as foloweth.

Articles of Luther.

It is an old hereſie to ſay, that the Sacramentes of the new law doth geue grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem. i. which haue in themſelues to the contrary, no let.

In a child after his Baptiſme, to denye that ſinne remaineth, is to tread downe Paule and Chriſt vnder foote.

The origine of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne do folow after, doth ſtaye the ſoule leauyng the body, from the entraunce into heauen.

Vnperfite charitie of a mā departyng, muſt needes bryng with it great feare, which of it ſelfe is inough to deſerue the payne of Purgatory, and ſtoppeth the entraunce into the kyngdome of heauen.

To ſay that penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to wytte, cōtrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction, is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in auncient, holy and Chriſtian Doctours.

Contrition, which a man ſtyrreth vp in him ſelfe, by diſcuſſing, remembryng, and deteſting his ſinnes, in reuoluyng his former yeares in bitternes of ſoule, and in pondering the waight, nūber, & filthynes of his ſinnes, the leeſing of eternall bliſſe, and getting of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh a man an hypocrite,yea a greater ſinner.

It is an olde prouerbe,and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that haue written hytherto of contrition: from henceforth to trãſgreſſe no more. The chiefeſt and the beſt penaunce is a newe life.

Beſt repentance is a new lyfe.

Neuer preſume to confeſſe the veniall ſinnes,nor yet all thy mortall ſinnes, for it is impoſſible to remember all the mortal ſinnes that thou haſt committed,and therfore in the primitiue church they confeſſed the mortal ſinnes, whiche onely were manifeſt.

While we ſeeke to nũber vp al our ſinnes ſincerely vnto the prieſt,we meane nothing els herein, but that we wyll leaue nothing to the mercy of God, to be forgeuen.

In confeſſion no man hath his ſinnes forgeuen,except he beleue,whẽ the prieſt forgeueth, the ſame ro be remitted: yea otherwiſe his ſinne remaineth vnforgeuẽ, vnles he beleue the ſame to be forgeuen.For els remiſſion of theprieſt, and geuing of grace doth not ſuffice,except beliefe come on his part that is remitted.

Thinke not thy ſinne to be aſſoyled,for the worthyneſſe of thy contrition, but for the word of Chriſt: **What ſoeuer thou looſeſt. &c.** When thou art abſolued of the prieſt,truſt confidently vpon theſe wordes, and beleue firmely thy ſelf to be abſolued,and then art thou truely remitted.

Math. 16.

Admit the party that is cõfeſſed wer not cõtrite (which is * impoſſible, or that the prieſt pronounced the wordes of loſing,not in earneſt,but in ieſt: yet if the party beleue that he is abſolued,he is truely abſolued in deede.

* Impoſſible becauſe it can not be that the faith of the true confeſſour can be without contrition.

In the ſacrament of penance and abſolution,the pope or biſhop do no more,then any inferior prieſt can do. Yea and where a prieſt is not to be had, there euery Chriſtian man, yea or Chriſtian woman ſtandeth in as good ſteed. *

* None ought to ſaye to the prieſt , that he is contrite, neither ought the prieſt to aske any ſuch matter.

* He meaneth thys becauſe that as no man knoweth all his ſinnes, ſo no man can be contrite for thẽ ſufficiently.

It is a great error of them which come to the holy houſel truſting vpon this,that they are confeſſed,that their conſcience grudgeth them of no deadly ſinne,that they haue ſaid their prayers,and done ſuch other preparatiues before: all thoſe doo eate and drinke to their owne iudgement. But if they beleue there to obteyne Gods grace,this fayth maketh them pure and worthy.

Ii were good that the church ſhould determine in a general Councel,lay men to cõmunicate vnder both kindes: and the Bohemians ſo dooing , be therein neither heretikes,nor ſchiſmatikes.

The treaſures out of which the pope doth graunt his Indulgences,are not the merites of Chriſt,nor of the Saintes.

Indulgẽces & pardons be a deuout ſeducing of the faithful, & a hinderance to good workes: and are in the number of them,which be thinges * lawful, but not expedient.

* This he correcteth in his Aſſertions of theſe Articles, and ſayth that Indulgences be neyther lawfull nor expedient. And likewiſe he correcteth & reuoketh the Articles following of Indulgences and taketh al Indulgences and pardons cleane away.

Pardons and Indulgences to them which haue them, auaile not to remiſſion of the puniſhment due before God, for actual ſinnes committed.

They which thinke that Indulgences are wholeſome & conducible to the fruite of the ſpirite,are deceiued.

Indulgẽces are only neceſſary for publike trãſgreſſions, & are only grãted to them that are obſtinate and impacient.

Indulgẽces & pardons are vnprofiteble to.6. ſorts of perſons. 1. to thẽ that be dead,or lie in dying. 2. to thẽ that be weake & infirme.3.to ſuch as haue lawful impedimẽts.4.to thẽ that haue not offended.5. to ſuch as haue offended,but not publikely. 6. to thoſe that amend and do wel.

Excommunications be onely outward puniſhmentes,and do not depriue a man of the publike ſpiritual prayers of the Church.

Chriſtians are to be taught rather to loue excommunication,then to dread it.

The biſhop of Rome,ſucceſſour of Peter, is not the vicar of Chriſt,ordeyned by Chriſt and ſaint Peter, to haue authoritie ouer al the Churches in the world.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, **What ſoeuer thou loſeſt. &c.** Mat.16. extende no further,but onely to thoſe thinges, which be bound of Peter hym ſelfe.

It is not in the hands either of the church, or of the pope, to make articles of the faith, yea or lawes either of maners, or good workes.

Albeit the pope with a great part of the church teaching ſo or ſo,did not erre therin: yet is it no ſinne nor hereſie for a man to hold contrarye to them, namely in ſuche thinges, whiche are not neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approued by a general Coũcel.

we haue a way made playne vnto vs , to infringe the authoritie of Councels,& freely to gainſtand their doinges,& to iudge vpon their Decrees,& boldly to ſpeake our knowledge what ſoeuer we iudg to be true,whether the ſame be approued or reproued by any general Councel.

Some of the articles of Iohn Hus condemned in the Coũcel of Conſtance,are Chriſtian,moſt true and Euangelical, whom the vniuerſal Chuch can not condemne.

In euery good worke the iuſt man ſinneth.

* Euery good worke of ours, when it is beſt done,is a venial ſinne.

* This Article is true if the worke ſhoulde be brought to be tryed by Gods iudgement. And here alſo he correcteth hym ſelfe in this worde veniall, becauſe all ſinnes are damnable.

To burne heretikes,is agaynſt the wyl of the ſpirite.

* To fight againſt the Turkes, is to repugne againſt God, viſiting our iniquities by them.

* He meaneth that we ſhould ſpecially reforme our lyues which deſerue the Turkes to plague vs.

Free wyl after ſinne,is a title & name only of a thing,and while a mã doth that which lieth in him,he ſinneth deadly

Purgatory can not be proued out of holy ſcripture,which is Canonicall.

Soules in Purgatory be not certain of their ſaftie,at leaſt not al,neither is it proued by reaſons or by ſcriptures , that they be vtterly out of the ſtate to deſerue, or encreaſe charitie.

* Soules in Purgatory do ſinne without intermiſſion , ſo long as they ſeeke reſt,and dread puniſhment.

* Theſe Articles alſo of Purgatorye he correcteth and taketh Purgatorye cleane away.

The ſoules being deliuered out of Purgatory by the praiers of the liuyng, be leſſe bleſſed, then if they had ſatiſfied for them ſelues.

Eccleſiaſtical prelates and worldly princes ſhould not do amiſſe,if they would ſcoure away al the bagges of begging fryers.

All whiche errors there is no man in his right wittes, but he knoweth the ſame in their ſeueral reſpects, how peſtilent they be,how pernitious, how much they ſeduce godly and ſimple mindes,and finally how much they be againſt al charitie,& againſt the reuerence of the holy church of Rome the mother of al faythfull,and maiſtreſſe of the faith it ſelfe, and againſt the ſinues & ſtrength of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which is obedience, the fountaine and welſpring of al vertues,and without the which euery man is to be conuinced eaſily to be an Infidel.

we therfore deſiring to procede in the premiſſes more earneſtly,as behoueth in things of moſt importance,& meanyng to cut of the courſe of this peſtiferous & cankerd decreaſe,leaſt it ſhould ſpread it ſelf further in the Lords field: like hurtful brambles or bryers,and vſing vpon the ſaid errors,and euery of them,diligent tryall, debating ſtrait examination,ripe deliberation: & further , weeping & thorowly ſifting al and euery of the ſame together with our reuerend brethren,the Cardinals of the church of Rome,the Priors of the orders regular,or miniſters generall , alſo of diuers other profeſſors and mayſters of Diuinitie , and of both the lawes,and thoſe the beſt learned: do finde the foreſaid errors or articles reſpectiuely,as is aforeſaid,not to be catholike,nor to be taught as Catholike, but to be agaynſt the doctrine or tradition of the Catholique Churche, and agaynſt the true interpretation of holy Scripture receyued by the ſame: to whoſe author Auguſtine thought we ought ſo much to leane, that he would not(as he ſayd)haue beleued the Goſpell,if the authoritie of the Church had not therto moued hym.

Concilium malignantium.

For by theſe errors,or at leaſt by ſome of them it foloweth conſequently,that the ſame Church which is guided by the holy ghoſt,now doth,& euer hath erred,which is vtterly againſt that which Chriſt at the time of his aſcenſion(as we reade in the holy goſpel of Math.)promiſed to his diſciples,ſaying: I am with you vntyl the end of the world.&c. and alſo againſt the determination of the holy Fathers , againſt the expreſſe ordinances or Canons of Councels and head biſhops,whõ not to obey, hath alwaies bene the cauſe & nourſe of al hereſies & ſchiſmes,as Cyprian doth witnes.

The Pope taketh vpon hym the title of a falſe Church.

Wherefore by the counſel and aſſent of the ſayd our reuerend brethren,vpon due conſideratiõs of al and ſingular the premiſſes,by the authority of almighty God,& of the bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul,and our owne,we do condemne, reproue,and vtterly reiect al and ſingular the articles or errours aforeſaid reſpectiuely,as ſome to be heretical,ſome to be ſclaunderous,ſome offenſiue to godly eares, or els ſeducing ſimple myndes,& repugnaunt to the Catholike truth, and by the tenure hereof, we here decree and declare that they ought of all Chriſten people both men and women, to be taken as damned,reproued,& reiected. And therfore forbidding here vnder paine of yͤ greater curſe & excommunicatiõ,loſing of their dignities, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or temporal,and to be depriued and made vncapable of al regular orders & priuiledges , geuen and grãted by the Sea apoſtolike,of what condition ſoeuer they be: alſo of looſing their liberties to hold generall ſcholes, to reade and profeſſe any ſcience and facultie: of looſing alſo their tenures and feoſmentes,& of inhabilitie for euer to recouer yͤ ſame againe, or any other: moreouer vnder payne of ſecluding frõ Chriſtian burial,yea and of treaſon alſo, & incurring ſuch paines and puniſhmentes expreſſed in the lawe , as are due for all heretikes and fautours of the ſame: we charge and com-

The Articles of Luther condemned.

mand all and ſingular Chriſten people both men and women, as wel of the laitie as of the Clergie, both ſecular and alſo regular, of what order ſo euer they be, and briefly all other perſons, of what degree or condition ſo euer they be, or in what dignitie ſo euer they are placed, either eccleſiaſticall or temporall: as firſt ỹ cardinals of ỹ holy church of Rome, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbiſhops, biſhops, with ỹ prelates and heds of the churches Patriarchal, Metropolitane or other cathedrall Collegiate, & other ſmall and inferiour churches: to al clerkes & other perſõs eccleſiaſticall, as Abbots priors, or miniſters generall or particuler, brethren or religious men exempt and not exempt: alſo vniuerſities of ſcholes, & all other as well ſecular prieſts as regular, & religious perſõs of all orders, yea of the begging friers alſo: Item, kinges, electors of the imperiall crowne, princes, dukes marqueſſes, Barons, captains, conductors and ſeruitures; and all officers, iudges, notaries, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or ſecular: communalties, vniuerſities, dominions, cities, caſtles, lordſhips, and places, with the inhabiters of the ſame: and finally all other perſons whatſoeuer, eccleſiaſticall or regular, diſperſed in whatſoeuer places thorough the whole * vniuerſall world, or which ſhalbe hereafter diſperſed, but eſpecially in high Almany, that they ſhal not preſume publikely or priuately vnder any maner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſſely, or howe els ſoeuer, to holde, mainteyne, defend, preach, or fauor the foreſayd errors or any of them, or any ſuch peruerſe doctrine.

Beholde how kinges come after bagges and wallets, and begging Fryers.

* Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the Moone bee exempted with hys buſhe of thornes on his necke out of this Bull, or not.

The bookes of M. Luther condemned.

Ouer and beſides, for ſo much as the foreſaid errors, and many other are conteyned in the bookes or writinges of the foreſayd Martin Luther, therfore we condemne, reproue, & vtterly reiect, and hold for vtterly condemned, reproued, and reiected the foreſayd bookes, and al the writyngs of the ſaid Martin, with his preachinges, in what tongue ſoeuer they are found, wherin the ſayd errours or any of them is conteyned, willyng and commaundyng vnder the vertue of holy obedience, and incurryng the penalties aforeſayde, to all and ſingular Chriſten people, both men and women aboue rehearſed, that they preſume not by any maner of wayes, directly, or indirectly, colorably or expreſſely, priuily or apertly, eyther in their houſes, or in other publike or priuate places, to reade, hold, preache, print, publiſh, or defend, eyther by them ſelues or by others, but ſtraight wayes after the publiſhing hereof they do burne or cauſe to be burned the ſayde errours, by their Ordinaryes diligently beyng ſearched out, and ſolemnly preſented in the ſight of the whole Clergie and people, vnder al and ſingular the penalties aforeſaid.

* Let vs ſee here what ye haue not done: Firſt Luther gently ſubmitted hym ſelfe: but you reiected hym: he then referred hym to the iudgment of 4. Vniuerſities in Germanye, it would not be taken: he then appealed from the Cardinall to the Pope, the Pope refuſed hym: the he appealed from the Pope to the Councell neyther did the pope admit that he required to be conuinced by the Scriptures, the Pope neyther would nor coulde ſo do. And yet the Pope ſayth he left nothing vndone.

Nowe, as touchyng the ſayd Martin, O good Lorde, what haue we leaft * vndone? what haue we leaft vnattempted? what fatherly charitie haue we not ſhewed, wherby to haue reduced hym from theſe errours? For after that we dyd cyte hym, thinkyng to proceede with him more fauorably, we inuited and exhorted hym as wel by diuers tractations had with our Legate, as by our own letters, that he would relinquiſh the foreſayd errors, or els hauing ſafeconduct offred to him with money neceſſary for his iourney, to come to vs without any feare or dread, which perfect charitie ought to caſt out, and ſo after the example of our ſauiour and his apoſtle ſaint Paul, he would ſpeake, not in corners and in ſecret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we thinke no leſſe, but that reformyng him ſelf, he would haue recogniſed his errors, neither ſhould haue found ſo many faultes in the Court of Rome, which he beyng ſeduced with the rumors of malitious people, more then he ought, doth ſo much reprehende. Where we would haue taught hym to ſee more clearely thẽ the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predeceſſors (whom he without al modeſtie moſt iniuriouſly doth rayle vpon) dyd neuer erre in their Canons and conſtitutions (which he ſo much depraueth.) For as ſayth the Prophete: Neyther is there Roſine or Phiſition lackyng in Galaad. But he hath alwayes ſhewed hym ſelfe diſobedient, and refuſed at our Citation to appeare, & yet to this preſent day continuyng ſtyll in his ſtubburne mynde and hart indurate, hath remayned now more then a yeare vnder our curſe, yea and moreouer adding miſchiefe to miſchiefe (which is worſt of al) he hearyng of this our citatiõ, bruſt out into a preſumptuous appellation from vs, vnto the next generall Councel, againſte ỹ cõſtitutiõ both of Pope Pius the ſecond, and Pope Iulius the ſecond our predeceſſours, which ſo decreed that all they whiche ſo dyd appeale, ſhoulde be puniſhed as heretiques.

Ierem. 8.

Here note good reader that Luther appealed from the Pope to the Councell two yeares before this Bull: which was an. 1518.

In vayne alſo he ſeeketh refuge to the general Councel, which profeſſeth hym ſelfe not greatly to regarde ſuche Councels. So that now we might lawfully proceede againſt hym, as againſt one notoriouſly ſuſpected of his fayth, yea a very heretike in dede, without any further citation or delay, to ỹ condẽnation of hym as of an heretike, and to the ſeueritie of al and ſingular paynes and cenſures afore written, yet we notwithſtandyng by the counſel of our brethrẽ aforeſayd folowing the clemencie of almighty God, which wyll not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhoulde conuert and lyue, and forgettyng al iniuries heretofore done vnto vs & to the See apoſtolike, haue thought good to vſe al fauorable meanes toward hym that we might, and ſo to worke (as muche as in vs lyeth) that he by this waye of manſuetude, might be brought to reformation: ſo that he forſakyng his former errors, might be receyued as the loſt chyld, and returne home agayne into the lap of his mother the Church.

The Popes exhortation to Luther.

Wherfore in moſt harty wiſe we exhort and beſeech the ſaid Martin and al his adherentes, receyuers, and fautors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the ſprinklyng of the bloud of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, in whom and by whom is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother Churche, that they wyl ceaſe to diſturbe the peace, vnitie, and veritie of the ſayd Churche, for the which our ſauiour ſo inſtantly prayed to his father, and that they wyll abſteyne from ſuch pernicious errors aforeſayd. Who in ſo doyng ſhall finde with vs (if they ſhal obey, or ſhall certifie vs by lawfull witneſſes to haue obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charitie, & a ful fountayne opened of al mercy and clemencie: willyng & chargyng the ſayd Martin notwithſtãdyng from henceforth that he vtterly deſiſt in the meane tyme from all preachyng and office of preachyng. Or els if the loue of Iuſtice and vertue ſhall not reſtrayne the ſaide Martin from ſinne, neither the hope of our pardon ſhall reduce hym to repentaunce: to the intent that the terrour of puniſhment and of diſcipline may bridle him, we require and admoniſh the ſaid Martin and his adherentes, abbettors, fautors, and receyuers, by the tenor hereof, in the veritie of holy obedience, and vnder incurryng all the penalties aforeſayd, diſtrictly chargyng and commaundyng that within fourty dayes (wherof twenty we aſſigne for the firſt twenty, for the ſecond, and the other twenty for the thyrd & peremptory terme) immediatly folowyng after the ſettyng vp of theſe preſent letters, that the ſayd Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherẽts and receyuers aforeſayd, do ſurceaſe from the foreſayde errors, and from the preachyng, publiſhing, mainteynyng, and defendyng of the ſame: alſo from ſettyng out of booke or ſcriptures vpon the ſaid errors or any of them: and furthermore, that they burne, or cauſe to be burned al and ſingular ſuch bookes and ſcriptures as contayne the foreſaid errors or any of them by any maner of way.

The Pope threatneth M. Luther with puniſhment.

Alſo that the ſaid Martin do vtterly reuoke thoſe errors and aſſertions & ſo to certifie vs of the reuokyng therof by publike teſtimonie in due forme of lawe, ſigned by the handes of two prelates, to be ſent vnto vs within the terme of other like fourty dayes, or els to be brought by hym vnto vs, if he hym ſelfe wyl come (which would pleaſe vs much rather) with a ful ſafeconduct aboue mentioned, which frõ henceforth we are content to offer vnto hym, to the entent that no ſcruple of doubt touching his true obedience ſhould hereafter remayne.

The popes ſafeconduct to Luther offered.

Contrarywiſe, if the ſaid Martin (which God defend) his abettors, fautors, adherentes, and maynteyners aforeſaid ſhal otherwiſe do, or ſhal not fulfil to euery effecte and purpoſe, al and ſingular ỹ premiſſes within the terme aforeſaid, we thẽ folowing the doctrine of the Apoſtle, which teacheth vs to auoyde an heretical perſon, after the firſt and ſecond correction, as wel now as before, and as well before as nowe, declaryng by our authoritie the ſayd Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherentes, mainteyners, and receyuers, as wythered braunches not remaynyng in Chriſt, but teaching and preachyng contrarye doctrine, repugnaunt to the Catholike fayth, ſclaunderous and damnable, to the greate offence of Gods maieſtie, to the detriment and ſclaunder of the vniuerſal church and Catholike faith, and deſpiſing the keyes of the church: to be, and to haue bene notorious and obſtinate heretikes, doo condemne the ſame for ſuche by the tenor hereof, willyng and commaundyng them to be holden and taken for ſuch of al Chriſten people aforeſayd.

Ouer and beſides we forbyd, vnder the incurryng of all and ſingular the penalties afore expreſſed, in ſo doyng, that no man preſume by any maner of way, directly or indirectly ſecretly or expreſſely, priuyly or apertly, to read, hold, preach prayſe, print, publiſh, or defend, eyther by them ſelues, or by any other the ſayde bookes and writinges, not onely thoſe wherin the errors aforeſaid are conteined, but alſo al others whatſoeuer haue bene or ſhalbe ſet forth, written, or made by the ſayde Martin vehemently ſuſpected as a pernitious enemye of the Catholike fayth, to the entent that his memorye maye vtterly be rooted out from the felowſhip of all Chriſten people, or rather with fire to conſume them, as is efore declared.

All the bookes of Luther both good and badde, condẽned by the Pope.

We admoniſh moreouer al and ſingular Chriſtes faithful people vnder the ſayd payne of the great curſe, to auoyde or cauſe to be auoyded ſo muche as in them doth lye, the foreſaide heretikes not obedient to our commaundementes, and to haue no felowſhip or any conuerſation or communion with them or with any of them, neither to miniſter to them thinges neceſſary.

Apocal. 13. And hee ſhall haue power & commaundement vpon euery company, and people and tounge, and nation. &c.

The Pope here dreameth of a drye Summer, thinking all the world to be ſubiect vnto hym.

And moreouer, to the more confuſion of the ſayd Martin, with his abettors, adherentes, and retayners aforeſayd thus beyng declared and condemned as heretickes, after the expiryng of the terme aforeſaide, we commaund all and ſingular Chriſtes faythfull people both men and women, as Patriarches, Archbiſhoppes, Prelates of Churches either Patriarchall, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other inferiour Churches, to Deanes and Chapiters, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſecular, and of all other orders, euen of the beggyng Friers alſo, namely of that Congregation, where the ſayd Martin is profeſſed, or hath his abode: alſo to regular, exempt, and not exempt, Item, to al and ſingular Princes, what dignitie or callyng ſo euer, either Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall they be of: to Kyngs, Princes, Electors Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Captaynes, Conductours, Seruitours, Communalties, Uniuerſities, Dominions, Cities, Landes, Caſtles, and places, or the Citizens, and inhabitauntes thereof: and briefly, to all and ſingular other aforeſayd, through the vniuerſall world diſperſed, ſpecially in Almanye, that they and euery of them vnder all and ſingular penalties aforeſayd, do perſonally apprehende the ſayd Martin, his abettours, adherentes, receyuers, and fautours, and to retayne them beyng apprehended at our inſtaunce and to ſend thẽ vnto vs (who in ſo doyng, for their good worke ſhall receyue of vs and the Sea Apoſtolique, condigne rewarde and recompence) or at leaſt, that they vtterly driue them and euerye one of them out of their Metropolitane, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houſes, Monaſteries, Couentes, Cities, Dominions, Uniuerſities, Communalties, Caſtles, Landes, and places reſpectiuely, as wel the Clergy men, as the regular and lay men, all and ſingular aforeſayd.

Those Cities, Dominions, Landes, Caſtles, Uillages, Communalties, Holdes, Townes, and places where ſoeuer they be ſituate reſpectiuely, Metropolitane, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monaſteries alſo, Priories, Couentes, and Religious and deuout places, of what order ſoeuer (as is aforeſayd) vnto the which it ſhall chaunce the ſayd Martin to come, ſo long as he or they ſhall there remayne, and three dayes after their departyng from thence, we here geue ouer to the Eccleſiaſticall interdiction.

And that the premiſſes maye be knowen to all men, we commaund moreouer al patriarkes, Archbiſhops, byſhops, prelates of patriarchal, metropolitane, and other cathedrall and collegiate Churches, to Deanes and Chapiters, and other perſõs Eccleſiaſticall, & of what order els ſoeuer aforeſayd, to regulare brethren, religious Monkes exempt & not exempt aforeſaid, where ſoeuer they dwel, & eſpecially within Almany, that they and euery of them vnder like cenſures and paynes, do publikely denounce and cauſe and cõmaund to be denounced of others, the ſaid Martin, with al and ſingular his foreſaid adherentes which ſhal not obey our commaundementes and monitions within the terme aforeſayd, vpon euery ſonday, and other Feſtiuall dayes, within their churches, when as the greateſt concourſe of people ſhal reſort to diuine ſeruice, to be declared and cõdemned for heretikes, and that al Chriſtes faythful people ſhall auoyde thẽ vnder the ſaid cenſures and penalties as be afore expreſſed, and that they do ſet vp theſe preſentes, or cauſe to be ſet vp, or the tranſcript of them made vnder the fourme hereafter enſuyng, in their churches, Monaſteries, houſes, Couents, and other places there openly to be ſene and read.

Item, we do excommunicate and curſe all and ſingular perſons of what ſoeuer ſtate, degree, condition, preeminence, dignitie, or excellencie they be, whiche ſhall procure, or cauſe to be procured by them ſelues or other, priuily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, ſecretly or expreſſely, wherby theſe preſents, or the copies tranſcript, or the examples of them can not be read, ſet vp and publiſhed in their landes and dominions. &c.

Let no man therfore be ſo bold to dare to infringe or with raſh preſumption, to contrary this writing of our damnation, reprobation, reiection, decree, declaration, inhibition, wil, commaundement, exhortation, beſeeching, requeſt, admonition, aſſignation, graunt, condemnation, ſubiection, excommunication, and curſe. And if any perſon and perſons dare preſume to attempt the ſame, let hym know and be ſure that he ſhall incurre the indignation of almightie God, and of hys bleſſed Apoſtles Peter and Paul.

Cuius contrari verum eſt.

Geuen at Rome at S. Peters. an. 1520. 17. Calend. Iulij, and of our Popedome the eight yeare.

Although it was ſomewhat long before this Bull aforeſayd of Pope Leo, beyng ſent & diſperſed through all other places abroad, could come to the handes of Luther, yet ſo ſoone as he, by meanes of his frends, might get a ſight therof, he ſhaped agayne an aunſwere to the ſame: in ſuch ſorte, as I am ſure the pope himſelfe will ſay, that his Bul was neuer ſo bayted, and ſo well fauouredly ſhakẽ in all his dayes, as by the handlyng of the matter & readyng of his aunſwere may euidently appeare. The contentes and copy of the which aunſwere I thought here next after the ſayd Bull, immediatly to exhibite to the Chriſtian reader, that who ſo is diſpoſed to conferre the one with the other, hauyng them both at hand, may iudge the better of the whole matter and cauſe, and alſo may ſee the true Image of the Pope out of hys paynted viſour appeare in his owne perfect colours. The aunſwere now to the Bull here foloweth.

M. Luther aunſwering agayne to the Popes Bull.

The Popes Bulbaytyng.

The Pope deſcribed in his colours.

IESVS.

Martinus Lutherus Chriſtiano lectori,
gratiam Chriſti in ſalutem æternam.

FAma peruenit ad me, Chriſtiane Lector, exijſſe Bullã quãdam aduerſum me, penè in omnẽ terram, priuſq; ad me, in quẽ vnice fuerit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. Fortè, quod noctis & tenebrarũ ſcilicet filia, timuit lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipſam noctuam, vix tandem multum adiuuatibus amicis, in imagine ſua, datum eſt videre &c.

The aunſwere of M. Luther to the Popes Bul, in Latin.

Quæ ſequuntur vide ſuperiore æditione Pag. 1465.

¶ Here foloweth the ſame aunſwere of Martin Luther agaynſt the execrable Bull of Pope Leo, in Engliſh.

The copye of M. Luthers aunſwere to the Bull of Pope Leo, in Engliſhe.

MArtin Luther to the chriſtian reader, wiſheth the grace of Chriſt to eternall ſaluation. I heard a fame a farre of (chriſtian reader) that a certayne Bull was paſt out agaynſt me, and ſent almoſt ouer all the world, before it came to me, agaynſt whom it was eſpecially directed, & to whom moſt chiefly it apperteined. For what cauſe I cannot tell, except peraduenture it was for that the ſayd Bull lyke vnto a night crow, and as a birde of darckeneſſe hatched in the night, durſt not flie in the day, nor abide to come in my ſight. Notwithſtanding the ſayd night foule after long tyme, by helpe of frendes was caught at length and brought vnto me in hys owne lykenes to behold. which cauſeth me yet to bee vncertayne what to thinke, whether my papiſtes do dally & ieſt with me, in ſettyng out ſuch famous libels without any name againſt me: or whether in truth and earneſt they play the mad men ſo againſt me at Rome, or no. For firſt neither do I ſee here the ſtile (as it is called) nor the proceſſe of the Court of Rome obſerued. And againe (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought & condemned ſuch articles which it is playne and manifeſt to be moſt chriſtian: wherby it ſemeth to me moſt lyke, the ſaid monſter to be hatched by Ioh. Eccius, a man wholy compact and framed altogether of lyes, diſſimulations, errors, and hereſies.

The ſayd ſuſpition this alſo partly confirmeth, for that I heare it ſo bruted abroad, that the ſayd Eccius is thought and ſayd to be the Apoſtle of ſuch a goodly Bull. And not vnlyke, when none could be more meete an Apoſtle for ſuch an Apoſtleſhip then he. And in deede I heard no leſſe long ſince, that a Bull was in workyng agaynſt me at Rome, partly by the workemanſhip of Eccius: which becauſe (as the ſtyle and compoſition therof declareth) it diſpleaſed the good and learned men there, was therfore deferred & ſhould haue bene ſuppreſſed.

Eccius a falſe Apoſtle.

But what ſoeuer the matter be, it ſemeth to me not vnlyke where ſoeuer this apoſtle Eccius beareth rule, there to be the kyngdom of Antichriſt, and all kynd of madnes there to reigne. In the meane tyme I will ſo deale, that I will not ſeme to beleue pope Leo the x. with his learned Cardinals to be the authors of this furious madnes: which I do not ſo much for the honor of the ſea of Rome, as becauſe I wyl not be puft vp to much wt pride, & ſeeme to my ſelfe as one worthy to ſuffer ſuch, ſo great, & ſo glorious thyngs for the veritie of God. For if it were ſo in deede that the byſhop of Rome did ſo furiouſly rage agaynſt me, who were thẽ ſo happy before God as Luther, to be condẽned for ſo manifeſt a truth of ſuch a proude Prelate? Wherin what were more to be wiſhed for of me, thẽ that I ſhould neuer be abſolued, reconciled, nor haue any part with that ſo doltiſh & vnlearned, wicked and furious Antichriſt? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be receiued with all ioy and thankfulnes to God, if it might be my happe at any tyme in ſuch a cauſe as this is, to be apprehẽded and to ſuffer death. But geue the honour of this cauſe vnto others. & let this matter finde his Martyr worthy for the ſame: I for my ſinnes am not worthy to come to that honour.

M. Luther thinketh hym ſelfe not worthy to ſuffer in ſo good a cauſe.

Let other mẽ therfore thinke of theſe Romaniſtes what they liſt: Thus I thinke, that whoſoeuer was the author

M. Luthers proteſtation.

of this Bull, he is a very Antichriſt, and agaynſt Antichriſt theſe thinges I write, to redeeme the veritie of Chriſt, ſo much as in me lyeth, which he laboureth to extinguiſh. And firſt, that he ſhall obteyne no part of his will in any thing agaynſt me, here I proteſt before God and our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt and his holy aungels and all the world, that I diſſēt with all my hart from the condemnation of this bull, which bull I alſo doe curſe and execrate as an enemy, a Churche robber and blaſphemy againſt Chriſt the ſonne of God our Lord, Amen.

Marke here how Luther recanteth.

*Bulla in Latin, ſignifieth as much in Engliſh as a bubble in the water.

Furthermore I hold, defend and imbrace with the full truſt of my ſpirit, thoſe Articles in the ſayd Bul condemned and excommunicate, and affirme that the ſame ought to bee holden of all faythfull chriſtians vnder payne of eternall malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichriſtes, who ſo euer haue conſented to the ſayd Bull, whom I alſo together with the ſpirit of all them which purely know and worſhip Chriſt, in theſe preſents do count for heathen, and do vtterly ſhun them accordyng to the precept of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt. Amen. And let this ſtand for my reuocatiō, O Bulla verè Bullarum filia. i. O thou Bull which art the very daughter of all vayne* bubbles.

This my confeſſion and proteſtation made (for witnes wherof I take all them that ſhall read theſe preſentes) before I procede to defend and declare theſe foreſayd Articles, I will firſt begin with certaine argumentes for the confutation of the ſayd Bull: wherof the firſt I wyll take of the blynd ignorance of this blockiſh Antichriſt. For the apoſtle Peter ſo commaundeth, that we ſhould be redy to render a reaſon of that fayth and hope which is in vs. And the Apoſtle Paul willeth a Biſhop to be mighty to exhort in ſounde doctrine and to refute the gaynesayers. And theſe thyngs be they, which now 3. yeres ago I haue deſired and looked for out of Rome or from them which take parte with Rome. Which thyngs alſo we do read to be obſerued moſt diligently amongſt the auncient fathers, whenſoeuer they condemned heresies. Neither do we read that the Apoſtles did euer decree any thyng in their Councels but they firſt alledged the holy Scripture. So I alſo when I wayted that they ſhould aunſwer me with grapes, and to enforme me with true teſtimonies of the ſcripture, beholde they bring to me ſower and wild grapes, condemning me with nothyng els but bare wordes, where as I haue fortified my matter with playne ſcriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papiſtes will not abyde the triall of the Scriptures.

I ſay vnto thee, O thou moſt vnlearned Antichriſt, haſt thou ioyned ſuch brainſick raſhnes together with ſuch barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt preſume to thinke all men to be turned into ſtockes and blocks, and to thinke that thou with thy bare and naked wordes only canſt triumph againſt the inuincible force and power of Gods holy worde? Haſte thou learned this maner of condemning of the magiſtralities of Colen and Louaine?

If this be the maner of thy Church to damne errours, only to ſay, I like it not, I deny it, I will not: what foole, what patch, what aſſe, what blocke cannot condemne after this maner? Is not thy whoriſh face aſhamed in the publike ſight of the church to dare once to ſet the triflyng vanities only of thy naked and bare wordes agaynſt the thunderbolts of gods eternall word? O impudent condemnation and right ſemely for Antichriſt, which hath not one iote or title to bring agaynſt ſuch euidēt ſcriptures inferred againſt him, but only with one word commeth and ſaith, I condemn thee. And why thē do we not beleue the Turke? Why do we not admit the Iewes? Why do we not honor the heretikes, which alſo condemne our writings as well as he, if it be enough onely to condemne? vnleſſe we do not therfore peraduenture geue place vnto them, becauſe they condemne vs not vtterly without ſome ſcriptures and reaſons: but theſe men after a new found faſhiō, vtterly without all ſcriptures or reaſon do condemne vs. What then ſhall I thinke to be the cauſe why they proceded agaynſt me with this their bul condemnatory, ſo vayne, ſo ridiculous, ſo trifling, but onely their meere blockiſhnes, wherby they ſeyng my allegations to be true and not able to abyde nor yet to confute the ſame, thought to terrifie me with the vayne ratling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichriſt, that Luther beyng accuſtomed to warre, will not be terrified with theſe vayne buls, and hath learned to put a difference betwene a piece of paper, and the omnipotent word of God.

The popes vaine terrours can not make M. Luther afrayde.

Reſpectiuely.

Of the lyke ignoraunce procedeth this alſo, that they agaynſt their owne conſcience, durſt not perticularly digeſt al and ſingular the Articles in their orders: for they feared leſt they ſhould note hym for an heretike, whom they were not able perhaps to conuince either to be erroneous or offenſiue, and therfore they haue found out this aduerbe reſpectiuè: & after the numbring of the Articles, then come they and ſay that ſome be reſpectiuely hereticall, ſome erroneous, & ſome offenſiue, which is as much to ſay, as we ſuppoſe ſome to be hereticall, ſome erroneous, and ſome ſlaunderous, but we can not tell qui, quales, quanti. i. Which, what maner, & how great they are. O daſtardly ignorance, how ſlippery & cowardly art thou? how art thou afrayd of the light? how doeſt thou turne and returne all things, leſt thou ſhouldeſt be taken lyke a Proteus: and yet for all that thou ſhalt not ſo eſcape, yea in thy wilines thou ſhalt the rather be ouertaken and ſubuerted.

Proteus is a certayne monſter among the Poetes, which turneth himſelf into all colours.

Come out therfore O thou aſſeheaded Antichriſt, and ſhew forth thy wiſedome, and diſpoſe thy matters in order. Tell vs if thou canſt, what ſayſt thou or meaneſt thou whē thou ſayeſt this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offenſiue. For it becommeth ſuch a worſhipful condemner to know what he condēneth. And ſo ſhameful it is to condemn an Article for heretical, and yet cannot name the ſame. Neither will I be anſwered here with reſpectiuely, but I loke to be taught ſimply and plainely, for I am one of Occams factiō which contemneth theſe reſpectiues, and loue to haue all things ſimple and abſolute.

The dotage of Antichriſt.

Thou ſeeſt therfore (good reader) the ignoraunt dotage of this Antichriſt, how craftely, and yet groſſely he thinketh to walk in a nette vnder his aduerbe, reſpectiuely, Who not onely doth not teach the truth, and cauſe of his condemning but neither alſo dare proue any errour, nor ſhew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet muſt hee nedes condemne. Is not this, trow you, a proper kynd of dammyng, to damne and can not tell what he damneth? Is not this a fyne maner of loquutiō, paſſyng all rethorike, to ſpeake, and yet not to knowe what he ſpeaketh, what purgatories might wee wiſhe ſufficient to purge the doltiſhe braynes of theſe Bull bragging bedlems? with ſuch blyndnes and doltiſhnes are all the aduerſaryes of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

Eccius.

But I know wherupon all this grief riſeth. The origine whereof is this: Eccius myne olde aduerſarye remembryng how hee was put to ſhame enough at Lypſia when he rouſing hym ſelfe vppon hys ſtage, and frothyng at the mouth lyke a boare with a furious voyce called me iij. hundreth tymes hereticke for the Articles of Huſſe, and yet afterward was not able to proue the ſame, where as the ſentence condemnatorye of the Councell of Conſtance alledged by me otherwiſe then Eckius loked for, noted there no certayne Article for hereticall: and alſo the ſame condemnation much lyke to this of ours with the lyke fooliſhnes called ſome of his Articles hereticall, ſome erroneous & ſome offenſiue, and Eccius hearyng this, beyng confounded in hym ſelfe for his impudent raſhenes: perceaued that he had called me hereticke falſly and vntruly: hee thought then to heale this hys wound agayn at Rome, and there to ſtabliſh hys falſe and impudent lying. But the lying ſophiſter ſhall not preuaile by the helpe (I truſt) of Chriſt, for I aſke & require yet ſtill, ẏ they, abſolutely not reſpectiuely, diſtinctly and not confuſedly, ſimply and not diſſemblyngly, playnely and not obſcurely, particularly and not in generall do ſhew what is and what is not hereticall. But when will they ſo do? When Chriſte and beliall, or when light and darkenes ſhall agree together.

Eccius taken with a lye.

And what ſhall I do then in the meane tyme? Firſt I will cōtemne theſe daſtardly dotipoles and vnlearned Papiſtes, and apoſtles of Antichriſt And I will ſcorne them as Helias dyd, and ſay: if Baal be God, let him aunſwere, Peraduēture he is drunke or buſie in his iourney, Cry out higher, for he is a God and peraduenture heareth. For what other thyng do theſe Bull bragging aſſes deſerue els, which condemne that they knowe not, and confeſſe alſo their owne ignoraunce?

3. Reg. 18.

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor diſquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted hereticke, erroneous, or offenſiue ſo long as I ſhall not be proued and playnely conuicted with ſimple and manifeſt wordes in what Article I am ſo iudged, Neither doe I here charge my Papiſtes theſe blockheades, that I will put them to their proufes, but onely that they wyll ſhewe me at leaſt my errour that is, that they will ſhew me if they know what it is that they them ſelues do prattle of, or haue any feelyng of their owne doyngs. For ſo long as they aſſigne me no hereticall Article I am at free libertie to deny what Article ſo euer they lay vnto me to be heretical, and ſay it is Catholicke.

Agayne what a rudenes is it in this wicked and doltiſhe Antichriſt worthy to be laughed at, where as theſe drummedaryes do diſtinct hereticall Articles from thoſe that bee erroneous, and the erroneous from offenſiue, and thoſe agayne from ſlaunderous? By the which ſubtle diſtinction of theſe groſſeheaded doltes, this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous, is not hereticall. And if it be not hereticall, what doth it then appertayne to theſe Eccleſiaſtical condemners, which ought to condemne thoſe things only, which be hereticall. For that which is not hereticall, is Catholike, as Chriſt himſelf ſayth: He that is not agaynſt vs, is with vs. Yea I would wiſh that theſe iollie ſophiſters

The brutiſhe diſtinction of the papiſtes betwene articles hereticall, erroneous, ſclaunderous, and offenſiue.

Luke. 9.

would ſhew me in all the Churche an Article that is erroneous and not hereticall: for if it bee erroneous it differeth nothyng from hereticall, but onely in ſtiffenes of defending. For all thinges be equally either true or falſe, although affectiō in ſome one thing which is true or falſe may be greater or leſſer. ye ſe therfore agayn how theſe men for al their bragging Bulls, are not hable to produce mee one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, and yet lyke braynſicke men they will nedes bable they know not them ſelues what condemnyng that whiche they finde erroneous and not hereticall: whiche can not ſtand either in matter or in wordes ſo that ſuch as are the Articles: ſuch is the condemnation.

Hereticall.

Erroneous.

Scandalous

The lyke wiſedome alſo they ſhewe in affirming that to be ſcandalous, which is neither hereticall nor erroneous. That Article I woulde fayne ſee eyther in my bookes or in the wordes and workes of any wryter els from the begynnyng of the worlde to the latter end. What made my Papiſtes then to excogitate, theſe ſo prodigious monſters, but onely their monſtrous furye and madnes? Unleſſe peradventure they meane thoſe Articles ſo to bee ſcandalous, as commonly all true and Catholyke Articles are wont to be. For what is more ſcandalous then verytye? yea onely truth and veritie is ſcandalous to all proud and ſenſeles perſons, as is ſayd of Chriſt. 1. Cor 1. We preach (ſayth Saint Paul) Chriſt crucified, a ſtumblyng ſtone to the Iewes, and to the Gentils fooliſhnes. And Luke. 2. He is ſet to bee the fall and ryſing vp of many in Iſraell. Wherfore, where as my Papiſtes do diſtinguiſhe ſcandalous Articles from hereticall and erroneous, and for aſmuch as that whiche is not hereticall nor erroneous, muſt nedes be Catholyke & true: it foloweth therof that theſe ſcandalous Articles bee vnderſtanded and cōdemned of them for ſuch as be very catholyke and ſound. O worthy condemnation and meete for the Papiſtes. Marke here good reader: the impiety of theſe blynde buſſardes: whether they role them ſelues: how they deryde and mocke them ſelues: howe eaſely they are taken in their owne wordes, how fonde and fooliſhe they are in al their ſtudyes, not onely in not prouyng any errour or ſlaunder in theſe Articles, but alſo in goyng about onely to expreſſe them: how they caſt out thinges impoſſible and moſte fooliſhly repugnant to them ſelues. Where is thē thou moſt preſumptuous and ſhameles Bull: thy doltiſhe reſpectiue now become? whether reſpectedſt thou? Verely into ỳ botomles pitte of impietie, and thine owne brutiſhe ſtoliditie.

1.Cor.1.

Luke.2.

Offenſiue.

The lyke alſo is to bee ſayd touching the Articles offenſiue, which muſt be neither ſclaunderous, neither erroneous, nor hereticall, ſeeyng they are diſtincted by ſuch great Rabbines. Who will not now marueill at the deepe & profound wiſedome of theſe Papiſtes, which coulde finde out that to be offenſiue in the Church, which is neither falſe, neither hereticall, nor ſclaunderous: but true, ſounde, Catholicke and edifiyng, and yet muſt that alſo be condemned? And who would not now deſire and couet to be condemned alſo of ſuch harebrayned Idiotes, who by their owne condemning do vtter themſelues to approue thynges damnable, and to condemne thinges iuſtifiable, that is which openly ſhewe themſelues, to their owne great ignominy and ſhame, to be more ſenſeles then ſtockes, rockes, or blockes. Go ye now therfore, O ye impious and braynſicke papiſtes, and if you will needes wryte, ſhewe your ſelues more ſober: for this Bull (it appeareth) was ſpued out in your nyght feaſtes amongeſt your drabbes and harlottes, or els hudled vp in the Canicular dayes or madde mydſommer Moone: For neuer were there any diſſardes that would ſhew them ſelues ſo madde.

The Popes dyrt caſt in his owne teeth.

Let vs now returne this dyrt of Antichriſt and caſt it in hys owne teeth, and of hys owne wordes let vs iudge him and cōdemne hym, that hereafter he may learne to take better heede, and be better aduiſed in his lying. For as the prouerbe ſayth, a lyer had neede to haue a good memory. If ſome Articles be offenſiue, and other heretical, and thou cōdemneſt hym which is no heretick, and conſequently a true Catholicke, although he be ſixe hundreth times offenſiue, doth not thy ſhameles mouth then condemne thy ſelfe, not onely of hereſie, but of extreme impietie, blaſphemy & treaſon agaynſt Gods holy truth, ſhewing thy ſelfe to be the man in deede which is the Aduerſary, and is extolled aboue all that which is called god, or is worſhipped? Art not thou then the man of ſinne and the ſonne of perdition, which denyeth God hys redeemer, & taketh away the loue of truth, to ſtabliſhe the ſetting forth of his errour, for men to beleue iniquitie, as Paule foretold? For if the Article be not hereticall, it can not be offenſiue or ſclaunderous, but onely to ſuch heretickes as Antichriſt is, and Satanaſtes of all pietie. See therefore how this ſhameles & moſt fooliſhe Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thing to be hereticall, and an other offēſiue, doth manifeſtly declare the authors therof to be true heretickes and the enemyes of God in deede. So that now it may appeare, that there is no knowledge nor counſell agaynſt the Lord, ſeeing blynd impiety is thus caught in the wordes of his owne mouth: ſo truely it is ſaid that he which caſteth vp a ſtone on high, it falleth downe agayne vpon his owne pate.

2.Theſſ.2.

Prouerb.21.

And (which is chiefeſt of all) by this their wicked contradiction it commeth to paſſe, that the cogitations of their owne hartes be reueiled, and that they themſelues chiefely do vtter and diſcloſe their owne wickednes which they couet moſt to conceile, that all men may ſee how ready they are to condemne all veritie euen at once. For when they affirme ſuch Articles to be hereticall, which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare ſhew or name to be heretical, what haue we therby to vnderſtād but that they are the aduerſaries of Chriſt from the bottome of their hartes, and ready to impugne all truth, and yet notwithſtanding with their damnable hypocriſie they pretende themſelues to be condemners of hereſies? Learne, learne, ye beetell headed Aſſes with your bluſtering Buls, learne I ſay, what it is, Chriſt to be a ſigne of contradiction and a ſtone of offence. How ſoone and eaſely is all your inward impietie and your ignominy diſcloſed with the ſame couert of wordes, wherewith in vayne ye went about to cloke the ſame? Thus thē haue we here proued by this firſt and manifeſt argument, that the foreſayd Bull proceedeth from none other, then very Antichriſt hymſelfe, the chiefeſt aduerſary of God and of all godlynes. And now let either Eccius or the pope acknowledge if he dare, and then conſider what opinion we ought to haue of him, or what name to geue him: in whom all curſed names, as in one heape, do concurre together and agree, as impietie, blaſphemy, ignoraunce, fooliſhnes, hypocriſie, lying, briefly Sathan himſelfe with his Antichriſt.

The pope detecteth his owne wickednes.

Luke.2.

1.Pet.2.

Neither doth this impiety any thing leſſe appeare in that alſo which I will now ſay. For this worſhipfull Bull decreeth in playne and moſt impudent wordes, that thoſe bookes alſo of myne ought to be burned, in the which are no errours conteyned, to the ende that the memorye of me may be vtterly rooted out. Canſt thou O Chriſten reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of hell himſelfe ſpeaketh in this Bull? It is an old prouerbe, that the Aſſe ſingeth therfore euill fauouredly, becauſe he taketh his note to hie. So this Bull in lyke maner ſhould haue pyped more tunably, if ſhee had not ſet vp her blaſphemous throte ſo open agaynſt heauen, ſo impudently and deuiliſhly condemnyng alſo the manifeſt and euident truth. For hetherto Sathan whenſoeuer he oppreſſed the truth, did it vnder the colour of truth: but this man of ſinne, the Aduerſary which is extolled aboue God, without all colour, not priuely but apertly, and that in the open Church of God, without all ſhame taketh vpon hym to condemne, and commaundeth to be burned the ſyncere veritie of Chriſt knowne and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongeſt the Turkes? what place is this worthy of (I pray thee) but the deepe dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid ye Antichriſtes, with your brutiſh Bulles, leaſt ſtones & trees ſhould ſweat with bloud, at the moſt horrible ſight of thys your execrable impietie and blaſphemy?

The popes Bull condemneth alſo ſuch bookes of M. Luthers which haue no errour.

The papiſtes pretend to know & maintaine the veritie of Chriſt, and yet can not abyde it.

Where art thou now good Emperour Charles? Where are ye Chriſten Kynges and Princes? ye haue geuen your name to Chriſt in Baptiſme, & can ye now abide theſe infernall voyces of ſuch an Antichriſt? Where be ye Byſhops? Where be ye Doctors? Where be all ye that confeſſe Chriſt? Can ye hold your peace at theſe horrible and prodigious monſters of the Papiſtes, O miſerable Churche of God, which art made now ſo great a ſcorne and a very mockyng ſtocke of Sathan. O miſerable are all they whiche liue in theſe tymes. The wrath of God is finally come vpon the Papiſtes enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt and veritie of God, reſiſtyng all men, and forbyddyng the truth of Chriſte, to bee taught and preached as S. Paul ſaid of the Iewes. Admit I pray you, that I were ſuch a one in deede, as that curſed & malicious Bull doth make me to be, an hereticke, erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, offenſiue, ſcandalous in certeine of my bokes: yet why ſhould the other bookes of myne be condemned, which are Catholicke, Chriſtian, true, edifiyng, and peaceable? Where haue theſe wretched Papiſtes learned thys religion, that for the perſons cauſe beyng euill, they ſhould damne and burne the holy and ſound veritie of God? Cā ye not deſtroy men, but you muſt alſo deſtroy the truth? Will ye plucke vp the good wheate alſo with the cockle? will ye ſcatter alſo ỳ corne away together with ỳ chaffe? And why then receaue ye Origine in his Catholicke bookes, and doe not vtterly reiecte hym altogether? yea why ſuffer ye wicked Ariſtotle (in whom is nothyng taught but errours) & do not at leaſt in ſome parte condemne him? why burne ye not and ſet on fyre the wicked barbarous, vnlearned, and hereticall Decretals of the pope? why do ye not all this, I ſay: but only for ỳ ye are ſet in this holy place, for none other cauſe, but onely to be that abominatiō ſpoken of in Daniell.

The pope condemneth as well the good bookes of M. Luther as the other, without all reſpect of truth or of the cauſe.

Dan. 9.

which ſhould put do one truth and ſet vp lyes, and the operation of errour. For this thing and no other, becommeth the ſeate of Antichriſt.

M. Luthers warning to the Pope.

Wherfore this I ſay to thee (Pope Leo the tenth and to you Lorde Cardinals, and all other who ſoeuer is in anye parte or doyng in that Court of Rome) and this I ſpeake boldly vnto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye ſo will acknowledge it for your owne: then will I lykewiſe vſe my power, by ỳ which I am made in my Baptiſme, the ſonne of god, and coheyre with Chriſt, beyng founded vpō a ſure rocke which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heauen nor earth, and ſay, moniſh and exhorte you in the Lorde, that you will reforme your ſelues and take a better way, and refrayne hereafter from theſe diabolicall blaſphemies, and to much exceedinge preſumptuous impieties, and this I allege: That vnleſſe ye ſo doe know it for certaine, that I with all them that worſhyp Chriſt, do recount your ſeate, poſſeſſed and oppreſſed of Sathan him ſelfe, to bee the damned ſeate of Antichriſt, which we not onely doe not obey, and will not be ſubiect nor concorporate vnto, but alſo do deteſt and abhorre the ſame, as the principall and chiefeſt enemie of Chriſt, beyng ready in this our ſentence and profeſſion, not onely to ſuffer gladly your fonde fooliſhe cenſures, but alſo doe pray you hartely that you will neuer aſſoyle vs agayne, nor euer number vs in your felowſhyp, and moreouer to fulfil your bloudy tyranny, do willingly offer our ſelues to dye for the ſame. And accordyng to the power and might, that the ſpirite of Chriſt, and efficacy of our fayth can doe in theſe our wrytyngs, if ye ſhal perſiſte ſo ſtill in this your fury, we condēne you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we geue you to Sathan, to the deſtruction of fleſhe that your ſpirite in the day of our Lorde may bee deliuered: in ỳ name which you perſecute, of Jeſu Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

M. Luther curſeth the Pope.

For our Lord Jeſus Chriſt yet lyueth and reigneth, (in whom I do nothyng doubt) who I firmely truſt wyl ſhortly come, and ſlaye with the ſpirite of his mouth, and deſtroy with the brightnes of his comming, this man of ſinne, and ſonne of perditiō, for aſmuch as I can not deny, if the pope be the author and doer of theſe miſſhapen and monſtruous doynges, but he is the true, finall, moſt wicked, and that famous Antichriſt: that ſubuerteth the whole worlde by the operation of his deluſions, as we ſee it in all places fulfilled and accompliſhed.

The Pope the true Antichriſt.

Eccius.

Prouerb. 1.

But whether doth the burning zeale of charitie cary me. Neither am I as yet fully perſuaded this to bee the Popes Bull, but to procede from his wicked Apoſtle Eccius, who with his fathers, furiouſly gaping at me lyke a gulfe, would ſwallow me cleane vp: ſinging with ỳ wicked thus: Let vs ſwallow hym vp quicke and whole lyke hell, and lyke one deſcendyng downe into the pitte. For litle careth this furious maddbrayne, how the veritie of God bee extinguiſhed (yea he woulde count that for a lucre) ſo hee might fyll his malicious deſire with the bloud of his brother. O miſerable ſtate of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewayled with teares of bloud. But who heareth our gronings, or who comforteth our weepinges? The fury of the Lord ſeemeth to be inexorable againſt vs.

The pope lyeth in his Bull, where he ſayth, that he offered money to Luther to come to Rome.

Over and beſides, what a ridiculous toy, or pretie figement haue they inuented wherby belike to ſport thē ſelues with ſome merye matter amongeſt their earneſt buſines, wrytyng that beſides other great frendſhyppe, whiche they haue ſhewed vnto me: they haue alſo offred to ſupporte mee with monie and to beare my charges with their liberalitie, in my iourney to Rome. Will ye ſee what a charitie is newly come vppon the Citie of Rome, which after it hath pilled and poled the whole worlde of their money, and hath conſumed and waſted the ſame by intolerable tyranny, now cōmeth, and to me onely offereth money? But this impudent lye I know with whoſe hammer it was coined, Caietanus the Cardinall, a man borne and formed to lye for the whetſtone after his worſhipfull Legacie depeached in Germanie comming home to Rome, there he forged and fained that he promiſed me money, wheras he beyng at Auſpurge, was there in ſuch miſerable penury and ſo pinching in his houſe, that it was thought hee woulde haue famiſhed his familye. But thus it becommeth the Bull to be verè Bulla, that is a thing of nought, voyde of all truth and wyt.

The Pope by the vertue of this vniuerſall Quodcunq; ligaueris, can do all thinges.

And ſo theſe great iudges and cōdemners after all this, yet haue authoritie to commaunde vs to beleue them to ſay truth, when they doe nothing but lye, and that they are good Catholickes, when they be ſtarke heretickes, and that they are true Chriſtians, when they play the very Antichriſt, & all by the vertue of this vniuerſall: Quodcunq; ligaueris, &c. i. What ſoeuer thing thou bindeſt. &c. So that where nothing is excepted, they thinke they may doe all thynges. Who not onely do lye moſt loudely and manifeſtly, but alſo (which paſſeth all impudencie) do vaunt and cōmend their liberalitie before the people to bring me more in hatred, making men falſely to beleue that they offered frendſhippe and money vnto me: Where as theſe tyrantes of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodnes or godlines in them, ſhould haue taken ſome better heede in their doing and ſpeaking, ſo that no aduerſarie myght conceaue any ſuſpition of euill againſt them. But now if there were no other matter els to bring this Bul out of credite, onely this groſſe & fooliſhe lye were ſufficient to declare how light, vaine, and falſe this Bull is. What? would Rome (thinke ye) offer money to me? And how then commeth this, which I know to be moſt certaine, that out of the banke (as they call it) two or three hundreth crownes were aſſigned in Germanie to be diſpoſed & geuē to ruffins and catchpoles, to murder Luther: for theſe be the reaſons and argumentes, wherby now fighteth, raigneth and triumpheth the holy Apoſtolicke Sea, the miſtres of faith and mother of all Churches, the which long ſince ſhould haue bene proued to be the very ſeat of Antichriſt & manifold wayes hereticall, if ſhee had fought with ỳ ſword of the ſpirite, which is the word of God: wherof ſhe her ſelfe is nothing ignoraunt, and therefore becauſe ſhe would not be brought to that iſſue, thus ſhe fareth and taketh on lyke as ſhee were madde, in the Churche of Chriſt, confounding and conſumyng all thynges with warres, murthers, bloudſhed, death, and deſtruction, and yet for all this they muſt needes be counted moſt holy fathers in God, & Vicars of Chriſt, and Paſtors of his flocke.

Mē hyred by the papiſtes to kill Luther.

The popes church flieth the triall of ſcripture.

But go to (that I may alſo daly with them a while) let them yet ſend me the money they ſpeake of: for as touchyng their promiſe & ſafeconduct (becauſe I will not ouercharge them) that I gladly reſigne to them againe, ſeing I haue no great nede therof, ſo that the money may come to my hands. But here I muſt require ſo much as may ſuffice mee: to witte, that I may be furniſhed, with fiftie thouſand footemen, & ten thouſand horſemen, to conduct me ſafe to Rome, and ſo for any other promiſe of ſafeconduct I will not trouble them. And this I require, becauſe of the daunger that is in Rome, which deuoureth vp her inhabitauntes, neyther keepeth nor euer did keepe promiſe with any: Where theſe moſt holy fathers do ſlay their beloued children in the charitie of God, and brethren deſtroy their brethren to doe ſeruice to Chriſt, as the maner is and ſtyle of Rome. In the meane time I will keepe my ſelfe free and ſafe from the Citation of this moſt reuerent Bull. O ye miſerable verlettes, which are ſo confounded with the truth & with your owne conſcience, that neither ye can lie handſomely, neither dare ye ſpeake the truth, and yet neither can ye ſo keepe your ſelues quiet, to your perpetuall ignominie and confuſion.

What ſafeconducte M. Luther requireth of the pope.

Furthermore, here in thys Bull is brought in a ſtraūge faſhion of ſtile, not heard of before. For where Auguſtine would haue ſayd, that he would not beleue the Goſpel, except he had ben moued by the authoritie of the Church, now commeth in this goodly Bull, & maketh this Catholicke church to be a few reuerent Cardinals his brethrē, & Priours of regular orders, Maiſters of Diuinitie & Doctours of the law, out of whoſe counſell the ſayd Bull boaſteth her ſelfe to be borne and brought forth, a bleſſed Babe (forſooth) of ſuch an vniuerſall Church. O happie trauell (no doubt) of this catholicke Church, neuer ſeene nor heard of before, & ſuch as Auguſtine the valiant impugner of ſectes, if he did ſee, woulde not doubt to call it the Synagogue of the Deuill. See therfore the madnes of theſe Papiſtes. The vniuerſall Church is a few Cardinals, Priours, and Doctors ſcarcely perhaps twenty perſons in all, when alſo it is poſſible enough that neuer one of them all is the member of one Chappell or Altar. And where as the Church is the communion of Saintes, as we ſay in the Crede, out of thys communion of ſaintes, that is, out of this vniuerſal church, all they then muſt needes be excluded, who ſo euer be not in the number of theſe twenty perſons: and ſo whatſoeuer theſe holy men doe thinke or iudge, by and by the vniuerſall Church muſt needs holde and beleue the ſame, albeit they be lyers, heretickes, and Antichriſtes, thynkyng and iudging nothing but that which is abhominable.

A new vniuerſal church of the popes making.

The vniuerſall Church bound to xx. perſons.

Would there euer any man thinke ſuch doltiſhnes and madnes to be in Rome? Is there any brayne in theſe mēs heads thinke ye, or hart in their bodies? Auſtine ſpeaketh of the church diſperſed through the whole world, confeſſing ỳ Goſpell with one conſent. Neither woulde God that any booke els ſhould be receiued with ſuch a cōſent of the whole world as the holy ſcripture (as the ſayd Auguſtine in hys confeſſions affirmeth) leaſt by the receauing of other bookes ſchiſmes myght take occaſion to ryſe, according as the wicked Sea of Rome hath long ſought by her decrees, & hath, for a great part, brought the ſame to paſſe already. But yet the vniuerſall Church did neuer agree thereto. For in the Eaſt, weſt, & South there haue bene chriſtians, which being content onely with the goſpel, haue not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular Church, to make her ſelfe an vniuerſal church, & accuſeth other churches as ſchiſmatical

What Auſtine calleth the vniuerſall Church.

No vniuerſall Catholike booke, but onely the ſcriptures.

whē as ſhe hath cut of her ſelf from the vniuerſall Church and ſtriueth in vayne to draw the whole vniuerſall church to her, beyng the mother and fountayne of all ſchiſmes, and all by the meanes of this tyranny.

The Catholicke church, & the church of Rome are two things.

Let no man therfore euer thinke that this true Catholick Churche aforeſayd, wyll beleue or mayntayne thoſe thynges which this deteſtable Bull here pratleth, when as neyther that whiche is the very true Church of Rome, in deede doth her ſelfe ſo thinke, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholicke, what ſoeuer is knowen to procede from the Church Rome. For as I ſayd, there is no booke which ſhall bee called catholicke hereafter, as neither it hath bene heretofore, beſides onely the holy ſcripture. For the church of Rome it may ſuffice to glory her ſelfe to bee a little parcell or peece of the vniuerſall Church, and ſo let her vex her ſelfe onely with her owne decrees.

The pride & preſumption of the church of Rome.

Dominion & power maketh not the church.

1.Cor.2.

Neither let any man thinke this to be the Bull of the catholicke churche, but rather to procede out of the Court of Rome. For ſuch wiſedome and Religion may well beſeme that Seate of Sathan, whiche ſeeketh to bee counted for ẏ whole vniuerſall Churche, and obtrudeth her fooliſhe and wicked Bulles moſt arrogantly and vaynely to the whole worlde in the ſtede of ſincere catholicke doctrine. Whoſe pride and preſumption hath growne ſo farre, that ſhee truſtyng vpon her owne power, without all learnyng and holynes of lyfe, taketh vpon her to preſcribe lawes to all men of al their doynges and ſayings, as though for dominion onely and loftines of ſpirite, ſhee were to bee counted the houſe & church of Chriſt, where as by thys meanes Sathan alſo the prince of the worlde, or the Turke might bee counted the Church of Chriſt. Agayne, neither the Monarchies of the Gentiles can abide mighty Princes to raigne ouer thē without wiſdome and goodnes. Furthermore, in the Churche the ſpirituall man onely iudgeth all thinges, and is iudged of no mā and not the Pope alone or the Court of Rome, vnleſſe they be ſpirituall.

But agaynſt all this their raſhe preſumption, I boldly ſet the inuincible Champion of the Churche ſaint paule who 1.Cor.14. ſayth: If any thinge be reueiled to an other that ſitteth by, let the firſt man holde hys peace. Here haue ye playnely that Pope or any other elder, what ſo euer he bee, ought to kepe ſilence, if any thing be reuiled to other in the church, that is inferiour. I therfore vpon his authoritie cōtemnyng the preſumptuous procedyng of this ſwelling bull do confidently take vpon me to defend the Articles, caryng nothyng for the bare condemnation of any perſon, yea of the Pope hym ſelfe with his whole Churche, vnleſſe he ſhall enforme me by the Scriptures, whereof the firſt Article is this.

1.Cor.14. The firſt article.

¶The Article.

It is an hereticall ſentence, and alſo common to ſay, that Sacramentes of the new lawe do geue grace to them, which haue no obſtacle in themſelues to the contrary.

¶The Aunſwer.

Aunſwere of M.Luther to the firſt ſentence.

Two reſpectes noted in this article.

I acknowledge this article to be myne, and I aske of you good Maiſters Reſpectiuiſtes, which make theſe Articles reſpectiuely, ſome to bee hereticall, ſome erroneous, ſome ſlaunderous, &c. whether reſpecteth this article I pray you? To hereſie, to errour, to ſlaunder and offence? Or els whether reſpected you in condemning the ſame? To the holy ſcripture? to the holy fathers? to fayth? to the Church? To which of theſe I beſech you tell me. Neather do I here put you to the labour of proouyng but onely require you to ſhew your iudgement what you thinke, that I may know wherin I ſay amiſſe. Will you that I ſhould tell you (you babiſh infantes and noddies) whether this Article reſpecteth? I will. This article hath ij. reſpectes. Wherof the one reſpecteth the Papiſtes the condemners hereof, amongſt whom it reſpecteth ſome to be mules, ſome to be horſes, which haue no vnderſtandyng and be voyd of all ſence, & yet not withſtandyng they will nedes condemne all things. An other reſpect it hath to the holy Scripture, which ſayth, Rom.14. What ſo euer is not of fayth, is ſinne. Whereupon conſequently it followeth that the Sacraments or the new law can geue no grace to the vnbeleuers (for ſo much as the ſinne of infidelitie is the greateſt obſtacle) but onely to the beleuers. For onely fayth putteth no obſtacle: all other thynges be obſtacles, although they put not the ſame obſtacles which the Sophiſters vnderſtand, meanyng onely of the actuall purpoſe of externall ſinne. I confeſſe therfore this article not onely to be myne, but alſo to be the article of the Catholike and Chriſtian veritie: and the Bull which confeſſeth the ſame, to be twiſe hereticall, impious, and blaſphemous, with all them which folow the ſame. Who little regardyng the ſinne of incredulitie, foliſhly and madly do hold that the obſtacle is taken away if a man ceaſe from ſinnyng, although the vnbeleuer can thinke no good thing. But theſe thinges I haue diſcuſſed more at large in my bookes, and will more diſcuſſe if thoſe pratyng Romaniſtes dare at any tyme prooue theyr opinion and confute myne.

Rom.14.

The obſtacle letting Sacramentes to geue grace, is the actuall purpoſe of ſinning, ſay the Papiſtes. The onely obſtacle letting Sacramentes to geue grace, is vnbeliefe, ſayth Luther, ſpeaking after his tyme. But the truth is, that Sacramentes neyther with obſtacle nor without obſtacle, do geue grace to the beleuers or vnbeleuers, but onely doe ſignifie grace geuen by Chriſt.

¶The 2. Article.

To deny that ſinne remayneth in a childe after hys Baptiſme, is as much as to tread downe Chriſt and Paule together vnder foote.

¶The aunſwer.

Anſwere of M.Luther to the ſecond Article.

I would alſo require of them to ſhew the cauſe why this article is cōdemned, if they were not ſo blynded in their phantaſticall reſpectes, that they are not able to perceiue why they would haue this article condemned. And yet I cānot tell whether it be heretical or els erroneous. And no maruell, when as the condemners themſelues cannot tell me. I hold therfore this article alſo by the apoſtle. Rom.7. I my ſelfe in my mynd doe ſerue the law of God, and in my fleſh the law of ſinne. Here the Apoſtle confeſſeth plainly of hymſelfe that in his fleſh he ſerueth ſinne. And alſo 1.Cor.1. Chriſt is made to vs of God our righteouſnes, our wiſedome, ſanctification and redemption. And how then doth he ſanctifie them that be ſanctified alredy, vnleſſe it be as the Apoc. ſayeth: He that is holy, let hym be holy ſtill? To be ſanctified, is as much as to be purged frō ſinne. But what haue theſe our Reſpectiuiſtes to do with the apoſtle Paule, ſeyng they are the whole vniuerſall Church, by whoſe authoritie Paule eyther ſtandeth or falleth, beyng but a mēber only and a part of the church. The Lord rebuke thee Sathan and theſe thy Sathanicall Papiſtes.

Rom.7.

1.Cor.1.

Apoc.22.

¶The 3. Article.

The originall roote of ſinne, although no actuall ſinne do follow, ſtoppeth the ſoule departyng out of the body, from entraunce into heauen.

¶The aunſwer.

As touchyng this matter I neuer defined any thing hetherto, but largely & probably I haue diſputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certayn what is done with ſuch a ſoule. But our Papiſts more blind thē buſſards, vvhē they are nothing able to perceiue what cauſe this article hath worthely to be condēned, yet dare they take vpō thē to pronounce that which the whole vniuerſal church is ignorāt of. I yet not withſtādyng cōtēnyng this foliſh & fond condēnation aforeſaid, do hold this article probably to be true. For ſeyng this originall roote which I ſpeake of, is truly ſinne, as I haue proued, Rom.7. & Gal.5. & ſeyng that ſinne letteth a man from entryng into heauen, as it is written: No polluted thyng ſhall enter: I ſuppoſe therfore that originall ſinne withholdeth a man from entryng into heauen. Neither do I any thing at all eſteme the phantaſticall dreames of them, wherby they extenuatyng originall ſinne do call it only the payne of ſinne, and imperfections, plainly agaynſt the manifeſt Scriptures, which call it ſinne & teach the ſame to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true and not of fayned ſinne.

Sap.7.

The fourth Article.

The imperfect charitie of a man departing neceſſarily carrieth with it great feare, which of it ſelfe is enough to make the payne of Purgatory, and letteth the entraunce into the kyngdome of heauen.

¶The aunſwer.

This followeth of the other goyng before, which in lyke maner I did not determinately affirme, although very probably I doe yet holde the ſame, askyng before a diſpenſation after myne owne arbitrement, euē in defiaunce of the Bull, which is not able to bryng forth any other probation but this: We are the hyeſt powers in the Church, yet we are the Church it ſelfe. Ergo, we are the beſt learned, moſt holieſt, full of the holy Ghoſt which cannot erre, although we ſtinke lyke a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kynd of ſinnes, and drowned in ignoraunce. But all theſe reaſons preuayle nothyng with me: peraduenture they may with them, which feare leaſt if my ſentence ſhould preuayle, then Purgatory ſhould be taken out of the Popes handes, and thē prieſts and religious men hauyng loſt their gaynefull offices of vexyng (of releaſing I would haue ſayd) of the dead, ſhould be pinched by the bellies & brought to penury. It was tyme therfore for their greedy auarice here to wake and looke about, and not to ſuffer theſe their friuolous opinions, but yet very gaynefull, to bee ouercome with truth, and ſo to be ouerthrowen.

The Popes doctrine gaynefull to the purſe.

¶The 5. Article.

Where they ſay that penaunce ſtandeth of three partes, to witte, contrition, confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction: it is not founded in holy ſcripture, nor in auncient, holye, and Chriſtian Doctours.

¶The aunſwer.

This Article, in what reſpect it is condemned, I do right well perceiue: For the reſpect therof is to gredy couetouſnes, and therfore I know that the probation therof hath the lyke reſpect, which is this: If this Article were true, then men would geue nothyng for ſatiſfaction and indulgences, neyther ſhould we haue any more wherwith to vexe them wyth confeſſions, caſes reſerued, reſtricted, or ampliated for our gayne, and ſo ſhould we become beggers, and gods ſeruice ſhould be miniſhed in Vigils and Maſſes. But it is wicked that Gods ſeruice ſhould be miniſhed: therfore Luther is an heretike. This conſequent holdeth *a reſpectu Bullæ ad Papiſtas*. From the Bull to the Papiſtes, and contrarywyſe.

I beſeech thee by the Lord Ieſus, whatſoeuer graue and learned reader ſhalt read theſe thinges, that thou wilt pardon this my leuitie, and (as it may ſeeme) my childiſhnes. For thou ſeeſt how I haue to do with ſuch men as be twiſe children, and yet do brag themſelues to be peeres and principall pillers of all men. I aſſure you, I know it moſt certainely to bee true, that there be many and great gouernours of people, which this ſo ridiculous and foliſh reaſon aboue recited, hath moued to the condemnation of my bookes. Vnleſſe I perceyued (with teares I ſpeake it) the anger of God ſharpe and fierce agaynſt vs, in bringyng vs vnder ſubiection of ſuch effeminate children, and ſuch dregs of the earth, and vile refuſe of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burſt for very griefe and ſorow.

My ſentence is, and hath bene this, that that ſatiſfaction which the keyes are able to diſpence withall, ſtandeth not by the law of God. For if it did, then could it not be diſpenſed with all by the keyes. If theſe Bull founders do charge me with any other thyng beſides in this Article, they do nothyng els but as they are wont to do. For what matter or meruaile is it if Antichriſt do lye?

¶The 6. Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembring, and deteſting our ſinnes, wherby a man calleth to mynde his yeares paſt, in the bitternes of his ſoule in ponderyng the greatnes, the multitude and filthines of hys ſinnes, the loſing of eternall bliſſe, and purchaſing of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh an hypocrite, yea rather a man to bee more a ſinner.

The aunſwere.

O the incredible blyndnes and brutiſhnes of theſe Romiſh Bulles. This Article is truly myne, and very Chriſtian, which I will not ſuffer to be wreſted from me for all the Popes and Papiſtes in the world. For this I ment by that doctrine, that repentaunce is of no force vnles it be done in fayth and charitie, which thing they alſo teach them ſelues, but that they do not know nor teach, neither what fayth nor charitie is. And therfore in condemnyng my doctrine, they condemne alſo their owne, fooliſhly repugning agaynſt themſelues in their ovvn contradictiō. I ſay therfore that he vvhich teacheth repentāce in ſuch vvyſe and maner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promiſed mercy of God and fayth in the ſame, then to this afflictyng and vexyng of the myndes, he teacheth the repentaunce of Iudas Iſcarioth, he is peſtilent, a deuill to mens ſoules, and a tormẽter of conſciẽces. Read the bokes of thoſe ſophiſters, vvhere they vvrite of repentaunce, and thou ſhalt ſee there no mention made eyther of promiſe or fayth. For theſe liuely partes of repentaunce they cleane omitte, and onely do vexe men vvith theſe dead contritions. But hereof vve haue, and vvill hereafter entreat more at large.

The purpoſe of Luther in ſetting forth hys Articles.

But vvhat ſhould I here ſtand vpõ euery Article, ſeyng my bookes be abroad vvherin I haue geuen a reaſon of all ſufficiently, and more vvoulde haue done, if myne aduerſaries alſo had brought to light theirs. For vvhat fooliſhnes is this, that they thinke to aunſvver me vvith this one ſaying that they count all my ſayings as damned, vvheras I did vvrite to thys ende onely, that they ſhoulde acknovvledge their errours, vvherevvith they haue ſo long bevvitched the people of God. Neither did I loke that I ſhould bee condemned, vvhiche vnderſtanding and knovvyng the ſame right vvell, haue iuſtified thoſe thinges vvhich they haue condemned before vvith ſufficient authoritie, both of Scripture and reaſon. Neyther loked I that they ſhould tell me vvhat they thought (for I knevv all that vvell enough) but that I ſought of them vvas to knovv vvhether they thought right therin or not. Here loked I to be taught, and beholde none of them all durſt once put forth his hed. Wherfore I ſee theſe aſſes nothing to vnderſtand eyther the things that I ſay, or yet themſelues. But they be ſuch blynd buſſardes, that they perceiue not vvhat it is that I ſeeke in my bokes. For they dreame that I haue ſuch an opinion of thẽ, as though they had the truth of their ſide, vvhen there is nothing that I leſſe thinke to be true, For I foreſeyng that they had condemned all theſe things before, came forth and ſhevved my ſelfe, as one not to be condẽned, but as alreadye condemned of them, to accuſe their condemnation to be vvicked, hereticall, and blaſphemous, and ſo openly to denounce them as heretikes and erroneous, vnleſſe they ſhevved ſome better reaſon and ground of their doyngs and doctrine: vvhere as they on the other ſide, like fooliſh minſtrels harpyng ſtill on one ſtring, haue nothing els in theyr mouthes, but vve condemne that vve haue condemned, prouing after a nevv kinde of Logike, the ſame thyng by it ſelfe. O moſt idiote huddypeakes and blockiſh condemners, vvhere is the ſaying of Peter? Be alvvayes ready to render a count of that fayth and hope vvhich is in you.

1. Pet. 3.

Wherfore ſeyng theſe ignoraunt Papiſtes, beyng thus confounded, do ſo flie avvay, from the face of the manifeſt veritie, that they dare not once open their mouthes in defence of themſelues or of their cauſe, and haue blaſted out vvith much ado this timerous Bull of theirs: I beyng comforted vvith the flight of theſe myne aduerſaries, do accompt this their daſtardly damnation in ſtede of full allovvyng and iuſtifyng of my cauſe, and ſo rebound againe their ovvne damnation vpon theyr ovvne heads, for hovv could they more condemne themſelues, then vvhiles they, (fearing to be found themſelues culpable of hereſie, if they ſhould be driuen to geue account of theyr doctrine) do flie to this miſerable and deſperate refuge, vvillingly to ſhut their eyes and ſtop their eares, and to ſay, I vvill not, I damne thee, I heare thee not, I allovv thee not. If I ſhould haue playd any ſuch mad part, hovv vvould they (I pray you) haue triumphed againſt me? This daſtardly feare declareth vvhat covvardes they are.

*** Note here good reader that amongſt theſe Articles, certayne there be which becauſe they ſeemed ſomewhat to beare with the Pope and his pardons, Luther comming after to more knowledge that the pope was Antichriſt, confeſſeth himſelfe in his Aſſertions, that he vtterly calleth backe the ſame, not reuoking thẽ as the Pope would him: had hym, but rather aggrauating thẽ agaynſt the pope.**

Wherefore not to burden the reader vvith any tedious prolixitie of matter in proſecutyng euery Article, I here proteſt in theſe preſents, that I * confeſſe all theſe thinges here condemned by this miſerable Bull, for pure, cleare and Catholike doctrine: vvherof I haue ſufficiently geuen accompt in my bookes vvhich be extant abroad.

Furthermore, I vvill alſo that the ſayd my bookes beyng extaunt, abrode, ſhall be taken as a publike accuſation agaynſt theſe vvicked Sophiſters and ſeducers of the people of God: ſo that vnleſſe they ſhall geue a count of their doctrine, and ſhall conuict me vvith good grounde of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lyeth, denounce them as giulty of errour, hereſie, and ſacriledge, admoniſhing, deſiring, and in the Lord exhorting all them vvhich truly confeſſe Chriſt, that they vvill bevvare and take hede of their peſtiferous and pernitious doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichriſt raigneth novv by them in the vvorld amongeſt vs.

And if any ſhall contemne this my brotherly admonition, let hym knovv that I am pure and cleane from his bloud, and excuſed the laſt iudgement of Chriſt. For I haue left nothing vndone, vvhich chriſtian charitie did bynd me to do.

Finally, if there be no other vvay vvherby I may reſiſt theſe bablyng & triſling condemners, the vttermoſt and laſt vvhich I haue, I vvill geue & beſtovv in the quarell, that is, this lyfe and bloud of myne. For better it vvere for me a thouſand tymes to be ſlayne, then to reuoke one ſillable of theſe Articles vvhich they haue condemned. And novv as they doe curſe and excommunicate me for their damnable hereſie, ſo I agayn likevviſe do curſe and excommunicate thẽ for the holy veritie of God. Chriſt vvhich is only the Iudge of all, iudge & determine this matter betvvene vs, vvhether of theſe tvvo excommunications, his or myne ſhall ſtande and preuayle before him. Amen.

Read afore, pag. 819.

In ſtoryng the lyfe of Luther before pag. 819. it was declared, how the ſayd Luther in the beginnyng firſt beyng reiected of the Cardinall Caietanus, appealed from ẏ cardinall vnto the Pope. When that would not ſerue, neyther could any tollerable ſubmiſſion of Luther to the pope be receyued, but that the Pope with hys Cardinals, contrary to all equity and conſcience, would nedes procede agaynſt him, and agaynſt the expreſſe truth of gods worde, thinkyng by mere authority to beare down the veritie as he had vſed before to do. Luther followyng the iuſtnes of hys cauſe, was then compelled to appeale from the Pope to the next generall councell, and ſo did, as before you may read, pag. 810. Which was ij. yeares before the Popes Bull agaynſt Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation before omitted, I thought here to exhibite, wherby the reader conſideryng the great change of religion and ſtate of the church which ſince hath enſued, may alſo perceiue the true originall cauſe and occaſion, how it firſt began, by what order and degrees it after encreaſed, what humilitie and ſubmiſſion firſt on Luthers part was ſhewed, and agayne what inſolencie, wrong, and violence on the Popes part was declared. And further, where Pope Leo in hys Bull aboue prefixed ſeemeth to pretend certayne conditions of fauour, charitie, and money offred to Luther in the beginnyng, how falſe & vaine that is, by this preſent appeale may appeare. The copye wherof, as it was drawen by the publike notarie and exhibited, is this as in forme here followeth.

Read afore, pag. 810.

¶ The tenour and forme of the Appeale of Martine Luther, from Pope Leo to the next generall Councell.

The appeale of M. Luther frõ the Pope to the next generall Councell.

IN nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a natiuitate eiuſdem. 1518 indictione ſexta, die vero ſolis vigeſima octaua menſis Nouembris Pontificatus ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Leonis, diuina prouidentia Papæ decimi, anno ſexto in mea Notarij publici teſtiumq; infra ſcriptorum ad hoc ſpecialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præſentia conſtitutus, &c.

The effect of the ſayd Appeale of Luther, in Engliſh.

Luthers appeale frõ the pope, in Engliſhe.

THe effect of the Appeale aforeſaide, is this: That for ſo muche as the libertie of appealyng is prouided for a remedye to relieue the oppreſſed from iniurie and violence of the ſuperiour, it was therefore lawful for Martin Luther ſo to do, eſpecially being manyfolde wayes iniuried and moleſted by the See of Rome and other the Popes confederates, as he in the ſayd appeale declareth. For at firſt wheras he modeſtly diſputyng of the errors and abuſes of the Popes pardons, did ſomwhat withſtand the impudent rauen and blaſphemies of them that came about with the Popes pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly rayled vpon, and defamed by them in their publike ſermons to be an heretike, and conſequently vpon the ſame accuſed to Pope Leo for an heretike, by Marius ẏ Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obteined of the Pope a Commiſſion to cite vp the ſayde Luther to appeare at Rome before the Cardinalles, by Hieronymus and Sylueſter Prieras, his mortall enemies, where as he could by no way appere without manifeſt danger of his lyfe, both by the way, and alſo in the citie of Rome.

For the conſideration whereof, Duke John Fridericke, Prince Electour, and the Lantgraue entreated for hym to haue his cauſe indifferently to be heard, and to bee committed to two parties that were equall, and not partiall: yet notwithſtandyng the ſute of theſe princes, and the contrary labour of the Cardinals, whiche were his capitall aduerſaryes, ſo preuayled at Rome, that the cauſe of Luther was ſtill detayned in their owne handes, and contrary to all indifferencie, was committed to the hearyng of ẏ Popes Legate then in Germanie, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti. Who beyng no leſſe enemie agaynſt Luther, then the other, and notwithſtandyng that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and wyth humble Proteſtation ſubmitted hym ſelfe to bee aunſwered by the Scriptures, and referred hym ſelfe to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome and of foure Uniuerſities, to wytte, Baſile, Friburge, Louane, and Paris yet contrary to all equitie, ſhewyng forth no Scripture nor reaſon, reiectyng his gentle Proteſtatiõ, ſubmiſſion, and honeſt offer, with all other hys requeſtes and ſutes, he would needes forthwith haue him to reuoke his errours, threatnyng and menaſing him moſt cruelly, and commaunded him no more to come in his ſight.

Cardinalis Sancti Sixti, enemy to Luther.

Wherupõ Luther beyng thus proudly reiected of ẏ Cardinall, made his appeale from the ſayde Cardinall to Pope Leo beyng better informed.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinal to the Pope.

This appellation alſo being contemned of the Pope who would neither come to anye agreement, nor take any reaſonable condition, nor ſhew Luther his errours by the ſcripture, nor yet referre the matter by learnyng to bee decided, but woulde needes perforce procede agaynſt hym by mere authoritie, and oppreſſion at Rome, Luther thẽ ſeyng there was no other refuge or remedy for his owne defence, and ſeyng moreouer the truth of Gods worde to lye vnder foote by myght and authoritie oppreſſed, ſo that none durſt almoſt confeſſe the ſame, and that the poore flocke was ſo nuſled in errours and vayne opinions to the ſeduction of their ſoules, for theſe and other ſuch cauſes, he beyng neceſſarily thereunto compelled, commenſed thys Appeale from the Pope miſinformed to the next generall Councell that ſhoulde be, callyng for the helpe of the publicke notarie, and teſtimonie

M. Luther appealeth frõ the pope to the next generall Councell.

alſo of ſufficient witneſſes requiſite in that behalfe accordyngly.

¶ The death of K. Henry the viii with the maner therof.

The order & maner of the kings death.

AND thus cloſing vp this eight booke with the death of Kyng Henry the 8. I will now (the Lorde Chriſt aſſiſtyng me with hys grace) procede next to the tyme & reigne of Kyng Edward hys ſonne, after that firſt I ſhall intermitte a fewe wordes touchyng the death of the ſayde Kyng Henry his father, and the maner of the ſame. Who after lōg languiſhyng, infirmitie growyng more and more vpon hym lay from S. Steuens daye (as is aboue mentioned) to the latter end of January. His Phiſicians at length perceiuing that he woulde away: and yet not daryng to diſcourage him with death, for feare of the Act paſt before in Parliament, that none ſhoulde ſpeake any thing of the kynges death (the Acte beyng made only for Southſayers and talkers of propheſies) moued them that were about the kyng to put hym in remembraunce of his mortall ſtate and fatall infirmitie, which when the reſt were in dread to doe, M. Denye who was ſpecially attendant vpon hym, boldly commyng to the king: told him what caſe he was in, to mans iudgement not lyke to lyue, and therfore exhorted hym to prepare him ſelfe to death, callyng hym ſelfe to remembraunce of his former lyfe, and to call vpon God in Chriſt betime for grace & mercy, as becommeth euery good Chriſtian man to do.

Of the Acte that none ſhould ſpeak of the kings death. Vid. Stat. an. Henr. 8.

Although ẏ king was loth to heare any mention of death yet perceiuyng the ſame to riſe vpon the iudgement of hys Phiſicians and feeling his owne weakneſ, he diſpoſed hym ſelfe more quietly to harken to the wordes of his exhortation, and to conſider hys life paſt, which although he much accuſed, yet (ſayde he) is the mercy of Chriſt able to pardon me all my ſinnes, though they were greater then they bee. M. Denye being glad to heare him thus ſpeake, required to knowe hys pleaſure, whether hee woulde haue any learned man ſent for to conferre withall, and to open his minde vnto. To whom the kyng aunſwered againe, that if he had any, he woulde haue D. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therfore M. Denye aſkyng the kyng whether he would haue hym ſent for. I will firſt ſaid the kyng take a litle ſleepe, and then as I feele my ſelfe, I will aduiſe vpon the matter.

The king at his death chuſeth to talke wyth Cranmer.

After an houre or two, the kinge awakyng and feelyng feebleneſ to encreaſe vpon him commaunded D. Cranmer to be ſent for: but before he could come, ẏ king was ſpeachles, and almoſt ſenſeles. Notwithſtanding perceiuyng D. Cranmer to be come, he reachyng his hande to D. Cranmer dyd hold hym faſt, but could vtter no worde vnto hym and ſcarſe was able to make any ſigne. Then the Archbyſhop exhortyng him to put hys truſt in Chriſte, and to call vpon his mercy, deſired him, though he could not ſpeake, yet to geue ſome token with his eyes, or with hande, as he truſted in the Lord. Then the king holding him with his hand did wryng his hand in his, as hard as he coulde & ſo ſhortly after departed, after hee had reigned in this land the terme of 37. yeares and 9. monethes, leauyng behinde hym 3. children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

D. Cranmer commeth to the kyng.

The kinges children.

Talke betwene Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Cant. and the Duke of Suffolke about Ste. Gardiner.

Moreouer for ſo much as mention is inſerted in this place of ẏ good inclinatiō of kyng Henry in hys latter dayes to the reformation of religion, by the occaſion hereof it commeth alſo to minde, ſomewhat likewiſe to adde by way of appendix touching the talke betwene the Archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and the Duke of Suffolke Charles Branden, as concerning the kynges purpoſe and intent conceaued agaynſt the Byſhop of Wincheſter Steuē Gardiner, in that he could neuer allowe any reformation in religion in this realme, and namely being offēded with this that men ſhould vſe in their talke, The Lord, aſwell as our Lord. The ſayd Duke ſayd vnto the ſayd Archbyſhop: we of the counſell had hym once at a good lift, and ſhould well haue diſpatched hym from his authoritie, if the kynges Maieſtie our Maiſter had ſtayed hymſelfe from admitting hym to hys preſence, as then hys highnes was content that we ſhould throughly haue ſifted and tried hym. It was my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbyſhop) at that tyme, when Gardiner hys Secretary was attached and ſuffred for defending the Popes authoritie. For thē I and certaine of the Counſell hauing conference with the kynges Maieſtie for that matter, his highneſſe was fullye perſwaded that the Byſhops Secretary being in ſuch ſpeciall fauour wyth his Maiſter, would neuer ſtand ſo ſtiffe in defence of the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power and authoritye, without his ſayd maiſters both aduiſe, knowledge, and perſwaſion. For already, quoth the king, he playd but a homely part with me, when he was Ambaſſadour to the Pope cōcerning my cauſe of diuorce. And therfore (quoth the king to me) ſende for hym my Lorde incontinently, and by aſſiſtance of two or three moe of the Counſel whom you thinke good, let him bee committed to the Tower, to aunſwere to ſuche thinges as may be obiected agaynſt him. This communicatiō was in the euening, ſo that we purpoſed to haue executed the kinges pleaſure and commaundement the next mornyng. How be it our talke was not ſo ſecrete, but that ſome of hys friendes of the priuy chamber then, ſuſpecting the matter (wher he had many frēds) ſent him word therof. Who incontinently repayred to the kinges preſence, and finding ſome matter to miniſter vnto the king, hys highnes ſaid to the biſhop: We do maruail that your Secretary hath thus notoriouſly offended againſt vs & our lawes. It is ſurely thought that you are not all cleare in thys offence, but that you are of the ſame opinion with him, and therfore my Lord be playne with me, and let me know if you be ẏ waye infected or no: If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault, but if you halt or diſſemble with me, looke for no fauour at my hand.

Ste. Gardiner appointed by the king to be had to the Tower.

Ste. Gardiner priuely commeth to the kyng.

K. Henry layeth to Wincheſters charge.

With this monition Wincheſter fell down vpon his knees and beſought his Maieſty of mercy and pardon, manifeſtly confeſſing that he of long time had been of that opiniō with his ſayd Secretary: and there bewaylyng himſelfe, promiſed from that day forward to reforme his opinion, and become a new man. Well (quoth the king) this way you haue of mee, that which otherwiſe you ſhould neuer haue obtayned. I am content to remitte all thinges paſt, and pardon you vpon your amendement.

Wincheſter confeſſeth his popery to the kyng.

The next morninge I had word how the matter was handeled, wherupon I came to his highnes and ſaid: your Maieſtie hath preuented our commiſſion, which I and other had from your grace concerning my Lord of Wincheſters cōmitting to the tower. Wot you what quoth the K.? he hath confeſſed himſelfe as giltye in this matter as hys man, and hath with much ſorrowe and penſiuenes ſued for my pardon: And you know what my nature and cuſtome hath been in ſuch matters, euermore to pardon thē that will not diſſemble but confeſſe their faulte.

K. Henries nature to pardon them that come to him and confeſſe their faults.

Thus wilily and politicklye he got him ſelfe out of our handes. But if I had ſuſpected this, I woulde haue had him in the Tower ouer night and ſtopped his iorney to the Court. Well ſayd my Lord of Caunterbury hee was euermore to good for you all.

Moreouer as touching this forſaid biſhop of Wincheſter for ſo much as he in King Edwardes time bragged ſomuch of his olde maſter of famous memory King Henry 8. to the entent that the glorious vanitie of this biſhop, and of all other like vnto him, more notoriouſly may appeare to all mē, here is to be noted by the teſtificatiō as wel of maſter Deny, as alſo of Sir Henry Neuell, who were there preſente witneſſes of the matter, whoſe recorde is this, that K. Henry before the time of his ſickneſ, taking his horſe vpon the tarras at Windſore to ride out on hauking, ſaw ſtandinge before him the Lord Wryotheſley Lord Chancelor with diuers other Counſellours, and amongeſt them the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Wherupon he called the Lord Chancelor and ſayd: Did not I commaund you he ſhould come no more amongeſt you (meaning the Biſhop?) Whereunto the Lord Chancelour anſwered, that his comming was to bring hys maieſty word of a beneuolence geuen vnto him by the clergye. Wherat the king ſayd: Ah, let him come hether. And ſoe hee dyd hys Meſſuage, And the Kinge went ſtraighte away.

Wincheſter commanded no more to come in the kinges ſight.

Item an other time the king immedyatly after his repair to Londō fel ſicke, and cauſed dyuers times his whole counſell to come vnto him about his will & other his graue affayres: At what tyme the Biſhop alſo would come vp with them into the vtter priuy Chaumber, and there remayne vntill the Counſell came from the king, and then go down with thē again, to the ende (as then was thoughte) to blinde the world withall.

Wincheſter though he were excluded yet would ſeeme ſtill to be of the kinges Counſell.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in ſicknes, he conſidering vpon his will and teſtament made before at his going ouer to Bullein, willed the ſame to be drawē out again with leauing out and excluding the Biſhop of Wincheſter by name from amongſt his Executors. Which being to him no ſmall corſey, and a cutting of of all their purpoſes, a way was found, that Sir Anthony Brown a principall pillar of Wincheſters ſide, pretending vnto the king, as thoughe by the negligence of the writer the Biſhops name had been left out of the kinges will, kneeled downe to the kinges maieſtye, lying in his bed, and ſayd: My Lord of Wincheſter I thinke by negligence is left out of your Maieſties wil, who hath done your highnes moſt paynfull, long, and notable ſeruice, and one without whom the reſt ſhall no be able to ouercome your great and weyghty affayres committed vnto them.

Wint. excluded out of the kinges will.

Syr Anthony Browne a great freind to Wint.

Holde your peace (quoth the kyng) I remembred hym well inough, and of good purpoſe haue left hym out. For ſurely, if he were in my teſtament, & one of you, hee woulde cumber you all, and you ſhoulde neuer rule hym, he is of ſo troubleſome a nature. Mary, quoth the kyng, I my ſelfe could vſe him, and rule hym to all maner of purpoſes, as ſemed good to me, but ſo ſhal you neuer do, and therfore talke no more of hym to me in this behalfe. Syr Antony Browne perceiuyng the kynge ſomewhat ſtiffe herein, gaue place to the kynges wordes at that time. Howbeit ſeekyng farther occaſion vpon more perſwaſions put into his head, tooke in hand once agayne to moue the kyng to haue yͤ byſhop one of his Executors. When the kynge perceiued that this inſtant ſute woulde not ceaſe: haue you not yet done (quoth the kyng) to moleſt me in this matter? If you wil not ceaſe farther to trouble me, by the fayth that I owe vnto God, I wyll ſurely diſpatch the out of my wyl alſo, and therfore let vs heare no more of this matter. All this Syr Antony Deny was heard to reporte to the Archbyſhop of Cant. Tho. Cranmer, of the ſayd Archbyſhops Secretary who is yet alyue, and wytnes to the ſame.

King Henries opinion of the B. of Wincheſt.

Witnes.

And thus much touchyng the end of Kyng Henry, who if he had continued a few monethes longer (all thoſe obites and Maſſes, whiche appeare in his will made before he went to Bulleyne notwithſtandyng) moſt certaine it is, and to be ſignified to all poſteritie, that his full purpoſe was to haue repurged the eſtate of the Church, and to haue gone through with the ſame, ſo that hee would not haue left one maſſe in all Englād. For the more certaine intelligēce wherof, two thynges I haue to lead me. The one is the aſſured reporte and teſtimonie of Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, hearyng the kyng declare the ſame out of his owne mouth, both to him ſelfe and to Mounſieur de Annebault Lord Admirall the French Ambaſſadour, in the moneth of Auguſt a litle before his death, as aboue may appeare more at large pag. 1215. The other cauſe which leadeth me therunto, is alſo of equall credite, grounded vpon the declaration of the kynges owne mouth after that tyme, more neare to his death, vnto Bruno Ambaſſadour of Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie. Unto the which Ambaſſadour of Saxonye, the K. gaue this anſwere openly, that if the quarrell of the Duke of Saxonye were nothing els agaynſt the Emperour but for Religion, he ſhoulde ſtand to it ſtrongly and he would take his parte, willinge him not to doubt nor feare, and ſo with this anſwere dimiſſed the Ambaſſadour vnto the Duke openly in the hearing of theſe iiii. ſufficient witneſſes, the Lord Seymer, Earle of Harforde Lord Liſley then Admirall, the Earle of Bedforde Lorde Priuy Seale, and Lord Paget. But the ſecret workinge of Gods holy prouidence, which diſpoſeth all thinges after his owne wiſedome and purpoſe, thought it good rather by taking the king away, to reſerue the accompliſhment of this reformation of his church, to the peaceable time of his ſonne Edward, and Eliſabeth his daughter, whoſe handes were yet vndefiled with any bloud, and life vnſpotted with anye violence, or cruelty.

The purpoſe of the king if he had liued, was to make a perfecte reformation of religion.

Credite of thys narration that it is true.

The kings anſwere to the duke of Saxonies Ambaſſadour, a litle before his death.

And thus to finiſh this book I thought here to cloſe vp king Henries raigne. But becauſe a little vacante ſpace of empty paper remayneth behinde needefull to be filled vp, to employ therfore & to repleniſh the ſame with ſome matter or other, I thought to annexe hereunto one ſtory which happened in this K. Hēries raigne. Which albeit it ſerueth not to the purpoſe of this our matter now in hād, yet neuertheles to ſupply the rowme it may ſtand in ſome place, either to refreſh the trauelled minde of the Reader wearyed with other ſtories, or els to diſcloſe the deteſtable impietie of theſe counterfaite ſectes of Monkes and Fryers, who vnder the hipocriticall viſour of pretenſed Religion, haue ſo long ſeduced and deceiued the world. Although the deceitfull partes and practiſes of theſe phantaſtical orders be ſo many, and in all places ſo notorious, that they are not able to be expreſſed yet amongeſt many one you ſhall here that chaunced in this kinges dayes in the Citie of Orleance in Fraunce, by the Gray fryers, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1534. The ſtory is this.

¶ A tragicall ſtory of certain Fryers in Fraunce in the City of Orleance. an. 1534.

Ex Commentarij Ioan. Sleid. Lib. 9.

A ſtory of certain Fryers in Orleance.

THe Maiors wife of the City of Orleance prouyded in her will to be buryed without any pompe or ſolemnitie. For when any departeth there, in ſome places the Belmen are hyred to goe about the City, and in places moſt frequented to aſſemble the people with the ſound of the bell, & there to declare the names and the titles of thoſe parties deceaſed alſo where and whē they ſhal be buryed, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarſe is caryed forth, the moſt part of the begging friers goe withall to yͤ church, with many torches and tapers caryed before them, and the more pompe and ſolemnity is vſed, the more is the cōcourſe of people. But this woman (as I ſayd) woulde haue none of all this geare done for her. Wherfore her huſband which loued her well, followed her minde herein, & gaue vnto theſe greedy cormorants the fryers which waiting for their pray (in whoſe Church ſhe was buryed beſides her father and her grandfather) ſixe crownes for a rewarde: where as they gaped for a great deale more. And afterwarde when he cut downe a wood and ſolde it, the fryers crauing to haue parte therof freely and without money, he denyed them, this toke they wonderfull greeuouſly, and where as they loued him not before, they deuyſed now a way to be reuenged, ſayinge that his wife was damned euerlaſtingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were Colyman, & Steuē of Arras both doctors of Diuinitie: and the firſt in deed was a Coniurer, and had all his trinkettes and furniture concerning ſuch matters, in a readines, and they vſed the matter thus. They ſet a young man which was a Nouice aboue ouer the vaute of the Church, and when they came to mumble vp their mattins at midnight after their accuſtomed maner, he made a wonderfull noyſe and ſhriking aloft. Then went this Colyman to croſſing and coniuringe but the other aboue would not ſpeake. Beinge charged to make a ſigne to declare if he were a dumme ſpirite, hee ruſſeled and made a noyſe agayne, and that was the ſigne and token.

When they had layd this foundation they went to certayne of the chiefeſt in all the Citie, and ſuch as fauoured them moſt, and told them what an heauy caſe was chaunced, yet did they not vtter what it was, but entreated them to take the paynes to come to their ſeruice at night. When they were come and the ſeruice was begon, he that was alofte made a great noyſe. Being demanded what he would and what he was, he ſignified that he might not ſpeake. thē was he commaunded to anſwere to their interrogatories by ſignes and tokens. Now, was there a hole made for the purpoſe, where by laying to his eare he might here and vnderſtand what the Coniurer ſaid vnto him. There was alſo a table at hand, and when any queſtion was aſked, hee ſtrooke and beat vpon the Table, ſo that he might be heard beneath. Then firſt the Coniurer demaunded whether hee were any of them that had beene buryed there. After that reckning vp many of their names in order, whoſe bodyes had been buryed there, at the laſt he named the maiors wife. Here he made a ſigne that he was the ſpirite of that womā. Then he aſked whether he were damned, and for what deſert or offence? whether it were for couetouſnes, pride, or lechery, or not doing the workes of charitie, or els for thys new ſprong vp hereſie & Lutheraniſme? Moreouer what was the cauſe that he made ſuch a noyſe, and was ſo vnquiet? whether it were that the body being buryed within holy ground ſhould be digged vp agayne and caryed to ſome other place? To all theſe thinges he anſwered by ſignes in like caſe as he was commaunded: whereby he affirmed, or denyed euery thing, ſtriking twiſe or thriſe vpon the Table.

The coniurer what he demaunded of the ſpirite

When he had thus ſignified that Luthers hereſie was the cauſe of her damnation, and that her body muſt be takē vp, the Friers deſired the Citizens that were preſent to beare witnes of ſuch thinges as they had ſeen and heard, & ſet their handes to it in writing. But they takinge aduiſement leſt they ſhould both offend the Maior and bring thē ſelues in trouble: refuſed to ſubſcribe. Notwithſtanding the Fryers tooke the pixe with the hoſt, and the Lordes bodye, (as they call it) and all their Saintes Reliques, and caried them to an other place, and there they ſayd theire Maſſes: which they are wont to doe by the Popes Lawe, when a churche is ſuſpended and muſt be hallowed agayn, and whē the Biſhops Officiall heard of this, he came thether to vnderſtand the matter better, and aſſocyating to him certayne honeſt men, he commaunded the Fryer to coniure in his preſence, and would haue appointed certain to go vp to yͤ vaut to ſee if any ſpirite did there appeare. But Steuen of Arras was ſore agaynſt it, and exhorted them earneſtly yͭ they ſhould not ſo doe, ſaying that the ſpirite ought not to be moleſted. And albeit the Officiall did earneſtly urge them to coniure before him, yet could they not bring them to it.

Luthers hereſie a greate bugge amōg the fryers.

In the meane tyme, the Maior makyng his frendes priuy what he would doe, went to the kyng, and informed him of the whole matter. And becauſe the Friers truſtyng to their immunities and priuileges, refuſed to come in iudgement, the Kyng choſe certayne out of the court of Parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gaue them full authoritie ſo to do. Whereupon they were caryed to Paris, and conſtrayned to make aunſwere, but they would confeſſe nothyng. Then they were ſent agayne to priſon, [illegible] kept aparte one from an other: and the Nouice was kept in Fumeus houſe a Senatour, and beyng oftentimes examined, he

The Maior complaineth to the kinge of the Fryers.

he woulde confeſſe nothyng, fearyng leſt he ſhould after bee murthered of them for ſlaunderyng their order. But when the iudges promiſed him that he ſhould haue no harme: and ſhoulde come no more in the Friers handes, hee declared to them the whole matter in order, and beyng brought before the others, he auouched ẏ ſame. But they, albeit they were conuicted, and in maner taken with the dede, yet refuſed they their iudges, & bragged of their priuileges: but it was altogether in vayne for they were condemned in open iudgement, that they ſhould be caried agayne to Orleaunce, and committed to priſon, and afterwardes brought openly to the Cathedrall Church, & ſo to the place of puniſhment where malefactours are executed, and there ſhould make open confeſſion of theyr wickednes.

The Friers condemned to priſon & to puniſhment.

But euen at the ſame tyme chaunced a perſecution agaynſt the Lutherans, which was the cauſe that this ſentence, albeit it was to gentle for ſo great an offence, was not put in execution. For, becauſe the name of the Lutherans was moſt odious, they feared leſt the puniſhment of theſe men ſhould not haue bene ſo much thought to be due for theyr offēce, as done in reproch of the order: & many thought that whatſoeuer ſhould be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleaſant ſpectacle, and cauſe them much to reioyce. This order of the Franciſcanes was eſteemed of the common people very holy: ſo that what tyme they were caried out of Paris, certayne women moued with pity, followed thē vnto the gate of the vniuerſity with many teares and ſighes. After they came to Orleance, and were beſtowed in ſeuerall priſons, they began to boaſt agayne of their liberties and priuileges, and at length after long impriſonment, they were diſcharged and ſet at liberty without any further puniſhment. Had not theſe perſecutions before mētioned letted the matter, the king had determined, as it was certainly reported to plucke downe theyr houſe, and make it euen wyth the ground. Ex Io. Sleid. lib. 9.

The Fryers eſcaped, and the Lutherans puniſhed.

But to leaue the memory of this Idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let vs occupy the tyme with ſome better matter, in remembryng the ſtory of a good and conſtant Martyr of the lord before ouerpaſt, which ſuffred in Kent for the word of God before Luthers tyme, about the ſecond yeare of this kyngs raygne, as here in ſtory followeth.

Perſecution for the Goſpell before M. Luthers tyme.

Iohn Browne a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ieſus burned at Aſhford by Archbiſhop Warham, and Doct. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, about the 2. yeare of K. Henry the 8. An. 1511.

The ſtory of Ioh. Brown Martyr.

Perſecuters.	Martyr.
Wil. Warhā Archb. of Cant. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter. A chauntry prieſt. Walter More Gentleman. William More hys brother. Chilten of Wye, Baily arrant. Beare of Wilſborough. Two ſeruantes of Wil. Warham.	Ioh. Broune of Aſhford. At Aſhford. An. 1511.

The cauſe.

The firſt occaſion of the trouble of this I. Broun the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God, was by a certain prieſt: who paſſyng downe to Grauesende in the common Barge (where the ſaid I. Broune was amongeſt diuers other paſſingers mo) and diſdaynyng that he ſo ſaucely ſhold ſit ſo nere vnto hym in the barge (who beſide ſemed not much to paſſe vpon ẏ prieſt) began to ſwell in ſtomack agaynſt him. At length burſtyng forth in hys prieſtlye voyce and diſdaynfull countenance, he aſked him in this maner: Doeſt thou knowe (ſayd he) who I am? thou ſitteſt to nere me and ſitteſt on my clothes. No ſir (ſayd the other) I know not what you are. I tell thee (quoth he) I am a prieſt. What ſir, are you a perſon, or vicar, or ſome ladies chaplayne? No (quoth he agayne) I am a ſoule prieſt: I ſing for a ſoule. Do you ſo ſir (quoth the other?) that is wel done. I pray you ſir (ſaid he) where find you the ſoule when you go to maſſe? I cannot tell thee (ſaid the prieſt.) I pray you, where do you leaue it ſir when the maſſe is done? I cannot tel thee ſayd the prieſt. Neither cā you tel where you finde it when you go to maſſe, nor where you l[illegible] it whē the maſſe is done: how cā you thē ſaue the ſoule, ſaid he? Goe thy wayes ſayd the prieſt, I perceiue thou art an heretike, and I wyll be euen with thee.

Talke betwene John Browne & a [illegible] prieſt, [illegible] Graues[illegible] Barge.

So at the landyng, the prieſt takyng with hym Walter More and W. More two Gentlemen and brethren, rode ſtraightwayes to the Archbiſhop, who then was Wil. Warham. Whereupon the ſayd John Brown, within thre dayes after, was ſent for by the archbiſhop. His bringers vp were Chilten of Wye baily arraunt, and one Beare of Wilſeborough, with two of the biſhops ſeruauntes, who with certayne other being appointed for the ſame, came ſodenly into hys houſe vppon hym, the ſame day when his wyfe was churched, as he was bryngyng in a meſſe of porrige to the bourd ſeruyng hys geſtes: and ſo laying handes vpon hym, ſet hym vpon hys owne horſe, and byndyng his feete vnder the horſes belly, caried hym away to Canterbury, neyther he, nor his wyfe, nor any of his friendes knowyng whether he went, nor whether he ſhould, & there continuyng ẏ ſpace of xl. dayes, frō Lowſonday, til Friday before Whitſonday, through the cruel handling of ẏ ſayd Archb. & the B. of Rocheſt. D. Fiſher, he was ſo pitouſly entreated, ẏ hys bare feet were ſet vpon ẏ hote burning coles, to make hym deny his fayth, which notwithſtanding he would not do, but paciently abiding the payne, continued in the Lordes quarell vnremoueable. At length after all this cruelty ſuſteined, his wyfe yet not knowyng where he was become, on Friday before Whitſonday he was ſent to Aſhford where he dwelt the next day there to be burned.

Walter More, W. More. Chilten & Beare perſecuters.

Ioh. Browne ſodeinly taken & caryed away.

His bare feete ſet vpon the hoate coales to make hym denye the truth.

In the meane tyme, as he was brought to the towne ouer night, there to be ſet in the ſtockes, it happened as God would, that a yong mayd of hys houſe commyng by and ſeyng her maiſter, ran home and told her miſtres.

Browne brought to Aſhford to be burned.

Then ſhe commyng to him and findyng him in ẏ ſtocks appointed to be burned the next morow, ſate by hym all the night long. To whom then he declared the whole ſtorye or rather tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones, that he could not ſet them vpon the ground, by the two biſhops aforeſayd (he thanked God therfore) and all to make me (ſayd he) to deny my lord, which I wil neuer do, for if I ſhould deny him ſaid he in this world he would deny me hereafter. And therfore I pray thee (ſaid he) good Elizabeth, continue as thou haſt begon, and bring vp thy children vertuouſly in the feare of God.

Browne ſet in the ſtockes at Aſhford.

And ſo the next day which was on Whitſon euen, this godly Martyr was burned, where he ſtanding at the ſtake ſayd this prayer holding vp hys handes, as followeth.

The prayer of Browne at his death.

o Lord i yelde me to thy gr

O Lord I yelde me to thy grace;
Graunt me mercy for my treſpace,
Let neuer the fiend my ſoule chace.
Lord I wyll bow and thou ſhalt beat:
Let neuer my ſoule come in hell heat.

Let

The prayer of Iohn Browne at his death.

Into thy handes I commend my ſpirite: thou haſt redemed me O Lorde of truth.

And ſo this bleſſed Martir ended his lyfe in peace, anno. 1511.

This ſtory the ſayde Elizabeth Browne his wyfe dyd oft tymes repeate to Alice her daughter, who dwellyng yet in the pariſh of S. Pulchers, teſtified the narration hereof vnto me and certayne other, vpon whoſe credible information I haue recorded the ſame.

Witneſſe to this ſtory.

Furthermore, here is to be noted that the ſayde John Browne bare a fagot 7. yeares before this in the dayes of king Henry the 7. Whoſe ſonne alſo named Rich. Browne for the lyke cauſe of religion, was impriſoned at Canterbury lykewyſe in the latter tyme of Quene Mary, & ſhoulde haue bene burned with two mo beſides hymſelfe, the next day after the death of Queene Mary, but that by the proclaymyng of Quene Elizabeth they eſcaped.

Rich. Browne eſcaped burning by the commyng in of Queene Elizabeth.

Amongſt other iniunctions and letters of king Henry 8 written and ſet forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Edmund Boner for aboliſhing of images, pilgrimages, ſhrines, and other monumēts of idolatry. Which letter beyng before expreſſed pag. 1229. we ſhould alſo haue annexed to the ſame the letter or Mandate of Boner directed in latin to Rich. Cloney his Somner appertaynyng to the due execution therof. Which letter becauſe we haue omitted before, the defect therof I thought here in this vacant ſpace to ſupply. The letter written to Cloney in latin, thus beginneth.

Boners letter to Cloney Keeper of the Colehouſe, for the aboliſhing of Images.

This Cloney could neither vnderſtand the Latin nor yet ſcarſe read Engliſhe, & yet here he is called literatus.

EDmundus permiſſione Diuina Lond. Epiſc. Dilecto nobis in Chriſto Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori, noſtro generali ſalut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 23. die menſis inſtantis Octob. circa noctem, literas sereniſſimi, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Had Boner none to do theſe weightie thinges but Cloney the keeper of the Colehouſe?

FOrſomuch as the 13.day of this preſent, we haue receyued the letters of our ſoueraign Lord, by the grace of god kyng of England &c. to vs directed, and conteyning in them the commaundement of hys maieſtie, by vs to be executed in tenour of wordes which here I ſend vnto you: we therfore willyng and deſiring accordyng as our duety byndeth vs, to put the ſame in execution with all diligence poſſible according to the effect and tenour thereof, doe charge and ſtraightly commaunde you by the tenor hereof, in the kings behalfe and for the fidelitie which we haue in you aſſuredly approued, that you incontinent vpon the receit hereof, do effectually warne all and ſingular Perſons and Vicars of this Citye of London and of all our dioces, that they immediatly vpon the ſight and intimation of theſe preſent Articles and Interrogatories here vnder written, doe cauſe diligent and effectuall inquiſition therof to be made, to witte:

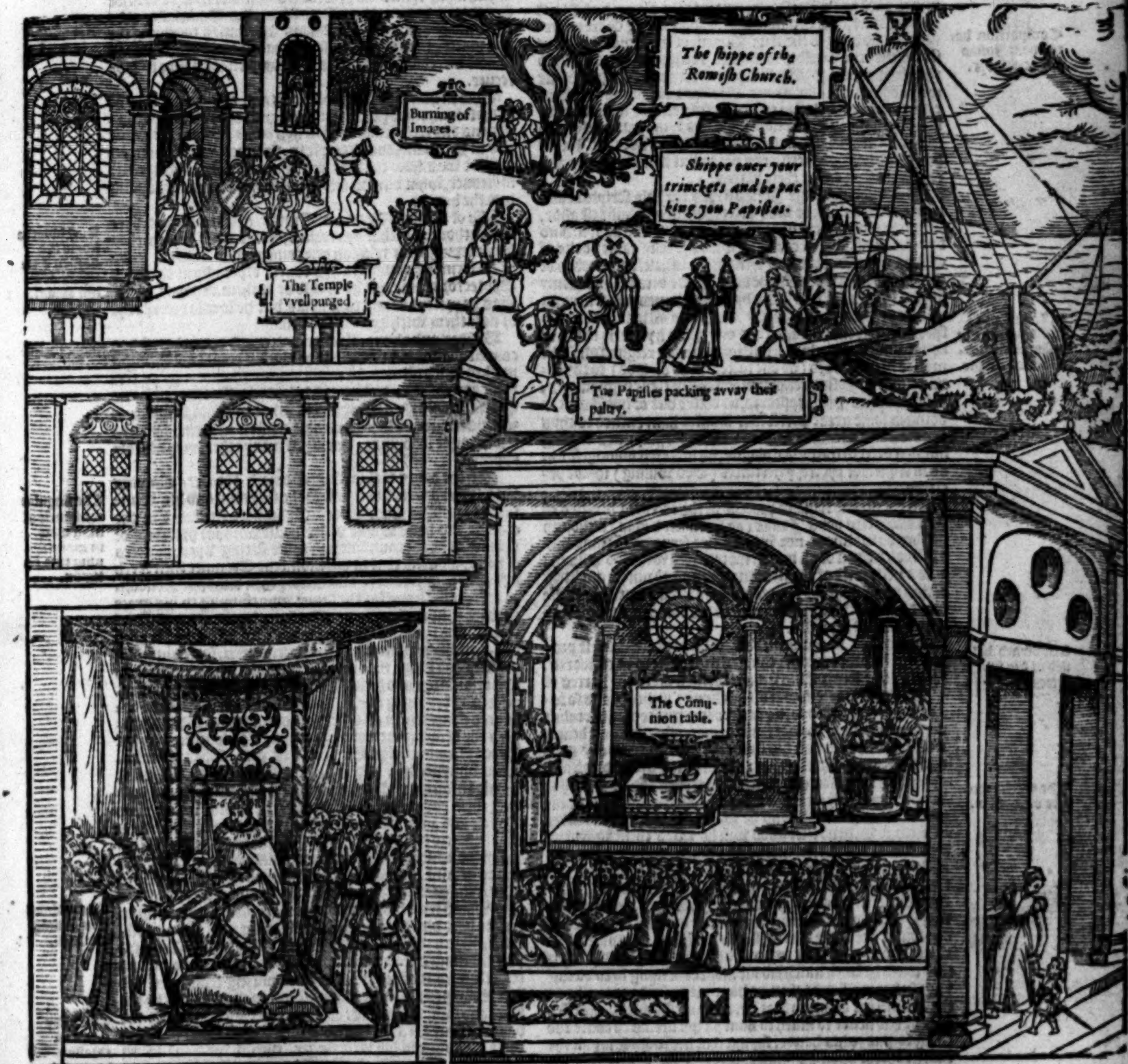
Whether there be vſed or continued any ſuperſtition, hypocriſie or abuſe within any their pariſhes or Cures, contrary to any ordinaunce, Iniunctiō, or commaundement geuen or ſet forth by the kinges maieſty or by his authoritie.

Item, whether they haue in their Churches or wythin their pariſhes, any ſhrines, couerings of ſhrines, tables of fained miracles, pilgrimages, Images & bones reſorted & offered vnto, and other monumēts & things wherwith the people haue ben illuded, or any offering or ſetting vp of lights, or cādels, other then be permitted by the kings maieſties Iniunctions, or whether the ſayd Iniunctions be duely obſerued and kept in their Pariſhes or Cures, or els tranſgreſſed and broken, and in what part. And further, after the ſaid Inquiſition thus by them and euery of them reſpectiuely beyng made, that you do certifie vs, or our Vicare generall, what is done in the premiſſes, vpon the euen of Symon and Iude, or therabout, vnder the perill therof followyng. Dat. 14. die Octob. an. 1541. & noſtræ tranſlat. 2.

¶

The ende of the eight booke.

The ninth Booke containing the Actes and thynges done in the raigne of King Edward the ſixt.


Burning of Images.
The ſhippe of the Romiſh Church.
Shippe ouer your trinckets and be packing you Papiſtes.
The Temple vvell purged
The Papiſtes packing avvay their paltry.
The Cōmunion table.

K. Edward deliuering the Bible to the Prelats.

1547.

The raigne & tyme of K. Edward.

AFter the death of K. Henry ſucceded King Edwarde hys ſonne, beyng of the age of 9. yeres. He began his raigne the 28. day of January, and raigned 6. yeres, & 8. monthes, and 8. dais, and deceaſed, an. 1553 the 6. day of July. Of whoſe excellente vertues and ſingular graces wroughte in hym by the gifte of God, although nothing can be ſayd enough to hys commendation: yet becauſe the renowmed fame of ſuch a worthy prince ſhall not vtterly paſſe our ſtory without ſome gratefull remembraunce, I thought in few wordes to touche ſome little portion of hys prayſe, taken out of great heapes of matter, which might be inferred. For to ſtand vpon all that might be ſayd of him, it would be to long: and yet to ſay nothyng, it were to much vnkynd. If Kynges and Princes which haue wiſely and vertuouſly gouerned, haue found in all ages writers to ſolemniſe and celebrate their Actes and memory, ſuch as neuer knew them, nor were ſubiect vnto them, how much thē are we Engliſh men bound not to forget our duety to king Edward, a Prince although but tender in yeres, yet for his ſage and mature rypeneſſe in witte and all princely ornamentes, as I ſee but few, to whom he may not be equall, ſo agayne I ſee not many, to whome he may not iuſtly bee preferred.

Commendation of K. Edward.

And here to vſe the example of Plutarch in comparing kynges and rulers, the Latines with the Grekes together, if I ſhould ſeeke with whom to match this noble Edward, I finde not with whom to make my match more aptely, thē with good Joſias. For as the one began his reigne at 8. yeares of his age, ſo the other began at 9. Neither were their Actes and zelous proceedinges in Gods cauſe much diſcrepant. For, as milde Joſias plucht downe the hill altars, cut downe the groues, and deſtroyed al monuments of Idolatrie in the temple: the like corruptions, droſſe and deformities of Popiſh Idolatrie crept into the Church of Chriſt of long time, this Euangelicall Joſias Kyng Edward remoued, and purged the true Temple of the Lord. Joſias reſtored the true worſhip of God in Jeruſalem, and deſtroyed the Idolatrous Prieſtes: Kyng Edward in England likewiſe aboliſhing Idolatrous Maſſes and falſe inuocation, reduced agayne religion to a right ſinceritie, & more woulde haue brought to perfection if life and tyme had aunſwered to his godly purpoſe. And though he killed not: as Joſias did, the Idolatrous ſacrificers, yet he put them to ſilence, and remoued them out of their places.

Compariſon betwene K. Joſias and K. Edw. 6.

Moreouer, in kynge Joſias dayes the holy ſcripture and booke of Gods worde was vtterly neglected and caſt aſide, which he moſt graciouſly repayred and reſtored agayn. And dyd not K. Edward the lyke with the ſelfe ſame booke of Gods bleſſed woorde, and with other wholeſome bookes of Chriſtian doctrine, whiche before were decayed and extinguiſhed in his fathers daies by ſharpe lawes and ſeuere puniſhmentes here in England? Briefly in all pointes and reſpectes, betwene him and this our godly kynge no oddes is to be found but onely in length of tyme and reigne. Who if he myght haue reached (by the ſufferaunce of God) to the cōtinuaunce of Joſias reigne: proceding in thoſe beginninges, whiche in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his Actes, & doinges ſome great perfection woulde haue enſued to thys Church and Realme. But the manifold iniquities of Engliſhmen deſerued another plague, as after fell amongeſt vs: as in ſequele of the ſtory hereafter (God willing) ſhalbe declared.

K. Joſias and K. Edward onely differ in continuaunce of raigne.

In the meane tyme, to procede in the excellent vertues of this Chriſtian yong Joſias (as we haue begon) although neither do we know, nor will layſure ſerue vs to ſtand vpō a full deſcription of all his Actes: yet will we (God willing) giue a litle taſte of the noble nature and Princely qualities of this kyng, wherby the reader may eſteme with hym ſelfe what is to be thought of the reſt of his doinges, though they be not here all expreſſed.

K. Edward beloued of his ſubiectes.

The meeke nature of K. Edw.

And firſt to begyn with that whiche is the chiefeſt propertie of all other externe thinges in a prince to be cōſidered, that is, to be loued of his ſubiectes: ſuch were the hartes of all Engliſhe people toward this kynge inclined, and ſo toward him ſtill cōtinued, as neuer came prince in this realme more hyghly eſtemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly & tēderly beloued of all his ſubiects, but eſpecially of ŷ good and the learned ſorte, and yet not ſo much beloued, as alſo admirable by reaſon of his rare towardnes and hope both of vertue and learnyng whiche in him appeared aboue the capacitie of his yeres. And as he was intierly of his ſubiectes beloued, ſo with no leſſe good will he loued them agayne: of nature and diſpoſition meeke, and much inclined to clemencie. Hee alwayes ſpared and fauoured the life of man: as in a certaine diſſertation of his once appeared, had with Maiſter Cheke in fauouryng the life of heretickes: in ſo muche that when Joane Butcher ſhoulde be burned, al the Councell coulde not moue him to put to his hand, but were fayne to get Doct. Cranmer to perſwade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the kyng ſo to do ſaiyng: what my Lordes, will ye haue me to ſend her quicke to the deuil in her error? ſo that D. Cranmer himſelfe confeſſed that he had neuer ſo much to do in all his life, as to cauſe the kyng to put to his hande, ſaying that hee woulde lay all the charge therof vpon Cranmer, before God. There wanted in him no promptnes of witte, grauitie of ſentence, rypenes of iudgment. Fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childhode: Such an organe giuen of god to the Church of England hee was, as Englande had neuer better. Ouer and beſides theſe notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him: adde moreouer ſkill & knowledge of tongues & other ſciences, whereunto hee ſeemed rather borne then brought vp.

K. Edward well ſkilled in the toungues.

The readines of K. Edward to his booke.

Moreouer there wanted not in him to this felicitie of wit and dexteritie of nature, like happines of inſtitutiō and good inſtructours. Neither dyd there lacke agayne in him any diligence to receiue that, whiche they woulde teach hym: in ſo muche that in the middeſt of all his play and recreation, hee would alwaies obſerue and kepe his houre appointed to his ſtudy, vſing the ſame with much intention, till tyme called hym agayne from his booke to paſtime. In this his ſtudye, and keepyng of his houres he dyd ſo profite that D. Cranmer the Archbyſhop then of Canterbury, beholdyng his towardnes, his readines in both tonges, in tranſlatyng from Greke to Latine, from Latin to Greke agayne, in declaming with his ſcholefelowes without helpe of his teachers, and that ex tempore, would wepe for ioye, declaryng to D. Coxe hys ſcholemaiſter, that he would neuer haue thought that to haue bene in hym, except hee had ſeene it hym ſelfe.

D. Cox king Edwardes ſcholemaiſter.

To recite here his witty ſentences, his graue reaſons, which many tymes did procede frō him, and how he woulde ſometymes in a matter diſcourſed by his Counſaile, adde therunto of hys owne mo reaſons and cauſes touchyng the ſaid matter then they themſelues had or could deuiſe, it was almoſt incredible in that age to ſee, and tedious here to proſecute.

This in him may ſeme notorious and admirable, that he in theſe immature yeres, could tell and recite all the portes, hauens and crekes, not within hys owne realme onely, but alſo in Scotland, and likewyſe in Fraunce, what comming in there was, how the tyde ſerued in euery hauen or Creke: moreouer, what burden and what wynd ſerued the cōming into the hauen.

K. Edwarde knew the names & religion of all his Magiſtrates.

Alſo of all his iuſtices, maieſtrates, gentlemen that bare any authoritie within hys realme, he knew the names, their houſekeping, their religion and conuerſation what it was. Few ſermons or none in hys court, eſpecially in the Lord Protectors tyme, but he would be at them. Agayne, neuer was he preſent at any commonly, but he would excerpe thē or note them with hys owne hand.

Beſides and aboue all other notes and examples of hys commendation, as touchyng the chiefeſt point which ought moſt to touch all men, for maintainyng promotyng, preferryng, embraſing, zealing and defendyng the true cauſe and quarel of Chriſtes holy goſpell, what was his ſtudy, hys zealous feruencie, hys admirable conſtancy therin, by thys one example followyng, amongeſt many other, may notably appeare.

The ſingular conſtancie of king Edw. in maintaynyng true religion.

In the dayes of this king Edward the ſixt, Carolus the Emperour made requeſt to the ſaid king and his counſaile to permitte Lady Mary (who after ſucceeded in the crowne) to haue Maſſe in her houſe without preiudice of the law. And the counſaile on a tyme ſitting vpon matters of pollicy, hauyng that in queſtion, ſent Cranmer then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ridley then biſhop of London, to entreat the kyng for the ſame: who cōmyng to his grace alledged their reaſons and perſuaſions for the accompliſhing therof. So the king hearyng what they could ſay, replied hys aunſwer agayne out of the Scriptures, ſo groundedly, grauely, and fully, that they were enforced to geue place to hys replication, and graunt the ſame to be true. Then they, after long debatyng in this maner with his Maieſtie, laboured politikely in an other ſort, and alledged what daungers the denying thereof might bryng to his grace, what breach of amitie of the Emperoures part, what troubles, what vnkyndenes, and what occaſions ſondry wayes it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the kyng aunſwered, willyng them to content themſelues, for he would (he ſaid) ſpēd his lyfe and all he had, rather then to agree and graunte to that he knew certainly to be againſt the truth. The whiche when the Biſhops heard, notwithſtandyng they vrged him ſtill to graunt, and would by no meanes haue his naye. Then the good king ſeyng their importunate ſute, ŷ nedes they would haue his Maieſtie conſent therto, in the end his tender hart burſting out in bitter weping and ſobbing, deſired them to be content. Where at the biſhops themſelues ſeyng the kinges zeale and conſtancy, wept as faſt as he, and toke their leaue of his grace: and commyng from hym, the Archbiſhop tooke maiſter Cheke his Scholemaiſter by the hand, and ſaid: Ah maiſter Cheke, you may be glad all the dayes of your life, that you haue ſuch a Scholer, for he hath more Diuinitie in his little finger, then all we haue in all our bodies. Thus the Lady Maries Maſſe for that tyme was ſtayed.

The zealous hart of king Edward.

The Lady Maries Maſſe ſtayed by the teares of king Edward.

Ouer and beſides theſe heauenly graces and vertues, moſt chiefly to be required in all faythfull and chriſten Maieſtrates which haue gouernaunce of Chriſtes flocke, neyther was he alſo vnprouided of ſuch outwarde giftes and knowledge as appertayne to the gouernaunce of his realme politike. In ſo much that neyther he was inexpert or ignoraunt of the exchaunge and all the circumſtaunces of the ſame touching doynges beyond the ſea, but was as ſkilfull in the practiſes therof, and could ſay as much as the chiefeſt doers in his affaires. Likewiſe in the entertainyng of Embaſſadours, to whom he would geue aunſwer, and that to euery part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard, doyng that in his tender yeres by hymſelfe, whiche many Princes at their mature age ſeldome are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things ŷ per-

K. Edward ſkilfull in the exchaunge.

tayned to Princely affaires, ſo had he a cheſte ſeuerally to hymſelfe for euery yere, for the keping of ſuch recordes and matters, as paſt and were concluded by the Counſaile. Of whome alſo he would require a reaſon and cauſe of euery thing that ſhould paſſe their iudgements. And of this cheſt he would euermore kepe the key about hym. His notes alſo hee cyphred in Greeke letters, to the ende that thoſe that wayted vpon him, ſhould not read nor know what hee had written.

K. Edwardes cheſt for keping of Actes and doings of Counſaile.

He had moreouer great reſpect to iuſtice, and to the diſpatch of poore mens ſutes, would appoynt houres & tymes with maiſter Coxe, then maiſter of hys Requeſtes, how and by what order they might be ſped in their cauſes without long delayes and attendaunce, and ſo alſo debate with hym, that theyr matters might be heard and iudged with equity accordingly.

M. Coxe, Maiſter of Requeſtes.

What Hieronymus Cardanus ſayth of hym cõcerning his knowledge in liberall ſciẽces, I thought here to expreſſe in hys owne wordes, both in latin and engliſh, ſo much the rather, becauſe he ſpeaketh of hys owne experiment, and vpon the preſent talke which he had with the king hymſelfe. The wordes of Cardanus firſt in latine be theſe:

Hier.Card.de Genituris.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat: Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (vt audio) Grecæ, Italicæ, & Hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exactè tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, non Muſica. Humanitas mortalitatis noſtræ imago, grauitas Regiæ maieſtatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In vniuerſum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenij & tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

Ex Hieronym. Cardano in lib. De Genituris.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinè nõ minus quam ego politè & promptè loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum varietate? hos enim nomini Maieſtatis ſuæ dedicaueram. Tum ego Cometarum primum cauſam diu fruſtra quæſitam, in primo capite oſtendo. Quæ nam inquit ille? Concurſus, ego aio, luminis erraticorũ ſyderum. At Rex, quomodo, cum diuerſis motibus aſtra moueantur, non ſtatim diſſipatur aut mouetur eorum motu? At ego, mouetur equidem, ſed longè celerius illis ob diuerſitatem aſpectus, velut in Criſtallo & ſole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parua enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiã. At Rex, & quonam pacto abſque ſubiecto illud fieri poteſt, iridi enim paries ſubiectum eſt? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflexione, cum plures candelæ propè accenſæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex vngue Leonem, vt dici ſolet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque ſuauitatem morum. Prius cæperat fauere artibus quam noſceret, & noſcere antequam vti poſſet. Conatus quidã humanæ conditionis, quem non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis ereptũ immaturè deflere debet. O quam benè dixerat ille:

Immodicis breuis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Vbi grauitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes: vt blandus erat & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negotijs admouebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem æmulabatur. &c. Hæc Cardanus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THere was in him a towardly diſpoſition and pregnancye apt to all humain literature: as who being yet a childe had the knowledge of diuers tongues, firſt of the engliſh his own naturall tongue, of the latine alſo & of the frẽch, neither was he ignorant (as I heare) of the greek, Italian & Spaniſhe tongues, and of other Languages peraduenture moe, In his own, in the French and in the Latin tongue ſingularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receaue all other. Neither was he ignorant in Logike, in the principles of naturall Philoſophy, or in Muſicke. There was in hym lacking neither humanitie the Image of our mortalitie, a Princely grauitie and maieſtie, nor any kind of towardneſſe beſeeming a noble king. Briefly, it might ſeeme a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardnes that appeared in him being yet but a child. This I ſpeake not rhetorically, to amplifie things or to make the more the truth is, yea the truth is more then I doe vtter.

The wordes of Cardanus in the commendatiõ of K. Edward.

Being yet but xv. yeares of age he aſked of me in Latine (in which tongue he vttered his minde no leſſe readely and eloquently than I could do my ſelfe) what my bookes which I had dedicated to him, De varietate rerum, did containe? I ſayd that in the firſt chapter was ſhewed the cauſe of Comets, or blaſing ſtarres, which hath been long ſought for, & yet hetherto ſcarce fully found. What cauſe (ſayd he) is it? The concourſe or meeting (ſayd I) of the light of the wandering Planets and Starres. To this the king thus replied againe: Forſomuch (ſaid he) as the motion of the ſtarres keepeth not one courſe but is diuers and variable by continuall alteration, how is it then that the cauſe of theſe Comets either doth not quickly vade and vaniſhe, or that the Comet doth not keep one certein and vniforme courſe and motion with the ſaid Starres and Planets? Whereunto I aunſwered that the Comet hath his courſe and mouinge, but much more ſwifter then they, becauſe of the diuerſity of aſpect, as we ſe in Chriſtall, and in the Sunne when the forme of the Rainbow reboundeth on the wall. For a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then ſaid the king, and how can that be, hauing no ſubiect? For of ÿ rainbow the wall is the ſubiect. Like (ſayd I) as in Lactea via or in reflection of lightes, as where many candles be lighted & ſet nere together, in the middle they cauſe a certain bright and white lightſomnes to appeare &c.

The cauſe of Comets.

Lactea via is a white & a bright part of the firmament, like a long white cauſe or way appearing in the night among the thicke ſtarres.

And ſo by this little tryall a great geſſe may bee geuen what was in this king. In whom no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongſt all good & learned men, both for the ingenious forwardnes and amiable ſweetnes which in his conditions appeared. Firſt he began to loue & fauour liberal Artes & ſciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could vſe them, whoſe mortall condition and ſodain deceaſe and decay in thoſe tender & vnripe yeres, not onely England, but all the world hath cauſe to lament. O how truely is it ſaid of the Poet,

Thinges that be exceedyng excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A ſhew or ſight onely of excellency he could geue vs: example he could not geue. Where a kingly maieſtie required grauitie, there you ſhould haue ſeene him a ſage and an old man, and yet gentle and pleaſaunt alſo, accordyng as the condiciõ of his age then required. He playd wel vpon the Lute. Hee had alſo to doe in handelinge of weighty affaires of the Realme: He was liberall and bountifull in hart, and therin he imitated his father. &c.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales: veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam Regum decus, & iuuenum flos, ſpeſq; bonorum,
Delitiæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctæq; Mineruæ
Floſculus heu miſerè concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus Muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Reg. Edouardi.

Thus after the godly diſpoſition and properties of thys king briefly in this wiſe declared, now (God willinge) wee will intermeddle ſomething to deſcribe the order and proceadinges which he followed in his adminiſtration and gouernment of both the ſtates, as wel politicke, as eſpecially eccleſiaſticke. Who after the deceaſe of hys Father comminge to the crown, becauſe he was of young and tender age, he was committed to 16. gouernours. Amongeſt whom eſpecially the Lord Edward Seimer Duke of Somerſet his Uncle was aſſigned and adioyned to him as Protectour and ouerſeer of him and of the common wealth, a man not ſo highly aduanced for his conſanguinitye, as alſo for hys noble vertues and eſpecially for his fauour to Gods worde, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the endeuour and induſtry of which man, firſt that monſtruous Hidra with ſ. heades, the ſixe Articles I meane (which deuoured vp ſo many men before) was aboliſhed and take away. By reaſõ whereof the counſels and proceedinges of Winchester began to decay, who ſtormyng at the ſame matter, wrote to the Lord Protectoure in the cauſe thereof, as by his letters is to bee ſeene.

The Lord Edw. Seimer made L. Protectour.

Commendation of the Lord Protectour.

The holy ſcriptures he reſtored to the mother tong, maſſes he extinguiſhed and aboliſhed. Furthermore after ſoller beginninges, by litle and litle, greater thinges followed in ÿ reformation of the Churches. Then ſuch as before were in baniſhment for the daunger of the the truth, were again receiued to their countrey. To be ſhort, a new face of thinges began now to appeare, as it were in a ſtage new players comming in, the old beyng thruſt out. For the moſt parte the biſhops of churches and dioceſſes wer changed. Such as had bene domme prelates before, were compelled to geue place to other then that would preach and take paynes.

Reformation by K. Edward.

Beſides other alſo out of forreine countreis, men of learning and notable knowledge were ſent for and receiued, a-

An 1547

Peter Martyr, Mart. Bucer, Paulus Phagius.

Edm. Boner B. of London committed to the Marſhalſey. Gardiner and Tonſtall committed to the tower.

mong whom was Peter Martyr, Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius. Of whom the firſt taught at Oxford: the other two profeſſed at Cambridge, and that to no ſmale commendation of the whole vniuerſitie. Of the old biſhops ſome were cōmitted to one ward, ſome to an other. Boner Byſhop of London was committed to the Marſhalſey, and eftſoones for his contempt and miſdemeanour depoſed frō his biſhopricke, as in further proceſſe followeth to be ſeene. Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, with Tonſtall Biſhop of Dureſme was caſte into the Tower for his diſobedience, where he kept his Chriſtmas three yeares together, more worthy of ſome other place without the Tower, if it hadde pleaſed God otherwiſe not to haue ment a further plague to this Realme by that man.

But theſe meeke and gentle times of kyng Edward, vnder the gouernment of this noble Protector, haue this one commendation proper vnto them, for that among the whole number of the popiſhe ſorte, of whō ſome priuely dyd ſteale out of the realme, many were crafty diſſemblers, ſome were open and manifeſt aduerſaries, yet of all ỹ multitude, there was not one man that loſt his life. In ſumme, duryng the whole tyme of the .vi. yeares of this kyng much tranquilitye, and as it were a breathing time was graunted to the whole Church of England: So that the rage of perſecution ceaſing and the ſworde taken out of the aduerſaries hand, there was now no daunger to the godlye, vnleſſe it were onely by wealth and proſperitie, whiche many times bringeth more dommage in corruptyng mens myndes, then any time of perſecution or affliction.

Briefly, duryng all this time, nether in Smithfield, nor any other quarter of this realme, any was heard to ſuffer for any matter of religion, either Papiſt or Proteſtant, either for one opinion or other, except onely two, one an Engliſhe woman, called Joan of Kent; and the other a Dutch man, named George, who dyed for certaine Articles not much neceſſary here to be rehearſed.

Tho. Dobbe impriſoned, and in priſon dyed.

Beſides theſe two, there was none els in all kynge Edwardes raigne, that dyed in any maner cauſe of religion, but that one Thomas Dobbe, who in the beginning of this kynges raigne, was apprehended for ſpeakyng agaynſt the idolatrie of the Maſſe and in the ſame priſon dyed: as in ſtorie here enſueth to be ſeene.

Doues as Philoſophers naturally doe write haue no gall.

This Thomas Dobbe beyng a ſtudent and a maiſter of Arte in Cambridge, was brought vp in the Colledge, called S. Johns Colledge, and fellowe of the ſame, where he increaſed in the ſtudy of good letters, among his equales very forward of nature and diſpoſition ſimple and modeſt, of zeale toward God feruēt pacient in iniuries, iniurious to no man, of much lyke ſorte and condition, as in Doues whiche without all bitternes of gall, are more apt to receiue iniury then to worke wrong to any. At length this godly man intendyng with him ſelfe, and addictyng his mynde to the Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony, reſorted to a certayne mayden not farre of where hee dwelt. For the whiche cauſe hee was greatly moleſted, and wickedly abuſed by iij. of that Colledge, whoſe names were Hutchinſon, Pindare, and Tailer, who with their malicious handelyng, ſcornfull dealyng, obprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, ſo much vexed the vertuous ſimplicitie of the mā, that they neuer left hym, tyll at length they werped hym out of the Colledge. Who their hauyng no reſt nor quietens by reaſon of the vnreaſonable and virulent handlyng of his aduerſaries, was compelled to ſeke ſome other place wherin to ſettle himſelfe. Vpon the occaſion wherof comming vp to Lōdon, it chaunced him to paſſe through Paules Church, wheras it happened that at the Southſide of the Churche, at the ſame tyme there was a Prieſt at Maſſe, more buſy then well occupied beyng at the eleuation as hee paſſed by. The young man repleat with godly zeale, pityng the ignoraunce and Idolatry of the people, in honoryng that ſo deuoutly which the prieſt lifted vp, was not able to forbeare, but openyng his mouth and turnyng to the people, hee exhorted them not to honor ỹ viſible bread as god, whiche neither was god, nor yet ordeined of God to be honored. &c. with ſuch other wordes moe of Chriſtian information. For which cauſe ſtraight way he was apprehēded by the Maior, and after accuſed to the biſhop of Canterbury, was committed to the Counter then in Breadſtreete, where, hee not long continued, but fallyng into a ſicknes, how, or whereupon I can not tell, ſhortly vpō the ſame chaunged this mortall life. Whoſe pardon notwithſtandyng was obteyned of the Lord Protector, and ſhoulde haue bene brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concernyng Thomas Dobbe and other.

Ouer and beſides, I finde, that in the firſt yeare of the raygne of Kyng Edward, whiche was an. 1547. there was one John Hume, ſeruaunt to Maiſter Lewnax of wrſell apprehended, accuſed, and ſent vp to the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury, by the ſayd M. Lewnax his Maiſter and Margaret Lewnax his miſtres, for theſe Articles.

1 Firſt, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the altar) to be the reall fleſh and bloud of Chriſt.

2 For ſaying that he woulde neuer vale his bonet vnto it, to be burned therfore.

3 For ſaying that if hee ſhoulde heare Maſſe, he ſhould be damned.

For this was hee ſent vp by his maiſter and miſtres aforeſayd, with ſpeciall letters vnto the Archbyſhop, requiryng him ſeuerally to be puniſhed by the lawe for the ſame. But becauſe I finde no execution followyng thereupon, I therfore paſſe ouer this ſtory of him.

These thinges premiſſed, when this vertuous and godly yong prince (endued as you haue heard with ſpecial graces from God) was now peaceably ſtabliſhed in his kyngdome, and had a counſail about hym graue, wyſe, and zelous in gods cauſe, eſpecially hys vncle the duke of Somerſet, he then moſt earneſtly likewyſe deſired, as wel the aduauncement of the true honour of almighty God, and the plantyng of hys ſincere religion: as alſo the vtter ſuppreſſion and extirpation of all idolatry, ſuperſtition, hypocriſie, and other enormities and abuſes, throughout hys realmes and dominions, and therfore followyng, as is afore expreſſed, the good example of kyng Joſias, he determined forthwyth to enter into ſome reformation of Religion in the Churche of England.

And foraſmuch as at hys firſt entry (notwithſtādyng hys fathers good beginning in aboliſhing the vſurped power of Antichriſt) he yet found moſt of hys lawes greatly repugnyng againſt this his zelous enterpriſe, he therfore purpoſed by the aduiſe of his ſayd wyſe and honourable Counſail, of his owne regall power and authoritie, ſomewhat to proſecute hys godly purpoſe, vntill ſuch tyme as by conſent of the whole eſtate of parliament, he might eſtabliſh a more free, perfect, and vniforme order therin.

Order taken by K. Edw. for reforming of religion.

Learned preachers appointed by K. Edward.

Wherupon intendyng firſt a generall viſitation ouer all the biſhoprikes within hys realme (therby as wel to vnderſtand, as alſo to redreſſe the abuſes in the ſame) he choſe out certayne wiſe learned, diſcrete, and worſhipfull perſonages to be hys Commiſſioners in that behalfe: and ſo diuidyng them into ſeuerall companies, aſſigned vnto them ſeuerall Dioceſſes to be viſited: appointyng likewyſe vnto euerye company, one or two godly learned Preachers, which at euery Seſſion ſhould in their preachyng, both inſtruct the people in the true doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt, and in all loue and obedience to the ſame, and alſo earneſtly dehort them from theyr olde ſuperſtition and wonted Idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this theyr Commiſſion, there were deliuered vnto them certayne Iniunctions and eccleſiaſticall orders drawen out by the kings learned counſayle, the which they ſhould both enquire of, & alſo commaund in hys maieſties behalfe, to be thenceforth obſerued of euery perſon, to whom they did ſeuerally appertayne within their ſondry circuites.

Eccleſiaſticall perſōs muſt preach againſt the popes vſurped power.

In the which, amongſt other thynges, it was firſt enioyned that all Eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould themſelues obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued of others, all ſuch Statutes as were made for the aboliſhyng of the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power, and eſtabliſhyng of the kynges ſupreme authority, and that they ſhould euery one foure tymes in the yeare at the leaſt, in theyr publike ſermons declare vnto the people, that the one beyng moſt arrogantly vſurped againſt the word of God, was now iuſtly taken away, and the other (accordyng to the very true meanyng of the ſame worde) was of moſt loyall duety onely to be obeyed of all hys graces ſubiectes.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Difference betwene workes commaunded of God, and workes deuiſed of mē.

Images abuſed wyth pilgrimage to be deſtroyed.

And agayne, that euery the aforeſayd eccleſiaſticall perſon (hauyng cure) ſhoulde preach, or cauſe to be preached within their ſeuerall cures, one ſermon euery quarter of the yere. In the which they ſhoulde ſincerely ſet forth the worde of God, and exhort the people vnto the workes of fayth & mercy preſcribed in the ſame word, and not vnto workes deuiſed by mans fantaſy, as goyng on pilgrimages and other lyke idolatrous ſuperſtitions: the whiche they ſhoulde alſo to ỹ vttermoſt of their powers reproue and ſpeake agaynſt, declaryng that all grace and goodnes ought onely to be ſought for at gods hād (as the alone geuer therof) and not at any other creature: And that they ſhoulde not onely forthwith take downe and deſtroy all ſuch Images as had bene therefore abuſed by pilgrimage or offeringes within their ſaid cures: but alſo ſhould not thenceforth ſuffer any lightes or other idolatrous oblation to be made or ſet vp before any other image, then was yet ſuffered in the Church.

Alſo that euery holy day (hauyng no Sermon in theyr Church) they ſhould immediatly after the Goſpell diſtinctly read in the Pulpit the Lordes prayer, the beleefe and the

1547.

The x. Commaundementes & the Lordes prayer in Engliſhe, to be read.

Parentes & maſters charged in bringing vp of their children.

x. Commaundementes of almighty God in the Engliſh tongue, exhorting the people not onely to learn them themſelues, but alſo to teach them to their children and families, & alſo ſhould charge all Parentes and gouernours of houſholds to bring vp their youth in ſome good exerciſe or occupation, whereby they might afterwardes ſerue the common wealth, and not runne about like vagabondes and idle loyterers, and thereby incurre the daunger of the lawes.

Sacramentes to be reuerently miniſtred.

And furthermore that the ſayd perſons (hauing cure) ſhould ſee the holy Sacramentes of Chriſt reuerently miniſtred within their cures: and that if any of them (by ſpeciall licence or other caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of the Realme) ſhould be at any time abſent from their benefices, that then they ſhould leaue in their roomes ſome good learned and diſcreete Curate that were able to inſtruct the people in all truth and godlines, not ſeking themſelues, but rather the profit of their flock.

The Bible in Engliſhe of the largeſt volume, to be ſet vp in euery church with the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus.

And likewiſe, that they ſhould ſee prouided and ſet vp in ſome moſt conuenient and open place of euery their ſeuerall Churches, one great Bible in Engliſh, and one book of the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpon the goſpels, both in Engliſhe, that the people might reuerently without any argument or contention, read & heare the ſame at ſuch times as they liſt: and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parſon or Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and prouoked thereto.

Eccleſiaſticall perſons not to haunt Tauernes, or play at vnlawfull games.

And that the ſayd Perſons and Curates ſhould not at any tyme (but for neceſſary cauſes) haunt any tauerne or alehouſe, neyther ſhoulde ſpende theyr tyme idely in vnlawfull games, but at all theyr conuenient leaſures ſhould geue themſelues to the readyng or hearyng of the holye Scriptures.

Moreouer, that in the tyme of confeſſion euery Lent, they ſhould examine theyr pariſhioners whether they coulde ſay the Lordes prayer, the ten commaundementes, and the articles of the Chriſtian fayth: and that if they coulde not, they ſhould then reproue them, declaryng further vnto them that they ought not to preſume to come vnto the Lordes table without the true knowledge thereof, and earneſt deſire to fulfill the ſame.

None to preach but ſufficiently licenſed.

Alſo that they ſhould not admitte any man to preache within their cures, but ſuche as were lawfully licenſed thereunto: and that they hauyng at anye tyme before extolled and prayſed any Idolatrous pilgrimage, or other ſuperſtition, ſhould nowe openly recante the ſame before the people.

That all hinderers of Gods word, & fauourers of the contrary proceedings, ſhould be detected.

And if there were any open hinderer or diſturber of the readyng or preachyng of the worde of God within their pariſhes, that then they ſhould forthwith detect the ſame vnto the kinges counſaile, or vnto ſome Iuſtice of peace to them next inhabityng.

Eccleſiaſticall & beneficed perſons, what they muſt geue to the poore.

Euery benefice of a C. poundes, to finde a ſcholer at the Vniuerſitie.

And further, that learnyng and knowledge might be the better maintayned, it was alſo ordayned herein, that euerye beneficed perſon that mought yearely diſpende twenty poundes or vpwarde (and not Reſident vpon theyr cures) ſhould paye towardes the reliefe of the poore within theyr pariſhes euery yere, the fourty part of their fruites and profites: and likewyſe that euery ſuch as might diſpende one hundreth poundes yerely or more, ſhould for euery hundreth pound geue a competent exhibition vnto ſome poore ſcholer within one of the Vniuerſities of Oxford or Cambridge, or els in ſome other grammer ſchole of the realme.

Certayne thinges to be prouided for of the Churchmen.

And alſo that euery prieſt beyng vnder the degree of a Bacheler of Diuinitie ſhould haue of hys owne, one newe Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin, with the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus vpon the ſame, and ſhould diligently read and ſtudy therupon, and ſhould collect and kepe in memory all ſuch comfortable places of the Scripture, as ſet forth the mercy, benefites, and goodnes of almighty God towardes all penitent and beleuyng perſons, that they might therby comfort their flock in all daunger of death, diſpayre or trouble of conſcience: and that therfore euery biſhop in their viſitatiō ſhould from tyme to tyme try and examine them howe they had profited in theſe their ſtudies.

The Goſpell & Epiſtle to be read in the hearing of the people.

And although the Maſſe was then ſtill by the lawe retayned, yet was it enioyned, that at euery hygh Maſſe the ſayer or ſinger therof ſhould openly and diſtinctly read the Goſpell and Epiſtle in Engliſhe, in the Pulpitte or in ſome other conuenient place that the people mought heare the ſame. And in lyke place and maner ſhould reade euery holyday and Sonday at Mattines one chapter of the newe Teſtament in Engliſh, omittyng therefore three of their 9. Latine Leſſons with their Reſpondes: and at Euenſong lykewiſe immediatly after Magnificat, one chapter of the olde Teſtament in ſteade of their wonted Reſpondes and Memories.

Proceſſions layd downe.

Furthermore, becauſe of the vayne contention that often fell among the people for goyng on Proceſſion, it was enioyned that thenceforth the Prieſtes and Clarkes ſhould kneele in the midſt of the Church, and there diſtinctly ſing or read the Letany in Engliſhe ſet forth by the authoritie of king Henry the eight: and that no perſon ſhoulde depart the Church in the tyme of readyng the Scripture or the Letany, or during the tyme of any Sermon, without iuſt and vrgent cauſe.

The true vſing of the holy day.

Likewyſe that the people ſhould ſpend the holydayes in hearyng the worde of God, in priuate and publike prayers, in knowledgyng their offences vnto God and amendment of the ſame, in reconcilyng themſelues charitably to their neighbours where diſpleaſure hath bene, in often receiuyng the Communion of the body and bloud of Chriſt, in viſiting the poore and ſicke, and in all ſober and godly conuerſation: and not in idlenes, ſlouthe, or dronkennes, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwiſe then in the tyme of harueſt, to ſaue the fruites of the earth if neceſſitie ſo required: and that no Curate ſhould admit vnto the receiuyng of the holy Communion any perſon who had maliciouſly and openly contended with hys neighbour, vnleſſe the ſame did firſt alſo openly reconcile hym ſelfe agayne, and remitte all rancour and malice whatſoeuer.

Diligent preparation to be had before the comming to the Communion.

A godly charge geue to euery beneficed miniſter to preach perſonally twiſe at leaſt in the yeare, & what to preach.

Moreouer it was ordeined that euery Dean, Archdeacon, maſter of Collegiat Churches or Hoſpitals, and Prebendaries (being Prieſt) ſhould hym ſelfe perſonally preach twiſe euery yeare at the leaſt, in ſome ſuche place where they had iuriſdiction and liuing: and that they and all other Curates ſhould teach the people that as no man of any priuate affection ought maliciouſly to violate any ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by the kings authority: ſo likewiſe they ought not on the other ſide to vſe them ſuperſtitiouſly or Idolatrouſly, in attributing to them remiſſion of ſinnes, driuing away of euill ſpirits, and other ſuchlike vanities and fantaſies of men, or els in puttyng any confidence of ſaluation or health in them. And further that they ſhould vtterly take away and deſtroy all Shrines and Monumentes of fayned Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous ſuperſtition, as well in their Churches, as within their priuate houſes.

All monumentes of Idolatry to be taken away out of churches, houſes, & windowes.

A Cheſt to be prouided vpon publike charge to receaue the almes of the poore, & the Curates to call vpon their pariſhioners to geue to the ſame cheſt.

Alſo that they ſhould ſee prouided within their churches a ſtrong and fit cheſt for the ſafe keping of the peoples beneuolence geuen towardes the reliefe of the poore, and that the ſayd Curates ſhould earneſtly exhorte and moue their Pariſhioners (eſpecyally at the makyng of their Teſtamentes) that as they had been therefore willing to beſtow much of their ſubſtance vpon vain ſuperſtitions and blind deuotions contrary to Gods word, ſo now they would be much more readyer to geue ſome portion therof vnto their poore & nedy brethren, knowing the ſame to be not only commaunded in the word of God, but alſo promiſed to be rewarded. And for the better reliefe of the poore it was alſo appointed that all money & profits riſing vpon Fraternities, Guildes, ſtockes of Churches or geuen to the findyng of Idolatrous lightes ſhould be conuerted for that preſent vnto the ſame vſe. Laſt of all, for the want of learned Curates and other good preachers, it was enioyned that the Curates (hauing no ſermō) ſhould euery Sonday read vnto the people in their churches one of the homelies which ſhould be ſhortly ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe by the kings authoritie: ſo that when any homely or ſermō ſhould be preached or read, then the Prime and Houres ſhoulde be omitted.

Homelies to be read euery Sonday when there is no ſermon.

There were alſo diuers other Articles in the ſame Iniunctions appointed for comlines and due order in the churches: as for repairing of Chauncels and Prieſtes houſes, for keeping of a Regiſter booke of weddinges, chriſtenings and burials, for reading of theſe Iniunctions euery quarter, for due paying of tithes, for forbidding of any other alteration of ſeruice in the Church, or faſting dayes, for making of comely Pulpits for the Preachers, for auoyding of Simony in buying and ſelling of benefices, for the charitable vſing of Prieſtes, for praying onely vpon the Engliſh and Latine Primmers ſet forth by K. Henry the eight, for the teaching of his Grammer in the common Schooles. And laſt that the Chauntrye Prieſtes ſhoulde teach yong children, either to write and read, or els ſome other good and profitable exerciſes: as it doth more fully and amplye appeare in the ſame Iniunctions at large ſet forth in the 684. page of the firſt booke of the Actes and Monumentes of the church heretofore imprinted.

Read the former edition of the booke of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 684.

Beſides theſe generall Iniunctions for the whole eſtate of the Realme, there were alſo certaine others particularlye appointed for the Biſhops onely: which being deliuered vnto the Commiſſioners, were likewiſe by them in their viſitations committed vnto the ſayd Biſhops with charge to be inuiolably obſerued and kept vpon payne of the kings maieſties diſpleaſure: the effect whereof is as in maner followeth.

Firſt that they ſhould to the vttermoſt of their power and vnderſtanding, ſee and cauſe all euery and ſingular the kings

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Iniunctions geuen to the Byſhops.

Iniunctions, therfore geuen, or after to bee geuen from time to time, in and through their Dioces, duely, faithfully, and truely to be kept, obſerued and accompliſhed, and that they ſhould perſonally preach within their Dioceſe, euery quarter of a yeare once at yͤ leaſt, that is to ſay once in their Cathedrall Churches, and thriſe in other ſeuerall places of their Dioceſſes, wheras they ſhould ſee it moſt conuenient and neceſſary, except they had a reaſonable excuſe to the cōtrary. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not retain into their ſeruice or houſhold, any Chaplein but ſuch as were learned, or able to preach the word of God, and thoſe they ſhoulde alſo cauſe to exerciſe the ſame.

Moreouer, that they ſhould not geue Orders to any perſon, but to ſuch as were learned in holy Scripture: neither ſhould deny them that were learned in the ſame, being of honeſt conuerſation and liuing. And laſt, that they ſhoulde not at any time or place preach or ſet forth vnto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and entent conteined and ſet forth in the kings highnes Homelies, neither yet ſhould admitte or geue licence to preache to any within their Dioceſſes, but to ſuch as they ſhould know (or at the leaſt aſſuredly truſt) would doe the ſame. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proued, they ſhould perceiue the contrary, they ſhould then incontinente not onely inhibite that perſon ſo offendinge, but alſo puniſhe him and reuoke their licence.

Now duringe the time that the Commiſſioners were occupied abroad in their circuites about the ſpeedy and diligent execution of theſe godly and zelous orders and decrees of the king and his Counſel, his maieſty (with the aduiſe of the ſame) yet ſtill deſiring a farther reformation as well in this caſe of Religiō, as alſo in ſome others of his Ciuill gouernment, appointed a parlament of the three eſtates of his Realme to be ſummoned againſt the 4. day of Nouember, in the firſte yeare of his raigne and the yeare of our Lorde, 1547. which continued vnto the 24. day of December then next following. In the which Seſſion, forasmuche as his highnes minded the gouernaunce and order of his people to be in perfect vnitie and concord in all thinges, and eſpecially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithall alſo duely wayed the great daunger that his louing Subiectes were in for confeſſing the goſpell of Chriſte, through many and diuers cruell ſtatutes made by ſundry his predeceſſors, againſt the ſame (which being ſtill left in force mought both cauſe yͤ obſtinate to contemne his graces godly proceedings, and alſo the weake to be fearfull of their chriſtianlike profeſſion) he therfore cauſed it among other thinges by the authoritie of the ſame Parlament to be enacted, that all Actes of Parlament and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning religion or opinions, that is to ſay (as well the ſtatute made in the firſt yeare of the reign of kinge Richard the ſecond, and the ſtatute made in the ſecond yere of the reigne of king Henry the fifte, and the ſtatute made in the 25. yere of the raign of king Henry 8. concerning puniſhment and reformation of hereticks and Lollardes, and euery prouiſion therin conteined, and the Statutes made for the aboliſhment of diuerſitie of opinions in certayne Articles concerning Chriſtian religion commonly called the 6. Articles, made in the 31. yeare of the reigne of king Henry 8. & alſo the ſtatute made in the Parliament begon the 16. day of January in the 33. yere of the reigne of the ſayd king Henry the 8. and after proroged vnto the 21 day of January in the 34. yeare of his ſayd raigne, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning bookes of the olde and new Teſtament in Engliſh, and the printing, vttering, ſelling, geuing, or deliuering of bookes or writinges, and retayning of engliſhe bookes or writinges, and reading preaching, teaching, or expounding the ſcriptures, or in any wiſe touching, mentioning or concerning any of the ſayd matters: And alſo one other ſtatute made in the 35. yeare of the Raigne of the ſayd king Henry 8. concerning the qualification of the Statute of the ſixe Articles, and all and euery other act or acts, of Parliament concerning doctrine or matters of religion, and all and euery braunch, article, ſentence, matter, paynes, or forfaitures contained, mencyoned, or in any wiſe declared in any of the ſame Actes or Statutes) ſhould from thenceforth be vtterly repealed, made voyde, and of none effect.

A Parlament called in the firſt yeare of kyng Edward.

Statut. an. 1. Reg. Edwardi. 6. Cap. 12

The ſtatute made An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. An. 2. Reg. Henr. 5 An. 25. Reg. Henr. 8 Item. An. 31. Henr. 8 An. 34 Henr. 8 An. 35. Hen. 8. repealed.

Item note for the ſtatute, An. 2. Reg. Henr. 4. cap. 15 becauſe that ſtatute was repealed by an eſtatute made 25. an. Henr. 8. therfore the ſame is here omitted.

The bloudy ſtatute of the 6. Articles repealed.

By occaſion whereof, as well all ſuch his godly ſubiects as were then ſtill abiding within this Realme, had free liberty publickly to profeſſe the Goſpel: as alſo many learned and zealous preachers (before baniſhed) were now both licenſed freely to returne home agayne, and alſo encouraged boldly and faithfully to trauell in their function and calling, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreouer in the ſame Seſſion his maieſtie with the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the ſame Parliament aſſembled, throughly vnderſtandyng by the iudgement of the beſt learned, that it was more agreable vnto the firſt inſtitution of the ſacrament of the moſt precious body and bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt, and alſo more conformable to the common vſe and practiſe both of the Apoſtles, and of the primatiue Churche by the ſpace of fiue hundreth yeares and more after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, that the ſaide holy Sacrament ſhoulde bee miniſtred vnto all Chriſten people vnder both the kyndes of bread and wyne, then vnder the fourme of bread onely, and alſo that it was more agreable vnto the ſayd firſt inſtitution of Chriſt and the vſage of the Apoſtles and primatiue Church, that the people beyng preſent ſhould receaue the ſame with the prieſt then that the prieſt ſhould receyue it alone: did by their authoritie moreouer enacte, that the ſayde holy Sacrament ſhould be from thenceforth commonly deliuered and miniſtred vnto the people throughout the churches of England and Ireland and other the kinges dominions vnder both the kyndes of bread and of wyne, except neceſſitie otherwyſe required: and alſo, that the Prieſt that ſhoulde miniſter the ſame ſhould at the leaſt one day before, exhorte all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewyſe to reſort and prepare thē ſelues to receiue the ſame. And at yͤ day prefixed, after ſome godly exhortation made by the miniſter (wherin ſhoulde be further expreſſed the benefite and comfort promiſed to them which worthely receiue this holy Sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them whiche preſume to receiue the ſame vnworthely, to the ende that euery man might try and examine hys owne conſcience before he ſhould come therunto) the ſayd Miniſter ſhoulde not without a lawfull cauſe denye the ſame to anye perſone that would deuoutly and humbly deſire it; any lawe, Statute, ordinaunce, or cuſtome, contrary therunto in any wyſe notwithſtandyng.

The Communiō vnder both kindes.

After whiche moſt godly conſent of the Parlament, the kyng beyng no leſſe deſirous to haue the fourme of adminiſtration of the Sacrament truely reduced to the right rule of the ſcriptures and firſt vſe of the primatiue churche, then he was to eſtabliſhe the ſame by the authoritie of his owne regall lawes appointed certayne of the moſt graue and beſt learned Byſhops and others of his Realme, to aſſemble together at his Caſtle of Windſor, ther to argue and entreate vpon this matter, and conclude vpon and ſet foorth one perfecte and vniforme order accordyng to the rule and vſe aforeſayd.

The aſſembly of Byſhops and others at Windſore.

And in the meane while that the learned were thus occupyed about their conferences, the Lorde Protector and the reſt of the kynges Councell farther remembryng that that time of the yeare dyd then approch, wherin were practiſed many ſuperſtitious abuſes and blaſphemous ceremonies againſt the glory of God, and truth of his worde (determining the vtter aboliſhing therof) directed their letters vnto the godly and reuerende father Thomas Cranmer, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Metropolitane of England, requiring him, that vppon the receite therof he ſhoulde will euery biſhop within his Prouince, forthwith to geue in charge vnto all the Curates of their Dioceſſes, that neither candels ſhoulde bee any more borne vppon Candlemas day, neither yet aſhes vſed in Lent, nor Palmes vpon palm Sonday.

Candles not to be borne on Candlemas day.

Wherevpon the Archbiſhop zealouſly fauouryng their good and Chriſtianlyke purpoſe of the kyng and his Counſell, dyd immediatly in that behalfe wryte vnto all the reſt of the Byſhops of his prouince, and amongeſt them vnto Edmond Boner then biſhop London. Of whoſe rebellious and obſtinate contumacie, for that we haue hereafter more to ſaye, I thought not to ſtand longe hereupon, but onely by the waye ſomewhat to note his former diſſimulation and cloked hipocriſie in that hee outwardly at the firſt conſented as well vnto this, as alſo vnto all other the kynges proceedynges (but whether of feare or of anye other ſubtile fetch, I knowe not, howbeit moſt lyke, rather for one of them or both, then for any true loue.) And therefore receiuyng the Archbyſhops letters as one then ſeeming to allow the contentes therof, he dyd preſently write vnto the biſhop of weſtminſter, & to others, to whom he was appointed, requiryng them to geue ſuche knowledge thereof in their dioceſſes, as therunto appertayned: as more playnely appeareth by theſe his owne letters here inſerted whiche here do follow.

Aſhes forbidden on Aſhe wedenſday.

Edm. Boner.

¶ A letter miſſiue of Edmund Boner ſent to the Byſhop of Weſtminſter, with the tenour of the Archbyſhops letter, for aboliſhyng of Candles, Aſhes, Palmes, and other Ceremonies.

MY very good Lord, after my moſt harty commendations, theſe bee to aduertiſe your good Lordſhippe that my

Boners letter for the aboliſhyng of Aſhes, Palmes, &c.

Lord of Caunterburies grace this preſent 28. day of Ianuary ſent vnto me his letters miſſiue, conteynyng this in effect: that my Lord Protectoures Grace with the aduiſe of other the kings maieſties moſt honourable Counſaile, for certayn conſiderations them mouing, hath fully reſolued that no candles ſhalbe borne vpon Candlemas day, nor alſo from henceforth Aſhes or Palmes vſed any longer, requiryng me thereupon by his ſayde letters, to cauſe admonition and knowledge thereof to bee geuen vnto your Lordſhippe and other Byſhops with celeritie accordyngly. In conſideration whereof I doe ſende at this preſente theſe letters vnto your ſayde Lordſhip, that you therupon may geue knowledge and aduertiſement thereof within your Dioceſſe as appertayneth. Thus committyng your good Lordſhip to almightye God, as well to fare as your good harte can beſt deſire. Written in haſte at my houſe in London, the ſayde xxviij. daye of Ianuary. 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to commaund Edmund London.

Contention amongeſt the people for Images.

Nowe about that preſent tyme credible and certayne report was made vnto the Lordes of the counſaile, that great contention and ſtrife dyd dayly ariſe among the common people in diuers partes of this Realme, for the pullyng downe and takyng away of ſuch Images out of the Churches as had ben idolatrouſlye abuſed by pilgrimage, offeryngs, or otherwiſe (accordyng to the tenure of one of the Iniunctions geuen by the kynge in his late viſitation) ſome affirmyng that that image was abuſed, others that this, & moſt, that neither of them both: ſo that if ſpeedy remedy were not had therin, it mought turne to farther inconuenience. Wherfore they, by one aduiſe thinking it beſt (of good experience) for the auoydyng of all diſcord and tumult, that all maner Images ſhoulde be cleane taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remayne, did therupon agayn wryte their letters vnto the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, requiring his readye ayde therin: in maner followyng.

¶ An other Letter of the Counſell ſent to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury for the aboliſhing of Images.

Letters ſent the Counſell for aboliſhing of Images, to the Archb. of Canterb.

After our right harty commendations to your good Lordſhippe, where now of late in the Kynges Maieſties Viſitations, among other godly Iniunctions commaunded to bee generally obſerued thorough all partes of this his hyghnes Realme, one was ſet forth for the takyng downe of all ſuch Images as had at any tyme bene abuſed with Pilgrimages, offeringes or cenſinges: albeit that this ſayde Iniunction hathe in manye partes of the Realme bene quietlye obeyed and executed, yet in manye other places muche ſtriſe and contention hath riſen, and daylye riſeth, and more and more encreaſeth about the execution of the ſame: ſome men beyng ſo ſuperſtitious, or rather wilfull, as they woulde (by theyr good willes) retayne all ſuch Images ſtill, although they haue bene moſt manifeſtly abuſed. And in ſome places alſo the Images which by the ſayd Iniunctions were taken downe, be now reſtored and ſet vp agayne. And almoſt in euery place is contention for Images, whether they haue bene abuſed or not. And whiles theſe men go on both ſides contentiouſly to obtaine their myndes, contendying whether this Image, or that Image hath bene offered vnto, kiſſed, cenſed, or otherwiſe abuſed, partes haue in ſome places bene taken, in ſuch ſorte, (as further inconuenience is lyke to enſue, if remedy be not founde in tyme. Conſideryng therefore that almoſt in no place of this Realme is any ſure quietneſſe, but where al Images be cleane taken away, and pulled downe already, to the intent that all contention in euery part of the Realme for this matter, may be cleerely taken away, and that the liuely Image of Chriſt ſhould not contēd for the deade Images, which be thynges not neceſſary, and wythout which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſte godly many yeares, we haue thought good to ſignifie vnto you that his highnes pleaſure, with the aduiſe and conſent of vs the Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the Counſayle, is, that immediately vppon the ſight hereof, with as conuenient diligence as you may, you ſhall not onely geue order that all the Images remaynyng in any Church or chappell within your Dioceſſe be remooued and taken away, but alſo by your letters ſignifie vnto the reſt of the Byſhoppes within your Prouince, this his hyghneſſe pleaſure for the lyke order to be geuen by them, and euery of them within theyr ſeuerall Dioceſſe. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the reſt of the ſayde Byſhoppes to vſe ſuch foreſight as the ſame may be quietly done, with as good ſatiſfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhip hartely well. From Somerſet place, the xi. of February. 1548.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louyng frendes.

Edw. Somerſet.
Hen. Arundel
Anth. Wingfield.

Iohn Ruſſell.
Tho. Seimer.
Wil. Paget.

The Archbiſhop wryteth to Boner.

When the Archbyſhop had receiued theſe letters, he forthwith directed his precept vnto Boner Byſhop of London, requiryng, and in the kynges Maieſties name commaundyng hym, that with all ſpede he ſhould aſwel geue in charge vnto the reſt of the Byſhops within the Prouince of Caunterbury, to looke immediatly without delaye vnto the diligent & careful execution of the contentes of the ſayd letter throughout all places of their Dioceſſes: as alſo that he him ſelfe ſhould doe the like within his owne Citie and Dioceſſe of London. Wherupon he, ſeemyng then wyth lyke outworde conſent as before, to allowe theſe voyages, preſently (by vertue of the ſayde precepte) did ſend out his Mandatum aſwell vnto the reſt of the Byſhops, as alſo agayne vnto the Byſhop of Weſtminſter in forme followyng.

The letter of Edmund Boner ſent with the Archbiſhops Mandate, to the Biſhop of Weſtminſter for aboliſhyng of Images.

Boners letter to the byſhop of Weſtminſter, for aboliſhing of Images.

Edmundus permiſſione diuina London. Epiſcopus per illuſtriſſimum in Chriſto principem & dominum noſtrum, dominum Edwardum ſextum Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Regem, fidei defenſorem & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hybernicæ ſupremum caput, ſufficienter & legitime autoriſatus. Reuerendo in Chriſto confratri noſtro domino Thomæ eadem permiſſione Weſtm. Epiſcopo, ſalutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reuerendiſſimi in Chriſto patris & domini D. Thomæ, permiſſione diuina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopi totius Angliæ primatis & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum miſſarum clariſſimorum & prudentiſſimorum dominorum de priuatis conſilijs dicti illuſtriſſimi domini Regis in ſe continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reuerentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in hæc verba: Thomas permiſſione diuina Cant. &c. And then makyng a full recitall as well of the Archbiſhops precepte, as alſo of the Counſels letters aboue ſpecified, he concluded wyth theſe wordes. Quocirca nos Edmund. Epiſc. antedictus, Literis prædictis, pro noſtro officio obtēperare, vti decet, ſummopere cupientes, veſtræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, ac præfatorum clariſſimorum dominorum de priuatis ſuis conſilijs, quàm prædicti Reuer. patris domini Cant. Archiepiſcopi, tenore præſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter conſideratis Literarum huiuſmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, iuxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem cum omni qua poteritis celeritate accōmoda, per totam Dioceſ. veſtram Weſt. debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuretis. Datum in ædibus noſtris London. viceſimo die Februarij. Anno domini. 1548. Et regni dicti illuſtriſſimi domini noſtri Regis. Anno ſecundo.

An vniforme order of the Communion.

Now by the tyme that theſe thinges were thus determined, the learned men, whiche the kyng had appointed (as ye haue heard before) to aſſemble together for the true and right maner of adminiſtering the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Chriſt accordyng to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and firſt vſage of the primitiue Churche, after their long, learned, wyſe, and deliberate aduiſes, dyd finally conclude & agree vppon one godly and vniforme order of receiuyng the ſame, not much differyng from the maner at this preſent vſed and authoriſed within this realme and Church of England, commonly called the Communion. Which agreement beyng by them exhibited vnto the kyng, & of him moſt gladly accepted, was thereupon publickly Imprinted, and by his maieſties Counſell particularly diuided and ſent vnto euery Biſhop of the Realme, requiryng and commaundyng the by their letters on the kings Maieſties behalfe, that both they in their owne perſons ſhoulde forthwith haue a diligent and carefull reſpecte to the due execution thereof, and alſo ſhoulde with all diligence cauſe the bookes which they then ſent them to be deliuered vnto euery Parſon, Vicare, and Curate within their Dioceſſe, that they likewiſe might well and ſufficiently aduiſe them ſelues for the better diſtribution of the ſayde Communion (accordyng to the tenour of the ſayd booke) agaynſt the feaſt of Eaſter the next enſuing: as more fully appeareth by theſe their letters here followyng.

Letters miſſiue from the Counſaile to the Byſhoppes of the Realme, concernyng the Communion to be miniſtred in both kyndes.

The Communiō in both kyndes to be miniſtred.

AFter our moſt harty commendations to your Lordſhippe, where in the Parliament late holden at Weſtminſter, it was amōgſt other things moſt godly eſtabliſhed that accordyng to the firſt inſtitution and vſe of the primatiue Church, the moſt holy Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt ſhould be diſtributed to the people vnder the kyndes both of bread and wyne (accordyng to the effect wherof, the kynges Maieſtie myndyng, with the aduice and conſent of the Lord Protectors grace and the reſt of the Counſaile to haue the ſayd Statute well executed in ſuch ſorte, or lyke as it is agreable with the worde of God, ſo the ſame may be alſo faythfully and reuerently receiued of hys moſt louyng ſubiectes to their comfortes and wealth) hath cauſed ſondry of hys maieſties moſt graue and well learned Prelates and other learned men in the Scriptures, to aſſemble themſelues for this matter: who after long conference together, haue with deliberate aduiſe, finally agreed vppon ſuch an order to be vſed in all places of the kinges maieſties dominions in the diſtribution of the ſayde moſt holy Sacrament, as may appeare to you by the booke therof, which we ſend herewith vnto you. Albeit knowyng your Lordſhips knowledge in the Scriptures and earneſt good will and zeal to the ſetting forth of all thinges accordyng to the truthe therof, we be well aſſured, you will of your owne good wil and vpon reſpect to your duety diligently ſet forth, this moſt godly order here agreed vpon and commaunded to be vſed by the authoritie of the kyngs maieſtie: yet remembryng the crafty practiſe of the deuill, who ceaſeth not by his members to worke by all wayes and meanes, the hynderaunce of all godlynes, and conſidering furthermore that a great number of the Curates of the Realme, either for lacke of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mynd will not be ſo redy to ſet forth the ſame, as we would wiſh and as the importance of the matter and their owne bounden dueties requireth, we haue thought good to pray and require your Lordſhip, and neuertheles in the kings maieſties our moſt dread ſoueraign Lordes name to commaund you to haue an earneſt diligēce and carefull reſpect both in your owne perſon, and by all your officers and Miniſters, alſo to cauſe theſe bookes to be deliuered to euery Perſon, Vicar, and Curate within your Dioces, with ſuch diligence as they may haue ſufficient time well to inſtruct and aduiſe themſelues, for the diſtribution of the moſt holye Communion accordyng to the order of this booke, before this Eaſter tyme, and that they may by your good meanes be well directed to vſe ſuch good, gentle and charitable inſtruction of their ſimple and vnlearned pariſhners, as may be to all their good ſatiſfactions as much as may be, praying you to conſider, that this order is ſet forth to the intent there ſhould be in all partes of the Realme and among all men, one vniforme maner quietly vſed. The execution wherof, like as it ſhal ſtand very much in the diligēce of you and others of your vocatiō: ſo do we eftſoones require you to haue a diligent reſpect thereunto, as ye tender the kings maieſties pleaſure, and will aunſwer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordſhip right hartily farewell. Frō Weſtminſter the 13. of March. 1548.

Your Lordſhips louyng frendes.

Tho. Canterbury.
R. Rich.
W. Saint Iohn.
Iohn Ruſſell.
Hen. Arundel

Anth. Wingfield.
W. Peter.
Edward North.
Ed. Wootton.

By meanes as well of this letter and the godly order of the learned, as alſo of the ſtatute and act of Parliament before mencioned, made for the ſtabliſhyng thereof all priuate blaſphemous Maſſes were nowe by iuſt authoritye fullye aboliſhed throughout this realme of England, & the right vſe of the Sacrament of the moſt precious bodye and bloud of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſte truely reſtored in ſtede of the ſame. But neuertheles, as at no time any thing cā be ſo wel done of the godly, but that the wicked will find ſome meanes ſubtilly to deface the ſame: ſo likewiſe at this preſēt through the peruerſe obſtinacy and diſſemblyng frowardnes of many the inferiour Prieſtes and Miniſters of the Cathedrall and other Churches of this realme, there dyd aryſe a merueilous ſchiſme and varietie of faſhions in celebratyng the common ſeruice and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche. For ſome zealouſly allowyng the kynges procedynges dyd gladly follow the order therof, and others, though not ſo willyngly admittyng them, dyd yet diſſemblyngly and patchingly vſe ſome part of them: but many careleſly cōtemning all: would ſtill exerciſe their old wonted popery.

Priuie hinderers of the Goſpell.

Diuiſion among the prieſtes about the kinges proceedinges.

Whereof the kyng and his Counſel hauyng good intelligence, and fearyng the great inconueniences and daungers that might happen through thys diuiſion, and beyng therewithall loth at the firſt to vſe any great ſeueritye towardes his ſubiectes, but rather deſirous by ſome quiet and godlye order to bryng them to ſome conformitie, dyd by their priuate aduiſes agayne appoint the archbyſhop of Canterbury with certayne of the beſt learned and diſcrete Byſhops and other learned men, diligently to conſider and ponder the premiſſes: and thereupon hauyng aſwell an eye and reſpecte vnto the moſt ſincere and pure chriſtian religion taught by the holy ſcriptures, as alſo to ye vſages of the primatiue church to drawe and make one conuenient and meete order, rite, and faſhion of common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, to be had and vſed within this his realm of England, and the dominions of the ſame. Who after moſt godly and learned conferences, through the ayde of the holy Ghoſt with one vniforme agreement dyd conclude, ſet forth, and deliuer vnto the kynges highnes, a booke in Engliſh intituled: A booke of the common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other rites & ceremonies of the church after the vſe of the Churche of England. The which his highnes receiuyng with great comfort & quietnes of minde dyd forthwith exhibite vnto the Lordes and Commons of the Parliament then aſſembled at Weſtminſter, about the fourth of Nouember, in the ſecond yeare of his raigne and in the yeare of our Lord. 1548. & continuing vnto the. xiiij. day of March then next enſuing.

One vniforme order of Common prayer.

A Parliament aſſembled the 2. yeare of K. Edw.

1548.

Whereupon the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons of that ſayd Parliament aſſembled well and throughly conſideryng aſwell the moſt godly trauayle of the kynges highnes, of the Lorde Protector, and other of his Maieſties Counſaile, in gatheryng together the ſaid Archbiſhop Byſhops, and other learned men as the godlye prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the ſayde booke mentioned, with the conſideration of alteryng thoſe things which were altered and retaynyng thoſe thynges which were retayned in the ſame booke: as alſo the honour of God, and great quietnes, which by the grace of God, ſhoulde enſue vppon that one and vniforme rite and order in ſuch cōmon prayer, rites, and externe ceremonies to bee vſed throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the ſame: did firſt geue vnto hys highnes moſte lowly & harty thankes for the ſame, and then moſt humbly prayed hym that it might be ordeyned and enacted by his Maieſtie with the aſſent of the ſayd Lordes and commons in that Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, that not onely all and ſingular perſon and perſons that had theretofore offended concernyng the premiſſes (others then ſuch as were then remaynyng in warde in the Tower of London, or in the Fleete) might be pardoned therof but alſo that all and ſingular Miniſters in any Cathedrall or Pariſhe Churches or other places within the Realme of England, Wales Calice, and the marches of the ſame, or other the kynges dominions, ſhould from and after the Feaſt of Pentecoſt next commyng be bounden to ſaye and vſe the Mattynes, Euenſong, celebration of the Lordes Supper and adminiſtration of ech of the Sacramentes, and all other common and open prayer, in ſuch order and forme as was mencioned in the ſayd boke & none other or otherwiſe. And albeit that they were ſo godly and good that they gaue occaſion vnto euery honeſt and conformable man moſt wyllyngly to embraſe them, yet leaſt any obſtinate perſons who willingly woulde diſturbe ſo godly an order & quiet in this realme ſhould not go vnpuniſhed, they farther requeſted, that it might be ordeyned and enacted by the authoritye aforeſayde, that if any maner of perſon, Vicar, or other what ſo euer Miniſter that ought or ſhould ſay or ſing common prayer, mencioned in the ſayde booke or Miniſter the Sacramentes, ſhould after the ſaid feaſt of Pentecoſt the next commyng, refuſe to vſe the ſaid common prayer, or to Miniſter the Sacramentes in ſuche Cathedrall or Pariſh churches, or other places as he ſhould vſe or miniſter the ſame, in ſuche order and forme as they were mencioned, and ſet forth in the ſayd booke: or ſhoulde vſe wilfully and obſtinatly ſtanding in the ſame, any other rite, ceremonie, order, forme, or maner of Maſſe, openly, or priuilye, or Mattynes, Euenſong, adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, or other open prayer then was mencioned and ſet forth in the ſayde booke: or ſhould preache, declare, or ſpeake any thyng in the derogation, or deprauyng of the ſayde booke, or any thyng therin conteyned, or of any parte thereof, and ſhould be thereof lawfully conuicted accordyng to the lawes of this realme by verdict of xij. men, or by hys owne confeſſion, or by the notorious euidence of the facte, ſhoulde looſe and forfeyte vnto the kynges highneſſe hys heyres and ſucceſſours, for his firſt offence one whole yeres profite

Statut. an. 2. 3. Reg. Edou. cap. 1.

Petition of the Lords & Cōmons in the Parliament to the kyng.

Penaltie.

proſite of ſuch one of hys benefices or ſpirituall promotions as it ſhould pleaſe the kings highnes to aſſigne and appoint, and alſo for the ſame offence ſhould ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of ſixe monthes, without bayle or maynpriſe. But if any ſuch perſon, after hys firſt conuiction, ſhould eftſones offend agayne, and be therof in forme aforeſayd lawfully cōuicted, then he ſhould for his ſecond offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of one whole yeare, and ſhould alſo be depriued Ipſo facto, of all hys ſpirituall promotions for euer, ſo that it ſhould be lawful for the patrons and Donors therof to geue the ſame agayne vnto any other learned man, in lyke maner as if the ſaid partie ſo offending were dead. And if any the ſayd perſon or perſones ſhould agayne the third tyme offend, and be therof in forme aforeſayde lawfully conuicted, thē he ſhould for the ſame iij. offence ſuffer impriſonment duryng his lyfe. If any ſuch perſon or perſons aforeſayd, ſo offending, had not any benefice or ſpirituall promotion, that then he ſhould for his firſt offence ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of vj. monethes without bayle or maynpriſe, and for his ſecond offence, impriſonmēt during his life. Which requeſt or rather actuall agreement of the Lordes and commons of the Parliament beyng once vnderſtood of the kyng, was alſo ſoone ratified and confirmed by his regall conſent and authoritie, and therupon the ſayd booke of common prayer was preſently Imprinted, and commaunded to bee exerciſed throughout the whole Realme and dominions therof, according to the tenure and effect of the ſaid Statute.

Lawes and conſtitutiōs againſt prieſtes mariage debarred.

Moreouer in the ſame Seſſion of the ſayd Parliament, it was enacted and eſtabliſhed by the authoritie therof: that for as much as great, horrible, and not to be reherſed inconueniences had from tyme to tyme riſen amongſt the prieſts, miniſters, and other officers of the Clergy through their cōpelled chaſtitie, and by ſuch lawes as prohibited thē the godly and lawfull vſe of mariage: that therefore all and euery law and lawes poſitiue, canons, conſtitutions and ordinances, therefore made by the authoritie of man onely, whiche did prohibite or forbid mariage to any eccleſiaſticall or ſpiritual perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, condition or degree ſo euer they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by Gods law may lawfully mary, in all and euery article, braunch and ſentence concernyng onely the prohibition for the mariage of the perſons aforeſayd, ſhould be vtterly voyd and of none effect. And that all maner of forfaytures, paynes, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the ſaid lawes conteyned, and of the ſame did follow, concerning the prohibition for the mariage of the ſayde Eccleſiaſticall perſons, ſhould be thenceforth alſo clearely and vtterly void, fruſtrate, and of none effect. By occaſion whereof it was thenceafter right lawfull for any Eccleſiaſticall perſon, not hauyng the gift of chaſtitie, moſt godly to lyue in the pure & holy eſtate of matrimony, according to the lawes and word of God.

Mariage of prieſtes ſet free.

Edmund Boner Byſhop of London.

But if the firſt Iniunctions, ſtatutes, and decrees of the Prince were of many but ſlenderly regarded, with muche leſſe good affection were theſe (eſpecially the booke of common prayer) of diuers now receiued: yea, and that of ſome of them, which had alwayes before in outward ſhew willingly allowed the former doyngs, as appeareth moſt plainely (amongſt others) by Boner the Biſhop of London. Who although by his former letters and other mandates, he ſemed hitherto to fauour all the kinges procedings: yet dyd he at that preſent (notwithſtanding both the firſt ſtatute for the ſtabliſhing of the Communion, and the aboliſhyng of all priuate Maſſes, and alſo this Statute of the ratifying and confirming of the booke of Common prayer) ſtil ſuffer ſundry idolatrous priuate maſſes of peculiar names (as ỷ apoſtles maſſe, the Ladye Maſſe and ſuch lyke) to bee daily ſolemnly ſong within certaine particular Chappels of hys cathedral church of Paules, cloking them with the names of the apoſtles communion, and our ladies communion, not once finding any fault therwith, vntil ſuch time as the lords of the counſall hauyng intelligence therof, were fain by their letters to commaund hym to loke better therunto. And thē beyng therwith ſomewhat pricked forwards (perhappes by feare) he was content to direct hys letters vnto the Deane and Chapter of hys cathedral church of Paules, therby requeſtyng thē forthwith to take ſuch order therin, as the tenure of the counſails ſayd letters therwithall ſent vnto thē, did import. Which both two letters I haue, for the more credite, here followyng inſerted.

A letter directed from the kinges Counſail to Edmund Boner B. of London, for abrogating of priuate Maſſes, namely the Apoſtles Maſſe, within the church of S. Paul, vſed vnder the name of the Apoſtles Communion.

An other letter to Boner for abrogating priuate Maſſes.

The Apoſtles Maſſe put downe in Paules.

AFter harty commendation: hauing very credible notes, that within that your cathedrall Church there be as yet the Apoſtles maſſe, and our Ladies maſſe, and other maſſes of ſuch peculiar name, vnder the defence and nomination of our Ladies communion, and the Apoſtles communion, vſed in priuate chappels and other remote places of the ſame, & not in the Chauncell, contrary vnto the kynges Maieſties proceedinges, the ſame being for the miſuſe diſpleaſing to God, for the place of Paules in example not tolerable, for the fondnes of the name, a ſcorne to the reuerence of the Communion of the Lords body and bloud: we for our augmentation of Gods glory and honour, and the conſonancie of his Maieſties lawes, and the auoyding of murmure, haue thought good to will and commaunde you, that frō henceforth no ſuch Maſſes in this maner be in your Church any longer vſed, but that the holy bleſſed Communion, according to the acte of Parliament, be miniſtred at the high aultar of that Church, and in no other places of the ſame, and onely at ſuch tyme as your high Maſſes were wont to be vſed, except ſome number of people deſire for their neceſſary buſines to haue a communion in the mornyng, and yet the ſame to be executed in the Chauncell at the high aulter, as it is appointed in the booke of the publicke ſeruice, without cautele or digreſſion from the commō order. And herein you ſhall not onely ſatiſfie our expectation of your conformitie in all lawfull thinges, but alſo auoyde the murmure of ſundry that be therwith iuſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip hartely farewell. From Richmond the 24. of Iune. an. 1549.

Your louing friendes

E. Somerſet. R. Rich Chan.
W. Saint Iohn. Fra. Shrowſbury.
Ed. Mountague. W. Cecill.

❡ To my right worſhipfull frendes and moſt louing good brethren, Maiſter Deane of Paules, with all the Canons, Reſidentiaries, Prebendaries, Subdeanes & Miniſters of the ſame, and euerych of them with ſpeede.

Boners letter to the Deane and Chapter of Paules.

RIght worſhipfull, wyth moſt harty commendations. So it is this Wenſday the xxvi. of Iune, goyng to dynner, I receaued letters from the kinges Counſell by a Purſuant, and the ſame I do ſend now herewith vnto you, to the intent you may peruſe them well, and proceede accordingly: praying you in caſe all be not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſident and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the company together of the Church, and make declaration hereof vnto them: Thus committing you to God, right wel to fare. Written wyth ſpeede thys xxvi. of Iune, at one of the clocke.

Your louing brother Ed. London.

Ouer and beſides all this, the Lord Protectour, wyth the reſidue of the kynges priuie and learned Counſell aſſemblyng together in the Starre chamber about the ſame matter, that is, for the aduauncement and ſetting forward of the kynges ſo godly proceedinges, called before them all the Iuſtices of peace, where was vttered vnto them by the L. Rich then Lord Chauncellour, an eloquent and learned admonicion, the tenor whereof enſueth.

An exhortation or admonition vnto the Iuſtices of peace.

IT hath bene vſed & accuſtomed before this tyme to call at certayne tymes the Iuſtices of peace before the Kynges Maieſties Counſaile, to geue vnto them admonition or warnyng, diligently (as is their dutie) to looke to ỷ obſeruing of ſuch thyngs as be cōmitted to their charges, accordyng to the truſt which ỷ kings maieſtie hath in thē. Howbeit, now at this tyme we call you before vs, not onely of cuſtome, but rather of neceſſitie. For hearyng dayly, & perceauing of neceſſitie as we do, the great negligence and the litle heede which is taken and geuen to the obſeruing of the good and holſome lawes and orders in thys realme, wherupon much diſorder doth dayly enſue, and the kynges Maieſties Proclamations and orders taken by the Counſayle (as we are aduertiſed) not executed, ỷ people are brought to diſobedience, and in a maner all his Maieſties ſtudy and ours in ſetting a good and moſt godly ſtay, to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Realme, is ſpent in vayne and come to nothyng. The which as we haue great hope and truſt not to be altogether ſo, yet ſomuch as it is, & ſo much as it lacketh of keeping the realme in a moſt godly order and ſtay, we muſt needes impute and lay the faulte thereof in you which are the Iuſtices of peace in euery Shiere, to whom we are wont to direct our wrytynges, and to whoſe truſt and charge the kings maieſtie hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Actes of parliament, and of hys lawes.

Iuſtices ſlacke in furthering of Religion.

We are informed that many of you are ſo negligent and ſo ſlacke herein, that it doth appeare you do looke rather, as it were, through your fingers, then diligently ſee to the execution of the ſayde lawes and Proclamations. For if you woulde, according to your duties, to your oth, to the truſt whiche the kynges Maieſtie hath in you, geue your diligēce and care toward the execution of the ſame moſt godly Statutes and Iniunctions, there ſhoulde no diſobedience, nor diſorder, nor euill rule bee begon or ariſe in anye parte of the realme, but it ſhould by and by be repreſſed, kept downe, and reformed. But it is feared, and the thyng it ſelfe geueth occaſion thereto, that diuers of you do not onely not ſet forth, but rather hinder, ſo much as lyeth in you, the kynges maieſties proceedynges, and are content that there ſhould aryſe ſome diſobedience, and that men ſhould repine againſt godly orders ſet forth by his maieſtie: you do ſo ſlackly looke to the execution of the ſame: So that in ſome Shieres which bee further of, it may appeare that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his Maieſties Proclamations, or if they haue heard, you are content to wincke at it and to neglect it, ſo that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do conſider and remember your dueties, firſt to almighty God, and then to the kynges maieſtie, the wealth of the whole Realme, the ſafegard of your owne ſelues: you muſt nedes ſee, that except ſuch orders as the kynges Maieſtie hath ſet, and hereafter ſhall appoint, bee kept, neither can the realme be defended, if the enemie ſhould inuade, nor in peace it can not ſtand: but vpon the contempt of good and wholeſome lawes all diſorder and inconueniences ſhoulde come, the people ſhoulde be wylde and ſauage, & no man ſure of his owne.

The fruite of obedience in a Realme.

If at any tyme there was occaſion and cauſe to be circūſpect & diligent about the ſame, there was neuer more tyme then now. How we ſtand in Scotland you know, and that ther foreine power maketh great preparation to ayde them, and in dede doth come to their ayde: wherof we are ſurely informed and certified. Wherfore if there ſhould not be good order and obedience kept in the Realme, the Realme were lyke vtterly to be deſtroyed. Neuer foreine power could yet hurt, or in any parte preuayle, in this realme, but by diſobediēce & miſorder within our ſelues. That is yͤ way wherwith God will plague vs, if he mynde to puniſhe vs. And ſo long as we doe agree among our ſelues, and be obedient to our Prince and to his godly orders and lawes, wee may be ſure that god is with vs, and that foreine power ſhal not preuaile againſt vs, nor hurt vs.

Order taken for Iuſtices.

Wherfore once agayne, and ſtyll wee muſt and do lay this charge vppon you that are the better of the Shyre and Iuſtices of the peace, that with ſo conuenient ſpede as you can you do repayre downe into your Countreis, and you ſhall geue warning to the gentlemen of the Shiere which haue not neceſſary buſines here, that they repayre down ech man to his countrey, and there both you and they, who bee reckoned the ſtay of euery Shiere, to ſee good order and rule kept: you that your Seſſions of gayle deliuery and quarter Seſſions be well kept, and therein your meetynges bee ſuch, that iuſtice may be well and truly miniſtred, the offēders and malefactours puniſhed according to the lawes of the Realme, without any feare of any man, or that for fauour you ſhoulde ſuffer thoſe to eſcape, whiche with their euill example might bryng other to the lyke miſhapp: And that all vagabondes, and lewd and light tale tellers and ſeditious bearers of falſe newes of the kynges Maieſty, or of hys Counſaile, or ſuch as will preach without licence, bee immediately by you repreſt and puniſhed.

Prouiſion againſt priuie conſpiracie and rebellion.

And if there ſhould chaunce any lewd or light felowes to make any routes or riots, or vnlawfull aſſemblies any ſeditious meetinges, vprores, or vpriſinges in any place, by the ſeditious and diueliſh motion of ſome priuie Traitors, that you and they appeaſe them at the firſt, and apprehende the firſt authors and cauſers therof and certifie vs with ſpede. The lightnes of the rude and ignoraunt people muſt be repreſt and ordered by your grauitie and wiſedome. And here you may not (if any ſuch thing chaūce) diſſemble with thoſe ſuch lewde men, and hyde your ſelues. For it ſhall be required of you if ſuch miſorder bee, and ſurely without your ayde & helpe, or your diſſemblyng, ſuch miſorder can not bee. Nor we do not ſay that we feare any ſuch thing, or that there is any ſuch thing likely to chaunce: but we geue you warning before, leſt it ſhould chaunce.

Prouiſion agaynſt foreine power.

We haue to much experience in this realme, what inconuenience commeth of ſuch matters. And though ſome lyght perſons in their rage do not conſider it, yet we do not doubt but you way it and know it well enough. And if it ſhoulde chaunce our enemies (who are mainteyned by other forrain power, and the biſhop of Rome) ſhould ſodainely arriue in ſome place of England, either driuen by tempeſt, or of purpoſe to do hurt, ye ſhould ſe ſuch order kept by firing of their Becons, as hath alredy bene written vnto you by our letters to repulſe the ſame, in ſo good aray as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the ſafegard of your countrey, ſo that the enemy ſhall haue litle ioy of his comming: and for that purpoſe you ſhall ſee diligently that men haue horſe harneſſe, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good orders of the realme, and the kinges Maieſties commaundementes. And ſo for this time ye may depart.

The ſingular zeale of kyng Edward and his Vncle, in reforming religion.

What zealous care was in this yong kyng, and in the lord Protector his vncle concerning reformation of Chriſtes church and ſincere religion, by theſe Iniunctions, letters, preceptes, and exhortations, as well to the biſhops, as to the iuſtices of the realme aboue premiſed, it may right well appeare. Wherby we haue to note, not ſo much the carefull diligence of the kyng and his learned counſaile: as the lingering ſlackenes and drawyng backe on the other ſide, of diuers the ſayd Iuſtices and Lawyers, but eſpecially of Biſhops, and old popiſh curates, by whoſe cloked contempte, wilfull winkyng and ſtubburne diſobedience the booke of common prayer was long after the publiſhyng therof, either not knowen at all, or els very irreuerently vſed throughout many places of this realme. Which when the kyng by the complaint of diuers, perfectly vnderſtode, beyng not a little agreeued, to ſee the godly agrement of the learned, the willyng conſent of the Parliament, and his graces own zelous deſire to take ſo ſmall effect among hys ſubiectes: decreed preſently, with the aduiſe of his whole Counſaile, agayn to write vnto all the biſhops of his realme, for ſpeedy and diligent redreſſe therin: willyng and commaunding them therby, that as well they themſelues ſhould thenceforth haue a more ſpeciall regard to the due execution of the premiſſes, as alſo that all others within their ſeuerall precinctes and iuriſdiction ſhould by their good inſtructions and wyllyng example, be the more oftener and with better deuotion, moued to vſe and frequent the ſame: As further appeareth by the contentes of hys letter here enſuyng.

The ſlacknes of popiſhe Curates in furthering the kings proceadinges.

An other letter directed by the King and hys Counſaile to Boner B. of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging hym to ſee to the better ſettyng out of the ſeruice booke within his dioces.

An other letter to Boner Byſhop of London.

Right reuerend father in God: right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well: and wheras after great and ſerious debating and long conference of the Biſhops, and other graue and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one vniforme order for common prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, hath bene and is moſt godly ſet forth, not only by the common agreement and full aſſent of the nobilitie and Commons of the late ſeſſion of our late Parliamēt but alſo by the lyke aſſent of the biſhops in the ſame Parliament, and of all others the learned men of this our realme in their Synodes and conuocations prouinciall, like as it was much to our comfort to vnderſtand the godly trauaile then diligently and willingly takē for the true opening of things mentioned in the ſayd booke, wherby the true ſeruice & honour of almighty God, and the right miniſtration of the ſacramentes beyng well and ſincerely ſet forth accordyng to the Scriptures and vſe of the primatiue church, much idolatry, vayne ſuperſtition, and great and ſlaunderous abuſes be taken away: ſo it is no ſmall occaſion of ſorow vnto vs, to vnderſtand by the complaints of many, that our ſayd booke ſo much traueled for, and alſo ſincerely ſet forth (as is aforeſayd) remayneth in many places of this our realme, eyther not known at all, or not vſed, or at the leaſt if it be vſed, very ſeldome, & that in ſuch light & irreuerēt ſort, as the people in many places eyther haue heard nothing, or if they heare, they neyther vnderſtand, nor haue that ſpirituall delectatiō in the ſame, that to good Chriſtians appertayneth. The fault wherof, lyke as we muſt of reaſon impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God thorough our appointment to haue due reſpect to this and ſuch lyke matters: ſo conſideryng that by theſe and ſuch lyke occaſions, our louing ſubiects remayne yet ſtill in theyr old blyndnes, and ſuperſtitious errors, and in ſome places in an irreligious forgetfulnes of God, wherby his wrath may be prouoked vpon vs & thē: and remembring withall, that amongeſt other cures cōmitted to our princely charge, we thinke this the greateſt, to ſee the glory and true ſeruice of hym maintained and extolled, by whoſe clemency we knowledge our ſelues to haue all that we haue, we could not, but by aduice and cōſent of our dereſt vncle Edward duke of Somerſet, gouernor of our perſon, and Protector of our realme, dominions and ſubiectes,

The kings booke neglected.

and

1549.

Boners negligence noted.

and the reſt of our priuy counſaile, admoniſh you of the premiſes. Wherin, as it had bene your office to haue vſed an earneſt diligence, and to haue preferred the ſame in all places within your dioces, as the caſe required: ſo haue wee thought good to praye and require you, and neuertheleſſe ſtraightly to charge and commaund you, that from henceforth ye haue an earneſt and ſpeciall regard to the reduce of theſe thinges, ſo as the Curates may do their dueties more often, and in more reuerent ſort, and the people be occaſioned by the good aduiſes and examples of your ſelfe, your Chauncelour, Archdeacons, and other inferiour miniſters, to come with oftener and more deuotion to their ſayd common prayers, to geue thankes to God, and to bee pertakers of the moſt holy Communion. Wherin ſhewyng your ſelfe diligent, and geuyng good example in your own perſon, you ſhall both diſcharge your duety to the great paſtor to whom we all haue to accompt, and alſo do vs good ſeruice: and on the other ſide, if we ſhall hereafter (theſe our letters and commaundement notwithſtandyng) haue eftſones complaynt, and finde the lyke faults in your dioces, we ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to impute the fault thereof, and of all that enſue therof vnto you, and conſequently be occaſioned therby to ſee otherwyſe to the redreſſe of theſe thynges: wherof we would be ſory. And therfore we doe eftſoones charge and commaund you vpon your allegiance, to looke well vpon your duety herein, as ye tender our pleaſure. Geuen vnder our ſignet at our Manor of Richmond, the 23. of Iuly the 3. yeare of our raigne. 1549.

The biſhop of London among the reſt of the Byſhops receyuing theſe letters, did (as alwayes tofore) in outward ſhew willingly accept the ſame: and therfore immediately (with the ſayd letters) directed this hys precept vnto the Deane and Chapter of hys Cathedrall church of Paules, commaunding them to looke to the due accompliſhing thereof accordingly.

A letter of Boner to the Deane and Chapiter of Paules.

A letter of Boner to the Deane of Paules.

EDmund by the grace of God. &c. To my welbeloued brethren the Deane and Chapiter of the Cathedral church of S. Paul in London, and to the other Miniſters there and euery of them do ſend greeting. And where it is ſo, that of late I haue receiued the ſaide soueraigne lord the kinges maieſties letter, of ſuch tenure as is hereunto annexed, and accordyng to my moſt bounden duetye, am right well willing and deſiring, that the ſaid letters ſhould be in al points duely executed and obſerued according to the tenure and purport of the ſame, as appertaineth: theſe therefore are to require, and alſo ſtraightly to charge you and euery of you on his maieſties behalfe. &c. that you do admoniſh & commaund or cauſe to be admoniſhed or commaunded, all and ſinguler Perſons, Vicars, and Curates of your iuriſdiction, to obſerue and accompliſh the ſame from tyme to tyme accordingly: Furthermore, requiring and likewyſe charging you, and euery of you to make certificate herein to me, my Chancellor or other my officers in this behalfe, with ſuch conuenient celeritie as appertaineth, both of your procedinges in the execution hereof, and alſo of the perſons and names of all ſuch, as from henceforth ſhall be found negligent in doyng their dueties in the premiſſes or any of them. Geuen at my houſe at Fullome the 26. of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord 1549. and in the third yere of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lorde the kings maieſties raigne.

Slacknes of Boner in furtheryng good procedinges.

Moreouer for ſomuch as the king at that inſtant hearing the muttering of certaine rebellion then ſtirring (wherof more ſhall be ſaid the lord willing hereafter) and alſo beyng credibly enformed by diuers, that through the euill example, ſlacknes of preachyng and adminiſtring the Sacraments, and carcles contempt of Boner Biſhop of London, not onely many of the people within the city of London, and other places of hys Dioceſſe were very negligent and forgetfull of their dueties to god in frequenting the diuine ſeruice then ſtabliſhed and ſet forth by the authoritie of parliamēt: but alſo that diuers other vtterly deſpiſing ẏ ſame, did in ſecret places of his dioces often frequent the popiſh maſſe and other forraine rites not allowed by the lawes of thys realme, he thought it therefore good (hauyng thereby iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect hys former diſſemblyng doubleneſſe) to appoynt the Lord Protector and the reſt of his priuy counſail to call the ſayd Biſhop before them, and accordyng to their wiſe and diſcrete iudgementes, to deale with hym for the ſame.

Popiſhe maſſe priuely frequented in places agaynſt the law.

1549.

Wherupon the xi. day of Auguſt (an. 1549.) they ſent a Meſſenger for hym, and vppon hys appearaunce, made firſt declaration of ſuche informations and complayntes, as had bene therttofore made agaynſt him. And then after ſharpe admonitions and reprouſes for his euil demeanours in the premiſſes, they deliuered vnto him from the king (for his better reformation and amendment) certayne priuate Iniunctions to be neceſſarily folowed and obſerued of himſelfe. And wheras in the firſt braunch of the ſayd Iniunctions, he was perſonally aſſigned to preach at Paules croſſe the Sonday three weekes then next enſuyng (becauſe both the daungerous and fickle eſtate of the tyme, and alſo partly hys owne ſuſpicious behauiour ſo required) they farther deliuered vnto hym in wrytyng ſuch articles to intreate vpon in hys Sermon, as they thought then moſt meete & neceſſary for the tyme and cauſes aforeſayd. All which Iniunctions and Articles, for the farther manifeſtation thereof, I haue here inſerted, as foloweth.

Boner called before the Counſaile.

Certaine priuate Iniunctions geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

Boner aſſigned by the Counſaile to preach at Paules Croſſe.

Certaine priuate Iniunctions and Articles geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

Admonition geuen to Boner by the Counſaile.

FOraſmuch as we are aduertiſed, that amongeſt other diſorders of our ſubiectes, at this preſent there be diuers of our Citie of London and other places within your Dioces, which being very negligent and forgetfull of their duetie to almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do aſſemble themſelues very ſeldome & fewer times then they were heretofore accuſtomed, vnto common prayer and to the holy Communion, beyng now a tyme when it were more needefull with hart and mynde to pray to our heauenly father for his ayde and ſuccour: wherof as we be right ſory, ſo we do vnderſtand, that through your euyl example and the ſlackenes of your preaching and inſtructing our ſayd people to doe their dueties, this offence to God is moſt generally committed: for where heretofore vpō all principall Feaſtes and ſuch as were called Maius duplex, you your ſelfe were wont to execute in perſon, now ſince the tyme that we by the aduiſe of our whole Parliament haue ſet a moſt godly and deuoute order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye haue very ſeldome or neuer executed vpon ſuch or other dayes, to the cōtempt of our proceedings and euil example of others: & foraſmuch as it is alſo brought to our knowledge, that diuers, aſwell in Lōdon as in other places of your Dioces, do frequent and haunt forraine rytes of Maſſes, and ſuch as be not allowed by the orders of our Realme, and contemneth and forbeareth to prayſe and laud God, and pray vnto his Maieſtie after ſuch rytes and ceremonies, as in this Realme are approued and ſet out by our authoritie: and further that adultery & fornicatiō is maintayned and kept openly and commonly in the ſayde Citie of London and other places of your Dioces, wherby ẏ wrath of God is prouoked agaynſt our people: of the which thinges, you beyng heretofore admoniſhed, yet hetherto haue made no redreſſe, as to the paſtorall office, authoritie, and cure of a Byſhop doth appertayne: We therfore, to whome the ſupreme cure and charge of thys Churche doth appertayne, to auoyde from vs the high indignation of almightie God, by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued Uncle the Lord Protectour and the reſt of our priuie Counſaile, haue thought it no leſſe then our moſt boūden duetie, now at this preſent, and eftſoones peremptorily to admoniſhe, charge, & warne you, that you do moſt ſtraightly looke vpon the premiſſes and ſee them ſo reformed, that there may appeare no negligence on your behalfe, vpon ſuch payne as by our lawes Eccleſiaſticall and temporall we may inflicte vpon you, vnto depriuation or otherwiſe, as ſhall ſeeme to vs for qualitie of the offēce reaſonable. And to the intēt you ſhould the better ſee to the reformatiō of the ſayd abuſes, we haue thought good to geue you theſe Iniunctions folowing.

Boner refrayned to execute all principal feaſtes, contrary to hys wonted maner.

Boner noted of ſlacknes in his dutie, and of contempt of publicke lawes.

Certeine priuate Articles inioyned to Boner by the Counſaile.

Boner admoniſhed to preach euery quarter at Paules Croſſe.

1 Firſt, ye ſhall preach at Paules Croſſe in London in proper perſon, the Sonday after the date hereof three weekes, and in the ſame Sermon declare and ſet forth the Articles hereunto annexed: and ye ſhall preach hereafter once euery quarter of the yeare there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly lyuing: and ye ſhall be preſent at euery Sermon hereafter made at Paules Croſſe, if ſickenes or ſome other reaſonable cauſe doe not let you.

2 Secondly, you your ſelfe in perſon ſhal from henceforth euery day which heretofore was accompted in this Church of England, principall Feaſt, or Maius duplex, and at all ſuch tymes as the Byſhops of London your predeceſſours were wont to celebrate and ſing hygh Maſſe, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the hygh aultar in Paules, for the better example of all other, excepte ſickenes do let.

3 Thirdly, ye ſhall your ſelfe according to your duetie and the office of a Byſhop, call before you all ſuch as doe not come vnto & frequent the common prayer and ſeruice in the Church, or do not come vnto Gods board and receaue the

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the Communion at the leaſt once a yeare, or whoſoeuer doe frequent or goe vnto any other rite, or ſeruice, then is appointed by our booke, either of Mattins, Euenſonge, or Maſſe in any Church, Chappell, or other Priuate Places within your Dioces, and ye ſhall ſee all ſuch offenders conuented before you and puniſhed according vnto the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, with ſeuere and ſtrait puniſhment therfore. Likewiſe ye ſhall ſee one only order vſed in your Dioces according to our ſayd booke and none other.

4 Fourthly, ye ſhall both by your ſelfe, and all your officers vnder you, ſearch out and conuent before you more diligently then heretofore ye haue done, (as appertainethe to youre office) all Adulterers, and ſee the ſame punyſhed according to the eccleſiaſticall lawes, and to the authority geeuen you in that behalfe.

5 We haue heard alſo complayntes, that the Churche of Pauls and other Churches of Londō are of late more neglected, aſwell in reparation of the glaſſe, as other buildinges and ornaments of the ſame, thē they were hertofore wont, and that diuers and many perſons in the Citie of malice denieth the payment of their due tith to their Curates, whereby the Curates are both iniured and made not ſo well able and in maner diſcouraged to do their dueties. The which thing alſo our will and commaundement is, ye ſhall diligētly looke vnto and ſee redreſſed as apperteineth.

6 And forasmuch as all theſe complaynts be made as moſt done and committed in London, to the entent you may looke more earneſtly, better and more diligently to the reformatiō of them, our pleaſure is that you ſhall abide and keepe reſidence in your houſe there, as in the Citie, ſea and principall place of your Dioces, & none otherwhere for a certain time, vntill you ſhalbe otherwiſe licenſed by vs.

Boner Byſhop of London commaunded to keepe his owne houſe.

And thus hauing brought Biſhop Boner home to his own houſe, there to leaue him a while to take his eaſe in his own lodging till we returne to him againe, wee will in the mean time make a litle intercourſe into Cornwall and Deuonſhire to diſcourſe ſome part of the diſordered and diſloyall doings of thoſe men againſt their ſo meek and excellent a prince, hauing no cauſe miniſtred therūto: yea hauing cauſe rather to yeald prayſe and thankes to the Lorde for ſuche a quyet and peaceable Prince in his mercy geuen vnto them. But ſuch is the condition of vnquiet natures that they can not ſkill of peace. And where due diſcretion lacketh, there lewd diſpoſed perſons cannot tell when they be well, again ſome be ſo crooked and ſo peruerſly geuē, that the more curteouſly they be intreated, the worſe they are: And when by honeſt diligēce they liſt not to get their liuing, by publick diſturbance of common weales they think to thriue. And ſo ſeemed it to fare with this ſeditious people of Cornwal and Deuonſhire, who hauing ſo good and vertuous a King, that if they ſhould haue ſought him as Diogines (they ſay) did ſeeke for a man with a candle, a meker and better ſufferaine they could not haue found, a crueller they well deſerued: yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reaſon, nature and loyaltie, aduaunced themſelues in a rebellious conſpiracy againſt him, and againſt his proceedinges through the pernitious inſtigation, firſt (as it ſeemeth) of certain Popiſh Prieſtes who grudginge and diſdayning againſt the Iniunctions and godly order of reformation ſet forwarde by the king, and ſpecially mourninge to ſee their olde Popiſhe Church of Rome to decay, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter & ſubtile meanes, firſt vnder Gods name and the kinges, and vnder coulor of Religion to perſwade the people, then to gather ſides and to aſſemble in companies, to gather Captaines, and at laſt to braſt out in rancke rebellion. Nether lacked there amongeſt the lay ſorte ſome as ſeditiouſly diſpoſed as they to miſchiefe and madnes as well Gentlemen as other.

The rebelles in Cornewall and Deuonſhyre.

Popiſhe prieſtes firſt ſtirrers of this rebellion.

All wickednes firſt beginneth vnder fayre pretenſes.

Of whom the chiefe Gentlemen Captaines were, Umfrey Arundell Eſquier, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Roſogan, Iohn Roſogan, Iohn Payne, Thomas Underhill, Iohn Soleman, William Segar. Of Prieſtes which were principall ſturrers and ſome of them gouerners of the Camps and after executed, were to the number of 8. whoſe names were, Rob. Bochim, Iohn Tompſon, Roger Barret, Iohn Wolcoke, Wil. Alſa, Iames Mourton Ioh. Barrow, Rich. Benet, beſides a multitude of other popiſh prieſtes, which to the ſame faction were adioyned. The number of the whole Rebellion, ſpeakinge with the leaſt, mounted litle leſſe then to the ſumme of tenne thouſand ſtout traitors.

Captaines of the rebelles in Deuonſhire.

Prieſts rebelles and traytors againſt the king.

These hearing firſt of the commotions which began about the ſame time in other partes to broyle, as in Oxfordſhire, Yorkſhire, and eſpecially in Northfolke and Suffolk, began to take therin ſome courage, hoping that they would haue well fortefied the ſame wyth Quarrell. But afterward perceiuyng howe the miſchieuous mutterynges and enterpriſes of their conſpiracie dyd ſodenly fayle, either beyng preuēted by time, or repreſſed by power, or ỷ their cauſe beyng but onely about pluckyng downe of encloſures and enlarging of commons, was deuided from theirs, ſo that either they would not or could not ioyne their ayde together, then began they againe to qualle, and their courage to debate. Notwithſtandyng for ſo much as they had gone ſo far, that they thought there was no ſhrynkyng backe, they fell to new deuiſes and inuentions for the beſt furtheraunce of their deſperate purpoſes.

Diuers Commotions in K. Edwards tyme ſuppreſſed.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoyled their own countrey moſt miſerably, to inuade the Citie of Exceter, & ſo conſequently all other parts of the Realme. But firſt for Exceter they gaped, the gates whereof twyſe they burned but gayned nothing ſauyng onely goonſhot, whereof they lacked no plēty. Beyng put from Exceter, they fell on ſpoilyng and robbyng where or what ſoeuer they might catch. At length laying their traitrous heades together, they conſulted vpon certain Articles to be ſent vp. But herein ſuch diuerſitie of heads and wittes was amongeſt them, that for euery kinde of brayne there was one maner of Article: ſo ỷ neither appeared any conſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement. Some ſemed more tolerable. Other altogether vnreaſonable. Some would haue no Iuſtice. Some would haue no ſtate of Gentlemē. The prieſts euer harped of one ſtring, to ring in the Biſhop of Rome into England againe and to hallowe home Cardinall Poole their countrey man.

The citie of Exceter inuaded by the rebels.

Diuerſitie of wittes amongeſt the rebels.

After much adoe and litle to the purpoſe, at laſt a few ſorie Articles were agreed vppon to bee directed vnto the kyng, with the names of certayne ſet therunto, the copie wherof here enſueth.

¶ The Articles of the Commons of Deuonſhire and Cornwall ſent to the kyng, with aunſwers afterward followyng vnto the ſame.

The Articles of Deuonſhyre men, to the kyng and his Counſaile.

1. Sacramēt of Baptiſme.

FIrſt for as much as man, except he be borne, of water and the holy Ghoſt, can not enter into the kingdome of God, and for aſmuch as the gates of heauen be not opened without this bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, therfore we wil ỷ our Curates ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all times of nede, aſwell in the weeke dayes as on the holy dayes.

2. Cōfirmatiō.

Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Byſhop when ſoeuer we ſhal w̄in the Dioces reſort vnto him.

3. Cōſecration of the Lords body.

Item, for aſmuch as we conſtantly beleue that after the Prieſte hath ſpoken the woordes of conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebratyng and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt God and man, and that no ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgin Marie, and was geuen vppon the Croſſe for our redemption: therfore we wil haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath bene in tymes paſt, without any man communicatyng with the Prieſtes, for aſmuch as many rudely preſuming vnworthely to receiue the ſame, put no difference betwene the Lordes body and other kinde of meate, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it, with many other abuſed termes.

4. Reſeruation of the Lords body conſecrated.

Item, we will haue in our Churches reſeruation.

5. Holy bread and holy water.

Item, wee will haue holy bread and holy water in the remembraunce of Chriſtes precious body and bloude.

Item we will that our Prieſtes ſhall ſing or ſay with an audible voyce, Gods ſeruice in the Quier of the Pariſhe Churches, & not Gods ſeruice to bee ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe play.

6. The ſingle lyfe of Prieſtes.

Item, for aſmuch as Prieſtes be men dedicated to God for miniſtring and celebratyng the bleſſed Sacraments and preachyng of Gods word, we will that they ſhal liue chaſte without Mariage, as S. Paule dyd being the elect and choſen veſſell of God, ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſtes, bee you folowers of me.

7. The 6. articles to be reuiued.

Item, wee will that the vj. Articles, whiche our ſoueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the eight ſet forth in his latter daies, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that tyme.

Item, we pray God ſaue king Edward, for we be hys, both body and goods.

¶ A Meſſage ſent by the kinges Maieſtie, to certayne of hys people aſſembled in Deuonſhire.

The aunſwere of the K. to the Articles of the rebels in Deuonſhyre.

ALthough knowledge hath bene geuen to vs and our dereſt Uncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon and Protector of all our Realmes, Dominions and Subiectes, and to the reſt of our priuy Counſail, of diuers aſſemblies made by you, which ought of duetye to bee our louing ſubiectes, againſt al order, law, & otherwiſe then euer any louyng or kinde ſubiectes hath attempted againſt their natural & liege ſoueraigne Lord: yet we haue thought it meete at this very firſt tyme, not to condẽne or reiect you, as we might iuſtly doo, but to vſe you as our ſubiectes, thinking that the deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural borne Engliſh-men, ſo ſodainly become enemies to your own natiue coũtrey, or of our ſubiectes, to make you traytors, or vnder pretence to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroy your ſelues, your wiues, children, landes, houſes, and all other commodities of this your lyfe. This we ſaye, we truſt, that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye wyll not be vpon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome amongeſt you (as euer there is ſome cockle amongeſt good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, eſteeme not the ſtate of the Realme, but as carcles deſperate men, delight in ſedition, tumult, and warres: yet neuertheles, the greater parte of you wil heare the voyce of vs your natural prince, and wil by wiſedome and counſel be warned, and ceaſe your euyls in the beginnyng, whoſe endes wil be euen by almighty Gods order, your owne deſtruction. Wherfore, as to you our ſubiectes by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeake, and be cõtent to vſe our princely authoritie like a father to his children for this tyme to admoniſh you of your faultes, not to puniſh them: to put you in remembraunce of your dueties, not to auenge your forgetfulnes.

Vnlawfull aſſembles.

Firſt, your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelues againſt other our louing ſubiectes, to araye your ſelues to the warre, who amongeſt you al can anſwer for yͤ ſame to almighty God, charging you to obey vs in al thinges? Or how can any Engliſh good hart anſwere vs, our lawes, and the reſt of our very louing and faithful ſubiectes, who in deede by their obedience, make our honor, eſtate, and degree.

The kinges name abuſed

Ye vſe our name in your writinges, & abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelfe. What iniurie herein do you vs, to cal thoſe which loue vs, to your euyll purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinaunce and prouidence, by our bloud and inheritance, by lawful ſucceſſion and our coronation: but not to this ende, as you vſe our name. We are your moſt natural ſoueraigne Lord and king, Edward the ſixt, to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you frõ al your outward enemies, to ſee our lawes wel miniſtred, euery man to haue his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordred people, to correct traytors, theeues, pirates, robbers, & ſuch like, yea, to keepe our realmes from forreine princes, frõ the malice of the Scots, of French men, of the biſhop of Rome. Thus good ſubiectes, our name is written, thus it is honored & obeyed, this maieſtie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offence we can not write too much: And yet doubt not, but this is enough from a prince to all reaſonable people, from a king to all kinde harted and louing ſubiectes, from a puiſſant king of England, to euery natural Engliſh man.

Their falſe tales.

Your pretences which you ſay moueth you to do thus, & wherewith ye ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either all falſe, or ſo vaine, yͭ we doubt not, but after ye ſhal hereby vnderſtand the truth therof, ye wyl al with one noyſe knowledge your ſelues ignorantly led, & by error ſeduced, and if there be any that wyl not, aſſure you the ſame be ranke traitors, enemies of our crowne, ſeditious people, heretikes, papiſtes, or ſuche as care not what cauſe they ſeeke to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they may doo it, nor in dede can waxe ſo rich with their owne labors, & with peace, as they can do with ſpoiles, with warres, with robberies, & ſuch like, yea, with the ſpoyle of your owne goodes, with the liuing of your labors, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your own houſholdes, wiues, children. Such they be, as for a tyme vſe pleaſant perſwaſions to you, & in the end wyl cut your throtes for your owne goodes.

1. Baptiſme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though neceſſitie chance, ſhal not be chriſtened but vpõ yͤ holy daies. How falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue ſet forth by the free conſent of our Parlament, in the Engliſhe tongue, teacheth you the contrarye, euen in the firſte leafe, yea the firſt ſide of the firſt leaf of that part which entreateth of Baptiſme. Good ſubiectes (for to others we ſpeake not) looke and be not deceiued. They which haue put this falſe opinion into your ears, they meant not the chriſtening of children, but the deſtruction of you our Chriſtened ſubiects. Be this knowẽ vnto you, our honor is ſo much yͭ we may not be foũd faultie of our word. Proue it, if by our lawes ye may not chriſten your children vpon neceſſitie euery day or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you may do it, how can you beleue them whiche teache you the contrarye? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, which moue you to breake your obedience againſt vs your king & ſoueraigne, vpon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſwaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therfore you al which wyl knowledge vs your ſoueraigne lord, and which wil heare the voyce of vs your natural king, may eaſily perceiue how ye be deceiued, and how ſubtilly traitors and papiſtes with their falſehood ſeeke to atchieue and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe. Euery traitor wyll be glad to diſſemble his treaſon and feede it ſecretly, euery papiſt his Poperie, and nouriſhe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our ſubiectes partakers of treaſon and poperie, which in the beginnyng was pretended a common wealth and holynes.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebels touching Baptiſme, refuted.

2. Sacrament.

And howe are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heades the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſtes body ſhoulde not differ from other cõmon bread? If our lawes, proclamations, & ſtatutes be al to yͤ cõtrary, why ſhal any priuate mã perſwade you againſt them? We do our ſelfe in our owne hart, our Counſaile in al their profeſſion, our lawes and ſtatutes in al purpoſes, our good ſubiectes in all their doings, moſt highly eſteeme that ſacrament, and vſe the communion therof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo muche difference therof from other common bread, that we thinke no profite of other bread, but to mainteyne our bodies. But of this bleſſed bread we take very foode of our ſoules to euerlaſting life. How thinke you good ſubiectes, ſhal not we being your Prince, your Lorde, your kyng by Gods appointment, with truth more preuaile, then certaine euyll perſons with open falſehoode? Shall any ſeditious perſon perſwade you, that the ſacrament is deſpiſed, whiche is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our Counſaile, by all our good ſubiectes, eſteemed, vſed, participated, and dayly receiued? If euer ye were ſeduced, if euer deceyued, if euer traytors were beleued, if euer papiſtes poyſoned good ſubiectes, it is nowe. It is not the chriſtenyng of children, not the reuerẽce of the ſacramẽt, not the health of your ſoules that they ſhoote at, good ſubiectes. It is ſedition, it is high treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeeke, howe craftily, howe pitiouſly, how cunningly ſoeuer they do it. With one rule iudge ye the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlaſting damnation, diſobedience to vs your king: and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlow, would God erre? If your offence be towardes God, thinke you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your Iudge is incorruptible, your faulte is moſt euident.

The falſe ſurmiſe of the rebels touching the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper reſolued.

Likewiſe are ye euil enfourmed in diuers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your children, for the Maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of Mattens and Euenſong. What ſoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning, in this realme concluded: in nothing ſo much labor and time ſpent of late tyme, nothing ſo fully ended.

3. Mattins and ſeruice in Engliſhe.

As for the ſeruice in the Engliſhe tongue, hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchaunce ſeemeth to you a newe ſeruice, and in deede is none other but the olde. The ſelfe ſame wordes in Engliſhe whiche were in Latine, ſauing a fewe thinges taken out, ſo fonde, that it had bene a ſhame to haue heard them in Engliſh, as all they can iudge which liſt to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our ſubiectes ſhould vnderſtand in Engliſh, being your naturall coũtrey tongue, that which was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſeruing onely for them which vnderſtood Latin, and now for all you which be borne Engliſhe. Howe can this with reaſon offende any reaſonable man, that he ſhall vnderſtand what any other ſaith, & ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker. If the ſeruice in the churche was good in Latine, it remaineth good in Engliſhe, for nothing is altered, but to ſpeake with knowledge that was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderſtand what is ſaid for you, to the entent you may further it with your own deuotion: An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe then ignoraunce. So that who ſoeuer hath moued you to miſlike this order, can geue you no reaſon, nor anſweare yours, if ye vnderſtood it.

Alteration of ſeruice from an vnknowen toungs to a knowen tongue.

Wherefore you our ſubiectes remember, we ſpeake to you, being ordeined your Prince and King by almightye God: if any wiſe we could aduaunce Gods honour, more then we doo, we would doo it: and ſee that ye become ſubiectes to Gods ordinances, obeying vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, whiche haue power to rule you, alſo wyll execute our Iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them, whoſe fruites be nothing but wilfulnes, diſobedience, obſtinacie, diſſimulation, and deſtruction of the realme.

4. The Maſſe.

For the Maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmal ſtudy nor trauell hath bene ſpent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to auoyde al contention, it is brought euen to the verye vſe as

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Chriſt left it, as ẏ apoſtles vſed it, as holy fathers deliuered it, in dede ſomwhat altered from that the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may heare ẏ contrary of ſome popiſh euyl mē, yet our maieſtie, which for our honor may not be blemiſhed nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceiue you, abuſe you, and blowe theſe opinions into your heades, for to finiſh their own purpoſes.

Confirmation.

Baptiſme ſaueth without any Byſhoping.

5 And ſo likewiſe iudge you of confirmation of children: and let them anſweare you this one queſtion. Thinke they that a child chriſtened is damned becauſe it dyeth before biſhopping? They be confirmed at the tyme of diſcretion, to learne that they profeſſed in the lacke therof, by Baptiſme: taught in age, that which they receyued in infancie, and yet no doubt but they be ſaued by Baptiſme, not by confirmatiō, and made Chriſtes by Chriſtenyng, and taught how to continue by Confirmation. Wherfore in the whole, marke good ſubiectes, how our doctrine is founded vpon true learnyng, and theirs vpon ſhameles errors.

To conclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, what ſo euer is contained in our booke, eyther for Baptiſme, ſacrament, maſſe, Confirmation, and ſeruice in the church, is by our parlament eſtabliſhed, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the biſhops of the realme deuiſed, & further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea how dare ye geue eare, without tremblyng, to any ſingular perſon, to diſallow a parlamēt, a ſubiect to perſwade againſt our maieſtie, a man of his ſingle arrogancie, agaynſt the determination of the biſhops and al the clergie, any inuented argument againſt the word of God.

But now you our ſubiectes, we reſort to a greater matter of your blyndnes, of your vnkindnes, a great vnnaturalnes, and ſuch an euyll, that if we thought it had not begon of ignorance, and continued by perſwaſion of certayne traytors amongſt you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doynges buſie, we could not be perſwaded but to vſe our ſword, and do iuſtice, and as we be ordeyned by God, that is, to redreſſe your errors, by auengment: but loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iuſt anger, but howe long that wyll be, God knoweth, in whoſe hand our hart is: and rather for your own cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubiectes, we would ye were perſwaded then vanquiſhed, informed then forced, taught then ouerthrowen, quietly pacified then rigorouſly perſecuted.

The rebels require the vi. Articles.

Ye require to haue the ſtatute of the ſixe articles reuiued: and knowe ye what ye require? or knowe ye what caſe ye haue in the loſſe of thē? They wer lawes made, but quickly repeled, too bloudy they were to be borne of our people, & yet at the firſt in dede made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubiectes, how are ye trapped by ſubtyle perſons? We of pity, becauſe they were bloudy, toke them away, & you now of ignorance wyl aſke them againe. You know ful wel, that they helped vs to extend rigor, & gaue vs cauſe to draw our ſword very often: they were as a whetſtone to our ſword, and for your cauſes we leaft to vſe thē. And ſince our mercy moued vs to write our lawes with mylke & equitie: how be ye blinded to aſke them in bloud?

The vi. Articles taken away by Parlament.

But leauyng this maner of reaſoning, & reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wyt, the ſame hath bene adnulled by our parlament, with great reioyce of our ſubiectes, & not now to be called by ſubiectes in queſtion. Dare then any of you with the name of a ſubiect, ſtand againſt an act of parlament, a law of the whole realme? What is our power, if lawes ſhould be thus neglected? yea, what is your ſurety, if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſurely, that we of no earthly thing vnder ẏ heauē, make ſuch a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to haue our law obeyed, & this cauſe of God which we haue taken in hand, to be thorowly mainteined from the which we wyl neuer remoue a heares breadth, nor geue place to any creature lyuyng, much les to any ſubiect, but therin wyl ſpend our own royal perſon, our crowne, treaſure, realme, & al our ſtate: whereof we aſſure you of our high honor. For herein in dede reſteth our honor, herein ſtandeth our kingdome, herein do all kynges knowledge vs a king. And ſhall any of you dare breathe or thinke againſt our honor, our kingdome, or crowne?

A notable zeale and a princely worde of a king.

The kinges age.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be geuē to vnderſtand) ye would haue them ſtand in force vntyl our ful age. To this we thinke, if ye knewe what ye ſpake, ye would neuer haue vttered the motion, nor euer geuē breath to ſuch a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your king now, as we ſhalbe? or ſhal ye be ſubiectes hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we ſhal haue? If ye would ſuſpend and hang our doynges in doubt vntyl our ful age, ye muſt firſt know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares nor tyme, but as a naturall man and creature of God, we haue youth, & by his ſuffrance ſhall haue age: we are your rightful king, your liege Lord, your king annoynted, your king crowned, the ſoueraygne king of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance, not only when we ſhall be .xxi. of yeares, but when we were of .x. yeares. We poſſeſſe our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloud and diſcent, frō our father king Henry the eight. You are our ſubiectes becauſe we be your king, and rule we wyl, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in vs, not to rule, as in a ſubiect not to obey.

A king poſſeſſeth his crowne not by yeares but by Gods ordinaunce.

If it be conſidered, they which moue this matter, if they durſt vtter thē ſelues, would deny our kingdome. But our good ſubiectes know their prince, & wyl encreaſe, not diminiſh his honor, enlarge, not abate his power, knowledg, not differre his kingdome to certaine yeares: al is one, to ſpeake againſt our crowne, & to deny our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto .xxi. yeares. Be we not your crowned, annoynted, & eſtabliſhed king? wherein then be we of leſſe maieſtie, of leſſe authoritie, or leſſe ſtate, then our progenitors kings of this realme? except your vnkindnes, our vnnaturalnes wyll diminiſh our eſtimation. We haue hytherto, ſince the death of our father, by the good aduiſe and counſaile of our deare and entirely beloued vncle, kept our ſtate, maintayned our Realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enemies: we haue hytherto bene feared and dread of our enemies: yea, of princes, kynges, and nations: yea, herein we be nothing inferiors to any our progenitours (which grace we knowledge to be geuē vs from God) & how els, but by good obedience of our people, good counſaile of our magiſtrates, due execution of our lawes. By authoritie of our kingdome, Englande hytherto hath gained honor, during our raigne, it hath wonne of the enemy, and not loſt.

It hath bene marueyled, that we of ſo young yeares haue raigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And how chaunceth it, that you our ſubiectes, of that our countrey of Deuonſhire, wyll geue the firſt occaſion to ſclaunder this our Realme of Englande, to geue courage to the enemye, to note our Realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a pray to our old enemies, to diminiſh our honor, which God hath geuen, our father leaft, our good vncle and Counſaile preſerued vnto vs? What greater euyll could ye commit, then euen now when our forreine enemie in Scotland and vpon the ſea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to ariſe in this maner againſt our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeance, and to geue vs an occaſion to ſpend that force vpon you, which we meant to beſtow vpon our enemies, to begin to ſlay you with that ſworde which we drewe forth againſt ẏ Scots and other enemies: to make a conqueſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould haue bene of the whole Realme of Scotland?

Yong yeares hyndereth not the royal gouernmēt of a realme.

Thus farre ye ſee we haue deſcended frō our high maieſtie for loue, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignorance, & haue ben content to ſend you an inſtruction like a fatherly prince, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtruction like a king to rebels, & now let you know, that as you ſee our mercy abundāt, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſweare to you by the lyuyng god, by whō we raigne, ye ſhal feele the power of the ſame God in our ſword: which howe mighty it is, no ſubiect knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can iudge, how mortal it is, no Engliſh hart dare thinke. But ſurely ſurely, as your Lord and Prince, your onely king and maiſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelues, & take our mercy without delay, or els we wyll forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our ſharpe ſworde againſt you, as againſt very Infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture our owne royal perſon, ſtate, and power, thē the ſame ſhal not be executed.

And if you wyll proue the example of our mercy, learne of certaine which lately dyd ariſe, pretending ſome griefes, and yet acknowledging their offences, haue not only receyued moſt humbly their pardon, but feele alſo by our order, to whom al publike order onely pertcyneth, redreſſe deuiſed for their griefes. In the end we admoniſh you of your dueties to God, whom ye ſhal anſweare in the day of the Lord, and of your dueties toward vs, whom ye ſhal anſweare by our order, and take our mercy whileſt God ſo encineth vs, leaſt whē ye ſhal be cōſtrained to aſke, we ſhal be too much hardened in hart to graunt it you: and where ye ſhall nowe heare of mercy, mercy and lyfe, ye ſhal then heare of iuſtice, iuſtice and death.

Geuen at Richmond, the. 8. day of Iuly,
the third yeare of our raigne.

Beſides the Articles of theſe Deuonſhire men aboue mentioned, the ſaid rebels ſent vp alſo not long after a ſupplication to the kyng, wherunto anſwere againe was made by the kings learned Counſaile, which here to make ſhort, leyſure ſerueth not to rehearſe.

A ſupplication of the rebells to the king, with the kinges aunſwere to the ſame.

Ouer and beſides, to behold the malitious workyng of thoſe popiſhe Prieſtes, to kindle more the ſparke of ſedition

in

Anno. 1549.

Falſe bruites and rumors by popiſh prieſtes ſtirred vp againſt the king.

in the peoples hartes, what bruites and rumours dyd they raiſe vp agaynſt the kyng and his Counſaile, making the vulgare multitude to beleeue, that they ſhoulde be made to pay firſt for their ſheepe, then for their geeſe and pigges alſo, and ſuche other thinges like: and what ſoeuer they had in ſtore, or ſhould put in their mouthes, they muſt fine therfore to the king. Of all which matter neuer a worde was eyther thought or meant. But this ſeemed matter fit for ſuch prieſtes wherby to ſet the prince & his ſubiectes together by the eares.

Syr John Ruſſell Lord priuie Seale Lieutenant generall of the kinges armye in the Weſt.

Againſt this ſeditious company of rebels was appointed & ſent by the kyng and his Counſaile, Syr Joh. Ruſſel knight, Lord priuy Seale, as Lieutenant general of the kinges armye, of whom chiefly depended the charge and atchiuaunce of that voiage in the Weſt partes. To hym alſo were adioyned as in parte of ordinary counſaile in thoſe affayres vnder hym, Sir William Harbert, Sir Joh. Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Tho. Speche, with the Lord Gray, and other beſides.

The rebels of Deuonſhyre diſcomfited.

1549.

Thus the ſaide Lord priuy Seale accompanied with the Lord Gray, aduauncing his power agaynſt the rebels, although in number of ſouldiers not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet through the gratious aſſiſtaunce of the Lordes helpe fightyng in his cauſe, and geuyng the aduenture agaynſt the enemie, about the later ende of Julye, an. 1549. gaue them the repulſe. Who notwithſtandyng recouering them ſelues agayne with ſuche ſtomackes as they had, encountred the ſecond tyme with the foreſaid Lord priuie Seale, about the beginnyng of Auguſt folowing, of whom, through the Lordes mighty power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe religion were vtterly vanquiſhed and ouerthrowen.

In the which victorie a great worke of Gods mighty power vndoubtedly dyd appeare. For although the number of the rebels dyd ſurmount in great quantitie, the power and ſtrength of the Lord priuy Seale, and their ſtomackes were ſo fiercely ſet vpon all deſperate aduentures, and though the power of ſir W. Harbert (beyng the ſame tyme at Briſtow) was not yet preſently come, which ſhould haue ioyned with the Lord priuye Seale: yet al this notwithſtanding, the goodnes of the Lord ſo wrought on the kinges behalfe, more then any induſtry of man (which in al reſpectes in handling that matter was very raw and farre behynd) that the victorie fell to the kinges part, vnder the valiaūt guidyng of ẏ aforeſaid L. priuy Seale: ſo ẏ the popiſhe rebels not onely loſt the fielde, but a great part of them alſo loſt their lyues, lying there ſlaine miſerably in the chaſe to the compaſſe of two myles ſpace. Where alſo were takē and apprehended the chiefetaines and ringleaders of that miſchieuous daiſie: whereof the principal were Humfrey Arundell, Berry, Thomas Underhyl, John Soleman, W. Segar, Tempſon, and Barret two Prieſtes, Henry Bray and Henry Lee, two Maiors, with diuers other moe aboue ſpecified: al which accordingly afterward were executed.

The great goodnes of God in the victory agaynſt the rebelles.

The laudable ſeruice of the L. priuie Seale.

False truſt of the Deuonſhyre men in their Popiſh Idoles diſappointed. The Sacrament in the pixe brought to the battaile in a Carte.

These rebels to make their part more ſure by the helpe and preſence of their conſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the batayle the Pixe vnder his Canaby, and in ſteede of an aultar where he was hanging before, ſet him nowe ridyng in a Carte. Neither was there lackyng maſſes, croſſes, banners, candleſtickes, with holy bread alſo and holy water plenty, to defend them from deuyls & al aduerſary power, which in the ende neither could helpe their frendes, nor yet could ſaue them ſelues from the handes of their enemies, but eftſoones both the conſecrated God & all the trompery about hym, was taken in the cart, & there lay al in the duſt, leauyng to them a notable leſſon of better experience howe to put their confidence hereafter in no ſuche vaine Idols, but only in the true liuyng God, and immortall maker, to be ſerued according to his preſcribed worde, and that onely in the fayth of his ſonne, and not after their owne dreamyng phantaſies.

Muſcleborough field in Scotland.

The ſtorie whereof putteth me alſo in remembraunce of an other like popiſh fielde, (called Muſcleborough field) fought in Scotland the yeare before this, where the Scots likewiſe encampyng them ſelues againſt the Lorde Protectour, and the kynges power ſent into Scotlande, dyd in ſemblable wiſe bring with them to the batayle the conſecrated Gods of their aultars, wt maſſes croſſes bāners, & al their popiſh ſtuffe of Idolatrie, hauing great affiaunce, by vertue thereof to haue a great day againſt the Engliſh armye, as in deede to mans iudgement might ſeeme not vnlike. For the number of the Scottes armye ſo farre exceeded our, and they were ſo appoynted with their pykes in the firſt fronte agaynſt our horſemen (whiche gaue the firſt onſet) that our men were fayne to recule, not without the loſſe of diuers Gentlemen. Notwithſtandyng the mightye arme of the Lord ſo turned the victorie, that the Scottes in the ende, with all their Maſſes, Pixes and Idolatrous trinkets were put to the worſe. Of whom in that field were ſlaine betwene. xiij. and. xiiij. thouſande, and not paſſing an hundred Engliſhe men. The cauſe of this was the promiſe of the Scots made before to king Henry for the mariage of the yong Scottiſh queene to king Edward, which promiſe the ſaid Scots afterwarde brake, and paid therafter.

Gods mighty arme fighting with K. Edward in Scotland.

The vayne truſt of the Scottes in their Maſſes and ſacrament of the aultar.

A notable victorye through the Lordes power of K. Edward in Scotland.

In the whiche victorie this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and houre when the Images were burned openly in Londō, the Scots wer put to flight in Muſcleborough, as is credibly noted in Records.

A ſturre in Oxfordſhyre and Buckinghamſhyre.

Duryng this hurley burley amongeſt the popiſh rebels in Cornwall and Deuonſhire, the like commotion at the ſame tyme, by ſuche like popiſh prieſtes, as Homes and his felowes, began to gender in the parties of Oxforde & Buckingham, but that was ſoone appeaſed by the Lord Gray, who commyng downe that waye into Deuonſhire, chaſed the Rebelles to their houſes. Of whom two hundred wer taken, and a doſen of the ringleaders deliuered vnto hym, wherof certayne were after executed.

Rebellion in Northfolke.

In Northfolke and partyes thereabout, albeit ẏ original of their tumultuous ſtirring was not for ẏ like cauſe, yet ẏ obſtinate hartes of that vnruly multitude ſeemed no leſſe bent vpon miſchiefe, to diſturbe publike peace, whiche was alſo in the moneth of July the yeare aboueſaide. For repreſſion of which rebellion, firſt was ſent the Lord Marques of Northampton, with ſpeciall inſtruction to auoyde the fight, and ſo by order was appointed with a number of horſe to keepe the fielde and paſſages, whereby they beyng ſtopped from vittayle, might the ſooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to ſeeke their pardon. Who then folowyng other policie, then by order was geuen, came and pynned hym ſelfe within the citie of Norwiche, whiche afterwarde they were fayne to abandon, the Rebelles preſſing vpon the Citie ſo on euery ſide, that at length they obteyned the ſame. Neuertheles in all that conflicte there was but an hundreth on both ſides ſlayne, and otherwiſe no great loſſe, but onely the loſſe of the Lord Sheffielde.

Inſtructions geuen to the Lord Marques.

The L. Sheffeld ſlayne at Norwich.

The rebelles of Northfolke ſuppreſſed.

Then was ſente downe agaynſte them the Earle of Warwike with ſufficient force and number of ſouldiers, beſides the conuey of two thouſande Almaines, by whom the rude and confuſed rabble was there ouerthrowen & ſlayne, to the number, as is ſuppoſed at the leaſt, of. 4000. And in fine, both the Ketres chiefe ſtirrers and authors of that commotion were taken and put to execution, & one of thē hanged vp in chaynes.

An other rebellion or tumulte begon in Yorkſhyre.

Moreouer, beſides theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter ende of the ſayd moneth of Julye, the ſame yeare, whiche was 1549. an other like ſturre or Commotion beganne at Semer, in the Northridyng of Yorkeſhire, and continued in the Eaſtridyng of the ſame, and there ended. The principal doers and raylers vp whereof was one W. Ombler of Eaſtheſlertō yeoman, and Tho. Dale pariſhclarke of Semer, with one Steuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephewe to Ombler. Which Steuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betwene the ſayd Ombler & Dale, beyng before not acquainted together, and dwellyng ſeuen myles one from the other. Who at laſt by the trauayle of the ſayd Steuenſon and their owne euyl diſpoſitions inclined to vngratiouſnes and miſchiefe, knowyng before one the others minde by ſecrete conference, were brought to talke together on Saint James day. an. 1549.

The chiefe ſtyrrers of this rebellion in the North.

The cauſes mouing the Yorkeſhyre men to rebellion.

The cauſes mouing thē to raiſe this rebelliō, wer theſe, firſt & principally their trayterous hartes grudging at the kynges moſt godly proceedinges, in aduauncyng and reformyng the true honor of God, & his religion. An other cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blind & a fantaſtical prophecy, wherwith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame prophecie ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, by hearyng the rebellions of Northfolke, of Deuonſhire, and other places.

A blind propheſie amongſt the Northern men.

The tenor of which propheſie & purpoſe, together of the traytors was, that there ſhould no king reigne in Englād: the noblemē & gentlemē to be deſtroyed: & the realme to be ruled by. 4. gouernors, to be elected & appointed by ẏ cōmōs holding a parliamēt in cōmotiō, to begyn at ẏ ſouth & north ſeas of Englande. &c. ſuppoſing that this their rebellion in the North, & the other of the Deuonſhire men in the weſt, meetyng (as they entēded) at one place, to be the meane how to compaſſe this their trayterous deuiliſh deuiſe.

The deuiſe of the rebels how to compaſſe their purpoſe.

And therfore laying their ſtudyes together, howe they might finde out more companye to ioyne with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and to ſet forward the ſturre, this deuiſe they framed, to ſturre in two places, the one diſtant ſeuen myles from the other, and at the firſt ruſh to kyl and deſtroy ſuch gentlemen and men of ſubſtaunce about them, as were fauourers of the kinges proceedynges, or which would reſiſt them. But firſt of al, for the more ſpeedy ray-

Falſe lyes forged of Gods true religion.

ſing of men, they deuiſed to burne Beacons, and thereby to bryng the people together, as though it were to defende the Sea coaſtes, and hauyng the ignoraunt people aſſembled, then to poure out their poyſon: firſt beginning with ỹ rudeſt and poreſt ſorte, ſuche as they thought were pricked w̃ pouertie, and were vnwillyng to labour, and therefore the more readye to folowe the ſpoyle of riche mens goodes, blowing into their heades, that Gods ſeruice was layde aſide, and newe inuentions neyther good nor godly put in place, and ſo fedyng them with fayre promiſes, to reduce into the Church agayne their olde ignoraunce and Idolatrie, thought by that meanes ſooneſt to allure them to rage and runne with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the entent they would geue the more terrour to the gentlemen at their firſt riſing, leaſt they ſhould be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murdered in Churches, ſome in their houſes, ſome in ſeruyng the kyng in commiſſion, and other as they might be caught, and to picke quarrels to thẽ by alteration of ſeruice on the holy dayes. And thus was the platforme caſt of their deuice, according as afterward by their confeſſion at their examinations was teſtified, and remayneth in true recorde.

The conſpiracie of the rebels vttered in dronkennes.

Foure men cruelly murthered by the rebels in the North.

Thus they beyng together agreed, Ombler and Dale, and other by their ſecrete appoyntment, ſo laboured the matter in the pariſh of Semer, Wintringham, & ỹ townes about, that they were infected with the poyſon of this confederacie, in ſuch ſort, that it was eaſie to vnderſtãd wherunto they would encline, if a commotion were begun. The accompliſhment wherof did ſhortly folow. For although by the wordes of one drunken felow of that conſpiracie named Calucred, at the alehouſe in Wintringham, ſome ſuſpitiõ of that rebellion beganne to be ſmelled before by the Lorde Preſident and Gentlemen of thoſe parties, and ſo preuented in that place wher the rebels thought to begyn: yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drewe to an other place at Semer by the Sea coaſt, and there by night rode to the Beacon at Staxton, and ſet it on fire: and ſo gathering together a rude route of raſcals out of the townes neare about being on a ſturre, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale haſted forthw̃ with ỹ rebels to M. Whytes houſe, to take hym, who notwithſtanding being on horſebacke, myndyng to haue eſcaped their handes, Dale, Ombler, and the reſt of the rebels tooke hym, and Clopton his wyues brother, one Sauage a marchaunt of Yorke, and one Bery ſeruaunt to Sir Walter Mildmay, whiche foure without cauſe or quarrel, ſauyng to fulfill their ſeditious Prophecie in ſome part, and to geue a terror to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had carryed them one myle frõ Semer towardes the Wolde, and there after they had ſtripped them of their clothes and purſes, leaſt them naked behynd them in the plaine fieldes for crowes to fede on, vntyl Whites wife, and Sauages wyfe then at Semer cauſed them to be buryed.

The rebels in Yorkeſhyre gathered to three thouſand perſons.

Long it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe Rebelles kept in their raging madneſſe, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne, to enlarge their vngratious and rebellious bande, taking thoſe with force which were not willing to go, & leauyng in no towne wher they came, any man aboue the age of. xvi. yeares, ſo encreaſed this number, that in ſhort time they had gathered three thouſand to fauour their wicked attemptes, and had like to haue gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodnes through prudent circumſpection haue interrupted the courſe of their furious beginnyng.

The kinges free pardon ſent to the rebels.

Ombler refuſed the kinges pardon.

For firſt came the kynges gratious and free pardon, diſcharging and pardonyng them and the reſt of the Rebels of all treaſons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his maieſtie, before the. xxi. of Auguſt, ann. 2549. Whiche pardon although Ombler contemptuouſly refuſed, perſiſtyng ſtyll in his wilfull obſtinacie, diſſwadyng alſo the reſt from the humble acceptyng the kynges ſo louyng and liberal pardon, yet notwithſtanding with ſome it dyd good.

Ombler captaine of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

To make ſhorte, it was not long after this, but Ombler, as he was ridyng from towne to towne, twelue myles from Hũmanby, to charge all the Conſtables and inhabitantes where he came, in the kinges name to reſort to Hũmanby, by the way he was eſpied, and by the circumſpecte diligence of Iohn Word the younger, Iames Aſlaby, Raſe Thwinge, and Thomas Conſtable Gentlemen, he was had in chaſe, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the night in ſure cuſtodye vnto the citie of Yorke, to anſweare to his demerites.

After whom within ſhort tyme, Thomas Dale, Henrye Barton, the firſt chiefetaynes and ryngleaders of the former commotion, with Iohn Dale, Robert Wright, W. Peycocke, Wetherel, & Edm. Buttry, buſie ſturrers in this ſedition, as they trauayled from place to place drawe people to their faction, were likewiſe apprehended, committed to warde, lawfully conuicted, and laſtly executed at Yorke the. xxi. of Septemb. an. 1549. Ex actis Iudicij publici regiſtro receptis et notatis.

Ex actis iudiciarijs regiſtro exceptis & notatis.

The ſtyrring and riſing of the French K. againſt King Edward.

To theſe peſtiferous commotions rayſed vp againſte kyng Edwarde by his owne ſubiectes in this yeare aforeſayde within the Realme, I might alſo adioyne the buſie ſturryng and raging of the French kyng, agaynſt our yong and innocent Prince, without the Realme. Who hearyng of theſe tumultes and violent inſurrections of the kynges ſubiectes, in diuers and ſundrye quarters of the Realme, ſuppoſing to take the time for his moſt aduantage, thought likewiſe for his part not to be vnoccupyed. Who after he had by his ambaſſadour made open breche with the kyng, immediately after the reuocation of the ſayd ambaſſadour from hence, entendyng to annoy the king, and make his firſt inuaſion againſt the Iles of Ierſey and Gerneſey, thought to haue ſurpriſed our ſhips and the ſaide Iles with a certayne number of his ſhips and Galleys. In the which his aſſault, he was ſo hotly ſaluted by the kynges ſhips and the Iſland, that by the confeſſion of them that ſawe it, and by the report written vnto the Lord Protector, the French men at leaſt loſt a thouſand men, their ſhips and Galleys ſo ſpoyled, as being forced to returne home, they were not able then to ſet out againe.

Ex literis D. Protectoris.

Furthermore, out of Fraunce credible worde was brought to the Lorde Protectour (whiche yet in letters appeareth) that into one towne in one veſſell were brought at leaſt three ſcore Gentlemen to be buryed: and alſo an inhibition ſpecial geuen out by the kyng, not to ſpeake of the ſucceſſe in that iourney. This was about the beginnyng of Auguſt. 1549.

Ex literis D. Clintoni.

The wonderfull protection of the Lord in defending king Edward.

The like alſo might be noted of the loſſes of the ſayde French kyng at Bullenbergh, the eight day of Auguſt, the ſame yeare, as by the Lord Clintons letters may well appeare: but for ſpending of tyme I paſſe it ouer. What the meanyng of the French king was in theſe voyages, or how he intended further to procede, I haue not herein to deale. This is certaine and euident, that the mighty arme of God mercyfully fought for king Edward his ſeruaunt, to defend and deliuer hym from ſo many hard daungers, ſo daũgerous and ſundrye commotions ſtyrred vp in ſo many quarters within this Realme, and alſo without the Realme, and all within the compaſſe of one yeare, and yet the Lorde aboue fighting for his true ſeruant, diſpatched them al, as in ſtory here ye haue heard declared, and is no leſſe worthy of all poſteritie to be noted.

Matter concernyng Edmuud Boner Biſhop of London, with declaration of the actes and proces entred againſt hym in king Edwardes tyme.

Read afore pag. 1278.

AND thus muche hytherto hauyng diſcourſed touchyng the manyfolde troubles and tumultes rayſed vp on euerye ſide againſt king Edward, by his vnkinde and vnnatural ſubiectes, and yet notwithſtandyng, the gratious goodneſſe of the Lorde euer geuyng hym the victorie: nowe let vs returne againe to Boner Biſhop of London, where we leaſt hym before, that is, in his owne houſe, where he was by the Counſaile commaunded to remayne, as is aboue ſignified, pag. 1277.

Sitting of the kinges Commiſſioners in Paules Church.

An oth mynyſtred to Boner to forſweare the Pope.

And nowe for ſo much as we haue to enter into the ſtorie of the ſaide Boner, for the better vnderſtanding of the whole order thereof, it ſhalbe requiſite to ryp vp the matter with the circumſtaunces and occaſions thereof from the firſt beginnyng of kyng Edwardes tyme. Where is to be vnderſtanded, that king Edward in the firſt yeare of his raigne, an. 1547. the firſt day of September, for the order of his viſitation, directed out certaine Commiſſioners, as ſir Antony Cooke, ſir Iohn Godſaule knightes, Maiſter Iohn Gooſaule, Chriſtopher Neuinſon Doctours of the Lawe, and Iohn Madew Doctour of Diuinitie. Who ſittyng in Paules Church vpon their Commiſſion the day & yeare aforeſaide, there being preſent at the ſame tyme Edmund Biſhop of London, Iohn Royſton, Polidore Virgil, Peter Van, & others of ỹ ſaid Cathedrall Church, after the ſermon made, and the Commiſſion being read, miniſtred an othe vnto the ſaid Biſhop of London, to renoũce and deny the Biſhop of Rome with his vſurped authoritye, and to ſweare obedience vnto the kyng, according to the effect and forme of ỹ ſtatute made in the. xxxi. yeare of kyng Henry the eight: alſo that he ſhould preſent and redreſſe all and ſingular ſuch thinges as were needful within the ſayd Church to be reformed.

Boner requireth to ſee their Commiſſion.

Wherupon the ſaid Biſhop humbly and inſtantly deſired them that he might ſee their Commiſſion, only for this purpoſe & intent (as he ſaid) that he might the better fulfill & put in execution the thynges, wherein he was charged by

Anno. 1549.

them in their commiſſiõ. Unto whom the Commiſſioners anſwearing, ſaid, they would deliberate more vpon the matter, and ſo they called yͤ other miniſters of the ſaid Church before them, and miniſtred the like othe vnto them, as they dyd to the biſhop before. To whom moreouer there & then certaine interrogatories and articles of inquiſition were read by Peter Lilly yͤ publike Notary. Which done, after their othes taken, the ſaid Commiſſioners deliuered vnto the Biſhop aforeſaid certaine Iniunctions as wel in print as written, and Homilies ſet forth by the king. Al whiche thinges the ſaid Biſhop receyued vnder the wordes of this proteſtation, as foloweth.

Peter Lilly the publicke Notarye.

IDoo receyue theſe Iniunctions and Homilies with this proteſtation, that I wyll obſerue them, if they be not contrarye and repugnaunt to Gods lawe, and the ſtatutes and ordinaunce of the Churche, and immediately added with an othe, that he neuer read the ſaide Homilies and Iniunctions.

Boners proteſtation before the commiſſioners receauing the kinges Iniunctions.

The whiche Proteſtation being made in manner and fourme aforeſaid, the ſaid Edmund Biſhop of London inſtantly deſired and required Peter Lilly the Regiſter aforeſaid, there and then to regiſter & enact yͤ ſame. And ſo yͤ ſaide Commiſſioners deliuering the Iniunctions and Homilies to Maiſter Bellaſſer Archedeacon of Colcheſter, and to Gilbert Bourne Archdeacon of London, Eſſex, and Middleſexe, and enioynyng them in moſt effectuous maner, vnder paines therein cõtained, to put yͤ ſame in ſpedy execuciõ, and alſo reſeruing other newe Iniunctions to be miniſtred afterwarde, as well to the Biſhop, as to the Archdeacons aforeſaid, according as they ſhould ſee cauſe. &c. dyd ſo continue the viſitatiõ tyl three of the clocke the ſame day in the afternoone.

At the which houre and place aſſigned, the Commiſſioners being ſet, and the Canons and Prieſtes of the ſayd Churche appearing before them, and being examined vpon vertue of their othe, for their doctrine and conuerſation of lyfe: firſt one Iohn Painter, one of the Canons of the ſaid Cathedral Church, there and then openly confeſſed, that he viciouſly and carnally had often the company of a certain married mans wife, whoſe name he denied to declare. In the which crime diuers other Canons and Prieſtes of the ſaid church, confeſſed in like maner, and could not deny thẽ ſelues to be culpable.

Note the corrupt lyfe of theſe vnmaried Prieſtes and Popiſh Votaries.

And then after the Commiſſioners aforeſaide had deliuered to Maiſter Royſton Prebendarye, and to the Proctour of the Deane and of the Chapter of the ſayde Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paul, the kynges Iniunctions, and the booke of Homilies, enioynyng them to ſee the execution thereof, vnder payne therein ſpecified, they prorogued their ſaide viſitation vntyll ſeuen of the clocke the next day folowing.

By this viſitation aboue ſpecified, it appeareth, gentle Reader, firſt how Boner made his Proteſtation after the receiuyng of the kinges Iniunctions, and alſo howe he after required the ſame to be put in publike record. Furthermore, thou haſt to note the vnchaſte life and conuerſation of theſe popiſh votaries and prieſtes of Paules. Nowe what folowed after this proteſtation of the biſhop made, remayneth further in the ſequele of the ſtory to be declared. Wherein firſt thou ſhalt vnderſtãd, that the ſaid biſhop ſhortly after his proteſtatiõ, whether for feare or for cõſcience, repentyng hym ſelfe, went vnto the kyng, where he ſubmittyng hym ſelfe, & recanting his former proteſtation, craued pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanor toward his graces Commiſſioners, in the former viſitation. Which pardõ, notwithſtanding it was graunted vnto hym by the kyng, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the euyl example of the fact, it was thought good that he ſhould be committed to the Fleete, as by the tenor of the Counſayles letter ſent to the Commiſſioners, maye appeare, whiche together with the forme alſo of the biſhops proteſtation & of his recantation, here vnder foloweth.

Thinges in this viſitation to be noted.

Boner repenteth hys euil demeanour in his proteſtation.

Boner ſent to the Fleete

To our very louyng frendes Syr Anthony Cooke knight, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, for the viſitation at London, in haſte.

The kinges letter to the Commiſſioners concerning the recantation and pardoning of Boner.

AFter our harty commendations: This ſhalbe to ſignifie vnto you, that we haue receyued your letters, and in the ſame encloſed the copie of the proteſtation made by the biſhop of London, in the tyme of your viſitation at Paules: your wiſe proceedinges wherin and aduertiſementes from you, we take in very thankfull part towardes vs. And becauſe the ſaide Biſhop which being here before vs, hath acknowledged his indiſcrete demeanour, dyd at that tyme at Paules require the Regiſter of your viſitation to make recorde and enter of his proteſtation, and nowe vppon better cõſideration of his duetie, maketh meanes to haue the ſame reuoked, as ſhall appeare vnto you by the true copie of his writyng incloſed, the orignall whereof remainyng with vs he hath ſubſcribed: we pray you to cauſe the Regiſter to make enter of this his reuocation, accordyng vnto the tenor of this his ſaid writing: Further ſignifying vnto you, that in reſpecte of his offence, and the euyll enſample that might therupon enſue, we haue thought mete to ſend hym to the priſon of the Fleete, whither he hath bene cõueyed by maſter Vicechamberlaine. And wheras ſundry thinges for the kings maieſties ſeruice do nowe occurre here, which require the preſent attendance of you ſir Iohn Godſaule, as wel for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonoryſhip: we praye you, that leauyng the execution of the viſitation to the reſt of your colleages, you make your repayre hyther with conuenient diligence. Thus fare you right hartily well. From Hampton Court the. 12. of Septemb. 1547.

Boner recanteth hys proteſtation. Boner requireth his recantation to be regyſtred.

The Copy of Boners recantation.

Your aſſured louyng frendes,

Tho. Canterbury.
William S. Iohn.
Iohn Ruſſel.
Tho. Semer.
William Paget.

Anthony Broune.
William Peter.
Anthony Denny.
Edward North.

The forme of Boners recantation.

WHere as I Edmund Biſhop of London, at ſuche tyme as I receyued the kyngs maieſties Iniunctions and Homilies of my moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord, at the handes of his highnes viſitours, dyd vnaduiſedly make ſuch proteſtation, as nowe vpon better conſideration of my duetie of obedience, and of the euyl enſample that might enſue vnto others thereof, appeareth to me neyther reaſonable, nor ſuche as might wel ſtande with the duetie of an humble ſubiect: for ſo much as the ſame proteſtation at my requeſt was then by the Regiſter of that viſitation enacted and put in Record, I haue thought it my duetie, not onely to declare before your Lordſhips, that I doo nowe vppon better conſideration of my duetie, renounce and reuoke my ſaide proteſtation, but alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that this my reuocation of the ſame may be in like wiſe put in the ſame recordes for a perpetuall memorye of the truth, moſt humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhips both to take order that it may take effect, and alſo that my former and vnaduiſed doinges maye be by your good mediations pardoned of the kinges maieſtie.

Edmund London.

The Regiſter of theſe affayres of Boners, remayneth in the hands of Peter Lilly, then beyng Regiſter to the foreſayd Commiſſioners.

Ex Regiſtro Petri Lilij.

Thus farre thou haſt heard (louyng Reader) firſte the popiſh proteſtation of Boner, thẽ how he callyng him ſelfe home agayne, ſolemly recanted yͤ ſame, requiryng further yͤ ſayd his reuocation to be committed to publike Record, for a perpetual remembraunce. Alſo how he vpon his humble ſubmiſſion receyued his pardon of the kyng, and yet for examples ſake was cõmaũded to the Fleete. Where he neuertheles dyd not long continue, but accordyng to the effect of the kynges pardon afore graunted, was reſtored both to houſe and lyuyng againe: Whiche was in the firſt yeare of the kyng. ann. 1547.

The order of Boners doinges in the beginning of K. Edward.

After this ye haue hearde alſo in the ſtory aboue, in the ſecond yeare, and a great part of the third yeare of the king, howe he demeaned hym ſelfe, although not muche forwarde in aduauncyng the kynges proceedynges, yet in ſuch ſort, as no great aduauntage by any law could be taken againſt hym, both in ſwearyng his obedience to the king, and in receiuyng his Iniunctions: alſo in profeſſing his aſſent and conſent touchyng the ſtate of Religion then: and furthermore in directyng out his letters, accordyng to the Archbiſhop of Canterburyes Preceptes, to Clonye his Sumner, to the Biſhop of Weſtminiſter and other Byſhoppes, for aboliſhyng of Images, for abrogatiõ of yͤ Maſſe, for Bibles to be ſet vp, and for miniſtryng in both kyndes, with ſuche other matters of reformation like: tyl at length he hearyng of the death of the Lord Admyrall the Lorde Protectors brother, and after that of the ſturryng and ryſing of the kynges ſubiectes in ſundrye tumultes agaynſt the kyng, beganne ſomewhat, as he durſt, to drawe backe and ſlacke his paſtorall diligence, ſo that in many places of his Dioces, and in London the people not onely were negligent in reſortyng to diuine ſeruice, but alſo dyd frequent

Read afore pag. 1256. and pag. 1263.

Boner beginneth to ſlacke in his diligence.

and

haunt forreyne rites of Maſſes and other orders, then in this Realme were appoynted, and he alſo hym ſelfe contrarye to his wonted maner vpon principall Feaſtes refuſed in his owne perſon to execute. Whereuppon he beyng ſuſpected and complayned of, and conuented before the kynges Counſayle (as ye heard before) after ſharpe admonitions and reprooſes, had certayn priuate Iniunctions to hym enioyned.

Matters put to Boner to redreſſe

1 Firſte, that he ſhoulde perſonally preache within three weekes after at Paules Croſſe.

2 That according as his predeceſſors were wont to celebrate Maſſe, he at ſuch woonted tymes ſhould execute and adminiſter the Communion.

3 That he ſhoulde call before hym and correcte more diligently ſuch trãſgreſſours as abſented them ſelues from the order of ſeruice and miniſtration of the Lordes boorde, appoynted then in Churches by the kynges ordinannce.

4 That he ſhould ſee more carefully and vigilantly to the puniſhment of adulterers and fornicators.

Boner informed to preach at Paules Croſſe.

5 That he in the meane while ſhould be reſident within his owne houſe, duryng the tyme while he ſhould make his ſermõ at Paules aboue mentioned, which was an. 1549. In the which ſermon certayne ſpecial poyntes were prefixed vnto hym, whereupon he ſhould entreate, which here in order folow, and are theſe.

Special poyntes and articles to be entreated of Boner Biſhop of London, in his Sermon.

Speciall pointes inioyned Boner to preach vpon.

1 That all ſuch as rebell againſt their Prince, get vnto them damnation, and thoſe that reſiſt the higher power, reſiſt the ordinaunces of God, and he that dyeth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is vtterly damned, and ſo looſeth both bodye and ſoule. And therefore thoſe Rebelles in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or els where, who take vppon them to aſſemble a power and force againſt their king and Prince, againſt the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme, and goe about to ſubuert the ſtate and order of the common wealth, not onely do deſerue therfore death, as traytors and rebels, but do accumulate to thẽ ſelues eternall damnation, euen to be in the burnyng fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and firſt authour of pride, diſobedience, and rebellion, what pretence ſoeuer they haue, and what Maſſes or holy water ſo euer they pretende, or goe about to make among them ſelues, as Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, for rebellion againſt Moſes, were ſwalowed downe aliue into hell, although they pretended to ſacrifice vnto God.

What thynges be neceſſarye to be ioyned in all Gods ſeruice.

Externe rites and ceremonies how farre they ſerue.

Ceremonies made naught by diſobedience.

Folyſh deuotion.

The hart maketh true deuotion.

2 Likewiſe in the order of the Church and externe rites and ceremonies of diuine ſeruice, for ſo muche as God requireth humilitie of harte, innocencie of liuyng, knowledge of hym, charitie and loue to our neighbours, and obedience to his woorde, and to his Miniſters and ſuperiour powers, theſe we muſt bring to all our prayers, to all our ſeruice, and this is the ſacrifice that Chriſt requireth, & theſe be thoſe that make al thinges pleaſaunt vnto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exerciſes of our religion, and appoyntable by ſuperiour powers, in choſing wherof we muſt obey the magiſtrates: the which thinges alſo we do ſee euer hath bene and ſhalbe (as the tyme and place is) diuers, and yet al hath pleaſed God ſo long as theſe before ſpoken inward thinges be there. If any man ſhal vſe the olde rites, and thereby diſobey the ſuperiour power, the deuotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his diſobedience: ſo that, which els (ſo long as the law dyd ſo ſtand) might be good, by pride & diſobediẽce now is made nought: as Saules ſacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aarons two children were. But who that ioyneth to deuotion obedience, he wynneth the garland. For els it is a zeale, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, a wyl, deſire, zeale, and deuotiõ but not after wiſedome, that is a fooliſhe deuotion which can require no thankes or prayſe. And yet agayne, where ye obey, ye muſt haue deuotion, for God requireth the harte more then the outwarde doynges, and therefore who that taketh the Communion, or ſaith or heareth the ſeruice appoynted by the kinges Maieſtie, muſt bryng deuotion and inward prayer with hym, or els his prayers are but vaine, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the hart & mind to pray to hym.

3 Further, ye ſhal for example on ſonday come ſeuenth night after the aforeſaid date, celebrate the Communion at Paules Church.

4 Ye ſhal alſo ſet forth in your ſermon that our authoritie of royal power, is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritye and force in this our yong age, then is, or was of any of our predeceſſors, though the ſame were much elder, as may appeare by example of Ioſias, and other young kinges in ſcripture: and therfore al our ſubiectes to be no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of. xxx. or. xl. yeares of age.

Boners preaching much looked for of the people.

The deliuery of theſe Iniunctions & articles vnto the Biſhop (with the tyme of his appoynted preaching) was ſoone after knowen abroad amongſt the Citizens and other the Cõmons within the citie of London, ſo that euery man expecteth the time therof, wiſhing to heare the ſame. Which beyng once come, the biſh. according to the tenor of the Iniunctions, publikely preached at the Croſſe of Paules, the firſt day of Septemb. Howbeit as hypocriſie neuer lurketh ſo ſecretly in the hartes of the wicked, but that at one tyme or other God in his moſt righteous iudgement maketh it open vnto the world: ſo at this preſent was the long coloured peruerſe obſtinacie, and inueſtred hatred of this double faced diſſembler, againſt the kynges godly proceedynges, moſt plainly manifeſted by his diſobedient demeanor in this his ſermon.

The diſobedient ſtubbernes of Boner in his ſermon at Paules Croſſe.

For where as he was onely commaunded to entreate vpon ſuche ſpeciall poyntes as were mentioned in his articles: he yet, both beſides the Counſayles commaundemẽt, to the withdrawyng of the myndes of the common people, in as much as in hym lay, from the right and true vnderſtanding of the holy Sacramente miniſtred in the holy Communion then ſet forth by the authoritie of the kynges maieſtie, (accordyng to the true ſence of the holy ſcripture) dyd ſpend moſt part of his ſermon about the groſſe, carnal, and papiſticall preſence of Chriſtes bodye and bloud in the ſacrament of the aultar, and alſo contrary therunto, did not onely ſlenderly touch the reſt of his articles, but of a rebellious and wylful careleſneſſe, dyd vtterly leaue out vnſpokẽ the whole laſt article, cõcernyng the as effectual & as lawful authoritie of the kyngs highnes during his young age, as if he were. xxx. or. xl. yeares olde: notwithſtandyng the ſame (becauſe it was the trayterous opinion of the popiſhe rebels) was by ſpeciall commaundement chiefly appoynted hym to entreate vpon.

W. Latimer and Iohn Hooper againſt Boner.

This contemptuous & diſobedient dealing, as it greatly offended moſt of the kinges faythful and louyng ſubiectes there preſent, ſo did it much miſlike the myndes, & was far from the good expectation, as well of that faythfull & godly preacher maiſter Iohn Hooper afterwardes biſhop of Worceſter & Glouceſter, and laſtly a moſt conſtant martyr for the Goſpel of Chriſt: as alſo of M. William Latimer, Bacheler of Diuinitie, & therefore they well weyng the fulnes of the fact, and their bounden allegeaunces vnto their Prince, dyd therupon exhibite vnto the kinges highnes vnder both their names, a byl of complaynt or denunciatiõ againſt the ſayd biſhop in forme folowing.

The denuntiation of Iohn Hooper and Wilam Latimer againſt Boner, to the kynges maieſtie, for leauing vndone the pointes afore mentioned, which he was charged to preache vpon.

The denuntiation of W. Latimer and Iohn. Hoper denouncers agaynſt Boner.

Yeares and age doe not make a king but the right of ſucceſſion.

IN moſt humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your Maieſtie, William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, that where of late, as we be certainely informed frõ your maieſtie, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince Edwarde Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of your Royall perſon, and Protectour of al your highnes Realmes, dominiõs and ſubiects, and the reſt of your priuie Counſayle, there was certayne Iniunctions geuen to the Biſhop of London that nowe is, with Articles to be inſinuated and preached vnto your ſubiectes at a certayne daye limited, the whiche Iniunctions and articles dyd onely tende to the honour of GOD, and the better inſtruction of your highnes people, to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinye, wherewith of late this your Maieſties Realme hath bene maruelouſly vexed, to the daunger of your highnes perſon, and the ſtate of the whole Realme, and therefore a thyng at this tyme moſt neceſſary to be taught vnto yͤ people, that they might knowe their duetie vnto your maieſtie, and vnto almightye God, and eſpecially to acknowledge your Maieſtie in theſe yeares and age to be a perfect, high, and ſoueraigne Lord & kyng, and ſupreme head, whoſe lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes we are bounde to obey, as well as any princes ſubiectes are bounde to obey the lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes of their naturall and ſoueraigne Lord, notwithſtandyng that nature hath not yet geuen vnto your perſon ſuche age as we truſt he ſhall, nor ſo many yeares, which we wiſhe to be ſo many as any Prince euer had, the whiche yeares doo not make you Kyng or Prince, but the right of your byrth and lawfull ſucceſſion what ſoeuer it be, ſo that we all muſt as well acknowledge your maieſtie to be our King and Prince, at theſe yeares, as if you were of the age of thirty or fourty yeares, and your

lawes

Boner left out of hys Sermon the Article of the kynges authoritie.

lawes and ſtatutes no leſſe to be feared and obeyed, then if your hyghnes were, L. or C. yeare old, (the whiche thyng not onely is moſt certainely true, but alſo at this tyme moſt neceſſary to be taught, eſpecially when diuers rebelles haue openly declared, that they would not obey your hyghnes lawes, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Maieſtie to be auaylable till ye come to the age of xx. yeares) and this not onely beyng ſo, but the ſame thyng beyng commaunded by your ſayd Maieſtie amongeſt other Iniunctiōs and Articles geuen in writyng to the ſayd Edmund Boner, to be preached in his laſt Sermon, as by the ſame Iniunctiō may appeare, of the whiche the true copye we haue when neede is to be ſhewed: yet all this notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Boner, of what zeale or mynde we cannot tell, whether fauoryng the opinion of the ſayd rebelles, or contemnyng your hyghnes commaundement declared to hym, hath not onely left out to declare the ſayd Article, which we moſt & chiefly expected and looked for, but alſo in all the reſt of his Sermons dyd not ſo fully and apertly declare the ſayd Iniunctions and Articles as to our iudgement dyd appeare they ought to haue bene declared, and was of no light grounde looked for, intreatyng of other farre diſtant and diuers from the Articles vpon the whiche he was commaunded to entreate, and ſuch as moſt ſhould moue and ſtyrre vp the people to diſorder and diſſenſion, willyngly leauyng out thoſe thynges which ſhould haue made quyet and obedience. Wherfore not moued of any malice, grudge, enuy, or euill will to the perſon of the Byſhop, but conſtreined by the loue & zeale which we beare towardes your highnes, and of our duety & allegeance to your Maieſty, whoſe honour and ſauetie with tranquilitie, quietneſſe and good gouernaunce of this your Realme, we do moſt deſire, and for the diſcharge of our moſt bounden dueties, to auoyde all the daungers that might enſue of the concealment therof, we moſt humbly do denounce and declare the ſame to your hyghnes, to the intent that your Maieſtie by the aduiſe aforeſayd, may, if it pleaſe your hyghnes, at this our humble denuntiation call the ſayd Byſhop to aunſwere to the premiſſes, the whiche we are ready to auowe and proue, and then your highnes to take further order herein as to your Princely wiſedome ſhal ſeeme moſt conuenient: whoſe long lyfe and moſt proſperous gouernement, God almighty long continue, for the which we ſhall pray duryng our liues.

Commiſſion directed downe by the king agaynſt Boner.

Commiſſioners appointed.

The kynges Maieſtie hauyng thus by the information of theſe two credible perſons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous & peruerſe negligence of this Byſhop in not accompliſhyng his hyghnes commaundement geuen hym by Iniunction, thought it moſt neceſſary withall conuenient ſpeede (for the auoydyng of farther inconueniences) to looke more ſeuerely vnto the due puniſhment of ſuch daungerous rebellious obſtinacie, and therfore by the aduiſe of the Lord Protectour and the reſt of his honorable Counſaile, immediatly hee directed forth his Commiſſion vnder his broad Seale, vnto the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and to other graue and truſty perſonages and Counſellers, appointyng & authoriſing all thē, or certaine of them, by vertue of the ſame, to call before them, aſwell the Byſhop of London, as alſo the foreſayd denouncers, & vpon due examination & proufe of the premiſſes, or any other matter otherwiſe to be obiected, farther to procede agaynſt hym ſummarely & de plano, accordyng to law and Iuſtice, either to ſuſpenſion, excommunication, committing to priſon, or depriuation (if the qualitie of the offence ſo required) or otherwiſe to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall, whiche for the better hearing & determining of that cauſe, might to their wiſedomes ſeeme more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commiſſion here enſuyng.

¶ The copie of the kynges Commiſsion ſent downe vpon the denunciation aforeſayd, for the examination of Boner Byſhop of London.

The Copye of the kinges Commiſſion for Boners examination.

EDward the ſixt.&c. To the moſt reuerent father in God Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, the right reuerend father in God Nicolas Byſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellers Syr William Peter and Syr Thomas Smith Knightes our two principall Secretaries, and William Maye Doctour of the Law Ciuile and Deane of Paules, greetyng. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of all our Realmes, dominions and ſubiectes, and the reſt of our priuy Counſaile, did giue to the right reuerend father in God Edmund Byſhop of London, vpon certaine complaintes before made vnto vs and other great conſiderations, certaine Iniunctions to be folowed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by vs with certaine articles, and for the more ſure knowledge, keepyng, and obſeruyng, dyd exhibite the ſame in writyng vnto him by the hādes of our ſayd Vncle, in the fulfillyng of our Counſell: all this notwithſtandyng the ſayd Byſhop hath in contempt of vs (as it may appeare) ouerſlipped and not obſerued certeine of the ſaid thinges ſo by vs enioyned, and other ſo peruerſely and negligently done that the thinges mynded of vs to reformatiō and for a good quyet of our ſubiectes and our whole realme, be conuerted by the wilfull negligence or peruerſitie of him, to a great occaſion of ſclaunder, tumulte and grudge amongeſt our people, as it hath bene denounced to vs in writyng by certeine honeſt and diſcrete perſons and otherwiſe called. The whiche thynges if they be ſo, we tendryng the wealth, quietnes, good order and gouernement of our people haue not thought conuenient to be let paſt vnpuniſhed and vnreformed, and therfore by the aduiſe aforeſayd haue appointed you fiue, foure, or iij. vpon whoſe fidelities, wiſedomes, dexterities and circumſpections we haue full confidence, to call before you, aſwell the denouncers of the ſayd faultes, as alſo the ſayd Byſhop, and with due examinations and proceſſe, accordyng to the law and Iuſtice, to heare the ſayd matter and all other matters of what kynde, nature, or condition ſo euer they ſhalbe, that ſhalbe obiected agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop, ſummarely [& de plano,] or otherwiſe as to your diſcretions ſhalbe thought moſt meete, with full power and authoritie to ſuſpend, excommunicate, committe to priſon or depriue the ſayd Byſhop, if the offence ſhall ſo appeare to merite, or to vſe any other cenſure Eccleſiaſticall which for the better hearyng and determinyng of the cauſe, ſhalbe requiſite and apperteine, any law, ſtatute, or act to the contrary notwithſtandyng. In witnes wherof we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patentes.

Witnes our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the viij. of September in the thyrd yeare of our reigne.

The Commiſſion deliuered.

This Commiſſion beyng ſealed with the kynges broad ſeale, was by his highnes Counſaile forthwith deliuered at the Court vnto the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners mētioned in the ſame, beyng there all together preſent. Who vppon the receipt therof, determined by vertue of the ſame, to ſit at the Archbyſhoppes houſe at Lambeth the Wedneſday then next enſuyng, which was the tenth day of that preſent moneth of September, & therfore appointed the Byſhop of Londō to be ſommoned to appeare before them, as at that tyme and place. The maner of whoſe behauiour at his appearaunce, becauſe it doth declareth the froward nature and ſtubborne condition of the perſon, and alſo what eſtimation and authoritie he thought the Commiſſioners to be of, I thought not vnmeete firſt, before I enter into the proceſſe, ſomewhat to note and deſcribe vnto you.

The ſtubborne behauiour of Boner before the Commiſſioners.

At his firſt entry into the place within the Archbyſhops houſe at Lambeth, where the Archbyſhop and other of the Commiſſioners ſat, he paſſed forth directly by them with his cap vpon his head (makyng as though he ſaw thē not) vntill one pluckyng him by the ſleeue, willed him to do reuerence vnto the Commiſſioners. Whereat he laughyngly turned himſelfe, & ſpake vnto ẏ Archbiſhop on this wiſe: What my Lord, are you here? By my trouth I ſaw you not. No, ſayd the Archbyſhop, you would not ſee. Well (quoth he) you ſent for me: haue you any thyng to ſay to me? Yea ſayd the Commiſſioners, we haue here authoritie from the Kynges hyghnes to call you to accompt for your Sermon you made lately at Paules croſſe for that you dyd not there publiſh vnto the people the article which you were commaunded then to preach vppon. At which wordes the Byſhop, either for that he did not greatly lyke to heare of that matter, or els becauſe he would make his frendes beleue that he was called to accompt onely for his opinion in Religion (as afterwardes in the ſequell of this proceſſe it more playnly appeareth) began to turne his talke vnto other matters, and ſayd vnto the Archbiſhop: In good fayth my Lord, I would one thyng were had in more reuerence then it is. What is that, ſayd the Archbyſhop? The bleſſed Maſſe, quoth he. You haue written very well of the Sacrament: I maruaile you do no more honour it? The Archbyſhop of Canterbury therewith perceiuing his ſubtiltie, and ſeyng his groſſe blyndnes to commend that which was vtterly contrary to his opinion, ſayd vnto him agayne: If you thinke it well, it is becauſe you vnderſtand it not. The other then addyng vnto his former groſſe ignoraunce an obſtinate impudēcie aunſwered: I thinke I vnderſtād it better then you that wrote it. Unto which wordes the Archbyſhop replyed: truely I will eaſely make a childe that is but ten yeares old vnderſtand therein as much as you: but what is this to the matter?

Boner ſpeaketh for the Maſſe.

The Archbiſhop.

Boner.

The Archbiſhop.

Boner falleth to ſcorning and taunting of hys denouncers.

Moreouer at what tyme as they began to enter the Iudiciall proſecuting of their Commiſſion, and had called forth the denoũcers to propound ſuch matter as they had to obiect agaynſt hym, he hearyng them ſpeake, fell to ſcornyng and tauntyng of them, ſaying to the one, that he ſpake lyke a Gooſe, and to the other, that he ſpake like a Woodcocke, vtterly denying their accuſations to be true. Whereupon the Archbyſhop (ſeyng his peuiſh malice agaynſt the denouncers) aſked him if he would not beleue them, whether he would credit the people there preſent: and therewithall (becauſe many of them were alſo at the Byſhops Sermon at Paules) he ſtode vp and read the Article of the kynges authoritie duryng his young age, ſaying vnto them: how ſay you my Maiſters, did my Lord of London preach this Article? Whereunto they aunſwered: no, no. At which wordes the Byſhop turnyng himſelfe about, deridyngly ſayd: will you beleue this fond people?

Boners iudgement of the people.

Boner full of his pretenſes, Dawes, Woodcockes. Fooles, and ſuch lyke.

Beſides this, at all his appearynges he vſed many irreuerent, vncomely, obſtinate and froward wordes and behauiours towardes the Commiſſioners and others (in defacing their authoritie with the termes of pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed witneſſes and vniuſt vnlawfull and pretenſed proceedynges, with recuſation of ſome, and termyng others Dawes, woodcockes, fooles, and ſuche lyke) whiche I will here omitte, for that they doe more manifeſtly appeare in the ſequele of the ſtory in the tyme and place, as they happened: Addyng yet thus much by the way, that although ſuch ſtoutnes of hart and will (if it had bene in a cauſe true and rightfull) might haue perchaunce ſeemed in ſome mens iudgement to be ſomwhat ſufferable: yet to ſay the truth, in what cauſe ſoeuer it be, beyng immoderate, as this ſhall appeare, it beſeemed no wiſe man, and therfore much leſſe one of his callyng. For if his cauſe had bene good, why did he not take the wrong paciently and meekely, as the true Canon law of the Goſpell doth teach him? If it were (as it was in deede) naught and wrong, wherto ſerued ſo bold ſturdy ſtoutneſſe, but to ſhew the impudency of the perſon and to make the cauſe worſe whiche was bad enough before? But bylike he was diſpoſed to declare, if neede were, what he was able to do in the law, in ſhiftyng of the matter by ſubtill delatories, and friuolous cauilling about the law. And if that would not helpe, yet with facyng and braſing, and raylyng vpon the denouncers, with furious wordes and irreuerent behauiour towardes the kynges Commiſſioners, he thought to countenaunce out the matter before the people, that ſome thyng might ſeeme yet to be in him, what ſoeuer was in the cauſe. For to conclude, for all his craftie canteles and tergiuerſations alledged out of the law, yet neither his cauſe could be ſo defended, nor his behauiour ſo excuſed, but that he was therfore both iuſtly impriſoned, and alſo in the end moſt lawfully depriued: as by the ſequele of this proceſſe may well appeare, the manner wherof is as followeth.

Boners demeanour not tolerable for hys calling though meete for his byrth.

Boners friuolous ſhiftes.

¶ The firſt Action or Seſsion agaynſt Boner.

The firſt appearaunce of Boner before the kynges Commiſſioners the x. day of September.

The Iudges delegate, the Archbiſhop of Cãterburye, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Syr W. Peter, Doct. May Deane of Paules.

VPon Wedneſday, the x. day of September in the yeare of our Lord. 1549. and in the third yeare of the reigne of kyng Edward the vj. Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, aſſociate with Nicholas Ridley then Byſhop of Rocheſter, ſir William Peter Knight one of the kynges two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctour of the Ciuill law and Deane of Paules, by vertue of the kynges Commiſſion ſat Iudicially vpon the examination of Edmund Boner Byſhop of London within the Archbiſhops chamber of preſence at his houſe in Lambeth, before whom there then alſo perſonally appeared the ſayd Byſhop: at which tyme the Commiſſioners firſt ſhewyng forth their Commiſſion, requeſted ſir William Peter that hee would openly publiſh and read the ſame, Which done the Archbyſhop in the name of the reſt declared vnto the Byſhop that a greuous complaint had bene thertofore made & exhibited agaynſt hym in writyng vnto the kyngs Maieſtie and his honorable Counſaile, and that therfore his hyghnes, with their aduiſe, had committed the examination thereof vnto him and other his Colleges there preſent, as alſo vnto ſir Thomas Smith Knight the other of his Maieſties two principall Secretaries though then abſent, and therewithall ſhewed alſo forth a Bill of cõplaynt exhibited vnto the kyng by William Latimer and Iohn Hoper Miniſters, which they likewiſe requeſted ſir William Peter to read.

Syr Thomas Smyth then abſent.

Theſe thyngs ended, the Byſhop like a ſubtill Lawyer, hauing moſt like ſome ſecret intelligence before of theſe matters, (what ſoeuer he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his boſome a ſolemne Proteſtation ready written: which he then exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners, requeſtyng that the ſame might be there openly read: the copy wherof is this in tenour and forme as followeth.

The tenour and forme of Edmund Boner Byſhop of London his proteſtation, exhibited to the kynges Commiſſioners at hys firſt appearyng.

The forme and copie of Boners Proteſtation.

EDmundus Lond. Epiſcopus primò & ante omnia proteſtor quòd per hanc meam comparitionem ſeu per aliqua per me hic dicta ſeu dicenda, allegata ſeu alleganda, propoſita ſeu proponenda, exhibita ſeu exhibenda, geſta ſeu gerẽda, obiecta ſeu obijcienda, exercita ſeu exercenda, facta ſeu fienda, petita ſeu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices præſentes tanquam in iudices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquò modo conſentire veſtram iuriſdictionem præſentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, niſi prout ac quatenus de iure ad hoc tenear et aſtringar rationiq; conſonum videatur: & ſub proteſtatione prædicta et ea ſemper mihi ſalua (a qua recedere non intendo, ſed eandem in omnibus et ſingulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenſo per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico et allego quòd literæ commiſſionales pretenſæ vobis (vt dicitur) in hac parte directæ, ſeu earum vera et legitima copia nunquam ante hac mihi oſtenſæ aut monſtratæ fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo viſæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaq; contra formam et tenorem earundem, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, ea quæ de iure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reuerentia (qua decet) obijcere ac in debita iuris forma proponere non poſſum in præſenti vt deberem. Quare vt defenſio congrua quæ nulli hominũ deneganda eſt, mihi reſeruetur liquidoq; ſciam cuiuſmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte cõpetere poſſint ac debeant, vtq; eas ſuis loco et tempore iuxta iuris exigentiam, pro neceſſaria defenſione mea proponam contra vel pretenſas literas commiſſionales huiuſmodi, vel contra perſonas aliquorum veſtrum, quatenus liceat et expediat ſub proteſtatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætenſas litteras commiſſionales in forma originali inſpiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, et fidelem copiam debitè exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto et poſtulo prout iuris eſt in hac parte, tenore præſentium: nihilominus teſtatum manifeſtè relinquens, quòd obſeruantiam et reuerentiam, ac obedientiam et honorem, ac cætera quęcũq; ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Maieſt. Domino meo ſupremo has literas prætenſas vobis (vt dicitur) committenti qualitercumq; decet in omnibus et per omnia perpetuò humillimè recogniturus ſum, habiturus et præſtiturus, et his exceptionibus, et defenſionibus legitimis mihi de iure et natura competentibus ad defenſionem meam neceſſariam et legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte vſurus.

This Proteſtation being read, he requeſted the Commiſſioners that hee might haue the Bill of complaynt deliuered him: whiche when he had well peruſed, he ſayd that the ſame was very generall, and ſo generall, as that hee could not directly aunſwere thereunto. Whereunto the Archbyſhop aunſwered, that the ſpeciall cauſe of the complaynt agaynſt him was, for that he had tranſgreſſed the kynges commaundement, geuen vnto him by his Counſaile, in that he in his late Sermon made at Paules croſſe, dyd not ſet forth vnto the people the kynges hyghnes Royall power in his minoritie, accordyng to the tenour of the Article deliuered vnto him by them for that purpoſe: & for proofe therof called forth William Latimer and Iohn Hoper preachers, who before that tyme had put vp the Bill of cõplaynt vnto the kyng agaynſt him.

Boner inueyeth agaynſt his denouncers.

Upon whom when the Byſhop had earneſtly looked (and well beheld them) he ſayd: as for this Marchaũt Latimer, I know him very wel, and haue borne with him, and winked at his euill doynges a great while, but I haue more to ſay to him hereafter. But as touchyng this other Marchaunt Hooper, I haue not ſene him before, howbeit I haue heard much of his noughty preachyng: & then turnyng him ſelfe agayne to the Archbyſhoppe (of purpoſe moſt like to make his frendes thinke that he was not called thether to aunſwere his contemptuous diſobedience, but for matters of Religion) ſayd vnto him: Ah my Lord, now I ſee that the cauſe of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend agaynſt me, but it is for that I did preach and ſet forth in my late Sermon, the true preſence of the moſt bleſſed body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the aulter. For, as for theſe my accuſers, as they be euill, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, ſo are they manifeſt and notable heretickes, and ſeducers of the people, eſpecially touching the Sacrament of the aultar: and moſt of all this Hooper.

Boner tranſlateth his cauſe to the matter of the Sacrament.

Boner maketh exception of his accuſers.

For where in my late Sermon at Paules croſſe I preached that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is the true body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtaunce

Boners groſſe opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar.

that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe: he the ſame day at after noone, hauyng a great rablement with him of his damnable ſect, openly in the Pulpit within my Dioceſe, dyd preach erroneouſly to the people agaynſt it: and maliciouſly inueyng agaynſt my Sermon, denyed the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true body and bloud to be in the ſame Sacrament, and alſo falſely and vntruely interpreted and expounded my wordes. And ſpecially, where I preached and affirmed ẏ very true body & bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt to be in the ſayd Sacrament, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe: he lyke an Aſſe (as he is an Aſſe in deede) falſely chaunged and turned the word that into as, lyke an Aſſe, ſaying that I had ſayd, as it hanged, and as it was ſhed vpon the Croſſe.

Boner rayleth agaynſt M. Hooper.

The Archbyſhop hereupon perceiuyng the Byſhops drift, & hearyng him talke ſo much of the preſẽce of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacramẽt, ſayd vnto him: My Lord of Lõdon, ye ſpeake much of a preſence in the Sacrament: what preſence is there, and of what preſence do you meane? Wherewith the Biſhop beyng ſomewhat ſturred and moued in mynde (as appeared by his collericke coũtenaũce) ſpake agayne to the Archbyſhop very earneſtly, and ſayd: What preſence my Lord? I ſay and beleue that there is the very true preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt. What beleue you, and how do you beleue my Lord? Upon which wordes the Archbyſhop, because he ſaw his aũſwere darke and ſubtill, and myndyng ſomewhat to nyp the groſſe abſurditie of the papiſtes, aſked him farther whether he were there, face, noſe, mouth, eyes, armes, and lyps, with other lineamentes of his body? Whereat the Byſhop ſhakyng his head, ſayd: Oh, I am right ſory to heare your grace ſpeake theſe wordes, and therewith boldly vrged the Archbiſhop to ſhew his mynde therein. Who wiſely waying the fond preſumption of the partie, with the place and occaſion of their aſſembly, refuſed then ſo to do, ſaying that their beyng there at that tyme, was not to diſpute of thoſe matters, but to proſecute their Commiſſion cõmitted to them by their Prince, and therfore willed him to aũſwere them vnto ſuch thynges as were obiected agaynſt hym.

Talke betwene the Archb. and Boner about the Sacrament.

A queſtion to Boner.

Whereupon vnder his Proteſtation he requeſted to haue [illegible] both of the Commiſſion, and alſo of the denounciatiõ geuen vnto him, with tyme to aunſwere thereunto. Whiche the Cõmiſſioners willyngly graunted, aſſignyng him there to appeare agayne before them vpon Friday at eight of the clocke before noone, then next followyng, and then to aunſwere the tenour of the denounciation. And ſo for that day (he complaynyng ſomewhat of the ſhortnes of hys tyme to aunſwere) they all departed.

Dayes geuen to boner to aunſwere for him ſelfe.

¶ The ſecond appearaunce of Boner in the Chappell of Lambeth, before the Archbyſhop and other foure Commiſſioners, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Secretary Peter, Secretary Smith, and the Deane of Paules.

VPon Friday the xiij. of September aforenamed, foure Commiſſioners, aſſociated then alſo with ſir Thomas Smith Knight the other of the kynges two principall Secretaries, and ioynt Commiſſioners with them, ſat iudicially in ẏ Archbyſhops Chappell within his houſe at Lãbeth. Before whom (accordyng to their former aſſignemẽt) there and then appeared the Byſhop of London. To whom the Archbyſhop in the name of the reſt, firſt ſayd: My Lord of London, the laſt tyme you were before vs, we layd certaine Articles and matter to your charge touchyng your diſobedience to the kynges Maieſtie, and you haue this day to make your aunſwere thereunto: wherefore now ſhew vs what you haue to ſay for your defence.

The ſecond appearaunce of Boner before the kinges Commiſſioners.

Boners aunſwere to the Archb. of Canterbury.

Whereunto the Byſhop firſt aſkyng the Archbyſhop if he had all ſaid and done, and he agayne ſaying yea, made this anſwere: My Lord, the laſt day that I appeared before you, I remember there ſat in the kinges Maieſties cõmiſſion, your Grace, you my Lord of Rocheſter, you M. Secretary Peter, and you M. Deane of Paules: but now I perceiue there ſitteth alſo M. Secretary Smith. Who because he ſat not at the beginning, nor tooke there the Commiſſion vpon him, ought not ſo to doe: for by the lawe, they which begyn, muſt continue the commiſſion.

A preciſe point of the lawe, whether any new Commiſſioner may ſit afterwarde, which ſatte not at the beginning.

Whereupon the Archbyſhop firſt aunſwered, that he was no lawyer, and therfore could not certeinly ſhewe what the law willeth in that caſe, but (ſayth he) if the lawe be ſo in deede, ſurely I take it to be an vnreaſonable law.

Well, ſaid the Byſhop, there be here that knoweth the law: and yet I ſay not this to the intent to ſtand or ſticke much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way: for I haue here myne aunſwere ready.

Then ſayd Maiſter Secretary Peter to the Biſhop: my Lord in good ſooth I muſt ſay vnto you, that although I haue profeſſed the law, yet by diſcontinuaunce and diſuſe therof, and hauing bene occupyed a long tyme in other matters from ſtudye of the lawe, I haue perhappes forgotten what the law will do preciſely in this point: but admit the law were ſo as you ſay, yet your ſelfe knoweth my Lord, that this is our certayne rule in law, Quòd conſuetudo eſt iuris interpres optimus, and I am ſure you will, not nor cã not denye, but that the cuſtome is commonly in this realme in all iudgementes and Commiſſions vſed to the contrary: and in very deed alltogether at the Court, hauyng the Commiſſion preſented vnto vs, take it vpon vs: and therfore for you to ſticke in ſuch trifling matters, you ſhall rather in my iudgement hurt your ſelfe and your matter, then otherwiſe.

The wordes of Secretary Peter to Boner.

Truely Maiſter Secretary (ſayd the Byſhop) I haue alſo of long while bene diſuſed in the ſtudy of the law, but hauing occaſion (partly by reaſon of this matter) to turne my bookes, I finde the law to be as I ſay: and yet (as I ſayd) I tell you hereof by the way, not myndyng to ſticke much with you in that point.

The aunſwere of Boner to Secretarye Peter.

At which wordes Maiſter Secretary Smith ſaid alſo vnto the Byſhop: well my Lord of London, as cunning as you make your ſelfe in the law, there be here that knoweth the law as well as you: and for my part I haue ſtudied the law to, and I promiſe you theſe be but quiddities & quirkes inuented to delay matters, but our Commiſſion is to proceede ſummarily, & de plano, and to cut of ſuch friuolous allegations.

The wordes of Secretary Smyth to Boner.

Well, (ſayd the Byſhop agayne) looke well on your Cõmiſſion, and you ſhall finde therein theſe wordes: to proceede according to the law and Iuſtice, and I aſke both law and Iuſtice at your handes.

The aunſwere of Boner to Secretarye Smyth.

Then Maiſter Secretary Peter willed hym to ſtand no more thereupon, but to proceede vnto hys aunſwere. Whereupon he tooke forth a writing, wherein was conteined hys aunſwere to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latymer and Hooper, and deliuering it vnto the Archbyſhop, ſayd, that it was of his owne hand wrytyng, and for lacke of ſufficient time written ſo haſtely and courſely, that it could ſcarſely be read of any other, and therefore he deſired to read it hymſelfe: and ſo taking it agayne read it openly.

The wordes of Secretary Peter.

Wherein firſt he alleaged (or rather ſhameleſly & ſclaunderouſly cauilled) that thoſe his denouncers were vile, infamed, and notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open and manifeſt heretickes, aſwell agaynſt the reſt of the Sacramentes of the Church, as chiefly agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and were for the ſame by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accurſed, and were ſo taken of all the Catholickes of this Realme, and eſpecially Hooper: who beſides other his poyſoned doctrine, and hereſie amongeſt the people, had alſo before the time of the denunciation, made diuers erroneous & hereticall bookes againſt the true preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament of the aultar, & did alſo ſtill continue in ẏ ſame, allowyng & maintaining it as good & Catholicke which bookes & doctrine (chiefly agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar) W. Latymer had and then likewiſe did allow, beleue, & teach, to ẏ loſſe of both their owne ſoules and alſo their beleuers, and therefore were not now nor ought at any tyme to be admitted eyther in this their denunciation agaynſt him, or in any other Iudiciall Acte: and that rather alſo, becauſe that although they pretended in their denũciation, that they made not the ſame of any malice or euill will towardes hym, but for the good tranquillitie and quiet gouernaunce of thys Realme: yet was it notoriouſly knowen, that aſwell the ſame day at after noone in which he the ſayd Byſhop preached at the Croſſe of Paules, as alſo at ſundrye other tymes, they two conſpyryng & other of their faction, dyd maliciouſly and vnlawfully within his Dioceſe aſſemble together a great rablement of ſuch as themſelues were, and there vnder the coulour of readyng, did openly rayle and inuey agaynſt hym, not for any the cauſes pretended in their denunciation, but becauſe he had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholicke Church taught) that in the ſacrament of ẏ aultar there was the very true body & bloud of Chriſt, the ſame in ſubſtaunce that was hanged and ſhed vpon the Croſſe.

Boners writing exhibited to the Commiſſioners aunſwering to the denunciation.

Exceptions layd by boner agaynſt M. Hoper hys denouncer.

The friuolous quarelling of Boner agaynſt his denouncers.

Then after theſe vayne and friuolous allegations agaynſt the denouncers, he commeth and aunſwereth to the ſubſtaunce of their denunciation, and ſayth, that where they in the ſame do falſely ſurmiſe that there were deliuered vnto him from the kyngs Maieſtie, by the handes of the lord Protectour and the reſt of hys highnes Counſayle, certayne Iniunctions and articles to be publiſhed and declared vnto the people at a day limited in the ſame, their information in ſuch ſort as it was deduced, was moſt falſe and vntrue, for that the Articles deliuered vnto hym by Syr

Boner put to a bare ſhift.

Thomas Smith one of the kynges Secretaries, were neither ſigned with the kyngs owne hand, neither ſealed with his hyghnes ſeale or ſignet, nor yet ſubſcribed by any of his Counſaile. &c.

Boners vayne cauillation to no purpoſe.

Where marke, I beſeech you, the ſubtiltie of a diſloyall Papiſt, who bycauſe the Articles were not ſealed or ſigned by the kyng and his Counſaile, would make them therfore not to be of any ſuch force, as that the breach therof ſhould cauſe him to incurre the daunger of contemptuous diſobedience. But admit they were not ſigned nor ſealed (of which thyng by the way in the denounciation there is no mention yea or nay) yet is it manifeſt by the ſecond Bill of Articles miniſtred vnto him by the Cōmiſſioners in the fourth Acte of this proceſſe, that at ſuch tyme as he was before the Coūſell, thoſe Articles were by the commaundemēt of the Lord Protectour openly there read vnto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concernyng the kynges lawfull power and authoritie duryng his young yeares, were alſo deliuered vnto him by the handes of the Lord Protectour, in the preſence of ẏ reſt of the Counſell: who thus receiuyng thē, promiſed there faythfully to accōpliſh all the contentes therof. After which they were agayn deliuered vnto Secretarie Smith to amende ſuch thynges therein as the Lord Protectour and the reſt of the Counſell had there appointed. Which beyng accordyngly done (as the Byſhop himſelfe at the laſt recept therof confeſſed) were finally deliuered vnto him by ẏ Secretary: & therfore was this but a poore ſhift.

Boners ſuppoſition.

Now after this, he maketh a ſuppoſition: that in caſe it were true, that the Iniunctions were deliuered him accordyng to their information: yet was it vntrue that he dyd omitte or refuſe to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſes as they had alledged agaynſt him, and that dyd well appeare in the diſcourſe of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he ſayd) to the diſalowyng and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Northfolke, Southfolke, Deuonſhyre, and Cornewal, or els where within this Realme of England: who forgettyng their allegeaūce and duety vnto their Prince aſſigned them by Gods worde as their ſupreme head, their naturall loue and care for their countrey, wiues, children, and kynſfolke, did both deſerue death bodily as traytors, and alſo accumulate vnto themſelues damnation of body and ſoule, eternally with Sathan the father and firſt mouer of all rebellion and diſobedience: and herewithall farther exclaymyng agaynſt the pretenſes of thoſe rebels, who amongeſt other thynges pretended the Maſſe and holy water with ſuch like, which were neuer ordeined for the purpoſe, to colour and maintayne rebellion (as he ſayd he then proued out of the 16. Nombers. 1. Reg. 15. Leuit. 10. and. 4. Luke. 13. and Actes. 5. in beſt maner that he could as one not exerciſed greatly in preachyng, but reſtrayned therefrō) but hauyng humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of God, loue to our neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Miniſters and ſuperiour powers concurrent with them, they beyng externall rites and ceremonies of ẏ Church, were exerciſes of Religion, & appointable by ſuperiour powers: and yet that, whiche (ſtandyng the law) might be good, was by pryde and diſobedience made euill and vnprofitable.

Boner agaynſt the rebelles.

Externall rites and ceremonyes.

And here he farther ſayd, becauſe he ſaw the people ſlacke in commyng to the Communion and diuine ſeruice ſet forth by the kyngs Maieſtie, and to the entent he would make them haue a better opinion in the Sacrament then hee thought they hadde, hee then faythfullye dyd declare his beliefe therein. Wherewith his denouncers beyng offended, they vncharitably and vntruly deduced in their pretenſed denounciation, that in his Sermon he did intreate of ſuch thynges as moſt ſhould ſtirre vp vnto diſſenſion and tumult: whereby it appeared vnto him, that his denoūcers either tooke his Catholicke aſſertion of ẏ veritie of Chriſts body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, or els his faythfull declaration made of the obedience of ſubiectes vnto the kynges Maieſtie their ſupreme and ſoueraigne Lord, with the perill and daunger of rebellion committed agaynſt him, to be the cauſe of diſorder and diſſention: for that (ſayth he) of theſe two poyntes he chiefly ſpake, and eſpecially of obedience to the kyng: whoſe minoritie was more thē manyfeſtly knowen, aſwell amongeſt the people of this Realme, as els where throughout ẏ world beſides: which he would not haue done except he had beleued, that both all his ſubiectes were bounden to obey hym, euen as he then was and ſhould be duryng his lyfe, and alſo that the rebellion of late committed agaynſt him, was deteſtable and condemned by Gods word: and therfore he wiſhed that his two denouncers, with all the reſt of the new Preachers, dyd incite as faythfully, obediently, and Catholickely towardes the kynges honour, royall power, and ſuretie of perſon, as he dyd & had not more moued the people to tumultes & diſobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teachyng, then he had at any tyme geuen any occaſion thereunto.

As iuſtly they might, the ſame being hereticall & blaſphemous agaynſt the humanitie of Chriſt.

Boner flyeth ſtill to the ſacrament of the altar

Boners purgation of himſelfe for hys ſermon.

Then finally he concluded and ſayd, that where his denouncers ſurmiſe that it was of no light grounde looked for, as it appeared in their iudgementes, that he ſhould more apertly haue declared the contentes of the Iniunctions and Articles then he did, that their iudgementes were in that behalfe corrupted and ſet to ſclaunder and pickyng of quarels: for he was well aſſured and credibly informed, that all his honeſt and Catholicke audiēce were fully ſatiſfied, both touchyng their obedience to the kynges Maieſtie in his tender age, & alſo concernyng the great penaltie and perill that the late rebels incurred by their diſobedience. And beſides that, when he was before the Lord Protectour & the reſt of the Counſaile, after he had made his excuſe, and alledged many impedimentes for his not preachyng at the Croſſe, he dyd not then further promiſe, but to do the beſt he could: which, he hath of his fidelitie and conſcience accompliſhed, not omittyng any thyng of purpoſe or euill will, that might ſatiſfie the people in any point concernyng the premiſſes.

The Archb. replyeth agaynſt Boner.

Whileſt he was thus readyng theſe aunſweres, obiectyng agaynſt his denoūcers ſuch cauſes and quarels as be afore alledged, for which he would haue earneſtly had the denoūcers to be repelled of the Cōmiſſioners, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury replyed, that if there were ſuch a law, hee thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the Byſhop of Rome. For ſayd he, if my matter and caſe be good, what ſhould I care who accuſe me, yea, although he were the deuill of hell.

The lawe of the B. of Rome reproued.

The Popes law fathered vpon the kyng.

No ſir, ſayd the Byſhop of London, it is the kyngs law vſed in the Realme.

The Archbyſhop.

Well, my Lord (ſayd the Archbyſhop) ye be to full of your law. I would wiſhe you had leſſe knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in Gods law, and of your duety.

Boner.

Well, aunſwered the Byſhop agayne, ſeyng your grace falleth to wiſhyng, I can alſo wiſhe many thynges to be in your perſon.

Secretary Peter.

Then ſpake Secretary Peter to the Byſhop as touchyng theſe denouncers: we are not ſo ſtrayted in this matter, but that we may procede agaynſt you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleaſure.

Boner.

I Gods name (then ſayd Boner) put them by, and then do as your pleaſure ſhalbe, ſo you do me right, for I aſke but right.

Secretary Smyth.

Nay, ſayd Secretary Smith, you aſke you wot not what: you would haue vs folow your mynde in theſe quidities and quirkes: and all is nothyng els but to delay Iuſtice. And you do herein as theeues, murtherers, and traytors, not to haue the truth knowen.

Boner.

Say you ſo to me, quoth the Byſhop? I thanke you. Well, I could ſay ſomewhat to you alſo, were it not in the place ye be: but let it paſſe. As for my matter, I feare it not: it is not ſo euill as you make it, for I haue your owne hand writyng for my diſcharge, which when I ſhall ſee tyme, I ſhall ſhew forth.

Secretary Smyth.

Boner.

My hand? quoth the Secretary, Let me ſee it, & let it be read openly. So it ſhal, ſayd the Byſhop, when I ſee tyme.

Secretary Smyth.

Then ſayd M. Smith: you do vſe vs thus to be ſene a cunnyng Lawyer.

Boner.

Well craked M. Boner.

In deede quoth the Byſhop, I knew the law, ere you could read it.

Articles miniſtered by agaynſt Boner.

With that Secretary Peter willed the Byſhop to procede in readyng of his aunſweres: who ſo dyd, and when he had finiſhed, Latymer deliuered vp a wrytyng in paper vnto the Archbyſhop and the reſt of the Commiſſioners: who then ſayd vnto the Byſhop of London, here be certaine Articles which we intend to miniſter vnto you.

Boner.

The Byſhop therewith ſayd, do you miniſter them of your office, or at the promotion of theſe men? (poyntyng to Latymer & Hoper) for I perceaue they gaue thē vnto you.

Secretarye Peter.

Nay, ſayd Secretary Peter, we will miniſter them vnto you, ex officio mero, and thereupon tooke an othe of the Byſhop de fideliter reſpondendo. Who deſiryng a copie of the Articles, required alſo a competent tyme to be geuen vnto him to make aunſwere thereunto.

Boner requireth reſpite to aunſwere.

Secretarye Peter.

To whom Secretary Peter replied, ſaying: My Lord, here be certaine of the Articles touchyng your owne fact, which you may aunſwere vnto forthwith: as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Boner.

Whereunto the Byſhop aunſwered that he wrote it not, but he drew certaine notes of it.

Secretarye Peter.

Then, whoſe counſell (ſayd he) and aduiſe vſed you in makyng your Sermon?

Boner.

To which he alſo aunſwered, that he had therein vſed his owne counſell and bookes, and yet my Chaplens (quoth he) be much ſuſpected for my doynges in many thyngs, and ſometymes I for theirs, when there is no cauſe why.

Theſe wordes ended the Commiſſioners aſſigned him Monday the 16. of September then next, to appeare before

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them and to make his full aunſweres vnto all the Articles miniſtred vnto him by them this day: the contentes wherof are as foloweth.

¶ The forme and tenour of the Articles miniſtred vnto the Byſhop of London, by the Kynges Commiſſioners.

The 3. ſeſſion for appearaunce of Boner.

The forme of the Articles miniſtered againſt Boner.

Boners aunſweres to the Articles in wrytyng.

Hooper and Latimer deſire to purge them ſelues agaynſt Boners ſclaunders.

Purgation of Latimer.

MOnday the xvj. of September, the Archbyſhop aſſociated with the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Secretary Smith, and Doctour May Deane of Paules, ſat iudicially within his Chappell at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the Byſhop of London accordyng as he was aſſigned in the laſt Seſſion: at which tyme he exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners in wrytyng his aunſweres vnto the laſt former Articles.

But before the ſame were there read, the Archbyſhop ſayd vnto him, that his late aunſweres made 13. of September vnto the denounciation, were very obſcure, and therwith alſo conteined much matter of ſclaunder agaynſt Latymer and Hooper, and much vntruth, and therfore they deſired there to purge themſelues. Whereupon Latymer firſt obtaynyng leaue to ſpeake, ſayd, that the Byſhop of London had moſt falſely, vntruely, and vncharitably accuſed hym, laying to his charge many fayned and vntrue matters in his former aunſweres to the denounciation, and ſuch as he ſhould neuer be able to proue. For where in his ſayd aunſwer he alledged that he W. Latymer, and John Hooper with other heretickes conſpiryng agaynſt him, did the firſt day of September after the Byſhops Sermon aſſemble themſelues together vnlawfully agaynſt the ſaid Byſhop, that ſaying of his was moſt vntrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor vntill certaine dayes after, he euer knew or ſpake with Hooper. And as touchyng his owne preachyng there openly accuſed by the Byſhop, he ſayd he neuer held, taught, or preached any thyng concernyng the bleſſed Sacrament, otherwiſe then he ought to do, nor otherwiſe then accordyng to the Scriptures, & true Catholicke fayth of Chriſtes Church: & therfore offered himſelfe to be tryed by the Archbyſhop or other ſuch learned men as it ſhould pleaſe the Kynges Maieſtie, or the ſayd Commiſſioners to appoynt: and farther to ſuffer to be hanged, drawen, & quartered, if the Byſhop could iuſtly proue true the thinges that he had there ſhamefully layd to his charge. Then M. Hooper vpon like licence obtained, ſayd to this effect.

Boner reproued of vntruth.

M. Latimer purgeth hym ſelfe agaynſt Boner.

This vngodly man (pointyng to the Byſhop) hath moſt vncharitably and vngodly accuſed me before your grace and this audience, and hath layd to my charge that I am an hereticke. Whereas I take God to record, I neuer ſpake, read, taught, or preached any hereſie, but onely the moſt true and pure word of God. And where he ſayth I frequent the company of heretickes, I do much maruell of his ſo ſaying, for it hath pleaſed my Lord Protectours grace, my ſingular good Lord and Maiſter, and my Ladyes grace to haue me with them, and I haue preached before them, and much vſed their company, with diuers other worſhypfull perſons, and therfore I ſuppoſe this man meaneth them. And farther, where as he ſayth that I haue made hereticall bookes agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, calling it Mathematicall, I perceiue that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematicall there meaneth, and therfore vnderſtandeth not my booke: whiche I take God to my Iudge, I haue made truely, ſincerely, and accordyng to his holy worde: and by the ſame his holy word and Scriptures I am alwayes and ſhall be ready to ſubmitte my ſelfe to your Graces iudgement, and the ſuperiour powers to be tryed: with many ſuch more wordes of lyke importaunce.

M. Hooper cleareth hym ſelfe agaynſt the falſe ſclaunder of Boner.

Thys terme Mathematycall is referred of M. Hooper not to the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body vpon the Croſſe, but to the Papiſticall accidence without ſubſtaũce vpon the altar.

Whiche ended, the Archbyſhop to ſhorten this matter, aſked the Biſhop how he could proue, that Hooper and Latymer aſſembled together agaynſt hym the firſt of September, as he had alledged, ſeyng they now denyed it, and therfore willed hym to aunſwere forthwith therunto.

The Archbyſhop.

The Byſhop then aunſwered that hee would duely proue it, ſo that he might be admitted to do it accordyng to law, & with that he pulled out of his ſleeue certaine bookes, ſaying: I haue this varlets bookes which he made agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament, which you ſhall heare. Then as he was turnyng certaine leaues therof, Hooper began agayne to ſpeake, but the Byſhop turnyng himſelfe towardes him, teſtingly ſayd, put vp your pypes, you haue ſpoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certaine ſentence vpon the booke. Which done, he ſayd: Lo here you may ſee his opinion, and what it is.

Boner.

Boner chargeth M. Hooper of hereſy

At which wordes the people ſtandyng behynd, and ſeyng his vnreuerẽt and vnſeemely demeanour and raylyng, fell ſodainly into a great laughyng. Whereat the Biſhop beyng moued, and perceauyng not the cauſe wherfore they did ſo laugh, turned him towardes them in a great rage ſaying: ah Woodcocks, woodcocks.

The people laugh Boner to ſcorne.

Boner calleth the people Woodcockes.

Then ſayd one of the Commiſſioners, why ſay you ſo my Lord? Mary quoth he, I may well call them Woodcocks that thus wyll laugh, & know not whereat, nor yet heard what I ſayd or read.

Well my Lord of London, ſayd the Archbyſhop, then I perceiue you woulde perſwade this audience that you were called hether for preaching of your beliefe in the Sacrament of the aultar, and therefore you lay to theſe mens charge (meaning Hooper and Latymer) that they haue accuſed you of that. Howbeit, there is no ſuch thyng layde to your charge, and therfore this audience ſhall heare openly read the denunciation that is put vp agaynſt you, to the intent they may the better perceiue your dealing herein. And there withall he ſayd vnto the people: My Lord of London would make you beleue that he is called hether for declaryng and preaching hys opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar, but to the entent you may perceaue how he goeth about to deceaue you, you ſhall heare the denunciation that is layd in agaynſt him read vnto you, and therupon he deliuered the denunciation vnto Syr John Maſon knight who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbiſhop ſayd agayne vnto the audience: Loe, here you heare how the biſhop of London is called for no ſuch matter as he woulde perſwade you.

The Archbyſhop.

Boner would make the people falſly beleue that hee was called for his opinion in the ſacrament.

The wordes of the Archb. to the people.

Syr John Maſon readeth the denunciation vnto the people.

With thys the Byſhop being in a raging heate, as one cleane voyde of all humanitie, turned himſelfe about vnto the people, ſaying: Well, now heare what the Byſhop of London ſayth for his part. But the Commiſſioners ſeeing his inordinate contumacie, denyed hym to ſpeake any more, ſaying that he vſed hymſelfe very diſobediently: with moe lyke wordes.

Boner in a rage.

Boner for his contumacye not ſuffered to ſpeak to the people.

Notwithſtanding he ſtill perſiſting in hys vnreuerent maner of dealing with the Commiſſioners, pulled out of his ſleeue an other booke, and then ſayde vnto the Archbyſhop: My Lord of Caunterbury, I haue here a note out of your bookes that you made touching the bleſſed Sacrament, wherein you do affirme the veritie of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament, and I haue an other booke alſo of yours of the cõtrary opinion: which is a maruelous matter.

Boner chargeth the Archb. with cõtrarietie in his owne bookes.

To which the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that he made no bookes contrary one to an other, and that he would defend hys bookes, how be it he thought the Byſhop vnderſtoode them not: For I promiſe you, quoth he, I will finde a boy of ten yeares old, that ſhall be more apt to vnderſtand that matter, then you my L. of London be.

The Archb. purgeth hym ſelfe and hys bookes.

Thus after much multiplying of lyke wordes, the Commiſſioners thinkyng not good to ſpende any more waſt tyme with him, willed him to ſhewe forth his aunſweres vnto the Articles obiected the laſt day agaynſt him. Whereupon he hauyng them ready, dyd read the ſame openly vnto them. Wherein after many wordes of his former Proteſtation recited, with a marueilous lamentation, to ſee that one of his vocation, at the malicious denounciation of vile heretickes, ſhould be vſed after ſuch a ſtraunge ſort, hauyng neuertheleſſe done the beſt he could to declare his obedience vnto the kynges Maieſtie for the repreſſing and diſcouragyng of rebellion and all Rebelles, and alſo for the aduauncement of the veritie of Chriſtes true body and his preſence in the Sacrament of the aultar, for whiche onely the malicious denouncers with their complices had ſtudied to moleſt and trouble him, he then commeth to aunſweryng the Articles and ſayeth, that to the firſt, ſecond, and fourth he hath already in his former aunſweres to the denounciation ſufficiently aunſwered, and therfore was not bound by law to aunſwere any further.

Boner commaunded to aunſwere to the Articles.

Boner aunſwereth to the Articles.

As to the thyrd and fift hee ſayd, hee began to write his Sermon, but beyng ſoone wery, did onely make certaine notes therof without helpe of any other, ſaying that he ſhewed them to his Chapleyns requiryng them to put him in remembraunce therof: amongeſt the which for the better ſettyng forth of the Kynges Maieſties power and authoritie in his minoritie, hee had collected aſwell out of hiſtories, as alſo out of the ſcriptures, the names of diuers young kynges, who notwithſtandyng their minoritie, were faithfully & obediently honoured & reputed for very true & lawfull kings, As Henry. 3. being but 9. yeares old, Edw. 3. being but 13. yeares, Rich. 2. being but 11. yeares, Henry. 6. being not fully one yere, Edw. 5. being but 11. yeare, Hen. 8. being but 18. yeares of age. And out of the old Teſtament, Oſias & Achas, who were but 16. yeres old, Salomon & Manaſſes being but 12. yeres, Ioſias, Ioachim & Ioas being but 8. yeres of age whẽ they entred their reignes. All which notes with many other he had purpoſed to declare, if they had come vnto his memory, as in deed they did not, becauſe ẏ ſame was diſturbed partly for lacke of vſe of preaching, & partly by reaſon of a bill ẏ was deliuered him frõ ẏ kynges

Examples of kinges that were young, and yet ſufficient kinges.

Boner excuſeth his obliuion. A good prelate that had loſt his memory for lacke of preaching.

Boners booke of notes fell frõ hym at his Sermon, as he excuſeth.

kinges cõſel, to declare, ẏ victory then had agaynſt ẏ rebels in Northfolke & Deuonſhyre, whiche beyng of ſome good length confounded his memory: and partly alſo for that his booke in his Sermon tyme fell away from him, wherein were diuers of his notes whiche he had collected for that purpoſe: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generalitie he perſwaded the people to obedience to the kynges Maieſtie, whoſe minoritie was manifeſtly knowen to them and all other.

Boner knew not the rebels opinion if ye will beleue hym.

Read more hereof in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes the firſt edition. pag. 705.

Then as to the vj. he ſayd he knew not the rebels opinion, and therfore could not aunſwere therunto. And as for aunſwere to the vij. viij. ix. and xj. Articles which touched his paſtorall office, he ſayd that notwithſtandyng his manifold and great troubles, aſwell by his owne buſines and his families ſickenes, as alſo by vncharitable informatiõs made agaynſt him, yet he hath not fayled to giue order vnto hys officers ſtraitly to looke vnto ſuch matters, and ſuch as he hath knowen, which were very few or none, he cauſed to be puniſhed accordyng to the lawes. All which aũſweres with others do appeare at large in the old booke of the Actes and Monumentes of the Church in the. 705. page of the ſame.

The v. Article inſufficiently aunſwered of Boner.

When he had ended the readyng of theſe aunſweres, the Commiſſioners ſayd vnto hym that he had in the ſame very obſcurely aunſwered vnto the v. Article miniſtred the 13. of September: wherfore they willed him there expreſſely to aunſwere by mouth, whether he had accordyng to the Injunctions deliuered vnto him, declared the Article begynnyng thus: You ſhall alſo ſet forth in your Sermõ that our authoritie. &c. Whereunto he agayne aunſwered, that he had already made a full and ſufficient aunſwere in wrytyng, as he was bounde to make by law.

Boners obſcure and indirect aunſwere.

The Judges then replyed, that the aunſweres already made in that part were obſcure and inſufficiẽt, ſo that it appeared not certeinely whether he had preached in deede accordyng to the ſame Injunction or not: and therfore they eftſoones willed him (as before) directly to aunſwere whether he had ſo accordyngly preached or no, the Byſhop ſtill yet aunſweryng as before.

The Judges agayne demaunded of him, whether hee would otherwiſe aunſwere or no. To the which he ſayd no, vnleſſe the law did compel him. Then they aſked him whether he thought the law did compell him to aunſwere more fully or no? he aunſwered no: addyng farther that he was not bounde to make aunſwere to ſuch poſitions.

Boners froward contumacye noted.

The Commiſſioners then ſeyng his froward contumacie, told him playnly that if he perſiſted thus in his frowardnes, and would not otherwiſe aunſwere, they would accordyng to law, take hym pro confeſſo, and ex abundanti receaue witneſſe agaynſt him, & therwithall did agayne recite vnto him vj. of the firſt and principall Articles, demaũdyng his finall aũſwere therunto. Who ſayd (as before) that he had already fully aunſwered them by wrytyng, but where they requeſted to haue his notes, which he ſaid he had made of his Sermõ, they ſhould haue them if they would ſend for thẽ. And whereas in his aũſwere to the vj. Article he doubted what the opiniõ of the rebels was, the Judges declared vnto him, that their opinion was: That the kynges maieſtie before his grace came to the age of xxi. yeares, had not ſo full authoritie to make lawes and ſtatutes, as whẽ he came to farther yeares: and that his ſubiectes were not bounde to obey the lawes & ſtatutes made in his yoũg age. Whereunto the Byſhop aunſwered that hee was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appeare by his aunſweres aſwell vnto the denounciation, as alſo vnto the v. Article obiected agaynſt him.

The rebels traytorous opinion touching the kinges power in his minoritie

Witneſſes agaynſt Boner.

Which ended, they perceauyng his ſcornefull careleſnes, preſently did admitte for witnes vppon the Articles obiected agaynſt him, Maiſter John Cheeke, Henry Markeham, John Joſeph, John Dowglas, and Richard Chambers, whom alſo they onerated with a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, truely to aunſwere and depoſe vpon the ſame Articles in the preſence of the Byſhop, who vnder his former Proteſtation, lyke a wyly Lawyer, proteſted of the nullitie of the receauyng, admittyng, and ſwearyng of thoſe witneſſes, with Proteſtation alſo to obiect agaynſt the perſons & ſayinges of the witneſſes for the tyme and place conuenient: demaundyng alſo a competent and lawfull tyme to miniſter Interrogatories agaynſt them, with a copy of all the Actes to that day. Wherewith the delegates were well pleaſed, and aſſigned him to miniſter his Interrogatories agaynſt Maiſter Cheeke on that preſent day, and agaynſt the reſt the next day before noone.

Proteſtation and obiections of Boner agaynſt the witneſſes.

For Boners Interrogatoryes and poſitions agaynſt the witneſſes, reade in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes of the firſt edition. pag. 708.

All whiche Interrogatories, becauſe they are already at full ſet forth in the firſt Edition of Actes and Monumentes of the Church, and alſo do but conteine many vayne and friuolous poſitions and obiections, more to delay tyme then importyng any matters of waight, for breuitie ſake I thought good here to omit, referryng the reader to ẏ 708. page of the ſame booke, where they are all (as I ſayd) at large.

Boner agayne proteſteth agaynſt the witneſſes.

After this the Judges delegate aſſigned the Byſhop to appeare agayne before them vpon Wedenſday then next enſuyng, betwene the houres of vij. and viij. of the clocke before noone, in the Hall of the Archbyſhops manner of Lambeth, there to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, vppon all the Articles whereunto he had not then fully aũſwered, and to ſee farther proceſſe done in that matter: and ſo (he ſtill proteſting of the nullitie and inualiditie of all their proceadynges) they did for that preſent depart.

The Commiſſioners certifie the kyng of Boners demeanour.

In this meane while the Commiſſioners certified the kynges Maieſtie and his Counſell of the Byſhops demeanour towardes them, and what obiections he had made agaynſt their procedynges, makyng doubtes and ambiguities whether by the tenour of his Maieſties Commiſſion the Commiſſioners might procede not onely at the denounciation, but alſo of their mere office: and alſo whether they mought aſwell determine, as heare the cauſe. Whereupon his Maieſtie by aduiſe aforeſayd, for the better vnderſtandyng therof, dyd the 17. of September ſend vnto the Commiſſioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleaſure in the foreſayd Commiſſion, geuyng them hereby full authoritie to procede at their owne diſcretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenour thereof enſuyng.

¶ A certaine declaration or interpretation of the kyng touchyng certaine poyntes and doubtes in his former Commiſſion, with licence geuen to the Commiſſioners, as well to determine as to heare in the caſe of Boner.

Leaue geuen by the kyng to the Commiſſioners to determine agaynſt Boner.

EDward the vj. by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the fayth and of the Church of Englãd and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupreme head, to the moſt reuerend Father in God Thomas Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, the right reuerend Father in God Nicholas Byſhop of Rocheſter, our truſty and right welbeloued Couſailours ſir William Peter and ſir Thomas Smith Knightes our two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctour of law Ciuill and Deane of Paules greetyng. Where we of late, by the aduiſe of our moſt entirely beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our Realmes, dominions and ſubiectes, and the reſt of our priuy Couſaile, haue addreſſed vnto you. v. iiij. iij. of you our letters patentes of Commiſſion bearyng date at Weſtminſter the viij. day of Septẽber, in the third yeare of our raigne, willyng you by force therof to heare the matters and cauſe of contempt therein expreſſed, and callyng before you, aſwell the denouncers therof, as alſo the right reuerend father in God Edmund Byſhop of London, agaynſt whom ſuch denounciation is made as in our ſayd letters of Commiſſion more at large doth appeare, we be now credibly informed that vpon the ſayd Commiſſion diuers doubtes and ambiguities hath and may ariſe:

As whether you by the tenour of the ſayd Commiſſion may proceede not onely at the denounciation, but alſo of mere office.

And alſo whether ye may aſwell determine as heare the ſayd cauſe.

For further declaration wherof, we do now interprete and declare that our full mynde and pleaſure, by the aduiſe aforeſayd, was by our ſayd Commiſſion and now is, that you ſhould procede aſwell by mere office, as alſo by way of denounciation and by either of them, or any other wayes or meanes at your diſcretions, whereby the truth and merites of the cauſe may be moſt ſpedely and beſt knowen, and that ye might and may aſwel finally determine as heare the ſayd matters in all your orders and doynges, cuttyng away all vayne and ſuperfluous delayes, and hauyng reſpect to the onely truth of the matter. And thys our declaratiõ we ſend vnto you of our ſure knowledge and mere motion by the aduiſe aforeſayd, ſupplying all default, ceremony and point of the law, which hath, ſhall, or may ariſe of your doynges by reaſon of any default of wordes in our ſayd former Commiſſion or any part therof, any law, ſtatute, or acte to the cõtrary notwithſtandyng, and therfore we will and cõmaunde you to proceede in the ſayd matters accordyngly, aſwell to our foreſaid Commiſſion, as this our declaratiõ, and ſo fayle ye not. In witneſſe wherof we haue made theſe our letters patentes. At Hampton Court, the xvij. day of September.

¶ The fourth Seſsion agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London before the kynges Commiſſioners in the great Haull at Lambeth the eight of September.

The 4. appearing of Boner before the kinges Commiſſioners.

AFter this declaration beyng ſent downe and receaued from the Kyng, the Byſhop of London (accordyng to the Commiſſioners aſſignement the Monday before,) appeared agayne before them vppon Wedneſday, the xviij. of September, in the great Haule at Lambeth. Where vnder his wonted Proteſtation, firſt hee declared that although he had already ſufficiently aunſwered all thynges: yet further to ſatiſfie the terme aſſigned vnto him, to ſhew cauſe why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo, vpon the Articles theretofore miniſtred agaynſt hym, and to the whiche he had not fully aunſwered, he had then a matter in writyng to exhibite vnto them, why he ought not ſo to be declared, whiche he read there openly. Wherein firſt vnder his accuſtomed vnreuerent termes of pretenſed, vniuſt, and vnlawfull proceſſe and aſſignation, he ſayd he was not bound by ŷ law (for good and reaſonable cauſes) to obey the ſame, eſpecially their aſſignation.

Boner exhybyteth more matter in writing, why he ought not to be declared *pro confeſſo*

Cauſes alleaged of Boner why he ought not to obey the Commiſſioners aſſignation.

And firſt, for that the ſame was onely pronounced by Syr Thomas Smith, one of the pretenſed Commiſſioners, without the conſent of his pretenſed Colleagues: or at the leaſt hee as a Commiſſioner dyd preſcribe the Actuary what to write, whiche he ought not to haue done, becauſe by law he ought not to haue intermedled therein, for that his Colleagues did the firſt day begyn to ſit as Judges agaynſt hym the Byſhop, without the preſence of the ſayd Syr Thomas Smith.

The 2. cauſe.

And ſecondly, becauſe his aunſweres, aſwell vnto the pretenſed denounciation, as alſo vnto all the Articles theretofore obiected agaynſt hym, were as full and ſufficient, as the lawe required (or at leaſt wyſe there was nothyng good in lawe apparaunt to the contrary) and therefore hee was not enforced by law farther to aunſwere without farther allegation.

The 3. cauſe.

The popes lawe.

And becauſe alſo, that all their procedynges thereto were ſo extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all maner of lawfull proceſſe, ſometymes procedyng ad denunciandū, ſometymes ex officio mero, and ſometimes ex officio mixto, contrary vnto the kynges Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and contrary alſo vnto their Commiſſion in that behalfe.

The 4. cauſe.

And likewiſe becauſe diuers of the Articles pretenſed were ſuperfluous and impertinent, not reuealyng though they were proued, contaynyng in them vntruth and falſitie, ſome obſcure and vncertaine, ſome dependyng vppon other Articles, either denyed, or at the leaſt qualified, ſome captious and deceitfull to bryng the aunſwere into a ſnare, and ſome alſo beyng Articles of the law, in ſuch ſorte, as by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Realme the Kynges ſubiectes were not bounde to make aunſwere thereunto.

The Popes lawe.

The 5. cauſe

And laſtly, becauſe that Syr Thomas Smith Secretary to the kynges Maieſtie, when that the Byſhop was laſt with the Counſell in the Counſell Chamber at White hall, after the departure of the Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the Counſell, did hym ſelfe alone (without any other) write certaine Articles or Iniunctions (amongeſt the whiche was that of the kynges authoritie in his minoritie) and afterward did copy the ſame at a table within the ſayd Counſell Chamber, and ſo him ſelfe did deliuer them vnto him. By reaſon wherof that is not true, which in the Commiſſion, denounciation and Articles was deduced and obiected agaynſt him.

The intolerable contempt and vnreuerent behauiour of Boner noted and openly reproued.

When theſe fonde and friuolous obiections were thus read, the Archbyſhop ſeyng his inordinate and vntolerable contempt towardes them, charged him very ſharply ſaying: My Lord of London, if I had ſitten here onely as Archbyſhop of Canterbury, it had bene your part to haue vſed your ſelfe more lowly, obediently & reuerently towardes me then ye haue: but ſeing that I with my Colleagues ſit here now as Delegates from the Kynges Maieſtie, I muſt tell you playne, you haue behaued your ſelfe to to much inordinately. For at euery tyme that we haue ſitten in Commiſſion, you haue vſed ſuch vnſeemely faſhions without all reuerence and obedience, geuyng tauntes and checkes, aſwell vnto vs, with diuers of my ſeruauntes and Chaplaines, as alſo vnto certaine of the aũcienteſt that be here, callyng them Fooles and Dawes, with ſuch like, as that you haue geuen to the multitude an intolerable example of diſobediẽce. And I enſure you my Lord, there is you and one other Byſhop whõ I could name, that haue vſed your ſelues ſo contemptuouſly & diſobediently, as the like I thinke hath not before bene heard of or ſene: whereby ye haue done much harme.

The wordes of the Archbyſhop to Boner.

Boners ſcornefull aunſwere to the Archb.

At which wordes, the groſſe Byſhop (a beaſt a man might iuſtly terme him) ſayd ſcornefully to the Archbiſhop, you ſhew your ſelfe to be a meete Judge.

The Archbyſhop.

The Archbyſhop then proceedyng, layd to his charge how vndiſcretlye the laſt day in the Chappell he had called all the people Woodcockes.

Boner.

Whereunto he aunſwered, that the laſt Seſſion William Latymer one of the denouncers beyng there preſent, had practiſed with the audience that when he lifted vp his hand to them, they ſhould (and did as it were by a token geuen them) ſay as he ſayd, and do as he dyd: as at one tyme vpon the liftyng vp of his hand, they cryed nay, nay, and at an other tyme yea yea, and laughed they could not tell whereat, with ſuch like faſhions.

The vayne ſuſpition of Boner.

Unto which wordes Latymer ſeyng his vayne ſuſpition, replied, ſaying that he lifted not vp his hãd at any time, but onely to cauſe them hold their peace.

The wordes of Secretarye Smyth to Boner.

All thinges pretenſed with Boner that made agaynſt hym.

Then Secretarie Smith ſayd to the Byſhop, that in all his writynges and aunſweres that he had hetherto layd in, hee would not once acknowledge them as the Kynges Commiſſioners, but vſed alwayes Proteſtations with diuers ſuche horne and naughtie termes, callyng them pretenſed Commiſſioners, pretenſed Delegates, pretenſed Commiſſion, pretenſed articles, pretenſed procedynges, ſo that all thynges were pretenſed with hym. In deede (ſayd he) ſuch termes the Proctors of Churches vſe, to delay matters for their Clientes when they will not haue the truth knowen. But you my Lord to vſe vs the kinges maieſties cõmiſſioners w ſuch termes, you do therin very lewdly & naughtely. And I pray you what other thyng did the rebels.

Boner and the rebels compared together.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the Kyng and his Counſell, they would not credite them, but ſayd they were none of the Kynges or his Counſelles, but Gentlemens doynges, and made vnder a buſhe, with ſuch like termes. But now my Lord, becauſe hetherto we can not make you confeſſe whether in your Sermon that you preached, ye omitted the Article touchyng the kynges Maieſties authoritie in his tender age or not, but ſtill haue ſayd that ye will not otherwiſe aunſwere then ye haue done, and that ye haue already ſufficiently aunſwered (with many ſuch like delayes) ſo as we can by no meanes induce you to confeſſe playnly what you dyd, yea or nay: therefore I ſay, to the intent we may come to the truth, we haue dilated the matter more at large, and haue drawen out other Articles whereunto you ſhalbe ſworne, and then I truſt you will dally with vs no more as you haue done. For although you make your aunſweres in writyng, yet you ſhalbe examined by vs and make your aunſweres by mouth to ŷ ſame Articles, or elles you ſhall doe worſe. In deede I do not (as I ſayd) diſcommend your Proteſtatiõs and termes of law, if it were in a young Proctour that would helpe his Clientes cauſe: but in you it may not be ſuffered ſo to vſe the Kynges Commiſſioners.

New articles and Iniunctions miniſtred to Boner.

Then did the Delegates miniſter vnto him certaine new Articles and Iniunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporall othe in forme of law to make a full and true aunſwere thereunto. The Byſhop notwithſtandyng ſtill (accordyng to his wonted maner) vnder his former Proteſtation proteſted of the nullitie and inualiditie of thoſe Articles, Iniunctions, and proceſſe, deſiryng alſo a Copye thereof, with a competent tyme to aunſwere thereunto. To whom the Judges decreed a Copie, commaundyng him to come to his examination to the Archbyſhop the next day at viij. of the clocke before noone.

Boner agayne aſſigned the next day to appeare.

New witneſſes againſt Boner.

Then the Commiſſioners did receaue for witneſſe, vpon thoſe new Articles now miniſtred vnto the Byſhop, Syr John Maſon, Syr Thomas Chaloner Knightes, Maiſter William Cicill, Armygell Wade, and William Hunnynges Clerkes to the Kynges Maieſties Counſaile, whom they onerated with a corporall othe in the preſence of the Byſhop, who ſtill proteſted of the nullitie of their receiuyng and ſwearyng, obiectyng agaynſt them and their ſayinges: and therwith repeatyng his Interrogatories already miniſtred, ſayd he had mo to miniſter by to morow at viij. of the clocke.

Boners information agaynſt M. Williã Latimer Preacher.

The ſame day and tyme likewiſe the Byſhop exhibited vnto the Commiſſioners an information, or rather cauillation agaynſt William Latymer, for that he, notwithſtandyng that hee had in all his talke pretended the great tranquilitie of this Realme, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that eny the Kynges ſubiectes ſhould thinke that his Maieſtie hath not as full power & authoritie royall in his minoritie as whẽ his Maieſtie came to perfect age, or ſhould thinke that his ſubiectes were not bounde to obey the ſame, yet hath of late there in open audiẽce reported, that he hath heard with his eares diuers perſons vnreuerẽtly ſpeake of the kyngs Maieſtie ſaying: tuſh the Kyng is but a babe or child, what lawes cã he make? or what can he do in his minoritie? let him haue a toſt & butter or bread and milke, & that is more meter for him then to make lawes or ſtatutes or bynd vs to obey them: we are not bound to obey till he be paſt his minoritie, and come to his full and perfect age: with the hearyng of whiche wordes the Byſhop alſo charged the Commiſſioners, and that bycauſe Latymer at the recitall of the ſame in their preſence, was neither by them cõtroled, nor yet cauſed to bryng forth the ſame perſons,

M. Latimer impeached of Boner for concealing of treaſon.

ſons, but was let paſſe in ſilence, ſaying that he the ſayd Byſhop dyd ſpeake agaynſt him in that behalfe, ſaying that he would detect hym, bycauſe that, as it appeared he had of long tyme concealed the wordes and not opened the ſame in ſuch place and to ſuch perſons as he ought to haue done, but had kept the perſon and ſayinges of them ſecrete, either not takyng the matter of ſuch importaunce as he pretended, or els thereby vnfaythfully behauyng him ſelfe, towardes his Prince, and therfore was worthy with his ayders, fauourers, and counſellers to be puniſhed.

A new terme aſſigned to Boner to appeare.

These vayne cauillations ended, the Commiſſioners for that day finiſhed their Seſſion, aſſignyng the Byſhop to appeare in that ſame place agayne vpon Monday the next followyng betwene the houres of vj. and ix. in the forenoone, then and there to ſhewe a finall cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo. And ſo deliueryng him a copy of the Articles, they departed: the contentes whereof enſue.

¶ Articles and poſitions geuen by the kyngs Commiſſioners to the Byſhop of London, to be aunſwered by him ioyntly and ſeuerally in euery poynt the ſecond tyme.

Articles agaynſt Boner miniſtred the ſecond tyme.

1. That ye were ſent for to the Lord Protectours Grace, and the reſt of the Counſaile, and came thether into the Court at Weſtminſter the x. of Auguſt, or ſome other day of the ſame moneth.

2. Item, that at the ſame tyme the Lord Protectour and diuers other of the Kynges Maieſtyes priuye Counſayle, ſittyng in counſell, ye were called in, and there the ſayd Lord Protectour dyd on the Kynges Maieſtyes behalfe declare vnto you diuers fautes and abuſes the which were founde in you, and gaue you ſtraite charge to amende them, addyng and threatenyng that els you ſhould bee otherwiſe looked vnto.

3. Item, that the ſayd Lord Protectours grace did declare vnto you for better admonitiõ and amendement of you, that ye ſhould haue from the Kynges Maieſtie by his aduiſe and the reſt of the priuy Counſaile, certaine Articles, and Iniunctions to obſerue and folow geuen you in writyng.

4. Item, that there and then the ſayd Lord Protectour commaunded Syr Thomas Smith Knight, Secretary to the Kynges Maieſtie, to read a certaine proper booke of Iniunctions and Articles vnto you, the ſayd Secretary ſtãdyng at the Counſaile tables end, and you ſtandyng by, and hearyng the ſame.

5. Item, that the ſayd Lord Protectour there and then willed to be reformed certaine thynges in the ſayd booke of Iniunctions, as where ye were appoynted to preach ſooner, at your requeſt it was appoynted vnto you to preache the Sonday three weekes after the date of the ſayd writyng.

6. Item, that in the ſayd Articles the Lord Protectours Grace founde fault becauſe an Article or commaundement vnto you ſet forth and declared of the Kynges Maieſtyes authoritie now in his young age, of his lawes and ſtatutes in the ſame tyme was omitted, and therefore either immediately before you came into the Counſaile Chamber, or you beyng preſent and ſtandyng by, commaunded the ſayd Secretarye Smith to put it in writyng and annexe it to the reſt of the Articles.

7. Item, that the ſayd Secretary Smith, then and there dyd immediately vppon commaundement, write into the ſayde booke or paper, wherein the reſt of the articles were written, the ſayd article: videlicet, you ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon, that the authoritie of our royall power is (as of truth it is) of no leſſe authoritie and force in this our young age, then was of any of our Predeceſſours, though the ſame were much elder, as may appere by example of Ioſias and other young kynges in the ſcripture, and therefore all our ſubiectes to be no leſſe bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and ſtatutes, then if we were of 30. or 40. yeares of age.

8. Item, that the Lord Protector did ſo deliuer you the booke or paper, willing firſt the ſayd Secretary Smyth to amend all thynges as he had appointed.

9. Item, that ye then and there did promiſe to the Lorde Protectors grace, that ye would obſerue & fulfill all in the ſayd Iniunctions and articles conteyned.

10. Item, that all thinges in the ſayd booke, put in and mentioned by the ſayd Secretary Smith, and the ſame ſo read vnto you by him & you firſt agreeing that al that was by him ſo written, was by the L. Protectors appointmẽt, the ſayd booke was ſo deliuered vnto you then and there by the ſayd Secretary Smith in the Counſaile Chamber.

11. Item, that you haue the ſayd booke in your poſſeſſion, or els know where it is, the true copy whereof in effecte is annexed to theſe articles.

12. Item, that ye were commaũded in the ſayd Iniunctions to preach the ſonday three weekes after the deliuerye thereof at Paules, & there to intreate vpon certaine articles, as is ſpecified in the ſayd booke of Iniunctions, and ſpecially the ſayd article beginning: ye ſhall alſo ſet forth, and endyng, 30. or 40. yeares of age.

13. Item, that for the accompliſhment of part of the ſayde Iniunctions and cõmaundement, you did preach the firſt day of September laſt paſt at Paules Croſſe.

14. Item, that at the ſayd ſermon, contrary to your Iniunctiõs, ye omitted and left out the ſayd article beginning: ye ſhall alſo ſet forth in your ſermon. &c. and ending 30. or 40. yeares of age.

15. Ye ſhall alſo aunſwere whether ye thinke and beleue that the kynges Maieſties ſubiectes be bounde to obey aſwell the lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, and other ordinaũces made now in thys young age of the kynges maieſtie, as the lawes, ſtatutes, proclamations, and ordinaunces made by his highnes Progenitours.

Boner for feare of a feuer eyther could not or durſt not appeare.

These Articles beyng thus miniſtred to the ſayd Byſhop of London, the next day beyng Thurſday and the 19. of September, the afore named Commiſſioners ſat in the Archbyſhops chamber of preſence at Lambeth, attendyng the commyng of ẏ B. of Lõdon. Before whõ there appeared Robert Iohnſon the Byſhops Regiſter, and there did declare vnto the Commiſſioners that the biſhop his maiſter could not at that tyme perſonally appeare before thẽ without great daunger of his bodely health, becauſe that he feared to fall into a feuer by reaſõ of a cold that he had taken by to much ouerwatching himſelfe the laſt night before, whereby he was compelled to keepe his bed: neuertheleſſe, if hee could without daunger of his bodely health, he would appeare before them the ſame day at after noone. This excuſe the Iudges were cõtent to take in good part. yet ſayd M. Secretary Smith, that if he were ſicke in deede the excuſe was reaſonable and to be allowed: but (quoth he) I promiſe you my Lord hath ſo dallied with vs, & vſed hetherto ſuch delayes, that we may miſtruſt that this is but a fained excuſe: howbeit vpon your faithfull declaration we are content to tary vntill one of the clocke at after noone, and ſo they did, willing M. Iohnſon to ſignifie then vnto them, whether the Biſhop could appeare or not.

Boner pretendeth agayne his feuer.

At which houre Robert Iohnſon and Richard Rogers Gentleman of the Byſhops chamber appeared againe before the Commiſſioners, declaring that (for the cauſes afore alledged) their maiſter could not appeare at that tyme neither. Whereupõ M. Secretarye Smith ſaid vnto thẽ, my Lord of London your maiſter hath vſed vs very homely, and ſought delayes hetherto, and now perhaps perceiuyng theſe laſt Articles to touch the quicke, and therefore loth to come to his aunſwere, he faineth himſelfe ſicke. But becauſe he ſhall not ſo deceaue vs any more, we will ſende the Knight Marſhall vnto him, willing hym, if he be ſicke in deede, to let him alone, for that is a reaſonable excuſe, but if he be not ſicke, then to bryng him forthwith vnto vs: for I promiſe you he ſhall not vſe vs as he hath done, we will not take it at his handes: and therfore M. Iohnſon (ſayde he) you doe the part of a truſtie ſeruaũt as becommeth you, but it is alſo your part to ſhewe my Lord of his ſtubborne hart and diſobedience, which doth him more harme then he is aware of. What thinketh he to ſtand with a king in hys owne Realme? Is this the part of a ſubiect? nay, I weene we ſhall haue a new Tho. Becket. Let him take heede, for if he play theſe partes, he may fortune to be made ſhorter by the head. He may appeale if he thinke good: but whether? to the Byſhop of Rome? So he may helpe himſelfe forwardes. I ſay he can not appeale but to the ſame kyng who hath made vs his Iudges, and to the Bench of his Counſaile: and how they will take this matter when they heare of it, I doubt not. He would make men beleue that he were called before vs for preaching his opinion of the ſacrament, wherein I aſſure you he did both falſely & naughtely, yea & lewdly, & more then became him, & more then he had in commaundement to do, for he was not willed to ſpeake of that matter, and perhaps he may heare more of that hereafter: but yet we will lay no ſuch thyng to hys charge, and therefore we will not haue him to delaye vs as he doth. Which ended, the delegates notwithſtanding decreed to tarrye agayne for hym vntyll two of the clocke at after noone the nexte day, beyng Friday, and the twentye of September.

Boners excuſe of ſickneſ not well taken of the Commiſſioners.

A good admonition ſent to Boner by Secretarye Smyth.

The v. Action or proceſſe the xx. of September, agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London, before the kinges Commiſſioners.

The 5. Seſſion or cons agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London.

AT which day and tyme the Byſhop appeared hymſelfe perſonally before them in the ſame chamber of preſence.

where firſt hee dyd exhibite his aunſweres vnto the laſte Articles miniſtred vnto hym the 18. of September. Wherin becauſe there is no matter of ſubſtaunce conteyned, neither made hee any direct aunſwere but cauilled as alwayes before, referryng hym ſelfe ſtill to hys former aunſweres, I will alſo therefore referre the Reader vnto the 713. page of the firſt booke of Actes and Monumentes, where they are at large expreſſed, thinkyng it ſuperfluous here to inſerte them.

Read in the Booke of Actes and Monumentes of the firſt edition, pag. 713.

After this, perceauyng that maiſter Secretary Smith was ſomewhat more quicke wͭ him thẽ others of the Commiſſioners, and that he would not ſuffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vayne quiddities and ſubtilties in law, but euer earneſtly vrged hym to goe directly to his matter, and therewithall ſome tymes ſharpely rebukyng him for his euill and ſtubburne behauiour towardes them: he to deface his authoritie (as he thought) dyd alſo then exhibite in wrytyng a recuſation of the Secretaryes Iudgement agaynſt hym. The forme and maner wherof, as he exhibited it vnto the Iudges, I thought here alſo to exhibite vnto the Reader as here vnder foloweth.

Boner refuſeth Secretary Smyth to be his iudge.

¶ The recuſation of the Iudgement of Syr Thomas Smith, made by the Byſhop of London the firſt tyme.

Cauſes alleged by Boner why he refuſed Secretary Smyth.

IN the name of God. Amen. For aſmuch as equitie, naturall reaſon, and all good lawes do require, that Iudges ſhall be of that integritie, wiſedome, circumſpection, learnyng and indifferencie, that exerciſing the office and rowme of a Iudge, they may and ſhall doe it without hatred, malice, or grudge agaynſt any perſon conuented or called before them vprightly, ſincerely, and duely executyng and doyng their office vnto them in any wiſe committed: and for as much alſo as all iudgementes and proceſſe ought to haue their due courſe, and proceede without ſuſpition or corruption in any wiſe: and finally, for as much as very daungerous it is to appeare and make defence before an incompetent Iudge, who commonly and accuſtomably, of priuate and vnlawfull corrupt affection to the one ſide, and for malice, hatred, and enuye borne agaynſt the other ſide, rather ſerueth his carnall, corrupt, and wilful appetite, then any thing is moued to obedience and keepyng of good order, law or reaſon touchyng him that is conuented and compelled to make aunſwere agaynſt his will: I therfore Edmond Byſhop of London, hauyng perceaued and felt by all the ſayinges, procedynges and doynges of you ſir Thomas Smith knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the kynges Maieſty in this matter attempted and moued agaynſt me, that ye haue bene, and yet continually are a notorious and manifeſt enemy of me the ſayd Edmond, and much offended that I ſhould in any wiſe alledge and ſay or vſe, any ſuch thynges for my moſt defence, as the law geueth me licence and libertie to do, yea hearyng moſt fauourably and effectually my denouncers and enemyes with both eares in any thyng that they ſhall alledge, purpoſe, attempt, or do agaynſt me, though their perſons in law are not in any wiſe to be heard or admitted, ne yet their ſayinges true, and not hearyng me ſo much as with one eare in my lawfull ſayinges and doynges in this behalfe, but contrarywiſe openyng your mouth at large, ye haue ſundry tymes agaynſt good wiſedome and reaſon, outraged in wordes and deedes agaynſt me the ſayd Edmond, ſaying among other wordes, that I did as theeues murtherers, and Traytors are wont to doe, beyng my ſelfe as ye vntruely dyd ſay inward in deede culpable, and yet outward otherwiſe, vnable to defend the matter agaynſt me, but onely by takyng exceptions, and makyng friuolous allegations agaynſt my Iudges and Commiſſioners, and that I haue bene and am as ſturdy, wilfull, and diſobedient, as may be in your iudgement and opinion, mayntaynyng and vpholdyng the rebelles and their opinions, and that I ſhall aunſwere by mouth or els ſmart and do worſe, or els ye will ſend me to the Tower, there to ſit and be ioyned with Kette and Humfrey Arundell the Rebels: ouer and beſides diuers other threateninges and comminatory wordes by you pronounced and vttered vnſeemely, and farre vnmeete to proceede out of the mouth of you that are in ſuch rowme and place as ye be in.

Boner layeth exceptions agaynſt Syr Thomas Smyth.

And moreouer increaſing your malice, euill will, and grudge borne agaynſt me, ye haue amongeſt other thynges vntruely ſurmiſed, written, alledged, and ſayd, that a certaine booke of Articles and Iniunctions by the Lord Protectours Grace in the full counſayle after a certaine preſcribed faſhion and forme in the denunciation, commiſſion and Articles, which [de facto] were induced, brought in and obiected agaynſt me, was deliuered vnto me: and moreouer of an euill will and vngodly intent and purpoſe contrary to the truth, ye haue withdrawen, added, altered, and qualified diuers thynges in the ſame, otherwiſe then they were ſpoken or done, and yet ye are not aſhamed to alledge, write, and ſay that all is true, and one conſonant and agreable in all pointes with the other, where in dede it is not ſo. And ye haue further [de facto] agaynſt the law, and agaynſt the Commiſſion to you directed, and agaynſt my iuſt and lawfull allegations and ſayinges, proceeded vnlawfully and vniuſtly agaynſt me, many thynges attemptyng and doyng agaynſt me vnlawfully and vniuſtly, as appeareth in the actes of this matter, to the which I do referre me ſo farre forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged and referred vnto your ſelfe alſo vnlawfully and vniuſtly [de facto] with your Colleagues, the which without you had begon the ſayd matters, proceedyng, where by the law ye ſo ought not to haue done in deede, but abſtained there from, as heretofore ſondry tymes I haue alledged, appearyng in the actes of this Court, do vpon theſe iuſt and reaſonable cauſes, accordyng to the order of the Kynges Maieſties Eccleſiaſticall lawes, refuſe, decline, and recuſe, you the ſayd ſir Thomas Smith as an vncompetent, vnmete, and ſuſpect Iudge agaynſt me in this behalfe, and decline your pretenſed iuriſdiction in this matter for cauſes aforeſayd, deſiryng nothyng but Iuſtice, and offeryng my ſelfe prõpt and ready to proue them ſo farre as I am bounde, and accordyng to the order of the Kynges Maieſties Eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Realme in this behalfe, as tyme, place, and otherwiſe ſhall require.

Here Boner moſt proudly ſhameth not to belye the kinges Secretary and one of his Maieſties Counſaile, charging hym wyth altering, and adding vnto the Counſayles Iniunctions.

The Popes lawes termed by the name of the kinges Eccleſiaſticall lawes.

This recuſation ended, the Secretary told hym playne, that that notwithſtandyng he would procede in his Commiſſion and would be ſtill his Iudge vntill hee were otherwiſe inhibited: and ſayd vnto hym farther: My Lord, whereas you ſay in your recuſation that I ſayd, that you dyd lyke theeues, murtherers, and traytors, in deede I ſayd it, and may and will ſo ſay agayne, ſince we perceaue it by your doynges.

The reply of Secretary Smyth to Boners allegations.

Whereunto the Byſhop in a great and ſtoute rage replyed, ſaying: Well Syr, becauſe you ſit here by vertue of the kynges Commiſſion, and for that ye be Secretary to his Maieſtie and alſo one of his hyghnes Counſell, I muſt and do honour and reuerence you: but as you be but Syr Thomas Smith, & ſay as ye haue ſayd, that I do like theeues, murtherers, and traytors, I ſay ye lye vpon me, and in that caſe I defie you: and do what ye cã to me, I feare you not, and therefore quod facis fac citius.

Boner.

Boner in a peltyng chafe agaynſt Syr Thomas Smyth.

Whereat the Archbyſhop with the other Commiſſioners ſayd vnto him, that for ſuch his vnreuerent behauiour he was worthy impriſonment.

The Archbiſhop.

Then the Byſhop in more madde fury then before, ſayd agayne vnto them: A Gods name ye may do de facto, ſend me whether ye will, and I muſt obey you, and ſo will, except ye ſẽd me to yͤ deuil, for thether I will not goe * for you. Three thynges I haue (to witte) a ſmall portion of goodes, a poore carcaſe, and myne owne ſoule: the two firſt ye may take (though vniuſtly) to you, but as for my ſoule ye get not, quia anima mea in manibus meis ſemper.

Boner.

* I pray God ye go not for your ſelfe.

Well, ſayd then the Secretary, ye ſhall know that there is a kyng.

Secretarye Smyth.

Yea Syr (ſayth the Byſhop) but that is not you, neither, I am ſure, will you take it vpon you.

Boner.

No Syr, ſayd agayne the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is: and with that the Commiſſioners cõmaunded the Byſhop and all the reſt to departe the chamber vntill they called for him agayne.

Secretarye Smyth.

Now, in the meane while that the Commiſſioners were in conſultation, yͤ Biſhop with Gilbert Bourne his chaplein, Robert Warringtõ his Commiſſary, & Robert Iohnſon his regiſter were taryng in a quadrant voyde place before yͤ doore of yͤ ſame chãber. Where yͤ Byſhop leanyng on a cupboard, and ſeyng his Chapleyns very ſad, ſayd vnto them in effect as followeth. Syrs, what meane you? Why ſhewe you your ſelues to be ſo ſad and heauy in mynde, as appeareth to me by your outwarde geſtures and countenaunces? I would wiſhe you, yea and I require you to be as mery as I am (laying therewith his hãd vpõ his breſt) for afore God I am not ſad nor heauy, but mery and of good comfort, & am right glad & ioyfull of this my trouble, which is for Gods cauſe: and it greueth me nothyng at all.

Boners talke to hys Chapleins in the quadrant place before the chamber of preſence at Lambeth.

But the great matter that greueth me, and perceth my hart, is for that this Hooper and ſuch other vyle heretickes and beaſtes be ſuffered and licenced to preache at Paules Croſſe, & in other places within my Dioces & Cure, moſt deteſtably preachyng and raylyng at the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, & denying the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true body and bloud to be there, and ſo infecteth and betrayeth my flocke. But I ſay it is there in very deede, & in that opinion I will lyue and dye, & am ready to ſuffer death for the ſame. Wherfore ye beyng Chriſten mẽ, I do require

Here Boners obedient hart burſteth out.

Boners popiſh meſſage and charge to the L. Maior and Aldermen.

you, and alſo charge and commaunde you in the name of GOD and on his behalfe, as you will aunſwere hym for the contrary, that ye goe to the Maior of Londō & to his brethren the Aldermen, praying and alſo requiryng them earneſtly in Gods name and myne and for myne owne diſcharge on that behalfe, that from henceforth, when any ſuch deteſtable and abhominable preachers (and eſpecially thoſe whiche hold opinion agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar) do come to preach vnto them, they forthwith departe out of their preſence and doe not heare them, leſt that they taryng with ſuch Preachers, ſhould not onely hurt them ſelues in receauyng their poyſoned doctrine, but alſo geue a viſage to the incouragement of others, whiche thereby mought take an occaſion to thinke and beleue, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftſoones I require and commaunde you to doe.

Boners tryſting charge to two of the Archbiſhops gentlemen.

And then turnyng hym ſelfe aboute and beholdyng two of the Archbyſhops Gentlemen, whiche in the ſame place kepte the Chamber doore where the Commiſſioners were in conſultation, and perceauyng that they had heard all his talke, he ſpake vnto them alſo and ſayd: And Syrs, ye are my Lorde of Caunterburyes Gentlemen, I knowe ye very well: and therefore I alſo require and charge you in Gods behalfe and in his name, that ye do the lyke for your partes in places where ye ſhall chaunce to ſee and heare ſuch corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and alſo aduertiſe my Lord your maiſter of the ſame, and of theſe my ſayinges that I haue nowe ſpoken here before you, as ye are Chriſten men, and ſhall aunſwere before GOD for the contrary.

With this the Commiſſioners called for the Byſhop agayne. Who did read vnto them an inſtrument conteinyng a prouocation to the kyng, whiche hee made in manner and forme here followyng.

The firſt appellation intimated by Edmund Boner Byſhop of London.

Boner appealeth to the king because he could not to the Pope.

IN the name of God, Amen. It ſhall appeare to all men by this publicke inſtrument, that the yeare of our Lord. 1549. the xx. day of September, the thyrd yeare of the reigne of our moſt hygh and renowmed Prince Edwarde the ſixt by the grace of GOD Kyng of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and in earth ſupreme head of the Churche of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the Pallace of the ſayd Byſhop ſituated in London, and in the preſence of me the Notary publicke, and of the witneſſes hereafter named, the foreſayd Byſhop dyd perſonally appeare, and there did ſhewe forth in writyng a certaine Proteſtation and Appellation, the tenour wherof enſueth.

In the name of GOD. Amen. I Edmund Byſhop of London, ſay, alledge, and propounde before you beyng a publicke Notary, and theſe credible witneſſes here preſent, that although I the foreſayd Edmund haue attayned the Byſhopricke aforeſayd by the beneuolence of the famous Prince of memory Kyng Henry the eight, and was lawfully elected and tranſlated to the ſame with his rightes and appertenaunces, haue of long tyme poſſeſſed peaceably and quietly the ſame, and preſently doe poſſeſſe, beyng taken as Byſhop and lawfull poſſeſſour of the ſayd Byſhopricke, and am lawfully called, taken and reputed, notoriouſly and publickely: and moreouer doe keepe reſidence and hoſpitalitie on the ſame, accordyng to the order, ſtate, perſon and dignitie and as the reuenewes of the ſame would permitte, and haue exerciſed and done all thynges appertaynyng to my paſtorall office as the lawes doe require, as hereafter I truſt by Gods grace to do and obſerue, a man of good name and fame, neither ſuſpended, excommunicate nor interdicted, neither conuict of any notable crime or fact, alwayes obeying readely the commaundement of the Churche, and other my ſuperiours in all lawfull cauſes, neuertheleſſe fearyng vppon certaine probable cauſes, lykely coniectures, threatenynges and aſſertions of certaine iniurious men my enemyes, or at the leaſt, ſuch as little fauour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premiſſes or part of them: and leſt any man by any authoritie, commaundement, denunciatiō, inquiſition, office, or at the requeſte of any perſon or perſons, may attempt, preiudice, or hurt to me or my ſayd dignitie, either by my excōmunicatiō, interdiction, ſequeſtration, ſpoylyng, vexing and perturbyng by any maner of meanes: doe appeale to the moſt highe and mightie Prince our ſoueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God kyng of England, Fraunce, &c. and in theſe my writings do prouoke and appeale to his regal maieſtie. I do alſo require the Apoſtles, ſo much as in this caſe they are to be required the firſt, ſecond, and third tyme, earneſtly, more earneſtly, & moſt earneſtly of all, that there may be geuē to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foreſayd moſt dread ſoueraigne Lord, for the ſafegard of me, my dignitie, title & poſſeſſion in the premiſſes, and to all that will cleaue to me in this behalfe, I do alſo proteſt that I will be contented to correcte, reforme, and amende this my preſent proteſtatiō, and to the ſame to adde, to take away, & to bring the ſame into the beſt forme and ſtate that may be deuiſed, by the counſell of learned men, or as the caſe ſhal require, and the ſame to intimate accordyng to time and place and the order of the law, and ſtill ſhall require. Vpon all the which premiſſes the foreſayd Edmund Byſhop of London did require the Notary publicke here vnder written, to make vnto hym, & the witneſſes hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this proteſtation.

Apoſtles is a terme of Canon law, and ſignifieth as much as letters teſtimoniall, or dimiſſories.

Theſe thynges were done the yeare, day, and tyme aboue written, there being preſent Gilbert Bourne, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Iohn Harpſfield, and Robert Colen, Maiſters of Arte, Iohn Wakelyng and Richard Rogers learned men, beyng of the Dioces of Worceſter, Weſtminſter, Couentrie, Lichefield, and Gloceſter, and ſpecially requeſted to be witnes of the ſame. And I Fraunces Harward of the Dioces of Worcetor and publicke Notary by the kyngs regall authoritie, forſomuch as I was preſent when the foreſayd Proteſtation, Appellation, and other the premiſſes were done, the yeare of our Lord, the yeare of the reigne of the kyng, the day of the moneth and place aforeſayde, the witneſſes aboue named beyng preſent, and for ſo much as I dyd enacte the ſame, therfore to thys preſent publicke inſtrument, written faythfully wyth my owne hand, I haue put to my marke, beyng ſpecially requeſted vnto the ſame.

Boner requireth his appeale, recuſation, and proteſtation to be entred in Regiſter.

Which thyng after he had read, he did vnder his proteſtation firſt intimate vnto the Archbyſhop, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and Doctor May, and then proteſting alſo not to recede from his recuſation, did likewiſe intimate the ſame vnto Maiſter Secretarye Smyth, requiryng the Regiſter to make an inſtrument aſwell thereupon as alſo vpon hys recuſation, wyth wytnes to teſtifie the ſame.

The laſt aunſwere of Boner to the Articles examyned, and found vnperfect.

Then the Delegates did agayne procede to the examination of the laſt aunſwers, and finding the ſame imperfecte, they demaunded of hym (accordyng to the firſt article) what ſpeciall day of Auguſt he was ſent for by the L. Protector? To whom he obſtinatly aunſwered, that hee was not bound to make other aunſwere, then he had already made, vnleſſe they did put their Articles more certayne: neyther woulde he otherwiſe aunſwere as long as Maiſter Secretarie Smith was there preſent, whom he had before recuſed, and therfore would not recede from hys recuſation.

Boner commaunded to the Marchalſey.

The Secretary ſeyng him ſo wilfull and peruerſe, ſayd ſharpely vnto him: My Lord, come of and make a full and perfect aunſwere vnto theſe Articles, or els we will take other order with you to your payne.

In fayth Syr, then ſayd the Byſhop agayne, I haue thought ye had bene learned, but now, before GOD, I perceaue well that either ye be not learned in deede, or els ye haue forgotten it: for I haue ſo often aunſwered lawfully and ſufficiently, and haue ſo oft ſhewed cauſes ſufficient and reaſonable why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you ſhewyng nothyng to the contrary but ſenſualitie and will) that I muſt needes Iudge that you are ignoraunt herein.

Well ſayd Maiſter Secretary, ye will not then otherwiſe aunſwere?

No, ſayd the Byſhop, except the law compell me.

Then ſayd the Secretary, call for the Knight Marſhal, that he may be had to ward.

With that all the reſt of the Commiſſioners charged the Byſhop, that he had at that tyme ſundry wayes very outragiouſly and irreuerently behaued himſelfe towardes them ſittyng on the Kynges Maieſties Commiſſion, and ſpecially towardes Syr Thomas Smith his graces Secretary, and therefore and for diuers other contumelious wordes whiche he had ſpoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marſhalſey.

By this tyme the Marſhals deputie came before them, whom Maiſter Secretary commaunded to take the Byſhop as priſoner, and ſo to keepe hym that no man myght come vnto him, for if he dyd, he ſhould ſit by him himſelfe.

When the Secretarie had ended his talke, the Byſhop ſayd vnto him: well Syr, it might haue becōmed you right wel, that my Lords Grace here preſent, being firſt in commiſſion and your better, ſhould haue done it.

Then the Commiſſioners aſſignyng him to be brought before them on Monday next before noone, betwene viij. and ix. of the clocke in the Hall of that place, there to make full aunſwere to theſe laſt Articles, or els to ſhewe cauſe why he ſhould not bee declared pro confeſſo, dyd for that preſent breake vp that Seſſion.

Boners great hart could not chooſe, but he muſt nedes vtter hys ſtomacke.

Now as the Byſhop was departyng with the vndermarſhall, he in a great fury turned him ſelfe againe towardes the Commiſſioners, and ſayd to ſir Thomas Smith: ſir, where ye haue committed me to priſon, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I will require no fauour at your handes, but ſhall willyngly ſuffer what ſhall be put vnto me, as boltes on my heeles, yea and if ye will, yrons about my middle, or where ye will.

Boner threatneth to accuſe the Archbiſhop before God.

Then departyng agayne, he yet returned once more, and ſomyng out his poyſon, ſayd vnto the Archbyſhop: Well my Lord I am ſory that I beyng a Byſhop am thus handled at your graces hand: but more ſory that you ſuffer abhominable heretickes to practiſe as they doe in London and els where, infectyng and diſquietyng the kynges liege people: and therfore I do require you, as you will aunſwere to God and to the kyng, that ye will from hence forth abſtaine thus to do: for if ye do not, I will accuſe you before God and the kynges Maieſtie: aunſwere to it as well as ye can. And ſo he departed, vſing many reprochfull wordes agaynſt ſundry of the common people which ſtode and ſpake to hym by the way as he went.

¶ The ſixt Action or proces vppon Monday the. 23. of September, had agaynſt Boner Byſhop of London before the Commiſſioners in the great Hall at Lambeth.

The 6. Seſſion or appearaunce of Boner.

IT was aſſigned as ye heard in the 4. Acte proſecuted the. xviij. of September, that vppon Monday then next followyng, beyng the. 23. day of the ſame moneth, the Byſhop ſhould againe appeare before the Commiſſioners within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to ſhew a finall cauſe why he ſhould not be declared pro confeſſo, vpon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully aunſwered.

A generall recuſation of Boner agaynſt all the Commiſſioners.

Boner ſtill ſticketh to his former proteſtatiōs and prouocations. Read more hereof in the Booke of Actes and Monumētes of the firſt edition pag. 721.

According to which aſſignemēt the ſame 23. day of September the biſhop was brought before them by the Vndermarſhall (to whom for his diſobedient and obſtinate behauiour he was before that tyme committed) and there dyd firſt declare vnto them that his appearaunce at that tyme and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was againſt his will brought thether by the keper of the Marſhalſey, & therwithall alſo vnder his former proteſtatiō, recuſation, and appeale, did then againe intimate a general recuſation of all the Commiſſioners, alledgyng in the ſame, that becauſe the Archbiſhop with all his Colleagues had neither obſerued the order of their Commiſſion, neither yet proceeded againſt him after any laudable or good faſhion of iudgement, but contrarywiſe had ſondry tymes as well in hys abſence as in his preſence attempted many things vnlawfully againſt his perſon, dignitie and eſtate, eſpecially in committyng hym to ſtraite priſon, and yet commaundyng him to make aunſwere: and further, becauſe that he, with the reſt had proceeded in Commiſſion with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, ſupportyng and maintaynyng all his euill doynges (notwithſtandyng that he the ſame Byſhop had before iuſtly recuſed and declined from him) he therfore did alſo there refuſe and decline from the iudgement of the ſayd Archbyſhoppe and his Colleagues and did except agaynſt their iuriſdiction as ſuſpect, and they thereby vnmete perſons to procede agaynſt hym, and therefore accordyng to his former appeale he intended to ſubmitte himſelfe vnder the tuition, protection and defence of the kynges Maieſtie, for whoſe honour and reuerence ſake (he ſayd) they ought not to procede any further agaynſt him, but quietly ſuffer him to vſe the benefite of all his recuſations, prouocations, & other lawfull remedyes before alledged other ſuperfluous wordes at large to be ſene in the. 721. page of the Actes and Monumentes.

Notwithſtandyng theſe recuſations and former appellation, the Archbyſhop with the reſt told him playne that they would be ſtill his Iudges, and procede agaynſt hym accordyng to the kynges Commiſſion, vntill they dyd receaue a Superſedeas, whiche if he dyd obtayne, they would gladly obey.

An other appellation of Boner to the king.

Then the Byſhop ſeyng that they would ſtill procede agaynſt hym, dyd there lykewiſe intimate an other appellation vnto the Kynges Maieſtie, expreſſyng therein in effect no other matter, but ſuch as is already alledged in the two former recuſations and appeale: ſauyng that hee requireth, that Letters dimiſſories or appellatories might be geuen him accordyng to law, and that for his better ſafegarde he did ſubmitte himſelfe vnder the protection of the kyng.

Boner ſtanding vpon hys recuſations and appellations denyeth to make aunſwer.

The Commiſſioners for all this, ſtucke ſtill vnto their Commiſſion, and would not in any caſe deferre, but vrged him ſtraitly to make a more full aunſwere to his Articles, then he had done.

To whom the Byſhop ſayd, that he would ſtand vnto his recuſations and appellations before made, and would not make other aunſwere.

Then the Delegates demaunded of him what cauſe he had to alledge why he ought not to be declared pro confeſſo, vpon the Articles whereunto he had not fully aunſwered: the Byſhop ſtill aunſweryng (as before) that he would adhere vnto his appellation and recuſation.

Boner declared *Contumax & pro confeſſo*, that is giltye.

Whereupon the Archbyſhop with conſent of the reſt, ſeyng his pertinacie, pronounced him Contumax, and in payne thereof declared him pro confeſſo vpon all the Articles which he had not aunſwered.

This done, Maiſter Secretary Smith ſhewed forth a letter, whiche the Byſhoppe of London had before that tyme ſent vnto the Lorde Maior and the Aldermen of the Citie of London, the tenour whereof enſueth as followeth.

¶ To the right honorable and my very
good Lord the Maior of London, with all his
worſhypfull brethren, my very deare
and worſhyppefull frendes,
with ſpeede.

Boners letter to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London.

Boner would not tarye M. Hoopers Sermon.

RIght honorable, with my very humble recommendations, where I haue perceyued of late and heard with myne eares, what vyle beaſtes and heretickes haue preached vnto you, or rather lyke themſelues prated and rayled agaynſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, denying the veritie and preſence of Chriſtes true body and bloud to be there, geuyng you and the people libertie to beleue what ye lyſt, teachyng you deteſtably that fayth in this behalfe muſt not bee coacted, but euery man to beleue as he will, by reaſon whereof, leſt my preſence and ſilence might vnto ſome haue bene ſene to haue allowed their hereticall doctrine and geuyng credite vnto them, betraying my flocke of the Catholicke ſorte, ye knowe I departed yeſterday from the hereticke praters vncharitable charitie, and ſo could haue wiſhed that you and all other that be Catholicke ſhould haue done, leauyng thoſe there with hym that be already caſt awaye, and will not be recouered. For your taryng with hym ſtill, ſhall not onely hurt your ſelfe in receauyng his poyſoned doctrine, but alſo ſhall geue a viſage that their doctrine is tollerable, by reaſon that ye are contented to heare it, and ſay nothyng agaynſt it. And becauſe I cannot tell when I ſhall ſpeake with you, to aduertiſe you hereof, therfore I thought good for myne owne diſcharge and yours, thus much to write vnto you, requiryng and praying you agayne and agayne in Gods behalfe, and for myne owne diſcharge, that ye ſuffer not your ſelues to be abuſed with ſuch naughty preachers and teachers in hearyng their euill doctrine that ye ſhall perceaue them to go about to ſow. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerue you all with this noble Citie, in all good reſt, godlynes, and proſperitie. Writen in haſt this Monday mornyng the. xvi. of September. 1549.

Your faythfull beades man and poore
Byſhop Edmund Boner.

Boner differred till the next Fryday, and from that till Tewſday after.

This letter beyng read, the Secretary demaunded of hym whether he wrote it or not. To whom he would not otherwiſe aunſwere, but that hee would ſtill adhere and ſtand vnto his former recuſations and appeales. Whiche the Commiſſioners ſeyng, determined to continue this caſe in ſtate as it was vntill Friday then next followyng, betwene the houres of viij. and ix. of the clocke before noone, aſſignyng the Biſhop to be there at the ſame tyme and place, then to heare a finall decree of this matter, he ſtill proteſtyng as before.

¶ The ſeuenth Seſsion or appearaunce of Boner vppon Tewſday the firſt of October, before the kynges Commiſſioners at Lambeth.

The 7. Seſſion or appearaunce of Boner.

VPon Friday the Commiſſioners, for diuers vrgent cauſes lettyng them, dyd not ſit in Commiſſion accordyng to their appointment, but deferred it vntill Tewſday the firſt of October then next folowyng. Vpon whiche day the Byſhop appearyng before them, the Archbyſhop declared vnto hym, that although as vpon Friday laſt they had appointed to pronounce their finall Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet for as much as they thought that that

Sentence (although they had iuſt cauſe to geue it) ſhould haue bene very ſore agaynſt hym, they had not onely deferred ý ſame vntill this day, but myndyng to be more frendly to hym then he was to hym ſelfe, and to vſe more eaſie and gentle reformation towardes him, had alſo made ſuch ſute and meanes for hym, that although hee had greuouſly offended the Kynges Maieſtie, and very diſobediently behaued hymſelfe, yet if he would in the meane while haue acknowledged his fault, and haue bene contented to make ſome part of amendes in ſubmittyng him ſelfe accordyng to his bounden duety, he ſhould haue founde much fauour: ſo the Sentence ſhould not haue bene ſo ſore and extreme agaynſt him, as it was lyke now to be: for which they were very ſory, eſpecially to ſee the continuaunce of ſuch ſtubburne diſobedience, whereby they were then more inforced to geue ſuch ſentence agaynſt hym.

The frendly wordes of the Commiſſioners to Boner.

The Byſhop nothyng at all regardyng this gentle and frendly admonition and fauour, but perſiſtyng ſtill in his wonted contumacie, drawe forth a paper, whereon he read theſe wordes folowyng.

A declaration of Boner before the Commiſſioners.

I Edmũd Byſhop of Lõdõ brought in as a priſoner by his keeper one of the Marſhalſey, here before you my Lord of Caunterbury and your pretenſed Colleagues, do vnder my former Proteſtatiõs heretofore by me made before you and remainyng in your Acte, declare that this my preſence here at this tyme is not voluntary nor of myne own free wil and conſent, but vtterly coacted and agaynſt my will, and that beĩg otherwiſe ſẽt for, or brought before you thẽ I am (that is as a priſoner) I would not beyng at libertie, haue come or appeared before you, but would haue declined and refuſed to make any appearaunce at all, but would haue abſented my ſelfe from you, as lawfully and well I might haue done, ſtandyng to, vſing, and enioying all and ſingular my lawfull remedies and defences heretofore vſed, exerciſed, & enioyed, eſpecially my prouocation, and appellation, heretofore interponed and made vnto the kynges moſt excellent Maieſtie, to whom eftſoones Ex abundanti, I haue both prouoked and appealed, and alſo made Supplication vnto, as appeareth in theſe writynges, whiche vnder Proteſtation aforeſayd, I do exhibite and leaue here with the Actuary of this cauſe, requiryng him to make an inſtrument therevpõ, & the perſons here preſent to beare recorde in that behalfe: eſpecially to the intent it may appeare, I do better acknowledge the kynges Maieſties authoritie euen in his tender and young age, prouokyng and appealyng to his Maieſties as my moſt gracious ſoueraigne and ſupreme head, with ſubmiſſion to his hyghnes (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, then other ſome do: I do meane you my Lord of Canterbury and your ſayd pretenſed Colleages, which by law and good reaſon ought to haue deferred and geuen place vnto ſuch prouocation, appellation, and Supplication as heretofore lawfully, haue bene by me interponed and made vnto his Maieſties moſt royall perſon and authoritie in this behalfe.

Boner pretendeth ſubmiſſion to the king.

As ſoone as the Byſhop had read theſe wordes hee did deliuer as well that paper as alſo two other vnto the Actuary, the one conteynyng an appellation, and the other a ſupplication vnto the kynges Maieſtie: Whiche application begynneth thus: In the name of God, Amen.

Wherein firſt he ſhewed how naturally euery creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and alſo ſeeketh helpe and remedye to withſtand ſuch hurtes and iniuries.

Further he ſhewed that it is found by experience to be hurtfull and daungerous to truſt him that once hath hurt and beguiled, leaſt he might adde more, rather then to take ought from.

Moreouer he ſhewed that hee had founde heretofore at the handes of the Byſhop of Caunterbury and the reſt of the Colleagues in this matter much extremitie and crueltie, iniuries, loſſes and griefes contrary to Gods law, and the lawes and ſtatutes of thys Realme, and agaynſt Iuſtice, charitie, and good order, beyng well aſſured if they were not ſtayed but proceeded, they would adde more euill to euill, loſſe to loſſe, and diſpleaſure to diſpleaſure, as (ſayd he) their ſeruauntes haue reported and they agreeable doe ſhewe the ſame.

Agayne in the ſayd appeale he ſhewed that the Byſhop of Cãterbury and the other Commiſſioners ought to haue conſidered and done better in that matter, for honor and obedience to the kynges Maieſtie, which hetherto they haue not done (ſayd he) in that they haue not geuen place to his prouocations and appellations heretofore made vnto hys grace, iuſtly and lawfully and vpon good and iuſt cauſes, namely for the vniuſt griefes they did agaynſt hym, which he ſayd to appeare in the Actes of that matter: as in pronouncing hym contumacem vnreaſonably without good cauſe, and further in aſſigning the terme ad audiendum finale decretum, and in committing hym to ſtraite priſon, as appeareth in their Actes. Therefore he did not onely Ex abundanti, ad omnem iuris cautelam, decline and refuſe their pretenſed iuriſdiction as before: but alſo by theſe preſentes here ſhewed, he did appeale from the ſayd Byſhop of Caunterbury and the reſt, vnto the kynges Maieſtie, aſking alſo thoſe letters of appeale, which the lawe doth admit, ſayinge, hee dyd not intende to goe from hys former prouocations and appellations, but to ioyne and cleaue vnto them in euery part and parcell, ſubmittyng hymſelfe to the protection and defence of the kynges Maieſtie, and he therein made intimation to the Byſhop of Caunterbury, and the ſayd Colleagues, to all intents & purpoſes that might come thereof.

Letters of appeale called Apoſtoli.

Furthermore as touching the ſupplication aboue mentioned, which Boner (as we ſayd) put vp in writyng to the Commiſſioners, the copie thereof here vnder likewiſe enſueth.

The ſupplication of Boner to the Chauncelor of England, with all the reſt of the kings Maieſties moſt honorable priuie Counſell.

The copie of Boners ſupplication.

Pleaſe it your moſt honourable good Lordſhippes wyth my moſt humble recõmendations, to vnderſtand, that albeit I haue accordyng to the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of thys Realme, made ſupplication, prouocation & appellation vnto the kynges moſte excellent Maieſtie from the vnlawfull and wicked proceſſe of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, Maiſter Secretarie Smith, and the Deane of Paules, as alſo as well from their vniuſt interlocutorie, as alſo their diffinitiue ſentence, whereby in law I ought to haue libertie to come abroad and proſecute the ſame, yet ſuch is the malignitie of the Iudges agaynſt me, with bearing and maintenaunce of other: which ſundry & many wayes haue ſought my ruine and deſtruction, that I am here penned and locked vp, vſed very extremely at their pleaſure and for the cõtentation of the ſayd Maiſter Smith, and not ſuffred to finde ſureties or to go abroad to proſecute and ſue my ſayd appellation. In conſideration whereof it may pleaſe your ſayd good Lordſhips to take ſome order and redreſſe herein, eſpecially for that it is now the tyme that the kynges ſubſidie nowe due, ought to be called vpon, and iuſtice alſo miniſtred vnto hys Maieſties ſubiectes, which beyng as I now am, I cannot bee ſuffered to doe. And thus without further extending my letter therein, conſidering that your great wiſdomes experience and goodnes can gather of a little what is expedient and neceſſary for the whole, I do beſeeche almighty God to preſerue and keepe well all your honorable good Lordſhips. Written in haſt this 7. of October. 1549. in the Marſhalſey.

Your honorable Lordſhyps poore
Oratour and moſt bounden Bedes
man, Edmund London.

The Archb. aunſwereth to the wordes of Boner.

These thynges ended, the Archbyſhop ſayde vnto him: my Lord, where you ſay that you come coacted, or els ye would not haue appeared, I do much maruell of you. For you would thereby make vs and thys audience here beleue that bicauſe you are a priſoner, ye ought not therefore to aunſwere. Which if it were true, were enough to confound the whole ſtate of this Realme. For I dare ſay that of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that euer your keeper there (meanyng the vnder Marſhall) hath had vnder him, he can not ſhewe me one that hath vſed ſuch defence, as you here haue done.

Boner.

Well, quoth the Byſhop, if my keeper were learned in the lawes, I could ſhew him my mynde therein.

The Archb.

Well, ſayd the Archbyſhop, I haue read ouer all the lawes aſwell as you, but to an other ende and purpoſe then you did, and yet I can finde no ſuch priuiledge in this matter.

Secretary Smyth.

Then M. Secretary Smith did very ſore burthen and charge hym, how diſobediently and rebelliouſly he had alwayes behaued himſelfe towardes the kynges Maieſtie and his authoritie.

Boner.

Whereupon the Byſhop vnder his proteſtation aunſwered agayne that he was the kynges Maieſties lawfull and true ſubiect, and did acknowledge his highneſſe to be his gracious ſoueraigne Lord, or els he would not haue appealed vnto him, as hee had, yea and would gladly lay hys handes and his necke alſo vnder his graces feete, and therfore he deſired that his highnes lawes and Iuſtice mought be miniſtred vnto him.

Secretary Smyth.

Boner compared to the rebels of Deuonſhyre.

Yea (quoth M. Secretary) you ſay wel my Lord, but I pray you, what others haue al theſe rebels both in Northfolke, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, and other places done? haue they not ſaid thus? We be the kinges true ſubiectes, we acknowledge him for our king, & we wil obey his laws, with ſuch like, and yet when eyther commaundement, letter, or pardon was brought vnto them from his Maieſtie, they beleued it not, but ſaid it was forged and made vnder a hedge, and was Gentlemens doinges, ſo that in dede they would not, nor did obey any thing.

Boner.

The people laughing at Boner.

Ah ſir, ſaid the Biſhop, I perceiue your meaning: as who ſhould ſay, that the Biſhop of London is a rebell like them. Yea by my troth (quoth the Secretary.) Wherat the people laughed.

D. May.

Then the Deane of Paules ſaid vnto him, that he marueiled much, & was very ſory to ſee him ſo vntractable, that he would not ſuffer the Iudges to ſpeake.

Boner. with his tauntes.

To whō the Biſhop diſdainfully anſwered: Wel, M. deane, you muſt ſay ſomwhat. And likewiſe at an other time as the Deane was ſpeaking, he interrupted him, and ſaid, you may ſpeake when your turne commeth.

Secretary Smyth.

Then ſaid ſecretary Smith, I would you knewe your duetie.

Boner.

The cōtemptuous talke of Boner.

Read more here of in the Booke of Actes and Monumētes of the firſt edition. pag. 720.

I would (quoth he againe) you knewe it as wel as I, with an infinite more of other ſuch ſtubborne & contemptuous talke & behauior towardes thē, which the Commiſſioners weying, and perceiuyng no likelihood of any tractable reaſon in him determined that the Archb. with their whole conſent, ſhould at that preſent there openly reade & publiſh their final decree or ſentence definitiue againſt hym. Which he did, pronouncing him therby to be cleane depriued from the Biſhopricke of Londō, & farther, as in the ſame appeareth, which beginneth thus: In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas permiſsione diuina Cant. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Nicolaus eadē miſeratione Roffenſis Epiſcopus, Tho. Smith miles. &c. and ſo forth, as more at ful may appeare in the booke of Actes and Monumentes of the firſte edition, pag. 720. Which ended, the biſhop immediatly did therfrom appeale by worde of mouth, alleging that the ſame ſentēce there geuen againſt him was Lex nulla. The tenor of whoſe wordes I thought here to expreſſe, according as they were by him vttered, in this wiſe as foloweth,

The wordes of Boner appealing from the ſentence definitiue.

Letters reuerentiall or demiſſories.

I Edmund biſhop of London brought in and kept here as a priſoner againſt my conſent and wyl, do vnder my former proteſtations heretofore made, and to the intent it may alſo appeare, that I haue not being ſo here in this place, conſented nor agreed to any thing done againſt me, & in my preiudice, allege and ſay that this ſentence geuen here againſt me is Lex nulla, and ſo farre foorth as it ſhal appeare to be aliqua, I do ſay, it is iniqua, & iniuſta, & that therfore I do frō it, as iniqua, & iniuſta appeale to the moſt excellēt and noble king, Edw. the ſixt, by the grace of God K. of Englād, France, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the church of England, and alſo of Ireland next and immediately vnder God here in earth ſupreme head, and vnto his Courte of Chauncerie or Parlament, as the lawes, ſtatutes, and ordinaunces of this Realme wyll ſuffer and beare in this behalfe, deſiring inſtantly firſt, ſecond, and third, according to the lawes, letters reuerencial or demiſſories, to be geuen & deliuered vnto me in this behalfe, with al thinges expediēt, requiſite, or neceſſarye in any wiſe: and thereupon alſo the ſaid biſhop required the publike Notary or Actuary Williā Say, to make an inſtrument, and the witnes aforeſaid and other preſent to record the ſame. To whō ſo appealing and requiring, as afore, the ſaide Iudges delegate ſaide, that they wil declare and ſignifie to the kinges maieſtie, what is done in this matter, and therupon wil deferre or not deferre to his ſaid appellation, according as his graces pleaſure and cōmaundement ſhalbe to them in that behalfe: and after al this, the ſaid biſh. of London ſaid to them: Iam functi eſtis officio. What wil your grace do with me now touching my impriſonmēt? wil ye kepe me ſtyl in priſon? ſhal I not now be at liberty to proſecute mine appeale? To whō the Archbiſh. anſwering, ſaid, that they perceiued now more in that matter thē they did at the firſt, and that this matter is more greater rebellion then he is ware of, and therfore ſaid, that as yet they would not diſcharge hym, and thereupon they committed hym againe to his keper to priſon.

The Archb. declareth the effecte of Boners ſentence in Engliſhe.

This talke finiſhed, the Archb. conſidering that moſt of the audience there preſent did not vnderſtand the meaning of the ſentēce being read in the Latin tongue, ſaid vnto thē: Becauſe there be many of you here that vnderſtand not the Latine tongue, & ſo can not tell what iudgement hath bene here geuen, I ſhal therfore ſhew you the effect therof: and therwith dyd declare in Engliſh the cauſes expreſſed in the ſentence, adding then therunto theſe wordes.

Boner depriued and vnbiſhopped.

Becauſe my Lord of London is founde gyltie in theſe matters, therefore we haue here by our ſentence depriued hym of the Biſhopricke of London: and thus we ſhewe vnto you, to the extent that from henceforth ye ſhal not eſteme hym any more as Biſhop of London.

Boners diſdaynfull wordes to the Commiſſioners.

Then Boner deſired the Archbiſhop to declare likewiſe what he had done, and howe he had appealed. But the other ſeing his frowarde contempt, refuſed it, ſaying, ye may do it your ſelfe. Wherupon very diſdainfully againe he ſaid, Iam functi eſtis officio. What wil your grace doo with me touching my impriſonmēt? wil you kepe me ſtil in priſon?

Boner agayne committed to hys keeper.

To whō the Commiſſioners anſweared, that they perceiued now more in the matter, then they did before, & that his behauiour was more greater rebellion then he was ware of: and therefore they would not diſcharge him, but committed him againe to his keeper to be kept in priſon. Where he moſt iuſtly remained vntyl the death of that moſt worthy & godly prince king Edward the ſixt. After which time he wrought moſte horrible miſchiefe and crueltie againſt the ſaintes of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole raigne of Queene Mary. From the executing of the which like tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy keepe al other ſuch. Amen.

A Supplication of Boner to the Lord Chauncelour and the reſt of the kinges Counſell.

Read more here of in the booke of Actes and Monumentes of the firſt edition, pag 723. and 724.

Now immediatly after his depriuation, he writeth out of the Marſhalſey an other letter ſupplicatorye vnto the Lord Chauncelor and the reſt of the kings Counſaile. Wherin he thus cōplaineth, that by reaſon of ye great enemity that the Duke of Somerſet and ſir Thomas Smith bare vnto him, his often and earneſt ſuites vnto the king & his Counſaile could not be heard. He therefore moſt humbly deſireth their lordſhips for the cauſes aforeſaid, to conſider him, and to let him haue liberty to proſecute his matter before them, and he would dayly praye for the good preſeruation of their honors, as appeareth more at large in the Actes and Monumentes, pag. 723. and. 724.

Thus after the Commiſſioners had finiſhed with Boner, he being nowe priſoner in the Marſhalſey, leauing no ſhift of ye law vnſought how to worke for him ſelfe as wel as he might, drewe out a certaine ſupplication, conceyued and directed to the kinges maieſtie, out of the ſaid priſon of the Marſhalſey.

A ſupplication made and directed by Edm. Boner late Biſhop of London to the kings maieſtie out of the priſon of the Marſhalſey.

Boners ſupplication to the king.

In the which ſupplication, firſt after the vſed forme of ſtile, he prayed for the proſperous eſtate of the king long to raigne. Thē he ſhewed that his faithful hart and ſeruice to hym, hath, is, and ſhalbe, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared howe he had ben belyed of euyl men, & miſreported not to beare a true hart to his grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his royal power in his minoritie, where in dede (he ſaith) his grace ſhould finde him alwaies during life, both in hart, worde, & deed, to do & acknowledge otherwiſe, and to be moſt willing to ſhew, &c. and to do all thinges for his grace as willingly as any other ſubiect, or as thoſe that were his denouncers, who he thought were not ſent of his grace, but pretenſed Commiſſioners. &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certayne Cōmiſſioners (who ſaid they were ſent by his grace) alleging the ſame not to be lawful: and of his long and ſharpe impriſonment, & that the Cōmiſſioners obſerued neyther law nor reaſonable order, but extremitie. And where he had made appeale to his grace, and he could not haue it: he deſired to haue lawe to proſecute and ſue his appeale for his remedy, & that he cōſidering his vocatiō, might not be ſhut vp & put from liberty, which his meaneſt ſubiectes haue.

Thē he deſired his graces letters of Superſedeas againſt the Cōmiſſioners, and that the matter might be heard before the Counſaile, and then he doubted not, but to be found a true faythful man, and herein to haue wrong. So in the ende he concluded, this (proſtratyng hym ſelfe euen to the very ground, and humbly kiſſing his graces feete) to be the thyng onely which he humbly deſired. &c.

Boners appellation to the kyng peruſed and tried and found by the Lawe vneffectuall and vnreaſonable.

This done, & the ſupplication peruſed, the king eftſoone geueth in charge & cōmaundement, to certayn men of honor and worſhip, & perſons ſkilful in the law, as to the lord Rich high Chancelor, the Lord treaſurer, the L. Marques Dorſet, the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, ſir Anthony Wingfield, ſir Wil. Harbert knightes. Doc. Nic. Wootton, Ed. Mountague Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, ſir Iohn Baker knight, with Iudge Hales, Ioh. Goſwald, D. Oliuer, and alſo Doctor Leyſon, that they ſearching & peruſing all ſuch actes, matters, & muniments of the ſaid Boner by hym exhibited, produced, propounded & alleged, with all & ſingular

1549.

The ſentence of Boners depriuation by the Peeres and learned men of the realme, found to be iuſt and lawfull

his proteſtations, recuſations, and appellations, ſhould vpõ mature conſideration thereof, geue their directed anſweare vpon the ſame, whether the appellation of the ſaid Boner were to be deferred vnto, and whether the ſentence defined agaynſt hym, ſtood by the law ſufficient & effectuall, or not. Who eftſoones after diligent diſcuſſion, and conſiderate aduiſement had of al and ſingular the premiſſes, gaue their reſolute anſweare, that the pretenſed appellation of Edmund Boner aforeſaid, was nought and vnreaſonable, and in no wiſe to be deferred vnto, and that the ſentence by the Commiſſioners agaynſt hym, was rightly and iuſtly pronounced. And this was the concluſion of Boners whole matter and depriuation for that tyme.

The firſt trouble of the Lord Protector was about the moneth of Octob. an. 1549.

Thus then leauyng doctor Boner a while in the Marſhalſey with his keeper, we wyll procede (the Lorde permitting) further in the courſe of our ſtorye, as the order of yeres and tyme requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here ioyntly with the depriuation of Doctor Boner: yet becauſe he was ſhortly againe deliuered out of yͤ ſame through yͤ Lordes mighty working, I wyll therfore delay the tractation thereof, tyll the tyme of his ſecond trouble, whiche was two yeares after: and ſo in the meane tyme returnyng againe into our diſcourſe, intend by the Lords leaue, to collect and continue the matters begon, touching the kinges godly proceedinges for reformation of religiõ, in the foreſaid yere of our Lord, cõcurring. an. 1549

Diſputation of Peter Martyr, with Doct. Chedſey in Oxforde.

And here firſt a note would be made of Peter Martyr, & of his learned trauailes, and diſputation in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford the ſaid preſent yeare, with Doct. Chedſey, & other moe, about the matter of the ſacrament: which was, that the ſubſtance of bread and wyne was not changed in the ſacrament, & that the body and bloud of Chriſte was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but vnited to the ſame ſacramentally.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes by Acte of Parlament to be compyled by 32. perſons. *Statut. an. 3. Edou. 6.*

In like maner ſome touch or mention here alſo would be made of the eccleſiaſtical lawes, for the gathering and compiling wherof. xxxij. perſons were aſſigned by acte of parlament the ſaid preſent yeare. 1549. But becauſe theſe be rather matters of tractation, then hiſtoricall, I meane, (God willing) to deferre the further conſideration thereof vnto the end of the hiſtory of this kinges dayes, and ſo to paſſe forward to other matters in the meane while,

Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in and aboliſhed.

Euill diſpoſed people thinking to haue their latin ſeruice againe after the apprehenſion of the L. Protectour.

The kinges commaundement to the Byſhops.

Bookes of Latine ſeruice called in.

IT followeth then in ſtory, that certayne of the vulgare multitude, hearing of the apprehenſion of the Lord Protector, & ſuppoſing the alteration of publicke Seruice into Engliſh, and adminiſtration of the Sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the Church, had been the acte chiefly or only of the ſayd Lord Protectour, began vpon yͤ ſame to noyſe and brute abroad, that they ſhould now haue theire olde Latine ſeruice, with holy bread and holy water, & their other like ſuperſtitious ceremonyes agayn, wherupõ yͤ K. wͭ the body & ſtate of yͤ priuy Coũſell the being, directed out his letters of requeſt and ſtrait commaundement to the biſhops in their dioces, to cauſe and warne the Dean, & Prebendarys of their Cathedrall Churches, all Perſons, Vicars, and Curats: with the Churchwardens of euery Pariſhe within their Dioces, to bring in & deliuer vp all Antiphoners, Miſſales, Grailes, Proceſſionals, Manuals, Legendes, Pies, Portuaſes, Iournals, and Ordinals after the vſe of Sarum, Lincolne, Yorke, Bangor, Herforde, or any other priuate vſe, and all other bookes of ſeruice, the hauing wherof might be any let to the ſeruice now ſet forth in Engliſh, charging alſo and commaundinge all ſuche as ſhould be found ſtubborne or diſobedyent in this behalfe, to be committed vnto warde.

Common bread vſed in the holy Communion.

And becauſe the kinge moreouer was aduertiſed that there was a ſlacknes and a frowardnes among the people, refuſing to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy Communion, by reaſon wherof the Communion in many places was omitted, the Biſhops in like manner had geuen in charge to prouide for redreſſe, therof and to puniſhe them which ſhould refuſe ſo to doe. Whereby it may appeare to vs now, that no wafer cakes but common breade, was then by the kinges appoyntment ordinaryly receyued and vſed in Churches. This was about the latter end of December. an. 1549.

Taking downe of aultars and ſettyng vp of the table in ſteede thereof.

1550.

Taking down of Altars.

FVrthermore, in the yeare nexte folowing. 1550. other letters likewiſe were ſent out for the taking downe of altars in Churches, and ſetting vp the table in ſteede of the ſame: vnto Nicolas Ridley, who being Biſhop of Rocheſter before, was then made Biſhop of London, in Boners place, the copie and contentes of the kinges letters, are theſe, as foloweth.

The kinges letters to Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London. &c.

The kinges letter to Nic. Ridley then B. of London.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that being the altars within the more part of the churches of this realme, already vpon good and godly conſiderations taken downe, there doth yet remaine altars ſtãding in diuers other churches, by occaſion wherof much variance and cõtention ariſeth amongeſt ſundry of our ſubiectes, whiche if good foreſight were not had, might perchaunce engender great hurt and inconuenience: we let you wit, that mindyng to haue all occaſion of contention taken away, whiche many times groweth by thoſe and ſuche like diuerſities, and cõſidering that amongeſt other thinges belonging to our royal office and cure, we do accompt the greateſt to be, to mainteine the cõmon quiet of our realme, we haue thought good by the aduice of our Counſaile to require you, and neuertheles eſpeciall to charge and commaund you, for the auoyding of all matters of further contention and ſtrife about the ſtanding or taking away of the ſaid altars, to geue ſubſtantial order throughout al your dioces, that with al diligence all the altars in euery church or chappel, as wel in places exempted, as not exempted within your ſayd dioces be taken downe, and in the ſteede of them a table to be ſet vp in ſome conuenient parte of the Chancel within euery ſuch church or chappel, to ſerue for the miniſtration of the bleſſed cõmunion. And to the intẽt the ſame may be done without the offence of ſuch our louing ſubiects, as be not yet ſo wel perſwaded in that behalfe as we would wiſh, we ſend vnto you herewith, certaine cõſideratiõs gathered and collected that make for the purpoſe the which and ſuch others as you ſhall thinke meete to be ſet foorth to perſwade the weake to embrace our proceedinges in this part, we pray you cauſe to be declared to the people by ſome diſcrete preachers in ſuche places as you ſhal thinke meete, before the taking downe of the ſaide altars: ſo as both the weake conſciences of other may be inſtructed and ſatiſfied as much as may be, and this our pleaſure the more quietly executed. For the better doing wherof, we require you to open the foreſaide conſiderations in that our Cathedral church in your own perſon, if you conueniently may, or otherwiſe by your Chancelour, or ſome other graue preacher, both there, & in ſuche other market townes and moſt notable places of your dioces, as you may thinke moſt requiſite. Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace of weſtminſter, the. 24. day of Nouember, the fourth yeare of our raigne.

Altars taken downe and deſtroyed.

Conſiderations to perſwade the people,

Edward Somerſet.
Thomas Cranmer.
William Wiltſher.
Iohn Warwike.
Iohn Bedford.

William North.
Edward Clinton
H. Wentworth.
Thomas Ely.

Reaſons why the Lordes boorde ſhoulde rather be after the forme of a table, then of an altar.

The firſt reaſon.

Conſiderations and reaſons why the table were more conuenient in the Church then the Altar.

FIrſt, the forme of a table ſhal more moue the ſimple from the ſuperſtitious opinions of the Popiſhe Maſſe, vnto yͤ right vſe of yͤ Lordes ſupper. For the vſe of an aultar is to make ſacrifice vpon it: the vſe of a table is to ſerue for men to eate vpon. Nowe when we come vnto the Lordes boorde, what do we come for? To ſacrifice Chriſt againe, and to crucifie hym agayne? or to feede vppon hym that was once onely crucified, and offered vp for vs? If we come to feede vppon hym, ſpiritually to eate his bodye, and ſpiritually to drinke his bloud, which is the true vſe of the Lordes ſupper, then no man can deny, but the fourme of a table is more meete for the Lordes boord, then the forme of an aultar.

The ſecond reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon.

Anſwere to certayne cauillers, which take holde of the terme of Altar in the kinges booke.

Item, where as it is ſayd, the booke of common prayer maketh mention of an aultar, wherefore it is not lawfull to aboliſhe that which that booke alloweth: to this is thus anſweared: The booke of common prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lordes ſupper is miniſtred, indifferently a Table, an Aultar, or the Lordes boorde, without preſcription of any forme thereof, eyther of a Table, or of an Aultar. So that whether the Lordes boorde haue the forme of an Aultar, or of a table, the booke of common prayer cal-

The table how it may be called Altar, and in what reſpect.

leth it both an Altar and a Table. For as it calleth an Altar whereupon the Lordes Supper is miniſtred, a table, and the Lordes boord, ſo it calleth the table where the holy Communion is diſtributed with laudes and thankes geuing vnto the Lord, an Aultar, for that, that there is offered the ſame ſacrifice of prayſe and thankes geuyng. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothyng neither ſayd nor meant contrary to the booke of common prayer.

The thyrd reaſon.

This reaſon for taking away the ſuperſtitious opinion, ſeemeth alſo as well for the aboliſhing of other things moe beſide Altars, &c.

The third reaſon.

Thirdly, the Popiſhe opinion of Maſſe was that it might not be celebrated but vppon an aultar, or at the leaſt vpon a ſuperaltare, to ſupply the fault of the altar, whiche muſt haue had his printes and characters, or els it was thought that the thyng was not lawfully done. But this ſuperſtitious opinion is more holden in the myndes of the ſimple and ignorant by the forme of an aultar, then of a table: wherfore it is more meete for the aboliſhment of this ſuperſtitious opinion, to haue the Lordes borde after the forme of a table, then of an altar.

The 4. reaſon.

The name of an altar how it is deriued, and what it ſignifieth.

The fourth reaſon.

Fourthly, the forme of an altar was ordeyned for the Sacrifices of the Lawe, and therefore the aultar in Greke is called θυσιαστήριον Quaſi Sacrificij locus. But nowe both the lawe and the Sacrifices therof do ceaſe: wherfore the forme of the aultar vſed in the lawe, ought to ceaſe withal.

The fift reaſon.

The 5. reaſon.

Fiftly, Chriſte dyd inſtitute the Sacrament of his bodye and bloud at his laſte Supper at a Table, and not at an Aultar, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three Euangeliſtes. And Saint Paul calleth the commyng to the holy Communion, the commyng vnto the Lordes Supper. And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the Primitiue Church did euer vſe any altar in the miniſtration of the holy Communion.

Chriſt vſed a table and not an Altar.

The Altar neuer vſed among the Apoſtles.

Wherfore, ſeyng the forme of a Table is more agreeable with Chriſtes inſtitution, and with the vſage of the apoſtles and of the Primitiue Churche, then the forme of an Aultar, therefore the forme of a Table is rather to be vſed, then the forme of an Aultar in the adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

The ſixt reaſon.

The 6. reaſon.

Finally, it is ſaid in the preface of the booke of common prayer, that if any doubt do ariſe in the vſe and practiſing of the ſame booke, to appeaſe all ſuche diuerſitie, the matter ſhal be referred vnto the Biſhop of the dioces, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quietyng and appeaſing of the ſame, ſo that the ſame order be not contrary vnto any thyng contayned in that booke.

After theſe letters and reaſons receyued, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London, conſequently vppon the ſame dyd holde his viſitation, wherein amongeſt other his Iniunctions the ſayde Byſhop exhorted thoſe Churches in his Dioces, where the Aultars then dyd remayne, to conforme them ſelues vnto thoſe other Churches which had taken them downe, and had ſet vp in the ſteede of the multitude of their Aultars, one decent Table in euery Church.

Uppon the occaſion wherof there aroſe a greate diuerſitie about the fourme of the Lordes borde, ſome vſing it after the fourme of a Table, and ſome of an Aultar. Wherein when the ſaide Biſhop was required to ſay and determine what was moſt meete, he declared he coulde doo no leſſe of his bounden duetie, for the appeaſing of ſuche diuerſitie, and to procure one godly vniformitie, but to exhort all his Dioces vnto that, whiche he thought dyd beſt agree with Scripture, with the vſage of the Apoſtles, and with the Primitiue Churche, and to that which is not onely not contrarye vnto any thyng conteyned in the booke of common prayer (as is before proued) but alſo might highlye further the kynges moſt godly proceedynges, in aboliſhyng of diuers vayne and ſuperſtitious opinions of the Popiſh Maſſe out of the hartes of the ſimple, and to bring them to the right vſe taught by holy Scripture, of the Lordes Supper, and ſo appoynted he ẏ fourme of a right Table to be vſed in his Dioces, and in the Churche of Paules, brake downe the wall ſtandyng then by the high Aultars ſide.

Nicholas Ridley B. of London appointed in his Dioces the right forme of a table.

The walle by the high altars ſide in Paules Church, broken downe by Nicolas Ridley.

Nowe we wyll enter, (God wyllyng) into thoſe matters whiche happened betwene kinge Edwarde and his ſiſter Marye, as by their letters here folowyng are to be ſeene.

To my Lorde Protectour and the reſt of the kynges Maieſties Counſayle.

MY Lorde, I perceyue by the letters whiche I late receyued from you, and other of the kynges Maieſties Counſayle, that ye be all ſorye to finde ſo litle conformitie in me touchyng the obſeruation of his Maieſties Lawes: who am well aſſured I haue offended no lawe, vnleſſe it be a late lawe of your owne makyng, for the alteryng of matters of Religion, whiche in my conſcience is not worthye to haue the name of a Law, both for the kynges honours ſake, the wealth of the Realme, and geuyng an occaſion of an euyll bruite through all Chriſtendome, beſides the parcialitie vſed in the ſame, and (as my ſayde conſcience is verye perſwaded) the offendyng of God, whiche paſſeth all the reſt: but I am well aſſured, that the kyng his fathers Lawes were allowed and conſented to without compulſion by the whole Realme, both Spirituall and Temporall, and all ẏ executours ſworne vppon a Booke to fulfill the ſame, ſo that it was an authoriſed Lawe, and that I haue obeyed, and wyll doo with the grace of God, tyll the kynges Maieſtie my brother ſhall haue ſufficient yeares to be a Iudge in theſe matters hym ſelfe: wherein my Lorde, I was playne with you at my laſte beyng in the Courte: declaryng vnto you at that tyme, whereunto I woulde ſtande, and nowe doo aſſure you all, that the onely occaſion of my ſtaye from alteryng myne opinion, is for two cauſes.

One principally for my conſcience ſake: the other, that the kyng my brother ſhal not hereafter charge me to be one of thoſe, that were agreeable to ſuche alterations in his tender yeares. And what fruites dayly growe by ſuche chaunges ſince the death of the kyng my Father, to euerye indifferẽt perſon, it well appeareth, both to the diſpleaſure of God, and vnquietnes of the Realme.

Notwithſtandyng, I aſſure you all, I woulde be as lothe to ſee his highneſſe take hurt, or that any euyl ſhould come to this his Realme, as the beſt of you al, & none of you haue the like cauſe, conſideryng howe I am compelled by nature, beyng his Maieſties poore and humble ſiſter, moſt tenderly to loue and pray for him, and vnto this his realme, beyng borne within the ſame, wiſhe all wealth and proſperitie to Gods honour.

And if any iudge me the contrarye for myne opinions ſake, as I truſt none doth, I doubt not in the ende, with Gods helpe, to proue my ſelfe as true a natural and humble ſiſter, as they of the contrarye opinion, with all their deuiſes and alteryng of lawes, ſhal proue them ſelues true ſubiectes, praying you my Lorde and the reſt of the Counſaile, no more to vnquiet and trouble me with matters touchyng my conſcience, wherein I am at a full poynte, with Gods helpe, what ſoeuer ſhall happen to me, intendyng with his grace, to trouble you litle with any worldly ſuites, but to beſtowe the ſhorte tyme I thinke to lyue, in quietnes, and pray for the kynges Maieſtie and all you, hartily wiſhyng, that your proceedynges maye be to Gods honour, the ſafegarde of the Kynges perſon, and quietneſſe to the whole Realme.

Moreouer, where your deſire is, that I woulde ſende my Controuler and Doctour Hopton vnto you, by whom you woulde ſignifie your myndes more amply, to my contentation & honour: it is not vnknowen to you all, that the chiefe charge of my houſe reſteth onely vppon the trauayles of my ſayde Controller. Who hath not bene abſent from my houſe three whole dayes ſince the ſettyng vp of the ſame, vnleſſe it were for my letters patentes, ſo that if it were not for his continuall diligence, I thinke my litle porcion woulde not haue ſtretched ſo farre. And my Chaplayne by occaſion of ſickeneſſe, hath bene long abſente, and yet not able to ride.

Therefore like as I cannot forbeare my Controller, and my Prieſte is not able to iourney: So ſhall I deſire you my Lorde, and the reſt of the Counſayle, that hauyng any thyng to be declared vnto me, except matters of Religion, ye wyll eyther write your myndes, or ſende ſome truſtye perſon, with whom I ſhall be contented to talke, and make anſweare as the caſe ſhall require, aſſuryng you, that if any ſeruaunt of myne owne, eyther man or woman, or Chaplayne ſhoulde moue me to the contrary of my conſcience, I woulde not geue eare to them, nor ſuffer the like to be vſed within my houſe. And thus my Lorde, with my harty commendations, I wiſhe vnto you and the reſt, as well to doo as my ſelfe. From my houſe at Kinnyng hall, the. xxij. of. Iune. 1549.

Your aſſured frende to my power,
Marye.

A remem-

¶ A remembraunce of certaine matters, appoynted by the Counſayle, to be declared by Doct. Hopton to the Lady Maryes grace, for anſwere to her former letter, which ſaid Hopton was after ſhee came to her raigne Biſhop of Norwiche.

¶ Her grace writeth, that the lawe made by Parlament, is not worthy the name of a lawe, meanyng the ſtatute for the Communion. &c.

You ſhal ſay thereto.

THe fault is great in any ſubiect to diſallow a lawe of the kyng, a Lawe of a Realme, by long ſtudy, free diſputation, and vniforme determination of the whole Clergie, conſulted, debated, and concluded. But the greater fault is in her grace, beyng next of any ſubiecte in bloud and eſtate to the kinges Maieſtie her brother and good Lorde, to geue example of diſobedience, being a ſubiecte, or of vnnaturalneſſe, beyng his Maieſties ſiſter, or of neglectyng the power of the crowne, ſhee beyng by limitation of lawe nexte to the ſame. The example of diſobedience is moſt perylous in this tyme, as ſhee can wel vnderſtande, her vnkindneſſe reſteth in the kinges owne acceptation, the neglecting of the power, before God is anſwearable, and in the worlde toucheth her honour.

The executours, ſhee ſayth, were ſworne to kyng Henry the eight his lawes.

You ſhall ſay.

It is true, they were ſworne to hym, his Lawes, his heyres, and ſucceſſours, whiche othe they duely obſerue, and ſhoulde offende if they ſhould breake any one iote of the kinges lawes now being, without a diſpenſation by a law, and herein her grace ſhall vnderſtande, that it is no lawe, which is diſſolued by a lawe: Neither may her grace doo that iniurie to the kinges maieſtie her brother, to diminiſh his authoritie ſo farre, that he may not by the free conſente of a Parlament, amende and alter vnprofitable lawes, for the number of inconueniences whiche hereof might folowe, as her grace with conſideration may wel perceiue.

Offence taken by the ſendyng for of her officers.

You ſhal ſay.

If her grace conſider the firſt letters of that purpoſe, they will declare our good meanyng to her, & our gentle vſage, requiring the preſence of her truſty ſeruaunt, becauſe ſhee might geue more truſt to our meſſage.

Her houſe is her flocke.

You ſhall ſay.

It is well liked her grace ſhoulde haue her houſe or flocke, but not exempt from the kynges orders: neyther may there be a flocke of the kynges ſubiectes, but ſuche as wyll heare and folowe the voyce of the kyng their ſheepeheard. God diſalloweth it, lawe and reaſon forbyddeth it, policie abhorreth it, and her honour may not require it.

Her grace deferreth her obedience to the kynges lawe, tyl his maieſtie be of ſufficient yeares.

You ſhall ſay.

Shee could in no one ſaying more diſallowe the authoritie of the kyng, the maieſtie of his crowne, and the ſtate of the Realme. For herein ſhee ſuſpendeth his kingdome, and eſteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace muſt vnderſtand he is a king by the ordinaunce of God, by deſcent of Royal bloud, not by the nũbering of his yeares.

As a creature ſubiect to mortalitie, he hath youth, and by Gods grace ſhall haue age: but as a kyng he hath no difference by dayes and yeares. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young children to haue bene kynges by Gods ſpeciall ordinaunce, but alſo (whiche is to be noted) to haue had beſt ſucceſſe in their raigne, & ẏ fauour of God in their proceedynges. Yea, in their firſt yeares haue they moſt purely refourmed the Churche and ſtate of Religiõ. Therfore her grace hath no cauſe thus to diminiſh his maieſties power, and to make hym as it were no king, vntyl ſhe thinke him of ſufficient yeares. Wherin howe much his maieſtie may be iuſtly offended, they be ſory to thinke.

Shee ſaith, ſhe is ſubiect to none of the Coũſaile.

You ſhall ſay.

If her grace vnderſtandeth it of vs in that acceptation as we be priuate men, and not Counſailours, ſworne to the kings maieſty, we knowledge vs not to be ſuperiours: but if ſhee vnderſtand her writinge of vs as Counſailors and magiſtrates, ordeined by his maieſtie, her grace muſte be contented to thinke vs of authoritie ſufficient by the reaſon of our office to chalenge a ſuperioritie, not to rule by priuate affection, but by Gods prouidence, not to our eſtimatiõ, but to the kinges honour, & finally to encreaſe the kings eſtate with our coũſaile, our dignitie and vocation: and we thinke her grace wyl not forget the ſaying of Salomon, in the firſt Chapter of the boke of wiſdome, to moue a king to rule by counſaile and wiſedome, and to builde his eſtate vpon them. Wherefore her grace muſt be remembred, the kinges maieſties politike body is not made only of his owne Royal materiall body, but of a Coũſaile, by whom his maieſtie ruleth, directeth, and gouerneth his Realme. In the place of which Counſaile her grace is not ignoraunt, that we be ſet & placed. Wherefore the reputation ſhee ſhall geue vs, ſhee ſhall geue it to the kinges honour, and that which ſhee ſhal take from vs, ſhee ſhal take from his maieſtie, whoſe maieſty we thinke if it might take encreaſe of honour, as God geueth a dayly abundãce, it ſhould receiue rather encreaſe from her beyng his maieſties ſiſter, then thus any abatement.

Shee receyued Maiſter Arundel and Maiſter Englefelde.

You ſhall ſay.

All the Counſaile remembreth well her refuſal to haue her houſe charged with any more number, alleging the ſmal proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come of their earneſt ſuite, meanyng to be priuileged ſubiectes from the lawe, then of her deſire, which refuſed very often to encreaſe her number. Their cautel the king might not ſuffer, to haue his law diſobeyed, their countreys where they ſhould ſerue by them to be deſtitute, and hauyng bene ſeruauntes to his maieſtie, ẏ circumſtances of their departure might in no wiſe be liked.

Shee refuſed to heare any man to the contrary of her opinion.

You ſhal ſay.

It is an anſweare more of wyl then of reaſon, & therefore her grace muſt be admoniſhed neither to truſt her own opinion without grounde, neither miſlike al others, hauyng groũd. If hers be good, it is no hurt, if ſhe heare the worſe, If it be yl, ſhee ſhal do wel to heare the better. Shee ſhall not alter by hearyng, but by hearing the better. And becauſe ſhee ſhal not miſlike the offer, let her grace name of learned men whom ſhee wyll, and further then they by learnyng ſhal proue, ſhee ſhall not be moued. And ſo far it is thought reaſon wyl compel her grace.

In the ende ye ſhall ſay.

The good willes and myndes of the Lord Protectour and the Counſayle is ſo muche toward her grace, that howſoeuer ſhee would her ſelfe in honour be eſteemed, howſoeuer in conſcience quieted, yea howe ſoeuer benefited, ſauyng their dueties to God and the kyng, they woulde as muche, and in their doynges (if it pleaſe her to proue it) wyl be nothing inferiours, aſſuryng her grace, that they be moſt ſorye ſhee is thus diſquieted: and if neceſſitie of the cauſe, the honour and ſurety of the kyng, and the iudgement of their owne conſcience moued them not, thus farre they woulde not haue attempted. But their truſt is, her grace wil allow them the more, when ſhee ſhal perceiue the cauſe, & thinke no leſſe could be done by them, where ſhee prouoked them ſo farre.

¶ Theſe and other of like credite, more amplye committed to you in ſpeache, you ſhall declare to her grace, and further declare your cõſcience for the allowing of the maner of the communion, as ye haue plainely profeſſed it before vs.

Note Doct. Hoptons allowance of the communion in thoſe dayes.

At Richmund. 14. Iune. 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lorde Protectour
and the reſt of the Counſaile. 27. Iune. 1549.

MY Lorde, I perceyue by letters directed from you and other of the kinges maieſties Counſaile, to my Controller, my Chaplayne, and maſter Englefeld my ſeruaunt, that ye wyl them vpon their allegeaunce, to repayre immediatlye to you, wherein you geue me euident cauſe to chaunge myne accuſtomed opinion of you al, that is to ſay, to thinke you carefull of my quietneſſe and wel doinges, conſideryng howe earneſtly I write to you for the ſtay of two of them, and that not without very iuſt cauſe. And as for maiſter Englefeld, as ſoone as he could haue prepared hym ſelfe, hauyng his horſes ſo farre of, although ye had not ſent at this preſent, would haue perfourmed your requeſt. But in dede I am much deceyued. For I ſuppoſed ye would haue wayed and taken my letters in better part, if ye haue receiued thẽ: if not, to haue tarryed myne anſweare, and I not to haue founde ſo litle frendſhip, nor to haue bene vſed ſo vngently at your handes in ſendyng for hym, vpon whoſe trauaile doth reſt the onely charge of my whole houſe, as I wryt to you lately, whoſe abſence therefore ſhalbe to me and my ſayd houſe no litle diſpleaſure, eſpecially beyng ſo farre of.

And beſides al this, I doo greatly marueile to ſee your writyng for hym, and the other two with ſuche extreme woordes of perill to enſue towardes them, in caſe they dyd not come, and ſpecially for my Controller, whoſe charge is ſo great, that he can not ſodainly be meete to take a iourney: whiche wordes in mine opinion needed not (vnleſſe it were in ſome verye iuſte and neceſſarye cauſe) to any of mine, who taketh my ſelfe ſubiecte to none of you all: not doubting but if the kings maieſtie my brother were of ſufficient yeares to perceiue this matter, and knew what lacke and incommoditie the abſence of my ſaide officer ſhoulde bee to my houſe, his grace woulde haue beene ſo good Lorde to me, as to haue ſuffered hym to remaine, where his charge is. Notwithſtanding, I haue wylled hym at this time to repayre to you, commaunding him to returne forthwith for my very neceſſities ſake, and I haue geuen the like leaue to my poore ſicke prieſt alſo, whoſe life I thinke vndoubtedly ſhal be put in haſard by the wet & cold painfull trauaile of this iourney. But for my part I aſſure you al, that ſince the king my father, your late maſter & very good lord died, I neuer tooke you for other thē my frēdes: but in this it appeareth contrary. And ſauing I thought verily that my former letters ſhould haue diſcharged this matter, I would not haue troubled my ſelf with writing the ſame, not douting but you do conſider, that none of you all woulde haue bene contented to haue bene thus vſed at your inferiours hands, I meane to haue had your officer, or any of your ſeruauntes ſent for by a force (as ye make it) knowing no iuſt cauſe why. Wherfore I do not a litle marueile, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who alwaies hath willed and wiſhed you as wel to do as my ſelfe, and both haue and wyl pray for you all as hartily, as for myne owne ſoule to almighty God, whom I humbly beſeech to illumine you al with his holy ſpirite, to whoſe mercy alſo I am at a full point to cōmit my ſelf, what ſoeuer ſhal become of my body. And thus with my commendations I byd you al fare well. From my houſe at Kenninghal, the. 27. of Iune.

Your frend to my power, though you
geue me contravy cauſe, Mary.

A copie of the kinges maieſties letter to the Lady Marye. 24. Ianuary. 1550.

Right deare. &c. We haue ſeene by letters of our Counſaile, ſent to you of late, & by your anſweare thereunto, touching the cauſe of certaine your Chaplaines, hauing offended our lawes in ſaying of Maſſe, their good & conuenient aduiſes, and your ſtrictnes & indirect miſtaking of the ſame: whiche thing moueth vs to write at this tyme, that where good counſel from our Counſaile hath not preuailed, yet the like from our ſelfe may haue due regard. The whole matter we perceiue reſteth in this, that you being our next ſiſter, in whom aboue al other our ſubiectes, nature ſhoulde place the moſt eſtimation of vs, would wittingly and purpoſely, not onely breake our lawes your ſelfe, but alſo haue others maintained to do the ſame. Truely how ſoeuer the matter may haue other termes, other ſenſe it hath not: and although by your letter it ſemeth you chalenge a promiſe made, that ſo you might do: yet ſurely we know the promiſe had no ſuch meanyng, neither to maintaine, ne to continue your fault. You muſt know this ſiſter, you were at the firſt time whē the law was made, borne withal, not becauſe you ſhould diſobey the law, but that by our lenitie & loue ſhewed, you might learne to obey it. We made a difference of you frō our other ſubiectes, not for that al other ſhould folow our lawes, & you only againſtand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by loue, as others were by duetie. The error wherin you would reſt is double, & euery part ſo great, that neither for the loue of God, we can wel ſuffer it vnredreſſed, neither for the loue of you we can but wiſh it amended. Firſt you retaine a faſhion in honoring of God, who in deede therby is diſhonoured, & therin erre you in zeale for lacke of ſcience, & hauyng ſcience offered you, you refuſe it, not becauſe it is ſcience (we truſt, for thē ſhould we diſpayre of you) but becauſe you thinke it is none. And ſurely in this we cā beſt reprehēd you, learning daily in our ſchole, that therfore we learne things, becauſe we know them not, and are not allowed to ſay we know not theſe things, or we thinke they be not good, & therefore we wyl not learne thē. Siſter, you muſt thinke nothing can commende you more then reaſon, according to the which you haue bene hytherto vſed, and nowe for very loue we wyll offer you reaſon our ſelfe. If you are perſwaded in conſcience to the contrary, of our lawes, you or your perſwaders ſhall freely be ſuffered to ſay what you or they can, ſo that you wil heare what ſhal be ſaid againe.

In this point you ſee I pretermit my eſtate, & talke wt you as your brother, rather then your ſupreme Lorde and king. Thus ſhould you, being as wel cōtēt to heare of your opinions, as you are content to hold them, in the end thanke vs as muche for bringing you to light, as nowe before you learne, you are loth to ſee it. And if thus much reaſon with our natural loue ſhall not moue you, wherof we woulde be ſorye, then muſt we conſider the other part of your faulte, which is the offence of our lawes. For though hitherto it hath bene ſuffered in hope of amendement, yet nowe if hope be none, howe ſhall there be ſufferaunce? Our charge is to haue the ſame care ouer euery mans eſtate, that euery man ought to haue ouer his owne. And in your owne houſe, as you would be loth openly to ſuffer one of your ſeruants being nexte you, moſte manifeſtly to breake your orders, ſo muſt you thinke in our ſtate it ſhal miſcontent vs to permit you ſo great a ſubiect, not to keepe our lawes. Your nearnes to vs in bloud, your greatnes in eſtate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is vnnatural, that our ſiſter ſhould do leſſe for vs, then our other ſubiectes. The caſe is ſclaunderous for ſo great a perſonage to forſake our maieſtie.

Finally, it is too daungerous in a troubleſome common wealth, to make the people to miſtruſt a factiō. We be yong, you thinke, in yeres to conſider this. Truely ſiſter, it troubleth vs ſomewhat the more, for it may be, this euil ſuffered in you, is greater thē we can diſcerne, and ſo we be as much troubled, becauſe we doubt whether we ſee the whole peril, as we be, for that we ſee. In deede we will preſume no further thē our yeres geueth vs, that is, in doubtful things not to truſt our own wits, but in euident things we thinke there is no differēce. If you ſhould not do as other ſubiects do, were it not euident, that therin you ſhould not be a good ſubiect? were it not plaine in that caſe, that you ſhould vſe vs not as your ſoueraigne Lord? Againe, if you ſhould be ſuffered to breake our lawes manifeſtly, were it not a comfort for others ſo to do? and if our lawes be broken, and cōtemned, where is our eſtate? Theſe thinges be ſo plaine, as we could almoſt haue iudged them fiue yeares paſt. And in deede it greueth vs not a litle, that you which ſhould be our moſt comfort in our young yeres, ſhould alone geue vs occaſion of diſcomfort. Thinke you not but it muſt needes trouble vs, and if you can ſo thinke, you ought ſiſter to amend it. Our natural loue towardes you without doubt is great, & therfore diminiſh it not your ſelf. If you wil be loued by vs, ſhewe ſome token of loue towardes vs, that we ſay not with the Pſalm. Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt. If you wyl be beleued, when by writing you confeſſe vs to be your ſoueraigne Lord, heare that which in other things is often alleged: Oſtende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis. In the anſweare of your letter to our Counſaile, we remēber you ſticke onely vpon one reaſon diuided into two partes. The firſt is, that in matters of religion, your fayth is none other, but as all Chriſtendome doth confeſſe. The next is, you wil aſſent to no alteration, but wiſh things to ſtand as they did at our fathers death. If you meane in the firſt to rule your fayth, by that you call Chriſtendome, and not by this Churche of England, wherein you are a member, you ſhal erre in many poyntes, ſuch as our father & yours would not haue ſuffered, what ſoeuer you ſay of the ſtanding ſtyll of thinges, as they were leaft by hym. The matter is too plaine to write, what may be gathered, & too perilous to be concluded againſt you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authoritie, of thinges not altered by our father, you ſhould do vs too great an iniurie. We take our ſelf for the adminiſtration of this common wealth, to haue the ſame authoritie which our father had diminiſhed in no part, neither by example of ſcripture, nor by all vniuerſall lawes. The ſtories of Scripture be ſo plenteous, as almoſt the beſt ordered Church of the Iſraelites was by kinges, yonger then we be. Wel ſiſter, we wyl not in theſe thinges interprete your writynges to the worſt: loue and charitie ſhal expound them. But yet you muſt not therby be bold to offende in that, whereunto you ſee your writinges might be wreſted. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duetie, & if any impediment be therof, not of purpoſe, you ſhall finde a brotherly affection in vs to remedie the ſame. To teache you & inſtruct you, we wyll geue order, & ſo procure you to do your duetie willingly, that you ſhal perceiue you are not vſed merely as a ſubiect, & only cōmaūded, but as a daughter, a ſcholer, and a ſiſter, taught, inſtructed, and perſwaded. For the whiche cauſe, when you haue conſidered this our letter, we pray you that we may ſhortly heare from you.

To the kinges moſt excellent maieſtie.

MY duetie moſte humbly remembred to your maieſtie, pleaſe it the ſame to vnderſtande that I haue receiued your letters by maſter Throgmorton this bearer. The contents wherof doth more troble me, thē any bodily ſicknes,

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though it were enen to the death, and the rather for that your highnes dooth charge me to be both as a breaker of your lawes, and alſo an encourager of others to do the like. I moſt hūbly beſeeche your maieſtie, to thinke that I neuer entended towardes you otherwiſe then my duetie compelleth me vnto, that is, to wiſhe your highnes all honour and proſperitie, for the whiche I doo and daily ſhal pray. And where it pleaſeth your maieſtie to write, that I make a chalenge of a promiſe made otherwiſe then it was meant: the troth is, the promiſe coulde not be denied before your maieſties preſence at my laſt waiting vpon the ſame. And although, I confeſſe, the ground of faith (wherunto I take reaſō to be but an handmaid) and my conſcience alſo hath and doth agree with the ſame: yet touching that promiſe, for ſo much as it hath pleaſed your maieſtie (God knoweth by whoſe perſwaſion) to write, it was not ſo meant: I ſhall moſt hūbly deſire your highnes to examine the truth therof indifferently, & either wyl your Maieſties ambaſſadour, now being with the Emperour, to enquire of the ſame if it be your pleaſure to haue him moue it, or els to cauſe it to be demaunded of the Emperors ambaſſador here, although he were not within this realme at that time. And thereby it ſhall appeare, that in this poynt I haue not offended your maieſty, if it may pleaſe you ſo to accept it. And albeit your maieſtie (God be praiſed) hath at theſe yeares as much vnderſtanding and more, then is commonly ſeene in that age, yet cōſidering you do heare but one part (your highnes not offended) I would be a ſuter to the ſame, that tyll ye were growē to more perfect yeares, it might ſtād with your pleaſure to ſtay in matters touching the ſoule. So vndoubtedly ſhould your Maieſtie know more, & heare others, & neuertheles be at your libertie, and do your wil and pleaſure. And what ſoeuer your maieſtie hath cōceiued of me, either by letters to your Coūſaile, or by their report, I truſt in the end to proue my ſelfe as true to you, as any ſubiect within your realme, & wil by no meanes ſtād in argumēt with your maieſtie, but in moſt hūble wiſe beſeeche you, euen for Gods ſake to ſuffer me, as your highnes hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly reſpecte I deſire it, God is my judge, but rather thē to offēd my cōſciēce, I would deſire of God to leſe al that I haue, and alſo my life: and neuertheles liue and die your humble ſiſter and true ſubiect. Thus after pardon craued of your maieſtie for my rude & bold writing, I beſeche almighty God to preſerue the ſame in honor, with as long continuance of health and life, as euer had noble kyng. Frō Beauliene, the. 3. of February.

Your maieſties moſt humble & vnworthy ſiſter, Mary.

¶ The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counſaile. 4. December. 1550.

MY Lordes, your letters dated the ſecond of this preſent, were deliuered vnto me the thirde of the ſame. And where you write, that two of my Chaplaines, doctor Mallet and Barkley be indicted for certaine things cōmitted by thē cōtrary to the kings maieſties lawes, & proceſſe for thē alſo awarded forth, & deliuered to the Sheriffe of Eſſex: I cā not but marueile they ſhould be ſo vſed, cōſidering it is don, as I take it, for ſaying Maſſe within my houſe: and although I haue ben of my ſelfe minded alwaies, and yet am, to haue Maſſe within my houſe: yet I haue ben aduertiſed, that the Emperours maieſtie hath ben promiſed that I ſhould neuer be vnquieted nor troubled for my ſo doing, as ſome of you, my Lordes, can witnes. Furthermore, beſides the declaratiō of the ſaid promiſe made to me by the Emperors ambaſſador that dead is, frō his maieſty, to put my chaplaines more out of feare, whē I was the laſt yere with the kings maieſtie my brother that queſtion was then moued, and coulde not be denied, but affirmed by ſome of you before his maieſtie to be true, being not ſo much vnquieted for the trouble of my ſaid Chaplaines, as I am to thinke how this matter may be takē, the promiſe to ſuch a perſon being no better regarded. And for mine owne part, thought ful litle to haue receiued ſuch vngentlenes at your handes, hauing alwayes (God is my iudge) wiſhed vnto the whole number of you, as to my ſelfe, and haue refuſed to trouble you, or to craue any thing at your hands, but your good wyl & frendſhip, which very ſlenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithſtāding to be plaine with you, how ſoeuer you ſhal vſe me or mine (with Gods helpe) I wyll neuer vary frō myne opinion touching my fayth. And if ye or any of you beare me the leſſe good wil for that matter, or faint in your frendſhip towardes me, only for the ſame I muſt and wyl be cōtented, truſting that God wyl in the ende ſhewe his mercy vpon me, aſſuring you, I would rather refuſe the frendſhip of all the world (whereunto I truſt I ſhal neuer be driuen) then forſake any poynt of my faith. I am not without ſome hope that ye wil ſtay this matter, not enforcing the rigor of the law againſt my chaplaines. The one of thē was not in my houſe theſe. 4. monethes, & D. Mallet hauing my licēce is either at Windſor, or at his benefice, who, as I haue heard was indicted for ſaying of Maſſe out of my houſe, whiche was not true. But in dede, the day before my remouing frō Woodhā water, my whole houſhold in effect was gone to Newhal, he ſaid Maſſe there by mine appointment. I ſee & heare of diuers that do not obey your ſtatutes & proclamations, & neuertheles eſcape without puniſhmēt. Be ye Iudges, if I be well vſed to haue mine puniſhed by rigor of a law, beſides all the falſe bruites that ye haue ſuffered to be ſpoken of me. Moreouer my Chapleine D. Mallet, beſides mine own cōmaundement was not ignorant of the promiſe made to the Emperour, which did put him out of feare. I doubt not therfore but ye wil conſider it, as by that occaſiō no peace of frendſhip be taken awaye, nor I to haue cauſe but to beare you my good wyl, as I haue don heretofore, for albeit I could do you litle pleaſure, yet of my frendſhip ye wer ſure, as if it had lien in my power ye ſhould haue wel knowen. Thus with my harty cōmendatiōs to you al, I pray almighty God to ſend you as much of his grace, as I would wiſh to mine own ſoule. From Beulien, the. 4. of Decemb.

Your aſſured frend to my power, Mary.

¶ The Counſayle to the Ladye Mary, the. 25. of December.

AFter our due commendations to your grace. By your letters to vs, as an anſweare to ours, touching certaine proces againſt two of your Chaplaines, for ſaying maſſe againſt yͤ law ⁊ ſtatut of yͤ realme, we perceiue both yͤ offēce of your chaplaines is otherwiſe excuſed thē the matter may beare, and alſo our good wylles otherwiſe miſconſtrued thē we looked for. And for the firſt part, where your greateſt reaſon for to excuſe the offence of a law, is a promiſe made to the Emperours maieſtie, wherof you write, that firſt ſome of vs be witneſſes, next that the ambaſſadour for the Emperour declared the ſame vnto you, and laſtly, that the ſame promiſe was affirmed to you before the kings maieſty at your laſt being with him: we haue thought conuenient to repeate the matter frō the beginnyng, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it ſhal appeare howe euidently your Chaplaines hath offended the law, ⁊ you alſo miſtaken the promiſe. The promiſe is but one in it ſelfe, but by tymes thriſe as you ſay, repeated. Of whiche tymes the firſt is chiefly to be cōſidered, for vpon that do the other two depēd. It is very true the Emperour made requeſt to the kinges maieſtie, that you might haue libertie to vſe the Maſſe in your houſe, ⁊ to be as it were exempted from the danger of the ſtatute. To whiche requeſt diuers good reaſons were made, cōteining the diſcommodities that ſhould folowe the grant therof, ⁊ meanes deuiſed rather to perſwade you, to obey ⁊ receiue the generall and godly reformation of the whole realme, then by a priuate fanſie to preiudice a cōmon order. But yet vpon earneſt deſire ⁊ entreatie made in the Emperours name, thus muche was graunted, that for his ſake, and your own alſo, it ſhould be ſuffered ⁊ winked at, if you had the priuate maſſe vſed in your own cloſet for a ſeaſon, vntil you might be better enformed, wherof was ſome hope, hauing only with you a few of your owne chamber, ſo that for al the reſt of your houſhold, the ſeruice of yͤ realme ſhould be vſed, and none other: further thē this the promiſe exceeded not. And truely ſuche a matter it then ſeemed to ſome of vs, as in deede it was, that well might the Emperour haue required of the kinges maieſtie a matter of more profite: but of more weight or difficultie to be granted his maieſtie could not. After this graunt in wordes, there was by the ambaſſadour now dead, ofttymes deſired ſome writing, as a teſtimonie of the ſame. But that was euer denied: not becauſe we meant to breake the promiſe, as it was made, but becauſe there was a dayly hope of your reformation. Now to the ſecond tyme, you ſay the Emperors ambaſſadours declaration made mention of a promiſe to you, it might well ſo be. But we thinke no otherwiſe then as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more then he heard: ours it may not be, that denye not that we haue ſaid. As for the laſt time when you were with the kinges maieſtie, the ſame ſome of vs (whom by theſe wordes your letter noteth) do wel remember, that no other thing was graunted to you in this matter, but as the firſt promiſe was made to the Emperour, at whiche tyme you had to many argumentes made to approue the proceedyngs of the kinges maieſtie, and to condemne the abuſe of the maſſe, to thinke that where the priuate maſſe was iudged vngodly, there you ſhould haue authoritie and grounde to vſe it. About the ſame tyme the Embaſſadour made meanes to haue ſome teſtimonie of yͤ promiſe vnder yͤ great Seale,

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ſeale, and that not hard to haue it, but by a letter, and that alſo was not onely denied, but diuers good reaſons, that hee ſhould thinke it denied with reaſon, and ſo to bee contented with an aunſwer. It was told hym in reducing that which was commonly called the Maſſe, to the order of the primatiue church, and the inſtitution of Chriſt, the kings maieſty and his whole realme had their conſciences wel quieted, agaynſt the which if any thing ſhould be willingly committed the ſame ſhould be taken as an offence to God, and a verye ſinne agaynſt truth vnknowen. Wherfore to licence by open acte ſuch a dede in the conſcience of the kinges Maieſty and hys realme, were euen a ſinne agaynſt God. The moſt that might herein be borne, was that ÿ kings maieſty myght vpō hope of your gracious reconciliatiō, ſuſpend ÿ executiō of his law, ſo ÿ you would vſe the licence as it was firſt graunted. What ſo euer the embaſſador hath ſayd to others, he had no other maner graunt from vs, nor hauyng it thus graunted, could alledge any reaſon agaynſt it. And where in your letter your grace noteth vs as breakers of the promiſe made to the Emperour, it ſhall appeare who hath broken the promiſe: whether we that haue ſuffered more then was licenced, or you that haue tranſgreſſed that was graunted. Now therefore we pray your grace conſer the doyng of your chaplaines with euery poynt of the premiſſes, and if the ſame cannot be excuſed, then thinke alſo how long the law hath bene ſpared. If it pricke our conſciences ſomewhat, that ſo much ſhould be vſed as by the promiſe you may claime, how muche more ſhoulde it greue vs to licence more then you can clayme? And yet could we be content to beare great burden to ſatisfie your grace, if ÿ burthen preſſed not our conſciences, wherof we muſt ſay as the Apoſtle ſayd: Gloriatio noſtra eſt hæc, teſtimonium conſcientiæ noſtræ. For the other part of your graces letter, by the which we ſee you miſconſtrue our good wils in writyng to you, how ſo euer the law had proceeded agaynſt your Chaplaynes, our order in ſending to you was to be lyked, and therin truly had we ſpeciall regarde of your graces degree and eſtate. And becauſe the lawe of it ſelfe reſpecteth not perſons, we thought to geue reſpect to you, firſt ſignifying to you what the law required, before it ſhould be executed, that beyng warned, your grace might either thinke no ſtraungenes in the execution, or for an example of obedience cauſe it to be executed your ſelfe. Others we ſee perplexed with ſodainnes of matters, your grace we wold not haue vnwarned to thinke any thyng done ſodayne. Truely we thought it more commendable for your grace, to helpe the execution of a law, then to helpe the offence of one condemned by lawe. And in geuyng you knowledge what the kinges lawes required, we looked for helpe in the execution by you the kings maieſties ſiſter. The greater perſonage your grace is, the nigher to the kyng, ſo much more ought your example to further lawes. For which cauſe it hath bene called a good common wealth, where the people obeyed the hygher eſtates, and they obeyed the lawes. As nature hath ioyned your grace to the kinges maieſtie to loue hym moſt entirely ſo hath reaſon and law ſubdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not, but your grace remembreth, and as they both be ioyned together in you, his maieſties ſiſter, ſo we truſt you wyll not ſeuer them, for in dede your grace cannot loue him as your brother, but you muſt obey his maieſtie as his ſubiect.

Example of your obedience and reuerence of hys maieſties lawes is in ſtede of a good preacher, to a great number of his maieſties ſubiects, who if they may ſe in you negligence of his maieſty or his lawes, wil not faile but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their owne but yours, by example. And ſo may the kings maieſty when he ſhal come to further iudgement, impute the fault of diuers euil people (which thyng God forbid) to the ſufferance of your graces doynges. And therfore we moſt earneſtly from the depth of our harts deſire it, that as nature hath ſet your grace nigh his maieſty by bloud, ſo your loue and zeale to his maieſtie, will further his eſtate by obedience. In the ende of your letter ij. thinges be touched, which we can not pretermit: the one is, you ſeme to charge vs with permiſſion of men to breake lawes & ſtatutes. We thinke in dede it is to true, that lawes and proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is: but that we permit them, we would be ſo ſory to haue it proued. The other is that we haue ſuffred bruites to be ſpoken of you, and that alſo muſt be aunſwered as the other. It is pity to ſee men ſo euill, as whom they may touche with tales and infamies they care not, ſo they miſſe not the beſt. Such is the boldnes of people, that neyther we can fully bridle them, to raiſe tales of you, nor of our ſelues. And yet whenſoeuer any certayne perſon may be gotten, to be charged with any ſuch, we neuer leaue them vnpuniſhed. In dede, the beſt way is, both for your grace, and alſo vs, that when we cannot finde and puniſh the offender, let vs ſay as he ſayd that was euill ſpoken of: yet will I ſo lyue as no credite ſhall be geuen to my backbiters. Certaynely if we had credited any euill tale of your grace, we would frendly haue admoniſhed you therof, and ſo alſo proceeded, as eyther the tale tellers ſhould haue ben puniſhed, or els haue proued their tales. And therfore we pray your grace to thinke no vnkindnes in vs, that any euil bruites haue bene ſpred by euill men, but thinke rather wel of vs, ÿ howſoeuer they were ſpred, we beleued them not. Whereto your grace ſeeth we haue written ſomewhat at length, of the promiſe made to you and our meaninges, in our former writinges. And now for the latter part of our letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two ſpeciall matters, wherof the one might ſuffice to reforme your procedinges, and both together wel conſidered we truſt ſhal do your grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be deſired to follow: the other is, the commoditie that therby ſhall enſue. They both make a iuſt commaundement, and becauſe of the firſt the latter followeth, that firſt ſhall be treated. We here ſay your grace refuſeth to heare any thing reaſoned, contrary to your olde determination, wherin you make your opinion ſuſpitious, as that you are afeard to be diſſuaded. If your fayth in thinges be of God, it may abide any ſtorme or weather: if it be but of ſande, you doe beſt to eſchew ÿ wether. That which we profeſſe, hath the foundation in Scriptures vppon playne textes and no gloſes, the confirmation therof by the vſe in the primatiue Church, not in this latter corrupted: and in dede our greateſt chaunge is not in the ſubſtance of our faith, no not in any one article of our Crede. Onely the difference is, that we vſe the ceremonies, obſeruations, and Sacramentes of our religion as the Apoſtles, and firſt fathers in the primatiue Church did. You vſe the ſame that corruption of tyme brought in, and very barbarie and ignoraunce nouriſhed, and ſeeme to be bold for cuſtome againſt truth, and we for truth againſt cuſtome. Your grace in one or two places of your letter ſemeth to ſpeake earneſtly in the maintenaunce of your fayth, and therin (ſo that your fayth be according to the Scriptures) we muſt haue the like opinion. The ſaying is very good if the fayth be ſound. But if euery opinion your grace hath (we cannot tell how conceiued) ſhall be your faith, you may be much better inſtructed. S. Paule teacheth you that faith is by the worde of God. And it was a true ſaying of him that ſaid: Non qui cuiuis credit, fidelis eſt, ſed qui Deo. For where hath your grace ground for ſuch a faith, to thinke cōmon prayer in the engliſh church ſhould not be in engliſh? that Images of God ſhould be ſet vp in the church? or ÿ the ſacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud ſhould be offred by the prieſtes for the dead? yea, or ÿ it ſhould be otherwiſe vſed then by ÿ ſcripture it was inſtituted? Though you haue no Scripture to maintayne the, we haue euident ſcriptures to forbid them. And although faulte myght be found, that of late Baptiſme hath ben vſed in your graces houſe, contrary to law, and vtterly without licence, yet is it the worſe, that contrary to the primatiue church it hath bene in a toung vnknowen, by the which the beſt part of the Sacrament is vnuſed, and as it were a blynd bargaine made by the Godfathers in a matter of illuminacion, and thus in the reſt of the thinges in which your grace differeth from the common order of the realme, where haue you ground or reaſon but ſome cuſtome, which oftentymes is mother of many errours? And although in ciuill thinges ſhe may be followed where ſhe cauſeth quiet, yet not in religions, where ſhe excuſeth no errour, as in Leuiticus it is ſayd: Ye ſhall not do after the cuſtome of Egipt, wherin ye dwelled, nor after the cuſtome of Chanaan: no, you ſhall not walke in their lawes for I am your Lord God, kepe you my lawes and commaundementes. The pointes wherin your grace differeth in your fayth as you call it, may be ſhewed where, when, how, and by whom they began, ſince the Goſpell was preached, ÿ church was planted, and the apoſtles martired. At which time your faith depended vpon the Scripture, and otherwiſe there was no neceſſitie to beleue. For as Hierome ſaith: Quod de ſcripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. And becauſe your grace as we heare ſaye, readeth ſometyme the Doctors, we may alledge vnto you ij. or three places of other principall Doctours. Auguſt. ſayeth: Cum dominus tacuerit, quis noſtrum dicat, illa vel illa ſunt: aut ſi dicere audeat, vnde probat? And Chryſoſtomes ſaying is not vnlike. Multi, inquit, iactant ſpiritum ſanctum, ſed qui propria loquuntur, falſo illum prætendunt. And if you will haue their meaninge playne, read the v. Chapiter of the firſt booke of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, and where Conſtantine had theſe wordes in the Councell: In diſputationibus, inquit, rerum diuinarum, habetur præſcripta ſpiritus ſancti doctrina, Euangelici & Apoſtolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis oſtendunt ſenſum numinis, proinde diſcordia poſita, ſumamus ex verbis ſpiritus queſtionum explicationes. What playner ſayinges may be then theſe to anſwer your faulte? Agayne, to conſider were to remember your grace the great number of perticular errours (crept into the

Church wherupon you make your foundation. The fables of falſe miracles and lewde pilgrimages may ſomwhat teach you. Onely this we pray your grace to remember with your ſelfe: the two wordes that the father ſayd of his ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, Ipſum audite. To the ſeconde point of the commoditie that may folow your obedience, wee hauyng by the kynges authoritye in this behalfe the gouernaunce of thys realme muſt herein be playne with your grace. And if oure ſpeache offende the ſame, then muſt your grace thinke it is our charge and office to finde fault where it is, and our duty to amend it as we may. Moſt ſory truly we bee, that your grace, whom we ſhoulde otherwiſe honor, for ẏ kynges maieſties ſake, by your owne dedes ſhoulde prouoke vs to offende you, or to perceaue great diſcommoditie to the realm by your graces ſingularitye, (if it may be ſo named) in opinion: and in one reſpect, as you are ſyſter to our ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter, wee moſt humbly beſeche your grace to ſhew your affection cõtinually towardes him, as becõmeth a ſiſter. And as your grace is a ſubiect, and we counſellers to his Maieſties eſtate, wee let you knowe, the example of your graces opiniõ hindreth the good weale of this realme, whiche thing we thinke is not vnknowen vnto you: and if it be, we let your grace know, it is to true. For Gods ſake, wee beſeche your grace, let nature ſet before your eyes the young age of the Kyng your brother. Let reaſon tell you ẏ looſenes of the people, how then can you without a waylyng hart, thinke that you ſhoulde be the cauſe of diſturbance? if your grace ſe the Kyng, beyng the ordinary ruler vnder God not onely of all others in the Realme, but of you alſo, call his people by ordinarye lawes one waye, with what hart can your grace ſtay your ſelfe without folowing: much worſe to ſtay other that woulde follow their ſoueraigne Lord? Can it be a loue in you to forſake him, his rule and lawe, & take a priuate way by your ſelfe? If it be not loue, it is muche leſſe obedience. If your grace thinke the kinges maieſtie to be ouer his people as the head in a mans body is ouer ẏ reſt not onely in place but in dignity and ſcience, how can you beyng a principall member in the ſame bodye kepe the nouriſhment frõ the head, we pray your grace moſt earneſtly thinke this thinge ſo much greueth vs, as for our priuate affection and good willes vnto you (though we ſhould diſſemble) yet for our publike office, we can not but playnly enfourme your grace, not doubtinge but ẏ your wiſedome can iudge what our office is, and if it were not your owne cauſe, we knowe your grace by wiſedome could charge vs, if we ſuffered the like in any other. Truelye euery one of vs a parte honoreth your grace for our maiſters ſake, but when we ioyne together in publike ſeruice, as in this writinge we do, we iudge it not tolerable, to knowe diſorder, to ſe the cauſe, and leaue it vnamended. For though we would be negligent, ẏ world would iudge vs. And therfore we do altogether eftſones require your grace, in the kynges maieſties name, that if any of your two Chaplaines, Mallet, or Barckley, be returned, or as ſoone as any of thẽ ſhall returne to your graces houſe the ſame may be by your graces commaundement, or order, ſent or deliuered to the ſherif of Eſſex, who hath commaundement from the kynges maieſtie, by order of the law & of his crowne to attache, them, or if that condition ſhall not lyke your grace, yet that then he may be warned from your graces houſe, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the lawe, which thing we thinke ſurely neither your grace will meane, nor any of your counſel aſſent therto. And ſo to make an end of our letter, beyng long for the matter, and hitherto differred for other our great buſines, we truſt your grace fyrſt ſeeth how the vſage of your Chaplaines differeth from the maner of our licence, and what good entent moued vs to wryte vnto you in former letters: laſtly that the thinges whereunto the Kyng & the whole Realme hath conſented, be not onely lawful and iuſt by the pollicie of the Realme, but alſo iuſte and godlye by the lawes of God. So that if wee, which haue charge vnder ẏ kyng ſhould willingly conſent to the open breach of them, we coulde neyther diſcharge our ſelues to the kyng for our duities, neither to God for our conſcience. The conſideratiõ of all whiche thinges we pray almighty God, by his holye ſpirite, to laye in the bottome of your harte, and thereupon to buylde ſuch a profeſſion in you, as both God may haue his true honor: the kyng his dewe obedience, the Realme concord, and we moſt comforte. For al the whiche we do hartely pray, & therwith, for the continuaunce of your graces helth to your hartes deſire, from Weſtminſter ẏ. xxv. of December.

¶ The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counſell.xx.Maye.1551.

MY Lords after my harty cõmendations to you, although both I haue ben and alſo am loth to trouble you with my letters, yet neuertheleſſe the newes which I haue lately hard, touching my Chaplayne Doctor Mallet forceth mee thereunto, at this preſent, for I heare by credible report that you haue committed him to the tower, whiche newes ſeme to me very ſtraunge: notwithſtandyng I thought it good, by theſe to deſire you to aduertiſe me what is the cauſe of his impriſonmẽt, aſſuryng you I would be ſory that any of mine ſhould deſerue the lyke puniſhment, and there is no creature within the kynges maieſties Realme woulde more lamẽt, that any belonging to them ſhoulde geue iuſt cauſe ſo to be vſed, then I woulde do: who woulde haue thought much frendſhyp in you if you hadde geuen me knowledge, wherein my ſayde Chaplein had offended, before you had miniſtred ſuch puniſhment vnto him, eftſones requiring you to let me knowe by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus thankyng you for the ſhort diſpatch of, the poore marchaunte of Portingal I wiſh to you al no worſe then to my ſelfe and ſo bid you farewell. From Beaulien the ii of may.

Your frende to my power, Marye.

¶ The Counſell to the Lady Mary.
6. of Maye.1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your grace, we haue receiued your letters of the ſecond of thys moneth, by ẏ which your grace ſemeth to take it ſtraungely that Doctor Mallet is committed to priſon, whereof we haue the more meruell, ſeing it hath bene heretofore ſignified vnto you that he hath offended the kynges maieſties lawes, and thereof condemned, your grace hath bene by our letters earneſtly deſired, that he might be deliuered to the Shirief of Eſſex, according to the iuſt proceſſe of the lawe, to the which al maner perſons of this Realme be ſubiect, whereof how ſoeuer it ſemeth ſtraunge at this time to your grace that he is impriſoned, it may ſeeme more ſtraunge to other that hee hath eſcaped it thus longe: and if the place beynge the Tower, moue your grace not to impute his impriſonment to his former offenſe, then we pray your grace to vnderſtand that in dede it is for the verye ſame, and the place of the impriſonmẽt to be at the kynges maieſties pleaſure, from whom, beſides the charge of his lawes, we haue expreſſe commaundement to do that we do. And ſo we beſeche your grace to thinke of vs, that neither in this caſe, nor in any other wee meane to do any other then miniſter and ſee, as much as in our power lieth, miniſtred iuſtice indifferently, to all perſons, which doyng then we thinke your grace ſhould not thinke it any lack of frendſhip that we did not certifie you of ẏ offenſe of your Chaplayne, although in dede the cauſe hath alredy bene certifyed. And we truſt your grace both of your naturall nearnes to the kynges maieſtie and your owne good wyſdome will not miſlyke our miniſtery in the e execution of ẏ lawes of the realme and the pleaſure of the kinges maieſty. So we wiſhe to your grace from the bottom of our harte the grace of almighty God with the riches of his holy giftes.

¶ The Lady Mary to the Counſell the xi. of Maye.

MY Lordes, it appeareth by your letters of the.vi. of this preſent which I haue receiued, that the impriſonment of Chaplaine doctor Mallet is, for ſaying of maſſe, and that he was condemned for the ſame. In dede I haue heard that he was endited, but neuer condemned: Neuertheleſſe I muſt nedes confeſſe and ſay, that he did it but by my commaundement, and I ſayde vnto him that none of my Chaplaines ſhoulde bee in daunger of the lawe for ſaying Maſſe in my houſe. And therof to put him out of dout, the Emp. Embaſſador that dead is, declared vnto him before that time how & after what ſort the promiſe was made to his maieſty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended Wherfore I pray you to diſcharge him of empriſonment, and ſet him at liberty: if not, ye miniſter cauſe not onely to him, but to others to thinke that I haue declared more then was true, whiche I woulde not wittingly do, to gayne the whole world. And herein as I haue often ſayd, the Emperours maieſtie can be beſte iudge. And to be playne wyth you according to mine old cuſtom, there is not one amongſt the whole number of you all, that woulde be more loth to be found vntrue of their word then I. And wel I am aſſured that none of you haue found it in me. My Lordes, I praye you ſeeke not ſo much my diſhonor as to diſproue my word wherby it ſhould appeare to plaine that you handel me not well. And if you haue cauſe to charge my Chaplaine for this matter, laye that to mee, and I will diſcharge it agayne, by your promyſe made to the Emperours Maieſtye, whiche you can not rightfully denye wiſhing, rather that you hadde refuſed it in the begynning then after ſuch promiſe made, and to ſuch a perſon, to ſeeme to go from it which my lordes, as your very friend I hartily deſire you to conſider, and to geue me no cauſe to think you otherwyſe then my friends, conſidering I haue alwayes, and yet do (God is my iudge) wiſh to you all no worſe neyther in ſoules nor bodies then to my ſelfe. And ſo wyth my harty commendations I commit you all to God. From Beaulien the 11. of May.

Your aſſured frend to my power, Mary.

¶The Counſaile to the Lady Mary the 27. of May. 1551.

AFter our due commendations to your grace, although yͤ ſame receiueth not anſwere ſo ſoone, as perchaunce was looked for vpon the returne of your graces ſeruant, yet we doubt not but your grace vnderſtandeth that where wee haue matters of eſtate pertayning to the kings Maieſty in hand, as in deed we haue had of late, the differring of the anſwere in a matter being no greater, requireth to bee borne withal. And touching the anſwere of your graces letter for D. Mallet, we pray your grace to vnderſtand that although you write he was indyted, but not condemned, and ſo ſeeme to take exception at the maner of his impriſonment, yet if they which enformed your grace of that maner of reaſon in the law, were as well diſpoſed to pleaſe your grace with truth, as the reaſon in deede is not true, then ſhoulde they haue told your grace that by the act of parliament, if either Mallet haue been conuicted by the othes of 12. men, or that the fact hath been notorious, then the puniſhment doth follow iuſtly. The truth of the one and the other way of conuiction in his caſe is notorious enough, beſides his flyinge from the proces of the law. And where your grace, to releue him would take the fault vpon your ſelfe, we are ſory to perceiue your grace ſo ready to be a defence to one that yͤ kings law doth condemne. Neuertheleſſe he is not puniſhed becauſe your grace bad him, and willed him to doe that whiche was an offence: but he is puniſhed for doyng it, and if wee ſhould not ſo ſee the kinges lawes executed without reſpect it might appeare that we to much neglected our dutye, and for that your grace taketh it as a diſcredit to your ſelfe, that he ſhould be puniſhed for that you bad him doe, alledging to him that you had authority ſo to doe, and ſo promiſe made to the Emperour, it hath been both written and ſayd to youre grace, what is the truth in that behalfe: and howſoeuer that your grace pretendeth your licence to haue maſſe ſaid before your ſelfe, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been to far out of reaſon for to haue deſired that who ſoeuer was your Chaplein might ſay Maſſe in any houſe that was youres, when your graces ſelfe was not there. For ſo is D. Mallets offence, for ſaying maſſe at one of your houſes, where your grace was not, which thing as it was neuer graunted, ſo do we not remember that euer it was demaunded. The ſute that hath been at any time made, eyther by themperors Embaſſadour that dead is, or by him that now is, was neuer but in reſpect of your grace, and not to be taken that yͤ Emperor or his Embaſſadoure ment to priuiledge maſter D. Mallet or any other to ſay maſſe out of your preſence. Wherfore as we do playnly write to your grace, ſo doe wee pray you to take it in good part, & thinke we be as ready to doe our due reuerence towards your grace in any thing wee may do with our duty to our maſter as any your grace may commaund: and of ſuch wiſedome we know your grace to be, that ye ſhould iudge the better of vs, for that we be diligent to ſee the lawes of the Realme executed, wherein reſteth the ſtrength and ſauegard of the kinges M. our ſoueraign Lord and Maſter.

The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counſaile, 21. Iune. 1551.

MY Lordes, although I receiued by my ſeruaunt this bearer (who lately deliuered vnto you my letters, wherin I deſired to haue my Chaplaine Doctor Mallet diſcharged of hys impriſonment) your gentle meſſage in generall wordes, for the which I geue you my harty thankes: yet haue I no knowledge whether you wyll ſet hym at liberty or no. But I thinke that your waighty affayres at that tyme, was the let and cauſe ye did not write. For els I doubt not you woulde haue aunſwered me. Wherfore not beyng ſatiſfied, and vnderſtandyng ye would gladly pleaſure me, I thought good eftſoones to deſire you that my ſaid Chaplayne may haue hys liberty, wherin I aſſure you, ye ſhall much gratifie me, beyng not a little troubled, that he is ſo long in priſon, wythout iuſt cauſe, ſeyng the matter of hys impriſonment is diſcharged by the promiſe made to the Emperours maieſty, as in my late letters I declared vnto you. Wherfore my Lordes I pray you let me haue knowledge by this bearer how ye wyll vſe me in this matter, wherin if ye do pleaſure me accordingly, then ſhall it well appeare that ye regard the foreſayde promiſe, and I wyll not forget your gentlenes therin (God willyng) but reacquite it to my power. And thus with my harty commendations to you all, I bid you farewel. From Beaulien the 21. of Iune.

Your aſſured friend to my power. Mary.

¶The Counſaile to the Lady Mary, the 24. of Iune. 1551.

AFter our humble commẽdations to your grace, we haue receiued your graces letter of the 21. hereof, wherin is receaued the ſame requeſte that in your former letters hath been made for the releaſe of Doctor Mallet, and therin alſo your grace ſemeth to haue looked for the ſame aunſwere of your former letter the which in deed partly was omitted (as your grace coniectureth) by the reaſõ of the kings maieſties affayres: wherwith we be thoroughly occupyed, partlye for that we had no other thing to anſwere, then you had heretofore heard in the ſame matter. And therfore where youre grace deſireth a reſolute anſwere we aſſure the ſame we be right ſory for the matter, and that it ſhoulde be your graces chaunce to moue it, as wee cannot with our dueties to the kinges Maieſty accompliſhe your deſire. So neceſſarye a thing it is to ſee the lawes of the Realme executed indifferently in all manner of perſons, and in theſe caſes of contempt of the Eccleſiaſtical Orders of this church of England, the ſame may not without the great diſpleaſure of god the ſlaunder of yͤ ſtate be neglected. And therfore your grace may pleaſe to vnderſtand we haue not onely puniſhed youre Chaplein but all ſuch others whom we finde in like caſe to haue diſobeyed the lawes of the kinges maieſtye. And touching the excuſe your grace oftentimes vſeth, of a promyſe made, we aſſure your grace, none of vs all, nor any other of the Counſell as your Grace hath beene certified, hath euer been priuy to any ſuch promiſe, otherwiſe then hath beene written. And in that matter your grace had playne anſwere both by vs of the kinges maieſties Councell, at your being laſt in hys maieſties preſence, and therein alſo your Grace might perceiue his maieſties determination, wherunto we beſeech your grace not onely to incline your ſelfe but alſo to iudge wel of vs that doe addict our ſelues to do our duties. And ſo alſo ſhall we be ready to doe with all our hartes our due reuerence toward your grace, whoſe preſeruation wee commend to almighty God with our prayer.

The Copy of the Lady Maries letter to the kinges Maieſtie.

MY duty moſt hũbly remẽbred vnto your maieſty, it may pleaſe the ſame to be aduertiſed, that I haue receiued by my ſeruantes, your moſt honourable letters, the contentes wherof doe not a little trouble me, and ſo much the more, for that any of my ſaid ſeruauntes ſhould moue or attempte me in matters touching my ſoule, which I thinke the meaneſt ſubiect within your hyghnes realme, coulde euill beare at theyr ſeruauntes handes, hauyng for my part vtterly refuſed heretofore to talke with them in ſuch matters, and of all other perſons leaſt regarded them therin, to whome I haue declared what I thinke, as ſhe which truſted that your maieſtie would haue ſuffred me your poore ſiſter and beadwoman to haue vſed the accuſtomed maſſe, which the king your father and myne with all hys predeceſſoures dyd euermore vſe, wherin alſo I haue bene brought vp from my youth. And therunto my conſcience doth not onely bynd me, which by no meanes will ſuffer me to thinke one thyng and do an other, but alſo the promiſe made to the Emperour by your Maieſties counſaile, was an aſſurance to me, that in ſo doyng I ſhould not offend the lawes, although they ſeme nowe to qualifie and deny the thyng. And at my laſt wayting vppon your maieſty, I was ſo bold to declare my mynde and conſcience to the ſame, and deſired your highnes, rather then you ſhould conſtraine me to leaue Maſſe, to take my lyfe. Whereunto your maieſtie made me a very gentle anſwer. And now I moſt hũbly beſeech your highnes to geue me leaue to write what I thinke touching your maieſties letters. In deede, they be ſigned with your owne hand, & neuertheles in myne opinion not your Maieſties in effect, becauſe it is well knowen (as heretofore I haue declared in the preſence of your highneſſe) that although, our Lorde be prayſed, your Maieſtie hath farre more knowledge, and greater giftes then others of your yeares, yet is it not poſſible that your highneſſe can at theſe yeares be a iudge in matters of religion: and therefore I take it that the matter in your letters proceedeth from ſuch as doe wiſh thoſe thinges to take place, whiche bee moſte agreeable to themſelues,by whoſe doynges your maieſtye not offended, I entende not to rule my conſcience. And thus without moleſting your Highnes any farther, I humbly beſeech the ſame,euen for Gods ſake to bear with me,as you haue done,and not to thinke that by my doyngs or example any inconuenyence might grow to your maieſtye or your Realme,for I vſe it not after ſuch ſorte puttinge no doubt but in time to come, whether I liue or dye, your Maieſtye ſhall perceiue that mine intent is grounded vpon a true loue towardes you, whoſe royall eſtate I beſeeche almighty God long to continne,which is and ſhall be my dayly prayer according to my ducty. And after pardon craued of your maieſtye for theſe rude and bolde letters, if neither at my humble ſuite,nor for the regard of the promyſe made to the Emperour,your Highnes will ſuffer and beare with me,as you haue done till your Maieſty may be a iudge herein your ſelfe,and rightly vnderſtand their proceedinges,(of which your goodnes yet I deſpeire not) otherwiſe, rather then to offend God and my conſcience, I offer my bodye at your will,and death ſhall be more welcome then life with a troubled conſcyence,moſte humbly beſeeching your Maieſty to pardon my ſlownes in anſwering your letters. For mine olde diſeaſe would not ſuffer me to write any ſooner. And thus I pray almighty God to keepe your Maieſty in al vertue & honor with good health and long life to his pleaſure. From my poore houſe at Copped hall,the xix.of Aug.

Your Maieſties moſt humble ſiſter,Mary.

A Copy of the kinges maieſties letters to the ſayd Lady Mary.

Right deare and right intierly beloued ſiſter,we greet you well, and let you know that it greeueth vs much to perceiue no amendement in you, of that which wee for Gods cauſe,your ſoules health,our conſcience , and the common tranquillitye of our Realme,haue ſo long deſired, aſſuringe you that our ſuffrance hath much more demonſtration of naturall loue,then contentation of our conſcyence and foreſight of our ſafety. Wherfore although you geue vs occaſiõ as much almoſt as in you is to diminiſh our natural loue:yet be we loth to feele it decay,and mean not to be ſo careleſſe of you as we be prouoked.

And therfore meaning your weale, and therwith ioyning a care not to bee found gilty in our conſcience to God, hauing cauſe to require forgeuenes that we haue ſo long for reſpect of loue towardes you omitted our bounden duety, we ſend at this preſent our right truſty & right welbeloued coũſaylor the Lord R.or Chancelor of Englãd, & our truſty and right welbeloued Counſaylers,Sir A.W.Knight,Cõptroler of our houſhold and Sir W.P.knight,one of our principall Secretaries in meſſage to you,touchinge the order of your houſe,willing you to geue them firme credite in thoſe thinges they ſhall ſay to you from vs, and doe there in oure name. Yeauen vnder our ſignet at our Caſtle of Winſor,the 24.of Auguſt,in the firſt yeare of our Raigne.

A copy of the kinges Maieſties inſtructions, geuen to the ſayd L.C.ſir A.W. and ſir W.P. knightes,&c. 24.Auguſt. 1551.

First,you the ſayd lord Chauncellor and your Colleagues ſhall make your immediate repaire to the ſaid Lady Mary geuing to her his maieſties harty commendations,and ſhew the cauſe of your commyng to be as followeth.

Although hys maieſty hath long tyme, as well by hys maieſties owne mouth and writing, as by his counſaile trauailed that the ſayd Ladye beyng his ſiſter, and a principall ſubiect and member of hys realme,ſhould both be in deede, and alſo ſhew her ſelfe cõformable to the lawes & ordinãces of the realme,in the profeſſion and rites of religion,vſing all the gentle meanes of exhortation and aduiſe that coulde be deuiſed,to the intent the reformation of the fault might willingly come of her ſelfe,as the expectation and deſire of his maieſty,and all good wyſe men was: yet notwithſtandyng hys maieſty ſeeth that hetherto no maner of amendement hath followed, but by the continuaunce of the errour and manifeſt breach of hys lawes,no ſmall peril conſequẽtly may happe to the ſtate of hys realme,eſpecially the ſufferaunce of ſuch a fault beyng directly to the diſhonor of god and the great offence of hys maieſties conſcience,and all other good men:and therefore of late,euen with the conſent and aduiſe of the whole ſtate of his priuy Counſail, and diuers others of the nobilitie of hys realme, whoſe names ye may repeate,if you thinke conuenient, hys maieſty did reſolutely determine it iuſt,neceſſary,and expedient, that her grace ſhould not in any wyſe vſe or maintayne the priuate maſſe,or any other maner of ſeruice,then ſuch as by the law of the realme is authoriſed and allowed: and to participate this hys maieſties determinatiõ to her grace,it was thought in reſpect of a fauourable procedyng with her ſelfe, to haue the ſame,not onely to be manifeſted by her owne officers and ſeruauntes,beyng moſt eſtemed with her,but alſo to be executed by them in her houſe as well for the more quiete proceeding in the very matter, as for the leſſe moleſting of her grace with any meſſage by ſtraungers, in that tyme of her ſolitarines,wherin her grace then was by the reaſon of the late ſickeneſſe.For which purpoſe her three ſeruauntes, Rocheſter,Englefield and Walgraue were ſent in meſſage in this manner. Firſt,to deliuer hys maieſties letter to her, next to diſcharge the Chaplains of ſaying maſſe,and prohibityng all the houſeholde from hearing any. Wherein the kinges maieſty perceyueth vpon their owne reporte, beyng returned to the Court,how negligently, and in deede how falſely they haue executed their commaundement & charge contrary to the ducty of good ſubiectes,and to the manifeſt contempt of his maieſty,inſomuch as manifeſtly they haue before hys maieſties Counſaile refuſed to doe that whiche pertayneth to euery true faythfull ſubiect, to the offence ſo farre of his maieſty,and derogation of his authority, that in no wyſe the puniſhment of them could be forborne & yet in the maner of the puniſhmẽt of thẽ his maieſty and his councell hath ſuch conſideration,and reſpect of her perſon being hys ſiſter,that without doubt hys maieſty coulde not with honour haue had the like conſideration or fauour in the puniſhment of the dereſt counſailour he hath, if any of them had ſo offended,and therfore his maieſty hath ſent you thre not only to declare to her grace the cauſes of their ſendyng thether of late hys officers in meſſage,but alſo the cauſes of theyr abſence now preſently.And further,in the defaulte of the ſayd officers to take order,as well with her Chaplains, as with the whole houſhold,that hys maieſties lawes maye be there obſerued.And in the communication with her,you ſhall take occaſion to anſwer in hys maieſties name certayne poyntes of her letter,ſent now lately to his maieſty.The copy of which letter is now alſo ſent to you to peruſe,for your better inſtruction how to proceede in. Firſt, her allegation of the promiſe made to the Emperour, muſt be ſo aunſwered,as the truth of the matter ſerueth, wherof euery of you haue heard ſufficient teſtimony diuers tymes in the Counſail for her offring of her body at the kinges wyll,rather then to chaunge her conſcience. It greeueth his maieſty much, that her conſcience is ſo ſetled in errour,and yet no ſuch thyng is ment of his maieſty,nor of any one of his counſayle once to hurt,or wyll euill to her body, but euen from the bottome of their hart wiſheth to her mentem ſanam in corpore ſano. And therfore ye ſhall doe very well to perſwade her grace that this proceeding commeth onely of the conſcience the king hath,to auoyde the offence of God, and of neceſſarye counſaile and wiſdome to ſee his lawes in ſo weighty cauſes executed. Item,becauſe it is thought that Rocheſter had the care and conſideration of her graces prouiſion of houſhold, and by his abſence the ſame might be either diſordered or diſfurniſhed: his maieſty hath ſent a truſty ſkilfull man of his owne houſeholde,to ſerue her grace for the tyme. Who alſo is ſufficiently inſtructed of Rocheſter,of the ſtate of her thinges of houſhold.And if there ſhall be any thing lacking in the ſame,his maieſties pleaſure is, that his ſeruaunt ſhall aduertiſe his owne chiefe officers of houſhold, to the entent if the ſame may be ſupplied of any ſtore here,or otherwhere helped conueniently,her grace ſhall not lacke.

Item,hauing thus proceded with her grace,as for the declarations of the cauſes of your commoning, ye ſhall then cauſe to be called afore you the chaplaines, and all the reſt of the houſehold there preſent, and in the kinges maieſties name moſt ſtraightly forbid the chaplaines eyther to ſay or vſe any maſſe or kynd of ſeruice other then by the law is authoriſed,and likewyſe ye ſhall forbid all the reſt of the company to be preſent at any ſuch prohibited ſeruice,vpõ paine to be moſt ſtraightly puniſhed,as worthely fallyng into the daunger of the kings indignation,and a lyke charge to them all,that if any ſuch offence ſhall be openly or ſecretly committed,they ſhall aduertiſe ſome of his maieſties Counſail. In the which clauſe ye ſhall vſe the reaſons of their natural duty and allegeance that they owe as ſubiectes to their ſoueraigne Lord,which derogateth all other earthly dueties.

Item,if you ſhall finde either any of the prieſtes or any other perſon diſobedient to this order,ye ſhall commit thẽ forthwith to priſon as ye ſhall thinke conuenient.

Item,for as much as ye were priuy to the determination at Richmond,and there vnderſtoode how neceſſary it was to haue reformation herein: hys maieſty,vpon the great cõfidence he hath in your wiſdomes and vprightnes remitteth to your diſcretions the maner of the proceding herein, if any thyng ſhall chaunce to ariſe there that in your opinions might otherwiſe then according to theſe inſtructions conduce you to the execution of your charge; whiche in one ſumme is to auoyde the vſe of the priuate Maſſe, and other vnlawfull ſeruice, in the houſe of the ſaid Lady Mary.

Item, ye ſhall deuiſe by ſome meanes as you may, to haue vnderſtanding after your departure how the order you geue is obſerued, and as you ſhall iudge fit, to certifie hither.

E.S. W.W. I.W. I.B. W.N.
W.H. F.H. I.G. T.D. W.C.

The ſtory of Steuen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter briefly collected, the reſidue whereof concernyng his Actes and doyngs may further appeare in the booke of Actes and Monumentes in the firſt edition. pag. 728.

The ſtory of Steuen Gardiner.

1550.

ALthough the firſt impriſonment of Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in order of tyme was before the depriuation of biſhop Boner: yet for ſo much as he was not depoſed from hys biſhopriſke till the next or ſecond yere after, which was 1551. I haue therfore driuen of the hiſtory of the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter to this preſent place: intendyng neuertheles here not to extende and proſecute the explication of that buſie matter with all circumſtaunces and perticularities therof, ſo amply at full as I might, partly for that beyng done in my firſt volume of Actes and Monumentes, may here ſuffice and content the reader beyng diſpoſed there to ſearch and further to read touchyng the ſame, partly alſo conſideryng how this preſent volume is growen already very large and great, I thought not to peſter the ſame with any more ſuperfluitie, then nedes muſt, and therfore leauyng out hys idle letters, hys long proceſſe of Articles and examinations, hys tedious talke with the multitude of depoſitions brought in againſt hym, and other hys Actes and interlocutories ſuperfluous, I mynde here (the Lord willyng) briefly and ſummarily to excerpe only the principall effects, as to the ſtory may ſeme moſt appertenent, referring the reſidue to be ſearched (if any reader ſo liſt to do) to the booke of Monuments aforeſayd, beginning in the pag. 728

For the full tractation of Ste. Gardiners ſtory, read in the booke of Actes and Monumẽtes of the firſt edition, pag. 728.

Briefly therfore, as touchyng the Actes, doynges, deſertings and miſdemeanours of this ſtoute Prelate, and Biſhop of Wincheſter: firſt we will ſet before the reader the copy of a certayne writte or euidence agaynſt the ſaid Biſhop, wherin as in a briefe ſumme generally is deſcribed ẏ whole order and maner of hys miſordered demeanour, copied out of the publike recordes in maner as followeth.

¶ The copy of a writte or euidence touching the order and maner of the miſdemeanour of Wincheſter, with declaration of the faultes wherwith he was iuſtly charged.

The writte or euidence geuen out agaynſt Ste. Gardiner B. of Wincheſter.

WHere as the kynges Maieſtie by the aduiſe of the Lord Protectour and the reſt of his highnes priuye Counſell thinking requiſite for ſundry vrgent conſiderations to haue a generall viſitation throughout the whole Realme, did about x. monethes paſt addreſſe forth Commiſſions, and by ẏ aduiſe of ſondry Biſhops and other the beſt learned men of the Realme, appointed certayne orders or Iniunctiōs to be generally obſerued, whiche beyng ſuch as in ſome part touched the reformation of many abuſes, and in other partes concerned the good gouernaunce and quiet of the Realme, were (as reaſon woulde) of all men of all ſortes obediently receiued and reuerently obſerued and executed, ſauyng onely of the Byſhop of Wincheſter, who aſwell by conference with other, as by open Proteſtation and letters alſo, ſhewed ſuch a wilfull diſobedience therin, as if it had not bene quickely eſpyed, might haue breed much vnquietnes and trouble, vpon the knowledge wherof he beyng ſent for, and his lewde procedynges layd to his charge, hee in the preſence of the whole Councell ſo vſed himſelfe (as well in denying to receiue the ſaid orders & Iniunctiōs as otherwiſe) as he was thought worthye moſt ſharpe puniſhment, and yet conſideryng the place he had bene in, hee was onely ſequeſtred to the Fleete, where, after he had remayned a certayn time, as much at his caſe as if hee had bene at his owne houſe, vpon his promiſe of conformitie he was both ſet at libertie agayne & alſo licenced to repayre & remaine in his dioces at his pleaſure where when he was, forgettyng his dutye and what promiſe hee had made, hee began forthwith to ſet forth ſuch matters as bred agayne more ſtrife, variance, and contention in that one ſmall Citie and Shyre, then was almoſt in the whole Realme after: beſides that the Lord Protectors grace and the Counſayle were enformed, that to withſtand ſuch as he thought to haue bene ſent from their grace and Lordſhips into thoſe parties, he had cauſed all his ſeruauntes to be ſecretly armed and harneſed: and moreouer when ſuch preachers as beyng men of godly life and learnyng were ſent into that Dioces by his grace and Lordſhip to preache the word of God, had appointed to preach, the Byſhop to diſapointe and diſgrace them and to hinder his maieſties procedynges, did occupye the Pulpite him ſelfe, not fearyng in his Sermon to warne the people to beware of ſuche newe preachers, & to embrace none other doctrine then that which he had taught them (then the whiche wordes none could haue bene ſpoken more perillous and ſeditious:) whereupon beyng eftſoones ſent for and their grace and Lordſhips obiectyng to him many particular matters wherwith they had iuſt cauſe to charge him, they dyd in the end vpon his ſecōd promiſe leaue him at libertie, onely willing him to remayne at his houſe at London, becauſe they thought it moſt meete to ſequeſter him from his Dioces for a tyme, and beyng cōmen to hys houſe, hee began a freſhe to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither Commiſſion nor authoritie part wherof touched the kyngs maieſtie: wherof beyng yet once agayne admoniſhed by his grace and their Lordſhips, he did not onely promiſe to conforme him ſelfe in all thinges like a good ſubiect, but alſo becauſe hee vnderſtode that hee was diuerſly reported of, and many were alſo offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformitie, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his minde in ſondry articles agreed vpon, ẏ ſuch as had bene offended ſhould haue no more cauſe to bee offended, but well ſatiſfied in all thinges: declaryng further that as his owne conſcience was well ſatiſfied and liked well the kynges procedinges within this Realme, ſo would he vtter his conſcience abroade to the ſatiſfactiō and good quyet of others, and yet al this notwithſtandyng, at the daye appointed hee did not onely moſt arrogantly and diſobediently, and that in the preſence of his Maieſtie, their grace and Lordſhyps, and of ſuche an audience as the lyke wherof hath not lightly ben ſeene, ſpeake of certayne matters contrary to an expreſſe commaundement geuen to him on his Maieſties behalfe both by mouth and by letters, but alſo in the reſt of the articles, wherunto hee had agreed before, vſed ſuch a maner of vtteraunce as was very lyke euen there preſently to haue ſturred a great tumulte, and in certayne great matters touching the policie of the Realme, handled him ſelfe ſo colourably as therein hee ſhewed himſelfe an open great offender and a very ſeditious mā: for as much theſe his procedynges were of ſuch ſort, as beyng ſuffred to eſcape vnpuniſhed might breed innumerable inconueniences, and that the clemency ſhewed to him afore by their grace and Lordſhips, did worke in him no good effect but rather a pride & boldnes to demeane him ſelfe more and more diſobediently agaynſt his Maieſtie and his graces procedinges: it was determined by their grace and Lordſhips that he ſhould be committed to the Tower and be conueyed thether by Syr Anthony Wingfield, and that at the tyme of his Commiſſion Syr Rafe Sadler and William Hunninges Clerke of the Counſayle ſhoulde ſeale vp the doores of ſuche places in his houſe as they ſhoulde thinke meete: all which was done accordingly.

Wincheſt. miſuſing himſelfe before the Counſell.

Wincheſter committed to the Fleete.

Wincheſter deliuered out of the Fleete and ſet at libertie.

Wincheſter forgetteth himſelfe agayne in his Dioces.

Wincheſter ſent for agayne by the Counſaile.

Wincheſter commaūded to keepe hys houſe.

Wincheſter agayne breaketh promiſe wyth the Counſayle.

Wincheſter promiſeth to ſhewe hys conformitie openly in preaching.

Wincheſt. in his ſermon ſwarueth from hys owne promiſe & the kinges commaundement.

Wincheſt. for his ſeditious diſobedience had to the Tower.

By this euidence aboue mentioned, firſt here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and diſobediently the ſayd Ste. Gardiner miſuſed him ſelfe in the kyngs generall viſitation in denying to receaue ſuch orders and Iniunctions, as for the whiche hee iuſtlye deſerued much more ſeuere puniſhment. Albeit the kyng with his Uncle the Lorde Protectour, more gently procedyng with him, were contented onely to make him taſte the Fleete. In the whiche houſe, as his durance was not long, ſo his entreating and orderyng was very eaſie. Out of the whiche Fleete diuers and ſondry letters hee wrote to the Lorde Protectour and other of the Counſayle, certayne alſo to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and ſome to M. Ridley Byſhop of London: the particulars were to long here to rehearſe, conſideryng how this booke is ſo ouer charged, as ye ſee, already: and eſpecially ſeyng the ſame bee notified in our firſte edition ſufficiently, as is aforſayde. Wherfore omitting the rehearſall of the ſaid letters, and referryng the reader to the booke aforeſayd, I will onely repete one letter of the ſayde Byſhop with the anſweres of the Lord Protectour vnto the ſame: the contentes wherof be theſe as foloweth.

For the letters of Wincheſter, read in the booke of Actes & Monumentes of the firſt edition, pag. 732.

¶ A Letter of Wincheſter to Maiſter Vaughan.

A letter of Ste. Gardiner to Captaine Vaughan.

MAiſter Vaughan, after my right harty commendations: In my laſt letters to my Lord Protectour, ſignifying according to the generall commaundement by letters geuen to all Iuſtices of peace the ſtate of this Shire, I declared (as I ſuppoſed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformitie, for I had not then heard of any alteration in this Shire which the ſayd letters of commaundement did forbid. Now

Images plucked downe at Portesmouth.

of late within theſe two dayes I haue heard of a great and deteſtable (if it be true that is tolde me) innouation in the towne of Porteſmouth, where the images of Chriſt and his ſaintes haue bene moſt contemptuouſly pulled downe, and ſpitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the kinges maieſties chiefe miniſters, as well to know the truth, as to conſult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be ſene to diſcharge my duty, and diſcharge it in dede both to God and the kinges maieſty, vnder whom I am here appoynted to haue cure and care, to relieue ſuch as be by any wayes fallen, and preſerue the reſt that ſtand, from like daunger.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I haue had acquayntaunce, and whom I know to be wyſe, and eſteeme to haue more knowledge, wiſdome, and diſcretion, then to allow any ſuch enormities, and therfore do the more willingly cōſult with you herein, with requeſt friendly to knowe of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumſtaunce of it, and whether ye thinke the matter ſo farre gone with the multitude, and whether the reproofe and diſprouing of the deede, might without a further daunger bee enterpriſed in the Pulpit or not, myndyng if it may ſo be, to ſend one thether for that purpoſe vpon Sonday next commyng. I would vſe preaching as it ſhould not be occaſion of any further folly, where a folly is begon, and to a multitude perſwaded in that opinion of deſtruction of Images, I would neuer preach. For (as ſcripture willeth vs) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worſe then Hogs, if there be any groſſer beaſtes then hogs be, and haue bene euer ſo taken, and in England they are called Lollardes, who denying images, thought therwithall the craftes of paynting & grauyng to be generally ſuperfluous and nought, and agaynſt Gods lawes.

Then were the old fathers and byſhops in the primitiue church with Epiphanius and Carolus Magnus, and all the Councell of Franckford, hogs and dogs.

In Germany ſuch as mayntained that opinion of deſtroying of images, were accompted the dregs caſt out by Luther after he had tunned all hys brewynges in Chriſtes religion, and ſo taken as Hogges meate. For the reproſe of whom, Luther wrote a booke ſpecially: and I haue with myne eyes ſeene the Images ſtandynge in all Churches where Luther was had in eſtimation. For the deſtruction of Images contayneth an enterpriſe to ſubuert Religion and the ſtate of the worlde with it, and eſpecially the nobilitie, who by images ſet forth and ſpred abrode to be red of all people, their linage, parentage, with remembraunce of their ſtate and actes: and the Purſiuaunt carieth not on hys breſt the kinges names written in ſuch letters as a few can ſpel, but ſuch as all can read, be they neuer ſo rude beyng great knowen letters in Images of three Lions, and thre floures deluce, and other beaſtes holdyng thoſe armes. And he that cannot read the Scripture written about the kinges great Seale, yet he can read Saint George on horſebacke on the one ſide, and the kyng ſittyng in his maieſty on the other ſide, and readeth ſo much written in thoſe images as if he be an honeſt man, he will put of hys cap, & although if the Seale were broken by chaunce he would and myght make a candell of it, yet he would not be noted to haue broken the Seale for that purpoſe, or to call it a piece of waxe onely, whileſt it continueth whole. And if by reuilyng of ſtockes and ſtones, in which matter Images be grauen, the ſettyng of the truth to be read in them of all men, ſhall be contemned: how ſhall ſuch writyng continue in honor, as is cōpriſed in cloutes & pitch, wherof & wherupon our books be made, ſuch as few can ſkil of, & not the hundreth part of the realme? And if we a few that can read, becauſe we can read in one ſort of letters, ſo priuiledged as they haue many reliefes, ſhall pull away the bookes of the reſt, and would haue our letters only in eſtimation, and blynd all them, ſhall not they haue iuſt cauſe to miſtruſt what is ment? And if the croſſe be a truth, and it be true that Chriſt ſuffred, why may we not haue a writyng therof, ſuch as all can read, that is to ſay an Image? If this opinion ſhould procede, when the kings maieſty hereafter ſhould ſhew hys perſon, his lyuely image, the honor due by Gods law among ſuch might continue, but as for the kings Standardes, his banners, his armes, ſhould hardly continue in their due reuerence for feare of Lollards idolatrye, whiche they gather vpon ſcripture beaſtly, not only vntruly. The ſcripture reprooueth falſe images made of ſtockes and ſtones, and ſo it doth falſe men made of fleſhe and bones.

Winchesters reaſon: The Purſiuant caryeth about Saynt George on horſebacke and the kinges picture: Ergo Images muſt ſtand in Churches.

Bookes ſerue onely to be read and not to be kneeled vnto & worſhipped: for ſo are they no bookes but are made Idols, and are to be broken.

When the Emperors mony was ſhewed to Chriſt, wherin was the Image of the Emperour, Chriſt contemned not that image callyng it an Idoll, nor noted not that money to be agaynſt gods law, becauſe it had an image in it, as though it were agaynſt the precept of God: Thou ſhalt haue no grauen image, but taught them good ciuilitie, in callyng it the Emperors image, and bad them vſe the mony as it was ordered to be vſed in his right vſe.

The Emperors Image Chriſt ſaw in the coyne, but not in the temple: for ſo no doubt he woulde haue caſt it out.

There is no ſcripture that reproueth truth, & all ſcripture reproueth falſehode. Falſe writynges, falſe bokes, falſe Images and falſe men, all be nought, to bee contemned and deſpiſed: as for paper, inke, parchment, ſtones, wood, bones, A. B. of the Chauncery hande, and a .b. of the Secretarye hand, a letter of Germany faſhion, or of any other forme, be all of one eſtimation, and may be, of man enclyning to the Deuill, vſed for falſeſhode, or applying to Gods gratious callyng, vſed to ſet forth truth. It is a terrible matter to thinke, that this falſe opinion conceaued agaynſt Images ſhoulde trouble any mans heade: and ſuch as I haue knowē vexed with that deuill (as I haue knowen ſome) be neuertheleſſe wondrouſly obſtinate in it: and if they can fynde one that can ſpell Latin to helpe forth their madnes, they be more obdurat thē euer were the Iewes, & ſlaunder what ſoeuer is ſaid to thē for their reliefe. Of this ſorte I knowe thē to be, & therfore if I wiſt there were many of that ſorte with you, I would not irritate them by preaching wythout fruite, but labour for reformation to my Lorde Protectour. But if you thought there might be other wayes vſed firſt to a good effect, I would follow your aduiſe and proceedyng with you and the Mayor, with both your helpes to do that may lye in me, to the redreſſe of the matter: which I take to be ſuch an enterpriſe againſt Chriſtes religion, as there can not be a greater by man excogitate with the deuils inſtigation, and at this tyme much hurtfull to the common eſtate, as ye can of your wiſdome conſider. Whom I hartily deſire and pray, to ſend me aunſwer by this bearer to theſe my letters, to the intent I may vſe my ſelfe in ſendyng of a preacher thither, or writyng to my Lord Protectour as the caſe ſhall require accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well, from my houſe at Wolueſay, the third of May. 1547.

Steph. Wint.

If euery Image repreſenting a thing of truth may ſtand in place of worſhip, then let Winchesters face ſtand in the Church alſo.

A letter of the Lord Protector aunſwering to the letter aboue.

After harty commendations, receauyng of late two letters from your lordſhip, the one incloſed in a letter of maſter Vaughans to vs and directed to him, the other directed ſtraight vnto vs, very wittely and learnedly written, wherby we do perceaue how earneſt you are that no innouations ſhould be had. The which minde of yours as we do highly eſteeme and allow, proceedyng from one that woulde quietnes, ſo we woulde likewiſe wyſh, that you ſhould take good hede, that to much feare of innouation or diſturbance, do not cauſe both to be. Many times in an hoſt, he that cryeth enemies, enemies when ther be none, cauſeth not onely diſturbance, but ſometimes a mutinie or rebellion to be made and he that for feare of ſicknes to come taketh vnaduiſedly a purgation, ſometyme maketh himſelfe ſicke in deede. We perceaue by the ſayd your letters, that heynouſer factes & wordes haue bene brought to your eares, then there was cauſe why: and thoſe factes which were puniſhable, bee already by him redreſt.

For the matter of Images an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our ſoueraigne Lords dayes. Whē the abuſed Images (yet lurking in ſome places by negligence of them who ſhould ere this time haue looked vnto ŷ ſame) be now aboliſhed let not that be a matter of the aboliſhing of all Images. Though felons and adulterers be puniſhed, all men be not ſlayne. Though the Images which did adulterate gods glory be taken away, we may not think by & by all maner of Images to be deſtroyed. Yet after our abuſe, better it were for a time to aboliſh them all, then for the dead Images, the kinges louing ſubiectes being faythfull and true to the kinges maieſty, ſhould be put to variāce and diſturbance. With quyetnes the Magiſtrates and Rulers ſhall keep them well in order, whom contentious Preachers might iritate and prouoke to diſorder and ſtrife. So it muſt be prouyded that the kings Maieſt. Images, Armes, and Enſignes, ſhould be honoured and worſhiped after the decent order and inuention of humayne lawes and ceremonies, and neuertheles that other Images contrary to gods ordinaunce and lawes, ſhould not be made pertakers of that reuerence, adoration and inuocation: which (forbidden by God) ſhould derogate his honor, and be occaſion to accumulate Gods wrath vpon vs. Where they be taken for a remembraunce, it maketh no great matter though they ſtand ſtil in the Church or Marketſtead, and folowing the late kinge of famous memory his counſell and order, yet more gentleneſſe was ſhewed to thoſe bookes of Images, then to the true and vnfayned bookes of Gods word, both being abuſed, the one with Idolatry, the other with contentiō. The ſcripture was remoued for a time from certayn perſons, and almoſte from all: the Images were left ſtill to them, who moſte dyd abuſe them, ŷ thing yet being cloſed from thē which ſhould teach the vſe. Wherfore it may appeare vnto vs meete, more diligenter heede to be taken that the abuſed before, be not abuſed

For Images

Diſtinction of Images.

More gentlenes ſhewed to the bookes of Images, then to the bookes of Gods worde in K. Henries tyme.

buſed agayne, the aduauntage of ſome Prieſtes, ſimplicitye of lay men, and great inclynation of mans nature to Idolatry geuing cauſe therunto.

They that contemne Images, becauſe the matter they are made of is but vile, as ſtockes and ſtones, may likewiſe deſpiſe printing in paper, becauſe the incke hath pitch in it, & the paper is made of olde ragges. And if they bee both lyke, it might be reaſoned why a man ſhould be more agreeued, ẏ an Image of wood, though it were of S. Anne, or ſaynte Margaret ſhould be burned, then hee will that the Byble wherin the vndouted word of God is comprysed, ſhould be torne in peeces, burned or made paſte of. Nor we doe not now ſpeake of falſe Bibles nor falſe goſpels, but of the very true goſpell, eyther in Latin, Greeke or Engliſh, which we ſee euery day done, and ſometime commaunded, becauſe the Tranſlator diſpleaſeth vs: & yet herein no man exclaymeth as of a terrible and deteſtable fact done. But let one image either for age, & becauſe it is wormeaten, or becauſe it hath been fooliſhly abuſed, be burnt or abolyſhed, by and by ſome men are in exceeding rage, as though not a ſtocke or ſtone, but a true ſaynt of fleſh and bone ſhould be caſt in the fire, which were a deteſtable and a terryble ſight. We cannot ſee but that Images may be counted marueylous bookes, to whom we haue kneeled, whom we haue kiſſed, vpon whō we haue rubbed our beades and handkerchers, to whome we haue lighted candels, of whom wee haue aſked pardon and helpe: which thing hath ſeldome been ſeen done to the Goſpell of God, or to the very true Bible. For who kiſſeth that but the Prieſt at the Maſſe, at a painted picture or in ſuch a ceremony? Or who kneeleth vnto it, or ſetteth a candle before it? And yet it ſeeth or heareth as well as the Images or Pictures eyther of Saynt Iohn, our Ladye, or Chriſt.

Papiſtes cā better abyde the booke of Gods worde then Images to be burned.

Images falſely called & counted for lay mens bookes.

In deed Images be great letters, yet as byg as they be we haue ſeene many which haue read them amiſſe. And belike they are ſo likely to be read amiſſe, that God hymſelf fearing the Iewes to become euill readers of them, generallye did forbid them. Nor it is no great marueil though in reading of them the lay people are many times deceaued, when your Lordſhip (as appeareth) hath not truely read a moſt true and a moſt common Image. your Lordſhip hath foūd out in the kinges highnes great ſeale, S. George on horſebacke, which the grauer neuer made in it, nor ẏ ſealer neuer ſealed with it, and in this the inſcription is not very lyttle, and if it were, it could not eſcape your Lordſhips eyes. As the inſcription teſtefieth, the kinges Image is on both the ſides: on the one ſide as in warre the chiefe Capitayn, on the other ſide as in peace the liege ſoueraigne: In harnes with hys ſword drawne to defend his ſubiectes: in hys robes in the ſeate of Iuſtice with hys Scepter rightfully to rule & gouerne them, as he whom both in peace and warre we acknowledge our moſt naturall and chiefeſt head, ruler and gouernour. If it were S. George (my Lorde) where is hys ſpeare and dragon? And why ſhould the inſcription round about tell an vntruth and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called ſometime ſo of the rude and ignoraunt people: but not by and by, that that is cōmōly called ſo, is alwayes trueſt. And ſome haue thought that by like deceauinge, as youre Lordſhip herein appeareth to haue been deceaued, the image of Bellerephon or Perſeus was turned firſt and appoynted to be ſ. George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of other ſome Coloſſus to be ſ. Chriſtopher, becauſe autentycall hyſtories haue not fully proued their two liues. But thoſe be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus inuented vpon ſome deuiſe, or riſing of a true fact or hiſtory, and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

Wincheſter ouerſeene in miſtaking the kinges Image for S. George on horſeback.

It were hardly done in deed my Lord, if that you & a few which can read, ſhould take away from the vnlearned multitude, their books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can read in one or two lāguages (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, & haue had therby many releeues and priuilegies ſhould pull away the engliſh bookes from the reſt which onely vnderſtandeth engliſh: and would haue onely your letters of greek and latin in eſtimatiō, and blind all them which vnderſtandeth not theſe languages, from the knowledge of Gods word. And in deed my Lord, by your ſaying they haue iuſt occaſion to ſuſpecte what is meant?

If it be agaynſt reaſō that learned men ſhould take frō the vnlearned the bookes of their Images, much more is it agaynſt reaſō, to take from them the bookes of Gods word.

What meane you by true Images and falſe Images, it is not ſo eaſie to perceaue. If they be onely falſe Images, which haue nothing that they repreſent, as ſ. Paul wryteth An idol is nothing (becauſe there is no ſuch God) & therfore the Croſſe can be no falſe image becauſe it is true ẏ Chriſt ſuffered vpon it: then the Image of the Sun and ẏ Moon were no Idoles, for ſuch thinges there be as the Sunne and the Moone, and they were in the Image then ſo repreſented, as paynting and caruing doth repreſent them. And the Image of Ninus and Ceſar, and (as ſome wryteth) the Images of all the 12. choſen Gods (as they called thē) were the Images of once liuing men. And it might be ſayd that the Image of God the father hath no ſuch eyes, noſe lippes and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor neuer had, as they kerue and paint hym to haue. But if that be a falſe Image and an Idoll which is otherwiſe worſhipped and accepted then it ought to be, as the braſē Serpent being a true Image and repreſentation of Chriſt by abuſe was made an Idoll: it may be thought in tymes paſt, and peraduenture now at this time, in ſome places the Images not onely of ſ. Iohn or ſ. Anne, but of our Lady and Chriſt be falſe Images and Idols, repreſenting to foolyſh blind and ignoraunt mens hartes and thoughtes, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for: The which were by you (my Lord) to haue been remoued ſooner and before that the captayn there ſhould haue need to haue done it. But if your Lordſhip be ſlack in ſuch matters, hee that remoueth falſe Images & Idoles abuſed, doth not a thing worthy blame.

1. Cor. 8.
Wincheſters diſtinctiō betwene true & falſe Images refuted.

The Image of the father is falſe, & therfore by Wincheſters reaſon to be abolyſhed.

Chriſt called not the money hauyng Ceſars Image in it an Idoll when it was vſed to lawfull vſes, and to paye the due tribute with all. But when a man doth not vſe thoſe Images grauen in money, to do his neighbour good and the common wealth ſeruice, S. Paul Chriſtes diſciple called that couetouſnes, and the ſeruing and bondage to Idols: So that euen in money may be Idolatry, if we make to much of thoſe images which Chriſt here doth not reprehende. There be ſome ſo tickliſh and ſo fearefull one wayes and ſo tender ſtomacked, that they can abyde no old abuſes to be reformed, but thynke euery reformation to be a capitall enterpriſe agaynſt all Religion and good order, as there bee on the contrary ſide ſome to raſhe, who hauyng no conſideration what is to bee done, headlyng will ſet vppon euery thyng. The Magiſtrates dutye is betwixt theſe, ſo in a meane to ſit, and prouide that olde dotyng ſhoulde not take further or deper ruſt in the common wealth, neither auncient errour ſtill ouercome the ſeene and tryed truth, nor long abuſe for the age and ſpace of time onely, ſtill be ſuffered: and yet all theſe with quietnes, gentlenes, and without al contention, if it were poſſible, to bee reformed. To the whiche your Lordſhip as a man to whom God hath geuen great qualities of witte, learnyng and perſwaſion: could bryng great helpe and furtheraunce, if it were your pleaſure, with great thankes of men, & reward of God. The which thing is our full deſire and purpoſe, and our hartie and dayly prayer to God, that in the kynges Maieſties tyme, whoſe Maieſties reigne God preſerue, al abuſes with wiſedome reformed, Chriſtes Religion with good and politicke order of ẏ Cōmon wealth, without any contention and ſtrife among the kynges ſubiectes, might floriſhe & dayly increaſe. And this to your Lordſhips letter ſent to maiſter Vaughan of Portſmouth.

This letter of Wincheſter aboue prefixed, with the aunſwere of the Lord Protectour to the ſame I thought here for a taſt to giue to the reader. Diuers other letters beſides the ſayd Byſhop wrote out of the Fleete, & from his owne houſe, ſome to the Lorde Protectour, ſome to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, and otherwiſe to other moe: which beyng, as is ſayd, before ſufficiently expreſſed in our firſt edition, it ſhalbe ſuperfluous here to repete the ſame, vnles the matter of them were more to the purpoſe. Wherefore to cut ſhort ſuch needeleſſe ſuperfluities, it ſhall for this preſent ſuffice onely to groſſe vp and abridge the principall ſummes therof, all which tendeth to this effect:

The effect & concluſion of Wincheſters long letters.

1. Firſt, as where hee rayleth and findeth fault with the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, whiche he calleth a booke of abomination.
2. Secondly, where he can in no caſe allow the Homely of Saluation, ſet out by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, eſpecially for the doctrine of fayth onely iuſtifying. Whiche Article marueilouſly vexeth the ſpirit of Wincheſter.
3. The thyrd purpoſe whereunto his letters chiefly tyndeth, is this, to inſinuate to the Lorde Protectour, vnder pretenſe of giuyng councell, to bring that to paſſe, whiche was for his purpoſe, that is, that no innouation or alteration ſhould be made of Religion durying the time of ẏ kinges minoritie, but to let all thinges ſtande as kyng Henry lefte them: and that is the chiefeſt butte in all his letters whereunto he ſhooteth. The ground of whoſe reaſons, whervpon he ſtandeth we haue here reduced into playne forme of argument, with aunſwere to the ſame, as conſequently followeth.

The Argument of Wincheſter, wherby he would proue, that no innouation is to be made of Religion.

Feſ- That in no caſe is to be attempted of the Lord Protectour, which may bryng both daunger to hym, and trouble vnto the Realme:

Wincheſters argument.

ti- Innouation of religion from that ſtate, wherein Kyng
Henry left it, may be, and is lyke to be dangerous to the
Lord Protectour, and to breede trouble to the realme:
no. Ergo, innouation of religion, from the ſtate that kyng
Henry left, is, in no wyſe to be attempted.

The Aunſwer.

The aunſwere.

To aunſwer firſt to the vocable innouation, which he ſtombleth ſo greatly vpon, this I ſay: that innouation is properly vſed where a thyng is brought in a new, whiche was not before. Foraſmuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but onely the olde Religion of the primitiue Church reuiued, therfore here is to bee thought not ſo much an innouation, as a renouation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oft tymes ſo neceſſary in common weales, that without the ſame, all runneth to confuſion.

Innouation.

Renouation.

Fallacia accidentis.

Secondly, I aunſwer to the argument, which I do deny as a fallax, for there is fallacia accidentis. Where it is ſaid that reformation of religion gendreth daunger to the Protectour, and trouble to the Realme. Firſt what wyll come, that is vncertayne: and God be thanked, yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religiō. And though there did, yet the cauſe therof is not to be imputed to religion reformed. For ſincere and true doctrine of hys owne nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillitie, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other cauſes, as by the malice of Sathan, and wicked aduerſaries, not by reaſon of the doctrine and true religion. So after the preachyng of Chriſt and hys Apoſtles, diſſenſion followed in common weales betwixt father and ſonne, brother, and brother, &c. but that is not to be aſcribed to the doctrine, but to the malice of men.

Quiet and tranquillitie of realmes, ought not to ſtoppe reformation of re religion.

Briefly therfore, where he ſpeaketh ſo much of quiet and tranquillitie, this I aunſwere, that quyet and tranquillitie in weales publicke, ſo long as they are ioyned with truth of doctrine and right Religion, be much to be embraced. But when it is otherwiſe, that is, where doctrine is corrupted, and true Religion, lacketh his right, there let the ſecond Table geue place to the firſt.

The Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

As concerning the faultes founde in the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus, this I aunſwere and ſay, that this Byſhop belike had ouerwatched hymſelfe in this matter. For if it be true which he himſelfe affirmeth in the booke of our firſt edition. fol. 744. that he neuer read that booke before, and now he neuer ſlepte till he read it: It happened peraduenture, that in the ouermuch watching of himſelfe, and ſwifte reading of the booke, his iudgement was a ſleepe whyles hys eyes were open in the reading of the ſame.

The booke of Homelies.

Likewiſe touching the booke of Homelies, eſpecially the Homely of ſaluation, wherwith he findeth hymſelf ſo much greued with the Archb. ſeeing he bryngeth forth no prouſes, I haue nothing to aunſwere. In the meane ſeaſon this I haue to thinke, that if he had bene ſo cunnyng in ẏ knowledge of hys owne ſaluation, as he was in the deſtruction & vexation of Chriſtes members, he would neuer ſo haue raged agaynſt that Homely.

The examinatiō of Anne Aſkew ſet forth by maiſter Bale.

Touching the examination of Anne Aſkew, if it be miſreported by M. Bale, why doth he not note ẏ places, which they be, and wherin? And if he had, or were able ſo to doe: yet ſeeyng the examinatiō was of her owne penning, which M. Bale did folow, let euery Chriſtian reader iudge whether is more to be credited of theſe two, ſhee that was perſecuted, or he that was the perſecuter.

Preachers. Printers, and Players.

He thwarteth alſo and wrangleth much againſt preachers, Printers, & players. And no maruell why: For he ſeeth theſe three things to be ſet vp of God, as a triple bulwarke againſt the triple crowne of the pope, to brynge hym down, as god be praiſed, they haue done meetely wel already.

The Article of Iuſtification.

Read afore, pag. 953.

A blinde ſimilitude of Wincheſter confuted.

Great diuerſitie betwene Chriſt and an earthly kyng.

Chriſtes office not to make lawes, but to redeeme from the lawe.

As touching the Article of free Iuſtification by fayth, which he can not abyde, foraſmuch as we haue ſufficiently diſcourſed the ſame in the places of Patrik Hambleton before pag. 953. it ſhall not neede here to make any great ſtay therupon. Briefly to ſay of his iudgement, what I thinke, he ſeemed ſo much drowned in hys worldly lawes, that he nothyng perceaued what was ẏ end of the lawe of God nor what difference is betwene the law & the Goſpel. which by his blinde ſimilitude, may well appeare: For as no law, ſaith he, can take full life and effect without the conſent chiefly of the kyng, and of the Lordes alſo, and of the Commons: In lyke ſort there is no iuſtification (ſayth he) by faith, without hope and charitie do ioyne withall, &c. Which Lawyers ſimilitude is vtterly vnlyke. For Chriſt ſitteth not ſo in hys church, as a kyng here ſitteth in his realme. A kyng in hys Realme ſitteth to make lawes by conſent, and to mainteine ẏ ſame by authoritie: Neither doth he conſtitute a kyngdome ſo much by the authoritie of hys owne perſon: but rather entreth into a kyngdome which he findeth, and taketh his authoritie by the lawes and ordinaunces of the ſame. So it is not wyth Chriſt: For he ſitteth in ẏ church not to make lawes, but to helpe and redeeme them which be oppreſſed by the law. Neither taketh he of hys Church eyther voyce or conſent to forgeue ſinne, neither receaueth hee hys authoritie of any creature: but onely by the vertue and authoritie of hys perſon he erecteth his church, and gouerneth it abſolutely by himſelf, and is not limited by it, neither of it receaueth any authoritie, but geueth all authoritie to it, bringing his authority with him, and promiſe of his father, freely by grace to iuſtifie them that beleue in his name. And therfore this Byſh. of Wincheſter ſhould rather haue made hys ſimilitude after the nature of geuing pardon, then of making lawes. For as a king by his abſolute power may pardon a theefe, whom the lawes haue caſte, by himſelfe without the conſent of Lordes or Commons, ſo fayth in Chriſte hath power by the promiſe of God in his word abſolutely & freely to iuſtifie the repenting ſinner, without either hope or charity concurrent to that act of iuſtification.

Wincheſt. acknowledgeth the kinges ſupremacie.

Wincheſter promiſeth to preach.

Wincheſter releaſed out of the Flete.

Articles geuen to Wint. to preach vpon.

This Wincheſter beyng in the Fleete, as is aboue ſpecified, as he was ful of craft and ſubtletie, after ſundry callings and examinations before the Lord Protector, and ſondry other of the kyngs maieſt ies Counſaile, at length ſemed ſomwhat to yelde, namely in acknowledgyng the kinges ſupremacy, and that there was no minority in a kyng, but that a kyng of a yere old, and of xl. yere old, was all of one authority and dignity, and in ſondry other things he ſemed alſo to be of good opiniō, and promiſed that he would openly by preaching publiſh hys conſcience and learnyng in thoſe pointes: wherupon for that tyme he was releaſed out of the Fleete, and licenced to go home to hys houſe, hauyng a day to hym aſſigned, when he ſhould preach. Unto whom the ſame time were deliuered certayne Articles which he ſhould entreat of, beyng alſo by expreſſe commaundement inhibited, both by the kings maieſties hand, the Lord Protector, and other of the kings priuy counſayle, that he ſhould not procede nor meddle in certayne articles as after ſhal appeare.

The ſtubburne miſdemeanour of Wincheſt. in his ſermon.

Wincheſt. areſted by the kynges Commaundement.

Wincheſt. cōmitted to the Tower.

Wincheſt. brought to examination before the kinges Cōmiſſioners.

But becauſe we purpoſe to be as ſhort in this troubleſome and comberous hiſtory as we may: therefore this briefly is to ſhew, that as an euill and ſtubborne ſubiect to his prince when the day and tyme came of his preaching (followyng the ſteppes of Boner) ſuch thinges as he was ſpecially cōmaunded to entreate of, thoſe handled eyther, coldly and ſlenderlye, or els left them out, as matters forgotten, and ſpake of them nothing at all. And on the other ſyde, thoſe that hee was ſpecially forbidden and prohibited to meddle withall, in thoſe did he moſt contemptuouſly, frowardly, and alſo vntruly ſpende the whole tyme of his Sermon, the ſame ſermon beyng made in the kynges preſence: and of all his honorable Counſell, wherfore the next daye after his ſayd Sermon, beyng by the kynges Maieſties commaundement areſted by Syr Anthony Wingfield, and Syr Rafe Sadler knightes, accompanied with a great nomber of the kynges Garde, hee was committed to the Tower of London, from whēce at length he was brought to Lambeth, before the reuerend Archbyſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, & diuers other of ẏ kyngs counſayl: where agaynſt him were obiected certayn articles, which hereafter follow, with hys aunſwers made vnto them.

¶Articles and poſitions miniſtred and obiected eche of them ioyntly and ſeuerally to the biſhop of Wincheſter, as followeth.

¶The 1. Article.

Articles layd agaynſt Wincheſter.

IN primis, that the Kinges Maieſtye iuſtly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be the ſupreme head in earth of the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, and ſo is by the Clergy of this realme in their conuocation, and by acte of Parliament iuſtly and accordyng to the lawes of God recogniſed.

Wincheſter.

Wincheſter graunteth to the kynges ſupremacie.

This firſt Article the Biſhop graunteth.

The 2. Article.

Item, that his Maieſty as ſupreme hed of the ſayd churches, hath ful power & authoritie to make & ſet forth lawes, Iniunctions and ordinaunces, for and concerning religion & orders in the ſayd Churches for the encreaſe of vertue, and repreſſing of all erroures, hereſies, and other enormities, and abuſes.

Wincheſter.

Wincheſt. graunteth to the full authoritie of the king in ſetting forth his lawes.

To this ſecond Article he aunſwereth affirmatiuely.

The 3. Article.

Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiectes are bounde by the law of God to obey all his Maieſties ſayd lawes, Iniunctions and proceedinges concernyng religion and orders in the ſayd church.

Wincheſter.

To the third article the ſayd biſhop aunſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

The 4, Article.

Wincheſter hath ſworne obedience to the kynges ſupremacie.

Item, that you Steuen B. of Wincheſter, haue ſworne obedience to his maieſty as ſupreme head of this Church of England and alſo of Ireland.

Wincheſter.

To the fourth Article, the ſayd biſhop anſwereth affirmatiuely and graunteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, that all and euery hys graces ſubiectes, that diſobey any his ſayd maieſties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinaunces, and proceedinges already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthely to be puniſhed accordyng to hys Eccleſiaſticall law vſed within this hys realme.

Wincheſter.

To this fift article, the ſayd biſhop anſwereth affirmatiuely, and graunteth it.

The 6. Article.

Wincheſter complayned of.

Item that you the ſayd biſhop, as well in the kinges maieſties late viſitation within your dioces, as at ſondry tymes haue bene complayned vpon and ſondry informations made againſt you for your doyngs, ſayings, and preachings againſt ſondry Iniunctions, orders, and other proceedings of his, maieſty, ſet forth for reformation of errours, ſuperſticions, and other abuſes in religion.

Wincheſter.

This article toucheth other mens factes: who or howe they haue complayned or enfourmed, I can not thorowly tel. For at the tyme of the kynges Maieſties viſitatiō I was in the Fleete, and the morrowe after twelfe day I was deliuered at Hampton Court, my Lord of Somerſet, and my Lord of Canterbury then beyng in Counſell with many other Counſaylours, and was deliuered by theſe wordes: The kynges Maieſtie hath graunted a generall pardon: & by the benefite therof: I was diſcharged. Wherunto I aunſwered, that I was learned neuer to refuſe the kinges Maieſties pardon, and in ſtrength as that was, And I would and dyd humbly thanke his maieſtie therfore: and then they began with me in an article of learnyng touching iuſtification, whereunto they willed me to ſaye my mynde, addyng therewith, that becauſe other learned men had agreed to a forme deliuered vnto me, that I ſhould not thinke I coulde alter it: whiche I receiued of them, and promiſed the thurſday after to repayre to my Lorde of Sommerſets houſe at Sheene, with my mynd written: which I did, and that day ſeuennight following, appearyng before him and other of the Counſell, was cōmitted to my houſe for priſoner, becauſe I refuſed to ſubſcribe to the forme of wordes & ſentences that other had agreed vnto (as they ſayd.) In whiche time of impriſonment in my houſe, the byſhop of Rocheſter then beyng, was ſent to mee, and after Maiſter Smith, and then Maiſter Cicill: to whiche Maiſter Cicill, when I had by learnyng reſolued my mynde in the matter, I deliuered it, and hee deliueryng it to my Lordes Grace wrote me in his name, thankes for it: and then it was within the tyme of Lent ere I was diſcharged of that trouble, and ſo went to Wincheſter as a man clearely out of all trauayle of buſines.

Wincheſter releaſed out of the Fleete by the kings generall pardon.

The Article of Iuſtification put to Wincheſter.

Wincheſter priſoner in his owne houſe.

Wincheſter denyeth to ſubſcribe to the article of Iuſtification.

M. Cicill ſent to Wincheſter.

Wincheſter agayne ſet free.

And within .xiiij. dayes after that, or there abouts, began other trauaile with me vpon a requeſt made by my Lord of Somerſet to ſurrender a Colledge in Cambridge, and diuers letters were writtē betwene his grace and mee in it. Wherein I might perceiue the Secretary in his pen tooke occaſion to pricke me more, then I truſted my Lordes grace him ſelfe would haue done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then ſhortly after I receiued letters to come to the Counſayle, & by reaſon I alledged my diſeaſe I was reſpited by other letters. & three dayes before Whitſontide, receiued yet other letters to come by which it might ſeeme vnto me, that it was not of all beleued that I was diſeaſed, and therfore with all expedition, when I coulde not ryde, I came in an horſlitter, and according to my dutye preſented my ſelfe to my Lordes of the Counſayle. Who all then entertayned mee ſecretly among them before the matters were obiected vnto me, as I had ben in the ſame place with them that I was in our late ſoueraigne Lordes daies. Afterwardes my Lorde of Somerſets Grace charged me with theſe matters following, and in this forme, hauing the articles wryttē in paper: Fyrſt wt diſobedience that I came not at his ſending for. Whereunto I aunſwered that I had his letters of lycence, to ſtay til I might come cōueniently, & vpon the laſt letters, came incontinently in a horſlytter.

Wincheſter ſent for to the counſaile.

Wincheſter ſicke.

Wincheſter commeth at laſt in a horſlitter.

Wincheſter charged with diſobedience.

Then it was obiected that I bare Palmes, & crept the croſſe. Wherunto I anſwered that they were miſinformed, and I truſted they would not thinke I durſt denye it if I had done it, becauſe ceremonies had ſuch circumſtaunces, as I myght eaſely be reproued, if it were otherwiſe.

Then it was obiected that at Eaſter I had a ſolemne ſepulchre in the Church, and ſuch other ceremonies. I aunſwered, that I had euē as many as the kings maieſties proclamatiōs cōmaūded me, declaryng plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offende the kings maieſties proclamation: adding how he that followeth as he is commaunded, is very obedient.

It was then obiected vnto me, that I went about to deface two of the kings maieſties chaplaynes ſent downe to be Canōs of the church of Wyncheſter. Wherunto I aunſwered; declaring the fact truely as it was, which I am yet able to iuſtifie. After thys matter thus efte obiected & aunſwered, I was cōmaūded to go apart, and being called in agayne, my Lord of Somerſets grace looking vpon a byll of articles, ſayd I had preached how the Apoſtles went from the preſence of the Counſaile, of the counſaile, of the counſayle. Which matter I denyed, adding that it was not my faſhion of preaching ſo to play in iteration of wordes.

Wincheſter charged to deface certaine of the kinges chapleines.

Reall preſence.

After that, it was obiected vnto me for preaching of the Sacrament, to ſay: The body of Chriſt was really preſent beynge a faulte to vſe the worde really, not compriſed in the Scripture. Whereunto I aunſwered that I did not vſe the word really, which needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of Cāterbury reaſon againſt one Lambart in the preſence of the kyngs Maieſty that dead is: the wordes of ſcripture, This is my body that ſhall be betrayed for you, do playnly and lyuely expreſſe the very preſence: and ſo did I ſet it forth to the people in my dioces. And this is the effect of all that was ſayd againſt me at my being at the counſayle, as I cā remember. To whom I declared how much I eſteemed obedience, and tolde them I had taught in my dioces, how the whole life of a Chriſtian man conſiſteth in ſufferyng properly. And therfore we may not do our owne wyll, but the will of God. And among men we muſt either ſuffer the rulers will, or theyr power: theyr wyll to order vs, and their power to puniſhe vs. After declaration whereof my Lord of Somerſet ſayde, ye muſt tarye in the towne. Wherunto I aunſwered, I would be contented at their cōmaundement or pleaſure to tary: but ſeying I was no offender, I deſired them I might not tary as an offender: and for declaration therof, that I myght haue ſome houſe in the countrey about London, to remoue vnto for a ſhift. In deuiſing wherof I lacke much to borrow Aſhar. My lord of Somerſet ſaid, if he had any, in fayth he woulde lend me one. And in the end my Lorde of Somerſet deſired me to wryte what my mynde was in Ceremonies and to ſende it vnto him, and with that departed.

Wincheſt. commaunded to tary at London.

Wincheſt. commaunded to wryte his minde of ceremonies.

M. Philpot cōplayned vpon of Wincheſter.

Thus I haue truly opened after what ſort I haue been complayned on, that hath certainely come to my knowledge. Truth it is that one Philpot in Wincheſter, whom I accompted altered in hys wittes (as I heard) deuiſed tales of me, the ſpecialties wherof I neuer was called to aunſwere vnto. Players and minſtrels alſo rayled on me, and other made ballades and rimes of me, but neuer man had iuſt cauſe to cōplaine of any my ſayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did otherwiſe, then afore. And if any man ſhall put me in remembraunce of any other complaynt that might in my abſence be made of me if I haue heard it, I will graunt ſo. But well aſſured I am, I was neuer complayned on, and called to make aunſwere to the cōplaint, but this one tyme in all my whole lyfe by no man of any degree. Once the Lord Cromwel, God pardon his ſoule and forgeue him, cauſed one day & a halfe to be ſpent in a matter betwene Syr Fraunces Brian & me, which was ended, & I declared an honeſt mā. Which ẏ kings maieſtye that dead is, God pardō his ſoule, ſet forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I haue had in my life, ſauing the ſending to the Fleete, beyng occaſioned by my owne letter to the Counſaile vpō a zeale that I had, which they allowed not, and finally, this ſending of me to ẏ Tower, which was wythout calling me before the Counſaile, to heare what I could ſay. I am loth to be forſworne: and therfore accompt all the complayntes in my whole lyfe made agaynſt me, wherunto I haue bene made priuie.

Wincheſt. when & how oft he hath bene called to coram.

The 7. Article.

Wincheſt. admoniſhed to conforme hymſelfe.

Item, that after and vpon occaſion of thoſe and many other complayntes and informations, you haue bene ſundry times admoniſhed, commaunded, and enioyned to conforme your ſelfe, as to your duty apperteyned.

Wincheſter.

To this ſeuenth article I aunſwere: I was neuer afore the Counſayle called by way of outward complaynt and information, but onely once in all my whole life, which was at my laſt comming to Lōdon. Wherunto I aunſwered (as afore) and haue told the forme and proceſſe of ſpeech to ſerue for furniture of aunſwer to this and that Article: for other then I haue before written, I remember not to haue done or ſuffred by the higher powers in all my whole lyfe, till my commyng into the Tower, without that I haue had any by admonitions as a man faulty or negligent at any tyme that I remember, for the obſeruation of any thing alredy made or ſet forth by the kings maieſty that now is: but haue kept, & cauſed to be kept to my power the kinges Maieſties actes, ſtatutes, iniunctions, and proclamations inuiolably, hauyng for that purpoſe ſuch a Chancellor, as in orders and ordināces hath ben alwayes himſelfe diligent and preciſe for yͤ time I might haue knowledge of his doyngs.

The 8. Article.

Wincheſter inioyned by the kinges Counſell to preach the 2. yeare of the kynges raigne.

Item, that after the premiſſes, and for that thoſe former admonitions and commaundementes notwithſtandyng you did yet ſtill ſhewe your ſelfe not conformable, and for that alſo others by your example were much animated, and therby occaſion of much vnquietnes miniſtred amongſt the people: you were called before the kinges Maieſties Counſayle in the moneth of Iune, in the ſecond yeare of hys Maieſties reigne, and by them on hys maieſties behalfe, commaunded to preach a Sermon before hys maieſty, and therin to declare the iuſtnes and godlynes of hys maieſties father in his procedings vpon certayne matters partly mentioned in certayne Articles to you deliuered in writyng, and partly otherwyſe declared vnto you.

The effect wherof was touchyng the vſurped power & authority of the biſhop of Rome, that the ſame was iuſtly & godly taken away in this realme, and other the kinges maieſties dominions: touchyng the iuſt ſuppreſſing and takyng away of monaſteries and religious houſes: of pilgrimages, reliques, Shrines, Images.

Certayne points inioyned to Wincheſter to preach vpon.

The ſuperſtitious goyng about of S. Nicolas biſhop, S. Edmond, S. Katherine, S. Clement and ſuch lyke: and iuſt taking away of chauntries, obites and Colledges: hallowyng of candles, water, aſhes, Palme, holy bread, beades: crepyng to the croſſe and ſuch lyke.

Alſo, touching the ſettyng forth of the kings maieſties authoritie in hys yong yeares to be as great as if hys hyghneſſe were of many more yeares.

That Auriculer confeſſion is indifferent, and of no neceſſitie by the law of God: and touching the proceſſion & common prayer in Engliſh.

Wincheſter.

M. Cicill.

This Article beyng of ſo many partes as it is, ſome true ſome otherwiſe, muſt be aunſwered by diuiſion of it into diuers members, to deuide the one from the other, graunting that is true, denying that is otherwiſe, and opening that is ambiguous, auoyding that is captious, ſo as according to my othe I may open directly and plainly the truth with ſinceritie of conſcience. The motion of preachyng was made vnto me in myne owne houſe by M. Cicill vpon the duke of Somerſets behalfe, after I had bene before the Counſaile, as I haue before ſayd: from which Counſaile I departed (as before is rehearſed) as no offender, and therfore when M. Cicill ſpake to me of preachyng before the kinges Maieſtie with requeſt to write my Sermon before, I denied that maner of preachyng, becauſe I ſayd it was to preache lyke an offender, and I was none, but departed from the Counſaile otherwiſe as I haue before ſhewed, And the ſayde M. Cicill did not ſay to me that I was moued to preach, becauſe I was not conformable: for I had at that tyme no maner of variaunce with the Counſaile, but was in all conformity with them for any thing that I know, as I will aunſwere afore God.

As for euill example to any man, I could none geue, for I neuer offended law, ſtatute, or proclamation in this realm ne did euer any acte to the empayring of due obedience to the kings maieſty in all my whole lyfe, but by obſeruation of them, and letting innouations, done as much as in me lay, to maintayne obedience.

Wincheſt. refuſeth to preach by other mens papers & preſcriptions, and yet he afterward would preſcribe other men by papers what they ſhould preach, agaynſt all conſcience & honeſty.

After M. Cicill had ſpoken to me of preaching, and deliuered two papers conteyning the matters whereupon I ſhould entreat, becauſe I refuſed to geue my ſermon in writyng (which was to me lyke an offender, or to read thoſe papers of an other mans deuiſe as the conception & ſincere maner of vttering of myne owne conſcience (which me thought then and ſince yet a meruailous vnreaſonable matter touching both my conſcience and honeſty) I was then ſent for to the Duke of Somerſets graces chamber, and came in at a backe dore to himſelf alone, ſauyng he toke to hym as witnes he ſayd, the lord nowe of Wilſhire then great Maiſter, and after many wordes, ſhewed me certayne Articles ſubſcribed by Lawyers, what a B. might cōmaunde, and what yͤ king might commaunde, and what payne to the diſobeyer. To whom I ſaid plainly and truly how thoſe Lawyers ſubſcription could not ſerue in thys caſe to commaunde one to vtter to the people for myne owne deuiſe in wordes that is not in deede ſo: and if I myght ſpeake wyth theſe lawyers (I ſayd) hys grace ſhould ſoone perceiue them to agree wyth me. My Lord ſayd, I ſhould ſpeake wyth no man, and I ſhould do as I was bydden, or do worſe, and bad me aduiſe me tyll dinner was done. And then was I conueyed by the Lord great Maiſter to hys chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was in deede honorably prepared. But I tooke my ſelfe to be in the nature of a priſoner, and a reſtrayned man.

Wincheſters aunſwere to the duke of Somerſet.

Syr Tho. Smyth Secretary.

And about two of the clocke at after noone came vnto me M. Thomas Smith then Secretary, vnto whome I complayned of the vnreaſonablenes of the matter, & ſhewed hym certayne particularities, who ſayd it was not ment ſo preciſely, but to ſpeake of the matters. To whom I ſayd I was content to ſpeake of the matters, and then if I ſpeake not according to the truth of them, there ſhoulde be enough to beare witnes to my condemnation, and if I ſpake the truth, then they had their deſire. And I ſayd further, I thought I might with my conſcience ſay ſo as men ought and ſhould be content & ſatiſfied. And further if I thought that in my maner of the vttering of thoſe matters I ſhould offend the Counſaile, I had rather denye to ſpeake of the thyng, and begyn the contention ſecretly with them, then to begyn with Pulpit, & ſo bryng my ſelfe in further trouble then needed: and therfore if they would haue me preach, I would preach as of my ſelfe, and of theſe matters, ſo as I thought they ſhould be content.

Wincheſt. walketh here ſubtilly.

Wherupō I was brought vp to my Lord of Somerſets chamber, and there the matter ended thus, that my Lorde of Somerſet ſayd he would require no wryting of me but remit it to me, ſo I ſpake of the matters in the papers deliuered me by M. Cicil. I tolde him I woulde ſpeake of them, ſauing for childrens toyes of goyng about of S. Nicolas and S. Clement. If that be now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be to buſy in rehearſall of them, they wyll ſay I comber their heades with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me: when ceremonies were plenty, they will ſay I did nothing but preache on them, and now they be gone I bable of them ſtill. I ſayd I woulde touch yͤ chiefe pointes, adding that I would ſpeake of other matters alſo, and with that, beyng put to my libertie to chooſe the day, departed: and otherwiſe I was not ſpoken with concerning preaching, ſauing after M. Cicill came vnto me, wherof I ſhall ſpeake anone.

Wincheſters opinion of the kynges minority.

As concerning the matters to be ſpokē of, all ſuch things as be here rehearſed be named in the papers deliuered vnto me, although not altogether after this ſort: ſauing the ſetting forth of the kyngs maieſties authoritie in hys minoritie, wherof there is no worde in thoſe papers, nor there was neuer any promiſe made of me to ſpeake of it. Truth it is that after I had ſignified the day when I woulde preach, M. Cicill came vnto me making the chiefe meſſage to know the day when I would preach: to whome I had ſent word before that it ſhoulde be Saint Peters day, becauſe me thought the Goſpell ſerued wel for that purpoſe, & in proceſſe of communication he told me that he liked gayly well a word that I had ſayde in an other communication, how a king was as much a king at one yeare of age, as at one hundreth yeares of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him agayne, euery mā knew that, and then opened of my ſelfe the matter further.

M. Cicils repayre agayne to Wincheſter.

Wincheſter maketh daungerous ſpeaking of the kyng, to ioyne Counſayle withall

And at his next repayre vnto me, which was the Mōday before I preached, the ſayd M. Cicill brought me papers of the kynges Maieſties hand, ſhewing me how hys highnes vſed to note euery notable ſentence, and ſpecially if it touched a kyng: and therfore (quoth he) if ye ſpeake of a kyng, ye muſt ioyne Counſayle withall. Whereunto I made no aunſwere, but ſhifted to other matter without makyng hym any promiſe or denyall, becauſe I woulde neyther binde my ſelfe nor trouble my ſelfe to diſcuſſe that matter. For albeit it is godly and wiſely done of euery Prince to vſe counſell, yet ſpeaking of a kynges power by Scripture, I can not by expreſſe Scripture limite the kynges power by counſayle. And hearing blyndely by report ſome ſecrete matter that I wyll not ſpeake of here, I thought not to meddle wyth it in the Pulpit: and yet to the effect to haue our ſoueraigne Lord now obeyed, of which mynde I was euer, I poynted to our ſoueraigne Lord there in preſence, & ſaid he was onely to be obeyed, and I would haue but one kyng, and other wordes to that purpoſe. But for any promiſe to be made by me, I vtterly denye it, and tell playnely the cauſe why I ſpake not otherwiſe of it. There was alſo in yͤ papers deliuered vnto me occaſiō geuē me to ſpeake of the Maſſe, becauſe of maſſes ſatiſfactory, as ſome vnderſtād thē. And alſo there was occaſiō to ſpeake of the ſacrament of yͤ altar, becauſe of the proclamatiō paſſed of yͤ ſame, which to be true I ſhal iuſtifie by the ſaid papers.

9. Article.

Item, that you receiuyng the ſame and promiſing to declare the ſame in a Sermon by you made before hys maieſtie for that purpoſe on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſayde ſecond yeare of hys highnes raigne, dyd then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omitte to declare and ſet forth many of the ſayd matters, and of diuers others of the ſaid Articles, you ſpake and vttered your mynd in ſuch doubtful ſort, as the iuſtnes and godlynes of his Maieſties fathers and hys procedings was not ſet forth according to the commaundement geuen vnto you and your owne promiſe, to the great offence of the hearers and manifeſt contempt of his maieſtie and daungerous example of others.

Aunſwere to the 9. article.

Omiſſion by contempt.

Touching the promiſe I anſwer as afore: & as touchyng omiſſion of yͭ I ſhould haue ſpoken of, by contēpt or diſobedience, I anſwer by mine oth: I did not omit any thing, (if I did omit it) by contēpt or diſobedience: For I euer mynded to ſatiſfie yͤ promiſe, to ſpeake of al matters in thoſe papers according to my former declaratiō. And if I did percaſe omit any thing (wherof I cā make now no aſſurāce being ij. yeres & a half paſt ſithence I preached) but if I did omit any thing, who knew my trauel in yͭ matter would not meruail, beyng troubled with a letter ſent from yͤ duke of Somerſet, wherof I ſhall ſpeake after. So as frō 4. of yͤ clocke on thurſday, til I had done my ſermon on the friday, I dyd neither drinke, eate, ne ſlepe. So carefull was I to paſſe ouer yͤ trauel of preaching, without all ſlaunder of the truth, with ſatiſfaction of my promiſe, and diſcharge of my duty to god & the kings moſt excellent maieſty. Wherin, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could haue anſwered more preciſely thē I can now, if according to my moſt inſtant ſute & the ſute of my ſeruants, yͤ matter had ben heard whyle it was in freſh memory. But becauſe omiſſion may be by infirmity of nature, in which obliuion is a payne of our original ſinne, in which caſe it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remēbrance wil purge it: I therfore according to the true teſtimony of mine own conſciēce, dare yͤ more boldly deny all contempt & diſobedience, hauing for my declaration a general ſentence ſpoken in my ſermon, yͭ I agreed with the vpper part in their lawes, orders, & commaundementes, or ſuch like wordes, & found only fault in the lower parte. By which ſentence appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was paſt therto, & only diſſented frō the doinges of them yͭ attempt innouations of their own preſumption. And furthermore I ſay, that that ſaying [omiſſion] here obiected vnto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen ij. wayes: one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpoſe. Charity of a chriſten man permitteth not to determine the worſt of yͭ is doutfull & ambiguous to both parties, as touching doubtfulnes obiected. I take god to record I minded to ſpeake ſimply, & to be on the kings maieſties ſide only, & not to go inuiſible in yͤ world, with ambiguities eſteeming him. &c. The worſt man of all is, yͭ wil make himſelfe a locke of wordes & ſpech, which is known not to be my faction, nor I thinke this life worth yͤ diſſimulation: & how can that be a doubtful ſpeech in him, yͭ profeſſeth to agree with yͤ kings lawes, iniunctions & ſtatutes, which I did expreſly. There be yͭ cal a doubt, whatſoeuer ſerueth not their appetite. It is not in yͤ ſpeaker to ſatiſfy the hearer that will doubt where doubt is not. The ſumme of my teaching was, yͭ all viſible things be ordred to ſerue vs, which we may in conuenient ſeruice vſe. And when we ſerue them, yͭ is an abuſe, & may thē at yͤ rulers pleaſure, vnles ſcripture appointeth a ſpeciall vſe of thē, be corrected in yͤ vſe, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching yͭ hath no doubt in it, but an yea & a nay on ij. ſides, about a mean to make a dout. And if any yͭ doubteth cōmeth vnto me, I will reſolue hym yͤ dout as I can. And if I promiſed to ſpeake plainely or am commaunded to ſpeake plainely & cānot: thē is my fault to promiſe onely in the nature of folly and ignoraunce, wherunto I reſort, not for a ſhifte, wherof in deede I profeſſe yͤ knowledge, but to ſhew how ſomtime to my hinderaunce, I am noted learned that can ſpeake plainely, and yet ſpeake doubtfully, other whiles am reiected as one yͭ vnderſtādeth not yͤ matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifeſt yͭ procedeth of a priuy promiſe, if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my general ſentence to agre with the ſuperiors, & only find fault in yͤ inferior ſubiects, who daily tranſgreſſeth the kings maieſties proclamations and other, wherof I ſpake then.

Wincheſters diſtinctiō betwene the vpper part & the lower part of the lawes.

Omiſſion excuſed by a diſtinction.

A locke of wordes, that is, to open & ſhut agayne as they liſte.

Aunſwere by wordes to omiſſion in deedes.

10. Article.

Item, that you being alſo commaunded on his maieſties behalfe, for the auoyding of tumult, & for other great cōſiderations inhibited to treat of any matter in cōtrouerſie concerning the maſſe or the cōmunion, then cōmonly called the ſacrament of the aulter, did contrary to the ſaid commaundement & inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements & opinions in the ſame, in the manifeſt cōtēpt of his highnes ſayd inhibitiō, to the great offence of the hearers & diſturbāce of cōmon quiet & vnity of the realm

Aunſwere to to the 10. Article.

M. Cicill.

To yͤ x. article the ſaid W. anſwered, yͭ the wedneſday at after noone next before the friday when I preached, M. Cicill came to me, & hauing in all his other acceſſes ſpoken no word therof, did thē vtter & aduiſe me from the duke of Somerſet, yͭ I ſhould not ſpeake of the ſacramēt or of yͤ maſſe, wherby he ſaid I ſhould auoyd trouble. And when he ſaw me not take it well: I meane (quoth he) doubtfull matters. I aſked him what? He ſaid tranſubſtantiation. I told hym he wiſt not what tranſubſtantiation ment. I will preache (quoth I) the very preſence of Chriſtes moſt precious body & bloud in the ſacrament, which is the catholike fayth, and no doubtful matter, ne yet in controuerſie, ſauing yͭ certain vnlearned ſpeake of it, they wot not what. And among yͤ matters, quoth I, wherof I haue promiſed to ſpeake, I muſt by ſpecial wordes ſpeake of the ſacrament & the maſſe alſo. And when I ſhal ſo ſpeake of thē, I wil not forbeare to vtter my faith and true belief therin, which I thinke neceſſary for the kings maieſty to know: & therfore if I wiſt to be hāged whē I came down, I would ſpeake it. Which plaine zeale of my conſcience, grounded vpon gods commaundement to doe hys meſſage truly, I would not hide, but vtter ſo as my Lorde ſhould, if he would not haue it ſpoken of, nor let me to come there, as he might haue done, where as els if I had had a deceitful purpoſe, I might haue accepted the aduiſe, & without any color of trouble haue refuſed to folow it as a thing groūded vpon wealth only, as it was then vttered.

Wincheſters catholike fayth in the ſacrament.

Wincheſt. would needes talke of the ſacrament & of the Maſſe.

With this my aunſwere M. Cicill departed, & vpon the thurſday, which was yͤ next day folowing & the euening before I preached, betwene 3. and 4. at after noone I receiued a letter ſigned with yͤ hand of the duke of Somerſet (yͤ copy wherof I am ready to exhibite) & toke it thē, & eſteemed it ſo nowe to continue no effectuall inhibition wherunto I might by Gods law or the kynges Maieſties lawes with diſcharge of my conſcience and duety obey, although yͤ ſaid letters had bene (as they were not) in ſuch termes framed, as had preciſely forbidden me (as they did not) but onely to ſpeake of matters in controuerſye of the ſacrament, which in deede I did not, but onely vttered a truth, to my conſciēce moſt certaynely perſwaded of yͤ moſt holy ſacrament, neceſſary to be knowen to the kyngs Maieſtie, & to be vttered by me admitted to that place of preching, from whence God cōmaundeth hys truth to be vttered, which in this nature of truth (the vndue eſtimation & vſe wherof S. Paul threatneth with temporall death) may in no wyſe be omitted. So as I was and am perſwaded the right eſtimation of the ſacrament to be to acknowledge the very preſence of the ſame moſt precious body and bloud preſent in the Sacrament to feede vs, that was geuē to redeme vs. If I ſhewed not my ſoueraigne Lord the truth therof, I for my part ſuffer him wittingly to fall into that extreame daunger of body, which S. Paul threatneth, whoſe perſon I am bound by nature by ſpecial othes, by gods lawes, to preſerue to my power, as I will do, and muſt do by alwayes and meanes. And if the kyngs maieſtie doth vouchſafe to teach his people not to obey his commaundement, where God commaundeth the cōtrary, I might not take my lord of Somerſets letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to ſpeake as he doth when the wolfe commeth & not to hide my ſelf in ſilence, which is the moſt ſhamefull running away of all. I haue much matter to allege againſt yͤ letter, why I ſhould not credite it, written in hys name alone, agaynſt a common letter (as I toke it) written by hym and the counſail, & publiſhed in print the firſt day of the ſaid month, which mayntaineth my preaching of the ſacrament & maſſe, according to the proclamations & iniunctions: the violation of which publike letters had ben a diſorder and contempt, where as I neither offended in the one nor the other.

S. Paule threatneth death to the miſuſers of the ſacrament: Ergo, the reall preſence of Chriſt is in the ſacrament.
Nego argumentum

And why would not Wincheſt. alow this reaſon in other in Q. Maryes tyme, ſpeaking the word of truth after their conſcience, contrary to his inhibitions

And as for tumult, none could reaſonably be feared of any thing ſpokē agreable to yͤ kings maieſties lawes, as there did folow, none nor the people, or any man did offer my perſon any wrōg or make tumult againſt me, not withſtanding players, ieſters, rimers, balladmakers, did ſignify me to be of yͤ true catholike faith, which I according to my dutie declared to yͤ K. maieſty, from whō I may hide no truth yͭ I thinke expediēt for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be vſed of any creature againſt god, no more can the kings name, beyng vſed of any ſubiect againſt his highnes. Wherfore ſeyng the abuſe of this holy ſacrament hath in it a daunger aſſured by ſcripture, of body and ſoule, whoſoeuer is perſwaded in the catholike faith (as I am) findeth himſelf ſo burdened to vtter yͭ vnto his maieſty, as no worldly loſſe can let him to doe his duty in that behalfe, & much leſſe my Lordes priuate letters written without other of the counſails handes.

Wincheſter againſt players & ballade makers.

11. Article.

Item, that after the premiſſes, viz. in the month of May or Iune, or one of them, in the 3. yere of his highnes raigne, his maieſty ſent eftſoones vnto you to know your conformity tovvards his ſaid reformations, & ſpecially touching the boke of common prayer, then lately ſet foorth by hys maieſty, vvherunto you at the ſame tyme refuſed, to ſhevv your ſelfe conformable.

Aunſwere to the 11. Article.

To the xi. article for aunſwer and declaration thereof, he ſayd: The next daye at after noone, after he had preached, Syr Anthony Wingfield & ſyr Rafe Sadler ſent to Wincheſt.

when he looked for no ſuche matter, came to his houſe the eight worſhipfull Syr Anthony Wingfielde and Syr Rafe Sadler knightes, accompanied with a great number of the Gard, and vſing themſelues for their part according to their worſhips, and (I doubt not) as they were appointed, Sir Rafe Sadler began thus with me: My Lord (ſayd he) ye preached yeſterday obedience, but ye dyd not obey your ſelfe and went forth with his meſſage very ſoberly as he can, & diſcretely. I aſked him wherin I obeyed not. He ſayd, touchyng my Lord of Somerſets letter. maiſter Sadler, quoth I, I pray you ſay to my Lords Grace, I would he neuer made mention of that letter, for the loue I beare him. And yet quoth I, I haue not broken that letter, and I was mynded, quoth I, to haue wrytten to my Lorde vpon the receipt of it, and loe, quoth I, ye may ſee how I began, and ſhewed him (becauſe we were then in my ſtudy) the begynnyng of my letter, and reaſoned with him for declaration of my ſelfe, and told him therwith. I will not ſpend quoth I, many wordes with you, for I can not alter this determination. And yet in good fayth, quoth I, my maner to you, and this declaration may haue this effect, that I bee gentlye handeled in the priſon, & for that purpoſe I pray you, make ſute on my behalfe.

Wincheſter arreſted.
Wincheſt. committed to the tower.

Maiſter Wingfield layd his hand on my ſhoulder, and areſted me in the Kynges name for diſobedience. I aſked the whether I ſhoulde. They ſayd to the Tower. Finally I deſired them that I might be ſpoken with ſhortly, & heard what I could ſay for my ſelfe, and prayed them to be ſuters in it, and ſo they ſayd they would.

After that I was once in the Tower, vntil it was within vi. days of one whole yeare, I could heare no maner word meſſage, comfort, or reliefe, ſauyng once when I was ſicke and me thought ſome extremitie towardes me, my Chapleine had licence to come to me for one tyme, and then denyed agayne, beyng aunſwered that my feuer was but a tertian, whiche my ſayd Chaplaine tolde me when hee came to me at the Eaſter following, and there beyng with me from the mornyng till night on Eaſter daye departed, and for no ſute could neuer haue hym ſince. To Maſter Lieftenant I made diuers ſutes to prouoke the Duke of Somerſets grace to heare me. And if I might haue the libertye of an Engliſh man, I would playnly declare I had neither offended lawe, ſtatute, act, proclamation nor his own letter neither, but all would not helpe, and I ſhall reporte me to maiſter Lieftenant whether in all this time I maligned, grudged or vſed any vnſemely wordes, euer demaundyng iuſtice, and to be heard according to Iuſtice.

The Lord Chauncellour & Secretary Peter commeth to Wincheſter in the tower.

When I had ben thus in ỹ Tower one whole yeare within vi. dayes or vii. as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chauncellour of Englād now beyng the Lord Treaſurer, and maſter Secretary Peter, who callyng me vnto them, as I remember, entred this: They ſayde they hadde brought with them a booke paſſed by the Parlamēt, which they would I ſhoulde looke on and ſay my mynde to it, and vpon my conformitie in it, my Lord of Somerſet would be ſuter to the kynges Maieſtie for mercye to bee miniſtred to me. Whereunto I aunſwered that I truſted if I might be heard, the Kynges Maieſties iuſtice woulde releue mee, which I had long ſued for, and coulde not be heard. And to ſue for mercy, quoth I, when I haue not in my conſcience offended, and alſo to ſue out of this place, where aſkyng of mercy, imployeth a further ſuſpition then I woulde be for all the worlde touched in it, were not expedient. And therfore, quoth I, not guilty is and hath bene allowed a good plee for a priſoner, Then my Lord ſayd, why, quoth he, were ye not commaunded to preache of the kynges authoritie in his yonge age, and yet dyd not? I tolde him I was not cōmaunded. Is not (quoth he) that Article in the papers ye had deliuered you? I aſſured him no.

Wincheſt. denieth to ſue for mercy.

Talke betweene the Lord Chauncellour & Wincheſter in the tower.

And after communication of the kynges Maieſties authoritie wherein was no diſagreement, then my Lord Chancellour ſayde I had diſobeyed my Lordes graces letter. I told him I thought not, and if the matter came to iudgement it ſhoulde appeare. And then I ſayd to him my Lorde how many opē Iniunctions vnder Seale & in open Court haue bene broken in this Realme? the puniſhment wherof hath not ben handled after this ſorte, and yet I would ſtād in defence that I had not broken his letter, waying ỹ wordes of the letter, wherein I reaſoned with M. Peter Secretary what a controuerſie was, and ſome part what I could ſay further, But what ſoeuer I can ſaye (quoth I) you muſt iudge it, and for the paſſion of God do it, and then let me ſue for mercy: when the nature of the offence is knowen if I will haue it. But when I am (quoth I) declared an offender, I will with humilitie of ſufferyng make amendes to the Kynges Maieſtie, ſo farre as I am able: for I ſhould neuer offend him, and much leſſe in his young age.

Wincheſter wyll acknowledge no offence.

My Lord Chancelor then ſhewed me the beginning of the act for cōmon prayer, how dangerous it was to breake the order of it. I told him that it was true, and therfore if I came abroad, I would be well ware of it. But it is (quoth I) after in the act how no man ſhould be troubled for this act, vnles he were firſt indyted, and therefore (quoth I,) I may not be kept in pryſon for this act. Ah (quoth he) I perceiue ye know the law well enough. I tolde him my Chaplaine had brought it vnto me the after noone before. Then they required me to looke on the booke and to ſay my minde in it. I anſwered that I thought not meete to yeald me ſelfe a ſcholler to go to ſchole in priſon, and then ſlaunder my ſelf as though I redeemed my faultes with my conſcience. As touching the law which I know not, I will honor it lyke a ſubiect, and if I keepe it not, I will willinglye ſuffer the payne of it. And what more conformitie I ſhould ſhewe, I cannot tell, for mine offences be paſt if there be any. If I haue not ſuffred enough I will ſuffer more, if vpon examination I be found faulty, and as for this new law, if I keep it not punish me likewiſe.

Wincheſter will not goe to ſchoole in priſon.

Wincheſter deſireth the kyng to be his good Lord.

Then my Lorde Chauncelour aſked me whether I would not deſire the kinges Maieſtye to be my good Lord. At which worde I ſayd: alas my Lorde (quoth I) doe ye thinke that I haue ſo forgotten my ſelfe? My duty (quoth I) requireth ſo, and I will on my knees deſire him to bee my good Lord and my Lord Protectour alſo quoth I, that is wel ſayd quoth my Lord Chauncelor, And what will ye ſay further, quoth my Lord Chācelor, In good faith quoth I this, that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and thinke ſo ſtill, and had it not been for the article of the ſupremacy, I woulde haue rather fayned my ſelfe ſicke then be occaſion of this that hath followed: but goyng to the Pulpit, I muſt needes ſay as I ſayde. Well quoth my Lord Chanceler, let vs goe to our purpoſe again. Ye will quoth he, deſire the kings maieſtye to be your good Lord, and my Lord Protectour alſo, and ye ſay ye thought not to haue offended. All this I will ſay quoth I. And ye will (quoth my Lord Chancelor) ſubmit your ſelfe to be ordered by my Lord Protectour. Nay (quoth I) by the lawe for my Lord Protectour quoth I hath ſcourged mee ouer ſore this yeare, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter poynt I varied with my Lorde Chauncellour, when I could not referre my order to my Lord Protectour, but to the law, and ſtaying at this point they were contente to graunt me of their gentlenes to make their ſute to procure me to be heard, and to obtaine me lybertye to goe in the Galery, and that I ſhould heare of one of them within two dayes following. I deſired them to remember that I refuſed not the booke by way of contempt, nor in no euill maner, but that I was loth to yeald my ſelfe a ſcholer in ỹ Tower, and to be ſeene to redeeme my faultes if I had any, with my conſcience. My body I ſayd, ſhoulde ſerue my conſcience, but not contrarywiſe. And this is the truth vpon my conſcience and oth that was done and ſayd at their commynge. There was more ſayd to the purpoſes aforeſayd. And I binde not my ſelfe to the preciſe forme of wordes, but to the ſubſtaunce of the matter and faſhion of the intreatinge. So neare as I can remember, I haue truely diſcharged mine oth: But I heard no more of my matter in one whole yere after almoſt within xiiij. dayes notwithſtanding two letters written by me to the Counſaile, of moſt humble requeſt to be heard according to iuſtice. And then at the end of 2. yeres almoſt, came vnto me the Duke of Somerſet with other of the counſell which matter becauſe it is left out here, I ſhall not touch but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behauyour at all tymes.

Wincheſter yet will not confeſſe himſelfe to be an offender.
Wincheſter will not ſubmit himſelfe to the Lord Protectour but to the law.

The 12. Article.

Item, that after that &c. the 9. day of Iuly, in the 4. yeare of hys Maieſties raigne, his highnes ſent vnto you his graces letters, with a certayne ſubmiſſion and Articles, whereunto his grace willed & commaunded you to ſubſcribe, to which ſubmiſſion, you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Wincheſter.

To the xij. Article for aunſwere therunto, he graunted ỹ about the tyme mencioned in this Article, the Lorde Treaſurer, the Erle of Warwike lord great maiſter, ſir William Harbert, and M. Secretary Peter, came to the tower: and called me before them, and deliuered vnto me the kynges maieſties letters which I haue to ſhew, and receiued them at the handes of the lord Treaſurer vpon my knees, kiſſed them as my duety was, and ſtill vpon my knees read them, where as they right gently required me to take more eaſe, & to go apart with them, and conſider them, which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I ſhould bee commaunded to ſay of my ſelfe as was there written, and to ſay otherwiſe of my ſelfe then my conſcience will ſuffer me: and where I truſt my dedes wil not cōdemne me, there to condemne my ſelfe with my tong, I ſhould ſooner (quoth I to them) by commaundement: thinke if ye would bid me to tumble my ſelfe deſperatly into the Thames.

The kynges letters deliuered to Wincheſt. in the tower.

1550.

Other articles put to Wincheſter.

My Lord of Warwicke ſeyng me in that agony, ſayd: What ſay ye my Lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I aunſwered that I was loth to diſobey, where I might obey and not wraſt my conſcience, deſtroying the comfort of it, as to ſay vntruely of my ſelfe. Well, quoth my Lorde of Warwicke, will ye ſubſcribe to the other Articles? I tolde hym I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me, muſt be put out. I was aunſwered that needeth not, for I might write on the ſide what I would ſay vnto it: and then my Lord of Warwyke entertayned me very gently, and would needes whyles I ſhould write, haue me ſit downe by hym, and when he ſawe me make ſomewhat ſtraunge ſo to do, he pulled me nearer hym and ſaid we had ere this ſit together, & truſted we ſhould do ſo agayne. And then hauing penne & inke geuen me, I wrote as I remember, on the Article that touched me, theſe wordes: I cā not wyth my conſcience ſay this of my ſelfe, or ſuch like wordes. And there folowed an Article of the kyngs Maieſties primacie, and I began to write on the ſide of that & had made an I, onward as may appeare by the articles, & they would not haue me do ſo, but write onely my name after their articles: which I did. Whereat becauſe they ſhewed themſelues pleaſed and content: I was bold to tell them merely that by this meane, I had placed my ſubſcription aboue them all, and therupō it pleaſed them to enterteine me much to my comfort.

The article which touched hym, was the firſt article preſcribing him to ſubſcribe, which article he wiſheth here to be put out.

Wincheſter ſubſcribeth to the kings Articles.

And I was bold to accompt vnto them mery tales of my miſerie in priſon, which they ſeemed content to heare: and then I tolde them alſo (deſiring them not to be miſcontent with that I ſhould ſay:) when I remember ech of them alone, I coulde not thinke otherwiſe of them but they were my good Lords: and yet when they meete together, I feele no remedy at their handes. I looked, quoth I, when my L. of Somerſet was here to go out wythin two dayes, and made my farewell feaſt in the Tower and all, ſince which time there is a moneth paſt or thereabout: & I agree with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune be forgotten. My Lord Treaſurer ſayde nay, I ſhould heare from them the next day, & ſo by their ſpeciall cōmaundemēt came out of the chamber after them, that they might be ſeen depart as my good Lordes: and ſo was done. By which proceſſe doth appeare how there was in me no contempt, as is ſaid in this article, but ſuch a ſubſcription made as they were cōtent to ſuffer me to make, which I tooke in my cōſcience for a whole ſatiſfactiō of the kings maieſties letters. which I deſire may be deemed accordingly. And one thyng was ſaid vnto me further that other would haue put in many moe Articles, but they would haue no more but thoſe.

Wincheſters farewel feaſt loſt in the Tower.

¶The 13. Article.

Item, that you hauing eftſones certayne of the kynges Maieſties honorable Counſaile ſent vnto you the xij. of Iuly in the ſayd 4. yeare with the ſayd ſubmiſſion, and beyng on his Maieſties behalfe required and commaunded to conſider agayne and better the ſayd ſubmiſſion and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtoode in iuſtification of your ſelfe, and woulde in no wiſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

Wincheſter.

To the 13. article he ſayd: The next day after the beyng in the Tower of the ſaid L. Treaſurer, the Earle of Warwike & other: came vnto me Syr W. Harbert & M. Secretary Peter, to deuiſe with me how to make ſome acknowledging of my fault (as they ſaid) becauſe the other forme liked me not. Wherunto I ſaid I know my ſelfe innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a deuiſe to empayre my innocency in any point by my wordes or writinges, it can haue no policie in it. For although I did more eſteeme lybertie of body, then the diffamatiō of my ſelfe: yet (quoth I) when I had ſo done with you, I were not ſo aſſured by you to come out. For when I were by my owne * penne once made an naughty man, then were I not the more ſure to come out, but had locked my ſelfe the more ſurely in, and a ſmall pleaſure were it to me to haue my bodye at lybertie by your procurement, & to haue my conſcience in perpetuall priſon by mine owne act. Many more wordes there were & perſwaſiōs on their parties, which cauſed me to require of them, for the paſſion of God, that my matter might take an end by iuſtice, and ſo departed, their being no contempt or faction of diſobedience ſhewed on my behalfe, but onely allegation for my defence of mine innocency in the beſt maner I could deuiſe, as I truſt they will teſtifie.

Wincheſter ſtill ſtandeth vpon reputation of his innocencie.

*Your putting to the penne in this matter would not haue made you naughte, but your naughtines would not put to your penne.

¶The 14. Article.

Item, that after all this, videlicet the 14. day of Iuly in the ſaid 4. yeare, the kings maieſtie ſent yet againe vnto you certaine of hys maieſties honorable Counſaile with an other ſubmiſſion, and diuers other articles, willing and commaunding you to ſubſcribe your name therunto: which to do you vtterly refuſed.

Wincheſter.

To the 14. Article he ſayd, that on the Monday in the morning followyng came the biſhop of London, Syr William Harbert, Maiſter Secretary Peter, & an other whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, whiche they required me to ſubſcribe. Wherupō I moſt inſtantly required that my matter might be tryed by iuſtice, whiche although it were more greuous, yet it hath acōmoditie with it, that it endeth certainely the matter. And I could neuer yet come to my aſſured ſtay, and therfore refuſed to meddle with anye more Articles, or to trouble my ſelfe with the readyng of them, and yet they deſired me ſo inſtantly to read them, that I was content, and did reade, and to ſhewe my perfect obedient minde, offered incontinently vpon my deliuerye out of priſon, to make aunſwere vnto them, all ſuch as I woulde abyde by and ſuffer payne for, If I haue deſerued it. I ſhoulde in deede gladly haue bene in hand with my Lorde of London, but he ſayde he came not to diſpute, and ſaid it was the hand of god that I was thus in priſon, becauſe I had ſo troubled other mē in my tyme. Finally my requeſt was, that they ſhoulde in this forme make my aunſwer to my Lordes of the Counſell as foloweth: That I moſt humbly thanke thē of theyr good will to deliuer me by the way of mercye, but becauſe in reſpect of myne own innocent conſcience I had rather haue iuſtice, I deſired them, ſeyng both was in the kynges Maieſties handes, that I might haue it, whiche if it happen to mee more greeuous, I wyll impute it to my ſelfe, and euermore thanke them for their good will, and ſo departed I fro them, as I truſt they will teſtifie, and no miſbehauiour or demeanor to haue bene vſed on my behalfe.

Other Articles offered to Wint.

The Biſhop of Londōs wordes of Wincheſter.

Winche. refuſeth to be deliuered by way of mercy.

The 15. Article.

Item, that after all this, viz. the 19. day of Iuly, in the ſayd fourth yeare, you beyng perſonally called before the kynges maieſties priuy Counſaile, and hauing the ſayd ſubmiſſion and articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, and required to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for vniuſt conſiderations by you alledged to ſubſcribe the ſame.

Wincheſter.

To the .xv. article, I graunt, that vpon a Saterdaye at after noone, euen at ſuche tyme of the daye as they were at Euenſong in the Chappell at the Court, I was brought thether, and at my commyng the Lordes of the Counſayle ſayde they were all my Iudges by ſpeciall commiſſion, and entended to procede thus with mee: That I ſhoulde ſubſcribe certayne articles whiche were then read, and I muſt directly make aunſwere, whether I would ſubſcribe them or no. I aunſwered on my knees in this wyſe: For the paſſion of God my Lordes be my good Lordes, and let me bee tried by iuſtice whether I bee faulty or no: and as for theſe articles as ſoone as ye deliuer me to my libertie, I woulde make aunſwere to them whether I woulde ſubſcribe them or no. This they hauyng further to ſay, I aunſwered, theſe articles were of diuers ſortes: ſome bee lawes which I may not qualifie: ſome be not lawes but learnyng and fact, whiche may haue diuers vnderſtandynges, & a ſubſcription to them without tellyng what I meane, were ouer daungerous: and therfore I offered for ÿ more declaration of mine obedience to all their requeſtes, that If they would deliuer me the articles into the priſon with me, I woulde ſhortely make them particular aunſwere, and ſuffer the paynes of the lawe, that by my aunſwere I might incurre vnto. Wherevpon I was commaunded to go a part, and they ſent vnto me the Lord Treaſurer and Maiſter Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a meane way, and that liked not the Lordes. And then was I called forth agayne, and my abſolute ſubſcription required agayne, & I agayne made offer to aunſwere particularly, for I could not wyth my conſcience ſubſcribe them as they were abſolutly. And theſe my conſiderations, I truſt to be iuſt, ſeyng no mā for any commaundementes ought to offende his conſcience, as I muſt haue done in that caſe.

Wincheſt. required agayne to ſubſcribe, refuſeth.

Wincheſters offers.

The 16. Article.

Item, that for your ſondry and manifold contemptes and diſobediences in this behalfe vſed, the fruites of your biſhoprike were then by ſpeciall commiſſion of his maieſty iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

Wincheſter.

To the 16. article, I deny contemptes, and diſobedience of partes, and ſay that my doynges cannot ſo be termed, becauſe it is taught in this realme for a doctrine of obedience, that if a kyng commaund that is contrary to the commaundement of God, the ſubiect may not do as he is commaunded, but humbly ſtand to hys conſcience, which is my caſe, who could not with my conſcience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was in deede a decree read, hauyng wordes ſo placed and framed, as though I wer ſuch an offender, which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of ſequeſtration of fruites: but whether the forme of wordes were of the preſent tenſe, or

But this aunſwere could not ſtand in Queene Maryes tyme.

cels to be ſequeſtred. I cannot preciſely tell, but doe referre that to the tenor of the decree.

The 17.Article.

Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communicatiō that you ſhould within three monthes next followyng the ſayd intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelfe vnder payne of depriuation.

Wincheſter.

❡To the 17. article I aunſwer, that in the ſame decree of ſequeſtration at the ſame tyme read, I kneling from the beginnyng of the decree, to the latter ende, I remember there was an intimation and thre monthes ſpoken of, and expreſſed alſo how at euery monthes end I ſhould haue pen & inke offred to write, if I would yet ſubſcribe, and as I vnderſtād it was vpon the payne of proceding further. And I doe not remember that I heard the word depriuation, but therin I refer me to the actes of the ſentence, which when it was red I deſired it might be teſtified what myne offer was, to anſwer all thoſe articles perticularly, euen remaynyng in priſon. And this done, I made ſuite for ſome of my ſeruantes abroad to reſort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my neceſſary buſines, which could not be obtayned. And yet to prouoke it, I ſayd to my lord of Warwike, how for agreing with my L. of Somerſet, I had ſome cōmodity, & for agreyng with him had nothing, & therfore would needes by interceſſiō preſſe hym, ẏ I might by his meanes haue ſome of my ſeruants reſortyng vnto me. He aunſwered very gently. And then one ſaid I ſhould within 2. or 3. dayes haue ſome body come to me. And then I was diſmiſſed with cōmaundemēt to the lieutenant to let me haue ẏ ſame liberty I had, but no more.

The 18.Article.

Item that the ſayd thre monthes are now throughly expired and runne.

Wincheſter.

Wincheſters appeale to the kyng.

❡To the 18. Article he ſayd, there is almoſt vj. monthes paſſed in tyme and number of dayes, but not one month paſſe to the effect of the law, nor x. dayes neither, becauſe I haue ben ſo kept in priſon that I could not ſee for remedy in forme aboueſayd, nor there was not at euery month, after the forme of the ſentence offred me, pen and inke and liberty geuen me to conſult and deliberate with other learned men and friends what wer beſt to do, or to ſend vnto them. And furthermore the very 8. day after the decree geuen, I proteſted before my ſeruauntes whom I had only commoditie to vſe as witnes of the nullitie of the decree for the euident and apparant matter in it, but if it were any in law, I appealed to the kynges maieſty, becauſe my requeſt was not admitted to haue ẏ copy of the articles to anſwer them perticularly, and becauſe it is exceſſiue correction to ſequeſter my fruites and kepe me in priſon. with other caſes to be deduced where I might haue opportunitie. Which appellation I proteſted to intimate as ſoone as I could come to any preſence mete therfore, as I did in this aſſemble at my laſt repaire, deſiring therewith the benefite reſtitutionis in integrum, becauſe of myne impriſonment, and therefore doe aunſwere this matter wyth proteſtation of that appeale, and vtterly denye all manner of contempte.

The 19.Article.

Item, that you hitherto according to the ſayd intimation and monition, ſubmitted, reconciled, nor reformed your ſelfe, but contemptuouſlye yet ſtill remayne in your firſt diſobedience.

Wincheſter.

❡To the 19. Article, I ſay that I haue bene all this while in priſon ſo kept, as no man coulde haue acceſſe to counſayle with me, nor any meanes to write or ſende to any man, hauyng made continuall ſuite to Maiſter Lieuetenaunt and maiſter Marſhall, vnder whoſe cuſtody I am here, to make ſuite in my name to my Lordes of the Counſayle, that I might come to hearing, or els be bayled vpon ſuretie: which I could not obtayne, and ſo haue remayned vnder the benefite of my ſayd appeale to the kinges Maieſtie, made as I might for the tyme, which I eftſones deſire may haue liberty to proſecute.

The wordes of Wincheſt. I proteſt, expounded.

And where as aunſwering to theſe Articles, for declaration of the integritie of my conſcience, I vſe in the ſame places generall wordes: I proteſt I meane not by thoſe wordes to ſet forth my ſelfe otherwyſe more arrogantly then as my direct entent (which excludeth malice) and purpoſe moueth me to ſay, and as my conſcience beareth witnes vnto me at this tyme, and therfore will ſay therin with S. Paul: Nihil mihi conſcius ſum, ſed non in hoc iuſtificatus ſum. Wherfore if any ſpecially be obiected vnto me, wherin by ignoraunce or ouerſight and negligence, any myne offence may appeare againſt the kinges Maieſties lawes, Statutes and Iniunctions, I ſhall deſire and proteſt that it be not preiudiciall to mine aunſwer) for this preſent, credo (as the lawyers in ciuill matters vſe that terme) to be true, that is to ſay, ſuch as without any alteration in my conſcience, preſently I may of my ſelfe ſay in affirmation or deniall, as afore is aunſwered,

Wincheſters Credo.

And where as I ſpeake of commaundement to be made to me againſt Gods lawe, I proteſt not to touche my ſoueraigne Lordes honor therin, which my duetie is by al meanes to preſerue, but that the commaundement geuen reſolueth to be agaynſt Gods law on my part, in the obedience to be geuē becauſe I may not aunſwer or ſay otherwiſe, but Eſt, eſt, nō, non. So as my wordes and hart may agree together, or els I ſhould offend gods law, which my ſoueraigne if he knewe my conſcience, would not commaund me.

After theſe thinges thus paſſed, certaine of the Counſail by the kynges appointment had ſundry dayes and tymes acceſſe to hym in the Tower to perſwade with hym: whiche were theſe, the Duke of Somerſet, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord priuy Seale, the Lord great Chamberlain, and maiſter Secretary Peter. Who repairing to him the x. day of Iune, an. 1550. he deſired of them to ſee the kinges booke of procedyngs: vpon the ſight wherof he would make a full aunſwer ſemyng to be willing in all thinges to conforme himſelf therunto: and promiſing that in caſe any thing offended his conſcience, he would open it to none but to the Counſaile. Wherupon it was agreed the booke ſhould bee ſent him to ſee hys aunſwer, that hys caſe might be reſolued vpon, and that for the meane tyme he ſhould haue the liberty of the Galery and Gardine in the Tower, when the Duke of Northfolke wer abſent.

Wincheſter requireth the ſight of the kinges booke of proceedings.

Wincheſter denyeth to make any direct aunſwere to the booke vnleſſe he were at libertie.

The king then was lying at Grenewich, at which time the Lieftenaunt of the Tower was appoynted to deliuer the kings booke to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Who within three dayes after (which was the 13. of Iune) made declaration agayne vnto the Counſaile, that the Biſhop hauyng peruſed it, ſayd vnto hym he could make no direct aunſwer vnleſſe he were at liberty, and ſo beyng he would ſay his conſcience. Wherevpon the Lordes and other that had bene with hym the other day were appointed to go to him agayne to receyue a direct aunſwer that the Counſail thereupon might determine further order for hym.

Wincheſters aunſweres euer doubtful.

The aunſwer of the biſhop beyng receiued, though the report of the Lordes which had bene with hym, declaration was made agayne, the 8. day of Iuly 1550. that his anſweres were euer doubtfull, refuſing while he were in priſō to make any direct aunſwer. Wherfore it was determined that hee ſhould be directly examined whether he would ſincerely conforme himſelf vnto the kinges maieſties procedinges or not. For which purpoſe it was agreed that perticular Articles ſhould be drawn, to ſee whether he wold ſubſcribe thē or not, & a letter alſo directed vnto him frō the kings highnes, with the which the L. Treaſurer, the lord great maiſter, the maiſter of the horſe, and M. Secretary Peter ſhould repair vnto him: the tenor of which letter hereafter enſueth.

Articles and letters ſent to Wincheſt.

❡ A letter ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſigned by the king, and ſubſcribed by the Counſaile.

The kinges letter to Wincheſt.

IT is not (we thinke) vnknowen vnto you, with what clemencie and fauor, we by the aduiſe of our Counſayle cauſed you to be heard and vſed vpon theſe ſundry complaints and informations that were made to vs and our ſaid Counſaile of your diſordered doinges and woordes, both at the tyme of our late viſitation, and otherwiſe. Whiche notwithſtanding, conſideryng that the fauour both then and many other tymes miniſtred vnto you, wrought rather an inſolent wylfulnes in your ſelfe, then any obedient conformitie, ſuch as woulde haue beſeemed a man of your vocation, we could not but vſe ſome demonſtration of iuſtice towardes you, as well for ſuch notorious and apparaunt contemptes and other inobediences, as after and contrarye to our commaundement were openly knowen in you, as alſo for ſome example and terrour of ſuch others as by your example ſeemed to take courage to mutter and grudge againſt our moſt godly proceedinges: wherof great diſcorde & inconuenience at that time might haue enſued. For the auoyding wherof, and for your iuſt deſeruynges, you were by our ſayde Counſayle committed to warde. Where albeit we haue ſuffred you to remaine a long ſpace, ſendyng vnto you in the meane tyme at ſundrye tymes diuers of the Noble men and others of our priuie Counſaile, and trauailyng by them with clemency and fauour to haue reduced you to the knowledge of your duetie: yet in al this tyme haue you neither knowledged your faultes, nor made any ſuch ſubmiſſiō as might haue beſemed you, nor yet ſhewed any apparance either of repentance, or of any good cōformity to our godly proceedings. Wherwith albeit we both haue good cauſe to be offended, & might alſo iuſtly by the order of our lawes,

Notorious contemptes in Wincheſt. noted.

cauſe

1550.

cauſe your former doyngs to be reformed and puniſhed to the example of others: yet for that we woulde bothe the world and your ſelfe alſo ſhould know that we delite more in clemency then in the ſtraight adminiſtration of iuſtice, we haue vouchſafed not onely to addreſſe vnto you theſe our letters, but alſo to ſend eftſoones vnto you foure of our priuy counſaile with certaine articles: which beyng by vs with the aduiſe of our ſaide Counſaile conſidered, we thinke requiſite for ſondry conſiderations to be ſubſcribed by you, and therfore woulde and commaunde you to ſubſcribe the ſayd Articles vpon payne of incurryng ſuch puniſhment and penalties, as by our lawes may be put vpon you for not doyng the ſame. Geuen at our palace of Weſtminſter the 8. day of Iuly, the 4. yere of our raigne.

With this letter addreſſed from the kyng & his Counſell, theſe articles alſo were deliuered to the biſhop of Wincheſter here followyng.

The copy of the Articles.

The byſhops aunſwere to this article in the margent.

Whereas I Steuen biſhop of Wincheſter haue bene ſuſpected as one to much fauouring the biſhop of Romes authoritie, decrees and ordinaunces, and as one that did not approue or allow the kings maieſties proceedings in alteration of certayne rites in religion, was conuented before the kings highnes Counſaile and admoniſhed therof: and hauing certayne thinges appoynted for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done that as I ought to do, althoughe I promiſed to do the ſame, wherby I haue not onely incurred the kings maieſties indignation, but alſo diuers of hys highnes ſubiectes haue by myne example taken incouragement (as his graces counſaile is certainly enformed) to repine at his maieſties moſt godly proceedinges: I am right ſory therefore and acknowledge my ſelfe condignly to haue bene puniſhed, and do moſt hartely thanke his maieſty, that of hys great clemency it hath pleaſed his highneſſe to deale with me, not accordyng to rigour, but mercy. And to the entent it may appeare to the world how litle I do repyne at his highnes doyngs, which be in religion moſt godly and to the cōmon wealth moſt profitable, I do affirme & ſay freely of myne owne will without any compulſion as enſueth.

The kinges ſupremacie.

1. Firſt, that by the law of God and the authoritie of ſcriptures the kinges maieſty and his ſucceſſors are the ſupreme heds of the churches of England and alſo of Ireland.

The kinges authoritie in diſpenſing with holy dayes and faſting dayes, or in appointing the ſame.

2. Item, that the appoynting of holydayes or faſting days, as Lent, Imber dayes, or any ſuch lyke, or to diſpence therewith, is in the kings maieſties authoritie and power: and his highnes as ſupreme hed of the ſaid churches of England and Ireland and gouernour therof, may appointe the maner and tyme of the holydayes and faſting dayes, or diſpence therewith as to his wiſdome ſhall ſeme moſt conuenient for the honour of God and the wealth of this realme.

The kinges booke of procedinges.

3. Item, that the kings maieſty hath moſt Chriſtianly and godly ſet forth by and with the conſent of the wholl parliament, a deuout and chriſtian booke of ſeruice of the church to be frequented in the church, which booke is to be accepted and allowed of all biſhops, paſtours, curates, and all miniſters eccleſiaſticall of the realme of england, and ſo of him to be declared and commended in all places where he ſhall fortune to preach or ſpeake to the people of it, that it is a godly and chriſtian booke and order, and to be allowed, accepted and obſerued of all the kings maieſties true ſubiects.

The kinges full authoritie in hys tender age.

4. I do acknowledge the kings maieſty that now is (whoſe lyfe God long preſerue) to be my ſoueraigne lord and ſupreme hed vnder Chriſt to me as a biſhop of this realm, and naturall ſubiect to his maieſty: and now in this hys yong & tender age to be my full and entire kyng, and that I and all other his highnes ſubiects are bound to obey all hys maieſties proclamations, ſtatutes, lawes, and commaundementes made, promulgate and ſet forth in this his highnes yong age as well as though his highnes were at this preſent 30. or 40. yeres old.

Abrogation of the vi. Articles.

5. Item, I confeſſe and acknowledge that the ſtatute commonly called the ſtatute of ſix articles, for iuſt cauſes and groundes, is by authoritie of parliament repealed and diſanulled.

The kinges iuriſdiction to alter and correct abuſes eccleſiaſticall.

6. Item, that his maieſtie and his ſucceſſors haue authority in the ſaid churches of England and alſo of Ireland to alter, reforme, correct, and amend all errours and abuſes and all rites and ceremonies eccleſiaſticall, as ſhall ſeeme from time to time to his highnes and his ſucceſſors moſt conuenient for the edification of his people, ſo that the ſame alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the ſcripture and lawe of God.

Subſcriptio of Wincheſt. to the articles aforeſayd.

Subſcribed by Steuen Wincheſter,
with the teſtimoniall hands of the
counſail to the ſame.

Wincheſt. denyeth to ſubſcribe to the firſt beginnyng of theſe Articles.

To theſe Articles afore ſpecified, although Wincheſter with his owne hand did ſubſcribe, graunting and conſentyng to the ſupremacie of the kyng as well then beyng as of his ſucceſſours to come: yet becauſe hee ſtacke ſomewhat in the firſt point touching his ſubmiſſion, and would in no caſe ſubſcribe to the ſame, but onely made his aunſwere in the margent (as is aboue noted) it was therefore thought good to the kyng, that the Maiſter of the horſe, and Maiſter Secretary Peter ſhould repaire vnto him agayne with the ſame requeſt of ſubmiſſion, exhortyng him to looke better vpon it: and in caſe the wordes ſeemed to ſore, then to referre it vnto him ſelfe in what ſort and with what wordes he ſhould deuiſe to ſubmit hym, that vpon the acknowledgyng of his fault, the kings highnes might extend his mercy and liberalitie towardes him as it was determined. Which was the xj. day of Iune, the yeare aboueſayd.

When the Maiſter of the horſe and Secretary Peter had bene with him in the Tower accordyng to their Commiſſion, returning from him agayne they declared vnto the kyng and his Counſaile how preciſely the ſayde Biſhop ſtoode in iuſtification of himſelfe, that he had neuer offended the kynges Maieſtie: wherfore he vtterly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſiō at all. For the more ſuretie of which deniall, it was agreed that a new booke of Articles ſhould be deuiſed, wherwith the ſayd Maiſter of the horſe and M. Secretary Peter ſhould repayre vnto him agayne, and for the more autentike proceeding with him, they to haue with them a Diuine and a temporall Lawyer, which were the Byſhop of London, and maiſter Goodricke.

The copy of the laſt Articles ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſt. agayne required to ſubmit himſelfe.

Where as I Steuen Biſhop of Wincheſter haue bene ſuſpected as one that dyd not approue or allowe the kinges Maieſties proceedings in alteration of certein rites in Religion, and was conuented before the kinges highnes Counſaill, and admoniſhed thereof, and hauyng certaine thinges appointed for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done therein as I ought to doe, whereby I haue deſerued his maieſties diſpleaſure: I am right ſory therfore. And to the intent it may appeare to the world how lytle I do repyne at his highnes doyngs, which be in religion moſt godly and to the common wealth moſt profitable, I do affirme as followeth.

Good reaſon and ground in ſuppreſſing houſes of religion.

1. Firſt, that the late kyng of moſt famous memory kyng Henry the eight, our late ſoueraigne Lorde, iuſtly and of good reaſon and grounde hath taken away and cauſed to be ſuppreſſed and defaced, all monaſteries and religious houſes, and al conuenticles and conuentes of Monkes, Friers, Nonnes, Chanons, Bonhomes, and other perſons called religious, and that the ſame beyng ſo diſſolued, the perſones therein bounde and profeſſed to obedience to a perſon, place, habite and other ſuperſticious rites and ceremonies, vpon that diſſolution and order appoynted by the kings maieſties authoritie as ſupreme hed of the church, are clerely releaſed and acquited of thoſe vowes and profeſſions, and at their full libertie as though thoſe vnwittie and ſuperſticious vowes had neuer bene made.

Mariages permitted by Gods law, ſtand good without the popes diſpenſation.

2. Item, that any perſon may lawfully marye without any diſpenſation from the Biſhop of Rome or any other man, with any perſon whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony by the law Leuiticall.

Vowes & goyng on pilgrimage.

3. Item, that the vowyng and goyng of pilgrimage to Images or to the bones and reliques of any Sainctes hath bene ſuperſticiouſly vſed and cauſe of much wickednes and Idolatrie, and therfore iuſtly aboliſhed by the ſayd late king of famous memorye, and the Images and reliques ſo abuſed haue bene of great and godly conſiderations defaced and deſtroyed.

Gadding about with S. Nicholas. &c.

4. Item, that the counterfeytyng of S. Nicolas, S. Clement, S. Katherine, and Saynt Edmond by Children heretofore brought into the Church, was a mere mockery & fooliſhnes, and therfore iuſtly aboliſhed and taken away.

Scripture to be in the vulgare tounge.

5. Item, it is conuenient and godly that the ſcripture of ỹ olde Teſtament and newe, that is, the whole Bible, be had in Engliſhe and publiſhed to be read of euery man, and that whoſoeuer doth repell and dehort men from the readyng therof, doth euell and damnably.

6. Item, that the ſayd late kyng of iuſt ground and reaſō dyd receyue into his handes the authoritie and diſpoſition of chaunteries and ſuch liuinges as were geuen for the maintenaunce of priuate maſſes, and did well chaunge diuers of them to other vſes.

Chauntry Maſſes well put downe.

7. Alſo the kings maieſtie that now is by the aduiſe & conſent of the Parliament, dyd vpon iuſte grounde and reaſon, ſuppreſſe, aboliſhe, and take away the ſayd chaunteryes and ſuch other liuings as were vſed and occupyed for maintenaunce of priuate maſſes, and maſſes ſatiſfactory for the ſoules of thē which are dead, or finding of obites, lightes, or other like things: the maſſe ỹ was wōt to be ſaid of prieſts

The Maſſe full of abuſes & well chaunged to the Communion.

was full of abuſes and had very few thynges of Chriſtes inſtitution beſides the Epiſtle, Goſpell, Lordes prayer, and the wordes of the Lordes ſupper: the reſt for the more part were inuented and deuiſed by Biſhops of Rome, and by other men of the ſame ſort, and therfore iuſtly taken away by the ſtatutes and lawes of this realme: and the communion which is placed in the ſtede therof, is very godly and agreable to the Scriptures.

Sacrament in both kindes.

8 Item, that it is moſt conuenient and fit, and accordyng to the firſt inſtitution, that all chriſten men ſhould receyue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt in both the kyndes, that is, in bread and wyne.

Maſſe the popes ordinaunce.

9 And the maſſe wherin the Prieſt doth onely receyue & the other do but looke on, is but the inuention of man and the ordinaunce of the byſhop of Romes church, not agreable to Scripture.

The ſacrament not to be adored.

10 Item, that vpon good and godly conſiderations, it is ordred in the ſayd booke and order, that the Sacrament ſhould not be lifted vp and ſhewed to the people to be adored, but to be with godly deuotion receiued as it was firſt inſtituted.

All Images aboliſhed.

11 Item, that it is well, politikely and godly done, that the kings maieſty by Act of Parlament, hath commaunded all Images which haue ſtand in Churches or Chappels, to be clerely aboliſhed and defaced, leaſt hereafter at any time they ſhould geue occaſiō of Idolatry or be abuſed, as many of them heretofore haue bene with pilgrimages & ſuch Idolatrous worſhipping.

Maſſe bookes, Grayles, &c. defaced.

12 And alſo that for lyke godly and good conſiderations, by the ſame authoritie of Parliament, all Maſſebokes, Couchers, Grayles, and other bokes of the ſeruice in latin heretofore vſed, ſhould be aboliſhed and defaced, as well for certayne ſuperſtitions in them conteyned, as alſo to auoid diſſention: and that the ſayd ſeruice in the church ſhould be thorough the whole realme in one vniforme conformity, and no occaſion through thoſe old bokes to the contrary.

Vowed chaſtitie of prieſtes hath no commaundement of God.

13 That biſhops, prieſts, and deacons haue no commaundement of the law of God, eyther to vow chaſtity, or to abſtayne continually from mariage.

14 Item, that all canons, conſtitutions, lawes poſitiue, and ordinaunces of man, which do prohibite or forbid mariage to any biſhop, prieſt, or deacon, be iuſtly and vpon godly groundes and conſiderations, taken away and aboliſhed by authoritye of Parlament.

Homelies to be read in the Church.

15 The Homilies lately commaunded and ſet forth by the kings maieſty to be red in the congregation of England, are godly and wholeſome and do teach ſuch doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

The kings boke of order.

16 The boke ſet forth by the kings maieſty by authority of Parliament conteinyng the forme and maner of makyng and conſecratyng of Archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſtes and deacons is godly and in no poynt cōtrary to the wholeſom doctrine of the goſpel, & therfore ought to be receiued and approued of all the faythfull members of the church of England, and namely the miniſters of Gods word, and by them commended to the people.

Orders of Subdeacon, Benet, & Colet nedeles in the Church.

17 That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Colet, and ſuch others as were commonly called Minores ordines, bee not neceſſary by yͤ word of god to be reckoned in the church and be iuſtly left out in the ſayde boke of orders.

Doctrine of our ſaluation ſufficiently cōteined in the ſcripture.

18 That the holy ſcriptures conteyne ſufficiently all doctrine required of neceſſity for eternall ſaluatiō through faith in Ieſus Chriſt, and that nothing is to be taught as required of neceſſity to eternall ſaluation, but that which may be concluded and proued by the holy Scriptures.

Paraphraſes of Eraſmus.

19 That vpon good and godly conſiderations, it was and is commaunded by the kings maieſties Iniunctions, that the Paraphraſes of Eraſmus in engliſh ſhould bee ſet vp in ſome conuenient place in euery pariſh church of this realm where as the pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame.

Wincheſt. required to ſubſcribe to theſe articles.

20 And becauſe theſe Articles aforeſaid, do conteine onely ſuch matters as be already publiſhed and openly ſet forth by the kings maieſties authority, by the aduiſe of his highneſſe Counſaile, for many great and godly conſiderations, and amongſt others for the common tranquillitie and vnity of the Realme: hys Maieſties pleaſure by the aduiſe aforeſayd is, that you the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhall not onely affirme theſe Articles with ſubſcription of your hande: but alſo declare and profeſſe your ſelfe well contented, willyng, and ready to publiſh and preach the ſame at ſuch tymes and places, and before ſuch audience as to his Maieſtie from tyme to tyme ſhall ſeeme conuenient and requiſite, vpon the payne of incurryng ſuch penalties and puniſhmentes, as for not doyng the ſame may by his Maieſties lawes be inflicted vpon you.

These Articles were ſent the 15, of Iuly.

The biſhop of Wincheſter receiuyng and peruſing theſe Articles, made this aunſwer agayne: That firſt touchyng the Article of ſubmiſſion, he would in no wyſe conſent, affirming as he had done before, that he had neuer offended the kings Maieſty in any ſuch ſorte as ſhould geue hym cauſe thus to ſubmit himſelf: praying earneſtly to be brought vnto hys trial: wherin he refuſed the kings mercy and deſired nothing* but iuſtice. And for the reſt of yͤ articles he anſwered that after he were paſt his trial in this firſt poynt, & were at liberty, then it ſhould appeare what he woulde do in them: not beyng (as he ſayd) reaſonable that he ſhoulde ſubſcribe them in priſon.

*So ye might fortune to haue turned your altar to an halter.

Of this anſwere when the king and his Counſell had intelligence by the foreſayd Maſter of the horſe, Secretary Peter, the Byſhop of London, and M. Goodricke who had beene wyth him, it was agreed that he ſhould be ſent for before the wholl Counſell and peremptorily examyned once agayne, whether he would ſtand at this point or no: which if he did, then to denounce vnto him the ſequeſtration of his benefice, and conſequently the intymation, in caſe he were not reformed within 3. monethes, as in the day of his apparāce ſhall appeare. The tenor and wordes of which Sequeſtration with the Intimation followeth.

¶ The wordes of the Sequeſtration with the Intimation to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

The tenor of the ſequeſtration read to Wincheſt.

FOraſmuch as the kinges maieſtye our moſt gratious ſoueraigne Lord vnderſtandeth, and it is alſo manyfeſtlye knowen and notoryous vnto vs, that the clemency and long ſufferance of his maieſtye worketh not in you that good effect and humbleneſſe and conformitye, that is requiſite in a good ſubiect: and for that your firſt diſobedyences, contēpts, and other miſbehauioures, for the which you were by hys Maieſties authority iuſtly committed to warde, haue ſithes your ſayd committing, daily more and more increaſed in you in ſuch ſort as a great ſlaunder and offence is therof ryſen, in many partes of the Realme, wherby alſo much ſlaunder, diſſention, trouble and vnquyetnes is very like more to enſue, if your foreſayde offences beinge as they be openly knowen, ſhould paſſe vnpuniſhed: we let you witte that hauing ſpecyall and expreſſe Commiſſion and commaundement from his Maieſty, aſwell for your contumacyes and contemptes ſo long contynued and yet dayly more encreaſing, as alſo for the exchange of the ſlaunder and offence of the people, which by your ſayd ill demeanoures is ryſen, and for that alſo the Church of Wincheſter may be in the meane tyme prouyded of a good miniſter that may and will ſee all thinges done and quyetly executed according to lawes and common orders of this Realme, and for ſundry other great and vrgent cauſes we doe by theſe preſentes ſequeſter al the fruites, reuenues landes and poſſeſſions of your Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, & diſcerne, deeme and iudge the ſame to be committed to the ſeuerall receite collection and cuſtody of ſuch perſon or perſons as hys Maieſtye ſhall appoint for that purpoſe. And becauſe your former diſobediences and contemptes ſo long contynued, ſo many tymes doubled, renued and aggrauated, do manyfeſtly declare you to be a perſon without all hope of recouery and plainly incorrigible: we eftſoones admoniſhe and require you to obay his Maieſtyes ſayd commaundemēt and that you doe declare your ſelfe by ſubſcription of youre hand, both willyng & well contented to accept, allow preach and teach to others the ſayd Artycles, and all ſuche other matters as be or ſhalbe ſet forth by his Maieſtyes authoritye of ſupreme head of this Church of England, on thys ſide, and within the terme of 3. monethes, wherof wee appoynt one moneth for the firſt monition, one moneth for the ſecond monityon and warning, and one moneth for the third and peremptory monityon.

The cauſes why this ſequeſtration was layd againſt Win

Wincheſt. ſequeſtred his byſhopricke.

Intimation geuen to Wincheſt.

Within which tyme as you may yet declare your conformytye, and ſhal haue paper, pen and ynke when you wil cal for them for that purpoſe, ſo if you wilfully forbeare and refuſe to declare your ſelfe obedyent and conformable as is aforeſayd, we intymate vnto you that hys Maieſtye, who lyke a good gouernour deſireth to keepe both hys common wealth quyet, and to purge the ſame of euyll men (eſpecially miniſters) entendeth to procede agaynſt you as an incorrigyble perſon and vnmeete miniſter of this church, to depryuation of your ſayd biſhopricke.

Neuertheleſſe, vpon dyuers good conſiderations, and ſpecyally in hope he might within hys time be yet reconcyled, it was agreed that the ſayd biſhops houſe and ſeruātes ſhould be mayntayned in their preſent eſtate, vntill the tyme that this Iniunction ſhould expire, and the matter for the meane tyme to be kept ſecrete.

After this ſequeſtration the ſayd Biſhop was cōuented vnto Lambeth before the Archbiſhop of Cāt. and other the kinges Cōmiſſioners by vertue of the kings ſpeciall letters

1551.

The names of the Commiſſioners delegate in the cauſe of St.Gardiner.

ſent vnto ẏ ſayd Commiſſioners, to witte, to the Archbiſhop of Cant. Nich. biſhop of London, Thomas biſhop of Elye Henry biſhop of Lincolne, Secretary Peter, Syr Iames Hales knight, Doctor Leyſon Doctor Oliuer Lawyers, and Ihon Goſnold Eſquyre. &c. before thẽ and by them to be examined, by whom were obiected agaynſt hym xx. ſpeciall articles in order and forme here followyng.

Articles and poſitions miniſtred ioyntly and ſeuerally obiected to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Wyncheſter by the Commiſſioners.

IN primis, that the kings Maieſty iuſtly and rightfully is and by the lawes of God ought to bee the ſupreme head in earth of the church of england and Irland, and ſo is by the Clergy of this Realme in their conuocation and by the act of Parliament iuſtly and accordyng to the lawes of God recognized.

2 Item, that his maieſtie as ſupreme head of the ſaid churches, hath full power and authoritie to make and ſet ſuche Lawes, Iniunctions, and Ordinances, for and concerning Religion and orders in the ſaid churches for the increaſe of vertue and repreſſing of all errours, hereſies, and other enormities and abuſes.

3 Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiectes are bound by the lawes of God to obey al his highnes ſayd lawes, Iniunctions, and proceedinges concerning religion and orders in the ſayd Churches.

Wincheſter ſworne to the kynges ſupremacie.

4 Item, that you Steuē biſhop of wincheſter haue ſworn obedience to his Maieſtie, as ſupreme head of this Church of England and alſo of Irland.

5 Item, that all and euery his graces ſubiectes that diſobey any of his ſayd Maieſties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinances and proceedinges already ſet forth and publiſhed, or hereafter to be ſet forth and publiſhed, ought worthely to be puniſhed accordyng to his Graces Eccleſiaſticall lawes, vſed within this his Realme.

Wincheſter after his oth found diſobedient to the king and his procedinges.

6 Item, that you the ſayd biſhop, as well in the kings M. late viſitation wtin your Dioces, as at ſondry other times, haue been complayned vpon, and ſundry informations made agaynſt you for your doinges, ſayinges and preachinges agaynſt ſundry Iniunctions, orders and other procedinges of his Maieſty ſet forth for reformation of errors, ſuperſtitiōs and other abuſes in Religion.

7 Item, that after and vpon the occaſion of thoſe & other many complayntes and informations, you haue been ſundry tymes admoniſhed, commanded & enioyned to cōforme your ſelfe, as to your duety apperteineth.

The manifolde tranſgreſſions of Winc. worthy of puniſhment.

8 Item, that after the premiſſes, and for that thoſe former admonitions and commaundementes notwithſtanding, you did yet ſtil ſhew your ſelfe not conformable, and for that alſo by your example the people were much animated, & thereby occaſion of much vnquietnes miniſtred, you were called before the kinges M. Counſell in the moneth of Iune, the ſecond yeare of his maieſties raigne, and by them on his highnes behalfe commaunded to preach a Sermon before his Maieſty, and therin to declare the iuſtnes and godlynes of hys Maieſtyes Father and hys procedinges vpon certayn matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you deliuered in writing and partly otherwiſe declared vnto you. The effect wherof was touching the vſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, and that his pretenſed authority was iuſtly and godly taken away in this Realme and other the kinges Maieſtyes Dominyons: Touching the firſt ſuppreſſion & taking away of Monaſteryes, Religyous houſes, Pilgrymages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the ſuperſtitious going about of S. Nicholas biſhop, S. Edmund, S Katherin, S. Clement and ſuch like, for taking away of Chātreis, Obites and Colleges, touching halowing of candels, water, Aſhes, palme, holy bread, beades, creeping to ẏ croſſe and ſuch like: touching the ſetting forth of the Kinges maieſties authority in hys yong yeres to be as great, as if hys highnes were of many more yeres, touching auricular confeſſion, touchyng the proceſſion and common prayer in Engliſhe, and that thynges done in generall Councels againſt the worde of God, may bee iuſtly reuoked in perticular Councels.

Wincheſters cōtēptuous diſobedience to the kyng.

9 Item, that you receiuyng the ſame, and promiſing to declare them in a ſermon by you made before hys Maieſty for that purpoſe, on the feaſt of S. Peter in the ſayd ſecond yere of hys highnes raigne, did then and there contemptuouſly and diſobediently omit to declare and ſet forth manye of the ſayd matters, to the great contempt of hys Maieſty, and daungerous example of others.

10 Item, that you being alſo commaunded, and on his maieſtyes behalfe, for the auoyding of tumult, & for other great conſiderations inhibyted to treate of any matter in controuerſie concerning the Maſſe or the Communion (then cōmonly called the Sacrament of the Aultar) did contrary to the ſayd commaundement & inhybition, declare diuers your iudgementes and opinyons in the ſame, in manifeſt cōtempt of hys Maieſties ſayd inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and diſturbaunce of the common quiet, and vnitie of the realme.

Wincheſt. ſubbornely refuſed to conforme hymſelfe to the booke of the kinges procedinges.

11. Item, ẏ after the premiſſes, videlicet in the monethes of May or Iune or one of them, in the thyrd yeare of his highnes raigne, his maieſty ſent eftſons vnto you, to know your conformitie towards his ſayd reformation, and ſpecially touching the booke of common prayer then lately ſet forth by his maieſty, whereunto you at the ſame tyme refuſed to ſhewe your ſelfe conformable.

12. Item, that after that, videlicet the. ix. day of Iulye, in the fourth yeare of his Maieſties raygne, his hyghnes ſent vnto you his graces letters, with a certayn ſubmiſſion and articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commaunded you to ſubſcribe, to the which ſubmiſſion you contemptuouſly refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Wincheſt. ſtandeth in iuſtification of himſelfe.

13. Item, that you hauyng eftſones certayn of the Kyngs moſt honorable Councell ſent vnto you the. xij. of Iulye in the ſayd fourth yeare, with the ſame ſubmiſſion, and beyng in his Maieſties behalfe required and commaunded to conſider agayne better the ſayd ſubmiſſion and to ſubſcribe the ſame, ſtoode in iuſtification of your ſelfe, and woulde in no wyſe ſubſcribe thereunto.

14. Item, that after al this, the. xiiij. daye of Iulye, in the ſaid fourth yeare, the ſayd kynges maieſtie ſent yet agayne vnto you certayne of his maieſties moſt honorable Councell with an other ſubmiſſion and diuers other articles, willing and commaundyng you to ſubſcribe your name thereunto, which to do you vtterly refuſed.

Fantaſticall conſiderations of Wincheſt.

15. Item that after all this, videlicet the. xix. of Iuly in ẏ ſayd fourth yeare, you beyng perſonally called before the whole Counſayle, and hauyng the ſayd ſubmiſſion & articles openly and diſtinctly read vnto you, and required to ſubſcribe the ſame, refuſed for vniuſt and fantaſticall conſiderations by you alledged, to ſubſcribe the ſame.

16. Item, that for your ſundrye and manifold contemptes and diſobediences in this behalfe vſed, the fruits of your benefice were then by ſpeciall commiſſion of his maieſty iuſtly and lawfully ſequeſtred.

17. Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication that you ſhould within three monethes next following the ſayd intimation, reconcile and ſubmit your ſelfe vpon payne of depriuation.

18. Item, that the ſayd three monethes are now fully expired and runne.

Wincheſt. ſworn to aunſwere truely.

19. Item that you haue not hetherto, according to the ſayd intimation and monition ſubmitted: reconciled, nor reformed your ſelf, but contemptuouſly yet ſtill remayne in your diſobedience. Whereupon they required the biſhop of Wincheſter, then and there perſonally preſent to be ſworne faythfully and truely to make aunſwer.

Time geuen to Wincheſt. to aunſwere by writing

After theſe Articles were exhibited vnto him, and he hauing leaue to ſay for himſelf, wherin he vſed all the cautels, ſhiftes and remedies of the law to his moſt aduauntage, by way of proteſting, recuſing and excepting agaynſt the Commiſſion, and requiryng alſo the copyes as well of the Articles, as of his proteſtatiō of the Actuaries (whiche were W. Say and Tho Argal) tyme and reſpite was aſſigned vnto him to aunſwere to the ſayd Articles in writing. But hee ſo cauilled and dalyed from day to day, to aunſwere directly, although hee was ſufficiently laboured and perſuaded to the ſame by ſondry callynges and Actes, and alſo aboundantly conuicted by depoſitiōs and witneſſes, eſpecially by matter induced by the lord Paget, and Andrew Beynton, and M. Chaloner pag. 816. (all which I referre to my firſt booke) that at the laſt he appealed from them, reputyng them not to be competent and indifferent iudges to heare and determine his cauſe, vnto the kynges royall perſon: notwithſtandyng by proteſtation alwayes reſeruyng to himſelfe the benefite of hys appellation: And ſo proceded he to the aunſweryng of the foreſayd articles, but in ſuch crafty and obſtinate maner, as before he had bene accuſtomed, and as at large to them that be deſirous to vnderſtand the proceſſe thereof, in the firſt booke of the Actes and monumentes of the church aforeſayd may appeare.

For the depoſitions of theſe and other witneſſes againſt Winc. read in the firſt edition of Actes & Monumentes. pag. 816.

But briefly to conclude, ſuch exceptions he vſed agaynſt the witneſſes produced againſt hym, and he hymſelfe produced ſuch a number of witneſſes in his defence, and vſed ſo many delayes and cauillations, that in the end the commiſſioners ſeyng his ſtubbornnes, proceded to the ſentence definitiue agaynſt hym, as here vnder followeth.

The ſentence definitiue againſt Steuen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter.

IN the name of God. Amen. By authoritie of a commiſſion by the high and mightey prince our moſt gracious ſoue-

An.1551.

The finall ſentence for the depriuation of the Biſh. Wincheſt.

raigne lord Edward the vi. by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the fayth, and of the Church of England and alſo of Ireland in earth the ſupreme head, the tenour whereof hereafter enſueth: Edward the ſixt, &c. Wee Thomas by the ſufferaunce of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England and Metropolitane, with the right reuerend fathers in god Nicolas Byſhop of London, Thomas Byſhop of Ely, and Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Syr William Peter knight one of our ſayd ſoueraigne lordes two principall ſecretaries Sir Iames Hales knight one of our ſaid ſoueraigne lordes Iuſtices of his common plees, Griffith Leiſon and Iohn Oliuer doctors of the Ciuill lawe, Richard Goodrike and Iohn Goſnold eſquiers, delegates and iudges aſſigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceedyng according to the forme and tenor of the ſayd commiſſion, for the hearyng examination debatyng, and finall determination of the cauſes and matters in the ſayde commiſſion mencioned and conteyned, and vpon the contentes of the ſame, and certeyne articles obiected of office agaynſt you Steuen B. of Wincheſter, as more playnly and fully is mencioned and declared in the ſayde commiſſion and articles, all which we repute and take here for to be expreſſed: & after ſondry iudiciall aſſemblies, examinatiōs, and debatyngs of the ſayd cauſe & matters with al incidentes, emergentes and circumſtances to the ſame or any of them belongyng, and the ſame alſo beyng by vs ofte heard, ſeen, and well vnderſtanded, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, conſidered and fully wayed and pondred, obſeruyng all ſuch order and other thinges as by the lawes, equitie, and the ſayd commiſſion ought or needed herein to be obſerued, in the preſence of you Steuen B. of Wincheſter, do procede to the geuing of our finall iudgement, and ſentence diffinitiue in this maner followyng:

For aſmuch as by the actes inacted, exhibites, and allegations purpoſed, deduced, and alleaged, & by ſufficient proufes with your owne confeſſion in the cauſes aforeſayd had and made, we do euidently fynde, and perceiue that you Steuen Byſhop of Wincheſter haue not onely tranſgreſſed the commaundementes mencioned in the ſame, but alſo haue of long tyme, notwithſtandyng many admonitions and commaundementes geuen vnto you to the contrary, remayned, a perſon much grudging, ſpeakyng, and repugning agaynſt the godlye reformations of abuſes in religion ſet forth by the kynges highnes authoritie within this his realme: and forasmuch as wee do alſo fynde you a notable, open, and contemptuous diſobeyer, of ſondry godly and iuſt commaundementes geuen vnto you by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde and by his authoritie, in diuers great and weighty cauſes, touchyng and concernyng his princely office, the ſtate and common quietnes of this his realme: and for aſmuch as you haue and yet do contemptuouſly refuſe to recognize your notorious negligences, and miſbehauiours, contemptes, and diſobediences, remaynyng ſtill after a great number of ſeuerall admonitions alwayes more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendement, cōtrary both to your oth ſworne, obedience, promiſe, and alſo your bounden duety of allegiance: and for the great ſclaunder and offence of the people, aryſen in many partes of the Realme, through your wilfull doynges, ſayinges, and preachinges, contrary to the common order of the Realme, and for ſondrye other great cauſes by the actes, exhibites, your owne confeſſion, and proufes of this proceſſe more fully appearing: conſidering withall that nothing effectually hath bene on your behalfe alleaged, purpoſed, and proued, ne by any other meanes appeareth, which doth or may empayre or take away the proufes made agaynſt you, vppon the ſayd matters and other the premiſſes:

Winchest. founde to be a tranſgreſſour.

Therefore we Thomas Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane, Iudge delegate aforeſayde, callyng God before our eyes, with expreſſe conſent and aſſent of Nicholas B. of London, Tho. biſhop of Ely, Henry B. of Lincolne, ſir Wil. Peter Knight, ſir Iames Hales Knight, Griffith Leyſon, and Ioh. Olyuer doctors of the ciuill law, Rich. Goodricke, and Iohn Goſnolo, Eſquires, Iudges, and Colleagues with vs in the matters aforeſayd, and with the counſaile of diuers learned men in the lawes, with whom we haue conferred in and vpon the premiſſes do iudge and determine you Steuen B. of Wincheſter to be depriued and remoued from the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter, and from all the rightes, authoritie, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenaunces to the ſaid biſhopricke in any wyſe belongyng, whatſoeuer they be, and by theſe preſentes we do depriue and remoue you from your ſayd biſhopricke and all rites & other cōmodities aforeſaid: and further pronounce and declare the ſaid Biſhopricke of Wincheſter to all effectes and purpoſes, to be voyd by this our ſentence definitiue, which we geue, pronounce, and declare in theſe writings.

St. Gardiner Biſh. of Wincheſter depriued of hys Byshopricke.

This ſentence diffinitiue being geuen, the ſayd Biſhop of Wincheſter vnder his former proteſtations, diſſented from the geuing and readyng therof, and from the ſame as vniuſt of no efficacy or effect in law: and in that that the ſame conteyneth exceſſiue puniſhment, and for other cauſes expreſſed in his appellation aforeſayd, did then and there apud Acta, immediatly after the pronouncing of the ſentence, by word of mouth, appeale to the Kinges Royall Maieſtye, firſt, ſecondly and thirdly, inſtantly, more inſtantly, moſt inſtantly, and aſked apoſtles or letters dimiſſoriales to be geuen and graunted vnto him: And alſo vnder proteſtation not to recede from the ſayd appellation, aſked a copy of the ſayd ſentence, the Iudges declaring that they would firſt know the kinges pleaſure and his counſell therein: vpon the readyng and geuing of which ſentence, the promoters willed Willyā Say and Thomas Argall to make a publicke Inſtrument and the witneſſes then and there preſent to beare teſtimony thereunto, &c.

St. Gardiner appealeth frō the ſentence to the kyng.

And thus haue ye the wholl diſcourſe and Proceſſe of Steuen Gardyner late biſhop of Wincheſter, vnto whom the Papiſticall Cleargy doth ſo much leane, as to a mighty Atlas, and vpholder of their ruinous Religion. And though I haue not herewithall ſo fully expreſſed all his letters, anſweres, preachings, examinations, defenſions, exhibites and atteſtations, with the depoſitions of al ſuch witneſſes as he could and did produce for the moſt aduauntage of hys owne cauſe, with ſuch notes alſo and collections gathered vpon ye ſame, as here I might, and as before I haue done, I muſte entreat the Reader to conſider firſt the greatnes of this volume which would not well beare the tedious tractation therof: and ſecondly to content him ſelfe in reſortinge to our firſt hiſtory, where not onely hee may peruſe the wholl diſcourſe of al this Biſhops doinges ſet forth at large: but alſo may briefly reade in a few ſūmary notes collected, the whol courſe of hys Doctrine and Iudgemente, touchinge what pointes in Religion he did conſente and agree, or not agree vnto. pag. 862.

The end of Wincheſters ſtory.

The notes & collections hereof, read in the firſt edition. fol. 862.

And thus an end of Wincheſter for a while, til we come to talke of his death hereafter. Whome as wee number amongeſt good Lawiers, ſo is he to be reckned amongeſt ignorant and groſſe Diuines, proud Prelats and bloudy perſecuters: as both by his cruell life and Phariſaicall doctrin may appeare, eſpecyally in the Article of the Sacramente, and of our Iuſtification, and Images, and alſo in cryinge out of the Paraphraſe, not conſidering in whoſe perſon the thinges be ſpoken: but what the Paraphraſt vttereth in ye perſon of Chriſt, or of the Euangeliſt, and not in his owne, that he wraſteth vnto the author, and maketh thereof hereſie, and abomination,

Wincheſter a good lawyer but a naughty diuine, and a worſe byſh.

The like impudency and quarelling alſo he vſed againſt Bucer, Luther, Peter Martir, Crāmer, & almoſte againſt all other true Interpreters of the Goſpell. So blinde was his iudgement, or els ſo willfull was his minde in the truth of Chriſtes Doctrine, that it is hard to ſay whether in him vnſkilfulnes or wilfulnes had greater predomination. But agaynſt this Doctor Gardiner we will now ſet and match on the contrary ſide, D. Redman, for ſo much as he departyng this tranſitory life the ſame preſent yere 1551. commeth now by courſe of hiſtory here to be mentioned. Who for his ſinguler life and profound knowledge, beyng inferiour in no reſpect to the ſaid Gardiner, ſhall ſtand as great a friend in promotyng the goſpels cauſe, as the other ſemeth an enemy by all maner of wayes to empaire and deface the ſame. For the more aſſured declaration wherof, we will hereto adioine (the lord willing) the learned cōmunication betwene the ſaid Doctor Redman lying in his deathbed, and M. Wilkes, maiſter Alexander Nowell, Doctor Yong, and other witneſſes moe. Whereof the ſayde M. Wilkes thus recordeth, ſpeakyng in his owne perſone and his owne woordes, as followeth.

Wincheſter as vnſkilfull as wilfull.

D. Redman ſet to match St. Gardiner.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes had with M. Doctour Redman beyng ſicke at Weſtminſter, but of good memory 2. Nouemb. 1551 in the preſence of M. Yong, & an other, who I did not know, and two of maiſter doctor Redmans ſeruants, the one called Ellis, and the other vnknowen.

I The foreſayd Richard Wilkes commyng to Doctor Redman lying ſicke at Weſtminſter, and firſt ſaluting him after my ordinary dutye, wiſhed him health both in ſoule and body, not doubtyng moreouer but he dyd practiſe the godly counſaile in him ſelfe, which he was wonte to geue to other beyng in his caſe: and thankes be to God (ſaid I) who had geuen him ſtuffe of knowledge to comfort him ſelfe withall. To whom he aunſweryng again, ſaid in this wiſe: God of all comfort geue me grace to haue comfort in him, & to haue

The cōmunication and confeſſion of D. Redman in his death bed.

my

1551.

my mynd wholy fixed in him. M. Yong & I ſaid, Amē. Thē I commoned with hym of his ſicknes, & the weakeneſſe of his body, & ſaid, that though he were brought neuer ſo lowe, yet he, if it were his pleaſure that rayſed vp Lazarus, could reſtore hym to helth againe. No, no ſaith he, that is paſt, and I deſire it not but the wil of God be fulfilled.

After thys or a litle other like communication, I aſked if I myght be ſo bolde not troublyng hym, to know hys mynde for my learnyng in ſome matters and poyntes of religion. He ſayd, yea, and that he was as glad to common wyth me, in ſuch matters, as wyth any man. And then I ſayd to hys ſeruauntes: I truſt I ſhall not trouble hym. No ſaid Ellis hys ſeruaunt, my L. of London, M Nowel and other haue cōmuned wyth hym, and he was glad of it. Then ſayd M. Redman, no you ſhall not trouble me. I pray God euer geue me grace to ſpeake the truth, and hys truth, & that which ſhall redound to hys glory, and ſend vs vnitie in hys church, and we ſayd, Amen.

Communication touching the ſacrament of the Lordes body & bloud

I ſayd he ſhould do much good in declaryng his fayth, & I would be glad to know his minde as touching the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

He ſayd, as man is made of two partes, of the body and the ſoule, ſo Chriſt would fede the whole man: but what (ſayth he) be the wordes of the texte? Let vs take ẏ wordes of the ſcripture: and he rehearſed the text himſelfe thus: Accepit Ieſus panē: Chriſt tooke bread. Wherein his wyll was to inſtitute a ſacrament. Accipite, commedite: take, eate. Here he told the vſe of it. What did he geue them? Hoc eſt corpus meum, he calleth it hys body.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſēt in the ſacrament. Vnitio.

Then I aſked hym of the preſence of Chriſt.

He ſayd, Chriſt was preſent with his ſacrament, and in thoſe that receaued it as they ought. And there was Mira vnitio, a wonderfull vniō (for that word was named betwixt Chriſt & vs) as S. Paul ſaith: Vos eſtis os ex oſſibus eius, & caro ex carne eius. Ye be bone of his bones, & fleſhe of his fleſhe. The which vnion was ineffable.

Queſtion. Whether Chriſt be preſent corporally, naturally, and really in the ſacrament. Corporally, that is truely: ſo Chriſt is there otherwiſe not.

Then I aſked hym what hee thought of the opinion, ẏ Chriſt was there corporally, naturally, and really.

He aunſwered: if you meane by corporally, naturally and really, that he is there preſent Verè, I graunt.

Queſt. Whether Chriſt be there fleſh bloud, and bone.

Then I aſked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be ſpoken, that Chriſt was there fleſh, bloud & bone, as I haue heard the Stewardes in their Leets geue charge when the 6. articles ſtode in effect, and charge the Inqueſt to enquire, that if there were any that would deny that Chriſt was preſent in the ſacrament of the aultar in fleſh, bloud, and bone, they ſhould apprehend them.

He ſayd, that was to groſſe and could not well be excuſed from the opinion of the Capernaites.

Queſt. Whether Chriſt be receaued in minde & ſpirite, or with mouth and body, or with both?

Thē I aſked him: in as much as Chriſt was there Verè, how do we receaue hym? in our myndes & ſpirituall partes, or with our mouthes & into our bodies, or both?

He ſayd, we receaue him in our mindes & ſoules by faith.

Queſt. Whether Chriſtes very body be receaued into our very body, or no?

Then in aſmuch as he was much in thys poynt, ẏ there was Mira vnitio, a marueylous vniō betwixt vs & Chriſt, in that we were Caro ex carne eius, & os ex oſſibus eius: Bone of his bone, and fleſhe of his fleſhe: I deſired to know hys opiniō whether we receyued the very body of Chriſt wyth our mouthes, and into our bodies or no.

Here he pauſed & held hys peace a litle ſpace, & ſhortly after he ſpake, ſaying: I will not ſay ſo: I can not tell: it is a hard queſtion, but ſurely ſayth he, we receyue Chriſt in our ſoule by fayth. When you ſpeake of it other wayes, it ſoundeth groſly and ſauoureth of the Capernaites.

Queſt. Whether that be to be worſhipped which the prieſt ſheweth to the people betwixt hys handes?

Then I aſked hym what he thought of ẏ which ẏ prieſt was wont to lyft vp & ſhew the people betwyxt hys hādes?

He ſayd it is the Sacrament. Then ſayde I, they were wont to worſhip that which was lyfted vp. Yea ſayth he, but we muſt worſhyp Chriſt in heauen: Chriſt is neyther lyfted vp nor downe. I am glad, ſayd I, M. Doctour, to heare you ſay ſo much. I would not ſpeake of the holy Sacrament otherwyſe thē reuerently, but I feare leaſt ẏ Sacrament and the litle white peece of bread ſo lyfted vp, hath robbed Chriſt of a great part of hys honour.

Queſt. Whether the caryng about of the ſacramēt is to be alowed?

Then ſayd he, lookyng vp & praying, God graūt vs grace that we may haue the true vnderſtādyng of his word, wherby we may come to the true vſe of his ſacramentes, & ſayde he would neuer allow the caryng about of the ſacrament & other fond abuſes about the ſame.

Trāſubſtātiatiō.

Then after a litle while pauſing, ſayd I: Maiſter Doctor, if I ſhould not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mynde in tranſubſtantiation. Ieſu M. Wilkes (quoth he) wyll you aſke me that? Syr ſayd I, not if I ſhould trouble you. No, no, I wyll tell you ſayth he: Becauſe I founde the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation receiued in the Church, when I heard it ſpoken agaynſt, I ſearched the auncient Doctors dilygently, & went about to ſtabliſhe it by them, becauſe it was receiued. And whē I had read many of them, I founde litle for it, & could not be ſatiſfied. Thē I went to the Schoole Doctors, and namely to Gabriell, and wayed hys reaſons. The which when I had done & perceyued they were no pithier, Langueſcebat opinio mea de tranſubſtantiatione, my opinion of Trāſubſtantiation waxed feble, and then (ſayth he) I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had obſerued their ſayings, myne opinion that there ſhould be tranſubſtantiation, prorſus erat abolita: was quite daſhed.

Tranſubſtātiatiō not to be founde in the Doctors.

Then ſayd I, you know that the Schole Doctors dyd hold that panis non remanebat poſt conſecrationem, ẏ bread remayned not after conſecration as they called it.

The ſchole Doctours deceaued in the word conſecration.

The ſchole Doctors (ſayth he) did not know what conſecratio doth meane: and here he pauſed a while. I pray you ſayd I, what ſay you that conſecratio doth meane? Sayth he, it is Tota actio, in miniſtring the Sacrament, as Chriſt did inſtitute it. All the whole thyng done in the miniſtery as Chriſt ordeyned it, that is, conſecratio, and what (ſayth he) nede we to doubt that bread remaineth? ẏ Scripture calleth it bread, and certaine good authors that be of the latter tyme, be of that opinion.

What is conſecration.

Talke about Doct. Redman.

After that I had commoned with M. Redman, and taken my leaue of hym, M. Yong came forth into the next chamber with me, to whom I ſayd that I was glad to ſee M. Doct. Redman ſo well mynded. Then ſayd M. Yong to me, I am ſure he will not deny it. I enſure you ſaith he, M. Doct. hath ſo moued me, that where as I was of that opinion before in certaine things, that I would haue burned & loſt my lyfe for them, now ſaith M. Yong, I doubt of them. But I ſee (ſaith he) a man ſhall know more and more by proceſſe of tyme, and reading and hearing of other, and M. Doct. Redmans ſaying ſhall cauſe me to looke more diligently for them.

M. Yonge ſtayed by D. Redman frō his popiſhe opinion.

Alſo Ellis M. doctor Redmans ſeruant ſhewed me that he did know that his maiſter had declared to K. Henry 8. his maieſty, that faith only iuſtifieth: but that doctrine as he thought, was not to be taught the people, leſt they ſhould be negligent to do good workes.

The opinion of Doct. Redman touching iuſtification by fayth.

The ſaid maiſter Yong hath reported (the which alſo I heard) that M. doctor Redman ſhould ſay, that conſenſus Eccleſiæ, the conſent of the Church was but a weake ſtaffe to leane to, but did exhorte hym to read the Scriptures, for there was that which ſhould comfort hym when he ſhould be in ſuch caſe as he was then.

Conſenſus Eccleſiæ is but a weake ſtaffe to leane to.

¶ An other communication betwene Doctor Redman lying in hys death bed, and Maiſter Nowell then ſcholemaiſter in Weſtminſter, and certain other with notes of his cenſure & iudgement touching certayne poyntes of Chriſtes Religion.

The confeſſiō of D. Redman before M. Nowell.

1 IN primis, the ſaid D. Redman ſent for M. Nowell of his own mind, and ſaid he was willing to common with him of ſuch matters as he had moued the ſaid D. Redman of a day or two before: and he beyng deſired of the ſayde M. Nowel to declare his mynd concernyng certayne poyntes of our religion, firſt ſayd: aſke me what ye will, and I wil anſwer you (before God) truly as I thinke, without any affection to the world or any worldly perſon.

Witneſſes Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

2 Item, the ſayd D. Redman ſayd, that the ſea of Rome in theſe latter days is Sentina malorū, that is, a ſinke of all euil.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton Ioh. Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

3 Item, that Purgatory, as the ſchoolemen taught it and vſed it, was vngodly, and that there was no ſuche kynde of Purgatory as they fantaſied.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ioh. Wright.

4 Item, that the offring vp of the Sacrament in Maſſes and Trentals for the ſinnes of the dead is vngodly.

Offering vp of the ſacrament called the ſacrifice of the maſſe.

Witneſſes, Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

5 Item that the wicked are not pertakers of the body of Chriſt, but receiue the outward Sacrament only.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ioh. Wright.

6 Item, that the Sacrament ought not to be caried about in proceſſion: for it is taught what is the vſe of it in theſe wordes: Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam: Take, eate, and drinke, and doe this in remembraunce of me.

Caryng about of the ſacrament diſproued.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton Ioh. Wright, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

7 Item, that nothyng which is ſeene in the Sacrament or perceyued with any outward ſence, is to be worſhipped.

Adoration of the ſacrament diſproued.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.

A groſſe opinion to thinke that Chriſt is corporally eaten in the ſacrament.

8 Item, that we receyue not Chriſtes body Corporaliter, id eſt, craſſe: corporally, ẏ is, to ſay, groſly, like other meats, and lyke as Capernaites did underſtand it.

Witneſſes, Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Richard. Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Ioh. Wright.

Chriſt ſpiritually & truely eaten in the ſacrament.

9 Item, that we receiue Chriſtes body ſic ſpiritualiter vt tamen vere: ſo ſpiritually, that neuertheleſſe truly.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Ioh. Wright.

Tranſubſtantiation hath no proufe in the old doctors.

10 Item, as touchyng tranſubſtantiation, that there is not in any of the old doctours any good grounde: or ſure proofe therof, or any mention of it, as farre as euer he coulde perceyue, neither that he ſeeth what can be aunſwered to the obiections made agaynſt it.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Chriſt can neither be lifted vp nor downe.

11 Item, beyng aſked of Maiſter Wilkes what that was which was lifted vp betwene the prieſtes handes, he anſwered: he thought that Chriſt coulde neyther be lifted vp nor downe.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

Prieſtes mariage lawfull by Gods word.

12 Item, that Prieſtes may by the lawe of God marry wyues.

Witneſſes Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas.

Fayth onely iuſtifieth, a true doctrine.

13 That this propoſition: Sola fides iuſtificat, ſo that fides ſignifie Veram, viuam, & acquieſcentem in, Chriſto fidem, id eſt amplexum Chriſti: that is to ſay, that onely fayth doth iuſtifie, ſo that fayth do ſignifie a true, a liuely, and a faith reſtyng in Chriſt & embracyng Chriſt: is a true, godly, ſwete and comfortable doctrine, ſo that it be ſo taught that ẏ people take none occaſion of carnall liberty therof.

True fayth defined.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Kich. Burton Ioh. Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

Workes do not merite to ſaluation.

14 Item, that our workes cannot deſerue the kyngdome of God, and lyfe euerlaſtyng.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich, Elithorne, Ioh. Wright.

15 Item, that the ſayd D. Redman, at ſuch tymes as we the foreſayd perſons, which haue ſubſcribed, heard his communication concernyng the foreſayd pointes of religiõ, was of quiet mynd and of perfite remembraunce, as farre as we were able to iudge.

Witneſſes Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ioh. Wright.

¶ Alſo M. Yong of himſelf doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wyſe.

¶ To the v. Article.

Doct. Yonges teſtimony of Doct. Redmans doctrine.

IN primis, that D. Redman ſayd more, where as S. Auguſtine ſayd: Quòd Iudas idem accepit quod Petrus, that Iudas receiued the ſame that Peter did, he ſaid that he vnderſtode that of the Sacramẽt, and that after ẏ ſame phraſe a man might ſay: Quòd Simon Magus idem Baptiſma recepit quod Apoſtoli, that Simon Magus receyued the ſame Baptiſme that the Apoſtles did, when he did receiue onely the outward Sacrament to hys condemnation: for he ſayd that he thought Chriſt would not vouchſafe to geue his holy fleſh to an vngodly man. And thus he ſayd was alwayes his mynde, though he knew that other men dyd otherwyſe thinke.

Iudas receiued the ſame that Peter did, as Simon Magus receiued the ſame baptiſme as Peter dyd.

¶ To the vj. Article.

Caryyng abont of the ſacrament.

Item, he ſayd, he neuer lyked the cariage about of the Sacrament, and preached agaynſt it about 16. yeares ſince in Cambridge.

¶ To the x. Article.

Trãſubſtãtiatiõ.

Item, when he was demaunded of tranſubſtantiation, he ſayd, that he had trauayled about it, and thinkyng that the doubtes which he perceyued did ryſe theron ſhoulde be made playne by the ſcholemen, did read their bookes, and after that he had read them the opinion of tranſubſtantiation, was euery day Magis & magis languida, that is, weaker & weaker, and that there was no ſuch tranſubſtantiation as they made, adding therto that the whole ſchole did not know what was ment by conſecration, which he ſayde was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ To the xiij. Article.

Iuſtification by fayth onely.

Item, he ſayd that he did repent him that he had ſo much ſtriued againſt iuſtification by onely fayth.

¶ To the xiiij. Article.

Workes merite not eternall life.

Item, that workes had their crowne and rewarde, but that they did not deſerue eternall lyfe, and the kyngdome of god, no not the workes of grace: Nam donum dei vita æterna. For euerlaſting life is the gift of God.

Although theſe teſtimonies aboue alledged may ſuffice for a declaration touchyng the honeſt lyfe, ſounde doctrine, and ſincere iudgement of Doctour Redman: yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut of in this place, the teſtimoniall letter or Epiſtle of D. Yong written to M. Cheke ſpecially concernyng the premiſſes. Which Epiſtle of Doct. Yong, as I receiued it written by his owne hand in the latine tongue, the copy which he himſelfe hath not, nor cã deny to be his owne, & is extant to be read in the former booke of Actes and Monumentes, ſo I haue here exhibited the ſame faythfully tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, the tenour wherof here foloweth.

The letter of M. Yong written to M. Cheke concerning Doct. Redman, tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe.

M. Yonges letter to M. Cheke touching Doct. Redman.

ALthough right worſhipfull, I am ſtricken into no litle dampe and dolour of mynde for the vnripe (but that it otherwiſe pleaſed almighty God) and lamentable death of that moſt bleſſed & learned man Doct. Redman, in ſomuch that all aſtonied with weeping and lamenting, I can not tell what to doe or thinke: yet neuertheleſſe (perceyuing it to be your worſhips will and pleaſure, that ſo I ſhoulde do) I gladly call my wittes together, and purpoſe by gods grace, here in theſe my letters, ſincerely and truely to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man ſpeake and confeſſe at the houre of his death as touchyng the controuerſies of religion, wherwith the ſpouſe of Chriſt is in theſe our dayes moſt miſerably troubled and tormented.

Commendation of Doct. Redman.

Then Doct. Redman, being continually by the ſpace of xx. yeares or ſomewhat more exerciſed in the reading of the holy ſcripture, with ſuch induſtry, labour, modeſty, magnanimitie, and prayers to almighty God tryed and wayed the controuerſies of religiõ, that in all hys doyngs, as he would not ſeeme to approue that was either falſe or ſuperſtitious, ſo he would neuer improue that he thought to ſtand wyth the true worſhyp of God. And albeit in certayne poyntes and articles of his fayth, he ſeemed to diuerſe which were altogether ignoraunt of that his ſingular grauitie, eyther for ſoftnes, feare, or lacke of ſtomacke to chaunge his minde and beliefe: yet they, to whom hys former lyfe and conuerſation by familiar acquaintaunce with hym was throughly knowen, wyth them alſo which were preſent at his departure, may eaſely perceaue and vnderſtand, how in graue & weightie matters, not raſhely and vnaduiſedly, but wyth conſtant iudgement and vnfayned conſcience he deſcended into that maner of beliefe which at that tyme of hys goyng out of thys world, he openly profeſſed.

Exhortation of D. Redmã to them that were about hym.

I geue your wiſdome to vnderſtand, that when death drew neare, he caſting away all hope of recouery, mynded & talked of no other thing (as we which were preſent heard) but of heauen and heauenly matters, of the latter day, of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, wyth whom moſt feruently he deſired to be: whoſe incredible loue towardes vs miſerable ſinners, moſt worthely and not without teares he often tymes vſed to extoll and ſpeake of: and vs which were there preſent, he earneſtly moued and exhorted to prepare our ſelues to Chriſt, to loue one an other, and to beware of this moſt wretched and corrupt world. And beſides that he promyſed (callyng God to witnes therunto, to whom he truſted ſhortly to come) if any would demaunde any queſtion, that he would aũſwere hym what he thought in his iudgement to be the truth. At what time there were preſent M. Alexander Nowell, a man earneſtly bent to the true worſhipping of God, and one that had alway ſingularly wel loued the ſayd M. Redman: to whom he ſpake on this wiſe:

M. Alexander Nowell now Deane of Paules.

Your excellent learning and puritie of lyfe I haue euer both highly fauoured, and had in admiration: and for no other cauſe (God be my iudge) I do aſke theſe thynges of you which I ſhall propound, but that I myght learne and know of you what is your opinion & beliefe touching thoſe troublous controuerſies which are in theſe our dayes: and I ſhall receaue and approue your wordes as oracles ſent from heauen.

To whom when Doct. Redman had geuen leaue to demaund what he would, and had promiſed that he woulde faythfully and ſincerely aunſwere (all affection ſet aſide) what he thought to be ẏ truth, M. Nowell ſayd: I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I feare by my talke and communication I ſhalbe vnto you, ſo feble and now almoſt ſpent, a trouble and griefe. Thẽ ſayd Doct. Redman replying: what ſhall I ſpare my carkas (quoth he) which hath ſo ſhort a tyme here to remayne? Go to, go to (ſayd he) propound what you will. Thẽ M. Nowel put forth certayne queſtions in order, which I will here declare: whereunto the ſaid Doctor Redman ſeuerally aunſwered, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt queſtion that he aſked of hym was, what he thought of the Byſhop of Rome. Unto whom D. Redmã aũſwered that the Sea of Rome in theſe our latter dayes

The Sea of Rome a ſincke of all ſinne.

had much ſwarued from the true religion and worſhypping of god and is with horrible vices ſtayned and polluted: which I therfore (quoth he) pronounce to be the ſincke of all euill and ſhortly will come to vtter ruine by ſcourge of God, except it do fall the ſooner to repentaunce: wherwith he briefly complayned of the filthy abuſe of our Engliſhe Church.

Purgatory.

Beyng then aſked what his opiniõ was concernyng purgatory, and what the Scholemen iudged thereof, he aunſwered, that the ſubtill reaſons of the Scolemen concernyng purgatory, ſeemed to him to be no leſſe vayne, and ſcrupulous then diſagreeyng from the truth: addyng therevnto, that whẽ we bee rapt vp to the cloudes to meete Chriſte commyng to iudgement with a great number of Angels in all glory and maieſty, then euery one ſhallbe purged with fire as it is wrytten: The fire ſhall goe before him, and ſhall flame rounde about his enemies, and the fire ſhall burne in his ſight, and round about him ſhall be a great tempeſt: ſaying that diuers of the olde wryters approued this his ſentence concernyng purgatorye.

Pſal. 97. & 50

The wicked eate not the fleſh of Chriſt.

When he was aſked whether wicked and vngodlye people in the holy communion dyd eate the body of Chriſt, and drynke his bloud: he aunſwered that ſuch kynde of men did not eate Chriſtes moſt bleſſed fleſhe, but onely tooke the ſacrament to their own damnation: ſaying that Chriſt would not geue his moſt pure and holy fleſhe to bee eaten of ſuche naughty and impure perſons, but woulde withdrawe hymſelfe from them. And that (quoth hee) that is obiected by S. Auguſtine, that Iudas receiued the ſelfe ſame thing which Peter receiued: that I think to bee vnderſtanded of the externall ſacrament. And, the lyke kynde of phraſe of ſpeakyng (ſayde hee) wee may vſe concernyng the baptiſme of Magus: that Simon Magus receaued that whiche the Apoſtels dyd receaue. In deede as concernyng the Sacrament of the externall baptiſme, Simon Magus receaued that which the Apoſtels dyd, but that internall grace, wherewith the Apoſtels were endued, and that holy ſpirite wherwith by baptiſme they were enſpired, hee lacked. And ſo (quoth he) the wicked and forſaken people, whiche raſhely preſume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receyue the ſacrament and the ſelfe ſame which good and godly men receaue: but the body of Chriſt, they do not receiue, for Chriſt doth not vouchſafe to deliuer it thẽ. And thus he ſaid was his opinion and beliefe, although hee knewe others to be of a contrary iudgement.

How Chriſt is preſent in the ſacramẽt.

Beyng then after this demaunded whether hee thought Chriſtes preſence to be in the ſacrament or no, he aunſwered that Chriſte dyd geue & offer to faythfull and Chriſtian men, his very reall body and bloud verely and really vnder ſacraments of bread and wine, in ſomuch that they which deuoutly come to bee partakers of that holy foode, are by the benefite therof vnited and made one with Chriſte in his fleſhe and body. And therfore hee ſaide that Chriſt dyd diſtribute his body ſpiritually that he gaue it truely, not ſo yet neuertheleſſe that by theſe and the like wordes we ſhoulde conceyue any groſſe or carnall intelligence ſuch as the Capernaites once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeuour to expreſſe by ſome kynde of wordes the ineffable maieſtie of this miſterie. For the maner whereby Chriſt is there preſent, and miniſtreth to the faithfull hys fleſhe, is altogether inexplicable: but we muſt beleue (quoth he) and thinke, that by Gods mighty power & the holy operation of his ſpirite, thys ſo notable a miſtery was made: & that heauen & earth was ioyned together in that moment, as the bleſſed man S. Gregory ſaith: ÿ loweſt partes are ioyned wt the higheſt: By which is vnderſtand that holy food, wherby they which be regenerate by ÿ holy goſt in baptiſm are nouriſhed to immortality. And further he ſaid ÿ Chriſts body was receiued in ÿ ſaid ſacramẽt by faith: which being receiued, both body & ſoule wer quickned to euerlaſting life.

The Capernaites groſſe errour of Chriſtes bodily preſence in the ſacrament.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Beyng then required to ſay hys mynde about tranſubſtantiatiõ, he gaue aunſwer that he had much traueled in ÿ poynt, and that he firſt much fauoured and enclined to that part which mainteyned tranſubſtantiation: in ſearching the verity wherof moſt ſtudiouſly, he had bene no little whyle occupied, and found to aryſe therabout infinite, and almoſt inexplicable abſurdities. In confutyng wherof, whẽ he had but ſmally contented hymſelfe, he ſayd he tooke in hand the Scholemens workes, and peruſed Gabriell and other writers of that ſort, for that by theyr helpe and ayde hee hoped that all inconueniences which did ſpryng and aryſe by maintenaunce of tranſubſtantiation, might be cleane conuinced and wyped away. Of which hys hope he was vtterly fruſtrate (ſayd he) for that he dyd finde in thoſe workes many fond and fantaſticall thynges, which were both to fooliſh to be recorded in wrytyng, and alſo to be alleaged about ſuch a myſtery: and truly (ſayd he) euer after the readyng of them, my former zeale and opinion, touchyng the maintenance of tranſubſtantiation dyd euery day more and more decreaſe, and therfore in concluſion perſwaded hymſelfe to think that there was no ſuch tranſubſtantiation as the Scholemen imagined and fayned to be, ſaying that in dede the auncient wryters were playnly agaynſt the mayntenaunce therof: amongſt whom he recited by name Iuſtine, Irene, and Tertullian, notorious aduerſaries to the ſame. Furthermore, he added herevnto that ÿ whole ſchole vnderſtode not what this word, Conſecratio was: which he defined to be the full and entire action of the whole Communion.

Conſecration what it meaneth.

Beyng demaunded alſo whether we ought to worſhip Chriſt preſent in hys holy Supper, he told vs that we are bound ſo to do: and that it was moſt agreeyng to piety & godly religion. Likewyſe beyng aſked whether he would haue the viſible ſacrament to be worſhipped, which we ſee wyth our eyes, and is lyfted vp betwene the prieſts handes: he anſwered that nothyng which was viſible and to be ſene with the eye, is to be adored or worſhypped, nor that Chriſt wold be eleuated into any hygher, or pulled downe into any lower place, and that he can neyther be lyfted vp hygher, nor pulled downe lower.

Nothyng to be worſhipped that may be ſeene.

Agayne, beyng aſked what his iudgemẽt was about ÿ cuſtome and maner in caryyng about the Sacrament in ſolemne pompes, proceſſions and otherwiſe: he ſayde that hee alwayes miſliked and reproued that order: In ſo much that about .xvi. yeares agon openly in the pulpyt at Cambridge he ſpake agaynſt that abuſe and diſalowed that ceremonye, ſhewyng that Chriſte had expreſſed by playne and euident wordes a very fruitfull and right vſe of this Sacrament, when he ſayde Take ye: (by whiche phraſe quoth hee, he doth expreſſe that he will gyue a gyft): Eate ye: (by whiche wordes he doth declare the proper vſe and order of that his precious gyft): This is my body: (wherby he doth euidently and playnely ſhewe what by that gyfte they ſhoulde receaue and how royall and precious a gyft he would giue them): & therfore he iudged ſuch pompous and ſuperſtitious oſtentations vtterly to bee condemned and taken as playne mockeries and Counterfaite viſers.

The ſacrament not to be caryed about.

His iudgement alſo beyng aſked about the Commemoration of the dead, and the remembraunce of thẽ in Orations whether hee thought it profitable or no: he aunſwered that it ſeemed to him to be no leſſe profitable, then religious and godly: and that might bee well proued out of the bookes of Machabees. The which bokes although Saint Hierome abiudgyng as not authentike, thought good to bee read in the Temples onely for the edifying of the Churche, and not for the aſſertion of opinions: yet with me the opinions of the other wryters, to whom thoſe bookes are allowed as Canons, preuayleth: which hee in that point thinketh good to be read.

In this poynt the iudgement of Doct. Redmã is not to followed.

Beyng furthermore required to ſhewe hys mynde about trentall Maſſes and Maſſes of Scala cœli, he ſhewed them that they were altogether vnprofitable, ſuperſtitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountayne of ſuperſtition, not yeldyng the fruite whiche they promiſed to bryng forth. The Sacrifice of the Supper of the Lorde (the Euchariſt I meane) that ſacrifice he ſayd could not be offered for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Trentall Maſſes diſproued.

Sacrifice of the maſſe diſproued.

Finally, of his owne voluntary will, & no man (as farre as I can call to remembraunce) demaundyng of him, hee ſhewed his opinion concernyng Iuſtification by Chriſte, I lament (ſayde hee) and repent, beſeching God forgiueneſſe for the ſame, that ſo ſeriouſly and earneſtly I haue withſtand this propoſition: that onely fayth doth iuſtifye, but I alwayes feared that it ſhoulde be taken to the liberty of the fleſhe, and ſo ſhould defile the innocency of life whiche is in Chriſt. But that propoſition: that onely fayth doth iuſtifie, is true (quoth hee) ſweet and full of ſpirituall comfort, if it be truely taken and rightly vnderſtanded. And when hee was demaunded what hee thought to be the true and very ſenſe therof: I vnderſtand (quoth hee) that to be the liuely fayth, which reſteth in our onely Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt & imbraſeth him: ſo that in our onely Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, all the hope and truſt of our ſaluation be ſurely fixed. And as concernyng good workes (ſayd he) they haue their crowne and merite: and are not deſtitute of their rewardes. Yet neuertheleſſe they do not merite the kyngdome of heauen. For no workes (ſayd he) can not purchaſe and obteyne that bleſſed, happy and euerlaſtyng immortality: no nor yet thoſe thinges whiche we do vnder grace by the motion of the holy Ghoſt. For that bleſſed and immortall glory is geuen & beſtowed vppon vs mortall men, of the heauenly father for his Sonne our Sauiour Chriſtes ſake, as Saint Paule teſtifieth. The gift of God is eternall life.

Faith onely iuſtifieth.

Workes do not merite ſaluation.

Rom. 6.

And theſe be the reſolutions which I heard him geue to the queſtions by M. Nowel propoſed. From which his ſentẽce & iudgement ſo heard by me & of hym vttred (as I remẽber) I neuer declined or varied. I beſech our lord Ieſus Chriſt to ceaſe theſe troubleus ſtormes wherewith the church is toſſed, and vouchſafe for his holy names ſake tenderly to behold and loke vpon hys poore wretched flocke ſo miſerably ſcattered and diſperſed, beſeching him alſo of hys good-

The iudgement of D. Yonge about the controuerſies of religiõ.

goodnes to preſerue your worſhip. At London the third of Nouember.

Here followeth the hiſtory no leſſe lamentable then notable of William Gardiner an Engliſh man, ſuffring moſt conſtantly in Portyngale for the teſtimony of Gods truth.

An 1552.

The ſtory of W. Gardiner moſt cruelly martired at Liſhborne in Portugale.

COmmyng nowe to the yeare next folowyng. 1552. wee will ſomwhat ſteppe a ſide and borow a little leaue, coaſtyng the Seas into Portingale amongeſt the Popiſh marchauntes there, whither a certayn countrymā of ours doth call me, named William Gardinar, a man verely in my iudgement, not onely to be compared with the moſt principall and chief Martyrs of theſe our dayes, but alſo ſuch one, as the auncient Churches in the time of the firſt perſecutions, can not ſhewe a more famous: whether wee doe beholde the force of his fayth, his firme and ſtedfaſt cōſtantnes, the inuincible ſtrength of his ſpirite, or the cruell and horrible tormentes: the report onely and hearyng whereof, were enough to put any man in horror or feare. Yet notwithſtandyng ſo farre it was of that the ſame dyd diſcourage hym, that it may be doubted whether the paine of his body, or the courage of his mynde were the greater: when as in deede both appeared to be very great.

W. Gardiner comparable with the martirs in the primitiue Church.

Wherfore, if any prayſe or dignitie amongeſt men, (as reaſon is) be due vnto the Martyrs of Chriſt for their valiaūt actes, this one man amonges many, ſeemeth worthy to bee numbred and alſo to be celebrate in the Church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatius, Greſcentius, and Gordianus. And if the Church of Chriſt do receiue ſo great and manifold benifits by theſe martyrs, with whoſe bloud it is watred, by whoſe aſhes it is enlarged, by whoſe conſtancie it is confirmed, by whoſe teſtimonie it is witneſſed, & finally through whoſe agonies and victories the truth of the Goſpell doth glorioſly tryumph: let not vs then thynk it any great matter, to require them with our duety agayne, by committing them vnto memory, as a perpetuall tooken of our good will towardes them. Albeit, they them ſelues receyue no glory at our handes, and much leſſe challenge the ſame: but referre it wholy vnto the Lord Chriſt, from whom it came whatſoeuer great or notable thyng there was in them. Notwithſtandyng, for ſo much as Chriſt him ſelfe is glorified in hys Saintes, we can not ſhewe our ſelues thankefull vnto him except we alſo ſhew our ſelues ductifull vnto thoſe, by whō his glory doth increaſe.

What duetie is to be geuen of Chriſtians to the bleſſed Martyrs paſt.

The memory of Chriſtes Martyrs not to be forgotten.

Hereupon I thinke it came to paſſe, ẏ the auncient Chriſtians in the tyme of the firſt perſecutions, thought good to celebrate yearely commemorations of the Martyrdome of thoſe holy men: not ſo much to honour them, as to glorifie God in his ſouldiours, vnto whom al glory and prayſe doth worthely belong: and moreouer, that wee beyng inſtructed by their examples, might bee the more prompt and ready in the policies of thoſe warres, to ſtand more ſtoutly in battaile agaynſt our aduerſaries, and learne the more eaſiely to contemne and deſpiſe this worlde. For in conſideryng the end and death of theſe men, who will greatly long or luſte after this life, which is ſo many wayes miſerable, through ſo many afflictions dolorous, through ſo many caſualties ruinous, wherein conſiſteth ſo litle conſtancie and leſſe ſafety beyng neuer free from ſome hard calamitie one or other? What good man would haue this world in reputatiō, wherin he ſeeth ſo many good men ſo cruelly oppreſſed, and wherin no man can liue in quietnes, except he be wicked? Wherfore I do not a litle meruelle, that in this great ſlaughter of good mē with ſo many ſpectacles and examples of cruel torment, Chriſtians do yet lyue as it were drowned in the fooliſhe deſires of this worlde, ſeyng dayly before their eyes ſo many holye and innocent men yeld vp their ſpirites vnder the handes of ſuch tormentors, to lye in filthy priſons, in bondes, darkenes, and teares, and in the end to be conſumed with fire. Wee ſee ſo many Prophetes of God, euen Chriſt him ſelfe the ſonne of god, to be ſo cruelly and many wayes afflicted in this world, tormoiled, ſcourged and crucified: & yet wee laugh, drynke, and giue our ſelues vnto all loſenes of lyfe and all laſciuiouſnes. For honour and great poſſeſſions we contend: we build: we ſtudy & labour by all meanes to make our ſelues rich. Vnto whō it doth not ſuffice that we with ſafety and freedome from their afflictions, rackes, wheeles, ſcourges, yrons read hoate, gredirōs, fleſhe hookes mallettes, and other kyndes of tormentes, may ſerue our Chriſt in peace and quyet: but beyng herewith not content will giue ouer our ſelues to all kynde of wickednes, to bee lead away at the will and pleaſure of Sathan?

How it came to paſſe that the primitiue church had yearely commemorations of Martyrs.

Superſtition in honouring martyrs.

What profite cōmeth by memory of Martyrs to vs.

The world geueth quietnes to the wicked eſpecially.

Good men moſt afflicted in thys world.

But what do we thinke in ſo doyng? Either we muſt recken thoſe men to be moſt miſerable in this lyfe, or els our ſelues to be moſt vnhappy. But if their bleſſednes bee moſt certayne and ſure, then let vs direct the courſe of our lyfe to the ſame felicitie. Theſe men haue forſaken this life, which they might haue enioyed. But if we can not willingly put of this lyfe, yet let vs not be ſlow to amende and correct the ſame: and though wee cannot dye with them in like martirdome, yet let vs mortefie the worldly and prophane affections of the fleſh which ſtriue againſt the ſpirite, and at the leaſt let vs not thus runne headlong into the licentious deſires of the world, as we doe. As the life of Chriſten men is now, I pray thee, what doe theſe bondes, priſons, theſe woundes and ſcarres, theſe great fiers, and other horrible tormentes of martirs, then vpbrayd vnto vs our ſlouthfull ſlogiſhnes, and worthely make vs aſhamed therof? Which Martirs if in their liues they liued ſo innocently, & in their death continued ſo conſtant, what then is to be deemed of vs which ſuffer nothing for Chriſt, and will not take vpon vs the ſmall conflict againſt vices and our own affections? How would we ſuffer the cruel lookes of tirāntes, the fearful kindes of tormēts, or the violent aſſaultes of ẏ tormēters in any quarrell of godlines, if in peace and quietnes we are, and that with euery ſmall breath or winde of temptation we are are blowne away from God, ſo faint harted without any reſiſtaunce are caryed hedlong into all kinde of wickednes & miſchiefe? One ſingeth ſonges of loue, an other watcheth all the night at dice: ſome ſpēd their lyfe and tyme day by day in hawking and hunting, ſome tipple ſo at tauernes, that they come home reeling. Others whatſoeuer deſire of reuenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they ſeeke to put in practiſe. Some gape after riches: ſome ſwell with ambition: ſome thinke that they are borne for no other purpoſe but for pleaſure and paſtime. All the world is full of iniury and periury, nay rather it is ſo rare a thing patiently to ſuffer iniuries done vnto vs, that except we haue the ſleight to doe iniurye to other, wee thinke our ſelues ſcarce men. There is no loue almoſt nor Charitie amongeſt men: neither is ther any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

The ſufferings of Martyrs be leſſons to vs, to plucke vs from his world.

The great difference betwene Chriſtes martirs that haue bene, and the life of Chriſtians which now is.

But amongeſt all the reſt, vnſatiable couetouſnes and auarice ſo raigneth that no man almoſte is now contented wt any tolerable eſtate of life, either ẏ will preſcribe himſelf any meaſure in hauing ẏ he poſſeſſeth, or in prolling for ẏ which he lacketh: neuer quiet, but alwayes toilyng, neuer ſatiſfied, but alwayes vnſatiable. Whereby it ſo commeth, that the mindes of Chriſten men, being occupyed in ſuche worldelye carks & cares can ſcarcely find any vacant leiſure to thinke vpon heauenly thinges: and yet notwithſtanding with theſe mindes, wee will needes ſeeme Chriſtians. But now ſettinge aparte theſe complayntes ſpente in vaine, wee will proſecute our purpoſed ſtory touching good W. Gardiner.

And firſt as concerning his kinred, he was of an honeſt ſtock, borne at Briſtow, a towne of marchandiſe on the ſea coaſt of England, honeſtly brought vp and by nature geuen vnto grauitie, of a mean ſtature of body, of a comely and pleſant countenaunce, but in no part ſo excellent as in ẏ inward qualities of the minde, which hee alwayes from his childehode preſerued without ſpot of reprehenſion. Alſo his hanſome and indifferēt learning did not a litle commend & beautifie his other ornaments. Whē he grew vnto thoſe yeres at which young men are accuſtomed to ſettle their myndes to ſome kinde of lyfe, it happened ẏ he gaue himſelf to the trade of Marchandiſe, vnder the conduct & guiding of a certayne Marchant of Briſtow, called Maſter Paget, by whom he was at the laſt (being of the age of xxvj. yeares, or there about,) ſent into Spayne, and by chaunce the Ship arriuing at Liſhborne (which is the chiefe Citie of Portugale) hee taryed there about his Marchandiſe, where at the laſte hee hauing gotten vnderſtanding of the language and being accuſtomed to their mānees, became a profitable ſeruant both vnto his maſter and others, in ſuch things as pertained vnto the trade of that vocation. Whereunto hee did ſo applye himſelfe that neuertheleſſe he in that popiſh countrey reſeruing ſtill the religion of his own countrey of England, euer kept him ſelfe ſound and vndefiled from the Portugales ſuperſtition. There were alſo beſides him diuers other good men in the ſame Citie. Neither dyd he lacke good bookes & the conference of good and honeſt mē, vnto whom he would oftentimes bewayle his imbecillitye and weakeneſſe, that he was neither ſufficiently touched wt the hatred of his ſinnes, neither yet enflamed with the loue of godlines.

The firſt bringing vp and trade of W. Gardiner.

W. Gardiner folowed the trade of marchaundiſe.

The godly diſpoſed minde of W. Gardiner.

Whileſt hee was there abidinge, it happened that there ſhould be a ſolemne mariage, celebrate the firſt day of September in the yeare aboue ſayd, betweene two Princes: to ſay, the ſonne of the king of Portugale, & the Spaniſh king his daughter. The mariage day being come, ther was great reſorte of the Nobilitye and Eſtates. There lacked no Byſhops with Miters, nor Cardinals with their hats, to ſet out this royall wedding. To be ſhort, they went forward to the weddinge wyth greate Pompe, where a greate concourſe of people reſorted, ſome of good will, ſome for ſeruice ſake, and ſome (as the manner is) to gaze and looke. Greate

A ſolemne mariage betwene the K. of Portingales ſonne, & the Spaniſhe kinges daughter in Portugale.

prepa-

1552.

preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole Citie, as in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed, and all places were filled with myrth and gladnes. In this great aſſembly of the whole kingdome, William Gardinar, who, albeit he dyd not greatly eſteeme ſuch kynde of ſpectacles, yet beyng allured through the fame and report therof, was their alſo, cōmyng thether early in the mornyng, to the intent hee might haue the more opportunitie and better place to behold and ſee.

The houre beyng come, they flocked into the church with great ſolemnitie and pompe: the kyng firſt, and then euery eſtate in order. The greater perſones, the more ceremonies were about them. After all thinges were ſet in order, they went forward to the celebratyng of their Maſſe: for that alone ſerueth for all purpoſes. The Cardinall did execute, & much ſinging and organe playing. The people ſtoode with great deuotion and ſilence, praying, lookyng, kneelyng, and knocking, theyr mindes beyng fully bent and ſet, as it is the maner) vpon the externall ſacrament, How greeuouſly theſe thynges dyd pricke and moue this younge mans mynde, it can not be expreſſed, partlye to beholde the miſerable abſurditie of thoſe thinges, and partly to ſee the folly of the cōmon people: and not onely of the common people, but ſpecially to ſee the kyng him ſelfe and his Councell, with ſo many ſage and wiſe men (as they ſeemed) to be ſeduced with lyke Idolatrie as the common people were: In ſo much that it lacked very little, but that he woulde euen that preſent day haue done ſome notable thinge in the kynges ſight and preſence, but that the great preaſe and throng that was about hym, letted that he could not cōe vnto the alter. What neede many wordes? when the ceremonies were ended, he commeth home very ſad and heauy in his minde: in ſo much that all his fellowes marueiled greatly at him: Who albeit vpon diuers coniectures they conceyued the cauſe of his ſadnes, notwithſtandyng they dyd not fully vnderſtand that thoſe matters ſo much troubled his godly mynde: neither yet did he declare it vnto any man, but ſeekyng ſolitarynes and ſecret places fallyng down proſtrate before God, with manifolde teares bewayled the neglectyng of his dutye, deliberatyng with him ſelfe howe he might reuoke that people from theyr impietye and ſuperſtition.

A Popiſhe celebration of a mariage

The godly zeale of W. Gardiner in ſeing the Idolatrie of the people and the great diſworſhip of God.

In this deliberation and aduiſe his minde being fully ſetled, and thinkyng that the matter ought not to bee any longer differed, he renounced the worlde, making vp all his accomptes ſo exactly (as well of that whiche was due vnto him, as that which he ought vnto others) that no mā could iuſtly aſke ſo much as one farthyng. Whiche thing done, he continued night and day in prayer callyng vpon God, and cōtinual meditatiō of the Scriptures, that ſcarſely he would take any meate by day, or ſlepe by night, or that moſt, about an houre or two of reſt in the night, as Pendigrace his felowe, companion both at bedde and bourde being yet alyue, can teſtifie.

Wylliam Gardiner cleareth hys bookes of accomptes.

William Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

The Sonday came agayne to be celebrate either with like pompe and ſolemnitie, or not much leſſe, whereas the ſayde William was preſent earely in the morning, very cleanly apparelled euen of purpoſe, that he might ſtand neare the altar without repulſe. Within a while after commeth the kynge with all his nobles. Then Gardinar ſetteth hym ſelfe as neare the alter as he might, hauyng a teſtament in his hande the whiche he diligently read vppon, and prayed vntill the time was come yͭ he had appointed to worke his feate. The Maſſe began, whiche was then ſolemniſed by a Cardinall. Yet he ſatte ſtill, he which ſaid Maſſe, proceded, hee conſecrated, ſacrificed, lifted vp on hye, ſhewed his God vnto the people, all the people gaue great reuerence, and as yet he ſtirred nothyng. At the laſt they came vnto that place of yͤ maſſe where as they vſe to take the ceremoniall Hoſte and toſſe it too and fro round about the Chalice, making certayne circles and ſemicircles. Then the ſaid W. Gardiner not beyng able to ſuffer any longer, ranne ſpeedily vnto the Cardinall: and (which is vncredible to be ſpoken) euen in the preſence of the King and all his Nobles and Citizens, with the one hand he ſnatched away the cake from the Prieſt, and trode it vnder his feet, and with the other hand ouerthrew yͤ chalice. This matter at yͤ firſt made thē al abaſhed, but by & by there roſe a great tumulte, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the cōmon people ranne together, amongeſt whome, one drawyng out his Dagger, gaue him a great wounde in the ſhoulder, and as he was about to ſtrike hym agayne to haue ſlayne him, the Kyng twyſe commaunded to haue him ſaued. So by that meanes they abſteyned from murther.

Williā Gardiners aduiſed preparation to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe.

The Cardinall at his Maſſe

William Gardiner plucketh the Cardinals Idolle out of his hādes at Maſſe as he was leaping about the Chalice.

William Gardiner wounded with a dagger.

After the tumult was ceaſed, he was brought vnto the king: by whom he was demaunded what countrey man he was, and howe he durſt be ſo bold to worke ſuche a contumely agaynſt his Maieſtie, and the Sacramentes of the Church? He aunſwered: moſt noble kyng, I am not aſhamed of my countrey, which am an Engliſhe man both by byrth and religion, and am come hether onely for traffike of Marchaundiſe. And when I ſawe in this famous aſſembly ſo great Idolatry cōmitted, my conſcience neither ought neither could any longer ſuffer, but that I muſt needes do that which you haue ſeene me preſently doe. Which thyng (moſt noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproche of your preſence, but onely for this purpoſe (as before God I do clearely confeſſe) to ſeeke the onely ſaluation of this people.

William Gardiner brought before the kyng.

The oration of William Gardiner before the kyng.

When they heard that he was an Engliſhe man and called to remembraunce how the Religion was reſtored by K. Edward, they were by and by brought in ſuſpition, that he had bene ſuborned by Engliſhmen thus to doe, to mocke and deride their religion. Wherfore they were the more earneſt vpon hym to know who was the author and procurer that he ſhould commit that act. Unto whom he aunſwered, deſiring them that they would cōceaue no ſuch ſuſpitiō of hym, for ſomuch as he was not moued thereunto by any man, but onely by his owne conſcience. For otherwiſe there was no man vnder yͤ heauē, for whoſe ſake he would haue put himſelfe into ſo manifeſt daunger: but that he ought this ſeruice firſt vnto God, and ſecondarily vnto their ſaluatiō: wherfore if he had done any thing which were diſpleaſaunt vnto them, they ought to impute it vnto no man, but vnto themſelues, which ſo vnreuerently vſed the holy Supper of the Lord vnto ſo great Idolatry, not without great ignominie vnto the Church, violation of the ſacramentes, and the perill of their owne ſoules, without they repented.

The ſuſpition of the Portugales vpon the facte of William Gardiner.

The aunſwere of William Gardiner to the falſe ſuſpition of the Portugalls.

Whileſt that he ſpake theſe wyth many other thinges more vnto this effect very grauely and ſtoutly, the bloud ran aboundantly out of the wounde, ſo that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were ſent for, whereby he myght be cured if it were poſſible, and be reſerued for further examination, & more greuous torment. For they were fully perſwaded that this deede had diuers abbettors and ſetters on: which was the cauſe that all the other Engliſhmen alſo in the ſame Citie came into ſuſpition, and were commaunded to ſafe cuſtody. Amōgeſt whom, Pendigrace, becauſe he was his bedfelow, was greuouſly tormented & examined more then the reſidue, and ſcarcely was deliuered after two yeares impriſonment. The other were much ſooner ſet at libertie at the interceſſion of a certayne Duke. Notwithſtanding their ſuſpition could not yet be ſatiſfied, but they came vnto his chamber to ſeeke if there were any letters, to vnderſtand and finde out the author of thys enterpriſe. And when as they coulde finde nothyng there, they came agayne vnto him being greuouſly wounded, with tormentes to extorte of him the author of this facte, and to accuſe him as gilty of moſt greuous hereſie. Of both which pointes, with ſuch dexteritie as he could, he cleared himſelfe. Wherein, albeit he ſpake in the Spaniſhe tounge well, yet he vſed the Latine tounge much more exactely.

Pendigrace bedfellow to W. Gardiner impriſoned vpon ſuſpition.

William Gardiners chamber ſearched,

But they not beyng therwith ſatiſfied, added an other ſtraunge kynde of torment, which (as I ſuppoſe) paſſeth the Bull of Phalaris. Becauſe there ſhoulde no kynde of extreme crueltie be left vnaſſayed, they cauſed a linnen cloth to be ſowed rounde like a ball, the which they with violence put downe hys throate vnto the bottome of his ſtomacke, tyed wyth a ſmall ſtring which they held in their handes, & when it was downe, they pulled it vp agayne with violēce, ſo plucking it to and fro through the meate pype, in ſuch ſort as with much leſſe griefe they might haue ridde hym out of his life at once.

The Bull of Phalaris a certaine tyranne was a kinde of torment made of Braſſe like Bull with fire vnder it to torment ſuch as were put into it, and make them to rore like a Bull

Thus at the laſt, when all tormentes & tormenters were weried, and that it did nothing at all preuaile to go this way to worke, they aſked him whether he did not repent hys wicked and ſeditious deede. As touching the deede aunſwered that it was ſo farre of that he did repent, that if it were to do agayne, he thought he ſhould do the ſame. But as touching the maner of the deede, he was not a litle ſory that it was done in the kyngs preſence to the diſquietnes of hys minde. Howbeit yͭ was not to be imputed vnto him, which neither enterpriſed or thought vpon any ſuch matter, but rather to be aſcribed vnto yͤ kyng, in that he hauing power, woulde not prohibite ſo great Idolatrye vſed amonge hys people. Thys he ſpake wyth great feruencie.

William Gardiner not repētyng hys fact.

After they had vſed all kynde of tormentes, and ſaw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and alſo that through his woundes & paines he could not long liue, they brought him three dayes after to execution. And firſt of all, bringing him into the Veſtry, cut of his right hand, which he taking vp with his left hād, kiſſed. Thē he was brought into the market place, wheras his other hand alſo was cut of: which he kneeling downe vpon the grounde, alſo kiſſed. Theſe thinges thus done after the maner and faſhion of Spaine, his armes being bounde behinde him, and his feete vnder the horſe belly, he was caried to the place of executiō,

The right hand of William Gardiner cut of in the veſtry.

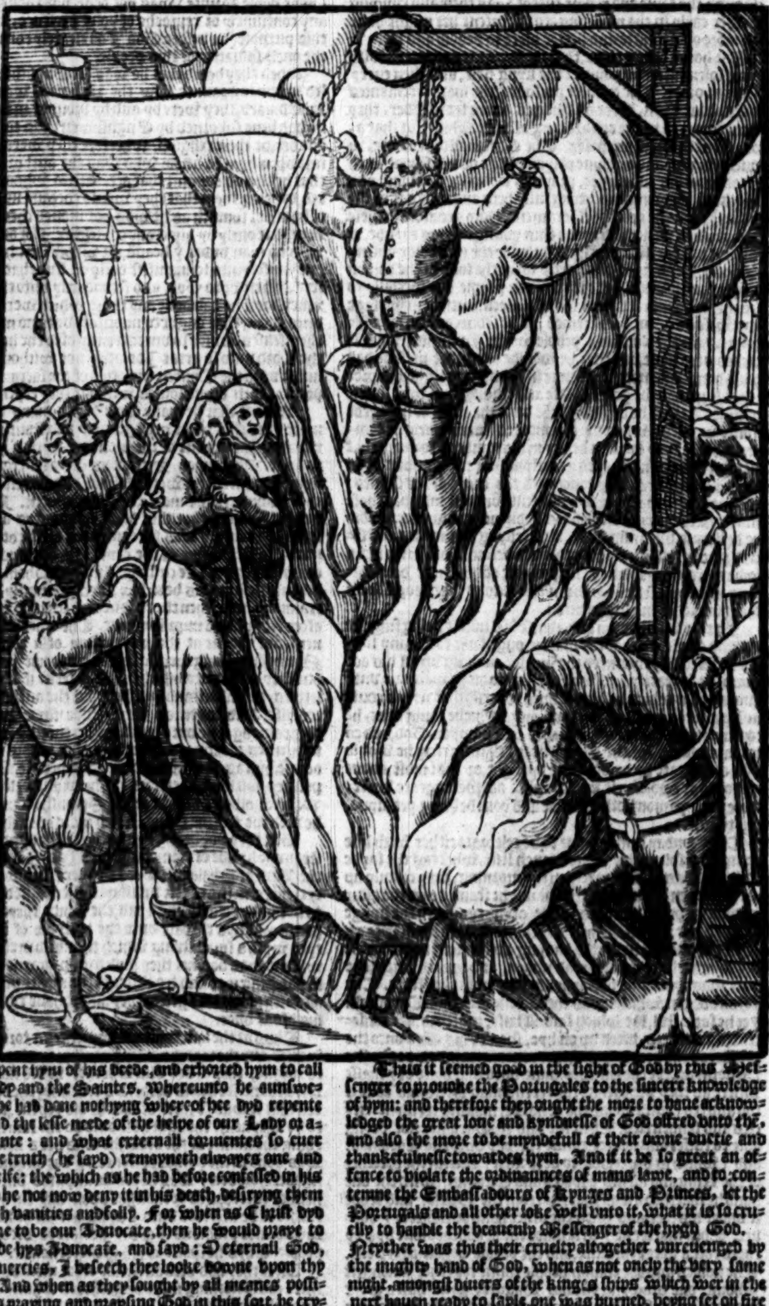
The left hand of William Gardiner cut of in the Market place.

The

¶ The order and maner of the cruell handling of William Gardiner, an English Merchaunt, tormented and burned in Portugall, in the cauſe of God and of hys truth.

The wretched crueltie of the Portugales in burning a Chriſtian Martyr.

There was in that place a certain engine, frō the whiche a greate rope comming downe by a pulley, was faſtened about yͤ middle of thys Chriſtiā martyr, whiche firſte pulled hym vp. Then was there a gret pile of wood ſet on fire vnderneath him, into yͤ whiche hee was by litle and little let downe, not with yͤ whole body, but ſo that his fete onely felt yͤ fire. Then hee was hoyſed vp, & ſo let down again into the fire & thus oftētymes pulled vp and downe. In which great torment for all that, hee continued with a conſtant ſpirit: & the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently hee prayed.



W. Gardiner at his burnyng willed agayne to repent.

At the laſt whē his fete were conſumed, the tormentors aſked hym whether he did not yet repent hym of his dede, and exhorted hym to call vpon our Lady and the Saintes. Whereunto he aunſwered, that as he had done nothyng whereof hee dyd repente hym, ſo he had the leſſe neede of the helpe of our Lady or any other Sainte: and what externall tormentes ſo euer they vſed, the truth (he ſayd) remayneth alwayes one and lyke vnto it ſelfe: the which as he had before confeſſed in his lyfe, ſo would he not now deny it in his death, deſiryng them to leaue of ſuch vanities and folly. For when as Chriſt dyd ceaſe any more to be our Aduocate, then he would praye to our Lady to be hys Aduocate, and ſayd: O eternall God, father of all mercies, I beſeech thee looke downe vpon thy ſeruaunt. &c. And when as they ſought by all meanes poſſible to ſtop his praying and prayſing God in this ſort, he cryed out with a loude voyce, rehearſing the 43. Pſalme: Iudica me deus & diſcerne cauſam meam, de gente non ſancta. Iudge me O God, and defend my cauſe agaynſt the vnmercifull people.

W. Gardiner would not pray to our Lady, ſo long as he had Chriſt to be his aduocate.

The prayer of W. Gardiner out of the 43. Pſalm.

He was not come vnto the latter ending of the pſalme, when as they pullyng hym vp and downe in the fire for the more torment, the rope beyng burnt a ſonder, he fell downe in the midſt therof; wheras geuyng his body for a ſacrifice, he chaunged hys temporall paynes for perpetuall reſt and quietneſſe.

Thus it ſeemed good in the ſight of God by this Meſſenger to prouoke the Portugales to the ſincere knowledge of hym: and therefore they ought the more to haue acknowledged the great loue and kyndneſſe of God offred vnto thē, and alſo the more to be myndefull of their owne duetie and thankefulneſſe towardes hym. And if it be ſo great an offence to violate the ordinaunces of mans lawe, and to contemne the Embaſſadours of Kynges and Princes, let the Portugals and all other loke well vnto it, what it is ſo cruelly to handle the heauenly Meſſenger of the hygh God.

A leſſon for the Portugales.

Neyther was this their cruelty altogether vnreuenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not onely the very ſame night, amongſt diuers of the kinges ſhips which wer in the next hauen ready to ſayle, one was burned, beyng ſet on fire by a ſparcle of Gardiners fire driuē thether with yͤ wynde, but alſo the kings ſonne which was then maried, died within halfe a yere, and the next yere after the King hymſelfe alſo dyed, and ſo both within one yere after the tormentyng of this bleſſed Martyr.

The iuſt hand of God vpon perſecuters.

It is reported that that ſparcle lighted amōgeſt gunpouder.

Thus the body of the ſayd Gardiner beyng conſumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people ſo ceaſed not, but they were as cruell againſt him beyng dead, as they were when he was alyue, and with their tongues tormented this Martyr, when they could doe no more with their handes:

yea for very madnes they would ſcarſe tarry vntill he were burned, but euery man as they could catch any peece of him halfe burned, threwe it into the ſea.

The blynde and miſerable crueltie of the Portugales againſt a poore Engliſhe man.

A Popeholy faſt for paceifying the wrath of theyr God of the Altar.

This Sacrifice thus ended, the Clergie, to pacifie Gods wrath whiche they feared, for the violatyng of their aultar, appoynted a ſolemne faſt of certayne dayes, for penaunce to purge that fact, whiche fact rather ſhoulde haue taught them to purge them ſelues, and to put away their filthy Idolatrie, and much rather they ſhould haue faſted & repented for that their extreme crueltie they had ſhewed vnto the liuely member of Chriſt.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner ſeemeth to haue profited very many of them litle or nothyng: yet for al that there are ſome (as I haue hearde diuers reporte) out of whoſe myndes the remembraunce of this conſtant Martyr can neuer be pulled, and is ſo freſhe yet amongeſt them, as if it were nowe lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while ſince he was put to death, yet yͤ memory of his death, as fruitful ſeede, hath taken ſuch roote in ſome, yͭ euē vnto this preſent day, he is a liuely and diligent preachyng vnto them, againſt ſuperſtition and Idolatrie vſed in their Churches. Ex teſtimonio N. Fildi, Pendigrace, & aliorum, qui rei geſtæ interfuerunt.

The tragical hiſtorie of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, with the whole cauſe of his troubles and handlyng.

1552.

The ſtory of the L. Protector Duke of Somerſet.

AFter ſo many troublous matters in this hiſtorie afore paſſed, cōmyng now to the lamentable and tragical narration of the Lord Edward Duke of Somerſet, the kings vncle, & Protector of his perſon & of his Realme, I coulde not wel enter into the ſtory of hym, without ſome premonition firſt to al noble perſonages, of what honor or calling ſo euer within this realme, by way of hiſtory briefly to admoniſh them, no man to plant any truſt or aſſurance vpon the brickle pillors of worldly proſperitie, how high ſoeuer it ſeemeth, conſidering that there is no ſtate ſo high, but it hath his ruine, no wiſedome ſo circumſpect, but it may be circūuented, no vertue ſo perfect, but it may be enuyed, neyther any mans trade ſo ſimple, but it may be beguiled. And therfore ſeeing the condition of mortal thinges is ſo, that no man can alwayes ſtand in this ſo ruinous a worlde: the ſureſt way is euery man to chuſe his ſtanding ſo, that his fal may be the eaſier. But becauſe my purpoſe is (as I haue ſayde in the ſtories before) to abridge and make ſhort, I wyl here ſtay, referring to the ſecrete conſideration of that which remayneth further by me in this matter to be vttered: and ſo falling into the ſtory of the Lord Protectour Duke of Somerſet, we wyl (the Lord willyng) declare in order the original and whole occaſion of his trouble and decay, euen frō the beginnyng.

Worldly proſperitie not to be truſted vnto.

Concorde maketh brethren ſtrong.

Kyng Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three vncles leaft hym by his mothers ſide, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the whiche two firſt, one was made Protectour of the Realme, and the other high admiral of the ſame. Theſe two brethren, ſo long as they were knyt and ioyned together in amitie & concord, preſerued both them ſelues, the king their nephew, and the whole cōmon wealth from the violence and feare of al danger. But the ſubtil old ſerpent alwayes enuying mans felicitie, through ſclaunderous tongues ſought to ſowe matter, firſt of diſcorde betwene them, then of ſuſpition, and laſt of al, extreme hatred: in ſo much that the Protectour ſuffered his brother being accuſed (whether truely or falſely the Lord knoweth) to be condemned, & to looſe his head. Whereby it came to paſſe (whether by the correction of Gods iudgement vpon hym, or whether that he after the death of his brother, and the king being yet but yong and tender of age, was the leſſe able to ſhift for hym ſelfe) that not long after he was ouermatched and ouerthrowen of his enemies, and ſo caſt into the Tower, and at laſt loſt his head alſo, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the ſequele of this hiſtorie foloweth to be declared.

Syr Thomas Semer L. Admirall.

Diſpleaſure betwene the Queene and the Duches of Somerſet

Diſcorde betwene the L. Protectour, and the Lord Admiral his brother.

For the better introduction of whiche hiſtorie, firſt to begyn with the foreſaide brother of the Lorde Protectour, namely Sir Thomas Semer, high Admyral of England, and the kinges Uncle, here is to be vnderſtande that he had maryed Queene Katherine late wife to Kyng Henrye the eight, of whom ye hearde before, pag. 1422. Nowe it happened (vpon what occaſion I knowe not) that there fell a diſpleaſure betwixt the ſaide Queene and the Duches of Somerſet, and therupon alſo in the behalfe of their wiues, diſpleaſure and grudge began betwene the brethren. Which albeit through perſwaſion of frendes it was for a tyme appeaſed betwene them: yet in ſhort ſpace after (perchaunce not without the priuie ſettyng forward of ſome which wer backefrendes to the Goſpell) it brake out againe, both to the trouble of the Realme, and eſpecially to the confuſion of them both, as after it proued. Firſt to the Lorde Admyralles charge it was layde, that he purpoſed to deſtroye the young kyng, and tranſlate the Crowne vnto hym ſelfe, and for the ſame beyng attaynted and condemned, dyd ſuffer at Tower hyl the. xx. of March. an. 1549. As many there were which reported that the Duches of Somerſet had wrought his death: ſo many moe there were, who miſdoubtyng the long ſtandyng of the Lord Protectour in his ſtate and dignitie, thought and affirmed no leſſe, but that the fal of the one brother would be the ruine of the other: the experiment wherof as it hath often ben proued, ſo in theſe alſo eftſoones it enſued.

The Lord Admirall beheaded at Tower hill.

En quo diſcordia fratres perduxit miſeros.

John Dudley Earle of Warwicke afterward Duke of Northumberland.

It was not long after the beheadyng of the Lord Admyrall, but inſurrections began to kindle the ſame yeare in diuers quarters of the realme, as is aboue ſtoried. By the occaſion wherof the lord Ruſſel lord priuie Seale was ſent to the weſt partes, and the lord Dudley Earle of Warwike was ſent with an army into Northfolk: wher both he him ſelfe and a great nūber of Gentlemen that were with hym, meetyng with the rebels were in great daunger: notwithſtanding in the end the ouerthrow was geuen to the rebels, which was about the beginnyng of Septemb. 1549. After this victorie atcheiued, in the next moneth folowing, which was Octob. how the matter fel out betwene the lord Protectour & certaine other lordes, I know not, but at the returne of the Earle of Warwike aforeſaid, great workyng & conſultation there was among the Lordes, aſſemblyng thē ſelues in the houſe of maſter Yorke, and at Bainards Caſtle, and in the Lord Maiors houſe at London, againſt the Lord Protector remaynyng then with the kyng at Hampton Court. Of the which buſines and trouble, thus the Lord Protectour writeth in his letters to the Lord Ruſſel in the weſt countrey, as foloweth.

Diſcorde betwene the Earle of Warwicke and the L. Protector.

¶A letter of the Lord Protector to the Lord Ruſſel Lord priuie Seale, concerning troubles working againſt him.

A letter of the L. Protectour, to the L. priuie Seale.

AFter our right harty commendations to your good lordſhip, here hath of late riſen ſuche a conſpiracie agaynſt the kings maieſtie & vs, as neuer hath ben ſeene, the which they can not mainteyn but with ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer meant nor entēded on vs. They pretēd and ſay, that we haue ſold Bulloigne to the French, and that we do withholde wages from the ſouldiers, and other ſuch tales and letters they do ſpreade abroad (of the which, if any one thing were true, we woulde not wiſhe to liue) the matter now being brought to a marueilous extremitie, ſuch as we would neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, eſpecially of thoſe mē towards the kings maieſtie and vs, of whō we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauor & loue. But the caſe being as it is, this is to require and pray you to haſten you hyther, to the defence of the kinges maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you may, to ſhewe the parte of a true Gentleman, and of a very frende: the which thing we truſt God ſhal reward and the kinges maieſtie in tyme to come, and we ſhal neuer be vnmyndfull of it too. We are ſure you ſhal haue other letters from thē, but as ye tender your duetie to the kinges maieſtie, we require you to make no ſtaye, but immediately repayre with ſuch force as ye haue, to his highnes Caſtle of Windſore, & cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as ye may make, to folowe you. And ſo we byd you right hartyly farewel. From Hampton Court, the ſixt of Octob.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louyng frend,
Edward Somerſet.

An anſweare to the L. Protectors letter.

The effect of the L. Ruſſelles letter anſwering to the Lord Protectour.

To this letter of the Lord Protectour ſent the ſixt of Octob. the Lord Ruſſell returning anſweare againe vpon the eight of the ſaid moneth, firſt lamenteth the heauie diſſenſion fallen betwene the Nobilitie and hym, which he taketh for ſuche a plague, as a greater could not be ſent of almighty God vpon this Realme, being the next way (ſaith he) to make of vs conquerours, ſlaues, & like to induce vpō the whole Realme an vniuerſall calamitie and thraldome, vnleſſe the mercyful goodnes of the Lord do helpe, & ſome wiſe order be taken in ſtaying theſe great extremities. And as touching the Dukes requeſt in his letters, for as much as he heard before of this broyle of the Lordes, & feared leaſt ſome conſpiracie had bene meant againſt the kings perſon, he haſted forward with ſuch company as he could make for the ſuretie of the king, as to hym apperteyned. Nowe perceiuyng by the Lordes letters ſent vnto hym the ſame ſixt day of Octob. theſe tumultes to riſe vpon priuate cauſes betweene him and them, he therfore thought it expedient that a conuenient power ſhoulde be leuied, to be in readyneſſe to withſtand the worſt (what peryls ſoeuer might enſue) for the preſeruation both of the king, and ſtate of the realme frō the inuaſion of forreine enemies, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloudſhed, if any ſuch thing ſhould be intended betwixt the partes in the heate of this faction. And this he thinkyng beſt for diſcharge of his allegeance, humbly beſeecheth his grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpecial regard and conſideration, firſt that the kinges maieſtie be put in no feare, & that if there be any ſuch thing wherein he hath geuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to proceede, he wyl ſo conforme hym ſelfe, as no ſuch priuate quarrels do redound to the publike diſturbance of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true whiche he vnderſtandeth by the letters of the Lordes, that he ſhoulde ſende about proclamations and letters for rayſing vp of the Commons, he liked not yͤ ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted wel, that his wiſedome would take ſuch a way, as no effuſion of bloud ſhould folowe.

The contentes of the ſecond anſweare of the L. Ruſſell to the Lord Protector.

And thus muche being conteined in his former letters of the eight of October, in his next letters againe written the .xi. day of Octob. the ſaid Lord Ruſſel reioyſing to heare of the moſt reaſonable offers of the Lord Protectour made to the Lords, writeth vnto hym, and promiſeth to do what in the vttermoſt power of hym (and likewiſe of ſir W. Harbert ioyned together with him) do lye, to worke ſome honorable reconciliation betweene hym and them: ſo as his ſayd offers being accepted & ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſion might enſue, according to their good hope and expectation: Signifying moreouer, that as touching the leuying of men, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readines for the benefite of the Realme, to occurre all inconueniences what ſoeuer, eyther by forreine inuaſion or otherwiſe might happen, and ſo hauing their power at hand, to drawe neare, whereby they might haue the better opportunitie to be ſolicitours and a meanes for this reformation on both parties. &c. And thus much for anſweare of the Lord Ruſſel to the Lord Protectours letters.

The good Lord Ruſſell a ſolicitor for peace betwene the Lord Protector and the Lordes.

The Lordes of the Counſell aſſembled agaynſt the Lorde Protector.

But nowe to the matter againe of the Lords, who together with the Earle of Warwike (vppon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſembled at London, as ye heard, againſt the Lord Protector: when the king with his counſaile at Hampton Court heard therof, firſt Secretary Peter with the kinges meſſage was ſent vnto them, whom the Lords notwithſtādyng deteined ſtyl with them, making as yet no anſweare to the meſſage. Wherupon the lord protectour writeth to them in this maner as foloweth.

❡ A letter of the Lorde Protectour, to the Counſaile at London.

The Lorde Protectors letter to the Lordes of the Counſaile at London.

MY Lordes, we commende vs moſt hartily vnto you, and whereas the kinges maieſtie was infourmed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſort as you do and nowe remayne, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuche other of his Counſaile as were then here about his perſon, to ſende maiſter Secretary Peter vnto you with ſuch meſſage as whereby might haue enſued the ſuretie of his maieſties perſon, with preſeruation of his Realme and ſubiectes, and the quiet both of vs and your ſelues, as maiſter Secretarye can well declare to you: his maieſtie and we of his Counſaile here doo not a litle marueile that you ſtay ſtyll with you the ſaid maiſter Secretarye, and haue not as it were vouchſafed to ſende anſweare to his maieſtie, neither by hym nor yet any other. And for our ſelues we doo muche more marueile and are right ſorye, as both we and you haue good cauſe to be, to ſee the maner of your doinges bent with violence, to bring the kinges maieſtie and vs to theſe extremities. Which as we doo intend, if you wyll take no other way but violence, to defende (as nature and our allegeance doth binde vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who geueth victorie as it pleaſeth hym: ſo if that any reaſonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bene ſignified vnto vs from you, nor we do not vnderſtand what you do require or ſeeke, or what you do meane) and that you do ſeeke no hurt to the kinges maieſties perſon: as touching al other priuate matters, to auoyde the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and to preſerue the kinges maieſties perſon, his Realme & ſubiectes, you ſhall finde vs agreeable to any reaſonable conditions that you wyl require. For we do eſteeme the kinges wealth and tranquilitie of the Realme, more then al other worldly things, yea more then our own life. Thus praying you to ſende vs your determinate anſweare herein by maiſter Secretary Peter, or if you wil not let hym go, by this bearer: we beſeeche God to geue both you & vs grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honour, the preſeruation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which may be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt hartily fare well. From the kinges maieſties Caſtle of Windſore, the 7. of October. 1549.

No worde hetherto ſent from the Lordes to the Lord Protector, what they requited of him to doe.

Reaſonable conditions offered by the Lord Protector.

Your Lordſhips louing frend,
E. Somerſet.

After theſe letters receiued and the reaſonable conditions of the Lord Protectour, and yet not much regarded of the Lordes, they perſiſting ſtyll in their pretended purpoſe, tooke this aduiſe: firſt to keepe them ſelues in the citie of London, as ſtrong as they might: and therfore calling vpō the Maior and the Aldermen, they willed them in any caſe to prouide a good and ſubſtantiall watche by night, and a good ward by day, for the ſafegard of their citie, & the portes and gates therof: which was cōſented vnto, and the Companies of London in their turnes warned to watche and warde accordingly.

A ſolemne watch commaunded in London.

The Citie of Londō preſſed with 500. men to fetch the Lord Protector.

The anſweare of the Lord Maior to the Lordes.

The Lordes aſſembled in the Lord Maiors houſe.

Then the ſaid Lordes and Counſailours demaunded of the Lord Maior & his brethren fiue hundred men to aide them to fetche the Lorde Protectour out of Windſore from the king: but therunto the Maior anſweered, that he could graunt none aide without the aſſent of the common Counſaile of the citie. Wherupon the next day a common Counſaile was warned. But in this meane time the ſaid Lords of the Counſaile aſſembled thē ſelues at the Lord Maiors houſe of London, who then was Syr Henry Amcottes Fiſhmonger, & Will. Locke Mercer, and ſir Iohn Ayleph Sheriffes of the ſaid citie, and there the ſaid Counſayle dyd agree and publiſhe a Proclamation forthwith againſt the Lord Protectour, the effect of which proclamation was as foloweth.

The effect of the proclamation ſet out agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

1 Firſt, that the Protector by his malitious and euyl gouernment, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late happened within the Realme.

2 The loſſe of the kinges peeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and ſought his own glory, as appeared by buildyng of moſt ſumptuous and coſtly houſes in the tyme of the kinges warres.

4 That he eſteemed nothing the graue counſell of the Counſaylours.

5 That he ſowed diuiſion betweene the Nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons.

6 That the Nobles aſſembled them ſelues together at Londō for none other purpoſe, but to haue cauſed the Protectour to haue lyued within limites, and to haue put ſuche order for the ſuretie of the kinges maieſtie as apperteyned: what ſoeuer the Protectours doinges were, whiche they ſaid were vnnatural, ingrate, and trayterous.

7 That the Protector ſclaundered the Counſaile to the kyng, and dyd that in hym lay, to cauſe variaunce betweene the king and the Nobles.

8 That he was a great traytor, and therfore the Lordes deſired the citie and commons to ayde them, to take hym frō the kyng.

And in witnes and teſtimonie of the contents of the ſaid proclamation, the Lordes ſubſcribed their names, whiche were theſe.

The Lord Riche Lord Chauncelour.
The Lorde S. Iohn L. great maſter, and preſident of the Counſaile.
The Lord Marques of Northampton.
The Earle of Warwike lord great chamberleyne.
The Earle of Arundel Lord Chamberleyne.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Southhampton Wriotheſley
Sir Thomas Cheyney knight, treaſurer of the kinges houſe, and lord wardē of the Cinque portes.
Syr Ioh. Gage knight Conſtable of the Tower.
Sir Wil. Peter knight, Secretarye.
Syr Edwarde North knight.
Syr Edw. Mountague chiefe Iuſtice of the common place.
Syr Rafe Sadler.
Syr Iohn Baker.
Syr Edw. Wootton.
Doctour Wootton, Deane of Cant.
Syr Sich. Southwell.

The Lordes comming into the Guild hall.

After the foreſayd proclamation was proclaymed, the Lordes or the moſt parte of them continuing and lying in Londō, came the next day to the Guild hal, during the tyme that the Lord Maior and their brethren ſate in their Court or inner chamber, and entred and communed a long while with the Maior, and at the laſt the Maior and his brethrē came forth vnto the common Counſaile, where was read the kings letter ſent to the Maior and citizens, commaunding them to ayde hym with a thouſand wel appoynted mē out of their citie, and to ſend the ſame with all ſpeede to his Caſtle at Windſore.

This

Anno. 1552.

This Letter by name was directed to Syr Henrye Amcottes knyght Lorde Maior, to Syr Rowland Hyll knyght, Maior electe, and to the Aldermen and common Counſayle of the Citie of London. The day and date of the Letter, was the ſixt of October, in the thyrde yeare of hys raigne, beyng aſſigned with the hand of the kyng, and of the Lord Protectour, the contentes of whiche letter, for the ſatiſfaction of the reader, are here to be ſeene in matter and forme as foloweth.

EDWARD. By the kyng.

The copye of the kinges letter ſent to the L. Maior, Aldermen and Citizens of London, in the behalfe of the Lord Protectour.

TRuſtye and welbeloued, we greete you wel. We charge and commaunde you moſt earneſtly to geue order with all ſpeede for the defence and preſeruation of that our citie of London for vs, and to leuie out of hande, and to put in order as many as conueniently you maye, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watche at the gates, and to ſende vs hyther for the defence of our perſon, one thouſand of that our citie, of truſty and faithfull men to attende vpon vs & our moſt entirely beloued vncle, Edw. Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of our Realmes, dominions, and ſubiectes, wel harneſſed, and with good and conuenient weapon: ſo that they doo make their repayre hyther vnto vs this night, if it be poſſible, or at the leaſt to morowe before noone, and in the meane time to do what as apperteyneth vnto your duetie for ours and our ſayde vncles defence agaynſte all ſuche as attempt any conſpiracie or enterpriſe of violēce againſt vs or our ſaid vncle, and as you knowe beſt for our preſeruation and defence at this preſent. Yeuen vnder our Signet at our honour of Hampton Court, the ſixt of October the thirde yeare of our raigne.

You ſhal farther geue credite to our truſty and wel beloued Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in al ſuch things as he ſhal further declare vnto you on the behalfe of vs and our ſaid vncle the Lord Protectour.

Edward Somerſet.

This Letter of the kyng and of the Lord Protectour was not ſo ſecretely deuiſed, nor ſo ſpeedyly ſente, but the Lordes keepyng at London, had knowledge immediatelye thereof (by the meanes, as ſome ſuppoſe, of the Lord Paget, who was then with the Kyng and the Protectour, but the truth the Lorde knoweth) beyng there ready furniſhed with their owne bandes of ſeruyng men, and other ſouldiers and men of Armes.

Who forthwith vpon the ſame addreſſed their letters in ſemblable wiſe to the ſayde Lord Maior and Aldermen, in the kinges name, not onely for ſuppoꝛtation of armed men to ſerue their purpoſes, and for a ſufficient watche to fortifie their citie, but alſo that they ſhould not obey any ſuche letters, proclamations, or Iniunctions ſent to them from the Duke. Which letter of the Lordes at the ſame inſtante came likewiſe to the Lord Maior and his brethren, the ſixt day of the ſaid moneth of Octob. The tenour and copie of which letter here enſueth.

¶ To our very good Lord, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London.

The Letter of the Lords ſent to the L. Maior and Counſel of London, agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

AFter our right hartye commendations vnto your good Lordſhip: knowing your hartye fauour and earneſt zeales to the preſeruation of the perſon of the kinges maieſtie and of this Realme, and other his Maieſties Realmes and dominions, we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, that notwithſtandyng all the good aduiſe and counſell that we coulde geue to the Duke of Somerſet, to ſtay hym ſelfe within reaſonable limites, and to vſe his gouernment nowe in the tender age of his Maieſtie, in ſuche ſorte as might tend to his highnes ſuretie, to the conſeruation of his eſtate, and to his owne honour: the ſayde Duke neuertheleſſe ſtyll continuyng in his pride, couetouſneſſe, and ambition: ceaſeth not dayly by al the wayes and meanes he can deuiſe, to enriche hym ſelf without meaſure, and to impoueriſh his maieſtie.

Crimes layd to the Lord Protectour by the Lordes.

He buildeth in foure or fiue places moſt ſumptuouſly, and leaueth the poore ſouldiers vnpayde of their wages, vnuictualled, and in all thinges ſo vnfurniſhed, as the loſſes lately ſuſteyned, to the greateſt diſhonour that euer came to the kyng and this Realme, doo declare. He ſoweth dayly diuiſion betweene the Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Commons. He rewardeth and enterteyneth a number of thoſe that were Captaines of the Commons in theſe late inſurrections: and finally in ſuch wiſe ſubuerteth al lawes, iuſtice, and good order (as it is euident) that puttyng his truſt in the Commons, and perceiuyng that the Nobles and Gentlemen ſhoulde be an impediment to hym in his deuiliſhe purpoſes, he laboureth firſt to haue them deſtroyed, and thinketh after eaſily enough to atchieue his deſire, whiche it appeareth plainely, is to occupye the kinges maieſties place: For his doynges, who ſoeuer lyſt to beholde them, do manifeſtly declare, that he mindeth neuer to render account to his maieſtie of his proceedinges.

Iuſte iudicate filij hominum.

Theſe thinges, with many moe too long to recite, conſidered, we pōdered with our ſelues, that eyther we muſt trauaile for ſome reformation, or we muſte in effecte as it were conſent with him to the deſtructiō of our ſoueraigne Lorde and countrey. Whereupon laying apart all reſpectes, and reſting onely vpon our dueties, we ioyned in counſell, and thought quietly to haue treated the matter with hym. Who perceiuyng that we ioyned for the kyng, and woulde haue ſuch order as might be for the ſuretie of his maieſties perſon, and the common wealth, strayte put hym ſelfe in force, and reſteth at playne poynt (as it appeareth) eyther to goe through with his deteſtable purpoſe, in ſorte as he hath done, or to trye it by the ſworde. Now for as much as we ſee preſently, that vnleſſe there be a reformation, the perſon of the kynges maieſtie is in moſt certaine danger and this Realme our natural countrey like to be deſtroied with all our poſterities, like as we haue agayne fully reſolued with Gods helpe, either to deliuer the kynges maieſtie and the Realme from this extreme ruine and deſtruction, or to ſpende our lyues for the declaration of our faythfull hartes and dueties: ſo knowing your harty good wylles and trouth to his maieſtie, & therefore nothyng doubting of your readynes to ioyne with vs in our godly purpoſe, we thought good to let you know the very trouth of our enterpriſe, and in the kinges maieſties behalfe to require you, not only to put good and ſubſtantial order for watche and ward, but alſo to haue an earneſt continuall regarde to the preſeruation within your citie, of all harneys, weapons, and munitions, ſo as none be ſuffered to be conueyed to the ſaid Duke, nor any others attendyng about hym: and beſides that, you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commaundements to be ſent from the ſaid Duke. And thus we byd your Lordſhip moſt hartily fare well. From London, the ſixt of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing frendes.

Will. Saint Iohn.
W. Northampt.
Iohn Warwike.
Arundell.
Th. Southampton.

William Peter.
Edward North.
Iohn Gage.
Rich. Southwel.

The Citie of London vrged with two contrary letters at one inſtant.

After the receiuyng of theſe two Letters aboue mentioned, the one from the kyng, the other from the Lordes, whiche came both at one inſtaunt, with contrarye commaundement to the Lorde Maior and Citizens of London, the caſe ſeemed harde to them, and verye doubtfull (as it was in deede) what waye to take, and what were beſt for the Citizens to doo. On the one ſide the name and authoritie of the kyng was much, on the other ſide the power & garriſons of the Lordes, lying thē in London, was not litle, whiche ſeemed then to be ſuche as woulde haue no repulſe.

The Recorder ſpeaketh for the Lordes.

The caſe thus ſtandyng perplexedly, firſt by ÿ mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would graunt their ayde rather vnto the Lords, for that the Protectour had abuſed both the kinges maieſtie, and the whole Realme, and that without he were taken from the kyng, & made to vnderſtande his follie, this Realme was in greate hazard, and therfore required that the citizens would wyllingly aſſent to ayde the Lordes with fiue hundred men.

M. Broke Recorder then of London.

Herevnto of a great part of the Common Counſayle was no other anſweare made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that tyme was M. Brooke) ſtyl cryed vppon them for anſweare. At the laſt ſtepped vp a wiſe & a good Citizen named George Stadlowe, and ſayd:

The graue Oration of a diſcrete Citizen ſpeaking for the king, whoſe name was George Stadlow a Parlament man. Diuiſion betwene the Lordes and K. Henry 3. Of this read before pag. 333.

In this caſe, it is good for vs to thinke of thinges paſt, to auoyde the daunger of thinges to come. I remember (ſaith he) in a ſtorie written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his Barons, which was in the tyme of king Henry the third, & the ſame time the Barons (as our Lordes do now) demaunded ayde of the Maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cauſe for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuers good lawes againſt the king, which would not ſuffer thoſe laws to be put in execution: and the citie did ayde thē, & it came to an open battel, & the Lordes preuailed againſt the king, & toke the kinges ſonne priſoners, & vpon certaine conditions the Lordes reſtored the king and his ſonne agayne to their liberties, and among al other conditions this was one, that the king ſhould not only graunt his pardon to the Lordes, but alſo to the citizens of London: the which was graunted, yea and the ſame was ratified by act of parlament. But what folowed of it? Was it forgotten? No ſurely, nor forgeuen neither, during the kinges life. The liberties of the citie were taken away, ſtraungers appoynted to be our heades and gouernours, the Citizens geuen away bodye and goods, and from one perſecution to an other were moſt miſerably afflicted. Such is it to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon ſaith: The wrath & indignation of a prince is death. Wherfore, for as much as this ayde is required of the kinges Maieſtie, whoſe voyce we ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high Shepehearde, rather then vnto the Lordes, and yet I would not wiſhe the Lordes to be clearely ſhaken of: my counſell is, that they with vs, & we with thē may ioyne in ſute, and make our moſt humble petition to the kinges maieſtie, that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to heare ſuche complaynt agaynſt the gouernement of the Lorde Protectour, as maye be iuſtly alleged and proued, and I doubt not, but this matter wyll be ſo pacified, that neyther ſhal the kyng, nor yet the Lords haue cauſe to ſeeke for further ayde, neyther we to offend any of them both.

The wrath of a kyng not raſhly to be prouoked.

After this tale the Commons ſtayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that tyme brake vp, tyll they had further communed with the Lordes. To make ſhort, I let paſſe what order by the Citie was taken. But the concluſion was, that the Lordes (vppon what occaſion I knowe not) ſatt the next daye in Counſaile in the Starre chamber, and frō thence ſent ſir Philip Hobby with their letter of credence to the kinges maieſtie, beſeeching his maieſtie to geue credit to that which the ſaid ſir Philip ſhould declare vnto his maieſtie in their names: and the king gaue hym libertie to ſpeake, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. Who ſo handled the matter, declaring his meſſage in the name of the Lordes, that in the end the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kinges preſence, & ſhortly was committed to ward in a tower within the Caſtle of Windſore, called Bewchamp Tower, and ſoone after were ſtayed ſir Tho. Smith, maſter Whalley, maſter Fiſher, & many other Gentlemen that attended vpon the Lord Protectour. The ſame day the Lordes of the Counſaile reſorted to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conueyed them through the citie of London vnto the Tower, and there leaft them.

Here is to be noted that the Cytie inuited 500. men, but they were not ſent.

The Lord Protector committed to priſon in Windſore Caſtle.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower.

Shortly after the Lordes reſorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Lorde Protectour with ſundry articles, as folowe.

Articles obiected agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt the Lord Protectour.

1 IN primis, you tooke vpon you the office of Protectour and Gouernour, vpon condition expreſſely and ſpecially, that you woulde doo nothing in the kinges affayres, publikely or priuately, but by the aſſent of the late kinges executors.

2 Alſo you, contrary to the ſayd condition, of your owne authoritie, dyd ſtay and let iuſtice, and ſubuerted the lawes, as wel by your letters, as by your commaundementes.

3 Alſo, you cauſed diuers perſons being areſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murder, manſlaughter, and felonie, to be diſcharged and ſet at large, againſt the kinges lawes, and ſtatutes of this Realme.

4 Alſo, you haue made and ordeined Lieutenants for the kinges armyes and other weighty affayers, vnder your own writyng and ſeale.

5 Alſo, you haue communed with the ambaſſadours of other Realmes, diſcourſing alone with them the weightye cauſes of this Realme.

6 Alſo you haue ſometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as wel priuately as openly, diuers of the kinges moſte honourable Counſaylours, for ſhewyng & declaryng their aduiſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kynges weightye affayres, ſaying ſometymes to them, that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7 Alſo, you had and helde againſt the lawe in your owne houſe, a Court of Requeſtes, and therby dyd enforce diuers the kinges ſubiectes to anſweare for their free holdes and goodes, and determined the ſame to the ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

8 Alſo, you being no officer, without the aduiſe of the Counſaile, or the more part of them, dyd diſpoſe of the Offices of the kinges gyfte, for money, and graunted Leaſes and Wardes of the kyngs, & gaue preſentatiōs to the kings benefices & biſhoprikes, hauing no authority ſo to do. And farther you did meddle with the ſellyng of the kings lands.

9 Alſo, you commaunded Multiplication and Alcumiſtrie to be practiſed, to abuſe the kynges coyne.

10 Alſo, you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning encloſures, wherby the cōmon people haue made diuers inſurrections, & leuied open warre and diſtreyned and ſpoiled diuers of the kinges ſubiects, which Proclamation went forth againſt the wyl of the whole Counſaile.

11 Alſo, you haue cauſed a commiſſion, with certayne articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concernyng encloſures of commons, high wayes, decaying of Cotages, and diuers other thynges, geuing the Commiſſioners authoritie to heare and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme: whereby much ſedition, inſurrection, and rebellion haue riſen & growen among the kynges ſubiectes.

12 Alſo, you haue ſuffered the rebels and traytors to aſſemble and to lie in campe and armour againſt the king, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any ſpeedy ſubduyng or repreſſing of them.

13 Alſo you did comfort and encourage diuers of the ſaid rebels, by geuyng of them diuers ſummes of your own money, and by promiſing to diuers of them, fees, rewards, and ſeruices.

14 Alſo, you in fauour of the ſaid rebels, did againſt the laws, cauſe a proclamation to be made, that none of the ſaid rebels or traytors ſhould be ſued or vexed by any perſon for any their offences in the ſaid rebellion, to the cleare ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15 Alſo, you haue ſaid in the tyme of the rebellion, that you liked wel the doynges and proceedinges of the ſaide rebels and traitors, and ſaid, that the couetouſnes of the gentlemen gaue occaſion to the common people to riſe: ſaying alſo, that better it were for the Commons to dye, then periſhe for lacke of liuyng.

16 Alſo you ſaid that the Lords of the parlament were loth to encline them ſelues to reformation of encloſures and other things: therfore the people had good cauſe to reeforme the thinges them ſelues.

17 Alſo, you after the report and declaration of the defaultes and lackes reported to you by ſuche as dyd ſuruaye Bulleyne and the Peeces there, woulde neuer amende the ſame defaultes.

18 Alſo, you would not ſuffer the kinges Peeces beyond yͤ ſeas, called Newhauē, & Blackneſt to be furniſhed with men and vittailes, although you were aduertiſed of the defaults therin by the captaines of the ſame Peeces & others, & were therto aduertiſed by the kinges Counſaile: wherby the French king being the kinges open enemie, was encouraged & comforted to inuade & winne the ſaid peeces, to the kinges great loſſe, and diſhonour of his Realme.

19 Alſo, you declared and publiſhed vntruely, as well to the kinges maieſtie, and other the young Lordes attendant vpon his graces perſon, that the Lordes of the Counſayle at London, mynded to deſtroy the king, & you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the young Lords to put the king in remembrance therof, to the entent to make ſedition and diſcord betweene the king and his Lordes.

20 Alſo, where the kynges maieſties priuie Counſaile of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the king and his Realme, dyd conſult at Londō to haue communed with you, to the entent to moue you charitably to amend your doynges and miſgouernmēt, you hearyng of their ſayd aſſembly, dyd cauſe to be declared by letters in diuers places, the ſayd Lordes to be high traytors to the king, to the great diſturbance of the Realme.

And thus much hytherto concernyng the firſt trouble of the Lorde Protectour Duke of Somerſet, with the crimes and articles obiected agaynſt hym, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation geuen out againſt hym. All which purpoſes of man, though they ſeemed fully entended to no leſſe, but to the ſpyllyng of his life: yet the Lord aboue, the onely diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the meanes of the kyng labouryng for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after, he was let out of the Tower, and the Proclamation, which he before had made hym a traytor, within three dayes was called in agayne, (a Domino factum eſt iſtud,) and commaundement geuen, none of them to be ſolde. And ſo the Duke of Somerſet gratiouſly eſcaping this aduerſitie, was agayne reſtored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie: wherein he continued the ſpace of two yeares and two dayes.

The merciful workyng of the Lord for the Lord Protector.

The Lord Protector deliuered out of the Tower.

The ſecond trouble of the Duke of Somerſet.

After the which tyme of reſpite beyng expired, the ſaid

Duke

Anno. 1552.

The Duke of Somerſet agayne brought to the Tower.

Duke of Somerſet was apprehended & committed againe to the Tower, and with him alſo ſir Michaell Stanhop, ſir Rauſe Vane, ſir Myles Partrige, & other. &c. At length the tyme being come of his arrainment, the foreſaide good Duke being conueyed from the Tower, was brought throw London with the Axe of the tower before him, & with great preparaunce of byls, halbardes, pikes, and polaxes, in moſt forcible wiſe: a watch alſo ſet & appoynted before euery mans doore through the hie ſtreate of London, & ſo was he brought into Weſtminſter hall, where the Lordes of the Counſaile ſitting as his Iudges in the midle of the hall, vpon a newe Scaffold, he was there before them arrained and charged both with treaſon and felonie.

The vile tauntes of certayne Iuſtices and others ſitting in iudgemẽt agaynſt the good Duke of Somerſet

The great patience of the Duke of Somerſet in taking rebukes.

In the which iudgement, I paſſe ouer the vnſeemely ſpeach, the vile taunts, and deſpitefull rebukes, without all modeſtie or honeſtie, vſed by certaine of the Sergeants and Iuſtices, and ſome other ſitting there. Al which notwithſtanding he patiently & quietly dyd ſuffer, neither ſtormyng inwardly in ſtomacke, nor reuiling them with wordes againe: but like a Lambe folowing the true Lambe, & example of al meekenes, was contented to take al things at their handes, and with no leſſe patience to beare nowe their vngentle and cruell raylinges, then he dyd before their glauering wordes and flatterings in tyme of his high eſtate and proſperitie. And as the pacience of this good Duke was marueilous in forbearing his enemies, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperance no leſſe ſeene in anſwering for hym ſelf to the articles to him obiected: wherunto he wiſely and ſubſtantially replyed, putting hym ſelfe in the end to be tried by his Peeres. Who then at length after conſultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus, that as concerning the caſe of treaſon, wherwith he was charged, they diſcharged hym, but they accounted hym gyltie of felonie. When the people (which were there preſent to a great number) heard the Lordes ſay, Not gyltie, (meanyng by the caſe of treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſſe, but that he had ben clearly acquited by theſe wordes, and eſpecially ſeeing the Axe of the Tower to be carryed away, for great ioy and gladnes made an outcrye, well declaring their louyng affection and harty fauour vnto the Duke, whoſe life they greatly deſired. But this opinion of the people was deceiued, and the innocent Duke condemned to dye for felonie. Which act of felonie had bene made a litle before agaynſt the rebelles, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, ſuche as ſhoulde ſeeke or procure the death of any Counſaylour, ſo that euery ſuche attempt and procurement, according to the Act, ſhould be iudged felony. By the vertue of whiche Acte, the Duke being accuſed, with certaine other his complices, to intende and purpoſe the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, and of certain beſide, was therefore caſte and condemned of felonie, and ſo was returned toward the Tower againe.

The diſcrete behauiour of the Duke in aunſwering for hym ſelfe

The harty affection of the people toward the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet condemned of felonye.

Statut. an. 5. Reg. Edw. 6.

The Duke of Somerſet accuſed for ſeeking the death of the Duke of Northumberland.

At whoſe paſſage through the Citie, great exclamations and outcryes were made againe of the people, ſome reioyſing that he was acquited, ſome bewailyng that he was condemned.

Thus the good Duke paſſing through a great part of the Citie, landing at the Crane of the Vintrie, was conueyed vnto the Tower, where he endured tyll the .xxij. of January. Vpon the whiche day at the commyng downe of the letter of execution from the kyng and the Counſayle, the foreſaide Duke and Vncle to the kyng, being founde no traytour, onely being caſte by the Acte of Felonie, was deliuered vnto the Sheriffes, and ſo brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a fewe wordes here would be beſtowed in deſcribing the wonderfull order and maner thereof, according as it hath faythfully bene ſuggeſted to vs vpon the credite of a certayne noble Perſonage, who not onely was there preſent at the deede doing, but alſo in a maner next vnto hym vpon the Scaffolde, beholding the order of all thinges with his eyes, and with his Penne alſo reportyng the ſame in order & maner as here foloweth.

1552.

In the yeare of our Lord. 1552. the. 22. day of January, in the ſixt yeare of the raigne of king Edward the ſixt, he being yet vnder age and gouernaunce of Tutours: the noble Duke of Somerſet, vncle to king Edwarde, was brought out of the Tower of London, and according to the maner, deliuered to the Sheriffes of the Citie: and compaſſed round about with a great nũber of armed men both of the Gard and others, he was brought vnto the Scaffold on Tower hyll: where as he nothing chaunging neyther voyce nor countenaunce, but in a maner with the ſame geſture whiche he commonly vſed at home, kneelyng downe vpon both his knees, and liftyng vp his handes, commended hym ſelfe vnto God.

The chereful countenance of the Duke of Somerſet at his death.

After that he had ended a fewe ſhort prayers, ſtanding vp againe, and turnyng hym ſelfe towarde the Eaſt ſide of the Scaffold, nothing at all abaſhed (as it ſeemed vnto me ſtandyng about the middeſt of the Scaffold, and diligently marking al thinges,) neyther with yͤ ſight of the Axe, neither yet of the Hangman, or of preſent death: but with the like alacritie and chearefulneſſe of mynde and countenaunce as before tymes he was accuſtomed to heare the cauſes & ſupplications of other, and eſpecially the poore (towards whom, as it were with a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwayes ſhewed hym ſelfe moſt attentiue) he vttered theſe wordes to the people.

The wordes of the Duke of Somerſet to the people at hys death.

Dearly beloued frendes, I am brought hyther to ſuffer death, albeit that I neuer offẽded againſt the king, neither by word nor deede, & haue bene alwayes as faithfull & true vnto this Realme, as any man hath bene. But for ſo much as I am by a lawe condemned to dye, I do acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others to be ſubiect thereunto. Wherefore to teſtifie my obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hyther to ſuffer death: wherunto I willingly offer my ſelfe, with moſt harty thankes vnto God, that hath geuen me this tyme of repẽtance, who might through ſodaine death haue taken away my lyfe, that neyther I ſhould haue acknowledged hym nor my ſelfe.

Moreouer (dearely beloued frendes) there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mynd of as touching Chriſtian Religion: whiche ſo long as I was in authoritie, I alwayes diligently ſet foorth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doynges, but reioyce therin, ſith that now the ſtate of Chriſtian religion commeth moſt neare vnto the forme and order of the Primitiue Churche. Whiche thing I eſteeme as a great benefite geuen of God, both vnto you and me: moſt hartily exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purely ſet forth vnto you, you wyl with like thankfulnes accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your liuyng. Which thing if you do not, without doubt, greater miſchiefe and calamitie wyl folow.

The care of the Duke of Somerſet in ſetting forth true religion.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, ſodainely there was a terrible noyſe heard: wherupõ there came a great feare on al men. This noyſe was as it had bene the noyſe of ſome great ſtorme or tempeſt, which vnto ſome ſemed to be heard from aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpouder beyng incloſed in an armorye, and hauyng caught fire, had violently broken out. But vnto ſome againe, it ſeemed as though it had bene a great multitude of horſemen runnyng together, or commyng vppon them. Suche a noyſe was then in the eares of al men, albeit they ſaw nothyng. Wherby it happened, that all the people being amaſed without any euident cauſe, without any violence or ſtroke ſtriken, or any man ſeene, they ran away, ſome into the ditches and puddles, and ſome into the houſes thereabout: other ſome being afrayde with the horrour and noyſe, fel downe grouelyng vnto the ground with their polaxes & halbardes, and moſt part of the cryed out: Ieſus ſaue vs, Ieſus ſaue vs. Thoſe whiche tarryed ſtyll in their places, for feare knewe not where they were. And I my ſelfe which was there preſẽt amõg yͤ reſt being alſo afrayd in this hurley burley, ſtood ſtyl altogether amaſed, lookyng when any man woulde knocke me in the head. It happened here, as the Euangeliſtes write, it dyd vnto Chriſt, when as the officers of the high Prieſtes and Phariſees commyng with weapons to take hym, beyng aſtonyed, ran backwardes, and fel to the ground.

A ſodein noyſe and feare of the people at the death of the Duke of Somerſet.

The lyke ſtory you ſhall read of Caius Marius, in Valerius Maximus the 2. booke and 5. chapter.

In the meane tyme, whileſt theſe thyngs were thus in doyng, the people by chance ſpyed one ſir Anthony Browne ridyng vnto the Scaffold: which was the occaſion of a new noyſe. For when they ſaw him commyng, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithſtanding which they al wiſhed for, that the king by that meſſenger had ſent his vncle pardon: and therfore with great reioyſing and caſting vp their cappes, they cryed out, Pardon, pardon is come: God ſaue the kyng. Thus this good Duke, although he was deſtitute of all mans helpe, yet he ſawe before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with al men. And truely I doo not thinke, that in ſo great ſlaughter of Dukes as hath ben in England within theſe fewe yeares, there was ſo many weeping eyes at one tyme: & not without cauſe. For al men dyd ſee in the decay of this Duke, the publike ruine of al England, except ſuch as in deede did perceiue nothyng. But now to returne from whence we haue ſtrayed, the Duke in the meane tyme ſtandyng ſtyll in the ſame place modeſtly & with a graue cõtenãce, made a ſigne to the people with his hand, that they would keepe thẽ ſelues quiet. Which thing being done, and ſilence obteyned, he ſpake vnto them in this maner.

The great fauour of the people to the Duke of Somerſet.

The wordes of the Duke agayne to the people.

Dearely beloued frendes, there is no ſuch matter here in hande, as you vainely hope or beleue. It ſeemeth thus good vnto almighty God, whoſe ordinance it is meete and neceſſary that we al be obediẽt vnto. Wherfore I pray you al to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am moſt willing to ſuffer: and let vs nowe ioyne in prayer vnto the Lord, for the preſeruation of the kinges maieſtie, vnto whō hitherto I haue alwayes ſhewed my ſelfe a moſt faithful and true ſubiect I haue alwayes bene moſt diligēt about his maieſtie in his affayres both at home and abroad, and no leſſe diligent in ſeeking the common cōmoditie of the whole Realme. At which wordes al the people cryed out, and ſaid, it was moſt true.

Teſtimony of the people with the Duke of Somerſet.

Then the Duke proceeding, ſaid: Unto whoſe maieſty I wiſh continuall health, with al felicitie & all proſperous ſucceſſe. Whereunto the people agayne cryed out, Amen.

Moreouer, I doo wiſh vnto all hys Counſaylours the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule in al thinges vprightly with iuſtice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lorde, to ſhewe your ſelues obedient, as it is your bounden duety, vnder the payne of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation & ſafegard of the kings maieſtie.

The confeſſion of the Duke of Somerſet.

Moreouer, for ſo much as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affayres with diuers men, & hard it is to pleaſe euery man, therfore if there be any that hath ben offended & iniuried by me, I moſt humbly require & aſke hym forgeueneſſe: but eſpecially almighty God, whom throughout all my life I haue moſt greeuouſly offended: and all other, what ſoeuer they be that haue offended me, I doo with my whole hart forgeue them. Now I once againe require you, dearly beloued in the Lord, that you wyl keepe your ſelues quiete and ſtyll, leaſt through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the ſpirite be wyllyng and ready, the fleſhe is fraile and wauering: and through your quietneſſe I ſhal be muche more quieter. Moreouer, I deſire you all to beare me witnes, that I dye here in the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt: deſiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I may perſeuer conſtant in the ſame vnto my lyues ende.

The Duke of Somerſet dyeth in the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt.

D. Coxe his ghoſtly father.

After this, he turnyng hym ſelfe agayne about like a meeke lambe, kneeled downe vpon his knees. Then doctor Coxe, whiche was there preſent to counſell and aduertiſe hym, deliuered a certaine ſcroll into his hand, wherein was conteyned a briefe confeſſion vnto God. Which being read, he ſtoode vp againe vpon his feete, without any trouble of mynd (as it appeared) and firſt bad the Sheriffes fare wel, then the Lieutenant of the Tower and other, taking them all by the handes which were vpon the ſcaffold with hym. Then he gaue the Hangman certaine money. Which done, he put of his gowne, & kneeling downe againe in the ſtraw, vntied his ſhyrt ſtringes. After that the hangman cōming vnto him, turned downe his coller round about his necke, & al other thinges which dyd let or hynder hym. Then lifting vp his eyes to heauen, where his only hope remayned, and couering his face with his owne handkercher, he layd hym ſelfe downe along, ſhewing no maner of token of trouble or feare, neyther dyd his countenance chaunge, but that before his eyes were couered, there began to appeare a red colour in the middeſt of his cheekes.

Thus this moſt meeke and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the ſtroke, becauſe his doublet couered his necke, he was commaunded to riſe vp and put it of: and thē laying hym ſelfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thriſe vpon the name of Ieſus ſaying: Lord Ieſu ſaue me, as he was the thyrd tyme repeating the ſame, euen as the name of Ieſu was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head & life, and ſlept in the Lord Ieſus, being taken away frō al the dangers & euils of this life, and reſting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whoſe truth and Goſpel he alwayes ſhewed hym ſelfe an excellent inſtrumēt and member, and therfore hath receyued the rewarde of his labours. Thus gentle reader, thou haſt the true hiſtorie of this worthy and noble Duke, & if any man report it otherwiſe, let it be counted as a lye.

The godly end of the Duke of Somerſet.

As touchyng the maners, diſpoſition, life, and conuerſation of the ſaid Duke and the kings vncle, what ſhal we neede to ſpeake, when as he can not be ſufficiently commēded, according to the dignitie of his vertues? There was alwayes in hym great humanitie, and ſuch meekenes and gentlenes, as is rare to be found in ſo high eſtate. He was prone and ready to geue eare vnto the complaints and ſupplications of the poore, & no leſſe attentiue vnto the affayres of the cōmon wealth. Which if he had lyued together with king Edward, was like to do much good in reformyng many miſorders within this realme. He was vtterly ignorant of al craft and deceit, and as farre voyd of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of iniury, being in deede vtterly voyd of both. He was of a gentle diſpoſition, not coueting to be reuenged: more apt and ready to be deceyued, then to deceiue. His auncient loue and zeale of the Goſpel & of religion he brought with hym to the ſtate of this his dignitye. The proofe wherof ſufficiently was ſeene in his conſtant ſtanding to Gods truth and zealous defence therof, agaynſt the Biſhops of Chicheſter, Norwich, Lincolne, London, and others moe, in the Conſultation had at Windſore, the firſt yeare of the kinges raigne.

The vertues of the Duke of Somerſet declared.

The zelous ſtanding of the Duke of Somerſet in defēce of the truth againſt the Byſhops at Windſore.

Briefly, conſideryng the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as ſeemeth) not vnaptly compare and reſemble hym vnto Duke Humfrey, the good Duke of Gloceſter. Who likewiſe being vncle vnto king Henry the ſixt, and Protectour of the Realme (as this was alſo to kyng Edward the ſixt,) yet he wanted not his enemies and priuie enuiers, eſpecially Henry Beauford Cardinal, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncelour of Englande: who at that tyme diſdainyng and enuying the rule and authority of this Duke, procured much trouble agaynſt hym, & great diuiſion in the whole realme, in ſo much that al the Shops within the Citie of London were ſhutte in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages: For ech part had aſſembled no ſmal number of people.

A compariſon betwene Duke Humfrey Uncle to K. Henry 6. & the Duke of Somerſet Uncle to K. Edw. 6.

For pacifying wherof the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Quimber, called the Prince of Portugale, rode eyght tymes in one day betweene the two aduerſaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the Realme, betweene theſe two: as is before expreſſed, pag. 679. not much vnlike to the troubleſome diſcord betwixt parties in this Protectours dayes. And as in their afflictions and troubles, theſe two Dukes ſeemed not much vnlike, ſo in matters of Religion, and in diſcernyng truth from falſehoode, their zeale ſeemed not much diſcrepant. Although the light of the Goſpel dyd not ſo fully then ſhine out, as in the tyme of this latter Duke, (the Lord be prayſed therfore) yet the wiſedome and towardnes of the other Duke alſo touching the ſame, was not vtterly vnworthy of his commendation. For the more manifeſt declaration whereof, amongeſt many other his godly doynges, we may take for example the prudent and famous acte of that noble Duke, in diſcernyng and trying out the falſe lying myracle and popiſh hypocriſie of the blind begger at S. Albons mentioned in his ſtorye before, pag. 679. For the which cauſe, and for his diligent ſtudy in reformyng that and ſuch other blynd abuſes of fayned Religion, he was the more hated of the Spiritualtie, and ſuche as Wincheſter then was.

Touching the trouble of the Duke of Gloceſter, read before pag. 679.

A falſe miracle detected by Duke Humfrey of Gloceſter.

Finally, as this Lord Protectour Duke of Somerſet the kings vncle, by certaine of the Counſaile was then accuſed, arraigned, and cōdemned for the treſpaſſe (as it was geuen forth) of felonie (although I neuer heard he murdered or robbed any) ſo the other vncle of king Henry the ſixt was made away. Of whoſe deceaſe thus writeth Maſter W. Tindal in his Practiſe of Prelates: At ẏ laſt they foūd the meanes to cōtriue a drift to bring their matters to paſſe and made a Parlament farre from the citizens of London, where was ſlaine the ſaid good Duke, and the only wealth of the realme, and the mighty ſhield which ſo long had kept it from ſorowe, which ſhortly after his death fel vpon them by heapes. But the Chronicles (ſaith he) can not tel wherfore he dyed, nor by what meanes. Neuertheles, this they teſtifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the common wealth.

The teſtimonye of M. W. Tyndall of good Duke Humfrey.

But to leaue Duke Humfrey, and to returne to the maners and vertues of the Duke of Somerſet, which before we were about to deſcribe: as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, ſo was he no leſſe fortunate a Captayne in warfare abroad. Under whoſe gouernment & guidyng, not only diuers rebellious cōmotions were happyly ſuppreſſed here at home, but alſo abroad in the expedition of Scotlande ſuch a victorie was geuen hym of God, that with the loſſe ſcarſe of ſixe hundred of his owne men, there were of the enemies as good, or litle leſſe then .x. thouſand ſlayn and put to flight, and euen the very ſame day and tyme in ẏ which al the idolatrous Images wer here burnt at Lōdon. And yet al theſe warres notwithſtādīg, wherunto he was againſt his wyll compelled, he was a man of nature ſingularly geuē to peace, as may be ſeene by ẏ ſweet and peaceable exhortation by hym ſet forth in print before, & ſent to the Realme of Scotland.

The happy ſucceſſe of the Duke of Somerſet in his victories.

But as there is nothing in this world ſo perfecte in all reſpectes, which is not blotted or darkened with ſome ſpot of vice adioyned withal: ſo amongeſt the manyfold cōmendations of this duke, one thing there was two, which both deſteyned his honour and eſtimation muche, and alſo more empayred and hyndered his owne lyfe and ſafetie: whiche was, that he in condeſcendyng to the death of his brother, folowed too raſhely the perſwaſion of certayne, who ſoeuer they were: for that matter lacked not perchaunce ſome ſingular fetche and policie of ſome, more craftily then godly diſpoſed perſons, as many good men haue ſuppoſed.

Gods chaſtiſment vpon the Duke of Somerſet.

But what ſoeuer of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the ſayd Duke in ſuffryng or procuring this death of his brother, not onely endamaged hym ſelf, & weakened his own power, but alſo prouoked ẏ chaſtiſement of Gods ſcourge and rod, which dyd ſo light vpon hym.

Fur=

Anno. 1552.

The beheadyng of the Earle of Surrey.

Furthermore as touchyng the death & decay of the Lord Henry Earle of Surrey, who ſuffered alſo at the Tower next before the Lord Admirall the Lord Protectours brother, becauſe the caſtyng of hym was ſo neare to the death of kyng Henry: as I know not vppon whom, or what cauſe the ſame did procede, ſo I paſſe it ouer and leaue it to the Lorde. Notwithſtandyng, as for the Duke of Somerſet, whatſoeuer his other vices and vertues were, this is certaine, that his end (the Lord ſo workyng with him) was conſtaunt in Chriſtes truth, as his lyfe was before a great mayntenaunce of the ſame.

Syr Raſe Vane, Syr Myles Partrige, Syr Michaell Stanhop, and Syr Thomas Arundell ſuffered at Tower hyll.

Moreouer, on the xxvj. day of February in the ſame yeare was ſir Raſe Vane, ſir Myles Partrige both hanged at the Tower hill: And ſir Michaell Stanhop, & ſir Thomas Arundell beheaded vpon the ſcaffold: all which foure were condemned by the ſayd Acte of vnlawfull aſſemblie, and as acceſſaries vnto the Duke of Somerſet.

Religion hindered by diſcorde.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerſet, in the next yeare folowyng deceaſſed the kyng him ſelfe about the moneth of June, whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord grauntyng) in his due order and courſe hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, before we come to cloſe vp the latter end and ſtory of this good kyng, the place here preſent ſeemeth not vnfitte to intermixte by the way a few other thynges before, happenyng within the tyme of his reigne, namely cõcernyng matters incident, of the Church and of Religiõ. Which ſtate of Religion began well to grow, & to come happely forward duryng this kynges dayes, had not the vnhappy troubles of the outward ſtate amongeſt the Lordes not agreyng within themſelues diſquieted the good towardnes of thynges begon. But the malice of the deuill how ſubtilly worketh it, if men could ſee it? So long as the Lordes agreed in concorde among themſelues, Winchester and Boner, withall that faction was cut ſhort, and began to condeſcende to good conformitie. But afterward perceauyng the ſtates and nobles of the Realme to be amõg themſelues diuided, and the Lord Protectour the kynges Uncle diſplaced, and his brother the Admirall before beheaded, and the young kyng now left in that caſe, they began vpon ſome hope to take more hart vnto them, till at laſt it came to paſſe, as they themſelues deſired. And thus though nothyng elles will lead vs, yet experience may teache vs what diſcorde worketh in publicke weales: and contrary, what a neceſſary thyng concorde is to the aduauncement eſpecially of Gods matters apperteinyng to his Church. Examples whereof in this kynges dayes be not farre to ſeeke. For as touchyng the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell of peace, while publicke peace and the Goſpell did ioyne together, marueilous it was how errour and Popery were in themſelues confounded, and aſhamed almoſt to ſhew their faces. In ſo much that then both Doctour Smith, Chadſey, Standiſh, yong, Oglethorpe, with many moe recanted their former ignoraũce, whoſe recãtations I haue to ſhew. Boner then with his owne hand ſubſcribed to the kynges ſupremacie, and promoted his Iniunctions.

Diſcorde what decay it worketh in a common wealth.

D. Smyth, Chadley, Standiſh, Younge, Oglethorpe, reclaimed from their errours.

The ſame alſo did Steuen Gardiner, ſubſcribyng with his owne hand to the firſt booke of the kynges procedynges, and no doubt had done no leſſe to the ſecond booke alſo ſet forth by the kyng, had not the vnfortunate diſcorde fallen amongeſt the nobles in tyme ſo vnfortunate, as then it did. Briefly duryng all that a tyme of peace & concorde, what Papiſt was founde in all the Realme, which for the Popes deuotiõ would or did once put his necke in the halter to dye a Martyr for his ſake?

The Goſpel how it flouriſhed ſo long as peace continued.

I ſhewed before how in theſe peaceable dayes of kyng Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius with other learned men moe, were entertained, placed and prouided for in the two Uniuerſities of this Realme Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent induſtrie did much good. The learned and fruitefull diſputations of whom I haue likewiſe preſent in my handes here to inſerte, but that the bygnes of this Uolume driueth me to make ſhort, eſpecially ſeyng their diſputations be ſo long and prolixe as they be, and alſo in Latin and require of thẽſelues a whole Uolume to comprehend them.

Peter Martyr. Martyn Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, placed in the Uniuerſities.

First Peter Martyr beyng called by the kyng to the publicke readyng of the Diuinitie Lecture in Oxford, amõgeſt his other learned exerciſes did ſet vp in the publicke ſcholes iij. concluſions of Diuinitie to be diſputed and tryed by Argument. At whiche diſputations were preſent the kynges viſitours, to wytte, Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, Doctour Coxe Chauncellour of that Uniuerſitie, Doctour Haynes Deane of Exeter, M. Richard Moriſon Eſquier, Chriſtopher Neuynſon Doctour of Ciuill law. The concluſions propounded were theſe.

The kynges viſitors at the diſputation in Oxford. The concluſions to be diſputed in Oxforde.

1. In the Sacrament of thankes geuyng there is no tranſubſtantiation of bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Chriſt.
2. The body and bloud of Chriſt is not carnally or corporally in bread and wine, nor as other vſe to ſay, vnder the kyndes of bread and wyne.
3. The body and bloud of Chriſt be vnited to bread and wyne Sacramentally.

They which were the chiefe diſputers agaynſt him on the contrary ſide were Doct. Treſham, D. Chadſey, and Morgan. The reaſons and principall argumentes of Peter Martyr here vnder folow.

Diſputers on the contrary part agaynſt Peter Martyr.

¶ The Argumentes of Peter Martyr vpon the firſt concluſion.

The firſt argument of Peter Martyr agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

The Scriptures moſt playnely do name and acknowledge bread and wyne. In the Euangeliſtes we read that the Lord Jeſus tooke bread, bleſſed it, brake it, and gaue it to hys Diſciples. S. Paul lykewiſe doth ofttimes make mention of bread.

Ergo, we alſo with the ſcriptures ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the ſacrament.

Cyprianus.

Cyprian in ſermon. De cœna Domini.

As in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanitie was ſeene outwardly, and his Diuinitie was ſecret within: ſo in the viſible Sacrament the diuinitie inſerteth it ſelfe in ſuch ſort as can not be vttered, that our deuotion about the Sacramentes might be the more religious.

Ergo, as in the perſon of Chriſt: ſo in the Sacrament both the natures ought ſtill to remayne.

Gelaſius.

Gelacius contra Eutichen.

The Sacramentes which we receaue of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, are a Diuine matter: by reaſon wherof, we are made partakers by the ſame, of his Diuine nature,) and yet it ceaſeth not ſtill to be the ſubſtaunce of bread & wine. And certes the repreſentation and ſimilitude of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, be celebrated in the action of the myſteries. &c.

Auguſtinus.

Auguſt. De conſecrat. diſt. 2. ex Sententijs Proſperi.

As the perſon of Chriſt conſiſteth of God and mã, whẽ as he is true God, & true mã. For euery thing conteineth in it ſelfe the nature and veritie of thoſe thinges whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two thynges, that is, of the Sacrament that ſignifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is ſignified. &c.

Theodoretus.

Theodoretus Dial. 1. contra Eutichen.

Theſe viſible myſteries which are ſeene, he hath honored wyth the name of his body and bloud, not chaungyng the nature, but adding grace vnto nature. &c. And the ſame Theodoretus agayne ſayth:

Theodoretus Dial. 2. contra Eutichen.

Thoſe myſticall ſacramentes after ſanctification do not paſſe out of their owne proper nature, but remayne ſtill in their former ſubſtance, figure, and ſhape. &c.

Ergo, lyke as the body of Chriſt remained in hym, and was not chaunged into his diuinitie: ſo in the ſacrament the bread is not chaunged into the body, but both the ſubſtaunces remayne whole.

Origine.

Origen. in Matth. cap. 15.

If whatſoeuer entreth into the mouth, goeth downe into the belly, and ſo paſſeth through a mã: euen that meate alſo which is ſanctified by the word of God and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath materiall within it, paſſeth into the belly, and ſo voideth through a man. But thorough prayer which is adioyned to it, according to the meaſure of faith, it is profitable and effectuall. &c. And he addeth moreouer: For it is not the outwarde matter of the bread, but the word that is ſpoken vpon it, that profiteth hym which eateth him worthely. &c.

Irenæus.

Irenæus Lib. 4. contra hereſ.

Ieſus takyng bread of the ſame condition which is after vs (that is, takyng bread of the ſame nature & kinde as we vſe commonly to eate) did confeſſe it to be his body. And takyng likewiſe the cup which is of the ſame creature which is after vs (that is, which we commonly vſe to drinke) confeſſed it to be his bloud. &c.

Irenæus Lib. eodem.

Item, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth, receauing the word and callyng of God, is now not commõ bread, but the Euchariſt, cõſiſting of two things, the one earthly, the other heauenly: ſo our bodies receauing the ſacrate Euchariſt, be now not corruptible, hauing hope of reſurrectiõ. &c.

¶ Argument.

Ba- The bread in the Sacrament is ſo chaunged into the body, as our bodies are chaunged whẽ they are made vncorruptible by hope.

ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by chaunging their ſubſtaunce:

co. Ergo, no more is the bread chaunged into the ſubſtance of the body.

¶ Gregory.

Gregorius in Regiſtro.

Notwithſtanding whether we take leauened or vnleauened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Sauiour. &c.

¶Argument.

Da- Where bread leauened or vnleauened is taken, there is ſubſtaunce of bread and not accidences onely.

ri- In the Sacrament bread is receaued either leauened or vnleauened:

j. Ergo, in the Sacrament is ſubſtaunce of bread and not accidences onely.

¶Argument.

Ba- The body of Chriſt is named of that which is proportioned round, and is vnſenſible in operation.

ro- Accidences onely of bread haue no figure of roundnes:

co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not named of accidēces, but of very bread ſubſtauntiall.

¶Argument.

The wordes of the Euāgeliſt ſpeakyng of that which Chriſt tooke, bleſſed, brake, and gaue, do importe it to be bread, and nothyng els but bread.

Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chriſoſtome.

Chriſoſt. 1. Cor. 11. homel. 27.

Chriſt in bread and wyne ſayd: do this in remembraunce of me.

Cyrillus.

Cyrill. in Ioan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

He gaue to them peeces or fragmentes of bread.

Alſo the ſame Cyrill ſayth: In bread we receaue his precious body, and his bloud in wyne.

Ergo, by theſe Doctours it remayneth bread after conſecration.

Ambroſe.

Before the bleſſing of the heauenly wordes, it is called an other kynde of thyng. After conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified.

¶Arguments of Peter Martyr diſputyng with M. Chadſey vpon the firſt queſtion.

Da- The Analogie and reſemblaunce betwene the Sacrament and the thyng ſignified muſt euer be kept, in all Sacramentes.

ti- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, this Analogie or reſemblaunce can not be kept, if bread be tranſubſtantiated:

ſi. Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread muſt needes remayne in the Sacrament of the Lordes body.

Auguſt Epiſt. ad Dardanum.

The Maior of this Argument is certaine by S. Auſten, Lib. De catechiſandis rudibus, & Epiſt. ad Dardan. Where hee ſayth: Sacramentes muſt needes beare a ſimilitude of thoſe thynges wherof they are Sacramentes, or els they can be no Sacramentes.

The Minor is thus proued.

¶Argument.

Analogie or proportion betwene the outward nouriſhing of bread in our bodyes, and the inward nouriſhing of Chriſtes bodely death in our ſoules.

Ba- The reſemblaunce betwene the Sacramēt and the body of Chriſt is this: that as the properties of bread & wyne do nouriſh outwardly: ſo the properties of the body of Chriſt do nouriſh ſpiritually.

ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there is no reſemblaunce of nouriſhyng.

co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne the Analogie can not hold.

¶Argument.

Ba- Agayne, an other reſemblaunce and ſimilitude or Analogie of this Sacrament is this, that as one loafe of bread, and one cuppe of wine conteyneth many cornes and many grapes: ſo the myſticall congregation conteineth many members, and yet maketh but one body:

ro- Without the ſubſtaūce of bread & wine, no ſuch reſemblaunce or ſimilitude of coniunction can be repreſented:

co. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie of this ſpirituall coniunction can not hold.

¶An other Argument.

Ba- Euery Sacrament conſiſteth in two thynges, that is, in the thyng ſignifiyng, and the thyng ſignified.

ro- Without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, there is nothyng that ſignifieth in the Sacrament:

co. Ergo, the ſubſtaunce of bread & wyne in the Sacramēt can in no wiſe be tranſubſtantiate from their natures.

The Minor is thus to be proued.

Feſ- There is no ſignification in any Sacrament without the element.

ti- The ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne is the element of this Sacrament:

no. Ergo, without the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne there is no ſimilitude nor ſignification in this Sacrament.

And for ſomuch as the aduerſaryes grounde their tranſubſtantiation ſo much vppon theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body: which they expounde onely after ÿ literal ſenſe, without trope or figure: now that this their expoſition is falſe, and that the ſayd wordes are to be taken figuratiuely and ſpiritually, by three cauſes it is to be proued:

Three cauſes prouyng that theſe wordes of Chriſt. *Hoc eſt corpus meū*, are not to be taken literally but ſpiritually.

1. Firſt by the wordes of the Scripture: 2. By the nature of a Sacrament: 3. By the teſtimonies of the fathers.

1. Firſt by theſe wordes of the Scripture, where he ſaith: Do this in remembraunce of me: for ſo much as remembraunce properly ſerueth not for thynges corporally preſent, but for thynges rather beyng abſent.

Places of ſcripture making agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

2. Secondly, where he ſayth: Vntill I come. Which wordes were vayne, if he were already come by conſecration.

3. Thirdly, where Saint Paule ſayth: The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt? Which wordes of breakyng in no caſe can be verified vpon the body of Chriſt, which for the glory therof is vnpoſſible.

4. Furthermore, where as the Lord biddeth them to take and eate, it is euident, that the ſame can not be vnderſtand ſimply of the body of Chriſt without a trope, forſomuch as he can not be eaten and chawed with teeth, as we vſe properly in eatyng other meates to do.

5. The wordes moreouer of Luke and Paule ſpoken of the cuppe, do argue likewiſe that the other wordes ſpoken of the bread muſt needes be taken myſtically. As where it is ſayd: This cup is the new Teſtament: which wordes muſt needes be expounded, thus: this cuppe doth ſignifie the new Teſtament.

6. Item, theſe wordes of S. Iohn chap. 6. My wordes be ſpirite and life. The fleſh profiteth nothyng. &c.

7. Item, where in the ſame place of S. Iohn, Chriſt to refell the carnall vnderſtanding of the Caparnaites, of eating hys body, maketh mention of hys Aſcenſion. &c.

The ſecond cauſe, the nature of a ſacrament.

The ſecond cauſe why the wordes of Chriſt: This is my body, can not be litterally expounded without trope, is the nature of a Sacrament: whoſe nature and propertie is to beare a ſigne or ſignification of a thyng, to be remembred, which thing after the ſubſtantiall and reall preſence, is abſent. As touching which nature of a Sacrament ſufficiently hath bene ſayd before.

The third cauſe, the teſtimonye of the fathers.

The third cauſe, why the wordes of conſecration are figuratiuely to be taken, is the teſtimonye of the auncient Doctours.

Tertullianus Contra Martionem, Lib. 4. Auguſtinus, Pſal. 3. Auguſt, contra Adamantum. Chap. 12. Hieronimus.

Tertullianus.

This is my body: that is to ſay, this is a figure of my body.

Auguſt. Pſal. 3.

Chriſt gaue a figure of hys body.

Auguſt. contra Adamantum Manichęum.

He did not doubt to ſay: This is my body, when he gaue a ſigne of his body.

Hieronymus.

Chriſt repreſented vnto vs hys body.

Auguſt.

Auguſt de Doctrina ſtiana Lib.

Auſten in his booke De Doctrina Chriſtiana declareth expreſſely that this ſpeach of eating the body of Chriſt, is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Ambroſius.

As thou haſt receaued the ſimilitude of his death: ſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious bloud.

¶Argument.

Ambroſ. de Sacram. Lib. 4. cap. 4.

Fe- The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament but by ſimilitude.

ri- The precious bloud of Chriſt is preſent, in the Sacrament as his death is preſent:

o. Ergo, the precious bloud of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this Argument is proued before by the wordes of Ambroſe.

The ſecond queſtion. Whether the body and bloud of Chriſt be in the bread and wyne, or vnder the formes of bread and wyne carnally and corporally.

The ſecond concluſion.

¶Argument.

Di- The true naturall body of Chriſt is placed in heauē.

ſa- The true naturall body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is:

mis. Ergo, the true natural body of Chriſt can be in no place at once, but in heauen where he is.

The Maior is playne by theſe Scriptures: Ieſus was taken vp to heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. Math. 26, The poore ye haue alwayes with you, but me you ſhall not alwayes haue. Ioh. 12. I leaue the world and go to my Father. Ioh. 16. Many ſhall ſay in that day: Loe here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, beleue thē not. Mat. 24. Whō the heauens

Math. 26.

Iohn 12.

Iohn 16.

Math. 24.

Anno. 1552.

heauens muſt receaue for a tyme vntill the reſtitution of all. Actes.3. Seeke thoſe thynges that are aboue, where Chriſt is ſittyng at the right hand of God. &c. Col. 3.

Actes. 3. Col. 3.

The Minor likewiſe is euident by S. Auſten, who ſpeakyng of the gloriſied body of Chriſt, affirmeth the ſame to be in one certaine place, Propter veri corporis modum, that is, for the maner of a true body.

August. ad Dardanum.

¶Argument.

Da- Euery true naturall body requireth one certaine place. August.
ri- Chriſtes body is a true naturall body:
j. Ergo, Chriſtes body requireth one certaine place.

¶Argument.

Comparatio a maiori.

Auſten geueth not to ẏ ſoule of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but one. August. ad Dardanum.
Ergo, much leſſe is it to be geuen to the body of Chriſt to be in mo places at once, but in one.

¶Argument.

Compariſon betwene Aungels and the body of Chriſt.

The nature of the Aungels is not to be in diuers places, but they are limited to occupy one certaine place at once. Baſilius de ſpirit. ſanct. cap. 22.
Ergo, the body of Chriſt, beyng the true naturall body of a man, can not fill diuers places at one time.

¶Argument.

Ba- Whatſoeuer is in many & diuers places at once is God.
ro- The body of Chriſt is not God but a creature:
co. Ergo, the body of Chriſt, can not be in moe places together.

¶Argument.

Feſ- We muſt not ſo defende the Diuinitie of Chriſt, that we deſtroy his humanitie. August.
ti- If we aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places, we deſtroy his humanitie:
no. Ergo, we muſt not aſſigne to the body of Chriſt pluralitie of places.

¶Argument.

Feſ- Whatſoeuer thyng is circumſcribed, that is to ſay, conteined in the limites of any peculiar place, can not be diſperſed in mo places at once.
ti- The body of Chriſt is a thyng circumſcribed:
no. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is not diſperſed in mo places at one tyme.

¶Argument.

Da- Euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauyng magnitude, length, and other dimenſions, is circumſcribed in one peculiar place:
ri- The body of Chriſt hath his dimenſions and is a quātitie:
j. Ergo, the body of Chriſt is circumſcribed.

Cyrillus.

The Maior is proued by Cyrillus. What ſoeuer is vnderſtanded to be a body, the ſame is verely in a place, and in magnitude, & in quantitie. And if it be in quātitie, it cānot auoyde circumſcription, that is, to haue his place.

Cyrillus De trinit. Lib. 2. pag. 245.

¶Argument.

Ba- If Chriſt had geuen his body ſubſtauntially and carnally in the Supper, then was that body either paſſible, or unpaſſible.
ro- But neither can you ſay that body to be paſſible, or impaſſible, which he gaue at Supper:
co. Ergo, he dyd not geue his body ſubſtauncially and carnally at Supper.

August.

The Minor is proued thus. For if ye ſay it was paſſible, Auſten is agaynſt it, which ſayth: Ye ſhal not eate this body which you ſee, nor drinke the ſame bloud which they ſhall ſhed, that ſhall crucifie me. &c. And if ye ſay, it was unpaſſible, that may not be admitted by the wordes of the Euangeliſt, which ſayth: Eate, this is my body which ſhall be geuen for you: So that that body was paſſible & not impaſſible, whereas Chriſt was geuen.

August. in Psal. 98.

Vigilius.

One creature can not receaue in it ſelfe ij. contrary or diuers thynges together But theſe two thynges be diuers and farre vnlike, that is to ſay, to be conteined in a place, and to be euery where. For the word is euery where, but the fleſh is not euery where.

Vigilius contra Eutichen. Lib. 4.

¶Argument.

Fe- Bodyes organicall without quantitie be no bodyes.
ri- The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be without quantitie:
o. Ergo, the Popes doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be no body.

¶Argument.

Da- All thynges which may be deuided, haue quantitie.
ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is deuided in iij. partes:
j. Ergo, the body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantitie, which is agaynſt their owne doctrine.

¶Argument.

Fe- No naturall body can receaue in it ſelfe, & at one tyme, contrary or diuers qualities. Vigilius.
ri- To be in one place locall, and in an other place not locall in one place with quantitie, in an other place without quātitie, in one place circumſcript, in an other place incircumſcript, is for a naturall body to receaue contrary qualities:
o. Ergo, the body of Chriſt can not be in one place locall, and in an other not locall, in one place with quantitie, and in an other without quantitie, as our aduerſaryes do affirme.

¶Argument.

Fe- The wicked receaue not the body of Chriſt.
ri- The wicked do receaue the body of Chriſt, if tranſubſtantiation be graunted:
ſon. Ergo, tranſubſtantiation is not to be graunted in the Sacrament.

¶Argument for probation of the Maior.

Ca- To eate Chriſt, is for a man to haue Chriſt dwellyng and abydyng in hym. Auguſtine.
meſ- The wicked haue not Chriſt dwellyng in them:
tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyprianus de Cœna Domini. The eatyng of Chriſt, is our abydyng in hym.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

¶Argument.

Bo- The holy Ghoſt could not come if the body of Chriſt were really preſent.
car- That the holy Ghoſt is come, it is moſt certaine:
do. Ergo, it can not be that Chriſt hymſelfe ſhould be here really preſent.

For prouſe of the Maior. John. 16. Vnleſſe I go from you, the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come: It is expedient for you, that I go hence.

John 16.

¶Argument of Peter Martyr.

Ba- If the wicked and infidelles doe receaue the body of Chriſt, they receaue him either with ſenſe or reaſon, or with faythe.
ro- But they receaue him neither with ſenſe, reaſon, nor with faythe:
co. Ergo, wicked men and infidels receaue in no wiſe the body of Chriſt.

For declaration of the Maior: if ye ſay, they receaue him with ſenſe, that is agaynſt their owne lore, for the body of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament (ſay they) is not ſenſible, nor to bee perceaued by any ſenſe, neither with reaſon can they receaue hym, by their owne learnyng, for ſomuch as this Sacrament exceedeth all reaſon: Nec fides habet meritum, vbi ratio præbet experimentum. And if ye ſay, that they receaue him with faythe, how can that be, ſeyng infidels haue no faythe?

Declaration of the Maior.

What is to eate the body of Chriſt, the teachyng of the Papiſtes herein is ſtraunge, and differeth from the old Doctours. For where the Papiſtes do teach, that wicked perſons and infidels, albeit they receaue not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament, which is the very body of Chriſt, they receaue with their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidences of bread, and thus imagine a certaine body of Chriſt, ſuch as euill mē and infidels may eate, & yet beyng eaten, it geueth thē no nouriſhmēt, nor lyfe, nor maketh them no partakers of his ſpirite and grace: both Scripture and the aūcient expoſitours of the Scripture do teach much otherwiſe. For the Scripture knoweth no ſuch kynde of eatyng Chriſtes body, but onely that whiche is fruitefull, wholeſome, and effectuall. He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloud, abydeth in me and I in hym. &c. Joh. 6. And therfore it may appeare, that the Scripture meaneth by eatyng Chriſtes fleſhe, to beleue in Chriſtes Paſſion, which none can do but onely the faythfull. And to the ſame ſenſe ſound all the old Doctours.

What is to eate the bodye of Chriſt by the Papiſtes.

What is to eate the body of Chriſt by Scripture and Doctors.

Cyprianus.

That we ſhould know, that eatyng is our dwellyng in hym, and our drinkyng is, as it were, a certaine incorporation in hym.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

Item, the ſame Cyprian: The eatyng therefore of his fleſh is a certaine deſire to abyde in hym: and ſayth moreouer, that none eateth of this Lambe, but ſuch as be true Iſraelites, that is, true Chriſten men without colour or diſſimulation.

The wicked and infidels doe not eate the body of Chriſt.

And agayne hee ſayth: That as meate is to the fleſhe, the ſame is fayth to the ſoule, the ſame is the worde to the ſpirite. &c.

Moreouer: And therefore (ſayth hee) doyng this wee whet not our teeth to byte, but with pure fayth we breake the holy bread, and diſtribute it. &c.

Auguſtinus.

Auguſt. De Ciuit. Lib. 21. cap. 25.

It may not be ſayd, that any ſuch doe eate the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are accompted amongeſt the members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both members of Chriſt, and members of an harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Chriſt ſayth: He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me and I in him: he ſheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but in deede to eate his body and drinke his bloud, whiche is, when a man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in him. For ſo Chriſt ſpake thoſe wordes, as if he ſhould ſay: he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwel not, let him not ſay nor thinke, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my bloud.

John 6.

Alſo in other places the ſayd Auſten affirmeth, that to drinke is to liue: And ſayth moreouer: Why prepareſt thou thy bely and thy teeth? beleue and thou haſt eaten. &c.

All which kyndes of eatyng can not be ſayd of the wicked and infidels, but onely of the godly and faythfull.

And thus briefly we haue runne ouer all the Argumẽts and authorities of Peter Martyr in that diſputatiõ at Oxford, with Doctour Treſham, Chadſey, and Morgan, before the kynges viſitours aboue named. an. 1549.

Furthermore who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſatiſfied and reſolued in all the occurrentes touchyng the matter of this Sacrament, let hym read the bookes firſt of Archbyſhop Cranmer agaynſt Winchester: Secondly the tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, tranſlated and extant in Engliſh: and thyrdly the booke of Byſhop Ridley made in priſon, called A brief declaration of the Lordes Supper.

The lyke diſputation alſo about the ſame tyme was appointed and commenſed at Cambridge, concerning the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the kyngs viſitours beyng directed downe for the ſame purpoſe by the kyng. The names of whiche viſitours were theſe, Nicolas Ridley Byſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Byſhop of Ely, M. John Cheke the kyngs Scholemaſter, Doctour May Ciuilian, & Thomas Wendy the kynges Phiſician. The concluſions in that diſputation propounded were theſe.

Concluſions propounded to be diſputed at Cambridge.

1. Tranſubſtantiation can not be proued neither by the expreſſe wordes of Scripture, nor neceſſarely gathered or confirmed by the conſent of the auncient Catholickes before a thouſand yeares after Chriſt.
2. In the Supper of the Lord there is no other oblation of Chriſt, but onely the commemoration of his death, and thankes giuyng.

This diſputation continued 3. dayes. In the firſt dyd aunſwered Doctour Madew. Agaynſt whõ diſputed Doctour Glynne, M. Langdale, M. Segewicke, M. yong.

Aunſwerers and diſputers in thoſe diſputations at Cambridge.

In the ſecond diſputation dyd aunſwere Doctour Glynne. Agaynſt whom diſputed M. Grindale, Maiſter Pearne, M. Geſte, M. Pylgyngton.

In the thyrd diſputation aunſwered M. Pearne. Agaynſt whom diſputed one M. Parkar (not Doct. Math. Parkar) M. Pollard, M. Vauiſour, M. yong.

At length the diſputations ended, the Byſhop of Rocheſter Doct. Nicolas Ridley after the maner of Scholes, made this determination vpon the foreſayd concluſions, as here foloweth.

❡The determination of Doctour Nicolas Ridley Byſhop of Rocheſter, vpon the concluſions aboue prefixed.

The determination of Doct. Nic. Ridley vpon the diſputations.

There hath bene an auncient cuſtome amongeſt you, that after diſputations had in your common Scholes, there ſhould be ſome determination made of the matters ſo diſputed and debated, eſpecially touchyng Chriſtian Religion. Becauſe therfore it is ſene good vnto theſe worſhypfull aſſiſtentes ioyned with me in Cõmiſſion from ẏ kyngs Maieſtie, that I ſhould performe the ſame at this tyme: I will by your fauorable patience declare, both what I do thinke and beleue my ſelfe, and what alſo other ought to thinke of the ſame. Whiche thyng I would that afterwardes ye dyd with diligence way and ponder, euery man at home ſeuerally by hymſelfe.

The principall groundes or rather headſpringes of this matter are ſpecially fiue.

V. principall groundes to take away tranſubſtãtiation.

The firſt is the authoritie, maieſtie, and veritie of holy Scripture.

The ſecond is the moſt certaine teſtimonies of the auncient Catholicke Fathers, who, after my iudgement, do ſufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abhominable hereſie of Eutiches that may enſue of Tranſubſtantiation.

The fiſt is the moſt ſure beliefe of the Article of our fayth: He aſcended into heauen.

❡The firſt grounde.

Tranſubſtantiation agaynſt the ſcripture.

This Tranſubſtantiation is cleane agaynſt the wordes of the Scripture, and conſent of the auncient Catholicke Fathers. The Scripture ſayth: I will not drinke hereafter of this fruite of the vine. &c. Now the fruite of the vyne is wyne. And it is manifeſt ẏ Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes after the Supper was finiſhed, as it appeareth both in Mathew, Marke and alſo in Luke, if they be well vnderſtanded. There be not many places of the Scripture that do cõfirme this thyng neither is it greatly materiall: For it is enough if there bee any one playne teſtimonie for the ſame. Neither ought it to be meaſured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authoritie, and by the veritie of the ſame. And the maieſtie of this veritie is as ample in one ſhort ſentence of the Scripture, as in a thouſand.

Scripture to be meaſured not by number but by authoritye.

Moreouer, Chriſt toke bread, he brake bread, he gaue bread. In the Actes Luke calleth it bread. S. Paule calleth it bread after the ſanctification. Both of them ſpeaketh of breakyng, which belongeth to the ſubſtaũce of bread, and in no wiſe to Chriſtes body: for the ſcripture ſayth: Ye ſhall not breake a bone of him. Chriſt ſayth: Do ye this in my remembraunce. S. Paule alſo ſayth: Do ye this in my remembraunce. And agayne: As often as ye ſhal drinke of this cup, do it in the remembraunce of me. And our Sauiour Chriſt in ẏ 6. of John, ſpeakyng agaynſt ẏ Capernaites ſayth: Labour for the meate that periſheth not. And whẽ they aſked: What ſhall we do that we may worke the workes of God? He aunſwered them thus: This is the worke of God, that ye beleue in him whõ hee hath ſent. You ſee how he exhorteth them to fayth, for fayth is that worke of God. Agayne: This is the bread whiche came downe from heauen. But Chriſtes body came not down from heauen.

Exod. 12. 1 Cor. 11.

John 6.

John 6.

Moreouer: He that eateth my fleſhe, & drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My fleſh (ſayth hee) is meate in deede, and my bloude is drinke in deede. When they heard this, they were offended. And whileſt they were offẽded, he ſayd vnto them: What if ye ſhal ſee the Sonne of mã aſcende vp where he was before? Wherby he went about to draw them from the groſſe and carnall eatyng. This body ſayth he, ſhall aſcende vp into heauen, meanyng altogether as S. Auguſtine ſayth: It is the ſpirite that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothyng. The wordes that I, ſpeake vnto you are ſpirite and lyfe, and muſt be ſpiritually vnderſtãd. Theſe be the reaſons which perſwade me to incline to this ſentẽce and iudgement.

❡The ſecond ground.

The ſecond ground agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Now my ſecond ground agaynſt this tranſubſtantiation are the auncient Fathers a thouſand yeares paſt. And ſo farre of is it that they do confirme this opinion of tranſubſtantiation, that playnly they ſeeme vnto me, both to thinke and to teach the contrary.

Dionyſ. in Eccle. Hierat.

Dionyſius in many places calleth it bread. The places are ſo manifeſt and playne, that it needeth not to recite them.

Ignatius ad Philadelph.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians ſayth: I beſech you brethren cleaue faſt vnto one fayth, and to one kynde of preachyng, vſing together one maner of thankeſgeuyng: for the fleſh of the Lorde Ieſu is one, and his bloud is one whiche was ſhed for vs: There is alſo one bread broken for vs, and one cuppe of the whole Church.

Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34.

Irenæus writeth thus: Euen as the bread that commeth of the earth receauyng Gods vocation is now no more cõmon bread, but Sacramentall bread, conſiſtyng of two natures, earthly & heauẽly: euen ſo our bodyes receauyng the Euchariſt, are now no more corruptible, hauyng hope of the reſurrection.

Tertullianus.

Tertulian is very playne, for he calleth it a figure of the body. &c.

Chriſoſtomus ad Cæſarium.

Chriſoſtome writyng to Cæſarius the Monke, albeit he be not receiued of diuers, yet will I read the place to faſtẽ it more deepely in your myndes: for it ſemeth to ſhew playnly the ſubſtaũce of bread to remayne. The wordes are theſe.

Before the bread is ſanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God ſanctifying the ſame through the miniſtery of the Prieſt, it is deliuered from the name of bread, and is coũted worthy to beare the name of the Lordes body, although the very ſubſtaunce of bread notwithſtandyng doe ſtill remayne therein, and now is takẽ not to be two bodies, but one body of the Sonne. &c.

Cyprian Lib. 1. Epiſt. 6

Cypriã ſaith: Bread is made of many graynes. And is that naturall bread, and made of wheate? Yea it is ſo in deede.

The

Theodoretus. Gelaſius, in Epiſt. de duabus naturis in Chriſto.

The booke of Theodoret in Greeke was lately Printed at Rome, which if it had not bene his, it ſhould not haue bene ſet forth there, ſpecially ſeyng it is directly agaynſt trãſubſtantiation: For he ſayth playnly that bread ſtill remayneth after the ſanctification.

Gelaſius alſo is very playne in this mãner. The Sacramēt (ſayth hee) whiche we receaue of the body and bloud of Chriſt, is a diuine matter: by reaſon whereof we are made partakers by the ſame of the diuine nature, and yet it ceaſeth not ſtill to be the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne. And certes, the repreſentatiō and ſimilitude of the body & bloud of Chriſt be celebrated in the action of the miſteries. &c.

After this he recited certayne places out of Auguſtine and Cirill, which were not noted.

Iſych. Lib. cap. 8. Bertrame.

Iſichius alſo confeſſeth that it is bread.

Alſo the iudgement of Bertram in this matter is very playne & manifeſt. And thus much for the ſecond ground.

The thyrd ground.

The thyrd ground.

The thyrd grounde is the nature of the Sacrament, whiche conſiſteth in three thynges, that is, vnitie, nutrition, and conuerſion.

Ciprian. Three thinges in a ſacrament.

As touchyng vnitie, Cyprian thus writeth: Euen as of many graynes is made one bread, ſo are we one myſticall body of Chriſt. Wherfore bread muſt needes ſtill remayne, or els we deſtroy the nature of a Sacrament.

1. Vnitie.
2. Nutrition
3. Conuerſion.

Alſo they that take away nutrition, which commeth by bread, do take away lykewiſe the nature of the Sacrament. For as the body of Chriſt nouriſheth the ſoule, euen ſo doth bread lykewiſe nouriſh the body of man.

Therfore, they that take away the graynes or the vnion of the graynes in the bread, and denye the nutrition or ſubſtaunce therof, in my iudgement are Sacramentaries: for they take away the ſimilitude betwene the bread and the body of Chriſt. For they which affirme tranſubſtantiation are in deede right Sacramentaries and Capernites.

Conuerſion.

As touchyng conuerſion (ẏ lyke as the bread which we receyue, is turned into our ſubſtaunce, ſo are we turned into Chriſtes body) Rabanus and Chriſoſtome are witneſſes ſufficient.

The fourth ground.

4. ground. The reall preſence in the Sacrament ſtandeth not with the truth of Chriſtes humanitie.

They whiche ſay that Chriſt is carnally preſent in the Euchariſt, do take from hym the veritie of mans nature. Eutiches graūted the diuine nature in Chriſt, but his humane nature he denyed: So they that defend tranſubſtantiation aſcribe that to the humane nature, which onely belongeth to the diuine nature.

The fift grounde.

The fift grounde is the certayne perſwation of this Article of the fayth: He aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth on the right hand. &c.

Auguſt. ſuper Ioan. tract. 30.

Auguſtine ſayth: The Lord is aboue euen to the end of the world: but yet the veritie of the Lord is here alſo. For his body wherin he roſe againe, muſt needes be in one place but his veritie is ſpread abroad euery where.

Tract. 50. Math. 28.

Alſo in an other place he ſayth: Let the godly receiue alſo that Sacrament, but let them not be carefull (ſpeakyng there of the preſence of the body.) For as touchyng his maieſtie, his prouidēce, his inuiſible and vnſpeakeable grace, theſe woordes are fulfilled which he ſpake: I am with you vnto the end of the world. But accordyng to the fleſh which he tooke vpon him: accordyng to that which was borne of the Virgine: was apprehended of the Iewes: was faſtened to a tree: taken downe agayne from the croſſe: lapped in lynnen clothes: was buryed and roſe agayne, and appeared after his reſurrectiō, ſo you ſhall not haue me alwayes with you. And why? becauſe that as concernyng his fleſhe he was conuerſant with his Diſciples fourty dayes, and they accompanying him, ſeyng him, but not followyng hym, he went vp into heauen, and is not here, for he ſitteth at the right hād of his Father: and yet he is here, becauſe he is not departed hence as concernyng the preſence of his diuine maieſtie.

Marke and conſider well what S. Auguſtine ſayth: He is aſcended into heauē, and is not here, ſayth he. Beleue not thē therfore which ſay that he is yet here ſtill in ẏ earth.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 57.

Moreouer: Doubt not (ſayth the ſame Auguſtine) but that Ieſus Chriſt, as concernyng the nature of his manhode is there from whence he ſhall come. And remember well and beleue the profeſſion of a Chriſtian man: that he roſe frō death, aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth at the right hād of his father, and from that place, and none other (not from the aulters) ſhall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and he ſhall come, as the Angell ſayd, as he was ſene go into heauen: that is to ſay, in the ſame forme and ſubſtaunce, vnto the which he gaue immortality, but chaunged not nature. After this forme (meanyng his humane nature) wee may not thinke that it is euery where.

Auguſt. Ibid.

And in the ſame Epiſtle he ſayth: Take away from the bodies the limitation of places and they ſhall be no where: and becauſe they are no where, they ſhall not be at all.

Vigilius contra Eutychen Lib. 4.

Vigilius ſayth: If the worde and the fleſh be both of one nature, ſeeyng that the word is euery where, why then is not the fleſh alſo euery where? For when it was in earth, then verely it was not in heauen: and now whē it is in heauen, it is not ſurely in earth. And it is ſo certayne that it is not in earth, that as concerning the ſame we looke for hym from heauen, whom as concerning the worde we beleue to be wyth vs in earth.

Alſo the ſame Vigilius ſayth: Which thinges ſeing they be ſo, the courſe of the ſcripture muſt be ſearched of vs, and many teſtimonies muſt be gathered to ſhew plainly what a wickednes and ſacrilege it is to referre thoſe thynges to the property of the diuine nature, which do onely belong to the nature of the fleſh: and contrariwiſe, to apply thoſe things vnto the nature of the fleſh, which doe properly belong to the diuine nature. Which thyng the trãſubſtantiatours do, whyleſt they affirme Chriſtes body not to be conteyned in any one place, and aſcribe that to his humanity, which properly belongeth to hys diuinitie: as they do which will haue Chriſtes body to be in no one certayne place limited.

The thyrd Concluſion.

Now in the latter concluſion cōcerning the ſacrifice, becauſe it dependeth vpon the firſt, I will in few wordes declare what I thinke. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controuerſie in the other would ſoone be at an ende: Two thinges there be which do perſwade me that this cōcluſion is true: that is, certayne places of the ſcripture, and alſo certaine teſtimonies of ẏ fathers. S. Paul ſaith. Heb. 9 Chriſt beinge come an high Prieſt of good thinges to come by a greater and more perfect taber nacle not made with handes, that is, not of this buyldynge, neyther by the bloud of Goates and Calues, but by his owne bloude, entred once into the holy place, and obtayned for vs eternall redemption. &c. and now in the ende of the world he hath appeared once to put away ſinne by the ſacrifice of hymſelfe.

Heb. 9. Sacrifice of Chriſtes body.

And agayne: Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſinnes of many.

Heb. 10.

Moreouer he ſayth: With one offering hath he made perfect for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.

Chriſt neuer offered but once.

Theſe ſcriptures do perſwade me to beleue that there is no other oblation of Chriſt (albeit I am not ignoraunt that there are many ſacrifices) but that whych was once made vpon the croſſe.

Auguſt. ad Bonif. Epiſt 23. Auguſt. Queſt. 61. Auguſt contra Fauſtum cap. 21. cap 28. Fulgent. De Fide.

The teſtimonies of the auncient Fathers which confirme the ſame, are out of Auguſtine ad Boniſac. Epiſt. 23. Agayne in his booke of 43. Queſtions in the 61. queſtion. Alſo in his 20. booke agaynſt Fauſtus the Maniche cap. 21. And in the ſame booke agaynſt the ſaid Fauſtus cap. 28. thus he writeth: Now the Chriſtians keepe a memoriall of the ſacrifice paſte, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Fulgentius in his booke De Fide, calleth the ſame oblatiō a commemoration. And theſe thinges are ſufficient for this time for a ſcholaſticall determination of theſe matters.

Diſputations of Martin Bucer.

Ouer & beſide theſe diſputations aboue mentioned, other diſputations alſo were holdē at Cambridge ſhortly after by Martin Bucer vpon theſe concluſions folowing.

Concluſions to be diſputed.

Concluſions diſputed at Cambridge by Martyn Bucer.

1. The Canonicall bookes of holy Scripture alone do ſufficiently teach the regenerated all things neceſſarely belonging vnto ſaluation.
2. There is no Church in earth which erreth not as wel in fayth as in maners.
3. We are ſo iuſtified freely of God, that before our iuſtification it is ſinne, aud prouoketh Gods wrath againſt vs, whatſoeuer good worke we ſeeme to doe. Then being iuſtified we do good workes.

Diſputers agaynſt M. Bucer at Cambridge.

In theſe iij. propoſitons againſt Bucer diſputed M. Sedgewycke, Yonge, and Pearne. Which diſputations becauſe they are long here to be recited, I mynde (the Lord willing) to reſerue them to ſome other conuenient place. In the meane ſeaſon becauſe great controuerſie hath bene and is yet amongeſt the learned, and much effuſion of Chriſten bloud about the wordes and meaning of the Sacrament, to the entent that the veritie therof more openly may be explaned, and all doubtful ſcruples diſcuſſed, it ſhal not be out of place to adioyne to the former diſcourſes of Peter Martyr, and of Doctour Ridley aboue mentioned, an other certaine learned treatiſe in forme of a Dialogue as apperteinyng to the ſame Argument, compiled (as it ſeemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr and other authours, by a certaine learned & reuerend perſon of this Realme: who vnder the perſons of Cuſtome and Veritie, manifeſtly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men not to meaſure Religion by cuſtome, but to try cuſtome by truth and the word of God, for els cuſtome may ſoone deceaue, but the word of God abydeth for euer.

A learned Dealogue betwen Cuſtome and Truth.

A fruitefull Dialogue declaryng theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body.

CVSTOME. VERITIE.

A Dialogue betwene Cuſtome and Veritie.

CVſtome. I maruell much what madnes is cropen into thoſe mens hartes, which now a dayes are not aſhamed ſo violently to tread downe the liuely word of God, yea and impudently to deny God hymſelfe.

Veritie. God forbyd there ſhould be any ſuch. In deede I remember that the Romiſh Byſhop was wont to haue the Bible for his foote ſtoole, & ſo to treade downe Gods word euermore when he ſtode at his Maſſe. But thankes be to God he is now detected, and his abhominations be opened and blowne thoroughout all the world. And I heare of no moe that oppreſſeth Gods word.

Cuſt. No mo ſay you? yes doubtles there are an hundreth thouſād mo, & your part it is Veritie, to withſtand them.

Veri. As touchyng my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to ſtand with falſehode. But what are they: diſcloſe them if you will haue them reproued.

Cuſt. What, are you ſo great a ſtraunger in theſe quarters? heare you not how that men do dayly ſpeake agaynſt the Sacramēt of the aultar, denying it to be the real body of Chriſt?

Veri. In good ſoth, I haue bene a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this countrey. Wherefore you muſt pardon me if my aūſwere be to ſeeke in ſuch queſtions. But go forth in your tale. You haue bene lōger here, and are better acquaynted then I. What ſay they more then this?

Cuſt. Then this? why, what can they poſſible ſay more?

Veri. Yes there are many thynges worſe then this: For this ſeemeth in ſome part to be tolerable.

Cuſt. What? me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the Sacrament?

Veri. They denye it not, ſo much as I can gather by your wordes.

Cuſt. Nay then fare you well: I perceyue you will take their part.

Veri. I am not parciall, but indifferent to all parties: For I neuer go farther then the truth.

Math. 26.

Cuſt. I can ſcarſly beleue you. But what is more true thē Chriſt, which is truth it ſelfe? or who euer was ſo hardy, before this time to charge Chriſt with a lye, for ſaying theſe wordes: This is my body? The wordes are euident and playne: there is in them not ſo much as one obſcure or darke letter: there is no cauſe for any man to cauill. And yet that notwithſtandyng, where as Chriſt hymſelfe affirmed it to be his body, men now a dayes are not abaſhed to ſay Chriſt lyed, it is not his body. The Euangeliſtes agree all in one, the old writers ſtand of our ſide, the Vniuerſall and Catholicke Churche hath bene in this mynde theſe xv. hundreth yeare and more. And ſhall we thincke that Chriſt hymſelfe, his Euangeliſtes, all the whole Catholicke Churche hath bene ſo long deceyued, and the truth now at length begotten and borne in theſe dayes?

Chriſtes wordes.
The Euangeliſtes.
The old writers:
The Catholicke Church.

The doctrine of the papiſtes commonly ſtandeth vpon falſe reportes.

Veri. You haue moued a matter of great force and weight, and whereto without many wordes I can make no full aunſwere. Notwithſtandyng because you prouoke me thereto, if you will gyue me licence I will take parte with them of whom you haue made falſe reporte, for none of them euer reproued Chriſt of any lye. But contrarywiſe they ſay that many men of late dayes, not vnderſtandyng Chriſtes wordes, haue buylded and ſet vp many fond lyes vpon his name. Wherfore firſt I will declare the meanyng of theſe wordes: This is my body, and next in what ſenſe the Church & the old fathers haue euermore taken them. Firſt therfore you ſhall vnderſtand that Scripture is not ſo to be taken alwayes as the letter ſoundeth, but as the intent and purpoſe of the holy Ghoſt was, by whom the Scripture was vttered. For if you folow the bare wordes, you will ſoone ſhake downe and ouerthrow the greateſt parte of the Chriſtian fayth. What is playner then theſe wordes: Pater maior me eſt: My father is greater then I am? Of thoſe playne wordes ſprang vp the hereſie of the Arrians, which denyed Chriſt to be equall with his father. What is more euidēt then this ſaying: I and my father are both me? Therof aroſe the hereſie of them that denyed three diſtinct perſons. They all had one ſoule and one hart, was ſpoken by the Apoſtles. yet had ech of them a ſoule and hart peculiar to hymſelfe. They are now not two but one fleſh, is ſpoken by the man and his wife. yet hath both the mā and the wife his ſeuerall body. He is our very fleſh, ſayd Iuda by Ioſeph his brother, whiche notwithſtandyng was not their reall fleſh. I am bread, ſayd Chriſt: yet was he fleſh and no bread. Chriſt was the ſtone, ſayth Paule, and was in deede no materiall ſtone. Melchiſedech had neither father nor mother, & yet in deede he had both. Behold the Lambe of God, ſayth Iohn Baptiſt by Chriſt: notwithſtandyng Chriſt was a man, & not a Lābe. Circumciſion was called the couenaūt, where as it was but a token of the couenaunt. The Lambe named ẏ paſſeouer, & yet was it eaten in remēbraunce was onely of the paſſeouer. Iacob rayſed vp an aultar, and called it beyng made but of lyme and ſtone, the mighty God of Iſraell. Moſes when he had conquered the Amalechites, ſet vp an aultar and called it by the names of God Iehoua, and Tetragrāmatum. We all are one loafe of bread, ſayth Paule yet were they not therby turned into a loafe of bread. Chriſt hangyng vpō the Croſſe appointed S. Iohn to his mother, ſaying: Loe there is thy ſonne, & yet was he not her ſonne. So many as be Baptiſed into Chriſt (ſayth Paule) haue put on Chriſt: and ſo many as are Baptiſed into Chriſt, are waſhed with the bloud of Chriſt: Notwithſtandyng no man tooke the fonte water to be the natural bloud of Chriſt. The cup is the new Teſtament, ſayth Paule, and yet is not the cup in deede the very new Teſtamēt. You ſee therfore ẏ it is not ſtraunge nor a thyng vnwont in the Scriptures, to call one thyng by an others name. So that you can no more of neceſſitie inforce the chaungyng of the bread into Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, because the wordes be playne: This is my body, then the wiues fleſh to be the naturall and reall body and fleſh of the huſband because it is written: They are not two, but one fleſh: or the aultar of ſtone to be very God, because Moſes with euident and playne wordes pronounced it to be the mighty God of Iſraell. Notwithſtandyng if you will needes cleaue to the letter, you make for me, & hinder your owne cauſe. For this I will reaſon, and vſe your owne weapon agaynſt you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The Euangeliſtes agree in the ſame. Paule nameth it ſo v. tymes in one place. The holy Ghoſt may not be ſet to ſchole to learne to ſpeake. Wherfore I conclude by your owne Argument, that we ought not onely to ſay, but alſo to beleue that in the Sacrament there remayneth bread.

The ſenſe of *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, expounded.

John 14.

John 10.

Actes. 4.

Gen. 37.

1. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. 10.

Gal. 3.
Rom. 6.

Figuratiue ſpeaches moſt common in Scripture.

The name of bread vſed in ſcripture.

Cuſt. Me thinketh your aunſwere is reaſonable: yet can I not be ſatiſfied. Declare you therfore more at large, what moueth you to thinke this of the Sacrament. For I thinke you would not withſtād a doctrine ſo long holden & taught, vnleſſe you were inforced by ſome ſtrong and likely reaſons.

The meanyng of Chriſtes wordes expounded.

Veri. Firſt, in examinyng the wordes of Chriſt, I get me to the meanyng and purpoſe for whiche they were ſpoken. And in this behalfe I ſee that Chriſt mēt to haue his death and paſſion kept in remembraunce. For men of themſelues bee and euermore were forgetfull of the benefites of God. And therefore it was behouefull that they ſhould be admoniſhed and ſtirred vp with ſome viſible and outward tokens, as with the Paſſeouer Lambe, the braſen Serpent, and other lyke. For the braſen Serpent was a token that when the Iewes were ſtynged and wounded with Serpentes, God reſtored thē and made them whole. The paſſeouer Lambe was a memory of the great benefite of God, which when he deſtroyed the Egyptians, ſaued the Iewes whoſe doores were ſprinckled with the bloud of a Lambe. So lykewiſe Chriſt left vs a memoriall and remembraunce of his death and paſſion in outward tokens, that when the Child ſhould demaunde of his Father what the breakyng of the bread and drinking of the cup meaneth, he might aunſwere hym, that lyke as the bread is broken, ſo Chriſt was broken and rent vpon the Croſſe for to redeeme the ſoule of man: and lyke as wyne foſtereth and comforteth the body, ſo doth the bloud of Chriſt cheriſh and releeue the ſoule. And this do I gather by the wordes of Chriſt and by the Inſtitution and order of the Sacrament. For Chriſt charged the Apoſtles to do this in the remembraunce of hym. Wherupon thus I do conclude:

Feſ- Nothyng is done in remembraunce of it ſelfe.
ti- But the Sacrament is vſed in the remembraunce of Chriſt.
no. Therfore the Sacrament is not Chriſt.

Fe- Chriſt neuer deuoured hymſelfe.
ri- Chriſt dyd eate the Sacrament with his Apoſtles.
ſon. Ergo, the Sacrament is not Chriſt hymſelfe.

Beſide this I ſee, that Chriſt ordayned not his body, but a Sacrament of his body. A Sacramēt (as S. Auguſtine declareth) is an outward ſigne of an inuiſible grace. His wordes are: Sacramentum eſt inuiſibilis gratiæ viſibile ſignum. Out of whiche wordes I gather two Argumentes, The firſt is this, the tokē of the body of Chriſt is the thyng tokened: wherfore they are not one. The ſecond is this.

Fe- One thyng can not be both viſible and inuiſible.
ri- But the Sacrament is viſible, and the body of Chriſt inuiſible:
ſon. Therfore they are not one.

Which thyng S. Auguſtine openeth very well by theſe wordes: Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramēti. Sacramentum eſt quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti eſt corpus Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Moreouer, I remember that Chriſt miniſtred this Sacrament not to great and deepe Philoſophers, but to a ſort of ignoraunt and vnlearned Fiſhers, which notwithſtandyng vnderſtode Chriſtes meanyng right well, & deliuered it euen as they tooke it at Chriſtes hand, to the vulgare and lay people and fully declared vnto them the meanyng therof. But the lay people, nor ſcarcely the Apoſtles themſelues could vnderſtand what is ment by tranſubſtantiation, impanation, dimenſions, qualitates, quantitates, accidens ſine ſubiecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learnyng for the vnlearned and rude people, wherfore it is likely that Chriſt ment ſome other thyng then hath bene taught of late dayes. Furthermore, Chriſtes body is foode, not for the body, but for the ſoule, and therfore it muſt be receyued with the inſtrument of yͤ ſoule which is fayth. For as ye receaue ſuſtenaunce for your body by your bodily mouth, ſo the foode of your ſoule muſt be receaued by fayth, whiche is the mouth of the ſoule. And for that S. Auguſtine ſharpely rebuketh them that thinke to eate Chriſt with their mouth ſaying: Quid paras dentem & ventrem: crede & manducaſti. i. Why makeſt thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? beleue, and thou haſt eaten Chriſt. Likewiſe ſpeakyng of eatyng the ſelfe ſame body, hee ſayth to the Capernaites, whiche tooke hym groſly as men do now a dayes: The wordes that I ſpeake are ſpirite and life. It is the ſpirite that quickeneth: the fleſh profiteth nothyng. And S. Auguſtine vpon theſe wordes of Chriſt ſayth: * Non hoc corpus, quod videtis mãducaturi eſtis: neq; bibituri ſanguinem, quem effuſuri ſunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentū aliquod vobis trado. Id ſpiritualiter acceptum viuificat: caro autem non prodeſt quicquam. Auguſt. Quinquagena. 2. Pſal. 98.

Chriſt is no foode for the body but for the ſoule.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 25.

Iohn. 6.

* That is to ſay: You ſhall not eate the body vvhich you ſee and drinke that bloud vvhich they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucifie me. I haue commended to you a ſacrament, vnderſtand it ſpiritually and it ſhall geue you lyfe: the fleſhe profiteth nothing.

Cuſtome. What meane you by this ſpirite, and by ſpirituall eatyng? I pray you vtter your mynde more playnely. For I know well that Chriſt hath a body, and therefore muſt be eaten (as I thinke) with the mouth of the body. For the ſpirite and the ſoule as it hath no body and fleſh, ſo it hath no mouth.

Veritie. You muſt vnderſtand that a man is ſhaped of two partes: of the body, and of the ſoule. And eche of them hath his lyfe and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his foode, and abſtinence. For like as the body is nouriſhed and foſtered with bodily meates, or els can not endure, ſo muſt the ſoule haue his cheriſhyng, otherwiſe will it decay, and pine away. And therfore we do & may iuſtly ſay that the Turkes, Iewes, and Heathen be dead, becauſe they lacke the lyuely foode of the ſoule. But how then, or by what meane will you feede the ſoule? Doubteleſſe not by the inſtrument of the body, but of yͤ ſoule. For that whiche is receaued into the body hath no paſſage frō thēce into yͤ ſoule. For Chriſt ſaith, That what ſo entreth into the belly, is conueyed into the draught. And where as you ſay that the ſpirite hath no mouth lyke as it hath no body or bones, you are deceaued. For the ſpirite hath a mouth in his kynde, or els how could a man eate and drinke Iuſtice? for vndoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit inſtrument for it. Yet Chriſt ſayth, that he is bleſſed that hungreth and thirſteth for Iuſtice. If he hunger and thyrſt for Iuſtice, belyke he doth eateth and drinketh it, or otherwiſe he neither abateth hys hunger, nor quencheth his thyrſt. Now if a man eate and drinke righteouſneſſe with his ſpirite, no doubt his ſpirite hath a mouth. Whereof I will reaſon thus:

Math. 15.

Math. 5.

What is to hunger and eate righteouſnes.

Argument.

Da- Of what ſoeuer ſorte the mouth is, ſuch is his foode.
ti- But the mouth of the ſpirite is ſpirituall, not bodily:
ſi. Therefore it receaueth Chriſtes body ſpiritually, not bodily.

And in lyke manner Chriſt ſpeakyng of the eatyng of hys body, nameth hym ſelfe the bread, not for the body, but of lyfe for the ſoule, and ſayth: Hee that commeth to me, ſhall not hunger, and hee that beleueth in me, ſhall neuer thyrſt. Wherefore who ſo wyll be relieued by the body of Chriſt, muſt receaue hym as he will be receaued, with the inſtrument of fayth appoynted thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And where as I ſay that Chriſtes body muſt be receaued & taken with fayth, I meane not that you ſhal plucke downe Chriſt from heauen and put him in your fayth, as in a viſible place: but that you muſt wyth your fayth ryſe and ſpryng vp to him, and leauing thys worlde, dwell aboue in heauen, putting all your truſt, comfort and conſolation in him, which ſuffered greuous bondage to ſet you at libertie and to make you free, creeping into his woundes which were ſo cruelly pearced & dented for your ſake. So ſhall you feede of the body of Chriſt, ſo ſhall you ſucke the bloud that was poured out and ſhed for you. This is the ſpirituall, the very true, the onely eatynge of Chriſtes body. And therfore S. Gregory calleth it Cibum mentis, non ventris. i. The foode of the mynde and not of the belly. And S. Ciprian ſaith likewiſe: Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. We ſharpen not our tooth nor prepare our belly.

Iohn. 6.

How Chriſtes body is taken by fayth.

Gregory.

Cyprian.

Now to returne to our former purpoſe, ſeeing it is plaine that Chriſtes body is meate for our ſpirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I wil gather therof this reaſon. The ſacrament is bodily foode and increaſeth the body: Ergo the ſacrament is not the very body Chriſt. That it nouriſheth the body, it is euident: for Chriſt calleth it the fruite of the vyne, whoſe dutie is to nouriſhe. And for a proufe, if you conſecrate a whole loafe, it wyll feede you ſo well as your table bread. And if a litle Mouſe get an hoſt, he wyll craue no more meate to his dinner. But you will ſay theſe are worldly reaſons. What then if the old Fathers recorde the ſame? Irenæus ſayth: Quando mixtus calix, et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia corporis & ſanguinis domini, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. Beda witneſſeth the ſame by theſe wordes: Quia panis carnē cōfirmat, & vinum ſanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Chriſti myſticè, illud ad ſanguinē refertur. Wherfore as I ſayd before, ſeeing that Chriſtes body is ſpiritual meat, and the bread of the ſacrament bodily, I may cōclude that the ſacramēt is not Chriſtes body. Beſide this, where as it was forbidden in the old law, that any man ſhould eat or drinke bloud, the Apoſtles notwithſtanding tooke yͤ cup at Chriſtes handes, and dranke of it, and neuer ſtaggered or ſhranke at the matter: whereby it may be gathered, that they tooke it for a miſtery, for a token, and a remembraunce, far otherwiſe then it hath of late bene taken.

Irenæus lib. 5. contra Valentinum.

Beda ſuper Lucam.

Chriſtes body is ſpirituall meate.

Drinking mans bloud agaynſt the lawe.

Agayne, when the ſacrament was delt, none of them all crouched downe and tooke it for his God, forgetting hym yͭ ſat there preſent before their eyes, but tooke it, and eate it, knowing that it was a ſacrament and a remembraunce of Chriſtes body. Yea, the old Councels commaunded that no man ſhould kneele downe at the tyme of the Communion, fearing that it ſhould be an occaſion of Idolatry. And long after the Apoſtles tyme, as Tertullian writeth, women were ſuffered to take it home wyth them, and to lay it vp in their cheſtes. And the prieſt many times ſent it to ſicke perſons by a childe: which no doubt would haue geuē more reuerence therto, if they had takē it for their God. But a great while after, about 3. hundreth yeare agone, Honorius. 3. yͤ byſhop of Rome tooke hym and hanged him vp, and cauſed men to kneele and crouch downe, and all to begod hym.

Kneeling to the ſacrament forbidden in old Councels.

The ſacrament carryed home in napkins.

Pope Honorius 3. firſt author of worſhipping the Sacrament. An. 1220.

Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Chriſt, doubteles it is the greateſt miracle that euer God wrought. But the Apoſtles ſaw no miracle in it. Nazianzenus an old writer, and Auguſtine entreating of al the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the apoſtles it appeareth well that they had it for no maruell, for they neuer muſed at it, neither demaunded how it might be: wheras in other things they euermore were ful of queſtiōs. As touching S. Auguſtine, he not only ouerſkippeth it as no wōder, but by plain & expreſſe wordes teſtifieth that there is no maruell in it. For ſpeaking of the Lordes ſupper and of the other ſacramentes he ſaieth theſe wordes. *Hic Sacramenta honorem vt religioſa habere poſſunt, ſtuporem autem vt mira non poſſunt. Moreouer a little before yͤ Inſtitution of yͤ ſacramēt, Chriſt ſpake of his aſcēſion ſaying, I leaue the world: I tary but a litle while wyth you. Let not your harts be troubled becauſe I goe from you. I tell you truth it is for your profit that I goe from you, for if I go not the ſpirite of comfort cannot come to you. Ion. 14. With many other like warnings of his departure. S. Steuen ſaw him ſitting at the righte hande of his Father, and thought it a ſpeciall reuelation of God: but he neuer ſayd yͭ he ſaw him at yͤ Cōmunion, or that he made hym* euery day himſelfe. And in the Actes of the Apoſtles S. Peter ſayth, that Chriſt muſt needes keepe the heauen till all bee ended. Eſay, Salomon and ſaint Steuen ſay that God dwelleth not in Temples made with mans hand: ſaint Paul wiſheth that he were diſſolued and dead, and were with Chriſt, not in the aultar doubtles where he might be dayly, but in heauen. And to be briefe, it is in our Credo, and we doe conſtantly beleue, that Chriſt is aſcended into heauen, and ſitteth at his fathers right hand: and no promiſe haue we that he will come iumping downe at euerye Prieſtes callynge.

Apoſtles and old Doctours make no miracle nor maruell at the Sacrament.

* That is to ſay: Sacramentes here may haue their honour as thinges religious but they are not to be vvondred at as miracles.

Actes. 3.

Actes. 17.

If Chriſt were both gone and taried, then he ſhould ſeeme to haue left hym ſelfe behinde hym.

Hereof I gather this reaſon.

Chriſtes body can not both be gone and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the world:
Therfore it is folly to ſeeke hym in the world.

Cuſt. Fye, you be far deceaued. I can not in no wiſe brooke theſe wordes. you ſhut vp Chriſt to ſtraitly, and impriſon hym in one corner of heauen, not ſufferyng hym to go at large. No, doubtleſſe he hath deſerued more gẽtlenes at your hand, then to be tyed vp ſo ſhort.

Veri. I do neither locke vp neither impriſon Chriſt in heauen: but accordyng to the Scriptures declare that hee hath choſẽ a bleſſed place, & moſt worthy to receiue his Maieſtie: in which place who ſo is incloſed, thinketh not hym ſelfe (as I ſuppoſe) to be a priſoner: but if you take it for ſo haynous a thing that Chriſt ſhould ſit reſident in heauen in the glory of his father, what thinke you of them that impriſon hym in a litle boxe, yea and keepe hym in captiuitie ſo long, vntil he be mouldy and ouergrowne with vermine, & when he is paſt mans meate, be not contented to hang hym till he ſtincke, but will haue hym to a new execution, and burne hym too? This is wonderfull and extreme cruell impriſonyng. But to returne to the matter, we are certainely perſwaded by the word of God, that Chriſt the very ſonne of God vouchſaued to take vppon hym the body and ſhape of man, and ỹ he walked & was conuerſaunt amongeſt men in that ſame one, and not in many bodyes, and that he ſuffered death, aroſe agayne, and aſcended to heauen in the ſelfe ſame body, and that he ſitteth at his fathers right hand in his manhode, in the nature and ſubſtaunce of the ſayd one body. This is our beliefe, this is the very word of GOD. Wherefore they are farre deceiued whiche leauyng heauen, will grope for Chriſtes body vpon the earth.

The body of Chriſt impriſoned by the Papiſtes in a boxe, and afterward burned when he is mouldye.

Cuſt. Nay ſir, but I ſee now you are farre out of the way. For Chriſt hath not ſo groſſe and fleſhly, as you thinke, but a ſpirituall and a Ghoſtly body, and therfore without repugnaunce it may be in many places at once.

Chriſtes body is ſpirituall in the Sacrament, ſay the Papiſtes.

Veri. you ſay right well, and do graunt that Chriſtes body is ſpirituall. But I pray you aunſwere me by the way: Cã any other body then that which is ſpirituall, be at one tyme in ſondry places?

Cuſt. No truely.

Veri. Haue we that ſame ſelfe Sacramẽt that Chriſt gaue to his Diſciples at his Maundy, or no?

Cuſt. No doubtles, we haue the ſame.

Veri. When became Chriſtes body ſpirituall? was it ſo euẽ from his byrth?

Cuſt. No, for doubtles before he aroſe from death, his body was earthly as other mens bodyes are.

Veri. Well, but when gaue Chriſt the Sacrament to his Diſciples? before he aroſe from death, or after?

Cuſt. you know your ſelfe he gaue it before his reſurrectiõ, the night before he ſuffered his Paſſion.

Veri. Why then, me thinketh he gaue the Sacramẽt at that tyme, when his body was not ſpirituall.

Cuſt. Euen ſo.

Veri. And was euery portion of the Sacrament delt to the Apoſtles, and receiued into their mouthes the very reall, & ſubſtauntiall body of Chriſt?

Cuſt. yea doubtles.

The Popes doctrine repugnant to it ſelfe.

Veri. Marke well what ye haue ſayd, for you haue grauntedme great repugnance. Firſt you ſay that no body beyng not ſpirituall can be in ſundry places at once. Then ſay you that at the maundy Chriſtes body was not ſpirituall: and yet hold you that he was there preſent viſible before the Apoſtles eyes, and in ech of their handes and mouthes all at one time: which grauntes of yours are not agreable. But I will gather a better and a more formall reaſon of your owne wordes, in this ſort.

Fe- No body being reall, naturall, and organicall, and not ſpirituall, can be in many places at once.
ri- Chriſtes body in the Sacrament was in the Apoſtles handes and mouthes at one time, which were many places:
ſon. Ergo, Chriſtes body in the ſacrament was not a reall, naturall, and organicall body, but ſpirituall.

The Papiſtes though they be conuicted, yet they will not beleue.

Cuſt. In deede you haue driuen me into the ſtraites before I was ware of you, and I know not how I may eſcape your handes honeſtly. But the beſt refuge that I haue is this, I will not beleue you.

Veri. I deſire you not to geue credence to me. Beleue the word of God, yea beleue your owne beliefe, for they both witnes agaynſt you that Chriſtes body is takẽ vp into heauen, and there ſhall remaine vntill he come to Judge.

Cuſt. Tuſhe, what ſpeake you of the word of God? There be many darcke ſayinges therein, which euery man can not attaine to.

Veri. I graunt you there be certayne obſcure places in the Scripture, yet not ſo obſcure but that a man with the grace of God may perceiue: for it was written not for Aungels, but for men. But as I vnderſtand Cuſtome medleth but litle with Scripture. How ſay you by S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, what if they ſtand on our ſide?

Cuſtome medleth but little with Scripture.

Cuſt. No, no, I know them well inough.

Veri. So well as you know them, for all old acquaintaũce, if they be called to witnes they will geue euidence agaynſt you. For S. Auguſtine commonly in euery of his bookes, but chiefly in an Epiſtle to his frende Dardanus declareth that Chriſtes body is placed in one rowme. I maruell you be not nearer of his counſell: His wordes are theſe: Noli dubitare ibi nunc eſſe hominem Chriſtum Ieſum, vnde venturus eſt. Memoriterq; recole & fideliter crede Chriſtianam confeſſionem: quoniam reſurrexit, aſcendit in cœlum, ſedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliunde quam indè venturus eſt, ad viuos mortuoſq; iudicandos. Et venturus eſt in eadem corporis ſubſtantia: cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit. Secundum hanc formã non eſt putandus vbiq; diffuſus. Cauendum enim eſt, ne ita diuinitatem aſtruamus hominis, vt humanitatem amittamus Dei. i. Doe not doubt the man Ieſus Chriſt to be there, frõ whence he ſhall come. And remẽber well, and faithfully beleue the Chriſtian cõfeſſion, that he is ryſen, aſcended into heauen, ſitteth at the ryght hand of God the father, and from thence ſhall come and frõ no other place, to iudge the quicke & the dead. And ſhall come in the ſame ſubſtaunce of body, to which he gaue immortalitie, & tooke not the nature frõ it. After this forme he is to be thought not to be diſperſed in all places, for we muſt beware ſo to defend his Diuinitie, that we deſtroy not his humanitie. And in an other place of the ſame epiſtle. Vna perſona Deus & homo, & vtrumq; eſt vnus Chriſtus. Vbiq; per id quod Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod homo. Likewiſe vpon the 14. Pſalme. Donec ſeculũ finiatur ſurſum eſt Dominus: ſed etiam hic nobiſcum eſt veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet, veritas autem eius vbique diffuſa eſt. i. While the world ſhall laſt, the lord is aboue, and alſo the veritie of the Lord is with vs. For the body wherin he roſe agayne muſt be in one place. But the veritie of him is euery where diſperſed. In like maner writeth Damaſus an old Byſhop of Rome in his Credo. Deuictis mortis imperijs, cum ea carne in qua natus, & paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit, aſcendit in cælum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & paſſus eſt. S. Ambroſe writing vpon the x. chapt. of Luke recordeth the ſame: Ergo, nec ſupra terrã, nec in terra, nec ſecundũ terrã quærere debemus dominũ, ſi volumus inuenire. Nõ enim ſupra terrã quæſiuit qui ſtantẽ ad Dei dextrã vidit. Maria quærebat in terra tangere Chriſtũ & non potuit, Stephanus tetigit quia quærebat in cœlo. i. Wherfore, neither aboue the earth, nor vpon the earth, nor according to the earth we ought to ſeeke the Lorde, if we will finde him: For he did not ſeeke him aboue the earth which did ſee him ſitting at the right hand. And Mary ſought vpon the earth to touch Chriſt, & could not. Steuen touched him becauſe he ſought him in heauen. S. Hierome in an epiſtle to Marcella proueth that ỹ body of Chriſt muſt nedes be cõteined in ſome place, for he ſaith: Veri Dei eſt vbiq; eſſe: veri hominis alicubi eſſe. i. The propertie of god is to be euery where, the propertie of mã is to be in one place. The ſame Hierom in an other place calleth it a fooliſh thing to ſeeke for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, which is ỹ light of all the world: Stultũ eſt eum paruo in loco, vel abſcondito quærere, qui totius mundi eſt lumẽ. i. Fooliſhnes it is, in a ſmall place or in a hid corner to ſeeke him which is the light of the whole world. Origine ſaith likewiſe: Audiẽdi nõ ſunt qui Chriſtũ demõſtrant in ædibus. i. They are not to be heard, which ſhew Chriſt in houſes. The ſame alſo recordeth Beda, writing vpõ theſe wordes of Chriſt: Now a litle while ſhal you ſee me. He ſpeaketh in Chriſts perſõ. Therfore (ſaith he) ſhal you ſee me but a little while after my reſurrection, becauſe I wyll not ſtyll abyde in the earth bodily, but in the manhode which I haue taken, will aſcend vp to heauen. What nedeth more wordes. All the old fathers witneſſeth ỹ ſame. you may by theſe ſoone iudge the reſt. Now to returne to the matter, ſeing that the worde of God in many and ſondry places, the Credo, and the abrigement of the fayth, ſeyng all the old fathers do conſtantly agree in one, that the body of Chriſt is aſcended into heauen and there remaineth at the right hande of the father, and can not bee more then in one place, I doe conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Chriſt: firſt becauſe it is not in heauen, neither ſitteth at the fathers right hand: moreouer becauſe it is in an hundreth thouſand boxes, where as Chriſtes body filleth but one place. Furthermore if ỹ bread were turned in to the bodye of Chriſt, then would it neceſſarely folow, that ſinners and vnpenitent perſons receiue the body of Chriſt.

August ad Dardanum.

August ibid.

August. in Pſal. 14.

Damaſus.

Ambroſ. in 10. cap. Luc.

Hieron. ad Marcellam.

Hieron.

Origines.

Beda in 17. cap. Ioan.

The Sacrament is not the reall body of Chriſt, and why.

Cuſt. Mary and ſo they do. For Paule ſayth playnly that they receiue the body of Chriſt to their owne confuſion.

The wicked receiue not the body of Chriſt.

Ambroſius.

Auguſtinus.

The place of S. Paul, of receauing vnworthely, expounded.

Veri. No not ſo. Theſe are not Paules wordes, but he ſayth: Who ſo eateth of this bread, and drincketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drincketh his owne condemnation, not iudgyng the body of the Lord. Here he calleth it in playne wordes bread. And although the Sacrament be very bread, yet doth the iniurie redounde to the body of Chriſt. As if a man breake the kynges Mace, or tread the broad Seale vnder his foote, although he haue broken and defaced nothyng but ſiluer and waxe. yet is the iniurie the kynges, and the doer ſhall be taken as a Traytour. Saint Ambroſe declareth the meanyng of Saint Paule by theſe wordes. Reus eſt corporis Domini, quia pœnas dabit mortis Chriſti, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini. The cauſe of the ordinaunce thereof was the remembraunce of the death of Chriſt, which who ſo forgetteth, receiueth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That ſame witneſſeth S. Auguſtine. For the Sacrament, ſayth he, is an outward token of loue and charitie. For like as many graynes of corne are become one peece of bread, euen ſo they that receiue it ought to be one. Then ſayth he. Myſterium pacis ac vnitatis nobis Chriſtus in menſa ſua conſecrauit. Qui accepit myſterium vnitatis, & nõ ſeruat vnitatem, non myſteriũ accepit pro ſe, ſed teſtimonium contra ſe. He that readeth the Goſpell wherein is declared the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and lyueth contrary to ỹ Goſpel, ſhall doubtleſſe be the more giltie of the death of Chriſt, becauſe hee heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certaine countrey the maner is, that when the Goſpell is read, the kyng ſhall ſtand vp with a naked ſword in his hand, declaryng thereby that he beareth his ſword in defence of the Goſpell. But if he himſelfe oppreſſeth the Goſpell, he beareth the ſword agaynſt himſelfe, for the Goſpell ſhall turne to his iudgemẽt, and condemnation. So will Chriſt ſo much more extremely puniſhe a man whiche knowyng him ſelfe to bee wicked and without repentaunce and therefore none of the flocke of Chriſt, yet notwithſtandyng will impudently creepe into the company of Chriſtian men, & receiue the Sacramentes with them, as though he were one of the nomber. And this meant S. Paule by the vnworthy receiuyng of the Sacrament of Chriſtes body. Wherefore a man may vnworthely take the Sacrament, and be gilty of the death of Chriſt, although he receiue not Chriſtes body into his mouth, and chawe it with his teeth. But what if I proue that euery Maſſing Prieſt is giltie of the body and bloud of Chriſt?

Cuſt. I dare ſay, you can not proue it.

Veri. But if I do proue it, will you beleue me?

Cuſt. I may well inough, for it is impoſſible to do it. For Prieſtes commonly are confeſſed before they go to Maſſe: and how can they then take the Sacrament vnworthely?

Confeſſion.

Ambroſius.

Veri. In deede confeſſion, if it be diſcretely vſed, is a laudable cuſtome, and to the vnlearned man, and feeble conſcience ſo good as a Sermon. But notwithſtandyng becauſe it was, neuer neither commaunded of Chriſt, nor receiued of the Apoſtles, nor much ſpoken of the old Doctours, it can not make much for the due receiuing of the Sacramẽt. But how like you theſe wordes of S. Ambroſe? Is indigne ſumit, qui aliter ſumit, quam Chriſtus inſtituit, i. He taketh it vnworthely, that taketh it otherwiſe thẽ Chriſt ordeined it.

Cuſtome. This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?

Veri. This will I gather. The Maſſyng Prieſt taketh the Sacrament otherwiſe then Chriſt either commaunded or taught: Ergo he taketh it vnworthely, and ſo conſequently to his condemnation.

Cuſt. That is not ſo, for he doth altogether as Chriſt commaunded hym.

The Prieſt taketh the Sacrament not as Chriſt ordeyned it: Ergo the Prieſt taketh it vnworthely.

Difference betwene Chriſtes ordinaunce and the Prieſtes ſeſtauing.

Veritie. That ſhall appeare. For Chriſt commaunded it to bee done in his remembraunce: the Prieſt doth it in remembraunce of dead men. Chriſt tooke bread: and left it bread: the Prieſt taketh bread and conuerteth it away. Chriſt tooke bread and gaue thankes: the Prieſt taketh bread, and breatheth vppon it. Chriſt tooke bread, and brake it: the Prieſt taketh bread and hangeth it vppe. Chriſt tooke bread and delt to his Apoſtles: the Prieſt becauſe hee is an Apoſtle hym ſelfe, taketh bread and eateth it euery whitte alone. Chriſt in a Sacrament gaue his owne body to bee eaten in fayth: the Prieſt for lacke of fayth receiueth accidences, and dimenſions. Chriſt gaue a Sacramẽt to ſtrengthen mens fayth: the Prieſt geueth a ſacrifice to redeeme mens ſoules. Chriſt gaue it to be eaten: the Prieſtes geueth it to be worſhypped. And to conclude, Chriſt gaue bread: the Prieſt ſayth he geueth a God. Here is difference inough betwen Chriſt, and the Prieſt. Yet moreouer Chriſt at his Supper ſpake his wordes out and in a plaine toung: the Prieſt ſpeaketh nothyng but Latin, or Greeke, which tounges he ofttymes perceiueth not, and much he whiſpereth leſt any other poore man ſhould perhaps perceiue hym. So it commeth to paſſe that the Prieſt knoweth no more what he himſelfe ſayth, then what he doth. This you may ſee that the Maſſyng Prieſt receiueth the Sacrament of Chriſtes body farre otherwiſe thẽ euer Chriſt appoynted, & ſo therefore vnworthely and to his condemnation. Now if you thinke your ſelfe ſatiſfied, I will returne to my former queſtion, & proue more at large that Chriſtes body cã not be eaten of the wicked, which thyng muſt neceſſarily enſue if the bread were turned into the body of Chriſt. Chriſt in the vj. of Iohn, ſpeakyng of the eatyng of his body, ſayth: He that eateth of this bread, ſhall liue for euer. Whereof I gather thus: But ſinnefull mẽ take the Sacramẽt to their condemnation & lyue not for euer: Ergo, in the Sacrament they receiue not the body of Chriſt. Agayne Chriſt ſayth: He that eateth me, ſhall lyue for my ſake. Hereof I conclude thus: But impenitent perſons can not lyue for Chriſtes ſake.

Iohn. 6.

Gregorius.

Auguſtinus.

Ambroſius.

Proſperus.

Auguſtinus.

Moreouer Chriſtes bodye muſte bee receiued and not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth ſaying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the ſoule, not of the body, as I haue aboue more largely declared. But wicked, and impenitent perſons lacke fayth: wherefore they can not eate the body of Chriſt. Agayne Chriſtes body can not be deuided from his ſpirite, but wicked men haue not the ſpirite of God. Ergo, they haue not Chriſtes body. Hereunto agreeth all the old writers affirmyng conſtauntly ỹ the vnfaythful bee no meete veſſelles to receiue the body of Chriſt. S. Auguſtine ſayth: Qui non manet in Chriſto, & in quo nõ manet Chriſtus, procul dubio non manducat carnẽ Chriſti, nec bibit eius ſanguinem, quãuis tantæ rei myſteriũ ad iudiciũ ſuũ manducet, at bibat. And in the perſon of Chriſt he ſayth likewiſe: Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne ſe dicat, aut exiſtimet manducare corpus meũ, aut ſanguinem meum bibere. Ambroſe auoweth the ſame, by theſe wordes: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, nõ mãducat carnẽ eius, nec bibit ſanguinẽ, etſi tantæ rei Sacramẽtũ accipiat. In like maner writeth Proſperus: Qui diſcordat a Chriſto, nec carnẽ Chriſti edit, nec ſanguinem bibit, etſi tantæ rei Sacramẽtum, ad iudicium ſuæ præſumptionis quotidiè accipiat. And therefore S. Auguſtine ſayth: Mali Sacramentum habẽt, rem autem Sacramenti non habent. Thus by the wordes of God, by reaſon, and by the old fathers it is playne that ſinnefull mẽ eate not the body of Chriſt, receiue they the Sacramẽt neuer ſo oft: Which thyng could not be, if in the Sacrament there remayned nothyng but the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament called breakyng of bread.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Reaſons prouyng bread in the Sacrament.

The Sacrament in the Scriptures is named Fractio panis, the breakyng of bread: whiche, to ſay the truth, were but a cold breakyng if there remayned no bread to breake, but certaine phantaſies of white, and round. Yet where as they with wordes, croſſynges, bleſſynges, breathynges, leapynges, and much a do can ſcarcely make one God, they haue ſuch vertue in their fingers, that at one croſſe they be able to make .xx. Gods, for if they breake the Sacramẽt euery portion, yea euery mite muſt nedes be a God. After the Apoſtles tyme there aroſe vp heretickes which ſaid that Chriſt walkyng here amongeſt mẽ bodily vpon the earth, had no very body, but a thyng like a body, and ſo therewith dimmed mens ſight. Agaynſt whom the old fathers vſed theſe argumentes: Chriſt increaſed in growyng, faſted, hungred, eate, wept, ſweat, was weary, and in concluſion dyed, and had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will vſe the ſame kynde of reaſonyng. It feedeth, it taſteth like bread, it looketh lyke bread, the litle ſeely Mouſe taketh it for bread, and to be ſhort, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: Ergo it is bread. The old Fathers, when there remayned any part of the Sacrament, more then was ſpent at the Communion, they vſed to burne it, and of it there came aſhes. But there is nothyng in the Sacrament that can turne to aſhes, but onely bread (for I thinke they burned not Chriſtes body to aſhes): Ergo in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the Emperour the vj. of that name was poyſoned in the hoſte: and Victor the Byſhop of Rome in the Chalice. But poyſon can not hang in Gods body, and bloud: wherefore there remayneth bread and wyne. What needeth many wordes in a matter ſo euident? If you demaunde either Gods word, or the Doctours and the auncient writers, or your reaſon, or your eyes, or noſe, or toung, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouſe, all theſe agree in one, and anſwere together there is bread: wherefore if you reiect ſo many and ſo conſtant witneſſes, and ſo well agreeyng in their tale, ſpecially beyng ſuch as will lye for no mans pleaſure, I will appeale frõ you, & take you as no indifferẽt Iudge. If all theſe witneſſes ſuffice you not, I will call the Sacramẽt it ſelfe to record. It cryeth vnto you, & plainly doth aduertiſe you what you ſhould thinke of it. I am, it ſayth, grated with the tooth: I am conueied into the belly: I periſh: I cã endure no ſpace: I canker: I ſuffer graue mould, blew mould, read mould:

The Sacrament geueth witnes that it is breade.

I bered witnes: I am kept in a boxe for feare of battes: if you leaue me out all night I ſhalbe deuoured before mornyng, for if the Mouſe geate me I am gone: I am bread, I am no God beleue them not. This cryeth the Sacrament [illegible], and beareth witnes it ſelfe.

Cuſt. The deuill on ſuch lyke reaſons: and therfore I will neuer trouble my braynes to make you aunſwere. But if it be true that you haue ſayd, why is the Sacrament ſo well of Chriſt himſelfe, as of his Apoſtles, & the old fathers called the body of Chriſt?

Veri. Becauſe it is no ſtraunge thyng in Scripture ſo to ſpeake, as I haue declared before. But will you ſtand to S. Auguſtines arbitrement in the matter?

Cuſt. To no man ſooner.

The cauſe why the ſcripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Auguſtinus ad Bonifacium Epiſt. 23.

Veri. Saint Auguſtine in an Epiſtle to his frend Bonifacius geueth a good cauſe why the Sacrament, although it be not the body of Chriſt, is notwithſtandyng called the body of Chriſt. His wordes be theſe: Si Sacramenta quandam ſimilitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta ſunt non haberent, omninò Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem ſimilitudine plerumq; earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, ſecundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Chriſti, corpus Chriſti eſt: Sacramentū ſanguinis Chriſti, ſanguis Chriſti eſt. If Sacramentes had not a certaine ſimilitude of thoſe thynges whereof they be Sacramentes, then were they no Sacramentes. Of the which ſimilitude many tymes they take their name. Wherfore after a certaine manner the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is the body of Chriſt: and the Sacrament of the bloud of Chriſt is the bloud of Chriſt &c.

August. in Pſal. 23.

And vpon the xxiij. Pſalme he writeth lykewiſe: Chriſtus quodammodo ſe ferebat in manibus ſuis, cum diceret: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Chriſt after a certaine maner and faſhion, as it were, dyd beare hymſelfe in his own handes whē he ſayd: This is my body. In maner (he ſaith) and after a faſhion, not in very deede.

An other cauſe why the ſcripture calleth the Sacrament the body of Chriſt.

Agayne, when faythfull men receiue the Sacrament, they thinke not of the bread nor marke the wyne, but they looke farther, and behold the very body of Chriſt ſpread vpon the Croſſe, and his very bloud poured downe for their ſakes. So in Baptiſme men regarde not greatly the water, but accoumpt them ſelues waſhed with the bloud of Chriſt.

Rom. 6.

So ſayth Saint Paule: What ſo euer we be that are Baptiſed, we are waſhed in the bloud of Chriſt. Wherfore to the faythfull receiuers you may ſay that the water of Baptiſme is the bloud of Chriſt, and the bread and wyne the body and bloud of Chriſt: for to them it is no leſſe then if the natures were altered and chaunged. Which thyng you may very well learne of Chriſoſtome, whoſe wordes are theſe.

Chryſoſt. in Ioan. Hom. 46.

Myſteria omnia interioribus oculis conſideranda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi poſtquam panem vident, creaturas tranſuolant, neque de illo pane à piſtore cocto cogitant, ſed de eo qui ſe dixit panem eſſe æternæ vitæ. All Myſteries muſt be conſidered with inward eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually: As the inward eyes when they ſee the bread they paſſe ouer the creatures, neither doe they thinke of that bread whiche is baked of the baker, but of hym whiche called hym ſelfe the bread of eternall lyfe. For theſe two cauſes the bread and wyne are called the body and bloud of Chriſt. Nowe I thinke you are ſatiſfied concernyng the meanyng of theſe wordes: This is my body.

Cuſt. Yet one thyng moueth me very much.

Veri. What is that?

Cuſtome ſtandeth vpon authoritie and common voyce.

Cuſt. The Doctours and old writers, men inſpired with the holy Ghoſt haue euermore bene agaynſt your doctrine: yea and in theſe dayes the wiſeſt men and beſt learned call you heretickes and your learnyng hereſie.

The right meaning of the Doctors miſconſtrued of cuſtome keepers.

Veri. As touchyng the olde writers, I remember well they ſpeake reuerently of the Sacramentes, lyke as euery man ought to do. But where as they deliuer theyr mynde with the right hand, you Cuſtome receyue it with the left. For where as they ſay, that it is the body of Chriſt, and that it muſt be verely eaten, meanyng that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Chriſtes body, and that it is to the faythfull man no leſſe then if it were Chriſt hym ſelfe, and that Chriſt muſt be eaten in fayth, not torne nor rent with the teeth: you ſay that how ſoeuer it be taken it is Chriſtes body, and that there is none other eatyng but with the mouth. And that the fathers ment no other thyng then I haue ſayd, it ſhall appeare by their wordes.

The Doctours how they call the Sacrament the body of Chriſt, and why?

The wordes of the Doctors agaynſt the Popes doctrine.

But as touchyng the learned and wiſe men of theſe dayes, I can not blame them if they call my doctrine hereſie: for they would condemne all auncient writers of hereſie, if they were now alyue. But I will aunſwere you to them anone. In the meane while marke you how well their learnyng agreeth. They ſay, you muſt follow the letter, you muſt ſticke to the letter.

Origines in Leuit. Hom. 17.

But Origenes ſayth: Si ſecundum literam ſequaris id quod ſcriptum eſt [niſi manducaueritis carnem filij hominis nō erit vita in vobis] ea litera occidit. If ye folow after the letter, that which is written [vnleſſe ye ſhal eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, there ſhalbe no life in you] this letter killeth.

August. de doctrina Chriſtiana Lib. 3. cap. 16.

2 Cor 3.

Auguſtine in the thyrd booke, De doctrina Chriſtiana: Principio cauendum eſt ne figuratam dictionem ſecundū literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apoſtolus, litera occidit. Cum enim figuratè dictum ſic accipitur tanq̄ propriè dictum ſit, carnaliter ſapitur, neq; vlla animæ mors congruentius appellatur. i. Firſt thou muſt beware that thou take not a figuratiue ſpeach after the letter. For thereto perteineth that the Apoſtle ſayth: The letter killeth. For when a thyng is ſpiritually ment, and the ſame is taken litterally & properly ſpoken that is a carnall takyng. Neither cā any other be called the killyng of the ſoule rather thē that.

August. de doctrina Chriſtiana Lib. 3. cap. 16.

A rule to know a figuratiue ſpeach from the litterall.

And in the ſame booke he teacheth a mā to know the playne ſenſe frō a figure, ſaying thus: Si præceptiua loquutio eſt flagitiū iubens, aut beneficentiā vetans, figurata eſt: Niſi manducaueritis carnē filij hominis, & biberitis eius ſanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitiū videtur iubere: Ergo, Figura eſt præcipiens paſſioni Domini eſſe communicādū, & ſuauiter in memoria recondendū, quòd pro nobis caro eius crucifixa ſit. i. If the commaundyng ſpeach be ſuch, as commaundeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thyng to be vndone, then this is a figuratiue ſpeach: Vnleſſe ye ſhall eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and ſhall drinke his bloud, there ſhalbe no life in you. Becauſe in this ſpeach he ſemeth to cōmaūd a wicked thyng, it is therfore a figuratiue ſpeach, commaundyng that we ſhould cōmunicate with the paſſion of our Lord, and ſweetly to reteine it in our remembraunce.

Chriſoſt. in Ioan. hom. 46.

In lyke maner Chriſoſtome plucketh you from the playne letter, & the bare wordes by this ſaying: Caro non prodeſt: hoc eſt ſecūdū ſpiritū verba mea intelligenda ſunt. Quia qui ſecundū carnē audit, nihil lucratur. Quid eſt autē carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter vt res dicūtur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita iudicanda ſunt quæ videntur, ſed myſteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda ſunt, hoc eſt ſpiritualiter. i. The fleſh profiteth not: that is to ſay, my wordes muſt be takē & expoūded after the ſpirite. For he that heareth after the fleſh, gayneth nothing. Now what is it to vnderſtand carnally? To take thynges ſimply as they be ſpoken and not to conſider any meanyng further therin. For thynges muſt not be iudged as they are ſene, but all myſteries muſt be ſene with inward eyes, that is to ſay, ſpiritually. What is ſo haynous in theſe dayes as to call the Sacramēt the tokē or the remembraūce of Chriſtes body? Yet did the old writers in manner neuer call it other.

Tertullianus contra Martion. Lib. 4.

Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. 11.

Chriſoſt. in Matth. Hom. 83.

Tertullian in the 4. booke agaynſt the Martioniſtes: Chriſtus accepit panem, & corpus ſuum illum fecit: Hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt figura corporis mei. Chriſt tooke bread and made it his body, ſaying: This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. Ambroſe vpon the xj. to the Corinthians: Quia morte Domini liberati ſumus, huius rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & ſanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt ſignificamus. Becauſe we are deliuered by the Lordes death, in the remēbraunce of the ſame by eatyng and drinkyng we ſignifie the body and bloud which were offered vp for vs. Chriſoſtome in the lxxxiij. Homelie vpon the Goſpel of Mathew: Quando dicunt, vndè patet Chriſtum immolatum fuiſſe, hæc adferentes eorum ora conſuimus. Si enim mortuus Chriſtus non eſt, cuius Symbolum ac ſignum hoc ſacrificium eſt? When they obiect vnto vs, and aſke: how know you that Chriſt was offered vp? then alledgyng theſe thynges, we ſtop their mouthes. For if Chriſt dyed not, then whoſe ſigne or token is this ſacrifice?

August. ad Adimantum.

August. in Pſal. 3.

Auguſtine to Adimātus: Nō dubitauit Chriſtus dicere: Hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis ſui. Chriſt doubted not to ſay: This is my body, when he gaue but a ſigne of his body. Auguſtine vpon the thyrd Pſalme: Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuium, in quo corporis & ſanguinis ſui figuram diſcipulis ſuis commendauit & tradidit. Chriſt receiued Iudas to the Supper, in the whiche he commended and deliuered a figure of his body and bloud vnto his Diſciples.

Rabanus de inſtitut. Clericorum.

Rabanus, de inſtitutione clericorū: Quia panis corpus cōfirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti cōgruēter nūcupatur. Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur. Becauſe the breade ſtrengtheneth the body, therfore it is aptly called Chriſtes body. And lykewyſe the wyne, becauſe it encreaſeth bloud in the fleſhe, it doth reſemble the bloud of Chriſt.

Druthē Marus in Matth.

Druthmarus Monachus in Mathæum. Vinum lætificat & ſanguinem auget, & ideo non inconuenienter per hoc ſanguis Chriſti figuratur. Wyne maketh glad the hart and encreaſeth bloud, and therefore the bloud of Chriſt is not vnaptly ſignified thereby.

Irenæus contra Valentinum Lib. 3.

Irenæus witneſſeth playnly that in the Sacrament remayneth bread and wyne by theſe wordes: Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, iam nō communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus reb⁹ cōſtans, terrena, & cæleſti: As the earthly bread receauyng the vocation of God, is now no common bread but the Euchariſt, conſiſtyng of two thyngs, the one earthly and the other heauenly. Here hee recordeth that there remayneth in the Sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothyng. Gelaſius wrytyng agaynſt Neſtorius auoweth the ſame, ſaying: In Euchariſtia non eſſe deſinit ſubſtātia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Domini in actione myſteriorum celebratur. i. In the Euchariſt the ſubſtaunce of the bread and nature of the wyne ceaſſeth not to be: For the Image and ſimilitude of the body & of the bloud of the lord is celebrated in the action of the myſteries. Chriſoſtome in his xx. Homely vpō the 2. Epiſtle to the Corinthians preferreth a poore man before the Sacrament, and calleth hym the body of Chriſt rather then the other. Wherof I may gather this reaſon:

Gelaſius.

Chryſoſt. hom. 20. in epiſt. 2. ad Corinth.

Bo- The poore mā is not the natural & real body of Chriſt.
car- Euery poore member of Chriſt is the body of Chriſt rather then the Sacrament: Chryſoſt.
do, Ergo, the Sacrament is not the naturall and reall body of Chriſt.

☞ His wordes are: Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Chriſti. Eum autē qui reipſa corpus eſt Chriſti, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereūtem. This aultar thou doeſt reuerence becauſe the body of Chriſt therein is ſet before thee; but him whiche is the body of Chriſt in deede, thou doeſt ſpitefully intreate and doeſt neglect hym ready to periſhe. Chriſoſtome in the xi. Homely vpon Mathew: Quod ſi hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad priuatos vſus eſt transferre periculoſum, in quibus non verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis Chriſti continetur, quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri? If it be ſo perillous a matter to tranſlate theſe ſanctified veſſels vnto priuate vſes, in the whiche not the true body of Chriſt, but a myſtery of the body of Chriſt is conteined, how much more then theſe veſſels of our body? Athanaſius vppon theſe wordes: Qui dixerit verbum contra filiū hominis, ſayth: Ea quæ Chriſtus dicit non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus ſuffeciſſet corpus, vt totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Aſcenſionis filij hominis in cælum vt eos à corporali cogitatione auelleret. The wordes that Chriſt here ſpeaketh be not carnall but ſpirituall. For what body might haue ſuffiſed for all that ſhould eate, to be a nouriſhmēt of the whole world? But therefore he maketh mention of the Aſcenſion of the ſonne of man into heauen, to the entent to plucke them away from that corporall cogitation. Auguſtinus ad Marcellinum: In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Chriſti quam pro peccatis noſtris erat oblaturus, & ſanguinis quē erat effuſurus: In iſto autem ſacrificio gratiarū actio atq; cōmemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti quam pro nobis obtulit, & ſanguinis quē pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo ſacrificio, quid nobis ſit donandum figuratè ſignificatur: in hoc autem ſacrificio quid nobis donatum ſit, euidenter oſtēditur. In illis ſacrificijs prænūciabatur filius Dei occidēdus: in hoc pro impijs annūciatur occiſus. In thoſe carnall oblations the fleſhe of Chriſt was figured which he ſhold offer for our ſinnes, & the bloud which he ſhould beſtow for vs. But in this ſacrifice is the giuyng of thākes and memoriall of the fleſh of Chriſt, which he hath offered for vs, and of the bloud which he hath ſhed for vs. In that ſacrifice therfore is ſignified figuratiuely what ſhould be giuē for vs: in this ſacrifice what is giuē to vs is euidētly declared. In thoſe ſacrifice he is ſhewed to be ſlaine already for the wicked. Origenes vpō Mathew expoundyng theſe wordes: This is my body, ſayth: Panis iſte quē Chriſt⁹ corpus ſuū fatetur eſſe, verbum eſt nutritoriū animarū. i. The bread which Chriſt confeſſeth to be his body, is a nutritiue word of our ſoules. Auguſtinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandū, vnumquemq; fideliū corporis & ſanguinis Domini tunc eſſe participē, quando in baptiſmate membrū efficitur Chriſti. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non priuabitur, quando in ſe hoc inuenit quod Sacramentū ſignificat. No mā ought in any wiſe to doubt but that euery faithfull man is thē partaker of the body and bloud of the Lord, whē in Baptiſme he is made a mēber of Chriſt. For he ſhall not be depriued of the participatiō & benefite of that Sacramēt, when he findeth in himſelfe that thyng which the Sacrament doth ſignifie. Ambroſius: Tanta eſt vis verbi, vt panis & vinum maneant quæ ſunt, & mutentur in aliud. Such is the force and ſtrēgth of the word that the bread and wyne remaine the ſame as they were, & yet are chaūged into an other thing. For it is not any lōger cōmō bread, but it is turned into a Sacramēt: yet notwithſtādyng there remaineth bread & wyne. Tertulliā wrytyng agaynſt an hereticke named Martion, which taught that the creatures of God as fleſh, bread, wyne & ſuch lyke were naught and vncleanely: Non abiecit Deus creaturam ſuam, ſed ea repræſentauit corpus ſuum. God hath not caſt away his creature, but by it he hath repreſented his body. Origenes vpō Leuiticus ſpeakyng of the drinkyng of Chriſtes bloud, ſaith: Non ſanguinem carnis exdetimus, ſed ſanguinem verbi. We do not deſire the bloud of the fleſh, but the bloud of the word. Ambroſe called the worde Typum corporis Chriſti, and Baſilius Antitypum, which is as much to ſay, as a token, a figure, a remembraunce and example of Chriſtes body. Origine vpon the 14. chapt. of Mathew: In iſto pane, quod eſt materiale eijcitur in ſeceſſum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodeſt. In this bread that thing which is materiall paſſeth through mans body: but that which is made by the word of God, by the meanes of faith doth profite. And leaſt perhaps you ſurmiſe that he ſpake thoſe wordes of our common table bread, he concludeth the matter himſelfe wyth theſe wordes: Hęc diximus de pane ſymbolico: Theſe thinges we haue ſpoken of the miſticall bread. Auguſtinus contra aduerſarium legis & Prophetarum, declareth that it muſt needes be a figure and a remembraunce of the body of Chriſt: Iſta ſecundū ſanæ fidei regulā figuratè intelligūtur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur eſſe humanā carnē vorare quā perimere, & humanū ſanguinē potare quā fundere. Theſe things are vnderſtanded figuratiuely according to the rule of ſound & true faith. For otherwiſe it ſeemeth to be more horrible to eate mans fleſhe, then to kill a man, & more horrible to drinke mās bloude thē to ſheed it.

Chryſoſt. in Hom. 11 ſuper Matth.

Athanaſius in verba Euang. Qui dixerit verbum in filium hominis.

Auguſt. ad Marcellinum.

Origines in Matth.

Auguſt. in Sermone.

Ambroſius.

Tertullianus contra Martion.

Origines in Leuit.

Typus. Antitypon.

Origen ſuper Matth. cap. 14.

Auguſtinus contra aduerſarium legis & Prophetarum.

And therfore he ſaith vpon the 98. Pſalm: Nō hoc corpus quod videtis iſtis manducaturi, nec bibituri ſanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentū aliquod vobis trado. i. Ye ſhall not eate this body which you ſee, & drinke that bloud which they ſhall ſhedde that ſhall crucifie me: I cōmend vnto you a ſacrament. Tertullian: Aliud a pane corpus Ieſus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, ſed ipſum Chriſti verum corpus traditū eſt in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitum eſt. i. Ieſus hath an other bodye then bread, for bread was not geuen for vs, but the very true body of Chriſt was geuen vpō the croſſe, which body was exhibited in the Supper vnder the figure of bread.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Tertullianus.

This recordeth Theodoretus an auncient writer, and auoweth that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the ſacrament. Hys wordes are theſe: Symbola viſibilia corporis & ſanguinis, ſui appellatione honorauit, non mutās naturam ſed naturę addens gratiam. i. He hath honored & dignified the viſible ſignes wyth the name of his body and of his bloud, not chaunging the nature, but adding grace to nature. And in an other place, where he maketh a true Chriſtian man to reaſon with an hereticke, he geueth to the hereticke this part, to hold with the turning of bread and wyne into the naturall body and bloud of Chriſt. The hereticks wordes are theſe: Sacramentum Dominici corporis & ſanguinis, alia ſunt ante ſacram inuocationem: poſt inuocationem verò mutantur, & alia fiunt. The ſacraments of the Lords body and bloud before the holy inuocation are one thyng but after inuocation they are chaunged and made an other. This maketh Theodoretus to be the hereticks part. Then bryngeth he forth the true Chriſtian man, which reproueth the hereticke for ſo ſaying: Incidiſti in laqueos quos ipſe ſtruxeras: Neq; enim ſancta illa ſymbola poſt conſecrationem diſcedunt a natura ſua: Manent enim in priori & ſubſtantia, & figura, etenim & oculis videri & digitis palpari vt ante poſſunt. Thou art fallen into the ſnares which thou thy ſelf haſt layd. For thoſe ſelfe ſame holy ſignes after this conſecration do not go from their nature, for they abide ſtil both in their former ſubſtaunce and figure, and may be both with eyes ſeene and felt with hands, as before. To the ſame agreeth well Chriſoſtome, ſaying: Poſtq̄ ſanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametſi maneat natura panis. i. After the bread is ſanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of breade ſtyll remayne. Hereby you may vnderſtand, how and in what ſort the old fathers, how the primatiue & beginning church, how ỹ Apoſtles, how Chriſt himſelf toke theſe wordes: This is my body.

Theodoretus.

Chriſoſtomus.

Now to wythſtand and ſtoutly to go againſt, not onely auncient writers, or the congregation of Chriſtian people, which at that time was not ouergrowen, no neither ſpotted with couetouſnes and worldly honour, but the apoſtles alſo and God himſelfe, no doubt it is great fondenes. But what ſpeake I of the olde fathers? It is not long ſince the ſacrament grew out of hys right vnderſtanding. For thys word Tranſubſtantiatio, wherby they ſignifie turning of ỹ bread into the body of Chriſt, was neuer neither ſpoke, nyther heard, neither thought among the auncient fathers, or in the old Church. But about fiue hundreth yeares paſt, Pope Nicolas. 2. in a Coūcell holdē at Lateranū in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the chaunging of bread, & would haue made an Article of the faith, & placed it in the Credo. After which tyme enſued Corpus Chriſti day, Maſſes of Corpus Chriſti, reſeruation of the ſacrament, with honour, with canapies, with ſenſing with kneling, with worſhip-

Tranſubſtantiation a new inuention.

Read. afore pag. 170. col. 1.

An. 1552.

pyng and adoration, and with ſo much as any man could deuiſe. For they thought they could not do to much to hym after that the Byſhoppe of Rome had allowed hym for a God. But not fully, 200. yeare before that tyme, when this doctrine firſt began to budde, and yet notwithſtandyng had not ſo preuayled but that a greate number of learned and good men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not hymſelfe: Charles the great kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome demaunded of a greate learned man whoſe name was Bertramus, what hee thought by that ſtraunge kynde of callyng downe Chriſt from heauen, and turnyng a litle gobbet of bread into his naturall body. To whom Bertram made aunſwere in this wiſe: Dicimus quòd multa differentia ſeparantur corpus in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus & ſanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidie à fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & ſpecies eſt, illud autem ipſa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differentia ſeparentur, quantum eſt inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem & rem eam cuius imago eſt, & quantum inter ſpeciem & veritatem. This we ſay, that there is a great difference and ſeparation betwixt the body in the whiche Chriſt ſuffered and the bloud whiche he ſhed vpon the Croſſe, and this body whiche euery day is celebrated in the myſtery of the Paſſion of Chriſt. For this body is a pledge and a ſimilitude, but the other is the very truth it ſelfe. Ergo, it appeareth that theſe two are ſeparated a ſunder by no leſſe difference then is betwene a pledge and the thyng whereof the pledge is geuen, or then is betwene an Image of a thyng and the thyng it ſelfe whereof the Image is, or then is betwene the forme of a thyng and the veritie it ſelfe. This wrote Bertramus, Druthmarus and many other, and yet were neuer in all their tyme once reproued of hereſie. This wrote Ioannes Scotus alſo, in whoſe lyfe tyme men had not eyes to eſpye his hereſies. But about. 200. yeare after his death, hee was iudged and condemned for an hereticke, and his bookes burned in a Councell holden at Vercellæ in Lombardy in the yeare of our Lord God. 1015. Since which tyme euen vntill this day although Idolatry had great increaſe, yet there neuer wanted ſome good men whiche boldly would profeſſe and ſet forth the truth, although they were well aſſured that their worldly reward ſhould be ſpyte, malice, impriſonyng, ſword, fire and all kyndes of tormentes. Thus ſo ſhortly and in ſo fewe wordes as I could, I haue declared to you what Chriſt meant by theſe wordes: This is my body, what the Apoſtles thought therein, and in what ſorte they deliuered them to their ſucceſſours, in what ſenſe and meanyng the holy fathers and old writers, and the vniuerſall and Catholicke Church hath euermore taken them.

Carolus Magnus. Bertramus.

Bertramus. Ioan. Scotus. Druthmarus.

Bertramus condemned for an hereticke 200. yeares after hys death.

The ende and deceaſſe of kyng Edward the ſixt.

The deceaſe of kyng Edward. 6.

1553.

Thus hauyng diſcourſed thynges done and paſt vnder the raigne of kyng Edward, ſuch as ſeemed not vnfruitefull to be knowen, we will now draw to the ende and death of this bleſſed kyng, our young Ioſias. Who about a yeare and a halfe after the death of the Duke of Somerſet his Uncle, in the yeare of our Lord. 1553. entryng into the. xvij. yeare of his age, and the. vij. yeare of his reigne in the moneth of Iune, was taken from vs, for our ſinnes no doubte. Whom if it had ſo pleaſed the good will of the Lord to haue ſpared with longer lyfe, not vnlyke it was by all coniectures probably to bee eſteemed by thoſe his toward and bleſſed begynnynges, but proceedyng, ſo as he began he would haue reformed ſuch a common wealth here in the Realme of England, as by good cauſe it might haue bene ſayd of him, that was ſayd in the old tyme of the noble Emperour Auguſtus in reformyng and aduaunſing the Empire of Rome: quam quum ille lateritiam (vt aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit. Whiche Empire hee receiued (he ſayd) of brickle ſlate, but hee left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realme and the cuſtomable behauiour of Engliſhe people (whoſe propertie is commonly to abuſe ẏ lyght of the Goſpell when it is offered) deſerued no ſuch benefite of ſo bleſſed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, ſuch as happened after his raigne, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord graũtyng) in the next Queenes dayes that followed.

Ex Suetonio.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Impe, in the tyme and moneth aboue mentioned was cut from vs, of whoſe worthy lyfe and vertues haue bene partly afore declared. Neuertheleſſe, to haue ſome monumẽt of him remaynyng to teſtifie of ẏ good nature & gentle diſpoſition of that Prince, we will adde here for a remembraunce, this litle Epiſtle of his owne hand writyng to the Archbyſhop of Canterbury his Godfather as foloweth.

¶ An Epiſtle of yong Prince Edward to the Archb. of Canterbury his Godfather.

Impertio te plurima ſalute colendiſſime Præſul, & chariſſime Suſceptor. Quia abes longè a me, vellẽ libenter audire te eſſe incolumem. Precor autem vt viuas diu, & promoueas verbum Dei. Vale. Antilæ decimo octauo Iunij.

Tuus in Chriſto filius
Edwardus Princeps.

Prince Edward when he wrote thys Epiſtle ſemeth to be very younge, not aboue vij. yeares of age, lying then at Antile.

¶ An other Epiſtle of the younge Prince Edward, to the Archb. hys Godfather.

An other Epiſtle of Prince Edward to hys godfather.

Etſi puer ſum colendiſſime Suſceptor, nõ tamẽ immemor ſum vel officij erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere ſtudes. Non exciderunt mihi humaniſſimæ tuæ litteræ pridie diui Petri ad me datæ. Quibus ante hac reſpondere nolui, non quòd illas neglexerim, aut nõ meminerim, ſed vt illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fideliq; memoria reponerem, atq; demũ bene ruminatis pro mea virili reſponderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuũ verè paternum, quem in illis expreſſiſti, amplector & veneror, optoq; vt multos viuas annos, tuoq; pio ac ſalubri conſilio pergas eſſe mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exoſculandam eſſe duco, quoniam diuus Paulus dicit: Pietas ad omnia vtilis eſt. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ tertio decimo Ianuarij.

1. Tit. 4.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus EDOVARDVS Princeps.

The aunſwere of the Archbiſhop to Prince Edwardes Epiſtle.

Non magis poterit ipſa me ſeruare ſalus (fili in Chriſto chariſſime) quã ſalus tua. Mea vita non dicenda eſt vita abſq; tua et ſalute & valitudine. Quapropter cũ te incolumem ac ſaluum intelligo, vitã etiam mihi integrã eſſe & incolumem ſentio. Neq; certè abſentia mea tam eſt iniocunda tibi quàm ſunt litteræ tuæ periocundæ mihi. Quę arguunt tibi iuxta adeſſe & ingeniũ dignũ tanto principe, & præceptorẽ dignum tãto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis litteris te ſic litteras video colere, vt interim doctrinæ celeſtis tua nequaquam minima ſit cura: quę cuicunq; ſit curę, non poteſt illũ quæuis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incœpiſti Princeps illuſtriſſime, & Spartã quam nactus es hanc orna, vt quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet vniuerſam tuam Angliam. Nõ ſcribam prolixius, tum quidẽ vt me intelligas breuitate nõnihil affici, tum etiã quod credam te ætate quidẽ adhuc paruulũ paruo gaudere, & ſimilẽ ſimili: tũ etiã præterea ne impolita mea oratio in cauſa ſit, quò generoſa illa tua indoles barbarię vitiũ cõtrahat.

Alludit ad verba Terentij in Comœdia.

The aunſwere of Thomas Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant. to the Epiſtle of Prince Edward.

¶ The report of the Princes Scholemaiſter in commendation of his towardnes to the Archb.

Right honorable and my ſingular good Lord, after my moſt harty commendations: the opportunitie of this meſſenger forceth me to write at this tyme, hauyng litle matter but onely to ſignifie vnto your grace, that my Lords grace your Godſonne is mery and in health, and of ſuch towardnes in learnyng, godlyneſſe, gentlenes and all honeſt qualities, that both you and I & all this realme ought to thinke him and take him for a ſingular gifte ſent of God, an Impe worthy of ſuch a father: for whom we are bound ſine intermiſſione to render to God moſt hartie thankes, with moſt humble requeſt of his long and proſperous continuance. He hath learned almoſt foure bookes of Cato to conſtrue, to parſe, and to ſay without booke. And of his owne courage nowe in the latter booke hee will needes haue at one tyme. xiiij. Verſes whiche he konneth pleaſauntly and perfectly, beſides thynges of the Bible, Sattellitium Viuis, Æſops Fables, and Latin makyng, wherof he hath ſent your Grace a litle taſt. Dominus Ieſus te diutiſſimè ſeruet.

This letter ſeemeth to be written by D. Coxe.

Now to returne agayne from whence we haue digreſſed, which is to ſignifie ſome part of the order and maner of his godly departyng: as the tyme approched when it pleaſed almyghty God to call this young kyng from vs, whiche was the vj. day of Iuly, the yeare aboue ſayd, about three houres before his death, this Godly child, his eyes beyng cloſed, ſpeaking to him ſelfe and thinking none to haue heard him, made this prayer as foloweth.

The order and tyme of the kinges departure.

The prayer of kyng Edward before his death.

The kinges prayer at his death.

LORD GOD, deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy choſen: how be

it

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it not my wil, but thy wil be done. Lord I commit my ſpirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knoweſt how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſens ſake ſend me life & health, that I maye truely ſerue thee. Oh my Lorde God, bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance. Oh lord God, ſaue thy choſen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realme from papiſtrie, and mainteine thy true religion, that I and my people may prayſe thy holy name, for thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake.

The laſt wordes of K. Edward.

Then turned he his face, and ſeeing who was by him, ſaid vnto them: Are ye ſo nigh, I thought you had bene further of? Then Doctour Owen ſaide, We hearde you ſpeake to your ſelfe, but what you ſaid we knowe not. He then (after his faſhion ſmilyngly) ſaid, I was praying to God. The laſt wordes of his panges were theſe: I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, and take my ſpirite. And thus he yeelded vp the ghoſt, leauyng a wofull kingdome behinde vnto his ſiſter. Albeit he in his wyll had excluded his ſiſter Mary from the ſucceſſion of the crowne, becauſe of her corrupt Religion: yet the plague which God had deſtinate vnto this ſinful Realme, could not ſo be voyded, but that ſhee being the elder ſiſter and daughter to king Henry, ſucceeded in poſſeſſion of the Crowne. Of whoſe dreadfull and bloudy regiment, as it remayneth nowe conſequently to diſcourſe: ſo here would be touched ſome thing before, concernyng the letters and aunſweares betweene the king and her, duryng the life tyme of king Edward: in whiche letters and meſſages much trauaile was taken by the king and his Counſaile, to reduce her to obedient conformitie of Religion. But becauſe thoſe letters are already ſpecified in our firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 877. it ſhal be rather tedious, then neceſſary here againe to repeate the ſame.

The bloudy regiment of Queene Mary.

Concerning theſe letters read in the firſt Booke of Actes and Monumentes. pag. 877.

This briefly may ſuffice to vnderſtande, that for al the writing, ſending, and practiſing with the Lady Mary, by the king and his Counſaile, and alſo by Biſhop Ridley, yet woulde ſhee not be reclaymed from her owne ſingular opinion fixed vpon cuſtome, to geue any indifferent hearing to the word and voyce of veritie. The which ſelf wyl of the ſaid Lady Mary, both this young king and alſo his father king Henry before hym right wel perceiuyng and conſidering, they were both muche diſpleaſed againſt her: In ſo much that not only her brother dyd vtterly ſequeſter her in his wyl, but alſo her owne father conſidering her inclinatiõ, conceiued ſuche hart againſt her, that for a great ſpace he did ſeclude her from the title of Princeſſe, yea and ſeemed ſo egerly incenſed againſt her, that he was fully purpoſed to proceede further with her (as it is reported) had not the interceſſion of Thomas Cranmer the Archbiſhop, reconciled the king againe to fauour and pardon his own daughter. For the better vnderſtanding wherof by theſe her own letters copied out of her own hand writing (which I haue to ſhewe) ſomething may be perceyued, and more peraduenture may be geſſed. The wordes out of her owne hand writing be theſe. And firſt her letter to king Henry her father here foloweth.

The Lady Mary wedded to Cuſtome.

The Lady Mary in diſpleaſure both with her brother and father.

❨ A letter of the Lady Mary, to king Henry her father.

Lady Mary writeth to K. Henry her father.

IN my moſt humble wiſe I beſeeche your grace of your dayly bleſſing. Pleaſeth it the ſame to be aduertiſed, that this morning my Lord my chamberleine came and ſhewed me that he had receiued a letter from ſir Wil. Paulet Controller of your houſe. The effect wherof was, that I ſhould with al diligẽce remoue vnto the caſtle of Herford. Wherupon I deſired him to ſee the ſame letter, which he ſhewed me. Wherein was written, that the Ladye Mary the kinges daughter ſhoulde remoue to the place beforeſaide, leauing out in the ſame the name of Princeſſe. Which whẽ I heard I could not a litle marueile, truſting verily that your grace was not priuy to the ſame letter as concerning the leauing out of the name of Princeſſe, for as much as I doubt not in your goodnes, but your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, borne in true matrimonie. Wherfore if I ſhold agree to the contrary, I ſhould in my conſcience run in the diſpleaſure of God, which I hope aſſuredly your grace wyl not that I ſo ſhoulde. And in all other thinges your grace ſhall haue me alwayes as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as euer was childe to the father, whiche my duetie bindeth me to: as knoweth our Lord, who haue your grace in his moſt holy tuition, with much honour and long life, to his pleaſure. Writtẽ at your Manor of Beaulien this ſecond day of Octob.

By your moſt humble daughter,
Mary Princeſſe.

❨ A proteſtation of the Ladye Mary, to certayne Lordes ſent by the king, with certaine requeſtes vnto her.

The Proteſtation of Lady Mary.

MY Lordes, as touching my remouyng to Hatfielde, I wyll obey his Grace, as my duetie is, or to any other place that his grace wyll appoynt me. But I proteſt before you and all other that be here preſent, that my conſcience wyll in no wiſe ſuffer me to take any other then my ſelfe for the kinges lawful daughter, borne in true matrimonie, or Princeſſe, and that I wyll neuer willyngly and wittingly ſay or do, whereby any perſon might take occaſion to thinke that I agree to the contrary, not of any ambition or proude mind, as God is my Iudge: but that if I ſhould ſay or do otherwiſe, I ſhould in my conſcience ſlaunder the decde of our mother holy Church & the Pope, who is the iudge in this matter, and none other: and alſo diſhonor the king my father, ỹ queene my mother, and falſly cõfeſſe my ſelfe a Baſtard, which God defend that I ſhoulde do, ſeeing the Pope hath not ſo declared it by his ſentence definitiue, for to his iudgement I ſubmit me.

Lady Mary ſtandeth to the Popes iudgement.

As you haue heard ſome part already of the ſtout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and alſo by her letters no leſſe was declared toward king Edward her brother and other of his Counſaile: ſo now let vs inferre ſomewhat likewiſe of the ſtoute talke and demeanor of the ſayde Lady Mary towarde D. Ridley Biſhop of London, who gently commyng to her of meere good wyll, had his cõmunication with her, and ſhee with hym, as here foloweth.

Talke betweene Lady Mary and Byſhop Ridley.

About the eight of Sept. 1552. D. Ridley then biſhop of Londõ, lying at his houſe at Hadham in Hartfordſhire: went to viſite the Lady Mary then lying at Hunſden two myles of: and was gently entertained of ſir Tho. Wharton and other her officers, tyl it was almoſt .xi. of the clocke. About which tyme the ſaide Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of preſence, and then the ſaid biſhop there ſaluted her grace, and ſaid, that he was come to do his duety to her grace. Then ſhee thanked hym for his paynes, & for a quarter of an houre talked with hym very pleaſantly: and ſayd, that ſhee knewe hym in the Court when he was chapleine to her father, & could wel remember a ſermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my Lady Clinton that now is, to ſir Anthony Browne. &c. and ſo diſmiſſed him to dine with her officers.

After dynner was done, the Biſhop being called for by the ſaid Lady Mary, reſorted againe to her grace, betweene whom this communication was, first the biſhop beginning in maner as foloweth.

Byſhop Rydley offereth to preach before the Lady Mary.

Biſhop. Madame, I came not only to do my duetie to ſee your Grace, but alſo to offer my ſelfe to preache before you on Sonday next, if it wyl pleaſe you to heare me. At this her countenance chaunged, and after ſilence for a ſpace, ſhee anſweared thus.

Mary. My Lord, as for this laſt matter, I pray you make the anſweare to it your ſelfe.

Biſhop. Madame, conſidering myne office and callyng, I am bounde of duetie to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the anſweare (as I haue ſaid) to this matter your ſelfe: for you know the anſweare wel enough. But if there be no remedie but I muſt make you anſweare, this ſhalbe your anſweare: The doore of the pariſh Church adioyning ſhal be open for you, if you come, & ye may preach, if you liſt, but neither I, nor none of mine ſhal heare you.

Lady Mary refuſeth to heare B. Ridley to preach before her.

Biſhop. Madame, I truſt you wyl not refuſe gods word.

Mary. I can not tel what ye cal Gods worde. That is not Gods word now, that was Gods word in my fathers dayes.

Biſhop. Gods worde is all one in al tymes, but hath bene better vnderſtanded and practiſed in ſome ages, then in other.

Mary. You durſt not for your eares haue auouched that for Gods worde in my fathers dayes, that nowe you do. And as for your newe Bookes, I thanke God I neuer read none of them: neuer did, nor neuer wyl do.

And after many bytter wordes againſt the forme of religion then eſtabliſhed, and againſt the gouernmẽt of the Realme, and the lawes made in the young yeres of her brother, which ſhee ſaide ſhee was not bounde to obey, tyll her brother came to perfect age, and then affirmed ſhee woulde obey them. She aſked the Biſhop whether he were one of the Counſaile: He anſweared, No. You might well enough (ſaid ſhee) as the Counſaile goeth now adayes.

It is lyke ſhee was perſwaded by Witches and blynde prophecies that king Edward ſhould not lyue ſo long.

And ſo ſhee concluded with theſe wordes: My Lord, for your gentlenes to come and ſee me, I thanke you: but for your offring to preach before me, I thanke you neuer a whyt.

Then the ſaid biſh. was brought by ſir Thomas wharton, to the place wher he dined, & deſired to drinke. And after he had dronke, he pauſed a litle while, lokyng very ſadly, & ſodenly brake out into theſe wordes: Surely I haue done amiſſe. Why ſo quoth ſir Thomas wharton? For I haue dronke (ſaith he) in that place where Gods word offred, hath ben refuſed: wheras if I had remembred my dutie, I ought to haue departed immediatly, and to haue ſhaked of the duſt of my ſhooes for a teſtimonie againſt this houſe. Theſe wordes were by the ſaid biſhop ſpoken with ſuch a vehemencie, that ſome of the hearers afterward confeſſed their heare to ſtande vpright on their heades. This done, the ſaid biſhop departed, and ſo returned to his houſe. Teſtified by a certayne reuerend perſonage yet alyue, beyng then the Biſhops Chaplayne.

Byſhop Rydley repented to haue dronken there where Gods worde was refuſed.

And thus making an ende of this ninth Booke, touchyng the ſtorye and raigne of kyng Edward, and hauyng alſo ſomewhat ſayde before of the nature and diſpoſition of the Ladye Mary, whereby the waye maye be prepared the better to the troubles of the next booke folowing: we intende (the grace of God aſſiſtyng vs therein) nowe further to proceede in deſcribyng the actes and proceedynges of the foreſaide Lady Marye, commyng nowe to bee Queene, and aduaunced next after this godly kyng Edward, to the Crowne of this Realme of England.

¶ *The ende of the Ninth booke.*

The firſt entryng of Queene Mary to the Crowne, with *the alteration of Religion, and other perturbations happenyng* the ſame tyme in this Realme of Englande.

(∴)

1553.

The reigne of Queene Mary.

WHat tyme kyng Edward by long ſicknes beganne to appeare more feeble and weake, in the meane while duryng the tyme of this his ſicknes, a certaine mariage was prouided, concluded, and ſhortly alſo vpon the ſame ſolemniſed in the moneth of Maye, betwene the Lord Gilford, ſonne to the duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Iane the duke of Suffolkes daughter, whoſe mother beyng then aliue, was daughter to Mary kyng Henryes ſecond ſiſter, who firſte was maryed to the French king, & afterwarde to Charles Duke of Suffolke. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended and the kyng waxing euery day more ſicke then other, where as in deede there ſeemed in hym no hope of recouery, it was brought to paſſe by the conſent not onely of the Nobilitie, but alſo of all the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the king by his Teſtament dyd appoynt the foreſayd Lady Iane, daughter to the duke of Suffolke, to be inheretrice vnto the crowne of England, paſſing ouer his two ſiſters Mary and Elizabeth.

Mariage betwene the Lord Gilforde and the Ladye Iane.

To this order ſubſcribed all the kinges Counſaile, and chiefe of the Nobilitie, the Maior and citie of London, and almoſt all the Iudges and chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, ſauyng onely Iuſtice Hales of Kent, a man both fauoring true Religion, and alſo an vpright Iudge as any hath ben noted in this Realme, who geuyng his conſent vnto Lady Mary, would in no caſe ſubſcribe to Lady Iane. Of this man (God wyllyng) you ſhal perceyue more in the ſequele of this ſtorie. The cauſes laid againſt Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared ſhee woulde marrye with a Straunger, and thereby entangle the Crowne: as alſo that ſhee would cleane alter Religion, vſed both in kyng Henry her father, and alſo in king Edwarde her brothers dayes, and ſo bryng the Pope, to the vtter deſtruction of the Realme, which in deede afterward came to paſſe, as by the courſe and ſequele of this ſtory may wel appeare.

Syr Iames Hales ſtandeth with Queene Mary.

Much probable matter they had thus to coniecture of her, by reaſon of her great ſtubburnnes ſhewed and declared in her brothers dayes, as in the letters before mentioned, paſſing betweene her and kyng Edward, & the Counſaile, may appeare. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by euery mans hande, kyng Edwarde an Impe of ſo great hope, not long after this departed, by the vehemencie of his ſicknes, when he was ſixteene yeares of age: with whom alſo decayed in maner the whole flouriſhing eſtate and honour of the Engliſh nation.

Two thinges feared in Q. Mary.

When king Edward was dead, this Iane was eſtabliſhed in the kyngdome by the Nobles conſent, and was forthwith publiſhed Queene by proclamation at London, and in other Cities where was any great reſort, and was there ſo taken and named. Betweene this young Damoſel and kyng Edward there was litle difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues ſhe was not onely equal, but alſo ſuperiour vnto hym, beyng inſtructed of a Maiſter right notably learned. If her fortune had ben as good, as was her bringing vp, ioyned with fineneſſe of wyt: vndoubtedly ſhee might haue ſeemed comparable, not onely to the houſe of the Vaſpaſians, Sempronians, and mother of the Grachies, yea, to any other women beſide that deſerued high prayſe for their ſingular learning: but alſo to the Uniuerſitie men, whiche haue taken many degrees of the Schooles.

Q. Iane proclamed at London. Comparison betwene yonge K. Edward and yonge Lady Iane.

This inſtructer of the Lady Iane was M. Elmer.

In the meane tyme while theſe thinges were a workyng at London, Mary which had knowledge of her brothers death, writeth to the Lordes of the Counſayle in forme as foloweth.

¶ A letter of the Lady Mary, ſent to the lords of the Counſaile, wherin ſhee claimeth the crowne, after the deceaſe of king Edward.

Lady Maryes letter ſent vnto the Counſayle, wherin ſhee clameth the Crowne.

MY Lordes, we greete you well, and haue receiued ſure aduertiſement that our deareſt brother the king our late ſoueraigne Lord, is departed to Gods mercye: whiche newes howe they be woſull to our hart, he onely knoweth to whoſe wyll and pleaſure we muſt and doo humbly ſubmit vs and our wylles. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to wyt, now after his maieſties departure and death, concernyng the Crowne and gouernaunce of this Realme of England, with the title of Fraunce, and all thinges thereto belonging, what hath bene prouided by acte of Parlament and the Teſtament and laſt wyll of our deareſt father, beſides other circumſtaunces aduauncing our right, you know the Realme, and the whole world knoweth, the Rolles & Recordes appeare by the authoritie of the king our ſaid father, and the king our ſaid brother, and the ſubiectes of this Realme, ſo that we veryly truſt that there is no good true ſubiect, that is, can, or would pretende to be ignorant therof, and of our part we haue of our ſelues cauſed, & as God ſhall ayde and ſtrength vs, ſhal cauſe our right and title in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclaymed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weighty a matter ſeemeth ſtraunge, that the dying of our ſayd brother vpon Thurſday at night laſt paſt, we hytherto had no knowledge from you therof, yet we conſider your wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauyng eftſoones amongſt you debated, pondered, and wel wayed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your owne eſtate, the common wealth, and al our honours, we ſhal and may conceiue great hope and truſt with much aſſurance in your loyaltie and ſeruice, and therefore for the tyme interprete and take thinges not to the worſt, and that ye yet wil like Noble men worke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe we are not ignoraunt of your conſultations, to vndoo the prouiſions made for our preferment, nor of the great bandes and prouiſions forcible, wherewith ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what ende, God and you knowe, and nature can but feare ſome euyll. But be it that ſome conſideration politike, or what ſoeuer thing els hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not my Lordes, but we can take all theſe your doinges in gratious part, being alſo right ready to remit and fully pardon the ſame, with that freely to eſchewe bloudſhed and vengeance againſt all thoſe that can or wyl intende the ſame: truſting alſo aſſuredly you wyll take and accept this grace and vertue in good part as apperteineth, and that we ſhal not be inforced to vſe the ſeruice of other our true ſubiectes and frendes which in this our iuſt and right cauſe, God in whom our whole affiaunce is, ſhal ſend vs. Wherfore my Lordes we require you and charge you, and euery of you, that euery of you, of your allegeance which you ow to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour and the ſuretie of our pardon, onely employ your ſelues, and forthwith vpon receite hereof, cauſe our right and title to the Crowne and gouernement of this Realme to be proclaymed in our citie of London, and ſuch other places as to your wiſedomes ſhal ſeeme good, and as to this caſe apperteineth, not failing hereof, as our very truſt is in you. And thus our letter ſigned with our hand, ſhalbe your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe. Yeuen vnder our Signet, at our Manor of Kenyngal, the. 9. of Iuly. 1553.

To this letter of the Ladye Mary, the Lordes of the Counſaile make anſweare againe, as foloweth.

Anſweare of the Lordes vnto the Ladye Maryes letter.

Madame, we haue receyued your letters the ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title, which you iudge your ſelfe to haue to the Imperial crowne of this Realme, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For anſweare whereof, this is to aduertiſe you, that for as much as our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Iane is after the death of our soueraigne Lorde Edward the ſixt, a Prince of moſte noble memorie inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right title in the Imperial Crowne of this Realme, not only by good order of olde auncient lawes of this Realme, but alſo by our late ſoueraigne Lords letters patents ſigned with his owne hand, and ſealed with the great Seale of Englande in preſence of the moſt part of the Nobles, Counſaylors, Iudges, with diuers other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: We muſt therfore as of moſt bound ductie and allegeaunce aſſent vnto her ſaide grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithful ſubiectes can not) fal into greeuous and vnſpeakeable enormities. Wherfore we cā no leſſe do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that for as muche as the diuorce made betwene the king of famous memory K. Henry the eight, and the Lady Katherine your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the euerlaſting lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſtical lawes, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry actes of Parlamentes remaynyng yet in their force, and thereby you iuſtly made illegitimate and vnheritable to the Crowne Imperiall of this Realme, and the rules, dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame: you wil vpon iuſt conſideration hereof, and of diuers other cauſes lawful to be alleged for the ſame, and for the iuſt inheritance of the right lyne and godly orders taken by the late kyng our ſoueraigne Lord kyng Edward the ſixt, and agreed vpon by the Nobles and greateſt perſonages aforeſayd, ſurceaſe by any pretence to vexe and moleſt any of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Iane her ſubiectes frō their true faith and allegeance due vnto her grace: aſſuring you, that if you wyl for reſpect ſhewe your ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhal finde vs al and ſeueral ready to do you any ſeruice that we with duety may, and be glad with your quietnes to preſerue the cōmon ſtate of this Realme: wherin you may be otherwiſe greeuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we byd you moſt hartily wel to fare, from the Tower of London, this. 9. of Iuly. 1553.

A letter of the Counſaile aunſweryng agayne to the Lady Mary.

Lady Iane inueſted in poſſeſſion of the crowne by K. Edwardes will and aſſent of the whole Counſaile.

Lady Mary accounted illegitimate.

Your Ladyſhips frendes, ſhewing your ſelfe an obedient ſubiect,

Thomas Canterbury.
The Marques of Winchester.
Iohn Bedford.
Wil. Northampton.
Thom. Ely Chauncel.
Northumberland.
Henry Suffolke.
Henry Arundel.
Shreweſbury.
Pembrooke.
Cobham.

R. Riche.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
Iohn Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cicelle.
Iohn Checke.
Iohn Maſon.
Edward North.
R. Bowes.

Al theſe aforeſaid, except onely the Duke of Northumberland and ſir Iohn Gates, afterward were either by eſpecial fauor or ſpecial or general pardon diſcharged.

After this anſweare receyued, and the myndes of the Lordes perceyued, Lady Mary ſpeedeth her ſelfe ſecretely away farre of from the citie, hoping chiefly vpon the good wyll of the Commons, and yet (perchaunce) not deſtitute altogether of the ſecrete aduertiſementes of ſome of the Nobles. When the Counſaile heard of her ſodaine departure, and perceiued her ſtoutnes, and that al came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed, they gathered ſpeedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and firſt aſſigned that the Duke of Suffolk ſhould take that enterpriſe in hand, and ſo haue the leading of the bande. But afterwarde altering their myndes, they thought it beſt to ſende forth the Duke of Northumberlande, with certaine other Lordes and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke ſhould keepe the Tower, where the Lord Gilford and the Lady Iane the ſame tyme were lodged.

Lady Mary kepeth her ſelf frō the Citie of London.

The Duke of Northumberland ſent forth agaynſt Lady Mary.

In the which expedition the Gard alſo, albeit they were much vnwilling at the firſt therunto, yet notwithſtanding through the vehement perſwaſions of the lord Treaſurer, maſter Chomley, and other, they were induced to aſſiſt the Duke, and to ſet forward with hym.

Theſe thinges thus agreed vpon, and the Duke nowe being ſet forwarde after the beſt array out of London, hauyng notwithſtanding his tymes preſcribed, and his iourneys appoynted by the Counſaile, to the intent he woulde not ſeeme to do any thing but vpon warrant, Mary in the meane while toſſed with much trauaile vp and downe, to worke the ſureſt way for her beſt aduauntage, withdrewe her ſelfe into the quarters of Northfolke and Suffolke, where ſhee vnderſtood the Dukes name to be had in much hatred, for the ſeruice that had bene done there of late vnder king Edward, in ſubduing the rebels: and there gathering to her ſuche ayde of the Commons on euerye ſide as ſhee might, kepeth her ſelfe cloſe for a ſpace within Fremingham Caſtle. To whō firſt of al reſorted the Suffolke men: who being alwayes forward in promoting ÿ proceedynges of the Goſpell, promiſed her their ayde and helpe, ſo that ſhee would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her brother king Edward had before eſtabliſhed by lawes and orders publikely enacted and receyued by the conſent of the whole Realme in that behalfe.

Pollicie of the Lady Mary.

The Lady Mary taketh Fremingham caſtle.

The Suffolke men gather to the Lady Maryes ſide.

To make the matter ſhort, vnto this condition ſhe eftſoones agreed, with ſuch promiſe made vnto them, that no innouation ſhould be made of religiō, as that no man would or could then haue miſdoubted her. Which promiſe, if ſhee had as conſtantly kept, as they did willingly preſerue her with their bodyes and weapons, ſhee had done a dede both worthy her bloud, and had alſo made her raigne more ſtable to her ſelfe through former tranquilitie. For though a man be neuer ſo puiſſant of power, yet breche of promiſe is an euyl vpholder of quietnes, feare is worſer, but crueltie is the worſt of al.

The Lady Mary promiſeth faythfully that ſhee would not alter religion.

Breach of promyſe in Queene Mary.

Thus Mary being garded with the power of the goſpellers, did vanquiſhe the Duke, and al those that came againſt her. In conſideration wherof, it was (me thinkes) an heauy worde that ſhee anſweared to the Suffolke men afterwardes, which did make ſupplication vnto her grace to performe her promiſe: For ſo much (ſaith ſhee) as you beyng but members, deſire to rule your head, you ſhal one day well perceiue that members muſt obey their head, and not looke to beare rule ouer the ſame. And not onely that, but alſo to cauſe the more terrour vnto other, a certaine Gentleman named maſter Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndham ſide, for the ſame cauſe, that is, for aduertiſing her by humble requeſt, of her promiſe, was puniſhed, being thre ſundrye tymes ſet on the pillory to be a gaſing ſtocke vnto all men. Diuers other deliuered her bookes and ſupplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then ſtabliſhed, and for their good willes were ſent to priſon. But ſuch is the condition of mans nature (as here you ſee) that we are for the moſt part more ready alway to ſeeke frendſhip whē we ſtand in neede of helpe, then ready to requite a benefite once paſt & receiued. Wherfore againſt this, one ſhorte anſwer we haue, which may be a ſure comfort to all miſerable creatures, ÿ equitie & fidelitie are euer perfect and certainely founde with the Lord aboue, though the ſame being ſhut out of the doores in this world, be not to be founde here among men. But leauing this, let vs to write a ſtorie, not to treate of other, let vs ſet Suffolke men aſide for a while, whoſe deſertes for their curteſie and diligence with the Queene, I will not here ſtand vpon. What ſhee performed on her part, the thing it ſelfe and the whole ſtorye of this perſecution doth teſtifie, as hereafter more plainely will appeare.

Q. Maryes aunſweare to the Suffolke men, and one M. Dobbe puniſhed.

Perfect fidelitie ſhut out of the doores, yet is to be found in heauen.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of Northumberlande, hauyng his warrant vnder the broade Seale, with al furniture in a readynes, as he tooke his voyage and was nowe forward in his way, what ado there was, what ſtirring on euery ſide, what ſendyng, what ridyng and poſtyng, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what hartburnyng among the people, what fayre pretenſes outwardly, inwardly what priuie practiſes there were, what ſpedyng of Ordinance dayly and hourely out of the Tower, what rumours and commyng downe of ſouldiers from all quarters there was, a world it was to ſee, & a proceſſe to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. The greateſt helpe that made for the Lady Mary, was the ſhort iourneys of the Duke, which by commiſſion were aſſigned to hym before, as is aboue mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Mary the more encreaſed in puiſſaunce, the hartes of the people being mightily bent vnto her. Which after the Counſaile at London perceyued, and vnderſtood howe the common multitude dyd withdrawe their hartes from them to ſtand with her, and that certaine Noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their ſong, and proclaymed for Queene the Lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to kyng Henry the eight, and appoynted by Parlament to ſuccede kyng Edward, dying without iſſue.

Queene Mary proclaimed at London.

And ſo the Duke of Northumberland, being by counſel and aduiſe ſent forth againſt her, was left deſtitute and forſaken alone at Cambridge, with ſome of his ſonnes, and a fewe other, among whom the Earle of Huntington was one: who there were arreſted and brought to the Tower of London, as traytors to the Crowne, notwithſtandyng that he had there proclaymed her Queene before.

The Duke of Northumberland ouerthrowen.

The Duke of Northumberland brought to the Tower as a traytour.

Thus haue you Mary nowe made a Queene, and the ſword of authoritie put into her hãd, which, how ſhee afterward dyd vſe, we may ſee in ſequele of this booke. Therefore (as I ſaid) whẽ ſhee had bene thus aduaunced by yͤ goſpellers, & ſawe all in quiet by meanes yͭ her enemies were conquered, ſending the Duke captiue to the Tower before (which was the. xxv. of Iuly) ſhee folowed not long after, being brought vp the third day of Auguſt to London, with the great reioyſing of many men, but with a greater feare of mo, and yet with flattery peraduenture moſt great, of fained hartes.

Queene Mary commeth vp to London.

Thus commyng vp to London, her firſt lodging ſhee toke at the Tower, where as the foreſaid Lady Iane with her huſband the Lord Gilford, a litle before her commyng, were impriſoned: where they remained waiting her pleaſure almoſt fiue monethes. But the Duke within a moneth after his commyng to the Tower being adiudged to death, was brought forth to the Scaffold, and there beheaded. Albeit he hauyng a promiſe, and being put in hope of pardon (yea though his head were vpon the blocke) if he would recant and heare Maſſe, conſented therto, and denied in wordes that true religion, which before tyme, as well in K. Henry. viij. dayes, as in K. Edwardes he had oft euidently declared him ſelfe both to fauor & further: exhortyng alſo the people to returne to the catholike fayth (as he termed it.) Whoſe recantation the papiſtes forthwith did publiſh and ſet abroad, reioyſing not a litle at his conuerſion or rather ſubuerſion, as then appeared.

The Lady Iane and the Lord Gilforde priſoners in the Tower.

The Duke of Northumberland condemned to dye.

The Duke of Northumberland renounceth his Religion.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland with ſir Iohn Gates and ſir Thomas Palmer (which Palmer on the other ſide confeſſed his faith that he had learned in the Goſpel, and lamented that he had not liued more Goſpellike) being put to death: in the meane tyme Queene Mary entring thus her raigne with the bloud of theſe men: beſides hearing Maſſe her ſelfe in the Tower, gaue a heauie ſhewe and ſignification hereby, but eſpecially by the ſodaine deliuering of Steuen Gardiner out of the Tower, that ſhe was not mynded to ſtand to that, which ſhee ſo deepely had promiſed to the Suffolke men before, concernyng the not ſubuerting or altering the ſtate of Religion: as in verye deede the ſurmiſe of the people was therein nothing deceiued.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded. Syr Iohn Gates and Syr Thomas Palmer confeſſing their fayth were beheaded.

Beſides the premiſſes, other things alſo folowed, which euery day more and more diſcomforted the people, declaring the Queene to beare no good wyl to the preſent ſtate of religion: as, not onely the releaſing of Gardiner being then made Lord Chauncelour of England and Biſhop of Wincheſter, Doctour Poynet being put out, but alſo that Boner was reſtored to his Biſhoprike againe, and Doctour Ridley diſplaced: Item, Doctour Day to the Biſhoprike of Chicheſter, Iohn Scory being put out: Item, Doctor Tunſtal to the Biſhoprike of Dureſme: Item, Doctour Heath to the Biſhoprike of Worceſter, and Iohn Hooper committed to the Flete: Item, Doctour Veyſe to Exceter, and Myles Couerdale put out. Theſe things being marked and perceiued, great heauines and diſcomfort grewe more and more to al good mens hartes: but contrary to the wicked great reioyſing. In which diſcord of myndes and diuerſitie of affections, was now to be ſeene a miſerable face of things in the whole common wealth of England. They that could diſſemble, tooke no great care howe the matter went. But ſuch whoſe conſciences were ioyned to truth, perceiued already coales to be kindled, which after ſhould be the deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian man, as in deede it came to paſſe. In the meane while queene Mary, after theſe beginnynges, remouing from the Tower to Hampton Court, cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned againſt the. x. daye of Octob. next enſuing, whereof more is to be ſaid hereafter.

The true preaching Byſhops diſplaced.

A Parliament ſommoned.

Ye heard before howe diuers Biſhops were remoued and other placed in their roumes: amongſt whom was doctor Ridley Biſhop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learnyng. This Doctour Ridley in tyme of Queene Iane had made a ſermon at Paules Croſſe, ſo commaunded by the Counſaile: declaring there his mynd to the people as touching the Lady Mary, & diſſwading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconueniences whiche might ryſe by receiuyng her to be their Queene, propheſiyng as it were before, that which after came to paſſe, that ſhee would bring in forreine power to raigne ouer them: beſides the ſubuerting alſo of Chriſtian Religion then already eſtabliſhed: ſhewing moreouer, that the ſame Mary being in his Dioces, he according to his duetie, being then her Ordinary, had trauailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithſtanding in al other pointes of ciuilitie ſhee ſhewed her ſelfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true fayth and doctrine ſhee ſhewed her ſelfe ſo ſtiffe and obſtinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceiued, but to diſturbe and ouerturne all that which with ſo great labours had bene confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this ſermon Queene Mary was proclaymed, whereupon he ſpeedely repairing to Fremingham, to ſalute the queene, had ſuch colde welcome there, that being diſpoyled of al his dignities, he was ſent backe vppon a lame halting horſe to the Tower.

B. Ridley preacheth in Queene Ianes tyme.

After him preached alſo Maiſter Rogers the next ſunday, entreating very learnedly vpon the Goſpel of the ſame day.

M. Rogers preacheth.

This ſo done, Queene Mary ſeeing al thinges yet not going ſo after her minde as ſhee deſired, deuiſeth with her Counſaile to bring to paſſe that thing by other meanes, which as yet by open lawe ſhee could not wel accompliſhe, directing forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man ſhould preache or reade openly in Churches the worde of God, beſides other thinges alſo in the ſame proclamation inhibited, the copie whereof here foloweth.

¶ An inhibition of the Queene, for preaching, printyng. &c.

August. 18.

An inhibition of the Q. for preaching and printing.

The Queenes highnes well remembring what great inconuenience and daungers haue growen to this her highnes Realme in tymes paſt, through the diuerſitie of opinions in queſtions of Religion, and hearyng alſo that nowe of late, ſithence the beginnyng of her moſt gracious raigne, yͤ ſame contention be againe much renued through certaine falſe & vntrue reportes and rumours ſpread by ſome light & euyl diſpoſed perſons, hath thought good to doo to vnderſtãd to al her highnes moſt louing ſubiectes her moſt gracious pleaſure in maner folowing.

Firſt, her Maieſtie being preſently by the onely goodnes of God, ſetled in her iuſt poſſeſſion of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and other dominions thereunto belonging, can not nowe hyde that Religion which God and the world knoweth ſhee hath euer profeſſed from her infancie hitherto. Which as her Maieſtie is mynded to obſerue and maintayne for her ſelfe by Gods grace during her time, ſo doeth her highnes muche deſire and woulde be glad the ſame were of all her ſubiectes quietly & charitably embraced.

Q. Mary beginneth to ſet forth her popiſh religion.
Religion here grounded vpon the Queenes will.

And yet ſhee doth ſignifie vnto al her maieſties louyng ſubiectes, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition and clemencie, her highnes mindeth not to compell any her ſayde ſubiectes thereunto, vnto ſuch tyme as further order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbiddyng neuertheles all her ſubiectes of all degrees, at their perylles to moue ſeditions, or ſtyrre vnquietnes in her people by interpretyng the Lawes of this Realme after their braynes and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the tyme, tyll (as before is ſayde) further order maye be taken, and therefore wylleth and ſtraytly chargeth and commaundeth all her ſayde good louyng ſubiectes to lyue togethers in quiet ſort and Chriſtian charitie, leauing thoſe newe founde deuiliſh termes of

Papiſt

Termes of Papiſt and Heretike forbidden.

1553.

Papiſt or Heretike, and ſuch like, and applying their whole care, ſtudy, and trauaile to liue in the feare of God, exerciſing their conuerſations in ſuch charitable and godly doing, as their liues may in deede expreſſe that great hunger and thirſt of Gods glory and holy word, which by rashe talke and wordes many haue pretended: and in ſo doing they ſhal beſt pleaſe God, and liue without daunger of the lawes, and mainteine the tranquilitie of the Realme. Whereof as her highnes ſhalbe moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any publike aſſemblies or otherwiſe ſhall goe about to ſtirre the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhee myndeth according to her dutie, to ſee the ſame moſt ſurely reformed & puniſhed according to her highnes lawes.

Falſe ſurmiſe agaynſt true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

And furthermore, for as much alſo as it is well knowē that ſedition and falſe rumours haue bene nouriſhed and maintayned in this Realme by the ſubtiltie and malice of ſome euyll diſpoſed perſons, which take vpon them without ſufficient authoritie to preach & to interprete the word of God after their owne brayne in Churches and other places, both publike and priuate: & alſo by playing of Enterludes, and printing of falſe fond bookes, ballades, rymes, & other lewde treatiſes in the Engliſh tongue concernyng doctrine in matters now in queſtion, and controuerſie touchyng the high poyntes & myſteries of chriſtē religion, which bookes, ballades, rymes, and treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers ſet out to ſale to her graces ſubiectes of an euyll zeale, for lucre & couetous of vile gaine: her highneſſe therfore ſtraytly chargeth and commaūdeth al and euery of her ſaid ſubiectes, of what ſoeuer ſtate, condition, or degree they be, that none of them preſume frō henceforth to preach, or by way of readyng in Churches or other publike or priuate places, except in ſcholes of the Vniuerſitie, to interprete or teach any ſcriptures or any maner poynts of doctrine cōcernyng Religion, neither alſo to print any bookes, matter, ballade, ryme, Enterlude, proceſſe, or treatiſe, nor to play any Enterlude, except they haue her graces ſpecial licence in writyng for the ſame, vpō payne to incurre her highnes indignation and diſpleaſure.

Here was the head of Wincheſter.

Preaching, Printing, Reading, and playing of Enterludes, reſtrayned.

And her highnes alſo further chargeth and commaundeth all and euery her ſaide ſubiectes, that none of them of their own authoritie do preſume to puniſh, or to riſe againſt any offendour in the cauſes abouesaid, or any other offendour in wordes or deedes in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or his complices, or to ſeaſe any of their goodes, or violently to vſe any ſuch offender by ſtriking or impriſoning, or threatning the ſame, but wholy to referre the puniſhment of all ſuche offenders vnto her highnes & publike authoritie, whereof her maieſtie myndeth to ſee due puniſhment, according to the order of her highnes lawes.

The whole cauſe of the rebellion done by the Duke of Northumberland, reſerued onely to the Queenes order.

Neuertheleſſe, as her highnes myndeth not hereby to reſtraine and diſcourage any of her louyng ſubiectes to geue from tyme to tyme true information againſt any ſuch offenders in the cauſes abouesaid vnto her grace or her Counſaile, for the puniſhment of euery ſuch offender, accordyng to the effect of her highnes Lawes prouided in that parte: ſo her ſaid highnes exhorteth & ſtraitly chargeth her ſaid ſubiectes to obſerue her commaundement & pleaſure in euery part aforeſaid, as they wyl auoyde her highnes ſaid indignation and moſt greeuous diſpleaſure. The ſeueritie and rigour whereof, as her highnes ſhalbe moſt ſory to haue cauſe to put the ſame in execution: ſo doth ſhee vtterly determine not to permit ſuch vnlawfull and rebellious doynges of her ſubiectes, whereof may enſue the daunger of her royal eſtate to remayne vnpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſaide lawes touchyng theſe poyntes to be throughly executed, which extremities ſhee truſteth all her ſaid louyng ſubiectes wyl foreſee, dread and auoyd accordyngly: her ſaide highnes ſtraytly chargyng and commaundyng all Maiors, Shiriffes, Iuſtices of peace, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and all other publique Officers and Miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſeruyng and executyng of her ſayde commaundementes and pleaſure, and to apprehende all ſuch as ſhal wilfully offende in this part, commyttyng the ſame to the next Gaole, there to remaine without bayle or maineprise, tyll vpon certificate made to her highnes or her priuie Counſaile, of their names and doynges, and vpon examination had of their offences, ſome further order ſhalbe taken for their puniſhment, to the example of others, according to the effect and tenour of the Lawes aforeſaid. Yeuen at our Manor of Richmond, the xviij. day of Auguſt, in the firſt yere of our moſt proſperous raigne.

Maiſter Bourne preaching at Paules Croſſe.

Maiſter Bournes Sermon at Paules Croſſe. Auguſt. 13.

ABout this tyme or not long before, Boner Biſhop of London being reſtored, appoynted Maiſter Bourne a Canon of Paules to preache at the Croſſe, who afterwarde was Biſhop of Bathe, hee takyng occaſion of the Goſpell of the day to ſpeake ſomewhat largely in iuſtifying of Boner beyng then preſent: which Boner, ſaid he, vppon the ſame Text in that place that day foure yeares had preached before, and was vppon the ſame moſt cruelly and vniuſtly caſt into the moſt vile Dungeon of the Marſhalſey, and there kept duryng the tyme of king Edwarde. His wordes ſounded ſo euyll in the eares of the hearers, that they could not keepe ſilence, but beganne to murmure, and to ſtirre in ſuche ſort, that the Maior and Aldermen with other eſtates then preſent, feared much an vproare. But the truth is, that one hurled a Dagger at the preacher, but who it was, it could not then be proued, albeit afterward it was knowen.

No marueil if Boner were ſo foule fallen away in ſuch a vyle dungeon of the Marſhalſey.

In fine, the ſturre was ſuch, that the Preacher plucke in his head, and durſt no more appeare in that place. The matter of his Sermon tended muche to the derogation and diſprayſe of king Edwarde: whiche thing the people in no caſe coulde abide. Then Maiſter Bradford at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and other then beyng in the Pulpite, ſtoode forth and ſpake ſo mildely, Chriſtianly, and effectuouſly, that with fewe wordes he appeaſed al: and afterward he and maſter Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit, to the Grammar ſchole doore, where they leaft hym ſafe, as further in the ſtory of M. Bradford is declared. But ſhortly after they wer both rewarded with long impriſonment, and laſt of all with fire in Smythfield.

M. Iohn Bradford appeaſeth the people.

Bradford, and Rogers garded the preacher.

The next ſonday folowing, the Queenes Garde was at the Croſſe with their weapons to garde the Preacher. And when quiet men withdrew them ſelues from the ſermon, order was taken by the Maior, that the auncientes of al companyes ſhould be preſent, leaſt the preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmal auditory.

Auguſt. 10.

About the fift day of September the ſame yeare Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had bene cōmaunded to keepe his houſe, and found there the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who offered to defende the doctrine of the booke of Common prayer, both by the ſcriptures and Doctors, aſſiſted by Peter Martyr and a few other, as hereafter ye ſhal heare. But whileſt they were in hope to come to diſputations, the Archbiſhop & other were impriſoned, but Peter Martyr was ſuffered to returne whence he came.

September. 5.

Cranmer offereth to defend the doctrine of the ſeruice booke in engliſh.

The firſt day of October Queene Marye was crowned at Weſtminſter, and the tenth day of the ſayd moneth of October then folowing, began the parlament with a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, after the popiſh maner, celebrated with great pompe in the Palace of Weſtminſter. To the which Maſſe among the other Lordes, accordyng to the maner, ſhould come the biſhops, which yet remaynd vndepoſed, which were the Archb. of Yorke, Doct. Taylor Biſhop of Lincolne, Iohn Harley biſh. of Herford. Of the biſhops, doct. Taylor & maſter Harley preſentyng them ſelues according to their dutie, and takyng their place amongſt the Lordes, after they ſawe the Maſſe begyn, not abidyng the ſight therof, withdrewe them ſelues from the company: for the which cauſe the Biſhop of Lincolne beyng examined, and profeſſyng his fayth, was vppon the ſame commaunded to attend: who not long after at Ankerwyke by ſicknes departed. Maiſter Harley becauſe he was maryed, was excluded both from the Parlament, and from his Biſhopricke.

October 1.

Queene Mary crowned.

October. 10.

The Parlament beginneth with a Maſſe.

Two Byſhops withdrew them ſelues from the ſight of the Maſſe.

M. Harley Byſhop of Hereford put out of his Biſhopricke.

Maſſe beyng done, the Queene accompanyed with the Eſtates of the Realme, was brought into the Parlament houſe, there accordyng to the maner, to enter and begyn the conſultatiō. At which conſultation of parlament were repealed al ſtatutes made in the tyme of king Henry the eight for Premunire, and ſtatutes made in king Edward the ſixts tyme for adminiſtration of common prayer & the ſacramētes in the Engliſh tongue: & further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this Parlament confirmed. In this meane while many men were forward in the erecting of altars & maſſes in churches. And ſuch as would ſticke to the lawes made in king Edwardes tyme, tyl other ſhould be eſtabliſhed: ſome of them were marked and ſome preſently apprehended. Among whom ſir Iames Hales a knight of Kent, and Iuſtice of the Common place, was one, who notwithſtādyng he had ventured his lyfe in queene Maryes cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to the diſheriting of her by the kyngs wyl, yet for that he did at a quarter Seſſions geue charge vppon the ſtatutes made in the tyme of Henry the eight, and Edward the ſixt, for the ſupremacie and religion, he was impriſoned in the Marſhalſey, Counter, and Fleete, and ſo cruelly handled, & put in feare by talke that the Warden of the Fleete vſed to haue in his hearyng, of ſuch tormentes as were in preparyng for heretikes,

Statutes of Premunire and other repealed.

Altars and Maſſes erected.

Syr Iames Hales Knight.

The trouble of Iudge Hales.

A ſubtile polecie.

tiks (or for what other cauſe God knoweth) that he ſought to ryd hym ſelfe out of this life by wounding hym ſelfe with a knife: and afterward was contented to ſay as they willed hym: wherupon he was diſcharged, but after that he neuer reſted tyll he had drowned hym ſelfe in a riuer halfe a myle from his houſe in Kent. Of whom more is to be ſeene whẽ you come to his ſtory.

A Conuocation begonne.

During the tyme of this parlament, the Clergie likewiſe after their wonted maner, had a conuocation, with a diſputation alſo appoynted by the Queenes commaundement, at Paules church in London the ſame time, which was about the .xviij. of Octob. In the which Conuocation, firſt M. John Harpsfield Bacheler of Diuinitie, made a ſermõ ad Clerum, the .xvi. of Octob. After the ſermõ done, it was aſſigned by the biſhops, that they of the Clergy houſe for auoyding confuſion of wordes, ſhould chuſe them a Prolocutor. To the which roume & office by common aſſent was named doctor Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, and preſented to the Biſhops, with an oration of M. Pye Deane of Chicheſter, and alſo of M. Wymbyſley Archdeacon of London. Which Doctor Weſton beyng choſen and brought vnto the Biſhops, made his gratulatory Oration to the houſe, with the anſweare agayne of Biſhop Boner.

Orations of M. Pie and M. Wymſley, of Doct. Weſton and of B. Boner in the conuocation houſe.

After theſe thinges thus ſped in the Conuocation houſe, they proceeded next to the diſputation appoynted, as is aboueſaid, by the Queenes commaundement, about the matter of the ſacrament. Which diſputation continued ſixe dayes. Wherein Doctor Weſton was chiefe on the Popes part, who behaued hym ſelfe outragiouſly in tauntyng and checking. In concluſion, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary part, were driuen ſome to flee, ſome to deny, and ſome to dy, though to the moſt mens iudgemẽts that heard the diſputation, they had the vpper hand, as here may appeare by the report of the ſayd diſputation, the copie wherof we thought here to annexe, as followeth.

¶ The true report of the diſputation had and begon in the Conuocation houſe at London, the eighteenth of October. Ann. 1553.

A diſputation of Religion in Paules Church in London the 18. of October.

Where as diuers and vncertaine rumours be ſpreadde abrode of the diſputation had in the Cõuocation houſe, to the entent that all men may knowe the certaintie of all thinges therein done and ſayd, as muche as the memorye of hym that was preſent thereat can beare awaye, he hath thought good at requeſt, throughly to deſcribe what was ſaid therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the entrance therof.

¶ Acte of the firſt day.

October. 18.

D. Weſton Prolocutor agaynſt the booke of Catechiſme ſet forth in king Edwardes tyme.

First vpon Wedneſday, beyng the .xviij. day of October at after noone, maſter Weſton the Prolocutor certified the houſe, that it was the Queenes pleaſure, that the company of the ſame houſe, being learned men, aſſembled, ſhould debate of matters of Religion, and conſtitute lawes therof, which her grace and the parlament would ratifie. And for that (ſaid he) there is a booke of late ſet forth, called the Catechiſme: (which he ſhewed forth) bearing the name of this honorable Synode, & yet put forth without your conſents, as I haue learned, being a booke very peſtiferous, and full of hereſies, and likewiſe a booke of common prayer, very abominable (as it pleaſed hym to terme it) I thought it therfore beſt, firſt to beginne with the articles of the Catechiſme, concernyng the ſacrament of the aultar, to confirme ỹ natural preſẽce of Chriſt in ỹ ſame, & alſo trãſubſtãtiation: Wherfore (ſaid he) it ſhal be lawfull on Fryday next enſuyng for all men freely to ſpeake their conſcience in theſe matters, that al doubtes may be remoued, and they fully ſatiſfied therin.

¶ Acte of the ſecond day.

October 20. Two billes exhibited in the Conuocation houſe by the Prolocutor.
M. Phillips,
M. Haddon.
M. Philpot.
M. Cheyny.
M. Elmar.
and one other refuſed to ſubſcribe to the billes.

The Fryday cõmyng being the .xx. of Octob. when men had thought they ſhould haue entred diſputation of the queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibited two ſeueral byls vnto the houſe: the one for the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aultar, the other concerning the Catechiſme, that it was not of that houſes agreemẽt ſet forth, & that they dyd not agree therunto: requiryng al them to ſubſcribe to the ſame, as he hym ſelfe had done. Wherunto the whole houſe dyd immediatly aſſent, except ſixe, which were the Deane of Rocheſter, the Deane of Exeter, the Archedeacõ of Wincheſter, the Archdeacõ of Hertford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And while the reſt were about to ſubſcribe theſe two articles, John Philpot ſtood vp and ſpake firſt cõcernyng the article of the Catechiſme, that he thought they wer deceyued in the title of the Catechiſme, in that it beareth the title of the Synode of London laſt before this, although many of them which then were preſent, wer neuer made priuy therof in ſettyng it forth. for that this houſe had graũted the authoritye to make eccleſiaſticall lawes vnto certayne perſons to be appoynted by the kynges maieſty, & what ſoeuer eccleſiaſticall lawes they or the moſt part of them dyd ſet forth, accordyng to a ſtatute in that behalfe prouided, it might be wel ſayd to be done in the Synode of London, although ſuch as be of this houſe now had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this poynt he thought the ſetter forth therof nothyng to haue ſclaundered the houſe, as they by their ſubſcription went about to perſwade the world, ſince they had our Synodall authoritie vnto them committed, to make ſuch Spirituall lawes as they thought conuenient and neceſſary.

The boke of the Catechiſme defended by M. John Philpot.

And moreouer he ſaid, as concernyng the article of the naturall preſence in the ſacrament, that it was againſt reaſon & order of learnyng, & alſo very preiudicial to the truth, that men ſhould be moued to ſubſcribe before the matter were thorowly examined and diſcuſſed. But when he ſaw that allegation might take no place, being as a man aſtoniſed at the multitude of ſo many learned men as there were of purpoſe gathered together to mainteyne olde traditions more thẽ the truth of Gods holy word, he made his requeſt vnto the Prolocutor, that where as there wer ſo many ancient learned men preſent on that ſide, as in the Realme the like againe were not to be foũd in ſuch nũber, & ỹ on ỹ other ſide of them that had not ſubſcribed, were not paſt .v. or .vj. both in age and learnyng farre inferior vnto them: therfore, that equalitie might be had in this diſputation, he deſired that the Prolocutor would be a meane vnto the Lordes, that ſome of thoſe that were learned and ſetters forth of the ſame Catechiſme might be brought into the houſe to ſhew their learnyng that moued them to ſet forth the ſame, and that doctor Ridley and M. Rogers with two or three moe might be licenced to be preſent at this diſputation, and to be aſſociate with them.

Agaynſt the article of naturall preſence.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Prolocutor.

Requeſt to haue Doct. Ridley and M. Rogers at the diſputation.

Aunſwere of the byſhops vnto the requeſt.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed vnto the Biſhops: who made this anſweare, that it was not in them to call ſuch perſons vnto our houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners. But they ſayd, they would be petitioners in this behalfe vnto the Counſayle, and in caſe any were abſent that ought to be of the houſe, they willed them to be taken in vnto them, if they liſted. After this they myndyng to haue entred into diſputation, there came a Gentleman as meſſenger from the Lorde great maſter, ſignifying vnto the Prolocutor, that the lord great maſter & the Earle of Deuonſhire would be preſent at the diſputations, and therfore he deferred the ſame vnto monday, at one of the clocke at after noone.

¶ The Acte of the third day.

The third Seſſion. October. 23.

Upon Monday the .xxiij. of October, at the tyme appoynted, in the preſence of many Earles, Lordes, Knights, Gentlemen, and diuers other of the Court and of the citie alſo, the Prolocutor made a proteſtation, that they of the houſe had appoynted this diſputation, not to call the truth into doubt, to the which they had already al ſubſcribed, ſauyng fiue or ſixe, but that thoſe gaynſayers might be reſolued of their argumentes in the which they ſtoode, as it ſhall appeare vnto you, not doubtyng but they wyll alſo condeſcend vnto vs.

Then he demaunded of maſter Haddon, whether he would reaſon againſt the queſtions propoſed, or no. To whom he made anſweare, that he had certified hym before by writing, that he would not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men as were demaunded to be aſſiſtent with them, would not be graunted. Maiſter Elmar likewiſe was aſked. Who made ỹ Prolocutor the like anſweare, addyng moreouer this, that they had done too much preiudice already to the truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed: and litle or nothyng it might auayle to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrarye. After this he demaunded of Maſter Cheyney, whom the Prolocutor ſayde allowed the preſence with them, but he denyed the tranſubſtantiation by the meanes of certayne authorities vpon the which he ſtandeth, and deſireth to be reſolued, as you ſhall heare whether he wyll propoſe his doubtes concernyng Tranſubſtantiation, or no. Yea, quoth he, I would gladly my doubtes to be reſolued which moue me not to beleue Tranſubſtantiation.

M. Haddon and M. Elmar refuſe to aunſwere, except their requeſt were graunted.

M. Cheyny then Archdeacon of Herford now B. of Gloceſter.

The firſt is out of S. Paul to the Corinthians, who ſpeakyng of the ſacrament of the bodye & bloud of Chriſt, calleth it oft tymes bread, after the conſecration.

M. Cheynies doubtes about tranſubſtantiation.

The ſeconde is out of Origene, who ſpeakyng of this ſacrament, ſayth that the material part therof goeth downe to the excrementes.

The third is out of Thodoretus, who makyng mention of the ſacramental bread & wyne after the conſecratiō, ſaith, that they go not out of their former ſubſtance, forme, and ſhape. Theſe be ſome of my doubtes among many other, wherin I require to be anſwered.

Moremans anſwere to S. Paule.

Thē the Prolocutor aſſigned D. Moreman to anſwere hym. Who to ſ. Paul anſwered him thus: that the ſacramēt is called by him bread in dede, but it is thus to be vnderſtād that it is the ſacrament of bread, that is, the forme of bread.

Then M. Cheyney inferred & alleged, that Heſychius called the ſacrament both bread and fleſh.

M. Cheyny replyeth to Moremans aunſwere.

Yea, quoth Moremā, Heſychius calleth it bread, becauſe it was bread, & not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſing ouer Origen, he came to Theodoretus, & ſaid, that men miſtooke his authoritie, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as Peter Martyr hath done in that place of Theodoret, interpreting ὀυσία for ſubſtāce, which is a ſpecial ſignificatiō of the word, wheras ὀυσία is a general word, as wel to accidence as to ſubſtance: & therfore I anſwere thus vnto Theodoret, that the ſacramental bread & wine do not go out of their former ſubſtance, forme, & ſhape, that is to ſay, not out of their accidental ſubſtance and ſhape.

Moremans aunſwere to Theodoretus.

M. Elmar argueth agaynſt D. Moremans aunſwere.

After this, M. Cheyney ſat hym downe, & by & by M. Elmar ſtood vp, as one that could not abide to heare ſo fond an anſwer to ſo graue an authoritie, & reaſoned vpō the authoritie of Theodoret, alleged before by M. Cheyney, & declard that Moremans anſwere to Theodoret, was no iuſt nor ſufficient anſwer, but an illuſion & a ſubtyl euaſion cōtrary to Theodorets meaning. For, ſayd he, if ὀυσία ſhould ſignifie an accident in the place alleged, as it is anſwered by M. Moremā, thē were it a word ſuperfluous ſet in Theodoret there, where do folow two other wordes which ſufficiently do expreſſe the accidences of the bread, that is, εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which ſignifie in Engliſh, ſhape & forme: and ſo proue out of ẏ ſame author by diuers allegations, that ὀυσία in Greke could not be ſo generally takē in that place as Moreman for a ſhift would haue it. But Moreman, as a mā hauyng no other ſalue for that ſore, affirmed ſtyl that ὀυσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance, muſt needes ſignifie an accidental ſubſtance properly. To whoſe importunity ſince he could haue no other anſwere, Elmar as a man wearyed with his importunity, gaue place.

Moremans ſhift is ouerthrowen.

Philpots replication to Moremans ſhift.

After this ſtood vp John Philpot, & ſaid, that he could proue, that by the matter that Theodoret intreateth of in ẏ place aboue alleged, & by the ſimilitude which he maketh to proue his purpoſe, by no meanes M. Moremans interpretation of ὀυσία, might be taken for accidental ſubſtance, as he for a ſhift would interpret it to be. For the matter which Theodoret intreateth of in that place, is againſt Eutiches an heretike, whiche denied two natures of ſubſtance to remayne in Chriſt beyng one perſon, & that his humanitie after ẏ accōpliſhmēt of the myſtery of our ſaluatiō aſcendyng into heauē, & being ioyned vnto the Diuinitie, was abſorpt or ſwalowed vp of ẏ ſame, ſo that Chriſt ſhould be no more but of one diuine ſubſtāce only, by his opiniō: againſt which opiniō Theodoret writeth, & by ẏ ſimilitude of ẏ ſacramēt proueth the cōtrary againſt the heretike: that like as in the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt after the conſecration, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes humanitie with the ſubſtance of bread, remaynyng as it was before, not being abſorpt of the humanitie of Chriſt, but ioyned by the diuine operation therunto: euen ſo in the perſon of Chriſt beyng now in heauen, of whō this ſacrament is a repreſentation, there be two ſeueral ſubſtances, that is, his diuinitie & humanity vnited in one hypoſtaſie or perſon, which is Chriſt, the humanitie not beyng abſorpt by the coniunction of the diuinitie, but remaynyng in hys former ſubſtance.

The place of Theodoret opened.

The argument of Theodoret aſoyld.

And this ſimilitude, quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to cōfound Eutyches, ſhould proue nothing at al, if the very ſubſtāce of the ſacramental bread dyd not remaine, as it dyd before. But if D. Moremās interpretation might take place for tranſubſtantiation, then ſhould the heretike haue therby a ſtrong argument by Theodorets authoritie ſo taken to mayntayn his hereſie, & to proue hym ſelf a good Chriſten man, & he myght wel ſay thus vnto Theodoret: Like as thou Theodoret, if thou were of D. Moremans mynd, doeſt ſay, that after the conſecration in the ſacramēt, the ſubſtance of the bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiate into the humane bodye of Chriſt cōmyng therunto, ſo that in the Sacrament is nowe but one ſubſtaunce of the humanitie alone, and not the ſubſtaunce of bread as it was before: euen likewiſe maye I affirme and conclude by thyne owne ſimilitude, that the humanitie aſcēdyng vp by the power of God into heauē, & adioyned vnto the deitie, was by the might therof abſorpt & turned into one ſubſtance with the deitie: ſo that now there remaineth but one diuine ſubſtance in Chriſt, no more then in the ſacramental ſignes of the Lordes ſupper, after the conſecration doth remayne any more then one ſubſtance according to your beliefe and conſtruction.

The place of Theodoret falſely taken of the Papiſtes.

The falſe expoſition of D. Moreman vpon Theodoretus, ouerthrowen.

In anſweryng to this D. Moreman ſtackered, whoſe defect Philpot perceiuyng, ſpake on this wiſe. Wel, M. Moreman, if you haue no anſwere at this preſent ready, I pray you deuiſe one, if you can conueniently, againſt our next meetyng here agayne.

With that his ſaying the Prolocutor was greeuouſly offended, tellyng hym that he ſhould not bragge there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſayd Philpot: It is the thyng that I only deſire, to be anſwered directly in this behalfe, and I deſire of you and of al the houſe at this preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, ſauyng Theodoretes authority & ſimilitude vpright, as he ought to be taken. None other anſweare then was made to Philpots reaſons, but that he was commaunded to ſilence.

Weſton is offended.

Philpots replycation aunſwered by commaundyng him to ſilence.

Then ſtood vp the Deane of Rocheſter offryng him ſelf to reaſon in the firſt queſtion agaynſt the natural preſence, wiſhing that the ſcripture & ẏ ancient doctors in this point might be weyed, beleued, & folowed. And agaynſt this natural preſence he thought the ſaying of Chriſt in S. Mathew to make ſufficyently enough, if men would credit and folow ſcripture: who ſayd there of him ſelfe, that poore men we ſhould haue alway with vs, but hym we ſhould not haue alwayes: which was ſpoken, quoth he, concernyng the natural preſence of Chriſts body, therfore we ought to beleue as he hath taught, that Chriſt is not naturally preſent on yearth in the ſacrament of the altar.

This man called M. Phillips continued Deane of Rocheſter all Q. Maryes tyme and yet ſtill ſo remayneth.

To this was anſweared by the Prolocutor, that we ſhould not haue Chriſt preſent alwayes to exerciſe almes deedes vpon hym, but vpon the poore.

Weſtons aunſwere to the Deane.

But the Deane proſecuted his argumēt, & ſhewed it out of ſ. Auſten further, that the ſame interpretatiō of the ſcripture alleged was no ſufficient anſwer, who writeth in the 50. treatiſe of S. John on this wiſe on the ſame ſentence: When as he ſaid (ſaith ſ. Auſten) me ſhall ye not haue alwaies with you, he ſpake of the preſence of his body. For by his maieſtie, by his prouidence, by his vnſpeakable & vniuiſible grace, that is fulfilled which is ſaid of him, Behold I am with you vntyl the conſummation of the world. But in the fleſhe which the worde tooke vpon him, in that which was borne of the virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Iewes, which was crucified on the Croſſe, whiche was let downe from the Croſſe, which was wrapped in cloutes, which was hiddē in the ſepulchre, which was manifeſted in the reſurrectiō, you ſhal not haue me alwayes with you. And why? for after a bodily preſence he was cōuerſant with his diſciples.xl. dayes, & they accōpanying him, ſeeing & not folowing him, he aſcēded & is not here: for there he ſitteth at the right hand of the father: & yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of his maieſtie. After an other maner we haue Chriſt alwayes by preſence of his maieſty: but after the preſence of his fleſh it is rightly ſaid: You ſhal not verily haue me alwayes with you. For the Church had him in the preſence of his fleſh a fewe dayes, & now by faith it apprehended him and ſeeth him, not with eyes.

The Deanes replication.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 50.

A notable authoritie out of Saint Auguſtine.

To this authority D. Watſon toke vpon hym to anſwere & ſayd he would anſwer ſ. Auſten by ſ. Auſten, & hauyng a certaine booke in his hande of notes, he alleged out of the 70. treatiſe vpon S. John, that after that mortal conditiō & maner we haue not nowe Chriſt on the earth as he was heretofore before his paſſion.

Watſons aunſwere to S. Auguſtine.

Agaynſt whoſe anſweare John Philpot replyed and ſaid, that M. Watſon had not fully anſwered S. Auſtine by S. Auſtine as he would ſeeme to haue done, for that in the place aboue mentioned by Maiſter Deane of Rocheſter, he doth not onely teache the mortall ſtate of Chriſtes body before his Paſſion, but alſo the immortall condition of the ſame after his reſurrection: in the which mortall body S. Auſtine ſeemeth playnely to affirme that Chriſt is not preſent vpon the earth, neyther in forme viſibly, neyther in corporall ſubſtance inuiſibly: as in fewe lynes after the place aboue alleged, S. Auſtine doeth more playnely declare by theſe wordes, ſaying: Now theſe two maners of Chriſtes preſence declared, which is by his maieſtie, prouidence, and grace now preſent in the world, which before his aſcenſiō was preſent in the fleſh, and being now placed at the right hand of the father, is abſent in the ſame from the worlde, I thinke (ſayth S. Auſtine) that there remayneth no other queſtion in this matter.

Philpot agaynſt Watſon.

Now, quoth Philpot, if S. Auſtine acknowledged no more preſence of Chriſte to be nowe on earth, but onely his diuine preſence, and touchyng his humanitie to be in heauen: we ought to confeſſe and beleue the ſame. But if we put a thirde preſence of Chriſt, that is, corporally to be preſent alwayes in the ſacrament of the aultar inuiſibly, accordyng to your ſuppoſitions, whereof S. Auguſtine maketh no mention at al in all his workes: you ſhall ſeeme to iudge that which S. Auguſtine dyd neuer comprehend.

Watſon.

Why, quoth Watſon, S. Auguſtine in the place by me alleged, maketh he not mention howe S. Steuen being in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion?

Philpot.

It is true, ſaid Philpot, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the ſcripture telleth, in the heauens being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the father. Further to this Watſon anſweared not.

D. Weſton.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furniſh vp an anſwere to S. Auguſtine, ſaying, that he is not nowe in the world, after that maner of bodyly preſence, but yet preſent for al that in his body.

Philpot replyeth to Weſton.

To whom Philpot anſweared, that the Prolocutor did grate much vpon this word Secundum, in S. Auguſtine, which ſignifieth after the maner, or in forme: but he dooth not anſwere to id quod, which is that thing or ſubſtance of Chriſt, in the which Chriſt ſuffred, aroſe, and aſcended into heauen: in the which thing and ſubſtance he is in heauen, and not on earth, as S. Auſtine in the place ſpecified moſt clearely doth define.

The Deane of Rocheſter.

Moreman.

To this nothing els being anſwered, the Deane of Rocheſter proceded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a booke of Annotatiōs, ſūdry authorities for the confirmation therof. To the which Moreman, who was appoynted to anſweare hym, made no direct anſweare, but bade him make an argumēt, ſaying that maſter Deane had recited many wordes of Doctors, but he made not one argument.

Then ſaid the Deane, the authorities of the Doctors by me rehearſed, be ſufficient argumēts to proue myne intent, to the which my deſire is to be anſwered of you. But ſtyll Moreman cryed, make an argument, to ſhift of the authoritie whiche he could not anſweare vnto. After this the Deane made this argument out of the inſtitution of the ſacrament: Do this in remembrance of me: and thus ye ſhal ſhewe forth the Lordes death vntyl he come.

Argument.

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: Ergo, the ſacrament is not very Chriſt: for yet he is not come. For theſe wordes, Vntyl he come, do plainly ſignifie the abſence of Chriſtes bodye. Then the Prolocutor went about to ſhewe that theſe wordes, vntyl he come, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of ſcripture, where, Donec, vntyl, was vſed in like ſenſe: but directly to the purpoſe he anſweared nothing.

Weſton anſwereth to the Argument.

Donec **in Scripture.**

M. Deanes queſtions.

In concluſion the Deane fell to queſtionyng ẘ Moreman, whether Chriſt did eate the Paſchal lambe with his diſciples, or no? He anſweared, yea. Further, he demaunded whether he eate likewiſe the ſacrament with them, as he dyd inſtitute it? Moreman anſwered, yea. Then he aſked what he dyd eate, and whether he eate his owne natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then ſaid the Deane, it is a great abſurditie by you graunted, and ſo he ſate downe.

Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eate his owne body.

Philpot.

Againſt this abſurditie Philpot ſtood vp and argued, ſaying, he could proue it by good reaſon deduced out of ſcripture, that Chriſt eate not his owne natural body at the inſtitution of the ſacrament: and the reaſon is this.

Argument.

Ba- Receiuyng of Chriſtes body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes with it annexed.

ro- Chriſt eating the ſacrament, had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſinne.

co. Ergo, Chriſt in the ſacrament dyd not eate his owne body.

Moreman denyeth the Sacrament to haue a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed vnto it.

To this reaſon Moreman anſweared, denying the former part of the argument, that the ſacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſinnes annexed vnto it.

Philpot.

Then Philpot ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the ſacrament: Which is geuen for you, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſinnes. But Moremā would not acknowledge that to be any promiſe, ſo that he droue Philpot to the ſixt of ſ. Ioh. to vouch this ſaying with theſe wordes: The bread which I wyl geue, is my fleſh, which I wyll geue for the life of the world.

Harpeſfield affirmeth that which his fellow denyed.

Moreman anſwering nothing directly to this argumēt, Harpſfield ſtart vp to ſupply that which wanted in his behalfe, and thinking to haue anſweared Philpot, confirmed more ſtrongly his argumēt, ſaying: ye miſtake ẏ promiſe which is annexed to ẏ body of Chriſt in ẏ ſacrament: for it perteyned not to Chriſt, but to his diſciples, to whō Chriſt ſaid: This is my body which is geuen for you, and not for Chriſt hym ſelfe.

Philpot.

You haue ſaid well for me, quoth Philpot, for that is myne argument. The promiſe of the body of Chriſt tooke no effect in Chriſt: Ergo, Chriſt eate not his owne body.

Then the Prolocutor to ſhoulder out the matter, ſaid, the argument was nought: For by the like argument he might go about to proue that Chriſt was not baptiſed, becauſe the remiſſion of ſinne, whiche is annexed vnto Baptiſme, tooke no effect in Chriſt. To the which Philpot replyed, that like as Chriſt was baptiſed, ſo he eate the ſacrament: but he tooke on hym Baptiſme, not that he had any neede therof, or that it tooke any effect in hym, but as our maſter, to geue the church an example to folowe hym in the miniſtration of the ſacrament, and thereby to exhibite vnto vs hym ſelfe, & not to geue hym ſelfe to hym ſelfe.

Weſton alſo is contrary to Moreman.

M. Philpots argument not ſolued.

No more was ſaid in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demaunded of Philpot, whether he woulde argue againſt the natural preſence, or no? To whom he anſwered, yea, if he would heare his argument without interruption, and aſſigne one to anſweare hym, & not many, whiche is a confuſion to the Opponent, & ſpecially for hym that was of an yl memory. By this time the night was come on: wherfore the Prolocutor brake vp the diſputation for that time, and appoynted Philpot to be the firſt that ſhould begyn the diſputation the next day after, concernyng the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The conuocation continued to the next day.

¶ The acte of the fourth day.

M. Philpot not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his declaration.

ON the wedneſday the .xxv. of Octob. Io. Philpot, as it was before appointed, was redy to haue entred the diſputation, myndyng firſt to haue made a certaine Oration, & a true declaration in Latine of the matter of Chriſtes preſence, which was then in queſtion. Which thyng the Prolocutor perceiuyng, by & by he forbade Philpot to make any Oration or declaration of any matter, commaunding hym alſo, that he ſhould make no argumēt in Latine, but to cōclude on his arguments in Engliſh.

D. Weſton contrary to his owne wordes.

Then ſaid Philpot, this is contrary to your order taken at the beginnyng of this diſputation. For then you appointed that al the arguments ſhould be made in Latine, & therupon I haue drawen & deuiſed al myne arguments in Latine. And becauſe you maſter Prolocutor, haue ſaid heretofore openly in this houſe, that I had no learnyng, I had thought to haue ſhewed ſuch learning as I haue, in a briefe Oration & ſhort declaration of the queſtions nowe in controuerſie: thinking it ſo moſt cōuenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe in my declaration, then ſhould ſtād with learnyng, or then I were able to warrant and iuſtifie by Gods word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the vnlearned ſort beyng preſent, might take the leſſe offence thereat. But this allegation preuayled nothyng with the Prolocutor, who bade hym ſtyll forme an argument in Engliſh, or els to holde his peace.

Then ſaide Philpot, you haue ſore diſappoynted me, thus ſodenly to go from your former order: but I wyll accompliſh your commaundement, leauyng myne Oration apart: and I wyll come to my argumentes, the whiche as well as ſo ſodaine a warnyng wyll ſerue, I wyll make in Engliſhe. But before I bring forth any argumēt, I wyl in one word declare what maner of preſence I diſallow in ẏ Sacramēt, to the entent ẏ hearers may ẏ better vnderſtād to what ende and effect myne argumentes ſhal tend: not to deny vtterly the preſence of Chriſt in his Sacrament truely miniſtred accordyng to his inſtitution, but onely to denye that groſſe & carnall preſence which you of this houſe haue alreadye ſubſcribed vnto, to be in the ſacrament of the aultar, contrary to the truth and manifeſt meanyng of the ſcriptures: that by Tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall bread and wyne, Chriſtes natural body ſhould by the vertue of the wordes pronounced by the Prieſte, be conteyned and included vnder the formes or accidences of bread and wyne. This kynd of preſence imagined by men, I doo denye, quoth Philpot, and againſt this I wyll reaſon. But before he coulde make an ende of that he would haue ſayde, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commaunded to deſcende to his argument. At whoſe vniuſt importunitie Philpot being offended, and thinkyng to purchaſe hym a remedie therfore, he fell downe vpon his knees before the Earles and Lordes, whiche were there preſent, beyng a great nūber: whereof ſome were of ẏ Queenes coūſayle, beſeeching them that he might haue libertie to proſecute his argumentes without interruption of any man: the which was gently graunted hym of the Lordes. But the Prolocutor puttyng in vre a poynt of the practiſe of Prelates, would not condeſcend therunto, but ſtyll cryed: hold your peace, or els make a ſhort argument. I am about it, quoth Philpot, if you would let me alone. But firſt I muſt nedes aſke a queſtion of my Reſpondēt (who was D. Chedſey) concernyng a word or twaine of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the ſacrament of the aultar, what he meaneth therby, and whether he take it as ſome of the auncient writers do,

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament diſtincted.

The true preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament not denyed.

The groſſe preſence of the Papiſtes denyed.

Philpot craueth of the Lordes to proſecute his argumentes without interruption.

Philpot agayn interrupted by the Prolocutor.

ſtl=

Altar diuerſly taken.

termyng the Lordes ſupper, the ſacrament of the altar, partly becauſe it is a ſacrament of that liuely ſacrifice whiche Chriſt offered for our ſinnes vpon the aultar of the Croſſe, and partly becauſe that Chriſtes body crucified for vs, was that bloudy ſacrifice whiche the bloudſheddyng of all the beaſtes offered vpon the aultar in the olde lawe, dyd prefigurate and ſignifie vnto vs: in ſignification whereof the olde writers ſometime do call the ſacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe therevnto the ſacrament of the altar: or whether you take it otherwiſe, as for the ſacramēt of the altar which is made of lyme and ſtone, ouer the whiche the ſacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the ſacrament of the maſſe, as it is at this preſent in many places. This done, I wyl direct mine argumentes accordyng as your aunſweare ſhall geue me occaſion.

Chadſey.

Then made D. Chedſey this anſwer, that in their ſuppoſition they tooke the ſacrament of the altar, & the ſacrament of the maſſe to be al one.

Then, quoth Philpot, I wyll ſpeake plaine Engliſhe, as maſter Prolocutor willeth me, and make a ſhort reſolution therof: that the ſacrament of the altar which ye reckon to be al one with the maſſe, once iuſtly aboliſhed, & now put in ful vſe agayne, is no ſacrament at al, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it: and this his ſaying he offred to proue before the whole houſe, if they liſted to call hym therevnto: and likewiſe offered to vouch the ſame before the Queenes grace and her moſt honorable Counſaile, before the face of ſixe of the beſt learned men of the houſe of the contrary opinion, & refuſed none. And if I ſhal not be able (quoth he) to mainteyne by Gods word, that I haue ſaid, & confounde thoſe ſixe which ſhall take vppon them to withſtand me in this poynt, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the Court gates. This he vttered with great vehemencie of ſpirite.

Philpots offer in the Conuocation houſe.

At this the Prolocutor with diuers other, were very much offended, demaundyng of hym whether he wyſt what he ſaid, or no? Yea, quoth Philpot, I wote well what I ſay: deſiring no man to be offended with his ſaying, for that he ſpake no more thē by Gods word he was able to proue. And prayſed be God, quoth he, that the Queenes grace hath granted vs of this houſe (as our Prolocutor hath informed vs) that we maye freely vtter our conſciences in theſe matters of controuerſie in Religion: and therefore I wyl ſpeake here my conſcience freely, grounded vpon Gods holy word for the truth, albeit ſome of you here preſent miſlike the ſame.

The Prolocutor threatneth Philpot.

Then diuers of the houſe beſide the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended hym for ſpeaking ſo vnfaringly againſt the ſacrament of the maſſe: and the Prolocutor ſaid he was mad, & threatned hym, that he would ſend hym to priſon, if he would not ceaſe his ſpeakyng.

Argumentum a loco topico carceris.

Philpot ſeeing hym ſelfe thus abuſed, and not permitted with free libertie to declare his mynd, fell into an exclamatiō, caſting his eyes vp towardes yͤ heauen, & ſaid: O Lord what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be ſpoken & abyden by? and for very ſorow & heauines the teares trickled out of his eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a briefe argument.

After this, the Prolocutor beyng moued by ſome that were about hym, was cōtent that he ſhould make an argument, ſo that he would be briefe therin. I wyl be as briefe, quoth Philpot, as I may cōueniently be in vtteryng al that I haue to ſay. And firſt I wyl begyn to ground myne argumentes vpon the authoritie of ſcriptures, wherupō al the buildyng of our faith ought to be grounded: and after I ſhal confirme the ſame by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occaſiō of my firſt argument out of the. 28. of Mathew, of the ſaying of the angel to the three Maryes ſekyng Chriſt at the ſepulchre, ſaying: He is riſen: he is not here: and in S. Luke in the. 23. chapt. the angel aſketh thē, why they ſought hym that lyueth, among the dead. Likewiſe the ſcripture teſtifieth that Chriſt is riſen, aſcended into heauen, & ſitteth on the right hand of the father: al the which is ſpoken of his natural body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the ſacrament.

Math. 28.
Luke 23.

Argument of M. Philpot.

John 16.

I wyl confirme this yet more effectually by the ſaying of Chriſt, in the. 16. of S. Iohn: I came (ſaith Chriſt) frō my father into the worlde, and now I leaue the worlde, and go away to my father. The which commyng and goyng he meant of his natural body. Therfore we may affirme therby, that it is not now in the world.

The blinde deſtinction of the Papiſtes. Viſibly. Inuiſibly.

But I looke here (quoth he) to be anſwearid with a blinde diſtinction of viſibly & inuiſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanitie, but inuiſibly he remayneth notwithſtandyng in the ſacrament. But that anſwer I preuēt my ſelf, that with more expedition I may deſcend to yͤ pyth of myne argumentes, wherof I haue a dozen to propoſe, and wyll proue that no ſuch diſtinction ought to take away the force of that argument by the anſwere which Chriſtes diſciples gaue vnto hym, ſpeakyng theſe wordes: Now thou ſpeakeſt plainely, and vttereſt forth no Prouerbe. Whiche wordes S. Cyril interpretyng, ſaith: That Chriſte ſpake without any maner of ambiguitie, or obſcure ſpeache. And therfore I cōclude hereby thus, that if Chriſt ſpake plainly & without parable, ſaying: I leaue the world now, and go away to my father, then that obſcure, darke, & imperceptible preſence of Chriſtes natural body to remayne in the ſacrament vpon earth inuiſibly, contrary to the plaine wordes of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed: For nothing can be more vncertaine, or more parabolicall & vnſenſible, then ſo to ſay. Here now wyl I attend what you wyl anſweare, & ſo deſcend to the confirmation of al that I haue ſaid, by auncient writers.

Cyrillus.

Chadſeyes anſwere to Philpot

Then D. Chedſey recityng his argument in ſuch order as it was made, tooke vpon hym to anſwere ſeuerally to euery part therfore on this wiſe. Firſt to yͤ ſaying of yͤ angel, That Chriſt is not here: And why ſeeke ye the liuyng among the dead? He anſwered, that theſe ſayinges perteyned nothing to the preſence of Chriſtes natural body in the ſacrament, but that they were ſpoken of Chriſtes body beyng in the ſepulchre when the three Maryes thought hym to haue ben in the graue ſtyl. And therfore the angell ſayde: Why do ye ſeeke hym that liueth, among the dead? And to the authoritie of the. 16. of Ioh. where Chriſt ſaith: Now I leaue the world, and go to my father, he meant that of his aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe dyd Cyril, interpretyng the ſayyng of the diſciples that knewe plainely that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into heauen, but that doth not exclude the inuiſible preſence of his natural body in the ſacrament. For S. Chryſoſtome writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirme the ſame, comparyng Helias and Chriſt together, and Helias cloke vnto Chriſtes fleſh. Helias (quoth he) when he was taken vp in the fiery chariot, leaſt his cloke behynde hym vnto his diſciple Heliſæus. But Chriſt aſcending into heauen, tooke his fleſh with hym, and left alſo his fleſh behind him. Wherby we may right wel gather, that Chriſtes fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heauen, and inuiſibly abydeth ſtyl in the ſacrament of the altar.

Chryſoſt. ad populum Antioch.

Philpot replyeth to Chadſey.

To this Philpot replyed, & ſaid, you haue not directly anſwered to the ſaying of the angel: Chriſt is riſen, & is not here, becauſe you haue omitted that which was the chiefeſt poynt of al. For (ſaid he) I proceeded further, as thus: He is riſen, aſcended, & ſitteth at the right hand of God the father: Ergo, he is not remaynyng on the earth. Neither is your anſwere to Cyril, by me alleged, ſufficient. But by & by I wyll returne to your interpretation of Cyril, and more playnly declare the ſame, after that I haue firſt refelled yͤ authoritie of Chryſoſtome, which is one of your chiefe Principles that you alleged to make for your groſſe carnal preſence in the ſacrament. Which beyng well weyed and vnderſtanded, perteyneth nothing therunto.

At that the Prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chiefe pyllers in this poynt ſhould be ouerthrowen, & therfore recited the ſayd authoritie in Latine firſt, & afterward Engliſhed the ſame, wyllyng all that were preſent, to note that ſaying of Chryſoſtome, whiche he thought inuincible on their ſide. But I ſhal make it appere, quoth Philpot, by & by to make litle for your purpoſe. And as he was about to declare his mynd in that behalfe, the Prolocutor dyd interrupt hym as he dyd almoſt continually. Wherwith Philpot not beyng content ſaid: Maſter Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a Sophiſtrie ſchoole, where he knoweth right well the maner is, that when the Reſpōdent perceyueth that he is like to be inforced with an argument to the which he is not able to anſwere, thē he doth what he can with cauillation & interruptiō to driue him from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was yl takē of the Prolocutor & his adherētes: & the Prolocutor ſayd, that Philpot could bring nothing to auoyd that authoritie, but his own vaine imaginatiō. Heare quoth Philpot, & afterward iudge. For I wil do in this as al other authorities wherewith you ſhal charge me in refellyng any of my argumentes that I haue to proſecute, anſwearing eyther vnto the ſame by ſufficient authorities of ſcripture, or els by ſome other teſtimonie of like authoritie to yours, & not of myne owne imagination: the which if I do, I wyl it to be of no credite. And concernyng the ſaying of Chryſoſtome, I haue two wayes to beat hym frō your purpoſe, the one out of ſcripture, the other of Chryſoſtome hym ſelfe, in the place here by you alleged.

Philpot agayne interrupted by the Prolocutor.

The place of Chriſoſtome of Chriſt taking vp his fleſh and leauing his fleſhe, anſwered to by Philpot.

Firſt, where he ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcendyng, tooke his fleſh with hym, and leaſt alſo his fleſhe behynde hym, truth it is: for we al do confeſſe & beleue that Chriſte tooke on hym our humaine nature in the virgine Maryes wombe, and through his paſſion in the ſame hath vnited vs to his fleſhe, and thereby are we become one fleſhe with him, ſo that Chryſoſtome might therfore right wel ſay, that

How Chriſt left his fleſh behinde hym.

Chriſt aſcendyng tooke his fleſhe which he receiued of the virgin Mary, away with him: and alſo left his fleſh behynd him, which are we that be his elect in this world, which are the members of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh: as very aptly S. Paule to the Epheſ. in the 5. chap. doth teſtifie ſaying: We are fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones. And if percaſe any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the Sacrament, ſo that this interpretation can not ſo aptly be applyed vnto hym in that place, then will I yet interprete Chriſoſtome an other way by himſelfe. For in that place a few lynes before thoſe woordes, whiche were here no rather read, are theſe wordes: that Chriſte after he aſcended into heauen, left vnto vs indued with hys ſacramentes, hys fleſh in myſteries, that is, ſacramentally. And that myſticall fleſh Chriſt leaueth as well to hys church in the ſacrament of Baptiſme, as in the ſacramentall bread & wyne. And that S. Paul iuſtly doth witnes, ſaying: As many of vs as are baptiſed in Chriſt, haue put vpō vs Chriſt. And thus you may vnderſtand that S. Chriſoſtome maketh nothyng for your carnall and groſſe preſence in the ſacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Ephe. 5.

Chryſoſtome expounded by Chriſoſtome.

Gal. 3.

Now in this meane while M. Pye rounded the Prolocutor in the eare to put Philpot to ſilence and to appoynt ſome other, miſtruſting leſt he would ſhrodely ſhake theyr carnall preſence in concluſion, if he held on long, ſeyng in the beginnyng he gaue one of their cheefe foundations ſuche a plucke. Then the Prolocutor ſayd to Philpot, that hee had reaſoned ſufficiently enough, and that ſome other ſhould now ſupply his roome. Wherwith he was not well content, ſaying: why ſir, I haue a doſen Argumentes concernyng this matter to be propoſed, and I haue not yet ſcarce ouergone my firſt Argument: for I haue not brought in any confirmation therof out of any auncient writer (wherof I haue for the ſame purpoſe many) being hytherto ſtyll letted by your ofte interrupting of me.

Weſton.

Wel, quoth the Prolocutor, you ſhal ſpeake no more now, & I cōmaund you to hold your peace. You perceiue, quoth Philpot, that I haue ſtuffe enough for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therfore you cōmaund me to ſilence. If you wyl not geue place, quoth the Prolocutor, I wyll ſend you to priſon. This is not, quoth Philpot, according to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet according to your bragge made at Paules Croſſe, that men ſhould be anſwered in this diſputation, to whatſoeuer they can ſay, ſince you wyl not ſuffer me of a doſen argumentes to proſecute one.

A good ſolution for all his argumentes.

Thē M. Pie toke vpō him to promiſe that he ſhould be anſwered an other day. Philpot ſeing he might not proceede in his purpoſe, being therwith iuſtly offended, ended, ſaying thus: A ſort of you here, which hitherto haue lurked in corners, & diſſembled w^t^ God & the world, are now gathered together to ſuppreſſe ẏ ſincere truth of gods holy word, & to ſet forth euery falſe deuiſe, which by the Catholike doctrine of the ſcripture ye are not able to mainteine.

Then ſtepped forth M. Elmar Chapleine to the Duke of Suffolke: whom M. Moreman tooke vpon him to anſweare. Agaynſt whō M. Elmar obiected diuers and ſundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he toke the day before in hand to proue, that ὀυσία in the ſentēce of Theodoret brought in by M. Cheyney, muſt nedes ſignifie ſubſtāce, & not accidence. Whoſe reaſons & approbatiōs, becauſe they were al grounded & brought out of the Greke I do paſſe ouer, for that they want ther grace in Engliſhe, & alſo their proper vnderſtanding. But his allegations ſo incōbred M. Moremā, ẏ he deſired a day to ouerview thē, for at that inſtant he was without a conuenient anſweare.

M. Elmar agayne ſteppeth forth.

ὀυσία.

Moreman deſireth a day to imagine ſome craſty ſhifte.

Then did the Prolocutor cal M. Haddō Deane of Exeter, & Chapleine to the Duke of Suffolke, who proſecuted Theodoretes authoritie in confirming M. Elmars argument. To whō D. Watſon tooke vpō him to geue anſwer: who after long talke was ſo cōfounded, that he was not able to anſwere to the worde Myſterium. But for as much as he ſeemed to doubt therein, M. Haddon tooke out of his boſome a Latine author to confirme his ſaying, & ſhewed the ſame to M. Watſon, aſking him whether he thought ẏ trāſlation to be true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There maye be a fault in the Printer, quoth Watſon, for I am not remēbred of this word. Then did maiſter Haddon take out of his boſome a Greke booke, wherein he ſhewed forth with his finger the ſame wordes, which M. Watſon could not deny. His argumentes further I omit to declare at large, because they wer for the moſt part in Greke, about the bolting out of the true ſignification of ὀυσία.

Watſon confounded by M. Haddon.

M. Watſon for a bare ſhift putteth a fault in the Printer.

Thē ſtept forth M. Perne, & in argument made declaration of his minde againſt tranſubſtantiation, & confirmed the ſayings & authorities alleged by M. Elmar & M. Haddon. To whō the Prolocutor anſwered, ſaying: I much marueil, maſter Perne, that you wyll ſay thus, for ſo muche as on frydaye laſt you ſubſcribed to the contrary. Which his ſaying maſter Elmar did miſlike, ſaying to the Prolocutor that he was to blame ſo to reprehend any man, partly for that this houſe (quoth he) is an houſe of free libertie for euery man to ſpeake his cōſcience, and partly for that you promiſed yeſter day that notwithſtanding any man had ſubſcribed, yet he ſhould haue free libertie to ſpeake his mind. And for that the night did approche, and the time was ſpent, the Prolocutor geuing them praiſes for their learning, did yet notwithſtanding conclude, that all reaſoning ſet apart, the order of the holy church muſt be receiued, & all things muſt be ordered therby.

M. Pearne agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

D. Weſton prayſeth their learning to flater them, but he aunſwereth not their argumentes.

¶The acte of the fift day.

October 17.

On frydaye the 27. of Octob. D. Weſton the Prolocutor did firſt propound the matter, ſhewing that the Cōuocation had ſpent two dayes in diſputation already about one only doctor, which was Theodoret, & about one only word, which was ὀυσία. yet were they come the third day to anſwer al things that could be obiected, ſo that they would ſhortly put out their argumēts. So M. Haddon Deane of Exeter, deſired leaue to appoſe M. Watſon, which with .ij. other mo, that is, Morgan & Harpſfield, was appointed to anſweare. M. Haddō demaūded this of him, whether any ſubſtāce of bread or wine did remaine after the cōſecration. Thē M. Watſō aſked of him againe, whether he thought there to be a real preſence of Chriſts body or no? M. Haddō ſaid, it was not meete nor orderlike, that he which was appointed to be Reſpondēt, ſhould be Opponent, & he whoſe duetie was to obiect, ſhould anſwer. Yet M. Watſon a long while would not agree to anſwere, but that thing firſt being granted hym. At laſt an order was ſet, & maſter Haddon had leaue to go forward with his argument.

M. Haddon Deane of Exeter diſputeth agaynſt M. Watſon, Morgan, & Harpſfield.

Then he proued by Theodorets wordes, a ſubſtance of bread & wine to remaine. For theſe are his wordes: The ſame they were before the ſanctificatiō, which they are after. M. Watſon ſaid, that Theodoret meant not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. Wherupon they were driuē againe vnto the diſcuſſing of the Greke woord ὀυσία, and maſter Haddon proued it to meane a ſubſtance, both by the Etimologie of the word, and by the wordes of the Doctor. For ὀυσία (quoth he) cōmeth of the Participle ὤν, which deſcēdeth of the verbe εἰμὶ, & ſo commeth the noune ὀυσία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance.

The wordes of Theodoretus alleaged.

A Popiſh diſtinction betwene ſubſtāce & eſſēce.

Then maſter Watſon anſweared that it had not that ſignificatiō only. But M. Haddō proued that it muſt needes ſo ſignifie in that place. Then he aſked Watſon when the bread & wyne became Symboles? Whereunto he anſwered: after the conſecration and not before. Then gathered M. Haddon this reaſon out of his author.

Da- The ſame thing, ſaith Theodoret, that the bread and wyne were before they were Symboles, the ſame they remaine ſtyl in nature and ſubſtance, after they are Symboles.

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

ſi. Therfore bread and wine they are after.

Argument of M. Haddon.

Thē maſter Watſon fel to the denyal of the author, and ſaid he was a Neſtorian: & he deſired that he might anſwer to maſter Cheyney, which ſtoode by, for that he was more meete to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed vnto the real preſence. M. Cheyny deſired patience of the honorable men to heare hym, truſting that he ſhould ſo open the matter, that the veritie ſhould appeare: proteſting furthermore, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubburne man, but would be conformable to al reaſon: & if they by their learnyng, which he acknowledged to be much more then his, could anſwere his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, & ſay as they ſaid: for he would be no authour of ſchiſme, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Chriſts ſpouſe. Doctor Weſton liked this wel, & cōmended him highly, ſaying that he was a wel learned and a ſober man, and well exerciſed in all good lernyng, and in the Doctors, and finally a man meete for his knowledge to diſpute in that place: I pray you heare hym, quoth he. Then maſter Cheyny deſired ſuch as there were preſent to pray two wordes with hym vnto God, and to ſay, Vincat veritas, Let the veritie take place, and haue the victorie: and all that were preſent cryed with a loude voyce, Vincat veritas, vincat veritas.

Watſon is driuen to a ſhamefull ſhift, to deny the author when he can not aunſwere.

M. Cheyny.

M. Cheynes prayer.

Then ſaid Doct. Weſton to hym, that it was hypocriticall. Men may better ſay (quoth he) Vicit veritas, Truth hath gotten the victorie. Maſter Cheyny ſaid againe, if he woulde geue hym leaue, he woulde bryng it to that poynte

Weſton.

that he might wel ſay ſo.

M. Cheyny and Watſon diſputeth.

Then he beganne with M. Watſon after this ſort: you ſaid, that M. Haddon was vnmeete to diſpute, becauſe he graunteth not the natural & real preſence: but I ſay you are much more vnmeete to anſweare, becauſe you take awaye the ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

M. Haddon chalenged for ſubſcribing to the reall preſence.

M. Watſon ſaid, he had ſubſcribed, to the real preſence, & ſhould not go away from that. So ſaid Weſton alſo and the reſt of the Prieſtes, in ſo much that for a great while he could haue no leaue to ſay any more, tyll the Lordes ſpake, and willed that he ſhould be hearde.

Then he told them what he meant by his ſubſcribyng to the real preſence, far otherwiſe then they ſuppoſed. So then he went forward and proſecuted M. Haddons argument in prouing that οὐσία was a ſubſtāce, vſing the ſame reaſon that M. Haddon did before hym: and when he had receiued the ſame anſwere alſo that was made to M. Haddon, he ſaid it was but a lewde refuge, when they could not anſwere, to deny the Author, & proued the author to be a catholike doctor: and that being proued, he cōfirmed that was ſaid of the nature & ſubſtance, further. The ſimilitude of Theodoret is this quoth he: As the token of Chriſtes body & bloud after the inuocation of the prieſt, do chāge their names, & yet continue the ſame ſubſtaunce, ſo the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion changed his name, & was called immortal, yet had it his former faſhion, figure, & circūſcription, & to ſpeake at one word, the ſame ſubſtāce of his body. Therfore ſaid M. Cheyney, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you deny the ſame ſubſtance to cōtinue, thē in the latter part of the ſimilitude which agreeth with it, I wyll deny the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion to haue the former nature & ſubſtāce. But that wer a great hereſie: therfore it is alſo a great hereſie to take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine after the ſanctification.

The argument of Theodoret renued by M. Cheyny.

Thē was M. Watſon enforced to ſay, that the ſubſtāce of the body in the former part of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignifie quantitie & other accidents of the ſacramentall tokens which be ſeene, & not the very ſubſtance of the ſame: and therfore Theodoret ſaith: Quæ videntur. &c. that is, Thoſe things which be ſene. For according to Philoſophie, ẏ accidents of things be ſene, & not the ſubſtances.

M. Cheyny appealed to the Lordes.

Then M. Cheyney appealed to the honorable men, & deſired that they ſhould geue no credite vnto thē in ſo ſaying: for if they ſhould ſo thinke as they would teach, after their Lordſhips had ridden fourty myles on horſebacke (as their buſines doth ſometyme require) they ſhould not be able to ſay at night, that they ſaw their horſes al the day, but only the colour of their horſes: & by his reaſon Chriſt muſt go to ſchole and learne of Ariſtotle to ſpeake. For when he ſaw Nathanael vnder the figge tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtand by, he would haue ſaid no Chriſt, thou ſaweſt not hym, but the colour of hym. After this Watſon ſaid, what if it were graunted that Theodoret was on the other ſide? wher as they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other ſide.

Morgan is called for to helpe at a pinch.

Then the Prolocutor called for M. Morgan to helpe: and ſaid, that Theodoret did not more then he might lawfully do. For firſt he graunted the truth, and then for feare of ſuche as were not fully inſtructed in the faith, he ſpake, αἰνιγματικῶς, that is, couertly, & in a myſterie: and this was lawful for hym to do. For firſt he grãted the truth, & called thē the body of Chriſt, & the bloud of Chriſt. Then afterward he ſeemed to geue ſomewhat to the ſenſes and to reaſon: but that Theodoret is of the ſame mind that they were of, the wordes folowing, quoth he, do declare. For that which foloweth, is a cauſe of that which went before, and therfore he ſaith: The immortalitie &c. Wherby it doth appeare, that he meant the diuine nature, & not the humane. Then was Morgā takē with miſalleging of the text. For the booke had not this word (for.) For the Greke word did rather ſignifie (truely) & not (for) ſo that it might manifeſtly appeare that it was the beginnyng of a newe matter, & not a ſentence rendring a cauſe of that he had ſaid before.

Morgan is taken with falſe alleging of the texte.

Thē was it ſaid by Watſon againe: Suppoſe that Theodoret be with you, whiche is one that we neuer hearde of printed, but two or three yeares ago: yet he is but one, and what is one againſt the whole conſent of the church? After this M. Cheyney inferred, that not onely Theodoret was of that mynd, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine doo remaine, but diuers other alſo, & ſpecially Irenæus, who making mention of this ſacrament, ſaith thus: When the cup whiche is myngled with wyne, and the bread that is broken, do receiue the word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the body and bloud of Chriſt, by the which the ſubſtaance of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt. If the thankes geuing do nouriſhe our body, then there is ſome ſubſtaunce beſides Chriſtes body.

Irenæus Lib. 5. contra Valencium.

Watſon.

To the which reaſon both Watſon and Morgan anſweared, that Ex quibus, By the which, in the ſentence of Ireneus was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and bloud of Chriſt, and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

M. Cheyny.

Maiſter Cheyney replyed, that it was not the body of Chriſt which noriſhed our bodyes. And let it be that Chriſtes fleſh nouriſh to immortalitie, yet it doth not anſweare that argument, although it be true, no more then that anſweare which was made to my allegation out of S. Paul: The bread which we breake. &c. & certayn other like: wherunto you anſweared, that bread was not taken there in his proper ſignification, but for that it had bene: no more then the rod of Aaron which was taken for the ſerpent, becauſe it had bene a ſerpent. After this M. Cheyney brought in Heſychius, and vſed the ſame reaſon that he dyd of the cuſtome of burnyng of Symboles, and he aſked them what was burnt. M. Watſon ſaide, we muſte not enquire nor aſke, but if there were any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid M. Cheyney, wherof came thoſe aſhes? not of a ſubſtance? or can any ſubſtance aryſe of accidents?

Harpeſfield called in to helpe Watſon.

Here is goodly ſtuffe, as if it were out of the Legend of Lyes.

Then was M. Harpſfield called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. Who told a fayre tale of the omnipotencie of God, and of the imbecillity and weaknes of mans reaſons not able to attaine to godly things. And he ſaid, that it was conuenient what ſoeuer we ſaw, feale, or taſted, not to truſt our ſenſes. And he told a tale out of S. Cyprian, how a woman ſaw the ſacrament burnyng in her coffer, & that which burned there, quoth Harpſfield, burneth here, & becommeth aſhes. But what that was that burnt, he coulde not tell. But M. Cheyney continued ſtyll, & forced them with this queſtion, what it was that was burnt? It was either (ſaid he) the ſubſtance of bread, or els the ſubſtaunce of the body of Chriſt, which were too much abſurditie to graunt. At length they anſweared, that it was a myracle. Whereat M. Cheyney ſmiled, & ſayd, that he could then ſay no more.

Weſton would know whether they were ſufficiently aunſwered, when he and his had aunſwered no argument.

M. Philpot.

Marke Weſtons impudencie.

Then D. Weſton aſked of the company there, whether thoſe men were ſufficiently anſweared, or no? Certayne Prieſtes cryed: yea, but they were not heard at al, for the great multitude which cryed, No, no. Which cry was heard & noyſed almoſt to the end of Paules. Wherat D. Weſton beyng much moued, anſweared bytterly, that he aſked not the iudgment of the rude multitude & vnlearned people, but of them which were of the houſe. Then aſked he of maſter Haddon & his felowes, whether they would anſwere them other three dayes. Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar ſaid, No. But the Archdeacon of Wincheſter ſtood vp and ſaid, that they ſhould not ſay but they ſhould be anſweared, & though al other dyd refuſe to anſweare, yet he would not, but offered to anſweare thē al, one after an other: with whoſe proffer the Prolocutor was not contented, but rayled on hym, & ſaid that he ſhould go to Bedlem. To whom the Archdeacon ſoberly made this anſweare: that he was more worthy to be ſent thyther, who vſed hym ſelf ſo ragingly in that diſputation, without any indifferent equalitie. Then roſe D. Weſton vp, and ſaid.

A ſtrong argument of Weſton.

Where he is not able to aunſwere he would out face.

Al the cōpany hath ſubſcribed to our Article, ſauing only theſe men which you ſee. What their reaſons are, you haue heard. We haue anſweared them three dayes, vpon promiſe (as it pleaſed hym to deſcant, without truth, for no ſuche promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwere vs againe as lōg (as ẏ order of diſputation doth require:) and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them ſo do.

M. Elmars reaſons why they would not aunſwere.

Then M. Elmar ſtood vp and proued how vaine a man Weſton was: for he affirmed that they neuer promiſed to diſpute, but only to open & teſtifie to the world their conſciences: For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, & ſaid that they would ſhew good reaſons which moued them that they could not with their conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly already done, and were able to do more ſufficiently: therfore (quoth he) it hath bene yl called a diſputation, and they worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to diſpute, nor now meane not to anſweare, before our argumentes (quoth he) which we haue to propound, be ſolued, according as it was appointed: For by anſwering we ſhould but inconuict our ſelues, and profite nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed vpon & determined, what ſoeuer we ſhall proue or diſpute to the contrary.

¶ The acte of the ſixt day.

The vi. Acte or Seſſion.

ON Monday folowing, beyng the. xxx. of October, the Prolocutor demaunded of Iohn Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter, whether he would anſwere in the queſtions before propounded to their obiections, or no? To whom he made this anſweare, that he would willyngly ſo doo if according to their former determination, they woulde firſt aunſweare ſufficiently to ſome of his argumentes as they had promiſed to do: whereof he had a dozen, not halfe of the firſt being yet decided: and if they woulde aunſweare fully and ſufficiently but to one of his Argumentes, he promiſed that he would anſweare all the obiections that they ſhould bring.

Philpot.

Then the Prolocutor bade hym propounde his Argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſweared by one of them: whereunto M. Morgan was appoynted. Upon wedneſday laſt (quoth he) I was inforced to ſilence before I had proſecuted halfe of myne argument: the ſumme whereof was this (as was gathered by the iuſt context of the ſcripture) that the humane body of Chriſt was aſcended into heauen, and placed on the right hand of God the father: wherfore it could not be ſituate vpon earth in the ſacrament of the aultar, inuiſible after the imagination of men. The argument was denied by Morgan. For the proufe wherof, Philpot ſaid, that this was it wherwith he had to confirme his firſt argument, if they would haue ſuffered hym the other day, as now he truſted they would.

Argument.

Fe- One ſelfe and ſame nature (quoth he) receiueth not in it ſelfe any thing that is contrary to it ſelfe.
ri- But the bodye of Chriſte is an humane nature, diſtinct from the deitie, and is a proper nature of it ſelfe.
o. Ergo, it can not receiue any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from it ſelfe.

But bodyly to be preſent, and bodyly to be abſent, to be on earth, and to be in heauen, and al at one preſent tyme, be thinges contrary to the nature of an humane body: Ergo, it can not be ſaid of the humane body of Chriſt, that the ſelfe ſame body is both in heauen and alſo in earth at one inſtāt, either viſibly or inuiſibly.

Morgan.

Here is a newe euaſion inuented by Morgan who dare not playnly deny Vigilius authoritie, but vnder a colour.

Morgan denyed the Maior, that is, the firſt part of the argumēt. The which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius an auncient writer. But Morgan cauilled that it was no ſcripture, and bade hym proue the ſame out of ſcripture.

One body can not be at once in diuers places.

Philpot ſaid, he could alſo ſo doo, and right well deduce the ſame out of S. Paul, who ſaith, that Chriſt is like vnto vs in al poyntes, except ſinne: and therfore like as one of our bodyes can not receiue in it ſelfe any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paules Church and at Weſtminſter at one inſtant, or to be at London viſibly, & at Lincolne inuiſibly at one tyme. For that is ſo contrary to the nature of a body, and of al creatures (as Didimus and Baſilius doo affirme) that an inuiſible creature, as an Angell, can no be at one tyme in diuers places: wherfore he concluded, that the body of Chriſt might not be in moe places thē in one, which is in heauen, and ſo cōſequently, not to be cōteyned in the ſacrament of the altar.

Weſton.

Chriſt after his incarnation, was in all pointes lyke man, ſinne onely except.

To this the Prolocutor tooke vpon hym to anſweare, ſaying, that it was not true that Chriſt was like vnto vs in all poyntes, as Philpot tooke it, except ſinne: For that Chriſt was not conceyued by the ſeede of man, as we be.

Wherunto Philpot againe replyed, that Chriſtes conception was propheſied before by the angel to be ſupernatural, but after he had receiued our nature by the operation of the holy ghoſt in the virgins wombe, he became in al points like vnto vs, except ſinne.

Morgan.

Philpot.

Actes. 3.

Thē Morgan inferred that this ſaying of Paul did not plainly proue his purpoſe. Wel, quoth Philpot, I perceyue that you do anſwere but by cauillation: yet am I not deſtitute of other ſcriptures to confirme my firſt argument, although you refuſe the probation of ſo ancient & catholique a doctor as Vigilius is. S. Peter in the ſermō that he made in the third of the Actes, making mention of Chriſt, ſayth theſe wordes: Whom heauen muſt receyue, vntyll the conſummation of al thinges. &c. Which wordes are ſpoken of his humanitie. If heauen muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on earth in the ſacrament, as is pretended.

Harpſfield ſteppeth in.

Then Morgan laughing at this, and geuing no direct anſwere at al, Harpſfield ſtood vp, being one of the Biſhop of Londons Chaplaynes, and tooke vpon hym to anſweare to the ſaying of ſaint Peter, & demaunded of Philpot, whether he woulde, Ex neceſſitate, that is, of neceſſitie force Chriſt to any place, or no?

Philpot.

Philpot ſaid, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of neceſſitie to any place, then he is taught by the wordes of the holy ghoſt, which ſound thus: that Chriſtes humane body muſt abide in heauen, vntyl the day of iudgement, as I rehearſed out of the chapt. before mentioned.

Harpſfield.

Why, quoth Harpſfield, do you not know that Chriſt is God omnipotent? yes, ſaid Philpot, I know that right wel, neyther doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotencie. But of Chriſtes omnipotencie what he may doo, is not our queſtion, but rather what he dooth. I knowe he may make a ſtone in the wall, a man, if he lyſt, and alſo that he may make mo worldes: but doth he therfore ſo? It were no good conſequent ſo to conclude: he may do this or that, therfore he doth it.

Ba- Onely ſo much is to be beleued of Gods omnipotencie, as is in the word expreſſed.
ro- That Chriſtes body is both in heauen & here alſo really in the ſacrament, is not expreſſed in the word:
co. Ergo, It is not to be beleued that the body of Chriſt beyng in heauen, is here alſo really in the ſacrament.

If Weſton charge them for priſoning Chriſt in heauen, how much more may they charge the Papiſtes for priſoning Chriſt in a boxe.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, then you wyl put Chriſt in priſon in heauen. To the which Philpot anſweared: do you recken heauē to be a priſon? God graunt vs al to come to that priſon.

After this, Harpſfield inferred that this word Oportet in S. Peter, which ſignifieth in Engliſh muſt, did not import ſo much as I would inferre of neceſſitie, as by other places of ſcripture it may appeare: as in the firſt to Timothy where Paul ſaith: Oportet Epiſcopum eſſe vnius vxoris virum: A Biſhop muſt be the husband of one wife. Here quoth he, Oportet doth not import ſuch a neceſſity, but that he that neuer was marryed may be a Biſhop.

M. Philpot.

Oportet how it is taken diuerſly in Scripture.

To this Philpot ſaid agayne, that the places were not like which he went about to compare: and that in comparing of ẏ ſcriptures we muſt not conſider ẏ naked wordes, but the meanyng rather of the Scriptures: for that in the place by hym alleged, ſaint Paul doth declare of what qualitye a biſhop ought to be. But in the other ſ. Peter teacheth vs the place wher Chriſt muſt neceſſaryly be vntyl the end of the world: which we ought to beleue to be true. And this compariſon of this word Oportet, doth no more anſweare myne argument, then if I would ſay of you nowe beyng here, Oportet te hic eſſe, you muſt needes be here: which importeth ſuch neceſſity for the tyme, that you can none otherwiſe be but here, & yet you would go about in wordes to auoyde this neceſſity with an other Oportet, in an other ſenſe, as this: Oportet te eſſe virum bonum, you muſt be a good man: where Oportet doth not in very deede conclude any ſuch neceſſitie, but that you may be an euyl man. Thus you may ſee that your anſweare is not ſufficient, and as it were no anſweare to myne argument.

Weſton.

Then the Prolocutor brought in an other Oportet, to helpe this matter (if it might be) ſaying: what ſay you to this: Oportet hæreſes eſſe, muſt hereſies nedes be therfore becauſe of this word Oportet?

Philpot.

Yea truely, quoth Philpot, it can not otherwiſe be, if you wyl adde that which foloweth immediatly vpō theſe wordes of Paul, that is, Vt qui electi ſunt manifeſtentur, that is, That ſuchē as be the electe of God, may be manifeſted and knowen.

Weſton.

Philpot.

Weſton.

Philpot.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the tyme hath bene that no hereſies were. I know no ſuch tyme, quoth Philpot. For ſince the tyme of Abel & Cain, hereſies haue ben, and then began they. Then ſaid the Prolocutor, wyl you nowe anſwere Morgan an argument or two? I wyl, quoth Philpot, if I may firſt be anſweared to myne argument any thyng according to truth & to learnyng. What, quoth the Prolocutor, you wyl neuer be anſweared. How I am anſweared, quoth Philpot, let all men that are here preſent, iudge: and ſpecially ſuch as be learned, and with what cauillations you haue dalyed with me.

Firſt to the ancient authority of Vigilius, you haue anſweared nothing at all, but onely denying it to be ſcripture, that he ſaith. Secondly, to the ſaying of S. Peter in the Actes, ye haue anſwered thus, demaundyng of me whether I would keepe Chriſt in priſon, or no. Let men now iudge if this be a ſufficient anſweare, or no.

Morgan.

Then ſtood Morgan vp agayne, & aſked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the vniuerſal Church, or no.

Philpot.

Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholike church. And ſith you ſpeake ſo much of the church, I would fayne that you would declare what the church is.

Morgan.

Philpot.

The church, quoth Morgan, is diffuſed & diſperſed thorow out the whole world. That is a diffuſe definitiō, quoth Philpot: for I am yet as vncertain as I was before, what you meane by the church. But I knowledge no church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods word, as S. Paul ſaith: Vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and vpon the Scriptures of God.

Moreman. Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What, quoth Moreman, was the ſcripture before the church? yea, quoth Philpot. But I wyl proue nay, quoth Moreman, & I wyl begin at Chriſtes tyme. The Church of Chriſt was before any ſcripture written. For Mathew was the firſt that wrote the goſpel, about a dozen yeres after Chriſt: Ergo, the church was before the ſcripture.

To whom Philpot anſwearing, denyed this argument. Which when Moreman could not proue, Philpot ſhewed that his argument was Elenchus or a fallace, that is, a deceiuable argument. For he tooke the Scripture onely to be that whiche is written by men in letters, where as in very deede all Prophecye vttered by the ſpirite of God,

1553.

Scripture conſiſteth not onely in letters but is that which is inſpired in the hartes of good men by the holy ghoſt.

Philpot.

was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and incke, for that it was written in the harts, and grauen in the myndes, yea, and inſpired in the mouthes of good men, and of Chriſtes Apoſtles by the ſpirite of Chriſt: As the ſalutation of the Aungel was the Scripture of Chriſt, and the word of God before it was written. At that Moreman cried, fye, fye: wondryng that the Scripture of GOD ſhould be counted Scripture, before it was written, and affirmed that he had no knowledge that ſo ſayd.

To whom Philpot aunſwered, that concernyng knowledge in this behalfe, for the triall of the truth about the queſtions in controuerſie, hee would wiſhe hymſelfe no worſe matched then with Moreman.

Weſton.

Weſton rayleth agaynſt Philpot, to bee a madde man.

At the which ſaying, the Prolocutor was greuouſly offended, ſaying that it was arrogantly ſpoken of hym, that would compare with ſuch a worſhypfull learned man as Moreman was, being himſelfe a man vnlearned, yea a mad man, meeter to be ſent to Bedlem, then to be among ſuch a ſort of learned and graue men as there were, and a mā that neuer would be aunſwered, and one that troubled the whole houſe: and therfore he dyd commaunde him that he ſhould come no more into the houſe, demaunding of the houſe whether they would agree thereupon or no. To whom a great number aunſwered, yea. Thē ſayd Philpot agayne, that he might thinke himſelfe happy, that was out of that cōpany.

Philpot cōmaunded to come in a long gowne and a tippet, or els to come no more to the Cōuocation.

After this Morgan roſe vp and rounded the Prolocutor in the eare. And then agayne the Prolocutor ſpake to Philpot and ſayd, leſt you ſhould ſclaunder the houſe, and ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare your mynde, we are content you ſhall come into the houſe as you haue done before, ſo that you be apparelled with a longe gowne and a Tippet as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeake, but when I commaunde you. Then quoth Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

December.

Thus they reaſonyng to and fro, at length about the 13. of December, Queene Mary, to take vp the matter, ſendeth her commaundement to Boner Byſhop of London, that he ſhould diſſolue and breake vp the conuocation. The copy of which commaundement here foloweth.

¶The precept of the Queene to Boner Byſhop of London, for the diſſoluyng of the foreſayd Conuocation.

Q. Mary breaketh vp the Cōuocation.

MAria, &c. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri & domino, domino Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem. Cum præſens conuocatio Cleri Cantuarienſis prouinciæ, apud Sanctum Paulum London, iam modo tenta & inſtans exiſtit, certis tamen vrgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter mouentibus, de aduiſamento Conſilij noſtri ipſam præſentem conuocationem duximus diſſoluendam: Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd eandem præſentem conuocationem apud Sanctum Paulum predictum debito modo abſque aliqua dilatione diſſoluatis, diſſoluiue faciatis prout conuenit, ſignificātes ex parte noſtra vniuerſis & ſingulis Epiſcopis, nec nō Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus alijs perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunq; dictæ Cantuarienſis Prouinciæ quorum intereſt vel intereſſe poterit, quod ipſi & eorū quilibet huic mandato noſtro exequendo intendentes ſint & obedientes prout decet. Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſterium. 13. die Decembris, Anno regni noſtri primo.

This Lord Courtney was ſonne to the Marques of Exceter.

Steuen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter made Lord Chauncellor of England.

The Lord Courtney made Earle of Deuonſhyre.

In the dayes of kyng Henry, and alſo of kyng Edward raignyng after him, diuers noble men, Byſhops and other, were caſt into the Tower, ſome charged with treaſon, as Lord Courtney and the duke of Northfolke (whoſe ſonne Lord Henry Earle of Surrey had bene the ſame tyme beheaded, a worthy and ingenious Gentlemā, for what cauſe, or by whō, I haue not heare to deale: this is certaine, ỳ not many yeares after his death folowed the beheadyng of both the Lord Semers, and at laſt of the Duke of Northumberland alſo) ſome for the popes ſupremacie, and ſuſpicious letters tendyng to ſedition, as Tonſtall Byſhop of Durham, and other for other thynges: all which continued there priſoners till Queene Maryes commyng in. Unto whom the ſayd Queene eftſoones graunted their pardon, and reſtored thē to their former dignities. Amōgeſt whō alſo was Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe not onely freed out of captiuitie, but alſo aduaunced him to be hygh Chauncellour of England. Furthermore to the Lord Courtney ſhe ſhewed ſuch fauour, that ſhe made hym Earle of Deuonſhyre: in ſomuch that there was a ſuſpition amongeſt many, that ſhe would marry him, but that proued otherwiſe.

Good Byſhops diſplaced.

Popiſh Prelates intruded by Q. Mary.

The ſame tyme Boner alſo had bene priſoner in the Marſhalſey, whom likewiſe Queene Mary deliuered and reſtored to the Byſhopricke of London agayne, diſplacyng Doct. Ridley, with diuers other good Byſhops moe, as is aboue mentioned, as Crāmer from Canterbury, the Archbyſhop of Yorke likewiſe, Poynet from Wincheſter, Iohn Hooper from Worceſter, Barlow from Bath, Harſey from Hereford, Taylour from Lyncolne, Ferrar from S. Dauids, Couerdale from Exceſter, Scory from Chicheſter, &c. with a great number of Archdeacons, Deanes, and briefly all ſuch beneficed men, whiche either were maryed, or would conſtauntly adhere to their profeſſion. All whiche were remoued from theyr lyuynges and other of the contrary Secte ſet in the ſame, as Cardinall Poole (who was then ſent for) Gardiner, Heath, Whyte, Day, Troubleſield. &c.

Cranmer with Peter Martyr, and iiii. other, offer to defend the cauſe of their doctrine againſt all men

And as touchyng Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, for ſomuch as there was a rumour ſpread of him the ſame tyme at Londō that he had recanted, and cauſed Maſſe to be ſayd at Caunterbury, for purgyng of hymſelfe he publiſhed abroad a declaration of his truth and conſtācie in that behalfe, proteſtyng that he neither had ſo done, nor mynded ſo to do: Addyng moreouer, that if it would ſo pleaſe the Queene, he with Peter Martyr, and certaine other whom he would chuſe, would in open diſputation ſuſtaine the cauſe of the doctrine taught and ſet forth before in the tyme of kyng Edward, agaynſt all perſons whom ſoeuer. But while he was in expectation to haue this diſputation obtained, he with other Byſhops were layd faſt in the Tower, & Peter Martyr permitted to depart the Realme, and ſo went he to Argentine.

Nouember.

D. Cranmer with the Lady Iane arrayned of treaſon in the Guild hall.

Archbyſhop Cranmer quitte of treaſon.

After this, in the moneth of Nouember, the Archbyſhop Cranmer, notwithſtandyng he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the kynges will in diſheritying his ſiſter Mary, alledgyng many graue and pithy reaſons for her legitimation, was in Guildhall of London arreyned and attaynted of treaſon, with ỳ Lady Iane & three of the Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, whiche at the intreatie of certaine perſons were had agayne to the Tower, and there kept for a tyme. All which notwithſtandyng Cranmer afterward beyng pardoned of treaſon, ſtode onely in the actiō and caſe of doctrine, whiche they called hereſie, wherof hee was right glad and ioyfull.

Going about of S. Katherine & S. Nicholas.

This beyng done in Nouember, the people and eſpecially the Churchmen, perceauyng the Queene ſo egerly ſet vpon her old Religion, they lykewiſe for their partes, to ſhew themſelues no leſſe forward to ſerue the Queenes appetite (as the maner is of the multitude, commonly to frame themſelues after the humour of the Prince and tyme preſent) began in their Quiers to ſet vp the Pagiaunts of S. Katherine, and of S. Nicholas, and of their Proceſſions in Latin, after all their old ſolemnitie with their gay gardenaunce, and gray amices.

And whē the moneth of December was come, the Parliamēt brake vp: but firſt of all ſuch Statutes were repealed, whiche were made either of Premunire, or touched any alteration of Religion, and adminiſtration of Sacramentes vnder kyng Edward. In the which Parliament alſo communication was moued of the Queenes Mariage with kyng Philip the Emperours ſonne.

Cardinall Poole ſent for.

Maryage betwene Phillip and Mary concluded.

In this meane while Cardinall Poole beyng ſent for by Queene Mary, was by the Emperour requeſted to ſtay with hym, to the intent (as ſome thinke) that his preſence in England ſhould not be a let to the Mariage, whiche he entended betwene Philip his ſonne and Queene Mary. For the makyng wherof, he ſent a moſt ample Imbaſſade, with full power to make vp the Mariage betwixte them: which tooke ſuch ſucceſſe, that after they had communed of the matter a fewe dayes, they knit vp the knot.

Anno. 1554.

1554.

January. 25.

The Duke of Norfolke ſent againſt [illegible] Wyat

This mention of mariage was about the begynnyng of January, and was very euill take of the people, and of many of the Nobilitie: who for this and for Religion, conſpiryng among themſelues, made a rebellion: wherof ſir Thomas Wyat Knight was one of the chief begynners. Who beyng in Kent, ſayd, as many els perceiued, that ỳ Queene and the Counſell would by forreine Mariage bryng vpon this Realme moſt miſerable ſeruitude, and eſtabliſh Popiſh Religion. About the 25. of January, newes came to Londō of this ſturre in Kent, and ſhortly after of the duke of Suffolke, who was fled into Warwickeſhyre & Leyceſterſhyre, there to gather a power. The Queene therfore cauſed them both with the two Carewes of Deuonſhyre to be proclaymed Traytours: & ſent into Kent agaynſt Wyat, Thomas Duke of Norfolke. Who being about Rocheſter bridge, forſaken of them that went with hym, returned ſafe agayne to London without any more harme done vnto hym, and without bloudſhed of either partie.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolke, beyng fled into Warwikeſhyre, was ſent the Earle of Huntyngton in poſte, who entring the Citie of Couentry before the Duke, diſappointed him of his purpoſe. Wherefore

The Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

Duke in great diſtreſſe committed hymſelfe to the keepyng of a ſeruaunt of his named Underwood in Aſtley Parke, who lyke a falſe traytor bewrayed him. And ſo was brought vp to the Tower of London.

In the meane while Syr Peter Carewe hearyng of that was done, fled into Fraunce, but the other were taken: and Wyat came towardes London in the begynnyng of February. The Queene hearyng of Wyates commyng, came into the Citie to the Guild Hall, where ſhe made a vehement Oration agaynſt Wyate: the contentes, at leaſt the effect wherof here foloweth, as neare as out of her own mouth could be penned.

Q. Mary commeth into the Guild hall. February 1.

The Oration of Queene Mary in the Guild Hall.

Q. Maryes Oration to the Londoners.

I Am come vnto you in myne owne perſon, to tell you that which already you ſee and know, that is, how trayterouſly and rebelliouſly a number of Kentiſh men haue aſſembled themſelues agaynſt both vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſayd at the firſt) was for a Mariage determined for vs: to the whiche, and to all the Articles thereof ye haue bene made priuy. But ſithence we haue cauſed certaine of our priuy Counſaile to goe agayne vnto them, and to demaunde the cauſe of this their rebellion: and it appeared thē vnto our ſayd Coūſaile, that the matter of the mariage ſeemed to be but as a Spaniſh cloke to couer their pretēſed purpoſe agaynſt our religiō: So that they arrogantly and trayterouſly demaūded to haue the gouernaūce of our perſon, the keepyng of the Tower, and the placing of our Counſailers.

Demaundes pretended to be ſent from M. Wyat and hys company to Q. Mary.

Now louyng ſubiectes, what I am ye right well know. I am your Queene, to whom at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme and lawes of the ſame (the ſpouſall Ryng whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left of) you promiſed your allegeaunce and obediēce vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritour of the crowne of this Realme of England, I take all Chriſtendome to witnes. My father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regall ſtate, which now rightly is deſcended vnto me: and to him alwayes ye ſhewed your ſelues moſt faythfull and louyng ſubiectes, and therfore I doubt not, but ye wil ſhew your ſelues likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile Traytor to haue the order and gouernaunce of our perſon, and to occupy our eſtate, eſpecially beyng ſo vile a traytour as Wiat is. Who moſt certainely as he hath abuſed mine ignoraunt ſubiectes, which be on his ſide, ſo doth he entend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoyle of your goods. And this I ſay to you in the word of a Prince. I can not tell how naturally the mother loueth the child, for I was neuer the mother of any, but certainely, if a Prince and gouernour may as naturally and earneſtly loue her Subiectes as the Mother doth the Child, then aſſure your ſelues, that I beyng your Lady and Maiſtres, do as earneſtly and as tenderly loue and fauour you. And I thus louyng you, can not but thinke that ye as hartly and faythfully loue me: and then I doubt not, but we ſhal geue theſe rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy ouerthrow.

How he entended the ſpoyle of their goodes, it appeereth in that he commyng to Southwarke, did hurt neither man, woman, nor childe, neyther in body nor in a penny of their goodes.

As concernyng the Mariage, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I enterpriſed not the doyng therof without aduiſe, & that by the aduiſe of all our priuy Counſaile: who ſo conſidered and weyed the great commodities that might enſue therof, that they not onely thought it very honourable, but alſo expedient, both for the wealth of our Realme, and alſo of all you our Subiectes. And as touchyng my ſelfe, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for myne owne pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous as needes I would haue one. For God I thanke hym, to whom be the prayſe therefore, I haue hetherto lyued a Virgine, and doubt nothyng, but with Gods grace am able ſo to lyue ſtill. But if, as my Progenitours haue done before, it might pleaſe God that I might leaue ſome fruite of my body behynde me to be your Gouernour, I truſt ye would not onely reioyce thereat, but alſo I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainely, if I either did thinke or know that this Mariage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the empechement of any part or parcell of the royall ſtate of this Realme of England: I ſhould neuer conſent therunto, neither would I euer marry whyle I lyued. And in the word of a Queene I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare to all the Nobilitie and Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that this Mariage ſhalbe for the high benefite and commoditie of all the whole Realme, then I will abſtaine from Mariage while I lyue.

Queene Mary excuſeth her Mariage.

The promiſe of Queene Mary touchyng her Mariage.

And now good Subiectes, plucke vp your hartes, and lyke true men, ſtand faſt agaynſt theſe rebels, both our enemyes and yours, and feare them not: for I aſſure you, I feare them nothyng at all, and I will leaue with you my Lord Haward and my Lord Treaſourer, who ſhalbe aſſiſtentes with the Maior for your defence.

There is to be noted, that at the commyng of Queene Mary to the Guild Hall, beyng bruted before that ſhe was commyng with harneſſed men: ſuch a feare came among thē, that a number of the Londiners fearyng leſt they ſhould be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entryng in. Furthermore, note that when ſhe had ended her Oration (which ſhe ſeemed to haue perfectly conned without booke) Wincheſter ſtandyng by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cryed to the people: O how happy are we, to whom God hath geuen ſuch a wiſe and learned Prince? &c.

Two dayes after, which was the iij. of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, & M. Wyat entred into Southwarke. Who, for ſomuch as he could not enter that way into London, returnyng an other way by Kyngſtone with his army, came vp through the ſtreetes to Ludgate, and returnyng thence, he was reſiſted at Temple barre, and there yelded hym ſelfe to Syr Clement Parſon, and ſo was brought by hym to the Court, and with him the reſidue of his armye (for before, Syr George Harper and almoſt halfe of his men ranne away from hym at Kyngſtone bridge) were alſo taken, and about an hundreth killed, and they that were takē were had to priſon, and a great many of them were hanged: and he hym ſelfe afterward executed at the Tower hill, and then quartered. Whoſe head after beyng ſet vp vppon Hayhill, was there ſtollen away, and great ſearch made for the ſame. Of which ſtory ye ſhall heare more (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

February 3.

M. Wyat in Southwarke.

M. Wyat came to Ludgate.

M. Wyat apprehended at Temple barre.

M. Wyat executed.

The xij. day of February was beheaded the Lady Jane to whom was ſent M. Fecknam, aliás Howman, from the Queene ij. dayes before her death, to commune with her, & to reduce her frō the doctrine of Chriſt, to Queene Maries religion. The effect of which communicatiō here followeth.

February 12.

The communication had betwene the Lady Iane and Fecknam.

Talke betwene the Lady Jane and Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madame, I lament your heauy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you beare out this ſorrow of yours with a conſtant and pacient mynde.

Iane. You are wellcome vnto me Syr, if your commyng be to geue Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heauy caſe (I thanke God) I do ſo litle lament it, that rather I accompt the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of Gods fauour toward me, then euer he ſhewed me at any tyme before: And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or other whiche beare me good will, ſhould lament or be greeued with this my caſe, beyng a thyng ſo profitable for my ſoule health.

Lady Jane comfortably taketh her troubls.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent ſent from the Queene and her Counſayle, to inſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right fayth: although I haue ſo great confidēce in you, that I ſhall haue (I truſt) little neede to trauayle with you much therein.

Iane. Forſooth I hartely thanke the Queenes hyghneſſe, which is not vnmyndeful of her humble ſubiect: and I hope lykewiſe that you no leſſe will do your duetie therein both truly and faythfully accordyng to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a Chriſtian?

Iane. That he ſhould beleue in God, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Feck. What? is there nothyng els to be required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to beleue in hym?

Iane. Yes, we muſt alſo loue hym with all our hart, with all our ſoule, and with all our mynde, and our neighbour as our ſelfe.

Feck. Why? then fayth iuſtifieth not, nor ſaueth not.

Iane. Yes verely, fayth (as Paule ſayth) onely iuſtifieth.

Feck. Why? S. Paule ſayth: If I haue all fayth without loue, it is nothyng.

Fayth onely iuſtifieth.

Iane. True it is: for how cā I loue him, whō I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whom I loue not? Fayth and loue goeth both together, and yet loue is comprehended in fayth.

Feck. How ſhall we loue our neighbour?

Iane. To loue our neighbour, is to feede the hūgry, to cloath the naked, and geue drinke to the thirſty, and to do to hym, as we would do to our ſelues.

Feck. Why? then it is neceſſary vnto ſaluation to do good workes alſo, and it is not ſufficient onely to beleue.

Iane. I denye that, and I affirme that fayth onely ſaueth: but it is meete for a Chriſtian, in token that hee followeth his Maiſter Chriſt, to do good workes: yet may we not ſay that they profite to ſaluation. For when we haue done all, yet we bee vnprofitable ſeruauntes, and fayth onely in

Good workes neceſſary in a Chriſtian, yet doe they not profite to ſaluation.

2. Sacramentes.

Chriſtes bloud ſaueth vs.

Feck. How many Sacramentes are there?

Iane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the other the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Fecknam. No, there are ſeuen.

Iane. By what Scripture finde you that?

Feck. Well, we will talke of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two Sacramentes?

The Sacrament of Baptiſme what it ſignifieth.

Iane. By the Sacrament of Baptiſme I am waſhed with water, and regenerated by the ſpirite, and that waſhyng is a token to me that I am the child of God. The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper offered vnto me, is a ſure ſeale and teſtimony that I am by the bloud of Chriſt, which he ſhed for me on the Croſſe, made partaker of the euerlaſtyng kyngdome.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper what it ſignifieth.

Feck. Why? what do you receiue in that Sacrament? Do you not receiue the very body and bloud of Chriſt?

Iane. No ſurely, I do not ſo beleue. I thinke that at the Supper I neither receiue fleſhe nor bloud, but bread and wyne: which bread when it is broken, and the wyne when it is dronken, putteth me in remembraunce how that for my ſinnes the body of Chriſt was broken, & his bloud ſhed on the Croſſe, and with that bread and wyne I receiue the benefites that come by the breakyng of his body & ſhedyng of his bloud for our ſinnes on the Croſſe.

What we receaue with the ſacrament.

Feck. Why? doth not Chriſt ſpeake theſe wordes: Take, eate, this is my body? Require you any plainer wordes? doth he not ſay it is his body?

Iane. I graunt he ſayth ſo: and ſo he ſayth, I am the vyne, I am the doore, but hee is neuer the more for that the doore nor the vyne. Doth not S. Paule ſay, He calleth thynges that are not, as though they were? God forbid that I ſhould ſay that I eate the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould plucke away my redemption, either els there were two bodyes, or two Chriſtes. One body was tormented on the Croſſe. And if they dyd eate an other body, then had he two bodyes: either els if his body were eaten, then was it not broken vpon the Croſſe: or if it were broken vpon the Croſſe, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

Rom. 4.

Feck. Why? is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to bee borne of a woman without ſeede of man, and as to walke vpon the Sea hauyng a body, and other ſuch lyke miracles as he wrought by his power onely?

Iane. Yes verely: if God would haue done at his Supper any miracle, he might haue done ſo: but I ſay that then he mynded no worke nor miracle, but onely to breake his body, and ſhed his bloud on the Croſſe for our ſinnes. But I pray you aunſwere me to this one queſtion: where was Chriſt when he ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body? Was he not at the table when hee ſayd ſo? He was at that tyme aliue, and ſuffered not till the next day. What tooke he but bread? what brake hee but bread? and what gaue hee but bread? Looke what he tooke, he brake: and looke what hee brake, he gaue: and looke what he gaue, they dyd eate: and yet all this while he himſelfe was aliue, and at Supper before his Diſciples, or els they were deceiued.

Chriſt had power to turne the bread into hys body, is no argument to proue that he did ſo.

Feck. You grounde your fayth vpon ſuch authours as ſay and vnſay both with a breath, and not vpon the Church, to whom ye ought to geue credite.

Fecknam goeth from the word, to the Church.

Iane. No, I grounde my fayth on Gods worde, and not vpon the Churche. For if the Churche be a good Churche, the fayth of the Churche muſt bee tryed by Gods worde, and not Gods worde by the Churche, either yet my fayth. Shall I beleue the Churche because of antiquitie? or ſhall I geue credite to the Churche that taketh away from me the halfe parte of the Lordes Supper, and will not let any lay man receiue it in both kyndes? Which thyng if they denye to vs, then denye they to vs parte of our ſaluation. And I ſay that is an euill Churche, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Deuill that altereth the Lordes Supper, and both taketh frō it, and addeth to it. To that Church (ſay I) God will adde plagues, and from that Churche will hee take their parte out of the booke of lyfe. Do they learne that of S. Paule, when hee miniſtred to the Corinthians in both kyndes? Shall I beleue this Churche? God forbyd.

Fayth to bee grounded vpon the worde and not vpon the Church.

A note of the falſe Church

Feck. That was done for a good intent of ẏ Church, to auoyde an hereſie that ſprong on it.

Iane. Why? ſhall the Churche alter Gods will, and ordinaunce for a good intent? How dyd kyng Saul? The Lord God defend.

Gods worde not to be altered for good ententes.

With theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions he would haue had her leane to the Churche, but it would not be. There were many more thynges whereof they reaſoned, but theſe were the chiefeſt.

Theſe wordes were ſpoken openly.

After this Fecknam tooke his leaue, ſaying that hee was ſory for her: For I am ſure (quoth hee) that we two ſhall neuer meete.

Iane. True it is (ſayd ſhee) that we ſhall neuer meete, except God turne your hart. For I am aſſured, vnleſſe you repent and turne to God, you are in an euill caſe: and I pray God in the bowels of his mercy to ſend you his holy ſpirite: for he hath geuen you his great gift of vtteraunce, if it pleaſed hym alſo to open the eyes of your hart.

A letter of the Lady Iane ſent vnto her father.

Lady Ianes letter ſent to her father.

FAther, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whom my lyfe ſhould rather haue been lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yelde God more harty thankes for ſhortenyng my wofull dayes, then if all the worlde had bene geuen into my poſſeſſion wyth lyfe lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impacient dolours, redoubled manyfolde wayes, both in bewaylyng your own woe, & eſpecially (as I heare) my infortunate ſtate, yet my deare father (if I may without offence reioyce in my owne miſhaps) me ſeemes in thys I may accompt my ſelfe bleſſed, that waſhing my handes with the innocencie of my fact, my giltles bloud may cry before the Lord, mercy, mercy to the innocent. And yet though I muſt needes acknowledge, that beyng conſtrayned, and, as you wot well inough, continually aſſayed, in takyng vpon me I ſeemed to cōſent, & therin greuouſly offēded the Queene and her lawes: yet do I aſſuredly truſt that this mine offence towards God is ſo much the leſſe, in that beyng in ſo royall eſtate as I was, mine enforced honour beyng neuer wyth mine innocent hart. And thus good father I haue opened vnto you the ſtate wherein I preſently ſtand. Whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeeme right woful, to me there is nothyng that can be more welcome then from this vale of miſery to aſpyre to that heauenly throne of all ioy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Sauiour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt faith (if it may bee lawfull for the daughter ſo to write to the Father) the Lorde that hetherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you that at the laſt wee may meete in heauen with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

This Parentheſis includeth with a prayer, a priuie admonition to her father that he fall not from his religion

At what tyme her father was floriſhyng in freedome & proſperitie in the tyme of kyng Edward, there belonged vnto hym a certayne learned man, ſtudent and Graduate of ẏ Vniuerſitie of Oxforde. Who then beyng Chaplayne to the ſayd Duke, and a ſincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Goſpell, accordyng to the doctrine of that tyme ſet forth & receiued, ſhortly after that the ſtate of religion began to alter by Queene Mary, altered alſo in hys profeſſion wyth the tyme, and of a Proteſtant became a frende and defender of the Popes proceedynges. At whoſe ſodeyne mutation and inconſtant mutabilitie, thys Chriſtian Lady beyng not a lyttle agreeued, and moſt of all lamentyng the daungerous ſtate of hys ſoule in ſlydyng ſo away for feare from the way of truth, wryteth her mynde vnto hym in a ſharpe and vehement letter: which as it appeareth to proceede of an earneſt and zealous hart, ſo would, God it might take ſuch effecte wyth hym, as to reduce hym to repentaunce, and to take better holde agayne for the health and wealth of hys owne ſoule. The copye of the letter is thys as followeth.

M. Hardyng.

An other letter of the Lady Iane to M. H. late Chaplayne to the Duke of Suffolke her father, and then fallen from the truth of Gods moſt holy worde.

Luke 9.

SO oft as I call to mynde the dreadfull and fearefull ſaying of God: That he which layeth holde vpō the plough and looketh backe, is not meete for the kyngdome of heauen: and on the other ſide, the comfortable wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſakyng themſelues, do folow hym: I can not but meruell at thee and lament thy caſe: which ſeemedſt ſometime to be the liuely member of Chriſt, but now the deformed impe of the deuill, ſometime the beautifull temple of God, but now the ſtinkyng and filthy kennell of Sathan, ſometyme the vnſpotted ſpouſe of Chriſt, but now the vnſhamefaſt paramour of Antichriſt, ſometyme my faithfull brother, but now a ſtraunger and Apoſtata, ſometyme a ſtoute Chriſten ſouldiour, but now a cowardly runnaway. Yea, when I conſider theſe thynges, I can not but ſpeake to thee, and cry out vpon thee, thou ſeede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whom the deuill hath deceiued, the worlde hath begyled, and the deſire of lyfe ſubuerted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidell: wherefore haſt thou taken the Teſtament of the Lord in thy mouth? wherfore haſt thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherfore haſt thou inſtructed other to be ſtrōg in Chriſt, when thou thy ſelfe doeſt now ſo ſhamefully

A ſharpe letter or exhortation of the Lady Iane to M. Hardyng.

This man a little before K. Edward dy-

ſhrinke

ed, vvas heard openly in his Sermõs in London to exhort the people vvith great vehemencie after this ſorte: that if trouble came, they ſhould neuer ſhrinke frõ the true doctrine of the goſpel vvhich they had receiued, but ſhould take it rather for a triall ſent of God to proue them vvhether they vvould abyde by it or no. All vvhich to be true, they can teſtifie that heard hym, & be yet aliue: vvho alſo foreſeing the plague to come, vvere then much confirmed by hys vvordes.

An. 1554.
Februarye.

thypriſe, and ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and lawe of the Lorde? when thou thy ſelfe preacheſt, not to ſteale, yet moſt abhominably ſtealeſt, not from men but from God, and committyng moſte haynous ſacriledge, robbeſt Chriſte thy Lorde of hys right members thy body and thy ſoule, and choſeſt rather to liue miſerably with ſhame to the worlde, then to dye and gloriouſly with honour to reigne with Chriſte, in whom euen in death is lyfe? Why doeſt thou now ſhewe thy ſelfe moſt weake, when in deede thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a fort is not knowen before the aſſault: but thou yeldeſt thy hold before any battrie be made.

Oh wretched and vnhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? and wilt thou reſiſte thy maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the cuſtome gatheryng among the Romiſh Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſadour and meſſenger of his eternall worde? Hee that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and byrth preſerued thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea and inſpired thee with the ſpirite of knowledge (I can not ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſſe thee? Dareſt thou deliuer vp thy ſelfe to an other, beyng not thine owne but his? How canſt thou hauyng knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the law of the Lord, and folow the vayne traditions of men: and where as thou haſt bene a publicke profeſſour of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhyp the inuention of man, the golden calfe, the whore of Babylon, the Romiſh Religion, the abhominable Idoll, the moſt wicked Maſſe? Wilt thou torment agayne, rent, and teare the moſt precious body of our Sauiour Chriſt with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? Wilt thou take vppon thee to offer vp any ſacrifice vnto God for our ſinnes, conſideryng that Chriſt offered vp himſelfe (as Paule ſayth) vpon the Croſſe a liuely ſacrifice once for all? Can neither the puniſhment of the Iſraelites (which for their Idolatry they ſo oft receaued) nor the terrible threatnyngs of the Prophetes, nor the curſes of Gods owne mouth feare thee to honour any other God then him? Doeſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his deare and onely ſonne for thee, ſo diminiſhyng, yea, vtterly extinguiſhyng his glory that thou wilt attribute the prayſe and honour due vnto him to the Idoles, whiche haue mouthes and ſpeake not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not: which ſhal periſh with them that made them?

Baruch. 6.

What ſayth the Prophet Baruch, where he reciteth the Epiſtle of Ieremy written to the captiue Iewes? Did he not forewarne them that in Babylon they ſhould ſee Gods of gold, ſiluer, wood, and ſtone borne vppon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a feare before the Heathen: But be not ye afrayde of them (ſayth Ieremy) nor do as other do: But when you ſee other worſhyp them, ſay you in your hartes: it is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt onely to be worſhipped: for as for thoſe Gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and layd ouer with ſiluer, and vayne thyngs and can not ſpeake. He ſheweth moreouer, the abuſe of their deckynges, how the Prieſtes tooke of their ornamentes and apparelled their women withall: how one holdeth a ſcepter, an other a ſword in his hand, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend themſelues, much leſſe any other, from either battell or murther, nor yet from gnawyng of wormes, nor any other euill thyng. These, & ſuch like wordes, ſpeaketh Ieremy vnto thē, whereby he proueth them to be but vayne thynges, and no Gods. And at laſt he cōcludeth thus: Confounded be they that worſhyp them. They were warned by Ieremy, & thou as Ieremy haſt warned other, & art warned thy ſelfe by many Scriptures in many places. God ſayth: he is a ielous God, which will haue all honour, glory, & worſhyp geuen to hym onely. And Chriſt ſayth in the iiij. of Luke to Sathan which tempted him: euen to the ſame Sathan, the ſame Belzebub, the ſame deuill, whiche hath preuayled agaynſt thee: It is written (ſayth he) thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and hym onely ſhalt thou ſerue.

Math. 4.

These and ſuch lyke doe prohibite thee and all Chriſtians to worſhyppe any other God then whiche was before all worldes, and layde the foundations both of heauen and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idoll, inuented by Romiſh Popes, and the abhominable Colledge of craftie Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelfe vp once for all, and wilt thou offer hym vp agayne daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. O ſinke of ſinne: Oh child of perditiō: doeſt thou dreame therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witnes of Gods threatned wrath agaynſt thee? How dyd Saule? who for that he diſobeyed ȳ word of ȳ Lord for a good intent, was throwen from his worldly and temporall kyngdome. Shalt thou then that doeſt deface Gods honour and robbe hym of hys right, inherite the eternall and heauenly kyngdome? Wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offend thy brother, & daunger thy ſoule, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhedd hys moſt precious bloud? Wilt thou for a good intent plucke Chriſt out of heauen, and make hys death voyde, and deface ȳ triumph of his croſſe by offeryng hym vp dayly? Wylt thou either for feare of death, or hope of life, deny & refuſe thy God, who enriched thy pouertie, healed thy infirmitie, & yelded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt haue kept it? Doeſt thou not conſider that the threed of thy lyfe hangeth vpon hym that made thee, who can (as his will is) eyther twine it harder to laſt the longer, or vntwine it agayne to breake it the ſooner? Doeſt thou not then remember the ſaying of Dauid a notable kyng, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104. Pſalme, where he ſayth thus: When thou takeſt away thy ſpirit (oh Lord) from men, they die and are turned agayne to their durſt: but when thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renue the face of the earth. Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his goſpell: Whoſoeuer eeketh to ſaue his life, ſhal loſe it: but whoſoeuer will loſe his life for my ſake ſhall finde it. And in the ſame place: Whoſoeuer loueth father or mother aboue me, is not meete for me. He that will follow me, let him forſake himſelfe and take vp his croſſe and follow me. What croſſe? the croſſe of infamy and ſhame, of miſery and pouertie, of affliction and perſecution for his names ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heauenly ſhowers, pearce thy ſtony hart. Let the two edged ſword of Gods holy word ſhere aſunder the ſinowes of worldly reſpectes euen to the very marrow of thy carnall hart, that thou mayeſt once agayne forſake thy ſelfe and embrace Chriſt. And lyke as good ſubiectes wyll not refuſe to haſard all in the defence of theyr earthly and temporall Gouernour, ſo flie not lyke a white liuered mylkeſop from the ſtandyng wherein thy chiefe captayne Chriſt hath ſet thee in array of this life. Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, ſuſtine dominum. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarell is Gods, and vndoubtedly the victory is ours.

Good entent.

Pſal. 104.

Math. 10.

Math. 16.

The croſſe for Chriſtes ſake.

Pſal. 26.

But thou wilt ſay, I will not breake vnitie. What? not the vnitye of Sathan and his members? not the vnitie of darckenes, the agreement of Antichriſt and his adherents? Nay thou deceaueſt thy ſelfe with the fonde imagination of ſuch an vnitie as is among ȳ enemies of Chriſt. Were not ȳ falſe Prophetes in an vnitie? Were not Iosephes brethren & Iacobs ſonnes in an vnitie? Were not the Heathen, as the Amalechites, ȳ Pherezites & Iebuſites in an vnitie? Were not the Scribes & Phariſeis in an vnitie? Doth not kyng Dauid teſtifie: Conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus dominum? Yea theeues, murtherers, conſpiratours haue their vnitie. But what vnitie? Tully ſayth of amitie: Amicitia nō eſt, niſi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea friende, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no vnitie but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be wel aſſured, ȳ where his truth is reſident, there it is verified that hee himſelfe ſaith: Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium. &c. but to ſet one agaynſt an other, the ſonne againſt the father, and the daughter againſt ȳ mother in law. Deceaue not thy ſelfe therefore with the glittering and glorious name of vnitie: for Antichriſt hath his vnity, not yet in deede, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an vnitie, but a conſpiracie.

Antichriſt alſo hath hys vnitie, which is not to be kept.

Thou haſt heard ſome threatnings, ſome curſes, & ſome admonitiōs out of the ſcripture to thoſe, that loue themſelues aboue Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo ȳ ſharpe & biting wordes to thoſe that deny him for loue of life: Saith he not: He that denyeth me before men, I wil deny him before my father in heauen? And to the ſame effect writeth Paul. Heb. 6. It is impoſſible (ſaith he) that they which were once lightned, & haue taſted of the heauenly gift, and were partakers of the holy ghoſt, and haue taſted of the good worde of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifiyng to themſelues the ſōne of God a freſh, & making of him a mocking ſtocke ſhould be renued againe by repentaunce. And againe ſaith he: if we ſhall willingly ſinne after wee haue receiued the knowledg of his truth there is no oblatiō left for ſin, but the terrible expectation of iudgement & fire, which ſhal deuour the aduerſaries. Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doeſt thou not quake and tremble?

The agreementes of euill men is no vnitie, but a conſpiracye.

Math. 10.

Heb. 6.

Rom. 10.

Well, if theſe terrible & thundring threatninges can not ſturre thee to cleaue vnto Chriſt, & forſake ȳ world: yet let the ſweete cōſolations & promiſes of the ſcriptures, let the example of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Cōfeſſours encourage thee to take faſter hold by Chriſt. Harken what he ſayth: Bleſſed are you whē mē reuile you, & perſecute you for my ſake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauē: for ſo perſecuted they the prophetes that were before you. Heare what Eſay the prophet ſaith: Feare not the curſe of men, be not afraide of their blaſphe-

Math. 5.

Eſa. 51.

Math. 10.

Luke. 12. Math. 10.

John. 15.

lyke cloth and woole,but my righteouſnes ſhall endure for euer,and my ſauyng health from generation to generation. What art thou then(ſayth he)that feareſt a mortall man,the child of man,which vadeth away lyke the flower: and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the heauens, and layd the foundation of the earth? I am thy Lord thy God,that make the ſea to rage,and be ſtil, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſtes. I ſhall put my word in thy mouth and defend thee with the turnyng of an hand. And our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth to his Diſciples: They ſhal accuſe you and bryng you before Princes and rulers for my names ſake,and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill: but feare you not (ſayth he)nor care you not what you ſhall ſay: for it is the ſpirite of your father that ſpeaketh within you. Euen the very heares of your head are all numbred. Lay vppe treaſure for your ſelues (ſayth hee) where no theefe commeth, nor moth corrupteth. Feare not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the ſoule, but feare hym that hath power to deſtroye both ſoule and body. If ye were of the world, the world would loue his owne: but becauſe ye are not of the world,but I haue choſen you out of the world, therfore the world hateth you.

Ephes. 6.

Let theſe and ſuch lyke conſolations taken out of the Scriptures,ſtrengthen you to Godward. Let not the exāples of holy men and women go out of your mynde as Daniell and the reſt of the Prophetes, of the three children, of Eleazarus that conſtant father,of the vij. of the Machabies children,of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other Apoſtles and holy Martyrs in the begynnyng of the Church: As of good Symeon Archbiſhop of Selonia, and Zetrophone,with infinite other vnder Sapores the kyng of the Perſians and Indians, who contemned all tormentes deuiſed by the tyrauntes,for their Sauiours ſake. Returne, returne agayne into Chriſtes warre,and as becommeth a faythfull warriour,put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian man. And aboue all thynges take to you the ſhield of fayth, and be you prouoked by Chriſtes owne example to withſtand the deuill, to forſake the world, and to become a true and faythfull member of his myſticall body,who ſpared not his owne body for our ſinnes.

Luke 18.

Throw downe your ſelfe with the feare of his threatned vengeaunce for this ſo great and haynous an offence of Apoſtaſie: and comfort your ſelfe on the other parte with the mercy, bloud and promiſe of him that is ready to turne vnto you when ſoeuer you turne vnto him. Diſdayne not to come agayne with the loſt ſonne, ſeyng you haue ſo wandred with hym. Be not aſhamed to turne agayne with hym from the ſwyll of ſtraungers, to the delicates of your moſt benigne and louyng father, acknowledgyng that you haue ſinned agaynſt heauen and earth. Agaynſt heauen by ſtaynyng the glorious name of God,and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be euill ſpoken of through you. Agaynſt earth by offendyng ſo many of your weake brethren to whō you haue bene a ſtumblyng blocke through your ſodayne ſlydyng. Be not abaſhed to come home agayne with Mary,and weepe bitterly with Peter, not onely with ſhedyng the teares of your bodily eyes, but alſo powryng out the ſtreames of your hart,to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and myre of your offenſiue fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publicane. Lord be mercyfull vnto me a ſinner. Remember the horrible hyſtory of Julian of old, and the lamentable caſe of Spyra of late, whoſe caſe (me thinke) ſhould be yet ſo greene in your remembraunce, that beyng a thyng of our tyme, you ſhould feare the lyke inconuenience ſeyng you are fallen into the lyke offence.

Laſt of all, let the lyuely remembraunce of the laſt day bee alwayes afore your eyes, remembryng the terrour that ſuch ſhall bee in at that tyme, with the runnagates and fugitiues from Chriſte, whiche ſettyng more by the worlde then by heauen, more by their lyfe then by hym that gaue them lyfe, dyd ſhrinke, yea dyd cleane fall awaye from hym that forſooke not them: and contrarywiſe the ineſtimable ioyes prepared for them that fearyng no perill nor dreadyng death, haue manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed ouer all power of darkeneſſe, ouer hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted Captaine Chriſte, who nowe ſtretcheth out hys armes to receiue you, ready to fall vppon your necke and kyſſe you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the deyntyes and delicates of hys owne precious bloud, whiche vndoubtedly,if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, hee woulde not let to ſhed agayne, rather then you ſhould be loſte. To whom with the Father and yͤ holy Ghoſt be all honour, prayſe and glorie euerlaſtyng. Amen.

Be conſtant,be conſtant,feare not for payne:
Chriſt hath redeemed thee,and heauen is thy gayne.

¶ A Letter written by the Lady Iane in the ende of the new Teſtament in Greeke, the which ſhe ſent vnto her Siſter Lady Katherine, the night before ſhe ſuffered.

A faythfull exhortation of the La. Jane to the Lady Katherine her ſiſter, to read Gods word.

I Haue here ſent you (good Siſter Katherine) a booke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth then precious ſtones. It is the booke (deare Siſter) of the law of the Lord. It is his Teſtament and laſt will whiche he bequethed vnto vs wretches: whiche ſhall lead you to the path of eternall ioy:and if you with a good mynde read it, and with an earneſt mynde do purpoſe to folow it,it ſhall bryng you to an immortall and euerlaſtyng lyfe. It ſhall teach you to lyue, and learne you to dye.It ſhall wynne you more then you ſhould haue gayned by the poſſeſſion of your wofull fathers landes. For, as if God had proſpered him you ſhould haue inherited hys landes: ſo if you apply diligently this booke,ſeekyng to direct your lyfe after it, you ſhalbe an inheritour of ſuch riches,as neither the couetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither theefe ſhall ſteale, neither yet the mothes corrupt. Deſire with Dauid (good Siſter) to vnderſtand the law of the Lord your God. Lyue ſtill to dye,that you (by death)may purchaſe eternall lyfe. And truſt not that the tenderneſſe of your age ſhall lengthen your lyfe. For as ſoone (if GOD call) goeth the young as the old, and labour alwayes to learne to dye. Defie the world,deny the deuill, and deſpiſe the fleſhe, and delite your ſelfe onely in the Lord. Be penitent for your ſinnes,and yet deſpayre not: be ſtrong in fayth, and yet preſume not, and deſire with S. Paule to be diſſolued and to be with Chriſt,with whom euen in death there is lyfe. Be lyke the good ſeruaunt, and euen at midnyght be wakyng,leſt when death commeth and ſtealeth vppon you lyke a theefe in the night, you bee with the euill ſeruaunt found ſleepyng,and leſt for lacke of oyle, you be found lyke the fiue fooliſhe women: and lyke him that had not on the weddyng garment, and then ye be caſt out from the Mariage. Reioyce in Chriſt,as I do. Follow the ſteppes of your Maiſter Chriſt, and take vp your Croſſe: lay your ſinnes on his backe and alwayes embrace hym. And as touchyng my death,reioyce as I do (good Siſter) that I ſhalbe deliuered of this corruption,and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of a mortall lyfe, wynne an immortall lyfe: the whiche I pray God graunt you, and ſend you of his grace to lyue in his feare, and to dye in the true Chriſtian fayth,from the whiche(in Gods name) I exhort you that you neuer ſwarue,neither for hope of lyfe, nor for feare of death. For if ye will deny his truth to lenghthen your lyfe, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your dayes. And if you will cleaue vnto him, hee will prolong your dayes to your comfort and his glory: to the whiche glory God bryng me now,and you hereafter whē it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well good Siſter, and put your onely truſt in God,who onely muſt helpe you.

To lyue to dye, that by death you may lyue.

¶ Here followeth a certaine effectuall Prayer made by the Lady Iane,in the tyme of her trouble.

A prayer of the Lady Jane.

O Lord, thou God and father of my lyfe, heare me poore and deſolate woman,which flyeth vnto thee,onely in all troubles and miſeries. Thou O Lord art the onely defendour and deliuerer of thoſe that put there truſt in thee: and therfore I beyng defiled with ſinne, encombred with affliction,vnquieted with troubles,wrapped in cares, ouerwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with temptations, and greuouſly tormented with the long impriſonment of this vyle Maſſe of clay my ſinnefull body: do come vnto thee(O mercyfull Sauiour)crauyng thy mercy and helpe: without the which ſo litle hope of deliueraunce is left, that I may vtterly deſpayre of any libertie. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeyng our lyfe ſtandeth vppon tryying, we ſhould be viſited ſometyme with ſome aduerſitie,wherby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flocke or no, and alſo know thee and our ſelues the better: yet thou that ſaydeſt that thou wouldeſt not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, be mercyfull vnto me now a miſerable wretch,I beſech thee:which with Salomon do cry vnto thee, humbly deſiryng thee, that I may neither be to much puffed vp with proſperitie, neither to much preſſed downe with aduerſitie: leſt I beyng to full, ſhoulde denye thee my GOD, or beyng to lowe brought ſhould deſpayre and blaſpheme thee my Lord and Sauiour. O mercyfull GOD, conſider my miſerie beſt knowen vnto thee, and be thou now vnto me a ſtrong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted aboue my power, but either be thou a deliuerer vnto me out of this great miſerie, either elles geue me grace paciently to beare thy heauy hād and ſharpe correction. It was thy right hand that deliuered the people of Iſraell out of the handes of Pharao, which for the ſpace of iiij.C. yeares dyd oppreſſe them and keepe them in bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeeme good to thy fatherly goodnes to deliuer me ſorowfull wretch (for whom thy ſonne Chriſt ſhed his precious bloud on the Croſſe) out of this miſerable captiuitie and bōdage, wherin I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent? for euer? Oh Lord haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut vp thy louyng kyndnes in diſpleaſure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy cleane gone for euer, and thy promiſe come vtterly to an end for euermore? why doeſt thou make ſo long taryng? ſhall I deſpayre of thy mercy O God? farre be that from me. I am thy workemāſhyp created in Chriſt Ieſu: giue me grace therfore to tary thy leaſure, & paciently to beare thy woorkes: aſſuredly knowyng, that as thou cāſt, ſo thou wilt deliuer me when it ſhal pleaſe thee, nothyng doubtyng or miſtruſtyng thy goodneſſe towardes me: for thou wotteſt better what is good for me then I do: Therefore do with me in all thynges what thou wilt: and plague me what way thou wilt. Onely in the meane tyme arme me I beſeech thee, with thy armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my loynes beyng girded about with veritie, hauyng on the breſt plate of righteouſnes, and ſhod with the ſhoes prepared by the Goſpell of peace, aboue all thynges takyng to me the ſhield of fayth, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery dartes of the wicked, and takyng the helmet of ſaluation and the ſword of the ſpirite, which is thy moſt holy word: praying alwayes with all maner of prayer and ſupplication, that I may referre my ſelfe wholy to thy wil, abidyng thy pleaſure and comfortyng my ſelfe in thoſe troubles that it ſhal pleaſe thee to ſend me: ſeyng ſuch troubles be profitable for me, and ſeyng I am aſſuredly perſwaded that it can not be but well, all that thou doeſt. Heare me O mercyfull father for his ſake, whom thou wouldeſt ſhould be a ſacrifice for my ſinnes: to whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt be all honour and glory. Amen.

Pſal. 77.

Ephes. 6.

After theſe thynges thus declared, it remaineth now, commyng to the end of this vertuous Lady, next to inſerte the maner of her execution, with the wordes and behauiour of her in tyme of her death.

¶These are the wordes that the Lady Iane ſpake vppon the Scaffolde at the houre of her death.

The wordes and behauiour of the Lady Iane vpon the ſcaffolde.

FIrſt when ſhe mounted vppon the Scaffold, ſhe ſayd to the people ſtandyng there about: good people I am come hether to dye, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. The fact agaynſt the Queenes hyghnes was vnlawfull, and the conſentyng thereunto by me: but touchyng the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalfe, I do waſh my handes thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Chriſtian people, this day: and therewith ſhe wrong her handes, wherein ſhe had her booke. Then ſayd ſhe, I pray you all, good Chriſtian people, to beare me witnes that I dye a true Chriſtian woman, and that I do looke to be ſaued by no other meane, but onely by the mercy of God in the bloud of his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: and I confeſſe that when I dyd know the word of God, I neglected the ſame, loued my ſelfe and the world, and therfore this plague and puniſhment is happily and worthely happened vnto me for my ſinnes: and yet I thanke God of his goodnes that hee hath thus geuen me a tyme and reſpite to repent: and now (good people) while I am alyue I pray you aſſiſte me with your Prayers. And then kneelyng downe ſhe turned her to Fecknā ſaying: ſhall I ſay this Pſalme? and he ſayd, yea. Then ſayd ſhe the Pſalme of Miſerere mei Deus in Engliſh, in moſt deuoute manner throughout to the ende, and then ſhee ſtoode vppe and gaue her mayden Maiſtreſſe Ellyn her gloues and handkerchefe, and her booke to Maiſter Bruges, and then ſhe vntyed her gowne, and the hangman preſſed vppon her to helpe her of with it, but ſhe deſiryng him to let her alone, turned towardes her two Gentlewomen who helped her of therewith, and alſo with her frowes paſt and neckerchefe, geuyng to her a fayre handkerchefe to knit about her eyes.

The ſound confeſſion and fayth of the Lady Iane.

Then the hangman kneeled downe and aſked her forgeueneſſe, whom ſhe forgaue moſt willyngly. Then he willed her to ſtand vppon the ſtraw: which doyng ſhe ſaw the blocke. Then ſhe ſayd, I pray you diſpatche me quickely. Then ſhe kneeled downe, ſaying: will you take it of before I lay me downe? and the hangman ſayd, no Madame. Thē tyed ſhee the kerchefe about her eyes, and feelyng for the blocke, ſhe ſayd, what ſhall I do? where is it? where is it? One of the ſtanders by guidyng her thereunto, ſhe layd her head downe vppon the blocke, and then ſtretched forth her body and ſayd: Lord into thy handes I commende my ſpirite, and ſo finiſhed her life in the yeare of our Lord God. 1553. the 12. day of February.

¶Certaine prety verſes written by the ſayd Lady Iane with a pynne.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere poſſunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.
Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus:
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.

¶Certaine Epitaphes written in commendation of the worthy Lady Iane Gray.

De Iana Graia Ioan. Parkhurſti Carmen.

Miraris Ianam Graio ſermone valere?
Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia fuit.

Graia beyng her ſurname ſignifieth in Latin a Grecyan.

In hiſtoriam Ianæ. I. F.

Tu, quibus iſta legas incertum eſt lector, ocellis:
Ipſe equidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

De Iana, D. Laurentij Humfredi decaſtichon.

Iana iacet ſæuo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium latijs ornauit fœmina muſis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali ſtirpe creata,
Ipſaq; Reginæ nobilitata throno.
Bis Graia eſt, pulchrè Graijs nutrita camænis,
Et priſco Graiûm ſanguine creta ducum.
Bis Martyr, ſacræ fidei veriſſima teſtis:
Atque vacans regni crimine, Iana iacet.

Thus the xij. day of February (as I ſayd) was beheaded the Lady Iane, and with her alſo the Lord Gylforde her huſband, one of the Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, two innocentes in compariſon of them that ſat vppon them. For they did but ignorauntly accept that which the others had willyngly deuiſed, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others and geue to them.

February. 12 Lady Iane and L. Gylforde Dudley beheaded.

Touchyng the condemnation of this Lady Iane, here is to be noted, that the Iudge Morgan who gaue the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt her, ſhortly after he had condemned her, fell madde, and in his rauyng cryed out continually to haue the Lady Iane taken away from him, and ſo ended his lyfe.

A wonderfull example vpon Morgā the Iudge who gaue ſentence agaynſt the Lady Iane.

And not long after the death of the Lady Iane, vppon the xxi. of the ſame moneth was Henry Duke of Suffolke her father alſo beheaded at the Tower hill, the iiij. day after his condemnation: about which tyme alſo were condemned for this conſpiracie many Gentlemen and yeomen, wherof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the countrey. In the number of whom was alſo Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the ſayd Duke, beyng apprehended not long after in North wales, and executed for the ſame. Syr Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall heare (the Lord willyng) in an other place.

February. 21.

Henry D. of Suffolke beheaded.

L. Thomas Gray apprehended and executed.

The xxiiij. of the ſame moneth, the yeare of our Lord 1554. Boner Byſhop of London ſent downe a Commiſſion, directed to all the Curates and Paſtors of his dioces, for the takyng of the names of ſuch as would not come the Lent followyng to auricular confeſſion, and to the receiuyng at Eaſter: the copie of which monition here followeth.

February 24.

¶A monition of Boner Byſhop of London, ſent downe to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioces, for the certifying of the names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to Confeſſion and receyuing at Eaſter.

EDmund by the permiſſion of God, Byſhop of London to all Parſons, Vicares, Curates and Miniſters of the Churche, within the Citie and Dioces of London, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lorde euerlaſtyng. For as much as by the order of the Eccleſiaſticall lawes and conſtitutions of this Realme, and the laudable vſage and cuſtome of the whole Catholicke Church, by many hundreth yeres agone, duely & deuoutly obſerued & kept, all faithful people beyng of lawfull age & diſcretiō, are bōude once in the yeare at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe thē) to be confeſſed to their owne proper Curate, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, with due preparation and deuotiō: and for as much alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry euill diſpoſed and vndeuout perſons, geuen to ſenſuall pleaſures & carnall appetites, folowyng the luſtes of their body,

A monition of Boner B. of London to all Miniſters of his Dioces.

and

1554. March.

Comming to confeſſiō.

and neglecting vtterſy the helth of their ſoules,do forbeare to come to confeſſion according to the ſaid vſage,and to receiue the Sacrament of the aulter accordingly,geuyng therby pernicious and euill example to the younger ſort to neglect and contemne the ſame: we mynding the reformation hereof for our owne diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept,and good example to be geuen: do will and commaund you by vertue hereof,that immediately vpon the receipt of this our commaundement,ye and euery ech of you within your cure and charge, do vſe all your diligence and dexteritie to declare the ſame,ſtraightly charging and commaunding all your pariſhioners, beyng of lawfull age and diſcretion,to come before Eaſter next commyng, to confeſſion,according to the ſayd ordinaunce and vſage, and wyth due preparation and deuotion to receyue the ſayd ſacramēt of the aulter,and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed vnto you,and do not receiue of you the ſayd Sacrament,certifiyng vs or our Chauncellour or Commiſſary,thereof before the ſixt day of Aprill nexte enſuyng the date hereof: ſo that we knowyng therby who did not come to confeſſion,and receiuyng the ſacrament accordingly,may procede againſt them,as beyng perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſours of the ſayd eccleſiaſticall law and vſage: Further alſo certifiyng vs or our ſayd Chauncellour or Commiſſary, before the day aforeſayd,whether ye haue your aultars ſet vp,chalice,booke,veſtimentes, and all thinges neceſſary for Maſſe,and the adminiſtration of ſacramentes and ſacramentals,with proceſſion and all other diuine ſeruice prepared & in readines, according to the order of the catholike church, and the vertuous and godly example of the Quenes Maieſtie: and if ye ſo haue not,ye then with the Churchwardēs cauſe the ſame to be prouided for,ſignifiyng by whoſe fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceded, and generally of the not commyng of your pariſhners to church vndue walking,talking,or vſing of themſelues there vnreuerently in the tyme of diuine ſeruice,and of all other open faultes and miſdemeanours,not omittyng thus to doe and certifie as before,as you will anſwer vpon your peril for the contrary. Geuen at London the 23. of February, in the yeare of our Lord.1554.

Receiuing the ſacramēt of the aultar.

The next month followyng,which was the moneth of March,and the 4.day of the ſaid month,there was a letter ſent from the Queene to Boner Biſhop of London, with certaine Articles alſo annexed,to be put in ſpedy execution, conteinyng as here followeth.

¶ Articles ſent from the Queene to the B.of London,by him and his officers at her commaundement to be put in ſpedy execution, with her letter to the ſayd B.before prefixed.

A letter of Q.Mary to B.Boner.

Cauſes declared.

Right reuerend Father in God,right truſty and welbeloued we greet you well. And wheras heretofore in the tyme of the late raign of our moſt deareſt brother King Edward ỳ ſixt,whoſe ſoule God pardon,diuers notable crimes exceſſes and faultes,with ſundry kindes of hereſies,ſimony, adultery,and other enormities haue been committed within this our Realme and other our dominions,the ſame continuing yet hetherto in lyke diſorder ſince ỳ beginning of our Raigne,without any correction or reformation at al,and the people both of the laytie and alſo of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy haue been geuen to much inſolencye and vngodlye rule,greatly to the diſpleaſure of almighty god,& very much to our regret and euill contentation,and to no little ſlaunder of other Chriſten Realmes,and in maner to the ſubuerſion and clean defacing of this our Realme:and remembring our duety to almighty God, to be to foreſee (as muche as in vs may be)that all vertue and godly liuing ſhould be embraced, floriſh and encreaſe,and therwith alſo,that all vice and vngodly behauyour ſhould be banyſhed and put away,or at ỳ leaſt wayes(ſo nigh as might be)ſo bridled and kept vnder, that godlynes and honeſty might haue the ouer hand,vnderſtanding by very credyble report and publick fame,to our no ſmal heauynes and diſcomfort,that within your dioces, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the lyke diſorder and euyll behauyour hath been done and vſed,like alſo to contynue and encreaſe vnleſſe due prouiſion be had & made to reforme ỳ ſame,which earneſtly in very deed we do mind and intend to the vttermoſt all the wayes we cā poſſible, truſting of Gods furtherance and helpe in that behalfe. For theſe cauſes,and other moſt iuſt conſiderations vs mouing, we ſend vnto you certaine articles of ſuch ſpecyall matter, as among other thinges be moſt neceſſary to be now put in execution by you and your officers,extending to the ende by vs deſired, and the reformation aforeſayd,wherin ye ſhal be charged with our ſpecyal commaundement,by theſe our letters to the entent you and your officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed therunto without feare of any preſumption to be noted on your part, or daunger to be incurred of any ſuch our Lawes,as by our doynges of that is in the ſaid articles conteined,might any wiſe greeue you whatſoeuer be threatned in any ſuch caſe. And therfore we ſtraitly charge and commaund you,and your ſayd officers to procede to the execution of the ſayd Articles,without al tracte and delay,as ye will anſwere to the contrary. Geuen vnder our ſignet,at our palace of weſtminſter the 3.day of march the firſt yeare of our raygne.

March.3.

Articles ſent from the Queen vnto the Ordinary & by him and his Officers by her commaundement to be put in executiō,in the whole dioces.

Articles of Q. Mary.

First,that euery Biſhop and his Officers,with all other hauing Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction,ſhall with al ſpeed and diligence,and all maner of wayes to them poſſible,put in execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſticall Lawes,heretofore in the tyme of King Henry the eight vſed within thys realme of England,and the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme,

Eccleſiaſticall lawes of K.Henrie reuiued.

Item,that no B.or any hys Officer, or other perſon aforeſayd hereafter in any of their eccleſiaſticall wrytings,in proceſſe or other extraiudiciall actes, doe vſe to put in thys clauſe or ſentence,Regia authoritate fulcitus.

The kinges authoritie geueth place to the popes authoritie.

Item,that no B.or any his officers or other perſō aforeſayd,do hereafter exact or demaund in the admiſſion of any perſon to any eccleſiaſticall promotiō, order or office,any oth touching the primacy or ſucceſſion as of late in few yeares paſſed hath been accuſtomed and vſed,

The ſupremacie of the king repealed.

Item,that euery B.and hys officers,with all other perſons aforeſayd,haue a vigilant eye,and vſe ſpeciall diligence and foreſight,that no perſon be admitted or receiued to any eccleſiaſtical function,benefice or office being a ſacramētary infected or defamed wt any notible kinde of hereſie or other great crime,and that the ſayd B.do ſtay & cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lyeth in him,that benefices & Eccleſiaſtical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by paſſing, or confirming of vnreaſonable leaſes.

Item,that euery Biſhop and all other perſōs aforeſaid do diligently trauaile for the repreſſing of hereſies & notable crymes,eſpecyally in the Clergy,duely correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

For puniſhing of hereſies,as they call them.

Item,that euery B.and all the other perſons aforſaid do likewiſe trauel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions,vnlawfull bookes,ballades and other pernitious and hurtfull deuices,engendring hatred amongeſt the people,and diſcord amongeſt the ſame: And ỳ Scholemaſters,Preachers & Teachers do exerciſe and vſe their offices and duties without teaching,preaching,or ſetting forth any euill and corrupt doctrine,and that doing the contrary, they may be by the B.and his ſayd officers puniſhed and remoued.

Item,that euery byſhop & al the other perſons aforeſaid proceding ſummarely & with all celerity & ſpeed,may & ſhal depryue or declare depriued and amoue, according to theyr learning and diſcretion,al ſuch perſons from their benefices & eccleſiaſtical promotions,who cōtrary to the ſtate of their order,and the laudable cuſtome of the church,haue maryed and vſed wemen as their wiues,or otherwiſe notablye,and ſlaunderouſly diſordered or abuſed them ſelues: ſequeſtring alſo,during the ſayd proces, the fruites and Profites of the ſayd Benefices and Eccleſiaſticall promotions,

Agaynſt prieſtes mariage.

Item,that the ſaid B.and all other perſons aforeſayd, do vſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as haue marryed whoſe wiues be dead,then with other whoſe wemē do yet remaine aliue. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſtes,as with the conſentes of their wiues or wemen openly in the preſence of the B.do profeſſe to abſtaine,to be vſed more fauourably. In which caſe after penaunce effectually done,the Byſhop according to hys diſcretion and wiſedome,may vpon iuſt conſideration,receyue and admitte them agayne to their former adminiſtratiō, ſo it be not in ỳ ſame place,appoynting them ſuch a portion to liue vpon, to be payd out of their benefice, wherof they be depryued, by diſcretion of the ſayd Byſhop, or hys Officer as hee ſhall thinke may bee ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

Prouiſion for Prieſtes which renounce their wiues.

Item,that euery B.and all other perſons aforeſaid, doe foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious man, hauinge ſolemnly profeſſed chaſtitye,to continue with hys woman, or wife,but that all ſuch perſons,after depriuation of their benefice or Eccleſiaſtical promotiō, be alſo diuorced euery one from hys ſaid woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe takē for the offence therin.

Maried Prieſtes diuorced both frō wyfe & benefice.

Item,that euery Biſhop and all other perſons aforeſaid

March.

Prouiſion for want of prieſtes.

do take order and direction with the Paryſhioners of euery Benefice where Prieſtes do want, to repaire to the next Pariſhe for Diuine ſeruice, or to appointe for a conuenient tyme, till other better prouiſion may be made, one Curate to ſerue, Alienis vicibus, in diuers Pariſhes, and to allot to the ſayd Curate for hys labour ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerueth.

Proceſſions in Latin

Item, that all and all maner of proceſſions of yͤ Church, be vſed, frequented, and continued after the old order of the Church in the latine tongue.

Holydayes and faſting dayes.

Item, that all ſuch holy dayes and faſting dayes be obſerued and kept, as were obſerued and kepte in the latter tyme of king Henry the eyght.

Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, that the laudable & honeſt ceremonies which were wont to be vſed, frequented and obſerued in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, vſed & obſerued.

Item that children be chriſtened by the Prieſt, and cõfirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed, and vſed.

Orders.

Item, touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new ſorte and faſhion of orders, conſidering they were not ordered in very deede, the byſhop of the Dioces findyng otherwiſe ſufficiencie and habilitie in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in thẽ before, and then according to hys diſcretion admitte them to miniſter.

Comming to diuine ſeruice.

Item, that by the byſhop of the Dioces an vniforme doctrine be ſet forth by Homelies, or otherwiſe for the good inſtructiõ and teaching of all people: And yͭ the ſayd byſhop & other perſons aforeſayd, do compel yͤ Pariſhioners to come to their ſeuerall Churches, and there deuoutly to heare diuine ſeruice, as of reaſon they ought.

Prouiſion for Catholicke ſchoolemaſters.

Item, that they examine all Scholemaiſters & teachers of childrẽ, and finding them ſuſpect, in any wyſe to remoue them and place Catholicke men in their roumes, with a ſpeciall commaundement to inſtruct their children, ſo as they may be able to aunſwere the Prieſt at the Maſſe, and ſo helpe the Prieſt to Maſſe, as hath bene accuſtomed.

Item, that the ſayd Byſhop and all other the perſons aforeſayd, haue ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſettyng forth of the premiſſes with al kynd of vertue godly lyuyng, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and kepyng vnder of vice and vnthriftines as they and euerich of them may bee ſeene to fauour the reſtitution of true Religion, and alſo to make an honeſt accompt and reckenyng of their office and cure, to the honor of God, our good contentation, and the profite of this our Realme: and dominions of the ſame.

March. 4.

A lyke preſcript alſo with Articles, was ſent from the ſayd Queene Mary to the Lorde Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the yeare aboue ſayd: which Lorde Mayor vpon the ſame directed his commaundement to the Aldermen, euery one ſeuerally in his ward, conteynyng as foloweth.

¶By the Lord Maior.

A preſcript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

ON the Queene our moſt gracious and moſt benigne ſoueraigne Ladies behalfe, we moſt ſtraightly charge and commaunde you, that ye the ſayd Aldermen, faile not perſonally to call before your owne perſon in ſuche place with in your ſayde warde as to you ſhall ſeme moſt conuenient and meete vppon wedneſday next commyng, whiche ſhalbe the vij. daye of this preſent moneth, at vij. of the clocke in the mornyng of the ſame day, all and euery the houſeholders both poore and rich of your ſayde ward, and then and there, openly and playnely for your owne diſcharge and for the eſchewing of the perils that to you might otherwiſe be iuſtly imputed and layd, do not onely ſtraitly admoniſhe, charge, & commaunde in the Queene our ſayde ſoueraigne Ladies name and behalfe, all and euery the ſayd houſeholders, that both in their owne perſons, and alſo their wiues, children, and ſeruauntes beyng of the age of xij. yeares and vpwardes and euery of them, do at all and euery tyme and tymes from hence forth, and namely at the holy tyme of Eaſter now approching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and Catholyckly, vſe and behaue them ſelues lyke good and faythfull Chriſtian people in all and euery thyng and thynges touching and cõcernyng the true fayth, profeſſion, and Religion of his Catholyke Church, both according to the lawes and preceptes of almighty God, and alſo their bounden duetye of obedience towardes our ſayd ſoueraigne Lady the Queene her lawes and Statutes, and her highnes moſt good example and gratious proceedyng according to the ſame, and according alſo to the right wholeſome charitable & godly admonition, charge and exhortation late ſet forth and giuen by the right reuerend father in God the Byſhop of London, our Dioceſan and ordinary to all the Perſons, Vicars, and Curates within this Dioces: but alſo that they and euery of them do truely without delay aduertiſe you of the names and ſurnames of all and euery perſon and perſons that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter knowe, perceiue, or vnderſtand to tranſgreſſe or offend in any poynt or Article concernyng the premiſſes, at their vttermoſt perilles. That ye immediatly after ſuche notice thereof to you giuen do forthwith aduertiſe vs thereof, fayle ye not thus to do with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will aunſwere to our ſayd moſt dread ſoueraigne Ladye the Queene, for the contrary at your like perill. Geuen at the Guildehal of the Citie of London, the v. day of March in the firſt of the raigne of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lady the Queene.

Blackwell.

And likewiſe do you geue to euery of the ſayd houſholders ſtraightly in commaundemẽt, that they or their wiues depart not out of the ſayd citie vntill this holy tyme of Eaſter be paſt.

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ABout the ſame yeare and tyme, when Doct. Boner ſet forth this preſcript or monitory, there came from the Queene an other proclamation agaynſt ſtraungers and forreiners within this realme. The purpoſe & intent of which proclamation, becauſe it chiefly and moſt ſpecially concerned religion and doctrine, & the true profeſſors therof, I thought here to annexe the tenor and maner of the ſame.

¶A copy of the Queenes proclamation for the driuyng out of the Realme ſtraungers and Forreiners.

Q. Maries proclamatiõ for driuing out of ſtraungers.

THe Queen our ſoueraygn Lady vnderſtãding that a multitude of euill diſpoſed perſons, beinge borne out of her highnes dominions in other ſondry nations, flyeng from the obeyſaũce of the Princes and Rulers vnder whom they bee borne, ſome for hereſie, ſome for murther, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other horrible crimes, be reſorted into this her Maieſties Realm, and here haue made their demour, and yet be commoraunt & lingring, partly to eſchew ſuch conding puniſhment as their ſayd horrible crimes deſerue, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the ſeedes of their malicious doctrine and lewd conuerſation amonge the good ſubiectes of this her ſayd Realme, of purpoſe to infect her good ſubiects with the lyke, in ſo much as (beſides innumerable hereſies, which diuers of the ſame being hereticks haue preached & taught within her highnes ſaid Realm) it is aſſuredly knowen vnto her Maieſtye, that not onely theire ſecrete practyſes haue not fayled to ſtirre, comfort and ayde dyuers her highnes ſubiectes to this moſt vnnaturall rebellion agaynſt God and her grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people eftſoones to rebell, her M. therfore hauyng (as afore is ſayd) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determyned, and moſt ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth, that all and euery ſuch perſon or perſons borne out of her highnes dominions, now cõmoraunt or reſident within this Realme, of what ſoeuer nation or countrey, being eyther Preacher, Printer, Bookſeller, or other Artificer, or of what ſoeuer calling els, not being Denizen or Marchant knowen, vſing the trade of Marchaundize, or ſeruaunt to ſuch Ambaſſadours as bee liegers here from the Princes and ſtates ioyned in league with her grace, ſhall within 24. dayes after thys Proclamation auoyd the realme, vpon payne of moſt greeuous puniſhment by enpryſonment and forfayture and confiſcation of all their goods and moueables, and alſo to be delyuered vnto their natural Princes, or Rulers, agaynſt whoſe perſons or lawes they haue offended. Geuing to all Mayors, Shriues, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and al other her miniſters, officers, and good Subiectes, ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon not borne in the Queenes highnes dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall after the tyme and day limitted in this Proclamation, tary within this Realm, that they ſhall apprehend the ſame perſon or perſons, and commit him or them to warde, there to remayne without bayle or maynpriſe, till her graces pleaſure or her counſailes be ſignified vnto them for the further ordering of the ſayd perſon or perſons. And that if any of her ſayd officers, after the ſayd 24. dayes apprehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with diligence immedyatly certefie her ſayd Counſel therof, to the intent order may forthwith be geuen for their puniſhment according.

Cauſes layd agaynſt ſtraungers.

Pet. Martyr & Iohannes Alaſco, baniſhed the realme.

In the meane while, vpon the proclamation before mencioned, not only the ſtrangers in K. Edwardes time receyued into the realme for religion, among whõ was Peter Mertir, Ioh. Alaſco vncle to the king of Poleland, but many engliſh men fled, ſome to Freeſeland, ſome to Cleueland, ſome to high Germany, where they were diuerſly ſcattered into diuers companies and congregations, at Weſell, at Frankforde, Emden, Markpurgh, Strauſborough, Baſill,

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Engliſhmen fled out of the realme for religion. The number of Engliſhe exiles well neare 800. perſons.

Argow, Zurich, Geneua, and other places: where by the prouidence of God they were all ſuſteyned, and there entertayned with greater fauour among ſtraungers abroad, thẽ they could bee in their owne country at home, well neare to the number of 800. perſons, Studentes, & other together.

March. 15. Lady Elyzabeth & L. Courtney vpon ſuſpition of Syr Tho. Wyets riſing committed to the Tower.

In the ſayd moneth of March, ẏ Lord Courtney Earle of Deuonſhyre, whom the Queene at her fyrſt entryng deliuered out of the tower, ẏ Lady Elizabeth alſo the Queenes Siſter, were both in ſuſpection to haue cõſented to Wiates conſpiracie, and for the ſame this March were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the impriſonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou ſhalt note here for thy learning (good Reader) a politicke point of practiſe in Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wint. not vnworthy to be conſidered. This Gardiner beyng alwaies a capitall enemy to ẏ Lady Eliſabeth, and thinking now by the occaſion of maſter Wyat to pick out ſome matter agaynſt the Lord Courtney, & ſo in the ende, to entangle the Lady Eliſabeth, deuyſed a peſtilent practiſe of conueyance, as in the ſtory here followyng may appeare.

A poynt of practiſe of Ste. Gardiner agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth.

The ſtory is this. The ſameday that Syr Tho. Wyat dyed he deſired the Lieftenaunt to bring hym to the preſẽce of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lieftenaunte and the Shiriffes, kneling down vpon his knees, beſought the L. Courtney to forgeue hym, for that he had falſlye accuſed both the Lady Eliſabeth and him, & ſo being brought from thence vnto the ſcaffold to ſuffer, there openly in the hearing of all the people cleared the Lady Elyſabeth, and the Lord Courtney to be free and innocent from all ſuſpition of that commotion. At which confeſſion Doctor Weſton there ſtanding by, cryed to the people ſaying: Beleeue hym not good people, for hee confeſſed otherwiſe before vnto the Counſell.

D. Weſton agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth.

After the execution done of Syr Thomas Wyat, which was the 11. day of Aprill, word was brought immediatlye to the Lord Mayor Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how maſter Wyat had cleered the Lady Eliſabeth and Lord Courtney, and the wordes alſo which Doctor Weſtõ ſpake vnto the people. Whereunto the Lord Mayor aunſweryng: Is this true, quoth he? ſayd Weſtõ ſo? In ſooth I neuer tooke hym otherwiſe but for a knaue. Vpon thys the Lord Mayor ſitting down to dinner (who dyned the ſame day at ẏ Bridge houſe) commeth in Syr Martin Bowes wyth the Recorder, newly come from the Parliamẽt houſe who hearing of the Mayor and Shiriffes this report of Wiates confeſſion, both vpon the Scaffold and alſo in the Tower, marueyled thereat, declaringe how there was an other tale contrary to this, tolde the ſame day in the Parlyament houſe, which was, that Syr Thomas Wyat ſhould deſire the Lord Courtney to confeſſe the truth, ſo as he had done before.

The Lord Mayors iudgemẽt of D. Weſton.

Vpon this it followed not long after that a certain prentice dwelling in ſ. Laurence Lane named Cut, as hee was drinkyng with one Denhã a Plaſterer being one of Queene Maryes ſeruantes, amongeſt other talke made mentiõ how Syr Thomas Wyat had cleered the Lady Elyſabeth, and the Lord Courtney to be no conſenters to his riſing. Which wordes beinge brought to Gardyner, (by what meanes I know not) incontinent vpon the ſame, ſir Andrew Iudde was ſent by the ſayd Biſhop to the Lord Maior, commaũding hym to bring the ſayd Prentice to the Star Chamber which was accuſed of theſe wordes, that he ſhould ſay that Wyat was conſtrayned by the Counſell to accuſe the Lady Elyſabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow when he was come to the ſtarre Chamber the aforeſayd Gardyner letting paſſe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the wholl multytude, how miraculouſly almightye God had brought the Queenes Maieſty to the Crown, the wholl Realme in a maner being agaynſt her, & that he had brought this to paſſe for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, ẏ this Realme being ouerwhelmed with hereſies, ſhe might reduce agayn the ſame vnto the true Catholick fayth. And where ſhe tooke the Lady Elizabeth into her fauour, and loued her ſo tenderly, and alſo the Lord Courtney, who of long time had been deteyned in priſon, and by her was ſet at libertie, and receiued great benefites at her handes, and notwithſtanding all thys, they had conſpired moſt vnnaturallye and trayterouſly againſt her with that haynous Traytor Wiat, as by the confeſſion of Wiat (ſayd he) and the letters ſent to and fro may plainly appeare: yet there were ſome in the Citie of London, which reported that Wiat was conſtrayned by the Counſell to accuſe the Lady Elizabeth and the L. Courtney, and yet you my L. Maior (quoth he) haue not ſeen the ſame puniſhed.

Cut Prentice in London brought before Ste. Gardiner.

Ste. Gardiners tale in the ſtarre chamber agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth.

The party is here, ſayde the Lorde Maior. Take him with you (ſaid Gardiner) and puniſh him accordyng to his deſert, & ſayd further; My Lord, take heede to your charge the Citie of London is a whirlepole and ſincke of all euill rumors. There they bee bred, and from thence ſpreade into all partes of this Realme.

There ſtood by the ſame tyme the Lord Shandoys, who beyng then Lieftenaunt of the Tower, and nowe hearyng the Byſhop thus ſpeake, to ſooth his tale, came in wt theſe wordes as followeth.

The Lord Shandoys falſe report in the ſtarre chamber, agaynſt Lady Elizabeth and L. Courtney.

My Lordes (quoth hee) this is a truth that I ſhall tell you, I beyng Lieftenant of the Tower when Wiat ſuffred he deſired me to bryng him to the Lord Courtney. Whiche when I had done, he fell downe vpon his knees before hym in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſſe the truth of hym ſelfe, as he had done before, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Queenes Maieſties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the entent that the Reader perceiuyng the procedynges of the biſhop in the premiſſes, and comparyng the ſame with the true teſtimony of Wiat himſelfe, and with the teſtimony of the Shiriffes which were preſent the ſame tyme when Syr Tho. Wiat aſked the Lorde Courtney forgiuenes, maye the better iudge of the whole caſe and matter for the which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lorde Courtney were ſo long in trouble. Of whiche her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willyng) more ſhall be ſayd in the ſtory of her life. In the meane tyme, to let this matter ſtaye, let vs nowe paſſe further in our hiſtory.

Q. Mary not fauouring the Londoners.

Not long after this, Queene Mary partly fearyng the Londoners by occaſion of Wiates conſpiracy, partly perceiuyng moſt part of the Citie for religions ſake not greatly to fauour her procedynges, to their diſpleaſure and hinderaunce ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratifie that Citie, where both the Vniuerſitie, Towne, and Countrey had ſhewed them ſelues very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoryng popiſh religion. For this purpoſe great prouiſion was made, as wel by the Queenes officers and by the townes men and inhabitauntes of Oxford and the countrey about.

A Parliament holden pretended to be kept at Oxford.

But the Queenes mynde in ſhort ſpace chaunged, and the ſame Parlament was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill following. Then the Queene, beſide other thinges, propoſed concernyng her maryage to the kyng Philip, and reſtoryng of the Popes ſupremacie. As touchyng her mariage it was agreed vpon: but the other requeſt could not as then be obteyned.

A Parlament holden at Weſtminſter.

Mention of the Queenes maryage in the Parlament.

The ſame tyme when this Parliamẽt was ſommoned, ſhe alſo ſommoned a conuocation of biſhops and of the Clergie, writing vnto Boner (whom ſhe had made Vicegerent in the ſteede of Cranmer being in the tower) after the tenor and forme of a new ſtile, differyng from the olde ſtile of K. Henry and K. Edward, as followeth.

Boner made Vicegerent, and Preſident in the Conuocation.

¶The ſtile of Q. Mary altered writing to Boner for the ſommonyng of a Conuocation.

MAria dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſor. Reuerendo in Chriſto patri Edmundo London. Epiſc. Salutem. Licet nuper quibuſdam arduis & vrgentibus negotijs nos, ſecuritatem, & defenſionem eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem & tranquilitatem. &c.

Supremum caput in the Queenes ſtile taken away.

Where note (good Reader) concernyng the alteryng & chaungyng the Queenes ſtile, the latter part therof to bee left out of her title, which is: Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Hiberniæ ſupremum caput, becauſe in this preſent Parlament the ſupremacie beyng giuen awaye from the crowne of England to the Pope, therupõ this parcell of the title was alſo taken away. Likewiſe the ſayd Boner geuyng his Certificat vpon the ſame, leaueth out autoritate illuſtriſſimæ &c. legitime ſuffulcitus: which parcell alſo in the ſayd Parliament was repryued and taken away the ſame tyme.

Legitimè ſuffulcitus in the Byſhops title taken away.

¶The dignitie of Prieſtes extolled by biſhop Boner.

IN this foreſayd conuocation Boner B. of London being Vicegerent and Preſident as is ſayd, made a certain exhortation or oration to the Cleargie (whether it was in this conuocation or much about the ſaid tyme) wherin he ſeemeth to ſhew a great peece of hys profound and deepe learning in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable & ſuperangelicall order of Prieſthoode, as may appeare by this parcell or fragment of hys foreſayd Oration. Beinge collected and gathered by ſome that ſtoode by, which as it came to our handes ſo I thought to imparte it to the Reader, both ſo, that the Author of ſo worthy a worke ſhould not paſſe vnknowen, and partly alſo, for that the eſtimation of this bleſſed order ſhould loſe nothing of his preeminence, but might be knowẽ in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth aboue Angels & Kinges, if it be true that Boner ſayth.

Boner ſpeaketh for the honour of Prieſthoode.

¶ A peece or fragment of the exhortation made by Boner biſhop of London, to them of the Conuocation houſe, copied out by them that ſtoode by and heard him.

Boners Oration in praiſe of Prieſthode.

The profound exhortation of B. Boner in the Conuocation.

WHerfore it is to be knowen that Prieſtes and Elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they haue of god, as in Math.16. Whatſoeuer ye ſhal looſe vpon earth.&c. And whatſoeuer you ſhall bynd.&c. For a prieſt by ſome meanes is lyke Mary the virgin, and is ſhewed by thre pointes: As the bleſſed Virgin by fiue wordes did conceyue Chriſt, as it is ſayd; Luke.1. Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum: that is to ſay, Be it vnto me according to thy worde: ſo the prieſt by v wordes doth make the very body of Chriſt. Euen as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her wombe: ſo immediately after the ſpeakyng of the wordes of conſecration, the bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly, as the Virgin caried Chriſt in her armes, and layd him in an Oxe ſtall after hys birth: euen ſo the Prieſt after the conſecration, doth lift vp the body of Chriſt, & placeth it, and carieth it, and handleth it with hys handes. Thirdly, as the bleſſed Virgine was ſanctified before ſhe conceyued: ſo the Prieſt beyng ordeyned and annoynted before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders he could cõſecrate nothing, therfore the Lay man cannot do the thyng, although he be neuer ſo holy, and doe ſpeake the ſelfe ſame wordes of conſecration. Therfore here is to be knowen, that the dignity of prieſtes by ſome meanes paſſeth the dignity of Aungels, becauſe there is no power geuen to any of the Angels to make the body of Chriſt. Wherby the leaſt prieſt may do in earth, that the greateſt and higheſt Aungell in heauen can not do as ſ. Bernard ſayth: O worſhipfull dignitie of Prieſtes, in whoſe handes the Sonne of God is, as in the wombe of the Virgin he was incarnate. S. Auguſtine ſayth, that Angels in the conſecration of the ſacred hoſt doe ſerue him, and the Lord of heauen deſcendeth to him. Wherupon S.Ambroſe vpon Luke ſayth: Doubt thou not the Angels to be where Chriſt is preſent vpon the aulter. Wherefore Prieſtes are to be honoured before all kinges of the earth, Princes and Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher thẽ a kyng, happier then an Aungell, maker of hys Creator. Wherfore.&c.

Prieſtes compared to the virgin Mary in three poinctes.

Prieſthoode compared & preferred before the ſtate of Aungels.

Blaſphemy.

It was declared a little before how Doct. Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower: where beyng in durance, and inuited to the Lieftenantes table, he had certain talke or conference with Secretary Bourne, M. Fecknã and other concerning the controuerſies in religion: the ſũme wherof, as it was penned with hys owne hand, hereafter enſueth.

Here followeth the ſumme and effect of the communication betwene D.Ridley, and Secretary Bourne with others, at the Lieftenauntes table in the Tower.

Mr. Tho. Bridges.

Who is an heretike.

MAiſter Thomas of Bridges ſayd at his brother maiſter Lieftenauntes borde: I pray you M. Doctor, for my learnyng tell me what an heretike is. M. Secretary Bourne ſayd, I will tell you who is an heretike: who ſo ſtubburnly and ſtiffly mainteyneth an vntruth, he is an heretike. ye meant ſir (ſaid I) an vntruth in matters of religion, and concerning our fayth, yea that is true ſayd he: & in this we were ſoone agreed. Then ſayde M. Fecknam, ſitting at the vpper ende of the table, whom they called M. Deane of Paules: I will tell you by ſ. Auſtine who is an heretike. Qui adulandi Principibus vel lucri gratia falſas opiniones gignit vel ſequitur, hæreticus eſt, ſayth S. Auſtine & thẽ he engliſhed the ſame. Sir ſaid I, I wene ſ. Auſtine addeth the third member, which is, vel vanæ gloriæ cauſa. ye ſay euen true M. doctor, ſayd he, and thus farre we did agree all three.

An heretike defined by S. Auſten.

Fecknam prouoking M. Ridley.

M. Fecknam began agayne to ſay, who ſo doth not beleue that ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinately maintain the contrary, he is Hæreticus: as in the ſacrament of ÿ aulter. Mathew doth affirme there to be chriſtes body. Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paule affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therfore to hold the contrary it is hereſie. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was borne of the virgin: and this is confirmed by vnitie, antiquity, and vniuerſality. For none before Berengarius did euer doubt of this, & he was an heretike, as M. doctor there knoweth full well: I do teſtifie his owne conſcience ſayd he.

Vnitie, Antiquitie, Vniuerſalitie.

Mary ſir, ſaid maiſter Secretary, maiſter Fecknam hath ſpoken well. Theſe be great matters, vnitie, antiquity and vniuerſalitie. Do ye not ſo thinke M. Doctor ſayde he to me?

Here, while I ſtrayned curteſie & pretended as nothing to talke, ſayd one of the Commiſſioners: peraduenture M. Ridly doth agree with M. Fecknam, and thẽ there nedes not much debating of the matter.

Sir, ſayd I, in ſome thinges I do and ſhall agre with hym, and in ſome things which he hath ſpoken to be plaine, I do not agree with hym at all. Maiſters ſayd I, ye be (as I vnderſtand) the Quenes Commiſſioners here, & if ye haue commiſſion to examine me in theſe matters, I ſhal declare vnto you plainly my faith: if ye haue not, then I ſhall pray you either geue me leaue to ſpeake my mynd freely, or els to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſayd M. Secretary, that doth not fauour you: and then euery man ſhewed what fauour they bare towardes me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I ſtrayned to haue licence of thẽ in plain wordes to ſpeake my mynd, ſo me thought they graunted me it but vix ex ægrè. Well, at the laſt I was content to take it for licenced, and ſo began to talke.

M. Ridley aunſwering to Fecknam.

To M. Fecknams argumentes of the manifold affirmation where no deniall was, I anſwered: where is a multitude of affirmations in ſcripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concernyng the truth of the matter: for that any one of the Euangeliſtes ſpake inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them al. It is as true that John ſayth of Chriſt: Ego ſum oſtium ouium. i. I am the dore of the ſhepe, as if all had ſayd it. For it is not in ſcripture as in witnes of men where the number is credited more then one, becauſe it is vncertayne of whoſe ſpirit he doth ſpeake. And where M. Fecknam ſpake of ſo many, affirmyng without any negation. &c. Sir ſayd I, all they do affirme the thyng which they ment. Now if ye take their wordes and leaue their meanyng, then do they affirme what ye take, but not what they ment. Sir ſayd I, if in talke with you, I ſhould ſo vtter my mynd in wordes, that ye by the ſame do, and may plainly perceyue my meanyng, & could (if ye would be captious) cauill at my wordes & wryth them to an other ſence, I would thinke ye were no gentle companion to talke with, except ye would take my wordes as ye did perceiue that I did meane.

Truth in ſcripture goeth not by number of affirmation where one is ſufficient.

Wordes in ſcripture muſt be taken with their meaning.

Mary, quoth M. Secretary, he ſhould els do you plain iniury and wrong.

M. Fecknam perceiuyng whereunto my talke went, why (quoth he) what circumſtaunces can ye ſhew me that ſhould moue to thinke of any other ſence, then as the wordes plainly ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. i. This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you?

Hoc eſt corpus meum &c. expounded.

Sir ſayd I, euen the next ſentence that followeth: viz. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. i. Do this in my remembraunce. And alſo by what reaſon, ye ſay the breade is turned into Chriſtes carnall body: by the ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his miſtical body. For as that ſaith of it: Hoc eſt corpus quod pro vobis tradetur: ſo Paul which ſpake by Chriſtes ſpirit, ſayth: Vnus panis & vnum corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de vno pane participamus. i. We beyng many are all one bread and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.

Reaſons why theſe wordes ought to be taken not literally.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, ſayd Maiſter Secretary.

yea ſaid I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what ſay ye quoth Maiſter Secretary, of the Vniuerſalitie, antiquitie, and vnitie, that M. Fecknam dyd ſpeake of?

Vnitie with veritie to be allowed.

I enſure you, ſayd I, I thinke them matters weighty and to be conſidered well. As for vnitye, the truth is, before God, I do beleue it and embrace it, ſo it bee with veritie, & ioyned to our head Chriſt, and ſuch one as Paule ſpeaketh of, ſaying: Vna fides, vnus Deus, vnũ Baptiſma. i. One fayth, one God, one Baptiſme. And for antiquitie I am alſo perſuaded to be true that Irenæus ſayth: Quod primum verum i. (That is firſt is true. In our Religion Chriſtes fayth was firſt truly taught by Chriſt him ſelfe, by his Apoſtles and by many good men that from the beginnyng did ſucceede next vnto them: and by this controuerſie of the ſacrament I am perſuaded, that thoſe old wryters which wrote before the cõtrouerſie and the vſurpyng of the ſea of Rome, do all agree, if they be well vnderſtanded in this truth.

Antiquitie.

I am glad to heare, ſayd maiſter Secretary, that ye doe ſo well eſteme the Doctors of the Church.

Now as for vniuerſalitie, it may haue ij. meanynges: one to vnderſtand that to be Vniuerſall which from the begynnyng in all ages hath ben allowed, an other, to vnderſtand vniuerſalitie for the multitude of our age or of any other ſingular age.

Vniuerſality hath a double vnderſtanding.

No, no, ſayth Maiſter Secretary, theſe 3. do alwayes agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt, and here he and I chaunged many wordes. And finally, to be ſhort in this matter, we did not agree.

There was none, quoth Maiſter Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickleffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Carolſtadius, and Oecolampadius. And Carolſtadius, Melancton ad Myconium.

dius ſayth, Chriſt poynteth to his own body and not to the Sacrament, and ſayd: Hoc eſt Corpus meum. And Melancton wryteth to one Micronius (Miconius ſayd I) theſe or like words: Nullam ſatis grauem rationem inuenire poſſum, propter quam a fide maiorum in hac materia diſſentiam i. I can finde no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſēt from the beleefe of our forelders.

The doctrine of the ſacrament not new.

Thus when hee had ſpoken at length, wyth many other words mo: Syr ſayd I, it is certain that other before theſe haue written of this matter. Not by the way onely, and obiter, as doth for the moſt all the olde wryters, but euen ex profeſſo, and their wholl bookes intreate of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertrā, ſaid the Secretary, what man was he? & whom was he, and how do ye know? &c. with many queſtions.

Sir quoth I, I haue read hys booke: He proponeth the ſame which is now in controuerſie, and aunſwereth ſo dyrectly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that ẏ ſubſtance of bread remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament, and he wrote vnto Carolus magnus.

Mary (quoth he) marke for there is a matter. He wrote quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum, for no Author maketh any ſuch mention of Bertramus.

Yes quoth I, Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium ſcriptorum, ſpeaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late tyme: but he ſpeaketh quoth I of them that were of antiquitye. Here, after much talke of Bertram, what authors haue ye quoth M. Secretary to make of the ſacrament a figure?

Doctours that make the ſacramēt but a figure. Tertullianus. Gelaſius. Origine.

Sir quoth I, ye know (I thinke) that Tertullian in playn words ſpeaketh thus: Hoc eſt Corpus, id eſt, figura Corporis mei. i. This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. And Gelaſius ſayth plainly that Subſtantia panis manet. i, The ſubſtāce of bread remayneth. And Origē ſayeth likewiſe, Quod ſanctificatur ſecundum materiam, ingreditur ſtomachum & vadit in ſeceſſum. i. That which is ſanctyfied, as touching the matter or ſubſtance, paſſeth away into the draught. This when I had engliſhed, M. Secretary ſayd to me, you know very well as any man. &c. and here, if I would, I might haue ben ſet in a fooliſhe Paradiſe of hys commendation of my learning, and quòd eſſem vir multæ Lectionis. i. A man of muche reading. But thys I woulde not take at hys hande. He ſet me not vp ſo hye, but I brought my ſelfe as low agayne: and here was much adoe.

As for Melanctō (quoth I) whom M. Fecknam ſpake of, I maruell that ye will alledge hym, for we are more nye an agreement here in England, then the opinion of Melancthon to you: for in this poynt we al agree here, that there is in the ſacrament but one material ſubſtance: & Melancthon as I weene, ſayth there are two.

Ye ſay truth quoth maſter Secretary: Melancthons opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye haue read that the ſacrament was in olde time ſo reuerenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the miniſtration therof. Catecumeni (quoth he) and many mo.

Catechimeni and others went out at the miniſtration.

Truth ſir (quoth I) there were called ſome Audientes, ſome Pœnitentes, ſome Catechumeni, & ſome Edergumeni, which were commaunded to depart.

The booke of Catechiſme.

Now (quoth he) then. And how can ye then make but a Fygure or a ſigne of the ſacrament, as that booke which is ſet forth in my Lord of Canterburyes name. I wiſſe, ye can tel who made it, did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the reſt, as though they would haue geuē me the glory of the writyng of the Booke, which yet ther was ſayd of ſome there, to conteyne moſt haynous hereſie that euer was.

Maſter Secretary (quoth I) that booke was made of a great learned man, and hym which is able to doe the lyke agayn: as for me I enſure you (be not deceiued in me) I was neuer able to do or write any ſuch like thing, he paſſeth me no les, then the learned maſter hys young ſcholler.

Now, here euery man would haue his ſaying, which I paſſe ouer, not much materiall for to tell. But ſir quoth I, me thinkes it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that any man doth ſo lightly eſteem the ſacrament, as to make of it but a figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any more profit, which that booke doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader moſt plainly.

Yes quoth he that they doe.

Syr, no quoth I, of a truth: and as for me, I enſure you I make no leſſe of the ſacrament then thus: I ſay whoſoeuer receaueth the ſacrament, he receyueth therwith eyther lyfe or death.

No quoth maſter Secretary, ſcripture ſayth not ſo.

Auguſt.

Syr, quoth I, although not in the ſame ſound of words, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and ſaynt Auguſtine ſayth, in the ſound of words alſo: for Paul ſayth: The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or felowſhip of the body of Chriſt? And ſaint Auguſtine, Manduca vitam, Bibe vitam, i. eate lyfe, drinke lyfe.

Then ſayd maiſter Pope, what can ye make of it when ye ſay, there is not the reall body of Chriſt? Which I doe beleue, &c. and I pray God I may neuer beleue other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either lyfe or death, whē Chriſts body is not there?

The ſacrament may bring lyfe without tranſubſtanciation.

Syr, quoth I, when you heare Gods word truely preached, if ye do beleue it and abyde in it, ye ſhall and do receyue lyfe with all: and if ye do not beleue it, it doth bring vnto you death: and yet Chriſtes body is ſtill in heauen and not carnall in euery preachers mouth.

I pray you tel me quoth he, how can you anſwer to this: Quod pro vobis tradetur: which ſhal be geuen for you: was the figure of Chriſtes body geuen for vs?

No ſir quoth I, but the very body it ſelfe, whereof the ſacrament is a ſacramentall figure.

How ſay ye then quoth he, to, Quod pro vobis tradetur: which ſhall be geuen for you.

Tertullianus.

Forſooth, (quoth I) Tertullians expoſition maketh it playn, for he ſayth: Corpus eſt figura corporis, i. The body is a figure of the body. Now put to, Quod pro vobis tradetur. which ſhall be geuen for you, and it agreeth exceedinge well.

In fayth quoth he, I would geue xl. pound that ye were of a good opinion. For I enſure you I haue heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you maſter Pope, for your hart and minde, and ye know quoth I, I were a very foole if I would in this matter diſſent frō you, if that in my conſcience the truth dyd not enforce me ſo to doe. For iwiſſe (as ye do perceiue, I trow) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I woulde eſteeme worldly gayne.

Cyprian.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not ſay playnly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie ſed natura mutatus omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro? i. The Bread which the Lord dyd delyuer, being chaunged, not accordinge to the forme, but according to the nature therof, by the omnipotent word is made fleſh.

Doct. Ridley falſely reported for a ſermon of his at Paules.

True Syr: ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwere euen the ſame which once by chaunce I preached at Paules Croſſe in a Sermon, for the which I haue been as vniuſtly and as vntruely reported as any poore man hath been. For there I, ſpeaking of the ſacrament, and inueying agaynſt them that eſteemed it no better then a peece of bread, told euen ẏ ſame thing of Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catecumeni, Energumeni, that I ſpake of before: and I bad them depart as vnworthy to heare the myſtery, and then I ſayde to thoſe that bee Sancti: Cypriā the Martir ſhal tel you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying Panis eſt corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c. id eſt. Bread is the body, meat, drink, fleſh, becauſe that vnto this materyall ſubſtance is geuen the propertye of ẏ thing wherof it beareth the name: and this place then tooke I to vtter as the tyme would then ſuffer, that the materiall ſubſtance of bread dyd remayne. Maſter Fecknā (which as is reported to me) dyd bely me openly in the ſame matter at Pauls Croſſe, heard all this my talke (as red as Scarlet in hys face) and herin anſwered me neuer one worde.

The place of Saint Cyprian expoūded

You do know well, quoth M. Secretary, that Origines and Tertullian were not Catholicke but erred.

None of all the Doctours holde in all pointes.

Syr, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all poyntes, but are thought to haue erred in ſome thinges, But yet I neuer heard that it was eyther layd to Origens charge or to Tertulliā, ẏ euer they were thought to haue erred in this matter of the ſacrament.

S. Auguſtine taketh the wordes of the ſacramēts figuratiuely by Bournes owne confeſſion.

What, quoth M. Chomley, late chiefe Iuſtice, doth not Chriſt ſay plainly, that it is his very fleſh & his very bloud, and we muſt needes eate hym, or we can haue no life? Syr, quoth I: if you will heare how ſ. Auguſtine expoūdeth that place, you ſhall perceaue that you are in a wrong box. And when I began to tell ſ. Auguſtines minde in hys booke De doctrina Chriſtiana: yea, yea, quoth M. Secretary. that is true, ſ. Auguſtine doth take it figuratiuely in deede,

Forty yeares agoe quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter,

Forty yeares ago (quoth I) all held that the Byſhop of Rome was ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church.

What then? was maſter Fecknam beginning to ſay &c. but M. Secretary tooke the tale, and ſayd, that was but a poſitiue law.

Diſt. 21. Quamuis.

A poſitiue law, quoth I? No Syr, he would not haue it ſo: for it is in hys Decrees, that he challēged it by Chriſtes own worde. For hys Decree ſaith: Nullis Synodicis conſtitutis, neq; Conſiliis, ſed viua voce Domini prælata eſt Eccleſia Romana omnibus Eccleſiis in toto Mundo: dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus: &c. The Church of Rome was aduaunced aboue all other Churches in the worlde, not by any Synodical conſtitutions, nor yet any coūſels, but by the lyuely voyce of the lord,accordyng as the Lord ſayd to Peter: Thou art Peter.&c. And in an other place he entreateth. Tu eſt cephas,id eſt,caput.i.Thou art Cephas,that is to ſay, the head.

Tuſh,it was not counted an Article(quoth M.Secretary)of our fayth.

Yes,ſayd I,if ye cal that an Article of our fayth,which is to be beleued vnder payne of damnation. For he ſayeth: Omninò definimus,declaramus,pronuntiamus, omnem creaturam ſubeſſe Romano pontifici,de neceſſitate ſalutis.i.We do abſolutely determine,declare,and pronounce, that euery creature is ſubiect to the obedience of the biſhop of Rome vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation.

And here when we ſpake of lawes and decrees M.Roger Chomley thought himſelf much wronged,that he could not be ſuffred to ſpeake, the reſt were ſo redy to interrupte hym: and then he vp and told a long tale what lawes were of kings of England made againſt the biſhop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the Clergy did flie to him. And here becauſe he ſeemed to ſpeak of many things beſide our purpoſe,wherof we ſpake before he was anſwered of hys owne fellowes,and I let them talke.

B.Ridleys bookes geuen away.

Finally,we departed in peace, and Maiſter Secretary promiſed in the ende,that of their talke there ſhould come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my bookes,he ſayd they were all once geuen hym:but ſith I know(ſayd he) who hath them now,write me the names of ſuche as ye woulde haue, and I wyll ſpeake for you the beſt,I can.

Miniſters diuorced from their wiues.

Upon the Articles aboue mencioned, and Inquiſition made vpon the ſame, diuers Miniſters were diuorced from their wyues. Amongeſt whom was one John Draper, and Joane Golde his wyfe,in the Dioceſſe of London, troubled and vexed for the ſame by Boner Biſh.of London, who ſent forth a Commiſſion with a proceſſe, to ſequeſter and ſeperate them, enioynyng alſo penaunce to the poore woman.

Beſides this John Draper, diuers other alſo were diuorced the ſame tyme againſt their wils, & ſome contented of their own vncōſtāt accord,to be ſeperated of theyr wiues: as of Chicheſter one(who becauſe he ſoone recouered again ſhall be here nameles) an other named Edmond Alſtone, an other Alexander Bull,amongſt whom alſo was Doctor Standiſh,with many other: whoſe names together in the ende of this ſtorye of Queene Mary, we maye peraduenture,by Gods grace in a generall Catalogue,together comprehende.

❡How Tho.Cranmer Archb. Biſhop Ridley, and M.Latimer were ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute, with the order and maner,and al other circumſtances vnto the ſayd diſputation, and alſo,to their condemnation appertainyng.

Aprill.10.

D.Cranmer, D.Ridly,& M. Latymer ſent downe to Oxford to diſpute.

The Uniuerſitie Doctors appointed to diſpute againſt the Archb. & his felowes.

ABout the tenth of Aprill,Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury,Ridley B.of London, and Hugh Latimer B. alſo ſometyme of Worceſter, were conueyed as priſoners frō the Tower to Wyndſore: and after from thence to the Uniuerſitie of Oxford,there to diſpute with the Diuines and learned men of both the Uniuerſities, Oxford and Cambridge,about the preſence,ſubſtance and ſacrifice of the Sacrament. The names of the Uniuerſitie doctors and Graduates,appoynted to diſpute againſt them were theſe: Of Oxford,Doctor Weſton Prolocutor,D.Treſham, Doctor Cole,D.Oglethorp,D.Pie,M.Harpſfield,M.Fecknam Of Cambridge D.Yong Uicechauncellour, Doctor Glin, Doctor Seton,D.Watſon,D.Sedgewike, D.Atkinſon, &c.The articles or queſtions wherupon they ſhould diſpute were theſe.

Three queſtiōs.

1 Whether the natural body of Chriſt be really in the ſacrament after the wordes ſpoken by the prieſt,or no?
2 Whether in the ſacrament after the wordes of conſecration,any other ſubſtance do remayne,then the ſubſtāce of the body and bloud of Chriſt?
3 Whether in the maſſe be a ſacrifice propiciatory for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Letters ſent downe from Ste.Gardiner to Cambridge.

A grace for Articles.

A grace for the Cambridge Doctors to diſpute agaynſt Cranmer, Ridley,and Latymer.

Touching the order and maner of all which things there done,with the notes,argumēts,and all circumſtances therunto pertaynyng,to deduce the matter from the begynnyng, leauyng out nothing(as nere as we may)that ſhal ſeme neceſſary to be added, firſt here is to be vnderſtand that vpon ſaterday the 7.day of Aprill, the heads of the Colledges in Cambridge beyng congregate together, letters commyng downe from St.Gardiner Lord Chauncellor, were redde with Articles therwith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed vpon at Oxford:the contentes of the whiche three Articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before, Wherupon in the ſayd congregation of the aforeſayd Uniuerſitie of Cambridge,there was graunted firſt a grace in this forme propoſed by ẏ Seniour Proctour:Placet vobis vt inſtrumentum fiat,quod horum iam prælectorum,articulorum doctrina ſana ſit & catholica,atque, cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei conſentiens, & veſtro conſenſu,& ſuffragijs comprobetur? That is: may it pleaſe you to haue an inſtrument made that the doctrine of theſe foreſayd Articles may be ſound and Catholicke and conſonant with the verytie of the right meanyng fayth, & that the ſame may bee approued by your conſent and voyces? Secondly in the ſayd congregatiō,an other grace was geuen and graūted,that Doct. Yong beyng the Uicechauncellor,D.Glin,Doct.Atkinſon,Doct.Scot,& M.Sedgewicke ſhould goe to Oxford to defende the ſayd Articles againſt Canterbury,London,and Latymer: Alſo to haue letters to the Oxford men,ſealed with their common ſeale: Item,an other grace graunted to M.Sedgewike,to be actuall Doctor,beyng therupon immediately admitted. The foreſayd letters beyng thē drawn out,the third day after(which was the xj.day of Aprill) were read in the foreſayd congregation houſe and there ſealed.

The cōming of the Cambridge men to Oxford.

Wherupon the next day after(the xij. of the ſayd moneth) the foreſayd Doctours,with the full grace of that vniuerſitie,ſet forward to Oxford:and Commyng thether ẏ next day after (beyng Fryday , the xiij. of Aprill) were lodged all at the Croſſe Inne,with one Wakeclyne, beyng ſometyme ſeruaunt to Byſhop Boner.

Their welcomming to Oxford.

The Cambridge Doctors repayre to D.Weſtō.

The three priſoners Cranmer, Ridley and Latymer, diſſeuered.

Anone after their commyng, Doct. Crooke preſented them with wyne for their welcome: and ſhortly after,two of the Bedelles came from the Uicechauncellour of Oxford,and preſented the Uicechauncellour of Cambridge with a diſh of Appels, and a gallon of wyne. After whom next came M.Pye and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after conſultation concernyng the deliuery of their letters and inſtrument of grace(whiche was in Doct.Seton and Watſons keepyng) they went all to Lyncolne Colledge to Doct.Weſton the Prolocutor,and to the Uicechauncellour D.Treſham: and there they deliuered their letters,and declared what they had done touching the Articles, letters, and graces. Halfe houre after 8.they returned to theyr Inne agayn: but firſt they concluded of a Proceſſion,Sermon,& conuocation to bee had the morowe folowyng, and that the Doctours of Cambridge ſhoulde bee incorporate in the Uniuerſitie of Oxford,and likewiſe that the Doctors of Oxford ſhould be incorporate in the Uniuerſity of Cambridge. The ſame day the forenamed priſoners were diſſeuered,as was ſayd afore: Doct.Ridley to Alderman Iryſhes houſe M.Latimer to an other,and D. Cranmer remayned ſtyll in Bocardo.

Cōſultatiō.

The Doctors in their ſcarlet robes

On Saterday (beyng the xiiij. of Aprill)at eyght of the clocke,the foreſayd Uicechauncellour of Cambridge with the other Doctours of the ſame Uniuerſitie: repayred to Lincolne Colledge agayne, and found the Prolocutour aboue in a Cappell, with the company of the houſe ſingyng Requiem Maſſe,and taryed there vntill the end, Then they conſultyng altogether in the Maiſters lodgyng,about ix. of the clocke came all to the Uniuerſitie Churche called S. Maries,and there,after ſhort conſultation in a Cappel,the Uicechauncellor the Prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, cauſed the Uicechauncellour of Cambridge & the reſt of the Doctors of that Uniuerſitie,to ſend for their ſcarlet robes,brought from Cambridge,ſaue that Doct.Seton and Watſon borowed of the Oxford men. And in this tyme,the Regentes in the Congregation houſe,had granted all the Cambridge Doctours theyr graces,to be incorporate there, and ſo they went vp and were admitted immediatly,Doct. Oglethorp preſentyng them,and the Proctour readyng the ſtatute, & geuyng them their othes.

Maſſe in pikeſauce, in prickeſong I would ſay.

The cauſes of their aſſembly declared.

Cambridge letters read. Three Notaries aſſigned. Subſcribing to the articles.

That done,they came all into the Quier,and there helde the conuocation of the Uniuerſitie. They had Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſong in prickeſong, by the Quier men of Chriſtes Churche. But firſt the cauſe of the Conuocation was opened in Engliſhe, partly by the Uicechauncellour, and partly by the Prolocutour, declaryng that they were ſent by the Queene,and wherfore they were ſent: and cauſed Maiſter Say the Regiſter,openly to read the Commiſſion. That done,the Uicechauncellour read Cambridge letters openly,and then concluded that 3. Notaries, Maiſter Say for the Conuocation, a Bedell of Cambridge for that vniuerſitie,and one Maiſter White for Oxford,ſhould teſtifie of their doing:and then willed the ſayd Notaries to prouide parchement, that the whole aſſembly might ſubſcribe to the Articles, ſaue thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the Conuocation houſe at London and Cambridge, and ſo the Uicechauncellour began firſt: after hym the reſt of the Oxford men, as many as could in the Maſſe tyme.

The

1554. Aprill.

Proceſſion in Oxforde. The aray of the ſolemne proceſſion.

The Maſſe beyng done, they went in proceſſion: Firſt the Quier in their ſurplices followed the Croſſe: then the firſt yeare Regentes and Proctours: then the Doctors of law, and theyr Bedell before them: then the doctours of diuinitie of both Uniuerſities intermingled, the Diuinitie & arte Bedles goyng before them, the Uicechauncellour and the Prolocutour goyng together. After them Bachelers of Diuinitie, Regentes, & non Regentes, in theyr aray: and laſt of all, the Bachelers of Law and Art. After whom followed a great company of ſcholers and ſtudentes not graduate. And thus they proceeded thorough the ſtreete to Chriſtes church, and there the quier ſang a Pſalme, and after yͤ a collect was read. This done, departed the Commiſſioners, doctours, and many other to Lincolne Colledge, where they dyned with the Mayor of the towne, one Alderman, foure Bedels, Maiſter Hay, and the Cambridge Notary. After diner they went all agayne to S. Maries Church: & there, after a ſhort conſultation in a Chappell, all the Commiſſioners came into the Quier, and ſate all on ſeates before the Aulter, to the number of 33. perſons: And firſt they ſent to the Moyor, that he ſhould bryng in Doct. Cranmer, which withiin a whyle was brought to them with a great number of ruſty bilmen.

An other conſultation of the Doctours and prelates.

Archbyſhop Cranmer brought before the Doctours and hyghe prelates at S. Maryes Church. The reuerend humilitie and behauiour of the Archb. before them.

Thus the reuerend Archb. when he was brought before the Commiſſioners, reuerenced them with much humility, and ſtoode with hys ſtaffe in hys hande: who notwithſtandyng hauing a ſtoole offred hym, refuſed to ſit. Then the Prolocutor ſittyng in the midſt in a ſcarlet gowne, beganne with a ſhort Preface or Oratiõ, in prayſe of vnity, and eſpecially in the church of Chriſt: declaryng with all his bringing vp, and takyng degrees in Cambridge, and alſo how he was promoted by king Henry, and had bene hys counſailor and a Catholike man, one of the ſame vnitie, and a member therof in tymes paſt: but of late yeares did ſeparate and cut of himſelf from it, by teachyng and ſettyng forth of erroneous doctrine, making euery yere a new fayth: therefore it pleaſed the Quenes grace, to ſend them of the Conuocation and other learned men to bring hym to this vnity againe, if it might be. Then ſhewed he hym how they of the Conuocation houſe, had agreed vpon certayne articles, wherunto they willed hym to ſubſcribe.

The aūſwere of the Archb. to D. Weſtõ.

The Archb. aunſwered to the preface very wittily, modeſtly, and learnedly, ſhewyng that he was very glad of an vnitie, for as much as it was Conſeruatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Chriſtianorum. i. the preſeruer of all common wealthes, as well of the Heathen, as of the Chriſtians: and ſo he dilated the matter with one or two ſtories of the Romaines Common wealth. Which thyng when he had done, he ſayd, that he was very glad to come to an vnitie, ſo that it were in Chriſt, and agreable to hys holy worde.

When he had thus ſpoken hys full mynd, the Prolocutor cauſed the Articles to be red vnto hym, and aſked if hee would graunt and ſubſcribe vnto them. Then the Biſhop of Canterbury did read them ouer thre or foure tymes, and touchyng the firſt article he aſked what they ment by these termes verũ & naturale. i. true & naturall. Do you not meane ſayth he, Corpus organicum. i. a ſenſible body? Some anſwered, Idẽ quod natus eſt ex virgine. i. the ſame that was born of the Virgin: and ſo confuſedly, ſome ſayd one thing ſome an other. Then the Biſhop of Canterbury denied it vtterly and when he had looked vpon the other two, he ſayde they were all falſe and againſt Gods holy worde: And therefore would not he agree he ſaid, in that vnitie with them. Which done, the Prolocutor firſt willyng him to write his mynde of them that night, ſayd moreouer that he ſhould diſpute in them, and cauſed a copy of the Articles to be deliuered him, aſſigning hym to anſwer therunto on Monday next: and ſo charged the Mayor with him agayne, to be had to Bocardo where he was kept before: offryng moreouer vnto him, to name what bookes he would occupy, and he ſhould haue them brought vnto hym. The Archbiſhop was greatly commended of euery body for hys modeſty: In ſo much, that ſome Maiſters of Arte were ſeene to weepe for him, which in iudgement were contrary to him.

The articles denyed by the Archb.

Bocardo. rough warning geuen to Cranmer to diſpute.

D. Ridley brought in. Aunſwere of Biſh. Ridley to the Articles.

B. Ridley falſely reported for hys ſermon.

Then was Doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing the Articles read vnto hym, aunſwered without any delay, ſaying: they were all falſe, and ſayd further, that they ſprang out of a bitter and ſower roote. His aunſwers were ſharpe witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a ſermon that he made when he was Biſhop of Rocheſter, wherin (they ſayd) he ſpake with the tranſubſtantiation. He denied it vtterly, and aſked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would ſay and affirme with thẽ the ſame. They could bring no proofe of it at all. After that he was aſked of one whether he deſired not my lord Chancellor that now is, to ſticke to the maſſe, and other thynges? He ſayd, that my lord would ſay no ſuch thinges or wordes of hym: for if he did, he reported not the truth of hym.

B. Ridley appointed to diſpute next day after the Archb.

Then he was aſked whether he woulde diſpute or no? He aunſwered: that as long as god gaue hym lyfe, he ſhould not onely haue his hart, but alſo hys mouth & penne to defende hys truth: but he required tyme and bookes. They ſayd he could not, and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that time he ſhould haue bookes. He ſayde it was not reaſon that he might not haue his owne bookes, & time alſo to looke for his diſputatiõ. Then gaue they hym the articles, & bad hym write his minde of them that night, & ſo did they commaunde the Maior to haue him from whence he came.

M. Latimer brought in.

Laſt of all came in M. Latimer in lyke ſort, with a kerchiefe, & 2. or 3. cappes on hys head, hys ſpectacles hangyng by a ſtring at hys breaſt, and a ſtaffe in hys hand, and was ſet in a chayre; for ſo was he ſuffered by the Prolocutor. And after hys denyall of the articles, when he had Wedneſday appoynted for diſputation, he alledged age, ſicknes, diſuſe, & lacke of books, ſaying, that he was almoſt as meete to diſpute as to be a captaine of Calice: but he would (he ſaid) declare hys mynde eyther by wrytyng or by word, & would ſtand to all that they could lay vpon hys backe: complaynyng moreouer that he was permitted to haue neither pen, nor yncke, nor yet any booke, but onely the new Teſtament there in hys hand, which he ſaid, he had read ouer vij. times deliberatly, & yet coulde not finde the maſſe in it, neyther the marybones nor ſinewes of the ſame. At which wordes the Commiſſioners were not a litle offended, and Doct. Weſton ſayd, that he would make hym graunt, that it had both marybones and ſinewes in the new Teſtament. To whome M. Latymer ſayd agayne: that wyll you neuer do maiſter Doctour: and ſo forthwyth they put hym to ſilence, ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he ment by thoſe termes, he could not be ſuffered: there was a very great preaſſe and throng of people: and one of the Bedles ſwounded by reaſon thereof, and was caryed into the Ueſtry. After this, bringyng home the Prolocutor firſt, the Cambridge men, videlicet: D. Yong Uicechauncellor, Seton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon, Sedgewicke, went to the Croſſe Inne to ſupper. And this was on Saterday beyng the 14. day of Aprill.

M. Latymer could not finde the Maſſe in all the new Teſtament.

What he meaneth by the marybones of the Maſſe, read after in his proteſtatiõ geuen in wrytyng to the Prolocutour.

Aprill. 15.

On Sonday after, M. Harpſfielde preached at S. Maries the Uniuerſitie Church, at ix. of the clocke, where were diuers of the Doctors of the Uniuerſitie in their robes and placed accordyngly. After the Sermõ they went all to dyner to Magdalene Colledge, and there had a great dyner. They ſupped at Lincolne Colledge with the Prolocutor: whether Doct. Cranmer ſent aunſwere of his minde vpon the Articles, in wrytyng.

Aprill. 16.

Subſcriptions.

On Monday (beyng the 16. of Aprill) Maiſter Say & M. White Notaryes, went about in the mornyng to the Colledges, to gette ſubſcriptions to the Articles. And about viij. of the clocke the Prolocutor wyth all the Doctors and the Uicechauncellour mette together at Exeter Colledge, and ſo they went into the ſchooles: and when the Uicechauncellour, the Prolocutour and Doctours were placed, and foure appoynted to be Exceptores Argumentorum, ſet at a table in the myddeſt, and foure Notaryes ſittyng wyth them, D. Cranmer came to the Aunſwerers place, the Mayor and Aldermen ſitting by hym, and ſo the diſputation began to be ſet a worke by the Prolocutor with a ſhort Præludium. Doct Chedſey began to argue firſt: and ere he left, the Prolocutour diuers times, D. Treſham, Oglethorpe, Marſhall Uicechauncellor, Pye, Cole, and Harpſfield did interrupt and preſſe hym wyth their Argumentes, ſo that euery man ſayd ſomewhat, as the Prolocutour would ſuffer diſorderly, ſometyme in Latin, ſometyme in Engliſhe, ſo that iij. houres of the tyme was ſpent, ere the Uicechauncellour of Cambridge began: who alſo was interrupted as before. He beganne with three or foure queſtions ſubtelly. Here the Bedles had prouided drinke, & offered the Aunſwerer: but he refuſed with thankes. The Prolocutour offered him, if he would make water or otherwiſe eaſe hymſelfe, he ſhould. Thus the diſputation continued vntill almoſt two of the clocke, with thys applauſũ Audientium: vicit veritas. Then were all the argumentes (written by the foure appointed) deliuered into the hand of Maiſter Say, Regiſter. And as for the priſoner, he was had away by the Maior: And the Doctors dyned together at the Uniuerſitie Colledge.

4. Exceptores Argumentorum.

Cranmer ſet in the Reſpondents place.

D. Cranmer cloſed in by the Mayor & Aldermen for running away.

Diſputers agaynſt the archb.

The Archb offered drinke.

D. Cranmer after diſputation returned agayne to Bocardo.

And thus much concernyng the generall order and maner of theſe diſputations, wyth ſuch circumſtaunces as there happened, and thynges there done, as well before the diſputations, and in the preparation thereof, as alſo in the tyme of their diſputing. Now foloweth to inſerte and declare the Orations, Argumentes, and Aunſweres, vſed and brought forth in the ſayd diſputations on both partes.

An.1554.

The Argumentes, reaſons, and allegations vſed in this diſputation.

Aprill.16.

ON Monday, D.Weſton, withall the reſidue of the Viſitours, Cenſors, and Opponents: repairing to the Diuinitie ſchole, eche one enſtalled themſelues in their places. D.Cranmer with a route of ruſty bils was brought thether, and ſet in the aunſwerers place, with the Mayor & Aldermen ſitting by hym. where D.Weſton Prolocutor, apparelled in a ſcarlet gowne (after the cuſtome of the Vniuerſitie) began the diſputation, with this Oration. His wordes in latine as he ſpake them were theſe.

D.Weſton ſpeaketh truer then he wiſte.

Conueniſtis hodie fratres profligaturi deteſtandam illam hæreſin de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento, &c. that is: ye are aſſembled hether (brethren) this day, to confound that deteſtable hereſie of the veritie of the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. &c. At which wordes thus pronounced of the Prolocutor vnwares, diuers of the learned men there preſent, conſideryng and well wayng the wordes by hym vttered, burſt out into a great laughter, as though euen in the entraunce of the diſputations, he had bewrayed himſelfe and hys Religion, that termed the opinion of the veritie of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, a deteſtable hereſie. The reſt of hys Oratiõ tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods worde to call theſe queſtions into controuerſie: for ſuch as doubted of the wordes of Chriſt, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God.

Wherunto Doctor Cranmer deſiring licence, aunſwered in this wyſe.

D.Cranmers aunſwere to the preface.

We are aſſembled (ſayth he) to diſcuſſe theſe doubtfull controuerſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: wherof ye thinke it vnlawfull to diſpute. It is in dede no reaſon (ſayth he) that we ſhould diſpute of ỷ which is determined vpon before the truth bee tried. But if theſe queſtions be not called in controuerſie, ſurely mine aunſwer then is looked for in vayne. This was the ſumme and effect of hys aunſwer: and this done, he prepared hymſelfe to diſputations.

D.Chadſey.

Then Chedſey the firſt Opponent began in this wyſe to diſpute.

Reuerend M.Doctor, theſe 3.concluſions are put forth vnto vs at this preſent to diſpute vpon.

Articles.

1 In the Sacrament of the aulter is the naturall bodye of Chriſt, conceiued of the Virgin Mary, and alſo hys bloude preſent really vnder the formes of bread & wyne, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the prieſt.

2 There remayneth no ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtaunce, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3 The liuely ſacrifice of the church is in the Maſſe, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead.

Theſe be the concluſions propounded, wherupon this our preſent controuerſie doth reſt. Nowe to the en de we might not doubt how you take the ſame, you haue a lready geuen vp vnto vs your opinion therof. I terme it your opinion, in that it diſagreeth from the catholike. Wherfore thus I argue.

Argument.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the ſcripture.
Ergo, you are deceyued.
Cranmer. I deny the antecedent.
Ched. Chriſt when he inſtituted hys laſt ſupper, ſpake to hys Diſciples: Take, eate, this is my body, which ſhalbe geuen for you.
But his true body was geuen for vs:
Ergo, hys true body is in the ſacrament.

☞ The right forme of this Argument is thus to be framed.

Argument.

Da- The ſame which was geuen for vs, is in ỷ ſacramẽt.
ri- But his true body was geuen for vs:
j. Ergo, hys true body is in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere. How Chriſtes body is preſent in his Sacramẽt

Cran. His true body is truely preſent to them that truely receyue him: but ſpiritually. And ſo is it taken after a ſpirituall ſort. For when he ſayd: This is my body, it is al one as if he had ſayd, this is the breaking of my body, this is the ſheding of my bloud. As oft as you ſhall do this, it ſhall put you in remembraunce of the breakyng of my body, and the ſhedyng of my bloud: that as truely as you receiue this ſacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receyue the benefite promiſed by receiuyng the ſame worthely.

Argument of the authoritie of the Church.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church, which ſaith that the true body is in the ſacrament.
Ergo, your opinion therin is falſe.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I ſay and agree with the Church, that the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament effectually, becauſe the Paſſion of Chriſt is effectuall.

Ched. Chriſt, when he ſpake theſe wordes: This is my body, ſpake of the ſubſtaunce, but not of the effect.

Cran. I graunt he ſpake of the ſubſtaunce, and not of the effect after a ſort: and yet it is moſt true that the bodye of Chriſt is effectually in the ſacrament. But I deny that he is there truly preſent in bread, or that vnder the bread is his organicall body. And becauſe it ſhould be to tedious (he ſaid) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he deliuered vp there hys opinion therof to D.Weſton written at large, with anſwers to euery one of their 3.propoſitions: which he deſired D.Weſton, ſittyng there on high, to reade openly to the people: which he promiſed to doe. But it was not the firſt promiſe that ſuch Papiſtes haue broken.

Chriſtes body effectually, not ſubſtantially in the ſacramẽt.

Papiſtes falſe of promiſe.

The copy of this writyng, although it were not there read, yet the contentes therof here we haue drawen out as followeth.

An explication of Cranmer vpon the foreſayd Concluſions exhibited in writyng.

The cõtents of Crãmers explication geuen vp in writing.

CRan. In the aſſertions of the Church and of religion, triflyng and new fangled nouelties of wordes, ſo much as may be, are to be eſchued, wherof ryſeth nothyng but contention and brawlyng about wordes, and we muſt follow ſo much as we may, the maner of ſpeakyng of the ſcripture.

How Chriſt is really preſent.

In the firſt concluſion if ye vnderſtande by this worde [really] reipſa, i. in very dede, and effectually, ſo Chriſt by the grace and efficacy of his Paſſion is in deede and truly preſent to all hys true and holy members.

Organical is called that which is a perfect body, hauing all the mẽbers and partes complete belõging vnto the ſame.

But if ye vnderſtand by this word [really] Corporaliter, i. Corporally, ſo that by the body of Chriſt is vnderſtanded a naturall body and organicall: ſo the firſt propoſition doth vary, not onely from vſuall ſpeache and the phraſe of ſcripture, but alſo is cleane contrary to the holy word of god and chriſtian profeſſion: when as both the ſcripture doth teſtifie by theſe wordes, and alſo the Catholike church hath profeſſed from the begynnyng, Chriſt to haue lefte ỷ worlde and to ſit at the right hande of the father till hee come vnto Iudgement.

Aunſwere to the ſecond Concluſion.

And lykewiſe I aunſwere to the ſecond queſtion: that is that it ſwarueth from the accuſtomed maner and ſpeach of Scripture.

Aunſwere to the third Concluſion. The third Concluſion contumelious agaynſt Chriſt.

The thyrd concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtfull and ambiguous wordes, & differyng alſo much from the true ſpeach of the Scripture, ſo as the wordes therof ſeeme to importe in open ſenſe: it is moſt contumelious agaynſt our onely Lord and Sauiour Chriſt Jeſus, & a violatyng of his precious bloud, whiche vpon the the aultar of the Croſſe is the onely ſacrifice and oblation for the ſinnes of all mankynd.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you haue made vppon the firſt concluſion, this I vnderſtand, the body of Chriſt to bee in the Sacrament onely by the way of participation: in ſo much as we communicatyng therof: do participate the grace of Chriſt: ſo that you meane hereby onely the effect therof. But our concluſion ſtandeth vpon the ſubſtance, and not the efficacy onely, whiche ſhall appeare by the teſtimonye both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thouſand yeare after Chriſt.

Math.26.

Mar.14.

Luke.22.

And firſt to begyn with the Scripture, let vs conſider what is written in Math.26. Mark.14. Luke.22. firſt to the Corinth.11. Mathew ſayth: As they ſat at Supper Ieſus tooke bread, &c. In Marke there is the ſame ſenſe, although not the ſame wordes: who alſo for one parte of the Sacrament ſpeaketh more playnely. Ieſus takyng bread, &c. After the ſame ſenſe alſo writeth Luke.22. And when Ieſus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes ſayth the Scripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we haue three witneſſes together, that Chriſt ſayd that to be his body which was geuen for many: and that to bee his bloud whiche ſhould be ſhed for many: wherby is declared the ſubſtance and not onely the efficacy of his body.

Ergo, it is not true that you ſay there to be, not the ſubſtance of his body, but the efficacy alone therof.

Subſtance & efficacie both graunted in the ſacrament.

Cran. Thus you gather vpon myne aunſwere, as though I dyd meane of the efficacy, and not of the ſubſtance of the body: but I meane of them both, as well of the efficacy as the ſubſtance. And for ſo much as all thinges come not readily to memory, to a man that ſhall ſpeak ex tempore, therfore for the more ample and fuller aunſwere in the matter, this wrytyng here I do exhibite.

An explication exhibited by Cranmer.

An other explication for aunſwere exhibited in writing, by the Archb.

OUr Lord and ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, at the tyme of his Maundy, preparing himſelfe to die for our cauſe, that he might redeme vs from eternall death, to forgeue vs all our

ſinnes

ſtrymens, & to cancel out the hand writyng ỹ was againſt vs, ỹ we through ingratefull obliuiõ ſhould not forget his death: therfore he at ỹ tyme of his holy ſupper did inſtitute a perpetuall memory of this his death, to be celebrated among chriſtians in bread & wine, according as it is ſaid: Do this in remẽbrance of me. And ſo often as you ſhal eate this bread, & drinke thys cup, you ſhal ſhew forth the lordes death tyll he come. And this remembraunce or Sacrament of his holye paſſion, that is, of his body ſlayne and bloud ſhed, he would all Chriſtians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wyne, according as he ſayd Take eate: And drinke ye all of this. Therfore, who ſo euer for mans tradition denyeth the cup of Chriſtes bloude to Lay men, they manifeſtly repugne agaynſt Chriſt, forbidding that which Chriſt commaunded to be done, and be like to thoſe Scribes and Phariſes of whom the Lord ſpeake, Ye hipocrites, ye haue reiected the commaundementes of God for your traditions. Wel did Eſay prophecy of you, ſaying: Thys people honoureth mee with their lyps, but their hart is farre from mee. Without cauſe do they worſhip mee, teaching the doctrines and preceptes of men.

The finall cauſe why the ſupper was ordeyned.

Math. 15.

Luke. 7.

The ſacrament and miſticall bread, beyng broken and diſtributed after the inſtitution of Chriſt, and the miſticall wyne lykewiſe beyng taken and receiued, be not only ſacramentes of the fleſhe of Chriſte wounded for vs, and of hys bloudſhedyng, but alſo be moſt certayne ſacramentes to vs and, (as a man would ſaye) ſeales of Gods promiſes and giftes, and alſo of that holy felowſhip which we haue with Chriſt and all his members. Moreouer they bee to vs memorials of that heauenly foode and nouriſhment wherewith wee are nouriſhed vnto eternall life, and the thirſt of our boyling conſcience quenched, and finally wherby ỹ hartes of the faythfull bee repleniſhed with vnſpeakeable ioy, and be corroborated and ſtrengthened vnto all workes of Godlines. We are many (ſayth S Paul) one bread and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Chriſt ſayth: Eate ye: this is my body. And, drinke ye, thys is my bloud. And I am the liuing bread which came downe from heauen. Hee that eateth me, ſhall alſo, liue for me. Not as your fathers did eate Manna in the deſert and are dead. He that eateth me, ſhall alſo liue for me.

Sacramentes ſeales of Gods promiſes.

1. Cor. 11.

Math. 26.

Iohn. 6.

Thus therfore true bread and true wine remayn ſtill in the Euchariſt vntill they be conſumed, of the faythfull, to bee ſignes and as ſeales vnto vs annexed vnto Gods promyſes making vs certain of Gods gifts towardes vs. Alſo Chriſt remayneth in them, and they in Chriſt, which eat hys fleſh, & drinke hys bloud, as Chriſt him ſelfe hath promyſed. They that eat my fleſh and drink my bloud, abyde in me and I in them. Moreouer he abydeth alſo in them which worthelye receaueth the outward ſacrament, neither doth he depart ſo ſoone as the ſacrament is conſumed, but contynually abydeth, feeding and nouriſhyng vs ſo long as we remayn bodyes of that head, and members of the ſame. I acknowledge not here the naturall body of Chriſt, which is onely ſpirituall, intelligible, and vnſenſible, hauing no diſtinction of members & partes in it: but that body onely I acknowledge, & worſhip, which was borne of the virgin, which ſuffered for vs, which is viſible, palpable, and hath all the fourm & ſhape and partes of the true naturall body of man.

Bread and wine remain ſtil in the Euchariſt, and be ſeales to vs annexed with Gods promyſes.

Chriſt ſpake not theſe wordes of any vncertayn ſubſtãce, but of the certayn ſubſtance of bread, which he then helde in hys handes and ſhewed hys Diſciples when he ſayd: Eate ye, this is my body: and likewiſe of the cup: when he ſayde: Drinke ye, this is my bloud: meaning verely of that bread, which by nature is vſuall and common with vs, which is taken of the fruite of the ground, compacted by the bryngyng of many graines together, made by man, and by mans hand brought to that viſible ſhape, being of a round compaſſe, and without all ſence or lyfe, which nouryſheth the body, and ſtrengthneth the hart of man: Of this ſame bread (I ſay) and not of any vncertayn and wandring ſubſtaunce the old fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe wordes: Eat ye, this is my body. And likewiſe alſo of the wine which is the creature and fruyte of the vine preſſed out of many cluſters of grapes, and maketh mans hart mery, of the very ſame wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake: Drink ye, this is my bloud. And ſo the old Doctors do call this ſpeaking of Chriſt, tropicall, figuratiue, anagogicall, allegoricall, which they do interprete after this ſort, that although the ſubſtance of bread & wine do remayne and be receyued of the faythfull, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt chaunged the appellation therof, and called the bread by the name of hys fleſh, and the wine by ỹ name of hys bloud, non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante myſterio, i. not that it is ſo in verye deede, but ſignified in a myſterye. So that we ſhould conſider, not what they be in their own nature: But what they import to vs and ſignifie, and ſhoulde vnderſtand the Sacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend, not to the viſible nature of the Sacramentes, neyther haue reſpect onely to the outward bread, & cup, thinking to ſee there with our eyes, no other things but onely bread and wyne, but that lyftyng vp our myndes, we ſhould looke vp to ỹ bloud of Chriſt wyth our fayth, ſhould touch hym with our mynde, and receiue him with our inward man: and that beyng lyke Eagles in thys life, we ſhould flye vp into heauen in our harts, where that Lambe is reſident at the right hand of hys father, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, by whoſe ſtripes we are made whole, by whoſe paſſion we are filled at hys table, & whoſe bloud we receiuyng out of hys holy ſide, do liue for euer, beyng made the gheſtes of Chriſt, hauing hym dwelling in vs through the grace of hys true nature, and through the vertue and efficacy of hys whole paſſion, beyng no leſſe aſſured and certified that we are fed ſpiritually vnto eternall life by Chriſtes fleſh crucified, and by his bloud ſhed, the true food of our myndes, then that our bodyes be fed wyth meate & drinke in thys life: and hereof thys ſayd miſticall bread on the Table of Chriſt, and the myſticall wyne, beyng adminiſtred and receiued after the inſtitution of Chriſt, be to vs a memorial, a pledge, a token, a ſacrament, & a ſeale.

Chriſtes wordes are ſpoken not of an vncertain ſubſtãce, but of a certayn ſubſtãce of bread, which he had in his hands

How the doctours do take the ſpeach of Chriſt.
Tropicall.
Figuratiue.
Anagogicall.
Allegoricall.
Bread called by the name of the body.

The Sacrament is to be conſidered not what is in nature but what it ſignifieth in myſtery.

The Sacrament is a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a Sacrament, & a ſeale.

And therfore is it that Chriſt ſayth not thus: This is my bodye, eate ye: but after he had bydden them eate, then he ſayd: This is my body which ſhall be geuen for you. Which is to meane, as though he ſhoulde ſay: In eatyng of thys bread, conſider you that thys bread is no common thing, but a myſticall matter: neither doe you attend that which is ſet before your bodely eyes, but what fedeth you within. Conſider and behold my body crucified for you: that eate and digeſt in your myndes. Chaw you vpon my paſſion, be fedde wyth my death. Thys is the true meate, this is ỹ drinke that moyſteneth, wherewith you being truely fed and inebriate, ſhall lyue for euer. The bread and the wine which be ſet before your eyes, are onely declarations of me, but I my ſelfe am the eternall foode. Wherfore whenſoeuer at this my table you ſhall beholde the ſacramentes, haue not regarde ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them: which is my ſelfe to be meate for you of eternall lyfe.

What is meante by eating the miſticall bread.

What the crucified body of Chriſt doth to our ſoules.

The onely oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered hymſelfe to God the father once to death vpon the aultar of the croſſe for our redemption) was of ſuch efficacy, that there is no more neede of any ſacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the ſacrifice of ỹ old law he toke away, perfourming that in very deede, which they did ſignifie and promiſe. Whoſoeuer therfore ſhall ſixe the hope of his ſaluation in any other ſacrifice, he falleth frõ the grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious agaynſt the bloud of Chriſt. [For] he was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and was broken for our iniquities. Al we like ſheepe haue wandred aſtray. Euery man hath turned after his owne way, and the Lord hath layd all our iniquities vpon him. [For] he hath entred once for all into the holy place by the bloud, not of Goates or Calues, but by his owne bloud, finding eternall redemptiõ: [And] hath entred into heauẽ, to appeare now in the ſight of God for vs, not to offer himſelf oftentimes (for ſo ſhould he haue ſuffered many tymes) but now hath he appeared once to put away ſinne, through his owne oblatiõ. And as it is appointed to al men once to die, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: Who offeringe vp one oblation for ſinnes, ſitteth now for euer on the right hand of God. For by one oblatiõ hath he made perfect for euer thoſe that be ſãctified. [For] where is remiſſion of ſinnes, there is now no more oblation for ſinne [but this onely ſacrifice of Chriſt]. Whoſoeuer ſhall ſeeke any other Sacrifice propitiatorie for ſinne maketh the Sacrifice of Chriſt of no validitie, force, or efficacie. For if it be ſufficient to remitte ſinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the neceſſitie of an other, argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty god graunt that we may truely leane to one ſacrifice of Chriſt: and that we to hym agayne may repay our ſacrifices of thankes geuing, of prayſe, of confeſſing his name, of true amendment, of repentaunce, of mercifulnes towardes our neyghbours, and of all other good workes of charitie. For by ſuch ſacrifices we ſhall declare our ſelues neyther ingratefull to god, nor altogether vnworthy of this holy ſacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you haue out of the teſtimonies of holy ſcripture, and of the auncient Doctors of the Church, the true & ſincere vſe of the Lordes holy ſupper, and the fruite of the true ſacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoeuer through captious or wreſted interpretations, or by mens traditions ſhall goe about, otherwiſe then Chriſt ordayned them, to alter or tranſubſtantiate, he ſhall anſwere to Chriſt in the latter day, when he ſhall vnderſtand (but then to late) that he hath no participation wyth the body and bloud of Chriſt, but that out of the ſupper of eternall lyfe he hath eaten and drunken eternall damnation to himſelfe.

The ſacrifice of Chriſtes body once ſufficient for all.

Eſay. 53.

Heb. 9.

Heb. 10.

No ſacrifice now for ſinne but one.

Chriſt ſacrificed once for ſin, we ſacrifice dayly by thankeſgeuing and thankefull workes of charitie.

West. Becauſe we would not conſume and ſpend the tyme in waſt, this your writyng which you exhibite, hereafter ſhall

be

bread in hys place. In the meane ſeaſon let vs now fall to the Argumentes.

Argument.

Ched. The Scriptures in diuers places doe affirme that Chriſt gaue his natural body. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luk. 22.

Ergo, I do conclude that the naturall body is in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. To your Argument I aunſwere: If you vnderſtand by the body naturall [organicum] that is, hauyng ſuch proportion and members as he had liuyng here, then I anſwer negatiuely.

Furthermore, concernyng the Euangeliſtes, thus I ſay and graunt, that Chriſt toke bread and called it hys body.

Ched. The text of the Scripture maketh againſt you: for the circumſtance therto annexed doth teach vs, not only there to be the body, but alſo teacheth what maner of body it is, and ſaith: The ſame body which ſhalbe geuen.

Argument.

Ba- That thyng is here conteyned that is geuen for vs.
ro- But the ſubſtaunce of bread is not geuen for vs.
co. Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread is not here conteyned.

Aunſwere.
This word [conteyned] diſtinguiſhed.

Cran. I vnderſtand not yet what you meane by this word [conteined]: If ye meane really, then I deny your maior.

Ched. The maior is the text of ſcripture. He that denieth the maior, denieth the ſcripture. For the ſcripture ſayeth: This is my body which ſhalbe geuen for you.

The body of Chriſt contemed not really but ſacramentally.

Chriſt ſayth not, this is my body which is here conteyned but this is my body which ſhall be geuen for you.

Cran. I graunt he ſaid it was his body that ſhoulde bee geuen but he ſayde it was not his bodye which is here conteined: but the body (ſaith he) that ſhall be geuen for you. As though he ſhould ſay: This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſhedyng of my bloud. What wyll ye ſay then? Is the bread the breakyng, and the cup the ſhedyng of the bloud really? If you ſo ſay, I deny it.

Ched. If ye aske what is the thyng there conteyned: becauſe his Apoſtles ſhould not doubt what body it was that ſhould be geuen, he ſayth: This is by body which ſhalbe geuen for you: and my bloud which ſhall be ſhed for many: Ergo, here is the ſame ſubſtance of the body which the day after was geuen, and the ſame bloud which was ſhed. And here I vrge the ſcripture, which teacheth that it was no fantaſticall, no fayned, no ſpirituall body, nor body in fayth, but the ſubſtance of the body.

Cran. you muſt proue that it is contained: but Chriſt ſayd not, which is contained. He gaue bread, and called that hys body. I ſticke not in the wordes of the ſcripture, but in your word which is fayned and imagined of your ſelfe.

Ched. whē Chriſt tooke bread and brake it, what gaue he?

Cran. He gaue bread. The bread ſacramentally, and hys body ſpiritually, and the bread there he called his body.

Ched. This anſwer is againſt the ſcripture, which ſayeth that he gaue his body.

Cran. It did ſignifie that which they did eate.

Ched. They did not eate the body as the Capernaites dyd vnderſtand it: but the ſelfe ſame body which was geuen for the ſinnes of the world: Ergo it was his body which ſhould be geuen, and his bloud which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other copies I finde this Argument to be made by Chedſey.

Argument.

Ba- The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was geuē for vs on the croſſe.
ro- But bread was not geuen on the croſſe for vs:
co. Ergo, bread is not geuen in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Maior which is, that the ſame naturall body is geuen in the ſacrament which was geuen on ỹ croſſe, except you vnderſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo the argument as vtterly nought, as he might well do, the Maior in the ſecond figure beyng not vniuerſall.

When M. Chedſey had put forth this argument & proſecuted the ſame, and Doct. Cranmer anſwered as before is ſhewed, D. Oglethorp, one of thoſe doctors which the Prolocutor called Cenſores (belike to be Arbiters to order the diſputations) ſayd on this wyſe.

Doct. Oglethorp breaketh Priſcians head & ſpeaketh falſe latine.

D. Ogle. you come in ſtill with one euaſion or ſtartyng hole to flee to. He vrgeth the ſcriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gaue his very body. you ſay that he gaue his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prædicatio, panis eſt corpus?

Cranmer aunſwereth to Oglethorpe.
Doct Cranmer might haue foūd fault with thys argument as wel as wyth his latin beyng made in no mode or figure.

Cran. you ſhould ſay Quale corpus. I anſwer to the queſtion: It is the ſame body which was borne of the virgin, was crucified, aſcended: but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay: Panis eſt corpus, is a figuratiue ſpeech, ſpeakyng ſacramentally: for it is a ſacrament of his body.

Ogle. This worde body beyng prædicatum, doth ſignifie ſubſtaunce.

But ſubſtantia is not predicated denominatiuely:

Ergo, it is an eſſentiall predication: and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatiuely in an allegory or in a metaphore, or in a figuratiue locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſſe care for his ſpouſe the church, then a wiſe houſholder hath for hys family in, making his will or teſtament.

Cran. your reaſon is drawn out of the affaires of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſholder maketh his Teſtament after that ſort.

Tropes may be vſed in mens teſtaments, why not?

Cran. yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it ſo it be vnderſtode and perceiued? I ſay Chriſt did vſe figuratiue ſpeech in no place more, then in his ſacramentes, and ſpecially in this his ſupper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth vſe tropes in his teſtament: for if he do, he deceiueth them that he comprehendeth in hys teſtament: therfore Chriſt vſeth none here.

Cran. yes, he may vſe them well inough. you know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath a reſpect that hys heires after his departure may lyue in quiet and wythout braablyng.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do vſe tropes:

Therfore (I ſay) he vſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

A place of Auſten recited by the Prolocutor.

West. Auſtine in hys booke entituled, De vnitate Eccleſiæ. the 10. chap. hath theſe wordes following.

August. De Vnitate Eccleſiæ.

Quid hoc eſt rogo? Cum verba nouiſſima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit eſſe mentitum, & illius non iudicatur hæres qui fortè ea contempſerat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram dei, ſi vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba nouiſſima & vnici filij dei & domini noſtri ſaluatoris, & ituri in cœlum & inde proſpecturi quis ea negligat, quis non obſeruet, & inde venturi vt de omnibus iudicet? That is to ſay.

What a thing is this I pray you, when the laſt wordes of one lying on his death bed are heard: which is ready to go to his graue, no man ſaith that he hath made a lye: and he is not accompted his heire, which regardeth not thoſe wordes. How ſhall we then eſcape gods wrath if either not beleuyng or not regardyng, we ſhal reiect the laſt wordes both of the only ſonne of god and alſo of our lord and ſauior, both aſcending into heauen, and beholding from thence who deſpiſeth and who obſerueth them not, and ſhall come from thence to iudge all men?

The argument is thus formed.

Argument.

Bar- Who ſo euer ſaith that the Teſtator did lie, is a wicked heire.
ba- But whoſoeuer ſaith that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſaith that he did lie:
ra. Ergo, whoſoeuer ſayth that Chriſt here ſpake by figures is a wicked heire.

Aunſwere.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary that he which vſeth to ſpeake by tropes and figures, ſhould lye in ſo doyng.

Ogle. your iudgement is diſagreeing with all churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagree with the papiſticall church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logike.

Cranmer. Nay, this you ſay through the ignoraunce of the Doctours.

Weſton. I will go plainly to worke by Scriptures. What tooke he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What gaue he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

West. What did they eate?

Cran. Bread.

Argument.

West. He gaue bread, therfore he gaue not his body.

He gaue not his body, therfore it is not his body verily, in dede and in truth.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Diſparata, is a Schoole terme, meanyng diuers ſubſtances being ſo ſondred in nature that one can neuer be ſayd to be the other.

Cole. This argument holdeth a diſparatis. It is bread: Ergo, it is not the body: and it is ſuch an argument or reaſon, as cannot be diſſolued.

Cran. The lyke argument may be made: He is a rocke: Ergo he is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not lyke.

West. He gaue not his body in dede: Ergo, it was not his body in dede.

The ſacrament ſetting the figure aſide, formally is not Chriſtes body.

Cran. He gaue hys death, his paſſion, and the ſacrament of his paſſion. And in very dede ſetting the figure aſide, formally it is not his body.

West. Why? then the ſcripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay the ſcripture is moſt true.

Weſton. This ſaith Chryſoſtom Homil. 61. ad populum Antiochenum. Neceſſarium eſt dilectiſſimi, myſteriorum dicere.

dicere miraculum quid tandem ſit,& quare ſit datum,& quæ rei vtilitas.&c. That is to ſay:

Chryſoſt. hom.61.

Nedefull it is (deare frendes) to tell you what the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherfore it is geuen, & what profite there is of the thyng. We are one body and members of hys fleſh, and of hys bones. We that be in the myſterie, let vs follow that thyng which was ſpoken. Wherfore that we may become this thing, not onely by loue, but alſo that we may become one with that fleſh in dede, that is brought to paſſe by this food which he gaue vnto vs, myndyng to ſhew hys great good will that he hath toward vs: And therefore he mixed himſelfe with vs, and vnited his owne body with vs, that we ſhould be made all as one thing together, as a body ioyned & annexed to the head, for this is a toke of moſt ardent & perfect loue. And the ſame thing Iob alſo inſinuatyng, ſayd of his ſeruauntes, of whom he was deſired aboue meaſure, in ſo much that they, ſhewyng their great deſire toward him, ſayd: who ſhall geue vnto vs to be filled with his fleſh? Therfore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to induce vs into a greater loue toward him, and to declare his deſire toward vs, did not onely geue himſelfe to be ſeene of them, that would, but alſo to be handled and eaten, and ſuffred vs to faſten our teeth in his fleſh, and to be vnited together, and ſo to fill all our deſire. Like Lions therfore, as breathing fire, let vs go from that table, beyng made terrible to the deuill, remembryng our head in our mynde, and his charitie which he ſhewed vnto vs. For Parentes many tymes geue their children to other to be fed, but I do not ſo (ſayth he) but feede you with myne owne fleſh, and ſet my ſelfe before you, deſiryng to make you all ioly people, and pretendyng to you great hope and expectation to looke for thinges to come, who here geue my ſelfe to you: but muche more in the world to come. I am become your brother, I tooke fleſh and bloude for you. I gayne my fleſh and bloude by the whiche I am made your kinſman, I deliuer vnto you.

Thus much out of Chryſoſtome. Out of which wordes I make this argument.

D. Weſtons argument without true forme or figure.

The ſame fleſh wherby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is geuen of Chriſt to vs to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh:

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh is geuen to vs to be eaten.

Cran. I graunt the conſequence and the conſequent.

Weſt. Therfore we eate it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eate it through fayth.

D. Weſtons argument denyed: we eate the true body of Chriſt: Ergo, we eate it with our mouth. A figureles Argument.

Weſt. He gaue vs yͤ ſame fleſh to eate, wherby he became our brother and kinſman.

But he became our brother and kinſman by his true, naturall, and organicall fleſh:

Therfore he gaue hys true, natural and organical fleſh to be eaten.

Cran. I graunt, he toke and gaue the ſame true, naturall, & organicall fleſh wherin he ſuffred: and yet he feedeth ſpiritually and that fleſh is receyued ſpiritually.

Fallax a dicto ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter.

Weſton. He gaue vs the ſame fleſh which he tooke of the Virgin:

But he tooke not his true fleſh of the Virgin ſpiritually, or in a figure:

Ergo, he gaue hys true naturall fleſh not ſpiritually.

Aunſwere.

Cran. Chriſt gaue to vs his owne naturall fleſh, the ſame wherin he ſuffred, but feedeth vs ſpiritually.

Chriſoſtome alleaged by D. Weſton, Hom.83.in 26 cap.Mat.

Weſton. Chriſoſtome is againſt you, Homel.83.in 26.cap. Math. where he ſayth: Veniat tibi in mentem quo ſis honore honoratus, qua menſa fruaris. Ea namq; re nos alimur, quā angeli.&c. That is.

Let it come into thy remembraunce with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou ſitteſt at: for wyth yͤ ſame thing we are nouriſhed, which yͤ angels do behold & tremble at: neither are they able to behold it wout great feare for the brightnes which cōmeth therof: and we be brought and compact into one heape or maſſe with him, beyng together one body of Chriſt, and one fleſh with him. Who ſhall ſpeake the powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth al his prayſes? What Paſtor hath euer nouriſhed his ſhepe with hys owne members? Many mothers haue put forth their infantes after their birth, to other Nurſes: which he would not do, but feedeth vs with his owne body, and conioyneth and vniteth vs to hymſelfe.

Wherupon I gather this argument.

An other falſe argument wherin the 3 figure the Minor is a negatiue Aunſwere.

Like as mothers nurſe their children with milke: ſo Chriſt nouriſhed vs with his body.

But mothers do not nouriſh their infantes ſpiritually with their milke:

Therefore Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that be hys, ſpiritually with his bloud.

Cran. He gaue vs the wyne for hys bloud.

Weſt. If he gaue the wine for his bloud (as you ſay) then he gaue leſſe then mothers do geue.

Argument.

But Chryſoſtome affirmeth that he gaue more then mothers geue.

Therefore he gaue not the wyne for his bloud.

Cran. You peruert myne aunſwere. He gaue wyne, yet the bloud is conſidered therein. As for example: whē he geueth Baptiſme, we conſider not the water, but the holy Ghoſt, and remiſſion of ſinnes. We receaue with the mouth yͤ Sacrament: but the thyng and the matter of the Sacrament we receaue by faith.

Chriſt nouriſheth vs both with bread and with his body: with bread our bodyes, with his body our ſoules.

Weſt. When Chriſt ſayd, eate ye, whether ment he by the mouth or by faith?

Cran. He ment that we ſhould receaue the body by fayth, the bread by the mouth.

A groſſe ſaying.

Weſt. Nay the body by the mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Weſt. I proue it out of Chryſoſtome, writyng vpon the fifty Pſalme.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by D. Weſton.

Chryſoſt.in Pſal.50 Item, Hom 83.in 26.cap.Mat.

Erubeſcit fieri nutrix, quæ facta eſt mater. Chriſtus autē non ita ipſe nutritor eſt noſter: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos paſcit, & pro potu ſuum ſanguinem nobis propinauit. Item in 26.cap. Mathæi, Homel.83. Non enim ſufficit ipſi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: ſed nos ſecum in vnam vt ita dicam, maſſam reducit: neq; id fide ſolum, ſed reipſa nos corpus ſuum efficit? That is.

Shee that is a mother, ſhameth ſometime to play the Nourſe. But Chriſt our Nurſe doth not ſo play with vs. Therfore in ſteede of meate he feedeth vs with his owne fleſh, and in ſteede of drinke he feedeth vs wyth hys owne bloud. Likewiſe vpon the 26.chap. of Mathew, the 83. homely he ſaith: For it ſhall not be enough for hym to become man, and in the meane whyle to be whipped: but he doth bryng vs into one maſſe or lumpe with himſelfe (as I may ſo call it) and maketh vs his body, not by faith alone, but alſo in very deede.

Cran. I graunt: We make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with mouth, we deny.

Chryſoſtome alleaged by D. Weſton. Homilia 29.in Epiſt.2.Cor.cap.13

Weſt. Chryſoſt.2.Cor.cap.13. Homel.29. hath theſe wordes: Non vulgarem honorem conſequutū eſtos noſtrum, accipiens corpus dominicum. i. No litle honor is geuen to our mouth, receiuing the body of the Lord.

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entreth into vs both by our eares, and by our eyes. With our mouth we receaue yͤ body of Chriſt, and teare it with our teeth, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Wherfore I ſay and affirme that the vertue of the ſacrament is much: & therfore Chryſoſtome many tymes ſpeaketh of ſacramētes no otherwiſe, then of Chriſt himſelfe, as I could proue, if I might haue liberty to ſpeak, by many places of Chriſoſtome, where hee ſpeaketh of the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt.

The wordes of Chryſoſtome expounded.

Wyth the which word of the ſacrament of the body. &c. Doct. Cole beyng highly offended, denyed it to be the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, ſaue onely of the myſtical body, which is the Church.

Doct Cole denyeth the ſacrament to be a Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, but onely a Sacrament of the congregation, that is, of the miſticall body of Chriſt.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe, ſeing both Chriſt and the auncient Fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chryſoſtome?

Chriſoſtome alleaged by D. Cranmer.

Cran. Chryſoſtome declareth himſelf. Lib.3. De Sacerdotio cap.3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos beneuolentia, qui ſurſum ſedet ad dexteram patris, ſacrificij tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurq; lambere cupientibus eum. Fit autem id nullis præſtigijs, ſed apertis & circumſpicientibus circumſtantium omnium oculis. That is:

Chriſoſt.Lib. 3.de Sacerdoto Cap.3.

O myracle, O the good wil of God towardes vs, which ſitteth aboue at the right hād of yͤ father, & is holdē in mens handes at the ſacrifice tyme, and is geuen to feede vpon, to them yͭ are deſirous of him. And that is brought to paſſe by no ſubtiltie or craft, but with the open and beholdyng eyes of all the ſtanders by.

Thus ye heare Chriſt is ſeene here in earth euery day, is touched, is torne with the teeth, that our toūg is red with his bloud: which no man hauyng any iudgement will ſay or thinke to be ſpoken with out trope or figure.

Weſt. What miracle is it, if it be not his body: & if he ſpeake onely of the Sacrament, as though it were his body?

Chriſoſtome alleged by Doct. Weſton.

But harken what Chriſoſtome ſayth. Homel.34. Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in regijs non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regum corpus in throno ſedens omnium præſtantiſſimum eſt: ita quoq; in cœlis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominium tibi oſtendo. Animaduertis quonam pacto quod omnium maximum eſt atq; præcipium in terra, non conſpicaris tantum ſed tangis, neque ſolum tangis, ſed comedis, atq; eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam: that is to ſay.

I ſhew forth that thyng on the earth vnto the, which is worthy the greateſt honor. For lyke as in the Palace of kynges, neither the walles nor the ſumptuous bed but the body of kynges ſittyng vnder the cloth of eſtate and royall ſeate of Maieſtie, is of all thinges els the moſt excellent: ſo is in lyke maner the kynges body in heauen. which is now ſet before vs on earth. I ſhewe the neither Aungels, nor Archaungels, nor the heauens of heauens, but ỹ very Lord & maiſter of all theſe thinges. Thou perceaueſt after what ſorte thou doeſt not onely behold, but toucheſt, and not onely toucheſt but eateſt that which on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thing of all other, and when thou haſt receaued the ſame, thou goeſt home: wherfore clenſe thy ſoule from all vncleannes.

Vpon this, I cõclude that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpon the earth.

How the body of Chriſt is ſhewed vs vpõ the earth.

Cran. What? vpon the earth? no man ſeeth Chriſt vpon the earth? he is ſeene with the eyes of our mynd, with fayth and ſpirite.

West. I pray you what is it that ſeemeth worthy hygheſt honour on the earth? It is the Sacrament, or els the body of Chriſt.

Cran. Chryſoſtome ſpeaketh of the ſacrament, and the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the ſacrament.

West. Ergo, then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

*This word [eſt] is not in Chryſoſt.

This argument of Weston ſtanding onely vpon affirmatiues in the ſecond figure, hath no perfect forme in Logick.

West. That thing is ſhewed forth, & is now in the earth [oſtẽditur et*eſt] which is worthy higheſt honor.

But, onely the body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour?

Ergo, the body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

Cran. I aunſwere, the body of Chriſt to be on the earth but ſo as in a Sacrament, and as the holy Ghoſt is in the water of Baptiſme.

West. Chriſoſtome ſayth [oſtendo] I ſhew forth which noteth a ſubſtaunce to be preſent.

Cranmer aunſwereth to the place of Chryſoſt. how Chriſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily but in a Sacrament, that is Sacramentally and figuratiuely.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtanded Sacramentally

West. Hee ſayth [oſtendo in terra] I ſhewe forth on the earth declaryng alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be vnderſtand figuratiuely.

West. He is ſhewed forth and is now on the earth &c. as before.

Cran. Your Maior and concluſion are al one.

West. But the Maior is true: Ergo, the concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of moſt high honour.

But no figure is worthy of higheſt honour:

Ergo, that which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran. I aunſwere, that is true Sacramentally.

☞ Here Weston crieth to him that he ſhoulde aunſwere to one part, bidding hym repeate his wordes. Which when he went about to do, ſuch was the noyſe and cryyng out in the Schole, that his milde voyce coulde not bee heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the Prolocutor did not well engliſh the wordes of Chriſoſtome, vſing for oſtenditur in terra, he is ſhewed forth on the earth, eſt in terra, he is on the earth, where as Chryſoſtome hath not [eſt] nor any ſuch worde of beyng on the earth, but onely of ſhewyng, as the grace of the holy Ghoſt in Baptiſmo oſtenditur, i. is ſhewed foorth in Baptiſme: and oftentimes did inculcate this worde oſtenditur: then the Prolocutor ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people to crye out at him, fillyng all the ſchole with hiſſyng, clappynge of handes, and noyce callyng him indoctum, imperitum, impudentem, i. vnlearned, vnſkilfull, impudent, whiche impudent and reprochfull wordes this reuerend man moſt paciently and meekely did abyde, as one that had bene inured with the ſufferyng of ſuch lyke reproches. And when the Prolocutor not yet ſatiſfied with this rude and vnſemely demeanor, dyd vrge and call vpon him to aunſwere the argumẽt, then he bad the Notary repeate his wordes agayne.

Weston falſifieth the wordes of Chryſoſt.

Vnreuerend wordes vſed in ỹ Schoole agaynſt D. Cranmer.

Notar. That whiche is worthy moſt high honor, here I ſhew forth to the in earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Ergo, he ſheweth forth the body of Chriſt here in earth.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on the earth which may be ſeene, which may be touched, and which may be eatẽ but theſe thinges be not true of the body.

The body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth to vs here in earth diuers wayes: as in readyng of the ſcriptures, ſometymes in hearing ſermons, & alſo in ſacramentes & yet neither the ſcriptures nor ſermons, nor ſacramentes are to be worſhipped.

Cole. Why ſhoulde not theſe thinges be true of the body of Chriſt,

Cran, The Maior out of Chryſoſtome is true, meanyng of the Sacrament. For in the Sacrament the true body of Chriſt, and not the figuratiue body is ſet forth.

Weston. Shew me ſomewhat in earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the ſacrament onely.

West. Ergo, the ſacrament is worthy greateſt honor.

Cran. So it is.

Iudges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my aunſwer be written likewyſe: I affirme that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth vnto vs. It is our fayth that ſeeth Chriſt.

West. Oſtendo tibi, i. I ſhew it to thee, ſayth Chryſoſtome, not to thy fayth.

Cran. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

West. Ergo, Chriſoſtome lyeth. For he ſpeaking of ſhewyng, ſaith: Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo, i. I Chriſoſtome doe ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing ſacramentally.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this point that the body of Chriſt is proued to be on earth, not only ſacramentally, but in very dede alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt honor. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I neuer heard a more vayne argument, & it is moſt vaine: alſo it hath mine aunſwer vnto it.

Ched. Will you affirme that it is abſurd which Chryſoſtom ſaith, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

The argument of Chedſey is not formall.

I touch the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid Dominus meus, Deus meus, my Lord, my God:

Ergo, that which he touched, was the Lord God.

☞ This Argument as I receiued it out of the Notaries booke, is not formall: but rather he ſhould conclude in the 3. figure thus:

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the ſacrament.

ti- Thomas touched the body of Chriſt corporally:

ſi. Ergo, we touch the body of Chriſt corporally in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He touched not god, but him which was god. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirm that God is touched.

God can not be touched.

Ched. This is becauſe of the vnion: ſo that God is ſayd to be touched, when Chriſt which is both God and man is touched.

Tertull. De reſurrectione carnis.

Tertullian De carnis reſurrectione ſayeth: Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quanta huic ſubſtantiæ friuolæ & ſordidæ apud deum prærogatiua ſit. Etſi ſufficeret illi quod nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci niſi dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeò caro ſalutis cardo eſt, de qua cum anima deo alligatur, ipſa eſt quæ efficit, vt anima alligari poſſit: ſed & caro abluitur, vt anima emaculetur: caro inungitur, vt anima conſecretur: ſignatur, vt anima muniatur: caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, vt anima ſpiritu illuminetur: caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti veſcitur, vt anima de deo ſaginetur. That is to ſay.

Quod ſymbolorum eſt, rei attribuitur.

Let vs conſider, as concernyng the proper forme of the chriſtian man, what great prerogatiue this vayne and foule ſubſtance of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it that no ſoule could euer get ſaluatiõ vnleſſe it beleue while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh auaileth to ſaluation, by the which fleſh it commeth, that where as ỹ ſoul ſo is linked vnto God, it is the ſayd fleſh ỹ cauſeth the ſoul to be linked: yet the fleſh moreouer is waſhed, that the ſoule may be clenſed: the fleſh is annointed that the ſoule may be conſecrated, the fleſh is ſigned that the ſoule may be defended, the fleſh is ſhadowed by the impoſition of handes, that the ſoule may be illuminated with the ſpirite: the fleſh doth eate the body and bloud of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed of God. Wherupon I gather this argument.

Argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Ergo the body of Chriſt is eaten with the mouth.

Item Phoceus 1. ad Corinth. Capit. 11. vpõ theſe wordes: Reus erit corporis & ſanguinis. &c.

Phoceus. 1. Cor. cap. 11.

Ὁ ἔνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, παρῴνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσι ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράτῳ προσφέροντες στόματι: διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου, δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς. id eſt.

Phoceus alleaged by Chedſey.

Quod ait, reus corporis & ſanguinis, iſtud declarat quod ſicuti Iudas ipſum quidem tradidit, Iudæi contumelioſè in ipſum inſaniebant: ſic ipſum in honorant qui ſanctiſſimum ipſius corpus impuris manibus ſuſcipiunt, tanquam Iudæi ipſi tenent & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebro mentio-

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nem facit corporis & ſanguinis Domini, manifeſtat quòd non ſit ſimplex homo qui ſacrificatur, ſed ipſe Dominus omniũ factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipſos perterrefaciens.

That is.

Where as he ſaith: Is gilty of the body and bloud: this he declareth, that lyke as Iudas betrayed him, & the Iewes were fierce & ſpiteful againſt him: ſo do they diſhonour him which receyue his holy body with their impure handes, and as the Iewes did hold him then, do now receiue hym with vnpure mouthes. And where as he often maketh mention of the body and bloud of the Lord, he declareth that it is not ſimply man that is ſacrificed, but euen the Lord hymſelfe, beyng the maker of all thinges, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Chriſt is touched with the handes.

Cranmer. You vouch two authors againſt me vppon ſondry thynges. Firſt I muſt aunſwer Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one meaning.

Aunſwere to Tertullianus.

Cran. Vnto Tertullian I anſwer (becauſe our diſputation is wandring and vncertaine) that he calleth that ẏ fleſh which is the ſacrament. For although God work al things in vs inuiſibly beyond mans reach: yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſene, and perceiued of euery ſence. Therfore he ſetteth forth Baptiſme, vnction, and laſt of all the ſupper of the lord vnto vs, which he gaue to ſignifie his operation in vs. The fleſh liueth by the bread, but the ſoule is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

D. Weſton vrgeth hym with the wordes of Tertullian.

Weſt. Sticke to thoſe wordes of Tertullian: Corpus veſcitur vt anima ſaginetur. i. The body eateth that the ſoule may be fed.

Ched. The fleſhe eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoule may be fed therwith.

Weſt. Here you ſee two kyndes of foode: of the ſoule and of the body.

Ched. He ſayeth, that not onely the ſoule but the fleſh is alſo fedde.

Cran. The ſoule is fedde with the body of Chriſt, the body with the ſacrament.

Ched. Is the ſoule fed with the body of Chriſt & not with the ſacrament?

Inwardly we eate the body: outwardly the Sacrament.

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you ſhall perceyue that by thinges externall, an operation internall is vnderſtand. Inwardly we eate Chriſtes body: and outwardly we eate the ſacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, an other inwardly. Like as in Baptiſme the externall element wherby the body is waſhed, is one: ſo the internall thyng wherby the ſoule is clenſed is an other.

Ched. The ſoule is fed by that which the body eateth.

But the ſoule is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt:

Ergo, the body eateth the fleſh of Chriſt.

Cran. We eate not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eate Chriſtes body,: outwardly we eate the ſacrament.

Ched. I will repeat the Argument.

*The forme of this argument which he repeateth, ſtoode better before: for the fourme of this connexiõ aunſwereth to none of the three figures of Sillogiſmes

*The fleſh eateth Chriſtes body, that the ſoule may be fed therwith.

The ſoule is not fed with the ſacrament, but with chriſtes body.

Ergo, the fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Cran. The ſacrament is one thing, the matter of the ſacrament is another. Outwardly we receiue the ſacrament: inwardly we eate the body of Chriſt.

Ched. I proue that we receiue that outwardly, wherwyth the ſoule is fed.

Cõſequence.

The ſoule is fed with the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, we eate the body of Chriſt outwardly.

Cõſequence.

The fleſh eateth Chriſt his body,

Ergo, the ſoule is fed therwith.

Aunſwere.

Cran. The fleſh (I ſay) eateth the Sacrament. It eateth not Chriſtes body. For Tertullian ſpeaketh of the ſacrament: and the place hath not [inde] therof, but [de deo] of God.

Ched. What ſay ye to Phoceus ſaying: They which receiue the body with impure handes, are gilty of the Lords bloud, as Iudas was.

Weſt. That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your ſhift, where as he ſaith: Non poſſunt ergo ſeparari in mercede, quos opera coniungit. i. They cannot be ſeparated in reward, whom one worke ioyneth together.

But manducation is the worke or labour Ergo, &c.

❧ The forme of this Argument may be thus collected.

Da- One worke or labour ioyneth body and ſoule together.
ri- Manducation is a worke or labour:
j. Ergo, one manducation ioyneth together both body and ſoule.

☞ To the Maior of which Argument thus it may be anſwered: expounding the ſaying of Tertullian, vna opera coniungit, ſed non idem operãdi modus. Agayne, opera here in Tertullian may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

As the body and ſoule are ioyned in the worke of Baptiſme, ſo are they ioyned in the Communion of the Lords ſupper. For as the fleſh is waſhed with water that the ſoule may be purged ſpiritually: ſo our body eateth the outward Sacrament, that the ſoule may be fed of God.

Aunſwere to Tertullian De reſurrect.

Cran. Your authoritye (I ſuppoſe) is taken out of the booke, De reſurrectione carnis. i. of the reſurrectiõ of the fleſh: and ẏ meanyng therof is this. Tertullian goeth about there to proue that the fleſhe ſhall ryſe agayne, becauſe it is ioyned together in one worke with the ſoule. Through Baptiſme in this world the body is waſhed, and the ſoule is waſhed: ẏ body outwardly the ſoule inwardly: the worke is one, In thys worke they are ioyned. And hee ſpeaketh of ſignes.

Weſt. He ſpeaketh of eatyng in a ſigne.

Ergo, the reward is in a ſigne.

Cran. They are coupled in one worke, namely in the Sacrament,

Weſt. There are two workes:

Ergo, there are two rewardes.

If the worke be in a figure:

Ergo, the reward is in a figure.

Cran, He ſpeaketh not of ij. workes. Two workes are but one worke. And yet he ſayth not, quos vna opera coniungit. i. whom one worke ioyneth together, but opera. i. a worke: as in Baptiſme the ſoule and the body are ioyned in vnderſtandyng.

Weſt. The fleſhe and ſoule ſhall haue one and the ſelfe ſame reward, becauſe they haue one worke.

Cran. Becauſe they be ioyned together in one worke.

D. Treſham diſputeth.

Treſ. For as much as the reuerend Doctors here haue impugned, and ouerthrowen your aſſertion & your aunſweres ſufficiently: I will fall to an other matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpoſe, and that in fewe wordes, agaynſt a certayne ſequele of your opinion. The ſequele is this: that betwene vs and Chriſt there is no farther coniunctiõ, whiles we receiue the Euchariſt, then a coniunctiõ of the mynde, or a ſpirituall coniunction, wherby we are vnited and knit vnto Chriſt through fayth and loue. As for the preſence of Chriſt, concernyng the ſubſtaunce, that you vtterly deny, Wherupon in very deede you leaue but a ſpirituall vnion and ioyning together of mynd. Howbeit you would ſeeme to thinke otherwiſe by your ſubtile aunſwers, But I will declare by manifeſt teſtimonies of the fathers ẏ this your ſequele, which you accompt ſo ſure is far wyde from the truth. And I wyll begyn with S. Hillary, who is both an auncient and a learned author. For diſputyng agaynſt the Arrians, octauo de Trinitate, hee ſayth that this was their opinion: that the Father and the Sonne are conioyned onely through vnity of wil. Wherupon Arrius hym ſelfe, when ſcripture was alledged agaynſt him, dyd (as you do now) elude the right meanyng of it by his falſe interpretations, But the Catholycke Church hath alwayes beleued and euer mayntayned, that Chriſt is one with the father in nature, and not by conſent of will only. To ẏ proofe wherof when the Catholickes vouched this teſtimony of Iohn: Pater & ego vnum ſumus i. The father and I are one: The Arrians aunſwered that [vnum ſumus] was to bee vnderſtand by the aſſent of their wyls and agreement of their myndes, not by vnitye of their natures, Thus it happeneth now a daies, where men do doubt of the ſacrament. But Hillary goyng on, and prouyng the naturall coniunction betwene the father and the ſonne a fortiori, queſtioneth with his aduerſaries after this maner: I demaund of thẽ now which will needes haue, the vnitie of will onelye betwene the father and the ſonne, whether Chriſt be now in vs truely by nature, or onely by the agreement of wylles? If (ſayth he) the worde be incarnate in very deede, and we receaue at the Lordes table the word made fleſhe, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in vs naturally, who beyng borne man, hath both taken the nature of our fleſhe vpon him that is now inſeparable, and hath alſo myngled the nature of his owne fleſh vnto the nature of eternitie vnder the ſacrament of his fleſhe, to bee communicated vnto vs. Thus much hath Hillary, Wherupon I aſke of you thys queſtion, how Chriſt dwelleth now in vs? according to faith or according to nature?

Hillary.

Coniunction betwene Chriſt and vs.

Aunſwere to Hillary.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt dwelleth verely in vs carnally and nyturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our fleſh vpon him, & becauſe he hath cõmunicated his nature vnto vs,

Bucer contra Abrincenſem alleaged by Treſham.

Treſ. Bucer, contra Abrincenſem referreth theſe wordes onely to the Euchariſt, ſaying: Chriſt doth exhibite al this vnto vs in his holy ſupper, and accordyng to ẏ holy fathers (ſayth he) Chriſt liueth thereby in vs, not onely by fayth and loue as abſent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally.

Wher=

wherfore he is not abſent,neyther are we ioyned to Chriſt only by a ſpirituall vnion, (as you ſuppoſe) but alſo by a corporall and carnall vnion.

Cran. I know that M.Bucer was a learned man. But your fayth is in good caſe,which leaneth vpon Bucer.

Treſ. I do not bring Bucer as a Patron of our fayth, but becauſe he is a man of your ſort,and yet bringeth this place of Hillary for that vnion which we haue by the ſacrament. and confeſſeth that by it we are carnally vnited to Chriſt, where as you thinke that we are ioyned by it,only through fayth and loue.

Chriſt communicated & vnited to vs by byrth, by vnitie of the Church, by the communion.by Baptiſme,by fayth.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt was communicated vnto vs, not onely by fayth, but in very dede alſo when he was borne of the virgin. We haue fellowſhip with Chriſt, when we are vnited in the vnity of the church, when we are made fleſhe of his fleſh,and bones of his bones:and ſo we are vnited in the communion,in baptiſme,and in fayth.

Treſ. I pray you what fellowſhip haue we with Chriſt, in that he is made man? Are not the Turkes & Iewes therein ioyned with hym? For they are men as we are, and are ioyned with him in mans nature,in that he was borne of a woman: I ſpeake now of a more nere vnitie. We are made one with Chriſt by the communion in a perfect vnitie.

*We are vnited to Chriſt by cōmuniō ſo as we are by baptiſme.

Cran.*We are made ſo, I graunt: but we are made ſo alſo by baptiſme:and the vnity in baptiſme is perfect.

Treſ.We are not made one by baptiſme in a perfect vnity, as Hillary there ſpeaketh,but by the Communion, by whiche we are carnally made one: but not lykewiſe by Baptiſme: wherfore you vnderſtand not Hillary. you ſhall heare hys wordes, which are theſe. He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect vnion,ſaying: As the liuyng father ſent me, ſo do I alſo liue by the father. And he that eateth my fleſh,ſhall alſo lyue thorough me. And a litle after ẏ he writeth thus: This truely is the cauſe of our lyfe, that we haue Chriſt dwelling by his fleſhe in vs that are fleſhlye, which alſo by him ſhall liue in ſuch ſort,as he liueth by his father. Wherfore,of theſe wordes it is manifeſt,that we obtaine this perfect vnity by meanes of the ſacrament,& that Chriſt by it is carnally vnited vnto vs.

Obiection of Hillary.

Aunſwere to the place of Hillary.

Cran. Nay Hillary in that ſame place doth teach, that it is done by Baptiſme: and that doctrine is not to be ſuffred in the church,which teacheth,that we are not ioined to Chriſt by Baptiſme.

Weſt. Repeat the Argument.

Cran. you muſt firſt make an Argument.

Treſ. It is made alredy, but it ſhall be made agayne in this forme.

Argument.

Da- As Chriſt lyueth by his father,ſo they that eate chriſtes fleſh,liue by the ſame fleſh.

ti- But Chriſt liueth by the father,not only by faith and loue,but naturally:

ſi. Ergo,we lyue not through the eating of Chriſtes fleſh by fayth and loue only,but naturally.

Cran. We liue by Chriſt,not only by fayth and loue,but eternally in dede.

Treſh. Nay * naturally. I proue it thus.

As Chriſt liueth by the Father, ſo lyue we by hys fleſhe eaten of vs:

But Chriſt lyueth not by hys father only by fayth and loue, but naturally:

Therefore we doe not lyue by eating of Chriſtes fleſhe onely by faith and loue(as you ſuppoſe)but naturally.

*The Papiſtes by this one word[naturally] cōfound themſelues. For if the naturall bodye of Chriſt were eaten and went naturally into our bodyes,then ſhould it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate,and now alſo immortall,our bodyes vnited in nature to hys pure and immortall body,naturally ſhould neuer ſinne nor dye. Wherfore it remayneth that the natural vniting to Chriſtes body cōmeth not by the bodely eating of the Sacrament vnto our bodye, but to our ſoule,and ſo ſhall redounde at length vnto our bodyes.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Treſ. This is the opinion of Arrius, that Chriſt is vnited to his father by coniunction of mynd,and not naturally.

Cran. I ſay not ſo yet,neither do I thinke ſo. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. you ſay that Chriſt doth not liue by his father,only by faith and loue:but I ſay that Chriſt liueth not at al by his faith.

Weſt. Marke and conſider well this word[by faith]leſt anyoccaſion of cauilling be geuen.

If that vnion of the ſubſtaunce of fleſh ſhould be graunted vnto our bodyes then ſhould our bodies neuer die nor ſee corruption.

Treſ. Let that worde[by faith],be omitted. Neither did I meane that Chriſt liueth by his father thorough faith. yet the ſtrength of the Argument remayneth inforce. For els Hillary doth not confute the Arrians,except there be a greater coniunction betwene vs and Chriſt,when he is eaten of vs,then onely a ſpirituall coniunction. you do onely graunt a vnion. As for a carnall or naturall vnion of the ſubſtaunce of fleſh, by which we are ioyned more then ſpiritually, you do not graunt. But our lord Jeſus geue you a better mind: and ſhew you the light of his truth, that you may returne into the way of righteouſnes.

Weſt. We came hether to diſpute,and not to pray.

Treſ. Is it not lawfull to pray for them that erre?

Weſt. It is not lawfull yet. But procede.

Treſ. Againe, I reaſon thus: As Chriſt liueth by hys father,after the ſame maner do we liue by the eating of hys fleſhe.

The ſame argumēt again repeated.

But Chriſt liueth not by his father only in vnitie of wil, but naturally:

Ergo we do not liue when we eate the fleſh of Chriſt, only by fayth and vnitie of will,but naturally.

Aunſwere.

Cran. This is my fayth,and it agreeth with the ſcripture: Chriſt liueth by his father naturally,and maketh vs to liue by himſelf in dede:naturally,and that not only in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt,but alſo in Baptiſme. For infantes, when they are baptiſed,do eate the fleſhe of Chriſt.

Weſton. Anſwer eyther to the whole argument, or to the partes therof. For this argument is ſtrong and cannot be diſſolued.

The Archb. repeateth the argument.

Cran. This is the argument:

As Chriſt liueth by his father,after the ſame maner do we lyue by his fleſh,beyng eaten of vs:

But Chriſt lyueth not by his father onely in vnitie of will,but naturally:

Ergo we eating his fleſh, do not lyue onely by faith and loue,but naturally.

But the Maior is falſe:namely,that by the ſame maner we lyue by Chriſt,as he liueth by his father.

Weſton. * Hillary ſaith: after the ſame maner,vpon theſe wordes: he that eateth my fleſh,ſhall lyue by mee: Ergo, Chriſt liueth by his father, and as hee liueth by his father, after the ſame maner we ſhall lyue by his fleſh. Here you ſee, that Hillary ſaith,after the ſame maner.

*Chriſt not after his manhoode but after his diuine nature liueth naturally by his father,which diuine nature of hys worketh alſo in his manhoode an immortalitie. So our ſpirite and ſoule receauing the naturall body of Chriſt in the myſteries, by fayth do receaue alſo the nature of his body,that is,his purenes.iuſtification, and life: the operation whereof redounding likewiſe vnto our bodyes, doth make the ſame alſo capable of the ſame glory and immortalitie. And thus it is true, that as Chriſt lyueth naturally by his Father , ſo wee lyue naturally by the bodye of Chriſt eaten in the myſteries , hauinge reſpecte both to the manhoode of him & of vs. For as the fleſh of Chriſt,in reſpect of bare fleſhe, lyueth not naturally by the father,but for that it is ioyned to his diuinitie:So our fleſh liueth not naturally by Chriſtes body eaten in the Sacrament (for then euery wicked man eatyng the Sacrament ſhould liue naturally by hym) but for that our fleſhe is ioyned to the ſpirite and ſoule , which truely eateth the bodye of Chriſt by fayth: and ſo onely the bodies of the faithfull doe liue by eating the body of Chriſt naturally, in participating the naturall properties of the bodye of Chriſt.

Cran. After the ſame maner, doth not ſignifie lyke in all thinges: but in dede and eternally:for ſo doe we liue by Chriſt,and Chriſt lyueth by his father. For in other reſpects Chriſt liueth otherwiſe by his Father,thē we liue by Chriſt

Weſt. He liueth by his father naturally & eternally:

Ergo we liue by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. We do not liue naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the maner of nature. As Chriſt hath eternall lyfe of hys father,ſo haue we of hym.

Naturell expounded,

Weſt. I ſticke to this word naturally:

Cran. I meane it touchyng the truth of nature. For Chriſt lyueth otherwyſe by hys father,then we lyue by Chriſt.

Weſt.Hillary in the 8.booke.De Trinitate, denyeth it when he ſayeth: he liueth therfore by hys father: and as he lyueth by hys Father,after the ſame maner we ſhall lyue by hys fleſhe.

Cran. We ſhal lyue after the ſame maner,as concerning the nature of the fleſh of Chriſt:for as he hath of his father the nature of eternitie,ſo ſhall we haue of hym.

Weſt. Aunſwer vnto the partes of the Argument.

The Argument the third tyme repeated.

As Chriſt lyueth by his father,after the ſame maner ſhal we lyue by his fleſh:

But Chriſt doth not lyue by his father onely in vnitie of wyll but naturally:

Ergo,we eatyng his fleſh do not lyue only by faith & loue, but naturally.

Cran. I graunt(as I ſaid)we lyue by Chriſt naturally: but I neuer heard that Chriſt liueth with hys Father in vnity of wyll.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſemeth a meruaile vnto you,heare what Hillary ſayth: Theſe thinges are recited of vs to this ende: becauſe the heretickes fayning an vnitie of wyll onely betwene the father and the ſonne,did vſe the example of our vnity with God:as though that we being vnited to the ſon, and by the ſonne to the father only by obedience and wyll of religion,had no proprietie of the naturall communion by the ſacrament of the body and bloud.

But anſwer to the argument. Chriſt lyueth by his father naturally and eternally: therfore do we lyue by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. Cyrill and Hillary do ſay, that Chriſt is vnited to vs, not onely by wyll, but alſo by nature: hee doth communicate to vs hys owne nature,and ſo is Chriſt made one with vs carnally and corporally, becauſe he tooke our nature of the virgin Mary. And Hillary doth not only ſay that Chriſt is naturally in vs,but ẏ we alſo are naturally in him

Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri deſcripto.

and in the Father: that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternitie or euerlaſtingnes. For as the word receiuyng our nature, did ioyne it vnto hymſelfe in vnity of perſon, and did communicate vnto that our nature the nature of hys eternitie, that lyke as he beyng the euerlaſting worde of the father, had euerlaſting lyfe of ẏ father: euen ſo he gaue the ſame nature to his fleſh: Lykewyſe alſo did he communicate with vs the ſame nature of eternitie, which he and the father haue, and that we ſhould bee one with them, not only in will and loue, but that we ſhould be alſo partakers of the nature of euerlaſting lyfe.

Naturally expounded, that is our bodies to participate the nature & properties of Chriſtes holy and immortal body.

Weſton. Hillary where he ſayth: Chriſt communicated to vs hys nature, meaneth that, not by his natiuitie, but by the ſacrament.

Cranmer. He hath communicated to vs his fleſhe by his natiuitie.

Weſton. We haue communicated to him* our fleſh when he was borne.

*Then had Chriſt a ſinfull fleſh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to vs his fleſh when he was borne, and that I will ſhew you out of Cyrill vppon this place: Et homo factus eſt.

Weſt. Ergo, Chriſt beyng borne, gaue vs his fleſh.

Cran. In his natiuitie he made vs* pertakers of his fleſh.

*That is, made vs partakers of the properties, life, innocencie, and reſurrection of his body.

Weſt. Write Sirs.

Cran. Yea, write.

Ched. This place of Hillary is ſo darke, that you were compelled to falſifie it in your booke, becauſe you could not draw it to confirme your purpoſe.

D. Chadſey agayne diſputeth.

Hillar. 8. De Trinitate.

If Chriſt haue taken verely the fleſh of our body, & the man that was verely borne of the virgin Mary is Chriſt, and alſo we receaue vnder the true myſtery the fleſh of his body, by meanes wherof we ſhall be one (for the father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in vs) how ſhall that be called the vnity of wyll, when the natural property brought to paſſe by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of vnity? we muſt not ſpeake in the ſence of man or of the worlde in matters concernyng God: neyther muſt we peruerſly wraſt any ſtraunge or wicked ſence out of the wholeſome meanyng of the holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let vs read thoſe thynges that are written, and let vs vnderſtande thoſe thyngs that we read, and then we ſhall performe the duety of perfect fayth. For as touching that naturall & true beyng of Chriſt in vs, except we learne of hym, we ſpeake foliſhly and vngodly that thing that we do ſpeake: For he ſayth: My fleſh is meat in dede, and my bloud is drynke in deede. He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my bloud, abydeth in me and I in hym. As touching the veritie of his fleſh and bloud, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the teſtimony of the Lord, and alſo by our fayth, it is verilye fleſh, and verily bloud.

Here you haue falſified Hillary: for you haue ſet vero ſub myſterio, for verè ſub myſterio, we receiue truly vnder a myſtery, Hillary thriſe repeateth verè ſub myſterio, and you interprete it twiſe verè ſub Myſterio, but the third tyme you haue vero for verè.

This ſayde was their talke in Engliſhe. Seing M. Cranmer had twyſe verè and but once vero, they had no cauſe to be greued, but that they were diſpoſed to finde a knot in a ruſhe.

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not gilty of any deceite herein. It may be that the copy which I followed, had Sub vero myſterio. i. vnder a true myſtery: although touchyng the ſence it differeth little. God I call to witnes, I haue alway hated falſifiyng, and if you had leyſure and luſt to heare falſe citations, I could recite vnto you 6.C.

Weſt. Here ſhalbe ſhewed you two copies of Hillary, the one printed at Baſill, the other at Paris.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that D. Smithes bookes hath vero.

Weſt. Here is Doctour Smith: let hym aunſwer for hymſelfe.

M. Smith, M. Doctor: what ſay you for your ſelfe? ſpeake if you know it.

Here Doctour Smith, eyther for the truth in hys booke alledged, or els aſtonied with Doctor Weſtons haſty calling, ſtayd to anſwer. For he only put of his cappe, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your owne booke printed by Wolfe your owne printer, hath vero.

Cran. That booke is taken from me, which eaſily myght haue ended this controuerſie. I am ſure the booke of Decrees hath vero.

Cole. Now you admit the booke of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Here Doct. Cole beginneth to carpe

Cran. Touchyng the ſence of the matter, there is little difference. The chaunge of one letter for an other is, but a ſmall matter.

Weſt. Nois: Paſtor (as you know) ſignifieth a Biſhop, and Piſtor ſignifieth a Baker. But Paſtor ſhalbe Piſtor, a Biſhop ſhalbe a Baker by this your change of one letter, if verè and vero do nothing change the ſenſe.

Cran. Let it be ſo that in Piſtor and Paſtor one letter maketh ſome difference: yet let Piſtor be eyther a Baker or maker of bread, ye ſee here the chaunge of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſence.

Young. This Diſputation is taken in hande, that the truth might appeare. I perceyue I muſt go an other way to worke then I had thought. It is a common ſaying: agaynſt hym that denieth principles we muſt not diſpute. Therfore that we may agree of the principles, I demaund whether there be any other body of Chriſt then hys inſtrumentall body.

D. Yonge commeth in with his Sacraticall interrogations.

Cran. There is no naturall body of Chriſt, but his organicall body.

Yong. Agayne I demaund whether ſence and reaſon ought to geue place to fayth.

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, whether Chriſt be true in al his wordes?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt true, and truth it ſelfe.

Yong. Fourthly, whether Chriſt at his ſupper mynded to do that which he ſpake or no?

Cran. Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo: ſed fecit Diſcipulis Sacramentum. That is: In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the ſacrament to hys diſciples.

Yong. Aunſwer accordyng to the truth: whether did Chriſt that as God and man, which he ſpake, when he ſayd: This is my body.

D. Yonges ſophiſticall interrogatories.

Cran. This is a Sophiſtical cauillation: go plainly to worke. There is ſome deceit in theſe queſtiõs. You ſeke ſubtleties: leaue your crafty fetches.

Yong. I demaund whether Chriſt by theſe wordes wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the ſacrament.

Yong. But anſwer, whether did he worke any thing?

Cran. He did worke in inſtitutyng the ſacrament.

Yong. Now I haue you: for before you ſayd it was a figuratiue ſpeach.
But a figure worketh nothyng:
Ergo it is not a figuratiue ſpeach. A lyer ought to haue a good memory.

This Syllogiſme ſpeaking of a figure, hath no perfect forme nor figure.

Cran. I vnderſtode your Sophiſtry before. You by workyng vnderſtand conuertyng into the body of Chriſt: but Chriſt wrought the ſacrament, not in conuertyng, but in inſtitutyng.

Young. Woe be to them that make Chriſt a deceyuer. Dyd he worke any other thyng then he ſpake, or the ſelfe ſame thyng?

Cran. He wrought the ſacrament, and by theſe wordes he ſignified the effect.

Fes- Yong. A figuratiue ſpeach is no workyng thing.
ti- But the ſpeach of Chriſt is workyng:
no. Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. It worketh by inſtitutyng, not by conuertyng.

Yong. The thing ſignified in the ſacrament, is it not in that ſacrament?

Cran. It is. For the thing is miniſtred in a ſigne. He followeth the letter that taketh the thyng for the ſigne. Auguſtine ſeparateth the Sacrament from the thyng. The Sacrament (ſayth he) is one, and the thyng of the Sacrament an other.

Anſwere to D. Yonge by Saint Auſten.

Weſton. Sticke to this Argument.
It is a figuratiue ſpeach.
Ergo, it worketh nothing.

Yong. But the ſpeach of Chriſt is a workyng thing.
Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran. O how many craftes are in this Argument? they are mere fallacies: I ſayd not that the wordes of Chriſt do worke, but Chriſt hymſelfe: and he worketh by a figuratiue ſpeach.

Weſt. If a figure worke, it maketh of bread the bodye of Chriſt.

Cran. A figuratiue ſpeach worketh not.

Weſt. A figuratiue ſpeach by your own confeſſion, worketh nothyng.
But the ſpeach of Chriſt in the ſupper (as you graunt) wrought ſomewhat:
Ergo, the ſpeach of Chriſt in the Supper was not figuratiue.

Cran. I anſwer: theſe are mere ſophiſmes: the ſpeach doth not worke, but Chriſt by the ſpeach doth worke the ſacrament. I loke for ſcriptures at your handes: for they are the foundation of diſputations.

The figuratiue ſpeach worketh not, but Chriſt by the figuratiue ſpeach worketh the ſacrament.

Yong. Are not theſe wordes of ſcripture: This is my body? The word of Chriſt is of ſtrength: and by the lords wordes the heauens were made. He ſayd: This is my body. Ergo, he made it.

Cranmer. He made the Sacrament: and I deny your Argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothyng, nothyng is left there. He ſayd: This is my body: you ſay contrary to the ſcriptures, it is not the body of Chriſt, and fall from the fayth.

Cran. You interprete the ſcriptures contrary to all the olde writers, and fayne a ſtrange ſenſe.

Ambroſ.De ijs qui initiãtur,&c.cap.9.

Yong. Ambroſ.De ijs qui initiantur ſacris, cap.9. ſayeth: De totius mundi operibus legiſti, quia ipſe dixit & facta ſunt, ipſe, mandauit & creata ſunt. Sermo Chriſti qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non poteſt ea quæ ſunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus eſt nouas res dare, quã mutare naturas: Sed quid argumentis vtimur? ſuis vtamur exemplis, incarnationiſq; exemplo aſtruamus myſterij veritatem. Nunquid naturæ vſus præceſſit cum Dominus Ieſus ex Maria naſceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare cõſueuit, Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinẽ virgo generauit; & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine eſt. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Chriſti corpore, cũ præter naturam ſit ipſe Dominus Ieſus partus ex virgine? vera vtiq; caro Chriſti quæ Crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: verè ergò illius Sacramentum eſt. Clamat Dominus Ieſus: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur, poſt conſecrationem corpus ſignificatur. Ipſe dicit ſanguinem ſuum. Ante conſecrationem aliud dicitur: poſt conſecrationem ſanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen: hoc eſt, verum eſt. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod Sermo ſonat, affectus ſentiat. That is:

Thou haſt red of the workes of all the world, that he ſpake the worde and they were made: he commaunded and they were created. Cannot the word of Chriſt which made of nothyng that which was not, chaunge thoſe things that are, into that they were not? For it is no leſſe matter to geue new things, then to chaunge natures. But what vſe we Argumentes? let vs vſe hys owne examples, and let vs confirme the veritie of the myſterye by example of his incarnation. Did the vſe of nature go before, when the lord Jeſus was borne of Mary? If you ſeeke the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman ioyned to a man. It is manifeſt therefore, that contrary to the* order of nature, a virgin did conceyue: and thus that we make, is the body of the virgin. What ſeekeſt thou here the order of nature in the body of Chriſt, when agaynſt the order of nature the Lord Jeſus was conceiued of a Virgine? It was the true fleſh of Chriſt which was crucified and whiche was buried: therfore it is truly the ſacrament of hym. The lorde Jeſus hymſelfe crieth: This is my body. Before the bleſſing of the heauenly wordes, it is named another kynd: but after the conſecration the body of Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it hys bloud. Before conſecration, it is called an other thyng: after conſecration it is called bloud, and thou ſayeſt Amen: that is, it is true. That the mouth ſpeaketh, let the inward mynd confeſſe: that the word ſoundeth, let the hart perceiue.

***As Chriſt Jeſus was conceaued agaynſt the order of nature: ſo in the inſtituting of thys Sacrament the order of nature is not to be ſought.**

Ambroſius lib.De Sacramentis.cap. 4.

The ſame Ambroſe in hys 4. boke of ſacraments the 4. chap. ſayth thus: Panis iſte, panis eſt ante verba Sacramentorũ: vbi acceſſerit conſecratio, de pane fit caro Chriſti. Hoc igitur aſtruamus: quomodo poteſt, qui panis eſt, corpus eſſe Chriſti conſecratione? conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cuius ſermonibus? Domini Ieſu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris: vbi venitur vt conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, iam non ſuis ſermonibus Sacerdos vtitur, ſed ſermonibus Chriſti. Ergò ſermo Chriſti hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis ſermo? nempe is quo facta ſunt omnia. Iuſſit Dominus & factum eſt cœlum: iuſſit Dominus & facta eſt terra: iuſſit dominus & facta ſunt maria.&c. Vides ergo quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini, vt inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius eſt, vt ſint quæ erant & in aliud commutentur.

That is to ſay.

The wordes of Ambroſe in Engliſhe.

This bread is bread before the wordes of the Sacraments. When the conſecration commeth to it, of bread it is made the fleſh of Chriſt. Let vs confirm this therfore: how can that which is breade, by conſecration be the bodye of Chriſt? by what wordes then is the conſecration made, & by whoſe wordes? by the wordes of our Lord Jeſus. For touchyng all other thinges that are ſayd, prayſe is geuen to God, prayer is made for the people, for kinges, and for the reſt. When it commeth, that the reuerend Sacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt vſeth not his own wordes, but the wordes of Chriſt: therfore the word of Chriſt maketh this Sacrament. What worde? That word, by which all things were made. The Lorde* commaunded, and heauen was made: the Lord commaunded and the earth was made: the Lord commaunded, and the ſeas were made: the lord commaunded, and all creatures were made. Doeſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in workyng the worde of Chriſt is? If therfore, ſo great ſtrength be in the Lordes word, that thoſe things ſhould begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of ſtrẽgth to worke that theſe things which were, ſhould be chaunged into another thyng?

***But the Lord Jeſus here vſed not ſuch wordes of cõmandĩg in the Sacramẽt as in creation: for we read not, fiat hoc corpus meum, as we read, fiat lux.&c.**

Ambr. ſaith, that the wordes are of ſtrength to worke.

Weſton. You omit thoſe wordes which follow, which maketh the ſence of Ambr. playne. Read them.

Ambroſ.De Sacr.Cap.5.

Yong. Cœlum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem: Ipſe dixit & facta ſunt, ipſe mandauit & creata ſunt. Ergo tibi vt reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationem dico tibi quòd iam * corpus Chriſti eſt. That is. Heauen was not, the ſea was not, the earth was not, but heare hym that ſayd: he ſpake the word and they were made: he commaunded, & they were created. Therfore to anſwer thee, it was not the body of Chriſt before conſecration, but after the conſecratiõ I ſay to thee, that now it is the body of Chriſt.

*Alloioſis reã & ſymbolicũ.

Cran. All theſe thinges are common. I ſay that God doth chiefly worke in the ſacraments.

Yong. How doth he worke?

Cran. By his power as he doth in Baptiſme.

Yong. Nay, by the word he chaungeth the bread into hys body. This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, geue place to the truth.

Cran. O glorious wordes, you are to full of wordes.

Yong. Nay, O glorious truth; you make no chaunge at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great change: as in them that are baptiſed, is there not a great chaunge, when the child of the bondſlaue of the deuill, is made the ſonne of God? So it is alſo in the ſacrament of the ſupper when he receiueth vs into his protection and fauour.

Yong. If he worke in the ſacramentes, he worketh in this ſacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his faythfull, not in the Sacramentes:

Weſt. In the ſupper the wordes are directed to the bread: in Baptiſme to the ſpirit. He ſayd not, the water is the ſpirit, but of the bread he ſaid: This is my body.

Cran. He called the ſpirit a Doue, when the ſpirit deſcended in likenes of a Doue.

As the Doue is called the ſpirite: ſo the bread is called the body.

Weſt. He doth not call the ſpirit a Doue: but he ſaith, that he deſcended as a Doue. He was ſene in the likenes of a Doue. As in Baptiſme, the words are directed to hym that is baptiſed, ſo in the Supper the wordes are directed vnto the bread.

Cran. Nay it is written: Vpon whomſoeuer thou ſhalt ſee the ſpirit deſcendyng. He calleth that which deſcended, the holy ſpirit. And Auguſtine calleth the doue the ſpirit. Heare what Auguſtine ſayth in 1. John. Quid voluit per columbam, id eſt, per ſpiritum ſanctum, docere, qui miſerat eum. That is: What ment he by the doue, that is, by ẏ holy ghoſt? forſooth to teach who ſent hym.

John.1.

Auguſt.in. Iohn.cap.1.

Yong. He vnderſtandeth of the ſpirit deſcendyng as a doue: the ſpirit is inuiſible. If you mynd to haue the truth heard, let vs procede. Heare what Ambroſe ſayth: Vides quam operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis in ſermone domini.&c. vt ſupra. That is: You ſee what a workyng power the word of Chriſt hath. Therfore if there be ſo great power in the lordes worde, that thoſe thinges which were not, begin to be, how much more of ſtrength is it to worke that thoſe thinges that were, ſhould be chaunged into an other thyng?

Ambroſe agayne repeated, De Sacrament.cap.4.

And in the 5. chap. Antequam conſecretur, panis eſt: vbi autem verba Chriſti acceſſerint, corpus eſt Chriſti. i. Before it be conſecrated, it is bread: but when the wordes of Chriſt come to it, it is the body of Chriſt.

Idem.cap.5.

But heare what he ſayth more: Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meũ: Take ye, eate ye, this is my body. Ante verba Chriſti calix eſt vini & aquæ plenus: vbi verba Chriſti operata fuerint, ibi ſanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem. That is: Before the wordes of Chriſt, the cuppe is full of wyne and water, when the wordes of Chriſt haue wrought, there is made the bloud of Chriſt, which redemed the people. What can be more playne?

Cran. Nay, what can be leſſe to the purpoſe? The wordes are of ſtrength to worke in this ſacrament, as they are in Baptiſme.

Aunſwere to Ambroſe.

Pie. The wordes of Chriſt (as Ambr. ſayth) are of ſtrẽgth to worke. What do they worke? Ambroſe ſayth, they make the bloud which redemed the people.

Ergo the naturall bloud is made.

Cran. The ſacrament of hys bloud is made. The wordes make the bloud to them that receiue it: not that the bloud is in the cup, but in the receiuer.

Pie. There is made the bloud which redemed the people.

Cranmer. The bloud is made: that is, the ſacrament of the bloude, by which he redeemed the people. [Fit] it is made: that

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Marke how D. Weſton expoundeth, to eate in a ſimilitude.

that is to ſay [oſtenditur] it is ſhewed ſayth there. And Ambroſe ſaith: we receyue in a ſimilitude. As thou haſt receyued the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of hys precious bloud.

West. He ſayth in a ſimilitude, becauſe it is miniſtred vnder another lykenes. And this is the argument.

*If thys ſyllogiſme be in the 2. figure (as by ſtanding of the termes appeareth) then is it falſe, becauſe it concludeth affyrmatiuely.

*There is made the bloud which redemed the people.
But the naturall bloud redemed the people:
Ergo there is the naturall bloud of Chriſt.

You anſwer, that wordes make it bloud to them that receyue it: not that bloud is in the cuppe, but becauſe it is made bloud to them that receyue it. That all men may ſee, how falſly you would auoyd the fathers, heare what Ambroſe ſaith in the 6. booke and 1. chap.

Ambroſ. lib. 6. cap. 1. De Sacramentis.

Operari: Mutare. conuertere.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui ſimilitudinem video, non video ſanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de ſermone Chriſti qui operatur, vt poſsit mutare & conuertere genera inſtituta naturæ. Deinde vbi non tulerunt ſermonem diſcipuli eius, ſed audientes, quod carnem ſuam dedit manducari, & ſanguinem ſuum dedit bibēdum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit: verba vitæ æternæ habes, & ego a te quo recedā? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidā eſſet horror cruoris, ſed maneret gratia redēptionis, ideò in ſimilitudinem quidem accipis ſacramentum, ſed verè naturę gratiam virtutemq́; conſequeris. That is to ſay.

Peraduenture thou wilt ſay, how be they true? I which ſee the ſimilitude, do not ſee the truth of the bloud. Firſt of all I told thee of the word of Chriſt, which ſo worketh, that it can chaunge and turne kyndes ordeyned of nature. Afterwarde, when the Diſciples could not abide the wordes of Chriſt, but hearyng that he gaue hys fleſh to eate, and hys bloud to drinke, they departed: Only Peter ſaid, thou haſt the wordes of eternall life: whether ſhould I go from thee? Leſt therefore moe ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould be a certaine horror of bloud, and yet the grace of redemption ſhould remayne: therfore in a ſimilitude thou receiueſt the ſacrament: but in deede thou obtaineſt the grace and power of his nature.

Anſwere to Ambroſe.

Cranmer. Theſe wordes of themſelues are playne enough. (And he red this place agayne, Thou receiueſt the ſacramēt for a ſimilitude.) But what is that he ſaith: Thou receiueſt for a ſimilitude? I thinke he vnderſtandeth the ſacrament to be the ſimilitude of hys bloud.

Ched. That you may vnderſtand that truth diſſenteth not from truth, to ouerthrow that which you ſay of that ſimilitude: heare what Ambroſe ſaith, lib. 4. De ſacrament.

Ambroſ. De Sacram. lib. 4.

Si operatus eſt ſermo cœleſtis in alijs rebus, non operatur in ſacramentis cœleſtibus? Ergo didiciſti quod e pane corpus fiat Chriſti, et quod vinum & aqua in calicē mittitur, ſed fit ſanguis conſecratione verbi cœleſtis. Sed forte dices, ſpeciem ſanguinis non videri. Sed habet ſimilitudinem. Sicut enim mortis ſimilitudinem ſumpſiſti, ita etiam ſimilitudinem precioſi ſanguinis bibis, vt nullus horror cruoris ſit, & pretiū tamen operetur redemptionis. Didiciſti ergo, quia quod accipis, corpus eſt Chriſti. That is to ſay.

If the heauenly worde did worke in other things, doth it not worke in the heauenly ſacramentes? Therfore thou haſt learned, that of bread is made the body of Chriſt: & that wyne and water is put into that cup: but by conſecration of the heauenly word, it is made bloud. But thou wilt ſay peraduēture, that the lykenes of bloud is not ſeene. But it hath a ſimilitude.

Note that Ambroſe ſaith: we drinke a ſimilitude of Chriſtes bloud.

For as thou haſt receiued the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of hys precious bloud, ſo ỹ there is no horror of bloud, & yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therfore thou haſt learned, that that which thou receiueſt, is the body of Chriſt.

Aunſwere to the place of Ambroſe. Sacramentes be called by the name of the thynges.

Cran. He ſpeaketh of ſacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the ſacraments by the names of the things: for he vſeth the ſignes for the thinges ſignified: and therfore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignitye of the thyng ſignified by it. So doth Ambroſe interprete hym ſelfe when he ſayth: In cuius typum nos calicem myſticum ſanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animæ noſtræ percepimus. 1. Cor. 11. That is, for a type or figure whereof we receiue the myſticall cup of his bloud, for the ſafegard of our bodies and ſoules.

Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. cap. 11.

Ched. A type? he calleth not the bloud of Chriſt a type or ſigne: but the bloud of buls and goates in that reſpect was a type or ſigne.

Cran. This is new learnyng: you ſhall neuer read this among the fathers.

Ched. But Ambroſe ſayth ſo.

Cran. He calleth the bread and the cup a type or ſigne of the bloud of Chriſt, and of hys benefite.

West. Ambroſe vnderſtandeth for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption: not of the bloud of Chriſt, but of his paſſion. The cuppe is the type or ſigne of hys death, ſeyng it is hys bloud.

Ambroſe alleaged agaynſt Ambroſe.

Cranmer. He ſayth moſt playnly, that the cup is the type of Chriſtes bloud.

Argument.

da- Ched. As Chriſt is truely and really incarnate, ſo is he truly and really in the ſacrament.
ri- But Chriſt is really and truly incarnate.
j. Ergo the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny the Maior.

Ched. I proue the Maior out of Iuſtine in his 2. Apologie.

Iuſtinus Apolog. 2.

ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν: οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι᾽ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Aunſwere to the place of Iuſtinus.

Cran. This place hath bene falſified by Marcus Conſtantius. Iuſtine ment nothing els, but that the bread which nouriſheth vs, is called the body of Chriſt.

Ched. To the Argument. As Chriſt is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. vt ſupra.

Cran. I deny your Maior.

Ched. The wordes of Iuſtine are thus to be interpreted worde for worde.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Ieſus Chriſtus Saluator noſter, carnem habuit & ſanguinem pro ſalute noſtra: ſic & cibum illum conſecratum per ſermonem *precationis ab ipſo inſtitutæ, quo ſanguis carneſq́; noſtræ per *communionem nutriuntur, eiuſdem Ieſu qui caro factus eſt, carnem & ſanguinem eſſe accepimus. That is to ſay.

*Mutationem.

As by the worde of God Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour, beyng made fleſh, had both fleſh and bloud for our ſaluation: ſo we are taught, that the meate* conſecrated by the worde of prayer inſtituted of hym, whereby our bloud and fleſhe are nouriſhed by* communion, is the fleſh and bloud of the ſame Ieſus, which was made fleſh.

*Of thankeſgeuing.

*Mutation.

Aunſwere.

Cran. You haue tranſlated it well: But I deny your Maior. This is the ſence of Iuſtine: that that bread is called the body of Chriſt, and yet of that ſanctified meate our bodies are nouriſhed.

Ched. Nay he ſayth, that of that ſanctified meate, both our bodies and ſoules are nouriſhed.

αἷμα καὶ σάρκες. i. Bloud & fleſhe.

Cran. He ſayth not ſo: but he ſayth, that it nouriſheth our fleſh and bloud: and how cā that nouriſh the ſoule, that nouriſheth the fleſh and bloud?

Cole. It fedeth the body by the ſoule.

Cran. Speake vprightly. Can that, which is receiued by the ſoule and the ſpirit, be called the meat of the body?

Irenæus.

West. Heare then what Irenæus ſayth: Eum calicem qui eſt creatura, ſuum corpus confirmauit ex quo noſtra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. This is: The ſame cup which is a creature, hee confirmed to be his body, by which he encreaſeth our bodyes. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken hath ioyned to it the worde of God, it is made the ſacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt, of which the ſubſtaunce of our fleſhe is increaſed, and conſiſteth.

Argument.

The ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed by the body & bloud of Chriſt:
Ergo, our body is nouriſhed by the body & bloud of Chriſt.

Irenæus aunſwered by Tertul.

Cran. I deny your Argument. Hee calleth it the fleſhe and bloud: for the Sacrament of the body and bloud, as Tertullian alſo ſayth: Nutritur corpus pane ſymbolico, anima corpore Chriſti. That is: Our fleſh is nouriſhed with ſymboliſticall or ſacramentall bread, but our ſoule is nouriſhed with the body of Chriſt.

Irenæus lib. 5.

West. Looke what he ſayth more. Quomodo carnem negant capacem eſſe donationis Dei quæ eſt vita æterna, quæ ſanguine & corpore Chriſti nutritur? Li. 5. poſt duo folia a principio. That is: How do they ſay, that the fleſhe can not receyue the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nouriſhed with the bloud and body of Chriſt? That is in the 5. booke two leaues from the beginnyng.

The body is nouriſhed wyth the ſacrament to temporall lyfe: wyth the body of Chriſt to eternall lyfe.

Cran. The body is nouriſhed both with the ſacrament, and with the body of Chriſt, with the ſacrament to a temporall life: with the body of Chriſt to eternall life.

Note that the Archby. here dyd not tranſlate the wordes of Iuſtine but onely gather the effect of hys meaning.

Ched. I cannot but be ſory when I ſee ſuch a manifeſt lye in your writings. For where you tranſlate Iuſtine on this faſhion: that the bread, water, and wyne are not ſo to be taken in this ſacrament, as common meates and drinkes are wont to be taken of vs: but are meates choſen out peculiarly for this, namely for the geuyng of thankes, and therefore bee called of the Greekes Euchariſtia, that is, Thankes geuyng: they are called moreouer the bloude and bodye of Chriſte (ſo haue you tranſlated it): the wordes of

Iuſtine are thus: We are taught that the meate conſecrated by the word of prayer by the which our fleſhe & bloud is nouriſhed by communion, is the body and bloude of the ſame Ieſus which was made fleſh.

Cranmer purgeth him ſelfe.

Cran. I dyd not tranſlate it word for word, but onely I gaue the meanyng: and I go nothing from his meanyng.

Harpſ. You remember, touching Iuſtine, to whom this Apologie was written, namely to an heathen man. The heathen thought that the Chriſtians came to the Churche to worſhip bread. Iuſtine aunſwereth, that wee come not to common bread, but as to. &c. as is ſayd afore. Wey the place well, it is right worthy to be noted: Our fleſh is nouriſhed according to mutation.

In eating the ſacrament no bread is conſidered but onely the true body of Chriſt.

Cran. We ought not to cōſider the bare bread: but whoſoeuer cōmeth to the ſacramēt, eateth the true body of Chriſt.

Weſt. You haue corrupted Emiſſenus for in ſtede of cibis ſatiandus, that is, to be filled with meate: you haue ſet cibis ſatiandus ſpiritualibus: that is, to bee filled with ſpirituall meates.

Cran. I haue not corrupted it, for it is ſo in the Decrees.

De conſecra. Diſt. 2. Quia.

Weſt. You haue corrupted an other place of Emiſſenus. For you haue omitted theſe wordes: Mirare cum reuerendum altare cibis ſpiritualibus ſatiandus aſcendis: ſacrum Dei tui corpus & ſanguinem fide reſpice, honorem mirare, merito continge. &c. This is: Maruell thou when thou commeſt vp to the reuerend alter to be filled with ſpirituall meates: looke in fayth to the holy body and bloud of thy God: maruell at his honour: worthely touch him.

Cran. This booke hath not that.

Cranmer charged with falſe tranſlating.

Weſt. Alſo you haue falſified this place by euil tranſlating Honora Corpus Dei tui .i. Honour the body of thy God. You haue tranſlated it: Honora eum qui eſt Deus tuus .i. Honour hym whiche is thy God. Wheras Emiſſenus hath not [honour him] but [honour the body of thy God].

Cranmer purgeth hymſelfe.

Cran. I haue ſo tranſlated hym, and yet no leſſe truely, thē not without a weyghty cauſe, for els it ſhould not haue ben without daunger, if I had tranſlated it thus: Honour the body of thy God: becauſe of certayne, that, according to the errour of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

Weſt. Nay you moſt of all, haue brought the people into yͤ errour, whiche ſo long haue taught that hee ſitteth at the right hand of God the father: and counted mee for an hereticke, becauſe I preached that God had no right hand. Thē I wyll appoſe you in the very Articles of your fayth.

Argument.

Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father.
But God the Father hath no right hand:
Ergo, where is Chriſt now?

The right hand of God what it ſignifieth.

Cran. I am not ſo ignoraunt a nouice in the articles of my faith, but that I vnderſtand, that to ſit at the right hande of God, doth ſignifie to be equall in the glory of the father.

Weſt. Now then take this Argument.

Whereſoeuer gods authoritie is, there is Chriſtes body.
But gods authority is in euery place:
Ergo, what letteth the body of Chriſt to be in euery place?

Moreouer you haue alſo corrupted Duns.

Cranmer charged wyth miſtranſlating Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promiſe you.

Weſt. For you haue omitted ſecundum apparentiam .i. as it appeareth. Where hys wordes are theſe: Et ſi quæras quare voluit Eccleſia eligere iſtum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba Scripturæ poſſint ſaluari ſecundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c. That is: And if you demaund why the church did chuſe this ſo harde an vnderſtanding of this Article, where as the wordes of ſcripture may be ſalued after an eaſie and true vnderſtanding (as appeareth) of this article, &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

D. Cranmer chalenged for ſettyng forth the Catechiſme in the name of the Conuocation.

Weſt. Alſo you haue ſet forth a Cathechiſme, in the name of the Synode of London, and yet there be 50. which witneſſing that they were of the number of that Conuocation, neuer heard one word of this Catechiſme.

D. Cranmer purgeth hymſelfe concernyng the Catechiſme.

Cran. I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that title: & as ſone as I had knowledge therof, I did not like it. Therfore whē I complayned therof to the Councel, it was aunſwered me by them, that the booke was ſo intituled, becauſe it was ſet forth in tyme of the Conuocation.

Weſt. Moreouer, you haue in Duns tranſlated in Romana Eccleſia, pro Eccleſia Catholica .i. In the Churche of Rome, for the Catholicke Church.

Cran. Yea but he ment the Romiſh Churche.

D. Cranmer charged wyth miſtranſlating Tho. Aquinas.

Weſt. Moreouer, you haue depraued S. Thomas, namely where he hath theſe wordes: In quantum vero eſt ſacrificium, habet vim ſatiſfactiuam. Sed in ſatiſfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Vnde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quòd plus omnibus miſit. Quamuis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet ad ſatiſfaciendū pro omni pœna, tamē fit ſatiſfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ deuotionis, & non pro tota pœna. That is: In aſmuch as it is a ſacrifice, it hath the power of ſatiſfaction. But in ſatiſfaction the affection of the offerer is more to bee weyed then the quantity of yͤ oblation. Wherfore the Lord ſayd in Lukes Goſpell, of the wydow which offered two mites, that ſhee caſt in more then they all. Therfore, although this oblation of the quantity of it ſelfe wil ſuffice to ſatiſfy for all payne, yet it is made ſatiſfactorye to them, for whome it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantitye of their Deuotion, and not for all the payne.

You haue thus turned it: Quod ſacrificiū Sacerdotis habet vim ſatiſfactiuam &c. That is, That the ſacrifice of the prieſt hath power of ſatiſfaction, &c. And therefore in thys place you haue chopped in this word [Sacerdotis] of yͤ prieſt, wheras in the tranſlation of al the new teſtament, you haue not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And againe, where S. Thomas hath [pro omni pœna] for al payn, your booke omitteth many thinges there.

Weſton triumpheth before the victory.

Thus you ſee brethren, the truth ſtedfaſt and inuincyble, you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of heretickes, the truth may be preſſed, but it cannot be oppreſſed: therfore cry altogether Vincit veritas: i. The truth ouercommeth.

This diſordered diſputation ſometime in latin ſometime in engliſh, continued almoſt til 2. of the clock. Which being finiſhed, and the argumentes written and deliuered to the handes of Maiſter Say, the pryſoner was had away by yͤ Maior, and the Doctors dyned together, at the Vniuerſity Colledge.

¶Diſputations at Oxford between D. Smith, with hys other Colleagues and doctors, and Byſhop Ridley. Aprill. 17.

Aprill. 17.

D. Smyth ſent to diſpute agaynſt D. Ridley.

The next day folowing which was the 17. of Aprill, was brought forth D. Ridley to diſpute: againſt whom was ſet D. Smith to be principal opponēt. Touching which D. Smith, for ſo much as mention here happeneth of his name firſt the Reader is to be aduertyſed what is to bee attrybuted to his iudgement in Religion, which ſo often times before hath turned & returned to & fro, grounded (as it ſemeth) vpō no firme cōſcience of doctrin, as both by hys articles by him recāted may appeare, & alſo by his own letter ſent a litle before in Kynge Edwardes dayes to the Archbyſhop of Caunterburye from Scotland. Which Letter I thought here to exhibite as a certayn preface before his owne Argumentes, or rather as a Teſtimony agaynſt hym ſelfe, wherby the Reader may vnderſtand how deuoutlye hee magnyfied them and their doctrine a little before, agaynſt whom he now diſputeth ſo buſilye. Read (I beſeech thee,) this Epiſtle, and iudge.

¶The true copie of a certain Epiſtle of Doct. Rich. Smith, declaring his affection to the ſettyng forth of Gods ſincere word.

A letter of D. Smyth to Doctor Cranmer Archbyſhop of Cant.

Moſt honorable, I commend me vnto your Lordſhippe, doyng the ſame to vnderſtande, that I wrote letters to your grace in Ianuary laſt, and the 1. day of February, declaring the cauſes of my ſodain & vnaduiſed departing from your grace ouer the ſea, and deſiring your good Lordſhip of your Charitye toward them that repent their ill Actes, to forgeue me your ſelfe all that wronge I dyd towardes your Grace, and to obtayne in writinge the Kinges Maieſtyes pardon for me in all poyntes concerning hys Lawes: vpon the receipt wherof I would returne again home, and within halfe an yeare (at the vttermoſt) afterward, write, de Sacerdotum connubijs. &c. a Latin booke that ſhould be a iuſte ſatiſfaction for any thinge that I haue wrytten againſt the ſame. Reliquaquè omnia dogmata veſtra, tum demum libenter amplexurum, vbi Deus mentē meam, vt ea citra conſcientię læſionem agnoſcam, doceamquè. I wrote not this that I want any good liuinge here, but becauſe mine abſence out of the Realme, is diſhonoure to the Kinges highnes, and Realme, and becauſe I muſt needes (if I tarrye here a quarter of a yeare longer) write an aunſwere to your Graces Booke of the Sacrament, and alſo a booke of common places agaynſt all the Doctrine ſet forth by the kinges Maieſtye, which I cannot do with good conſcience. Wherfore I beſeech your Grace helpe me whom, as ſoone as ye may conuenyently for Gods ſake, and ye ſhal neuer I truſt in God repent that fact.

D. Smyth purpoſing to write for the mariage of prieſtes.

Ex vrbe diui Andreæ 14. Februarij. Richardus Smithæus.

And thus much touching the fornamed Doctor Richard Smith, being ſet here (as is ſayd) to diſpute againſte Byſhop Ridley, who was brought now the next day after the

Archb. to aunſwer in the diuinitie ſchole. Agaynſt whome alſo beſides D. Smith diſputed D. Weſton, D. Treſham, D. Oglethorpe, D. Glyn, D. Seton, D. Cole, M. Warde, M. Harpſfield, D. Watſon, M. Pye, M. Hardyng, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them he aunſwered very learnedly. He made a preface to theſe queſtions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but cauſed hym to make an ende of the ſame, and ſayd it was blaſphemy, and ſome ſayd he droue of the tyme in ambiguous thynges, nothing to the purpoſe, and ſo they would not ſuffer him to ſay his mind. Doct. Smith could get nothing at his hand: inſomuch that other did take his argumentes and proſecuted thē. He ſhewed hymſelfe to be learned, and a great Clarke. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Diſputers agaynſt D. Ridley.

The diſputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor. Good chriſten people and brethren, we haue begon this day our ſchole, by gods good ſpede I truſt, and are entryng into a controuerſie, whereof no queſtion ought to be moued, concerning the veritie of the body of our lord Jeſu Chriſt in ẏ Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſaid the wordes. The words are true which he ſpake, yea truth it ſelfe that cannot fayle. Let vs therfore pray vnto God to ſende downe vnto vs his holy ſpirite, which is the true interpreter of hys worde: which may purge away erroures, and geue that veritie may appeare. Let vs alſo aſke leaue & liberty of the Church to permit the truth receyued, to be called, this day in queſtion, without any preiudice to the ſame. Your partes therefore ſhall be to implore the aſſiſtaunce of almighty God, to pray for the proſperitie of the Queenes maieſty, and to geue vs quiet and attentiue eares. Now go to your queſtions.

Doct. Smith. This day (right learned M. Doctor) 3. queſtions are propounded, wherof no controuerſie among chriſtians ought to be moued, to wit:

The queſtions.

1 Whether the natural body of Chriſt our Sauiour, conceiued of the virgin Mary, and offred for mans redemption vpon the croſſe, is verily and really in the ſacrament by vertue of gods worde ſpoken by the prieſt. &c.

2 Whether in the ſacrament after the wordes of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance. &c.

3 Whether in the maſſe be a ſacrifice propiciatory. &c.

Touchyng the which queſtions, although you haue publikely and apertly profeſſed your iudgement and opinion on Saterday laſt: yet beyng not ſatiſfied with that your aunſwer, I will aſſay agayne to demaund your ſentence in the firſt queſtion: whether the true body of Chriſt, after the wordes pronounced, be really in the Euchariſt, or els onely the figure? In which matter I ſtand here nowe to heare your aunſwer.

The Preface or proteſtation of D. Ridley, before hys diſputation.

The proteſtation of D. Ridley.

I Receiued of you the other day, right worſhipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye my reuerend Maiſters, Commiſſioners from the Queenes maieſty and her honourable Counſell, three propoſitiōs: wherunto ye commaunded me to prepare agaynſt this day, what I thought good to aunſwer concernyng the ſame.

Now whileſt I weyed with my ſelfe, how great a charge of the lordes flocke was of late committed vnto me, for the which I am certayne I muſt once render an accompte to my Lord God (and that how ſoone, he knoweth): and that moreouer by the commaundement of the Apoſtle Peter, I ought to be redy alway to geue a reaſon of the hope that is in me with mekenes and reuerence, vnto euery one that ſhall demaund the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips beyng Commiſſioners by publike authoritie: I determined with my ſelfe to obey your commaundement, and ſo openly to declare vnto you my mynde touchyng the foreſayd propoſitions. And albeit plainly to confeſſe vnto you the truth) in theſe thynges which ye now demaund of me, I haue thought otherwyſe in tymes paſt then I now do, yet (God I call to recorde vnto my ſoule, I lye not) I haue not altered my iudgement, as now it is, eyther by conſtraint of any man, or lawes, either for the dread of any daungers of this world, eyther for any hope of commoditie: but onely for the loue of the truth, reueled vnto me by the grace of God (as I am vndoubtedly perſwaded) in his holy worde, and in the readyng of the auncient Fathers.

What moued D. Ridley to alter his iudgemēt from the Church of Rome.

Theſe things do I the rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſte it hath done to me: I mean if ye thinke otherwiſe of ẏ matters propounded in theſe propoſitions, then I now do, God may open vnto you in tyme to come.

But howſoeuer it ſhall be, I wyll in fewe wordes doe that which I thynke ye all looke I ſhould doe: that is, as playnely as I can, I wyll declare my iudgement herein. Howbeit of thys I would ye were not ignoraunt, that I wyll not in deede wittingly and willingly ſpeake in any poynt agaynſt Gods word, or diſſent in any one iote from the ſame, or from the rules of fayth and Chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred word of god preſcribeth to the Church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for euer ſubmit my ſelfe, and all my doynges. And becauſe ẏ matter I haue now taken in hand is weyghty, and ye all well know how vnready I am to handle it accordyngly, aſwell for lacke of tyme, as alſo lacke of bookes: therefore here I proteſt that I wyll publickly thys day require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concernyng all myne aunſweres, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminiſhe whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme hereafter more conuenient and meete for the purpoſe, through more ſound iudgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of euery particular thyng. Hauyng now by the way of preface and proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few wordes, I wyll come to the aunſweryng of the propoſitions propounded vnto me, and ſo to the moſt briefe explication and confirmation of myne aunſweres.

D. Ridley ſubmitteth hymſelfe to the Church of Chriſt.

West. Reuerend maiſter Doctor, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complayne. What bookes ſoeuer you wyl name, ye ſhall haue them, and as concernyng the iudgement of your aunſwers to be had of your ſelfe wyth farther deliberation: it ſhall (I ſay) be lawfull for you vntyll Monday next to adde vnto them what you ſhall thynke good your ſelfe. My mynde is that we ſhould vſe ſhort argumentes, leaſt we ſhould make an infinite proceſſe of the thyng.

Thys promyſe was not kept.

Ryd. There is an other thyng beſides, which I would gladly obtayne at your hands. I perceiue that you haue wryters and Notaries here preſent. By all lykelihood our diſputatiōs ſhal be publiſhed. I beſeech you for Gods ſake, let me haue libertie to ſpeake my mynde freely & wythout interruption, not becauſe I haue determined to protract ẏ tyme with a ſolemne preface, but leaſt it may appeare that ſome be not ſatiſfied. God wote I am no Orator, nor I haue not learned Rhetoricke to ſet colours on the matter.

West. Amonge this whole company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Ryd. I would chuſe ij. if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

West. Here are two which M. Cranmer had yeſterday. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Ryd. I am content wyth them: I truſt they are honeſt men.

Two Notaryes permitted to Doct. Ridley.

These .2. Notaryes were M. Iuell, ſometime Byſhop of Saliſbury, and M. Gilbert Mounſ.

The firſt propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the aultar, by the vertue of Gods word ſpoken of the Prieſt, the naturall body of Chriſt borne of the vyrgin Mary, and hys naturall bloud is really preſent vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

The firſt propoſition.

The aunſwere of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaynyng to God, we may not ſpeake accordyng to the ſence of man, nor of the worlde: Therfore this propoſition or concluſion is framed after an other maner of phraſe or kynde of ſpeech, then the Scripture vſeth. Agayne, it is very obſcure and darke, by meanes of ſundry wordes of doubtfull ſignification. And beyng taken in the ſence which the Schoolemen teach, and at thys tyme the Church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erronious, and plaine cōtrary to ẏ doctrine which is accordyng to godlines.

D. Rydleys aunſwere to the firſt propoſition.

The propoſition put forth in darcke termes.

The explication.

How farre the diuerſitie and newnes of the phraſe in all thys firſt propoſition, is from the phraſe of the holy ſcripture, and that in euery part almoſt, it is ſo playne & euident to any that is but meanly exerciſed in holy wryt, that I neede not now (eſpecially in thys company of learned men) to ſpend any tyme therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

Firſt, there is a doubtfull ſenſe in theſe wordes [by the vertue of Gods word]. For it is doubtfull what worde of God thys is: whether it be that which is read in the Euangeliſts, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Euangeliſtes or in S. Paule, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowen to be Gods worde, and of ſuch vertue, that it ſhould be able to worke ſo great a matter.

The firſt doubt.

Agayne, there is a doubt in theſe wordes [of the prieſt] whether no man may be called a Prieſt, but he which hath autho-

2. Doubt in the worde Prieſt.

thoritie to make propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead: and how it may be proued that this authority was cōmitted of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

3. Doubt in the word ſacrificing.

It is lykewiſe doubted, after what order the ſacrifiſing Prieſt ſhalbe, whether after the order of Aaron, or els after the order of Melchiſedech. For as farre as I know, the holy ſcripture doth allow no moe.

D. Weſton interrupteth hym in hys explicatiō.

West. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If wee lacke tyme at this preſent, there is tyme enough hereafter.

West. Theſe are but euaſions or ſtarting holes, you conſume the tyme in vayne.

Rid. I can not ſtart far from you. I am captiue & bound.

West. Fall to it my Maiſters.

Smith. That whiche you haue ſpoken may ſuffice at this preſent.

Rid. Let me alone I pray you, For I haue not much to ſay behynde.

West. Goe forward.

4. doubt in the word really.

Rid. Moreouer, there is ambiguitie in this word, really, whether it be to be taken as the Logicians terme it, tranſcēdenter, that is, moſt generally (and ſo it may ſignify any maner of thing which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any meanes: after whiche ſort we alſo graunt Chriſtes body to be really in the ſacrament of the Lordes Supper, as in diſputation, if occaſion be geuen ſhall bee declared) or whether it be taken to ſignifie the very ſame thing, hauyng body lyfe, and ſoule, which was aſſumed and taken of the word of God, into the vnity of perſon. In whiche ſenſe, ſyth the body of Chriſt is really in heauen, becauſe of the true maner of his body, it may not be ſayd to be here in the earth.

5. doubt in the words of formes of bread & wine.

There is yet a further doutfulnes in theſe wordes, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, whether the formes be there taken to ſignifie the onely accidentall and outwarde ſhewes of bread and wyne: or there withall the ſubſtantiall natures therof, which are to be ſeene by there qualities, and perceyued by exteriour ſences.

The propoſition erroneous after the ſenſe of the Romiſhe church. Tranſubſtantiation not founded in ſcripture.

Now the errour and falſenes of the propoſition, after the ſenſe of the Romiſh Church and ſcholmen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirme the bread to be tranſubſtantiated and chaunged into the fleſhe, aſſumed of the word of God, & that (as they ſay) by the vertue of the word, whiche they haue deuyſed by a certayne number of wordes, and cannot be found in none of the Euangeliſtes, nor in Paule, and ſo they gather that Chriſtes bodye is really conteyned in the ſacrament of the altare. Which poſition is grounded vppon the foundation of tranſubſtantiation: which foundation is monſterous, agaynſt reaſon, and deſtroyeth the Analogie or proportion of the ſacramentes, and therfore this propoſitiō alſo, whiche is builded vpon this rotten foundation, is falſe erroneous, and to bee counted as a deteſtable hereſye of the Sacramentaries.

The Analogie of the ſacramentes, to the ſimilitude & likenes which they haue wyth the thinges they repreſent.

West. We loſe tyme.

Rid. You ſhall haue tyme enough.

West. Fall to reaſonyng. You ſhall haue ſome other day for this matter.

Rid. I haue no more to ſay concernyng my explicatiō. If you wil geue me leaue and let me alone, I wyll but ſpeake a word or two for my confirmation.

West. Go to: ſay on.

The confirmation of the foreſayd aunſwer.

Confirmatiō of hys aunſwere.

Argument.

Fes- There ought to be no doctrine eſtabliſhed in ẏ church of God, whiche diſſenteth from the worde of God, from the rule of fayth, & draweth with it many abſurdities that cannot be auoyded:

ti· But this doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

no. Ergo it ought not to be eſtabliſhed and mayntayned in the Church of God.

The Maior or firſt part of my argument is plaine, and the Minor or ſecond part is proued thus.

This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporall and carnall preſence of Chriſtes fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the worde to be in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, & that not by vertue and grace onely, but alſo by the whole eſſence & ſubſtance of the body and fleſh of Chriſt.

The reall preſence of Chriſtes body diſagreeth from the ſcriptures.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from Gods word, from the rule of fayth, and cannot but drawe with it many abſurdities:

Ergo, the ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of thys argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet further be confirmed thus.

D. Weſton agayne interrupteth D. Ridley.

West. Thus you conſume time, whiche might be better beſtowed on other matters. Maiſter Opponent, I praye you to your argumentes.

Smith. I will here reaſon with you vpon Tranſubſtantiation, which you ſay is contrary to the rule and Analogy of fayth. The contrary wherof I proue by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demaund firſt whether in the 6. chap. of John, there be any mention made of the ſacrament or of the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Rid. It is agaynſt reaſon that I ſhoulde bee impeached to proſecute that which I haue to ſpeake in thys aſſembly beinge not ſo longe but that it may be comprehended in few wordes.

West. Let him read on.

7. inconueniences come of the reall preſence.

Rid. Firſt of all, this preſence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the fayth.

Thirdly, it deſtroieth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious things commō to prophane & vngodly perſons: for it caſteth ẏ which is holy vnto dogs and pearles vnto ſwine.

Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monſtruous miracles without neceſſity & authoritie of gods word.

Sixtly, it geueth occaſion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Chriſt, to defend their hereſies thereby.

Seuenthly, it falſifieth the ſayinges of the godlye Fathers: it falſifieth alſo the Catholicke Fayth of the church, which the Apoſtles taught, the Martirs confirmed, and the faythfull (as one of the Fathers ſayth,) do retayne and keepe vntill this day. Wherfore the ſecond part of myne argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the partes therof.

The 7. inconueniences declared by partes.

The firſt inconuenience.

The reall preſence agaynſt the ſcripture.

This carnall preſence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth John. 16. I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away the comfortour ſhall not come vnto you. Actes 3. Whom the heauens muſt receaue vntill the tyme of reſtoring of all things which god hath ſpoken. Math. 9. The children of the Bridegrome can not mourne ſo long as the Bridegrome is wyth them. But now is the tyme of mourning John. 16. But I will ſee you agayne & your hartes ſhall reioyce. John. 14. I will come agayne and take you to my ſelfe. Math. 24. If they ſhall ſay vnto you, beholde, here is Chriſt or there is Chriſt, beleeue them not: for whereſoeuer the dead carcaſſe is, thether the Eagles will reſort.

2. The reall preſence agaynſt the Articles of the faych.

It varyeth from the articles of the fayth, Hee aſcended into Heauen, and ſitteth on the right hande of God the Father. From whence (and not from any other place, ſayeth Saynt Auguſtine:) he ſhal come to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

3. It deſtroyeth the inſtitution of the Lordes ſupper.

It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the lordes ſupper, which was commaunded only to be vſed & continued vntill the Lord hymſelfe ſhould come. If therefore he be now really preſent in the body of his fleſh, then muſt the ſupper ceaſe: For a remembraunce is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing paſt and abſent. And there is a differēce between remembraunce and preſence, and (as one of the fathers ſayeth) A figure is in vayne where the thing figured is preſēt.

4. It prophaneth thinges holy and precious, & gendreth abſurdities.

It maketh precious thinges common to prophane and vngodly perſons, and conſtrayneth men to confeſſe many abſurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea and (as ſome of them hold opinion) the wicked and faythles, myſe, rats, & dogges alſo may receiue the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherin the fulnes of the ſpirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifeſt wordes of Chriſt in ſixe places & ſentences of the ſixt chap. of S. John.

Anthropophagi, are a kinde of brutiſhe people that feede of mās fleſhe.

It confirmeth alſo and mainteineth that beaſtly kynde of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the deuourers of mans fleſh: for it is a more cruel thing to deuoure a quicke man, then to ſlay hym.

Pie. He requireth tyme to ſpeake blaſphemies. Leaue your blaſphemies.

Ryd. I had litle thought to haue hade ſuch reprochefull wordes at your handes.

West. Al is quiet. Go to the argumentes M. Doctor.

Ryd. I haue not many moe thinges to ſay.

West. You vtter blaſphemies with a moſt impudent face: leaue of (I ſay) and get you to the argument.

5. It maintayneth mōſtrous myracles without neceſſitie.

It forceth men to mainteyne many monſtrous myracles, without all neceſſitie and authoritie of Gods worde. For at the comming of this preſence of the body and fleſhe of Chriſt, they thruſt away the ſubſtaunce of bread, and affirme that the accidents remayne without any ſubiect, and in the ſteede thereof, they place Chriſtes body without his qualities and the true maner of a body. And if the ſacrament be reſerued ſo long vntyl it mould, & wormes breede

ſome

All the reſt that foloweth was not read, becauſe the Prolocutor made poſt haſt to the argumentes.

some ſay that the ſubſtance of bread miraculouſly returneth agayne, and ſome deny it. Other ſome affirme ỹ the real body of Chriſt goeth down into ỹ ſtomacke of the receiuers, & doth there abide ſo lõg only as they ſhal cõtinue to be good. but an other ſort hold that the body of Chriſt is caryed into heauen ſo ſoone as the formes of bread bee bruſed with the teeth. O workes of miracles, Truly and moſt truly I ſee ỹ fulfilled in theſe men, wherof Saint Paull prophecied .2. Theſſal. 2. Becauſe they haue not receiued the loue of the truth that they might be ſaued, God ſhal ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhoulde beleue lyes, and be all damned which haue not beleued the truth. This groſſe preſẽce hath brought foorth that fond phantaſie of concomitaunce, wherby is broken at this day and abrogated the commaundement of the Lorde for the diſtributyng of the Lordes cup to the laytie.

By this deuiſe of concomitance, the papiſtes imagine aſmuch to be receiued vnder one kind as both.

6. It geueth occaſion to heretickes.

It geueth occaſion to heretickes to mayntayne and defend their errours: as to Martion, which ſayd that Chriſt had but a phantaſticall body: and to Eutiches whiche wickedly confounded the two natures in Chriſt.

7. It falſifieth the ſayinges of the old doctors.

Finally, it falſifieth the ſayinges of the godly fathers and the Catholicke fayth of the church, which Vigilius a Martyr and graue wryter ſayth was taught of the Apoſtles, cõfirmed with the bloud of Martyrs, and was continually mayntayned by the faythfull, vntyll hys tyme. By the ſayinges of the fathers, I meane of Iuſtine, Irenee, Tertullian Origene, Euſebius, Emiſene, Athanaſius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, Vigilius, Fulgẽtius, Bertram, and others moſt auncient fathers. All thoſe places, as I am ſure I haue read makyng for my purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured ỹ I could ſhew ỹ ſame, if I might haue the vſe of myne owne bookes, whiche I will take on me to do, euen vpon the perill of my life, and the loſſe of all that I may loſe in this world.

The true preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſupper not denyed.

But now (my brethren) thinke not, becauſe I diſallowe that preſence which this firſt propoſition mayntaineth (as a preſence whiche I take to bee forged, phantaſticall, and beſides the authoritie of Gods word, perniciouſly brought in to the Churche by the Romaniſtes) that I therfore go about to take away the true preſence of Chriſtes body in his Supper rightly and duely miniſtred, which is grounded vpon the word of God, and made more playne by the Commẽtaries of the faythfull fathers. They that thinke ſo of mee ỹ Lord knoweth how farre they are deceiued. And to make the ſame euident vnto you, I will in fewe wordes declare what true preſence of Chriſtes body in the ſacramẽt of the Lordes Supper I hold and affirme with the word of God and the auncient fathers.

The fayth & confeſſion of D. Ridley in affirming the true preſence in the ſacrament.

I ſay and confeſſe with the Euangeliſt Luke and with the Apoſtle Paull, that the bread on the whiche thankes are geuen, is the body of Chriſt in the remẽbraũce of hym and of his death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the faythfull vntill his commyng.

I ſay and confeſſe the bread whiche we breake to be the Communion and partakyng of Chriſtes body, with the auncient and the faythfull fathers.

The grace of life and immortality geuen with the ſacrament to the faythfull.

I ſay and beleue that there is not onely a ſignification of Chriſtes body ſet foorth by the Sacrament, but alſo that therewith is geuen to the Godly and faythfull, the grace of Chriſtes body, that is, the foode of lyfe and immortallitie. And this I hold with Cyprian.

Life eat. Auguſt. The Lord felt in grace. Emiſſ. Celeſtiall foode receaued Athan. The property of naturall communion receiued Hilar. The vertue of chriſtes fleſh. Cyrill. The miſticall aduent of Chriſt. Baſill. The ſacrament of his very fleſh. Ambroſ. The body by grace. Epiphan. Spiritual fleſh but not that which was crucified Hierom. Grace flowing in to a ſacrifice Chriſoſt. Grace and inuiſible vertue Aug. The power of Gods word feeding the ſoule Bertram.

I ſay alſo with S. Auguſtine, that we eate lyfe, and we drynke life: with Emiſene, that we feele the Lord to be preſent in grace: with Athanaſius, that wee receiue celeſtiall foode which commeth from aboue: the propertye of naturall communion, with Hillarius: the nature of fleſhe and benediction which geueth lyfe in bread and wyne, with Cyrill: and with the ſame Cyrill, the vertue of the very fleſhe of Chriſt, lyfe and grace of his body, the propertye of the onely begotten, that is to ſay, life, as hee him ſelfe in playne wordes expoundeth it.

I confeſſe alſo with Baſill, that we receyue the myſticall Aduent and commyng of Chriſt, grace, and the vertue of his very nature: the Sacrament of his very fleſhe, with Ambroſe: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: ſpirituall fleſhe, but not that whiche was crucified, with Hierome: Grace flowyng into a ſacrifice, and the grace of the ſpirite, with Chryſoſtome: grace and inuiſible verytye, grace and ſocietie of the members of Chriſtes body, with Auguſtine.

Finally, with Bertram (which was the laſt of al theſe) I confeſſe that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament in thys reſpect: namely (as hee wryteth) becauſe there is in it the ſpirite of Chriſt, that is, the power of the worde of God, which not onely feedeth the ſoule, but alſo cleanſeth it. Out of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearely appeare vnto all men, how farre we are from that opinion wherof ſome go about falſly to ſclaunder vs to the world, ſaying we teach that the godly and faythfull ſhould receyue nothyng els at the Lordes table, but a figure or the body of Chriſt.

The proteſtants falſly belyed to teach nothing but a figure in the ſacrament.

The ſecond propoſition.

After the conſecration there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread and wyne, neyther any other ſubſtance, then the ſubſtance of God and man.

The aunſwere.

Aunſwere to the 2. propoſition.

The 2. propoſitiõ of tranſubſtantiation denyed.

The ſecond concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly agaynſt the word of God, the nature of the ſacrament, & the moſt euident teſtimonies of the godly fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the firſt, and of the thyrd. I will not therefore now tary vpon any further explication of thys aunſwere, beyng contented with that which is already added afore to the aunſwere of the firſt propoſition.

The firſt argument for the confirmation of thys aunſwere.

Confirmation of his aunſwere.

It is very plaine by the word of God, that Chriſt did geue bread vnto hys Diſciples, and called it his body:

But the ſubſtãce of bread is an other maner of ſubſtãce, then is the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body God and man:

Therfore the concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond part of myne argument is playne, and the firſt is proued thus:

The ſecond argument.

Da- That which Chriſt dyd take, on the which he gaue thankes, and the which he brake, he gaue to hys Diſciples, and called it hys body:

ti- But he toke bread, gaue thãks on bread, & brake bread:

ſi. Ergo, the firſt part is true. And it is confirmed wyth ỹ autorities of the Fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierom, Auguſtine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus and Bede. Whoſe places I wyll take vpon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in thys behalfe, if I may be ſuffered to haue my bookes, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt:

Ergo, it is bread.

*A tertio adiacente ad ſecundũ adiacens cum verbi ſubſtantiui pura copula.

*The rule of Logiche is this. A propoſitione de tertio adiacente, ad eam quæ eſt de ſecundo, cum verbo recto ſignificante exiſtentiam, valet conſequentia affirmatiuè. &c.

The third argument.

Ba- As the bread of the Lords Table is Chriſtes naturall body, ſo is it hys miſticall body.

ro- But it is not Chriſtes myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation.

co. Ergo, it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiatiõ.

The Maior proued.

The ſecond part of my argument is playne, and ỹ firſt is proued thus: As Chriſt who is the verity, ſpake of the bread: This is my body which ſhal be betraied for you, ſpeakyng there of hys naturall body: euẽ ſo Paule moued with ỹ ſame ſpirit of truth, ſaid: We, though we be many, yet are all one bread, & one body, which be partakers of one bread.

1. Cor. 10.

The fourth argument.

We may no more beleue bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the body of Chriſt, then ỹ wine into his bloud.

But the wyne is not trãſubſtantiate into his bloud:

Ergo, neyther is that bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into hys body.

The argument holdeth a deſtructione antecedentis, ad deſtructionem conſequentis.

The firſt part of thys argument is manifeſt, & the ſecond part is proued out of the authoritie of Gods worde in Mathew & Marke: I wyll not drinke of the fruite of the vine. &c. Now the fruite of the vine was wyne, which Chriſt dranke and gaue to hys diſciples to drynke. Wyth thys ſentence agreeth playnly the place of Chryſoſtome on the xx. chapter of Mathew. As Cyprian doth alſo, affyrmyng that there is no bloud, if wyne be not in the cuppe.

Math. 26. Marke. 14.

Chryſoſtome. Cyprian.

The fift argument.

This argument holdeth after the ſame rule as dyd the other before.

Ba- The wordes of Chriſt, ſpoken vpon the cup and vpõ the bread, haue lyke effect and workyng.

ro- But the words ſpoken vpon the cup: haue not vertue to tranſubſtantiate.

co. Ergo, it followeth, that the wordes ſpoken vpon the bread haue no ſuch vertue.

The ſecond part of the argument is proued becauſe they ſhould then tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the new Teſtament: but neyther of theſe thynges can be done, and very abſurde it is to confeſſe the ſame.

The ſixt argument.

Da- The circumſtances of the ſcripture, the Analogie and proportion of the ſacramentes, and the teſtimony of the faithful Fathers ought to rule vs in takyng the meanyng of the holy ſcripture touchyng the ſacrament.

But

ti- But the wordes of ẏ Lords ſupper, the circumſtaunces of the ſcripture, the Analogie of the ſacramentes, & the ſayings of ẏ fathers do moſt effectually & plainly proue a figuratiue ſpeach in the wordes of the Lords ſupper.
ſi. Ergo, a figuratiue ſenſe and meanyng is ſpecially to be receiued in theſe wordes: This is my body.

The circumſtaunces & wordes of ſcripture.

The circumſtances of the ſcripture: Do this in the remembraunce of me. As oft as ye ſhall eate of thys bread & drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death. Let a man proue himſelf, & ſo eate of this bread, & drink of this cup. They came together to breake bread: & they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we breake. &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one body. &c.

The Analogye of the ſacramentes.

The Analogie of the ſacramentes is neceſſary: For if the ſacramentes had not ſome ſimilitude or lykenes of the thynges whereof they be ſacramentes, they could in no wyſe be ſacramentes. And this ſimilitude in the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper, is taken three maner of wayes.

Analogie or ſimilitude in the Sacrament, three maner of wayes.

1. The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhyng: as ye ſhall reade in Rabane, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Irenee, and moſt plainely in Iſodore out of Bertram.
2. The ſecond, in the vniting and ioyning of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.
3. The thyrd is a ſimilitude of vnlyke thynges: where, lyke as the bread is turned into our body: ſo we, by the ryght vſe of thys Sacrament, are turned through fayth into the body of Chriſt.

The ſayinges of the fathers for the figuratiue ſpeach.

The ſayinges of the Fathers declare it to be a figuratiue ſpeech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Baſill, Gregory, Nazianzene, Hilary, and moſt playnely of all, in Bertram. Moreouer, the ſayings and places of all the Fathers, whoſe names I haue before recited agaynſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſition, doe quite ouerthrow tranſubſtantiation. But of all other, moſt euidently and playnely, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chryſoſtome to Ceſarius the Monke, Auguſtine agaynſt Adamantus, Gelaſius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome agayne on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damaſene and Bertram.

Commendation of Bertram.

Here right worſhipfull Maiſter Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that I do not leane to theſe thynges onely, which I haue written in my former aunſwers and confirmations: but ẏ I haue alſo for the proofe of that I haue ſpoken, whatſoeuer Bertram a man learned, of ſounde and vpright iudgement, and euer counted a Catholicke for theſe ſeuen hundreth yeares vntyll thys our age, hath written. Hys treatiſe whoſoeuer ſhall read and wey, conſideryng the tyme of the wryter, hys learnyng, godlynes of lyfe, the allegations of the auncient Fathers, and his manifolde and moſt grounded arguments, I can not (doubtles) but much maruelle, if he haue any feare of God at all, how he can wyth good cōſcience ſpeake agaynſt hym in this matter of the Sacrament. Thys Bertram was the firſt that pulled me by the eare, and that firſt brought me from that common errour of the Romiſhe Church, and cauſed me to ſearch more dilygently and exactly, both the ſcriptures and the wrytyngs of the old eccleſiaſticall Fathers in thys matter. And thys I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the thynges I now ſpeake.

D. Ridley firſt brought to the knowledge of the ſacrament by Bertram.

The third propoſition.

The third propoſition touchyng propitiatory Maſſe.

In the Maſſe is the liuely ſacrifice of the church, propitiable and auailable for the ſins, as wel of the quick as of the dead.

The aunſwere to thys propoſition.

Aunſwere to the third propoſitiō.

I aunſwere to this thyrd propoſition, as I did to ẏ firſt. And moreouer I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the wordes ſeeme to import, it is not onely erroneous, but withall ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of Chriſt: that I iudge it may & ought moſt worthely to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt ẏ moſt precious bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt.

The explication.

Explication of the ſame

Concerning the Romiſhe Maſſe which is vſed at this day, or the liuely ſacrifice therof, propitiatory and auaylable for the ſinnes of the quicke and the dead, the holy ſcripture hath not ſo much as one ſillable.

Doubtes in the third propoſitiō. In the primatiue Church th: newly inſtructed in the fayth, and the vnworthy were ſent away from the Cōmunion.

There is ambiguitie alſo in the name of Maſſe: what it ſignifieth, & whether at this day there be any ſuch in deede as the auncient fathers vſed: ſeeyng that now there be neither Catechiſtes nor Penitentes to be ſent away.

Againe, touching theſe wordes [The liuely ſacrifice of the Church] There is a doubt whether they are to be vnderſtād figuratiuely & ſacramentally, for the ſacramēt of the liuely ſacrifice (after which ſort we deny it not to be in the Lords ſupper) or properly and without any figure: of the which maner there was but one onely ſacrifice, & that once offered, namely vpon the aulter of the croſſe.

The third doubt.

Moreouer, in theſe wordes [as well as] it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport of a fooliſh and ignoraunt perſon, that hee is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: beyng apt in deede in neither of them both.

The 4. doubt.

There is alſo a doubt in the worde [Propitiable] whether it ſignifie here, that which taketh awaye ſinne, or that which may be made auailable for the takyng away of ſin: ẏ is to ſay whether it is to be taken in the actiue or in the paſſiue ſignification.

The falſenes of the third propoſition reproued.

But one ſacrifice in the ſcripture.

Now the falſenes of the propoſition, after the meanyng of the Scholmen and the Romiſh Church, and impietie in that ſenſe which the wordes ſeeme to import, is this: that they leanyng to the foundation and theyr fond tranſubſtantiation, would make the quicke and liuely body of Chriſtes fleſh (vnited and knit to the diuinitie) to lye hyd vnder ẏ accidentes and outward ſhewes of bread and wyne. Whiche is very falſe, as I haue ſayd afore, and they buildyng vpon this foundation, do hold that the ſame body is offered vnto God by the Prieſt in his dayly Maſſinges to put away ẏ ſinnes of the quicke and the dead. Whereas by the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes it is euident that there is but one oblation, and one true and liuely ſacrifice of the Churche offered vpon the aultar of the croſſe, whiche was, is, and ſhalbe for euer the propitiation for the ſynnes of the whole worlde, where there is remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſayth the Apoſtle) no more offeryng for ſynne.

Argumentes cōfirming his aunſwere.

The firſt Argument. Heb. 5.

Ce- No ſacrifice ought to be done but where the Prieſt is meete to offer the ſame.
la- All other Prieſtes bee vnmeete to offer ſacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, ſaue onely Chriſt:
rent. Ergo, no other Prieſts ought to ſacrifice for ſinne but Chriſt alone.

The ſecond part of my argument is thus proued.

Argument.

Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be taken whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.
ri- It is a great honor in gods church to ſacrifice for ſin:
ſon. Ergo, no man ought to ſacrifice for ſinne but onelye they which are called.

But onely Chriſt is called to that honour:

Ergo, no other prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſin.

Heb. 7.

That no man is called to this degree of honour but Chriſt alone, it is euident: For there are but two onely orders of Prieſthood allowed in the word of God: namely the order of Aaron, & the order of Melchiſedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an ende, by reaſon that it was vnprofitable, and weake, and of the order of Melchiſedech there is but one Prieſt alone euen Chriſt the Lord, whiche hath a prieſthood that can not paſſe to any other.

An other argument.

Ba- That thing is in vayne and to no effect, where no neceſſitie is wherfore it is done.
ro- To offer vp any more ſacrifice propitiatory for ẏ quick and the deade, there is no neceſſitie: for Chriſt our Sauiour dyd that fully and perfectly once for all: Heb. 9.
co. Ergo to do the ſame in the Maſſe, it is in vayne.

An other Argument.

Ab vna cauſa veritatis ad propoſitionem habentem illā cauſam, valet conſequentia.

Fe- After that eternall redemption is found and obtayned, there needeth no more dayly offeryng for the ſame:
ri- But Chriſt commyng an hygh Biſhop. &c. found & obtayned for vs eternall redemption.
o. Ergo there needeth nowe no more dayly oblation for the ſynnes of the quicke and the dead.

An other Argument.

Ca- All remiſſion of ſynnes commeth onely by ſheddyng of bloud.
meſ- In the Maſſe there is no ſheddyng of bloud:
tres. Ergo in the Maſſe there is no remiſſion of ſinnes: and ſo it foloweth alſo that there is no popitiatory ſacrifice.

Another argument.

In the Maſſe the paſſion of Chriſt is not in veritye but in a myſtery repreſētyng the ſame: yea euē there where the Lords ſupper is duly miniſtred.

Heb. 9.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is he not offered in veritye: for the Apoſtle ſayth: Not that he might offer vp himſelfe often tymes (for then muſt he haue ſuffered often tymes ſith the begynnyng of the world) now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice:

Ergo in the maſſe there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: For chriſt appered once in the latter end of the world, to put ſin to flight by the offring vp of himſelf. And as it is appoynted to all men that they ſhall once dye, and then commeth the iudgemēt: euē ſo Chriſt was once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. And vnto them that looke for hym, ſhall he appeare agayn without ſinne, vnto ſaluation.

An other Argument.

Da- Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the cōmers therunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe frō offering any moe expiatory and propitiatory ſacrifices.
ri- But in the new teſtament ther is one only ſacrifice now already long ſince offred, which is able to make the commers therto perfect for euer.
j. Ergo in the new teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any more propitiatory ſacrifice.

Sentences of the ſcripture tēding to the ſame end and purpoſe, out of which alſo may be gathered other manifeſt argumentes, for more confirmation therof.

Heb. 10.

BY the which will (ſayth the Apoſtle) we are ſanctified by the offring vp of the body of Ieſus Chriſt once for al. And in the ſame place: But this man after that he had offered one ſacrifice for ſinne ſitteth for euer at the right hād of god &c. For with one offring hath he made perfect for euer thē that are ſanctified, and by him ſelfe hath hee purged our ſinnes. I beſeech you to marke theſe wordes [by himſelfe] ẏ which well wayed, will without doubt ceaſe all controuerſie.

[By himſelfe.]

The Apoſtle plainlye denyeth anye other ſacrifice to remayne for him that treadeth vnder his feet the bloud of the teſtament by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not be crucyfied agayne, he will not his death to bee had in deriſion.

Colloſ. 1.

He hath reconcyled vs in the body of his fleſh. Marke I beſeech you, he ſayth not, in the myſtery of his body: But in the body of his fleſh.

1. Iohn. 2.

If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, & he is the propitiatiō for our ſins, not for ours only, but for the ſinnes of the wholl world.

The popiſhe diſtinction betweene the bloudy and vnbloudy ſacrifice.

I know that all theſe places of the Scripture are auoyded by two maner of ſubtile ſhiftes: the one is by the diſtinction of the bloudy and vnbloudy ſacrifice, as though our vnbloudy ſacrifice of the church were any other then the ſacrifice of prayſe & thankeſgeuing, then a cōmemoration, a ſhewing forth, and a ſacramentall repreſentation of that one only bloudy ſacrifice offred vp once for all.

The papiſtes mainteine their ſacrifice propitiatory, by the old Doctors falſly wraſted.

Doctors making againſt the propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſſe.

The other is by deprauing and wraſting the ſayinges of the auncyent Fathers vnto ſuch a ſtraunge kind of ſenſe, as the Fathers them ſelues in deede neuer ment. For what the meaninge of the Fathers was, it is euydente by that which S. Auguſtine writeth in his Epiſtle to Boniface, & in the 83. chapter of his 9. booke agaynſt Fauſtus, ẏ Maniche, beſides many other places, likewiſe by Euſebius, Emiſſene, Cyprian, Chryſoſtom, Fulgentius, Bertrā, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in thys vnity in the Lord, that the redemption once made in veritye for the ſaluation of man, continueth in ful effect for euer, and worketh without ceaſſyng vnto the end of the worlde, that the ſacrifice once offred cannot be conſumed: that the lordes death and paſſion, is as effectuall, the vertue of that bloude, once ſhed, as freſh at this day for ẏ waſhing away of ſinnes as it was euen the ſame day that it flowed out of the bleſſed ſide of our ſauiour: and finally, that the wholl ſubſtaunce of our Sacrifice which is frequented of the Churche, in the Lordes Supper, conſiſteth in prayers, prayſe, and geuinge of thankes, and in remembring and ſhewing forth of that ſacrifice once offred vpon the Altar of the croſſe: that the ſame myght continually be had in reuerence by myſterye, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

The wholl ſubſtaunce of our ſacrifice wherin it cōſiſteth.

Theſe are the thinges (right worſhipful M. Prolocutor and ye the reſt of the Cōmiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the aunſwering of your three forſayd propoſitions: being deſtitute of all helpe in this ſhortnes of tyme, ſodayne warning, and want of bookes. wherfore I appeal to my firſt proteſtation, moſt humblye deſiringe the helpe of the ſame (as much as may be) to be graunted vnto me. And becauſe ye haue lately geuē moſt vniuſt & cruel ſentēce againſt me, I do here appeale (ſo farforth as I may) to a more indifferent & iuſt cenſure and iudgement of ſome other ſuperiour competent, and lawfull iudge, and that according to the approued ſtate of the church of England.

B. Ridley appealeth from the vniuſt ſentence of hys aduerſaryes, to ſome other ſuperiour cōpetent iudge.

Howbeit I confeſſe that I am ignorant what that is at this preſent, through the trouble and alteration of the ſtate of the Realme. But if this appeale may not bee graunted to me vpon earth, then do I fly (euen as to my only refuge and alone hauen of health) to the ſentence of the eternall iudge, that is, of the almighty God, to whoſe moſt mercyful iuſtice toward his & moſt iuſt mercifulnes I do wholly commit my ſelfe and all my cauſe, nothinge at all deſpayringe of the defence of mine Aduocate and alone Sauiour, Ieſus Chriſt, To whom, wyth the euerlaſtynge Father, and the Holye Spirite, the Sanctyfier of vs all, bee now, and for euer, all honour and glory. Amen.

B. Ridley for lacke of equall indifferency appealeth to almighty God.

Albeit this learned Byſhop was not ſuffered to read all that is aboue prefixed before the Diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it vp to the Prolocutour after the Diſputations & ſentence pronounced: I thought here the place not vnmeete to annexe the ſame together w the reſt. Now let vs heare the Argumentes and aunſweres betwene Doct. Smith and him.

¶D. Smith beginneth to oppoſe.

SMith. You haue occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to worke with you, then I had thought to haue done. Me ſeemed you did in your ſuppoſition abuſe the teſtimonyes of ſcripture concerning the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away hys preſence in the Sacrament, as though this were a ſtrong Argument to inforce your matter withall:

Chriſt dyd aſcend vnto heauen.
Ergo, he is not in the Sacrament.

Now therfore I will go about to diſproue this reaſon of yours.

Chriſtes Aſcenſion is no let to his reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceiued, wheras you do groūd your ſelfe vpon thoſe places.

Smythes argument.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrong Argument by Chriſtes goyng vp into heauē. But howe ſoeuer myne Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not onely ſtay vpon his Aſcenſion, but both vpon hys Aſcenſion, and his * abiding there alſo.

Aunſwere.

Smith. Chriſtes going vp to heauē, and his abiding there, hinder not his reall preſence in the Sacrament.
Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid. Of Chriſtes reall preſence there may be a double vnderſtanding, if you take the real preſence of Chriſt according to the reall and corporall ſubſtance which he toke of the virgine: that preſence being in heauen, cannot be on the earth alſo. But if you meane a reall preſence, ſecundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Chriſti pertinet, i. according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſtes body, certes the Aſcenſion and abidyng in heauen are no let at all to that preſence. Wherfore Chriſtes body after that ſort is here preſent to vs in the Lordes ſupper: by grace I ſay as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

*The veritie of M. Ridleys aunſvvere touchyng the reall being of Chriſt in earth to be reſtrained by his aſcending and abyding in heauē, ſtandeth vpon a neceſſitie, vvhich vve call [Neceſſitas cōſequentiæ] by this demonſtration:

Da- Euery naturall body muſt neceſſarily be cōteyned in his peculiar and certaine place.
ri- Chriſtes body is a naturall body:
j. Ergo, Chriſtes body not to be in one certain place at once conteyned, it is impoſſible, according to the rule: Omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili et de neceſſe equipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habēti, & modo ſimiliter.

West. I will cut of from hence foorth all equiuocation and doubt. For when ſoeuer wee ſpeake of Chriſtes body, wee meane that whiche he tooke of the Virgyn.

Rid. Chriſtes Aſcenſion and abydyng in heauen can not ſtand with this preſence.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth for al his Aſcenſion and continuall abode in heauen vnto the day of Dome.
Ergo, his Aſcenſion and abydyng in heauen is no let to his reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Rid. Maiſter Doctour, this Argument is nothyng worth. I doe not ſo ſtraitly tye Chriſt vp in heauen, that hee may not come into the earth at his pleaſure. For when he will, he may come downe from heauen, and be on the earth, as it lyketh him ſelfe. Howbeit I do affirme that it is not poſſible for him to be both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

Aunſwere.

Smith. Marke I pray you my Maiſters, diligently that he here, what hee aunſwereth. Firſt he ſayth that the ſittyng of Chriſt at ẏ right hand of his father, is a let to ẏ reall preſence of his body in the Sacrament: and then afterward he flyeth from it agayne.

Rid. I would not haue you thinke that I do imagine or dreame vppon any ſuch maner of ſittyng, as theſe men here ſit in the Schole.

Smith. Ergo, it is lawfull for Chriſt thē to be here preſent on the earth, when he wil him ſelfe.

Ryd. Yea when he will, it is lawfull in deede.

Smith. Ergo, his aſcendyng into heauen doth not reſtrayne his reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Rid. I do not gaynſay, but that it is lawfull for him to appeare on the earth, when he will: but proue you that he wil.

Smith. Then your aunſwere dependeth vppon the will of Chriſt, I perceiue, Therfore I will ioyne agayn with you in this ſhort Argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abyde in heauen after his aſcenſion, was ſeene really and corporally on the earth.
Ergo, notwythſtandyng his Aſcenſion and continuall ſittyng at the right hand of the father, he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Ryd. If the Notaries ſhoulde ſo record your Argument,

Chriſtes abode in heauen is no let for him to appeare on earth when he vvil, but vvhether he vvil, that muſt be proued. Againe, it is one thing to appeare on earth, an other ſtil in the Sacrament, & to be preſent the ſame time vvith his body in heauen, vvhen he is bodily preſent in earth.

as you haue framed it, you peraduenture would be aſhamed therof hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeene really and corporally vpon the earth.

Ergo, notwithſtandyng his Aſcention and abydynge with his father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Ryd. I graunt the antecedent: but I deny the conſequent.

Smith. Do you graunt the antecedent?

Ryd. Yea I graunt the antecedent. I am contente, to let you haue ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certayne auncient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you vſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the Argument for you.

He was ſeene on earth after his Aſcenſion, Ergo. &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it my ſelfe.

Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeene really and corporally on earth, albeit hee do abyde in heauen continually:
Ergo, notwithſtandyng his Aſcenſion & continuall abidyng at the right hand of the father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Chriſtes continuall ſitting in heauen expended.

Rid. Let vs firſt agree about the continuall ſitting at the right hand of the father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his father, that he doth neuer forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay I do not bynd Chriſt in heauen ſo ſtraitly. I ſee you go about to beguile me with your equiuocatiōs. Such equiuocations are to be diſtincted. If you meane by his ſittyng in heauen, to reigne with hys father, he may bee both in heauen and alſo in earth. But if ye vnderſtande hys ſittyng to be after a corporall manner of ſittyng, ſo he is alwayes permanent in heauen. For Chriſt to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heauen, is cleane contrary to the holy ſcriptures, as Auguſtine ſaith: Corpus Chriſti eſt in cœlo, ſed veritas eius vbiq; diffuſa eſt. i. The body of Chriſt is in heauen: but his truth is diſperſed in euery place.

Chriſt can not be both corporally here, and corporally alſo in heauen at one tyme.

Now, if continually he abide in heauen after the maner of his corporall preſence, then his perpetuall abydyng there, ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame corporall preſence of hym cannot be in the ſacrament.

Smith. Act. 3. We read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at ẏ right hand of God, vnto the conſummacion of the world.

Weſt. I perceyue you are come here to this iſſue, whether the body of Chriſt may be together both in earth and in heauen. I will tell you, that Chriſt in very deede is both in earth and in heauen together and at one tyme, both one & the ſame naturall Chriſt after the veritie and ſubſtaunce of his very body, Ergo, &c.

Rid. I deny the Antecedent.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos.

Weſt. I proue it by 2. witneſſes. Firſt by Chriſoſt. hom. 17. ad Hebræos. Nonnè per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, ſed recordationem facientes mortis eius. Et vna eſt hæc hoſtia, non multæ. Et quomodo vna, & nō multæ, quæ ſemel oblata eſt in ſancto ſanctorum: Hoc autem ſacrificium exemplar eſt illius: id ipſum ſemper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, craſtina alium, ſed ſemper eundē ipſū. Proinde vnū eſt hoc ſacrificiū: alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt. Nequaquā, ſed vnus vbiq; eſt Chriſtus: & hic plenus exiſtēs, & illic plenus, vnū Corpus, i. Do we not offer euery day? we doe ſo in deed: but doyng it for the remēbrance of his death. And this offring is one and not many. And how is it one, & not many which was once offered in the holy place? This ſacrifice is a patterne of that: The ſelfe ſame we alwayes offer: Not now as offering one Lambe to day, and an other to morrow, but alwaies one & the ſame Lambe. Wherfore here is but one ſacrifice: for els by this meanes, ſeing there be many ſacrifices in many places be there many chriſtes? not ſo, but one chriſt in all places, both perfect here & perfect there, one only body. Now thus I argue.

Argument.

We offer one thing at all tymes.
There is one Chriſt in all places, both here compleet, & there compleete:
Ergo, by Chriſoſtome there is one body both in heauen and earth.

Anſwere.

Ryd I remember the place well. Theſe thinges make nothing agaynſt me.

Weſt. One chriſt is in al places, here full & there full.

Ryd. One Chriſt is in all places, but not one bodye in al places.

One Chriſt but not one body, nor after one bodely ſubſtance in all places.

Weſt. One body ſayth Chriſoſtome.

Anſwere to Chryſoſt.

Ryd. But not after the maner of bodely ſubſtance he is in all places, not by circumſcription of place. For [hic] & [illic] here & there in Chriſoſtome do aſſigne no place, as Auguſtine ſayth: Surſum eſt dominus, ſed vbiq; eſt veritas domini: The Lord is aboue: But the truth of the Lord is in all places.

Weſton. You cannot ſo eſcape. He ſayth not the veritye of Chriſt is one: but one Chriſt is in all places, both here and there.

Ryd. One ſacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the vnitye of hym whom the ſacrifice doth ſignifie: not that the ſacrifices be all one and the ſame.

One Chriſt & one ſacrifice in all places, and how: to wit, Chriſt by verity, the ſacrifice by ſignification.

Weſt. Ergo, by your ſaying it is not Chriſt, but the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

But Chryſoſtome ſayth, one body & one Chriſt is there, and not one ſacrifice.

Rid. I ſay that both Chriſt and the ſacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by ſpirit, grace, and verity: the ſacrifice by ſignification. *Thus I graunt with Chryſoſtome, that there is one Hoſt or Sacrifice, and not many: and this our Hoſt is called one by reaſon of the vnitye of that one, whiche one onely all our Hoſtes do repreſent. That onely hoſt was neuer other, but that which was once offered on the aultar of the croſſe, of which hoſt all our hoſtes are but ſacramentall examples.

*Ex libro Ridlei ipſius manu deſcripto.

Sacrifice why it is called one.

And where you alledge out of Chryſoſtome, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, both here full Chriſt, and there full Chriſt: I graunt it to be true, that is: that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, in a miſtery and ſacramentally, and that he is ful Chriſt in all thoſe places, but not after the corporall ſubſtance of our fleſhe which he tooke, but after the benediction which geueth lyfe: and he is geuen to ẏ godly receiuers in bread & wyne as Cyrill ſpeaketh. Concernyng the oblation of Chriſt, whereof Chryſoſtome here ſpeaketh, he hymſelfe doth clearely ſhew what he meaneth thereby, in ſaying by the way of correction: We alwayes do the ſelfe ſame: howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of hys ſacrifice.

How one Chriſt is offered in many places at once.

Weſt. The ſecond wytnes is Bernard in a Sermon that he made of the ſupper of the Lord, who ſayth:

Bernard.

Vnde hoc nobis piiſſime Ieſu, vt nos vermiculi, reptantes ſuper faciem terræ, nos inquam qui puluis, & cinis ſumus, te præſentem habere mereamur pr̨ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus et integer ſedes ad dextram patris, qui etiam vnius horæ momento, ab ortu ſolis vſque ad occaſum, ab Aquilone vſque ad Auſtrum, preſto es, vnus in multis, idem in diuerſis locis?

That is to ſay:

How commeth thys to vs, moſt gentle Ieſu, that we ſeely woormes, creepyng on the face of the earth, that we (I ſay) which are but duſt and aſhes, may deſerue to haue thee preſent in our handes, and before our eyes, who both together full and whole dooſt ſit at the right hand of the father, and who alſo in the moment of one houre, from the riſing of the Sunne, to the goyng downe of the ſame, art preſent one, and the ſelfe ſame in many and diuers places.

Ryd. Theſe wordes of Bernard make for you nothyng at all. But I know that Bernard was in ſuch a time, that in this matter he may worthely be ſuſpected. He hath many good and fruitfull ſayinges: as alſo in that ſame foreſayde place by you alledged. But yet he followed in ſuch an age, when as the doctrine of the holy ſupper was ſore peruerted. Notwithſtanding yet I wyll ſo expounde hym, rather then reiect him, that he ſhall make nothyng for you at all. He ſayth that we haue Chriſt in myſterie, in a ſacrament, vnder a veyle or couer, but hereafter ſhall haue him without all veyle or couer. In the meane tyme, here now he ſaith, that the veritie of Chriſt is euery where. The verity of Chriſt is both here and there, and in all places.

The time of Bernard conſidered.

Bernard rather expounded then reiected.

Weſt. What do you call verity? He ſayth not the veritye of Chriſt, but the verity of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. The verity of the body of Chriſt is the true faith of the body of Chriſt: after that verity he is with them which truly beleue vpon him.

What is the veritie of the bodye of Chriſt.

Weſt. Chriſt is one and the ſame in diuers places. I vrge theſe wordes [in diuerſis locis] in diuers places, and yet I am not ſatiſfied.

Smyth. Chriſt was ſeene really and corporally on the earth after his aſcenſion, and continually ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo the aſcenſion and perpetuall ſitting in heauen, hinder nothyng, but that he may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. If by perpetuall ſitting, you meane the reſidence of hys body in heauen, your reaſon conteineth manifeſt contradiction.

To be reſident and not reſident, import contradictiō.

Smith. Theſe two haue no contradiction in them at all, both to ſit continually at his Fathers right hand, and alſo to be ſeene here really in earth after his aſcenſion. Firſt, you wil giue me that Chriſt ſitteth in heauen at ẏ right hand of his father. For ſo it is written. Act. 5. Heauen muſt needes receiue hym vnto the tyme of the reſtoryng of all. &c. Secondly, he was alſo ſeene of Paule here corporally on earth. Wherefore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no contradiction.

Ryd. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe hym, and when it pleaſeth hym, may be in heauen and in earth, and appeare to whom he will: and yet notwithſtādyng you haue not yet proued, that he will ſo do. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in heauen vnto the iudgement, yet there may be ſome intermiſſion, that notwithſtandyng. But this controuerſie (as I ſayd) is amongeſt all the auncient Doctours and wryters. And that Chriſt hath bene here ſene, that they graūt all: but whether then he beyng in earth or in heauen, that is doubtfull.

To be here and not here importeth no contradiction in reſpect of ſondry tymes.

Smith. I will proue, that he would appeare in earth.

He ſo would, and alſo dyd appeare here in earth after his Aſcenſion. Ergo. &c.

Rid. He appeared, I graunt: but how he appeared, whether then beyng in heauen or in earth, that is vncertaine. So hee appeared to Steuen, beyng then corporally ſittyng in heauen. For ſpeakyng after the true maner of mans body, whē he is in heauen, hee is not the ſame tyme in earth: and when he is in earth, he is not the ſame tyme corporally in heauen.

Chriſtes appearing on the earth ſometyme, taketh not away his reſidence in heauen.

How Chriſt appeared in earth.

Smith. Chriſt hath bene both in heauen and in earth all at one tyme.

Ergo, you are deceiued in denying that.

Rid. I do not vtterly deny Chriſt here to haue bene ſene in earth. Of vncertaine thynges I ſpeake vncertainly.

Smith. He was ſene of Paule, as beyng borne before his tyme, after his aſcendyng vp to heauen. 1. Cor. 15.

But his viſion was a corporall viſion:

Ergo, he was ſene corporally vpon the earth after his aſcendyng into heauen.

This argument holdeth rather ratione materiæ, **then** ratione formæ.

Rid. He was ſene really and corporally in deede: but whether beyng in heauen or earth, it is a doubt. And of doubtful things we muſt iudge doubtfully. How beit you muſt proue ẏ he was in heauen in the ſame tyme, whē he was corporally on earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Rid. I accompt this a ſound and firme Argument to proue the reſurrection. But whether they ſawe hym in heauen or in earth, I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth it maketh no great matter. Both wayes the Argumēt is of lyke ſtrēgth. For whether he were ſene in heauen, or whether he were ſene on earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certaine it is, he roſe agayne: for he could not haue bene ſene, vnleſſe he had ryſen agayne.

Whether Paule ſaw Chriſt in heauen or in earth), all is one to proue his reſurrection.

Smith. Paule ſawe hym as hee was here conuerſaunt on earth, and not out of heauen, as you affirme.

Rid. You runne to the begynnyng agayne: that you take for graunted, which you ſhould haue proued.

Petitio Principij.

Smith. You make delayes for the nonce.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that heare vs, be learned: they can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I aunſwere well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſene after ſuch ſort, as ẏ he might be heard.

Argument.

Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or els how could he be heard?

Aunſwere.

Rid. He that founde the meanes for Steuen to behold hym in heauen, euen hee could bryng to paſſe well enough, that Paule might heare hym out of heauen.

Argument.

Da- Smith. As other ſaw him, ſo Paule ſaw hym.
ti- Other did ſee hym viſibly and corporally on earth:
ſi. Ergo, Paule ſaw him viſibly and corporally on earth.

Aunſwere.

Rid. I graunt he was ſene viſibly and corporally: but yet haue you not proued that he was ſene in earth.

Smith. He was ſene ſo of hym, as of other.

But he was ſene of other, beyng on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth:

Ergo, he was ſene of Paule on earth:

Rid. Your controuerſie is about [exiſtens in terra] that is, being on earth: if Exiſtere, to be, be referred as vnto ẏ place, I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on the earth. But if it be referred as to the veritie of the body, then I graunt it. Moreouer, I ſay that Chriſt was ſene of men in earth after his Aſcenſion, it is certaine. For he was ſene of Steuen: he was ſene alſo of Paule. But whether he deſcended vnto the earth, or whether hee beyng in heauen, dyd reuele or manifeſt hym ſelfe to Paule, when Paule was rapt into the thyrd heauen, I know that ſome contend about it: & ẏ Scripture, as far as I haue read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherfore we cannot but iudge vncertainly of thoſe thynges which be vncertaine.

Egeſippus Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Smith. Wee haue Egeſippus and Linus agaynſte you, whiche teſtifie that Chriſte appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his Aſcenſion. Lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter ouercome with the requeſtes and mournynges of the people, whiche deſired hym to get him out of the Citie becauſe of Nero his lying in wayte for hym, began without company to conuey hymſelfe away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meete hym, and worſhyppyng hym, he ſayd: Maiſter whether walke you? Chriſt aunſwered, I am come agayne to be crucified. Linus wrytyng of the paſſion of Peter, hath the ſelfe ſame ſtory. Saynt Ambroſe hath the ſame likewyſe, & alſo Abdias, ſcholer to the Apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before hys aſcendyng into heauen. Wyth what face therfore dare you affirme it to be a thing vncertayne, which theſe men do manifeſtly witnes to haue bene done?

Linus De Paſſione Petri.

Ambroſius. Abdias.

Ryd. I ſayd before ẏ the Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smyth. Do you thynke thys ſtory is not certayne, beyng approued by ſo auncient and probable authoritie?

Rid. I do ſo thinke, becauſe I take and eſteeme not theyr wordes for the wordes of ſcripture. And though I dyd graunt you that ſtory to be certayne, yet it maketh not agaynſt me.

Smith. Such thynges as be certayne, & approued of them, you do reiect as thynges vncertayne.

Rid. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo great authoritye: although I am not ignoraunt that *Euſebius ſo wryteth alſo in the ſtory of the Church. And yet I accompt not theſe mens reportes ſo ſure as the Canonicall ſcriptures. Albeit if at any tyme he had to any man appeared here on the earth after hys Aſcention, that doth not diſproue my ſaying. For I goe not about to tye Chriſt vp in fetters (as ſome do vntruly report of vs) but that he may be ſeene vpon the earth according to hys Diuine pleaſure, when ſoeuer it lyketh hym. But we affirme that it is contrary to the nature of hys manhode and the true maner of hys body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heauen and earth, accordyng to hys corporall ſubſtaunce. And the perpetuall ſittyng at the right hand of ẏ father, may (I graūt) be taken for the ſtabilitie of Chriſtes kyngdome, & hys continuall or euerlaſtyng equalitie wyth hys father in the glory of heauen.

The credite of Linus ſtory.

*** This addition is taken out of the copye of B. Ridleyes owne wryting.**

Smith. Now where as you booſt that your fayth is ẏ very fayth of the auncient Church: I will ſhew here that it is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtriue agaynſt the fayth of ẏ old Fathers. I wyll bring in Chryſoſtome for this poynt. Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximā hæreditatem, Eliſæus melotem ſuſcepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro prætioſior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat ſurſum Helias, & deorſum Helias. Noui quòd iuſtum illum beatum putatis, & velletis quiſq; eſſe vt ille. Quid igitur, ſi vobis demonſtrauero quid aliud, quod illo multo maius omnes ſacris miſterijs imbuti recipimus. Helias quidem melotem diſcipulo reliquit: Filius autem dei aſcendens ſuam nobis carnem dimiſit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Chriſtus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipſam habens aſcendit. That is: Eliſeus receiued the mantell, as a right great inheritaunce. For it was in deede a ryght excellent inheritaunce, and more precious then any gold beſide. And ẏ ſame Helias was a double Helias: He was both Helias aboue, and Helias beneath. I know well you thinke that iuſt mā to be happy, and you would gladly be euery one of you as he is, what will you then ſay if I ſhall declare to you a certayne other thyng, which all we that are indued wyth theſe holy myſteries, do receiue, much more then that? Helias in deede left hys mantell to his ſcholer. But the ſonne of God aſcendyng, dyd leaue here hys fleſhe vnto vs. Helias left it puttyng of the ſame. But Chriſt both left it to vs, and aſcended alſo to heauen hauyng it wyth hym.

Chryſoſt. alleged Hom. 2. ad populum Antioch.

Rid. I graunt that Chriſt did both: that is, both tooke vp hys fleſh wyth hym, aſcending vp, and alſo did leaue ẏ ſame behynd him with vs, but after a diuerſe maner and reſpect. For he tooke his fleſh with him, after the true and corporal ſubſtaunce of hys body and fleſh: agayne, he left the ſame in myſterie to the faythfull in the ſupper to be receiued after a ſpirituall communication and by grace. Neither is the ſame receiued in ẏ ſupper onely, but alſo at other tymes, by hearing the Goſpell and by fayth. For, the [bread] which we breake is the communicatiō of the body of Chriſt: And generally: vnles ye eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, & drinke hys bloud, ye ſhall haue no lyfe in you.

Here at this aunſwere great Cartfuls of taunting, ſpitefull, and reprochfull wordes were caſt vpon this good Biſhop.

Smith. Chryſoſtome in his booke de dignitate Sacerdotij. lib. 3. cap. 3. ſayth: O miraculum, O Dei beneuolentiā. Qui ſurſum ſedet, tempore ſacrificij, hominum manibus continetur. Or, as other haue tranſlated it: O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem, qui cum patre ſurſum ſedet, in illo ipſo tēporis articulo, omniū manibus pertractatur, ac ſeipſe tradit volētibus ipſum accipere & complecti. That is: Oh miracle, O the good will of God. He that ſitteth aboue, at the ſacrifice tyme, is conteined in the hands of men. Or els as other haue trāſlated, thus: Oh myracle, Oh the gētlenes of God. He that ſitteth aboue with the father is handled with the handes of all men at the very ſame moment of tyme, & doth hymſelfe deliuer hymſelfe to them that are deſirous to take hym and embrace him.

Chryſoſt. De dignitate Sacerdotij. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Rid. He that ſitteth there, is here preſent in myſtery and by grace, and is holden of the godly, ſuch as communicate hym, not onely Sacramētally with the hand of the body, but much more holeſomely with the hand of the hart, and by inward drinking he is receiued: but by the Sacramentall ſignification he is holden of all men.

The miracle in the Sacrament wherin it conſiſteth.

Seton. Where is then the miracle if he be onely preſent through his grace, and in myſtery onely?

Rid. Yes there is a miracle, good ſir, Chriſt is not idle in his ſacramētes. Is not the miracle great (trow you) whē bread, which is wont to ſuſteine the body, becommeth fode to the ſoule? He that vnderſtandeth not that miracle, he vnderſtādeth not ẏ force of ẏ myſtery. God graūt we may euery one of vs vnderſtand his truth, and obey the ſame.

Smith. Chriſoſtome calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heauen, and at the ſame tyme is held in the handes of men: not that he is handled with the handes of mē onely in a myſtery, and is with them through grace. Therfore while you deny that, you are altogether deceiued, and ſtray farre from the truth.

Harpſ. The former place of Chriſoſtome is not to bee let ſlyppe. Let me, before I begin, aſke this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloake or mantell, and the gift of prophecie to his Scholer?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Dyd not Elias then leaue great grace?

Rid. He dyd ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a farre greater grace thē Helias: for he could not both leaue his cloke & take it with him: Chriſt doth both in his fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to graunt, that Chriſt left much greater thynges to vs, then Helias to Eliſeus, albeit he be ſayd to haue left his double ſpirite with hym: for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcendyng vp, here left with vs, is the onely ſaluation and lyfe of all them which ſhalbe ſaued: which lyfe Chriſt hath here left vnto vs, to be receiued by fayth through the hearyng of the word, and the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments. This vertue and grace Chriſoſtome, after the phraſe and maner of Iohn the Euangeliſt, calleth Chriſtes fleſh.

How Chriſt toke vp hys body, and left it with vs.
The phraſe of Chryſoſt. conſidered.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a greater matter. He caryed vp and left behynd. You vnderſtād not the compariſon. The compariſon is in this, that Elias left his mantel, and caryed it not with him: Chriſt left his fleſh behind hym, and caryed it with hym alſo.

Compariſon betwene Elias mantell, and Chriſtes fleſhe.
Elias tooke hys mantell, & left neyther mantell, nor ſacrament of his mantell behinde him. Chriſt tooke hys fleſhe and left a Sacrament of his fleſh, which was more then Elias dyd: and yet the ſayd Elias afterward caſt downe his mantell.

Rid. True it is, and I my ſelfe did affirme no leſſe before. Now where you ſeeme to ſpeake many thynges, in deede you bryng no new thyng at all. Let there be a compariſon betwene grace and grace, & then Chriſt gaue the farre greater grace, when he dyd inſerte or graffe vs into his fleſh.

Harpſ. If you will geue me leaue, I wil aſke you this queſtion. If Chriſoſtome would haue ment ſo, that Chriſt left hys body in the Euchariſt, what playner wordes thincke you, or more euident could he haue vſed then theſe?

Rid. Theſe thynges be not of ſo great force as they beare a great ſhewe outwardly. He might alſo haue vſed groſſer wordes if he had liſted to haue vttered his mynde ſo groſly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he ſpeaketh after the maner of other Doctors, which of myſticall matters ſpeake myſtically, and of Sacramentes Sacramentally.

Harpſ. The compariſon lyeth in this: That which was impoſſible to Elias, is poſſible to Chriſt.

Rid. I graūt. It was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. Helias left his cloke: Chriſt both left his fleſhe and tooke it with hym.

Harpſ. Helias left behynde him, & could not take with him: Chriſt both left behynd hym, and alſo tooke with him. Except you will ſay: the compariſon here made to be nothyng.

Harpſfield aunſwered.

Rid. He tooke vp his fleſh with him to heauen, and left here the communion of his fleſh in earth.

Weſt. You vnderſtād in the firſt place his fleſh for very true fleſh: and in the ſecond place for grace, and communion of his fleſh: and why do you not vnderſtand it in the ſecond place alſo for his true fleſh? I will make it euident, how blockiſh and groſſe your aunſwere is.

Rid. Theſe be tauntes and reproches, not beſeemyng (as I thinke) the modeſty of his Schole.

Quam ſit Stupida & craſſa reſponſio tua.

Weſt. Elias left his cloake to his diſciple: but the ſonne of God, goyng vp to heauen, left his fleſh. But Elias certainly left his cloake behynd, and Chriſt likewiſe his fleſh, and yet aſcēdyng he caried the ſame with him to. By which wordes we make this reaſon.

Argument.

> Chriſt left his fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he tooke the ſame vp with hym:
> Ergo, he is preſent here with vs.

Here Doctour Weſton crying to the people, ſayd vnto them: Maiſter Doctour aunſwereth it after this faſhion:

D. Weſton ſpeaking to the audience in Engliſh.

He caried his fleſh into heauen, and he left here the communion of his fleſhe behynd. Aſſuredly the aunſwere is to vnlearned.

Ryd. I am glad you ſpeake in Engliſhe. Surely I wiſhe that all the whole world myght vnderſtand your reaſons & my aunſweres. Reliquit nobis carnem ſuā.i. He left vs his fleſh. This you vnderſtand of hys fleſh, and I vnderſtand the ſame of grace. He caryed hys fleſh into heauen, and left behynde the communion of hys fleſh vnto vs.

Weſt. Ye Iudges, what thynke ye of thys aunſwere.

But where were theſe Iudges in K. Edwardes tyme.

Iudges. It is ridiculous and a very fond aunſwere.

Ryd. Well, I take your wordes paciētly for Chriſtes cauſe.

Weſt. Weſtō here citeth a place: Spargimur ſanguine Chriſti: We are ſprinkled with the bloud of Chriſt.

Ryd. M. Doctor, it is the ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually receiued. And in deede all the Prophetes were ſprinkled with the ſame bloud, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by grace. And whatſoeuer they be that are not ſprinckled wyth this bloud, they can not be partakers of ẏ euerlaſtyng ſaluatiō.

How ye are ſprinckled with Chriſtes bloud.

Weſt. * Here I bryng Bernard vnto you agayne. Euen frō the Weſt vnto the Eaſt, frō the North vnto the South, there is one and the ſelfe ſame Chriſt in many and diuers places.

* This he repeated in Engliſh to the people alſo.

Ryd. The aunſwere is ſoone made, that one Chriſt is here and in diuers places. For God accordyng to hys Maieſty, and accordyng to hys prouidence, as S. Auſten ſayth, is euery where wyth the godly, accordyng to hys indiuiſible & vnſpeakeable grace. Or els, if we ſhould vnderſtand Bernard accordyng to the corporall preſence, how monſtrous or huge, and grantlike a body would you then make Chriſtes body to be, which ſhould reach euen from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt.

Aunſwere to Bernard.

The Papiſtes make Chriſt to haue a monſterous body

Weſt. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous aunſwere and vnlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come agayne to M. Doctours argument by which you beyng brought into the bryers, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſtes preſence on the earth. To ẏ proufe of which matter I wyll bryng nothing els, then that which was agreed vpon in the Catechiſme of the Synode of London ſet out not long ago by you.

Here they returne agayne to Latin.

Ryd, Syr I geue you to witte, before you goe any farther, that I dyd ſet out no Catechiſme.

B. Ridley falſly charged to ſet forth the Catechiſme.

Weſt. Yes, you made me ſubſcribe to it when you were a Byſhop in your ruffe.

D. Weſton in king Edwards daies ſubſcribed.

Ryd. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Warde. Yes by roode, you are the very author of that hereſie.

Ryd. I put forth no Catechiſme.

Cole. Dyd you neuer conſent to the ſettyng out of thoſe thynges, which you allowed?

Ryd. I graunt that I ſaw the booke. But I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many thynges for it. So I conſented to the booke: I was not the author of it.

Of this Catechiſme read before pag. 1357.

Iudges. * The Catechiſme is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole conuocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſayd yeſterday that you made it.

* The Iudges geue an vntrue verdite: for D. Cranmer meaning by the Counſell, ſpake no wordes of Ridley.

Ryd. I thynke ſurely that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſme hath thys clauſe: Si viſibiliter & in terra. &c. i. If viſibly on the earth. &c.

Rid. I aunſwere that thoſe articles were ſet out, I both wittyng and conſentyng to them. Myne owne hand wyll teſtifie the ſame, and M. Cranmer put hys hand to them likewiſe, and gaue them to other afterward. Now, as for ẏ place which you alledge out of it, that may eaſely be expounded, and without any inconuenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and vertue of hys Father.

Ergo, he was not of ſo litle ſtrength, that he coulde not bryng to paſſe whatſoeuer he would hymſelfe.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Ryd. I graunt.

Ward. Chriſt was the wyſedome of the father.

Ergo, that he ſpake, he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as euery man might vnderſtand: neyther was it hys mynde to ſpeake one thyng in ſteede of an other.

Ryd. All thys I graunt.

Ward. Chriſt was likewyſe the very truth: Ergo, he made and perfourmed in deede, that which he entended to make. And likely it is, that he doth neyther deceiue, nor coulde be deceiued, nor yet would go about to deceiue other.

Argument of the wiſedōe and truth of Chriſt.

Weſt. Hilarius in Pſalmum. 118. hath theſe wordes. Vera omnia ſunt, & neq; ocioſè, neque inutiliter conſtituta dei verba, ſed extra omnem ambiguitatem ſuperfluę inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic eſſe quod non perfectum ac proprium ſit, exiſtimetur. That is: All gods wordes or ſayinges are true, and neither idlely placed, nor vnprofitably, but fiery, and wonderfull fiery without all doubtfulnes of ſuperfluous vanitye, that there may bee nothyng thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.

Hillar in Pſal. 118.

Ward. He is the truth of the father: Ergo, he can neyther deceiue, nor yet be deceiued, eſpecially, I meane, when he

ſpake

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ſpake at his latter end, and his teſtament.

Aunſwere to M. Wardes argument.

Rid. Chriſt is the very truth of the father: and I perceiue well to what ſcope you driue your reaſon. This is but a farre fet cōpaſſe of wordes. If that theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body, whiche you meane, be rightly vnderſtode, they are moſt true.

Ward. He tooke, he brake, he gaue, &c. what tooke he?

Ridley. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. what gaue he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. Gaue he bread made of wheate, and materiall bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gaue bread of wheate: but he gaue true and materiall bread.

Ward. I will proue the contrary by the Scriptures.

This argument is not formall in the 2. figure.

He deliuered to them that, which he bad them take.
But hee bad not them take materiall bread, but his owne body.
Ergo, he gaue not materiall bread, but his owne body.

Aunſwere.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bad them take his body Sacramentally in materiall bread: & after that ſort it was both bread, which he bad them take, becauſe the ſubſtaunce was bread, and it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the Sacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying & the comming to of the holy Ghoſt, whiche is alwayes aſſiſtent to thoſe myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, & lawfully adminiſtred.

Harpſ. what is hee that ſo ſayth: By the commyng vnto of the holy ſpirite?

Theophilact. in Math. 26.

Rid. I haue Theophilact for myne author for this maner of ſpeakyng. And here I bryng hym, that ye may vnderſtand that phraſe not to be myne, vppon Mathew. 26. Furthermore, the ſayd Theophilact writyng vpō theſe wordes: This is my body, ſheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is ſanctified on the aultar.

Ogle. That place of Theophilact maketh openly agaynſt you. For he ſayth in that place, that Chriſt ſayd not: This is a figure of my body, but my body. For ſayth he, by an vnſpeakeable operation it is transformed, although it ſeeme to vs to be bread.

The wordes of Theophil. (he ſayd not this is a figure of my body) aunſwered.

Rid. It is not a figure, that is to ſay, non tantum eſt figura i. it is not onely a figure of his body.

Weſt. where haue you that word [tantum] onely?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in an other & Auguſtine doth ſo ſpeake many tymes, & other Doctours moe.

Weſt. Here weſton repeatyng the wordes of Theophilact in Engliſh, ſayd: He ſayth it is not a figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophilact ſayth moreouer: that the conuerſiō or turning of the bread is made into the Lordes fleſh.

* This argument is without perfect mode and forme, hauing the Minor negatiue in the 2. figure.

* That which Chriſt gaue, we do geue.
But that which he gaue was not a figure of his body, but his body:
Ergo, we geue no figure, but his body.

☞ As concernyng the authoritie of Theophilactus, what he thought and might haue ſpoken of that Author, D. Ridley did not then ſpeake, nor could conueniently (as he hym ſelfe afterward declared, reportyng and writyng with his owne hand the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the vproares and clamours, which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called vpon, that he could not aunſwere as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophilactus, but aunſwered ſimply to that, whiche was brought out of that author, on this ſort.

Conuerſion after what ſorte in the ſacrament.

I graunt (quoth he) the bread to be conuerted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, but not by tranſubſtātiation, but by a Sacramentall conuerſion or turnyng. It is transformed, ſayth Theophilactus, in the ſame place, by a myſticall benediction, and by the acceſſion or commyng of the holy Ghoſt vnto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſayth not: by expulſion or driuyng awaye the ſubſtaunce of bread, and by ſubſtitutyng or puttyng in his place the corporall ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes fleſh. And where he ſayth: It is not a figure of the body: we ſhould vnderſtand that ſaying, as hee hymſelfe doth els where adde onely, that is: it is no naked or bare figure onely. For Chriſt is preſent in his myſteries, neither at any tyme (as Cyprian ſayth) doth the diuine Maieſtie abſent hymſelfe from the diuine myſteries.

Weſt. you put in onely, and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was fayne to deny the Author, becauſe the place was ſo playne agaynſt hym. But marke hys wordes, how he ſayth: It is no figure, but his fleſh.

Rid. To take his wordes, and not his meanyng, is to do iniurie to the authour.

Hard. No other Doctour maketh more agaynſt you. For the wordes in Greke are, μεταςοιχειται, which is in Latin, tranſelementatur, that is, turned from one element into an other. And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in forme of bread, he ſayth: Quoniam infirmi ſumus, & horremus crudas carnes comedere, maximè hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, ſed caro eſt. That is: Becauſe we are infirme, and abhorre to eate raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man: therfore it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh.

Thys Hardyng ſat at the table among the Notaryes.

Theophil. in 6. Cap. Iohn.

Rid. That word hath not that ſtrength whiche you ſeeme to geue it. you ſtrayne it ouer much, & yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame authour hath in an other place, ἡμεῖς μεταςοιχειούμεθα, That is, We are tranſelemented, or tranſformed and chaunged into the body of Chriſt: and ſo by that word, in ſuch meanyng as you ſpeake of, I could proue as well that we are transformed in deede into the very body of Chriſt.

The worde μεταςοιχεῖσθαι Theophil. expēded

Ward. Learned M. Doctour, thus you expounde the place, Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body. i. a figure of my body.

Rid. Although I know there be that ſo expoūde it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſſe the whole.

Argument in the 3. figure.

Da- Ward. My ſheepe heare my voyce, and follow me.
ti- But all the ſheepe of Chriſt heare this voyce: This is my body, without a figure:
ſi. Ergo, the voyce of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Rid. The ſheepe of Chriſt follow the voyce of Chriſt, vnles they be ſeduced and deceiued through ignoraunce.

Ward. But the fathers tooke this place for no figuratiue ſpeache.

Rid. yet they do all number this place amōg figuratiue and tropicall ſpeeches.

Iuſtinus Martyr. Apolog. 2.

Ward. Iuſtinus Martyr in his ſecond Apology hath thus: οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ϗ σάρκα, ϗ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως ϗ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα ϗ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ ϗ σάρκα ϗ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Neq; vero hæc pro pane potuue cōmuni ſumimus: Imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Ieſus Chriſtus, Seruator noſter incarnatus, habuit pro ſalute noſtra carnem & ſanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi conſecratum hoc alimentum, quo ſanguis & carnes noſtræ per immutationē enutriuntur, eiuſdem incarnati carnem & ſanguinem eſſe ſumus edocti.

This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Engliſhed.

☞ For we doe not take this for common bread and drincke, but lyke as Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, incarnate by the word of God, had fleſhe and bloud for our ſaluation: euen ſo we bee taught the foode wherewith our fleſhe and bloud is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the fleſh and bloud of the ſame Ieſus incarnate.

D. Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating a place of Iuſtine Read his anſwer to this before Pag. 1369.

Doctour Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it: Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meates and drinkes bee, but they bee ordained purpoſedly to geue thankes to GOD, and therefore bee called Euchariſtia, and bee called the body and bloud of Chriſt: and that it is lawfull for none to eate and drinke of them but that profeſſe Chriſt, and lyue accordyng to the ſame: and yet that ſame meate and drinke is chaunged into our fleſh and bloud, and nouriſheth our bodies.

Rid. O good Maiſter Doctor, go ſincerely to worke: I know that place, and I know how it is vſed.

Ward. Warde here repeated the place againe out of Iuſtine: We are taught, &c. as aboue.

Rid. O what vnright dealing is this? I haue the ſelfe ſame place of Iuſtine here copyed out. You know your ſelfe which are ſkilfull of Greeke, how the wordes here be remoued out of the right place, and that wythout any iuſt cauſe.

Ward. I ſtand ſtill vpon myne argument. what ſay you?

Sumptum ex emplari Dom. Ridlei deſcripto.

Rid. If you will that I ſhould aunſwere to Iuſtine, then you muſt heare. I haue but one toung, I can not aunſwere at once to you all.

* In this argument, of

Weſt. * Chriſt gaue vs his very and true fleſh to be eaten.
But he neuer gaue it to be eaten, but in hys laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the aultar.
Ergo, there is the very true fleſh of Chriſt.

the Minor be a negatiue, the forme is ſayd: if it be affirmatiue æquipollenter. The Maior is to be denyed.

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Rid. If you ſpeake of the very true fleſhe of Chriſt, after the ſubſtaunce of his fleſhe, taken in the wombe of the virgine Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then do deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if ye vnderſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpirituall communication, I then graunt the firſt part, and deny the ſecond. For hee geueth vnto vs truely his fleſh, to be eaten of all that beleue in him. For he is ẏ very & true meate of the ſoule, wherewith we are fed vnto euerlaſtyng life, accordyng to his ſaying: My fleſh is meate in deede. &c.

Tertull. contra Martion. Lib. 4.

Ward. Deſiderio deſideraui hoc paſcha manducare vobiſcū. i. I haue deſired with my hartie deſire to eate this Paſchall with you. What Paſchall I pray you deſired he to eate? If you ſtand in doubt you haue Tertullian Lib. 4. Contra Martionem: Profeſſus itaq; ſe concupiſcentia concupiſcere edere paſcha ſuum (indignum enim vt alienū concupiſceret Deus) acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis, ſuum corpus illū fecit. Hoc eſt corpus meum, dicendo. &c. i. He therfore proteſtyng a great deſire to eate his Paſchall, his owne Paſchall I ſay (for it was not meete that he ſhould deſire any other then his owne) takyng bread and diſtributyng it to his Diſciples, made it his body, ſaying: This is my body.

What ſay you? did he vnderſtand by this Paſchall the Iudaicall Lambe, or by that whiche afterward he gaue in his Supper.

Rid. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he vnderſtode of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, and afterward of the Euchariſt.

Ward. Nay, then Tertullian is agaynſt you which ſayth.

Argument.

Ba- He deſired to eate his Paſſeouer.
ro- But the Iudaicall Paſſeouer was not hys, but ſtraunge from Chriſt:
co. Ergo, he meant not of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer.

Aunſwere.

Rid. The Iudaicall Paſſeouer was not ſtraunge from Chriſt, but his owne: in ſomuch as hee is the Lord of all: and as well the Lord of the Iudaicall Paſſeouer, as of his owne Supper.

Ward. What aunſwere you then to Tertullian, the whiche ſayth: Hee deſired to eate his owne Paſſeouer, and not the Iuiſh Paſſeouer, which ſtode vpon wordes without fleſh.

Rid. Tertullian may here dally in ſenſe Anagogicall. I know that Cyprian hath theſe wordes: Tunc inſtituit quidem Euchariſtiā, ſed vtrumq; erat Chriſti. i. He began then to inſtitute the holy Euchariſt, but both were Chriſtes.

Anagogicall ſenſe is that which hath a high and miſticall vnderſtandyng that lyeth abſtruſe and profound vnder the externall letter.

Ward. Auguſtine in the Pſalme. 96. writyng vppon theſe wordes: Adorate ſcabellum pedum eius. i. Worſhyppe his footeſtole. &c. Quæro, inquit, quid ſit ſcabellum pedum eius. Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra ſcabellum pedum meorum: Fluctuans conuerto me ad Chriſtum, quia ipſum quæro hic, & inuenio quomodo ſine impietate adoretur ſcabellum pedum eius. Suſcepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra eſt, & de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, & quia in ipſa carne hic ambulauit, & ipſam carnem nobis manducandam ad ſalutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat niſi prius adorauerit. Inuentum eſt, quo modo tale ſcabellum pedum Domini adoretur, vt non ſolum non peccemus adorādo, ſed peccemus non adorando ipſum. &c. i. I aſke (ſayth he) what is the footeſtole of his feete, and the Scripture telleth me: The earth is the footeſtole of my feete. And ſo in ſearchyng thereof I turne my ſelfe to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeeke hym here in the earth, and I finde how, without impietie, the footeſtole of his feete may be worſhypped: for he tooke earth of earth, in that he is fleſh of the earth, and of the fleſhe of Mary he tooke fleſhe, and becauſe that in the ſame fleſh here he walked and alſo he gaue the ſame fleſhe to vs, to be eaten vnto ſaluation. But no man eateth that fleſhe except hee haue worſhypped before. And ſo it is founde, how ſuch a footeſtole of the feete of the Lord is to be worſhypped, ſo that, not onely we ſinne not in worſhyppyng, but alſo do ſinne in not worſhyppyng the ſame.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Chap. 66.

Da- He gaue to vs his fleſh to be eaten, ẏ which he tooke of the earth, in which alſo here he walked. &c.
ti- But he neuer gaue his fleſhe to be eaten, but when he gaue it at his Supper, ſaying: This is my body.
ſi. Ergo, in the Euchariſt, he gaue vs his fleſh.

If the Minor of this Argument (as is ſaid before) be equipollent to affirmatiue then it commeth next to the Mode Dauſi.

How Chriſt gaue his fleſhe to be eaten, and when.

Rid. You do alledge the place of Auſten vppon the Pſalme. 98. Where he ſayth: that Chriſt gaue his fleſh to be eaten whiche he tooke of the earth, and in which here he walked inferryng hereupon that Chriſt neuer gaue the ſame hys fleſhe to be eaten, but onely in the Euchariſt. I deny your Minor, for he gaue it both in the Euchariſt to be eaten, and alſo otherwiſe, as well in the word, as alſo vpon the Croſſe.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not onely geue himſelfe to vs in a figure, but gaue his own very fleſh in deede and really?

Rid. I neuer ſayd that Chriſt gaue onely a figure of his body. For in deede he gaue himſelfe in a reall communication, that is, he gaue his fleſh after a communication of his fleſh.

West. Here Weſton read the place of Auguſtine in Engliſh, and afterwardes ſayd: Ye ſay, Chriſt gaue not his body, but a figure of his body.

Rid. I ſay not ſo. I ſay he gaue his own body verely. But he gaue it by a reall, effectuall, and ſpirituall communicatiō.

Chriſt gaue hym ſelf not onely in a figure, but in deede by a reall and effectuall cōmunication of his fleſhe.

☞ After this, Doctour Glinne began to reaſon, who (notwithſtandyng Maiſter Ridley had alwayes taken him for his old frend) made a very contumelious Preface agaynſt hym. This Preface Maiſter Ridley therfore did the more take to hart, becauſe it proceeded from him. Howbeit hee thought that Doctour Glinnes mynde was to ſerue the turne. For afterward he came to the houſe wherein Maiſter Ridley was kept, and as farre as Maiſter Ridley could call to remembraunce, before Doctour Young and Doctour Oglethorp he deſired him to pardon his wordes. The whiche Maiſter Ridley dyd euen from the very hart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would giue, not onely to him, but vnto all other, the true and euident knowledge of Gods Euangelicall ſinceritie, that all offences put a part, they beyng perfectly and fully recōciled, might agree & meete together in the houſe of the heauenly father.

D. Glinne diſputeth.

D. Glinne D. Ridleyes olde frend deſireth hym of pardon.

D. Ridley forgeueth D. Glinne.

Glin. I ſee that you elude or ſhift away all ſcriptures and fathers. I will go to worke with you after an other ſort.

Chriſt hath here his Church knowen in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you ſpeake contumeliouſly of the Sacramentes.

D. Ridley purgeth hym ſelfe agaynſt D. Glinne.

Rid. This is a greuous contumely, that you call me a ſhifter away of the Scriptures, and of the Doctours. As touchyng the Sacramentes, I neuer yet ſpake contumeliouſly of them. I graunt that Chriſt hath here his Churche in earth: but that Church dyd euer receiue & acknowledge the Euchariſt to be a Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, and not the body of Chriſt really, but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Glin. Then I aſke this queſtion, whether the Catholicke Church hath euer or at any tyme bene Idolatrous?

Rid. The Churche is the piller and ſtay of truth, that neuer yet hath bene idolatrous, in reſpect of the whole: but peraduenture in reſpect of ſome part therof, which ſometymes may be ſeduced by euill Paſtors and through ignoraunce.

Glin.* That Churche euer hath worſhypped the fleſhe of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.
But the Church hath neuer bene idolatrous:
Ergo, it hath alwayes iudged the fleſh of Chriſt to be in the Euchariſt.

* This argument hauing the Minor a negatiue neyther is formable in the third figure, neither doth it conclude rightly but ſhould conclude thus: Ergo to worſhip the fleſhe of Chriſt in the Euchariſt is no Idolatry.

Rid. And I alſo worſhyp Chriſt in the Sacrament: but not becauſe hee is included in the Sacrament: lyke as I worſhyp Chriſt alſo in the Scriptures, not becauſe hee is really included in them. Notwithſtandyng I ſay that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament: but yet Sacramentally and ſpiritually, accordyng to his grace geuyng lyfe, and in that reſpect, really, that is, accordyng to his benediction geuyng lyfe.

¶ Furthermore I knowledge gladly the true body of Chriſt to be in the Lordes Supper, in ſuch ſorte as the Churche of Chriſt (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the holy Ghoſt, and guided by Gods word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But the true Church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſtes body in the Lordes Supper to be cōmunicated to the godly by grace and ſpiritually, as I haue often ſhewed, and by a Sacramental ſignification, but not by the corporall preſence of the body of his fleſh.

Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu deſcripto.

Glin. Auſten contra Fauſtum. Lib. 20. cap. 13 Nō nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere exiſtimabāt. &c. i. Some there were which thought vs in ſtede of bread and of the cup, to worſhyp Ceres and Bacchus.

Auguſt contra Fauſtum Lib. 20. Cap, 13.

Upon this place I gather that there was an adoration of the ſacramēt amōg the fathers. And Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to the brethren of low Germany, ſayth that the worſhipping of the ſacrament was before Auſten and Cypriā.

Rid. We do handle the ſignes reuerently: but we worſhyp the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as the thyng ſignified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbole or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, we worſhyp bread.

Ridley. There is a deceipt in this worde [Adoramus.] We worſhyp the ſymboles when reuerently we handle them. We worſhyppe Chriſt where ſoeuer we perceiue hys benefites. But we vnderſtand hys benefite to be greateſt in the Sacrament.

Equiuocation of this worde worſhip, diſtincted.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here, and worſhyp Chriſt: and if any man aſke me what I do, I may anſwere I worſhyp Chriſt.

Rid. We adore and worſhyp Chriſt in the Euchariſt. And if you meane the externall Sacrament, I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhypped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the fayth of the primatiue Church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the fayth of that Church.

Glin. Thinke you that Chriſt hath now his Church?

Rid. I do ſo.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Chriſt, verely and really in the Sacrament.

We worſhip Chriſt in the Euchariſt: but we worſhip not the Euchariſt for Chriſt.

Rid. You knowe your ſelfe that the Eaſt Churche would not acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, as it appeareth in the Councell of Florence.

This Councell of Florence was but of late yeares in the tyme of the Councell of Baſill.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commiſſion ſo to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothyng of that matter, when the Article was propounded vnto them.

Cole. It was not becauſe they did not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

Curtop. Reuerend ſir, I will proue and declare, that the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the Euchariſt: & whereas ÿ holy fathers both of ÿ weſt & Eaſt Church haue written, both many thynges and no leſſe manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet I will bryng foorth onely Chriſoſtome. The place is in cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Homel. 24.

Chriſoſt. in Cap. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

* The Maior ſhould be thus: Whatſoeuer did flow fro the ſide of Chriſt, is in the cup. &c. or els the argument being in the 2. figure, is affirmatiue and falſe.

* That whiche is in the cup, is the ſame that flowed from the ſide of Chriſt.
But true and pure bloud dyd flowe from the ſide of Chriſt:
Ergo, his true and pure bloud is in the cup.

Rid. It is his true bloud which is in the chalice (I graūt) and the ſame whiche ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But how? It is bloud in deede, but not after ÿ ſame maner, after which maner it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the bloud, but by the way of a Sacrament.

Agayne, I ſay, lyke as the bread of the Sacrament and of thankes geuyng is called the body of Chriſt geuen for vs: ſo the cuppe of the Lord is called the bloud whiche ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But that Sacramentall bread is called the body, becauſe it is the Sacrament of his body: euen ſo likewiſe the cuppe is called the bloude alſo, which flowed out of Chriſtes ſide because it is the Sacrament of that bloud which flowed out of his ſide, inſtituted of the Lord hymſelfe for our ſingular commoditie, namely for our ſpirituall nouriſhment, lyke as Baptiſme is ordeined in water to our ſpirituall regeneration.

Wherfore and how the bread is called the body and the cup the bloud.

Cur. The Sacrament of the bloud is not the bloud.

Rid. The Sacrament of the bloud is the bloud, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is ſpoken of the thyng of the Sacrament.

Weſton. Here Weſton repeateth Curtoppes argument in Engliſh.

* This argument concludeth not directly, and being in the 2. figure affirmatiue, it is not formall.

* That whiche is in the chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſtes ſide.
But there came out very bloud:
Ergo, there is very bloud in the chalice.

Rid. The bloud of Chriſt is in the chalice in deede, but not in the reall preſence, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

Weſt. That is very wel. Thē we haue bloud in the chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

Here the people hiſſed at hym.

Rid. O my Maiſters, I take this for no iudgemēt: I will ſtand to Gods iudgement.

Wat. Good ſir, I haue determined to haue reſpect of the tyme, & to abſtayne from all thoſe thynges which may hynder the entraunce of our diſceptation: and therfore firſt I aſke this queſtion: When Chriſt ſayd in the vj. John: Qui mãducat carnem meam, i. He that eateth my fleſh. &c. doth he ſignifie in thoſe wordes the eatyng of his true and naturall fleſh, or els of the bread and ſymbole?

John 6.

Rid. I vnderſtand that place of the very fleſhe of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually: And farther I ſay, that the Sacrament alſo pertayneth vnto the ſpirituall manducation. For without the ſpirite to eate the Sacrament, is to eate it vnprofitably. For who ſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth his owne condemnation.

Spirituall eatyng of the fleſh of Chriſt.

Wat. I aſke them whether the Euchariſt be a Sacramēt.

Rid. The Euchariſt taken for a ſigne or ſymbole, is a Sacrament.

Wat. Is it inſtituted of God?

Rid. It is inſtituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what wordes is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the wordes and deedes which Chriſt ſayd and did, and commaunded vs to ſay and do the ſame.

Wat. It is a thyng commonly receiued of all, that the Sacramentes of the new law geue grace to them that worthely receiue.

Rid. True it is that grace is geuen by the ſacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward vertue ÿ Chriſt geue the grace through the ſacrament.

The Sacramentes geue no grace but are inſtrumentes.

Wat. What is a ſacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacramēt in Auſtine: but I wyll take that which ſeemeth moſt fitte to thys preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is viſible ſigne of inuiſible grace.

Sacrament defined.

Wat. Ergo grace is geuen to the receiuers.

Rid. The ſocietie or coniunction wyth Chriſt through the holy Ghoſt, is grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the members of the myſticall body of Chriſt, for that by the ſacrament the part of the body is ingrafted in the head.

Wat. But there is a difference betwene the myſticall body, and naturall body.

Rid. There is (I graunt you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

* The Sillogiſme is thus to be formed.
The Sacrament of the nevv Teſtament hath a promiſe of grace annexed.
Bread and vvyne haue no promiſe of grace annexed:
Ergo, bread and vvine is no Sacrament of the nevv Teſtament.

Wat. * The Euchariſt is a ſacrament of the new teſtamēt:
Ergo, it hath a promiſe of grace:
But no promiſe of grace is made to bread and wyne:
Ergo, bread and wyne be not the ſacramentes of the new Teſtament.

Rid. I graunt, that grace pertaineth to the Euchariſt, accordyng to thys ſaying: The bread which we breake is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Chriſt? And lyke as he ÿ eateth, and he ÿ drinketh vnworthely the ſacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord, eateth & drinketh his owne damnation: euen ſo he that eateth and drinketh worthely, eateth lyfe, and drinketh lyfe. I graunt alſo that there is no * promiſe made to bread and wyne. But in as much as they are ſanctified and made the ſacraments of the body and bloud of the lord, they haue a promiſe of grace annexed vnto them, namely of ſpirituall partakyng of the body of Chriſt, to be communicated and geuen, not to the bread and wyne, but to them which worthely do receiue the Sacrament.

* No promiſe made to bread & wyne, as they be common bread and common wyne, but as they be ſanctified and made Sacramentes of the Lordes body and bloud, they are not now called bread nor wyne, and haue a promiſe annexed to them, or rather (to ſay the truth) annexed to the receauers of the. Argument.

Wat. If the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne do remayne, the the ſocietie betwixt Chriſt and vs, is promiſed to them that take bread and wyne.

But that ſocietie is not promiſed to bread and wine, but to the receiuers of hys fleſh and bloud, John. 6. Qui manducat, &c.

Ergo, the ſubſtance of bread and wyne remayneth not.

Rid. The promiſe vndoubtedly is made to the fleſhe & the bloud, but the ſame be receiued in ÿ ſacramēt through faith.

Wat. Euery Sacrament hath a promyſe of grace adnexed vnto it.

But bread and wine haue not a promiſe of grace adnexed vnto it:

Ergo, the bread and wyne are not ſacraments.

Rid. True it is, euery ſacrament hath grace adnexed vnto it inſtrumentally. But there is diuers vnderſtandyng of thys word [Habet] hath. For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it: but to thoſe that receiue it well, it is turned to grace. After that maner the water in Baptiſme hath grace promiſed, and by that grace the holy ſpirite is geuen, not that grace is included in water, but that grace commeth by water.

Sacramentes how they haue a promiſe of grace annexed, not abſolutely but inſtrumentally.

Grace not included in Sacramentes: but the receauing of the turneth to grace in them that duly come vnto them.

Wat. Thys promiſe is made to the fleſh & bloud of Chriſt, and not to bread and wyne.

Ergo, the ſacrament is not bread and wyne, but the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Rid. There is no promiſe made to hym that taketh commō bread and common wine: but to him that receiueth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the Communion, there is a large promyſe of grace made: neyther is the promiſe geuen to the ſymboles, but to the thyng of the ſacrament. But the thyng of the ſacrament is the fleſh and bloud.

Promiſe made not to the ſimboles, but to the thing of the Sacrament.

Wat. Euery ſacrament of the new teſtament geueth grace promiſed of God, to thoſe that worthely receiue it.

Rid. This ſacramēt hath a promiſe of grace, made to thoſe that receiue it worthely, becauſe grace is geuen by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath tranſfuſed grace into the bread and wyne.

Sacramentes onely inſtrumētes of grace.

Wat. But thys promiſe which is made, is not but to thoſe that worthely receiue the fleſh & bloud: not ÿ bread & wine.

Rid. That propoſition of yours hath a diuers vnderſtanding. There is no promiſe made to them that receiue cōmen bread, as it were: but to thoſe that worthely receiue the ſanctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, like as Origen doth teſtifie.

Bread more largely taken in the Minor then in the concluſion.

Wat. Where is that promiſe made?

Rid. The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Chriſt: [And] we being many are one bread, one body of Chriſt?

1. Cor. 11.

Wat. What doth he meane by bread in that place?

Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. cap. 10.

Rid. The bread of the Lordes table, the Communiō of the body of Chriſt.

Wat. Harken what Chryſoſtome ſayth vpon that place: Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Chriſti eſt? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid ſignificare voluit, & multam inter hæc conuenientiam oſtendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, ſed vnitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud vnitum eſt Chriſto, ita & nos per hunc panem vnione coniungimur. That is: The bread which we breake, is it not the Communicatiō of Chriſtes body? wherfore dyd he not ſay participation? becauſe he would ſignifie ſome greater matter, and that hee would declare a great conuenience and coniunction betwixt the ſame. For we do not communicate by participatiō onely & receauyng, but alſo by counityng. For likewiſe as that body is coūited to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are conioyned and are vnited to hym.

Aunſwere to Chryſoſtome.

Rid. Let Chryſoſtome haue his maner of ſpeakyng and his ſentence. If it be true, I reiect it not. But let it not be preiudiciall to me to name it true bread.

In 1. Cor. Cap. 10.

Bread ſignifieth the body after Chryſoſtome.

Wat. All, ſayth Chryſoſtome, whiche ſit together at one boord, do cōmunicate together of one true body. What do I call (ſayth he) this cōmunicatyng? we are all the ſelfe ſame body. What doth bread ſignifie? The body of Chriſt. What be they that receiue it? The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body. Chryſoſtome doth interprete this place againſt you: All we be one bread, and one myſticall body, whiche do participate together one bread of Chriſt.

One bread, one myſticall body.

Rid. All we be one myſticall body, which do communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacie of regeneration or quickenyng.

Wat. Of what maner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Rid. Of the bread of the Lordes table.

Wat. Is that bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church beyng one, becauſe one bread is ſet forth vpon the table: and ſo of one bread altogether do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat. See how abſurdly you ſpeake. Do you ſay all which be from the beginnyng to the end of the world?

Rid. All, I ſay, which at one table together haue communicated in the myſteries, might well ſo doe. Albeit the heauenly and celeſtiall bread is lykewiſe one alſo, whereof the Sacramentall bread is a myſtery: the whiche beyng one, all we together do participate.

Watſon cauilleth about this worde all.

Wat. A peruerſe aunſwere. Whiche all? Meane you all Chriſtian men?

Rid. I do diſtribute this word [all]: for all were wont together to communicate of one bread diuided into partes. All (I ſay) which were in one cōgregation, & which all did communicate together at one table.

Wat. What? doe you exclude then from the body of Chriſt, all them which did not communicate beyng preſent?

Cyprianus de Cœna Domini.

Feck. But Cyprian ſayth: panis quem nulla multitudo cōſumit. i. Bread which no multitude doth conſume. Whiche cannot be vnderſtanded, but onely of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeake of the true body of Chriſt, and not of materiall bread.

M. Fecknams reaſon.

Feck. Nay, rather hee did there intreate of the Sacrament in that tractation De cœna Domini, wrytyng vpon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I graunt, hee intreateth there of the Sacrament: but alſo he doth admixt ſomethyng there withall of the ſpirituall manducation.

Smith. When the Lord ſayth: This is my body, hee vſeth no tropicall ſpeach:

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid. I deny your antecedent.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 33. Concio. 1.

Smith. I bryng here Auguſtine in Pſal. 33. Conc. 1. expoundyng theſe wordes: Ferebatur in manibus ſuis, He was caried in his owne handes. 1. Regum.

Hoc quomodo poſſit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim ſuis nemo portatur, ſed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de Dauid ſecundum literam, non inuenimus: de Chriſto autem inuenimus. Ferebatur enim Chriſtus in manibus ſuis cum diceret: Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus ſuis. &c. That is. How may this bee vnderſtanded to be done in man? For no man is caryed in his owne handes, but in the handes of other. How this may be vnderſtanded of Dauid after the letter, we do not finde. Of Chriſt we finde it. For Chriſt was borne in his own hāds when he ſayth: This is my body, for he caryed that ſame body in his owne handes. &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this place after the letter could be vnderſtāded of Dauid, becauſe no man can cary him ſelfe in his owne handes. Therfore ſayth he, this place is to be vnderſtanded of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt caried himſelfe in his own handes in his Supper, when hee gaue the Sacrament to his Diſciples, ſaying: This is my body.

The place of Auguſtine aunſwered.

Rid. I denye your argument, and I explicate the ſame. Auſtine could not finde after hys owne vnderſtandyng, how thys could be vnderſtand of Dauid after the letter. Auſtine goeth here from other in thys expoſition, but I go not frō hym. But let thys expoſitiō of Auſtine be graunted to you: although I know thys place of ſcripture be otherwyſe read of other men, after the veritie of the Hebrew text, and alſo otherwyſe to be expounded, yet to graunt to you thys expoſitiō of Auſtine, I ſay yet notwythſtādyng it maketh nothyng agaynſt my aſſertion: for Chriſt dyd beare hymſelfe in hys owne handes, when he gaue the ſacrament of hys body to be eaten of hys diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, it is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was borne in hys owne handes.

Rid. He was borne literally, & after that letter which was ſpoken of Dauid: but not after the letter of theſe wordes: Hoc eſt Corpus meum.

The place of Auſten how Chriſt was caryed in his handes ad literam, i. literally.

I graunt that S. Auſtine ſayth, that it is not found literally of Dauid, that he caryed hymſelf in hys owne handes, and that is found of Chriſt. But thys word [ad literam] literally, you do not well referre to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to hym that dyd beare it. S. Auſtens meanyng is thys: that it is not read any where in the Byble, that thys carnall Dauid, the ſonne of Ieſſe, dyd beare hymſelfe in hys handes, but of that ſpirituall Dauid which ouerthrew Goliath ye deuil: ye is, of Chriſt our ſauiour, the ſonne of the virgyn it may well be found literally, that he bare hymſelfe in hys owne handes after a certaine maner, namely in caryeng the Sacrament of hymſelf. And note that S. Auſten hath theſe wordes [quodam modo] after a certayne maner: which manifeſtly doth declare how the Doctours meanyng is to be taken.

Ferebatur, quodam modo in manibus ſuis. Aug. i. Chriſt vvas borne in his ovvne handes Sacramentally.

Smith. When then was he borne in hys owne handes, and after what letter?

Ryd. He was borne in the ſupper ſacramentally, when he ſayd: Thys is my body.

Smith. Euery man may beare in hys owne handes a * figure of hys body.

* A figure he may beare, but not a Sacrament.

But Auguſtine denyeth that Dauid could cary himſelfe in his handes.

Ergo, he ſpeaketh of no figure of hys body.

Ryd. If Auſten could haue found in all the ſcripture that Dauid had caryed the ſacrament of hys body, then he would neuer haue vſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he dyd beare hym ſelfe in hys owne handes:

Ergo, he dyd not beare a figure onely.

Ryd. He dyd beare hymſelfe, but in a Sacrament: and Auſten afterwarde addeth [quodā modo] that is: Sacramentally.

Quodam modo.

Smith. you vnderſtand not, what Auſten ment when he ſayd [quodam modo]: For he ment that he dyd beare hys very true body in that ſupper, not in figure and forme of a body, but in forme and figure of bread:

Ergo, you are holden faſt, neyther are ye hable to eſcape out of thys labirinth.

Doct. Weſton repeated thys place agayne in Engliſhe. Which done, then Doct. Treſham thus began to ſpeake, moued (as it ſeemed to M. Ridley) wyth great zeale, and deſired that he might be in ſtede of Iohn Baptiſt in cōuertyng the hartes of the fathers, and in reducing the ſayd D. Ridley agayne to the mother church. Now at the firſt, not knowyng the perſon, he thought he had bene ſome good old man, which had the zeale of God, although not accordyng to knowledge, and began to aunſwere hym with manſuetude and reuerence. But afterward he ſmelled a foxe vnder a ſheepes cloathyng.

D. Treſham prayeth for conuerting of D. Ridley

GOd almighty graunt that it may be fulfilled in me, that was ſpoken by the Prophet Malachie of Iohn Baptiſt, which may turne the hartes of the Fathers to the children, and the hartes of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be conuerted. The wiſe mā ſaith: Sonne, honor thy father, and reuerēce thy mother. But you diſhonor your father in heauen, and pollute your mother the holy Church here on earth, while ye ſet not by her.

Ryd. Theſe bywordes do pollute your Schoole.

The Decree of Laterane. Councell alleaged for tranſubſtantiation.

Treſ. If there were an Arrian which had that ſubtile wit that you haue, he might ſoone ſhift of the authoritie of the ſcriptures and fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or els hold your peace, I pray you.

Of this Councell read before pag. 157. 262.

Treſ. I bryng a place here out of the Cōſell of Laterane, the which Cōſell repreſentyng the vniuerſall Churche, wherein were congregated 300. Byſhops & 70. Metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of other, decreed ye bread & wyne, by the power of Gods word, was trāſubſtātiate into the body & bloud of ye Lord. Therfore whoſoeuer ſayth contrary can not be a childe of the Church, but an hereticke.

Ryd.

Rid. Good ſir, I haue heard what you haue cited out of the Councell of Laterane, and remember that there was a great multitude of Biſhoppes & Metropolitanes, as you ſaid: but yet ye haue not numbred how many Abbots, Priors, and Fryers were in that Councell, who were to the number of. 800.

One of the Scribes carpeth agaynſt M. Ridley.

One of the Scribes. What, wyll you deny then the authoritie of that Councel for the multitude of thoſe Priors?

Rid. No ſir, not ſo much for that cauſe, as for that eſpecially, becauſe the doctrine of that Councel agreed not with the word of God, as it may wel appeare by the actes of that Councel which was holden vnder Innocentius the third, a man (if we beleue the hiſtories) moſte pernitious to the church and common wealth of Chriſt.

Of thys Innocentius. 3. read before pag. 262.

Tres. What, do you not receyue the Councel of Laterane? Whereupon he with certayne other cryed, Scribite, ſcribite, Write, write.

Rid. No ſir, I receyue not that Councel: Scribite, & reſcribite: Write and write againe.

M. Ridley reiecteth the Councell of Laterane.

Tres. Euyl men do eate the naturall body of Chriſt:

Ergo, the true and naturall bodye of Chriſte is on the aultar.

Rid. Euyll men do eate the very true and natural body of Chriſt ſacramentally, and no further, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: but good men do eate ẏ very true body both ſacramentally and ſpiritually by grace.

Good men doe eate the very true body of Chriſt both ſacramentally and ſpiritually.

Tres. I proue the contrary by S. Auſten. Lib. 5. contra Donatiſtas Cap. 8. Sicut enim Iudas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, ſed malè accipiendo peccauit, &c. Like as Iudas, to whom the Lord gaue the morſel dyd offend, not in takyng a thyng that was euyl, but in receiuyng it after an euyll maner. &c. And a litle after, Quia aliquis non ad ſalutem manducat, non ideo non eſt corpus. i. Becauſe ſome do not eate vnto ſaluation, it followeth not therfore that it is not his body.

Auguſt. Lib. 5. contra Donatiſt. cap. 8.

Ryd. It is the body to them, that is, the ſacrament of the body: and Iudas tooke the ſacrament of the Lorde to his condemnation. Auſten hath diſtincted theſe thynges well in an other place, where he ſayth: Panem Domini, & panem dominum. Mali manducant panem domini, non panem dominum: boni autem manducant et panem domini, et panem dominum. i. The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lorde. Euyll men eate the bread of the Lorde, but not bread the Lord. But good men eate both ẏ bread of the lord, and bread the Lord.

Manducare panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Auguſt.

West. Paul ſaith, the body, and you ſay, the ſacrament of the body.

This Weſton ſpoke in Engliſh.

Ryd. Paul meaneth ſo in deed.

Wat. You vnderſtand it euil concerning the ſigne: for the Fathers that ſay, that euil men do eate him which deſcended from heauen.

Ryd. They eate him in deede, but ſacramentally. The fathers vſe many times the ſacrament, for the matter of the ſacrament, and al that ſame place maketh againſt you: and ſo here he cited the place.

The olde Doctors do vſe many tymes the Sacrament, for the matter of the Sacrament.

West. I bring Theophilacte, which ſaith, that Iudas did taſte the bodie of the Lord. Oſtendit dominus crudelitatẽ Iudæ, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, et guſtauit carnem domini. &c. i. The Lorde did ſhewe the crueltie of Iudas, which, whẽ he was rebuked, did not vnderſtand, and taſted the Lordes fleſh, &c.

Theophilacte alleaged.

Ryd. This phraſe to Diuines is wel knowen, and vſed of the Doctours. He taſted the fleſhe of the Lorde Inſenſibiliter, Inſenſibly, ẏ is the ſacrament of the Lordes fleſh.

Aunſwere.

West. Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the ſame puniſhment remaineth to them which receiue the bodye of the Lorde vnworthily, as to them which crucified him.

Chryſoſt. alleaged.

Ryd. That is, becauſe they defile the Lordes bodie: for euil men doo eate the bodye of Chriſte ſacramentally, but good men eate both the ſacrament, and the matter of the ſacrament.

Chriſoſt. expounded.

Wat. You reiect the Councell of Laterane, becauſe (you ſay) it agreeth not with Gods worde. What ſay you then to the Councell of Nice? The wordes of the Councel be theſe:

Ne humiliter ſpectemus propoſitum panem et potum, ſed exaltata mẽte fideliter credamus iacere in illa ſacra menſa agnum dei, tollentem peccata mundi, à ſacerdotibus ſacrificatum. Let vs not looke alowe by the grounde vppon the bread & the drinke ſet before vs, but lifting vp our mind, let vs faithfully beleue, there vpõ the holy table to lie the lambe of God taking away the ſinnes of the worlde, being ſacrificed of the prieſtes.

The Councell of Nice alleaged.

Ryd. That Councell was collected out of auncient Fathers, and is to me of great authoritie, for it ſaith: Poſitum eſſe panem in altari, et exaltata mente conſiderandum eum qui in cœlis eſt. i. That bread is ſet vpon the aultare, and hauyng our myndes lyfted vp, we muſt conſider him which is in heauen. The wordes of the Councel make for me.

Wat. (Exaltata mente) with a mynd exalted: that is, not as brute beaſtes at the racke or maunger, hauing an eye onely vpon the thing that is ſet before them. Agnus Dei iacet in menſa: the * Lambe of God lieth on the table, ſaith the Councell.

* If the Lambe of God dyd lye really vpon the table, then why doth the Councell byd vs lyft vp our myndes, which rather ſhould bid vs let downe our myndes to the Altar.

Ryd. The Lambe of God is in heauen, according to the veritie of the body: and here he is with vs in a myſterie, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lambe of God lyeth on the table.

Ryd. It is a figuratiue ſpeach, for in our mynd we vnderſtand hym which is in heauen.

Wat. But he lyeth there, the Greeke worde is, κεῖται.

Ryd. He lyeth, there that is, he is there preſent, not corporally, but he lyeth there in hys operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but his operation lyeth not.

Ryd. You thinke very groſſely of the ſitting or lying of the Celeſtiall Lambe on the table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any ſuch ſitting or lying on ẏ table, as the reaſon of man would iudge: but all thinges are here to be vnderſtand ſpiritually. For that heauenly Lambe is (as I confeſſe) on the table, but by a ſpirituall preſence, by grace, and not after any corporal ſubſtance of his fleſh taken of the virgin Mary.

The place of Nicene Councell expounded.

And in deede the ſame Canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is ſet on the table, is materiall bread, and therfore it (the Canon I meane) commaundeth that we ſhoulde not creepe on the grounde in our cogitation, to theſe thynges which are ſet before vs, as who ſhoulde ſay, what other thyngs are they (as much as perteineth to their true ſubſtaunce) then bread and wyne? but rather (ſayth the Canon) liftyng vp our myndes into heauen, let vs conſider with fayth the Lambe of God, whiche taketh awaye the ſinnes of the world, ſitting or lying vpon the table. For a lyfted vp fayth ſeeth him, which ſitteth on the right hand of god the father, after the true manner of a body, ſet by grace on the Lordes Table, and takyng awaye the ſinnes of the worlde. For I thinke you meane not ſo, as though the Lambe dyd lye there proſtrate with his members ſpread vpon the table.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 2.

Smyth. I bring an other place out of the Councel of Nice, Nullus Apoſtolorum dixit, hæc eſt figura corporis Chriſti. Nullus venerabilium præsbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris ſacrificium figuram: Ergo. &c. That is, None of the Apoſtles ſaid, this is a figure of the body of Chriſt: None of the reuerend Elders ſaid, the vnbloudy ſacrifice of the altar to be a figure:

Ergo, you are deceiued.

An other place of Nicene Councell alleaged.

Ryd. This Canon is not in the Councel of Nice. For I haue read ouer this Councel many tymes.

Then came in an other whom M. Ridley knew not, & ſaid, The vniuerſal church both of the Greekes & Latines of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, haue agreed in the Councel of Florence vniformably in ẏ doctrine of the ſacrament, that in the Sacramente of the Aultar there is the true and reall Bodye.

Out of D. Ridleyes Copie.

The Councell of Florence alleaged.

Ryd. I denye the Greeke and the Eaſt churche to haue agreed eyther in the Councell at Florence, or at any tyme els with the Romiſhe churche in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothyng in the Councell of Florence, wherin the Greekes would agree with the Romaniſtes: albeit hytherto I confeſſe it was leaft free for euery church to vſe, as they were wont, leauened or vnleauened bread.

Here cryed out D. Cole, & ſayde, they agreed together concernyng tranſubſtantiation of bread into the bodye of Chriſt. M. Ridley ſayd, that could not be.

Here ſtart vp an other vnknowen to M. Ridley, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, ẏ in deede there was nothing decreed cõcernyng trãſubſtãtiation, but the Councel leaft that, as a matter not meete nor worthy to diſturbe the peace and concord of the church. To whom M. Rydley anſwered againe, ſaying: that he ſaide ẏ truth.

One of the Scribes.

Pie. What ſay you to that Councel, where it is ſayd, that the Prieſt doth offer an vnbloudye ſacrifice of the Bodye of Chriſt?

M. Pie diſputeth agaynſt D. Rydley.

Ryd. I ſay, it is wel ſayd, if it be rightly vnderſtand.

Pie. But he offereth an vnbloudy ſacrifice.

Ryd. It is called vnbloudy, and is offered after a certayne maner, and in a myſterie, and as a repreſentation of that bloudy ſacrifice, and he doth not lye which ſayth, Chriſt to be offered.

Sacrifice called vnbloudy, is nothing els but a repreſentation of the bloudy ſacrifice of Chriſt.

West. I with one argument wyll throwe downe to the ground your opinion, out of Chryſoſtome, Homi. 24. in. 1. ad Corinth. and I wyll teache, not onely a figure or ſigne, or grace only, but the very ſame body which was here conuerſant in the earth, to be in the Euchariſt.

Weſton playeth Goliath with Dauyd.

This Argument after the diſpoſition and termes, as it ſtandeth, is not formall.

An. 1554.

April.

We worſhip the ſelf ſame body in the Euchariſt, which the wiſe men dyd worſhip in the maunger.

But that was his natural and real body, not ſpiritual: Ergo, the real body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Agayne, the ſame Chryſoſtome ſaith: we haue not here the Lord in the maūger, but on the aultar. Here a woman holdeth hym not in her handes, but a prieſt.

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſſe, the ſame true Lord and ſauiour of the worlde, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the maunger, howbeit we do it in myſterie, and in the ſacramēt of the Lordes ſupper, and that in ſpiritual libertie, as ſaith S. Auſt. Lib. 3. de doctrina Chriſtiana: not in carnall ſeruitude: that is, we do not worſhip ſeruilely the ſignes for the thinges: for that ſhould be, as he alſo ſaith, a parte of a ſeruile infirmitie. But we beholde with the eyes of fayth, hym preſent after grace and ſpiritually ſet vppon the table: and we worſhip hym which ſitteth aboue, & is worſhipped of the angels. For Chriſt is alwayes aſſiſtant to his myſteries, as the ſayd Auguſt. ſayth. And the diuine maieſtie, as ſaith Cyprian, doth neuer abſent it ſelfe from the diuine myſteries, but this aſſiſtaunce and preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſme is wholy ſpiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal ſubſtance of the fleſh: euē ſo is it here in the Lordes ſupper, beyng rightly & according to the word of God duely miniſtred.

West. That which the woman did hold in her wombe, the ſame thyng holdeth the prieſt.

The ſame thing, but the maner diuers.

Rid. I graunt the prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after an other maner. Shee dyd hold the natural body: the prieſt holdeth the myſterie of the body.

West. Weſton repeated agayne his argumēt out of Chryſoſtome in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the author meant it ſpiritually.

West. Weſton here diſſoluyng the diſputations, had theſe wordes: Videtis præfractū hominis animum, glorioſum, vafrum, inconſtantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcuſſas, Itaque clamate: Vicit veritas: that is, Here you ſee, the ſtubborne, the glorious the crafty, the vnconſtant mind of this man. Here you ſee this day, that the ſtrength of the truth is without foyle. Therfore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note, and he beganne, and they folowed: Veritie hath the victorie: Veritie hath the victorie.

D. Weſton bloweth vp the tryumph.

❡ The diſputation had at Oxforde, the. 18. day of April. 1554. betwene maſter Hugh Latimer Anſwearer, and Maiſter Smyth and other Oppoſers.

M. Hugh Latymer diſputeth.

Aprill 18.

After theſe diſputations of Biſhop Ridley ended, next was brought out Maiſter Hugh Latimer, to diſpute, vpon Wedneſday, whiche was the eightenth daye of April. Whiche diſputation beganne at eight of the clocke, in ſuche forme as before: but it was moſt in Engliſhe. For maſter Latimer the anſwerer alleged that he was out of vſe with the Latine, and vnfit for that place.

M. Smyth of Oriall Colledge Opponent to M. Latimer.

There replyed vnto hym M. Smith of Orial colledg. Doctor Cartwright, maſter Harpsfielde, and diuers other had ſnatches at hym, and gaue hym bytter tauntes. He eſcaped no hiſſinges and ſcornefull laughinges, no more then they that went before hym. He was very faint, and deſired that he might not long tarry. He durſt not drinke, for feare of vomityng. The diſputation ended before. xi. of the clocke. Maſter Latimer was not ſuffered to reade, that he had (as he ſaid) painfully written: but it was exhibited vp, and the Prolocutor read part therof, and ſo proceeded vnto the diſputation.

M. Latymers wrytinges could not be read.

¶ The preface of Weſton vnto the diſputation folowyng.

Weſtons preface.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the helpe of God) to vanquiſhe the ſtrength of the argumentes, and diſperſed opinions of aduerſaries, againſt the truth of the reall preſence of the Lordes body in the ſacrament. And therfore, you father, if you haue any thing to anſwere, I do admoniſh that you anſweare in ſhort and fewe wordes.

M. Latymer requireth to diſpute in the Engliſh tonge.

Lati. I pray you good maſter Prolocutor, doo not exacte that of me, which is not in me. I haue not theſe. xx. yeares much vſed the Latine tongue.

West. Take your eaſe father.

Lati. I thanke you ſir, I am well. Let me here proteſt my fayth: for I am not able to diſpute, & afterwardes doo your pleaſure with me.

❡ The proteſtation of maſter Hugh Latimer, geuen vp in writing to Doctor Weſton.

The concluſions whereunto I muſt aunſweare, are theſe.

The three concluſions.

1 The firſt is, that In the ſacrament of the Aultar, by the vertue of Gods worde pronounced by the prieſt, there is really preſent, the naturall body of Chriſt, conceiued of the virgin Mary, vnder the kindes of the appearances of bread and wyne: and in like maner his bloud.

2 The ſecond is, that after cōſecration, there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wyne, nor none other ſubſtaunce, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3 The third is, that in the Maſſe there is the liuely ſacrifice of the Church, whiche is propiciable, as wel for the ſinnes of the quicke, as of the dead.

The anſweres of M. Latimer geuen vp in wryting concerning the queſtions aforeſayd.

Concernyng the firſte concluſion, me thinketh it is ſet forth with certayne new found termes, that be obſcure. and do not ſounde accordyng to the ſpeach of the ſcripture. Howbeit, how ſoeuer I vnderſtand it, this do I anſweare playnely, though not without peryll: I anſweare (I ſay) that to the right celebration of the Lordes ſupper, there is no other preſence of Chriſt required, then a ſpirituall preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſte abydeth in vs, to the obteynyng of eternall lyfe, if we perſeuer. And this ſame preſence may be called moſt fitly, a reall preſence, that is, a preſence not fayned, but a true and a faythfull preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leaſt ſome Sycophāt or ſcorner ſhoulde ſuppoſe me with the Anabaptiſtes, to make nothyng els of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare ſigne. As for that, whiche is fayned of many, cōcernyng their corporall preſence, I for my part take it but for a papiſtical inuention, and therfore thinke it vtterly to be reiected.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, how it is a reall preſence.

Aunſwere to the ſecond concluſion.

Concernyng the ſeconde concluſion, I dare be bolde to ſay, that it hath no ſtay nor ground in Gods worde, but is a thyng inuented and found out by man: and therefore to be taken as fōd & falſe: and I had almoſt ſayd, as the mother and Nourſe of the other errours. It were good for my Lordes & maſters the tranſubſtantiation, to take heede, leſt they conſpire with the Neſtorians, for I doo not ſee howe they can auoyde it.

Anſwere to the thyrd Concluſion.

Heb. 1.

The third concluſion (as I do vnderſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtilly to ſowe ſedition agaynſt the offering which Chriſt hym ſelf offered for vs in his owne proper perſon, accordyng to that pithy place of Paul, Heb. 1. when he ſayth: That Chriſte his owne ſelfe hath made purgation of our ſinnes. And afterwardes: That he might (ſayth he) be a mercyful and a faythful Biſhop, concernyng thoſe thinges which are to be done with God, for the takyng awaye of our ſinnes. So that the expiation or takyng away of our ſinnes, may be thought rather to depend on this: that Chriſt was an offryng Biſhop, then that he was offred, were it not that he was offred of hym ſelfe: and therfore it is needeleſſe that he ſhould be offred of any other. I wyll ſpeake nothyng of the wonderful preſumption of man, to dare to attēpt this thing without a manifeſt vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to ẏ ouerthrowing & makyng fruteles (if not wholy, yet partly) of the croſſe of Chriſt: for truely it is no baſe or meane thing, to offer Chriſt. And therfore worthily a man may ſay to my lordes & maſters the officers: By what authority doo ye this? And who gaue you this authoritie? Where? when? A mā can not (ſayth the Baptiſt) take any thyng, except it be geuen hym frō aboue: much leſſe then may any man preſume to vſurpe any honor, before he be therto called. Agayne, If any man ſinne (ſayth S. Iohn) we haue (ſayth he, not a maſter or officer at home, which cā ſacrifice for vs at maſſe: but) we haue (ſaith he) an aduocate Ieſus Chriſte, whiche once offered hym ſelfe long ago: of which offeryng, the efficacie and effect is perdurable for euer, ſo that it is needeles to haue ſuch officers.

The takyng away of ſinnes dependeth rather in the perſon of the offerer then in the thyng offered, but that he that was the offerer was offered hym ſelfe.

1. Iohn 2.

What meaneth Paul, when he ſayth: They that ſerue at the altar, are partakers of the altar: and ſo addeth: So the Lord hath ordeined, that they that preach the Goſpel, ſhal lyue of the Goſpell. Where as he ſhould haue ſayd: The Lord hath ordeyned, that they that ſacrifice at maſſe, ſhould lyue of theyr ſacrificyng, that there might be a lyuyng aſſigned to our ſacrificers nowe, as was before Chriſtes commyng, to the Iewiſhe Prieſtes. For nowe they haue nothyng to allege for their lyuyng, as they that be Preachers haue. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing Prieſthood is chaunged by Gods ordinaunce, into a preachyng Prieſthoode, and the ſacrificyng prieſthoode ſhoulde ceaſe vtterly, ſauyng in as muche as all Chriſtian men are ſacrificyng prieſtes.

The ſacrificing prieſthood chaunged into a preaching prieſthood.

The ſupper of the Lord was inſtituted to prouoke vs to thankes geuyng, for the offering whiche the Lorde hym ſelfe dyd offer for vs, muche rather then that our Officers

ſhould

The ſmall cauſe why the Lordes Supper was chiefly ordeyned.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

Prepoſterous iudgement of Papiſtes.

ſhould do there as they do. Feede (ſaith Peter) as much as ye may, the flocke of Chriſt: nay rather let vs ſacrifice as much as we may, for yͤ flock of Chriſt. If ſo be yͤ matter be as now men make it, I cã neuer woonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, which at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feede is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flocke, how ſhalt thou be taken? truely Catholike enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, howe wyll that be taken? at the leaſt I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an heretike. And whence I pray you, come theſe papiſtical iudgementes? Except perchaũce they thinke a man feedeth the flocke, in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoone may he learne to ſacrifice and maſſe it.

M. Latimer found more audiēce with kinges and Princes, then wyth ruſticall diuines.

Thus lo, I haue taken the more payne to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debilitye thereunto: that all men may knowe, howe that I haue ſo done not without great paynes, hauing not any man to helpe me, as I haue neuer before bene debarred to haue. O ſir, you may chaunce to lyue tyll you come to this age and weakenes that I am of. I haue ſpoken in my tyme before 2. kinges, more then one, two, or three houres together, without interruption: but nowe that I maye ſpeake the truth, by your leaue) I could not be ſuffered to declare my mynde before you, no, not by the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, without ſnatches, reuilynges, checkes, rebukes, tauntes, ſuch as I haue not felt the like, in ſuch an audience, al my life long. Surely it can not be, but an heynous offence that I haue geuen. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the foure marybones of the Maſſe. The which kind of ſpeaking, I neuer read to be a ſinne agaynſt the holy ghoſt.

I could not be allowed to ſhewe what I meant by my Metaphor: But ſir now (by your fauour) I wyl tel your maſterſhip what I meane.

The 4. Marybones of the Maſſe by M. Latimer expounded.

The firſt is the Pepiſh conſecration: which hath bene called a Gods body making.

The ſecond is Tranſubſtantiation.

The third is the Miſſal oblation.

The fourth, Adoration.

Conſecratiō. Tranſubſtātiation. Oblation. Adoration.

These chiefe and principall portions, partes & poyntes belonging or incident to the maſſe, and moſt eſteemed and had in price in the ſame, I cal the marybones of the maſſe, which in deede you by force, might, and violence intrude in ſound of wordes in ſome of the ſcripture, with racking and cramping, iniuryng, and wronging the ſame: but els in deede, plaine out of the ſcripture, as I am throughly perſwaded: although in diſputation I could now nothing do, to perſwade the ſame to others, being both vnapt to ſtudy, and alſo to make a ſhewe of my former ſtudy, in ſuch readines as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame.

The iudgement of M. Latimer of D. Weston

I haue heard much talke of maſter Doctor Weſton to and fro, in my tyme: but I neuer knewe your perſon to my knowledge, til I came before you, as the Queenes maieſties Commiſſioner. I pray God ſende you ſo right iudgement, as I perceiue you haue a great wyt, great learning, with many other qualities. God geue you grace euer well to vſe thē, and euer to haue in remembraunce, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe thinges on the earth: and that there is no counſel againſt the Lord: and alſo that this world hath bene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet againe, that though we muſt obey the princes, yet that hath this limitatiō, namely, in the Lord. For who ſo doth obey them againſt the Lorde, they be moſt pernitious to them, and the greateſt aduerſaries yͤ they haue: for they ſo procure Gods vengeaunce vpon them, if God onely be the ruler of thinges.

Pryde of D. Weſton priuily touched.

Obedience to princes hath his limitation.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they thinke gaynes to be godlyneſſe: Great learned men, and yet men of no learnyng, but of raylyng and raging about queſtions and ſtrife of wordes. I cal them men of no learning, becauſe they knowe not Chriſt, how much els ſoeuer they know. And on this ſort we are wont to cal great learned clarkes, being ignorant of Chriſt, vnlearned men: for it is nothing but plaine ignoraunce, to knowe any thinges without Chriſt: whereas who ſo knoweth Chriſt, the ſame hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to ſeeke. The Apoſtle S. Paul confeſſeth of hym ſelf to the Corinthians, that he did knowe nothing, but Jeſus Chriſt crucified. Many men babble many thinges of Chriſt, which yet know not Chriſt: but pretending Chriſt, do craftely colour & darkē his glory. Depart from ſuch men, ſaith yͤ Apoſtle ſaint Paul to Timothe.

Knowledge without Chriſt is mere ignoraunce.

Many there be which vnder pretenſe of Chriſt, darken the glory of Chriſt.

It is not out of the way to remember what S. Auguſtine ſaith. The place where, I now wel remember not, except it be againſt the Epiſtles of Petilian: Who ſoeuer (ſaith he) teacheth anye thing neceſſarily to be beleeued, which is not contayned in the olde or newe Teſtament, the ſame is accurſed. Oh beware of this curſe, if you be wiſe. I am much deceyued if Baſilius haue not ſuch like wordes: What ſoeuer (ſaith he) is beſides the holy ſcripture, if the ſame be taught as neceſſaryly to be beleeued, that is ſinne. Oh therfore take heede of this ſinne.

Auguſtine.

Baſilius.

There be ſome yͤ ſpeake many falſe things, more probable, and more like to the truth, then to the truth it ſelfe. Therfore Paul geueth a watch worde: Let no man (ſaith he) deceiue you with probabilitie & perſwaſions of words. But what meane you (ſaith one) by this talke, ſo far from the matter? Wel, I hope, good maſters, you wyl ſuffer an olde man a litle to playe the childe, and to ſpeake one thyng twiſe. Oh Lorde God, you haue chaunged the moſt holy Communion, into a priuate action: and you denye to the Laitie yͤ Lords cup, cōtrary to Chriſtes cōmaũdemēt, & you do blemiſh yͤ annũciatiō of yͤ Lordes death tyll he come: For you haue chaunged yͤ cōmon Prayer called the diuine ſeruice, with the adminiſtration of the ſacramentes, from the vulgare and knowen language, into a ſtrange tongue, contrary to the wyl of the Lord reuealed in his worde. God open the doore of your hart, to ſee the things you ſhould ſee herein. I woulde as fayne obey my ſoueraigne as any in this Realme: but in theſe thinges I can neuer doo it with an vpright conſcience. God be mercyfull vnto vs, Amen.

The abſurdities of the Papiſtes opened in abuſing the Lordes Supper.

Weſton. Then refuſe you to diſpute? Wyl you here then ſubſcribe?

Latimer. No good maſter. I pray you be good to an olde man. You may (if it pleaſe God) be once old, as I am: ye may come to this age, and to this debilitie.

But God ſend [illegible] good that [illegible] neuer came to [illegible] age.

West. Ye ſaid vpon ſaterday laſt, that ye could not find the maſſe, nor the marybones therof in your booke: but we wyl finde a maſſe in that booke.

Lati. No good maſter doctor: ye can not.

West. What finde you then there?

Lati. Forſooth a Communion I finde there.

West. Which Communion, *the firſt or the laſt?

Lati. I find no great diuerſitie in them: they are one ſupper of the Lord: but I like the laſt very wel.

West. Then the firſt was nought belike.

Lati. I do not wel remember wherin they differ.

West. Then cake bread & loafe bread are al one with you. Ye cal it the ſupper of the lord, but you are deceiued in that: for they had done the ſupper before, and therfore the Scripture ſaith: Poſtquam cœnatum eſt: that is, After they had ſupped. For ye knowe, that ſaint Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that ſome of them were drunken at this ſupper: and ye know no man can be drunkē at your Communion.

* By this firſt & ſecond communion, he meneth the two bookes of publicke order ſet forth in king Edwardes tyme, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter tyme of hys reigne.

D. Weſton [illegible] changeth the name of the Lordes ſupper.

Lati. The firſt was called Cœna Iudaica: that is, The Iewiſh ſupper, when they did eate the Paſchal Lambe together: the other was called Cœna dominica, that is, The Lordes ſupper.

West. That is falſe, for Chryſoſtome denyeth that. And ſaint Ambroſe in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios ſaith, that Myſterium Euchariſtiæ inter cœnandum datū, non eſt cœna dominica: that is, The myſterie of the ſacrament, geuen as they were at ſupper, is not the ſupper of the Lord.

Cœna Iudaica. Cœna dominica. Chriſoſt. in 1. Cor. cap. 10.

And Gregorie Nazianzene ſayth the ſame: Rurſus Paſche ſacra cum diſcipulis in cœnaculo ac poſt cœnam, dieque vnica ante paſſionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus; et ante cœnam et poſt reſurrectionem peragimus: that is, Agayne, he kept the holy feaſt of Paſſeouer with his diſciples in the dynyng chãber, after the ſupper, and one day before hys paſſion. But we keepe it, both in the churches and houſes of prayer, both before the ſupper, and alſo after the reſurrection.

Greg. Nazianzenus.

And that firſt ſupper was called ἀγάπην: can you tell what that is?

ἀγάπη .i. So were the feaſtes called, wont to be geuen to the poore.

Lat. I vnderſtande no Greeke. Yet I thinke it meaneth charitie.

West. Wyl you haue all thing done that Chriſte dyd then? Why, then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the morowe. And where find you, I pray you, that a woman ſhould receiue the ſacrament?

Weſton opposed in his grammer

Lat. Wyl you geue me leaue to turne my booke? I finde it in the. xi. chapter to the Corinthians. I trow theſe be his wordes: Probet autem ſeipſum homo. &c.

I pray you good maſter, what Gender is homo?

West. Mary the common gender.

Cole. It is in the Greeke, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Hard. It is ἀνήρ, that is, uir.

δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν. 1. Cor. 11.

1554.
Aprill.

Lati. It is in my booke of Eraſmus tranſlation, Probet ſeipſum homo.

Feck. It is, Probet ſeipſum in deed, and therfore it importeth the Maſculine gender.

Lat. What then? I trowe when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſaid: Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit: that is, Who touched me? I knowe that ſome man touched me.

Argument.

Weſt. I wyl be at hoſt with you anone. When Chriſte was at his ſupper, none were with hym, but his Apoſtles onely.

Ergo, he meant no woman, if you wil haue this inſtitution kept.

The Apoſtles repreſented the whole church.

Lat. In the twelue Apoſtles was repreſented the whole Churche, in which you wyll graunt both men and women to be.

Weſton ſcorneth the name of Miniſter.

Weſt. So through the whole hereticall tranſlated Bible, ye neuer make mention of Prieſt, tyll ye come to the putting of Chriſt to death. Where find you then that a prieſt or miniſter, (a minſtrel I may cal hym wel enough) ſhould do it of neceſſitie?

The name of Miniſter more fit thē the name of Prieſt.

Lat. A miniſter is a more fit name for that office: for the name of a Prieſt importeth a ſacrifice.

Weſt. Wel, remember that ye can not find that a woman may receiue, by ſcripture. Maſter Opponent, fal to it.

Smyth. Becauſe I perceiue that this charge is laide vpon my necke, to diſpute with you: to the ende that the ſame may goe forward after a right manner & order, I will propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth vnto me. And firſt I aſke this queſtion of you, although the ſame in dede ought not to be called in queſtion: But ſuch is the condition of the Churche, that it is alwayes vexed of the wicked ſort. I aſke (I ſay) whether Chriſtes body be really in the ſacrament?

M. Latimer modeſtly maketh him ſelfe vnable to diſpute.

Lat. I truſt I haue obteined of M. Prolocutor, that no man ſhal exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am ſory that this worſhipful audience ſhould be deceiued of their expectation for my ſake. I haue geuen vp my mynd in writing to M. Prolocutor.

Smyth. What ſo euer ye haue geuē vp, it ſhal be regiſtred among the Actes.

Lat. Diſputation requireth a good memorie: Aſt abolita eſt mihi memoria, My memorie is gone cleane, and marueylouſly weakened, and neuer the better I wis for the priſon.

Weſt. How long haue ye bene in priſon?

Lat. Theſe three quarters of this yeare.

Weſt. And I was in priſon ſixe yeares.

Lat. The more pitie ſir.

Weſt. How long haue you bene of this opinion?

Lat. It is not long ſir that I haue ben of this opinion.

Weſt. The tyme hath bene when you ſaid maſſe full deuoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy hartily for it.

Then they hiſt and clapt their handes at hym.

Weſt. Where learned you this newe fanglenes?

M. Latymer confirmed by Doct. Crāmers booke.

Lat. I haue long ſought for the truth in this matter of the ſacrament, and haue not bene of this mynde paſt ſeuen yeares: and my Lord of Canterbury his booke hath eſpecially confirmed my iudgement herein. If I could remember al therin conteined, I would not feare to anſwere any man in this matter.

Treſ. There are in that booke ſixe hundred errors.

Weſt. You were once a Lutheran.

The zeale of M. Latymer ſome tymes in Popery agaynſt the Tygurines.

Lat. No, I was a Papiſt: For I neuer could perceyue how Luther could defend his opinion without tranſubſtātiation. The Tygurines once did write a booke agaynſt Luther, and I oft deſired God that he might liue ſo long to make them anſwere.

In that booke the deuill doth not diſſuade hym ſo much from ſaying Maſſe, as to bring him to deſperation for ſaying Maſſe, ſuch temptatiōs many tymes happen to good men.

Weſt. Luther in his booke De priuata Miſſa, ſaid, that the deuyl reaſoned with hym, & perſwaded hym that the maſſe was not good, Fol. 14. Contigit me. &c. Whereof it may appeare, that Luther ſaid maſſe, and the deuyl diſſwaded him from it.

Lat. I do not take in hande here to defend Luthers ſayinges or doinges. If he were here he would defend him ſelfe wel enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meet for diſputations. I pray you reade myne anſwere, wherin I haue declared my fayth.

Weſt. Do you beleue this, as you haue written?

Lat. Yea ſir.

Weſt. Then haue you no faith.

Lat. Then would I be ſory ſir.

Here Treſham began to diſpute in Latin.

Treſ. It is written Iohn. 6. Except ye ſhal eate the fleſhe of the ſonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye ſhall haue no life in you. Which when the Capernaites & many of Chriſtes diſciples heard, they ſaid, This is a hard ſaying. &c. Now that the truth may the better appeare, here I aſke of you, whether Chriſt ſpeaking theſe wordes, dyd meane of his fleſhe to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpiritual eatyng of the ſame?

Lat. I aunſweare (as Auguſtine vnderſtandeth) that Chriſt meant of the ſpiritual eating of his fleſh.

Treſ. Of what fleſh meant Chriſt, his true fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the ſupper by fayth, and not corporally.

Treſ. Of what fleſh meant the Capernaites?

Lat. Of his true fleſhe alſo: but to be eaten with the mouth.

D. Treſhās argument without forme or mode, concluding affirmatiuely in the 2 figure.

Treſ. They (as ye confeſſe) did meane his true fleſh, to be taken with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall proue) dyd ſpeake of the receiuyng of his fleſh with the mouth.

Ergo, they both did vnderſtande it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Lat. I ſay, Chriſt vnderſtood it not of the bodily mouth: but of the mouth of the ſpirite, mynd, and hart.

D. Treſham flyeth to cuſtome.

Treſ. I proue the contrarye: that Chriſt vnderſtandeth it of the eating with the bodyly mouth. For where as cuſtome is a right good maiſtreſſe & interpreter of things, and wher as the acts put in practiſe by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe things which he firſt ſpake: Chriſtes dedes in his ſupper, wher he gaue his body to be takē with ẏ mouth, together with the cuſtome which hath bene euer ſince that tyme, of that eating which is don with the mouth, doth euidētly infer that Chriſt did vnderſtand his wordes here cited of me out of the ſixt of Iohn of the eating wͭ the mouth.

The ſacrament geuen to the mouth the body to fayth.

Lat. He gaue not his body to be receyued with ẏ mouth, but he gaue the ſacrament of his bodye to be receiued with the mouth: he gaue the ſacrament to the mouth, his body to the mynd.

Treſ. But my reaſon dooth conclude, that Chriſt ſpake cōcernyng his fleſh to be receiued with the corporal mouth: for otherwiſe (which God forbid) he had bene a deceyuer, and had ben offenſiue to the Capernaites and his diſciples, if he had not meant in this poynt, as they thought he meant: For if he had thought as you doo ſaine, it had bene an eaſie matter for hym to haue ſaide: * You ſhall not eate my fleſhe with your mouth, but the ſacrament of my fleſh: that is to ſay, ye ſhal receiue with your mouth, not the thing it ſelfe, but a figure of the thing, and thus he might haue ſatiſfied them: but ſo he ſaide not, but continued in the truth of his wordes, as he was wont: Therfore Chriſt meant the ſelfe ſame thing that the Capernaites dyd, I meane concernyng the thing it ſelfe to be receiued with the mouth: videlicet, that his true fleſhe is truely to be eaten with the mouth. Moreouer, for as much as you do expoūd for (corpus Chriſti) the body of Chriſt (Sacramentum corporis Chriſti) the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, and hereby do ſuppoſe that we obteine but a ſpiritual vnion, or vnion of the mynde betweene vs and Chriſt, plaine it is that you are deceiued in this thing and do erre from the mynde of the Fathers: for they affirme by playne and expreſſe wordes, that we are corporally & carnally ioyned together. And theſe be the wordes of Hyllarie: Si verè igitur carnem corporis noſtri Chriſtus aſſumpſit, et verè homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, nos quoque verè ſub myſterio carnem corporis ſui ſumim'us, et per hæc vnum erimus, quia pater in eo eſt, et ille in nobis. Quomodo voluntatis vnitas aſſeritur, cum naturalis per ſacramentum proprietas perfectè Sacramentum ſit vnitatis? i. Therfore if Chriſt dyd truely take the fleſh of our bodye vppon hym, and the ſame man be Chriſte in deede which was borne of Marye, then we alſo doo receyue vnder a myſterie, the fleſhe of his body in deede, and thereby ſhall become one, becauſe the father is in hym, and he in vs. Howe is the vnitie of wyll affirmed, when a naturall proprietie, by the Sacrament is a perfect ſacrament of vnitie?

* And what doth Chriſt els meane by theſe wordes where he ſayth: My vvordes be ſpirite and lyfe: the fleſh profiteth nothing.

Thus farre hath Hyllarie. Loe here you ſee howe manifeſtly theſe wordes confounde your aſſertion. To be ſhort, I my ſelfe haue heard you preachyng at Grenwiche, before king Henry the eight, where you dyd openly affirme, that no Chriſtian man ought to doubt of the true and reall preſence of Chriſtes bodye in the Sacrament, for as much as he had the worde of Scripture on his ſide, (videlicet, Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my bodye, whereby he might be confirmed. But nowe there is the ſame truthe: the worde of Scripture hath the ſelfe ſame thing which it then had. Therefore why doo you denie at this preſent, that whereof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?

M. Latymer charged to preach the contrary doctrine before the king at Grenewich.

Lat. Wyl you geue me leaue to ſpeake?

Treſh. Speake Latine I pray you, for ye can doo it, if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I can not ſpeake Latine ſo long and ſo largely: maſter Prolocutor hath geuen me leaue to ſpeak Engliſhe: And as for the wordes of Hyllarie, I thinke they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhal anſweare the Doctours, Melanctons iudgement of the old Doctours.

had not neede to be in my caſe, but ſhoulde haue them in a readines, and knowe their purpoſe. Melancthon ſaith, if the Doctours had foreſeene that they ſhoulde haue bene ſo taken in this controuerſie, they would haue written more plainly.

Smyth. I wil reduce the wordes of Hyllarye into the forme of a Sillogiſme.

Argument.

Da- Suche as is the vnitie of our fleſhe with Chriſtes fleſhe, ſuche, (yea greater) is the vnitie of Chriſt with the father.

ti- But the vnitie of Chriſtes fleſh & ours, is true and ſubſtantial:

ſi. Ergo, the vnitie of Chriſt with the father is true & ſubſtantial.

Lat. I vnderſtand you not.

D. Seton reaſoneth againſt M. Latimer out of S. Cyprian.

Seat. I know your learnyng wel enough, & how ſubtile ye be: I wyl vſe a fewe wordes with you, and that out of Cyprian, De cœna Domini. The olde Teſtament doth forbyd the drinking of bloud. The new Teſtament doth cõmaund the drinking and taſting of bloud: but where doth it commaund the drinking of bloud?

Lat. In theſe wordes: Bibite ex hoc omnes: that is, drinke ye al of this.

Seat. Then we taſte true bloud.

Lat. We doo taſte true bloud, but ſpiritually: and this is enough.

By that reaſon the new and olde Teſtamẽt ſhould not differ, but ſhould be contrary one from the other, which can not be true in naturall, or morall precepts.

Seat. Nay, the olde and newe Teſtament in this do *differ: for the one doth commaund, and the other doth forbid to drinke bloud.

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the maner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference betweene the drinkyng of bloud in the new Teſtament, and that of the old: for they alſo dranke ſpiritually.

Lat. And we drinke ſpiritually alſo, but a more precious bloud.

West. Auguſtine vpon the. 45. Pſalme ſaith: Securè bibite ſanguinem quem fudiſtis. i. Drinke boldlye the bloud which ye haue poured out.

Ergo, it is bloud.

Edere in ſome places is taken for credere, but that in all places it is ſo taken it foloweth not.

Lat. I neuer denyed it, nor neuer wyl go from it, but that we drinke the very bloud of Chriſt in deede, but ſpiritually, for the ſame S. Auguſtine ſaith: Crede, et manducaſti. i. Beleue, and thou haſt eaten.

West. Nay, Credere, non eſt bibere nec edere. i. To beleue is not to drinke or eate. You wyl not ſay, I pledge you, whẽ I ſay, I beleue in God. Is not (manducare,) to eate, in your learnyng put for (credere) to beleue?

This place of the Hebrewes alluding to the olde ſacrifice of the Iewes, who in the feaſt of propitiation, the x. day, vſed to cary the fleſh of the ſacrifice out of the tentes to be burned on an altar without, becauſe none of them which ſerued in the Tabernacle ſhould eate thereof: onely the bloud was caried by the high Prieſt into the holy place.

West. I remember my Lord Chancelor demaunded M. Hooper of theſe queſtions, whether *(Edere) to eate, were (Credere) to beleue, and (Altare) an Aultar, were Chriſt, in all the Scripture. &c. And he aunſwered yea.

Then ſaid my Lorde Chauncelour: Why, then * Habemus Altare de quo non licet edere. i. We haue an Aultare, of whiche it is not lawfull to eate, is as muche to ſay, as, Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere. i. We haue a Chriſt, in whom we may not beleue.

Tresh. Beleue, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpiritual eating.

Lat. It is true, I doo allowe your ſaying: I take it ſo alſo.

West. We are commaunded to drinke bloud in the newe Lawe.

Ergo, it is very bloud.

Lat. We drinke bloud, ſo as apperteineth to vs to drinke to our comfort, in ſacramentall wyne. We drinke bloud ſacramẽtally: he gaue vs his body to drink ſpiritually: he wẽt about to ſhew, that as certainly as we drinke wyne, ſo certainly we drinke his bloud ſpiritually.

West. Do not you ſeeme to be a papiſt, which doo bring in new wordes, not found in the ſcripture? Where finde you, that (Sacramentaliter) Sacramentally, in Gods booke?

Lat. It is neceſſarily gathered vpon ſcripture.

West. The old Teſtamẽt doth forbyd the taſting of bloud: but the newe doth commaund it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the maner therof.

West. Heare ye people, this is the argument.

Argument not formall.

That which was forbydden in the olde Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.

To drinke bloud was forbydden in the old Teſtament, and commaunded in the new.

Ergo, it is very bloud that we drinke in the new.

☞ This argument, becauſe the Maior thereof is not vniuerſal, is not formal, and may wel be retorted againſt Weſton thus:

D. Weſtons argument retorted agaynſt hym ſelfe.

Ce- No natural or moral thyng forbidden materially in the old Teſtament, is commaunded in the new.

la- To drinke mans natural bloud, is forbydden materially in the old Teſtament:

rent. Ergo, to drinke mans naturall bloud materially, is not commaunded in the new.

Aunſwere.

Lat. It is commaunded ſpiritually to be drunken. I grant it is bloud drunken in the new Teſtament, but we receiue it ſpiritually.

Pic. It was not forbydden ſpiritually in the old law.

Lat. The ſubſtaunce of bloud is drunken, but not in one maner.

Pic. It doth not require the ſame maner of drinkyng.

Lat. It is the ſame thyng, not the ſame maner. I haue no more to ſay.

Chryſoſtome.

West. Here Weſton cyted the place of Chryſoſtome, of Iudas treaſon: O Iudæ dementia. Ille cum Iudæis triginta denarijs paciſcebatur, vt Chriſtum venderet, et Chriſtus ei ſanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat: that is, O the madnes of Iudas. He made bargaine with the Iewes for thirty pence, to ſel Chriſt: and Chriſt offred hym his bloud which he ſold.

Lat. I graunt he offered to Iudas his bloud, whiche he ſold: but in a ſacrament.

D. Cartwryght vrged to diſpute.

West. Becauſe ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee howe worſhipfull men ye hang vppon, and one that hath bene of your mynd, ſhal diſpute with you. M. Cartwright, I pray you diſpute.

Cartwryght returning to his olde errour agayne.

Cart. Reuerende father, becauſe it is geuen me in commaundement to diſpute with you, I wyl do it gladly. But firſt vnderſtande ere we go any further, that I was in the ſame errour that you are in: but I am ſorye for it, and doo confeſſe my ſelf to haue erred. I acknowledge myne offence, and I wiſhe and deſire God that you alſo may repent with me.

Argumentum a pœna legis. Durum & difficile.

Lat. Wyll you geue me leaue to tell what hath cauſed maſter Doctor here to recant? It is pœna legis, the payne of the lawe, which hath brought you backe, and conuerted you, & many moe: the which letteth many to confeſſe God. And this is a great argument, there are fewe here can diſſolue it.

Cart. That is not my cauſe, but I wyll make you this ſhort argument, by which I was conuerted from mine errours.

Argum. a deſtructione conſequentis, ad deſtructionem antecedentes.

If the true body of Chriſt be not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apoſtles tyme.

But Chriſt would not ſuffer his church to erre:

Ergo. it is the true body of Chriſt.

No mention made of any eating, but ſpiritually in the church for the ſpace of 700. yeares.

Lat. The popiſh Church hath erred, & doth erre. I thinke for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen hundred yeares, there was no mention made of any eatyng but ſpiritually: for before theſe fiue hundred yeares the Churche dyd euer confeſſe a ſpirituall manducation. But the Romiſh church begate the errour of tranſubſtantiation. My Lorde of Canterburyes booke handleth that very wel, and by hym I could anſwere you, if I had hym.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſſe the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament: and S. Auguſtine alſo vpon the. 98. Pſalme, vpon this place: Adorate ſcabellum pedum. &c. graunteth it to be worſhipped.

Lat. We doo worſhip Chriſt in the heauens, and we doo worſhip hym in the ſacrament: but the maſſing worſhip is not to be vſed.

Smyth. Do you thinke that Cyril was of the auncient church?

Lat. I doo thinke ſo.

Cyrillus in Ioan. Lib. 10. cap. 13.

Smyth. He ſayth, that Chriſte dwelleth in vs corporally: Theſe be Cyrils wordes of the myſtical benediction.

Lat. That (*corporally) hath an other vnderſtanding, then you do groſſely take it.

☞ Cyril ſayth, that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in vs, but he ſayth not, that Chriſte dwelleth corporallye in the bread. Which dwellyng of Chriſt in vs, was our dwellyng is alſo in Chriſt, not local or corporal, but ſpiritual & heauẽly (Corporally) therfore it is to be takẽ here in ẏ ſame ſenſe, as S. Paul ſaith, the fulnes of diuinitie to dwell in Chriſte corporally, that is, not lightly, nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his vertue and power. &c. And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in vs alſo.

Smyth. Here Smyth repeateth theſe wordes of Cyril: Per communionem corporis Chriſti, habitat in nobis Chriſtus corporaliter: that is, By the communicating of the body of Chriſt, April.

The immodeſt behauiour of this Iacke ſcorner to be noted.

Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally.

Lat. The ſolution of this is in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Smith. Cyril was no papiſt, and yet theſe be his wordes: Chriſt dwelleth in vs corporally, but you ſay he dwelleth in vs ſpiritually.

Lat. I ſay both: that he dwelleth in vs both corporally and ſpiritually, according to his meaning: ſpiritually by fayth, and corporally by taking our fleſhe vpon hym. For I remember I haue read this in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

West. For becauſe your learnyng is let out to ferme, and ſhut vp in my Lord of Canterburies booke, I wyll recite vnto you a place of S. Ambroſe, De apparatione ad Miſſam, where he ſaith: Videmus principem ſacerdotem ad nos venientem, et offerentem ſanguinem. &c. That is, We ſee the chiefe prieſte commyng vnto vs, and offeryng bloud. &c.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 38. Chryſoſt. De incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

Likewiſe both Auguſtine in the. 38. Pſal. and Chryſoſtome, concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God, Tom. 3. ſay: Non ſolum homines. &c.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge myne ignorance: and theſe teſtimonies are more then I can beare away.

West. Then you muſt leaue ſome behind you for lacke of cariage.

Chryſoſt. full of figuratiue ſpeaches and Emphaticall loquutions.

Lat. But for Chryſoſtome, he hath manye figuratiue ſpeaches, and Emphaticall loquutions, in many places, as in that whiche you haue nowe recited: but he ſayth not, For the quicke and the dead: he taketh the celebration for the ſacrifice.

Chriſoſt. in Act. cap. 9.

West. You ſhall heare Chryſoſtome againe, vpon the. ix. chap. of the Actes: Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis. &c. He doth not cal it a cup of wyne.

Lat. Ye haue mine anſwere there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, Propitiatorium ſacrificium. i. A propitiatorie ſacrifice.

West. You ſhal heare it to be ſo: and I bring an other place of Chryſoſtome out of the ſame treatiſe: Non temerè ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum. &c.

West. He is too precious a thing for vs to offer: he offreth hym ſelfe.

Chriſoſt. ad populum Antioch. Hom. 69.

West. Here in an other place of Chryſoſtome to the people of Antioche, Homil. 69. and alſo ad Philippenſes he ſaith, There ſhoulde be a memorie and ſacrifice for the dead.

Lat. I doo ſay that the holy Cõmunion beareth the name of a ſacrifice, becauſe it is a ſacrifice memoratiue.

West. How ſay you to the ſacrifice for the dead.

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, or it booteth not.

Auguſt. Enchirid cap. 110.

West. Auguſtine in his Enchiridion the. 110. chap. ſaith: Non eſt negandum defunctorum animos pietate ſuorum viuentium releuari, quum pro illis ſacrificium Mediatoris offertur: that is, We muſte not denye, that the ſoules of the dead are relieued by the deuotion of their frends which are liuyng, when the ſacrifice of the Mediator is offered for the. Where he proueth the veritie of Chriſtes body, and prayng for the dead. And it is ſaide, that the ſame Auſtine ſayde maſſe for his mother.

Auguſt. falſly belied to ſay Maſſe for his Mother.

Lat. But that maſſe was not like yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appeare in his writings, which are againſt it in euery place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be beleued no further, then he bringeth ſcripture for his proufe, and agreeth with Gods word.

The blaſphemous mouth of Doct. Weſton.

West. In the ſame place he proueth a propiciatorie ſacrifice, and that vpon an altar, and no Oyſter boord.

Lat. It is the Lordes table, & no Oyſter boord. It may be called an altar, & ſo ỹ doctors cal it in many places: but ther is no propiciatorie ſacrifice, but only Chriſt. The Doctors might be deceiued in ſome poyntes, though not in al things. * I beleue them when they ſay wel.

* Doctores legendi ſunt cum venia.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an olde man to lye? You ſay, you are of the olde fathers faith, where they ſay wel, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their faith when they ſay wel. I referre my ſelf to my Lord of Canterburies booke wholy herein.

Smith. Then you are not of Chryſoſtomes faith, nor of ſ. Auguſtines faith.

Lat. I haue ſaid, when they ſaid wel, and bring ſcripture for them, I am of their faith, and further Auguſtine requireth not to be beleued.

West. Origen. Hom. 13. vpon Leuitic.

Lat. I haue but one woorde to ſay, Panis ſacramentalis, the Sacramentall bread, is called a Propitiation, becauſe it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your vocation?

West. My vocation is at this time to diſpute, otherwiſe I am a prieſt, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where haue you that authoritie geuen you to offer?

West. Hoc facite: Do this, for facite in that place is taken for offerte, that is, offer you.

Facere, for ſacrificare, with Doct. Weſton.

Lat. Is Facere, nothing but ſacrificare, to ſacrifice? Why, then no man muſt receiue the ſacrament but prieſtes only: for there may none offer but prieſtes.

Ergo, there may none receyue but prieſtes.

West. Your argument is to be denyed.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer him ſelfe at his ſupper?

Pye. Yea, he offered hym ſelfe for the whole world.

If Chriſt offered hym ſelfe at the Supper, and the next day vpon the Croſſe, then was Chriſt twiſe offered.

Lat. Then, if this woorde (Facite) Doo ye, ſignifie Sacrificate, Sacrifice ye, it foloweth, (as I ſaide) that none but prieſtes onely ought to receiue the ſacrament, to whom it is onely lawfull to ſacrifice: and where finde you that, I pray you?

West. Fourty yeare agone, whither could you haue gone to haue found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we haue to thanke God, that hath now ſent the light into the world.

Weſtons taylyng.

West. The light? Nay, light and leud preachers: for you could not tel what you might haue: ye altered and changed ſo often your Communions and your altars, and al for this one ende, to ſpoile and robbe the church.

Lat. Theſe thynges perteyne nothyng to me. I muſte not aunſweare for other mens deedes, but onely for myne owne.

West. Well, Maiſter Latimer, this is our entent, to wyll you well, and to exhort you to come to your ſelf, and remember that without Noes Arke, there is no health. Remember what they haue bene that were the beginners of your doctrine: none but a fewe flying Apoſtataes, runnyng out of Germanie for feare of the fagot. Remember what they haue bene which haue ſet forth the ſame in this Realme: A ſort of flyngbraynes and light heades, whiche were neuer conſtant in any one thyng, as it was to be ſeene in the turnyng of the Table, where like a ſort of Apes, they could not tell whiche waye to turne their tayles, looking one day Weſt, and an other day Eaſt, one that way, and an other this way. They wyll be like (they ſay) to the Apoſtles, they wyll haue no Churches. A houell is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reuerence. They get them a Tankarde, and one ſaith, I drinke, and I am thankfull: the more ioye of thee, ſaith an other. And in them was it true that Hyllary ſaith: Annuas et menſtruas de deo fides facimus. i. We make euerye yeare and euery moneth a faith. A runnagate Scot dyd take awaye the adoration or worſhippyng of Chriſte in the Sacrament: by whoſe procurement that hereſie was put into the laſt Cõmunion booke: ſo much preuailed that one mans authoritie at that tyme. You neuer agreed with the Tygurines or Germanes, or with the Churche, or with your ſelfe. Your ſtubbornes commeth of a vayne glory, whiche is to no purpoſe: for it wyl do you no good when a fagot is is in your beard. And we ſee all by your owne confeſſion, how litle cauſe you haue to be ſtubborne: for your learnyng is in feoffers hold. The Queenes grace is mercyfull, if ye wyl turne.

D. Weſtons Apes haue tayles.

Blaſphemous lyes of D. Weſton ſitting in Cathedra peſtilentiæ.

Who be theſe or where be they M. Oblocutor, that will be lyke the Apoſtles that wil haue no Churches that be runnagates out of Germany that get the cankardes, that make monthlye faythes? that worſhip not Chriſt in all his Sacramentes? Speake truth man and ſhame the deuil.

Lat. You ſhall haue no hope in me to turne: I pray for the Queene dayly euen from the bottome of my hart, that ſhee may turne from this religion.

West. Here you all ſee the weakenes of hereſie againſt the truth: he denyeth al truth, and al the old fathers.

Here all good Readers maye ſee howe this glorious Prolocutour triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorie or no, that I ſuppoſe they haue not yet, neyther heard nor ſeene. And geue that he had the victorie, yet what great marueyle was it, diſputyng as he dyd, Non ſine ſuo Theleo: that is, not without his typplyng cuppe ſtanding at his elbowe al the tyme of his diſputation, not without a priuie notyng and ſmyling of them that beheld the matter, but eſpecially at that tyme, when Doctour Ridley diſputyng with one of the Opponentes, the ſayd Prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in his hande, ſayd to the Opponent: Vrge hoc, vrge hoc: Nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which wordes as he moued no litle matter of laughter to the beholders thereof: ſo I thought here alſo not to leaue the ſame vnmentioned, ſomwhat alſo to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious wearynes in reading the ſtory therof.

Vrge hoc quoth Weſton, with his beerepot.

¶ To the Reader.

And thus haſte thou (louyng Reader) the whole action and ſtage of this Doctourly diſputation ſhewed forth vnto thee, againſt theſe three worthye Confeſſours and Martyrs of the Lorde, wherein thou mayeſt beholde the diſordered vſage of the Vniuerſitie men, the vnmannerly maner of the Schoole, the rude tumulte of the multitude,

1554. Aprill.

the fiercenes and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of al their argumentes, the cenſures of the Judges, the raylyng language of the Oblocutor, with his blaſt of triumphe in the latter ende, being both the actor, the moderator, and alſo Judge him ſelfe. And what maruel then if the courage of this victorious conquerour, hauing the lawe in his owne handes, to doo and ſay what hym liſted, would ſay for hym ſelf, Vicit veritas, although he ſaid neuer a true worde, nor made neuer a true concluſion almoſt in all that diſputation.

Aprill.19.

It folowed furthermore after diſputation of theſe three dayes being ended, that M. Harpſfield the next day after, which was the .xix. of April, ſhould diſpute for his forme, to be made doctor. To the whiche diſputation the Archb. of Cant. was brought forth, and permitted among the reſt to vtter an argument or two, in defence of his cauſe. As in ſequele hereof may appeare.

❡ Diſputation of Maſter Harpſfielde Bacheler of Diuinitie, anſwearing for his forme to be made Doctour.

Harpſfield.

Aprill.1. The iudgement of M. Harpſfield for the beſt way to vnderſtand the Scriptures. If M. Harp. had willed vs to ſubmit our ſences to the holy ghoſt he had ſaid much better.

I Am not ignoraunt what a weightey matter it is, to entreate of the whole order and trade of the ſcriptures: and moſt hard it is too, in the great contention of Religion, to ſhewe the readye way, whereby the ſcriptures may be beſt vnderſtanded. For the often reading of them doth not bring the true vnderſtanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to folow our own heades and ſenſes, but to geue ouer our iudgement vnto the holy Catholike Churche, who hath had of olde yeares the truth, and alwayes deliuered the ſame to their poſteritie: but if the often reading of ſcriptures, and neuer ſo painfull comparing of places ſhould bring the true vnderſtanding, then diuers heretikes might preuaile euen agaynſte whole general Counceils. The * Jewes dyd greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Sauiour, that they wayted for. But what auailed it the? Notwithſtanding I knowe right well, that diuers places of the ſcripture doo much warne vs of the often reading of the ſame, and what fruite doth thereby folowe: as Scrutamini. &c. Search the Scriptures: for they doo beare witnes of me. &c. Lex Domini. &c. The lawe of the Lord is pure, able to turne ſoules. And that ſaying of S. Paul: Omnis Scriptura. &c. All Scripture inſpired from aboue, doth make that a man maye be inſtructed to al good workes. Howbeit, doth the law of the Jewes conuert their ſoules? are they by reading inſtructed to euery good worke? The letter of the olde Teſtament is the ſame that we haue.

* No, but thoſe Jewes, ſticking ſo much to the olde cuſtom & face of their church, & not ſeeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the ſcriptures were deceiued & ſo be you.

The heretiques alſo haue euer had the ſame Scriptures which we haue that be Catholiques. But they are ſerued as Tantalus that the Poetes do ſpeake of, who in the plentie of thinges to eate and drinke, is ſaide to be oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt. The ſwifter that men doo ſeeke the ſcriptures without the Catholike church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labor. S. Cyprian neuer ſwaruing from the Catholike Church, ſaith: He that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his mother, ſhall not haue God to be his father. Therfore it is true Diuinitie, to be wiſe with the Church, where Chriſt ſaith: Niſi manducaueritis. &c. Vnleſſe ye eate my fleſhe, and drinke my bloud, ye haue no life in you.

If he had meant of onely eating bread, and drinkyng wyne, nothyng had bene more pleaſaunt to the Capernaites, neither would they haue forſaken hym. The fleſhe profiteth nothing to them that doo ſo take it. For the Capernaites dyd imagine Chriſte to be geuen in ſuch ſorte, as he lyued. But Chriſte ſpake high thinges: not that they ſhoulde haue hym as fleſhe in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the ſpirite, * vnder the formes whereby it is geuen. As there is an alteration of bodyes by courſes, and tymes of ages, ſo there is no leſſe * varietie in eatyng of bodyes.

* Vnder the formes that is, vnder the properties of bread & wine & ſo all this is true

In the materiall eating of mans body there is no varietie: for to eate mans fleſh either vnder accidētes or not accidētes both is againſt the ſcripture and againſt nature.

These thinges whiche I haue recited briefly, Maſter Harſfield did with many more wordes ſet out: and hereupō D. Weſton diſputed againſt hym.

West. Chriſtes real body is not in the ſacrament:
Ergo, you are deceyued.

Harpſ. I deny the antecedent.

Weſt. John the .vi. Dico veritatem vobis. &c. I ſpeake the truth vnto you: It behoueth me that I goe away from you. For vnleſſe I do depart, that comforter can not come. &c.

Argument.

Vpon this I wyl make this argument.
Chriſt is ſo gone away as he did ſende the holy Ghoſt.
But the holy Ghoſt did verily come into the world:
Ergo, Chriſt is verily gone.

Harpſ. He is verily gone, and yet remainth here.

Weſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith, that theſe wordes: Ego ero etc. I wyl be with you, euen to the ende of the worlde, are accompliſhed, ſecundum maieſtatem, Accordyng to his maieſtie: But ſecundum præſentiam carnis, non eſt hic, By the preſence of his fleſh he is not here. The Church hath hym not in fleſhe, but by beliefe.

This anſweare doth not ſatiſfie the argumēt for the concluſion ſpeaketh of a bodily abſence, the anſwere ſpeketh of a ſpirituall remaining.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two natures in Chriſt: the diuine nature, & humane nature. The diuine nature is of ſuch ſort, that it can not chooſe but be in al places. The humane nature is not ſuche, that of force it muſt be in al places, although it be in diuers, after a diuers maner. So where that the doctors do entreate of his preſence by maieſtie, they doo commend the maieſtie of the Diuine nature, not to hinder vs of the * naturall preſence here in the ſacrament.

* If the naturall preſence is here, then is it falſe that. S. Auguſt. ſayth. ſecundum præſentiam carnis, non eſt hic.

Weſt. He ſaith further: Me autem non ſemper habebitis: Ye ſhal not haue me alwayes with you, is to be vnderſtanded in the fleſhe.

Harpſ. The preſence of the fleſhe is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was woont to lyue in conuerſation with them, to be ſeene, talked withall, or in ſuch ſorte as a man may geue hym * any thing: after that ſort he is not preſent.

* And how can we than giue honor to him, to whome we can ſhew no charitie nor giue any thing alſo vnto?

Weſt. But what ſay you to this of S. Auguſtine: Non eſt hic: He is not here.

Harpſ. I do anſwere out of S. Auguſtine vpon John, Tractatu. 25. vpon theſe wordes. Non videbitis me. Vado ad patrem. &c. I goe to the father: ye ſhall not ſee me: that is, ſuch as I now am. Therfore I do deny the manner of his preſence.

* What maner ſo euer ye giue to the body, if the ſubſtātial body be here in deed, it cannot be auoyded but either it muſt needs be falſe that S. Aug. ſaith. Non eſt hic, Or els Chriſte muſt haue ij. bodyes in ij. places together preſent here after one maner, & in heauē after an other maner.

Weſt. I wyll ouerthrowe S. Auguſtine with S. Auguſtine: who ſaith thus alſo: Quomodo quis poſsit tenere Chriſtum? fidem mitte et tenuiſti: that is, How may a man hold Chriſt? ſend thy fayth, and thou holdeſt hym.

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our fayth, we do holde Chriſt.

Harpſ. In deede no man holdeth Chriſt, vnleſſe he beleue in hym, but it is an other thing to haue Chriſt mercyfull and fauourable vnto vs, and to haue hym preſent in the ſacrament.

There ſ. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holding hym by faith, as he is fauorable vnto vs.

Weſt. Nay, he ſpeaketh there howe the Fathers had him in the fleſhe, and teacheth that we haue hym not ſo in fleſh, as they had hym long tyme, ſaying: Your fathers dyd hold Chriſte preſent in the fleſh, do you holde him in your hart. What wordes can be more plaine? Further he ſaith: He is gone, and is not here: he hath leaft vs, and yet hath not forſaken vs. Hic eſt maieſtate, abijt carne: He is here in maieſtie, and gone touching the fleſhe.

Harpſ. I doo vnderſtande Auſtine thus: that Chriſt is here in his fleſh to them that receiue hym worthily: to ſuch as do not worthily receiue hym, to them he is not preſent in the fleſh. I iudge ſ. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We haue hym, and haue hym not: we haue hym in receiuyng hym worthily, otherwiſe not.

Note what Harpſfield here holdeth, that the body of Chriſt is not preſent in the ſacrament, but onely to thē that receiue him worthyly.

Weſt. Nay, Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ: I wyll proſecute an other argument. Cyrillus doth ſay: By the maieſty of his diuinitie he is euer here, but the preſence of his fleſh hath he taken away.

Harpſ. This ſenſe of Cyrill is thus to be vnderſtanded: The moſte true fleſhe of Chriſte is at the right hande of the father. Thus the fathers taught, and ſo they beleeued. Thus ſayd Cyrill: thus ſayd Auguſtine, and becauſe this is the foundation of our fayth, they dyd oftentymes teache it. Therefore, when they proue this, (the bodye to be in heauen,) they doo not make agaynſt the preſence in the ſacrament.

So vnles ye can plainly ſhew, that the fathers doo directly ſay, he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothyng againſt me: for I haue ſhewed why the Fathers ſo ſpake. They dyd teach the great difference betwene the diuine nature, and the humane nature, as I haue before ſayd.

* If the preſence of his fleſh be taken away as Cyrill ſaith, how then can the preſence of his fleſh be in the ſacrament.

Weſt. I wyll then proue, that he is not in the ſacrament. Vigilius againſt the heretike Eutiches, vpō theſe wordes: Me autem non ſemper habebitis, ſayth: The ſonne of God, as touching his humanitie is gone from vs, by his diuinitie he remaineth with vs. And that ſame Vigilius in his fourth booke ſaith: He that is in the heauen, is not in the earth, ſpeaking of Chriſt.

Harpſ. I wyl ſhewe you the reaſon of theſe wordes. The heretike Eutiches dyd beleue that the diuine nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the Croſſe, and beleued that Chriſt had no naturall body. To this Vigilius ſaide, that the humane nature was taken vp and aſcended, whiche could not ſo haue done, vnleſſe he had had a body. This he ſaid not, to take away the * preſence in the ſacrament.

* Vigilius ſaith, his body is taken vp how then doth the ſame body remain ſtil vnleſſe either ye make him to haue ij. bodyes: or els make two contradictoryes true in one propoſition.

For what had he to referre this ſentence to the ſacramente? He neuer, did ſo muche as dreame of the Sacrament.

Cyrillus.

The body of Chriſte is here to fede our belyes, but not to be liued withal.

Weſt. Cyrill ſaith: Although he be abſent from vs in body, yet are we gouerned by his ſpirit.

Harpſ. By theſe wordes he gaue vs a chearefulneſſe, to aſpire vpwardes, ſeeking therehence our helpe. For as touching his conuerſation, he is not ſo in the ſacrament, as one meete to be liued withal. But let hym teach vs that he is not there to feede vs: for after that ſort he is there.

Weſt. You haue ſatiſfied me with your anſweares, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholikely. But nowe to an other argument.

*The argument holdeth a proportione.

*Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth by his body, as he was abſent from heauen when he liued here.

But when he did liue bodily on earth, the ſame natural body was out of heauen.

Ergo, nowe whileſt his naturall body is in heauen, it is not in earth.

Harpſ. I deny the Maior.

Weſt. Fulgenſius ad Trãſimundum Regem, Libro ſecundo ſaith: Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat cœlo, cum deſcendit de cœlo. Theſe are Fulgentius wordes touching his humane ſubſtaunce. He was abſent from heauen, when he deſcended from heauen, and touchyng the ſame ſubſtaunce, nowe he is in heauen, he is not on the earth: but concerning the diuine nature, he neuer forſooke, neither heauen nor earth.

☞ After theſe wordes not waityng Harpſfieldes anſweare, he offered maſter Cranmer to diſpute: who began in this wiſe.

The opinion of Maiſter Harpſfeld reproued, referring the ſence of the Scripture rather to the iudgement of the Church then to the diligent reading and conferring of places.

Cran. I haue hearde you right learnedly and eloquently entreate of the dignitie of the ſcriptures, which I do both commend, and haue marueiled therat within my ſelfe. But where as you referre the true ſenſe & iudgement of the ſcriptures to the Catholike Church as iudge therof, you are much deceiued, ſpecially for that vnder the name of ẏ church you appoynt ſuche Iudges as haue corruptly iudged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the ſcriptures. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo litle to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and conferryng of places, ſeeyng the ſcriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, as well in diuers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you your ſelfe haue already alleged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtions, it ſeemeth to me, neither to haue any ground of the word of God, nor of the Primitiue Churche. And to ſaye the truth, the ſchoolemen haue ſpoken diuerſly of them, and doo not agree therin among them ſelues. Wherfore myndyng here briefly to ſhewe my iudgement alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to anſweare me to a fewe queſtions which I ſhall demaunde of you. Which being done, we ſhall the better procede in our diſputation. Moreouer, I muſt deſire you to beare alſo with my rudenes in the Latin tongue, which through long diſuſe is not nowe ſo prompt and ready with me, as it hath bene. And now al other things ſet apart, I mynd chiefly to haue regard to the truth. My firſt queſtion is this: Howe Chriſtes body is in the ſacrament, according to your mynd or determination?

Chriſte preſent in the Sacrament in ſubſtãce, but not after the maner of ſubſtance.

Then anſwered a Doctor: he is there as touching his ſubſtance, but not after the maner of his ſubſtaunce.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch ſort and maner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My nexte queſtion is: Whether he hath his quantitie and qualities, fourme, figure, and ſuche like properties.

Harpſ. Are theſe your queſtions, ſayde Mayſter Harpſfielde? I may likewiſe aſke you, when Chriſt paſſed thorowe the virgines wombe, an ruperit necne? When they had thus a while contended, there were diuers opinions in this matter.

The Rabines could not agree among them ſelues.

Al the Doctors fel in a buſzing, incertaine what to anſwere: ſome thought one way, ſome an other, and thus maſter Doctors could not agree.

Then maſter Cranmer ſaide thus: you put of queſtions with queſtions, and not with anſweares. I aſke one thing of you, and you anſweare an other. Once againe I aſke: Whether he haue thoſe properties which he had on the earth?

Chriſtes body without his properties in the ſacrament.

Treſh. No, he hath not al the quantities and qualities belonging to a body.

Smyth. Stay you M. Treſham. I wyl anſweare to you Mayſter Doctour, with the wordes of Damaſcene: Transformatur panis. &c. The bread is transfourmed. &c. But if thou wylt enquire how, Modus impoſſibilis, the maner is impoſſible.

The Doctors in a doute.

Then two or three other added their aunſweares to this queſtion, ſomewhat doubtfully. A great hurley burley was among them: ſome affirming one thing, and ſome an other.

Cran. Doo you appoynt me a body, and can not tell what maner of body? Eyther he hath not his quantitie, or els you are ignorant how to anſwere it.

Harpſ. Theſe are vaine queſtions, and it is not meete to ſpend the tyme on them.

Weſt. Heare me a while. Lanfrancus ſometime Biſhop of Canterbury, doth anſwere in this wiſe vnto Berengarius vpon ſuch like queſtions: Salubriter credi poſſunt, fideliter queri non poſſunt: They may be wel beleeued, but neuer faythfully asked.

Lanfrancus contra Berengarium.

Cran. If ye thinke good to anſweare it, ſome of you declare it.

Harpſ. He is there as pleaſeth hym to be there.

Cran. I woulde be beſt contented with that anſweare, if that your appoynting of a carnall preſence had not driuen me of neceſſitie to haue enquired for diſputations ſake, howe you place hym there, ſithens you wyll haue a naturall body.

The papiſts would haue Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, but they cannot tel how.

When agayne he was anſwered of diuers at one time, ſome denying it to be quantum, ſome ſaying it to be quantitatiuum, ſome affirmyng it to haue modum quanti, ſome denying it, ſome one thyng, ſome an other: vp ſtart Doctor Weſton, and doughtily decided (as he thought) all the matter, ſaying: It is Corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti. i. It is a body (ſaith he) hauing quantitie, but not according to the maner of quantitie.

Whereunto maſter Warde, a great Sophiſter, thinkyng the matter not fully anſweared, did largely declare and diſcourſe his ſentence: Howe learnedly and truly I can not tel, nor I thinke he hym ſelf neither, ne yet the beſt learned there. For it was ſaid ſince, that farre better learned then he, layd as good eare to hym as they could, and yet could by no meanes perceiue to what ende all his talke tended. In deede he told a formal tale to clout vp the matter. He was ful of quantum & quantitatiuum. This that foloweth, was as it is thought, the effect: yet others thinke no. Howbeit we wyl rehearſe the ſumme of his wordes, as it is thought he ſpake them.

M. Ward in the miſtie cloudes of dunſes quiddites.

Warde. We muſte conſider (ſaith he) that there are duæ poſitiones, Two poſitions. The one ſtandeth by forder of partes, with reſpect of the whole. The other in reſpecte of that which contayneth. Chriſte is in the Sacrament in reſpect of the whole. This propoſition is in one of Ariſtotles prædicamentes called Situs. I remember I dyd entreate theſe matters verye largely, when I dyd rule and moderate the Philoſophicall diſputations in the publique Scholes. This poſition is ſine modo quantitatiuo, as by an enſample: you can neuer bring heauen to a quantitie. So I conclude that he is in the ſacrament, quantum ſine modo quantitatiuo.

Ariſtotle muſt help to tel vs how Chriſte is in the ſacrament.

Chriſte ſine modo quantitatiuo in the ſacramẽt.

Theſe wordes he amplified very largely, and ſo high he clymed into the heauens with Duns his ladder, and not with the ſcriptures, that it is to be marueiled how he could come downe againe without falling? To whom M. Cranmer ſaid: Then thus do I make myne argument.

D. Cranmers argument.

Cran. In heauen his body hath quantitie, in earth it hath none, by your ſaying.

Ergo, he hath two bodyes, the one in heauen, the other in earth.

Here ſome would haue anſwered hym, that he had quãtitie in both, and ſo put of the antecedent: but thus ſaid M. Harpſfield.

Harpſ. I deny your argument: though ſome would not haue had him ſay ſo.

Cran. The argument is good. It ſtandeth vpon contradictories, which is the moſt ſureſt hold.

Harpſ. I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran. I thus proue it. Habere modum quantitatiuum et non habere, ſunt contradictoria.

Sed Chriſtus in cœlis, vt dicitis, habet modum quantitatiuum in terra non habet:

Ergo, duo ſunt corpora eius in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria: Nam in idem cadere non poſſunt.

Weſt. I deny the Minor.

Harpſ. I anſweare that the Maior is not true. For Habere quantum, et non habere, non ſunt contradictoria niſi conſiderantur eiuſdem ad idem, eodem modo et ſimpliciter.

Ariſtotle. 4. Metaph. Impoſſibile eſt idem ſimul eſſe & non eſſe.

Weſt. I confirme the ſame: for one body may haue modum quantitatiuum, and not haue: and idem corpus was paſſible and impaſſible, one body may haue woundes, and not woundes.

Paſſible and unpaſſible cannot ſtand together in one ſubiect, ſimul & eiuſdem reſpectu, & eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam.

Cran. This can not be at one tyme.

Weſt. The enſample of the Potter doth proue that I ſay: who of that, that is clay nowe, maketh a pot or cuppe forthwith.

Cran. But I ſay againe, that it is ſo but at diuers times:

as

Chriſtes body to be paſſible and not impaſſible at the Supper it appeareth by theſe wordes That ſhall be geuen for you.

* That remaineth yet vnproued.

as one peece of meate to be rawe and ſodden, can not be at one tyme together. But you would haue it otherwiſe, that Chriſt ſhould be here & in heauen at one time: and ſhoulde haue modum quantitatiuum, and not haue: whiche can not be, but by ſuch argument as I haue ſhewed you.

West. But I ſay, Chriſtes body was paſſible, & not paſſible at one *inſtant.

Seat. You may aſke as wel other queſtions, howe he is in heauen & whether he ſit or ſtād, and whether he be there as he liued here.

Cran. You your ſelfe, by putting a naturall preſence, doo force me to queſtion how he is there. Therfore, next I doo aſke this queſtion: whether good and euyll men do eate the body in the ſacrament?

1554. Aprill.

Harpſfield ſeemed a litle before to note the contrary, where he ſayd: that the fleſh of Chriſt to them that receaue hym not worthely is not preſent, pag. 1401.

Harpſ. Yea, they doo ſo, euen as the ſunne doth ſhine vpon kinges pallaces, and on dong heapes.

Cran. Then do I enquire howe long Chriſte tarryeth in the eater.

Harpſ. Theſe are curious queſtions, vnmeete to be aſked.

Cran. I haue taken them oute of your Schooles and Schoolemen, whiche you your ſelues doo moſte vſe: and there alſo doo I learne to aſke howe farre he goeth into the bodye.

Harpſ. We knowe that the bodye of Chriſte is receiued to nouriſhe the whole man concernyng both bodye and ſoule: Eouſque progreditur corpus quouſque * ſpecies.

* Sed ſpecies nō progreditur vſq; ad animam: Ergo, nec corpus Chriſti, & ſic corpus Chriſti non paſcit corpus & animam.

Cran. How long doth he abide in the body?

Seat. S. Auguſtine ſaith, our fleſh goeth into his fleſh. But after he is once receiued into the ſtomacke, it maketh no matter for vs to know how farre he doth pierce, or whither he is conueied.

☞ Here maſter Treſham and one maiſter London anſwered, that Chriſt being geuē there vnder ſuch forme and quātitie as pleaſed him, it was not to be enquired of his taryng, or of his deſcending into the body.

Harpſ. You were woont to lay to our charge, that we added to the ſcripture: ſaying alwayes that we ſhoulde fetche the truth out of the ſcripture, and now you your ſelfe bring queſtions out of the Schoolemen, which you haue diſallowed in vs.

Cran. I ſay, as I haue ſaid alwayes, that I am conſtrayned to aſke theſe queſtions, becauſe of this carnal preſence, which you imagine: and yet I knowe right well, that theſe queſtions be anſwearED out of the Scriptures: As to my laſt queſtion: Howe long he abideth in the body? &c. The ſcripture anſwereth plainely, that Chriſt doth ſo long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Wherupon I make this argument.

D. Cranmers argument in the 2. figure and 2. mode.

Ba- They which eate the fleſh of Chriſt, do dwel in him, and he in them.

ro- But the wicked doo not remaine in hym, nor he in them:

co. Ergo, the wicked do not eate his fleſh, nor drinke his bloud.

Aunſwere inſufficient.

Harpſ. I wyll anſwere vnto you as S. Auguſtine ſaith, not that howſoeuer a man doth eate, he eateth the body: but he that eateth after a certaine maner.

Cran. I cannot tel what maner ye appoint, but I am ſure that euyll men do not eate the fleſhe and drinke the bloud of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the ſixt of Iohn.

Harpſ. In the ſixt of Iohn, ſome thinges are to be referred to the godly, and ſome to the vngodly.

Cran. What ſoeuer he dooth entreate there of eating, doth pertaine vnto good men.

Harpſ. If you do meane onely of the word of eating, it is true: if concernyng the thing, it is not ſo: And if your meanyng be of that which is conteined vnder the worde of eating, it may be ſo taken, I graunt.

Euill men do not eate the body of Chriſt.

Cran. Nowe to the argument, He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym. Doth not this proue ſufficiently that euyll men doo not eate that the good doo.

Treſh. You muſt adde, Qui manducat dignè: He that eateth worthily.

Cran. I ſpeake of the ſame maner of eating, that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

West. Auguſtinus ad fratres in Eremo Sermon. 28. Eſt quidam manducandi modus. i. There is a certayne maner of eating. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of two manners of eatyng: the one of them that eate worthyly, the other that eate vnworthyly.

The 6. chapt. of Iohn is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to fayth after the papiſtes.

Harpſ. Al things in the ſixt of Iohn are not to be referred to the ſacrament, but to the receiuyng of Chriſte by fayth. The fathers do agree that there is not entreatie made of ỹ ſupper of the Lord, before they come vnto, Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea eſt. &c.

Cran. There is entreating of Manna both before & after.

Harpſ. I wyll apply an other anſwere. This argument hath a kind of poyſon in it, which muſt be thus bitte away, that Manna and this ſacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacie of hym ſelfe, but of God.

Compariſon betwene eating of Manna, and eating the body of Chriſt.

Cran. But they that did take Manna worthily, had fruit therby: and ſo by your aſſertion, he that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt worthily, hath his fruit by that.

Therfore the like doth folow of them both: and ſo there ſhould be no difference betwene Manna and this ſacramēt by your reaſon.

Harpſ. When it is ſaid, that they which did eate Manna, are dead, it is to be vnderſtand, that they did want the *vertue of Manna.

* If M. Harpſfield do meane of bodily life, they whiche eate the ſacrament do die, as wel as they which did eate the Manna. If he meane of ſpiritual life, neither be they al dāned that did eate Manna, nor all ſaued that do eate the ſacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the ſacramēt bringeth ſaluation: but only the ſpiritual beleuyng vpon Chriſtes bodyly paſſion, which onely iuſtifieth both them & vs. And therefore as the effect is ſpiritual, whiche Chriſt ſpeaketh of in this chapter: ſo is the cauſe of that effect ſpiritual wherof he meaneth, which is our ſpiritual beleuing in him, and not our bodyly eating of him.

Cran. They then which do eate either of them worthily, do liue.

Harpſ. They doo liue whiche doo eate Manna worthyly: not by Manna, but by the power of God geuen by it. The other whiche doo eate this Sacrament, do lyue by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſt did not entreate of ỹ cauſe, but ỹ effect which folowed: he doth not ſpeake of the cauſe wherof the effecte proceedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay, the effectes are diuers, life & death, which do folow the worthy and the vnworthy eating therof.

Cran. Sithens you wyl needes haue an addition to it, we muſt vſe both in Manna and in this ſacrament, indifferētly, either worthily or vnworthily.

Chriſt ſpake abſolutely of Manna, and of the ſupper, ſo that after that abſolute ſpeakyng of the Supper, wicked men can in no wiſe eate the fleſhe of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud.

August. in Ioan. tract. 26.

Further Auguſtine vpon Iohn, Tractatu. 26. vppon theſe wordes, Qui manducat. &c. ſaith: There is no ſuch reſpect in common meates, as in the Lordes body. For who that eateth other meates, hath ſtyl hunger, and needeth to be ſatiſfied dayly: but he that doth eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his bloud, doth liue for euer. But you know wicked men not to do ſo.

Ergo, wicked men doo not receiue.

Harpſ. S. Auguſtine meaneth, that he who eateth Chriſtes fleſh. &c. after a certaine manner, ſhoulde liue for euer. Wicked men doo eate, but not after that maner.

Ca- Cran. Onely they whiche participate Chriſt, be of the myſtical body.

me- But the euyl men are not of the myſtical body:

ſtres. Therfore they do not participate Chriſt.

Doct. Cranmer commended for his modeſtie.

West. Your woonderfull gentle behauiour and modeſtie (good maſter D. Cranmer) is worthy much commendation: and that I may not depriue you of your right & iuſte deſeruyng, I geue you moſt harty thankes in myne owne name, and in the name of al my brethren. At which ſaying al the doctors gently put of their cappes. Then M. Weſton dyd oppoſe the Reſpondent in this wiſe.

Tertull. contra Martion.

West. Tertullian doth cal the ſacrament the ſigne & figure of the Lord.

August. ad Dardan.

S. Auguſtine ad Dardanum ſaith: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis. i. The Lord did not ſticke to ſay, this is my body, whē he gaue a ſigne of his body.

August. de doctrina Chriſtiana.

Beſides this, he geueth rules howe to vnderſtande the ſcriptures, ſaying: If the ſcriptures ſeeme to commaunde ſome heynous thyng, then it is figuratiue, as by example: Manducare carnem et bibere ſanguinem, eſt tropicus ſermo. i. To eate the fleſhe and drinke the bloud, is a tropicall ſpeache.

Aunſwere to Tertull.

Harpſfielde. Tertullian dyd write in that place againſt Martion an heretique, who denyed Chriſt to haue a true bodye, and ſaide, he had onely a fantaſticall body. He went about to ſhewe that we had Chriſt both in heauen and in earth: and though we haue the true bodye in the Sacrament, yet he woulde not goe about ſo to confounde hym, as to ſay, that Chriſt was truely in the ſacrament: For that heretique would haue thereat rather marueiled, then beleued it. Therefore he ſhewed him, that it was the figure of

Chriſt and a figure can not be, but of a thing that is, or hath bene extant.

Aunſwere to Auguſt.

To the texte of Auguſtine: the Churche hath neuer taught the contrarye. There is an outwarde thing in the ſacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundrye names. For it maye be called a figure in this declaration: That Bodye which is in the ſacrament, is a figure of Chriſt dwelling in heauen.

Aunſwere to Auguſt. De doctrina Chriſtiana.

To the third: That which is brought by Auguſtine for example, about the vnderſtanding of the ſcriptures, is thus to be vnderſtanded, as tending to a generall manner of eating: ſo Manducare carnem, et bibere ſanguinem. i. To eate the fleſhe, and drinke the bloud, maye be a figuratiue ſpeach to exclude Anthropophagiam. i. The eating of mans fleſhe, the which is, when we eate mans fleſh cut into morſels, as we eate common meate: ſo as we neither haue nor eate Chriſt in the ſacrament.

West. I vnderſtand your ſhort & learned anſweare, which doth ſufficiently content me. But nowe to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The 2. queſtion.

The ſcripture calleth it bread.
Ergo, it is bread.

Harpſ. In the name of bread all is ſignified which we doo eate.

West. Theodoretus an ancient writer, in his firſt Dialogue, ſaith, that Chriſt changed not the nature, but called it his body.

Theodoretus Dial. 1

Harpſ. He doth there ſpeake de Symbolo, which is, Externa ſpecies ſacramenti. i. The outwarde forme of the ſacrament. He meaneth that, that doth tary in his own nature. Moreouer, as it was reported, he brought for his anſwere Auguſtinum in ſeatentijs Proſperi.

A ſingleſole aunſwere to Theodoretus.

West. Theodorete alſo in his ſeconde Dialogue of theſe kindes of breade and wyne ſaith: Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in ſua ſubſtantia. i. They goe not out of their owne nature, but they tarye in their owne ſubſtaunce.

Theodoretus Dial. 2

Harpſ. They are vnderſtanded to be of the ſame ſubſtãce wherin they are *turned.

* And how are they turned if they remayne in Priori ſubſtantia. Symbolum quid.

West. But what ſay you by this? Manent in priori ſubſtantia: They remain in their former ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Symbola manent: The outward ſignes do tary.

West. But what is meant here by this word, ſymbolũ?

Harpſ. The outwarde fourme or ſhape onely of the nature.

West. Then you can not cal them a ſubſtance.

Harpſ. yes ſir, euery thing hath a certaine ſubſtaunce in his kind.

West. That is true, but accidentes are not ſubſtances in their kind.

Harpſ. Sunt quid in ſuo genere. Of this they contended much.

West. Chryſoſtome ad Cæſariem Monachum ſaith, Sicut antequã conſecratur, panis eſt: ſic poſtquã conſecratur, liberatus eſt ab appellatione panis, donatuſque eſt appellatione corporis dominici, cum natura remanet: that is, Like as before it is conſecrated, it is bread: ſo after it is conſecrated, it is deliuered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lordes body, where as the nature doth remaine.

Chriſoſt. ad Cæſarium Monachum.

Harpſ. Where reade you this place, I pray you?

West. Here in Peter Martyr I find it: I haue his boke in my hand.

D. Weston compyleth his argumentes out of Pet. Martyrs boke.

Harpſ. The author ſhall be of more credite, before that I make ſo much of hym, as to frame an anſweare vnto it.

West. In deede I knowe not well where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſaith, that the nature of bread and wyne do tarrye.

Gelaſius.

Harpſ. What is that Gelaſius?

West. A Biſhop of Rome.

Harpſ. Then he allowed the maſſe.

West. yea, and oftentymes ſaid it: and Purgatory he alſo allowed, and ſo prayer for the dead, reliques, and inuocatiõ to ſaintes.

Harpſ. Belike then he meant nothing againſt tranſubſtantiation.

West. It doth appeare ſo in deede. But Origene vpon Math. the 15. Chapter ſaith, that the material bread dooth tarrye, and is conueyd into the Priuie, and is eaten of wormes.

Origenes in Math. cap. 15.

Harpſ. Tuſhe, tuſhe, this place apperteineth vnto holy bread.

West. What doth it apperteine to holy breade?

Harpſ. yea, vnto holy bread.

West. By what meanes can you ſhew how this myraculous worke bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament.

Harpſ. By the ſcriptures I proue that, which ſaith: Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body.

West. It dooth reioyce all vs not a litle, that you haue ſo wel maintayned the ſound doctrine of the ſacrament of the Altar, wherin you haue faithfully cleaued to the Catholike Church, as an only ſtaye of our religion: by the which meanes you haue proued your ſelfe meete to be authoriſed further towardes the practiſing of the ſcripture.

And here I doo openly witnes, that I doo throughly conſent with you, and haue for diſputations ſake onely, brought theſe argumentes againſt you, whiche you haue right learnedly ſatiſfied: and nowe all thinges being done, after our forme and maner, we wyl ende this diſputation, ſaying: In oppoſitum eſt ſacra theologia. In oppoſitum eſt. &c.

❡ Thus haue ye heard in theſe foreſaid diſputations, about the holy ſupper of the Lord, the reaſons & argumẽts of the Doctors, the anſweares and reſolutions of the Biſhops, and the triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the victory, with Vicit veritas, who rather in my mynde ſhoulde haue exclaimed, vicit poteſtas: As it happeneth alwayes, Vbi pars maior vincit meliorem. For els if poteſtas had not helped the Prolocutor more then veritas, there had bene a ſmall victoria. But ſo it is where iudgementes be parciall, and parties be addicted, there all thinges turne to victorie, though it be neuer ſo meane and ſimple, as in this diſputation might wel appeare.

For firſt of the Opponents part, neither was there almoſt any argument in true moode & figure rightly framed: neither could the anſwearers be permitted to ſay for them ſelues: and if they anſwered any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeake. Againe ſuch diſturbance and confuſion, more like a conſpiration then any diſputation, without al forme and order, was in the ſchooles during the time of their anſwering, that neither could the anſwearers haue place to vtter their myndes, neither would the Opponents be ſatiſfied with any reaſon. Concernyng the which diſturbaunce of that miſruled diſputation, you ſhall heare what M. Ridley hym ſelfe reporteth by his owne deſcription, in maner as followeth.

❡ The reporte and narration of M. Ridley concerning the miſordered diſputation had againſt hym and his felow priſoners at Oxford.

M. Ridleyes report of the miſorder of this diſputation.

I Neuer yet ſithence I was borne ſaw, or heard any thing done or handled more vainlye, or tumultuouſlye, then the diſputation which was with mee in the Schooles at Oxford. Yea verely I could neuer haue thoughte that it had been poſſible to haue founde amongeſt men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in thys Realme, any ſo brazen faced and ſhameleſſe, ſo diſorderlye and vainlye, to behaue them ſelues, more like to Stageplayers in Enterludes, to ſet forth a Pageant, then to be graue Diuines in Scholes to diſpute. The Sorbonical clamoures (which at Paris I haue ſeene in tyme paſt when Popery moſt raigned) might be worthely thought (in cõpariſon of this thraſonycal oſtentation) to haue had muche modeſtie. And no greate maruaile, ſeeing they which ſhould haue beene Moderatoures, and Ouerſeers of others, and which ſhoulde haue geuen good enſample in wordes and grauitie: they themſelues, aboue all other gaue worſt enſample, and dyd (as it were) blow the trompe to the reſt, to raile, rore, rage, and crye out. By reaſon wherof (good Chriſtẽ reader) manifeſtly it may appeare, that they neuer ſought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own braging victory. But leaſt by the innumerable raylinges and reprochfull tauntes, wherwith I was bayted on euery ſide, our cauſe, yea rather Gods cauſe and his churches, ſhould be euil ſpoken of, and ſclaundered to the world through falſe reportes, and vntrue enſamples geuen out of our diſputation, and ſo ẏ veritie might ſuſtayn ſome dammage, I thought it no leſſe then my duety to write mine aunſweres: to the intent that who ſo euer is deſirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceiue, as well thoſe thinges which were chiefly obiected, as ſummarely that which was anſwered of me vnto euery of them. How be it (good Reader), I confeſſe this to be moſt true, that it is vnpoſſible to ſet forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuouſly and confuſedly obiected of their partes being ſo many, ſpeaking many times al together ſo thick that one could not well heare an other, either all that was aunſwered on my behalfe, to them ſo ſondry & diuers Opponentes.

Not veritie but glory ſought for in this diſputation.

Moreouer, a great parte of the tyme appoynted for the diſputations, was vainely conſumed in opprobrious checkes and reuilyng tauntes, with hiſſinges and clapping of handes, and that in the Engliſhe tongue, to procure the peoples fauour withal. All whiche thinges, when I with greate griefe of harte dyd beholde, proteſtyng openly, that

Tauntes and reuilinges vſed in thys diſputation.

ſuch exceſſiue and outragious diſorder, was vnſemely for thoſe ſcholes & men of learning and grauitie, and that they which were the doers and ſtyrrers of ſuch thinges, did nothing els but bewray ẏ ſlēdernes of their cauſe, & their owne vanities: I was ſo far of by this my humble cōplaint from doyng any good at all, that I was enforced to heare ſuche rebukes, checkes, and tauntes for my labour, as no perſon of any honeſtie without bluſhyng coulde abyde to heare the like ſpoken of a moſt vyle varlet, againſt a moſt wretched Ruffian.

D. Ridly could not be ſuffered to read forth his proteſtation.

At the firſt beginnyng of the diſputation, when I ſhould haue confirmed myne anſweare to the firſt propoſition in fewe wordes, and that (after the maner and lawe of ſcholes) afore I could make an end of my firſt probation, which was not very long, euen the Doctors thē ſelues cryed out, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies. And when I on my knees beſought them, and that hartily, that they would vouchſafe to heare me to the ende, (wherat the Prolocutor being moued, cryed out on hie, Let hym reade it, let him reade it) yet when I began to reade it againe, there folowed immediatly ſuch ſhouting, ſuch a noiſe and tumult, and confuſion of voyces, crying, blaſphemies, blaſphemies, as I to my remembrance, neuer heard, or read the like, except it be that one which was in the actes of the Apoſtles, ſtyrred vp of Demetrius the ſiluer ſmyth, and other of his occupation, crying out againſt Paul, Great is Diana of the Epheſians, great is Diana of the Epheſiās: and except it be a certaine diſputation which the Arrians had againſt the Orthodoxes, & ſuch as wer of godly iudgement in Aphrica, where it is ſaide, that ſuch as the Preſident and rulers of the diſputation were, ſuch was the ende of the diſputations. All were in a hurly burly, and ſo great were the ſclaunders which the Arrians caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the ſecond booke of his hiſtorie.

The which cries & tumultes of them againſt me ſo preuailed, that wild I, nild I, I was enforced to leaue of the reading of my probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the ſame aſke any one that was there, and not vtterly peruerted in Poperie, and I am aſſured he wyll ſay, I ſpeake the leaſt. But to complaine of theſe thinges further, I wyl ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of this diſputation, he concludeth with theſe wordes: And thus was ended this moſt glorious diſputation of the moſt holy Fathers, ſacrificers, Doctours, and Maiſters, which fought moſt manfully (as ye may ſee) for their God and goodes, for their faith and felicitie, for their countrey and kitchin, for their beautie and belly, with triumphant applauſes and fauour of the whole Vniuerſitie.

The 3. priſoners at Oxford called before the Commiſſioners. April. 20.

After the diſputation of maſter Latimer ended, which was the. 18. day of April, the fryday folowing which was the. 20. day of the ſaid moneth, the Commiſſioners ſate in ſaint Maryes Church, as they did the ſaterday before, and Doctor Weſton vſed particularly diſſwaſions with euery of them, and woulde not ſuffer them to anſweare in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, (as his wordes wer) to ſay whether they woulde ſubſcribe, or no. And firſt to the Biſhop of Canterbury he ſaid he was ouercome in diſputations: whom the Biſhop aunſweared, that where as Doctour Weſton ſaide, he had anſweared and oppoſed, and could neyther mainteine his own errours, nor impugne the veritie, all that he ſaid, was falſe. For he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſweare as he was required, vnles he would haue brauled with them, ſo thicke their reaſons came one after an other. Euer foure or fiue dyd interrupt hym, that he could not ſpeake. Maſter Ridley and M. Latimer were aſked, what they woulde doo, they ſaid, they would ſtand to that they had ſaide. Then were they all called together, and ſentence read ouer them, that they were no members of the Churche. And therefore they, their fautors, and patrones were condemned as heretiques: and in reading of it, they were aſked, whether they would turne or no, and they bade them reade on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned al thre.

D. Cranmer B. Ridley, and M. Latymer, condemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt thē, they anſwered againe euery one in their turne, in maner and effect of wordes, as foloweth, the Archbiſhop firſt beginnyng thus.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

From this your iudgement and ſentence, I appeale to the iuſt iudgement of God almighty, truſting to be preſent with him in heauen, for whoſe preſence in the altar, I am thus condemned.

The ſentences of the Archb. and his felowes after their ſentence geuen.

Doctour Rydley.

Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not I but my name is written in an other place, whither this ſentence wyl ſend vs ſooner, then we ſhoulde by the courſe of nature haue come.

Doctour Latimer.

I thanke God moſt hartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorifie God by that kind of death.

Doctor Weſtons anſwere vnto Latimer.

If you goe to heauen in this faith, then wyll I neuer come thither, as I am thus perſwaded.

Weſton geueth ſentence agaynſt hym ſelfe.

After the ſentence pronounced, they were ſeparated one from the other, videlicet, the Archbiſhop was returned to Bocardo, D. Ridley was caried to the Sheriffes houſe, maſter Latimer to the Bayliffes.

The Archb. and his fellowpriſoners ſeparated.

On Saterday folowing they had a Maſſe with a general Proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was cauſed to beholde the Proceſſion out of Bocardo, Doctour Ridley out of the Sheriffes houſe. Latimer alſo being brought to ſee it, from the Bayliffes houſe, thought that he ſhould haue gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine Cooper a Catchpoll, to make a quicke fire. But when he came to Karfox, and ſawe the matter, he ranne as faſt as his olde bones would carrye hym, to one Spenſers ſhop, and would not looke towardes it. Laſt of all, D. Weſton caried the ſacrament, and foure doctors caried the Canapie ouer him.

Immediately after the ſentence was geuen, D. Ridley writeth to the Prolocutor, in maner, as foloweth.

¶ Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

D. Ridleyes letter to the Prolocutor.

MAyſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, howe you promiſed me openly in the Schooles, after my proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee how my anſweares were there taken and written of the Notaries whō ye appointed, (me fateor neminem recuſare) to write what ſhould be ſaid, & to haue had licence for to haue added vnto them, or to haue altered thē, as vpon more deliberation ſhould haue ſemed me beſt. Ye granted me alſo at the deliuery of my anſwer vnto your firſt propoſition, a copie of the ſame: theſe promiſes are not performed. If your ſodain departure be any part of the cauſe therof, yet I pray you remember that they may be perfourmed: for performāce of promiſe is to be loked for at a righteous Iudges hādes, Now I ſēd you here my anſweres in writing, to your ſecond and third ptopoſitions, and do deſire & require earneſtly a copie of the ſame, and I ſhall by Gods grace procure the paines of the writer to be payde for and ſatisfied accordingly. Maiſter Prolocutor, In the time of my aunſwearing in the Schooles, when I woulde haue confirmed my ſayinges with authorities and reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I ſhould haue tyme and place to ſay and bring what ſoeuer I coulde an other tyme, and the ſame your ſaying was then there confirmed of other of the Commiſſioners: yea, and (I dare ſay) the audience alſo thought then that I ſhoulde haue had an other day, to haue brought and ſaide what I coulde for the declaration and confirmation of myne aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſodainly ſentence geuen before the cauſe was perfectly heard, I can not but marueile. &c.

Papiſtes haue ſmall conſcience in performyng promiſes.

On Monday next enſuing, after theſe thinges done and paſt, being the. xxiij. of the ſaide moneth of April, D. Weſton Prolocutor tooke his iourney vp to London, with the letters certificatorie from the Vniuerſitie, vnto the queene, by whom the Archb. of Cant. directed his letters ſupplicatorie vnto the Counſaile. The whiche letters after the Prolocutor had receiued, & had caried them welneare halfe way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeing the contentes thereof, ſent them backe againe, refuſing to cary them. &c. Likewiſe Biſhop Ridley, hearing of the Prolocutors going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherin he deſireth him to cary his anſweres vp to certayn biſhops in London, the forme of which letters, firſt of D. Ridley, then of the Archb. and laſtly an other letter of doct. Ridley to the Archbiſhop, here in order foloweth.

April. 23.

¶ A letter of B. Ridley to the Prolocutor,

MAyſter Prolocutour, I deſire you, and in Gods name require you, that you truely bryng forth and ſhewe all myne anſweares, written and ſubſcribed with myne owne hande, vnto the higher houſe of the Conuocation, and ſpecially to my Lorde Chauncelour, my Lordes of Dureſme, Elye, Worceſter, Norwiche, and Chicheſter, and alſo to ſhewe and exhibite this my writyng vnto them, whiche in

1554.

Aprill.

theſe fewe lynes here I write vnto you:and that I did make this requeſt vnto you by this my writing, knowe ye that I did take witnes of thē by whō I dyd ſende you this writyng,& alſo of thoſe which were thē with thē preſent, videlicet, the two Bayliffes of Oxford,and of maſter Iriſhe Alderman,then there called to be a witnes.

By me Nicholas Ridley. 23. of April,
Ann. 1554.

¶ The copie of the Archb. of Canter. letters to the Counſaile, ſent by Doctour Weſton,who refuſed to deliuer them.

The Archb writeth to the Counſell.

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth vnto your honourable Lordſhippes Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterburye, beſeechyng the ſame to be a meanes for me vnto the Queenes highnes for her mercy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes I was brought and trayned vnto the wyll of our late ſoueraigne Lorde kyng Edwarde the ſixt, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame; wherein I referre me to the reportes of your honours and woorſhyps. Furthermore,this is to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhippes, that vppon Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſte paſte, were open diſputations here in Oxford agaynſt me,maiſter Ridley, and maſter Latimer, in three matters concernyng the Sacrament: Firſt of the reall preſence, ſecondly of tranſubſtantiation, and thirdly of the ſacrifice of the Maſſe: vppon Monday againſt me,vpon Tueſday againſt Doctour Ridley, and vpon Wedneſday againſt maiſter Latimer. Howe the other two were ordered,I knowe not, for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of vs knoweth what the other ſaide, nor how they were ordered. But as concernyng my ſelfe I can report. Doct. Chadſey was appointed to diſpute againſt me but the diſputation was ſo confuſed,that I neuer knewe the like, euery man bringing foorth what hym liked, without order,and ſuch haſte was made, that no anſweare could be ſuffered to be taken fully to any argument, before an other brought a newe argument: and in ſuche weightye matters the diſputation muſt needes be ended in one day,which can ſcantly well be ended in three monethes. And when we had anſweared them,they would not appoint vs one day to bring forth our proufes,that they might anſweare vs,being required by me therunto, wheras I my ſelfe haue more to ſay,then can be wel diſcuſſed,as I ſuppoſe in twenty dayes. The meanes to reſolue the truth, had bene to haue ſuffered vs to anſweare fully to all that they coulde ſay, and then they againe to anſweare vs fully to all that we can ſay. But why they woulde not anſweare vs, what other cauſe can there be,but that eyther they feared their matter, that they were not able to anſweare vs, or els for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſt,not to ſeeke the truth,but to condemne vs,that it muſt be done in poſt haſte before the matters could be throughly heard: for in all haſte we were all three condemned of hereſie. Thus much I thought good to ſignifie vnto your lordſhips, that you may knowe the indifferent handling of matters, leauyng the iudgement thereof vnto your wiſedomes. And I beſeeche your Lordſhips to remember me a poore priſoner vnto the Queenes maieſtie, and I ſhal pray as I do dayly,vnto God for the long preſeruation of your good Lordſhips in all godlynes and felicitie. April. 23.

The Archb. not ſuffered to anſwere fully to any argument.

Haſt made in condemning the Archb. and his fellowes.

¶ Doctour Ridley to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury,

D. Ridley wryteth to the Archbyſhop.

This Juſtice Morgan gaue ſentence againſt Lady Jane.

Diſputation in Cambridge intended.

I Wiſhe ye might haue ſeene theſe myne anſweares before I had deliuered them,that ye might haue corrected them. But I truſt in the ſubſtaunce of the matter we doo agree fully,both lead by one ſpirite of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods worde. It is reported that Sergeant Morgan the chiefe Juſtice of the common place is gon madde. It is ſaid alſo that Juſtice Hales hath recanted, peruerted by D. Moreman. Item,that M. Rogers, D. Crõe,& M. Bradford ſhal be had to Cābridge, & there be diſputed with, as we were here, & ye the doctors of Oxford ſhall go likewiſe thyther, as Cambridge men came hyther. When ye haue read myne anſweares, ſende them againe to Auſten,except ye wyl put any thing to thē. I truſt the day of our deliuery out of al miſeries,& of our entrance into perpetual reſt,and vnto perpetuall ioye & felicitie draweth nie: the Lord ſtrength vs with his mightye ſpirite of grace. If you haue not to write with,you muſt make your man your frende. And this bearer deſerueth to be rewarded,ſo he may & wyl do you pleaſure. My man is truſty,but it greeueth both hym and me, that when I ſend him with any thing to you, your man wyl not let hym come vp to ſee you, as he may to M. Latimer,& yours to me. I haue a promiſe to ſee how my anſweres were written in the ſchooles, but as yet I can not come by it. Pray for me. I pray you,and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord haue mercy of his church, and lightē the eyes of the Magiſtrates, that Gods extreme plagues light not on this Realme of England.

Turne, or burne.

Theſe diſputations being thus diſcourſed and ended, which were at Oxford in the moneth of April, as is aforeſaid: now let vs returne againe to ye proſecuting of our ſtory,touching other thinges likewiſe that happened in other partes of the Realme, in this tumultuous tyme of queene Mary. And becauſe thynges that happened in that tyme, were ſo many & diuers,that it is hard to keepe a perfect order in recityng thē al: to the entent therfore to inſert thinges left out before,or els to proſecute the ſame more at full,we haue thought here a litle to interrupt the order of tyme (albeit not much) returnyng againe to the moneth of July the yeare before,videlicet. 1553. In the which moneth of July I ſhewed before how the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Garde, and brought to London by the Earle of Arundel and other Lordes & Gentlemen appoynted for that purpoſe on S. James day,being the xxv. day of July,and ſo to the Tower,where they remayned. Theſe be the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

The names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

Firſt the Earle of Warwike, the Earle of Huntington, Lord Ambroſe, & Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Haſtinges, who was deliuered againe the ſame night, ſir Joh. Gates, ſir Henry Gates,ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Tho. Palmer, and D. Sandes Chancelour of Cambridge.

The.xxvi. day the Lord Marques of Northampth,the biſh. of Lōdon, Lord Robert Dudley,& ſir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The.xxvii. day the Lord chiefe Juſtice of England, & the Lord Mountacute chiefe Juſtice of the common place, were committed to the Tower.

Upon the Fryday being the.xxviii. of July,the Duke of Suffolke, and ſir John Cheeke were committed to the Tower.

The.xxx. of July,the Lord Ruſſel was committed to the Sheriffe of Londons cuſtody.

The.xxxi. day the Earle of Rutland was committed to the Fleete.

The Duke of Suffolke deliuered out of the Tower.

Upon the monday the laſt of July, the Duke of Suffolke was deliuered out of the Tower againe.

Upon thurſday the third of Auguſt,the queene entred into the citie of London at Algate,& ſo to the Tower,wher ſhee remayned ſeuen dayes, and then remoued to Richmond.

Upon friday the fourth day, doct. Day was deliuered out of the Fleete.

Boner ſet at libertie.

Upon ſaterday the v. day, the Lord Feries was committed to the Tower,and the ſame day D. Boner was deliuered out of the Marſhalſey. The ſame day at night D. Cockes was cōmitted to the Marſhalſey, and one maſter Edward Underhyl to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day doctor Tonſtall & Ste. Gardiner were deliuered out of the Tower, and Gardiner receiued into the queenes priuie Counſaile,and made Lord Chancelor.

Upon Sonday the vii. day, Henry Dudley captaine of the Garde at Guines,which before had ben ſent to the French kyng by his coſin the Duke of Northumberland,after the diſpatche of his ambaſſage with the French king, returned to Guines, and ſo was taken,and this day brought to the Tower.

Uppon Monday the ſeuenth day of Auguſt,Dirige in Latine was ſong within the Tower, by all the kynges Chappel,and the biſhop of Wincheſter was chiefe miniſter, wherat was preſent the Queene, and the moſt part of the Counſaile.

K. Edwards body buryed.

Upon Tueſday the.viii.day of Auguſt,the kinges body was brought to Weſtminſter, and there buryed, where D. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter preached. The ſame day a Maſſe of Requiem was ſong within the Tower,by the biſhop of Wincheſter,who had on his Miter,& did al thinges as in tymes paſt was done, at whiche Maſſe the Queene was preſent.

Upon thurſday the Duke of Northfolke came forth of the Tower,with whom the Duches of Somerſet was alſo deliuered this thurſday.

Upon ſonday the.xi. of Auguſt,Doctor Bourne preached at Paules Croſſe, of the whiche ſermon reade before pag. 1339.

In the weeke folowing, commaundement was geuen throughout the citie, that no Prentiſes ſhould come to the ſermon,nor weare any knife or dagger.

Upon the wedneſdaye, being the xvi. daye of Auguſt,

M.

Aprill.

M. Bradford with others, committed to the Tower.

M. Bradford, M. Becon, and M. Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom alſo M. Sampſon ſhould haue bene committed, and was ſought for the ſame tyme in M. Elſinges houſe in Fleeteſtreete (where M. Bradford was taken) and becauſe he was not founde, the Byſhop of Wincheſter fumed lyke a Prelate with the meſſenger.

Upon the Friday beyng the 18. of Auguſt, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there the ſame day condemned, the Duke of Northfolke that day beyng the hygh Iudge.

Upon Saterday the xix. of Auguſt, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Iohn Gates, ſir Henry Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer were arraigned at Weſtminſter, & condemned the ſame day, the L. Marques of Wincheſter being hye Iudge.

D. Watſon preached at Paules Croſſe.

Upon Sonday the xx. of Auguſt Doctour Watſon the Byſhop of Wincheſters Chaplayne Preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe Sermon was preſent the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Pēbroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundreth of the Gardes with their Halbardes, leſt the people would haue made any ſturre agaynſt the Preacher.

Upon Monday the. xxi. of Auguſt the Duke of Northumberland, the Marques of Northampton, Syr Andrew Dudley, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer heard a Maſſe within the Tower, and after Maſſe they all fiue receaued the Sacrament in one kynde onely, as in the Popiſhe tyme was vſed. On the whiche day alſo Queene Mary ſet forth a Proclamation, ſignifying to the people that ſhe could not hyde any longer the religion which ſhe from her infancie had profeſſed. &c. inhibityng in the ſayd Proclamation Printyng and Preachyng, the tenour wherof read before pag. 1338.

Execution at the Tower hill.

Upon the Tueſday beyng the xxij. of Auguſt, the duke of Northumberland, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower hill, as before is ſayd, pag. 1338. The ſame day certaine noble perſonages heard Maſſe within the Tower, and likewiſe after Maſſe, receaued the Sacrament in one kynde.

Upon Sonday the xxvij. day of Auguſt, Doct. Chedſey Preached at Paules Croſſe, and the ſame day the Byſhop of Canterbury, Syr Thomas Smith, and the Deane of Paules were cited to appeare the weeke folowing before the Queenes Commiſſioners, in the Byſhops Conſiſtory within Paules.

In this meane tyme it was noyſed abroad by runnyng rumours falſely and craftely deuiſed, either to ſtabliſhe the credite of the Maſſe, or els to bryng Thomas Crāmer Archbyſhop of Canterbury out of credite, that he to curry fauour with Queene Mary, ſhould promiſe to ſay Dirige Maſſe after the old cuſtome, for kyng Edward, and that he had already ſayd Maſſe at Cāterbury. &c. Wherfore to ſtop the noyſe and ſclaunder of thoſe rumours, the ſayd Thomas Archbyſhop of Caunterbury the vij. day of September ſet forth a letter, which was alſo Printed, in purgation of hym ſelfe, the copy of which letter here enſueth.

¶ A purgation of Thomas Archbyſhop of Caunterbury agaynſt certaine ſclaunders falſely rayſed vpon hym.

The Archb. of Canterbury purgeth himſelfe agaynſt falſe rumors.

AS the deuill, Chriſtes auncient aduerſary, is a lyer and the father of lyes, euen ſo hath he ſtyrred vp his ſeruauntes and members, to perſecute Chriſt and his true word and religion with lying: which he ceaſſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at this preſent tyme. For where as the Prince of famous memory kyng Henry the eight ſeyng the great abuſes of the Latine Maſſe, reformed ſome thynges therein in his lyfe tyme, and after our late ſoueraigne Lord kyng Edward the vj. tooke the ſame whole away for the manifold and great errours and abuſes of the ſame, & reſtored in the place therof Chriſtes holy Supper accordyng to Chriſtes owne inſtitution, and as the Apoſtles vſed the ſame in the primatiue Church: the deuill goeth about now by lying to ouerthrow the Lordes holy Supper agayne, and to reſtore his Latine ſatiſfactory Maſſe, a thyng of his owne inuention and deuiſe. And to bryng the ſame more eaſely to paſſe, ſome haue abuſed the name of me Thomas Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, brutyng abroad that I haue ſet vp the Maſſe agayne at Canterbury, and that I offered to ſay Maſſe at the buriall of our late ſoueraigne Prince kyng Edward the vj. and that I offered alſo to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes hyghneſſe and at Paules Churche, and I wot not where. And although I haue bene wel exerciſed theſe xx. yeares to ſuffer and beare euill reportes and lyes, & haue not bene much greued therat, but haue borne all thynges quietly, yet when vntrue reportes and lyes turne to the hinderaūce of Gods truth, they are in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Wherefore, theſe be to ſignifie vnto the world, that it was not I that did ſet vp the Maſſe at Canterbury, but it was a falſe flatteryng, lying, and diſſemblyng Monke, whiche cauſed Maſſe to be ſet vp there without myne aduiſe or Counſell: Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offeryng my ſelfe to ſay Maſſe before the Queenes highnes or in any other place, I neuer did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will giue me leaue, I ſhalbe ready to proue, agaynſt all that wil ſay the contrary, that all that is conteined in the holy Communion ſet out by the moſt innocent & godly Prince K. Edward the vj. in hys high court of Parlamēt, is conformable to that order which our Sauiour Chriſt did both obſerue and commaunde to be obſerued, and which his Apoſtles and primatiue Church vſed many yeares, whereas the Maſſe in many thynges not onely hath no foūdation of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, nor the primatiue Churche, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame and conteineth many horrible abuſes in it. And although many either vnlearned or malitious do reporte that M. Peter Martyr is vnlearned, yet if the Queenes highnes will graūt therunto, I with the ſayd M. Peter Martyr and other foure or fiue which I ſhall chuſe, will by Gods grace take vpon vs to defend, not onely the common Prayers of the Churche, the miniſtration of the Sacramentes and other rites and ceremonies: but alſo all the doctrine and religion ſet out by our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord kyng Edward the vj. to be more pure and accordyng to Gods word, then any other that hath bene vſed in England theſe 1000. yeares: ſo that Gods word may be iudge, and that the reaſons and proufes of both partyes may be ſet out in writyng, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and Iudge thereon, as that no man ſhall ſtart backe from his writyng. And where they boaſt of the fayth that hath bene in the Church theſe 1500. yeares, we wil ioyne with them in this point, & that the ſame doctrine and vſage, is to be folowed, which was in the Church. 1500. yeares paſt, & we ſhall proue that the order of the Church, ſet out at this preſēt in this Realme by Acte of Parlament, is the ſame that was vſed in the Church. 1500. yeares paſt, and ſo ſhall they be neuer hable to proue theirs.

This Monke was Doctor Thornton, a cruell murtherer of Gods people. Of whoſe horrible end ye ſhall read hereafter, and partly alſo in the lyfe of Cranmer.

The ſame Thurſday beyng the vij. of Septēber Lord Mountacute, and Lord chief Baron were deliuered out of the Tower.

The xiij. of September the reuerend father M. Hugh Latymer was committed to the Tower.

The xiiij. of Septēber the Byſhop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The xxvij. of September, one Maiſter Gray of Cambridge called before hym one M. Garth, for that hee would not ſuffer a boy of Peter houſe to helpe hym ſay Maſſe in Penbroke hall, which was before any law was eſtabliſhed for that behalfe.

The Queene came to the Tower of London vpon the Thurſday beyng the xxviij. of September, and vpon the Saterday folowyng, ſhee rode from the Tower through the Citie of London, where were made many Pageauntes to receiue her, and ſo was triumphauntly brought to Weſtminſter to White hall.

In this Pageant ſtoode a certayne man vpon the top of the Eagle vpon Paules ſteple with a flagge in hys hand.

Upon the Sonday beyng the firſt day of October, the Queenes hyghneſſe went from White hall to Weſtminſter Abbey, accompanyed with the moſt part of the Nobilitie of this Realme, namely theſe: The Duke of Norfolke, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Shrewſbury, the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earles of Darby, Bedford, Worceſter, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Oxford, Suſſex, Deuonſhyre, Penbroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lorde Ferrys, Lord Cobham, Lord Aburgeny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scroupe, Lord Rich, Lord Vaus, Lord Haward, Lord Conias, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willowbye, with many other Nobles, and all the Embaſſadours of diuers countreys, the Maior of Londō with all the Aldermen. Alſo out of the Abbey to receiue her commyng, came three ſiluer Croſſes, and to the number of fourſcore or neare vpon, of ſingyng men, all in very riche & gorgeous copes. Amongeſt whom were the Deane of Weſtminſter, and diuers of her Chaplaynes, whiche bare euery one ſome enſigne in their handes, and after them followed. x. Byſhops mytred all, and their Crozier ſtaues in their handes, and rich Copes vpon them euery one. And in this order they returned frō Weſtminſter hal before the Queene to the Abbey, where ſhe was crowned by Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour of England. At the tyme of the Coronation Doctour Day Byſhop of Chicheſter made a Sermon to the Queenes maieſtie and to the reſt of the nobilitie.

Q. Mary crowned.

Doct. Dayes Sermon.

Generall pardon at the Queenes Coronation.

Exempted out of the Pardon.

Alſo there was a generall Pardon proclaymed within the Abbey at the ſayd time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamatiō all the priſoners of the Tower & of the Fleete were excepted and 62. more. Whereof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

The thyrd of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge did challenge one M. Pierſon, for that hee miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his owne Pariſhe, and did receiue ſtraungers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay Maſſe. Wherupon within ij. dayes after, he was cleane diſcharged from farther miniſtryng in his Cure.

Q. Mary rydeth to the Parliamēt houſe.

Upō the wedneſday folowyng the Archbyſhop of Yorke, was committed to the Tower.

Sergeant Pollard ſpeaker in the Parlament.

Uppon Thurſday beyng the v. of October. 1553. the Queene road to the Parliament in her robes, and all the nobilitie with her, and when they were ſet in the Parliament houſe the Byſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemne Oration, and Sergeant Pollard was choſen ſpeaker of the Parliament. The ſame day the Biſhops of Lincolne, Harford, and Weſtcheſter, were diſcharged from the Parliament and Conuocation.

The Earle of Huntington deliuered out of the Tower.

Alſo the x. day of October the Earle of Huntyngton was deliuered out of the Tower.

M. Saunders for preaching agaynſt the Maſſe committed to the Marſhalſey.

Uppon the Sonday after beyng the xv. of October, Maiſter Laurence Saunders preached at Allhallowes in Bredſtreete in the mornyng: where hee declared the abhomination of the Maſſe, with diuers other matters very notably and godly. Whereof more ſhall be heard (by the Lordes leaue) hereafter when we come to his ſtory. In which his doyng, as he ſhewed hym ſelfe to bee Gods faythfull Miniſter ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of Gods faythfull promiſe, who ſayth: Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram patre meo qui eſt in cœlis. Mathæi. 10. But about noone of the ſame day hee was ſent for by the Biſhop of London, and from thence committed to the Marſhalſee.

D. Weſtons popiſh ſermon at Paules.

Upon the Sonday followyng beyng the xx. of October Doctour Weſton preached at Paules Croſſe. Who in the begynnyng of his Sermon willed the people to pray for the ſoules departed on this wiſe: you ſhall pray for all thē that be departed, that be neither in heauen, nor hell, but in a place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to heauen, that they may be releued by your deuoute prayers. He named the Lordes table an oyſter board. He ſayd that the Catechiſme in Latin lately ſet out was abhominable hereſie, and likened the ſetters out of the ſame Catechiſme to Julianus Apoſtata, and the booke for a Dialogue ſet out by the ſayd Julianus Apoſtata, wherein Chriſt and Pylate were the ſpeakers: with many other thynges. Whiche Sermon with all the poyntes thereof M. Couerdall the ſame tyme learnedly confuted by writyng, which remayneth yet in my handes to be ſene.

Weſtons ſermon confuted by M. Couerdale.

In the weeke followyng, began the diſputations in the conuocation houſe in Paules Church, whereof ſufficient hath bene before declared, pag. 1340.

The xxvj. day of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cābridge went to Clarehall, and in the preſence of Doctour Walker, diſplaced Doctour Madew, and placed Maiſter Swynborne in the Maiſterſhyp there, by force of the Lord Chauncellours letters, for that he was (as they termed it) Vxoratus, that is, maryed.

Running before the law:

The xxviij. day of October, the Papiſtes in the kynges colledge in Cambridge (not tarying the makyng of any law, but of their blynd zeale) had their whole ſeruice agayne in the Latin toung, contrary to the law then in force.

The laſt of October, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge, dyd ſharpely reproue and threaten one M. Thrackold, for that he challenged the ſayd Vicechauncelour, who had ſuffered Maiſter Bouell (contrary to the ſtatutes then in force) quietly without puniſhment to depart, notwithſtandyng that hee refuſed to ſweare to the ſupremacy of the Queene, and the abrogation of the Byſhop of Rome.

The Queenes proceedinges maintayned in Cambridge before the law.

The thyrd day of Nouember, the Vicechācellour ſent for the Curate of the round Pariſh in Cambridge, commaundyng hym not to miniſter any more in the Engliſhe toung, ſaying: he would haue one vniforme order of ſeruice throughout the Towne, and that in Latine, with Maſſe, which was eſtabliſhed the xij. day of this moneth.

The vj. day of Nouember, M. Pollard preached at S. Michaels, and in his Sermon approued Purgatory.

The xxviij. day of Nouember the Archdeacons Officiall viſited in Hynton, where he gaue in charge to preſent all ſuch as dyd diſturbe the Queenes proceedynges, in lettyng the Latine ſeruice, the ſettyng vp of their altars, and ſaying of Maſſe, or any part thereof: whereby it was eaſie to ſee how theſe good fellowes ment to procede, hauyng the law once on their ſide, that thus readely agaynſt a manifeſt law would attempt the puniſhment of any man.

K. Edwardes actes repealed.

The xv. day of December, there was two Proclamations at London: the one for the repealyng of certaine Actes made by kyng Edward, and for the ſettyng vppe of the Maſſe, for the xx. day of December then next followyng: the other was, that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay Maſſe.

The Parliament begynnyng about the v. day of October, continued till the v. of December. In the whiche Parliament were diſſolued as well all Statutes made of Premunire in the tyme of kyng Henry viij. &c. as alſo other lawes and ſtatutes concernyng religion and adminiſtration of Sacramentes decreed vnder kyng Edward the vj. as is partly aboue touched. In the whiche Parliament moreouer was appointed the. xx. day of December next enſuyng the ſame yeare. 1553. that all the olde forme and manner of Church ſeruice, vſed in the laſt yeare of kyng Henry, ſhould now agayne be reſtored.

On Newyeares euen beyng the laſt of December, the Lorde Marques of Northampton was deliuered out of the Tower.

A Prieſt of Cant. recantyng his ſayng Maſſe.

About this tyme a Prieſt at Caunterbury ſayd Maſſe on the one day and the next day after he came into ye Pulpyt and deſired all the people to forgiue hym, for he ſayd he had betrayed Chriſt, but not as Judas dyd, but as Peter dyd, and there made a long Sermon agaynſt the Maſſe.

The day after Newyeares day beyng the ſecond day of January, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. foure Ambaſſadours came into London from the Emperour, and were honorably receiued. Their names were theſe. Le Conty de Egmont, Le County de Lalen, Mounſieur Coirire, Le Chauncellour Nigre.

About this tyme a great number of newe Byſhoppes, Deanes, &c. were choſen, more then were made at one tyme ſince the Conqueſt. Their names are theſe.

New Byſhops made.

D. Holymā B. of Briſtow.
D. Coates Byſh. of Weſtcheſter.
D. Hopton Byſh. of Norwiche.
D. Bourne Byſh. of Bath.
D. White B. of Lyncolne.
D. Meres B. of Rocheſter.
D. Morgan Byſh. of Saint Dauyes.
D. Poole B. of Saint Aſſe.
D. Brookes Byſh. of Gloceſter.
D. Moreman coadiutor to the Byſhop of Exceter and after his deceaſſe Byſhop of Exceter.
D. Glin Biſhop of Bāgor.
M. Fecknam Deane of Paules.
D. Raynoldes Deane of Briſtow, with others.

The xij. day of January, the Vicechauncellour of Cambridge called a congregation generall, wherein amongeſt other thynges, he ſhewed that the Queene would haue there a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt vpon the xviij. day of February then next followyng, for that it was her byrth day, whiche was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very ſolemnely.

D. Crome committed to the Fleete

The mariage of Q. Mary.

Upon the Saterday beyng the xiij. of January Doct. Crome was committed to the Fleete. Alſo vpon the Sonday followyng one M. Addyngton was committed to the Tower. Alſo this ſame Sonday knowledge was giuen in the Court openly by the Byſhop of Wincheſter that the Mariage betwen the Queenes Maieſtie & the kyng of Spaine was concluded, and the day followyng, beyng Monday and the xv. of January, the Maior, with the Aldermen and certaine Commoners were at the Court, and there they were commaunded by the Lord Chauncellour to prepare the Citie ready to receaue the ſayd kyng of Spayne, who declared vnto thē what a Catholicke, mighty, prudent & wiſe prince the ſayd kyng is, with many other commendations of hym.

Upon the Saterday folowing beyng the xx. of January, the Court of the firſt fruites and tenthes was diſſolued.

Upon the Thurſday at night folowyng the xxv. day of January, the Lord Marques of Northampton was agayne committed to the Tower, and ſir Edward Warnar with him. who were brought to the Tower by the Maior.

Juſtice Hales committed to the Marſhalſey.

M. Rogers committed to Newgate.

Uppon the Saterday followyng beyng the xxvj. of January, Juſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſee, and the ſame day maiſter Rogers was committed to Newgate. Upon this Saterday, Sonday, and Monday followyng the Londiners prepared a number of ſouldiours (by the Queenes commaundement) to go into Kent agaynſt the Commons: whereof were chief Captaines the Duke of Northfolke, the Earle of Wormewood, ſir Harry Jernyngham, ſir George Haward, and x. other Captaines. Which ſouldiours whē they came to Rocheſter bridge, where they ſhould haue ſet vppon their enemyes, moſt of them (as it is ſayd) left their owne Captaines and came wholy to the Kentiſhmen, and ſo the foreſayd Captaines returned to the Court both voyde of men and victory, leauyng behynd them both vj. peeces of ordinaunce, and treaſure.

About the latter ende of January, the Duke of Suffolke with his brethren departed from his houſe at Shene, and tooke hys viage into Leyceſter ſhyre. After whom was ſent the Earle of Huntyngton to take hym and bryng hym to London, who proclaymed the ſayd Duke traytor by the way as he roade.

And thus paſſyng to the moneth of February, here is

Straunge ſightes ſeene before the comming in of K. Philip, and ſubuerſion of Religion.

to be noted by the way of ſtory, that vppon the .xv. day of the ſayd moneth beyng Thurſday, there was ſene within the Citie of London about .ix. of the clocke in the forenoone, straunge ſightes. There was ſene two Sunnes both ſhynyng at once, the one a good prettie way diſtaunt from the other. At the ſame tyme was alſo ſene a Raynebow turned contrary, and a great deale hygher then hath bene accuſtomed. The common ſtandyng of the Raynebow is thus ⌒ but this ſtoode thus ‿ with the head downeward, and the feete as it were vpward. Both theſe ſightes were ſene as well at Weſtminſter, in Chepeſide, on the Southſide of Paules, as in very many other places, and that by a great nũber of honeſt men. Alſo certaine Aldermẽ went out of the Guild Hall to behold the ſight.

As touchyng the riſing of Maiſter Wyat, with Syr W. Cobham and others in Kent, & their commyng to London in the moneth of February: alſo of the Queenes commyng to the Guild Hall, and her Oration there made: and after of the takyng of the ſayd Wyat and his company: likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the Duke of Suffolke with his brother Lord John Gray: and the next day after of beheadyng of Lord Guilford and Lady Jane, which was the .xij. day of February: and how the day before, which was .xj. of the ſayd moneth, Lord William Haward and ſir Edward Haſtynges were ſent for the Lady Elizabeth: and how the ſame Sonday Syr Harry Iſeley, Maiſter Culpeper, and Maiſter Winter were committed to the Tower, the Byſhop of Winchester the ſame day beyng the .xj. of February, preachyng before the Queene, & perſwadyng her to vſe no mercy toward theſe Kentiſhmẽ, but ſeuere executiõ, al which was in the moneth of February: becauſe moſt of theſe matters haue bene briefly touched before, or els may be founde in other Chronicles, I will ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: hauyng ſomewhat notwithſtandyng to declare touchyng the raynment and death of the Duke of Suffolke.

The Lady Elizabeth ſent for.

The Byſhop of Wincheſter preacheth.

The Duke of Suffolke arraigned.

Upon Saterday beyng the .xvij. day of February, the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condemned to dye by his Peeres, the Earle Arundell was chief Judge for this day.

Upon the Sonday followyng, which was the .xviij. day of the ſayd moneth, Seſſions was kept in London, which hath not before bene ſene to be kept vpon the Sonday.

Upon the Monday the .xix. of February, the Lord Cobhams three ſonnes and foure other men were arraygned at Weſtminſter: of which ſonnes the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name is Thomas, and the other two came not at the barre, and the other foure were condemned.

The Lorde John Gray arraigned.

Upon the Tueſday beyng the .xx. of February, the Lord John Gray was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned the ſame day, and other three men, whereof one was named Naſler.

Uppon the Wedenſday the .xxj. of February the Lord Thomas Gray, & ſir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower with a number of horſemen.

Syr Nicolas Throgmorton committed to the Tower.

Upon the Thurſday beyng the .xxij. of February, Syr Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Upon the Friday beyng the .xxiij. of February. 1554. the Duke of Suffolke was beheaded at the Tower hill the order of whoſe death here foloweth.

¶ The godly ende and death of the Duke of Suffolke beheaded at Tower hyll. an. 1554. Febr. 23.

The order and maner of the Duke of Suffolkes death.

On Friday the .xxiij. of February. 1554. about .ix. of the clocke in the fore noone, the Lord Henry Gray Duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the Tower of London vnto the Scaffold on the Tower hill, with a great company. &c. and in his commyng thether there accompanyed hym Doctour Weſton as hys Ghoſtly father, notwithſtandyng, as it ſhould ſeeme, agaynſt the will of the ſayd Duke. For when the Duke went vp to the Scaffold, the ſayd Weſton beyng on his left hand, preaſed to goe vp with hym. The Duke with his hand put him downe agayne of the ſtayres: and Weſton takyng hold of the duke, forced him downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond tyme, the Duke agayne put him downe.

D. Weſton the Dukes ghoſtly father, againſt the Dukes will.

Weſton put backe by the Dukes hand.

Then Weſton ſayd that it was the Queenes pleaſure he ſhould ſo do. Wherewith the Duke caſtyng hys handes abroade, aſcended vppe the Scaffold, and pauſed a prettye while after. And then he ſayd: Maiſters I haue offended the Queene, and her lawes, and thereby am iuſtly condemned to dye, and am willyng to dye, deſiryng all men to be obedient, and I pray GOD that this my death may be an enſample to all men, beſeechyng you all to beare me witneſſe, that I dye in the fayth of Chriſt, truſtyng to be ſaued by hys bloud onely, and by no other trumpery, the which dyed for me, and for all them that truely repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in hym. And I do repent, deſiryng you all to pray to God for me, that when you ſee my breath depart from me, you wil pray to God that he may receiue my ſoule. And then he deſired all men to forgeue him, ſaying that the Queene had forgeuen him.

The wordes of the Duke to the people.

The godly fayth and confeſſion of the Duke at hys death.

Then M. Weſton declared with a loude voyce that the Queenes Maieſtie had forgiuen him. With that diuers of the ſtanders by ſayd with meetely good and audible voyce: ſuch forgiuenes God ſend thee, meanyng Doctour Weſton. Then the Duke kneeled downe vppon his knees and ſayd the Pſalme Miſerere mei Deus, vnto the end, holding vp his handes and lookyng vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Pſalme, he ſayd: In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum. &c. Then he aroſe and ſtode vp and deliuered his cap and his ſkarffe vnto the executioner.

The Duke prayeth.

Then the ſayd executioner kneeled downe and aſked the Duke forgiuenes. And the Duke ſayd, God forgiue thee & I do, & when thou doeſt thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bryng me out of this world quickly, and God haue mercy to thee. Thẽ ſtode there a mã & ſayd, my Lord, how ſhall I do for the money that you do owe me? And the Duke ſayd, alas good felow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knitte a kercher about his face and kneeled downe and ſayd. Our father whiche art in heauen. &c. vnto the ende. And then he ſayd, Chriſt haue mercy vpon me, and layd downe his head on the blocke, and the executioner tooke the Axe, and at the firſt choppe ſtroke of his head, and held it vp to the people. &c.

The Duke prepareth hym to death.

The end of the Duke of Suffolke.

The ſame day a number of priſoners had their pardon, & came through the Citie wyth their halters about theyr neckes. They were in * number about two hundreth.

* The number of theſe were 240. which with halters about their neckes paſſed through the Cytye to Weſtminſter and had their Pardon.

Upon the Saterday the 24. of February, Syr Williã Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maiſter of the horſe to be kept. Thys Syr William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabethes Gentlemen.

Upon the Sonday beyng 25. of February, Syr John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

Prieſtes diuorced

In thys weeke all ſuch Prieſtes within the Dioces of London as were maried, were diuorced from their liuings, and commaunded to bryng in their wyues within a fortnight, that they might lykewiſe be diuorced frõ them. This the Byſhop dyd of hys owne power.

Upon the Tueſday in the ſame weeke beyng the 17. of February, certayne Gentlemẽ of Kent were ſent into Kẽt to be executed there. Their names were theſe, the ij. Mãtelles, ij. Kneuettes, and Bret: with theſe M. Rudſton alſo and certaine other were condemned, and ſhoulde haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

Gentlemen ſent into Kent to be executed.

M. Rudſton with certayne others, pardoned.

As touchyng the foreſayd M. Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was lead to execution, & at hys firſt caſtyng vnder the Gallowes, the rope brake. Then they would haue had him recanted the truth, and receiued the ſacrament of the aultar (as they terme it) & then they ſayd he ſhould haue the Queenes pardõ: but M. Mãtell lyke a worthy Gentleman, refuſed their ſerpentine counſell, and choſe rather to dye, then to haue life for diſhonouryng of God.

Moreouer, as touching the ſayd M. Mantel, for that he was reported falſely to haue fallen from the conſtancy of his profeſſion, to cleare himſelfe thereof, and to reproue the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of hys recantation, he wrote thys briefe Apologie in purgation of hymſelfe: the copie whereof you ſhall heare.

¶ The Apologie of M. Mantell the elder.

March. 2.

Perceiuyng that already certayne falſe reportes are rayſed of me concerning my aunſweres in the behalfe of my beliefe, whyles I was pryſoner in the Tower of London, and conſideryng how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe litle ones that beleue in Chriſt: I haue thought it the duty of a Chriſtian mã as neare as I cã (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleaſed the queenes maieſty to ſend vnto me M. Doct. Bourne, vnto whom at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my faith in all poyntes to agree wyth the foure Creedes, that is, the cõmõ Creede, the Creede of Nicene, Quicunque vult, and Te deũ laudamus.

The beliefe of M. Mantell the elder.

D. Bourne ſent to M. Mantell.

Further, as concerning confeſſion and penaunce, I declared that I could be cõtent to ſhew vnto any learned miniſter of Chriſtes Church, any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a man I woulde moſt willyngly heare abſolution pronounced.

M. Mantell opposed in the Sacrament.

Touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter (as he termed it) I ſayd that I beleued Chriſt to be there preſent as the holy Ghoſt ment when theſe wordes were written: Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Further, when this would not ſatiſfie, I deſired hym to cõſider that I was a cõdemned man to die by a law, & that it was more meete for me to ſeeke a readynes & preparatiõ to death. And in ſo much as I diſſented not from him in any article of the Chriſtiā fayth neceſſary to ſaluation, I deſired him for Gods ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as which to beleue is neither ſaluation, nor not to beleue, damnation. He aunſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the Catholicke Church, my ſoule was in great daunger, therfore much more in this great matter, alledgyng this text: Qui offenderit in minimo, factus eſt reus omnium. i. He that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is gilty of them all. Yea (quoth I) Verum eſt, ex hiſce mandatis. i. It is true, of theſe commaundementes of God. To this I deſired hym to conſider, that it was not my matter, neither was I able in theſe matters to keepe diſputation, nor mynded ſo to do, and therfore to take theſe fewe wordes for a full aunſwere, that I, not onely in the matter of the Sacrament, but alſo in all other matters of Religion, beleue as the holy Catholicke Church of Chriſt (grounded vppon the Prophetes and Apoſtles) beleueth. But vppon this worde Churche we agreed not, for I tooke exception at the Antichriſtian Popiſh Church.

Math. 5.
Iacob. 2.

The Church.

D. Bourne and M. Mantell diſagree in the Maſſe.

Then fell we in talke of the Maſſe, wherein we agreed not: for I, both for the occaſiō of Idolatry, and alſo the cleare ſubuerſion of Chriſtes inſtitution, thought it nought: and he è contra vpon certaine conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I fóunde fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propitiatory for ſinne, and at certaine other applications of it. But he ſaid that it was not a propitiatory ſacrifice for ſinne (for the death of Chriſt onely was that Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then I: if ye thinke ſo, certaine blaſphemous Collectes left out, I could be content (were it not for offendyng my poore brethren that beleue in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to heare your Maſſe. See (quoth he) how vayne glory toucheth you. Not ſo Syr (quoth I) I am not now, I thanke God, in caſe to be vayn glorious.

Bourne maketh the Maſſe a communion.

1. Cor. 11.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yes (ſayth he) one Prieſt ſaying Maſſe here, and an other there, and the thyrd in an other place. &c. is a communion. This agreeth ſcarcely with theſe wordes of Paule (ſaid I): Non in melius, ſed in deterius cōuenitis. i. Ye come not after a better maner, but after a worſe. Yea, & it is a cōmunion to (ſayd he) whē they come together. Now draweth on the tyme (quoth he) that I muſt depart frō you to the Court, to ſay Maſſe before the Queene, and muſt ſignifie vnto her in what caſe I finde you, and me thinke I finde you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſayd, I pray you report the beſt, for I truſt you finde me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay, are ye content to heare Maſſe, and to receaue the Sacrament in the Maſſe? I beſeech you, ſayd I, ſignifie vnto her Maieſtie, that I am neither obſtinate, nor ſtubburne, for tyme and perſwaſion may alter me, but as yet my conſcience is ſuch, that I can neither heare Maſſe, nor receaue the Sacrament after that ſort. Thus after certaine requeſtes made to the Queenes Maieſtie concernyng other matters, he departed.

Mantell neyther obſtinate nor ſtubborne.

The next day he came to me agayne and brought with him S. Cypriās workes, for ſo had I required hym to do the day before, becauſe I would ſee his Sermon De mortalitate. He had in this booke turned in and enterlyned certaine places, both concernyng the Church and the Sacrament, which hee willed me to read. I read as much as my tyme would ſerue, and at his next commyng I ſayd that I was wholy of Cyprianes mynde in the matter of the Sacrament. Doctour Weſton and Doctour Mallet came after to me, whom I aunſwered much after that ſorte as I did the other. Doct. Weſton brought in the place of Cyprian, Panis iſte non effigie ſed natura mutatus. &c. I aſked of him how natura was taken in the Conuocation houſe in the diſputation, vppon the place of Theodoret.

To be ſhort Doctour Bourne came often vnto me, and I alwayes ſayd vnto him that I was not mynded nor hable to diſpute in matters of Religió, but I beleued as the holy Catholicke Church of Chriſt, grounded vppon the Prophetes and Apoſtles doth beleue, and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy fathers Cyprian and Auguſtine do write and beleued, and this aunſwere and none other they had of me in effect, what wordes ſoeuer haue bene ſpread abroad of me that I ſhould be conformable to all thynges. &c. the truth is, I neither heard Maſſe nor receaued the Sacrament duryng the tyme of my impriſonment.

M. Mantell conſtant in his religion.

One tyme he willed me to be confeſſed. I ſayd I am content. We kneeled downe to pray together in a window. I begā without Benedicite, deſiring him not to looke at my hād for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeration of my ſinnes. Therewith he was called away to the Coūſell, & ego liberatus. Thus much I bare onely for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I haue offended any Chriſtian, from the bottome of my hart I aſke them forgeuenes. I truſt God hath forgeuen me, who knoweth that I durſt neuer deny him before men, leſt he ſhould deny me before his heauenly father.

Thus haue I left behynd me written with myne owne hand, the effect of all the talke, eſpecially of the worſt that euer I graunted vnto, to the vttermoſt that I can remember, as (God knoweth) all the whole communication I haue not written, for it were both to long and to fooliſhe ſo to doe. Now I beſeech the liuyng God which hath receaued me to his mercy and brought to paſſe that I dye ſtedfaſt and vndefiled in his truth, at vtter defiaunce and deteſtation of all Papiſticall and Antichriſtian doctrine, I beſeech hym (I ſay) to keepe and defend all his choſen, for his names ſake, from the tyranny of the Byſhoppe of Rome that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of all his ſatelites. Gods indignation is knowen: he will try and proue who be his. Amende your lyues. Deny not Chriſt before men leſt he deny you before his heauenly father. Feare not to loſe your lyues for him, for ye ſhall finde them agayne. God hold his mercyfull hand ouer this Realme, and auert the plagues imminent, from the ſame. God ſaue the Queene and ſend her knowledge in his truth. Amen, pray, pray, pray ye Chriſtians, and comforte your ſelues with the Scriptures.

Written the 2. March. an. 1554. by me Walter Mantell priſoner, whom both God and the world hath forgeuen his offences. Amen.

And thus much concernyng the purgation of Maiſter Walter Mantel, who if he had conſented vnto the Queene, what tyme ſhe ſent Doctour Bourne vnto him, to reny his fayth, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and eſcaped with lyfe.

March 3. Syr Gawen Carew and M. Gibbes, brought to the Tower.

Upon the Saterday beyng the iij. of March, ſir Gawen Carew, and maiſter Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

March 7.

In Lōdon the vij. day of March, euery houſholder was cōmaunded to appeare before the Alderman of their ward, and there were commaunded, that they, their wiues, & ſeruauntes, ſhould prepare themſelues to ſhrift, and receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of thē ſhould depart out of the Citie, vntill Eaſter was paſt.

March 18. Lady Elizabeth brought to the Tower.

Upon the Sonday followyng, beyng the xviij. day of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the Queenes Siſter, was brought to the Tower.

March 24.

Upon Eaſter euen, beyng the xxiiij. of March, the Lord Marques of Northāpton, the Lord Cobham, and ſir William Cobham were deliuered out of the Tower.

March. 25.

The Pixe riſen out of the Sepulchre from all the watchmen at S. Pancraſe Church.

M. Marſh burthened with ſuſpition and with his mariage.

The xxv. day (beyng Eaſter day) in the mornyng, at S. Pancraſe in Cheape, the Crucifixe with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed maner hee put his hand into the Sepulchre, and ſayd very deuoutly: Surrexit non eſt hic, **hee founde his wordes true, for hee was not there in deede. Wherupon beyng halfe diſmayd, they conſulted amongeſt themſelues whom they thought to be likelieſt to do this thyng. In which debatement they remembred one Marſh, whiche a litle before had bene put from that perſonage, becauſe he was maryed, to whoſe charge they layd it. But when they could not proue it, beyng brought before the Maior, they then burdened hym to haue kept cōpany with his wife ſince that they were by commaundement diuorſed. Whereto he aunſwered, that hee thought the Queene had done him wrōg to take frō him both his liuing and his wife: which wordes were then noted, and taken very greuouſly, & he & his wife were both committed to ſeuerall Counters, notwithſtandyng that he had bene very ſicke.**

Aprill 8. A Cat hanged with a ſhauen crowne, vpon the gallowes in Chepeſide.

The viij. of Aprill, there was a Cat hanged vppon a gallowes at the Croſſe in Cheape, apparelled like a Prieſt ready to ſay Maſſe, with a ſhauen crowne. Her two forefeete were tyed ouer her head, with a rounde paper lyke a wafer cake put betwene them: whereon aroſe great euill will agaynſt the Citie of London. For the Queene and the Byſhops were very angry withall: and therfore the ſame after noone, there was a Proclamation, that who ſoeuer could bring forth the party that did hang vp the Cat, ſhould haue .xx. nobles, whiche reward was afterwardes increaſed to .xx. markes, but none could, or would earne it.

The number and occaſion of gallowes ſet vp in the Citie of London.

As touchyng the firſt occaſion of ſettyng vp this Gallowes in Cheapeſide, here is to bee vnderſtand, that after the Sermon of the Byſhop of Wincheſter (aboue mentioned) made before the Queene for the ſtrayte execution of Wyates Souldiours, immediatly vppon the ſame, the .xiij. of February, were ſet vp a great number of Gallowes in diuers places of the Citie, namely two in Chepeſide, one at Leaden hall, one at Billynges gate, one at S. Magnes Churche, one in Smithfield, one in Fleeteſtreete, foure in Southwarke, one at Algate, one at Byſhops gate, one at Alderſgate, one at Newgate, 1. at Ludgate, 1. at S. James Parcke corner, 1. at Cripplegate: all which Gibbets & Gallowes to the number of .xx. there remayned, for terrour of other,

1554. April. 11.

ther, from the xiij. of February, till the iiij. of June, and then at the commyng in of kyng Philip were taken downe.

M. Wiats wordes touching the Lady Elizabeth.

The xj. day of April, was Syr Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at Tower hill, where hee vttered theſe wordes, touchyng the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earle of Deuonſhyre. Concernyng (ſayd he) what I haue ſayd of other in my examination, to charge any other as partakers of my doynges, I accuſe neither my Lady Elizabethes grace, nor my Lorde of Deuonſhyre. I can not accuſe them, neither am I able to ſay, that, to my knowledge, they knew any thing of my riſing. And when Doctour Weſton told him, that his confeſſion was otherwiſe before the Counſell, he aunſwered: that which I ſayd then, I ſayd: but that which I ſay now, is true.

April. 17. Sir James Croft. M. Winter. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

Upon the Tueſday beyng the xvij. of April, Syr James Croft, and Maiſter Wynter, were brought to the Guild hall, with whom alſo the ſame tyme, and to the ſame place was brought ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracie with the duke of Suffolke, and the reſt agaynſt the Queene, where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaued him ſelfe (as well in clearyng his owne caſe as alſo in openyng ſuch lawes of the Realme as were then alledged agaynſt him) that the Queſt which was charged with his matter, could not in conſcience, but finde him not gilty: for the which the ſayd xij. perſons of the Queſt, beyng all ſubſtantiall mẽ of the Citie, were bounde in the ſumme of 500. poundes a peece, to appeare before the Queenes coũſell at a day appointed, there to aũſwere ſuch thynges as ſhould be layd againſt them for his acquityng. Which Queſt appeared accordyngly before the Counſell in the Starre chamber vpon Wedenſday, beyng the xxv. of April, and S. Markes day. From whence, after certaine queſtionyng, they were committed to priſon, Emanuell Lucar, and maiſter Wheſtone were committed to the Tower and the other ten to the Fleete.

The Queſt troubled for ſir Nicholas Throgmorton.

April. 25.

As concernyng the condemnation of Thomas Archbyſhop of Cant. of Doctour Ridley, and M. Latymer, which was the xx. of this moneth of April, & alſo of their diſputations, becauſe we haue ſayd enough before, it ſhall not neede now to beſtow any further rehearſall therof.

Thomas Gray beheded. April. 27.

The Friday next followyng, after the condemnation of theſe, the xxvij. of April Lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolkes brother, was beheaded at Tower hill.

April. 28.

Upon the Saterday, beyng the xxviij. of April, Syr James Croft, and Maiſter Winter were agayne brought to the Guild hall, where Syr James Croft was arraigned and condemned, and becauſe the day was farre ſpent, Maiſter Winter was not arraigned.

W. Thomas condemned. May. 17.

Upon the Thurſday, beyng the xvij. of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guild Hall, and there the ſame day condemned. Who the next day after, was hanged, drawne, and quartered. His accuſation was, for conſpiryng the Queenes death: which how true it was, I haue not to ſay. This is certaine, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitefull exhortations, Letters and Sonets in the priſon before his death.

A certain diſputation intended to be had at Cambridge.

In the moneth of May it was ſo giuen out, and bruited abroad, that a ſolemne diſputation ſhould bee holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in Maiſter Ridleys letter pag. 1394.) betwene M. Bradford, M. Saunders, maiſter Rogers, and other of that ſide, and the Doctours of both the Uniuerſities on the other ſide, like as had bene in Oxford before, as you haue heard. Whereupon the godly preachers which were in priſon hauyng word therof, albeit they were deſtitute of their bookes, neither were ignoraunt of the purpoſe of the aduerſaries, and how the cauſe was preiudicate before, alſo how the diſputations were confuſedly handled at Oxford: neuertheleſſe they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard, and therefore wiſely ponderyng the matter with themſelues, by a publicke conſent, directed out of priſon a declaration of their mynde by wrytyng, the vij. day of May. Wherein firſt as touchyng the diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould do no good, whereas all thynges were ſo predetermined before, yet neuertheleſſe, they would not deny to diſpute, ſo that the diſputation might be either before the Queene, or before the Counſaile, or before the Parliament houſes, or els if they might diſpute by wrytyng: for els if the matter were brought to the Doctours handlyng in their owne ſcholes, they haue ſufficient proufe (they ſayd) by the experience of Oxford, what little good will be done at Cambridge: and ſo conſequently declaryng the fayth and doctrine of their Religion, and exhortyng the people withall to ſubmit them ſelues with all patience and humilitie, either to the will or puniſhment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end frõ them to be their Judges in this behalfe, and ſo end their Proteſtatiõ: the copy and contentes wherof I thought not vnfitte here to be inſerted.

The Preachers in priſon refuſe not to diſpute before indifferent Judges.

¶ A copie of a certayne declaration drawen and ſent out of priſon by Maiſter Bradford, Maiſter Saũders, and diuers other godly preachers, concernyng their diſputation, and doctrine of their Religion, as foloweth.

A declaration of the godly Preachers written and ſent abrode out of Priſon.

BEcauſe we heare that it is determined of the magiſtrates and ſuch as be in authoritie, eſpecially of the Clergye, to ſend vs ſpeedely out of the priſons of the Kynges Bench, ỹ Fleet, the Marſhalſey, and Newgate where preſently we are, and of long tyme ſome of vs hath ben, not as rebelles, traytors, ſeditious perſons, theeues, or tranſgreſſours of any lawes of thys realme, inhibitions, Proclamations, or commaundementes of the Queenes highnes, or of any of hir Councelles (Gods name be praiſed therfore) but alonely for the conſcience we haue to God and hys moſt holy worde & truth, vpon moſt certayne knowledge: becauſe we ſay, ỹ we heare that it is determined, we ſhall be ſent to one of the Uniuerſities of Cambridge, or Oxford, there to diſpute wyth ſuch as are appoynted in that behalfe: in that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwyſe then by wrytyng, except it may be before the Queenes hyghnes and her Counſell, or before ỹ Parlament houſes, and therfore perchaunce it wyll be bruted abroad, that we are not able to mayntayne by the truth of Gods worde, and the conſent of the true Catholicke Church of Chriſt, the doctrine we haue generally and ſeuerally taught, and ſome of vs hath writtẽ & ſet forth (wherethrough the godly and ſimple may be offended & ſomewhat weakened): we haue thought it our bounden dutye, now whyleſt we may, by wrytyng to publiſhe and notifie the cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe then is aboue ſayde, to preuent the offences which myght come therby.

A taſte of a pretenſed diſputation to be had at Cambridge.

The cauſes why they wil not otherwiſe diſpute then before indifferent Judges. The matter of the diſputatiõ is againſt Gods word.

Firſt, becauſe it is euidently knowen vnto the whole world, that the determinations of both the Uniuerſities in matters of Religion, eſpecially wherein we ſhould diſpute, are directly agaynſt Gods word, yea agaynſt their owne determinations in the tyme of our late ſoueraigne Lorde and moſt godly Prince, kyng Edward: and further it is knowẽ they be our open enemyes, and haue already condemned our cauſes, before any diſputation had of the ſame.

The ſecond cauſe.

Secondly, becauſe the Prelates and clergie do not ſeeke eyther vs or the veritie, but our deſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought vs (as charitie requireth) thẽ would they haue called vs forth herebefore before their lawes were ſo made, that franckly and wythout perill we myght haue ſpoken our conſciences. Agayne, if they had ſought for the veritie, they would not haue concluded of controuerſies, before they had bene diſputed: ſo that it eaſily appeareth that they ſeeke their owne glory and our deſtruction, and not vs and the veritie: and therfore we haue good cauſe to refuſe diſputation, as a thyng which ſhall not further preuayle, then to the ſettyng forth of their glory, and the ſuppreſſion of the veritie.

In the diſputatiõ neither charitie nor verity ſought for.

The third cauſe. The Judges of the diſputation profeſſed enemyes againſt the truth.

Thirdly, becauſe the Cenſors & Judges (as we heare who they be) are manifeſt enemyes to the truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate enemyes, before whom pearles are not to be caſt, by the commaundementes of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, and by his owne example. That they be ſuch their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Conuocatiõ houſe in October laſt paſt, do moſt euidently declare.

The 4. cauſe.

Fourthly, becauſe ſome of vs haue bene in priſon theſe 8. or 9. monethes, where we haue had no bookes, no paper, no penne, no inke, or conuenient place for ſtudy, we thynke we ſhould do euill thus ſodaynly to deſcend into diſputation wyth them, which may alledge as they liſt, the fathers and their teſtimonies, becauſe our memories haue not that which we haue read ſo readily, as to reproue, when they ſhall report and wreſt the authors to their purpoſe, or to bryng forth that we may haue there for our aduauntage.

Want of bookes neceſſary for diſputation.

The 5. cauſe.

Fiftly, becauſe in diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our Argumentes, but be ſtopped when we would ſpeake, one ſaying thus, an other that, the third hys mynde &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, eſpecially D. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare hys mynde and meanyng of the propoſitions, & had oftentimes halfe a dozen at once ſpeakyng agaynſt hym: alwayes lettyng hym to proſecute hys argument, and to aunſwere accordingly: we wil not ſpeake of the hyſſing, ſcoffing, and tauntyng, which wonderfully then was vſed. If on thys ſort and much worſe they handled theſe fathers, much more wyll they be ſhameles bold with vs, if we ſhould enter into diſputation with them.

Example of the diſputation at Oxford.

The 6. cauſe.

Sixtly, becauſe the Notaries that ſhall receiue & write the diſputations, ſhalbe of their appointment, and ſuch as either do not or dare not fauour the truth, and therfore muſt write eyther to pleaſe them, or els, they themſelues (the Cenſours and Judges we meane) at their pleaſure wyll put to and take from, that which is written by ỹ Notaries,

Notaryes not indifferent.

who can not, nor muſt not haue in their cuſtody that whiche they write, longer then the diſputation indureth, as their doynges at Oxford declareth. No copy nor ſcroule could any man haue by their good will. For the Cenſors and Iudges will haue all deliuered into their handes: yea if any mã was ſent there to write (as the reporte is) the ſame man was ſent for, and his writynges taken from hym: ſo muſt the diſputation ſerue onely for the glory, not of God, but of the enemyes of his truth.

For theſe cauſes we all thinke it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with thẽ, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeeke, to promote the kyngdome of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſſe (as much as may be) the truth. We will not ſpeake of the offence that might come to the godly, when they ſhould heare, by the report of our enemies, our aunſweres and Argumentes framed (you may be ſure) for their fantaſies, to the ſclaunderyng of the veritie.

Exceptions taken againſt the aduerſaryes.

Conditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

Exhortation to obedience.

Therfore we publiſh, and by this writyng notifie vnto the whole congregation and Church of England, that for theſe aforeſayd cauſes we will not diſpute with them, otherwiſe then with the penne, vnleſſe it be before the Queenes highnes and her Counſell, or before the houſes of the Parliament, as is aboue ſayd. If they will write, we will aunſwere, & by writyng confirme and proue out of the infallible veritie, euen the very word of God, and by the teſtimonie of the good and moſt auncient fathers in Chriſtes Churche, this our fayth and euery peece therof, which hereafter we in a ſumme do write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that our good brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord may know it: and to ſeale vp the ſame, we are ready through Gods helpe & grace to geue our lyues to the halter or fier, or otherwiſe as God ſhall appoynt, humbly requiryng, and in the bowels of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, beſeechyng all that feare God, to behaue themſelues as obedient ſubiectes to the Queenes highneſſe and the ſuperiour powers, which are ordeined of God vnder her, rather after our example to giue their heads to the blocke, then in any poynt to rebell or once to mutter agaynſt the Lordes annoynted: we meane our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Mary, into whoſe hart we beſech the Lord of mercy plentifully to poure the wiſedome and grace of his holy ſpirite, now and for euer. Amen.

The confeſſion and faith of the priſoned Preachers.

First, we confeſſe and beleue all the Canonicall bookes of the old Teſtament, and all the bookes of the new Teſtament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, and are therefore to be heard accordyngly, as the Iudge in all controuerſies and matters of Religion.

The Catholicke Church.

Secondly, we confeſſe and beleue the Catholicke Church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and louyng wife, to embrace and follow the doctrine of theſe bookes in all matters of Religion, and therefore is ſhe to be heard accordyngly: ſo that thoſe which will not heare this Church, thus folowyng and obeying the word of her huſband, we accompt as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, accordyng to this ſaying: If he will not heare the Churche, let him be vnto thee as a Heathen.

The Creed.

Thirdly, we beleue and confeſſe all the Articles of fayth & doctrine, ſet forth in the Symbole of the Apoſtles, which we commonly call the Creede, and in the Symboles of the Coũcels of Nice, kept An. dom. 324: of Conſtantinople kept An. dom. 384: of Epheſus kept An. dom. 432: of Calcedon, kept An. dom. 454: of Toletum, the firſt and fourth. Alſo the Symboles of Athanaſius, Irenæus, Tertullian, & of Damaſus, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 376: we cõfeſſe and beleue (we ſay) the doctrine of theſe Symboles generally and particularly: ſo that who ſoeuer doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to erre from the truth.

Iuſtification by fayth onely in Chriſte.

What faith is.

Righteouſnes in man, righteouſnes without mã.

The doctrine of free iuſtification defended for no curioſitie, but for quiet of conſcience.

Fourthly, we beleue and confeſſe concernyng iuſtification, that as it commeth onely from Gods mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceiued and had of none which be of yeares of diſcretion, otherwiſe then by fayth onely: whiche fayth is not an opinion, but a certaine perſwaſion wrought by the holy Ghoſt in the mynde and hart of man, where through as the mynde is illumined, ſo the hart is ſoupled to ſubmitte it ſelfe to the will of God vnfaynedly, and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent righteouſnes, which is to be diſcerned in the Article of iuſtification, from the righteouſnes which God endueth vs withall iuſtifiyng vs, although inſeperably they goe together. And thus we do not for curioſitie or contention ſake, but for conſcience ſake, that it might be quyet, which it can neuer be, if we confounde without diſtinction, forgeuenes of ſinnes, and Chriſtes Iuſtice imputed to vs, with regeneration and inherent righteouſneſſe. By this we diſalow Papiſticall doctrine of free will, of workes of ſupererogatiõ, of merites, of the neceſſitie of auricular confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction to Godwardes.

Seruice in the vulgar toung.

Fifthly, we confeſſe and beleue concernyng the exteriour ſeruice of God, that it ought to be accordyng to the word of God, and therfore in the congregation all thynges publike ought to be done in ſuch a toung as may be moſt to edifie, & not in Latin, where the people vnderſtand not the ſame.

Inuocation to God alone. Purgatory, and maſſes ſuffragatory, denyed.

Sixtly, we confeſſe and beleue that God onely by Chriſt Ieſus is to be prayed vnto and called vpon, and therfore we diſalow inuocation or prayer to Saintes departed this lyfe.

Seuenthly, we confeſſe and beleue, that as a mã departeth this lyfe, ſo ſhall he be iudged in the laſt day generally, & in the meane ſeaſon is entred either into the ſtate of the bleſſed for euer, or damned for euer, and therfore is either paſt all helpe, or els needes no helpe of any in this lyfe. By reaſon wherof we affirme Purgatory, Maſſes of Scala cœli, Trẽtals, and ſuch Suffrages as the Popiſh Church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the doctrine of Antichriſt.

Two ſacramentes.

Eightly, we confeſſe and beleue the Sacramentes of Chriſt, which be Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt, concernyng the ſubſtantiall partes of them: and that they be no longer Sacramentes, then they be had in vſe, and vſed to the end for the which they were inſtituted.

The ſupper to be miniſtred in both kinds.

And here we playnly confeſſe that the mutilation of the Lordes Supper, and the ſubtraction of the one kynde from the lay people, is Antichriſtian.

Againſt tranſubſtantiatiõ.

And ſo is the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramentall bread and wyne after the wordes of conſecratiõ, as they be called.

Againſt adoration of the ſacramẽt.

Item, the adoration of the Sacrament, with honor due vnto God: the reſeruation and caryyng about of the ſame.

The maſſe to be no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Item, the Maſſe to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, or a worke that pleaſeth God.

Inhibitiõ of Prieſtes mariage Antichriſtian.

All theſe we confeſſe and beleue to be Antichriſtes doctrine: as is the inhibition in Mariage as vnlawfull to any ſtate. And we doubt not by Gods grace, but we ſhall be able to proue all our confeſſions here to be moſt true by the veritie of Gods word, and conſent of the Catholicke Church, which followeth and hath folowed the gouernaũce of Gods ſpirite, and the iudgement of his word.

And this through the Lordes helpe we will do, either in diſputation by word before the Queenes hyghneſſe and her Cõſaile, either before the Parlament houſes, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, either with our pennes, whenſoeuer we ſhall be thereto by them that haue authoritie required and commaunded.

Exhortation againſt rebellion.

In the meane ſeaſon, as obedient Subiectes we ſhall behaue our ſelues towardes all that be in authoritie, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would gouerne them all, generally and particularly with the ſpirite of wiſedome and grace. And ſo we hartly deſire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no poynt conſentyng to any kynde of rebellion or ſedition agaynſt our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes hyghnes: but where they can not obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelues with all patience and humilitie to ſuffer as the will and pleaſures of the hygher powers ſhall adiudge: as we are ready through the goodnes of the Lord to ſuffer what ſoeuer they ſhall adiudge vs vnto, rather then we will conſent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſſe, vnleſſe we ſhall be iuſtly conuinced therof, either by writyng or by word, before ſuch Iudges as the Queenes hyghnes and her Counſell, or the Parliament houſes ſhall appoint: For the Vniuerſities and Clergy haue condemned our cauſes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all diſputation of the ſame: and therfore moſt iuſtly we may, & do appeale from them to be our Iudges in this behalfe, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appeare. The Lord of mercy endue vs all with the ſpirite of his truth and grace of perſeueraunce therein vnto the end. Amen.

The bigger parte againſt the better.

Appeale frõ the Vniuerſitie Doctors as not indifferent iudges.

The. 8. of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

Robert Menauen, aliâs Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
Iohn Philpot.
Ioha Bradford.
Iohan. Wigorn. & Glouc. Epiſcopus, aliâs
Iohn Hooper.
Edward Crome.
Iohn Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
I. P.
T. M.

The names of the priſoned preachers ſubſcribing to this declaration.

☞ To theſe thynges aboue ſayd, doe I Myles Couerdale late of Exon, conſent and agree with theſe my afflicted brethren being priſoners with myne owne hand.

And thus much cõcernyng this preſẽt declaratiõ ſubſcribed by theſe preachers, which was on the. viij. day of May.

May. 19.

Lady Elizabeth. Sir Iohn Williams.

Furthermore, the. xix. day of the ſayd moneth, the Lady Elizabeth, Siſter to the Queene, was brought out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of ſir Iohn Williams, after Lord Williams of Tame, of whom her highnes was gently and curteouſly entreated: who afterward was

had

1554. July. Syr Henry Benefield.

had to Woodſtocke, and there committed to the keepyng of Syr Henry Benifield Knight of Oxborough in Northfolke: who on the other ſide, both forgettyng her eſtate, and his owne duety, (as it is reported) ſhewed him ſelfe more hard and ſtraite vnto her, then either cauſe was geuen of her part, or reaſon of his owne part would haue led hym, if either grace or wiſdome in him might haue ſene before, what daunger afterward might haue enſued thereof. wherof we haue to entreate more at large (the Lord willyng) hereafter in the ſtory and life of Queene Elizabeth.

July 20. K. Phillip arriueth at Southampton. K. Phillip caryeth his ſworde naked commyng into England. The keyes of Southampton deliuered to K. Phillip.

Upon the Friday followyng, beyng the xx. of July and S. Margarettes day, the prince of Spayne landed at Southampton. The Prince him ſelfe was the firſt that landed: who immediately as he ſet foote vpon the land, drew out hys ſword, and caried it naked in his hand a good prety way.

Then met him without the Towne a little the Maior of Southampton with certaine Commoners, who deliuered the keyes of the Towne vnto the Prince, who remoued his ſword (naked as it was) out of his right hand, into his left hand, and ſo receiued the keyes of the Maior without any word ſpeakyng or countenaunce of thankefulnes, and after a while deliuered the keyes to the Maior agayne. At the towne gate met him the Earle of Arundell & Lord Williams, and ſo he was brought to his lodgyng.

July. 25. Mariage betwene K. Philip and Q. Mary.

Upon the Wedneſday followyng, beyng S. James day and ye xxv. of July, Philippe Prince of Spayne & Mary Queene of England, were maryed together ſolemnely in the Cathedrall Churche at Wincheſter, by the Byſhop of Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great number of noble men of both the Realmes. At the tyme of this mariage the Emperours Embaſſadour beyng preſent, openly pronounced, that in conſideration of that Mariage, the Emperour had graunted & geuen vnto his ſonne, the kyngdome of Naples. &c.

August. 1.

Whereupon the firſt day of Auguſt followyng, there was a Proclamation, that from that tyme forth, the ſtile of all maner of writynges ſhould be altered, and this followyng ſhould be vſed.

¶ Philip and Mary by the grace of God, Kyng & Queene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the Fayth, Princes of Spayne and Cicill, Archdukes of Auſtrich, Dukes of Millain, Burgũdie, and Brabant, Coũties of Haſpurge, Flaunders and Tyroll.

Of this Mariage, as the Papiſtes chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo diuers of them after diuers ſtudyes, to ſhewe forth their inward affections, ſome made Interludes and Pagentes, ſome drew forth Genealogyes, deriuyng his pedigrue from Edward the third and John of Gaunte, ſome made Verſes. Amongeſt all other Maiſter Whyte, then Byſhop of Lyncolne (his Poeticall vayne beyng drunken with ioye of the Mariage) ſpued out certaine Verſes: the copy whereof we haue here inſerted.

¶ Phillippi & Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo, Edwardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæque Regis filio deſcendiſſe oſtenduntur, Whito Lincolnienſe Authore.

Ille parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somerſetenſem comitem profert Iohannem,
Somerſetenſis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit Comitiſſam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni ſeptimus huius
Henrico octauo ſolium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſydere nata
Iure tenes ſacram, teneaſq; Maria coronam.

¶ Verſes of M. White Biſhop of Lyncolne, concernyng the Mariage of Philip and Mary.

Nubat vt angla anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inq; ſuum fontem regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hoſtis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timiduſq; ad prælia Gallus,
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex,
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinq; Cathenati pro pietate, volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius viſus,
Sed fidum regni Conſilium voluit.
Noluit ſeditioſus noſter Cantianus Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.

¶ Aunſwere by the reuerend Byſhop of Norwich, to the Byſhop of Lyncolne.

Externo nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Vt ſine pulſa ſuis ſceptra Britanna locis:
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis,
Anglorum non vult anchora ſola Deus.
Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.
Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Caypha, turba bicornis,
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus ſunt vincla iugalia curæ,
Quinq; cathenati Dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neq; tu prorſus Dudlæe animoſe volebas
Inuitum regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiſſimus ille Viatus,
Inuitis populus, ſic proceresq; volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hiſpanus rex ergò commoda ſecum,
Reginæ ſocias cum dedit ille manus?

¶ An other aunſwere by the ſayd Author.

Hiſpano nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Extirpetur ſtirps vt quoq; Nobilium:
Vult pater id veſter diſturbans omnia Dæmon,
Non vult Anglorum ſed pater Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer,
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, Papicolæq; volunt.
Grex mitratorum vultis, Cayphæ ipſa propago:
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo patrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui iure colunt hymenæos,
Quinq; cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus minimè voluit Northumbrius Heros:
Cui ſua perchara eſt patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis vt exulet omnis,
Non Graius, ſed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergò magis clarus qui ſit (rogo) ſanguis auitus,
Quando iugalis ſit iunctus vterq; thoro?

¶ Other Verſes aunſweryng to Byſhop White made by I. C.

Quamlibet Anglorum ſtirps ementita Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpana de genitrice fuit:
Vt tamen Hiſpano, confuſi ſanguinis Angla
Nuberet in genitis dedecus atq; patris,
Noluit Anglorum priſcæ virtutis amator,
Sed Deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica volet?
Pontifices fati, quaſi Cayphas, omina dantes
Nolebant: at grex cacolicos voluit.
Elegere pij connubia talia nolle:
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa fuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius octo mariti,
Quinq; cathenatis ob malefacta, dabant.
Noluit hos iungi thalamos Northumbrius heros:
O conſultores, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit haud æquo confligens marte Viatus,
Solaq;, quæ voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, neq; terra Britannia volebat:
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infœlicia, quando
Infœlix Maria eſt nupta Philippe tibi.

¶ Other verſes aunſweryng likewiſe.

Nubat vt Hiſpano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic age Whyte mihi, quos voluiſſe vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil,
Velle & nolle Dei eſt: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluiſtis:
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ſcias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates vt varius & augur,
Et mendax Whitus pſeudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla eſt,
Non Angla eſt, grauida eſt, non grauida eſt, grauis eſt.
Parturit atq; parit, ſic vos voluiſtis ouantes,
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menſes, mox deſerit idem:
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita fruſtrentur ſemper ſic vota malorum,
Perniciem patriæ qui voluere ſuæ.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

1554.

K. Phillip commeth to Windſore.

The Armes of England taken downe, and the armes of Spayne ſet vp.

K. Phillip commeth to London.

After the conſummation of which mariage, they both remoued frō Wincheſter to ſondrye other places, and by eaſy iourneyes came to Windſore Caſtle, where hee was ſtalled in the order of the Garter vppon ſondaye beyng the xij. of Auguſt. At which tyme an Herald tooke downe the armes of England at Wyndſore, and in the place of them would haue ſet the armes of Spayn, but hee was commaunded to ſet them vp agayne by certayne Lordes. From thence they both remoued to Richmond, and frō thence by water came to London and landed at the Byſhop of Wincheſters houſe through which they paſſed both into Southwarke parke, & ſo to Southwarke houſe called Suffolke place, where they lay that night beyng the 18. of Auguſt.

Auguſt. 19.

And the next day, beyng Saterday, and the xix. of Auguſt the Kyng and Queenes maieſties rode from Suffolke place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noble men as gentlemen) through the Citie of London to White Hall and at London bridge as he entred at the draw bridge, was a vayne great ſpectacle ſet vp, two Images repreſentyng ij Giantes, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagoge holdyng betwene them certayn Latin verſes, which for the vayne oſtentation of flattery, I ouer paſſe.

Vayne pageants of London.

And as they paſſed ouer the bridge, there was a number of ordinaunce ſhot at the Tower, ſuche as by olde mens report the lyke hath not bene heard or ſeene theſe hundreth yeares.

From London Bridge they paſſed to the Conduit in Gracious ſtreete whiche was finely painted, and among other thinges, the .ix. worthyes, whereof Kyng Henry the eyght was one. He was painted in harneſſe hauyng in one hand a ſworde, and in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written Verbum Dei, deliueryng the ſame booke (as it were) to hys ſonne K. Edward, who was Painted in a corner by hym.

Wincheſter can not abyde the booke called Verbum Dei.

But hereupon was no ſmall matter made for the Byſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chauncellor, ſent for the Painter and not onely called hym knaue for paintyng a booke in kyng Henries hand, and ſpecially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but alſo rancke Traytour and Villayne, ſaying to him that hee ſhould rather haue put the booke into the Queenes hand (who was alſo paynted there) for that ſhe had reformed the church and religion, with other thinges, accordyng to the pure and ſincere word of God in deede.

The painter ſent for to the B. of Wincheſter.

The Paynter aunſwered and ſayd, that if he had knowē that that had bene the matter wherefore his Lordſhyp ſent for hym, hee could haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his Lordſhyp.

The Painters aunſwere.

The byſhop anſwered & ſayd, that it was the Queenes maieſties will and commaundement that he ſhoulde ſende for him: and ſo commaundyng hym to wype out the booke and Verbum Dei too, he ſent hym home. So the Paynter departed, but fearyng leſt he ſhoulde leaue ſome parte eyther of the booke, or of Verbum Dei in kyng Henries hand: hee wyped away a peece of hys fingers withall.

Here I paſſe ouer and cut of other gaudes & Pageantes of paſtime ſhewed vnto him in paſſing through London, with the flattering verſes ſet vp in Latine, wherein were blaſed out in one place the fiue philips, as the fiue worthies of the world, Philip of Macedonia, Philip the Emperour, Philippus, Audax Philippus Bonus, Philip Prince of Spayne and Kyng of England.

V. Phillips.

In an other Poetry kyng Philip was reſembled by an Image repreſenting Orpheus, and al Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſauage beaſtes folowing after Orpheus harpe and daunſing after kyng Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the arte of the Latine verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſſe ouer the matter, hauing other grauer thynges in hand, and therefore paſſe ouer alſo the flight at paules church ſide of hym that came downe vpon a rope tyed to the batilmentes wyth hys head before, neyther ſtaying hymſelfe with hand nor foote: which ſhortly after coſt hym his life.

But one thyng by the way I can not let paſſe touchyng the young flouriſhing Roode newely ſet vp agaynſt this preſent tyme to welcome kyng Philip into Paules Church. The ſettyng vp of whiche Roode was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the beſt.

The erecting vp of the Roode at Paules.

An. 2. Mariæ. Boner in his royaltie, and all his Prebendaries about hym in Paules Quiere, the Roode layd a long vpon the pauement, and alſo all the doores of Paules beyng ſhut, the Byſhop with other, ſayd and ſong diuers prayers by the Roode: that beyng done, they annoynted the Roode with oyle in diuers places, and after the annoyntyng, crept vnto it and kiſſed it.

B. Boners God.

The Roode of Paules ſet vp with Te Deum.

After that they tooke the ſayd Roode and reared hym vppe and ſet hym in his olde accuſtomed place, and all the while they were doyng thereof, the whole Quiere ſang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the Belles, not onely for ioy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Salutation to the Roode of Paules.

Not long after this, a mery fellow came into Paules, and ſpyed the Roode with Mary and Iohn new ſet vppe whereto (among a great ſorte of people) he made low curteſie and ſayd: Syr, your Maiſterſhip is welcome to Towne. I had thought to haue talked further with your Maiſterſhyp, but that ye be here clothed in the Queenes colours. I hope ye be but a ſōmers byrd, in that ye be dreſſed in white and greene. &c.

The Prince thus beyng in the Church of Paules, after Doctour Harpeſfield had finiſhed his Oration in Latin, ſet forward through Fleateſtreete, and ſo came to White hall, where he with the Queene remayned foure dayes after, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond.

After this, all the Lordes had leaue to depart into their countreyes, with ſtraite commaundement to bryng all their harneſſe and artillery into the Tower of London with all ſpede. Now remayned there no Engliſh Lord at the court but the Byſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they remoued to Hampton Court, where the hall doore within the Court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, vnleſſe his arrand were firſt knowen: whiche ſeemed ſtraunge to Engliſh men that had not bene vſed thereto.

Septemb. 8.

About the eight day of September, Byſhop Boner began his viſitation, who charged vj. men in euery Pariſh to inquire (accordyng to their othes) and to preſent before hym the day after S. Mathewes day, beyng the xxij. of September, all ſuch perſons as either had or ſhould offende in any of his Articles, which he had ſet forth to the number of. 37. Of the whiche viſitation of Boner, I haue ſomewhat more largely to entreate, after that firſt I ſhall ouerpaſſe a few other thynges folowyng in courſe of this preſent ſtory.

Septemb. 17.

The xvij. day of September was a Proclamation in London, that all Vacabondes and maiſterles men, as well ſtraungers as Engliſh men, ſhould depart the Citie within fiue dayes: and ſtraitly chargyng all Inholders, Victualers, Tauerners, and Alehouſekepers, with all other that ſell victuals, that they (after the ſayd fiue dayes) ſhould not ſell any meate, drinke, or any kynde of victuall to any Seruyngman whatſoeuer, vnleſſe he brought a teſtimoniall frō his Maiſter to declare whoſe ſeruaunt he was, and were in continuall houſehold with his ſayd Maiſter, vpon payne to runne in daunger of the law if they offend herein.

Septemb. 30.

The B. of Wincheſter preacheth.

Vppon the Sonday followyng beyng the .xxx. day of September the Byſhop of Wincheſter Lord Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at whoſe Sermon were preſent all the Coūſel that were at the Court, namely the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earle of Arundell, Lord North, Syr Anthony Browne, Maiſter Rocheſter, Maiſter Walgraue, Maiſter Englefild, Lord Fitzwaters and Secretary Peter, & the Byſhop of London, Durelme, & Ely, which ſat vnder the Byſhops armes. The Goſpell whereof he made his Sermon is writtē in the .xxij. chap. of Math. where the Phariſeis came vnto Chriſt, & amōgſt them one aſked Chriſt which was the greateſt commaundement. Chriſt aunſwered: Thou ſhalt loue thy Lord God with all thy hart. &c. and thy neighbour as thy ſelfe, in theſe two is comprehended the law and the Prophetes.

A blaſphemous mouth agaynſt the true preachers of Gods word.

After his long declaration of theſe wordes, ſpeakyng very much of loue and charitie, at the laſt he had occaſion vpon S. Iames his wordes to ſpeake of the true teachers, and of the falſe teachers, ſaying, that all the Preachers almoſt in Kyng Edwardes tyme preached nothyng but voluptuouſneſſe, and filthy and blaſphemous lyes, affirmyng their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof S. Iames ſpeaketh: ſaying, that it was full of peruerſe zeale, earthly, full of diſcorde and diſſention, that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, & that they taught that it was lawfull for a man to put awaye his wife for adultery and marry an other, and that if a man vowed to day, hee might breake it to morrowe at his pleaſure, with many other thynges which I omit. And when he ſpoke of the Sacrament, he ſayd that all the Church from the begynnyng haue cōfeſſed Chriſtes naturall body to be in heauen, & that to be in the Sacramēt, and ſo concluded that matter: & then willed all men to ſay with Iosephes brethren: Peccauimus in fratrē. We haue all ſinned agaynſt our brother, & ſo (ſayd he) haue I to. Then he declared what a noble Kyng & Queene we haue, ſaying that if he ſhould go about to ſhew that the Kyng came hether for no neceſſitie or neede, & what hee had brought with him, it ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſeyng it is euidētly knowen that he hath x. tymes as much as we are in hope & poſſeſſion of, affirmyng him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle and temperate a Prince as euer was in England, and if it were not ſo proued, then to take him for a falſe lyar for his ſo ſaying: Exhortyng all men to make much of him, & to wynne

The Church neuer confeſſed the naturall body of Chriſt ſo to be in the Sacrament, that the ſubſtance of bread was taken away before the tyme of pope Innocent. 3. anno. 1215.

Wincheſter preacheth in commendation of King Phillip.

1554. Aprill.

hym whyleſt we had him, and ſo ſhoulde we alſo winne all ſuch as he hath brought with him, and ſo made an end.

Uppon the Tueſday following, beyng the ſecond day of October, xx. cartes came from Weſtminſter laden (as it was noyſed) with gold and ſiluer, and certayn of the Gard with them, through the Citie to the Tower, and there it was receiued in by a Spanyard, who was the kynges Treaſurer and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mattes and mayled in little bundels about ij. foote long and almoſt halfe a foote thicke, and euery cart were vi. of theſe bundels. What it was in dede God knoweth, for it is to vs vncertayne.

Joh. Streat.

About the ſame tyme, or a litle before, vppon Corpus Chriſti day, the proceſſiō beyng made in Smithfield, where after the maner the Prieſt with his boxe went vnder the Canapy by chaunce there came by the way a certayne ſimple man, named John Streate, a ioyner of Colemā ſtreete who hauyng ſome haſt in his buſines, and findyng no other way to paſſe through, by chaunce went vnder the Canapy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeyng the man ſo to preſume to come vnto the Canapy, beyng belyke afrayd, and worſe feared then hurt, for feare let his Pixe fall downe. The poore man beyng ſtraight wayes apprehended, was hadde to the Counter, the Prieſt accuſing hym vnto the Counſayle, as though he had come to ſlay him, when as the poore man (as he him ſelf hath ſince declared vnto vs) had no ſuch thought euer in his minde. Then from the Counter he was had vnto Newgate, where hee was caſt into the Dongeon, there chayned to a poſt, where he was cruelly & miſerably handled and ſo extremely dealt withall, that beyng but ſimple before, he was nowe feared out of his witte altogether, and ſo vpon the ſame, had to Bedlem, whervpon the briefe Chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which vntruely reporteth that hee fayned himſelfe in Newgate to be mad: which thinge we in writing of this hyſtory by due inquiſition of the partie, haue found to be contrary.

The Prieſt worſe feared then hurt.

The Prieſt let the Pixe fall for feare.

Joh. Streat innocently caſt in the Dungeon.

Joh. Streat falſly reported of.

October. 5.

About the v. day of October and within a fortnight folowing, were diuers as well houſholders as ſeruauntes & prentiſes apprehended and taken, and committed to ſondry priſons, for the hauing and ſellyng of certayne bokes which were ſent into England by the Preachers that fledde into Germany and other countryes, whiche bookes nipped a great number ſo neare, that within one fortnight there were litle leſſe then 60. impriſoned for this matter: among whom was M. Browne a Goldſmith, M. Sparke a Draper, Randall Tirer a Stationer, M. Beſton a Marchaunt, with many other.

Men priſoned for bookes.

October. 14.

Upon the Mondaye beynge the xiiij. daye of October, the old byſhop of Duresme preached in the ſhroudes.

Upon S. Lukes day folowing, beyng the xviij. of October the kyngs maieſtie came from Weſtminſter to paules Churche alonge the Streetes accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there hee was receiued vnder a Canapy at the weſt doore, and ſo came into the Chauncell where hee heard Maſſe (whiche a Spaniſh Byſhop & hys owne Chappell ſong) and that done hee returned to Weſtminſter to dyner agayne.

October. 26.

The trouble of the good men which were of M. Throgmortons queſt.

Upon the Friday beyng the xxvi. day of October, certeine men, whereof I ſpake before, whiche were of Maiſter Throgmortons queſt, beyng in number viij. for the other 4. were deliuered out of priſon, for that they ſubmitted them ſelues and ſayd they had offended, lyke weaklynges not conſideryng truth to be truth but of force for feare ſayd ſo: theſe viij. men I ſay (whereof Maiſter Emanuell Lucas, and M. Whetſtone were chiefe) were called before the Counſaile in the Starre chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all thynges in that matter accordyng to their knowledge and with good conſciences, euen as they ſhoulde aunſwere before God at the daye of Judgement. Where maiſter Lucas ſayde openly before all the Lordes, that they had done in the matter lyke honeſt men and true and faythfull ſubiectes, and therfore they humbly beſought the Lorde Chauncellor and the other Lordes, to be meanes to the Kyng and Queenes maieſties that they might bee diſcharged and ſet at libertie, and ſayd that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit them ſelues to their maieſties, ſauyng and reſeruyng their truth, conſciences and honeſty. Some of the Lordes ſayd that they were worthy to pay a thouſand poundes a peece, and other ſome ſayd that Maiſter Lucas and Maiſter Whetſtone were worthy to pay a thouſand Markes a peece, and the reſt fiue hundreth poūds a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was geuen by the Lorde Chauncellour that they ſhould pay a thouſand Markes a peece, and that they ſhould go to priſō agayne and there remayne till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

October. 30.

Upon the Tueſday beyng the xxx. of October, the L. John Gray was deliuered out of the Tower, and ſet at libertie.

Novemb. 4.

Upon Monday the iiij. of November, v. prieſtes did penaunce at Paules Croſſe, whiche were content to put away their wiues and take vppon them agayne to miniſter. Euery of them had a Taper in his hand, and a rod wherewith the preacher did diſple them.

November. 7.

Upon Wedenſday the vij. of November the Lord Paget and Syr Edward Haſtynges Maſter of the horſe were ſent as Ambaſſadours, I knowe not whether, but as it was iudged, to Cardenall Poole, who lay all the ſommer before at Bruxelles, and as it was thought: they were ſent to accompany and Conduct him into England, where at that tyme he was nominated and appointed Byſhop of Canterbury.

Cardinall Pools nominated Archbiſhop of Cant.

Upon the Friday folowing the ix. of November Maiſter Barlow late Byſhop of Bath and M. Cardmaker were brought before the Counſell in the Starre chamber, where after communication they were commaunded to the Fleete.

November. 10.

Upon the Saterday beyng the x. of November, the Shriues of London had commaundement to take an inuentory of euery one of there goods which were of M. Throgmortons queſt, and to ſeale vp their doores, which was done the ſame day. M. Whetſtone, maiſter Lucas, and Maiſter Kyteley, were adiudged to pay ij. thouſand pound a peece and the reſt a thouſand Markes a peece, to be payde within one fortnight after. From thys payment were exempted thoſe iiij. which confeſſed a fault and ſubmitted thē ſelues whoſe names are theſe, M. Loe, M. Pointer, M. Beſwicke, and M. Cater.

B. Boner goeth in his viſitation.

Mention was made a little before of the viſitation of Ed. Boner byſhop of London, which began (as is ſayd) about the moneth of September: for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certayne Articles to the number of 37. whiche articles partly for the tediouſnes of them, partly for that maiſter Bale in a certayne treatiſe hath ſufficiently paynted out the ſame in their colours, partly alſo, becauſe I will not infecte this booke with them, I ſlip them ouer, proceedyng in the progreſſe of thys byſhop in his viſitation in the County of Eſſex. Who paſſing through the ſayd County of Eſſex beyng attended with diuers worſhipfull of the ſhiere (for ſo they were commaunded) arriued at Starford in Hertfordſhiere where hee reſted certayne dayes, ſolacyng him ſelfe after that painefull peregrination with no ſmall feaſting and banquettyng with his attendantes aforeſaid, at the houſe of one Perſons hys Nephew whoſe wife he commonly called his fayre Niece (and fayre ſhe was in deede,) he tooke there great pleaſure to heare her play vpon the Virginals (wherin ſhe excelled) in ſo much ÿ euery dynner (ſittyng by hys ſweete ſide) ſhe roſe and played three ſeuerall tymes at his requeſt of his good and ſpirituall deuotion towardes her. Theſe certayn dayes thus paſſed in thys byſhoplike faſhion, hee proceded in his popiſh viſitation towardes Hadham his owne houſe and pariſh, not paſt two myles from Sterford, beyng there moſt ſolemnly roong out, as in all other places wheras he paſſed. At lēgth drawing neare vnto Hadham, when he heard no bells there ſtyrryng in honor of his holynes, he grew into ſome coler, & the nearer he approched the hotter was his fit, and the quieter the Bels were, the vnquieter was his moode. Thus rode he on chafyng and fumyng with him ſelfe. What meaneth (ſayth he) that knaue the Clarke, that he ryngeth not and the perſon that he meeteth mee not? with ſondry other furious wordes of fiery element. There this pacient prelate commyng to the towne, alighted, callyng for the key of the Church, which was then all vnready, for that (as they thē pretended) he had preuented hys tyme by two houres: wherupon he grew from coler to plaine melancholy, ſo as no man willyngly would deale with him to qualifie the ragyng humor ſo farre incorporated in his breſt. At laſt the Churche doore beyng opened, the Byſhop entred, and findyng no ſacrament hanged vp, nor roode loft decked after the Popiſhe precept (whiche had commaunded about the ſame tyme a well fauoured Roode, and of hable ſtature vniuerſally in all Churches to be ſet vp) curtalled his ſmall deuotions, and fell from all coler and melancholy to flat madnes in the vppermoſt degree, ſwearyng and ragyng with an huntyng othe or two, and by no beggers, that in his owne Churche where he hoped to haue ſeene beſt order, he found moſt diſorder (to his honours moſt heauy diſcomfort, as he ſayd) callyng ÿ Perſon (whoſe name was Doctor Bricket) knaue and hereticke. Who there humbled him ſelfe and yelded as it were, to his fault, ſaying he was ſory his Lordſhip was come before that he and his pariſh looked for him: and therfore coulde not do their dueties to receiue him accordyngly: & as for thoſe things lackyng, he truſted, a ſhort time hereafter ſhould cōpaſſe that, which hetherto he could not bryng about. Therefore if it pleaſed his Lordſhip to come to hys

B. Boners behauiour at Sterford.

Boners behauiour at Hadham.

Boner in a pelting chafe.

D. Bricket perſō of Hadhā called knaue of Boner.

poore houſe (where hys dinner was prepared) he woulde ſatiſfie hym in thoſe thynges, which hys lordſhyp thought amyſſe. Yet thys ſo reaſonable an aunſwere nothynge could ſatiſfie nor aſſwage his paſſion vnreaſonable. For the Catholicke Prelate vtterly defied hym and his chere, commaunding him out of hys ſight, ſaying: (as his byworde was) before God thou art a knaue, auaunte hereticke, and therwithall, whether thruſting or ſtrikyng at him, ſo it was that with hys hand he gaue ſir Thomas Joſſelyn Knight (who was then amongſt the reſt, and ſtood next the biſhop) a good ſtewel vpon the vpper part of the necke, euen vnder hys eare (as ſome ſay which ſtood by) but as he himſelf ſaid he hit hym full vpon the eare: wherat he was ſomewhat aſtonied at the ſodainnes of the quarell for the tyme. At laſt, he ſpake and ſayd, what meaneth your lordſhip? haue you bene trayned in Will Somers ſchole, to ſtrike him who ſtandeth next you? The Biſhop ſtill in rage eyther heard not, or would not heare.

B. Boner ſtriketh hym that ſtandeth next I

Syr Thomas Joſſelyn ſtrocke of Boner.

Then M. Feckman Deane of Paules ſeyng the biſhop ſtill in this vtter rage, ſayd: O M. Joſſelin, you muſt beare with my lord: for truly hys long impriſonment in the Marſhalſey, and the miſuſing of him there hath altered hym, that in theſe paſſions he is not ruler of hymſelfe, nor it booteth any man to geue hym counſell vntill hys heat be paſt, & then aſſure your ſelf M. Joſſelyn, my Lord will be ſory for thoſe abuſes that now he cannot ſee in hymſelf. Wherunto he merily replied and ſayd: ſo it ſeemeth Maiſter Feckman, for nowe that he is come forth of the Marſhalſey, he is ready to goe to Bedlem. At which mery conceite ſome laughed and moe ſmiled becauſe the nayle was ſo truely hitte vpon the head. The Biſhop nothing abaſhed at hys owne folly, gaue a deafe eare, as no meruayle it was that he ſhamed little to ſtrike a ſtraunger, which ſpared not the burnyng of ſo many good men.

Feckman excuſeth B. Boner by the Marſhalſey.

Syr Tho. Joſſelyns Apothegma touching B. Boner.

After this worthy combate thus finiſhed and atchieued, this martiall Prelate preſently taketh hym to hys horſe agayne (notwithſtanding he was minded to tary at Hadham 3. or 4. dayes, and ſo had made prouiſion in hys owne houſe) and leauing hys dinner, rode that night with a ſmall company of his houſhold to Ware (where he was not looked for 3. dayes after) to the great wonder of all the countrey why he ſo preuented his day afore ſtalled.

At this haſty poſting away of this Biſhop, his whole traine of attendauntes there left hym. Alſo hys Doctors and Chaplaines (a few excepted) taried behynd, and dyned at D. Brickets, as merily as he rode towardes Ware all chafingly: which diner was prepared for the biſhop himſelfe. Now whether the Biſhop were offended at thoſe ſolemnities which he wanted and was accuſtomed to be ſaluted wyth all in other places where he iorneyed, ioyning to ÿ his great God was not exalted aboue ground ouer the aulter, nor hys blocke almighty ſet ſeemely in the roodelofte to entertayne ſtraungers, and therupon toke occaſion to quarell with D. Bricket (whoſe religion percaſe he ſomewhat ſuſpected) I haue not perfectly to ſay, but ſo it was ſuppoſed of diuers the cauſe therof to ryſe, which draue the biſhop ſo haſtily frõ ſuch a dinner. Teſtified by ſuch as there and then were preſent, Rich. K. &c.

B. Boner driuen from a good dynner.

¶ A ſtorye of a Roode ſet vp in Lanckeſhyre.

A ſtory of a Roode ſet vp in Lankeſhyre.

In this Viſitation of Biſhop Boner aboue mentioned, ye ſee how the biſhop toke on for not ſettyng vp the Roode, and ringyng the bels at Hadham. Ye heard alſo of the precept, which commaunded in euery pariſh a Rood to be erected both well fauoured, and of an hable ſtature. By the occaſion wherof, it commeth in mynd, (and not out of place) to ſtorye likewiſe what happened in a certayne towne in Lankaſhyre nere to Lancaſter called Cockram, where the Pariſhners and Churchwardens hauyng the ſame tyme a lyke charge for the erectyng of a Rood in their pariſh church had made their bargayne and were at a price with one that could cunningly karue and paynt ſuch idols, for the framyng of their Roode: who accordyng to hys promiſe made them one, and ſet it vp in their church. This done, he demaunded his mony. But they miſlykyng his workemanſhip, refuſed to pay him, Whereupon he arreſted them, and the matter was brought before the Maior of Dancaſter, who was a very meete man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an olde fauourer of the Goſpell, which is rare in that countrey. Then the karuer began to declare howe they had couenanted with them for the makyng of a Roode, with the appurtenaunces ready karued and ſet vp in their Churche, which he accordyng to hys promiſe had done and nowe demaundyng hys money they refuſed to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Maior to the Wardens? Yea Syr, ſayd they. And why do ye not pay the poore man his due, quoth hee? And it pleaſe you Maiſter Mayor (quoth they) becauſe the Roode we had before was a wellfauoured man, and he promiſed to make vs ſuch an other: but this that he hath ſet vs vp now, is ÿ worſt fauoured thing that euer you ſet your eyes on, gaping & grinnyng in ſuch ſort that none of our Children dare once looke him in the face or come nere him. The maior thinking that it was good enough for that purpoſe if it had ben worſe, my maiſters (quoth he) how ſoeuer the roode like you, the pore mans labour hath ben neuer the leſſe, and it is pitie that he ſhoulde haue any hinderaunce or loſſe therby. Therfore I will tell you what you ſhall do: Pay him the money ye promiſed him, and go your wayes home and looke on it, and if it will not ſerue for a God, make no more a doe: but clap a payre of hornes on his head, and ſo will hee make an excellent deuill. This the Pariſhners toke well aworth, the poore man had his money, and diuers laughed well thereat: but ſo did not the babyloniſh Prieſts.

The men of Cockram not pleaſed wyth their Roode.

The Roode of Cockram driuing the children out of the church

This Maior aboue mentioned continued a Proteſtant almoſt fifty yeare, and was the onely releauer of M. Marſh the Martyr (whoſe ſtory followeth hereafter) with meate, drynke, and lodgyng while hee lay in Lancaſter Caſtle the ſpace of iij. quarters of a yeare, before hee was had to Cheſter to be burned, &c.

The Maior of Dancaſter a good man.

About this tyme or the moneth next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Boner Byſhop of London, to all Perſons and Curates within hys Dioceſſe, for the aboliſhyng of ſuch ſcriptures & wrytinges as had ben paynted vp on Churche walles before in kyng Edwardes dayes. The copy of whiche precept or mandate here we thought good to expreſſe, that the worlde might ſee the wicked proceedynges of their impious zeale, or rather their malicious rage agaynſt the Lord and his word, and agaynſt the edifying of Chriſtian people: wherby it might appeare by this blotting out of theſe Scriptures, not onelye how blaſphemouſly they ſpake agaynſt the holy Scriptures of God, but alſo howe ſtudiouſly they ſought by all maner meanes, to keepe the people ſtill in ignoraunce.

¶ A Mandate of Boner biſhop of London, to aboliſh the Scriptures and writinges painted vpon the Church Walles.

EDmund by Gods permiſſion biſhop of London, to all and euery Perſons, Vicares, Clarkes, and lettered, within the pariſh of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioceſſe of London whereſoeuer beyng, ſendeth greeting, grace, and benediction. Becauſe ſome children of iniquitie, geuen vp to carnall deſires and nouelties, haue by many wayes enterpriſed to baniſh the auncient maner and order of the Churche, and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſectes and hereſies, taking from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many thinges beſides inſtituted and obſerued of auncient tyme laudably in the ſame, placyng in the roume therof ſuch thinges, as in ſuch a place it behoued them not to do: and alſo haue procured as a ſtay to their hereſies (as they thought) certaine ſcriptures wrongly applied, to be painted vpon the church walles, all which perſons tende chiefly to this ende, that they might vpholde the liberty of the fleſh and mariage of prieſtes, and deſtroye as much as lay in them, the reuerend ſacrament of the aulter and might extinguiſh and eneruate holydayes, faſting days, and other laudable diſcipline of the Catholike church, openyng a wyndow to all vices, and vtterly cloſing vp the waye vnto vertue: Wherefore we being mooued with a chriſtian zeale, iudging that the premiſes are not to be longer ſuffred do for diſcharge of our duetie, commit vnto you ioyntly and ſeuerally, and by the tenour hereof do ſtraightly charge and commaund you, that at the receite hereof, with all ſpeede conuenient, you do warne or cauſe to be warned, firſt, ſecond and third tyme, and peremptorily, all and ſingular Church wardens and pariſhioners whoſoeuer wythin our foreſayde Dioces of London, whereſoeuer any ſuch Scriptures or paintinges haue bene attempted, that they aboliſhe and extinguiſhe ſuch maner of ſcriptures, ſo that by no meanes they be eyther read or ſeene, and therin to proceede moreouer as they ſhal ſee good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the ſaid monition, the ſaid Churchwardens and Pariſhioners ſhall be founde remiſſe and negligent, or culpable, then you ioyntly and ſeuerally ſhall ſee the foreſayd Scriptures to be raſed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwyth: cityng all and ſingular thoſe Churchwardens and pariſhioners (whom we alſo for the ſame doe cite here by the tenour hereof) that all and ſingular the ſayde Churchwardens and pariſhioners being ſlack & negligent, or culpable therin, ſhal appeare before vs or our vicar general, & principal officiall, or our Commiſſary ſpeciall in our Cathedrall church of S. Paul at London, in the Conſiſtory there, at the hour apointed for the ſame, the 6. day next after their citatiõ, if it be a court day, or els at the next court day after enſuing.

The ſcriptures paynted on church walles raſed out.

Note well theſe cauſes reader, why the ſcriptures ſhould be raſed out.

Scriptures open a wyndow to vices with Boner.

where

1554.
Noueb.

where as eyther we or our Officiall or Commiſſary ſhall ſit: there to ſay and alledge for themſelues ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they haue or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, and otherwyſe puniſhed for their ſuch negligence, ſlackenes, and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receyue, as law & reaſon requireth. And what you haue done in the premiſſes, do you certifie vs, or our Vicar, principall Officiall, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duely in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certifie vs, which hath taken vpon hym to execute this Mandate. In witneſſe whereof we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſents. Dated in the biſhops palace at London, the 25. day of the month of October in the yeare of our lord. 1554. and of our tranſlation the 16.

M. Chriſtopherſon ſent to Cambridge with Gardiners iniunctions.

About this tyme the L. Chauncellor ſent M. Chriſtoferſon vnto the vniuerſitie of Cambridge with theſe 3. Articles, which he enioyned them to obſerue.

The firſt, that euery ſcholer ſhould weare his apparell accordyng to his degree in the ſcholes.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciatiõ of ỹ Greke tongue.

The thyrd, that euery Preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the kyng and Queene in their ſermons.

In Cambridge was 24. places voyde at one tyme in one Colledge.

In this vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of the bringing in of theſe thinges, and eſpecially for the alteration of Religion, many good wits and learned men departed the Vniuerſities: of whõ ſome of their owne accord gaue ouer, ſome were thruſt out of their felowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: in ſo much ỹ in Cambridge in the Colledge of Saint John, there were. 24. places void together in whoſe roumes were taken in. 24. other, which neyther in vertue nor in religiõ ſeemed to anſwere to them before. And no leſſe miſerable, was the ſtate of Oxford, by reaſon of the tyme, and the ſtraite dealyng of the Viſitors that for ſettyng forward their Papiſticall procedinges, had no regarde or reſpecte to the forwardnes of good wittes, & the mayntenance of good letters beginnyng then more and more to flouriſh in that Vniuerſitie.

A popiſh exhortation of Doct. Treſham.

And for ſomuch as we haue entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not paſſe ouer in ſilence the famous exhortation of D. Treſham who ſupplying the rowme of the Subdeane in Chriſtes Church, after hee had called all the Studentes of the Colledge together, with great eloquence and art perſwaſory, beganne to commend the dignity of the Maſſe vnto thẽ, declaryng that there was ſtuffe in Scripture enough to proue the maſſe good. Then to allure them to the catholicke ſeruice of the Church, he vſed theſe reaſons declaryng ỹ there were a cõpany of goodly Copes, ỹ were appointed to Wyndſore, but hee had found the Queene ſo gracious vnto him, ỹ they ſhould come to Chriſtes church. Now if they lyke honeſt men would come to Church, they ſhould weare them on holy dayes. And beſides all this, hee would get them the Lady Bell of Bampton, and ỹ ſhould make the ſweeteſt ryng in all Englãd. And as for an holy water ſprinckle, he had already the fayreſt that was within the realme, Wherfore he thought that no man would bee ſo madde to forgoe theſe commodities. &c.

The great reaſons of Doctour Treſham.

Whiche thinges I rehearſe, that it may appeare what want of diſcretion is in the fathers of Popery, & into what idle follies ſuch men do fall. Whom I beſeech the Lorde if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better truth, & to open their eyes to ſee their owne blindnes.

To procede now further in the courſe and race of our ſtory where as we lefte, beynge before in the moneth of Nouember, it foloweth more that in the * xij. daye of the ſame moneth of Nouember beyng Mondaye, beganne the Parlament holden at Weſtminſter, to the beginnynge whereof both the kyng and Queene rode in their parlament robes hauyng ij. ſwordes borne before them. The Earle of Penbroke bare his ſword, and the Earle of Weſtmerland bare the Queenes. They had ij. cappes of mayntenance borne before them: whereof the Earle of Arundell bare one, & the Earle of Shrewſbury the other.

* Where note that the Printer of Q. Maryes Statutes doth erre in his ſupputation, which ſaith, that thys Parlament began the 21. of thys moneth which day was then Sonday.

Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vpon the Wedenſday beyng the xxi. day of Nouember, on which day one Acte paſſed in the Parlament for his reſtitution in bloud vtterly repealyng as falſe & moſt ſlaunderous that Act made againſt him in kyng Henry the eyghtes tyme. and on the next day beyng Thurſday and the xxij. of Nouember, the kyng and the Queene both came to the Parliament houſe to geue their royal aſſent and to eſtabliſhe this Acte againſt his cõmyng.

Cardinall Poole arriueth in England.

Ex Statut. an. 1. & 2. Regis Philip & Mariæ. cap. 8.

Upon the Saterday beyng the xxiiij. of Nouember, the ſaid Cardinall came by water to London, and ſo to Lambeth houſe which was ready prepared againſt his comming.

Nouemb. 28

Upon the Wedneſday following beyng the 28. of Nouember, there was generall proceſſion in Paules for ioye ỹ the Queene was conceiued and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter ſent from the counſaile to the Biſhop of London. The ſame day at this proceſſion was preſent ten Biſhops with all the Prebendaries of Paules, and alſo the Lorde Mayor with the Aldermen, and a great number of Commons of the Citie in their beſt araye. The Copy of the Counſails letter here followeth, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Proceſſion at Paules for ioye of the Queenes conceiuing.

¶A Copy of a Letter ſent from the Counſaile vnto Edmond Boner Biſhop of London, concernyng Queene Mary conceyued with chylde.

AFter our harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhip, where as it hath pleaſed almighty God amongeſt other his infinite benefites of late moſt graciouſly poured vpon vs and this whole Realme, to extend his benediction vpon the Queenes maieſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceiued and * quick of childe. Wherby (her maieſty beyng our naturall liege Lady, Quene, & vndoubted inheritour of this imperial crown) good hope of certayne ſucceſſion in the crowne is geuen vnto vs, and conſequently the great calamities, which (for wãt of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe haue fallen vpon vs, and our poſteritie) ſhall by Gods grace be well auoyded, if we thankefully acknowledge this benefite of almighty God, endeuouring our ſelues with earneſt repentaunce to thanke honour, and ſerue hym, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe bee not only to aduertiſe you of theſe good newes, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your Dioces, but alſo to pray and require you, that both your ſelfe doe geue God thankes with vs for this his eſpeciall grace, and alſo geue order that thankes may be openly geuen by ſinging of Te Deum in all the churches within your ſaid Dioces: and that likewyſe al prieſtes and other Eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in their Maſſes and other deuine ſeruices, may continually pray to almighty God, ſo to extend his holy hand ouer her maieſty, the kings highnes and this whole realme, as this thing beyng by hys omnipotent power graciouſly thus begon, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of hys name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye woulde of your ſelf haue had ſpecial regarde without theſe our letters, yet for the erneſt deſire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, aud diligently cõtinued, we haue alſo writtẽ theſe our letters, to put you in remẽbrance: and ſo bid your Lordſhip moſt hartily well to fare. From Weſtminſter the 27. of Nouember. 1554.

The Councels letter to B. Boner of the Queenes conceauing of childe.

* If Queene Mary were quicke with childe in the 28. of the moneth of Nouemb. and afterward did labour in the moneth of June, then went ſhe at moſt vij. monethes quicke with childe.

Te Deum. for Queene Maryes childe.

Your aſſured louing frendes.

S. Winton. Cancel.
Arundel.
F. Shrewesbury.
Edward Darby.
Henry Suſſex.
Iohn Bathon.
R. Rich.
Thomas Wharthõ.
Ioh. Huddylſton.
R. Southwell.

Alſo the ſame daye in the afternone, Cardinall Poole came to the Parliament houſe, whiche at that preſent was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at Whyte Hall: for that the Queene was then ſicke, and coulde not go abroad: where as) the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties ſittyng vnder the cloth of Eſtate, and the Cardinall ſittyng on their right hand: with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament beyng preſent) the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter beyng Lorde Chauncellour, began in this maner.

Card. Poole commeth to the Parlament.

¶The wordes of wincheſter for receyuing of the Cardinall.

MY Lordes of the vpper houſe, and you my Maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reuerend father in God my Lord Cardinall Poole come from the Apoſtolicke Sea of Rome. As Ambaſſadour to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, vppon one of the weightieſt cauſes that euer happened in this Realme, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your vniuerſall benefite. The which Ambaſſage their maieſties pleaſure is to bee ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſtyng that you will receyue and accepte it in as beneuolent and thankefull wiſe, as their highneſſes haue done, and that you will geue an attent and inclinable eare vnto him.

Wincheſters wordes for Card. Poole.

When the Lord Chauncellour had thus ended his talke, the Cardinall takyng the tyme then offered began his Oration, wherein he declared the cauſes of his commyng, and what were his deſires and requeſtes. In the which meane time the Court gate was kept ſhut vntill he had made an ende of his Oration. The tenour and wordes whereof here followeth.

Nouemb. 28. Cardinall Pooles Oration in the Parlamēt houſe.

The tenor of Cardinall Pooles Oration made in the Parliament houſe.

My Lordes all, and you that are the Commons of thys preſent Parlament aſſembled, whiche in effect is nothyng els but the ſtate and body of the whole realme, as yͤ cauſe of my repayre hether hath ben both wyſely and grauely declared by my Lord Chauncellor, ſo before that I enter to the particularities of my Commiſſion, I haue ſomewhat touching my ſelfe, and to geue moſt humble and hartye thankes to the King and Queenes Maieſties, and after them to you all, whiche of a man exiled and baniſhed from thys Common wealth, haue reſtored me to a member of yͤ ſame, and of a man hauing no place, neither here or elſwhere within this Realme, haue admitted me in place, where to ſpeake and to be heard. This I proteſt vnto you all, that though I was exiled my natiue country without iuſt cauſe as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude coulde not pull from me yͤ affection and deſyre that I had to profit & do you good If the offer of my ſeruice myght haue ben receyued, it was neuer to ſeeke, and where that coulde not be taken, you neuer fayled of my prayer, nor neuer ſhall.

More for the vauntage that was hoped by it, then for any greate loue.

But leauyng the rehearſall thereof, and commyng more neare to the matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignifie vnto you all that my principall trauayle is, for the reſtitution of this noble realme to the auncient Nobilitie, and to declare vnto you, that the Sea Apoſtolicke from whence I come, hath a ſpeciall reſpect to this realme aboue all other, and not without cauſe, ſeyng that God himſelfe, as it were by prouidēce hath geuen this Realme, prerogatiue of Nobilitie aboue other which to make more plaine vnto you, it is to bee conſidered that this Iland, fyrſt of all Ilandes receyued the lyght of Chriſtes religion. For as ſtories teſtifye, it was prima prouinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.

England of all Ilandes receiued firſt the faith of Chriſt.

For the Britaines beyng fyrſt inhabitauntes of this Realme (notwithſtandyng the ſubiectiō of the Emperours and Heathen Princes) dyd receyue Chriſtes fayth from the Apoſtolicke Sea vniuerſally, and not in partes as other Countreyes nor by one and one, as Clockes encreaſe theyr houres by diſtinction of tymes, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merites or forgetfulnes of God had deſerued expulſion, and that Straungers beyng Infidels had poſſeſſed this land, yet God of hys goodnes not leauyng where he once loued, ſo illuminated the hartes of the Saxons beyng Heathen men, that they forſooke the darkenes of Heathen errours and embraced the light of Chriſtes Religion. So that within ſmall ſpace, idolatry and heathen ſuperſtition was vtterly abandoned in this Iland.

This was a great prerogatiue of Nobilitie, whereof though the benefite be to be aſcribed to God, yet the meane occaſion of the ſame came from the * Church of Rome. In the fayth of which Church, wee haue euer ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the worlde in vnity of religiō. And to ſhew further the feruent deuotiō of the inhabitaūts of this Iland towardes the church of Rome, we read that diuers princes in the Saxons tyme with great trauayle & expenſes went perſonally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus which thought it not inough to ſhew them ſelues obedient to the ſayd Sea, vnleſſe that in theyr owne perſons they had gone to that ſame place from whence they had receyued ſo great a grace and benefite.

* That the fayth of the Britaines came firſt from Rome, neyther doth it ſtand with the circumſtaunce of our ſtories: neither if it ſo did yet that faith and doctrine of the Romaniſtes was not ſuch then as it is now. Read afore pag. 107. Of this Offa read before pag. 131.

In the tyme of Carolus Magnus who fyrſt founded the Vniuerſity of Paris, he ſent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, whiche firſt brought learnyng, to that Vniuerſitie. Wherby it ſeemeth that the greateſt part of the world fet the light of religion from England.

Of Alcuinus read before pag 131. col. 1

Adrian the fourth beyng an Engliſhmā, cōuerted Norway from infidelity, whiche Adrian afterwardes, vpō great affection and loue that he bare to this Realme, beyng his natiue country, gaue to Henry the ſecond kyng of England the right and ſegniory of the dominion of Ireland, whiche pertayned to the Sea of Rome.

I will not rehearſe the manifold benefites that thys Realme hath receaued from the Apoſtolicke Sea, nor how ready the ſame hath bene to releeue vs in all our neceſſities. Nor I will not rehearſe the manifold miſeries & calamities that this realme hath ſuffered by ſwaruing from that vnity. And euen as in this realme, ſo in al other coūtryes which refuſing the vnity of the Catholicke fayth haue followed fantaſticall doctrine, the lyke plagues haue happened. Let Aſia and the Empyre of Greece bee a ſpectacle vnto the worlde who by ſwaruing from the vnity of the Churche of Rome are brought into captiuity and * ſubiectiō of yͤ Turke. All ſtories bee full of lyke examples. And to come vnto the latter tyme, looke vpon our nigh neighbours of Germany, who by ſwaruyng from this vnity, are miſerably afflicted with diuerſity of ſectes and deuided in factions.

Nay, rather what riches and treaſures the Sea of Rome hath ſucke out of England it is incredible.

* The cauſe of their ſubiectiō to the Turke, can not be proued to come by ſwaruing from the vnitie of the church of Rome, for they were neuer fully ioyned vnto it. And as touching the ſubiection of Aſia and Grecia to the Turkes, read in the ſtory of the Turkes before pag. 710.

What ſhall I rehearſe vnto you the tumultes & effuſion of bloud, that hath happened there of late dayes? Or trouble you with the rehearſall of thoſe plagues that haue happened ſynce thys innouation of religion, where you haue felt the bitternes, and I haue heard the reporte. Of all whiche matters I cā ſay no more, but ſuch was yͤ miſery of yͤ tyme And ſee how far forth this fury went. For thoſe that liue vnder the * Turke, may freely liue after their conſcience, & ſo was it not lawfull here.

* And why then do ye more cruell then the Turke, perſecute other for their conſcience.

If men examine well vpon what groundes theſe innouaſions began, they ſhall wel finde that the roote of this as of many other miſchiefes, was auarice, and that the luſte & carnall affection of one man confounded all lawes both diuine and humaine. And notwithſtanding all theſe deuyſes, and policies practyſed within this realme agaynſt yͤ church of Rome, they needed not to haue loſte you, but that they thought rather as frendes to reconcile you, then as enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all Europe to haue ayded the Church in that quarrell. Then marke the ſequele: There ſeemed by theſe changes to riſe a great face of riches & gain which in proufe came to great miſery and lacke. See how God then can confound the wiſdome of the wiſe, and turne vniuſt policy to meere folly, and that thing that ſeemed to be done for reliefe, was cauſe of playn ruine and decay. Yet ſee that goodnes of God, which at no tyme fayled vs, but moſt benignly offred his grace, when it was of our partes leaſt ſought, and worſt deſerued.

And when all lyght of true religion ſeemed vtterly extinct, as the churches defaced, the aulters ouerthrowen, the Miniſters corrupted: euen lyke as in a lampe the light beyng couered, yet it is not quenched, euen ſo in a fewe remayned the confeſſion of Chriſtes fayth, namely in the breſt of the Queenes excellency, of whom to ſpeake without adulation, the ſaying of the Prophet may be verified: Ecce quaſi derelicta.

And ſee how miraculouſly God of his goodnes preſerued her highnes, contrary to the expectatiō of man, yͭ when numbers conſpired agaynſt her, and policies were deuyſed to diſherite her, and armed power prepared to deſtroy her, yet ſhe being a virgine helples, naked and vnarmed, preuayled, and had the victory of tirantes, which is not to be aſcribed to any * policy of man, but to the almighty greate goodnes and prouidence of God, to whom the honor is to be geuen. And therfore it may be ſayd, Da gloriam Deo. For in mannes iudgement, on her Graces parte, was nothinge in appearaunce, but deſpaire.

* What policy is this, to make promiſe to get ſtrength and to breake it as the queene dyd?

And yet for all theſe practiſes and deuyſes of ill men, here you ſee her Grace eſtabliſhed in her eſtate beeing your lawfull Queene and Gouerneſſe, borne among you, whom God hath appointed to raign ouer you for the reſtitution of true Religion, and extirpation of all errours and ſectes. And to confirme her Grace the more ſtrongly in this enterpriſe, loe how the prouydence of God hath ioyned her in mariage with a Prince of like religion, who being a Kinge of great might, armour & force, yet vſeth towardes you neyther armour nor force, but ſeeketh you by the way of loue and amitye: in which reſpect great cauſe you haue to geue thāks to almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch catholick Gouerners. It ſhal be therfore your part agayn to loue, obey, and ſerue them.

And as it was a ſingular fauour of God to conioyn them in maryage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them * iſſue, for the comfort and ſurety of this cōmon welth Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperour hath trauayled moſt in the cauſe of Religion, as it appeareth by his actes in Germany: yet happely by ſome ſecret iudgement of god, he hath not atchieued the end. With whom in my iorney hetherwardes I had conference touching my legation, whereof when he had vnderſtanding, he ſhewed great appearance of moſt earneſt ioy and gladnes, ſaying that it reioyced hym no les of the recōcilemēt of this realme vnto chriſtiā vnitye, thē that hys ſōne was placed by mariage in the kingdome, and moſt glad he was of all, that the occaſion therof ſhould come by me, being an Engliſh man borne, which is, (as it were) to call home our ſelues. I can well compare hym to Dauid, which though he were a man elect of God, yet for that he was contaminate with bloud and warre, hee could not build the temple of Hieruſalē, but left the finiſhing therof to Salomon, which was Rex pacificus. So may it bee thought that the appeaſing of controuerſies of religion in Chriſtianity, is not appointed to this Emperor, but rather to his ſonne, who ſhall perfourme the building that his Father hath begonne. Which Church cannot be perfectly builded without vniuerſally in all Realmes wee adhere to one heade, and doe acknowledge hym to be the Vicare of God, and to haue power from aboue. For all power is of God, according to the ſaying, Non eſt poteſtas niſi a Deo. And therfore

* The Cardinall here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

Charles the Emperour compared to Dauid.

fore I conſider that all power, beeinge in God, yet for the conſeruation of quiet and godly lyfe in the world, he hath deriued that power from aboue into two partes here in earth: whiche is into the power Imperiall and Eccleſiaſticall. And theſe two powers, as they be ſeuerall and diſtinct ſo haue they two ſeuerall effectes and operations. For ſecular princes to whom the temporall ſword is committed, bee miniſters of God to execute vengeance vpon tranſgreſſors and euill liuers, and to preſerue the well doers and Innocentes from iniury and violence. Which power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent perſons, the king and Queenes Maieſties here preſent, who haue this power committed vnto them immediatly from God, without any ſuperiour in that behalfe.

Two powers in earth: eccleſiaſtical, & Imperiall.

The power of the keyes clarkely declared.

The other power is of miniſtration, which is the power of the keyes, and order in the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, which is by the authority of gods word, and examples of the apoſtles, and of all old holy fathers from Chriſt hetherto, attributed and geuen to the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome by ſpeciall prerogatiue. From which ſea I am here deputed Legate & embaſſador, hauyng ful and ample commiſſion from thence, and haue the keyes committed to my handes. I confeſſe to you that I haue the keyes, not as myne owne keyes, but as the keyes of hym that ſent me: and yet cannot open, not for want of power in me to geue, but for certayne impedimentes in you to receiue, which muſt be taken away before my Commiſſion can take effect. This I proteſt before you, my Commiſſion is not of preiudice to any perſon. I come not to deſtroy but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemne, I come not to compell, but to call agayne, I am not come to call any thing in queſtion alredy done, but my Cōmiſſion is of grace & clemēcy, to ſuch as wyll receyue it. For touchyng all matters that be paſt, they ſhall be as thinges caſt into the ſea of forgetfulnes.

The popes keyes ſent by the Cardinall.

The popes keyes cā not worke in England, before the locke of good lawes be chaunged.

But the meane wherby you ſhall receyue this benefite, is to reuoke and repeale thoſe lawes and ſtatutes, which be impedimentes, blockes and barres to the execution of my cōmiſſion. For lyke as I my ſelfe had neyther place nor voyce to ſpeake here among you, but was to all reſpectes a baniſhed man, till ſuche tyme as ye had repealed thoſe lawes, that lay in my way: euen ſo cannot you receiue, the benefite and grace offred from the Apoſtolike ſea, vntill the abrogation of ſuch lawes, wherby you haue diſioyned and diſſeuered your ſelues from the vnity of Chriſtes church.

It remayneth therfore, that you like true chriſtians and prouident men, for the weale of your ſoules and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a cauſe, and ſo to frame your actes and procedinges, as they may tende firſt to the glory of God, and next to the conſeruation of your common welth, ſurety, and quietnes.

The next day after, the 3. Eſtates aſſembled agayne in the great chamber of the Court at Weſtminſter: where the kyng and Queenes maieſties, and the Cardinall beyng preſent, they did exhibite, ſittyng all on theyr knees) a ſupplication to their highneſſes, the tenor wherof enſueth.

The copy of the ſupplication and ſubmiſſion exhibited to the king and Quenes maieſties, by the Lordes and Commons of the Parliament.

The ſupplicatiō & ſubmiſſion of the Lords & Cōmons, to the kyng & Queenes maieſties.

WE the Lordes ſpirituall, and temporal, and the commons of this preſent parliament aſſembled, repreſentyng the whole body of the realme of England, and dominions of the ſame, in our owne names particularly, and alſo of the ſayde body vniuerſally in this ſupplication directed to your maieſties, with moſt humble ſuite, that it may by your gratious interceſſion and meane be exhibited to the moſt reuerend father in God, the lord Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy father Pope Iulius the third, and the ſea Apoſtolike of Rome, do declare our ſelues very ſory and repentant for the ſchiſme and diſobedience committed in this realme and the dominiōs of the ſame, againſt the ſaid ſea Apoſtolike, eyther by making, agreyng or executyng any lawes, ordinaunces, or commaundementes againſt the ſupremacy of the ſayd ſea, or otherwyſe doyng or ſpeakyng that might impugne the ſame: Offring our ſelues and promiſing by this our ſupplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſaid repentance, we be and ſhalbe alway redy, vnder and with the authorities of your Maieſties, to the vttermoſt of our power, to do that ſhalbe in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of the ſaid lawes and ordinances in this preſent Parliament, as well for our ſelues, as for the whole body, whom we repreſent.

O great ſorow & deepe repentaunce.

Wherupon we moſt humbly beſech your maieſties, as perſons vndefiled in the offence of this body towardes the ſaid ſea, which neuertheleſſe God by his prouidence hath made ſubiect to your maieſties: ſo to ſet forth this our moſt humble ſuite, that we may obtayne from the ſea Apoſtolicke, by the ſaid moſt reuerent father, as well perticularly as vniuerſally, Abſolution, Releaſe, and Diſcharge from all daunger of ſuch Cenſures, & ſentences, as by the lawes of the church we be fallen in: and that we may, as children repentaunt, be receiued into the boſome and vnitie of Chriſtes church, ſo as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, may in vnitie and perfect obedience to the Sea Apoſtolicke, and Popes for the tyme beyng, ſerue God and your Maieſties, to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of his honoure and glory. Amen.

The Popes abſolution can not come, but by interceſſion of kynges and Queenes.

The ſupplication being read, the king and Queene delyuered the ſame vnto the Cardinal, who (perceyuing the effect therof to anſwere his expectatiō) did receiue the ſame moſt gladly from their Maieſties: and after he had in few wordes geuen thankes to God, and declared what great cauſe hee had to reioyce aboue all others, that his comminge from Rome into England had taken moſt happy ſucceſſe: hee by the Popes authority, dyd geue them this abſolution following.

The ſupplicatiō geuen vp by the king and queene to the Cardinall.

An abſolutiō pronoūced by Cardinal Poole, to the whole Parliament of England, in the preſence of the Kyng and Queene.

Abſolution from the pope geuē to the Realme of England.

Chriſtes abſolution not ſufficient, without the Popes be ioyned withal.

OUr Lord Ieſus Chriſt which with hys moſt precious bloud hath redemed and waſhed vs from all our ſinnes and iniquities, that he might purchaſe vnto hymſelfe a glorious Spouſe without ſpot or wrinckle, and whom the father hath appointed hed ouer all hys Church: he by his mercy abſolue you. And we by Apoſtolike authoritie geuen vnto vs by the moſt holy lord Pope Iulius the 3. hys Vicegerent in earth) do abſolue and deliuer you, and euery of you with the whole Realme and the Dominions therof, from all Hereſie and Schiſme, and from all and euery iudgement, Cenſures, and paynes, for that cauſe incurred: and alſo we do reſtore you agayne, vnto the vnitie of our Mother the holy Church: as in our Letters more plainely it ſhall appeare: In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

When all this was done, they went into the Chappell, and there ſingyng Te Deum, with great ſolemnity, declared the ioy and gladneſſe that for this reconciliation was pretended.

Englād brought from Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne.

The reporte of this was with great ſpeede ſent vnto Rome, as well by the kyng and Cardinals letters, whiche hereafter follow: as alſo otherwyſe. Wherupon the pope cauſed there at Rome, Proceſſions to be made, and thankes to be geuen to God with great ioy, for the conuerſion of England to his Church: and therfore prayſing the Cardinals diligence, and the deuotion of the Kyng and Queene, on Chriſtmas euen, by his Buls he ſet forth a generall pardon to all ſuch as did truly reioyce for the ſame.

Great ioy at Rome for the conuerſion of England.

A copy of king Philips letter, written wyth his owne hand to Pope Iulius, touching the reſtoring of the realme of England.

Nouemb. 30.

K. Phillips letter to the Pope, tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh.

MOſt holy father, I wrote yeſterday vnto Don Iohn Maurique, that he ſhould declare by worde of mouth, or els write to your holynes, in what good ſtate the matter of religion ſtoode in this Realme, and of the ſubmiſſion to your holines, as to the chiefe. As this day, which is the feaſt of S. Andrew, late in the euening, we haue done God that ſeruice, (to whoſe only goodnes we muſt impute it, and to your holyneſſe, who haue taken ſo great payne to gayne theſe ſoules) that this realme with full and generall conſent of al them that repreſent the ſtate, being very penitent for that was paſt, and well bent to that they come to doe, ſubmitted themſelues to your holynes, and to that holy Sea, whom, at the requeſt of the Queene and me, your Legate did abſolue. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Don Iohn ſhal ſignifie vnto your holynes, all that paſſed in this matter, I wyll write no more therof, but onely that the Queene and I, as moſt faythful & deuout children of your holynes, haue receiued the greateſt ioy and comfort hereof, that may be expreſſed with tonge: Conſidering, that beſides the ſeruice done to God hereby, it hath chaunced in the tyme of your holyneſſe, to place as it were in the lappe of the holy and Catholike Church, ſuch a kyngdome as this is. And therfore I thinke I can not bee thankefull enough for that is done this day. And I truſt in hym, that your holyneſſe ſhall alway vnderſtande, that the holy Sea hath not had a more obedient Sonne then I, nor more deſirous to preſerue and encreaſe the authoritie of the ſame. God guide and proſper the moſt holy perſonage of

An. 1554. Nouemb.

your holyneſſe in Ieſu. From London the xix. of Nouember. 1554.

Your holyneſſe moſt humble
Sonne the kyng, &c.

Here followeth likewyſe the Cardinals letter to the ſaid Pope concerning the ſame matter.

The Cardinals letter to the Pope for the reclaiming agayne of England to hys Sea.

Thoſe thinges which I wrote vnto your holines of late, of that hope, which I truſted would come to paſſe, that in ſhort ſpace this realme would be reduced to the vnitie of the church and obedience of the Apoſtolike ſea, though I did write them not without great cauſe: yet neuertheleſſe, I could not be voyde of all feare, not onely for that difficultie, which the myndes of our countreymen did ſhew, beyng ſo long alienated from the ſea Apoſtolike, and for the olde hatred which they had borne ſo many yeres to that name: but much more I feared, leſt the firſt entry into the cauſe it ſelf, ſhould be put of by ſome other bymatter or contention cōmyng betwixt.

For the auoydyng wherof, I made great meanes to the kyng and Queene, which little neded, for theyr owne godly forwardnes, and earneſt deſire to bryng the thyng to paſſe, farre ſurmounted my great and earneſt expectation. This day in the euenyng beyng S. Andrewes day, (who firſte brought hys brother Peter to Chriſt) it is come to paſſe by the prouidence of God, that this Realme is reclaymed to geue due obedience to Peters ſeate and your holyneſſe, by whoſe meanes it may be conioyned to Chriſt the hed, & hys body, which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and Queene being preſent) with ſuch full conſent & great reioycing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration, and geuen the Benediction with a great ioy and ſhout, there was diuers tymes ſayd, Amen, Amen: which doth euidently declare, that that holy ſeede, although it hath bene long oppreſſed, yet was not vtterly quenched in them: which chiefly was declared in the *Nobilitie. Returnyng home to my houſe, theſe thinges I wrote vnto your holynes vppon the ſodeyne reioyſing that I had of ſo weightie a matter, ſo luckely brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, thinkyng to haue ſent my letters by the kinges Poſt, who (as it was ſaid) ſhould haue departed ſhortly: but afterwardes chaungyng my purpoſe, when I had determyned to ſend one of mine own men, I thought good to add thus much to my Letters, for the more ample gratulation and reioyſing at ý good chaunce: which thinge as it was right great gladnes to me, through the euente of the ſame (being it ſelfe very great and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the wholl Church, ſo healthſome to this my Countrey, which brought me forth, ſo honorable to the ſame, which receyued me) ſo likewiſe I tooke no leſſe reioyſing of ý Princes themſelues, through whoſe vertue and godlineſſe, the matter did take ſucceſſe and perfection. O how many, and how great thinges may the Church (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, & our mother) make her accompt through thoſe her children? Oh notable zeale of godlynes. Oh auncient fayth, which vndoubtedly doth ſo manyfeſtly appeare in the both that who ſo ſeeth them, muſt nedes (whether hee will or no) ſay the ſame which the Prophet ſpake of, of the firſt children of the church: Iſti ſunt ſemen, cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum. That is, Theſe are the ſeede which the Lord hath bleſſed. This is ý Lordes planting to glory in. How holily did your holines with all your authoritye and earneſt affection fauoure this mariage, which truly ſemeth to expreſſe a great ſimilitude of ý higheſt king, which being heire of ý worlde, was ſent downe by his father from the Regall ſeate, to be Spouſe and Sonne of the Virgin, and by this meanes to comfort all mākinde: for euen ſo this king hymſelfe, the greateſt heire of all men which are in the earth, leauing his fathers kingdomes that are moſt great, is come into this litle kingdome, and is become both the ſpouſe, and ſonne of this Virgine) for hee ſo behaueth himſelfe as though he were a ſonne, where as in deede hee is an huſband) that he might (as he hath in effect already performed) ſhew him ſelfe an ayder and helper to reconcile this people to Chriſt, & his body which is ý church. Which thinges ſeing they are ſo, what may not our mother the Churche her ſelfe looke for at his handes that hath brought this to paſſe, to conuerte the hartes of the Fathers towardes theyr Sonnes, and the vnbeleuers to the wiſedome of the righteous, which vertue truly doth wonderfully ſhine in hym. But the Queene, whiche at that tyme when your holyneſſe ſent me Legate vnto her, did riſe vp as a rodde of incence ſpringing out of the trees of mirre, and as Franckincence out in the deſert, ſhe I ſay, which a little before was forſaken of al men, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhine, what a ſauour of mirre & frãckincence doth ſhe geue forth vnto her people, which as ý (prophet ſayth, of the mother of Chriſt) brought forth before ſhe laboured, before ſhe was deliuered brought forth a man childe. Who euer heard of ſuch a thing? and who hath ſeene the like of this? ſhal ý earth bring forth in one day, or ſhal a whole nation be brought forth together? But ſhee hath now brought forth a whole nation before the tyme of that deliuery, wherof we are in moſt great hope.

* The Popes authoritie as much welcome to the Nobilitie of England, as water into the ſhippe.

Oh diſſimulation of a flattering Cardinall.

What ſimilitude is betwixt light and darknes, 2. Cor. 6.

Cardinall Poole flattereth the kyng.

Scripture wel applyed.

How great cauſe is geuen to vs to reioyce? How great cauſe haue we to geue thankes to Gods mercy, your holynes and the Emperours maieſty, which haue bene cauſers of ſo happy and ſo Godly a maryage, by which we beyng reconciled, are ioyned to God the father, to Chriſt, and to ý Churche? of the which, although I can not comprehend in wordes the ioy that I haue taken, yet I can not keepe ſilence of it. And to thys my reioyſing, thys alſo was ioyned (which when I had perceiued by the letters of ý reuerend Archb. of Conſane, your holynes Nuncio, with the Emperours maieſtie, brought me maruelous great gladnes) that your ſayd holynes began to reſtore to ý aũcient beuty, thoſe thynges which in the Churche of Rome through the corruptiõ of times were deformed, which truely when it ſhalbe finiſhed, then in deede may we well cry out wyth ý prophet, and ſpeake vnto your holynes with theſe wordes. Exue te ſtola luctus & vexationis, & indue te decore, qui a deo tibi eſt in gloria ſempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a deo ſempiternum, pax iuſtitiæ, & honor pietatis. Tum autē dicetur, circumſpice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente ſole, vſq; in occidentē, verbo ſancto gaudentē. That is: Put of the ſtole of ſorow & vexatiõ, and put on comlynes, which thou haſt of God in euerlaſting glory. For thy name ſhalbe named of God euerlaſting, peace of righteouſnes, and honor of godlines: and thē it ſhalbe ſaide: looke about and ſee thy ſonnes gathered together frõ the ſonne riſing to the goyng downe of the ſame, reioyſing in the holy word. There is nothyng truly (to ſpeake of thy children gathered together in ý Weſt, which prepare thēſelues to meete their mother) which they had rather ſee then her, apparelled (that I may vſe ý wordes of the Prophet) in that garment of righteouſnes, wherwith God adourned her in tymes paſt. This one thyng remayneth, that your holynes ioy, and the ioy of all ý vniuerſall church may be perfited, which together wyth vs her vnworthy children, ceaſeth not too pray to God for it.

The ſcripture ſpeaking of Syon and Ieruſalem, vnaptly applyed to the Pope.

The almighty God preſerue your holynes long to continue in health, for the profite of hys Church. From Londõ the laſt of Nouember. 1554.

Your moſt humble ſeruaunt
Reginald Poole Cardinall.

December. 2.

Upon the Sonday folowing, beyng the ij. of December, the byſhop of winchester Lord Chauncelour of England preached at Paules Croſſe, at which Sermon was preſent the Kyng and Cardinall Poole. He tooke for his Theame this part of the Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Romaines the 13. chapt. This alſo we know the ſeaſon (brethren) that we ſhould now awake out of ſleepe, for now is our ſaluation nearer, then when we beleued. &c.

A Sermon of Steuen Gardiner preached at Paules Croſſe.

Some notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered, (as it appeareth by ſundry copyes) I haue here thought good to ſet forth.

A dreaming ſermon of the B. of winchester.

Firſt, he ſhewed how the ſaying of S. Paule was verified vpon the Gentiles, who had a long tyme ſlept in darke ignoraunce not knowing God: therfore S. Paul (quoth he) to ſtirre vp their heauy dulnes, willed them to awake out of their long ſleep, becauſe their ſaluatiõ was nearer, then whē they beleued. In amplyfiyng this matter, and cõparing our tymes with theirs: he tooke occaſion to declare what difference the Iewiſh ſacramentes had, from thoſe of the Chriſtians, wherein he vſed theſe wordes:

Euen as the Sacramentes of the Iewes did declare Chriſt to come, ſo do our ſacramentes declare Chriſt to be already come: but Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come is not all one. For now that he is come, the Iewes ſacramētes be done away, and ours onely remaine, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer vs, thē he was to the fathers of ý olde lawe: for they had hym but in ſignes, but we haue hym in the Sacrament of the aultar, euen his very bodye. Wherfore now alſo it is tyme that we awake out of our ſleepe, who haue ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe xx. yeares paſt, as ſhall more eaſely appeare by declaring at large ſome of the properties and effectes of a ſleepe or dreame. And firſt, as men intending to ſleepe, do ſeperate themſelues frõ company, and deſire to be alone: euen ſo haue we ſeperated our ſelues from the ſea Apoſtolicke of Rome, and haue bene alone, no realme in Chriſtendome like vs.

Winchest. very expert (as it appeareth) in ghoſtly dreames.

Secondly, as in ſleepe men dreame ſometime of killyng, ſometyme of mayming, ſometime of drowning or burnyng, ſometyme of ſuch beaſtlynes as I will not name, but wyll ſpare your eares: ſo haue we in thys our ſleepe, not onely dreabycarned of beaſtlines, but we haue done it in dede. For in this our ſleepe, hath not one brother deſtroyed an other? Hath not halfe our mony bene wyped awaye at one tyme? And agayn thoſe that would defend their conſcience, were ſlayne: and others alſo otherwiſe troubled, beſides infinite other thynges: which you al know as well as I: whereof I report me to your owne conſciences.

Farther, as a mans ſleepe al his ſences are ſtopped, ſo that he can neither ſee, ſmell nor heare, euen ſo where as the ceremonies of the church were inſtituted to moue and ſtyrre vp our ſenſes, they beyng taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we fall a ſleepe? Moreouer when a man would gladly ſleepe, he will put forth the candell leaſt peraduẽture it may let his ſleepe, and awake hym: So of late all ſuch wryters as dyd hold any thing with the Apoſtolike Sea were condemned, and forbidden to be read, and Images (whiche were* lay mens bookes) were caſt downe and broken.

Who putteth out the candell but they which extincte gods word and forbid the Scriptures that ſhould geue vs light? *They forbid lay mens bookes, but you forbid the booke of God.

The ſleepe hath continued with vs theſe xx. yeares, and we all that while without a head. For when Kyng Henry dyd firſt take vpon him to be head of the Churche, it was then no Churche at all. After whoſe death, Kyng Edwarde (hauing ouer him Gouernours and Protectours which ruled as them lyſted) could not be head of the church but was onely a ſhadowe or ſigne of a head: and at length it came to paſſe, that wee had no head at all, no, not ſo much as our ij. Archbyſhops. For on the one ſide, the Queene beyng a woman could not be head of the Church, and on the other ſide they both were conuicted of one crime and ſo depoſed. Thus, while wee deſired to haue a ſupreme head among vs, it came to paſſe that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North, in the tyme of kyng Henry ẏ viij. (I am ſure) the kyng was determined to haue geuen ouer the ſupremacy agayne to the Pope: but the houre was not then come, and therfore it went not forward, leſt ſome would haue ſayd, that he dyd it for feare.

Then beſide Chriſt is no head at all to geue life to hys Church, vnleſſe the Popes head alſo be clapt on the Churches ſhoulders.

After this M. Kenetcte, and I were ſent Ambaſſadours vnto the Emperour to deſire hym that he would be a meane betwene the Popes holynes and the kyng, to bryng the kyng to the obedience of the Sea of Rome: but the time was neither yet come. For it might haue bene ſayd, that it had ben done for a ciuill policie. Agayne, in the beginnyng of kyng Edwards raigne, the matter was moued, but ẏ time was not yet: for it would haue bene ſayd that the Kyng (beyng but a childe) had ben bought and ſolde. Neither in the beginnyng of the Queenes raigne was the houre come. For it woulde haue ben ſayd that it was done in a tyme of weakenes. Likewiſe when the kyng firſt came, if it had ben done, they might haue ſayde it had ben by force and violence. But now, euen now,* hora eſt. the houre is come, when no thyng can be obiected, but that it is the mere mercy and prouidence of God. Nowe hath the Popes holynes, Pope Iulius the iij. ſent vnto vs this moſt reuerend father, Cardinall Poole, an Ambaſſadour from his ſide. What to do? not to reuenge the iniuries done by vs agaynſt his holynes: ſed benedicere male dicentibus, to giue his benediction to thoſe which defamed and perſecuted him.

*Imo poteſtas tenebrarum.

Ste. Gardiner claweth the Cardinall.

And that wee may be the more meete to receaue the ſayd benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may alway acknowledge our ſelues offenders agaynſt his holynes. I do not exclude my ſelfe forth of the number. I will flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus, that is: weepe with them that weepe, and reioyce with them which reioyce. And I ſhall deſire you that we may differre the matter no longer, for nowe hora eſt: the houre is come. The Kynge and the Queens maieſties haue already reſtored our holy father the pope to his ſupremacy, and ẏ three eſtates aſſembled in the Parlament, repreſenting the whole body of the Realme haue alſo ſubmitted themſelues to his holynes, and his ſucceſſors * for euer. Wherfore let not vs any lenger ſtay. And euen as S. Paul ſayd to ẏ Corinthians, that he was their father, ſo may the pope ſay that he is our father: for we receyued our doctrine firſt from Rome, therfore may he chalenge vs as his owne, we haue all cauſe to reioyce, for his holynes hath ſent hether, & preuented vs before we ſought him: ſuch care hath hee for vs. Therfore let vs ſay Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Reioyce in this daye which is of the Lordes workyng: that ſuch a noble man of byrth is come, yea ſuch a holye father (I meane my Lord Cardinall Poole) which can ſpeak vnto vs, as vnto brethren, and not as vnto ſtraungers: who hath a long tyme ben abſẽt. And let vs now awake, which ſo long haue ſlept, and in our ſlepe haue done ſo much naughtynes agaynſt the Sacramentes of Chriſt, denying ẏ bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and pulled downe the* altars which thing Luther him ſelfe would not do, but rather reproued them that dyd, examinyng them of their beliefe in Chriſt.

Note how the meaning of S. Paules wordes is here applyed.

* For euer Winchester a falſe prophet.

S. Paul though he was the father of many Churches in Chriſt Ieſu: yet was he neuer ſo arrogant to take vpon hym to be ſupreme head of any Church but left that ſoly to Chriſt, and laboured to bryng all vnder hym.

*So Ezechias pulled downe the hill altars, which Manaſſes afterward did ſet vp: and yet we commend the doings of Ezechias and diſpraiſe the facte of the other.

This was the ſumme of his Sermon before his prayers, wherein hee prayed, firſt for the Pope, Pope Iulius the iij. withall his Colledge of Cardinals, the B. of London with the reſt of that order: then for the kyng & Queene and the Nobilitie of this Realme, and laſt for the commõs of the ſame, with the ſoules departed, lying in the paines of Purgatory. This ended (the tyme beyng late) they began in Paules to ryng to theyr Euenyng ſong, wherby the preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make a ſhort end of this clerkly Sermon.

About this very tyme a Poſte or Meſſenger was ſent from the whole Parlament to the Pope, to deſire him to cõfirme and eſtabliſh the ſale of Abbey landes and Chauntry landes: For the Lordes and the Parlament would graũt nothyng in the Popes behalfe before their purchaſes were fully confirmed.

Upon the Thurſday following, beyng the vi. day of December, and S. Nicolas daye, all the whole Conuocation both Byſhops and other: were ſent for to Lambeth to the Cardinall, who the ſame daye forgaue them all their periurations, ſchiſmes, and hereſies, and they all there kneeled downe and receiued his abſolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conuerſion to the catholyke church made by the Cardinall, they departed.

Decemb. 6.

The Chapter of Paules abſolued by the Cardinall.

Upon the Wedenſday beyng the xij. of December, fiue of the viij. men (which lay in the Fleete, that were of M. Throgmortons queſt) were diſcharged and ſet at libertye vpon their fine payed, whiche was cc. xx. li. a pece, and the other foure put vp a Supplication, therin declaryng, that theyr goodes dyd not amount to the ſumme that they were appointed to pay, and ſo vppon that declaration paying lx. li. a pece, they were deliuered out of priſon vpon S. Thomas day before Chriſtmas, beyng the xxi. of December.

Decemb. 12.

The Queſt men of M. Throgmorton put to their fine, and deliuered.

Upon the Saterday folowing, beyng the xxij. of December, all the whole Parliament had ſtraite commaundement, that none of them ſhoulde depart into their countrey thys Chriſtmas, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which commaundement was wonderfull contrary to their expectations. For as well many of the Lordes, as alſo many of the inferiour ſort had ſent for theyr horſe, and hadde them brought hyther.

Decemb. 22.

Upon the Fryday following, beyng the xxviij. of December and Childermas day, the Prince of Piedmont came to the court at Weſtminſter.

Decemb. 28.

AN. 1555.

An. 1555.

Upon Newyeares day at night followyng, certaine honeſt men and women of the Citie, to the number of xxx. and a Miniſter with them named M. Roſe, were takẽ as they were in a houſe in Bow churchyard at the Communion. and the ſame night they were all committed to priſon. And on the Thurſday following, beyng the third day of January, Maiſter Roſe was before the Byſhop of Wincheſter beyng Lord Chauncelour, and from thence the ſame day hee was committed to the Tower, after certayne communication had betwene the Byſhop and hym.

Ianuary. 1.

M. Roſe with 30. perſons taken at a Communion in Bow Churcheyard.

January. 3.

The ſame day the Acte for the ſupremacie paſt in ẏ parlament. Alſo the ſame day at night was a great tumult betwene Spanyardes and Engliſhe men at Weſtminſter, whereof was lyke to haue enſued great miſchiefe through a Spaniſh Frier, which got into the churche and rong Alarum. The occaſion was about ij. Whores whiche were in the Cloyſter of Weſtminſter with a ſorte of Spaniardes, whereof whileſt ſome playde the knaues with them, other ſome dyd keepe the entrey of the Cloyſter with Dagges in harneys. In the meane tyme certayne of the Deanes men came into the cloyſter, and the Spaniardes diſcharged their Dagges at them, and hurt ſome of them. By & by the noyſe of this doyng came into the ſtreetes, ſo that the whole town was vp almoſt but neuer a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtandyng the noyſe of this doyng with the Deanes mẽ, and alſo the ringing of the Alarum made much ado, and a great number alſo to be ſore afrayd.

The Acte of ſupremacie paſſed in the Parlamẽt.

A ſtyrre betwene the Spanyardes and Engliſh men at Weſtminſter.

Ye heard a lytle before the Councels letter ſent to B. Boner, ſignifiyng the good newes of Queene Mary to be not onely conceaued, but alſo quicke with chylde whiche was in the moneth of Nouember, the xxviij. day. Of thys childe great talke began at this tyme to ryſe in euery mans mouth, with buſy preparation, and much adoe, eſpecially amongeſt ſuch as ſeemed in England to cary Spaniſh hartes in Engliſhe bodyes. In number of whom here is not to bee forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his worthy affection toward his Prince and her iſſue, one Syr Rich. Southwell: who being the ſame tyme in the parlament houſe when as the Lordes were occupyed in other affaires and matters of importãce, ſodenly ſtartyng vp, for fulnes of ioy, braſt out in theſe wordes following: Tuſh my

Maiſters (quoth he) what talke ye of theſe matters? I would haue you take ſome order for our young maiſter that is now commyng into the world apace, leaſt he finde vs vnprouided. &c. By the which wordes both of him, and alſo by the foreſayd letters of the Counſeil, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an aſſured opinion was then conceaued in mens heads of Queene Mary to be conceaued and quicke wyth childe: In ſo much that at the ſame time, and in the ſame Parliament, there was eftſoones a byll exhibited, and an Act made vpon the ſame, the wordes whereof, for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificate as vnder followeth.

The wordes of ſir Rich. Southwell in the parliament houſe for his yong maſter.

¶ The wordes of the Acte.

Ex Stat. an. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap. 10.

ALbeit we the Lords ſpiritual & temporall, and the cōmōs in this preſent parlamēt aſſembled, haue firme hope and cōfidence in the goodnes of almighty god, that lyke as he hath hetherto miraculouſly preſerued the queens maieſty frō many great imminēt perils & daũgers: euē ſo he wil of his infinite goodnes, geue her highnes ſtrēgth, the rather by our cōtinual prayers, to paſſe wel the daũger of delyueraũce of childe, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great cōfortes) to bleſſe her: Yet foraſmuch as all thyngs of this world be vncertain, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this incōſtant gouernemēt duryng the time of the reigne of the late K. Edward the ſixt: do plainly ſee the manifold incōueniences, great daũgers & perils that may enſue to this whole realme, if foreſight be not vſed to preuent all euil chaunces if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewyng hereof we the Lords ſpirituall & temporall & the cōmons in this preſent Parliamēt aſſembled, for and in cōſideratiō of a moſt ſpecial truſt and cōfidēce that we haue & repoſe in the kings maieſtie, for and cōcerning the politicke gouernment, order, and adminiſtration of this realme in the time of the young yeares of the iſſue or iſſues of her Maieſties body to be borne, if it ſhoulde pleaſe God to call the Queenes highnes out of this preſent life during the tender yeares of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order & maner as hereafter in this preſent Acte hys highnes moſt gracious pleaſure is ſhould be declared & ſet forth haue made our moſt humble ſute by the aſſent of the Queenes highnes, that his maieſtie would vouchſafe to accept & take vpō him the rule, order, educatiō & gouernmēt of the ſaide iſſue or iſſues to be borne, as is aforeſaide, vpon which our ſute being of his ſaid maieſtie moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his highnes not only to declare, that like as for the firſt part his maieſtie verely truſteth that almighty god (who hath hetherto preſerued the queenes maieſtie) to geue this realme ſo good an hope of certaine ſucceſſiō in the bloud royall of the ſame realme, will aſſiſte her highnes with his graces & benedictiōs, to ſee the fruit of her body wel brought forth, liue, & hable to gouerne (wherof neither all this Realme ne all the world beſides, ſhoulde or could receiue more cōfort thē his maieſty ſhould & would) yet if ſuch chaũce ſhould happē, his maieſtie at our humble deſires is pleaſed & cōtēted, not onely to accept & take vpon him the cure & charge of the educatiō, rule, order, & gouernment of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy Mariage ſhall be borne betwene the queenes highnes & him: but alſo during the time of ſuch gouernment, would by al wayes & meanes ſtudy, trauaile, and employ hymſelfe to aduaunce the weale both publicke and priuate of thys Realme and dominions therunto belōging, according to the ſaid truſt in his maieſtie repoſed, with no leſſe good will and affection, then if hys highnes had bene naturally borne amongeſt vs. In cōſideration wherof be it enacted by the king and the queenes moſt excellent maieſties, by the aſſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporall, and the commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame. &c. as it is to be ſeene in the Acte more at large ratified and confirmed at ẏ ſame Parliament to the ſame entent and purpoſe.

The iudgement of the parliamēt deceaued in gods bleſſing.

Order taken by Parliament for Q. Maries child.

Truſt diſappointed.

¶ Thus much out of the Acte and ſtatute I thought to rehearſe, to the entent, the reader may vnderſtand, not ſo much how Parliamēts may ſometimes be deceaued (as by this child of Queene Mary may appeare) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen haue to render moſt earneſt thankes vnto almighty God, who ſo mercifully, againſt the opinion, expectation, and working of our aduerſaries, hath helped & deliuered vs in this caſe, which otherwiſe might haue opened ſuch a wyndow to the Spanyardes to haue entred and repleniſhed this land, that peraduēture by this time Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue enioyed no great quiet in their owne countrey: the Lord therefore make vs perpetually myndfull of his benefites. Amen.

Thus we ſee then, how man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labour, prouiſion, and order taken in the Parliament houſe for their younge maiſter long looked for, comming ſo ſurely into the worlde, in the ende appeared neither younge Maiſter, nor younge Maiſtres, that any man yet to this day can heare of.

Furthermore, as the labour of the lay ſort was herein deluded: ſo no leſſe ridiculous it was to beholde what litle effect the prayers of the Popes Churchmen had with almighty God, who trauayled no leſſe wyth their Proceſſions, Maſſes, and Collectes, for the happy deliueraunce of this young maiſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeene.

The prayers of the papiſtes of what litle effecte they are wyth God.

A prayer made by D. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, dayly to be ſaid for the Queenes deliuerance.

A prayer for queene Mary and her childe, turned out of Latin into Engliſh.

O Moſt righteous lord God, which for the offence of the firſt woman, haſt threatned vnto all women, a commō, ſharpe, and ineuitable malediction, and haſt enioyned them that they ſhoulde conceaue in ſinne, and being conceiued, ſhould be ſubiect to many and greuous torments, and finally be delyuered with the daũger and ieopardy of their life: We beſeech thee, for thine exceeding great goodnes & bottomles mercy, to mitigate the ſtraightnes of that lawe. Aſſwage thine anger for a while: and chearish in the boſome of thy fauour and mercy, our moſt gracious Q. Mary, beyng now at the point of her deliueraunce. So helpe her, that without daunger of her life ſhe may ouercome the ſorow, and in due ſeaſon bryng forth a childe, in body beutifull and comely, in minde noble and valiant. So that afterward ſhee forgetting the trouble, may with ioy laude and prayſe the bountifulnes of thy mercye, and together with vs prayſe and bleſſe both thee & thy holy name, world without end. This (Oh Lord) we deſire thee, we beſeech thee, and moſt hartely craue of thee. Heare vs oh Lord, and graunt vs our petition: Let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church ſay: Where is their God? Amen.

¶ A ſolemne prayer made for K. Philip and Queene Maries childe, that it may be a male childe, welfauoured and witty. &c.

A deuoute prayer made by the Catholickes for Q. Mary being great and quicke wyth childe.

O Moſt mighty lord God, which regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt, bow downe from thine hie habitation of the heauens, the eyes of thy mercy, vnto vs wretched ſinners, bowing the knees of our hartes, and with many and deepe ſighes, bewaylinge our ſinnes and offences, humbly with eyes intent, and handes diſplayed praying, and beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſeruaunt, and our Queene who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou haſt willed to be conceiued with childe: and at the time of her trauaile graciouſly with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer her, and from all daunger with the chylde in her conceaued, mercifully preſerue.

It hath ſeemed good in thy ſight, mercifull Father, by thy ſeruaunt Mary, to worke theſe wōders, that is to ſay: in her handes to vanquiſh and ouerthrow the ſtout enemy, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the handes of *Hereticks, Infidels, enemies to thee, and to the croſſe of thy beloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, that of thy ſeruaunt thou myghteſt ſpeake in farre countreyes. Therefore for theſe wonderfull workes which thou doeſt to thy ſeruauntes, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, and we thy people bleſſe thee the God of heauen, which haſt wrought vpon vs this great mercy, & haſt excluded from vs the Hereticke, the enemye of truth, ẏ perſecuter of thy church. We know, we know, that we haue greuouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we haue bene deceaued by vanitie, & that we haue forſaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, & our ſinnes be increaſed vp to heauen, and we our ſelues haue offended, and our Princes, and our prieſts for theſe our ſinnes haue deſerued a Tyraunt to our Gouernour, that ſhould bring our life to bitternes. We be not worthy to haue ſo gentle & mercifull a Queene, ſo godly a ruler, and finally ſo vertuous a prince: at ẏ very beginning of whoſe raigne, a new light as it were, of Gods religion, ſeemed to vs for to ſpring and riſe. The Iewes did bleſſe the widow Iudith with one voyce, ſaying: Thou art the glory of Ieruſalem, thou art the ioye of Iſraell, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou haſt loued chaſtitie, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer.

*The Papiſtes cal the Proteſtants heretickes & enemies to the croſſe of Chriſt, euen as Achab called Elias the diſturber of Iſraell, whē he was onely the diſturber him ſelfe.

Q. Mary compared of the Papiſtes to Q. Iudith.

And we the Engliſhe people, with one agreable conſent do crye: Thou Mary art the glory of Englād, our ioy, the honor of thy people, for that thou haſt embraced chaſtitie: thine hart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therfore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer. But bow downe, O moſt mercifull Father, thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt lord, that agaynſt Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinaunce our King, and agaynſt thy ſeruaunt Mary, by thy prouidence our Queene, the reſtorers & maintainers of thy Teſtament and of thy faith, & moſt

Marke how forgetting his praier, he falleth to the prayſing of Q. Mary.

moſt conſtaunt defenders of thy Church: thou knoweſt I ſay, that agaynſt theſe our two gouernours (the enemies of thy holy * Teſtament, and of the Churche thy ſpouſe) be moſt rancke Rebels and ſpitefull murmurers, walkyng after their luſtes, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh wordes of pride, to the end they may ſet vp the kingdome of heretickes & ſchiſmatickes. By the power of their hands they would * chaunge thy promiſes, and deſtroy thyne inheritaunce, and ſtop and ſhut vp the mouthes of thē that prayſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy Catholicke Church and aultar.

* The Teſtament ſetteth vp onely the glory of Chriſt.

* If the chaunging of Gods promiſes, deſtroying his inheritance, ſtopping the mouthes of gods people, & contentiōs, warres & ſchiſmes, be tokens of heretickes, who ſo great heretickes as the Papiſtes be?

It is manifeſt and playne, how many contentions how many conſpiracies, and ſeditions, how great warres, what tumultes, how many, and how great troubleſome vexatiōs, how many hereſies and ſchiſmes (for theſe be the moſt ready deuiſes, and euident tokens of heretickes) for our ſinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy ſeruaunt bee taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotēt, who hath pitched his dwellyng place in the middeſt of his people, to the intēt to deliuer vs out of the handes of our enemyes. Turne therfore thy countenaunce vnto vs, ſhew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh vs for our ſinnes accordyng to thy will and pleaſure, onely now deliuer vs. We bowyng the knees of our hart, beſech thee that thou wilt not reſerue vnto vs puniſhment for euer, and we ſhall prayſe thee, all the dayes of our lyfe. Heare our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treaſure of thy mercy, thy gracious fauour, the ſpryng of liuely water. Thou that haſt begon, make in the hand of the ſeruaunt a perfect worke. Suffer not, we pray thee, the * faythleſſe rebelles to ſay of thy ſeruaunt and her Counſellours, that they haue deuiſed matters whiche they can not performe. And graunt vnto thy ſeruaunt an happy and an eaſie trauaile. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iuſtice, nor vnwonted to thy mercy.

* Cry vp louder you prieſtes peraduenture your God is a ſleepe. The Lord gaue a promiſe to Sara and Elizabeth: ſo did he not to Q. Mary.

It is well knowen vnto vs, how marueilouſly thou diddeſt worke in Sara of the age of xc. yeares, and in Elizabeth the barrein, and alſo farre ſtricken in age: for thy counſel is not in the power of men. Thou lord that art the ſearcher of harts & thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy ſeruant neuer luſted after man, neuer gaue her ſelfe to wanton cōpany, nor made her ſelf partaker with thē that walke in lightnes: but ſhee cōſented to take an huſband with thy feare, & not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſeruant tooke an huſbād, not for carnal pleaſure, but only for the deſire & loue of poſteritie, wherin thy name might be bleſſed for euer and euer. Geue therfore vnto thy ſeruaunts, Philip our kyng, and Marye our Queene a male iſſue, which maye ſit in the ſeate of thy kingdome. Geue vnto our Queene thy ſeruant, a litle infant in faſhion and body comely & beautiful, in pregnant wyt notable and excellent.

* It is not beſt ſuch one to be graunted vnto you for being lyke Abraham, Joſeph, Moſes and Salomon he may chaunce to ſmell out your corrupt doctrine, and to deteſt your bloudy tyranny. &c.

Graunt the ſame to be in obedience like * Abraham, in hoſpitalitie like Loth, in chaſtitie & brotherly loue like Ioſeph, in meekenes & myldnes like Moſes, in ſtrength & valiantnes like Sampſon. Let him be found faythful as Dauid after thy hart. Let hym be wiſe among kynges as the moſt wiſe Salomon. Let hym be like Iob, a ſimple and an vpright man, fearyng God, & eſchewyng euyl. Let hym finally be garniſhed with the comelynes of all vertuous conditions, and in the ſame let hym waxe olde and lyue, that he may ſee his childrens children to the third and fourth generatiō. And geue vnto our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, king Philip and Queene Mary, thy bleſſing, and long lyfe vpon earth. And grant that of them may come kings & queenes, whiche maye ſtedfaſtly continue in fayth, loue, and holynes. And bleſſed be their ſeede, of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, whiche art bleſſed for euer and euer. Amen.

¶ An other prayer for Queene Mary,
and her conceiued chylde.

An other prayer for the ſame.

O Almighty father, whiche diddeſt ſanctifie the bleſſed virgin and mother of Mary in her cōception and in the byrth of Chriſte our ſaueour (thy onely ſonne:) alſo by thy omnipotent power diddeſt ſafely deliuer the prophete Ionas out of the Whales belly: Defend O Lord, we beſeeche thee, thy ſeruant Mary our Queene, with child conceiued, and ſo viſite her in and with thy godly gyft of health, that not only the childe thy creature, within her conteined, may ioyfully come frō her into this world, and receiue the bleſſed Sacramentes of Baptiſme and Confirmation, enioynyng therewith daily encreaſe of all princely and gracious gyftes both of body and ſoule, but that alſo ſhee, the mother, through thy ſpecial grace & mercy, may in time of her trauaile auoyde al exceſſiue dolor and paine, and abide perfecte and ſure from al peryl and daunger of death, with long & proſperous lyfe, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

It foloweth now further in proceſſe of the ſtory, that vpō the Tueſday, being the. x. of Ianuarye, xx. of the lower houſe of the parlamēt, with the Speaker came to the white hal to the kyng, and there offered hym the gouernment of the Realme and of the Iſſue, if the Queene ſhould fayle, which was confirmed by act of parlamēt within ten dayes after.

January 10.

Upon Wedneſday folowing, beyng the. xvi. of Ianuary, the Parliament was cleane diſſolued. In this among other thinges the Biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, and al ſuch lawes as were made againſt him ſince the. xx. yere of king Henry the eight, were repealed, and alſo Cardinall Poole, Biſhop Pates, Lilly, & other were reſtored to their bloud. Alſo there was an act for ſpeaking of wordes: that who ſoeuer ſhoulde ſpeake any thinge againſt the kyng or queene, or that might moue any ſedition or rebellion, at the firſt tyme to haue one of his eares cut of, or to forfeite an hundred markes, & at the ſecond to haue both his eares cut of, or els to forfeit an hundred poundes: & who ſoeuer ſhould write, ſipher, or print any of the premiſſes, to haue their right hand cut of.

January. 16.

The Popes ſupremacye eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

Matters concluded in the Parlament.

Alſo in this parlament three ſtatutes were reuiued for trial of hereſie: one made in the fift yeare of Richard the ſecond, an other in the ſecond yeare of Henry the. 4. and the third in the. 2. yeare of Henry the. 5. Alſo the doing of M. Roſe, & the other that were with him, was comuned of in this parlamēt, & vpō that occaſiō an act was made, that certaine euyll prayers ſhould be treaſon againſt the Queenes highnes. The prayers of theſe men were thus: God turne the hart of Queene Mary from Idolatrie, or els ſhorten her dayes. Wherof reade the ſtatute, Ann. 1. & 2. Reg. Phil. et Mariæ. Cap. 9.

Three ſtatutes agaynſt heretickes reuiued.

As touching the taking of M. Roſe & his felowes, word was brought therof to M. Hooper being then in the Fleet. Whereupon the ſaid M. Hooper ſendeth anſwere againe, with a letter alſo of conſolation ſent to the ſaide priſoners: the copie wherof I thought here not to ouerpaſſe.

¶ The anſweare of maſter Hooper to a letter ſent vnto hym concerning certaine priſoners taken in Bowe Churchyarde.

M. Hoopers aunſwere to a certayne letter ſent vnto hym.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I perceiue by your letter, how that vpon New yeres day at night, there were taken a godly cōpany of Chriſtians, whileſt they wer praying. I do reioyce in that men can be ſo wel occupied in this perilous time, & flee vnto God for remedy by praier, as wel for their own lackes & neceſſities, as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the woorde of God cōmaund al men to pray charitably for thē that hate them, and not to reuile any magiſtrate with wordes, or to meane hym euyll by force or violence. They alſo may reioyce that in well doing, they were taken to the priſon. Wherefore I haue thought it good to ſend them this litle writing of cōſolation: praying God to ſende them pacience, charitie, and conſtancie in the truth of his moſt holy worde. Thus fare you well, and pray God to ſend his true woorde into this Realme againe amongeſt vs, which the vngodly Biſhoppes haue now baniſhed. Ianuar. 4. ann. 1555.

A letter of conſolation ſent from M. Hooper to the godly brethren taken in Bow churchyard, in prayer, and laid in the Counter in Breadſtreat.

THe grace, fauour, conſolation, & aid of the holy Ghoſt be with you now and euer. So be it.

Dearly beloued in the Lorde, euer ſithens your impriſonment, I haue bene marueilouſly moued with great affections and paſſions, as well of myrth and gladnes, as of heauines and ſorow. Of gladnes in this, that I perceyued how ye be bent and geuen to prayer and inuocation of Gods helpe in theſe darke and wicked proceedings of men, againſt Gods glorye. I haue bene ſorye to perceiue the malice and wickednes of men to be ſo cruel, diueliſh, and tyrannicall, to perſecute the people of God, for ſeruyng of God, ſaying and hearing of the holy Pſalmes, and the word of eternall lyfe. Theſe cruel doinges do declare, that the Papiſtes Church is more bloudy and tyrannical, then euer was the ſwoorde of the Ethnikes and Gentiles.

A letter of M. Hooper full of moſt heauenly conſolation.

When I hearde of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherfore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembred how the Chriſtians in the Primatiue Churche were vſed by the crueltie of vnchriſtened Heathens, in ye tyme of Traiane the Emperour about. 77. yeares after Chriſtes aſcenſion into heauen: and how the Chriſtians were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had bene traytors and mouers of ſedition. Wherupon the gentle Emperour Traiane required to knowe the true cauſe of Chriſtian mens trouble. A great learned man called Plinius, wrote vnto him, & ſaid it was

Of this perſecution, read before pag. 39. col. 2.

was becauſe the Chriſtians ſayd certaine Pſalmes before day, vnto one called Chriſt, whom they worſhipped for God. When Traiane the Emperour vnderſtoode it was for nothing but for conſcience and religion, he cauſed by his commaundementes euery where, that no man ſhould be perſecuted for ſeruing of God. Loe, a Gentile and Heathen man would not haue ſuch as were of a contrary Religion, puniſhed for ſeruyng of God. But the Pope & his church hath caſt you into priſon, being taken euen doing the worke of God, and one of the excellentes workes that is required of Chriſtian men: that is to wyt, whiles ye were in prayer, & not in ſuch wicked & ſuperſtitious prayers as the papiſtes vſe, but in the ſame prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gaue God thankes for that ye haue receyued, and for his ſake ye aſked for ſuch thinges as ye want. O glad may ye be that euer ye were borne, to be apprehended whileſt ye were ſo vertuouſly occupyed. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake. For if God had ſuffred them that tooke your bodyes, then to haue taken your lyfe alſo, nowe had ye bene folowing the Lambe in perpetuall ioyes, away from the company and aſſemblie of wicked men. But the Lord would not haue you ſodainlye ſo to depart, but reſerueth you, glorioſly to ſpeake and mainteyne his truth to the world.

The Pope worſe then Traianus the Heathen Emperour.

Be ye not careful what ye ſhal ſay, for God wyl go out & in with you, and wyll be preſent in your hartes & in your mouthes to ſpeake his wiſedome, although it ſeemeth fooliſhnes to the world. He that hath begun this good worke in you, continue you in the ſame vnto the end: and pray vnto hym, that ye may feare hym only, that hath power to kyll both body & ſoule, and to caſt them into hel fire. Be of good comfort. Al the heares of your head are numbred, and there is not one of them can periſhe, except your heauenly father ſuffer it to periſh. Now ye be in the field, & placed in ỹ forefront of Chriſtes battel. Doubtles it is a ſingular fauor of God, & a ſpecial loue of hym towardes you, to geue you this foreward & preeminence, and a ſigne that he truſteth you before others of his people. Wherefore (deare brethren and ſiſters) continually fight this fight of the Lorde. Your cauſe is moſt iuſt & godly: ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the fleſhe in heauen) & for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, ſufficiently and abundantly conteined in the holy Teſtament, ſealed with Chriſtes owne bloud. How much be ye bound to God, to put you in truſt with ſo holy and iuſt a cauſe.

Math. 10. Luke 12.

The firſt onſet of this perſecution geuen in Bow Church yarde.

Remember what lookers vpon you haue, to ſee & behold you in your fight: God & al his Angels, who be redy alway to take you vp into heauen, if ye be ſlaine in his fight. Alſo, you haue ſtandyng at your backes all the multitude of the faythful, who ſhal take courage, ſtrength, & deſire to folowe ſuch noble & valiant Chriſtians as you be. Be not afrayd of your aduerſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger then he that is in them. Shrinke not although it be payne to you. Your paynes be not nowe ſo great, as hereafter your ioyes ſhall be. Reade the cōfortable chapters to the Romanes. 8. 10. 15. Hebr. 11. 12. And vpon your knees thanke God that euer ye were accompted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his names ſake. Reade the ſecond chap. of S. Lukes Goſpell, & there you ſhal ſee how the ſheepheards that watched vpō their ſheepe all night, as ſoone as they hearde that Chriſte was borne at Bethlē, by & by they went to ſee hym. They dyd not reaſon nor debate with thē ſelues, who ſhould kepe the wolfe frō the ſheepe in the meane tyme, but dyd as they were cōmaunded, & cōmitted their ſheepe vnto hym, whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let vs do now we be called, cōmit all other thyngs to hym that calleth vs. He wyll take heede that al thinges ſhal be wel. He wyl helpe the huſbande, he wyl cōfort the wyfe, he wil guide the ſeruants, he wil kepe the houſe, he wyl preſerue the goods: yea, rather thē it ſhould be vndone, he wyl waſh the diſhes, & rocke the cradle. Caſt therfore al your care vpon God, for he careth for you.

1. John. 4.

Comfort taken out of Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubtes.

All carefulnes to be caſt vpon the Lorde.

Beſides this, you may perceyue by your impriſonment, that your aduerſaries weapons agaynſte you, be nothyng but fleſhe, bloud, and tyrannie. For if they were able, they would mainteyne their wicked religion by Gods worde: but for lacke of that, they would violently compell ſuche as they can not by holy Scripture perſwade, becauſe the holy word of God, and all Chriſtes doynges be contrarye vnto them. I pray you pray for me, and I wil pray for you. And although we be aſunder after the world, yet in Chriſte (I truſt) for euer ioynyng in the ſpirite, and ſo ſhall mete in the pallace of the heauenly ioyes, after this ſhort and tranſitorie lyfe is ended. Gods peace be with you. Amen. The 14. of January. 1554.

All the ſtrength of the Popes religion ſtandeth in outward force.

January 18.

Vppon the Fryday after this folowing, being the. 18. of January, all the Counſayle went vnto the Tower, and there the ſame day, diſcharged and ſet at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower or the moſt part of them, namely the late Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, Ambroſe, Robert, & Henry, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir James Croftes, ſir Nicholas Throgmortō, ſir Nicholas Arnall, ſir George Harper, ſir Edward Warner, ſir W. Sentlow, Sir Gawē Carew, Maiſter Gybbes, Cutbert Vaghan, with many other.

Gentlemen deliuered out of the Tower by the Queenes pardon.

January 22.

Vppon the Tueſday following, beyng the. xxij. of January, all the Preachers that were in priſon were called before the Byſhop of Wincheſter Lorde Chauncellour and certayne other, at the Byſhops houſe at Saint Mary Oueries. From whence (after communication, beyng aſked whether they would conuert and enioy the Queenes pardon, or els ſtand to that they had taught: they al aunſwered that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtraiter priſon then before they were, with charge that none ſhould ſpeake with them.

The preachers called before the B. of Wincheſter at S. Mary Oueryes.

Amongeſt the which number of priſoners, one James George the ſame tyme dyed in priſon, beyng there in bandes for religiō and righteouſnes ſake: who therfore was exempted to be buryed in the Popiſhe Churchyard, and was buryed in the field.

James George dyed in priſon, and was buryed in the fieldes.

January 23.

Vpon the Wedenſday folowing beyng the. xxiij. of January, all the Byſhops with all the reſt of the Conuocatiō houſe were before the Cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed thē to repayre euery man where his Cure and charge lay, exhortyng them to intreate the people and their flocke with all gentlenes, and to endeuour them ſelues to wynne the people rather by gentlenes then by extremitye & rigour, and ſo let them depart.

January 25.

Vpon the Friday folowing beyng the. xxv. of January and the day of ỹ Conuerſion of S. Paul, there was generall and ſolemne proceſſion through London to geue God thankes for their conuerſion to ỹ Catholick church: wherin (to ſet out their glorious pompe) there were fourescore & ten Croſſes, eyghtſcore prieſtes and Clerkes, who had euery one of them Copes vppon their backes, ſinging very luſtily. There folowed alſo, for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eyght Byſhops, and laſt of all came Boner the Byſhop of Londō, carying the Popiſh Pixe vnder a Canopy.

Generall proceſſion for ioy of the Realmes conuerſion.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Maior, Aldermen, and all the Liuery of euery occupation. Moreouer the king alſo him ſelfe, and the Cardinall came to Paules Churche the ſame day. From whence after Maſſe they returned to Weſtminſter agayne. As the kyng was entred the Church at the ſteppes goyng vp to the Quiere, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at libertie out of the Tower, kneled before the kyng and offered vnto hym them ſelues and theyr ſeruices.

After the proceſſion, there was alſo commaundement giuen to make Bonefiers at night. Whereuppon did riſe among the people a doubtfull talke, why all thys was done. Some ſayd it was that the Queene, beyng then (as they ſayd) with childe, might haue a ſafe deliuery. Others thought that it was for ioy that the Realme was ioyned agayn to the Sea of Rome, whiche opinion of both, ſeemed moſt true.

January 28.

Vppon the Monday folowing beyng the. xxviij. of January, the Byſhop of Wincheſter and the other Byſhops had Commiſſion from the Cardinall to ſit vppon, and order accordyng to the lawes, all ſuch Preachers and heretickes (as they termed them) as were in priſon, and accordyng to this Commiſſion the ſame day the Byſhop of Wincheſter and the other Byſhops with certayn of the Counſell, ſatte in S. Mary Oueries Churche & called before them theſe iij. M. Hoper, M. Rogers. & M. Cardmaker, who were brought thether by ỹ Shriues. Frō whence after cōmunication, they were cōmitted to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker this day ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto them.

Commiſſion from the Cardinall to ſit vpon the perſecuted preachers for religion.

January 29.

Vppon the Tueſday beyng the. xxix. of January, Hoper, Rogers, Doctor Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, where ſentence of excommunication and iudgement eccleſiaſtical was pronounced vpon M. Hooper, and M. Rogers, by the B. of Wincheſter, who ſate as Iudge in Caiphas ſeate: who droue them out of the church accordyng to their law and order. Doctor Taylor and Bradford were committed to priſon tyl the next day.

M. Hooper and M. Rogers condemned.

January 30.

Vpon the Wedneſday being the. xxx. of January, Doctor Taylor, Doctor Crome, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and Doct. Farrar ſometime Biſhop of S. Dauids, were before the ſaid biſhops, where. iij. of them, that is to ſay, Doct. Taylor, M. Saunders, and M. Bradford were likewiſe excōmunicated & ſentēce pronoūced vpō them, & ſo committed to the Sheriffes. Doct. Crome deſired two monethes reſpite, & it was granted hym, and M. Farrar was againe committed to priſon, till an other time. Al theſe men ſhewed thē ſelues to be learned (as in dede they were no leſſe)

D. Ferrar, D. Taylor, and M. Saunders condemned.

but what auaileth either learning, reaſon or truth it ſelfe, where will beareth rule.

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and preachers aboue recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitours were ſent abrode likewiſe into all partes of the Realme, by reaſon wherof a great number of moſt godly & true chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the realme, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Northfolke, and Suffolke) were apprehended, brought vp to London, and caſt in priſon, and afterward (moſt of them) eyther conſumed cruelly by fire, or els through euill handlyng died in the priſons, and were buried on dunghils abroad in the fieldes, or in ſome backeſide of the priſon. Of all which matters, concerning the tragicall handlyng of theſe bleſſed Martyrs and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the bloudy perſecution of this tyme, now followeth (the lord ſo grauntyng) ſeuerally and more particularly in this next booke, in order to be declared: after that I ſhall firſt recite a generall ſupplication, geuen vp in the name of the preachers aforeſayd lying in priſon, vnto the kyng and Queene, during the tyme of the Parliament, as followeth.

Vnto the King and Queenes moſt excellent Maieſties, and to their moſt honourable and high Court of Parliament.

A Supplication of the perſecuted preachers to the kyng and Queene.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wyſe complain vnto your maieſties, and to your high court of Parliamēt, your poore deſolate and obedient ſubiectes, H.F.T.B.P.R.S.&c. That where as your ſayd ſubiectes liuyng vnder the lawes of god and of this realme in the dayes of the late moſt noble kyng Edward 6. did in all thinges ſhew themſelues true, faithful and diligent ſubiectes, according to their vocation, as well in the ſincere miniſtring of gods holy worde, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the dailye practiſe of ſuch vertues and good demeanour, as the lawes of God at all tymes, and the ſtatutes of the realme did then allowe: your ſayd ſubiectes neuertheles, contrary to all lawes of iuſtice, equitie and right, are in very extreme maner, not only caſt into priſon (where they haue remayned now theſe 15. or 16. monthes) but their liuings alſo, their houſes and poſſeſſions, their goods and bookes taken from them, and they ſlaundered to be moſt haynous heretickes, their enemyes them ſelues being both witneſſes, accuſers, and Iudges, belying, ſclaundering, and miſreporting your ſayd ſubiectes at their pleaſure: wheras your ſayd ſubiects being ſtraightly kept in priſon, can not yet be ſuffered to come forth and make aunſwere accordingly.

The long impriſonment of the Chriſtian preachers.

Diſorderly proceedyng of the aduerſaries agaynſt Gods people

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſties, and this your high court of Parlament, graciouſlye to tender the preſent calamitie of your ſayde poore ſubiectes, and to call thē before your preſence, graunting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plaine Engliſh tong, to aunſwer before you or before indifferent Arbiters to bee appointed by your maieſties vnto ſuch Articles of controuerſie in Religion as their ſayde aduerſaries haue alredy condemned them of, as of haynous hereſies: Prouided, that all thinges may be done with ſuch moderation and quiet behauiour, as becommeth ſubiectes and children of peace, and that your ſaid ſubiects may haue the free vſe of all their owne bookes and conference together among themſelues.

Requeſt of ẏ preachers to ſtand to the triall of their doctrine before indifferent Judges.

Which thing beyng graunted, your ſaid ſubiectes doubt not but it ſhall plainly appeare that your ſaid ſubiectes are true and faithfull chriſtians, and neither heretikes, neyther teachers of hereſie, nor cut of from the true catholicke vniuerſall church of Chriſt: Yea, that rather their aduerſaries themſelues be vnto your maieſties, as were the charmers of Egipt vnto Pharao, Sedechias and his adherentes, vnto the king of Iſrael; and Barieſu to the Proconſull Sergius Paulus. And if your ſaid ſubiectes be not able by the teſtimonye of Chriſt, his Prophets, Apoſtles, and godly fathers of hys church to proue, that the doctrine of the church, Homelies, and ſeruice, taught and ſet foorth in the tyme of our late moſt godly prince and kyng Edward the 6. is the true doctrine of Chriſtes catholike Church, and moſt agreable to the articles of the chriſtian fayth: your ſayd ſubiectes offer themſelues then to the moſt heuy puniſhment, that it ſhal pleaſe your maieſties to appoint.

Actes. 13.

Wherfore for the tender mercy of God in Chriſt (which you loke for at the day of iudgement) your ſaid poore ſubiectes in bondes, moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent maieſties, and this your high courte of Parliament, beningly and graciouſly to heare and graunt this their petition, tending ſo greatly to the glory of God, to the edifiyng of his church, to the honor of your maieſties, to the commendation and maintenance of iuſtice, right, and equitie, both before God and man. And your ſayd ſubiectes according to their bounden duety, ſhall not ceaſe to pray vnto almighty God, for the gracious preſeruation of your moſt excellent maieſties long to endure.

Here beginneth the eleuenth booke wherin is diſcourſed the bloudy murthering of Gods Saintes, with the particular proceſſes and names of ſuche good Martyrs both men and women, as in this tyme of Queene Mary were put to death.

¶The ſtory, lyfe and Martyrdome of M. John Rogers.

February. 4.

The lyfe and ſtory of M. Jhon Rogers.

THE fourth day of February ſuffred the conſtant Martir of God M. John Rogers, concernyng whoſe life, examinations, & ſuffring, here followeth in order ſet forth. And firſt touchīg his life and bringing vp, Jo. Rogers brought vp in ẏ vniuerſity of Cābridge, where he profitably trauailed in good learning, at the length was choſen and called by the Marchantes aduenturers to be their chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabāt, whom he ſerued to their good contentation many yeres. It chanced hym there to fall in company with that worthy ſeruant and Martyr of God William Tindall, and with Myles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forſakē their natiue country,) In conferring with them the ſcriptures, he came to great knowledge in the goſpell of God, in ſo much that he caſte of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himſelfe with them two in that paynfull and moſt profitable labour of tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſh tong, which is intituled: The tranſlation of Thomas Mathew. He knowing by the ſcriptures, that vnlawfull vowes may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honeſt and honorable amongſt all men, ioyned hymſelfe in lawful matrimony, and ſo went to Wittemberge in Saxony, where he with much ſobernes of liuing did not only greatly encreaſe in all good and godly learning: but alſo ſo much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tong, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

M. Rogers Chaplaine to the Marchauntes aduenturers at Antwerpe.

M. Rogers brought to the Goſpell by M. W. Tyndale, and M. Couerdale.

Of M. Rogers doyng in this tranſlation read afore pag. 1163.

M. Rogers goeth to Wittemberge.

In which miniſtery he diligently & faythfully ſerued many yeares, vntill ſuch tyme as it pleaſed god by the faythfull trauell of his choſen and deare ſeruaunt kyng Edward the vi. vtterly to baniſh all Popery forth of England, and to receiue in true Religion, ſettynge Gods Goſpell at libertie. He then beyng orderly called, hauing both a conſcience and a ready good wil to helpe forward the worke of ẏ lord in his natiue countrey, left ſuch honeſt and certayne conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the Goſpel, without certaintie of any Condition. In which office after he had a ſpace diligently and faythfully trauailed Nicholas Ridley then Byſhop of London gaue him a prebend in the cathedrall Church of Paules, and the Deane and the chapter choſe him to bee the Reader of the diuinitie leſſon there, wherein he diligently trauailed, vntill ſuch time as queene Mary obtaynyng the crowne, baniſhed the goſpell and true religion and brought in ẏ Antichriſt of Rome, with his Idolatry and ſuperſtition.

M. Rogers returneth from Saxonie into England in kyng Edwardes tyme.

M. Rogers reader and Prebendarie in Paules.

After the Queene was come to the Tower of London, he beyng orderly called thereunto, made a Godly and vehement Sermon at Paules croſſe, confirming ſuch true doctrine, as he and other had there taught in kyng Edwards dayes, exhortyng the people conſtantly to remaine in ẏ ſame and to beware of all peſtilent Popery, idolatry, and ſuperſtition. The Councell beyng thē ouermatched with popiſh & bloudy biſhops, called him to accōpt for his ſermō: to whō he made a ſtout, wittie, & godly anſwere, & yet in ſuch ſort handled him ſelfe, that at that tyme he was clearly dimiſſed but after that Proclamation was ſet forth by the Queene to prohibite true preaching, hee was called agayne before

M. Rogers called to accompt for hys Sermon at Paules Croſſe.

M. Rogers agayne called before the Counſell, and cõmaunded to keepe hys houſe.

the Counſell, (for the Biſhops thirſted after his bloude). The Counſell quarelled with hym cõcerning his doctrine, and in concluſion commaunded hym as priſoner to keepe hys owne houſe, and ſo he did: although by flying he might eaſily haue eſcaped their cruell handes, and many thynges there were, which might haue moued hym therunto. He did ſee the recouery of religion in England, for that preſent, deſperate: he knew he coulde not want a liuyng in Germany, and he could not forget his wyfe and tenne children, and to ſeeke meanes to ſuccour them. But all theſe thynges ſet aparte, after he was called to aunſwere in Chriſtes cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutely ſtoode in defence of the ſame, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazarde his lyfe.

M. Rogers ſent to Newgate.

Thus he remayned in his owne houſe as priſoner a long tyme, till at the length through the vncharitable procurement of Boner Biſhop of London who coulde not abyde ſuch honeſt neighbours to dwell by him, he was remoued from his owne houſe to the priſon called Newgate, where he was lodged among theues and murtherers, for a great ſpace: durying which tyme, what buſineſſe hee had with the aduerſaries of Chriſt, all is not knowen, neyther yet any certainty of his examinations, further then he hymſelfe did leaue in writing, which God would not to bee loſt, but to remayne for a perpetuall teſtimony in the cauſe of gods truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by hys owne writyng.

The examination and aunſwere of Iohn Rogers made to the Lord Chauncellor, and to the reſt of the Counſaile, the 22. of Ianuary. Anno. 1555.

Lord Chauncellour.

Examination & aunſwere of M. Iohn Rogers.

FIrſt the Lord Chauncellour ſaid vnto me thus. Sir ye haue heard of the ſtate of the Realme in whiche it ſtandeth now.

Rogers. No my Lord, I haue ben kept in cloſe priſon, and except there haue bene ſome generall thyng ſaid at the table when I was at dinner or ſupper, I haue heard nothing: & there haue I heard nothing whereupon any ſpeciall thyng might be grounded.

*Full ſore againſt their wyls if they could otherwyſe haue choſen.

L.Chan. Then ſaid the L.Chancellor: Generall thinges, generall things, mockingly? ye haue heard of my lord Cardinals commyng, and that the Parliament hath receyued his bleſſing, not one reſiſting vnto it, but one man whiche did ſpeake againſt it. Such an vnity & ſuch a miracle hath not bene ſene. And all they of which there are 8. ſcore in one houſe, ſaid one that was by (whoſe name I know not) haue with one aſſent and *conſent receiued pardon of their offences for the ſchiſme that we haue had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be head of the Catholicke church. How ſay ye, are ye content to vnite and knitte your ſelf to the fayth of the catholike church with vs in the ſtate in which it is now in England? will ye do that?

Rog. The Catholike Church I neuer did nor will diſſent from.

L.Chan. Nay, but I ſpeake of the ſtate of the Catholicke church, in that wyſe in which we ſtande now in England, hauyng receiued the Pope to be ſupreme hed.

No head of the Catholicke Church, but Chriſt.

Rog. I know none other hed but Chriſt, of his catholicke church, neither will I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to haue any more authority, then any other biſhop hath, by the word of god, and by the doctrine of the old and pure Catholike church 400. yeres after Chriſt.

L.Chaun. Why didſt thou then acknowledge king Henry the 8. to be ſupreme hed of the church, if Chriſt be the onely hed?

The ſupremacie of king Henry. 8. how it is to be taken.

Rog. I neuer graunted hym to haue any ſupremacy in ſpirituall thinges, as are the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, geuyng of the holy Ghoſt, authoritie to be a Iudge aboue the worde of God.

Tonſtall B. of Dureſme. N. Biſh. of Worceſter.

L.Chan. yea ſaid he, and Tonſtall B. of Dureſme, and N. B. of Worceſter, if thou hadſt ſaid ſo in his dayes (and they nodded the hed at me, with a laughter) thou hadſt not bene a lyue now.

The meaning why K. Henry was titled ſupreame head.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would haue told how he was ſayd and ment to be ſupreme hed. But they loked and laughed one vpõ an other, and made ſuch a buſines, that I was conſtrayned to let it paſſe. There lyeth alſo no great waight therupon: for all the world knoweth what the meanyng was. The Lorde Chauncellour alſo ſayd to the Lord Wil. Howard that there was no inconuenience therein, to haue Chriſt to be ſupreme hed, and the B. of Rome alſo: & when I was redy to haue aunſwered, that there could not be two heds of one church, and haue more plainly declared the vanity of that hys reaſon, the L.Chancellor ſaid: what ſayſt thou? make vs a directed anſwer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with vs in the ſtate in which we are now?

The biſhops contrary to their former doinges and writinges.

Rog. My Lord, without fayle I can not beleue, that ye your ſelues do thincke in you hartes, ÿ he is ſupreme head in forgeuyng of ſinne. &c. (as is before ſayd) ſeyng you, and all the Byſhops of the realme haue now xx. yeares lõg preached and ſome of you alſo written to the contrary, and the Parlament hath ſo long agone condeſcended vnto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. Tuſh that Parlament was with moſt great crueltie conſtrayned to aboliſhe and put away the primacie from the byſhops of Rome.

Rog, With crueltie? Why then I perceyue that you take a wrong way, with crueltie to perſwade mens conſciences, For it ſhoulde appeare by your doynges now, that the cruelty then vſed hath not perſwaded your conſciences. Howe woulde ye then haue oure conſciences, perſwaded wyth cruelty.

L.Chan. I talke to thee of no cruelty, but that they were ſo often & ſo cruelly called vpon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward, yea and euen with force driuen thereunto. Where as in this Parlament it was ſo vniformelie receiued, as is aforeſayd.

Truth goeth not by nũber nor by the greater part.

Rog. Here my Lord Paget tolde mee more playnly, what my Lord Chauncellour ment. Unto whom I aunſwered: My Lord, what will ye conclude therby? that the fyrſt parlament was of leſſe authoritie, becauſe but few cõdeſcended vnto it? and this laſt Parlament of great authority, becauſe more condeſcended vnto it? It goeth not (my Lord) by the more or leſſer part, but by the wyſer, truer, and godlier part: and I would haue ſayd more, but the Lord Chancellour interrupted me with his queſtion, willing me once agayne to aunſwere him. For, (ſayd hee) wee haue moe to ſpeake with then thou: which muſt come in after the. And ſo there were in deed ten perſons moe out of Newgate, beſides two that were not called. Of which ten one was a citizen of London, whiche graunted vnto them: and nine of the contrary: whiche all came to priſon agayne, and refuſed the Cardinals bleſſing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers church: ſaying that one of theſe. ix. was not aſked the queſtion otherwiſe then thus, whether hee would be an honeſt man as his Father was before him, and aunſwering yea, he was ſo diſcharged by the friendſhip of my Lord William Hawarde (as I haue vnderſtanded): He bad me tell him what I would do: whether I woulde enter into one Churche with the whole Realme, as it is now, or not? No, ſayd I, I will firſt ſee it proued by the Scriptures. Let me haue penne, incke, and bookes. &c. And I ſhall take vpon me playnly to ſet out the matter, ſo that ÿ cõtrary ſhal be proued to be true, and let any man that will, conferre with me by writyng.

X. priſoners out of Newgate to be cõuented before Gardiner. 9. of theſe priſoners refuſed the popes authoritie: the tenth yelded.

Ste. Gardiner refuſing to haue the truth to be tryed by learnyng.

L.Chaun. Nay, that ſhall not bee permitted thee. Thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered the as thou haſt nowe, if thou refuſe it, & wilt not now cõdeſcend and agree to the catholicke churche. Here are, ij. thinges: mercy, and Iuſtice: if thou refuſe the Queenes mercy now, thẽ ſhalt thou haue iuſtice miniſtred vnto thee.

The biſhops neither wyll ſtand by their aſſertion, nor yet will ſuffer other men ſo to doe.

Rog. I neuer offended, nor was diſobedient vnto her grace and yet I will not refuſe her mercy. But if this ſhall be denyed me, to conferre by writyng and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but to farre out of the way, ye your ſelues (all the Biſhops of the Realme) brought mee to the knowledge of the pretenſed primacy of the byſhop of Rome, when I was a yong man, twenty yeares paſt: and will ye now without collation haue me to ſay and do the contrary? I can not be ſo perſwaded.

A fayre pretence to excuſe your ignoraunce.

L.Chan. If thou wilt not receiue the Byſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the catholicke Church, then thou ſhalt neuer haue her mercy, thou mayeſt bee ſure. And as touching conferring and tryall, I am forbidden by the ſcriptures to vſe any conferring and tryall with the, For Saint Paul teacheth me that I ſhall ſhun and eſchewe an Hereticke after one or two monitions, knowyng that ſuche an one is ouerthrowen and is faulty, in as much as he is condẽned by hys owne iudgement.

Rog. My Lord I deny that, I am an hereticke: proue ye that firſt, and then alledge the foreſayd text. But ſtil the L. Chauncellour played on one ſtringe, ſaying.

L.Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with vs. &c. tell vs that, or els thou ſhalt neuer haue ſo much profered thee agayne, as thou haſt now.

Rog. I will finde it firſt in the Scripture, and ſee it tryed therby, before I receiue hym to be ſupreme head.

Wor. Why? do ye not know what is in your Crede: Credo eccleſiam ſanctam Catholicam; I beleue the holy Catholicke Church?

Rog.

The Popes church proued not to be Catholicke.

Rog. I ſayd not the Byſhop of Rome there. For [catholicke] ſignifieth not the Romiſh Church: It ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching churches of all tymes, and all ages. But how ſhould the Byſhop of Romes churche bee one of them, which teacheth ſo many doctrines ẏ are playnly and directly agaynſt the worde of God? Can that biſhop be the true head of the Catholyke Churche that doth ſo? that is not poſſible.

L. Ch. Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

Rog. I remembred my ſelfe, that amonges ſo many I were beſt to ſhewe one, and ſayd I will ſhew you one.

L. Ch. Let me heare that, let me heare that.

Latin ſeruice.

Rog. The Biſhop of Rome and his Church ſay, read, and ſing al that they do in their congregatiõs, in Latin, which is directly and playnely agaynſt the firſt to the Corinth. the xiiij. Chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that, that is againſt ẏ word of God. Let me ſee you proue that: how proue ye that?

Speaking in a ſtraunge tounge, agaynſt ſaynt Paule.

Rog. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginnyng of the chapter: Qui loquitur lingua &c. to ſpeake with tongue, ſayd I, is to ſpeake with a ſtrãge tong: as latin or Greke &c. and ſo to ſpeake, is not to ſpeake vnto men, but to God. But ye ſpeake in Latin, whiche is a ſtraung tonge: wherfore ye ſpeake not vnto men, but vnto God (meanyng God onely at the moſt). This hee graunted that they ſpeake not vnto men, but vnto God.

L. Chan. Well, then it is in vayne vnto men.

Rog. No, not in vaine. For one man ſpeaketh in one tongue, and an other in an other tonge, and all well,

L. Chan. Nay I will proue then that he ſpeaketh neither to God nor to man, but vnto the winde.

1. Cor. 14. To ſpeake to God onely. To ſpeake both to God and man. To ſpeake neither to God nor mã, but to the wyndes.

Rog. I was willing to haue declared how and after what ſort theſe two textes doe agree (for they muſt agree: they be both the ſayinges of the holy Ghoſt, ſpoken by the Apoſtle Paul) as to witte, to ſpeake, not to men but vnto god and to ſpeake into the wynde: and ſo to haue gone forward with the proufe of my matter begon, but here aroſe a noiſe & a confuſion. Then ſayd the L. Chauncellour.

L. Chan. To ſpeake vnto God, and not vnto God were vnpoſſible.

Rog. I will proue them poſſible.

L. Haward. No ſayde my Lorde William Haward to my Lord Chauncellour: nowe will I beare you witnes, that he is out of the way. For he graunted firſt that they which ſpeake in a ſtraunge ſpeach, ſpeake vnto God: and now he ſayth the contrary, that they ſpeake neither to God nor to man.

Rog. I haue not grãted or ſayd (turnyng me to my Lord Haward) as ye reporte. I haue alleaged the one text & now I am come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make thẽ to agree. But as for you, you vnderſtãd not the matter.

L. Haward. I vnderſtand ſo much, ẏ that is not poſſible.

Secretary Bourne.

This is a poynt of Sophiſtrie, quoth Secretary Bourne.

A Citie in Suauen.

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chauncellor began to tell the L. Haward, that when hee was in high Dutchland, they at Hale, whiche had before prayed and vſed theyr ſeruice al in Dutch, begã thẽ to turne part into latin, & part into Dutch.

Worceſt. Yea and at Wittembergh to.

Rog. Yea (but I could not be heard for the noiſe) in an Vniuerſitie, where men for the moſt part vnderſtand the Latine, and yet not all in Latine. And I would haue tolde the order & haue gone forward both to haue aunſwered my Lord and to haue proued the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiuyng theyr talkyng and noyſe to bee to noyſome, I was fayne to thinke this in my hart (ſufferyng them in the meane while to talke one of them one thinge, and an other a nother) Alas, neither wil theſe men heare me if I ſpeake neither yet will they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid that I would make the textes to agree, and proue all my purpoſe wel enough.

M. Rogers could not be heard to ſpeake.

L. Chan No, no, thou canſt proue nothing by the ſcripture, The ſcripture is dead: it muſt haue a liuely expoſitor.

Rog. No the Scripture is aliue. But let me go forward to my purpoſe..

Wor. All heretickes haue alledged the Scriptures for thẽ and therfore we muſt haue a liuely expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all Heretickes haue alledged the ſcriptures for them: but they were confuted by the ſcriptures, and by none other expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not cõfes that they were ouercome by the ſcripures, I am ſure of that.

Confuſed talke wythout order.

Rog. I beleeue that: and yet were they ouercome by thẽ and in all Councels they were diſputed with & ouerthrown by the ſcriptures. And here I would haue declared how they ought to proceed in theſe dayes, & ſo haue come againe to my purpoſe, but it was vnpoſſible, for one aſked on thing an other ſaid an other, ſo that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talke. And euen when I would haue taken holde on my proofe, the Lord Chauncelour bad, to pryſon with me againe: and away, away (ſaid he) we haue more to talke withall: if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then vp I ſtoode, for I had kneeled all the while.

Syr Rich. Southwell ſpeaketh.

Then ſir Richard Southwell, who ſtoode by in a window, ſayd to me: thou wilt not burne in this geare when it commeth to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir I cannot tel, but I truſt to my Lord God yes, lifting vp mine eyes vnto heauen.

The B. of Ely ſpeaketh.

B. of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of ẏ Queenes Maieſties pleaſure and meaning, and ſet it out with large wordes, ſaying that ſhe tooke them that would not receaue the Biſhop of Romes ſupremacye, to be vnworthy to haue her mercy. &c.

Rog. I ſayd, I would not refuſe her mercy, and yet I neuer offended her in all my life: And that I beſought her Grace and all their Honors to be good to me, reſeruinge my conſcience.

Diuers ſpeake at once.

Diuers ſpeake at once. No, quoth they then, a greate ſorte of them, and ſpecyally Secretary Bourne, a maried prieſt, and haue not offended the law?

Rog. I ſayd, I had not broken the Queenes law, nor yet any poynt of the law of the Realme therin. For I maryed where it was lawfull.

Diuers ſpeake at once.

Diuers at once. Where was that ſayd they? thinking that to be vnlawfull in all places.

Lawfulnes of prieſtes mariage

M. Rogers brought 8. children wyth hym into England.

Rog. In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that Prieſtes might haue had wyues, I would neuer haue come home again: for I brought a wife and eyght children with me: which thinge ye might be ſure that I would not haue done, if the lawes of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noyſe, ſome ſaying that I was come to ſoone with ſuch a ſorte: I ſhould finde a ſoure cõming of it, and ſome one thing, ſome another. And one ſayd, (I coulde not well perceiue who) that there was neuer catholick man or countrey, that euer graunted, that a Prieſte might haue a wife.

M. Rogers had away to priſon.

Rog. I ſayd the Catholick Church neuer denied mariage to Prieſtes, nor yet to any other man, and therwith was I going out of the chamber, the ſergeaunt which brought mee thether hauing me by the arme.

Wor. Then the B. of Worceſter turned his face towardes me, and ſaid that I wiſt not where that church was or is.

Rog. I ſayd yes, that I could tell where it was, but therwith went the ſergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpokẽ vnto me, & of all that I anſwered therunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect anſwere to all the former obiections, as alſo a due proofe of ẏ which I had taken in hand: but at this preſent I was informed that I ſhould to morrow come to further anſwere. Wherefore I am compelled to leaue out that which I would moſt gladly haue done, deſiring here the harty and vnfained help of the praiers of all Chriſtes true members, the true vnpers of the true vnfayned Catholicke Church, that the Lorde God of all conſolation, will now be my comfort, ayd, ſtrẽgth, buckler and ſhield: as alſo of all my brethren that are in the ſame caſe and diſtreſſe, that I and they al may deſpiſe al maner of threats and cruelty, and euen the bitter burning fire, and the dreadfull dart of death, and ſtick like true ſouldiers to our deare and louing captain Chriſt, our onely redeemer, and ſauiour, and alſo the only true head of the Church, that doth all in vs al, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that all the Biſhops of Rome cãnot doe,) and that we doe not traiterouſly run out of his tents, or rather out of the playne field from hym, in the moſt ieopardy of the battaile, but that we may perſeuer in the fight (if hee will not otherwiſe delyuer vs) till we be moſt cruelly ſlayne of his enemies. For this I moſt hartely, and at this preſent, with weeping teares moſt inſtantly and earneſtly deſire & beſeech you all to pray: And alſo if I dye, to be good to my poore and moſt honeſt wife, being a poore ſtraunger, and all my little ſoules, hers and my Children. Whom with all the whol faithfull and true catholick congregation of Chriſt ẏ Lord of life and death ſaue, keep and defende, in all the troubles and aſſaultes of this vain world, and bring at the laſt to euerlaſtyng ſaluation, the true and ſure inheritance of all croſſed Chriſtians. Amen, Amen.

M. Rogers careful prayer for his wife & children.

The xxvij. day of Ianuary at night.

¶The 2. confeſſion of Iohn Rogers, made & that ſhould haue been made (if I might haue beene heard) the 28. & 29. day of Ianuary. 1555.

The 2. examination of Maiſter Rogers.

FIrſt beyng aſked agayne by the lord Chauncelor, whether I would come into one Church with the Byſhops and whole realme, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the realme was conuerted to the Catholike church of Rome) and ſo receyue the mercy before profered me, ariſing agayne with the whole realme, out of the ſchiſme and errour in which we had long bene, with recantation of my errors: I anſwered, that before I could not tell what his mercy ment, but now I vnderſtode that it was a mercy of the Antichriſtian church of Rome, which I vtterly refuſed, and that the riſing which he ſpake of, was a very fall into errour and falſe doctrine. Alſo that I had and would be able by Gods grace, to proue that all the doctrine which I had euer taught, was true and catholike, and that by the ſcriptures and the authoritie of the fathers that liued 400. yeres after Chriſtes death. He aunſwered that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not be graunted me: for I was but a priuate man, and might not bee heard agaynſt the determinatiō of yͤ whole realme. Should (quoth he) when a Parliament hath concluded a thyng, one, or any priuate perſon haue authoritie to diſcuſſe, whether they had done right or wrong? No that may not be.

Wincheſters mercy, & what it meaneth.

To riſe to the Pope, is to fall from Chriſt.

Whatſoeuer is once cōcluded in a Parliament, ought not to be reformed afterward by no doctrine nor the word of God, by the B. of Wincheſters diuinitie.

I aunſwered ſhortly, that all the lawes of men myght not, neyther could rule the word of God, but that they all muſt be diſcuſſed and iudged therby, and obey therto: and my conſcience, nor no chriſtian mans could be ſatiſfied with ſuch lawes as diſagreed from that word: and ſo was willyng to haue ſayd much more, but the L. Chancellor began a long tale to very ſmall purpoſe, concerning myne anſwer, to haue defaced me, that there was nothing in me wherefore I ſhould be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vaynglory. I alſo graunted myne ignoraunce to be greater then I could expreſſe, or then he tooke it: but yet that I feared not by gods aſſiſtance and ſtrength, to be able by writing to performe my word, neither was I (I thanked God) ſo vtterly ignorant, as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thankes rendred therfore. Proud man was I neuer, nor yet vayne glorious. Al the world knew wel, where and on which ſide pride, arrogancy, and vaynglory was. It was a poore pride that was or is in vs, god it knoweth.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter iudgeth M. Rogers, by his owne diſeaſe.

Then ſayd he, that I at the firſt daſh condemned the Queene and the whole Realme, to be of the church of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithall. I aunſwered that the Queenes maieſty (God ſaue her grace) would haue done well enough, if it had not bene for his counſel. He ſayd, the Quene went before him, and it was her own motion. I ſayd without faile, I neither could nor I would euer beleue it.

D. Aldriſe witneſſeth with the B. of Wincheſter.

Then ſayd D. Aldriſe the biſhop of Carlile, that they the biſhops would beare hym witnes. Yea (quoth I) that I beleue well, and with that the people laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they had kept the dores ſhut, and would let none in, but the Biſhops adherentes and ſeruauntes, in maner, yea and the firſt day the thouſand man came not in. Then maiſter Comptroler and Secretary Bourn, would haue ſtand vp alſo to beare witnes, and dyd.

I ſayd it was no great matter: and to ſay the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themſelues: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowyng that they were to ſtrong and mighty of power, and that they ſhould be beleued before me, yea and before our ſauiour Chriſt, and all his prophets and Apoſtles therto in theſe dayes.

The opinion of M. Rogers touching the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, required.

Then after many wordes he aſked me what I thought concernyng the bleſſed ſacrament, and ſtoode vp and put of his cap, & al his fellow biſhops (of which there were a great ſort new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleued in the ſacrament to be the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the croſſe, really and ſubſtantially.

I aunſwered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therfore ſuſpected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithſtanding, euen as the moſt part of your doctrine in other poyntes is falſe, and the defence therof onely by force and cruelty: ſo in thys matter I thinke it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot vnderſtand [really and ſubſtantially] to ſignifie otherwyſe then corporally: but corporally Chriſt is only in heauen, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your ſacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his charitie after this ſorte: My Lord (quoth I) ye haue delt with me moſt cruellye. For ye haue ſet me in priſon without law, and kept me there now almoſt a yere and a halfe. For I was almoſt half a yere in my houſe, where I was obedient to you (god knoweth) & ſpake with no man. And now haue I bene a ful yere in Newgate at great coſtes and charges, hauing a wyfe and x. children to find, and I had neuer a peny of my liuinges, which was agaynſt the law.

Act. 3.

Crueltie ſhewed without a cauſe.

M. Rogers a yeare and a halfe in duraunce.

He anſwered, that D. Ridley which had geuen thē me, was an vſurper, and therefore I was the vniuſt poſſeſſour of them.

Was the king then an Vſurper (quoth I), which gaue D. Ridley the biſhopricke?

Ste. Gardiner calleth K. Edward an vſurper.

Yea (quoth he) and began to ſet out the wronges that the K. had done to the B. of London, and to himſelfe alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my termes (quoth he) to call the kyng vſurper. But the word was gone out of the aboundance of the hart before: and I thinke that he was not very ſory for it in hart. I might haue ſayd more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I aſked hym wherefore he ſet me in priſon. He ſaid becauſe I preached agaynſt the Queene.

M. Rogers impriſoned agaynſt all law & right.

I anſwered that it was not true: and I would be bound to proue it, and to ſtand to the triall of the lawe, that no man ſhould be able to proue it, and therupon would ſet my lyfe. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Croſſe, after the Queene came to the Tower: but therein was nothyng ſayde agaynſt the Queene, I take witneſſe of all the audience: which was not ſmall. I alledged alſo that he had after examination let me go at liberty after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didſt read thy lectures after (quoth he) againſt the commaundement of the Counſell.

That did I not (quoth I): let that be proued and let me dye for it. Thus haue ye now agaynſt the law of God & man handled me, and neuer ſent for me, neuer cōferred with me, neuer ſpoke of any learning, till now yͭ ye haue gotten a whip to whip me with, and a ſword to cut of my necke, if I will not condeſcend vnto your mynd. This charitie doth all the world vnderſtand.

I might and would haue added, if I could haue bene ſuffred to ſpeake, that it had bene time enough to take away mens liuings, and therto to haue priſoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they be good citizens yͭ breake not lawes, and worthy of prayſe and not of puniſhmēt. But their purpoſe is to kepe mē in priſon ſo long, vntil they may catch them in their lawes, and ſo kil them. I could & would haue added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deuiſed law was caſt into the Lions denne. Itē, I might haue declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at liberty, ſendyng my wyfe to hym with a Supplication, beyng great with chyld, and with her 8. honeſt women, or therabout, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a xij. month, whiles I was yet in my houſe.

M. Rogers puniſhed before any law was broken.

Item, I wrote two ſupplications to hym out of Newgate, and ſent my wife many tymes to hym. M. Goſnolde alſo that worthy man, who is now departed in the lorde, laboured for me, and ſo did diuers other worthy mē alſo take paynes in the matter. Theſe thinges declare my L. Chancellors Antichriſtian charitie, which is, that he hath & doth ſeeke my bloud, and the deſtruction of my poore wyfe and my ten children.

M. Goſnold laboured for M. Rogers.

This is a ſhort ſumme of the wordes which were ſpoken the 28. day of January at after noone, after that Maiſter Hoper had ben the firſt, & M. Cardmaker the ſecond in examination before me. The Lord graunt vs grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in hys cauſe, till we be ſmitten downe together, if the Lordes will be ſo to permit it. For there ſhall not a heyre of our heades periſh agaynſt his wil, but with his wyll. Whereunto the ſame Lord graunte vs to be obedient vnto the ende, and in the end. Amen: Swete, mighty, and mercifull Lorde Jeſus the Sonne of Dauid and of God, Amen, Amen, let euery true Chriſtian ſaye and pray.

Then the clocke beyng (as I geſſed) about foure, the L. Chauncellor ſayd, that he and the Church muſt yet vſe charitie with me (what maner of charitie it is, all true chriſtians do well vnderſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the Foxe doth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the Lambes) and gaue me reſpite till to morow, to ſee whether I would remember my ſelfe well to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholike church (for ſo he calleth hys Antichriſtian falſe Church) againe, and repent, and they would receyue me to mercy.

Great mercy of Wincheſt. no leſſe then the Foxe hath to the chickens, or the Wolfe to ſucke the bloud of Lambes.

I ſayd that I was neuer out of the true Catholicke church, nor would be: but into his Churche, would I, by gods grace, neuer come.

Well (quoth he) then is our Churche falſe and Antichriſtian.

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the ſacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my handes abrode.

The popes church is the church of Antichriſt.

Then ſayd one, that I was a player. To whom I anſwered not: for I paſſed not vpon hys mocke.

Come againe quoth the Lord Chauncellour, to morrow

M. Rogers warned to appeare the next day.

betwene nine and ten.

I am ready to come agayne, when ſoeuer ye cal quoth I. And thus was I brought by the Shiriffes to the Counter in Southwarke, Maiſter Hooper goyng before me, and a great multitude of people beyng preſent, ſo that wee had much to do to go in the ſtreetes.

Thus much was done the xxviij. day of January.

M. Rogers & M. Hooper brought agayne before the Chauncellor.

THe ſecond day, which was the xxix. of January, we were ſent for in the mornyng about ix. of the clocke, and by the Shiriffes fetched from the Counter in Southwarke, to the Church agayne, as to wyt, to S. Mary Oueries, where wee were the day before in the after none, as is ſayd. And when Maiſter Hooper was condemned (as I vnderſtode afterward) then ſent they for me, Then the Lord Chauncellour ſayd vnto me:

Gardiners wordes to M. Rogers.

Rogers (quoth hee) here thou waſt yeſterday and, wee gaue the libertie to remember thy ſelfe this night, whether thou wouldeſt come to ÿ holy Catholicke Church of Chriſt agayne or not. Tell vs nowe what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentaunt and ſory, and wilt returne agayne and take mercy.

Aunſwere of M. Rogers to the B. of Wincheſt.

My Lord, quoth I, I haue remembred my ſelfe right well what you yeſterday layd for you, and deſire you to geue me leaue to declare my minde what I haue to ſay thereunto, and that done, I ſhall aunſwere you to your demaunded queſtion.

M. Rogers not ſuffered here to defend himſelfe by wrytyng.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the Scripture and authoritie of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt Churche to defend my doctrine by wrytyng (meanyng not onely of ÿ primacie: but alſo of all the doctrine that euer I had preached) ye aunſwered me that it might not, nor ought not to be graunted me, for I was a priuate perſon: & that the Parlament was aboue the authoritie of all priuate perſons and therfore ÿ ſentence therof might not be found fautie and valureles by me, beyng but a priuate perſon. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhewe examples, that one man hath come into a generall Councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed vpon an Act or Article, that ſome one man commyng in afterward, hath by the word of God declared ſo pithely that the Counſell had erred in decreeyng the ſayd Article, that he cauſed the whole Counſell to chaunge and aulter their Acte or Article before determined. And of theſe examples (ſayd I) I am able to ſhewe two. I can alſo ſhewe the authoritie of S. Auguſtine, that when he diſputed with an herheticke, hee woulde neyther himſelfe, nor yet haue the hereticke, to leane vnto the determination of two former Councels, of the which ÿ one made for him and the other for the hereticke that diſputed agaynſt him: but ſayd that he would haue the ſcriptures to be their iudge which were common and indifferent for them both, & not proper to eyther of them.

Whole Councels turned by priuate perſons.

Contra Maxentium. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Extra. De Appel. Cap. Significaſti.

Item I could ſhewe (ſayde I) the authoritie of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, whiche ſayth: that vnto a ſimple lay man that bryngeth the word of god with hym there ought more credite to be geuen, then to a whole Councell gathered together. By theſe thinges will I proue that I ought not to be denyed to ſay my minde, and to be heard agaynſt a whole Parlament, bryngyng the word of God for me and the authoritie of the old Churche 400. yeares after Chriſt, albeit that euery man in the Parlamēt had willingly and without reſpect of feare and fauour agreed thereunto (whiche thing I doubt not a little of, ſpecially ſeyng the lyke had ben permitted in that old Church, euen in generall Councels yea and that in one of the chiefeſt Councels that euer was vnto whiche neither any Actes of this Parlament, nor yet any of the late generall Councels of the Byſhops of Rome, ought to be compared). For, ſayd I, if Henry the viij. were aliue, and ſhoulde call a Parlament, and begyn to determine a thyng (and here I would haue alledged the example of the Act of makyng the Queene a Baſtard, and of makyng him ſelfe the Superiour heade, but I could not, beyng interrupted of one, whom god forgeue) then will ye (poyntyng to my Lord Chauncellour) and ye and ye, and ſo ye all (poyntyng to the reſt of the Byſhops) ſay: Amē: yea and it lyke your grace, it is meete that it be ſo enacted, &c.

A caſe put to the B. of Wincheſt.

This was ſyr Anth. Browne.

M. Rogers not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Here my L. Chauncellor would ſuffer me to ſpeake no more: but bad me ſit downe mockingly, ſaying that I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take vppon me to be their inſtructer.

My lord (quoth I) I ſtand and ſit not: ſhal I not be ſuffred to ſpeake for my life?

Marke here the ſpirite of this prelate.

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a tale and to prate, quoth he? and wyth that he ſtoode vp, and began to face me, after his olde arrogant proud faſhion, for he perceyued that I was in a way to haue touched them ſomwhat, which he thought to hinder, by daſhinge mee out of my tale, and ſo hee dyd. For I could neuer be ſuffered to come to my tale agayne, no not to one word of it: but he had much lyke communication with me as he had the day before, and as hys maner is, taunt vpon taunt, and checke vpon checke. For in that caſe (beyng gods cauſe) I tolde hym he ſhould not make me afrayd to ſpeake.

L. Chaun. See what a ſpirite this fellow hath, ſayd he, findyng fault at myne accuſtomed earneſtnes, and harty maner of ſpeakyng.

The godly ſpirite of M. Rogers.

Rog. I haue a true ſpirit, quoth I, agreyng and obeyng the word of God, and would further haue ſayd, that I was neuer the worſe, but the better, to be earneſt in a iuſt and true cauſe and in my maſter Chriſtes matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceded towardes his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had tolde hym that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenance therof by cruell perſecution vſed by the Byſhops of the ſayd Church (which the B. of Wincheſter and the reſt of his fellow biſhops that are now in England, are the chiefe members): Of lawes I meane (quoth I) and not of all women which are in the Popes Church. Likewiſe when I was ſayd to haue denied their ſacrament (whereof he made hys wonted reuerent mention, more to maintayne his kingdome therby, then for the true reuerēce of Chriſtes inſtitution: more for his owne and hys Popiſh generations ſake, then for religion or gods ſake) I tolde hym after what order I did ſpeake of it (for the maner of his ſpeaking was not agreyng to my wordes, which are before recited in the communication that we had the 28. of January) wherewith he was not contented, but he aſked the audience whether I had not ſimply denied the ſacrament. They would haue ſayd, and did what he luſted: for the moſt of them were of hys owne ſeruauntes at that day, the 29. day of January I meane. At the laſt I ſayd, I will neuer deny that I ſayde, that is, that your doctrine of the ſacrament is falſe: but yet I tell you after what order I ſayd it.

The Church of Rome to the church of Antichriſt, meaning the lawes and doctrine now vſed in Rome.

How the Biſhop of Wincheſt. ſeeketh for bloud.

To be ſhort, he read my condemnation before me perticularly, mentionyng therein but two Articles, firſt that I affirmed the Romiſh catholike church, to be the church of Antichriſt, and that I denied the reality of their ſacrament. He curſed me to be diſgraded and condemned, and put into the handes of the laitie, and ſo he gaue me ouer into the ſhiriues handes, which were much better then his.

¶The copy of which his condemnation here I thought to put downe in Engliſh, to the entent that the ſame beyng here once expreſſed, may ſerue for all other ſentences condemnatory through the whole ſtory to be referred vnto.

¶The Sentence condemnatory againſt Maiſter Rogers.

The ſentence definitiue agaynſt M. Rogers.

IN the name of God Amen. We Steuen by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of Wincheſter, lawfully and rightly proceding with all godly fauour by authoritie and vertue of our office, againſt thee Io. Rogers prieſt, alias called Mathew, before vs perſonally here preſent, beyng accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlaundered of hereſie, hauyng heard, ſene and vnderſtand, and with all diligent deliberation wayed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merites of the cauſe, all thinges beyng obſerued, which by vs in this behalfe, in order of lawe ought to be obſerued, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeat, ÿ name of Chriſt beyng firſt called vpon, and hauyng God only before our eyes: becauſe by the actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confeſſion iudicially made before vs, we do finde, that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended diuers errours, hereſies, and damnable opinions contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely theſe: That the catholike church of Rome is the church of Antichriſt: Item, that in the Sacrament of the aulter there is not ſubſtantially nor really the naturall body and bloud of Chriſt: the which aforeſayd hereſies and damnable opinions beyng contrary to the law of God, and determination of the vniuerſall and Apoſtolicall church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubburnly, & wittingly mainteyned, held, and affirmed, and alſo defended before vs, as well in this iudgement, as alſo otherwyſe, & with the lyke obſtinacy, ſtubbornnes, malice, and blyndnes of hart both wittingly and willingly haſt affirmed, that thou wilt beleue, maintain and hold, affirme, and declare the ſame: We therfore S. Winc. B. Ordinary and Dioceſan aforeſayd by the conſent and aſſent as wel of our reuerend brethrē the L. biſhops here preſent & aſſiſtēt, as alſo by the counſel & iudgemēt of diuers worſhipful lawyers & profeſſors of diuinitie, with whom we haue cōmunicated in this behalfe, do declare & pronounce thee the ſaid I. Rogers, otherwiſe called Mathew, through thy demerites, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies, & wilfulneſſes (which thou manifold wayes haſt incurred by thine owne wicked and ſtubburne obſtinacie) to haue bene

His Articles.

and to be gilty in the deteſtable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall prauitie and execrable doctrine, and that thou haſt before vs ſondry tymes ſpoken, maintayned, and wittingly and ſtubbornly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable doctrine in thy ſundry confeſſions, aſſertions, and recognitions here iudicially before vs oftentymes repeated, and yet ſtill doeſt maintaine, affirme and beleue the ſame, and that thou haſt bene and art lawfully and ordinarily conuicted in this behalfe, we therfore (I ſay) albeit folowing the example of Chriſt. Which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould conuert and liue, we haue gone about oftetimes to correct thee, and by all lawful meanes that we could, and all wholeſom admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the vniuerſall catholicke church, notwithſtanding haue found thee obſtinate and ſtiffenecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, and refuſing to returne againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the holy mother Churche, and as the childe of wickednes & darkenes ſo to haue hardened thy harte, that thou wilt not vnderſtand the voyce of thy ſhepeharde, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his fatherly & godly admonitiõs: we therfore Ste. the B. aforeſaid, not willing yͤ thou which art wicked, ſhouldeſt now become more wicked, & infect yͤ Lords flocke wͭ thine hereſie (which we are greatly afraid of) wͭ ſorrow of mynde & bitternes of hart do iudge thee, & diffinitiuely condemne thee the ſaid J. Rogers, otherwyſe called Mathew, thy demerites & defaultes being aggrauate through thy damnable obſtinacy, as gilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate vnpenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to returne to the lappe and vnity of the holy mother church, and that thou haſt bene and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon: Alſo we pronounce and declare thee beyng an heretike, to be caſt out from the church, & left vnto the iudgement of the ſecular power, and now preſently ſo do leaue thee as an obſtinate heretike, and a perſon wrapped in the ſentence of the great curſe, to be diſgraded worthely for thy demerites [requiring them notwithſtanding in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthely to be done vpon thee, may ſo be moderated that the rigour therof be not to extreme, nor yet the gentlenes to much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſaluation of thy ſoule, to the extirpation, terror, and conuerſion of the heretikes, to the vnity of the catholike fayth] by this our ſentence diffinitiue which we here lay vpon and againſt thee, and do with ſorrow of hart promulgate in this forme aforeſaid.

These murderers pretend a ſorow of hart, & yet they will not ceaſe from murdering.

M. Rogers and M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

After this ſentence beyng red, he ſent vs (M. Hoper I meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remayne till night: and when it was darke, they caried vs, M. Hoper going before with the one ſhirife, and I commyng after with the other, with bils and weapons enough, out of the Clinke, and led vs through the biſhops houſe, and ſo throw S. Mary Oueries churchyard, and ſo into Southwarke, and ouer the Bridge on proceſſion to Newgate through the Citie. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when he had red the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curſe, and what a vengeable daungerous matter it were to eate and drinke with vs that were accurſed, or to geue vs anye thyng: for all that ſo dyd, ſhould be pertakers of the ſame great curſe.

A vengeable thyng to be in the popes Church.

Well my Lord (quoth I) here I ſtand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take hym to witnes, that I neuer wittingly or willingly taught any falſe doctrine: and therfore haue I a good conſcience before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a iudge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall bee as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I ſhall be found there a true member of the true catholike Church of Chriſt and euerlaſtingly ſaued. And as for your falſe church ye nede not to excommunicate me forth of it. I haue not ben in it theſe xx. yeres, the lord be thanked therfore. But nowe ye haue done what ye can my Lord, I pray you yet graunt me one thing.

M. Rogers wordes to the B. of Winchest.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poore wife beyng a ſtranger, may come and ſpeake with me ſo long as I lyue. For ſhe hath ten children that are hers and myne, & ſomewhat I would counſell her what were beſt for her to do.

M. Rogers requeſt to haue hys wyfe come to him while he lyued, could not to be graunted.

No (quoth he) ſhe is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord (quoth I) and hath bene theſe 18. yeres.

Should I graunt her to be thy wyfe, quoth he?

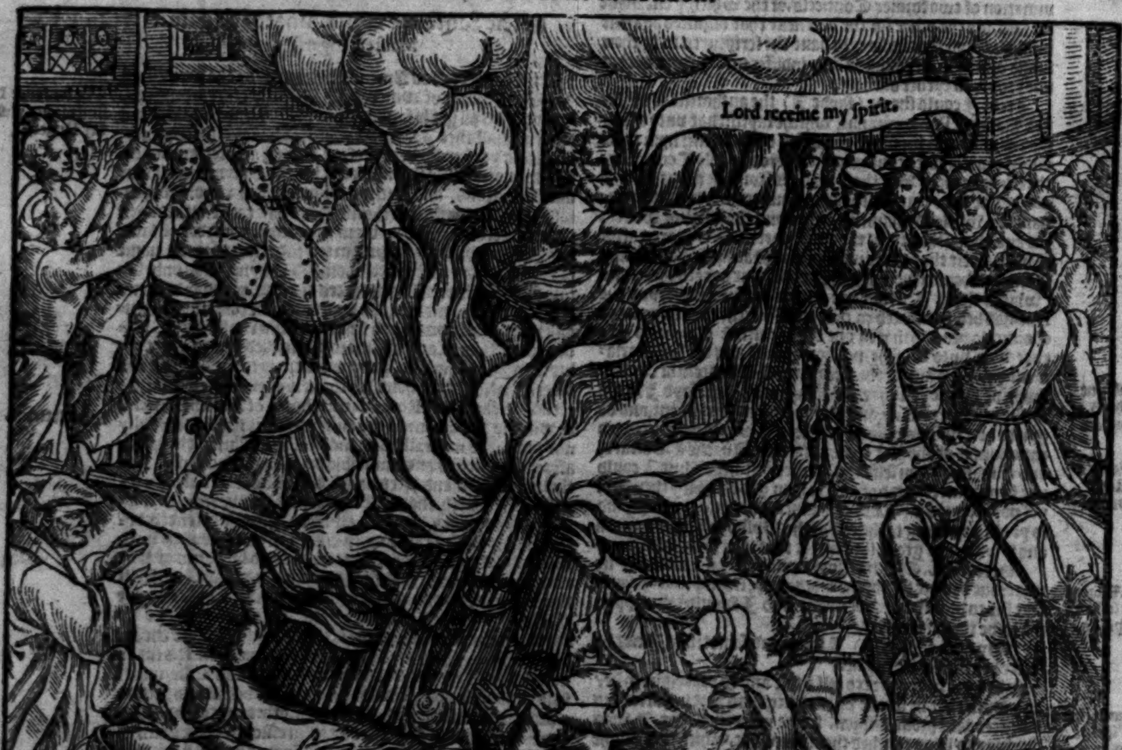
Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not: ſhe ſhal be ſo neuertheles.

She ſhall not come at thee quoth he.

Then I haue tried out all your charitie, ſaid I. you make

Anno. 1555. Febr. 4.

The burning of M. Iohn Rogers, Vicar of S. Pulchers, and Reader at Paules in London.


Lord receiue my ſpirit.

The Pope a deſtroyer of maryage and mayntayner of whoredome.

1554. Febr.

your ſelfe highly diſpleaſed with the matrimony of prieſts, but you mayntayne open whoredom: as in Wales (quoth I) where euery prieſt hath hys whore openly dwelling wyth him and lying by him: euen as your holy father ſuffereth all the prieſtes in Dutchland and in Fraunce to do the lyke. Thereto he anſwered not, but loked as it were, a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw hym laſt.

Other good matter there is beſides penned by M. Rogers in the priſon, which he thought and woulde haue anſwered, if hee might haue bene permitted, touching whiche matter, becauſe it is already expreſſed before in the firſt edition: pag. 1031. it may pleaſe the reader to turne to the place, and there further to be ſatiſfied.

Febr. 4.

M. Rogers warned to prepare himſelfe to death

M. Rogers diſgraded.

M. Rogers coulde not be ſuffered of Boner to ſpeake to his wife before his burning.

M. Rogers brought to Smithfield.

After that John Rogers (as ye haue heard) had bene long and ſtraitly impriſoned, lodged in newgate amongeſt theeues, often examined: and very vncharitably and at legth vniuſtly and moſt cruelly by wicked Wincheſter condemned the 4. of February, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1555. beyng Monday in the mornyng, hee was warned ſodenly by the kepers wife of Newgate, to prepare himſelf to the fire: who then beyng ſound a ſlepe, ſcarce with much ſhoggyng could be a waked. At length beyng rayſed & waked, and byd to make haſt, then, ſayde he, if it be ſo, I neede not to tye my poyntes: and ſo was had downe, firſt to Boner to bee diſgraded. That done, hee craued of Boner but one petition. Boner aſkyng what that ſhould be: nothyng ſayd he: but that he might talke a fewe wordes with his wife, before hys burnyng. But that could not bee obteyned of him. Then ſayde he, you declare your charitie, what it is: and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Maiſter Cheſter, and M. Woodrofe. then Shiriffes of London, there to be burnt, where he ſhewed moſt conſtant pacience, not vſing many wordes: for he could not be permitted, but onely exhortyng the people conſtantly to remayne in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content paciently to ſuffer and beare all ſuch bitternes and crueltie as had bene ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſigne vp hys life, and to geue his fleſh to the conſumyng fire for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

The copie of M. Rogers examinatiōs by Gods prouidence preſerued.

Briefly and in fewe wordes to comprehend the whole order of his life, doynges, and Martyrdome, firſt this Godly M. Rogers was committed to priſon (as is aboue ſayd) & there continued a yeare and halfe. In priſon he was mery, and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much: his examinations he penned with his own hand, which els had neuer com to lyght, Wherein is to bee noted by the way a memorable working of Gods prouidence. Ye heard a litle aboue how M. Rogers craued of Boner, goyng to his burnyng, that he might ſpeake a fewe wordes before with hys wife, whiche coulde not bee graunted. What theſe wordes were whiche he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no man certeinly to define. Likely it may be ſuppoſed that his purpoſe was, amongeſt other thynges, to ſignifie vnto her of the booke written of his examinations and aunſweres whiche he had priuily hyd in a ſecret corner of the priſon where hee lay. But where mans power lacketh, ſee how Gods prouidence worketh. For notwithſtandyng that duryng the time of his impriſonment ſtraite ſearch there was to take away his letters and wrytynges: yet after his death his wife and one of her ſonnes called Daniell, cōming into ẏ place where he lay, to ſeeke for his bookes and wrytynges, and now ready to go away, it chaunced her ſonne aforenamed, caſting his eye aſide to ſpy a blacke thing (for it had a blacke couer belyke becauſe it ſhould not be knowen) lying in a blynde corner vnder a payre of ſtayers. Who willyng hys mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the booke written with hys owne hand, conteynyng theſe his examinations & anſweres with other matter aboue ſpecified. In the latter end whereof this alſo was conteyned, whiche becauſe it concerneth a Propheticall forwarnyng of thinges perteining to ẏ church I thought here to place the ſame his wordes, as they bee there written, which are theſe. If God looke not mercifully vpon England, the ſeedes of vtter deſtruction are ſowen in it already, by theſe hipocriticall tyrauntes, and Antichriſtiā Prelates, Popiſh Papiſtes, and double traitours to their naturall countrey. And yet they ſpeak of mercy, of bleſſing, of the Catholicke Church, of vnitye, of power, and ſtrengthening of the realme. This double diſſimulation wil ſhewe it ſelfe one day when the plague commeth, whiche will vndoubtedly light vpon theſe crowneſhorne Captaines, and that ſhortly, what ſoeuer the godly and the poore realm ſuffer in the mean while by gods good ſufferance and will.

M. Rogers ſeemeth to propheſie here of England, and that truely.

He meaneth here of the returne of the exiles into England

Spite of Nabuchodonozers bearde, and maugre hys hart, the captiue, thrall, & miſerable Iewes muſt come home agayne, and haue their city and temple builded vp agayne by Zorobabel, Eſdras, and Nehemias, &c. And the whole kingdome of Babilon muſt goe to ruine and be taken of ſtraungers, the Perſians and Medes. So ſhall the diſperckled engliſh flock of Chriſt be brought again into their former eſtate, or to a better I truſt in the Lord God, then it was in innocent king Edwardes dayes, and our bloudy Babylonicall Biſhops, and the whole crowneſhorne companye, brought to vtter ſhame, rebuke, ruine, decay and deſtructiō. For God cannot and vndoubtedly will not ſuffer for euer their abominable lying, falſe doctrine, their hipocryſie, bloud thirſte, whoredome, idlenes, their peſtilent life pampered in all kinde of pleaſure, their thraſonicall boaſting pride, their malicious, enuious, & poiſoned ſtomaches which they beare towardes his poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Peter truly warneth that if iudgement beginneth in the houſe of God, what ſhall be the ende of them that beleeue not the Goſpell? If the righteous ſhall ſcant be ſaued, where ſhall the vngodly and ſinfull appeare? Some ſhall haue their puniſhment here in this world and in the world to come, and they that doe eſcape in thys world, ſhall not eſcape euerlaſting damnatiō. This ſhal be your ſauce O ye wicked Papiſtes, make ye mery here as long as ye may.

1. Pet. 4.

M. Rogers propheſieth of the returne of the Goſpell.

Furthermore, amongeſt other his wordes & ſayinges, which may ſeem prophetically to be ſpoken of hym, this alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to be marked, that hee ſpake being then in pryſon, to the Printer of thys preſente booke, who then alſo was layd vp for lyke cauſe of religiō: Thou (ſayd he) ſhalt liue to ſee the alteration of this religiō and the goſpel freely to be preached agayne: And therefore haue me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid thē be circumſpect in diſplacing the papiſtes, and putting good Miniſters into Churches, or els their ende will be worſe then ours. And for lacke of good miniſters to furniſh Churches, hys deuiſe was (M. Hooper alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for euery x. Churches, ſome one good and learned ſuperintendent ſhould bee appointed, which ſhould haue vnder hym faithfull Readers, ſuche as might well be got, ſo that popiſhe Prieſtes ſhould clean be put out, and the Biſhop once a yeare to overſee the profiting of the Pariſhes, and if the Miniſter dyd not his duty, as well in profiting him ſelfe in his booke, and his Pariſhioners in good inſtructions, ſo that they might be trained by little & little to geue a reckoning how they do profite, then he to be expelled, and an other put in hys place: And the biſhop to doe the lyke with the ſuperintendent, this was his counſell and requeſt. Shewing moreouer, & proteſting in his cōmendations to his brethren by the Printer aforeſayd, that if they would not ſo doe, their end he ſayd would bee worſe then theirs.

M. Rogers counſell in placing good miniſters.

A note touching Prieſtes cappes.

Ouer and beſides diuers other thinges touchinge M. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the dayes of K. Edward the ſixt, there was a controuerſie among the Biſhops and Clergy, for wearing of prieſtes caps, and other attyre belōging to that order. M. Rogers being one of that number which neuer went otherwiſe then in a round cap, during all the time of K. Edward, affirmed that he woulde not agree to that decreement of vniformitye, but vpon thys condition, that if they would needes haue ſuch an vniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed withal that the Papiſts for a difference betwixt them and other, ſhould be conſtrayned to weare vpon their ſleeues a Chalice with an hoſt vpon it. Whereunto if they would conſent, he would agree to the other, otherwiſe he would not he ſayd conſent to the ſetting forth of the ſame, nor euer weare the cap, as in deed he neuer dyd.

Prouiſion by M. Rogers for the priſoners.

Alexander Andrew Gayler of Newgate compared to Alexander the Coperſmyth.

To proceede now further in deſcrybing the doynges of this man, during the tyme while he remayned pryſoner in Newgate, he was to the priſoners beneficiall & liberall, for whō he had thus deuyſed, that he with hys fellowes ſhould haue but one meal a day, they paying notwithſtandinge for the charges of the whole: the other meall ſhould be geuen to them that lacked on the other ſide of the pryſon. But Alexander their keeper, a ſtrait man, and a right Alexander, a Coperſmith in deed, of whoſe doinges more ſhalbe ſayd god willing hereafter, would in no caſe ſuffer that. The ſonday before he ſuffered, he drank to M. Hooper (beinge then vnderneath hym) and bad them cōmend him vnto hym, & tell hym, there was neuer little fellow better would ſticke to a man then hee would ſtick to hym, preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it happed otherwiſe, for M. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the lyfe & ſuch actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

The wordes of M. Woodroſe to M. Rogers.

Now when the tyme came, that he being deliuered to the Shiriffes, ſhould be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution, firſt came to him M. Woodroſe one of the foreſayd ſhiriffs, & callyng M. Rogers vnto him, aſked him if he would reuoke his abhominable doctrine, & hys euil opinion of the ſacrament of the aulter. M. Rogers anſwered and ſaid: that which I haue preached, I will ſeale with my bloud. Then quoth M. Woodrooſe, thou art an heretike. That ſhal be knowen, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth M. Woodroffe, I will neuer pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth M. Rogers, and ſo was brought the ſame day, which was monday the 4. of February, by the ſhiriffes toward Smithfield, ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere, by the way, all the people wonderfully reioycing at his conſtancy, with great prayſes and thankes to God for the ſame: and there in ÿ preſence of M. Rocheſter Comptroler of the Queenes houſhold, ſir Rychard Southwell, both the ſhiriffes, and a wonderfull number of people he was burned into aſhes, waſhing his handes in the flame as he was in burning. A litle before hys burning at the ſtake his pardon was brought if he would haue recanted, but he vtterly refuſed it. He was the firſt Protomartyr of all that bleſſed company that ſuffered in Queene Maryes time, that gaue the firſt aduenture vpon the fire. His wife and children beyng xi. in number, x. able to go, and one ſucking on her breſt, met hym by the way as hee went towardes Smithfield: this ſorowfull ſight of hys own fleſh and bloud could nothing moue him, but that he conſtauntly and cheerefully tooke hys death with wonderfull patience, in the defence & quarrell of Chriſtes Goſpell.

M. Rogers refuſeth hys pardon.

¶The hiſtory and martyrdome of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of the Goſpel at Couentree. An.1555. February. 8.

February. 8.

The ſtory of Laurence Saunders, Martyr.

AFter that Queene Mary by publick proclamatiō in the firſt yeare of her raigne, had inhibited the ſincere preaching of Gods holy word, as is before declared, diuers godly Miniſters of the word which had the cure and charge of ſoules committed to them, did notwithſtanding accordinge to their bounden duety, feede their flock faythfully, not as Preachers authorized by publick authoritye (as the godlye order of the Realme was in the happy dayes of bleſſed king Edward) but as the priuate paſtors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a mā of worſhipfull parentage. His bringing vp was in learning from hys youth, in places meete for that purpoſe, as namely in ÿ ſchoole of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there vſed) he was choſen to go to the Kinges Colledge in Cambridge, where he contynued ſcholler of the Colledge three whole yeares, and there profited in knowledge, & learning very much for that time: ſhortly after that, he did forſake the Vniuerſitie, and wēt to his Parents, vpō whoſe aduiſe he minded to become a marchant, for that his mother was a Gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being lefte a widdow, and hauing a good portion for him amonge hys other brethrē, ſhe thought to ſet hym vp welthely, and ſo he comming vp to London, was bound Prentiſe with a Marchant named ſir William Cheſter (who afterward chaūced to be ſheriffe of London the ſame yeare that Saūders was burned at Couentree.) Thus by the minde of hys frendes Laurence ſhould needes haue been a marchante, but almighty God which hath his ſecret working in all thinges, ſaw better for his ſeruant, as it fell out in the end, for although that Saunders was bound by faſte indenture to play the Marchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his harte that he could finde no lyking in that vocation: ſo that whē hys other fellowes were buſily occupied about that kind of trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelfe into ſome priuy corner & there fall into his ſolitary lamentations as one not liking with that kind and trade of life.

Scholers are taken out of Eton Colledge into the kinges Colledge in Cambridge.

M. Saunders firſt bound Prentiſe wyth M. Cheſter.

It happened that his maſter, being a good man, and hearing hys Prentiſe thus in his ſecret prayers inwardely to mourn by him ſelfe, called him vnto him, to know what the cauſe was of that his ſolitarines & lamentation, who then perceyuing his minde nothing to fantaſie that kind of lyfe, (for ſo Saunders declared vnto him) and perceauinge alſo hys whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of his booke and ſpirituall contemplation, lyke a good mā directed his letters incontinently vnto his frendes, and geuing him his Indenture, ſo ſet hym free. And thus Laurence Saūders being rauyſhed wyth the loue of learning, and eſpecyally with the reading of Gods word, taryed not long tyme in the traffick of marchandiſe, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge agayne to hys ſtudy. where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in ſmall tyme very much: Therwith alſo he ioyned the ſtudye of the Hebrue. Then gaue hee him ſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture, to furniſhe hym ſelfe to the office of a Preacher.

M. Saunders appointed to the trade of Marchandiſe, coulde not away with that kinde of life.

M. Saunders from marchandiſe returneth to his ſtudy.

In ſtudye he was dilygent and painfull, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exerciſed conſcience, he prayed often and with great feruour, and in his prayers as alſo at other times, hee had hys part of ſpirituall exercyſes, which hys harty ſighing to God declared. In which whē any ſpecyall aſſaulte dyd come, by prayer he felte preſent reliefe: then was his company marueylous comfortable. For as hys exerciſes were ſpeciall teachynges, ſo in the ende they proued ſingular conſolations: wherein he became ſo experte, that wythin ſhort ſpace he was able to comfort other which were in any affliction, by the conſolation wherwyth the Lord dyd comfort hym. Thus continued he in the Vniuerſitie, tyll he proceeded Maiſter of Arte, and a long ſpace after.

1554.
Febr.

In the begynning of K. Edwardes raygne, when Gods true religion was begon to be reſtored, after licence obteyned, he begā to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had authoritie, that they appointed hym to read a Diuinitie lecture in the Colledge at Fotheringa. where by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignoraunt to Gods true knowledge, and ſtopped the mouth of the aduerſaryes. He maryed about that tyme, & in the maryed eſtate led a lyfe vnblameable before all men. The colledge of Fotheringa beyng diſſolued, he was placed to be reader in the Minſter at Lichefield: where he ſo behaued hymſelfe in teachyng & lyuing, that the very aduerſaries dyd geue hym a full report as well of learnyng as of much godlynes. After a certaine ſpace he departed frō Lichfield to a benefice in Leiceſter ſhyre, called Churchlangtō, wherupō he keeping reſidence, taught diligently, and kept a liberall houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the Citie of London, named Alhallowes in Breadſtreete. Then mynded he to geue ouer hys Cure in the countrey: and therfore after he had taken poſſeſſion of hys benefice in Londō he departed from London into the countrey, clearely to diſcharge hymſelfe therof. And euen at that tyme beganne the broyle about the clayme that Queene Mary made to the crowne, by reaſon wherof he coulde not accompliſh hys purpoſe.

M. Saunders reader in the Colledge of Fothringa.

Saunders after reader at Lichfield.

In thys trouble, and euen among the begynners of it (ſuch I meane as were for the Queene) he preached at Northampton, nothing medlyng with the eſtate, but boldly vttered his conſcience agaynſt Popiſhe doctrine and Antichriſtes dānable errours, which were like to ſpryng vp agayne in England as a iuſt plague for the litle loue which ÿ Engliſh nation did beare to ÿ bleſſed word of God, which had bene ſo plentifully offred vnto thē. The Queenes men which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed wt him for his ſermon, & for it kept hym among them as pryſoner. But partly for loue of his brethren and frends, which were chiefe doers for ÿ queene among them, partly becauſe there was no lawe broken by his preachinge, they diſmiſſed hym. He ſeeing the dreadfull dayes at hand, inflamed wyth the fire of godly zeale, preached wyth diligence at both thoſe benefices, as tyme could ſerue hym, ſeeing he could reſigne neyther of them now, but into the hand of a Papiſt.

The conſtant purpoſe of M. Saunders.

Thus paſſed he to and fro in preachyng, vntil that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the begynning. At which tyme he was at hys benefice in the countrey, where he (notwithſtandyng the proclamation aforeſayd) taught diligently Gods truth, confirmyng ÿ people therin, and armyng them agaynſt falſe doctrine, vntyll he was not onely commaunded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he coulde not procede there in preachynge. Some of hys frendes perceiuing ſuch fearefull menacinges, counſeled hym to flie out of the realme, which he refuſed to do. But ſeeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towardes London, to viſite the flocke, of which he had there the charge.

M. Saunders refuſeth to flye the Realme.

On Saterday, the 14. of October, as he was comming nigh to the Citie of London, Syr John Mordant a Cōſellour to Queene Mary, did ouertake hym, and aſked him whether he went. I haue (ſayd Saunders) a cure in Londō, and now I go to inſtruct my people according to my dutie. If you wyll follow my counſel, quoth M. Mordant, let them alone, and come not at them. To thys Saunders aunſwered: how ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſicke & deſire conſolation, if any want good counſel & neede inſtruction, or if any ſhould ſlippe into errour and receiue falſe doctrine? Did not you, quoth Mordant preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in Breadſtreete in Londō? yes verely, ſayd Saūders, that ſame is my cure. I heard you my ſelfe, quoth M. Mordant: and wil you preach now there agayne? If it pleaſe you ſayd Saunders, to morow you may heare me agayne in that ſame place, where I will confirme by the authoritie of Gods word, all that I ſayde then, and whatſoeuer before that tyme I taught them.

M. Mordant diſſwadeth Laurence Saunders from preaching.

I would counſell you (quoth the other) not to preach. If you can, and wyll forbyd me by lawfull authoritie, then muſt I obey, ſayd Saunders. Nay, quoth he, I wyll not forbyd you, but I doe geue you counſel. And thus entred they both the Citie, and departed ech from either. M. Mordant of an vncharitable mind, wēt to geue warning to Boner, byſhop of Londō, that Saunders would preach in his Cure the next day. Saūders reſorted to his lodging, wyth

a minde

a mynde bent to do his duetye. Where becauſe he ſeemed to be ſomwhat troubled, one which was there about him, aſked him how he did. In very deede (ſayth he) I am in priſon till I be in priſon: meanyng yͭ his minde was vnquiet vntill he had preached, and that then he ſhould haue quietnes of mynde, though he were put in priſon.

M. Saūders in priſon, till he was in priſon.

M. Saūders ſermon at Alhallowes. 2. Cor. 11.

The next day which was Sonday, in the forenone hee made a Sermō in his pariſh, entreatyng that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I haue coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make your ſelues a chaſt Virgin vnto Chriſt. But I feare leſt it come to paſſe, that as the Serpent beguiled Eue: euen ſo your wittes ſhoulde be corrupte from the ſinglenes whiche ye had towardes Chriſt. He recited a ſumme of that true Chriſtian doctrin, through whiche they were coupled to Chriſt, to receiue of him free iuſtification through fayth in his bloud. The Papiſticall doctrine he compared to the Serpentes deceiuyng: and leſt they ſhould be deceiued by it, hee made a compariſon betwene the voyce of God, and the voyce of the Popiſh Serpent: deſcending to more particular declaration therof, as it were to let them playnely ſee the difference that is betwene the order of the Churche ſeruice ſet forth by kyng Edward in the Engliſh tongue: comparyng it with the Popiſh ſeruice then vſed in the Latine toung.

The firſt he ſayd was good, becauſe it was accordyng to the word of God, 1. Corinth. 14. and the order of the primatiue Churche. The other he ſayd was euill, and though in that euill he intermingled ſome good Latine wordes: yet was it but as a litle hony or mylke mingled with a great deale of poyſon, to make them to drynke vp all. This was the ſumme of his Sermon.

M. Saunders apprehēded by B. Boner at his ſermon. Sir John Mordant accuſer of L. Saunders. Preachinge of Gods word, made treaſon with B. Boner.

In the after noone he was ready in hys Church to haue geuen an other exhortation to his people: But the Byſhop of London interrupted him by ſendyng an officer for him. This officer charged him vppon the payne of diſobedience and contumacie, forthwith to come to the Byſhop his maiſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Temple where they were teaching, vnto the rulers of yͤ prieſtes ſo was Laurence Saunders brought before this Byſhop in his Palace of London, who had in his cōpany the aforenamed Syr John Mordant and ſome of his Chapleins. The byſhop layd no more to Laurence Saunders charge but treaſon for breakyng the Queenes proclamatiō, hereſie and ſedition for his Sermon.

The treaſon, and ſedition, his charitie, was content to let ſlip, vntill an other tyme. But an hereticke he would nowe proue him and all thoſe, hee ſayd, whiche did teache and beleue that the adminiſtration of the Sacramentes and al orders of the Church are moſt pure, which do come moſt nigh to the order of the primatiue Church. For the Church was then but in her infancy, and could not abyde that perfection whiche was afterward to bee furniſhed with ceremonies. And for this cauſe Chriſt himſelfe, & after him the Apoſtles did in many thinges beare with the rudenes of the Church. To this Laurence Saūders aunſwered with the authoritie of S. Auguſtine, that ceremonies, were euen from the beginnyng inuented and ordayned for the rude infancie and weake infirmitie of man, and therfore it was a token of the more perfection of the primatiue Churche, that it had fewe ceremonies, and of the rudenes of the Churche Papiſtical, becauſe it hadde ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly vnſauery and vnprofitable.

Ceremonies inuented only for weake infirmitie.

B. Boner ſeeketh the bloud of M. Saunders.

After much talke had concernyng this matter, the Byſhop willed him to write what hee beleued of tranſubſtantiation. Laurence Saunders did ſo, ſaying: My Lorde ye do ſeeke my bloud, and ye ſhall haue it. I pray God that ye may be ſo baptiſed in it, that ye may thereafter loth bloudſuckyng, and become a better man. This wrytyng the byſhop kept for his purpoſe, euen to cut the writers throte, as ſhal appeare hereafter. The Byſhop when he had his wil, ſent Laurence Saunders to the Lord Chaūcellour, as Annas ſent Chriſt to Cayphas: and lyke fauour found Saunders as Chriſt his Maiſter dyd before him. But the Chauncellour beyng not at home. Saunders, was conſtrayned to tary for him by the ſpace of iiij. houres, in the vtter chamber, where he found a Chaplein of the Biſhops very merily diſpoſed with certeine gentlemen playing at the Tables, & diuers other of the ſame family or houſe, occupyed there in the ſame exerciſe.

M. Saūders ſent frō Annas to Cayphas.

All this time Saunders ſtode very modeſtly and ſoberly at the ſcreene or Cupbord, bareheaded, Syr John Mordant his guide or leader walking vp and down by him: who (as I ſayd before) was then one of the Counſell. At the laſt the B. returned from the court, whom, as ſoone as he was entred, a great many ſuters met and receiued: ſo yͭ, before he could get out of one houſe into another, halfe an hour was paſſed. At yͤ laſt he came into the chāber where Saunders was, & went through into another chāber: where in yͤ meane way Saunders leader gaue him a wrytyng contaynyng the cauſe, or rather the accuſation of the ſayd Saunders, which when he had peruſed, where is the man, ſayde the Byſhop? Then Saunders being brought forth to the place of examination, firſte, moſt lowly and meekely kneeled downe, and made curteſie before the Table where the Byſhoppe did ſitte: Unto whom the Biſhoppe ſpake on this wiſe.

Wincheſters talke with M. Saunders.

How hapneth it (ſayd hee) that notwithſtandinge the Queenes Proclamation to the contrary, you haue enterpryſed to preach?

M. Saunders aunſwere to Wincheſter.

Saunders denyed that hee dyd preach: Saying, that for ſo much as he ſaw the perillous tymes now at hande, he did but (accordyng as he was admoniſhed, and warned by Ezechiel the Prophet,) exhort his flocke and Pariſhioners to perſeuer and ſtand ſtedfaſtly, in the doctrine which they had learned, ſaying alſo, that hee was moued and pricked forwarde thereunto by that place of the Apoſtle wherin he was commaunded rather to obey God then man: and moreouer that nothing more moued or ſtirred him therunto, then his owne conſcience.

Wincheſter.

A goodly conſcience ſurely ſayd the Biſhop. This your conſcience could make our Queen a Baſtard or miſbegotten: Would it not I pray you?

M. Saunders.

Then ſayd Saunders, we (ſayd he) do not declare or ſay that the Queene is baſe or miſbegotten, neither goe aboute any ſuch matter. But for that let the care whoſe writinges are yet in the handes of men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great reproch & ſhame of the Author: priuely taunting the Biſhop him ſelfe, which had before (to get the fauour of Henry 8.) written and ſet forth in print a booke of true obedyence, wherin he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a Baſtard. Now M. Saunders going forwardes in his purpoſe ſayd: we do onely profeſſe & teach yͤ ſinceritye & puritie of the word, yͤ which albeit it be now forbidden vs to preach with our mouthes, yet notwithſtādyng I do not doubt, but that our bloud hereafter ſhal manifeſt the ſame. The Biſhop being in thys ſort prettily nipped and touched, ſayd: Cary away this frenſie foole to pryſon. Unto whome M. Saunders aunſwered, that he dyd geue God thankes which had geuen him at the laſte, a place of reſte and quietneſſe, where as hee myght pray for the Byſhoppes conuerſion.

A priuie nippe to Wincheſter.

Wincheſters booke de vera obedientia.

Note how Wincheſter confuteth M. Saunders.

Furthermore, hee that did lye with him afterwardes in pryſon in the ſame bed, reported that he heard hym ſay that euen in the time of his examination, hee was wonderfully conforted, in ſo much as not only in ſpirite, but alſo in body, he receaued a certayn taſt of that holy Cōmunion of ſaints whileſt a moſt pleaſant refreſhing did iſſue from euery part and member of the bodye vnto the ſeate and place of the hart, and from thence dyd ebbe and flow to and fro, vnto all the partes agayne.

A notable example of the Lord comforting hys ſeruauntes in their troubles.

This Saunders continued in priſon a whole yeare and 3. monthes. In all which ſpace he ſent diuers letters to diuers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: and other to his wyfe and alſo to others, certifiyng them both of the publike calamitie of the tyme, and alſo of hys priuate afflictions, and of ſondry his conflictes with his aduerſaries: As in wrytyng to his friend, he ſpeaketh of Weſton conferring with hym in priſon, wherof you ſhall heare anone (by the leaue of the Lord) as followeth in the ſtory. In yͤ meane tyme the Chauncellor, after this litle talke with M. Saūders (as is aforeſaid) ſent him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey. &c. For the Caiphas (Wincheſter I mean) did nothing but bait hym with ſome of his curriſh eloquence, and ſo cōmitted him to the priſon of the Marſhalſey, where he was kept priſoner one whole yeare and a quarter. But of hys cauſe and eſtate, thou ſhalt now ſee, what Laurence Saunders himſelfe did write.

M. Saunders in priſon a yeare & iij. mōthes.

¶ A parcell of a Letter of Laurence Saunders ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, as an aunſwer to certayne thinges wherewith he had before charged him.

A fragment of M. Saunders letter.

Touchyng the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt whether I haue broken any law, or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, foraſmuch as at that tyme it was permitted by the proclamation to vſe according to our conſciēces, ſuch ſeruice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreable vnto my conſcience and the ſeruice then vſed. The Act which I did (he meaneth publike teaching of gods worde in his owne pariſh, called Alhallowes in Breadſtrete in the City of London) was ſuch, as beyng indifferently weyed, ſounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the leaſt no wilfull breaking of it, foraſmuch as I cauſed no bell to be rong, neither occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But be it that I did break the Pro-

He meaneth the proclamation of which mention is made before.

Satis peccauit qui reſiſtere nō potuit.

Proclamation: this long tyme of contynuaunce in priſon may be thought to be more then a ſufficient puniſhmẽt for ſuch a fault.

Act. 24.

A good teſtimony of a good conſcience.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I ſay with S. Paul: This I confeſſe that after the way which they call hereſie, ſo worſhip I the God of my forefathers, beleuing all thinges which are written in the law and the Prophetes, and haue hope towardes God. &c. And herein ſtudy I to haue alway a cleare conſcience towardes God, and towardes men: ſo that God I call to witneſſe, I haue a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded vpon vaine fantaſie, but vpon the infallible veritie of Gods worde, with the witneſſing of his choſen church agreable vnto the ſame.

John. 10.

Math. 7.

How the Wolfe is knowen from the true ſhepheard.

It is an eaſie thing for them, which take Chriſt for their true Paſtor, and be the very ſhepe of his paſture, to diſcerne the voice of their true ſhepheard, from the voyce of wolues hirelinges, and ſtraungers, for as much as Chriſt ſaieth: My ſhepe heare my voyce, yea and thereby they ſhall haue the gift to know the right voyce of the true ſhepheard, and ſo to follow him, and to auoid the contrary, as he alſo ſayeth: The ſhepe folow the ſhepheard, for they know his voyce: A ſtranger will they not follow, but will flie from him: for they know not the voyce of a ſtraunger. Such inward inſpiration doth the holy ghoſt put into the children of God, beyng in dede taught of God, but otherwyſe vnable to vnderſtand the true way of their ſaluation. And albeit that the Wolfe (as Chriſt ſaith) commeth in ſhepes clothing, yet he ſaith: by their fruites ye ſhall know them. For there bee certaine fruites wherby the Wolfe is bewrayed, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe in ſondry ſortes of deuoute holynes in outward ſhew, he ſemeth neuer ſo ſimple a ſheepe. That the Romiſh religion is rauening and woluiſh, it is apparant in 3. principall pointes.

The inconuenience of the Romiſhe religion, in three poyntes.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conſciẽce in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt, and his office of ſaluation.

Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and ſeruice in ſpirit and truth, appointed in his preſcript commaundements, and driueth men vnto that inconueniẽce, agaynſt the which Chriſt with the prophet Eſay doth ſpeake ſharply: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hart is far from me. They worſhip me in vain, teaching the doctrine & precepts of men. And in an other place: ye caſt aſide the commaundement of god to maintaine your owne traditiõs.

Eſay. 26.
Math. 15.

Wherfore I in conſcience weying the Romiſh religion, and by indifferent diſcuſſing therof, finding the foundation vaſtedfaſt, and the building therupon but vaine: and on the other ſide hauing my conſcience framed after a right & vncorrupt religion, ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and the conſent of his true church, I neyther may, nor do entend by gods gracious aſſiſtance, to be pulled one iot from the ſame, no though an angel out of heauẽ ſhould preach an other Goſpell then that which I haue receyued of the Lord.

And although that for lacke either of ſuch depe knowledge and profound iudgement, or of ſo expedite vtteryng of that I do know and iudge, as is required in an excellent clarke, I ſhal not be able ſufficiently to anſwer, for the conuinceing of the gaineſayer: yet neuertheles, this my proteſtation ſhall be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the grounds and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cannot *explicita fide as they cal it, conceiue all that is to bee conceiued, neither can diſcuſſe all that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſſe all that is to be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the doctrine of this moſt true religiõ, whereunto I am profeſſed: Yet do I bind my ſelf as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my fidem *implicitã: that is, by faith in generalitie (as they cal it) to wrap my beliefe in the credite of the ſame, that no authority of that Romiſh religion repugnant therunto, ſhal by any means remoue me from the ſame, though it may hap that our aduerſaries will labour to beguile vs with entiſing wordes, and ſeke to ſpoyle vs through Philoſophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt. &c.

*Explicita Fides, is when a man hath to aunſwer to euery point of hys fayth by ſufficient ground and learning.

*Implicita fides, is when a man without inſtruction in himſelfe groundeth onely vpon the faith of the church, not able to render any reaſon of that which he beleueth.

And thus much out of M. Saunders letter, ſo much as remained therof. The reſidue, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adioine hereunto. Notwithſtãding by this alredy expreſſed, it is ſufficient to vnderſtand how good was the cauſe & eſtate of this bleſſed child of god, being priſoner for Chriſtes cauſe. For ỹ defence wherof he wholy beſtowed & reſigned himſelf in ſuch ſort as he forbad his wife to ſue for his deliuery & when other of his friends had by ſuite almoſt obtained it, he diſcouraged them, ſo that they did not follow their ſuite, as by this letter followyng it may appeare.

¶ A letter of M. Saunders to his wife.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

Entirely beloued wife, euen as vnto mine owne ſoule and body, ſo doe I dayly in my harty prayer wyſh vnto you, for I do dayly, twiſe at the leaſt in thys ſort remember you. And I do not doubt (deare wyfe) but that both I and you, as we be written in the booke of lyfe, ſo we ſhall together enioy the ſame euerlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our deare father, in hys ſonne our Chriſt. And for thys preſent lyfe, let vs wholy appoint our ſelues to the wil of our good God, to glorifie him eyther by lyfe or by death, & euen that ſame merciful Lord make vs worthy to honour hym eyther way as pleaſeth hym Amen. I am merye, I thanke my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whõ I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſhe a good courſe, and then receiue the crowne which is layde vp in ſtore for me, and all the true Soldiours of Chriſt. Wherefore wyfe let vs in the name of our God, fight luſtely to ouercome the fleſh, the deuill and the world. What our harneſſe and weapons be in thys kynde of fight, looke the 6. vnto the Epheſians, and pray, pray, pray. I woulde that you make no ſuite for me in any wyſe. Thãke you know whom, for her moſt ſweete and comfortable putting me in remembraunce of my iourney, whether I am paſſing. God ſende vs all good ſpeede, and a ioyfull meetinge. I haue to fewe ſuch frendes to further me in that iourney, which is in deede the greateſt frendſhip. The bleſſing of God be wyth you al. Amen.

1. Tim. 4.

M. Saunders woulde haue no ſuite made for hym.

A priſoner in the Lord Laurence Saunders.

Antichriſt and death two enemies.

Thys his conſtancie is ſufficiently commended and declared by hys valiant buckling wyth two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and death. To neyther of theſe dyd he geue place: but by ſufferyng their malice, got ỹ victory ouer them both. One of the conflictes which he had wyth Antichriſt & hys members, I haue gathered out of a letter of his owne hand wrytyng. It was wyth Doct. Weſton, a man whõ though I ſhould prayſe, yet would all good and godly mẽ worthely diſprayſe. Of this ỹ ſaid Laurence Saunders thus wryteth in a letter which he ſent to one of hys frends, which wrote to hym to know what Doct. Weſton did at the Marſhalſey: wherunto he thus aunſwereth.

Thys Doct. Weſton and M. Grimoald dyed both about the Coronation of Q. Elizabeth.

M. Weſton came to conferre with M. Grimoald. What he hath concluded w him, I know not: I wyſh it may be to Gods glory. Amen, Amẽ. M. Weſton of hys gentlenes viſited me, & offered me frendſhyp in hys worldly wily ſort. &c. I had not ſo much good maner, as to take it at hys hand: for I ſaid, that I was well inough, and ready cheerefully to abyde the extremitie, to keepe thereby a good cõſcience. You be a ſleepe (ſayd he. I would awake (quoth I) and doe not forget Vigilate & orate. i. Watch & pray. What church was there, ſaid he 30. yeres paſt? What church was there, quoth I, in Helias tyme? Ioane of Kent, ſayde he, was of your Church. No, quoth I, we dyd cõdemne her as an hereticke.

The Church goeth not alwayes by number.

Who was of your Church, ſayde he, 30. yeares paſt? Such quoth I, as that Romiſh Antichriſt, and hys rable haue reputed and condemned as heretickes. Wickliffe ſayde he, Thorpe, Oldcaſtle. &c. Yea, quoth I, wyth many moe, as ſtoryes do tell.

The B. of Rome hath, ſayd he, long tyme played a part in your rayling Sermons: but now be ye ſure he muſt play an other maner of part. The more pitie, quoth I, and yet ſome comfort it is to ſee how that the beſt learned, wyſeſt, & holieſt of you all, haue heretofore had hym to play a part likewiſe in your Sermõs and wrytings, though now to pleaſe the world, you do turne wyth the weathercocke. Did you euer ſayd he, heare me preach agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome? No (quoth I) for I neuer heard you preach. But I trow you haue bene no wiſer then other. &c. with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray. God keepe your family & bleſſe it.

Winchesters booke De Vera Obedientia.

What a bleſſed taſte this good man had of Gods holy ſpirit, by diuers and ſondry his letters may right well appeare to hym that is diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame: whereof certayne we haue here thought good, the Lord willing, to expreſſe, firſt beginnyng with that which he wrote out of the Marſhalſey to D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, priſoners for the lyke cauſe of Chriſt in Oxford.

What a bleſſed taſte M. Saunders had of Chriſtes cõforts.

To the Archb. Cranmer, Biſh. Ridley, and M. Latymer, beyng priſoned in Oxford.

M. Saũders writeth to D. Cranmer Ridley, &c.

IN my moſt humbly wyſe I ſalute you moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. Immortall thankes & euerlaſting prayſes be geuen vnto that our Father of mercies, Whiche hath made vs meete to be partakers of the inheritaunce of Saintes in lyght, which hath deliuered vs frõ the power of darknes, and hath tranſlated vs into the king-

Coloſſ. 1.

Coloſſ.3. 1.Cor.13. Eſay.64. 1.Cor.2.

dome of his beloued Sonne, by whom we haue redemptiõ through his bloud.&c. Oh moſt happy eſtate, that in an vnſpeakeable wiſe our life is hid with Chriſt in God: But whenſoeuer Chriſt which is our life ſhall ſhew him ſelfe, then ſhall we alſo appeare with him in glory. In the mean ſeaſon as our ſight is but in a glaſſe, euẽ in a darck ſpeking, ſo we walk in faith, not after outward appearance, ẏ which fayth although for want of outwarde appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vayn, yea the choſen of God doe know the effect therof, to bring a more ſubſtantiall taſt and liuely fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſednes, then reaſon can reach or ſences conceyue. By this faith we haue in our profeſſion all good things, yea euen the which the eye hath not ſeene, and the eare hath not heard, neither hath entred into the hart of man.&c. Then if hereby we doe enioy all good thinges, it followeth that we muſt nedes poſſeſſe, haue and enioy you moſt reuerend Fathers, who be no ſmall part of our ioy & good thinges geuen vs of God.

Math.5. 1.Cor.4. Phil.1. Phil.1.

We heretofore haue had the fruition of you by bodely preſence to our inexplicable benefite, prayſed bee that our gratious God therfore. And now in ſpirite we haue the experience of vnſpeakable comfort, by your reuerent fatherhoodes for that in this ſo glorious ſort, ye become a town ſet vpon a hill, a candle vpon a candleſtick, a ſpectacle vnto the worlde both to the angels & vnto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feele, you alſo may aſſuredly ſay with S. Paul, that the thinges which happen vnto vs, do chance vnto the great furtherance of the goſpel, ſo that our bondes in chriſt are manifeſt, not onely throughout all the iudgement hall, but in all whole Europa, in ſo much that many of the brethren in the Lord, being incouraged through our bondes, dare more boldly ſpeak the word without feare. And herein as you haue with ſ. Paule greatly to reioyce, ſo wee doe reioyce with you, and we doe in deed with you geue thãks for this excellent worthy fauour of our God, towardes you, that Chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea and herafter ſhal be magnified in your bodyes, whether it bee through lyfe or death. Of which thinge truely we are aſſured in our prayers for you, and miniſtring of the ſpirite. And althoughe for your own partes Chriſt is vnto you life, and death aduauntage, and that your deſire is (as in deede it were better for you) to be looſed and to be with Chriſt, yet for the church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſary, that ye ſhould abyde in the fleſh. Yea that mercyfull God, euẽ for his Chriſtes ſake graunt that ye may abide and contynue for the furtherance of the Church and reioyſing of fayth, that the reioyſinge therof may be the more aboundant through Ieſus Chriſt, by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

Phil.1.

But if it ſeem better otherwiſe vnto the diuine wiſdome that by ſpeedy death he hath appointed you to glorifie him, the Lordes will be done. Yea euẽ as we doe reioyce both on your behalfes, and alſo on our own, that God is magnified by lyfe, and ſhould bee more aboundantly glad for the contynuance therof: ſo we ſhall no leſſe reioyce to haue the ſame wrought by death. We ſhall geue thankes for this honoure geuen vnto you, reioyſing that ye are accounted worthye to ſuffer for the name of chriſt, & that it is geuen to you of god, not onely that ye ſhoulde beleue in hym, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake. And herein wee ſhall haue to reioyce in the behalfe of the church of Chriſt whoſe faith may be the faſter fixed vpon Gods verity, being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. Oh thanks be to god for this hys vnſpeakeable gift.

The conſtant minde of a Chriſtian ſouldiour. Ephes.1. Rom.8. Galat.4. 2.Cor.4. Pſal.116. Phil.1.

And now moſt reuerend Fathers, that you may vnderſtand the truth of vs and our eſtate how we ſtand in ẏ lord, I doe aſſure your reuerences, partly by that I perceiue by ſuch of our brethren as be here in bondes with me, partely by that I heare of them which be in other places, & partly by that inward experiẽce which I moſt vnworthy wretch haue of Gods good comfort (more aboundaunce wherof I know there is in others) you may be aſſured (I ſaye) by Gods grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of our conſtaunte continuaunce in the chearefull confeſſion of Gods euerlaſtyng veritie. For euen as we haue receyued the word of truth, euen the Goſpell of our ſaluation, wherin we beleuyng are ſealed with the holye ſpirite of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritaunce) the which ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that we are the children of God, and therfore god hath ſent the ſpirit of his ſonne, into our harts, crying, Abba, Father) ſo after ſuch portiõ as god meaſureth vnto vs, we with the whole church of Chriſt, and with you reuerẽd fathers, receiuing the ſame ſpirit of fayth, according as it is written: I beleued, and therfore I haue ſpoken. We alſo beleue, & therfore ſpeak. For the which we in this dãgerous bondage and other afflictions, hauing euẽ ſuch a ſight as we haue ſene in you and haue heard of you, are in no wiſe afraid of our aduerſaries.

2.Cor.4. 2.Cor.4. 2.Tim.2. 2.Cor.4.

And forasmuch as we haue ſuch an office, euen as God hath had mercy on vs, we go not out of kynd, but, euẽ with you, after our little power, we labour to maintayn the faith of the goſpell, knowyng moſt certainly that though we haue this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of this power might be gods and not ours: yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand vnder vs. [Whẽ] we are troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: [when] we are in pouerty, we are not vtterly without ſome thing: [when] we ſuffer perſecution, we are not forſaken therin: [when] we are caſt downe, yet we ſhall not periſh: but to communicate with our ſweete Sauiour Chriſt in bearing the croſſe, it is appointed vnto vs, that euen ẇ him alſo we ſhalbe glorified. For it is a true ſaying: If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo liue with him: If we be patient, we ſhall alſo raigne with him: If we deny him, he ſhall alſo deny vs. Wherfore we be of good chere, alwais bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the lyfe of Ieſus might appeare alſo in our bodye: For we know that he which raiſed vp the Lord Ieſus ſhall rayſe vp vs alſo by the meanes of Ieſus, and ſhall ioyne vs to himſelf together with you. Wherfore we are not weried: but thogh our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renued day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceedyng and eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the things which are ſene, but on the things which are not ſene. For the things which are ſene are temporal: but the things which are not ſene, are eternal.

Eſay.12. Pſal.48.

We teſtifie vnto you, Reuerend fathers, that we drawe theſe waters with ioy out of the wels of the ſauiour. And I truſt we ſhal continually with you bleſſe the lord, & geue thankes to the Lord out of the wels of Iſrael, we truſt to bee mery together at that great Supper of the Lambe, whoſe ſpouſe we are by fayth, and there to ſing that ſong of euerlaſting Haleluyah, Amen. Yea come Lorde Ieſu. The grace of our lord Ieſu Chriſt be with you, Amen.

An other letter written to his wyfe, wherin is to bee ſene how this worthy warriour prepared hymſelfe to the appoynted fight, and to keepe hys ſtandyng in Chriſtes Campe.

Laurence Saunders to his wyfe.

M. Saunders letter to his wyfe.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt Ieſu our only comfort, in all extreme aſſaultes, Amen.

2.Cor.4. 2.Cor.4. 2.Cor.4. Pſal.126. 1.Cor.15.

Fayne would this fleſh make ſtrange of that which the ſpirit doth embrace. Oh lord how loth is this loytering ſluggarde to paſſe forth in Gods pathe? It fantaſieth forſooth much feare of fraybugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the reyne of gods moſt ſweete promiſe, and of hope which pricketh on behynd, great aduẽture there were of faintyng by the way. But bleſſed, and euerlaſtingly bleſſed be that heauenly father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient ſauiour, hath vouched ſafe to ſhine in our hartes, that he geueth vs the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Ieſu Chriſt: and hauyng this treaſure in our earthen veſſels, that the excellency of ẏ power might be gods, and not oures, we are [accordyng to his good will] troubled on euery ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: we are in pouerty, but yet not without that is ſufficient: we ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein: we are caſt downe, neuertheles we periſh not: we beare in the body the dying of the Lord Ieſus, that the lyfe of Ieſus might alſo appeare in our body. Wherefore by the grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be weried, neyther bee diſmayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though ſome ſtrãge thing had happened vnto vs: but by his power we ſhall reioyce, in as much as we are pertakers of Chriſts Paſſion, that when he doth appeare we may be mery and glad, knowyng that, our tribulation which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceding and an eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the thinges which are ſene, but on the thinges which are not ſene. They that ſowe in teares, ſhall reape in ioye. For he that goeth on his way weping and ſcattering his good ſeede, ſhall doubtles come againe with ioy, and bring his whole ſheaues with hym. Then, then ſhall the Lord wipe away all teares from our eyes. Then, then, ſhalbe brought to paſſe that ſaying which is written: Death is ſwallowed vp in victory. Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? Yea, thankes be to God which hath geuen vs the victory thorow our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Amen.

1.Pet.4. Actes.17.

In the meane ſeaſon it remayneth for vs to follow S. Peters bidding: Let them (ſaith he) that are troubled according to the wil of God, commit their ſoules to him with well doing, as a faithfull Creatour and Maker. He is our maker: we are his handyworke and creatures, whom nowe when he hath made: he doth not leaue and forſake as the ſhypwright doth the ſhyp, leauyng it at al aduentures to be toſſed in the tempeſt but he comforteth vs his creatures, & in him we liue, moue, and haue our beyng: ye not onely that

Gods promiſes firme and ſure. Eſay.49.

1.Pet.5.

Job.3. Truſt vpon gods promiſe.

Pſal.103.

but now that he hath in his deare Chriſt repayred vs, being before vtterly decayed, and redemed vs, purging vs vnto himſelfe as a peculiar people by the bloud of his ſonne hee hath put on a moſt tender good will and fatherly affection toward vs, neuer to forget vs: vnto whom by ſuch promiſſes he hath plighted ſuch fayth, that though it were poſſible that the mother coulde forget her infant, and not be tender harted to the childe of her wombe yet may not it be that his faythfull beleuers ſhoulde be forgotten of him. Hee biddeth vs to caſt our care on him, and ſayth that aſſuredly hee careth for vs. And what though for a ſeaſon hee doth ſuffer vs to be turmoyled in the troublous tempeſtes of temptation, and ſemeth as in much anger to haue geuen vs ouer, & forgotten vs? let not vs for all that leaue of to put our truſt in him, but let vs with godly Job conclude in our ſelues and ſay: Euen though he kill mee, yet will I put my truſt in him. Let vs with the bleſſed Abrahame in hope, euen contrary to hope by beliefe leane vnto that our louyng Lorde, who though for our probation hee ſuffereth vs to be afflicted, yet will he not bee alwayes chydyng, neyther keepeth he hys anger for euer: for he knoweth whereof we be made he remembreth that we are but duſt. Wherfore, looke howe high the heauen is in compariſon of the earth, ſo great is his mercy towardes them whiche feare him. Looke howe wyde the Eaſt is from the weſt, ſo farre hath hee ſet our ſinnes from vs. Yea, lyke as a father pitieth hys owne children: euen ſo is the Lord merciful vnto them that feare him. Oh what great cauſe of reioycing haue we in our moſt gracious God? we cannot but burſt forth into the prayſing of ſuch a bountifull benefactour, and ſay with yͤ ſame Pſalmiſt: Prayſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me prayſe his holy name. Prayſe the Lord O my ſoule, and forget not all his benefites.

Saunders godly bequeſt to hys wyfe.

Experience of the comfortes of Chriſt in priſon.

Deare wife, riches haue I none to leaue behynde mee, wherewith to endow you after the worldly maner. But that treaſure of taſting howe ſwete Chriſt is vnto hungry conſciences (whereof I thanke my Chriſt, I do feele part, and would feele more) that I bequeath vnto you, and to the reſt of my beloued in Chriſt, to retaine the ſame in ſenſe of harte alwayes. Pray, pray, I am mery, and I truſt I ſhalbe merye, maugre the teeth of all the deuils in hell. I vtterly refuſe my ſelfe, and reſigne my ſelfe vnto my Chriſt, in whom I know I ſhalbe ſtrong as he ſeeth nedefull. Pray pray pray.

Laurence Saunders.]

M. Saunders wyfe not ſuffred to ſpeake wyth him in priſon.

As the ſayde Maiſter Saunders was in priſon, ſtraite charge was geuen to the keeper, that no perſō ſhould ſpeak with hym. His wyfe yet came to the priſon gate with her yong childe in her armes, to viſit her Huſband. The Keeper, though for his charge, hee durſt not ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet dyd hee take the little babe out of her armes, and brought him vnto his father. Laurence Saunders ſeeyng him, reioiſed greatly, ſaying yͭ he reioyſed more to haue ſuch a boy, then hee ſhoulde if two thouſand pounde were geuen him. And vnto the ſtanders by, which prayſed the goodlines of the childe, he ſayd: what man fearyng God woulde not loſe thys life preſent, rather then by prolongyng it here, he ſhould adiudge this boy to be a Baſtard hys wyfe a whore and himſelfe a whoremonger? yea, if there were no other cauſe, for whiche a man of my eſtate ſhoulde looſe his life yet who woulde not geue it, to auouche thys child to be legitimate, and his mariage to be lawfull & holy?

I do (good Reader) recite this ſaying, not onely to let thee ſee what he thought of Prieſts mariage: but chiefly to let all maryed couples and Parentes learne to beare in their boſome true affections: naturall, but yet ſeaſoned with the true ſalt of the ſpirite, vnfaynedly and throughly mortified to do the naturall workes and offices of maried couples & Parents, ſo long as wͭ theyr doyng they may keepe Chriſt with a free confeſſing fayth, in a conſcience vnſoyled: otherwiſe both they and their owne liues are ſo to bee forſaken, as Chriſt required thē to be denyed, and geuen in his cauſe.

M. Saunders brought to examination.

And now to come to yͤ examinatiō of thys good mā, after that the biſhops had kept him one whole yere & a quarter in priſon, at the length they called hym, as they dyd the reſt of hys fellowes, openly to be examined. Of yͤ whiche his firſt examination the effect and purpoſe thus followeth.

¶ The examination of Laurence Saunders.

Prayſed be our gracious God who preſerueth hys from euill, and doth geue them grace to auoyd al ſuch offences, as might hinder hys honour, or hurt his Church, Amen.

Being conuented before the Queenes moſt honorable Counſell, ſundry biſhops being preſent, the Lord Chauncelor began to ſpeake in ſuch forme as followeth.

The firſt examination of M. Saunders.

L.Chan. It is not vnknowen, that you haue bene priſoner for ſuch abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine as hath bene ſowen by you: and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeeke for it. Wherfore if now you will ſhew your ſelfe conformable, and come home agayne, mercy is ready. We muſt ſay that we haue fallen in maner all: but now we be ryſen agayne, and returned to the Catholicke Church, you muſt ryſe wyth vs, and come home vnto it. Geue vs forthwith a direct aunſwere.

Saun. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it pleaſe your honors to geue me leaue to aunſwere with deliberation.

Chan. Leaue of your paynting and pride of ſpeech. For ſuch is the faſhion of you all to pleaſe your ſelues in your glorious wordes. Aunſwere yea, or nay.

M. Saunders ſtandeth vpon his conſcience.

Sand. My Lord, it is no tyme for me now to paynt. And as for pryde, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me. My learnyng I confeſſe to be but ſmall: and as for riches or worldly wealth I haue none at all. Notwithſtandyng it ſtādeth me in hand to aunſwere to your demaunde circumſpectly, conſideryng that one of theſe two extreme perilles are lyke to fall vpō me: the loſing of a good conſcience, or the loſing of this my body and lyfe. And I tell you truth, I loue both life and libertie, if I coulde enioy them wythout the hurt of my conſcience.

* Of this diuiding ſpeaketh S.Paule 2.Cor.6.& Ierem.50. Come out and diuide your ſelues from them.&c.

Chan. Conſcience? you haue none at all, but pride and arrogancie, * diuidyng your ſelues by ſingularitie from the Church.

Argument. Conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpon thinges vncertayne. Tyme and authoritie be things of them ſelues alwayes vncertayne: Ergo, conſcience ought neuer to ſtand vpon time and authoritie.

Sand. The Lorde is the knower of all mens conſciences. And where your Lordſhip layeth to my charge this diuidyng my ſelfe from the church (as you do meane, and is now among you concluded vpon, as I do vnderſtand) I do aſſure you, that I lyue in the fayth wherein I haue bene brought vp ſithens I was 14. yeare old: being taught that the power of the B. of Rome is but vſurped, with many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea this I haue receiued, euen at your hands that are here preſent, as a thyng agreed vpon by the Catholicke Church and publicke authoritie.

Chan. Yea mary, but I pray you, haue you receiued by cōſent and authoritie all your hereſies of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar?

Saund. My Lord, it is leſſe offence to cut of an arme, hand, or ioynt of a man, then to cut of the head. For the man may lyue though he do lacke an arme, hand or ioynt, and ſo he can not wythout hys head. But you, all the whole ſort of you, haue agreed to cut of the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, whom now ye will haue to be the head of your Church agayne.

Si non inſanit ſatis ſua ſponte, inſtiga.

Biſ.of London. And if it lyke your Lordſhip, I haue hys hand agaynſt the bleſſed ſacrament. How ſay you to that?

Saunders. What I haue written, that I haue written, and farther I will not accuſe my ſelfe. Nothyng haue you to burden me withall, for breakyng of your lawes ſince they were in force.

Chaunc. Well you will be obſtinate and refuſe libertie.

A lawfull requeſt, but it could not be heard.

Saund. My Lord, I may not buy libertie at ſuch a price: but I beſeech your honours to be meanes to the Queenes Maieſtie for ſuch a pardon for vs, that we may lyue and keepe our conſciences vnclogged, and we ſhall lyue as moſt obedient ſubiectes. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for my ſelfe, that by Gods grace I will abide the moſt extremitie yͭ mā may do agaynſt me, rather then to doe againſt my conſcience.

To liue as the ſcripture leadeth vs, is not to liue as we liſt.

The papiſtes deſire the Pope, the Proteſtants Chriſt onely to be their head: Now which of theſe two be moſt like the Donatiſtes.

Chaun. Ah ſyrra, you will lyue as you liſt. The Donatiſtes did deſire to lyue in a ſingularitie: but in deede they were not meete to lyue on earth: no more be you, and that ſhall you vnderſtand within theſe ſeuen dayes: and therfore away with him.

Saund. Welcome be it, whatſoeuer the will of God ſhalbe, eyther life or death. And I tell you truely, I haue learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedyng of innocent bloud. Truly, it will cry. The ſpirite of God reſt vpon all your honours. Amen. This is the ſumme and forme of my firſt examination. Pray. &c.

M. Saunders freely preacheth Chriſt.

This examination being ended the Officers led him out of the place, and ſo ſtayed vntill yͤ reſt of hys felowes were likewiſe handled, that they might haue them all together to priſon. Laurence Saunders ſtandyng among the Officers ſeeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth, and ſpake freely, warning them well of that, which by their fallyng from Chriſt to Antichriſt they did deſerue, & therefore exhortyng them by repentaunce to riſe agayne, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger fayth, to cōfeſſe him to yͤ end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, ſinne, death, and the deuill: ſo ſhould they retayne the Lordes fauour and bleſſing.

The 2. examination here lacketh.

The copyes of his other examinations and excommunication came to the handes of ſuch as do keepe them ſtill in ſecret. But in them as he defended Chriſtes cauſe ſtoutly: ſo warned he the Phariſaicall biſhops and Papiſtes, of their hypocriſie and tyranny freely, and cleared him ſelfe of theyr

vn-

M. Saunders deliuered to the ſecular power.

vniuſt quarellynges, truely. After he was excommunicate and deliuered to the ſecular power, hee was brought by the Shriffe of London, to ẏ priſon called ẏ Counter in his owne Pariſh in Breadſtreete: whereat he reioyſed greatly, both becauſe he founde there a felow priſoner, Maiſter Cardmaker, with whom he had Chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Pariſhners: as by his letter hereafter ſhall be declared.

M. Saunders degraded by B. Boner.

The fourth day of February, the Byſhop of London dyd come to the priſon where he was, to diſgrade him: which when he had done, Laurence Saunders ſayd to him: I thanke God I am none of your Church.

M. Saunders caried to Couentrye.

The day folowyng in the mornyng, the Shriffe of London deliuered him to certaine of the Queenes Garde, which were appoynted to cary him to the Citie of Couentry, there to bee burned. The firſt night they came to S. Albons, where Maiſter Grimoald (a man who had more ſtore of good giftes, then of great conſtancie) did ſpeake with him.

After Maiſter Saunders had geuen him a leſſon meete for his lyghtenes, he tooke a cuppe into his hand, and aſked hym if he would pledge hym of that cuppe, of whiche he would begyn to hym. Grimoald by his ſhruggyng and ſhrinkyng, ſhewyng what he was, ſayd: of that cuppe whiche is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other whiche you meane, I will not promiſe you. Well ſayd Maiſter Saunders, my deare Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begon to me of a more bitter cuppe then myne ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweete Sauiour? yes I hope.

A good Shoomaker of Couentrye.

After they were come to Couentry, the ſame nyght a poore Shomaker, whiche was wont to ſerue him of ſhoes, came to hym after his manner and ſayd: Oh my good Maiſter, GOD ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoemaker, quoth Maiſter Saunders, and I pray thee to pray for me: for I am the vnmeeteſt man for this high office, that euer was appoynted to it: but my gracious God and deare Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame night he was put into the cõmon Gayle among other priſoners, where he ſlept litle, but ſpent the night in prayer, and inſtructyng of others.

M. Saunders put in the common gaile in Couentry.

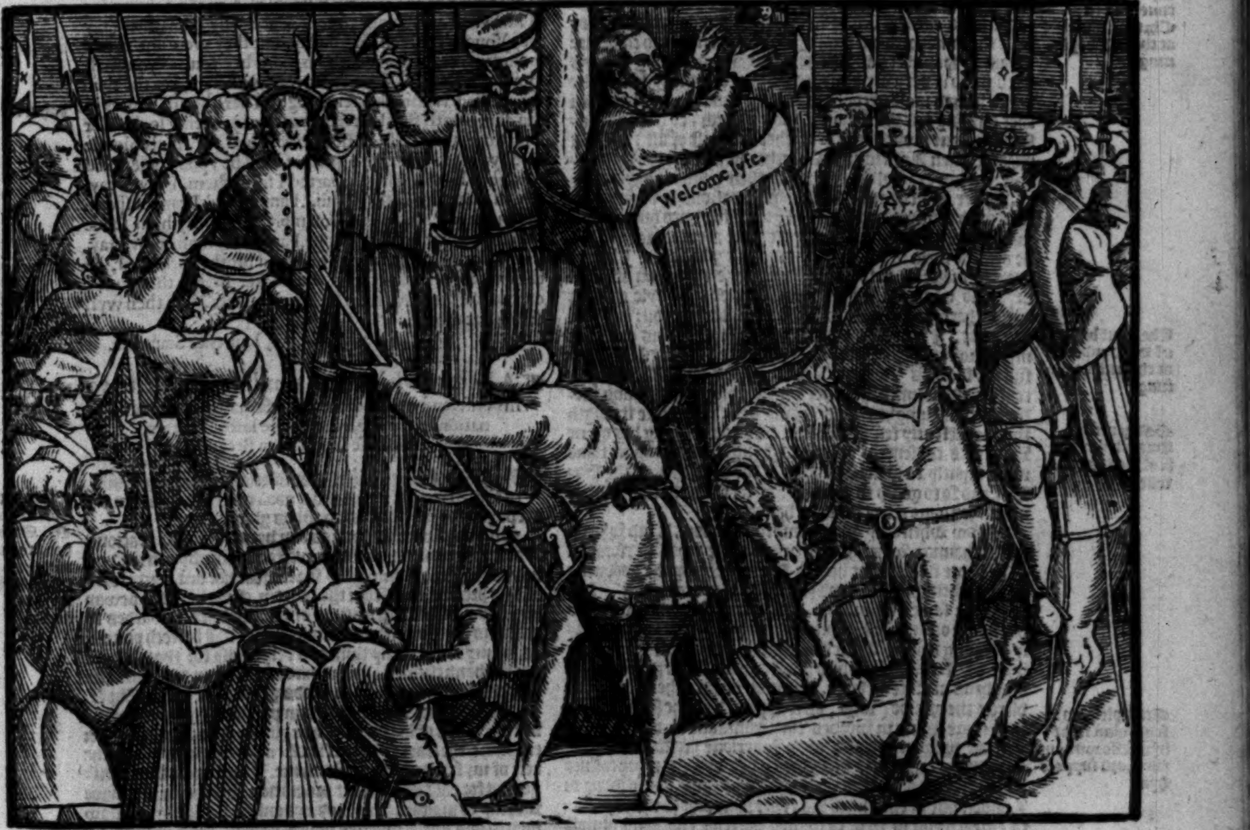
February 8.

M. Saunders brought to the place of execution.

Achab accuſeth Elias for troubling Iſraell.

The next day, whiche was the viij. of February hee was lead to the place of execution in the Parcke without the Citie, goyng in an old gowne, and a ſhierte, barefooted, and ofttymes fell flat on the grounde and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer appoynted to ſee the execution done, ſayd to maiſter Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the Queenes Realme with falſe doctrine and hereſie: wherefore thou haſt deſerued death (quoth he), but yet if thou wilt reuoke thy hereſies, the Queene hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Maiſter Saunders aunſwered: it is not I, nor my fellowe Preachers, of Gods truth, that haue hurt the Queenes Realme, but it is your ſelfe, and ſuch as you are, whiche haue alwayes reſiſted Gods holy word: it is you whiche haue and do marre the Queenes realme. I do hold no hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpell of Chriſt: that hold I, that beleue I, that haue I taught, and that will I neuer reuoke. With that this tormẽtour cryed, away with him, and away from him went Maiſter Saunders with a mery courage towardes the fire. He fell to the grounde, and prayed: he roſe vp agayne, and tooke the ſtake to whiche he ſhould be chayned, in his armes, and kiſſed it ſaying: welcome the Croſſe of Chriſt, welcome euerlaſtyng lyfe: and beyng faſtened to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetely he ſlept in the Lord.

¶The burnyng of Maiſter Laurence Saunders at Couentry.


Welcome lyfe.

A compariſon betwene Laurence Saunders and S Laurence.

And thus haue ye the full hiſtory of Laurence Saũders whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the old Martyrs of Chriſtes Church: both for the feruẽt zeale of the truth and Goſpell of Chriſt, & the moſt conſtant pacience in his ſufferyng: as alſo for the cruell tormẽtes that he in his pacient body did ſuſtaine in the flame of fire. For ſo his cruell enemyes handled him, that they burned him with greene woode, & other ſmootheryng rather then burnyng fewell, which put him to much more payne, but that the grace & moſt plentifull conſolation of Chriſt, which neuer forſaketh his ſeruauntes, & gaue ſtrength to S. Laurence gaue alſo patience to this Laurence, aboue all that his tormentes could worke againſt: which well appeared by his quyet ſtãdyng, and ſweete ſleepyng in the fire, as is aboue declared.

And to the intent to giue to the Reader to vnderſtand the better, what the grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſeruauntes and agayne, how feeble and weake man is of hym ſelfe without this grace geuen from aboue, though he ſeeme otherwiſe neuer ſo ſtoute in himſelfe: here therfore haue we added to the foreſayd ſtory of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginnyng of his trouble, was betwene him and Doct. Pendleton, by the example whereof, ſuch as ſtand, may learne to vnderſtand and take heede with due feare, & not to bragge: to leane to the grace of the Lord, and not to preſume in themſelues.

Strength to ſtand in Chriſt, commeth not of our ſelues, but is the gift of God

¶ A certaine communication betwene Laurence Saunders and Doctor Pendleton, in the begynnyng of Queene Maries tyme.

Talke betwene M. Saunders, and Doctour Pendleton.

D. Pendleton a ſtout preacher of the Goſpell in king Edwardes tyme.

AT the chaunge of Religion in this Realme, and the begynnyng of Queene Maries reigne, Doct. Pendleton and M. Saunders men knowen to the world, not onely to be learned but alſo earneſt preachers of Gods word in the tyme of bleſſed kyng Edward, met together in the countrey, where by occaſion they were at that tyme, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do, in ſo daungerous a ſeaſon. Whereupon Maiſter Saunders, whether thorough very frailty in deede of his weake fleſh that was loth to taſt of the bitter cuppe, though his ſpirite were ready thereunto: or whether it were vppon the miſtruſt of his owne ſtrength, that he might receiue the greater power frō aboue: or whether it were not for any one of the ſayd cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch lyke: ſeemed ſo fearfull and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed hym ſelfe in appearaunce, lyker either to fall quyte from GOD & his word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heeles and to flye the land, rather then to ſticke to his profeſſion and abyde by his tackle: ſo as Doctour Pendleton (who on the contrary ſide, appeared not ſo byg of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeale the ſame with his bloud) tooke vppon him to comforte Maiſter Saunders all that he might, admoniſhyng him (as he could do it very well) not to forſake cowardly his flocke when he had moſt neede to defend the wolfe from them: neither hauyng put his hand to Gods plough, to ſtart now aſide and geue it ouer, nor yet (that is worſt of all) hauyng once forſaken Antichriſt, to fal either himſelfe, or to ſuffer others by his example to returne to their vomite agayne.

M. Saunders timerous in Chriſtes cauſe at the firſt beginning.

After whiche and ſuch lyke perſwaſions byddyng hym be of good comfort, and to take a good hart vnto him: what man (quoth hee) there is a great deale more cauſe in me to be afearde then in you, for as much as you ſee, I cary a greater maſſe of fleſhe vppon my backe then you do, and beyng ſo laden with a heauyer lumpe of this vyle carkaſe ought therfore of nature to be more frayle then you: and yet, ſayth hee, I will ſee the vttermoſt droppe of this greaſe of myne molten awaye, and the laſt gobbet of this fleſhe conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake GOD and hys truth. Whereunto the other aunſweryng but litle, and wiſhyng that almighty God would geue him more ſtrength then he preſently felt in him ſelfe, acknowledgyng his owne weakenes, conſented notwithſtandyng though it were ſomewhat fayntly, to ioyne with him in the profeſſion of the Goſpell, and ſo to go vp to London and ſet forth the ſame: wherupon they gaue ech other their handes.

The ſtout bragges of D. Pendeters at the firſt beginning.

God geueth ſtrength where febleneſſe is confeſſed.

Now when they were come to London, Lord what a great chaunge was there betwene theſe twoo perſonnes. The poore feeble faynt harted Saunders, by the goodneſſe of almightie GOD, takyng hart of grace to him, ſeekyng the ſame in humilitie, boldly and ſtoutely confirmed his flocke out of the Pulpite, where his charge lay, mightely beatyng downe Antichriſt, and luſtely preached Chriſt his Maiſter, for the which he afterward ſuffered moſt willyngly as in ſtore declared. Whereas on the other ſide, Pendleton the proude (who, as it appeared by the ſequele, had bene more ſtoute in wordes, then conſtaunt in deedes and a greater bragger, then a good warriour) followed Peter ſo iuſtly in crackes, how ſoeuer hee dyd in repentaunce (which God onely knoweth,) that he came not ſo ſoone to London but he chaunged his typpet, and played the Apoſtata, preachyng in ſtede of ſounde doctrine, nothyng almoſt but errours and lyes aduauncyng Antichriſt, and ouerthrowyng poore Chriſt with all hys mayne: ſo hys former boldnes came to nothyng, vnleſſe it were a contrary key, becommyng of a faythfull paſtour a falſe runnagate, and of a true Preacher a ſworne enemy of Gods euer laſtyng Teſtament, to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flocke, and the vtter vndoyng, without Gods greater mercy, of hys owne ſoule. Wherein are ſpecially to be conſidered the deepe and meruailous iudgementes of GOD, who as hee can and doth make ſtrong whom it pleaſeth him, when he ſeeth his tyme, and moſt commōly ſuch as appeare moſt feebleſt: euen ſo contrarywiſe throweth hee downe other ſome, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſtoute, ſtand they neuer ſo much in their own conceites. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heede he fall not, and let vs pray continually to almighty God though we haue fayth, that he wil helpe & encreaſe our fayth, that in him it may be made ſtronge, which of it ſelfe is ſo weake, that it is ſoone ouerthrowen.

Example how feble man is of hymſelfe without the Lord ſupport hym.

He that ſtandeth let hym take heede he fall not. Rom. 13.

¶ This bleſſed man of God enduring long time in priſon, did not paſſe al his tyme in vnfruitful idlenes, but ſtil from time to tyme did viſite hys frendes (as is ſayd) and eſpecially hys wife, with many letters full of godly inſtruction & conſolation. All which letters it ſhal not be greatly needfull here to inſert, partly becauſe they are to be found in the booke of letters, partly becauſe we entend alſo (if God wil) to proſecute the ſame more at large. In the meane tyme it ſhall not be out of place here preſently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

M. Saunders diligent in writing letters out of priſon.

Read the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

¶ A letter ſent to M. Farrar B. of S. Dauides, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot.

A letter of M. Saunders ſent to B. Farrar, D. Taylor, M. Bradford and Maiſter Philpot. Pſal. 8.

GRace, mercy & peace, in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord &c, Good Fathers and dear brethren, be thankfull vnto our moſte gracious God, which hath preſerued vs, and ſhall (I doubte not) from blaſpheming his bleſſed name: yea not only that, but alſo ex ore Infantium & Lactentium perficiet laudem. &c. i. Out of the mouthes of very babes & ſucklinges ſhall be ſet forth his prayſe. They offer vs (forſooth) our liberty and pardon, ſo that we will riſe with them vnto that fayth which we with them were fallen from. Ye or no, muſt bee anſwered in haſt. They will not admit any needful circumſtances, but al (as heretofore) moſt deteſtable & abhominable. Riſe with them we muſt vnto the vnity. A pardō (ſay I) of me muſt not be ſo dearly purchaſed. A pardō I deſire, for to liue with an vnclogged conſcience. The Donatiſtes (ſay they) ſought for ſuch ſingularity, but they were not meete to liue in a common wealth, no more bee you, as you ſhall ſhortly vnderſtand. Wherfore away with hym, yea the time was named within this ſeuennight. There be xij. houres in the day. Death ſhal be welcome (ſay I) as being looked for long ſince, and yet do iuſtice ye were beſt, for Abels bloude cryed ye wote what. The ſpirit of God be vpon you, & God ſaue your honors. Thus departed I from them. Pray, Pray. Ah, ah, puer ſum, neſcio loqui. i. I am a child, I cannot ſpeak. My brother P. ſhall ſhew you more herein. By hym ſende me word what you haue done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meete with my good brother bradford, on the backe ſide about a xj. of the clocke. Before that tyme I cannot ſtart out, we haue ſuch outwalkers, but then wyll they be at dinner.

John. 11.

Yours as you know, Laurence Saunders.

¶ A Letter which L. Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faythfull, after his condēnation to the fire, written the laſt of Ianuary, 1555. out of the Counter in Breadſtreet.

A comfortable letter of M. Saunders to his wyfe and others of the faythfull flocke.

THe grace of Chriſt, & the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of fayth and a good conſcience, confirme & keepe you for euer veſſels to Gods glory, Amen.

Oh what worthy thankes can be geuen to our gracious God for his vnmeaſurable mercies plentifully poured vpō vs? And I moſt vnworthy wretch cannot but poure forth at this preſent, euen from the bottom of my hart, the bewayling of my great ingratitude and vnkindnes towardes ſo gracious a good God and louing father. I beſeech you all, as for my other many ſinnes, ſo eſpecially for that ſinne of my vnthankefulnes, craue pardon for me in your earneſte prayers, commēding me to Gods great mercyes in Chriſt.

To number theſe mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the Sea, the ſandes on the ſhore, the ſtarres in the ſky. O my deare wife and ye the reſt of my frendes, reioice with me, I ſay reioice in thankſgeuing for this my preſent promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifie my God, not only in my life by my ſlow mouth and vncircumciſed lippes, bearing witnes vnto his truth, but alſo by my bloud to ſeale the ſame, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true Church. And as yet I teſtifie vnto you, that the comfort of my ſweet Chriſt doth driue from my phantaſie the feare of death. But if my deare huſband Chriſt doe for my tryall, leaue me alone a little to my ſelfe, alas I know in what caſe I ſhalbe thē: but if for my proofe he do ſo, yet I am ſure he wil not be long nor farre from me. Though he ſtand behind the wal & hide hymſelfe (as Salomō ſaith in his muſical ballet) yet will he peepe in by a creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender harted Ioſeph: though he ſpeak roughly to his brethren & handle thē hardly, yea & threaten greuious bondage to his beſt beloued

The ſweete comfort of Chriſt taketh away the feare of death from Saunders. Cant. 2.

Ioſephes handling of his brethren applyed to Chriſt.

brother

Chriſt a ſweete brother vnto vs.

brother Beniamin: yet can he not conteyne hymſelfe from weepyng with vs and vpō vs, with fallyng on our neckes, and ſweetely kiſſyng vs. Such, ſuch a brother is our Chriſt vnto vs all. Wherfore haſten to go vnto hym as Iacob dyd with hys Sonnes and family, leauyng their countrey and acquaintaunce. Yea that our Ioſeph hath obtayned for vs, that Pharao the Infidell ſhall miniſter vnto vs chariots, wherein at eaſe we may be caryed to come vnto hym: as we haue experience how our very aduerſaries do helpe vs vnto our euerlaſtyng bliſſe by their ſpedy diſpatch, yea & how all thynges haue bene helpynges hereunto: bleſſed be our God. Be not afrayde of fraybugges which lye in the way. Feare rather the euerlaſtyng fire: feare the Serpēt which hath that deadly ſtyng of whiche by bodely death they ſhall be brought to taſte whiche are not grafted in Chriſt, wantyng fayth and a good conſcience, and ſo are not acquainted with Chriſt the killer of death. But oh my deare wife and frendes, we, we whom God hath deliuered from the power of darkenes, & hath tranſlated vs into the kyngdome of his deare ſonne, by puttyng of the old man, & by fayth puttyng on the new, euen our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his wiſedome, holynes, righteouſnes & redemption: we I ſay haue to triumphe agaynſt the terrible ſpitefull Serpent, the deuill, ſinne, hell, death, & damnation. For Chriſt our braſen Serpent hath pulled away the ſtyng of this ſerpent, ſo that now we may boldly in beholdyng it ſpoyled of his ſtyng, triumph, & with our Chriſt & al his elect ſay: Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victory? Thankes be to God, who hath geuen vs the victory, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

The ſting of death plucked out. 1. Cor. 15.

Wherfore be mery my deare wife, and all my deare felow heyres of the euerlaſtyng kyngdome, alwayes remember the Lord. Reioyce in hope, be pacient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for vs now appoynted to the ſlaughter, that we may be vnto our heauenly father, a fat offeryng, and an acceptable ſacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let theſe fewe wordes be a witneſſe of commendations to you, and all them which loue vs in the fayth, and namely vnto my flocke, among whom I am reſident by Gods prouidence, but as a priſoner.

To this his flocke the pariſhe of Alhallowes in Bredſtreat. He wrote alſo a fruitfull letter, exhortyng and charging them to beware of the Romiſh religion and conſtantly to ſticke to the truth which they had confeſſed.

And although I am not ſo among them, as I haue bene to preach to them out of a Pulpit, yet doth God now preach vnto them by me, by this my impriſonment and captiuitie, which now I ſuffer among them for Chriſtes Goſpelles ſake, byddyng them to beware of the Romiſh Antichriſtian religion and kyngdome, requiryng & chargyng them to abide in the truth of Chriſt, which is ſhortly to be ſealed with the bloud of their Paſtor: who though he be vnworthy of ſuch a miniſtery, yet Chriſt their high Paſtor is to be regarded, whoſe truth hath bene taught them by me, is witneſſed by my chaynes, & ſhall be by my death, through the power of that high Paſtor. Be not carefull good wife, caſt your care on the Lord, & commend me vnto him in repentaunt prayer, as I do you and our Samuell: whom euen at the ſtake, I will offer as my ſelfe vnto God. Fare ye wel in Chriſt, in hope to be ioyned with you in ioy euerlaſtyng. This hope is put vp in my boſome, Amen, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

An other letter to Maiſtres Lucy Harington, a godly Gentlewoman, and frendly to him in his troubles.

An other comfortable letter of M. Saunders.

YOur moſt gentle commendations, wherof this meſſenger made remembraunce vnto me, was for two cauſes very comfortable. Firſt, for that thereby I vnderſtode of the ſtate of your health and bodely welfare, for the whiche I geue thankes vnto God, who graunt the long continuaunce therof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I wil dayly ſay, Amen. And father, I was refreſhed by the expreſſing of your myndefull frendſhyp towardes me farre vnworthy therof. Wherein I take occaſion of much reioyſing in our ſo gracious a God and mercyfull father, who as he hath in his vnmeaſurable mercy by fayth handfaſted vs his choſē childrē vnto his deare ſonne our Chriſt, as the ſpiritual ſpouſe of ſuch an heauēly husbād: ſo he lincketh vs by loue one vnto an other, beyng by that bond cōpact together with charitable readynes to do good one vnto an other: ſo that firſt to the glory of our God and his Chriſt, then to our owne ioying in the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and laſt of all to the ſtoppyng of the mouthes and confuſion of our aduerſaries, we beare the badge as the right ſpouſe of our Chriſt, which he hymſelfe noted in this his ſaying: Herein ſhall all men know that ye be my Diſciples, if ye loue one an other. Then farther, by this bond of mutuall loue, is ſet forth the fatherly prouidence of God towardes vs his children, that though it be he whiche careth for vs, In whom we lyue, moue and bee, who feedeth all fleſhe with bodely ſuſtenaunce, yet hath hee appoynted vs in theſe preſent neceſſities, to ſtand in his ſtede one vnto an other. Wherein is not onely ſet forth our dignitie, but alſo that vnſpeakeable accorde and vnitie among vs the many members in his myſticall body. And though that either for lacke of habilitie, or els thorough diſtaunce of place, power and oportunitie of helpyng one an other do fayle: yet wonderfull is the workyng of Gods children through the ſpirite of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heauenly influēce from Chriſt their celeſtiall head by his ſpirite, to be meaſured ſeuerally as may ſerue to the maintenaunce of the whole body.

The true badge of Chriſt. Iohn 13.

Thus doth our faythfull prayer which we make one for an other, diſtribute and ſcatter Gods bountyfull bleſſinges both Ghoſtly and bodely, when ordinary habilitie lacketh, and when the arme may not reach forth ſuch Gods riches. Accordyng hereunto I well perceiue and vnderſtand your readynes to do good vnto all, and eſpecially I haue experience of your ready good will towardes me in your harty deſire to ſtretch out your helpyng hand to relieue my lacke, and of your helpe to be extended to me in the other ſpirituall ſorte by your good prayer, I doubt not: as I alſo therein aſſure you of my helpe, beyng all that I may do, and yet the ſame not ſo much as I would do.

Iohn 15.

Prayer diſtributeth Gods bleſſinges from one to an other.

My neede concernyng bodely neceſſaries, is as yet furniſhed by Gods prouiſion, ſo that I am not driuen to any extremitie wherfore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle beneuolence prouoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If GOD make me worthy to be his witneſſe at this preſent, in geuyng this corruptible body to burne for the teſtimony of his truth, it is enough for me to ſay vnto you that I haue a poore wife and childe whom I loue in the Lord, and whom I know for my ſake you will tender when I am departed hence. &c.

An other Letter to Maiſtres Lucy Harryngton.

An other letter of M. Saunders.

GRace & mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentymes that aboundaunce of matter bringyng with it much vehemencie of frendly affection, maketh men dumme, and euen then chiefly when there is moſt eger purpoſe of ſpeakyng, ſilence doth ſupprеſſe & cauſeth the party ſo affected, vnperfectly to expreſſe that he goeth about to vtter. Such impediment by much matter myngled with feruencie of affectiō, feele I ſometymes in my ſelfe, lettyng the vtteraūce either by toung or writing, of the aboundaunce of the hart. The loue of our moſt gracious God & heauenly father beſtowed vpon vs in the merites of his Chriſt our Sauiour, who may by concept of mynde cōprehend, paſſing in deede all vnderſtandyng: much leſſe may the ſame by any meanes bee expreſſedly vttered. And as ſuch heauēly bleſſinges which by fayth we fetch frō aboue, be inexplicable: ſo is it hard to vtter, how ẏ faythfull are ſet on fire by loue, their readynes to reach forth & to geue by charitie, as by fayth they haue receiued. But (alas) we cary this treaſure in earthen veſſels. Many tymes fayth is feeble and then loue loſeth her feruour. Pray we therfore Lord encreaſe our fayth, and loue forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thākes be geuē vnto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed vpon vs the firſt fruites of hys ſpirite, who cryeth in our hartes, Abba Father. And (as S. Paul ſayth) ſeyng we haue the ſame ſpirite of fayth, accordyng as it is written: I beleued and therfore haue I ſpokē: we alſo beleue and therfore we ſpeake: yea God knoweth this ſpirite putteth in vs a minde to ſpeake, but in attemptyng therof, we are fayne with Moſes to ſay: O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed and of vncircumciſed lippes: & with Ieremie O Lord I cā not ſpeake.

1. Cor. 4. Fayth many tymes in vs is feeble.

Rom. 8. 1. Cor. 4.

Exod. 4. Ieremie 1.

Albeit that this infancie reſtrayneth the openyng of ſuch aboundaunce of hart in my tender Chriſtian duety to be declared towardes you, yet I beſeech you let this be ſetled in your vnderſtandyng, that as S. Paule expreſſeth vnto his Corinthians that they were in his hart either to liue or to dye, with many other ſuch ſayinges vttered vnto thē & the Galathians, expreſſyng his vehement affection towardes them: ſo in ſome part I would be lyke affected towardes all Gods children, and eſpecially towardes you whom I know in Chriſt, and to whom I will not ſay, how much I am indebted. I thāke you for your great frendſhyp and tender good will towardes my wife: yea that good gracious God recompence you, whiche may worthely with the more cōtenaunce the ſame, & fulfil that which lacketh of thākeful duety in vs. And becauſe of that which heretofore I haue conceaued of you & of your more thē naturall loue towardes me and myne: I make my ſelfe thus bold to lay this burden vpon you, euen the care and charge of my ſayd poore wife I meane, to be vnto her a mother and miſtres to rule & direct her by your diſcret counſell. I know ſhe cōceaueth of you the ſame that I do, & is thākfull vnto God with me for ſuch a frend, and therfore I beſeech you euen for Chriſtes ſake, put neuer from you this frendly charge ouer her, whether I liue lōger or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thākes be to God, neither I neither ſhe haue any ſuch

M. Saunders commendeth the care of his wyfe to Maiſtres Harrington.

An. 1555. February.

extreme neede: if we had. I would be as bold with you as myne owne mother. I beseech you geue my harty salutations vnto M. Fitzwilliams and my good Lady, with thankes also for my poore wife and child: the Lord recompence them.

Laurence Saunders.

Furthermore as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his litle child, the same is liuely set forth in an other letter, which he did write to his wife: wherein he admonished her, that she should not resort much to the prison, where he was, for daunger of trouble that might ensue, the tenour of whose letter here followeth.

¶ An other letter to his wife with a certayne remembraunce to M. Harrington and M. Hurland.

An other letter of M. Saunders to hys wyfe.

GRace and comfort &c. Wife you ſhall do beſt not to come often vnto the Grate where the Porter may ſee you. Put not your ſelfe in daunger where it needes not; you ſhall I thinke, ſhortly come farre enough into daunger by keepyng fayth and a good conſcience: which (deare wife) I truſt you do not ſlacke to make rekonyng and accoumpt vppon by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of Gods moſt holy worde, beyng the ſuſtenaunce of the ſoule, and alſo by geuyng your ſelfe to humble prayer: for theſe two thynges bee the very meanes how to be made members of our Chriſt meete to inherite his kyngdome.

Do this (deare wife) in earneſt, and not leauyng of, and ſo we two ſhall with our Chriſt and all his choſen children, enioy the mery world in that euerlaſtyng immortalitie, whereas here will nothyng els be founde but extreme miſery, euen of them which moſt gredely ſeeke this worldly wealth: and ſo, if we two continue Gods children grafted in our Chriſt, the ſame Gods bleſſyng which we receaue, ſhall alſo ſettle vppon our Samuell. Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leaue the poore Infant (to our ſeeming) at all aduentures, yet ſhall he haue our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſayd and he can not lye: I will be thy God (ſayth hee) and the God of thy ſeede. Yea if you leaue him in the wildernes deſtitute of all helpe, beyng called of God to do his will either to dye for the confeſſion of Chriſt, either any worke of obediẽce: that god which heard the cry of the litle poore infant of Agar Saraes handmaydẽ and did ſuccour it, wil do the like to the child of you or any other fearyng him and puttyng your truſt in him. And if we lacke fayth (as we do in deede many tymes) let vs call for it and we ſhall haue the encreaſe both of it and alſo of any other good grace needeful for vs: and be mery in God, in whõ alſo I am very mery and ioyfull. O Lord what great cauſe of reioyſing haue we, to thinke vpon that kyngdome which he voucheth ſafe for his Chriſtes ſake, freely to geue vs, forſakyng our ſelues & folowyng hym? Deare wife this is truly to folow him, euen to take vp our croſſe and folow hym, and then as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhal we reigne with him euerlaſtyngly, Amen. Shortly, ſhortly. Amen.

Care of children in tyme of neceſſitie ought to be left to God who will not ſee them forſaken.

What it is to follow Chriſt.

¶ An other letter to his wife, to Maiſter Robert Harington, M. Hurland. &c.

An other letter of M. Saunders to his wyfe and other frendes.

GRace and comfort, &c. Deare wife reioyce in our gracious God, and his our Chriſt, and geue thankes moſt humbly and hartely to him for thys dayes worke, that in any part I moſt vnworthy wretch ſhould be made worthy to beare witnes vnto hys euerlaſtyng veritie, which Antichriſt wyth hys, by mayne force (I perceiue) and by moſt impudent pride and boaſtyng, will go about to ſuppreſſe. Remember God alway my deare wyfe, and ſo ſhall Gods bleſſing light vpon you and our Samuell. O remember alway my wordes for Chriſtes ſake: be mery and grudge not agaynſt God, and pray, pray. We be all mery here thankes be vnto God, who in hys Chriſt hath geuen vs great cauſe to be mery, by whom he hath prepared for vs ſuch a kingdom, and doth and will geue vnto vs ſome litle taſte thereof, euen in this lyfe, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to taſte it. Bleſſed (ſaith our Chriſt) be they which hunger and thirſte after righteouſnes, for ſuch ſhall be ſatiſfied. Let vs go, yea let vs runne to ſeeke ſuch treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of hart to cleaue vnto the Lord, to finde ſuch ryches in his heauenly word through hys ſpirite obtayned by prayer. My deare frendes and brethren M. Harrington & M. Hurland pray, pray. Spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma. i. The ſpirite is readye, but the fleſhe is weake. When I looke vpon my ſelfe, quid ego ſtupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, niſi illud Petri, exi a me domine quia homo peccator ſum? i. Being aſtoniſhed & confounded, what haue I els to ſay, but thoſe wordes of Peter: lord goe from me: for I am a ſinfull man? But then feele I that ſweete comfort: Lucerna pedibus meis verbum domini, & lumen ſemitis meis. & hæc mea eſt conſolatio in humilitate mea. i. The word of the Lord is a Lanterne to my feete, and a light vnto my pathes: and thys is my comfort in my trouble. Then may I bolde wyth the ſame Peter to ſay: Domine ad quem ibimus, verba vitæ æternę habes. i. Lord to whom ſhall we go? thou haſt the wordes of euerlaſtyng lyfe. Thys comfort haue I when the geuer thereof doth geue it. But I looke for battails which the roote of vnfaithfulnes, the which I feele in me, will moſt egerly geue vnto my conſcience, when we come once to the combate. We be (I wene) within the ſound of the trumpe of our enemyes. Play ye þe part of Moyſes, Orãtes in omni loco, ſuſtollẽtes puras manus. i. Praying in all places, lyfting vp pure hãdes, & Gods people ſhall preuaile: yea our bloud ſhal be their perdition which do moſt triumphantly ſpill it, & we then being in þe handes of our God, ſhall ſhine in his kingdome, and ſhall ſtand in great ſtedfaſtnes againſt them which haue dealt extremely with vs: And when theſe our enemies ſhall thus ſee vs, they ſhall be vexed with horrible feare, and ſhal wonder at the haſtines of the ſodayne health, and ſhall ſay with themſelues, hauing inward ſorow and mourning for very anguiſhe of minde: Theſe are they whõ we ſometyme had in deriſion and ieſted vpon: wee fooles thought their liues to be very madnes, and their ende to be without honour, but loe how they are accompted amonge the children of God. The bleſſing of God be with you all. &c.

Laurence Saunders.

Math. 26.

Luke. 5. Pſal. 119.

John. 6.

1. Tim. 2.

Sapien. 5.

¶ To his wife a litle before his burning.

A letter of Laurence Saunders to his wyfe.

He writeth for his ſhirte wherein he ſhould be burned.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Deare wife be mery in the mercies of our Chriſt, & ye alſo my deare frends. Pray, pray for vs euery body. We be ſhortly to be diſpatched hence vnto our good Chriſte. Amen, Amen. Wyfe I would you ſent me my ſhyrte which you know whereunto it is conſecrated. Let it be ſowed downe on both the ſides and not open. Oh my heauenly father looke vpon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or els I ſhall not be able to abyde thy countenaunce: ſuch is my filthynes. He will doe ſo, & therfore I will not be afrayde what ſinne, death, hell, & damnation can doe agaynſt me. O wyfe alwayes remember the Lord. God bleſſe you, yea he will bleſſe thee good wyfe & thy poore boy alſo: onely cleaue thou vnto hym, and hee will geue thee all thynges. Pray, pray, pray.

An other letter to M. Robert and Iohn Glouer, writtẽ the ſame morning that he was burnt.

GRace and conſolatiõ in our ſweete Sauiour Chriſt. Oh my deare brethren whom I loue in the Lord, being loued of you alſo in the Lord, be mery and reioyce for me, now ready to go vp to þe myne inheritaunce, which I my ſelfe in deede am moſt vnworthy of, but my deare Chriſt is worthy, who hath purchaſed the ſame for me with ſo deare a price. Make haſt my deare brethren, to come vnto me, that we may be mery, eo gaudio quod nemo tollet a nobis. i. with that ioy which no man ſhall take from vs. Oh wretched ſinner that I am, not thankefull vnto this my father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a veſſell vnto hys honour. But O Lord, now accept my thankes, though they proceede out of a not enough circumciſed hart. Salute my good ſiſters your wiues, & good ſiſters feare þe Lord. Salute al other that loue vs in the truth. Gods bleſſing be wyth you alwayes, Amen. Euen now towardes the offeringe of a burnt ſacrifice. O my Chriſt helpe, or els I periſh.

Laurence Saunders.

¶ After theſe godly letters of M. Saunders diuerſly diſperſed and ſent abroad to diuers of the faythfull congregation of Chriſt, as is afore to be ſeene, now in the latter end we will adioyne two other letters written not by Maiſter Saunders the martyr, but by M. Ed. Saunders þe Iuſtice his brother, ſent to thys our Saunders in priſon, although conteyning no great matter worthy to be knowen, yet to this intent that the Reader may ſee in theſe two brethren ſo ioyned in nature, & ſo deuided in Religiõ, þe word of þe Lord verified, truely ſaying: Brother ſhalbe againſt brother. &c. as by the contentes of theſe two letters folowynge may appeare.

Math. 10.

A letter of Iuſtice Saunders, to hys brother Laurence.

A letter of Iuſtice Saunders to Laurence Saunders his brother.

AFter my moſt harty commendations, theſe bene to aſſertane you that I haue ſpokẽ with M. Baſſet, who hath ſhewed mee that 4. poũd, (all deductions being allowed,) is the whole that hath come to his handes of the profite of the Prebẽdary at Yorke, the which you ſhal haue although

as he

he thinketh, it was not due vnto you by the reaſon of your depryuation: before it was due. As concernyng your conſcience in Religion, I beſeech God it may be lightened by the holy Ghoſt, and that you may haue the grace of the holy Ghoſt to folow the counſell of S. Paul to Timothe. 2. *Recte tractare verbũ veritatis.* That is. To handle rightly the word of truth. Wherein your diſſentyng from many holy and Catholicke men, eſpecially in the Sacrament, maketh me in my conſcience to condemne yours. For although I haue not hetherto fanſyed to read Peter Martyr and other ſuch. &c. yet haue I had a great deſire to ſee Theophilact and diuers others of his ſorte and opinion both notable and holy Fathers (if any credite be to be giuen to the writynges of our auncient Fathers before vs) and ſurely the ſentences and Iudgementes of two or three of them hath more confirmed my conſcience then iij. C. of the Zuinglians or as many of the Lutherians can or ſhould do. Thus in haſt willing to reliefe you to the ende you might conuert, if you ſhall neede towardes your findyng, if you ſhal require it of me, you ſhal vnfaynedly finde my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſend vs all thynges good for vs. Scribled this Thurſday by your brother and petitioner to God.

Iuſtice ſaith. Audi alteram partem.

Ed. Saunders.

An other letter of Iuſtice Saunders to his brother wherein he ſeeketh to wyn him to Popery.

Greeting with proteſtation.

AS nature and brotherly loue with godly charitie requireth, I ſend you by theſe letters (quãtum licet) moſt harty commendations, beyng ſory for your fault and your diſobedient handlyng of your ſelfe towardes my Lord Chauncellour, who I aſſure you, myndeth your good and preſeruation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to knowe whether you haue not had with you of late ſome learned mẽ to talke with you by my Lord Chãcellours appointement, and how you can frame your ſelfe to reforme your errour in the opinion of the moſt bleſſed and our moſt comfortable Sacrament of the aultar: Wherein I aſſure you I was neuer in all my lyfe more better affected than I am at this preſent, vſing to my great comfort hearyng of Maſſe, and ſomewhat before the ſacryng tyme, the meditation of S. Barnard, ſet forth in the thyrd leafe of this preſent booke. The accuſtomable vſing whereof I am fully profeſſed vnto duryng my life, and to geue more fayth vnto that confeſſion of holy Barnard, then to Luther. &c. or Latymer. &c. for that the antiquitie, the vniuerſalitie of the open Church, and the cõſent of all holy Saintes and Doctors do cõfirme the ſame, aſſertenyng you that I haue bene earneſtly moued in myne owne conſcience theſe x. or xij. dayes paſt, and alſo betwene God and my ſelfe, to moue you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſiryng you, and as you tender my naturall, godly, or frendly loue towardes you, that you would read ouer this booke this holy tyme, at my requeſt, although you haue already ſene it, and let me know wherein you cannot ſatiſfie your owne conſcience. Thus fare you well for this tyme.

He meaneth peraducture when the *Sanctus* is ſinging for then the Organs pipe merely and that may giue ſome comfort. The meditations of S. Bernard, ſent by Iuſtice Saunders to his brother,

By yours, from Seriantes Inne.
Ed. Saunders.

The lyfe and Martyrdome of M. Iohn Hooper Byſhop of Worceſter, and Gloceſter, burnt for the defence of the Goſpell at Gloceſter. Anno. 1555. Febr. 9.

The ſtory, life, and martirdome of M. John Hooper Martir.

IOhn Hooper ſtudent and graduate in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, after the ſtudy of other ſciences, wherein he had aboundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods ſecrete vocation was ſtyrred with a feruent deſire to the loue and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the readyng and ſearchyng wherof, as their lacked in hym no diligence, ioyned with earneſt prayer: ſo neither wanted vnto hym the grace of the holy Ghoſt to ſatiſfie his deſire, and to open vnto hym the light of true Diuinitie.

Thus Maiſter Hooper growyng more and more by Gods grace, in rypenes of ſpirituall vnderſtandyng, and ſhewyng withall ſome ſparckels of hys feruent ſpirite, beyng then about the begynnyng of the vj. Articles, in the tyme of kyng Henry viij. fell eftſoones in to diſpleaſure and hatred of certaine Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtyrre coales agaynſt hym, whereby, and eſpecially by the procurement of Doctour Smith, he was compelled to voyde the Vniuerſitie, and ſo remouyng from thence, was retayned in the houſe of Syr Thomas Arundell, and there was his Steward, till the time that Syr Thomas Arundell hauyng intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no caſe dyd fauour, & yet exceedyngly fauouryng the perſon and conditions of the man, founde the meanes to ſend hym in a meſſage to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, writyng his letter priuely to the Byſhop, by conference of learnyng to do ſome good vpon hym, but in any caſe requiryng hym to ſend home his ſeruaunt to hym agayne.

M. Hooper ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter after long conference with M. Hoper iiij. or v. dayes together, when he at length perceaued that neither he could do that good, which he thought, to him, nor that hee would take any good at his hand, accordyng to M. Arundels requeſt, he ſent home his ſeruaunt agayne, right well commendyng his learnyng and wytte, but yet bearyng in his breſt a grudgyng ſtomacke agaynſt Maiſter Hoper ſtill.

M. Hooper forced to auoyd the houſe of Sir Thomas Arundel.

M. Hooper flyeth agayn out of England.

It folowed not long after this, (as malice is alwayes workyng miſchief) that intelligence was giuen to Maiſter Hoper to prouide for hymſelfe, for daunger that was workyng agaynſt hym. Whereupon M. Hoper leauyng M. Arundels houſe, and borowyng an horſe of a certaine frend (whoſe lyfe he had ſaued a little before from the gallowes) tooke hys iourney to the Sea ſide, to go to Fraunce, ſendyng backe the horſe agayne by one, which in deede did not deliuer him to the owner. M. Hoper beyng at Paris, taryed there not long, but in ſhort tyme returned into England agayne, and was retayned of M. Sentlow, till the tyme that he was agayne moleſted and layd for: whereby he was compelled (vnder the pretence of beyng Captaine of a ſhyp goyng to Ireland) to take the Seas, and ſo eſcaped he (although not without extreme perill of drownyng) through Fraunce, to the hygher partes of Germany. Where he entryng acquaintaũce with the learned men, was of them frẽdly and louyngly entertayned, both at Baſil, and eſpecially at Zuricke of Maiſter Bullinger, beyng his ſingular frend. Where alſo he maryed his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applyed very ſtudiouſly the Hebrue toung.

Great freendſhip betweene M. Bullinger and M. Hooper.

At length when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloudy tyme of the vj. Articles, and to geue vs kyng Edward to raigne ouer this Realme, with ſome peace and reſt vnto his Goſpell, amongeſt many other Engliſh exiles, which then repayred homeward, M. Hooper alſo, moued in cõſcience, thought not to abſent hymſelfe, ſeyng ſuch a tyme and occaſion offered to helpe forward the Lordes worke, to the vttermoſt of his habilitie. And ſo commyng to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintaunce in Zuricke (as duty required) to geue them thankes for their ſingular kyndnes and humanitie toward hym manifold wayes declared, with lyke humanitie agayne purpoſed to take his leaue of them at his departyng, and ſo dyd. Vnto whõ M. Bullinger agayne (who had alwayes a ſpeciall fauour to M. Hoper) ſpake on this wiſe:

M. Bullingers wordes to M. Hooper at his departing from Zurick.

M. Hooper (ſayd he) although we are ſory to part with your company for our owne cauſe, yet much greater cauſes we haue to reioyce, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſtes true Religion, that you ſhall now returne out of long baniſhment vnto your natiue countrey agayne, where not onely you may enioy your owne priuate libertie, but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſtes Church by you may fare the better as we doubt not but it ſhall.

An other cauſe moreouer why we reioyce with you and for you, is this, that you ſhall remoue not onely out of exile, into libertie: but you ſhall leaue here a baren, a ſower, and an vnpleaſaũt countrey, rude & ſauage, and ſhall go into a land flowyng wt milke & hony, repleniſhed wt all pleaſure and fertilitie. Notwithſtandyng with this our reioyſing, one feare and care we haue, leſt you beyng abſent, and ſo farre diſtant from vs, or els commyng to ſuch aboũdaunce of wealth and felicitie, in your new welfayre, and plenty of all thyngs, and in your floriſhyng honours, where ye ſhall come peraduenture to be a biſhop, and where ye ſhal finde ſo many newe frẽdes, you will forget vs your old acquaintaũce & welwillers. Neuertheles howſoeuer you ſhall forget & ſhake vs of, yet this perſwade your ſelfe, that we will not forget our old frend and fellow M. Hooper. And if you ſhall pleaſe not to forget vs agayne, then I pray you let vs heare from you.

The anſwere of Maiſter Hooper to Maiſter Bullinger.

Whereunto M. Hoper aunſweryng agayne, firſt gaue to M. Bullinger and the reſt right harty thankes, for that their ſingular good will, and vndeſerued affection, appearyng not onely now, but at all tymes towardes hym: declaryng moreouer that as the principall cauſe of hys remouyng to his countrey was the matter of Religion: ſo touchyng the vnpleaſauntnes and barennes of that cõtrey of theirs, there was no cauſe therein, why he could not finde in his hart to continue his lyfe there, as ſoone as in any place in the world, and rather then in his owne natiue countrey, if their were nothyng els in his conſcience that moued hym ſo to do. And as touchyng the forgettyng of his old frendes, although (ſayd hee) the remembraunce of a mans countrey naturally doth delyght hym, neither could he deny, but God had bleſſed hys countrey of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of countrey, nor pleaſure of commodities, nor newneſſe of frendes ſhould euer induce him to the obliuiõ of ſuch frendes and benefactours, whom he was ſo intirely boũde vnto: and therfore you ſhal be ſure (ſayd he) from tyme to tyme to heare from me, and I will wryte vnto you as it goeth with me. But the laſt newes of all I ſhal not be able to wryte: for there (ſayd he, takyng M. Bullynger by the hand) where I ſhall take moſt paynes, there ſhall you heare of me to be burned to aſhes: and that ſhalbe the laſt newes which I ſhall not be able to wryte vnto you, but you ſhall heare it of me. &c.

M. Hoper propheſyeth of him ſelf.

To this alſo may be added an other lyke propheticall demonſtration, foreſhewyng before the maner of his Martyrdome wherewith he ſhould glorifie God, which was this: when M. Hooper beyng made Byſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter ſhould haue his Armes geuen him by the Harold, as the maner is here in England, euery Byſhop to haue his armes aſſigned vnto him (whether by the appoyntment of M. Hoper, or by the Harold I haue not certeinly to ſay) but the Armes which were to him allotted was this: a Lambe in a fiery buſh, and the Sunne beames from heauen deſcendyng downe vpon the Lambe, rightly denotyng (as it ſeemed) the order of his ſufferyng, which afterward folowed.

A note of M. Hoopers armes preſignyfiyng his Martirdom.

But now to the purpoſe of our ſtory agayn: Thus whē maiſter Hoper had take his farewell of M. Bullinger and his frendes in Zuricke, he made his repayre agayne into England in the reigne of kyng Edward vj. where he commyng to London vſed continually to preach, moſt tymes twyſe, at leaſt once euery day, and neuer fayled.

M. Hooper returneth again in to England.

In his Sermons, accordyng to his accuſtomed maner, he corrected ſinne, and ſharpely inueyed agaynſt the iniquitie of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the Church. The people in great flockes and companies, dayly came to heare his voyce, as the moſt melodious ſounde and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the Prouerbe ſayth: In ſomuch that often tymes, when he was preachyng, the Church ſhould be ſo full, that none could enter further then the doores therof. In his doctrine he was earneſt, in tong eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in paynes indefatigable.

The notable diligēce of M. Hoper in preachyng.

Moreouer, beſides other his giftes and qualities, this is in hym to be marueled, that euen as he began, ſo he continued ſtill vnto his lyues end. For neither could his labour and payne takyng breake him, neither promotion chaunge him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His lyfe was ſo pure and good, that no kinde of ſclaunder (although diuers went about to reproue it) could faſtē any fault vpon him. He was of body ſtrong, his health whole & ſound, his wit very pregnant, his inuincible patience able to ſuſtaine what ſoeuer ſiniſter fortune and aduerſitie could do. He was conſtaunt of iudgement, a good Iuſticer, ſpare of dyet, ſparer of wordes, & ſpareſt of tyme. In houſekeepyng very liberall, and ſome tyme more free then his lyuing would extēd vnto. Briefly, of all thoſe vertues and qualities required of S. Paule in a good B. in his Epiſtle to Timothe, I know not one in this good B. lackyng. He bare in countenaūce & talke alwayes a certaine ſeuere & graue grace, which might peraduēture be wiſhed ſometimes to haue bene a litle more populare & vulgarlike in him: but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelfe.

The ſingular vertues of M. Hoper deſcribed.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizē, & to me not vnknowen, which hauing in himſelfe a certaine conflict of cōſcience, came to his doore for coūſell: but beyng abaſhed at his auſtere behauiour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeekyng remedy of his troubled mynde at other mens handes, whiche he afterward by the helpe of almighty God did finde & obtaine. Therefore in my iudgement, ſuch as are appointed & made gouernours ouer the flocke of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their lyfe, maners, countenaunce, and externall behauiour, as neither they ſhewe themſelues to familiar and light, whereby to be brought in contempt, nor on the other ſide agayne, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, then appertayneth to the edifying of the ſimple flocke of Chriſt. Neuertheles, as euery man hath his peculiar gift wrought in hym by nature, ſo this diſpoſition of fatherly grauitie in this man neither was exceſſiue, neither dyd he beare that perſonage which was in him without great conſideration. For it ſeemed to hym peraduenture, that this licentious and vnbrideled lyfe of the common ſorte, ought to be chaſtened, not onely with wordes and diſcipline, but alſo with the graue and ſeuere countenaunce of good men.

Diſcretion how miniſters and preachers ought to behaue them ſelues.

After he had thus practiſed himſelfe in this popular and common kynde of preachyng: at length, and that not without the great profite of many, he was called to preach before the kynges Maieſtie, and ſoone after, made Byſhop of Gloceſter by the kynges commaundement. In that office he continued two yeares, and behaued hymſelfe ſo well, that his very enemyes (except it were for hys good doynges, and ſharpe correctyng of ſinne) could finde no fault with hym: and after that he was made Byſhop of Worceſter.

M. Hooper made Biſhop of Gloceſter and Worceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter & vnlucky contention concernyng the orderyng and conſecration of Byſhops, & of their apparell, with ſuch other like trifles, began to diſturbe the good and lucky beginnyng of thys godly Byſhop. For notwithſtandyng that godly reformatiō of religion then begon in the Church of England, beſides other ceremonyes, more ambitious then profitable or tendyng to edification, they vſed to weare ſuch garmentes and apparell as the popiſhe Byſhops were wont to doe: firſt a Chymere, and vnder that a white Rochet: then a Mathematicall cap wyth iiij. angels, diuidyng the whole worlde into foure partes. Theſe trifles tendyng more to ſuperſtition then otherwiſe, as he could neuer abyde, ſo in no wyſe coulde he be perſwaded to weare them. For thys cauſe he made ſupplication to the kyngs Maieſtie, moſt humbly deſiryng his highnes, either to diſcharge hym of the Byſhopricke, or els to diſpenſe wyth him for ſuch ceremoniall orders. Whoſe petition the kyng graunted immediatly, wrytinge hys letter to the Archb. after thys tenour.

Popiſh attire.

¶ The kinges letters or grant for the diſpenſation of Iohn Hooper elected byſhop of Gloceſter, written to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury and other Byſhops.

The kings letter to the Archbiſhop in the behalf of maiſter Hooper.

Right reuerend father, and ryght truſty and welbeloued, we grete you well. Whereas we by the aduiſe of our Counſail, haue called and choſen our right welbeloued & well worthy M. Iohn Hooper, profeſſor of Diuinitie, to be our Byſhop of Glouceſter: as wel for his great knowledge, deepe iudgement, and long ſtudy both in the ſcriptures & other prophane learning, as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready vtterance, & honeſt lyfe for that kynde of vocatiō: to the intent all our louing ſubiectes which are in his ſaid charge and elſwhere, myght by his ſound and true doctrine, learne the better their dutie towardes God, their obedience towardes vs, and loue towards their neighbours: from conſecratyng of whom we vnderſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would haue you omitte and let paſſe certayne rites and ceremonies offenſiue to his conſcience, wherby ye thynke you ſhould fall in Premunire of lawes: we haue thought good by the aduiſe aforeſayd, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all maner of daungers, penalties, and forfaitures you ſhould run & be in any maner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhalbe your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therfore.

Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our Caſtell of Wyndſore, the 5. of Auguſt, the 4. yeare of our raigne.

Ed. Somerſet. W. Paget.
W. Wiltſhire. A. Wingfield.
W. North. N. Wotton.

Beſides thys letter of the kyng, alſo the Earle of Warwicke (which was afterward Duke of Northumberlād) adioyned hys letter to the foreſayd Archb. of Cant. to thys purpoſe and effect, that M. Hooper might not be burdened with ẏ oth vſed then cōmonly in the conſecratiō of byſhops, which was agaynſt hys conſcience: as by the purporte of the letter here is to be ſeene, as foloweth.

A letter of the Earle of Warwick to the Archb. in the behalf of maiſter Hooper.

After my moſt harty commendations to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable thinges, wherein thys bearer my Lord electe of Gloceſter craueth to be borne wythall at your handes, you would wyteſafe to ſhew hym your graces fauour the rather at this my inſtaunce: which thyng partly, I haue taken in hand by the kinges Maieſties owne motion. The matter is wayed by hys hyghnes: none other but that your grace may facily cōdeſcend vnto. The principall cauſe is that you woulde not charge thys ſayd bearer wyth an oth bourdinous to his conſcience. And ſo for lacke of tyme I committe your grace to the tuition of almighty God. From Weſtminſter the xxiij. of Iuly. 1550.

Your graces moſt aſſured louing frend.
I. Warwike.

¶ Both thys graunt of the king, & alſo the Earles letters aforeſayd notwithſtanding, the byſhops ſtill ſtoode earneſtly in the defence of ẏ foreſayd ceremonies, ſaying it was but a ſmall matter, & that the fault was in the abuſe of the thynges, and not in the thynges themſelues: addyng moreouer, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubburne in ſo light a matter and that his wilfulnes therin was not to be ſuffered.

The kings requeſt nor the Earles could take effect.

To be ſhort, whyleſt both parties thus contended about thys matter more then reaſon would, in ẏ meane tyme occaſiō was geuē, as to ẏ true Chriſtiās to lamēt, ſo to the aduerſary to reioyce. In cōcluſiō, this Theologicall cōtētiō came to this end, ẏ the byſhops hauing ẏ vpper hand, M. Hooper was faine to agree to this cōditiō, that ſometimes

Diſcord about rituall garments of churchmen.

M. Hooper fain to agree to the Biſhops.

ſhould in his ſermon ſhew hym ſelfe apparelled as the other Biſhops were. Wherfore, appoynted to preache before the king as a newe player in a ſtraunge apparell, he commeth forth on the ſtage. His vpper garment was a long ſcarlet Chymere downe to the foot, and vnder that a white linnen Rochet that couered al his ſhoulders. Vpon his head he had a Geometrical, that is, a foure ſquared cappe, albeit that his head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtrangenes hereof was that day to that good preacher, euery man may eaſily iudge. But this priuate contumely and reproch in reſpect of the publike profite of the Churche, whiche he onely ſought, he bare and ſuffred paciently. And I woulde to God in like maner, they whiche tooke vpon them the other part of that tragedie, had yelded their priuate cauſe, what ſoeuer it was, to the publike concorde and edifying of the Church: for no man in al the citie, was one heare the better for that hote contention.

M. Hooper compelled to preach before the king in Biſhop like aparel.

I wyl name no body, partly for that his oppugners being afterwardes ioyned in the moſte ſure frendſhip with hym, in one & for one cauſe, ſuffered martyrdome: and partly for that I commonly vſe according to my accuſtomed maner, to keepe my penne from preſumptuous iudging of any perſon: yet I thought to note the thing for this conſideration, to admoniſh the reader hereby, how wholeſome and neceſſary the Croſſe of Chriſt is ſometyme in the Churche of Chriſt, as by the ſequele hereof did afterwarde appeare. For as in a ciuil gouernance and common wealth, nothing is more occaſion of warre, then ouermuche peace: ſo in the Churche and among Churchmen, as nothing is more pernitious then too much quietnes, ſo nothing more ceaſeth priuate contentions oftentymes riſing amongeſt them, then the publike croſſe of perſecution.

The croſſe maketh peace.

Furthermore, ſo I perſwaded my ſelfe, the ſame not to be vnexpedient, to haue extant ſuch examples of holy and bleſſed men. For if it do not a litle appertaine to our publike conſolation and comfort, when we reade in the ſcriptures of the foule diſſenſion betwene Paul and Barnabe: of the fall of Peter, and of Dauids murder and adulterie: why may or ſhoulde it not be as well profitable for our poſteritie, to heare and knowe the falles of theſe godly martyrs, whereby we may the leſſe diſpaire in our infirmitie, conſidering the ſame or greater infirmities to raigne in the holy Saintes of God, both Prophetes, Apoſtles and Martyrs.

The falles and infirmityes of holy Saints and Martirs left for our conſolation.

And this by the way, thou haſt heard (good reader) hitherto the weaknes of theſe good mẽ, playnly and ſimply, as the truth was, declared vnto thee, to the end their fall may miniſter occaſion to vs, eyther of eſchewing the like, or els to take hart and comfort in the like fall and fraylenes of ours. Now againe on the other part it remayneth to record after the foreſaid diſcorde, the godly reconciliations of theſe good men in time of perſecution, who afterward being in priſon for the truthes ſake, reconciled them ſelues againe with moſt godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter ſent by Biſhop Ridly, to the ſaid biſhop of Gloceſter. The copie wherof, as it was written with his owne hand in Latine, hereafter foloweth, tranſlated into Engliſh.

Note how diſcord and recõſiliation happeneth many times amongſt good men.

¶ To my deare brother and reuerende felowe Elder in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper, grace and peace.

My dearly beloued brother and felowe Elder, whom I reuerence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeeche you, that hytherto ſince your captiuitie and myne, I haue not ſaluted you by my letters: wheras (I doo in deede confeſſe) I haue receyued from you (ſuche was your gentlenes) two letters at ſundrye tymes: but yet at ſuche tymes as I coulde not be ſuffered to write vnto you againe: or if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt howe my letters might ſafely come vnto your handes. But nowe my deare brother, for as much as I vnderſtand by your workes, which I haue but ſuperficially ſeene, that wee throughly agree and wholy conſent together in thoſe thinges whiche are the groundes and ſubſtantial poyntes of our Religion, againſt the whiche the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our dayes: how ſoeuer in tyme paſt in certaine bymatters and circũſtaunces of Religion, your wiſedome and my ſimplicitie (I graũt) hath a litle iarred, ech of vs folowing the abũdance of his owne ſenſe and iudgement: nowe (I ſay) be you aſſured, that euen with my whole hart (God is my witnes) in the bowels of Chriſte, I loue you in the truth and for the truthes ſake, which abideth in vs, and (as I am perſwaded) ſhall by the grace of God, abide in vs for euermore.

A letter of reconſiliation ſent by D. Redley to Biſhop Hooper.

And becauſe the worlde, as I perceiue brother, ceaſeth not to playe his pageaunt, and buſily conſpireth againſte Chriſt our Saueour, with al poſſible force and power, Exalting high thinges againſt the knowledge of God: let vs ioyne handes together in Chriſte, and if we can not ouerthrowe, yet to our power, and as muche as in vs lyeth, let vs ſhake thoſe high altitudes, not with carnall, but with ſpiritual weapons: and withall brother, let vs prepare our ſelues to the day of our diſſolution, by the which after the ſhort tyme of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our lord Ieſus Chriſt, we ſhall triumph together with hym in eternall glory.

1. Cor. 10. D. Ridley and Biſhop Hooper ioyne handes togither.

I pray you brother, ſalute in my name your reuerende felow priſoner and venerable father D. Cran. by whom ſince the firſt daye that I hearde of his moſte godly and fatherly conſtancie, in confeſſing the truth of the goſpel, I haue conceyued great conſolation and ioy in the Lord. For the integritie and vprigthnes of that man, his grauitie and innocencie all Englande I thinke hath knowen long agoe. Bleſſed be God therfore, which in ſuch abundance of iniquitie and decay of all godlynes, hath geuen vnto vs in this reuerende olde age, ſuche a witnes for the truth of his Goſpell. Miſerable and harde harted is he, whom the godlynes and conſtant confeſſion of ſo woorthy, ſo graue, and innocent a man, wyll not moue to acknowledge and confeſſe the truth of God.

I do not now brother require you to write any thyng to me againe: for I ſtand much in feare leſt your letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my handes. Neuertheles know you, that it ſhal be to me great ioy to heare of your conſtancie and fortitude in the Lordes quarrel. And albeit I haue not hytherto written vnto you, yet haue I twiſe (as I coulde) ſent vnto you my mynde touchyng the matter whiche in your letters you required to knowe. Neyther can I, yet brother, be otherwiſe perſwaded: I ſee me thynkes ſo many peryls, wherby I am earneſtly moued to coũſel you not to haſtẽ the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially vnder the title of your own name. For I feare greatly leaſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, & al things taken away from the reſt of the priſoners, wherby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to doo good to many. Farewell in the Lorde my moſte deare brother: and if there be any moe in priſon with you for Chriſtes cauſe, I beſeeche you, as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I doo moſt humbly & hartyly commende my ſelfe and my felowe priſoners and concaptiues in the Lorde, and yet once againe, and for euer in Chriſt, my moſt deare brother, farewel.

N. Rydley.

M. Hooper, after all theſe tumultes and vexations ſuſteyned about his inueſting and prieſtly veſtures, at length entring into his Dioces, dyd there employ his tyme which the Lorde lent hym vnder king Edwardes raigne, with ſuch diligence, as may be a ſpectacle to al Biſhops, whiche ſhal euer hereafter ſucceede him, not only in that place, but in what ſoeuer Dioces through the whole Realme of England, ſo carefull was he in his Cure, that he leaft neyther paynes vntaken, nor wayes vnſought, how to traine vp the flocke of Chriſte in the true worde of ſaluation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other men commonly are woont for lucre or promotions ſake, to aſpire to Biſhopprikes, ſome huntyng for them, and ſome purchaſing or bying them, as men vſe to purchaſe Lordſhips, and when they haue them, are loth to leaue them, and therupõ alſo loth to commit that thyng by worldly lawes, wherby to looſe them.

D. Ridley reioyſeth to heare of B. Hoopers conſtancy.

To this ſort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrary, who abhorred nothing more then gaine, labouring alwayes to ſaue and preſerue the ſoules of his flocke. Who beyng Biſhop of two Dioceſſes, ſo ruled and guided either of the and both together, as though he had in charge but one familie. No father in his houſhold, no gardiner in his garden, nor huſbandman in his vineyarde was more or better occupied, then he in his Dioces amongeſt his flocke, goyng a about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

The diligent care of B. Hooper in his dioces.

That tyme that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed eyther in hearing publike cauſes, or els in priuate ſtudy, prayer, and viſiting of Schooles. With his continuall doctrine, he adioyned due & diſcrete correction, not ſo much ſeuere to any, as to them whiche for abundance of riches & welthy ſtate, thought they might do what they liſted. And doubtles he ſpared no kind of people, but was indifferent to al men, as wel rich as poore, to the great ſhame of no ſmall number of men nowe adayes. Whereof many we doo ſee ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and riche men, that in the meane time they haue no regard to the meaner ſort of poore people, whom Chriſte hath bought as dearely as the other. But nowe againe we wyll returne our talke to M. Hooper, al whoſe lyfe in fine was ſuch, that to the Churche and al Churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the reſt a perpetuall leſſon and ſermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Biſhop he was, ye may conceiue and knowe euidently

M. Hooper B. of two Dioceſ. M. Hooper a light to al church men.

dently by this: that euen as he was hated of none but of them which were euyl, ſo yet the worſt of them al could not reproue his life in any one iote.

The order and gouernaunce of M. Hoopers houſe.

The care of M. Hooper in inſtructing his family.

I haue now declared his vſage and behauiour abroade in the publike affayres of the Church: and certainly there appeared in hym at home no leſſe example of a worthy Prelates life. For although he beſtowed and conuerted the moſt part of his care vpon the publike flocke and congregation of Chriſt, for the which alſo he ſpent his bloud: yet neuertheleſſe there lacked no prouiſion in hym, to bryng vp his own children in learnyng, and good maners: euen ſo muche, that ye could not diſcerne whether he deſerued more prayſe for his fatherly vſage at home, or for his Biſhoply doynges abroade. For euery where he kept one Religion in one vniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entred into the Biſhops pallace, you would ſuppoſe to haue entred into ſome Church or Temple. In euery corner thereof there was ſome ſmel of vertue, good example, honeſt conuerſation, and readyng of holy Scriptures. There was not to be ſeene in his houſe any Courtly royſtyng or idleneſſe: no pompe at all, no diſhoneſt worde, no ſwearyng could there be heard.

The hoſpitalitie of M. Hooper.

As for the reuenues of both his Biſhoprikes, although they dyd not greatly exceede, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing ſurmounted therof, he purſed nothing, but beſtowed it in hoſpitalitie. Twiſe I was (as I remember) in his houſe in Worceſter, where in his common hall, I ſawe a table ſpread with good ſtore of meate, and beſet ful of beggers and poore folke: and I aſking his ſeruants what this meant, they told me, that euery day their Lordes maſters manner was, to haue cuſtomably to dinner, a certaine number of poore folke of the ſaid citie by courſe, who were ſerued by foure at a meſſe, with hot and wholeſome meates: and when they were ſerued (being afore examined by hym or his deputies, of the Lordes prayer, the articles of their fayth, and ten Commaundementes) then he hym ſelfe ſate downe to dinner, and not before.

M. Hooper called vp to Londō at Queene Maryes cōming in.

After this ſort and maner M. Hooper executed the office of a moſt carefull and vigilant Paſtor, by the ſpace of two yeares and more, ſo long as the ſtate of Religion in kyng Edwardes tyme dyd ſafely floriſhe and take place: and woulde God that all other Biſhops would vſe the like diligence, care, and obſeruance in their function. After this kyng Edward beyng dead, & Mary beyng crowned queene of England, Religion being ſubuerted & changed, this good Biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a Purſiuant to be at London, and that for two cauſes.

Two cauſes why M. Hooper was called vp.

Firſt to anſwere to Doct. Heath, then appoynted Biſhop of that Dioceſ, who was before in kyng Edwardes dayes depriued therof for Papiſtry.

Secondaryly to render account to Doctor Boner Biſhop of London, for that he in king Edwardes tyme was one of his accuſers, in that he ſhewed hym ſelfe not conformable to ſuch ordinances as were preſcribed to hym by the kyng and his Counſayle, openly at Paules Croſſe. And although the ſaid M. Hooper was not ignoraunt of the euyls that ſhould happen towardes hym (for he was admoniſhed by certayne of his frendes to get hym away, and ſhift for hym ſelfe) yet he would not preuent them, but tarryed ſtyll, ſaying: once I dyd flee and tooke me to my feete: but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perſwaded to tary, and to liue and dye with my ſheepe.

M. Hooper refuſed to flye away

M. Hooper commeth vp to London.

M. Hooper charged to aunſwere the Queene for bonds of det.

And when at the day of his appearaunce (which was the firſt of September) he was come to London, before he could come to the foreſaid Doctor Heath and Boner, he was intercepted & commaunded violently againſt his wyll to appeare before the Queene and her Counſayle, to anſweare to certayne bondes and obligations, wherein they ſaide he was bounde vnto her. And when he came before them, Wincheſter by & by receyued hym very opprobriouſly, and raylyng and rating of hym, accuſed hym of Religion. He agayne freely and boldly tolde his tale, and purged hym ſelfe. But in fine it came to this concluſion, that he was by them commaunded to ward (it being declared vnto him at his departure, that the cauſe of his impriſonment was onely for certayne ſummes of money, for the which he was indebted to the Queene, and not for religion.) This howe falſe and vntrue it was, ſhall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

M. Hooper commaunded to warde.

M. Hooper depriued of his Biſhopricks.

The next yeare, beyng. 1554. the. 19. of Marche, he was called agayne to appeare before Wincheſter, & other ẏ Queenes Commiſſioners: where, what for the Biſhop, and what for the vnruly multitude, when he coulde not be permitted to pleade his cauſe, he was depriued of his Biſhoprikes. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now foloweth to be ſeene by the teſtimonie and report of one, which being preſent at the doing, committed the ſame to writyng.

¶ A letter or report of a certayne godly man declaring the order of M. Hoopers depriuation frō his Biſhoprike. An. 1554. March. 19.

A letter reporting the order of M. Hoopers depriuation.

FOr ſo much as a rumor is ſpread abroade of the talke had at my Lord Chancelors, betwene hym with other Commiſſioners there appoynted, and maſter Hooper, cleane contrary to the veritie and truth therof in deed, and therfore to be iudged rather to be ryſen of malice, for the diſcredityng of the truth by falſe ſuggeſtions and euyll reportes, then otherwiſe, I thought it my ductie, being preſent thereat my ſelfe, in writyng to ſet forth the whole effecte of the ſame: partly that the veritie therof may be knowen to the doubtful people, and partly alſo to aduertiſe them, how vncharitably maſter Hooper was handled at their handes: which with all humilitie vſed hym ſelfe towardes them, deſiryng that with pacience he might haue ben permitted to ſpeake: aſſuryng all men, that where I ſtoode in a mammering and doubt, whiche of theſe two Religions to haue credited, either that ſet forth by the kinges maieſtie that dead is, or els that nowe maynteyned by the Queenes maieſtie, their vnreuerend behaueour towardes M. Hooper, doth moue me the rather to credite his doctrine, thē that which they with raylyng & cruel wordes defended, conſidering that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this which I haue written here, was the effect of their talke, as I acknowledge it to be true my ſelfe: ſo I appeale to all the hearers conſciences, that there were preſent, (ſo they put affection away) for the witnes to the ſame.

¶ The Biſhops of Wint. of London, of Dureſme, of Landaffe, of Chicheſter, ſate as Commiſſioners.

Lord Chauncelour.

AT M. Hoopers commyng in, the Lord Chauncelor aſked whether he was maryed.

M. Hooper examined before the Cōmiſſioners.

Hooper. Yea, my Lord, & wyl not be vnmaryed, tyl death vnmary me.

Dureſme. That is matter enough to depriue you.

Hooper. That it is not my Lord, except ye do againſt the lawe.

The matter concernyng maryage was no more talked of then for a great ſpace: but as well the Commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch outcryes, & laughed, and vſed ſuch geſture as was vnſeemely for the place, and for ſuch a matter. The Biſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Day called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and ſcornful countenance. Bekonſall called hym beaſt: ſo dyd Smyth one of the Clerkes of the Counſayle, and diuers other that ſtood by. At length the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaide, that all men might liue chaſte that woulde, and brought in this text: Caſtrauerunt ſe propter regnum cælorum. i. There be that haue gelded thē ſelues for the kingdome of heauen. Math. 19.

Bleſſed be you when they ſhall ſpeake all reuiling wordes againſt you for my names ſake.

M. Hooper ſaid, that text proued not that al men could lyue chaſte, but ſuch onely to whom it was geuen: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamor and cry, mocking & ſcornyng, with callyng hym beaſt, that the text coulde not be examined. Then M. Hooper ſaid, that it dyd appeare by the olde Canons, that marriage was not forbydden vnto prieſtes, and named the Decrees. But the biſhop of Wincheſter ſent for an other part, namely the Clementines, or the Extrauagantes. But M. Hooper ſaid, that booke was not it which he named.

Prieſts mariage not forbid by the olde Canōs.

Then cryed out the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſayde: You ſhall not haue any other, vntyll ye be iudged by this. And then began ſuche a noyſe, tumult, and ſpeakyng together of a great many that fauoured not the cauſe, that nothyng was done ne ſpoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwardes Iudge Morgan beganne to rayle at M. Hooper a long tyme, with many opprobrious and fowle wordes of his doyng at Glocceſter, in puniſhing of men, and ſaid, ther was neuer ſuch a tyrant as he was. After that D. Day biſhop of Chicheſter ſaid, that the Cōcel of Ancyra, which was before the Councel of Nice, was againſt the marriage of Prieſtes.

This Morgan ſhortly after fel into a phrenſy, and madnes and dyed of the ſame.

Then cryed out my Lord Chauncelor, and many with hym, that M. Hooper had neuer read the Councels.

Yea my Lord (quoth maſter Hooper) and my Lord of Chicheſter Doctor Day knoweth that the great Councel of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no Miniſter ſhoulde be ſeparated from his wyfe. But ſuche clamours and cryes were vſed, that the Councel of Nice was not ſeene.

The councel of Nice permitteth prieſts mariage.

After

1555. Febru.

After this long brutiſh talke, Tonſtall Byſhop of Dureſme aſked M. Hooper, whether he beleued the corporall preſence in the Sacrament. And maiſter Hooper ſaid plainly that there was none ſuch, neither did he beleue any ſuche thing.

Then would the biſhop of Dureſme haue red out of a booke for his purpoſe beſides (what booke it was, I can not tel:) but there was ſuch a noyſe and confuſe talke on euery ſide, that he dyd not reade it. Then aſked Wincheſter of M. Hooper, what authoritie moued hym not to beleue the corporall preſence? He ſaid, the authoritie of Gods word, and alleged this text: Quem oportet cælum ſuſcipere, vſq; ad tempus reſtaurationis omnium. i. Whom heauen muſt hold, vntyl the latter day.

The corporal preſence.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter would haue made that text to haue ſerued nothing for his purpoſe, and he ſaid, he might be in heauen, and in the ſacrament alſo.

Maiſter Hooper would haue ſaid more to haue opened the text, but al men that ſtoode next about the Biſhop, alowed ſo his ſaying with clamours and cryes, that Mayſter Hooper was not permitted to ſaye any more agaynſt the Biſhop. Whereupon they bade the Notaries wryte that he was maryed, and ſayd, that he would not go from his wife, and that he beleued not the corporall preſence in the ſacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be depriued from his Biſhopricke.

Articles taken agaynſt M. Hooper.

This is the truth of the matter (as farre as I can truly remember) of the confuſe & troubleſome talke that was betweene them, and except it were halfe and vncharitable wordes, this is the whole matter of their talke, at that time. Atque hæc ille hactenus.

The true report of M. Hoopers entertaynement in the Fleete, written with his owne hande, the ſeuenth of Ianuary. 1554.

M. Hoopers report of his impriſonment in the Fleete.

The firſt of September. 1553. I was committed vnto the Fleete from Richmount, to haue the libertie of the priſon: and within ſixe dayes after, I payd for my libertie fiue poundes ſterling to the Warden for fees: who immediatly vpon the payment therof, complained vnto Ste. Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, & ſo was I committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a yeare, in the Tower chamber of the Fleete, vſed very extremely. Then by þ meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had libertie to come downe to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeake with any of my frendes: but as ſoone as dinner and ſupper was done, to repayre to my chamber againe. Notwithſtanding whileſt I came downe thus to dinner and ſupper, the Warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complayned vntruely of me, to their great frend the biſhop of Wincheſter.

This good gentlewoman is thought to be Miſtres Wilkinſon.

After one quarter of a yeare and ſomewhat more, Babington the Warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked Maſſe: and thereupon the Warden reſorted to the biſhop of Wincheſter, & obteyned to put me into the wardes, where I haue cõtinued a lõg tyme, hauing nothing appoynted to me for my bed, but a litle pad of ſtrawe, and a rotten couering with a tycke and a fewe feathers therin, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, vntyll by Gods meanes good people ſent me bedding to lie in. Of the one ſide of which priſon is the ſinke, and filth of the houſe, and on the other ſide, the towne diche: ſo that the ſtenche of the houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes.

Babington Warden of the Fleete a wicked tyrant to Gods people.

During which time I haue ben ſicke: and the doores, barres, haſpes, and chaynes being all cloſed, and made faſt vpon me, I haue mourned, called and cryed for helpe. But the Warden, when he hath knowen me many tymes ready to dye, and when the poore men of the wardes haue called to helpe me, hath commaunded the doores to be kept faſt, & charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying: let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And among many other tymes, he did thus the. 18. of Octob. 1553. as many can witneſſe.

The barbarous cruelty of the Warden of the Fleete.

I payed alwayes like a Baron, to the ſaid Warden, aſwell in fees, as for my boord, which was. xx. ſhillinges a weeke, beſides my mans table, vntyl I was wrongfully depriued of my Biſhopricke: and ſithens that tyme I haue payed hym as the beſt Gentlemã doth in his houſe; yet hath he vſed me worſe & more vilely, then the verieſt ſlaue that euer came to the hal Commons.

The ſaid Warden hath alſo impriſoned my man William Downton, and ſtripped him out of his clothes to ſearch for letters, and could find none but only a litle remembrance of good peoples names, that gaue me their almes to releue me in priſon: and to vndoo them alſo, the Warden deliuered the ſame byll vnto the ſaid Ste. Gardiner, Gods enemie and myne.

W. Downton M. Hoopers man.

I haue ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteene monethes, my goodes, liuyng, frendes, and comfort taken from me, the Queene owyng me by iuſt accompt foure ſcore poundes or more. Shee hath put me in priſon, and geueth nothing to finde me, neither is there ſuffred any to come at me, wherby I might haue releefe. I am with a wicked man & woman, ſo that I ſee no remedie (ſauing Gods helpe) but I ſhal be caſt away in priſon before I come to iudgement. But I commit my iuſt cauſe to God, whoſe wyl be done, whether it be by life or death. This muche wrote he hym ſelfe of this matter.

M. Hooper. 18. monethes in priſon.

Q. Mary indebted to Maiſter Hooper.

¶ An other examination of M. Hooper.

The. xxij. of January folowyng, 1555. Babington the warden of the Fleete was commaunded to bring Maiſter Hooper before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with other Biſhoppes and Commiſſioners at the ſaide Wincheſters houſe at S. Mary Oueries, wherein in effect thus much was done.

M. Hooper agayne conuented before the biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the name of hym ſelfe and the reſt, moued Maiſter Hooper earneſtly, to forſake the euyll and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the dayes of king Edward the ſixt, and to returne to the vnitie of the Catholique Church, and to acknowledge the Popes holyneſſe to be head of the ſame Church, accordyng to the determination of the whole Parliament, promiſing, that as he hym ſelfe, with other his brethren had receyued the Popes bleſſing and the Queenes mercy: euen ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to hym and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcende to the Popes holynes.

Gardiner exhorteth M. Hooper to returne to the Popes Church.

Maiſter Hooper aunſwered: that for as muche as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrarye to the doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accompted as a member of Chriſtes Church, much leſſe to be head therof: wherfore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch vſurped iuriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the Church, wherof they cal hym head, to be the Catholique Church of Chriſt: for the Church only heareth the voyce of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flyeth the ſtrangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point to me vnknowen, I haue offended the Queenes maieſtie, I ſhal moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to her mercy, if mercy may be had with ſafetie of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

The Pope not worthy to be a member of Chriſtes church.

Anſweare was made, that the Queene would ſhewe no mercy to the Popes enemies. Whereupon Babington was commaunded to bring hym to the Fleete againe: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former chamber into an other neare vnto the Wardens owne chamber, where he remayned ſixe dayes: and in the meane tyme, his former chãber was ſearched by Doctor Martin and others, for writinges and bookes, which Mayſter Hooper was thought to haue made, but none was found.

Q. Mary will ſhewe no mercy but to the Popes frendes.

Here foloweth an other examination of maiſter Hooper.

The. xxviij. of January, Wincheſter and other the Commiſſioners, ſate in iudgement at Saint Marye Oueries, whereas Mayſter Hooper appeared before them at after noone againe, and there after much reaſoning and diſputation to and fro, he was commaunded aſide, tyll Maiſter Rogers (which was then come) had bene likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffes of London were commaunded about foure of the clocke, to cary them to the Counter in Southwarke, there to remaine vntyll the morowe at. ix. a clocke, to ſee whether they would relent, and come home againe to their Catholike Church. So maiſter Hooper went before with one of the Sheriffes, and maiſter Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the Churche doore, mayſter Hooper looked backe, and ſtayed a litle, tyll maiſter Rogers drewe neare, vnto whom he ſaid: Come brother Rogers, muſte we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe fagots? Yea ſir (ſaid M. Rogers) by Gods grace. Doubt not (ſaid M. Hooper) but God wyl geue ſtrength. So goyng forwardes, there was ſuche a preaſe of people in the ſtreates which reioyced at their conſtancie, that they had much adoo to paſſe.

An other examination of M. Hooper before the Byſhop of Wincheſter and his fellowes.

M. Hoopers wordes to M. Rogers.

By the way the Sheriffe ſayd to Maiſter Hooper: I wonder that ye were ſo haſtie and quicke with my Lord Chauncellour, and dyd vſe no more pacience? He aunſwered: Mayſter Sheriffe, I was nothing at all impacient, although I was earneſt in my maiſters cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hande, for it goeth vppon life and death: not the life and death of this world onely, but alſo of the worlde to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Counter, and appoynted to ſeueral chambers, with commaundement

M. Hooper earneſt in his Maiſters cauſe.

1555.
February.

ment that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeake one with an other, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

The third and laſt examination of M. Hoper.

Upon the next day folowing, the. xxix. of Ianuary, at the houre appoynted they were brought again by the Sheriffes, before the ſaid Biſhop and Commiſſioners in the Church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talke, when they perceyued that maiſter Hooper would by no meanes condeſcend vnto them, they cauſed hym to be degraded, and read vnto hym his condemnation. That done, M. Rogers was brought before them, and in like maner entreated: and ſo they deliuered both of them to the ſecular power the two Sheriffes of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clinke, a priſon not farre from the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, and there to remaine tyl night.

M. Hooper condemned.

When it was darke, maiſter Hooper was led by one of ỹ Sheriffes, with many Bylles & weapons, firſt through the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, and ſo ouer London Bridge, through the citie to Newgate. And by the way ſome of the Sergeauntes were willed to goe before, and put out the Coſtermongers candles, who vſe to ſit with light in the ſtreates: eyther fearing (of likelyhood) that the people would haue made ſome attempte to haue taken hym away from them by force, if they had ſeene hym goe to that priſon: or els beyng burdened with an euyll conſcience: they thought darknes to be a moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſines.

Darknes beſt for the Papiſtes.

But notwithſtanding this deuiſe, the people hauyng ſome foreknowledge of his commyng, many of them came foorth of their doores with lightes and ſaluted hym, prayſing God for his conſtancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen hym in the ſame to the ende. Maiſter Hooper paſſed by, and required the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for hym, and ſo went through Cheapſide to the place appoynted, and was deliuered as cloſe priſoner, to the keeper of Newgate, where he remayned ſixe dayes, no body being permitted to come to hym, or to talke with hym, ſauyng his keepers and ſuch as ſhould be appoynted therto.

The people reioycyng at the conſtancye of M. Hooper and M. Rogers.
M. Hooper ſent to Newgate.

During this tyme, Boner Biſhop of London, and other at his appoyntment, as Fecknam, Chedſey, and Harpſfield, &c. reſorted diuers tymes vnto hym, to aſſaye if by any meanes they coulde perſwade hym to relent and become a member of their Antichriſtian Church. All the wayes they coulde deuiſe, they attempted. For beſides diſputations and allegations of teſtimonies of the Scriptures and of auncient writers wraſted to a wrong ſenſe, accordyng to their accuſtomed maner, they vſed alſo all outward gentlenes and ſignifications of frendſhip, with many great proffers and promiſes of worldly commodities, not omittyng alſo moſt greeuous threatnynges, if with gentlenes they could not preuaile: but they found hym alwayes one man, ſtedfaſt and immoueable.

B. Boner and his Chaplaynes reaſon with M. Hooper in priſon.

When they perceyued that they could by no meanes reclaime hym to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſwaſions and offers as they vſed for his conuerſion, then went they about by falſe rumours and reportes of recantions (for it is wel knowen, that they and their ſeruauntes dyd ſpreade it firſt abroade) to bring hym and the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, out of credite with the people. So the bruite beyng a litle ſpread abroade, and beleeued of ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the Biſhop of London and other, it encreaſed more, and at the laſt came to M. Hoopers eares. Wherewith he was not a litle greued, that the people ſhould geue ſo light credite vnto falſe rumours, hauyng ſo ſimple a ground: as it may appeare by a letter which he wrote vpon that occaſion, the copie wherof foloweth.

Falſe rumors of M. Hoopers recantation.

A letter of maiſter Hooper for the ſtoppyng of certaine falſe rumours ſpread abroade, of his recantation.

The grace of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt be with all them that vnfainedly looke for the commyng of our Sauiour Chriſt. Amen.

A purgation of M. Hooper agaynſt falſe rumors ſpread of his recantation.

Deare brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my felowe priſoners for the cauſe of Gods Goſpell: I doo much reioyce and geue thankes vnto God for your conſtancie and perſeueraunce in affliction, vnto whom I wiſhe continuaunce vnto the end. And as I doo reioyce in your fayth and conſtancie in afflictions that be in priſon: euen ſo doo I mourne and lament to heare of our deare brethren that yet haue not feelt ſuch daungers for Gods truth, as we haue, and doo feele, and be dayly like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroade (as I am credibly enfourmed) that I Iohn Hooper a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould nowe after ſentence of death (being in Newgate priſoner, and looking dayly for execution) recant and abiure that which heretofore I haue preached. And this talke ariſeth of this, that the Biſhop of London and his Chapleynes reſort vnto me. Doubtles if our brethren were as godly as I would wiſhe them, they would thinke, that in caſe I dyd refuſe to talke with them, they might haue iuſt occaſion to ſay, that I were vnlearned, and durſt not ſpeake with learned men, or els prowde and diſdainfull to ſpeake with them. Therfore to auoyde iuſt ſuſpicion of both, I haue and doo dayly ſpeake with them when they come: not doubtyng but that they report that I am neyther proude, nor vnlearned. And I would wiſh al men to do as I do in this point. For I feare not their argumentes, neither is death terrible vnto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerue: and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I haue preached heretofore by their commyng.

The occaſion of this rumor how it riſeth.

Therefore ye that may ſende to the weake brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reportes of recantations as they doo. For I haue hytherto left all thynges of the world, and ſuffered great paynes & impriſonment, and I thanke God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortall man may be. It were better for them to pray for vs, then to credit or report ſuch rumours that be vntrue. We haue enemies enough of ſuch as know not God truely. But yet the falſe report of weake brethren is a double croſſe. I wiſhe you eternall ſaluation in Ieſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continuall prayer, that he which hath begonne in vs, may continue it to the ende.

Falſe reportes a greuous croſſe.

I haue taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhal confirme the ſame by Gods grace with my bloud. Forth of Newgate the. 2. of February. An. 1554.

Your brother in Chriſt,
Iohn Hooper.

Vpon Monday mornyng the Biſhop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded M. Hooper, the ſentence of which his degradation here foloweth.

Degradatio Hooperi.

IN nomine ✠ patris, ✠ & filij, ✠ et ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. Quoniam per ſententiam diffinitiuam à reuerendo in Chriſto patre et Domino, Stephano permiſſione diuina, Winton. Epiſcopo in et contra te Iohannem Hooper preſbyterum, ſuæ iuriſdictionis ratione hæreſis et delicti infra illius diœceſin Winton. notoriè commiſſi exiſtentem, nuper ritè & legitimè prolatam, cōſtat ſufficienter & legitimè nobis Edmundo London. Epiſcopo te præfatū Iohannem Hooper hæreticum manifeſtum & obſtinatū, ac pertinacem fuiſſe & eſſe, ac conſtat ſimiliter tanquam hæreticum huiuſmodi per dictam ſententiam pronunciatum et declaratū fuiſſe, maiorisq; excommunicationis ſententia ob id innodatū et inuolutum ſimiliter eſſe, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum et degradandum, curiæq; ſeculari ob demerita tua huiuſmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ ſentētiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, et expreſſius liquet et apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus Epiſ. London. antedictus, quia noſtra et vniuerſitatis etiam intereſt noſtras hic partes interponere, et vicariam operam mutuamq; viciſſitudinē impendere, in cuius etiam diœceſi tu Iohannes Hooper idem hæreſis crimen tunc et ſæpius, et ante et poſt commiſiſti, iſtis inquam et alijs prædictis attentis et exequendo omni meliori et efficatiori modo, quo poſſumus, ſententiam prædictam, ſic vt præmittitur, latam in te qui infra fines et limites diœceſis noſtræ London. notoriè conſiſtens, et in hac parte culpabilis et tranſgreſſor etiam notoriè exiſtens, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati Iohannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac iuſtitia id poſcente) duximus procedendū fore, ac ſic etiam realiter procedimus, vt deinde iuxta iuris exigentiam et temporis retroacti morem laudabilem et normam conſuetam, te in Arca Eccleſiæ manere nolentem, curiæ ſeculari ritè et legitimè ac effectualiter tradere poſſimus. ¶Quod ipſum ſic fieri debere, nos per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſiue decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, et declaramus in hijs ſcriptis.

The ſentence of degradation agaynſt M. Hooper.

After the ſentence of degradation thus declared, nowe let vs ſee the forme and maner of their degradyng, which here alſo foloweth. But firſt here is to be noted, that the degradyng of this bleſſed Biſhop did not proceede againſt him as agaynſt a Biſhop, but as onely againſt a Prieſt, as they termed hym: for ſuch as he was, theſe Balaamites accompted for no biſhop.

Here

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Here foloweth the forme and maner vſed in the diſgrading of Biſhop Hooper.

The forme and maner of diſgrading B. Hooper. Alexander Andrew Gailer of Newgate, a cruell enemy to Gods people.

The fourth day of February, the yeare aboue mentioned, in the Chappell in Newgate, the Biſhop of London there ſitting with his Notarie and certaine other witneſſes, came Alexander Andrewe the Gayler, bringing with hym maiſter Hooper and Maſter Rogers, being condemned before by the Chauncelour: where the ſaide Biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the foreſaid Winton, proceeded to the degradation of the parties aboue mentioned, Maiſter Hooper and mayſter Rogers, after this forme and maner. Firſt he put vppon them all the veſtures and ornamentes belonging to a Prieſt, with all other thinges to the ſame order appertaining, as though (being reueſted) they ſhould ſolemnely execute in their office. Thus they being appareled and inueſted, the Biſhop beginneth to plucke of, firſt the vttermoſt veſture, and ſo by degree and order comming downe to the loweſt veſture, which they had onely in taking Bennet and Collet: and ſo being ſtript and depoſed, he depriued them of all order, benefice and priuiledge belonging to the Clergie: and conſequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the ſaid parties ſo diſgraded, to be geuen perſonally to the ſecular power, as the Sheriffes being for that yeare, M. Dauy Woodroſe, and M. William Cheſter: who receiuing firſt the ſaide M. Rogers at the handes of the Biſhop, had hym away with them, bringing hym to the place of execution where he ſuffred. The witneſſes there preſent wer M. Harpsfield Archdeacō of Lōdon, Rob. Coſin, and Rob. Willerton, Canons of Paules, Tho. Mountague, and George Howe Clerkes, Triſtram Swadocke, and Richard Cluny Summner. &c.

M. Hooper and M. Rogers diſgraded together.

Dauy Woodroſe, William Cheſter Shiriffes.

The ſame Monday at night, being the fourth of February, his keeper gaue hym an inkeling that he ſhould be ſent to Gloceſter, to ſuffer death, whereat he reioyced very much, lifting vp his eyes and handes into heauen, and praiſing God, that he ſawe it good to ſend him amongſt the people ouer whom he was Paſtor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the lord would geue him ſtrength to performe the ſame to his glory: and immediatly he ſent to his ſeruantes houſe for his bootes, ſpurres, and cloke, that he might be in a readyneſſe to ride when he ſhould be called.

M. Hooper glad that he ſhould ſuffer amongeſt his owne flocke.

The next day folowing, about foure of the clocke in the mornyng before day, the keeper with others came to him and ſearched him, and the bed wherin he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing: and then he was lead by the Sheriffes of London and other their officers, forth of Newgate, to a place appoynted, not farre from S. Dunſtones Church in Fleeteſtreate, where ſixe of the Queenes Garde were appoynted to receiue him, and to cary hym to Glouceſter, there to be deliuered vnto the Sheriffe, who with the Lorde Shandois, M. Wickes, and other Commiſſioners were appoynted to ſee execution done. The which Gard brought hym to the Angel, where he brake his faſt with them, eating his meate at that tyme more liberally then he had vſed to doo a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horſe, and leapt chearfully on horſebacke without helpe, hauing an hood vpon his head vnder his hat, that he ſhould not be knowen, and ſo tooke his iourney ioyfully towards Glouceſter: and alwayes by the way the Gard learned of hym where he was accuſtomed to baite or lodge, and euer caryed hym to an other Inne.

M. Hooper caryed to Gloceſter to be burned.

Upon the Thurſday folowing, he came to a Towne in his Dioces, called Ciceter, xv. myles from Glouceſter about eleuen of the clocke, & there dyned at a womans houſe which had alwayes hated the truth, and ſpoken al euyl ſhee could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiuyng the cauſe of his commyng, ſhewed hym all the frendſhip ſhee could, and lamented his caſe with teares, confeſſing that ſhee before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not ſtand to his doctrine.

A woman of Ciceter confirmed by the conſtancy of M. Hooper, which rayled at hym before.

After dynner he rode forwardes, & came to Glouceſter about fiue of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people aſſembled, which cryed & lamented his eſtate: in ſo much that one of the Gard rode poſt into the towne, to require ayde of the Mayor and Sheriffes, fearing leaſt he ſhould haue bene taken from them.

M. Hooper commeth to Gloceſter.

The Officers and their retinue repayred to the Gate with weapons, and commaunded the people to keepe their houſes. &c. but there was no man that once gaue any ſignification of any ſuche reſcue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingrams houſe in Glouceſter, and that night (as he had done all the way) he dyd eate his meate quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleepe ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the Garde and others. After his firſt ſleepe he continued all that night in prayer vntyll the mornyng, and then he deſired that he might go into the next chamber (for the Gard were alſo in the chamber where he lay) that there being ſolitary, he might pray and talke with God: So that al that day, ſauing a litle at meate, and when he talked at any tyme with ſuch as the Gard licenced to ſpeake with him, he beſtowed in prayer.

The quiet mynde of M. Hooper in his troubles.

Amongeſt other that ſpake with hym, Syr Anthonye Kingſton knight was one. who ſeemyng in tymes paſte his very frende, was then appoynted by the Queenes letters, to be one of the Commiſſioners, to ſee execution done vppon hym. Maiſter Kingſton being brought into the chamber, found hym at his prayer: and as ſoone as he ſawe maiſter Hooper, he burſt forth in teares. Maiſter Hooper at the firſt bluſh knew him not. Then ſaid maſter Kingſton, Why my Lord, do ye not knowe me an olde frend of yours Anthony Kingſton?

Syr Anthony Kingſton commeth to M. Hooper.

Yes Mayſter Kyngſton, I doo nowe knowe you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and doo prayſe God for the ſame.

But I am ſorye to ſee you in this caſe: for as I vnderſtande you be come hyther to dye. But (alas) conſider that life is ſweete, and death is bytter. Therefore ſeeyng lyfe may be had, deſire to lyue: for lyfe hereafter maye doo good.

Syr Antony Kingſtons perſwaſions.

In deede it is true Maiſter Kingſton, I am come hyther to ende this life, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I wyll not gainſaye the former truth that I haue heretofore taught amongeſt you in this Dioces, and els where, and I thanke you for your frendly counſaile, although it be not ſo frendly as I coulde haue wiſhed it. True it is (maiſter Kingſton) that death is bitter, and lyfe is ſweete: but (alas) conſider that the death to come is more bytter, and the life to come is more ſweete.

M. Hooper replyeth.

Therfore for the deſire and loue I haue to the one, and the terrour and feare of the other, I doo not ſo much regard this death, nor eſteeme this life, but haue ſetled my ſelf thorow the ſtrength of Gods holy ſpirit, paciently to paſſe thorow ẏ tormentes and extremities of the fire, now prepared for me, rather then to denie the truth of his word: deſiring you and others in the meane tyme, to commend me to gods mercy in your prayers.

Lyfe compared with lyfe, and death with death.

Well (my Lorde) then I perceyue there is no remedye, and therefore I wyll take my leaue of you: and I thanke God that euer I knewe you, for God did appoynt you to call me being a loſt childe: and by your good inſtructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſtyng of the ſame.

Syr Anthony Kingſton.

Syr Anthony Kingſton conuerted by Maiſter Hooper.

If you haue had the grace ſo to doo, I do highly prayſe God for it: and if you haue not, I pray God ye may haue, and that you maye continually lyue in his feare. After theſe and many other woordes, the one tooke leaue of the other, Mayſter Kingſton with bytter teares, maſter Hooper with teares alſo trickling down his cheekes. At which departure maſter Hooper told hym, that all the troubles he had ſuſteyned in priſon, had not cauſed hym to vtter ſo muche ſorowe.

M. Hooper.

The ſame day in the after noone, a blynd boy, after long interceſſiō made to the Gard, obteined licence to be brought vnto mayſter Hoopers ſpeache. The ſame boy not long afore had ſuffered impriſonment at Glouceſter for confeſſing of the truth. Maiſter Hooper, after he had examined hym of his fayth, and the cauſe of his impriſonment, beheld hym ſtedfaſtly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) ſaid vnto hym: Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what conſideration, he beſt knoweth: but he hath geuen thee an other ſight much more precious: for he hath endued thy ſoule with the eye of knowledge and faith. God geue thee grace continually to pray vnto hym, that thou looſe not that ſight: for then ſhouldeſt thou be blynde both in body and ſoule.

A blynd boy commeth to M. Hooper.

Gods grace vpon a blynde boy at Gloceſter.

After that an other came to him, whom he knewe to be a very papiſt and a wicked man, which appeared to be ſorie for maſter Hoopers trouble, ſaying: Syr, I am ſory to ſee you thus. To ſee me? Why (ſaid he) art thou ſory? To ſee you (ſaith the other) in this caſe. For I heare ſay ye are come hither to dye, for the which I am ſory. Be ſory for thy ſelfe man (ſaid M. Hooper) and lament thine own wickednes: for I am wel, I thanke God, and death to me for Chriſtes ſake is welcome.

The ſame night he was committed by the Gard (their Commiſſion being then expired) vnto the cuſtodie of the Sheriffes of Glouceſter. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bend: who with the Mayor and Aldermē repayred to maſter Hoopers lodging, and at the firſt meting ſaluted hym, and tooke hym by the hand. Unto whom Hooper ſpake on this manner: Maiſter Mayor, I geue

M. Hooper cōmitted to the Shiriffes of Gloceſter.

moſt

The wordes of M. Hooper to the Mayor and the Sheriffes of Gloceſter.

moſt harty thankes to you, and to the reſt of your brethren, that you haue vouchſafed to take me a priſoner and a condemned man by the hande: whereby to my reioyſing it is ſome deale apparaunt that your olde loue and frendſhip towardes me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the thinges I haue taught you in tymes paſt, are not vtterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly king that dead is, appoynted to be your Biſhop and Paſtor. For the whiche moſte true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I wyll not nowe account it falſehood and hereſie, as many other men doo, I am ſent hyther (as I am ſure you know) by the Queenes commaundement, to dye, and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloud. And now mayſter Sheriffes, I vnderſtande by theſe good men and my very frendes, (meanyng the Gard) at whoſe handes I haue found ſo much fauour and gentlenes by the way hytherward, as a priſoner could reaſonably require (for the which alſo I moſt hartily thanke them) that I am committed to your cuſtodie, as vnto them that muſt ſee me brought to morowe to the place of execution. My requeſt therfore to you ſhalbe only that there may be a quicke fire, ſhortly to make an end, and in the meane tyme I wyl be as obedient vnto you, as your ſelues would wiſhe. If you thinke I do amiſſe in any thing, hold vp your finger, and I haue done. For I come not hyther as one enforced or compelled to dye (for it is well knowen, I might haue had my life with worldly gaine:) but as one willing to offer and geue my life for the truth, rather then to conſent to the wicked papiſticall religion of the Biſhop of Rome, receiued and ſet forth by the magiſtrates in England, to Gods high diſpleaſure and diſhonor: and I truſt by Gods grace, to morow to die a faithfull ſeruant of God, and a true obediēt ſubiect to the Queene.

M. Hoopers petition to the Shriffes.

These and ſuch like wordes in effect vſed maiſter Hooper to the Mayor, Sheriffes, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtandyng the two Sheriffes went aſide to conſult, and were determined to haue lodged him in the cōmon Gaole of the towne, called Northgate, if the Gard had not made earneſt interceſſion for him: who declared at large how quietly, mildly, and paciently he had behaued him ſelfe in the way, adding therto, that any childe might keepe him well enough, & that they them ſelues would rather take paynes to watch with him, then that he ſhould be ſent to the common priſon. So it was determined at the length, he ſhould ſtill remaine in Robert Ingrams houſe, and the Sheriffes and the ſergeauntes and other officers did appoint to watche with him that night them ſelues. His deſire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, ſaying, that he had many thinges to remember: and ſo did at fiue of the clocke, and ſlept one ſleepe ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the night in prayer. After he gat vp in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitarie til the houre of execution.

The Gard ſpeaking for M. Hooper.

M. Hooper ſpendeth the night in prayer.

About eight of the clocke came ſir John Briges, Lord Shandoys, with a great bande of men, ſir Anthony Kingſton, ſir Edmund Briges, and other Commiſſioners appoynted to ſee execution done. At nine of the clocke maiſter Hooper was wylled to prepare him ſelf to be in a readines, for the time was at hande. Immediately he was brought downe from his chamber by the Sheriffes, who were accompanied with bylles, gleaues, and weapons. When he ſawe the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the Sheriffes on this wiſe: Maiſter Sheriffes (ſaid he) I am no traytor, neither needed you to haue made ſuch a buſines to bring me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: for if ye had wylled me, I woulde haue gone alone to the ſtake, and haue troubled none of you al. And afterward looking vpon the multitude of people which were aſſembled, being by eſtimation to the number of ſeuen thouſande (for it was market day, and many alſo came to ſee his behauiour towardes death) he ſpake vnto thoſe that were about him, ſaying: Alas, why be theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peraduenture they think to heare ſomething of me now, as they haue in tymes paſt: but alas, ſpeach is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well knowen vnto them. When I was appoynted here to be their Paſtor, I preached vnto them true and ſincere doctrine, and that out of the worde of God. Becauſe I wyl not nowe accompt the ſame to be hereſie and vntruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me.

Syr John Bridges, Lord Shandoys, Syr Edm. Bridges, Syr Ant. Kingſton, Commiſſioners.

M. Hooper for preaching true doctrine put to death.

So he went forward, led betweene the two Sheriffes, (as it were a Lambe to the place of ſlaughter) in a gowne of his hoſtes, his hatte vpon his head, & a ſtaffe in his hand to ſtay him ſelfe withal. For ẏ griefe of ẏ Sciatica, which he had taken in priſon, cauſed him ſomething to halt. All the way being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeake, he coulde not be perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholding the people al the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would ſome times lift vp his eyes towardes heauen, and looke very chearefully vpon ſuch as he knewe: and he was neuer knowen during the time of his being amongeſt them, to looke with ſo chearefull and ruddiſhe a countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appoynted where he ſhould die, ſmilingly he beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was neare vnto the great Elme tree ouer againſt the Colledge of prieſtes, where he was woont to preach. The place round about the houſes and the bowes of the tree were repleniſhed with people: and in the chamber ouer the Colledg gate ſtood the prieſtes of the Colledge. Then kneeled he downe (for as muche as he coulde not be ſuffered to ſpeake vnto the people) to prayer, and beckned vnto him ſixe or ſeuen tymes whom he knew wel, to heare the ſaid prayer, to make report therof in time to come (pouring teares vpō his ſhoulders and in his boſome) who gaue attentiue eares vnto the ſame: the whiche prayer he made vpon the whole Creede, wherein he continued for the ſpace of halfe an houre. Now after he was ſomewhat entred into his prayer, a Boxe was brought and laid before him vpon a ſtoole, with his pardon (or at the leſt wiſe it was fained to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the ſight therof he cryed: If you loue my ſoule, away with it, if you loue my ſoule, away with it. The boxe being taken away, the Lord Shandoys ſaid: Seeing there is no remedie, diſpatch quickly. Maiſter Hooper ſaid: Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhip wyll geue me leaue to make an ende of my prayers.

M. Hooper forbidden to ſpeake to the people.

His chearfull going to death.

M. Hooper brought to the place of Martyrdome.

M. Hooper refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

Then ſaid the Lord Shandoys to ſir Edmund Bridges his ſonne (which gaue eare before to maiſter Hoopers prayer at his requeſt:) Edmond, take heede that he doo nothing els but pray: if he doo, tell me, & I ſhall quickly diſpatche hym. Whiles this talke was, there ſtepped one or two in vncalled, whiche hearde him ſpeake theſe wordes folowyng.

M. Hoopers prayer.

LOrd (ſaid he) I am hel, but thou art heauen: I am ſwill and a ſinke of ſinne, but thou art a gratious God and a mercyful redeemer. Haue mercy therfore vpon me moſt miſerable and wretched offender, after thy great mercye and according to thine ineſtimable goodnes. Thou that art aſcended into heauen, receiue me hell to be partaker of thy ioyes, where thou ſitteſt in equall glorye with thy father. For well knoweſt thou Lord wherefore I am come hyther to ſuffer, and why the wicked doo perſecute this thy poore ſeruant: not for my ſinnes and tranſgreſſions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I wyll not allow their wicked doinges, to the contaminating of thy bloud, and to the denyal of the knowledge of thy truth, wherwith it did pleaſe thee by thy holy ſpirite to inſtruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poore wretche might (being thereto called) I haue ſet forth to thy glory. And wel ſeeſt thou my lord & God what terrible paines and cruel tormentes be prepared for thy creature: ſuch, Lorde, as without thy ſtrength none is able to beare, or paciently to paſſe. But all thinges that are impoſſible with man, are poſſible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen me of thy goodneſſe, that in the fire I breake not the rules of pacience, or els aſſuage the terror of the paines, as ſhal ſeeme moſt to thy glory.

As ſoone as the Mayor had eſpied theſe men whiche made report of the former wordes, they were commaunded away, and could not be ſuffered to heare any more. Prayer being done, he prepared him ſelfe to the ſtake, and put of his hoſtes gowne, and deliuered it to the Sheriffes, requiring them to ſee it reſtored vnto the owner, and put of the reſt of his geare, vnto his doublet and his hoſe, wherein he would haue burned. But the Sheriffes would not permit that (ſuch was their greedines) vnto whoſe pleaſures (good man) he very obediently ſubmitted him ſelfe: and his doublet, hoſe, & peticote were taken of. Then being in his ſhirt, he tooke a poynt from his hoſe him ſelfe, & truſſed his ſhirt betweene his legges, where he had a pound of gonne pouder in a bladder, and vnder eche arme the like quantitie deliuered hym by the Garde. So deſiring the people to ſay the Lordes prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with teares, during the tyme of his paines) he went vp to the ſtake. Nowe when he was at the ſtake, three perſons made to binde him to the ſtake, were brought: one for his necke, an other for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refuſing them ſaid: ye haue no neede thus to trouble your ſelues. For I doubt not but God wil geue ſtrēgth ſufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, without bandes: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailtie & weakenes of the fleſh, but hauing aſſured cōfidence in Gods ſtrength, I am content ye do as ye ſhal thinke good.

M. Hooper vndreſſeth himſelfe to the fire.

So the hoope of yron prepared for his middle, was brought, which being made ſomwhat too ſhort (for his

M. Hooper bounde to the ſtake.

belly was ſwolne by imprisonment) he ſhranke & put in his belly with his hand, vntil it was faſtened: & whē they offered to haue bound his necke & his legges with the other two hoopes of yron, he vtterly refuſed thē, & would haue none, ſaying: I am wel aſſured I ſhal not trouble you.

The weeping of the people at M. Hoopers burning.

Thus being ready, he looked vpon the people, of whom he might be wel ſeene (for he was both tal, and ſtoode alſo on an high ſtoole) and beheld rounde about hym: and in euerye corner there was nothing to be ſeene but weeping and ſorowfull people. Then lifting vp his eyes and handes vnto heauen, he prayed to hym ſelfe. By and by he that was appoynted to make ẏ fire, came to hym, & did aſke him forgeueneſſe. Of whom he aſked why he ſhoulde forgeue hym, ſaying: that he knewe neuer any offence he had committed againſt hym. Oh ſir (ſaid the man) I am appoynted to make the fire. Therein (ſayde Mayſter Hooper) thou doeſt nothing offend me: God forgeue thee thy ſinnes and doo thine office, I pray thee. Then the Reedes were caſt vp, and he receyued two bundels of them in his owne handes, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put vnder eyther arme one of them, and ſhewed with his hand howe the reſt ſhoulde be beſtowed, and poynted to the place where anye dyd lacke.

He forgeueth his executioner.

Fire put to M. Hooper.

Anone commaundement was geuen that fire ſhould be ſet to, and ſo it was. But becauſe there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horſes could carry vpon their backes, it kindled not by and by, and was a prety while alſo before it tooke the Reedes vppon the fagottes. At length it burned about hym, but the wynd hauyng full ſtrength in that place (it was alſo a louring & a cold morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in a maner no more but touched by the fire.

A new fire made to M. Hooper.

Within a ſpace after, a few drye fagottes were brought and a newe fire kindeled with fagottes, (for there were no more Reedes:) and that burned at the nether partes, but had ſmall power aboue, becauſe of the wynde, ſauyng that it dyd burne his heare and ſcorch his ſkynne a litle. In the time of which fire, euen as at the firſt flame, he prayed, ſaying mildely and not verye loude (but as one without paynes:) O Ieſus the ſonne of Dauid haue mercye vpon me, and receyue my ſoule. After the ſeconde was ſpent, he dyd wipe both his eyes with his handes, and beholdyng the people, he ſaide with an indifferent loude voyce: For Gods loue (good people) let me haue more fire. And all this while his nether partes did burne: for the fagottes were ſo fewe, that the flame did not burne ſtrongly at his vpper partes.

M. Hooper calleth for more fire.

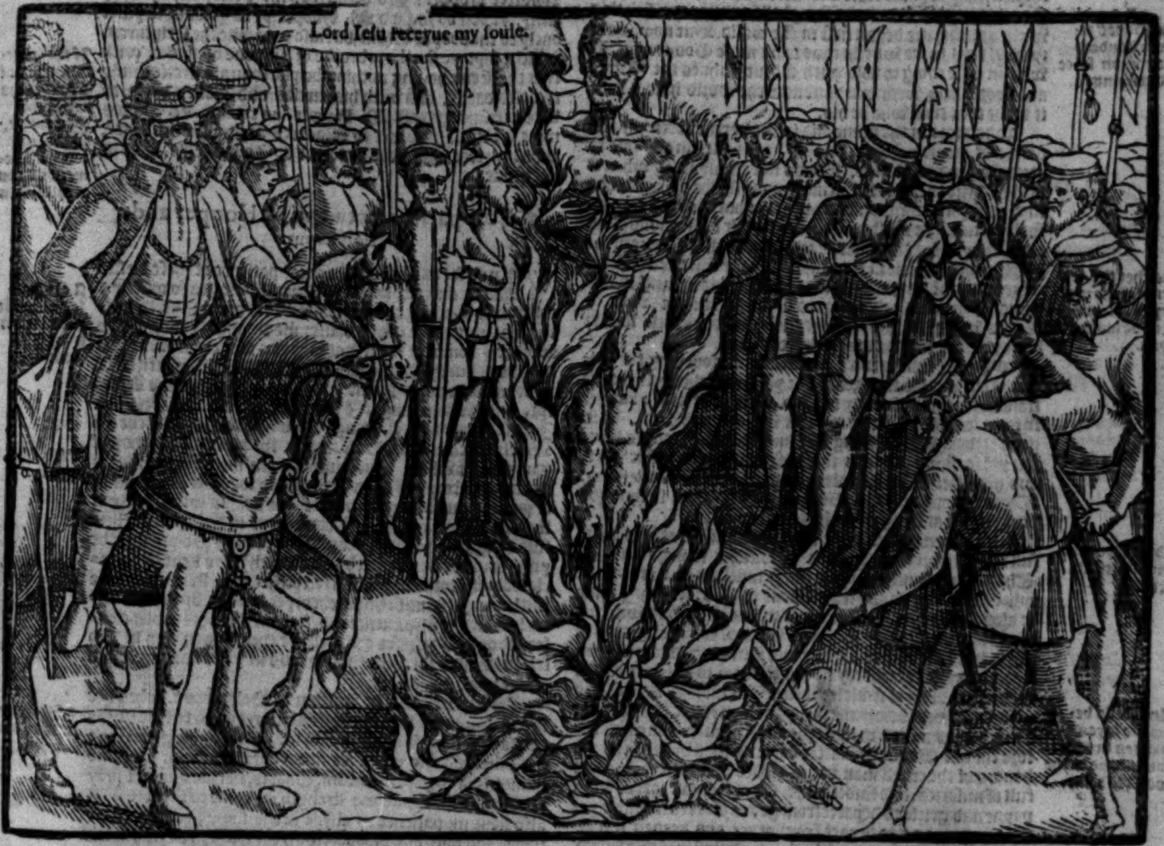
The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme then the other two: and then the bladders of gonnepouder brake, whiche dyd him ſmal good, they were ſo placed, and the wynde had ſuche power. In the whiche fire he prayed with ſomewhat a loude voyce: Lord Ieſu haue mercye vppon me: Lorde Ieſu haue mercye vppon me: Lorde Ieſus receyue my ſpirite. And theſe were the laſt wordes he was heard to vtter. But when he was black in the mouth, & his tongue ſwolne that he could not ſpeake, yet his lyppes went tyll they were ſhronke to the gummes: and he knocked his breſt with his handes, vntyl one of his armes fel of, and then knocked ſtyl with the other, what tyme the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers endes, vntyl by renuyng of the fire, his ſtrength was gone, and his hande did cleaue faſt in knocking to the yron vpon his breſt. So immediately bowing forwardes, he yelded vp his ſpirite.

The laſt wordes of M. Hooper.

The bleſſed Martyr long tormented in the fire.

¶ The burnyng of Maiſter Iohn Hooper Biſhop, at Glouceſter.

Anno. 1555. February. 9.


Lord Ieſu receyue my ſoule.

¶ In clariſsimi Doctrina & pietate viri Iohannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conradi Geſneri carmen.

AVreus Hoperus flammis inuictus et igni,
Atq; ſuum Chriſtum confeſſus ad vltima vitæ
Momenta, integritate ſua præclarus, et ardens
Exterius flammis, diuinus Martyr: at intus
Eximio fidei feruore accenſus, ad aſtra
Spiritus aſcendit, cœleſti luce beatus,
In terris cineresq; manent, & fama coruſca
Flammæ inſtar lucens, lucebit dum ſtabit orbis,

Vtcunque immanes Boreæ, magnæq; procellæ
Flatibus aduerſis tam clarum erumpere lumen
Nitantur fruſtra. Nam quæ Deus ipſe ſecundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta ſed vltro
Et commenta ruunt, vaſtaq; voragine ſidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot ſpiratis Ieſu
Doctrinam Chriſti, diſcrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, et voſmet rebus ſeruare ſecundis
Diſcite. Namq; dabit Deus his meliora: nec auris
Audijt vlla, oculus vel vidit, ſed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier vnquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus ſeruet ſua bona beatis.

The patient end of this holy Martyr.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Euen as a Lambe, paciently he abode the extremitie therof, neither mouyng forwardes, backwardes, or to any ſide: but hauing his nether partes burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a childe in his bed: and he now reigneth as a bleſſed martyr in the ioyes of heauen prepared for the faythfull in Chriſt, before the foundations of the world: for whoſe conſtancie al Chriſtians are bound to prayſe God.

A letter which mayſter Hooper dyd write out of priſon to certaine of his frendes.

A letter exhortatory of M. Hooper to certaine of his frendes.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremitie the parlament had concluded vpon, concerning Religion, ſuppreſſing the truth, and ſetting forth the vntruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremitie to forſweare them ſelues, and to take againe for the head of the Churche, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemie, as the worde of God & al ancient writers do record: and for lacke of lawe and authoritie, they wyl vſe force and extremitie, which haue bene the argumentes to defende the Pope and poperie, ſith this wicked authoritie began firſt in the world. But now is the tyme of trial, to ſee whether we feare more God or man. It was an eaſie thing to hold with Chriſt whiles the Prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial who be his.

The Popes religion ſtandeth onely vpon force and extremitye.

Wherefore in the name and in the vertue, ſtrength, and power of his holy ſpirite, prepare your ſelues in any caſe to aduerſitie and conſtancie. Let vs not runne away when it is moſt tyme to fight. Remember none ſhalbe crowned, but ſuch as fight manfully: and he that endureth vntil the end ſhalbe ſaued. Ye muſt now turne all your cogitations from the perill you ſee, and marke the felicitie that foloweth the peryl: either victorie in this world of your enemies, or els a ſurrender of this life to inherite the euerlaſting kyngdome. Beware of beholding too much the felicitie or miſery of this world: for the conſideration and too earneſt loue or feare of either of them draweth from God.

Neither the felicitie nor the myſery of this world is to be looked vpon.

Wherfore thinke with your ſelues as touching the felicitie of the worlde, it is good: but yet none otherwiſe then it ſtandeth with the fauour of God. It is to be kept: but yet ſo farre foorth as by keeping of it we looſe not God. It is good abidyng and tarrying ſtyl amonges our frendes here: but yet ſo, ÿ we tary not therwithall in Gods diſpleaſure, and hereafter to dwell with the diuels in fire euerlaſtyng. There is nothing vnder God but may be kept, ſo that God being aboue al thinges we haue, be not loſt.

Aduerſitye compared with aduerſitie.

Of aduerſitie iudge the ſame. Impriſonment is painfull but yet libertie vpon euell conditions is more painfull. The priſons ſtincke, but yet not ſo much as ſweete houſes, where as the feare and true honour of God lacketh. I muſt be alone & ſolitary. It is better ſo to be & haue God with me then to be in company with the wicked. Loſſe of goodes is great, but loſſe of Gods grace and fauour is greater. I am a poore ſimple creature, & cā not tell how to aunſwere before ſuch a great ſort of noble learned & wiſe mē: It is better to make aunſwere before the pompe and pryde of wicked men then to ſtand naked in the ſight of all heauen and earth before the iuſt God at the latter daye. I ſhall dye then by the handes of the cruell man, hee is bleſſed that looſeth this lyfe full of miſeries, and findeth the life of eternall ioyes. It is payne and griefe to departe from goods and frendes: but yet not ſo much, as to depart from grace and heauen it ſelfe. wherfore there is neither felicity nor aduerſity of this world that can appeare to be greate, if it be wayed with the ioyes, or paynes in the worlde to come.

Antitheſis betwene ioyes and paynes in this worlde and in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you: do the ſame for mee, for gods ſake. For my part (I thanke the heauenly father) I haue made myne accomptes and appointed my ſelfe vnto the will of the heauenly father: as he will, ſo I wyll by hys grace. For Gods ſake as ſoone as ye can, ſende my poore wyfe and children ſome letter from you, and my letter alſo which I ſent of late to D. As it was tolde me, ſhee neuer had letter from me ſythens the commyng of M. S. vnto her: the more to blame the meſſengers, for I haue wrytten diuers tymes. The Lord comfort them, and prouide for thē for I am able to do nothyng in worldly thynges. She is a godly & wiſe womā. If my meanyng had bene accōpliſhed, ſhee ſhould haue had neceſſary thinges: but ÿ I meane, God can performe, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Iewell nowe and daintely kept, neuer ſo deintely: for neither myne owne man, nor any of the ſeruauntes of the houſe may come to me, but my keeper alone: a ſimple rude man (God knoweth) but I am nothing careful therof.

M. Hoopers care and commendation of his wyfe.

Fare ye well, the. 21. of January. 1555.

Yours bounden, Iohn Hooper.

Amongeſt many other memorable actes and notes worthy to be remembred in the hiſtory of M. Hooper, this alſo is not to be forgotten, whiche happened betwene him and a bragging Frier a litle after the beginnyng of his impriſonment: the ſtory wherof here followeth.

Talke betwene M. Hooper and a Fryer in the priſon.

A Frier came from Fraunce to England with great vaunt, aſkyng who was the greateſt heriticke in all England, thinkyng belyke to doe ſome great act vppon him. To whom aunſwere was made that M. Hooper had then the greateſt name to be the chiefeſt ringleader: who was thē in the Fleete. The Frier comming to him, aſked why he was committed to priſon. He ſayd for debt. Nay, ſayd he, it was for hereſie, whiche when the other had denyed, what ſayeſt thou (quoth he) to hoc eſt corpus meum? M. Hooper beyng partly moued at ÿ ſodaine queſtiō, deſired that he might aſke of him agayne an other queſtion, whiche was this: what remayned after the conſecration in the Sacrament: any bread or no? No bread at all ſayth hee. And when ye breake it, what do ye breake: eyther bread or the body, ſayd Maiſter Hooper? No bread ſayd the Frier, but the body only. If you do ſo, ſayd M. Hooper, ye do great iniury, not onely to the body of Chriſt, but alſo ye breake the ſcriptures, whiche ſay: ye ſhall not breake of him one bone. &c. With that the Frier hauing nothing belyke to aunſwere, ſodainly recoyled backe, and with his circles and croſſes began to vſe exorciſme agaynſt M. Hooper, as though. &c. This & more wrote M. Hooper to Maiſtres Wylkinſon in a letter, whiche letter was read vnto her by John Kelke, who is yet a lyue.

If the materiall body of Chriſt be broken in the Sacrament, then is the commaundement of gods word broken.

Compariſon betwene M. Hooper and Polycarpus.

A compariſon betwene M. Hooper & Polycarpus.

When I ſee and behold the great patience of theſe bleſſed Martyrs in our dayes, in their ſufferinges ſo quietly & conſtantly abidyng the tormentes that are miniſtred vnto them of princes for Gods cauſe: me thinkes I may well & worthely compare them vnto the olde Martyrs of the primatiue Church. In the number of whom, if compariſon be to be made betwixt Saint and Saint: Martyr and Martyr, with whom, might I match this bleſſed Martyr M. John Hooper better, through the whole catalogue of the old Martyrs, then with Polycarpus the auncient Byſhop of Smirna, of whom Euſebius maketh mencion in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory? For as both agreed together in one kinde of puniſhment, beyng both put to the fire, ſo which of them ſhewed more patience and conſtancye in the tyme of their ſufferyng, it is hard to be ſayd. And though Polycarpus beyng ſet in the flame (as the ſtory ſayth) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, tyll hee was ſtricken downe with weapon, and ſo diſpatched: yet Hooper by no leſſe miracle armed with patience and feruent ſpirite of Gods comfort, ſo quietly deſpiſed the violence therof as though he had felt little more then dyd Polycarpus in ÿ fire flaming round about hym.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Moreouer, as it is written of Polycarpus, when hee ſhould haue bene tyed to the ſtake, he required to ſtād vntyed, ſaying theſe wordes: Sinite me, qui namque ignem ferre poſſe dedit, dabit etiam vt ſine veſtra clauorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam. That is, Let me alone, I pray you, for he that gaue me ſtrength to come to this fire wyll alſo geue me patience to abyde in the ſame, without your tying. So lykewiſe Hooper, with the lyke ſpirite, when hee ſhould haue ben tyed with three chaynes, to the ſtake requiryng thē to haue no ſuch miſtruſt of him, was tied but with one, who and if hee had not bene tyed at all, yet (no doubt) would haue no leſſe aunſwered to that great patience of Polycarpus.

Of this Policarpus read before pag.

M. Hooper compared to Polycarpus in lyfe.

And as the end of them both was much agreeyng, ſo the lyfe of them both was ſuch, as might ſeeme not farre diſcrepant. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeale feruent, in life vnſpotted, in maners & conuerſation inculpable, Biſhops & alſo martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching ſo pithy and fruitful, that as they both were ioyned together in one ſpirite, ſo might they be ioyned in one name together of πολύκαρπος, to wit, much fruitful. To which name alſo ὅπωρος is not much vnlike. In this the martyrdome of M. Hooper may ſeeme in ſuffering to goe before, though in tyme it folowed ẏ martyrdome of Polycarpus, for that he was both lõger in priſon, and there alſo ſo cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I thinke none of the olde martyrs euer ſuffered the like. To this alſo adde how he was diſgraded by Boner, with ſuch contumelies and reproches, as I thinke in Polycarpus tyme was not vſed to any.

πολύκαρπος. ὅπωρος.

The cruell handling of M. Hooper.

And as we haue hitherto compared theſe two good martyrs together, ſo now if we ſhould compare the enemies & authors of their death one with the other, we ſhould find no inequalitie betwixt thẽ both, but that the aduerſaries of M. Hooper ſeemed to be more cruel & vnmercyful. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet miniſtred to hym a quick diſpatch, moued belike by ſome compaſſion not to haue hym ſtande in the torment: where the tormentors of M. Hoper ſuffred him without al cõpaſſiõ to ſtand three quarters of an houre in the fire. And as touching ẏ chiefe doers & authors of his martyrdome, what Conſul or Proconſull was there to be conferred with the Chancelor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this ſuffice.

The enemies of M. Hooper and of Polycarpus compared.

This good Biſhop and ſeruant of God being in priſon, wrote diuers bookes and treatiſes, to the number of. xxiiij. whereof ſome he wrote to the parlament in Latin, and one to the Biſhop of Chicheſter D. Day: beſides he wrote of the Sacraments, of the Lordes prayer, and of the. x. Commaundementes, with diuers other.

Bookes and treatiſes written by ẏ M. Hooper.

¶ Here folow certaine of M. Hoopers letters.

AS you haue heard the whole ſtory of the life and martyrdome of this good man declared: ſo nowe let vs conſequently adioyne ſome part of his letters, writtẽ in the time of his impriſonment, moſt fruitful and worthy to be read, eſpecially in theſe daungerous dayes, of all true Chriſtians, which by true mortification ſeeke to ſerue & folow the Lord through al tempeſtes & ſtormes of this malignant world, as by the reading and peruſing of the ſaid letters, you ſhall better feele and vnderſtand.

More of his letters ye ſhall read in the booke of Letters of the Martyrs.

A letter of maiſter Hooper to certaine godly profeſſors and louers of the truth, inſtructing them howe to behaue them ſelues in that wofull alteration and change of Religion.

A letter of M. Hooper.

THe grace, mercye, and peace of God the father through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you my deare brethrẽ, and with al thoſe that vnfaincdly loue and embrace his holy Goſpel. Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked Idol the Maſſe is ſtabliſhed again by a law, & paſſed in ẏ parlamẽt houſe. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, & what penaltie is appointed in the Acte, to ſuch as ſpeake againſt it: alſo whether there be any cõpulſion to cõſtraine men to be at it. The ſtatute thorowly knowen, ſuch as be abroad & at libertie, may prouide for them ſelues, & auoyde the daunger the better. Doubtles there hath not bene ſeene before our tyme, ſuch a parlament as this is, that as many as were ſuſpected to be fauourers of Gods worde, ſhould be baniſhed out of both houſes. But we muſt geue God thankes for that truthe he hath opened in the tyme of his bleſſed ſeruaunt king Edward the ſixt, and pray vnto hym that we deny it not, nor diſhõnor it with Idolatrie, but that we may haue ſtrength and pacience rather to die ten times, then to deny him once. Bleſſed ſhall we be, if euer God make vs worthy of that honour, to ſhed our bloud for his names ſake: And bleſſed then ſhall we thinke the parentes whiche brought vs into this worlde, that we ſhoulde from this mortalitie be carryed into immortalitie. If we folowe the commaundemente of Saint Paul, that ſaith: If ye then be riſen againe with Chriſte, ſeeke thoſe thinges whiche are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hande of God. We ſhall neyther departe from the vayne tranſitorie goodes of this worlde, nor from this wretched & mortall lyfe, with ſo great paines as other doo.

The fauourers of Gods worde ſecluded out of the parlament, both in the hye houſe and lower, agaynſt all right and reaſon.

Coloſ. 3.

Let vs pray to our heauenly father, that we may know and loue his bleſſed wyll, and the glorious ioy prepared for vs in tyme to come, and that we maye knowe and hate all thinges contrary to his bleſſed wyl, and alſo the payne prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be vſed in this troubleſome tyme for your conſolation, then many tymes to haue aſſemblies together of ſuch men and women as be of your Religion in Chriſte, and there to talke and renewe amõg your ſelues the truth of your Religion, to ſee what ye be by the worde of God, and to remẽber what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and conferre the dreames and falſe lyes of the Preachers that nowe preache, with the word of God that retayneth all truth, and by ſuch talke and familier reſorting together, ye ſhall the better finde out al their lyes, that nowe goe about to deceiue you, and alſo both know and loue the truth that God hath opened to vs. It is much requiſite, that the members of Chriſte comfort one an other, make prayers together, conferre one with an other, ſo ſhall ye be the ſtronger, and Gods ſpirite ſhall not be abſent from you, but in the myddeſt of you, to teache you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all godly things, pacient in aduerſitie, and ſtrong in perſecution.

[illegible] to reſort and conferre among them ſelues together.

Conference amongeſt brethren comfortable.

Ye ſee how ẏ congregatiõ of the wicked by helping one an other, make their wicked Religion and them ſelues ſtrong againſte Gods truth and his people. If ye maye haue ſome learned man that can oute of the Scriptures ſpeake vnto you of fayth and true honouring of God, alſo that can ſhewe you the deſcent of Chriſtes Church frõ the beginnyng of it vntyl this day, that ye may perceiue by the life of your forfathers theſe two things: the one, that Chriſtes word, which ſaid, that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the worlde, be true: the other, that none of all his before our tyme, eſcaped trouble: then ſhall ye perceyue that it is but a folie for one that profeſſeth Chriſt truely, to looke for the loue of the world.

Thus ſhall ye learne to beare trouble, and to exerciſe your Religion, and feele in dede that Chriſtes wordes be true: In the world ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution. And when ye feele your Religion in dede, ſay, ye be no better then your forefathers, but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy ſouldiers for this warre: and pray to God when ye come together, that he wyll vſe and order you and your doynges to theſe three endes, which ye muſt take heede of: the firſt, that ye glorifie God: the nexte, that ye edifie the Churche and Congregation: the thirde, that ye profite your owne ſoules.

Iohn 16.

Three thinges to be taken heede of.

In al your doinges beware ye be not deceyued. For although this tyme be not yet ſo bloudy and tyrannous as the tyme of our forefathers, that could not beare the name of Chriſt, without daunger of lyfe and goodes: yet is our tyme more perylous both for body and ſoule. Therefore of vs Chriſt ſaid: Thinke ye when the ſonne of man cõmeth, he ſhall finde faith vpon the earth? He ſaid not, Thinke ye he ſhal find any man or woman Chriſtened, and in name a Chriſtian? but he ſpake of the faith that ſaueth ẏ Chriſtian man in Chriſt: and doubtleſſe the ſcarcitie of fayth is nowe more (and wyl, I feare, encreaſe) then it was in the tyme of the greateſt tyrannes that euer were: and no maruelle why. Reade ye the 6. chap. of S. Iohns Reuelation, & ye ſhal perceiue amongeſt other thinges, that at the opening of the fourth Seale, came out a pale horſe, and he that ſate vpon hym was called death, and hel folowed hym. This horſe is the tyme wherin hypocrites and diſſemblers entred into the Churche vnder the pretence of true Religion, as Monkes, Fryers, Nonnes, Maſſing Prieſtes, with ſuch other, that haue kylled moe ſoules with hereſie and ſuperſtition, then all the tyrannes that euer were, kylled bodyes with fire, ſword, or baniſhmẽt, as it appeareth by his name that ſitteth vpõ the horſe, who is called death: for al ſoules that leaue Chriſt, and truſt to theſe hypocrites, lyue to the deuell in euerlaſting payne, as is declared by hym that foloweth the pale horſe, which is hell.

Luke 18.

Fayth more ſcanter now then in the olde tyme vnder Tyrauntes.

The pale horſe in the Apocalips chap. 6. what it meaneth.

Mo ſoules ſlaine by Monkes and Fryers, &c. then bodyes by Tyrantes.

Theſe pretenſed and pale hypocrites, haue ſtirred the earthquakes, that is to wytte, the Princes of the worlde, againſt Chriſtes Church, & haue alſo darkened the Sunne, and made the Moone bloudy, and haue cauſed the Starres to fal from heauen, that is to ſay, haue darkned with miſtes and dayly doo darken (as ye heare by their Sermons) the cleare ſunne of Gods moſt pure word: the Moone, which be Gods true Preachers, whiche fetche onely light at the Sunne of Gods worde, are turned into bloud, priſons, and chaynes, that their light can not ſhine vnto the worlde as they woulde: whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that the Starres, that is to ſay, Chriſtian people fal from heauen, that is to wyt, from Gods moſt true worde, to hypocriſie, moſt deuiliſh ſuperſtition and Idolatrie. Let ſome learned man ſhewe you al the articles of your beliefe & monuments of Chriſtian fayth, from the tyme of Chriſt hytherto, and ye ſhal perceyue that there was neuer mention of ſuch articles as theſe hypocrites teache. God bleſſe you, and pray for me, as I do for you.

The 6. chapt. of the Apocalips opened.

Out of the Fleete, by your brother
in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To mayſter Ferrar Biſhop of ſaint Dauies, D. Taylor, M.Bradford, and M. Philpot,priſoners in the kinges benche in Southwarke.

An other letter of M. Hooper.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I am aduertiſed by diuers,as wel ſuch as loue the truth,as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come vnto it, that ye and I ſhal be caried ſhortly to Cambridge,there to diſpute in the faith and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we haue and doo profeſſe. I am(as I doubt not ye be)in Chriſt ready,not only to goe to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer by Gods helpe, death it ſelfe in the maintenaunce thereof. Weſton and his complices haue obteined forth the commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he wil put it in execution. Wherefore deare brethren, I doe aduertiſe you of the thing before for diuers cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lord,that the time draweth nigh and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtifie before Gods enemies, Gods truth. The next, that ye ſhoulde prepare your ſelues the better for it. The third,to ſhew you what wayes I thinke were beſt to vſe our ſelues in this matter,and alſo to heare of euery one of you,your better aduiſe, if myne be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhalbe Cenſors and Iudges ouer vs, breath and thirſt our bloud, and whether we by Gods helpe ouercome after the worde of God,or by force and ſubtiltie of our aduerſaries be ouercome,this wyl be the concluſion; our aduerſaries wil ſay, they ouercome, and ye perceiue howe they reporte of thoſe great learned men and godly perſonages at Oxford.

Commiſſion geuen out for M. Hooper & other, to diſpute at Cambridge.

The counſell of M. Hooper how and vpon what cautions to diſpute with the aduerſaries.

Wherfore I mynd neuer to anſwere them,except I haue books preſent, becauſe they vſe not only falſe allegation of the Doctours, but alſo a peece of the D. againſt the whole courſe of the Doctours mynde. The next,that we may haue ſworn Notaries,to take thinges ſpoken indifferently:which wil be very harde to haue, for the aduerſaries wil haue the ouerſight of al thinges, and then make theirs better then it was,and ours worſe then it was. Then if we ſee that two or three or more wil ſpeake together,or with ſcoffes & tauntes illude and mocke vs: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeale, to be heard before the Quene and the whole Counſaile,and that would much ſet forth the glory of God. For many of them knowe alredy the truth, many of them erre rather of zeale thē malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould be aunſweared fully to their ſhame (I doubt not) although to our ſmart and bloudſhedding. For of this I am aſſured,that the cōmiſſioners appointed to heare vs and iudge vs,meane nothing leſſe then to heare the cauſe indifferently, for they be enemies vnto vs and vnto our cauſe,and be at a poynt already to geue ſentence againſt vs: ſo that if it were poſſible with S. Stephen to ſpeake, ſo that they coulde not reſiſt vs, or to vſe ſuch ſilence and pacience as Chriſt did, they wyll proceede to reuenging.

Wherefore my deare brethren, in the mercye of Ieſus Chriſt,I would be glad to know your aduiſe this day or to morowe,for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhal not cōpany together,but be kept one abroad frō an other. They wyl deny our appeale:yet let vs chalēge the appeale,and take witnes thereof of ſuche as be preſent, and require for indifferencie of hearing and iudgement to be heard, either before the Queene and the Counſaile, or els before al the parlament,as they were vſed in king Edwards dayes. Further, for my part I wyll require both bookes and tyme to anſweare. We haue ben priſoners now three quarters of a yeare,and haue lacked our bookes, and our memories by cloſe keeping,and ingratitude of their partes, be not as preſent and quicke as theirs be. I truſt God wyl be with vs,yea I doubt not but he will,& teach vs to do al thinges in his cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our aduerſaries that ſhal be our Iudges,may haue their purpoſe,we ſhal diſpute one day, be condemned the next day, and ſuffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemne vs(as far as I knowe) & ſo one of the Cōuocatiō houſe ſaid this weeke to D. Weſton. To whō Weſtō made this anſwer:It forceth not,quoth he,for a law, we haue commiſſion to proceede with them: when they be diſpatched,let their frendes ſue the lawe.

Note how the Papiſtes procede agaynſt all order and law.

Now,how ſoone a man may haue ſuch a commiſſion at my Lord Chancelors hand,you know.It is as hard to be obteined,as an enditement for Chriſt at Cayphas hande. Beſides that,the Biſhoppes hauing the Queene ſo vpon their ſides may doe al things both without the aduiſe,& alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the Lordes of the temporaltie: who at this preſent haue found out the marke that the Biſhops ſhoote at,and doubtles be not pleaſed with their doinges. I pray you helpe that our brother Sanders & the reſt in the Marſhalſey may vnderſtand theſe thinges, & ſend me your anſwer betime, Iudas nō dormit:nec ſcimus diem neq; horā.i.Iudas ſleepeth not:neither know we the day nor the houre. Domin⁹ Ieſus Chriſtus ſuo ſancto numine nos omnes cōſoletur et adiuuet.Amē.i.The lord Ieſus Chriſt with his holy ſpirit cōfort & ſtrengthen vs al. Amen. May.6.1554.

Yours & with you vnto death,in Chriſt, I.Hooper.

An exhortation to pacience,ſent to his godly wife Anne Hooper: whereby al the true members of Chriſt may take comfort and courage,to ſuffer trouble & affliction for the profeſſion of his holy Goſpel.

Math. 18.

An effectuall letter of M. Hooper ſent to his wyfe,

OUr ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt (dearly beloued & my godlye wife) in S. Mathewes Goſpel ſaid to his diſciples,that it was neceſſary ſclaunders ſhould come: & that they could not be auoyded,he perceiued as wel by the codition of thoſe that ſhould periſh,& be loſt for euer in the world to come,as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaued. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people would contemne & neglect,whatſoeuer true doctrine or godly wayes ſhould be ſhewed vnto thē,or els receiue it & vſe it as they thought good, to ſerue their pleaſures without any profit to their ſoules at al, not caryng whether they liued as they were commaunded by Gods word or not: but would think it ſufficiēt to be coūted to haue the name of a Chriſtiā man, & ſuch workes & fruits of his profeſſion & Chriſtianitie,as his fathers & elders after their cuſtome and manner, eſteeme and take to be good fruites & faythful workes,& wil not try thē by the word of God at al. Theſe men by the iuſt iudgement of God,be deliuered vnto ỷ craft & ſubtiltie of the deuil,that they may be kept by one ſclaundrous ſtumbling blocke or other,that they neuer come vnto Chriſt,who came to ſaue thoſe that were loſt:as ye may ſee how God deliuereth wicked men vp vnto their owne luſtes, to do one miſchiefe after an other careles,vntyll they come into a reprobate mynd,that forgetteth it ſelfe and can not know what is expedient to be done or to be left vndone,becauſe they cloſe their eyes and wyl not ſee the light of Gods word offred vnto thē, & being thus blinded, they preferre their owne vanities before the truth of Gods word. Wheras ſuch corrupt minds be,there is alſo corrupt election & choyſe of Gods honor:ſo that the mynd of man taketh falſhood for truth,ſuperſtition for true religiō, death for life,damnation for ſaluation, hel for heauen, & perſecution of Chriſtes mēbers,for Gods ſeruice & honor. And as theſe mē wilfully & voluntarily reiect the word of God: euen ſo God moſt iuſtly deliuereth thē into the blyndnes of mind & hardnes of hart, that they can not vnderſtande, nor yet cōſent to any thing that God would haue preached & ſet forth to his glory,after his own wil & word: wherfore they hate it mortally, & of al things moſt deteſt gods holy word. And as ỷ diuel hath entred into their harts,ỷ they thē ſelues cā not, nor wyll not come to Chriſt to be inſtructed by his holy word: euen ſo can they not abide any other man to be a chriſtian man,& to leade his life after the word of God, but hate him,perſecute hym,rob hym, impriſon hym, yea & kyl him,whether he be man or womā,if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are thoſe wicked men blinded,that they paſſe of no law,whether it be Gods or mans,but perſecute ſuch as neuer offended,yea,do euyl to thoſe that dayly haue prayed for them,and wiſh them Gods grace.

Math. 24.

Rom. 1.
1. Theſ. 2.

Errour taken for truth and perſecution for Gods ſeruice.

John 8. 9.

No reſpect of nature with the perſecuting aduerſaryes.

In their Pharaonical and blynd furie they haue no reſpect to nature. For the brother perſecuteth the brother,the father the ſonne: and moſt deare frendes,in diueliſh ſclaunder and offence are become moſt mortall enemies. And no marueile,for when they haue choſen ſundry Maiſters,the one the diuel, the other God, the one ſhal agree with the other,as God and the diuel agree betwene them ſelues. For this cauſe,that the more part of the worlde dooth chooſe to ſerue the diuel vnder cloked hypocriſie of gods title, Chriſt ſaid: It is expedient and neceſſarye that ſclaunders ſhoulde come,& many meanes be deuiſed to keepe the litle babes of Chriſt from the heauenly father. But Chriſt ſaith: Wo be vnto him by whō the offence cōmeth: yet is ther no remedie,mā being of ſuch corruptiō & hatred towards god,but ỷ ỷ euyl ſhalbe deceiued & perſecute ỷ good: & ỷ good ſhal vnderſtand the truth,& ſuffer perſecutiō for it vntyl ỷ worlds end. For as he that was borne after the fleſhe,perſecuted in tymes paſt, him that was borne after the ſpirite: euen ſo it is now. Therfore,for ſo much as we liue in this life amongeſt ſo many great peryls and daūgers,we muſt be wel aſſured by Gods word how to beare them,& how paciently to take them,as they be ſent to vs from God. We muſt alſo aſſure our ſelues that there is no other remedie for Chriſtians in the tyme of trouble, then Chriſt hym ſelfe hath appoynted vs. In S. Luke he geueth vs this commaundement: Ye ſhal poſſeſſe your liues in pacience,ſaith he. In ỷ which wordes, he geueth vs both commaundement what to doo, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles. He ſheweth alſo what is to be done, & what is to be hoped for in troubles: and when troubles happē, he biddeth vs be pacient, and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecuters,becauſe god hath ſuch care & charge of vs,that he wyl keepe in the myddes of all troubles the very heares of

Math. 18.

Gene. 4.
Galat. 4.

Luke 2.

Patience in troubles,only the Chriſtian mans remedy.

Math. 10.

1555.
Februa.

of our head, ſo that one of them ſhal not fall away without the wyll and pleaſure of our heauenly father. Whether the heare therfore tarry in the head, or fal from the head, it is the wyl of the father. And ſeing he hath ſuch care for the heares of our head, how much more doth he care for our life it ſelfe? Wherfore let Gods aduerſaries do what they luſt, whether they take the life or take it not, they can doo vs no hurt: for their crueltie hath no further power then God permitteth them: and that which commeth vnto vs by the wyl of our heauenly father, can be no harme, no loſſe, neither deſtruction vnto vs, but rather gaine, wealth, and felicitie. For al troubles and aduerſitie that chance to ſuch as be of God by the wyl of the heauenly father, can be none other but gaine and aduantage.

Rom. 8.
Prayer neceſſary.
James 1.
1. Cor. 1. 8.

That the ſpirite of man may feele theſe conſolations, the geuer of them the heauenly father muſt be prayed vnto for the merites of Chriſtes paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented vntil it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with Gods ſpirite, to beare paciently the troubles of the minde or of the body. When the mynd and hart of a man ſeeth of euery ſide ſorowe and heauines, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuche thinges as be troublous and wholy bent to robbe the poore of that he hath, and alſo to take from him his life: except the man weigh theſe brittle and vncertaine treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come: and this life of the body, with the life in Chriſtes precious bloud, and ſo for the loue and certaintie of the heauenly ioyes contemne all thinges preſent, doubtles he ſhall neuer be able to beare the loſſe of goodes, life, or any other thinges of this world.

Colloſ. 3.

A leſſon how to beare trouble.

Therefore Saint Paul geueth a very godly and neceſſarie leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitorie life, and therein ſheweth howe a man may beſt beare the iniquitie & troubles of this world: If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt (ſaith he) ſeeke the thinges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hande of God the father. Wherfore the Chriſtian mans fayth muſt be alwayes vpon the reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble, and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not onely ſee continuall and perpetuall ioy and conſolation; but alſo the victorie and triumph of all perſecution, trouble, ſinne, death, hell, the diuell, and al other tyrantes and perſecuters of Chriſte and of Chriſtes people, the teares and weepinges of the faythfull wyped vp, their woundes healed, their bodyes made immortall in ioy, their ſoules for euer prayſing the Lord, and coniunction and ſocietie euerlaſting with the bleſſed company of Gods electes in perpetual ioy. But the wordes of S. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doo litle profite to the reader or hearer, and geue hym no pacience at al in this impacient and cruel world.

Two things commaūded by S. Paule writing to the Colloſſians.

In the firſt part S. Paul commaundeth vs, to thinke or ſet our affections on things that are aboue. Whē he biddeth vs ſeeke the thinges that are aboue, he requireth that our myndes neuer ceaſe frō prayer & ſtudy in Gods word, vntill we ſee, knowe, & vnderſtand the vanities of this world, the ſhortnes & miſerie of this life, & the treaſures of the worlde to come, the immortalitie thereof, and the ioyes of that life, & ſo neuer ceaſe ſeeking, vntyll ſuch tyme as we knowe certainly, and be perſwaded what a bleſſed man he is that ſeeketh the one & findeth it, and careth not for the other though he looſe it: and in ſeeking to haue right iudgement betwene the life preſent & the life to come, we ſhal find howe litle the paynes, impriſonment, ſclaunders, lyes, & death it ſelf is in this world, in reſpect of the paines euerlaſting, the priſon infernal, & dungeon of hell, the ſentence of Gods iuſt iudgement, and euerlaſting death.

When a man hath by ſeeking the worde of God, found out what the thinges aboue be: then muſt he (as S. Paul ſaith) ſet his affections vpon them. And this commaundement is more harde then the other. For mans knowledge many tymes ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better then this life preſent, as you may ſee howe many men and women can prayſe and commende, yea and wiſhe for heauen, and to be at reſt there: yet they ſet not their affection vpon it. They doo more affect and loue in herte a trifle of nothing in this worlde that pleaſeth their affection, then the treaſure of all treaſures in heauen, which their owne iudgement ſaith is better then all worldly thinges. Wherfore we muſt ſet our affections vpon the thinges that be aboue: that is to ſay, when any thing worſe then heauen vpon the earth offereth it ſelfe to be ours, if we wyll geue our good wylles to it, and loue it in our hartes, then ought we to ſee by the iudgement of Gods word, whether we may haue the worlde without offence of God, and ſuch thinges as be for this worldly life, without his diſpleaſure. If we can not, S. Paules commaundement muſt take place: Set your affections on thinges that are aboue. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by Gods lawe, neither our lyues be continued without the denyall of his honor, we muſt ſet our affection vpon the riches and life that is aboue, & not vpon things that be on the earth. Therfore this ſecond commaundement of S. Paul requireth, that as our myndes iudge heauenly thinges to be better then things vpon the earth, and the life to come better then the life preſent: ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, and preferre thē and haue ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chooſe the beſt and approue it, and yet folowe the worſt.

1. Cor. 7.

How thinges of this world may be poſſeſſed and how not.

Scriptures would be muſed vpon rather then talked vpon.

But theſe thinges (my godly wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, then wordes or talke. They be eaſie to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to be vſed and practiſed. Wherfore ſeeing they be Gods gyftes, and none of ours, to haue as our owne when we would, we muſt ſeeke them at our heauenly fathers hand, who ſeeth and is priuie howe poore and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gyftes we be by reaſon of ſinne. He dyd commaund therefore his Diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhoulde take paciently the ſtate of this preſent lyfe full of troubles and perſecution, to praye that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the ſonne of man. When ye finde your ſelfe too muche oppreſſed (as euery man ſhal be ſometime with the feare of Gods iudgement) vſe the. 77. Pſal. that beginneth: I will cry vnto God with my voyce, and he ſhall hearken vnto me. In whiche Pſalme is both godly doctrine and great conſolation vnto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Math. 14.
Luke 2.

Pſal. 77.
Read alſo M. Hoopers expoſition vpon this Pſalme, moſt comfortable for all broken and afflicted hartes.

Vſe alſo in ſuch trouble the. 88. Pſalme, wherein is conteyned the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguiſh & miſerie, & being vexed with aduerſaries & perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hel. And although he felt in him ſelfe, that he had not onely man, but alſo God angry towardes hym: yet he by prayer humbly reſorted vnto God, as the only port of conſolation, and in the middeſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſaluation in hym, whom he felt his enemie. Howbeit no man of hym ſelfe can doo this, but the ſpirite of God that ſtriketh the mans hert with feare, prayeth for the man ſtriken and feared with vnſpeakable gronynges. And when you feele your ſelfe or knowe any other oppreſſed after ſuche ſort, be glad: for after that God hath made you to know what you be of your ſelfe, he wyll doubtles ſhew you comfort, and declare vnto you what you be in Chriſt his onely ſonne: and vſe prayer often, for that is the meanes whereby God wyll be ſought vnto for his gyftes. Theſe Pſalmes be for the purpoſe, when the minde can take no vnderſtanding, nor the hart any ioy of Gods promiſes: and therfore were theſe Pſalmes alſo made. vi. xxij. xxx. xxxi. xxxviij. lxix. from the which you ſhall learne both pacience and conſolation. Remember, that although your life (as al Chriſtian mens be) be hyd and appeareth not what it is, yet is it ſafe (as ſaint Paul ſaith) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſte ſhall appeare, then ſhal our liues be made open with him in glory. But in the meane tyme with ſeeking and ſetting our affections vppon the thinges that be aboue, we muſt paciently ſuffer whatſoeuer God ſhal ſend vnto vs in this mortall life. Notwithſtanding it might fortune ſome would ſay, who is ſo perfect, that can let al thynges paſſe as they come, & haue no care of thē: ſuffer al things, & feele nothing: be attempted of ẏ diuel, the world, & ẏ fleſh, & not be troubled? Verily no mā liuyng. But this I ſay, that in ẏ ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt, things that come, may paſſe wt care, for we be worldly, & yet are we not caried wt thē frō Chriſt, for we be in him godly. We may ſuffer things & feele them as mortall men, yet beare thē & ouercome thē as chriſten men. We may be attempted of the deuil, ẏ fleſh, & ẏ world: but yet although thoſe thynges pinche, they doo not pierce, and although they worke ſinne in vs, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be graffed in him. Hereof may the chriſtian mā learne both cōſolatiō & patience. Cōſolation, in that he is cōpelled both in his body & goodes to feele paine & loſſe, & in the ſoule heauines & anguiſh of mynd: howbeit none of thē both ſhall ſeparate him frō ẏ loue that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learne pacience, for as much as his enemies both of ẏ body & ſoule, & ẏ paines alſo they vexe vs withall for ẏ tyme, if they tary wt vs as lōg as we liue, yet whē death cometh, they ſhal auoyd, & geue place to ſuch ioyes as be prepared for vs in Chriſt: for no paines of the world be perpetuall, and whether they ſhall afflict vs for all the tyme of our mortall lyfe, we know not, for they be the ſeruauntes of God to goe and to come, as he commaundeth them. But we muſt take heede we meddle not forcebly nor ſeditiouſly, to put away the perſecution appointed vnto vs by God, but remember Chriſtes ſaying: Poſſeſſe you your liues by your pacience. And in this commaundement God requireth in euery man and woman thys patient obedience. He ſayth not,

Rom. 8.

What Pſalmes are to be vſed in diſtreſſe and tribulation.

Read alſo the fourth chapter of Eccle.
Colloſ. 3.

Note thys well to thy comfort that are afflicted.

Rom. 8.

Conſolation.

Patience.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſeruauntes of God.

Luke. 2

¶To mayſter Ferrar Biſhop of ſaint Dauies, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, priſoners in the kinges benche in Southwarke.

An other letter of M. Hooper.

Commiſſion geuen out for M. Hooper & other, to diſpute at Cambridge.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I am aduertiſed by diuers, as wel ſuch as loue the truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come vnto it, that ye and I ſhal be caried ſhortly to Cambridge, there to diſpute in the faith and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we haue and doo profeſſe. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not only to goe to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer by Gods helpe, death it ſelfe in the maintenaunce thereof. Weſton and his complices haue obteined forth the commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he wil put it in execution. Wherefore deare brethren, I doe aduertiſe you of the thing before for diuers cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth nigh and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtifie before Gods enemies, Gods truth. The next, that ye ſhoulde prepare your ſelues the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what wayes I thinke were beſt to vſe our ſelues in this matter, and alſo to heare of euery one of you, your better aduiſe, if myne be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhalbe Cenſors and Iudges ouer vs, breath and thirſt our bloud, and whether we by Gods helpe ouercome after the worde of God, or by force and ſubtiltie of our aduerſaries be ouercome, this wyl be the concluſion; our aduerſaries wil ſay, they ouercome, and ye perceiue howe they reporte of thoſe great learned men and godly perſonages at Oxford.

The counſell of M. Hooper how and vpon what cautions to diſpute with the aduerſaries.

Wherfore I mynd neuer to anſwere them, except I haue books preſent, becauſe they vſe not only falſe allegation of the Doctours, but alſo a peece of the D. againſt the whole courſe of the Doctours mynde. The next, that we may haue ſworn Notaries, to take thinges ſpoken indifferently: which wil be very harde to haue, for the aduerſaries wil haue the ouerſight of al thinges, and then make theirs better then it was, and ours worſe then it was. Then if we ſee that two or three or more wil ſpeake together, or with ſcoffes & taũtes illude and mocke vs: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeale, to be heard before the Quene and the whole Counſaile, and that would much ſet forth the glory of God. For many of them knowe alredy the truth, many of them erre rather of zeale thē malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould be aunſweared fully to their ſhame (I doubt not) although to our ſmart and bloudſhedding. For of this I am aſſured, that the cōmiſſioners appointed to heare vs and iudge vs, meane nothing leſſe then to heare the cauſe indifferently, for they be enemies vnto vs and vnto our cauſe, and be at a poynt already to geue ſentence againſt vs: ſo that if it were poſſible with S. Stephen to ſpeake, ſo that they coulde not reſiſt vs, or to vſe ſuch ſilence and pacience as Chriſt did, they wyll proceede to reuenging.

Wherefore my deare brethren, in the mercye of Ieſus Chriſt, I would be glad to know your aduiſe this day or to morowe, for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhal not cōpany together, but be kept one abroad frō an other. They wyl deny our appeale: yet let vs chalēge the appeale, and take witnes thereof of ſuche as be preſent, and require for indifferencie of hearing and iudgement to be heard, either before the Queene and the Counſaile, or els before al the parlament, as they were vſed in king Edwards dayes. Further, for my part I wyll require both bookes and tyme to anſweare. We haue ben priſoners now three quarters of a yeare, and haue lacked our bookes, and our memories by cloſe keeping, and ingratitude of their partes, be not as preſent and quicke as theirs be. I truſt God wyl be with vs, yea I doubt not but he will, & teach vs to do al things in his cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our aduerſaries that ſhal be our Iudges, may haue their purpoſe, we ſhal diſpute one day, be condemned the next day, and ſuffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemne vs (as far as I knowe) & ſo one of the Cōuocatiō houſe ſaid this weeke to D. Weſton. To whō Weſtō made this anſwer: It forceth not, quoth he, for a law, we haue commiſſion to proceede with them: when they be diſpatched, let their frendes ſue the lawe.

Note how the Papiſtes proceede agaynſt all order and law.

Now, how ſoone a man may haue ſuch a commiſſion at my Lord Chancelors hand, you know. It is as hard to be obteined, as an enditement for Chriſt at Cayphas hande. Beſides that, the Biſhoppes hauing the Queene ſo vpon their ſides may doe al things both without the aduiſe, & alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the Lordes of the temporaltie: who at this preſent haue found out the marke that the Biſhops ſhoote at, and doubtles be not pleaſed with their doinges. I pray you helpe that our brother Sanders & the reſt in the Marſhalſey may vnderſtand theſe thinges, & ſend me your anſwer betime. Iudas nō dormit: nec ſcimus diem neq; horā. i. Iudas ſleepeth not: neither know we the day nor the houre. Domin⁹ Ieſus Chriſtus ſuo ſancto numine nos omnes cōſoletur et adiuuet. Amē. i. The lord Ieſus Chriſt with his holy ſpirit cōfort & ſtrengthen vs al. Amen. May. 6. 1554.

Yours & with you vnto death, in Chriſt, I. Hooper.

An exhortation to pacience, ſent to his godly wife Anne Hooper: whereby al the true members of Chriſt may take comfort and courage, to ſuffer trouble & affliction for the profeſſion of his holy Goſpel.

Math. 18.

An effectuall letter of M. Hooper ſent to his wyfe.

OUr ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt (dearly beloued & my godlye wife) in S. Mathewes Goſpel ſaid to his diſciples, that it was neceſſary ſclaunders ſhould come: & that they could not be auoyded, he perceiued as wel by the cōdition of thoſe that ſhould periſh & be loſt for euer in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaued. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people would contemne & neglect, whatſoeuer true doctrine or godly wayes ſhould be ſhewed vnto thē, or els receiue it & vſe it as they thought good, to ſerue their pleaſures without any profit to their ſoules at al, not caryng whether they liued as they were commaunded by Gods word or not: but would think it ſufficiēt to be cōuted to haue the name of a Chriſtiā man, & ſuch workes & fruits of his profeſſion & Chriſtianitie, as his fathers & elders after their cuſtome and manner, eſteeme and take to be good fruites & faythful workes, & wil not try thē by the word of God at al. Theſe men by the iuſt iudgement of God, be deliuered vnto ye craft & ſubtiltie of the deuil, that they may be kept by one ſclaūdrous ſtumbling blocke or other, that they neuer come vnto Chriſt, who came to ſaue thoſe that were loſt: as ye may ſee how God deliuereth wicked men vp vnto their owne luſtes, to do one miſchiefe after an other careles, vntyll they come into a reprobate mynd, that forgetteth it ſelfe and can not know what is expedient to be done or to be leaft vndone, becauſe they cloſe their eyes and wyl not ſee the light of Gods word offred vnto thē, & being thus blinded, they preferre their owne vanities before the truth of Gods word. Wheras ſuch corrupt minds be, there is alſo corrupt election & choyſe of Gods honor: ſo that the mynd of man taketh falſhood for truth, ſuperſtition for true religiō, death for life, damnation for ſaluation, hel for heauen, & perſecution of Chriſtes mēbers, for Gods ſeruice & honor. And as theſe mē wilfully & voluntarily reiect the word of God: euen ſo God moſt iuſtly deliuereth thē into the blyndnes of minde & hardnes of hart, that they can not vnderſtande, nor yet cōſent to any thing that God would haue preached & ſet forth to his glory, after his own wil & word: wherfore they hate it mortally, & of al things moſt deteſt gods holy word. And as ye diuel hath entred into their harts, yt they thē ſelues cā not, nor wyll not come to Chriſt to be inſtructed by his holy word: euen ſo can they not abide any other men to be a chriſtian man, & to leade his life after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute hym, rob hym, impriſon hym, yea & kyl him, whether he be man or womā, if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are thoſe wicked men blinded, that they paſſe of no law, whether it be Gods or mans, but perſecute ſuch as neuer offended, yea, do euyl to thoſe that dayly haue prayed for them, and wiſh them Gods grace.

Math. 24.

Rom. 1.
1. Theſ. 2.

Errour taken for truth and perſecution for Gods ſeruice.

Iohn 8. 9.

No reſpect of nature with the perſecuting aduerſaryes.

In their Pharaonical and blynd furie they haue no reſpect to nature. For the brother perſecuteth the brother, the father the ſonne: and moſt deare frends, in diueliſh ſclaunder and offence are become moſt mortall enemies. And no maruelle, for when they haue choſen ſundry Maiſters, the one the diuel, the other God, the one ſhal agree with the other, as God and the diuel agree betwene them ſelues. For this cauſe, that the more part of the worlde dooth chooſe to ſerue the diuel vnder cloked hypocriſie of gods title, Chriſt ſaid: It is expedient and neceſſarye that ſclaunders ſhoulde come, & many meanes be deuiſed to keepe the litle babes of Chriſt from the heauenly father. But Chriſt ſaith: Wo be vnto him by whō the offence cōmeth: yet is ther no remedie, mā being of ſuch corruptiō & hatred towards god, but ye euyl ſhalbe deceiued & perſecute ye good: & ye good ſhal vnderſtand the truth, & ſuffer perſecutiō for it vntyl ye worlds end. For as he that was borne after the fleſhe, perſecuted in tymes paſt, him that was borne after the ſpirite: euen ſo it is now. Therfore, for ſo much as we liue in this life amongeſt ſo many great peryls and daūgers, we muſt be wel aſſured by Gods word how to beare them, & how paciently to take them, as they be ſent to vs from God. We muſt alſo aſſure our ſelues that there is no other remedie for Chriſtians in the tyme of trouble, then Chriſt hym ſelfe hath appoynted vs. In S. Luke he geueth vs this commaundement: Ye ſhal poſſeſſe your liues in pacience, ſaith he. In ye which wordes, he geueth vs both commaundement what to doo, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles. He ſheweth alſo what is to be done, & what is to be hoped for, in troubles: and when troubles happē, he biddeth vs be pacient, and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecuters, becauſe god hath ſuch care & charge of vs, that he wyl keepe in the myddes of all troubles the very heares of

Math. 18.

Gene. 4.
Galat. 4.

Luke 2.

Patience in troubles, onely the Chriſtian mans remedy.

of

March. 10.
1555.
Februa.

of our head, ſo that one of them ſhal not fall away without the wyll and pleaſure of our heauenly father. Whether the heare therfore tarry in the head, or fal from the head, it is the wyl of the father. And ſeing he hath ſuch care for the heares of our head, how much more doth he care for our life it ſelfe? wherfore let Gods aduerſaries do what they luſt, whether they take the life or take it not, they can doo vs no hurt: for their crueltie hath no further power then God permitteth them: and that which commeth vnto vs by the wyl of our heauenly father, can be no harme, no loſſe, neither deſtructiō vnto vs, but rather gaine, wealth, and felicitie. For al troubles and aduerſitie that chance to ſuch as be of God by the wyl of the heauenly father, can be none other but gaine and aduantage.

Rom. 8.
Prayer neceſſary.
James 1.
1. Cor. 1. 8.

That the ſpirite of man may feele theſe conſolations, the geuer of them the heauenly father muſt be prayed vnto for the merites of Chriſtes paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contēted vntil it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with Gods ſpirite, to beare paciently the troubles of the minde or of the body. When the mynd and hart of a man ſeeth of euery ſide ſorowe and heauines, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuche thinges as be troublous and wholy bent to robbe the poore of that he hath, and alſo to take from him his life: except the man weigh theſe brittle and vncertaine treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come: and this life of the body, with the life in Chriſtes precious bloud, and ſo for the loue and certaintie of the heauenly ioyes contemne all thinges preſent, doubtles he ſhall neuer be able to beare the loſſe of goodes, life, or any other things of this world.

Colloſ. 3.

A leſſon how to beare trouble.

Therfore Saint Paul geueth a very godly and neceſſarie leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitorie life, and therein ſheweth howe a man may beſt beare the iniquitie & troubles of this world: If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt (ſaith he) ſeeke the thinges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hande of God the father. Wherfore the Chriſtian mans fayth muſt be alwayes vpon the reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble, and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not onely ſee continuall and perpetuall ioy and conſolation: but alſo the victorie and triumph of al perſecution, trouble, ſinne, death, hell, the diuell, and al other tyrantes and perſecuters of Chriſte and of Chriſtes people, the teares and weepinges of the faythfull dryed vp, their woundes healed, their bodyes made immortall in ioy, their ſoules for euer prayſing the Lord, and coniunction and ſocietie euerlaſting with the bleſſed company of Gods electes in perpetual ioy. But the wordes of S. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doo litle profite to the reader or hearer, and geue hym no pacience at al in this impacient and cruel world.

Two things commaūded by S. Paule writing to the Colloſſians.

In the firſt part S. Paul cōmaundeth vs, to thinke or ſet our affections on things that are aboue. Whē he biddeth vs ſeeke the thinges that are aboue, he requireth that our myndes neuer ceaſe frō prayer & ſtudy in Gods word, vntill we ſee, knowe, & vnderſtand the vanities of this world, the ſhortnes & miſerie of this life, & the treaſures of the worlde to come, the immortalitie therof, and the ioyes of that life, & ſo neuer ceaſe ſeeking, vntyll ſuch tyme as we knowe certainly, and be perſwaded what a bleſſed man he is that ſeeketh the one & findeth it, and careth not for the other though he looſe it: and in ſeeking to haue right iudgement betwene the life preſent & the life to come, we ſhal find howe litle the paynes, impriſonment, ſclaunders, lyes, & death it ſelf is in this world, in reſpect of the paines euerlaſting, the priſon infernal, & dungeon of hell, the ſentence of Gods iuſt iudgement, and euerlaſting death.

When a man hath by ſeeking the worde of God, found out what the thinges aboue be: then muſt he (as S. Paul ſaith) ſet his affections vpon them. And this commaundement is more harde then the other. For mans knowledge many tymes ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better then this life preſent, as you may ſee howe dayly men and women can prayſe and commende, yea and wiſhe for heauen, and to be at reſt there: yet they ſet not their affection vpon it, they doo more affect and loue in deede a trifle of nothing in this worlde that pleaſeth their affection, then the treaſure of all treaſures in heauen, which their owne iudgement ſaith is better then all worldly thinges. wherfore we muſt ſet our affections vpon the thinges that be aboue: that is to ſay, when any thing worſe then heauē vppon the earth offereth it ſelfe to be ours, if we wyll geue our good wylles to it, and loue it in our hartes, then ought we to ſee by the iudgment of Gods word, whether we may haue the worlde without offence of God, and ſuch thinges as be for this worldly life, without his diſpleaſure. If we can not, S. Paules commaundement muſt take place: Set your affections on thinges that are aboue. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by Gods lawe, neither our lyues be continued without the denyall of his honor, we muſt ſet our affection vpon the riches and life that is aboue, & not vpon things that be on the earth. Therfore this ſecond commaundement of S. Paul requireth, that as our myndes iudge heauenly thinges to be better then things vpon the earth, and the life to come better then the life preſent: ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, and preferre the and haue ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chooſe the beſt and approue it, and yet folowe the worſt.

How thinges of this world may be poſſeſſed and how not.

Scriptures would be muſed vpon rather then talked vpon.

But theſe thinges (my godly wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, then wordes or talke. They be eaſie to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to be vſed and practiſed. Wherefore ſeeing they be Gods gyftes, and none of ours, to haue as our owne when we would, we muſt ſeeke them at our heauenly fathers hand, who ſeeth and is priuie howe poore and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gyftes we be by reaſon of ſinne. He dyd commaund therefore his Diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhoulde take paciently the ſtate of this preſent lyfe full of troubles and perſecution, to praye that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the ſonne of man. When ye finde your ſelfe too muche oppreſſed (as euery man ſhal be ſometime with the feare of Gods iudgement) vſe the. 77. Pſal. that beginneth: I will cry vnto God with my voyce, and he ſhall hearken vnto me. In whiche Pſalme is both godly doctrine and great conſolation vnto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Math. 24.
Luke 2.

Pſal. 77.
Read alſo M. Hoopers expoſition vpon this Pſalme, moſt comfortable for all broken and afflicted hartes.

Uſe alſo in ſuch trouble the. 88. Pſalme, wherein is conteyned the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguiſh & miſerie, & being vexed with aduerſaries & perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hel. And although he felt in him ſelfe, that he had not onely man, but alſo God angry towardes hym: yet he by prayer humbly reſorted vnto God, as the only port of conſolation, and in the middeſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſaluation in hym, whom he felt his enemie. Howbeit no man of hym ſelfe can doo this, but the ſpirite of God that ſtriketh the mans hert with feare, prayeth for the man ſtriken and feared with vnſpeakable gronynges. And when you feele your ſelfe or knowe any other oppreſſed after ſuche ſort, be glad: for after that God hath made you to know what you be of your ſelfe, he wyll doubtles ſhew you comfort, and declare vnto you what you be in Chriſt his onely ſonne: and vſe prayer often, for that is the meanes whereby God wyll be ſought vnto for his gyftes. Theſe Pſalmes be for the purpoſe, when the minde can take no vnderſtanding, nor the hart any ioy of Gods promiſes: and therfore were theſe Pſalmes alſo made. vi. xxij. xxx. xxxi. xxxviij. lxx. from the which you ſhall learne both pacience and conſolation. Remember, that although your life (as al Chriſtian mens be) be hyd and appeareth not what it is, yet is it ſafe (as ſaint Paul ſaith) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſte ſhall appeare, then ſhal our liues be made open with him in glory. But in the meane tyme with ſeeking and ſetting our affections vppon the thinges that be aboue, we muſt paciently ſuffer whatſoeuer God ſhal ſend vnto vs in this mortall life. Notwithſtanding it might fortune ſome woulde ſay, Who is ſo perfect, that can let al thynges paſſe as they come, & haue no care of thē: ſuffer al things, & feele nothing: be attēpted of ẏ diuel, the world, & ẏ fleſh, & not be troubled? Verely no mā lyuyng. But this I ſay, that in ẏ ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt, things that come, may paſſe wt care, for we be worldly, & yet are we not caried wt them frō Chriſt, for we be in him godly. We may ſuffer things & feele them as mortall men, yet beare thē & ouercome thē as chriſten men. We may be attēpted of the deuil, ẏ fleſh, & ẏ world: but yet although thoſe thynges pinche, they doo not pierce, and although they worke ſinne in vs, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be grafted in him. Hereof may the chriſtian mā learne both cōſolatiō & pacience. Cōſolation, in that he is cōpelled both in his body & goodes to feele paine & loſſe; & in the ſoule heauines & anguiſh of mynd: howbeit none of thē both ſhall ſeparate him frō ẏ loue that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learne paciēce, for as much as his enemies both of ẏ body & ſoule, & ẏ paines alſo they vexe vs withall for ẏ tyme, if they tary wt vs as lōg as we liue, yet whē death commeth, they ſhal auoid, & geue place to ſuch ioyes as be prepared for vs in Chriſt: for no paines of the world be perpetuall, and whether they ſhall afflict vs for all the tyme of our mortall lyfe, we know not, for they be thee ſeruauntes of God to goe and to come, as he commaundeth them. But we muſt take heede we meddle not forcebly nor ſeditiouſly, to put away the perſecution appoynted vnto vs by God, but remember Chriſtes ſaying: Poſſeſſe you your liues by your pacience. And in this commaundement God requireth in euery man and woman this pacient obedience. He ſayth not,

Rom. 8.

What Pſalmes are to be vſed in diſtreſſe and tribulation.

Read alſo the fourth chapter of Eccle.
Colloſ. 3.

Note thys well to thy comfort that are afflicted.

Rom. 8.

Conſolation.

Patience.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſeruauntes of God.

Luke. 21.

Pacience the gift only of God.

it is ſufficient that other holy Patriarkes, Prophetes, Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes, & Martyrs continued their lyues in pacience, and pacient ſuffering the troubles of this world: but Chriſt ſaith to euery one of his people: By your owne pacience ye ſhal continue your life: not that man hath pacience of him ſelfe, but that he muſt haue it for hym ſelfe of God, the onely geuer of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Now therfore, as our profeſſion & religion requireth pacience outwardly without reſiſtance and force: ſo requireth it paciēce of the mind, & not to be angry with God, although he vſe vs that be his own creatures, as hym liſteth.

Math. 5.

To ſuffer for Chriſt, is honorable.
Math. 24.
Heb. 11.

We may not alſo murmure againſt God, but ſay alwaies his iudgemēts be right and iuſt, and reioyce that it pleaſeth hym by troubles to vſe vs, as he vſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loued in this worlde, and haue a ſingular care to this Commaundement: Gaudete, et exultate, Be glad and reioyce, for he ſheweth great cauſe why: Your reward (ſaith he) is great in heauen. These promiſes of him that is the truth it ſelfe, ſhall by Gods grace) worke both conſolation and pacience in the afflicted Chriſtian perſon. And when our ſauiour Chriſt hath willed men in trouble to be content & pacient, becauſe God in the end of trouble in Chriſt hath ordeyned eternall conſolation: he vſeth alſo to take from vs all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt, becauſe the wicked world doth curſe & abhorre ſuch poore troubled Chriſtians. Wherfore Chriſt placeth al his honourably, and ſaith: Euen ſo perſecuted they the Prophetes that were before you. We may alſo ſee with whom the afflicted for Chriſtes ſake, be eſteemed by S. Paul to the Hebrewes, where as the number of the bleſſed & glorious company of ſaintes appeare now to our faith in heauen in ioy: yet in the letter, for the tyme of this lyfe, in ſuch paynes and contempt, as was neuer more. Let vs therfore cōſider both them and al other things of the world ſithens the fal of man, and we ſhal perceiue nothing to come to perfection, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather loſt for euer, then like to come to any perfection at al. For of godly men, who euer came to heauen (no not Chriſt hym ſelfe) vntyll ſuch tyme as the worlde had thought verily that both he and all his had bene cleane deſtroyed and caſt away? as the Wiſe man ſaith of the wicked people: We thought them to be fooles, but they be in peace.

Sap. 5.

Example taken of our meat and drinke how thinges neuer come to their perfection before they be vtterly waſted.

We may learne by thinges that nouriſh and mainteyne vs, both meate and drinke, to what lothſomnes and (in maner) abhorring they come vnto, before they worke their perfection in vs. From life they be brought to the fire, and cleane altered from that they were when they were alyue: from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all to hacked: from the trencher to the mouth, and as ſmal ground as the teeth can grinde them: and from the mouth into the ſtomacke, and there ſo boyled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that who ſoeuer ſawe the ſame, would loth and abhorre his own nouriſhment, before it come to his perfection.

Vnmortified men, be no people for God.
Math. 10.

Rom. 8.

Is it then any maruelle if ſuche Chriſtians as God delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in this worlde, which is the kitchin and myll to boyle and grinde the fleſh of Gods people in, tyll they atchieue their perfection in the worlde to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meate when it is ful digeſted, and not before: ſo muſt he looke for his ſaluation when he hath paſſed this troublous worlde, and not before. Rawe fleſhe is not meate wholeſome for man: and vnmortified men and women, be no creatures meete for God. Therefore Chriſt ſaith, that his people muſt be broken, and al to torne in the myll of this worlde, and ſo ſhall they be moſt fine meale vnto the heauenly father. And it ſhall be a Chriſtian mans part, and the duetie of a mynde repleniſhed with the ſpirite of God, to marke the order of God in all his thinges, howe he dealeth with them, and how they ſuffer and be content to let God do his wyl vpon them, as S. Paul ſaith: They waite vntyll the number of the electes be fulfilled, and neuer be at reſt, but looke for the tyme when Gods people ſhall appeare in glorye.

Example of Abraham.
Example of Ioſeph.
Iohn 9.

1. Pet. 4.
Iudgment firſt beginneth with the houſe of God.
Coloſ. 3.

Rom. 8.

We muſt therfore paciently ſuffer, and willyngly attend vpon Gods doinges, although they ſeeme cleane contrarye after our iudgement, to our wealth and ſaluation: as Abraham dyd when he was byd to offer his ſonne Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of his ſeede. Ioſeph at the laſt came to that which God promiſed hym, although in the meane tyme, after the iudgment of the worlde, he was neuer like to be (as God ſaid he ſhould be) Lorde ouer his brethren. When Chriſt woulde make the blynd man to ſee, he put clay vpon his eyes, which after the iudgement of man, was meanes rather to make hym double blinde, then to geue hym his ſight: but he obeyed, and knewe that God could worke his deſire, what meanes ſoeuer he vſed contrary to mans reaſon: and as touching this world, he vſeth al his after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his people be the firſt: if any ſuffer ſhame, they begyn: if any be ſubiect to ſclaunder, it is thoſe that he loueth: ſo that he ſheweth no face or fauour, nor loue almoſt in this worlde outwardly to them, but laieth clay vpon their ſore eyes, that be ſorowfull: yet the pacient man ſeeth (as S. Paul ſaith) life hyd vnder theſe miſeries and aduerſities, and light vnder foule clay, and in the meane tyme he hath the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, and beleeueth Gods promiſes to be his conſolation in the worlde to come, whiche is more worth vnto hym, then al the worlde is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that man in whom Gods ſpirite beareth record that he is the ſonne of God, what ſoeuer troubles he ſuffer in this troubleſome world.

Math. 24.

Luke 21.

Fleſh neuer mery with vertue, nor ſory with vyce.

Math. 24.
Deſtruction of Ieruſalem and deſtruction of the whole world compared.

And to iudge thinges indifferently (my godly wife) the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers tymes, ſoone after the death and reſurrection of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſu, wherof he ſpake in S. Mathew. Of the which place you and I haue taken many tymes great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the Chapter, wherin is conteyned the laſt day and end of al troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuche as loue the commyng of our ſauiour Chriſte to iudgement. Remember therefore that place, and marke it againe, and ye ſhall in this tyme ſee great conſolation, and alſo learne much pacience. Was there euer ſuche troubles, as Chriſt threatned vpon Ieruſalem? was there ſithens the beginnyng of the worlde, ſuch affliction? who was then beſt at eaſe? The Apoſtles that ſuffered in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietnes in the promiſes of God. And no maruayle, for Chriſt ſaith: Lift vp your heades, for your redemption is at hand, that is to ſay, your eternall reſt approcheth & draweth neare. The world is ſtarke blynd, and more fooliſh then fooliſhnes it ſelfe, & ſo be the people of the worlde. For whē God ſaith, trouble ſhal come, they wyl haue eaſe. And when God ſaith, be mery & reioyce in trouble, we lament & mourne, as though we were caſtawayes. But this our fleſh (which is neuer mery with vertue, nor ſory with vice, neuer laugheth with grace, nor euer weepeth with ſin) holdeth faſt with the world, and letteth God ſlip. But (my dearely beloued wife) you know how to perceiue and to beware of the vanitie and craftes of the deuill well enough in Chriſt. And that ye may the better haue pacience in the ſpirit of God, reade againe the. 24. chap. of S. Math. & marke what difference is betwene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem & the deſtruction of the whole world, & you ſhal ſee, that then there were left alyue many offēders to repēt: but at ẏ latter day there ſhalbe abſolute iudgmēt & ſētence (neuer to be reuoked) of eternal life and eternall death vpon all men, and yet towards the end of the world, we haue nothing ſo much extremitie, as they had thē, but euen as we be able to beare. So doth the mercyfull father lay vpon vs nowe impriſonment (and I ſuppoſe for my parte, ſhortly death,) nowe ſpoyle of goodes, loſſe of frendes, and the greateſt loſſe of all, the knowledge of Gods worde. Gods wyll be done. I wiſhe in Chriſte Ieſu our onely mediatour and ſauiour, your conſtancie and conſolation, that you may liue for euer and euer, wherof in Chriſt I doubt not: to whom for his bleſſed and moſte paynfull Paſſion I commit you. Amen.

13. October. 1553.

¶ To a certayne godly woman, inſtructyng her howe ſhee ſhoulde behaue her ſelfe in the tyme of her wydowhoode.

An other letter of M. Hooper.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy ſpirite, be with you and al them that vnfainedly loue his holy goſpel. Amen.

1. Cor. 7.

To mary in the Lord what it is.

I thanke you (deare ſiſter) for your moſt louyng remembrance, and although I can not recompence the ſame, yet do I wiſhe with al my hart, that God would doo it, requiring you not to forget your duetie towards God in theſe perilous dayes, in the whiche the Lorde wyll trie vs. I truſt you do encreaſe, by reading of the ſcriptures, the knowledge you haue of God, and that you diligently apply your ſelfe to folowe the ſame: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according therunto. Further, I doo hartily pray you, to conſider the ſtate of your wydowhoode, and if God ſhall put in your minde to change it, remēber the ſaying of Saint Paul, 1. Corinth. 7. It is lawfull for the wydow or mayden to marrye to whom they liſt, ſo it be in the Lorde: that is to ſay, to ſuch a one as is of Chriſtes Religion. Dearely beloued in Chriſt, remember theſe wordes, for you ſhall finde thereby greate ioy and comforte, if you chaunge your ſtate. Whereof I wyll when I haue better leyſure (as nowe I haue none at all) further aduertiſe you. In the meane tyme, I commende you to God and the guiding of his good ſpirite, who ſtabliſhe and confirme you in all well doyng and keepe you blameleſſe to the day of the Lord, watch and pray for this day is at hand.

Yours aſſured in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To all my deare brethren, my releeuers and helpers in the Citie of London.

An other letter of M. Hooper to his frendes in London.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I haue receaued frō you (dearely beloued in our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt) by the handes of my ſeruaunt William Downton, your liberalitie, for the which I do moſt hartely thanke you, and I prayſe GOD hyghly in you for you, who hath moued your hartes to ſhewe this kyndnes towardes me, praying him to preſerue you from all famine, ſcarcitie, and lacke of the truth of his worde, whiche is the liuely foode of your ſoules, as you preſerue my body from hunger and other neceſſities, whiche ſhould happen vnto me, were it not cared for by the beneuolence and charitie of godly people. Such as haue taken al worldly goodes and landes from me, and ſpoyled me of all that I had, haue impriſoned my body and appoynted no one halfepeny to feede or releeue me withall. But I doe forgeue them and praye for them dayly in my poore prayer vnto God, and from my hart I wiſhe their ſaluation, and quietly and patiently beare their iniuries, wiſhyng no farther extremitie to be vſed towardes vs, yet if it ſeeme contrary beſt vnto our heauenly father, I haue made my reckenyng & fully reſolued my ſelfe to ſuffer the vttermoſt that they are able to do agaynſt me, yea death it ſelfe, by the ayde of Chriſt Ieſu, who died the moſt vile death of ẏ croſſe for vs wretches & miſerable ſinners. But of this I am aſſured, ẏ ẏ wicked world with all his force & power, ſhall not touch one of the heares of our heads without leaue & licence of our heauenly father, whoſe will be done in all thynges. If he will lyfe, lyfe be it: if he will death, death be it. Onely we pray, that our willes may be ſubiect vnto his will, and then although both we and all the world ſee none other thing but death, yet if he thinke lyfe beſt, we ſhall not dye, no although the ſword be drawē out ouer our heads: as Abrahā thought to kill his ſonne Iſaac, yet when God perceaued that Abraham had ſurrendred his will to Gods will, and was content to kyll his ſonne, God then ſaued his ſonne.

The Chriſtian charitie of M. Hooper to his enemyes.

M. Hooper fully reſolued to ſuffer.

Gods will to be obeyed in al thinges

Dearely beloued, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commaūdementes ſake, to ſurrender our goodes and our ſelues to be at his pleaſure, it maketh no matter whether we keepe goodes and lyfe, or loſe them. Nothyng can hurt vs that is taken from vs for Gods cauſe, nor nothyng can at length do vs good, that is preſerued contrary vnto Gods commaundement. Let vs wholy ſuffer God to vſe vs and ours after his holy wiſedome, and beware we neither vſe nor gouerne our ſelues contrary to his will by our own wiſedome, for if we do, our wiſedome will at lēgth proue fooliſhnes. It is kept to no good purpoſe that we keepe contrary vnto his commaundementes. It can by no meanes be taken frō vs that he would ſhould tary with vs. He is no good Chriſtiā that ruleth himſelfe & his, as worldly meanes ſerueth: for he that ſo doth ſhall haue as many chaūges as chaūceth in the world. To day, with the world hee ſhall like and prayſe the truth of God, to morow as the world will, ſo will he like and prayſe the falſhode of man: to day with Chriſt, and to morow with Antichriſt. Wherfore deare brethrē, as touchyng your behauiour towardes God, vſe both your inward ſpirites and your outward bodyes, your inward and your outward man (I ſay) not after the meanes of men, but after the infallible word of God.

Difference betwene the true Chriſtian, and the worldling.

Both the inward man and outward man muſt concurre in the honour of God.

Refrayne from euill in both, and glorifie your heauenly father in both. For if ye thinke ye can inwardly in the hart ſerue him, and yet outwardly ſerue with the world in externall ſeruice, the thyng that is not God, ye deceaue your ſelues, for both the body and the ſoule muſt together concurre in the honour of God, as S. Paule plainly teacheth. 1. Cor. 6. For if an honeſt wife be bounde to geue both hart and body to fayth and ſeruice in Mariage, and if an honeſt wiues fayth in the hart cannot ſtand with an whoriſh or defiled body outwardly: much leſſe cā the true fayth of a Chriſtian in the ſeruice of Chriſtianitie, ſtand with the bodely ſeruice of externall Idolatry: for the myſtery of Mariage is not ſo honorable betwene man and wife, as it is betwene Chriſt and euery Chriſtian man, as S. Paule ſayth.

Therfore deare brethren, pray to the heauenly father, that as hee ſpared not the ſoule nor the body of his dearely beloued Sonne, but applyed both of them with extreme payne, to worke our ſaluation both of body and ſoule: ſo hee will geue vs all grace to apply our bodyes and ſoules to be ſeruauntes vnto him: for doubtles he requireth as well the one as the other, and can not be miſcontented with the one, and well pleaſed with the other. Either he hateth both, or loueth both: he deuideth not his loue to one and his hatred to the other. Let not vs therfore good brethren, diuide our ſelues, and ſay our ſoules ſerue him whatſoeuer our bodyes do the contrary, for ciuill order and policy.

Gods enemies can do no more then he geueth them leaue. Math. 20.

But (alas) I know by my ſelfe what troubleth you, that is, the great daunger of the worlde, that will reuenge (ye thinke) your ſeruice to God, wyth ſword and fire, with loſſe of goodes and landes. But (deare brethren,) way of the other ſide, that your enemies, and Gods enemies, ſhall not do ſo much as they would, but as muche as God ſhall ſuffer them, who can trap them in their own counſels, and deſtroy them in the middeſt of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyeard, there to labour til euening tide, that ye may receaue your peny, which is more worth then all the Kinges of the earth. But he that calleth vs into his vineyeard, hath not told vs how ſore or how feruentlye the Sunne ſhall trouble vs in our labour: But hath bid vs labour and committe the bitternes therof vnto him, who can and will ſo moderate al afflictions, that no man ſhall haue more layd vpon hym, then in Chriſt he ſhall be able to beare: Vnto whoſe mercifull tuition and defence I commend both your ſoules and your bodies. 1. September, 1554.

Yours with my poore prayer, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To a Marchāt of London, by whoſe meanes he had receaued much comfort in hys great neceſſity in the Fleete.

An other letter of M. Hooper to a good helper of hys.

Truth is not to be eſteemed by outward appearaunce.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. I thanke God and you for the great helpe and conſolation I haue receaued in the tyme of aduerſitie by your charitable means but moſte reioyce that you bee not altered from truth, although falſhode cruelly ſeeketh to diſtayne her. Iudge not (my brother) truth by outward appearaunce, for truth now worſe appeareth and more vily is reiected then falſhoode. Leaue the outward ſhew, and ſee by the word of god what truth is, and accept truth, and diſlike her not though man cal her falſhoode. As it is now, ſo hath it been heretofore, the truth reiected and falſhoode receaued. Such as haue profeſſed truth, for truth haue ſmarted, and the frends of falſhoode laughed them to ſcorne. The tryall of both hath beene by contrary ſucceſſe: the one hauing the commendatiō of truth by man, but the condemnation of falſhode by God, floriſhing for a tyme with endleſſe deſtruction, the other afflicted a little ſeaſon with immortall ioyes. Wherefore deare brother aſke and demaunde of your Booke, the Teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt in theſe woefull and wretched dayes, what you ſhould thinke, and what you ſhould ſtay vpon for a certayne truth: and what ſoeuer you heare taught try it by your booke, whether it be true or falſe. The dayes be dangerous and full of peril, not onely for the world & worldly things, but for heauen and heauenly thinges. It is a trouble to loſe the treaſures of this lyfe, but yet a very payne if they be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Chriſt daylye require help, ſuccour, mercy, wiſdome, grace, & defence, that the wickednes of this world preuayl not agaynſt vs. We began wel, God preſerue vs vntil the end. I would write more oftē vnto you, but I doe perceaue you be at ſo much charges with me, that I feare you would think whē I write I craue. Sende me nothinge till I ſende to you for it, and ſo tell the good men your partners, and when I need I will be bold of you. 3. December. 1554.

Yours with my prayer, Iohn Hooper.

¶ To Maiſtres Wilkinſon, a woman harty in Gods cauſe, and comfortable to hys afflicted members.

The grace of God, and the comforte of his holy ſpirite bee with you, Amen.

This Miſtres Wilkinſon afterward dyed in Exile at Franckford.

I am very glad to heare of your health, and do thanke you for your louing tokens. But I am a great deale more glad to heare how Chriſtianly you auoyd Idolatry and prepare your ſelfe to ſuffer the extremity of the world, rather then to endaunger your ſelfe to God. You doe as you oughte to doe in this behalfe, and in ſuffering of tranſitory paynes, you ſhall auoyd permanent tormentes in the world to come. Vſe your life, and keepe it with as much quietnes as you can, ſo that you offende not God. The eaſe that commeth with hys diſpleaſure, turneth at length to vnſpeakeable paynes, and the gaynes of the world with the loſſe of hys fauour, is beggery and wretchednes. Reaſon is to be amended in this cauſe of Religion: For it will chooſe and followe an errour wyth the multitude if it may be allowed, rather then turne to fayth and folow the truth with the people of God. Moyſes found the ſame fault in himſelfe and did amend it, chooſing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to vſe the libertye of the Kinges daughter, that accounted him as her ſonne. Pray for contentation and peace of the ſpirite, and

Gaynes with Gods diſpleaſure is beggary.

Heb. 11.

Math. 5.

reioyce in ſuch troubles as ſhall happen vnto you for the truthes ſake, for in that part Chriſt ſayth you be happy. Pray alſo for me I pray you, that I may do in all thynges the will of our heauenly father: to whoſe tuition and defence I commende you.

To my deare frendes in God Maiſter Iohn Hall and his wife.

An other letter exhorting to ſtand faſt to the truth.

THe grace of God be with you, Amen. I thanke you for your louyng and gentle frendſhyp at all tymes, praying God to ſhewe vnto you ſuch fauour, that what ſoeuer trouble and aduerſitie happen, ye goe not backe from hym. Theſe dayes be daungerous and full of perill, but yet let vs comforte our ſelues in callyng to remembraunce the dayes of our forefathers, vpon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles that many hundrethes, yea many thouſandes dyed for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt, both men and women, ſufferyng with patience and conſtauncie aſmuch crueltie as Tyrannes could deuiſe, and ſo departed out this miſerable world to the bliſſe euerlaſtyng, where as now they remaine for euer, lookyng alwayes for the ende of this ſinnefull world, when they ſhall receiue their bodyes agayne in immortalitie, and ſee the number of the electes aſſociated with them in full and conſummate ioyes. And as vertuous men ſuffering Martyrdome, & taryng a litle while in this world with paynes, by and by reſted in ioyes euerlaſting, and as their paynes ended their ſorowes and began eaſe? ſo did their conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſſe animate and confirme all good people in the truth, and gaue them encouragement and luſt to ſuffer the like, rather then to fall with the world to conſent vnto wickednes and Idolatry. Wherefore my deare frendes, ſeyng God of his part, hath illuminated you with the ſame gift and knowledge of true fayth, wherein the Apoſtles, the Euangeliſtes, and all Martyrs ſuffered moſt cruell death, thanke him for his grace in knowledge, and pray vnto him for ſtrength and perſeueraunce, that through your owne fault, you be not aſhamed nor afeard to confeſſe it. Ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell ſhall neuer preuayle agaynſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his Impes proue it to be falſe. They may kill & perſecute, but neuer ouercome. Be of good comfort and feare more God then man. This life is ſhort and miſerable: happy be they that can ſpend it to the glory of God. Pray for me as I do for you, and commende me to all good men and women. 22. December. 1554.

Heb. 11.

Conſolation taken by the example of the auncient Martyrs.

Your brother in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

To my dearely beloued ſiſter in the Lord Maiſtres Anne Warcop.

An other letter written to one Maiſteris Warcop by Maiſter Hooper.

THe grace of God be with you. Amen. I thanke you for your louyng token. I pray you burden not your ſelfe to much. It were meete for me rather to beare a payne, then to be a hynderaunce to many. I dyd reioyce at the commyng of this bearer, to vnderſtand of your conſtancy, and how that you be fully reſolued by Gods grace, rather to ſuffer extremitie, then to go from that truth in God which you haue profeſſed. He that gaue you grace to begyn in ſo infallible a truth, will folow you in the ſame vnto the ende. But my louyng Siſter, as you be trauelyng this perillous iourney, take this leſſon with you, practiſed by wiſe men: whereof ye may read in the ſecond of Saint Mathewes Goſpell. Such as traueled to finde Chriſt, folowed onely the ſtarre, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great myrth in their iourney. But when they entred into Ieruſalem, where as the ſtarre led them not thether but vnto Bethelem, and there aſked the Citizens the thing that the ſtarre ſhewed before: as long as they taried in Hieruſalem and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was borne, they were not onely ignoraunt of Bethelem, but alſo loſt the ſight of the ſtarre that lead them before. Whereof we learne, in any caſe whiles we be goyng in this lyfe, to ſeeke Chriſt that is aboue, to beware we looſe not the ſtarre of Gods word, that onely is the marke that ſheweth vs where Chriſt is, and which way we may come vnto him. But as Ieruſalem ſtode in the way, and was an impediment to theſe wiſe men: ſo doth the Sinagoge of Antichriſt that beareth the name of Ieruſalem, which by interpretation is called the viſion of peace, and amongeſt the people now is called the Catholicke Church, ſtand in the way that pilgrimes muſt go by thorough this world to Bethelem the houſe of ſaturitie and plentifulnes, and is an impediment to all Chriſtian trauellers: yea and except the more grace of God be, will keepe the pilgrimes ſtill in her that they ſhall not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them in deede, they take away the ſtarre of light which is Gods word that it can not be ſene: as ye may ſee how the celeſtiall ſtarre was hid frō the wiſe men, whē they aſked of the Phariſeis at Hieruſalem where Chriſt was borne. Ye may ſee what great daungers happened vnto theſe wiſe men, whiles they were a learning of lyers where Chriſt was. Firſt they were out of their way, and next they loſt their guide & conductour, the heauenly ſtarre. Chriſt is mounted frō vs into heauen, & there we ſeeke him (as we ſay): let vs therfore go thetherward by the ſtarre of his word, & beware we happē not to come into Hieruſalem the Churche of men and aſke for him. If we do, we go out of the way and loſe alſo our cōductour and guide that onely leadeth vs ſtraight thether.

The ſureſt way is euer to folow the Starre.

Ieruſalem ſignifieth the viſion of peace.

Bethelem ſignifieth as much as the houſe of bread, or of ſaturitie.

Chriſt is not to be ſought for, aſked for, but onely by the Scriptures.

The Poetes write in fables, that Iaſon whē he fought with the Dragon in the Ile of Colchis was preſerued by the medicines of Medea, and ſo wan the golden fleeſe. And they write alſo that Titan, whom they fayne to be ſonne and heyre of the high God Iupiter, would needes vppon a day haue the conduction of the ſunne rolled about the world, but as they fayne, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: wherupon when he went to high, he burned heauē, and when he went to low, he burned the earth and the water. Theſe prophane hiſtories do ſhame vs that be Chriſtian men, Iaſon agaynſt the poyſon of the dragon, vſed onely the medicine of Medea. What a ſhame is it for a Chriſtian man againſt the poyſon of the deuill, hereſie, and ſinne, to vſe any other remedy, then Chriſt & his word? Titan for lacke of knowledge, was afeard of euery ſigne of the Zodiacke that the Sunne paſſeth by: wherfore he now went to low and now to high, and at length fell downe and drowned him ſelfe in the Sea. Chriſtian men for lacke of knowledge, and for feare of ſuch daungers as Chriſtian men muſt needes paſſe by, go cleane out of order, and at length fall into the pitte of hell.

Example of Iaſon and Titan.

Siſter take heede, you ſhall in your iourney towardes heauen, meete with many a monſtrous beaſt: haue ſelue of Gods word therfore ready. You ſhall meete huſband, children, louers and frendes, that ſhall if God be not with them (as God be prayſed he is, I would it were withall other alyke) bee very lettes and impedimentes to your purpoſe. You ſhall meete with ſclaunder and contempt of the world and be accoumpted vngracious and vngodly: you ſhall heare and meete with cruell tyranny to do you all extremities: you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your owne conſcience, and feele your owne weakneſſe: you ſhall heare that you bee curſed by the ſentence of the Catholicke Church, with ſuch like terrours: but pray to God, and folow the ſtarre of his word, and you ſhall arriue at the port of eternall ſaluation by the merites onely of Ieſus Chriſt: to whom I commende you and all yours moſt hartily.

Lettes in the way to the kingdome of heauen.

Yours in Chriſt, Iohn Hooper.

Unto theſe letters of Maiſter Hoper heretofore recited, we thought not inconuenient, to annexe alſo an other certaine Epiſtle, not of Maiſter Hoper, but written to him by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chief Superintendent in the Citie of Zuricke. Of whoſe ſingulare loue and tender affection toward Maiſter Hoper, ye heard before in the begynnyng of Maiſter Hopers lyfe diſcourſed. Now how louyngly he writeth vnto him, ye ſhall heare by this preſent letter, as followeth.

To the moſt reuerend father M. Iohn Hooper Byſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, and now priſoner for the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, my fellowe Elder and moſt deare brother, in England.

A letter of M. Bullinger to M. Hooper tranſlated out of latin into Engliſhe.

THe heauenly father graunt vnto you, and to all thoſe whiche are in bandes and captiuitie for his names ſake, grace and peace through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſedome, patience and fortitude of the holy Ghoſt.

I haue receiued from you two letters (my moſt deare brother): the former in the moneth of September of the yeare paſt, the latter in the moneth of May of this preſent yeare, both written out of priſon. But I doubtyng leſt I ſhould make aunſwere to you in vayne, whilcſt I feared that my letters ſhoulde neuer come vnto your handes, or els increaſe and double your ſorrow: did refrayne from the duetie of writyng. In the whiche thyng I doubt not, but you wil haue me excuſed, eſpecially ſeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole yeare, to aunſwere to my whole libels rather then letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtandyng in writyng vnto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard that you were caſt in priſon, I did not refrayne from continuall prayer, beſeeching our heauenly Father through our onely mediatour Ieſus Chriſt, to graunt vnto you and to your fellowe priſoners, fayth and conſtauncie vnto the ende. Now is that thyng happened vnto you (my brother) the whiche we did often tymes prophecie vnto our ſelues at your beyng with vs, ſhould come to paſſe, eſpecially whē we dyd talke of the power of Antichriſt and of his felicitie and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniell: His

The power of Antichriſt deſcribed in Daniell chapt. 8.

Math. 10. Iohn 15. 16. 2. Tim. 2. 3.

The doctrine of the Proteſtantes what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Ephe. 1.

2. Theſ. 2.

Chriſt is ſufficient, and needeth not be patched with the Pope.

power ſhall be mighty, but not in his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make hauocke of all thynges, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mightie and the holy people after his owne will. You know what the Lord warned vs of before hād by Mathew, in the x. chapter, by Iohn in the 15. chapter, and the 16. and alſo what that choſen veſſell S. Paule hath written in the ſecond to Timothy and the third chapter. Wherefore I doe nothyng doubt (by Gods grace) of your fayth and patience, whileſt you know that thoſe thynges which you ſuffer are not looked for or come by chaũce, but that you ſuffer thẽ in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarell: for what can be more true and holy then our doctrine, which the Papiſtes, thoſe worſhyppers of Antichriſt do perſecute? All thynges touchyng ſaluation, we attribute vnto Chriſt alone, and to his holy inſtitutions, as we haue bene taught of him and of his diſciples, but they would haue euen the ſame thynges to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt and to his inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſſe to withſtand then we read that Helias withſtode the Baalites. For if Ieſus be Chriſt, then let them know that he is the fulnes of his Churche, and that perfectly: but and if Antichriſt be Kyng and Prieſt, then let them exhibite vnto him that honor. How long do they halt on both ſides? Can they geue vnto vs any one that is better then Chriſt? Or who ſhall be equall with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apoſtle calleth the Aduerſarie? But if Chriſt bee ſufficient for his Churche, what needeth this patching and peecyng? But I know well enough, I neede not to vſe theſe diſputations with you whiche are ſincerely taught and haue taken roote in Chriſt, beyng perſwaded that you haue all thynges in hym, and that we in him are made perfect.

Apoc. 21.

Apoc. 14.

Gods wrath vpon the beaſt and them that take his marke.

In this time of Antichriſt is the patiẽce and fayth of Gods children tryed, whereby they ſhall ouercome all his tyranny tend. Math. 24.

Go forwardes therfore conſtauntly to confeſſe Chriſt, and to defie Antichriſt, beyng myndefull of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt: He that ouercommeth, ſhall poſſeſſe all thynges, and I will bee his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne: but the fearefull, and the vnbeleuyng, and the abhominable, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and Idolaters, and all lyers, ſhall haue their part in the lake whiche burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecõd death. The firſt death is ſoone ouercome, although a mã muſt burne for the Lords ſake: for they ſay well that do affirme this our fire to bee ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for the vnbeleuers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreouer the Lord graunteth vnto vs that we may eaſily ouercome by his power the firſt death, the which he him ſelfe did taſte and ouercame, promiſing withall ſuch ioyes as neuer ſhall haue end, vnſpeakeable and paſſing all vnderſtandyng, the which we ſhall poſſeſſe ſo ſoone as euer we departe hence. For ſo agayne ſayth the Aungell of the Lord: If any man worſhyp the beaſt and his Image and receiue his marke in his forehead, or on his hand, the ſame ſhall drinke of the wrath of God, yea of the wyne whiche is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy Aungels, and before the Lambe: and the ſmoke of their tormẽtes ſhall aſcend euermore, and they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night, whiche worſhyp the beaſt and his Image, and whoſoeuer receiueth the print of his name. Here is the patience of Saintes: here are they that keepe the commaundementes of God, and the fayth of Ieſus. To this he addeth by and by: I heard a voyce ſaying to me, write: bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord, from hẽceforth (or ſpedely they be bleſſed. Io. 5.): euen ſo ſayth the ſpirite, for they reſt frõ their labours, but their workes follow them: for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vayne.

Therfore, ſeyng you haue ſuch a large promiſe, be ſtrõg in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faythfull to the Lord vnto the ende: conſider that Chriſt the Sonne of GOD is your Captaine, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophetes, Apoſtles and Martyrs, are your fellow Souldiours. They that perſecute and trouble vs, are men, ſinfull, and mortall, whoſe fauour a wiſe man would not buy with the value of a farthyng: and beſides that, our lyfe is frayle, ſhort, brickle, and tranſitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord: who graunt vnto you, and to all your fellow priſoners fayth and conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt reuerend fathers and holy Confeſſours of Chriſt, Doctor Cranmer Byſhop of Canterbury, D. Ridley Byſhop of London, and the good old father D. Latymer. Them and all the reſt of the priſoners with you for the Lordes cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Miniſters, the which do wiſh vnto you the grace of God, and conſtancy in the truth.

Concernyng the ſtate of our Church, it remaineth euen as it was when you departed from vs into your countrey. God graunt we may be thankefull to hym, and that we do not onely profeſſe the fayth with wordes, but alſo expreſſe the ſame effectually with good workes to the prayſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth dayly in that part of Italy that is nere vnto vs, and in Fraunce.

M. Tho. Leuer.

In the mean while the godly ſuſtayne greuous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through tormentes they goe vnto the Lord. I and all my houſholde, with my ſonnes in law and kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do al ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancy, being ſorowfull for you & the reſt of the priſoners. There came vnto vs Engliſhmen Studentes, both godly and learned: They be receaued of our Magiſtrate. Tenne of them dwell together, the reſt remaine here and there with good men. Amongeſt the other, Maiſter Thomas Leuir is deare vnto mee and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may doe any pleaſure to your wiſe & children, they ſhall haue me wholly at commaundement: whereof I will write alſo to your wiſe, for I vnderſtand ſhe abydeth at Francford. Be ſtrong & mery in Chriſt, wayting for his deliueraunce, when, and in what ſorte it ſhall ſeeme good vnto hym. The Lord Ieſus ſhew pitie vpon the Realm of England, and illuminate the ſame with his holy Spirite to the glory of his name, and the ſaluation of ſoules. The Lord Ieſus preſerue and deliuer you from all euill, with all them that call vpon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. The 10. of October 1554. From Zurich.

You know the hand, H.B.

The hiſtory of D. Rouland Taylour, which ſuffered for the truth of Gods word, vnder the tyranny of the Romain Biſhop. 1555. the 9. day of February.

Hadley towne commended.

Thomas Bilney.

The town of Hadley was one of the firſt that receaued the word of God in all England at the preachinge of Maiſter Thomas Bilney: By whoſe induſtry the Goſpell of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſſe, and toke ſuch roote there, that a great number of that Pariſhe became exceedinge well learned in the holy ſcriptures, as well women as men: ſo that a man might haue found among them many that had often read the whole Bible thorow, and that could haue ſayd a great part of S. Paules epiſtles by hart, & very well and readely haue geuen a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controuerſie. Their children and ſeruantes were alſo brought vp and trayned ſo diligently in the right knowledge of Gods word, that the whole towne ſeemed rather an Vniuerſitie of the learned, then a towne of Clothmaking or labouring people: And that moſt is to be commended, they were for the more parte faythfull followers of Gods worde in their liuing.

D. Taylour, a Doctour in both lawes, and a dyuyne.

Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

A good ſhepheard and his conditions. Iohn 21.

Feede with worde.

In this towne was Doctor Rowland Taylor, Doctor in both the Ciuil and Canon lawes, and a right perfect Diuine, parſon. Who at his firſt entring into his benefice, dyd not, as the common ſort of beneficed men do, let out his Benefice to a Farmar, that ſhould gather vp the profites, and ſet in an ignoraunt vnlearned Prieſt to ſerue the Cure, and ſo they may haue the fleece, little or nothing care for feedinge the flocke: But contrarily he forſooke the Archbyſhoppe of Cãterbury Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in houſholde, and made his perſonall abode and dwellinge in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he as a good Shepheard, abydyng and dwelling among hys ſheep, gaue himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of holy Scriptures, moſt faythfully endeuouring him ſelfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gaue vnto Peter, ſaying: Peter loueſt thou me? Feede my Lambes, Feede my ſheep, Feede my ſheepe. This loue of Chriſt ſo wrought in hym, that no Sonday nor holy day paſſed, nor other tyme when he might get ẏ people together, but hee preached to them the word of God, the Doctrine of their Saluation.

Feede with example.

Not onely was his worde a preaching vnto them, but all his lyfe and conuerſation was an example of vnfayned chriſtian life, and true holynes. He was voyd of all pride, humble, and meeke as any child: ſo that none were ſo poore, but they might boldly as vnto their father, reſorte vnto him, neither was hys lowlines childiſh or fearfull, but as occaſion, tyme and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinfull and euil doers, ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell hym plainly his fault, with ſuch earneſt and graue rebukes as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a man very milde, voyd of all rancour, grudge or euill will, ready to doe good to all men, readely forgeuing his enemyes, and neuer ſought to do euill to any.

Feede with almes.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, ſicke, bedred, or that had many children, he was a very Father, a carefull patrone, and diligent prouyder, in ſo much that he cauſed ẏ pariſhioners to make a generall prouiſion for them: and he him ſelfe (beſide the continuall reliefe that they alwayes founde at hys houſe) gaue an honeſt portion yerely, to the common

Cōmendacion of D. Taylours wyfe and his children.

1555. February.

[illegible]. His wife alſo was an honeſt, diſcrete and ſober matrone, and his children well nourtured, brought vp in the feare of God and good learnyng.

To conclude, he was a right and liuely image or paterne of all thoſe vertuous qualities deſcribed by S. Paule in a true Byſhop, a good ſalt of the earth ſauourly bytyng the corrupt maners of euill men, a light in Gods houſe ſet vpon a Candleſticke for all good men to imitate and folow.

The Papiſtes and their naturall workes.

Thus continued this good Shepheard among his flocke, gouernyng and leadyng them through this wilderneſ of the wicked world, all the dayes of the moſt innocent and holy kyng of bleſſed memory, Edward the vj. But after it pleaſed God to take kyng Edward from this vale of miſery vnto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the Papiſtes, who euer ſembled and diſſembled, both with kyng Henry the eight and kyng Edward his ſonne, now ſeyng the tyme conuenient for their purpoſe, vttered their falſe hypocriſie, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſayd two moſt godly kynges, and contrary to that they had all theſe two kynges dayes preached, taught, written, and ſworne, they violently ouerthrew the true doctrine of the Goſpell, and perſecuted with ſword and fire all thoſe that would not agree to receiue agayne the Romaine Byſhop as ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Churche, and allow all the errours ſuperſtitions, and idolatries, that before by Gods word were diſproued and iuſtly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true Religion.

Foſter a lawyer, and John Clerke of Hadley, to notorious Papiſtes.

In the begynnyng of this rage of Antichriſt, a certaine Petigentleman after the ſorte of a Lawyer, called Foſter, beyng Steward and keeper of Courtes, a man of no great ſkill, but a bitter perſecutour in thoſe dayes, with one Iohn Clerke of Hadley, which Clerke had euer bene a ſecrete fauourer of all Romiſh Idolatry, cōſpired wt the ſayd Clerke to bring in the Pope & his maumentrie agayne into Hadley Church. For as yet Doct. Taylour, as a good ſhepheard, had retained & kept in his Churche, the godly Churchſeruice and reformation made by kyng Edward, & moſt faythfully and earneſtly preached agaynſt the Popiſh corruptiōs, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

John Auerth a right popiſh prieſt.

Therefore the foreſayd Foſter and Clerke hyred one Iohn Auerth, Perſon of Aldam, a very money Mammoniſt, a blynd leader of the blynd, a Popiſh Idolatour, and an open Aduouterer and whoremonger, a very fitte Miniſter for their purpoſe, to come to Hadley and there to geue the onſet to begyn agayne the Popiſh Maſſe.

Marke how vnwillingly the people were to receaue the papacy agayne.

To this purpoſe they builded vp with all haſt poſſible the aultar, entendyng to bring in their Maſſe agayne, about the Palme Monday. But this their deuiſe tooke none effect: for in the night the aultar was beaten downe. Wherfore they built it vp agayne the ſecond tyme, and layd diligent watch, leſt any ſhould agayne breake it downe.

On the day folowyng came Foſter and Iohn Clerke, bryngyng with them their Popiſh Sacrificer, who brought with hym all his implementes and garmentes, to play his Popiſh Pageaunt, whom they and their men garded with ſwordes and bucklers leſt any man ſhould diſturbe hym in his Miſſall Sacrifice.

D. Taylours cuſtome to ſtudy.

When Doctour Taylour, who (accordyng to his cuſtome) ſat at his booke ſtudying yͤ word of God, heard the bels ryng, he aroſe and went into the Churche, ſuppoſing ſome thyng had bene there to be done, accordyng to his Paſtorall office: and commyng to the Churche, he founde the Church doores ſhut and faſt barred, ſauyng the Chauncell doore, which was onely latched: where he entryng in, and commyng into the Chauncell, ſaw a Popiſh Sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new ſhauen crowne, ready to begyn his Popiſh ſacrifice, beſet round about with drawen ſwordes and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould approch to diſturbe him.

Maſſe brought into Hadley with ſwordes and bucklers.

D. Taylour rebuked the deuill.

Then ſayd Doctour Taylour: Thou Deuill, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this church of Chriſt, to prophane and defile it with this abhominable Idolatry? With that ſtart vppe Foſter, and with an irefull and furious countenaunce, ſayd to Doctour Taylour: thou traytour, what doeſt thou here, to let and diſturbe the Queenes proceedynges? Doctour Taylour aunſwered: I am no traytour, but I am the ſhepheard that God & my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feede this his flocke: wherfore I haue good authoritie to be here: & I commaūde thee, thou Popiſh wolfe, in the name of God to auoyde hēce, and not to preſume here with ſuch Popiſh Idolatry, to poyſon Chriſtes flocke.

The Papiſtes cal al their treſpery the Queenes proceedinges. For you muſt remember that Antichriſt rayneth by an others arme, and not by hys owne power. Reade Daniell, of the king of faces the 8. chapter.

D. Taylour here playeth a right Elias. 3. Reg. 18.

The ſayd Foſter: wilt thou traytourly hereticke make a commotion, & reſiſt violently the Queenes proceedynges?

Doctour Taylour aūſwered: I make no cōmotion, but it is you Papiſtes that make commotions and tumultes. I reſiſt onely with Gods word, agaynſt your Popiſh Idolatries, which are agaynſt Gods word, the Queenes honor, & tend to the vtter ſubuerſiō of this realme of Englād. And further thou doeſt agaynſt the Canon law, which commaundeth that no Maſſe be ſayd, but at a conſecrate aultar.

When the Perſon of Aldam heard that, hee began to ſhrinke backe, & would haue left his ſaying of Maſſe. Then ſtart vp Iohn Clerke, and ſayd: M. Auerth, be not afrayd, ye haue a * Superaltare. Goe forth with your buſines man.

* Superaltare is a ſtone conſecrated by the Byſhops, commonly of a foote long which the Papiſtes cary in ſtead of an aulter, when they ſay maſſe for money in gentlemens houſes.

Then Foſter with his armed mē tooke Doctour Taylour, and led hym with ſtrong hand out of the Church, and the Popiſhe Prelate proceeded in his Romiſhe Idolatry. Doct. Taylours wife, who folowed her huſband into the Churche, when ſhe ſaw her huſband thus violently thruſt out of his Church: ſhe kneeled downe, & held vp her handes, and with loude voyce ſayd: I beſeeche God the righteous Iudge to auenge this iniury, that this Popiſh Idolatour this day doth to the bloud of Chriſt. Then they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut to the doores: for they feared that the people would haue rent their Sacrificer in peeces. Notwithſtandyng, one or two threw in great ſtones at the windowes, and miſſed very litle the Popiſh Maſſer.

The Papiſtes argumentes wherewith they maintayne their doctrine. Sap. 2.

Thus you ſee how without conſent of the people, the Popiſhe Maſſe was agayne ſet vppe, with battayle aray, with ſwordes and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practiſe the Papiſtes haue euer yet vſed. As for reaſon, law, or Scripture, they haue none on their part. Therfore they are the ſame that ſayth: The law of vnrighteouſnes is our ſtrēgth: Come let vs oppreſſe the righteous without any feare. &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haſt poſſible, this Foſter and Clerke made a complaint of Doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour.

D. Taylour cited by a letter miſſiue.

When the Byſhop heard this, he ſent a letter miſſiue to Doct. Taylour, commaundyng him within certaine dayes, to come and to appeare before him vpon his allegiaunce, to aunſwere ſuch complayntes as were made againſt hym.

D. Taylours frendes would haue hym flye.

When Doctour Taylours frendes heard of this, they were exceedyng ſory and agreeued in mynde: whiche then foreſeyng to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeyng alſo all truth and iuſtice were troden vnder foote, and falſehode with cruell Tyranny were ſet aloft and ruled all the whole route: his frendes I ſay came to hym, and earneſtly counſelled hym to departe and flye, alledgyng and declaryng vnto hym, that hee could neither be indifferently heard to ſpake his conſcience and mynde, nor yet looke for iuſtice or fauour at the ſayd Chauncellours handes, who as it was well knowen, was moſt fierce and cruell: but muſt needes (if he went vp to hym) wayte for impriſonment and cruell death at his handes.

The valiant courage of D. Taylour in Chriſtes cauſe.

Then ſayd D. Taylour to his frendes: Deare frendes, I moſt hartely thanke you, for that ye haue ſo tender a care ouer me. And although I know, that there is neither iuſtice nor truth to be looked for at my aduerſaries handes, but rather impriſonment and cruell death: yet know I my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong vpō my ſide, that I will by Gods grace go and appeare before them and to their beardes reſiſt their falſe doynges.

Math. 10.

Then ſayd his frendes: M. Doctour, we thinke it not beſt ſo to do. You haue ſufficiently done your duety, and teſtified the truth, both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſtyng the Perſon of Aldam, with other that came hyther to bryng in agayne the popiſh Maſſe. And for as much as our Sauiour Chriſt willeth and biddeth vs, that when they perſecute vs in one Citie, we ſhould flye into an other: we thinke in flying at this tyme ye ſhould do beſt, keepyng your ſelfe agaynſt an other tyme whē the Church ſhall haue great neede of ſuch diligent teachers, and godly Paſtors.

D. Taylour refuſeth to flye.

Oh (quoth Doct. Taylour) what wil ye haue me to do? I am now olde, and haue already liued to long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked dayes. Flye you, and do as your conſcience leadeth you. I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to go to the Byſhop, & to his beard to tell him that he doth nought. God ſhall well hereafter rayſe vp teachers of his people, whiche ſhall with much more diligence and fruite teache them, then I haue done. For God will not forſake his Church, though now for a tyme he trieth and correcteth vs, and not without a iuſt cauſe.

As for me, I beleue before GOD, I ſhall neuer be able to do GOD ſo good ſeruice, as I may do now: nor I ſhall neuer haue ſo glorious a callyng as I now haue, nor ſo great mercy of GOD profered me, as is now at this preſent. For what Chriſten man would not gladly dye agaynſt the Pope and his adherentes? I know that the Papacie is the kyngdome of Antichriſt, altogether full of lyes, altogether full of falſehode: ſo that all their doctrine, euen from Chriſtes Croſſe be my ſpede and S. Nicholas, vnto the end of their Apocalyps, is nothyng but Idolatry, ſuperſtition, errours, hypocriſie and lyes.

The Papacy a kingdome of lyes.

Wherefore I beſeeche you, and all other my frendes, to pray for me, and I doubt not, but God will geue me ſtrēgth and his holy ſpirite, ẏ all myne aduerſaries ſhall haue ſhame of their doynges.

When his frendes ſaw hym ſo conſtaunt, and fully determined to go, they with weepyng eyes commended him vnto God: and he within a day or two prepared him ſelfe to his iourney, leauyng his cure with a godly old Prieſt, named Syr Richard yeoman, who afterward for Gods truth was burnt at Norwich.

Syr Rich. yeoman D. Taylours Curate, and Martyr of Chriſt.

John Alcocke of Hadley troubled for Gods truth, and dyed in priſon.

There was alſo in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after ſir Richard yeoman was driuen away) vſed dayly to read a chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh Letany in Hadley Church. But hym they ſet vp to London, and caſt him in priſon in Newgate: where after a yeare impriſonment, he dyed.

D. Taylours iourney.

But let vs returne to Doctour Taylour agayne, who beyng accompanyed with a ſeruaunt of his owne, named John Hull, tooke his iourney towardes London. By the way this John Hull laboured to counſell and perſwade him very earneſtly to flye, and not to come to the Byſhop, and profered himſelfe to go with him to ſerue him, and in all perils to venter his lyfe for him, and with him.

John Hull a faythfull ſeruaunt to D. Taylour.

But in no wiſe would Doctour Taylour conſent or agree thereunto, but ſayd: Oh John, ſhall I geue place to this thy counſell & worldly perſwaſion, and leaue my flocke in this daunger? Remember the good ſhepheard Chriſt, which not alonely fed his flocke, but alſo dyed for his flocke. Him muſt I folow, and with Gods grace will do.

D. Taylour agayne aduiſed to flie, but he refuſed ſo to doe.

The firſt metyng betwene Wincheſt. and D. Taylour.

Therefore good John pray for me: and if thou ſeeſt me weake at any tyme, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came vp to London, and ſhortly after Doctour Taylour preſented him ſelfe to the Byſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, then Lord Chauncellour of England.

A great abuſe in England and 3. miſchiefes comming thereof.

For this hath bene one great abuſe in England theſe many yeares, that ſuch offices as haue bene of moſt importaunce and wayght, haue commonly bene committed to Byſhops and other ſpirituall men, whereby three deuiliſh miſchiefes and inconueniences haue happened in this Realme, to the great diſhonour of God, and vtter neglecting of the flocke of Chriſt: the which three be theſe.

The firſt miſchiefe.

Firſt, they haue had ſmall leyſure to attende to their paſtorall cures, which thereby haue bene vtterly neglected and left vndone.

The ſecond miſchiefe.

Secondly, it hath alſo puft vp many Byſhops and other ſpirituall perſons into ſuch hautynes and pryde, that they haue thought no noble man in the Realme worthy to be their equall and fellow.

The third miſchiefe.

Thirdly, where they by this meanes knew the very ſecretes of Princes, they beyng in ſuch hygh offices, haue cauſed the ſame to be knowen in Rome, afore the kynges could accompliſhe and bryng their ententes to paſſe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacy bene ſo maintayned, and thynges ordered after their wils and pleaſures, that much miſchief hath happened in this Realme and others, ſometyme to the deſtruction of Princes, and ſometyme to the vtter vndoyng of many common wealthes.

Now when Gardiner ſaw Doctour Taylour, he accordyng to his common cuſtome all to reuiled him, callyng him knaue, Traytor, hereticke, with many other villanous reproches: whiche all Doctour Taylour heard patiently, and at the laſt ſayd vnto him:

D. Taylours patience, and magnanimitye.

My Lord (quoth he) I am neither Traytour, nor hereticke, but a true ſubiect, and a faythfull Chriſtian man, and am come accordyng to your commaundement, to know what is the cauſe that your Lordſhyp hath ſent for me.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: art thou come, thou villaine? How dareſt thou looke me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Steuē Gardiners Lordly lookes.

The notable aunſwere of D. Taylour to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Yes (quoth Doctour Taylour) I know who ye are. ye are Doctour Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chauncellour, and yet but a mortall man I trow. But if I ſhould bee afrayde of your Lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of all? How dare ye for ſhame looke any Chriſtian man in the face, ſeyng ye haue forſaken the truth, denyed our Sauiour Chriſt and his worde, and done contrary to your owne othe and wrytyng? With what countenaunce will ye appeare before ẏ Iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, and aunſwere to your othe made, firſt vnto kyng Henry viij. of famous memory, and afterwarde vnto that bleſſed kyng Edward the ſixt his ſonne?

Herods oth. Here the Byſhop confeſſeth vnlawfull othes ought not to be kept.

The Byſhop aunſwered: Tuſh, tuſh, that was Herodes othe, vnlawfull, and therfore worthy to be broken. I haue done well in breakyng it: and (I thanke God) I am come home agayne to our mother the Catholicke Churche of Rome, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

The true Church of Chriſt wherevnto all men ought to turne.

Doctour Taylour aunſwered: Should I forſake the Church of Chriſt, whiche is founded vpon the true foundatiō of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, to approue thoſe lyes: errours, ſuperſtitions, and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at thys day ſo blaſphemouſlye doe approue? Nay God forbid.

Let the Pope and hys returne to our Sauyour Chriſt, and hys word, and thruſt out of the churches ſuch abominable Idolatries as he maintayneth, and then will Chriſten men turne vnto hym. You wrote truelye agaynſt him, and were ſworne agaynſt him.

I tell thee (quoth the Biſhop of Wincheſter) it was Herodes oth, vnlawful, and therfore ought to be broken and not kepte, and our holy Father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Chriſt will require lawfull othes and promiſes.

Then ſayd D. Taylor: but you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtles will require it at your handes, as a lawful oth made to your liege and ſoueraigne Lord the king, from whoſe obedience no man can aſſoyle you, neither the Pope nor none of his.

Gardiner agayne rayling. Rayling wordes become not a magiſtrate. Math. 5.

I ſee (quoth the Biſhop) thou art an arrogant knaue, and a very foole.

My Lord (quoth Doctor Taylour) leaue your vnſeemly rayling at me, which is not ſeemlye for ſuch a one in authoritye as you are. For I am a chriſtian man, & you know that He that ſayeth to hys brother Racha, is in daunger of a Counſell, and he that ſayth thou foole, is in daunger of Hel fire.

The Biſhop anſwered, ye are all falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay (quoth D. Taylour) we are true men, and know that it is written: Os quod mentitur, occidit animam: and agayne, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. i. The mouth ẏ lyeth ſlayeth ẏ ſoule. And agayne, Lord God thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak lyes. And therefore we abide by the truth of Gods word which ye contrary to your own cōſcience deny and forſake.

Mariage obiected to D. Taylour. Mariage defended.

Thou art maryed (quoth the B.) yea, (quoth Doctour Taylor) that I thanke God I am, and haue had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony, and bleſſed be God that ordayned matrimony, and commaunded that euery mā that hath not the gift of cōtinēcy ſhould mary a wife of his own, and not liue in adultery, or whoredome.

One Idolater holdeth with an other.

The Maſſe.

Then ſayd the Biſhop: thou haſt reſiſted the Queenes Proceedinges, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the Parſon of Aldam a very vertuous and deuout Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe in Hadley. Doctor Taylour anſwered. My Lord I am Parſon of Hadley and it is agaynſt all right, conſcience & lawes, that any man ſhall come into my charge and preſume to infect the flock committed vnto me, with venome of the Popiſhe Idolatrous Maſſe.

The communion.

The true ſacrifice for the quicke and dead, what it is.

With that the Biſhop waxed very angry & ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous hereticke in deede, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed Sacrament (and put of his cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy Maſſe, which is made a ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead. D. Taylour anſwered, Nay I blaſpheme not the bleſſed ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reuerence it as a true chriſtian ought to doe, and confes that Chriſt ordayned the holy communiō in the remembraunce of his death and paſſiō, which when we keep according to his ordinaunce, we (through faith) eat the body of Chriſt, & drink his bloud, geuing thankes for our redemption, and this is our ſacrifice for the quick and the dead, to geue God thankes for his mercifull goodnes ſhewed to vs, in that he gaue his ſonne chriſt vnto the death for vs.

Propitiatory ſacrifice offered neuer more thē once.

Our ſacrifice now is onely memoratiue.

Thou ſayeſt well (quoth the Biſhop) It is all that thou haſt ſaid, & more to, for it is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick & dead. Thē anſwered D. Taylour: Chriſt gaue himſelf to dy for our redēption vpon ẏ Croſſe, whoſe body there offered was the propitiatory Sacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient vnto ſaluation, for all them that beleeue in hym. And this ſacrifice did our Sauyour Chriſt offer in his own perſon himſelfe once for all, neither can any Prieſt any more offer hym, nor we neede no more propitiatory ſacrifice, & therfore I ſay with Chriſoſtome, and all the Doctours: Our Sacrifice is only memoratiue, in ẏ remembraunce of chriſtes death and Paſſion, a ſacrifice of thankeſgeuing, and therfore Fathers called it Euchariſtia: And other ſacrifice hath the Church of God none,

Wincheſters ſtrong argument: cary hym to priſon.

It is true (quoth the Biſhop) the Sacrament is called Euchariſtia, a thankeſgeuing, becauſe we there geue thanks for our redemption, and it is alſo a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, which thou ſhalt confeſſe ere thou and I haue done. Then called the Biſhoppe hys men, and ſayd: haue this fellow hence, and carry him to ẏ kings bench and charge the keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

D. Taylours prayer agaynſt the Pope and his deteſtable enormyties.

Then kneeled Doctor Taylour down and held vp both hys handes and ſayd: Good Lord, I thanke thee, and from the tiranny of the Biſhoppe of Rome, and all his deteſtable Erroures, Idolatryes, and Abominations, good Lord deliuer vs: And God be prayſed for good Kinge Edwarde. So they caryed him to pryſon, to the kinges Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two yeares.

☞ This is the ſumme of that firſt talke, as I ſaw it mentioned in a Letter that Doctour Taylour wrote to a frend of his, thankyng God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was founde worthy for truth to ſuffer priſon and bandes, beſeechyng his frendes to pray for hym, that he might perſeuere conſtaunt vnto the end.

The godly behauiour and conuerſation of D. Taylour in the priſon.

Beyng in priſon, Doctour Taylour ſpent all his tyme in prayer, readyng the holy Scriptures, and writyng, and preachyng, and exhortyng the priſoners and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentaunce and amendement of lyfe.

Priſons turned into Churches, and Churches into dens of theeues.

Within a few dayes after, were diuerſe other learned and godly men in ſondry countreys of England committed to priſon for Religion, ſo that almoſt all the priſons in England were become right Chriſtian ſcholes and Churches, ſo that there was no greater comfort for Chriſtian hartes, then to come to the priſons, to behold their vertuous conuerſation, and to heare their prayers, preachynges, moſt godly exhortations, and conſolations.

The lamentable diſtreſſe of Gods true worſhippers in thoſe dayes.

Now were placed in Churches, blynd and ignoraunt Maſſemongers, with their Latine bablynges and apiſh ceremonies: who lyke cruell Wolues ſpared not to murther all ſuch, as any thyng at all, but once whiſpered againſt their Popery. As for all the godly preachers which were in kyng Edwardes tyme, they were either fled the Realme, or els, as the Prophetes did in kyng Achabs dayes, they were priuily kept in corners. As for as many as the Papiſtes could laye hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as Lambes waytyng when the Butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

John Bradford and D. Taylour priſonfellowes in the Kynges Bench.

When Doctour Taylour was come into yͤ priſon called the Kynges Bench, hee founde therein the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford: which mā for his innocent and godly lyuyng, his deuout, and vertuous preachyng, was worthyly counted a miracle of our tyme, as euen his aduerſaries muſt needes confeſſe. Findyng this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to fayth, ſtrength, and patience, and to perſeuer conſtaunt vnto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that had prouided him ſuch a comfortable priſonfellow: and ſo they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, readyng, & exhortyng one the other: In ſomuch that D. Taylour told his frendes that came to viſite him, that God had moſt graciouſly prouided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he founde ſuch an aungell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

¶ Doctour Taylour brought forth to be depriued.

¶ After that Doct. Taylour had lyen in priſon a while, he was cited to appeare in the Arches at Bow Church to aunſwere vnto ſuch matter, as there ſhould be obiected agaynſt him. At the day appoynted, hee was led thether, his keeper waytyng vpon him. Where, when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his Mariage, affirmyng by the Scriptures of G O D, by the Doctours of the primatiue Church, by both Lawes Ciuill and Canon, that it is lawfull for prieſtes to mary, and yͭ ſuch as haue not the gift of continencie, are bounde in payne of dānation to mary. This did he ſo playnly proue, that the Judge could geue no ſentence of diuorce agaynſt him, but gaue ſentence he ſhould be depriued of his benefice becauſe he was maryed.

D. Taylour defendeth mariage of Prieſtes.

D. Taylour depriued of his benefice becauſe of his mariage.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctour Taylour) and alledged many lawes and conſtitutions for him ſelfe, but all preuayled not. For he was agayne caryed into priſon, & his lyuynges taken away, and geuen to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was geuen or ſold, I wote not whether, to one Maiſter Newealle, whoſe great vertues were altogether vnlike to Doctour Taylour his predeceſſour, as the poore Pariſhioners full well haue proued.

Seldome commeth a better.

¶ Doctour Taylour brought agayne before Wincheſter, and other Byſhops.

AFter a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the whiche tyme the Papiſtes got certaine old tyrannous lawes, whiche were put downe by kyng Henry the eight and by kyng Edward, to be agayne reuiued by Parlament: ſo that now they might Ex officio cyte whom they would, vppon their owne ſuſpicion, and charge hym with what Articles they luſted, and except they in all thynges agreed to their purpoſe, burne them: when theſe lawes were once ſtabliſhed, they ſent for Doctour Taylour with certaine other priſoners, whiche were agayne conuented before the Chauncellour and other Commiſſioners about the 22. of January. The purpoſe and effect of which talke betwene them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelfe in his owne letter written to a frend of his, I haue annexed the ſayd letter here vnder as foloweth.

The Papiſtes rule and raigne.

¶ A Letter of Doctour Taylour, containing and reporting the talke had betwene him and the Lorde Chauncellour and other. Commiſſioners the 22. of Ianuary.

WHereas you would haue me to write the talke betwene the Kyng and Queenes moſt honourable Counſell and me on Tueſday, the xxij. of Ianuary, ſo farre as I remember: Firſt my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: You, among other are at this preſent tyme ſent for, to enioye the Kynges and Queenes Maieſties fauour and mercy, if you will now riſe agayne with vs from the fall which we generally haue receaued in this Realme, from the whiche (God be prayſed) we are now clearely deliuered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with vs now, and receaue mercy now offered, you ſhall haue iudgement accordyng to your demerites. To this I aunſwered: that ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that euer I could receiue: for I ſhould ſo fall from my deare Sauiour Chriſt, to Antichriſt.

The pardon is proffered.

Note this aunſwere.

For I do beleue that the Religion ſet forth in kyng Edwardes dayes, was accordyng to the veyne of the holy Scripture, whiche containeth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I lyue, by Gods grace.

The religion ſet forth in K. Edwardes dayes.

Then Maiſter Secretary Bourne ſayd: whiche of the Religions meane ye of in kyng Edwardes dayes? For ye knowe there were diuers bookes of Religion ſet foorth in his dayes. There was a Religion ſet forth in a Cathechiſme by my Lord of Caunterbury. Do you meane that you will ſticke to that?

Secretary Bourne cauilleth agaynſt the religion ſet forth in K. Edwardes dayes.

I aunſwered: My Lorde of Caunterbury made a Cathechiſme to bee tranſlated into Engliſhe, whiche booke was not of his owne makyng: yet hee ſet it foorth in hys owne name, and truely that booke for the tyme dyd much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt innocent Kyng Edward (for whom G O D bee prayſed euerlaſtyngly) the whole Churchſeruice, with great deliberation and the aduiſe of the beſt learned men of the Realme, and authoriſed by the whole Parlament, and receiued and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realme: whiche booke was neuer reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfited, accordyng to the rules of our Chriſtian Religion in euery behalfe, that no Chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thyng therin cōtained: I meane of that booke reformed.

A teſtimony of the booke of ſeruice ſet out in K. Edwardes dayes.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: Diddeſt thou neuer read the booke that I ſet forth of the Sacrament?

I aunſwered that I had read it.

Then he ſayd: How likeſt thou that booke? With that one of the Counſell (whoſe name I knowe not) ſayd: My Lorde, that is a good queſtion: for I am ſure, that booke ſtoppeth all their mouthes. Then ſayd I: My Lord, I thinke many thynges be farre wyde from the truth of Gods worde in that booke.

His right name might be Syr John Clawbacke.

Then my Lord ſayd: thou art a very varlet. To that I aunſwered: that is as ill as Racha or Fatue. Then my Lord ſayd: thou art an ignoraunt beetill brow.

Math. 5.

To that I aunſwered: I haue read ouer and ouer agayne the holy Scriptures, and S. Auguſtines workes through, S. Cyprian, Euſebius, Origine, Gregory Nazianzen, with diuers other bookes through once: therefore I thanke God I am not vtterly ignoraunt. Beſides theſe, my Lord, I profeſſed the Ciuill lawes, as your Lordſhipp did, & I haue read ouer the Canon law alſo.

D. Taylour learned in Diuinitie, and alſo in the ciuill lawe.

Then my Lord ſayd: with a corrupt iudgement thou readeſt all thynges. Touchyng my profeſſion it is Diuinitie, in which I haue written diuers bookes. Then I ſayd: my Lord ye did write one booke De vera obedientia: I would you had bene cōſtant in that: For in deede you neuer did declare a good conſcience, that I heard of, but in that one booke.

Then my Lord ſayd: tut, tut, tut, I wrote agaynſt Bucer in Prieſtes Mariages: but ſuch bookes pleaſe not ſuch wretches as thou art, which haſt bene maried many yeares.

To that I aunſwered: I am maryed in deede, and I haue had nine children in holy Matrimony, I thanke God: and this I am ſure of, that your proceedynges now at this preſent in this Realme agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages is the maintenaunce of the doctrine of deuils, againſt naturall law, Ciuill law, Canon law, generall Councels, Canons of the Apoſtles, auncient Doctours, and Gods lawes.

Prieſtes mariage confirmed by D. Taylour.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme, ſaying: You haue profeſſed the Ciuill law, as you ſay. Then you know that Iuſtinian writeth, that Prieſtes ſhould at their takyng of orders ſweare, that they were neuer maryed: and he bringeth in to proue that, Canones Apoſtolorum.

To that I aunſwered: that I dyd not remember any ſuch law of Iuſtinian. But I am ſure that Iuſtiniā writeth in

1555. Febru.

Iuſtinians law approueth mariage, and condemneth othes made agaynſt it. Conſtall throughly aunſwered by the Ciuil law.

Titulo de indicta viduitate, in Cod. that if one would bequeath to his wife in his Teſtament a legacy, vnder a condition that ſhe ſhould neuer mary agayne, and take an othe of her for the accompliſhyng of the ſame, yet ſhe may mary agayne if he dye, notwithſtandyng the aforeſayd condition and othe taken and made agaynſt Mariage: and an oth is an other manner of obligation made to God, then is a Papiſticall vowe made to man.

Moreouer in the Pandectes it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmayde vnder a condition, that ſhe ſhall neuer marry: yet ſhe may marry, and her Patrone ſhall looſe ius patronatus, for his addyng of the vnnaturall, and vnlawfull condition agaynſt Matrimony.

Then my Lord Chancellour ſayd: thou ſayeſt that prieſts may be maryed by Gods law. How proueſt thou that?

Scripture approueth Prieſtes mariage, but the Pope muſt be heard before the Scripture. Chryſoſt. calleth it an hereſy, to ſay that a Prieſt may not be maryed.

I aunſwered: by the playne wordes and ſentences of S. Paule, both to Timothe, & to Titus, where he ſpeaketh moſt euidently of the mariage of Prieſtes, Deacons, and Byſhops. And Chryſoſtome writing vppon the Epiſtle to Timothy ſaith: It is an hereſie to ſay that a Biſhop may not be maried.

Then ſayd my Lord Chauncellour: thou lieſt of Chryſoſtome. But thou doeſt, as all thy companyons doe, bely euer without all ſhame, both the Scriptures and the Doctours. Diddeſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the Canon law Prieſtes may be maried? which is moſt vntrue: and the contrary is moſt true.

Canon law approueth Prieſtes mariages.

I aunſwered: We read in the Decrees, that the foure generall Councels, Nicene, Conſtantinopolitane, Epheſine, and Chalcedone, haue the ſame authoritie that the foure Euāgeliſtes haue. And we read in the ſame decrees (which is one of the chief bookes of the Canon law,) that the Coūcell of Nicene, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, did allow Prieſtes and Byſhops Mariages. Therfore by the beſt part of the Canon law, Prieſtes, may be maried.

Winch. belyeth the Counſell.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: thou falſifieſt the generall Councell. For there is expreſſe mention in the ſayd Decree, that Prieſtes ſhould be diuorced from their wiues, which be maried.

Then ſayd I: if thoſe wordes be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of myne. Let the booke be fetched.

Counſell belyeth Winch. at nede.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme: Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria, which Euſebius wrote, out of which booke the Decree was taken.

To that ſayd I: it is not like that the Pope would leaue out any ſuch ſentence, hauyng ſuch authoritie, and makyng ſo much for his purpoſe.

Gardyner denyeth hys owne Canoniſt and calleth it a patched law.

Then my Lord Chauncellour ſayd: Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch vp ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe. I aunſwered: my Lord, I can not but meruaile that you do cal one of the chief Papiſtes that euer was, but a patcher.

Then my Lorde Chauncellour ſayd: Nay I call thee a ſnatcher and a patcher. To make an ende: wilt thou not returne agayne with vs to the Catholicke Churche? and with that he roſe.

And I ſayd: By Gods grace I will neuer departe from Chriſtes Churche. Then I required that I might haue ſome of my frendes to come to me in priſon: and my Lord Chaūcellour ſayd: thou ſhalt haue iudgemēt within this weeke: and ſo I was deliuered agayne vnto my keeper. My Lord of Dureſme would that I ſhould beleue as my father and my mother. I alledged S. Auguſtine: that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

D. Taylour ſent agayne to pryſon.

And thus much was contained in the foreſayd letter of Doctour Taylour for that matter.

Beſides this letter moreouer he directed an other writyng in like maner to an other frend of his concernyng the cauſes wherefore he was condemned, whiche we thought likewiſe here to expreſſe as followeth.

¶ The copie of an other letter to his frend, touching his aſſertions of the Mariage of Prieſts, and other cauſes for the which he was condemned.

The Byſhop of Wincheſt. and his felowes, proued to be open heretickes by ſcripture and by the true definition of hereſye.

IT is hereſie to defend any doctrine againſt the holy ſcripture. Therfore the Lord Chauncellour and Byſhoppes conſentyng to his ſentence agaynſt me, be heretickes. For they haue geuen ſentence agaynſt the Mariage of Prieſtes, knowyng that S. Paule to Timothe and Titus writeth playnly, that Byſhops, Prieſtes, & Deacons may be maried: knowing alſo that by S. Paules doctrine, it is the doctrine of the deuils to inhybite Matrimony. And S. Paule willeth euery faythfull Miniſter to teach the people ſo, leſt they be deceaued by the marked Marchauntes. 1. Tim. iiij.

These Byſhops are not ignoraunt, that it is not onely S. Paules counſell, and lawfull, but Gods commaundement alſo to mary, for ſuch as can not otherwiſe lyue chaſte, neyther auoyde fornication.

1. Tim. 4. Byſhops ſinne agaynſt their owne conſcience and that for 9. or 10. cauſes.

They know that ſuch as do mary, do not ſinne.

1. Cor. 7.

They know that god, before ſinne was, ordeyned Matrymony, and that in Paradiſe, betwene two of his principall creatures, man, and woman.

Gene. 2. Gene. 3.

They knowe what ſpirite they haue, whiche ſaye it is euill to mary (ſeyng God ſayth: it is not good for man to bee alone without a wife) hauyng no ſpeciall gift contrary to the generall commaundement and ordinaunce, diuers times repeated in the booke of Geneſis, whiche is to encreaſe and multiply.

Gene. 1.

They know that Abraham caried into ye land of Canaan his old and yet barraine wife the vertuous woman Sara with him, leauyng father, and mother and countrey otherwiſe at Gods commaundement. For though father and mother, and other frendes are deare and neare, yet none are ſo dearely nor nearely ioyned together, as man & wife in Matrimony, whiche muſt nedes be holy, for that it is a figure & ſimilitude of Chriſt and his Church.

Gene. 12. Mariage is no impediment for a good man to walke in the obedience of Gods commaundement.

They know that S. Paul giueth a great prayſe to Matrimony, callyng it honourable, and that not onely to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, who ſoeuer haue nede of that Gods remedy, for mans and womans infirmitie.

Ephe. 5. Heb. 13.

They know ye if there were any ſinne in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bedcompany. But S. Paul ſayth: that the bedcompany is vndefiled.

They know that the hauyng of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Iacob, Dauid, &c. to talke with God, neither to the Leuites, Byſhops, & prieſtes office in the tyme of the old Teſtement or the New.

Gene. 18. Exod. 18. Gene. 25. Gene. 31. 2. Reg. 7.

They know that Chriſt would not be conceiued, or borne of his bleſſed mother the virgine Mary, before ſhee was eſpouſed in mariage, his own ordinaunce.

Math. 1.

They know by S. Cyprian and Saint Auguſtine that a vow is not an impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony or to diuorce the ſame.

They know that S. Chryſoſtome ſayth: it is hereſie to affirme that a Byſhop may not haue a wife.

Chryſoſtome. It is hereſie to deny Prieſtes Mariage.

They know that S. Ambroſe will haue no commaundement but counſayle onely to be geuen, touching the obſeruyng of virginitie.

Ambroſ. 3. Q. 1. Integritas.

They know that Chriſt with his bleſſed mother and ye Apoſtles were at a Mariage, and beautified, and honoured the ſame with his preſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhort: they know that all that I haue here written touching the Mariage of Prieſtes is true, & they know that the Papiſtes them ſelues do not obſerue touchyng that matter, theyr own lawes and Canons: and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hote yron, as deteſtable heretickes in this behalfe. The Lord geue them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned as an hereticke is, that I denyed the Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iugglyng wordes of the Papiſtes, by the whiche they do beleue and wil compell al other to beleue ye Chriſtes naturall body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be ioyned thereunto: ſo that immediatly after the wordes (called the wordes of cōſecration) there is no more bread & wyne in the Sacrament, but the ſubſtaunce onely of the bodye and bloude of Chriſte together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame beyng now Chriſt, both God and man, ought to be worſhipped with godly honour, and to be offred to god, both for the quicke and the dead, as a ſacrifice propitiatory & ſatiſfactory for the ſame. This matter was not long debated in wordes: but becauſe I denyed the foreſayd Papiſtical doctrine, (yea rather plaine moſt wicked Idolatry, blaſphemy and hereſie) I was iudged an hereticke.

The 2. cauſe of D. Taylours condemnation. Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two iuggling wordes of the Papiſtes.

I dyd alſo affirme the Pope to be Antichriſt, & Popery Antichriſtianity.

The 3. Article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

And I confeſſed the Doctrine of the Bible to bee a ſufficient doctrine, touching all and ſingular matters of Chriſtian Religion, and of ſaluation.

The 4. Article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

I alſo alledged that the oth agaynſt the Supremacy of the Byſhop of Rome, was a lawfull oth, and ſo was the oth made by vs all, touching the Kynges or Queenes preeminence. For Chryſoſtomus ſayth: That Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes and all men in euery Realme were euer, and ought to be euer, touching both body and goodes, in ſubiection to the Kyngly authority, who hath the ſworde in his hand, as Gods Principall officer and gouernour in euery Realme. I deſired the Byſhops to repent for bryngyng the Realme from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from light to darkenes, from verity to vanitie.

The 5. Article agaynſt Doct. Taylour.

All men muſt obey kinges.

Thus you know the ſumme of my laſt examination, and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

D. Taylour neuer afrayd of death.

God be prayſed: ſince my condempnation, I was neuer afrayd to dye: Gods will bee done. If I ſhrincke from Gods truth, I am ſure of an other maner of death thē had Iudge Hales. But God be prayſed, euen from the bottome of my hart, I am vnmoueably ſetled vppon the Rocke, nothyng doubtyng, but that my deare God will performe and finiſh the worke that hee hath begon in me, and other. To him be all honour both now and euer through Chriſt our onely and whole Sauiour. Amen.

And thus much wrote Doctour Taylour concernyng this matter, to his frend.

You heard in the former aunſweres a little before certaine allegations touched of Doctour Taylour out of S. Cyprian, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, and Ambroſe, touching the lawfulnes of Prieſtes Mariage. Now ye ſhal heare the places of the ſayd Doctours cited and produced out of their owne bookes, as here enſueth.

¶ The places of the Doctours alledged before in Doctour Taylours Letter.

S. Cyprian in his xi. Epiſtle. Lib. i.

Cyprian. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 11.

A Deacon or Virgin or any other that hath dedicate him ſelfe to virginitie if he can not lyue chaſte, by S. Cyprians iudgement ought to mary.

This queſtion was aſked of S. Cyprian, what ſhould be done with thoſe religious perſons, that could not keepe their chaſtitie as they had vowed. He aunſwereth thus: Thou doeſt aſke what we do iudge of Virgins, whiche after they had decreed to liue chaſtely, are afterward found in one bed with a man. Of the which thou ſayeſt that one of them was a Deacon. We do with great ſorow ſee the great ruine of many perſons whiche cōmeth by the reaſon of ſuch vnlawfull and perillous companying together. Wherfore, if they haue dedicate themſelues vnto Chriſt in fayth, to lyue purely and chaſtly, thē let thē ſo remayne without any fable, and ſtrōgly, and ſtedfaſtly abyde the reward of virginitie. But and if they will not abyde, or els can not abyde: then is it better to mary, then for to fall into the fire of concupiſcence: And let them geue to the brethren and ſiſterne none occaſion of ſclaunder. &c.

¶ Saint Auguſtine in his booke, De bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

Auguſt. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum.

Certaine men doe affirme, thoſe men to be aduouterers, that do mary, after that they haue vowed chaſtitie. But I do affirme that thoſe men do greuouſly ſinne, the which do ſeparate them. &c.

¶ Ambroſe. xxxij. Queſt. i. Cap. Integritas.

The Pope & his Byſhops commaundeth, and counſelleth not to mary, yea & to burne men for marying.

Chaſtitie of the body ought to be deſired of vs: the which thyng I do geue for a counſell and do not commaunde it imperiouſly. For Virginitie is a thyng that alonely ought to be counſelled, but not to be cōmaunded: it is rather a thyng of voluntary will and not a precept.

¶ A brief recapitulation out of Doctour Taylours cauſes afore touched for the Reader, more euidently to ſee how the Papiſtes do agaynſt their owne knowledge, in forbyddyng Prieſtes Mariage.

The Popes Clergy forbyddyng Eccleſiaſticall perſons to mary, do agaynſt their conſcience and knowledge, as may well be proued by theſe cauſes here vnder folowyng.

1. Firſt, they know that Matrimony in the old Teſtamēt, De iure inſtitutionis, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

2. Secondly they know, that in the old Teſtament, De facto, both Prieſtes, Leuites, Prophetes, Patriarches, and all other had their wiues.

3. Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted and inſtituted of God for two principall endes: to witte, for procreation, and auoydyng of ſinne.

4. Fourthly, they know, that in the old teſtament God, not onely inſtituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth and appointeth men to mary and take wiues, in theſe wordes: It is not good for a man to be alone. &c.

5. Fiftly, they know, that in the new Teſtament S. Paul permitteth the ſtate of Matrimony free to all men, hauyng not the gift of continencie, and forbiddeth none.

6. Sixtly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſayd S. Paule not onely permitteth, but alſo expreſſely willeth & chargeth men hauing not the gift, to mary, ſaying: For auoidyng fornication let euery man haue his wife. &c.

7. Seuenthly, they know that in the new Teſtament the ſayd S. Paul, not onely permitteth and commaundeth, but alſo commendeth and prayſeth the ſtate of Matrimony, Hebr. 13. Callyng it honorable: and the bedcompany to bee vndefiled. &c.

8. Eightly, they knowe, that in the newe teſtamēt Chriſt him ſelfe, not onely was not conceaued nor borne of the virgine before ſhee was eſpouſed in matrymony, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed mother dyd beutify and honour the ſtate of matrymony with their preſence: yea in the ſame, began hys fyrſt miracle.

9. Ninthly, they know, both by the olde teſtament & new, that mariage is no impediment to walke in the obedience of Gods commaundement, for both Abraham caryed into the land of Chanaan hys old, yea and barraine wife, the vertuous woman Sara with him: & alſo to Iſaac, Iacob, Moſes, Dauid, and other, their mariage was no impediment to them to talke with God: neyther to other Leuites, biſhops, and Prieſtes in the tyme both of ỷ old teſtament and of the new. Agayn, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and other both to haue their wyues with them, and alſo to ſupply the office of Apoſtleſhip.

10. Tenthly, they know both by ỷ old teſtament & new, that ſinfull fornication and adultery depriueth man of Gods fauour & graces of the holy ghoſt, whiche graces eſpecially bee requiſite in men of the Church.

11. Eleuenthly, they knowe in their own ſecret conſcience, and by experience, that neither they whiche enioine this vow of chaſtity, nor they which take it, do obſerue ỷ vow of chaſtity. Wherupon riſe inconueniences more thē can be expreſſed: but the Lord aboue knoweth al, beſides the ſecret murders peraduenture of many a poore infant. &c.

12. Twelfthly, they know, by S. Cyprian. Epiſt. 11. and S. Auguſtine. Lib. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum. that a vow is no impediment ſufficient to let matrymony, or to diuorce the ſame.

13. Thyrtenthely, they knowe that Chryſoſtome affirmeth it to be an hereſie to ſay, ỷ a byſhop may not haue a wife.

14. Fourtenthly, they know that S. Ambroſe. 32. q. 1. Integritas, will haue no commaundement, but counſell only to be geuen, touching the obſeruyng of virginity.

15. Fiftenthly, they knowe that before the tyme of Pope Hildebrand, that is, duryng that tyme of 1000. yeares after Chriſt, maryage was neuer reſtrayned by any forceable neceſſity of vow, from men of the Churche.

16. Sixtenthly, they know, that S. Paul calleth it the doctrine of deuils, to forbide meates and maryage which God hath left free with thankes geuyng for neceſſity of man & woman.

16. After that Doct. Taylour thus with great ſpirite and courage had aunſwered for him ſelfe, and ſtoutly rebuked his aduerſaries for breakyng their oth made before to kyng Henry and to kyng Edward his ſonne, and for betrayng the realme into the power of the Romain Byſhop, they perceauyng that in no caſe he could be ſtyrred to their wyls and purpoſe, that is, to turne with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed hym therupon to pryſon agayne, where he endured tyll the laſt of January.

¶ D. Taylour the fourth tyme with M. Bradford, & M. Saunders brought before Winchester and other Byſhops.

Gardiner. Hopton. Boner. Capon. Tonſtall.

Vpon which day & yeare aforeſayd, D. Taylour and M. Bradford, and M. Saunders were agayne called to appeare before the Byſhop of Winchester, the Byſhop of Norwich, of London, of Saliſbury, and of Durſme, and there were charged agayn with hereſie and ſchiſme, and therfore a determinate aunſwer was required: whether they would ſubmit thē ſelues to the Romain byſhop & abiure their errours or els thy would accordyng to their lawes procede to theyr condemnation.

The conſtancye of theſe men.

When D. Taylour and his fellowes M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they aunſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from ỷ truth which they had preached in kyng Edwardes daies, neyther would they ſubmit them ſelues to the Romiſh Antichriſt but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he woulde call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his worde and truth.

Sentence of death geuen vpon innocentes.

When the Byſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and vnmoueably fixed in the truth, they read ỷ ſentence of death vpon them, which when they had heard, they moſt ioyfully gaue God thankes, and ſtoutly ſayde vnto the Byſhops: We doubt not but God the righteous Iudge, will requyre our bloud at your handes, and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiuyng agayne of Antichriſt, and your tyranny that ye now ſhewe agaynſt the flocke of Chriſt.

D. Taylour condemned.

So was Doctour Taylour nowe condemned, committed to the Clyncke, & the Keepers charged ſtraitely to keepe him: for ye haue nowe an other maner of charge (quoth the Lord Chauncellour) then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heede to it.

D. Taylour remoued frō the clincke to the counter by night.

when the keeper brought him toward the priſon, þ people flocked about to gaſe vpon hym: vnto whō he ſayd: God be prayſed (good people) I am come away from them vndefiled, and will cōfirme the truth with my bloud. So was he beſtowed in the Clyncke tyll it was toward night, and then he was remoued to the Counter by the Poultry.

Boner commeth to the counter to diſgrade D. Taylour.

When D. Taylour had lyen in the ſayd Counter in the Poultry a ſeuennight or there abouts pryſoner, the fourth day of February, Anno. 1555 Edmund Boner Byſhop of London with others, came to the ſayd Counter to diſgrade him, bryngyng with them ſuch ornaments, as do perteine to their maſſing Mummery. Now beyng come, he called for the ſayd D. Taylour to be brought vnto him (the byſhop beyng then in the chamber, where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay). So D. Taylour was brought downe from the chamber aboue that, to the ſayd Boner. And at his commyng, the Byſhop ſayd: Maiſter Doctour, I would you would remember your ſelfe, and turne to your mother holy Church: ſo may ye do well inough, and I will ſue for your pardon. Wherunto M. Taylour anſwered: I would you and your felowes would turne to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turne to Antichriſt. Well (quoth the Biſhop) I am come to diſgrade you: wherefore put on theſe veſtures. No (quoth Doct. Taylour) I will not. Wilt thou not, ſayd the Byſhop? I ſhall make thee, ere I go. Quoth Doct. Taylour, you ſhall not by the grace of God. Thē he charged him vpon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him.

Boner perſwading D. Taylour to turne.

D. Taylour refuſeth to turne from Chriſt to Antichriſt.

D. Taylour and Boner ſtriuing for putting on the Maſſing garmentes.

D. Taylour derideth the Popes Maſſing Toyes.

So he willed an other to put them on his backe: & when he was throughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his handes by his ſide, walkyng vp and downe, and ſayd: how ſay you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? how ſay you my maiſters? If I were in Cheape, ſhould I not haue boyes inough to laugh at theſe apiſh toyes, & toying trumpery? So the Byſhop ſcraped his fingers thombes, & the crowne of his head, and did the reſt of ſuch like deuiliſh obſeruaunces.

At the laſt, when hee ſhould haue geuen D. Taylour a ſtroke on the breſt with his Croſierſtaffe, the Byſhops Chapleine ſayd: my Lord, ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike agayne. yea by S. Peter will I, quoth Doct. Taylour. The cauſe is Chriſtes: and I were no good Chriſtian, if I would not fight in my Maiſters quarell. So the Byſhop layd his curſe vpon him, but ſtroke him not. Then Doct. Taylour ſayd: though you do curſe me, yet doth God bleſſe me. I haue the witnes of my conſcience, that ye haue done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God (if it be his will) forgeue you. But from the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome, and his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs. And in goyng vp to his chamber, he ſtill ſayd: God deliuer me from you, God deliuer me from you. And when he came vp, he told Maiſter Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the Byſhop of London afeard: for (ſayth he laughyngly) his Chapleyne gaue him counſell not to ſtrike me with his Croſierſtaffe, for that I would ſtrike agayne: & by my trouth (ſayd he rubbing his handes) I made hym beleue I would do ſo in deede.

D. Taylour prayeth agayne againſt the Pope & his deteſtable enormities.

Boner afeard of D. Taylour.

The night after that hee was diſgraded, his wife and his ſonne Thomas reſorted to him, and were by the gentlenes of the keepers permitted to ſuppe with him. For this difference was euer founde betwene the keepers of the Byſhops priſons, and the keepers of the kynges priſons: that the Byſhops keepers were euer cruell, blaſphemous, and tyrannous, like their Maiſters: but the keepers of the kynges priſons ſhewed for the moſt part, as much fauour, as they poſſible might.

keepers of priſon.

So came Doctour Taylours wife, his ſonne, and Iohn Hull his ſeruaunt, to ſuppe with him: and at their commyng in afore ſupper, they kneeled downe and prayed, ſaying the Letanie.

After ſupper walkyng vp and downe, he gaue GOD thankes for his grace, that had ſo called him and geuen him ſtrength to abyde by his holy worde: and turnyng to hys ſonne Thomas: My deare ſonne (ſayd he) almighty God bleſſe thee, and geue thee his holy ſpirite, to be a true ſeruaūt of Chriſt, to learne his worde, and conſtauntly to ſtand by his truth all thy long lyfe. And my ſonne, ſee þ thou feare God alwayes. Flee from all ſinne and wicked liuing: be vertuous, ſerue God with dayly prayer, and apply thy booke. In any wiſe ſee thou bee obedient to thy mother, loue her, and ſerue her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and folow her good counſell in all thynges. Beware of lewde company of young men that feare not God, but follow their lewde luſtes and vayne appetites. Flye from whoredome, and hate all filthy lyuing, remembryng that I thy father do dye in þ defēce of holy mariage. And an other day whē God ſhal bleſſe thee, loue and cheriſhe the poore people, and count that thy chief riches is to be riche in almes: and when thy mother is waxed old, forſake her not, but prouide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lacke nothyng: For ſo will GOD bleſſe thee, and geue thee long life vpon earth and proſperitie: which I pray God to graunt thee.

D. Taylour bleſſed his ſonne.

D. Taylours godly exhortation to his ſonne, worthy of all youth to be marked.

D. Taylour counſelleth his wyfe.

Then turnyng to his wife: My deare wife (quoth he) continue ſtedfaſt in the feare and loue of God: keepe your ſelfe vndefiled from their Popiſhe Idolatries, and ſuperſtitions. I haue bene vnto you a faythfull yokefellow, and ſo haue you bene to me, for the whiche I pray GOD to rewarde you, and doubt you not deare wife, but GOD will reward it.

Now the tyme is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the wedlocke bōd towardes me: therfore I will geue you my counſell what I thinke moſt expedient for you. You are yet a childbearyng woman, and therefore it will be moſt conuenient for you to marry. For doubtleſſe you ſhall neuer bee at a conuenient ſtay for your ſelfe and our poore children, nor out of trouble, till you be maryed. Therfore as ſoone as God will prouide it, mary with ſome honeſt faythfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will prouide an honeſt huſband for you, and he will be a mercyfull father to you and to my children: whom I pray you, bryng vp in the feare of God, & in learnyng, to the vttermoſt of your power, and keepe them from this Romiſh Idolatrie. When he had thus ſayd, they with weepyng teares prayed together, and kiſſed one the other: and he gaue to his wife a booke of the Church ſeruice, ſet out by kyng Edward, whiche in the tyme of his impriſonment he dayly vſed. And vnto his ſonne Thomas he gaue a Latin booke, cōtainyng the notable ſayings of the old Martyrs, gathered out of Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria: and in the ende of that booke he wrote his Teſtament and laſt Vale, as hereafter followeth.

His laſt token to his wyfe and his ſonne.

¶The laſt will and Teſtament of Doctour Rowland Taylour, Parſon of Hadley.

D. Taylours will and teſtament written in the booke which he gaue to his ſonne.

Iob. 1. 8.
Apoc. 14.
Luke 12.

I Say to my wife, and to my children: The Lord gaue you vnto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I beleue that they are bleſſed whiche dye in the Lorde. God careth for Sparrowes, and for the heares of our heades. I haue euer founde him more faythfull and fauourable, thē is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Sauiour Chriſtes merites: beleue, loue, feare and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to helpe. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainely lyue, and neuer dye. I go before, and you ſhall follow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt of my children, Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zacharie: I haue bequeathed you to the onely omnipotent.

I ſay to my deare frendes of Hadley, and to all other whiche haue heard me preache: that I depart hence with a quiet conſcience, as touchyng my doctrine: for the which I pray you thāke God with me. For I haue after my litle talent declared to other, thoſe leſſōs that I gathered out of gods booke, the bleſſed Bible. Therfore if I or any Aungell frō heauen ſhould preach to you any other Goſpell, then that ye haue receiued, Gods great curſe vpon that Preacher.

A pure conſcience fully quieted.

Beware for Gods ſake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the worde of fayth, leſt God decline from you, and ſo ye do euerlaſtyngly periſh. For Gods ſake beware of Popery: for though it appeare to haue in it vnitie, yet the ſame is in vanitie, and Antichriſtianitie, and not in Chriſtes fayth and veritie.

A graue warning agaynſt Popery.

Beware of the ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, now after ſuch a light opened ſo playnly and ſimply, truly, throughly, and generally to all England.

The ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt.

The Lord graunt all men his good and holy ſpirite, encreaſe of his wiſedome, contemnyng the wicked world, hartie deſire to be with God and the heauenly company, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely Mediatour, Aduocate, righteouſnes, lyfe, ſanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

A godly prayer.

¶Rowland Taylour departyng hence in ſure hope, without all doubtyng of eternall ſaluatiō, I thāke God my heauenly father, thorough Ieſus Chriſt my certaine Sauiour. Amen.

The 5. of February. Anno. 1555.

Pſalm. 27.
The Lorde is my light and my ſaluation: whom then ſhall I feare. Roma. 8.
God is he that iuſtifieth: who is he that can condemne?
Pſalm. 30.
In thee O Lorde haue I truſted, let me neuer bee confounded.

On the next morow, after that Doct. Taylour had ſupped with his wife in the Counter (as is before expreſſed) which was the ſixt day of February, the Sheriffe of Lōdō, with his Officers, came to the Counter by ij. of the clocke in the mornyng, and ſo brought forth D. Taylour, and witha

D. Taylour lead from the counter by night toward Hadley.

out any light lead him to the Woolſacke, an Inne without Algate. D. Taylours wyfe ſuſpectyng that her huſband ſhould that night be caryed away, watched all night within S. Butolphes Churchporch beſide Algate, hauyng with her two children, the one named Elizabeth of xiij. yeares of age (whom beyng left without father or mother, Doctour Taylour had brought vp of almes from three yeares olde) the other named Mary D. Taylours own daughter.

The laſt meeting and leaue taking with his wyfe and children.

Now, when the Shiriffe and his company came againſt S. Butolphes Churche, Elizabeth cryed ſaying: O my deare father. Mother, mother, here is my Father lead away. Then cried his wife: Rowland, Rowlãd, where art thou? for it was a very darke mornyng, that the one could not ſee the other. Doctour Taylour aunſwered: deare wife, I am here, and ſtayed. The Shiriffes men would haue led him forth, but the Sheriffe ſayd: ſtay a litle maiſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeake with his wife, and ſo they ſtayed.

This Sheriffe was M. Cheſter.

Then came ſhe to him, and he tooke his daughter Mary in his armes, and hee, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and ſaid the Lordes prayer. At which ſight the Sheriffe wept apaſe, & ſo did diuers other of ẏ company. After they had prayed, he roſe vp & kiſſed his wife, & ſhooke her by the hand, & ſayd: Farewell my deare wife: be of good cõfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhall ſtyrre vp a father for my children. And then he kiſſed his daughter Mary and ſayd: God bleſſe thee, and make thee his ſeruaunt: & kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſaid: God bleſſe thee. I pray you all ſtãd ſtrõg and ſtedfaſt vnto Chriſt and his word, and keepe you from idolatry. Then ſayd his wife: God be with thee deare Rowland. I will with Gods grace meete thee at Hadley.

And ſo was he lead forth to the Woolſacke, and his wife followed him. As ſoone as they came to the Woolſacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with foure yeomen of the Gard, and the Shriffes men. Doctour Taylour, as ſoone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees & gaue him ſelfe wholy to prayer. The Sheriffe then ſeyng D. Taylours wife there, would in no caſe graunt her to ſpeake any more with her huſband, but gently deſired her to go to his houſe and take it as her owne, and promiſed her ſhe ſhould lacke nothyng, & ſent two Officers to conduct her thether. Notwithſtandyng, ſhe deſired to go to her mothers, whether the Officers lead her, and charged her mother to keepe her there, till they came agayne.

The Shrieffes gentlenes ſhewed to the woman.

Thus remained Doctour Taylour in the Woolſacke, kept by the Sheriffe and his company, till xj. of the clocke. At which tyme the Sheriffe of Eſſex was ready to receiue him: and ſo they ſet him on horſebacke within the Inne, the gates beyng ſhut.

D. Taylour brought to the ſigne of the Woolſacke.

At the commyng out of the gates, John Hull (before ſpokẽ of) ſtode at the rayles with Thomas Doctour Taylours ſonne. When Doctour Taylour ſaw them, hee called them, ſaying: Come hether my ſonne Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child vp, and ſet him on the horſe before his father. And Doct. Taylour put of his hat and ſayd to the people that ſtode there lookyng on him: Good people, this is myne owne ſonne, begotten of my body in lawfull matrimony: and God be bleſſed for lawfull matrimony. Then lift he his eyes towardes heauen, & prayed for his ſonne, layd his hat vpon the childes head, & bleſſed him, and ſo deliuered the child to John Hull, whom he tooke by the hand: & ſayd: farewell John Hull, the faythfulleſt ſeruaunt ẏ euer man had. And ſo they rod forth, the Shriffe of Eſſex with foure yeomen of the Gard, and the Shriffes men leadyng hym.

D. Taylour taketh his leaue of his ſonne Thomas and John Hull.

A good teſtimonie for all ſeruantes to marke.

When they were come almoſt at Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſie, a man of Hadley, who before tyme had bene Doctour Taylours ſeruaunt, met with them, and he ſuppoſing him to haue bene at libertie, ſayd: Maiſter Doctour I am glad to ſee you agayn at libertie, and came to him, and tooke him by the hand. Soft Syr (quoth the Sheriffe) he is a priſoner: what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy (ſayd Arthur) I knew not ſo much, and I thought it none offence to talke to a true man. The Shriffe was very angry with this, and threatned to cary Arthur with him to priſon: notwithſtandyng, he bad him get him quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to Burntwood: where they cauſed to be made for D. Taylour a cloſe hode, with two holes for his eyes to looke out at, & a ſlit for his mouth to breath at. This they did, ẏ no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeake to any mã. Which practiſe they vſed alſo with others. Their owne conſciences told them, that they lead innocent lambes to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the people ſhould haue heard them ſpeake, or haue ſene them, they might haue bene much more ſtrengthened by their godly exhortatiõs, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Gods word, and to flye the ſuperſtitions and Idolatries of the Papacie.

Arthur Fayſie.

A cloſe hoode made for Doct. Taylour that no man ſhould know hym.

Chriſtes aduerſaryes worke all by darkenes.

All the way Doct. Taylour was ioyfull and mery, as one that accompted himſelfe goyng to a moſt pleaſaunt banquet or bridall. He ſpake many notable thynges to the Sheriffe and yeomen of the Gard that conducted him, and often moued them to weepe through his much earneſt callyng vpon them to repent, and to amende their euill and wicked lyuyng. Oftentymes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and reioyce, to ſee him ſo cõſtant and ſtedfaſt, voyde of all feare, ioyful in hart, & glad to dye. Of thoſe yeomen of the Gard, three vſed D. Taylour frendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes) vſed him very homely, vnkyndly, and churliſhly.

D. Taylour is ioyfull in his way.

Homes a notorious aduerſary to D. Taylour.

At Chelmeſford meete them the Shrieffe of Suffolke, there to receiue him, and to cary him forth into Suffolke. And beyng at ſupper, the Shrieffe of Eſſex very earneſtly laboured him to returne to the Popiſh Religion, thinkyng with fayre wordes to perſuade him, and ſayd good Maiſter Doctor, we are ryght ſory for you, conſideryng what loſſe is of ſuch one as ye might be if ye would: God hath geuen you great learnyng and wiſedome, wherefore ye haue bene in great fauour and reputation in tymes paſt with the Counſel and hygheſt of this Realme. Beſides this, ye are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to lyue many yeares, and without doubt, ye ſhoulde in tyme to come be in as good reputation as euer ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloued of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learnyng: and me thynke it were great pitie you ſhould caſt away your ſelfe willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a paynefull and ſhamefull death. ye ſhoulde do much better to reuoke your opinions, and returne to the Catholicke Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes holynes to be the ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church, and reconcile your ſelf to him. you may do well yet, if ye will: doubt ye not but ye ſhall finde fauour at the Queenes handes. I and all theſe your frendes will be ſuters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye ſhall obtaine. This Councell I geue to you, good Maiſter Doctour, of a good hart, and good will toward you: and thereupon I drynke to you. In lyke maner ſayd all the yeomen of the Garde: vpon that condition Maiſter Doctour we will all drynke to you.

The Sheriffe of Eſſex laboureth D. Taylour to returne to papiſme.

The Sheriffes wordes to D. Taylour.

When they had all dronke to him, and the cup was come to him, hee ſtayed a litle, as one ſtudiyng what aunſwere hee might geue. At the laſt, thus he aunſwered and ſayd: Maiſter Shrieffe, and my Maiſters all, I hartely thanke you of your good will. I haue harkened to your wordes and marked well your councels. And to bee plaine with you, I do perceiue that I haue bene deceiued my ſelfe, and am lyke to deceiue a great many of Hadley, of their expectatiõ. With that worde they all reioyced. Yea good Maiſter Doctour (quoth the Shrieffe) Gods bleſſyng on your hart: hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt worde, that we heard you ſpeake yet. What? ſhould ye caſt away your ſelfe in vayne? Play a wiſe mans part, & I dare warrant it, ye ſhall find fauour. Thus they reioyced very much at the word, and were very mery.

D. Taylour maketh a ieſt of Death, with a meete aunſwere for ſuch doctors and councellers.

At the laſt: good Maiſter Doctor (quoth the Shrieffe) what ment ye by this, that ye ſayd ye thinke ye haue beene deceiued your ſelfe, and thynke ye ſhall deceiue many one in Hadley? Would you know my meanyng plainly, quoth he? Yea (quoth the Shrieffe) good Maiſter Doctour, tell it vs playnly.

Then ſayd Doctour Taylour, I will tell you how I haue bene deceiued, and as I thinke, I ſhall deceiue a great many. I am as you ſee, a man that hath a very great carcaſe, whiche I thought ſhould haue bene buried in Hadley Churchyarde if I had dyed in my bed, as I well hoped I ſhould haue done: but herein I ſee I was deceiued: and there are a greate number of wormes in Hadley Churchyard, whiche ſhould haue had ioly feedyng vpon this carion, which they haue looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceiued, both I and they: for this carcaſe muſt bee burnt to aſhes and ſo ſhall they loſe their bayte and feedyng, that they looked to haue had of it.

Apophthegma of Doctour Taylour.

When the Sheriffe and his company heard him ſay ſo, they were amaſed, and looked one on an other, maruelyng at the mans conſtaunt mynde, that thus without all feare, made but a ieſt at the cruell torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation cleane diſapointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt wealth and proſperitie: namely, that he ſhould ſhortly dye and feede wormes in his graue: which meditatiõ if all our Byſhops, & ſpirituall men had vſed, they had not for a litle worldly glory forſake the word of God, and truth, whiche they in kyng Edwardes dayes had preached and ſet forth, nor yet to mainteine the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, haue committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

A good meditation.

But let vs returne to Doctour Taylour, who at Chelmeſford was deliuered to the Shrieffe of Suffolke, and by him conducted to Hadley, where hee ſuffered. When they were come to Lanham, the Shriffe ſtayed there two dayes: and thether came to him a great number of Gentlemen and Iuſtices vpon great horſes, whiche all were appoynted to

Lanham is a towne in Suffolke.

ayde

1555. Febru.

myde the Shrieffe. Theſe Gẽtlemẽ laboured Doctour Taylour very ſore, to reduce him to ẏ Romiſh Religion, promiſing hym his pardõ (which ſayd they) we haue here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea a Byſhoprike if he would take it: but all their labour & flatteryng wordes were in vayne. For hee had not buylt his houſe vppon the ſand in perill of fallyng at euery puffe of wynde, but vppon the ſure and vnmoueable rocke Chriſt. Wherfore he abode conſtant and vnmoueable vnto the end.

D. Taylour reioyceth that he is ſo nigh home.

After two dayes, the Shrieffe & his company led Doctour Taylour towardes Hadley, and commyng within a two myle of Hadley, he deſired to light of his horſe to make water: which done, he lept, and ſet a friſke or twayne, as mẽ commonly do in daunſing. Why Maiſter Doctour (quoth the Sheriffe) how do you now? He aunſwered: Well God be prayſed, good Maiſter Sheriffe. Neuer better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lacke not paſt two ſtyles to go ouer, and I am euen at my fathers houſe. But Maiſter Sheriffe (ſayd hee) ſhall not we go thorough Hadley? yes ſayd the Sheriffe, ye ſhall go thorough Hadley. Then ſayd he: O good Lord, I thanke thee. I ſhall yet once ere I dye ſee my flock, whõ ẏ lord knoweſt I haue moſt hartely loued, and truely taught. Good Lord bleſſe them, & keepe them ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

An other Apophthegma of Doctour Taylour.

D. Taylour deſirous to ſee his flocke.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came ryding ouer the bridge, at the bridge foote wayted a poore man with fiue ſmall children: who when he ſaw D. Taylour, he and his children fell downe vppon their knees, and held vp their handes, and cryed with a loude voyce, and ſayd: O deare father, and good ſhepheard, Doctour Taylour: God helpe & ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a tyme ſuccoured me, and my poore children. Such witneſſe had ẏ ſeruaunt of God of his vertuous & charitable almes geuẽ in his lyfe tyme. For God would now the poore ſhould teſtifie of his good deedes, to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutours and tyrannous aduerſaries. For the Sheriffe and other that lead him to death, were wonderfully aſtonyed at this: and the Sheriffe ſore rebuked the poore man for ſo crying. The ſtreetes of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey, who wayted to ſee hym: whom when they beheld ſo led to death, with weepyng eyes and lamentable voyces they cryed, ſaying one to an other: ah good Lord, there goeth our good ſhepheard frõ vs, that ſo faythfully hath taught vs, ſo fatherly hath cared for vs, & ſo godly hath gouerned vs. O mercyful God: what ſhall we poore ſcattered Lambes do? What ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him and comfort hym: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous voyces. Wherefore the people were ſore rebuked by the Sheriffe & the Catchpoles his men, that led him. And Doct. Taylour euermore ſayd to the people: I haue preached to you Gods worde and truth, and am come this day to ſeale it with my bloud.

A poore man with v. children comforted D. Taylour.

The people lament D. Taylour.

D. Taylour confeſſeth the truth, and confirmeth the ſame with his bloud.

Commyng agaynſt the Almes houſes, whiche hee well knew, hee caſt to the poore people money, whiche remayned of that good people had geuen hym in tyme of his impriſonment. As for his lyuyng, they tooke it from hym at hys firſt goyng to priſon, ſo that hee was ſuſteyned all the tyme of hys impriſonment by the charitable almes of good people that viſited him.

D. Taylour lyued of almes and gaue almes.

Therefore the money that now remayned, hee put in a gloue, ready for the ſame purpoſe, & (as is ſaid) gaue it to the poore Almeſmen ſtandyng at their doores to ſee hym. And commyng to the laſt of the Almes houſes, and not ſeyng the poore that there dwelt ready in their dores, as ẏ other were, he aſked: is the blynd man & blynd womã, that dwelt here, aliue? It was aunſwered yea: they are there within. Then threw he gloue and all in at the wyndow, and ſo road forth.

Thus this good father and prouider for the poore, now tooke his leaue of thoſe, for whom all his lyfe he had a ſingular care and ſtudy. For this was his cuſtome, once in a fourthnight at the leaſt, to call vpon Syr Henry Doyll, and others the rich Clothmakers, to go with him to the Almeſhouſes, and there to ſee how the poore lyued: what they lacked in meate, drinke, clothyng, beddyng, or any other neceſſaries. The lyke did he alſo to other poore men that had many children, or were ſicke. Then would he exhort and cõfort them, and where hee founde cauſe, rebuke the vnruly, and what they lacked, that gaue hee after his power: and what he was not hable, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter vnto them. Thus ſhewed hee himſelfe in all thynges an example to his flocke, worthy to be folowed: and taught by his deede, what a great treaſure almes is to all ſuch, as cheerefully for Chriſtes ſake do it.

Note this cuſtome.

At the laſt, commyng to Aldam Common, the place aſſigned where hee ſhould ſuffer, and ſeyng a great multitude of people gathered thether, he aſked what place is this, & what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hether? It was aunſwered: It is Aldham Cõmon, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to looke vpon you. Then ſayd hee: thanked be God, I am euen at home, and ſo light from his horſe, and with both his handes rent the hode from his head.

Aldham Common.

D. Taylour is come home.

Now was his head notted euillfauouredly, and clypped much lyke as a man would clyppe a fooles head: which coſt the good Byſhop Boner had beſtowed vpon him, when hee diſgraded him. But when the people ſaw his reuerend and auncient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weepyng teares, and cryed, ſaying: God ſaue the good D. Taylour, Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen the, and helpe thee. The holy Ghoſt comforte thee: with ſuch other lyke Godly wiſhes. Then would he haue ſpoken to the people: but the yeomen of the Gard were ſo buſie about him, that as ſoone as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a typ ſtaffe into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeake.

B. Boners coſt and liberalitye vpon D. Taylour.

The people wiſheth God to helpe hym.

Then deſired he licence of the Shrieffe to ſpeake: but ẏ Shrieffe denyed it to him, and bad him remember his promiſe to the Counſell.

D. Taylour could not be ſuffered to ſpeake to the people.

Well (quoth Doctour Taylour) promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, it is vnknowen: but the common fame was, that after hee and others were condemned, the Counſell ſent for them, and threatned them, they woulde cut theyr tounges out of their heades, except they woulde promiſe, that at their deathes they would keepe ſilence, and not ſpeake to the people: Wherefore they, deſirous to haue the vſe of their tonges, to call vpon God ſo long as they might liue, promiſed ſilence. For the Papiſtes feared much, leſt this mutation of religion, from truth to lyes, from Chriſtes ordinaunces to the Popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quyetly haue bene receiued as it was, eſpecially this burnyng of the Preachers: but they meaſuryng others mindes by their owne, feared leſt the tumult or vprore might haue bene ſtirred, the people hauyng ſo iuſt a cauſe not to bee contented with their doynges, or els (that they moſt feared) the people ſhould more haue bene cõfirmed by their godly exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt agaynſt theyr vayne Popiſh doctrine, and idolatrie. But thankes to God, which gaue to his witneſſes fayth and patience, with ſtout and manly hartes to deſpyſe all tormentes: neyther was their ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſigne of diſobedience toward the magiſtrates. They ſhed their bloud gladlie in the defence of the truth, ſo leauyng example vnto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is to obey God more then men, and if neede require it, to ſheed their owne bloude rather then to depart from Gods truth.

The Goſpellers are not ſeditious, as the Papiſtes commonly bee.

Doctor Taylour perceiuyng that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeake, ſat down, and ſeeyng one named Soyce, hee called him and ſayd: Soyce, I pray the come and pull of my bootes & take them for thy labour. Thou haſt long looked for thẽ, now take them. Then roſe he vp, and put of his clothes vnto his ſhirt, and gaue them away. Which done, he ſayd with lowde voyce: Good people, I haue taught you nothyng but Goddes holy worde, and thoſe leſſons that I haue taken out of Gods bleſſed booke, the holy Bible: and I come hether this daye to ſeale it with my bloud. With that worde Homes, yeoman of the Gard, aforeſayd, who had vſed Doctour Taylour very cruelly all the waye, gaue him a great ſtroke vpon the head with a waſter, and ſayd: Is that the keepyng of thy promiſe, thou heretticke? Then he ſeyng they would not permit him to ſpeake, kneeled downe and prayed, and a poore woman that was among the people, ſtepped in & prayed with him: but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her down with horſes: notwithſtandyng ſhe would not remoue, but abode and prayed with him. When hee had prayed, hee went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and ſet him ſelfe into a pitch barell, whiche they hadde ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtoode with his backe vpryght agaynſt the ſtake, with his handes folded together, & his eyes toward heauen, and ſo he continually prayed.

Soyce pulleth of his botes.

D. Taylour confeſſeth the truth.

Homes a cruell tyraunt.

D. Taylour prayeth.

A good Woman commyng to pray wyth hym could not be ſuffred.

Then they bound him with chaynes: and the Sheriffe called one Richard Donyngham a Butcher, and commaũded hym to ſet vp Fagots: but he refuſed to do it, and ſayd: I am lame Syr, and not hable to lift a Fagot. The Sheriffe threatned to ſend hym to priſon: notwithſtandyng hee would not do it.

Richard Donningham.

Then appoynted he one Mulleine of Carſey, a man for his vertues fit to bee a hang man, and Soyce a very dronkard, and Warwicke, who in the commotion tyme in Kyng Edwardes dayes, loſt one of his eares for his ſeditious talke, amongeſt whom was alſo one Robert Kyng a deuiſer of Enterludes, who albeit was there preſẽt and had doyng there with the gunnepouder, yet was not that of any ſuch ill purpoſe as ẏ reſt, but done onely for quickneſſe, & for loue of him, and his cauſe, as he himſelfe teſtifieth, otherwiſe of him I haue not to ſay.

The tormentours.

Warwicke a cruell tormentour. This King was alſo one of them which went with his halbert to bring them to death which were burnt at Bery.

Theſe foure were appointed to ſet vp the Fagots, and to make the fire, whiche they moſt diligently dyd: and this

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D. Taylour is pacient.

Syr John Shelton.

Warwicke cruelly caſt a Fagot at hym, which light vppon his head, and brake his face, that the bloud ranne downe his viſage. Then ſayd Doctour Taylour: Oh frend, I haue harme enough, what needed that.

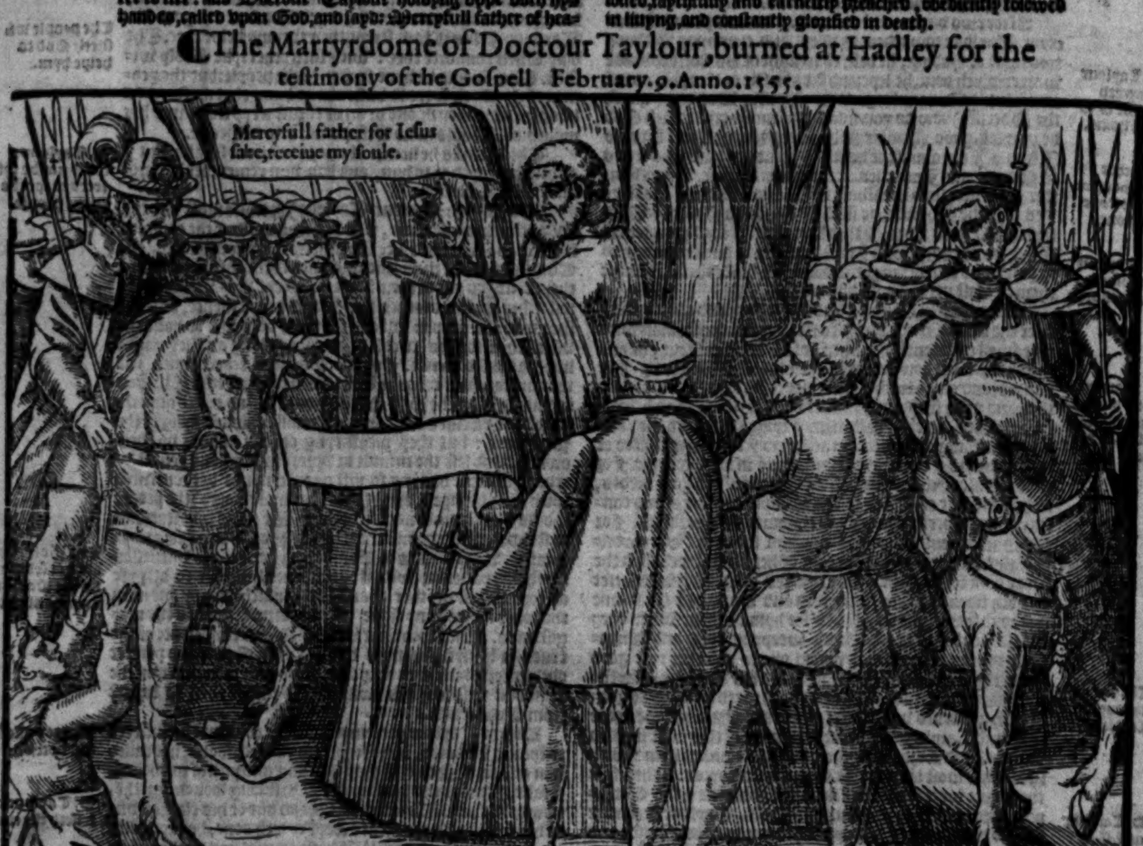
Furthermore Syr John Shelton there ſtandyng by as Doct. Taylour was ſpeakyng and ſaying the Pſalme Miſerere in Engliſhe, ſtroke hym on the lyppes: ye knaue, ſayd he, ſpeake Latine, I will make thee. At the laſt they ſet to fire: and Doctour Taylour holdyng vppe both hys handes, called vpon God, and ſayd: Mercyfull father of heauen, for Jeſus Chriſt my Sauiours ſake, receiue my ſoule into thy handes. So ſtode hee ſtill without either cryyng or mouyng, with his handes folded together, till Soice with an Halbard ſtrake him on the head that the braynes fel out, and the dead corps fell downe into the fire.

D. Taylours laſt wordes.

Soyce ſtriketh him downe with an Holbard.

Thus rendred the man of God his bleſſed ſoule into the handes of his mercyfull father, and to his moſt deare and certaine Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, whom hee moſt entierly loued, faythfully and earneſtly preached, obediently folowed in liuyng, and conſtantly glorified in death.

¶ The Martyrdome of Doctour Taylour, burned at Hadley for the teſtimony of the Goſpell February. 9. Anno. 1555.


Mercyfull father for Ieſus ſake, receiue my ſoule.

An example of ſingular courage in Doctour Taylour.

They that were preſent and familiarly conuerſaunt with this Doctour Taylour, reported of him, that they neuer did ſee in him any feare of death, but eſpecially and aboue all the reſt which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame tyme, alwayes ſhewed hym ſelfe mery and cheerfull in tyme of hys impriſonment, as well before hys condemnation as after: hee kept one countenaunce and lyke behauiour. Whereunto hee was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of Maiſter John Bradford, who then was in priſon and chāber with him.

D. Taylour careles of his death.

The ſame mornyng, when hee was called vp by the Shrieffe to go to his burnyng (about three of the clocke in the mornyng) beyng ſodenly awaked out of his ſound ſleepe he ſat vp in his bed, and puttyng on his ſhyrt, hadde theſe wordes (ſpeakyng ſome what thicke after his accuſtomed maner:) Ah horſon theeues, ah horſō theeues, robbe God of his honour, robbe God of his honour? Afterward beyng riſen and tying his pointes, hee caſt his armes about a balke whiche was in the chamber betwene Maiſter Bradfordes bed and his: and there hangyng by the handes, ſayd to Maiſter Bradford: O Maiſter Bradford (quoth he) what a notable ſway ſhoulde I giue if I were hanged, meanyng for that hee was a corpulent and bygge man. Theſe thinges I thought good here to note: to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this hiſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirite and courage god had geuen to this godly and bleſſed Martyr.

At what tyme Doctour Taylour was depriued of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Syr Robert Bracher, a falſe pretenſed Proteſtant in kyng Edwardes dayes, and afterward a deadly enemy to the ſame Religion: who was alſo one of them that ſo vnmercyfully thruſt Doctour Taylours wife and children out of the doores, as ſhe her ſelfe yet can teſtifie: and notwithſtandyng the ſame, now ſince became a Proteſtant agayne.

Syr Robert Brachers commyng to Hadley.

A popiſhe Sermon of Syr Robert Bracher.

This Syr Robert Bracher aforeſayd, commyng to Hadley to the buriall of a certaine frend of his and Gods great enemy one Walter Clerke, albeit hee came ſomewhat to late to the market (as he ſayd) yet deſirous to vtter ſuch Popiſhe pelfe and packeware as hee brought with hym, he opened there his baggage of peſtilent doctrine, preachyng in the ſame Towne of Hadley agaynſt iuſtification of fayth, of the corporall preſence, of praying for the dead, and Auricular confeſſion. Whereof Doctour Taylour hauyng vnderſtandyng by Letters, writeth agayne to them of Hadley directyng his Letter to his wife in confutation of the ſayd Popiſh poyſoned Sermon: the copie of whiche Letter we thought not vnworthy here in the ende of his ſtory to bee annexed, as vnder followeth.

¶ A Letter of Doctour Taylour of Hadley, written to his wife.

DEare wife, I pray God be euer with vs thorough Chriſt our onely Mediatour, Amen.

This cap was a round cap ſent by M. Couerdale to D. Taylour by his wyfe.

I thanke you for my cap: I am ſomething proude of it: for it is one ſteppe from the Clergy in theſe dayes. I thanke God, my hart is cleane diuided from their procedynges: for I knowe that no man can ſerue two maiſters, ſpecially if they agree no better then Chriſt and Antichriſt doe. I am glad that Hadley can ſkill of ſuch packyng ware, as was brought thether the firſt day of May laſt paſt. Chriſts ſhepe can diſcerne Chriſtes voyce, from the voyce of ſtraungers, theeues, or hyrelynges. The packebringer was ſory that he came to late to the funerall market of his faithfull frēd. But here I will leaue them both to Gods iudgement, and ſomethyng touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his openyng day. At the firſt he called the Scripture (as I heare) ful of darke ſētēces, but indede it is called of Dauid,

This packet was Syr Robert Bracher preachyng popiſh doctrine at Hadley.

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a candle to our feete,and a light to our pathes. Our ſauiour Chriſt calleth his word, the light which euyl doers do flee frō,and hate,leſt their dedes ſhould be reproued therby. S. Paul would haue vs to walke as children of light, & in any wiſe not to cōtinue in ignorāce or darknes. But al we in the world pertaine to two princes: either to the father of light and truth,or els to the prince of darknes and lies.

The ſcripture falſely accuſed of the catholickes to be obſcure and darke.

In theſe dayes preachers declare euidently of whō they are ſent,and with what ſpirit they ſpeake,& to what prince they belong: For they cry out againſt Gods,lightes, Sunne, Moone,Starres,torches,lampes,lanternes,creſſets, and candles in Gods booke the Bible,prouided of gods great goodnes and mercye to auoide all foule darkenes, cloudes, and miſtes,or daungerous doubtful wayes in this our iourney to our heauenly father,long home,manſion houſes, and dearly purchaſed heritage. Eſay Gods faithful meſſenger ſaith: Woe be vnto them that call ſweete ſower, good euill, and light darknes. Therfore commeth my people into captiuitie,becauſe they haue no vnderſtanding. Our ſauiour Chriſt pronounceth errors and hereſies to remaine among the people,ſo long as ignorance of the ſcriptures remaineth. And hereby it appereth to al good cōſciences,what they meane, whiche defame or accuſe Gods bleſſed worde being full of light,as though it were ful of darknes. Theſe Owles would haue al day lightes ſcraped out of bookes,hartes, and churches. Oh Lord turne their hartes and tongues: bowe them from the way of darknes, leſt they go to the prince of darknes,and be caſt into the pit of vtter darknes, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

The Popes packe ware: Iuſtification by workes. Corporall preſence. Praying for ſoules. Auricular confeſſion.

Now,touching the packes of wol,& the packes of cloth, I feare they were as al other wares be, tranſubſtantiate into flockes,euen his very fineſt packing ſtuffe againſt only faith iuſtifying, and for the corporal preſence of Chiſtes body in the ſacrament, for praying for ſoules departed,and for auricular confeſſion. Abrahams iuſtification,by faith,by grace, by promiſe,and not by works,is plainly ſet forth both in the Epiſtle to the Rom.ca.4. and to the Gala.ca.3.and Abrahās works of obedience in offring vp his ſonne ſo long after his iuſtification, muſt needes be taken as a fruite of a good tree iuſtifying before men, and not of iuſtification before God: for then had man to glory in: then did Chriſt die in vaine.

Agaynſt the corporall preſence.

Chriſtes body geuen in the ſupper ſpiritually, vpon the croſſe corporally.

And where as the.6.chap.of S.Ioh.was alleged,to proue that Chriſt did geue his body corporally in his ſupper,euen as he had promiſed in the ſaid, 6. chap.it is moſt vntrue. For only he gaue his body ſacramētally,ſpiritually,and effectually in his ſupper to the faithful apoſtles,and corporally he gaue it in a bloudy ſacrifice for the life of the world vpō the croſſe once for al. There in his owne perſon,in his own natural body,he bare al our ſinnes: By whoſe ſtripes we were healed,as S.Peter proueth: 1.Pet.2.and Eſay ca.53. In dede receiuing Chriſtes ſacramēt accordingly as it was inſtituted we receiue Chriſtes body and Chriſtes bloud,euen as I ſaid before,the Apoſtles dyd.

Againſt the Maſſe. The Maſſe the Popes youngeſt daughter.

Deſcription of the popes kingdome.

But the popiſh Maſſe is an other matter. The Maſſe as it is now,is but one of Antichriſtes yongeſt daughters, in the which the deuill is rather preſent and receiued,then our ſauiour,the.2.perſon in Trinitie,God and man. O Lord God heauenly father,for Chriſtes ſake we beſeech thee to turne againe England to the right way it was in in K. Edwardes time,frō this Babylonical ſtewiſh ſpiritual whordome,conſpiracie,tyrannie,deteſtable enormities,falſe doctrine,hereſie,hardnes of hart,and contempt of thy word and cōmaundements,frō this euident & open idolatrie,ſacriledge,ſimonie,blaſphemie,ſuperſtition,hypocriſie,tranſubſtantiate angel of light & day deuil,kingdome of lyes,foule vaine ſchiſmes,ſectes,ſedition, apoſtaſie, gay ſweete poyſon,honyed & ſugred viperous venome,wily woluiſhnes, ſathanicall ſubtiltie,and abomination in the ſight of God,and of al ſuch as put on the true ſpectacles of holy ſcripture. I am the more plaine now in this matter,becauſe I feare greatly, that many will, be to much ready to go frō Chriſt to Antichriſt,frō the Bible,true Gods ſeruice and Religion, to Latine lying Legends,Portaſes,Maſſe bookes and ſuperſtition. They ſay their church can not erre in any poynt, when in deede they be not of Gods Church, and therefore they can do no thyng but erre,euen as they do almoſt in al caſes of true faith.

Chryſoſt. Popiſhly applyed.

But to come againe to the packer rather then preacher, he bringeth S.Chryſoſtome writyng Ad populū Antiochenū,where he making a cōpariſon betweene Chriſtes fleſhe and Elias Cloke caſt downe to Elizeus,when Elias was taken vp in the fiery Chariot, at length he ſaith, that Chriſte aſcending vp to heauen, tooke his fleſhe with hym,and allſo leaſt his fleſh behynde hym in earth.

The meaning of Chryſoſt. rightly expounded concerning Elias cloke.

Of this memoriall cloke read before in D. Ridleyes diſputations pag. 1377. The place of Geneſis 49.

The meaning of it is,he did aſcende with his fleſhe,and leaſt a memorial cloke of the ſame body and fleſh,which he calleth his fleſhe, as he in the ſacramentall phraſe calleth bread his body, becauſe it repreſēteth his body; & as in the like maner of ſacramentall ſpeach, a Lambe was called the Paſſeouer,the Circumciſion,Gods coue naunt. He tooke vp his fleſh corporally, and leaſt his fleſh in myſtery and ſacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſayd, that he leaſt his fleſh vpon earth: that is, his myſticall body,his faithfull people, whom S.Paul calleth the members of his body,of his fleſh, of his bones. Epheſ.5. In the 49.cha.of Geneſis,there is no woorde of Chriſtes ſacrament, but there is a propheſie of Chriſtes paſſion,wherin his fole was bound,that is, his body. And where he ſpeaketh there of grapes and wyne, it is as that is ſpokē of Chriſt in an other place where he ſayth: Ego ſolus torcular calcaui: I alone did tread the wine preſſe meanyng therby,that Chriſt alone ſuffered painfull paſſion for the remiſſion of ſinnes,and for the conſolation of all his faythful ſoldiers.

Chriſtes naturall body can not be diuided.

Chriſtes body was neuer in two places at once.

It is not true that the packer ſaid, that Chriſtes infinite power may make his body to be in a thouſand places at once as a loafe to be in a thouſand bellies: for then might Chriſte diuide the partes of his body,as a loafe is diuided and ſo cōſumed,and thē might ſcripture be falſe,appoynting Chriſts body to be but in one place, Act.3,Phil.3. Heb.3, The articles of our faith tell vs ſufficiently where Chriſtes body is. It was neuer in two places at once,neither euer ſhalbe, neither euer can be corporally and naturally: neither euer was, is,can,or ſhal be eatē ſo with any corporal mouthes, as the Capernaites and the papiſtes moſt erroneouſly and heretically doo iudge. If our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt hath no other body naturall then is made of the ſubſtance of bread,and is in a thouſand places at once,as I haue often ſaid in Hadley: we are not yet redemed,neither ſhal our bodies riſe againe, and be made like vnto his glorious body. We are ſure that our ſauiour Chriſtes body is made of none other ſubſtance then of his mother the bleſſed virgin Maryes ſubſtance. We are ſure,that he taketh not the nature of Angels,much leſſe of bread. Onely he taketh on hym the ſeede of Abraham, Heb. 2. In al things like vnto vs,ſinne only except. And this is a cōfortable doctrine to vs Chriſtians,beleuyng ſtedfaſtly as the true Catholike faith is, that Chriſt hath but two natures,perfect God,and perfect man. Vpon this rocke Chriſtes Church is builded,and the gates of hel ſhal neuer preuayle agaynſt it. Math. 16.

Heb. 2.

Auricular confeſſion.

Praying for the dead.

I ſpeake nothyng now of auricular confeſſion & praying for ſoules departed, becauſe I do not heare what authours the pacher brought in for thys purpoſe. Sure I am that he cā bryng no authēticall & cānonical warrāt for ſuch his packware. He may ſay what he wyl of Hebritians and Grecians, and fleſh vnder formes, and not aboue formes,or aboue the board. He may coniure and conuey, paſſe, and repaſſe, euen what he will in ſuch cloudes and myſtes. He reproued the ſcriptures as ful of darkn[illegible] & yet is ful of darknes hym ſelf. He dyd wyttily,to bring proofes out of Iewry,Turkey,and other ſtrange places,for his round white cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelſe packe is contrary to the plaine ſimplicitie of Chriſtes ſupper. He glaunced at prieſtes mariage. He might againſt that haue brought as ancient a Doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrue,for his maſſe and wafer cake,that is,Doctor Deuil. 1. Tim. 4.

He meaneth by the place 1. Tim. 4. where S. Paule ſpeaketh of the Doctrine of Deuils. &c.

I marueyle that he dyd not confute and confound ſaint Paul for the ſentences written aboue the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpite. For he and his felowes of Oxforde be ſo profounde, ſo excellent,ſo glorious, and triumphāt Clarkes, that they can eaſily proue a man an aſſe, and Writers in the Bible, ignoraunt, ſimple,full of errours, full of hereſies, & beggarly fooles. Yet they wyll be called Catholiques,faythfull true Chriſtian people, defenders of the holy mother the Churche: but truely they take parte with the prince of darknes,with Antichriſt, with Iezabell, Apoc.2. They wyl not be called Papiſtes,Phariſees,Iewes, Turkes,Heretikes, and ſo forth: but what ſoeuer they wyll be called, Gods Religion had neuer more euident aduerſaries,and that in al the chiefe poyntes of it: no not then, whē our Sauiour Chriſte whipt ſuche Marchauntes out of the Temple,callyng them a company of theeues. Math. 21. God geue them grace to repent. God be thanked that the Nobilitie ſomething of late hath ſpyed and ſtopped their tyrannie. O vnhappy Englande: Oh more vngrate people,ſooner bewitched then the fooliſh Galathians. We haue now none excuſe.

Engliſh people likened to the Galathians.

We haue vndoubtedly ſeene the true trace of the prophetical,apoſtolicall Primatiue Catholike Church. We are warned to beware, leaſt we be lead out of that way, ſocietie,and rule of Religion. Nowe we ſhal ſhew what countrey men we be: whether ſpiritual and heauenly or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as euer was in anye countrey, or in any tyme, ſince the beginnyng of the world: God be prayſed therfore. If Hadley beyng ſo many yeares perſwaded in ſuch truth, wyll now willingly & wit-

The Cake God.

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The careful zeale of D. Taylour for Hadley.

tingly forſake the ſame, and defile it ſelfe with the Cake God, Idolatrie, and other Antichriſtianitie therunto belonging, let it ſurely looke after many and wonderfull plagues of God ſhortly. Though an other haue the Benefice, yet as God knoweth, I can not but be carefull for my deare Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeake, after the firſt abominable Maſſe begunne there, I being preſent, no more I can not but write nowe being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanatiō of my late Pulpit, by ſuch a wily woolfe. Gods loue, mercy, goodnes, and fauour hath ben vnſpeakable, in teaching vs the right way of ſaluation and iuſtification: Let vs all haue ſome zeale, ſome care howe to ſerue hym according to his good wyll written. The God of loue and peace be euer in Hadley, through Chriſt our onely aduocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

The proceedinges of the Popes catholickes in maintayning their religion.

After that Steuen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, had got the lawes, and the ſecular arme on his ſide (as ye haue hearde) with full power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he liſted, and had brought theſe godly Biſhops and reuerende Preachers aforeſaide, vnder foote, namely the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, doctor Ridley Biſhop of London, M. Latimer, M. Hooper Biſhop of Worceſtor and Glouceſter, maſter Rogers, maſter Saunders, doct. Taylor, and maiſter Bradford, all which he had nowe preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned, he ſuppoſed nowe all had bene cocke ſure, and that Chriſte had bene conquered for euer, ſo that the people being terrified with example of theſe great learned men condemned, neuer woulde ne durſt once route againſt their violent Religion: not muche vnlike in this behalfe, to the manner of the Turkes, who when they can not mainteine their ſecte by good learning & truth of Gods word, thinke by violence of ſword to force whō they can to their beliefe, and that done, afterward make lawes, no man vnder paine of hereſie to diſpute or once to cal in queſtion any of their proceedinges: Euen ſo Steuen Gardiner and his felowes, when they ſee they cā not preuaile by triall of Gods word, and diſcourſe of learning, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeeke for truth where it is to be found: they take exceptions againſt Gods worde, to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to be his owne iudge, and therefore that of neceſſitie muſt be iudged by the Popes Churche, and ſo hauing Kinges and Queenes of their ſide, they ſeke not to perſwade by the worde of God, nor to winne by charitie, but in ſteede of the lawe of God, they vſe (as the prouerbe ſaith) Ἴω νόμω ω χείρων, compelling men by death, fire, and ſword (as the Turkes do) to beleue that in very dede they thinke not. And in deede after fleſh and bloud this ſeemeth to be a ſure way. Neither peraducture are they ignorant howe gaily this way thriueth with the Turkes, and therfore thinke they to practiſe the ſame, at leaſtwiſe ſo they do, vpon what example ſo euer they do it. And thus cōdemned they theſe godly learned preachers & biſhops aforeſaid, ſuppoſing (as I ſaid) that al the reſt would ſone be quailed by their example. But they were deceiued, for within. 8. or 9. dayes after that Ste. Gardiner had geuē ſentēce againſt M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the. 8. of Febr. ſixe other good mē were brought likewiſe before the biſhops for the ſame cauſe of religion, to be examined, whoſe names were W. Pigot Butcher, Ste. Knight Barbar, Tho. Tomkins Weauer, Tho. Hawkes Gentleman, John Laurence prieſt, Will. Hunter Prentiſe.

The maner of proceeding like in the Catholickes, and in the Turkes.

νόμος τῶν χειρῶν. Prou.

February 8.

vj. Men conuented before B. Boner for hereſy.

Ste. Gardiner geueth ouer his murthering office to B. Boner.

Steuen Gardiner ſeeing thus his deuiſe diſappoynted, & that crueltie in this caſe would not ſerue to his expectation, gaue ouer the matter as vtterly diſcouraged, & from that day medled no more in ſuch kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing therof to Boner Biſhop of Londō: who ſupplied that parte right doughtily, as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtorie hereafter euidently and too muche may appeare. Thus Biſhop Boner taking the matter in hand, called before hym in his Conſiſtory at Paules, the Lord Mayor & certayne Aldermē ſitting w̄ him, ẏ ſixe perſons aforenamed, vpon the eight day of Febr. in the yeare aforeſaid, and in the next day being the. 9. of February, read the ſentence of condemnation vpon them, as appeareth in Boners owne Regiſters. Suche quicke ſpeede theſe men could make in diſpatching their buſines at once. Notwithſtanding becauſe the death of theſe condemned martyrs did not folowe incontinently before the next moneth of March, I wyll deferre the proſecuting of their matter, tyll I come (by the grace of the Lord) to the tyme and day of their ſuffering. In the meane tyme, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their condemnation, I haue not preciſely to ſay, vnleſſe peraduenture the ſermon of Alphonſus the Spaniſh fryer and the kinges Confeſſor did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when theſe ſixe perſons aforeſaid, were caſt vpon ſaterday, the. 9. of Febr. vpon ſonday folowing, which was the. 10. of February, the ſaid Alphonſus a Gray fryer preached before the king, in whiche ſermon he dyd earneſtly inuey againſt the biſhops for burying of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in ſcripture to burne any for his conſcience: but the contrary, that they ſhould liue, and be conuerted: with many other things more to the ſame purpoſe. But touching the lingering of theſe mens death, as I haue not certainly to affirme, ſo I let it paſſe.

February 9. Ex Regiſt. Boneri Lond.

vj. Men condēned by Byſhop Boner.

February 10. Alphonſus K. Phillips confeſſor preaching agaynſt the burning of heretickes.

Upon the. 14. day of February, M. Rob. Farrar biſh. of ſaint Dauids was ſent towarde S. Dauids, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whoſe martyrdome, for ſo muche as it fell not before the moneth of March, we wyll deferre the hiſtorie therof tyll we come to the day and tyme of his ſuffering.

February 14.

Furthermore, this foreſaid. 14. day of February, the L. Chancelor and other his felow Biſhops, cauſed the Image of Thomas Becket, that olde Romiſh traytor, to be ſet vp ouer the Mercers Chappel doore in Cheapſide in Londō, in the forme & ſhape of a Biſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two dayes after his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, & on ẏ next day (being the. 17. daye of Februarye) his head alſo was ſtriken of: whereupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one M. John Barnes Mercer, dwellyng ouer againſt the ſame Chappell, was vehemently (by the Lorde Chauncelour) charged withal, as the doer thereof, & the rather, for that he was a profeſſor of the truth. Wherfore he and three of his ſeruauntes were committed to priſon: and at his deliuery (although it coulde not be proued vpon hym) he was bounde in a great ſumme of money, as well to buylde it vp againe as often as it ſhoulde be broken downe, as alſo to watche and keepe the ſame. And therfore at this his compelled charges, the Image was againe ſet vp the ſecōd day of March, then next enſuing, but (for lacke belike of careful watching) the. 14. day of the ſame moneth in the night, the head of that daungerous beaſt (ouer whom there was ſuche a charge geuen) was againe the ſeconde tyme broken of: whiche thing was ſo heynouſly taken, that the next day (being the. 15. day) there was a Proclamation made in London, that who ſoeuer would tell who did ſtrike of his head (though he were of counſayle, and not the principal doer) he ſhould haue not only his pardon, but alſo one hundred crownes of gold, with harty thankes. But it was not knowen who did it.

Tho. Beckets Image ſet vp at Mercers chappell.

February 17. M. John Barnes troubled for Beckets Image.

Beckets Image agayne broken downe.

The. 18. day of Februarye, Queene Mary at length after long delay, made ful aunſweare to the king of Denmarkes letters, who had written before two letters to the ſaid Queene, in ẏ behalfe of M. Couerdale, for his deliuerance, who at that time went vnder ſureties, and was in great daunger, had he not bene reſcued by the great ſuite & letters of the ſaid king of Denmarke.

February 18. Q. Mary aunſwereth to the K. of Denmarkes letters touching M. Couerdale.

The matter & copie of which his ſute & letters, as they came to our handes, we haue here ſet forth & expreſſe, wherby the ſingular loue of this good king towards the truth of Gods worde, and the profeſſors therof might the better appeare to the worlde.

Firſt this vertuous and godly king Chriſtianus, hearyng of the captiuitie of Miles Couerdale, of whom he had had ſome knowledge before (being there in Denmarke in king Henry the eight his tyme) and lamentyng his daungerous caſe, and partly through the interceſſiō of M. Machabeus Superintendent in Denmarke, who was partly of * kynne to Maiſter Couerdales wife, made interceſſion by letters to Queene Mary, deſiring & requeſting the ſaid Miles Couerdale to be ſent vnto hym. The date of which his firſt letters, was about the Calendes of May. An. D. 1554. the copie wherof here foloweth.

* This M. Machabeus and M. Couerdale maryed two ſiſters.

¶ Chriſtianus Dei gratia, Daniæ, Noruegiæ. &c. Rex. &c. eadem gratia Sereniſſimæ ac potentiſſimæ principi D. Mariæ, Angliæ, Galliæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem.

The epiſtle of the K. of Denmarke to Q. Mary, for the deliuerance of M. Couerdale.

Sereniſſima princeps, conſanguinea chariſſima pro neceſſitudine mutua ac cōiunctione, non ſolum regij nominis inter nos, ſed etiam ſanguinis, maximè vero vtrinq; inter hæc regna noſtra à vetuſtiſſimis vſq; tēporibus propagata ac ſeruata, non modo cōmertiorum, ſed omnium officiorum viciſſitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinæ excellentis commendatione, verè reuerendi viri Ioannis Machabæi, ſacræ Theologiæ doctoris & profeſſoris præſtantiſſ. ſubditi ac Miniſtri noſtri imprimis dilecti, ſupplicibus grauiſſimiſque precibus cōmoti, ad ſerenitatem veſtram has literas daremus. Expoſuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo eueniſſe doleamus, & nunc indies in melius verti ſperámus) quendam nomine Milonem Couerdalũ, nuper diœceſis Exonienſis, piæ laudatiſſimæq; memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis veſtræ fratris, conſanguinei itidem noſtri chariſſ. authoritate conſtitutũ Epiſcopum, nunc in triſtiſſ. calamitates, carcerem, ac periculũ vitæ, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, ſed illa fatali temporũ ruina incidiſſe. Quæ quidem hic Machabæus noſter, quod ei affinitate (et quod grauius eſt) pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum ſimilitudine, tanquam frater deuinctus ſit, non minus ad ſe pertinere exiſtimat. Itaq; noſtrã opẽ implorat, vt quam ipſe gratiam et fauorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipſe nõ minus ſuum putat) accõmodemus. Mouemur profectò non temere, illius viri (cui ſuo merito imprimis bene volumus) cõmiſerationẽ, eiuſq; maximè teſtimonio de captiui Antiſtitis innocentia atq; integritate: de qua quidẽ eſt vt eo meliꝰ ſperemus, quod multis iã morte mulctatis ſontibꝰ, de ipſo integrũ adhuc decus eſſe voluit. Proinde non dubitauimus ſerenitatẽ veſtram quanta poſſimus diligentia atq; animi propenſione rogare, vt noſtra cauſa captiui illius D. Milonis rationẽ clemẽter habere dignetur, cumq; vt à ſceleris: itaà pœnæ etiã atrocitate alienum eſſe voluit, et tẽporum offenſam, qua ipſum quoq; affligi veriſimile eſt, nobis noſtræq; amicitiæ regiæ et precibus, præſertim hoc primo auditu, benignè condonare, ſaltem eatenus, vt ſi fortè hoc rerũ ſtatu grauis eius præſentia ſit, incolumis ad nos cũ ſuis dimittatur. Id nobis ſummi beneficij loco, et Serenitati veſtræ inflorentiſſ. regni auſpicijs (quæ auguſta, fauſta, ac fortunata ſerenitati veſtræ ex animo optamus) ad clementiæ laudem honorificum erit: et nos dabimus operam, vt cũ amicitiæ noſtræ habitã rationem intellexerimus, eo maiore ſtudio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumq; officiorũ erga Serenitatem veſtram eiuſq; vniuerſum regnũ et ſubditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, vt Serenitati veſtræ ad gloriam ſui nominis & publicam ſalutem fœlices omniũ rerum ſucceſſus et incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datæ ex arce noſtra Coldingeſi. ſeptimo Calendas Maij. Anno. 1554.

Veſter conſanguineus, frater, et
amicus Chriſtianus Rex.

Q. Maryes ſlender anſwere to the kinges firſt letter.

To theſe letters of the king, Queene Mary anſwearing againe, declared that the ſaide Miles Couerdale was in no ſuch captiuitie for any religion, but for certaine debt: ſo neither plainly graunting, nor expreſſely denying his requeſt, but vſing a colorable excuſe for ſhifting of the matter, as appeareth by his ſecond letter ſent to the Queene, dated the. 24. day of Sept. as foloweth.

¶ Chriſtianus Dei gratia Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Gottorum, et Vandalorum Rex: Sleſwici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dithmerſiæ Dux: Comes in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorſt, Sereniſſ. principi dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defenſ. &c. Sorori et conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem, et omium rerum optatos et fauſtos ſucceſſus.

REdditæ ſunt nobis literæ Serenitatis veſtræ, quibus benignè admodũ ad deprecationem noſtrã, qua pro D. Milonis Couerdali eccleſiæ Exon. nuper nominati Epiſcopi incolumitate vſi ſumus, reſpondetur: ita vt intelligamus. &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ Chriſtierne by the grace of God king of Denmarke, Norway, Gotland, and of the Vandals: Duke of Sleſwike, Holſton, Stormar, & Detmarſh: Earle of Oldenburgh, & Delmenhorſt. &c. To the moſt noble princeſſe and Lady Mary Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth. &c. Our moſt dearly beloued ſiſter and couſin, wiſheth proſperitie, with good and luckie ſucceſſe of al thynges.

The ſame epiſtle in Engliſh.

WE haue receiued your maieſties letters, whereby anſweere is rendred, and that very gratiouſly vnto our petition, whiche we made for the ſafegard of maiſter Couerdal late called biſhop of Exon. So that we perceiue, though he be in daunger for an other cauſe then was ſignified vnto vs afore, yet your maieſtie wyl ſo regard our interceſſion that Couerdale hym ſelfe ſhall vnderſtande it to haue done hym good. To the which regal promiſe, ſeing we (as reaſon is we ſhould do) attribute ſo muche, that truſting vnto the ſame, we doubt not, where as he being in captiuitie, his frendes (whom we ſpecially tender) are therefore in heauines and care, your good promiſe doth cal them from ſuch ſorrowe and ſolicitude, to the hope & expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but rẽder thanks vnto your maieſtie for ſuch your ready & gratious good wyll, not only in reſpect of this benefite, but alſo of the conſeruation and keping of perpetual amitie betwene vs & our realmes, & ſo as much as in vs lyeth, to omit nothing that to the noriſhing & continuance of theſe fortunate beginnynges might appertaine. Neither had we euer any doubt concerning the clemencie & moderation of your goodnes, whom we hartily beſeeche almighty God, euer more and more to proſper, vnto the glory of his name, & profite of the cõmon weale. Wherfore ſeing your maieſtie writeth that maiſter Couerdalle is in daunger for certaine accomptes of money, & not for any other more greeuous offence, we haue cauſe on his behalfe to reioyce: and therfore we doubt ſo much the leſſe, that at our requeſt he ſhal gratiouſly haue his deliuerance geuen hym, and be out of daunger. For as touching the Biſhoprike, by reaſon wherof he came in debt, we vnderſtand he yelded it vp, that payment might therof be required, ſpecially ſeeing he is reputed neither to haue enioyed it long, neither to haue had at any time ſo great cõmoditie of it. Moreouer, though it be poſſible to finde ſome perplexitie in the accompt, or happily ſome other cauſe, yet your maieſties letters offering ſuche fauour and benignitie, haue taken from vs al carefulnes and doubt: In ſo muche that we thinke your maieſtie (as much as may be) wyl haue more reſpect vnto our honour, then vnto that which might of hym be required. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your Maieſtie by repeting of our petition, but to declare howe greatly we eſteeme it, that your maieſtie would gratifie vs herein: wherof we plainly hope for ſuch an ende, that Couerdale hym ſelfe ſhal ſhortly in our preſence make declaration cõcerning the benefite of his welfare obteined of your maieſtie. And of this we deſire your maieſtie to be ſpecially aſſured again, that we wil not only omit no occaſiõ or opportunitie to requite this benefite, but alſo to eſtabliſhe & amplifie our mutual loue & amitie betweene vs & our realmes on either ſide. Almighty god preſerue your maieſtie in proſperous health and felicitie. Geuen at our citie of Otton the 24. of Septemb. Ann. D. 1554.

To theſe letters it was a great while before the Queene would anſweare. At length through great ſuite made, the next yere, the. 18. of Febr. ſhe anſwered again in this wiſe.

¶ Sereniſſ. principi D. Chriſtiano Dei gratia Daniæ. etc. Regi Sleſwici. etc. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh. etc. fratri et amico noſtro chariſſimo.

February 18. The aunſwere of Queene Mary to the King of Denmarkes letter.

MAria dei gratia. Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hieruſalem, et Hiberniæ. etc. Sereniſſimo principi Chriſtiano, eadem gratia, Daniæ, Noruegiæ, Gothorum et Vandalorum Regi: Sleſuici, Hoſlatiæ, Stormariæ, et Ditmerſiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorſt. etc. fratri et amico noſtro chariſſ. ſalutem, proſperumq; rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex Serenitatis veſtræ literis, quas hic nuntius nobis attulit, deſideriũ veſtrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Couerdalo ſubdito noſtro exeundi è regno noſtro, et ad vos proficiſcendi facultatem: facile quidẽ in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem conceſſimus. Et quanquam ille natus ſubditus noſter nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cuiuſdam pecuniæ quã noſtro ærario ſoluere iure tenebatur, tamẽ maiorẽ veſtri deſiderij quam noſtri debiti rationem habendam eſſe duximus. Quin inſuper animum et voluntatẽ gratificandi veſtræ Serenitati pro noſtra mutua amicitia, in qua alia etiam re poſſumus, cum oportunitas feret, libenter oſtendemus. Deus V. Serenitatem diutiſſimè ſeruet incolumẽ. Ex Regia noſtra Weſtmonaſterij. 18, Februar. 1555.

M. Couerdale deliuered and ſent to the King of Denmarke.

February 19.

The ſame moneth, the. xix. day was a certaine intimation ſet forth and printed in the name of Boner, wherin was conteyned a general monition and ſtrait charge geuen to euery man and woman within his Dioces, to prepare them ſelues againſt Lent then neare approching, to receiue the glad tidinges of peace & reconciliation ſent from Pope Iulius. 3. by Poole his Cardinal & Legate De Latere, and ſo receiue alſo ỹ ioyfull benefite of abſolutiõ, being ſẽt firſt frõ the Cardinal to Boner, & from him to euerich of his Archdeacons to be miniſtred to euery priuate perſon within his Dioces, that would come the ſaid holy time of Lent to his Paſtor or Curate to be confeſſed, & to receiue of him wholſome counſell, penance, and abſolution: Signifying moreouer, that as he was authoriſed by the foreſaid Cardinall, ſo he for the ſame purpoſe had indued with the like authoritie, al and ſingular Paſtors and Curates within his Dioces, to reconcile and aſſoyle from their former hereſie, and ſchiſme, and from the cenſures of the Church, ſuche as would reſort vnto them. And leaſt any ſcruple or doubt riſing peraduenture in their conſciences, ſhould be any ſtay or let in this behalfe, he had aſſigned and deputed therfore through his Dioces certaine learned men, to whom they might reſort, or els might open their griefes to any of his Archdeacons,

The effect of B. Boners intimation ſent into his Dioces to receiue the Cardinals abſolution, and to be reconciled to the Pope, in the Lent next folowing.

cons, or els come to his owne perſon, and ſo ſhoulde be reſolued.

And therefore all manner doubtes and obſtacles ſet aſide, he ſtraytly willed and commaunded euery man & woman to come to confeſſion, and to enioy this benefite of reconciliation and abſolution, againſt the firſt ſonday next after Eaſter enſuing, and not to faile. For the whiche purpoſe he had ſpecially commaunded the Paſtours and Curates of euery Pariſhe to certifie vp in writing the names of euery man and woman ſo reconciled: and ſo forth. The copie of whiche intimation is more fully to be read in the firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes, pag. 1083. In the meane tyme the forme of his abſolutiō, becauſe it is but ſhort, I thought here to exhibite, as vnder foloweth.

¶ The forme of abſolution, to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates, in priuate confeſſions, concernyng this reconciliation.

The abſolution of Byſhop Boner to be vſed in his dioces.

OVr Lorde Ieſus Chriſt abſolue you, and by the Apoſtolike authoritie to me graunted and committed, I abſolue you from the ſentences of excommunication, and frō all other cenſures and paynes, into the which you be fallen by reaſon of hereſie, or ſchiſme, or any other wayes: and I reſtore you vnto the vnitie of our holy mother the Church, and the Communion of all Sacramentes, diſpenſing with you for al maner of irregularitie: and by the ſame authoritie, I abſolue you from all your ſinnes, in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen.

¶ The lamentable hiſtorie of Maiſter Iames Hales, Iudge.

The hiſtory of Iudge Hales.

The Catholickes proued to do agaynſt the law in Q. Maryes tyme.

IN the hiſtorie of maſter Hooper mention was touched a litle before of Iudge Hales, wherfore ſomething woulde be ſaid more in this place touching that matter. But becauſe the ſtory of that man and of his end is ſufficiently comprehended in our firſt booke of Actes and Monumentes, we ſhal not greatly neede to ſtand vpon rehearſal of euery particular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chiefeſt, and leauyng the reſt, we wyll reporte ſomewhat of the communication betweene the Biſhop of Wincheſter and hym: declaryng withal howe falſe and vntrue the excuſe is of our aduerſaries, which ſo preciſely by the lawe defend themſelues, and ſay that in al their doinges they did nothyng but by the Lawe, to beare them out. Which if it be ſo, howe dyd they then to Anne Aſkew? What law had they, when they had condemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterwarde to racke her? By what lawe dyd they call vp M. Hooper, and priſon hym for the Queenes debt, when the Queene in very deede dyd owe hym foure ſcore poundes, and kept hym a yeare and a halfe in priſon, & gaue hym neuer a peny? pag. 1433. By what lawe dyd Biſhop Boner condemne and burne Richard Mekins, a lad of .xv. yeares, when the firſt Iewrie had quit hym, and at the ſtake reuoked al hereſies, and prayſed the ſaid Boner to be a good man: and alſo hauyng hym in priſon, would not ſuffer his father and mother to come to hym, to comfort their owne child? pag. 1174. What lawe had they to put maſter Rogers in priſon, when he did neither preach nor reade Lecture after the time of the queenes inhibition, & when they had kept hym in his own houſe halfe a yeare, beyng not depriued of any liuyng, yet would not let hym haue a halfpeny of his owne liuynges to relieue him, his wife, & .xi. children? pag. 1416. By what law was Tho. Tomkins hand burnt, & afterward his body conſumed to aſhes? What good lawe or honeſtie was there to burne the three poore women at Garnſey, with the infant childe fallyng out of the mothers wombe, when as they al before their death recanted their wordes & opinions, and were neuer abiured before? So here likewiſe in this caſe, what order or right of law did Ste. Gardiner folow in troublyng and impriſoning Iudge Hales, when he had don nothyng, neither againſt Gods law, nor mans law, in proceedyng by order of lawe agaynſt certaine preſumptuous perſons, which both before the lawe, and againſt the lawe then in force, tooke vpon them to ſay their Maſſe? as ye ſhall heare in theſe his anſweares and communication had with Ste. Gardiner here vnder enſuing.

¶ The communication betweene the Lorde Chauncelour and Iudge Hales, being there among other Iudges, to take his othe in Weſtminſter hall. Ann. 1553. 6. of October.

Lord Chauncelour. I. Hales.

Communication betweene Iudge Hales and the B. of Wincheſter.

MAiſter Hales, ye ſhal vnderſtand, that like as yͤ Queenes highnes hath heretofore conceyued good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her cauſe of iuſt ſucceſſiō, refuſing to ſet your hand to the booke among others that were againſt her grace in that behalfe: ſo nowe, through your owne late deſertes againſt certayne her highnes doynges, ye ſtand not wel in her graces fauor: and therfore, before ye take any othe, it ſhall be neceſſary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my Lord what is the cauſe?

Chaunc. Information is geuen, that ye haue indicted certaine prieſtes in Kent, for ſaying maſſe.

Hales. My Lorde, it is not ſo: I indicted none, but in deede certaine Indictmentes of like matter were brought before me at the laſt Aſſiſes there holden, and I gaue order therin as the lawe required. For I haue profeſſed the law, againſt which, in caſes of iuſtice, I wyl neuer (God wylling) procede, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhewe forth my conſcience: and if it were to doo againe, I would do no leſſe then I dyd.

Chaunc. Yea, maiſter Hales, your conſcience is knowen wel enough. I know ye lacke no conſcience.

Hales. My Lord, ye may do wel to ſearch your own conſcience: for myne is better knowen to my ſelfe, then to you: and to be plaine, I dyd as wel vſe iuſtice in your ſaid maſſe caſe by my conſcience, as by lawe, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in trial to the vttermoſt that can be obiected. And if I haue therin done any iniurie or wrong, let me be iudged by the lawe, for I wyll ſeeke no better defence, conſideryng chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

Iuſtice Hales for iuſtice ſake troubled.

Chaunc. Why maſter Hales although ye had the rigor of the lawe on your ſide, yet ye might haue had regard to the Queenes highnes preſent doinges in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeeme to be more then preciſe in the lawe, yet I thinke ye would be very loth to yelde to the extremitie of ſuche aduauntage as might be gathered againſt your proceedings in the law, as ye haue ſometime taken vpō you in place of iuſtice: & if it were wel tryed, I beleue ye ſhould not be wel able to ſtand honeſtly therto.

Hales. My Lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in cōſcience and ſuch knowledge of the lawe as God hath geuen me, I wyl do nothing but I wyl mainteine it, and abide in it: and if my goods and al that I haue be not able to counterpaiſe the caſe, my body ſhal be redy to ſerue the turne: for they be al at the queenes highnes pleaſure.

Wincheſter quarelleth with M. Hales religion.

Chaunc. Ah ſir, ye be very quicke and ſtout in your anſweares. But as it ſhould ſeeme, that which you dyd was more of a wyll, fauouring yͤ opinion of your religiō againſt the ſeruice nowe vſed, then for any occaſion or zeale of Iuſtice, ſeeing the Queenes highnes dooth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing al her faithful ſubiectes to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body & goodes in your triall, there is no ſuch matter required at your handes, and yet ye ſhall not haue your owne wyl neither.

Hales. My Lord, I ſeeke not wylfull wyll, but to ſhewe my ſelf, as I am bound in loue to God, and obedience to the queenes maieſtie, in whoſe cauſe willingly for iuſtice ſake, al other reſpectes ſet apart, I dyd of late (as your lordſhip knoweth) aduenture as muche as I had. And as for my religion, I truſt it be ſuch as pleaſeth God: wherein I am ready to aduenture as wel my life as my ſubſtance, if I be called therūto. And ſo in lacke of myne owne power & wyl, the Lordes wyl be fulfilled.

Chaunc. Seing ye be at this poynt maiſter Hales, I wil preſently make an ende with you. The Queenes highnes ſhalbe informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace ſhall thereuppon determine, ye ſhall haue knowledge. Untyl which tyme, ye may depart as ye came, without your othe: for as it appeareth, ye are ſcarſe worthy the place appoynted.

Hales. I thanke your Lordſhip: and as for my vocation, beyng both a burthen and a charge more then euer I deſired to take vppon me: when ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Queenes highnes to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly with due contentation obey the ſame: and ſo he departed frō the barre.

M. Hales committed to the Kings Bench.

Not many dayes after this communication or colloquie in Weſtminſter hall, whiche was October. 6. Anno. 1553. maſter Hales at the commaundement of the Biſhop was committed to the Kinges Benche, where he remayned conſtant vntyl Lent: then was remoued to the Compter in Bradſtreate, and afterward from thence was caryed to the Fleete.

Being in the Fleete, what it was that he had granted vnto the Biſhoppes, by their fraudulent aſſaultes and perſwaſions, namely of Doct. Day Biſhop of Chicheſter, and of Iudge Portman (as it is thought) ouercome at laſt, I haue not to ſay.

M. Hales about to kill himſelfe in priſon.

1555. Febru.

This is certaine, ẏ ſhortly after callyng hym ſelfe better to remẽbraũce, he was brought to great repentance & terrour of conſcience. In ſo much that for very anguiſh of hart he was redy with his penknife to kyl hym ſelfe there in the priſon, & had (no doubt) ſo done, had not the mercyful prouidẽce of ẏ Lord reſcued hym miraculouſly, as ye ſhal heare.

It happened when ſupper time came that he ſhould be called downe. M. Hales hauyng litle mynde either to eate or drinke, gate hym ſtrayt waye to bed, where he laye all the night ſobbyng & gronyng, & tooke (God knoweth) litle reſt or ſleepe. At length when mornyng came, about ſixe of the clocke, he ſent his ſeruant for a cup of beere, vnder pretence as though he were thirſty, and deſirous to drinke: whether the cauſe were true or fayned, it is vnknowen: but this folowed, that his man was yet ſcarſe out of the chãber, whẽ he with his penknife had wounded hym ſelfe in diuers places of his body, & was purpoſed (no doubt) to haue deſtroyed hym ſelfe, had not the goodnes of the Lord geuen preſent helpe in tyme of oportunitie. Wherby it is euident for al men to vnderſtand, how Gods fauour was not abſent from the man, although he thought hym ſelfe vtterly forſaken for his denyal, as by the ſequele may wel appeare.

Gods mercifull prouidence in reſcuing M. Hales.

For as ſoone as he had ſent his man out of his chamber (ſee what God would haue done) euen afore the chãber doore effſoones the Butler met hym: who being deſired to fil the drinke, & taking the cup, the other returned agayn vnto his maſter at the ſame very time when he was workyng his owne deſtruction: wherby M. Hales at that time was ſtopt of his purpoſe, & preſerued not without Gods manifeſt good wyl & prouidence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, ſtrayt way he taketh occaſion thereby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the Goſpell, whiche he openly in the Starre chamber called the doctrine of deſperation. Maſter Hales being within a while after recouered of thoſe woundes, & deliuered out of priſon, getteth hym ſelfe home vnto his houſe: where he, either for the greatnes of his ſorow, or for lacke of good counſel, or for that he woulde auoyde the neceſſitie of hearing maſſe, hauing al things ſet in an order a good while before that, perteynyng to his Teſtament, caſting him ſelfe into a ſhalow ryuer, was drowned therin: which was about the beginnyng of this moneth of February, or in the moneth of January before, An. 1555.

Winchester might rather haue ſayd how their cruell dealing worketh deſperation.

Iudge Hales drowned himſelfe.

The vnhappy chaunce of this ſo worthy a Iudge was ſurely the cauſe of greate ſorowe and griefe vnto all good men: and it gaue occaſion beſides vnto certaine Diuines to ſtande ſomethyng in doubt with them ſelues, whether he were reprobate, or ſaued, or no: about whiche matter it is not for me to determine, either this way or that: for he that is our Iudge, the ſame ſhalbe his Iudge: and he it is that wyll lay all things open when the tyme commeth. This in the meane tyme is certaine & ſure, that the deede of the man in my mynd ought in no wiſe to be allowed: which if he dyd wittyngly, then do I diſcommend the mans reaſon. But if he dyd it in phrenesie and as beyng out of his wyt, then doo I greatly pitie his caſe.

The caſe of Iudge Hales drowning conſidered.

Yet notwithſtandyng, ſeeing Gods iudgementes be ſecrete, and we be likewiſe in doubt vpon what entent he dyd thus puniſh hym ſelfe, neither againe is any man certayne, whether he did repent or no, before the laſt breath went out of his bodye, me ſeemeth their opinion is more indifferent herein, which do rather diſallow the example of the dead, thẽ diſpayre of his ſaluation.

Otherwiſe, if we wyll adiudge al thoſe to hell, ẏ haue departed the world after this ſort, how many examples haue we in the firſt perſecutions of the Church, of thoſe men and women, who being regiſtred in the workes of worthy writers, haue notwithſtandyng their prayſe & commendation.

Examples in the tyme of the firſt perſecution.

For what ſhall I thinke of thoſe young men, who being ſought for to do ſacrifice to heathẽ Idols, dyd caſt down them ſelues headlong, and brake their owne neckes, to auoyde ſuch horrible pollution of them ſelues? What ſhal I ſay of thoſe virgins of Antioch who to the ende they might not defile them ſelues with vncleannes and with Idolatry through the perſwaſion of their mother caſtyng them ſelues headlõg into a ryuer together with their mother, dyd fordoo them ſelues, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame maner of drownyng, as this M. Hales dyd? What ſhall I ſay of other two ſiſters, whiche for the ſelfe ſame quarrel dyd violently throw them ſelues headlong into the ſea, as Euſebius dooth recorde? In whom though perchance there was leſſe cõfidence to beare out the paynes which ſhould be miniſtred of the wicked vnto thẽ, yet that their good deſire to kepe their faith and religion vnſpotted, was commended and prayſed.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccle. lib. 8.

An other like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, & that in an other virgin likewiſe, whoſe name is expreſſed in Hierome to be Braſſila Dyrrachina, who to keepe her virginitie, fayned her ſelfe to be a witche, and ſo conſentyng with the young man which went about to deflowre her, pretended that ſhee woulde geue hym an hearbe which ſhould preſerue hym from al kynde of weapons: and ſo to proue it in her ſelf, layd the hearbe vpõ her own throte, biddyng him ſmite, wherby ſhee was ſlaine, and ſo with the loſſe of her lyfe, her virginitie was ſaued.

Nicephor. lib. 7. Cap. 13. Braſſila. Dyrrachina.

Hereunto may be ioyned the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who when ſhee was required of Maxentius the tyrant to be defiled, and ſawe her huſbande more ſlacke then he ought to haue bene in ſauyng her honeſtie, biddyng them that were ſent for her, to tary a whyle tyl ſhe made her redy, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thruſt her ſelfe through the breſt and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehẽd the worthy act of Achetes, which bityng of his owne tongue, dyd ſpyt it out into ẏ harlots face?

These examples I do not here inferre, as goyng about eyther to excuſe or to mainteyne the heynous fact of maſter Hales, whiche I woulde wiſhe rather by ſilence might be drowned in obliuion: but yet notwithſtanding, as touching the perſon of the man, what ſoeuer his fact was, becauſe we are not ſure whether he at the laſt breath repented: Agayne, becauſe we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the botomles deapth of the graces and mercyes whiche are in Chriſt Ieſu our ſaueour, we wyl leaue therfore the final iudgement of hym, to the determination of hym who is only appoynted Iudge both of the quicke and the dead.

¶ De Iacobo Haliſio carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit grauitas, prudentia, norma,
Iunctaque ſyncera cum pietate fides:
Tam caro firma tibi fortiſque Haliſe fuiſſet,
Sanctorum prima claſſe ferendus eras.
Inſtituit ſed enim ſua quis ſic tempora vitæ
Sanctorum, vt nullis ſint maculata malis.
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

¶ The hiſtorie of Thomas Tomkins, hauyng firſt his hand burned, after was burned hym ſelfe by Biſhop Boner, for the conſtant teſtimonie of Chriſtes true paſſion.

Mention was made before of ſixe priſoners, brought and examined before Biſhop Boner, the eight of February, whoſe names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Laurence, and Hunter. All whiche, though they receyued their condemnation together the next day after, yet becauſe the tyme of their executiõ was then driuen of from February tyll the next moneth of March, I dyd therefore referre the ſtorye of them to this preſent moneth of March aforeſayd, wherein nowe remayneth ſeuerally to entreate of the martyrdome of theſe ſixe perſons, as the order and tyme of their ſufferinges ſeuerally doo require. Of the whiche ſixe forenamed martyrs, the firſt was Thom. Tomkins, burned in Smithfielde the. 16. day of March. Ann. 1555.

The hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins Martyr.

This Thomas Tomkins a Weauer by his occupation, dwelling in Shorditche, and of the Dioces of London, was of ſuch conuerſation, and diſpoſition ſo godly, that if any woman had come vnto hym with her webbe, as ſometyme they dyd three or foure in a day, he would alwayes begynne with prayer. Or if any other had come to talke of any matter, he would likewiſe firſt begynne with prayer. And if any had ſought vnto hym to borowe money, he woulde ſhewe hym ſuche money as he had in his purſe, and bydde hym take it.

The godly lyfe and diſpoſition of Thomas Tomkins.

And when they came to repay it again, ſo farre of was he from ſeekyng any vſurie at their hande, or from ſtraight exaction of his due, that he woulde byd them keepe it longer, while they were better able. And theſe were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, teſtified yet to this preſent day by the moſt part of all his neighbours, and almoſt of all his Pariſh which knewe hym, as maiſter Skynner, maiſter Lecke, and other moe. Of whom moe then halfe a doſen at once came to me diſcrete & ſubſtantial men, reportyng the ſame vnto me, recordyng moreouer as foloweth: That Doctour Boner Biſhop of London kept the ſayd Tomkins with hym in priſon halfe a yeare. During whiche tyme the ſeid biſhop was ſo rigorous vnto him, that he beat hym bytterly about the face, whereby his face was ſwelled. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed his beard to be ſhauen, and gaue the Barbour. xij. d.

Witneſſes to Thomas Tomkins.

Touchyng whiche ſhauyng of Thomas Tomkins bearde, this is more to be added: Biſhop Boner hauyng Tomkins with hym priſoner at Fulham, in the moneth of July, dyd ſet hym with his other worke folkes, to make hay. And ſeeing hym to labour ſo wel, the Biſhop ſittyng hym downe, ſayd: Wel, I like thee well, for thou laboureſt

Tomkins maketh the Byſhops hay.

Well:

wel: I truſt thou wylt be a good Catholike. My Lorde, ſaid he, ſ. Paul ſaith: He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eate. Boner ſaid: Ah, ſ. Paul is a great mā with thee. And ſo after ſuche other talke, the Biſhop inferring moreouer, wiſhed his beard of, ſaying, that ſo he would loke like a catholike. My Lord, ſaid Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was, I truſt, a good Chriſtian, and ſo I truſt to be, my beard being on. But Boner in fine ſent for ÿ Barbar, & cauſed his beard to be ſhauē of. The very cauſe was for that Boner had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

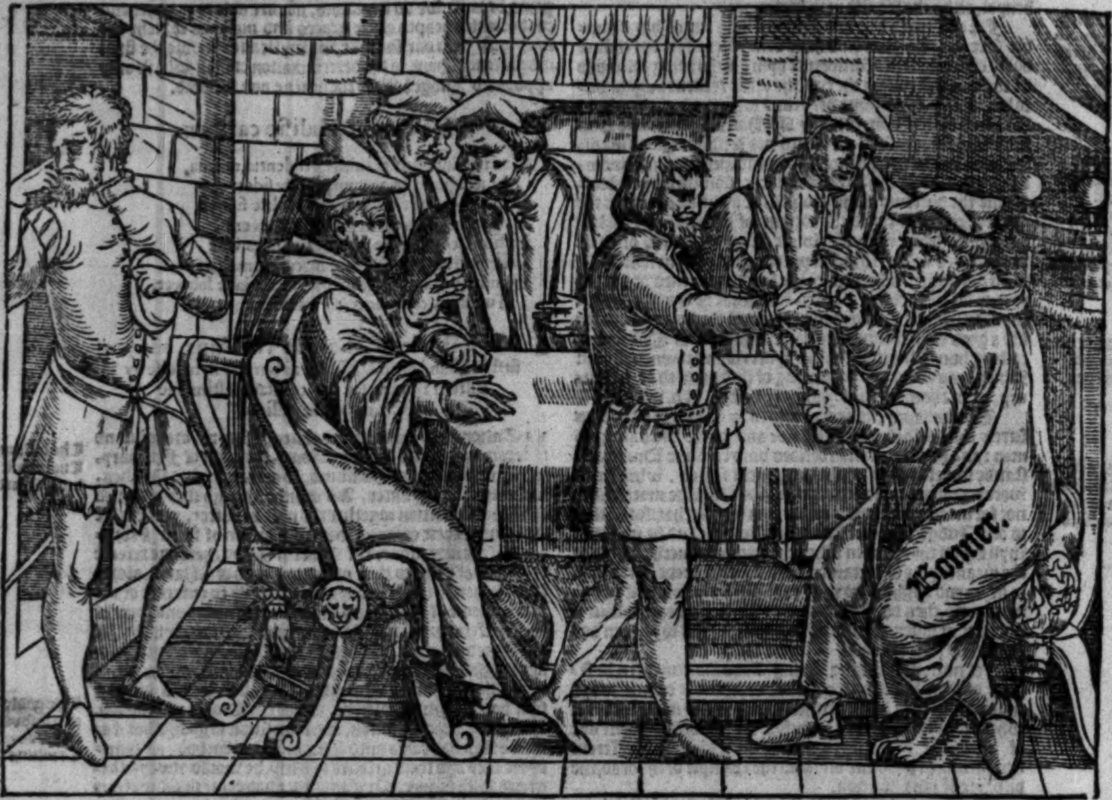
B. Boner wyſheth Tomkins beard to be ſhauen, becauſe he had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

The rage of this biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but the conſtancie of the partie was much greater with pacience to beare it: who although he had not the learnyng as other haue, yet was he ſo endued with Gods mighty ſpirit, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods truth, that by no meanes he could be remoued from the confeſſion of truth, to impietie and error. Whereupon Boner the Biſhop being greatly vexed againſt the poore man, whē he ſaw that by no perſwaſions he could preuaile with hym, deuiſed an other practiſe not ſo ſtraunge as cruel, further to trie his conſtancie, to the intent, that ſeeing he could not otherwiſe conuince hym by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might ouerthrowe hym by ſome forefeeling and terrour of death. So hauyng with hym maiſter Harpſfielde, maiſter Pendleton, Doctor Chedſey, maiſter Wyllerton, and other ſtanding by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who commyng before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was woont in defence of his faith, the Biſhop fel from beating to burning. Who hauyng there a taper or waxe candle of three or foure wykes ſtanding vpon the table, thought there to repreſent vnto vs, as it were, the old Image of king Porſenna. For as he burned the hand of Scæuola, ſo this Catholike biſhop tooke Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hande directly ouer the flame, ſuppoſing that by the ſmart & payne of ÿ fire being terrified, he would leaue of the defence of his doctrine, which he had receyued.

The notable conſtancie in a true Chriſtian Souldior.

B. Boner playeth k. Porſenna in burning the hand of Scæuola.

¶The burning of Tho. Tomkins hand by B. Boner, who not long after burnt alſo his body.



Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe but there preſently to dye, began to commend him ſelfe vnto the Lorde, ſaying: O Lord into thy handes I commend my ſpirite. &c. In the tyme that his hād was in burnyng, the ſaid Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinſe, that his ſpirite was ſo rapt vp, that he fealt no payne. In the which burnyng he neuer ſhronke, tyll the vaines ſhronke, and the ſinewes braſt, and the water dyd ſpyrt into Maiſter Harpſfieldes face: In ſo much that the ſaid Maiſter Harpſfield moued with pitie, deſired the Biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tryed hym enough. This burnyng was in the Hall at Fulham.

And where the Biſhop thought by that meanes to driue hym from his opinions, it proued muche otherwiſe: for this Chriſtian Scæuola ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and endure that burnyng, that we haue leſſe cauſe hereafter to marueile at the manfulnes of that Romane Scæuola. I would to God the other had as wel folowed the example of that Hetruſcan Tyrant. For he, after the left hande of Scæuola was halfe burned, eyther ſatiſfied with his puniſhmente, or ouercome by his manhoode, or driuen away by feare, ſent hym home ſafe vnto his people: whereas Boner hytherto not contented with the burnyng of his hande, reſted not vntyl he had conſumed his whole body into aſhes, at London in Smithfield.

Tomkins compared to Scæuola.

Boner more cruell then Porſenna the Hetruſcan.

But before we come to his ſuffering, we wyll firſt entreate of ſome part of his examinatiō and articles, with his anſweres and confeſſion therunto annexed, as it is credibly in Regiſter recorded.

¶ The firſte examination of Thomas Tomkins.

This faithfull and valiant ſouldier of God Tho. Tomkins, after he had remained the ſpace (as is ſaid) of halfe a yere in priſon, about the. 8. day of February was brought with certaine other before Boner ſitting in his Conſiſtorie, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought foorth a certaine byl or ſchedule ſubſcribed (as it appeared) with his owne hand, the fift day of the ſame moneth laſt before, conteinyng theſe wordes folowing.

The firſt examination of Thomas Tomkins before Boner B. of London.

Thomas Tomkins of Shordich, and of the Dioces of London, hath beleued and doth beleue, that in the ſacramēt of the aultar, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is not the very body and bloud of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, but only a token and remembraunce thereof, the very body and bloud of Chriſt onely beyng in heauen & no where els.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The confeſſion of Tomkins ſubſcribed with his owne hand.

Whereupon

1555. March.

Tomkins conſtant in his fayth.

Whereupon he was aſked whether he dyd acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his owne hand. To the which he graūted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This beyng done, the Byſhop went about to perſuade him, (with wordes, rather thē with reaſons) to relinquiſh his opiniōs, & to returne agayne to the vnity of the Catholicke church, promiſing if he would ſo do, to remit all that was paſt: but he conſtantly denyed ſo to do. When the Byſhop ſaw he could not ſo conuince him, he brought forth and read to him an other writyng contaynyng Articles and Interrogatories whereunto hee ſhould come the next day and aunſwere: in the meane tyme he ſhould deliberate vnto hymſelfe what to do, & ſo the next day, beyng the ix. day of March, at viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, to be preſent in the ſame place agayne, to geue his determinate aunſwere what he would do in the premiſſes & then either to reuoke & reclame himſelfe, or els in the after noone the ſame day to come agayne and haue Iuſtice (as he called it) miniſtred vnto hym: the copy of which Articles here foloweth.

¶ Articles obiected and miniſtred the viij. day of February agaynſt Tho. Tomkins, with his owne hand ſubſcribyng to the ſame.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Thomas Tomkins.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

THou doeſt beleue that in the Sacrament of the aulter vnder the formes of bread & wine there is not, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deede, the very true and naturall body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as touchyng the ſubſtaunce therof which was conceiued in the wōbe of the virgine Mary, and hanged vppon the croſſe, ſufferyng Paſſion and death there for the life of the world. I do ſo beleue.

Subſtance of bread remayneth in the Sacrament.

Thou doeſt beleue that after the cōſecration of the bread and wyne prepared for the vſe of the Sacrament of the aultar there doth remaine the very ſubſtaūce of materiall bread and materiall wyne, not chaunged nor altered in ſubſtaunce by the power of almighty God, but remaynyng as it dyd before. I do ſo beleue.

The naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament denyed.

Thou doeſt beleue that it is an vntrue doctrine & a falſe beliefe to thinke or ſay that in the Sacrament of the aulter there is after the conſecration of the bread and wyne, the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes naturall body and bloud by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word. I do ſo beleue.

The errour of forelders touching the Sacrament.

Thou doeſt beleue that thy parentes, kinſfolkes, frendes, and acquaintaunce, and alſo thy Godfathers and Godmother and all people did erre, and were deceiued, if they dyd beleue that in the Sacrament of the aultar there was, after the conſecration, the body and bloud of Chriſt, and that there dyd not remayne the ſubſtaunce of materiall breade and wine. I do ſo beleue.

By me Thomas Tomkyns.

¶ The ſecond examination of Thomas Tomkyns.

The ſecond examination.

THe next day, beyng the ix. of February, at eight of the clocke before noone, the ſayd Thomas Tomkyns, (accordyng the former commaundement) was brought agayne into the place afore named, before the Byſhop and other his aſſiſtauntes, where the foreſayd Articles were propounded vnto him: whereunto he aunſwered as foloweth.

Aunſwere of Tomkins to the Articles.

To the firſt he ſayd, that he did ſo beleue, as in the ſame is contayned.

To the ſecond he ſayd that it was onely bread, and a participation of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſo do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he ſayd and did beleue, it was a falſe doctrine to beleue and thinke as is contayned in this Article.

To the fourth, he dyd alſo beleue the ſame.

After this aunſwere, hee did alſo ſubſcribe his name to the ſayd Articles. Whereupon the Byſhop drawyng out of his boſome an other confeſſion ſubſcribed with Tomkyns owne hand, and alſo that Article that was the firſt day obiected agaynſt hym, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed hym to reuoke and deny his ſayd opinions: the which he vtterly refuſed to do, and therfore was commaunded to appeare before the Byſhop agayne in the ſame place at two of the clocke in the after noone.

The Biſhop repeateth agayne the confeſſion of Tho. Tomkins writtē before by the ſayd Byſhop of London, and ſubſcribed by the ſayd Tomkyns, the xxvj. day of Septemb. an. 1554. which is this.

The firſt confeſſion of Tomkins offered to B. Boner, and now here agayne repeated.

I Thomas Tomkins of the Pariſh of Shordich, in the Dioces of London, hauing confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund Byſhop of London myne Ordinary, that my beliefe hath bene many yeares paſt and is at this preſent: that the body of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt is not truely and in very deede in the Sacrament of the aultar, but onely in heauen, and ſo in heauen, that it can not now in deede be really and truely in the Sacrament of the aultar:

The Maſſe full of ſuperſtition and Idolatry

And moreouer, hauyng likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſayd Ordinary openly many tymes, that although the Church, called the Catholicke Church, hath allowed and doth allow the Maſſe and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, and a godly thyng: yet my beliefe hath bene many yeares paſt, and is at this preſent, that the ſayd Maſſe is full of ſuperſtition, playne Idolatrie, and vnprofitable for my ſoule, & ſo haue I called it many tymes, and take it at this preſent:

Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the vulgar tongue.

Hauing alſo likewiſe cōfeſſed & declared to my ſayd Ordinary, that the Sacrament of Baptiſme ought to be onely in the vulgare tounge, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without any ſuch ceremonies as cuſtomably are vſed in the Latin church, and otherwiſe not to be allowed.

Tomkins conſtantly ſtandeth to the truth of the Goſpell.

Finally, beyng many tymes and oft called openly before my ſayd Ordinary, and talked withall touchyng all my ſayd confeſſions and declarations, both by the ſayd myne Ordinary and diuers other learned men, aſwell his Chapleines as other, and counſelled by all them to embrace the truth, and to recant myne errour in the premiſſes, whiche they tolde me was playne hereſie and manifeſt errour: do teſtifie and declare hereby, that I do and will continually ſtand to my ſayd confeſſion, declaration, and beliefe, in all the premiſſes and euery part thereof, and in no wiſe recant or goe from any part of the ſame. In witneſſe wherof I haue ſubſcribed, and paſſed this writyng the xxvj. day of September the yeare aforeſayd.

By me Thomas Tomkyns aforeſayd.

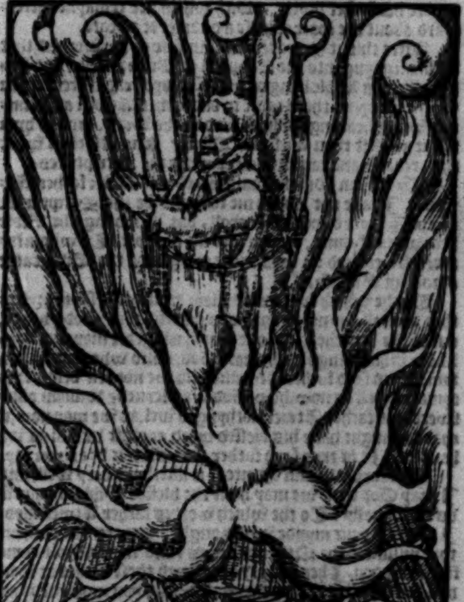
The laſt appearaunce and condemnation of T. Tomkins Martyr.

The names of them that ſat vppon Thomas Tomkyns at this Seſſion, were theſe, Edmund Boner, Iohn Fecknam Deane of Paules, Iohn Harpſfield Archdeacō of London, Iohn Morwen Maiſter of Arte, Thomas Morton Parſon of Fulham, Triſtrā Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Beckinſaw, Iames Clyne Clerkes.

¶ The laſt appearaunce of Tho. Tomkins before Boner and the Commiſſioners.

The ſame day and place, at two of the clocke in the after noone, he was (the laſt tyme) brought forth before the Byſhops of London, Bath, and Saint Dauids, with others: where hee was earneſtly exhorted by the ſayd Byſhoppe of Bath, to reuoke and leaue of his opinions. Vnto whom he aunſwered: My Lord, I was borne & brought vp in ignorance vntill now of late yeares. And now I know the truth, wherein I will continue vnto the death.

¶ The burnyng of the bleſſed Martyr Thomas Tomkyns.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Tomkins in Smithfield, Anno 1555. March. 16.

Then Boner cauſed all his Articles and confeſſion to be agayne openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed maner perſwaded with hym to recant. To whom hee finally ſayd: My Lord, I can not ſee but that you would haue me to forſake the truth, and to fall into errour and hereſie. The Byſhop ſeyng he would not recant, dyd proceede in his law, and ſo gaue ſentence of condemnation vpon him.

Sentence read agaynſt Tomkins.

Then he deliuered hym to the Shiriefe of London, who caryed him ſtraight vnto Newgate, where hee remained moſt ioyous and conſtant, vntill the xvi. day of March next after: on whiche day, hee was by the ſayd Shirieffe conueyed into Smithfield, and there ſealed vp his fayth in the flamyng fire, to the glory of Gods holy name, and confirmation of the weake.

March. 16.

¶ A notable history of William Hunter, a young man of xix. yeares, purſued to death by Iuſtice Browne for the Goſpels ſake, worthy of all young men and parentes to be read.

W. Hunter prentyſe and Martyr. March. 26.

THe 26. day of the ſayd moneth of March, the yeare aforeſayd, folowed the Martyrdome of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of xix. yeares, and borne of lyke godly parentes: by whom hee was not onely inſtructed in true Religion and godlyneſſe, but alſo confirmed by them vnto death, after a rare and ſtraunge example, worthy to bee noted and had in admiration of all parentes. Wherein may appeare a ſingular ſpectacle, not onely of a maruelous fortitude in the partie ſo young: but alſo in his parentes, to behold nature in them ſtriuyng with Religion, and ouercome of the ſame. Whereby Chriſtian parentes may learne what is to be done not onely in their children, but alſo in them ſelues, if neede at any tyme do require, or godlyneſſe ſhould demaunde the duetie of a Chriſtian man agaynſt naturall affection. Example whereof in the ſequele of this hyſtorie we haue here preſent before our eyes. Which hyſtorie as it was faythfully drawen out by Robert Hunter his owne brother (who beyng preſent with his brother William, and neuer left hym till his death, ſent the true reporte vnto vs) we haue here with lyke faythfulnes placed and recorded the ſame, as foloweth.

William Hunter beyng a Prentiſe in London, in the firſt yeare of Queene Mary, was commaunded at the Eaſter next followyng, to receaue the Communion at a Maſſe, by the Prieſt of the Pariſhe where hee dwelt, called Colman ſtreete: whiche, becauſe he refuſed to doe, he was very much threatned that he ſhould bee therefore brought before the Byſhop of London. Wherefore William Hunters Maiſter one Thomas Taylour, a Silke weauer, required William Hunter, to goe and departe from hym, leſt that he ſhould come in daunger, becauſe of hym, if he continued in his houſe. For the whiche cauſes, William Hunter tooke leaue of his ſayd maiſter, and thence came to Burntwoode where his father dwelt, with whom hee remayned afterward, about the ſpace of halfe a quarter of a yeare.

W. Hunter prentiſe in Colman ſtreete wyth Thomas Taylour.

W. Hunter threatned for not receauing at a Maſſe.

W. Hunter wiſhed of his Mayſter to depart.

W. Hunter commeth to his father at Burntwoode.

After this it happened, within fiue or vj. weekes, that William goyng into the Chappell of Burntwood, and findyng there a Bible lying on a Deſke, dyd read therein. In the meane tyme there came in one father Atwell a Sumner, which hearyng William read in the Bible, ſayd to hym what medleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt, and canſt thou expounde the Scriptures?

To whom William aunſwered and ſayd: father Atwell, I take not vppon me to expounde the Scriptures, except I were diſpenſed withall, but I findyng the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom father Atwell ſayd: it was neuer mery ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

Father Atwell a Sumner or Promotor.

To the which wordes William aunſwered ſaying: Father Atwell, ſay not ſo for Gods ſake, for it is Gods booke, out of the whiche euery one that hath grace may learne to know what things both pleaſe God, & alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſayd father Atwell: could we not tell before this tyme as well as now, how God was ſerued? William aunſwered: no father Atwel, nothyng ſo wel, as we may now, if that we might haue his bleſſed word, amõgſt vs ſtill as we haue had. It is true ſayd father Atwell, if it be as you ſay.

Talke betwene Atwell and W. Hunter concernyng the Bible.

Well ſayd William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may haue the bleſſed Bible amongeſt vs continually. To the which wordes father Atwell ſayd, I perceiue your mynde well inough, you are one of them that miſliketh the Queenes lawes, and therfore you came from London, I heare ſay. You learned theſe wayes at London, but for all that, ſayd father Atwell, you muſt turne an other leafe, or els you and a great ſorte moe heretickes will broyle for this geare, I warrãt you. To the which wordes William ſayd: God geue me grace that I may beleue hys word and confeſſe his name, whatſoeuer come therof. Confeſſe his name, quoth olde Atwell? no, no, ye will go to the deuill all of you, and confeſſe his name.

The Catholicks can not abyde the Byble.

What, ſayd William? you ſay not well father Atwell. At the whiche wordes hee went out of the Chappell in a great fury, ſaying: I am not able to reaſon with thee, but I will fetch one ſtraight way which ſhall talke with thee, I warrant the thou hereticke. And hee leauyng William Hunter readyng in the Bible, ſtraight wayes brought one Thomas Wood, who was then Vicar of Southwelde, which was at an Alehouſe euẽ ouer agaynſt the ſayd chappell: who hearyng olde Atwell ſaye that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the Chappell, came by and by to hym, and findyng him readyng in the Bible, tooke ÿ matter very haynouſly, ſaying: Sirha who gaue thee leaue to read in the Bible and to expound it?

Atwell not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the innocent.

The vicar of Southweld angry wyth W. Hunter for reading in the Byble.

Then William aunſwered: I expounde not the Scriptures Syr, but read them for my comfort. What medleſt thou with them at all, ſayd the Vicar? It becommeth not thee, nor none ſuch to medle with the Scriptures. But William aunſwered: I will read the Scriptures god willing, while I liue, and you ought (M. Vicar) not to diſcourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort mẽ diligently to read the ſcriptures for your diſcharge & their own.

Vnto the which the Vicar aunſwered: It becommeth thee well to tell mee what I haue to doe. I ſee thou art an hereticke, by thy wordes. William ſayd, I am no hereticke for ſpeakyng the truth. But the Vicar ſayd, it is a mery worlde when ſuch as thou art, ſhall teach vs what is the truth. Thou art medlyng, father Atwell tels me with the vi. of Iohn, wherein thou mayeſt perceiue, how Chriſt ſayth? Except that ye eate the fleſh of Chriſt and drynke his bloud, ye haue no lyfe in you. William ſayd, I read the vi. of Iohn in deede: howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

The Catholickes in no wyſe will be controled.

Then ſayd father Atwell, when you read it I ſayd, ÿ you their might vnderſtand how that in the Sacrament of the aultar is Chriſtes very naturall body and bloud: vnto the whiche you aunſwered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, & that you woulde medle with no great expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed withall.

Ah, ſayd the Vicar? what ſay you to the bleſſed (ſacrament of the aultar) beleueſt thou not in it, and that ÿ bread and wyne is tranſubſtantiated into the very body & bloude of Chriſt? William aunſwered, I learne no ſuch thing in ÿ vi. of Iohn, as you ſpeake of. Why ſayd the Vicar, doeſt thou not beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar? I beleue ſayd William Hunter, all that Gods worde teacheth. Why ſayd the Vicar thou mayeſt learne this which I ſay plainly, in the ſixt of Iohn.

W. Hunter examined of the Sacrament.

Thẽ ſayd William, you vnderſtand Chriſts wordes much like the carnall Capernaites, whiche thought that Chriſte would haue geuen them his fleſhe to feede vpon which opinion our ſauiour Chriſt corrected, whẽ he ſayd The words which I ſpeake to you, are ſpirite and lyfe.

The Catholickes lyke to the Capernaites.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I haue found you out: nowe I ſee that thou art an hereticke in deede, and that thou doeſt not beleue in ÿ ſacrament of the aultar.

Then ſayd William Hunter, wheras you doubt my beleefe, I would it were tryed whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our faith. Yea thou hereticke, (ſayd the Vicar) wouldeſt thou haue it ſo tryed? William Hunter aunſwered, that which you call hereſie, I ſerue my Lord God withall.

Hereſie miſtaken with the Papiſtes.

Thẽ ſayd the Vicar: canſt thou ſerue god with hereſie? But William aunſwered, I woulde that you and I were euen nowe faſt tyed to a ſtake, to proue whether that you or I would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our fayth. But the Vicar aunſwered: it ſhall not ſo be tryed. No quoth William, I thinke ſo: for if it might, I thinke I know who woulde ſooneſt recant, for I durſt ſet my foote agaynſt yours euen to the death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed, the Vicar threatnyng William much, how that he would complayne of him: with much other communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this Vicar of Weild tolde Maiſter Browne of the communication which William Hunter and hee had together. Whiche when M. Browne vnderſtoode, immediatly he ſent for Williams father and the Conſtable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he tooke his leaue of his father and fled, becauſe woo the Vicar threatned him. Now when the Conſtable and Williams father were come, and were before M. Browne, he aſked where Williã Hunter was. His father aunſwered, ſaying: if it pleaſe you Syr, I know not where he is become. No, quoth maiſter Browne? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch hym foorth alſo ere I haue done with thee. Syr ſayd Williams father, I know not where he is become, nor where to ſeeke for him.

The vicar complayneth to Iuſtice Browne of W. Hunter.

Iuſtice Browne ſendeth for Hunters father.

Then

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Then ſayd M. Browne, why diddeſt thou not bryng him when thou haddeſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetche him, I will ſend thee to priſon till I ſhall get him. Wherefore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or els it is not beſt to looke me in the face any more, nor yet to reſt in Burntwood. Well, quoth M. Browne to Williams father, ſee that thou ſeeke him forth and bryng him to me.

The fruite of the Popes doctrine, to ſet the father agaynſt the ſonne.

An vnreaſonable requeſt of Juſtice Browne.

Williams father aunſwered: Syr, would you haue me ſeeke out my ſonne to be burned? If thou bryng him to me, quoth Maiſter Browne, I will deale well enough for that matter: thou ſhalt not neede to care for yͤ matter. Fetch hym and thou ſhalt ſee what I will do for him.

Moreouer, if thou lackeſt money, quoth he, thou ſhalt haue ſome, and bad the Cõſtable Maiſter Salmon to geue hym a crowne, but Williams father tooke none of him. Howbeit M. Browne would neuer reſt till Williams father had promiſed him to ſeeke out his ſonne. And thus M. Browne ſent the Conſtable home agayne, and Williams father, commaundyng him to ſeeke out William Hunter, and then to come agayne and bryng him to hym.

After that old father Hunter had rydden a two or three dayes iourneyes to ſatiſfie Maiſter Brownes expectation, it happened that William mette with his father in the hygh way as he trauayled, and firſt he ſeyng his father, came to him, and ſpake to him, and told him how that hee thought that hee ſought for hym: and then his father confeſſing it, wept ſore and ſayd, that Maiſter Browne charged hym to ſeeke him, and bryng hym to him: howbeit, ſayd he, I will returne home agayne, and ſay I can not finde you. But William ſayd: father, I wil go home with you and ſaue you harmeleſſe, what ſoeuer commeth of it.

The father pretended to ſeeke the ſonne. The ſonne meeteth with him in the way.

The working of nature betwene the father and the ſonne.

And thus they came home together: but William as ſoone as hee was come home, was taken by the ſayd Conſtable and layd in yͤ Stockes till the day. Maiſter Browne hearyng that William Hunter was come home, ſent for hym to yͤ Cõſtable, who brought hym immediatly to Maiſter Browne.

Now when William was come, Maiſter Browne ſayd to him, ah ſyrha, are ye come? and then by and by he commaunded the Bible to bee brought, and opened it, and then began to reaſon with William on this maner, ſaying: I heare ſay you are a Scripture man, you: and can reaſon much of the ſixt of John and expounde as pleaſeth you, and turned the Bible to the ſixt of S. John, and then he layd to his charge, what an expoſition hee made, when the Vicare and hee talked together. And William ſayd, hee vrged me to ſay ſo much as I dyd.

W. Hunter brought before Juſtice Browne.

Well quoth M. Browne, becauſe you can expounde that place ſo well, how ſay you to an other place, turnyng to the xxij. of S. Luke? and Maiſter Browne ſayd looke here (quoth he) for Chriſt ſayth, that the bread is his body.

Talke betwene W. Hunter, and Juſtice Browne about the Sacrament.

To the which William aunſwered, the text ſayth, how Chriſt tooke bread, but not that he chaunged it, into an other ſubſtaunce, but gaue that whiche he tooke, and brake that which he gaue, which was bread, as is euident by the text. For els he ſhould haue had two bodyes, whiche to affirme I ſee no reaſon, ſayd William.

Bread broken but not chaunged.

At the which anſwere Maiſter Browne was very angry, and tooke vp the Bible and turned the leaues, and then flong it downe agayne in ſuch a fury, that William could not well finde the place agayne wherof they reaſoned.

M. Browne in a pelting chafe.

Then M. Browne ſayd, thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take thynges as they are, but expounde them as thou wilt? doth not Chriſt call the bread his body playnely, and thou wilt not beleue that the bread is his body after the conſecration? thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lyer.

But William Hunter aunſwered: I meane not ſo ſir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearche what the mynde of Chriſt is in that holy Inſtitution, wherein he commendeth vnto vs the remembraunce of his death, paſſion, reſurrection and commyng agayne, ſaying: This do in the remembraunce of me. And alſo though Chriſt call the bread his body, as he doth alſo ſay, that he is a vyne, a doore, &c. yet is not his body turned into bread, no more then he is turned into a doore, or vyne. Wherefore Chriſt called the bread hys body by a figure.

How Chriſt called bread his body.

At that worde Maiſter Browne ſayd, thou art a villaine in deede. Wilt thou make Chriſt a lyer yet ſtill? and was in ſuch a fury with William, and ſo raged, that William could not ſpeake a worde but hee croſſed hym, and ſcoffed at euery worde. Wherefore William ſeyng hym in ſuch fury, deſired him that hee would either heare hym quyetly, and ſuffer him to aunſwere for hymſelfe, or els ſend him away. To the whiche Maiſter Browne aunſwered: in deede I will ſend thee to morrow to my Lorde of London, and hee ſhall haue thee vnder examination, and thus left of the talke, and made a letter immediately, and ſent William Hunter, with the Conſtable to Boner Byſhop of London, who receiued William.

M. Browne in a rage.

M. Browne ſendeth vp W. Hunter to B. Boner.

After that he had read the letter, and the Conſtable returned home agayne, the Byſhoppe cauſed William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reaſon with him in this maner: I vnderſtand William Hunter (quoth he) by M. Brownes letter, how that you haue had certaine communication with the Vicare of Weld about the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, & how that ye could not agree, wherupon Maiſter Browne ſent for thee to bryng thee to the Catholicke faith, frõ the which he ſaith, that thou art gone. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, yͧ ſhalt haue no harme, for any thyng that thou haſt ſayd or done in this matter.

Boners wordes to W. Hunter.

William aunſwered, ſaying: I am not fallen from the Catholicke fayth of Chriſt, I am ſure, but do beleue it, and confeſſe it with all my hart.

Talke betwene W. Hunter and the byſhop about the Sacrament.

Why, quoth the Byſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar? wilt thou not recant thy ſaying, whiche thou confeſſedſt before Maiſter Browne, how that Chriſtes body is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, the ſame that was borne of the virgine Mary?

To the which William aunſwered, ſaying? my Lord I vnderſtãd, that M. Browne hath certified you of the talke, which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I ſayd to hym, the whiche I will not recant, by Gods helpe.

Then ſayd the Biſhop, I thinke thou art aſhamed to beare a Fagot and recant openly, but if thou wilt recant thy ſayinges, I will promiſe thee, that thou ſhalt not be put to open ſhame: but ſpeake the word here now betwene me and thee, and I will promiſe thee, it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go home agayne without any hurt.

Boners faire promiſe to W. Hunter.

William aunſwered and ſayd, my Lord: if you will let me alone and leaue me to my conſcience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or els with my Maiſter agayne, and ſo if no body will diſquyet nor trouble my conſcience, I will keepe my conſcience to my ſelfe.

W. Hunter not ſuffered to haue his conſcience free.

Then ſayd the Byſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to the Church and receiue and be ſhriuen, and ſo continue a good Catholicke Chriſtian. No, quoth William, I will not do ſo for all the good in the world.

W. Hunter denyeth to recant.

Then, quoth the Byſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth Williã, you can do no more then God will permitte you. Well, quoth the Byſhop, wilt thou not recant in deede by no meanes? No, quoth William, neuer while I lyue, God willyng.

Then the Byſhop (this talke ended) commaunded his men to put William in the Stockes in his Gatehouſe, where he ſat two dayes and nightes, only with a cruſt of browne bread and a cup of water.

Boner commaundeth W. Hunter to the ſtockes.

At the two dayes end the Byſhop came to him, and findyng the cup of water and the cruſt of bread ſtill by him vpon the Stockes, ſayd to his men: take him out of the Stockes and let him breake his faſt with you. Thẽ they let him forth of the Stockes, but would not ſuffer hym to eate with them, but called him hereticke. And he ſayd he was as loth to be in their company, as they were, to be in his.

W. Hunter ij. dayes and ij. nightes in the ſtockes, with a cruſt of bread, and a cup of water.

After breakfaſt the Byſhop ſent for William and demaunded whether hee would recant or no. But William made hym aunſwere, how that hee would neuer recant that whiche he had confeſſed before men, as concernyng his fayth in Chriſt.

Hunter agayne refuſeth to recant his fayth in Chriſt.

Then the B. ſayd that he was no Chriſtian, but denyed the faith in which he was Baptiſed. But Williã aunſwered: I was Baptiſed in the fayth of the holy Trinity, the which I will not goe frõ, God aſſiſtyng me with his grace.

Then the Byſhop ſent him to the conuict priſon, and commaunded the keeper to lay Irons on hym as many as hee could beare, and moreouer aſked him, how old he was. And William ſayd, that he was xix. yeare old.

W. Hunter layd in the conuict priſon with as many yrons as he could beare.

Well ſayd the Byſhop, you wilbe burned ere you be xx. yeare old, if you will not yeld your ſelfe better then you haue done yet. William aunſwered, God ſtrengthen me in hys truth: and then he parted, the Biſhop allowyng him a halfepeny a day to lyue on in bread, or drinke.

Hunter allowed an halfepeny a day to lyue on.

Thus hee continued in priſon three quarters of a yeare. In the which tyme he had bene before the byſhop v. tymes, beſides that tyme when he was condemned in the Conſiſtory in Paules, the ix. day of February: at the which tyme I his brother Robert Hunter was preſent, when and where I heard the Byſhop condemne him, and fiue other more.

These fiue were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, and Lawrence.

And then the Byſhop callyng William, aſked hym if hee would not recant, and ſo read to hym his examination and confeſſion, as is aboue rehearſed, and then rehearſed how that William confeſſed that hee dyd beleue that hee receaued Chriſtes body ſpiritually, when he dyd receaue the Communion. Doeſt thou meane, quoth the Byſhop, that the bread is Chriſtes body ſpiritually?

William aunſwered: I meane not ſo, but rather when I receiue the holy Communion rightly and worthely, I do feede vpon Chriſt ſpiritually through fayth in my ſoule, and

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The bread is Chriſtes body neither ſpiritually nor bodely, but in receiuing the Communion we feede on Chriſt ſpiritually in our ſoule.

am made partaker of all the benefites whiche Chriſt hath brought vnto all faythfull beleuers through his precious death, paſſion, and reſurrection, and not that the bread is his body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

Then ſayd the Byſhop to Williã, doeſt thou not thinke (holdyng vp his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayeſt ſee the ſquarenes and coulour of it, and yet not to be the ſubſtaunce, which thou iudgeſt by the accidences.

The queſtion is not what God can do, but what he would haue vs to beleue in his holy ſupper.

William aunſwered: if you can ſeparate the accidences from the ſubſtaunce and ſhewe me the ſubſtaunce without the accidences, I could beleue. Then ſayd the Biſhop: thou wilt not beleue that God can do any thyng aboue mans capacitie. Yes, ſayd William, I muſt needes beleue that: for dayly experience teacheth all men that thyng playnely: but our queſtion is not what God can do, but what he wil haue vs to learne in his holy Supper.

A Sentence pronounced agaynſt William Hũter.

Then the Byſhop ſayd: I alwayes haue founde thee at this poynt, & I ſee no hope in thee, to reclaime thee vnto the Catholicke faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member, and then pronounced ſentence vpon him, how that he ſhould go from that place, to Newgate for a tyme, and ſo frõ thence to Burntwood, where, ſayd he, thou ſhalt be burned.

The large offers of B. Bonner to W. Hunter.

Then the Byſhop called for an other, and ſo when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and perſwaded with him, ſaying: if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the Citie, & geue thee fourty pound in good money to ſet vp thyne occupation withall: or I will make thee Steward of my houſe and ſet thee in office, for I lyke thee well, thou haſt witte inough, and I will preferre thee, if thou wilt recant.

W. Hunter refuſeth to come frõ Chriſt for the loue of the world

But William aunſwered, I thanke you for your great offers: notwithſtandyng, my Lord, ſayd he, if you can not perſwade my conſcience with Scriptures, I can not finde in my hart to turne from God for the loue of the world: for I count all thynges worldly but loſſe and donge, in reſpect of the loue of Chriſt.

Then ſayd the Byſhoppe, if thou dyeſt in this mynde, thou art condemned for euer. William aunſwered: GOD iudgeth righteouſly, and iuſtifieth them whom man condemneth vniuſtly.

William Hunter ſent downe to Burntwood to be burnt.

Thus William and the Byſhoppe departed, William and the reſt to Newgate, where they remayned about a moneth, whiche afterward were ſent downe, William to Burntwood, and the others into diuers places of the countrey. Now, when Williã was come downe to Burntwood, which was the Saterday before the Annunciation of the virgine Mary that folowed on the Monday after, William remayned till the Tueſday after, becauſe they would not put hym to death then for the holynes of the day.

His father and mother come to comfort hym.

In the meane tyme Williams father and mother came to him, and deſired hartly of God that he might continue to the ende in that good way whiche God had begon, and his mother ſayd to him, that ſhe was glad that euer ſhe was ſo happy to beare ſuch a child, which could finde in his hart to loſe his life for Chriſtes names ſake.

His father and mother exhort him to be conſtant

Then William ſayd to his mother: for my little payne whiche I ſhall ſuffer, whiche is but a ſhort brayd, Chriſt hath promiſed me, mother ſayd he, a crowne of ioy: may you not be glad of that mother? With that, his mother kneeled downe on her knees, ſaying: I pray God ſtrengthen thee my ſonne, to the ende. Yea, I thinke thee as well beſtowed, as any child that euer I bare.

At the whiche wordes Maiſter Higbed tooke her in his armes, ſaying: I reioyce (and ſo ſayd the others) to ſee you in this mynde, and you haue a good cauſe to reioyce. And his father and mother both ſayd, that they were neuer of other mynde, but prayed for him, that as he had begon to confeſſe Chriſt before men, he likewiſe might ſo continue to the end. Williams father ſayd: I was afrayd of nothing, but that my ſonne ſhould haue bene killed in the priſon for hunger and could, the Byſhop was ſo hard to him. But William confeſſed, after a moneth that his father was charged with his boord, that he lacked nothing, but had meate and clothing inough, yea euẽ out of the court, both money, meate, clothes, wood and coales, and all thynges neceſſary.

Marke here whether Bonner did nothing but by the lawe.

Thus they continued in their Inne, beyng the Swan in Burntwoode, in a Parlour, whether reſorted many people of the countrey to ſee thoſe good men which were there: & many of Williams acquaintaunce came to him, and reaſoned with him, and he with them, exhortyng them to come away from the abhomination of Papiſh ſuperſtition & Idolatry.

A notable thing concerning W. Hunters dreame

Thus paſſyng away Saterday, Sonday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dreame about ij. of the clocke in the mornyng, which was this: how that he was at ẏ place where the ſtake was pight where he ſhould be burned, which (as he thought in his dreame) was at the townes end where the Butts ſtode: which was ſo in dede. And alſo he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the ſtake, and alſo that there was a Prieſte at the ſtake, which went about to haue him recant.

To whom he ſayd (as he thought in his dreame) howe that he bad him away falſe Prophet, and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: which thinges came to paſſe in deede. It happened that William made a noyſe to hym ſelfe in his dreame, which cauſed M. Higbed and the others to awake hym out of hys ſleepe, to knowe what hee lacked. When he awaked he told them hys dreame in order as is ſayd.

W. Hunter led to the place of martyrdome.

Now when it was day, the Shrieffe M. Brocket called on to ſet forward to ẏ burnyng of William Hunter. Then came the Shrieffes ſonne to William Hunter, and embraced him in hys right arme, ſaying: William, be not afrayde of theſe men which are here preſent with bowes, bils, & weapons readye prepared to bryng you to the place where you ſhall be burned. To whom William aunſwered: I thanke God I am not afrayde, for I haue caſt my compt what it will coſt me already. Then the Shrieffes ſonne could ſpeake no more to hym for weepyng.

The Shrieffes ſonne geueth comfortable wordes to W. Hunter

Then William Hunter plucked vp his gowne, and ſtepped ouer the Parlour grounſell and went forward cherefully, the ſhiriffes ſeruant takinge hym by the arme, and I hys brother by an other, and thus going in the way, met he his father according to his dreame, and he ſpake to his ſonne weeping and ſaying, God be with thee ſonne William, and William ſayd, God be with you father, and be of a good comfort, for I hope we ſhall meet agayn when we ſhal be mery. His father ſayd, I hope ſo William and ſo departed. So W. went to the place where the ſtake ſtoode, euen accordinge to his dreame, wheras all thinges were very vnready. Then William tooke a wet broom fagot, and kneeled downe theron and read the 51. Pſalme, till he came to theſe wordes, the ſacrifice to God is a contrite ſpirit, a contrite and a brokẽ hart O God thou wilt not deſpiſe.

W. Hunters dreame verified.

His wordes to his father.

M. William Tyrell of the Beaches carpeth where he hath no cauſe.

Then ſayd M. Tirrell of the Beaches, called W. Tirell, thou lyeſt (ſayd he) thou readeſt falſe, for the wordes are an humble ſpirite. But W. ſayd the tranſlation ſayth a cõtrite hart. yea quoth M. Tirell, the tranſlation is falſe, ye tranſlate bokes as ye liſt your ſelues, like heretickes. Wel, quoth William, there is no great difference in thoſe wordes. Then ſayd the ſhiriffe, here is a letter from the Queene. If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt liue, if not thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth W. I will not recant, God willing. Then W. roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtoode vpright to it. Then came one [redacted] a Bayliffe, and made faſte the Chayne about William.

W. Hunter refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

Then ſayde M. Browne, here is not wood enough to burne a legge of him. Then ſayd William: good people pray for me: and make ſpeed and diſpatch quickly: and pray for me while ye ſee me aliue, good people, & I pray for you likewiſe.

A dogged ſaying of M. Browne.

Now quoth M. Browne, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, then I will pray for a dogge. To whom William aunſwered M. Browne: now you haue ẏ whiche you ſought for, and I pray god it be not layd to your charge in the laſt day: howbeit I forgeue you. Then ſayd maiſter Browne, I aſke no forgeuenes of thee. Well ſayd William, if God forgeue you not, I ſhall require my bloude at your handes.

An externall ſhew of Chriſtes fauour vpon W. Hunter.

Then ſayd William: Sonne of God, ſhyne vpon me, and immediatly the ſunne in ẏ element ſhone out of a darke cloud ſo full in his face, that he was conſtrayned to looke an other way: wherat the people muſed, becauſe it was ſo darke a litle tyme afore. Then William tooke vp a fagot of broome, & embraced it in his armes.

Williams dreame verified.

Then this Prieſt which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popiſh booke to carry to William, ẏ he might recant, which booke his brother would not meddle withall.

Hunters wordes to a Popiſh prieſt.

Then William ſeeing the Prieſt, and perceiuing how he woulde haue ſhewed hym the booke, ſayd: away thou falſe Prophet. Beware of them good people, and come away frõ their abominations, leſt ẏ you be partakers of their plagues. Then, quoth the Prieſt, looke howe thou burneſt here, ſo ſhalt thou burne in hel. William aunſwered, thou lyeſt, thou falſe Prophet: away thou falſe Prophet, away.

Then was there a Gentleman which ſayd, I pray god haue mercy vpon his ſoule. The people ſayd: Amen, Amen, Immediatly fire was made.

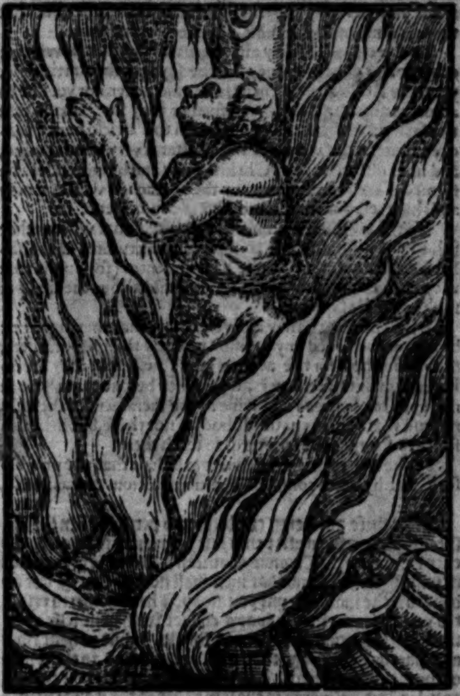
Hunter comforted by his brother Robert.

Then William caſt his Pſalter right into his brothers hand, who ſayd: William thinke on ẏ holy Paſſion of Chriſt and be not afrayd of death.

And William aunſwered: I am not afrayd. Then lift he vp his handes to heauen and ſayd, Lorde, Lorde, Lorde, receiue my ſpirite, and caſting downe his head agayne into the ſmotheryng ſmoke, hee yelded vp hys lyfe for the truth, ſealyng it with his bloud to the prayſe of God.

¶The

The burnyng of William Hunter Martyr.



The end and Martyrdome of W. Hunter. Anno. 1555. March. 26.

Now, by and by after, M. Browne commaunded one old Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, & lay him in the Stockes till hee returned from the burnyng of Higbed at Hornden on the hill, the ſame day. Whiche thyng old Hunt did. Then Maiſter Browne (when Robert Hunter came before him) aſked if he would do as his brother had dō. But Robert Hunter aunſwered: if I do as my brother hath done, I ſhall haue as he hath had. Mary (quoth Maiſter Browne) thou mayeſt be ſure of it.

Rob. Hunter ſet in the ſtockes.

Rob. Hunter had before M. Browne.

Then Maiſter Browne ſayd, I maruayle, that thy brother ſtode ſo to his tacklyng: and moreouer, aſked Robert if Williams Maiſter of London were not at his burnyng. But Robert ſayd, that he was not there: but Maiſter Browne bare hym in hād that his Maiſter was there, and how that he dyd ſee him there. but Robert denyed it. Then Maiſter Browne commaunded the Conſtable and Robert Hunter to go their wayes home, and ſo had no further talke with them.

Rob. Hunter by Gods prouidence deliuered.

¶Here followeth the hiſtory of Maiſter Higbed, and Maiſter Cauſton, two worthy Gentlemen of Eſſex, whiche for the ſincere confeſſion of their fayth vnder Boner Byſhop of London, were Martyred and burned in Eſſex.

Anno. 1555. March. 26.

March. 16. The ſtory of M. Higbed and M. Cauſton, Martyrs.

ALthough the condemnation of Maiſter Higbed and Maiſter Cauſton followed after the condemnyng of thoſe other foure Martyrs, whiche were condemned with Tomkyns and Hunter aboue mentioned, yet becauſe the tyme of their execution was before the burnyng of the foreſayd foure Martyrs, for ſo much as they ſuffered the ſame day that William Hunter did, which was the. 16. of March, I thought therefore next after the ſtory of the ſayd William Hunter, followyng the order of tyme, here to place the ſame.

This Maiſter Higbed and Maiſter Cauſton, two worſhypfull Gentlemen in the County of Eſſex, the one at Hornden of the hill, the other of the Pariſhe of Thunderſt, beyng zealous and religious in the true ſeruice of God, as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, ſo in tyme of blynd ſuperſtition & wretched Idolatry, they could not long lye hyd and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignaūt aduerſaries, accuſers, and ſeruauntes of this world, but at length they were perceaued and detected to the foreſayd Edmund Boner Byſhop of London, peraduenture not without the ſame organe whiche ſent vp William Hunter, as is aboue declared. By reaſon wherof, by commaundement they were committed to the officers of Colcheſter to be ſafely kept, and with them alſo a ſeruaunt of Thomas Cauſton, who in this prayſe of Chriſtian godlyneſ, was nothyng inferiour to his Maiſter.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſton detected to B. Boner.

Boner the foreſayd Byſhop, perceiuyng theſe ij. Gentlemē to be of worſhypfull eſtate, and of great eſtimatiō in that countrey, leſt any tumult ſhould thereby aryſe, came thether himſelfe, accompanyed with M. Fecknam and certaine other, thinkyng to reclayme them to his faction and faſhion: ſo that great labour & diligence was takē therein, as well by terrours and threatnynges, as by large promiſes and flatteryng, and all fayre meanes, to reduce them agayne to the vnitie (as they termed it) of the mother church.

B. Boner commeth himſelfe to Colcheſter.

In fine, when nothyng could preuayle to make them aſſent to their doynges, at length they came to this poynt, that they required certaine reſpite to conſult with themſelues what were beſt to do. Whiche tyme of deliberation beyng expired, and they remaynyng ſtill conſtaunt and vnmoueable in their profeſſed doctrine, and ſettyng out alſo their confeſſiō in wrytyng, the Byſhop ſeyng no good to be done in taryyng any longer there, departed thence and caried them both with him to London, and with them certaine other priſoners alſo, whiche about the ſame tyme in thoſe quarters were apprehended.

M. Higbed and M. Cauſtō caryed to London.

It was not long after this, but theſe priſoners beyng at London committed to ſtraite priſon, and there attempted ſundry wiſe by the Byſhop and his Chaplens to reuoke their opiniōs: at length, when no perſwaſions would ſerue, they were brought forth to open examination at the Conſiſtory in Paules, the. xvij. day of February. an. 1555. Where they were demaunded aſwell by the ſayd Biſhop, as alſo by the Byſhop of Bath & others, whether they would recant their errours & peruerſe doctrine (as they termed it) and ſo come to the vnitie of the Popiſh Church. Which whē they refuſed to doe, the Byſhop aſſigned them likewiſe the next day to appeare agayne, beyng the xviij. of February.

The firſt dayes Seſſion.

On the whiche day, among many other thynges there ſayd and paſſed, he read vnto them ſeuerally certaine Articles, and gaue them reſpite vntill the next day, to aunſwere vnto the ſame, and ſo cōmitted them agayne to priſon. The copy of which Articles here vnder followeth.

The ſecōd dayes Seſſion.

Articles obiected and miniſtred by Boner B. of Lond. ſeuerally againſt Tho. Cauſton, and Thomas Higbed of Eſſex.

Articles layd by B. Boner to M. Higbed and M. Cauſton.

FIrſt, that thou Thomas Cauſton (or Thomas Higbed) haſt bene and art of the Dioces of London, and alſo of the iuriſdiction now of me Edmund Byſhop of London.

Item, that thou was in tyme paſt, accordyng to the order of the Church of England, baptiſed and chriſtened.

Item, that thou haddeſt Godfathers and Godmother, accordyng to the ſayd order.

Item, that the ſayd Godfathers and Godmother did thē promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the fayth and religiō, that then was vſed in the Realme of England.

Item, that that fayth and Religion, which they did profeſſe, and make for thee, was accompted and taken to be the faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Chriſten people: and ſo was it in very deede.

Item, thou commyng to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the age of xiiij. yeares, diddeſt not miſlyke nor diſallow that fayth, that Religion, or promiſe then vſed and approued, and promiſed by the ſayd Godfathers and Godmother, but for a tyme diddeſt continue in it, as other (takyng themſelues for Chriſten people) did likewiſe.

Item, that at that tyme, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the Churche, Catholicke and true, and euery where in Chriſtēdome thē allowed for Catholicke & true, and to be the profeſſion of a Chriſten mā, to beleue that in the Sacrament of the aulter, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, after the cōſecration, there was and is, by the omnipotent power and wil of almighty God, and his word, without any ſubſtaunce of bread and wine there remaynyng, the true and naturall body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt in ſubſtaunce, which was borne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered vpon the Croſſe, really, truely, and in very deede.

The reall preſence.

Item, that at that tyme thy father and mother, all thyne aūceſtors, all thy kindred, acquaintaūce and frendes, and thy ſayd Godfathers and Godmother did then ſo beleue, and thinke in all the ſame, as the ſayd Church did therin beleue.

Item, that thy ſelfe haſt had no iuſt cauſe or lawfull grounde, to departe or ſwarue from the ſayd Religion or fayth, nor no occaſiō at all, except thou wilt follow and beleue the erroneous opinion or belief, that hath bene agaynſt the common order of the Churche, brought in by certaine diſordred perſons of late, and at the vttermoſt within theſe xxx. or xl. yeares laſt paſt.

Item, that thou doeſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleue that D. Robert Barnes, Iohn Frith, Tho. Garterd, Hierome, Laſſels, Anne Aſkew, Iohn Hooper, late Bi-

An. 1555. March.

Alſo Syr Edmund Boner Prieſt before the death of Cromwell, ſeemed to be of the opinion and was ſworne twiſe agaynſt the Pope.

ſhop of Glouceſter, ſir Laurence Saunders Prieſt, Iohn Bradford, ſir Iohn Rogers Prieſt, ſir Rowland Taylour Prieſt, ſir Iohn Laurence Prieſt, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkyns, and Thomas Hawkes haue bene heretofore reputed, taken, and accoumpted as heretickes, and alſo condemned as heretickes, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly: ſpecially in holdyng and beleuyng certaine damnable opinions, agaynſt the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, and all the ſame perſons, (ſauyng Iohn Bradford, Syr Iohn Laurence, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkyns, and Thomas Hawkes, haue ſuffered paynes of death by fire, for the mayntenaũce and defence of their ſayd opinions and miſbeliefe.

Item, that thou doeſt know, or credibly haſt heard and doeſt beleue that Thomas Cranmer late Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himſelfe Byſhop of Lõdon, Robert Ferrar late Biſhop of S. Dauies, and Hugh Latymer, ſometyme Byſhop of Worceſter. haue bene, and are at this preſent reputed, accoumpted and taken as heretickes, and miſbeleuers in mayntaining and holdyng certaine damnable opiniõs, agaynſt the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Hereſy taken for hereſie of miſbeleuing heretickes.

Item, that thou haſt commended and prayſed all the ſayd perſons, ſo erryng and beleuyng (or at the leaſt wiſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and beleuing them to be faythfull and Catholicke people, and their ſayd opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and vttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maynteined, and defended at ſundry tymes.

Item, that thou, hauyng heard, knowen, and vnderſtanded all the premiſſes, thus to bee as is aforeſayd, haſt not regarded all or any parte thereof, but contrary to the ſame and euery parte thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemnyng, tranſgreſſing, and breakyng that promiſe, fayth, religion, order, and cuſtome aforeſayd: and haſt becommen, and art an hereticke and miſbeleuer in the premiſſes, denying the veritie of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, and obſtinately affirmyng, that the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne are there remaynyng, and that the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud taken of the virgine Mary, are not there in the ſayd Sacrament, really and truely beyng.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that vppon all the ſame, there haue and be amõgeſt the ſad and good people of the Citie of London and Dioces of the ſame in great multitude, commonly and publickely, a common and publicke fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt bene, within the ſayd Dioces of London.

☞ These Articles beyng geuen to them in wrytyng by the Byſhop, the next day folowyng was aſſigned to them to geue vp and to exhibite their aunſweres vnto the ſame.

¶ The third dayes Seſsion vpon the examination of M. Cauſton and M. Higbed.

The thyrd dayes ſeſsion.

Vpon the which day beyng the firſt day of March, the ſayd Thomas Cauſton, and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen beyng brought before the Byſhop in the Conſiſtory, there exhibited their aunſweres to the Articles aforeſayd: the tenour of which aunſweres here foloweth.

¶ The aunſweres of Tho. Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, ſeuerally made to the foreſayd Articles obiected, as before.

The anſweres of the Martyrs to the Articles.

To the firſt, they aũſwere and confeſſe the ſame to be true.

To the ſecõd, they aũſwere & beleue the ſame to be true.

To the third, they aũſwere & beleue the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they aũſwere & thinke the ſame to be true.

To the fift, vnto this clauſe (and ſo was it in very deede) they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to bee true. And vnto that clauſe (and ſo was it in very deede) they aunſwere negatiuely, and beleue that it was not in very deede.

To the ſixt, ſeuenth, and eight, they aunſwere and beleue the ſame to be true.

To the nynth they aunſwere and ſay, that they thinke they haue a iuſt and lawfull cauſe and groũd to ſwarue and go from the ſayd fayth and Religiõ, becauſe they haue now read more of Scripture, then either themſelues, or their Parentes and kinſfolke, Godfathers or Godmothers haue read or ſene heretofore in that behalfe.

To the tenth, they aũſwere, ſay, and beleue, that the ſayd perſons articulate, haue bene named, taken, and counted for heretickes, and ſo condemned for heretickes: yet about three yeares paſt, they were taken for good Chriſtian perſonnes. And for ſomuch as theſe Reſpondẽtes did euer heare them preach concerning the ſacrament of the aultar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſayd & preached that chriſt is not preſent really and truely in the ſayd ſacramẽt, but that there is remaynyng the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

To the eleuenth, they aunſwere and ſay, that howſoeuer other folkes do repute and take the ſayd perſons articulate, yet theſe Reſpondentes them ſelues did neuer, nor yet doe ſo accompt and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſayd perſons articulate named in this article haue preached that in the ſacrament of the altar is very natural wine, and not the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread and wine, then they preached well & truely and theſe reſpondentes themſelues do ſo beleeue.

To the twelfe they aunſwere and ſay, that where other folke haue diſpraiſed the ſayd perſons articulate, and diſallowed their opinions, theſe Reſpondentes (for ought that they at any time haue heard) did like and allow the ſaid perſons, and their ſayinges.

To the thirteenth they anſwere & ſay, that they haue not broken or condẽned any promiſe made by their Godfathers, & Godmothers for thẽ at their baptiſme, & that they are no heretickes nor miſbeleeuers, in that they beleue that there remayneth onely bread and wine in the ſacrament of the aultar, and that Chriſts naturall body is not there, but in heauẽ for they ſay that the ſcriptures ſo teach them.

To the fourteen they anſwere & beleue that the premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious & manifeſt.

After theſe anſweres exhibited and peruſed, then the B. ſpeaking vnto them after thys ſort, beginneth firſt (as he did euer before) with Thomas Cauſton. Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſodenly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I goe about to ſeeke ſnares to put you away, I haue hetherto reſpited you, that you ſhould way & cõſider with your ſelfe, your ſtate and condition, and that you ſhould, while ye haue time and ſpace, acknowledge the truth, and returne to the vnity of the catholick church. Then the B. reading their former articles and anſweres to the ſame, aſked thẽ if they would recant, which when they denied, they were agayn diſmiſſed, and commaunded to appeare the wenſday next after, at two of the clock at after noone, there to receaue their diffinitiue ſentence agaynſt them: which thing (as it ſeemeth) was yet differred.

A copy of Catholicke charitye ſhewed.

¶ An other examination of M. Cauſton and Maiſter Higbed.

An other examination. This Stepe is now Warden of the Colledge in Wincheſter.

M. Cauſton denyeth to recant.

The next Friday, being the eight day of March, the ſayd Thomas Cauſton was firſt called to examinatiõ before the Biſhop, Fecknam and D. Stempe, in hys Pallace, and there had read vnto him his foreſayde articles with hys anſweres therunto, & after certain exhortations to recant hys former profeſſion, & to be conformable to the vnity of theire church, they promiſed hym (ſo doyng) willinglye to receaue him againe therunto. To whõ he aũſwered, you goe about to catch vs in ſnares & ginnes: But marke by what meaſure ye meaſure vs, looke you to be meaſured with ỹ ſame againe at Gods handes. The Biſhop ſtill perſwaded with hym to recant: To whom he aunſwered, no, I will not abiure. ye ſayd that the Biſhops that were lately burned, bee Heretickes: But I pray God make mee ſuche an Hereticke as they were.

The Biſhop then leauing M. Cauſton, called forth M. Higbed, vſing with him the like perſwaſions, that they did with the other. But he anſwered, I will not abiure. For I haue beene of this minde and opinion that I am now, theſe 16. yeares, and do what ye can, ye ſhal do no more then God will permit you to do: & with what meaſure ye meaſure vs looke for the ſame agayn at Gods handes.

M. Hygbed called forth denyeth to abiure.

Then Fecknam aſked him hys opinion in the ſacramẽt of the altar. To whom he aunſwered: I doe not beleue that Chriſt is in the Sacrament as ye will haue hym, which is of mans making.

M. Fecknã ſtill buſie wyth matter of the Sacrament.

Both their anſweres thus ſeuerally made, they were agayn commaunded to depart for that time, & to appeare the next day in the conſiſtory at Paules, between the houres of one and three of the clock at after noone.

¶ The laſt appearaunce of M. Cauſton, and M. Higbed, before Boner.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed appeare againe before the Byſhop.

At which day and houre, being the nynth day of march, they were both brought thether: where the Biſhoppe cauſed Maiſter Thomas Cauſtons articles and anſweres firſt to be read openly, and after perſwaded with hym to recant and abiure his hereticall opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their Mother the Catholick Church, and ſaue him ſelfe.

1555. March.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed do exhibite a confeſſion of their faith.

But maiſter Thomas Cauſton anſwered againe, and ſaid: No, I wyl not abiure. For I came not hither to that purpoſe: and therwithal he did exhibite in writing vnto the Biſhop (as wel in his owne name, as alſo in Thom. Higbeds name) a confeſſion of their faith, to the whiche they would ſtand: and required leaue to reade the ſame, whiche (after great ſuite) was obteined, and ſo he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as foloweth.

☞ The confeſſion and faith of Thomas Cauſton and Tho. Hygbed, which they deliuered to the Biſhop of Londō, before the Mayor and Sheriffes, and in the preſence of all the people there aſſembled. Anno. 1555. the. 9. of March, & were cōdēned for the ſame in the ſayd Conſiſtorie in Paules Church, the yeare and day abouesaid.

The confeſſion of M. Cauſton.

Abrenouncing of the world.

1 First, we beleue and profeſſe in Baptiſme, to forſake the Deuyll and his workes & pompes, and yͤ vanities of the wicked worlde, with all the ſinfull luſtes of the fleſhe.

The Articles of the Creede

2 We beleue al the articles of our Chriſtian faith.

The commaundementes.

3 We beleue that we are bound to keepe Gods holy wyl and commaundementes, & to walke in the ſame al the dayes of our life.

The Lordes prayer.

4 We beleue that there is conteyned in the Lords prayer al thinges neceſſary both for body and ſoule, and that we are taught therby to pray to our heauenly father, and to none other ſaint or angell.

The Catholicke church.

5 We beleue that there is a Catholike Church, euen the Communion of Saintes, Built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles (as ſaint Paul ſaith) Chriſt being the head corner ſtone. For the which Church Chriſt gaue hym ſelfe, to make it to hym ſelfe a glorious congregation, without fault in his ſight.

The Church of it ſelfe is ſinfull by imputation. righteous.

6 We beleue that this Church, of her ſelfe, and by her owne merites is ſinfull, and muſt needes ſay: Father, forgeue vs our ſinnes: but through Chriſte and his merites, ſhee is freely forgeuen: For he in his owne perſon (ſaith ſaint Paul) hath purged her ſinnes, and made her faultles in his ſight. Beſides whom there is no Saueour (ſayth the Prophete) neither is there ſaluation (ſaith ſaint Peter) in any other name.

Chriſt onely our mediatour.

7 We beleue, as he is our onely Saueour, ſo is he our onely Mediatour. For the holy Apoſtle ſaint Paul ſayth: There is one God, one Mediatour betwene God and man, euen the man Ieſus Chriſt. Wherfore ſeeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jeſus Chriſt, therfore there is no Mediator, but Jeſus Chriſt.

The condition of the Church to be perſecuted

8 We beleue that this Churche of Chriſt is and hath bene perſecuted, by the woordes of Chriſt, ſaying: As they haue perſecuted me, ſo ſhal they perſecute you: For the diſciple is not aboue his maiſter. For it is not only geuen vnto you to beleue in Chriſt (ſaith ſaint Paul) but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that wyll liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

The Church onely is directed by Gods word neyther adding nor taking fro.

9 We beleue that the Churche of Chriſte teacheth the woorde of God truely and ſincerely, puttyng nothing to, nor taking any thing fro: and alſo doth miniſter the ſacramentes according to the Primitiue Church.

The true church forbiddeth none to reade the ſcriptures.

10 We beleue that this Churche of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to reade the Scriptures, according to Chriſtes commaundement, ſaying: Searche the Scriptures: for they teſtifie of me. We reade alſo out of the Actes, that when ſaint Paul preached, the audience dayly ſearched the ſcriptures, whether he preached truely or no. Alſo yͤ Prophet Dauid teacheth al men to pray & vnderſtanding: For how ſhal the vnlearned (ſaith ſaint Paul) ſay, Amen, at the geuyng of thanks, when they vnderſtand not what is ſaid? And what is more allowed, then true fayth, which ſaint Paul ſayth, commeth by hearing of the word of God?

God onely to be worſhipped after his word.

11 We beleeue, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth that God ought to be worſhipped accordyng to his woorde, and not after the doctrine of men: For in vaine (ſaith Chriſt) ye worſhip me, teaching nothyng but the doctrine of men.

Gods preceptes to be folowed, and not the conſtitutions of men.

Alſo we are commaunded of God by his prophete, ſaying: Walke not in the traditions and preceptes of your Elders: but walke (ſaith he) in my preceptes: do that I commaunde you: put nothing therunto, neither take any thyng from it. Likewiſe (ſaith Chriſt) you ſhal forſake father and mother, and folowe me. Wherby we learne, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe then God cōmaunded, in that point we muſt forſake them.

The Lordes ſupper is not to be chaunged from the inſtitution of Chriſt.

12 We beleue that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and chaunged, for as much as Chriſt hym ſelf being the wiſedome of the Father, dyd inſtitute it. For it is written: Curſed is he that chaungeth my ordinaunces, and departeth from my Commaundements, or taketh any thing from them.

The Lordes ſupper how many wayes it is abuſed.

Nowe, we find by the ſcriptures, that this holy ſupper is ſore abuſed.

First, in that it is geuen in one kynd, where Chriſt gaue it in both.

The ſecond abuſe

Secondly, in that it is made a priuate Maſſe, where Chriſte made it a Communion: for he gaue it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles, in the name of the whole Churche.

The thyrd abuſe

Thirdly, in that it is made a ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead, wheras Chriſt ordeyned it for a remembraunce of the euerlaſting ſacrifice, which was his owne body offered vpon the aultar of the Croſſe once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſaith: Euen the ful and perfect pryce of our redemption: and where there is remiſſion of ſinne (ſaith he) there is no more ſacrifice for ſinne.

The 4. abuſe.

Fourthly, in that it is worſhipped contrary to the commaundement, ſaying: Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with handes.

The 5. abuſe.

Fiftly, in that it is geuen in an vnknowen tongue, wherby the people are ignorant of the right vſe therof, how Chriſt dyed for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our iuſtification, by whom we be ſet at peace with God, and receiued to his fauour and mercy by his promiſe, wherof this ſacrament is a ſure ſeale and witnes.

The 6. abuſe.

Beſides this, it is hanged vp and ſhut in a boxe: yea many tymes ſo long, that wormes breedeth in it, and ſo it putrifieth: wherby yͤ rude people haue an occaſion to ſpeake vnreuerently therof, whiche otherwiſe woulde ſpeake reuerently.

Therof they that thus abuſe it, bring vp the ſclaunder and not we, whiche pray dayly to God to reſtore it to the right vſe, according to Chriſtes inſtitution.

Chriſtes wordes Hoc eſt corpus meum, not denyed, but expounded.

Nowe, concerning Chriſtes wordes: This is my body, we deny thē not, but we ſay, that yͤ mynd of Chriſt in thē muſt be ſearched out by other open ſcriptures, wherby we may come to the ſpirituall vnderſtanding of them, whiche ſhal be moſte to the glory of God. For as the holy Apoſtle ſaith: There is no ſcripture that hath any priuate interpretation. Beſides this, the ſcriptures are ful of the like figuratiue ſpeaches: as for example, Chriſt ſaith: This cup is the newe Teſtament in my bloud. The rocke is Chriſte, (ſaith ſaint Paul.) Who ſoeuer receyueth a childe in my name (ſaith our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt) receyueth me.

The phraſe of ſcripture expounded by other phraſes.

Which ſentences muſt not be vnderſtand after the letter, leſt we do erre, as the Capernaites dyd, which thought that Chriſtes body ſhould haue ben eaten with their teeth, when he ſpake of the eating therof. Unto whom Chriſte ſaid: Suche a fleſhly eating of my body profiteth nothyng: it is the ſpirite (ſaith our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt) that quickeneth: the fleſhe profiteth nothyng: for my woordes are ſpirite and life.

The wordes of the ſacrament ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not litterally.

Thus we ſee that Chriſtes woordes muſt be vnderſtanded ſpiritually, and not litterally. Therfore he that commeth to this worthy ſupper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his Jawe, but his hart: neither Tooth nor Belly: but Beleue (ſaith S. Auguſtine) and thou haſt eaten it: ſo that we muſt bring with vs a ſpirituall hunger. And as the Apoſtle ſaith: Trye and examine our ſelues, whether our conſcience do teſtifie vnto vs, that we do truely beleue in Chriſte, according to the Scriptures: whereof if we be truely certified, being new borne from our old conuerſation in hart, mynd, wyl, and dede, then may we boldly with this mariage garment of faith come to the feaſt.

Chriſt is to be eaten ſpiritually.

The ſubſtance of bread not chaunged.

In conſideration whereof we haue inuincyble Scriptures, as of Chriſt him ſelfe: This do in the remembraunce of me. And S. Paul: As often (ſaith he) as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye ſhall remember the Lordes death vntyll he come. Here is no chaunge, but bread ſtyll. And ſ. Luke affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a iuſt promiſe ſaying: Me you ſhall not haue alwayes with you. I leaue the world, and go to my father: for if I ſhould not depart, the comforter which I wyl ſende, can not come vnto you. So according to his promiſe he is aſcended: as the Euangeliſtes teſtifie. Alſo ſaint Peter ſaith: That heauen ſhal keepe hym vntyl the laſt day alſo.

Chriſtes body but in one place at once.

Nowe, as touching his omnipotent power, we confeſſe & ſay w S. Auguſtine, that Chriſt is both God & man. In that he is God, he is euery where: but in that he is man, he is in heauen, and can occupie but one place: whereunto the Scriptures dooth agree. For his body was not in al places at once, when he was here: for it was not in the graue when the women ſought it, as the Angel ſaith: neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Chriſtes owne wordes, ſaying: I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the ſcriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy ſupper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in al them that worthily receyue it, and corporally in heauen, both God and man.

Their proteſtation.

And further, we make here our proteſtation before God (whom we call to recorde in this matter) that this whiche we haue ſaid, is neither of ſtubbornnes nor wylful mynde) as ſome iudge of vs: but euen of very conſcience, truely (we truſt) grounded in Gods holy worde. For before we tooke this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottome of our hartes, that we might doo nothing contrary to his holy and bleſſed word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his power in our weaknes, we cā not worthily prayſe him: vnto whom we geue harty thanks, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed conſtant to death in their confeſſion.

When he had thus deliuered and read their confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtil perſiſting ſometime in fayre promiſes, ſometyme threatning to pronounce iudgement, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their confeſſion and other anſweares? To whom Cauſton ſaid, yea, we wyl ſtande to our anſweares written with our handes, and to our beliefe therin conteyned. After which anſweare the Biſhop began to pronounce ſentence againſt hym.

M. Cauſton appealeth to the Cardinall.

Then he ſaid, that it was much raſhnes, and without al loue and mercy, to geue iudgement, without anſwearing to theire confeſſion by the truth of Gods word, whereunto they ſubmitted them ſelues moſt willingly. And therfore I, quoth Cauſton (becauſe I can not haue iuſtice at your hande, but that ye wyll thus raſhly condemne me) doo appeale from you to my Lord Cardinal.

D. Smyth ready to anſwere their confeſſion, but could not be ſuffered.

Then D. Smith ſaid, that he woulde anſweare their confeſſion. But the Biſhop (not ſuffering hym to ſpeake) wylled Harpſfielde to ſay his mynd, for the ſtay of the people: who taking their confeſſion in his hande, neither touched nor anſweared one ſentence therof.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt M. Cauſton and M. Higbed.

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced ſentence, firſt againſt the ſaid Thomas Cauſton, and then callyng Thomas Higbed, cauſed his articles and anſweares likewiſe to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed ſaid: ye ſpeake blaſphemie agaynſt Chriſtes Paſſion, and ye goe about to trap vs with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinſfolke did beleue as you ſay, yet they were deceiued in ſo beleuyng.

And further, where you ſay, that my lord, named Cranmer (late Archbiſhop of Canterbury) and other ſpecified in the ſayd articles be heretikes: I do wiſhe that I were ſuch an heretike as they were and be. Then the Biſhop aſked hym againe, whether he would turne from his error, and come to the vnitie of their church? To whom he ſaid, No, I would ye ſhould recant, for I am in the truth, and you in errour.

Wel, quoth the Biſhop, if ye wyl returne, I wil gladly receyue you.

No, ſaid Higbed, I wyll not returne as you wyll haue me, to beleue in the ſacrament of the altar your God.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed condemned and ſent to Newgate.

Wherupon the Biſhop proceeded, and gaue iudgement vpon hym, as he had done before vpon Tho. Cauſton. Whē al this was thus ended, they were both deliuered to yͤ Sheriffes, and ſo by them ſent to Newgate, where they remained by the ſpace of. xiiij. dayes, prayſed be God, not ſo much in afflictions, as in conſolations.

For the encreaſe wherof, they earneſtly deſired al their good brethren and ſiſtern in Chriſt to pray, that God for his ſonnes ſake woulde goe forth with that great mercye, which alredy he had begon in them, ſo that they might perſeuer vnto the ende, to the prayſe of the eternal God, & comfort of al their brethren.

M. Cauſton and M. Higbed brought from Newgate into Eſſex.

March. 26.

The conſtant Martyrdoms of M. Thomas Cauſton, and M. Higbed Martyrs.

Theſe. xiiij. dayes (after their condemnation) once expired, they were the. xxiij. day of this moneth of March, fetched from Newgate at foure of the clocke in the mornyng, and ſo led through the citie vnto Algate, where they were deliuered vnto the Sheriffe of Eſſex, and there being faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeuerall appoynted places of burning: that is to ſay, Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the hyll, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly (both in the Coūtrie of Eſſex) where they did moſt conſtantly, the. xxvi. day of the ſame moneth, ſeale this their fayth with ſhedding of their bloud by moſt cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great reioyſing of the godly.

At the burnyng of whiche Maſter Higbed. Iuſtice Browne was alſo preſent, as is aboue ſpecified, and diuers Gentlemen in the ſhiere were commaunded to be preſent, for feare belike, leaſt they ſhould be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehenſion, examination, confeſſion, cōdemnation, and burnyng of theſe two godly and conſtant martyrs of God.

William Pigot, Steuen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, vvith their examinations and conſtant martyrdome.

March. 28.

William Pigot, Steuen Knight, Iohn Laurence, Martyrs.

IN the Storie before of Thomas Tomkyns and his felowes, mentiō was made of ſixe, whiche were examined & cōdemned together, by Biſhop Boner, the nynth daye of February. Of the which ſixe condemned perſons, two, which were Tomkyns, and William Hunter, (as ye heard) were executed, the one vpon the. 26. of Februarye, the other vpon the. 16. of March. Other three, to wyt, William Pigot and Steuen Knight ſuffred vpon the eight and twenty day, and Iohn Laurence the nine and twenty of the ſayd moneth of march.

Touchyng the which three Martyrs, nowe ſomthyng to ſaye of their examinations, it was firſte demaunded of them, what their opinion was of the ſacrament of the Aultar. Whereunto they ſeuerally anſweared, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the ſacramēt of the altar, vnder formes of bread and wine there is not the very ſubſtance of the body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, but a ſpiritual partakyng of the bodye and bloud of Chriſte: the very body and bloud of Chriſt beyng onely in heauen, and no where els. This anſweare thus made, the Biſhop cauſed certaine articles to be read vnto them, tending to the ſame effectes as did the articles before of Tomkyns and of M. Cauſton. The tenor wherof here foloweth.

¶ Articles or interrogatories obiected by the Biſhop of London, to William Pigot, Steuen Knight, and Iohn Laurence, the eight of February. 1555.

Articles obiected to W. Pigot and his felowes.

WHether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleue that it is a catholicke, faythful, chriſtian, and true doctrine, to teache, preach and ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar, vnder the formes of bread and wine, there is without any ſubſtaunce of bread and wine there remaynyng, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed the true and naturall body and bloud of our ſauyour Ieſus Chriſt, the ſelfe ſame in ſubſtance (though not in outward forme & appearance) which was borne of the Virgine Mary, and ſuffred vpon the croſſe, yea, or nay?

Beliefe of their forefathers.

Whether doe you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleeue, that your Parents, Kinſfolke, Frends, and Acquaintance, here in thys Realm of England, before your Birth a great while, and alſo after your Birth, profeſſing and beleeuing the ſayde Doctrine and Faythe, concerning the ſayde Sacrament of the aultar, had a true Chriſtiā fayth, and were faithfull and true chriſten people, or no?

Beliefe of their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Whether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleue that youre Godfathers and Godmother, profeſſing and beleeuing the ſayd Doctrine and Fayth, concerning the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, had a true chriſten faith, and were faithfull and true chriſten people or no?

Beliefe of their young age.

Whether do you thinke and ſtedfaſtly beleeue that your own ſelfe in tymes paſt, being of the age of 14. yeares, and aboue, did thinke and beleue concernyng the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar in all poyntes, as your ſaid parentes, kinſfolke, frends, acquaintāce, godfathers, and godmother did then thinke and beleue therin, or no?

Whether do you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleue, that our ſoueraignes the King, and the Queene of this Realme of Englande, and all the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laitie of this Realme, profeſſing and beleuyng the ſayd doctrine & fayth, as other Chriſtian Realmes doo, concernyng the ſaide ſacrament of the altar, haue a true chriſtian fayth, and beleue as the Catholike and true Church of Chriſt hath alwayes beleued, preached, and taught, or no?

Beliefe of the King, Queene, and the Nobilitie.

Whether doo you thinke, and ſtedfaſtly beleue that our ſauiour Chriſt and his holy ſpirite hath bene, is, and ſhalbe with his Catholike Church, euen to the worldes ende, gouernyng and rulyng the ſame in all thinges, eſpecially in the neceſſary poyntes of Chriſtian Religion, not ſuffering the ſame to erre or to be deceyued therin?

Beliefe of the pretenſed Catholicke Church.

The reall preſence and tranſubſtantiation.

Whether it is true that you, being ſuſpected, or infamed, to be culpable, and fautye in ſpeakyng agaynſt the ſacramente of the Aultare, and againſt the very true preſence of Chriſtes natural body, and the ſubſtaunce therof in the ſayde Sacramente, and thereupon called before me vpon complaint made to me againſte you, haue not bene a good ſpace in my houſe, hauyng freely meate and drinke, and alſo diuers tymes inſtructed and informed, as well by one beyng our Ordinarye, as alſo by my Chaplaynes and diuers other learned men, ſome whereof were Biſhoppes, ſome Deanes, and ſome Archdeacons, and euery one of them learned in diuinitie, and myndyng well vnto you, and

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deſiring the ſafegard of your ſoule, & that you ſhould folowe and beleue the doctrine of the Catholike Church as afore, concernyng the ſaide ſacrament of the aultar, and whether you dyd not at al tymes ſince your ſaid commyng to me, vtterly refuſe to folow and beleue the ſaid doctrine, concerning the ſaid ſacrament?

Whether can you nowe finde in your hart and conſcience to conforme your ſelfe in all poyntes to the ſayde fayth and Catholique Churche concernyng the ſayde Sacrament of the aultar, faithfully, truely, and plainely, without any diſſimulation, beleeuing therin as our ſaide ſoueraignes, with the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laitie, of this Realme, and other Chriſtian Realmes, and other perſons afore ſaid, and alſo the ſaid Catholike Church haue, and do beleue in that behalfe?

In caſe you ſo can not, what ground haue you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion with you, and what conference you haue had therin with any, what comfort alſo and what reliefe haue you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and ſurnames, and their dwelling place?

Their anſweares to theſe articles were not much diſcrepant from Tomkyns, and other like Martyrs aboue mentioned, as here foloweth to be ſeene.

The aunſweare of Steuen Knight, and William Pigot, to the aforeſayde Articles.

Anſweres to the Articles aforeſayd.

TO the firſt article, they beleue that the contentes of this article, is not agreeable to ſcripture.

To the ſecond, they anſweare and beleue, that their parentes and other expreſſed in the ſaid article, ſo beleuyng, as is conteyned in the ſame, were deceiued.

To the thirde, they anſweare, that they ſo beleued: but they were deceiued therin, as they now beleue.

To the fourth, they ſay, that they haue heretofore beleued as is conteined in the ſaid article, but now they do not ſo beleue.

To the fift, they ſay, that if they ſo beleue, they are deceyued.

To the ſixt, they beleue the ſame to be true.

To the ſeuēth, they anſweare and beleeue the contentes of the ſame to be true.

To the eyght, they aunſweare, that they can no whyt conforme them ſelues to the fayth and doctrine contayned and ſpecified in this article, vntyl it be proued by Scripture.

To the nynth, they ſaye, that they haue no grounde to maintaine their ſaid opinions, but the truth, which (as they ſay) hath bene perſwaded by learned men, as D. Taylor of Hadley, and ſuch other.

Theſe anſweares beyng made and exhibited, they were commaunded to appeare againe the next day, at eight of the clocke in the mornyng, and in the meane while to bethinke them ſelues what they woulde doo.

An other appearaunce of the ſayde pryſoners before Boner.

An other appearaunce.

THe next daye in the mornyng, being the nynth daye of Februarye, before their open appearaunce, the Biſhop ſent for William Pigot, and Steuen Knight, into his great chamber in his Pallace, where he perſwaded with them to recant, and denye their former profeſſion.

Who anſweared, that they were not perſwaded in their conſciences to returne and abiure their opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkyns, and William Hunter afore named) brought openly into the Conſiſtorie, the nynth day of Februarye aforeſayde, and there had the ſame articles propounded vnto them, which were before propounded vnto the foreſayde Thomas Tomkyns (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his hiſtorie) and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe wordes: I doo ſo beleue.

Talke betwet Boner & John Laurence Prieſt. John Laurence ſometimes a frier

The Biſhop alſo vſed certaine talke vnto John Laurence onely. Whereunto he aunſweared in this manner: That he was a Prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a Prieſt about eighteene yeares paſt, and that he was ſometime a Blacke Fryer profeſſed: that alſo he was aſſured vnto a mayde, whom he entended to haue maryed.

And beyng agayne demaunded his opinion vppon the Sacramēt, he ſaid, that it was a remembraunce of Chriſtes bodye, and that many haue bene deceyued in the beleeuyng the true bodye of Chriſte to be in the Sacramente of the Aultar, and that all ſuche as doo not beleue as he dooth, do erre. After this talke and other fayre wordes and threatnynges, they were all of them commaunded to appeare agayne at after noone.

The thyrde and laſte appearaunce.

The third and laſt appearaunce.

AT the whiche houre they came thyther agayne, and there after the accuſtomed maner, were exhorted to recant and reuoke their doctrine, and receyue the fayth. To the whiche they conſtauntly aunſweared, they woulde not, but woulde ſticke to that fayth that they had declared and ſubſcribed vnto, for that they dyd beleue that it was no errour which they beleeued, but that the contrary therof was verye hereſie.

Steuen knight, William Pigot, and John Laurence, condēned. John Laurence diſgraded. Steuen knight burned at Mauldon W. Pigot at Braintrey.

When the Biſhop ſawe that neyther his fayre flatterynges, nor yet his cruell threatnynges woulde preuayle, he gaue them ſeuerally their iudgementes. And becauſe John Laurence had bene one of their annoynted prieſtes, he was by the Biſhop there (accordyng to their order) ſolemnely diſgraded: the maner wherof you may ſee in the hiſtorie of maſter Hooper afore paſſed, pag. 1435.

Their ſentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed vnto the cuſtodie of the Sheriffes of London, who ſent thē vnto Newgate, where they remayned with ioy together, vntyll they were carryed downe into Eſſex, and there the. xxviij. day of March, the ſaide William Pigot was burned at Braintree, & Steuen Knight at Mauldon, who at the ſtake kneelyng vpon the ground, ſaide this prayer whiche here foloweth.

The prayer that Steuen Knyght ſayde at his death vppon his knees, beyng at the ſtake, at Mauldon.

A Godly prayer of Steuē knight at his Martyrdome.

O Lorde Ieſu Chriſte, for whoſe loue I leaue willyngly this life, and deſire rather the bytter death of his Croſſe with the loſſe of all earthly thinges, then to abyde the blaſphemie of thy moſt holy name, or to obey mē in breaking thy holye Commaundemente: thou ſeeſt O Lorde, that where I might liue in worldly wealth to woorſhip a falſe God, and honour thyne enemie, I choſe rather the tormente of this bodye, and the loſſe of this my life, and haue counted all thinges but vile, duſte, and doung, that I might wynne thee: whiche death is dearer vnto me, then thouſandes of golde and ſyluer. Suche loue, O Lord, haſt thou layde vp in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Sende thy holye comforter O Lorde, to ayde, comforte, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is emptie of all ſtrength of it ſelfe. Thou remembreſt, O Lorde, that I am but duſte, and able to doo nothing that is good. Therfore, O Lorde, as of thine accuſtomed goodnes and loue, thou haſt bydden me to this banket, and accoumpted me woorthye to drinke of thine owne cup amongeſt thine electe: euen ſo geue me ſtrength O Lorde, againſte this thine element: which as to my ſight it is moſte yrkeſome and terrible: ſo to my mynde it maye at thy commaundemente (as an obedient ſeruaunte) be ſweete and pleaſaunte, that through the ſtrength of thy holye ſpirite, I maye paſſe through the rage of this fire into thy boſome, accordyng to thy promiſe, and for this mortall, receyue an immortall, and for this corruptible, put on incorruption: Accept this burnt ſacrifice and offeryng, O Lorde, not for the ſacrifice, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake, my Saueour, for whoſe teſtimonie I offer this free wyll offering with all my hart, and with all my ſoule. O heauenly father forgeue me my ſinnes, as I forgeue all the worlde. O ſweete ſonne of God my Saueour, ſpreade thy wynges ouer me. O bleſſed and holy Ghoſte, through whoſe mercyfull inſpiration I am come hyther, conducte me into euerlaſtyng lyfe. Lorde into thy handes I commende my ſpirite. Amen.

Pſal. 42.

Marke the ſpirit of this prayer. and compare it with the prayer of the Papiſtes at the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Prieſte.

John Laurence Martyr. March. 29. John Laurence lamed with yrons in priſon.

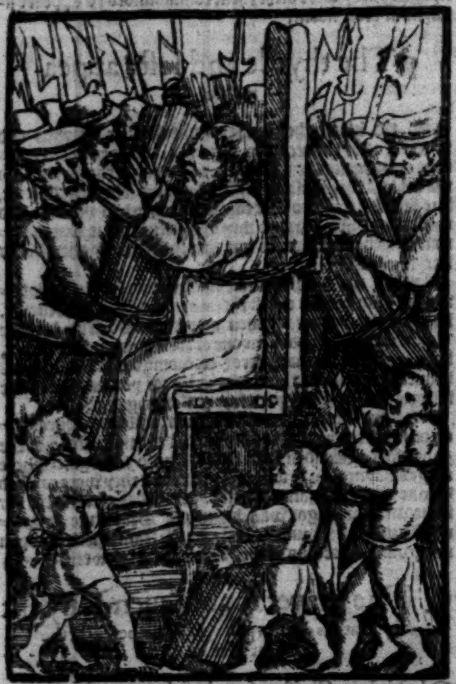
THe next day being the. xxix. day of this moneth, the ſaid John Laurence was brought to Colcheſter, and there being not able to goe, (for that as wel his legges were ſore worne with heauie yrons in the priſon, as alſo his bodye

weakened

ſweakened with euyll keepyng) was borne to the fire in a chayre, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant fayth, conſumed with fire.

¶ The cruel burnyng of Iohn Laurence Martyr.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Laurence burned at Colcheſter. Anno. 1555.



Ex ore infantium.

At the burnyng of this Laurence, he ſitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cryed, (as wel as young children could ſpeake) ſaying: Lorde ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt, and keepe thy promiſe. Lord ſtrengthen thy ſeruaunt, and keepe thy promiſe: which thing, as it is rare, ſo it is no ſmal manifeſtation of the glorye of God, whiche wrought this in the hartes of theſe litle ones: nor yet a litle commendation to their parentes, which from their youth brought them vp in the knowledge of God and his truth.

¶ The hiſtorie of Doctour Robert Farrar,

Biſhop of S. Dauids in Wales, who moſt conſtantly gaue his life for the teſtimonie of the truth. March. 30. ann. 1555.

The burning of D. Robert Farrer Byſhop of S. Dauyes, and Martyr.

The next day after, whiche was the. xxx. day of the ſayde moneth of March, folowed the worthy and cõſtant martyrdome of the biſhop of ſaint Dauids in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next Biſhop in this Catalogue of Chriſtian martyrs, that ſuffered after Maiſter Hooper. This forſaide Farrar, by the fauour and good wyll of the Lorde Protectour, was firſt called and promoted to that dignitie. This man I maye wel call twiſe a Martyr, not onely for the cruel death of the fire, whiche he ſuffered moſt conſtantly in the dayes of Queene Marye, vnto the ſhedding of his bloud: but alſo for diuers other iniuries & moleſtations in king Edwardes tyme, which he no leſſe firmly, then vnworthily ſuſteined at the handes of his enemies, after the fal of the Duke of Somerſet. Of theſe his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations layd againſt hym, to the number of fiftie & ſixe, & of the matter conceyued againſt hym by certaine couetous Canons of the Churche of Carmarthen, and what were the proceedinges of both partes, as well of the innocent, as of the craftie aduerſaries, and what the names of theſe were, (to wyt, George Conſtantine, Dauid walter his ſeruant, the Chaunter, ſonne in lawe to Conſtantine. Whiche was Thomas young, who was alſo afterwarde Archbiſhop of yorke, Rowland Merick, who was afterward Biſhop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins. &c.) for ſo much as the full declaration thereof is at large expreſſed in our firſt edition, I wyl therfore referre the Reader to the peruſing therof. In the meane tyme for vs at this preſent (which ſeeke for breuitie as muche as we may) cutting of all ſuperfluities that may be otherwiſe referred to our firſt edition, it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent briefly to touche the names of his principall aduerſaries, with the effect and cauſe of the whole controuerſie betweene hym and them: regiſtred and witneſſed by the Biſhop hym ſelfe in order as foloweth.

56. Articles agaynſt B. Farrer in K. Edwardes tyme, deuiſed by Tho. yong. Conſtantine. and other his aduerſaries Tho. yong ſonne in lawe to Conſtantine.

¶ Aduerſaries principall againſt D. Farrar, Biſhop of S. Dauids. videlicet

Ex Regiſtro.

1 Thomas young, Chaunter of the Cathedral church of ſaint Dauids.
2 Rowland Mericke Doctor of law, and Canon reſident of the ſame Church.
3 George Conſtantine, to whom the Biſhop gaue the office of Regiſterſhip.

The principall aduerſaryes agaynſt B. Farrar in the dayes of K. Edward.

First the Biſhops anſweare vnto the firſt, ſecond, thirde, fourth, and. xxxvi. articles doth declare the effect and controuerſie betweene him and his ſaid aduerſaries.

Of theſe Articles read before in the firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes pag. 1085.

Item, the ſaide George Conſtantine being ioyned in frendſhip with his ſonne in law Thomas young aforeſaid, and they both confederated with the ſaide Rowlande Mericke, with diuers other their adherents, were the originall beginners of all this trouble and contention betweene the ſaid Biſhop and them, onely for their owne wicked & moſt couetous behauiour in ſpoyling the Cathedral Churche of Plate, Iewels, and other ornamentes, to a notable value, conuerting it vnto their owne vſes, againſt the kings right, and to the vtter decay of the ſame Church: alſo for contempting the kinges maieſties Iniunctions, and for committing ſimonie and brybery, as is declared in the exceptions againſt the ſayd young and Conſtantine: and furthermore for their abomination in manifeſt bearing with moſte wicked and vile lyuers, as is declared in the Biſhops anſweare to the xij. article. For which their yl demerites and wylful perſiſting therein, and their moſt ſtubborne diſobedience againſt the Biſhop, firſt with gentlenes ſeeking their reformation, (whereunto they in no wiſe woulde incline) and thinkyng then to feare them with the lawe (as the father dooth feare ŷ childe wt ſhaking ŷ rod) to make thẽ obedient (through which attempt they became worſe) at laſt he put them out of office. Sithens which tyme they haue beſtowed all their wyt and cunnyng without ceaſing, to inuente miſchiefe againſt the ſaid Biſhop, ſeking by al vniuſt meanes his vtter vndoing, and finally his death, as may appeare by their proceedinges.

The vices of theſe aduerſaryes deſcribed.

Of theſe anſweres read more in our firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes pag. 1088.

The cauſe why theſe aduerſaryes were ſo ſtyrred agaynſt B. Farrar.

Item, the ſayd Thomas young, Rowland Mericke, and George Conſtantine, to preuent the ſayd Biſhop, who had (as they knewe right wel) iuſt and haynous matter againſt them, dyd moſt maliciouſly conceyue, deuiſe, procure, as well the pretenſed matter of Premunire, promoted by Roger Barloe, as alſo the falſe ſurmiſed articles promoted by Hugh Rawlins prieſt, & Thomas Lee, vnto the kinges high Counſayle, mynding thereby vtterly to diſcredite & bryng vnder foot ŷ ſaid Biſhop, to ŷ end ŷ he ſhould not be able to proſecute any matter againſt them, whereby their wicked doynges might be opened.

Premunire pretended agaynſt B. Farrar.

Item, they are mainteyners and bearers of the charges of Thomas Lee brother in lawe to George Conſtantine, vncle to the wife of the ſaid Tho. young, and promoter of the ſaid articles by them deuiſed, and came in for witneſſes vnto their owne conceites.

Item, furthermore, they obteyned a Commiſſion into the countrey, for better proufe of the ſaid articles, by vertue of which Commiſſion, and alſo by colour therof they examined ſixe ſcore and ſeuen witneſſes, and that very parcially & vnlawfully, as appeareth in the generall exceptions hereafter enſuyng: which great number of witneſſes did ſound much in the Counſayles eares. Neuertheles it is prouable that the one halfe at the leaſt (of the ſayd number) were defamed perſons, and many of them haue bene puniſhed for their demerites by the ſaide Biſhop and his officers, and therfore were the readyer to witnes againſt hym: as adulterers, fornicators, bawdes, drunkardes, brawlers, fighters, theeues, runnagates, and beggers. And the more parte of the ſaid witneſſes are eyther kinſmen, familiar frendes, farmers of benefices, ſeruauntes, or by ſome other meanes adherentes vnto the ſaide aduerſaries. And as for the honeſt Gentlemẽ and other which haue depoſed vpon the ſaid articles, they haue ſaid nothing that can hurt the ſaid biſhop, as it is thought by ſuch as haue ſeene the depoſitions. And thus much briefly touching the firſt troubles of biſhop Farrar in king Edwardes tyme.

Commiſſion procured agaynſt B. Farrer by his aduerſaryes

Crafty packing agaynſt Farrar.

After that the foreſaid M. Farrar biſhop of ſaint Dauids had bene long deteined in cuſtody vnder ſureties, in the raigne of king Edward (not for any iuſt cauſe of his part deſerued, but by reaſon that he had bene promoted by the D. of Somerſet, & now after his fall he found fewer frendes

to

1555. March.

The ſecond trouble of Byſhop Farrar in the tyme of Q. Mary.

port hym agaynſt ſuche as hunted after his Biſhopricke) at length after ÿ deceaſe of K. Edward, by the commyng in of Queene Mary the ſtate of religion began to be chaunged and altered. whereby a newe trouble roſe vpon hym, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Premunire, but for his fayth and doctrine. Whervpon he was called before the Biſhop of Winchester with M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and others aforeſaid, the fourth day of February. On the which day he ſhould alſo with them haue bene condemned: but becauſe leyſure or lyſt dyd not ſo wel then ſerue the biſhop, his condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to priſon again, where he continued tyl the. xiiij. day of the ſaid moneth of February. What his examinations and anſweres were before the ſaid B. of Wincheſter, ſo much as remayned & came to our handes, I haue here annexed, in maner as foloweth.

The aunſweare of Robert Farrar B. of S. Dauids, before Wincheſter and others.

The talke of B. Farrar before the B. of Wincheſter and other Commiſſioners.

AT his firſt comming & kneeling before my Lord Chancelour, the B. of Dureſme, and the B. of Worceſter, who ſate at the table, and maſter Rocheſter, maſter Southwell, maſter Bourne and other ſtanding at the tables ende, the Lord Chancelor ſaid vnto hym on this ſort.

Winch. Nowe ſir, you haue heard how the worlde goeth here.

Farrar. If it like your honor, I know not.

Winch. What ſay you? Do not you knowe things abrod, notwithſtanding you are a priſoner?

Farrar. No, my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Loe, what a froward felow is this?

Farrar. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, how ſhould I knowe any thing abroad, being a priſoner?

Winch. Haue ye not heard of the comming in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrar I know not my Lord Cardinal, but I heard that a Cardinal was come in, but I did not beleue it, and I beleue it not yet.

Worceſt. I pray your Lordſhip (ſaid the biſhop of Worceſter) tel hym your ſelfe, that he may knowe what is done.

B. Farrar charged with the Queenes debt.

Winch. The Queenes maieſtie and the parlament hath reſtored Religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the beginnyng of the raigne of king Henry the eight. Ye are in the Queenes debt, and her maieſtie wyll be good vnto you, if you wyl returne to the Catholike church.

B. Farrer refuſeth the Pope.

Farrar. In what ſtate I am concernyng my debtes to the Queenes Maieſtie, in the Courte of Exheker, my Lorde Treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt tyme that I was before your honor, and ÿ firſt time alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an othe neuer to conſent nor agree, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhoulde haue any power or iuriſdiction within this Realme: and further, I neede not to rehearſe to your lordſhip, you know it wel enough.

M. Bourne lyeth to B. Farrar falſly to haue abiured at Oxford

Bourn. You were once abiured for hereſie (ſaide Maiſter Bourne) in Oxford.

Farrar. That was I not.

Bourn. You were.

Farrar. I was neuer: it is not true.

Bourn. You went from ſaint Dauids to Scotland.

Farrar. That did I not.

Bourn You did.

Farrar, That did I neuer, but I wente from Yorke into Scotlande.

Bourn. Ah ſo ſaid I: you went with Barlow.

Farrar. That is true, but neuer from ſ. Dauids.

Bourn. You caried bookes out of Oxford to the Archb. of Yorke E. Lee.

Farrar. That did I not.

Bourn. You did.

Farrar. I did not: but I caried old bookes from S. Oſwaldes, to the Biſhop of Yorke.

B. Farrar falſly charged to haue ſupplanted his Maiſter, whom in dede he defended from daunger.

Bourn, You ſupplanted your maiſter.

Farrar. That did I neuer in my life.

Bourn. By my faith you did.

Farrar. Forſooth I did not, neuer in my life, but I dyd ſhyelde and ſaue my maiſter from daunger, and that I obteined of king Henry the viij. for my true ſeruice, I thank God therfore.

Bourn. My Lord (ſaid M. Bourne to my Lord Chancelor) he hath an yl name in Wales, as euer had any.

Farrar. That is not ſo. who ſoeuer ſaith ſo, they ſhall neuer be able to proue it.

Bourn. He hath deceiued the Queene in diuers ſummes of money.

Farrar. That is vtterly vntrue. I neuer deceyued king nor Queene of one penny in my life, and you ſhall neuer be able to proue that you ſay.

Winch. Thou art a falſe knaue.

B. Farrar ſtoutly ſtandeth vpon his truth.

Farrar. Then Farrar ſtoode vp vnbidden (for all that whyle he kneled) and ſaide: No, my Lorde, I am a true man, I thanke God for it. I was borne vnder Kynge Henry the ſeuenth, I ſerued Kynge Henrye the eight, and King Edward the ſixt truely, and haue ſerued the queenes maieſtie that now is, truely with my poore hart and word: more I could not do, and I was neuer falſe, nor ſhal be by the grace of God.

Winch. How ſayeſt thou? wylt thou be reformable?

B. Farrar ſtandeth to his oth made to the K. againſt the Pope

Farrar. My Lord, if it like your honor, I haue made an othe to God and to king Henry the eight, and alſo to Kynge Edward, and in that to the Queenes maieſtie, the whiche I can neuer breake whyle I liue, to die for it.

Dureſme. You haue made an other othe before.

Farrar. No, my Lorde, I neuer made none other othe before.

Dureſme. You made a vowe.

Farrar. That did I not.

Winch. You made a profeſſion to liue without a wife.

Vow of chaſtitye is not to lyue without wyfe.

Farrar. No, my Lorde, if it like your honour, that dyd I neuer. I made a profeſſion to liue chaſte, not without a wiſe.

Worceſt. You were ſworne to him that was maiſter of your houſe.

Farrar. That was I neuer.

Winch. Well, you are a frowarde knaue: we wyl haue no more to doo with you, ſeeing that you wyll not come, we wyl be ſhort with you, and that you ſhal know within this ſeuennight.

Wincheſters periury touched.

Farrar. I am as it pleaſeth your honour to call me, but I can not breake my oth which your Lordſhip your ſelf made before me, and gaue in example: the which confirmed my conſcience. Then I can neuer breake that othe whileſt I liue, to die for it.

Dureſme. Well, ſaith he, he ſtandeth vpon his othe: call an other.

My Lord Chancelor then did ring a litle bel, and M. Farrar ſaid: I pray God ſaue the king and queenes maieſties long to continue in honor to Gods glory & their comfortes, and the comfort of the whole Realme, and I praye God ſaue al your honors, and ſo he departed.

B. Farrar brought before H. Morgan pretenſed B. of S. Dauies.

After theſe examinations thus ended, Biſhop Farrar ſo remayned in priſon vncondemned, tyll the. xiiij. day (as is aforeſaid) of Februarye, and then was ſent downe into Wales, there to receiue ſentence of condemnation. Who then vpon the. xxvi. of February, in the Church of Carmarthen being brought by Griffith Leyſon Eſquire, Sheriffe of the Countie of Carmarthen, was there perſonally preſented before Henry B. of ſaint Dauids, and Conſtantine the publike Notarie: which Henry there and then diſcharged the ſaid Sheriffe, and receyued hym into his owne cuſtodie, further cōmittyng him to the keeping of Owen Iones, and therupon declared vnto the ſaide M. Farrar, the great mercy and clemencie that the king & queenes highnes pleaſure was to be offered vnto hym, whiche he there did offer vnto the ſaid maſter Farrar: that is to ſay, that if he would ſubmit hym ſelfe to the lawes of this Realme, and cōforme hym ſelfe to the vnitie of the vniuerſal Catholike Church, he ſhoulde be receiued and pardoned: and after that, ſeeyng the ſayde Maiſter Farrar to geue no aunſweare to the premiſſes, the ſayde Biſhop miniſtred vnto hym theſe Articles folowing.

Articles deuiſed agaynſt Biſhop Farrar.

Articles obiected agaynſt Byſhop Farrar.

1 FIrſt, whether he beleueth the mariage of prieſts to be lawful by the lawes of God and holy church, or no?

2 Item, whether he beleueth, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the wordes of conſecration duely pronounced by the prieſt, the very body and bloud of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially conteined, without the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

The anſwere of B. Farrar.

Unto the which articles the ſaid Biſhop required the ſaid M. Farrar to anſweare vpon his allegeance.

To which he ſaid, he would anſweare when he ſawe a lawful commiſſion, and would make no further anſwere at that time. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop, taking no aduauntage vppon the ſame anſweare, committed him to the ſaide keeper, to be kept in priſon vntyll a newe monition, and in the meane tyme to deliberate with him ſelfe for his further anſweare to the premiſſes.

An other examination of the Biſhop of Saint Dauids, before Henry Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of ſaint Dauids, George Conſtantine

ſtantine his Regiſter, and others, the
laſt of February. Ann. 1555.

An other examination of B. Farrar.

This day and place Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Dauids ſitting as Iudge, miniſtred vnto Biſhop Farrar there perſonally preſent before him certaine articles and interrogatories in writing, which being openlye read and miniſtred vnto hym, ẏ ſaid B. Farrar refuſed to anſweare, vntyll he might ſee his lawfull Commiſſion and authoritie. Wherupon the foreſaide pretenſed Biſhop of Saint Dauids did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacie, to be counted Pro confeſſo, and ſo did pronounce hym in writing: which being done, he committed the ſaide Biſhop to the cuſtodye of Owen Ioans, vntil monday next, being the fourth day of March, then to be brought againe into the ſame place, betwixt one and two.

¶ An other apperaunce of the ſaid B. Farrar, before Morgan the pretenſed biſhop of S. Dauids.

An other appearaunce of B. Farrar.

ITem, the day and place appoynted, the ſaide Biſhop appearing againe before the pretenſed Biſhop, humbly ſubmitting hym ſelfe, as ready to anſweare to the articles and poſitions aboue mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent terme to be aſſigned vnto hym to anſweare for hym ſelfe: which being graunted vnto hym, and Thurſday next being aſſigned vnto hym, betwixt one and three to anſweare preciſely and fully, ſo he was committed againe to cuſtodie, as aboue.

¶ An other appearaunce of the ſaid Biſhop.

An other appearaunce of the ſayd Byſhop.

ON Thurſday, as was appoynted, which was the. 7. of March, the ſaide Biſhop perſonally againe appeared, where he exhibited a certaine Byl in writing, conteynyng in it his anſwere vnto certaine articles obiected and miniſtred vnto hym before. Then after Henry the pretenſed Biſhop of S. Dauids offered hym againe the ſaid articles, as before: the tenor whereof tended to this effect.

Articles agayne miniſtered againſt B. Farrar.

Firſt, that he wylled hym being a Prieſt, to abrenounce matrimonie.

Secondly, to graunt the natural preſence of Chriſte in the ſacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wine.

Thirdly, that the Maſſe is a propitiatorie ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

Fourthly, that general Councels lawfully cõgregated, neuer did, nor can erre.

Fiftly, that men are not iuſtified before God, by fayth onely, but that hope and charitie is alſo neceſſarily required to iuſtification.

Sixtly, that the Catholike Churche which onely hath authoritie to expound ſcriptures, and to define controuerſies of Religion, and to ordeyne thinges apperteynyng to publike diſcipline, is viſible, & like vnto a citie ſet vpon a mountaine for al men to vnderſtand.

B. Farrer denieth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

To theſe articles thus obiected to hym, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were inuented and excogitated by man, and pertaine nothing to the Catholike faith. After this the biſhop aboue named, deliuered vnto hym the copie of the articles, aſſignyng hym monday next folowing to anſweare and ſubſcribe to the ſame, eyther affirmatiuely or negatiuely.

¶ An other appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

An other appearaunce or examination of B. Farrar.

VPon the which Monday, being the. xi. day of March he appearing againe before the Biſhop and the foreſayd Notarye George Conſtantine, exhibited in a written paper, his mynde and aunſweare to the foreſayde Articles, whiche the Biſhop had twiſe nowe obiected againſte hym before. To the which articles and anſweares, he did ſo ſubſcribe, adding theſe wordes, as tenens ſe de æquitate & iuſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Meneuenſem, that the biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday in the fore noone, to heare his final and definitiue ſentence.

¶ The laſt appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

The laſt appearaunce and examination of the bleſſed Byſhop M. Farrer.

The whiche daye and place the ſaid Biſhop and true ſeruaunt of God maiſter Farrar, perſonally there appearing, was demaunded of Henry the pretenſed biſhop of S. Dauids, whether he would renounce and recant his hereſies, ſchiſmes, and errours (as he called them) which hytherto he had mainteined, and if he woulde ſubſcribe to the Catholike articles, otherwiſe then he had done before.

B. Farrar appealeth from the B. of ſaint Dauids to the Cardinall.

After this the ſayde godly Maiſter Farrar dyd exhibite a certayne ſchedule written in Engliſhe, and remaynyng in the Actes, appealyng withall by expreſſe worde of mouth from the Biſhop, as from an incompetent Iudge, to Cardinall Poole. &c.

Sentence pronounced agaynſt B. Farrar.

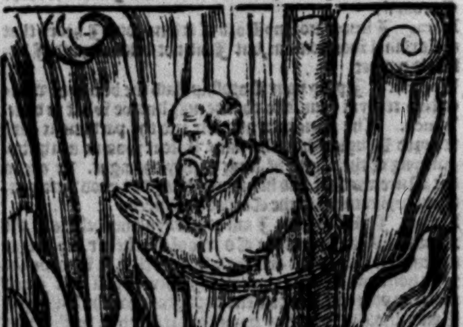
All whiche notwithſtanding, the ſaide Biſhop proceedyng in his rage, pronounced the definitiue ſentence againſt hym, conceyued in writyng, and there leaft in the Actes: by the whiche ſentence he pronounced hym as an heretique excommunicate, and to be geuen vp forthwith to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffe of the Towne of Carmarthen, Mayſter Leyſon. The tenour of whiche ſentence, as likewiſe of all other ſentences, becauſe they runne muche after the fourme of the ſentence pronounced agaynſt Maiſter Rogers, expreſſed before. pag. 1417. I ſhal not neede often to repeate the ſame, where the example of that one may ſuffice for all.

Moreouer, after this ſentence thus pronounced, he alſo denounced againſte him the Sentence of degradation, firſt puttyng vpon hym all their prieſtly veſtures (whiche maiſter Farrar at the ſame tyme, openly and publikely called in Engliſhe, ragges and reliques of Rome, as the Regiſter recordeth) and after depriued hym of the ſame. The copie whereof reade before expreſſed in the ſtorie of maiſter Hooper. pag. 1434.

B. Farrar brought to the place of execution.

Thus this godly biſhop being condemned and diſgraded, was committed to the ſecular power: who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the Towne of Carmarthen, where he in the market place on the Southſide of the market Croſſe, the. xxx. day of March, being ſaterday next before Paſſion ſonday, moſt conſtantly ſuſteyned the tormentes and paſſion of the fire.

The cruel burnyng of Maiſter Farrar,
Martyr.



The Martyrdome of D. Robert Farrar. B. and Martyr, at Carmarthen. Anno. 1555. March 30.

A memorable example of conſtancie in this bleſſed B. and Martyr.

Touchyng the which conſtancie of this bleſſed martyr, this is moreouer to be added & noted: that one named Richard Iones, a knightes ſonne, commyng to maiſter Farrar a litle before his death, ſeemed to lament the painfulnes of the death he had to ſuffer. Unto whom the Biſhop anſweared againe to this effect, ſaying: that if he ſaw him once to ſtirre in the paynes of his burnyng, he ſhould then geue no credite to his doctrine. And as he ſayde, ſo he right well perfourmed the ſame, for ſo paciently he ſtood, that he neuer moued, but euen as he ſtood holdyng vp his ſtumpes, ſo ſtill he continued, tyl one Rich. Grauel with a ſtaffe daſhed him vpon the head, and ſo ſtroke hym downe.

Letters.

As touchyng the letters of maiſter Farrar, we doo not finde many that he did write. And peraduenture in queene

Maryes tyme his impriſonment was ſo ſtrayte, that at no tyme it was permitted to hym to wryte. Albeit in his other troubles in king Edwardes tyme, certaine letters he wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the Earle of Warwike, whiche letters although they might be well referred to the firſt edition of this ſtorie, yet becauſe in the ſaide letters is conteyned briefly and in fewe lines the whole diſcourſe of his vniuſt vexation at that tyme wrought by his aduerſaries, I thought good not to paſſe thē ouer, but to cōmunicate thē vnto the reader, for the better vnderſtanding both of the innocencie of that bleſſed Biſhop, and of the crafty iniquitie of his conſpired enemies: as in the ſaid letters here folowing to the indifferent reader may eaſily appeare.

¶ The copie of a certaine letter of the Biſhop of Saint Dauids, written belike to the L. Chauncelour Doct. Goodricke Biſhop of Ely.

A Letter of M. Farrar Byſhop of S. Dauyes.

MOſt humbly ſheweth vnto your honor, your poore orator Rob. Biſh. of S. Dauids, that where as one Tho. Lee (by the procurement of Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke being both Canons of S. Dauids, and George Cōſtantine Regiſter to the ſaid Biſhop) hath exhibited vnto your honor againſt him certaine articles, in the which are mētioned many trifling thinges vnwoorthy to be declared in your honorable audience, and alſo their pretenſed weighty articles, (as they haue alleged there) are vtterly vntrue, for proofe wherof the ſaid Thomas Lee, hath had Commiſſions into the countrey: therfore it may pleaſe your honor of your fauourable goodnes, to graunt vnto your ſaid Oratour a like Commiſſion for the examinatiō of witneſſes in defence of his truth and honeſty, againſt the aforenamed Thomas Lee, George Cōſtantine, Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke, and all other perſons with their vniuſt articles, atteſtations, & ſayinges depoſed againſt hym. And in tender conſideratiō that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden and ſureties with him, in the ſumme of a thouſand markes, to appeare before the kinges Iuſtice in the Seſſions at Carmarthen, in Iuly nexte commyng, to anſweare to a forged matter of Premunire, by the procurement and counſel of his forenamed aduerſaries malitiouſly ſurmiſed againſt hym, to his vtter vndoyng: and furthermore that your Orator beyng in debt to the kinges maieſtie, by reaſon of the malitious vexation of his foreſaid aduerſaries, can not (if he remain here) ſatiſfie the ſame (for wheras ther be rerages to a great ſumme aſwel of the kings money as of his owne rentes, he can receiue none therof, his aduerſaries haue made ſuch yll report, to his diſcredite, bearing the people in hand that he ſhal come no more thither, by reaſon of which bruite, neither his own tenants wil pay their rentes and rerages, nor the prieſtes their rerages due to the kinges maieſtie, as wel for anno ſecundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto:) In cōſideration of al theſe things it may pleaſe your honorable goodnes to licence your ſayd Oratour to depart into the Dioces for theſe affayres and other: and he ſhalbe redy at al tymes at your honorable commaundement and pleaſure to repayre againe, & euer to pray to the Lord Ieſu for the perpetual conſeruation of your honour, to his glory.

B. Farrar bound with his ſureties in a thouſand Markes to appeare in a matter of Premunire.

Beſides this letter he wrote an other likewiſe to the ſaid Lord (who was, as ſeemeth, D. Goodricke Lord Chancellour afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cauſe of his trouble, how it roſe againſt hym by his aduerſaries, as here foloweth.

¶ An other letter written by the Biſhop of S. Dauids, to the Lord Chancelour aforeſaid.

An other letter of B. Farrar to the Lord Chauncellour.

RIght honourable, & my very eſpecial good Lord, with humble ſeruice and harty thankes to God, and to you for your godly fauour towardes me at all tymes, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, moſt louingly admoniſhing me to incline vnto ẏ which is very neceſſary, as charitable concorde and vnitie: this is further to beſeeche your Lordſhip for the Lordes ſake, not to be greeued, but benignly to heare and grauely to ponder that weightye matter, which appearing to other but a light griefe, to me is in very deede a right greeuous offence to Godwarde, with no litle hinderaunce of his holy worde and diſturbaunce of the kinges godly proceedinges, and maye be great occaſion of muche inobedience, and diſorder of good lyfe.

Wherefore I am ſtraytly bounden, for the true zeale that I ought to beare vnto the worde of lyfe, Chriſtian religion, the kinges Maieſties honour, and the godly quiete ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent requeſte to be ſought at his maieſties handes by the godly wiſdome of his moſt honourable and vpright Counſayle, but with harty affection to beare it vp agaynſt thoſe high mynded, arrogant, ſtubborne, ambitious, couetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues, with crafty preuention and vtterly vntrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the light, that their vngodly miſdoynges in darkenes ſhall eyther not be ſeene, or at the leaſte maye haue a colourable appearaunce of right: In ſo muche that I doo not a litle marueile at theſe qualities in maiſter Chauntour, the Canon, and the Deane of Worceſtour, whoſe vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not onely knowen, but expertly proued, and ſenſibly feale in two of the firſt, to my great loſſes, whereof I make no complaint.

The vnkind dealing of G. Conſtantine, agaynſt B. Farrar.

But I wonder in my mynde and lament in my hart, the ſtrange alteration and woful going backward of mine old faithful brother George Conſtantine, the which (knowing them all three to haue bene in tymes paſt, either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the Croſſe of Chriſt, or (at the leaſt) priuie lurkers vnder pretence of fauour towardes the Goſpell, to ſting the poore folowers therof, ſeeking but their owen lucre & pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleaue vnto them in their wrong deedes as to betray me with his tongue, become vntrue of his promiſe, and a ſeeker of filthy ſinne for lucres ſake, euen yet ſtiffly perſiſting in the ſame, namely in thinges manifeſtly knowen vnto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

This Ferlee was Chauncellour to B. Farrer.

And as for their Premunire, both George, & they at my firſte commyng vngently deteinyng from M. Ferlee his Commiſſion of the Chauncelorſhip, would haue faced me down with the Premunire, becauſe it was written in mine owne name according to the ſtatute: yet was I faine for the zeale of vnitie, not to ſee their vncourteous deedes, departing with maiſter Ferlee, for the auoyding of their malice and enuie, and gaue that office for the amitie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his ſonne in law, and to D. Mericke the office of Cardigan. But ſeeing afterwarde their couetous reſpect to their owne glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of ſinne, and eſpecially of ſhameleſſe whoredome, I was compelled to remoue them, ſore againſt their willes: and whereas I deſired many and ſundrye tymes charitable redreſſe of their wrong doyngs in the viſitation tyme, I obteyned many fayre wordes, and nothing in deede.

This Chaunter was D. Yong.

D. Yong and D. Mericke remoued by B. Farrar from their offices.

The wronges which B. Farrar receaued by Thomas Yong and D. Mericke.

Alſo deſiring to haue ſight of the booke of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duetie and theirs, I could not obteyne. Deſiring to haue a key of the Chapter houſe Seale, as my Lord of Bath had, they woulde not deliuer it, but vppon conditions: yet was I content to be bridled, receiuing it, as pleaſed them to geue it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſarye euidences for the declaration of diuers thynges in trauers of my right, they woulde in no wiſe graunt it. And thereupon conſideryng their vngentlenes, I moued the Quo warranto, knowing right wel that if they ſhould ſhewe any ſubſtantiall graunt vnder the kinges Seale for their corporation, it muſt therin appeare, the biſhop to be the head, and euer hath ben vnder the king: for other they neither haue nor had, except they would returne to Rome agayne, as I truſt they wyll not. And yet perceiuyng afterwarde that they had no ſpeciall graunt to ſhew, or els ſuch as they would not ſhewe, I my ſelfe for the reſpect of vnitie, wrote my letters to the kings Attorney, by reaſon wherof the Quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remayneth.

But touching the Certificat, the kinges Subſidie being due at Michaelmas laſt, and forborne tyll after Chriſtmas, and lawfully demaunded afore, they did vtterly refuſe to paye, both to my Vicecollector and to my ſelfe, except I woulde take it of them in portions, not knowing where to aſke the reſt, and it is committed vnto me in the kinges Rol a whole ſumme in groſſe, to be receyued of the Canons reſidentaries for their Diuident: who becauſe they can not agree in diuidyng, woulde haue the kinges maieſtie to tarry for his money, tyll they can agree to make diuiſion: and I cannot demaund it of any particuler perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your fatherly goodnes for the Lordes ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and frend, vnto ſuche time as ye finde me either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the iudgement of my right cauſe into your handes. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters, touching them, and their vngentle, vntrue, and vngodly doinges is too long, & I haue moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhall nowe ſurceaſe: humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldnes proceeding of neceſſitie, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lord Ieſu: who ſaue and keepe you in health, comfort, and honor, long to endure, the aduauncement of his glorye, written at Agurgully this .xi. of March.

Your Lordſhips to commaund during life. R. F.

The hiſtorie of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales, about the moneth of March, for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpel, reported by Iohn Dane being yet aliue, who was almoſt continually with hym during his trouble, vnto his death.

Rawlins White Martyr, burned at Cardiffe in Wales.

For ſo much as we haue here paſſed the hiſtorie of Maiſter Farrar, burned at the towne of Carmarden in Wales I thought to adioyne and accompanie with the ſame, the hiſtorie alſo of one Rawlins White, a Fiſherman, who both in the like cauſe, and in the ſame countrey of Wales, and alſo about the ſame moneth of March, and yeare aforeſaid, gaue his life like a valiant ſouldier of Ieſus Chriſt, to martyrdome, and was burned at Cardiffe: the proceſſe of whoſe ſtory here foloweth expreſſed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a Fiſherman, liuyng & continuing in the ſaid trade by the ſpace of .xx. yeares at the leaſt in the towne of Cardiffe, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, & well accompted amongeſt his neighbours. As touchyng his Religion at the firſt, it can not otherwiſe be knowen, but that he was a great partaker of the ſuperſtition and Idolatrie that then was vſed, I meane in the reigne of king Henry the eight. But after that God of his mercye had rayſed vp the light of his Goſpell, through the bleſſed gouernment of king Edwarde the ſixt here in this Realme of Englande, this Rawlins beganne partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to haue ſome good opinion of that whiche before by the iniquitie of the tyme had bene concealed from hym: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſſe, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the truth.

The deſirous mynde of Rawlins to ſearch for truth.

But becauſe the good man was altogether vnlearned, and withall very ſimple, he knewe no ready waye howe he might ſatiſfie his great deſire: At length it came in his mynde to take a ſpeciall remedie to ſupplye his neceſſitie, which was this: he had a litle boye which was his owne ſonne, which childe he ſet to ſchoole to learne to reade Engliſh. Now after the litle boy could reade indifferently wel, his father euery night after ſupper Sommer and Winter, would haue the boy to reade a peece of the holy ſcripture, & now and then of ſome other good booke. In which kind of vertuous exerciſe the olde man had ſuch delight & pleaſure, that, as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed hym ſelfe in the ſtudy of ſcripture, then in the trade or ſcience whiche before time he had vſed: ſo that Rawlins within fewe yeares in the ſaide tyme of king Edward, through the helpe of his litle ſonne, as a ſpecial miniſter appoynted by God (no doubt) for that purpoſe, & through much conſcience beſtowed, profited & went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not only to reſolue hym ſelfe touching his owne former blindneſ & ignoraunce, but was alſo able to admoniſhe and inſtruct other: and therfore when occaſion ſerued, he woulde goe from one place to an other, viſityng ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doyng, he became in that countrey both a notable and open profeſſour of the truth, being at all tymes and in all ſuch places not without the company of his litle boy, whom (as I haue ſaid) he vſed as an aſſiſtance to this his good purpoſe. And to this his great induſtrie and endeuour in holy ſcripture, God dyd alſo adde in hym a ſingular gyft of memorie, ſo that by the benefite thereof he woulde and could doo that in vouchyng and rehearſing of the texte, which men of riper and more profound knowledge by their notes and other helpes of memorie, could very hardly accompliſhe: In ſo much that he vppon the alleging of ſcripture very often would cite the booke, the leafe, yea and the very ſentence: ſuch was the wonderful working of God in this ſimple and vnlearned father.

The godly entent of Rawlins in ſetting his ſonne to ſchole.

The meanes whereby Rawlins firſt came to knowledge.

Rawlins by the meanes of his yong ſonne came to the knowledge of the ſcripture.

The gift of memory in Rawlins.

Nowe when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of fiue yeares, king Edward died, vpon whoſe deceaſe Queene Marye ſucceeded, and with her all kinde of ſuperſtition and Papiſtrie crept in. Whiche thing being once perceyued, Rawlins did not altogether vſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before he was woont) and therfore oftentymes in ſome priuate place or other, he would call his truſty frendes together, and with earneſt prayer and great lamentation paſſe away the tyme: ſo that by his vertuous inſtructions being without any blemiſh of errour, he conuerted a great number, whiche number (no doubt) had greatly encreaſed, had not the cruel ſtorme of perſecution bene.

The extremitie and force whereof at the laſt ſo purſued this good father Rawlins, that he looked euery houre to goe to priſon: whereupon many of thoſe which had receiued comfort by his inſtructions, dyd reſort vnto hym, and by all meanes poſſible beganne to perſwade hym to ſhift for hym ſelfe, and to diſpoſe his goodes by ſome reaſonable order to the vſe of his wyfe & children, & by that meanes he ſhould eſcape that danger which was imminent ouer his head.

Rawlins exhorted to ſhift for him ſelfe.

But Rawlins nothing abaſhed for his owne parte, through the iniquitie of the tyme, and at all nothyng moued with theſe their fleſhly perſwaſions, thanked them moſt hartily for their good wyll, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good leſſon touchyng the confeſſing, and denyall of Chriſte, aduertiſing them that if he vppon their perſwaſions ſhould preſume to denye his Maiſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day woulde deny and vtterly condemne hym: and therefore (quoth he) I wyll by his fauourable grace confeſſe and beare witnes of hym before men, that I may finde hym in euerlaſting lyfe.

Rawlins promiſeth to be conſtant to the death.

Notwithſtanding which aunſweare, his frendes were very importunate with hym. Howbeit father Rawlins continued ſtyll in his good purpoſe, ſo long tyll at the laſte he was taken by the Officers of the Towne, as a man ſuſpected of hereſie: vppon whiche apprehenſion he was conuented before the Biſhop of Landaffe that then was: the ſayde Biſhop lying then at his houſe beſides Chepſtow: by whom, after diuers combates and conflictes with hym and his Chaplaynes: this good father Rawlins was committed to priſon in Chepſtow. But this his keepyng, whether it were by the Biſhops meanes, becauſe he would ryd his handes of hym, or through the fauour of his keper, was not ſo ſeuere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo liſted) he might haue eſcaped oftentymes.

Rawlins apprehended and conuented before the B. of Landaffe named Anthony Kechin.

Rawlins might eſcape and would not.

But that notwithſtandyng, he continued ſtyll, in ſo much that at the laſt he by the aforenamed Biſhop was remoued from Chepſtow to the Caſtle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the ſpace of one whole yeare. Duryng which tyme this Reporter reſorted to hym very often, with money and other reliefe from this Reporters mother (who was a great fauourer of thoſe that were in afflictiō in thoſe daies) and other of his frendes: whiche he receiued not without great thankes and prayſes geuen to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled & impriſoned, as ye haue heard, to his owne vndoyng in this world, and to the vtter decay of his poore wife and children: yet was his hart ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtherance of other in the way of ſaluation, that he was neuer in quiet, but whē he was perſwadyng or exhortyng ſuch of his familiar frendes as commonly came vnto hym. In ſo muche that on the ſondayes and other tymes of leyſure, when his frendes came to viſite hym, he would paſſe away the tyme in prayer and exhortations, admoniſhing them alwayes to beware of falſe Prophetes which come in ſheepes clothing.

Rawlins a whole yeare in priſon.

A godly woman ſtirred vp to releeue Rawlins.

Exhortation of Rauling to his frendes.

Nowe when he had continued in Cardiffe Caſtle by the ſpace of one whole yeare (as I haue ſayde) the tyme of his further triall was at hande. Whereupon the aforenamed Biſhop of Landaffe cauſed hym to be brought agayne fro the caſtle of Cardiffe vnto his own houſe beſides Chepſtow, and whileſt he continued there, the Biſhop aſſayed manye wayes howe to reduce hym to ſome conformitie. But when all meanes eyther by their threatnyng woordes or flatteryng promiſes were to no purpoſe: the Biſhop willed hym to aduiſe and be at a full poynte with hym ſelfe, eyther to recant his opinions, or els to abyde the rigour of the lawe, and thereupon gaue hym a day of determination.

Rauling by no meanes could be reduced to returne to Popery.

Which day beyng come, the Biſhop with his Chaplaynes went into his Chappel, not without a great number of other bydwellers, that came to beholde the manner of their doyngs. When the Biſhop with his retinue were placed in order, poore Rawlins was brought before them. The Biſhop after great deliberation in addreſſing hym ſelfe (as it ſeemed) and ſilence forwarned to the reſt that were there preſent, vſed a long kind of talke to hym, declaryng the cauſe of his ſendyng for, whiche was, for that he was a man well knowen to holde hereticall opinions, and that through his inſtruction many were led into blynde errour. In the ende he exhorted hym to conſider his owne eſtate wherein he ſtoode: for (ſaid the Biſhop) Rawlins, you haue bene oftentimes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe and els where bene trauailed withall touching your opiniōs, and ẏ notwithſtādyng ye ſeme altogether obſtinate and wylfull.

Raulins brought before the B. of Landaffe in open iudgment.

The wordes of the B. to Raulins.

Nowe, hereupon we thought good to ſende for you, to ſee if there were any conformitie in you: ſo that the matter is come to this poynt, that if you ſhall ſhewe your ſelfe repentaunt for that whiche you haue done both againſt God and the Princes lawe, we are ready to vſe fauour towardes you: but if by no meanes we can perſwade with you tou-

ching

chyng your reformation, we are minded at this tyme to miniſter the law vnto you, and therfore aduiſe your ſelfe what you wyll doo.

Rawlins anſwereth to the Byſhop.

When the Biſhop had made an ende of his long tale, this good father Rawlins ſpake very boldly to hym, and ſaid: My Lorde, I thanke God I am a Chriſtian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: & if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Chriſtian man ought to be. Many moe wordes in like ſort were betweene the Biſhop and Rawlins, which this Reporter dooth not very well remember. But in the ende when Rawlins would in no wyſe recant his opinions, the Biſhop told hym plainly, that he muſt procede againſt him by the law, and condemne hym as an heretike.

The B. of Landaffe procedeth with prayer in condemnation of Rawlins, which commonly the popiſh perſecutors are not wont to doe.

Procede in your lawe a Gods name, ſaide Rawlins: but for an heretike you ſhall neuer condemne me while the worlde ſtandeth. But (ſayd the Biſhop to his company) before we procede any further with hym, let vs pray vnto God that he would ſend ſome ſparke of grace vppon hym, (meanyng Rawlins) & it may ſo chance that God through our prayer wyl heare turne & cōuert his hart. Whē Rawlins heard yͤ Biſhop ſay ſo, Ah my Lord, quoth he, now you deale well and like a godly Biſhop, and I thanke you moſt hartily for your great charitie and gentlenes. Chriſt ſaith: *Where as two or three be gathered in my name, I wyll be in the middeſt of them*, and there be moe then two or three of you. Now if it be ſo that your requeſt be godly and lawful, and that you pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God wyl heare you. And therfore my Lord goe to, doo you pray to your God, and I wyl pray to my God. I know that my God wyl both heare my prayer, and performe my deſire.

The Byſhop prayeth to his God, and Rawlins to hys.

By and by the Biſhop with his cōpany fell to prayer. And Rawlins turnyng hym ſelfe to a Pew that ſtood ſomwhat neare hym, fell downe vppon his knees couering his face with his handes: and when they had prayed a while, the biſhop with his company aroſe from prayer. And then alſo aroſe Rawlins, and came before the Biſhop.

Rawlins confirmed in his doctrine.

Popiſh Byſhops pray to a falſe god and therefore are not heard

Then ſaide the Biſhop: Nowe Rawlins, howe is it with thee? wylt thou reuoke thy opinions, or no? Surely (ſaide Rawlins) my Lorde, Rawlins ye left me, and Rawlins you finde me, and by Gods grace Rawlins I wyl continue. Certainly if your petitions had bene iuſt and lawful, God would haue heard them: but you honor a falſe God, and pray not as ye ſhould pray, and therfore hath not God graunted your deſire: But I am one poore ſimple man as you ſee, and God hath heard my complaint, and I truſt he wil ſtrengthen me in his owne cauſe.

A Maſſe ſayd for conuerſion of Rawlins.

The Biſhop when he perceiued that this hypocriſie of theirs tooke none effect, then with hot wordes he reproued hym, and forthwith was ready to reade the ſentence. Howbeit vppon ſome aduiſe geuen to hym by his Chaplaynes that were there preſent, he thought beſte firſte to haue a maſſe, thinking that in deede by ſo doing, ſome wonderfull worke ſhould be wrought in Rawlins, and thereuppon a prieſt began Maſſe.

The wordes of Rawlins to the people at the ſacring tyme.

In the meane tyme poore Rawlins betooke him ſelfe to prayer in a ſecrete place thereby, vntyll ſuche tyme as the Prieſt came to the Sacring (as they terme it) whiche is a principall poynte of their Idolatrie. When Rawlins heard the ſacring bell ring (as the vſe was) he roſe out of his place, and came to the Quiere doore, and there ſtanding a while, turned hym ſelfe to the people, ſpeaking theſe wordes: Good people, if there be any brethren amongeſt you, or at the leaſt if there be but one brother amongeſt you, the ſame one beare witnes at the daye of iudgement, that I bowe not to this Idoll, meaning the Hoſt that the Prieſte held ouer his head.

Rawlins ſtil conſtant in the profeſſion of Gods truth.

Sentence read agaynſt Rawlins.

Rawlins ſent to priſon to Cardiffe caſtle.

The Maſſe being ended, Rawlins eftſoones was called for againe. To whom the Biſhop vſed many perſwaſions: but the bleſſed man continued ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the Biſhops talke was altogether in vaine, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed the definitiue ſentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the biſhops commaundement caried againe to Cardiffe, there to be put into the priſon of the towne, called Cockmarel, a very darke lothſome, and moſt vile priſon.

Rawlins in the meane while paſſed away the tyme in prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalmes: which kinde of godly exerciſes he alwayes vſed, both at Cardiffe Caſtle, & in all other places.

The officers intending to burne Rawlins with out a writte.

Nowe, after he had thus continued as priſoner in Cockmarell Priſon at Cardiffe (as is aforeſayde) a good ſpace, aboute three weekes before the daye wherein he ſuffered, the head Officers of the Towne that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burne hym, becauſe they woulde be ſooner ryd of hym: hauyng not in deede a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they ſhould haue.

Whereuppon one Henrye Lewes the Recorder of the Towne that then was, ſeeing that they wente aboute to burne hym without any warrant by writ, came to them, and tolde them, that if they dyd burne hym before they had the writ *De hæreticis comburendis*, the wife of the ſayde Rawlins would vpon iuſt cauſe by lawe, cal their doynges into queſtion.

The writte awarded for burning of Rawlins.

Immediately vppon this aduertiſement, they ſent to London for the writ aboue named: vpon the receipt whereof they made ſome ſpeede to the execution of the ſaid Rawlins. Nowe when the daye was come, wherein the good father ſhould perfourme and accompliſhe the laſt act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare hym ſelfe.

Rawlins wedding garment.

Nowe, when he perceyued his tyme no leſſe neare then it was reported vnto hym, he ſent forthwith to his wyfe, and willed her by the meſſenger that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make readye, and ſende vnto him his wedding garmente, meanyng a Shirt, whiche afterwarde he was burned in. Which requeſt or rather commaundement of his, his wife with great ſorow and griefe of hart dyd performe, and early in the morning dyd ſende it hym, whiche he receiued moſte gladly and ioyfully.

Rawlins going to the place of execution.

Nowe when the houre of his execution was come, this good and conſtant father Rawlins was brought out of priſon, hauyng on his bodye the long Shyrt, whiche (as you hearde before) he called his wedding garment, and an olde Ruſſet coate which he was wont to weare. Beſides this, he had vppon his legges an olde payre of leather buſkins, which he had vſed long afore. And thus being brought out of the priſon (as I haue ſaid) he was accompanied or rather garded with a great companye of Byltes and gleaues: which ſight when he behelde, Alas (quoth he) what meaneth al this? Al this needed not. By Gods grace I wyll not ſtart away: but I with al my hart and mynd geue vnto God moſt harty thankes that he hath made me worthy to abide al this for his holy names ſake.

Rawlins ſomwhat moued at the ſight of his wyfe and children.

Rawlins wraſtleth agaynſt his fleſhe.

The agony and fight of this Chriſtian warriour.

So he came to a place in his waye where as his poore wyfe and children ſtoode weepyng and makyng greate lamentation: the ſuddaine ſight of whom ſo pierced his hart, that the very teares trickeled downe his face. But he ſoone after, as though he had miſliked this infirmitie of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with hym ſelfe: In ſo muche that in ſtriking his breſt with his hande, he vſed theſe wordes: Ah fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou faine preuaile? Well, I tell thee doo what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by Gods grace, haue the victorie. By this tyme this poore innocent came to the very altar of his ſacrifice (I meane the place appoynted for his death) and there found a ſtake ready ſet vp, with ſome wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he behelde, he ſet forwarde hym ſelfe very boldly: but in goyng toward the ſtake he fel downe vpō his knees, and kiſſed the grōd, & in riſing againe, the earth a litle ſticking on his noſe, he ſaid theſe wordes: Earth vnto earth, and duſt vnto duſt, thou art my mother, and vnto thee ſhal I returne. Then went he chearefully & very ioyfully, and ſet his backe cloſe vnto the ſtake, and whē he had ſtoode there a while, he caſt his eye vppon this Reporter, and called hym vnto hym, and ſaid: I feele a great fighting betweene the fleſhe and the ſpirite, and the fleſh would very faine haue his ſwinge, and therfore I pray you whē you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your finger vp to me, and I truſt I ſhal remember my ſelfe.

Rawlins faſtened to the ſtake.

As he was thus ſtanding with his backe cloſe vnto the ſtake, a Smith came with a great chayne of yron: whom when he ſawe, he caſt vp his hande with a loude voyce, and gaue God great thankes. Then the Smith caſt the chaine about hym, and as he was making it faſte on the other ſide, Rawlins ſayde vnto hym, I pray you good frende knocke in the chayne faſt, for it may be that the fleſhe would ſtriue mightily: but God of thy great mercy geue me ſtrength and pacience to abide the extremitie.

The chearefulnes of father Rawlins at his death.

Nowe when the Smyth had made hym ſure to the ſtake, the Officers beganne to lay on more woode, with a litle ſtrawe and Reede: wherein the good olde man was no leſſe occupied then the beſt: for as farre as he could reach his handes, he would plucke the ſtrawe and Reede, and lay it about hym in places moſte conuenient for his ſpeedye diſpatche. Which thing he did with ſuche a chearefull countenance and familiar geſture, that all men there preſent were in a maner aſtonyed.

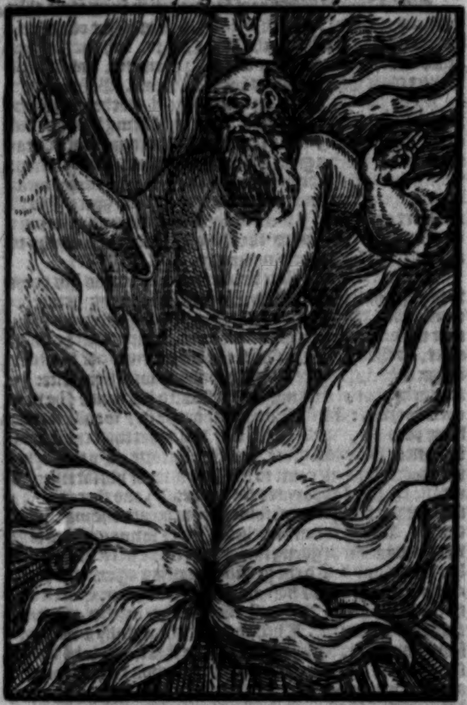
A Popiſh ſermon preached at Rawlins Martyrdome.

Thus when all thynges were readye, ſo that there lacked nothyng but the putting to of the fire, directly ouer agaynſte the ſtake in the face of Rawlins, there was a ſtanding erected, whereon ſtept vp a Prieſt addreſſing hym ſelfe to ſpeake to the people, which were many in number, becauſe it was market day. When Rawlins perceiued him, and conſidered the cauſe of his commyng, he reached a litle ſtrawe vnto hym, and made two litle ſtayes, & ſet them vnder his elbowes. Then went the prieſt forward in his ſermon, wherin he ſpake of many thinges touching the authoritie of the church of Rome. In the meane tyme Rawlins gaue ſuch good eare and intention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moued or diſquieted. At the laſt the prieſt came to the ſacrament of the altar, and there he began to inuey againſt Raulins opinions: in whiche his inuection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a Clerkly interpretation.

Rawlins wordes to the falſe Prophet.

Nowe when Raulins perceyued that he went aboute not onely to preache and teache the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirme it by Scripture, he ſuddainly ſtarte vp, and beckened his handes to the people, ſaying twiſe: Come hither good people, and heare not a falſe prophet preaching: and then ſaide vnto the preacher: Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doeſt thou preſume to proue thy falſe doctrine by ſcripture? Looke in the text what foloweth: dyd not Chriſt ſay: Doo this in the remembraunce of me? After whiche wordes the Prieſt being rather amazed then interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

¶ The burnyng of Raulins, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of Rawlins White, a Fiſherman, at Cardiffe. Anno. 1555. March.

Then ſome that ſtood by cryed out, Put fire, ſet to fire: whiche being ſet to, the ſtrawe and Reede by and by caſte vp both a great and a ſuddaine flame. In the which flame this good and bleſſed man bathed his handes ſo long, vntyll ſuch tyme as the ſinewes ſhronke, and the fatte dropped away, ſauing that once he dyd, as it were, wype his face with one of them. Al this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cryed with a loude voyce: O Lorde receiue my ſoule: O Lord receiue my ſpirite, vntyl he could not opē his mouth. At the laſt the extremitie of the fire was ſo vehement againſt his legges, that they were conſumed almoſte before the reſt of his bodye was burned: whiche made the whole body fal ouer the chayne into the fire ſooner then it woulde haue done. During which tyme of his burnyng it can not be ſaid, that he ſuffered or fealt any great paine, conſidering that not without his perfect memorie he aboad both quietly and paciently, euen vnto the departing of his life. Thus dyed this godly and old man Rawlins for the teſtimonie of Gods truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of euerlaſting life.

The conſtant patience of Rawlins at his burning.

A ſodain alteratiō of nature maruelous in Rawlins before his death

It is recorded furthermore of the ſaid good father Raulins by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and ſtanding at the ſtake, he ſeemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For wheras before he was wont to go ſtowping, or rather crooked, through the infirmitie of age, hauyng a ſad countenaunce and a very feeble complexion, and withal very ſoft in ſpeache and geſture. Nowe he wente and ſtretched vp hym ſelfe, not onely bolt vpright, but alſo bare withal a moſt pleaſant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacitie both in ſpeache and in behauiour. He had (of whiche thing I ſhoulde haue ſpoken before) about his head a kerchiſe. The heares of his head (ſomewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe) and alſo of his beard were more inclined to white then to graye: whiche gaue ſuch a ſhewe and countenance to his whole perſon, that he ſeemed to be altogether angelical.

The reporter of this ſtory one M. Dane.

It is alſo ſaide by this Reporter, that a litle before the fire flaſhed vp to his body (as ye haue heard) many of his frendes came to hym, and tooke hym by the hand, amongeſt whom, the Reporter of this ſtory helde hym ſo long by the hand, tyll the flame of the fire roſe, and forced them to ſunder. In the meane tyme the prieſt of whom I ſpake afore, cryed out, and ſaid, that it was not lawful for any man to take hym by the hand, becauſe he was an heretike, and condemned by the Churche. The chiefe cauſe of his trouble, was his opinion touching the ſacrament of the aultar. He was at the tyme of his death, of the age of three ſcore yeres or thereabouts.

¶The ſumme of the words ſpoken by queene Mary to certain of her coūſailers. March.28.an.1555. touching the reſtitution of Abbay landes.

Before I paſſe ouer this moneth of Marche, I can not but leaue a litle Memorandum of the wordes or conſultation of Queene Mary, vſed to certaine of the Counſaile, the eight and twenty day of the ſaid moneth of March, touching the reſtoring againe of the Abbay landes. Who after ſhee had called vnto her preſence foure of her priuie Counſaile, the day and moneth aforeſaid: the names of whiche Counſailors were theſe:

The names of the Counſellers called before Q. Mary.

1 William Lord Marques of Wincheſter, high treaſurer of England.
2 Syr Robert Rocheſter knight, the queenes Controller.
3 Sir William Peter knight. Secretary.
4 Sir Fraunces Inglefield knight, Maiſter of the wardes.

The effect of Q. Maryes wordes touching Abbay landes to be reſtored.

The ſaid Queene Mary inferred theſe wordes: the principalle effecte and ſumme wherof here foloweth. You are here of our Counſaile, and we haue willed you to be called vnto vs, to the entent ye might heare of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, concerning the landes & poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries, as other Churches whatſoeuer being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

The Q. taketh a conſcience in keeping Abbay landes.

The Q. ſurrendreth from her ſelfe the poſſeſſion of Abbay landes.

Firſte, I doo conſider, that the ſaide landes were taken awaye from the Churches aforeſaide, in tyme of ſchiſme, and that by vnlawfull meanes, ſuche as are contrarye both to the lawe of God and of the Church. For the which cauſe my conſcience dooth not ſuffer me to deteine them: and therefore I here expreſſely refuſe eyther to clayme or to retayne the ſaide landes for myne, but with all my hart, freely, and willyngly without all paction or condition, here and before God I doo ſurrender and relinquiſhe the ſaide landes and poſſeſſions or inheretaunces what ſo euer, and doo renounce the ſame with this mynde and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition therof may be taken, as ſhal ſeme beſt liking to our moſt holy Lord the Pope, or els his Legate the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God and wealth of this our Realme.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that conſidering the ſtate of my kingdome, the dignitie therof, and my Crowne Imperiall can not be honorably mainteined and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid: yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſaluation of my ſoule, then by x. kingdomes, and therefore the ſaid poſſeſſions I vtterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and geue moſt harty thankes to almighty God, which hath geuen me an huſbande likewiſe mynded, wyth no leſſe good affection in this behalfe, then I am my ſelfe.

Promiſe for reſtitution of Abbay landes

Wherefore I charge and commaund, that my Chauncellour (with whom I haue conferred my minde in this matter before) and you foure, to morowe together doo reſort to the moſt reuerend Lord Legate, and doo ſignifie to hym the premiſſes in my name, and geue your attendaunce vppon hym for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kingdome, and of the foreſaid poſſeſſions accordingly, as you your ſelues doo vnderſtande the matter, and can informe hym in the ſame.

This Intimation being geuen by the Queene, firſt vnto the Counſailours, and then commyng to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a copie therof in Latine, ſent the ſame to the Pope: whiche copie drawen into Latine, and

commyng

afterwarde to my hande, I haue thus tranſlated into Engliſh, as ye haue heard.

Ambaſſadours ſent from England to Rome. February 19.

Furthermore here by the way is to be vnderſtand, that in the moneth before, which was February, and in the. xix. day of the ſaid moneth, the Biſhop of Ely, with the Lorde Mountacute, and ſeuen ſcore horſe, were ſent as ambaſſadours from the king and Queene vnto Rome. For what cauſe, in ſtory it is not expreſſed, but by coniecture it maye be wel ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of Abbay landes, as by the ſequele therof may probably appeare.

The Popes Bull for reſtitution of Abbay landes.

For it was not long after, but the Pope dyd ſet foorth in Print a Bull of Excommunication for al manner ſuche perſons, without exception, as kept any of the Churche or Abbay landes: by vertue of whiche Bull, the Pope excommunicated as well all ſuch as had any of the Church or Abbay landes, as alſo all ſuche Princes, Biſhoppes, Noble men, Juſtices of Peace, and other in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the ſame Bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was neuer put in practiſe.

Note the nature of the Papiſtes where they can ouercome, they are Lions: where they are ouermatched, they play the Foxes.

Wherein againe is to be obſerued an other Catholique fetche, not vnworthy perchaunce of marking. For where this kinde of Catholiques by rigour and force may ouermaiſter, they ſpare for no coſt, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and ſtill dooth appeare in burnyng the poore pacient Chriſtians, whom becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſte them, and contente with patience to receiue what ſo euer is put vnto them, there they play the Lyons, and make no ende of burning and perſecuting. But where they ſpye them ſelues to be ouermatched, or feare to receiue a foyle in preſuming too farre, there they keepe in, and can ſtay the execution of their lawes and Bulles, be they neuer ſo Apoſtolicall, tyll they ſpye their time conuenient for their purpoſe, as in this caſe is euident for al the world to ſee.

Here lacked good will in the Byſhops but tyme as yet did not ſerue them.

For notwithſtanding that the Popes Bull commyng downe with full authoritie for reſtitution of Abbey landes, did ſo thunder out moſt terrible excommunication, not only againſt them whiche deteyned any ſuche landes, but alſo againſt all other that dyd not ſee the Popes commaundement to be executed, yet neither Wincheſter nor anye of all the Popes Clergie woulde greatly ſtyrre in that matter, perceiuyng the Nobilitie to be too ſtrong for them to match withall, and therefore were contented to let the caſe fall, or at leaſte to ſtaye for a tyme, while tyme might better ſerue them.

False diſſembling in the Popes Catholicke Church.

M. Fecknams ballet of Caueat Emptor.

Yea, and moreouer vnder craftie pretenſe, that the Nobilitie and men of landes at the firſt commyng oute of the Bull, ſhould not be exaſperate too much againſt them, they ſubtilly abuſed the Pulpites, and diſſembled with the people, affirming that the ſaide Popes late Bull ſet foorth in print for reſtitution of Abbey landes, was not meant for Englande, but for other forreine countreys, where in very deede the meanyng of that Bull was onely for Englande, and no countrey els, as both by this intimation of Queene Mary here mentioned, and by many other coniectures, and alſo by maiſter Fecknams Ballet of Caueat emptor, may appeare. Wherby it is eaſie for al men to vnderſtand what the purpoſe of thoſe men was to doo, if tyme, whiche they obſerued, might haue ſerued their deuotion. But to let this matter paſſe of the Popes Bull, the tyme nowe ſerueth to entreate of Pope Julius death, for ſo much as he made his end about the latter ende of this foreſaid moneth of March. Concerning the deedes and actes of which Pope, to make a ful declaration, it were not ſo much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Vnder this Julius floriſhed the Archb. of Beneuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Caſa, Deane of the Popes chamber, & chiefe Legate to the Venetians: who wel declaring the fruite of that filthy See, ſo farre forgat both honeſtie and nature, that he ſhamed not onely to play the filthy Sodomite hym ſelfe, & to boaſt openly of the ſame: but alſo tooke vpon him moſt impudently in Italian meter, to al mens eares, to ſet foorth the prayſe & commendation of that beaſtly iniquitie, ſaying, that he him ſelfe neuer vſed other: & this booke was printed at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus: & yet the pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquitie and ſhameles beaſtlynes, euen vnder his noſe in his owne chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Chriſt in Chriſtian bookes.

Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

The death of Pope Julius. 3.

Vide ſcriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc Archiepiſcopum.

Note here what an holy catholicke church this is.

Amongeſt other prankes and deedes of this foreſayde Pope, in his Jubilee, and in the Synode of Trent, and in confirming of the Idole of Laurettane, this is alſo reported of hym in his life, that he delighted greatly in Porkefleſhe and Peacockes. Vpon a tyme when he was admoniſhed of his Phiſition to abſtayne from all Swines fleſhe, for that it was noyſome for his Goute, and yet woulde not folowe his counſell: the Phiſition afterwarde gaue warnyng to his ſteward or orderer of his diete, that he ſhoulde ſet no more Porkefleſh before hym.

A Porkiſh Pope

Whereuppon when the Pope perceyued the ſayde Porkefleſhe to be lackyng in his accuſtomed ſeruice: where (ſayde he) is my Porke? And when his Stewarde had aunſweared, that his Phiſition had forbydden any Porke to be ſerued: then the Pope burſting out in great rage, ſayde in theſe wordes: Bring me, ſaide he, my Porkefleſh Al diſpetto di Dio: That is to ſay in Engliſhe, In the deſpite of God.

Monſtrous blaſphemy in the Pope.

At an other tyme, he ſitting at dynner, poynting to a Peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched, Keepe ſaid he, this colde Peacocke for me againſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the garden, for I ſhal haue geſtes. So when ſupper came, and amongeſt other hot Peacockes, he ſawe not his colde Peacocke brought to his table: ye Pope after his wonted manner, moſt horribly blaſpheming God, fell into an extreme rage. &c. Wherupon one of his Cardinalles ſitting by, deſired hym ſaying: Let not your holynes, I pray you, be ſo moued with a matter of ſo ſmal weight. Then this Julius the Pope anſwearing againe: What ſaid he, if God was ſo angrye for one apple, that he caſt our firſt parents out of Paradiſe for the ſame, why may not I being his vicar, be angry then for a Peacocke, ſithens a Peacock is a greater matter then an apple? Behold here good reader, by this Pope, the holynes of that blaſphemous See: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here, what affection was borne vnto this Pope here in England, by the Diriges, Hearſes, and Funerals commaunded to be had and celebrated in al churches by the Queene and her Counſaile, as may appeare by the copie of their letters here folowing.

Pope Julius blaſphemeth God for a Peacocke.

O vocem Antichriſto dignam.

¶ A letter ſent from the Biſhop of Wincheſter (being Lorde Chauncelour) vnto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the celebrating of the Popes Funeralles.

April. 10. Wincheſters letter to Boner for the Popes funerall.

After my hartye commendations to your good Lordſhip: The king and Queenes maieſties hauing certaine knowledge of the death of the Popes holynes, thought good there ſhoulde be as well ſolemne Obſequies ſaide for hym throughout the Realme, as alſo theſe prayers (whiche I ſende you herein encloſed) vſed at Maſſe tymes in all places at this tyme of vacation, and therefore wylled me to ſignifie their pleaſures vnto you in this behalfe: that therupon ye might proceede to the full accompliſhment thereof by putting the ſame in due execution within your owne Dioces, and ſending worde to the reſt of the Biſhops to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your lordſhip wil vſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this tyme, as ſhall be neceſſary, I byd your Lordſhip hartily well to fare. From my houſe at Aſſher, the tenth of April. 1555.

Your aſſured frende and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Chancell.

¶ Prayers commaunded to be vſed in the funeral Maſſes for the Pope, Apoſtolica ſede vacante.

A Collect for the Pope.

Supplici te domine humilitate depoſcimus, vt tua immenſa pietas ſacroſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui et pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi gratus, et tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſiduè ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per dominum noſtrum.

Secreta.

Tuæ nobis domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maieſtati tuæ pontificem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ regimini præeſſe gaudeamus per dominum noſtrum.

Poſt Communionem.

An other prayer for chuſing of the Pope.

Precioſi corporis et ſanguinis tui domine ſacramento refectos, mirifica tuæ maieſtatis gratia de illius ſummi pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui et plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, et fidelium mentes, ſpiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per dominum noſtrum.

A woman of S. Magnus pariſh impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

Vpon this commaundement, on Wedneſday in Eaſter weeke there were Hearſes ſet vp, & Diriges ſong for the ſaid Julius in diuers places. At which tyme it chaunced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridge foote in London, & there ſeeing an Hearſe & other preparation, aſked what it meant: and other that ſtood by, ſaid, that it was for the Pope, and that ſhee muſt pray for hym. Nay (quoth ſhee) that wyll I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and ſeeing he coulde forgeue vs all our ſinnes, I am ſure he is cleane hym ſelfe: therfore I neede not to pray for hym. She was heard ſpeake theſe wordes of certayne that ſtoode by: which by & by caried her vnto the Cage at London bridge, and bade her coole her ſelfe there.

¶ A ſpectacle for all Chriſtians to beholde and to take heede of the Popes blaſphemous Doctrine.

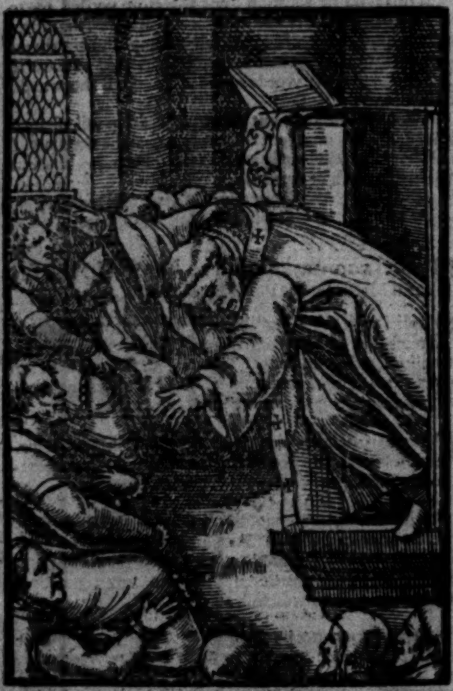
A Popiſh parſon preaching to his pariſhioners.

BY many and ſundrye wayes almighty God hath admoniſhed men of all nations in theſe our latter yeares to embrace, and not violently to repugne againſte the light of his Goſpell, as firſt by preachyng of his worde, ſecondly, by the bloud of the Martyrs, and thirdly, by terrible examples ſhewed from tyme to tyme vppon his aduerſaryes. In the number of whom commeth here to be remembred the notable workyng of Gods hande vpon a certayne Prieſt in Kent named Nightingall, Parſon of Crondall beſides Canterbury: who vppon Shroueſonday, whiche was about the third daye of the ſayde moneth of March, and yeare of our Lorde aforeſaid, reioyſing belike not a litle at this alteration of Religion, beganne to make a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, takyng his Theme out of the wordes of S. Iohn: He that ſaith, he hath no ſinne, is a lyer, and the truth is not in him. &c. And ſo vpon the ſame very impertinently declared to them all ſuche Articles as were ſet forth by the Popes authoritie, and by the commaundement of the Biſhops of this realme: ſaying moreouer vnto the people in this wiſe: Nowe maiſters & neighbours reioyce and be mery, for the prodigall ſonne is come home. For I know that the moſt part of you be as I am: for I knowe your hartes wel enough. And I ſhal tel you what hath happened in this weeke paſt. I was before my Lord Cardinal Pooles grace, & he hath made me as cleane frō ſinne, as I was at the fontſtone: and on Thurſday laſt being before hym, he hath appoynted me to notifie (I thank hym for it) the ſame vnto you. And I wyl tel you what it is. And ſo reading the Popes Bull of pardon that was ſent into Englande, he ſaide, he thanked God that euer he had lyued to ſee that daye: adding moreouer that he beleeued, that by the vertue of that Bull he was as cleane from ſinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatly vpon the ſame fel ſodaynly downe out of the pulpit, and neuer ſtyrred hand nor foote, and ſo lay he. Teſtified by Rob. Baſken of Cartham, which both heard and ſaw the ſame, & is witneſſed alſo by the whole countrey round about.

A terrible exāple of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon Nightingall Parſon of Crandall in Kent.

Blaſphemy to Chriſtes Goſpell puniſhed.

The deſcription of a popiſhe Prieſte, who when he had taken away the glory and office of Chriſt, fell downe ſodaynly, and dyed.



The ſodaine death of one Nightingall Parſon of Crondall in Kent, who was made by the Cardinals authoritie & chiefe Penitentiary of that Deanry.

Iohn Awcocke.

Aprill. 2. Iohn Awcocke, Martyr.

IN the moneth of Aprill, and the ſeconde day of the ſame moneth, dyed in priſon Iohn Awcocke, who after was buryed in the fieldes, as the maner of the Papiſtes was to deny their Chriſtian burial to ſuch as dyed out of their popiſh Antichriſtian Church.

A declaration of the lyfe, examination, and burnyng of George Marſhe, who ſuffered moſt conſtant martyrdome for the profeſſion of the goſpel of Chriſt, at Weſtcheſter, the fourth day of April. Ann. 1555.

Aprill. 4. George Marſh Martyr.

THe ſaide George Marſhe was borne in the Pariſhe of Deane, in the Countie of Lancaſter, and was well brought vp in learnyng and honeſt trade of lyuyng by his Parentes, who afterwardes about the .xxv. yeare of his age, tooke to wyfe an honeſt mayden of the countrey, with whom he continued, earnyng their liuyng vpon a Farme, hauyng chyldren betweene them lawfully begotten: and then God takyng his wyfe out of this worlde, he beyng moſt deſirous of godly ſtudyes, (leauyng his houſhold and children in good order) went vnto the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he ſtudyed, and muche encreaſed in learnyng and godly vertues, and was a miniſter of Gods holy worde and Sacramentes, and for a while was Curate to Laurence Saunders, as he hym ſelfe reporteth. In whiche condition of lyfe, he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſettyng forth Gods true Religion, to the defacyng of Antichriſtes falſe doctrine, by his godlye Readynges and Sermons, as well there and in the Pariſhe of Deane, as els where in Lancheſhire.

George Marſh firſt a farmer.

George Marſh made Miniſter.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certayne aduerſaries he was apprehended, and kept in cloſe priſon by George Cotes, then Biſhop of Cheſter, in ſtrayte Priſon in Cheſter, within the precinct of the Biſhoppes houſe, about the ſpace of foure monethes, being not permitted to haue reliefe and comfort of his frendes: but charge beyng geuen vnto the Porter, to marke who they were that aſked for hym, and to ſignifie their names vnto the Biſhop, as by the particular deſcription of his ſtory, teſtified and recorded with his own penne, more euidently may appeare in the proceſſe here vnder folowyng.

D. Cotes Byſhop of Cheſter, a perſecuter. George Marſh detected.

The handlyng, entreatyng, and examination of George Marſh, being ſent firſt by the Earle of Derby to Doct. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter.

The examination of George Marſh, written wyth his owne hand.

ON the monday before Palme Sonday, which was the .xij. day of March, it was told me at my mothers houſe that Rog. Wrinſtone, with other of M. Bartons ſeruants dyd make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton, and when they perceyued that I was not there, they gaue ſtrayt charge to Roger Ward and Rob. Marſh, to find & bring me to maiſter Barton the day next folowing, & others, to be brought before the honourable Earle of Darby, to be examined in matters of Religion. &c.

M. Barton Gentleman, and perſecutour.

I knowyng by this relatiō of diuers of my frēdes, was diuerſly affected, my mother and other my frendes aduertiſing me to flee and to auoyd the perill, which thing I had intended afore after a weeke then next enſuyng, if this in the meane while had not chaunced, ſeeyng, that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthenyng and aſſiſting me with his holy ſpirite I neuer wyl) it woulde not only haue put thē to great ſorow, heauynes, & loſſes, with coſtes and charges, to their ſhame & rebuke in this worlde, but alſo myne owne ſelfe after troubles and painful priſonment, vnto ſhameful death.

George Marſh aduertiſed by his frendes to flye.

This conſidered, they aduiſed and counſayled me to depart & flee ÿ coūtrey, as I had entended to haue done, if this had not happened. To whoſe coūſel my weake fleſh would gladly haue cōſented, but my ſpirit did not fully agree: thinking and ſaying thus to my ſelfe, that if I fled ſo away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaide, that I dyd not onely flee the countrey and my neareſt and deareſt frendes: but much rather from Chriſtes holy worde, according as theſe yeares paſt I had with my hart, or at leaſt with mine outward liuyng profeſſed, and with my mouth & word taught, according to the ſmall talent geuen me of the Lord. I beyng thus with their aduiſe & counſel, and the cogitations & counſelles of myne owne mynde drawen, as it were diuers wayes, went from my mothers houſe, ſaying, I woulde come againe at euenyng.

G. Marſh in a perplexitie whether to flye or to tary.

In the meane tyme I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſke and ſeeke counſell of God (who is the geuer of all good gyftes) and of other my frendes, whoſe godly iudgementes and knowledge I much truſted vnto. After this, I mette with one of my ſaid frendes on Deane Moore, about ſunne going downe: and after we had conſulted together of my buſines, not without harty prayer kneeling on

G. Marſh conſulteth with God.

our knees, we departed. I not fully determinyng what to do, but takyng my leaue of my frēd ſayd I doubted not but God (accordyng as our prayer and truſt was) would geue me ſuch wiſedome and counſayle, as ſhould be moſt to hys honour and glory, the profite of my neighbours and brethren in the worlde, and obtaynyng of myne eternall ſaluation by Chriſt in heauen.

Marſhes brethren charged to ſeeke hym.

This done, I returned to my mothers houſe agayne, where had bene diuers of M. Bartons ſeruauntes ſeekyng after me: who when they could not finde me, ſtraitly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeeke me that night, and to bryng me to Smethehilles the next day: who beyng ſo charged were gone to ſeeke me in Adderton, or els where I know not. Thus intendyng afore to haue bene all night with my mother, but then cōſideryng that my taryng there would diſquyet her with her houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane Church, and there taryed all night with an old frend of myne, takyng ill reſt, and conſultyng much with my ſelfe of my trouble.

The meruailous prouidence of God in reſoluing G. Marſh not to flye, but to tary.

So at my firſt awakyng, one came to me from a faythfull frend of myne with letters, which I neuer read nor yet looked on, who ſayd this: My frendes aduice was that I ſhould in no wiſe flye, but abyde and boldly confeſſe the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt. At whoſe wordes I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that from thence forth I conſulted no more, whether was better to flye or to tary, but was at a poynt with my ſelfe that I would not flye, but go to Maiſter Barton, who did ſeeke for me, and there preſent my ſelfe, and paciently beare ſuch croſſe, as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon my ſhoulders. Wherupon my mynde and conſcience afore beyng much vnquieted and troubled, was now mery and in quyet eſtate.

G. Marſh tooke his leaue of hys frendes.

So betymes in the mornyng I aroſe, and after I had ſayd the Engliſh Letany (as my cuſtome was) with other prayers kneelyng on my knees by my frendes bed ſide, I prepared my ſelfe to goe toward Smethehilles: and as I was goyng thetherward, I went into the houſes of Harry Widdowes, of my mother in law, of Raffe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardſonne, deſiryng them to pray for me, and haue me commended to all my frendes, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my litle children for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more, before the laſt day: & ſo tooke my leaue of thē not without teares ſhed on both parties, and came to Smethehilles about ix. of the clocke, and preſented my ſelfe afore M. Bartō: who ſhewed me a letter from the Earle of Darby, wherein he was commaunded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

G. Marſh of his owne voluntary mynde offereth himſelfe to his enemies.

Wherupon he charged my brother and William Marſh, to bryng and deliuer me the next day, by x. of the clocke before the ſayd Earle or his counſaile. I made earneſt ſute with other ſpeciall frendes, whiche I had there at the ſame tyme, to M. Barton, that hee would take ſome one of them or them all bounde by recogniſaunce or otherwiſe, for myne appearyng before the ſayd Earle or his ſayd counſaile, that my brother & William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt tyme of ſeedyng, & their ploughes could not go if they were not at home: but nothyng could be obtayned.

G. Marſh taketh his leaue of his mother.

So we went to my mothers, and there I dyned and ſhifted part of my clothes, and ſo prayng, tooke my leaue of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, & both their houſeholdes, they and I both weepyng, & ſo departed from them, and went toward Lathum, and were all night a myle and a halfe on this ſide Lathum. So the next day whiche was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayd, and came to Lathum betymes, & taryed there till foure of the clocke at after noone.

G. Marſh brought before the Earle of Darby.

The was I called by Roger Mekynſon, to come to my Lord and his counſaile, & ſo I was brought into the chamber of preſence, where was preſent Syr William Nores, Syr Pierce Alee, Maiſter Sherburne the Parſon of Grapenhall, maiſter More, with others. Where when I had taryed a litle while, my Lord turned him toward me, and aſked what was my name. I aunſwered, Marſh.

Then he aſked whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed euill ſeede and diſſenſion amongeſt the people. Which thyng I denyed, deſiryng to know myne accuſers, and what could bee layd agaynſt me: but that could I not know.

G. Marſh examined before the Earle of Darby.

Then ſayd he, he would with his counſaile examine me themſelues, and aſked me whether I was a Prieſt. I ſaid no. Then he aſked me, what had bene my lyuyng? I aunſwered, I was Miniſter, ſerued a Cure, & taught a ſchole. Then ſayd my Lord to his counſaile, this is a wonderfull thyng. Afore he ſayd he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelfe to be one. I aunſwered, by the lawes now vſed in this Realme (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they aſked me who gaue me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I aunſwered, I receiued orders of the Byſhops of London and Lyncolne.

Then ſayd they one to an other, theſe bee of theſe new heretyckes, and aſked me what acquaintance I had with them? I aunſwered, I neuer ſawe them, but at the tyme when I receiued orders.

They aſked me howe long I had ben Curate, and whether I had miniſtred with a good conſcience? I aunſwered I had ben Curat but one yeare, and had miniſtred with a good conſcience, I thanked God, and if the lawes of the Realme, would haue ſuffered me, I would haue miniſtred ſtyll: and if ẏ lawes at any tyme here after would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter agayne.

The blaſphemous mouth of the parſon of Grapnall.

Whereat they murmured: and the perſon of Grapnall ſayd: thys laſt Communion was the moſt diueliſhe thing that euer was deuiſed. Then they aſked me what my beliefe was?

I aunſwered, I beleued in God the Father, the Sonne and ẏ holy Ghoſt, accordyng as the Scriptures of the olde and new teſtament do teach and accordyng as the. iiij. Symboles, or Credes, that is to wyt, the Crede commonly called Apoſtolorum, the Crede of Nice Councell, of Athanaſius, and of Auſten, and Ambroſe do teach.

And after a fewe wordes, the parſon of Grapnall ſayd: but what is thy beliefe in the Sacrament of the aultar?

G. Marſhes beliefe in the ſacrament.

I aunſwered, I beleued that whoſoeuer, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, dyd receiue the holye Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, dyd eate and drynke Chriſtes body and bloud with all the benefites of his death and reſurrection to their eternall ſaluation: for Chriſt (ſayd I) is euer preſent with his ſacrament.

Then aſked they me, whether the bread and wyne, by the vertue of the wordes pronounced of the Prieſt, were chaunged into the fleſhe and bloud of Chriſt, and that the ſacrament, whether it were receiued or reſerued, was the very body of Chriſt?

G. Marſh loth to anſwere to the queſtion of tranſubſtantiation.

Whereunto I made aunſwere, I knew no further then I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is vnperfect (ſaid I): deſiryng thē not to aſke me, ſuch hard & vnprofitable queſtions, whereby to bryng my body into daunger of death, & to ſucke my bloud. Whereat they were not a litle offended, ſaying they were no bloudſuckers, and intended nothyng to me but to make me a good Chriſtian man.

G. Marſh commaunded by the Earle of Darby to write his aunſweres.

So after many other queſtions, whiche I auoyded as well as I could, remembryng the ſaying of Paule Fooliſh and vnlearned queſtions auoyde, knowing they do but ingender ſtrife: my Lorde cōmaunded me to come to ẏ borde, and gaue me pen and incke in my hand and commaunded me to write mine aunſweres to the queſtions of the Sacrament aboue named: & I wrote as I had aunſwered before. Wherat he beyng much offended, cōmaunded me to wryte a more direct aunſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

Then I tooke the pen and wrote, that further I knewe not. Whereat hee beyng ſore greeued, after many threatnynges, ſayde I ſhoulde bee put to ſhamefull death lyke a traytor, with ſuch other lyke wordes, and ſometimes geuyng me fayre wordes, if I woulde turne and be conformable as other were, how glad he would bee.

The Earle of Darby commaundeth G. Marſh into priſon.

In concluſion, after much adoe, he commaunded me to ward into a cold windy ſtone houſe, where was litle roume where I lay two nightes without any bed, ſauyng a fewe great canuas tentclothes, and that done, I hadde a payre of ſheetes, but no woollen clothes, & ſo cōtinued tyll Palmeſonday, occupying my ſelfe aſwell as I coulde in meditation, prayer, and ſtudy, for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my keeper twyſe a daye when hee brought me meate and drynke.

¶An other examination of G. Marſhe before the Earle of Darby.

ON Palme ſonday at after dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his counſell (ſauyng Syr William Nores, & Syr Pierce Alee were not then preſent in place) amongeſt whom was ſir John Berō, and the Vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me yet once agayn of the ſacramens. And after I had communed aparte with the Vicar of Preſcot a good ſpace cōcernyng that matter, he returned to my Lorde and his Councell with me, ſaying: that aunſwer whiche I had made before, and then dyd make (as it is aboue wrytten) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſſe a perfect knowledge in that matter, vntyll ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earle was very well pleaſed, ſaying hee doubted not, but by the meanes and helpe of the Vicar of Preſcot I woulde bee conformable in other thinges. So after many fayre wordes hee commaunded I ſhoulde haue a bed, with fyre, and libertye to go amongeſt his ſeruauntes, ſo that I would do no harme with my communication amongeſt them.

Marſh agayne examined about the ſacrament.

Marſh keepeth himſelfe yet cloſe in the Sacrament.

And ſo after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my ſpirit then afore, becauſe I had not with more boldnes confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort, as mine aduerſaries therby thought they ſhoulde preuayle agaynſt me: wherat I was much greued: For hetherto I went about as much as in me lay, to ryd my ſelf out of their handes, if by any meanes, without open denying of Chriſt and his word that could be done.

Marſh troubled in his conſcience for being no more bolde touching the Sacrament.

Marſh prayeth for more boldnes.

This conſidered, I cryed more earneſtly vnto God by prayer, deſiryng him to ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirite, with boldnes to confeſſe him: and to deliuer me from their inticing wordes, and that I were not ſpoiled through their Philoſophy and deceitfull vanitie after the traditions of mē and ordinaunces of the world, and not after Chriſt.

Marſh agayne examined before the Byſhops Chaplens.

Talke about the Maſſe.

Allegations agaynſt the Maſſe.

And ſo after a day or two I was ſent for to yͤ Vicar of Preſcot, and the Parſon of Grapnall: where our moſt communication was concernyng the Maſſe: and he aſked what offended me in the Maſſe. I aunſwered the whole Maſſe did offende me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtraunge language, whereby the people were not edified, cōtrary to S. Paules doctrine. 1. Cor. 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes & errours contained therin, contrary to Chriſtes Prieſthode and ſacrifice.

Then they aſked me in what place therof, and I named certaine places: whiche places they went about with gentle and farre ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe places were vnderſtand farre otherwiſe then the wordes did purport, or then I did take them.

I aunſwered, I did vnderſtand thē as they did purport, and as their owne bookes did comment and gloſe vpō them.

Sacrificium Miſſæ quid ſit.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe, expounded by the Papiſtes to be nothing els but the Sacrifice only of thankeſgeuing.

They ſayd, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the Maſſe ſignifie any thyng els, then either a Sacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuyng, or els a memoriall of a ſacrifice or oblation. So they cauſed a Maſſe booke to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the Maſſe was written, Sacrificium laudis. Whereto I aunſwered, that it followed not therfore that in all places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblation of prayſe or thankeſgeuyng: and although it dyd, yet was not a ſacrifice of prayſe or thankeſgeuyng to bee offered for the ſinnes of the people, for that dyd Chriſt by hys owne Paſſion once offer on the Croſſe: where the wordes of the Maſſe were that the Prieſt did offer an oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes and offences both of hym ſelfe and of the people: for them that were dead, and for the ſaluation of the lyuyng: and that the commixtion of the body and bloud of Chriſt was health both of body and ſoule.

The Vicare aunſwered, that was to bee vnderſtand of the commixtion of Chriſtes body and bloude with hys Church or people. So after much exhortation vnto me, that I ſhould bee conformable to the true Catholicke Churche (which as they ment, was the Romiſh Church) I departed, not conſentyng vnto them.

The Articles of D. Cromes recantatiō brought to G. Marſhe.

So within a day or twayne came to me Maiſter More bringyng with him certaine Articles, whereunto Doctour Crome had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certaine witneſſes in the dayes of kyng Henry the eight and willed me to read them ouer, and aſked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe vnto thoſe Articles: and after communication had of one or two of the ſayd Articles, I confeſſed playnly I would in no wiſe conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles, for then I did agaynſt myne owne conſcience: and ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, which was on Sherethurſ day, the ſayd Parſon and Vicar ſent for me agayne, ſaying, my Lord would be at a ſhort poynt with me: for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe vnto iiij. Articles drawen out of the Articles aforeſayd, I muſt go to priſon ſtraight wayes.

4. Popiſh Articles for Marſh to ſubſcribe vnto.

The firſt was, whether the Maſſe nowe vſed in the Church of Englād, was accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitutiō, & with fayth, reuerence, and deuotion to be heard and ſene?

The ſecond, whether the almighty by the wordes pronounced by the Prieſt, did chaunge the bread and wyne after the wordes of conſecration, into the body and bloud of Chriſt, whether it were receaued or reſerued?

Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receaue but vnder the forme of bread onely, and that the one kynde was ſufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether cōfeſſion to the Prieſt now vſed in England were godly and neceſſary?

1. Maſſe.
2. Tranſubſtantiation.
3. Receauing in one kynde.
4. Confeſſion.

These foure queſtions or articles they deliuered me in writyng, and bad me goe to my chamber and ſubſcribe my aunſweres with myne owne hand, and come agayne. So within one halfe houre, I came to them agayne, and deliuered them the queſtions with myne aunſweres. The firſt I denyed. To the ſecond I aunſwered, as I did to my Lord afore, & as is aboue written. To the third I aūſwered that the lay people by Chriſtes inſtitution ought to receaue vnder both kyndes, and that it ſufficeth not thē to receaue vnder the one kinde onely. Fourthly, that though confeſſiō auricular were a commodious meane to inſtruct the rude people, yet was it not neceſſary nor commaunded of God.

G. Marſh denyeth the Articles.

They much exhorted me then to leaue myne opinions, ſaying I was much deceaued, vnderſtandyng the Scriptures amiſſe, and much counſelled me to follow the Catholicke Churche of Chriſt, and to do as other did. I aunſwered, my fayth in Chriſt conceaued by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter nor chaunge, for any lyuyng creature what ſoeuer hee were, deſiryng them to ſpeake to my Lord that duryng my lyfe and impriſonment, my poore frēdes might be ſuffered to releue me with neceſſary thinges accordyng to their powers, and ſo after much exhortation of them to do and beleue as the Catholicke Churche dyd, we departed: I from thenceforth continuyng in the Porters ward not commyng forth of my chamber ſauyng at noone and night while I dyned and ſupped.

G. Marſh exhorted to the Catholicke Church.

Vpon one of the Eaſter holy dayes maiſter Shereburne and M. More ſent for me perſwadyng me much to leaue myne opinions: ſaying all the bryngers vp and fauorers of that Religion had euill lucke, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in daunger of lyfe. Agayne, the fauorers of the Religion now vſed had wonderous good lucke, and proſperitie in all thynges: with many other worldly reaſons of mās wiſedome, for as for the Scriptures, Maiſter Shereburne confeſſed him ſelfe ignoraunt.

M. Shereburne and M. More examiners of G. Marſh.

I aunſwered that I beleued and leaned onely to the Scriptures, not iudgyng thynges by proſperitie or aduerſitie: but they earneſtly aduiſed me to refuſe myne opinions, and not to let for any worldly ſhame.

Gods truth is not to be eſtemed by proſperity or aduerſitie.

I aunſwered that that whiche I did, I did not for the auoydyng of any worldly ſhame, ſaying: my ſoule and lyfe were dearer to me then the auoydyng of any worldly ſhame: neither yet did I it for any vayne prayſe of the world, but in the reuerent feare of God.

Then Maiſter More queſtioned with me of receauyng the Sacrament vnder the one kynde. I ſayd Chriſtes inſtitution was playne that all men ſhould drinke of the cup. Then he told me of the xxiiij. of Luke, and the xx. of the Actes, where was but mention of breakyng of bread onely: wherof he gathered, that they receiued the Sacrament but vnder one kynde.

Chriſtes breaking of bread. Luke 24. proueth not the receiuing vnder one kynde.

That I denyed, ſaying: thoſe places either did not ſpeake of the celebration of the Lordes Supper, or els vnder the name of breakyng bread, was ſignified and ment the receiuing of the Sacramēt, both of the body and bloud of Chriſt, accordyng to his inſtitution. So after much communicatiō of that matter, M. Shereburne ſaid it was great pitie that I beyng a wel fauored young man, and one that might haue good liuyng and do good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt my ſelfe away ſtickyng ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

I aunſwered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his counſell, that my lyfe, mother, children, brethren, ſiſters, and frendes, with other delites of lyfe, were as deare and ſweete vnto me as vnto any other man, and that I would be as loth to loſe them, as an other would, if I might holde them with good conſcience, and without the ignominy of Chriſt: and ſeyng I could not do that, my truſt was that God would ſtrēgthen me with his holy ſpirite to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take my ſelfe (ſayd I) for a ſheepe appointed to be ſlayne, patiently to ſuffer what Croſſe ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe my mercyfull father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them that if I were committed to priſon my frendes might be ſuffered to releue me, they departed.

G. Marſhe forſaketh kindred and all together, to ſticke to Chriſt.

Maiſter More afore this brought vnto me a booke of one Alphonſus a Spaniſh Frier, of all hereſies wherewith the Churche of Rome, whiche hee called Chriſtes true Church, had bene troubled ſince Chriſtes tyme, willing me to read and take counſell of that booke: and appoynted me a place, where this authour did write agaynſt them that ſay, the lay people ought to receiue vnder both kyndes.

Alphonſus booke brought to G. Marſh.

This authour I perceiued dyd vehemently write agaynſt Luther, Melancthon, Pellican & other Germaines of this our tyme, in all pointes defendyng yͤ blaſphemous abuſes and enormities of the Romiſh Church, condemnyng as deteſtable hereſies, what ſoeuer was written, taught, or beleued contrary to the ſame, vſing for his ſtrongeſt and ſureſt Argumentes, the conſent, agreement, and determinatiō of the Romiſhe Churche. So within a few dayes Maiſter More came to me agayn, aſkyng me how I liked the booke. I ſayd the authour of the booke dyd in all poyntes beyng a Papiſt, allowe the rites and abuſes of the Romiſh Church, and ſhewed him further, that this authour without authoritie, and contrary both to the Scriptures & old Doctours, did condemne for hereſie, the lay people receiuyng of this Sacrament vnder both kyndes, where as this authour witneſſeth his owne ſelfe, yͭ Chriſtes church xi. hundred yeares after Chriſt vſed the contrary.

Marſhes iudgement of Alphonſus booke.

So in concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying I was vnlearned, and erred from the Catholicke fayth, ſtubburne, and ſtode altogether in myne owne conceite. I aunſwered, for my learnyng. I knowledge my ſelfe to know nothyng but Ieſus Chriſt, euen him that was crucified, and that my fayth was grounded vpon Gods holy word onely, and ſuch as I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in vntill the laſt day, God aſſiſtyng me: and that I did not ſay or do any thyng, either of ſtubburnes, ſelfe wilfulnes, vayne glory, or any other worldly purpoſe, but with a good conſcience, and in the feare of God: and deſired him to ſpeake to my Lord and his Counſell, that I might finde ſome gentlenes and mercy at their handes. He made me but ſhort aunſwere. Then I ſayd, I committe my cauſe vnto God, who hath nombred the heares of me head, and appointed the dayes of my lyfe ſaying: I am ſure God whiche is a righteous Iudge, would make inquiſition for my bloud, accordyng as he hath promiſed. Then hee tooke his booke from me, and departed.

G. Marſh caryed to Lancaſter Caſtell.

I continued ſtill in ward vntill Low Sonday, and after dynner my keeper Richard Scot came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to cary me to Lancaſter, and ſo deliuered me vnto them, a great company both of my Lordes ſeruauntes and others, accompanying and bryngyng me on the way, vnto Richard Addertons and ſomewhat further, coūſellyng and perſwadyng like as is aforeſayd.

To whom I made playne aunſwere, that in matters of fayth, I would geue place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſayd they were ſory for me, ſaying: if I knew myne opinion to be good, I dyd well, and ſo they departed, willing my bringers to entreate me honeſtly.

My bringers by the way ſhewed me they were willed & aduiſed to bynd me, & that they deſired firſt to ſee me: and after they had looked on me, ſitting at dynner, they aunſwered they would take charge of me beyng looſe, for they ſayd I ſeemed to be an honeſt man.

The firſt night we were all night at Broughton, and the ſecond day we came to Lācaſter betimes at after noone, and ſo they kept me all night with them of their gentlenes, and on the morow deliuered me to the Iaylor, who brought me into the higheſt priſon, where I do remaine.

G. Marſh cauſed to hold vp his handes at Lancaſter amongeſt other malefactors.

After that, the ſayd George came to Lancaſter Caſtle, and there beyng brought with other priſoners vnto the Seſſions, was made to hold vp his handes with other malefactours. The Earle of Darby had this communication with him, as here followeth.

¶Communication betwene George Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

Talke betwene G. Marſh and the Earle of Darby.

I Sayd vnto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the countrey these three or foure yeares paſt, and came home but lately to viſite my mother, children, and other my frendes, and to haue departed out of the countrey before Eaſter then next, & to haue gone out of ẏ Realme. Wherfore I truſted, ſeyng nothyng could be layd agaynſt me, wherein I had offended agaynſt the lawes of this Realme, his Lordſhyp would not with captious queſtions examine me to bryng my body into daunger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother, but ſuffer me to auoyde peaceably, ſeyng I might haue fled out of the countrey, and yet of myne owne will came to his Lordſhyp.

He ſayd to his Counſell, hee had heard tell of me aboue at London, and intended to make ſearche for me, and take me either in Lankeſhyre or aboue at London, and aſked me into what land I would haue gone.

The Earle of Darby chargeth the realme of Denmarke of hereſy.

I aunſwered, I would haue gone either into Almayne, or els into Denmarke. He ſayd to his Counſell: in Denmarke they vſed ſuch hereſie as they had done in England: but as for Almaine hee ſayd the Emperour had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch lyke wordes I ſayd vnto him, my truſt was that his Lordſhyp beyng of the honorable Counſell of the late kyng Edward, conſentyng and agreeyng to Actes concernyng fayth toward God and Religion vnder great payne, would not ſo ſoone after conſent to put poore men to ſhamefull death, as he had threatened me, for embraſing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

The Earle of Darby. L. Windſor, and L. Dacars in K. Edwardes tyme agreed not to the Actes of Religion.

He aunſwered that he, with the Lord Windſor, & Lord Dacars, with one moe, whoſe name I haue forgotten, dyd not conſent to thoſe Actes, and that the nay of them foure would be to be ſene as long as the Parlament houſe ſtode. Then my Lord did reherſe the euill lucke of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke with others, becauſe they fauored not the true Religion, and agayne the good hap and proſperitie of the Queenes highnes, becauſe ſhe fauored the true Religion, thereby gatheryng the one to bee good and of God, and the other to bee wicked and of the deuill, and ſayd that the Duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo playnly.

¶George Marſh to the Reader.

George Marſh writeth his owne examinations.

FOr aſmuch as not onely when I was at Lathum, but alſo ſince I departed thence, I heare that there bee diuers and ſondry reportes and opinions of the cauſe of mine impriſonment, as well at Lathum as at Lancaſter, (as by credible perſons I am informed) ſome ſaying, it was onelye becauſe I would not do opē penaunce, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lorde and his councell concernyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud, & the maner of Chriſtes preſence there: ſome becauſe I woulde not graunt it ſufficiēt & accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution the lay people to receiue the ſayd Sacrament vnder the one kynde onely: I thought it good, dearly beloued in Chriſt, and my bounden duety, to certifie you by myne owne hand wryting, of myne examination and handlyng at Lathū, and to tell you the truth as neare as I coulde, to quiet your myndes in thys behalfe, & therfore I haue here writtē with myne own hād the certeinty of thoſe thinges as neare as I could, here aboue expreſſed, not omitting any thyng at all concernyng Religion, whereof they dyd examine mee: howbeit I perceiue in ſome thynges, I keepe not the ſame order in wrytyng that thing whiche was aſked by them, and aunſwered by mee afore or after, as it was in very deede in all pointes, ſauyng this, tellyng the truth as neare as I can, deſiryng you to accept in good worthe thys my good will, and to pray for me and al thē that be in bondes, that God would aſſiſt vs with his holy ſpirite, that we may with boldnes confeſſe his holy name, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodyes, that we may ſtand full and perfect in all the will of god: to whō be al honour and glory world without end. Amen.

And thus you haue heard all the whole trouble which George Marſh ſuſteyned both at Lathum, and alſo at Lancaſter, teſtified and written with his owne hand wherto he addeth moreouer and ſayth.

While I was (ſayth he) in ward at Lathum, diuers at ſundry times came vnto me. Some ſayd vnto me that al my felowes had recanted and were gone home, where as in deede that was not ſo, for I ſaw dyuers of them dyuers times after. Other ſayd that it was reported amongeſt my Lordes houſhold, that I hadde conſented and agreed in all thinges with my Lord and his counſell.

Peters counſell to Chriſt, to ſaue himſelfe.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaſter, at this Seſſion tyme many came to me to talke with me, ſome of good will towardes me, but without knowledge gaue mee ſuch lyke counſell as Peter gaue Chriſt as hee went vp to Ieruſalem, when he tooke him aſide and began to rebuke him: ſaying, maiſter fauour thy ſelf: this thinge ſhal not be vnto the. But I aunſwered with Chriſtes ſharpe aunſwere vnto Peter agayn: who turned about, and ſayd vnto peter, come after me Sathan, and perceiuyng that they were an hinderaunce vnto me, and that they ſauoured not the thynges which are of God, but the thynges that are of men, I made them playne aunſwere that I neither could nor would felowe their counſell, but that by Gods grace I woulde both lyue and dye with a pure conſcience and accordyng as hetherto I had beleued & profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and beare with them, though they loue vs neuer ſo well, whiche goe about to plucke vs away from the obedience that wee owe vnto God and to his worde, but after Chriſtes example ſharply to rebuke thē for their counſell.

G. Marſh followeth Chriſtes aunſwere to Peter.

Some others, yea euen ſtraungers alſo, came to mee faire vnlyke to theſe, who after ſober communication had, conſented with me in all things, lamentyng much my troublous eſtate, geuyng me comfortable wordes, and ſome money to, and reſorted to me often tymes, for the ſpace of two, three, or four, dayes. There came alſo many Prieſtes to me by. ij. iij. iiij. v. or vj. at once, whoſe mouthes it was a thyng eaſy enough to ſtop, for the Prieſtes (which is much to bee lamented) be not alwayes greateſt clarkes and beſt learned in the lawe of God. At their departyng they eyther conſented with me, or els had nothyng to ſaye agaynſt mee, ſaying they could finde no fault with my wordes. My communication with them was about the Sacrament. There came alſo into the priſon to me Maiſter Weſtby, Maiſter Aſhton of Hyll, M. Aſhtō of Chatertō, & many moe both gentlemen and others to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occaſion to vtter a great part of my conſcience: for God ſo ſtrengthened me with his ſpirite of boldnes, accordyng to my humble requeſt and prayer before (euerlaſtyng thankes bee geuen hym therfore) that I was nothyng afrayde to ſpeake to any that came to me, no not euen to Iudges, them ſelues, before whom I was thriſe arraygned at the barre amongeſt the theeues with yrons on my feete, and put vp my hande as others dyd, but yet with boldnes I ſpake vnto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.

Prieſtes not alwayes the greateſt Clarkes.

G. Marſh ſtrengthened in priſon with the boldnes of Gods ſpirite.

They alſo ſent for me the fourth tyme into their chamber, where amongeſt other thynges they layd it ſtraitly to my charge, that I had reported that I knew an whole meſſe of good Gentlemen in Lancaſhyre of myne opinion, and ſtraitly charged me vpō payne of allegiance to the Queenes grace, to ſhewe who they were. But I denyed that I had ſpoken any ſuch thyng (as it was in deede a falſe forged lye of ſome wicked wretches.) After that, they threatned and rebuked me, for my preachyng to the people out of the priſon, as they called it, and for my prayng and readyng ſo loud, that the people in the ſtreetes might heare. The truth is, I and my priſon fellow Warbarton, euery day kneelyng on our knees did read mornyng and euenyng prayer, with the Engliſhe Letany euery day twiſe, both before noone and after, with other Prayers moe, and alſo read euery day certayne Chapters of the Bible, commonly towardes night: and we read all theſe thynges with ſo hygh and loude a voyce, that the people without in the ſtreetes, might heare vs, & would often tymes, namely in the euenynges, come and ſit downe in our ſightes vnder the windowes & heare vs read, where with others beyng offended, complained.

Warbarton felow priſoner with Marſh.

G. Marſh reproued for his loud praying and reading in priſon.

All this whyle George Marſhe was not yet brought before the Byſhop, whoſe name was Doctour Cotes, placed the ſame tyme in the Byſhopricke of Cheſter. Of whoſe commyng then vnto Lancaſter, the ſayd George Marſhe reporteth himſelfe as followeth.

¶How the Byſhop came to Lancaſter
and of his doynges there.

THe Byſhop beyng at Lancaſter, there ſet vp and confirmed all blaſphemous Idolatry, as holy water caſtyng, proceſſion gaddyng, Mattens mumblyng, children confirmyng, Maſſe hearyng, Idols vp ſettyng, with ſuch hetheniſh rites forbiddē by God: but no Goſpell preachyng, which Chriſt Gods ſonne ſo earneſtly commaunded. He was informed of me & willed to ſēd for me and examine me. Which thing he refuſed to do, ſaying he would haue nothyng to do with heretickes ſo haſtely: So haſty in Iudgemēt and callyng men heretickes are our Byſhops in their Lordly dignities, afore they heare or ſee, what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the expreſſe commaundement of Gods word, which ſaith: Condēne no man before thou haſt tried out the truth of the matter, and whē thou haſt made inquiſition, then reforme righteouſly. Geue no ſentence before thou haſt heard the cauſe, but firſt let mē tell out their tale, and he that geueth ſentence in a matter before he heare it, is a foole and worthy to be confounded.

D. Cotes biſhop of Cheſter.

The Biſhops comming to Lancaſter, and ſetting vp Idolatry.

The B. iudgeth Marſh to be an hereticke, before he heareth hym.

Haſty iudgment of Byſhops reproued by Gods worde.

The vnmercifull ſtraitnes of the Byſhop toward G. Marſh in priſon.

And in ſtead of his liberalitie towardes me poore priſoner, he ſent for the Iayler and rebuked hym becauſe he ſuffered me to fare ſo well, willyng to haue me more ſtraitly kept and dieted: but if his Lordſhyp were tabled but one weeke with me, I doe thinke he would iudge our fare but ſlender enough.

Alſo, he and his Chapleins and Chauncellour did finde fault with the Scholemaiſter and others, for ſpeakyng to one as to a moſt heynous hereticke, and alſo with the Iaylor for ſufferyng them. Such is the mercy that theſe religious fathers ſhewe to the frendles and comfortles in their aduerſities. If we may know the tree by the fruites (as Chriſt ſayth) no man can iudge ſuch for any other, but for very enemyes to Chriſt and his true Religion. God lay it neuer to their charges, but forgiue them and turne their hard hartes, if it be his will.

The ſcholemaſter of Lancaſter rebuked for comming to George Marſh in priſon.

Popiſh Biſhops declare themſelues by their fruites to be very enemies to Gods worde.

But it is no newe thyng for Byſhops to perſecute the truth and the Prophetes of the Lorde, for their conſtauncie in preachyng of the true fayth, for ſo dyd their Phariſaicall forefathers, if ye marke well the hyſtories of the holy Bible. Phaſher was the head Byſhops of the Temple, the ryngleader of falſe Prophetes, the chief hereticketaker, that is as much to ſay, as the outthruſter of true godlynes. After that the dignitie of Prieſthode was geuen vnto him, hee abuſed it. For hee taught not neither reproued by the worde, but feared the godly with crueltie. Hee not onely ſtrocke, but alſo impriſoned the holy Prophete Ieremy, though hee withſtode him not, but preſently looked for the helpe of God, ſtedfaſtly preachyng the truth of God.

No new thing for Byſhops to be perſecutors. Examples of perſecuting Biſhops in the olde tyme.

What miſchief the vngracious Byſhop Iaſon wrought among the Iewes, deſtroying all godlynes and ſettyng vp abhominable Idolatrous lawes, ye may read in the 4. chapter of the ſecond of Machabees. How the execrable & blynd Byſhoppes Annas and Caiphas, whiche neuer ſpake the truth of God thēſelues, vnleſſe it were againſt their willes, vnwittyngly to their vtter deſtruction, how (I ſay) they preſſed the truth in Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is ſo well knowen that I neede not to rehearſe it.

Byſhop Iaſon.

B. Annas and Cayphas.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the priſonment of George Marſh & his examinatiōs before the Earle of Darby and his deputies aboue named. Now proceedyng further in the troubleſome perſecution of thys bleſſed man, let vs likewiſe conſider the latter part of hys troubles and examinations which followed vnder the byſhop of that ſame Dioces, which was Doctour Cotes: the effect whereof beyng drawen out of his owne writyng, here briefly is to bee ſeene as followeth.

¶The troubles and examination of G. Marſh
vnder Doct. Cotes biſhop of Cheſter.

YE heard before how G. Marſh beyng firſt impriſoned at Lathum, and afterward tranſlated vnto Lancaſter, was troubled by the Earle. Agayne, within fewe dayes after, the ſayd Marſh was remoued from Lancaſter, & commyng to Cheſter, was ſent for by D. Cotes then B. to appeare before him in his Hall, no body beyng preſēt but they twayne: & then he aſked hym certayn queſtions concernyng the ſacrament: who made ſuch aunſwer as the Biſhop ſemed therewith to be content, ſauyng that he vtterly denyed tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of the Maſſe nor that the lay people ſhould receiue vnder one kynd only, contrary to Chriſtes inſtitution: in which pointes the Byſhop went about to perſwade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vayne. Much other talke hee had with hym, to moue him to ſubmit hymſelfe to the vniuerſall Church of Rome: and when he ſaw he could not preuayle, he ſent him to priſon agayn: and after being there, there came to him diuers tymes, one Maſſy, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the Schole maiſter, one Henſham the byſhops Chaplayn, and the Archdeacon, with many moe: who with all probability of wordes, & Philoſophy or worldly wiſedome, & deceitfull vanity after the tradition of men and the beggerly ordinaunces and lawes of the worlde, but not after Chriſt (as it were all ſyngyng one ſong) went about to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head therof, and to interprete the ſcriptures none otherwiſe then that Churche dyd: with many ſuch lyke argumentes & perſwaſions of fleſhly wiſedome.

G. Marſh appeareth before the Byſhop.

Great labour to make G. Marſh to recant.

To whom the ſayd George Marſh aunſwered, that he dyd acknowledge and beleue (though much euill be withall annexed) one holy Catholycke and Apoſtolicke Churche, without which there is no ſaluation, and that this Church is but one, becauſe it euer hath, doth, and ſhall confeſſe and beleue, one onely God, and him onely worſhip, and one onely Meſſiah, and in him onely truſt for ſaluation: which church alſo is ruled and led by one ſpirite, one worde, and one fayth and that this Churche is vniuerſall and Catholycke, becauſe it euer hath bene ſince the worldes beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the worldes ende, and comprehendyng within it all natiōs, kinreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, and conditions of men: and that this Churche is buylded onely vpon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt him ſelfe beyng the head corner ſtone, and not vppon the Romiſhe lawes and decrees, the Byſhop of Rome beyng the ſupreme head.

The church Apoſtolicke.

The Church how it is one.

The nature, condition, and notes of the true church.

And where they ſayd, the Church dyd ſtand in an ordinary ſucceſſion of Biſhops, beyng ruled by generall Councels, holy fathers, and the lawes of holy Church, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fiftene hundreth yeares and more: he made aunſwer that the holy Church, whiche is the body of Chriſte, and therefore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſion of Byſhops, generall Councels, or Romiſh decrees, neyther yet was bounde to anye tyme, or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, generall Councels, or traditions of Fathers, eyther had any ſupremacy ouer Empyres and kyngdomes: but that it was a little poore ſely flocke, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſheepe without a ſhepeherd in the middeſt of wolues, or as a flocke of Orphanes or fatherles children: and that this churche was led and ruled by the only lawes, councels, and worde of Chriſt, he beyng the ſupreme head of this Church, and aſſiſting, ſuccoring, and defendyng her from all aſſaultes, errours, troubles, and perſecutions wherewith ſhe is euer compaſſed about.

The nature, condition, and notes of the falſe Church.

Confutation of the falſe church falſely defined.

He ſhewed and proued vnto them alſo, by the floud of Noah, the deſtruction of Sodome, the Iſraelites departyng out of Egypt, by the parables of the ſower, of the kynges ſonnes mariage, of the great ſupper, and by other playne ſentences of Scripture, that this Churche was of none eſtimation, and little in compariſon of the Churche of hypocrites and wicked worldlynges.

Examples declaring the true Church.

The falſe Church euer greater in number.

He was thruſt at withall violence of craft and ſubtilty but yet the Lord vpheld him and deliuered him. Euerlaſting thankes be to that mercifull and faythfull Lord, which ſuffreth vs not to be tempted aboue our might, but in the middeſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth vs with his holy ſpirite of comfort and patience, and geueth vs a mouth and wiſedome how and what to ſpeake: where agaynſt all his aduerſaries were not able to reſiſt.

¶An

1555. Aprill.

An other appearaunce of George Marſhe before the Byſhop.

G. Marſh agayne brought before the B. and hys Colleagues.

NOw, after that the ſayd Byſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhyng this his priſoner and often reuilyng hym, geuyng tauntes, and odious names of heretike. &c. he cauſed hym to bee brought forth into a Chappell in the Cathedrall Church of Cheſter, called our Lady Chappell before hym the ſayd Byſhoppe, at two of the clocke in the after noone, who was there placed in a Chayre for that purpoſe, and Fulke Dutton Mayor of the ſayd Citie, Doctour Wall, and other Prieſtes aſſiſtyng him, placed not farre from the ſayd Byſhop, but ſomewhat lower, George Wenſlow Chauncellour, & one John Chetham Regiſter, ſat directly ouer agaynſt the ſayd Byſhop.

The Byſhop with his Colleagues ſittyng vpon G. Marſh.

G. Marſh ſworne to aunſwere before the Byſhop.

Then they cauſed the ſayd George Marſhe to take an othe vpon a booke, to aunſwere truely vnto ſuch Articles as ſhould be obiected agaynſt hym. Vpon which othe taken, the Chauncellour layd vnto his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the Pariſhes of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Bery, and many other pariſhes within the Byſhoppes Dioceſſe, in the monethes of January, February, or ſome other time of the yeare laſt paſſed, directly agaynſt ẏ Popes authoritie and Catholicke Churche of Rome, the bleſſed Maſſe, the Sacrament of the aultar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in ſumme he aunſwered, that he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake againſt any of the ſayd Articles, but ſimply and truely, as occaſion ſerued, and (as it were then vnto forced in conſcience) maintained the truth touchyng the ſame Articles, as (ſayd he) all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the tyme of the late kyng Edward the vj.

G. Marſh purgeth himſelfe.

Then they examined hym ſeuerally of euery Article, and bad him aunſwere directly yea or nay, without circumſtaunce: for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

The biſhops clergy more able to examine then to diſpute.

Then he aunſwered them vnto euery Article very modeſtly, accordyng to the doctrine by publicke authoritie receaued, and taught in this Realme at the death of the ſayd kyng Edward: whoſe aunſweres were euery one noted and written by the Regiſter, to the vttermoſt that could make agaynſt him, whiche cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the company for that tyme brake vp, and he was returned to his priſon agayne.

The laſt and finall appearaunce of George Marſh before the Byſhop.

The laſt appearaunce of G. Marſh before the Byſhop.

WIthin three weekes after this, or thereaboutes, in the ſayd Chappell and in lyke ſorte as before, the ſayd Byſhop and others before named there beyng aſſembled, the ſayd George Marſhe was brought by his keeper and others with bils and diuers weapons, before them. Where firſt the ſayd Chauncellour by waye of an Oration declared vnto the people preſent, the ſayd Byſhops charge and burnyng charitie, who euen like as a good Shepheard doth ſee to his flocke, that none of his ſheepe haue the ſcabbe or other diſeaſe for infectyng other cleane ſheepe, but will ſaue and cure the ſayd ſcabbed ſheepe: for his Lordſhyp had ſent for the ſayd George Marſhe there preſent, as a ſcabbed ſheepe, and had weeded him out for corruptyng others, and had done what he could in ſhewing his charitable diſpoſition towardes the ſayd Marſh, to reduce him from his naughty hereſies: but all that he could do, would not helpe: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſayd Marſhe would not relent and abiure, to pronounce and geue ſentence diffinitiue agaynſt him. wherefore he bad the ſayd George Marſh to be now well aduiſed, what he would do: for it ſtode vpon his life: and if hee would not at that preſent forſake his hereticall opinions, it would be after the Sentence geuen, to late, though he would neuer ſo gladly deſire it.

The Chauncellours oration.

Then the ſayd Chauncellour firſt aſked hym whether he were not one of the Byſhoppes Dioces? To the which hee aunſwered, that hee knew not how large his Dioceſſe was, for his continuaunce was at Cambridge. But then they replyed and aſked, whether hee had not lately bene at Deane Pariſh in Lancaſhyre, and there abode? And he aunſwered yea.

Interrogatories put to G. Marſh.

Then the Chauncellour read all his former aunſweres that he made in that place at his former examination; and at euery one he aſked him whether he would ſticke to the ſame or no? To the which he aunſwered agayne, yea, yea.

How ſay you then to this, quoth the Chauncellour? In your laſt examination, amongeſt many other dãnable & ſchiſmaticall hereſies, you ſayd, that the Churche and doctrine taught & ſet foorth in kyng Edwardes tyme, was the true Church, & the doctrine, the doctrine of the true Church, and that the church of Rome is not ẏ true & catholicke church.

Note here the great hereſie of G. Marſh.

I ſayd ſo in deede, quoth Marſhe, and I beleue it to be true. Here alſo others tooke occaſion to aſke him (for that he denyed the Byſhop of Romes authoritie in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Byſhops of Rome, were not good men: and he aunſwered, yes, and diuers others: but (ſayd he) they claymed no more authoritie in England, then the Byſhop of Caunterbury doth at Rome: and I ſtriue not, (quoth he) with the place, neither ſpeake I agaynſt the perſon of the Byſhop, but agaynſt his doctrine, which in moſt pointes is repugnaunt to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men: Ergo the Pope is the ſupreame head of all Churches. Neither the place nor perſon of the Pope ſpoken agaynſt, but onely his doctrine.

Thou art an arrogaunt fellow in deede then, ſayd the Byſhop. In what Article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnaunt to the doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom George Marſh aunſwered & ſayd: Oh my Lord I pray you iudge not ſo of me: I ſtand now vpon the point of my life and death: & a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be arrogaunt, neither am I, God is my recorde. And as concernyng the diſagreement of the doctrine, among many other thynges the Churche of Rome erreth in the Sacrament. For where Chriſt in the inſtitution therof, did as wel deliuer the cup, as the bread: ſaying, Drinke ye all of this, & Marke reporteth that they did drinke of it: in like maner S. Paule deliuered it vnto the Corinthians. And in the ſame ſort alſo was it vſed in the primatiue church by the ſpace of many hundreth yeares. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the Sacrament frõ ẏ Laity. Wherfore, if I could be perſwaded in my conſcience by Gods word, that it were well done, I could gladly yeld in this point.

Wherein the doctrine of the Church of Rome erreth.

Then ſayd the Byſhop. Non diſputandum eſt cum heretico. That is, There is no diſputyng with an heretike. And therfore when all his aunſweres were read, he aſked him whether hee would ſtand to the ſame, beyng as they were (ſayd hee) full of hereſie, or els forſake them and come vnto the Catholicke Church?

So biddeth the Turke in his Alcoran that no man ſhall diſpute of his lawe.

To whom he made this full aunſwere, and ſayd: that hee helde no hereticall opinion, but vtterly abhorred all kynde of hereſie, although they moſt vntruly ſo dyd ſclaunder hym. And hee deſired all the people preſent to beare him witneſſe (if hereafter any would ſclaunder hym and ſay that hee held any greuous hereſie) that in all Articles of Religion, he held none other opinion, then was by law moſt godly eſtabliſhed and publickely taught in England at the death of kyng Edward the vj. and in the ſame pure Religion and doctrine he would (by Gods grace) ſtand, liue, and dye. And here the Chauncellour ſpake to one Leach, which ſtode neare vnto Marſhe, and bad him ſtand farther from him, for his preſence did him no good.

G. Marſh cleareth him ſelfe of hereſye.

Leach bidde to ſtand from Marſh.

This beyng done, the Byſhop tooke out a wrytyng of his boſome, & began to read the ſentence of cõdemnation: but when the Byſhop had read almoſt halfe therof, the Chauncellour called to him and ſayd: good my Lord, ſtay, ſtay, for if ye proceede any further, it will be to late to call it againe, and ſo the Byſhop ſtayed. Then his Popiſh Prieſtes and many other of the ignoraunt people called vpon Marſh, with many earneſt wordes to recant, and amongeſt other one Pulleyn a Shoemaker ſayd to him: for ſhame man, remember thy ſelfe and recant. They bad him kneele downe and pray, and they all would pray for him: So they kneled down, and he deſired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

Sentence of condemnation read agaynſt Marſh.

The Byſhop ſtayeth in his ſentence.

The Byſhoppe then aſked hym agayne, whether hee would not haue the Queenes mercy in tyme: and he aunſwered he did gladly deſire the ſame, and did loue her grace as faythfully as any of them: but yet he durſt not deny his Sauiour Chriſt, for loſing his mercy euerlaſtyng, and ſo winne euerlaſtyng death.

Gods mercy preferred before the Queenes mercy.

Then the Byſhop put his ſpectacles agayne vpon his noſe, & read forward his ſentence, about v. or vj. lynes, and there agayne the Chauncellour with a glaueryng & ſmilyng countenaunce, called to the Byſhop, and ſayd: yet good my Lord once agayne ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken, all is paſt, no relentyng will then ſerue: and the Byſhop (pullyng of his ſpectacles) ſayd: I would ſtay and if it would be.

The B. proceedeth in his ſentence.

How ſayeſt thou (quoth he) wilt thou recant? Many of the Prieſtes and ignoraunt people bad him ſo do, and call to God for grace: and one pulled him by the ſleeue and bad him recant and ſaue his life. To whom he aunſwered: I would as fayne to lyue as you, if in ſo doyng, I ſhould not deny my Maiſter Chriſt, and agayne he ſhould deny me before his father in heauen.

An other ſtay in readyng the ſentence.

G. Marſh exhorted to recant but could not be turned.

So the Byſhop read out his Sentence vnto the ende, and ſtraight after ſayd vnto him: Now wil I no more pray for thee, thẽ I will for a dogge. And Marſh aũſwered, that notwithſtãdyng, he would pray for his Lordſhyp: and after this the Byſhop deliuered him vnto the Shiriffes of the citie. Then his late keeper bad him fare wel good George, & weepyng teares: whiche cauſed the officers to cary hym to a pri-

The B. readeth out the ſentence.

A dogged ſaying of the Byſhop.

G. Marſh deliuered to the Shiriffes.

The ſtrait keepyng of Marſh in priſon.

a priſon at the Northgate, where he was very ſtraitly kept vntill the tyme he went to his death, duryng which tyme he had ſmall comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

The brotherly zeale of good men in comfortyng G. Marſh.

For being in the dōgeon or darke priſon, none that would hym good, could ſpeake with him, or at leaſt durſt enterpriſe ſo to doe for feare of accuſation: and ſome of the Citizens which loued him in God for the Goſpell ſake (wherof there were but a fewe) although they were neuer acquainted with him, would ſometyme in the eueni̅g at a hoale vppon the wall of the Citie (that went into the ſayd darke priſon) call to hym, and aſke him how he dyd. He would aunſwere them moſt chearefully, that he did well, and thanked GOD moſt highly that hee would vouchſafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witnes of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame: wherein he did moſt reioyce, beſechyng him that he would geue him grace not to faynt vnder the Croſſe, but patiently beare the ſame to his glory and comfort of his Churche: with many other like godly ſayinges at ſundry tymes, as one that moſt deſired to be with Chriſt. Once or twiſe hee had money caſt him in at the ſame hole, about ten pence at one tyme, & ij. ſhillyngs at an other tyme: for which he gaue God thankes, and vſed the ſame to his neceſſitie.

Amry, and Couper Shiriffes of Cheſter.

Marſh lead to his Martyrdome.

The old vſe in Lancaſhyre to get money to bye Trentals.

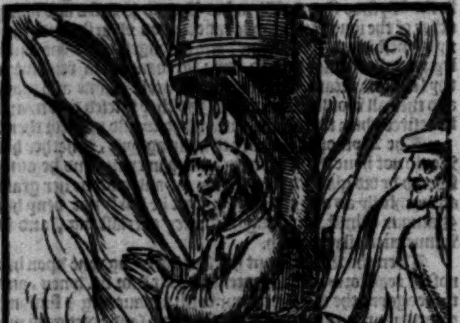
G. Marſh refuſeth to receaue money going to his death.

When the tyme and day appointed came that hee ſhould ſuffer, the Shriffes of the Citie (whoſe names were Amry & Couper) with their officers and a great number of poore ſimple Barbers, with rouſty Billes & Polaxes, went to the Northgate, & there tooke out the ſayd George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly & meekely, with a locke vpon his feete. And as he came vpon the way towardes the place of execution, ſome folkes proffered him money, & looked that hee ſhould haue gone with a litle purſe in his hand (as the maner of felons was, accuſtomed in that Citie in tymes paſt, at their goyng to execution) to the end to gather money to geue vnto a Prieſt to ſay Trentals of Maſſes for them after their death, whereby they might (as they thought) be ſaued: but Marſh ſaid he would not as thē be troubled with medlyng with money, but willed ſome good mā to take the money, if the people were diſpoſed to geue any, and to geue it vnto the priſoners or poore people. So he went all the way vnto his death, with his booke in his hand, lookyng vpō the ſame, and many of the people ſayd: this man goeth not vnto his death as a theefe, or as one that deſerueth to dye.

G. Marſh refuſeth the Queenes pardon.

Now when he came to the place of executiō without the Citie, neare vnto Spittle boughton, one Vawdrey, beyng then deputie chāberlaine of Cheſter, ſhewed Marſh a wrytyng vnder a great ſeale, ſaying, that it was a pardō for him if he would recant. Whereat Marſhe aunſwered, that hee would gladly accept the ſame (and ſayd farther, that he loued the Queene) but for aſmuch as it tended to plucke him from God, he could not receaue it vpon that condition.

¶ The cruell burnyng of George Marſhe, Martyr.



The Martyrdome of George Marſh, at Weſtcheſter. Anno. 1555. Aprill. 24.

G. Marſh not ſuffered to ſpeake to the people.

After that, hee began to ſpeake to the people ſhewyng the cauſe of his death, and would haue exhorted them to ſticke vnto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the Sheriffes ſayd: George Marſhe, we muſt haue no ſermonyng nowe. To whom hee ſayd, Maiſter, I cry you mercy: and ſo kneelyng downe made his Prayers, and then put of his clothes vnto his ſhyrt, and then was hee chayned vnto the poſt, hauyng a number of Fagottes vnder him, and a thyng made like a firkin, with pitche and tarre in the ſame ouer his head: and by reaſon that the fire was vnſkilfully made, and that the wynde did driue the flame to and fro, he ſuffered great extremitie in his death, which notwithſtandyng he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when as he had bene a long time tormented in the fire without mouing, hauyng his fleſh ſo broyled and puft vp, that they which ſtode before him vnneth could ſee the chayne wherewith hee was faſtened, and therefore ſuppoſed no leſſe but he had bene dead, notwithſtandyng ſodenly he ſpread abroad his armes, ſaying: Father of heauen haue mercy vpon me, and ſo yelded his ſpirite into the handes of the Lord.

The patience of G. Marſh the bleſſed Martyr.

Vpon this, many of the people ſayd that he was a Martyr, and dyed marueilous patiently and godly. Which thyng cauſed the Byſhop ſhortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedrall Churche, and therein affirmed, that the ſayd Marſh was an hereticke, burnt like an hereticke, and was a firebrand in hell.

Gods iuſt reuenging hand vpon a perſecuting Byſhop.

In recompence of this his good and charitable Sermon, within ſhort tyme after, the iuſt iudgement of GOD appeared vpon the ſayd Byſhop: recompenſing him in ſuch wiſe, that not long after hee turned vp his heeles and dyed. Vpon what cauſe his death was gendred, I haue not here preciſely to pronounce, becauſe the rumour and voyce of the people is not alwayes to bee followed. Notwithſtandyng ſuch a reporte went in all mens mouthes, that he was burned of an harlot. Whereupon whether he dyed or no, I am not certaine, neither dare leane to much vppon publicke ſpeach. Albeit this is certaine, that when he was afterward ſearched being dead, by ſome of his ſecret frendes & certaine Aldermen for ſtoppyng the rumour of the people, this mayden Prieſt and Byſhop was foūd not to be free from certaine appearaunce, whiche declared but ſmall virginitie in him, and that the rumour was not rayſed vp altogether vpō naught, amongeſt the people. But of this I will ſtay, & proceede no farther, not becauſe more cā not be ſayd, but becauſe I will not be ſo vncharitable in defacyng theſe men, as they are cruell in condemnyng Gods ſeruauntes to death.

¶ *Letters of George Marſh.*

This good man wrote diuers and ſondry letters out of priſon beſides his examinations, as before ye haue heard. Touchyng the which his examinations, this letter firſt he ſendeth to his frendes, the copie wherof here followeth.

¶ A letter of George Marſh to the reader, touchyng the matter of his examinations.

A letter of G. Marſh to the reader.

Here haue ye dearely beloued frendes in Chriſt, the chief and principall Articles of Chriſtian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I haue both beleued, profeſſed, and taught, and as yet do beleue, profeſſe, and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by Gods grace to continue in, the ſame vntill the laſt day. I do want both tyme and oportunitie to write out at large the probations, cauſes, partes, effectes, and contraries or errours of theſe Articles, whiche who ſo deſireth to know, let thē read ouer the cōmon places of the Godly learned men: Philippe Melancthon, and Eraſmus Sarcerius, whoſe iudgements in theſe matters of Religion I do chiefly follow and leane vnto. The Lord geue vs vnderſtandyng in all thynges, and deliuer vs from this preſent euill world, accordyng to his will and pleaſure, and bryng vs agayne out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the mercyfull Lorde to throw vs downe: and deliuer vs out of the mouth of the Lyon and from all euill doyng, and keepe vs vnto his heauenly and euerlaſtyng kyngdome. Amen.

1. Pet. 3.

Though Sathan bee ſuffered, as wheate to ſift vs for a tyme, yet fayleth not our fayth through Chriſtes ayde, but that we are at all times able and ready to cōfirme the fayth of our weake brethren, and alwayes ready to geue an aunſwere to euery man that aſketh vs a reaſon of the hope that is in vs, and that with mekenes and reuerence, hauing a good conſcience, that when as they backebyte vs as euill doers, they may be aſhamed, for as much as they haue falſely accuſed our good cōuerſatiō in Chriſt. I thought my ſelf now of late yeares, for the cares of this lyfe well ſetteled with my louyng and faythfull wife and children, and alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſſion of that pleaſaūt Euphrates, I do confeſſe it : but the Lorde who worketh all thynges for the beſt to them that loue hym, would not there leaue me, but dyd take my deare and beloued wiſe frõ me: whoſe death was a paynefull croſſe to my fleſh.

G. Marſh Curate to Laurence Saunders.

Alſo I thought my ſelfe now of late well placed vnder my moſt louyng and moſt gentle Maiſter Laurence Saunders in the Cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his greate mercy would not ſuffer me there long to cõtinue (although for the ſmall tyme I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workeman) But he hath prouided me (I perceiue it) to taſt of a farre other cuppe, for by violence hath hee yet once agayne driuen me out of that glorious Babylon, that I ſhould not taſt to much of her wanton pleaſures, but with his moſt dearely beloued diſciples to haue my inward reioyceyng in the croſſe of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: the glory of whoſe Churche I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſounde of Belles and Organes, nor yet in the gliſtring of Mitors and Copes, neither in the ſhynyng of gilte Images and lightes (as the blynd Papiſtes do iudge it) but in continuall labours and dayly afflictions for his name ſake.

The glory of the Church ſtandeth not in outward ſhewes.

God at this preſent here in England hath his fanne in his hand, and after his great harueſt, whereinto theſe yeares paſt hee hath ſent his labourers, is nowe ſiftyng the corne from the chaffe and purgyng his floore, and ready to gather the wheat into his garnar and to burne the chaffe with vnquenchable fire.

Take heede and beware of the leuẽ of the Scribes and of the Saduces, I meane the erroneous doctrine of the papiſtes, which with their gloſes depraue the Scriptures. For as the Apoſtle Saint Peter doth teach vs: There ſhalbe falſe teachers amõgſt vs, which priuely ſhal bryng in dãnable ſectes: And ſayth, that many ſhal follow their damnable wayes, by whõ the way of truth ſhall be euil ſpokẽ of: & that through couetouſnes they ſhall with fayned wordes make marchaundiſe of vs. And Chriſt earneſtly warneth vs, to beware of falſe Prophetes, whiche come to vs in ſheepes clothyng, but inwardly are rauenyng Wolues: by theyr fruites ye ſhall know them. The fruites of the Prophetes is their doctrine. In this place are all we Chriſtians taught that we ſhoulde try the Preachers, and other that come vnder colour to ſet forth true Religion vnto vs, accordyng to the ſaying of Saint Paule: Try all thynges and choſe that which is good. Alſo the Euãgeliſt Saint Iohn ſayth: Beleue not euery ſpirite, but proue the ſpirites whether they be of God or not, for many falſe Prophetes (ſaith he) are gone out into the world. Therfore if thou wilt know the true prophetes from the falſe, trye their doctrine at the true toucheſtone, whiche is the word of God: and as the godly Theſſalonians did, ſearch ye the Scriptures, whether thoſe thynges whiche be preached vnto you be euẽ ſo or not: for els by the outward conuerſatiõ of the ye may eaſely be deceaued. Deſunt fortaſſis aliqua.

¶ A letter exhortatory of George Marſh to the faythfull profeſſours of Langhton.

A letter of G. Marſh to men of Langhton.

GRace be vnto you, and peace be multiplyed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

Actes 11.

I thought it my duety to write vnto you, my beloued in the Lord at Langhton, to ſtirre vp your myndes, & to call to your remembraunce the wordes whiche haue bene told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man & full of the holy Ghoſt Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpoſe of hart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lord, & that ye ſtand faſt, and be not moued awaye from the hope of the Goſpell, wherof (God be thanked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you by your late paſtor Maiſter Saunders, and other faythfull miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, which now, when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the worde, do not fall away lyke ſhrinkyng children, and forſake the truth, beyng aſhamed of the Goſpell wherof they haue bene preachers, but are willyng and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſtes myſticall body) to forſake not onely the chief and principall delites of this lyfe (I do meane their natiue countreys, frendes, lyuyngs, &c.) but alſo to fulfil their miniſtery vnto ÿ vtmoſt, that is to witte, with their paynefull impriſonmentes and bloudſheddynges (if neede ſhall require) to confirme and ſeale Chriſtes Goſpell, wherof they haue bene Miniſters: and (as S. Paule ſayth) they are ready not onely to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to be killed for the name of the Lord Ieſu.

Luke 8.
Rom. 1.
Actes. 21.
Math. 5.

True ſalt diſcerned from the corrupt and vnſauory ſalt.

Whether theſe, beyng that good ſalte of the earth, that is, true miniſters of Gods word, by whoſe doctrine (beyng receyued through fayth) men are made ſauorie vnto God, & which themſelues loſe not their ſaltnes, now when they be proued with the boyſterous ſtormes of aduerſitie and perſecution: or others beyng that vnſauery ſalt which hath loſt his ſaltnes that is to wit, thoſe vngodly miniſters, whiche doe fall frõ the worde of GOD vnto ÿ vayne traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, bee more to be credited and beleued, let al men iudge.

Iames. 1.
Math. 7.

Wherfore my dearely beloued, receiue the word of God with meekenes, that is graffed in you, whiche is able to ſaue your ſoules: And ſee that ye be not forgetfull hearers, deceiuyng your ſelues with Sophiſtry, but doers of the worde, whom Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe man, which buildeth hys houſe on a rocke, that when the great rayne deſcendeth, and the floudes come and beate vppon that houſe, it fall not, becauſe it was grounded vppon a rocke: this is to witte, that when Sathan, with all his legion of deuils with all theyr ſubtile ſuggeſtions, & the world with al the mighty Princes therof, with theyr crafty councels doe furiouſly rage agaynſt vs, wee faynt not, but abyde conſtant in the truth, beyng grounded vpon a moſt ſure rocke which is Chriſt, & the doctrine of the Goſpell, agaynſt whiche the gates of hell (that is, the power of Sathan) can not preuayle.

Pſalme 2.
Math. 16.
1. Theſ. 1.

And be ye folowers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and receiue the worde in much affliction (as the godly Theſſalonians did): for the true folowers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, be they whiche receiue the worde of God. They onely receiue the word of God, which both beleue it, & alſo frame their lyues after it, & be ready to ſuffer all maner of aduerſitie for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt & all the Apoſtles did, and as all that will lyue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt doe; for their is none other way into the kyngdome of heauen, but through much tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thyng for ÿ kyngdome of heauens ſake, and for righteouſnes ſake, we haue the Prophetes, Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Martyrs for an enſample to cõfort vs: for they dyd al enter into the kyngdome of heauen at the ſtrait gate & narow way that leadeth vnto lyfe, which few do fynd. And vnles we will be content to deny our own ſelues, and take vp the croſſe of Chriſt and follow him, wee can not be his diſciples. For if wee deny to ſuffer with Chriſt and his Saintes, it is an euident argument, that we ſhall neuer raigne with him.

True receauers of the worde, who they be.

2. Tim. 3.
Actes. 14.
Math. 5.
Math. 7.
Marke 8.

Mortification and bearing of the Croſſe, neceſſary for all them that will raygne wyth Chriſt.

And agayne, if wee can fynde in our hartes patiently to ſuffer perſecutions and tribulations, it is a ſure token of the ryghteous iudgement of God, that we are coũted worthy of the kyngdome of God, for whiche wee alſo ſuffer. It is verily (ſayth the Apoſtle) a righteous thyng with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble vs, and reſt to vs that be troubled. For after this lyfe, ÿ godly beyng deliuered frõ their tribulations & paines ſhall haue a moſt quiet and ioyfull reſt, where as the wicked and vngodly contrariwiſe ſhal be tormented for euermore with intollerable and vnſpeakable paines, as Chriſte by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. Theſe ought wee to haue before our eyes alwayes, that in tyme of aduerſity and perſecution (wherof al that will be the childrẽ of God, ſhalbe partakers, and wherwith it hath pleaſed god to put ſome of vs in vre all ready) wee may ſtand ſteadfaſt in the Lord, and endure euen vnto the end, that we may be ſaued. For vnles we lyke good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, will endeuour our ſelues to pleaſe him who hath choſen vs to be ſouldiours, and fight the good fight of fayth euen vnto the ende, we ſhall not obteyne that crowne of righteouſnes, whiche the Lord that is a righteous iudge, ſhall geue to all them that loue his commyng.

2. Theſ. 1.
Luke 16.
Heb. 12.
1. Tim 2.

Let vs therfore receiue with mekenes the worde that is graffed in vs, whiche is able to ſaue our ſoules, and ground our ſelues on the ſure rocke Chriſte. For (as the Apoſtle ſayth) other foundation can no man lay, beſides that which is layd already, which is Ieſus Chriſt. If any mã build on this foundatiõ, gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, timber, hay, ſtubble, euery mãs worke ſhal appeare, for the day ſhal declare it, & it ſhalbe ſhewed in the fire. And the fire ſhall try euery mans worke what it is. If any mans worke that hee hath builded vppon abyde, hee ſhall receiue a reward: if any mans worke burne, he ſhall ſuffer loſſe, but he ſhalbe ſafe himſelfe: neuertheleſſe yet as it were through fire.

Iohn. 2.
1. Cor. 3.

By fire here doth the Apoſtle vnderſtand perſecution and trouble. for they which do truely preach and profeſſe ÿ worde of God, whiche is called the word of the croſſe, ſhalbe rayled vpon, abhorred, hated, thruſt out of the company, perſecuted and tryed in the fornace of aduerſitye, as gold and ſiluer are tryed in the fire.

Fier in ſcripture, what it ſignifieth.

By gold, ſiluer, & precious ſtones, he vnderſtãdeth them that in the middes of perſecution abide ſtedfaſt in the word. By tymber, hay, and ſtubble, are ment ſuch, as in tyme of perſecution do fall away from the truth. And when Chriſt doth purge his floore with the winde of aduerſity, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the earth like light chaffe whiche ſhalbe burned with vnquenchable fire. If they then which do beleue, do in tyme of perſecution ſtand ſtedfaſtly in ÿ truth the builder (I doe meane the preacher of the worde) ſhall receiue a reward, and the worke ſhalbe preſerued and ſaued: but if ſo be that they go backe and worſe, when perſecution

1. Cor. 3.
Math. 5.
Luke. 6.
Math. 3.
Pſalme. 1.

The place of S. Paul 1. Cor. 3. expounded.

ariſeth, the builder ſhall ſuffer loſſe, that is to ſay, ſhall loſe his labour and coſt: but yet he ſhalbe ſaued, if he beyng tried in the fire of perſecution, do abyde faſt in the fayth.

1. Pet. 2.
1. Cor. 3.

Wherefore (my beloued) geue diligent heede, that ye as liuyng ſtones be builded vpon this ſure rocke, and be made a ſpirituall houſe and a holy Prieſthode for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Ieſus Chriſt. For we are the true temple of God, and the ſpirite of God dwelleth in vs, if ſo be that we cõtinue in the doctrine of the Goſpell. We are alſo an holy and royall Prieſthode, for to offer vp ſpirituall ſacrifices & oblations: for ỹ ſacrifices of the new Teſtament are ſpirituall and of three maners.

1. Pet. 2.

Three ſortes of Sacrifices of the new teſtament.

The firſt is, the ſacrifice of prayſe and thankeſgeuyng, which S. Paule doth call the fruites of thoſe lippes whiche confeſſe the name of God.

Heb. 13.
Oſee. 6.

The ſecond, is mercy towardes our neighbours, as the Prophet Oſee ſayth: I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice. Read the xxv. chapter of Mathew.

Rom. 12.

The third is, when we make our body a quicke ſacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, that is, whẽ we mortifie and kill our fleſhly concupiſcences & carnall luſtes, & ſo bryng our fleſh through the helpe of the ſpirite, vnder the obedience of Gods holy law. This is a ſacrifice to God moſt acceptable, which the Apoſtle calleth Our reaſonable ſeruyng of God. And let vs be ſure, that vnleſſe we do now at this preſent take better heede to our ſelues, and vſe thãkefully the grace of God offered to vs by the Goſpell preachyng theſe yeares paſt, whereby we are induced & brought to the knowledge of the truth: vnles, I ſay, we keepe Chriſt & his holy word, dwelling by fayth in ỹ houſe & temple of our harts, the ſame thyng that Chriſt threatneth vnto the Iewes, ſhall happẽ vnto vs: that is to witte, the vncleane ſpirite of ignoraũce, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and infidelitie or vnbelief, the mother and head of all vices, whiche by the grace of God was caſt out of vs, bryngyng with him ſeuen other ſpirites worſe then himſelfe, ſhall to our vtter deſtruction, returne agayne into vs: and ſo ſhall we be in a worſe caſe thẽ euer we were before. For if we, after we haue eſcaped from the filthyneſſe of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, be yet tangled therin agayne and ouercome, then is the latter end worſe then the begynnyng: & it had bene better for vs not to haue knowen the way of righteouſnes, then after we haue knowen it, to turne from the holy commaundement geuen vnto vs.

Ephes. 3.

Math. 14.

Exhortation to perſiſt in the word of God, and not to abuſe it.
2. Pet. 2.

For it is then happened vnto vs accordyng to the true prouerbe: the dogge is turned to his vomite agayne, and the ſowe that was waſhed, to wallowyng in the myre. And thus to cõtinue & perſeuer in infidelitie, and to kicke agaynſt the manifeſt and knowen truth, and ſo to dye without repentaunce and with a deſpayre of the mercy of God in Ieſus Chriſt, is to ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, whiche ſhall not be forgeuen, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not poſſible (ſayth S. Paul) that they which were once lighted, and haue taſted of the heauenly gift: and haue taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come: if they fall away, ſhould be renued agayne by repentaunce, for as much as they haue (as concernyng them ſelues) crucified the ſonne of God agayne, makyng a mockyng of him. S. Paules meanyng in this place is: that they that beleue truely and vnfaynedly Gods word, do continue and abyde ſtedfaſt in the knowen truth.

Pro. 26.

Math. 13.

Heb. 6.

The place of the Heb. 6. expounded.

If any therfore fall away from Chriſt and his word, it is a playne tokẽ, that they were but diſſemblyng hypocrites, for all their fayre faces outwardly, & neuer beleued truely: as Iudas, Symon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the knowen veritie, and made a mocke of Chriſt: which S. Paule doth call here, to crucifie Chriſt anew, becauſe that they turnyng to their old vomite agayne, did moſt blaſphemouſly tread the benefites of Chriſtes death & paſſiõ vnder their feete. They that are ſuch, can in no wiſe be renued by repentaunce: for their repentaunce is fleſhely, as the repentaunce of Cain, Saule, & Iudas was, which beyng without godly cõfort, bryngeth deſperation vnto death. Theſe are not of the nũber of the elect: & as S. Iohn doth ſay: They wẽt out frõ vs, but they were not of vs. For if they had bene of vs, they would haue remained with vs vnto the end. Alſo the Apoſtle ſaith in an other place: If we ſinne willyngly after that we haue receiued the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſinne, but a fearefull looking for iudgemẽt and violent fire, which ſhall deuoure the aduerſaries.

Math. 26.
Falling from Chriſt.

To crucifie Chriſt a new what it is.

Iohn 2.

Heb. 10.

They ſinne willyngly, which of a ſet malice and purpoſe do withhold the truth in vnrighteouſnes and lyng, kickyng agaynſt the manifeſt & open knowen truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other ſacrifice for ſinne, but onely that omniſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſtes death: yet notwithſtandyng, they will not commit them ſelues wholy vnto it: but rather deſpiſe it, allowing other ſacrifices for ſinne, inuented by the imagination of man (as we ſee by dayly experience) vnto whom, if they abyde ſtil in theyr wickednes & ſinne, remayneth a moſt horrible & dreadfull iudgemẽt. This is that ſinne vnto death for whiche Saint Iohn would not that a man ſhould pray.

Rom. 1.

Wilfull kicking agaynſt the open knowen truth.

Sinne vnto death.

1. Iohn 5.

Wherfore my dearely beloued in Chriſt, let vs, (on whõ the endes of the world are come) take diligent hede vnto our ſelues, that now in theſe laſt & perilous tymes, in the which the deuill is come downe, and hath great wrath becauſe hee knoweth his tyme is but ſhort, and wherof the Prophetes, Chriſt, and the Apoſtles haue ſo much ſpoken and geuẽ vs ſo earneſt forewarnyng: wee withhold not the truth in vnrighteouſnes, beleuyng, doyng, or ſpeakyng anye thynge agaynſt our knowledge and conſcience, or without fayth. For if we do ſo, for what ſoeuer cauſe it be, it is a wilfull and obſtinate infidelitie, and a ſinne vnto death: As our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: if ye beleue not, ye ſhall dye in your ſinnes. For vnles we hold faſt the word of lyfe, both beleuyng it, & alſo bryngyng forth fruite worthy of repentaunce, wee ſhall with the vnprofitable figge tree, which dyd but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from vs & geuen vnto an other that ſhall put it to a better vſe: and wee through our owne vnthankefulnes put from the mercy of God, ſhal neuer be able to pay our debtes: that is to ſay, wee ſhall altogether be loſt and vndone. For the earth that drynketh in rayne that commeth oft vpõ it, and bryngeth foorth herbes meete for thẽ that dreſſe it, receiueth bleſſing of God. But that ground that beareth thornes & briars, is reproued and is nighe vnto curſyng, whoſe end is to be burned.

1. Cor. 10.

Apoca. 12.
Math. 24.

Rom. 1.

Iohn 8.
Phil. 2.

Math. 3.

The fruitles figtree.

Luke 13.

Math. 18.

Heb. 6.

Neuertheles deare frendes, we truſt to ſee better of you and thynges which accompany ſaluation, and that ye being that good ground, watred with ỹ moyſtnes of Gods word plenteouſly preached amongeſt you, will with a good hart heare the worde of God and keepe it, bryngyng foorth fruit with pacience. And be none of thoſe forgetfull and hypocritiſh hearers, whiche although they heare the worde yet the Deuill commeth, and catcheth away that which was ſowẽ in the hart: eyther hauyng no roote in them ſelues, endure but a ſeaſon, and as ſoone as tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by they are offended: eyther with the cares of thys world & deceitfulnes of riches choke the worde, and ſo are vnfruitfull. Read the parable of the ſower, and amonge other thynges note and marke, that ỹ moſt part of the hearers of Gods worde are but hypocrytes and heare the word without any fruite or profite, yea onely to their greater condemnation: for onely the fourth part of ỹ ſeede doth bryng forth fruite. Therfore let not vs that be Miniſters, or profeſſours, and followers of Gods word, be diſcouraged, though that very few do geue credite, and follow the doctrine of the Goſpell, and be ſaued.

The good ground.

Luke. 8.

Iames 1.

Math. 13.

The moſt part of the hearers of Gods word are but hypocrites.

Who ſoeuer therfore hath eares to heare, let him heare: for whoſoeuer hath, to him ſhal be geuẽ, and he ſhall haue aboundaunce: but who ſoeuer hath not frõ him ſhall be taken away euen that he hath: that is to ſay, they that haue a deſyre of righteouſnes and of the truth, ſhal be more & more illuminated of God, on the contrary part, they that do not couet after righteouſnes and truth, are more hardened & blynded, though they ſeeme vnto thẽ ſelues moſt wyſe. For god doth here follow an example of a louyng father, which when hee ſeeth that fatherly loue and correction doth not helpe towardes his children, vſeth an other way. Hee ceaſeth to bee beneficiall vnto them, & to miniſter vnto them fatherly correction: hee geueth them ouer vnto them ſelues, ſufferyng them to lyue as they luſt them ſelues.

To hym that hath, it ſhal be geuen, and howe.

Example of Gods dealing with ſtubburne children.

But wee truſt to ſee better of you (my dearely beloued) and that ye lyke very Gadarenites, for feare to loſe your worldly ſubſtance or other delites of thys life, will not baniſh away Chriſt and his goſpell from amongeſt you: but that ye with al diligence of minde will receiue ỹ word of god, taught you by ſuch miniſters, as now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the worde, are not aſhamed of the teſtimonye of our Lorde Ieſus, but are content to ſuffer aduerſitye with the Goſpell, and therein to ſuffer trouble as euil doers, euen vnto bondes. And if ye refuſe thus to do, your owne blood ſhall be vppon your owne heades. And as ye haue had plenteous preachyng of the Goſpell, more then other haue had, ſo ſhall ye be ſure if ye repent not, and bryng forth fruites worthy of repentaunce, to be ſorer plaged, & to receiue greater vengeaunce at Gods hand, then other, and the kyngdome of god ſhall bee taken from you, and bee geuen to an other nation, which will bryng forth the fruites therof.

Heb. 6.
Math. 8.

Actes 14.
2. Tim. 1.
2. Tim. 2.

Actes. 18.
The more preachyng with leſſe followyng draweth greater vengaunce at Gods hand.

Wherfore my dearely beloued in Chriſt, take good heede to your ſelues, and ponder well in your mindes, how fearefull and horrible a thing it is to fall into the handes of the lyuyng God. And ſee that ye receiue not the worde of God in vayne, but continually labour in fayth, and declare your fayth by your good workes, which are infallible witneſſes of the true iuſtifying faith, which is neuer idle, but worketh

by

James 2. Gala. 5. Tit. 2. Rom. 13. Actes 5.

by charitie. And ſee that ye continually geue your ſelues vnto all maner of good workes: amongeſt the which, the chiefeſt are to be obedient to the Magiſtrates, ſith they are the ordinaunce of G O D, whether they be good or euill, vnles they commaunde Idolatry and vngodlynes, that is to ſay, thynges contrary vnto true Religion. For then ought we to ſay with Peter: We ought more to obey God then man. But in any wiſe we muſt beware of tumult, inſurrection, rebellion, or reſiſtaunce.

Ephe. 6. John. 19. Job. 34. Rom. 14.

The weapon of a Chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the ſword of the ſpirite, which is Gods word and prayer, coupled with humilitie and due ſubmiſſion, and with readynes of hart, rather to dye then to do any vngodlyneſſe. Chriſt alſo doth teach vs, that all power is of God, yea, euẽ the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth often tymes to raigne for our ſinnes, and diſobedience towardes him and his word. Whoſoeuer then doth reſiſte any power, doth reſiſt the ordinaunce of God, and ſo purchaſe to him ſelfe vtter deſtruction and vndoyng.

1. Pet. 2. Ephe. 6. 1. Timo. 5.

We muſt alſo by all meanes, be promoters of vnitie, peace and concorde. We muſt honour and reuerence Princes, and all that be in authoritie, and pray for them and be diligent to ſet forth their profite and commoditie.

Secondly, we muſt obey our Parentes, or them that be in their rowmes, & be carefull for our houſholdes, that they be prouided for & fed, not onely with bodely foode, but much rather with ſpirituall foode, which is the word of God.

Math. 7. 1. Tim. 2.

Thirdly, we muſt ſerue our neighbours by all meanes we can, remembryng well the ſaying of Chriſt: Whatſoeuer ye would that men ſhould do vnto you, do ye likewiſe vnto thẽ for this is the law and the Prophetes.

Praying for all eſtates.

Math. 5. Forbearing our aduerſaryes. Patience in ſuffering aduerſitie and trouble.

Fourthly, we muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſarye worke of prayer for all eſtates: knowyng that God therfore hath ſo much commaunded it, and hath made ſo great promiſes vnto it, and doth ſo well accept it. After theſe workes we muſt learne to know the Croſſe, and what affection and mynde we muſt beare towardes our aduerſaryes and enemies, what ſoeuer they be, to ſuffer all aduerſities and euils paciently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble vs: and by thus vſing our ſelues, we ſhall obtaine an hope and certaintie of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

2. Pet. 1. Actes. 20. This letter was written the yeare before in the moneth of June. Rom. 15. Coloſ. 4. Philip. 1.

And thus, I commende you brethren vnto God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and geue you an inheritaunce among all them, which are ſanctified: beſechyng you to helpe M. Saunders & me your late Paſtours, and all them that bee in bondes for the Goſpels ſake, with your prayers to God for vs, that we may be deliuered from all them that beleue not, and from vnreaſonable and froward men, and that this our impriſonment and affliction may be to the glory and profite of our Chriſtian brethren in the world, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodyes, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

Salute frõ me all ẏ faythfull brethren: and becauſe I write not ſeuerall Letters to them, let them either read or heare theſe my Letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen. The xxviij. of June, by the vnprofitable ſeruaũt of Jeſus Chriſt, and now alſo his priſoner. George Marſh.

Actes. 2.

Saue your ſelues from this vntoward generation.
Pray, pray, pray. Neuer more neede.

¶An other Letter of the ſayd George Marſh, to certaine of his dearely beloued frendes at Mancheſter in Lancaſhyre.

An other godly letter of G. Marſh to them of Mancheſter.

GRace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

Coloſ. 1. Phil. 2. 1. Pet. 3. Math. 10. Luke 11. Aduerſaries not to be feared. Gods helpe alwayes ready with his ſeruauntes. Joſua 1. Rom. 8.

After ſalutations in Chriſt to you, with thankes for your frendly remembraunces of me, deſiryng and wiſhyng vnto you, not onely in my letters, but alſo in my daily prayers, ſuch conſolation in ſpirite, and taſte of heauenly treaſures, that ye may thereby continually worke in fayth, labour in loue, perſeuer in hope, and be pacient in all your tribulations and perſecutions, euen vnto the end and glorious commyng of Chriſt: theſe ſhall bee earneſtly to exhorte and beſeeche you in Chriſt, as ye haue receaued the Lorde Ieſus, euen ſo to walke, rooted in hym, and not to bee afrayde of any terrour of your aduerſaries, be they neuer ſo many and mightie, and you on the other ſide neuer ſo fewe & weake: for the battayle is the Lordes, And as in tymes paſt, G O D was with Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Dauid the Machabes and other, and fought for them, and deliuered all their enemyes into their handes, euen ſo hath he promiſed to be with vs alſo, vnto the worldes ende, and ſo to aſſiſte, ſtrengthen, and helpe vs, that no man ſhall be able to withſtand vs. For as I was with Moſes, ſo will I be with, thee (ſayth God) and will neuer leaue thee nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bold: neither feare nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whether ſoeuer thou goeſt. Now if God be on our ſide, who can be agaynſt vs?

Spirituall cowardlines.

In this our ſpirituall warfare, is no man ouercome, vnles he trayterouſly leaue & forſake his captaine, either cowardly caſt away his weapons, or willingly yeld himſelfe to his enemies, either fearefully turne his backe and flye. Be ſtrong therfore in the Lord (deare brethren) and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtãd ſtedfaſt againſt the crafty aſſaultes of the deuil.

Ephe. 6. 2. Cor. 11. 12. Actes 21.

A Chriſtian mans lyfe is a perpetuall warfare.

Now, what weapons ye muſt fight withall, learne of Saint Paule, a champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiaunt and inuincible. For we muſt thinke none other, but that the lyfe of man is a perpetuall warfare vpon earth, as the examples of all Godly men, throughout all ages do declare. The valiaunt warriour Saint Paule, beyng deliuered from the handes of the vngodly, and that ſo many tymes, and alſo from ſo many extreme perils and daũgers of death (as he his owne ſelfe doth witneſſe) is fayne to committe him ſelfe in the end to the rough waters of the Sea: where he was in great perill and ieoperdye of his owne life: yet was God alwayes (to the great comfort of all that heare of it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour him, and glorioully deliuered him out of all his troubles: ſo that no man that did inuade him, could do him any harme, & in the end he was cõpelled to ſay: I haue finiſhed my courſe: the tyme of my departyng is at hand: I long to be looſed, & to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all, moſt hartely deſiryng death.

The manifold deliueraunces of S. Paul, be examples for our comfort.

Actes 18. 2. Tim. 4. Phil. 1.

Rom. 15.

These thynges bee written for our learnyng and comfort, and be to vs a ſure obligation, that if we ſubmitte our ſelues to God and his holy worde, no man ſhalbe able to hurt vs, and that hee will deliuer vs from all troubles, yea euen from death alſo, vntill ſuch tyme as we couet and deſire to dye. Let vs therefore runne with patience vnto the battaile that is ſet before vs, and looke vnto Ieſus the Captaine and finiſher of our fayth, and after his example, for the rewardes ſake that is ſet out vnto vs, patiẽtly beare the cros & deſpiſe the ſhame. For all that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

Heb. 12. Perſecution followeth Chriſtian godlines. 2. Tim. 3.

Math. 3. 4. Where Chriſt is Sathan there is alwayes readye. Ephe. 6.

Chriſte was no ſooner Baptiſed and declared to the world to be the ſonne of G O D, but Sathan was by and by ready to tempt him: whiche thyng we muſt looke for alſo: yea, the more we ſhall encreaſe in fayth and vertuous lyuing, the more ſtrongly will Sathan aſſault vs: whom we muſt learne after the example of Chriſt, to fight againſt, and ouercome with the holy and ſacred Scriptures and word of God (whiche are our heauenly armour) and ſword of the ſpirite. And let the faſtyng of Chriſt, while he was tempted in the wildernes, be vnto vs an example of ſober lyuing, not for the ſpace of fortie dayes (as the Papiſtes do fondly fanſie of their owne braynes) but as long as we are in the wildernes of this wretched lyfe, aſſaulted of Sathan, who like a roaryng Lyon walketh about, and ceaſeth not, ſeekyng our vtter deſtruction.

Math. 4. The faſt of Chriſt is to be example of ſober lyuing. 1. Pet. 5.

Job 1. 2. When the ſeruauntes of God ſtand before hym Sathan commeth alſo. Math. 8.

Neither can the ſeruauntes of God at any tyme come and ſtand before God, that is, lead a godly lyfe, and walke innocently before God. But Sathan commeth alſo among them, that is, he dayly accuſeth, findeth fault, vexeth, perſecuteth and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and propertie of the deuill alwayes to hurt, and do miſchief, vnleſſe he be forbidden of God: for vnles God do permit him, he can do nothyng at all, not ſo much as enter into a filthy hogge: but we are more of price then many hogges before God, if we cleaue vnto his ſonne by fayth.

Ephe. 6. The ſhield of fayth. The helmet of ſaluation. The ſword of the ſpirite.

Let vs therefore knowyng Sathans deceites and rancor, walke the more warely, and take vnto vs the ſhielde of fayth, wherewith we may be able to quench and ouercome all the firie and deadly dartes of the wicked. Let vs take to vs the helmet of ſaluation, and ſword of the ſpirite, whiche is the worde of God, and learne to vſe the ſame accordyng to the example of our graund Captaine Chriſt. Let vs faſt and pray continually. For this frantike kynde of deuils goeth not out otherwiſe (as Chriſt doth teach vs) but by faythfull prayer and faſting, which is true abſtinence and ſobernes of liuyng, if we vſe the ſame according to the doctrine of the Goſpell and word of God. Faſtyng is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocriſie, that is to ſay: if we vſe it to this entent, that thereby this mortall body and diſobedient carcaſe may be tamed & brought vnder the ſubiectiõ of the ſpirite: and agayne, if we faſt to this intẽt, that we may ſpare wherewith to helpe and ſuccour our poore needy brethren.

Math. 4. Math. 17.

Prayer and faſting. True faſt what it is. How to faſt without hypocriſie.

Abuſe of faſting among Chriſtians.

This faſt do the true Chriſtians vſe all the dayes of their lyfe, although among the common ſorte of people remayneth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kynde of faſtyng, which God ſo earneſtly reproueth by his Prophet Eſay. For as for true chaſtenyng of the body, and abſtaining frõ vice, with ſhewyng mercy towardes our needy neighbours, we will neither vnderſtand nor heare of, but ſtill thinke with the Iewes, that we do God a great pleaſure whẽ we faſt, and that we thẽ faſt, when we abſteine frõ one thing, and fill our bellyes

Eſay. 58. The Jewiſh maner of faſting reproued.

The Chriſtians in ſuperſtitious faſting exceede the Iewes.
Mercy to the poore.

with an other. And verely in this poynt doth our ſuperſtition much exceede the ſuperſtition of the Iewes: for we neuer read that they euer tooke it for a faſt, to abſteine from fleſh, and to eate either fiſh or white meate, as they call it.

1555.

Aprill.

2. Cor. 9.
In almes 3. thinges required.

To faſtyng and prayer muſt be ioyned almes, and mercy towardes the poore and needy: and that our almes may be acceptable vnto God, three thyngs are chiefly required:

First, that we geue with a chearefull and ioyfull hart: For the Lord loueth a chearefull geuer.

Marke 12.

Secondly, that we geue liberally, puttyng aſide all nigardſhyp, knowyng that he that ſoweth little, ſhall reape litle: and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reape plenteouſly. Let euery man therefore do accordyng as he is able. The pooreſt caitiffe in the worlde may geue as great and acceptable an almes in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the worlde can do. The poore widowe that did offer but two mites, whiche make a farthyng, did hyghly pleaſe Chriſt: In ſomuch that he affirmed with an othe, That ſhe of her penurie, had added more to the offrynges of God, then all the rich men, which of their ſuperfluitie had caſt in very much. For if there be firſt a willyng mynde (as S. Paule ſayth) it is accepted, accordyng to that a man hath, and not accordyng that a man hath not.

2. Cor. 8.

Almes without oſtentation.

Workes of mercy doe not merite with God touching our ſaluation, any thing.
1. Cor. 4.

Thirdly, we muſt geue without hypocriſie and oſtentation, not ſeekyng the prayſe of men, or our owne glory or profite. And although the Scriptures in ſome places make mention of a reward to our almes and other good workes, yet ought we not to thinke that we do merite or deſerue any thyng: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God of his mere mercy rewardeth in vs his own giftes. For what hath hee that geueth almes that he hath not receiued, he then that geueth vnto a poore man any manner of thyng, geueth not of his owne, but of thoſe goodes which he hath receiued of God. What haſt thou (ſayth the Apoſtle) that thou haſt not receiued? If thou haſt receiued it, why reioyceſt thou, as though thou haddeſt not receiued it?

This ſentence ought to be had in remembraunce of all men. For if we haue nothing, but that which we haue receiued, what can we deſerue? or what neede we to diſpute and reaſon of our owne merites? It commeth of the free gift of God, that we lyue, that we loue God, that we walke in his feare. Where is our deſeruyng then? We muſt alſo in this our ſpirituall warrefare arme our ſelues with continuall prayer, a very neceſſary, ſtrong, and inuincible weapon, and after the example of Chriſt and all other Godly men, crye hartly vnto God in fayth, in all our diſtreſſes & anguiſhes. Let vs go boldly to the ſeate of grace, where we ſhalbe ſure to receiue mercy, and finde grace to helpe in tyme of neede. For now is pryde and perſecutiō encreaſed: now is the tyme of deſtruction and wrathfull diſpleaſure.

Math. 26.
Heb. 4.
1. Mach. 4.

Continuall prayer.

To be faythfull in temptation.

Wherfore my deare brethren, be ye feruent in the law of God, and ieoperde ye your liues if neede ſhall ſo require, for the teſtament of the fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receiue great honour, and an euerlaſtyng name. Remember Abraham: Was not he found faythfull in temptation, and it was reckened vnto him for righteouſnes? Ioſeph in tyme of his trouble kept the cōmaundemēt, and was made a Lord of Egypt. Phinees was ſo feruent for the honour of God, that he obteined the couenaūt of an euerlaſtyng Prieſthode. Ioſua for fulfillyng the word of God, was made the Captaine of Iſraell. Caleb bare recorde before the Congregation, and receiued an heritage. Dauid alſo in his mercyfull kyndnes obteined the throne of an euerlaſtyng kingdome. Elias beyng zelous and feruent in the law, was taken vp into heauen. Ananias, Azarias, and Miſael remained ſtedfaſt in the fayth, & were deliuered out of the fire. In like maner Daniell beyng vngiltie, was ſaued from the mouth of the Lyons.

Gene. 22.
Gene. 41.
Num. 25.
Ioſua 6.
Num. 14.
1. Reg. 24.
4 Reg. 2.
Dan. 3.
Dan. 6.

Pſal. 38.
He exhorteth to zeale and courage.

And thus ye may conſider throughout all ages ſince the world began, that who ſoeuer put their truſt in God, were not ouercome. Feare not ye then the wordes of vngodly men: for their glory is but donge and wormes: to day are they ſet vp, and to morow are they gone: For they are turned into earth, and their memoriall commeth to naught. Wherfore let vs take good hartes vnto vs, and quite our ſelues like men in the law: for if we do the thynges that are commaunded vs in the law of the Lord our God, we ſhall obteine great honour therein.

Actes. 14.

4. Eſdras 7.

Straite is the way which the elect muſt walke in.

Beloued in Chriſt, let vs not faynt becauſe of affliction, wherewith God tryeth all them that are ſealed vnto lyfe euerlaſtyng: for the onely way into the kyngdome of God, is thorough much tribulation. For the kyngdome of heauen (as God teacheth vs by his Prophet Eſdras) Is like a Citie builded and ſet vppon a broade fielde, and full of all good things but the entraūce is narrow & ſodaine, [full of ſorrow and trauaile, perils and labours] Like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deepe water at the left: and as it were one ſtraite path betwene them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man go there. If this Citie now were geuen to an heyre, and he neuer went through the perillous way, how would he receaue his inheritaunce? Wherfore ſeyng we are in this narrow and ſtraite way, whiche leadeth vnto the moſt ioyfull and pleaſaunt Citie of euerlaſtyng lyfe: let vs not ſtagger, either turne backe, beyng afrayde of the daungerous and perillous way, but follow our Captaine Ieſus Chriſt in the narrow and ſtraite waye, and be afrayde of nothyng, no not euen of death it ſelfe: for it is he that muſt lead vs to our iourneyes end, and open vs the doore vnto euerlaſtyng life.

Death is a dore to lyfe.

Conſider alſo the courſe of this world, how many there be whiche for their maiſters ſake, or for a litle promotions ſake, would aduenture their liues in worldly affaires, as cōmonly in warres, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and ours is vnſpeakable, great and euerlaſtyng. They ſuffer paynes to be made Lordes on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure like paynes (yea peraduenture much leſſe) to be made kynges in heauen for euermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a litle pleaſures ſake, or to be auenged on their enemies, will fight with ſworde and weapons, and put them ſelues in daunger of impriſonment and hangyng. So much as vertue is better thē vice, and God mightier then the deuill, ſo much ought we to excell them in this our ſpirituall battaile.

If worldly men ieopard ſo much for earthly thinges, how much more ought we to ieopard for euerlaſting thinges?

And ſeyng brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſet me, and that moſt worthy Miniſter of Chriſt, Iohn Bradford, your countreymen in the forefront of this battaile, where (for the tyme) is moſt daunger, I beſeeche you all in the bowelles of Chriſt to helpe vs and all others our felowſouldiours ſtandyng in like perillous place, with your prayers to God for vs, that we may quyte our ſelues like men in the Lord, and geue ſome example of boldnes and conſtauncie, myngled with pacience in the feare of God, that ye and others our brethren, thorough our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthned to folow vs, that ye alſo may leaue example to your weake brethren in the world, to follow you. Amen.

2. Tim. 2.
1. Cor. 7.
1. Iohn. 2.
Coloſſ. 3.

Doctrine of good workes.

Conſider what I ſay: the Lord geue vs vnderſtandyng in all thynges. Brethren the tyme is ſhort: it remaineth that ye vſe this world as though ye vſed it not: for the faſhiō of this world vaniſheth away. See that ye loue not the world, neither the thynges that are in the world: but ſet your affectiō on heauenly thyngs, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meeke, and lōg ſuffering, ſerue and edifie one an other, with the gift that God hath geuen you. Beware of ſtraunge doctrine: lay aſide the old conuerſation of greedy luſtes, and walke in a new life. Beware of all vncleannes, couetouſnes, fooliſh talking, falſe doctrine, & dronkennes: Reioyce and be thākefull towardes God, & ſubmit your ſelues one to an other. Ceaſe from ſinne, ſpende no more tyme in vice, be ſober & apt to pray, be pacient in trouble, loue ech other, and let the glory of God & profite of your neighbour, be the onely marke ye ſhoote at in all your doynges. Repent ye of the lyfe that is paſt, and take better heede to your doyngs hereafter. And aboue all thinges cleaue ye faſt to him, who was deliuered to death for our ſinnes, and roſe agayne for our iuſtification. To whom with the father and the holy ghoſt be all honour and rule for euermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Chriſt all others, whiche loue vs in the fayth, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bondes for the Goſpell, that the ſame GOD (which by his grace hath called vs from wicked Papiſtry, vnto true Chriſtianitie, and now of loue proueth our patience by perſecution) will of his mercy and fauour in the ende glorioully deliuer vs, either by death, or by life, to his glory, Amen. At Lancaſter the. 30. of Auguſt. 1554.

By me an vnprofitable ſeruaunt of
Chriſt, George Marſh.

¶To his welbeloued in Chriſt Ienkin Cramptom, Iames Leyuer, Elice Fogge, Rafe Bradſhaw, the wife of Richard Bradſhaw, Elice Crampton, and to euery one of them be theſe deliuered from Lancaſter. George Marſh.

2. Cor. 13.

An other letter of G. Marſh to certaine of his frendes.
Ephes. 4.
Act. 11.
Rom. 1.
Coloſſ. 2.

The grace of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the felowſhyp of the holy Ghoſt be with you all. Amen.

After ſalutations in Chriſt, and harty thankes for your frendly tokens, and your other remembraunces towardes me, beſechyng God that ye may encreaſe in fayth, feare, loue, and all good giftes, and grow vp unto a perfit mā in Chriſt: theſe be earneſtly to exhorte you, yea and to beſech you in the tender mercy of Chriſt, that with purpoſe of hart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lord, and that ye worſhyp and ſerue him in ſpirite, in the Goſpell of his ſonne. For God will not be worſhipped after the commaundementes & traditions of men, neither yet by any other meanes appointed, preſcribed, and taught vs, but by his holy worde. And though all men for the moſt part defile them ſelues with the wicked traditions of men & ordinaunces after ÿ world, and not after Chriſt: yet do ye after the enſample of Tobie, Daniell and his three companions, Mathathias & his fiue ſonnes, be at a point with your ſelues that ye will not be defiled with the vncleane meates of the heathen, I do meane the filthynes of Idolatry, and the very heatheniſh ceremonyes of the Papiſtes: but as true worſhyppers, ſerue ye God in ſpirite and veritie, accordyng to his ſacred Scriptures: which I would wiſhe and will you aboue all thynges continually and reuerently (as both S. Paule and Chriſt do commaunde you) to ſearch and read, with the wholeſome monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhorte, comfort and edifie one an other and your brethren and neighbours, now in tyme of this our miſerable captiuitie, and great famiſhmēt of ſoules for wāt of the food of Gods word. And doubt not, but that the mercyfull Lord, who hath promiſed to be with vs euen vnto the worldes end, and that whenſoeuer two or three be gathered together in his name, he will bee in the middeſt of them, will aſſiſte you, and teach you the right meanynges of the ſacred Scriptures, will keepe you from all errours, & lead you into all truth, as he hath faythfully promiſed.

Toby 1. Daniell 1. 1. Mach. 1.

Iohn 4. Iohn 5. 1. Tymo. 4.

Math. 24.

Math. 28.

And though ye thinke your ſelues vnable to teach, yet at the cōmaundement of Chriſt now in tyme of famine, the hungry people beyng in wildernes farre from any townes, which if they be ſent away faſtyng are ſure to faint and periſh by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe fiue loaues and two fiſhes that ye haue, vppon that hungry multitude: although ye thinke it nothing amōg ſo many. And he that increaſed the v. loaues and ij. fiſhes to feede. v. thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſhall alſo augment his giftes in you, not onely to the edifyng and wynnyng of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceedyng great increaſe of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And feare not your aduerſaries: for either accordyng to his accuſtomed maner God ſhall blind their eyes that they ſhall not eſpye you, either get you fauour in their ſight, either els graciouſly deliuer you out of their handes by one meanes or other.

Iohn 13.

Math. 14.

Phil. 1.

Obey with reuerence all your ſuperiours, vnleſſe they commaunde Idolatry or vngodlynes. Make prouiſion for your houſholdes, chiefly that they be inſtructed and taught in the law of God. Loue your wiues euen as your owne ſelues, and as Chriſt loued the congregation. Loue your children, but rate them not, leſt they be of a deſperate mynde: and bryng them vp in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teache them euen as the godly Parentes of Tobie the younger, and Suſanna did teache their children, euen from their infancie to reuerence God accordyng to his law, and to abſtaine frō ſinne, prouidyng that in no wiſe they be brought vp in idlenes and wantonnes, ſeyng that ye recken your ſelues to be the children of God, & looke for the life which God ſhall geue to thē ÿ neuer turne their beleef frō him. See ÿ ye euer feare God, & keepe his commaundementes: and though the plague of God chaunce vnto you, yet remaine ye ſtedfaſt in the fayth and feare of God, and thāke him and ſerue him in ſuch holynes & righteouſnes as are acceptable before him all the dayes of your life. Comfort your ſelues in all your aduerſities, and ſtay your ſelues in him, who hath promiſed not to leaue you as fatherles and motherles children without any comfort, but that hee will come to you like a moſt gentle and mercifull Lord. He will continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſſiſtyng, helpyng and ſuccoryng you at all tymes. I will be with you (ſayth he) vnto the ende of the world. And cleaue you faſt vnto him, which was incarnate, lyued, wrought, taught, and dyed for your ſinnes: yea roſe agayne from death, aſcended into heauen for your iuſtification. Repent ye of the lyfe that is paſt, and ceaſſe from ſinne, and from henceforward lyue as much tyme as remaineth in the fleſhe, not after the luſtes of men, but after the will of God. To do good and diſtribute, forget not. Faſt and pray buſely, and as euery man hath receiued the gift, miniſter the ſame one to an other as good Miniſters of the manifold graces of God, that God in all thynges may be glorified through Ieſus Chriſt, to whom be prayſe and dominion for euer, and while the world ſtandeth. Amen.

Leſſons of Chriſten maners.

Tob. 2.

Tob. 3.

Yours George Marſh.

An other Letter.

An other letter of G. Marſh to certayne faythfull brethren in the congregation.

THe ſame grace and peace (dearely beloued in Chriſt) do I intirely deſire and wiſhe vnto you, whiche the Apoſtle S. Paule wiſheth to all them, vnto whom he did write and ſend his Epiſtles, then which ij. thynges no better can be wiſhed & deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epiſtles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and fauour of God, wherby he ſaueth vs freely, without any deſeruynges or workes of the lawe. In lyke manner peace, is taken for the quietnes and tranquillitie of the conſcience, beyng throughly perſuaded that through the onely merites of Chriſtes death and bloudſhedyng, there is an attonement and peace made betwene God and vs, ſo that God will no more impute our ſinnes vnto vs, nor yet condemne vs.

Grace. Peace, what it is.

Dearely beloued, I will not be negligent to put you alwayes in remembraunce of thynges, though that ye knowe them your ſelues and bee alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth: notwithſtandyng, I thinke it meete (as long as I am in this tabernacle) to ſtirre you vp, by puttyng you in remembraunce. Wherfore I beſech you brethren and exhort you in the Lord Ieſus, that ye encreaſe more and more, euen as ye haue receaued how ye ought to walke and to pleaſe God. And as Barnabas that good man and ful of the holy ghoſt, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpoſe of hart, cleaue ye continually vnto the Lord. And ſtand faſte, and be not moued from the hope of the Goſpel wherof (God be thanked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you theſe yeares paſt, by the faythfull Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, Leyuer, Pilkintō, Bradford, Sāders, & others lyke, which now whē perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, do not fall away lyke ſhrynkyng children and forſake the truth, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, whiche are his miſticall body, to forſake the chiefe and principall delightes of thys lyfe, and ſome of them in geuyng place to the outragious tyranny of the worlde, to forſake their liuinges, frendes, natiue land, and other chiefe pleaſures of this lyfe, and to commit them ſelues to painful exile, that if it pleaſe god, Chriſt may come againe out of Egypt. And other ſome are ready to fulfil their miniſtery vnto the vtmoſt: that is to witte, with their painfull impriſonmentes and bloudſhedyng (if nede ſhall ſo require) to confirme and ſeale Chriſtes goſpell, wherof they haue ben miniſters: and as S. Paul ſayth, not onely to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to die for the name of the Lord Ieſus.

He exhorteth to ſtedfaſtnes in the Goſpell.

Leyuer. Pilkinton. Bradford. Saunders.

Men baniſhed for the Goſpell in Queene Maryes tyme.

Bee not ye therefore aſhamed of the teſtimonye of our Lord Ieſus, neither be ye aſhamed of vs whiche are his priſoners, but ſuffer ye aduerſity with the goſpell, for whiche we ſuffer trouble as euill doers, euen vnto bondes: but the word of God is not bound with vs. Therefore we ſuffer althinges for the elect ſake, that they alſo may obtain the ſaluation which is in Chriſt Ieſu, with eternall Glory: wherfore ſtand ye faſt in the faith, & be not moued from the hope of the Goſpel, & ſo ſhal ye make vs euen with ioy to ſuffer for your ſakes, & as the Apoſtle ſayth. To fulfil that which is behynde of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh, for his bodies ſake, whiche is the congregation. S. Paul doth not here meane that there wāteth any thyng in the paſſion of Chriſt which may be ſupplyed by man; for the paſſiō of Chriſt (as touching his own perſon) is that moſt perfect and omniſufficient ſacrifice, wherby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his bloud: but theſe his wordes ought to be vnderſtand of the elect & choſen, in whom Chriſt is & ſhalbe perſecuted vnto the worldes end. The paſſion of Chriſt then, as touching his miſticall body which is the Churche, ſhal not be perfect till they haue al ſuffered, whō God hath appointed to ſuffer for his ſōnes ſake. wherfore ſtabliſh your ſelues & be of good comfort, & be not moued in theſe afflictions, knowing that wee are appointed therūto. For on your partes nothing can be greater conſolation & inward ioy vnto vs in our aduerſity, thē to heare of your fayth & loue, and that ye haue a good remembraunce of vs alwayes, praying for vs as we do for you, as the Apoſtle writeth of the Theſſalonians, ſaying: Nowe are wee alyue if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord: for good ſhepheardes do alwaies counte the welfare & proſperous eſtate of Chriſtes flocke to be their owne: for while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth wel with thē alſo, in whatſoeuer afflictiō or aduerſitie they be: but when they ſee the church in any perill or weaknes, thē be they wery of their own lyues, then can they haue no reſt nor ioy. Who is weake, ſayth S. Paule, and I am not weake? who is offended & I do not burne? But this affection is not in them that ſeeke their own luker and glory.

The meaning of S. Paules wordes, opened.

The condition of a true Paſtor.

And for aſmuch as the lyfe of man is a perpetuall warfare vpō earth, let vs runne with joy vnto the battayle that is ſet before vs, & like good warriours of Ieſus Chriſt, pleaſe hym, who hath choſen vs to bee ſoldiours, and not lyke ſhrynkyng chyldren faynt and fall away from the truth now in tyme of aduerſity and tribulation, wherwith all that wil lyue Godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt bee tryed, euen as golde and ſyluar is proued in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures haue geuen vs ſo much forewarnyng. For God is wont for the moſt part, to warne his elect and choſen what affliction and trouble ſhall happen vnto them for his ſake, not to the entent to fray thē therby, but rather to prepare their mindes agaynſt the boyſtrous ſtormes of perſecution. As we haue a notable example in the Apoſtle S. Paul, vnto whom God ſent Agabus, who propheceed vnto him of the impri-

A chriſtian mans lyfe is a warfare vpon earth.

The Church is euer forewarned before afflictions.

ſonment and bandes that he ſhould ſuffer at Ieruſalem: In whom we haue alſo a good example of cōſtancie and ſtedfaſtnes, whiche regardyng nothyng the teares of his familiar frendes, nor yet the perill of his own life, did through fire & water go on ſtill to ſet forth the glory of God: and he being deliuered from the handes of his vngodly and bloudthirſtie enemyes, and that ſo many tymes, is in concluſion fayne to commit him ſelfe to the rough waters of the Sea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great perill and ieopardy of his owne lyfe. But God was alwayes (to the great comfort of all that ſhall heare of it) moſt ready to helpe and ſuccour him. Firſt he dyd ſend him a moſt frendly and ſweete cōpany, I meane Ariſtarchus and Lucas, ſo rulyng the hart of the vnder captaine Iulius that he courteouſly intreated him, and gaue him libertie to go to his frendes, and to refreſhe him ſelfe, and he was beneficiall vnto hym at all tymes. In like manner was God with Ioſeph, and deliuered him from all his aduerſities, and gaue him fauour and wiſedome in the ſight of Pharao kyng of Egypt, in ſomuch that he made him Gouernour ouer all Egypt, and ouer all his houſhold. In like manner was he with Ieremy, & Daniell in their great troubles, & appointed mē for thē in their moſt troubles, to relieue, ſuccour, and helpe them, to their ſingular comfort.

Actes 17.

Peter deliuered out of priſon.

Alſo when Peter was in Herodes priſon, ſleepyng betwene two ſouldiours, bounde with two chaynes, and the keepers before the doore keepyng the priſon, the ſame night that Herode had intended to haue brought him out vnto the people the day followyng, and to haue put hym vnto death to pleaſe the Iewes withall, as a litle before he had killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the ſword: God ſent his aungell, and the chaynes fell of from Peters hands, and the yron gate opened vnto him by his owne accorde, and ſo was Peter wonderfully deliuered by God. For it is the true liuyng God that looſeth all bandes, and delivereth out of priſon, and not that fayned God S. Leonard. On that true God did S. Peter call: vnto him did he aſcribe the glory of his deliueraunce, ſaying: Now I know of a truth that God hath ſent his Aungell. &c.

Theſe thynges are written for our learnyng, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might haue hope. The God of pacience and comfort graunt that we be like mynded one towardes an other, after the enſample of Chriſt Ieſu, that we all agreeyng together, may with one mouth glorifie God the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

A poore priſoner for Chriſt, George Marſh.

An other letter of George Marſhe to Robert Langley.

An other letter of G. Marſh to Robert Langley, and others.

The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the fellowſhyp of the holy Ghoſt bee with you good brother in Chriſt Robert Langley, and with all them that loue the Lord Ieſus vnfaynedly. Amen.

After harty commendations to you, with thankes for that ye did viſite me a priſoner in Chriſt and vnacquainted with you, to your coſtes, this ſhall bee to let you know, that ye ſhall receaue from me myne examination and handlyng at Lathum, and the cauſe of myne impriſonment, accordyng as I did promiſe you: and this ye ſhall receaue by my brother or ſome one of the Bradſhawes of Bolton within this fortnight, willyng you to ſhew the ſame to ſuch faythfull men about Mancheſter or els where, as you do take to be fauourers of true religion, and Chriſtes holy word, & then to deliuer it agayne. And where as you did put me in comfort, that if I dyd want any thyng neceſſary vnto this lyfe, you with ſome others would bee bearers with me in this my coſtly and paynefull affliction, I geue you moſt hartye thankes, and reioyce greatly in the Lord, who ſtyrreth vp the hartes of others to be carefull for me in this my great neceſſitie. I thanke God, as yet I do want nothyng, and intende to be as little chargeable vnto others (ſauyng my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to ſend for your reliefe and helpe in my neceſſitie: deſiryng you in the meane while to pray for me, and all others in the bondes of Chriſt: that GOD would performe the thyng which he hath begon in vs, that we may with boldnes confeſſe Ieſus Chriſt, and fight the good fight of fayth.

Yours George Marſh.

A Letter of George Marſhe to a certaine godly frend.

An other letter of G. Marſh to his frende.

Grace with you and peace bee multiplied in the knowledge of God and Ieſus the Lord.

After hartye commendations and thankes to you, not onely for your large token, but much more for your louyng letters, full of conſolation to me as touchyng my perſon to you vnknowen: theſe ſhall bee to certiſie you, that I reioyſe greatly in the Lorde when I doe perceiue howe my ſweete Sauiour Chriſt doth ſtyrre vp the mindes, not onely of my familiar frendes in tymes paſt, but alſo of ſondry and diuers heretofore vnto me vnknowē and vnacquainted, to beare part with me in this my paynfull and coſtly impriſonment, ſendyng mee thynges not onely neceſſary for thys preſent lyfe, but alſo comfortable letters, incouragyng and exhortyng mee to continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the fayth, and not to be moued away from the hope of the goſpell, whereof, accordyng to my ſmall talent I haue bene a miniſter: and dayly I call and cry vnto the Lord in whom is all my truſt, and without whom I can do nothyng, that he whiche hath begon a good worke in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it vntill the day of Ieſus Chriſt, beyng ſurely certified in my conſcience of this, that he will ſo do, for as much as he hath geuē me, that not only I ſhould beleue on him but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrengthen me with his holy ſpirite, that I may bee one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, which enduryng to the end, ſhalbe ſaued.

And whereas you ſay that my ſufferyng of perſecution with Chriſt, is a thyng to you moſt comfortable, I make anſwere that in all mine aduerſitie and neceſſity, nothyng on your behalfe is greater conſolation vnto me, then to heare of the fayth and loue of others, and howe they haue good remembraunce of vs alwayes, euen as the Apoſtle reporteth by the Theſſalonians, ſaying: Now are we alyue if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord. For my truſt in the Lorde is, that thys my buſines ſhall happen vnto the furtheraunce of the goſpell, and that you will be none of thoſe forgetfull and hipocritiſh hearers, whereof ſome beyng but wayſide hearers, the deuill commeth and taketh away the word out of their hartes, leſt they ſhould beleue and be ſaued (but let prayer be made without ceaſſyng by the congregation vnto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your conſolation, glorioſly deliuer by one meanes or other his oppreſſed. Onely tary ye the Lordes leyſure: bee ſtrong, let your hart be of good comfort, and waite ye ſtyll for the Lord. Hee tarieth not, that will come, looke for him therfore and faynt not, and he will neuer fayle you.

Wayſide hearers of the worde.

Yours G. Marſh.

A letter of a godly brother one Iames. Bradſhaw, ſent to George Marſh in priſon.

A letter of Iames Bradſhaw to George Marſh.

Grace and peace from God the father, and the Lord Ieſu Chriſt be with you alway, Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort vnto vs, to ſee you take the croſſe ſo thankfully. Trouble and affliction doth proue, trye, inſtruct, confirme, and ſtrengthen the fayth, prouoke and ſtyrre vp prayer, dryue and force vs to amendement of lyfe, to the feare of God, to mekenes, to patience, to conſtancy, to gentlenes, to ſobernes, temperancie, and to all maner of vertues, and are the occaſion of exceedyng much good, as well tranſitory as eternall, in this world as in the worlde to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor vngodly, but he hath one croſſe or other. And although ſome there be that can ſhyft for a while, and make prouiſion for them ſelues for a tyme, by craft or ſubtilty and diſſimulation, or by ſome faſhion in fellowſhip (as they call it) yet they bryng them ſelues at length into the hygheſt daunger, confuſion and ſhame, both in this world, and in the world to come. And ſeyng that all the troubles and aduerſity in this world, are a thouſand tymes more light and eaſy, yea nothyng in compariſon of the eternall fyre, which is prepared and already kyndled for the vnfaythfull and wicked enemies of God: all faythfull and godly perſons ought to beare and ſuffer their tranſitory affliction and aduerſity the more patientlye, willinglye, and thankfullye: conſideryng and remembryng all the dearely beloued frendes of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plaged of their enemies Abraham of the Caldies, Lot, of the Sodomites, Iſaac, of Iſmael, Iacob of Eſau, Moſes of his people, Dauyd of Saul & of his owne ſonnes. As for Iob, hee had not a drop of bloud in his body. Iohn Baptiſt the holieſt that euer was borne of a woman was without any law, right or reaſon, beheaded in priſon, as though God had knowen nothing at all of him.

What good affliction worketh in the godly.

Examples of holy men ſuffering affliction.

We haue many thouſand fellow Martyrs & cōpanions of our miſery & aduerſity, in reſpect of whoſe impriſonment racking, chaines, fire, wilde beaſtes, & other meanes, wherwith they were tormented, all that we ſuffer is but a blaſte of winde. Therefore nowe who ſoeuer is aſhamed of the croſſe of Chriſt, and agreeth therwith, the ſame is aſhamed to haue Chriſt for his fellow & companion, & therfore ſhal yͤ Lord Ieſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him agayn at yͤ latter day.

Thus I leaue for this tyme, beſeeching you to let mee haue your aduiſe, becauſe I do not outwardly ſpeak yͤ with my tonge, that I do thinke with my hart. Pray for me, as

I for you. I beſeeche the holy Ghoſt haue you in his keping alway. Amen.

By your frend Iames Bradſhaw.

¶ A prayer of George Marſh, whiche he vſed dayly to ſay.

A prayer of G. Marſh, Martyr.

OH Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, whiche art the onely phiſition of wounded conſciences, we miſerable ſinners truſting in thy gratious goodnes, do briefly open to thee the euyll tree of our hart, with all the rootes, boughes, leaues, and fruites, and with all the crookes, knottes and knoures, all whiche thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceiueſt as well the inwarde luſtes, doubtinges, and denying thy prouidence, as theſe groſſe outward ſinnes which we commit inwardly deadly. Wherefore we beſeeche thee, according to the litle meaſure of our infirmitie, although we be farre vnable and vnapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercyfully circumciſe our ſtony hartes, and for theſe olde hartes, create newe within vs, and repleniſh vs with a new ſpirite, and water vs and moyſten vs with the ioyce of heauēly grace, and welles of ſpirituall waters, whereby the inward venome and noyſome ioyce of the fleſh may be dryed vp, and cuſtome of the olde man chaunged, and our hart alwayes bringing foorth thornes and bryers to be burned with fire, from hence forth may beare ſpiritual fruits in righteouſnes and holynes, vnto lyfe euerlaſting. Amen.

Beloued, among other exerciſes, I doo dayly on my knees vſe this confeſſion of ſinnes, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, and dayly to acknowledge vnfainedly to God your vnbeliefe, vnthankfulnes, & diſobedience againſt him. This ſhal ye do if ye wil diligently conſider, and looke your ſelues firſt in the pure glaſſe of Gods Commaundementes, and there ſee our outward filthynes and vncleannes, and ſo learne to vanquiſhe the ſame, that is to wyt, to fall in harty diſpleaſure againſt ſinne, and therby be prouoked to long after Chriſte. For we truely are ſinners: but he is iuſt, and the Iuſtifier of all them that beleue on hym. We are poore, but he is riche in mercy toward al them that cal vpon hym. If we hunger and thirſt for righteouſnes, let vs reſorte vnto his table, for he is a moſte liberall feaſt maker. He wyll ſet before vs his owne holy body, whiche was geuen for vs to be our meate, and his precious bloud whiche was ſhed for vs and for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes, to be our drinke. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for geaſtes, which hunger and thirſt. Come (ſaith he) all ye that labour and are laden, and I wyl refreſhe you, coole and eaſe you, and you ſhal finde reſt vnto your ſoules.

1. Cor. 10.
Math. 20.
Math. 11.

The life and hiſtorie of William Flower, who for ſtriking of a prieſt, was apprehended, firſt hauing his hand cut of, and after martyred for his conſtant ſtanding to the truth.

W. Flower Martyr.

William Flower, otherwiſe named Branch, firſt concernyng his trade of life & bringing vp, he was borne at Snowhill in yͤ Countye of Cābridge, where he wēt to ſchole certaine yeares, & thē came to yͤ Abbey of Ely: where after he had remained a while, he was a profeſſed Mōke, according to the order and rule of the ſame houſe, wherin he remained, vſing and bearing the habite of a monke, and obſeruing the rules and orders of the ſame houſe, vntyll he came to. xxi. yeres of age, or therabout: and before he came to that age, & being a profeſſed mōke, he was made a prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate & ſing maſſe a good ſpace together. After that by reaſon of a viſitatiō, and certaine Iniunctions geuen in the ſame time by the authoritye of king Henry the eight, he forſooke the ſame houſe, and caſting from hym the ſaid monkes habite and Religion aforeſaid, tooke vpon him and vſed the habite of a ſecular prieſt, and returned to Snowhyll, where he was borne, and there he did celebrate and ſing Maſſe, and taught children their Primer and Accidence, about halfe a yeare together.

W. Flower firſt a Monke, then a prieſt in the houſe of Ely.

W. Flower at the ſuppreſſion of Abbeyes, chaunged his religion.

W. Flower a Maſſe Prieſt.

Then he went from thence to Ludgate in Suffolke, and there ſerued as a ſecular prieſt about a quarter of a yere: and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he taried and ſerued as a ſecular prieſt alſo, vntyll the commyng out of the ſixe Articles: and then he departed from thence, and went into Glouceſter ſhiere, where after he had made his aboade in the countrey a while, at length in Tewkeſbury according to Gods holy ordinaunce, he maried a wife, with whom he euer after faithfully and honeſtly continued: and after his mariage, he taried in Tewkeſbury about two yeares together: and then frō thence he wēt vnto Broſley, where he taried three quarters of a yere, and practiſed Phiſicke and Surgery, and from thence he remoued to Northampton ſhiere, where vnder a Gentleman he taught children their Primers, and to write and reade, a good ſpace. And ſo departing from thoſe parties, he came to London, and there remained for a certaine ſpace. After that being deſirous to ſee his countrey, he returned to Snowhyl where he was borne: from thence to Branchſtrey in Eſſex, then to Coxal, where he taught children a ſpace: and ſo came to Lambeth beſide London, where he hyred a houſe, and placed his wife, where he and his wife dyd euer ſince dwel together tyl this tyme: howbeit for the moſt part he was alwayes abroade, and verye ſeldome at home, except once or twiſe in a moneth, to viſite and ſee his wife: where he being at home vppon Eaſter day about. x. and. xi. a clocke in the fore noone of the ſame daye came ouer the water from Lambeth into Saint Margaretes Church at Weſtminſter, where he finding and ſeeing a prieſt called Iohn Cheltam miniſtring and geuing the ſacrament of the aultar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conſcience with the Prieſt for the ſame his doing (for that he iudged hym not to be a Catholike Miniſter) neither his act to be Catholike and laudable, according to Gods word, dyd ſtrike and wounde hym vpon the head and alſo vpon the arme and hand with his woodknife, the Prieſt hauing the ſame tyme in his hande a Chalice, with certaine conſecrated hoſtes therin, which were ſprinkeled with the bloud of the ſaid prieſt.

W. Flower marieth a wyfe.

W. Flower commeth to Lambeth.

W. Flower ſtriketh a Popiſh Prieſt at the aultar, in Weſtminſter.

In the whiche ſo doing, as in deede he dyd not well, or Euāgelically, ſo afterward being examined before B. Boner, dyd no leſſe confeſſe his not wel doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therfore hym ſelfe willyngly to puniſhment when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his beliefe in the ſacrament, and the popiſh miniſtration, he neither would nor did ſubmit hym ſelfe.

W. Flower repenteth his act in ſtriking.

W. Flower conſtant in his fayth.

Wherupon the foreſaid Will. Flower, being firſt apprehended & laid in the Gate houſe at Weſtminſter (where he had geuen two groates the ſame day a litle before to the priſoners, ſaying, he would ſhortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could beare: afterward was conuented before Boner his Ordinary. April. 19. an. 1555. where the biſhop after he had ſworne hym vpon a booke (according to his ordinary maner) miniſtred articles & interrogatories to hym. But before I ſpeake of the articles, firſt we haue here to ſet forth what cōmunication paſſed betwixt hym & Rob. Smyth being then alſo there priſoner with hym in Newgate, concernyng his fact done at Weſtminſter: the tenor & effect of which communication here foloweth.

W. Flower layd in the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter.

W. Flower brought before B. Boner.

A communication or debating betweene R. Smyth priſoner in Newgate, and W. Flower, concerning his ſtriking of the prieſt at Weſtminſter.

Robert Smyth.

Frend, for as much as I do vnderſtand that you do profeſſe the Goſpell, and alſo haue ſo done a long ſeaſon, I am bolde to come vnto you, and in the way of communication to demaunde and learne a truth at your owne mouth, of certayne thynges by you committed, to the aſtoniſhyng not onely of me but of diuers other that alſo profeſſe the veritie.

The talke betwene Robert Smyth and W. Flower.

Flower. I prayſe God for his great goodnes, in ſhewing me the light of his holy worde: and I geue you hartye thankes for your viſitation: intendyng by Gods grace to declare all the truth that ye ſhal demaund lawfully of me, in all thinges.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhewe me the truth of your deede, committed on Iohn Cheltam prieſt, in the Church, as neare as you can, that I may heare of your owne mouth howe it was.

Flo. I came from my houſe at Lambeth, ouer the water, and entring into ſaint Margaretes Church (ſo called) and there ſeeing the people fallyng downe before a moſt ſhamefull and deteſtable Idoll, beyng moued with extreme zeale for my God, whom I ſawe before my face diſhonoured, I drewe forth my Hanger, and ſtrake the prieſt which miniſtred the ſame vnto them: wherupon I was immediately apprehended: and this is moſt true, as the act is manifeſt.

The zeale of W. Flower in ſeeing the Lordes honour defaced.

Smith. Did ye not know the perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zelous vpon hym for any euyl wyl, or hatred betweene you at any tyme?

Flo. No verily, I neuer to my knowledge ſawe the perſon before that preſent, neither ought hym or any man elſe euyl wyl, or malice: for if he had not had it, an other ſhould, if I had any tyme come where the like occaſion had ben miniſtred, if God had permitted me to do it.

Smith. Do ye thinke that thyng to be wel done, and after the rule of the Goſpel.

Flo. I do confeſſe all fleſh to be ſubiect to the power of almighty God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his wil and pleaſure: as in example, Moſes, Aaron, Phinees, Ioſua, Zimrie, Iehu, Iudith, Mathathiah, with many other, not onely chaunging degrees, but alſo planting zeales to his honour, againſt all order and reſpecte of fleſhe and bloud. For as ſaith ſaint Paul, His woorkes are paſte finding out: by whoſe ſpirite I haue alſo geuen my fleſhe at this preſent vnto ſuch order, as it ſhal pleaſe the good wyll of God to appoynt, in death, which before the fact committed, I looked for.

Extraordinary zeales are no generall rules to be folowed.

Sm. Thinke you it conuenient for me, or any other to doo the like by your example?

Flo. No verily: neither do I know if it were to do again, whither I could do it again, or no: for I was vp very early at Paules Church (ſo called) vpon Chriſtes day in the mornyng, to haue done it in my zelouſie: but when I came in place, I was no more able to do it, thē now to vndo that is done: and yet now being compelled by the ſpirit, not onely to come ouer the water, and to enter the church, but beyng in mynde fully contented to dye for the Lord, gaue ouer my fleſh willingly without all feare, I prayſe God: wherefore I can not learne you to doo the like. Firſte, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the Goſpel cōmaundeth vs to ſuffer with pacience al wronges & iniuries: yet neuertheleſſe, if he make you worthy, ý hath made me zealous, ye ſhal not be letted, iudged, nor cōdēned: for he doth in his people his vnſpeakable workes in al ages, which no man can comprehend: I humbly beſeech you to iudge the beſt of the ſpirit, and condemne not Gods doinges: for I can not expreſſe with my mouth the great mercyes that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

W. Flower intending at Paules to haue done the like.

Sm. Are ye not aſſured to haue death miniſtred vnto you for the ſame act committed, and euen with extremitie?

Flo. I dyd before the dede committed, adiudge my bodye to dye for the ſame: whereupon I caryed about me in wrytyng myne opinion of God and the holy Scriptures: that if it had pleaſed God to haue geuen them leaue to haue kylled my body in the church, they might in the ſaide wrytyng haue ſeene my hope, which (I prayſe God) is layd vp ſafe within my breſt, notwithſtanding any death that maye be miniſtred vnto my body in this worlde: beyng aſcertayned of euerlaſting life through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, and being moſt hartily ſory for all myne offences committed in this fleſhe, and truſting ſhortly through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

W. Flower prepared hymſelfe to death before the fact committed.

Sm. It is no neede to examine or cōmune with you of the hope that ye haue any further: for I perceiue (God be praiſed) ye are in good eſtate, & therfore I beſeech God for his mercies, ſpread his wings ouer you, that as for his loue you haue bene zelous, euen to the loſſe of this life, ſo he may geue you his holy ſpirit to cōduct you out of this death, into a better lyfe, which I thinke wyl be ſhortly.

Flo. I hunger for the ſame (deare frend) beyng fully aſcertained that they can kyl but the body, which I am aſſured ſhal receyue life againe euerlaſting, & ſee no more death: entirely deſiring you and al that feare the lord, to pray with me to almightye God, to performe the ſame in me ſhortly. And thus Rob. Smyth departed, leauing hym in the dungeon, and wente againe to his warde. And this (gentle Reader) is the truth, as neare as the ſaide Smyth coulde reporte it.

And thus muche concernyng the talke betwene hym and Robert Smyth in Newgate, concernyng his facte in ſtrikyng the Prieſt. Nowe to returne agayne to the matter of his examination, where we lefte, we ſhewed before howe this William Flower after his ſtriking the Prieſt, firſt was layd in the Gatehouſe: then being examined before Boner, had articles miniſtred againſt hym: the copy wherof here foloweth.

Articles obiected and miniſtred by B. Boner againſt William Branch, aliás Flower, late of Lambeth, in the Countie of Surrie.

Articles obiected agaynſt W. Flower by B. Boner.

FIrſt, that thou beyng of lawfull age and diſcretion, at the feaſt of .xvij. yeare old, waſt profeſſed a Monke in the late Abbey of Ely, wherin after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt vntyll the age of .xxi. yeares, vſing all the meane tyme the habite and religion of the ſame houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

In the latter dayes certayne ſhall depart from the fayth, forbidding mariage and eating of meates. 1. Tim. 4.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made Prieſt, accordyng to the laudable cuſtome of the Catholike Churche, and afterward thou didſt execute and miniſter as a Prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a prieſt.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſtie, and the laudable order of the Catholike church, diddeſt contrary to thy profeſſion and vowe, take as vnto thy wyfe, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the pariſh Church of Tewkeſbury in the Dioceſſe of Glouceſter, with whom thou haddeſt mutuall cohabitation and carnal copulation, as man and wyfe, and begatteſt of her two children.

Item, that thou being a religious man and a Prieſt, diddeſt contrary to the order of the eccleſiaſtical lawes, take vpon thee to practiſe in diuers places within the Dioceſſe of London, Phiſicke and Surgerie, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

A great hereſye.

Item, that vpon Eaſter day laſt paſt, that is to wyt, the .xiiij. day of this preſent moneth of April, within the pariſh Church of S. Margarets at Weſtminſter, within the Countie of Middleſex and Dioceſſe of London, thou didſt maliciouſly, outragiouſly, and violently pull out thy weapon, that is to wyt, thy Woodknife or Hanger. And wheras ý Prieſt & Miniſter there called ſir Iohn Cheltam, was executyng his cure and charge, eſpecially in doyng his Seruice, and miniſtring the ſacrament of the aultar to the communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with thy ſaid weapon the ſaid prieſt, firſt vpon the head very ſore, & afterwards vpon his hands or other partes of his body, drawing bloud abundantly vpon hym: the ſayd prieſt then holdyng the ſaid ſacrament in his hand, and geuyng no occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt hym: the people greeuouſly being offended therwith, and the ſaid Church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitauntes were compelled to repayre to an other Churche to communicate, and to receyue the ſaid ſacrament.

Item, that by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſtical lawes of the Church, amongſt other penalties, excōmunicate and accurſed, *ipſo facto*, and not to be companied withal, neither in church, nor otherwhere, but in ſpecial caſes.

Item, that thou concerning the veritie of Chriſtes naturall bodye and bloud in the ſacrament of the aultar, haſte ben by the ſpace of theſe yeares. 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 11. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. and. 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of the opinion: that is to ſay, that in the ſayd ſacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is not really, truely, and in very deede, conteyned (vnder the formes of bread) the very true and naturall body of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

This fayth in the Sacrament.

Item, that thou for the hatred and diſdeine that thou hadſt and didſt beare againſt the ſaid ſacrament, & the vertue thereof, and againſt the ſaid Prieſt miniſtring the ſame, (as before) didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt hym in maner and forme as before is declared.

Item, that thou ouer and beſides the paynes due vnto thee for the doyng of the cruell fact, art alſo by the order of the eccleſiaſtical lawes of the Church, and the laudable cuſtome and ordinance of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, & iudged (as thou art in deede) a very heretike, and to be puniſhed by and with the paynes due for hereſie, by reaſon of thy ſayd hereſie and damnable opinion.

Item, that al the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, and notorious and famous, and that vpon the ſame, and euery part thereof, there was and is within the ſaide pariſhe of Saint Margaretes and other places thereabout, a publike voyce and fame.

¶ The anſweare of William Flower made to the articles aforeſaid.

Flower anſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt article he anſweareth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part thereof, except that he ſayth and confeſſeth that he neuer conſented and agreed in his hart to be a Monke.

Flower made Monke agaynſt his will.

To the ſecond article he anſweareth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part therof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he neuer did nor yet doth eſteeme the ſaid order of prieſthood according to the ſaid order of the Catholike church, becauſe he was offended therwith in his conſcience.

Flower confeſſeth his matrimony to be honeſt and lawfull.

W. Flower more deuout to God being in the ſtate of matrimony, then before.

To the third article he anſweareth, & confeſſeth that he intendyng to lyue in godly matrimonie, and not forgettyng God, dyd mary with the ſaide Alice Pulton named in this article, wherein he beleueth that he dyd well, and accordyng to Gods lawes. Further confeſſing and beleuyng, that all the tyme when he was profeſſed Monke, and made prieſt, he dyd therby vtterly forget God: but when he dyd ſo mary the ſayd Alice Pulton, & in continuyng with her, did beget three chyldren, he dyd remember God, as he ſayth, and beleueth that he dyd then lawfully.

To the fourth article he anſweareth, and beleueth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the fift article he anſweareth, and confeſſeth that his cōſcience being greatly offended with the ſayd ſir Iohn Chel-

The order of Flowers ſtriking the Prieſt at the aultar.

Note that the ſayd W. Flower afterward in his next appearaunce corrected and reformed that anſwere Flower will not anſwere whether he entended to kill the prieſt

Cheltam prieſt, for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this article, he did ſmite & ſtrike the ſame prieſt with his hanger or wood knife, as wel vpon his head, as vpon other partes and places of his body, which he remembreth not, whereby the bloud ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid Church, as he beleueth, hauyng, as he ſaith, none other cauſe or matter ſo to doo, but onely that his conſcience was offended and greeued, in that the ſame Prieſt dyd ſo geue and miniſter the ſaid Sacrament to the people: whiche people he beleeueth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaid facte and doyng, and were enforced and compelled to goe out of the Church, and to repayre to an other to receyue the ſaide ſacrament. and further, being then demaunded and examined, whether he did then mynde and intende to haue kylled the ſaid prieſt, or not? he ſaid he would not anſweare thereunto. And being further examined whether he dyd well or euyl in ſtriking the ſaid prieſt? he would make no anſwere therunto, as he ſaid.

To the ſixt he anſwereth & ſaith, that whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is conteined in this article, he referreth hym ſelfe herein to the Eccleſiaſtical lawes.

To the ſeuenth he aunſweareth and ſaith, that by the ſpace of ſixe and twentie yeares now paſt, he hath alwayes bene, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaide Sacrament of the aultar, as foloweth: videlicet, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there is not really, truely, and in very dede conteyned vnder the forme of bread, the very true naturall bodye of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eight he anſwereth, and beleueth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the ninth he anſweareth, & herein he referreth hym ſelfe to the ſaid lawes, cuſtome, and ordinaunce ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the Canonical lawes.

To the laſt he anſweareth & beleueth, that thoſe things before by hym confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denyed, be vntrue: and that the ſaid common voyce and fame hath and doth only labour and go vpon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me William Flower,
alias Branch.

W. Flower exhorted to recant.

After this examination done, the biſhop began after the beſt ſort of his fine Diuinitie to inſtruct hym, and to exhorte hym to returne againe to the vnitie of his mother the Catholike church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to vſe to others, promiſing many fayre thinges if he would ſo do, beſides the remitting of that was paſt.

W. Flower refuſeth to reuoke his fayth and doctrine.

To this William Flower anſwearing againe, thanked hym for his offer: and where it was in his power to kyll or not to kyl his body, he ſtoode therwith contented, let hym do therein what he thought: yet ouer his ſoule he had no ſuch power, whiche beyng once ſeparated from the body, is in the handes of no man, but onely of God, eyther to ſaue or ſpyll. As concernyng his opinion of the ſacrament, he ſaide, he would neuer go from that he had ſpokē, do he with him what he would.

Then the Biſhop aſſigned hym againe to appeare in the ſame place at after noone, betwixt three or foure. In the meane tyme to aduiſe hym ſelfe of his former anſwers, whether he woulde ſtande to the ſame his opinions, or no? which if he ſo did, he would further procede againſt him. &c.

An other appearaunce of W. Flower before B. Boner.

At after noone the ſaide William Flower appeared agayne before the ſaide Biſhop, the houre and place appoynted. To whom the Biſhop ſittyng in his Conſiſtorie, ſpake theſe wordes: Branch, ye were this forenoone here before me, and made aunſweare to certayne Articles: and thereuppon I reſpited you tyll nowe, to the entente you ſhoulde conſider and weigh with your ſelfe your ſtate, and to remember while you haue tyme, both your abominable acte, and alſo that euyll opinion whiche ye haue conceyued touchyng the veritie of Chriſtes true naturall body in the ſacrament of the aultar.

W. Flower ſtandeth to his doctrine.

To whom the ſayde Branch anſweared agayne, and ſaid as foloweth: That which I haue ſaid, I wyll ſtande to: and therefore I require that the lawe maye procede againſt me. Whereupon the Biſhop commaunded his Notarye (Harward by name) to reade to hym agayne his articles, as before. Which beyng read, the ſaid W. Flower perſiſting in his godly ſentence, anſweared to all partes of the articles, as in the forenoone before, ſaue only that he requeſted the Biſhop concerning the fift article, he might alter ſomething his anſwere therin, after this tenor and maner of wordes: to wyt, And moreouer confeſſeth & ſaith, that whereas he ſtrake the prieſt on Eaſter day laſt paſt in S. Margarets church in Weſtminſter, he hath ſince that tyme, and yet doth miſlike hym ſelf in that doyng, and doth now iudge and beleue that the ſame his act was euyl & nought. Howbeit he ſaith and beleueth, that as for the matter and cauſe wherfore he ſo ſtroke the ſaid Prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the ſacrament of the aultar, which he taketh and iudgeth abominable) he did nor dooth miſlike hym ſelfe at all therein.

Flower miſliketh his owne act in ſtriking the Prieſt.

Moreouer, he deſireth of the ſaide Biſhop licence to be graunted hym, to alter and take out ſomewhat of the .ix. article, and in place therof theſe wordes to be placed: to wyt, Herein he referreth hym ſelfe to the lawes, cuſtome, and ordinance ſpecified in this article. &c. At which requeſt Boner graunted to the altering of both the articles, according as he deſired, and ſo put in the actes.

Flower reformeth his aunſwere to the .9. Article.

After this, the biſhop turning againe to his old maner of exhorting, went about with wordes (and wordes onely) to perſwade hym to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the Catholique Church, and to the faith therof. Which al his perſwaſions notwithſtanding, William remained ſtyl in the conſtancie of his ſentence, ſaying, that he would not be remoued frō that he had ſpoken, to dye therfore. Wherupon the Biſhop aſſigned hym ẏ next day (being the .xx. day of April) to appeare in the ſame day & place, betwixt the houres of .viij. and .ix. before noone, there and then to heare the ſentence pronounced, in caſe he would not relent. &c.

The laſt appearaunce of William Flower, before Biſhop Boner.

The laſt appearaunce of W. Flower before B. Boner.

IN the which day, houre, and place the ſaid William Flower, as he was appoynted, was brought by his keeper, belonging to the warden of the Fleete, before Boner: who after his wonted maner of perſwaſion going about to reduce hym to his Catholike church, and the vnitie therof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt: ſometimes with fayre promiſes alluring, ſometime with manaſſes and terrors fearing him &c. To this William anſwearing, ſaid on this wiſe: Doo what ye wyll, I am at a poynt: For the heauens ſhall as ſoone fall, as I wyl forſake myne opinion. &c. Whereupon the Biſhop after he had commaunded theſe wordes to be regiſtred, called for the depoſitions of certaine witneſſes, producted for the better information of this matter, the names of which witneſſes were theſe: William Genings, J. Bray, Rob. Graunt, Richard Dodde, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the pariſh prieſt of S. Margaretes at Weſtminſter. The ſumme and effect of whoſe depoſitions being taken, publiſhed, and denounced (as in the booke of our firſt edition is expreſſed at large, pag. 1131.) the ſaid biſhop ſpeaking to William Flower, aſked hym, if he knew any matter or cauſe why his ſentence ſhould not be reade, and he to be pronounced as an heretike.

W. Flowers conſtancye.

Witnes produced againſt W. Flower.

Wherunto William Flower anſweared againe, as foloweth: I haue nothing at all to ſay. For I haue nothing at all to ſay. For I haue already ſaid vnto you all that I haue to ſay: and that I haue ſaid, I wyl not goe from, and therfore do what ye wyl. &c.

Whiche when he had ſpoken, the Biſhop proceeded to the ſentence, condemnyng and excommunicating hym for an heretike, and after pronounced hym alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed hym to the ſecular power. Upon the foure and twenty day of the foreſaid moneth of April, which was S. Markes euen, he was brought to the place of martyrdome, which was in S. Margarets churchyard at Weſtminſter, where the fact was committed, and there comming to the ſtake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his prayer to almighty God, with a confeſſion of his Chriſtian fayth, in maner as foloweth.

Sentence of condemnation and degradation pronounced agaynſt William Flower.

¶ The prayer and confeſsion of W. Flower.

Flowers Prayer.

OH eternal God, moſt mighty and mercyful father, who haſt ſent downe thy ſonne vppon the earth, to ſaue me and all mankinde: who aſcended vp into heauen againe, and leaft his bloud here vppon the earth behynde hym for the redemption of our ſinnes, haue mercy vpon me, haue mercy vppon me, for thy deare ſonne our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, in whom I confeſſe onely to be all ſaluation and iuſtification, and that there is none other meane, nor way, nor holynes, in which or by which any man can be ſaued in this worlde. This is my fayth, which I beſeeche al men here to beare witnes of.

Then he ſaid the Lordes prayer, and ſo made an ende.

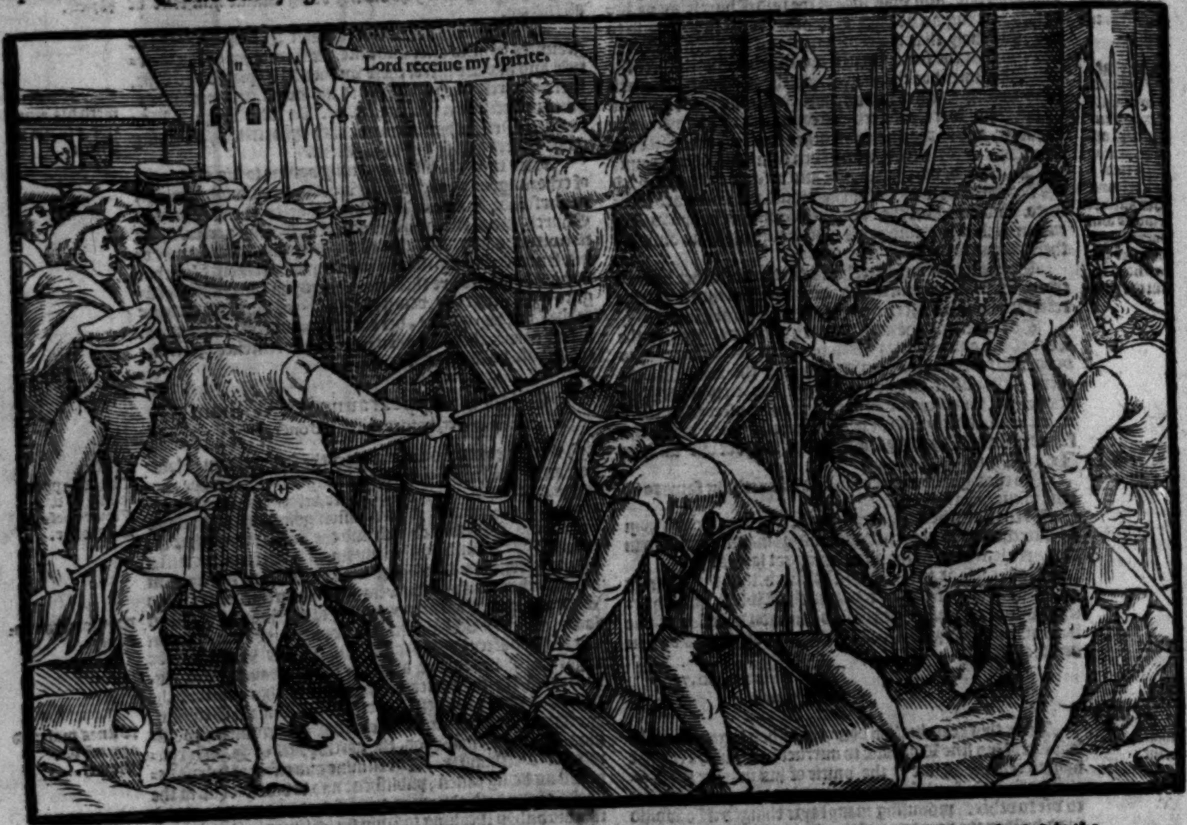
Talke betwene W. Flower and M. Cholmley.

Then M. Cholmley came to hym, willyng hym to recant his hereſie, whereby he might doo good to the people, or els he ſhould be damned.

Flower aunſweared as foloweth. Syr, I beſeeche you for Gods ſake be contented: for that I haue ſayde, I haue ſaid, and I haue bene of this fayth frō the beginning:

and I truſt to the liuyng God he wyll geue me his holye ſpirite to continue to the ende. Then he deſired all the world to forgeue hym, whom he had offended, as he forgaue all the worlde.

¶ The burnyng of William Flower at Weſtminſter, the. 24. of April. 1555.


Lord receiue my ſpirite.

This done, firſt his right hand being held vp againſt the ſtake, was ſtroken of, his left hand being ſtayed behinde him. At the which ſtriking of his hand, certaine that were preſent beholders of the matter, and purpoſely obſeruyng the ſame, credibly enformed vs, that he in no part of his body did once ſhrinke at the ſtriking thereof, but once a litle he ſturred his ſhoulders.

And thus fire was ſet vnto him, who burning therin cryed with a loude voyce: Oh the ſonne of God haue mercy vpon me, Oh the ſonne of God receiue my ſoule, three tymes, and ſo his ſpeach being taken from hym, he ſpake no more, lifting vp notwithſtanding his ſtump with his other arme, as long as he could.

And thus endured this conſtant witnes and faythfull ſeruaunt of God, the extremitie of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reaſon that to his burnyng litle woode was brought, ſo that for lacke of fagottes there not ſufficient to burne hym, they were faine to ſtrike hym downe into the fire. Where he lying along (whiche was doulfull to beholde) vpon the grounde, his neather parte was conſumed in the fire, whileſt his vpper part was cleane without the fire, his tongue in all mens ſight ſtyll mouyng in his mouth.

¶ The burnyng and martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, and Iohn Warne Vpholſter, which ſuffered both together in Smythfielde,

Ann. 1555. May. 30.

John Cardmaker and John Warne, Martyrs.

VPon the thirty day of May, ſuffred together in Smithfielde John Cardmaker, otherwiſe called Taylour, Prebendarie of the Churche of Welles: and John Warne Vpholſter, of the Pariſhe of ſaint John in Walbrooke. Of whom it remayneth nowe particularly to entreate, beginnyng firſt with maſter Cardmaker, who firſt was an obſeruaunt Fryer before the diſſolution of the Abbeyes: then after was a maryed Miniſter, and in king Edwards tyme appoynted to be Reader in Paules. Where the Papiſtes were ſo muche agreeued with hym for his doctrines ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gowne with their kniues. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginnyng of Queene Maryes raigne, with maſter Barlow Biſhop of Bathe, was brought to London: and layde in priſon in the Fleete, king Edwardes lawes yet being in force. But after the Parlament was ended, in which the Pope was againe admitted as ſupreme head of the church, and the Biſhoppes had alſo gotten power and authoritie, Ex officio, to exerciſe their tyrannie: theſe two were both brought before Wincheſter Chauncelour, and others appoynted by Commiſſion (as before is mentioned) to examine the fayth of ſuch as were then priſoners, and as vnto others before, ſo nowe vnto them, the Chauncelour offered the Queenes mercye, if they would agree and be conformable. &c.

Maiſter Cardmaker reader in Paules.

Cardmaker with M. Barlow apprehended, and layd in the Fleete.

To this they both made ſuch an anſwere, as the Chancelour with his felow Commiſſioners allowed thẽ for Catholike. Whether they of weakenes ſo anſweared, or he of ſubtiltie would ſo vnderſtand their anſwere, that he might haue ſome forged example of a ſhrinking brother, to laye in the diſhe of the reſt, which were to be examined, it may eaſily be perceiued by this, that to all them whiche folowed in examination, he obiected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their ſobernes, diſcretion, and learning. But what ſoeuer their aunſweare was, yet notwithſtanding Barlow was led againe to the Fleete, from whence he afterwarde being deliuered, dyd by exile conſtantly beare witnes to the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell. Cardmaker was conueyed to the Counter in Breadſtreate, the Biſhop of London procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be deliuered, after that he had ſubſcribed to Tranſubſtantiation and certaine other articles.

Barlow and Cardmaker acceptable of Wincheſter as Catholickes.

M. Barlow exiled for the truth.

To the ſame priſon where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced againſt hym) where theſe two priſoners had ſuche Chriſtian conference, that what ſoeuer the breath of the biſhops bluſtred, and the fickle eares of the people too lightly beleued, in the ende they both ſhewed them ſelues conſtant confeſſors, and worthy martyrs of Chriſt: as of Laurence Saunders it is alredy written. After whoſe departure Cardmaker remained there priſoner,

Conference betwene Laurence Saunders and John Cardmaker.

1555. Maye.

priſoner, to be baited of the Papiſtes, which woulde nedes ſeeme to haue a certaine hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference diuers of them had with hym, with reaſoninges, perſwadinges, threatnynges, and al to none effect. To the ende that their doinges might appeare, he required them to put their reaſons in writyng, and promiſed by writing to anſwere them.

D. Martyn writeth agaynſt Cardmaker.

Doct. Martin, who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageantes, tooke vpō him to be ỹ chiefe doer by writing, whoſe lōg vnſauery letters and ſimple reaſons for Tranſubſtantiation, & ſuch papiſtical ſtuffe, this Cardmaker aunſweared largely, learnedly, & ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, opening the falſhood of his argumentes, & deliuering the ſentences of the Fathers (whiche Martin abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true vnderſtādyng: which his anſweres I would had come to our handes. Thus conſtantly abode this man of God all the enemies doinges, as he did alſo the death which he ſuffered in Smithfield in London. Wherof ye ſhal heare more anone: but firſt we wil ſurueye the matter and maner of his articles obiected againſt hym by Biſhop Boner, with his anſweares annexed to the ſame, as conſequently here vnder foloweth.

Articles obiected by Boner againſt I. Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his anſweres vnto the ſame.

May. 24. Articles miniſtred agaynſt John Cardmaker, by the B. of London.

Firſt, I Edmond Biſhop of London, obiect againſt thee ſir John Taylor alias Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the citie and Dioces of London, and ſo of the iuriſdiction of me Edmund biſhop of London.

John Cardmaker firſt an obſeruant Fryer.

Item, that thou in tymes paſt didſt profeſſe the rule of S. Frances, and diddeſt by vow promiſe to keepe pouertie, chaſtitie, & obedience, according to the rule of S. Frances.

Item, that thou in tymes paſt diddeſt receiue al the orders of ỹ Church then vſed, to wyt, tam maiores, quam minores.

John Cardmaker maryed.

Item, that thou after thy ſaid entrie into Religion and profeſſion and orders aforeſaid, diddeſt take to wyfe a wydow, and with her haddeſt carnal copulatiō, and diddeſt get of her a woman child, breaking therby thy vow and order, & alſo the ordinance of the Church.

Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and ſo doeſt beleue that in the ſacrament of the aultar vnder the viſible ſignes there: that is to ſay, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is really and truely the true and very naturall body and bloud of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

The beliefe of the popes Catholicke Church.

Item, that the beliefe of the Catholike Church is, that in hauing the body and bloud of Chriſt really & truely conteyned in the ſacrament of the aultar, is to haue (by the omnipotent power of almighty God) the body & bloud of Chriſt ther inuiſibly & really preſent vnder the ſayd ſacrament, and not to make therby a new God or a newe Chriſt, or a newe body of Chriſt.

To ſpeake naturally of the naturall body of Chriſt, theſe ij. can not ſtand together at one tyme, vnles we graunt Chriſt to haue two bodyes.

Item, that it may ſtand wel together, & ſo is the faith of the catholike church: that the body of Chriſt is viſibly & truely aſcended into heauen, & there is in the viſible forme of his humanitie: and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inuiſibly & truely conteyned in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar.

Item, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper, taking bread into his handes, bleſſing it, breaking it, geuing it to his apoſtles, and ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body, did inſtitute a ſacrament there, * willyng that his body really and truely ſhould be conteyned in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remainyng, but only the accidentes therof.

* That Chriſt neuer willed, neyther can the ſcriptures beare it.

¶ Anſweares of Cardmaker to the articles aforeſaide.

John Cardmaker anſwereth to the Articles.

To the firſt article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth, that he beyng vnder age, dyd profeſſe the ſaid order and religion, and afterward by the authoritie of kyng Henry the eight, he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the third he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the fourth he anſwereth, & confeſſeth the firſt part therof to be true: and to the ſecond part of the ſame article, he anſwereth and ſaith, that in mariage he brake no vowe, becauſe he was ſet at libertie to mary, both by the lawes of this Realme, and alſo by the lawes and ordinaunces of the Church of the ſame.

To the fift he anſwereth, & confeſſeth, that he hath beleued & taught as it is conteyned in this article, but he doth not now ſo beleue nor teach.

To the ſixt he anſwereth, that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true in any part therof.

To the ſeuenth he anſwereth, that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true in any part therof.

The firſt part of this article is true: the ſecond is falſe.

To the eight he anſwereth, and doeth beleue, videlicet, that it is true: that is to ſaye, that Chriſt taking bread at his laſt ſupper into his handes, bleſſing it, breakyng it, geuyng it to his diſciples, and ſaying: Take, eate, this is my body, dyd inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other parte of this article, videlicet, (willyng that his body really and truely ſhould be conteyned in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtāce of bread and wyne there remaynyng, but only the accidentes therof) he anſwereth: that he doth not beleue the ſame to be true.

By me John Cardmaker.

Maiſter Cardmaker callyng to mynd afterwarde ỹ ſlaunderous cauillynges of ỹ papiſtes, & thinking him ſelf not to haue fully and accordyng to his true meanyng anſwered the latter part of the laſt eight article, dyd the nexte daye after the foreſaid anſweres, exhibit vnto the biſhop in a ſchedule this hereafter folowyng.

A more full anſwere to the ſecond part of the eight article.

Where in my anſwere to your articles, I deny the preſence of Chriſte in the ſacrament, I meane not his ſacramental preſence, for that I confeſſe: but my denyal is of his carnal preſence in ỹ ſame: but yet further, becauſe this word is often tymes taken of the holy fathers not only for ỹ bread & wyne, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration & receiuyng of the ſame, according to Chriſtes inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, & to all them which worthily receyueth ỹ ſacrament: So that my denyal is ſtyll of the real, carnal, and corporal preſence in the ſacramēt, & not of the ſacramental nor ſpiritual preſence.

Sacramentall preſence in the Sacrament. Carnall preſence in the Sacrament denyed.

This haue I thought good to adde to my former aunſwere, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me John Cardmaker.

Next to theſe articles of M. Cardmaker, I thought beſt to inſerte the articles and anſweres likewiſe of John Warne his martyr felowe, in maner as foloweth.

¶ Articles miniſtred againſt Iohn Warne Vpholſter, of the pariſhe of ſaint Iohn in Walbrooke, with his aunſweres to the ſame.

Articles agaynſt John Warne vpholſter in Walbroke.

Firſt, that thou John Warne, being of the age of. 29. yeres & of the pariſh of S. John in Walbrooke of London, haſt beleued & doeſt beleue firmely & ſtedfaſtly, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is not the very true and natural body of our ſauiour Chriſt in ſubſtance, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

Item, that thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there is not (as the church of England doth beleue and teache) the body of Chriſt: but that there doth onely remayne the ſubſtance of materiall bread, as it is before the conſecration or ſpeakyng of the wordes of conſecration: and that the ſayde bread is in no wiſe altered or changed.

Agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Item, that thou haſt ſayde, and doeſt beleue, that if the Catholike church do beleue and teache, that there is in the Maſſe (now vſed in England and in other places of Chriſtendome) a ſacrifice wherein there is a ſacrament conteinyng the body and bloud of Chriſt really and truely: then that beliefe and fayth of the church is nought, and agaynſt Gods truth and the ſcripture.

Hereſy for laughing at a ſpanyell ſhorne in the head.

Itē, that thou haſt ſaid, that where about a twelue monethes agone & more, a great rough water ſpanyel of thyne was ſhorne in the head, & had a crowne like a prieſt made in the ſame, thou dyddeſt laugh at it and like it, though thou dyddeſt it not thy ſelfe, nor knoweſt who dyd it.

Item, that thou, neyther this Lent laſt paſt, nor at any tyme ſince the Queenes maieſties raigne, haſte come into the Church, or heard Maſſe, or bene confeſſed, or receyued the ſacrament of the altar: and haſt ſayd, that thou art not ſory that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſcience, whiche otherwiſe thou ſhouldeſt ſo haue done.

Upon all which articles John Warne beyng examined by the ſaid Boner, in preſence of diuers witneſſes, the. [illegible] of May. ann. 1555. dyd confeſſe and beleue the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his name with his owne hand.

By me Iohn Warne.

Alſo it was obiected agaynſt the ſayd John Warne, by the Biſhop aforeſayd, as foloweth.

An other addition of Articles.

Item, that thou John Warne waſt in tyme paſt here in the citie of London, conuented in the Guildhall for hereſie agaynſt the ſacrament of the aultar, according to the order of the lawes of this Realme of England, in the tyme of

kyng

An. 1555. Maye.

John Warne about the tyme of Anne Aſkew was condemned to be burned, and had his pardon.

king Henr. the. 8. and whẽ Alderman Warnes was Sheriffe, & the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkue was burnt in Smithfield, & therupõ thou waſt ſet as a priſoner to Newgate: to whõ Edmond biſhop of London did repayre with his chaplaines, to inſtruct thee in the true faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, & to bring thee frõ thy error, which was, that in the ſacramẽt of the altar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporal preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread and wyne: but that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only material bread & wine, without any ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud at al, and becauſe thou wouldeſt not leaue & forſake thy ſaid hereſie therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wylfully therein, thou wert according to the ſaide lawes condemned to death, and to be burnt: and therupon labor being made for thee to the king and other in the Court, thou hadſt a pardon of king Henry the eight, & ſo thereby diddeſt ſaue thy life: Neuertheles in thy hart, conſcience, & mynd, thou diddeſt both then & alſo afore, beleue no otherwiſe then at this preſent thou doeſt beleue: that is to ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or bloud of Chriſt, nor no other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of materiall bread and wine: and to receiue the ſaid materiall bread and wine, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it among the people, only is the true receiuyng of Chriſtes body, & no otherwiſe: So that thy faithe and beliefe is, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is no ſubſtance of Chriſtes materiall body and bloud: but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiuyng therof, as afore: and that the ſubſtance of the natural and true body of Chriſt borne of the virgine Mary, is onely in heauen, and not in the ſacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion, thou haſt euer hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doeſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing al this to be true, and in witnes therof, ſubſcribing thy name therunto as followeth.

John Warne pardoned by K. Henry 8.

John Warne denyeth tranſubſtantiation.

By me Ihon Warne.

The playne anſwere of John Warne to the articles.

John Warne being examined vppon theſe foreſayde articles by the Biſhop before certaine witneſſes, whoſe names were John Boſwel, John Heywood, Robert Rauens, the. xxiij. day of May, did anſweare to the ſame, confeſſing and graunting the articles and the contentes thereof to be true, according as they were obiected in euery part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his hande. Suche ſtrength and fortitude Gods holy ſpirite wrought in hym, to ſtande ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of his ſonne.

Wherupon the biſhop exhortyng hym with many wordes to leaue his hereſies (as he called them) and to returne to the boſome of his mother the holy churche, cõmaunded him to appeare againe the next day, being the. xxiiij. of the ſame moneth.

The ſecond ſeſſion agaynſt John Warne.

Who ſo doing (& anſwering as he did before) was willed to come thither againe at after noone, and ſo he dyd: where & at what tyme he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid biſh. to recant his opinions. To whom he aunſweared, that he would not depart frõ his receiued profeſſion, vnles he were therunto thorowly perſwaded by the holy ſcriptures.

The third Seſſion. May. 25.

Upon which anſweare he was wylled to come againe the next day, being the. xxv. day of the ſame moneth, at one of the clocke in the after noone. At whiche day & houre the biſhop examined him againe vpon al his former articles before obiected, to the which he moſt cõſtantly dyd ſticke, with his further anſwer therunto added: I am perſwaded, quoth he, to be in the right opinion, and that I ſee no cauſe to repent: for al filthynes & Idolatrie is in the church of Rome.

John Warne conſtant agaynſt the Byſhops perſwaſions.

Sentence geuen agaynſt John Warne.

The Biſhop thẽ ſeeing ỹ notwithſtanding all his fayre promiſes & terrible threatnynges (whereof he vſed ſtore) he coulde not any thing preuaile: finiſhed this examination with the definitiue ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid John Warne, and ſo charged the Sheriffes of London with him, vnder whoſe cuſtody he remained in the priſon of Newgate, vntyll the thirtye daye of the ſame moneth of May.

May. 30. Cardmaker and John Warne brought to execution.

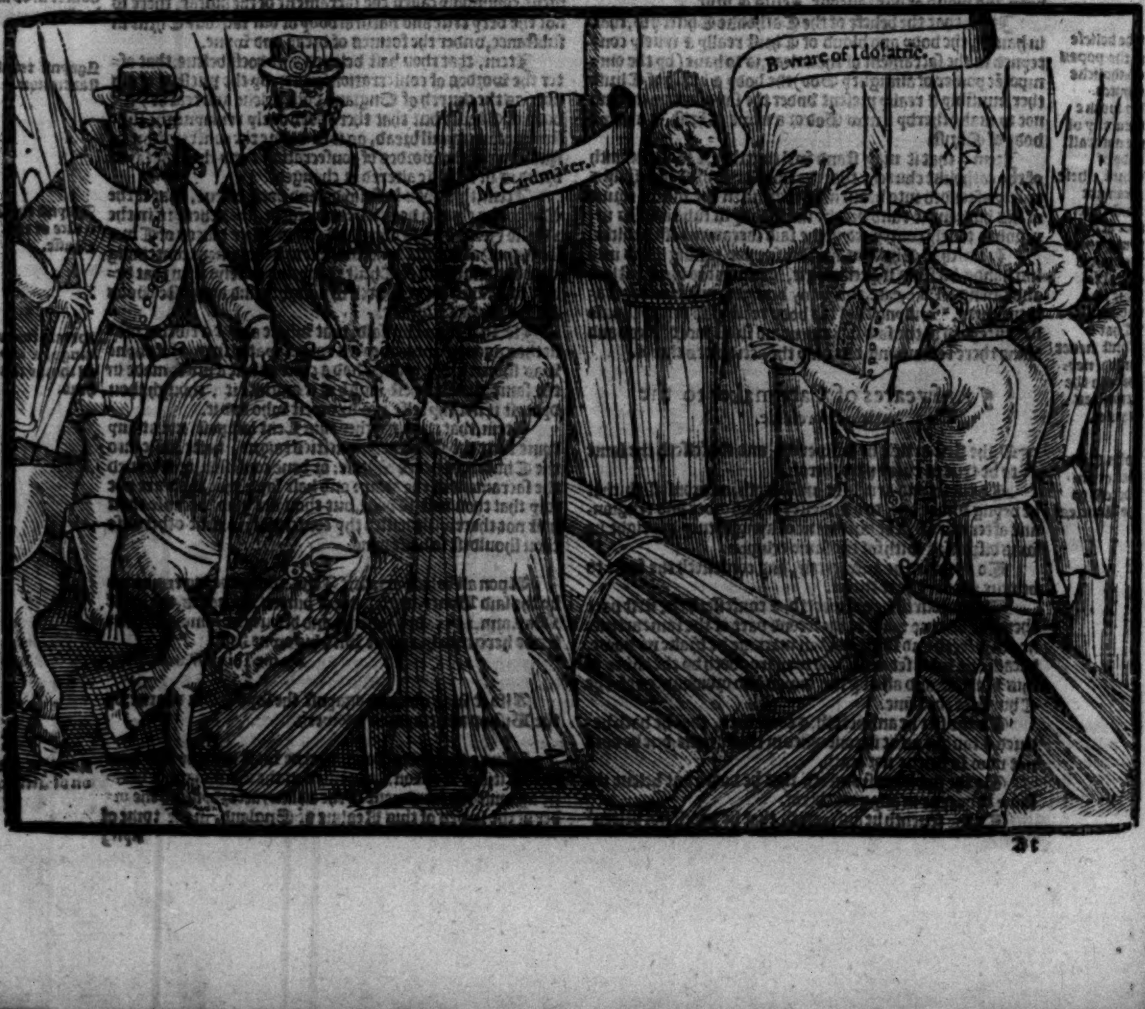
John Warne tyed to the ſtake.

Upon the which thirty of May, being the day appoynted for their execution, Joh. Cardmaker with the ſaid Joh. Warne were brought by the Sheriffes to the place where they ſhoulde ſuffer. Who being come to the ſtake, firſte the Sheriffes called Cardmaker aſide, & talked with hym ſecretly, ſo long, that in the meane tyme Warne had made his prayers, was chayned to the ſtake, and had wood & Reede ſet about hym, ſo that nothyng wanted, but the firyng: but ſtyl abode Cardmaker talking with the Sheriffes.

The people afrayd of Cardmakers recanting.

The people which before had hearde that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this maner of doyng, were in a marueylous dumpe and ſadnes, thinkyng in deede that Cardmaker ſhould nowe recant at the burnyng of Warne.

The martyrdome of Io. Cardmaker preacher, and Io. Warne Vpholſter. an. 1555. May. 30.


M. Cardmaker.
Beware of Idolatrie.

At length Cardmaker departed from the Sheriffes, and came towardes the ſtake, and (in his garmentes as he was) kneeled downe, and made a lōg prayer in ſilence to him ſelf: yet the people confirmed them ſelues in their fantaſie of his recanting, ſeeing him in his garmēts praying ſecretly, & no ſemblance of any burnyng.

John Cardmaker ſtandeth conſtantly to the fire. Cardmaker and Warne ioyne handes.

His prayers being ended, he roſe vp, put of his clothes vnto his ſhyrt, went with bold courage to the ſtake, and kiſſed it ſweetly: he tooke Warne by the hand, and comforted hym hartily, and ſo gaue him ſelf to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeeing this ſo ſodenly done, contrarye to their fearfull expectation, as men deliuered out of a great doubt, cried out for ioy (with ſo great a ſhoute as hath not lightly bene heard a greater) ſaying: God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee Cardmaker, the Lord Ieſus receiue thy ſpirite. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both paſſed through the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among Gods holy ſaintes and martyrs, to enioy the crowne of triumph and victorie prepared for the elect ſouldiers and warriours of Chriſt Ieſus in his bleſſed kingdome. To whom be glory and maieſtie for euer. Amen.

The reioysing of the people at Cardmakers conſtancy.

The confeſſion of the fayth of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the. 30. day of May. 1555.

I beleue in God the father almighty maker of heauen and earth.

The confeſſion of John Warne.

A Father, becauſe he is the father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, who is the euerlaſting worde, whom before all worldes he hath begotten of hym ſelfe, which worde was made fleſh & therin alſo manifeſted to be his ſonne: in whō he hath adopted vs to be his children, the inheriters of his kingdome, & therfore is he our father: An almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created al thinges viſible & inuiſible, both in heauen and in earth, euen al creatures conteyned therin, and gouerneth them.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely ſonne our Lord.

The eternall worde, perfect God with his father of equall power in all thinges, of the ſame ſubſtance, of like glory, by whom al thinges were made, and haue life, and without whom nothing liueth: he was made alſo perfect man, and ſo being verye God, and verye man in one perſon, is the onely Sauiour, Redeemer, and Raunſomer of them which were loſte in Adam our forefather. He is the onely meane of our deliueraunce, the hope of our health, the ſuretie of our ſaluation.

Whiche was conceyued by the holy Ghoſt, borne of the virgin Mary.

According to the fathers moſt mercyfull promiſe, this eternal ſonne of God, forſaking the heauēly glory, humbled hym ſelfe to take fleſhe of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, vniting the ſubſtance of the Godhead, to the ſubſtāce of the manhead, whiche he tooke of the ſubſtaunce of that bleſſed virgin Mary, in one perſon, to become therin the very Maſhiach, the annoynted king & prieſt, for euer appoynted to pacifie the fathers wrath, which was iuſtly gone out againſt vs al for our ſinne.

Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, & buried, and deſcended into hel.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Iewrie, and ſo vniuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged hym innocent, and ſought meanes to deliuer hym: but contrary to knowen iuſtice, he did let goe Barrabas, which had deſerued death, & deliuered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerued no death: which doth declare vnto vs manifeſtly that he ſuffered for our ſinnes, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophetes do witnes: therby to haue it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. Therefore ſufferyng for our ſinnes, he receiued and did beare our deſerued condemnation, the paines of death, the taſte of abiection, the very terror of hel, yeelding his ſpirit to his father, his body to be buried in earth.

The third day he roſe againe from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole worke of our redemption and iuſtification, the ſame crucified body whiche was laide in the graue, was raiſed vp againe the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glorye of his Godhead: he became the firſte fruites of the reſurrection, and got the victorie of death, that all by hym might be raiſed vp from death. Through whom al true penitēt ſinners may nowe boldly come vnto the father, and haue remiſſion of their ſinnes.

He aſcended into heauē, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty.

After that in his death and reſurrection he had conquered, ſinne, death, and the deuil, & had bene conuerſant fourty dayes in the earth, being ſeene of the Apoſtles, & more then fiue hundred brethren at once, in the ſame body in which he wrought the worke of our ſaluation, he aſcended into heauen with eternal triumph, for the victorie ouer death, ſinne, and hel, leauing the paſſage open, by which al true beleuers may & ſhal enter into his kyngdōe, where he now ſitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to ſay, in power & glory equal in maieſtie coeternal.

The triumphant victory ouer death.

Frō thence he ſhal come to iudge the quicke & the dead.

He ſhal appeare againe in great glory to receiue his elect vnto hym ſelfe, and to put his enemies vnder his feete, chaunging all lyuyng men in a moment, and raiſing vp all that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this ſhall he geue eche man according to his deedes. They which haue folowed hym in regeneration, which haue their ſinnes waſhed away in his bloud, and are clothed with his righteouſnes, ſhall receiue the euerlaſting kingdome, and reigne with him for euer: and they whiche after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam haue folowed fleſh & bloud ſhal receiue euerlaſting damnation with the Deuyl and his angels.

I beleue in the holy ghoſt.

I do beleue that the holy Ghoſt is God, the third perſon in Trinitie, in vnitie of the Godhead equal with the father & the ſonne, geuen through Chriſt to inhabite our ſpirites, by which we are made to feele & vnderſtande the great power, vertue, & louing kindnes of Chriſt our Lord. For he illumineth, quickeneth, and certifieth our ſpirit, that by him we are ſealed vp vnto the day of redemption: by whom we are regenerate & made new creatures, ſo that by him & thorow him, we do receiue all the abundant goodnes promiſed vs in Ieſus Chriſt.

The holy Catholike Church.

Which is an holy number of Adams poſteritie, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the bloud of the Lambe from the beginning of the worlde, and is diſperſed through the ſame, by the tyrannie of Gog & Magog, that is to ſay, the Turke and his tyrannie, and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the Biſhop of Rome and his angels, as this day alſo doth teach.

The Church.

The Communion of ſaintes.

Whiche moſt holy Congregation (being as Paul teacheth, builded vppon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, Chriſt being the head corner ſtone) though it be by the tyrannie of Satan and his Miniſters perſecuted, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions and paynful tormētes: yet doth it remaine in one perfect vnitie both in faith and felowſhip: whiche vnitie is knyt in an vnſpeakeable knot, as well of them whiche are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be liuing, and hereafter ſhalbe in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue vntyl they al do meete in yͤ kingdome, where the head Ieſus Chriſte, with all his holy members (of whiche number through Chriſt I aſſuredly beleue that I am one) ſhalbe fully complete, knit, & vnited together for euermore.

The forgeuenes of ſinnes.

I do beleue that my ſinnes and all their ſinnes whiche doo rightly beleue the holy Scripture, are forgeuen onely through that Ieſus Chriſt, of whom onely I doo profeſſe that I haue my whole and full ſaluation and redemption, which ſaint Paul ſaith, commeth not through our workes and deſeruinges, but freely by grace, leaſt any ſhould boaſt hym ſelfe. Through the bloud of his Croſſe all thinges in heauen and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace with the Father, without hym no heauenly lyfe is geuen, nor ſinne forgeuen.

Remiſſion only through Chriſt.

The reſurrection of the body.

I do beleue, that by the ſame my ſauyour Chriſt, I, and all men ſhall riſe againe from death: for he, as Paul ſaith, is riſen againe from the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them whiche ſleepe. For by a man came death, and by a man commeth the reſurrection from death. This man is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe reſurrection, I beleue that we al ſhal riſe again in theſe our bodyes: the elect clothed with immortalitie to liue with Chriſt for euer: the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortal to liue with the diuell & his angels in death euerlaſting.

Reſurrection.

And the life euerlaſting.

Through the ſame Ieſus & by none other, I am ſure to haue life euerlaſting. He only is the way & entrance into the kingdome of heauen. For ſo God loued the world, that he did geue his only ſonne Ieſus Chriſte, to the ende that ſo many as do beleue in him, might haue euerlaſting lyfe. The which I am ſure to poſſes ſo ſone as I am diſſolued, & departed out of this tabernacle, & in the laſt day ſhal both body and ſoule poſſeſſe the ſame for euer: to the which God graunt al men to come.

John 3.

Life and Saluation only by fayth in Chriſt.

Two ſacraments of the new teſtament.

I beleue that the ſacramentes, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lordes ſupper are ſeales of Gods moſte mercyful promiſes towardes mankind. In Baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthyneſ which hangeth on my fleſh: ſo do I aſſuredly beleue, ỳ I am by Chriſtes bloud waſhed cleane frõ my ſinnes, through which I haue ſure confidence of my certaine ſaluation. In the partaking of the Lordes ſupper, as I receiue the ſubſtãce of bread and wyne (the nature of whiche is to ſtrengthen the body:) ſo doo I by faith receiue the redemption wrought in Chriſtes body broken on the croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that euer Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſaluation, to the ſtrengthenyng of my faith in the ſame. And I beleue that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wyne in his holy ſupper according to his word, to moue and to ſtyrre vp my minde to beleue theſe articles aboue written.

This is my fayth: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my bloud.

By me Iohn Warne.

A letter of Iohn Cardmaker to a certaine frende of his.

A letter of M. Cardmaker to a certayne frend of his.

The peace of God be with you.

YOu ſhall right well perceiue, that I am not gone backe as ſome men do report me, but am as readye to geue my life, as any of my brethrẽ that are gone before me, although by a policie I haue a litle prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth vnto me, and ſhortly ſhall appeare vnto all. That day that I recant any poynt of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twentie kindes of death, the Lord being mine aſſiſtance, as I doubt not, but he will. Commende me to my frende, and tel him no leſſe. This the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his electe. My riches and pouertie is as it was wnot to be, and I haue learned to reioyce in pouertie, as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I haue cõferred with ſome of my aduerſaries, learned men, and I finde that they be but Sophiſtes & ſhadowes.

A note concerning M. Cardmaker.

A note concerning the talke betweene M. Cardmaker and Beard a Promoter.

MAiſter Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to hym two or three dayes before he was burned, and ſaid vnto hym: Syr. I am ſent vnto you by the Counſaile, to knowe whether ye wyll recant, or no?

Cardmaker. From whiche Counſaile are ye come? I thinke ye are not come, nor yet ſente from the Queenes Counſaile, but rather from the Commiſſioners, vnto whõ (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And where as ye would know, whether I wyll recant or no, thus, I pray you, reporte of me, to thoſe, whom ye ſaid, ſent you. I knowe you are a Taylor by your occupation, and haue endeuoured your ſelfe to be a connyng workeman, and therby to get your lyuyng: ſo I haue bene a Preacher theſe twentie yeares, and euer ſince that God by his great mercy hath opened myne eyes to ſee his eternal truth, I haue by his grace, endeuored my ſelfe to call vpon hym, to geue me the true vnderſtanding of his holy word, & I thanke hym for his great mercy, I hope I haue diſcharged my conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that litle talent that I haue receiued.

Beard. Yea ſir, but what ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar?

Card. I ſay, and marke it wel, that Chriſt the night before his bytter paſſion, ordeyned the holy and bleſſed Communion, and hath geuen commaundement, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiuyng therof, in the remembraunce of his body broken, and his precious bloud ſhed for the forgeuenes of our ſinnes, to as many as faithfully beleue and truſt in hym.

The ſentence and iudgement of M. Cardmaker touching the ſacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with hym, he aſked of hym, whether the Sacrament he ſpake of, had a beginnyng, or no? Whereunto when he had graunted and affirmed the ſame to be, then maiſter Cardmaker againe thus inferred thereuppon: If the ſacrament (ſaide he) as you confeſſe, haue a beginnyng, and an endyng, then it can not be God: for God hathe no begynnyng nor endyng, and ſo wyllyng hym well to note the ſame, he departed from hym.

The ſtorie of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon of the pariſhe of Wigborow the great, in Eſſex.

WIth Maiſter Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, vpon the ſame day, & in ỳ ſame companye, and for the ſame cauſe was alſo condemned Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon, whiche was the fiue and twentie daye of May. But before we come to the ſtorye of them, firſt here is to be noted the copie of the King and Queenes letter, directed from the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſte early in the mornyng to the Biſhop, in tenor and forme as foloweth.

The ſtory of Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley Martyrs.

To the right reuerende father in God, our right truſtie and welbeloued, the Biſhop of London.

The King & Queenes letter to B. Boner.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we grete you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the Iuſtices of peace within euery of the Counties of this our Realme, wherby amongeſt other inſtructions geuen them for the good order and quiete gouernement of the Countrey about them, they are willed to haue a ſpeciall regarde vnto ſuche diſordred perſons, as forgetting their dueties towardes God and vs, doo leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refuſing to ſhewe them ſelues conformable to the Catholique Religion of Chriſtes Church: wherein if they can not by good admonitions and fayre meanes reforme them, they are willed to deliuer thẽ to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably trauailed withal, and remoued (if it may be) from their noughty opinions, or els if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the lawes prouided in that behalfe: vnderſtanding now, to our no litle marueile, that diuers of the ſaid diſordred perſons, being by the Iuſtices of the peace for their contempt & obſtinacie, brought to the Ordinaries to be vſed, as is aforeſaide, are either refuſed to be receiued at their handes, or if they be receiued, are neither ſo trauailed with, as Chriſtian charytye requyreth, nor yet proceeded wythall accordyng to the order of Iuſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their errors, to the diſhonour of almighty God, and daungerous example of others: like as we finde this matter very ſtrange, ſo haue thought cõuenient, both to ſignifie our knowledge and therwith alſo to admoniſh you to haue in this behalfe ſuch regarde henceforth to the office of a good paſtour and Biſhop, as when any ſuch offenders ſhalbe by the ſaid officers or Iuſtices of peace brought vnto you, you to vſe your good wiſedome and diſcretion in procuring to remoue thẽ from their errors, if it may be, or els in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhal continue obſtinate) according to the order of the lawes: ſo as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may be better aduanced, and the cõmon wealth more quietly gouerned. Yeuen vnder our ſignet, at our honour of hampton Court, the. 24. of May, the firſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

Q. Mary ſtirreth Boner to ſhedde innocent bloud.

This letter thus commyng from the Courte to the Biſhop, made hym the more earneſt and haſtye to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom nowe we haue preſently to entreate, of Iohn Symſon, I meane, and Iohn Ardeley. Whiche both being of one countrey, and of one towne together, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborowe in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſaue that Symſon was of the age of. 24. the other of. 30. were brought vp both together, by the vnder Sheriffe of Eſſex, to Boner Biſhop of London, vpon the accuſatiõ (as in that time it was called) of hereſie.

John Ardeley and John Symſon both huſbãdmen in the towne of Wigborow.

As touching the order & manner of their examinations before the biſhop, as the articles miniſtred againſt thẽ, were much like: ſo their anſweres againe vnto ỳ ſame were not much diſcrepant in maner and forme, as out of the biſhops owne Regiſters here foloweth expreſſed.

Articles obiected againſte Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley, of the pariſh of Wigborow the great in Eſſex, huſbandman, by Boner Biſhop of London, at Fulham. 22. of Maye. 1555.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt John Symſon, & John Ardeley.

1 FIrſt, that thou Joh. Symſon (or Joh. Ardeley) huſbandman, of the age of. 24. yeres, or thereabout, waſt and art of the pariſh of great Wigborow, within the dioceſ of London, and thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that there is here in earth one Catholike and vniuerſall whole Church, which doth hold & beleue all the fayth and Religiõ of Chriſte and all the neceſſary articles and ſacramentes of the ſame.

2 Item, that thou haſte not beleeued, nor doeſt beleeue, that thou art neceſſaryly bounden vnder the payne of damnation of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayde Catholique and vniuerſall Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in al neceſſary pointes of the ſayde fayth and Religion, without wauering or doubting in the ſayde

The Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, and other forayne countryes in Europe.

fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

3. Item, that thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religion: whiche both the Churche of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, beyng true members and partes of the ſayd Catholicke & vniuerſal Church do beleue and teach, is both agreyng with the ſayd Catholycke and vniuerſall Churche, and the fayth and Religion, of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true fayth & Religion, which all Chriſten people ought to beleue, obſerue folow and kepe, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that that faith and Religion, which the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do nowe beleue, is falſe, erroneous and nought, and in no wiſe ought to be beleued, obſerued, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian man.

Subſtance of Chriſtes body vnder formes of bread and wyne.

4. Item, that albeit it bee true, that in the Sacrament of the alter there is in ſubſtaunce the very body and bloud of Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught & preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd Churche of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleue but cõtrarywiſe thou haſt and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd Sacrament of the alter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of meteriall and common bread and wyne, with the formes therof: and that the ſayd materiall and cõmon bread and wyne are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and by fayth to be receiued, onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion & death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power mainteyned and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thinke, maintayne, and defend, that the very true receiuyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body & bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it amongeſt the people, remembryng therby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

The Maſſe abominable.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleued, taught, and ſpoken, that the Maſſe nowe vſed in this Realme of England, and others the Churches aforeſayd, is abominable & naught and full of Idolatrye, and is of the ordinaunce of yͤ Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, & hath no goodnes in it, ſauyng the gloria in excelſis, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, and that therfore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and bee preſent at the Maſſe, nor receiue the Sacrament of the aultar, or any other Sacrament of the Church as they are now vſed in this realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſayd.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued preciſely, and obſtinatly affirmed and ſayd, and ſo doeſt now beleue & thinke that auricular confeſſion is not nedefull to bee made vnto the Prieſt, but it is a thyng ſuperfluous and vayne, and ought onely to be made to God and to none other perſõ: and lykewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the Church, and the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in yͤ church ought to bee ſayd, but in the Engliſhe toung, and if it be otherwiſe ſayd, it is vnlawfull and naught.

¶ The aunſweres of Iohn Symſon and alſo of Iohn Ardeley, to the foreſayd Articles.

Their aunſweres to the Articles.

To the firſte, they beleeue, that here in earth there is one Catholique and vniuerſal holy Churche, whiche dooth holde and beleue as is conteyned in the firſt article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroade throughout the whole world.

To the ſeconde, they beleue, that they be bound to geue fayth and credence vnto it, as is conteyned in the ſeconde Article.

To the third, as concernyng the fayth and Religion of the Churche of Rome, of Italie, Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europa, they ſaye, they haue nothing to do with that fayth and Religion, but as concernyng the faith and Religion of Englande, that if the ſaid Churche of England be ruled and gouerned by the wordes of lyfe, then the Church of England hath the fayth and Religion of the Catholike Church, and not otherwiſe: and do ſay alſo, that if the Church of Englande were ruled by the word of lyfe, it would not goe about to condemne thẽ and others of this hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

To the fourth they anſweare, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is verye bread and verye wyne, not altered nor chaunged in ſubſtaunce in any wiſe, and that he that receyueth the ſayde bread and wyne, doth ſpiritually and by fayth onely receiue the body and bloud of Chriſt, but not the very natural body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

To the fift they ſay, they haue aunſweared, aunſwearing to the ſaide fourth article, and yet neuertheleſſe they ſay, that they haue beleued, and do beleue, that in the ſacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body & bloud, but onely the ſubſtaunce of natural bread and wine.

The Maſſe deteſted.

To the ſixt they ſay, that they beleue, that the Maſſe is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt, and therefore it is not good, nor hauyng in it any goodnes, ſauyng the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, the Creede, and the Pater noſter: and for this cauſe they ſay, they haue not, nor will not come and heare Maſſe.

To the ſeuenth, Iohn Ardeley anſwereth, and ſaith, that he beleeueth the contentes of the ſame to be true: but Iohn Symſon doth anſwere, that he is not as yet fully reſolued with hym ſelfe, what anſwere to make therunto, and further ſaith, that as touching the common and dayly ſeruice ſaid & vſed in the Church, he ſaith, that he neuer ſaid, that ſeruice in the Churche ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſhe tongue, nor yet he neuer ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and vſed then in Engliſh, it is vnlawful and naught.

Iohn Ardeley, and Iohn Symſon.

An other appearaunce of Symſon and Iohn Ardeley before the Byſhop.

Thus theſe articles being to them obiected, and their anſweares made vnto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop according to the olde trade of his Conſiſtorie Court, reſpited them to the after noone, bidding them to make their appearaunce the ſaide day and place, betweene the houres of two and three. At what tyme the ſaid Biſhop repeatyng againe the ſaide articles vnto them, and beginnyng with Iohn Ardeley did vrge and ſolicitate, accordyng to his maner of wordes, to recant.

The wordes of Iohn Ardeley to Boner.

To whom Iohn Ardeley againe conſtantly ſtanding to his profeſſed Religion, gaue anſweare in wordes, as foloweth: My Lorde (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholique Church, for you be of a falſe fayth: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceyued at length, beare as good a face as ye can. You wyl ſhedde the innocent bloud, and you haue killed many, and yet goe about to kyll more. &c.

And added further, ſaying: If euery heare of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and fayth that I am nowe in. Theſe with many other wordes he ſpake. Then the Biſhop yet demaunding if he woulde relinquiſh his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced againe to the vnitie of the Church, he anſwered, as foloweth: No, God forſhield that I ſhould ſo do: for then I ſhould looſe my ſoule.

Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon condemned.

After this, the ſayd Biſhop aſking Iohn Ardeley (after his formall manner) if he knewe any cauſe why hee ſhoulde not haue ſentence condemnatorie againſt hym, ſo readde the condemnation, as he alſo did againſt Iohn Simſon, ſtandyng likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancie with Iohn Ardeley: whiche was done the. xxv. day of May, and ſo were they both committed to the ſecular power, that is, to the handes of the Sheriffes, to be conueyed to the place where they ſhoulde be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be paſſed a thing not vnworthy the looking vpon, which happened in the cloſing vp of the examination of theſe two innocẽt martyrs of god, which is this.

A note.

A note of the ſodayne feare of Boner.

At the tyme of the examination of this Symſon and Iohn Ardeley aforeſaid, there was aſſembled ſuche a great multitude of people, that becauſe the Conſiſtorie was not able to holde them, they were fayne to ſtand in the Church, neare about the ſaide Conſiſtorie, waityng to ſee the priſoners, when they ſhould depart. It happened in the meane tyme that the Biſhop beyng ſet in heate with the ſtout and bold anſweres of the ſaid two priſoners (eſpecially of Iohn Symſon) burſt out in his loud and angry voyce, and ſaide: Haue hym away, haue hym away.

The ridiculous feare of Boner and his Doctours.

Now the people in the Churche hearing theſe wordes, and thinkyng (becauſe the daye was farre ſpent) that the priſoners had their iudgement, they being deſirous to ſee the priſoners had to Newgate, ſeuered them ſelues, one runnyng one way, an other an other way, whiche cauſed ſuch a noyſe in the Church, that they in the Cõſiſtorie were all amaſed, and marueiled what it ſhould meane: wherfore the Biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afrayde of this ſodayne ſtyrre, aſketh what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſwering, ſayde, that there was like to be ſome tumult, for they were together by the eares.

When the biſhop heard this, by and by his hart was in

Two ſacramentes of the new teſtament.

I beleue that the ſacramentes, that is to ſay, of Baptiſme and of the Lordes ſupper are ſeales of Gods moſte mercyful promiſes towardes mankind. In Baptiſme, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthynes which hangeth on my fleſh: ſo do I aſſuredly beleue, ỹ I am by Chriſtes bloud waſhed cleane frõ my ſinnes, through which I haue ſure confidence of my certaine ſaluation. In the partaking of the Lordes ſupper, as I receiue the ſubſtãce of bread and wyne (the nature of whiche is to ſtrengthen the body:) ſo doo I by faith receiue the redemption wrought in Chriſtes body broken on the croſſe, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſumme, all that euer Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſaluation, to the ſtrengthenyng of my faith in the ſame. And I beleue that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wyne in his holy ſupper according to his word, to moue and to ſtyrre vp my minde to beleue theſe articles aboue written.

This is my fayth: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and ſeale the truth of the ſame with my bloud.

By me Iohn Warne.

A letter of Iohn Cardmaker to a certaine frende of his.

The peace of God be with you.

A letter of M. Cardmaker to a certayne frend of his.

YOu ſhall right well perceiue, that I am not gone backe as ſome men do report me, but am as readye to geue my life, as any of my brethrẽ that are gone before me, although by a policie I haue a litle prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth vnto me, and ſhortly ſhall appeare vnto all. That day that I recant any poynt of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twentie kindes of death, the Lord being mine aſſiſtance, as I doubt not, but he will. Commende me to my frende, and tel him no leſſe. This the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his electe. My riches and pouertie is as it was wnot to be, and I haue learned to reioyce in pouertie, as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I haue cõferred with ſome of my aduerſaries, learned men, and I finde that they be but Sophiſtes & ſhadowes.

A note concerning M. Cardmaker.

A note concerning the talke betweene M. Cardmaker and Beard a Promoter.

MAiſter Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to hym two or three dayes before he was burned, and ſaid vnto hym: Syr, I am ſent vnto you by the Counſaile, to knowe whether ye wyll recant, or no?

Cardmaker. From whiche Counſaile are ye come? I thinke ye are not come, nor yet ſente from the Queenes Counſaile, but rather from the Commiſſioners, vnto whõ (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And where as ye would know, whether I wyll recant or no, thus, I pray you, reporte of me, to thoſe, whom ye ſaid, ſent you. I knowe you are a Taylor by your occupation, and haue endeuoured your ſelfe to be a connyng workeman, and therby to get your lyuyng: ſo I haue bene a Preacher theſe twentie yeares, and euer ſince that God by his great mercy hath opened myne eyes to ſee his eternall truth, I haue by his grace, endeuored my ſelfe to call vpon hym, to geue me the true vnderſtanding of his holy word, & I thanke hym for his great mercy, I hope I haue diſcharged my conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that litle talent that I haue receiued.

Beard. yea ſir, but what ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar?

Card. I ſay, and marke it wel, that Chriſt the night before his bytter paſſion, ordeyned the holy and bleſſed Communion, and hath geuen commaundement, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiuyng therof, in the remembraunce of his body broken, and his precious bloud ſhed for the forgeuenes of our ſinnes, to as many as faithfully beleue and truſt in hym.

The ſentence and iudgement of M. Cardmaker touching the ſacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with hym, he aſked of hym, whether the Sacrament he ſpake of, had a beginnyng, or no? Whereunto when he had graunted and affirmed the ſame to be, then maiſter Cardmaker againe thus inferred thereuppon: If the ſacrament (ſaide he) as you confeſſe, haue a beginnyng, and an endyng, then it can not be God: for God hathe no begynnyng nor endyng, and ſo wyllyng hym well to note the ſame, he departed from hym.

The ſtorie of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon of the pariſhe of Wigborow the great, in Eſſex.

The ſtory of Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley Martyrs.

WIth Maiſter Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, vpon the ſame day, & in ỹ ſame companye, and for the ſame cauſe was alſo condemned Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon, whiche was the fiue and twentie daye of May. But before we come to the ſtorye of them, firſt here is to be noted the copie of the King and Queenes letter, directed from the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſte early in the mornyng to the Biſhop, in tenor and forme as foloweth.

To the right reuerende father in God, our right truſtie and welbeloued, the Biſhop of London.

The King & Queenes letter to B. Boner.

RIght reuerend father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we grete you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the Iuſtices of peace within euery of the Counties of this our Realme, wherby amongeſt other inſtructions geuen them for the good order and quiete gouernement of the Countrey about them, they are willed to haue a ſpeciall regarde vnto ſuchẽ diſordred perſons, as forgetting their dueties towardes God and vs, doo leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refuſing to ſhewe them ſelues conformable to the Catholique Religion of Chriſtes Church: wherein if they can not by good admonitions and fayre meanes reforme them, they are willed to deliuer thẽ to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably trauailed withal, and remoued (if it may be) from their noughty opinions, or els if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the lawes prouided in that behalfe: vnderſtanding now, to our no litle marueile, that diuers of the ſaid diſordred perſons, being by the Iuſtices of the peace for their contempt & obſtinacie, brought to the Ordinaries to be vſed, as is aforeſaide, are either refuſed to be receiued at their handes, or if they be receiued, are neither ſo trauailed with, as Chriſtian charytye requyreth, nor yet proceeded wythall accordyng to the order of Iuſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their errors, to the diſhonour of almighty God, and daungerous example of others: like as we finde this matter very ſtrange, ſo haue thought cõuenient, both to ſignifie our knowledge and therwith alſo to admoniſh you to haue in this behalfe ſuch regarde henceforth to the office of a good paſtour and Biſhop, as when any ſuch offenders ſhalbe by the ſaid officers or Iuſtices of peace brought vnto you, you to vſe your good wiſedome and diſcretion in procuring to remoue thẽ from their errors, if it may be, or els in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhal continue obſtinate) according to the order of the lawes: ſo as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may be better aduanced, and the cõmon wealth more quietly gouerned. Yeuen vnder our ſignet, at our honour of hampton Court, the. 24. of May, the firſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

Q. Mary ſtirreth Boner to ſheddẽ innocent bloud.

This letter thus commyng from the Courte to the Biſhop, made hym the more earneſt and haſtye to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom nowe we haue preſently to entreate, of Iohn Symſon, I meane, and Iohn Ardeley. Whiche both being of one countrey, and of one towne together, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the towne of Wigborowe in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſaue that Symſon was of the age of. 14. the other of. 30. were brought vp both together, by the vnder Sheriffe of Eſſex, to Boner Biſhop of London, vpon the accuſatiõ (as in that time it was called) of hereſie.

Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon both huſbãdmen in the towne of Wigborow.

As touching the order & manner of their examinations before the biſhop, as the articles miniſtred againſt thẽ, were much like: ſo their anſweres againe vnto ỹ ſame were not much diſcrepant in maner and forme, as out of the biſhops owne Regiſters here foloweth expreſſed.

¶ Articles obiected againſte Iohn Symſon, and Iohn Ardeley, of the pariſh of Wigborow the great in Eſſex, huſbandman, by Boner Biſhop of London, at Fulham. 22. of Maye. 1555.

Articles miniſtred agaynſt Iohn Symſon, & Iohn Ardeley.

1 FIrſt, that thou Ioh. Symſon (or Ioh. Ardeley) huſbandman, of the age of. 24. yeres, or thereabout, waſt and art of the pariſh of great Wigborow, within the dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that there is here in earth one Catholike and vniuerſall whole Church, which doth hold & beleue all the fayth and Religiõ of Chriſte and all the neceſſary articles and ſacramentes of the ſame.

2 Item, that thou haſte not beleeued, nor doeſt beleeue, that thou art neceſſaryly bounden vnder the payne of damnation of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayde Catholique and vniuerſall Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in al neceſſary pointes of the ſayde fayth and Religion, without wauering or doubting in the ſayde fayth

1555. Maye.

fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

The Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, and other forrayne countryes in Europe.

3. Item, that thou haſt not beleued, nor doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religion: whiche both the Churche of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, beyng true members and partes of the ſayd Catholicke & vniuerſal Church do beleue and teach, is both agreyng with the ſayd Catholycke and vniuerſall Churche, and the fayth and Religion, of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true fayth & Religion, which all Chriſten people ought to beleue, obſerue folow and kepe, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue, that that faith and Religion, which the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do nowe beleue, is falſe, erroneous and nought, and in no wiſe ought to be beleued, obſerued, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian man.

Subſtance of Chriſtes body vnder formes of bread and wyne.

4. Item, that albeit it bee true, that in the Sacrament of the alter there is in ſubſtaunce the very body and bloud of Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught & preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd Churche of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleue but cōtrarywiſe thou haſt and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd Sacrament of the alter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of materiall and common bread and wyne, with the formes therof: and that the ſayd materiall and cōmon bread and wyne are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and by fayth to be receiued, onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion & death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power mainteyned and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thinke, maintayne, and defend, that the very true receiuyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body & bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, and to breake it, and to diſtribute it amongeſt the people, remembryng therby the paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

The Maſſe abominable.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleued, taught, and ſpoken, that the Maſſe nowe vſed in this Realme of England, and others the Churches aforeſayd, is abominable & naught and full of Idolatrye, and is of the ordinaunce of yͤ Pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, & hath no goodnes in it, ſauyng the gloria in excelſis, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpell, and that therfore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and bee preſent at the Maſſe, nor receiue the Sacrament of the aultar, or any other Sacrament of the Church as they are now vſed in this realme of England, and other the Churches aforeſayd.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued preciſely, and obſtinatly affirmed and ſayd, and ſo doeſt now beleue & thinke that auricular confeſſion is not nedefull to bee made vnto the Prieſt, but it is a thyng ſuperfluous and vayne, and ought onely to be made to God and to none other perſō: and lykewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the Church, and the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in yͤ church ought to bee ſayd, but in the Engliſhe toung, and if it be otherwiſe ſayd, it is vnlawfull and naught.

¶The aunſweres of Iohn Symſon and alſo of Iohn Ardeley, to the foreſayd Articles.

Their aunſweres to the Articles.

TO the firſte, they beleeue, that here in earth there is one Catholique and vniuerſal holy Churche, whiche dooth holde and beleue as is conteyned in the firſt article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroade throughout the whole world.

To the ſeconde, they beleue, that they be bound to geue fayth and credence vnto it, as is conteyned in the ſeconde Article.

To the third, as concernyng the fayth and Religion of the Churche of Rome, of Italie, Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europa, they ſaye, they haue nothing to do with that fayth and Religion, but as concernyng the faith and Religion of Englande, that if the ſaid Churche of England be ruled and gouerned by the worde of lyfe, then the Church of England hath the fayth and Religion of the Catholike Church, and not otherwiſe: and do ſay alſo, that if the Church of Englande were ruled by the word of lyfe, it would not goe about to condemne thē and others of this hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

To the fourth they anſweare, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the aultar, there is verye bread and verye wyne, not altered nor chaunged in ſubſtaunce in any wiſe, and that he that receyueth the ſayde bread and wyne, doth ſpiritually and by fayth onely receiue the body and bloud of Chriſt, but not the very natural body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

To the fift they ſay, they haue aunſweared, aunſwearing to the ſaide fourth article, and yet neuertheleſſe they ſay, that they haue beleued, and do beleue, that in the ſacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body & bloud, but onely the ſubſtaunce of natural bread and wine.

The Maſſe deteſted.

To the ſixt they ſay, that they beleue, that the Maſſe is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt, and therefore it is not good, nor hauyng in it any goodnes, ſauyng the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, the Creede, and the Pater noſter: and for this cauſe they ſay, they haue not, nor will not come and heare Maſſe.

To the ſeuenth, Iohn Ardeley anſwereth, and ſaith, that he beleeueth the contentes of the ſame to be true: but Iohn Symſon doth anſwere, that he is not as yet fully reſolued with hym ſelfe, what anſwere to make therunto, and further ſaith, that as touching the common and dayly ſeruice ſaid & vſed in the Church, he ſaith, that he neuer ſaid, that ſeruice in the Churche ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſhe tongue, nor yet he neuer ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and vſed then in Engliſh, it is vnlawful and naught.

John Ardeley, and Iohn Symſon.

An other appearance of Symſon and Iohn Ardeley before the Byſhop.

Thus theſe articles being to them obiected, and their anſweares made vnto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop according to the olde trade of his Conſiſtorie Court, reſpited them to the after noone, bidding them to make their appearaunce the ſaide day and place, betweene the houres of two and three. At what tyme the ſaid Biſhop repeatyng againe the ſaide articles vnto them, and beginnyng with Iohn Ardeley did vrge and ſolicitate, accordyng to his maner of wordes, to recant.

The wordes of Iohn Ardeley to Boner.

To whom Iohn Ardeley againe conſtantly ſtanding to his profeſſed Religion, gaue anſweare in wordes, as foloweth: My Lorde (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholique Church, for you be of a falſe fayth: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceyued at length, beare as good a face as ye can. You wyl ſhedde the innocent bloud, and you haue killed many, and yet goe about to kyll more. &c.

And added further, ſaying: If euery heare of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and fayth that I am nowe in. Theſe with many other wordes he ſpake. Then the Biſhop yet demaunding if he woulde relinquiſh his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced againe to the vnitie of the Church, he anſwered, as foloweth: No, God forſhield that I ſhould ſo do: for then I ſhould looſe my ſoule.

Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symſon condemned.

After this, the ſayd Biſhop aſking Iohn Ardeley (after his formall manner) if he knewe any cauſe why hee ſhoulde not haue ſentence condemnatorie againſte hym, ſo readde the condemnation, as he alſo did againſt Iohn Symſon, ſtandyng likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancie with Iohn Ardeley: whiche was done the. xxv. day of May, and ſo were they both committed to the ſecular power, that is, to the handes of the Sheriffes, to be conueyed to the place where they ſhoulde be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be paſſed a thing not vnworthy the looking vpon, which happened in the cloſing vp of the examination of theſe two innocēt martyrs of god, which is this.

A note.

A note of the ſodayne feare of Boner.

At the tyme of the examination of this Symſon and Iohn Ardeley aforeſaid, there was aſſembled ſuche a great multitude of people, that becauſe the Conſiſtorie was not able to holde them, they were fayne to ſtand in the Church, neare about the ſaide Conſiſtorie, waityng to ſee the priſoners, when they ſhould depart. It happened in the meane tyme that the Biſhop beyng ſet in heate with the ſtout and bold anſweres of the ſaid two priſoners (eſpecially of Iohn Symſon) burſt out in his loud and angry voyce, and ſaide: Haue hym away, haue hym away.

The ridiculous feare of Boner and his Doctours.

Now the people in the Churche hearing theſe wordes, and thinkyng (becauſe the daye was farre ſpent) that the priſoners had their iudgement, they being deſirous to ſee the priſoners had to Newgate, ſeuered them ſelues, one runnyng one way, an other an other way, whiche cauſed ſuch a noyſe in the Church, that they in the Cōſiſtorie were all amaſed, and marueiled what it ſhould meane: wherfore the Biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afrayde of this ſodayne ſtyrre, aſketh what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſwering, ſayde, that there was like to be ſome tumult, for they were together by the eares.

When the biſhop heard this, by and by his hart was in

his heeles, & leauing his ſeate, he with the reſt of that court betooke them to their legges, haſtening with al ſpeede poſſible to recouer the doore that went into the biſhops houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foote then my Lord, dyd ſooner recouer the doore, and thronging haſtily to get in, kept the biſhop ſtyl out, and cryed: Saue my Lord, ſaue my Lord, but meanyng yet firſt to ſaue them ſelues, if any daunger ſhoulde come, whereby they gaue the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at: reſẽblyng in ſome part a ſpectacle not much vnlike to ẏ olde ſtagers of Oxford, worſe feared then hurt, when as the Churche there was noyſed to be on fire, wherof ye may reade before. pag. 1180.
But of this matter enough.

John Symſon and John Ardeley ſent into Eſſex to be executed. The Martyrdome of Symſon, and Ardeley. June. 10.

Now John Symſon and John Ardeley being deliuered (as is aforeſaide) to the Sheriffes, were ſhortly after ſent downe from London to Eſſex, where both they on one daye (whiche was about the. x. day of June) were put to death, albeit in ſeuerall places: for John Symſon ſuffered at Rochford, John Ardeley ẏ ſame day was had to Rayley, where he finiſhed his martyrdome moſt quietly in the quarrel of Chriſtes Goſpel.

¶ A note of Iohn Ardeley.

FOr the better conſideration of the rigorous crueltie of theſe Catholike dayes, this is furthermore not vnworthy of all men to be noted and knowen to all poſteritie, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his companye: howe that they being brought before the Commiſſioners were by them greatly charged of ſtubbornnes and vayne glorie. Vnto whom they aunſweared in defence of their owne ſimplicitie, that they were content willingly to yeeld to the Queene all their goodes and landes, ſo that they might be ſuffered to liue vnder her, in keeping their conſcience free from all Idolatrie and papiſtical Religion. Yet this would not be graunted, although they had offered all to their hart bloud: ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe perſecutors of Chriſtian bloud. The Lord geue them repentãce if it be his wil, and kepe from them the iuſt reward of ſuch cruell dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceedyng of Biſhop Boner and his mates againſte Iohn Tooly, firſt ſuſpected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his graue, and geuen to the ſecular power, and ſo burned for an heretike.

The ſtory of John Tooly.

ABout the ſame tyme of the burnyng of theſe two aforeſaid, in the beginnyng of the ſaid moneth of June, fel out a ſolemne proceſſe and much adoo was made by the Popes ſpiritualtie againſt John Tooly, in a caſe of hereſie. The ſtory is this. There was about the tyme that the Spaniardes began firſt to keepe a ſtur in Englãd, one Jo. Tooly, a citizen & Pulter in London, who conſpired with certain other of his ſocietie, to rob a Spaniard at ſ. James: & although the dede were heinous & wicked of it ſelf, yet was it aggrauated & made greater then it was by other, beyng cõmitted againſt ſuch a perſon, & againſt ſuch a countrey, which both the queene & her whole court did highly fauor. The robbery being knowen, & brought into iudgemẽt, this Tooly was found giltie, and iudged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this Realme there are many mo theftes committed, then theeues executed.

John Tooly dyed a true Chriſtian man. The Chriſtian confeſſion of Tooly.

The foreſaide Tooly being lead to the gallowes, (whiche ſtoode faſte by Charing Croſſe) a litle before he dyed, ſtanding vppon the Carte, readde a certayne prayer in a printed booke, and two other prayers written in two ſeuerall papers, who then hauyng the halter about his necke, deſired the people there preſent to pray for hym, and to beare hym witnes that he dyed a true Chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaued onely by the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, and ſheddyng of his precious bloud, and not by anye Maſſes, or Trentalles, Images, or Saintes, which were (as he ſaide) meere Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, and deuiſed by the Biſhop of Rome: and as he the ſame Tooly, and two other his felowes, which were there hanged with him, dyd ſteale and robbe for couetouſnes, ſo the biſhop of Rome dyd ſell his Maſſes and Trentalles, with ſuch other peltrie for couetouſnes, and there beyng in a great anger (as appeared) againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loude voyce theſe wordes folowing: From the tyrannie of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities: From falſe doctrine and hereſie, and from contempt of thy worde and commaundement, good Lord deliuer vs.

The couetouſnes of the Pope.

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake vnto the people: All you that be true Chriſtian men, ſaye with me, Amen. And immediately therupon three hundred perſons and more, to the iudgement & eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, anſweared and ſaid, Amen, three tymes together at the leaſt.

Ex Regiſtro.

After this it happened, that when Tooly had readde the Byll the firſte tyme, it fell from hym: and a certayne young man (who was thought to be a Prentiſe) ſtouped downe and tooke vp the Byll, and clymed vp by the Cart, and deliuered it vnto Tooly againe, whiche he againe dyd reade to the people. That done, he deliuered vnto one of the Marſhalles Officers the booke aforeſayd, and wylled hym to deliuer it to one Haukes, ſaying that it was his Booke. Furthermore, he deliuered one of the Prayers written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley Sergeaunt, whiche deſired to haue it of hym. Upon the toppe of which Byll was written a lyne, conteynyng theſe wordes: Beware of Antichriſte: and ſubſcribed vnderneath: Per me Thomam Harold priſoner in the Marſhalſey, enimie to Antichriſt. For the Byll the foreſaid Rob. Bromley was brought afterward Coram nobis, & was faine to aſke pardon of the Biſhop, and to deteſt all the wordes of Tooly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is aboue ſaide, to be deliuered from the Popes tyrannie, by the ſame prayer he fel into great tyrannie. For ſo ſone as the brute of this fact came vnto the eares of the prieſtes & Mitred prelates, they were not a litle mad thereat, thinking it not tollerable that ſo great a reproch ſhould be don againſt the holy father. Calling therfore a Counſaile together, as though it had bene a matter of great importance, Toolyes talke at his death was debated among them ſelues.

A Councell called againſt Tooly.

At the laſt, (after much Pro and Contra) they all conſented to thoſe mens iudgementes, which thought it meete that the violatyng of the Popes holynes ſhoulde be reuenged with fire and fagot. And I do eaſily beleue, that Cardinal Poole was no ſmal doer in this ſentence: for as Wincheſter and Boner dyd alwayes thirſt after the bloud of the liuyng, ſo Pooles lightning was for the moſt part kindled againſt the dead: and he reſerued this charge onely to hym ſelfe, I knowe not for what purpoſe, except peraduenture beyng loth to be ſo cruell as the other, he thought neuertheleſſe by this meanes to diſcharge his duetie towarde the Pope. By the ſame Cardinalles like lightenyng and fiery fiſte, the bones of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, whiche had lyen almoſte two yeares in their graues, were taken vp and burned at Cambridge, as Toolyes carkas was here at London. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhewe ſome token of his diligence in both Uniuerſities, he cauſed Peter Martyrs wyfe, a woman of worthy memorie, to be digged out of the Churchyard, and to be buryed on the dunghyl. Of theſe two prodigious actes, ye ſhal heare more hereafter. But nowe to our purpoſe of Tooly, whiche hauyng ended his prayer, was hanged, and put into his graue, out of the whiche he was digged againe, by the commaundement of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the authoritie of the biſhop of Rome at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to iudge and cõdemne him as an heretike, vpon the commaundement of the Cõſailes letter, as here appeareth.

Cardinall Poole a great doer in burning dead mens Bones.

M. Bucer Paulus Fagius, Peter Martyrs wyfe, John Tooly, burned for heretickes after their death.

A letter ſent vnto Boner Biſhop of London, from the Counſaile.

The Counſels letter to B. Boner concerning Tooly.

AFter our very hartye commendations to your Lordſhip, vnderſtanding that of late amongeſt others that haue ſuffered about London for their offences, one leude perſon that was condemned for felonie, died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the time of his death ſundrye hereticall and erroneous opinions: like as we thinke it not conuenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be ouerpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo haue we thought good to pray your Lordſhip, to cauſe further enquirie to be made therof, and thereupon to proceede to the making out of ſuch proceſſe as by the Eccleſiaſtical lawes is prouided in that behalfe. And ſo we byd your Lordſhip hartily wel to fare. From Hampton Court, the. 28. of April. 1555.

Your Lordſhips louing frendes,

Ste. Wynton. Cancel.
F. Shrewsbury.
Iohn Gage.
Thomas Cheney.

R. Rocheſter.
William Peter.
Rich. Southwell.

Anone after, a Citation was ſet vpon Paules Church doore vnder the Biſhop of Londons great ſeale: the tenour wherof here enſueth.

¶ The writ or Mandate of Boner B. of London, ſet vp at Charing Croſſe, on Paules Churche doore, and at S. Martins in the fielde, for the

dyyng

Maye.

A Citation ſet vp by Boner and that in latin, commaunding his kinne and kinsfolkes to say for hym what they could, before the ſentence geuen, or els to hold their peace for euer.

citing and further inquiring out of the caſe of Iohn Tooly.

EDmond by the ſufferaunce of God, Biſhop of London, to all and ſingular Perſons, Vicares, Curates, and others, Clerkes and learned men, being within our Dioces of London, and ſpecially vnto Richarde Clony our ſworne Summer, greeting, ſalutation, & benediction. For ſo much as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſundry credible perſons, that one Iohn Tooly, late Citizen and Pulter of London, the ſonne of perdition and iniquitie, comming to the profunditie of malice, in the ſelfe ſame tyme in ẏ which he ſhould goe to hanging, according to the Lawes of the Realme, for the great thefte by hym lately committed, at whiche tyme chiefely he ſhoulde haue cared for the wealth of his ſoule, and to haue dyed in the vnitie of the Catholique Church, did vtter diuers and ſundry, damnable, blaſphemous, and heretical opinions, and errours, vtterly contrary and repugnãt to the veritie of the Catholike faith and vnitie of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtyr vp, and encourage the people there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: And moreouer, certaine of the people there ſtanding, as it did appeare, infected with errours and hereſies, as fautours and defenders of the ſaid Iohn, dyd confirme and geue expreſſe conſent to the foreſaid woordes, propoſitions, and affirmations: which thing we doo vtter with ſorowe and bytterneſſe of hart.

Note how Boner here pretendeth conſcience in proſecuting this matter, when onely he was commaunded vnto it by the Counſels letters.

We therfore the foreſaid Edmond, & Biſhop aboueſaid, not being able, nor daring paſſe ouer in ſilence, or winke at the foreſaid hainous act, leaſt by our negligence and ſlacknes, the bloud of thẽ might be required at our handes, at the moſt terrible day of iudgement, deſiring to be certified & enformed, whether ẏ premiſſes declared vnto vs be of truth, & leaſt that any ſcabbed ſheepe, lurking amongeſt the ſimple flocke of our Lord, do infect them with peſtiferous hereſie, to you therfore we ſtraitly charge and commaund, that you cite, or cauſe to be cited al and ſingular, hauing or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſettyng vp this Citation vpon the Church doore of Saint Martins in the field, being within our Dioces of London, and alſo vpon the Cathedral Church doore of S. Paules in London, leauing there the copie hereof, or by other meanes or wayes, the beſt you can, that this Citation and Monition maye come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenour of theſe preſents, we cite and admoniſhe that they appeare, and euery one of them do appeare before vs or our Vicar generall, or Commiſſary, what ſoeuer he be in that behalfe, in our Cathedrall Churche of ſaint Paul in London, in the Conſiſtory place vpon Thurſday the ſecond day of May, now next enſuing, betwixt the houres of. ix. and. x. of the clocke in the forenoone the ſame day, to beare witnes to the truth in this behalfe, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they knowe or haue heard of the premiſſes: and moreouer, to doo and receiue, that law and reaſon doth require.

The wyfe, children, and kindred of Iohn Tooly cited.

Further, we commit vnto you, as before, and ſtraytly enioynyng you do commaund, that ye wyl generally cite the wyfe of the ſaid Tooly that is dead, & his chyldren, his kinred by father and mother, his frendes, and his familiars in eſpecial, and all other and euery of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defende and purge the remembraunce of the perſon in the premiſſes, and that ye admoniſhe them after the maner and forme aforeſaid, whõ we likewiſe by the tenour of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſh that they appeare all, & that euery one of thẽ doo appeare (vnder paine to be cõpelled to kepe ſilence for euer hereafter in this behalfe) before vs, or our Vicar generall in ſpiritual matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary at the day, houre, and place aforeſaide, to defende the good name and remembraunce of him that is dead, and to ſay, allege, and propoſe in due forme of lawe, a cauſe reaſonable, if they haue any, or can tel of any why the ſaid Iohn Tooly that is dead, ought not to be determined and declared for ſuche an heretike and excommunicate perſon, and his remembraunce condemned, in the deteſting and cõdemning of ſo heynous a decde and crime, and his body or carkas to lacke Church burial, as a rotten mẽber cut of from the church, and the ſame to be committed to the arme & power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for euer to hold their peace.

The carcas of Tooly cut of from chriſtian buriall.

And furthermore, to do, to receiue, & to ſuffer, as lawe & reaſon wyll, and as the qualitie of ſuch matter, and the nature of them ſelues do conſtrayne and require: and moreouer, that you cite and moniſhe after the maner aforeſaid, all and euery of the receyuers, fautors, and creditours of the ſaid Iohn Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them doo accline and geue conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid Thurſday, they returne and ſubmit them ſelues vnto vs, and to the lap of the mother holy Churche: which thing if they doo, we truſting vppon the mercy of almighty God, doo promiſe that we wyll receiue them beyng penitent for ſuche their errors & faultes, with thankes, benignitie, mercy, and fauor, to the comfort and health of their owne ſoules, and in that behalfe ſaue their honeſties to the vttermoſt of our power: otherwiſe if they wyll not prouide thus to come of their owne accorde, but to abide ẏ ordinary proceſſe of the law, let thoſe mẽ know that we wyll puniſh more ſeuerely this offence, according to the vttermoſt of the law, and as farre as the law wil beare it: and what you ſhal do in the premiſſes, let hym among you which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certifie vs or our vicar general in ſpirituall matters, eyther by his owne perſon, or by his letters patents, together with theſe autẽtically ſealed. Dated at London vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of April. 1555. and of our Tranſlation, the. 16.

The Byſhop layeth his bayt to catch whom he may trouble.

When the tyme of this Citation was expired, and this Tooly beyng cited, dyd not appeare: nexte in order of lawe came the ſuſpenſion (where as one ſuſpenſion had bene enough for hym) and after that commeth the Excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eate or drinke with him, or if any mette hym by the way, he ſhoulde not bydde hym good morowe, and beſides that, he ſhoulde be excluded from the Communion of the Churche. Theſe thynges beyng prepared in ſuch maner, as in ſuch caſes ful wiſely they vſe to doo, at length one ſtoode out for the nonce, that made aunſweare to certayne articles, rehearſed in iudgement openly, and that in the behalfe of the dead man. But when the poore dead man could neyther ſpeake for hym ſelfe, nor did, (as they ſaide) ſufficiently anſweare them by the other, to auoyde the name of an heretike: firſt witneſſes were produced againſt hym, whoſe names were Hẽry Clarke Eſquier, Thom. Way keeper of the Marſhalſey, Philip Andrew Vndermarſhal, William Holingworth Fiſhmonger, William Gellard, William Walton, Chaundelour, Richard Longman Marchaunt Taylour, Philip Britten, Iohn Burton Brewer, Thomas Smyth Sergeant. Then he was for an heretike condemned, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffes of London, whiche with like diligence went aboute to execute their charge. Therfore receiuyng the man being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretike, and beſides that beyng dead, they laid hym on the fire to be burned, namely, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, for a continual remembrance therof. This was done the fourth day of Iune.

Tooly ſuſpended and excommunicated.

Witnes agaynſt Iohn Tooly.

Tooly geuen to the ſecular power.

¶ Here foloweth the hiſtorie and martyrdome of the woorthy ſeruaunt of Chriſt Thomas Haukes Gentleman, with his examinations and anſweres had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his owne hande.

IMmediatly after the ſtory of D. Taylor. pag. 1456. mention before was made of ſixe men brought & conuented before biſhop Boner vpon the eight day of February. The names of whiche martyrs were Steuen Knight, William Pigot, Tho. Tomkins, Ioh. Laurence, Wil. Hunter. In which number was alſo Tho. Haukes, & condemned likewiſe with thẽ the. 9. day of the foreſaid moneth of February But becauſe his execution dyd not ſo ſhortly folowe with theirs, but was prolonged to this preſent. x. day of the moneth of Iune, wherwith we are nowe in hand, it foloweth therfore now cõſequently to enter tractation therof, firſt beginnyng briefly with his godly cõuerſation & inſtitution of life, then ſhewing of his troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflicts with the biſhop and other aduerſaries, according as the order of his ſtory doth require.

The ſtory of M. Thomas Haukes, Martyr.

The lyfe and conuerſation of Tho. Haukes.

As touching therefore his education and order of lyfe, firſt he was of the countrey of Eſſex, borne of an honeſt ſtocke, in callyng and profeſſion a Courtier, brought vp daintily from his childhoode, and like a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuche comelynes and ſtature, ſo well endued with excellẽt qualities, that he might ſeeme on euery ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But his gentle behauiour towarde other, and eſpecially his feruent ſtudye and ſingular loue vnto true Religion and godlynes dyd ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God dyd ſingularly adorne hym: euen ſo he being ſuche a valiaunt martyr of God, may ſeeme to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright ſtarre, to make the Churche of God and his truth, of them ſelues bright and cleare, more gloriouſly to ſhine by his example.

The victory of Martyrs, is the triumph of Chriſt. Ambroſe.

For if the conqueſtes of martyrs are the triumphes of Chriſt (as ſaint Ambroſe doth notably and truely write) vndoubtedly Chriſt in few mē hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriouſly, then in this young man: he ſtood ſo wiſely in his cauſe, ſo godly in his life, and ſo conſtantly in his death.

Tho. Haukes firſt in ſeruice with the Earle of Oxford.

But to the declaration of the matter: firſt this Haukes folowing the guiſe of the Court, as he grewe in yeares, entred ſeruice with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good ſpace, being there right wel eſteemed & loued of all the houſhold, ſo long as Edward the ſixt liued. But he dying, al things begā to go backward, religion to decay, godlynes not only to waxe cold, but alſo to be in daunger euery where, and chiefly in the houſes of great men. Haukes miſlikyng the ſtate of things, and eſpecially in ſuche mens houſes, rather then he would chaunge the profeſſion of true godlines which he had taſted, thought to chaunge the place: and ſo forſaking yͤ Noble mans houſe, departed home to his owne home, where more freely he might geue hym ſelfe to God, & vſe his owne conſcience.

Haukes compelled to leaue the Earle of Oxfords houſe.

But what place in this worlde ſhall a man finde ſo ſecrete for hym ſelfe, whether that olde wicked Serpent can not creepe, whereby he maye haue ſome matter to ouerthrowe the quietnes of the godly? Now in the meane ſeaſon (as it happened) Haukes keeping his houſe at home, had borne vnto him a young ſonne, whoſe Baptiſme was deferred to yͤ third weeke, for that he would not ſuffer him to be baptiſed after the papiſticall manner. Which thing the aduerſaries not able to ſuffer, laying hands vpon hym, dyd bring hym to the Earle of Oxford, ther to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in religion, in that he ſeemed to contemne the ſacramentes of the Church.

Haukes childe iij. weekes vnchriſtened.

Haukes brought before the Earle.

The Earle eyther intendyng not to trouble hym ſelfe in ſuche matters, or els ſeeing hym ſelfe not able to weigh with hym in ſuch caſes of Religion, ſent hym vp to London with a meſſenger and letters, and ſo willyng to cleare his owne handes, put him in the handes of Boner biſhop of London: the contentes of whiche his letter ſent to Boner, be theſe.

Haukes ſent vp by the Earle to Byſhop Boner.

¶ A letter of the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

The Earles letter to Boner.

MOſt reuerende father in God, be it knowen vnto you, that I haue ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwellyng in the Coūtie of Eſſex, who hath a child that hath remayned vnchriſtened more then three weekes, who being vpon the ſame examined, hath denied to haue it baptiſed, as it is nowe vſed in the Churche: whereupon I haue ſent him to your good Lordſhip, to vſe as ye thinke beſt, by your good diſcretion.

When the biſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearing the ſame, thought with hym ſelfe, that he ſhould not be very wel vſed, ſeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the biſhop a letter again to hym that ſent the priſoner, with many great thankes for his diligence in ſetting foorth the Queenes proceedynges. Then began the biſhop to enter communication with M. Haukes, firſt aſking what ſhoulde moue hym to leaue his child vnchriſtened ſo long? To whom maſter Haukes anſwered thus againe, as foloweth.

Priuate talke or conference betwene Maiſter Haukes and B. Boner.

Haukes. Becauſe we be bound to do nothyng contrary to the word of God.

Boner. Why, Baptiſme is commaunded by the worde of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therin I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes I denye all thynges inuented and deuiſed by man.

Boner. What thinges be thoſe that be deuiſed by man, that ye be ſo offended withal?

Mans inuentions added to Baptiſme.

Haukes. Your Oyle, Creame, Salt, Spettle, Candle, & coniuring of water. &c.

The forefathers.

Boner. Wyll ye deny that which all the whole worlde, and your father hath bene contented withal?

Haukes. What my father & al yͤ whole world hath done, I haue nothing to do withal: but what God hath cōmaūded me to do, to that ſtand I.

Boner. The Catholike Church hath taught it.

The Catholicke Church.

Haukes. What is the Catholike Church?

Boner. It is the faythfull congregation, where ſo euer it be diſperſed throughout the whole world.

Haukes. Who is the head therof?

Boner. Chriſt is the head therof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the church nowe?

Boner. Haue ye not read in the eight of Iohn, where he ſayd, he would ſend his comforter which ſhould teach you al thinges?

Haukes. I graunt you it is ſo, that he woulde ſende his comforter, but to what ende? forſooth to this ende, that he ſhould leade you into al truth and veritie, and that is not to teach a newe doctrine.

Boner. I ſir, ye are a right ſcripture man. For ye wyll haue nothing, but the ſcripture. There is a great number of your countrey men of your opinion. Do ye not know one Knight and Pigot?

Haukes. Knight I knowe, but Pigot I do not know.

Boner. I thought ye were acquaynted with hym: it ſeemeth ſo by your iudgement. What Preachers do ye know in Eſſex?

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I know hym.

Boner. What maner a man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man, ſo farre as I know.

Boner. Do yo know hym if you ſee hym?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Thē ſaid he to one of his ſeruāts, Go cal me Baget hyther. And then he ſaid to me: Ye ſeeme to be a very proude man and a ſtubborne. He that brought me vp, ſtood al this while by.

Haukes. What ſhould moue your Lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Boner looked to be curtiſed.

Boner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you much humilitie and lowlynes.

Haukes. It ſeemeth your Lordſhip ſpeaketh yͭ to me, becauſe I make no more curteſie to you: and with that came Baget. Then the biſhop ſaide to Baget: Howe ſay ye ſir, know ye this man?

Baget brought to the ſight of Thomas Haukes.

Baget. Yea forſooth my Lord: with that Baget and I ſhooke handes. Then ſaid the Biſhop to Baget: Sir, this mā hath a child, which hath lien three weekes vnchriſtened (as I haue letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to haue it baptiſed, as it is now vſed in the church: how ſay you therto?

Baget. Forſooth my Lord I ſay nothing thereto (with low curteſie to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say ye nothing therto? I wil make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and vſed in the Church, or not.

Baget. I beſeeche your Lordſhip to pardō me, he is olde enough, let hym anſweare for him ſelfe.

Boner chafeth at Bagets anſwere.

Boner. Ah ſir knaue, are ye at that poynt with me? Goe cal me yͤ Porter, ſaid he, to one of his mē. Thou ſhalt ſit in yͤ ſtockes, & haue nothing but bread and water. I perceiue I haue kept you too wel. Haue I made thus much of you, and haue I you at this poynt? Then came the Biſhops man, and ſaid: The Porter is gone to London. Thē ſaid the Biſhop to Baget: Come with me, and he went away with hym, and commaunded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemen to talke with me (who was one of his own teaching:) who deſired amongeſt al other thinges, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Eſſex, and what mē they were that were my teachers.

Boner taketh Baget with him aſide to conuerte hym.

Haukes. When I ſee your cōmiſſion, I wyl make you anſwere. And then immediatly came the Biſhop againe: but ere he came, his man and I had much talke. Then the biſhop ſate downe vnder a vine in his orchyard, & called Baget to hym, whom he caried away, & brought againe, & called me alſo, and ſaid to Baget: Howe ſay ye now ſir vnto Baptiſme? Say whether it be to be frequented and vſed in the church, as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſooth my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Baget taught to ſay after Boner.

Boner. I befoole your hart, could ye not haue ſaid ſo before? ye haue wounded this mans conſcience. Then the biſhop turned to me, and ſaid: Howe ſay ye nowe ſir, this man is turned and conuerted.

Haukes. I build my faith neither vpon this man, neither vpon you, but only vpō Chriſt Ieſus, who, as Paul ſaith, is the founder and author of al mens fayth.

Thomas Haukes buildeth his fayth vpon no man.

Boner. I perceiue ye are a ſtubborne felowe. I muſte be glad to worke an other way with you, to wyn you.

Haukes. What ſoeuer ye doo, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your handes to abide it.

Boner. Well, ye are ſo: come on your wayes, ye ſhall goe in and I wyll vſe you Chriſtianlike. You ſhal haue meate and drinke, ſuche as I haue in my houſe: but in any wiſe talke not.

Thomas Haukes forbidden to talke in the Byſhops houſe.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talke nothing but the word of god and truth.

Boner. I wyl haue no hereſie talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why, is the truth become hereſie? God hath commaunded that we ſhould haue none other talke in our houſes, in our beddes, at our meate, and by the waye, but all truth.

Boner. If ye wyl haue my fauor, be ruled by my counſell.

Haukes. Then I truſt you wil graunt me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Thomas Haukes and Baget ſeperated a ſonder.

Haukes. That your Doctors and ſeruauntes geue me none occaſion: for if they doo, I wyll ſurely vtter my conſcience. Then commaunded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talke together. And ſo thus

we

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we departed, and went to dynner, and I dyned at the Stewardes table.

Talke betwene Darbiſhire and Thomas Haukes.

After dynner, his Chaplaynes and his men began to talke with me. But amõgeſt all other, there was one Darbyſhyre Principall of Brodgates in Oxford, & the Biſhops kinſmã, who ſayd to me, that I was to curious: for ye will haue (ſayd he) nothyng but your litle prety Gods booke.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſaluation? Yes (ſayd hee) it is ſufficient for our ſaluation, but not for our inſtruction.

Saluation. Inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſaluation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Byſhoppe, who ſayd vnto me: I gaue you a commaundement that you ſhould not talke.

Talke betwene Th. Haukes and Boner. Baptiſme after king Edwardes booke.

Haukes. And I deſired you, that your Doctours and ſeruauntes ſhould geue me none occaſion. Then went we into his Orchard agayne he and his Doctours, and I.

Boner. Would not ye be contented to haue, that your childe ſhould bee Chriſtened after the booke that was ſet out by kyng Edward?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is the thyng that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: ye would haue the ſame thyng. The principall is in the name of the father, the ſonne, & of the holy ghoſt, and in neceſſitie it may ſerue.

Haukes. Chriſt did vſe it without any ſuch neceſſitie: and yet we lacke the chiefeſt point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Go teach all nations, baptiſing them. &c.

Boner no preacher.

Boner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeake the text: I doe not meane you. Then ſpake all his Doctours, & his men that were with hym: hee ſpeaketh it of you my Lorde (with a great noyſe that they made.)

Boner. Will ye bee content to tary here, and your child ſhall be Baptiſed, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. And if I would ſo haue done, I needed not to haue come to you: for I had the ſame counſell geuen me before.

Boner. You ſeeme to bee a luſty young man: you will not geue your head for the waſhyng. You will ſtand in the defence of it for the honour of your cõtrey. Doe ye thinke that the Queene and I can not commaunde it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Th. Haukes will not conſent to haue his childe chriſtened after the Popiſh order.

Haukes. What the Queene and you cã do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſcience neuer the ſooner.

Boner. Well, you are a ſtubburne young man. I perceiue I muſt worke an other way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the handes of God, and ſo am I.

Boner. What ſo euer you thinke, I would not haue you ſpeake ſuch wordes vnto me. And ſo we departed vntill Euenſong tyme: and ere Euenſong was begon, my Lord called for me to come to him into the Chappell, and ſayd: Haukes: ÿ art a proper young man, & God hath done his parte vnto thee. I woulde be glad to doe thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtour, and one that ſhould aunſwere for thee. If I would not teache thee well, I ſhould aunſwere for thy ſoule.

Haukes. That I haue ſayd, I wil ſtand to it God willyng: there is no way to remoue it.

Boner. Nay nay Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilfull. Remember Chriſt bad two go into his vineyard: the one ſayd he would and wẽt not, the other ſayd he would not & went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner entreth talke of the ſacrament.

Boner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talke frendly with thee: how ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixt of S. John: I am the breade of lyfe: and the breade that I will geue, is my fleſhe, whiche I will geue for the lyfe of the worlde. And who ſoeuer eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, hath euerlaſtyng lyfe. My fleſhe is very meate in deede, and my bloud is very drinke in deede. And he that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye beleue this?

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needes beleue the Scriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that ye be ſounde in the bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhyp to feele my conſcience no farther then in that, that I was accuſed in vnto you.

Boner. Well, well, let vs go vnto Euenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my backe to goe out of the Chappell.

Boner. Why, will ye not tary Euenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Thomas Haukes refuſeth to heare Boners euenſong.

Haukes. For I will not.

Boner. And why will you not?

Haukes. For becauſe I haue no edifiyng therby, for I vnderſtand no Latin.

Boner. Why? you maye praye by your ſelfe, what bookes haue ye?

Haukes. I haue the new Teſtament, the bookes of Salomon, and the Pſalter.

Boner. Why, I pray you tary here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in none ſuch. Thẽ ſayd one of his Chaplains: let him go my Lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with vs in our prayers.

Haukes. I thinke my ſelfe beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you: And ſo the Byſhop went to Euenſong, and I came downe and walked betwene the Hall and the Chappell in the Court, and taryed there till Euẽſong was done, and within an houre after that Euenſong was done, the Byſhop ſent for me into his chamber where he lay himſelfe, and whẽ I came, there was he, and three of his Chaplains.

Tho. Haukes called for agayne by Boner.

Boner. Ye know of the talke that was betwene you and me, as concernyng the Sacrament. You would not haue your conſciẽce ſought any farther, thẽ in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought ye would not be both myne accuſer and Iudge.

Boner. Well, ye ſhall aunſwere me to the Sacrament of the aultar, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Sacrament of Penaunce, and to the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeake my conſcience in them.

Tho. Haukes knoweth no ſacrament of the aultar.

Boner. The Sacramẽt of the aultar ye ſeeme to be ſolid in.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the aultar? why Syr, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, and to beleue in it too, ere euer we haue done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye neuer do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your fagot. What God thinketh meete to be done, that ſhall ye do, and more ſhall ye not do.

The matter and ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

Boner. Do ye not beleue that there remaineth in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar after the wordes of conſecration bee ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body and bloud of Chriſt? and at that word he put of his cap.

Haukes. I do beleue as Chriſt hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay: Take eate, this is my body?

Haukes. Chriſt ſayd ſo: but therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the aultar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt euer teach it ſo to be.

Boner. Why? the Catholicke Church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſtes Church.

Haukes. How proue ye it? The Apoſtles neuer taught it ſo. Read the Actes, the ſecõd, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paule euer taught it, neither inſtituted it ſo.

Boner. Ah Syr? ye will haue no more then the Scripture teacheth, but euen as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I will not beleue him.

Touching the neceſſary poyntes of Doctrine and Sacramentes, onely the word is to be folowed.

Boner. Why, then ye muſt eate a Lambe, if ye will haue but Chriſtes inſtitution onely.

Haukes. Nay that is not ſo. Before that Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then began the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it begon, neither of the inſtitution therof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learne.

Boner. Mary, we will teach you: but ye are ſo ſtubburne that ye will not learne.

A falſe conceiued opinion of Boner agaynſt the Proteſtantes.

Haukes. Excepte ye learne me by the worde of GOD, I will neuer credite you nor beleue you: and thus we concluded. Then the Byſhoppe and his Chaplaines laughed, & ſayd: Jeſu, Jeſu, what a ſtubburneſſe & arrogãtneſſe is this? and this was in his Chamber where he lay? Then ſayd the Byſhop to me, go ye downe and drinke, for it is faſtyng day: it is Midſommer euen, but I thinke ye loue neither faſtyng nor praying.

Faſting and praying no man denyeth.

Haukes. I will neuer deny faſtyng neither prayng, ſo that it bee done as it ought to be done, and without hypocriſie or vayne glory.

Boner. I lyke you the better for that: and ſo wee left for that night.

The next day the Byſhop went to London: for Feckenam was made Deane that day, & I taried ſtill at Fulham. Then did the Biſhops men deſire me to come to Maſſe, but I did vtterly refuſe it, aunſweryng thẽ as I did their maiſter. That night the Biſhop came home to Fulham agayne.

Boner returneth from London.

¶Talke betwene Harpeſfield and Thomas Haukes.

Talke betwene Tho. Haukes and Harpsfield.

Then vppon the Monday mornyng very early the Byſhoppe did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, to whom the Byſhop ſayd: this is the man that I told you of, who would not haue his childe Chriſtened, nor will haue any ceremonies.

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But Chriſt neuer made any ordinaunce or cuſtome of that ceremonye.

Harpſ. Chriſt vſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and tooke ſpettle, and made the blind mā to ſee?

Haukes. I wotte well that, but Chriſt did neuer vſe it in Baptiſme. If ye will needes haue it, put it to the vſe that Chriſt put it vnto.

Harpſ. I admit your child dye vnchriſtened: what a heauy caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes. I admit that if it do, what then?

Harpſ. Mary then are ye damned, and your child both.

Haukes. Iudge you no farther thē ye may by the ſcriptures.

The ſtate of children dying without Baptiſme.

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your childe is borne in originall ſinne?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harpſ. How is originall ſinne waſhed away?

Haukes. By true fayth and beliefe in Chriſt Ieſus.

Harpſ. How can your childe beyng an infant, beleue.

Haukes. The deliueraunce of it from ſinne, ſtandeth in the fayth of his parentes.

Harpſ. How proue you that?

The beleuing parentes ſanctifye the childe.

Haukes. By Saint Paule in the. vij. and the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying: The vnbeleuyng man is ſanctified by the beleuyng woman, and the vnbeleuyng woman is ſanctified by the beleuyng man, or els were your children vncleane.

Harpſ. I will proue that they whom thou putteſt thy truſt in, will be agaynſt thee in this opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will beleue thē.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Chriſt ſayd, except ye be Baptiſed, ye can not be ſaued?

Chriſtianity ſtandeth not in outwarde ceremonies.

Haukes. Doth Chriſtianitie ſtand in outward ceremonies or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay as S. Peter ſayth: Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthynes of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſentyng vnto God.

Harpſ. Beware of pride brother, beware of pride.

Sirach. 10.

Haukes. It is written: Pride ſerueth not for men, nor yet for the ſonnes of men.

Boner commeth in with his Maſſe.

Boner. Let vs make an ende here. Howe ſay you to the Maſſe ſirha?

Maſſe profitable for nothing.

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abhominable, and profitable for nothyng.

Boner. What? nothyng profitable in it? what ſay you to the Epiſtle and Goſpell?

Haukes. It is good, if it be vſed as Chriſt left it to be vſed.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I haue recanted nothyng, nor will do.

Confiteor in the Maſſe a thing deteſtable.

Boner. How ſay you to Confiteor?

Haukes. I ſay it is abhominable & deteſtable, yea and a blaſphemy agaynſt God and his ſonne Chriſt, to call vpon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſaue onely to Chriſt Ieſus.

Boners ſimilitude to proue praying to Sayntes.

Boner. To truſt to any, we byd you not: but to call vppon thē, and to pray to them we byd you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye can not ſpeake with the Kyng & Queene, vnles ye call to ſome of the priuy chamber that are next to the Kyng and Queene?

We ought not to beleue in Saints Ergo, we ought not to call vpon them.

Haukes. They that liſt, receiue your doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not beleue nor truſt in any, but to call on them: and S. Paule ſayth: How ſhould I call vpon him, on whom I beleue not?

Boner. Will you haue no body pray for you, when you be dead?

Praying for the dead.

Haukes. No ſurely excepte you can proue it by the Scriptures. Then the Byſhoppe pointed vnto Harpſfield and ſayd vnto me: Is it not well done to deſire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we lyue, prayer is auayleable of the righteous mā: but this māſ prayers, you beyng dead, profiteth nothyng at all.

Boner. Will ye graunt the prayer of the righteous man to preuayle?

Haukes. I graunt it doth for the liuing, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Pſal. 49.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Dauid ſayth: No man can deliuer hys brother from death, nor make agreement vnto GOD for hym: for it coſt more to redeeme their ſoules, ſo that ye muſt let that alone for euer.

Ezech. 14.

Alſo Ezechiell ſayth: Though Noe, Daniell, or Iob dwelt amongeſt them, yet can they in their righteouſneſſe exceede no farther then them ſelues. Then the Byſhoppe ſayd to Harpſfield: Syr, ye ſee this man hath no neede of our Lady, neither of any of the bleſſed Saintes. Well, I will trouble you no longer: I did call you, hoping that you ſhould do ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſayd to me: Syr, it is tyme to begyn with you: we will ryd you away and then we ſhall haue one hereticke leſſe.

Boner when he can not ouercome by doctrine, goeth about to oppreſſe by authoritie.

Harpſ. What bookes haue you?

Haukes. The new Teſtament, Salomons bookes and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Will you read any other bookes?

Haukes. Yea, if you will geue me ſuch bookes, as I will require.

Harpſ. What bookes will you require?

Haukes. Latymers bookes, my Lord of Caunterburies booke, Bradfordes Sermons, Ridleyes bookes.

Boner. Away, away, hee will haue no bookes but ſuch as mayntaine his hereſies: and ſo they departed, for Harpſfield was booted to ryde vnto Oxford, and I went to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶The next dayes talke.

The next dayes talke.

This Byſhops name was Byrd, byſhop ſome tyme of Cheſter, and Suffraigne before of Couentrye.

The next day came thether an old Byſhoppe, who had a pearle in his eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wyne. For hee had loſt his liuing, becauſe he had a wife. Thē ẏ Biſhop called me againe into the Orchard, and ſayd to the old Byſhop: this young man hath a child, and will not haue it Chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſme.

Boner. Thou art a foole, thou canſt not tell what thou wouldeſt haue, and that he ſpake with much anger.

Haukes. A Byſhop muſt be blameles or faultles, ſober, diſcrete, no chider, not geuen to anger.

B. Boner reproued for his anger.

Boner. Thou iudgeſt me to be angry: no by my fayth am I not, and stroke him ſelfe vpon the breſt.

Then ſayd the old Byſhop: Alas good young man, you muſt be taught by the Church, and by your auncients, and do as your fathers haue done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will haue nothyng but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not vnderſtand them. Hee will haue no ceremonies in the Churche, no not one. What ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that bee of his makyng that made them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures doth alow it.

Haukes. Where proue you that?

Boner. In the booke of Kynges, where Elizeus threw ſalt into the water.

See how Boner proueth holy water by the ſcripture. Elizeus put ſalt in the water, not to waſhe away ſinne, but onely to make the water ſweete

Haukes. Ye ſay truth: it is ſo written in the fourth booke of Kynges, the ſecond Chapter: the children of the Prophetes came to Elizeus, ſaying: The dwelling of this Citie is pleaſāt, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cauſe that Elizeus threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweete & good: and ſo when our waters be corrupted, if ye cā by puttyng in of ſalt make them ſweete, cleare, and wholeſome, we will the better beleue your ceremonies

Boner. How ſay ye to holy bread?

Haukes. Euen as I ſayd to the others. What Scripture haue you to defend it?

Boner proueth holy bread by the 5. loaues and 2. fiſhes.

Boner. Haue ye not read where Chriſt fed fiue thouſand men with fiue loaues, and three fiſhes?

Haukes. Will ye make that holy bread? There Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread.

Boner. Looke I pray you, how captious this man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould beleue and credite his doctrine thereby.

Boner. Ye will beleue no doctrine, but that whiche is wrought by miracles.

Marke. 16.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſayth: Theſe tokens ſhall follow them that beleue in me: they ſhall ſpeake with new tounges, they ſhall caſt out Deuils, and if they drinke any deadly poyſon, it ſhall not hurt them.

Boner. With what new tounges do ye ſpeake?

How conuerted Chriſtians do ſpeake with tongues.

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods worde, I was a foule blaſphemer and filthy talker, ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I haue lauded God, prayſed God, and geuen thankes vnto God euen with the ſame toung: and is not this a new toung?

Boner. How do ye caſt out deuils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by his word, and he hath left the ſame worde, that whoſoeuer doth credit and beleue it, ſhall caſt out deuils.

Boner. Did you euer drinke any deadly poyſon?

Haukes. Yea forſooth, that I haue: for I haue dronken of the peſtilent traditions and ceremonies of the Byſhop of Rome.

Boner. Now you ſhew your ſelfe to be a right hereticke.

Haukes. I pray you what is hereſie?

B. Boner an hereticke by his owne definition.

Boner. All thynges that are contrary to Gods word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thyng contrary thereto, then am I worthy ſo to be called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtād

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continue in this opiniō. ye thinke we are afrayde to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhead of you, but I will breake it, I warrant you.

The Papiſtes doe beſides Gods booke in burning men for their fayth.

Haukes. Where proue you that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did kill any man for his fayth?

Boner. Did not Paule excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lorde: but there is a great difference betwene excommunicatyng and burnyng.

Boner. Haue ye not read of the man and the woman in the Actes of the Apoſtles, whom Peter deſtroyed?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I haue read of one Ananias, & Saphira his wife, which were deſtroyed for lying agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſerueth nothyng for your purpoſe.

Boner. Well, ye will graunt one yet.

Haukes. Well, if ye will haue vs to graunt you to be of God, then ſhew mercy: for that God requireth.

This Byſhop here forgetteth his leſſon, Benedicite perſequentibus vos.

Boner. We will ſhewe ſuch mercy vnto you, as ye ſhewed vnto vs: for my benefice or Byſhopricke was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one peny to liue vpon.

Haukes. I praye you my Lorde, what doe you geue him now that was in the Biſhopricke or benefice before that ye came agayne to it? wherunto hee aunſwered me neuer a worde: for hee turned his backe vnto me, and talked with other men, ſaying that he was very ſory for me, but he truſted ÿ I would turne with S. Paule, becauſe I was ſo earneſt: and ſo hee departed and went to dyner, and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

Thomas Haukes afterward called for agayne to talke with the old Biſh.

After dinner I was called into the Hall agayne, and the Byſhop deſired the old Byſhop to take me into his chamber: for I would be glad (ſayd hee) if ye could conuert him. So he tooke me into his Chamber, and ſat him downe in a chayre, and ſayd to me: I would to GOD I could do you ſome good. ye are a young man, and I would not wiſh you to go to farre, but learne of your elders to beare ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will beare with nothyng that is contrary to the worde of God. And I looked that the olde Byſhop ſhould haue made me an aunſwere, and he was faſt a ſleepe.

Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the Porters lodge agayne, and there ſaw I the old Biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

¶Talke betwene Fecknam and Haukes.

The next dayes talke with Fecknam.

The next day came Fecknam vnto me and ſayd: are ye he that will haue no ceremonies?

Haukes. What meane you by that?

Fecknam. ye will not haue your child chriſtened, but in Engliſh, and you will haue no ceremonies.

Haukes. What ſoeuer the Scripture commaundeth to bee done, I refuſe not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be vſed by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Fecknams reaſon lyeth in Paules Breches.

Fecknam. How ſay you by Paules breeches?

Haukes. I haue read no ſuch thing.

Fecknam. Haue ye not read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, how thynges went from Paules body, and they receiued health thereby?

Haukes. I haue read in the. xix. of the Actes, how there went partlets and napkyns from Paules body. Is it that that ye meane?

Actes 19.

Fec. yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe ceremonies?

Haukes. I ſay nothing to ÿ ceremonies. For the text ſayth, that God did ſo worke by the handes of Paule, that there went partlets & napkins frō him. &c. So that it ſeemed by the text, that it was God that wrought & not ÿ ceremonies.

Fecknam maketh euery act ſpoken of in the new Teſtament to be a ceremony.

Fecknā. How ſay ye to the womā that came behynd Chriſt, and touched the hemme of his veſture? did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that ceremony?

Mathe 5.
Luke 8.

Haukes. No forſooth: For Chriſt turned backe and ſayd to Peter: Who is it that touched me? and Peter ſayd: Thou ſeeſt the people thruſt thee: and aſkeſt thou who touched me? Some body hath touched me (ſayth Chriſt) for vertue hath gone out of me. I pray you, whether was it the vertue that healed this woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam taken ſhort in his owne tale.

Fecknam, Both.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: for he ſayd, Go thy way, thy fayth hath made thee whole.

Boner. Away, away, to the Sacrament: for theſe are but trifles to that.

Fecknam driuen in a ſtraite, driueth him to the Sacrament.

Fecknam. How ſay ye Syrha: Chriſt tooke bread, & brake it, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body?

Haukes. I graunt Chriſt ſayd ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſooth, I do not vnderſtand it ſo.

It is his ſacramentall body, or the ſacrament of his body, but not his true body.

Fecknam. Why? then is Chriſt a lyer?

Haukes. I thinke ye will ſo proue him.

Fecknam. Will I? why, I haue ſpoken the wordes that Chriſt ſpake.

Hau. Is euery word to be vnderſtanded as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid: I am a doore, a vyne, I am a king, a way. &c.

The wordes of Chriſt are to be vnderſtand, not as he ſpake, but as he ment them.

Feck. Chriſt ſpake thoſe wordes in parables.

Hau. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables, when hee ſayd: I am a doore, a vyne, a kyng, a way. &c. more then this when hee ſayd: This is my body? For after ÿ ſame phraiſe of ſpeache, as hee ſayth: This is my body: ſo ſayth hee: I am a doore, a vyne, a kyng, a way: he ſayth not I am lyke a doore, lyke a vyne. &c.

Then Fecknam ſtoode vp and ſayd: I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, theſe places ſerue nothing for your purpoſes. But I perceiue ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What meane you be that?

Fecknam. I meane Latymer, Crammer, and Rydley.

Haukes. I know nothyng els by thē, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam falleth out of his matter to rayling.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch dolts? One of them hath written a booke, wherein he affirmeth a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Haukes. What hee hath done, I knowe not, but what hee doth I know.

Fecknam. Ridley hath preached at Paules Croſſe openly, ÿ the deuill beleueth better then you: for he beleueth ÿ Chriſt is able to make of ſtones bread, and ye will not beleue that Chriſtes body is in the bleſſed Sacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy fayth vpon them.

Tho. Haukes buildeth his fayth vpon no man.

Haukes. I build my fayth vppon no man, and that ſhall ye well know: for if thoſe men, and as many mo as they bee, ſhould recant, and deny that they haue ſayd or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye knowe that I build my fayth vpon no man.

Boner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you aunſwere.

Boner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doeſt nowe for all that.

Haukes. yea in deede will I, & that truſt to it, by gods grace

B. Boner iudgeth other men by his owne ſore.

Boner. I dare ſay Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might haue his liuyng. And ſo the Byſhop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went agayn to the Porters lodge.

¶Talke betwene Haukes and Chadſey.

An other dayes talke with D. Chadſey.

The next daye came Doct. Chadſey to the Byſhop, and him. The Byſhop declared vnto him that I hadde ſtand ſtubbornely in my defenſe agaynſt the Chryſtenyng of my childe, and agaynſt the ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not haue it Chriſtned, but in Engliſh.

Then ſayd Doct. Chadſey: then hee denyeth the order of the Catholycke Church.

Boner.. yea, hee thynketh that there is no Churche but in England, and in Germanye.

Haukes. And ye thinke that there is no Churche but the Church of Rome.

The Church of Rome.

Chad., What ſay ye to the Church of Rome.

Haukes I ſay it is a church of a ſorte of vicious Cardinals, Prieſtes, Monkes and Friers, whiche I will neuer credite nor beleue.

The Biſhop of Rome.

Chad. How ſay ye to the Byſhop of Rome?

Haukes. From him and all his deteſtable enormities good Lord deliuer vs.

Chad. Mary ſo may wee ſay from Kyng Henry the eight, and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles ÿ he lyued, that ye woulde not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not farre.

Haukes. Where were ye in his ſonnes dayes.

Chad. In priſon.

Haukes It was not for your well doyng.

Boner. Hee will by no meanes come within my Chappell nor heare Maſſe: for neither the Maſſe, neither the Sacrament of the aulter can hee abyde, neyther will hee haue anye ſeruice but in Engliſh.

Chadſeyes argument. Chriſt neuer ſpake Engliſhe: Ergo we muſt not pray in Engliſhe.

Chad. Chriſt neuer ſpake Engliſh.

An inſtance geuen agaynſt Chadſey.

Haukes. Neither ſpake he euer any Latine, but alwayes in ſuch a tounge as the people might bee edified thereby. And Paule ſayth, that tonges profite vs nothyng. Hee maketh a ſimilitude betwene the pype and the harpe, and except it be vnderſtanded what the trumpet meaneth who can prepare him ſelfe to the battell: ſo if I heare the toung whiche I do not vnderſtand, what profite haue I thereby? no more then hee hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad. If ye vnderſtand Paules ſaying, he ſpeaketh it vnder a prophecie. If we prophecie to you in tonges. &c.

Haukes. Forſoth Paul ſpeaketh playnely of tongues: for tongues ſerue not for them that beleue.

Chad. I tel you Paul ſpeaketh al together vpō Prophecie

Haukes,

1. Cor. 14.

Haukes. Paule maketh a diſtinction betwene Prophecying & tounges, ſaying, That if any man ſpeake with tõges, let it be by two or three at the moſt, and let an other interprete it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keepe ſilence in the congregation, and let him ſelfe pray vnto God: and then let the Prophetes ſpeake two or three, and that by courſe, and let the other iudge: and if any reuelation bee made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: ſo that it ſeemeth that Paule maketh a diſtinction betwene toungs and Prophecying.

Latin ſeruice.

Boner. The order was taken in the Catholicke Churche that the Latin tõg ſhould ſerue through the whole world, becauſe that they ſhoulde pray all generally together in one toung, and that to auoyde all contention and ſtrife, and to haue one vniuerſall order through the whole world.

Haukes. This did your Councels of Rome conclude.

Boner. Underſtand ye what the generall Councels of Rome ment?

The generall Counſels of Rome.

Haukes. In deede all your generall Councels of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Engliſh man: therfore I haue nothing to do with them.

Chad. Ye are to blame, beyng an vnlearned man to reproue all the Councels throughout all the whole world.

Haukes.. I reproue them not, but Paule rebuketh them, ſaying: If any mã preach any other doctrine thẽ that which I haue taught, do you hold him accurſed.

Chad. Hath any mã preached any other doctrine vnto you?

Other doctrine taught in the Church of Rome then euer Paule taught.

Haukes. Yea, I haue bene taught an other Goſpell ſince I came into this houſe.

Chad. What Goſpell haue ye bene taught?

Haukes. Praying to Saintes, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſſe, holy bread and holy water, and in Idols.

Chad. He that teacheth you ſo, teacheth not amiſſe.

Haukes. Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt him, nor beleue him.

Idols.

Boner. You ſpeake of Idols, and ye knowe not what they meane.

Haukes. God hath taught vs what they be: for what ſoeuer is made, grauen, or deuiſed by mans hand, contrary to Gods word, that ſame is an Idoll. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withall?

The Croſſe.

Haukes. The croſſe of wood, ſiluer, copper, or gold. &c.

Boner. What ſay ye to that?

Images.

Haukes. I ſay it is an Idoll. What ſay you to it?

Boner. I ſay euery Idoll is an image, but euery image is not an Idoll.

Haukes. I ſay, what difference is there betwene an Idoll and an Image?

Note here Boners definition of an Idoll.

Boner. If it be a falſe God, & an Image made of him, that is an Idoll: but if an Image be made of God himſelfe, it is no Idoll, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God.

Haukes. Lay your Image of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the difference. Haue not your Images feete and go not, eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, handes and feele not, mouthes and ſpeake not? and euen ſo haue your Idols.

Note here how groſſely Chadſey vnderſtandeth the wordes of S. Paule,

Chad. God forbyd, ſayth S. Paule, That I ſhould reioyce in any thyng els, but in the Croſſe of Chriſt Ieſus.

Haukes. Do ye vnderſtand Paule ſo? Do ye vnderſtand Paule? Unto the which he aunſwered me neuer a word.

Boner. Where can we haue a godlyer remembraunce when we ride by the way, then to ſee the Croſſe.

Haukes. If the Croſſe were ſuch profite vnto vs, why did not Chriſtes Diſciples take it vp, and ſet it on a pole, and cary it on proceſſion with Salue feſta dies?

Chad. It was taken vp.

The people ſeduced by falſe peces of the holy Croſſe.

Haukes. Who tooke it vp? Helene, as ye ſay, for ſhe ſent a peece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the viſiters when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the peece of the holy Croſſe (which the religious had in ſuch eſtimation, and had robbed many a ſoule, committyng Idolatry to it) was called for, and whẽ it was proued, and all came to all, it was but a peece of a lath couered ouer with copper, double gilted as it had bene cleane gold.

Boner. Fie, fie, I dare ſay thou ſclaundereſt it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, & do not beleue the contrary. And thus did the Byſhop & the Doctour depart in a great fume: & Chadſey ſayd vnto me, as he was about to depart: it is pitie that thou ſhouldeſt liue, or any ſuch as thou art. I aunſwered: in this caſe I deſire not to liue, but rather to dye.

Note here diſcretely the ſpirite of Chadſey.

Chad. Ye dye boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your death, as Ioane Butcher dyd.

Haukes. What Ioane Butcher did, I haue nothyng to do withall: but I would my part might be to morow. GOD make you in a better mynde, ſaid they both, & ſo they departed, and I went to the Porters lodge with my Keeper.

The next day Doct. Chadſey preached in the Byſhops Chappell, & did not begyn his Sermon vntill al the ſeruice was done, and then came the porter for mee, and ſayd: my Lord would haue you come to the ſermon, and ſo I went to the chappell dore, and ſtode without the dore.

Boner. Is not that fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner Come in man.

Thomas Haukes will not come into Boners Chappell.

Haukes. No that I wil not. He called agayne, and I aunſwered: I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtoode at the dore. Then ſayd the Byſhop, go to your ſermon.

Chadſeyes ſermon. His theame.

Then Doctour Chadſey put the ſtole about his necke, and caryed the holy water ſprinckle vnto the byſhop, who bleſſed him, and gaue him holy water, and ſo he went to hys ſermon. The text that he entreated on, was the xvi. of Mathew. Whom do men ſay that I the ſonne of man am? Peter ſayd: ſome ſaye that thou art Helias, ſome ſay that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, & ſome ſay thou art one of the Prophetes. But whom ſay ye that I am? Thẽ ſayd Peter, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuyng god. Then left he the text there, and ſayd: whoſe ſinnes ſo euer ye binde, are boũd: which authority (ſayd hee) is left to the heades of the Churche: as my Lord here is one, and ſo vnto all the reſt that be vnderneth him. But the Church hath ben much kicked at ſith the beginning: yet kicke the herretickes, ſporne the herretickes neuer ſo much, the Church doth ſtand and floriſh. And then he went ſtraight way to the ſacrament, and ſayd his minde on it, exaltyng it aboue the heauen, (as the moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his place agayne, ſaying: whoſe ſinnes ye doe remit, are remitted and forgeuen: and ſo hee applied it to the Byſhops and Prieſtes to forgiue ſinnes, and ſayd, all that be of the Church will come and receiue the ſame. And thys he proued by S. Iohn in the xi. chapiter, ſaying that Chriſt came to rayſe Lazarus, which whẽ he was riſen, was boũd in bandes: then ſayd Chriſt to them that were in authority (who were his diſciples:) go ye and loſe him, loſe him you. And this was the effect of his ſermon, applying all to them that they haue yͤ ſame authority yͭ Chriſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles, & ſo ended his ſermon, and they went to dinner.

Chadſey exalteth the ſacrament.

Scripture clerkly applyed.

¶An other communication betwene Thomas Haukes, and the Byſhop.

An other talke betwene Tho. Haukes and Boner, and the Queenes men.

AND after dynner I was called into the chappell, where as were certayne of the Queenes ſeruauntes and other ſtraungers, whom I dyd know.

Boner. Haukes, how lyke ye the ſermon?

Haukes. As I lyke al the reſt of hys doctrine?

Boner. What? are ye not, edified therby.

Haukes. No ſurely.

Boner.. It was made onely becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why (then am I ſory that ye had no mo herretickes here, as ye call them, I am ſory, that ye haue beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leaue you here, for I haue buſines. I pray you talke with him: for if ye coulde do him good (ſayd he) I would be glad.

This the Byſhop ſpake to the Queenes men, who ſaid vnto me: Alas what meane you to trouble your ſelfe about ſuch matters, againſt the queenes procedynges.

Thomas Haukes refuſeth to talke with the Queenes ſeruantes.

Haukes. Thoſe matters haue I aunſwered before them yͭ be in authority: and vnles I ſee you haue a further commiſſion, I will aunſwere you nothyng at al. Then ſayd the byſhops men (which were many): my Lord hath commaunded you to talke with them.

Haukes. If my Lord will talke with mee him ſelfe, I will aunſwere him. They cryed faggots, burne him, hang hym, to pryſon with him: it is pitie that he lyueth, lay Irons vpon him: and with a great noyſe they ſpake theſe wordes. Then in the middeſt of all the rage, I departed from them, and went to the porters lodge agayne.

¶The next daies talke.

An other dayes talke betwene Haukes and Boner.

THe next day, the Byſhop called me into his chamber, and ſayd: ye haue ben with me a great while: and ye are neuer the better but worſe and worſe: and therfore I will delay the tyme no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Haukes. My Lord, ye can do me no better pleaſure.

Boner. Why? would ye ſo fayne go to priſon?

Haukes. Truely I did looke for none other, when I came to your handes.

Boner. Come on your wayes: ye ſhall ſee what I haue written. Then did he ſhew me certayne Articles, and theſe are the contentes of them:

Boner ſheweth Haukes articles in writing.

Whether the Catholyke Churche do teach and beleue yͭ Chriſtes reall preſence doth ramaine in the Sacrament or no, after the wordes of conſecration: accordyng to the wordes of Saint Paul, whiche are theſe: Is not the bread whiche we breake the partakyng of the body of Chriſt, and the cup whiche we bleſſe, the partakyng of the bloud of Chriſt?

whiche

Aunſwere of Haukes to the firſt article. Aunſwere to the 2. article. Talke betwene Haukes and D. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Cant.

which if it were not ſo, Paule would neuer haue ſayd it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I can not tell: but I am ſure that the holy Catholicke Churche doth neither ſo take it, nor beleue it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholicke Church teach and beleue the Baptiſme that now is vſed in the Church, or no?

Haukes. I aunſwered to it, as I did to ye other queſtiō before. Then did the Byſhop with much flattery counſell me to be perſwaded, and to keepe me out of priſon, which I vtterly refuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhould haue gone to priſon, and ſo I had, ſaue for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whoſe name is Harpſfield, whom the Byſhop had deſired to talke with me, and began to perſwade me concernyng the Sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talke he ſayd that the Sacramēt of the aultar was the ſame body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, which did hang vpon the Croſſe.

A queſtion put to Harpſfield.

Haukes. He was vpon the Croſſe both aliue & dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpſ. The Archdeacon aunſwered, aliue.

Haukes. How proue you that?

Harpſ. ye muſt beleue. Doth not S. John ſay: He is already condemned, that beleueth not?

Haukes. S. John ſayth: He that beleueth not in the ſonne of God, is already condemned: but he ſayth not, he that beleueth not in the Sacrament, is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talke with you: for ye are both without fayth and learnyng, and therfore I will talke no more with you in Scripture.

An other queſtion put to Harpſfield why the Roodeloft is ſet betwene the Church and and Chauncell.

Then two that ſtode by, bad me enter further in talke with him, and then ſayd I vnto him: why is the Roodeloft ſet betwixt the body of the Church, and the Chauncell?

Harpſ. I can not tell: for ye haue aſked a queſtion, which ye can not aſſoyle your ſelfe.

Haukes. yes that I can: for this ſayth one of your owne Doctours: that the body of the Churche doth repreſent the Churche militant, and the Chauncell the Churche triumphant: and ſo becauſe we can not go from the Church militant to the Church triumphant, but that we muſt beare the croſſe of Chriſt, this is the cauſe of the Roodeloft beyng betwene the body of the Church and the Chauncell.

Harpſ. This is well and clarkely concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your doctrine is: and ſo with many perſwaſions on his part we ended, and ſo departed: and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶An other dayes talke.

Haukes ſent to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter with the Byſhops warrant.

The next day in the mornyng, whiche was the firſt day of July, the Byſhop did call me him ſelfe from the Porters lodge, commaundyng me to make me ready to go to priſon, and to take ſuch thynges with me, as I had of myne owne. And I ſayd, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteale, God willyng. Then he did write my warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, and deliuered it to Harpſfield, who with his owne man and one of the biſhops men brought me to priſon, and deliuered the warrāt and me both to the Keeper: and this was cōtained in the warrant.

The Byſhops warrant.

I will and commaunde you, that you receaue him who commeth named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe priſoner, and that no man ſpeake with him, and that ye deliuer him to no man, except it bee to the Councell, or to a Juſtice: For he is a Sacramentarie, and one that ſpeaketh agaynſt Baptiſme, a ſeditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in theſe perilous dayes.

The Byſhops men ſent to Haukes in the Gatehouſe.

And thus was I receiued, & they departed. And there I remained. xiij. dayes, and then the Byſhop ſent two of his mē vnto me, ſaying: My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I aunſwered them, I do like a poore priſoner. They ſayd: My Lord would know whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed? I ſayd, I am no chaungelyng. They ſayd, my Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſayd: If my Lord will me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my frendes to come to me. So they ſayd they would ſpeake for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the firſt examination of me Thomas Haukes, beyng examined by Edmund Boner, then Byſhop of London, and by his Chaplaines and Doctours at Fulham iiij. myles from London, where I lay till I came to priſon to Weſtminſter: and after his two men had bene with me, I heard no more of him, till the thyrd day of September.

¶Here foloweth the ſecond tyme of myne examination, the which was the. 3. day of September: for the Byſhop did ſend his men for me, to come to his pallace to London, and ſo my Keeper and his men brought me to his place the ſame day.

The ſecond tyme of Haukes his examination.

The Byſhop of Winchester, then beyng Chauncellour, preached that day at Paules croſſe, and the Byſhop of London ſayd to my Keeper, I thinke your man will not go to the Sermon to day.

Haukes. yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that, that is good, I will receiue, and the reſt I will leaue behynd me, and ſo I went. And whan the Sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the Biſhops houſe, & there we remained till dyner was done: and after dyner the Byſhop called for me, & aſked me if I were the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no chaungelyng, neither none will be.

Boner. ye ſhall finde no chaungelyng neither. And ſo he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheete of paper, and all that while I ſtode in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the chamber. And as I ſtode, Doctour Smith came vnto me (who once recanted, as it appeareth in Print) ſaying that hee would bee glad to talke brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was. Then ſayd they ye ſtode by, he is D. Smith. Then ſayd I: are you he that did recant? And he ſayd, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

D. Smith commeth to Haukes. D. Smithes recantation.

Haukes. ye were beſt to terme it wel, for your own honeſty.

D.Smith. Shall I terme it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To bee ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talke with you, credite you or beleue you: and ſo I departed frō him to ye other ſide of the chamber. Then ſayd the Byſhops men and his Chaplaynes, that my Lord commaunded me to talke with him. Thē they that ſtode by, cryed with a great noyſe: hang him, burne him: it is pitie that he liueth, ye diſobeyeth my Lordes commaundement.

Myles Huggardes wordes to Tho. Haukes. Myles Huggard

Then ſayd one Myles Huggard: where proue you that infantes were baptiſed?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, baptiſing them in the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. My here is none excepted.

M.Hug. what? ſhall we go teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well: it is to much for you to teach. Is not your name Myles Huggard?

M.Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwell in Puddyng lane?

M.Hug. yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Huggard more meete to eate a pudding, then to diſpute of ſcripture.

Haukes. It would ſeeme ſo: for ye can better ſkill to eate a puddyng and make a hoſe, then in Scripture either to aunſwere, or to oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and dyd chafe vp and downe. Then I deſired that ſome man would take the payne to walke the Gentleman, hee did freat ſo for anger. Then one that ſtode by me, (who is perſon of Hornchurche and Rumford in Eſſex) ſayd: alas what doe you meane? a young man to bee ſo ſtubburne & there ſeemeth to much pride in you.

Haukes. Are not ye the Parſon of Hornchurch?

Parſon. yea that I am.

Haukes. Did ye not ſet ſuch a Prieſt in your benefice?

Parſon. yea for a ſhift.

Parſon of Hornchurch compared to the wethercocke of Paules.

Haukes. Like will to like: ſuch maiſter, ſuch man. For I know ye Prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I aſked the Parſon what kinne he was to the weather Cocke of Paules? and he fell in a great laughter, with the reſt of his companions. He ſayd that I did rayle.

Then ſayd an other that ſtode by vnto me: what booke haue you here? I aunſwered, the new Teſtament. May I looke in it, ſayd he? yea that ye may ſayd I. And ſo he looked in my booke, and ſayd it was corrupt. I aūſwered him: if the thynges contained in it bee true, then are ye all falſe Prophetes. He ſayd that hee would appoſe me in the firſt word of the Teſtamēt, ſaying: here is a generatiō of Chriſt. And Eſay ſayth, no man can tell his generation.

Friuolous queſtions. Eſay. 53.

Haukes. What meaneth Eſay by that?

I would learne of you (ſayd he.)

Haukes. ye would be angry if the ſcholler ſhould learne the maiſter: but if ye will haue me to teach you, I will tell you Eſayas meanyng.

Then ſayd hee, no man can tell the generation betwene the father and the ſonne: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then Eſay denieth not the generation.

Then ſayd he, why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſayd he, why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo Prophecied by the Prophetes.

Then ſayd he: why is your booke called a booke?

Haukes. Theſe wordes do breed more ſtrife, then godly edifying.

Beware ſayd he, that ye do not decline frō the Church: for if ye do, you will proue your ſelfe an hereticke.

Haukes. Euen as ye do call vs heretickes, that do encline

to

Difference betwene the true Prophets and the falſe. The falſe prophets ſay: thus ſayth the Church. The true Prophets ſay: thus ſayth the Lord.

to Chriſtes Church, from your Church: ſo are ye all falſe Prophetes, that do decline from Chriſtes Church, to your owne Churche. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe Prophetes, if ye ſay, this ſayth the Church, and will not ſay, this ſayth our Lord. And ſo he went his way, as though he had a flea in his eare.

Then came an other and ſayd vnto me, he would talke with me, for he perceiued (as hee ſayd) that I was angry and out of pacience.

Haukes. I will ſee your Commiſſion, or euer I talke with you, or with any man more. For I wiſt not how to be rid of them: they came ſo thicke about me. For I ſayd that I came to talke with my Lord, and not with any of them.

The Byſhop writeth Haukes confeſſion.

With that came the Byſhop, bryngyng a letter in his hād the whiche he had written in my name, and read it vnto me after this maner: I Thomas Haukes, do here confeſſe and declare before my ſayd Ordinary Edmund Byſhop of London, that the Maſſe is abhominable and deteſtable, and full of all ſuperſtition, and alſo as concernyng the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt (commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar) that Chriſt is in no part therof, but onely in heauen: this I haue beleued, and this I do beleue. &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I haue beleued, what haue you to doe withall? But what I doe beleue, to that ſtand I, and will.

Then he tooke his penne, and ſayd that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo did to my thinkyng.

Then he went further with his writyng, and ſayd: I Thomas Haukes haue talked with my ſayd Ordinary, and with certaine good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtandyng I ſtand ſtill in myne opinion.

Haukes. Shall I graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet graunt my ſelfe to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Boner. Ye will graunt that ye haue talked with vs: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Thē ſayd all his Doctours, if your Lordſhyp be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then he read more vnto me. Here vnto this bill haue I ſet to my hād: & then he offered me the bill and his penne, and bad me ſet my hand to it.

Tho. Haukes denyeth to ſet his hand to Boners writing.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thyng of your makyng or deuiſing.

Boner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hand? It ſhalbe to thy ſhame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his Doctours, and ſayd he would haue euery mans hand to it that was in the chamber, and ſo he had of their handes to it, and ſayd: he that will not ſet his hand to it, I would hee were hanged, and ſo ſayd all hys Chaplaynes and Doctours with a great noyſe.

Then the Byſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger, and ſayd he would be euen with me and with all ſuch proude knaues in Eſſex.

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more then God ſhall geue you leaue.

Boner in a fume with Thomas Haukes.

Boner. This geare ſhall not be vnpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your curſinges, raylynges, and blaſphemynges, I care not for them: for I know the mothes and wormes ſhall eate you, as they eate cloth or wool.

Byſhop. I will be euen with you, when tyme ſhall come.

Haukes. Ye may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye haue done, ye can not do ſo much as make a finger, and ye be meetly euen with ſome of vs already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

Haukes. Salomon ſayth: Go not to lavv with a Iudge. For he vvill iudge accordyng to his ovvne honour.

Boner. Salomon ſayth: Geue not a foole an aunſvvere.

Haukes. What? do you count me a foole?

Boner. Yea by my trouth do I, and ſo doeſt thou me to: but God forgeue thee,* and ſo do I.

* And euen now ye ſayd, you would be euen with him.

Haukes. Thought is free my Lord. Then tooke Boner the bill and read it agayne, and when he ſaw that he could not haue my hand to it, then he would haue had me to take it in to my hand, and to geue it him agayne.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremony? Neither ſhall it come into my hand, hart, nor mynde. Then hee wrapt it vp, and put it in his boſome, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horſe and went to horſebacke: for the ſame day he rode in viſitation into Eſſex: and ſo went I to priſon, from whence I came, with my Keeper. And this was the ſecond time of my examination. Written by me Thomas Haukes, who deſireth all faythfull men and brethren, to pray vnto God to ſtrengthen me in his truth vnto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray.

¶ The publicke examination of Thomas Haukes.

Thomas Haukes cyted to the Byſhops conſiſtory.

Ex Regiſtro.

The firſt dayes Seſſions againſt Thomas Haukes.

AFter all theſe priuate conferences, perſuaſions, and long debatynges had with Thomas Haukes in the Byſhops houſe, as hetherto hath bene declared, the Byſhop ſeyng no hope to wynne him to his wicked wayes, was fully ſet to proceede openly agaynſt him after the ordinary courſe of his Popiſh law. Whereupon Tho. Haukes ſhortly after was cited with the reſt of his other fellowes aboue ſpecified, to witte, Thom. Tomkyns, Ste. Knight, W. Pygot, Iohn Laurence, and W. Hunter, to appeare in the Biſhops Conſiſtory, the viij. day of February, this preſent yeare, videl. 1555. Vpon whiche appearaunce was layd agaynſt him, in like order, as to the other, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Boners hand, to the whiche bill ye heard before how this bleſſed ſeruaunt of God denyed to ſubſcribe.

The ſecond dayes Seſſions againſt Thomas Haukes.

After whiche bill of confeſſion beyng read, and he conſtantly ſtandyng to the ſayd confeſſion, the Byſhop then aſſigned him with the other v. the next day folowyng, whiche was the ix. of February, to appeare before him agayne, to giue a reſolute aunſwere what they would ſticke vnto. Which day beyng come, and theſe foreſayd vj. priſoners beyng ſeuerally called before the Byſhop, at the commyng of Thomas Haukes, the Byſhop willed him to remember what was ſayd to him yeſterday, and now while he had tyme & ſpace, to aduiſe with himſelf, what he would aunſwere: for he ſtode vpon life and death. Well, quoth M. Haukes agayne, I will willyngly receaue what ſoeuer ſhall be put vnto me.

The aunſwere of Thomas Haukes.

Then were certaine other Interrogatories or Articles commenſed agaynſt him by the ſayd Byſhop (in like maner as to the other) to the number of foure: with an other bill alſo, whiche Boner brought out of his boſome conteynyng priuate matters agaynſt the ſayd Thomas Haukes, which the Byſhop called hereſies and errours, but we may better call them Chriſtian verities. To the whiche matter beyng read, the ſayd Haukes aunſwered openly agayne ſaying, that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true, as it was: withe moe wordes to the lyke effect. And this was on the forenoone, the ix. day of February.

The wordes of Thomas Haukes at his iudgment.

In the afternoone agayne the ſayd Haukes appearyng, and hearyng the foreſayd bill of his confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read vnto him, with lyke conſtancie aunſweryng agayne to the Byſhop: My Lord (ſayd he) as you beyng my great frend haue cauſed theſe my ſayinges to be written: ſo do you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will neuer go from them.

The inuincible conſtancye of Thomas Haukes.

And then beyng exhorted by the Byſhoppe with many fayre wordes, to returne agayne to the boſome of the mother Churche: No my Lord (ſayd hee) that will I not: for if I had an hundred bodyes, I would ſuffer them all to be torne in peeces, rather then I will abiure or recant.

Thomas Haukes condemned by Byſhop Boner.

And ſo continuyng ſtill in the ſame ſong, notwithſtandyng that the Doctours and Lawyers were euer callyng vpon him to come agayne to the vnitie of the Churche he euer kept them of with this aunſwere, that hee would neuer go from the beliefe he was in, ſo long as he lyued. Whereupon Boner at laſt read the Sentence of death, vppon him, and ſo was hee condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his fellowes, which was the ix. of February.

The death of Haukes differred.

Neuertheleſſe his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the 10. day of Iune.

Thomas Haukes brought downe to Eſſex by the Lord Rich.

Then was he committed to the handes & charge of the Lord Rich, who beyng aſſiſted with power ſufficient of the worſhipfull of the ſhyre, had the foreſayd Thomas Haukes down into Eſſex, with vj. other felow priſoners (whoſe ſtories hereafter folow) there to ſuffer Martyrdome, Haukes at Coxhall, the other ſeuerally in other ſeuerall places.

Thomas Haukes by the way vſed much exhortation to his frendes, and whenſoeuer opportunitie ſerued to talke with them, he would familiarely admoniſh them.

Agreed betwene T. Haukes and his frendes, to geue them a token in the fire, whether the payne of burning were ſo greuous as it ſeemeth, or no.

A litle before his death certaine there were of his familiare acquaintaunce and frendes, who frequentyng his company more familiarly, whiche ſeemed not a litle to bee confirmed both by the example of his conſtancie, and by hys talke: yet notwithſtandyng the ſame agayne beyng feared with the ſharpneſſe of the puniſhment, whiche he was goyng to, priuely deſired that in the middeſt of the flame hee would ſhewe them ſome token if hee could, whereby they might be more certaine whether the payne of ſuch burnyng were ſo greate, that a man might not therein keepe hys mynde quyet and patient. Whiche thyng hee promiſed them to do, and ſo ſecretly betwene them it was agreed, that if the rage of the payne were tolerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift vp his handes aboue his head toward heauen before he gaue vp the ghoſt.

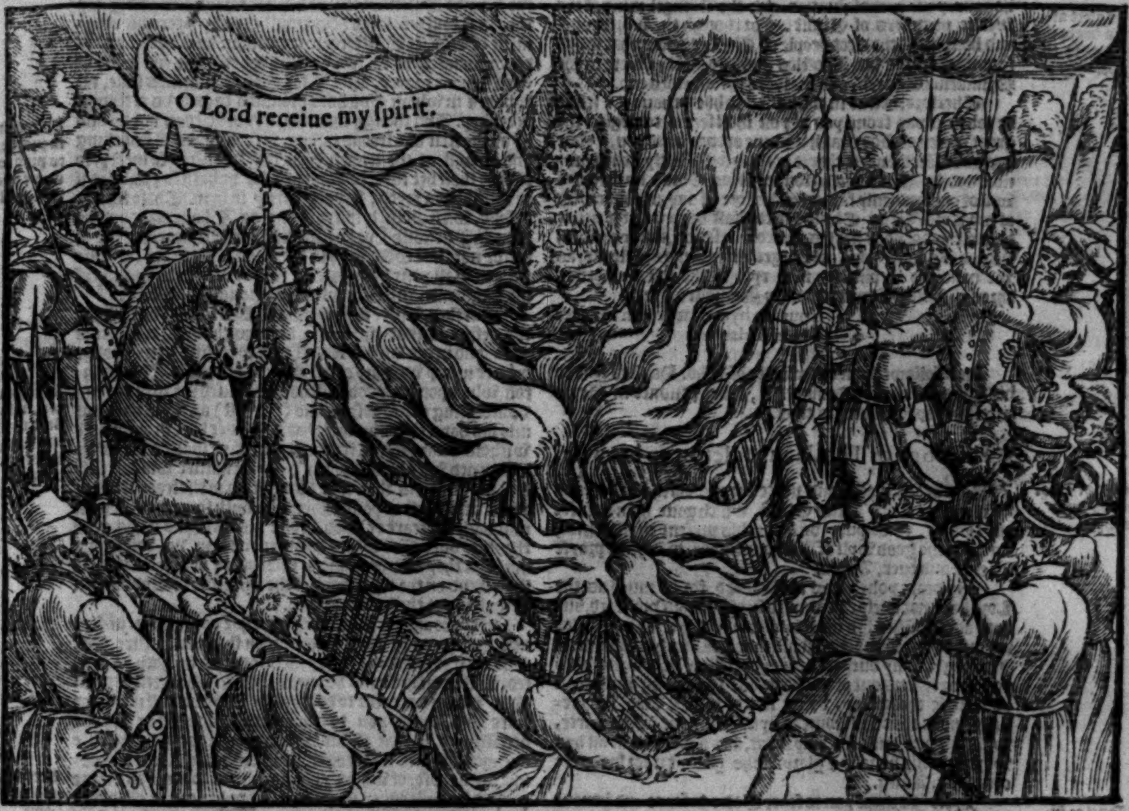
T. Haukes caryed to the place of execution.

Not long after, when the houre was come Thomas Haukes was lead away to the place appoynted for the ſlaughter, by the Lord Rich and his aſſiſtaunce, who beyng now come vnto the ſtake, there mildly and paciently addreſſed hym ſelfe to the fire, hauyng a ſtrayte chayne caſt about his middle, with no ſmall multitude of people on euery ſide compaſſing him about. Vnto whom after hee had ſpoken

Thomas Haukes ſtandyng at the ſtake reaſoneth with the Lord Rich.

many thynges, but eſpecially vnto the Lord Riche, reaſonyng with hym of the innocent bloud of the Saintes, at length after his feruent prayers firſt made, and poured out vnto God, the fire was ſet vnto hym.

¶ The Martyrdome of Thomas Haukes in Eſſex, at a Towne called Coxhall. Anno. 1555. Iune. 10.


O Lord receiue my ſpirit.

A token geuen in the fire that burning is not ſo intolerable a payne as it was thought.

In the which when he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by violence of the flame, his ſkinne alſo drawen together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that now all men thought certainely hee had bene gone, ſodaynly and contrary to all expectation, the bleſſed ſeruaunt of GOD, beyng myndefull of his promiſe afore made, reached vp his handes burnyng on a light fier (which was marueilous to behold) ouer his head to the liuing God, and with great reioyſing, as ſeemed, ſtrooke or clapped them three tymes together. At the ſight wherof there followed ſuch applauſe and outcry of the people, and eſpecially of thẽ which vnderſtode the matter, that the like hath not commonly bene heard: And ſo the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, ſtraight way ſinckyng downe into the fire, gaue vp his ſpirite, An. 1555. Iune. 10. And thus haue you playnly and expreſly deſcribed vnto you the whole ſtory, as well of the lyfe, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a moſt conſtant and faythfull witnes of Chriſtes holy Goſpell.

The end and Martyrdome of Thomas Haukes at Coxhall.

¶ *Letters.*

¶ An Epiſtle to the Congregation

by Thomas Haukes.

A letter of Thomas Haukes to the congregation.

GRace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, bee alway with you all (my deare brethren and ſiſterne in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt) for euer: and his holy Spirite conduct and leade you all in all your doynges, that you may alwayes direct your deedes accordyng to his holy word, that when he ſhall appeare to reward euery man accordyng to their workes: ye may as obedient children be founde watchyng, ready to enter into his euerlaſtyng kyngdome with your lampes burnyng, & whẽ the Bridegrome ſhall ſhewe him ſelfe, ye neede not to be aſhamed of this lyfe that God hath lent you, whiche is but tranſitory, vayne, and lyke vnto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoone paſſeth away all our terreſtrial honour, glory, and felicitie. For all fleſh (ſayth the Prophet) is graſſe, and all his glory, as the floure of the fielde, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beautie, and as ſoone as the Lord bloweth vpon it, it withereth away, and departeth. For in this tranſitory and daungerous wildernes, we are as Pilgrimes & ſtraungers, followyng the footeſteps of Moſes, among many vnſpeakeable daungers, beholdyng nothyng with our outward man, but all vayne vanities, and vexation of mynde: ſubiect to hunger, cold, nakedneſſe, bondes, ſickenes, loſſe, labours, baniſhment, in daunger of that dreadfull Dragon, and his ſinnefull ſeede, to be deuoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaſeth not behynde euery buſh to lay a bayte, when we walke awrye to haue his pleaſure vpon vs, caſting abroad his apples in all places, tymes, and ſeaſons, to ſee if Adam will be allured and entiſed to leaue the liuyng God and his moſt holy Commaundementes, whereby hee is aſſured of euerlaſtyng lyfe, promiſing the world at will, to all that will fall downe in all ages, and for a meſſe of potage, ſell & ſet at nought the euerlaſtyng kyngdome of heauen. So frayle is fleſh and bloud: And in eſpeciall Iſraell is moſt ready to walke awry, when hee is filled with all maner of riches (as ſayth the Prophet.)

The manifold daungers which a true chriſtian hath to paſſe thorow in this world.

Therefore I am bold in bondes (as entierly deſiryng your euerlaſtyng health & felicitie) to warne you, and moſt hartely deſire you to watch and pray: for your eſtate is daungerous, & requireth continuall prayer. For on the high mountaines doth not grow moſt plenty of graſſe, neither are the hyghest trees fartheſt from daunger, but ſeldome ſure, and alwayes ſhaken of euery wynde that bloweth. Such a deceitfull thyng (ſayth our Sauiour) is honour & riches, that without grace it choketh vp the good ſeede ſowen on hys creatures, and blindeth ſo their ſeyng, that they go groppyng at noone day in darkenes: it maketh a man thincke him ſelfe ſomwhat, ỷ is nothing at al. For though for our honour we eſteeme our ſelues and ſtand in our owne light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the lyuyng God, there ſhalbe no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeaunce: neither cã we make the Lord partial for money. But as ye haue miniſtred vnto the Saintes, ſo ſhall ye receiue:

The hyer in dignity, the neares to daunger.

Prouerb. 11. Riches helpe not before God.

the reward, which I am fully perſuaded and aſſured ſhalbe plenteouſly poured vpon you all, for ẏ great goodnes ſhewed vnto the ſeruauntes of the lyuing God. And I moſt hartely beſeech almightye God to poure forth a plenteous reward vpon you for ẏ ſame, and that he will aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirite in all your doinges, that ye may growe (as you haue begon) vnto ſuch a perfection as may be to Gods honour, your owne ſaluation, and the ſtrengthening of the weake members of Chriſt. For though the world rage, and blaſpheme the elect people of God, ye know that it dyd ſo vnto Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all that were in the Primatiue Church, and ſhalbe to the worldes end.

Gods elect alwayes beare the ſclaunder in this worlde.

Therfore, beleue in the light, while ye haue it, leſt it be taken away from you, if you ſhall ſeeme to neglect the great mercy of God that hath bene opened vnto you, & your hartes cōſẽted vnto it that it is the very & onely truth pronounced by Gods onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt by the good will of our heauenly father. Therfore I ſay in the bowels of my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſticke faſt vnto it: let it neuer departe out of your hartes and conuerſation, that you with vs and we with you, at the great day being one flocke, as we haue one ſhepheard, may ryſe to the lyfe immortall, through Ieſus Chriſt our onely Sauiour, Amen.

Yours in hym that lyueth for euer
Thomas Haukes.

Herefolloweth an other letter of Tho. Haukes ſent to his wyfe after his condemnation, being priſoner in Newgate: the copye wherof is thys.

¶ The copy of Tho. Haukes letter to his wife.

A letter of Tho. Haukes vnto hys wyfe.

GRace be with you, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which gaue hym ſelfe for our ſynnes, to delyuer vs from this preſent euyll worlde, through the good wyll of God our father, to whō be prayſe for euer and euer, Amen.

My deare yokefellow in the Lord, for as much as the Lord hath not onely called me to worke in his vineyard, but hath alſo fulfilled his good worke in me (I truſt to his glory, and to the cōfort of all thoſe that looke for his comming) I thought it my dutye (deare yokefellow) to write vnto you ſome leſſons out of Gods booke: and if you will direct your ſelfe thereafter, doubt not of it, but God, who refuſeth none that will come to hym with their whole harte, will aſſiſt you with his holy ſpirit, and direct you in all hys wayes, to his honour & glory, who graunt it for his mercyes ſake, Amen.

Leſſons or inſtructions to hys wyfe.

Fyrſt I exhort you to feare God, to ſerue and honour his holy name, to loue hym wyth all your hart, ſoule, and mynde to beleue faythfully all his promiſes, to lay ſure hold vpon them, that in all your troubles what ſo euer they are ye may runne ſtraight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them, keepe you within his winges: then ſhall ye be ſure that neyther deuyll, fleſh, nor hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

He exhorteth her to beware of Idolatry.

Idolatry puniſhed of God.

But take heede: If ye will not keepe his holy preceptes and lawes, and to the vttermoſt of your power, call for the helpe of God to walke in the ſame, but will leaue them and runne to all abominations with the wicked worlde, and doe as they doe, then be ſure to haue your part with the wicked worlde in the burning lake that neuer ſhall be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatrye, which doth moſt of all ſtyncke before the face of almighty God, and was of all good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the worlde. For the which, what kingdomes, nations and Realmes God hath puniſhed with moſt terrible plages, with fire, brymſtone, hunger, ſweard, and peſtilence. &c. to the vtter ſubuerſion of them, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene through ẏ whole Byble. yea his owne peculiar people, whom hee had done ſo much for, when they fell from hym, and went and ſerued other Gods, contrary to his commaundement, he vtterlye deſtroyed, and rooted them out from of the earth: and as many as dyed in that damnable ſtate (not repenting their abhominable euill) he threw them into ẏ pit of hell. Againe how he hath preſerued thoſe that abhorre ſuperſtition and Idolatrye, and that haue onely taken hold vpon God with their whole hart, to ſerue hym, to loue him, to feare him, &c. it is moſt manifeſtly to be ſeene euen frō the beginning, out of what great daungers he hath euer deliuered them: yea when all hope of deliueraūce was paſt as touching their expectation, euen then in the ſight of all his enemies would he worke his godly will and purpoſe, to the vtter amazing and deſtruction of all thoſe that were his manifeſt enemies.

Exhortation to prayer.

Praying to God and not to creatures.

To continue in prayer, and to pray in the name onely of Chriſt.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt, that you will exerciſe & be ſtedfaſt in prayer: for prayer is ẏ onely meane to pearce the heauens to obtayne at the hand of God, whatſoeuer we deſyre, ſo ẏ it be aſked in fayth. Oh what notable thinges doe we reade in ſcriptures that hath bene obtayned through feruent prayer? We are commaunded to call vpon hym for helpe, ayde and ſuccour in neceſſities and troubles, & he hath promiſed to helpe vs. Againe they that will not call vpon him with their whole hart, but vpon other dead creatures, in whom there is no helpe (for there was none founde worthy to open the booke, but onely the Lambe Chriſt which was killed for our ſinnes) I ſay who that will refuſe his helpe, muſt euen by ẏ terrible iudgment of God, come vtterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is dayly manifeſt to be ſeene. And whatſoeuer you deſire of God in your prayer, aſke it for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, for whom & in whom God hath promiſed to geue vs al things neceſſary. And though that which ye aſke, come not by and by at the firſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtill knocking and he will at the length open his treaſures of mercy, ſo that ye ſhall bee ſure to obtayne: for he hath ſo promiſed if ye continue in fayth, hoping ſurely in hym. Theſe former leſſons, with all ſuch inſtructions as I haue tolde you by mouth, I do wiſh ẏ ye would moſt earneſtly learne: & thē I doubt not, but God, who is the geuer of all grace, will aſſiſt you in all your doinges that ye may be found worthy of his kingdome, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Care for his children.

He meaneth M. Clement Throgmorton, who deſired to haue the bringing vp of his childe.

Further, where it hath pleaſed God to ſend vs children my deſyre is that they may be brought vp in the feare of God, and in his lawes. And this is to certifie you, that ye deliuer in any wiſe my eldeſt Sonne vnto M. Throgmorton, who vpon his good will hath promiſed me to bring him vp according to my deſyre, and (I truſt) as God hath put into his hart. See therfore that ye deliuer him in any wyſe without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeeme to bee burthened with hym (which I thinke nature will not ſuffer) my deſire is that it be brought vp in the feare of God, to the vttermoſt of your endeuour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the feare of God before his eyes, and let vs geue thankes vnto God which hath geuen them vs, beſeeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of ẏ flocke that ſhall ſtand on the right hand of the Maieſtie of God, when he ſhall iudge the world, Amen.

Keeping of good company.

Yet once againe I warne you, that ye continue in feruent prayer, as I ſayd before: then ſhall you be ſure, that God euen of his owne mercy, according as he hath promyſed, will be an huſband vnto you, and prouide better for you then I was euer able to doe: yea, he will cauſe all men that feare hym, to pity you, to helpe you, ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any will doe you wrong, he will bee auenged on hym. Moreouer, I wiſh you to keepe companye with thoſe, of whom ye may learne to come to a more perfect knowledge in God: and I doubt not but God wyl prouide that ſuch will be glad to receiue you, if you ſhall profeſſe and go forward in his truth.

Exhortation to take heede whom ſhee marieth, and that ſhe marry in the Lord.

Finally and to make an ende, I deſyre you that ye take heede with whō ye couple your ſelfe. See that he be a man that feareth God, loueth his lawes, and will walke in the ſame to the vttermoſt of his power: ſuch a one as can be cōtent to loue you, and to care for you. Take heede he be no brawler, no dronkard, no wicked perſon, not geuen to filthynes, no worldling, no dicer nor carder: In fine, no fylthy perſon, but chooſe you ſuch a one as God may be gloryfied in both your lyues. And againe on your part, loue him, ſerue him, obey him in all godlines, as long as God ſhall geue you life in this worlde. Then ſhall ye both be ſure to obtayne that kingdome which God the father hath prepared and Ieſus Chriſt obtayned for you, that neuer ſhall haue ende, where I truſt to abyde your comming. Amen.

By your Huſband Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before in the letter of Tho. Haukes written to hys wyfe, mention made concerning his eldeſt ſonne to be ſent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth hym ſelfe to the ſayd M. Throgmorton touching the ſame matter, by this his letter to the ſayd party here vnder enſuing, may appeare.

A letter of Thomas Haukes to Maiſter Clement Throgmorton.

An other letter of Tho. Haukes written to M. Clement Throgmorton.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be with you and aſſiſt you in all your thoughtes, wordes, and workes, that he in all thinges as moſt worthy, may be glorifyed, and that the bleſſing of Abraham, maye be poured plenteouſlye on you and all your poſteritye.

Whereas the loue of God hath moued you to require my ſonne to be brought vp before your eyes, & the ſelfe ſame loue hath alſo moued me in like caſe to leaue him in your handes as vnto a father in mine abſēce I ſhal require you in Gods behalfe according to your promiſe that yee wyll ſee hym brought vp in the feare of the Lord, and inſtructed in

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the knowledge of his holy word, that he may therby learne to leaue the euill and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with fatherly inſtructions to folow my footeſteps: that as almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpeciall grace to worke his will in obedience, he may learne to follow me his father in the lyke, to Gods honour & prayſe: And this I require you in Gods behalfe to fulfill or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the lyuing God wyll make aũſwere for the ſame. I haue left for the child certayn bookes which ſhalbe deliuered vnto you, wherein his inſtructiõ & ſaluation lyeth if he learne & practiſe the ſame. And thus, moſt humbly beſeching you once againe, to be as good vnto him as your promiſe was to me, that is, to be a father, & a wal of defẽce vnto him in all troubles, I leaue him in your hãd through the lord Ieſu, & deſire him to bles both him & you according to his good promiſe: and all that good which ye ſhall doe vnto him, I ſhal moſt hartely deſire the euerlaſting God to recõpẽce vnto you in his kingdome, where I hope to meete both him and you among all gods elect. To which God be al praiſe honor & glory, Amẽ.

Yours and all mens in Chriſt Ieſu, Thomas Haukes.

¶ The Hiſtory of Thomas Wattes, examined tryed, and burnt for the truth of the Goſpell.

June. 10. The ſtory of Thomas Wattes Martyr.

Thomas Wattes diſpoſeth his goodes before he ſhould be apprehended.

Thomas Watts of Billerica, within the County of Eſſex, and of the Dioces of London, was by his occupation a lynen Draper, who before he was apprehended, had ſold and made away his cloth in his Shop, and diſpoſed his thyngs beyng ſet in order to his wife and children, and gaue away much of his cloth vnto the poore: For he looked alwayes to be takẽ by Gods aduerſaries and his, as ſhortly after came in deede to paſſe: ſo that vpon the 26. day of Aprill hee was apprehended and brought before the Lord Rich, and other Commiſſioners at Chelmiſford, and there beyng accuſed for not commyng to the Church, was vpon the ſame examined before the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrell, Syr Anthony Browne, Edmond Tyrell, Thomas Mildma, John Wiſeman, Roger Appleton, Rich. Weſton, Iuſtice Gaudy, &c. The ſumme & principall effect of which examination here vnder foloweth briefly expreſſed.

¶ The examination of Tho. Wattes, before the Lorde Rich and others.

The examination of Thomas Wattes before the Lord Rich, and other the Queenes commiſſioners.

When this Tho. Wattes came before ỹ Lord Rich and other the Iuſtices, whoſe names are ſpecified in the letter following (which they ſent vnto the byſhop of London againſt him) at the Seſſions at Chelmiſforde, ỹ Lord Rich ſayd theſe wor[illegible] or the lyke in effect vnto him.

The wordes of the Lord Rich to Tho. Wattes.

Wattes, ye be brought hither (as I vnderſtand) becauſe of diſobedience to the Kyng and Queenes lawes. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not heare Maſſe: &c. but haue your conuenticles, a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the Kyng and Queenes proceedinges. Unto which his wordes Wattes aunſwered and ſayd.

Wattes wordes to the Lord Rich.

My Lord, if I haue offended a law, I am ſubiect here to the law. The Anthony Browne Iuſtice ſayd vnto him: Wattes, I pray the tell me, who hath bene thy ſchoolemaiſter to teach thee this geare, or where diddeſt thou firſt learne this Religion? Forſooth (quoth Wattes) euen of you Sir: you taught it me, and none more then you. For in King Edwardes dayes in open Seſſions you ſpake agaynſt this Religion now vſed, no preacher more. You thẽ ſayd, the Maſſe was abhominable, and all their trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhoulde beleue therin, and that our beliefe ſhould be onely in Chriſt: and you ſayd then, whoſoeuer ſhould bring in any ſtraunge nation to rule here, it were treaſon and not to be ſuffered.

Syr Anthony Browne a Goſpeller in King Edwards dayes and a perſecutor in Q. Maryes dayes.

Then ſayd Browne to my Lord Rich: he belyes me my Lord. What a knaue is thys? he will ſoone belye me behynd my backe, when he doth it before my face: and my Lorde Rich ſayd agayne, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

After theſe wordes, Wattes toke occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat of K. Philip, and of his comming in: but what it was, I could not iuſtly learne: but this much was heard that after thoſe wordes ſpoken, the Bench among them ſelues ſtoode vp, and ſayd one to an other: treaſon, ſauing one good man called Iuſtice Gaudy, who a litle before was about to ſpeake: but when he heard them crye treaſon he helde downe his head, as one greeued and troubled at their doinges.

Iuſtice Gaudy a good man.

In concluſion, the Commiſſioners beyng wery of him or els not willing to medle further in ſuch high matters, ſent him vp to the Byſhop of London, with their letter withall importing the cauſe of his ſending vp as by the cõtentes thereof here vnder followeth to be ſeene.

¶ A letter ſent by certaine Iuſtices in Eſſex to Boner Byſhop of London.

A letter of the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrell, and other Iuſtices to Boner.

After our moſt harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to aduertyſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmiſford the 26. day of April laſt paſt, there came before vs in open Courte one Thomas Wattes of Billerica within your dioces by ordinary proceſſe, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his pariſh Church, and there to receaue the ſacrament of the aultar, and heare diuine ſeruice, according to the inſtitution of holy Church, he openly there aunſwered generally that like as the ſeruice of the Church ſet out in the dayes of late Kyng Edward ỹ ſixt, was ſayd by vs now to be abominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all nought, ſo he ſayd that all that is now vſed & done in ỹ Churche is abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all nought with diuers other erroneous & arrogant wordes: and therefore we haue thought good to ſende hym to your Lordſhip, to bee further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your paſtorall office ſhall ſeeme conuenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant heretickes ỹ hath bene heard ſpeake, or euer came before you, & not meete to be kept here in any Gaole: aſwell for feare of corrupting others, as for dyuers & ſundry other ſpecial cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leauing to moleſt your good Lordſhip, we commit you to the holy ghoſt. Geuen at Chelmyſforde the xxvij. daye of Apryll. Anno. 1555.

Tho. Wattes ſent vp by the Iuſtices of Eſſex to Byſhop Boner.

Your good Lordſhips moſt aſſured,

R. Rich.
Henry Tirrell.
Antony Browne.
Edmund Tirrell.
T. Myldman.
Iohn Wyſeman.
Roger Appleton.
Richard Weſton.

The names of the Juſtices.

Now when the Byſhop had receiued him, how he vſed him it is eaſye (by his common practiſes with others) to iudge. What his priuate conferences were I know not: but what was publickely done in the Cõſiſtory at Paules (the cõmon Stage for theſe tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

¶ The firſt appearaunce of Thomas Wattes in the Byſhops Conſiſtory.

The firſt appearaunce of Thomas Wattes in the Byſhops Conſiſtory.

First vpon Thurſday, beyng the ſeconde daye of Maye Thomas Wattes was brought thether before the Byſhop of London, and there being examined vpon his wordes had before the Lord Rich and others (as is conteyned in their letters) he did earneſtly affirme the ſame to be true. Whereupon the Byſhop obiected, and examined him vpon theſe Articles folowing, to the which he aunſwered, as vnder may appeare.

¶ Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas Wattes of Byllerica in the County of Eſſex, within the Dioces of London, by Boner Byſhop there, as enſueth.

Articles againſt Tho. Wattes.

1 First that the ſayd Thomas Wattes was of Billerica and ſo of the iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

The ſacramentes of the Church of Rome.

2. Item, that he beleued not in the Sacramentes of the holy and Catholicke church, as the catholicke church of Rome and all other Churches members of the ſame, euer hetherto hath beleued & is taught of all good and faythfull people, nor hath alowed the ſaid ſacramentes, rites, vſages, or ceremonies of the ſaid church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

3. Item, that he beleueth and alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne doe remayne in the Sacrament of the aultar after the conſecration, and that the ſayd materiall bread and wyne are the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body hanged vpon the Croſſe, and of his bloud there ſhed, and that in the ſayd Sacrament there is onely a memory or remembraunce of Chriſtes body and bloud and nothing els.

The preſence in the ſacrament.

4. Item that he beleueth, and doth preciſely affirme, that the very true preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in ſubſtaunce, is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, but onely in heauen, and no where els.

The Maſſe abominable.

5. Itẽ, that he beleueth, affirmeth, & ſayth, ỹ the Maſſe now vſed in the church of Rome here in England, & other places is full of idolatry, abominatiõ, & wickednes, and that Chriſt did neuer inſtitute it, nor ordeyne it, nor yet alow it as a good & laudable thing to be vſed in his Church.

Confeſſion to God.

6. Itẽ, that he beleueth & affirmeth that auricular cõfeſſiõ to be made vnto the Prieſt, is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous: & that it is enough for a mã to beleue onely, & to cõfeſſe him ſelf vnto God, without any prieſt or miniſter, at any tyme, though he may haue the prieſt to confeſſe him vnto.

7. Item, that he beleueth that Luther, Wickleffe, Doct.

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Barnes, and all others that haue holden agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, & ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenaunce of the ſayd opinion, were good men, and faythfull ſeruauntes and Martyrs of Chriſt in ſo beleuyng and dying.

Faſting, praying, and almes deedes.

8. Item, that he hath and doth beleue, that to faſt, pray, or to do almes deedes, is a thyng vtterly vnprofitable: for if a man ſhalbe ſaued, he ſhalbe ſaued without doyng of them: and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not helpe him, or do him any good at all.

Q. Maryes ſeruice reproued.

9. Item, that the ſayd Wattes of late commyng into open Court at the Seſsions before the Lord Riche, Syr Henry Tyrell Knight, Anthony Browne Eſquier, and others, and beyng then and there examined, did openly confeſſe, that he had refuſed to come to the Churche, and to heare there the diuine ſeruice, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, accordyng to the order of the Church: becauſe that lyke as the ſeruice of the Churche ſet out in the dayes of the late kyng Edward ẏ ſixt was ſayd and alledged to be abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and all nought: ſo hee the ſayd Thomas Wattes then and there ſayd openly before the ſayd Commiſsioners, that all that is now vſed and done in the Churche is abhominable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall and all together nought: And that he did alſo then vtter before the ſayd Commiſsioners, other erroneous and arrogaunt wordes, to the hurt of his ſoule, and to the euill example of the people there preſent.

Wattes reputed and iudged for an hereticke.

10. Item, that he the ſayd Thomas, by reaſon of the premiſſes, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and iudged as a manifeſt & open hereticke, and for the ſame, by the order of Eccleſiaſticall lawes is to bee declared accurſed: and beyng obſtinate and incorrigible, is to bee deliuered to the ſeculare power, there to be puniſhed as an hereticke.

The Church of Rome a Sinagoge of Sathan.

11. Item, that hee ouer and beſides all theſe offences, and treſpaſſes aforeſayd, had alſo added this treſpaſſe, that is to wite: that he had beleued and deliberately ſpoken, that the Churche of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, Sacramentes, conſtitutions, and traditions, is the Synagoge of Sathan, and therefore that hee had conſented and agreed in opinion and belief with one Iohn Tooly, of late hanged at Charing Croſſe, who at the tyme of his executyng deſired the people to pray, to bee deliuered from the tyranny of the Byſhop of Rome withall his enormities: as who ſhould ſay, that his authoritie and doynges were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, that the premiſſes and euery parte thereof, be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken, and talked of amongeſt the honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all & ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſayd, and other places there about, beyng of the Dioceſſe of London, there is a common voyce and fame therof.

The aunſwere of the ſayd Thomas Wattes to the foreſayd Articles.

Wattes aunſwereth to the articles.

TO the firſt he ſayd and confeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part therof.

To the ſecond Article, he aunſwered that he beleueth in all the Sacramentes accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, & the Catholicke Churche: but not accordyng to the Byſhop of Romes church: & farther ſayd, that he doth not beleue now as he had done in tymes paſt: for in tyme paſt he beleued as the Church then beleued, but now he doth not ſo beleue: for the Church of Rome had deceaued vs, and therfore he ſayd he dyd not beleue as the Church of Rome beleueth, but as Chriſt hath taught hym: And farther ſayd, that he was ſo taught to beleue by preachyng of one M. Aluey, and other whoſe names he remembred not: which Aluey he ſayd dyd preach the word of God truely and ſincerely.

Tho. Wattes wonne to the Goſpell by M. Aluey.

To the thyrd he aunſwered, that hee hath and doth beleue that Chriſtes body is in heauen and no where els: and farther, that hee will neuer beleue that Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament.

To the fourth Article he aunſwered, confeſſing & firmely beleuyng the ſame to be true.

To the fift, that he did beleue, that the Maſſe is abhominable: and that he will not go one iot from that his belief.

To the vj. that he neither did, nor yet doth beleue that ẏ Prieſt can abſolue hym of his ſinnes: Howbeit, he denieth not but it is good to aſke cõſell at the prieſts mouth.

To the ſeuenth he ſayd, that he knoweth not what the opiniõs of the ſayd perſons named in the ſayd article were: and in caſe the ſayd perſonnes did beleue that the body and bloud of Chriſt were reall and in very deede in the Sacrament of the aultar, then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did beleue, that the body & bloud of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the aultar really and truely, then he beleued that they were good Chriſtian men.

To the eyght, that hee had not ſpoken, as is conteyned in this article, but ſayd, that hee hath and doth beleue that faſting, prayers, & almes deedes be workes of a lyuely fayth.

To the ninth he confeſſed, that he did vtter and ſpeake as in this article is contayned, and farther deſired God that he might dye in that fayth and beliefe, wherein he now is.

To the tenth he aunſwered, and ſayd, that he will ſubmit hymſelfe herein to the order of the law: and farther ſaid that he truſteth that with God he ſhalbe bleſſed, although with men he be accurſed.

The Byſhop of Rome an enemy to Chriſt.

To the eleuenth he ſayd, that he beleued that the biſhop of Rome is a mortall enemye to Chriſt and his Churche. And as for Tooly he ſayd he dyd neuer ſee or know hym: but in caſe the ſayd Tooly dyd wiſhe and pray, as is contayned in the Article, then he dyd lykewyſe wyſh and conſent with hym therein.

To the xij. he aunſwered, that all which before hee confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: and all that he hath denyed to be true, he denyeth agayne to be true, & beleueth the ſame to be accordyng to ſuch thynges as hee hath confeſſed.

By me Tho. Wattes.

¶ An other appearance of Thomas Wattes in the Conſiſtorye.

Tho. Wattes agayne appeareth in the conſiſtory.

THeſe Articles thus propounded and aunſwered, the Byſhop commaunded hym to appeare againe in the ſame place at three of the clocke in the after noone vpon the ſame daye. At which houre being brought thyther by his keeper, the byſhop began wyth hym in thys wyſe: Wattes, you know what I ſayd vnto you to day, and what I appoynted vnto you at this tyme. The tyme is now come: waigh and conſider with your ſelfe, that you are but a man: and albeit that ye will wilfully caſt away your body, yet caſt not ſo away your ſoule, but while ye haue tyme, returne and confeſſe the truth.

The biſhops wordes to Thomas Wattes.

The aunſwere of Wattes.

Whereunto Thomas Wattes aunſwered and ſayd: I am wery to lyue in ſuch Idolatry as ye would haue me to lyue in. Vpon which aunſwere the byſhop cauſed his articles agayne to be read. Hee thereto aunſwered as before, & farther ſubſcribed the ſame with hys owne hand.

¶ An other appearance before Doct. Harpeſfield.

An other appearaunce before D. Harpsfield.

THe Byſhop, after many perſwaſions to cauſe hym to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come agayne on Saterday at eight of the clocke in ẏ morning. Where (the Byſhop being abſent) Doct. Nicholas Harpeſfielde, as then being his deputye, did ſ[illegible] earneſtly exhorted hym to deny his opinions. To whom in the ende he aunſwered.

Wattes ſubmitteth hym to the law, but not to the Popes lawe.

Well, ye haue a law to condemne me, and I ſubmit my ſelfe to the law: but not to the lawes of the Church (as you call it.) And farther I doe affirme, and will ſtand to mine aunſweres that I haue made.

Thomas Wattes priuately appeareth agayne before the Byſhop.

Wherupon D. Harpeſfield willed hym to appeare there againe vpõ Friday being the tenth day of ẏ ſame moneth of May. Vpon which day the Byſhop priuately ſent for the ſayd Thomas Wattes into his chamber, and there wyth many fayre promiſes tempted and tryed hym, whether he would reuoke his errours (as he then termed them.) But Wattes aunſwered hym in thys ſort: I wyll not beleue your Church, neyther the Romiſh Church, and therefore you doe but labour in vayne thus to trauayle with me. He was here vpon agayne diſmiſſed for that tyme, vntyll Fryday the xvij. day of May, and then commaunded to appeare in the Conſiſtory: which commaundement he obeyed, and hauing the accuſtomed former articles miniſtred vnto him, made then ſuch aunſweres as before.

Wattes aunſwere to the Byſhop.

¶ Thomas Wattes brought agayne to the Conſiſtory.

THus being toſt to and fro, from day to day, and houre to houre: he was at the laſt, the xviij. day of the moneth of May, brought into the conſiſtorye, where fyrſt was made a briefe recitall of all the former proceſſe: and there the ſayd Wattes being (by the byſhop and others) willed to denye his profeſſion, made this finall anſwere: God kepe me from the doctrine that ye would haue me come vnto, which ye haue now declared. And I beſeech God that I may perſeuer in that ẏ I haue done, for I wil ſtād to mine anſwers.

The finall anſwere of Thomas Wattes.

The byſhop perceauing his fayre flattering promiſes nothyng to preuayle (and hauing no great ſtore of other reaſons to perſwade wyth) put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument of condemnation. Which being ended, he was delyuered to ẏ Shiriffes of London, and by them was ſent to Newgate, where he remayned vntyll ẏ nynth day of Iune

Sentence of condemnation agaynſt Thomas Wattes.

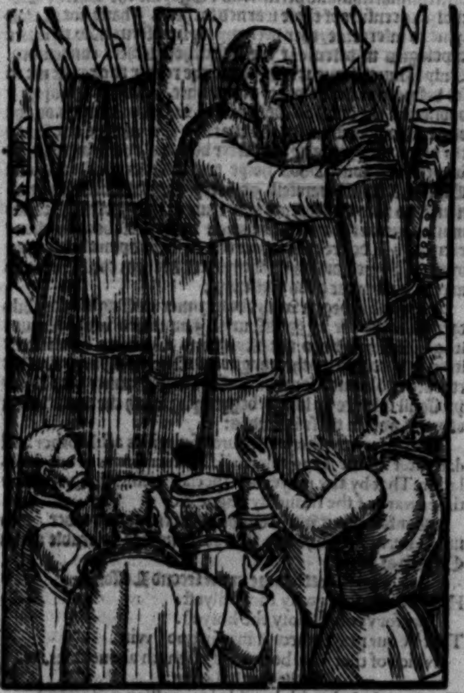
or as ſome recorde, to the. xxj. of May: at what tyme he was caryed vnto Chelmeſford, and there was brought to Scottes houſe keeppyng then an Inne at Chelmeſford, where, as they were eatyng meate with Haukes and the reſt that came downe to their burnyng, they prayed together both afore and after their meate.

The farewel of Thomas Wattes to his wyfe and his children.

Then Wats went and prayed priuately to himſelfe, and afterward came to his wife and his. vj. children being there, and ſayd theſe wordes in effect: Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you. Therfore hence forth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath geuen you vnto me, ſo I geue you agayne vnto the Lord, whom I charge you, ſee you do obey, and feare him: and beware ye turne not to this abhominable Papiſtry, agaynſt the which I ſhall anone (by Gods grace) geue my bloud. Let not the murtheryng of Gods Saintes cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to bee the ſtronger in the Lordes quarell, and I doubt not but he will be a mercyfull father vnto you. All theſe and ſuch lyke wordes ſpake hee vnto them, and they vnto hym, of whom two (as it is ſayd) offered to bee burnt with him. In the ende hee bad them farewell, and kiſſed them all, and was caried to the fire.

¶The burnyng of Thomas Wattes, Martyr.

The Martyrdome of T. Wattes, at Chelmiſford. An. 1555. June 10.



The wordes of Thomas Wattes to the Lord Rich.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my Lord Rich, theſe or the like wordes: My Lord ſayth he, beware, beware, for you do agaynſt your own conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will reuenge it: For you are the cauſe of this my death.

¶Concernyng the childebed of Queene Mary, as it was rumoured among the people.

The childbirth of Q. Mary.

LOng perſwaſiō had bene in England with great expectatiō for the ſpace of halfe a yeare or more, that the Queene was conceiued with child. This report was made by the Queenes Phiſicions, and other nye about the Court: ſo that diuers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And commaundement was geuen that in all Churches ſupplication and Prayers ſhould be made for the Queenes good deliuery: the certificate wherof ye may read before in the letter of the Counſell ſent to Boner. pag. 1405. And alſo the ſame moreouer may appeare by prouiſion made before in the Act of Parliament for the child. pag. 1410.

Rockers, and Nurſes prouided for Queene Maryes childe.

Proceſſions and bonfiers in London for ioy of the younge Prince.

Triumph at Antwarpe for the ſame.

And now for ſomuch as in the begynning of this moneth of June about Whitſontyde, the tyme was thought to bee nigh that this young Maiſter ſhould come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurſes, with the cradle and all were prepared and in a readynes, ſodenly vpon what cauſe or occaſion it is vncertayne, a certaine vayne rumour was blowne in London of the proſperous deliuerance of ẏ queene, and the birthe of the childe: In ſo much that the Bels were rong, Bonfiers and Proceſſions made, not onely in the Citie of London and in moſt other partes of the Realme, but alſo in the Towne of Antwarpe, gunnes were ſhot of vppon the Riuer by the Engliſhe Shyppes, and the Mariners therof rewarded with an hundred Piſtolettes or Italian crownes by the Lady Regent, who was the Queene of Hungarie. Such great reioyſing and triumphe was for the Queenes deliuery, and that there was a prince borne. Yea, diuers Preachers, namely one, the Parſon of S. Anne within Alderſgate, after Proceſſiō and Te Deum ſong, tooke vppon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how fayre, how beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not bene ſene.

In the middeſt of this great adoe, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeake but vppon information) dwellyng within foure myles of Barwicke, that neuer had bene before halfe waye to London, whiche ſayd concernyng the Bonfiers made for Queene Maryes childe: Here is a ioyfull triumphe, but at length all will not proue worth a meſſe of Potage: as in deede it came to paſſe: For in the end all proued cleane contrary, and the ioye and expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the Queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue any child.

Q. Maryes childe would not come.

At this tyme many talked diuerſly: ſome ſayd this rumour of the Queenes conception was ſpread for a policie: ſome other affirmed that ſhe was deceiued by a Tympany or ſome other lyke diſeaſe, to thinke her ſelfe with child, and was not: ſome thought ſhe was with child, and that it did by ſome chaunce miſcary, or els that ſhe was bewitched: but what was the truth therof the Lord knoweth, to whō nothyng is ſecret. One thyng of myne owne hearyng and ſeyng I can not paſſe ouer vnwitneſſed.

What became of Q. Maryes childe no man can tell.

There came to me, whom I did both heare and ſee, one Iſabell Malt, a woman dwellyng in Alderſgate ſtreete in Horne alley, not farre from the houſe where this preſent booke was Printed, who before witnes made this declaration vnto vs, that ſhe beyng deliuered of a manchild vpon Whitſonday in the mornyng, whiche was the xj. day of June, an. 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and an other Lord to her vnknowen, dwellyng then about old Fiſh ſtreete, demaundyng of her if ſhe would part with her child, and would ſweare that ſhe neuer knewe nor had no ſuch childe. Whiche if ſhe would, her ſonne (they ſayd) ſhould be well prouided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with many fayre offers if ſhe would part with the child.

After that came other wom̄e alſo, of whom one ſhe ſayd ſhould haue bene the Rocker, but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her ſonne, who at ẏ writing herof being aliue and called Timothe Malt, was of the age of. xiij. yeares and vpward.

Thus much (I ſay) I heard of the woman her ſelfe. What credite is to bee geuen to her relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the Reader, to beleue it they that liſt: to thē that liſt not, I haue no further warrant to aſſure them.

Ex teſtimonio cuiuſdam puerperæ Londinenſis.

The young Princes cradle.

Among many other greate preparations made for the Queenes deliueraunce of childe, there was a cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, vppon the whiche cradle for the childe appointed, theſe Verſes were written, both in Latin and Engliſh.

Quam Mariæ ſobolem Deus optime ſumme dediſti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The Child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might haſt ſend
To Englandes ioy in health preſerue, keepe and defend.

Verſes vpon the Cradle.

About this tyme there came ouer into England a certaine Engliſhe booke, geuing warnyng to Engliſhe men of the Spanyardes, and diſcloſing certaine cloſe practiſes for recouery of Abbay landes, which booke was called A warnyng for England. Wherof ye ſhall vnderſtand more (God willyng) when we come to the Spaniſhe Inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this booke, vppon the xiij. day of this moneth came out a certaine Proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the Kyng and Queene, repealyng and diſanullyng all maner of bookes written or Printed, what ſoeuer ſhould touche any thyng the impayryng of the Popes dignitie, whereby not onely much godly edification was hyndred: but alſo great perill grew among the people. The copy of which Proclamation here foloweth.

¶A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queene for the reſtraynyng of all bookes and writinges tending againſt the doctrine of the Pope and his Churche.

Of this Acte or ſtatute, read before Pag. 507.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ, & principes conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus Dominum & Chriſtum eius. Pſal. 2.

Good bookes prohibited.

Agaynſt Halles Chronicle.

What adoe is here to keepe downe Chriſt in his ſepulchre, and yet will he ryſe in ſpite of all, hys enemyes.

WHere as by the Statute made in the ſecond yeare of king Henry the fourth concernyng the repreſſing of hereſies, there is ordeined and prouided a great puniſhement, not onely for the authours, makers, and writers of bookes conteinyng wicked doctrine and erroneous and hereticall opinions, contrary to the Catholicke fayth, and determination of the holy Church, and lykewiſe for their fautors and ſupporters, but alſo for ſuch as ſhall haue or keepe any ſuch bookes or writynges, and not make deliuery of them to the Ordinary of the Dioces or his Miniſters, with in a certaine tyme limited in the ſayd Statute, which Acte or Statute beyng by authoritie of Parliament of late reuiued, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the ſubiectes of the realme vpon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the daunger and penaltie of the ſayd Statute, and as yet neuertheles, in moſt partes of the Realme the ſame is neglected, and litle regarded: The Kyng and Queene our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, therefore. &c. ſtraitly charge and commaunde, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bring or conuey, or cauſe to be brought or conueyed into this Realme, any bookes, writynges or workes hereafter mentioned: that is to ſay, any booke or bookes, writynges or workes made or ſet forth by or in the name of Martin Luther, or any booke or bookes, writynges or workes made or ſet forth by or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, Iohn Caluin, Pomerane, Iohn Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melanthon, Bernardinus Ochinus, Eraſmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latymer, Robert Barnes, otherwiſe called Frier Barnes, Iohn Bale, otherwiſe called Frier Bale, Iuſtus Ionas, Iohn Hoper, Myles Couerdall, William Tyndall, Thomas Cranmer late Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, William Turner, Theodore Baſill, otherwiſe called Thomas Beacon, Iohn Frith, Roy, and the booke commonly called Halles Chronicle, or any of them, in the Latine toung, Dutch toung, Engliſh toung, Italian toung, or French toung, or any other like booke, paper, writyng or worke, made, printed, or ſet forth, by any other perſon or perſons, conteinyng falſe doctrine contrary, and agaynſt the Catholicke fayth, and the doctrine of the Catholicke Church: And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, print, vtter, ſell, read, or keepe, or cauſe to bee writte, printed, vttered, read, or kept any of the ſayd bookes, papers workes or writynges, or any booke or bookes written or printed in the Latin or Engliſh toung, concerning the common ſeruice and adminiſtration ſet forth in Engliſhe to be vſed in the Churches of this Realme, in the tyme of kyng Edward the ſixt, commonly called the Communion booke or booke of common ſeruice and orderyng of Miniſters, otherwiſe called The booke ſet forth by authority of Parliament, for common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, to be vſed in the mother toung within the Church of England, but ſhall within the ſpace of xv. dayes next after the publication of this Proclamation, bryng or deliuer, or cauſe the ſayd bookes, writynges, and workes, and euery of them remainyng in their cuſtodies & keepyng, to be brought and deliuered to the Ordinary of the Dioceſſe, where ſuch bookes, workes, or writinges be or remaine: or to his Chaũcellour or Commiſſaries, without fraude, coulour, or deceite, at the ſayd Ordinaries will & diſpoſition, to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be vſed or ordered by the ſayd Ordinaries, as by the Canons and ſpirituall lawes it is in that caſe limitted and appointed, vpon payne that euery offender contrary to this Proclamation, ſhall incurre the daunger and penalties contayned in the ſayd Statute, and as they will auoyde their Maieſties high indignation and diſpleaſure, and further aunſwere at their vttermoſt perils.

The power of this world ſet agaynſt Chriſt.

And their Maieſties by this Proclamation geue full power and authoritie to all Byſhops and Ordinaries, and all Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bayliffes of Cities and Townes corporate, and other head Officers within this Realme and the dominions thereof, and expreſly commaundeth and willeth the ſame and euery of them, that they and euery of them within their ſeuerall limites and iuriſdictions, ſhall in the default and negligence of the ſayd Subiectes, after the ſayd fiftene dayes expired, enquire and ſearche out the ſayd bookes, writynges, and workes, and for this purpoſe enter into the houſe or houſes, cloſettes, and ſecrete places of euery perſon, of what ſoeuer degree, beyng negligent in this behalfe, and ſuſpected to keepe any ſuch booke, writyng, or workes, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the ſayd Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other head Officers aboue ſpecified, and euery of them within their ſayd limites and iuriſdictions, findyng any of the ſayd ſubiectes negligent and faulty in this behalfe, ſhall commit euery ſuch offender to Ward, there to remaine without bayle or maynpriſe, till the ſame offender or offenders haue receiued ſuch puniſhment, as the ſayd Statute doth limite and appoint in this behalfe. Geuen vnder our Signes Manuell, at our Honor of Hampton court, the. xiij. daye of Iune, the fyrſt and ſecond yeares of our raignes.

¶ Imprinted by Iohn Cawod. Anno. 1555.

This booke called a warnyng for England, looke for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the Spaniſh Inquiſition. Articles to be inquired vpon.

¶ Articles to be enquired vppon by the wardons of euery, company, touching ſeditious bookes, eſpecially touching the booke called A warning for England.

1. Whether they haue ſene any of the foreſayd bookes.
2. Whether they haue heard of any of the ſayd bookes.
3. Where they were, and in what place they haue ſene thẽ.
4. Whom they know to haue latly come frõ beyond the ſea, eſpecially from Zurike, Strauſbrough, Frankforde, Wezel Emden, and Diſburge.
5. Whom they know, or vehemently ſuſpect to be common cariers of letters or money thether from hence.
6. That they bryng to my Lord Maior all ſuch ſeditious bookes as they haue, or ſhall haue found hereafter.

The contentes of a Popiſh Primer ſet forth in Queene Maryes tyme.

The bookes of the Proteſtantes to be weyed with the bookes of the Papiſtes.

In this proclamation thou haſt heard (Chriſtian reader) the profound and learned cenſure of the Catholyke Church of England, what bookes they miſlike and reiect as hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, and pernicious. Agaynſt the whiche Catholyke cenſure of theſe learned fathers, I haue not at this tyme to inferre: neyther doth my layſure ſerue now to write Apologies in defenſe of theſe Authours here condemned. Only ſo much leaue it may pleaſe the reader to graunt me to ſet before him here a payre of balaunce, wherein to waygh ÿ bookes on the one ſide condemned, with the bookes on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we weyng the one wyth the other, may diſcerne the better betwene them, which part ſweyeth beſt with Gods holye truth and true Catholicke Church agaynſt manifeſt Idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therfore, as they haue in thys preſent Proclamation geuen their condemnation vpon their bookes aboue recited, ſo I deſire the to geue thy cenſure vpon their bokes by them alowed, and vpon the matter in them conteined, and marke well what good ſtuffe it is.

The Primer ſet forth in Q. Maryes tyme, printed by Iohn Wayland.

And fyrſt to begyn with the Primer in Engliſh for children after the vſe of Saliſbury, Imprinted with Priuiledge accordyng vnto the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties letters patentes in the raygne of Queene Mary. Let vs repeate and ſuruey ſome part of the ſayd Primer (for to expreſſe all it were to long) beginnyng with the fyrſt leſſon of our Lady, in theſe wordes:

Holy Mary: mother moſt pure of virgines all: Mother and daughter of the kyng celeſtiall: [illegible] comfort vs in our deſolation: That by thy prayer and ſpeciall meditation, we enioy the reward of the heauenly reigne. &c.

Conferre this with the Scriptures, good reader, and iudge vprightly whether this doctrine bee tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary of all godly the godlyeſt.
Pray for vs of all holy the holyeſt.
That he our prayers accept may in good wiſe.
which of thee was borne and reigneth aboue ſkies. &c.

In the third Leſſon.

Thy ſonne beſech with humble interceſſion,
To purge vs cleane of our Tranſgreſſion,
That ſo beyng redemed we may the place aſcende
where thou dwelleſt with him world without end.

The Verſicle.

One mediatour betwene God and men, the man Ieſus Chriſt.

Falſe merits.

Pray for the people, entreat for the Clergie, make interceſſion for the deuout womankynd, let all feele thy helpe that worthely ſolemniſe thy memoriall. &c.

Another Verſicle.

Holy mother of God make thy petition, that we may deſerue Chriſtes promiſſion. &c.

And in the Antheme after Benedictus, thus it foloweth.

We beſech thee of thy pitie to haue vs in remembraũce, and to make meanes for vs vnto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy helpe, may deſerue to attayne the kyngdõe of heauẽ.

Wrong mediation.

Furthermore in the Collect after it foloweth.

And graunt that through the gracious interceſſion of the virgine thy mother, we may bee deliuered from this preſent heuynes, and haue the fruition of eternall gladnes.

Idolatrye to the materiall Croſſe.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſayd Primer thus, concernyng the materiall Croſſe.

O God whiche haſte aſcended thy moſt holy Croſſe, and haſt giuen lyght to the darkenes of the world, vouchſafe by the vertue of thy Croſſe: to illumine, viſite, and comfort both our hartes and bodies. &c.

Moreouer in ÿ name of S. Iohn Baptiſt thus it prayeth.

Let no man glory in any man, for all thynges are yours. &c. 1. Cor. 3.

1555. June.

O Lord defend vs alway through the continuall ſuccors of S.Iohn Baptiſt. For the more fraile we be, the more nede we haue to be relieued with neceſſary prayers. &c.

In which wordes note (good reader) not only the abſurditie of doctrine, but alſo the ſtoliditie of the reaſon. For where their doctrine pretendeth that ſaint Iohn Baptiſt ſhould pray for vs, here we pray to God for ſ. Iohn Baptiſt, that he wyl heare his prayer praying for vs. It foloweth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul.

What is Paule, What is Apollo, but the ſeruauntes of hym on vvhom you beleue? 1 Cor. 3.

Heare vs mercyfully, and graunt that through the merites of them both we maye obtaine the glorye euerlaſtyng. &c.

And of ſaint Andrewe.

So let hym (O Lord) be a continuall petitioner for vs to thee. &c.

Of ſaint Laurence thus.

S.Laurence the Deacon did worke a good worke. For by the vertue of the holy croſſe he gaue ſight to the blind. &c.

And howe can this be true, when the holy Croſſe was not yet found in the time of ſ. Laurence. For Helen which firſt found the Croſſe (as they ſay) came after ſ. Laurence more then fourty yeares.

Horrible blaſphemy and derogation to Chriſtes bloud. Falſe miracles.

To Tho. Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

By the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Make vs Chriſt to clime, whither Thomas did aſcend.

Of ſaint Nicholas.

O God which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas thy holy Biſhop with innumerable myracles, graunt we beſech thee, that by his merites and prayers we may be deliuered from the fire of hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Graunt we beſeeche thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for vs the bliſſe euerlaſting. &c.

An other prayer of our Lady.

The dolorous compaſſion of Gods ſweete mother,
Bring vs to the bliſſe of almighty God the father. &c.

An other prayer in the ſaid Primer to our Lady.

The office of Chriſt geuen to our Lady.

Eſtabliſh vs in peace and tranquilitie,
And chaunge the name of ſinfull Eua:
Looſe thy priſoners from captiuitie,
Vnto the blinde geue ſight againe.
Deliuer vs from malignitie,
To the ende we may ſome grace attaine.
Shewe thy ſelfe to be a mother:
So that he accept our petition.
Deliuer vs from bondage of ſinne. &c.

Item.

Holy mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weake ſpirited, geue courage to the deſperate, pray for the people, make interceſſion for the Clergie, and be a meane for the deuout womankind, &ct.

An other blaſphemous prayer.

Blaſphemy.

O thou meeke mother haue mercy therfore,
On wretches, for whom thou haddeſt theſe paines al,
Seeing thy ſonne that vine cluſter preſſed ſore,
And from the peſtilence of death eternall,
Keepe vs by voyding the feend infernall,
And ioyne vs with them which rewarded be,
With eternal life, ſeeing the Deitie.

An other blaſphemie in the ſaid Primer.

Idolatrye.

Haile Queene mother of mercye, our life, our ſweetnes, our hope. Vnto thee do we crie and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come of therfore our Patroneſſe, caſt vpon vs thy pitiful eyes, and after this our baniſhment ſhewe to vs the bleſſed fruite of thy wombe. O gate of glorye be for vs a reconciliatiō vnto the father and the ſonne. From the wretched their faultes expell: wipe the ſpottes of ſinnes vncleane. &c.

Item to our Lady.

The fruite of thy wombe euerlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſeruing. &c.

Item.

If Maryes merites might helpe vs, then Chriſt dyed in vayne.

Graunt we beſech thee, that by her merites and prayers we may attaine to that vnſpeakeable ioy, wher as ſhe being aſſumpt, doth now enioy with thee in heauen for euer. &c.

Like Primer, like Pſalter.

And thus much hitherto of this catholike Primer, called our Ladyes Mattens, wherunto if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adioyne our Ladyes Pſalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they haue ſeene what bookes theſe Catholike fathers haue condemned and do condemne for heretical: ſo the ſame may alſo ſee & iudge what bookes on the other ſide they approue as lawfull and Catholike. And for as muche as it is not knowen peraduenture to all men, what our Ladies Pſalter is, or what it meaneth: yea & ſome peraduenture wyll denie any ſuch booke of our Ladyes Pſalter to be written or approued, here therfore we wyll firſt produce the name of the author, who was Bonauenture a Seraphical doctor, biſhop alſo & Cardinal, canoniſed moreouer by Pope Sixtus. 4. an. 1482. for a Saint in the Calendar, who in his booke thus entituled in Latine: Incipit Pſalterium beatæ virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctū Bonauenturam Epiſcopum Albanenſem, necnon ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Præsbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis. &c. Fol. 84. in the ſecond part of his whole workes (whiche were imprinted at Argentine. an. 1495.) to ſhew hym ſelfe a deuout ſeruant to his Lady, hath take euery Pſalme of Dauids Pſalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to almighty God) and hath in diuers of the ſaid Pſalmes & verſes put out the name of the Lord, & hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Pſalmes & euery one of them, it is nowe called our Ladyes Pſalter, vſed to be ſong and ſaid in the prayſe and ſeruice of our Lady. A briefe taſt wherof for examples ſake (for to ſhewe all it were too long) we thought here to exhibite vnto the reader, in order as foloweth.

Bonauenture compiler of our Ladyes Pſalter.

This Bonauenture liued. an. 1170. And was Canoniſed. an. 1482.

¶ The title in Engliſh of this Pſalter.

☞ Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgine, made by the Seraphicall Doctour ſaint Bonauenture, the Biſhop of Albane, and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome. &c.

The title of the booke called our Ladyes Pſalter.

The booke called our Ladyes Pſalter. Ex 2. parte operum, S. Bonauenturæ.

1 Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum Maria virgo, gratia tua animam eius confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum vberrimum in eo fructum iuſticiæ propagabis. &c. Vniuerſas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis: ſuperas Angelos & Archangelos excellentia ſanctitatis. Miſericordia tua et gratia vbique predicatur. &c. Gloria patri. etc.

That is to ſay.

Blessed is the man which vnderſtandeth thy name, O Virgine Mary: thy grace ſhall comfort his ſoule. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him ẏ moſt plentifull fruite of iuſtice, beyng watered as it were, with fountaines of water. Al women thou paſſeſt in ẏ beautie of thy body, all Aungelles and Archaungelles in ẏ excellencie of thy holynes. Thy mercye and thy grace is magnified euery where. &c. Glory be to the father. &c.

Our Ladyes beautye.

2 Quare fremuerunt inimici noſtri et aduerſum nos meditati ſunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua Mater Dei vt acies terribiliter confundens et deſtruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis et tribulati eſtis, et dabit refrigerium animabus veſtris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus veſtris, et ſtabiliet vos ſerenitas vultus eius. Benedicite illam in toto corde veſtro, miſericordia enim illius plena eſt terra. etc. Gloria patri. etc.

Why do our enemies freat and imagine vaine thinges agaynſt vs? Let thy right hand defend vs O mother of god, terribly confounding & deſtroying them as a ſword. Come vnto her al ye that labor and are troubled, and ſhe wyl geue reſt vnto your ſoules. Come vnto her in your temptations, and her louing countenance ſhal ſtabliſhe and comfort you. Bleſſe her with all your harte: for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the father.

Treaſon agaynſt Chriſtes perſon and dignitie.

3 Domina quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulāt me? In tempeſtate tua perſequeris et diſſipabis eos. Diſſolue colligationes impietatis noſtræ: tolle faſciculos peccatorum noſtrorū. Miſerere mei Domina et ſana infirmitatem meam: tolle dolorem et anguſtiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, et in die mortis meæ conforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis, et ſpiritum meum redde factori meo.

Why are they ſo many O Ladye that trouble me? In thy furie thou ſhalt perſecute & deſtroy the. Looſe ẏ bonds of our impietie, and take away the burthen of our ſinnes. Haue mercy vppon me, O Lady, and heale my infirmitie. Take away my ſorow & ẏ anguiſh of my hart. Deliuer me not into the handes of myne enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my ſoule. Bring me vnto the hauen of ſaluation, and reſtore my ſpirite vnto my maker and creator. Glory be to the father.

Blaſphemous Idolatrye.

4 Cum inuocarem, exaudiſti me Domina, et ē ſublimi ſolio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad eſcam et de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniā benigna eſt miſericordia et pietas tua in omnes, qui inuocant nomen ſanctum tuum. Benedicta ſis Domina in æternum, et maieſtas tua in ſeculum. Glorificate eam omnes gentes. etc.

When I called to thee, thou heardeſt me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou diddeſt vouchſafe to thinke vppon me. From the roaryng of them that prepare themſelues to deuoure me, and out of the hands of ſuch as ſeeke after my life, thy grace ſhall deliuer me: Becauſe thy mer-

Falſe fayth.

1555. Iune.

cye and thy pitie are greate towardes all them that call vpon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou O Lady for euer, and thy maieſtie for euer and euer. Glorifie her all nations of the earth. &c.

5 Verba mea auribus percipe Domina. etc. Conuerte luctum noſtrum in gaudium, et tribulationem noſtram in iubilationem. Corruant ante pedes noſtros inimici noſtri: virtute tua eorum capita conterantur. &c.

Heare my wordes O Lady. &c. Turne our mourning into gladnes, and our trouble into reioyſing. Let our enemies fal before our feet, & with thy power daſh their heads in peeces.

Derogation of the Croſſe of Chriſt.

6 Domina ne in furore dei ſinas corripi me, neq; in ira eius iudicari, etc. De porta inferi et de ventre abyſſi tuis ſanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis ianuæ ſempiternæ, vt enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno ſunt, laudabūt te domina, ſed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt.

O Lady ſuffer me not to be rebuked in Gods anger, nor to be chaſtened in his heauie diſpleaſure. &c. From the gate and deepe pyt of hell with thy holy prayers deliuer vs. Let the euerlaſtyng gates be opened, that wee may ſhewe forth thy marueylous worckes for euer. Becauſe the dead: nor they that be in hel ſhal not prayſe the O Lady, but they that ſhall obtayne by thy grace lyfe euerlaſtyng.

7. Domina mea in te ſperaui, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, & labia perſequentium conſtringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis miſericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat ſuper nos, vt ſeruetur conſcientia noſtra apud altiſſimum. Si perſequitur inimicus animam meam Domina, adiutorio tuo comforter, ne vibret gladium ſuum contra me.

Vayne truſt.

O my Lady in the do I put my truſt: deliuer me from myne enemies O Lady. Stoppe the mouth of the Lyon, and bynde the lyppes of the perſecutors. Make no taryng for thy names ſake, to ſhewe thy mercy vppon mee. Let the brightnes of thy countenance ſhyne vppon vs that our conſcience may bee ſaued before the moſt hygheſt. If the enemy do perſecute my ſoule O Lady, helpe me that he deſtroy me not.

Wrong inuocation.

Manifeſt idolatrye.

9. Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam &c. Inueniant gratiam per te inuentricem gratiæ & ſalutis: Reſpirant ad indulgentiam humiles pœnitentes: ſana contritiones cordis eorū. &c.

I will geue thankes to the O Lady with my * whole hart, and will ſhew foorth amongeſt the nations thy prayſe & glory. &c. They ſhall fynde grace through thee, the finder out of grace and ſaluation, the humble and penitent grone for pardon and forgeuenes, heale thou thee ſores of theyr hart. &c.

* Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God vvith thy vvhole hart, vvith all thy ſtrength and povver &c. Deut. 6.

11. In Domina confido. &c. Exquirite illam a iuuentute veſtra & glorificabit vos. &c. Miſericordia illius noſtrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & fœcunditatem nobis cōferat meritorum. &c.

In the O Lady do I put my truſt. &c. Seeke her euen from your youth: and ſhe ſhall glorify you. &c. Her mercy ye take from vs the multitude of our ſinnes, and giue vnto vs plenteouſnes of merites. &c.

Derogation of Chriſtes paſſion.

12. Saluum me fac mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clemētiæ. &c. Gyrum terræ ſola circuis, vt ſubuenias inuocantibus te. &c.

Saue me O mother of Loue, and fountayne of mercye. &c. Thou thy ſelfe alone haſt gone about the compaſſe of the earth to helpe them that call vpon thee. &c.

13. Vſquequo Domina obliuiſceris me, & non liberas me in die tribulationis? vſquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus ſuper me? potentia virtutis tuæ contere Ipſum. &c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inuentricem, per quam ſæcula reparantur. &c.

How long doeſt thou forget me O Ladye, and doeſt not deliuer me in the day of my trouble? Howe long ſhall myne enemye triumph ouer me? With thy mighty power deſtroy him. &c. We magnifie thee the fynder & the author of grace, by whom the world is repayred. &c.

16. Conſerua me Domina, quoniam ſperaui in te. &c. Benedicta ſint vbera tua, quibus * lacte deifico ſaluatorem enutriſti. &c.

* Of the making God.

Preſerue me O Lady for in thee haue I put my truſt. &c. Bleſſed bee thy breſtes which with thy deifying milke diddeſt nouriſh the Sauiour. &c.

Yea rather bleſſed be they which heare the word of God and keepe it.

18. Diligam te Domina cœli & terræ: in gentibus nomen tuum inuocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos contra inimicos veſtros. &c. Religioſi omnes honorate illam, quia ipſa eſt adiutrix veſtra & ſpecialis aduocata. Eſto refrigerium noſtrum glorioſa mater Chriſti, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

I will loue thee O Ladye of heauen and earth: I will call vppon thy name among the nations. Confeſſe your ſelues vnto her ye that are troubled in hart, and ſhee ſhall ſtrengthen you agaynſt your enemies. &c. All ye Cloyſterers honour her, for ſhee is your helper and ſpeciall Aduocate. Be thou our refreſhyng and reſt, for thou art the marueilous foundation of all religion.

Idolatrye of the cloyſterers.

20. Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis. &c. Ne proiicias nos in tempore mortis noſtræ, ſed ſuccurre animæ, cum deſeruerit corpus ſuum. Mitte Angleum in occurſum eius per quem ab hoſtibus defendatur. &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Heare vs O Ladye in the day of trouble. &c. Caſt vs not away in the tyme of our death, but ſuccour our ſoule when it forſaketh the body. Send an Angell to meete it that it may be defended from the enemies. &c. In tormentes and paynes let it feele thy comfort, and graunt to it a place among the electes of God.

25. Ad te Domina leuaui animam. &c. Non præualeant aduerſū me laquei mortis &c. Ductrix mea eſto ad patriā, & me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare.

To the O Lady do I lift vp my ſoule. &c. Let not the ſnares of death preuayle agaynſt me &c. Bee thou my guide to the heauenly reſt, and to the company of Angels aſſociate me.

36. Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperaui in te, non infirmabor. &c.

*. Iudge thou me O Lady, for I am fallen from myne innocency: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therefore I ſhall not fall. &c.

* All iudgement is geuen to Chriſt alone, and before hym the vergin alſo her ſelfe ſhall be iudged.

27. Domina illuminatio mea ſit ſplendor faciei tuæ. &c. Serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ. &c.

O Lady let the brightnes of thy face be my light, and let the clearenes of thy grace ſhyne vnto my mynde. &c.

28. Ad te Domina clamabo &c. Miſerere mei in die anguſtiæ meæ, & in luce veritatis tuæ libera me.

To thee O Lady will I crye &c. Haue mercy vppon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliuer me. &c.

31 In te Domina ſperaui, non confundar in æternum, in gloria tua ſuſcipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea et refugium meum: conſolatio mea et protectio mea &c. Educas me de laqueo, quem abſconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo ſpiritum meum.

In thee O Ladye doe I put my truſt: let me not be cōfounded for euer: in thy glory receaue me. Thou art my ſtrength and my refuge: my conſolation and protection, &c. Deliuer me from the ſnare that they haue layd for me becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy handes I commende my ſpirite. &c.

If our Lady be all in all then God be lyke ſitteth idle in heauen.

34. Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore &c. In periculis, in rebus dubijs inuocate eam, & in neceſſitatibus inuenietis auxilium &c. Sumite exemplum conuerſationis eius & emulamini ſtudia humilitatis eius, Quia ergo Domina humillima fuiſti, verbū increatū ex te carnē ſuſcipere coegiſti.

I will alwayes prayſe our Ladye &c. In perilles, in aduerſitie call vppon her and in tyme of neede ye ſhall finde ſuccour. Let her conuerſation be an example vnto you, and follow the vertue of her humilitie. Becauſe therefore, O Lady thou waſt humbly and lowly, thou didſt compell the worde increate to take fleſh of thee.

Horrible blaſphemy agaynſt the Lord.

36 Dixit iniuſtus &c. A malo propoſito diſcedat mater Dei. Inclina vultum Dei ſuper nos: Coge illū peccatoribus miſereri &c. Benedictum ſit imperium tuum ſuper cœlos: benedicta ſit magnificentia tua ſuper terram.

The wicked man ſayed &c. Let him departe from hys euyll purpoſe O mother of God turne the countenance of God towardes vs: * Compell hym to be mercifull vnto ſinners. Bleſſed be thy Impery and dominion in heauen, & bleſſed be thy magnificence vppon the earth.

* O impious blaſphemye.

45 Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum Domina &c. Per tuam ſanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur. &c.

My hart is inditing a new matter O Ladye. &c. By thy holynes let my ſinnes be purged: by thy integritye let me obtayne incorruption. &c.

If Mary ſo geue ſinnes, then is our fayth in Chriſt in vayne.

47 Omnes gentes plaudite manibus &c. Quoniam ipſa eſt porta vitæ, ianua ſalutis, & vitæ noſtræ reconciliatrix: ſpes pœnitentium, ſolamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atq; ſalus. Miſerere mei Domina, miſerere mei, quia tu es lux & ſpes omnium confidentium in te &c.

Clap your handes all ye people, &c. For ſhee is ye gate of lyfe: the doore of ſaluation: the reconciler of our lyfe: the hope of the penitent: the comfort of the ſorrowfull: the bleſſed peace of hartes, and ſaluation. Haue mercy vpon me O Lady, haue mercy vpon me, for thou art the light and hope of all that put their truſt in thee.

These wordes ſtinke of blaſphemous Idolatrye.

51 Miſerere mei Domina, quæ mater miſericordiæ nūcuparis. Et ſecundum viſcera miſerationum tuarū munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. &c.

Haue mercy vppon mee O Ladye which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compaſſion clenſe me from myne iniquities.

54. Domina in Nomine tuo ſaluum me fac, & ab iniuſticijs meis libera me.&c.

The Croſſe of Chriſt euacuate.

O Lady in thy name ſaue me, and from mine vnrighteouſnes deliuer me.&c.

70. Domina in adiutorium meum intende &c. Miſerere ſeruorum tuorum ſuper quos inuocatum eſt nomen tuum.&c.

Make haſt O Lady to helpe me.&c. Haue mercy on thy ſeruauntes, vpon whom thy name is inuocated.&c.

71. In te Domina ſperaui, non confundar in æternum, in tua miſericordia libera me.&c.

Blynd truſt.

In the Lady haue I put my truſt: let me not be confounded for euer, in thy mercye deliuer me.&c.

79. Domina venerunt gentes in hæreditatē Dei quas tu meritis tuis Chriſto confederaſti.&c.

O Lady the Gentiles are come into the inheritaunce of God, whome thou dyddeſt ioyne vnto Chriſt by thy merites.&c.

80. Qui regis Iſraell &c. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur & omnis ſalus de corde illius ſcaturizat.

Gods honor derogated.

Thou that ruleſt Iſrael.&c. The ſauiour of lyfe commeth from her and all health floweth out of her hart.&c.

Falſe truſt.

91. Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei in protectione ipſius commorabitur &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis veſtris & flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo veſtro. Fructus gratiæ inueniet qui ſperauerit in illa: porta paradiſi reſerabitur ei.

Who ſo dwelleth in the helpe of the mother of God, ſhall dwell in the ſhadow of her protection, &c. Cry vnto her in your daungers, and the ſcourge ſhall not come neare your tabernacle. The fruit of Grace ſhall bee to hym who ſo truſteth in her, and the gate of Paradiſe ſhall bee open to hym.

95. Venite exultemus Dominæ noſtræ,&c. Suſcipe in fine animas noſtras, & introduc nos in requiem æternam.&c.

Come, let vs reioyſe to our Ladye, &c. Receyue our ſoules at our laſt ende, and bryng them into euerlaſtyng reſt.&c.

Abominable blaſpemy.

105. Confitemini Dominæ noſtræ, & inuocate nomen eius &c. Salus ſempiterna in manu tua, Domina &c.

Prayſe our Lady, and call vpon her name,&c. Euerlaſtyng ſaluation is in thy hand O Lady,&c.

110. Dixit Dominus Dominæ noſtræ, ſede mater mea a dextris meis.&c.

The Deuill and the Pope ſayth ſo and not God.

The Lorde ſayd vnto our Ladye: ſyt here my mother on my ryght hand.&c.

114. In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina & ſuſcipe eam.&c. Eſto illi ſcala ad regnum cœlorum & iter rectum ad paradiſum Dei.&c.

In the paſſyng of my ſoule out of this world come and meete it O Lady, and receiue it.&c. Bee to it a ladder vnto the kyngdome of heauen, and a right way to the Paradiſe of God.&c.

* Blaſphemy

119. Miſerationibus tuis plena eſt terra, ideo viam iuſtificationum tuarum exquiſiui. &c. Concupiſcam in æternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me * iuſtificationes tuas.&c.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will ſearch out the way of thy iuſtifications.&c. I will couet for euer to praiſe the O Lady, when thou ſhalt teach me thy iuſtifications.&c.

Blaſphemy.

125. Qui confidunt in te mater Dei, non timebunt a facie inimici. &c.

They that put their truſt in the O mother of God, ſhall not be a feard of the face of their enemy.&c.

* Blaſphemy

127. * Niſi Domina ædificauerit domum cordis noſtri, non permanebit ædificium eius.

Except our Ladye ſhall builde the houſe of our hart, the buildyng therof ſhall not continue.&c.

128. Beati omnes qui timent Dominā noſtram, & beati omnes qui ſciunt facere voluntatem tuam.&c.

Bleſſed is euery one that feareth our Ladye, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her will.&c.

* Idolatrous inuocation.

130. * De profundis clamaui ad te Domina, Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes.&c.

Out of the deepe I haue called vnto thee O Ladye, O Lady heare my voyce.&c.

132. Memento Domina Dauid & omniū inuocantium nomē tuum.&c.

O Lady remember Dauid, and all them that call vppon thy name.&c.

* Falſe truſt.

134. Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam omnes qui * ſperatis in nomine ſancto eius.&c.

Behold and bleſſe now our Lady al ye that put your truſt in her holy name.

Blaſphemy.

136. Super flumina Babylonis.&c. Non inuenietur propitiatio ſine illa.&c.

At the fluddes of Babilon. &c. There is no propitiatiō to be found without her.&c.

Gods off[illegible] poynted to [illegible] Ladye.

140. Eripe me Domina ab omni malo, & ab hoſte inferni defende me.&c.

Deliuer me O Ladye from all euill, and from the infernall enemy defend me.&c.

145. Oculi noſtri ſperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & eſcam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquitur lingua mea & benedicam te in ſeculum ſeculi.

Our eyes looke vp and truſt in thee: do thou ſende vs meate and foode conuenient.&c. My tounge ſhall ſpeake thy prayſe, and ſhall bleſſe thee for euer.

Idolatry.

148. Lauda Hieruſalem Dominam, glorifica illam etiam ô Sion. Ipſa enim conſtruit muros tuos & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia ſua te impinguat, pacemq; donat terminis tuis.

Prayſe thou our Lady O Hieruſalem, and glorifie her alſo O thou Sion, for ſhe buildeth vp thy walles, and bleſſeth thy children: her grace maketh thee fat, and geueth peace vnto thy coaſtes.&c.

I could alſo recite other thinges moe of lyke blaſphemy folowyng immediatly after this Pſalter of our Lady, in the Seraphicall doctor aforeſayd, as theſe.

Horrible blaſphemy.

Ecce Domina Saluatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, & non timebo.&c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu.&c. Et facta es mihi in ſalutem. i. Behold O Lady my Sauiour I will be bold in the, and will not feare.&c. Becauſe thou art my ſtrength.&c. And art become my ſaluation.&c.

Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem dominus Deus tuus. i. Reioyce O all mankynd, becauſe the Lorde thy God hath geuen vnto thee ſuch a Mediatrix.&c.

Blaſphe

Confitebor tibi domina, quia abſcondiſti hæc a ſapientibus, & reuelaſti ea paruulis. i. I wyll confeſſe to the O Lady, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe thinges from the wiſe, and haſt reueled thē to the litle ones.&c.

The ſcripture abuſed.

Generatio praua atq; peruerſa agnoſce Dominā noſtram ſaluatricem tuam. Nunquid ipſa eſt mater tua quæ poſſidet te & in fide generauit te? i. O thou wicked and peruiſh generation knowledge our Ladye thy Sauiour. Is not ſhee the mother that hath poſſeſſed the and in fayth hath begotten thee?

Curſed blaſphemye.

O benedicta in manibus tuis repoſita eſt noſtra ſalus. i. O thou bleſſed, in thy handes is layed vp our ſaluation &c.

In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœleſtium, &c. In thy name let euery knee bend, in heauen and earth and in hell.

Quemadmodum infans ſine nutrice non poteſt viuere: ita nec ſine Domina noſtra poſſes habere ſalutem. i. Lyke as the infant can not lyue without the nource, ſo neither canſt thou haue ſaluation without our Lady.

Quicunque vult ſaluus eſſe ante omnia opus eſt vt teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam niſi quiſq; integram inuiolatamque ſeruauerit, abſq; dubio in æternum peribit. i. Who ſo will be ſaued, before all thinges hee muſt neede holde his beliefe of our Lady, which beliefe, vnleſſe euery one ſhal hold perfect & ſound, ſhall periſh without doubt for euer.

Blaſphemy.

The Roſary or Garland of our Lady called Corona beatæ Mariæ.

Moreouer after theſe ſo horrible thinges and vntolerable to be heard, conſequently in the next tractation foloweth the Roſary or Garland of our Lady compiled by the ſaid Saint Bonauenture: wherin theſe wordes are to be read, as foloweth: O Mediatrix betwene God and man, the Lord hath worthely magnified thee, that thou onely ſhouldeſt conceaue his ſonne.&c. Wherefore O good Mary our mediatrix mother of Grace, and mother of mercy.&c. And moreouer within few lynes it foloweth in theſe wordes. Therefore O our Empreſſe & Lady moſt bountifull, by the authority of a mother commaund, commaund (I ſay) thy welbeloued ſonne that hee will ſtirre vp our mindes from the loue of worldely thynges, to heauenly deſires.&c.

Mary made a commaunder of Chriſt.

Item, O the Aduocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy ſeruauntes be directed to thee.&c.

To theſe premiſſes I might alſo adioyne the horrible and moſt blaſphemous wordes of the ſayd Bonauenture in the ſayd booke, Fol. 100. page. 2. col. 1. whiche I beſeche the to read and note. Quæ maior bonitas quàm quod Chriſtus. &c. i. What greater goodnes can be, then that Chriſt is content to be captiue vpon the alter.

Wherupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of Ieremy ſaying. Behold, I am in your handes, do with me as you ſee good.&c. Where note (ſayth hee) that when any Duke or Prince is taken priſoner for his ſubiectes, he is not let go before he pay ſome great ſumme of monye for his raunſome: Euen ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our handes beyng our priſoner and captiue, except he graunt vnto vs remiſſion of our ſinnes and his heauenly kyngdome. The prieſt therfore lyfteth vp the body of Chriſt vppon the aulter: as though

Chriſt made a captiue and a priſoner in the Popes Church.

though he ſayd thus:behold him, whom the whole world is not able to cōprehēd: he is holdē here our captiue:wherfore let vs hold him faſt,and not let him go,before wee obteine of him our requeſtes.&c.

¶Notes.

The Church of Rome examined.

The Church of Rome conuict of manifeſt idolatry.

Our Lady made equall with God in the church of Rome.

Is not here good catholycke ſtuffe (chriſten readers) trow you? Conferre I beſech you, this doctrine with thee doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach vs that wee are fully complet in Chriſt, and I wyll referre me to no better iudge then to your own conſcience. And nowe therfore,if any man haue ben in doubt in tymes paſt of the doctrine & procedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blynd errours,with blaſphemy intolerable,and Idolatry abominable or not,here now may he bee fully certified and reſolued. For where was euer idolatry or blaſphemy to bee found,if it be not here in this Mattens and Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idoll to bee worſhipped as God,which is no God,what do we here but make an Idole of our Lady(as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſſe dignity, glory authority reuerence, and ſeruice, then is the Lord God him ſelfe. As hee is called our Lord:ſo ſhe is called our Lady,And if he be kyng,yet ſhee is the queene of heauen. And though hee haue the name of God,yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the mother of God,that as mothers haue authoritye ouer their children, ſo ſhee is willed to ſhewe her ſelfe to be his mother, to cauſe hym to graunt our petitions Finally,if he be our patron, yet is ſhee our patroneſſe. The Commaundement ſayth: Thou ſhalt worſhip thy Lord thy God,and hym onely ſhalt thou ſerue. And what worſhip or ſeruice can we geue to god, more then we do aſcribe vnto her? Or what benefite is to be aſked at the handes of Chriſt our Sauiour,which is not equally aſked of her? To ſaue our ſoules, to geue vs peace,to graunt grace,to comfort the deſperate, to loſe our captiuity,to releaſe our ſins, to deliuer from the Feend, to bryng to heauen . &c.to her we pray, we cry, we creepe, we ſigh,we grone, we knocke and kneele, to her we truſt,and if we beleue not alſo in our Ladye, we bee heretyckes ipſo facto.

The doctrine of the Romiſh Church directly againſt the firſt commaundement of God.

To truſt and beleue in our Lady

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Furthermore, as Chriſt our onely Lorde and Sauiour hath his Churche and Congregation whiche profeſſeth his name,of whom we are called Chriſtians: ſo neyther is ſhee likewiſe without her Chapels,her Cloyſters,her chapters, fraternities,and brotherhodes, whiche profeſſyng her name in lyke ſort are called our Ladyes brethren or white friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other patrons of Churches, of whom euery one hath his peculier Church and Religion by hym ſelfe : yet all theſe together be included vnder the generall deuotion of our Ladye their ſupreme patroneſſe and gouerneſſe.

Nowe to procede further to the other part of the commaundement, whiche ſayth: Hym onelye ſhalt thou ſerue: what ſeruice hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady alſo ioyntly with him hath the lyke? her Maſſe:her Mattens,her Euenſong,her Houres and Complyn,her roſaries her Anthemes, her Collectes,her Prymer,her Pſalter,her Holydayes likewiſe,yea fiue to one. Finally, as the Lorde hath his prayer called the Lordes Prayer, ſo hath ſhee her Aue Marys, yea x. Aues to one Pater noſter: yea and read further in the ſayd Bonauenture, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to haue her Te Deum, her benedictus,her Magnificat, and alſo her Quicunq; vult.

X. Aues to one Pater noſter.

Infidelitie. Idolatry.

The Church of Rome charged with Infidelity and Idolatry.

If the Lorde our God had not expreſſed vnto vs hys own will by playne word,lymityng vnto vs by expreſſe Iniunction,what to beleue,what to folow,and how to worſhip and ſerue hym, and how to receaue from hym our ſaluation, but had left vs to the imagination of our own inuentions,euery mā to ſhyft for him ſelf after his owē policie:thē peraduenture thys waye taken by the Popes Churche to make frendes and Mediatours betwene God and vs for reconciliation, remiſſion, and ſaluation, might haue ſome ryme or reaſon:but now Gods worde doth bynd vs, doth preſcribe and lymite vs preciſely in euery poynt touching ſaluation, what to beleue and what to do, ſhewing vs plainly that we can not be ſaued but by the bloud of his ſonne onely , neyther can bee iuſtified but by fayth onely in the ſame Chriſt hys ſonne. Wherfore not to beleue that whiche he hath promiſed is infidelitie, and to folow any other beliefe then he hath ſet vs,is playne Idolatry. The which ij. ſpeciall errours moſt commonly do folow the doctrine of, the Romiſh Churche,as not onely in this Prymer, and Pſalter of our Ladye aforeſayd,but alſo in all their procedynges, teachinges, and preachinges beſides may well appeare. For where the Scripture perfectly doth promiſe and pronounce vs to be iuſtified through our fayth in Chriſt, and willeth vs to ſeeke our ſaluation no where els but onely in the merites of Ieſus: the inſtitution of the Churche of Rome neyther will receaue that God hath freely geuen (wherein ſtandeth infidelity) neyther yet will ſeeke the ſame there whereas thy ſhoulde, but in the merites and prayers of our Lady, of S. Iohn Baptiſte, S. Peter,and Paul. S. Andrew S. Nicholas S. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthines of the materiall Croſſe,and ſuch other vnlawfull meanes,wherin ſtandeth playne Idolatry,And yet ſuch bookes as theſe can be ſuffered among the Catholyckes to bee current as good, wholſome and lawfull bookes,wheras the other which lead vs the true way from infidelity and blynd Idolatry to true Chriſtianity, in no wiſe can bee ſufferable. But of this to complayne it is in vayne, wherfore to paſſe from this Proclamation,let vs procede(God willing) in the courſe of our hiſtory.

The Church of Rome neyther taketh that which God doth geue. Neither doth ſeeke for that which they would haue, by lawfull meanes.

¶The ſtory of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford,and Thomas Oſborne Martyrs.

T. Oſmund, W. Bāford, T. Oſborne. Martyrs. Read before page 1508.

Mention was made before in the ſtory of Thomas Haukes, of ſixe priſoners beſides, whiche were ſent down with him to Eſſex the ſame tyme as he went to execution. Of which ſixe priſoners iij. were ſent to be burned, the other iij. to recant and to doe penaunce: of whome it foloweth next in ſtory now to intreate. The names of which vi. were theſe. Thomas Oſmund, Fuller: William Bamford alias Butler weuer: Tho. Oſborne Fuller: Nicholas Chamberlayn weuer: Tho. Brodhill weuer: Rich. Webbe weuer: beyng all of the towne of Coxhall. All whiche ſixe Coxhall men next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas. Wattes, were ſent vp to Boner. to be examined, by the Earle of Oxford, & Syr Philip Paris Knight,with a letter with thē alſo ſent,the copy wherof here foloweth.

¶ A letter ſent from the Earle of Oxford to Boner Byſhop of London.

A letter from the Earle of Oxford to B. Boner.

Sixe priſoners ſent by the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

After our harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhip,this ſhalbe to aduertiſe the ſame,that ỹ Conſtables of Coxhall within your Dioceſſe, haue brought before vs this day vi. perſons dwellyng in the town if Coxhal aforeſayd,whoſe names hereafter doe folowe, videlicet:Nicolas Chamberlayn weuer, Iohn Wallet Fuller. Thomas Broby weuer,Richard Webbe weuer,William Bamford, alias Butler weuer, and Thomas Oſborne Fuller,for that they, at the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt, haue not obeyed to the order of the holy Catholycke Churche in receiuyng of the Sacramentes: but obſtinatly refuſing the ſame,beſides the holdyng of diuers other opinions,contrary to the fayth of the ſayd Church. Wherfore we haue thought it good to ſend the ſame perſons vnto your good Lordſhip,further to bee ordered,as in ſuch caſe ſhall appertayne. Thus we commit your good Lordſhyp to the kepyng of almighty God. From Hedyngham the fyrſt day of May.1555.

Your Lordſhyppes aſſuredly,
Oxford.Philip Paris.

Oſmund, Chamberlayne, and their felowes brought before Byſhop Boner.

Thus the ſayd priſoners beyng ſent vp the fyrſt day of May, were brought before the ſayd byſhop the xvij. of the ſayd moneth to be examined, vpon diuers and ſundry Articles miniſtred and obiected agaynſt them : wherunto they were compelled to aunſwere and to put their handes to the ſame:the copye of whiche their Articles and aunſweres, beyng all one in forme and effect(if the Regiſter ſay true) here foloweth.

¶The copy of the Articles obiected agaynſt Thomas Oſmund, William Bamford,& Nicholas Chamberlayne of Coxhall.

Articles miniſtred vnto them by the Byſhop.

1. First that thou Thomas Oſmund Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of Coxhall, within the Dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleued nor doeſt beleue that there is here in the earth one Catholicke & vniuerſall whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth and Religion of Chriſt,and all the neceſſary Articles & Sacramentes of the ſame.

The Popes Church falſly termed by the name of the vniuerſal Church.

2. Item,that thou haſt not beleued nor doeſt beleue ỹ thou art neceſſarily bounden vnder the payne of damnation of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Churche,and to the fayth and Religion of the ſame in al neceſſary poyntes of the ſaid faith & religiō, without doubtyng or waueryng in the ſayd fayth and Religion,or in any part therof.

3. Item, that thou haſt not beleued that the fayth and religion, whiche doth the Churche of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and al other Chur-

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The fayth of the Romiſh Church not to be beleued

ches in Europe, being true members and partes of the ſaid Catholike and vniuerſal Church do beleue & teach, is both agreeyng with the ſayd Catholicke and vniuerſall Church, and with the fayth and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true fayth and religion, which all Chryſten people ought to beleue, obſerue, folow, and keepe: but contrarywiſe thou haſt beleued and doeſt beleue, that that fayth and Religion, whiche the ſayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforeſayd haue heretofore beleued, and do beleue is falſe erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to bee beleued, obſerued, kept, and folowed of any Chriſtian perſon.

4. Item, that albeit it be true that in the Sacrament of the aulter, there is in ſubſtaunce the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne: and albeit that it be ſo beleued, taught and preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd Church of Rome and all other Churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleued, nor doeſt ſo beleue, but contrariwiſe thou haſt beleued, and doeſt beleue firmely and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd Sacrament of the alter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of materiall and common bread and wyne with the formes therof, & that the ſaid materiall & common bread & wine are only the ſignes & tokens of Chriſtes body & bloud, & are by fayth to be receiued onely for a remembraūce of Chriſtes paſſion & death, without any ſuch ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

Note how this geare is penned to the worſt.

5. Item, that thou haſt beleued and taught, and haſt openly ſpoken and defended, and ſo doeſt beleue, thynke, mayntayne, and defend: that the very true receauyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body and bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, & to breake it, and deſtribute it amongeſt the people, remembryng therby ẏ paſſion and death of Chriſt onely.

This Article not ſo put downe as they meant it.

6. Item, that thou haſt likewiſe beleued, thought, and ſpoken that the Maſſe now vſed in this realme of England and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable & nought and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinaunce of the Pope & not of the inſtitution of Chriſt: and hath no goodnes in it ſauyng the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and Goſpell, and therfore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come and be preſent at Maſſe, nor receaue the ſacrament of the aulter nor any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now vſed in this realme of England. &c.

The Maſſe not of Chriſtes inſtitution.

7. Item, that thou haſt in tymes paſt beleued and yet doeſt now beleue, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made vnto the prieſt: but is a thyng ſuperfluous, voyde and nought, only to be made to God, and to none other perſon. And lykewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable all the ceremonies of the church, & the ſeruice of the ſame, and haſt ſayd that no ſeruice in the church ought to be ſayd, but in the Engliſhe toung, and if it be otherwiſe, it is vnlawfull and nought.

Againſt auricular confeſſion and church ſeruice.

8. Item that thou beyng notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an hereticke, and a perſon culpable in the premiſſes, waſt of late called and conuented before the Earle of Oxford, and Maiſter Philip Paris, and there waſt charged with the ſayd hereſies, eſpecially agaynſt the ſacrament of the aulter. And becauſe thou diddeſt mayntayne and ſtand to thy ſayd hereſies, and wouldeſt not come to the church, and bee confeſſed, and receiue the ſayd ſacrament, as other Chriſtian people dyd, but vtterly diddeſt refuſe to doe the ſame, thou waſt by the ſayd Earle of Oxford and Maiſter Philip Paris, ſent vp by a Conſtable vnto me byſhop of London, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put vp to me as an hereticke and myſbeleuyng perſon.

The Earle of Oxford. Maiſter Phillip Paris.

9. Item, that thou haſt knowen and beleued, thou doeſt know and beleue or at the leaſt thou haſt credibly heard reported, ſpoken and ſayd, that all and all maner perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing cōcernyng the ſacramētes of the Church, or any the Articles of the fayth, otherwiſe then is founde already diſcuſſed and determined by the mother the holy Church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the Church or that willingly and wetyngly do vtter openly or priuely any ſlaunderous or blaſphemous wordes concernyng ẏ ſayd ſacramentes or any of them, or that do preach teach, or kepe any ſect or kynd of hereſy agaynſt the wholſome doctrine of the church, and do wittyngly willingly, or obſtinately defend the ſayd ſect or kynde of hereſye, are by the Canons of the whole and vniuerſall Catholycke Church, and alſo by the eccleſiaſticall lawes of this Church of England by their ſo doyng, accurſed with that curſe, whiche doth ſeparate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiuyng of the ſacramentes, and from the company of faythfull people, and are (in continuing in this ſayd ſect and hereſy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretickes, and to be deliuered to the ſecular power, and by the lawes temporall of this realme of England, and the cuſtome of the ſame, to be by the ſayd ſecular power put to death and brent for this ſayd ſect and hereſy.

10. Item, that thou by reaſon of the premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and iudged for a maniſeſt and open, wilfull and obſtinate hereticke, for a wicked and curſed perſon, and to be puniſhed accordyngly for the ſame, accordyng to the ſayd Canon lawes, vſages, and cuſtomes.

The aunſweres whiche the ſayd Thomas Oſmund William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlaine ſeuerally made vnto theſe Articles.

The aunſweres of the three priſoners to the Articles, agreeing all in one.

TO the firſt they aunſwered and confeſſed the ſame to bee true, except that they do beleue that there is here in earth one catholicke and whole Church, and that the ſame church doth hold and beleue as is conteyned in this article.

To the ſecond they aunſwere, and beleue the ſayd article not to be true: for they ſay that they haue and do beleue that they are neceſſarily bounden vnder payne of damnation of their ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto the ſayd catholycke church and to the fayth and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary pointes of the ſame fayth and religion, without waueryng or doubtyng in any part therof.

To the third they anſwere, that the churche of Rome, & other churches mencioned in this article, be not true members and partes (as they bee vſed in fayth and religion) of ẏ catholicke church of Chriſt, and that the fayth and religion vſed in the ſayd Churches, is not agreeable with the church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erroneous.

The Church of Rome not to be beleued.

To the fourth they aunſwere and ſay that howe ſo euer the ſayd Churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendome haue and do beleue touching the ſacrament of the aulter, yet they do beleue, that in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is onely the ſubſtaunce of materiall bread and wyne, and that the ſame materiall bread & wyne be onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and are to be receiued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion & death, without any ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud at all

To the fift article they aunſwere, that the true receiuyng and eatyng of Chriſtes body, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute & eate meteriall bread, and therby to remember the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and ſo receiue by fayth (as they beleue) Chriſtes body and bloud and not otherwiſe.

The true eating of Chriſtes body.

To the ſixt they aunſwere the ſame to bee true in euery part therof, except that ouer and beſides the Gloria in excelſis, the Epiſtle and goſpell, whiche they beleue to bee good they beleue the Pater noſter and Creede vſed in the Maſſe be alſo good.

To the ſeuenth they aunſwere and confeſſe, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the Prieſt: neuertheleſſe they thincke that it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a Prieſt, as is able to geue good Counſell. And that for counſell only, and not otherwiſe. And as cōcernyng the ceremonies of the Churche, they aunſwere the ſame to bee vayne and vnprofitable. No ſeruice in the Churche ought to be ſayd, but onely in the Engliſh toung.

Auricular confeſſion not neceſſary Ceremonies vile in the church.

To the eyght they aunſwer and beleue the ſame to bee true in euery part therof, except that they do not beleue that they be heretickes: or ſuſpected of hereſy.

To the ninth, Oſmund and Bamford aunſwered, ẏ they referred them ſelues to the ſayd lawes, mencioned in that article, but Chamberlayne made no aunſwere at all to this article.

To the tenth the ſayd Oſmond and Bamforde aunſwered and ſayd, that by reaſon of their beliefe afore by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or iudged for wilfull and obſtinate heretickes, nor to be puniſhed therfore, as is declared in that article. The other aunſwered nothing.

Scholies vpon the foreſayd articles.

Notes or Scholies vpon the Articles vſed to be miniſtred to the poore Christians, by the Popes Church.

These articles in the ſame forme and maner of wordes are commonly obiected to all other that follow after, with the ſame aunſweres alſo therto annexed. In whiche articles thou mayeſt note (Reader) the crafty & ſubtile handlyng of theſe lawers and Regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame theyr articles and poſitions, that vnleſſe a man do aduiſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple man to aunſwere to them, but hee ſhall bee ſnared and intangled. So they paynt theyr Church with ſuch a viſage of vniuerſall, whole, holy, catholycke, as who ſhould ſay: he that denyeth Rome, denyeth the holy Church of Chriſt here in earth.

Likewiſe

The crafty and captious dealing of the Papiſtes in propoundyng their articles.

Likewiſe in examinyng them,and ſpecially the ſimple ſort in the matter of the ſacrament,to the materiall bread in the ſacrament, they put thys word (onely) very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt auantage, makyng the people beleue that they take the holy ſacrament to bee no better then onely common bread:when they do not ſo, but make a difference betwene the ſame,both in the vſe honour and name therof.

Agayne,when the Examinates hold but onely agaynſt the erroneous poyntes of romiſh religion, theſe Byſhops in theyr Interrogatories geue out the matter ſo generally as though the ſayd Examinates in generally ſpake agaynſt all the articles of fayth taught in Rome,Spayne,Englãd,Frãuce Scotland.&c.

Moreouer,concernyng latten ſeruice,in ſuch crafty forme of Wordes they propoũd theyr article,that it might appeare to the people, theſe men do deny any ſeruice to be lawfull in any place,countrey,or language,but onely in Engliſh.

And as theſe articles are crafty, captiouſly and deceitfully in forme of wordes deuiſed by the Byſhops and theyr Notaries,ſo the aunſwers agayn to the ſame,be no leſſe ſubtely framed, and after the moſt odious maner put downe, in the name of the Examinates,which beyng read vnto them,thus without further aduice, they were conſtrayned vppon a ſodayne to ſubſcribe the ſame with their handes. Whereby if any word eſcaped their hand,peraduenture not conſideratly ſubſcribed:there the Papiſtes take theyr aduauntage againſt them,to diffame them and to bryng them into hatred with the people.

Sentence againſt Oſmund, Chamberlayne, Bamford. June. 14. June. 15. The Martyrdome of Tho. Oſmund, Chamberlain, and William Bamford.

Theſe Articles thus propounded and aunſwered, they were vntill the after none diſmiſſed. At what tyme they dyd agayne appeare, and there were examined and trauepled with by fayre and flatteryng ſpeaches, aſwell of the Byſhop as of others his aſſiſtance,to recant and reuoke their opinions, who notwithſtandyng,remayned conſtant and firme, and therfore after the common vſage of theyr Eccleſiaſticall lawes,were ſent away agayne vntill the next day beyng Saterday and the xviij. day of May. Then in the forenoone the Byſhop vſing his accuſtomed maner of proceedyng:which he had vſed before, aſwell with them as with others, dyd lykewiſe diſmiſſe them, and at laſt in the after noone condemned them as heretickes, and ſo deliuered them to the Shrieffes,in whoſe cuſtody they remayned vntill they were deliuered to the Shriefe of Eſſex,and by hym were executed, Chamberlayne at Colcheſter, the xiiij. of June, Thomas Oſmund at Maningtree,the xv.of June, and william Bamford aliâs Butler at Harwyge the ſame xv.day in the moneth of June.

¶ The hiſtory of the worthy Martyr, and ſeruaũt of God Maiſter Iohn Bradford with his lyfe and actes,and ſundry conflictes with his aduerſaries,and Martyrdome at length moſt cõſtantly ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and his truth.

July 1. The hiſtory of M. John Bradford, Martyr.

AS touching firſt the Countrey and education of John Bradford, hee was borne at Mancheſter in Lancaſterſhyre. His parentes dyd bryng hym vp in learnyng from his infancy,vntill he attayned ſuch knowledge in the Latin toung, and ſkil in wrytyng,that he was able to gayne his own lyuyng in ſome honeſt condition. Then hee became ſeruaunt to Syr John Harrington Knight,who in the great affaires of Kyng Henry the viij. and Kynge Edward vi. whiche hee had in hand when hee was Treaſurer of the kinges camps and buildyng at diuers tymes in Bullonois, had ſuch experience of Bradfordes actiuity in wrytyng, of expertnes in the art of Auditours, and alſo of his faythfull truſtines, that not onely in thoſe affaires, but in many other of his priuate buſines he truſted Bradford,in ſuch ſort that aboue all other he vſed his faythfull ſeruice.

Syr John Harrington, knight.

The truſty ſeruice of John Bradford vnder M. Harrington.

Thus continued Bradford certayne yeares in a right honeſt and good trade of lyfe, after the courſe of this world, like to come forward (as they ſay) if his minde coulde ſo haue liked,or had bene giuen to the world as many other be. But the Lorde whiche had elected him vnto a better function,and preordeyned him to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt,in that houre of grace whiche in his ſecret counſell he had appointed, called this his choſen childe to the vnderſtandyng and pertakyng of the ſame Goſpell of lyfe. In whiche call hee was ſo truely taught, that forthwith his effectuall call was perceiued by the fruites. For then Bradford dyd forſake his worldly affaires and forwardnes in worldly wealth and after the iuſt accompt geuen to his Maiſter of all hys doynges,hee departed from him, and with merueilous fauour to further the kyngdome of God by the miniſtery of hys holy worde, he gaue him ſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. The which his purpoſe to accompliſh the better,he departed from the Temple at London,where the temporall law is ſtudied, and went to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge,to learne by Gods lawe howe to further the buildyng of the Lordes Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profityng in knowledge, and godly conuerſation ſo pleaſed all men that within one whole yeare after that he had ben there,the vniuerſity did geue hym the degree of a Maiſter of Arte.

Bradford called to the Goſpell.

Bradford geueth him ſelfe to the ſtudy of Scripture.

Immediatly after the Maiſter and fellowes of Pembroke hall dyd geue hym a felowſhip in theyr College with them:yea that man of God Martyn Bucer ſo lyked hym, that he had hym not only moſt deare vnto hym,but alſo often tymes exhorted hym to beſtowe his talent in preaching Unto which Bradford aunſwered alwayes, that he was vnable to ſerue in that office through want of learnyng. To the whiche Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying: If thou haue not fine manchet bread,yet geue the poore people barly bread, or what ſoeuer els the Lorde hath committed vnto thee. And whiles Bradford was thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtry, Doctour Ridley that worthy Biſhop of London and glorious Martyr of Chriſt, accordyng to the order that then was in the Churche of England called hym to take the degree of Deacon. Whiche order becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch abuſe as to the which Bradford woulde not conſent, the Byſhop yet perceauyng that Bradford was willing to enter into the miniſtery,was content to order him Deacon without any abuſe,euen as he deſired. This beyng done, he obteyned for him a licence to preach, and dyd geue him a Prebend in his Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paules.

Bradford M. of art and fellow in Pembroke Hall.

M. Bucers ſaying.

John Bradford made Deacon by Biſhop Ridley without any ſuperſtitious abuſe therein.

John Bradford made Prebendary in Paules and licenſed to preach.

In thys preaching office by the ſpace of three yeares, how faythfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many partes of England can teſtify. Sharply he opened and reproued ſinne, ſwetly hee preached Chriſt crucified,pithily he impugned hereſies and errours,earneſtly he perſuaded to godly lyfe. After the death of bleſſed young Kyng Edward the ſixt, when Queene Mary had gotten the crowne: ſtill continued Bradford diligent in preaching, vntill he was vniuſtly depriued both of his office and libertye by the Queene and her Councell. To the doyng wherof, becauſe they had no iuſt cauſe, they tooke occaſion to do this iniurie for ſuch an act, as among Turkes and Infidels would haue ben with thãkfulnes rewarded,and with great fauour accepted,as in deede it dyd no leſſe deſerue.

Bradford vniuſtly depriued of his liuing and preaching.

The fact was this. The.xiij.day of Auguſt, in the firſt yeare of the reigne of Queene Mary, M. Bourne then Byſhop of Bath made a ſedicious Sermon at Paules Croſſe in London, as partely is declared before, pag. 1339. to ſet Popery abroch, in ſuch ſorte that it moued the people to no ſmall indignation, beyng almoſt ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither coulde the reuerence of the place, nor the preſence of the Byſhop Boner, who then was his maiſter,nor yet the commaundement of the Maior of London, whom the people ought to haue obeyed, ſtay theyr rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incenſed. At length Bourne ſeyng the people in ſuch a moode and himſelfe in ſuch perill, (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurlyng of a drawen dagger at him, as he ſtoode in the pulpit) and that he was put from endyng his ſermon, fearyng leſt agaynſt his will he ſhould there ende his wretched life,deſired Bradford who ſtoode in the pulpit behynde him, to come forth and to ſtand in his place and ſpeake to the people. Good Bradford at his requeſt was content and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as ſone as the people ſawe to begyn to ſpeake vnto them , ſo glad they were to heare him, that they cryed with a great ſhoute: Bradford, Bradford, God ſaue thy life Bradford: well declaryng not onely what affection they bare vnto him but alſo what regard they gaue to his wordes. For after that he had entred a little to preach vnto them and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftſoones all the ragyng ceaſed, and they in the ende quietly departed ech man to his houſe. Yet in the meane ſeaſon(for it was a long tyme before that ſo great a multitude could all depart)Bourne thought(and truely)hym ſelfe not yet full ſure of his life tyll he were ſafely houſed,notwithſtanding that the Mayor and Shriffes of London were there at hand to helpe him. Wherfore he deſired Bradford not to depart from him tyll he were in ſafety: which Bradford accordyng to his promiſe performed. For while the Maior and Shriffes dyd lead Bourne to the Scholemaiſters houſe,whiche is next to the Pulpit,Bradford wẽt at his backe, ſhadowyng him frõ the people with hys gowne,and ſo to ſet him ſafe.

Bournes ſermon at Paules Croſſe.

Bradford appeaſeth the rage of the people, and gardeth the Papiſticall preacher.

The reuerent regard and affection of the people to M. Bradford.

M. Bradford procureth M. Bournes ſafetye.

Let the reader nowe conſider the perill of Bourne, the charitye of Bradford, and the headines of the multitude tyme and alſo the grudging myndes of certaine, which yet ſtil there remayned behynd, greeued not a litle in their myndes, to ſee that ſo good a man ſhould ſaue the lyfe of ſuch a Popiſh a prieſt, ſo impudently and openly rayling againſt king Edward. Among whom one Gentleman ſaid theſe wordes: Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaueſt hym that will helpe to burne thee. I geue thee his lyfe: if it were not for thee, I would (I aſſure thee) run hym through with my ſword. Thus Bourne for that tyme, through Bradfordes meanes eſcaped bodyly death: but God hath his iudgement to be ſhewed in the tyme appoynted.

Bradford rebuketh the people for the tumult at Paules Croſſe.

The ſame ſunday in the after noone Bradford preached at the Bowe church in Cheapſide, and reproued the people ſharply for their ſeditious miſdemeanor. After this he dyd abyde ſtyll in London with an innocent conſcience, to trye what ſhould become of his iuſt doyng.

Bradford charged with ſedition, for ſauing the preacher.

Bradford committed to the Tower moſt vniuſtly.

Bradford in the kinges Bench.

Bradford in the Counter.

Bradford preacheth and miniſtreth the Sacrament in priſon.

Within thre dayes after he was ſent for to the Tower of London, where the Queene then was, to appeare there before the Counſel. There was he charged with this act of ſauyng of Bourne, which act they there called ſeditious, & alſo obiected agaynſt hym for preachyng, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then vnto other priſons, out of the which neyther his innocencie, godlynes, nor charitable dealyng could purchaſe hym libertie of body, tyll by death (which he ſuffred for Chriſtes cauſe) he obteyned the heauenly libertie, of which neither Pope nor papiſt ſhall euer depriue hym. From the Tower he came to the kynges Benche in Southwarke: and after his condemnation, he was ſent to the Counter in the Poultrie in London: in the which two places for the tyme he dyd remayne priſoner, he preached twiſe a day continually, vnleſſe ſicknes hyndered hym: where alſo the ſacrament was often miniſtred, & thorow his meanes (the keepers ſo wel dyd beare with hym) ſuch reſort of good folkes was dayly to his lecture, and to the miniſtration of the ſacrament, that commonly his chamber was welnigh filled therewith. Preachyng, readyng, and prayyng was all his whole lyfe. He dyd not eate aboue one meale a day: which was but very litle when he tooke it: & his continuall ſtudy was vpon his knees. In the myddeſt of dynner he vſed often to muſe with hym ſelfe, hauing his hat ouer his eyes, from whence came commonly plentye of teares droppyng on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and chyld, and in ſo good credite with his keeper, that at his deſire, in an euenyng (beyng priſoner in the kinges Bench in Southwarke) he had licence vpon his promiſe to returne againe that night, to go into London without any keeper, to viſite one that was ſicke, lying by the Stillyard. Neyther dyd he fayle his promiſe, but returned vnto his priſon agayne, rather preuentyng his houre, then breakyng his fidelitie: ſo conſtant was he in word and deede.

Bradford came into London without his keper, and returned that night to priſon agayne.

The deſcription of Bradford.

Bradford content with a litle ſleepe.

Bradfordes recreations.

The holy life of Bradford.

Bradford viſited the theeues, pickpurſes, &c.

Of perſonage he was ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faint ſanguine colour, with an Auburne beard. He ſlept not commonly aboue foure houres in the night: & in his bedde tyll ſleepe came, his booke went not out of his hand. His chiefe recreation was in no gamyng or other paſtime, but onely in honeſt company, and comely talke, wherein he would ſpende a litle tyme after dynner at the boorde, and ſo to prayer and his booke againe. He counted that houre not well ſpent, wherein he dyd not ſome good, eyther with his pen, ſtudy, or in exhortyng of others. &c. He was no nyggard of his purſe, but would liberally participate that he had to his felow priſoners. And commonly once a weeke he viſited the theeues, pickpurſes, & ſuch others, that were with hym in the priſon where he lay, on the other ſide: vnto whom he would geue godly exhortation to learne the amendment of their liues by their troubles, and after that ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome portion of money to their comfort.

The meeting and conference betwene Laurence Saunders, and John Bradford.

Bradford refuſing to eſcape out of priſon, though he might.

By the way this I thought not to conceale. Whyle he was in the kynges Benche, and Maiſter Saunders in the Marſhalſey, both priſoners, on the backſide of thoſe two priſons they met many tymes, and conferred together when they would: ſo mercyfully dyd the Lorde worke for them, euen in the middeſt of their troubles: and the ſaid Bradford was ſo truſted with his keeper, and had ſuche libertie in the backſide, that there was no day but he might haue eaſily eſcaped away, if he would, but that the Lorde had an other worke to doo for hym. In the ſommer tyme while he was in the ſayd kynges Bench, he had libertie of his keeper, to ryde into Oxfordſhyre, to a Marchauntes houſe of his acquaintance, and horſe and al thynges prepared for hym for that iourney, and the party in a readyneſſe that ſhould ryde with hym: but God preuented hym by ſicknes that he went not at all.

One of his olde frendes and acquaintaunce came vnto hym whyleſt he was priſoner, and aſked hym, if he ſued to get hym out, what then he would doo, or whither he would goe? Vnto whom he made anſweare, as not caryng whether he went out or no: but if he dyd, he ſayde, he would marry, and abyde ſtyll in Englande ſecreately, teachyng the people as the tyme would ſuffer hym, and occuppye hym ſelfe that way. He was had in ſo great reuerence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude which neuer knew hym but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number alſo of the Papiſtes themſelues wiſhed hartily his lyfe. There were fewe dayes in which he was thought not to ſpende ſome teares before he went to bed, neyther was there euer any priſoner with hym, but by his companye he greatly profited, as all they wyll yet witneſſe, and haue confeſſed of hym no leſſe, to the glorye of God, whoſe ſocietie he frequented, as among many, one ſpeciall thyng I thought to note, which is this.

Bradford would not flye out of England though he might.

Bradford beloued.

Bradfordes teares.

Byſhop Farrar confirmed in the truth, by John Bradford.

Biſhop Farrar beyng in the kynges Bench priſoner, as before you haue heard, was trauailed withal of the Papiſtes, in the ende of Lent, to receyue the ſacrament at Eaſter, in one kinde, who after muche perſwadyng, yelded to them, and promiſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it happened by Gods prouidence) the Eaſter euen, the day before he ſhould haue done it, was Bradford brought to the kynges Benche priſoner: where the Lord makyng hym his inſtrument, Bradford onely was the meane that the ſaid B. Farrar reuoked his promiſe & word, & would neuer after yelde to be ſpotted with that papiſtical pitch: ſo effectually ẏ Lorde wrought by this worthy ſeruant of his. Suche an inſtrument was he in Gods Church, that few or none there were that knew hym, but eſteemed hym as a precious iewel and Gods true meſſenger.

Bradford dreameth of his burnyng accordyng as it came to paſſe.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was ẏ ſaterday night, he was ſore troubled diuers tymes in his ſleepe by dreames, howe the chayne for his burnyng was brought to the Counter gate, and howe the next day beyng Sunday, he ſhould be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as in deede it came to paſſe accordingly, which hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed. Nowe he beyng vexed ſo often tymes in this ſorte with theſe dreames, about three of the clocke in the mornyng, he waked him that lay with hym, and told hym his vnquiet ſleepe, and what he was troubled withall. Then after a litle talke, Maiſter Bradford roſe out of the bed, and gaue hym ſelfe to his olde exerciſe of readyng and prayer, as alwayes he had vſed before: and at dynner, accordyng to his accuſtomed maner, he dyd eate his meate, and was very mery, no body being with hym from mornyng tyll night, but he that laye with hym, with whom he had many tymes on that day communicatiõ of death, of the kyngdome of heauen, and of the ripeneſſe of ſinne in that tyme.

Bradford hath word of his burnyng.

In the after noone they two walkyng together in the keepers chãber, ſodainly the keepers wife came vp, as one halfe amazed, & ſeemyng much troubled, being almoſt wordles, ſaide: Oh M. Bradford, I come to bring you heauy newes. What is that ſaid he? Mary quoth ſhee, to morow you muſt be burned, & your chayne is now a buying, & ſoone you muſt go to Newgate. With that M. Bradford put of his cap, and lyftyng vp his eyes to heauen, ſaid: I thanke God for it: I haue looked for the ſame a long tyme, and therefore it commeth not now to me ſodainly, but as a thing wayted for euery day & houre, the Lord make me worthy therof: and ſo thankyng her for her gentlenes, departed vp into his chamber, and called his frend with hym, who when he came thyther, he went ſecretly hym ſelf alone a long tyme and prayed. Which done, he came againe to hym that was in his chamber, and tooke hym diuers wrytynges and papers, and ſhewed hym his mynde in thoſe thynges what he would haue done, and after they had ſpent the after noone tyll night in many and ſundry ſuche thynges, at laſt came to hym halfe a doſen of his frendes more, with whom all the euenyng he ſpent the tyme in prayer and other good exerciſes, ſo wonderfully, that it was maruelous to heare and ſee his doynges.

Bradford maketh his prayer takyng his farewell at the Counter.

Bradfordes goyng from the Counter.

A litle before he went out of the Counter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with ſuche plentie of teares, and aboundant ſpirite of prayer, that it rauiſhed the myndes of the hearers. Alſo, when he ſhifted hym ſelf with a cleane ſhyrt that was made for his burnyng (by one Maſter Walter Marlers wife, who was a good nourſe vnto hym, and his very good frende) he made ſuche a prayer of the weddyng garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent, were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupyed in lookyng on hym, as their eares gaue place to heare his prayer. At his departyng out of the chamber, he made likewiſe a prayer, and gaue money to euery ſeruaunt and officer of the houſe, with exhortation to them to feare and ſerue God, continually labouryng to eſchewe all maner of euyll. That done, he turned hym to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his wordes might not be ſpoken in vayne, but that the Lorde would worke the ſame in

The priſoners take their leaue of Bradford with teares.

1555.

July.

them effectually, for his Chriſtes ſake. Then beyng beneath in the Court, all the priſoners cryed out to hym, and bade hym farewell, as the reſt of the houſe had done before with weepyng teares.

Bradford was caried to newgate at midnight.

The people in Cheapſide bad Bradford farewell.

A noyſe of Bradfordes early burnyng.

A multitude in Smithfield by 4. a clocke.

The tyme they carried hym to Newgate, was about eleuen or twelue a clocke in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtyrryng abroade: and yet contrary to their expectation in that behalfe, was there in Cheapeſide and other places (betwene the Counter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee hym, which moſt gently bade hym farewell, praying for hym with moſt lamentable and pitifull teares, and he againe as gently bade them farewell, praying moſt hartily for them and their welfare. Nowe, whether it were a commaundement frō the queene and her Counſell, or from Boner and his adherentes, or whether it were meerely deuiſed of the Lorde Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffes of London, or no, I can not tel: but a great noyſe there was ouer night about the citie by diuers, that Bradford ſhould be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by foure of the clocke in the mornyng, before it ſhoulde be greatly knowen to any. In which rumour many heades had diuers myndes: ſome thinkyng the feare of the people to be the cauſe thereof. Other thought nay, that it was rather becauſe the Papiſtes iudged, his death would conuert many to the truth, and geue a great ouerthrow to their kingdome. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome an other, that no iuſt coniecture of the cauſe coulde be knowen, that euer I hearde yet. But this was certayne, the people preuented the deuiſe ſuſpected: for the next day, at the ſayde houre of foure a clocke in ẏ mornyng, there was in Smithfield ſuch a multitude of men and women, that many beyng in admiration thereof, thought it was not poſſible that they could haue warnyng of his death, beyng ſo great a number, in ſo ſhort tyme, vnleſſe it were by the ſingular prouidence of almighty God.

Bradford going to Smithfield.

Bradford gaue his night cappe away.

Woodrofe breaketh the head of Bradfords brother in lawe.

M. Bradford two yeares lackyng a moneth and a halfe, in priſon.

Well, this tooke not effect as the people thought: for that mornyng it was nyne a clocke of the day, before Maiſter Bradford was brough into Smithfield: which in goyng thorow Newgate thytherwarde, ſpyed a frende of his whom he loued, ſtandyng on the one ſide of the way to the keepers houſeward, vnto whom he reached his hande ouer the people, and pluckt hym to hym, and deliuered to hym from his head, his Veluet night cap, and alſo his handkerchiefe, with other thinges beſides. Whiche after a litle ſecrete talke with hym, and eche of them parting from other, immediatly came to hym a brother in lawe of his, called Roger Belwicke, which as ſoone as he had taken the ſayd Bradford by the hand, one of the Sheriffes of London called Woodroffe, came with his ſtaffe and brake the ſayd Rogers head, that the bloud ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight Bradford beholding with griefe, bade his brother farewell, wyllyng to commend hym to his mother, and the reſt of his frendes, and to gette hym to ſome Surgeon betimes: and ſo they departing, had litle or no talke at all together. Then was he lead forth to Smithfield, with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct hym thyther, as the like was not ſeene at no mans burnyng: for in euery corner of Smythfielde there were ſome, beſides thoſe which ſtoode about the ſtake. Bradford then being come to the place, fell flat to the grounde, ſecretely makyng his prayers to almighty God. Then riſing againe, and puttyng of his clothes vnto his ſhyrt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a yong man of .xx. yeres of age, ioyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was Iohn Leaffe. Touchyng the order and manner of whoſe burnyng, more ſhalbe ſayde (God wyllyng) hereafter. In the meane tyme we wyll now ſhewe foorth the ſundry examinations, conflictes, and conferences betweene hym and other his aduerſaries, duryng the tyme of his impriſonment, which was in all, two yeares lackyng one moneth and a halfe. Which examinations here folow to be declared.

It was before a litle aboue declared, that Iohn Bradforde within three dayes after the Sermon of Maiſter Bourne, was by the Counſaile committed to the Tower, where he remained from the moneth of Auguſt, an. 1553. to the .22. day of Ianuar. an. 1555. vpon which day he was called out to examination before Ste. Wint. and other of the Commiſſioners. The effect of which examination and communication which paſſed betweene hym and them, proceded in maner as foloweth.

¶ The effecte of the communication betwene Iohn Bradford and the Lord Chauncelour, and other in Commiſſion with hym, the .xxij. day of Ianuary. anno. 1555.

Talke betweene M. Bradford and Steuen Winchester.

AFter the Lorde Chauncellour and the reſidue of the Queenes Counſel in Commiſſion with hym, had taken their talke with M. Farrar late Biſhop of ſaint Dauids, the vnder Marſhall of the kynges Bench was commaunded to bring in Iohn Bradford: who beyng come into the preſence of the Coūſell ſittyng at a table, kneeled downe on his knee, but immediatly by the L. Chauncelour was bydden to ſtand vp, and ſo he dyd.

Winchester ouerfaced.

When he was riſen, the Lorde Chauncellour earneſtly looked vpon hym, to haue (belike) ouerfaced hym: but he gaue no place, that is, he ceaſed not in like maner to looke on the L. Chauncelour ſtyll continually, ſaue that once he caſt vp his eyes to heauenward, ſighing for Gods grace, and ſo ouerfaced hym.

The wordes of the B. of Winchester to Iohn Bradford.

Lord Chaunc. Then the Lord Chauncelour as it were amaſed, and ſomething troubled, ſpake thus to hym in effect: that of long tyme he had bene impriſoned iuſtly for his ſeditious behauiour at Paules Croſſe, the .xiij. of Auguſt. ann. 1553. for his falſe preachyng and arrogancie, takyng vpon hym to preache without authoritie. But now (quoth he) the tyme of mercye is come, and therefore the Queenes highneſſe myndyng to offer vnto you mercy, hath by vs ſent for you, to declare and geue the ſame, if ſo be you wyll with vs returne: and if you wyll do as we haue done, you ſhall find as we haue found, I warrāt you. This was the ſumme of his wordes, and in maner the ſame wordes which he ſpake.

Bradfordes anſwere agayne to Winchester.

Brad. To theſe wordes Iohn Bradford ſpake (after reuerend obeyſance made) in this maner. My Lord & Lordes all, I confeſſe that I haue bene long impriſoned, and (with humble reuerence be it ſpoken) vniuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietnes, as an obedient and faithfull ſubiect, both in going about to ſaue the Biſhop of Bathe now, then M. Bourne, the Preacher at the Croſſe, and in preaching for quietnes accordingly.

Bradfordes facte in ſauing of Bourne, coūted for ſeditious.

Boner witneſſeth with Winchester agaynſt Bradford.

L. Chaunc. At theſe wordes, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, ẏ ſaid L. Chācelour ſomething ſmiled, & ſpake ſo in admiration, ẏ there was a loude lye: for (quoth he) the fact was ſeditious, as you my Lord of London can beare witnes.

Boner. You ſay true my Lorde: I ſaw hym with myne owne eyes, when he tooke vpon hym to rule and leade the people malapertly, therby declaring that he was the author of the ſedition.

Brad. My Lordes, notwithſtandyng my Lord Biſhoppes ſeeing and ſaying, yet the truth I haue told, as one day my Lord God almighty ſhal reueale to al the world, when we ſhal all come and appeare before hym: In the meane ſeaſon, becauſe I can not be beleued of you, I muſt and am readye to ſuffer, as now your ſayinges be, what ſo euer God ſhall licence you to do vnto me.

This talke of Bradford ſtill in the Tower, came not to our handes.

L. Chaunc. I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, and goodly ſhewes thou makeſt: but all is lyes thou ſpeakeſt. And againe, I haue not forgotte how ſtubborne thou waſt when thou waſt before vs in the Tower, whereupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning Religion. I haue not forgotten thy behauiour and talke, wherthrough worthily thou haſt bene kept in priſon, as one that would haue done more hurt then I wyll ſpeake of.

Brad. My Lorde, as I ſayd, I ſay againe, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtande before hym: the truth then wyll be the truth, though nowe you wyll not ſo take it. Yea my Lord, I dare ſay, that my Lord of Bath M. Bourne wyl wytneſſe with me, that I ſought his ſafegarde with the peryll of myne owne life, I thanke God therefore.

Thou ſhalt not beare falſe vvitnes againſt thy neighbour. Command. 9.

Boner. That is not true: for I my ſelfe dyd ſee thee take vpon thee to much.

Bradford deſired of M. Bourne to helpe him, and yet is now ſhent for his labour.

Brad. No, I tooke nothing vpon me vndeſired, and that of Maiſter Bourne hym ſelfe, as if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he woulde affirme. For he deſired me both to helpe hym to pacifie the people, and alſo not to leaue hym tyll he was in ſafetie. And as for my behauiour in the Tower, and talke before your honours, if I dyd or ſayde any thing that dyd not beſeeme me, if your Lordſhips would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould and woulde ſhortly make you anſweare.

Chaunc. Wel, to leaue this matter: how ſayeſt thou now? wylt thou returne againe, and do as we haue done, and thou ſhalt receyue the Queenes mercy and pardon?

Mans mercy with Gods wrath refuſed.

Brad. My Lord, I deſire mercy with Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keepe me from: Although (I thanke God therefore) my conſcience doth not accuſe me, that I dyd ſpeake any thing wherefore I ſhould neede to receyue the Queenes mercye or pardon. For all that euer I dyd or ſpake, was both agreeyng to Gods Lawes, and the lawes of the Realme at that preſent, and dyd make much to quietnes.

Chaunc. Well, if thou make this bablyng, rollyng in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant & vaineglorious, and wylt not receiue mercy offered to thee, knowe for truth that the Queene is minded to make a * purgatiõ of al ſuch as thou art.

* That is the worſt you and your Pope can do and the beſt argument you haue.

The Lordes mercy better then lyfe to Bradford.

Brad. The Lord before whom I ſtand, as well as before you, knoweth what vainglory I haue ſought, and ſeeke in this behalfe: his mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the Queenes fauour, to liue as a ſubiect without clog of conſcience. But otherwiſe the Lordes mercy is better to me then life. And I know to whom I haue committed my lyfe, euen into his hands which wil keepe it, ſo that no man may take it away before it be his pleaſure. There are. xij. houres in the day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man haue power thereon. Therefore his good wyl be done: lyfe in his diſpleaſure is worſe then death, and death in his true fauour, is true life.

Chaunc. I knowe wel enough that we ſhall haue glorious talke enough of thee: be ſure therfore, that as thou haſt deceiued the people with falſe and diueliſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receyue.

Bradford ready to confirme his doctrine with his lyfe.

Brad. I haue not deceyued the people, nor taught any other doctrine, then by Gods grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirme with my lyfe. And as for the diueliſhnes and falſenes in the doctrine, I would be ſory you coulde ſo proue it.

Dureſ. Why, tell me what you ſay by the miniſtration of the Communion, as now you knowe it is?

Bradford aſketh a queſtion before he anſwereth any interrogatory.

Brad. My Lorde, here I muſt deſire of your Lordſhyp and of al your honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſweare to any interrogatorie or queſtion, wherewith you now begynne. I haue bene ſixe tymes ſworne that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction, or any authoritie on the Biſhop of Romes behalfe within this Realme of Englande. Nowe before God I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you aſke me this queſtion by his authoritie, or no? If you doo, I dare not, nor may anſwere you any thing in his authority, which you ſhall demaunde of me, except I would be forſworne, whiche God forbyd.

Secretary Bourne ſpeaketh.

Sec. Bourn. Haſt thou bene ſworne ſixe tymes? what office haſt thou borne?

Bradford ſixe tymes ſworne againſt the Pope.

Brad. Forſooth I was thriſe ſworne in Cambridge, when I was admitted maiſter of Arte, when I was admitted felowe of Penbrooke hal, & when I was there, the Viſitors came thyther, and ſware the Vniuerſitie. Againe, I was ſworne when I entred into the Miniſterie, when I had a Prebend geuen me, and when I was ſworne to ſerue the kyng a litle before his death.

Herodes oth quoth Wincheſter.

Chaunc. Tuſh, Herodes othes a man ſhould make no cõſcience at.

Wincheſt. *De vera obedientia.*

Brad. But my Lord, theſe were no Herodes othes, nor no vnlawful othes, but othes according to Gods word, as you your ſelfe haue well affirmed in your booke De vera obedientia.

M. Rocheſter ſpeaketh

M. Roch. My Lords (quoth an other of the Counſel that ſtoode by the table, maiſter Rocheſter I weene) I neuer knew wherfore this man was in priſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not bene good that this man had bene abroad.) What the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I knowe not: but I now wel know that not without a cauſe he was and is to be kept in priſon.

The Earle of Darbies complaint agaynſt Bradford.

This letter was written to his mother, brethren and ſiſters, and followeth hereafter.

Bourne. Yea it was reported this Parlament tyme by the Earle of Darby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhortyng thoſe that haue come to hym, in Religion, then euer he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teache any falſe doctrine (for ſo he calleth that whiche is not accordyng to that he taught) and moſt hartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth, to continue ſtyll in that they haue receyued by hym, and ſuche like as he is. All which wordes diuers of the Counſel affirmed. Whereunto the ſaid M. Bourne added, ſaying: how ſay you ſir, haue you not thus ſeditiouſly written & exhorted the people?

M. Bradford falſely charged with ſedition.

Brad. I haue not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly, neither (I thanke God therfore) haue I admitted any ſeditious cogitation, nor I truſt neuer ſhal do,

Burn. Yea, but thou haſt written letters.

Chaunc. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſaith?

Brad. That I haue written, I haue written.

Sir Richard Southwell ſpeaketh.

South. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborne boye is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaueth hym ſelfe before the Queenes Counſel? Wherat one looked vpon an other with diſdainful countenances.

Brad. My Lordes and maiſters, the Lord which is, and wyll be iudge to vs all, knoweth, that as I am certaine I ſtand now before his maieſtie: ſo with reuerẽce in his ſight I ſtand before you, and vnto you accordingly in wordes and geſture I deſire to behaue my ſelfe. Yf you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his tyme wyl reueale it. In the meane ſeaſon I ſhal ſuffer with al due obedience your ſayings and doings too, I hope.

All is lyes that pleaſeth not Wincheſter.

Chaunc. Theſe be gay glorious wordes of reuerence: but as in al other thinges, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and ſhewe a terrible iudgement on me here preſent, if I haue purpoſed, or do purpoſe to lye before you, whatſoeuer you ſhal aſke me.

Chaunc. Why then doeſt thou not anſweare? Haſte thou written ſuch letters as here is obiected againſt thee?

Wincheſter holden at a bay.

Brad. As I ſayde, my Lorde, that I haue written, I haue written. I ſtande nowe before you, whiche eyther can lay my letters to my charge, or no: if you lay any thyng to my charge that I haue written, if I deny it, I am then a lyer.

Chaunc. We ſhall neuer haue done with thee, I perceiue now: be ſhort, be ſhort: wylt thou haue mercy?

Brad. I pray God geue me his mercy, and if therwith you wyll extende yours, I wyll not refuſe it, but otherwiſe I wyl none.

Here nowe was muche adoo, one ſpeaking this, and an other that, of his arrogancie, in refuſing the Queenes pardon, whiche ſhee ſo louingly dyd offer vnto hym: whereto Bradford anſweared thus.

M. Bradford deſireth to lyue ſo that he may haue lyfe without clog of conſcience.

Brad. My Lordes, if I may liue as a quiet ſubiect without clog of conſcience, I ſhall hartyly thanke you for your pardon: if otherwiſe I behaue my ſelfe, then I am in daunger of the lawe: in the meane ſeaſon I aſke no more, but the benefite of a ſubiect, tyl I be conuicted of tranſgreſſion. If I can not haue this, as hytherto I haue not had, Gods good wil be done.

Wincheſter ſpeaketh agaynſt the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes tyme.

Chaunc. Upon theſe wordes my Lorde Chauncelour beganne a long proceſſe of the falſe doctrine wherewith the people were deceyued in the dayes of kyng Edwarde, and ſo turned the ende of his talke to Bradford, ſaying: Howe ſayeſt thou?

M. Bradford ſtandeth in defence of the doctrine taught in K. Edwardes tyme.

Brad. My Lorde, the doctrine taught in kyng Edwardes dayes, was Gods pure Religion, the which as I then beleeued, ſo doo I nowe more beleeue it then euer I dyd, and therin I am more confirmed & ready to declare it by Gods grace, euen as he wyll, to the worlde, then I was when I firſt came into priſon.

Dureſ. What religion meane you in king Edwards dayes? What yeare of his raigne?

Brad. Forſooth euen the ſame yeare (my lorde) that the king dyed, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wote not what.

The reaſon of Wincheſter wherewith he diſproueth the doctrine of K. Edwardes dayes.

Chaunc. Nowe after a litle pauſing my lorde Chauncellour beginneth againe to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was hereſie, vſing for probation and demonſtration therof, no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this: that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (quoth he) the very ende were enough to improue that doctrine to be naught.

Brad. Ah my lorde, that you could enter into Gods Sanctuary, and marke the ende of this preſent doctrine that you nowe ſo magnifie.

Chaunc. What meaneſt thou by that? I weene we ſhall haue a ſnatche of rebellion euen now.

Brad. My lord, I meane no ſuch ende as you woulde gather: I meane an ende which no man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man looke on preſent thinges, he wyl ſoone deceyue hym ſelfe.

The Queenes mercy agayne offered to M. Bradford.

Here nowe dyd my Lorde Chauncellour offer agayne mercy, and Bradford anſweared, as before: Mercy with Gods mercy ſhoulde be welcome, but otherwiſe he woulde none. Whereuppon the Lorde Chauncellour dyd ring a litle Bell, belike to call in ſome bodye, for there was preſent none in manner, but onely thoſe before named, and the Biſhop of Worceſter. Now when one was come in: it is beſt (quoth Maiſter Secretary Bourne) that you geue the keeper a charge of this felow. So was the vnder Marſhal called in.

M. Bradford returned againe into priſon.

Chaunc. Ye ſhall take this man to you, and keepe hym cloſe without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and ſuffer hym not to write any letters. &c. for he is of an other manner of charge vnto you nowe, then he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradford lookyng as cheerefully as any man coulde doo, declaring thereby euen a deſire to geue his lyfe for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the ſecond examination of Iohn Bradford in S. Mary Oueries Church, before the Lorde Chauncelour, and diuers other Biſhops, the. 29. of Ianuar. 1555.

The ſecond examination of M. Bradford before the B. of Wincheſter and others.

AFter the excõmunication of Iohn Rogers, Ioh. Bradford was called in, and ſtanding before the Lord Chauncelor and other Biſhops ſet with hym, the ſaid lord Chauncelor ſpake thus in effect.

L. Chaunc. Where before the. xxij. of January, the ſaide Bradford was called before them (ſaid he) and they offred vnto him the Queenes pardon, although he had contemned the ſame, and further ſaid, that he would ſtiffely and ſtoutly mainteyne & defẽd ỹ erroneous doctrine taught in ỹ dayes of king Edward the ſixt: yet in conſideration ỹ the queenes highnes was wonderfull mercyfull, they thought good eftſoones to offer the ſame mercy againe, before it were too late: therfore aduiſe you wel (ſaid he) there is yet ſpace and grace before we ſo proceede, that you be committed to the ſecular power: as we muſt doo and wyll doo, if you wyll not folowe the example of maiſter Barloe and maiſter Cardmaker, whom he there commended, adding Oratoriouſly amplifications to moue the ſaide Bradford to yeelde to the Religion preſently ſet forth.

Example of M. Barlow and Cardmaker layd agaynſt M. Bradford.

Brad. After the Lorde Chauncelours long talke, Bradford began on this ſort to ſpeake: My Lord, and my lordes all, as nowe I ſtande in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſeeche your honours to conſider, that you ſit in the ſeate of the Lord, who (as Dauid doth witneſſe) is in the congregations of Judges, and ſitteth in the middeſt of thẽ iudging: and as you would your place to be nowe of vs taken as Gods place, ſo demonſtrate your ſelues to folowe hym in your ſitting, that is, ſeeke no gyltles bloud, nor hunt not by queſtions to bring into the ſnare, them which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you gilty or giltles: if gilty, then proceede and geue ſentence accordingly: if gyltles, then giue me the benefit of a ſubiect, which hytherto I could not haue.

Si illum obiurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit: quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut malum.

Chaunc. Here the Lorde Chancelour replyed, and ſaide, that the ſaide Bradford began with a true ſentence: Deus ſtetit in Synagoga. &c. But (quoth he) this and all thy geſture declareth but hypocriſie and vaine glory. And further he made much adoo to purge hym ſelfe, that he ſought no gyltles bloud, and ſo beganne a long proceſſe howe that Bradfordes fact at Paules Croſſe was preſumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking vpon hym to leade the people, which could not but turne to much diſquietnes, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) waſt ſo prefract & ſtout in religion at that preſent. For the whiche, as thou waſt then committed to priſon, ſo hytherto thou haſt bene kept in priſon, where thou haſt written letters to no litle hurt to the Queenes people, as by the report of the Earle of Darby in the Parlament houſe was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the ſaid Bradford dyd ſtubbornly behaue hym ſelfe the laſt tyme he was before them: and therfore not for any other liuing nowe I demaund of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

The witnes of the Earle of Darby layd agaynſt M. Bradford.

Brad. My Lorde, where you accuſe me of hypocriſie and vaine glory, I muſt, & wyll leaue it to the Lordes declaration, which one day wyll open yours and my truth, and harty meanyngs: in the meane ſeaſon I wyll content my ſelfe with the teſtimonie of myne owne conſcience, whiche if it yeelde to hypocriſie, coulde not but haue God to be my foe alſo: and ſo both God and man were againſt me. As for my fact at Paules croſſe, and behauiour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God wyl reueale it to my cõfort. For if euer I dyd thing, which God vſed to publike benefite, I thinke that my deede was one, and yet for it I haue bene and am kept of long tyme in priſon. And as for letters and Religion, I anſweare, as I dyd the laſt tyme I was before you.

M. Bradford defendeth his fact at Paules Croſſe.

Chaunc. There diddeſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldeſt manly mainteyne the erroneous doctrine in kyng Edwardes dayes.

The wordes of M. Bradford miſreported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt tyme I was before you, that I had ſixe tymes taken an othe that I ſhoulde neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction on the Biſhop of Romes behalfe, & therefore durſt I not anſweare to any thing that ſhould be demaunded ſo, leaſt I ſhoulde be forſworne, which God forbyd. Howbeit, ſauyng myne othe, I ſaid, that I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet foorth publikely in the dayes of king Edward, then euer I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, and thinke yet ſtyll I ſhall be found more ready to geue my life as God wyl, for the confirmation of the ſame.

M. Bradford more confirmed in his doctrine after his impriſonment then before.

Chaunc. I remember well that thou madeſt ſuche adoo about needeles matter, as though the othe againſt the Biſhop of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others haue done before thee: but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done, for thou pretendeſt a conſcience in it, whiche is nothing els but meere hypocriſie.

Winchester maketh but a ſmall matter of an oth.

Brad. My conſcience is knowen to the Lord: and whether I deale herein hypocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therfore then my Lord, ſo ſay I againe nowe: that for feare leſt I ſhould be periured, I dare not make anſwere to any thing you ſhal demaund of me, if my anſwearing ſhould cõſent to the confirmyng or practiſing of any iuriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England.

L. Chaunc. Why, diddeſt thou begyn to tell that we are Dij, and ſit in Gods place, and now wylt thou not make vs an anſweare?

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid, you would haue your place takẽ of vs now, as Gods place: and therefore I brought foorth that peece of ſcripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to folowe God and his wayes at this preſent, who ſeeth vs al, and wel perceiueth, whether of conſcience I pretend this matter of the othe, or no.

Bradford ſtandeth ſtill to his othe.

L. Chaunc. No, all men maye well ſee thine hypocriſie. for if for thine othes ſake thou dyddeſt not anſweare, then wouldeſt not thou haue ſpoken as thou dyddeſt, and haue anſwered me at the firſt: but nowe men well perceiue, that this is but a ſtarting hole to hide thy ſelfe in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwere, & ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blyndyng the ſimple peoples eyes, as though of conſcience you dyd al you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an anſweare to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to laye for me myne othe. For I thought you woulde haue more wayed what I dyd ſpeake, then you dyd: but when I perceyued you dyd not conſider it, but came to aſke matter, whereto by anſwearyng I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Juriſdiction on the Biſhop of Romes behalfe here in Englande, and ſo be forſworne: then of conſcience and ſimplicitie I ſpake as I doo yet againe ſpeake, that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſweare you. And therefore I ſeeke no ſtartyng holes, nor goe about to blinde the people as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me that you doo not aſke me any thing whereby myne anſwearing ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Biſhop of Romes Juriſdiction, aſke me wherein you wyll, and you ſhall heare that I wyll anſweare you as flatly as euer any dyd that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thanke God: for I looke and haue looked for nothing els at your hands of long tyme, but I am afraid when death commeth, I ſhoulde haue matter to trouble my conſcience by the gyltines of periurie, & therefore do I anſweare as I doo.

The cauſe why Bradford anſwereth not to Wincheſt. Popiſh interrogatories.

L. Chaunc. Theſe be gay glorious wordes, ful of hypocriſie and vaine glory, and yet doeſt thou not know that I ſit here as Biſhop of Wincheſter in myne owne Dioces, and therfore may do this which I doo, and more too?

Brad. My Lord, geue me leaue to aſke you this queſtiõ, that my conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tel me here Coram Deo, Before God, all this audience beyng witnes, that you demaunde of me nothing whereby myne anſwearing ſhould conſent to and confirme the practiſe of Juriſdiction for the Biſhop of Rome here in England, and your honour ſhall heare me geue you as flat and as playne anſweares briefly, to what ſoeuer you ſhall demaund me, as euer any dyd.

Bradford ready to anſweare vnder proteſtation.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lord Chauncelour was wonderfully offended, and ſpake muche, howe that the Biſhop of Romes authoritie needed no confirmation of Bradfordes anſwearing, nor no ſuch as he was, and turned his talke to the people, howe that Bradforde folowed crafty couetous Marchaunts, which becauſe they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in neede, would ſay that they had ſworne oft that they would neuer lend any more money, becauſe their detters had ſo oft deceiued them. Euẽ ſo thou (quoth he to Bradford) doeſt at this preſent, to caſt a myſt in the peoples eyes, to bleare them with an hereſie) which is greater and more hurtfull to the common wealth then the other is) pretend thine othe, whereby the people might make a conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Brad. My Lorde, as I ſaid, I ſay againe: I dare not anſweare you for feare of periurie, from which God defende me: or els I coulde tell you that there is a difference betweene othes: Some be according to fayth and charitie, as the othe againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſome be againſt fayth and charitie, as this: to deny by othe my helpe to my brother in his neede.

Difference of othes: ſome with fayth and charitie: ſome againſt it.

L. Chaunc. Here my Lord Chancelor againe was much offended, ſtyl ſaying, that Bradford durſt not anſweare, and further made much adoo to proue the othe againſt the Biſhop of Rome, that it was againſt charitie.

Brad. But Bradford anſweared, that howe ſoeuer his honour toke hym, yet was hee aſſured of his meanyng, that no feare, but the feare of periurie made hym vnwillyng to aunſwere. For as for my death my Lord (quoth he) as I knowe there are xij. houres in the day, ſo with the Lord my tyme is appointed. And when it ſhalbe hys good tyme, then ſhall I depart hence: but in the meane ſeaſon I am ſafe inough, though all the people had ſworne my death. Into hys handes I haue committed it, and do: his good will be done. And ſauyng myne oth, I will aunſwere you in this behalfe that the oth agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome was not, nor is not agaynſt charitie.

L. Chaunc. How proue you that.

Brad. Forſoth, I proue it thus.

¶Argument.

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, is not againſt charitie.

Fe- Nothyng is againſte charitie, whiche is with Gods word, and not againſt it.
ſti- The othe agaynſt the Biſhop of Romes authoritie in England, is with Gods word, and not agaynſt it:
no. Ergo, the othe againſt the Biſhop of Romes authoritie in England is not againſt charitie.

L. Chaunc. Is it not agaynſt Gods woorde that a man ſhould take a kyng to be ſupreme head of the Church in his Realme?

A king how he may be taken for ſupreame head of the church in his owne dominion.

Brad. No, ſauyng ſtyll myne othe, it is not agaynſt Gods woorde, but with it, beyng taken in ſuch ſenſe, as it may be wel taken: that is, attributing to the kinges power the ſoueraigntie in all his dominion.

L. Chaunc. I pray you, where finde you that?

Rom. 13. Biſhops Prophets, and Apoſtles ſubiect to temporall Magiſtrates.

Brad. I finde it in many places, but ſpecially in the. xiij. to the Romanes, where ſaint Paul writeth: Euery ſoule to be ſubiect to the ſuperiour power, but what power? Quæ gladium geſtat: The power veryly whiche beareth the ſworde, which is not the Spiritual, but the Temporal power. As Chryſoſtome ful wel noteth vpō the ſame place, which your honour knoweth better then I. He (Chryſoſtome I meane) there plainly ſheweth, that Biſhops, Prophets, & Apoſtles are obedient to the temporal magiſtrats.

L. Chaunc. Here yet more the Lorde Chauncelour was ſtyrred, and ſayd, howe that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the Queene for his othe: and ſo (quoth he) this man would make Gods woorde a warrant of diſobedience, for he wyll anſweare the Queene on this ſort, that when ſhee ſayth, nowe ſweare to the Biſhop of Rome, or obey his authoritie: No, (wyl he ſay) for I am forſworne, and ſo make the Queene no Queene.

Refuſing of the Popes obedience, beyng ſworne agaynſt hym, is no denying of obedience to the Queene.

Brad. No, I goe not about to deny all obedience to the Queenes highneſſe, but denying obedience in this part, if ſhee ſhould demaund it. For I was ſworne to kyng Edward, not ſimply, that is, not only concernyng his own perſon, but alſo concernyng his ſucceſſors, and therefore in denying to doo the queenes requeſt herein, I deny not her authoritie, nor become diſobedient.

L. Chanc. Yes that thou doeſt: and ſo he began to tel a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oth to pay to me an hundred poundes by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forgeue the det, the dettor would ſay, No, you can not doo it, for I am forſworne then.

The prepoſterous iudgment of Wincheſter, to care ſo litle for an othe to God, and ſo much for his vowe to the Pope.

Brad. Here Bradford deſired my Lord Chancelor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondred his honor would make ſolemne othes made to God, trifles in that ſort: and make ſo great a matter concernyng vowes (as they cal it) made to the Biſhop for Mariage of Prieſtes.

L. Chaunc. At theſe wordes the Lord Chancelour was much offended, and ſayd, he dyd not trifle: but (quoth he) thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the Queene, whiche nowe requireth obedience to the Biſhop of Rome.

Argument. A ſpecie ad genus negatiue non valet.

Brad. No, my Lorde, I doo not deny obedience to the queene, if you would diſcerne betweene Genus and Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this: Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſel a peece of his inheritance, yet this notwithſtandyng, al his inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe al obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this branch.

L. Chaunc. I wyll none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I woulde not vſe them, if that you wente not about to perſwade the people, that I meane that whiche I neuer meant: for I my ſelfe not onely meane obedience, but wyll geue enſample of all moſt humble obedience, to the Queenes highneſſe, ſo long as ſhee requireth not obedience agaynſt God.

L. Chaunc. No, no, all men may ſee your meanyng well enough. There is no man though he be ſworne to the kyng that doth therfore breake his othe, if he afterwards be ſworne to the French king and to the Emperour.

Brad. It is true my Lorde: but the caſes be not like. For here is an exception: thou ſhalt not ſweare to the Biſhop of Rome at any tyme. If in like manner we were ſworne: thou ſhalt not ſerue the Emperour. &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſeche your honor remember what ye your ſelfe haue written, anſwering yͤ obiections here againſt in your booke De vera obedientia: Vincat modo diuini verbi veritas. i. Let Gods word, and the reaſon therof beare the bell away.

Wincheſter pretendeth as though Bradford for feare durſt not aunſwere.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lorde Chauncelor was throughly moued, and ſayd ſtyll, how that Bradford had written ſeditious letters, and peruerted the people therby, & dyd ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in Kyng Edwardes tyme, agaynſt al men: and now (quoth he) he ſayth, he dare not anſweare.

Brad. I haue written no ſeditious letters. I haue not peruerted the people, but that whiche I haue written and ſpoken, that wyll I neuer denye, by Gods grace. And where your Lordſhyp ſaith, that I dare not anſwere you: that all men may knowe I am not afrayde, ſauyng myne othe, aſke me what you wyl, and I wyl plainly make you anſweare, by Gods grace, although I now ſee my lyfe lyeth theron. But Oh Lord, into thy handes I commyt it: come what come wyll, onely ſanctifie thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace. Amen. Nowe aſke what you wyl, and you ſhal ſee I am not afrayd, by Gods grace, flatly to anſweare.

Bradford ready to render a reaſon of his fayth.

L. Chaunc. Well then, howe ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament? Doo you not beleeue there Chriſt to be preſent concernyng his natural body?

Chriſt preſent corporally in the Sacrament to fayth.

Brad. My Lorde, I doo beleue that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament. By this worde (Corporally) I meane that Chriſt is there preſent corporally vnto fayth.

L. Chaunc. Vnto fayth? we muſt haue many mo wordes to make it more playne.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: but firſt geue me leaue to ſpeake two wordes.

L. Chaunc. Speake on.

Note well the Popes way to bring men to fayth.

Brad. I haue bene nowe a yeare and almoſt three quarters in priſon, and of al this tyme you neuer queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might haue ſpoken my conſcience frankly without peryl: but nowe haue you a lawe to hang vp and put to death, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite: and ſo nowe you come to demaund this queſtion. Ah my Lorde, Chriſte vſed not this way to bring men to fayth. No more dyd the Prophetes or Apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the Pope: Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe iudicandos, ſediſſe iudicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit. &c. that is, I reade, that the Apoſtles ſtoode to be iudged, but I reade not, that they ſate to iudge. This ſhal be: that was. &c.

The Popes iudging and condemning men for their fayth reproued by Bernarde.

L. Chaunc. Here the Lorde Chauncelour was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſayde moſt gently, that he vſed not this meanes. It was not my doyng (quoth he) although ſome there be, that thinke this to be the beſt way. For I for my part haue bene chalenged for being too gentle oftentymes. Which thing the Biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo dyd almoſt al the audience, that he had bene euer too myld and too gentle.

Wincheſter blamed without a cauſe.

Brad. At which wordes Bradford ſpake thus. My lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentlenes, that I may feele it, for hitherto I neuer fealt it.

L. Chaunc. As ſoone as euer he had ſpoken thus, the lord Chancelor, belike, thinking that Bradford would haue had mercy and pardon, ſaide, that with al his hart, not onely he, but the Queenes highnes would ſtretch out mercy, if with them he would returne.

Bradford three quarters of a yeare in the Tower kept from pen and inke.

M. Bradford impriſoned not for matter they had, but for matter they would haue agaynſt him.

Brad. Returne my Lord? God ſaue me from that going backe: I meane it not ſo, but I meane, that I was three quarters of a yeare in the Tower: you forbad me paper, pen, and ynke, and neuer in all that tyme, nor ſithens dyd I feele any gentleneſſe from you. I haue rather hytherto found, as I looked for, extremitie. And I thanke God that I perceyue nowe you haue kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you woulde haue. Gods good wyl be done.

Bradford kept in the Veſtery till darke night.

Here was nowe diuers tellyng my Lorde it was dynner tyme. And ſo he roſe vp, leauyng Bradford ſpeakyng, and ſaying, that in the after noone they would ſpeake more with hym. And ſo was he had into the Veſtrie, and was there all that day tyll darke night, and ſo was conueyed againe to priſon.

In the meane tyme, about. iiij. of the clocke the ſame after noone, a gentleman called Maiſter Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhyre, whiche was once an officer in the Duke of Northfolkes houſe, dyd come into the Reueſtry to enquire for one Stoning: and when it was aunſwered hym by the vndermarſhals officers of the Kynges Bench, that

Thomas Huſſey commeth to Bradford.

there was none ſuch, hee entred into the houſe, and tooke acquaintance of John Bradford ſaying, that he would common and ſpeake with hym the next mornyng for olde acquaintance.

1555.

July.

Counſell of M. Huſſey geuen to Bradford.

The next mornyng about .vij. of the clocke, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford dyd lye, and beyng with him, hee began a long Oration, howe that of loue and old acquaintance he came vnto him to ſpeake that whiche he woulde further vtter. You dyd (ſayd he) ſo wonderfully behaue your ſelfe before the Lorde Chauncellour and other Byſhops yeſterday, that euen the verieſt enemyes you haue, dyd ſee that they haue no matter agaynſt you: and therfore I aduiſe you (ſpeakyng as though it came of his owne good will without makyng any other man priuy, or any other procuryng hym, as he ſayd) this day (for anone you ſhall be called before them agayne) to deſyre a tyme and men to conferre withall, ſo ſhall all men thinke a wonderfull wyſedome, grauitie, and godlynes in you: and by this meanes you ſhall eſcape preſent daunger, which els is nearer then you beware of. To this John Bradford aunſwered: I neither can nor will make any ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I giue occaſion to the people and to all other to thinke that I doubt of the Doctrine whiche I confeſſe: the which thinge I do not for therof I am moſt aſſured, and therfore I wyll geue no ſuch offence.

Bradford refuſeth to require reſpite.

D. Seton commeth to Maiſter Bradford.

As they were thus talking, the chamber doore was vnlocked and Doctour Seton came in, who when hee ſawe Maiſter Huſſey: what Syr (quoth hee) are you come before me? O Lord ſayd Bradford in his hart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man told mee, no man knew of his commyng: Lorde geue mee grace to remember thy Leſſon. Cauete ab hominibus illis. Beware of thoſe men. &c. Caſt not your pearles before dogges: for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may beare witnes with the other.

Huſſey taken with a lye.

Counſell of D. Seton geuen to M. Bradford.

Seton. Doctor Seton after ſome bytalke of Bradfordes age, of his countrey and ſuch lyke, began a gay and long ſermon of my Lord of Cāterbury, M. Latimer, and M. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to aunſwere any thyng at all: and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury deſired to conferre with the Byſhop of Dureſme and others: all which talke tended to this end ÿ John Bradford ſhould make the lyke ſute, beyng in nothing to be compared in learnyng to my Lord of Canterbury.

Brad. To this John Bradford briefly aunſwered as he dyd before to Maiſter Huſſey.

The flattering commendation of D. Seton to M. Bradford.

Seton. With this aunſwere neither the Doctour nor Gentleman beyng cōtented, after many perſwaſions: M. Doctour ſayd: I haue heard much good talke of you, and euen yeſternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lorde Chauncellors table, that ye were able to perſwade as much as any that hee knew. And I (though I neuer heard you preach, & to my knowledge neuer dyd I ſe you before yeſterday) yet me thought your modeſty was ſuch, your behauiour and talke ſo without malice and impacience, that I would be ſory ye ſhould do worſe then my ſelfe. And I tell you further, I doe perceiue my Lorde Chauncellor hath a fantaſie towardes you: wherfore be not ſo obſtinate but deſire reſpite, and ſome learned man to conferre withall &c.

M. Bradford refuſeth to aſke reſpite to conferre vpon his doctrine.

Brad. But John Bradford kept ſtill one aunſwere: I can not, nor I will not ſo offend the people. I doubt not, but am moſt certaine of the doctrine I haue taught.

Seton. Here Maiſter Doctour waxed hote, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vaingloryous, and ſpake lyke a Prelate.

Brad. But Bradford aunſwered, beware of iudging, leſt ye condemne your ſelfe. But ſtill Maiſter Doctour Seton vrged hym, ſhewyng hym howe mercyfull my Lorde Chauncellour was, and howe charitably they entertayned hym.

Litle iuſtice, leſſe loue appeareth in the Biſhop of Wincheſt.

Brad. I neuer ſawe any iuſtice, much leſſe loue, I ſpeake for my part (quoth Bradford) in my Lord Chauncellor. Long haue I ben vniuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame vncharitably, & now my Lord hath no iuſt matter agaynſt me.

This talke ſerued not the Doctors purpoſe: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to ÿ poynt. Bradford ſtyll gaue hym the hearyng, and aunſwered not: for he perceaued that they both dyd come but to fiſh for ſome ſuch thinges as might make a ſhew that my Lord Chauncellor had iuſtly kept him in priſon.

When all their talke tooke no ſuch effect as they woulde or looked for. Maiſter Huſſey aſked Bradford: wyll ye not admit conference, if my Lorde Chauncelour ſhoulde offer it publikly?

M. Bradford refuſeth againe to admit conference but vpon conditions.

Brad. Conference, if it had bene offered before the lawe had bene made, or if it were offered, ſo that I might be at libertie to conferre, and as ſure, as he with whom I ſhoulde conferre, then it were ſomething: but els I ſee not to what other purpoſe conference ſhoulde bee offered, but to deferre that which will come at the length, and the lingeryng may geue more offence, then doe good. Howbeit, if my Lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his owne motion, I will not refuſe to conferre with whome ſo euer he ſhall appoint.

D. Seton rayleth agaynſt M. Bradford.

Maiſter Doctour hearyng this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoeuer pleaſed hym.

Then Bradford perceiuyng by them, that hee ſhoulde ſhortly bee called for, beſought them both to geue hym leaue to talke with God, and to begge wiſdome and grace of hym: for (quoth hee) otherwiſe I am helples: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God and made his prayers, whiche the Lorde of his goodnes dyd graciouſly accept in his neede, prayſed therfore be hys holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was lead to the foreſayd church, and there taryed vncalled for, tyll .xi. of the clocke, that is, till Maiſter Saunders was excommunicated.

The effect and ſumme of the laſt examination of Iohn Bradford in the Churche of S. Mary Oueryes.

The laſt examination of M. Bradford.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and beyng brought in before the Lord Chauncellour and other the Byſhops there ſittyng, the Lord Chauncellour began to ſpeake thus in effect: that Bradford beyng nowe eftſoones come before them would anſwere with modeſtie and humilitie, and conforme hym ſelfe to the Catholicke Church with them and ſo yet he might finde mercy, becauſe they would be loth to vſe extremitie. Therfore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

The effect of Wincheſters talke with M. Bradford.

M. Bradfordes aunſwere to Wincheſter.

After the Lord Chauncelour had ended hys long Oration, Bradford began to ſpeake thus: As yeſterday I beſought your honours to ſet in your ſight the Maieſtie and preſence of God to follow hym, which ſeeketh not to ſubuert ÿ ſimple by ſubtile queſtiōs: ſo I hūbly beſech euery one of you to do this day: for that you know well inough that giltles bloud will cry for vengeaunce. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to doe as one that taketh vpon me to condemne you vtterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that which none doth ſo much as hee ſhould do: For our nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very obliuious and forgetfull of God. Agayne, as yeſterday I pretended mine oth and othes agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, that I ſhoulde neuer conſent to the practiſing of any iuriſdiction for him or on his behalfe in the Realme of England: ſo do I agayne this day, leſt I ſhould be periured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the aunſweres I made were by proteſtation and ſauyng myne oth, ſo I woulde your honours ſhould knowe that mine aunſweres ſhall bee this day: and this I doe, that when death (whiche I looke for at your handes) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the giltenes of periurye.

Wincheſter replyeth agayne to Bradford with a lye.

L.Chaun. At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour was wroth, and ſayd, that they had geuen hym reſpite to deliberate tyll thys day, whether he would recant his errours of the bleſſed Sacrament, which yeſterday (quoth he) before vs you vttered.

Brad. My Lord, you gaue me no tyme of any ſuch deliberation, neither dyd I ſpeake any thing of the Sacrament which you dyd diſallow. For when I had declared a preſēce of Chriſt to be there to fayth, you went frō that matter to purge your ſelfe that you were not cruell, and ſo went to dinner

The othe agaynſt the B. of Rome, whether it be lawfull, or vnlawfull.

L. Chaun, what? I perceyue we muſt begyn all agayne with thee. Did not I yeſterday tell the plainely that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould bee? Did not I make it plaine that the oth agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome was an vnlawfull oth?

Brad. No in dede my Lorde: you ſayd ſo, but you proued it not yet, nor neuer can do.

L.Chaun. Oh Lord God, what a fellowe art thou? Thou wouldeſt go about to bryng into the peoples heades, that we, all the Lordes of the parlament houſe, the Knightes and Burgeſſes, and all the whole realme be periured. Oh what an hereſie is this? Here good people you may ſe what a ſēceles hereticke this felowe is. If I ſhoulde make an oth I would neuer helpe my brother nor lend hym mony in hys neede, were this a good aunſwere to tell my neighbour deſiryng my helpe, that I had made an oth to the contrary, O that I could not do it?

Wincheſters ſimilitude in no poynt lyke.

Wincheſters ſimilitude refuted.

Brad. Oh my Lorde, diſcerne betwixt othes that be agaynſt charity and fayth, and othes that be accordyng to fayth and charity, as this is agaynſt the byſhop of Rome.

Chaun. Here the Lorde Chauncellour made much ado, and a long tyme was ſpent about othes, whiche were good and which were euill, he captiouſly aſkyng often of Bradford a direct aunſwere concernyng othes: whiche Bradford would not geue ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Whereat the Chauncellour was much offended: but Bradford ſtill kept him at the bay, that the othe agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome was a lawfull othe, vſing thereto the Lord Chauncellours owne booke, De vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

Gods word iudge onely of othes, whether they be made lawfull agaynſt the ſupremacye of the Pope or no. Wincheſter leaueth hys holde.

At the length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould bee Iudge of the lawfulnes of the othe: and Bradford ſayd the word of God, accordyng to Chriſtes worde. Iohn. 12. My word ſhall Iudge, and accordyng to the teſtimony of Eſay and Miche, that Gods word commyng out of Ieruſalem, ſhall geue ſentence among the Gentiles. By this worde (quoth Bradford) my Lord, I will proue the othe agaynſt the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, to be a good, a godly, and a lawfull othe. So that the Lord Chauncellour left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a deniall of the Queenes authoritie and obedience to her highnes, ſo did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proued that obedience in this poynt to the Queenes highneſſe, if ſhe ſhould demaunde an othe to the Biſhop of Rome, beyng denied, was not a * generall deniall of her authoritie and of obedience to her: no more (quoth he) then the ſale, gift, or leaſe of a peece of a mans inheritaunce proueth a ſale, gift, or leaſe of the whole inheritaunce.

* One ſpeciall caſe of obedience denied by conſcience, maketh no generall deniall of obedience in caſes lawfull.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: The Lord Chauncellour talkyng much and vſing many examples of dette, of goyng out of the Towne to morrow by oth, and yet taryng till Friday and ſuch like, whiche triflyng talke Bradford did touch ſaying: yͭ it was a wõder his honour wayed conſciẽce no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in vowes for Prieſtes Mariages made to Byſhops, & be carcles for ſolemne othes made to God, and to Princes. Summa, this was the end. The L. Chauncellour ſayd, the Queene might diſpenſe with it, & did ſo to all the whole realme. But Bradford ſayd, yͭ the Queenes highnes could do no more but remit her right: as for the othe made to God, ſhe could neuer remit, for as much as it was made vnto God.

Wincheſter ſtumbling at vowes made to man and leaping ouer ſolemne othes made to God

Wincheſter in a pelting chafe.

L.Chaun. At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour chafed wonderfully, and ſayd that in playne ſenſe I ſclaundered the Realme of periurie: And therefore (quoth he to the people) you may ſee how this fellow taketh vppon him, to haue more knowledge and conſcience, then all the wiſe men of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

M. Bradford impriſoned without a cauſe.

Brad. Well my Lord, let all the ſtanders by ſee who hath conſcience. I haue bene a yeare and an halfe in priſon. Now before all this people, declare wherfore I was impriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſayd the other day in your owne houſe, my Lord of London witneſſyng with you, that I tooke vpon me to ſpeake to the people vndeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I meane my Lord of Bath, which deſired me him ſelfe for the paſſiõ of Chriſt, I would ſpeake to the people. Vpon whoſe wordes, I commyng into the Pulpit, had like to haue bene ſlayne with a dagger (whiche was hurled at him, I thinke) for it touched my ſleeue. He then prayed me I would not leaue him, & I promiſed him as lõg as I liued, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the Pulpit, and entreated with the people, and at length brought him my ſelfe into an houſe.

M. Bradford neare ſlayne in the pulpit, with the dagger throwen agaynſt M. Bourne.

Beſides this, in the after noone I preached in Bow Church and there goyng vp into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reproue the people, for (quoth he) you ſhall neuer come downe alyue, if you do it. And yet notwithſtandyng, I dyd in that Sermon reproue their fact, and called it ſedition at the leaſt twenty tymes. For all whiche my doyng, I haue receaued this recompence, priſon a yeare and an halfe and more, and death now whiche you go about. Let all men be iudge where conſcience is.

M. Bradford ieoperded his lyfe for Maiſter Bourne.

In ſpeakyng of theſe wordes, there was endeuour to haue letted it: but Bradford ſtill ſpake on, and gaue no place till he had made an ende, ſpeake what they would. And thẽ the Lord Chauncellour ſayd, that for all that fayre tale, his fact at the Croſſe was naught.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as you your ſelfe did beare witneſſe with me. For when I was at the firſt before you in the Tower, you your ſelfe dyd ſay that my fact was good, but (quoth you) thy mynde was euill. Wel (quoth I) thẽ my Lord, in that you allow the fact & cõdẽne the mynde, for as much as otherwiſe I can not declare my mynde to man, but by ſaying & doyng, God one day I truſt will open it, to my comfort, what my mynde was, and what yours is.

Wincheſter proued double in his owne wordes.

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour was offended, and ſayd that he neuer ſayd ſo. I (quoth he) had not ſo litle witte I trow, as not to diſcerne betwixt meanyng & doyng; And ſo brought forth litle to the purpoſe, many examples to proue that men conſtrue thynges by the meanyng of men, and not by their doynges. But when this would not ſerue, then cõmeth he to an other matter, and ſayd that Bradford was put in priſon at the firſt, becauſe he would not yeld nor be cõformable to the Queenes Religion.

Wincheſter driuen to eate his owne wordes.

Brad. Why my Lord, your honour knoweth, yͭ you would not then reaſon with me in religion, but ſayd, a tyme ſhould afterwardes be found out, whẽ I ſhould be talked withall. But if it were as your Lordſhip ſayth, that I was put in priſon for religion: in that my religion was then authoriſed by publicke lawes of the realme, could conſcience puniſh me or caſt me in priſon therfore? Wherfore let all men be iudge in whom conſcience wanteth.

M.Cham. Here came foorth M. Chamberleyne of Woodſtocke and ſpake to my Lord Chauncelour how that Bradford had bene a ſeruyng man and was with Maiſter Harrington.

M. Chamberlayne of Woodſtocke agaynſt M. Bradford.

L. Chaun. True, and dyd deceiue his Maiſter of ſeuen ſcore poundes, and becauſe of this he went to be a Goſpeller and a Preacher (good people) and yet you ſee how he pretendeth conſcience.

Brad. My Lord, I ſet my foote by his who ſoeuer he be, that can come foorth and iuſtly vouch to my face that euer I deceiued my Maiſter. And as you are chiefe iuſticer by office in England, I deſire iuſtice vppon them that ſo ſlaunder me, becauſe they can not proue it.

L. Chaun. Here my Lord Chauncelour and M. Chamberlaine were ſmitten blanke, and ſayd they heard it. But quoth my Lord Chauncelour wee haue an other maner of matter then this agaynſt you: for you are an hereticke.

Wincheſter agayne driuen from his hold.

Lond. Yea, quoth the Byſhop of London, hee dyd wryte letters to M. Pendleton which knoweth his hand as wel as his owne, your honours dyd ſee the letters.

Boner agayne commeth in with an other vntruth.

Brad. That is not true, I neuer dyd wright to Pẽdleton ſithens I came into priſon, and therfore I am not iuſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you indited it.

Brad. I dyd not, nor know not what you meane, & thys I offer to proue.

Here came in an other, I trow they call hym, Maiſter Allen one of the Clerkes of the Counſell, puttyng yͤ Lorde Chauncelour in remembraunce of letters writtẽ into Lankyſhyre.

A Clerke of the Counſell, thought to be M. Allen.

L.Chaun. You ſay true: for wee haue his hand to ſhew.

Brad. I deny that you haue my hand to ſhew of letters ſent into Lankyſhyre, otherwiſe then before you all I will ſtand to, and proue them to be good and lawfull.

Here was al aunſwered, and then the Lord Chauncellour began a new matter, Syr (quoth he) in my houſe the other day you dyd moſt contemptuouſly contẽne yͤ queenes mercy, and further ſayd, that you woulde maintaine the erronious doctrine in king Edwardes dayes againſt all men, And this you dyd moſt ſtoutly.

Brad. Well, I am glad that al men ſee nowe you haue had no matter to impriſon me afore that day iuſtly. Now ſay I, that I dyd not contemptuouſly contemne the Queenes mercy, but would haue had it (though if iuſtice might take place I neede it not) ſo yͭ I might haue had it with Gods mercy, that is, without doyng or ſaying any thing agaynſt God and his truth. And as for maintenaunce of doctrine, becauſe I can not tel how you will ſtretch this word maintenance, I will repete agayn that which I ſpake. I ſayd I was more confirmed in the Religion ſet foorth in Kyng Edwardes dayes then euer I was: and if God ſo woulde, I truſt I ſhoulde declare it by geuyng my life for the confirmation and teſtification therof. So I ſayd then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to maintayne it then perteyneth to a priuate perſon by confeſſion, I thought not, nor thinke not.

Wincheſter brought to a playne ſoyle.

Wincheſter captious quarell anſwered.

L. Chaun. Well, yeſterday thou didſt maintayne falſe hereſie concernyng the bleſſed Sacrament, and therefore wee gaue the reſpite till this day to deliberate.

An other vntruth in Wincheſter.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſayd at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the Sacrament but that which you allowed, and therfore reproued it not, nor gaue me any tyme to deliberate.

L. Chaun. Why? diddeſt thou not deny Chriſtes preſence in the Sacrament?

Brad. No. I neuer denyed nor taught, but that to fayth whole Chriſt, body and bloud was as preſent as bread and wyne to the due receauer.

L.Chaũ. Yea, but doeſt thou not beleue yͭ Chriſtes body naturally & really is there, vnder the formes of bread & wyne?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue Chriſt is preſent there to the fayth of the due receauer: as for tranſubſtantiation I plainly and flatly tell you, I beleue it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſclaunderer, for we aſke no queſtion (quoth my Lord Chauncelour) of trãſubſtantiation, but of Chriſtes preſence.

Brad. I deny not his preſence to the fayth of the receauer, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is tranſubſtantiate.

Bleſſed are you when they ſhall reuile you, and ſpeake all that naught is agaynſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

B.Worceſter. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Bradford. Forſooth though my fayth can tell how, yet my toung can not expreſſe it, nor you, otherwiſe then by fayth heare it, or vnderſtand it.

Chriſtes body preſent to fayth. Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

Here was much ado, now one Doctour ſtandyng vp and ſpeakyng thus, and others ſpeakyng that, and the Lord Chauncellour talkyng much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but ſtill Bradford kept him at this poynt, that Chriſt is preſent to fayth: and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor includyng of Chriſt in the bread: but all this would not ſerue them.

The wicked receiue not the body of Chriſt.

Therfore an other Byſhop aſked this queſtion, whether the wicked man receiued Chriſtes very body or no? And Bradford aunſwered plainly no. Whereat the Lord Chauncellour made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the euill man receiued it. But Bradford put away all his Oration in few wordes, that grace was at that preſent offered to his Lordſhyp, although he receaued it not: So that (quoth hee) the receauyng maketh not the preſence, as your Lordſhyp would inferre, but Gods grace, truth, & power is the cauſe of the preſence, which grace the wicked that lacke faith cā not receiue. And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to diuorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together: Take, eate, this is my body: he ſaith not: See, peepe, this is my body: but take, eate. So that it appeareth, this is a promiſe dependyng vpon condition, if we take and eate.

Receiuing maketh not the preſence of the body, but Grace.

The Popes Church diuorceth that the Lord in the Sacrament hath coupled.

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour and the other Byſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man els euer did, of the condition, & the Lord Chauncellour made many wordes to the people there about.

The Sacrament hath both a commaundement and a promiſe & how?

Brad. But Bradford ſayd thus: My Lord, are not theſe wordes, Take, eate, a commaundement? And are not theſe wordes: This is my body, a promiſe? If you will challenge the promiſe, and do not the commaundement, may you not deceiue your ſelf?

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour denyed Chriſt to haue commaunded the Sacrament, and the vſe of it.

Bradford teacheth Wincheſter his grammer.

Brad. Why, my Lord I pray you, tel the people what moode Accipite, Manducate is: Is it not playne to children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying commaundeth?

Wincheſter denyeth theſe wordes Take eate, to be a commaundement.

L.Chaun. At theſe wordes the Lord Chauncellour made a great toying and trifling at the imperatiue moode and fell to pareſing or examinyng, as he ſhould teach a child: and ſo concluded that it was no commaundemēt: but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you geue me drinke, which (quoth he) is no commaundement I trow.

Brad. But Bradford prayed him to leaue toying and trifling, and ſayd thus: My Lord, if it be not a commaundement of Chriſt to take and eate the Sacrament, why dare any take vpon them to commaunde and make that of neceſſitie, which God leaueth free? as you do in makyng it a neceſſary commaundement, once a yeare for all that be of diſcretion to receaue the Sacrament.

* Diabolus, is as much to ſay in Greke, as a ſlaunderer, or cauiler.

L.Chaun. Here the Lord Chauncellour called him agayne * Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of theſe wordes: Let a man proue him ſelfe, & ſo eate of the bread, (yea bread quoth Bradford) and drinke of the cuppe, to proue that it was no commaundement to receaue the Sacrament. For then (quoth he) if it were a cōmaundement, it ſhould bynde all men in all places, and at all tymes.

Diſtinction betweene commaundementes.

Brad. Oh my Lord, diſcerne betwene commaundementes: ſome be ſo generall, as the ten commaundementes: that they bynde alwayes, in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo generall: as this is of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, of the thriſe appearyng before the Lord yearely at Jeruſalem, of Abraham offeryng Iſaac. &c.

Here my Lord Chauncellour denied the cup to be commaunded of Chriſt, for then (quoth he) we ſhould haue eleuen commaundementes.

Brad. In deede I thinke you thinke as you ſpeake, for els would you not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſayth: Drinke ye of it all. But how ſay you my Lordes, Chriſt ſayth to you Byſhops eſpecially: Ite prædicate Euāgelium. i. Go and preach the Goſpell: Feede Chriſtes flocke. &c. Is this a commaundement or no?

Wincheſter in a chafe.

L.Chaun. Here was my Lord Chauncellour in a chafe, and ſayd as pleaſed him.

B. Cuntalles queſtion.

Dureſme. An other, the Byſhop of Dureſme I weene, aſked Bradford when Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament? whether before the receauer receaued it, or no?

As the cup is the teſtament: ſo bread is the body.

Brad. Bradford aunſwered, that the queſtion was curious & not neceſſary: & further ſayd, that as the cup was the new Teſtament, ſo the bread was Chriſtes body to him that receaueth it duely, but yet ſo that the bread is bread. For (quoth he) in all the Scripture, you ſhall not finde this propoſition. Non eſt panis, there is no bread. And ſo he brought forth Chriſoſtome: Si in corpore eſſemus. Homel. 83. in Mat.

Chriſoſt. in Mat. Hom. 83.

34. Sūma, much ado was hereabouts, they calling Bradford heretike, & he deſiryng them to procede on in Gods name, he looked for that which God had appointed for them to do.

L.Chaun. This fellow is now in an other hereſie of fatall neceſſitie, as though all thynges were ſo tyed together, that of mere neceſſitie all muſt come to paſſe.

To God nothing is by fortune: to man it may ſeeme ſomtymes ſo to bee.

Brad. But Bradford prayed hym to take thynges as they be ſpoken, and not wraſt them into a contrary ſence. Your Lordſhyp (quoth hee) doth diſcerne betwixt God and men. Thynges are not by Fortune to God at any tyme, though to man they ſeeme ſo ſometymes. I ſpeake but as the Apoſtles ſayd: Lord (quoth they) ſee how Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates are gathered together agaynſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſell hath before ordayned for them to do.

Actes 4.

Wincheſter readeth the Sentence of curſe agaynſt M. Bradford.

L.Chaun. Here began the Lord Chauncellour to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford Laicus, lay man: why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Bradford. No, nor neuer was, either Prieſt, either beneficed, either maryed, either any Preacher, afore publicke authoritie had eſtabliſhed Religion, or Preacher after publicke authoritie had altered Religion, and yet I am thus handled at your handes: but God, I doubt not, will geue his bleſſyng where you curſe. And ſo he fell downe on his knees, and hertely thanked God, that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. And ſo praying God to geue hym repentaunce, and a good mynde, after the excommunication was read, he was deliuered to the Shrieffe of London, and ſo had to the Clincke, and after to the Coūter in the Poultry in the ſame Citie of London, this beyng then purpoſed of his murtherers, that he ſhould be deliuered from thence to the Earle of Darby, to be conueyed into Lācaſhyre, and there to be burned in ỹ towne of Mācheſter, where he was borne: but their purpoſe concernyng the place was afterward altered: for they burned him in London.

M. Bradford deliuered to the Shrieſe.

M. Bradford ſent to the counter in the poultrye.

After the cōdēnatiō of M. Bradford, which was the laſt day of January, M. Bradford beyng ſent into priſon dyd there remaine vntill the firſt day, of July, duryng all which tyme, diuers other cōferences & conflictes he ſuſteined with ſondry aduerſaries, which repayred vnto him into the priſon. Of whō firſt Byſhop Boner commyng to the Coūter to diſgrade D. Taylour, the 4. day of February entred talke with the ſayd M. Bradford: ỹ effect wherof here enſueth.

¶Priuate talke had with Iohn Bradford, by such as the Prelates ſent vnto hym, after the tyme of condemnation, by his owne writyng.

B. Boners talke with M. Bradford.

Vpon the 4. of February, that is, the ſame day M. Rogers was burned, Boner Byſhop of Lōdō came to the Coūter in ỹ Poultry to diſgrade M. D. Taylor about one of ỹ clocke at after noone. But before he ſpake to M. Taylour, he called for Joh. Bradford which was priſoner there wt ū whē he ſaw, he put of his cap & gaue him his hād, ſaying: Becauſe I perceaue that ye are deſirous to cōferre wt ſome learned mē, therfore I haue brought M. Archdeacon Harpſfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe man. But I pray you go roūdly to worke: for ỹ time is but ſhort.

Bradford deſireth to conferre with none, and yet is ready to talke with any.

Bradford. My Lord, as roundely as I can I will go to worke with you: I neuer deſired to conferre with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will haue one to talke with me, I am ready.

Boner. What (quoth the Byſhop in a fume to the keeper) did not you tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keeper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to conferre with any: but I did not ſay that it is his deſire.

Boner. Well, M. Bradford, you are welbeloued, I pray you conſider your ſelfe, & refuſe not charitie when it is offered.

More charity amongeſt the Turkes, then amongeſt the perſecuting Papiſtes.

Bradford. In deede my Lord, this is ſmall charitie, to condemne a man as you haue condēned me, which neuer brake your lawes. In Turky a man may haue charitie, but in England I could not yet finde it. I was cōdemned for my fayth, ſo ſoone as I vttered it at your requeſtes, before I had cōmitted any thyng agaynſt the lawes. And as for conference I am not afrayde to talke with whom you will. But to ſay that I deſire to conferre, that do I not.

Boner. Well, well. And ſo he called for M. Taylour and Bradford went his way.

¶An other priuate matter of talke betwene M.Bradford and Willerton, Creſwell, Hardyng. Harpſfield, and other moe.

Talke betwene M. Bradford, and Willertō chaplayne to Byſhop Boner.

Vpon an other day of February one, Maiſter Willertō, a Chapleine of the Biſhop of London, did come to conferre with Bradford: but when he perceaued that Bradford deſired not his, commyng, and therfore wiſhed rather his departyng them abydyng, well Maiſter Bradford (quoth he) yet I pray you let vs conferre a little: perchaunce you may do me good, if I can do you none: Vppon whiche wordes Bradford was content, and ſo they began to talke. Willerton ſpake much of the Doctours, the fathers, of the bread in the 6. chapter of S. Iohn &c. laboring to proue tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men do receaue Chriſt.

But Bradford on the contrary part improued his authorities, ſo that they came to this iſſue, that Willerton ſhould draw out of the Scriptures and Doctours his reaſons, and Bradford would peruſe them: and if he could not aunſwere them, then he would geue place. Likewiſe ſhould Bradford draw out his reaſons out of the Scriptures and Doctours, to which Willerton ſhould aunſwere if he could: and ſo for that day they departed.

Willerton ſendeth his writing to Bradford to proue tranſubſtantiation.

The next day folowyng in the mornyng, Willerton ſent halfe a ſheete of a paper written on both ſides, contayning no reaſons how hee gathered his doctrine, but onely bare ſentences: Panis quem ego dabo. &c. The bread whiche I will geue is my fleſh: And the places in the 26. of Mathew. 14. of Marke. 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with ſome ſentences of the Doctours: All which made as much agaynſt him, as with him.

Willerton commeth agayne to Bradford.

In the after noone he came him ſelfe, and there they had a longe talke to litle effect. At the length Willerton began to talke of the Church, ſaying that Bradford ſwarued from the Church.

Brad. No, that do I not, but ye do. For the * Churche is Chriſtes ſpouſe, and Chriſtes obedient ſpouſe, which your Church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lordes cup, and of ſeruice in the Engliſh toung.

Willerton. Why? it is not profitable to haue the ſeruice in Engliſh: for it is written: Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt legem. The lippes of the Prieſt ſhould keepe the law, and out of his mouth man muſt looke for knowledge.

Bradford. Should not the people then haue the Scriptures? wherefore ſerueth this ſaying of Chriſt: Search the Scriptures?

Willerton. This was not ſpoken to the people, but to the Scribes and learned men.

Argument Erunt docti a Deo. Ergo the people muſt not haue the ſcriptures.

Brad. Then the people muſt not haue the Scriptures.

Willerton. No, for it is written: Erunt docti a Deo: They ſhalbe all taught of God.

Brad. And muſt we learne all at the Prieſtes?

Willerton. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bryng the people to hang vp Chriſt and let Barrabas go, as the Prieſtes dyd then perſwade the people. At whiche wordes, Maiſter Willerton was ſo offended that hee had no luſt to talke any more. In the end Bradford gaue hym the reaſons whiche he had gathered agaynſt tranſubſtantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the forme of reaſons, and then, quoth Bradford, I will aunſwere them.

M. Bradfords reaſon agaynſt tranſubſtantiation not aunſwered.

Willer. Well I will do ſo. But firſt I wil aunſwere yours. The which thyng vntill this day he hath not done.

The Earle of Darbies ſeruaunt.

Vpon the 12. of February there came one of the Earle of Darbyes ſeruauntes to Bradford, ſaying: My Lord hath ſent me to you: he willeth you to tender your ſelfe, and hee would be good Lord vnto you.

Bradford. I thanke his Lordſhyp for his good will toward me: but in this caſe I can not tender my ſelfe more then Gods honour.

Seruaunt. Ah M. Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſters, frendes, kinſfolke, and countrey, what a great diſcomfort it wilbe vnto them to ſee you dye as an hereticke.

M. Bradford preferreth Chriſt before all his kynne and kynred.

Brad. I haue learned to forſake father, mother, brother, ſiſter, frend, & all that euer I haue, yea euen myne owne ſelfe, or els I can not be Chriſtes Diſciple.

Seruaunt. If my Lorde ſhould obtayne for you that ye might depart the Realme, would ye not be content to be at the Queenes appoyntment, where ſhe would appoynt you beyond the Sea?

Bradford contented to be burned in England, rather then to be ſent ouer the ſea to Popiſh places.

Bradford. No, I had rather bee burned in England, then be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſend me to Paris, Louaine, or ſome ſuch place, forthwith they would burne me.

¶Talke betwene Maiſter Bradford and one Perciuall Creſwell, and after that with Doctour Hardyng.

Perciuall Creſwell talketh with Bradford.

VPon the xiiij. of February, Perciuall Creſwell, an old acquayntaunce of Bradfordes came to hym, bryngyng with him a kynſman of Maiſter Fecknams, who after many wordes ſayd.

Creſwell. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Bradford. You may do what ye will.

Creſwell. But tell me what ſute I ſhould make for you.

Creſwell offereth to make ſute for Bradford.

Brad. Forſoth that ye will do, do it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your handes. If the Queene will geue me my life, I will thanke her. If ſhee will baniſh me, I wyll thanke her. If ſhee will burne me, I will thanke her: If ſhee will condemne mee to perpetuall priſonment, I wyll thanke her.

Mores booke brought to Bradford.

Hereupon Creſwell went away, and about a. xi. of the clocke he and the other man came agayne, & brought a boke of Mores making, deſiryng Bradford to read it ouer.

Bradford: taking the booke, ſayd: Good Perciuall, I am ſetled for beyng moued in this article.

Creſwell. Oh, if euer ye loued me, do one thing for me.

Bradford What is it?

Creſwell. Deſire and name what learned man or men ye will haue to come vnto you. My Lord of Yorke, my Lorde of Lyncolne, my Lord of Bath, and others wil gladly come vnto you.

Brad. No, neuer wyll I deſire them or any other to come to conferre with me, for I am as certaine of my doctrine as I am of any thing, But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may know I am not aſhamed to haue my fayth ſifted and tried, bryng whom ye will, and I will talke with them, So they went their way.

D. Harding commeth to M. Bradford.

And about. 3. of the clocke in the afternone maiſter Doctor Hardyng, who was then ẏ Byſhop of Lincolns Chaplaine came to Bradford, and after a great and ſolemne proteſtation, ſhewing how that he had prayed to God before he came to turne his talke to Bradfordes good, he begã to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and ſpent the tyme in ſuch tratling, ſo that their talke was to little purpoſe: ſaue that Bradford prayed him to conſider from whence hee was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to loue it: For the loue of God is not where the world is.

Hardyng. But Hardyng counted Bradford in a dãnable eſtate, as one beyng out of the Church, and therefore willed him to take heede of his ſoule, & not to die in ſuch an opinion.

D. Harding reuolted from his former profeſſion.

Brad. What M. Harding, quoth Bradford? I haue heard you with theſe eares maintaine this that I ſtand in.

Harding. I graunt that I haue taught that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtill doctrine, but otherwiſe I neuer taught it. And ſo hee inueying agaynſt mariages of Prieſtes, and namely agaynſt Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and ſuch, which for breakyng their vowes were iuſtly geuen vp into hereſies (as he ſayd) Bradford ſeyng him altogether geuen vp to Popery, after admoniſhment therof, bad him farewell.

D. Harding inueyeth agaynſt Peter Martyr Bucer, and Luther.

¶Talke betwene D. Harpſfield Archdeacon, And Maiſter Bradford.

D. Harpeſfield talketh with M. Bradford.

VPõ the. xxv. of February Perciual Creſwell came with M. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, and a ſeruaunt waytyng vppon him. After formall ſalutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a ſhort ſumme: That all men euen the infidels, Turkes, Iewes, Anabaptiſtes, & Libertines deſyre felicity as well as the Chriſtians, and howe that euery one thinketh they ſhall attaine to it by theyr religion. To which Bradford aunſwered briefly, that he ſpake not farre amiſſe.

Felicitie coueted of all men, but the way to felicitye not knowen of all men.

Harpſ. Then ſayd Harpſfield, but the way thither is not all alyke. For the infidels by Iupiter, Iuno: the Turke by his Alcoran: the Iewe by his Thalmud, do beleue to come to heauen, For ſo may I ſpeake of ſuch as beleue the immortality of the ſoule.

Brad. You ſpeake truely.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this heauen.

The true way to felicitie.

Brad. We may not inuent any manner of wayes. There is but one way, & that is Ieſus Chriſt, as he himſelfe doth witneſſe: I am the way.

Harpſ. It is true that you ſay, and falſe alſo. I ſuppoſe that you meane by Chriſt, beleuyng in Chriſt.

Brad. I haue learned to diſcerne betwixt fayth & Chriſt, Albeit I confeſſe, that who ſo beleueth in Chriſt, the ſame, ſhall be ſaued.

Harpſ. No not al that beleue in Chriſt: for ſome ſhall ſay Lord, Lord, haue not wee caſt out deuils? &c. But Chriſt will aunſwere in the daye of Iudgement to thoſe: Depart from me, I know you not.

Note the difference betwene beleuing and ſaying I beleue.

Brad. You muſt make a difference betwixt beleuyng, and ſaying I beleue, As for example: if one ſhould ſay and ſweare he loueth you, for all his ſaying ye will not beleue hym whẽ you ſee he goeth about to vtter and doe all the euill agaynſt you that he can.

Harpſ. Well, this is not much materiall. There is but one way Chriſt. How come we to know him? Where ſhall we ſeeke to finde him?

The way to come to Chriſt is by the word: for by the word commeth fayth by fayth we come to Chriſt.

Brad. Forſooth, we muſt ſeeke hym by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

Harpſfield. Very good, but tell me now how firſt we came in to the company of them that could tell vs this, but by Baptiſme?

Baptiſme an outward ſenſe wherby we are knowē to be Chriſtians. Children which dye without Baptiſme.

Brad. Baptiſme is the Sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that dye without Baptiſme. I will not tye God, where he is not bounde. Some Infantes dye, whoſe parentes deſire Baptiſme for them, and can not haue it.

Harpſ. To thoſe we may thinke perchaunce that God will ſhew ſome mercy.

Brad. Yea, the children whoſe parentes do contemne Baptiſme, wil not I condemne, becauſe the child ſhall not beare the fathers offence.

The Church is our mother.

Harpſfield. Well, we agree that by Baptiſme then we are brought, and, as a man would ſay, begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our father, and the Churche his Spouſe is our mother. As all men naturally haue Adam for their father, and Eua for their mother: ſo all ſpirituall men haue Chriſt for their father, and the Churche for their mother. And as Eue was taken out of Adams ſide, ſo was the Church taken out of Chriſtes ſide: whereout flowed bloud for the ſatiſfaction and purgation of our ſinnes.

Brad. All this is truely ſpoken.

Deſcent of the Church.

Harpſ. Now, then tell me whether this Church of Chriſt hath not bene alwayes?

Brad. Yea, ſithens the creation of man, and ſhall be for euer.

Harpſ. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church is a viſible Church, or no?

The Church of Chriſt is vyſible euen as Chriſt was, that is, not by exteriour pompe or ſhew, but by the inward eye.

Bradford. It is no otherwiſe viſible, then Chriſt was here on earth: that is, by no exteriour pompe or ſhewe that ſetteth her forth commonly, and therefore to ſee her we muſt put on (ſuch) eyes, as good men put on to ſee and knowe Chriſt when he walked here on earth: for as Eue was of the ſame ſubſtāce that Adam was of, ſo was the Church of the ſame ſubſtāce that Chriſt was of, fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, as Paule ſayth, Epheſ. 5. Looke therfore how Chriſt was viſibly knowen to be Chriſt whē he was on earth, that is, by conſideryng him after the word of God, ſo is the Church knowen.

Harpſ. I do not come to reaſon at this preſent, & therfore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a multitude?

Multitude is not alwayes the ſureſt marke to know the church.

Bradford. Yes that it is. Howbeit, latet anguis in herba, as the Prouerbe is. For in your queſtion is a ſubtiltie. What viſible multitude was there in Helias tyme, or whē Moſes was on the Mount, Aaron and all Iſraell worſhyppyng the Calfe?

Harpſ. Ye diuert from the matter.

D. Harpeſſield preuented of hys purpoſe.

Brad. No, nothyng at all. For I do but preuent you, knowyng well where about you go. And therfore fewer wordes might well ſerue if that you ſo would.

Preaching of the Goſpell goeth euer with the Church, vnles it be interrupt ſometime by perſecution.

Harpſfielde. Well, I perceiue you haue knowledge, and by a litle perceiue I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude haue not the Miniſterie or Preachyng of Gods word?

Bradford. Syr, ye go about the buſhe. If ye vnderſtand Preachyng for confeſſing the Goſpell, I will go with you: for els if you will, you may know that perſecution often letteth Preachyng.

Administration of Sacramentes is one note, but not the cauſe of the true Church. And yet not ſuch a note, but that it may often be letted by perſecutiō, and yet the true church remayne.

Harpſ. Well, I meane it ſo. Tell me yet more: hath it not the Sacramentes adminiſtred?

The Popes Church hath Baptiſme and Sacramentes adminiſtred: Ergo the popes church is the true church. The argument fayleth. *A cauſa non ſufficiente, vel non cauſa vt cauſa.*

Brad. It hath the Sacramentes, howbeit the adminiſtration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpoſe, becauſe I ſee where about you go. If Herretickes haue Baptiſme and do Baptiſe, as they did in S. Cyprians tyme, you know this Baptiſme is Baptiſme, and not to be reiterate. This Bradford did ſpeake, that the ſtāders by might ſee, that though the Papiſtes Church haue Baptiſme which we receiued of them, yet therefore is it not the true Church, neither neede we to be Baptiſed agayne.

Harpſ. You goe farre from the matter, and I perceiue you haue more errours then one.

Brad. So you ſay: but that is not enough till you proue thē.

A Popiſh diſtinction of the Church, to be a multitude hauing preaching of the Goſpell, miniſtration of the ſacramentes, power of iuriſdiction, and ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Harpſ. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preachyng of ỳ Goſpell, & the miniſtration of the Sacramentes? & yet more: hath it not the power of iuriſdiction?

Bradford. What iuriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction?

Harpſ. I meane by iuriſdiction admoniſhyng one an other, and ſo forth.

Brad. Well, go to: what then?

Harpſ. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of Byſhoppes. And here hee made much a do to proue that this was an eſſentiall poynt.

Succeſſion of Byſhops is no eſſentiall part of the Church, but rather *accidens commune*, which being interrupted yet the church may ſtād, as it did both before Chriſtes comming and after, at the comming of Antichriſt. Apoſtles and byſhops, be ſundry offices.

Bradford. You ſay as you would haue it: for if this parte fayle you, all the Churche you go about to ſet vp will fall down. You ſhall not find in all the Scripture this your eſſentiall part of ſucceſſion of Byſhops. In Chriſtes Churche Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter telleth vs, as it went in the old Church afore Chriſtes cōmyng, ſo will it be in the new church ſithen Chriſtes cōmyng: that is, as there were falſe Prophets, & ſuch as bare rule were aduerſaries to the true Prophetes: ſo ſhall there be (ſayth he) falſe teachers, euē of ſuch as are Byſhops, and beare rule amongeſt the people.

Harpſ. You go alwayes out of the matter: but I will proue further the ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Bradford. Do ſo.

Harpſ. Tell me, were not the Apoſtles Byſhops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a Byſhop, that is, geue him no certaine place.

Harpſ. In deede, the Apoſtles office was not the Byſhops office: for it was vniuerſall, but yet Chriſt inſtituted Byſhops in his church as Paule ſayth: he hath geuē Paſtors, Prophetes. &c. ſo that I trow it be proued by the Scriptures the ſucceſſion of Byſhops to be an eſſentiall point.

The miniſtery of Gods word and miniſters, be an eſſentiall poynt of the true church but not the locall ſucceſſion of miniſters in one certayne place.

Brad. The Miniſterie of Gods worde, and Miniſters, be an eſſentiall poynt. But to tranſlate this to the Byſhops and their ſucceſſion, is a playne ſubtiltie: And therefore that it may be playne, I will aſke you a queſtion. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference betwene Byſhops and Miniſters, which ye call Prieſtes.

Harpſ. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwardes, and let vs ſee what ye ſhall get now by the ſucceſſion of Byſhops, that is of Miniſters, whiche can not be vnderſtand of ſuch Byſhops as Miniſter not, but Lord it.

The aſcent and deſcent of ſucceſſion of high Prieſtes.

Harpſ. I perceiue that you are farre out of the way. By your doctrine you can neuer ſhewe in your Churche, a multitude which miniſtreth Gods word and his Sacraments, whiche hath iuriſdiction and ſucceſſion of Byſhops, which hath from tyme to tyme beleued as you beleue, begynnyng now and ſo goyng vpwardes as I will do of our doctrine, and therfore are ye out of the Church, & ſo can not be ſaued. Perchaunce you will bryng me downewardes a ſhewe to bleare peoples eyes: but to go vpwardes, that can you neuer do, and this is the true triall.

Brad. Ye muſt and will, I am aſſured, geue me leaue to follow the Scriptures and examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Steuen was accuſed and condemned as I am, that hee had taught new and falſe doctrine before the fathers of the Churche then as they were taken. Steuen for his purgation improueth their accuſation. But how? doth he it by goyng vpwardes? no, but by commyng downwardes, begynnyng at Abrahā and continuyng ſtill till Eſay as tyme, and the peoples captiuitie. Frō whence he maketh a great leape vntill that tyme he was in, whiche was (I thinke) vpon a 400. yeares, & called them by their right names helhoundes, rather then heauen houndes. On this ſort will I proue my fayth, & that can you neuer do yours.

The papiſts chaleng to them the true church euen as the mother of the dead child, challenged the lyuing child from the true mother. 3. Reg. 3.

Harpſfield. Yea Syr, if we did know that you had the holy Ghoſt, then could we beleue you. Here Bradford would haue aunſwered, that Steuens enemyes would not beleue he had the holy Ghoſt, and therfore they did as they dyd: but as he was in ſpeakyng, M. Harpſfield aroſe vp, & the keeper and others that ſtode by, began to talke gently, praying Bradford to take heede to that Maiſter Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſayd, that Bradford was out of the Church.

Bradford. Syr, I am moſt certaine that I am in Chriſtes Church, & I can ſhew a demōſtration of my Religion frō tyme to tyme continually.

Bradfordes prayer.

God our Father, for the name and bloud of his Chriſt, be mercyfull vnto vs and vnto all his people, and deliuer thē from falſe teachers, and blind guides, through whom (alas) I feare me, much hurt will come to this Realme of Englād. God our father bleſſe vs, and keepe vs in his truth and poore Church for euer. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, ſaying that hee would come agayne the next mornyng.

The next dayes talke betwene Doct. Harpſfield and Maiſter Bradford.

Archdeacon Harpeſfield returneth agayne to M. Bradford.

Vpon the xvj. of February in the mornyng the Archdeacon and the other two with hym came agayne, and after a few by wordes ſpoken, they ſat downe.

M. Harpeſfield agayne proueth his church by ſucceſſion of high prieſts.

Harpſ. Maiſter Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repetyng what they had ſayd, and how farre they had gone ouer night, and therwith dyd begyn to proue vpwards ſucceſſion of Byſhops here in England for. 8 0 0. yeares: in Fraunce at Lyons for. 1200. yeares: in Spayne at Hiſpalen for. 8 0 0. yeares: in Italy at Millan for. 1200. yeares, labouryng by this to proue his Church. He vſed alſo ſucceſſion of Byſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more cōfirmation of his wordes, & ſo concluded with an exhortation &

an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church: the interrogatiō, whether Bradford could ſhew any ſuch ſucceſſion for the demonſtratiō of his Church (for ſo he called it) which he followed.

Bradford. Unto this his long Oration Bradford made this ſhort aunſwere: my memory is euill, ſo that I can not aunſwere particularly your Oration.

Bradfordes aunſwere to M. Harpesfieldes oration.

Therfore I will generally do it, thinkyng, becauſe your Oration is rather to perſwade then to proue, that a ſmall aunſwere will ſerue. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles beyng here on earth had bene required by the Prelates of the Churche then to haue made a demonſtration of that Church by ſucceſſion of ſuch hygh Prieſtes as had approued the doctrine which he taught, I thinke that Chriſt would haue done as I do: that is, haue alledged yͤ which vpholdeth the Church, euen, the veritie, yͤ word of God taught and beleued, not by the high Prieſtes, which of long tyme had perſecuted it, but by the Prophetes and other good ſimple men, whiche perchaunce were counted for heretickes of the Church: which Church was not tyed to ſucceſſion, but to the word of God. And this to thinke, S. Peter geueth me occaſion, when he ſayth that as it went in the Church before Chriſtes commyng, ſo ſhall it go in the Churche after his commyng: but then the pillers of the Church were perſecutors of the true Church: therfore the like we muſt looke for now.

Outward deſcent of miniſters maketh not the true church: but the truth of Gods word maketh true miniſters.

The true church not tyed to ſucceſſion, but to Gods word.

Harpſ. I can gather and proue ſucceſſion in Hieruſalem of the hygh Prieſtes from Aarons tyme.

Bradford. I graunt, but not ſuch ſucceſſion as allowed the truth.

Harpſ. Why did they not all allow Moſes law?

Bradford. Yes, and kept it, as touchyng the Bookes thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meanyng of it they did corrupt, as you haue done & doe, and therefore the perſecution which they ſturred vp agaynſt the Prophetes and Chriſt, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you doe now, that we muſt fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your handes. But to make an ende, death I looke dayly for, yea hourely, and I thinke my tyme be but very ſhort. Therfore I had neede to ſpende as much tyme with God as I can whileſt I haue it, for hys helpe and comfort, and therefore I pray you beare with me that I do not now particularly and in moe wordes aūſwere your long talke. If I ſaw death not ſo neare me as it is, I would thē weigh euery peece of your Oratiō, if you would geue me the ſumme of it, and I would aunſwere accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leaue of lookyng & preparyng for that which is at hand, I ſhal deſire you to hold me excuſed, becauſe I do as I do, and hartely thanke you for your gentle good will. I ſhall hartely pray God our father to geue you the ſame light and lyfe I do wiſh to my ſelfe: and ſo Bradford began to ryſe vp.

The true ſucceſſion of Prieſtes, and the ſucceſſion of true prieſtes, are two thinges.

The Jewes corrupt the law, as the Papiſtes do the ſcriptures.

A compariſō betwene the old phariſees and our new papiſtes.

Harpſ. But then began Maiſter Archdeacon to tell hym that he was in a very perilous caſe, and that he was ſory to ſee him ſo ſetled. As for death, whether it be nigh or farre of I know not, neither forceth it, ſo that you did dye well.

Brad. I doubt not in this caſe, but that I ſhall dye well: for as I hope & am certaine my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo, I truſt I ſhal dye chearefully to the cōfort of his children.

Bolde confidence and hope vpon Gods word and promiſe, ſemeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in mortification.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceiued?

Bradford. What if you ſhould ſay the Sunne did not ſhine now? (and the Sunne dyd ſhine thorough the windowe where they ſat.)

Harpſ. Well, I am ſory to ſee you ſo ſecure and careleſſe.

Bradford. In deede I am more carnally ſecure and careleſſe then I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe I can not bee to ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured that I am in the truth.

Harpſfield. That are ye not: for you are out of the Catholike Church.

Bradford. No, though you haue excommunicate me out of your Churche, yet am I in the Catholike Churche of Chriſt, and am, and by Gods grace ſhalbe a childe and an obedient childe of it for euer. I hope Chriſt will haue no leſſe care for me, then hee had for the blynde man excommunicated of the Synagoge: and further I am ſure that the neceſſarie Articles of the fayth, I meane the twelue Articles of the Creede, I confeſſe and beleue with that whiche you call the holy Church, ſo that euen your Church hath taken ſomethyng to much vpon her to excommunicate me for that, whiche by the teſtimonie of my Lorde of Dureſme in hys booke of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred yeare after Chriſt, to beleue or not beleue.

Tranſubſtantiation free to beleue or not to beleue many hundreth yeares after Chriſt.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why? ye are not condemned therfore onely.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receiue Chriſtes body.

Harpſfield. You agree not with vs in yͤ preſence, nor in any thyng els.

Brad. Howe you beleue you knowe: for my part I confeſſe a preſence of whole Chriſt God and man, to the fayth of the receiuer.

Harpſfield, Nay, you muſt beleue a reall preſence in the Sacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not ſhutte hym in, nor tye hym to it, otherwiſe then fayth ſeeth and perceiueth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the Sacrament, or tye him to it otherwiſe then to the fayth of the receiuer, then the wicked men ſhould receiue him, which I do not, nor will by Gods grace, beleue.

Chriſt not included really in the Sacrament.

Harpſfield. More pity: But a man may eaſely perceyue, you make no preſence at all; and therfore you agree not therin with vs.

Brad. I confeſſe a preſence, and a true preſence, but to the fayth of the receiuer.

Chriſtes body preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

What (quoth one that ſtoode by) of Chriſtes very body which dyed for vs.

Brad. Yea euen of whole Chriſt God and man: to feede the fayth of him that receiueth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing els but to exclude yͤ omnipotencie of God, and all kynde of miracle in the Sacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his omnipotencie, but you do it rather: for I beleue that Chriſt can accompliſhe his promiſe, the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne beyng there, as well as the accidentes, which you beleue not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feede our bodyes, and therefore wee haue but a little peece of bread, but we come to feede our ſoules with Chriſt by fayth, which the wicked doe want, and therfore they receaue nothing but Panem domini as Iudas did, & not Panem Dominum, as yͤ other Apoſtles did.

None denyeth omnipotencye more then the Papiſtes, which ſay, that Chriſtes body can not be in the ſacrament vnleſſe the ſubſtance of bread be away.

Harpſ. The wicked do receiue the very body of Chriſt, but not the grace of his body.

Brad. They receyue not the body. For Chriſtes body is no dead carcaſe: he that receiueth it, receiueth the ſpirite, which is not without grace I trow.

Argument who ſo receaue the body of Chriſt do receiue the fruite and grace of lyfe: no wicked do receiue fruite and grace of lyfe. Ergo, no wicked men receiue the body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. Well, you haue very many errours. You count yͤ Maſſe for abomination, and yet S. Ambroſe ſayd Maſſe: and ſo he read out of a booke written a ſentence of S. Ambroſe to proue it.

Brad. Why Syr, the Maſſe as it is now, was nothing ſo in S. Ambroſe tyme. Was not the moſt part of the Canō made ſithen by Gregory and Scolaſticus?

Maſſe in Saint Ambroſe tyme.

Harpſ. In deede a great peece of it was made, as ye ſay, by Gregory: but Scolaſticus was before Saint Ambroſe tyme.

That is falſe, for Scolaſticus was not before Saint Ambroſe tyme.

Brad. I weene not: howbeit I will not contend. S. Gregory ſayth, that the Apoſtels ſayd Maſſe without the Canon, onely with the Lordes prayer.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſſe, the greateſt part is the ſacrifice, eleuation, tranſubſtantiation, and adoration.

The chiefe partes of the Popiſh Maſſe.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I thinke the ſame: but yet Hoc facite, telleth plainely the ſacrifice of the Church.

Brad You confounde Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the ſacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The ſacrifice of the Church is no propiciatory ſacrifice, but a gratulatory ſacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, is not referred to any ſacrifiſing, but to the whole action of takyng, eatyng, &c.

Sacrifice of the Church.
Sacrifice for the Church.

Harpſ. You ſpeake not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his ſupper onely to the twelue Apoſtles, not admittyng his mother or any of the ſeuenty Diſciples to it. Nowe, the Apoſtels do ſignifie the Prieſtes.

Note this doctrine good reader

Brad. I thinke that you ſpeake as you would men ſhould vnderſtand it: for els you would not keepe yͤ cup away from the Laitye. Wee haue great cauſe to thanke you, that you will geue vs of your bread, For I perceiue you order the matter ſo, as thoughe Chriſt had not commaunded it to his whole Church.

Harpſ. Then Harpſfield would haue proued Eleuation by a place of Baſilius.

Brad. I haue read the place which ſemeth to make nothing for eleuation: but be it as it is, this is no tyme for me to ſcan the doubtfull places of the doctors with you. I haue bene in priſon long without bookes and all neceſſaries for ſtudy, & nowe death draweth nye, and I by your leaue muſt nowe leaue of, to prepare for him.

Eleuation was not brought in indeed before the tyme of Pope Honorius. 3.

Harpſfield. If I could do you good, I would be right glade eyther in ſoule or body. For you are in a perilous caſe both wayes.

Brad. Syr I thanke you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thanke God it was neuer ſo wel with me: for death to me ſhall be life.

Creſwel. It were beſt for you to deſire maiſter Archdeacon that hee woulde make ſute for you, that you myght haue a tyme to conferre.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can, for I pitie his caſe.

Bradford. Syr, I will not deſire any body to ſue for tyme for me. I am not wauering, neither would I that any body ſhould thinke I were ſo. But if you haue the charitie which you pretende to warne me, and thereto do thinke that I am in an errour, I thinke the ſame ſhould moue you to do as you would be done to. As ye thinke of me, ſo do I of you, that you are farre out of the way, and I do not onely thinke it, but alſo am therof moſt aſſured. In this and ſuch like friendly talke they departed.

The talke of Doctour Heth Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Day Byſhop of Chicheſter, with Maiſter Bradford.

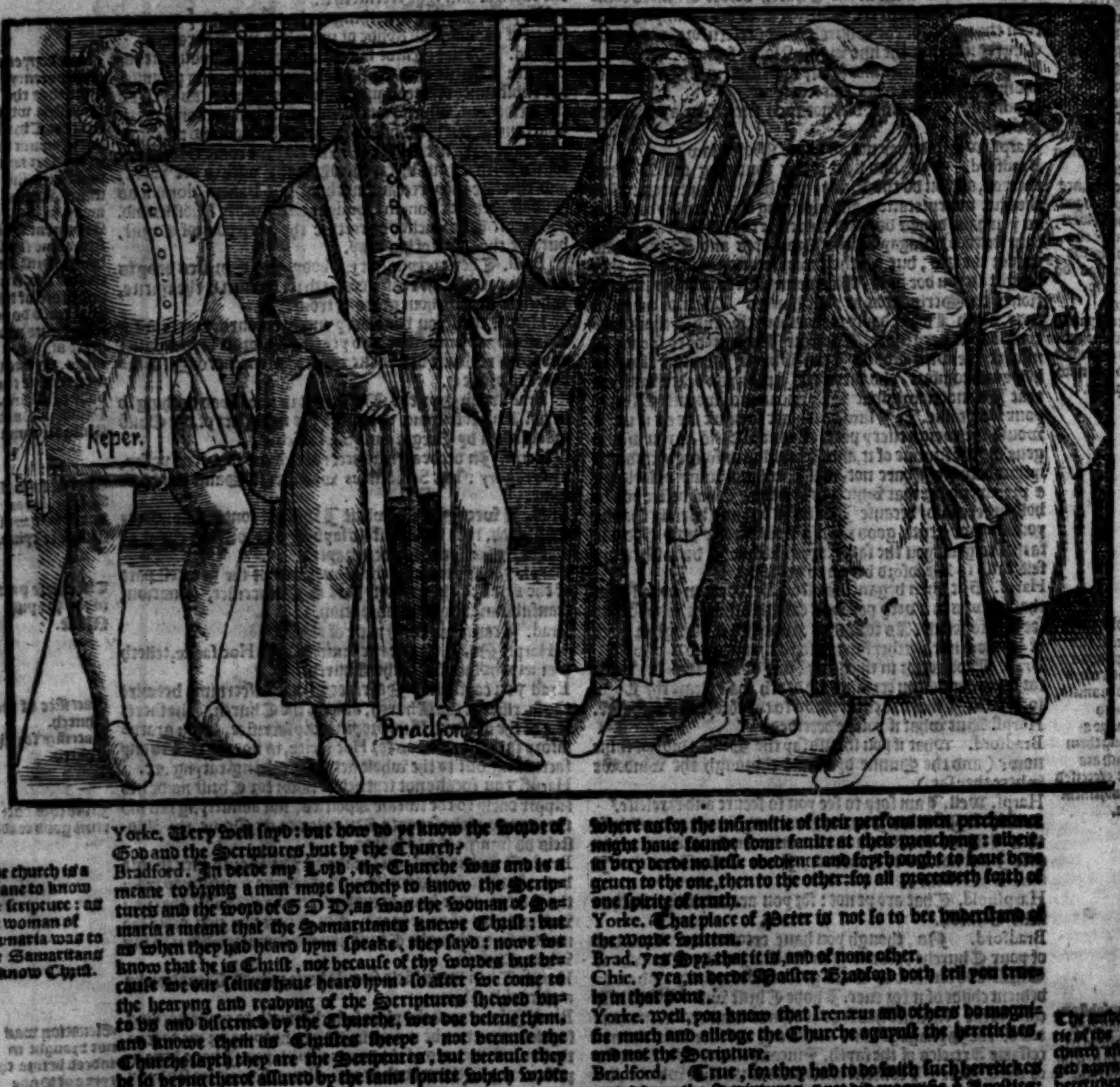
The xxiij. of the ſame moneth, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Byſhop of Chicheſter came to the Counter to ſpeake with Bradford. When hee was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the Byſhop of Yorke, vſed him very gently: they would haue hym to ſit downe, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtoode and whether he would or not, they would needes he ſhould put on, not onely his night cap, but his vpper cap alſo, ſaying vnto him, that obedience was better then ſacrifice.

Talke betwene the Byſhops & Bradford.

Now thus ſtandyng together, my Lord of Yorke, began to tell Bradford how that they were not ſent to him, but of loue and charitie they came to him: and hee, for that acquaintaunce alſo which he had with Bradford, more then the Byſhop of Chicheſter had: then after commendyng Bradfordes godly lyfe, he concluded with this queſtion: how he was certaine of ſaluation and of his Religion.

Brad. After thankes for their good will, Bradford aunſwered: by the word of God, euen by the Scriptures I am certaine of ſaluation, and Religion.

Certaine Byſhops talkyng with Maiſter Bradford in priſon.



Yorke. Very well ſayd: but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the Church?

The church is a meane to know the ſcripture: as the woman of Samaria was to the Samaritans to know Chriſt.

Bradford. In deede my Lord, the Churche was and is a meane to bryng a man more ſpeedely to know the Scriptures and the word of GOD, as was the woman of Samaria a meane that the Samaritanes knewe Chriſt: but as when they had heard hym ſpeake, they ſayd: nowe we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy wordes but becauſe we our ſelues haue heard hym: ſo after we come to the hearyng and readyng of the Scriptures ſhewed vnto vs and diſcerned by the Churche, wee doe beleue them, and knowe them as Chriſtes ſheepe, not becauſe the Churche ſayth they are the Scriptures, but becauſe they be ſo beyng therof aſſured by the ſame ſpirite which wrote and ſpake them.

Yorke. You know, in the Apoſtles tyme at the firſt the word was not written.

Although in the Apoſtles tyme certayne bookes of the new teſtament were not written: yet the Apoſtles ſend vs ad firmiorem ſermonem propheticum.

Bradford. True, if you meane it for ſome bookes of the new Teſtament: but elles for the olde Teſtament Peter telleth vs, Firmiorem ſermonem propheticum habemus: We haue a more ſure word of Prophecie: not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, whiche beyng aliue and compaſſed with infirmitie, attributed to the word written more firmitie, as wherewith no fault could be founde, where as for the infirmitie of their perſons men perchaunce might haue founde ſome faulte at their preachyng: albeit, in very deede no leſſe obedience and fayth ought to haue bene geuen to the one, then to the other: for all procedeth forth of one ſpirite of truth.

Yorke. That place of Peter is not ſo to bee vnderſtand of the Worde written.

Brad. Yes Syr, that it is, and of none other.

Chic. Yea, in deede Maiſter Bradford doth tell you truely in that point.

Yorke. Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnifie much and allege the Churche agaynſt the heretickes, and not the Scripture.

The authoritie of the church alleged agaynſt heretickes, and when.

Bradford. True, for they had to do with ſuch heretickes as did deny the Scriptures, & yet did magnifie ÿ Apoſtles: ſo that they were inforced to vſe the authoritie of thoſe Churches wherein the Apoſtles had taught, and whiche hyd ſtill retained the ſame doctrine.

Chic. You ſpeake the very truth: for the heretickes did refuſe all ſcriptures, except it were a peece of Lukes Goſpell.

Bradford. Then the alledgyng of the Church can not be principally vſed agaynſt me, whiche am ſo farre from denying of the Scriptures that I appeale vnto them vtterly, as to the onely iudge.

To iudge the Church.

The church is catholick and viſible, but yet ſome times more catholick & viſible then at ſome.

Yorke. A prety matter, that you will take vppon you to iudge the Church. I pray you where hath your Churche bene hetherto? For the Church of Chriſt is Catholicke & viſible hetherto.

Brad. My Lord, I do not iudge ý church, when I diſcerne it from that congregation, & thoſe which be not the Church, & I neuer denyed the Church to be catholicke and viſible, although at ſome tymes it is more viſible then at ſome.

Chic. I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe foure hundreth yeares?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhall tell your ſelfe, if you will tell me this one thyng, where ý church was in Helias his time, whē Helias ſayd that he was left alone?

Chic. That is no aunſwere.

The true church is viſible & euer hath bin, but euery man hath not eyes to ſee it.

Bradford. I am ſory that you ſay ſo: but this will I tell your Lordſhyp, that if you had the ſame eyes wherewith a man might haue eſpied the Church then, you would not ſay it were no aunſwere. The fault why the Churche is not ſene of you, is not becauſe the Church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not cleare enough to ſee it.

Chic. You are much deceiued in makyng this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

Yorke. Very well ſpoken my Lord, for Chriſt ſayd ædificabo Eccleſiam, I will builde my Church and not I do, or haue built it, but I will build it.

The biſhops driuen to an inconueniences.

Bradford. My Lordes, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, ſaying: as in the people there were falſe Prophetes, whiche were moſt in eſtimation afore Chriſtes comming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongeſt the people after Chriſtes commyng and very many ſhall followe them. And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Chriſtes Churche not to haue bene before, but rather that there is no buildyng in the Church but by Chriſtes worke onely: for Paule and Apollo be but waterers.

Chichester. In good fayth I am ſory to ſee you ſo light in iudgyng the Church.

Yorke. He taketh vpō him as they all do, to iudge ý church. A man ſhall neuer come to certaintie that doth as they do.

Bradford cōdemned without iuſt cauſe but as was gathered at his iudgement againſt him

Brad. My Lordes, I ſpeake ſimply what I thinke, & deſire reaſon to aunſwere my obiections. Your affections and ſorrowes can not be my rules. If that you conſider the order and caſe of my condemnation, I can not thinke but that it ſhould ſome thyng moue your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was layd agaynſt me, but what was gathered vppon myne owne confeſſion. Becauſe I did denye Tranſubſtantiation and the wicked to receiue Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, therfore I was condemned and excommunicate, but not of the Church, although the pillers of the Church (as they be taken) did it.

False ſurmiſe againſt Bradford.

Chichester. No, I heard ſay the cauſe of your priſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſworde in the one hand, and the mattocke in the other.

Brad. My Lord, I neuer ment any ſuch thyng, nor ſpake any thyng in that ſort.

Yorke. Yea, and you behaued your ſelfe before the Counſell ſo ſtoutly at the firſt, that you would defende the Religion then: and therfore worthely were you priſoned.

Bradford impriſoned for that, for which he had the lawes on his ſide.

Brad. Your grace did heare me aunſwere my Lord Chauncellour to that poynt. But put caſe I had bene ſo ſtoute as they and your Grace make it: were not the lawes of the realme on my ſide then? Wherefore vniuſtly was I priſoned: onely that which my Lord Chauncellour propounded, was my cōfeſſion of Chriſtes truth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiatiō, and of that which the wicked do receiue, as I ſayd.

Yorke. You deny the preſence.

The preſence of Chriſtes body to faith of the worthy receauer.

Brad. I do not, to the fayth of the worthy receiuers.

Yorke. Why? what is that to ſay other, then that Chriſt lyeth not on the aultar?

Brad. My Lord, I beleue no ſuch preſence.

Chic. It ſeemeth that you haue not read Chriſoſtome, for he proueth it.

Hyperbolical phraſe of Chriſoſtome

Bradford. Hetherto I haue bene kept well inough without bookes: howbeit this I do remember of Chriſoſtome, that he ſayth that Chriſt lyeth vppon the aultar, as the Seraphines with their tongues touch our lyppes with the coales of the aultar in heauen, whiche is an hyperbolicall loquution, of which you know Chriſoſtome is full.

Yorke. It is euident that you are to farre gone: but let vs come thē to the church, out of ý which ye are excōmunicate.

Bradford excommunicated with the poore blinde man. Iohn. 9

Brad. I am not excommunicate out of Chriſtes Churche my Lord, although they whiche ſeeme to be in the Churche and of the Churche haue excommunicated me, as the poore blynd man was, Iohn. ix. I am ſure Chriſt receiueth me.

Yorke. You deceiue your ſelfe.

Here, after much talke of excommunication, at length Bradford ſayd.

Brad. Aſſuredly, as I thinke you dyd well to departe from the Romiſhe Church, ſo I thinke ye haue done wickedly to couple your ſelues to it agayn: for you can neuer proue it, which you call the mother Church, to be Chriſtes Church.

Chichester. Ah Maiſter Bradford, you were but a childe when this matter begā. I was a young man, and then cōmyng from the Uniuerſitie, I went with the worlde, but I tell you it was alwayes agaynſt my conſcience.

The pope proued to be Antichriſt by Scripture.

Bradford. I was but a child then: howbeit, as I told you, I thinke you haue done euill. For ye are come and haue brought others to that wicked man whiche ſitteth in the Temple of God, that is in the Churche: for it can not bee vnderſtand of Mahomet, or any out of the Churche, but of ſuch as beare rule in the Church.

Yorke. See how you build your fayth vppon ſuch places of Scripture as are moſt obſcure to deceiue your ſelfe, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

What B. Tonſtall writeth of tranſubſtantiatiō.

Bradford. Well my Lord, though I might by fruites iudge of you and others: yet will I not vtterly exclude you out of the Churche. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemne him vtterly, that is of my fayth in the Sacrament: knowyng as you know, that at the leaſt. 800. yeares after Chriſt, as my Lord of Dureſme writeth, it was free to beleue, or not to beleue tranſubſtantiation.

Yorke. This is a toy that you haue founde out of your own brayne: as though a man not beleuyng as the Church doth, that is tranſubſtantiation, were of the Church.

Chichester. He is an hereticke, and ſo none of the Church that doth holde any doctrine agaynſt the definition of the Church; as a man to hold agaynſt tranſubſtantiation. Cyprian was no hereticke though hee beleued rebaptiſing of them which were Baptiſed of heretickes, becauſe he held it before the Churche had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after, then had he bene an hereticke.

Note how theſe Biſhops themſelues do graunt, that the time was, when tranſubſtantiation was not defined by the Church. Tonſtall ſayth it was more thā 800. yeares after Chriſt.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemne to the deuill any man that beleueth truely the twelue Articles of the fayth (wherin I take the vnitie of Chriſtes Church to cōſiſt) although in ſome poyntes he beleue not the definition of that whiche ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmely th Articles of our belief, though in other thynges he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhalbe ſaued.

Yorke. Chichester. Yea, ſayd both the Byſhoppes: this is your Diuinitie.

Bradford. No it is Paules, which ſayth, that if they hold the foundation Chriſt, though they build vppon him ſtrawe and ſtubble, yet they ſhalbe ſaued.

Yorke. Lord God, how you delite to leane to ſo hard and darke places of the Scripture.

Chic. I will ſhew you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, & ſo he read a place of Luther makyng for his purpoſe.

M. Bradford hangeth not of Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolāp: & yet he accompteth them good men.

Brad. My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much paſſe not, no more do I in this caſe. My fayth is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius in this point: and in deede to tell you truely, I neuer read any of their workes in this matter. As for them, I do thinke aſſuredly that they were, and are Gods children and Saintes with him.

Yorke. Well, you are out of the Communiō of the Church.

Brad. I am not: for it conſiſteth and is in fayth.

Yorke. Loe, how you make your Church inuiſible: for you would haue the Communion of it to conſiſt in fayth.

Communion of the church conſiſteth in faith, & not in viſible ceremonies.

Diſagreeing in rites breaketh not agreemēt in faith Ireneus.

Brad. For to haue communiō with the Church needeth no viſiblenes of it: for Cōmunion conſiſteth, as I ſayd, in faith, & not in exteriour ceremonies: as appeareth both by Paule, which would haue one fayth, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſeruation of Eaſter, ſaying that diſagreeyng of faſtyng ſhould not breake the agreeyng of fayth.

Chichester. That ſame place hath often euen wounded my conſcience, becauſe we diſſeuered our ſelues from the ſea of Rome.

Bradford. Well, God forgeue you: for you haue done euill to bryng England thether agayne.

Aug. contra Epiſt. fundamenti.

Conſent of people.

Authority confirmed with miracles: nouriſhed with hope: encreaſed with charity eſtabliſhed with antiquitie.

Succeſſion of Prieſtes.

The name catholicke.

Yorke. Here my Lord of Yorke tooke a booke of paper of common places, and read a peece of Saint Auſten contra Epiſtolam fundamenti, howe that there were many thynges that dyd holde Saint Auguſtine in the boſome of the Churche: conſent of people and nations, authoritie confirmed with miracles, nouriſhed with hope, encreaſed with charitie, eſtabliſhed with antiquitie: beſides this, there holdeth me in the Church, ſayth Saint Auguſtine, the ſucceſſion of Prieſtes from Peters ſeate vntill this preſent Byſhop. Laſt of all the very name of Catholicke doth hold me. &c. Lo (quoth he) how ſay you to this of Saint Auguſtine? paynt me out your Church thus.

Bradford. My L. theſe wordes of Saint Auguſtine make as much for me as for you: although I might aūſwere, that all this, if they had bene ſo firme as you make them, might haue bene alledged agaynſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For there was the law and the ceremonyes conſented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquitie, and continuall ſucceſſion of Byſhoppes from Aarons tyme vntill that preſent.

All this might be obiected agaynſt Chriſt and his Apoſtles by the Scribes, and Phariſyes.

Chic. In good fayth M. Bradford, you make to much of the eſtate of the Church before Chriſtes commyng.

Brad. Therin I do but as Peter teacheth 2. Pet. 1. & Paul very often. you would gladly haue your Church here very glorious, & as a moſt pleaſāt Lady. But as Chriſt ſaid: Beatus eſt quicunq; non fuerit offenſus per me: So may hys Church ſay: Bleſſed are they that are not offended at me.

Yorke. Yea, you thinke that none is of the Church but ſuch as ſuffer perſecution.

The church commonly not glorious in this world, but poore and perſecuted.

Brad. What I thinke, God knoweth. I pray your grace iudge me by my wordes and ſpeakyng, & marke that Paule ſayth: Omnes qui. &c. All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution. Sometymes Chriſtes Church hath reſt here: but commonly it is not ſo, and ſpecially towardes the end her forme wilbe more vnſeemely.

Yorke. But what ſay you to S. Auguſtine? where is your Church that hath the conſent of people and nations?

Conſent of the godly.

Bradford. Euen all people and nations that be Gods people haue cōſented with me and I with them in the doctrine of fayth.

Yorke. Lo, ye go about to ſhift of all thynges.

Bradford. No my Lord: I meane ſimply, and ſo ſpeake, God knoweth.

Succeſſion from Peter.

Yorke. Saint Auſten doth here talke of ſucceſſion euen frō Peters ſeate.

Brad. Yea, that ſeate then was nothyng ſo much corrupt as it is now.

Yorke. Well, you alwayes iudge the Church.

Chriſtes people may diſcerne the Church, though they iudge not the Church.

Bradford. No my Lord, Chriſtes ſheepe diſcerne Chriſtes voyce, but they iudge it not: ſo they diſcerne the Churche, but iudge her not.

Yorke. Yea, that you do.

Bradford. No, and it lyke your grace: and yet full well may one not onely doubt, but iudge alſo of the Romiſhe Church: for ſhe obeyeth not Chriſtes voyce, as Chriſtes true Church doth.

Yorke. Wherein.

The church of Rome ſwarueth from the voyce of Chriſt, and wherein.

Brad. In Latin ſeruice, and robbing the laytie of Chriſtes cup in the Sacrament and in many other thyngs, in which it committeth moſt horrible ſacrilege.

Chic. Why? Latin ſeruice was in England when the pope was gone.

Brad. True: the tyme was in England when the Pope was away, but not all Popery: as in kyng Henries dayes.

Latin ſeruice defended.

Yorke. Latin ſeruice was appointed to bee ſong and had in the Queere, where onely were Clerici, that is, ſuch as vnderſtode Latin, the people ſittyng in the body of the Church praying their owne priuate prayers: and this may well be yet ſene by makyng of the Chauncell and Queere, ſo as the people could not come in or heare them.

Agaynſt Latin ſeruice.

Brad. Yea, but both in Chryſoſtomes tyme, and alſo in the Latin Church in S. Ieromes tyme, all the Church (ſayth hee) reboat, Amen. That is, aunſwereth agayne mightily, Amen. Whereby we may ſee that the prayers were made ſo, that both the people heard them, and vnderſtode them.

Chic. Ye are to blame to ſay that the Churche robbeth the people of the cup.

Bradford. Well my Lord, terme it as pleaſe you: all men know that the laytie hath none of it.

Chic. In deede I would wiſh the Churche would define agayne, that they might haue it, for my part.

The people robbed of the cuppe.

Brad. If God make it free, who cā define to make it bōde?

Yorke. Well Maiſter Bradford, we leeſe but labour, for ye ſeeke to put away all thynges whiche are told you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

Yorke. I pray you whereby?

The church knowen onely by the Scriptures.
Chryſoſt. in oper. imperfect.

Bradford. Forſooth Chryſoſtome ſayth: Tantummodo per Scripturas, alonely by the Scriptures: and this ſpeaketh he very often tymes, as ye well know.

Yorke. In deede that is of Chryſoſtome in opere imperfecto, whiche may be doubted of. The thyng whereby the Church may be knowen beſt, is ſucceſſion of Byſhops.

Lyra ſup. Math.

Bradford. No my Lord: Lyra full well writeth vpō Mathew, that Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis ſecularis aut Eccleſiaſticæ, ſed in hominibus in quibus eſt notitia vera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis. That is: The Churche conſiſteth not in men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporall power: but in men indued with true knowledge, and confeſſion of fayth, and of veritie.

Hilarius ad Auxentium.

And in Hylarius tyme, you know hee writeth to Auxentius, that the Churche dyd rather deliteſcere in cauernis, then eminere in primarijs ſedibus. That is, was hydden rather in caues and holes, then dyd glister and ſhyne in thrones of preeminence.

Then came one of the ſeruauntes and tolde them that my Lorde of Dureſme taried for them at Maiſter Yorkes houſe: and this was after that they had taryed three houres with Bradford. And after that theyr man was come, they put vp theyr wrytten bookes of common places, and ſayd that they lamented his caſe: they willed him to read ouer a booke, which dyd Doctor Crome good: and ſo wiſhyng him good in wordes, they went theyr way, and poore Bradford to his priſon.

The commyng of ij. Spaniſh friers to M. Bradford.

After this communication with the Byſhops ended, within two dayes following came into the Coūter ij. Spaniſhe Friers to talke with maiſter Bradford, ſent (as they ſayd) by the Earle of Darby, Of whome the one was the kynges Confeſſor: the other was Alphonſus, who hadde before written a popiſh booke agaynſt hereſies, the effect of whiche their reaſoning here lykewiſe followeth.

¶ Talke betwene Maiſter Bradford, and two Spaniſh Friers.

The talke betwene certayne friers and Maiſter Bradford.

VPon the .xxv. of February, about .viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, two Spaniſhe Friers came to the Counter where Bradford was priſoner: to whome Bradford was called. Then the one Frier, whiche was the kynges Confeſſor, aſked in Latin (for all theyr talke was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he hadde not ſeene nor heard of one Alphonſus that had written againſt hereſies?

Brad. I do not know him.

This Alphonſus had written a booke before in latin, agaynſt hereſies.

Confeſ. Well this man (poynting to Alphonſus) is he. We are come to you of loue and charitye, by the meanes of the Earle of Darby, becauſe you deſired to conferre with vs.

Brad. I neuer deſired your commyng, nor to conferre with you, or anye other. But ſeyng you are come of charitye, as you ſay, I cannot but thanke you: and as touching conference, though I deſire it not, yet I will not refuſe to talke with you, if you will.

Alphon. It were requiſite that you dyd praye vnto God, that ye might followe the direction of Gods ſpirite, that he would inſpire you ſo that ye be not addict to your owne ſelfe will or wyt.

Bradford willed to pray, maketh his prayer.

Brad. Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and beſought God to direct all theyr willes, wordes and workes, as the willes, wordes, and workes of his children for euer.

Alphon. Yea, you muſt pray wͭ your hart. For if you ſpeake but with tounge onely, God will not geue you his grace.

Brad. Syr, doe not iudge, leſt ye be iudged. You haue heard my wordes, now charitye would haue you to leaue yͤ iudgement of the hart to God.

Alphon. You muſt bee as it were a neuter, and not wedded to your ſelfe, but as one ſtandyng in doubt: pray and be ready to receiue what God ſhall enſpire, for in vaine laboreth our toung to ſpeake els.

No man ought to be in doubt of his religion.

Brad. Syr my ſentence, if you meane it for Religion, muſt not be in a doubting or vncertaine, as I thanke God I am certaine in that for which I am condemned: I haue no cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to bee moſt certaine of it, and therfore I pray God to confirme mee more in it. For it is hys truth, and becauſe it is ſo certaine and true that it maye abyde the light, I dare be bolde to haue it looked on, and conferre it with you, or any man: in reſpect wherof I am both glad of your commyng, and thanke you for it.

Alphon. What is the matter wherof you were condemned? we know not.

The cauſe why M. Bradford was condemned.

Brad. Sir I haue bene in priſō almoſt two yeares: I neuer tranſgreſſed any of theyr lawes wherefore I might iuſtly be priſoned, and now am I condēned only becauſe I frankely confeſſed (wherof I repent not) my fayth concerning the ſacrament, when I was demaunded in theſe ij. pointes: one that there is no tranſubſtantiation: the other, that the wicked do not receiue Chriſtes body.

Alphon. Let vs looke a litle on the firſt. Do you not beleue that Chriſt is preſent really, and corporally in the forme of bread?

Chriſt preſent to the fayth of the worthy receauer.

Brad. No, I do beleue that Chriſt is preſent to the fayth of the worthy receiuer, as there is preſent bread and wyne to the ſenſes and outward man: as for any ſuch preſence of includyng and placyng Chriſt, I beleue not, nor dare beleue.

A Spaniſh Argument.
Chriſtes body is circumſcriptible in heauen:
Ergo Chriſtes body is circumſcriptible in the bread.

Alphon. I am ſure you beleue Chriſtes naturall body is circūſcriptible. And here he made much a do of yͤ ij. natures of Chriſt, howe that the one is euery where, and the other is in his proper place, demaunding ſuch queſtions, as no wyſe man woulde haue ſpent any tyme about. At length, becauſe the Frier had forgotten to conclude, Bradforde put him in minde of it, and thus then at length he concluded: how that becauſe Chriſtes bodye was circumſcriptible concernyng the humane nature in heauen, therefore it was ſo in yͤ bread.

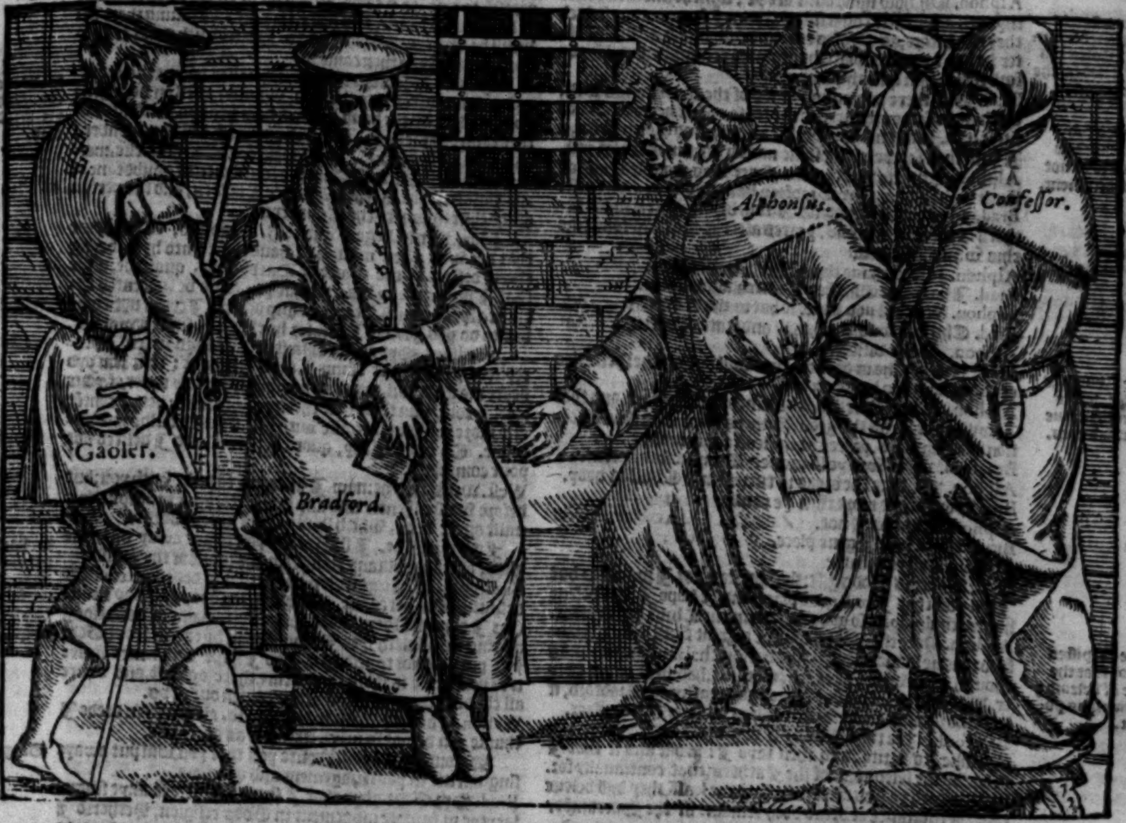
Brad. How hangeth this together? Euen as if you ſhoulde

ſay:

1555. Iuly.

ſay: becauſe you are here, Ergo it muſt needes follow that you are at Rome. For this you reaſon: Becauſe Chriſtes body is in heauen, Ergo it is in the Sacrament vnder the forme of bread: which no wiſe man will graunt.

¶ The talke betwene M. Bradford, and two Spaniſh Friers.



Alphon. Why, will you beleue nothyng, but that which is expreſſly ſpoken in the Scriptures?

Bradford. Yes Syr, I will beleue whatſoeuer you ſhall by demonſtration out of the Scripture declare vnto me.

Chriſt is able to do it: Ergo he doth it.

Alphon. He is obſtinate, quoth Alphõſus to his fellow: and then turnyng to Bradford ſayd, is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the queſtion is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alphon. Why? doth he not ſay playnly, this is my body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the fayth of the worthy receiuer.

Alphon. To the fayth? how is that?

Brad. Forſooth Syr as I haue no toung to expreſſe it: ſo I know ye haue no eares to heare and vnderſtãd it. For fayth is more then man can vtter.

Alphon. But I can tell all that I beleue.

Bradford. You beleue not much then. For if you beleue the ioyes of heauen, and beleue no more therof then you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thether. For as the mynde is more capable and receiuable thẽ the mouth: ſo it conceiueth more then toung can expreſſe.

Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Alphon. Chriſt ſayth it is his body.

Quodã modo.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certaine maner.

Alphon. After a certaine maner? that is, after an other maner then it is in heauen.

Auguſtinus Epiſtola ad Bonifacium.

Bradford. S. Auguſtine telleth it more playnly, that it is Chriſtes body after the ſame maner as Circumciſion was the couenaunt of God, and the Sacrament of faith is faith: or to make it more playne, as Baptiſme & ẏ water of Baptiſme is regeneration.

Argument. As grace is in the water of baptiſme ſo is the body in the ſacrament. But grace is in the water by ſignification: Ergo ſo is the body in the ſacrament.

Alphon. Very well ſayd. Baptiſme and the water thereof is a Sacrament of Gods grace & ſpirite in the water clenſing the Baptiſed.

Bradford. No Syr, away with your encloſing but this I graũt, that after the ſame ſort Chriſtes body is in the bread, on which ſort the grace and ſpirite of God is in the water.

Alphon. In the water is Gods grace by ſignification.

Brad. So is the body in the bread in the Sacrament.

Alphon. You are much deceiued, in that you make no difference betwene the Sacramentes that bee ſtanders, and the Sacramentes that are tranſitorie and paſſers by. As for example, the Sacrament of Order, which you deny, though S. Auguſtine affirme it, it is a ſtander, although the ceremony be paſt. But in Baptiſme ſo ſoone as the body is waſhed, the water ceaſſeth to be a Sacrament.

A Popiſh diſtinction of Sacramentes.

Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in vſe, is it Chriſtes Sacrament.

¶ There was this Frier in a wonderfull rage, and ſpake ſo highe (as often hee had done before) that the whole houſe rang agayne, chafing with om and cho. Hee hath a greate name of learnyng, but ſurely hee hath little patience. For if Bradford had bene any thyng hote, one houſe could not haue held them. At the length hee commeth to this poynte, that Bradford could not finde in the Scripture Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper to beare any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the cõqueſt, ſaying that theſe men would receiue nothyng but Scripture, and yet were able to proue nothyng by the Scripture.

The fryer in a chafe.

Brad. Be patient, & you ſhall ſee that by the Scripture I will finde Baptiſme & the Lordes ſupper coupled together.

The ſacrament of the Lordes table compared with baptiſme in the ſcripture. 1. Cor. 12.

Alphõ. No, that canſt thou neuer do. Let me ſee a text of it.

Brad. Paule ſayth: That as we are Baptiſed into one body: ſo were we potati in vno ſpiritu: that is: we haue dronke of one ſpirite, meanyng of the cup in the Lordes Supper.

Alphon. Paule hath no ſuch wordes.

Bradford. Yes that he hath.

Confeſ. I trow he hath not.

Bradford. Geue me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

¶ So a Prieſt that ſat by them, gaue hym his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the playne text. Then they looked one vpon an other. In fine the Friers founde this ſimple ſhift, that Paule ſpake not of the Sacrament.

The fryer proued a lyer in his owne teſtament.

Bradford. Well, the text is playne inough, and there are of the fathers which do ſo vnderſtand the place: For Chriſoſtome doth expounde it ſo.

Alphon. Alphonſus whiche had the Teſtament in hys hãd, deſirous to ſuppreſſe this tople, turned the leaues of the booke from leafe to leafe, till he came to the place. 1. Cor. 11.

1. Cor. 11.

and there he read how that he was giltie, whiche made no difference of the Lordes body.

1. Cor. 10.

Brad. yea, but therewith hee ſayth: He that eateth of the bread: callyng it bread ſtill, and that after conſecration (as ye call it) as in the x. to the Corinthians he ſayth: The bread which we breake. &c.

Conuerſion is mentioned in turning Moſes rod ſo is it not in the Sacrament.

Alphon. Oh, how ignoraunt are ye, whiche know not that thynges after their conuerſiō do reteine ẏ ſame names which they had before, as Moſes rod: and callyng for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumphe: but Bradford cooled him quickly, ſaying:

Moyſes rod was ſene to be turned ſo is not the Sacrament.

Brad. Syr, there is mention made of the conuerſion as well, as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here ye can not finde it ſo. Finde me one word how the bread is conuerted, & I will then ſay, ye bryng ſome matter that maketh for you.

Alphon. At theſe wordes the Frier was troubled, and at length he ſayd, how that Bradford hanged on his own ſenſe.

Brad. No, that do I not: for I will bryng you forth the fathers of the Church. 800. yeares after Chriſt, to confirme this which I ſpeake.

Alphon. No you haue the Church agaynſt you.

Brad. I haue not Chriſtes Church agaynſt me.

Alphon. yes that you haue. what is the Church?

Brad. Chriſtes wife, the chayre and ſeate of veritie.

Alphon. Is ſhe viſible?

The Church is viſible, but to them that haue ſpirituall eyes.

Brad. yea that ſhe is to them that will put on the ſpectacles of Gods word to looke on her.

Alphon. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will proue by all the good Fathers from Chriſtes Aſcēſion euen for. 800. yeares at the leaſt continually.

Bradford. what will ye ſo proue? Tranſubſtantiation?

Alphon. yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſtes body.

Brad. you ſpeake more then ye can do.

Alphon. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I geue place.

Alphon. will ye beleue?

Brad. Belief is Gods gift: therfore can not I promiſe: but I tell you that I will geue place: and I hope I ſhal beleue his truth alwayes, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my ſauiour.

The Papiſtes holde that the acte of beleuing is in mans power.

Alphon. Here the Frier founde a great fault with Bradford that he made no difference betwixt habitus, and actus: as though actus which he called credulitie, had bene in our power. But this he let paſſe, & came agayne aſkyng Bradford, if he could proue it, as he ſayd, whether he would geue place.

Bradford. yea that I will. Then called he for paper, pen and inke, to write, and then ſayd I: what and if that I proue by the teſtimonie of the Fathers, that continually for. viij. hundred yeares after Chriſt at the leaſt, they dyd beleue that the ſubſtaūce of bread doth remaine in the Sacramēt? what will you do?

Alphon. I will geue place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will geue place if I ſo proue, & I will write that I will geue place if you ſo proue: becauſe ye are the auncient, ye ſhall haue the preeminence.

The fryer refuſeth to abide trial with Bradford.

Here the Frier fumed marueilouſly, and ſayd: I came not to learne at thee. Are not here witneſſes? (meanyng the two Prieſtes) be not they ſufficient? But the man was ſo chafed, that if Bradford had not paſſed ouer this matter of writyng, the Frier would haue fallen to playne ſcoldyng.

Confeſ. At the length the kyngs Confeſſour aſked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked men receiue not Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, as S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Iudas, that hee receiued Panem Domini, but not Panem Dominum.

The fryer againe proued a lyer.

Alphon. S. Auguſtine ſayth not ſo.

Brad. yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of that matter. Thus wēt they away, without biddyng Bradford farewell.

The friers depart in a heate from M. Bradford.

A Prieſt. After they were gone, one of the Prieſtes came, & willed Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Syr, be not you ſo waueryng: in all the Scripture cā not you finde me, non eſt panis.

A prieſt put to a foyle.

Prieſt. yes that I can in fiue places.

Brad. Then I will eate your booke. So the booke was opened, but no place founde: and hee went his way ſmilyng. God helpe vs.

¶Talke betwene Maiſter Bradford and Doctour Weſton, and others.

Conference betwene M. Bradford, and Doct. Weſton.

IT followed after this, vppon the. xxi. of the moneth of March, that by meanes of one of the Earle of Darbyes men, there came to the Counter to dynner one M. Collier, once Warden of Mancheſter, and the ſayd ſeruaunt of the Earle of Darby, of whom Maiſter Bradford learned that Doctour weſton Deane of weſtminſter would bee with hym in the after noone about two of the clocke. At dynner tyme, whē the ſayd Warden did diſcōmended kyng Edward, & went about to ſet foorth the authoritY of ẏ Pope, which Bradford withſtode, defendyng the kynges fayth, that it was catholicke, and that the authority of the Byſhoppe of Romes ſupremacy was vſurped, bryngyng foorth the teſtimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of ſupreame head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichriſt: a woman priſoner was brought in, wherupon the ſaid Bradford tooke occaſiō to ryſe frō ẏ table, and ſo went to his priſō chamber to beg of God grace, and helpe therein continuing there ſtil vntill he was called downe to ſpeake with maiſter Weſtone, which was then come in.

The name of ſupreame head is the forerunner to Antichriſt. Gregor.

Maiſter Bradford then beyng called downe, ſo ſoone as hee was entred into the hall, Maiſter weſton very gentlY tooke him by the hand, & aſked how hee dyd, with ſuch other talke. At length hee willed auoydance of the chamber: So they all went out, ſaue Maiſter weſton him ſelfe, maiſter Colliar, ẏ Earle of Darbyes ſeruaunt, the Subdeane of weſtminſter, the Keeper Maiſter Clayden, and the perſon of the church where the Counter is.

D. Weſton commeth to M. Bradford.

Now then he began with M. Bradford, to tell howe that hee was often minded to haue come vnto hym, beyng therto deſired of the Earle of Darby: and, quoth he, after that I perceiued by his mā, that you could be contented rather to ſpeake with mee, then any others: I could not come but to do you good, if I can, for hurt you be ſure I will not.

Bradford. Syr quoth Maiſter Bradford when I perceiued by the report of my Lords ſeruaunt: that you dyd beare me good wil, more (as hee ſayd) then any other of your ſort, I tolde him then, that therfore I could be better contēt and more willyng to talke with you, if you ſhould come vnto me. This dyd I ſay, quoth he: otherwiſe I deſired not your commyng.

West. well quoth he: now I am come to talke with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talke, certayne principles we muſt agree vpon, which ſhall be this dayes worke.

D. Weſton leſſons ſuch as he did neuer follow him ſelfe.

Vayne glory.

Firſt quoth he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vaine glory, and not hold any thinge for the praiſe of the world.

Brad. Syr. S. Auguſtine maketh that in deede a peece of the definitiō of an hereticke, which if I cannot put away cleane (for I thyncke there will a ſpice of it remaine in vs, as long as this fleſh liueth) yet I promiſe you by the grace of God, ẏ I purpoſe not to yeld to it. God I hope will neuer ſuffer it to beare rule in them that ſtriue there againſt, and deſire all the dregges of it vtterly to be driuen out of vs.

Weſton. I am glad to heare you ſay ſo, although in deede I thinke you do not ſo much eſteeme it as others do.

Singularitie.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put awaye ſingularitie in your iudgement and opinions.

Brad. Syr God forbyd that I ſhoulde ſticke to anye ſingularytye or priuate iudgement in Gods religion, Hetherto I haue not deſired it, neyther doe, nor mynde at anye tyme to hold any other doctrine then is publike and catholicke, vnderſtandyng catholicke as good men doe: accordiing to Gods word.

Weſton willeth M. Bradford to put downe in writing the chiefe ground of his fayth.

Weſt. Very wel: this is a good dayes worke, I hope to doe you good: & therfore now thirdly, I ſhall pray you to wryte me Capita of thoſe thinges, wherupon you ſtand in the Sacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and Wedneſday next: vntill which tyme, yea vntill I come to you agayn be aſſured that you are without all perill of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all dubitations. &c.

Brad. Sir I will wrype to you the groundes I leane to In this matter. As for death, it it come welcōe be it, this which you require of me: ſhall be no great let to me therin.

Weſt. you knowe ẏ Saint Auguſtine was a Manichean yet was he conuerted at ẏ lēgth: ſo haue I good hope of you.

Brad. Sir becauſe I will not flatter you: I would: you ſhould flatly know, that I am euen ſetled in the religion wherefore I am condemned.

Weſt. yea, but if it bee not the truth, and if you ſee euident matter to the contrary, will not you then giue place.

Brad. God forbid but that I ſhoulde alwayes geue place to the truth.

Weſt. I would haue you to pray ſo.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirme me in it, as I thanke God he hath done and doth.

Weſt. yea but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No Syr, I can not pray ſo, becauſe I am ſetled and aſſured of his truth.

well, quoth weſton, as ẏ learned Biſhop anſwered S. Auguſtines mother, that though ſhe was obſtinate, yet the teares of ſuch a mother coulde not but winne her ſonne: ſo (quod hee) I hope your prayers. (For then Bradfords eyes dyd ſhewe that hee hadde wept in prayer) canne not but bee heard of God, though not as you would yet, as beſt ſhall pleaſe God. Do you not, quoth hee, remember the hyſtory hereof?

Brad.

1555.
Iuly.

Bradford. Yes Syr, quoth Bradford, I thinke it to be of S. Ambroſe.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here Weſton would haue layd a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to Bradford: as you are ouerſeen herein, ſo you are in the other thynges.

Bradford. Well Syr, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) Saint Auguſtine writeth in his confeſſions.

M. Bradford wrongfully charged with ſedition.

After this talke Weſtō began to tell M. Bradford how ÿ the people were by him procured to withſtand the Queene.

Whereunto Bradford aunſweryng agayne, bad hym hang him vp as a traytour, and a theefe, if euer he encouraged any to rebellion: whiche thyng his Keeper and others that were there of the Prieſtes, affirmed on his behalfe. So much talke there was to litle purpoſe at that tyme. Doctour Weſton declared moreouer how hee had ſaued him goyng in the cart to be hanged, and ſuch like.

The end was thus, that Bradford ſhould ſend vnto him, capita doctrinæ of the ſupper, and after Wedneſday he would come vnto him agayne, and thus departed he after that hee had dronken to him in beare and wyne. I omit here talke of Oxford, of bookes of Germane writers, of the feare of death and ſuch other talke which are to no purpoſe.

¶ An other diſputation or talke betwene Maiſter Bradford, and Doctour Pendleton.

An other diſputation or talke betwene M. Bradford, and D. Pendleton.

IN the meane tyme, whē Maiſter Bradford had written his reaſons and argumentes & had ſent them to Doctour Weſton: in ſhort ſpace after about the xxviij. of Marche there came to the Counter Doctour Pendleton, and with him the foreſayd M. Collier, ſometyme warden of Mancheſter and Steuē Bech. After ſalutations Maiſter Pendleton began to ſpeake to Bradford, that hee was ſory for his trouble. &c. And further (quoth he) after that I dyd knowe you could bee content to talke with me, I made the more ſpede, being as ready to do thee good and pleaſure that I can, as ye would wiſh.

Bradford. Syr, the maner how I was content to ſpeake with you, was on this ſorte: Maiſter Bech was often in hand with me whom he ſhould bryng vnto me, and named you amongeſt other: and I ſayd that I had rather ſpeake with you then with any of all the other. Now the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as farre as man might iudge) of the Religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you haue ſet forth the ſame earneſtly. Gladly therfore would I learne of you what thyng it was that moued your conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thyng it is that you haue ſeene ſithen, which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton once of the ſame religion with M. Bradford.

Pendleton. Maiſter Bradford, I do not know wherfore you are condemned.

Bradford. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe wherfore I am condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked men receiue Chriſtes body: wherein I would deſire you to ſhewe me what reaſons, whiche before you knew not, dyd moue your conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſayd) you were as I am in Religion.

Here Maiſter Pendleton halfe amazed, began to excuſe himſelfe if it would haue bene, as though he had not denyed fully tranſubſtantiation in deede, although I ſayd (quoth he) that the worde was not in Scripture, and ſo hee made an endles tale of the thyng that moued hym to alter: but (ſayd he) I will gather to you the places which moued me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Bradford that hee might haue a copy of that whiche he had ſent to Maiſter Weſton: the which Bradford did promiſe him.

Pendleton belike would ſtudy out the reaſons that moued him to alter, for he had none ready to ſhew.

Some reaſonyng alſo they had, whether euill men dyd receyue Chriſtes body, Bradford denying and Pendleton affirmyng. Bradford ſayd that they receyued not the ſpirite. Ergo not the body: for it is no dead carkas. Hereto Bradford brought alſo Saint Auguſtine, how Iudas receiued Panem Domini, and not Panem Dominum, and how that he muſt be in Chriſtes body, whiche muſt receiue the body of Chriſt. But Pendleton went about to put it away with idem, and not ad idem, and how that in Corpore Christi was to bee vnderſtand of all that bee in the viſible Church with Gods elect. Bradford denyed this to be S. Auguſtines meanyng, and ſayd alſo that the allegation of idem, & not ad idem could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of tranſubſtantiation, Pendleton bryngyng forth Cyprian: Panis natura mutatur. &c. And Bradford ſayd that in that place natura dyd not ſignifie ſubſtaunce. As the nature of an herbe is not the ſubſtaunce of it: ſo the bread chaunged in nature is not to be taken for chaunged in ſubſtaunce: For now it is ordayned not for the foode of the body ſimply, but rather for the ſoule. Here alſo Bradford alledged the ſentence of Gelaſius. Pendleton ſayd, that hee was a Pope. yea ſayd Bradford, but his fayth is my fayth in the Sacrament, if ye would receiue it.

Euill men receiue not Chriſtes body.

He muſt be in Chriſtes body that muſt receiue Chriſtes body.

The place of S. Cyprian expounded how the nature of bread is changed. Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

They reaſoned alſo whether accidentia were res or no. If they be properly res, ſayd Bradford, then are they ſubſtaunces: and if they be ſubſtaunces they are earthly, and then are there earthly ſubſtaunces in the Sacrament, as Irenæus ſayth, which muſt nedes be bread. But Pendleton ſayd that the colour was the earthly thyng, and called it an accidentall ſubſtaunce.

Pendleton driuen to ſay that accidentes be ſubſtance.

I omitte the talke they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyrs booke, of Pendletons Letter layde to Bradfordes charge when hee was condemned, with other talke more of the Church: whether Dic Eccleſiæ was ſpoken of the vniuerſall Churche, or of a particular (whiche Pendleton at the length graunted to bee ſpoken of a particular Church): alſo of vayne glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and ſuch like talke: A litle before his departyng, Bradford ſayd thus: Maiſter Doctor, as I ſayd to M. Weſton the laſt day, ſo ſay I vnto you agayne, that I am the ſame man in Religion agaynſt tranſubſtantiation ſtill, which I was whē I came into priſon: for hetherto I haue ſeene nothyng in any point to infirme me. At which wordes Pendleton was ſomething moued, & ſayd that it was no Catholicke doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that will I proue euen by the teſtimonie of the Catholicke fathers vntill Cōcilium Lateranenſe, or thereabouts. Thus Pendleton went his way, ſaying that hee would come oftener to Bradford. God our father be with vs all, & geue vs the ſpirite of his truth for euer. Amen.

Of this letter, read before Pag. 1517.

Bradford could heare no reaſon of the Papiſtes to infirme his opinion agaynſt tranſubſtantiation.

¶ The ſame day in the after noone, about fiue of the clocke, came Maiſter Weſton to Bradford: and after gentle ſalutations, he deſired the company euery man to depart, and ſo they two ſat downe. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writyng vnto him, he pulled out of his boſome the ſame writyng, which Bradford had ſent him. The writyng is this that followeth.

¶ Certaine reaſons agaynſt tranſubſtantiation gathered by Iohn Bradford, and geuen to Doctour Weſton and others.

1. THat whiche is former (ſayth Tertullian) is true: that whiche is latter is falſe. But the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Councell of Laterane, about 1215. yeares after Chriſtes commyng, vnder Pope Innocentius the thyrd of that name. For before that tyme it was free for all men to beleue it or not beleue it, as the Byſhoppe of Dureſme doth witneſſe in his booke of the preſence of Chriſt in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

Tranſubſtantiation not brought into the church before the yeare 1215. by Pope Innocentius 3.

2. That the wordes of Chriſtes Supper be figuratiue, the circumſtaunces of the Scripture, the Analogie or proportiō of the Sacramētes, and the ſentences of all the holy fathers, whiche were and did write for the ſpace of one thouſand yeares after Chriſtes Aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it followeth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

Three reaſons prouing the wordes of the Lordes ſupper to be figuratiue.
1. Circumſtances of ſcripture.
2. Propoſition of Sacramentes.
3. Teſtimony of old Doctours.

3. That the Lord gaue to his Diſciples bread and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witneſſe. For he gaue that and called it his body which he tooke in his handes, whereon he gaue thankes, whiche alſo he brake, and gaue to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, bread, as the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origene, Cypriā, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of antiquitie, do affirme: but in as much as the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne is an other thyng then the ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of Chriſt, it playnely appeareth that there it no tranſubſtantiation.

4. The bread is no more tranſubſtantiate then the wyne: but that the wyne is not tranſubſtantiate, S. Mathew, and S. Marke do teach vs: for they witneſſe that Chriſt ſayd that he would drinke no more of the fruite of the vyne, whiche was not bloud but wyne: and therefore it followeth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation. Chriſoſtome vpon Mathew and S. Cyprian do confirme this reaſon.

The wine is not tranſubſtantiate: Ergo neither the bread.

5. As the bread in the Lordes Supper is Chriſtes naturall body, ſo is it his myſticall body: for the ſame ſpirite that ſpake of it: This is my body, dyd ſay alſo: for we many are one bread, one body. &c. but now it is not the myſticall body by tranſubſtantiation, and therfore it is not his naturall body by tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame ſpirit which ſayth: This is my body: ſayth alſo: We many are one bread and one body. &c.

6. The wordes ſpoken ouer the cup in S. Luke and Paule, are not ſo mighty and effectuall as to tranſubſtantiate it: For then it or that which is in it ſhould be tranſubſtantiate into the new Teſtament: therefore the wordes ſpoken ouer the bread are not ſo mighty as to make tranſubſtantiation.

The wordes doe not tranſubſtantiate the cup into the new teſtament: Ergo neither the bread into the body.

7. All that doctrine whiche agreeth with thoſe Churches which be Apoſtolicke, mother Churches, or originall churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which

theſe Churches receiued of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. But it is manifeſt that the doctrine taught at this preſẽt of the church of Rome, cõcernyng trãſubſtãtiatiõ, doth not agree with the Apoſtolicke & mother Churches in Grece, of Corinthus, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, Epheſus, which neuer taught tranſubſtantiation: yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in tymes paſt. For Gelaſius the Pope ſetting forth the doctrine which that ſea did then hold, doth manifeſtly confute the errour of tranſubſtantiation, and reproueth thẽ of ſacrilegde which diuide the miſtery, and keepe from the Laytie the cup. Therefore the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the truth.

The doctrine of the church of Rome for tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Apoſtles church, nor with the Greke Churches, nor with the olde Romaine church

This was the wrytyng which Weſton pulled out of his boſome: and yet before he began to read it, he ſhewed Bradford ÿ he aſked of his conuerſation at Cambridge ſithen his laſt beyng with him: and (quoth he) Maiſter Bradford, becauſe you are a man not geuen to the glory of the world, I will ſpeake it before your face: your lyfe I haue learned was ſuch there alwayes, as all men, euen the greateſt enemyes you haue, can not but prayſe it, and therefore I loue you much better then euer I dyd: but now I will read ouer your argumentes, and ſo we will conferre them. Such they are, that a man may well perceiue you ſtand on conſcience, & therfore I am the more ready & glad to pitie you. So he began to read the firſt: to the which he ſayd, that though the word tranſubſtãtiation began but lately: yet the thyng alwayes was, and hath bene ſithen Chriſtes inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend or hang vppon the word onely, but vpon the thyng which is as new as the word.

West. Then went hee to the ſecond, and there brought out S. Auguſtine, how that if an euill man goyng to the deuill did make his will, his ſonne and heyre would not ſay his father did lye in it, or ſpeake tropically: much more Chriſt goyng to God, did neuer lye or vſe any figuratiue ſpeech in his laſt will and teſtament. Do you not remember this place of S. Auguſtine, ſayd he?

The wordes of Auſten guilefully wraſted by Weſton.

Brad. Yes Syr, but I remember not that S. Auguſtine hath thoſe wordes tropice, or figuratiue, as you rehearſe them: for any man may ſpeake a thyng figuratiuely, and lye not: and ſo Chriſt did in his laſt Supper.

West. After this hee went to the thyrd, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of the bread is turned into fleſh. Here (ſayth hee) my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth nature for qualitie, by Gelaſius: the which interpretatiõ ſerueth for the aunſwere of your third argumẽt, that Chriſt called bread his body: that is, the qualitie, forme, & appearaunce of bread. And further, the Scripture is wont to call thyngs by the ſame names whiche they had before, as Symon the Leaper: he was not ſo preſently, but becauſe he had bene ſo.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelaſius: therefore Cyprian muſt not expoũd Gelaſius, but Gelaſius, Cypriã: & ſo they both teach ÿ bread remayneth ſtill. As for thynges hauyng ſtill the names they had, is no aunſwere, except you could ſhew that this now were not bread, as eaſily as a mã might haue knowen and ſene then Symon to haue bene healed and cleare from his Leproſie.

Simon though he were called the leper, yet he was ſene to be no leper. But bread is ſeene ſtill to be bread: and therfore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is. Cyprian expounded by Gelaſius.

West. After this hee went to the fourth, of the cuppe, the whiche he did not fully read, but digreſſed into a long talke of Cyprians Epiſtle De Aquarijs: alſo of S. Auguſtine, expounding the breakyng of bread by Chriſt to his two Diſciples goyng to Emaus, to be the Sacrament, with ſuch other talke to no certaine purpoſe: and therfore Bradford prayed hym, that in as much as he had written the reaſons that ſtabliſhed his fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he would likewiſe do to hym, that is, aunſwere him by wrytyng, and ſhewe him moe reaſons in wrytyng to confirme Tranſubſtantiation. Whiche Doctour Weſton promiſed to do, and ſayd that he would ſend or bryng it to Bradford agayne within three dayes.

Weſton required to write his reaſons.

Thus when he had ouer read the argumentes, and here and there ſpoken little to the purpoſe for the auoydyng of them, and Bradford had prayed him to geue him in wrytyng his aunſweres: then hee began to tell Bradford how and what hee had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to feare any reproche or ſclaunder he ſhould ſuffer, meanyng belyke, to haue Bradford ſecretly come to thẽ, as Grimoald did: for he ſubſcribed.

Grimoald ſubſcribed.

Bradford. Maiſter Deane I would not gladly that you ſhould conceiue of me that I paſſe of ſhame of men ſimply in this matter: I rather would haue you to thinke of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I haue not ſeene nor heard any thyng to infirme my fayth agaynſt Tranſubſtãtiation, ſo I am no leſſe ſetled in it, then I was at my commyng hether. I loue to be playne with you, and to tell you at the firſt, as you ſhall finde at the laſt.

M. Bradford plaine and firme in confeſſion of the truth.

West. In good fayth maiſter Bradford, I loue you the better for your plainnes: and do not thinke otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall finde me playne in all my talke with you.

Here Weſton began to aſke Bradford of his impriſonment and condemnation: and ſo Bradford told hym altogether: how he had bene handled. Whereat Weſton ſeemed to wonder: yea in playne wordes he ſayd, that Bradford had ben handled otherwiſe thẽ he had geuen cauſe, and ſo ſhewed Bradford howe that my Lorde of Bath reported that hee had deſerued a benefit at the Queenes hand, and at all the Counſell.

In this kinde of talke they ſpent an houre almoſt, and ſo as one werry, Bradford aroſe vp, and Weſton called to the Keeper, and before him he bad Bradford be of good cõfort, and ſayd that he was out of all peril of death.

Keeper. Syr (quoth the Keeper) but it is in euery mans mouth that he ſhall dye to morow.

West. Wherat Weſton ſeemed halfe amazed, and ſayd hee would go ſay Euenſong before the Queene, & ſpeake to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought, that the Queene had almoſt ſupped at that preſẽt: for it was paſt vj. of the clocke.

The bare promiſe of Weſton.

Brad. Before the Keeper, Bradford told Weſton agayne that ſtyll he was one man: and euen as he was at the firſt, and tyll hee ſhoulde ſee matter to touche his conſcience the contrary, he ſayd he muſt nedes ſo continue.

Keeper. The Keeper deſired Bradford to harken to maiſter Doctors counſel, and prayed maiſter Doctor to be good vnto hym: and ſo after they had droonke together, Maiſter Doctor with moſt gentle wordes tooke his leaue for 3. dayes.

Now when hee was gone, the Keeper told Bradford, that Maiſter Doctour ſpake openly, howe that he ſawe no cauſe why they ſhould burne him. Whiche ſentence for the ambiguitie of the meanyng, made him ſomewhat ſory leſt he had behaued him ſelfe in any thyng, wherein he had gathered any conformableneſſe to them in their doctrine, whiche God knoweth ſayth Bradford, I neuer as yet dyd. God our father bleſſe vs, as his children, and keepe vs from all euill for euer, Amen.

¶ An other talke or conference betwene M. Bradford, and Doctour Weſton.

VPon the fifth day of Aprill came Maiſter D. Weſton to the Counter about two of the clocke in the afternone, who excuſed him ſelfe for beyng ſo long abſent: partly by ſickenes, partly for that Doctour Pendleton tolde him that he would come vnto him, and partly for that (quoth he) I withſtode certaine Monckes, whiche would haue come agayne into Weſtminſter: tellyng hym moreouer howe that the Pope was dead, and alſo declared vnto him how he had ſpoken to the Queene in his behalfe, and howe that death was not neare vnto him.

An other talke or conference betwene M. Bradford and Doctour Weſton.

D. Weſton withſtandeth the Monkes comming into Weſtminſter.

Weston. Laſt of all, hee excuſed himſelfe for not aunſweryng his argumentes agaynſt tranſubſtantiation: becauſe my commyng to day (quoth hee) was more by fortune then of purpoſe.

Brad. I woulde gladly M. Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your aunſweres to my argumentes.

West. Why you haue remembred ſome thinges what I ſpake to you when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No Sir. I neuer called thẽ in manner to mynde, ſythẽ ÿ tyme, as well becauſe I hoped you would haue written them: as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo materiall.

Bradfordes argumentes not aunſwered.

West In good fayth I can not ſee any other or better way for you, then for to ſubmit your ſelfe to the iudgment of the Church.

Brad. Mary ſo will I Sir, if ſo be by the Church you vnderſtand Chriſtes church.

West. Lo, you take vpon you to iudge the Church.

Brad. No Sir that do I not: in takyng vpon me to diſcerne I do not iudge the Church.

The Papiſtes will not haue their church iudged.

West. Yes that you do, and make it inuiſible.

Brad. I do neither.

West. Why, who can ſee your church.

Brad. Thoſe Syr, that haue ſpirituall eyes, wherwith they might haue diſcerned Chriſtes viſible conuerſation heare vpon earth.

West. Nay: Chriſtes Church hath three tokens, that al mẽ may looke well vpon: namely, vnitye, antiquitie, and conſẽt.

Brad These three, may be as well in euil as in good, as well in ſin as in vertue, as well in the deuils church as in gods church: As for enſample, Idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. Chryſoſtome telleth playnly, as you wel know, that the Church is well knowen, Tantummodo per ſcripturas, alonely, by the ſcriptures.

The Church is viſible but onely to ſpirituall eyes. Unitye. Antiquitie. Conſent. Unitie, Antiquitie, Conſent, as well common to the deuils church as to Chriſtes Church.

West. In good fayth, you make your Church inuiſible whẽ you wyl haue it knowen alonely by the ſcriptures.

Brad. No Sir the Scriptures doe playnly ſet forth to vs the church, that al men may well inough therby know her, if they liſt to looke.

West.

Why the Church is not ſeene. Weſton commeth in againe with his Antiquitie.

Weſt. The Church is like a Tower or towne vpon a hil, that al men may ſee.

Brad. True Sir, all men that be not blynde. Viſible enough is the church, but mens blyndnes is great. Impute not therfore to the Church, that which is to be imputed to mens blyndnes.

Weſt. Where was your Churche fourty yeares agoe? or where is it now? except in a corner of Germanie?

The Church is tyed to no place but to the word.

Brad. Forſooth Sir the Churche of Chriſt is diſperſed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the worde of God: ſo that where it is, there is Gods Churche, if it be truely taught.

Weſt. Loe, is not this to make the church inuiſible? point me out a Realme a hundred yeares paſt, which mainteyned your doctrine?

The church is not alwayes to be poynted out by realmes and coūtries. The church in Helias tyme was not poyntable.

Brad. Sir, if you wyl, or would wel marke the ſtate of the Church before Chriſtes comming, with it now (as S. Paul and Peter wylleth vs) I thinke you would not looke for ſuche ſhewes of the Churche to be made, as to poynt it by Realmes. you know that in Helias tyme both in Iſraell, and els where, Gods Church was not poyntable: & therfore cryed he out that he was leaſt alone.

Weſt. No mary, dyd not God ſay, that there was 7000. whiche had not bowed their knees to Baal? Loe then 7000. ſhewe me ſeuen thouſand a hundred yeares agoe of your Religion.

God ſaw the Church in Helias, although Helias hymſelfe did not ſee it: and ſo is it now.

Brad. Sir, theſe 7000. were not knowen to men, for then Helias woulde not haue ſayd, that he had bene leaſt alone. And it is plaine enough by that which the text hath, namely that God ſaith, Reliqui mihi, I haue reſerued to me. 7000 Marke that it ſaith, God had reſerued to hym ſelfe, to his own knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundred yeres agoe God had his. 7000. in his proper places, though men knewe not therof.

Weſt. Wel, Maiſter Bradford, I wyl not make your caſe worſe, then for tranſubſtantiation, although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your ſelfe not worſe. If I can doo you good, I wyll: hurt you I wyll not. I am no Prince, and therefore I can not promiſe lyfe, except you wyl ſubmit your ſelfe to the definition of the Church.

Brad. Sir, ſo that you wyll define me your Church, that vnder it you bring not in a falſe church: you ſhal not ſee but that we ſhal ſoone be at a poynt.

Weſt. In good fayth M. Bradford, I ſee no good wyll be done, & therfore I wyll wiſh you as much good as I can, and hereafter I wyll perchance come or ſend to you againe, and ſo he ſent for M. Weale, and departed.

Now after his departyng, came the keeper M. Claydon, and Steuen Bech, and they were very hote with maſter Bradford, & ſpake vnto hym in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not looke but to haue them vtter enemies vnto hym, notwithſtandyng the frendſhip they both had hytherto pretended. God be with vs, and what matter is it who be agaynſt vs.

This Gentlewoman is yet aliue, to whom M. Bradford wrote a letter which hereafter followeth.

Among diuers whiche came to Maiſter Bradforde in Priſon, ſome to diſpute and conferre, ſome to geue counſell, ſome to take comforte, and ſome to viſite hym, there was a certayne Gentlewomans ſeruaunt, whiche Gentlewoman had bene cruelly afflicted and miſerably handled by her father and mother and all her kynrede, in her fathers houſe, for not commyng to the Maſſe, and like at length to haue bene purſued to death, had not the Lorde deliuered her out of her fathers houſe, beyng put from all that euer ſhee had. This Gentlewomans ſeruaunt therfore beyng ſent to Maiſter Bradford with recommendations, had this talke with hym, which I thought here not to ouerſlyp.

¶ A Colloquie betweene M. Bradford and a Gentlewomans ſeruaunt, being ſent to viſite hym in priſon.

Talke betwene M. Bradford and a certaine Gentlewomans ſeruaunt.

This ſeruant or meſſenger of the foreſaid Gentlewoman commyng to M. Bradford, and taking hym by the hand ſaid: God be thanked for you. How do you?

Brad. Maiſter Bradford anſwered: wel, I thanke God. For as men in ſailyng, which be neare to the ſhore or hauen where they woulde be, would be nearer: euen ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Seruant. Sir, I haue neuer ſene you ſo ſtrōg & healthſome of body, as me thinke you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why, quoth he, I haue geuen ouer al care and ſtudy, and onely doo I couet to be talking with hym, whom I haue alwayes ſtudyed to be withal.

Seru. Wel, God hath done much for you, ſince the time that I firſt knewe you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt fauourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſinnes, but hath ſuffered me to liue, that I might ſeeke repentance.

Seru. Truly we heare ſay, there is a rod made ſo greuous, out of the which I thinke no man ſhall plucke his head.

Brad. Wel, let al that be of Chriſtes flocke, arme thē ſelues to ſuffer, for I thinke verily, God wyll not haue one of his to eſcape vntouched, if he loue hym, let them ſeeke what meanes or wayes they can.

By this fryer, he meaneth Alphonſus mentioned before.

Seru. Well ſir, there goeth a talke of a Fryer that ſhoulde preache before the king, & ſhould tel hym, that he ſhould be gilty of the innocent bloud that hath bene ſhed of late.

Brad. Verely, quoth Bradford, I had a booke within theſe two dayes of his writing, & therein he ſaith, that it is not meete nor conuenient that the heretikes ſhould liue: and therefore I haue maruell howe that talke ſhould riſe, for I haue heard of it alſo, and I haue alſo talked with this fryer, (he is named Fryer Fonſe) and with diuers other, and I prayſe God, they haue confirmed me: for they haue nothing to ſay, but that which is moſt vayne.

Alphonſus otherwiſe called in the vulgar ſpeach frier Fonſe.

Seru. Sir, father Cardmaker hath hym commended vnto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Seru. Wel, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad therof: for in deede my lord Chancelour dyd caſt hym in my teeth, but as Dauid ſaith, God hath diſappoynted hym.

Seru. Forſooth, Gods name be prayſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What els? our quarrell is moſt iuſt: therfore let vs not be afrayd.

Seru. My maiſtres hath her recommended vnto you.

Brad. Howe doth ſhee?

Seru. Wel, God be prayſed, but ſhee hath bene ſorer afflicted with her one father and mother, then euer you were with your impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerued her, I truſt, to his glory.

A ſtory of a faithfull woman and Martyr in the primatiue church called Iuleddo. Ex Baſilio.

Brad. I pray you tel her, I red this day a godly hiſtorie, written by Baſilius Magnus, of a vertuous woman which was a widowe, and was named Iuleddo. Shee had great landes, and many children, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuouſnes & godly lyuyng had great indignatiō at her, & of very malice he tooke away her lands, ſo that ſhee was cōſtrayned to go to ẏ law with him: and in concluſion the matter came to the tryall before the Iudge, who demaunded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully withheld theſe lands frō this woman. He made anſwere, & ſayd: he might ſo do, for (ſaith he) this womā is diſobedient to ẏ kings proceedings: for ſhe wil in no wiſe worſhip his gods, nor offer ſacrifice vnto thē. Then the Iudge hearing that, ſaid vnto her: Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to looſe thy land, but alſo thy lyfe, vnles that thou worſhyp our gods, and doo ſacrifice vnto them. This godly woman hearing that, ſtept me forth to the Iudge, & ſaid: Is there no remedy, but eyther to worſhip your falſe Gods, or els to looſe my landes & lyfe? then farewell ſuite, farewell landes, farewel children, farewel frends, yea & farwel lyfe too: and in reſpect of the true honor of the euerlyuyng God, farewell all. And with that ſaying dyd the Iudge comit her to priſon, and afterward ſhee ſuffred moſt cruel death: and beyng brought to the place of execution, ſhee exhorted al women to be ſtrong & conſtant. For (ſaith ſhee) ye were redeemed with as deare a price as men. For although ye were made of the ryb of the man, yet be you alſo of his fleſh: ſo that alſo in the caſe & tryall of your fayth towardes God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus dyed ſhee conſtantly, not fearyng death. I pray you tel your Maiſtreſſe of this hiſtory.

Example of Iuleddo Martyr.

Seru. That ſhal I ſir by Gods grace: for ſhee told me that ſhee was with you and M. Saunders, and receyued your gentle counſel.

Brad. We neuer gaue her other counſel but the truth, & in witnes therof we haue & wyl ſeale it with our bloudes. For I thought this night that I had bene ſent for, becauſe at a xj. of the clocke there was ſuche rapping at the doore.

Then anſwered a mayd, and ſayd: why then I perceiue you were afrayd.

M. Bradford nothing afrayd of death.

Brad. Ye ſhal heare how fearful I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was aſleepe, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was tolde me, and yet for al my fearfulnes I heard them not: therfore belike I was not afrayde, that ſlept ſo faſt.

Seru. Doo you lacke any thing toward your neceſſitie?

Brad. Nothyng but your prayers, & I truſt I haue thē, and you myne.

Seru. I ſaw a prieſt come to you to day in the mornyng.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a Fryer, and I am wrytyng an anſwere.

Seru. Then we let you, therfore the liuyng God be with you.
Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſſe you.
Seru. Amen, ſaid we, and gaue hym thankes, & departed.

M. Bradford had from the Counter to Newgate by night.

Thus ſtyll in priſon continued Bradford, vntyll the moneth of Iuly, in ſuch labors & ſufferings as he before alwayes had ſuſteyned in priſon. But when the tyme of his determined death was come, he was ſodenly conueyed out of the Counter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate, as afore is declared, & frõ thence he was caried the next mornyng to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abidyng in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhortyng the people to repent & to returne to Chriſt, & ſweetly comfortyng the godly young ſpringal of .xix. or .xx. yeares old, which was burned with hym, chearefully he ended his painful life, to liue with Chriſt.

¶ Iohn Leaſe burnt with M. Bradford.

Iohn Leaſe felow Martyr with M. Bradford.

John Leaſe of the pariſh of Chriſtechurch, by the Alderman of that warde committed to priſon.

With whõ alſo was burnt one Iohn Leaſe, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy Tallow Chaundelour, of the pariſh of Chriſts church in London, of the age of .xix. yeres and aboue, borne at Kirkeby Morſide, in the Countie of Yorke: who vpõ the fryday next before Palme ſonday was cõmitted to the Counter in Breadſtreate, by an Alderman of London, who had rule & charge of that warde or part of the Citie, where the ſaid Leaſe dyd dwell. After, he comyng to examination before Boner, gaue a firme & Chriſtian teſtimonie of his doctrine & profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch articles as were obiected to hym by the ſaid Biſhop.

John Leaſe examined before B. Boner.

The anſweres of John Leaſe concerning his fayth in the Sacrament.

Firſt, as touching his beliefe & fayth in the ſaide ſacrament of the altar, he anſwered, that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt ouer the bread & wyne, there was not the very true & naturall body & bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtance: and further dyd hold and beleue, that the ſayd ſacramẽt of the altar, as it is now called, vſed, and beleued in this realme of Englãd, is idolatrous & abominable: and alſo ſaid further, that he beleued, that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt ouer the material breade and wyne, there is not the ſelfe ſame ſubſtance of Chriſtes body & bloud there conteined, but bread & wine, as it was before: and further ſaid, that he beleued, that when the Prieſt deliuereth the ſaid material bread & wine to the cõmunicantes, he deliuereth but onely* material bread and wyne, and the communicants do receiue the ſame in remembrance of Chriſtes death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in fayth they receyue Chriſtes body and bloud, but not vnder the formes of bread and wyne: and alſo affirmed that he beleued auricular confeſſion not to be neceſſary to be made vnto a prieſt, for it is no poynt of ſoule health, neither that the Prieſt hath any authoritie geuen hym by the Scripture, to abſolue and remit any ſinne.

* Onely as touching the ſubſtance but not as concerning the effect thereof.

Auricular confeſſion.

He meaneth after the Popiſh maner of remitting. &c.

Upon theſe his anſweares and teſtimonie of his fayth, he at that tyme being diſmiſſed, was byd the Monday next, being the .x. of Iune, to appeare again in the ſaid place, there and then to heare the ſentence of his condemnation: who ſo did. At what tyme the foreſaide Biſhop propounding the ſaid articles againe to hym, as before, aſſaying by all maner of wayes, to reuoke hym to his owne trade, that is, from truth to errour, notwithſtanding al his perſwaſions, threates, and promiſes, founde hym the ſame man ſtyl, ſo planted vpon the ſure rocke of truth, that no woordes nor deedes of men could remoue hym.

John Leaſe M. Rogers ſcholler.

Then the Biſhop after many wordes to and fro, at laſt aſked hym, if he had bene M. Rogers ſcholler? To whom the foreſayd Iohn Leaſe anſweared againe, graunting hym ſo to be: and ẏ he the ſame Iohn dyd beleue in the doctrine of the ſaid Rogers, and in the doctrine of Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, and other of their opinion, which of late were burned for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and that he woulde dye in that doctrine that they dyed for: And after other replications agayne of the Biſhop, mouyng hym to returne to the vnitie of the Church, he with a great courage of ſpirite anſwered againe in theſe wordes: My Lord, quoth he, you call myne opiniõ hereſie: it is the true light of the word of God: and againe repeting the ſame, he profeſſed that he woulde neuer forſake his ſtayed & well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Wherupon the Byſhop being too weake, eyther to refute his ſentence, or to remoue his conſtancy, proceeded conſequently to reade the Popiſh ſentence of cruel condemnation, wherby this godly and cõſtant young man being cõmitted to the ſecular power of the Sheriffes there preſent, was thẽ adiudged, & not long after ſuffered the ſame day with M. Bradford, cõfirming with his death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his lyfe.

Sentence red agaynſt Iohn Leaſe.

John Leaſe ſealed the bill of his confeſſions with his bloud.

It is reported of the ſayd Iohn Leaſe, by one that was in the Counter the ſame tyme, & ſawe the thyng, that after his examinations before the Biſhop, when two byls were ſent vnto hym in the Counter in Breadſtreate, ẏ one conteynyng a recantation, the other his confeſſions, to knowe to which of them he would put to his hand, firſt hearyng the Byll of recantation read vnto hym (becauſe he coulde not reade nor write hym ſelfe) that he refuſed. And when the other was read vnto hym, which he wel lyked of, in ſtead of a pen he tooke a pynne, and ſo prickyng his hande, ſprinkled the bloud vpon the ſayd Byl, willyng the reader thereof, to ſhewe the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Byll with his bloud already.

¶ The behaueour of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and the yong man that ſuffred with him in Smithfielde, named Iohn Leaſe, a prẽtiſe, which both ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Chriſt.

Bradford and Iohn Leaſe at the ſtake how they behaued them ſelues.

First, when they came to the ſtake in Smythfielde to be burned, M. Bradford lying proſtrate on the one ſide of the ſtake, and the young man Iohn Leaſe on the other ſide, they lay flat on their faces, praying to thẽ ſelues the ſpace of a minute of an houre. Then one of the Sheriffes ſayde to M. Bradford: Ariſe and make an ende: for the preaſe of the people is great.

At that worde they both ſtoode vp vpon their feete: and then M. Bradford tooke a fagot in his hand, and kiſſed it, and ſo likewiſe the ſtake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Sheriffes that his ſeruant might haue his rayment. For (ſayde he) I haue nothyng els to giue hym: and beſides that, he is a poore man. And the Sheriffe ſaid, he ſhould haue it. And ſo forthwith M. Bradford dyd put of his raymẽt, & went to the ſtake: & holdyng vp his handes and caſting his countenance to heauen, he ſaid thus: O England, England, repent thee of thy ſinnes, repent thee of thy ſinnes. Beware of Idolatrie, beware of falſe Antichriſtes: take heede they doo not deceiue you. And as he was ſpeakyng theſe woordes, the Sheriffe bade tye his handes, if he would not be quiet. O M. Sheriffe (ſaid M. Bradford) I am quiet: God forgeue you this, maiſter Sheriffe. And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing M. Bradford ſo ſpeaking to the Sheriffe, ſaid: If you haue no better learnyng then that, you are but a foole, and were beſt to hold your peace. To the which wordes M. Bradford gaue no anſweare: but aſked all the world forgeuenes, and forgaue all the worlde, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head vnto the young man that ſuffered with hym, and ſayde: Be of good comfort brother, for we ſhall haue a mery ſupper with the Lorde this night: and ſo ſpake no more woordes that any man dyd heare, but imbracyng the Reedes, ſayd thus: Strayt is the way, and narrowe is the gate that leadeth to eternal ſaluation, and fewe there be that finde it.

The wordes of M. Bradford to England.

The ſaying of M. Bradford at his death.

And thus they both ended their mortall lyues, moſte likeſt two Lambes, without any alteration of their countenaunce, beyng voyde of all feare, hopyng to obtayne the price of the game that they had long runne at: to the which I beſeeche Almyghtye God happyly to conducte vs, thorowe the merites of Ieſus Chriſte our Lorde and Saueour. Amen.

A notable example of Gods hand vpon M. Woodroſe.

Touching M. Wodroffe the Sheriffe, mention is made a litle before, how churliſhly here he anſwered M. Bradford at the ſtake, not ſufferyng hym to ſpeake, but cõmaundyng his handes to be tyed. &c. The like extremitie or worte, he vſed alſo before to M. Rogers: whereof ye haue heard before. pag. 1420.

Syr Williã Cheſter commended.

Difference betwene two Shyriffes, M. Cheſter, and M. Woodroſe.

The ſayde Wodroffe Sheriffe aboue mentioned, was ioyned in office with an other, called Syr William Cheſter, for the yeare. 1555. Betweene theſe two Sheriffes ſuch difference there was of iudgement and Religion, that the one, that is, Maiſter Wodroffe, was woont commonly to laughe, the other to ſhedde teares at the death of Chriſtes people. And where as the other was woont to reſtrayne and to beate the people, whiche were deſirous to take them by the handes that ſhoulde be burned: the other Sheriffe contrarywiſe agayne with muche ſorowe and myldeneſſe behaued hym ſelfe, which I wiſh here to be ſpoken & knowen to the commendation of hym, although I doo not greatly know the partie.

Furthermore, here by the waye to note the ſeuere puniſhment of Gods hande agaynſte the ſayde Wodroffe, as agaynſte all other ſuche cruell perſecuters, ſo it happened, that within halfe a yeare after the burnyng of this bleſſed Martyr, the ſayde Sheriffe was ſo ſtriken on the right ſide with ſuche a Paulſie, or ſtroke of Gods hande whatſoeuer it was, that for the ſpace of eyght yeares after, tyll his dying day, he was not able to turne hym ſelfe in his bed, but

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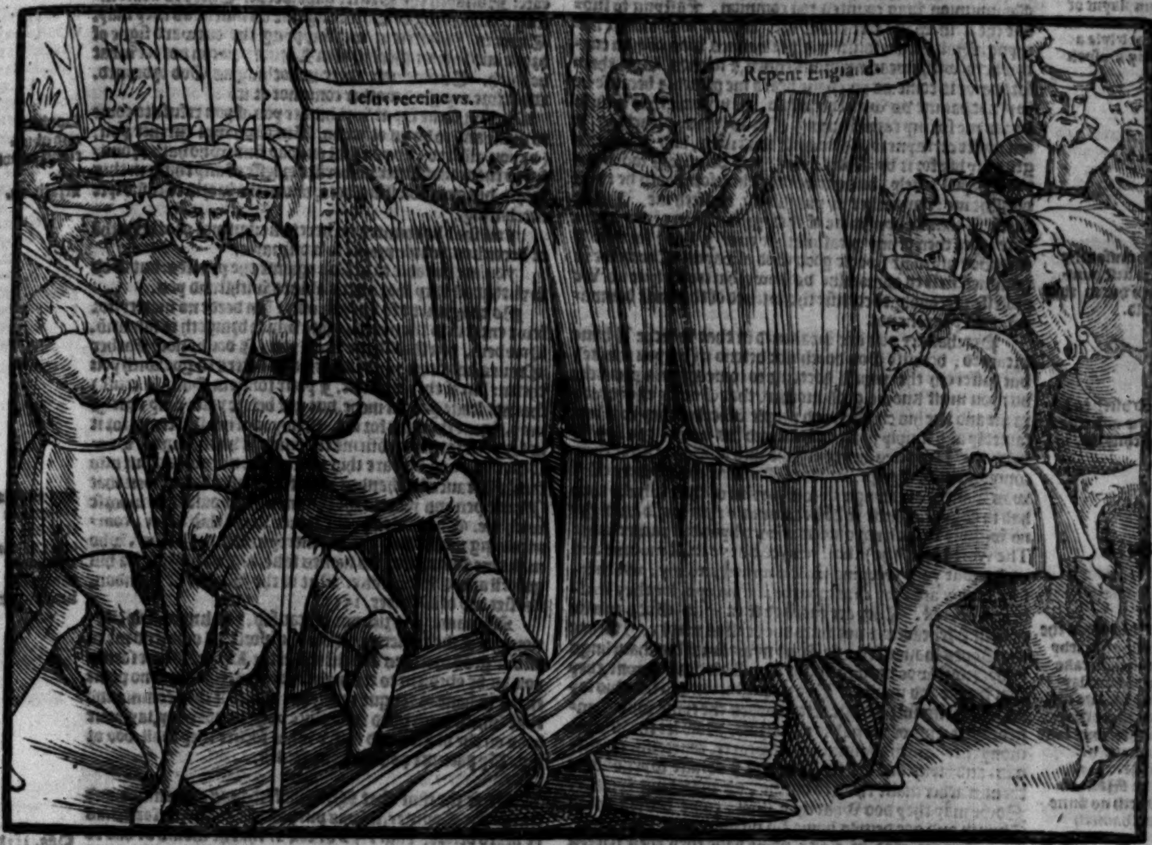
but as two men with a ſheete were fayne to ſtyrre hym: and withall ſuch an inſaciable deuouryng came vpon hym, that it was monſtrous to ſee. And thus cõtinued he ỹ ſpace of eight yeares together.

¶ The deſcription of the burnyng of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and Iohn Leaſe a Prentiſe.


Ieſus receiue vs.
Repent England.

¶ In mortem Iohannis Bradfordi
constantiſſimi Martyris.

Epitaphium in Ioan Bradfordum per Ioan Foxum.

Diſcipulo nulli ſupra licet eſſe magiſtrum:
  Quique Deo ſeruit, triſtia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem:
  Ad cœlum ſtricta eſt difficiliſque via.
Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pectore voces:
  Non hominum rigidas terribileſque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
  Tradis & accenſæ membra cremanda pyræ.

¶ Here folowe the letters of M. Bradford.

The letters of M. Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heauenly Martyr, duryng the tyme of his impriſonment, wrote ſundrye comfortable Treatiſes, and many godly Letters, of whiche, ſome he wrote to the Citie of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lankeſhyre and Cheſſhyre, and diuers to his other priuate freendes. By the which foreſayde Letters, to the intent it may appeare howe godly this man occupied his tyme beyng priſoner, what ſpeciall zeale he bare to the ſtate of Chriſtes Churche, what a care he had to perfourme his office, howe earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, howe tenderly he comforted the heauie harted: howe fruitefully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the ſame: although to exhibite here all the Letters that he wrote, (beyng in number ſo many, that they are able to fill a booke) it can not well be compaſſed, yet neuertheleſſe we mynde to excerpt ỹ principal of thẽ, referring the Reader for the reſidue to the booke of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

Read the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

The copie of M. Bradfordes letter whereof the Earle of Darby complayned in the parlamẽt

And firſt, for ſo muche as ye hearde in the ſtory before, pag. 1523. howe the Earle of Darby complayned in the Parlament houſe, of certain letters written of Joh. Bradford out of Priſon, to Lankeſhire, and alſo howe he was charged both of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and of maiſter Allen with the ſame letters, to the intent the Reader more perfectly may vnderſtande what letters they were, beyng written in deede to his mother, brethren, and ſiſters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we wyl begynne firſt with the ſame letters: the copie with the contents wherof is this, as foloweth.

¶ A comfortable letter of M. Bradford to his Mother, a godly matrone, dwelling in Mancheſter, and to his brethren and ſiſters, and other of his frendes there.

A letter of M. Bradford to his mother, brethren and ſiſters.

Our deare and ſweete Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (prayſed be his name therefore) I am, preſerue and keepe you my good mother, with my brothers and ſiſters, my Father John Traues, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradſhawe, with their wiues and families, &c. now and for euer. Amen.

I am at this preſent in priſon ſure enough for ſtarting, to confirme that I haue preached vnto you: as I am readye (I thanke God) with my life and bloud to ſeale the ſame, if God vouch me worthy of that honor. For good mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpeciall benefite of God, to ſuffer for his names ſake and Goſpel, as now I do: I hartily thanke hym for it, and am ſure that with hym I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as Paul ſaith: If we ſuffer with hym, we ſhal raigne with hym. Therfore be not faint harted, but rather reioyce, at the leaſt for my ſake which nowe am in the right and high way to heauen: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the kyngdome of heauen. Nowe wyl God make knowen his children. When the wynd doth not blowe, then can not a man knowe the wheate from the chaffe: but when the blaſt commeth, then fleeth away the chaffe, but the wheate remayneth, and is ſo farre from beyng hurt, that by the wynd it is more clenſed from the chaffe & knowen to be wheate. Gold when it is caſt into the fire, is the more precious: ſo are Gods children by the croſſe of affliction. Alwayes God begynneth his iudgement at his houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt miſerie in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole lande ſmarted for it after: ſo now Gods children are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely great plagues of God hang ouer this Realme.

2. Timo. 2.

Actes 14.

God beginneth his iudgment with his owne houſe.

Complaynt of the Carnall and wicked lyfe among Goſpellers.

Ye all know there was neuer more knowledge of God, and leſſe godly lyuyng and true ſeruyng of God. It was counted a fooliſh thyng to ſerue God truely, & earneſt prayer was not paſt vpon. Preachyng was but a paſtyme. The Communion was counted too common. Faſtyng to ſubdue the fleſh, was farre out of vſe. Almes was almoſt nothyng. Malice, couetouſnes, & vncleannes was cōmon euerywhere, with ſwearing, drunkennes, & idlenes. God therefore nowe is come, as you haue heard me preach, & becauſe he wyl not damne vs with the world, he begynneth to puniſh vs: as me for my carnal lyuyng. For as for my preaching, I am moſt certayne it is & was Gods truth, and I truſt to geue my life for it by Gods grace: but becauſe I loued not the Goſpell truely, but outwardly, therefore dooth he thus puniſhe me: nay rather in puniſhyng bleſſeth me. And in deede I thanke hym more of this priſon, then of any Parlour, yea then of any pleaſure that euer I had: for in it I find God my moſt ſweete good God alwayes. The fleſhe is puniſhed, firſt to admoniſhe vs nowe hartily to lyue as we profeſſe: ſecondly, to certifie the wicked of their iuſt damnatiō, if they repent not.

The cauſe why God firſt puniſheth his in this world.

God vſeth to proue and trye his children.

Perchaunce you are weakened in that whiche I haue preached, becauſe God dooth not defend it (as you thinke) but ſuffereth the popiſh doctrine to come agayn & preuaile: but you muſt knowe, good mother, that God by this dooth proue and trie his children and people whether they wyl vnfainedly and ſimply hang on hym and his word. So dyd he with the Iſraelites, bryngyng thē into a Deſert after their cōmyng out of Egypt, where (I meane the wyldernesſe) was want of all things in compariſon of that whiche they had in Egypt. Chriſt whē he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietnes with hym, but rather war: The world (ſaith he) ſhall reioyce, but ye ſhall mourne and weepe, but your weeping ſhalbe turned into ioy: and therfore happy are they that mourne and weepe, for they ſhalbe comforted. They are marked then with Gods marke in their foreheades, & not with the beaſtes marke, I meane the Popes ſhauen crowne, who nowe with his ſhauelings reioyce: but woe vnto them, for they ſhalbe caſt downe, they ſhal weepe and mourne. The riche glutton had here his ioy and Lazarus ſorowe, but afterwardes the tyme was chaunged. The end of carnal ioy is ſorow. Now let the whoremonger ioy, with the drunkard, ſwearer, couetous, malicious, and blynd buſſard ſir Iohn: for ẏ Maſſe wyl not byte them, neither make them to bluſhe, as preaching woulde. Nowe may they doo what they wyll, come deuyls to the Church, and goe deuyls home, for no man muſt finde fault. And they are glad of this: nowe haue they their hartes deſire, as the Sodomites had when Loth was gone, but what folowed? Forſooth when they cryed peace, all ſhalbe well, then came Gods vengeance, fire and brymſtone from heauen, and burnt vp euery mothers child: euen ſo deare mother wyl it do to our Papiſtes.

Iohn 16.

Of this place the Earle of Darby ſeemeth to take hold, complayning that he curſeth them that teacheth any falſe doctrine &c. Page. 1523.

The Maſſe rebuketh no ſinne nor ſhameth conſciences, as preaching doth.

Wherfore feare God: ſticke to his word though all the worlde woulde ſwarue from it. Dye you muſt once, and when, or howe, you can not tell. Dye therfore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſeruyng hym truely and after his word: for ſure may we be that of all deathes it is moſt to be deſired to dye for Gods ſake. This is the moſt ſafe kynde of dying: we can not doubt but that we ſhal goe to heauen, if we dye for his names ſake. And that you ſhal dye for his names ſake, Gods worde wyll warrant you, if you ſticke to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeake as I thinke: for by Gods grace I wyll drinke before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

The beſt death of all deathes, is to dye for Gods ſake.

I doubt not but God wyl geue me his grace, & ſtrengthen me therunto: pray that he would, and that I refuſe it not. I am at a poynt euen when my Lord God wil, to come to hym. Death nor lyfe, Priſon nor pleaſure (I truſte in God) ſhalbe able to ſeparate me from my Lorde God and his Goſpel. In peace when no perſecution was, then were you content and glad to heare me, then dyd you beleue me, and wyl you not doo ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeake that which I truſt by Gods grace, if neede be, to verifie with my lyfe? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I haue preached before hym.

It is Gods truth I haue taught: It is that ſame infallible word wherof he hath ſayd: Heauen and earth ſhall paſſe, but my woorde ſhal not paſſe. The Maſſe and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God and enemyes of Chriſtes Croſſe (the Papiſtes I ſay) haue brought in agayne, to poyſon the Church of God withal, diſpleaſeth God highly, and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may he bee which of conſcience ſuffereth loſſe of lyfe or goodes in diſalowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, folow hym: If the Maſſe be God, let them that wyll, ſee it, heare, or be preſent at it, and go to the dyuel with it. What is there as God ordeyned? His ſupper was ordeyned to be receiued of vs in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our fayth, that his body was broken for vs, & his bloud ſhed for pardō of our ſinnes: but in the Maſſe there is no receiuyng, but the prieſt keepeth al to hym ſelfe alone. Chriſt ſaith, Take, eate: No, ſayth the Prieſt: gape, peepe. There is a ſacrificing, yea killyng of Chriſte againe as muche as they may. There is Idolatrie in worſhippyng the outward ſigne of bread and wyne: there is al in Latine, you can not tel what he ſaith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordeyned. Wherfore my good mother come not at it.

The Maſſe is a poyſon to the Church.

Compariſon betwene the Lords ſupper, and the Maſſe.

Doubtes and obiections anſwered.

Oh, wyl ſome ſay, it wyl hinder you, if you refuſe to come to maſſe and to do as other do. But God wyl further you, (be you aſſured) as you ſhal one day find: who hath promiſed to them that ſuffer hinderāce or loſſe of any thing in this world, his great bleſſing here, and in the world to come lyfe euerlaſting.

Math. 19.

You ſhal be counted an hereticke: but not of others thē of heretikes, whoſe prayſe is a diſprayſe.

You are not able to reaſon againſt the prieſtes: but God wyl, that all they ſhal not be able to withſtand you.

No body wil do ſo but you only: In deede no matter, for fewe enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to ſaluatiō. Howbeit, you ſhall haue with you (I doubt not) Father Traues and other my brothers and ſiſters to goe with you therin: but if they wyl not, I your ſonne in God (I truſt) ſhal not leaue you an inche, but goe before you: pray that I may, & geue thankes for me. Reioyce in my ſuffering, for it is for your ſakes to cōfirme the truth I haue taught. Howſoeuer you doo, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traues his handes: for if it ſhoulde be knowen that I haue pen and ynke in the priſon, then would it be worſe with me. Therefore to your ſelues keepe this letter, commendyng me to God and his mercy in Chriſt Ieſus, who make me worthy for his names ſake, to geue my lyfe for his goſpell and Church ſake. Out of the Tower of London, the ſixt day of October. 1553.

For all this caueat, yet this letter came to the Earle of Darbyes knowledge.

My name I write not for cauſes, you know it well enough: Like the letter neuer the worſe. Commend me to all our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lorde. Howe ſoeuer you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they commaund that which with good conſcience you can not obey, lay your head on the blocke, and ſuffer what ſoeuer they ſhall doo or ſay. By pacience poſſeſſe your ſoules.

After the time that M. Bradford was condemned, and ſent to the Counter, it was purpoſed of his aduerſaries, as ye heard before, pag. 1528. col. 2. that he ſhould be had to Mancheſter where he was borne, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the citie of London, thinkyng to take his laſt Vale of them in this letter.

Pag. 1528.

To the Citie of London.

A fruitfull letter of M. Bradford to the citye of London.

To al that profeſſe the Goſpel & true doctrine of our Lord & Saueour Ieſus Chriſt in the citie of London, Iohn Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lord, nowe not onely in priſon, but alſo excommunicated & condemned to be burned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth mercye, grace, & peace with encreaſe of all godly knowledge and pietie, from God the father of mercy, through the merites of our alone and omniſufficient Redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the operation of the holy ſpirite for euer. Amen.

My dearely beloued brethren in our Saueour Chriſt, although the tyme I haue to lyue is very litle (for hourely I looke when I ſhoulde be had hence to be conueyed into Lankeſhire, there to be burned, and to render my lyfe by the prouidence of God, where I firſt receyued it by the ſame prouidence) and although the charge is great to keepe me from al things whereby I might ſignifie any thing to the world of my ſtate: yet hauyng, as now I haue, pen & ynke, through Gods workyng, maugre the head of Satan and his ſouldiers, I thought good to write a ſhort confeſſion of my fayth, and therto ioyne a litle exhortation vnto you al, to lyue accordyng to your profeſſion.

Firſt, for my fayth, I do confeſſe and pray all the whole Congregation of Chriſte to beare witnes with me of the ſame, that I doo beleeue conſtantly through the gyft and goodneſſe of God, (for fayth is Gods only gyft) all the. xii. articles of the Symbole or Creede, commonly attributed to the collection of the Apoſtles. This my fayth I woulde gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the ſimple: but alas, by ſtartes and ſtealth I write in maner that I write, and therfore I ſhall deſire you all to take this breuitie in good part. And this fayth I holde, not becauſe of the Creede it ſelfe, but becauſe of the worde of God, the whiche teacheth and confirmeth euery Article accordyngly. This worde of God written by the Prophetes and Apoſtles, left and conteyned in the Canonical bookes of the whole Bible, I do beleue to containe plentifully all thinges neceſſary to ſaluation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to ſaluation) ought to be added thereto: and therefore the Church of Chriſte, nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, then whiche hereout hath his foundation and grounde. In teſtimonie of this fayth, I render and geue my lyfe, beyng condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſtes vicar generall and ſupreme head of his Catholike and vniuerſall Church here or els where vpon earth: as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſtes reall, corporall, and carnal preſence in his ſupper, vnder the formes and accidentes of bread and wine.

Antichriſt of Rome not to be Chriſtes generall vicar.

Tranſubſtantiation a doctrine of Idolatrye.

To beleue Chriſte our Sauiour to be yͤ head of his Churche, and kynges in their Realmes to be the ſupreme powers, to whom euery ſoule oweth obedience, and to beleue that in the ſupper of Chriſt (which the Sacrament of the altar, as the Papiſtes call it and vſe it, dooth vtterly ouerthrow) is a true and very preſence of whole Chriſt God and man to the fayth of the receyuer, but not to the ſtander by and looker vpon) as it is a true & very preſence of bread and wine to the ſenſes of men: to beleue this (I ſay) wyll not ſerue, and therefore as an heretike I am condemned, and ſhalbe burned: wherof I aſke God hartily mercy that I do no more reioyce then I do, hauyng ſo great cauſe as to be an inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my deare Lord God and Sauiour to ſuffer.

The ſacrament of the aultar quite ouerthroweth the Lordes ſupper.

Chriſt wholy preſent to the fayth of the receauer.

For albeit my manyfold ſinnes, euen ſithen I came into priſon, haue deſerued at the handes of God, not onely this tẽporal, but alſo eternal fire in hell, much more then my former ſinfull life, which yͤ Lord pardõ, for his Chriſtes ſake, as I knowe he of his mercy hath done, and neuer wyll lay myne iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, ſo great is his goodnes (prayſed therfore be his holy name:) although (I ſay) my manyfold and greeuous late ſinnes haue deſerued moſt iuſtly all the tyrannie that man or diuel can do vnto me, and therfore I confeſſe that the Lord is iuſt, and that his iudgementes be true and deſerued on my behalfe: yet the Biſhoppes and Prelates do not perſecute them in me, but Chriſt hym ſelfe, his worde, his truth, and Religion. And therfore I haue great cauſe, yea moſt great cauſe to reioyce that euer I was borne, and hitherto kept of the Lord, that by my death, which is deſerued for my ſinnes, it pleaſeth the heauenly father to glorifie his name, to teſtifie his truth, to confirme his veritie, to repugne his aduerſaries. Oh good God and mercyfull father, forgeue me my great vnthankfulnes, eſpecially herein.

God puniſheth his people for one thing: but men perſecute them for an other.

Bradford ſory that he doth not more reioyce dying in ſo good a quarell.

And you my dearly beloued, for the Lorde Jeſu Chriſtes ſake, I humbly and hartily in his bowels and bloud do nowe for my laſt Vale and farewell in this preſent lyfe, beſeche you and euery of you, that you wyll conſider this worke of the Lord accordingly: Firſt, by me to be admoniſhed to beware of hypocriſie and carnall ſecuritie: profeſſe not the Goſpell with tongue and lyppes onely, but in hart & veritie: frame and faſhion your lyues accordingly: beware Gods name be not euyll ſpoken of, and the Goſpel leſſe regarded by your conuerſation. God forgeue me that I haue not ſo hartily profeſſed it as I ſhould haue done, but haue ſought muche my ſelfe therein. The Goſpell is a newe doctrine to the olde man: it is newe wyne, and therefore can not be put in olde bottels, without more great hurt then good wyne to the bottels. If we wyl talke with the Lord, we muſt put of our ſhooes and carnal affections: if we wyll heare the voyce of the Lorde, we muſt waſhe our garmentes & be holy: if we wyl be Chriſtes diſciples, we muſt deny our ſelues, take vp our croſſe, and folowe Chriſte. We can not ſerue two maiſters. If we ſeeke Chriſtes kingdome, we muſt alſo ſeeke for the righteouſnes thereof. To this petition (Let thy kingdome come) we muſt ioyne, Thy wyll be done, done, on earth as it is in heauen. If we wyll not be doers of the worde, but hearers of it onely, we ſore deceiue our ſelues. If we heare the Goſpel, and loue it not, we declare our ſelues to be but fooles, and builders vpõ the ſande. The Lordes ſpirite hateth faynyng: deceitfulnes the Lorde abhorreth: if we come to hym, we muſt beware we come not with a double harte: for then maye chaunce that God wyl anſweare vs accordyng to the blocke whiche is in our harte, and ſo we ſhall deceyue our ſelues and others.

A leſſon agaynſt carnall ſecuritye.

The Goſpell is a new doctrine to the olde man.

Chriſtian profeſſion requireth Chriſtian conuerſation.

To fayth ſee that we couple a good conſcience, leaſt we make a ſhipwracke. To the Lord we muſt come with feare and reuerence. If we wil be Goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſtes: if we be Chriſtes, we muſt crucifie our fleſh with the luſtes and cõcupiſcences therof: if we wyll be vnder grace, ſinne muſt not beare rule in vs. We maye not come to the Lord, and drawe nigh to hym with our lyps, and leaue our hartes els where, leaſt the Lordes wrath waxe hot, and he take frõ vs the good remaynyng. In no caſe can the kingdome of Chriſt approch to them that repent not. Therfore my dearly beloued, let vs repent and be hartily ſory that we haue ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo couetouſly, ſo vaingloriouſly profeſſed the goſpell. For all theſe I confeſſe of my ſelfe to the glory of God, that he may couer myne offences in the day of iudgement. Let the anger and plagues of God, moſt iuſtly fallen vppon vs, be applyed to euery one of our deſertes, that from the bottome of our hartes euery of vs may ſay: It is I Lord that haue ſinned againſt thee: it is my hypocriſie, my vaingl ory, my couetouſnes, vncleannes, carnalitie, ſecuritie, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, ſelfeloue, & ſuch like, whiche haue deſerued the takyng awaye of our good kyng, of thy worde and true religion, of thy good miniſters by exile, priſonmẽt, and death: it is my wickednes that cauſeth ſucceſſe and increaſe of authoritie and peace to thyne enemies. Oh be mercyfull, be mercyfull vnto vs. Turne to vs againe, O Lord of hoſtes, & turne vs vnto thee: correcte vs, but not in thy furie, leaſt we be conſumed in thyne anger: chaſtiſe vs not in thy wrathfull diſpleaſure: reproue vs not, but in the myddeſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou marke what is done amiſſe, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercyfulnes, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be mercyfull vnto vs, that we might truely worſhip thee. Helpe vs, for the glory of thy name: be mercyful vnto our ſinnes, for they are great: Oh heale vs & help vs for thine honor. Let not the wicked people ſay, where is their God. &c.

Fayth would be coupled euer with a good conſcience.

He exhorteth to repentaunce.

Our ſinnes prouoke perſecution.

He exhorteth to pray, and how to pray with repentance.

On this ſorte my right dearly beloued, let vs hartyly bewaile our ſinnes, repent vs of our former euyl lyfe, hartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lyues in all thynges, continually watche in prayer, diligently and reuerently attende, heare, and reade the holy ſcriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let vs reproue the workes of darknes. Let vs flee from al Idolatrie. Let vs abhorre the Antichriſtian and Romiſhe rotten ſeruice, deteſt the Popiſh Maſſe, abrenounce their Romiſh God, prepare our ſelues to the Croſſe, be obedient to all that be in authoritie in all thinges that be not againſt God and his worde: for then anſweare with the Apoſtles: It is more meete to obey God then man. Howbeit, neuer for any thyng reſiſt, or riſe agaynſt the Magiſtrates. Auenge not your ſelues, but commyt your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeaunce perteyneth, and he in his tyme wyll reward it. If you feele in your ſelues an hope and truſt in God, that he wyll neuer tempt you aboue that he wyll make you able to beare, be aſſured the Lord wyll be true to you: and you ſhalbe able to beare all bruntes. But if you want this hope, flee & get you hence, rather then by your taryng Gods name ſhoulde be diſhonoured.

Praying, hearing and reading the holy ſcriptures.

Obedience to magiſtrates in all that is not againſt Gods worde.

Patience.

In ſumme, caſt your care on the Lorde, knowyng for moſt certaine, that he is carefull for you: with hym are all the heares of your head numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſhe without his good pleaſure and wyll: muche more then, nothyng ſhal happen to your bodyes, which ſhall not be profitable, howe ſoeuer for a tyme it ſeeme otherwiſe to your ſenſes. Hang on the prouidence of God, not onely when you haue meanes to helpe you, but alſo when you haue no meanes, yea when all meanes be agaynſt you. Geue hym this honour, which of all other thynges he moſt chiefly requireth at your handes: namely beleue that you are his children through Chriſte, that he is your father and God through hym, that he loueth you, pardoneth you all your offences, he is with you in trouble, and wyll be with you for euer. When you fall, he wyll put vnder his hande, you ſhall not lye ſtyl: before you call vpon hym, he heareth you: out of euyll he wyll finally bryng you, and deliuer you to his eternal ioy. Doubt not my dearely beloued hereof, doubt not (I ſay:) this wyll God your father doo for you in reſpect, not of your ſelues, but in reſpect of Chriſt your Capteyne, your paſtor, your keeper, out of whoſe handes none ſhall be able to catche you. In hym be quiet, and often conſider your dignitie, namely howe that ye be Gods children, the ſaintes of God, citizens of heauen, temples of yͤ holy ghoſt, the thrones of God, members of Chriſt, & Lordes ouer all.

We ought to depend vpon Gods prouidence alwayes.

All our hope is only in Chriſt and for his ſake to be receaued.

Therfore be aſhamed to thinke, ſpeake, or do any thyng that ſhould be vnſeemely for Gods children, Gods ſaintes, Chriſtes members, &c. Maruayle not though the deuil and the worlde hate you, though ye be perſecuted here: for the ſeruaunt is not aboue his Maiſter. Couet not earthly riches, feare not the power of man, loue not this worlde, nor things that be in this world: but long for the Lord Jeſus his commyng, at which tyme your bodyes ſhalbe made like vnto his glorious body, when he appeareth you ſhal be like vnto hym: when your life thus ſhalbe reuealed, then ſhall ye appeare with hym in glory.

To beare the Croſſe.

Mortification.

In the meane ſeaſon liue in hope hereof. Let the lyfe

you

We muſt liue in the faith of chriſt. The property of fayth.

you lead be in the fayth of the ſonne of God: For the iuſte doth lyue by fayth, which fayth ſleeth from al euyll, and foloweth the worde of God as a Lanterne to her feete and a light to her ſteppes: her eyes be aboue where Chriſte is, ſhee beholdeth not the thynges preſent, but rather thynges to come: ſhee glorieth in affliction, ſhee knoweth that the afflictions of this lyfe are not lyke to be compared to the glory whiche God wyll reueale to vs, and in vs. Of this glory God graunt vs here a liuely taſte: then ſhall we run after the ſent it ſendeth forth. It wyll make vs valiaunt men to take to vs the kingdome of God: whyther the lord of mercye bring vs in his good tyme, through Chriſte our Lorde, to whom with the father and the holy ghoſt, thre perſons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without ende. Amen.

My dearely beloued, I would gladly haue geuen here my bodye to haue bene burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I haue taught here vnto you. But that my Countrey muſt haue. Therefore I pray you take in good part this ſignificatiõ of my good wyl towardes euery of you. Impute the want herein to tyme and trouble. Pardon me myne offenſiue and negligent behauiour when I was amongeſt you. With me repent, & labor to amend. Continue in the truth which I haue truely taught vnto you by preaching in al places where I haue come. Gods name therfore be prayſed. Confeſſe Chriſt when you be called, what ſoeuer commeth thereof, and the God of peace be with vs all. Amen. This .xi. of Februar. an. 1555.

Your brother in bondes for the
Lordes ſake, Iohn Bradford.

To the vniuerſitie and towne of Cambridge.

An other letter of M. Bradford to the vniuerſitye of Cambridge.

TO all that loue the Lord Ieſus and his true doctrine, beyng in the Vniuerſitie and towve of Cambridge, Iohn Bradford a moſte vnwoorthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde, nowe not onely priſoned, but alſo condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increaſe of all godlynes from God the father of al mercy, through the bloudy paſſion of our alouely Saueour Ieſus Chriſt, by the liuely working of the holy ſpirite for euer. Amen.

Although I looke hourely when I ſhould be had to the ſtake (my right dearly beloued in the Lorde) and although the charge ouer me is great and ſtrayt: yet hauyng by the prouidence of God ſecretely pen and ynke, I coulde not but ſomething ſignifie vnto you my ſolicitude which I haue for you and euery of you in the Lord, though not as I woulde, yet as I maye. You haue often and openly heard the truth, (eſpecially in this matter wherein I am condemned) diſputed and preached, that it is needeles to doo any more but onely to put you in remembrance of the ſame: but hytherto you haue not hearde it confirmed, and, as it were, ſealed vp, as nowve you doo and ſhall heare by me, that is, by my death and burnyng. For albeit I haue deſerued (through my vncleannes, hypocriſie, auarice, vainglory, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, and carnalitie, whereof I accuſe my ſelfe, to my confuſion before the worlde, that before God through Chriſte I might, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, finde mercye) eternall death and hell fire, muche more then this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearely beloued, it is not theſe or any of theſe thynges, wherefore the Prelates doo perſecute me, but Gods veritie and truth: yea euen Chriſte hym ſelfe is the onely cauſe and thing wherefore I nowe am condemned, and ſhall be burned as an heretike, for becauſe I wyll not grãũt the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſtes vicar generall and ſupreme head of his Church here, and euery where vppon earth, by Gods ordinaunce, and becauſe I wyll not graunt ſuche corporall, reall, and carnall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament, as dooth tranſubſtantiate the ſubſtance of bread and wine, and is receyued of the wicked, yea of dogges and myſe. Alſo I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Chriſtes Church, as a rotten braunch, and therfore ſhall be caſt into the fire.

The Martyrs perſecuted of the prelates not for their ſinnes, but only for Chriſt.

The cauſe of his condemnation declared.

Therefore ye ought hartily to reioyce with me, and to geue thankes for me, that God the eternall father hath vouched ſafe our mother to bring vp any childe in whom it would pleaſe him to magnifie his holy name as he dooth, and I hope for his mercy and truthes ſake, wyl do in me and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefite vpon earth can it be, as that that which deſerued death by reaſon of my ſinnes, ſhoulde be deliuered to a demonſtration, a teſtification, and confirmation of Gods veritie and truth? Thou my mother the Vniuerſitie haſte not onely had the truth of Gods woorde plainly manifeſted vnto thee by reading, diſputing, & preaching publikely and priuately: but nowe to make thee altogether excuſeleſſe, and as it were, almoſt to ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt, if thou put to thy helping hande with the Romiſhe route to ſuppreſſe the veritie, and ſet out the contrary, thou haſt my life & bloud as a ſeale to confirme thee, if thou wylt be confirmed, or els to confound thee & beare witnes againſt thee, if thou wylt take part with the Prelats and Clergie, whiche nowe fill vp the meaſure of their fathers which ſlew the Prophetes and Apoſtles, that al righteous bloud from Abel to Bradford, ſhedde vpon the earth, may be required at their handes.

A great mercy of God to turne the death of his ſaintes iuſtly deſerued, to ſerue for a confirmatiõ of his own glory.

Cantabrigienſis bene monuit.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time & libertie would ſuffer me (for loue and duetie I beare vnto thee) to admoniſh thee good mother, and my ſiſter the Towne, that you would cal to minde from whence you are fallen, and ſtudy to doo the firſt workes. You know (if you wyl) theſe matters of the Romiſh ſupremacie and the Antichriſtian tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſtes ſupper is ouerthrowen, his prieſthood euacuate, his ſacrifice fruſtrate, the miniſtery of his woorde vnplaced, repentance repelled, fayth fainted, godlines extinguiſhed, the Maſſe mainteyned, idolatrie ſupported, and al impietie cheriſhed: you knowe I ſay (if you wyll) that theſe opinions are not onely beſides Gods word, but euẽ directly againſt it, and therfore to take part with them, is to take part againſt God, againſt whom you can not preuaile.

Therfore for the tender mercy of Chriſt, in his bowels and bloud I beſeech you, to take Chriſtes collyrium and eye ſalue to annoynt your eyes, that you may ſee what you doo & haue done in admitting (as I heare you haue admitted, yea alas authoriſed, & by cõſent cõfirmed) the Romiſh rottẽ rags, which once you vtterly expelled. Oh be not canis reuerſus ad vomitũ, be not* Sus lota reuerſa ad volutabrum cœni. Beware leſt Satan enter in with ſeuen other ſpirites, and then poſtrema ſhalbe worſe then the firſt. It had bene better ye had neuer knowen the truth, thẽ after knowledge to run from it. Ah, wo to this world & the thinges therein, which hath nowe ſo wrought with you. Oh that euer this dirt of the diuel ſhould daube vp the eye of the realme. For thou (O mother) art as it were the eye of the Realme. If thou be light and geue ſhine, al the body ſhall fare the better. But if thou the light be darknes, alas how great wyl the darknes be? What is man whoſe breath is in his noſtrels, that thou ſhouldeſt thus be afraid of hym?

*The dog returned to his own vomite.

*The ſow that was waſhed returned to her wallowing in the mire. 2. Pet. 2.

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but ſhame? Why art thou afraid to cary Chriſtes Croſſe? Wylt thou come into his kingdome, and not drinke of his cup? Doeſt thou not knowe Rome to be Babylon? Doeſt thou not knowe that as the olde Babylon had the children of Iuda in captiuitie, ſo hath this Rome the true Iuda, that is, the confeſſors of Chriſt? Doeſt thou not knowe, that as deſtruction happened vnto it, ſo ſhall it doo vnto this? And troweſt thou that God wyll not deliuer his people nowe when the tyme is come, as he dyd then? Hath not God commaunded his people to come out from her? and wylt thou geue enſample to the whole Realme to runne into her? Haſte thou forgotten the woe that Chriſt threatneth to offence geuers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Mylſtone were hanged about thy necke, and thou throwen into the ſea, then that thou ſhouldeſt offend the litle ones?

The glory of this world a vain thing.

Babilõ hath Iuda in captiuitie.

And alas, how haſt thou offended? yea and how doeſt thou ſtyll offend? wylt thou conſider thinges according to the outward ſhewe? Was not the Synagogue more ſeemely and like to be the true Churche, then the ſimple flocke of Chriſtes diſciples? Hath not the whoore of Babylon more coſtly aray, & rich apparrel externally to ſet forth her ſelfe, then the homely houſewife of Chriſt? Where is the beautie of the kinges daughter the church of Chriſt? without or within? Doth not Dauid ſay, within? Oh remember that as they are happy which are not offẽded at Chriſt, ſo are they happy which are not offended at his poore Churche. Can the Pope and his prelates meane honeſtly, whiche make ſo much of the wife, and ſo litle of the husband? The Church they magnifie, but Chriſte they contemne. If this Churche were an honeſt woman (that is, Chriſtes wife) except they would make much of her husband Chriſt and his word, ſhe would not be made much of them.

The church ſtandeth not in the outward ſhew.

The pope pretendeth to make much of the wife, but maketh nothing of the husband.

Whẽ Chriſt and his apoſtles were vpon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, they, or the Prelates, Biſhops & Synagogue? If a mã ſhould haue folowed cuſtome vnitie, antiquitie, or the more part, ſhould not Chriſte & his company haue bene caſt out of the doores? Therefore bade Chriſt: Searche the Scriptures. And, good mother, ſhal the ſeruant be aboue his maiſter? ſhall we looke for other entertainment at the handes of the world, then Chriſt and his deare Diſciples founde? who was taken in Noes tyme for the Church? Poore Noe and his familie, or others? Who was taken for Gods Churche in Sodome? Lot, or others?

Cuſtome. Vnitie. Antiquity. Conſent of multitude are markes deceiuable.

And doth not Chriſt ſaie:As it was thā,ſo ſhal it go now towardes the comming of the ſonne of man?What meaneth Chriſt when he ſaieth:Iniquitie ſhall haue the vpper hand?doeth not he tell,that charitie ſhal waxe cold? And who ſeeth not a wonderful greate lacke of charitie in thoſe,which would now be takē for Chriſtes church? All that feare God in this realme truely, can tell more of this then I can write.

Martin Bucers preaching. Leauer. Pilkinton. Grindall. Haddon. Horne. Ponet. Rogers. Saunders. Taylour.

Therfore deare mother,receiue ſome admonition of one of thy poore children,now goyng to be burned for the teſtimonie of Ieſus.Come again to Gods truth:come out of Babilon: confeſſe Chriſt and his true doctrine:repent that which is paſt;make amendes by declaryng thy repentaūce by the fruites.Remember the readynges and preachynges of Gods Prophet and true preacher M. Bucer.Call to mynde the threatnynges of God,now ſomethyng ſeen by thy children Leauer and others. Lette the exile of Leauer,Pilkintō,Grindal,Haddon,Horne,Scorie Ponet.&c.ſomethyng awake thee.Let the impriſonment of thy deare ſonnes,Cranmer,Ridley,and Latimer moue thee.Conſider the Martyredome of thy chickens,Rogers, Saunders,Tailor.And now caſt not awaie the poore admonition of me goyng to be burned alſo,and to receiue the like crowne of glory with my fellowes.Take to harte Gods callyng by vs.Be not as Pharao was:for then will it happen vnto thee as it did vnto hym.What is that?hardnes of hart.And what then? deſtructiō eternally both of bodie & ſoule.Ah therefore good mother awake,awake, repent,repent,buſkle thy ſelf,and make haſt to turne to the Lorde.For els it ſhalbe more eaſie for Sodome & Gomorra in the daie of Iudgemēt then for thee.Oh harden not your hartes: Oh ſtop not your eares to daie in hearyng Gods voice,though it be by me a moſte vnworthie meſſenger.Oh feare the Lorde , for his anger is begon to kindle. Euen now the axe is laied to the rote of the tree.

Bradford prophecied before ŷ Sweat tyme what would follow of carnal gospelling, if repentance did not come.

You knowe I Prophecied truely to you before the Sweate came,what would come,if you repēted not your carnall Goſpellyng. And nowe I tell you before I depart hence , that the eares of men will tingle to heare of the vengeaūce of God that will fall vpō you al,bothe toune and Vniuerſitie,if you repent not, if you leaue not your Idolatrie,if you tourne not ſpedely to the Lorde, if you ſtill be aſhamed of Chriſtes truthe whiche you knowe.

Perne. Thomſon.

Oh Perne repent,Oh Thomſon repent,Oh you Doctors, Bachelers,& Maiſters repent,Oh Maior, Aldermen, and Toune dwellers repent,repent,repent,that you may eſcape the nere vengeaunce of the lord.Rent your harts, and come apace callyng on the lord.Let vs all ſaie,Peccauimus,we haue ſynned, we haue dooen wickedly,we haue not hearkned to thy voyce O lorde.Deale not with vs after our deſertes,but bee mercifull to our iniquities, for thei are greate. Oh pardon vs our offenſes. In thine anger remember thy mercie.Turne vs vnto thee,O Lord God of hoſts,for the glory of thy names ſake.Spare vs,& be merciful vnto vs.Let not the wicked people ſay:wher is now their God:Oh for thine owne ſake,for thy names ſake,deale mercifully with vs. Turne thy ſelf vnto vs,& vs vnto thee,and we ſhall praiſe thy name for euer.

Hee teacheth Cambridge too pray.

If in this ſort(my dearly beloued)in hart and mouth we come vnto our father , & proſtrate our ſelues before the throne of his grace, then ſurely ſurely we ſhall finde mercie.Then ſhall the Lord loke merely vpon vs,for his mercy ſake in Chriſt:then ſhal we heare him ſpeake peace vnto his people.For he is gracious & mercifull,of greate pitie,and compaſſion:he cannot be chidyng for euer:his anger can not laſt long to the penitēt. Though we wepe in the mornyng yet at night we ſhall haue our ſorowe to ceaſe.For he is exorable,& hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner:he rather would our conuerſion & turning.

Gods mercy promiſed too Cambridge if it repent.

Oh turne you now,and conuert yet once again I hūbly beſech you,and then the kyngdome of heauen ſhall drawe nighe. The eye hath not ſeen , the eare hath not heard,nor the harte of man is able to conceiue the ioyes prepared for vs if we repent,amende our liues, and hartly turne to the Lord.But if you repent not,but be as you were,and goe on forwardes with the wicked,followyng the faſhion of the world, the Lord wil lead you on with wicked doers,you ſhall periſhe in your wickedneſſe,your bloud will be vpon your owne heades, your part ſhalbe with hypocrites,where ſhalbe weepyng and gnaſhyng of teeth,ye ſhalbe caſte from the face of the Lorde for euer and euer, eternall ſhame,ſorrowe,wo,and miſerie ſhalbe bothe in body and ſoule to you world without ende.Oh therefore right deare to me in the lorde,turne you turne you,repent you,repent you,amende,amende your liues, depart from euil,doe good,followe peace and purſue it,

Cambridge threatned if it repent not.

Come out from Babilō,caſt of the workes of darkeneſſe, put on Chriſt,confeſſe his truthe, be not aſhamed of his Goſpell,prepare you ſelues to the Croſſe,drinke of Gods cup before it come to the dregges: and then ſhall I with you and for you,reioyce in the daie of Iudgemēt,which is at hande , and therefore prepare your ſelues thereto,I hartly beſeche you.And thus I take my vale in æternum with you in this preſent life, myne owne deare hartes in the Lorde. The Lorde of mercie be with vs all,and geue vs a ioyfull and ſure metyng in his kyngdome.Amen.Amen.Out of priſon the 11.of February. Anno 1555.

Your owne in the Lorde
for euer, Ihon Bradford.

¶To Lankeſhire and Cheſhire.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford to Lankeſhire, Cheſhire, and ſpecially too Mancheſter.

TO all thoſe that profeſſe the name and true Religion of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt in Lankeſhire and Cheſhire,and ſpecially abidyng in Mācheſter and thereabout, Jhon Bradford a moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde,now not onely in bondes, but alſo condemned for the ſame true Religion, wiſheth mercie and grace,peace and encreaſe of all godlines frō God the father of all pitie,through the deſertes of our lorde Jeſus Chriſt, by the workyng of the moſt mightie and liuely ſpirite the comforter for euer. Amen.

J heard it reported credibly,my dearely beloued in the lorde, that my heauēly father hath thought it good to prouide,that as J haue Preached his true doctrine and Goſpell amongeſt you by worde:ſo J ſhall teſtifie and confirme the ſame by deede:That is, J ſhall with you leaue my life,whiche by his prouidence J firſte receiued there(for in Mācheſter was J borne)for a ſeale to the doctrine J haue taught with you, and amongeſt you:ſo that if from henceforthe you wauer in the ſame, you haue none excuſe at all . J knowe the enemies of Chriſt,whiche exerciſe this crueltie vpō me (J ſpeake it in reſpect of myne offence,whiche is none to the warden)thinke by killyng of me amōgeſt you,to affraie you and others, leaſt thei ſhould attempt to teache Chriſte truely,or beleue his doctrine hereafter. But J doubte not but my heauenly father wil by my death,more confirme you in his truthe for euer.And therfore J greatly reioyce to ſe ſathan and his ſouldiers,ſupplanted in their owne ſapience,whiche is plain fooliſhnes amongeſt the wiſe in deede,that is, amongeſt ſuche as haue heard Gods worde,and do folowe it:for thei onely are counted wiſe of the wiſedome of God our Sauiour.

He confeſſeth hys ſinnes before God.

Jn deede if J ſhould ſimply conſider my life with that whiche it ought to haue been,& as God in his law requireth, then could J not but crie as J do, Iuſtus es domine & omnia iudicia tua vera.i. Righteus art thou O lorde,and all thy iudgementes are true.For J haue muche greued thee,and tranſgreſſed the holy preceptes not onely before my profeſſyng the Goſpell , but ſithen alſo:yea euen ſithen my commyng into priſon. J do not excuſe,but accuſe my ſelf before God & all his churche, that J haue greuouſly offended my lorde God, J haue not liued his Goſpell as J ſhould haue doen, J haue ſought my ſelf and not ſimply,and onely his glory and my brethrens commoditie , J haue been to vnthankefull,ſecure,carnall,hypocriticall,vainglorious.&c.All whiche my euils the Lorde of mercy pardon me for his Chriſtes ſake , as J hope and certainly beleue he hath doen for his greate mercy in Chriſt our redemer.

The Papiſtes condemne not Bradford but Chriſt.

But when J conſider the cauſe of my condemnatiō, J can not but lament,that J doe no more reioyce then J doe.For it is Gods veritie and truthe:So that the condēnation is not a condemnation of Bradford ſimply:but rather a condemnatiō of Chriſt and his truth. Bradford is nothyng els but an inſtrument, in whom Chriſte and his doctrine is condemned.And therefore my dearely beloued,reioyce, reioyce and geue thankes with me and for me,that euer GOD did vouchſafe ſo greate a benefite to our countrey,as to chooſe the moſt vnworthy(J meane my ſelf)to be one,in whō it would pleaſe hym to ſuffer any kind of affliction: muche more this violent kind of death,whiche J perceiue is prepared for me with you for his ſake.Al glory and praiſe be geuē vnto God our father,for his great exceedyng mercy towardes me,through Jeſus Chriſt our lord.Amen.

But perchaunce you will ſaie vnto me : what is the cauſe for the whiche you are condemned? we heare ſaie that ye deny all preſence of Chriſt in his holy Supper, and ſo make it a bare ſigne and common bread,and nothyng els.My dearly beloued,what is ſaied of me,and what will be, J can not tel.Jt is told me that M. Pi-

D.Pendleton recanted firſt in K. Edwardes time, and now againe in Q. Maryes time.

dleton is gone doune to Preache with you , not as he once recanted(for you all knowe how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preache afore I came amongeſt you)but to recante that whiche he hath recanted. How he will ſpeake of me,& report before I come, when I am come , and when I am burned , I muche paſſe not, for he that is ſo vncertaine, and will ſpeake ſo oftē againſt hymſelf,I cannot thinke he will ſpeake well of me,excepte it make for his purpoſe and profite: but of this inough.

The cauſes why M.Bradford was condemned.

Tranſubſtantiation the deuells darling, and daughter of Antichriſt.

In dede the chief thyng,whiche I am condemned for as an heretick,is becauſe I deny in the Sacramēt of the altar(whiche is not Chriſtes ſupper,but a plain peruertyng of it,beyng vſed as the Papiſtes now vſe it)to be a reall,naturall, & corporall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud, vnder the formes and accidences of breade and wine,that is,becauſe I deny tranſubſtātiatiō,whiche is the dearlyng of the deuill,and daughter and heire to Antichriſtes religiō,wherby the Maſſe is maintained,Chriſtes ſupper peruerted, his ſacrifice and Croſſe imperfited,his Prieſthoode deſtroyed , the miniſterie taken awaie, repentaunce repelled, and all true godlines abandoned. In the ſupper of our Lorde or ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud,I confeſſe & beleue,that there is a true,and very preſence of whole Chriſt God and man,to the faithe of the receiuer(but not of the ſtander by and looker on) as there is a very true preſence of bread & wine to the ſenſes of hym that is partaker thereof. This faithe,this doctrine, whiche cōſenteth with the worde of God, and with the true teſtimonie of Chriſtes Churche (whiche the Popiſhe Churche bothe perſecute) will I not forſake,and therfore am I condemned as an hereticke,and ſhalbe burned. But my dearly beloued,this truth(whiche I haue taught,and you haue receiued,I beleued, and doe beleue,and therein geue my life) I hope in God,ſhall neuer be burned,bound,nor ouercome:but ſhall triumph haue victorie,and be at libertie,maugre the head of all Gods aduerſaries. For there is no cōſaill againſt the Lorde,nor no deuiſe of man can bee able to defeate the veritie in any other, then ſuche as be children of vnbelief,whiche haue no loue to the truth,and therfore are geuē vp to beleue lies. For which plague the Lorde of mercies deliuer you and all the Realme,my deare hartes in the Lorde,I humblie beſeche his mercie.Amen.

M.Bradfords farewell to the countery of Lankeſhire.

And to the ende you might be deliuered from this plague(right deare to me in the Lorde, I ſhall for my farewell with you for euer in this preſente life, hartely deſire you all in the bowelles and bloud of our moſte mercifull Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt,to attend vnto theſe thynges whiche I nowe ſhall ſhortly write vnto you, out of the holy ſcriptures of the Lorde.

Gods manifold plagues vppon Englande in Queen Maries dayes.

The cauſe of Gods plagues is our iniquities, and not knowyng the tyme of Gods viſitation.

You knowe an heauy plague(or rather plagues)of God is fallen vpō vs,in taking awaie our good king, Gods true Religion,Gods true Prophets and Miniſters.&c. And ſetting ouer vs,ſuche as ſeke not the lord after knowledge: whoſe endeuours GOD proſpereth wonderfully,to the triall of many,that his people may bothe better knowe them ſelues,and be knowen. Now the cauſe hereof is our iniquities and greuous ſynnes. We did not knowe the tyme of our viſitation: we wer vnthankfull vnto God:we contēned the Goſpel,& carnally abuſed it, to ſerue our hypocriſy, our vainglorie, our viciouſnes,auarice,idlenes,ſecuritie.&c. Long did the lorde linger & tary to haue ſhewed mercie vpon vs, but we were euer the longer the worſe. Therfore moſt iuſtly hath God deale with vs,and dealeth with vs:yea yet we maie ſe,that his iuſtice is tempered with muche mercie, wherto let vs attribute that we are not vtterly conſumed. For if the Lorde ſhould deale with vs after our deſertes,alas,how could we abide it? In his anger therfore,ſeyng he doeth remēber his mercy vndeſerued (yea vndeſired on our behalfe) let vs take occaſion the more ſpeedely to go out to meete hym,not with force of armes(for we are not ſo able to withſtāde hym,muche leſſe to preuaile againſt hym)but to beſeche hym to bee mercifull vnto vs,and accordyng to his wonted mercy to deale with vs.

Riſing with Dauid.

Sayng with the Centurion.

Repēting with the Publican.

Retournyng with the loſt Sonne.

Let vs ariſe with Dauid and ſaie: Ne intres in iudicium cum ſeruo tuo,&c.i. Enter not into iudgement O lorde with thy ſeruaunt,for in thy ſight no fleſhe liuyng ſhalbe iuſtified. Let vs ſende Embaſſadours with the Centurion,and ſaie: Lorde we are not worthie to come our ſelues vnto thee,ſpeake the worde & we ſhall haue peace. Let vs penitētly with the Publicane loke doune on the earth,knocke our hard harts to burſt them, and crie out: Oh God bee mercifull vnto vs wretched ſynners. Let vs with the loſt Sonne returne and ſaie: O Father,we haue ſynned againſt heauen and earth,and before thee,we are vnworthy to be called thy children. Let vs I ſay do on this ſort,that is,hartly repēt vs of our former euill life,and vnthankfull goſpellyng paſt, conuert & turne to God with our whole hartes,hoping in his greate mercy through Chriſt,and hartly callyng vpon his holy name,& then vndoubtedly we ſhall finde and fele otherwiſe then yet we fele,bothe inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we ſhall fele peace of conſcience betwene God and vs, whiche peace paſſeth all vnderſtandyng,and outwardly we ſhal fele muche mitigatiō of theſe miſeries,if not an vtter takyng of them awaie.

Bradfords vltimū vale.

Therefore my dearly beloued in the Lorde,I your poorest brother now departing to the lorde,for my vale in æternum for this preſent life, praie you,beſeche you, and euen from the very bottome of my harte,for al the mercies of God in Chriſt ſhewed vnto you,moſte earneſtly begge and craue of you out of priſon (as often out of your Pulpits I haue doen)that you will repēt you, leaue your wicked and euill life,bee ſory for your offences,and turne to the lorde,whoſe armes are wide open to receiue and embrace you , whoſe ſtretched out hand to ſtrike to death,ſtaieth that he might ſhew mercie vpon you. For he is the Lorde of mercie , and God of all comfort,he will not the death of a ſinner,but rather that ye ſhould returne,conuert & amende. He hath no pleaſure in the deſtruction of men:his long ſuffryng draweth to repentaunce before the time of vengeaunce, and the date of wrath, whiche is at hande,doeth come.

The daye of Gods wrath at hande.

Wanton Goſpellers. Proud Proteſtantes. Falſe chriſtiās.

Now is the axe laied to the roote of the tree, vtterly to deſtroye the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the lorde,and who is able to quenche it? Oh therfore repent you,repent you. It is enough to haue liued as we haue doen. It is enough to haue played the wanton Goſpellers, the proude Proteſtantes, hypocriticall and falſe Chriſtians,as alas, wee haue doen. Now the lorde ſpeaketh to vs in mercie & grace: Oh towrne before he ſpeaketh in wrathe . Yet is there mercy with the lorde,and plenteous redemption:yet he hath not forgotten to ſhewe mercie to them that call vpon hym. Oh then cal vpō hym,while he may be found. For he is riche in mercy,and plentifull to all them that call vpon hym. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lorde ſhalbe ſaued. If your ſynnes be as redde as ſcarlet,the lorde ſaieth, he will make them as white as ſnowe. He hath ſworne, and neuer wil repent him therof,that he will neuer remember our iniquities, but as he is good,faithfull and true, ſo will he bee our God, and we ſhalbe his people: his lawe will he write in our hartes , and engraffe in our mindes, and neuer wil he haue in mynde our vnrighteouſneſſe.

Bradford propheſied of theſe plagues before.

Deſtruction threatned too thē that repent not.

Therfore my deare hartes in the lorde,turne you, turne you to the Lorde your Father,to the lorde your Sauiour,to the lord your Comforter. Oh why do you ſtop your eares,and harden your hartes to daie, when you heare his voyce by me your poorest brother ? Oh forget not how that the lord hath ſhewed himſelf true & me his true preacher,by bringing to paſſe theſe plages, whiche at my mouthe you oft heard before thei came to paſſe, ſpecially whē I entreated of Noes floud & when I preached of the.12.chapter of S.Matthewes Goſpel on ſaint Steuens daie the laſt tyme that I was with you. And now by me the lorde ſendeth you worde(deare countrey menne)that if you will goe on forwardes in your impenitency,carnalitie,hypocriſie,idolatry,coueteouſnes,ſwearing,glottony,dronkennes,whoredō.&c (Wherwith alas,alas our cōtrey floweth): if(I ſay) you will not turne and leaue of,ſeeyng me now burned amongſt you,to aſſure you on al ſides how God ſeketh you,and is ſory to do you hurt,to plage you,to deſtroy you,to take vengeaunce vpon you,oh your bloud will be vpon your owne heades:you haue been warned,and warned againe by me in preachyng,by me in burnyng.

Preceptes of life.

As I ſaied therfore, I ſaie again,my deare hartes and dearlinges in the lorde,turne you,turne you,repēt you,repent you,ceaſſe frō doyng euill,ſtudie to do wel, awaye with idolatrie,flie the Romiſhe God and ſeruice, leaue of frō ſwearyng,cut of carnalitie, abandon auarice,driue awaie dronkēneſſe,flie from fornication and flatterie,murther and malice, deſtroye deceiptfulneſſe, and caſt awaie all the workes of darkenes. Put on pitie and godlines,ſerue god after his worde,and not after cuſtome,vſe your tonges to glorifie God by praier, thankeſgeuyng and confeſſion of his truth.&c.be ſpirituall, Good counſell giuen.

tuall, and by the ſpirit mortifie carnall affections, be ſober, holy, true, louyng, gentle, mercifull, and then ſhall the lordes wrathe ceaſe, not for this our doynges ſake, but for his mercies ſake. Go to therefore (good cōtrey men) take this cōſaill of the lorde, by me now ſent vnto you, as the lordes cōſaill, & not as myne, that in the daie of iudgement I maie reioyce with you, & for you: the which thing I hartly deſire, and not to be a witnes againſt you. My bloud will crye for vengeaunce, as againſt the Papiſtes gods enemies (whō I beſech God if it be his will, hartly to forgiue, yea euen them which putte me to death, and are the cauſers thereof, for thei knowe not what thei do) ſo will my bloud crye for vengeaunce againſt you (my dearely beloued in the lorde) if ye repent not, amende not, and turne vnto the lorde.

Bradfords bloud will cry agaynſt the refuſers of hys counſell.

Turne vnto the Lorde yet once more, I hartely beſeche thee thou Mancheſter, thou Aſhton vnderline, thou Bolton, Burie, Wigine, Lierpoole, Mottrine, Stepport, Winſley, Eccles, Preſtwiche, Middleton, Radcliefe, & thou Citee of Weſtcheſter, where I haue truely taught and preached the worde of God. Turne, I ſaie vnto you all, and to all the inhabitours there aboutes, vnto the Lorde our God and he will turne vnto you, he will ſaie vnto his Aungell: It is enough, put vp thy ſworde. The whiche thyng that he wil do, I humbly beſeche his goodnes, for the precious bloudes ſake of his deare ſonne our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. Ah good brethren take in good parte theſe my laſt wordes vnto euery one of you. Pardon me myne offenſes and negligences in behauiour amongeſt you. The lorde of mercie pardon vs all our offenſes, for our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſtes ſake, Amen. Out of priſon readie to come to you the .xi. of February. Anno. 1555.

¶To the towne of Walden.

An other letter of M. Bradford to ỷ towne of Walden.

TO the faithfull and ſuche as profeſſe the true doctrine of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, dwellyng at Walden and thereaboutes, Ihon Bradford a moſte vnworthy ſeruaunt of the Lorde, now in bandes, and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, mercie, and peace, with the encreaſe of all godlines in knowledge & liuyng, frō God the father of al cōfort, through the deſerts of our alone and ful redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, by the mightie working of the moſte holy ſpirit, the cōforter for euer, Amen.

When I remember how that by the prouidēce & grace of God, I haue been a man, by whom it hath pleaſed him through my miniſterie to call you to repentaunce, and amendement of life, ſomthyng effectually, as it ſemed, and to ſowe amongeſt you his true doctrine and religion, leſt that by my affliction, and ſtormes nowe ariſen to trie the faithfull, and to conforme them like to the Image of the ſonne of GOD, into whoſe companie we are called, you might be fainte harted: I could not but out of priſon ſecretly (for my kepers maie not knowe that I haue penne and ynke) write vnto you a ſignification of the deſire I haue, that you ſhould not onely be more cōfirmed in the doctrine I haue taught amongſt you, which I take on my death, as I ſhal anſwere at the daie of dome, I am perſwaded to be Gods aſſured, infallible, and plaine truthe: but alſo ſhould after your vocation auowe the ſame by confeſsion, profeſſion, and liuyng. I haue not taught you (my dearely beloued in the Lorde) fables, tales, or vntruthe, but I haue taught you the veritie, as now by my bloude gladly (praiſed bee God therefore) I doe ſeale the ſame.

Maiſter Bradford auſwereth with his bloud for his doctrine

In deede to confeſſe the truthe vnto you, and to all the Church of Chriſt, I do not thynke of my ſelf, but that I haue moſte iuſtly deſerued, not onely this kinde but alſo all kindes of death, & that eternally, for myne hypocriſie, vainglorie, vnclennes, ſelf loue, couetouſnes, idlenes vnthankfulnes, and carnal profeſſyng of Gods holy Goſpell, liuyng therein not ſo purely, louyngly, and painfully as I ſhould haue doen. The lorde of mercie for the bloud ſake of Chriſt pardon me, as I hope, yea I certainly beleue he hath dooen for his holie names ſake through Chriſte, But my dearely beloued, you & al the whole world maie ſee, and eaſely perceiue, that the Prelates perſecute in me an other thyng then myne iniquities, euen Chriſte hym ſelf, Chriſtes veritie and truthe. becauſe I can not, dare not, nor will not confeſſe Tranſubſtantiation, and how that wicked menne, yea, Miſe and Dogges eatyng the Sacrament, which thei terme of the altar, thereby ouerthrowyng Chriſtes holie Supper vtterly, doe eate Chriſtes naturall and reall bodie borne of the virgine Mary.

M. Bradford accuſeth againe his owne life.

Chriſt himſelfe perſecuted in his Martyrs.

To beleue, and confeſſe as Gods worde teacheth, the primatiue Churche beleued, and all the Catholike and good holie Fathers taught fiue .C. yeres at the leaſt after Chriſt, that in the Supper of the Lorde (whiche the Maſſe ouerthroweth, as it doeth Chriſtes Prieſthoode, ſacrifice, death and paſsion, the miniſterie of his worde, true faithe repentaunce, and all godlines whole Chriſt God & man is preſent by grace, to the faithe of the receiuers, but not of the ſtanders by, and lokers on, as bread and wine is to their ſenſes, will not ſerue: and therefore I am cōdemned and ſhalbe burned out of hande as an heretícke. Wherefore I hartely thanke my Lorde GOD, that wil and doeth vouche me worthie to bee an inſtrumente, in whom he hym ſelf doeth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction & death is not ſimply, becauſe I haue deſerued no leſſe, but muche more at his handes and iuſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſſe his veritie and truthe, and am not affraied throughe his gift that to doe, that you alſo might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore my dearly beloued, I hartely do pray you, and ſo many as vnfainedly loue me in God, to geue with me and for me, moſte hartie thankes to our heauenly Father, through our ſwete Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, for this his exceadyng greate mercie towardes me and you alſo, that your faith wauer not frō the doctrine I haue taught, and ye haue receiued. For what cā you deſire more to aſſure your conſciences, of the veritie taught by your preachers, then their owne liues?

M. Bradford perſecuted for confeſſing the truth.

Goe to therefore my deare hartes in the Lorde, wauer not in Chriſtes religion truely taught you, and ſet forthe in kyng Edwardes daies. Neuer ſhall the enemies be able to burne it, to priſon it, and keepe it in bondes. Vs thei maie priſon, thei maye binde and burne, as thei doe, and will doe, ſo long as ſhall pleaſe the Lorde: but our cauſe, religion, and doctrine whiche we confeſſe, thei ſhall neuer be able to vanquiſhe and put awaye. Their Idolatrie and Popiſh religiō, ſhal neuer be built in the conſciences of men that loue Gods truthe. As for thoſe that loue not Gods truthe, that haue no pleaſure to walke in the waies of the Lorde, in thoſe I ſaie the deuill ſhall preuaile: For God will geue them ſtrong illuſion to beleue lyes. Therfore deare brethren & ſiſters in the Lorde, I humbly beſeche you, and praie you in the bowels and bloud of our Lorde and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, now goyng to the death for the teſtimonie of Ieſus, as oftentimes I haue doen before this preſente out of your pulpit, that you would liue the Lordes truthe: loue (I ſaie) to liue it, and frame your liues thereafter. Alas, you knowe the cauſe of al theſe plages fallen vpon vs, and of the ſucceſſe whiche Gods aduerſaries haue daiely, is for our not liuyng Gods worde.

Gods truth can neuer be kept vnder by the aduerſaries.

He exhorteth them to loue Gods truth and to liue thereafter.

You know how that we wer but Goſpellers in lippes, and not in life. We were carnall, concupiſcentious, idle, vnthankfull, vncleane, coueteous, arrogant, diſſemblers, craftie, ſubtill, malicious, falſe, backbiters. &c. and euen glutted with Gods worde, yea, we lothed it, as did the Iſraelites the Manna in the wildernes: and therefore as to them the Lordes wrathe waxed hot, ſo doeth it vnto vs. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turne, then neuer to turne) we confeſſe our faultes, euen frō the bottome of our hartes, & with hartie repētaunce (whiche God worke in vs all for his mercies ſake) we run vnto the lorde our God, whiche is exorable mercifull, & ſory for the euill poured out vpon vs, and crye out vnto him with Daniel, ſaiyng: we haue ſinned, we haue ſinned greuouſly oh lord God, againſt thy maieſty, we haue heaped iniquitie vpō iniquitie: the meaſure of our tranſgreſſions floweth ouer, ſo that iuſte is thy vengeaunce and wrath fallen vpō vs. For we are very miſerable, we haue contemned thy long ſufferyng, we haue not harkened to thy voice. Whē thou haſt called vs by Preachers, we hardened our hartes, and therefore now deſerue that thou ſende thy curſe herevpon to harden our hartes alſo, that we ſhould henceforthe haue eyes and ſee not, eares and heare not, hartes and vnderſtande not, leaſt wee ſhould conuert and be ſaued. Oh bee mercifull vnto vs: ſpare vs good Lorde and all thy people, whom thou haſt dearely bought. Let not thyne enemies triumphe altogether, and alwaies againſt thee, for then will thei be puft vp. Looke doune and behold the pitifull complaintes of the poore: let the ſorowfull ſighyng of the ſimple come in thy ſight, and bee not angrie with vs for euer. Turne vs oh Lorde GOD of hoſtes vnto thee, and tourne thee vnto vs, that thou maieſt be iuſtified in thy ſwete ſentences, and ouercome when thou art iudged, as now thou art of our aduerſaries. For thei ſaie, where is their God? Can God deliuer them now? Can their Goſpell ſerue thē? Oh lord how long for the glorie of thy name, and for thy honors ſake, in the bowels and bloud of Ieſus Chriſte, we humbly beſeche thee, come and helpe vs, for we are very miſerable.

Gods Goſpell abuſed.

Gods Goſpell lothed.

He exhorteth to repentaunce and prayer, and to bewayle our ſinnes before the Lord our God.

On this ſort I ſaie, dearely beloued, let vs publickly &

The prayers of ſinners be not heard.

and priuately bewaile our ſynnes: but ſo that hereto we ioyne, ceaſyng from wilfulnes and ſynne of purpoſe, for els the lorde heareth not our praiors, as Dauid ſaith. And in S. Ihon it is written: The impenitent ſynners God heareth not. Now, impenitēt are thei whiche purpoſe not to amende their liues. As for exāple: not onely ſuche which followe ſtill their pleaſures, vncleanneſſe, carnalitie: but thoſe alſo whiche for feare or fauour of men, do againſt their conſcience, to conſente to the Romiſhe ragges, and reſort to the rotten Religion, communicatyng in Seruice and ceremonies with the Papiſtes, thereby declaryng thē ſelues to loue more the worlde then God, to feare man more then Chriſte, to dread more the loſſe of temporall thynges, then of carnall: in whom it is euidente, the loue of God abideth not. For he that loueth the worlde, hath not Gods loue abidyng in hym, ſaieth S. Ihon: therefore my deare hartes, and deare again in the lorde remember what you haue profeſſed, Chriſtes Religion and name, & the renouncyng of the Deuill, Synne, and the Worlde.

Romiſh ragges, and rotten religion.

The A. B. C. of the Chriſtians beginneth with Chriſtes croſſe.

Remember that before ye learned A.B.C. your leſſon was Chriſtes croſſe. Forget not that Chriſt wil haue no diſciples, but ſuche as will promiſe to deny thē ſelues, and take vp ther croſſe (marke, take it vp) and followe hym: & not the multitude, cuſtome. &c. Conſider for Gods ſake, that if wee gather not with Chriſte, wee ſcatter abroade. What ſhould it profite a man to win the whole worlde, and loſe his own ſoule? We muſt not forget that this life is a wildernes, and not a paradiſe: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we muſt nedes fight, or els be taken priſoners. Of all thynges we haue in this life, we ſhall cary nothyng with vs. If Chriſt be our capitain, we muſt followe hym as ſoldiours. If we kepe companie with him in affliction, we ſhalbe ſure of his ſocietie in glorie. If we forſake not hym, he will neuer forſake vs. If wee confeſſe hym, he will confeſſe vs: but if we deny hym, he wil deny vs. If we bee aſhamed of hym, he will bee aſhamed of vs. Wherfore as he forſooke his father, & heauen, & all thinges to come to vs, ſo let vs forſake all thynges and come to hym, beyng ſure and moſte certaine, that we ſhall not loſe thereby. Your childrē ſhal finde and feele it double, yea treple, whatſoeuer you loſe for the lordes ſake: & you ſhal find & fele peace of cōſcience, & frendſhip with God whiche is more worthe then all the goods of the worlde.

They neuer loſe that folow Chriſt.

My dearly beloued, therefore for the lordes ſake, conſider theſe thynges which now I write vnto you of loue, for my Vale, & laſte farewell for euer in this preſent life. Turne to the Lorde: repent you your euill and vnthankfull life, declare repētaūce by the fruites: take tyme while you haue it: come to the lorde whiles he calleth you: run into his lappe whiles his armes be open to embrace you: ſeke hym whiles he maie be founde: call vpon hym whiles tyme is conuenient: forſake & flie from all euill, bothe in religion, and in the reſt of your life and conuerſation. Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that thei may ſe your woorkes, and praiſe God in the daie of his viſitation. Oh come againe, come againe you ſtraunge children, and I will receiue you ſaieth the Lorde. Conuert and turne to me, and I will turne vnto you. Why? will ye nedes periſhe? As ſure as I liue (ſweareth the lord) I wil not your death: turne therefore vnto me. Can a woman forget the childe of her wōbe? If ſhe ſhould, yet will I not forget you, ſaieth the Lorde your GOD. I am he, I am he whiche put awaie your ſynnes for myne owne ſake.

He exhorteth to amendement in religion, and conuerſation.

The lord watcheth to performe his word double wiſe.

Oh then deare frendes, turne I ſaie vnto your deareſt father. Caſt not theſe his ſweete and louyng woordes to the grounde, & at your taile, for the Lorde watcheth on his worde to performe it: whiche is in twoo ſortes: to thē that laye it vp in their hartes, and beleue it, will he paye all, and eternall ioye and comfort. But to them that caſt it at their backes, and will forget it, to them (I ſaie) wil he poure out indignation and eternall ſhame. Wherefore I hartely yet once more beſeche and praie you, and euery of you, not to contemne this poore and ſimple exhortation, whiche now out of priſon I make vnto you, or rather the Lorde by me. Lothe would I be a witnes againſt you in the laſte daie: as of truthe I muſt bee, if ye repent not, if ye loue not Gods Goſpell, yea, if ye liue it not.

Bradford muſt be a witnes in the laſt day too them that reiect his counſayle.

Therefore to cōclude, repent, loue Gods Goſpell, liue it in all your cōuerſation: ſo ſhall Gods name be praiſed, his plages be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies aſhamed. Graunt all this thou gracious Lord God to euery of vs for thy deare ſonnes ſake, our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt: To whō with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be eternall glorie for euer and euer, Amen. The. xij. of February. 1555.

By the bondman of the Lorde, and your
afflicted poore brother, I. Bradford.

¶ To my louyng brethren B.C. &c. their wiues and whole families, I. Bradford.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford to certaine frends of hys, whom for daungere of that tyme hee would not name.

I Beſeche the euerliuyng God, to graunt you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the cōfort of the holy ſpirite, and the continuall ſenſe of his mercie in Chriſt our Lorde, now and for euer, Amen.

The worlde my brethren ſemeth to haue the vpper hande, iniquitie ouerfloweth, the truthe and veritie ſeemeth to bee ſuppreſſed, and thei whiche take part therwith, are vnkindly entreated: as thei which loue yͤ truth lament to ſe and heare, as thei do. The cauſe of al this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, becauſe we haue greuouſly ſynned againſte hym: his mercie, becauſe he here puniſheth vs, and as a father nourtereth vs. We haue been vnthankfull for his woorde: We haue contemned his kindenes: We haue been negligent in praier: We haue been to carnall, couetous, licēcious, &c. Wee haue not haſtened to heauenwarde, but rather to helward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contēpt of God, and all his good ordinaūces: ſo that of his iuſtice he could no longer forbeare, but make vs fele his anger: as now he hath doen, in takyng his worde and true ſeruice from vs, and permitted ſathan to ſerue vs with Antichriſtian religion, and that in ſuche ſort, that if wee will not yelde to it, and ſeme to allowe in deede and outwarde facte, our bodies are like to bee laied in priſon, and our goodes geuen we can not tel to whom.

Gods anger & mercy both together vppon his church.

The contempt of God and his goſpell puniſhed.

This ſhould we loke vpon as a ſigne of Gods anger, procured by our ſynnes: whiche my good brethren, euery of vs ſhould now call to our memories oftentymes, ſo particularly as we cā, that we might hartly lament them, repent them, hate them, aſke earneſtly mercy for thē, and ſubmit our ſelues to beare in this life any kinde of puniſhment, whiche God will lay vpon vs for thē. This ſhould we do, in cōſideration of gods anger in this tyme. Now his mercie in this tyme of wrathe is ſeen, & ſhould be ſeen in vs my dearely beloued, in this, that God doeth vouchſafe to puniſh vs in this preſent life. If he ſhould not haue puniſhed vs, dooe not you thinke that we would haue continued in the euilles we were in? Yes verely, we would haue been worſe, & haue gone forwardes in hardenyng our hartes by impenitēcie, and negligēce of God and true godlines. And then if death had come, ſhould not wee haue periſhed bothe ſoule and bodie, into eternall fire and perdition? Alas, what miſerie ſhould we haue fallen into, if God ſhould haue ſuffred vs to haue gone on forward in our euils? No greater ſigne of damnation there is, then to lye in euill and ſynne vnpuniſhed of God, as now the Papiſtes (my dearely beloued) are caſte into Iezabels bed of ſecuritie, which of al plages is the greuouſeſt plage that can bee. Thei are baſtardes and not ſonnes, for thei are not vnder Gods rodde of correction.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

Gods mercy the cauſe why we are puniſhed here.

Iezabels bed of ſecurity.
Apocal. 3.
Heb. 12.
1. Cor. 11.
1. Peter 4.

A greate mercie it is therefore that God doeth puniſhe vs: For if he loued vs not, he would not puniſhe vs. Now doeth he chaſtice vs, that wee ſhould not bee damned with the worlde. Now doeth he nourture vs, becauſe he fauoureth vs. Now maie we thinke our ſelues Gods houſe and childrē, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtiſyng at vs: Now calleth he vs to remember our ſynnes paſte. Wherefore? that we might repent & aſke mercie. And why? That he might forgeue vs, pardon vs, iuſtifie vs, and make vs his children, and ſo begin to make vs here like vnto Chriſte, that wee might bee like vnto hym els where, euen in heauen where already we are ſet by faithe with Chriſt, and at his commyng in very deede, wee ſhall then moſte ioyfully enioye, when our ſinfull and vile bodies ſhalbee made like to Chriſtes glorious bodie, accordyng to the power whereby he is able to make all thynges ſubiecte to hym ſelf.

The ende wherefore gods Saintes be afflicted in this world.

Phillip. 3.

Therefore my brethren, let vs in reſpect hereof, not lament, but laude God, not to be ſory, but be merie, not weepe, but reioyce and be glad, that God doeth vouchſafe to offer vs his croſſe, therby to come to him to endleſſe ioyes and comfortes. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall raigne, if wee confeſſe hym before men, he will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if we be not aſhamed of his Goſpell now, he will not be aſhamed of vs in the laſte daie, but wil be glorified in vs, crownyng vs with crownes of glorie and endleſſe felicitie: For bleſſed are thei that ſuffer perſecutiō for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the kyngdome of heauen: Be glad (ſaieth Peter) for the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, ſtrengthen, and confirme you. And therefore my good brethren, be not diſ

Rom. 8.
2. Timoth. 3.
Math. 19.
Math. 5.
1. Peter 4.
1. Peter 5.

couraged

Anno. 1555.
July.
He exhorteth them to take comfort in the croſſe.
Math.xix.
Pſal.xxxvii.

couraged for croſſe, for priſon, or loſſe of goodes, for confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell & truthe, whiche ye haue beleued, and liuily was taught amongeſt you in the daies of our late good Kyng, and moſte holie Prince Kyng Edward. This is moſte certaine, if you loſe any thyng for Chriſtes ſake, and for contemnyng the Antichriſtian ſeruice, ſet vp againe amongeſt vs: as you for your partes, euen in priſon ſhall finde Gods great and riche mercie, farre paſſyng all worldly wealthe: ſo ſhall your wiues and children in this preſente life, finde and fele Gods prouidence, more plentifully then tonge can tell. For he will ſhewe mercifull kindneſſe on thouſandes of them that loue hym. The good mannes ſeede ſhall not goe a beggyng his bread. You are good men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſtes ſake.

Gods mercie ſeen in the croſſe.
Roma.viii.
Math.vii.
ii.Timo.iii.
ii.Cor.v.
Math.xvi.
A ſtraite waie.
A little flocke.
Roma.xiiii.

I truſt you all, my dearly beloued, will cōſider this geare with your ſelues, and in the croſſe ſe gods mercy, whiche is more ſweete, and to be ſet by, then life it ſelf, muche more then any mucke or pelfe of this worlde. This mercy of God ſhould make you merie and cherefull: for the afflictiōs of this life, are not to be cōpared to the ioies of the life prepared for you. You knowe the waie to heauen is not the wide waie of yͤ world, whiche windeth to the deuill, but it is a ſtrait waie whiche few walke in. For fewe liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, fewe regard the life to come, fewe remember the day of iudgemēt, few remēber how Chriſt wil deny them before his father, that do deny hym here, fewe cōſider that Chriſt will be aſhamed of them in the laſte daie, whiche are aſhamed of his truth and true ſeruice, fewe caſt their accōptes, what will be laied to their charge in the daie of vengeaunce, fewe regarde the condemnation of their owne conſciences, in doyng that whiche inwardly they diſalowe, fewe loue God better then their goodes.

Luke.x.
Ephe.iiii.
Actes.xx.

But I truſt yet you are of this fewe, my dearly beloued, I truſt you bee of that little flocke, whiche ſhall enherite the kyngdome of heauen, I truſte you are the mourners and lamenters, which ſhalbe comforted with comfort, whiche neuer ſhalbe taken frō you, if you now repente your former euilles, if nowe you ſtriue againſt the euils that are in you, if now you continue to call vpon God, if now you defile not your bodies with any Idolatrous ſeruice, vſed in the Antichriſtiā churches, if you moleſt not the good ſpirit of God, whiche is geuen you as a gage of eternall redemption, a counſailer and maiſter to leade you into all truthe: whiche good ſpirite I beſeche the father of mercie to geue to vs all, for his deare ſonnes ſake Ieſus Chriſte our Lorde: to whom I commende you all, and to the worde of his grace, whiche is able to helpe you all, and ſaue you all that beleue it, followe it, and ſerue God thereafter.

Math.x.
Math.viii.
Iohn.i.
Pſalme.Ciiii.
Pſalme.xxxi.
i.Peter.v.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that al the heares of your heades are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſhe, neither ſhall any man or deuill be able to attempt any thyng, muche leſſe to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heauenly father, whiche loueth you moſte tenderly, ſhall geue them leaue: and when he hath geuen them leaue, thei ſhal go no further then he will, nor keepe you in trouble any longer then he will. Therefore caſte on hym all your care, for he is carefull for you. Onely ſtudie to pleaſe hym, and to keepe your conſciences cleane, and your bodies pure from the Idolatrous ſeruice, whiche now euery where is vſed, and God will meruelouſly and mercifully defende and comfort you: whiche thyng he doe for his holy names ſake in Chriſt our Lorde. Amen.

¶To his dearely beloued in Chriſte,
Erkinalde Rawlins, and his wife.

An other letter of M. Bradford vnto a godly couple, to the ſame effect as the other before

GOD our deare and moſte mercifull Father through Chriſte, bee with you my good brother and ſiſter, as with his children for euer, and in all thynges ſo guide you with his holy Spirite, the leader of his people, as maie bee to his glorie, and your owne euerlaſtyng ioye and comfort in him. Amen. Becauſe I haue oftentimes receiued from either of you, comforte corporall (for the whiche I beſeche the Lorde, as to make me thankfull, ſo to recompence you bothe nowe and eternally) I can not but goe about (Lorde helpe hereto for thy mercies ſake) to write ſome thing for your comfort ſpiritually.

Daies of afflictiōs to the godly are ioyfull: to the vnrepentyng ſinners be dolefull daies.
Cleanſing daies.
Gods phiſicke not to be refuſed.

My dearly beloued, loke not vpon theſe daies and the afflictions of the ſame here with vs, ſimply as they ſeme vnto you, that is, as diſmall daies, and dayes of Gods vengeaūce, but rather as lucky daies, and daies of Gods fatherly kindeneſſe towardes you, and ſuche as you be, that is, toward ſuche as repent their ſynnes, and euill life paſte, and earneſtly purpoſe to amende, walkyng not after the will of the worlde, & moſte parte of men, for the preſeruation of their pelfe, whiche will thei nil thei, thei ſhal leaue ſooner or later, and to whō or how it ſhalbe vſed, thei know not. In deede to ſuche as walke in their wickedneſſe, and winde on with the worlde, this tyme is a tyme of wrath and vengeaunce, and their beginning of ſorowe is but now, becauſe thei contemne the Phiſicke of their father, whiche by this purgyng tyme and cleanſyng daies, would worke their weale, whiche thei will not: and becauſe thei will not haue gods bleſſing, whiche bothe waies he hath offered vnto them, by proſperitie & aduerſitie: therfore it ſhalbe kept far enough from them. As whē the ſicke man will no kinde of Phiſicke at the handes of the Phiſition, he is left alone, and ſo the malady increaſeth, & deſtroieth hym at the lengthe. To ſuche men in deede, theſe daies are and ſhould bee doulefull daies, daies of woe and weepyng, becauſe their damnation draweth nigh.

Gods chaſtiſement to be receaued with comfort.
God puniſheth not twiſe for one thyng.

But vnto ſuche as be penitent, and are deſirous to liue after the lordes will (among whom I doe not onely count you, but as far as a man maie iudge, I knowe ye are) vnto ſuche I ſaie, this tyme is and ſhould bee comfortable. For firſte now your father chaſtiſeth you and me for our ſynnes: for the whiche if he would haue deſtroyed vs, then would he haue letten vs alone, and left vs to our ſelues, in nothing to take to harte his fatherly viſitation, whiche here it pleaſeth hym to worke preſently, becauſe els where he will not remember our tranſgreſſions, as Paule writeth: He chaſtiſeth vs in this worlde, leaſt with the worlde wee ſhould periſhe. Therefore my deare hartes, call to mynde your ſynnes to lament them, and to aſke mercie for thē in his ſight, and withall vndoubtedly beleue to obtain pardon, and aſſured forgeueneſſe of the ſame, for twiſe the lorde puniſheth not for one thyng.

Difference betwen baſtardes and children.

So that I ſaie, firſte wee haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe daies, becauſe our father ſuffreth vs not to lye in Ieſabels bed, ſlepyng in our own ſinnes and ſecuritie, but as myndfull on vs, doeth corret vs as his childrē. Whereby we maie be certaine, that we be no baſtards, but children: for he chaſtiſeth euery childe whom he receiueth. So that thei whiche are not partakers of his chaſtiſing, or that contemne it, declare themſelues to be baſtardes, and not children: as I knowe ye are, whiche as ye are chaſtiſed, ſo doe ye take it to harte accordyngly. And therefore be glad my deare hartes and folkes, knowyng certainly euen by theſe viſitatiōs of the lord, that ye are his deare electe children, whoſe faultes your father doeth viſite with the rodde of correction, but his mercie will he neuer take awaie from vs. Amen.

Trouble trieth who be of God, & who be not.

Secōdly, ye haue cauſe to reioyce for theſe daies, becauſe thei are daies of triall, wherein not onely ye your ſelues, but alſo the worlde ſhall knowe that ye be none of his, but the lordes dearelynges. Before theſe daies came, lorde God, how many thought of thē ſelues, they had been in Gods boſome, and ſo were taken, & would be taken of the worlde? But now we ſe whoſe thei are. For to whom we obeye, his ſeruauntes we are. If we obeye the worlde (whiche God forbid, and hetherto ye haue not doen it) then are we the worldes: but if we obey God, then are wee Gods. Whiche thyng (I meane that ye are Gods) theſe daies haue declared bothe to you, to me, and to all other that knowe you, better then euer we knewe it. Therfore ye haue no cauſe to ſorow, but rather to ſyng, in ſeyng your ſelues to be gods babes, & in ſeyng that all Gods children do ſo count you.

A true louer of the worlde is declared by his life.
The deuill neuer entereth into his owne hogges.

What though the worlde repine thereat? What though he kicke? What though he ſeke to trouble and moleſt you? My deare hartes, he doth but his kinde, he cannot loue the lorde, whiche liueth not in the lorde, he can not brooke the childe, that hateth the father, he can not mynde the ſeruaunt, that careth not for the maiſter. If ye were of the world, the worlde would loue you, ye ſhould dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no moleſtation. If the Deuill dwelt in you (whiche the Lorde forbid) he would not ſtirre vp his knightes to beſiege your houſe, to ſnatche your goodes, or ſuffer his frendes to enter into your hogges. But becauſe Chriſte dwelleth in you (as he doeth by faithe) therfore ſtirreth he vp his firſte begotten ſonne the worlde, to ſeke how to diſquiet you, to robbe you, to ſpoyle you, to deſtroye you: and perchaunce your deare father, to trie, and to make knowen vnto you, and to the worlde, that ye are deſtinate to an other dwellyng then here on yearth, to an other citie then mannes eyes haue ſeen at any tyme.

The Lorde geueth power to Sathan ſomtymes ouer his Seruauntes, & to what ende. God vſeth to try his.

hath geuen, or will geue power to Sathan, and to the worlde, to take from you the thynges, whiche he hath lent you, and by takyng them awaie, to trie your fidelitie, obedience. and loue towardes hym (for ye maye not loue them aboue hym) as by geuyng that ye haue, and kepyng it, he hath declared his loue towardes you.

Sathan perchaunce telleth God (as he did of Iob) that ye loue God for your goods ſake. What now then, if the lord to trie you with Iob, ſhal geue him power on your goods & body accordingly, ſhould ye be diſmaied? ſhould ye deſpaire? ſhould ye be faint harted? ſhould ye not rather reioyce, as did the Apoſtles, that they were coumpted worthie, to ſuffer any thyng for the Lordes ſake? Oh forget not the ende that happened to Iob: for as it happened to hym, ſo ſhall it happen vnto you. For God is the ſame God, and can not long forget to ſhewe mercie, to them that looke and long for it, as I knowe ye doe, and I praie you ſo to doe ſtill. For the Lorde loueth you, and neuer can nor will forgette to ſhewe, and poure out his mercy vpon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you (ſaieth Peter) he will viſite, comfort and confirme you. As to Iacob wraſtlyng with the angell, at the lẽgth mornyng came, & the ſonne aroſe: ſo deare hartes, doubtles it will happẽ vnto you. Howbeit do ye as Iob & Iacob did, that is, order and diſpoſe your thyngs that God hath lent you, as ye may and whiles ye haue time. Who knoweth whether God hath geuen you power this long euen to that ende.

Iacob muſte teache vs to wraſtle.

Go to therefore, diſpoſe your goodes, prepare your ſelues to triall, that either ye maie ſtand to it like gods champions, or els if ye feele ſuche infirmitie in your ſelues, that ye be not able, geue place to violence, and goe where ye may with free & ſafe conſcience ſerue the lord. Thinke not this counſel to come by chaũce or fortune, but to come from the lorde. Other oracles we may not looke for now. As God told Ioſeph in a dream by an angell, that he ſhould flie: ſo if ye fele ſuche infirmitie in your ſelues, as ſhould turne to Gods diſhonour, & your owne deſtruction withall: knowe that at this preſent I am as Gods Aungell, to admoniſhe you to take tyme whiles ye haue it, and to ſe that in no caſe Gods name by you might be diſhonored. Ioſeph might haue obiected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchaunce ye will doe. But deare hartes, let vocatiõs and all thinges els geue place to Gods name, and the ſanctifiyng thereof.

This Erdinald & his wife folowyng this counſaile, did flie bothe beyonde ſea.

This I ſpeake, not as though I would not haue you rather to tary, and to ſtande to it: but I ſpeake it in reſpecte of your infirmitie, whiche if ye feele to bee ſo greate in you, that ye are not certaine of this hope, that God wil neuer tempt you aboue your habilitee: flie and get you hence, and knowe that thereby God will haue you tried to your ſelues, and to others. For by it you ſhall knowe how to take this worlde, and your home here as no home, but that ye looke for an other, and ſo geue occaſion to others leſſe to loue this worlde, and perchaũce to ſome to doubt of their Religion. Wherin though that thei bee earneſt, yet would thei not looſe ſo muche, as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirme to me and others, by your geuyng place to violence.

Laſte of all, ye haue cauſe to reioyce ouer theſe our daies, becauſe thei be the daies of conformation, in the whiche and by whiche, God our heauenly Father maketh vs like vnto Chriſtes image here, that we may be like vnto him elſwhere. For if that we ſuffer with hym, then we ſhall reigne alſo with him: if we be buried with him, then we ſhal riſe with him again, if that we cõpany with hym in all troubles and afflictions, then we ſhall reioyce with hym in glory: if we now ſowe with hym in teares, we ſhall reape with hym in gladneſſe: if we confeſſe hym before men, he will confeſſe vs before his father in heauen: if wee take his parte, he will take ours: if we loſe ought for his names ſake, he wil geue vs all thynges for his truthes ſake. So that we ought to reioyce and bee glad: for it is not giuen to euery one, to ſuffer loſſe of countrey, life, goodes, houſe, &c. for the Lordes ſake. What can God the Father do more vnto vs, then to call vs into the campe with his Sonne? What may Chriſt our Sauiour doe more for vs, then to make vs his warriours? What can the holy Ghoſt do to vs aboue this, to marke vs with the cogniſaunce of the Lorde of hoſtes?

Tribulation doeth conforme vs to the image of Chriſt.

This cogniſaunce of the lorde, ſtandeth not in forked caps, tippets, ſhauen crounes, or ſuche other baggage & Antichriſtian pelfe, but in ſufferyng for the lordes ſake. The worlde ſhall hate you, ſaieth Chriſt. Lo, there is the cogniſaunce and badge of Gods children: The worlde ſhall hate you. Reioyce therefore my dearely beloued, reioyce, that God dooeth thus vouchſafe to begin to cõforme you, and make you like to Chriſt. By the triall of theſe daies ye are occaſioned more to repẽt more to praie, more to contẽne this worlde, more to deſire life euerlaſtyng, more to be holy (for holy is ẏ ende wherfore God doeth afflict vs) & ſo come to Gods cõpany. Whiche thyng becauſe we can not do, as long as this bodie is as it is, therefore by the dore of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternall life, and immortalitie of ſoule and body: whiche God of his mercy ſende ſhortly for our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes ſake. Amen.

The Lordes cogniſaunce ſtandeth not in forked caps, &c but in ſufferyng for the Lordes ſake.

¶To Maiſtres A. Warcup.

An other letter of M. Bradforde to Maiſtres Warcup.

THE euerlaſtyng peace of Chriſt be more and more liuely felte in oure hartes, by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, now and for euer. Amen.

Although I knowe it to be more then nedeth, to write any thyng vnto you (good Siſter) beyng, as I doubte not you be, diligently exerciſed in readyng of the Scriptures in meditatyng of the ſame, and in hartie praier to God, for the help of his holie Spirite, to haue the ſenſe and felyng, eſpecially of the comfortes you read in Gods ſwete booke: yet hauyng ſuche oportunitie, and knowyng not whether hereafter, I ſhall euer haue the like (as this brynger can declare) I thought good in fewe woordes to take my farewell in writyng, becauſe otherwiſe I cannot. And now me thinkes I haue dooen it. For what els can I, or ſhould I ſaie vnto you (my dearly beloued in the Lorde) but farewell? Farewell deare Siſter, farewel: howbeit in the Lorde, our Lorde (I ſaie) farewell. In hym ſhall you farewell, and ſo muche the better, by how muche in your ſelf you fare euill, and ſhall fare euill.

Bradfordes farewell to Maiſtres Warcup.

When I ſpeake of your ſelf, I meane alſo this worlde, this life, and al thinges properly partainyng to this life. In them, as you looke not for your welfare, ſo bee not diſmaied, whẽ accordyngly you ſhall not fele it. To the lord our God, to the Lãbe our Chriſt, whiche hath borne our ſinnes on his backe, and is our Mediatour for euer, doe I ſende you. In hym looke for welfare, and that without all waueryng, becauſe of his owne goodnes & truthe, which our euils and vntruth can not take awaie: Not that therfore I would haue you to flatter your ſelf in any euill or vnbelief, but that I would comforte you, that thei ſhould not diſmaie you. Yours is our Chriſt wholie, yours I ſaie he is, with all that euer he hath. Is not this welfare trowe you? Mountaines ſhall moue, & the earth ſhall fall before you finde it otherwiſe, ſaie the liar Sathan what he liſt.

Chriſt is wholy ours with all that euer he hath.

Therfore good Siſter farewell, and be mery in the lord: be merie I ſaie, for you haue good cauſe. If your welfare, ioye, and ſaluation hanged vppon any other thyng then onely Gods mercy & truthe, then might you well be ſad, heauie, and ſtand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth onely vpon theſe two, tel Sathan he lieth, whẽ he would you to ſtand in a mãmering, by cauſing you to caſt your eyes (whiche onely in this caſe ſhould be ſet on Chriſte your ſweete Sauior) on your ſelf. In ſome part in deede loke on your ſelf, on your faithe, on your loue, obedience. &c. to wake you vp from ſecuritie, to ſtirre you vp to diligence, in doyng the thynges appertainyng to your vocatiõ: but whẽ you would be at peace with God, & haue true conſolation in your conſcience, altogether looke vppon the goodnes of God in Chriſt Thinke on this cõmaundment whiche precedeth all other: that you muſt haue no other Gods but the Lorde Iehouah, whiche is your Lorde and God: the whiche he could not be, if that he did not pardon your ſynnes in very deede. Remember that Chriſte commaundeth you to cal him father for the ſame intent. And hereto call to mynd al the benefites of God, hetherto ſhewed vpon you: and ſo ſhall you fele in verie deede, that whiche I wiſhe vnto you now, and pray you to wiſh vnto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Ieſus, with whõ he graunt vs ſhortly to mete as his children, for his name and mercies ſake, to our eternall welfare, Amen.

How to anſwere to Sathã, whẽ he moueth vs to doubte of Gods fauour.

How to looke vpon Chriſte.

How to looke vpõ our ſelues

In caſe of iuſtification, let no man looke vpon hym ſelf, but onely vpõ the goodnes of God in Chriſt.

¶To myne owne deare brother M. Laurence Saunders, priſoner in the Marſhalſee.

A letter of maiſter Bradford to Maiſter Saunders.

MY good brother, I beſeche our good and gracious Father, alwaies to continue his gracious fauour and loue towardes vs, and by vs, as by inſtrumentes of his grace, to worke his glory, and the cõfuſion of his aduerſaries. Ex ore infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad deſtruendum inimicũ. &c. Amen, i. Out of the mouth of infantes and babes, he will ſhew forth his praiſe to deſtroy the enemy. &c.

I haue peruſed your letters to my ſelfe, and haue red them to others. For annſwere whereof, if I ſhould write what D. Tailor, and M. Philpot doe thinke, then muſt I ſaie that thei thinke, the Salt ſent vnto vs by your*frend is vnſeaſonable. And in deede I thinke they both wil declare it hartely, if thei ſhould come before them. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and moſt deare brother Laurence) becauſe I am ſo ſinfull and ſo conſpurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many greuous ſynnes, (which yet I hope are waſhed away Sanguine Chriſti noſtri) I neither can nor would bee conſulted withall, but as a ſyphar in Agrime. How be it, to tell you how and what I mynd, take this for a ſumme: I praie God in no caſe I may ſeeke my ſelfe: and in deede (I thanke God therefore) I purpoſe it not. Quod reliquum eſt domino Deo meo committo, & ſpero in illum, quod ipſe faciet iuxta hoc: Iacta in Dominum curam. &c. Omnis cura veſtra coniecta ſit in illum. &c. Reuela domino viam tuā & ſpera. &c. Sperantem in domino miſericordia circundabit. i. That which remaineth, I cōmit to my Lord God: and I truſt in hym, that he will do according to this: Caſt thy care on the Lord. &c. Caſt all your care vpō him. &c. Reueale vnto the Lord thy waie, and truſt. &c. Who that truſteth in the Lorde, mercie ſhall compaſſe hym about. I did not, nor doe not knowe, but by your Letters, quod cras we ſhall come, coram nobis. Myne owne harte, ſticke ſtill to dabitur vobis. Fidelis enim eſt Dominus, dabit in tentatione euentum quo poſsimus ſufferre. Nouit Dominus pios è tentatione eripere. &c. O vtinā pius ego eſſem. Nouit Dominus in die tribulationis ſperantes in ſe. &c. i. It ſhall be geuen you. &c. For the Lord is faithfull. He wil in tentation make awaie that ye may be able to beare it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of tentation the godly. &c. O would God I were godlie. The Lorde knoweth how to deliuer out of tentation ſuch as truſt in hym. &c. I can not thinke that thei wil offer any kind of indifferēt, or meane conditions: for if we wil not adorare beſtiam, we neuer ſhalbe deliuered, but againſt their wil, thinke I. God our Father & gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in vs. Faciet mi frater, chariſsime frater, quem in intimis viſceribus habeo ad conuiuendum & commoriendum. O ſi tecum eſſem. He will do it my brother, my deare brother, whom I haue in my inward howels to liue and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me myne owne harte roote in the Lorde.

For euer your owne, Ihon Bradford.

* This frende would them to ſubſcribe to the Papiſtes articles with this cōdition: ſo farre as thei wer not againſt Gods worde, beyng in deede cleane contrary to it: and yet ſhortely after he valiauntly ſuffered death for refuſyng the ſame.

Pſalme.liiij.
Pſalm.xxxvi.
Pſalme.xxxi.

Matth.x.
i.Corin.x.
ii.Peter.i.
Nahum.i.

¶An other Letter to M.Laurence Saunders.

An other letter of M. Bradford to the ſaid maiſter Saunders.

GODS ſweete peace in Chriſt be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jeſus, and with all your concaptiues, Amen.

I was letted this mornyng from muſyng on that, whiche I was purpoſed to haue thought on by reaſon of you, againſt whō I ſaw my ſelf giltie of negligence, euen in this poinct that I would not write, I ſhould ſaie, that I had not written vnto you as yet: therefore out of hand in maner I prepared my ſelf, to purge my ſelf hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my fault (for that were more to loade mee) but by aſkyng both GOD and you pardon, to get it no more laied to my charge. Now then as I was thus purpoſyng, & partly doyng, commeth there one with a letter from you, for the which as I haue cauſe to thanke GOD and you, (howbeit not ſo that you ſhould thinke, I geue not the whole to God) ſo I ſee my ſelf more blame worthy, for this long holdyng my peace. Howbeit good brother, in this I haue geuen a demonſtration to you, to beholde my negligence in all other thynges, and eſpecially in praiyng for you, and for the Churche of God, whiche for my ſynnes & hypocriſie (hypocriſie in deede euen in this writing, God deliuer me from it) haue deſerued to be puniſhed. Juſt is God, for we haue deſerued al kindes of plagues at his handes: but yet mercifull is he that will on this wiſe chaſtiſe vs with this worlde, ne cum mundo condemnemur. i. That we ſhould not bee condemned with the worlde. He might otherwiſe haue puniſhed vs, I meane, he might haue for other cauſes caſte vs in priſon, me eſpecially, then for his Goſpell and wordes ſake. Praiſed therfore be his name, which voucheth vs worthie this honour. Ah good God, forgeue vs our ſynnes, & worke by this thy fatherly correction on vs, on me eſpecially, affectually to loue thee and thy Chriſte: and with ioyfulneſſe vnto the ende, to carry thy croſſe through thicke and thinne. Alwaies ſet before our eyes, not this gallowes on yearth, if we wil ſticke to thee, but the gallowes in hell if we deny thee, and ſwarue from that wee haue profeſſed.

Maiſter Bradford accuſeth hym ſelf of negligence, &c.

Ah good brother, if I could alwaies haue God, his maieſtie, mercie, heauen, hell, &c. before myne eyes then ſhould I obdurare, as Paul writeth of Moſes. Heb. 11. Obdurauit inquit, perinde quaſi vidiſſet eum qui eſt inuiſibilis. i. He endured (ſaieth he) as he that ſawe hym which is inuiſible. Praie for me, as I knowe you doe, and geue thankes alſo, for In Domino ſpero: non nutabo. Si ambulauero per vallem vmbræ mortis, non timebo quia tu Domine mecum es. &c. Amen. i. In the Lord I truſte: I ſhall not wauer. If I walke by the valley of the ſhadowe of death, I will not feare, for thou art with me O Lord. I thinke we ſhall be ſhortly called forth, for now legem habēt, & ſecundū legem. &c. otherwiſe will they not reaſon with vs: and I thinke their ſhootanker will bee, to haue vs to ſubſcribe. The which thyng if we doe though with this condition: (ſo farre as the thing ſubſcribed to, repugneth not againſt Gods worde) yet this will be offenſiue. Therefore let vs vadere plane and ſo ſane, I meane, lette vs all confeſſe that we are no chaungelynges, but reipſa are the ſame we were in religion, and therefore can not ſubſcribe, except we wil diſſemble both with God, our ſelues, and the world. Hæc tibi ſcribo frater mi chariſsime in Domino. Iam legam tuam epiſtolam. i. Theſe thinges I write to you deare brother in the Lord. Now I will reade your Epiſtle. Ah brother that I had practicam tecum ſcientiam in vite illa quam pingis: roga Dominum vt ita vere ſentiam. Amen. i. The practicall vnderſtandyng with you in that vine whiche you deſcribe. Praie the Lorde that I maie ſo thinke in deede. God make me thankefull for you. Salutant te omnes concaptiui & gratias Domino pro te agunt: idem tu facies pro nobis & ores vt. &c. i. All our felowe priſoners ſalute you, and geue thankes to GOD for you. The ſame doe you for vs, and praie that. &c.

Pſalme.xxiij.

i.Ihon.iiij.

Your brother in the Lorde Jeſus, to liue and die with you, Jhon Bradford.

¶To my deare fathers, D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

An other letter of Maiſter Bradford to D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

IEſus Emanuell. My deare fathers in the Lorde, I beſeche God our ſweete Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in vs all, Amen.

I had thought that euerye of your ſtaues had ſtande nexte the doore, but now it is otherwiſe perceiued. Our deare brother Rogers hath broken the Iſe valiauntly, and as this daie (I thinke) or to morrowe at the vttermoſte, hartie Hoper, ſincere Saunders, and truſtie Taylour ende their courſe, and receiue their crowne. The nexte am I, which hourely looke for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſte. God forgeue me myne vnthankefulnes for this exceadyng great mercy, that amonges ſo many thouſandes, it pleaſeth his mercy to chooſe me to be one, in whom he wil ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that Iuſte patior. i. I iuſtly ſuffer (for I haue been a great hypocrite, and a greuous ſynner, the Lorde pardon me, yea, he hath doen it, he hath doen it in deede) yet, hic autem quid mali fecit? i. What euil hath he doen? Chriſt, whō the Prelates perſecute, his veritie which thei hate in me, hath doen no euill, nor deſerueth death. Therefore ought I moſt hartely to reioyce of this dignation & tender kindnes of the Lorde towards me, whiche vſeth the reamedy for my ſynne as a teſtimonial of his teſtament, to his glory, to my euerlaſting comfort, to the edefiyng of his Church, and to the ouerthrowing of Antichriſt and his kingdom. O what am I Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnify mee ſo vile a man and miſer, as alwaies I haue bene? Is this thy wont to ſend for ſuch a wretch and an hypocrite as I haue bene, in a fiery charyot, as thou diddeſt for Helias? Oh deare fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I ſtil may be found worthy in whō the Lorde would ſanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready, for we are but your gentlemen huſhers. Nuptiæ agni paratæ ſunt, venitæ ad nuptias. i. The mariage of the Lambe is prepared: come vnto the mariage. I now go to leaue my fleſh there, wher I receiued it. I ſhall be conueighed thether, as Ignatius was to Rome, Leopardis: by whoſe euill I hope to bee made better. God graunt, if it be his will that I aſke, it may make them better by me, Amen.

This is a ſingular mercy of GOD, to haue death, which is a due puniſhment for ſinne, torned into a demonſtration, and teſtificatio of the Lordes truthe.

iiii.Regum.ii.

He meaneth ÿ he ſhould bee conueied by the Quenes Garde into Lankeſhire to be burnte, as the aduerſaries had once determined: like as Ignatius was by a companie of ſouldiours ca

For my farewell therefore, I write and ſend this vnto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall neuer bee ſeparated. In the meane ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I haue done, to commende you to our father of heauen. And that you would ſo do by mee, I moſt hartely praie euery ueied to Rome, and caſt to the Leopardes.

Pſalme.xvi.

one of you. You know now I haue moſt neede. But fidelis Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus.i. Fathfull is God, whiche will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrength. He neuer did it hitherto, nor now, I am aſſured, he wil neuer do, Amen. A dextris eſt mihi, non mouebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me ſanctum ſuum per gratiam in Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectās omni momento carnificem.i. He is on my right hande, therfore I ſhal not fall. Wherfore my hart ſhall reioyce, for he ſhall not leaue my ſoule in hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy one by his grace in Chriſt, to ſe corruption. Out of priſon in haſt, lockyng for the Tormentour. The.8. of February. Anno. 1555.

John Bradford.

¶To the honorable Lord Ruſſell, now Earle of Bedford, being then in trouble for the veritie of Gods Goſpell.

A letter of M. Bradford to the Lord Ruſſel, now Earle of Bedford.

The euerlaſting and moſt gracious God and father of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſte, bleſſe your good Lordſhyp with all maner of heauenly bleſſynges in the ſame Chriſt our onely comfort and hope, Amen.

The excellencie of faith, and what it worketh.

Faith commeth by hearyng the word: and not by hearyng Maſſe.

Praiſed be God our father which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Chriſte, ſo of his Croſſe for the ſame. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath deliuered you frō one croſſe, ſo he hath made you willyng (I truſt) and ready to beare an other whē he ſhal ſee his tyme to laye it vpon you: for theſe are the moſte ſingular giftes of God geuen as to few, ſo to none els but to thoſe fewe whiche are moſte deare in his ſight. Faith is reckened and worthely, among the greateſt giftes of God, yea it is the greateſt it ſelfe that we enioy, for by it, As we be iuſtified and made Gods children, ſo are we temples and poſſeſſours of the holy ſpirite, yea of Chriſte alſo. Eph.4. And of the father hym ſelfe. Iohn.14. By faith we driue the deuill away 1.Pet.5. We ouercome the world. 1.Iohn. And are already Citizens of heauen and fellowes with Gods deare ſaintes. But who is able to recken ỹ riches that this faith bringeth with her vnto the ſoule ſhe ſitteth vpon? No man nor Angell. And therfore (as I ſaid) of all Gods giftes, ſhe may be ſet in the top and haue the vpmoſte ſeate. The whiche thing if men conſidered (in that ſhe commeth alonely from Gods owne mercy ſeate, by the hearyng, not of Maſſe or Mattyns, Diriges or ſuche draffe, but of the word of God in ſuche a toung as we can and do vnderſtand) as they would be diligent and take great heede for doyng or ſeeyng any thyng which might caſt her downe (for then they fall alſo) ſo would they with no leſſe care reade & heare Gods holy word, ioynyng therto moſt earneſt and often prayer, aſwel for the more and better vnderſtandyng, as for the louyng, liuyng, and confeſſyng of the ſame, mauger the head of the deuil, the world, our fleſhe, reaſon, goodes, poſſeſſions, carnall frendes, wife, children, and very life here, if they ſhould pull vs backe to harken to the voice and counſell, for more quiet, ſure, and longer vſe of them.

Philip.i.

The efficacy of the croſſe, and what it worketh in Gods children.

Pſalme.lxxii.

The ende of proſperity.

Sapience.v.

Now, notwithſtandyng this excellency of faithe, in that we read the Apoſtle to match therewith, yea (as it were) to preferre ſufferyng perſecution for Chriſtes ſake, I trowe no man will be ſo fonde as to thinke otherwiſe, but that I and all Gods children haue cauſe to glorifie and prayſe God, whiche hath vouched you worthy ſo greate a bleſſyng. For though the reaſon or wiſedome of the world thinke of the Croſſe accordyng to their reach and accordyng to their preſent ſenſe, and therfore flyeth from it as from a moſt great ignominy & ſhame: yet gods ſcholers haue learned otherwiſe to thinke of the Croſſe, that is ỹ frame houſe in the which God frameth his children like to his ſonne Chriſt: the fornace that fineth Gods gold: the high waye to Heauen: the Sute and Liuerey that Gods ſeruauntes are ſerued withall: the earneſt and beginnyng of all conſolation and glory. For thei (I meane Gods ſcholers, as your lordſhip is, I truſt) do enter into Gods ſanctuary, leſt their feete ſlip. They looke not as beaſtes doe, on thinges preſent onely, but on thinges to come, and ſo haue thei as preſent to faith, the iudgement and glorious comming of Chriſt, like as the wicked haue now their worldly wealth wherin they wallowe & will wallow till they tumble headlong into hell, where are tormentes too terrible and endles. Now they folowe the Feende as the Beare doth the traine of Hony and the Sowe the Swillynges, till they bee brought into the ſlaughter houſe, and then thei knowe that their proſperitie hath brought them to perdition. Then crye they woe, woe. We went the wrong waye: we counted theſe men (I meane ſuch as you be that ſuffer for gods ſake loſſe of goodes, frendes and life, whom they ſhall ſee endued with riche robes of righteouſnes, crownes of moſte pure precious golde, and palmes of conqueſte in the goodly glorious palace of the Lambe, where is eternall ioye, felicitie. &c.) We counted (will they then ſay) theſe men but fooles and mad men, we tooke their conditions to be but curioſitie. &c. But then will it bee to late, then the tyme will be turned, laughyng ſhall be turned into weepyng, & weepyng into reioycing. Read Sapien.2.3.4.5.

Few noble men called to Chriſtes kingdome.

Pſalme.xci.

Therfore (as before I haue ſayd) great cauſe haue I to thanke God whiche hath vouched you worthy of this moſt boūtiful bleſſyng: muche more then you haue cauſe (my good lorde) ſo to be, I meane thankfull. For looke vpō your vocation I pray you, and tell me how many noble menne, Earles ſonnes, Lordes, Knightes and men of eſtimatiō hath God in this realme of Englande dealt thus withall? I dare ſaye you thinke not that you haue deſerued this. Onely Gods mercy in his Chriſte hath wrought this on you, as he did in Ieremyes tyme on Abimelech, in Achabs tyme on Abdias, in Chriſtes tyme on Ioſeph of Arimathia, in the Apoſtles tyme on Sergius Paulus, and the Queene of Candaces Chamberlaine. Only now be thankfull and continue, continue, continue (my good Lord) continue to confeſſe Chriſt. Be not aſhamed of hym before men, for then will not he be aſhamed of you. Now will he try you: ſticke faſt vnto hym and he will ſticke faſt by you: he wil be with you in trouble and deliuer you. But thē muſt you cry vnto hym, for ſo it precedeth: He cried vnto me and I heard him: I was with him in trouble. &c.

Godly remembrauncis.

Chriſt onely muſt haue both hart and hand.

Pſalme.i.
ii.Cor.vi.

Remember Lothes wife whiche looked backe. Remember Fraūces Spira. Remēber that none is crowned but hee that ſtriueth lawfully. Remember that all you haue, is at Chriſtes commaundement. Remember he loſt more for you thē you can loſe for hym. Remember you loſe not that which is loſt for his ſake, for you ſhall finde muche more here and elſwhere. Remember you ſhall dye, and when, where, and how, you can not tell. Remember the death of ſinners is moſt terrible. Remember the death of Gods Saintes is precious in his ſight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to woe. Remember that the ſtraite gate which leadeth to glory hath but few trauellers. Remēber, Chriſte biddeth you ſtriue to enter in thereat. Remember, he ỹ truſteth in the Lord ſhall receiue ſtrength to ſtande againſte all the aſſaultes of his enemies. Be certaine all the heares of your head are numbred. Be certaine your good father hath pointed boundes ouer the which the deuill dare not looke. Commit your ſelfe to hym: he is, hath bene, and will be your keper. Caſte your care on hym and he will care for you. Let Chriſte be your ſcope and marke to pricke at: let hym be your patron to worke by: let hym bee your enſample to follow: giue him as your hart ſo your hand, as your mind ſo your toung, as your faith ſo your feete, and let his word be your candle to go before you in all matters of Religion. Bleſſed is he that walketh not to theſe Popiſhe praiers, nor ſtandeth at them nor ſitteth at them: glorify God in both ſoule and body. He that gathereth not with Chriſte, ſcattereth abroad. Vſe prayer, looke for Gods help, which is at hand to them that aſke and hope therafter aſſuredly. In which prayer I hartly deſire your Lordſhip to remember vs, who as we are goyng with you right gladly (God therefore be praiſed) ſo we looke to go before you, hopyng that you will follow, if God ſo will, accordyng to your dayly prayer: Thy will bee done on earthe. &c. The good ſpirite of god alwaies guide your Lordſhip vnto the end. Amē.

Your Lordſhips owne for euer,
Iohn Bradford.

¶To M. Warcup and his wife, Miſtres Wilkenſon and others of his godly friendes with their families.

A pithy and effectual letter of Maſter Bradford to Maiſter Warcup.

THE ſame peace our Sauiour Chriſt left with his people, whiche is not without warre with the world, almighty GOD worke plentifully in your hartes now and for euer, Amen.

The tyme I perceiue is come, wherein the Lordes ground will be knowen, I meane it will now ſhortly appeare who haue receiued Gods Goſpell into their hartes in deede, to the takyng of good roote therein, for ſuch

will

Anno. 1555. Iuly.

wil not for a little heate or ſunburnyng, wither, but ſtiffly will ſtand and grow on maugre the malice of all burning ſhowers and tempeſtes. And for as much as (my beloued in the Lord) I am perſwaded of you, that ye be in deede the children of God, Gods good ground, whiche groweth and will growe on (by Gods grace) bringyng forth fruit to Gods glory after your vocations, as occaſion ſhall be offered (burne the ſunne neuer ſo hot) therfore I can not but ſo ſignifie vnto you, and hartely pray you and euery one of you, accordyngly to goe on forwards after your Maiſter Chriſt, not ſtickyng at the foule way and ſtormy weather, which you are come into and are like ſo to do, of this being moſt certaine, that the end of your iourney ſhall be pleaſaunt and ioyfull in ſuch a perpetuall reſt and bliſſefulnes as can not but ſwallowe vp the ſhowers that ye now feele and are ſouſſed in, if ye often ſet it before your eyes after Paules counſell in the later ende of the. 4. and beginnyng of the. 5. chap. of the ſeconde Epiſtle to the Corinthians. Reade it I pray you, and remember it often, as a Reſtoratiue to refreſhe you, leſt ye faint in the way.

And beſides this, ſet before you alſo, that though the weather be foule and ſtormes grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and ſiſters pad the ſame path, as S. Peter telleth vs, and therfore company ſhould cauſe you to be the more couragious and cherefull. But if ye had no company at all to goe preſently with you, I pray you tell me, if euen from the beginnyng the beſt of Gods frendes haue found any fairer weather and way to the place wether ye are going (I meane heauen) then ye nowe finde and are like to doe, except ye will with the worldlinges, which haue their portion in this life, tary ſtil by the way till the ſtormes be ouerpaſte, and then either night will ſo approch that ye can not trauaill, either the doores will bee ſparred before ye come, and ſo ye ſhall lodge without in wonderfull euill lodgings. Reade Apocal, 22. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noe, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Ioſeph, the Patriarches, Moſes, Dauid, Daniell, and all the Saintes in the old teſtament, and tell me whether euer any of them found any fairer waie then ye now finde.

Foule way and foule weather to the kingdom of heauen.

If the old Teſtament will not ſerue, I praie you come to the new, and begyn with Mary and Ioſeph, and come from them to Zachary, Elizabeth, Iohn Baptiſt, and euery one of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, and ſearch whether they all found any other waye into the City we trauel towards, then by many tribulations. Beſides theſe, if ye ſhould call to remembraunce the primatiue Church, Lord God, ye ſhould ſee many to haue geuen cherefully their bodies to moſt greuous torments, rather then they would be ſtopped in their iourney, that there is no daye in the yeare, but (I dare ſay) a thouſand was the feweſt that with great ioy loſt their homes here, but in the City they went vnto, haue found other maner of homes then mans minde is able to conceiue. But if none of all theſe were, if ye had no company now to goe with you, as ye haue me your poore brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I truſt in God: if ye had none other of the Fathers, Patriarches, Kings, Prophets, Apoſtels Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, and other holy Saintes and children of God, that in their iourney to heauenward, found as ye now finde and are like to finde if ye go on forwarde as I truſt ye will: yet ye haue your Maiſter and your Captain Ieſus Chriſt, the deare dearling and onely begotten and beloued ſonne of God, in whom was all the fathers pleaſure, ioye, and delectation, ye haue hym to goe before you, no fayrer way but much fouler, into this our City of Ieruſalem. I neede not (I truſt) to rehearſe what maner of way he found. Begyn at his birth, & till ye come at his buriall, ye ſhall finde that euery foote & ſtride of his iourney, was no better, but much worſe then yours is now.

The paſſage of all Gods ſaintes both in the old and newe Teſtamente, hath bene thorough afflictions.

Read the ſtory of the primitiue Church aboue deſcribed.

Chriſt Ieſus the ringleader of all Gods children afflicted.

Wherefore (my dearely beloued in the Lord) be not ſo deintie as to looke for that at Gods hands your deare father, whiche the Fathers, Patriarckes, Prophetes, Apoſtels, Euangeliſtes, Martyrs, Saintes, and his owne Sonne Ieſus Chriſte did not finde. Hetherto we haue had fayre way (I trow) and fayre weather alſo: now becauſe we haue loitered by the way, and not made the ſpeede wee ſhoulde haue done, our louyng Lorde and ſweete Father hath ouercaſt the weather, and ſtirred vp ſtormes and tempeſts, that we might with more haſt runne out our race before night come, and the doores be ſparred. The Deuill ſtandeth now at euery Inne doore in his city and countrey of this world, crying vnto vs to tary & lodge in this or that place till the ſtormes be ouerpaſt: not that he would not haue vs wet to the ſkyn, but that the tyme might ouer paſſe vs to our vtter deſtruction. Therfore beware of his entiſementes. Caſt not your eyes on thinges that be preſent, how this man doth, and how that man doth: but caſt your eyes on the gleue ye run at, or els ye will looſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleue, doth not looke on other that ſtande by, and go this waye or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleue, and on them that runne with hym, that thoſe whiche be behinde ouertake hym not, and that he may ouertake them which be before: euen ſo ſhould we do, leaue of lookyng on thoſe which will not run the race to heauens bliſſe by the path of perſecution with vs, and caſt our eyes on the ende of our race, and on them that go before vs, that we may ouertake them, and on them which come after vs, that we may prouoke them to come the faſter after.

We muſt not be ſo daintie to looke for fairer weather then Chriſt hym ſelf went through.

Philip. 3.

The Deuils entiſments not to be truſted.

He that ſhooteth, will not caſt his eyes in his ſhootyng on them that ſtande by, or ride by the waies (I trowe) but rather at the marke he ſhooteth at, for els he were like to win the wrong waie: Euen ſo my dearely beloued, let your eyes be ſet on the marke ye ſhoote at, euen Chriſt Ieſus, who for the ioye ſet before hym, did ioyfully cary his croſſe, contemnyng the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth on the right hande of the throne of God. Let vs followe hym, for this did he that we ſhould not be fainthurted. For we maie be moſte aſſured, that if we ſuffer with hym, we ſhall vndoubtedly raigne with him, but if we deny hym, ſurely he will deny vs: for he that is aſhamed of me (ſaieth Chriſt) and of my Goſpell, in this faithles generatio, I will be aſhamed of him before the Angels of God in heauen. Oh how heauy a ſentence is this to all ſuche as knowe the Maſſe to be an abominable idol, full of idolatrie, blaſphemy, & ſacriledge againſt God & his Chriſt (as vndoubtedly it is) and yet for feare of mē, for loſſe of life or goodes, yea, ſome for aduātage and gaine, will honeſt it with their preſence, diſſemblyng bothe with GOD and manne, as their owne harte and conſcience doth accuſe thē: Better it were that ſuche had neuer knowen the truth, then thus wittyngly, and for the feare or fauour of man, whoſe breath is in his noſethrels, to diſſemble it, or rather (as in deede it is) to deny it. The ende of ſuch is like to be worſe then their beginning. Suche had neede to take hede of the twoo terrible places to the Hebrewes in the ſixte and tenth Chapiters, leaſt by ſo doyng thei fal therein. Let them beware thei plaie not [illegible]ily begile thē ſelues, as ſome doe, I feare me, which go t[illegible] Maſſe, and becauſe thei worſhip not, nor knele not, n[illegible] knocke not as others doe, but ſit ſtill in their pues, therefore thei thinke thei rather doe good to others then hurte.

To looke to the marke.

Hebrewes 12.
Romans 8.
2. Timoth. 3.
Mathew 10.

What daunger it is to go to the blaſphemous Maſſe.

Eſay 1.
2. Peter 2.
Hebre. 6. 10.

But (alas) if theſe men would looke into their own cōſciēces, there ſhould thei ſee that thei are very diſſemblers & in ſekyng to deceiue others (for by this meanes the magiſtrates thinke them of their ſort) thei deceiue thē ſelues. Thei thinke at the eleuation tyme, all mennes eyes are ſet vpō them, to marke how thei doe. Thei thinke others hearyng of ſuche men goyng to Maſſe, doe ſee or enquire of their behauiour there. Oh if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the Maſſe, either loue to God, or to their brethrē, then would thei for the one or bothe, openly take Gods part, and admoniſhe their people of their Idolatrie. Thei feare man more then hym, which hath power to caſt bothe ſoule and bodie into hell fire: thei halte on bothe knees: thei ſerue twoo Maiſters. God haue mercie vppon ſuche, and opē their eyes with his eye ſalue, that thei may ſee, that thei whiche take no parte with GOD, are againſt God, and that thei whiche gather not with Chriſt, do ſcatter abroade. Oh that thei would reade, what ſaint Iohn ſaieth, will be doen to the fearfull. The counſaill giuen to the Churche of Laodicea, is good counſaill for ſuche.

Diſſemblyng Goſpelers.

Mathew 10.
3. Reg. 8.
Apocalip. 3.
Apocalip. 21.
Apocalip. 3.

But to returne to you again (dearly beloued) be not ye aſhamed of Gods Goſpell. It is the power of God to ſaluation, to all thoſe that doe beleue it. Be therfore partakers of the afflictiōs, as God ſhall make you able, knowyng for certaine, that he will neuer tempt you farther then he will make you able to beare: and thinke it no ſmall grace of God to ſuffer perſecution for Gods truthe, for the ſpirit of God reſteth vppon you, and ye are happie, as one daie ye ſhal ſe. Read 1. Theſſ. 1. Heb. 12. As the fire hurteth not gold but maketh it finer, ſo ſhall ye be more pure by ſufferyng with Chriſt. 1. Peter. 1. The flaile and winde hurteth not the wheate, but clenſeth it from the chaffe. And ye dearly beloued) are Gods wheate: feare not therfore the flaile, feare not the fannyng winde, feare not the milſtone, feare not the ouen, for all theſe make you more meete for the Lordes owne tooth. Sope, though it bee blacke, ſoileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more cleane: ſo doeth the blacke croſſe helpe vs to more whiteneſſe, if

2. Timoth. 1.
Romans 1.
1. Corinth. 10.
Philip. 1.
1. Peter 3.
Math. 5.

Perſecution compared to the flayle which hurteth not but clenſeth the wheat.

God ſtrike with his battledore. Bicauſe ye are Gods ſhepe, prepare your ſelues to the ſlaughter, alwaies knowing that in the ſight of the Lorde, our death ſhall be precious. The ſoules vnder the aultar looke for vs to fill vp their nũber: happie are we if God haue ſo appointed vs. How ſoeuer it be (dearely beloued) caſt your ſelues wholy vpon the lord with whom all the heares of your beades are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we nill we, we muſt drinke Gods cuppe, if he haue appointed it for vs. Drinke it willyngly then, and at the firſt when it is full, leſt peraduenture if we linger, we ſhall drinke at the length of the dregges with the wicked, if at the beginnyng we drinke not with his children: for with them his iudgement beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Syõ, then will he viſite the nations round about.

Romans 8.
1. Peter 5.
Mathew.10.
Pſalme 75.
1. Peter 4.

Submit your ſelues therefore vnder the mightie hand of the lorde. No man ſhall touche you without his knowledge. When thei touche you therefore, knowe it is your weale. God therby wil worke to make you like vnto Chriſt here, that ye may be alſo like vnto him elſwhere. Acknowledge your vnthankfulnes and ſynne, and bleſſe God that correcteth you in the worlde, becauſe ye ſhal not be damned with the worlde. Otherwiſe might he correct vs, then in makyng vs to ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake: but this he doth becauſe we are not of the world. Cal vpon his name through Chriſt for his helpe, as he cõmaundeth vs. Beleue that he is mercifull to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with hym in trouble, and will deliuer hym, ſaieth he. Knowe that God hath appointed boũdes ouer the whiche the Deuill, & all the Worlde ſhall not paſſe. If all thynges ſeme to bee againſt you, yet ſaie with Iob: If he kill me, I will hope in hym. Read the 91. Pſalme, & praie for me your poore brother, and fellowe ſufferer for Gods Goſpelles ſake: his name therefore bee praiſed, and of his mercie he make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good cõſcience, for his names ſake. Die once we muſt, & when we knowe not: happie are they whom GOD geueth to paie Natures debte: I meane to dye for his ſake.

1. Peter 5.
Romans 8.
2.Cor.11.
Pſalme 50.
Pſalme 92.

Happy is that death whiche ſeyng once it muſt needes be payd, is beſtowed vpon the Lord.

Here is not our home. therefore let vs accordyngly cõſider thinges, alwaies hauyng before our eyes the heauenly Ieruſalem, Heb.12. Apo.21.22. the waie thether to be by perſecutions: the deare frendes of GOD, how thei haue gone it after the example of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, whoſe footeſteppes let vs followe euen to the gallowes, if God ſo will, not doubtyng but that as he within three daies roſe againe immortall: euen ſo wee ſhall doe in our tyme: that is, when the trumpe ſhall blowe, and the angel ſhall ſhoote, and the ſonne of manne ſhall appeare in the cloudes, with innumerable Sainctes and Angelles in maieſtie and greate glory: then ſhall the deade ariſe, and we ſhalbe caught vp into the cloudes to mete the Lorde, and ſo bee alwaies with hym. Comfort your ſelues with theſe woordes, and praie for me for Gods ſake. E carcere.19. Nouemb.1553.

Ihon Bradford.

¶To ſir Iames Hales knight, then priſoner in the Counter in Bredſtreate.

An other letter of M. Bradford to Sir Iames Hales knight.

The God of mercie and father of all comfort, plentifully poure out vpon you and in you his mercie, and with his conſolations cumforte and ſtrengthen you to the ende, for his and our Chriſtes ſake, Amen.

Although, right worſhipfull ſir, many cauſes might moue me to be cõtent, with criyng for you to your God and my God, that he would geue you grace to perſeuer well, as he hath right notably begun to the greate glory of his name, and comfort of all ſuche as feare hym, as lacke of learnyng, of familiaritie, yea, acquaintaũce (for I thinke I am vnknowen to you, bothe by face and name) and other ſuche like thynges: yet I can not content my ſelf: but preſume ſomethyng to ſcrible vnto you, not that I thinke my ſcriblyng can doe you good, but that I might declare my συμπαθείαν and cõpaſſion, loue, & affection I beare towardes your maiſterſhip, whiche is contented, yea deſirous with vs poore miſers, to confeſſe Chriſtes Goſpell in theſe perilous tymes and daies of triall. Oh lorde God how good art thou, whiche doeſt thus gleane out grapes, I meane children for thy ſelf, and brethren for Chriſte? Looke good M. Hales on your vocation: not many Iudges, not many knightes, not many landed menne, not many riche men, & wealthie to liue as you are, hath God choſen to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath nowe doen you. Certainly I dare ſaie you thinke not ſo of your ſelf, as though God were bound to preferre you, or had neede of you: but rather attribute this, as all good thynges, vnto his free mercy in Chriſt. Again, I dare ſaie, that you beyng a wiſe manne, doe iudge of thynges wiſely, that is, concernyng this your croſſe, you iudge of it not after the worlde and people, whiche is magnus erroris magiſter, nor after the iudgement of reaſon and worldly wiſedome, whiche is fooliſhenes to faithe, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to the whiche non videtur gaudij ſed moleſtiæ, i. it ſemeth not to bee ioyous but greuous, as Paule writeth: but after the worde of God, which teacheth your croſſe to bee, in reſpecte of your ſelf betwene God and you, Gods chaſtiſyng and your fathers correction, nurtour, ſchole, triall, pathwaie to heauen, glory and felicitie, and the furnace to conſume the droſſe, and mortifie the relikes of old Adã whiche yet remain, yea euen the framehouſe to faſhion you like to the dereſt ſainctes of God here, yea to Chriſte the Sonne of God, that elſwhere you might be like vnto hym.

How God gleaneth out his people.

The worlde, people, and worldly wiſedome are euill iudges of thinges ſpirituall.

Heb.12.

Profite of the croſſe.

Now, cõcernyng your croſſe in reſpect of the world, betwene the world and you, Gods worde teacheth it to be a teſtimoniall of Gods truthe, of his prouidence, of his power, of his iuſtice, of his wiſedome, of his anger againſt ſynne, of his goodnes, of his iudgemẽt, of your faith and religion: ſo that by it you are to the worlde a witnes of God, one of his teſtes, that he is true, he ruleth all thinges, he is iuſte, wiſe, and at the length will iudge the worlde, and caſte the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receiue into his eternal habitation. I knowe you iudge of thynges after faithes fetche, and the effectes or endes of thynges, and ſo you ſe æternum pondus gloriæ. i. An eternall weight of glory, whiche this croſſe ſhall bryng vnto you, dum non ſpectas ea quæ videntur, ſed ea quę nõ videntur. i. While you loke not on the thinges whiche are ſeen, but on the thinges whiche are not ſeen. Let the worldlynges waie thynges, and looke vpon the affaires of men with their worldly and corporall eyes, as did many in ſubſcriptiõ of the kynges laſte will, and therefore thei did that, for the whiche thei beſhrewed them ſelues: but let vs looke on thynges with other maner of eyes, as God be praiſed you did, in not doyng that whiche you were deſired, and driuen at to haue doen. You then beheld thinges not as a man, but as a man of God, and ſo you do now in religiõ, at the leaſt hetherto you haue doen, and that you might doe ſo ſtill, I humbly beſeche and praie you, ſaie with Dauid: Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum, quando cõſolaberis me? i. Myne eyes faile for thy worde, ſaiyng: when wilt thou comforte me? Though you be as vter in fumo. i. like a bottell in the ſmoke: (for I heare you want health) yet ne obliuiſcaris iuſtificationes Dei: i. Doe not forget the ſtatutes of the Lorde: but crie out, quot ſunt dies ſerui tui? quando facies de perſequentibus me iudiciũ? i. How many are the daies of thy ſeruaunt? when wilte thou execute iudgement on them that perſecute me? And bee certaine quod Dominus veniens veniet & non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum: i. The lorde will ſurely come, and not ſtay: though he tary, waite for hym: for he is but ad momẽtum in ira ſua, & vita in voluntate eius, Ad veſperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinum lætitia. i. He is but a while in his anger, but in his fauour is life, weepyng maie abide at euenyng, but ioye commeth in the mornyng. Followe therefore Eſaies counſaill: Abſcõdere ad modicum, ad momentũ, donec pertranſeat indignatio eius, i. Hide thy ſelf for a very little while, vntill the indignation paſſe ouer, which is not indignatio in deede, but to our ſenſe, and therefore in the 26. chapiter of Eſay God ſaieth of his Churche and people, that as he keepeth night and day, ſo non eſt indignatio mihi. i. There is no anger in me, (ſaith he.)

The croſſe maketh vs witneſſes to God, wherein and in what thinges.

2. Cor.4.

Subſcribing to K. Edwardes will.

Pſal.119.
Aba.2.
Pſalm.30.
Eſay.26.
Eſay.26.

The mother ſometime beateth the child, but yet her hart melteth vpon it euen in the very beating, and therfore ſhe caſteth the rodde into the fire, and culleth the child, geueth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the loue of mothers to their children is but a trace to traine vs to beholde the loue of God towards vs, and therefore ſaith he: can a mother forget the childe of her wõbe? As who ſay, no: but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will not I forget thee, ſaieth the Lord of hoſtes. Ah comfortable ſaying: I will not forget thee, ſaith the Lorde. In deede the children of God thinke oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they crye: Ne abſcondas faciem tuam à me. &c. i. Hide not thy face from me. &c. Ne derelinquas me Domine. &c. i. Leaue me not O Lorde. &c. Whereas in very

Gods loue in our correction.

Eſay.49.

Pſalm.25.

Anno. 1555. July.

Pſalme. lxx. Cxviii. xxxvii and. xxvi. Pſalme. xxxi. Pſalme. xxii.

very truth it is not ſo but to their preſent ſenſe, and therfore Dauid ſayd: Ego dixi in exceſſu meo, proiectus ſum à facie tua. i. I ſaid in my agony, I was cleane caſt away from thy face. &c. But was it ſo? Naye verely. Read his Pſalme and you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt, as when he ſaith: Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me. i. My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? he ſayeth not, vt quid derelinquis? i. Why doeſt thou forſake mee? or, derelinques? i. Why wilt thou forſake me? but, vt quid dereliquiſti? i. Why haſte thou forſaken me? Where in deede God had not left hym but that it was ſo to his ſenſe, & that this Pſalme telleth full well: whiche Pſalme I pray you now and then reade, it is the. 22. and thereto ioyne the 30. and the 116. with diuers other. The ſame we reade in the Prophet Eſay in his. 40. chapiter, where he reproueth Iſraell for ſaying, God had forgotten them. Nunquid neſcis (ſaieth he?) i. Knoweſt thou not? An non audiuiſti &c. i. Haſt thou not heard? &c. Qui ſperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem. i. They that truſt in the Lorde, ſhall renue their ſtrength. And in his. 54. chapiter: Noli timere. &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, & in miſerationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abſcondi faciem meam parumper à te, & in miſericordia ſempiterna miſertus ſum tui, dixit redemptor tuus dominus. Nam iſtud erit mihi ſicut aquæ Noe. Vt enim iuraui ne porro aquæ Noe pertranſirent terram, ſic iuraui vt non iraſcar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim comouebuntur & colles contremiſcent, miſericordia autem mea non recedet à te, & fœdus pacis meæ non mouebitur, dixit miſerator tuus Dominus. i. Feare not. &c. For a little while I haue forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a litle ſeaſon: but in euerlaſtyng mercy haue I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy redemer. For this is vnto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I haue ſworn that the waters of Noe ſhould no more goe ouer the earth, ſo haue I ſworne that I would not bee angrye with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the Mountaines ſhall remoue, and hilles ſhall fall downe, but my mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the couenaunt of my peace fall awaie, ſaith the Lorde, that hath compaſſion on thee.

Eſay. xl.

Math. vii.

But the ſcriptures are full of ſuch ſweete places to them that will portare iram domini & expectare ſalutem & auxilium eius. i. Beare the wrath of the Lorde, and wayt for his health and helpe. As of all temptations this is the greateſt, that God hath forgotten, or will not help vs through the pikes, as they ſay: ſo of all ſeruices of God, this liketh he beſt, to hope aſſuredly on hym and for his helpe alwaies, which is adiutor in tribulationibus. i. An helper in tribulatiōs, and doth more gloriouſly ſhewe his power by ſuche as be weake, and feele thē ſelues ſo. For quo infirmiores ſumus, eo ſumus in illo robuſtiores. Sic oculi domini. i. The weaker we are, the more ſtrōg are we in him. Thus the eyes of the Lorde be on them that tremble and feare. Voluntatem eorum faciet: i. he will accompliſh their deſire: he is with them in their trouble, he will deliuer them. Antequam clamauerint exaudit eos. i. before they crye, he heareth them, as all the ſcriptures teache vs. To the readyng wherof and harty prayer, I hartely commend you, beſechyng almighty GOD, that of his eternall mercies he would make perfecte the good he hath begunne in you, and ſtrengthen you to the ende, that you might haue no leſſe hope, but much more, of his helpe to your comfort now againſt your enemies, then alreadye he hath geuen you againſt. N. for not ſubſcribyng the Kings will.

i. Cor. xi.

Pſalm. Cxliiii

Be certaine, be certaine good M. Hales, that all the heares of your head your deare father hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh: your name is written in the booke of life. Therefore vpon GOD caſt all your care, whiche will comforte you with his eternall conſolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if neede be) whiche is nothyng to bee compared to the fire where into our enemies ſhall fall and lie for euer: from the whiche the Lorde deliuer vs, though it bee through temporall fire, whiche muſt bee conſtrued accordyng to the ende and profite that commeth after it: ſo ſhall it then not muche deare vs to ſuffer it for our maiſter Chriſtes cauſe, the which the Lord graunt for his mercyes ſake. Amen. From the Kings Bench.

Your humble Iohn Bradford.

¶To my very friend in the Lord Doctor Hyll Phiſition.

A letter to D. Hyll Phiſition

THE God of mercy and father of all comfort, at this preſent and for euer engraffe in your hart the ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt, and the continuance of his conſolatiō, which cannot but enable you to cary with ioy, whatſoeuer croſſe he ſhall lay vpon you, Amen.

Hetherto I could haue no ſuch libertie as to write vnto you, as I thinke you know: but now in that through Gods prouidence I haue no ſuch reſtraint, I cannot but ſomething write, aſwell to purge me of the ſuſpition of vnthankfulnes towardes you, as alſo to ſignify my carefulnes for you in theſe perilous dayes, leſt you ſhoulde waxe cold in Gods cauſe (which God forbid) or ſuffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your harte, to bee quenched, and ſo become as you were before, after the example of the world and of many others, which would haue bene accompted otherwiſe in our daies, and yet ſtil beguile thēſelues, ſtill would be ſo accompted, although by their out ward life they declare the contrary, in that they thinke it inough to keepe the hart pure, notwithſtāding that the outward man doth curry fauour.

In which doing, as they deny God to be ielous, and therefore requireth the whole man as wel body as ſoule, being both create, as to immortality and ſociety with him, ſo redeemed by the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, and now ſanctified by the holy ſpirite to be the temple of God, & member of his Sonne: as (I ſay) by their parting ſtake to geue God the hart, and the world the body, they deny God to bee ielous (for els they would geue him both, as the wyfe will do to her huſband whether hee bee Ielous or no, if ſhe be honeſt) ſo they play the diſſemblers with the Church of God by their facte, offending the Godly, whom eyther they prouoke to fall with them, or make more careles and conſcienceles if they be fallen, and occaſioning the wicked and obſtinate to triumph agaynſt God, and the more vehemētly to proſecute their malice agaynſt ſuche as will not defyle themſelues in body or ſoule with the Romiſh ragges nowe reuiued amongeſt vs. Becauſe of this, I meane leſt you my deare Mayſter and brother in the Lord, ſhould doe as many of our Goſpellers, or rather Goſpelſpillers doo for feare of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrels, & hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord which hath power both of ſoule and body, and that not onely temporally, but alſo eternally: I could not but write ſomthing vnto you, aſwell becauſe duty deſerueth it (for many benefits I haue receiued of God by your hands, for the which he reward you, for I can not) as alſo becauſe charity and loue compelleth me: not that I thinke you haue any neede (for as I may rather learne of you, ſo I doubt not but you haue hetherto kept your ſelfe vpright from halting) but that I might both quiet my conſcience calling vpō me hereabout, and ſignify vnto you by ſome thyng my carefulnes for your ſoule, as painfully and often you haue done for by body.

Partyng ſtakes betwene God and the worlde.

Diſſemblers with ÿ church.

Goſpell ſpillers.

Eſay. li.

Doctour Hyll M. Bradfordes Phiſition.

Therefore I pray you call to mynde that there be but two maiſters, two kyndes of people, two wayes, and two manſion places. The maſters bee Chriſt and Satan: the people be ſeruitures to eyther of theſe: the waies be ſtrait and wide: the māſions be Heauen and Hell. Agayne: cōſider that this world is the place of tryal of Gods people and the deuils ſeruauntes, for as the one will folow his maiſter what ſoeuer commeth of it, ſo will the other. For a tyme it is hard to diſcerne who pertayneth to God and who to the deuill: as in the calme and peace, who is a good ſhipman and wariour, and who is not. But as when the ſtorme aryſeth, the expert mariner is knowne, and as in warre the good ſouldiour is ſeene, ſo in affliction and the croſſe, eaſely Gods children are knowen from Sathās ſeruauntes: for then as the good ſeruant will follow his maiſter, ſo will the godly follow their Captaine, come what come will, where as the wicked and hypocrites will bid adew, and deſyre leſſe of Chriſtes acquaintance. For which cauſe the croſſe is called a probatiō and triall, becauſe it tryeth who will go with God and who will forſake him. As now in England we ſee how ſmall a company Chriſt hath in compariſon of Sathans ſouldiours. Let no man deceiue himſelfe, for he that gathereth not with Chriſte, ſcattereth abroad. No man can ſerue two maiſters: the Lorde abhorreth double hartes: the luke warme, that is, ſuch as are both hote and colde, he ſpitteth out of his mouth. None that halte on both knees doth God take for his ſeruauntes. The way of Chriſt is the ſtrait way, and ſo ſtrait, that as few fynd it and few

Two maiſters.
Two ſortes of Subiectes.
Two waies.
ij. kyngdomes.

Affliction trieth who goe with God, and who goe with the Deuill.

Chriſtes parte the ſmaller, and why?

walke in it, ſo no man can halt in it but needes muſt go vpright: for as the ſtraitnes will ſuffer no reeling to this ſide or that ſide: ſo if any man halt, he is like to fall of the bridge into the pit of eternall perdition.

Striue therefore good maiſter Doctor, now you haue found it, to enter into it: and if you ſhould be called or pulled backe, looke not on this ſide or that ſide, or behind you as Lots wife did: but ſtraight forewards on the end which is ſet before you (though it bee to come) as euen now preſent: like as you do and will your patientes to do in purgations and other your miniſtrations, to cōſider the effect that will enſue, wherethrough the bitternes and lothſomnes of the purgatiō is ſo ouercome, and the painfulnes in abiding the working of that is miniſtred, is ſo eaſed, that it maketh the patient willingly and ioyfully to receiue that is to be receiued, although it be neuer ſo vnpleaſant: ſo (I ſay) ſet before you the ende of this ſtraitway, & then doubtles, as Paule ſaieth, æternū pōdus gloriæ pariet. i. It ſhall bring with it an eternall weight of glory, whileſt we looke not on the thing which is ſeene, for that is temporall, but on the thing which is not ſeene, which is eternal. So doth the huſbandman in plowing and tilling, ſet before him the harueſt time: ſo doth the fiſher cōſider the draught of his net, rather thē the caſting in: ſo doth the Marchaunt the returne of his marchaundiſe: and ſo ſhould we in theſe ſtormy daies ſet before vs not the loſſe of our goods, liberty, and very life, but the reaping time, the comming of our Sauiour Chriſt to iudgement, the fier that ſhall burne the wicked & diſobedient to Gods goſpell, the blaſt of the Trumpe, the exceeding glory prepared for vs in heauen eternally, ſuch as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can cōceiue. The more we loſe her, the greater ioy ſhall we haue there. The more we ſuffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible droſſe, we ſhall find incorruptible treaſures: for gold, glory: for ſiluer, ſolace without end: for riches, robes royall: for earthly houſes, eternall palaces: mirth without meaſure, pleaſure without paine, felicitie endles: Summa we ſhall haue God the father, the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt.

A wiſe mā will euer conſider the end.

The glorious recompence of ſuch as ſuffre for the Lord.

Oh happy place, oh that this day would come. Then ſhall the end of the wicked be lamētable, then ſhall they receiue the iuſt reward of Gods vengeaunce, then ſhall they cry wo, wo, that euer they did as they haue done. Reade Sapien. 2. 3. 4. 5. Reade Mathew 25. Reade 1. Corinthians 15. 2. Corinthians 5. and by faith (which God encreaſe in vs) conſider the things there ſet forth. And for your comfort, reade Hebrewes 11. to ſee what faith hath done, alwaies conſidering the way to heauen to be by many tribulations, & that all they which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. You know this is our Alphabet: He that will be my diſciple, ſayth Chriſt, muſt deny himſelfe, & take vp his croſſe and follow me, not this Byſhop, nor that Doctor, not this Emperour, nor that King, but me, ſayth Chriſt: For he that loueth father, mother, wife, children, or very life better then me, is not worthy of me. Remēber that the ſame Lord ſaith: He that wil ſaue his life ſhal loſe it. Cōfort your ſelf with this, that as the Deuils had no power ouer the Porkets or ouer Iobs goods without Gods leaue, ſo ſhall they haue none ouer you. Remember alſo that all the heares of your head are nūbred with god. The deuil may make one beleue he wil drown him, as the Sea in his ſurges threatneth to the lād: but as the lord hath appointed boūdes for the one, ouer the which he can not paſſe: ſo hath he done for the other.

The waye to heauē is by tribulations.

Math. 8.

On God therefore caſt your care, loue him, ſerue him after his word, feare him, truſt in him, hope at his hād for all helpe, & alwaies pray, looking for the croſſe, and whē ſoeuer it commeth, be aſſured the Lord, as he is faithfull, ſo he will neuer tempt you further then he will make you able to beare, but in the middeſt of the temptation will make ſuch an euaſion, as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your eternall comfort. God for his mercy in Chriſt with his holy ſpirite endue you, comfort you, vnder the winges of his mercy ſhadow you, and as his deare childe guide you for euermore. To whoſe mercyfull tuition, as I do with my harty praier commit you: ſo I doubt not but you pray for me alſo, and ſo I beſech you to do ſtill. My brother P. telleth me you would haue the laſt part of S. Hieromes workes, to haue the vſe thereof for a fortenight. I cannot for theſe thee dayes well forbeare it, but yet on Thurſday next I will ſend it you if God let me not, and vſe me and that I haue, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Chiſt direct our waies to his glory, Amen.

Out of priſon by yours to command Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Miſtres M.H. a godly gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heauineſſe and godly ſorowe which the felyng and ſenſe of ſynne worketh in Gods children.

An other ghoſtly letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres M.H.

I Humbly and hartly praie the euerlaſtyng good God and Father of mercie, to bleſſe and keepe your harte and mynde in the knowledge and loue of his truthe, and of his Chriſt, through the inſpiration and workyng of the holy Spirite, Amen.

Although I haue no doubte, but that you proſpere and goe forwardes dayly in the waie of godlines, more and more drawyng towardes perfection, and haue no neede of any thyng that I can write, yet becauſe my deſire is that you might bee more feruent and perſeuer to the ende, I could not but write ſome thynge vnto you, beſechyng you bothe often and diligently to call vnto your mynde, as a meane to ſtirre you hereunto, yea as a thyng whiche God moſte ſtraitly requireth you to beleue, that you are beloued of GOD, and that he is your deare father, in, through, and for Chriſt and his deathes ſake. This loue and tender kindenes of God towardes vs in Chriſte, is aboundantly herein declared, and that he hath to the Godly worke of creation of this worlde, made vs after his Image, redeemed vs beyng loſt, called vs into his Churche, ſealed vs with his marke and ſigne manuell of Baptiſme, kepte and conſerued vs all the daies of our life, fed, nouriſhed, defended and moſte fatherly chaſtiſed vs, and now hath kindled in our hartes the ſparcles of his feare, faithe, loue, and knowledge of his Chriſt and truthe, and therefore we lament becauſe wee lamente no more our vnthankfulneſſe, our frailnes, our diffidence and waueryng in thinges, wherein we ſhould be moſte certaine.

Gods benefites to vs declared.

All theſe thinges wee ſhould vſe as meanes to confirme our faith of this, that God is our God and father, & to aſſure vs that he loueth vs as our father in Chriſt: to this ende (I ſaie) wee ſhould vſe the thynges before touched, eſpecially in that of all thynges God requireth this faithe and fatherly perſwaſiō of his fatherly goodnes, as his chiefeſt ſeruice. For before he aſke any thing of vs, he ſaieth: I am the Lorde thy God, geuyng hym ſelf, and then all he hath to vs to be our owne. And this he doeth in reſpecte of hym ſelf, of his owne mercie and truthe, and not in reſpecte of vs, for then were grace no grace. In conſideration whereof, when he ſaieth: Thou ſhalt haue none other Gods but me, thou ſhalt loue me with all thy harte. &c. though of duetie we are bound to accompliſhe all that he requireth, and are culpable and giltie, if we doe not the ſame, yet he requireth not theſe thinges further of vs, then to make vs more in loue and more certain of this his couenaunt, that he is our Lorde and God. In certaintie whereof, as he hath geuen this whole worlde to ſerue to our neede and commoditie, ſo hath he geuen his ſonne Chriſte Ieſus, and in Chriſte, hym ſelf to bee a pledge and gage: whereof the holie Ghoſt doeth now and then giue vs ſome taſt and ſwete ſmell to our eternall ioye.

The chiefeſt ſeruice of God is to thinke well of his fatherly goodnes in Chriſt.

Therefore (as I ſaied) becauſe God is your father in Chriſte, and requireth of you ſtraitly to beleue it, geue your ſelf to obedience, although you do it not with ſuche feling as you deſire. Firſt muſt faithe goe before, and then feling will followe. If our imperfection, frailtie, and many euilles ſhould be occaſions whereby Sathan would haue vs to doubte, as muche as we can let vs abhorre that ſuggeſtion, as of all others moſte pernicious: for ſo in deede it is. For when wee ſtande in a doubt, whether God be our father, we can not be thankfull to God, we can not hartily pray or thinke any thing we do acceptable to God, we cā not loue our neighbors and geue ouer our ſelues to care for them, and doe for them as we ſhould doe, and therefore Sathan is moſte ſubtle hereabouten, knowing full well that if we doubt of gods fatherly eternall mercies towards vs through Chriſt, we can not pleaſe God, or doe any thing as wee ſhould do to man. Continually caſteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailtie, falles & offences, that we ſhould doubt of gods mercy & fauour towardes vs.

Where feling lacketh: yet obedience is required.

Let no ſuggeſtion make vs doubt of Gods fauour in Chriſt.

Therefore my good ſiſter, we muſt not be ſluggiſhe herein, but as Sathan laboureth to looſen our faith: ſo muſt we labour to faſten it by thinkyng on the promiſes and couenaunte of God in Chriſtes bloud, namely that God is our God with all that euer he hath: whiche couenaunte dependeth and hangeth vpon Gods owne goodnes, mercie and truth onely, & not on our obediēce or worthines in any point, for then ſhould we neuer bee

To ſtay vpon Gods promiſe in Chriſtes bloud.

certaine.

1555.
Iuly.

Obedience geueth not to vs to be Gods children, but Gods children geueth obedience.

taine. In deede God requireth of vs obedience and worthines, but not that thereby we might be his children and he our father, but becauſe he is our father and we his children through his owne goodnes in Chriſt, therfore requireth he fayth and obedience. Nowe, if we want this obedience and worthynes which he requireth, ſhould we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience & worthynes the cauſe, and ſo to put Chriſt out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our father. But rather becauſe he is our father, and we feele our ſelues to want ſuche thynges as he requireth, we ſhoulde be ſtirred vp to a ſhamefaſtnes and bluſſhyng, becauſe we are not as we ſhoulde be: and thereupon ſhoulde we take occaſion to goe to our Father in prayer on this maner:

How a man ſhould pray when feeling of Gods comfort lacketh.

Deare father, thou of thine owne mercy in Ieſus Chriſt haſt choſē me to be thy childe, and therfore thou wouldeſt I ſhould be brought into thy Church and faithful company of thy children: wherein thou haſte kept me hitherto, thy name therefore be prayſed. Nowe I ſee mee ſelfe to want faith, hope, loue. &c. which thy children haue and thou requireſt of me, wherethrough the deuil woulde haue me to doubt, yea vtterly to diſpaire of thy fatherly goodnes, fauour and mercy. Therfore I come to thee as to my merciful father through thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, & pray thee to help me good Lord: help me & geue me faith, hope, loue. &c. and graunt that thy holy ſpirite may be with me for euer, and more and more to aſſure me that thou art my father: that this mercifull couenaunt thou madeſt with me in reſpect of thy grace in Chriſte and for Chriſt, and not in reſpect of any my worthines, is alwaies true to me. &c.

Hope beyond hope.
Fayth goeth before feeling.

On this ſorte (I ſaye) you muſte pray and vſe your cogitations, when Satan woulde haue you to doubte of ſaluation. He dooth all he can to preuaile herein. Doo you all you can to preuayle herein againſte hym. Though you feele not as you woulde, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham dyd. For alwayes (as I ſayde) goeth fayth before feelyng. As certaine as God is almighty, as certayne as God is mercyfull, as certayne as God is true, as certayne as Ieſus Chriſte was crucified, is ryſen, and ſitteth on the right hande of the Father: as certayne as this is Gods commaundement: I am the Lorde thy God. &c. ſo certaine ought you to be that God is your father. As you are bounde to haue none other Gods but hym, ſo are you no leſſe bounde to beleeue that God is your God. What profite ſhoulde it be to you to beleue this to be true: I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you ſhould not beleue ỹ this is true to your ſelfe? The deuyl beleueth on this ſort. And what ſoeuer it be that woulde moue you to doubt of this, whether God be your God through Chriſte, that ſame commeth vndoubtedly of the deuyl. Wherfore did God make you, but becauſe he loued you? Might not he haue made you blind, dumbe, deafe, lame, frantike. &c? Might not he haue made you a Iew, a Turke, a Papiſt. &c? And why hath he not done ſo? verily becauſe he loued you? And why dyd he loue you? What was there in you to moue hym to loue you? Surely nothyng moued hym to loue you, and therfore to make you, and ſo hytherto to keepe you, but his owne goodnes in Chriſt. Nowe then in that his goodnes in Chriſt ſtyl remayneth as much as it was, that is, euen as great as hym ſelfe, for it can not be leſſoned, how ſhoulde it be but that he is your God & father? Beleue this, beleue this, my good ſiſter, for God is no changeling: them whom he loueth, he loueth to the ende.

Doubting commeth of the deuill.

Eccle. 2.

Caſt therefore your ſelfe wholy vpon hym, and thinke without all wauering, that you are Gods chylde, that you are a citizen of heauen, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the holy ghoſt. &c. If hereof you be aſſured as you ought to be, then ſhall your conſcience be quieted, then ſhall you lamēt more and more that you want many things which God loueth: then ſhal you labour to be holy in ſoule and body: then ſhall you goe about that Gods glorye maye ſhyne in you in all your wordes & workes: thē ſhall you not be afrayde what man can doo vnto you: then ſhall you haue ſuche wiſedome to aunſweare your aduerſaries, as ſhall ſerue to their ſhame, and your comfort: then ſhall you be certaine that no man can touche one heare of your heade further then ſhall pleaſe your good father, to your euerlaſtyng ioy: then ſhal you be moſt certaine, that God as your good father, wyll be more carefull for your children, and make better prouiſion for them, if all you haue were gone, then you can: then ſhall you (being aſſured I ſay of Gods fauour towardes you) geue ouer your ſelfe wholy to helpe and care for others that be in neede: then ſhal you contemne this life, and deſire to be at home with your good and ſweet father: then ſhal you labor to mortifie al things that would ſpot eyther ſoule or body. All theſe things ſpring out of this certaine perſwaſion & faith, that God is our father, and we are his children by Chriſt Ieſus. All thynges ſhould helpe our faith herein: but Sathan goeth aboute in all thinges to hynder vs.

Fayth and aſſured hope of Gods fauour, is the fountaine of all well doing.

Therfore let vs vſe earneſt and harty prayer: let vs often remember this couenaunt: I am the Lorde thy God: let vs looke vpon Chriſt and his precious bloud ſhed for the obſignation and confirmation of his couenaunt: let vs remēber all the free promiſes of the Goſpell: let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites generally in makyng this worlde, in ruling it, in gouernyng it, in callyng and keepyng his Church. &c. let vs ſet before vs Gods benefites particularly, how he hath made vs creatures after his image: how he hath made vs of perfect lymmes, forme, beauty, memorie, &c. how he hath made vs as Chriſtiens, & geuen vs a right iudgement in his Religion: howe he hath euer ſithen we were borne, bleſſed, kept, nouriſhed, and defended vs: howe he hath often beaten, chaſtiſed, and fatherly corrected vs: how he hath ſpared vs & doth now ſpare vs, geuing vs time, ſpace, place, grace. This if you doo, and vſe earneſt prayer, and ſo flee from al thynges which might wound your conſcience, geuyng your ſelfe to diligence in your vocation; you ſhal finde at the length that (which God graunt to me with you) a ſure certaintie of ſaluation, without al ſuch doubt as may trouble the peace of conſcience, to your eternall ioye and comfort. Amen, Amen.

Conſideration of Gods promiſes and benefites.

Yours to vſe in Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter full of godly comfort, written to the ſame perſon.

An other like letter of comfort in. Ca. 19.

THe good ſpirite of God whiche guideth his children, be with you, my good ſiſter in the Lorde, for euer. Amen.

Although, as I to you, ſo you vnto me in perſon are vnknowen, yet to him whom wee deſire to pleaſe, we are not onely in perſons, but alſo in hartes knowen and thorowly ſeene: and therefore as for his ſake you woulde by that you ſent, of me be perceiued howe that in God you beare to me a good wyll: ſo, that I to you might be ſeene in God to beare you the like, I ſend to you theſe few words in writing, wiſhing that in all your doings and ſpeach, yea euen in your very thoughts, you would labour to feele that they are all preſent and open before the ſight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in minde, and prayer made to God for the working of his ſpirite, thereby, as a meane, you ſhall at the length feele more comfort and commoditie, then any man can knowe, but ſuch as be exerciſed therein. Howbeit, this is to be added, that in thinkyng your ſelfe and all that you haue and doo, to be in the ſight of God: this (I ſay) is to be added, that you thinke his ſight is the ſight, not only of a Lord, but rather of a father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea when in your ſelfe you ſee a motherly affection to your litle one that is weake, let the ſame be vnto you a trace to traine you to ſee the vnſpeakable kinde affection of God your father towardes you.

Conſideration of Gods tender affection to vs in Chriſt his ſonne.

And therefore vpon the conſideration of your infirmities and naturall euyls, whiche continually cleaue vnto vs, take occaſion to goe to God, as your father through Chriſt, and before his mercyfull harte, laye open your infirmities and euylles, with deſire of pardon and helpe, after his good wyll and pleaſure, but in his tyme, and not when you wyll, and by what meanes he wyll, not by that waye that you woulde: in the meane ſeaſon hang on hope of his fatherly goodnes, and ſurely you ſhall neuer be aſhamed. For if a woman that is naturall, can not finally forget the childe of her wombe, bee ſure God whiche is a father ſupernaturall, can not, nor wyl not forget you. Yea if a woman could be ſo forgetful, yet God hym ſelfe ſaith, he wil not be ſo.

No tyme nor meanes to be preſcribed to God.

Eſay. 49.

This opinion, yea rather certaine perſwaſion of God your Father through Chriſte, ſee that you cheriſhe, and by all meanes, as well by diligent conſideration of his benefites, as of his louyng corrections, whether they be inwarde or outwarde, ſee that you nouriſhe: knowyng for certaine, that as the Deuyll goeth aboute nothyng ſo much as to bringe you in a doubte whether you bee Gods chylde, or no: ſo what ſoeuer ſhall moue you to admit that dubitation, be aſſured the ſame to come from the Deuill. If you feele in your ſelfe not onely the want of good thinges, but alſo plentie of euyll, doo not therefore doubte whether you be Gods chylde in Chriſte, or no.

The practiſe of the deuill to bring a man in doubt, whether he be Gods child or no.

For if for your goodneſſe or ylneſſe ſake, whiche you feele or feele not, you ſhoulde beleeue or doubte, then ſhould you make CHRIST IESVS for whoſe ſake onely God is your father, eyther nothyng, or els but a halfe Chriſte.

We ought to meaſure Gods fauour neither by our goodneſ, nor ilnes, but only by our fayth in Chriſt.

But rather take occaſion of your wantes in good, and of your plentie in euil, to go to God as to your father, &

to pray to him, that in as much as he cōmaūdeth you to beleue that he is your God and father: ſo he would geue you his good ſpirite, that you might feele the ſame, and liue as his childe, to his glorye: and ceaſe not vppon ſuch prayers to looke for comfort in Gods good time, ſtill hoping the beſt, and reiecting all dubitation, and ſo all euill woorkes, wordes, and cogitations, as the Lord ſhall enable you by his good ſpirite and grace, whiche I beſeeche him to geue vnto you, my good ſiſter, for euer. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper vnto your huſbande, ſo you woulde endeuour your ſelfe therein to ſhewe the ſame as well in ſoule as bodye: and begge grace of God, that your indeuours may be effectual to both your comforts in Chriſte. Amen.

John Bradford.

¶ To my welbeloued in the Lord, W. P.

A letter of M. Bradford to W. P.

GRace and peace from God the father, through our lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

Deare brother, God moſt iuſtly hath caſt me nowe into a dungeon, but much better then I deſerue: wherin I ſee no man but my keeper, nor can ſee any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is: which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections (which God I truſt will mortifie) and of my ſepulchre, whereunto I truſte my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the meane ſeaſon he geue me pacience, liuely hope, & his good ſpirite. I pray you pray for me, for the prayer of the godly, if it be effectuall, worketh muche with God. I thāke God my common diſeaſe doth leſſe trouble me, thē whē I was abroade, which doth teach me the mercifull prouidēce of God towardes me. Vſe true & hartie prayer, & you ſhal perceiue God at length will declare him ſelfe to ſee, where nowe many thinke he ſleepeth.

This diſeaſe was a reume with a ſickenes of ſtomacke, wherewith he was much troubled whiles he was at libertie.

Out of the Tower, by the Lords
priſoner, John Bradford.

¶ A Letter whiche he wrote to a faithful woman in her heauines and trouble: most comfortable for all thoſe to reade that are afflicted and broken harted for their ſinnes.

A letter of M. Bradford to a faithfull woman in heauineſſe afflicted.

GOD our good father for his mercyes ſake in Chriſte, with his eternall conſolation ſo comforte you, as I deſire to be comforted of hym in my moſt neede: yea, he will comfort you, my deare ſiſter: onely caſte your care vppon hym, and he neuer can nor wyll forſake you. For his callyng and gyftes be ſuche, that he can neuer repente hym of them. Whom he loueth, he loueth to the ende: none of his choſen can periſhe. Of whiche number I knowe you are, my dearely beloued ſiſter: God encreaſe the fayth thereof dayly more and more in you: he geue vnto you to hang wholy on hym and on his prouidence and protection. For who ſo dwelleth vnder * that ſecret thing, and helpe of the Lord, he ſhalbe cocke ſure for euermore. He that dwelleth, I ſay: for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Loth a flitter from Segor, where God promiſed hym protection, if he had dwelled there ſtyll, we ſhall remoue to our loſſe, as he did into the mountaines.

Rom. 11.

* Gods prouidence and protection. Pſal. 31. 90. Gene. 19.

Dwell therefore, that is, truſte, and that finally vnto the ende, in the Lorde (my deare ſiſter) and you ſhalbe as Mount Sion. As Mountaines compaſſe Jeruſalem: ſo dooth the Lorde all his people. Howe then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his deare ſonnes ſake. Ah deare hart, that I were nowe but one halfe houre with you, to be a Symon to helpe to carry your croſſe with you. God ſende you ſome good Symon to be with you, and helpe you.

You complaine in your Letters of the blindeneſſe of your mynde, and the troubles you feele. My dearely beloued, God make you thankful for that whiche he hath geuen vnto you: he open your eyes to ſee what and howe greate benefites you haue receyued, that you maye be leſſe couetous, or rather impacient, for ſo (I feare me) it ſhoulde be called, and more thankefull. Haue not you receiued at his handes, ſight to ſee your blyndeneſſe, and thereto a deſirous and ſeeking harte to ſee where he lyeth in the myd day, as his deare Spouſe ſpeaketh of her ſelfe in the Canticles? Oh Joyce, my good Joyce, what a gift is this? Many haue ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing, none this ſeeking whiche you haue, I knowe, but ſuche as he hath marryed vnto hym in his mercyes. You are not cōtent to kiſſe his feete with the Magdalen, but you would be kiſſed euen with the kiſſe of his mouth. Cant. 1. You woulde ſee his face with Moſes, forgetting howe he biddeth vs ſeeke his face, Pſalme. 27. yea, and that for euer. Pſalme. 105. whiche ſignifieth no ſuche ſight as you deſire, to be in this preſent life, which woulde ſee God nowe face to face, whereas he cā not be ſeene, but couered vnder ſomething: yea ſometime in that which is (as you would ſay) cleane contrarye to God: as to ſee his mercye in his anger. In bringing vs to hell, fayth ſeeth hym bring vs to heauen: in darkeneſſe it beholdeth brightneſſe: in hidyng his face from vs, it beholdeth his mery countenaunce. Howe dyd Job ſee God, but (as you woulde ſaye) vnder Sathans cloke? For who caſt the fire from heauen vpon his goodes? Who ouerthrewe his houſe, and ſtyrred vp men to take away his cattel, but Sathan? And yet Job pierced through all theſe, and ſaw Gods worke, ſaying: The Lord hath geuen, the Lord hath taken away. &c.

God can not be ſeene but couered vnder ſomething.

How fayth ſeeth God, where fleſh ſeeth hell.

In reading of the Pſalmes, howe often doo you ſee that Dauid in the ſhadowe of death, ſawe Gods ſweete loue? And ſo (my dearely beloued) I ſee that you in your darkeneſſe and dymneſſe, by faith do ſee claritie and brightneſſe: by faith (I ſay) becauſe faith is of things abſent, of things hoped for, of thinges whiche I appeale to your conſcience, whether you deſire not. And cā you deſire any thing which you know not? And is there of heauenly thinges any other true knowledge then by faith?

Therefore, my deare harte, be thankefull, for (before God I write it) you haue greate cauſe. Ah my Joyce, howe happye is the ſtate wherein you are? Verily you are euen in the bleſſed ſtate of Gods children: for they mourne, and doo not you ſo? And that not for worldely weale, but for ſpirituall riches, faith, hope, charitie. &c. Doo you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe? And I pray you, ſaith not Chriſte, who can not lye, that happye are ſuche? Howe ſhoulde God wipe away ý teares from your eyes in heauen, if now on earth you ſhead no teares? Howe coulde heauen be a place of reſte, if on earth you dyd finde it? Howe coulde you deſire to be at home, if in your iourney you founde no griefe? Howe coulde you ſo often call vppon God, and talke with hym, as I knowe you doo, if your enemie ſhoulde ſleepe all day long? Howe should you elſwhere be made like vnto Chriſte, I meane, in ioye, if in ſorowe you ſobbed not with hym? If you wyll haue ioy and felicitie, you muſt firſte needes feele ſorowe and miſerie. If you wyll goe to heauen, you muſt ſaile by hell. If you wyll embrace Chriſt in his robes, you muſt not thinke ſcorne of hym in his ragges. If you wyll ſit at Chriſtes table in his kingdome, you muſt firſt abide with hym in his temptations. If you wil drinke of his cup of glory, forſake not his cup of ignominie.

The ſtate of Gods children deſcribed.

Math. 5.

The way to heauen is to go through hell.

Can the heade corner ſtone be reiected, and the other more baſe ſtones in Gods building be in this worlde ſet by? You are one of his liuely ſtones: be contente therefore to be hewen and ſnagged at, that you might be made the more meete to be ioyned to your felowes whiche ſuffer with you Satans ſnatches, the worldes woundes, contempte of conſcience, and freattes of the fleſhe, wherethrough they are enforced to crye: Oh wretches that we are, who ſhall deliuer vs? You are of Gods corne, feare not therefore the Flayle, the Fanne, Milſtone, nor Ouen. You are one of Chriſtes Lambes, looke therfore to be fleeced, hayled at, and euen ſlaine.

Fruites of the fleſh.

Rom. 7.

If you were a market ſheepe, you ſhoulde goe in more fatte and graſſye paſture. If you were for the Fayre, you ſhoulde be ſtalled and want no weale: but becauſe you are for Gods owne occupying, therefore you muſt paſture on the bare Common, abiding the ſtormes and tempeſtes that wyll fall. Happy and twiſe happy are you (my deare ſiſter) that God nowe hayleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you woulde. Suffer a litle and be ſtyll. Let Satan rage againſte you, let the worlde crye out, let your conſcience accuſe you, let the Lawe loade you and preſſe you downe: yet ſhall they not preuaile, for Chriſte is Emanuel, that is, God with vs. If God be with vs, who can be againſt vs? The Lorde is with you: your Father can not forget you: your Spouſe loueth you. If the waues and ſurges ariſe, crye with Peter: Lorde I periſhe, and he wyll put out his hande and helpe you. Caſte oute your anker of hope, and it wyll not ceaſe for all the ſtormie ſurges, tyll it take holde on the rocke of Gods truth and mercye.

Gods ſheepe muſt feede on the bare common: where the deuils cattell are ſtalled. John 21.

Rom. 8.

Math. 8.

Thinke not that he whiche hath geuen you ſo many thinges corporally, as inductions of ſpirituall and heauenly mercyes, and that without your deſertes or deſire, can deny you any ſpirituall comforte deſiring it. For if he geue to deſire, he wyll geue you to haue and enioy the thing deſired. The deſire to haue, and the going about to aſke, ought to certifie your conſcience, that they be his earneſt of the thing whiche you aſking he wyll geue you, yea before you aſke, and whileſt you are about to aſke he wyll graunt the ſame (as Eſay ſaith) to his glory & your eternall

Philip. 1.

Deſire of ſpirituall comfort, though it be lacking, is a great gift of God.

1555. July.

nal conſolation. He that ſpared not his owne ſonne for you wyll not nor can not thinke any thing too good for you, my hartily beloued.

Rom. 8.

If he had not choſen you, (as moſte certainly he hath) he would not haue ſo called you: he would neuer haue iuſtified you: he would neuer haue ſo glorified you with his gracious gyftes, which I know, prayſed be his name therfore: he would neuer haue ſo exerciſed your faith with temptations, as he hath done and dooth, if (I ſay) he had not choſen you. I haue choſen you (as doubtleſſe deare harte, he hath done in Chriſt, for in you I haue ſeene his earneſt, and before me and to me you coulde not denie it, I knowe both where and when) if I ſay, he haue choſen you, then neither can you, nor euer ſhall you periſh. For if you fall, he putteth vnder his hande: you ſhall not lye ſtyll: ſo carefull is Chriſte your keeper ouer you. Neuer was mother ſo mindfull ouer her childe, as he is ouer you. And hath not he alwayes bene ſo?

Exerciſe of tentations a great token of election.

Speake woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he nowe trowe you in your moſt neede doo otherwiſe, you calling vpon hym, and deſiring to pleaſe hym? Ah my Ioyce, thinke you God to be mutable? Is he a chaungeling? Doth not he loue to the ende them whom he loueth? Are not his gyftes and calling ſuch, that he can not repent hym of them, for els were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power: for I am certaine his wyl towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not ẏ ſpirit, which is the ſpirit of truth, told you ſo? And wyll you nowe harken ẘ Eue to the lying ſpirite which woulde haue you not to diſpayre, (no he goeth more craftily to worke, howbeit to that end, if you ſhould geue eare vnto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and ſo ſhoulde you neuer truely loue God, but ſerue hym of a ſeruile feare, leaſt he ſhould caſt you of for your vnworthineſſe and vnthankfulnes: as though your thankfulnes or worthynes were any cauſes with God, why he hath choſen you, or wyll finally keepe you.

Rom. 11.

Euery lying ſpirite not to be harkened vnto.

Sathan ſeketh to bring tender conſciences to doubting: but Gods promiſe in Chriſt ſtandeth ſure for euer.

Ah myne owne deare hart, Chriſt onely, Chriſt onely, & his mercy and truth. In hym is the cauſe of your election. This Chriſt, this mercy, this truth of God remaineth for euer, is certaine for euer, and ſo is your election certayne for euer, for euer, for euer, I ſay for euer. If an Aungell from heauen ſhould tell you contrary, accurſed be he, accurſed be he. Your thankfulnes & worthynes are fruites and effectes of your election, they are no cauſes. Theſe fruites and effectes ſhalbe ſo much more fruitfull and effectuall, by howe much you wauer not.

All our election is in and for Chriſt only.

Therefore (my dearely beloued) ariſe, and remember from whence you are fallen. You haue a ſhepheard which neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth. No man nor deuyl can pull you out of his handes. Night and day he commaundeth his Angelles to keepe you. Haue you forgotten what I read to you out of the Pſalme: The Lorde is my ſheepeheard, I can want nothing? Doo you not know that God ſparred Noe in the Arke on the outſide, ſo that he coulde not get out? So hath he done to you my good ſiſter, ſo hath he done to you. Tenne thouſande ſhall fall on your righte hand, and twētie thouſand on your left hand: yet no euil ſhall touche you. Say boldly therefore: Many a tyme from my youth vp they haue fought againſte me, but they haue not preuayled: no, nor neuer ſhall preuaile, for the Lorde is rounde about his people. And who are the people of God, but ſuche as hope in hym? Happy are they that hope in the Lord: and you are one of thoſe, my deare hart, for I am aſſured you haue hoped in the Lord: I haue your wordes to ſhewe moſt manifeſtly, and I know they were written vnfainedly. I neede not to ſay, that euen before God you haue ſimply confeſſed to me, and that oftentymes, no leſſe. And once if you had this hope, as you doubtleſſe had it, though nowe you feele it not, yet ſhall you feele it againe: for the anger of the Lorde laſteth but a moment, but his mercy laſteth for euer. Tell me my deare hart, who hath ſo weakened you? Surely not a perſwaſion which came from hym that called you. For why ſhoulde ye wauer? Why ſhoulde you wauer, and be ſo heauie harted? Whom looke you on? On your ſelfe? on your worthynes? on your thankfulnes? on that whiche God requireth of you, as faith, hope, loue, feare, ioy, &c. Thē can you not but wauer in dede: for what haue you as God requireth? Beleue you, hope you, loue you &c. as much as ye ſhould do? No, no, nor neuer can in this life. Ah my dearely beloued, haue you ſo ſoone foregotten that whiche euer ſhould be had in memorie? namely, that when you woulde and ſhoulde be certaine and quiet in conſcience, then ſhould your faith burſt throughout al thinges, not onely that you haue in you, or els are in heauen, earth, or hell, vntyll it come to Chriſte crucified, and the eternall ſweete mercyes and goodnes of God in Chriſte? Here, here is the reſting place, here is your Spouſes bed: creepe into it, & in your armes of faith embrace him: bewaile your weakenes, your vnworthynes, your diffidence, &c. and you ſhall ſee he wyll turne to you. What ſaid I, you ſhal ſee? Nay I ſhould haue ſaid, you ſhall feele he wil turne to you. You know ẏ Moſes, when he went into the mount to talke with God, he entred into a darke cloude, and Helias had his face couered when God paſſed by. Both theſe deare freendes of God, hearde God, but they ſawe him not: but you woulde be preferred before them. See nowe, my deare hart, howe couetous you are. Ah be thankfull, be thankfull. But God be prayſed that your couetouſnes is Moſes couetouſnes. Wel, with him you ſhalbe ſatiſfied. But when? Forſooth when he ſhal appeare. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it wer in a glaſſe. Iſaac was deceiued becauſe he was not content with hearing onely.

Pſal. 120.

Pſal. 23.

Pſal. 90.

Pſal. 125.

Though feeling fayle, yet let hope hold faſt.

The eye of fayth muſt looke vpon nothing els but onely Chriſt crucified.

Pſal. 16.

Therfore to make an end of theſe many wordes, wherwith I feare me I doo but trouble you from better exerciſes: in as muche as you are in deede the childe of God elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all tymes: in as much as you are geuē to the cuſtodie of Chriſt, as one of Gods moſt precious iewels: in as much as Chriſt is faithfull, and hytherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall neuer periſh, no, one heare of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſeeche you, I pray you, I deſire you, I craue at your handes with all my very hart, I aſke of you with hand, penne, tongue, and minde, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, bloud, mercies, power, and truthes ſake (my moſt entirely beloued ſiſter) that you admit no doubting of Gods finall mercyes towardes you, howe ſo euer you feele your ſelfe: but complaine to God, and craue of him as of your tender and deare father, all thinges, and in that time which ſhal be moſt oportune, you ſhall finde and feele farre aboue that your hart or the hart of any creature can conceiue, to your eternall ioye. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Learne here to put away doubting, all tender hartes that ſeeke after Chriſt.

The good ſpirite of God alwayes keepe vs as his dere children: he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted (my dearely beloued) for euermore. Amen.

I breake vp thus abruptly, becauſe our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Chriſte dwell in both our hartes for euer. Amen.

As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you heare, you muſte prepare to beare it. It is written on heauens doore: Do wel, and heare euil. Be content therfore to heare what ſoeuer the enemie ſhall imagine to blot you withall. Gods holy ſpirite alwayes comfort and keepe you. Amen, Amen. This. 8. of Auguſt, by him that in the Lord deſireth to you as wel and as much felicitie, as to his owne hart.

Iohn Bradford.

The poſy written vpon heauen gates.

Here foloweth an other letter of his, written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he reſolueth certaine queſtions which ſhee demaunded. This Lady Vane was a ſpeciall Nourſe, and a greate ſupporter, to her power, of the godly Saints, which were impriſoned in Queene Maries time. Unto whom, diuers Letters I haue both of Maiſter Philpot, Careles, Traherne, Thomas Roſe, and of other moe, wherein they render vnto her moſt gratefull thankes for her exceeding goodnes extended towarde them, with their ſingulare commendation and teſtimonie alſo of her Chriſtian zeale towarde Gods afflicted priſoners, and to the veritie of his Goſpell. Shee departed of late at Holburne, anno. 1568. whoſe ende was more like a ſleepe, then any death: ſo quietly and meekely ſhee deceaſed and departed hence in the Lord.

Commendation of the Lady Vane.

Note how God commonly rewardeth the helpers & friendes to his Saintes.

Amongeſt other which wrote vnto her, M. Bradford alſo ſent theſe letters to the ſaid Lady: the tenour wherof here foloweth.

¶ To my good Lady Vane.

The true ſenſe and ſweet feeling of Gods eternal mercies in Chriſt Ieſus, be euer more and more liuely wrought in your hart by the holy ghoſt. Amen.

I moſte hartily thanke you (good Madame) for your comfortable Letters: and whereas you woulde be aduertiſed what were beſt to be done on your behalfe concernyng your three queſtions: the truth is, that the queſtions are neuer wel ſeene nor anſwered, vntyl the thing wherof they ariſe, be well conſidered, I meane, vntyll it be ſeene howe great an euyll the thyng is. If it be once in deede in your hart perceyued vpon probable and pithy places gathered out of Gods booke, that there was neuer thyng vppon the earth ſo greate and ſo muche an aduerſarie to Gods true Seruice, to Chriſtes Death, Paſſion, Prieſthoode, Sacrifice, and kyngdome, to the Miniſterie of Gods word and ſacraments, to the Church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godlynes of lyfe, as that is whereof the queſtions ariſe (as moſte aſſuredly it is in deede) then can not a

A letter of M. Bradford written to the good Lady Vane, wherin he diſcuſſeth doubtes concernyng the comming to Maſſe.

The abhomination of the Maſſe ſet forth.

Theſe queſtions were concerning [illegible] in ſhe deſired his iudgement.

Chriſtian harte, but ſo muche the moꝛe abhoꝛre it, and all thinges that in any poynt might ſeeme to allowe it, oꝛ any thing perteining to the ſame, by how much it hath the name of Gods ſeruice.

Againe, your Ladyſhip doth knowe, that as all is to be diſcommended and auoyded, which is folowed oꝛ fled from in reſpect of our ſelues, in reſpect of auoyding Chꝛiſtes Croſſe: ſo the ende of all our doinges ſhoulde be to Godwardes, to his gloꝛy, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, wherof none can be geuen in allowing any of the three queſtions by you pꝛopounded. But becauſe this which I wꝛite nowe is bꝛiefe, and needeth the moꝛe conſideration oꝛ explication: as I doubt not of the one in you, ſo from me by Gods grace you ſhal receiue the other ſhoꝛtly. Foꝛ I haue already wꝛitten a litle booke of it, whiche I wyll ſende vnto you, in the whiche you ſhall haue your queſtions fully anſweared and ſatiſfied, and therefoꝛe I omit to wꝛite any moꝛe hereaboutes pꝛeſently: beſeechyng God our good Father to guide you as his deare child with his ſpirite of wiſedome, power, and comfoꝛt vnto eternall life, that you maye be ſtrong and reioyce in hym and with his Churche, to carry chꝛiſtes Croſſe, if he ſhall ſo thinke it neede. 1. Peter. 1. whiche is a thing to be deſired, wiſhed, and imbꝛaced, if we looked on thinges after the iudgement of Gods woꝛd, and tryed them by that touchſtone.

He meaneth his booke which hee calleth the hurt of hearing maſſe.

If you be accuſtomed to thinke on the bꝛeuitie, vanitie, and miſerie of this life, and on the eternitie, truth, and felicitie of euerlaſting life: if you looke on thinges after their endes, and not after their pꝛeſent appearance onely: if you vſe your ſelfe to ſet Gods pꝛeſence, power, and mercy alwayes befoꝛe your eyes, to ſee them as God by euery creature woulde you ſhoulde: I doubt not but you ſhall finde ſuche ſtrength and comfoꝛt in the Loꝛde, as you ſhall not be ſhaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercye in Chꝛiſt be with you, and his good ſpirite guide you foꝛ euer. Amen.

¶ An other letter to the Lady Vane.

An other letter of M. Bꝛadfoꝛd to the foꝛeſayd Lady Vane.

AS to mine owne ſoule, I wiſhe to your Ladyſhip grace & mercy from God our deare father in Chriſt our Lord & Saueour.

I thanke God that ſomething he hathe eaſed you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in vs both: I woulde to God he had done ſo muche in the behalfe of the griefe of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the ſoule I truſt you feele that whiche I pray God increaſe in you, I meane his fatherly loue, and graunt that I maye with you feele the ſame in ſuche degree as maye pleaſe hym: I wyll not ſay, as you feele, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to aske too muche at one tyme. God doth often much more plentifully viſite with the ſenſe of his mercy, them that humble them ſelues vnder his mighty hande, and are ſore exerciſed (as you long haue bene) then others, whiche to the face of the worlde haue a more ſhewe and appearance.

Therefore I wiſhe as I doo, and that not only for myne owne commoditie, but alſo that I might occaſion you to the conſideration of the goodneſſe of God, whiche I by your letters doo well eſpie, which is in deede the hie way, wherby as God encreaſeth his giftes, ſo ſheweth he more liuely his ſaluation. Pſalme. 50. 107. I haue receiued Gods bleſſing from you, the which I haue partly diſtributed vnto my three felowe priſoners, Maiſter Farrar, Maiſter Taylour, Maiſter Philpot, and the reſidue I wyl beſtowe vpon foure poore ſoules whiche are impriſoned in the common Gayle, for Religion alſo. As for myne owne part, if I had neede, I would haue ſerued my turne alſo. But becauſe I had not, nor (I thanke God) haue not, I hane bene and wyll be your Almner in ſuch ſort as I haue already aduertiſed you. God reward you, and geue you to finde it ſpiritually and corporally. Becauſe otherwiſe I can not talke with you, therefore on this ſort, as occaſion and oportunitie wil ſerue, I am redy to ſhew my good wyll and deſire of your helpe and furtherance in the Lord to euerlaſting life, whereunto God bring vs ſhortly, for his mercyes ſake. Amen.

Good Madame be thankfull to God, as I hope you be: be earneſt in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods woorde, and if Gods further Croſſe come, as therein God dooth ſerue his prouidence (for els it ſhall not come vnto you) ſo be certaine the ſame ſhal turne to your eternall ioye and comfort. Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To my deare frendes and brethren R. and E. with their wiues and families.

THe comfoꝛt of Chꝛiſte, feale commonly of his chyldꝛen in their Croſſe foꝛ his ſake, the euerlaſting God woꝛke in both your hartes, my good bꝛethꝛen, and in the hartes of both your yokefelowes, eſpecially of good Mary my good ſiſter in the Loꝛd. Amen.

An other letter of M. Bꝛadfoꝛd to a faithfull frende of his one Royden, and Eling.

If I had not ſomethyng hearde of the hazarde whiche you are in foꝛ the Goſpels ſake, if you continue the pꝛofeſſion and confeſſion thereof, as I truſt you doo and wyll do, and that vnto the ende, God enablyng you, as he wil doubteleſſe foꝛ his mercyes ſake, if you hope in hym (foꝛ this byndeth hym, as Dauid in Chꝛiſtes perſon witneſſeth: Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliueredſt them. &c. Pſalme. 22.) yet by coniectures I coulde not but ſuppoſe, (though not ſo certainely) the tyme of your ſufferyng and pꝛobation to be at hande. Foꝛ nowe is the power of darkneſſe fully come vpõ this Realme moſt iuſtly foꝛ our ſinnes and abuſing the light lent vs of the Loꝛde, to the ſettyng foꝛth of our ſelues moꝛe then of Gods gloꝛy, that as wel we might be bꝛought into the better knowledge of our euyls, and ſo hartily repent (which God graunt vs to do) as alſo we might haue moꝛe feeling and ſenſe of our ſweete ſauiour Ieſus Chꝛiſt, by ẏ humbling and deiectyng of vs, thereby to make vs, as moꝛe deſirous of hym, ſo hym moꝛe ſweete and pleaſaunt vnto vs: the whiche thyng the good ſpirite of God woꝛke ſenſibly in all our hartes, foꝛ Gods holye names ſake.

Foꝛ this cauſe I thought it my duetie, beyng nowe where I haue ſome libertie to wꝛite (the Loꝛd be pꝛayſed) and hearyng of you as I heare: to do that which I ſhould haue done, if I had hearde nothyng at all: that is, to deſire you to be of good cheare and comfoꝛt in the Loꝛde (although in the woꝛlde you ſee cauſe rather to the contrarye) and to goe on foꝛewardes in the waye of God whereinto you are entred, conſideryng that the ſame can not but ſo much moꝛe and moꝛe waxe ſtrayt to the outward man, by howe muche you dꝛawe nearer to the ende of it: Euen as in the trauayle of a woman, the nearer ſhee dꝛaweth to her deliuerye, the moꝛe her paynes encreaſe: ſo it goeth with vs in the Loꝛds waye, the nearer we dꝛawe to our deliueraunce by death to eternall felicitie.

The neres we come to our iorneyes end trauelling to heauen, the ſtraiter is the way.

Example whereof we haue, I wyll not ſay, in the holy Pꝛophetes and Apoſtles of God, which when they were young, gyꝛded them ſelues, and went in manner whyther they would, but when they waxed old, they went gyꝛded of others, whither they woulde not, concernyng the outwarde man: but rather and moſt liuely in our Sauiour Ieſus Chꝛiſt, whoſe lyfe and way was much moꝛe painful to him towardes the ende, then it was at the beginnyng. And no maruaile, foꝛ Satan can ſomethyng abide a man to begyn wel & ſet foꝛewardes, but rather then he ſhould go on to the end, he wyll vomite his goꝛge, and caſt floudes to ouerflowe hym, befoꝛe he wil ſuffer that to come to paſſe.

Example of the trauell of a woman.

Iohn. 21.

Example of Chꝛiſt & his Apoſtles.

The malice of the deuill no new thing

Therefoꝛe as we ſhould not be diſmayde nowe at this woꝛld, as though ſome ſtraunge thyng were happened vnto vs, in that it is but as it was woont to be to the godly, in that the Deuyll declareth hym ſelfe after his olde woont, in that we haue pꝛofeſſed no leſſe but to foꝛſake the woꝛlde and the Deuyl as Gods very enemie, in that we learned no leſſe at the firſt when we came to Gods ſchole, then to deny our ſelues, and take vp our croſſe and folowe our maiſter, which leadeth vs none other way then he hym ſelfe hath gone befoꝛe vs: as (I ſay) we ſhould not be diſmaid: ſo we ſhould with pacience and ioy goe foꝛewardes, if we ſet befoꝛe vs as pꝛeſent, the tyme to come, like as the wife in her trauayle doth the deliuerance of her child, and as the Saintes of God dyd, but eſpecially our ſauiour and paterne Ieſus Chꝛiſt: foꝛ the Apoſtle ſaith: He ſet before hym the ioye and glory to come, and therfore contemned the ſhame and ſorowe of the Croſſe: ſo if we dyd, we ſhould finde at the length as they found. Foꝛ whom would it greeue which hath a long iourney to go, to go thꝛough a peece of foule way, if he knew that after that the way ſhould be moſt pleaſant, yea the iourney ſhould be ended, and he at his reſting place moſt happy? Who wyll be afeard, oꝛ lothe to leaue a litle pelfe foꝛ a litle tyme, if he knewe he ſhould ſhoꝛtly after receyue moſt plentifull riches? Who wyll be vnwillyng foꝛ a litle while to foꝛſake his wife, childꝛen, oꝛ frendes. &c. when he knoweth he ſhall ſhoꝛtly after be aſſociated vnto them inſeparably, euen after his owne hartes deſire? Who wyll be ſoꝛy to foꝛſake this life, which can not but be moſt certaine of eternal lyfe? Who loueth the ſhadowe better then the bodye? Who can loue this life, but they that regarde not the lyfe to come? Who can deſire the dꝛoſſe of this woꝛlde but ſuch as be ignoꝛaunt of the treaſures of the euerlaſtyng ioy in heauen? I meane, who is afeard to dye, but ſuche as hope not to lyue eternally? Chꝛiſt hath pꝛomiſed pleaſures, riches, ioye, felicitie, and all good thinges to them that foꝛ his ſake looſe any thing, oꝛ ſuffer any ſoꝛrow. And is he not true? Howe can he but be true, foꝛ guile was neuer founde in his

Heb. 12.

Godly counſell ſtirring vs to the contempt of this tranſitory lyfe.

Math. 19.

1. Pet. 2.

his mouth.

Alas then, why are we ſo ſlacke and ſlow, yea hard of hart to beleue hym, promiſing vs thus plentifully carnall bleſſinges: and are ſo ready to beleue the worlde promiſing vs many thinges, and paying vs nothing? If we wyll curry fauour nowe and halt on both partes, then it promiſeth vs peace, quietnes, and many thynges els. But howe dooth it pay this geare? or if it pay it, with what quietnes of conſcience? Or if ſo: howe long I pray you? Do not we ſee before our eyes men to dye ſhamefully, I meane, as thieues and other malefactours, whiche refuſe to dye for Gods cauſe? What way is ſo ſure a way to heauen, as to ſuffer in Chriſtes cauſe? If there be any waye on horſebacke to heauen, ſurely this is the way: *By many troubles,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *we muſte enter into heauen. All that wyll liue godly in Chriſte Ieſu, muſte ſuffer perſecution.* For the worlde can not loue them that are of God: the deuyl can not loue his enemies: the world wyl loue none but his owne: you are Chriſtes, therfore looke for no loue here. Should we loke for fire to quench our thyrſt? And as ſone ſhal Gods true ſeruantes finde peace and fauour in Antichriſtes regiment.

The flattering promiſes of this world all frowardly performed.

Actes. 14.
2. Tim. 3.

Therfore my dearly beloued, be ſtout in the Lorde, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour: ſtande in ÿ libertie of Chriſt which you haue learned: reioyce that you may be counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for Gods cauſe: to all men this is not geuen. Your reward is great in heauen, though in earth you finde nothyng. The iourney is almoſt paſt: you are almoſt in the hauen: hale on a pace I beſeeche you, and merely hoyſe vp your ſayles. Caſt your ſelues on Chriſt who careth for you. Keepe company with hym nowe ſtyll to the ende: he is faythful and wyl neuer leaue you, nor tempt you further then he wyll make you able to beare: yea in the middeſt of the temptation he wyll make an outſcape. Nowe pray vnto hym hartily, be thankfull of his dignation, reioyce in hope of the health you ſhal receiue, and be myndful of vs which are in the vowarde, and by gods grace truſt in Chriſt to be made able to breake the Iſe before you, that you folowing, maye finde the waye more eaſie. God graunt it may ſo be. Amen, Amen.

To beare the croſſe wyth courage.

Out of priſon by your brother in Chriſt,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Maiſtreſſe Wilkenſon.

A letter of M. Bradford to Maiſtreſſe Wilkinſon.

ALmighty God our moſte louyng father increaſe in your hart (my good mother and deare maiſtreſſe in the Lord) his true knowledge and loue in Chriſt, to the encouragyng and comfortyng of your fayth in theſe ſtormy dayes: as neceſſarye vnto vs, ſo profitable if we perſiſt vnto the ende, which thing God graunt to vs. Amen.

My right dearely beloued, I knowe not what other thing to write vnto you, then to deſire you to be thankfull vnto the Lord, in that amongeſt ſo many of your callyng and ſtate, it pleaſeth hym to geue you his rare bleſſing, I meane to keepe you from all the filth wherewith our Countrey is horribly defiled. This bleſſing aſſuredly is rare, as you ſee. But nowe if he ſhall bleſſe you with another bleſſing which is more rare, I meane to call you forth as a Martyr, and a witnes againſt this filth, I hope you wyll become double thankfull. For a greater token commonly we haue not to iudge of our election and ſaluation, next to Chriſte and fayth in hym, then the croſſe, eſpecially when it is ſo glorious, as on this ſorte to ſuffer any thing, but chiefely loſſe of this lyfe, which in deede is neuer founde tyl it be ſo loſt: except the grayne of wheate fal and be dead, it remayneth fruitles.

The croſſe a great token of election.

You knowe howe that he which was rapt into the third heauen, and dyd knowe what he wrote, dooth ſay: *That as the corne liueth not except it be dead, and caſte into the earth, ſo truely our bodyes.* And therfore the croſſe ſhould ſo litle feare vs, that euen death it ſelfe ſhoulde altogether be deſired of vs, as the Taylour whiche putteth of our ragges, and arayeth vs with the Royall Robes of immortalitie, incorruption, and glory. Great ſhame it ſhoulde be for vs, that all the whole creatures of God ſhould deſire, yea, grone in their kinde for our libertie, and we our ſelues to loth it: as doubtles we doo, if for the croſſe, yea for death it ſelfe, we with ioy ſwallowe not vp all ſorowe that might let vs from folowyng the Lordes calling, and obeyeng ÿ Lordes prouidẽce: wherby doubtles all croſſes, and death it ſelfe dooth come, and not by hap or chaunce. In conſideration whereof (right deare Mother) that this prouidence ſtretcheth it ſelfe ſo vnto vs, and for vs, that euen the heares of our heades are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt: ſurely we declare our ſelues very faint in fayth, if we receiue not ſuch comfort, that we can willyngly offer our ſelues to the Lord, and caſt our whole care vppon his backe, honouring hym with this honour, that he is and euer wyll be careful for vs, and all we haue, as for his deare children. Be therefore of good cheare euen in the middeſt of theſe miſeries, be thankfull to the Lorde, and prepare your ſelfe for a further tryal. which if God ſende you, as I hope, ſo doo you beleue, that God therein wyll helpe and comfort you, and make you able to beare what ſoeuer ſhall happen. And thus much, hauyng this opportunitie, I thought good to write, praying God our father to recompence into your boſome, all the good that euer you haue done, to me eſpecially, and to many others, both in this tyme of trouble, and alwayes heretofore.

1. Cor. 15.

Rom. 8.

Your owne in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter written to certayne godly perſons, encouraging them to prepare them ſelues with patience to the croſſe.

An other fruitful letter of M. Bradford exhorting from the loue of this worlde to the patient bearing of the croſſe.

GRatious God and moſte mercyfull Father, for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake thy dearely beloued ſonne, graunt vs thy mercye, grace, wiſedome, and holy ſpirite, to counſaile, comforte, and guide vs in all our cogitations, wordes, and workes, to thy glory, and our euerlaſting ioy and peace for euer. Amen.

In my laſt letter you might perceiue my coniecturyng to be no leſſe towardes you, then now I haue learned. But (my dearely beloued) I haue learned none other thing, then before I haue tolde you would come to paſſe, if ye caſt not away that which ye haue learned. I do appeale to both your conſciences, whether herein I ſpeake truth, as well of my telling (though not ſo often as I might and ſhould, God forgeue me) as alſo of your learnyng. Nowe God wyll trie you, to make others to learne by you, that whiche ye haue learned by others: and by them which ſuffered this day ye might learne, (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be ſet by more then Gods commaundemẽt. They in no poynt for al that euer their ghoſtly fathers could doo, hauyng Doctour Death to take their part, would conſent or ſeeme to conſent to the popiſh maſſe and papiſticall God, otherwiſe then in the dayes of our late king they had receiued. And this their fayth they haue confeſſed with their deathes, to their great glory, and all our comfortes, if we folowe them: but to our confuſion, if we ſtart backe from the ſame. Wherefore I beſeeche you to conſider it, as well to prayſe God for them, as to goe the ſame way with them, if God ſo wyl.

The Lady Jane and her huſband were beheaded that day.

Doct. Death the Popes chaplein.

Conſider not the thinges of this life, whiche is a very puffe to all Gods children: but ÿ things of euerlaſtyng life, which is our very home. But to ÿ beholding of this geare ye muſt open the eyes of your mind, of fayth, I ſhould haue ſaid, as Moſes dyd, which ſet more by trouble with Gods people, then by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaos Court. Your houſe, home, and goodes, yea life and all that euer ye haue, God hath geuen you as louetokens, to admoniſhe you of his loue, and to wyn your loue to hym agayne. Nowe wyll he trie your loue, whether ye ſet more by hym then by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens ſake, that is, for your home, houſe, goodes, yea life, wyl go with the world, leaſt ye ſhould looſe them, then be aſſured your loue, as he can not but eſpie it to be a ſtrumpets loue, ſo wyll he caſt it awaye with the world. Remember that he which wyl ſaue his life, ſhall looſe it, if Chriſt be true: but he which aduentureth, yea looſeth his life for the Goſpels ſake, the ſame ſhalbe ſure to finde it eternally. Doo not ye know that the way to ſaluation is not the broad way, which many runne in, but the ſtrayt way, which fewe now walke in.

Example of Moſes forſaking Pharaos houſe, to go with Gods people.

Gods louetokens.

A ſtrumpet ſetteth more by her tokens then by her louer.

Before perſecution came, men might partly haue ſtand in a doubt by the outward ſtate of ÿ world with vs (although by Gods word it was plaine) whether was the high way, (for there was as many that pretẽded ÿ goſpel, as papiſtrie) but now the ſunne is riſen, & the wynde bloweth, ſo that the corne which hath not taken faſt roote, can not nor wyll not abide: and therfore eaſily ye may ſee the ſtrait way by ÿ ſmal number that paſſeth thorow it. Who wil now aduenture their goodes & life for Chriſtes ſake, whiche yet gaue his lyfe for our ſakes? We are now become Gergeſites, that would rather looſe Chriſt, then our Porkets. A faithful wife is neuer tryed ſo to be, but when ſhee reiecteth and withſtandeth woers. A faythful Chriſtian is then founde ſo to be, when his faith is aſſaulted.

In king Edwardes tyme the high way could not be knowen.

Math. 8. Gergeſites ſet more by their pigges, then by Chriſt.

If we be not able, I meane, if wee wyll not forſake this world for Gods glory and Goſpels ſake, trowe ye that God wyll make vs able, or geue vs a wyll to forſake it for natures ſake? Dye ye muſt once, and leaue al ye haue (God knoweth how ſoone and when) wyll ye, or wyll ye not, and ſeeing perforce ye muſt doo this, wyl ye not willyngly nowe do it for Gods ſake?

If ye goe to Maſſe, and doo as the moſt part doth, then may ye liue in reſt and quietly: but if ye deny to go to it, then ſhall ye goe to priſon, looſe your goodes, leaue your children comfortles, yea looſe your lyfe alſo. But my dearly beloued, open the eyes of your faith, & ſee how ſhort a thing this life is, euen a very ſhadowe and ſmoke. Againe, ſee how intollerable the puniſhment of hell fire is, and that endles. Laſt of all, looke on the ioyes incomprehenſible, whiche God hath prepared for all them world without ende, which looſe eyther landes or goodes for his names ſake. And then doe ye reaſon thus: If we goe to Maſſe, the greateſt enemie that Chriſte hath, though for a litle tyme we ſhall liue in quiet, and leaue to our children that they may lyue hereafter, yet ſhall we diſpleaſe God, fall into his handes (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderfull hazard of fallyng from eternall ioy into eternal miſerie, firſt of ſoule, and then of body, with the Deuyl and all Idolaters.

The tranſitory pleaſures of this life, weyed with the endleſſe puniſhment to come hereafter both of body and ſoule.

Againe, we ſhal want peace of conſcience, who ſurmounteth all the riches of the worlde: and for our children, who knoweth whether God wyll viſite our Idolatrie on them in this lyfe: yea our houſe & goodes are in danger of looſing, as our lyues be, through many caſualties: and when God is angry with vs, he can ſende alwayes when he wyll, one meane or an other to take all from vs for our ſinnes, and to caſt vs into care for our owne ſakes, which wyll not come into ſome little trouble for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with your ſelues, and then doubteleſſe God wyll worke otherwiſe with you and in you, then ye are ware of. Where nowe ye thinke your ſelues vnable to abide perſecution, be moſt aſſured, if ſo be ye purpoſe not to forſake God, that God wyll make you ſo able to beare his Croſſe, that therein ye ſhall reioyce. Faithfull is God, (ſaith Paul) whiche wyll not tempt you further then he wyll make you able to beare, yea he wyll geue you an outſcape in the Croſſe, which ſhal be to your comfort. Thinke how great a benefite it is, if God wyll vouch you worthy this honour, to ſuffer loſſe of any thing for his ſake. He might iuſtly caſt moſt greeuous plagues vpon you, and yet now he wyll correct you with that rod whereby you ſhalbe made like to his Chriſte, that for euer ye may raigne with hym. Suffer your ſelues therefore nowe to be made like to Chriſt, for els ye ſhal neuer be made like vnto him. The deuyll would gladly haue you nowe to ouerthrow that which godly ye haue of long tyme profeſſed. Oh how would he triumph, if he could winne his purpoſe? Oh how would the Papiſtes triumphe againſt Gods goſpel in you? Oh howe would you confirme them in their wicked Poperie? Oh how would the poore children of God be diſcomforted, if now ye ſhould goe to Maſſe and other idolatrous ſeruice, and do as the world doth?

1. Cor. 10. God will geue ability, not onely to beare his croſſe but alſo to reioice in bearing.

Hath God deliuered you from the Sweat to ſerue him ſo? Hath God myraculouſly reſtored you to health from your greeuous agewes for ſuche a purpoſe? Hath God geuen you ſuch bleſſinges in this world and good thynges al the dayes of your life hitherto, and nowe of equitie wyll ye not receiue at his handes and for his ſake, ſome euyll? God forbyd: I hope better of you. Uſe prayer, & caſt your care vpon God: commit your children into his handes: geue to God your goodes, bodyes, and liues as he hath geuen them, or rather ſent them vnto you. Say with Iob: God hath geuen, and God hath taken away, his name be prayſed for euer. Caſte your care vppon hym (I ſay) for he is carefull for you: and take it amongeſt the greateſt bleſſinges of God to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hitherto to that ende.

A great bleſſing of God to ſuffer for his ſake.

And, I beſeeche thee, O mercyfull Father for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, that thou wouldeſt be mercyfull vnto vs, comfort vs with thy grace, and ſtrengthen vs in thy truth, that in harte we maye beleeue, and in tongue boldly confeſſe thy Goſpell, to thy glorye, and our eternall ſaluation. Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace wyll doo the ſame for you.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ An admonition to certaine profeſſours of the Goſpell, to beware they fal not from it in conſenting to the Romiſh religion, by the example of other halting and double faced Goſpellers.

An other letter or admonitiō of M. Bradford to certain godly profeſſors of Gods truth.

The peace of Chriſte whiche is the true effecte of Gods Goſpell beleeued (my dearely beloued) be more and more plentifully perceiued of you, through the grace of our dere father, by the mighty working of the holy ſpirite our comforter. Amen.

Though I haue many letters preſently to hynder me from writing vnto you, yet being deſired, I coulde not but ſomething ſignifie my ready good wyll in this behalfe, ſo much as I may, when I can not ſo much as I would. You heare and ſee howe Satan beſtyrreth hym, raging as a roring Lion to deuoure vs. You ſee and feele partly what ſtormes he hath rayſed vp to ouerthrowe the poore Boate of Chriſte, I meane his Church. You ſee howe terribly he trayneth his ſouldiers to geue a fierce onſet on the vawarde of Gods battaile. You ſee howe he hath receiued power of God, to moleſt Gods children, and to begynne at his houſe. By reaſon wherof conſider two thinges: one, the cauſe on our behalfe: the other, what wyl be the ſequele on ſtraungers.

For the firſt, if we be not blinde, we can not but well ſee that our ſinnes are the cauſe of all this miſerie: our ſinnes I ſay, which I would that euery one of vs woulde apply to our ſelues after the example of Ionas and Dauid, turnyng ouer the wallet, that other mens offences might lye behinde, and our owne before. Not that I woulde excuſe other men, whiche exteriourly haue walked muche more groſſely then many of you haue done: but that I woulde prouoke you all as my ſelfe to more harty repentaunce and prayer. Let vs more and more encreaſe to knowe and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercye. &c.

2. Thinges to be conſidered in the perſecution of Gods people.

Let vs better feele and hate our ſelflove, ſecuritie, negligence, vnthankfulnes, vnbeliefe, impacience, &c. and then doubtleſſe the Croſſe ſhalbe leſſe carefull, yea it ſhalbe comfortable, and Chriſt moſt deare and pleaſaunt: death then ſhalbe deſired, as the diſpatcher of vs out of all miſerie, and entrance into eternall felicitie and ioye vnſpeakeable: the which is ſo much the more longed for, by how much we fele in deede the Serpents bytyng wherwith he woundeth our heeles, that is, our outward Adam and ſenſes. If we had, I ſay, a liuely and true feeling of his poyſon, we could not but as reioyce ouer our captaine that hath bruiſed his head, ſo be deſirous to folowe his example, that is, to geue our lyues with hym and for him, and ſo to fil vp his paſſions, that he might conquere & ouercome in vs and by vs, to his glory and comfort of his children.

Earneſt repentance maketh the croſſe more pleaſant.

Coloſſ. 1.

Nowe the ſeconde (I meane the ſequele, or that which wyl folowe on the ſtraungers) my dearely beloued, let vs well looke vpon. For if ſo be that God iuſtly do thus geue to Satan and his ſeede, to vexe and moleſt Chriſte and his penitent people: Oh what and howe iuſtly may he and wyl he geue to Satan to intreate the rechleſſe and impenitent ſinners? If iudgement begynne thus at Gods houſe, what wyl folowe on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reſerued the dregges of Gods Cuppe, that is, brymſtone, fire, and tempeſt intollerable. Nowe are they vnwilling to drinke of Gods cuppe of afflictions which he offereth common with his ſonne Chriſte our Lord, leaſt they ſhould loſe their pigges with the Gergeſites. They are vnwillyng to come into the way that bringeth to heauen, euen afflictions: they in their hartes crye, Let vs caſt his yoke from vs: they walke two waies, that is, they ſeek to ſerue God & Mammō, which is vnpoſſible: they wyll not come nigh the ſtraight way that bringeth to life: they open their eyes to beholde preſent thinges onely: they iudge of Religion after reaſon, & not after Gods word: they folowe the more part, and not the better: they profeſſe God with their mouthes, but in their hartes they denye hym, or els they would ſanctifie hym by ſeruyng hym more then men: they part ſtake with God, which woulde haue all, geuyng part to the worlde, to the Romiſhe route, and Antichriſtian Idolatrie now ſet abroade amongeſt vs publikely: they wyl haue Chriſt, but none of his Croſſe, which wil not be: they wyl be counted to liue godly in Chriſt, but yet they wyll ſuffer no perſecution: they loue this worlde, wherthrough the loue of God is driuen forth of them: they ſauour of thoſe thinges that be of men, and not that be of God: Summa, they loue God in their lippes, but in their hartes, yea and in their deedes deny him, as well by not repenting their euils paſt, as by continuyng in euyl ſtil, by doing as the worlde, the fleſh and the deuyl willeth, & yet ſtyll perchance they will pray or rather prate: Thy will be done in earth, which is generally that euery one ſhoulde take vp his croſſe and folowe Chriſte. But this is a hard ſaying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Chriſt muſt be prayed to depart, leaſt all their pigges be drowned. The deuill ſhal haue his dwellinge agayne in the ſelues, rather then in their pigges, and therefore to the Deuill ſhall they goe, & dwell with hym in eternall perdition and damnation, euen in hel fire & torment endleſſe, and aboue all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

If Gods iudgementes be ſo ſharpe to his children, what will it be to his enemies.

Math. 8.

The doinges and wayes of the wicked deſcribed, and what is the end thereof.

Wherfore by them (my dearely beloued) be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſion, howe that in Baptiſme you made a ſolemne vowe to forſake the Deuyll, the worlde, &c. You promiſed to fight vnder Chriſtes ſtandarde. You learned Chriſtes Croſſe afore you begunne with A. B. C. Go to then, pay your vow to the Lord: fight

like

1555. July.

He doth encourage them to take vp Chriſtes croſſe and to follow hym.

lyke men and valiaunt men vnder Chriſtes ſtandard: take vp your Croſſe and follow your Maiſter, as your brethren M. Hoper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders haue done, and as now your brethren M. Cranmer, Latymer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c. be ready to do. The Iſe is broken before you, therfore be not afrayde, but be content to dye for the Lord. You haue no cauſe to wauer or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the bloud of the paſtours. Remember that Chriſt ſayth: He that will ſaue his lyfe ſhall loſe it. And what ſhould it profite you to winne the whole world, much leſſe a little quietnes, your goodes, &c. and to loſe your owne ſoules? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch meanes as he would haue you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Chriſtes Diſciples muſt deny themſelues, as wel cõcernyng their will, as concernyng their wiſedome. Haue in mynde, that as it is no ſmall mercy to beleue in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kyndnes of God towardes you to ſuffer any thyng, much more death for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that dye in the Lord, how ſhall they be that dye for the Lord? Oh what a bleſſing is it to haue death due for our ſinnes, diuerted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lordes truth? Oh that we had a little of Moſes fayth to looke vpon the end of the croſſe, to looke vpõ the reward, to ſee continually with Chriſt & his people, greater riches thã the riches of Egypt. Oh let vs pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hyd Manna, heauenly Ieruſalem, the cõgregatiõ of the firſt borne, the melody of the Saintes the tabernacle of God dwellyng with men: then ſhould we runne and become violent men, and ſo take the kyngdome of heauẽ as it were by force. God our father geue vs for his Chriſtes ſake, to ſee a little, what and how great ioy he hath prepared for vs, he hath called vs vnto, and moſt aſſuredly geueth vs for his owne goodnes and truthes ſake. Amen.

Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord: but more bleſſed be they that dye for the Lord.

The end and riches that follow the croſſe.

My dearely beloued, repent, be ſober and watche in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations ſhewe your obedience to the hygher powers in all thynges that are not agaynſt Gods word, therein acknowledgyng the ſoueraigne power of the Lord: howbeit ſo that ye bee no rebelles or reſiſters for no cauſe: but becauſe with good conſcience you can not obey, bee patient ſufferers, and the glory and good ſpirit of God ſhall dwell vpon vs. I pray you remember vs your afflicted brethren beyng in the Lordes bondes for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and abydyng the gracious houre of our deare and moſt mercyfull father. The Lord for Chriſtes ſake, geue vs mery hartes to drinke luſtily of his ſweete cup, which onely we grone and ſigh for, lamentyng that the tyme is thus prolonged. The Lord Ieſus geue vs grace to bee thankefull, and to abyde patiently the prouided houre of his moſt gracious good will, Amen. Amen.

From the Counter in the Poultry.
Yours in Chriſt Iohn Bradford.

To my good brother Iohn Careles, Priſoner in the kynges Bench.

A letter of M. Bradford to J. Careles.

THe father of mercy and God of all comfort, viſite vs with his eternall conſolation, accordyng to his great mercyes in Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour. Amen.

My very deare brother, if I ſhall reporte the truth vnto you, I can not but ſignifie that ſithen I came into priſon, I neuer receaued ſo much conſolation as I dyd by your laſt letter, the name of God be moſt hartely prayſed therefore. But if I ſhall reporte the truth vnto you, and as I haue begon, ſpeake ſtill the veritie, I muſt confeſſe that for myne vnthankefulnes to you wardes, and to God eſpecially, I haue more neede of Gods mercyfull tidynges, then I had euer heretofore. Ah that Sathan enuyeth vs ſo greatly. Ah that our Lorde would treade his head vnder our feete ſhortly. Ah that I might for euer, both my ſelfe beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of vnthankefulneſſe. Good brother Careles, we had more neede to take heede after a lightenyng, of a foyle thẽ before. God therfore is to be prayſed euen when hee hideth, and that of long, a chearefull cou̇tenaunce frõ vs, leſt we beyng not expert how to vſe it as we ſhould do, do hurt more our ſelues thereby, ſo great is our ignoraunce and corruption. This my good brother and right deare to my very hart, I write vnto you as to one whom in the Lorde I embrace, and I thanke God that you do me in like maner. GOD our father more and more geue vs both his good ſpirite, that as by fayth we may feele our ſelues vnited vnto hym in Chriſt, ſo by loue we may feele our ſelues linked in the ſame Chriſt one to an other, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to vs, Amen. Amen.

After a lightnyng take heed of a foyle.

Commend me to our good brother Skelthrop, for whõ I hartely prayſe my God, whiche hath geuen him to ſee his truth at the length, and to geue place to it. I doubt not, but that he will be ſo heedy in all his conuerſation, that his old acquaintance may euer thereby thinke them ſelues aſtray. Wo and wo againe ſhoulde be vnto vs, if we by our example ſhould make mẽ to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in Chriſt, as you ſhall thinke good to Trew, and hys felowes. The Lord hath his tyme (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchaunce thinke otherwiſe. A drop maketh the ſtone hollow, not with once, but with often droppyng: ſo if with harty prayer for them and good example, you ſtill and drop vpon them as you can, you ſhall ſee Gods woorke at the length. I beſech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in vs all, Amen. I deſire you all to pray for mee the moſt vnworthy priſoner of the Lord.

This Skelthrop was a frewill man.

The charitable ſpirite of M. Bradford, in reducing them that be weake and ignorant.

Your brother Iohn Bradford

To M. Iohn Hall & his wife pryſoners in Newgate for the teſtimony, of the Goſpell.

An other letter of M. Bradford to John Hal and his wife in Newgate pryſon.

ALmightye God our heauenly Father through Ieſus Chriſt, be with you both my dearely beloued, as with his deare children for euer, and he ſo bleſſe you with his holy ſpirite, that you may in this your croſſe (for his cauſe doubtles) erioice, and gladly take it vp to beare it ſo long as hee ſhall thinke good. I haue heard (my good brother & ſiſter) how that God hath brought you both into his ſcholehouſe, (wherein you were both purpoſed by his leaue to haue plaied the trewandes) that thereby you might ſee his carefulnes and loue toward you. For if it be a token of a louyng & carefull father for his children, to preuent the purpoſe, and diſapoint the intent of his children, purpoſing to depart a while from the ſchole for feare of beatyng, (which thing they woulde not doe if they dyd as much conſider the commoditye of learnyng which there they might get): howe ſhoulde you take this worke of the Lord preuentyng your purpoſe, but as an euident ſigne of loue and fatherly carefulnes that hee beareth towardes you? If he ſhould haue winked at your wylles, then would you haue eſcaped beatyng: I meane the croſſe: but then ſhoulde you haue loſt the commoditye of learnyng, whiche your father will nowe haue you to learne and feele, and therfore hath hee ſent to you his croſſe. He I ſay, hath brought you where you bee: and though your reaſon & wit wil tel you, it is by chaunce or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my dearely beloued) knowe for certaine that what ſo euer was the meane, God your father was the worker hereof, & that for your weale, although otherwiſe your old Adam doth tell you, and you feele: yet I ſay of truth that your duety is to thinke of thys croſſe, that as it is of Gods ſendyng, and commeth from him: ſo although your dieterte bee otherwiſe it is of loue and fatherly affection for your weale and commodities ſake.

The croſſe cometh not without Gods ſendyng.

What commodity is hereby, you will perchaunce obiect, you are nowe kept in cloſe priſon you will ſaye: your family and children bee without good ouerſeers: your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe meanes: pouertye will approch: and perchaunce more perils alſo, yea and loſſe of lyfe too. Theſe are no commodities but diſcommodities, and that no ſmall ones: ſo that iuſtly you would be glad to knowe what commodity can come to you by this croſſe, whereby commeth ſo great diſcommodities.

To theſe thinges I anſwere, that in deede it is true you ſaye of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtaunce, pouertye, lyfe. &c. Whiche thinges, if you woulde conſider a while with inward eyes, as you beholde them wyth outward, then perhaps you ſhoulde finde more eaſe. Doe not you nowe by the inwarde ſenſe perceyue that you muſt part from all theſe and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, haue not you this cõmodytye by your croſſe, to learne to loth and leaue the worlde, and to long for and deſyre an other world, where is perpetuitye? You ought of your own head and free will to haue (accordyng to your profeſſion in baptiſme) forſaken the worlde and all earthly thinges, vſyng the worlde, as though you vſed it not, your hart onelye ſette vppon your hourd in heauen, or els you coulde neuer bee Chriſtes true diſciples, that is be ſaued, and be where he is. And trow you (my good hartes in the Lord) trowe you I ſay, that this is no commodytye, by thys croſſe to be compelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enioye with the Lord endles glory? How nowe doth God (as it were) fatherly pull you by the eares to remember your former offences concerning theſe things and al other thinges, that repentaunce and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compell you to call vppon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the ſcripture ſay that, god doth correct vs in the worlde becauſe wee ſhall not bee damned with the worlde? That God chaſteneth euerye one whome hee loueth? that the ende of thys correction

Worldly loſſe recompenſed with endles and perpetuall gayne by the croſſe.

What commodities the croſſe bringeth.

Promiſes annexed to the croſſe.

ſhalbe ioy and holyneſſe? Doth not the Scripture ſay that, they are happy that ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake, as you now do? that the glory and ſpirite of God is vpon them? that, as you are now made like vnto Chriſt in ſufferyng, ſo ſhall you be made lyke hym in raignyng? Doth not the Scripture ſay that you are now goyng the hyghe and right way to heauen? that your ſufferyng is Chriſtes ſufferyng? My dearely beloued, what greater commodities then theſe, can a godly hart deſire?

Therfore ye are commaunded to reioyce & be glad whē ye ſuffer, as now ye doe: for through the goodneſſe of God, great ſhalbe your reward: Where? Forſooth on earth, firſt for your childrē: for now they are in Gods mere & immediate protection. Neuer was father ſo carefull for his children, as God is for yours preſently. Gods bleſſyng whiche is more worth thē all the world, you leaue in deede to your children. Though all your prouidence for thē ſhould be pulled away: yet God is not poore, he hath promiſed to prouide for them moſt fatherly. Caſt thy burthē vpō me (ſayth he) and I will beare it. Do you therfore caſt thē, & cōmend them vnto God your father, & doubt not that he will heare your deſ. He neuer yet was foūd vnfaithfull, & he will not now begin with you. The good mās ſeede ſhall not go a beggyng his bread: for he will ſhew mercy vpō thouſādes of the poſteritie of thē that feare him. Therfore as I ſayd, Gods reward firſt vpō earth ſhalbe felt by your children euen corporally, & ſo alſo vpō you if God ſee it more for your cōmoditie, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhall feele it by quietnes & comfort of conſciēce: & ſecondly after this life, you ſhall finde it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeene, the eare hath not heard, the hart cannot conceiue how great & glorious Gods reward will be vppon your bodyes, much more vppon your ſoules. God open our eyes to ſee and feele this in deede. Then ſhall we thinke the croſſe which is a meane hereto, to be cōmodious. Then ſhall we thanke God that he would chaſtice vs. Then ſhall we ſay with Dauid: Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me; for before I went aſtray, but now I keepe thy lawes.

Pſal. 55.

Pſal. 37.

Care of children to be left to Gods prouidence

4. Thinges to be conſidered of all men that be vnder the croſſe.

This that we may do in deede my dearely beloued, let vs firſt know that our croſſe commeth from God: Secondly ỹ it cōmeth from God as a father, that is, to our weale and good. Therfore let vs thirdly call to mynde our ſinnes and aſke pardon. whereto let vs fourthly looke for helpe certainely at Gods hand in his good tyme: helpe I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commoditie of our ſoules and bodyes eternally. This if we certainely cōceiue, thē will there iſſue out of vs harty thankes geuyng, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through Chriſt offer this, let vs vſe earneſt Prayer to our God and deare father, who bleſſe vs, keepe vs, and comfort vs vnder his ſweete croſſe for euer. Amen. Amen.

My deare hartes, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure therof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I can not as I would. Oh that it would pleaſe our deare father ſhortly to bryng vs where we ſhould neuer depart, but enioy cōtinually the bleſſed fruition of his heauenly preſence: pray, pray, that it may ſpeedely come to paſſe, pray. To morrow I will ſend vnto you to knowe your eſtate, ſend me worde what are the chiefeſt thinges they charge you withall. From the Counter.

By your brother in the Lord
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To Miſtres Hall priſoner in Newgate and ready to make aunſwere before her aduerſaries.

An other letter, of M. Bradford to Miſtres Hall.

Math. 5.

OVr most mercyful God and father through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord and Sauiour, be mercyfull vnto vs, & make perfect the good he hath begon in vs vnto the end. Amen.

My deare Siſter, reioyce in the Lord, reioyce: be glad (I ſay) be mery and thankefull, not onely becauſe Chriſt ſo cōmaundeth vs, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherin we are preſently, requireth no leſſe, for we are the Lordes witneſſes. GOD the father hath vouched ſaffe to choſe vs amongeſt many, to witneſſe and teſtifie, that Chriſt his ſonne is kyng and that his word is true. Chriſt our Sauiour for his loues ſake towardes vs, will haue vs to beare recorde that he is no vſurper nor deceiuer of the people, but Gods Ambaſſadour, Prophet: and Meſſias: ſo that of all dignities vppon earth this is the higheſt. Greater honour had not his Prophetes, Apoſtles nor deareſt frendes, them to * beare witneſſe with Chriſt, as we now do. The world folowyng the counſell of their Syer Sathan, would gladly condemne Chriſt and his veritie: but loe the Lord hath choſen vs to be his champions, to let this. As ſtoute ſouldiours therfore let vs ſtand to our maiſter, who is with vs and ſtandeth on our right hand that we ſhall not be much moued, if we hope and hang on his mercy: hee is ſo faythfull and true, that hee will neuer tempt vs further then he will make vs hable to beare.

The bloud of Martyrs ſtandeth for the verity of Chriſt againſt the world and Sathan, who would ſuppreſſe the ſame.

Therfore bee not carefull (for I heare ſay this daye you ſhalbe called foorth) what you ſhall aunſwere. The Lorde which is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed and wil neuer fayle nor forget it, that you ſhal haue both what and how to aunſwere, ſo as ſhall make his ſhameles aduerſaries aſhamed. Hang therfore on this promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Neuer was it heard of or ſhalbe, that any hopyng in the Lord was put to foyle.

The Lord promiſeth and will geue them that ſtand in his defence, both and what to aunſwere.

Therfore as I ſayd, I ſay agayne, Deare Siſter be not only not carefull for your aunſweryng, but alſo be ioyfull for your cauſe. Confeſſe Chriſt and bee not aſhamed, and hee will confeſſe you and neuer bee aſhamed of you. Though loſſe of goodes and lyfe be like here to enſue, yet if Chriſte be true (as he is moſt true) it is otherwiſe in deede: For hee that loſeth his life (ſayth he) wynneth it, but he that ſaueth it, loſeth it. Our ſinnes haue deſerued many deathes. Now if God deale ſo with vs, that hee will make our deſerued death a demonſtration of his grace, a teſtimoniall of his veritie, a confirmation of his people, and ouerthrow of his aduerſaries: What great cauſe haue we to bee thankefull? Bee thankefull therefore good Syſter, be thankefull, reioyce and be mery in the Lord, be ſtoute in his cauſe and quarell, bee not faynt harted, but runne out your race, and ſet your captaine Chriſt before your eyes. Behold howe greate your reward is. See the great glory and the eternitie of felicitie prepared for you. Striue and fight lawfully, that you maye get the crowen. Runne to get the game: you are almoſt at your iourneys end, I doubt not, but our father will with vs ſend to you alſo, as he dyd to Hely, a fiery chariotte, to conuey vs into his kyngdome. Let vs therfore not be diſmaide to leaue our cloke behynde vs, that is, our bodyes to aſhes. God will one day reſtore them to vs like to the body of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe commyng is now at hand: let vs looke for it and lift vp our heades, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lorde of mercy graunt vs hys mercy. Amen. I pray you pray for me, and ſo deſire my brethren which be with you. Gods peace be with vs al, Amen. Bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord: then howe much more they that dye for the Lord.

A bleſſed thing ſeing a man muſt needes dye, to dye for the Lord.

4. Reg. 2.

Your brother in bondes,
Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a woman that deſired to know his mind whether ſhe, refrainyng from the Maſſe, might be preſent at the popiſh Mattins, or no.

A reſolution of M. Bradford whether a Chriſtian abſteyning from the Maſſe, may heare the popiſh Mattins or no.

I Beſech almightye God our heauenly father to be mercifull vnto vs, and to encreaſe in you, my good Siſter, ỹ knowledge and loue of his truth, and at this preſēt geue me grace ſo to wryte to you ſomething of the ſame, as maye make to his glory, and our owne comfort and confirmation in hym through Chriſt our Lord Amen.

Whether you may come with ſafe conſcience to ỹ church nowe, that is, to the ſeruice vſed commonly, in parte, as at Mattins or at Euenſong, or no, is your deſire to haue mee to wryte ſomething for your further ſtay. My dearely beloued, although your benefites towardes me might perchaunce make you to thincke, that in reſpect therof I woulde beare with that whiche els were not to bee borne withall: yet by Gods grace I am purpoſed ſimply and without all ſuch reſpect in this matter, to ſpeake to you the truth according to my conſcience, as I may be able to ſtand vnto, when I ſhal come before the Lord.

First therfore go about to learne perfectly the firſt leſſon to be learned of all that profeſſe Chriſt, that is, to deny your ſelfe, and in nothing to ſeeke your ſelfe.

Three leſſons to be learned of euery Chriſtian.

Secondly, learne after this, to begin at the next leſſon to it. whiche is to ſeeke God in all thinges you doe and leaue vndone.

Thirdly, knowe that then you ſeeke God, when in hys ſeruice you follow his word and not mans fantaſies, cuſtome, multitude. &c. and when with your brother you follow the rule of charitye, that is, to do as you woulde be done by. In theſe is a ſumme of all the counſell I can geue you, if that hereto I admoniſh you of ỹ ſeruice now vſed, which is not accordyng to gods worde, but rather agaynſt Gods word directly and in maner wholy, So that your goyng to the ſeruice, is a declaration that you haue not learned the firſt leſſon, nor neuer can learne it ſo long as you go thether: therfore the ſecond leſſon you ſhall vtterly loſe, if you ceaſe not the ſeekyng your ſelfe, that is, if for company, cuſtome, father or friend, life or goodes, you ſeeme to allow ỹ whiche God diſaloweth. And this that you the better may perceiue I purpoſe by Gods grace briefly to ſhew.

Firſt the Mattens and Euenſong is in a tonge forbidden publickely to be vſed in the congregatiō that perceaueth

Reaſons prouing that no Chriſtian may come to the popiſhe mattins and euenſong, with a good conſcience.

not the toung. Read how Paule affirmeth it, to pray in an vnknowen toung, to be agaynſt Gods commaundement. This one (I trow) were inough, if nothyng els were. For how can Gods glory be ſought, where his word and commaundement is wilfully broken? How can charitie to man ſtand, whē charitie to God, which is obedience to his word, is ouerthrowen?

1555. Iuly.

The Popes ſeruice is in a tongue vnknowen. The Popes ſeruice is full of Idolatry. Eſay.5.

Agayne, both in Mattins and in Euenſong is idolatry maintained for Gods ſeruice: for there is inuocation & prayer made to Saintes departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will geue to none other.

The Popes ſeruice condemneth our engliſh ſeruice of hereſie.

Moreouer, this ſeruice and the ſetters forth of it, condemneth the Engliſh ſeruice as hereſie, thereby fallyng into Gods curſe, which is threatned to all ſuch as call good euil, and euill good: wherof they ſhall be partakers that do communicate with them.

The Popes latin ſeruice is a marke of Antichriſt.

Beſides this, this Latin ſeruice is a playne marke of Antichriſtes Catholicke Synagoge, ſo that the Communicantes and approuers of it, thereby declare them ſelues to be members of the ſame Sinagoge, and ſo cut of frō Chriſt and his Church: whoſe exteriour marke is the true adminiſtration of Gods word and Sacramentes.

The going to the Popes ſeruice geueth ill example, and is offenſiue.

Furthermore, the example of your goyng thether to allow the Religion of Antichriſt (as doubtles you do in deede, howſoeuer in hart you thinke) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be vtterly intractable, the weake Papiſtes to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong Goſpellers to be ſore weakened, and the weake Goſpellers to bee vtterly ouerthrowen: whiche thynges how great offences they be, no penne is able to vtter by letters. All theſe euils you ſhalbe giltie of, that company with theſe in Religion exteriourly, from whom you are admoniſhed to flye. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him: gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serue God, not onely in ſpirite, but alſo in body. Make not your body now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongeſt them, ſayth the Lorde, and touche no vncleane thyng. Confeſſe Chriſt and his truth, not onely in hart, but alſo in toung, yea in very deede, whiche fewe Goſpellers do. In deede they deny him, and therfore had neede to trēble, leſt that Chriſt will deny them in the laſt day: the which day if it were ſet before our eyes often, then would the pleaſures and treaſures of this world be but trifles.

Chriſtes leſſon.

Therfore good ſiſter, often haue it before your eyes, dayly ſet your ſelfe and your doynges as before the iudgement ſeate of Chriſt now, that hereafter you bee not called into iudgement. Thinke that it will little profite you to win the whole world, and to loſe your owne ſoule. Marke Chriſtes leſſons well: He that will ſaue his life ſhall loſe it. The father of heauen commaundeth you to heare Chriſt, and he ſayth, follow me: this can you not do and follow Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſayth the Scripture.

This God graunt to you, to me, and to all Gods children, Amen. Thus in haſt I haue accōpliſhed your requeſt, God graunt that as you haue done me much good bodyly, ſo this may bee a little meane to do you ſome good ſpiritually, Amen. If tyme would ſerue, I would haue written more at large. The ſecond of March. An.1556.

¶To the worſhypfull, and in God my moſt deare frend, the Lady Vane.

An epiſtle of M. Bradford to the Lady Vane, concerning the ſeate of the Popes pretenſed primacy.

THe good ſpirite of GOD our father be more and more plentyfully perceaued of your good Ladyſhyp, through the mediatiō and merites of our deare Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. Amen.

The Pope proued to be the great Antichriſt ſpoken of by the Apoſtles.

Although your benefites towardes me haue deſerued at my handes the ſeruice I can do for you, yet (right worſhypfull and dearely beloued in the Lord) the true feare of God and the loue of his truth which I perceiue to be in you eſpecially and aboue all other thyngs doth bynde me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your deſire is, to haue ſomething ſent to you concernyng the vſurped authoritie of the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, whiche is vndoubtedly that great Antichriſt of whō the Apoſtles do ſo much admoniſh vs, that you may haue aſwel ſomething the more to ſtay you on, as alſo wherewith to aunſwere the aduerſaries, becauſe you may perchaunce therein be ſomethyng apposed. To ſatiſfie this your deſire I will briefly go about, and ſo, that I will by Gods grace, fully ſet forth the ſame; to enarme you to withſtād the aſſaults of the papiſtes herein, if you marke wel & read ouer agayn that which I now write.

The Pope diſplacing Chriſt. The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, Feede my ſheepe expounded.

The Papiſtes do place in preeminence ouer the whole Church the Pope, thereby vnplacyng Chriſt whiche is the head of the Church, that geueth life to the whole body, & by his ſpirite doth make liuely euery member of the ſame. This they do without all Scriptures. For where they bryng in this ſpoken to Peter: Feede my ſheepe, I would gladly know whether this was not commaunded vnto others alſo. As for that (which perchaunce they wil vrge) that he ſpake to Peter by name, if they had any learnyng, they would eaſely perceaue howe that it was not for any ſuch cauſe as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commaundement, to reſtore to him the honour of an Apoſtle, which he had loſt by his threefold denyall. And how dare they interprete this word, my ſheepe, my Lambes, to be the vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt? I trow a man might eaſely by the * like reaſon proue that Peter him ſelfe had reſigned that which Chriſt had geuen to him, in exhortyng his fellow paſtours to feede the flocke of Chriſt. Is not this prety ſtuffe? Becauſe Chriſt ſayth to Peter, feede my ſhepe, therfore he ought to rule the vniuerſall and whole Church of Chriſt? If Peter do truely write vnto others that they ſhould do the like, that is, feede Chriſtes flocke, either he tranſlateth his right and authoritie committed to him vpon them, or els he doth participate, or communicate with them: ſo that fooliſhly they go about to eſtabliſhe that whiche hath no ground. Peter in deede was a ſhepheard of the ſheepe, but ſuch a one as beſtowed his labour on them ſo farre, as he could ſtretch him ſelfe by his miniſtery. But the Papiſtes prate that he had full power ouer all Churches: Wherein they may ſee Paule to improue them, for els he had done vniuſtly in denying them the ſuperiour place. Howbeit, who euer yet read that Peter dyd take any thyng vpon him ouer Churches committed vnto other men? Was not he ſent of the Churche, and ſent as one not hauyng rule ouer the reſt? I graunt that he was an excellent inſtrument of God, and for the excellency of his giftes, whenſoeuer they mette together, place therfore was commonly geuen vnto him. But what is this to the purpoſe, to make him ruler and head ouer all the whole Church, becauſe he was ſo ouer a ſmall congregation?

*Argument. Chriſt bidding Peter feede his flock, made him head ouer the vniuerſall Church: Ergo Peter bidding the paſtors feede the flock of Chriſt made the alſo heads ouer the vniuerſall Church.

Ab vna exponente ad ſuam excluſiuam non valet conſequētia.

Chriſt made Peter a ſhepheard: Ergo Chriſte made Peter only the chiefe ſhepheard of his ſheepe.

Peter was excellent for his giftes and not for the place where he ſate.

But be it ſo that Peter had as much geuē to him as they do affirme: Who yet will graunt that Peter had a patrimony geuē for his heyres? He hath left (ſay the Papiſtes) to his ſucceſſours, the ſelfe ſame right whiche he receiued. Oh Lord God, then muſt his ſucceſſour bee a Sathan: for he receaued that title of Chriſt him ſelfe. I would gladly haue the Papiſtes to ſhew me one place of ſucceſſion mentioned in the Scriptures. I am ſure that when Paule purpoſely paynteth out the whole adminiſtration of the Churche, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable Primacy, and yet he is altogether in cōmendation of vnitie. After he hath made mention of one God the father, of one Chriſt, of one ſpirite, of one body of the Church, of one fayth, and of one Baptiſme, then he deſcribeth the meane and maner how vnitie is to bee kept: namely becauſe vnto euery paſtour is grace geuen after the meaſure wherewith Chriſt hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis poteſtatis, of fulnes of power? When he calleth home euery one vnto a certaine meaſure, why did he not forthwith ſay, one Pope? Which thyng he could not haue forgotten, if the thyng had bene as the Papiſtes make it.

Argument. Peter left the title which he receiued, to his ſucceſſors: Peter receaued the title of Satā, Ergo Peter lefte the title of Satā, to his ſucceſſors.

No mention of ſucceſſion nor primary inheritable, in all the Scripture.

But let vs graunt that perpetuitie of the Primacy in the Churche was eſtabliſhed in Peter: I would gladly learne why the ſeate of the Primacy ſhould be rather at Rome, thē elſwhere. Mary ſay they, bicauſe Peters chaire was at Rome. This is euē like to this, that becauſe Moſes the greateſt prophet, and Aaron the firſt Prieſt exerciſed their offices vnto their death in the deſert, therefore the principalleſt place of the Iewiſh Church ſhould be in the wildernes. But graunt them their reaſon, that it is good. What ſhould Antioche claime? For Peters chaire was there alſo: wherin Paule gaue him a checke, which was vnſeemely and vnmanerly done of Paule, that would not geue place to his preſidēt and better.

No cauſe why any perpetuity of primacy ſhould belong to Rome, more then to other places.

As Peters chaire was in Rome, ſo Moyſes chayre was in the wildernes: Ergo the principalitie of the Iewiſh church ſhould be in the wildernes.

No ſay the Papiſtes, Rome muſt haue this authoritie becauſe Peter died there. But what if a man ſhould by probable coniectures ſhewe, that it is but a fable, which is fayned of Peters Byſhoprike at Rome? Read how Paule doth ſalute very many priuate perſones when he writeth to the Romaines. Three yeares after his Epiſtle made, hee was brought to Rome priſoner. Luke telleth, that he was receaued of the brethren, and yet in all theſe, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their ſtories was at Rome. Belike he was proude, as the Pope and Prelates be, or els he would haue viſited Paule. Paule beyng in priſon in Rome, dyd write diuers Epiſtles, in whiche he expreſſeth the names of many which were in compariſon of Peter, but raſcall perſonages, but of Peter he ſpeaketh neuer a word. Surely if Peter had bene there, this ſilence of him had bene ſuſpicious. In the 2. Epiſtle to Timothy Paule complayneth that no mā was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had bene thē at Rome, as they write, then either Paule had belyed him, or Peter had played his Peters part. Luke.23. In an other place, how doth he blame all that were with hym, only Timothy excepted? Therfore we may wel doubt whether Peter was at Rome Byſhop as they prate: for all this tyme, and lōg before, they ſay that Peter was Biſhop there.

Peter had no Biſhopriche at Rome.

Coniectures that Peter was not at Rome.

2.Tim.4.

Phil.2.

But

If Peters chayre make the primacye. Why might not Antioch clayme as much as Rome, where he ſatte firſt?

But I will not ſtyrre vp coles in this matter. If Rome be the chief Seate becauſe Peter dyed there, why ſhould not Antioche be the ſecond? Why ſhould not Iames and Iohn which were taken with Peter to be as pillers. Why (I ſay) ſhould not their Seates haue honour next to Peters Seate? Is not this geare prepoſtorous, that Alexādria where Marke (whiche was but one of the Diſciples) was Byſhop, ſhould bee preferred before Epheſus where Iohn the Euangeliſt taught and was Byſhoppe, and before Ieruſalem where not onely Iames taught and dyed Byſhop, but alſo Chriſt Ieſus our Lord and high Prieſt for euer? by whom beyng Maiſter (I hope) honour ſhould be geuen to his Chaire, more then to the Chayre of his Chaplaines.

Peters Apoſtleſhip was ouer the circumcyſed & not ouer the Gentiles.

The title of primacie a foretoken of Antichriſt.

I neede to ſpeake nothing how that Paul telleth Peters Apoſtleſhyp to concerne rather Circūciſion or the Iewes, & therfore properly perteineth not to vs. Neither do I neede to bring in Gregorius the firſt B. of Rome, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 600. Who playnly in his workes doth write, that this title of Primacy, and to bee head ouer all Churches vnder Chriſt, is a title meete and agreeyng onely to Antichriſt, and therefore he calleth it a prophane, a miſchieuous, and an horrible title. Whom ſhoulde we beleue now, if we will neither beleue Apoſtle nor Pope.

How the tytle of primacye firſt came vp, and by whom.

If they will needes make the byſhop of Rome the ſupreame head, they muſt firſt proue hym a Byſhop in deede and not in name.

If I ſhould go about to tel how this name was firſt gotten by Phocas, I ſhould be to long. I purpoſe God willyng, to ſet it forth at large in a worke which I haue begon of Antichriſt, if God for his mercyes ſake geue me lyfe to finiſh it. For this preſent therefore I ſhall deſire your Ladyſhyp to take this in good part. If they wil needes haue the Byſhop of Rome to bee acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I vrge them that they ſhal geue vs a Byſhop. But they obtrude vnto vs a butcher rather, or a byteſheepe then a Byſhop. They bragge of Peters ſucceſſion, of Chriſtes Vicare, this is alwayes in their mouth. But alas, how can we call him Chriſtes Vicare that reſiſteth Chriſt, oppugneth his veritie, perſecuteth his people, and like a prelate preferreth him ſelfe aboue God and mā? How, or wherin doth the Pope and Chriſt agree? How ſupplieth he Peters miniſtery, that boaſteth of his ſucceſſion?

The Byſhop of Rome ſeemeth in deede rather a Butcher then a Byſhop.

Therfore to begyn withall, which I will vſe preſently for a concluſion, if the Papiſtes will haue the Byſhoppe of Rome ſupreme head of the Church of Chriſt in earth, they muſt afore they attaine this, geue vs a Byſhop in deede, and not in name. For whoſoeuer he be that will make this the bond of vnitie, whatſoeuer the Byſhop of Rome be, ſurely this muſt needes follow, that they do nothyng els but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departyng from Chriſt.

But of this, if GOD lend me lyfe, I purpoſe to ſpeake more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyſhyp vnto the tuition of GOD our father, and Chriſt our onely head paſtour and keeper, to whom ſee that you cleaue by true fayth which dependeth onely vpon the word of God, whiche if you do follow as a lanterne to your feete, and a light to your ſteppes, you ſhall thē auoyde darkenes, and the daungerous deepes whereinto the Papiſtes are fallen by the iuſt iudgement of God, and ſeeke to bryng vs into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blynde followyng the blynd, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the whiche God deliuer them accordyng to his good will, and preſerue vs for his names ſake, that we beyng in his light, may cōtinue therin, & walke in it whileſt it is day: ſo ſhall the night neuer ouerpreſſe vs, we goyng from light to light, from vertue to vertue, from fayth to fayth, from glory to glory by the gouernaunce of Gods good ſpirite, whiche God our father geue vnto vs all for euer and euer. Amen.

Your brother in bondes for the teſtimony
of Ieſus Chriſt, Iohn Bradford.

He wrote alſo an other fruitfull letter to this Richard Hopkins, which you may read in the booke of letters of the Martyrs.

Here foloweth an other letter of Maiſter Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, Shiriffe ſometymes of Couentrey, and yet beyng (as I heare ſay) alyue. This Hopkins whō Maiſter Bradford commendeth ſo much in this letter, duryng the tyme of his Shriefalty, was detected and accuſed by certaine malignaunt aduerſaries, of matter pertainyng to Religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainely informed, vnleſſe it were for ſendyng and lendyng vnto a theefe beyng then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certaine Engliſh booke of Scripture for his ſpirituall comfort.

Whereupon, or elles vppon ſome ſuch lyke matter, hee beyng maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleete, and there endured a ſufficient tyme, not without great perill of lyfe. Notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Hopkyns beyng at length deliuered out of priſon, followyng this counſell of Maiſter Bradford, and myndyng to keepe hys conſcience pure from Idolatry, was driuen with his wife and eight young children to auoyde the Realme, and ſo leauyng all other worldly reſpectes, with his great loſſe & damage went into highe Germany, where he continued in the Citie of Baſill, till the death of Queene Mary, beyng lyke a good Tobias, to his power a frendly helper and a comfortable reliever of other Engliſh exiles there about him: Gods holy bleſſyng ſo workyng with him therefore, that in thoſe farre countreys neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houſhold, duryng all that tyme there miſcaryed, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he recaryed home agayne, yea and that with aduauntage, and Gods plentie withall vppon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by Maiſter Bradford, is this.

A Letter to M. Richard Hopkins, then Shiriffe of Couentry, and priſoner in the Fleete, for the faythfull and conſtaunt confeſſing of Gods holy Goſpell.

A letter of M. Bradford to Richard Hopkins priſoner the ſame tyme for his conſcience.

DEarely beloued in the Lord. I wiſh vnto you, as vnto myne owne brother, yea as to myne owne hart roote, Gods mercy & the feelyng of the ſame plentyfully in Chriſt our ſweete Sauiour, who gaue himſelfe a raunſome for our ſinnes, and price for our redemption, prayſed therfore be hys holy name for euer and euer. Amen.

I will not goe about to excuſe my ſelfe for not ſendyng vnto you hetherto ſufferyng for the Lordes ſake as you do, to the comforte of me and of all that loue you in the truth: but rather accuſe my ſelfe both before God and you, deſiryng you of forgeueneſſe, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my vnkynde forgettyng you, and all other my ſinnes, which I beſeech the Lord in his mercy, to do away for his Chriſtes ſake. Amen.

Now to make amendes to you ward, I would be glad if I could, but bycauſe I can not, I ſhall hartely deſire you to accept that will, and this which I ſhall now write vnto you, there after: I meane, after my will and not after the deede, to accept and take it. At this preſent my deare hart in the Lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeeme otherwiſe to you, or rather vnto your old Adā, the which I dare now be ſo bold as to diſcerne from you, becauſe you would haue hym not onely diſcerned, but alſo vtterly deſtroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Now his word pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therfore it muſt needes be ſo. To proue this I thinke it need not: for you know that ỹ holy ghoſt ſayth, That they are happy whiche ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake, and that Gods glory and ſpirite reſteth on them whiche ſuffer for conſcience to God. Now this you can not but know, that this your ſufferyng is for righteouſneſſe ſake and for conſcience to Godwardes, for elles you might be out of trouble euen out of hand. I knowe in very deede that you haue felt and do feele your vnthankefulneſſe to GOD and other ſinnes, to witneſſe to you, that you haue deſerued this priſonment and lacke of libertie, betwixt GOD and your ſelfe, and I would you ſo would confeſſe vnto GOD in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thankes geuyng for hys correctyng you here. But you know that the Magiſtrates do not perſecute in you your ſinnes, your vnthankefulneſſe, &c. But they perſecute in you Chriſt him ſelfe, his righteouſneſſe his veritie, and therefore happy bee you that haue founde ſuch fauour with GOD your father, as to accompt you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake in the ſight of man: ſurely you ſhall reioyce therefore one day with a ioy vnſpeakeable in the ſight of man alſo.

Martyrs perſecuted not for their ſinnes, but for Chriſt onely and the Goſpell.

You may thinke your ſelfe borne in a bleſſed tyme, that haue founde this grace with God, to bee a veſſell of honour to ſuffer with his Saintes, yea with his ſonne. My beloued, God hath not done ſo with many. The Apoſtle ſayth: Not many noble, not many rich, not many wiſe in the world hath the Lord God choſe. Oh thē what cauſe haue you to reioyce, that amōgeſt thē not many, he hath choſen you to be one? For that cauſe hath GOD placed you in your office, that therefore you might the more ſee his ſpeciall dignation and loue towardes you. It had not bene ſo great a thyng for M. Hopkins to haue ſuffered as M. Hopkins, as it is for M. Hopkins alſo to ſuffer as M. Shiriffe. Oh happy day that you were made Shrieffe, by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honorable degree, ſo by ſufferyng in this roome he hath exalted you in heauen and in the ſight of his Church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read, that a Shiriffe of a Citie hath ſuffered for the Lordes ſake? Where read we of any Shiriffe that hath bene caſt in priſon for conſcience to Godward? How could God haue delt more louyngly with you, thē herein he hath done? To the ende of the world it ſhall be written for a memoriall to your prayſe, that Rich. Hopkins Shiriffe of Couētry, for cōſciēce to do his office before God, was caſt in the Fleete, and there kept priſoner a lōg tyme. Happy, and twiſe happy are you, if herefore you may geue your life. Neuer could you haue attained to this promotiō on

1. Cor. 1.

this ſort out of that office. How do you preach now, not onely to all men, but ſpecially to Magiſtrates in this Realme? Who would euer haue thought, that you ſhould haue bene the firſt Magiſtrate, that for Chriſtes ſake ſhould haue loſt any thyng? As I ſayd before, therefore I ſay agayne, that your ſtate is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth vnto you, my cõſcience bearyng me witneſſe, that you are in a moſt happy ſtate with the Lord, & before his ſight.

R. Hopkins the firſt Magiſtrate that ſuffred for his conſcience.

Be thankefull therfore, reioyce in your trouble, pray for patience, perſeuere to the ende, let patience haue her perfect worke. If you want this wiſedome and power, aſke it of God, who will geue it to you in his good tyme. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, yet truſt in him with Iob, and you ſhall perceaue that the end will be to finde him mercyfull and full of compaſſion: for he will not breake promiſe with you, which hetherto did neuer ſo with any. He is with you in trouble: he heareth you callyng vpon him, yea before you call, your deſires are not onely knowen, but accepted through Chriſt. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to prouoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true: he is a commyng and will come, he will not be long. But if for a tyme he ſeeme to tary, yet ſtand you ſtill and you ſhall ſee the wonderfull workes of the Lord. Oh beloued, wherefore ſhould you be heauy? Is not Chriſt Emanuell, God with vs? ſhall you not finde, that as he is true in ſaying: In the world you ſhal haue trouble: ſo is he in ſaying: In me you ſhal haue comfort? He doth not ſweare onely that trouble will come, but withall he ſweareth that comfort ſhall enſue. And what comfort? ſuch a cõfort as the eye hath not ſene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can conceaue. Oh great comfort. Who ſhall haue this? Forſooth they that ſuffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? yea verely are you, Then (as I ſayd) happy, happy, and happy agayne are you my dearely beloued in the Lord. you now ſuffer with the Lord: ſurely you ſhall be glorified with him. Call vpon God therefore now in your trouble, and he will heare you, yea deliuer you in ſuch ſort as moſt ſhall make both to his and your glory alſo. And in this callyng I hartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction. Now we be both goyng in the high way to heauen, for by many afflictions muſt we enter in thether: whether God bryng vs for his mercyes ſake, Amen. Amen.

Iacob. 1.

1. Cor. 2.

Your fellow in affliction,
Iohn Bradford.

To my good ſiſter miſtres Elizabeth Browne.

A letter of M. Bradford to Miſtres Browne, now called Miſtres Wells.

GOod ſiſter, God our Father make perfect the good hee hath begon in you vnto the end.

I am afrayde to write vnto you becauſe you ſo ouercharge your ſelfe at all tymes, euen when ſoeuer I doe but ſend to you commendations. I would be more bold on you then many others, and therfore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens till I ſhould write vnto you of my neede: whiche thyng doubtleſſe I would do, if it vrged me. Deare ſiſter, I ſee your vnfayned loue to mewardes in God, and haue done of long tyme, the whiche I doe recompence with the lyke, and will doe by Gods grace ſo long as I lyue, and therefore I hope not to forgette you, but in my poore Prayers to haue you in remembraunce, as I hope you haue me. Otherwiſe I can do you no ſeruice, except it be now and then by my writyng to let you from better exerciſe, where yet the end of my writyng is to excite and ſtyrre vp your hart more earneſtly to goe on forwardes in your well begon enterpriſe. For you knowe none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as ſtriue lawfully, and none receiueth the gleue, but thoſe that runne to the appoynted marke. None ſhall bee ſaued but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the very ende.

2. Timo. 2.

Heb. 10.

Therfore (deare Siſter) remember that we haue neede of patience, that whẽ we haue done the good will of God, we may receiue the promiſe. Patience and perſeueraunce be the proper notes whereby Gods children are knowne from counterfaites. They that perſeuer not, were alwayes but hypocrites. Many make godly begynnyngs, yea their progreſſe ſeemeth meruellous, but yet after in the ende they fayle. Theſe were neuer of vs, ſayth S. Iohn: for if they had bene of vs, they would haue continued vnto the very end.

Goe to therefore myne owne beloued in the Lorde: as you haue well begon and well gone forward, ſo well perſiſt and happely ende, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharpe and ſowver, yet it is not tedious or long. Do all that euer you do, ſimply for God and as to GOD, ſo ſhall neuer vnkyndneſſe nor any other thyng make you to leaue of from well doyng, ſo long as you may do well. Accuſtome your ſelfe now to ſee God continually, that hee may be all in all vnto you. In good thyngs behold his mercy, and apply it vnto your ſelfe. In euill thynges and plagues beholde hys iudgementes where thorough learne to feare him. Beware of ſinne, as the ſerpent of the ſoule which ſpoyleth vs of all our ornature and ſeemely apparrel in Gods ſight. Let Chriſt crucified be your booke to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Marke your vocation, and be diligent in the woorkes therof. Vſe harty and earneſt prayer, and that in ſpirite. In al thinges geue thankes to God our father thorough Chriſt. Labour to haue here lyfe euerlaſting begun in you; for els it wyl not be elſewhere enioyed. Set Gods iudgement often before your eyes, that now examining your ſelfe, you may make diligent ſute, & obtayn neuer to come into iudgement. Vncouer your euils to God, that hee maye couer them. Beware of this Antichriſtian traſh: defile not your ſelf in ſoule or body therwith, but accompliſhe holynes in the feare of God, and beare no yoke with vnbeleuers. Looke for the cõmyng of the Lord, which is at hand: by earneſt prayer, and godly life haſten it. God our father accompliſhe his good worke in you, Amen. Commend mee to my good mother miſtres Wilkinsõ, and to my very deare ſiſter miſtres Warcuppe. I ſhall dayly commẽd you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

Wholſome leſſons of lyfe.

Iohn Bradford.

To a friend of his, inſtructing him howe he ſhould aunſwere his aduerſaries

An other letter of M. Bradford to his friend, with inſtructions how to aunſwere his aduerſaries.

MY good brother, our mercifull God and deare father through Chriſt open your eyes effectually to ſee, & your hart ardently to deſire the euerlaſting ioy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter ſheepe, that is, for ſuch as ſhrynke not from his truth for any ſuch ſhames ſake, Amen.

When you ſhall come before the Magiſtrates to geue an aunſwere of the hope whiche is in you, do it with all reuerence and ſimplicity. And becauſe you may be ſomething afrayde by the power of the Maieſtrates and cruelty which they will threaten agaynſt you, I would you ſet before you the good father Moſes to followe his example: for he ſet the inuiſible God before his eyes of fayth, and with the looked vpon God and hys glorious Maieſtie and power, as with his corporall eyes hee ſawe Pharao and all hys fearefull terrors. So doe you my dearely beloued: let your inwarde eyes geue ſuch lyght vnto you, that as you knowe you are before the magiſtrates, ſo and much more, you and they alſo are preſent before the face of God, whiche will geue ſuch wiſedome to you, fearyng him and ſeekyng hys prayſe, as the enemies ſhall wonder at, and further, he will ſo order their hartes and tonges, that they ſhall, will they nill they, ſerue Gods prouidence towardes you (which you can not auoid though you would) as ſhal be moſt to his glory, and your euerlaſting comfort.

Example of Moſes anſweryng before king Pharao.

Therfore my good brother, let your whole ſtudy be only to pleaſe god: put him alwayes before your eyes, for he is on your ryght hand leſt you ſhould be moued: he is faythfull, & neuer will ſuffer you to bee tempted aboue ỹ he will make you able to beare. yea euery heare of your head he hath nũbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſhe without his good will: whiche can not be but good vnto you, in that he is become your father through Chriſt, and therfore as hee hath geuen you to beleue in hym (God increaſe this beliefe in vs all) ſo doth hee nowe graciouſly geue vnto you to ſuffer for his names ſake: the which you ought with al thankefulnes to receaue, in that you are made worthy to drinke of ỹ ſelfe ſame cuppe, whiche not onely the very ſonnes of God haue drunke of before you, but euen ỹ very naturall ſonne of God himſelfe hath brought you good lucke. Oh hee of his mercy make vs thankefull to pledge him agayne, Amen.

Becauſe the chiefeſt matter they will trouble you and goe about to deceaue you withall, is the Sacrament, not of Chriſtes body and bloud, but of the aulter (as they call it) therby deſtroying the ſacrament whiche Chriſt inſtituted: I would you noted theſe two thinges: Firſt, that the ſacrament of the alter whiche the prieſt offereth in the maſſe and eateth priuately with him ſelfe, is not the Sacrament of Chriſtes body & bloud inſtituted by hym, as Chriſtes inſtitution plainely written and ſet forth in the Scriptures, beyng compared to their vſing of it, playnely doth declare.

Inſtructions how to aunſwere and to behaue himſelfe before the Iudges.

Agayne, if they talke with you of Chriſtes Sacrament inſtituted by him, whether it bee Chriſtes body or no: aunſwere them, that as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſt and corporall ſenſes it is bread and wyne, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the conſecration ſo: euen ſo to the eyes, taſt, & ſenſes of your fayth, which aſcendeth to ỹ right hande of God in heauen where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very dede Chriſtes body and bloud, which ſpiritually your ſoule feedeth on to euerlaſting life in fayth and by fayth, euen as your bodye preſently feedeth on the ſacramentall bread and ſacramentall wyne.

By this meanes, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation

1555.
July.

Chriſt is able to keepe his promiſe in the ſacrament, the ſubſtance of bread ſtill remaynyng. The Papiſtes deny the omnipotency of God, and how.

tion, nor none of their Popiſh opinions: ſo ſhall you declare the Sacrament, to be a matter of fayth, and not of reaſon, as the Papiſtes make it. For they deny Gods omnipotencie, in that they ſay Chriſt is not there if bread bee there: but fayth looketh on the omnipotencie of God, ioyned with hys promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to geue that hee promiſeth, vs ſpiritually by fayth, the bread ſtill remaynyng in ſubſtaunce, as well as if the ſubſtaunce of bread were take away: for Chriſt ſayth not in any place this is no bread. But of this geare God ſhall inſtruct you, if you hang on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſedome of his ſpirite, which vndoubtedly as you are bounde to looke for, praying for it, ſo hee hath bounde him ſelfe by his promiſe to geue it: the which thing he graunt vnto vs both, & to all his people, for his names ſake, through Chriſt our Lord. Amē.

John Bradford.

¶To certaine godly men, whom he exhorteth to be pacient vnder the croſſe, and conſtant in the true doctrine which they had profeſſed.

A letter of exhortation of M. Bradford to certayne frendes, to be pacient vnder the croſſe.

MY dearely beloued in the Lord, as in him I wiſhe you well to fare, ſo I pray God I and you may continue in his true ſeruice, that perpetually we may enioye the ſame welfare, as here in hope, ſo in heauē in deede and eternally.

You know this worlde is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein GOD trieth his children, and therfore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, ſo I truſt you knowe not it, that is you allow it not, nor in any point will ſeeme ſo to do, although by many you be occaſioned thereto. For this hoate Sunne whiche nowe ſhyneth, burneth ſo ſore, that the corne whiche is ſowen vpon ſand and ſtony grounde, begynneth to wither: that is, many whiche before tymes were taken for harty Goſpellers, begyn now for the feare of afflictions to relent, yea to turne to theyr vomite agayne, thereby declaryng that though they goe from amongeſt vs, yet were they neuer of vs: for elles they would haue ſtill taryed with vs, and neither for gayne nor loſſe, haue left vs either in woorde or deede. As for their hart (which vndoubtedly is double, and therfore in daunger to Gods curſe) we haue as much with vs, as the Papiſtes haue with them, and more too by their owne iudgemēt. For they playing wily beguile them ſelues, thinke it enough inwardly to fauour the truth, though outwardly they curry fauour. What though with my body (ſay they) I do this or that? God knoweth my hart is whole with him.

Backſlyding of Goſpellers.

Ah brother, if thy hart be whole with God, why doeſt not thou confeſſe and declare thy ſelfe accordyngly by word and fact? Either that which thou ſayeſt thou beleueſt in thy hart, is good or no. If it be good, why art thou aſhamed of it? If it be euill, why doeſt thou keepe it in thy hart? Is not God able to defend thee aduēturing thy ſelfe for his cauſe? or will he not defend his worſhippers? Doth not the Scripture ſay that the eyes of the Lord are on thē that feare him, & truſt in his mercy? And whereto? Forſoth to deliuer their ſoules frō death, and to feede thē in the time of hūger.

Miſtruſters of God.
Pſal. 33.

If this be true (as it is moſt true) why are we afrayde of death, as though GOD could not comfort or deliuer vs, or would not, contrary to his promiſe? Why are we afrayde of the loſſe of our goodes, as though God would leaue them that feare him, deſtitute of all good things, and ſo do againſt his moſt ample promiſes? Ah fayth, fayth, how fewe feele thee now a dayes? Full truely ſayd Chriſt, that hee ſhould ſcarcely finde fayth whē he came, on earth. For if men beleued theſe promiſes, they would neuer do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they diſallow. No example of men, how many ſoeuer they be, or how learned ſoeuer they be, cā preuaile in this behalfe: for the paterne which we muſt folow is Chriſt him ſelfe, and not the more company, or cuſtome. His word is the lanterne to lighten our ſteppes, & not learned men. Cōpany and cuſtome are to be cōſidered according to the thyng they allow. Learned men are to be liſtened to and followed accordyng to Gods lore and law, for els the more part goeth to the deuill. As cuſtome cauſeth errour & blindnes, ſo learnyng, if it bee not accordyng to the light of Gods word, is poyſon, and learned men moſt pernicious. The Deuill is called Dæmon for his cunnyng, and the childrē of this world are much wiſer then the childrē of light in their generation: and I knowe the Deuill and his dearelynges haue alwayes for the moſt part, more helpes in this life then Chriſtes Church and her children. They (the deuill and his Sinagoge I meane) haue cuſtome, multitude, vnitie, antiquitie, learnyng, power, riches, honour, dignitie, and promotions plenty, as alwayes they haue had, and ſhall haue commonly and for the moſt part, vntill Chriſtes commyng, much more then the true Church hath preſently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter ſhall haue. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here: her triall, croſſe, and warrefare is here.

Luke 18.
Lacke of fayth.

Pſal. 119.

Learning to be followed, ſo farre as it concurreth with gods word.

Luke. 16.

The Sinagoge of the deuill more furniſhed with worldly helpes then the church of Chriſt.

And therfore (my deare hartes in the Lorde) conſider theſe thinges accordyngly. Cōſider what you be, not worldlynges, but Gods children. Conſider where you bee, not at home, but in a ſtrange Countrey. Conſider among whō ye are conuerſant, euen in the middeſt of your enemies, and of a wicked generatiō, & thē I truſt you wil not much muſe at affliction. Whiche you can not be wythout, beyng as you be, Gods children, in a ſtrange Countrey, and in the middeſt of your enemyes, except you woulde leaue your captaine Chriſt, and followe Sathan for the mucke of this mould, reſt and quietnes, whiche hee maye promiſe you, and you in deede thinke you ſhall receaue it by doyng as he woulde haue you to doe, (my ſweete hartes) hee is not able to pay that he promiſeth. Peace and warre come from God, riches and pouertye, wealth and woe. The Deuill hath no power but by Gods permiſſion. If then God permit hym a little on your goodes, body, or lyfe, I praye you tell mee, what can much hurt you (as Peter ſayth) you beyng followers of Godlines? thinke you that God will not remember you in his tyme, as moſt ſhall bee to your comfort? Can a woman forget the childe of her wombe? And if ſhe ſhould, yet will not I forget the (ſayth the Lorde.) Looke vpon Abraham in his exile and miſery, looke vppon Iacob, Ioſeph, Moſes, Dauid, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and all the godly frō the beginning: and my good brethren, is not god the ſame god? Is he a chaungeling? You haue heard of the paciēce of Iob, (ſayth S. Iames) & you haue ſeene the end how that god is merciful, paciēt & lōg ſuffering: euen ſo ſay I vnto you that you ſhal find accordingly, if ſo be you be paciēt that is if ſo be you feare him, ſet his word before you, ſerue him therafter, & if he lay his croſſe on you, you beare it with paciēce: the which you ſhal do, whē you cōſider it not according to the preſēt ſēſe, but according to the end. Heb. 12. 2. Corin. 4.

What we be.
Where we be.
Amongeſt whom we be.

Affliction in ſtrange ſtrange thing amongeſt Gods children.

1. Pet. 3.

Eſay 49.

Examples of Patriarches and Prophets afflicted in this world.

Iacob. 5.

Therfore I hartely beſech you, & out of my bonds which I ſuffer for your ſake, pray you (mine own ſweet harts in the lord) that you wold cleaue in hart & hūble obediēce to the doctrine taught you by me, & many other my brethrē. For we haue taught you no fables nor tales of mē, or our owne phantaſies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our liues (God ſo inhabling vs, as we truſt he will) to confirme, and by the ſhedyng of our bloudes in all pacience and humble obedience to the ſuperior powers, to teſtifie & ſeale vp, as well that you might bee more certaine of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confeſſe the ſame before this wicked world, knowing that if we cōfes Chriſt & his truth before mē, he will cōfeſſe vs before his father in heauē: if ſo be we be aſhamed hereof for loſſe of life, frēdes or goodes, hee will be aſhamed of vs before his father, and his holy Angels in heauen.

Therfore take hede, for the Lordes ſake take hede, take hede, and defile not your bodies or ſoules with this Romiſh and Antichriſtian Religion ſet vp amongeſt vs agayne: but come away, come away, as the Angell cryeth, frō amongeſt thē in their Idolatrous ſeruice, leſt you be partakers of theyr iniquity. Harken to your preachers as the Theſſalonians did to Paule: that is, conferre theyr ſayinges with the ſcriptures and if they foūd not thereafter, the morning light ſhal not ſhyne vpon them.

He exhorteth to come frō the Maſſe.

Apoca. 18.

Vſe much and harty prayer for the ſpirite of wiſedome, knowledge, humblenes, meekenes, ſobryety, and repentance: which we haue great neede of, becauſe our ſinnes haue thus prouoked the Lordes anger againſt vs: but let vs beare hys anger, and acknowledge our faultes with bitter teares, and ſorowfull ſighes, & doubtles he will bee mercifull to vs after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchſafe to do for his holy names ſake, in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, to whome with the father and the holy ghoſt, bee all honour, glorye, prayſe, and euerlaſting thankes from this time foorth for euer more, Amen.

Eſay. 8.

Out of priſon by yours in
the Lorde to commaunde,
Iohn Bradford.

¶A letter to Maiſter George Eaton.

A letter of M. Bradford to M. George Eaton.

ALmighty God our heauenly Father, recompence aboundauntly into your boſome (my dearely beloued) here and eternally, the good whiche from hym by you I haue continually receaued ſithen my commyng into priſon. Otherwiſe can I neuer bee able to requite your louyng kyndenes here then by praying for you, and after this life, by witneſſyng your fayth declared to mee by your fruites, when wee ſhall come and appeare together before the throne of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whether (I thanke God) I am euen nowe a goyng, euer lokyng when officers will come, and ſatiſfie the precept of ÿ Prelates, whereof though I can not complayne, becauſe I haue iuſtly deſerued an hundreth thouſãd deathes at Gods handes by reaſon of my ſinnes, yet I may and muſt reioyſe, becauſe the Prelates doe not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but Chriſt Ieſus and his veritie: ſo that they perſecute not me, they hate not me, but they perſecute Chriſt, they hate Chriſt.

The prelates perſecute and hate the Martyrs, not for their iniquities, but for hatred of Chriſt and of his veritye in them.

And becauſe they can doe hym no hurt (for he ſitteth in heauen, and laugheth them and their deuiſes to ſcorne, as one day they ſhall feele, therefore they turne their rage vppon his poore ſheepe, as Herode their father dyd vppon the infantes. Math. 2. Great cauſe therefore haue I to reioyſe, that my deare Sauiour Chriſt will vouchſafe amongeſt many, to chuſe me to be a veſſell of grace to ſuffer in me (which haue deſerued ſo often and iuſtly to ſuffer for my ſinnes) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall bee a veſſell of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore (my right deare brother in the Lord) reioyſe with me, geue thankes for me, and ceaſe not to pray, that God for his mercyes ſake would make perfect the good hee hath begon in me. And as for the doctrine whiche I haue profeſſed and preached, I do confeſſe vnto you in writyng, as to the whole world I ſhortly ſhall by Gods grace in ſufferyng, that it is yͤ very true doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, of his Church, of his Prophetes, Apoſtles & all good men: ſo that if an Aungell ſhould come from heauen and preache otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

Iohn Bradford geueth teſtimony of his doctrine.

Therefore wauer not (deare hart in the Lord) but bee confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God ſo will, confeſſe it, though it be perillous ſo to do. The ende ſhall euidently ſhewe an other manner of pleaſure for ſo doyng, then toung can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watche therein. Uſe reuerent readyng of Gods worde. Set the ſhortneſſe of this tyme before your eyes, and let not the eternitie that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in doyng that you learne, be readyng and hearyng. Decline from euill, and purſue good. Remember they that be in bondes, eſpecially for the Lordes cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow heyres of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Syon, & the oppreſſion of Ieruſalem: and GOD our Father ſhall geue you his continuall bleſſyng, through Chriſt our Lord, who guide vs as his deare children for euer, Amen. And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you (deare brother) for euer in this preſent life, till we ſhall meete in eternall bliſſe: whether our good God and Father bryng vs ſhortly, Amen. God bleſſed all your babes for euer, Amen. Out of priſon this viij. of February.

Your afflicted brother for the
Lordes cauſe.
Iohn Bradford.

¶An other Letter to Miſtres Anne Warcop.

An other letter to Miſtres Anne Warcop.

ALmighty God our heauenly father for his Chriſtes ſake, encreaſe in vs fayth, by whiche we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in heauen, for all them that beleue with the hart, and confeſſe Chriſt and his truth with the mouth. Amen.

My dearely beloued, I remember that once heretofore I wrote vnto you a Vale or a farewell vppon coniecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this lyfe in deede, vppon certaine knowledge. My ſtaffe ſtãdeth at the doore: I continually looke for the Shiriffe to come for me, and I thanke God, I am ready for him. Now go I to practiſe that which I haue preached. Now am I climyng vp the hill: it will cauſe me to puffe and blow before I come to the cliffe. The hill is ſteepe & high: my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrẽgth is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I haue now thorough his goodnes, euen almoſt come to the toppe, I may by his grace, be ſtrẽgthned, not to reſt til I come wher I ſhould be. Oh louyng Lord, put out thy hãd, & draw me vnto thee: for no man commeth, but he whom the father draweth. See (my dearely beloued) Gods louyng mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath and great weakenes. As he ſent for Helias in a fiery chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire, my droſſe muſt be purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. Oh vnthãkfull wretch that I am: Lord do thou forgeue me myne vnthãkfulnes. In dede I cõfeſſe (right deare to me in the Lord) that my ſinnes haue deſerued hell fire: much more, then, this fire. But loe, ſo louyng is my Lord, that he cõuerteth the remedy for my ſinnes, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſiõs, into a teſtimoniall of his truth, and a teſtificatiõ of his veritie, whiche the Prelates do perſecute in me, and not my ſinnes: therfore they perſecute not me but Chriſt in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part vnto the very end, Amen.

God turneth the deſerued death of his to a glorious teſtimoniall of his truth.

Oh that I had ſo open an hart, as could ſo receiue as I ſhould doe, this great benefite and vnſpeakeable dignitie, which God my father offereth to me. Now pray for me, my dearely beloued: pray for me that I neuer ſhrinke. I ſhall neuer ſhrinke I hope. I truſt in the Lord, I ſhall neuer ſhrinke: for he that alwayes hath taken my parte, I am aſſured will not leaue me when I haue moſt neede, for hys truth and mercyes ſake. Oh Lord helpe me: into thy handes I cõmend me wholy. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do vnto me. Amen. My dearely beloued, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if ſo God call you. Be not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, but keepe company with him ſtill. Hee will neuer leaue you: but in the middeſt of temptation will geue you an outſcape, to make you able to beare the brunt. Vſe harty prayer: reuerently read and heare Gods word: put it in practiſe: looke for the croſſe: lift vp your heades, for your redemption draweth nigh: know that the death of Gods Saintes is precious in his ſight: be mery in the Lord: pray for the mitigation of Gods heauy diſpleaſure vppon our countrey. God keepe vs for euer: God bleſſe vs with his ſpirituall bleſſynges in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewell for euer in this preſent lyfe. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods ſake, pray for me. God make perfect his good worke begun in me, Amen. Out of priſon this vij. of February.

Yours in the Lord,
Iohn Bradford.

In the ſtory of M. Bradford it was aboue rehearſed, pag. 1539. how a certaine Gentlewoman beyng in trouble by her father and mother, for not commyng to Maſſe, ſent her ſeruaunt to viſite M. Bradford in priſon. Who tenderyng the wofull caſe of the Gentlewomã, to the entent partly to confirme her with counſell, partly to releeue her oppreſſed mynde with ſome comfort, directed this Letter vnto her: the contentes whereof are theſe.

Read before pag. 1539.

¶To a certeine godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her frendes, for not commyng to the Maſſe.

An other letter of M. Bradford to a godly gẽtlewoman.

Rom. 1.

I Wiſh vnto you right worſhypfull, and my dearely beloued ſiſter in the Lord, as to my ſelfe, the continuall grace and comfort of Chriſt and of his holy worde through the operation of the holy ſpirite, who ſtrengthen your inwarde man with the ſtrength of God, that you may continue to the end, in the faythfull obedience of Gods Goſpell whereunto you are called, Amen.

I perceaued by your ſelfe the laſt day when you were with me, how that you are in the Scholehouſe, and triall parlour of the Lord, whiche to me is (at the leaſt it ſhould be) a great comfort, to ſee the number of Gods elect by you encreaſed, which is in that ſtate whereof God hath not called many, as Paule ſayth. And as it is a comfort to me, ſo ſhould it be a confirmation vnto me, that the Lord for hys faythfulnes ſake, will make perfect and finiſhe the good he hath begon in you to the end.

1. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 1. and 10.

The croſſe a token of Gods election.

If then your croſſe bee to me a comfort as token of your election, and a confirmation of Gods continuall fauour (my dearely beloued): howe much more ought it to be ſo vnto you? Unto whom he hath not onely geuen to beleue, but alſo to come into the trace of ſufferyng for his ſake, and that not commonly of common enemyes, but euen of your owne father, mother, and all your frendes, I meane kynſfolkes as you tolde me. By whiche I ſee Chriſtes wordes to be true: how that hee came to geue his children ſuch a peace with hym, as the Deuill might not, nor may abyde, and therfore ſtyrreth vp father and mother, ſiſter and brother, rather then it ſhould continue. But (my deare Siſter) if you cry with Dauid to the Lord, and complayne to him: how that for conſcience to him, your father and mother haue forſaken you, you ſhall heare him ſpeake in your harte, that hee hath receaued you, and by this would haue you to ſee, howe that hee maketh you here lyke to Chriſte, that els where in heauen you mought bee lyke vnto hym, whereof you ought to bee moſt aſſured, knowyng that in tyme, euen when Chriſte ſhall appeare, you ſhall bee lyke vnto hym. For hee will make your body whiche nowe you defile not with Idolatricall ſeruice in goyng to Maſſe, lyke vnto his owne glorious and immortall body, accordyng to the power whereby hee is able to doe all thynges. Hee will confeſſe you before hys Father, whiche doe not denye hys veritie in worde nor deede before your father: hee will make you to raigne with hym, that now ſuffer for him and with him: he will reward you with him ſelfe and all the glory he hath, that now for his ſake deny your ſelfe with all that euer you haue: he will not leaue you comfortleſſe, that ſeeke no comfort but at his hand: though for a little tyme you bee afflicted, yet therein will hee comfort and ſtrength you, and at the length make you to bee mery with him, in ſuch ioye as is infinite and endleſſe. He will wype all the teares from your eyes: hee will embrace you, as your deare huſbande: he will after he hath proued you, crowne you with a crowne

Math. 10.

Sathan euer ſeeketh to diſturbe the peace of Chriſt.

Pſal. 12.

Rom. 8.

1. Iohn 3.
Phil. 3.
Math. 10.
Mar. 8.
2. Tim. 2.

of glory and immortalitie, ſuch as the hart of man ſhall neuer bee able to conceaue in ſuch ſorte as the thyng is. Hee now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtnes, and ſtriuyng to do his good will: and ſhortly will he ſhewe you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you haue fully reſigned it to his will.

Communicating with Chriſt in ſuffering.

Pledge hym in his cuppe of the Croſſe, and you ſhall pledge him in the cuppe of his glorye. Deſire to drinke it before it come to the dregges, whereof the wicked ſhall drinke, and all thoſe that for feare of the croſſe and pledgyng the Lorde, doe walke with the wicked in betraying in fact and deede, that whiche their hart embraceth for veritie. The whiche thyng if you ſhould do (whiche GOD forbyd) then my deare Miſtres and Siſter in the Lorde, you ſhould not onely loſe all that I haue before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternall ioye and glory: but alſo bee a caſt awaye, and partaker of Gods moſt heauy diſpleaſure in hell fire eternally: and ſo for a little eaſe, whiche you can not tell howe long it will laſt, to loſe for euer and euer, all eaſe & comfort. For he that gathereth not with me ſayth Chriſt (as no Maſſe Goſpeller doth) ſcattereth abroade. According to that we doe in this body, we ſhall receaue, be it good or bad. If of our wordes we ſhall bee iudged to condemnation or ſaluation: much more then of our factes and deedes. You can not be partaker of Gods Religion and Antichriſtes ſeruice, whereof the Maſſe is moſt principall. You can not be a member of Chriſtes Church, and a member of the Popes Churche. You muſt glorifie GOD not onely in ſoule and hart: but alſo in body and deede. You may not thinke that GOD requireth leſſe of you his wife now, then your huſband dyd of you. If both hart and body your huſband would haue, ſhall Chriſte haue leſſe (trow you) which hath ſo bitterly and dearely bought it? If your huſband could not admitte an excuſe how your hart is his onely if he ſhould haue taken your body in bed with an other: doe you thinke that Chriſt will allow your body at Maſſe, although your hart conſent not to it?

Luke. 16.

2. Cor. 5.
Math. 12.
1. Cor. 10.

The Maſſe is the principall ſeruice of Antichriſt.
1. Cor. 6.

Pſal. 125.

God eſteemeth his children, not onely of their hartes, but of their pure handes and workes, and therefore in Helyas tyme, he counted none to be his ſeruauntes and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to Baall: as now he doth not in England accompt any other to bee his dearelynges, whiche know the truth in hart, and deny it in their deedes, as do our Maſſe Goſpellers.

3. Reg. 19.
Agaynſt Maſſe Goſpellers which know the truth in their hart, and deny it their deedes.

We ought to deſire aboue all thynges, the ſanctifying of Gods holy name, and the commyng of hys kyngdome, and ſhall we then ſee his name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at Maſſe, by makyng it a ſacrifice propitiatory, and ſettyng forth a falſe Chriſt of the Prieſtes and bakers makyng, to be worſhypped as GOD, and ſay nothyng? The Iewes rent their clothes a ſunder in ſeyng or hearyng any thyng blaſphemouſly done or ſpoken agaynſt God, and ſhall we yet come to Churche where Maſſe is, and bee mute? Paule and Barnabas rent their clothes to ſee the people of Lycaonia to offer ſacrifice vnto them, and ſhal we ſee ſacrifice and Gods ſeruice done to an inanimate creature and be mumme? What thyng helpeth more, or ſo much Antichriſtes kyngdome as doth the Maſſe? And what deſtroyeth preachyng, and the kyngdome of Chriſt vpon earth more then it doth? And how can we then ſay: Let thy kyngdome come, and go to Maſſe? How can we pray before God: Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our owne will, and the will of our father or frendes? Howe pray we: Deliuer vs from euill: whiche knowyng the Maſſe to bee euill, doe come to it?

A falſe Chriſt of the prieſt and the bakers makyng.

The Maſſe deſtroyeth preachyng and the kyngdome of Chriſt.

But what goe I aboute to light a candle in the noone day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Maſſe, or to the congregation where it is, except it bee to reproue it, in that all men in ſo doyng, do but diſſemble both with GOD and man? And is diſſemblyng now to be allowed? How lōg will men yet halt on both knees (ſayth GOD)? Haltyng (ſayth Paule) bryngeth out of the way, that is to ſay, out of Chriſt, which is the way: ſo that he which is not in him, ſhall wither away, and be caſt into hell fire. For Chriſt will be aſhamed of them before his father, whiche be now aſhamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

He diſſuadeth her from the Maſſe.

Therefore my good Miſtres, take good heede: for it had bene better for you neuer to haue knowne the truth, and there through to haue eſcaped from Papiſticall vncleanes, then now to returne to it, makyng eftſoones your members, beyng members of righteouſneſſe, members of vnrighteouſneſſe, as you doe, if you do but go to the Churche where Maſſe is. Be pure therefore, and keepe your ſelfe from all filth of the ſpirite, and of the fleſh. Abſtayne not onely frō all euill, but from all appearaunce of euill.

And ſo the GOD of peace ſhall be with you, the glory of GOD ſhall gouerne you, the ſpirite of God ſhall ſanctifie you and bee with you for euer, to keepe you from all euill, and to comforte you in all your diſtreſſe and trouble, which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternitie you ſhall enioy in glory and felicitie in the Lord: whiche vndoubtedly you ſhall not fayle but inherite for euer, if ſo bee you, as the electe childe of GOD, put your truſt in his mercye, call vpon his name vnfaynedly, and yelde not ouer to the wicked worlde, but ſticke ſtill agaynſt it vnto the ende. GOD for his holy names ſake, whiche is properly the GOD of the widdowes, be your good and deare father for euer, and helpe you alwayes, as I my ſelfe would be holpen at his handes in all thynges, and eſpecially in this his owne cauſe, Amen. Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To one by whom he had receiued much comfort and reliefe in his trouble and impriſonment.

A letter of thankes to a good benefactor of hys.

THe mercy of GOD in Chriſt peculiar to his children, be encreaſinge felt of you, my dearely beloued in the Lord. Amen.

When I conſider with my ſelfe the benefites whiche GOD hath ſhewed vnto me by your meanes, if I had ſo good and thankefull a hart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes geue hym thankes: for certainly they are very many and great. And now beyng yet ſtill the Lordes priſoner, I receiue from him moe benefites by you. For the whiche I thinke my ſelfe ſo much bounde to you, my good brother (although you were but the inſtrument by whom GOD wrought and bleſſed me) that I looke not to come out of your det by any pleaſure or ſeruice that I ſhall euer be able to do you in this lyfe. I ſhall hartely pray vnto God therefore to requite you the good you haue done to me for his ſake: for I know, that which you haue done, you haue done it ſimply in reſpect of God and his word. He therfore geue you dayly more and more to be confirmed in his truth and worde, and ſo plentyfully poure vpon you the riches of his holy ſpirite and heauenly treaſures layde vp in ſtore for you, that your corporall and earthly riches may be vſed of you as Sacramentes and ſignifications thereof: the more to deſire the one, that is, the heauenly, and the leſſe to eſteeme the other, that is, the earthly. For Sathans ſollicitation is ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you ſhould not haue acceſſe to the conſideration of the heauenly, but as one bewitched ſhould vtterly forget them, and altogether become a louer and worſhypper of the earthly Mammon, and ſo to fall to couetouſnes, and a deſire to be rich, by that meanes to bryng you into many noyſome and hurtfull luſtes: as now a dayes I heare of many which haue vtterly forſaken God and all his heauenly riches: for Antichriſtes pleaſure, and the preſeruyng of their worldly pelfe, whiche they imagine to leaue to their poſteritie: whereas they are vncertaine, as they may bee moſt certaine they leaue to them Gods wrath and vengeaunce, in his tyme to be ſent by viſitation, if they in tyme hartely repent not, and preuent not the ſame by earneſt prayer. Wherein my good brother, if you be diligent, harty, and perſeuere, I aſſure GOD will preſerue you from euill, and from yeldyng your ſelfe to doe as the worlde now doth, by allowyng in bodyly facte in the Romiſhe ſeruice, that whiche the inwarde cogitation and mynde doth diſalow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into conſideration of earthly and preſent thynges ſimply, then ſhall you fall into faythleſſe follyes and woundyng of your conſcience: from whiche God euermore preſerue you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard and all your familie, to the which I wiſh the bleſſyng of God now and for euer, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

Chriſt forſaken of many for the preſeruing of worldly pelfe.

I pray you geue thankes for me to your old bedfellowe for his great frendſhyp for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower.

Iohn Bradford.

¶ To a faithfull frende of his, and his wife, reſoluyng their doubt why they ought not to come to auricular confeſſion.

An other letter of M. Bradford, diſprouing auricular confeſſion.

THe mercyfull GOD, and father of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, whiche loueth vs as a moſt deare father, and hath put vpon him towardes vs the affection of a moſt tender mother towardes her children, ſo that hee can no leſſe thinke vpon vs (although of our ſelues we be moſt vnworthy, and deſerue nothyng leſſe) then ſhe can thinke on her onely begotten childe in his diſtreſſe, yea if ſhe ſhould forget her childe, as ſome vnnaturall mother will doe, yet will he neuer forget vs, although for a tyme he ſeeme to ſleepe that we might be occaſioned to call loude and awake hym: this good God keepe you, my deare brother * Nathanaell, and your good yokefellow, my hartely beloued ſiſter in the

* Note that this Nathanael was not his proper name, but was ſo called for his vnfayned ſimplicitie and truth.

Lord, in all thynges now and for euer, to his glory and your eternall comfort: and alſo of his goodnes he graũt you both the feelyng of that hope, which vndoutedly he hath layde vp in ſtore for you both, farre paſſyng the ſtore and prouiſion, not onely which you haue made, but all the world is able to make, as I truſt already hee hath wrought it in you, but I beſeech him to encreaſe it more and more, and kindle in you a hartye longyng for the enioying of the ſame: the whiche once felt and had in deede, then the meanes by the which we come thereto, can not be ſo greatly dread, as moſt men do dread them, becauſe either they want this feelyng (I meane it of altogether) or els becauſe the ſẽſe of this preſent tyme and thynges therein, are as a miſt to the hidyng of thoſe thynges from our ſight, leaſt we ſhould runne and embrace them by harty Prayer: the ſpirite whereof GOD graunt vs, and in deede we ſhould attayne enough in this behalfe, if we continued therein.

For auricular confeſſion, wherein you deſire my aduiſe for your good yokefellow & family (my moſt deare brother) I am as ready to geue it, as you to deſire it, yea more glad, for as much as halfe a ſuſpition was in me (at the leaſt touchyng my deare ſiſter your wife) of a lothyng of my aduiſe, that to much had bene geuẽ, where in deede I ſhould lamẽt my to little feedyng you ſpiritually, as both you out of priſon and in priſon haue fed me corporally. But as I alwayes thought of her, ſo I yet thinke, that ſhe is the child of God, whõ God dearely loueth, & will in his good tyme, to her eternall cõfort, geue her her hartes deſire in ſure feelyng and ſenſible beleuyng of this, whiche I would ſhe had often in her mynde: namely that he is her God and father thorough Chriſt Ieſus our deare Lord & Sauiour. A greater ſeruice to God ſhe cã not geue then to beleue this. If Sathã ſay ſhe beleueth not, to aũſwere not him but the Lord, and to ſay, yea Lord helpe my vnbeliefe, & encreaſe my poore fayth, which Sathã ſayth is no fayth: make him a lyer Lord, as alwayes he hath bene, is, & ſhall be. Vndoubtedly ſooner or later God will graciouſly here her grones, & keepe all her teares in his bottel, yea write them in his coũtyng booke: for he is a righteous God, & hath no pleaſure in the death of his creature: he loueth mercy, he will returne and ſhew her his mercy: he will caſt all her ſinnes & iniquities into the bottome of the ſea: and the lõger that he tarieth (as he doth it but to proue her) ſo the more liberally wil he recõpẽce her lõg lookyng, which no leſſe pleaſeth him, then it greueth now her outward Adã. For the mortificatiõ wherof, God vſeth this cros & therfore if ſhe deſire to beare the ſame, doubtles god will make her able to beare it: & in preſumptiõ of his goodnes & ſtrẽgth let her caſt her ſelfe wholy vpõ him: for he is faythfull, and will aſſuredly confirme, and bryng to a happy ende that good whiche graciouſly hee hath begon in her. The whiche thyng I deſire him to doe for his owne glory and names ſake, Amen. Amen.

What to do if Sathan charge our conſcience with vnbeliefe.

The Lord the longer he taryeth, the more liberally he recompenſeth at his coming.

Confeſſion auricular to what end it was firſt inſtituted.

And now to the matter. Confeſſion auricular, as it was firſt vſed and inſtituted (which was by the way of counſell aſkyng) I take to be amongeſt thoſe traditions whiche are indifferent, that is, neither vnlawfull, nor neceſſarily bindyng vs, except the offence of the weake could not bee auoyded. But to conſider it, as it is now vſed (I write to you but as I thinke and what my mynde is, the which follow no further, then good men by Gods worde doe allowe it) to conſider it I ſay, as it is now vſed, me thynkes it is playnely vnlawfull and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Auricular confeſſion, as it is now abuſed, is to be reiected, as vnlawfull and wicked for 8. cauſes.

Firſt, becauſe they make it a ſeruice of God, and a thyng whiche pleaſeth God of it ſelfe, I will not ſay meritorious, this bringer my brother can tell you at large how great an euill this is.

Secondly, becauſe they make it of neceſſitie, ſo that he or ſhe that vſeth it not, is not taken for a good Chriſtian.

Enumeration of ſinnes impoſsible.

Thirdly, becauſe it requireth of it ſelfe an impoſſibilitie, that is, the numbryng and tellyng of all our ſinnes, whiche no man perceaueth, much leſſe can vtter.

Fourthly, becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at the leaſt alloweth praying to Saintes: Precor Sanctam Mariam: you muſt ſay or the Prieſt for you.

Confeſſion preiudiciall to Chriſtian libertye.

Fifthly, becauſe it is very iniurious to the libertie of the Goſpell, the which to affirme in example and fact, I take to be a good worke, and deare in Gods ſight.

Confeſſion a marke of the Popes Church.

Sixtly, becauſe (as it is vſed) it is a note, yea a very ſinow of the Popiſh Church: and therfore we ſhould be ſo farre from allowyng the ſame, that we ſhould thinke our ſelues happy to loſe any thing in bearyng witnes there agaynſt.

Confeſſion in ſtead of counſell, geueth poyſon.

Seuenthly, becauſe in ſtead of coũſell, thereat you ſhould receaue poyſon, or if you refuſe it vnder ſir Iohns Benedicite, you ſhould no leſſe there be wound in the briers.

Eightly, becauſe the end & purpoſe why we go thether, is for the auoyding of the croſſe, that is, for our own cauſe, & not for Chriſtes cauſe, or for our brethrẽs cõmoditie. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thyng, & a worſhyppyng of God, it can not but bee agaynſt Chriſt, and the freedome of his Goſpell: and the ſame thing teacheth vs, that it is againſt the commodity of our brethren, which eyther be weake, either be ſtrong, eyther be ignoraunt, eyther bee obſtinate. If they bee weake, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weake. If they be ſtrõg, you do what you can to infirme their ſtrength. If they be ignoraunt, therin you helpe to kepe thẽ by your fact. If they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it can not but rocke them a ſlepe in their obſtinate error of the neceſſitye of this rite and ceremoney. These cauſes recited doe ſhewe you what I thinke in this: but my thinking muſt noe further bynde you then a mans thought ſhould do, except the ſame be grounded vppon gods word whiche bindeth in deede, as I thinke they do. I doubt not but you waying theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt & the laſt, if you pray to God for his ſpirite to direct you: and therto aſke the aduiſe of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I ſay) but you ſhoulde bee guided to do that whiche is beſt in Gods ſight, although in the ſight of the worlde perhaps you ſhould be counted foliſhe and preciſe. But be at a point with your ſelues, as the diſciples of Chriſt, whiche had forſaken them ſelues, to followe not your will, but Gods will, as you dayly pray in the Lordes prayer.

4. Croſſes, wherof 3. bringeth to hell.

Why the more part go that way that leadeth to perdition.

The croſſe of Chriſt be willyng to cary, leſt you cary the croſſe of the world, the fleſhe or the deuill. One of theſe .4. croſſes you muſt cary. Three of them bryngeth to hell, and therfore the more part goeth that way, whiche is a broad way. Onely the foorth bringeth to heauen, but fewe go that way, aſwell becauſe the waye is ſtrayt, as alſo becauſe fewe walke in it. Howbeit, though it be ſtrayt, it is but ſhort, and the fewe are many, if you conſider the godly, as the patriarkes, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Cõfeſſors, & Chriſt Ieſus, with all his Gard and traine. Thynke not ſcorne to come after them which are gone before you, and after them whiche nowe goe before you, in whoſe number I truſt I am appointed to bee one, and I beſech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honor. Our ſinnes deſerue plagues, priſõ, & the loſſe of all that euer wee haue: therfore if god remoue our ſinnes out of ſight, & ſẽd vs priſõ, or loſſe of goodes & liuing for his names ſake, oh how happy are we? My deare harts in the Lord, cõſider this geare & be aſſured that he whiche loſeth anye thing for Chriſtes ſake, the ſame in his poſterity ſhall find it here, & in heauen elſwhere. As for vnablenes to aunſwere for your fayth: it ſhal be enough to will them to diſpute with your teachers, Fayth ſtãdeth not in diſputing. I thinke few, if it came to diſputing, coulde defẽd the godhead of Chriſt & many other articles: I ſpeake it for the ſimple ſort. Pray for me. Lacke of paper maketh thys ende. Cõmẽd me to my good brother R. B. and my good ſiſter his wife: I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this bearer to heare how you do. Iohn Bradford.

¶ An other letter to N. and his wife.

An other letter of M. Bradford to a deare frend and his wyfe.

GOds mercy in Chriſt I wiſhe you to feele, my dere brother, with my faythfull ſiſter your wife: nowe and for euer. Amen.

Hauyng this occaſion, I could not but wryte ſomthing, as well to put my ſelfe in remembraunce of my duty to godwardes for you both, in thankefulnes and prayer, as to put you in remẽbrance of me & your dutye towardes god for me, in praying for me: for I dare not ſay in thankfulnes for me: not ẏ I woulde haue you to geue no thãkes to God for hys wonderfull great & ſweete mercyes towardes me, & vpon me in Chriſt his ſonne: but becauſe I haue not deſerued it at eyther of your handes. For ye both know right well, at leaſt my conſcience doth accuſe me, howe that I haue not onelye not exhorted & taught you, (as both my vocation & your deſertes required) to walke worthy of that vocation whiche God hath made you worthy of, & with trembling & feare to worke out your ſaluatiõ, that is, in the feare of God to geue your ſelues, to great vigilancy in prayer for the encreaſe of fayth, and to a warye circumſpection in al your conuerſation, not onely in workes & wordes, but alſo in thoughtes, becauſe God is a ſercher of the hart, and out of the hart it commeth that defileth vs in Gods ſight: I haue (I ſay) not onelye not done this, but alſo haue geuẽ you example of negligence in prayer, watching, faſting, talking and doyng, ſo that woe to mee for geuyng ſuch offence. Partly for this cauſe deare brother & ſiſter, God hath caſt me and keepeth me here that I might repent me and turne to him, and that ye might alſo by this correction vpon me, be more diligent to redreſſe theſe thinges and others, if they in your conſcience do accuſe you.

Antichriſt reigning in England.

My dearly beloued, heuy is Gods anger fallen vpon vs all: doutleſſe to this day. Now hath Antichriſt all his power agayne. Now is Chriſtes goſpell troden vnder foote. Now is Gods people in deriſion and pray for the wicked. Nowe is the greateſt plague of all plagues fallen, the famin of Gods

M. Bradford confeſſing him ſelfe to the Lord.

worſe all theſe we haue, yea I alone haue iuſtly deſerued. Oh that as I write (I alone) I could with Dauid, 1. Par. 21. and w Ionas in hart ſay ſo. But I do not, I do not I ſee not how greuouſly I haue ſinned, & how great a miſery is fallen for myne vnthankefulnes for Gods word, for myne hypocriſie in profeſſing, preachyng, hearyng, and ſpeakyng of Gods word, for my not prayinge to God for the continuance of it, for my not lyuing of it thoroughly as it requireth. &c. I will ſpeake nothyng of my manifeſt euilles, for they are knowen to you well enough.

He exhorteth them by his confeſſion to doe the lyke.

Deare brother and ſiſter, with me ſay ye the lyke for your owne partes, and with me ioyne your hartes, and let vs go to our heauenly father, and for his Chriſtes ſake beſeeche him to be mercyfull vnto vs, and to pardon vs: Oh good father it is we that haue deſerued the takyng away of thy worde, it is we that haue deſerued theſe thy iuſt plagues fallen vppon vs, we haue done amyſſe, we haue dealt vniuſtly with thy Goſpell, we haue procured thy wrath, and therfore iuſt art thou in puniſhyng vs, iuſt art thou in plaguyng vs, for we are very miſerable. But good Lord and deare Father of mercy, whoſe iuſtice is ſuch, that thou wilt not puniſh the poore ſoules of this Realme, which yet haue not thus ſinned agaynſt thee, as we haue done (for many yet neuer heard thy word) for our treſpaſſes, and whoſe mercy is ſo great that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembraunce for thy Chriſtes ſake, if we repent and beleue: graunt vs we beſeech thee, true repentaunce and fayth, that we hauyng obteyned pardon for our ſinnes, may through thy Chriſt get deliueraunce from the tyranny of Antichriſt now oppreſſing vs.

His prayer to God.

Pſal. 125.

Oh good father, whiche haſt ſayd that the Scepter of the wicked ſhould not long lye vpon and ouer the iuſt, leaſt they put forth their handes to iniquitie alſo: make vs iuſt, we pray thee in Chriſtes name, and cut a ſunder the cordes of thẽ that hate Sion: let not the wicked people ſay, where is their God? Thou our God art in heauen, and doeſt what ſoeuer it pleaſeth thee vpon earth.

Oh that thou wouldeſt in the meane whiles, before thou doe deliuer vs, that (I ſay) thou wouldeſt open our eyes to ſee all theſe plagues to come from thee, and all other that ſhall come, what ſoeuer they be, publicke or priuate, that they come not by chaunce nor by fortune, but that they come euen from thy hand, and that iuſtly and mercyfully: iuſtly becauſe we haue and do deſerue them, not onely by our byrth poyſon ſtill ſtickyng and workyng in vs, but alſo by our former euill lyfe paſt, whiche by this puniſhment and all other puniſhementes thou wouldeſt haue vs to call to our remembraunce and to ſet before vs, that thou mighteſt put them from before thee, where as they ſtand ſo long as they are not in our remembraunce, to put them away by repentaunce. Mercyfully oh Lord GOD doeſt thou puniſh, in that thou doeſt not correct to kill, but to amende, that we might repent our ſinnes, aſke mercy, obtayne it freely in Chriſte, and begyn to ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake: to bee part of thy houſe, whereat thy iudgement begynneth: to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Chriſt, that we might bee partakers of the glory of the ſame: to weepe here, that we might reioyce elles where: to be iudged in this world, that we might with thy Saintes iudge here after the world: to ſuffer with Chriſt, that we might raigne with him: to be lyke to Chriſt in ſhame, that we might bee lyke to him in glory: to receiue our euils here, that we might with poore Lazarus finde reſt elles where: reſt (I ſay) and ſuch a reſt as the eye hath not ſene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man is able to conceaue.

The croſſe ſent from God, and to what end.

Oh that our eyes were open to ſee this, that the croſſe commeth from thee to declare thy iuſtice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might ſee how ſhort a tyme the tyme of ſufferyng is: how long a tyme the tyme of reioyſing is to them that ſuffer here: but to them that will not, how long and miſerable a tyme is appointed and prepared: a tyme without tyme in eternall woe and perdition, ſo horrible to bee thought vpon. From the which keepe vs deare father, and geue more ſight in ſoule to ſee this geare, and how that all thy deareſt childrẽ haue caried the croſſe of greuous affliction in this lyfe: in whoſe company be thou place vs, and ſuch a croſſe lay vppon vs as thou wilt make vs able to beare, to thy glory and our ſaluation in Chriſt, for whoſe ſake we pray thee to ſhorten the dayes of this our great miſery fallen vppon vs moſt iuſtly, and in the meane ſeaſon geue vs patience, repentaunce, fayth, and thy eternall conſolation, Amen. Amen. Amen.

And thus deare hartes I haue talked (me thinkes) a litle while with you, or rather we haue al talked with God. Oh that God would geue vs his ſpirite of grace and prayer. My dearely beloued, pray for it, as for your ſelues, ſo for me, and that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy to ſuffer with a good conſcience for his names ſake. Pray for me, and I ſhall do the like for you. This. 10. of December, by hym whome by this bringer ye ſhall learne. I pray you geue me commendations to all that loue me in the Lorde. Be mery in Chriſt, for one daye in heauen we ſhall meete and reioyſe together for euer more, Amen.

¶To my good brother Auguſtine Barneher.

This Auguſtine beyng a Dutchman, was Latimers ſeruant, and a faythfull Miniſter in the tyme of King Edward, and in Queene Maryes tyme a diligent attendant vpon the Lordes priſoners. Mich. 6.

Mine owne good Auguſtine, the Lord of mercy bleſſe the my deare brother for euer. I haue good hope that if you, come late at night, I ſhall ſpeake with you, but come as ſecretly as you can: Howbeit, in the meane ſeaſon if you can, and as you can, learne what Maiſter G. hath ſpoken to Doctor Story and others. The cauſe of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by hym. It is ſayd that I ſhal be burned in Smithfield, and that ſhortly. Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me. i. The Lordes will be done. Behold here I am Lord, ſend mee. Ah mine owne ſwete frend, I am now alone, leſt I ſhoulde make you and others worſe. If I ſhoulde liue, I woulde more warely vſe the companye of Gods children, then euer I haue done. Iram domini portabo, quoniam peccaui ei. i. I will beare the Lordes anger, becauſe I haue ſinned agaynſt him. Commend me to my moſt dere Siſter, for whom my hart bledeth, the Lord comfort her, and ſtrengthen her vnto the end. I thinke I haue taken my leaue of her for euer in this life, but in eternall life we ſhall moſt ſurely meete and prayſe the Lord continually. I haue nowe taken a more certaine aunſwere of death, then euer I dyd: and yet not ſo certaine as I thinke I ſhould do. I am nowe as a ſheepe appointed to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the houre is come, glorify thy moſt vnworthy child. I haue glorified the, ſayth this my ſweete father, and I will glorify the, Amen. Ah mine owne bowels, prayſe God for me, and pray for mee: for I am his I hope: I hope he wil neuer forſake me, though I haue aboue all other moſt deſerued it. I am the moſt ſinguler example of his mercye: praiſed be his name therefore for euer. Cauſe Miſtres Perpoint to learne of the Shrieffe Maiſter Cheſter, what they purpoſe to doe with mee, and know if you can, whether there be any writ foorth for mee. Factus ſum ſicut nicticorax in domicilio, & paſſer ſolitarius in tecto. i. I am like to an Owle in the houſe, and as a ſparrowe alone in the houſe toppe. Ah my Auguſtine, how lõg ſhall Gods enemies thus triumph? I haue ſent you thys of the Baptiſme of children to write out: when this is done, you ſhall haue other thinges. Pray, pray mine owne deare hart, on whome I am bolde. The keeper telleth mee that it is death for anye to ſpeake with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeake with you.

Pſal. 101.

John Bradford.

¶To theſe letters of Maiſter Bradford aboue ſpecified, here is alſo adioyned an other letter of the ſayde Bradford, written to certayne of his faythfull frendes, worthye of all Chriſtians to be red: wherein is deſcribed a liuely compariſon betweene the Olde man and the Newe: Alſo betweene the Law and the Goſpell, conteinyng much fruitful matter of diuinitie, neceſſarye for Chriſtian conſciences to read and vnderſtand.

¶A letter of M. Bradford, deſcribing a compariſon betwene the old man and the newe. &c.

A compariſon betwene the old man, and the new, by M. Bradford.

A Man that is regenerate and borne of God (the whiche thing that euery one of vs be, our baptiſme the Sacrament of regeneration doth require vnder payne of damnation, and therefore let euery one of vs with the virgine Mary ſay: be it vnto me O Lord, according to thy word, accordyng to thy Sacrament of baptiſme, wherin thou haſt declared our adoption: and let vs lament the doubting hereof in vs, ſtriuing agaynſt it, as we ſhall be made able of ẏ Lord): a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the olde man, and of the newe man. The olde man is like to a mighty Giant, ſuch a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect. But the newe man is like vnto a little childe, ſuch a one as was Dauid, for his birth is not perfect vntill the day of his generall reſurrection.

The old man. The new man.

Why the old man is ſtronger than the new.

The old man therefore is more ſtronger, luſty, and ſtirring then is the newe man, becauſe the birth of the newe man is but begun now, and the olde man is perfectly borne. And as the olde man is more ſtirring, luſtye and ſtronger then the newe man: ſo is the nature of him cleane contrary to the nature of the newe man, as beyng earthly and corrupt with Sathans ſeede, the nature of the newe man beyng heauenly and bleſſed with the celeſtiall ſeede of God. So that one man, in as much as hee is corrupt with the ſeede of the Serpent, is an olde man: and in as much as he is bleſſed with the ſeede of God from aboue, he is a newe man.

In what reſpect one man is both an old man, and alſo a new man. And as in as much as he is an old man, he is a ſinner and an enemy to God: ſo in as much as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a frend to God, the ſeede of God preſeruyng him from ſinne, ſo that hee cannot ſinne, as the ſeede of the Serpent, wherewith hee is corrupt euen from his conception, inclineth him, yea enforceth him to ſinne, and nothyng els but to ſinne: So that the beſt part in man before regeneration, in Gods ſight, is not onely an enemy, but enmitie it ſelfe.

How one man may be called alwayes ſinfull and alwayes iuſt.

One man therefore, whiche is regenerate, well may be called alwayes iuſt, and alwayes ſinnefull: iuſt in reſpect of Gods ſeede, and his regeneration: ſinnefull in reſpect of Sathans ſeede and his firſt byrth. Betwixt theſe two men therfore, there is continuall conflict, and warre moſt deadly. The fleſhe and old man by reaſon of his byrth that is perfect, doth often for a tyme, preuayle agaynſt the new man (beyng but a child in compariſon) and that in ſuch ſorte, as not onely other, but euen the children of GOD themſelues thinke that they be nothyng els but old, and that the ſpirite and ſeede of God is loſt and gone away: where yet notwithſtandyng, the truth is otherwiſe, the ſpirite and the ſeede of God at the length appearyng agayne, and diſpellyng away the cloudes which couer the ſonne of Gods ſeede from ſhinyng, as the cloudes in the ayre do the corporall Sunne: ſo that ſometimes a man can not tell by any ſenſe, that there is any Sunne, the cloudes and windes ſo hidyng it from our ſight: Euen ſo our cecitie or blyndnes, and corrupt affections do often ſhadowe the ſight of Gods ſeede in Gods children, as though they were playne reprobates. Whereof it commeth, that they prayyng accordyng to their ſenſe, but not accordyng to the truth, deſire of God to giue them agayne his ſpirite, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Whiche thyng God neuer doth in deede, although hee make vs to thinke ſo for a tyme: for alwayes hee holdeth his hand vnder his children in their faulles, that they lye not ſtill as other doe whiche are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt Gods children whiche are generate and elect before all tymes in Chriſt, and the wicked caſt awayes, that the elect lye not ſtill continually in their ſinne, as doe the wicked, but at the length doe returne agayne by reaſon of Gods ſeede, whiche is in them hid as a ſparcle of fire in the aſhes: as we may ſee in Peter, Dauid, Paule, Mary Magdalene, and others. For theſe (I meane Gods children) GOD hath made all thynges in Chriſt Ieſu, to whom he hath geuen this dignitie, that they ſhould be his inheritaunce and ſpouſes.

Why the old man oftentymes preuayleth agaynſt the new man.

The old man ſo mightely preuayleth ſometimes agaynſt the new in the children of God that the ſpirite and ſeede of God ſeemeth to be vtterly taken from them: whereas in deede, it is not ſo, as afterwardes to their great comfort, they finde and feele.

This our inheritour Chriſt Ieſus, God with GOD, light of light, coeternall and conſubſtantiall with the Father and with the holy Ghoſt, to the ende that hee might become our huſbande (becauſe the huſbande and the wife muſt be one body and fleſhe) hath taken our nature vpon hym, communicatyng with it and by it in his owne perſon, to vs all his children, his Diuine maieſtie (as Peter ſayth) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſhe, and bone of our bones ſubſtantially: as we are become fleſh of his fleſhe and bone of his bones ſpiritually, all that euer we haue pertainyng to him, yea euen our ſinnes: as all that euer he hath, pertaineth vnto vs, euen his whole glory. So that if Sathan ſhould ſommon vs to aunſwere for our dettes or ſinnes, in that the wife is no ſutable perſon but the huſband, we may well byd him enter his action agaynſt our huſband Chriſt, and he will make him a ſufficient aunſwere.

2. Pet. 1.

As the wyfe is no ſutable perſon, but the huſband: ſo Chriſt beyng our huſband, let him enter the Action for our dettes.

For this ende (I meane that we might be coupled and maryed thus to Chriſt, and ſo be certaine of ſaluation, and at godly peace with God in our conſciences) God hath geuen his holy worde, whiche hath two partes (as now the children of God doe conſiſte of two men): one part of Gods word beyng proper to the old man, & the other part of Gods word beyng proper to the new man. The part properly pertainyng to the old man, is the law: the part properly pertainyng to the new man, is the Goſpell.

The law pertayneth to the old man and the Goſpell to the new.

The lawe is a doctrine whiche commaundeth and forbyddeth, requiryng doyng and auoydyng. Vnder it therefore are conteyned all preceptes, threatnynges, promiſes vpon conditions of our doyng and auoydyng. &c. The Goſpell is a doctrine whiche alwayes offereth and geueth, requiryng on our behalfe, not as of worthyneſſe or as a cauſe, but as a certificate vnto vs, and therfore vnder it are conteined all the free and ſweete promiſes of God: as, I am the Lord thy God. &c.

What the law is.

What the goſpell is.

In thoſe that bee of yeares of diſcretion, it requireth fayth, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument whereby we our ſelues may be certaine of our good huſband Chriſt and of his glory: and therfore when the conſcience feeleth it ſelfe diſquieted for feare of Gods iudgement agaynſt ſinne, ſhe may in no wiſe looke vpon the doctrine pertaynyng to the olde man, but on the doctrine onely that pertayneth to the new man, in it not lookyng for that which it requireth, that is fayth, becauſe we neuer beleue as wee ſhould: but onely on it whiche it offereth, and whiche it geueth, that is, on Gods grace and eternall mercy, and peace in Chriſt. So ſhall ſhe be in quyet, when ſhe looketh for it altogether out of her ſelfe, in Gods mercy in Chriſt Ieſu: in whoſe lappe if ſhe lay her head with Saint Iohn, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall finde quietneſſe in deede. When ſhe feeleth her ſelfe quyet, then (in Gods name) let her looke on the law, and vppon ſuch thynges as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keepe downe the olde Adam, to ſlay that Goliath: from whom ſhe muſt needes keepe the ſweete promiſes, beyng the bed wherein her ſpouſe and ſhe meete and lye together. For as the wife will keepe her bed onely for her huſband, although in other thynges ſhe is contented to haue felowſhyppe with others, as to ſpeake, ſitte, eate, drinke, goe, &c. ſo our conſciences, whiche are Chriſtes wiues, muſt needes keepe the bed, that is, Gods ſweete promiſes, alonely for our ſelues and our huſband, there to meete together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be ioyfull together. If ſinne, the law, the Deuill, or any thyng would creepe into the bed and lye there, then complayne to thy huſbande Chriſte, and forthwith thou ſhalt ſee hym play Phinees part. Thus my dearely beloued, I haue geuen you in fewe wordes, a ſumme of all the Diuinitie whiche a Chriſtian conſcience can not want.

The conſcience feared and beaten downe with the terrour of Gods iudgement agaynſt ſinne may not looke vpon the law, but flye to the goſpell for reliefe and comfort.

Iohn 13.

To the conſcience quieted and at peace with God, the law ſerueth only to keepe downe the olde man.

Num. 25.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a farewell, when hee thought he ſhould haue ſuffered ſhortly after.

THe Lord of lyfe and Sauiour of the world Ieſus Chriſt, bleſſe you and comfort you, my good and deare mother, with his heauenly comfort, conſolation, grace and ſpirite, now and for euer. Amen.

An other letter or leauetakyng, to his mother, ſuppoſing that he ſhould haue ſuffered ſhortly.

If I thought that dayly, yea almoſt hourely you dyd not crye vppon GOD the Father thorough Ieſus Chriſt, that he would geue me his bleſſyng, euen the bleſſyng of his children: then would I write more hereaboutes. But for as much as herein I am certaine you are diligent, and ſo I beſeeche you good Mother to continue: I thinke it good to write ſomethyng, whereby this your cryyng might bee furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe thynges whiche hinder it, bee taken awaye. Among the whiche, in that I thinke my impriſonement is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will there about ſpende this Letter, and that briefly leſt it might encreaſe the let, as my good brother this brynger can tell you. You ſhall knowe therefore good Mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe out of the whiche I can not come when I will, yet in that I haue conformed my will to Gods will, I finde herein libertie enough, I thanke God. And for my lodgyng, beddyng, meate, drinke, godly and learned company, bookes, and all other neceſſaries for myne eaſe, comforte, and commoditie, I am in much better caſe then I could wiſhe, and Gods mercyfull prouidence here is farre aboue my worthynes. Worthynes, quoth I? Alas I am worthy of nothyng but damnation.

He meaneth the daunger of more ſtraight impriſonment that might thereby follow.

But beſides all this, for my ſoule I finde much more commoditie. For God is my Father, I now perceaue, thorough Chriſt: therefore in priſonyng me for his Goſpell, hee maketh me lyke to the Image of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt here, that when hee commeth to Iudgement, I might then be lyke vnto hym, as my truſt and hope is I ſhalbe. Nowe maketh he me lyke to his frendes the Prophetes, Apoſtles, the holy Martyrs and Confeſſours. Whiche of them did not ſuffer, at the leaſt, impriſonment or baniſhment for his Goſpell and word?

Nowe Mother, how farre am I vnmeete to bee compared to them? I (I ſay) whiche alwayes haue bene, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and greuous a ſinner? God might haue cauſed me long before this tyme to haue bene caſt into priſon as a theefe, a blaſphemer, an vncleane lyuer, and an heynous offender of the lawes of the Realme, but deare Mother, his mercy is ſo great vpõ both you and all that loue me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon as none of theſe, or for any ſuch vices: but onely for his Chriſtes ſake, for his Goſpelles ſake, for his Churches ſake, that hereby, as I might learne to lamẽt and bewaile my ingratitude and ſinnes: ſo I might reioyce in his mercy, be thankefull, looke for eternall ioy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake (prayſed be his name for it) I now ſuffer, and therfore ſhould be mery & glad. And in deed good mother, ſo I am, as euer I was, yea neuer ſo mery & glad was I, as I now ſhould be, if I could get you to be mery with me, to thanke God for me, & to pray on this ſort. Ah good father which doeſt vouchſafe that my ſonne beyng a greuous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould finde this fauour with thee, to be one of thy ſonnes captaines and men of warre to fight and ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, I thanke thee and pray

A prayer for his mother to make vnto God in his behalfe.

thee in Chriſtes name that thou wouldeſt forgeue him his ſinnes & vnthankefulnes, and make perfect in him that good which thou haſt begon: yea Lord I pray thee make him worthy to ſuffer, not onely impriſonement, but euen very death for thy truth, religion, and Goſpels ſake. As Anna did apply and geue her firſt child Samuell vnto thee: ſo do I deare father, beſeching thee for Chriſtes ſake, to accept this my gift, and geue my ſonne Iohn Bradford grace alwayes truely to ſerue thee and thy people, as Samuell did, Amen. Amen.

If on this ſort good Mother, from your hart you would pray, as I ſhould bee the moſt meryeſt man that euer was: ſo am I certayne the lettes of your Prayer for my impriſonment, would be taken away. Good Mother, therfore marke what I haue written, and learne this Prayer by hart, to ſay it dayly, and then I ſhall be mery, and you ſhall reioyce if that you continue, as I truſt you doe, in Gods true Religion, euen the ſame I haue taught you, and my father Traues (I truſt) will putte you in remembraunce of: my brother Roger alſo I truſt doth ſo dayly. Go to therefore and learne apace. Although the deuill caſt diuerſe lettes in the way. God, in whom you truſt, will caſt them awaye for his Chriſtes ſake, if you will call vppon hym: and neuer will he ſuffer you to bee tempted aboue that he will make you able to beare. But how you ſhould do herein, the other Letter whiche I haue written herewith, ſhall teache you, whiche I woulde none ſhoulde read till my father Traues haue read it, and hee will geue you by Gods grace, ſome inſtructions.

This letter was not ſent to his brother.

Now therfore will I make an ende, praying you good Mother, to looke for no moe Letters: for if it were knowen that I haue penne and inke and did write, then ſhoulde I want all the foreſayd commodities I haue ſpoken of concernyng my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of yron: which thyng I know would greue you, and therfore for Gods ſake, ſee that theſe be burned whē this litle prayer in it, is copyed out by my brother Roger: for perchaunce your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch geare, whē you thinke litle of it, and looke for no moe, ſweete Mother, till either God ſhall deliuer me and ſend me out, either you and I ſhall meete together in heauen, where we ſhall neuer part aſunder. Amen.

Exhortation to his 2. ſiſters.

I require you Elizabeth and Margaret my ſiſters, that you will feare God, vſe Prayer, loue your huſbandes be obedient vnto them, as GOD willeth you: bryng vp your children in Gods feare: and be good houſewiues, GOD bleſſe you both, with both your huſbandes my good brethren, whom to do good, becauſe I now can not, I will pray for them and you. Commende me to my ſiſter Anne, Mother Pike, T. Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcroſſe and his wife, R. Bolton, I. Wild, M. Vicare, the Parſon of Mottrom, Syr Laurence Hall, with all that loue, and (I truſt) liue the Goſpell: and God turne Syr Thomas his hart, Amen. I will dayly pray for hym. I neede not to ſet my name, you know it well enough.

Becauſe you ſhould geue my letters to my father Traues to be burned, I haue written here a Prayer for you to learne to pray for me good mother, and an other for all your houſe in your euenyng Prayer to pray with my brother. Theſe Prayers are written with myne owne hand: keepe them ſtill, but the Letters geue to father Traues to burne, and geue father Traues a copy of the latter Prayer.

¶ An other Letter to his Mother, as his laſt farewell vnto her in this world, a litle before he was burned.

An other and the laſt letter of M. Bradford written to his mother a little before his death.

GOds mercy and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceiued of vs. Amen.

My moſt deare Mother, in the bowelles of Chriſt I hartely pray and beſeche you to be thankefull for me vnto God, which thus now taketh me vnto hymſelfe. I dye not, my good mother, as a theefe, a murtherer, an adulterer. &c. but I dye as a witneſſe of Chriſt, his Goſpell and veritie, whiche hetherto I haue confeſſed (I thanke GOD) as well by Preachyng, as by priſonement, and now euen preſently I ſhall moſt willyngly confirme the ſame by fire. I knowledge that GOD moſt iuſtly might take me hence ſimply for my ſinnes (which are many, great, and greeuous: but the Lord for his mercy in Chriſt, hath pardoned them all I hope): but now deare Mother, hee taketh me hence by this death, as a Confeſſour and witneſſe, that the Religion taught by Chriſt Ieſu, the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, is Gods truth. The Prelates doe perſecute in me Chriſte whom they hate, and his truth whiche they may not abyde, becauſe their workes are euill, and may not abyde the truth and lyght, leſt men ſhoulde ſee their darkneſſe. Therefore my good and moſt deare Mother, geue thankes for me to God, that hee hath made the fruite of your wombe to be a witneſſe of his glory, and attende to the truth (which I thanke God for it) I haue truly taught out of the Pulpite of Mancheſter. Vſe often and continuall Prayer to God the Father through Chriſt. Harken, as you may, to the Scriptures: ſerue God after his word, and not after cuſtome: beware of the Romiſh Religion in England, defile not your ſelfe with it: carry Chriſtes Croſſe as he ſhall lay it vppon your backe: forgeue them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cauſe to God our father: be myndefull of both your daughters to helpe them as you can.

Bradford perſecuted of the prelates not for his vices but for the truth of Chriſt.

I ſend all my writynges to you by my brother Roger: do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mynde. I haue nothyng to geue you, or to leaue behynde me for you: onely I pray God my father for his Chriſtes ſake, to bleſſe you and keepe you from euill. He geue you pacience, he make you thankefull, as for me, ſo for your ſelfe, that will take the fruite of your wombe to witnes his veritie: wherein I confeſſe to the whole world I dye and departe this life in hope of a much better: which I looke for at the handes of God my father through the merites of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt.

Thus my deare Mother, I take my laſt farewell of you in this lyfe, beſeechyng the almightye and eternall father by Chriſt, to graunt vs to meete in the lyfe to come, where we ſhall geue him continuall thankes and prayſe for euer and euer. Amen.

¶ Out of priſon the 14. of Iune. 1555.

Your ſonne in the Lord.
Iohn Bradford.

¶ A letter ſent with a ſupplication to Queene Mary, her Counſell, and the whole Parlament.

A letter of M. Bradford togither with a ſupplication, ſent to Q. Mary, her Counſell, and the Parlament.

IN moſt humble wiſe complayneth vnto your Maieſtie and honours, a poore ſubiect perſecuted, for the confeſſion of Chriſtes veritie: the which veritie deſerueth at your handes to be maintained and defended, as the thyng, by the whiche you raigne and haue your honour and authorities. Although we that be profeſſours, and thorough the grace of GOD, the conſtaunt confeſſours of the ſame, are (as it were) the outſweepynges of the worlde: yet (I ſay) the veritie it ſelfe is a thynge not vnwoorthy for your eares to heare, for your eyes to ſee, and for your handes to handle, helpe, and ſuccour, accordyng to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe. Your hyghnes and honours ought to know, that there is no innocencie in woordes or deedes, where it is enough and ſuffiſeth onely to accuſe. It behoueth Kinges, Queenes, and all that be in authoritie, to knowe that in the adminiſtration of their kyngdomes, they are Gods Miniſters. It behoueth them to know, that they are no Kynges but playne Tyrannes, whiche raigne not to this ende, that they may ſerue and ſet foorth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer them ſelues to be taught, to ſubmitte them ſelues to the Lordes diſcipline, and to kiſſe their Soueraigne, leaſt they periſhe: as all thoſe Potentates with their principalities and dominions can not long proſper but periſhe in deede, if they and their kyngdomes be not ruled with the Scepter of God, that is, with his worde: whiche, who ſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bryng them into contempt, and at the length take his owne cauſe, whiche he hath moſt chiefly committed vnto them to care for, into his owne handes, and ſo ouerthrow them, and ſet vp his truth gloriouſly: the people alſo periſhyng with the Princes, where the worde of Prophecie is wantyng, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this Realme of England: ouer which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your highnes and all your honours, if in tyme you looke not better to your office and dutyes herein, and not ſuffer your ſelues to be ſlaues and hangmē to Antichriſt and his Prelates, which haue brought your highnes and honours already to let Barrabas loſe, and to hang vp Chriſt: as by the grace and helpe of God I ſhall make apparaunt, if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent maieſtie and all your honours, to take to hart Gods doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſayes, I meane the Byſhops and Prelates, then your conſciences, is oppreſſed: and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paſſe the leſſe of it. For it (the doctrine I meane) is hygher and of more honour and Maieſtie, then all the whole world. It ſtandeth inuincible aboue all power, beyng not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the euerliuyng God and of his Chriſt, whō the father hath ordained kyng, to haue dominion frō ſea to ſea,

Difference betwene Kinges and Tyrauntes.

Good warning to Q. Mary.

Princes made ſlaues to Antichriſt.

Chriſt ordeyned to beare dominion ouer all.

and from the riuer vnto the endes of the world. And truelye ſo doth he and will he raigne, that he will ſhake all the whole earth with his yron and braſen power, with his golden and ſiluery brightnes, onely by the rod of his mouth, to ſhiuers, in ſuch ſort, as though they were pottes of clay, according to that which the Prophetes do write of the magnificence of his kingdome. And thus much for the thing, I meane the doctrine, and your dueties to harken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

Chriſtes Martyrs falſely belyed of the prelates for heretickes, and Scyſmatickes.

But nowe will our aduerſaries mainely crie out againſt vs, becauſe no man may be admitted once to whiſt againſte them, that we pretende falſely the doctrine and woorde of God, calling vs the moſte wicked contemners of it, and heretikes, Schiſmatikes, traytours. &c. All whiche their ſayinges howe malicious and falſe they are, though I might make report to that whiche is written by thoſe men whoſe woorkes they haue condemned, and all that retaine any of them, publikely by proclamation: yet here will I occaſion your maieſtie and honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is farre otherwiſe then they reporte of vs. God our father, for his holy names ſake, direct my penne to be his inſtrument to put into your eyes, eares, and hartes, that whiche moſte maye make to his glorye, to the ſauegarde of your ſoules and bodyes, and preſeruation of the whole Realme. Amen.

John Bradford.

¶ To certaine his frendes, N. S. and R. C.

A letter of M. Bradford to certaine perſons being at that tyme not thoroughly inſtructed in the doctrine of gods election.

I wiſhe to you my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I wiſhe and pray the father of mercyes to geue to me for his holy names ſake. Amen.

Your letter though I haue not read my ſelfe, becauſe I would not alienate my mynde from conceiued thinges to write to others, yet I haue heard the ſumme of it, that it is of Gods election: wherein I wyll briefely write to you my faith, and howe I thinke it good and meete for a Chriſtian man to wade in it. I beleeue, that man made after the Image of God, dyd fall from that bleſſed ſtate, to the condemnation of hym ſelfe and all his poſteritie. I beleeue that Chriſte for man being thus fallen, did oppoſe him ſelfe to the iuſtice of God a Mediatour, paying the raunſome and price of redemption for Adame and his whole poſteritie that refuſe it not finally. I beleeue that all that beleue in Chriſte, I ſpeake of ſuch as be of yeares of diſcretion, are partakers of Chriſte and all his merites. I beleeue that faith, and to beleue in Chriſte (I ſpeake not nowe of faith that men haue by reaſon of myracles. John. 2. 11. Actes. 8. or by reaſon of earthly commoditie. Mathew. [illegible] cuſtome and authoritie of men, whiche is commonly ſeene, the hartes of them that ſo beleeue, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeake of that faith which in deede is the true faith, the iuſtifying and regenerating faith:) I beleue, I ſay, that this faith and beliefe in Chriſte, is the worke and gyft of God, geuen to none other then to thoſe whiche be the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the worlde hath predeſtinate in Chriſte vnto eternal life.

True fayth. Ephe. 1.

M.B. For the certainty of this fayth ſearche your hartes. If you haue it, prayſe the Lord: for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally periſh: for then happines vvere not happines, if it could be loſt. When you fall, the Lord vvill put vnder his hand that you ſhall not lye ſtill. But if ye feele not this fayth, then knovv that predeſtination is to high a matter for you to be diſputers of, vntill ye haue bene better ſcholers in the ſcholehouſe of repentance & iuſtification, vvhich is the Grammer ſchole vvherein vve muſt be conuerſant and learned, before vve go to the vniuerſitie of Gods moſt holy predeſtination & prouidẽce.

Thus doo I wade in predeſtination, in ſuche ſorte as God hathe patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the firſte, yet to vs it is laſte opened. And therefore I begynne with creation, from whence I come to redemption, ſo to iuſtification, and ſo to election. On this ſorte I am ſure that warely and wiſely a man may walke in it eaſily by the light of Gods ſpirite, in and by his worde, ſeeing this faith not to be geuẽ to al mẽ. 2. Theſ. 3. but to ſuche as are borne of God, predeſtinate before the worlde was made, after the purpoſe and good wyll of God: whiche wyll we maye not call into diſputation, but in trembling and feare ſubmit our ſelues to it as to that whiche can wyll none otherwiſe then that whiche is holy, right, and good, howe farre ſoeuer otherwiſe it ſeeme to the iudgement of reaſon, whiche muſt needes be beaten downe to be more carefull for Gods glorye then for mans ſaluation, whiche dependeth onely thereon, as all Gods children full well ſee: for they ſeeke not the glorye whiche commeth of men, but the glorye whiche commeth of God. Jeremie. 9. John. 5. They knowe God to be a God whiche dooth on earth not onely mercye but alſo iudgement, whiche is his Juſtice and moſt Juſtice, although our fooliſhe reaſon can not ſee it. And in this knowledge they glorye and reioyce, though others through vaine curioſitie, grudge and murmure thereagainſt. Thus briefely I haue ſente you my mynde and meanyng concernyng this matter. Hereafter you ſhall haue (I thinke) your letter particularly anſwered by M. Philpot: as alſo if I haue tyme, and you ſo require it, I wyll doo.

Of this matter he writeth more at large in the booke of Letters of the Martyrs Fol. 331.

John Bradford

¶ Notes vpon the ſame Epiſtle and to the matter of election apperteyning.

Notes to this epiſtle added.

As touching the doctrine of Election (whereof this letter of M. Bradford, & many other his letters mo do much intreate) three thinges muſt be conſidered.

1 Firſte, what Gods election is, and what is the cauſe thereof.
2 Secondly, howe Gods election proceedeth in working our ſaluation.
3 Thirdly, to whom Gods election perteyneth, and how a man may be certaine thereof.

Difference betweene predeſtination and Election.

Betweene Predeſtinatiõ & Electiõ this differẽce there is. Predeſtination is as wel to the reprobate, as to the Elect. Election onely perteyneth to them that be ſaued.

Predeſtination, in that it reſpecteth the Reprobate, is called reprobation: in that it reſpecteth the ſaued, is called Election, and is thus defined:

Definition of predeſtination.

Predeſtination is the eternall decreement of God, purpoſed before in hym ſelfe, what ſhal befall on all men, either to ſaluation, or damnation.

Election defined.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own wyl, through faith in Chriſt his ſonne, chuſing and preferryng to life, ſuch as pleaſeth hym.

The partes of the definition examined.

In this definition of Election, firſt goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the cauſes therof, whereby are excluded all workes of the lawe and merites of deſeruing, whether they goe before faith, or come after. So was Jacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before either of them began to worke. &c.

Mercy & grace.

Free mercy and Grace.

Secondly, in that this mercy & grace of God in this definitiõ is ſaid to be (free) therby is to be noted the procedyng & workyng of God not to be bounde to any ordinary place, or to any ſucceſſion of chayre, nor to ſtate & dignitie of perſon, nor to worthynes of bloud. &c. but al goeth by the mere wyl of his owne purpoſe, as it is written: Spiritus vbi vult, ſpirat. &c. And thus was the outward grace & ſtocke of Abraham after fleſhe refuſed (which ſeemed to haue the preeminence) and an other ſeede after the ſpirit raiſed vp to Abrahã of ỹ ſtones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outwarde temple of Hieruſalem and chayre of Moſes, whiche ſeemed to be of price, forſaken, & Gods chayre aduaunced in other nations. So was tall Saul refuſed, and litle Dauid accepted: the rich, the proude, the wiſe of this worlde reiected, and the word of ſaluation daily opened to the poore and miſerable abiectes: the hye mountaines caſt vnder, and the lowe valleys exalted. &c.

The free mercy and grace of God in his owne will. Rom. 9.

Thirdly, where it is added (in his owne wyll) by this falleth downe ỹ free wyll & purpoſe of mã, with all his actions, counſels, & ſtrength of nature: according as it is written: Non eſt volentis, neq; currentis, ſed miſerentis dei. &c. i. It is not in hym that wylleth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy. So we ſee how Iſrael ran long, & yet got nothing. The Gentiles lately began to ſet out, and yet got the game. So they whiche came at the firſt houre dyd labour more, & yet they which came laſt, were rewarded with the firſt. Math. 20. The working wyll of the Phariſie ſeemed better: but yet the Lordes wyll was rather to iuſtifie the Publican. Luk. 18. The elder ſonne had a better wyll to tary by his father, & ſo dyd in deede: and yet the fat Calfe was geuẽ to the yonger ſonne that ran away. Luk. 15. Whereby we haue to vnderſtand, howe the matter goeth not by the wyll of man, but by the wyll of God as it pleaſeth hym to accept, accordyng as it is written: Non ex voluntate carnis, neq; ex voluntate viri, ſed ex Deo nati ſunt &c. i. Which are borne, not of the wyl of the fleſh, nor yet of the wyl of man, but of God. Furthermore, as al then goeth by the wyl of God onely, and not by the wyll of man: ſo agayne here is to be noted, that this wyll of God neuer goeth without faith in Chriſt Jeſus his ſonne.

Math. 20.

Luke. 18.

Luke. 15.

John. 1.

Gods mercy in ſauing the elect, euer includeth the condition of fayth in Chriſt.

And therfore fourthly is this clauſe added in the definition (through faith in Chriſte his ſonne.) Whiche faith in Chriſt to vsward maketh altogether. For firſt it certifieth vs of Gods election, as in this Epiſtle of M. Bradford doth wel expreſſe. For who ſoeuer wyl be certaine of his election in God, let hym firſt begyn with his faith in Chriſt: which if he find in hym to ſtand firme, he may be ſure & nothing doubt, but that he is one of the nũber of Gods elect.

The free mercy and grace of God in his owne good will through fayth in Chriſt his ſonne our Lord.

Fayth is the only condition whereby Gods Grace doth ſaue vs.

Secondly, the ſayde fayth and nothyng els, is the onely condition and meanes wherupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and al Gods promiſes to ſaluation do ſtay, accordyng to the wordes of ſaint Paul: Si permanſeritis in fide, &c. i. If ye abide in the faith. Coloſſ. 1. Thirdly, this fayth alſo is the immediate and next cauſe of our iuſtification ſimply without any other condition annexed. For as the mercye of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes doo ſaue and iuſtifie vs vpon condition, if we beleue in Chriſt: ſo this fayth onely in Chriſt without condition, is the next and immediate cauſe whiche by Gods promiſe worketh our iuſtification: accordyng as it is written: Crede in Dominum Ieſum & ſaluus eris tu & domus tua. i. Beleue in the Lorde Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued, thou and thy whole houſe. Act. 16. And thus much touchyng the definition of Election, with the cauſes therof declared. Which you ſee nowe to be no merites nor workes of man, whether they goe before, or come after fayth, but onely the meere mercy of God through fayth. For like as al they that be borne of Adam, doo taſte of his malediction, though they taſted not his apple: ſo al they that be borne of Chriſt (which is by fayth) take part of the obedience of Chriſt, although they neuer dyd that obedience them ſelues, whiche was in hym. Rom. 5.

Act. 16.

Faith only is the immediate cauſe of our iuſtifiyng.

The ſecond conſideration.

Nowe to the ſecond conſideration: let vs ſee likewiſe how, & in what order this election of God proceedeth in chuſing & electyng them which he ordeineth to ſaluation: which order is this. In them that be choſen to lyfe, firſte Gods mercy & free grace bryngeth forth election: Election worketh vocation or Gods holy callyng, whiche vocation thorow hearyng bryngeth knowledge and fayth of Chriſt, fayth through promiſe obteyneth iuſtification, iuſtificatiõ thorow hope wayteth for glorification.

Grace,
Election,
Vocation,
Fayth,
Iuſtification,
Glorification.

Election is before tyme. Vocation and fayth commeth in tyme. Iuſtification and glorification is without end.

Election dependyng vpon Gods free grace and wyl, excludeth all mans wyll, blynd fortune, chaunce, and al peraduentures.

Mans free will.
Blynde fortune,
Mans wiſedome
Mans learning,
Mans merites,
workes of the law, excluded from the cauſes of our ſaluation in Chriſt.

Vocation ſtandyng vppon Gods election excludeth all mans wiſedome, cunnyng, learnyng, intention, power, and preſumption.

Faith in Chriſt proceedyng by the gift of the holy ghoſt, and freely iuſtifying man by Gods promiſe, excludeth all other merites of men, al condition of deſeruing, and al workes of the lawe, both Gods lawe and mans lawe, with al other outward meanes what ſoeuer.

Iuſtification commyng freely by fayth, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, without doubt, feare, or waueryng in this lyfe.

Glorification perteynyng only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preuenteth.

Election ordeyneth.

Vocation prepareth and receyueth the worde, wherby commeth fayth.

Fayth iuſtifieth.

Iuſtification bryngeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cauſe of vocation.

Vocation (which is the workyng of Gods ſpirit by the word) is the immediate and next cauſe of fayth.

Faith is the immediat and next cauſe of iuſtification.

Papiſtes confound the doctrine of election.

And this order and connexion of cauſes is diligently to be obſerued, becauſe of the Papiſtes, which haue miſerably confounded and inuerted thus doctrine, thus teaching, that almighty God ſo farre forth as he foreſeeth mans merites before to come, ſo dooth he diſpenſe his election. Dominus pro vt cuiuſq; merita fore præuidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam. And agayne, Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere: that is, That the Lord recompenſeth the grace of election, not to any merites proceedyng: but yet graunteth the ſame to the merites which folow after: As though we had our election by our holynes that foloweth after, and not rather haue our holynes by Gods election goyng before.

Election.

But we folowing the ſcripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the cauſe onely of Gods election, is his owne free mercy: and the cauſe only of our iuſtification is our fayth in Chriſt, and nothyng els. As for example: firſt, concernyng Election, if the queſtion be aſked why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? why was Iacob choſen, and not Eſau? why was Moſes elected, and Pharao hardened? why Dauid accepted, and Saul refuſed? why fewe be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It can not be anſwered otherwiſe, but thus: becauſe it was ſo the good wyl of God.

That vocation he meaneth here which is after purpoſe.

In like maner touchyng vocation and alſo fayth, if the queſtion be aſked, why this vocation and gyft of faith was geuen to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Iewe? why to the poore, to the babes, and litle ones of this worlde, (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh: I thanke thee father, which haſte hyd this from the wiſe, &c. Mathew. 11. Why to the vnwiſe, the ſimple, abiectes, and outcaſtes in this world? Of whom ſpeaketh ſaint Paul. 1. Cor. 1. Ye ſee your calling, my brethren, how not many of you. &c. Why to the ſinners, and not to the iuſt? why the beggers by the hye wayes were called, and the bydden geſtes excluded? We can goe to no other cauſe, but to Gods purpoſe and election, and ſay with Chriſt our ſauiour: Quia pater ſic complacitum eſt ante te. i. Yea father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight. Luk. 18.

Vocation bryngeth fayth.

Iuſtification by fayth onely.

And ſo for iuſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be aſked why the Publicane was iuſtified, and not the Phariſey? Luk. 18. why Mary the ſinner, and not Symon the inuiter? Luk. 11. why harlots and Publicanes goe before the Scribes and Phariſees in the kingdome? Math. 21. why the ſonne of the free womã was receyued, and the bondwomans ſonne beyng his elder, reiected? Geneſ. 21. why Iſrael which ſo long ſought for righteouſnes, foũd it not: and the Gentiles which ſought not for it, found it? Rom. 9. we haue no other cauſe herof to render, but to ſay with Saint Paul, becauſe they ſought for it by workes of ẏ Law, & not by fayth: which fayth as it commeth not by mans wyl (as the Papiſt falſly pretendeth) but onely by the election & free gyft of God: ſo it is onely the immediate cauſe wherunto the promiſe of our ſaluation is annexed, accordyng as we reade: And therfore of faith is the inheritance geuen, as after grace, that the promiſe might ſtand ſure to euery ſeede, Rom. 4. Itẽ in the ſame chap. Faith beleuing in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſnes.

How fayth and election are linked together in the act of Iuſtifying.

And thus concernyng the cauſe of our ſaluation, ye ſee how fayth in Chriſt, onely and immediatly without any cõdition doth iuſtifie vs, beyng ſo linked with Gods mercye and election, that where ſoeuer election goeth before, there fayth in Chriſt muſt needes folow after. And againe, who ſo euer beleeueth in Chriſte Ieſu, through the vocation of God, he muſt needes be partaker of Gods election.

The third conſideration.

Wherupon reſulteth now the third note or conſideration: which is to cõſider, whether a man in this lyfe may be certaine of his election. To anſweare to which queſtion, this firſt is to be vnderſtand: that although our election & vocation ſimply in deede be knowen to God only in hym ſelfe, à priore: yet notwithſtandyng it may be knowen to euery particular faythful man, à poſteriore: that is, by meanes, which meanes is fayth in Chriſte Ieſus crucified. For ſo much as by his fayth in Chriſt, a man is iuſtified, & therby made the chyld of ſaluatiõ, reaſon muſt needes leade ẏ ſame to be then the chylde of election, choſen of God vnto euerlaſting lyfe. For how can a mã be iuſtified, but he muſt needs be ſaued? and how can a man be ſaued, but by conſequence it foloweth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

Election knowne to God ſimply. Election knowen to man by meanes.

Fayth is the meanes wherby we be certified of our election.

De electione iudicandum eſt a poſteriore.

And therfore of Election it is truely ſayd: De electione iudicandum eſt à poſteriore: that is to ſay, we muſt iudge of election by that which commeth after, that is, by our faith and beliefe in Chriſt: whiche fayth although in tyme it foloweth after election, yet is it the proper & immediate cauſe aſſigned by the ſcripture, which not onely iuſtifieth vs, but alſo certifieth vs of this election of God.

Election firſt knowen to God and laſt opened to man.

Wherto likewiſe wel agreeth this preſẽt letter of M. Bradford, wherin he ſaith: Election, albeit in God it be the firſt, yet to vs it is the laſt opened. And therfore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with creatiõ, I come frõ thẽce to the redẽptiõ and iuſtification by fayth, and ſo to election. Not that fayth is the cauſe efficient of election, beyng rather the effect therof, but is to vs the cauſe certificatorie, or the cauſe of our certification, wherby we are brought to the feelyng & knowledge of our election in Chriſt. For albeit that election firſt be certayne in the knowledge of God: yet in our knowledge, fayth only that we haue in Chriſt, is ẏ thing that geueth to vs our certificat and comfort of this election.

Euery man to ſtay him ſelfe vpon Gods generall promiſe.

Wherefore, who ſoeuer deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the elect number of God, let hym not clime vp to heauen to knowe, but let hym deſcend into hym ſelfe, and there ſearch his faith in Chriſt the ſonne of God: which if he find in hym not fayned by the workyng of Gods holy ſpirit accordyng ly: therupon let hym ſtay, and ſo wrap hym ſelfe wholy both body & ſoule vnder Gods general promiſe, & cumber his head with no further ſpeculation: knowing this, that who ſoeuer beleueth in hym, ſhal not periſh. Iohn. 3. ſhall not be cõfoũded. Ro. 9. ſhal not ſee death. Io. 8. ſhal not enter into iudgemẽt. Io. 5. ſhal haue euerlaſtyng lyfe. Ioh. 3. 7. ſhalbe ſaued. Math. 28. Act. 16. ſhal haue remiſſiõ of al his ſinnes. Act. 10. ſhalbe iuſtified. Rom. 3. Gal. 2. ſhal haue floudes flowyng out of hym of water of lyfe. Ioh. 7. ſhall neuer dye. Ioh. 11. ſhal be raiſed in the laſt day. Ioh. 6. ſhal find reſt to his ſoule, and ſhal be refreſhed. Math. 11.

What fayth is.

Now then for ſo much as we ſee fayth to be the ground wherupon dependeth the whole condition of our iuſtifying, let vs diſcuſſe in like maner what is this fayth wherof the ſcri-

1555.
Iuly.

Diuers kindes of fayth.
Euery truth hath his fayth, but euery truth iuſtifieth not, no more doth euery fayth.

ſcripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more playne vnderſtandyng of the ſimple. For many kyndes there be of fayth: as a man may beleue euery thyng that is true, yet not euery truth dooth ſaue, neyther doth the beleuyng of euery truth iuſtifie a man. He that beleueth that God created al things of nought, beleueth truely, He that beleueth that God is a iuſt God, that he is omnipotent, that he is mercyful, that he is true of promiſe, beleueth well and holdeth the truth. So he that beleueth that God hath his electiõ from the beginnyng, and that he alſo is one of the ſame elect and predeſtinate, hath a good beliefe, and thinketh well: but yet this beliefe alone, except it be ſeaſoned with an other thyng, wyll not ſerue to ſaluatiõ: as it auayled not ỹ old Iewes, which ſo thought of them ſelues, and yet thynke to this day, to be only Gods elect people.

Fayth the action: Chriſt the obiect of fayth.

Onely the fayth whiche auayleth to ſaluation is that, whoſe obiect is the body and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt cruſified. So that in the act of iuſtifying theſe two, fayth and Chriſt haue a mutual relation, and muſt alwayes concurre together, fayth as the action whiche apprehendeth: Chriſte as the obiect which is apprehended.

Fayth and Chriſt correlatiues.
Chriſt without fayth ſaueth not.

For neyther dooth the paſſion of Chriſt ſaue without faith, neyther doth fayth helpe, except it be in Chriſt: As we ſee the body of man ſuſteined by bread and drinke, not except the ſame be receyued and conueyed into the ſtomacke: and yet neither doth the receiuing of euery thing ſuſteyne mans body, except it bee meate and drinke, which haue power to geue nouriſhment. In like ſort it is with fayth: for neyther doth the beleuyng of euery thyng ſaue, but onely faith in the bloud of Chriſt: neither againe doth ỹ ſame bloud of Chriſt profite vs, except by faith it be receyued. And as the ſunne being the cauſe of al light, ſhineth not but to thẽ only which haue eyes to ſee: nor yet to thẽ neither, vnleſſe they wil open their eyes to receyue the light: ſo the paſſion of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of ſaluation, but fayth is the condition wherby the ſaid paſſion is to vs effectual.

Fayth without Chriſt helpeth not.
Grace.
Election.
Vocation.
Chriſtes death cauſes externe of our ſaluation.
Fayth the only interne cauſe of mans ſaluation.

And that is the cauſe, why we ſay with the ſcripture, that faith only iuſtifieth vs, not excluding thereby all other externe cauſes that goe before faith, as grace, mercy, electiõ, vocation, the death of Chriſt. &c. all which be externe cauſes working our ſaluatiõ through faith. But when we ſay that faith only iuſtifieth vs, the meanyng therof is this: that of al internall actions, motions, or operations in man geuen to hym of God, there is no other that contenteth & pleaſeth God, or ſtandeth before his iudgmẽt, or can helpe any thing to the iuſtifying of man before hym, but only this one action of faith in Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God.

Fayth is an action in man, but not of man.
Vertues and workes of charitye though they be good giftes of God in man, yet they ſerue not to iuſtification.
Fayth taketh his dignitie of his obiect.
Loking vp to the braſen ſerpent, and beleuing vpon the body of Chriſt cõpared.

For although the action of praying, faſtyng, almes, patience, charity, repentance, the feare & loue of God be hie giftes in man, and not of man, geuen of God to man, yet be none of al theſe actions in man, imputed of God to ſaluatiõ, but only this one actiõ of fayth in man vpon Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God. Not that the action it ſelfe of beleeuyng, as it is a qualitie in man, dooth ſo deſerue, but becauſe it taketh that dignitie of the obiect. For as I ſayd, in the act of iuſtifying, fayth, as it is an action in man, is not to be conſidered alone, but muſt euer go with his obiect, & taketh his vertue therof. Lyke as the lookyng vp of the old Iſraelites dyd not of it ſelfe procure any health vnto thẽ, but the promiſe made in the obiect, which was the braſen ſerpent, whereupon they looked, gaue thẽ health by their lookyng vp. Euen ſo after lyke ſort are we ſaued by our fayth & ſpiritual lokyng vp to the body of Chriſt crucified. Which fayth to define is this:

To beleeue Ieſus Chriſt to be the ſonne of the liuyng God ſent into this worlde, by his death to ſatiſfie for our ſinnes, and ſo to receyue the ſame.

The error of the Papiſtes peruerting the mynde of Gods teſtament, how and wherein.

And thus much touchyng election & fayth, with the order & explicatiõ of the cauſes neceſſary to be cõſidered in our ſaluation. Wherby may appeare how farre the pretenſed catholikes do ſwarue from the right mynd of the ſcriptures. For where the ſcriptures in declaryng the cauſes of ſaluation, do ſend vs only to fayth, as the only condition wherby theſe cauſes haue their workyng, theſe catholikes do quite leaue out fayth, & in ſtead therof place in other conditions of doyngs, merits, wylworks, pardons, maſſes, and eſpecially auricular confeſſion, with penaunce and ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes. &c.

¶ William Minge.

William Mynge dyed in priſon.

The next day after M. Bradford & Iohn leafe dyd ſuffer in Smithfielde, William Mynge prieſt dyed in priſon, at Maydſtone, beyng there in bonds for religion, & like to haue ſuffered alſo, if he had continued the fury of his aduerſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare & fauor none that fauored Chriſtes pure Goſpel: whiche W. Mynge with as great conſtancy and boldnes yelded vp hys lyfe in priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to haue called hym to ſuffer by the fyre, as the other good and godly men hadde done at the ſtake, and as he hym ſelfe was readye alſo ſo to do, if it had pleaſed God to haue called hym therunto.

¶ Iames Treuiſam buryed in the fieldes.

The ſtory of Iames Treuiſam, buryed in the fieldes and ſummoned after his death.

Vpon the third day of Iuly. ann. 1555. dyed one Iames Treuiſam, in the pariſh of S. Margaret in Lothbury vpon a ſonday: who beyng impotẽt & lame, kept hys bed, for he could not ryſe out of it a long tyme. This Treuiſam had a ſeruant one Iohn Smal which read on the Bible, and as he was in readyng, Berde ỹ Promoter came to the houſe, & would needes go vp the ſtayres, where he found foure perſons beſides hym, & hys wyfe: to wyt, the young man that read, & two men & a womã. Al which folkes, the ſaid Berd the Promoter there being apprehended, caryed to the Cõpter, where they remained about a fortnight, for al the frends they could make. Moreouer ỹ ſaid Berd would haue had alſo Iames the lameman hym ſelf to Newgate in a cart (& brought the cart to the doore) but for neighbors. Neuertheleſſe the poore man was faine to put in two ſureties for his forth cõmyng, for he could not go out of his bed, beyng not only impotẽt, but alſo very ſicke the ſame tyme. So within a few dayes the ſayd Iames lying in extremes, the parſon of the Church named M. Farthyng, came to hym, and had cõmunicatiõ with hym, & agreed wel, & ſo departed. It happened after the prieſt was come down into the ſtreate, there met hym one Toller a Foũder. Yea, ſaith he, be ye agreed? I wyl accuſe you, for he denyeth the ſacrament of the altar. Vpon that the parſon went vp to hym agayne, & then the prieſt and he could not agree. And ſo the parſon went to the Biſh. of London & told hym. The biſhop anſwered that he ſhould be burnt, & if he were dead, he ſhould be buryed in a ditch. And ſo whẽ he dyed the parſon was againſt his wyfe as much as he could, neyther woulde let her haue the coffine to put hym in, nor any thing els, but was fayne to beare hym vpõ a table to Moorefield, & there was he buried. The ſame night the body was caſt vp aboue the ground, & hys ſheete taken from hym, and he leaft naked. After this the owner of the field ſeeyng hym, buryed hym agayne, & a fortnight after the Summner came to his graue and ſummoned hym to appeare at Paules, before his Ordinary, to anſwere to ſuch thynges as ſhould be layd agaynſt hym. But what more befel vpon hym, I haue not certaynly to ſay.

M. Farthyng parſon of Saint Margarets in Lothbery, accuſer of Iames.

¶ The hiſtorie of M. Iohn Bland Preacher & martyr, cõſtantly ſuffring for the goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt.

Iuly. 12.
Iohn Bland.
Iohn Frankeſh, Martyrs.

The .xij. day of Iuly Ioh. Bland, Ioh. Frankeſh, Nich. Shetterden, & Humfrey Myddleton were al foure burned at Caunterbury together, for one cauſe, of the whiche nũber Frankeſh & Bland were miniſters, & preachers of ỹ word of God. The one beyng parſon of Adeſham: the other the vicar of Rolueynden. This M. Bland was a man ſo litle borne for his own cõmoditye, that no part of his lyfe was ſeparated from the cõmon & publike vtilitie of al men. For his firſt doings were there imployed to the bringing vp of children in learnyng & vertue. Vnder whom were trayned diuers towardly yong men, which euẽ at this preſent do hãdſomly floriſh. In the nũber of whõ is D. Sandes, a man of ſuch learnyng & worthynes, as may well beſeeme a ſcholer meete for ſuch a ſcholemayſter, whom I here gladly name, for his ſingular gyftes of vertue and erudition.

M. Bland ſcholemaſter to Doct. Sandes ſometymes Byſhop of Worceter.

After this he cõmyng to the miniſterie in the Church of God, or rather beyng called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profit the cõgregation, which may appeare by this: that wheras he was caſt into Cãterbury priſõ for the preachyng of the Goſpel, & deliuered once or twiſe from thence at the ſuit of his frends: yet would he needes preach the goſpel agayn, as ſoone as he was deliuered. Wherupon he beyng ỹ third tyme apprehẽded, whẽ his frends yet once agayn would haue found the meanes to haue deliuered him if he would haue promiſed to abſtayne from preachyng: he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admyt no ſuch condition, notably wel expreſſing vnto vs the maner & example which we reade in the apoſtle Paul: Who ſhal ſeparate vs frõ the loue of Chriſt? tribulatiõ, or anguiſh, or hũger, or nakednes, or danger, or perſecutiõ, or the ſword? &c. But to expreſſe the whole life & doings of this godly martyr, ſeing we haue his own teſtimony concerning the ſame: it ſhalbe beſt to referre the reader to his own report, writyng to his father of the whole diſcourſe of his troubles, frõ the beginnyng almoſt to the latter end, in order and maner as ye ſhal heare.

M. Bland entreated by hys frendes to be deliuered, refuſed.

A diſcourſe of the whole proces and doinges of Maiſter Bland, written and reported by him ſelfe to his father in his owne letter, as foloweth.

Dearely beloued father in Chriſte Ieſu, I thanke you for your gentle letters. And to ſatiſfie your minde, as concerning the troubles whereof ye haue hearde, theſe ſhall both declare vnto you all my vexations that haue chaunced me ſince ye were with me, and alſo ſince I receiued your laſt letters. God keepe you euer.

Your ſonne, Iohn Bland.

Declaration of the troubles of M. Bland how and by whom he was apprehended and brought to his condemnation.

FIrſt, the third day of Sept. beyng ſonday, after ſeruice ended, ere I had put of my Surplice, Iohn Auſten came to the table (commonly called the Lordes table) and layde both his handes vpon it, ſaying: Who ſet this here againe? Now they ſay they tooke the table down, the ſonday before, which I knewe not, neyther doo I know who ſet it vp agayne. The Clerke anſwered, that he knewe not. Then Auſten ſaide, He is a knaue that ſet it here. I was then going downe the Church, maruelyng what he meant, and ſaid: Good man Auſten, the queenes highnes hath ſet forth a proclamation, that ye may moue no ſedition. And ere I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, thou art a knaue. And I ſaid, wel, goodman Auſten, that I haue ſaid, I haue ſaid. By Gods ſoule, quoth he, thou art a very knaue. Thē my clerk ſpake to hym: but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, ye are both heretike knaues, & haue deceyued vs with this faſhiō too long, and if he ſay any ſeruice here againe, I wyl lay the table on his face: and in that rage he with other tooke vp the table, and laid it on a cheſt in the Chauncel, & ſet the treſtles by it. Wherfore I rode vp and by to maſter Iſaac, & ſhewed hym the cauſe, both how ſeditiouſly he had ſpoken, and performed it with a like deede. M. Iſaac directed a warrant to the Conſtable or Boſholder, whiche was incontinently ſerued, ſo that he was brought before hym the ſame night, and was bound by Recogniſance, with ſureties, to appeare if he were called. But we agreed ſo well then, that it was neuer called for, the table was brought downe, and I was permitted, as before.

John Auſten perſecutour.

John Auſten offended with the communion table.

Note the vncharitable ſpirite of this Papiſt: and ſo commonly of them all.

M. Iſaac a good Iuſtice.

The communion table ſet vp agayne.

The .xxvi. day of Nouember, beyng ſonday, Richarde Auſten and his brother Thomas came to the foreſaid table after the Cōmunion was done, & as I was goyng by thē Richard ſaid vnto me: Maiſter parſon, we haue to ſpeake to you. And I ſaid, what is your wyl? And he ſaid, You know that you tooke down the tabernacle or ſeeling wherein the Roode did hang, & ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you wil make vs. For the Queenes proceedinges are (as you know) that ſuch muſt vp againe.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch proceedynges, as yet: and as for al that I dyd, I dyd it by commaundement.

No, ſaid Thomas Auſten, ye wyl not know ẏ queenes proceedynges.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Then ſaid Richard, ye are againſt the Queenes proceedings: for you ſay, that there are abominable vſes and deuiliſhnes in the maſſe.

Thomas Auſten and Richard Auſten picke matter agaynſt M. Bland.

Goodman Auſten, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I wyll ſay it againe, and God wyllyng, ſtand to the proofe of it.

Maſters all, quoth Richard Auſten, beare recorde of theſe wordes, and went his way.

Quoth Thomas Auſten, thou wylt as ſoone eate this booke, as ſtand to them. No, quoth I, not ſo ſoone. Tel vs, quoth he, what that deuiliſhnes is, that is in the maſſe.

M. Bland charged for ſpeaking agaynſt the Maſſe.

I haue often preached it vnto you, ſaid I, and ye haue not beleeued it, nor borne it away, nor wyll nowe neyther, though I ſhould tel you.

Thou quoth he, haſt told vs alwayes like an heretike, as thou art. Now ye lye, goodman Auſten, quoth I, by your leaue. Mary, quoth he, thou lyeſt. And I ſaid, and you lye: for I haue taught you Chriſt and his truth.

Quoth he, thou art an heretike, and haſt taught vs nothyng but hereſie: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, goodmā Auſten, I cā ſay that God is in heauē, & ye wil ſay (I trow) ẏ it is true, & ſo haue I taught you truly.

Falſe accuſation.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught vs like an heretike, & haſt ſayd, that there is no deuyl in hel.

Wel, ſaid I, lye on: me thinke ye can ſay litle truth. Many other tauntes he gaue, too long to write. And at the laſt he ſaid, ye pulled downe the aultar: wyl ye build it againe? No (quoth I) except I be commaunded: for I was commaunded to do that I dyd.

Well, if you wyll not, ſaid he, then wyll I. For I am Churchwarden.

I charge you, ſaid I, that you do not, except you haue authoritie. I wyl, ſaid he, not let for your charge. For we wil haue a maſſe here on ſonday, & a preacher that ſhal proue thee an heretike, if thou dare abide his commyng.

Yes, quoth I, God wyllyng, I wyl abide, & heare hym: for ſure I am, that he can not diſproue any doctrine that I haue preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou ſhalt heare, if thou run not away ere then.

No, good man Auſten, I wyl not run away.

Mary, quoth he, I can not tel: thou art as like, yea, as nay: with many other wordes, we came out of the Church doore, and ſo departed.

Whē the ſonday came, I looked for our preacher, & at the tyme of mornyng prayer I ſaid to the clerke: why do ye not ring: ye forget that we ſhal haue a ſermō to day? No, quoth he, M. Milles ſeruant hath ben here this mornyng, & ſaid, his maiſter hath letters frō my L. Chancelor, that he muſt go to Londō, & can not come. That day I dyd preach to thē a ſermō in his ſteed. Nowe haue they ſclaūdered me that I had prepared a company frō diuers places to haue troubled hym: but they agreed not in their lye. For ſome ſaid, I had thē at Adeſham, & that Richard Auſten had knowledge, & ſent for the kings Conſtable to ſee the peace kept, which is found a lye. Other ſaid, I had them lying in waite for hym betwene Canterbury and Adeſham: other ſaid, I had them in both places, that if the one miſt, the other ſhould not. God forgeue them al. Now vpon theſe two matters they crake, that they ſent two byls of cōplaint to the Counſaile. Wherfore by the counſell of frendes, I made this teſtimonie, and ſent it vp by maiſter Wiſeman.

Falſe ſlaunder agaynſt M. Bland.

The behaueour of Iohn Bland parſon of Adeſham in the Countie of Kent, the ſonday, the .3. day of December laſt paſt, conteinyng the woordes which he there ſpake vnto the people.

WHere as vpon certain communication had betwene the ſaid parſon & Rich. Auſten, & Tho. Auſten, in the preſence of al ẏ pariſh of Adeſhā, the ſonday before ſ. Andrews day laſt, the ſaid Auſtē thē declared, that the ſaid parſon had taught there in tymes paſt great hereſies, which to cōfound they would prepare a preacher againſt the next ſonday folowing, if ſo be the ſaid parſon would abide, & not run away. Upon which rumor, diuers & ſundry perſons reſorted out of the coūtrey vnto the ſaid pariſhe church, at the ſaid ſame day appoynted, there to heare the preacher: and at the tyme in which the ſermō ought to be made, no mā appeared there to preach. But it was reported vnto the parſō, that ẏ preacher appointed, had vrgent buſines, and could not come. So that the multitude beyng now come together, the ſame parſon perceiuyng that ẏ peoples expectation was defrauded, ſaid: For as much as you are come wyllyngly to heare ſome good aduertiſement of the preacher, which nowe can not be preſent, I thinke it not conuenient to permit you to departe ẇout ſome exhortatiō for your edifying. And ſo further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſaid, that he woulde not meddle ẇ any matter in cōtrouerſie. And then he began the Epiſtle of the day, deſiring his audience to marke three or foure places in the ſame Epiſtle, which touched quietnes & loue one to an other: & there briefly readyng the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, & ſo making an ende therof, deſired al men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any maner of diſturbance, or token of euyl.

M. Bland parſon of Adeſham cleareth himſelfe of the falſe ſlaunders.

M. Bland exhorting the people to loue and quietnes.

Witneſſes the vnder named, with diuers others.

Edmond Mores.
Richard Randall.
Iohn Hyls.
William Forſtall.
Thomas Gooding.

An other matter of trouble wrought againſt Iohn Bland, as appeareth by this his owne narration.

VPon the Innocents day, being the .xxviij. day of Decēb. they had procured the prieſt of Stodmarſhe to ſay them maſſe: he had nye made an ende of mattins ere I came: and when he had made an end of mattens, he ſaid to me: maiſter Parſon, your neighbours haue deſired me to ſay mattens, and maſſe: I truſt ye wyl not be againſt the Queenes proceedings. No, quoth I, I wyl offend none of the Queenes maieſties lawes, God willyng. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I ſpake the ſame wordes to hym againe, with an hyer voyce: but he woulde not heare, when al in the Chauncel heard: So I cryed the third tyme (that all in the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queenes lawes: and then he went to maſſe: and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the clerke vnto me, with the becking of my finger, and ſaid vnto hym: I pray you deſire the prieſt, whē the Goſpel is done, to tarry a litle: I haue ſomethyng to ſay to the people: and the Clerke dyd ſo.

The third matter againſt M. Bland.

And the prieſt came down into the ſtal, where he ſat: and I ſtood vp in the Chancel doore, and ſpake to the people of the great goodnes of God, alwaies ſhewed vnto his people, vnto the tyme of Chriſtes cōmyng: and in hym & his commyng, what benefite they paſt, we preſent, & our ſucceſſors haue: and among other benefits, I ſpake of the great and comfortable ſacrament of his bodye and bloud. And after I had declared briefly the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to

M. Bland agayne exhorteth the people in his pariſh Church.

the good, & damnation to the wicked, I ſpeake of the bread & wyne, affirmyng them to be bread & wyne after the conſecration, as yonder Maſſe booke doth, ſaying: Panem ſanctū vitæ æternæ, & calicem ſalutis perpetuæ. &c. Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual ſaluatiō. So that like as our bodyly mouthes eate the ſacramental bread & wine, ſo dooth the mouth of our ſoules (whiche is our fayth) eate Chriſtes fleſhe & bloud. And when I had made an ende of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the ſacrament in the maſſe: ſo that I iudged it in that vſe no ſacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade vs al eate & drinke: and one onely in the Maſſe eateth & drinketh, & the reſt kneele, knocke, & worſhip: and after theſe thinges ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the benefactours of the maſſe, & began to declare what men made the Maſſe, and recited euery mans name, & the peche that he put to the maſſe; & ere I had rehearſed them al, the Churchwarden and the Boſholder his ſonne in lawe violently came vpon me, and tooke my booke from me, and pulled me downe, and thruſt me into the Chauncel, with an exceeding rore and crye. Some cryed, Thou heretike: ſome, thou traytour: ſome, thou rebel: and when euery man had ſaid his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomethyng paſt: be quiete, good neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeake to you quietly. If I haue offended any lawe, I wyl make anſweare before them that are in authoritie to correct me. But they would not heare me, and pulled, one on this ſide, & an other on that, and began agayne.

Bland ſpeaketh of the right inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper.

He ſpeaketh of the abuſe of the ſacrament in the Maſſe.

He declareth how the Maſſe was patched and peeced together, and by what Popes.

M. Bland violently plucked downe in his ſermon by the Church warden.

Then Richarde Auſten ſaide: Peace, Maiſters, no more tyl Maſſe be done: and they ceaſed. Then ſaid I to the Churchwarden and the Boſholder, eyther holding me by the arme: Maiſters, let me goe into the Church yarde tyll your Maſſe be done. No, quoth the Churchwarden, thou ſhalt tarry here tyll Maſſe be done. I wyll not, quoth I, but againſt my wyll. And they ſaid: Thou ſhalt tary, for if thou go out, thou wylt run away. Then ſaid I to the Boſholder: Lay me in the ſtockes, & then ye ſhal be ſure of me, & turned my backe to the altar. By that tyme Richard Auſtine had deuiſed what to doo with me, and called to the Boſholder & the Churchwarden, & bade them put me into a ſide Chappell, and ſhut the doore to me, & there they made me tarry tyll maſſe was ended. Whē the maſſe was ended, they came into the chappel to me, and ſearched what I had about me, and found a daggar, and tooke it from me. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten churchwardē, after many brablings that they made with me: Thou keepeſt a wife here amongſt vs againſt Gods law and the Queenes. Yelpe, good man Auſten, ſaid I: it is not againſt Gods lawe, nor, as I ſuppoſe, againſt the Queenes.

M. Bland thruſt in a ſide Chappel til the Maſſe was done.

M. Blandes dagger taken from hym.

Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the doore they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the prieſt came out of the Churche, and Ramſy that of late was Clarke, ſaid vnto hym: Sir, where dwell you? And therewith Thomas Auſten tooke him by the arme, and ſaid: Come on ſirha, you are of his opinion, and tooke his daggar from him, & ſaid, he ſhould go with hym. I am content, ſaid he, and a litle mocked them in their enuious talke. By this tyme there came in at the Church ſtyle one John Gray of Wingham, ſeruaunt to John Smith, and ſeeing them holde Ramſy by the armes, ſaid to hym: How now Ramſy, haue you offended the Queenes lawes? No, quoth he. Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſten tooke hym, & ſaid: Ye are one of their opiniō, ye ſhal go with them for company, and tooke his daggar from hym, & then demaunded what he dyd there? But after (I thinke) for very ſhame they let hym go agayne. But they caried me and Ramſy to Canterbury, with. xviij. perſons weaponed. A ſheete of paper wyll not holde the talke that we had that night with M. Hardes Juſtice, M. Oxenden, M. Spilman and M. Tutſam.

Ramſey apprehended by Thomas Auſten.

John Gray of Wingham troubled for a word ſpeaking.

M. Bland and Ramſy caryed to Canterbury.

M. Hardes Juſtice. M. Oxenden Juſtice. M. Spilman M. Tutſam gentlemen againſt Bland.

The next day they made a Byll againſte me, but it ſerued not their purpoſe: which was, that they woulde haue had me to priſon. But James Chapman and Bartholmewe Joyes were bounde in twentie poundes eyther of them for myne appearaunce at the next generall Seſſions, or in the meane tyme to appeare, if I were ſent for, before the Queenes Maieſties Counſayle, or any other Commiſſioners ſent by the Queenes authoritie. And Ramſy was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaueour tyl the next Seſſions. His ſureties wer Thomas Hogeking, and Simon Barrat.

James Chapman and Bartlemew Joyes, Suerties for Maiſter Bland.

Hogeking and Symon Barrat Suertyes for Ramſy.

Now the. 23. or. 24. of February, ſir Thomas Finch knight, and M. Hardes ſent for me and my ſureties to M. Finches place, and tooke me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the Caſtle of Canterbury, by ſir Thomas Moyles commaundement (they ſaid) where I lay ten weekes, & then was bayled, and bound to appere at the next Seſſions holden at Canterbury: but after they changed it to be at Aſhford on the Thurſday in Whitſon weeke, being the. xix. of May: but in the meane tyme the matter was exhibited to the ſpiritual Court.

M. Bland taken from his Suerties Syr Tho. Moyles commaundeth M. Bland to Canterbury caſtle.

¶ The firſte examination of M. Iohn Blande in the ſpiritual Court, before D. Harpſfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and M. Collins Commiſſary.

The. xviij. day of May, M. Harpſfielde Archdeacon of Canterbury, made the Mayors Sergeant to bring me before hym and M. Collins Commiſſarye, into Chriſtes Church, & they went with me into a chamber in the Suffragan of Douers houſe. Thē the Archdeacō ſaid: art thou a prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſayd: Art thou any graduate of any Uniuerſitie? And I ſaid, Yea. What degree (ſaid he) haſt thou taken? The degree, quoth I, of a maſter of Arte. The more pitie, quoth he, that thou ſhouldeſt behaue thy ſelfe as thou haſte done. Thou haſte bene a common preacher licenced, haſt thou not? And I ſayde, I haue bene ſo. Mary, quoth he, ſo I vnderſtand.

M. Bland M. of Art of Cambridge.

What haſt thou preached?

And I ſaid, Gods worde, to the edifying (I truſt) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the deſtroying of their ſoules and thine both, except the mercy of God be al the greater. I pray thee, what haſt thou preached? tel me.

I told you, quoth I, what I haue preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth he, what one matter haſt thou preached, to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt? I wyl tel you no particular matter: for I perceiue you would haue ſome matter againſt me.

No by my fayth, quoth he, but ỳ onely I would wyn thee from hereſies that thou art bewrapt in, and haſte infected other withall. For thou haſt preached, as I am enfourmed, that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar is not the very body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſte after the conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thyne opinion?

Note how theſe Papiſtes ſeeke for matter, to ſucke the bloud of poore men.

Sir, quoth I, I perceyue (as I ſayde) that ye ſeeke matter againſte me. But ſeeyng that I am bounde in the Seſſions to my good behaueour for preaching, which may be broken with wordes, and wel I know not with what wordes: and alſo both myne authoritie to preach, and my liuing are taken from me, I thinke I am not bound to make you an anſweare.

Collins. Maiſter Bland, do you not remember, that S. Peter byddeth you make anſweare to euery man that aſketh you a reaſon of the fayth that is in you?

Bland. I know that, & am content ſo to anſwere as that text byddeth: but I knowe that maiſter Archdeacon doth not aſke me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſaid, No: ye ſhal not be troubled for any thyng that ye ſay here.

A man not bound to anſwere ſuch as aſke of purpoſe to bring him into trouble.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to cōmone with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fel in reaſonyng more then the ſpace of an houre, of the ſacrament, both agaynſt me. At the laſt M. Collins ſayd: M. Bland wyl ye come, and take in hand to anſweare ſuch matter on monday next, as ſhalbe layed to you?

M. Bland vpon promiſe talketh with them of the Sacrament.

Bland. Sir, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſaid here for learnynges ſake. And they ſaid, Ye ſhal not, but it is for other matters.

Marke what fidelitie is in the promiſe of theſe men.

Bland. Sir, I am bounde to appeare, as ſome tell me, on Thurſday next, at Aſhford. I am in doubt whether I am or no: yet I haue purpoſed to be there, & ſo to go to London to M. Wiſeman, for an Obligatiō that he hath, whereby I ſhould receiue certaine money to pay my dettes withal. Then ſaid M. Archdeacon, I wyl write to M. Wiſeman, that ye ſhal ſuſteyne no loſſe.

Bland. That ſhall not neede: for I can ſuſteyne no great loſſe, if I goe not. But I pray you to let me haue a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland. Sir, I can not wel come on monday.

M. Bland warned to appeare agayne before them.

Harpſ. Wylt thou not come, when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may commaund thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

Harpſ. * Thou ſhalt haue no other day: I charge thee to come on monday.

* Note here the extreme dealing of theſe pretenſed Catholickes.

Bland. Sir, I perceyue it ſhalbe for this, or like matters, wyl it pleaſe you, or maiſter Collins for Gods ſake to conferre ſcriptures priuately with me in this matter, ſeeyng ye ſay ye would ſo gladly wyn me?

Harpſ. With al my hert wyl I take the paynes, & I wyll alſo borow my Lord of Douers Librarye, to haue what bookes thou wylt, and thus they departed.

Now the. xvij. of May, at Aſhford I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the ſpiritual Court for the ſame matter, but was bounde to appeare at the Seſſions holden at Crambroke, the third day of July.

An other appearance of M. Bland before the Archdeacon, and his felowes.

The ſecond appearance of M. Bland.

M. Harpeſfieldes wordes to M. Blande.

THe .21. day of May I appeared in the Chapter houſe, where was a great multitude of people, vnlooked for of me: & M. Archdeacō ſaid thus to me, ye are come here, according as ye were appointed: and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Queenes highnes, here to place me, to ſee Gods holy word ſet forth, & to reforme thoſe that are here fallē into great & heynous errors, to the great diſpleaſure of god, & the decay of Chriſtes ſacramētes, & cōtrary to the faith of the catholike church, wherof thou art notably knowen to be one, that is ſore poyſoned with the ſame, & haſt infected and deceiued many with thy euyl preaching, which if thou wylt renounce, & come home againe to the catholike church, both I and many other moe would be very glad: and I for my part ſhalbe right glad to ſhewe you the fauour that lieth in me, as I ſaid vnto you when you were appoynted hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatiſfie againe the people that ye had deceiued. And wheras it is fained by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day, although I did neither ſo intend nor appoint, yet I am cōtent to diſpute yͤ matter with thee, if thou wylt not without diſputation helpe to heale the ſoules that are brought to helward by thee? What ſaiſt thou?

Falſe ſurmiſe pretended agaynſt M. Bland.

The aunſwere of M. Bland to M. Harpeſfieldes wordes.

Bland. I do proteſt before God & you al, that neither is my conſcience gilty of any errour or hereſie, neither that I euer taught any error or hereſie willingly. And where your maſterſhip ſayth, that I haue fained an open diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approue: Vpō ſaterday I was at Vgdens, & there M. Binghā laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open diſputation as ye haue here offered, ſhould be this day betwene you & me: wherat I much marueiled, & ſaid to him, that before that preſent I neuer hearde any ſuch word: neither would I anſwere nor diſpute: & to this can maſter Vaghan, maſter Oxenden, maſter Seth of Ouerland, and maſter Vgden witneſſe: and further I ſaid to them, that I neuer ſpake to you of any diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your maſterſhip haue any thing to ſay to me by the lawe, I wyl make anſwere to it.

M. Bland cleareth him ſelfe of the falſe report of M. Harpeſfield.

Harpſ. Heare ye what he ſaith? his conſcience is cleare. I pray thee wheron groundeſt thou thy conſcience? let me heare what thy faith is.

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould more aſke me a reaſon of my faith, then any other man in this open audience?

Harpſ. Why thou heretike, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a chriſtē beliefe, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

To beleue the .12. articles of our chriſtian faythe neuer ſo well it will not ſuffice the Papiſtes.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I beleeue in God the father almightye, maker of heauen & earth, and in Jeſus Chriſte his only ſonne our Lord. &c. with all the other articles of the Creede: and I do beleue al the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certaine and true.

Harpſ. Wylt thou declare no more then this?

Bland. No.

The Popiſh fayth of Doctour Harpeſfield.

Harpſ. Wel, I will tel thee wheron I ground my faith. I do beleue & ground my faith & cōſcience vpon al the articles of the Crede, & vpon al the holy ſcriptures, ſacramentes, and holy doctors of the church, and vpō al the general Councels that euer were ſince the apoſtles tyme. Loe hereupon groūd I my faith: with many wordes moe, which I wel remember not. And when he coulde get no other anſwere of me, thē I had ſaid before, he called for a Scribe to make an act againſt me. And after much cōmunication I ſaid: by what law and authoritie wyl you procede againſt me? M. Collins ſaid: By the Canon law.

M. Bland requireth to haue his Counſeller.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength, or no, yet I pray you let me haue a Counſeller in the lawe, and I wyll make anſwere according to the lawe.

Harpſ. Why thou heretike, thou wilt not confeſſe thy faith to me, that haue authoritie to demaund it of thee, and yet I haue confeſſed my faith to thee before al this audience. As cōcerning the bleſſed ſacramēt of the altar, thou haſt taught that after the conſecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and bloud of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. Howe ſayeſt thou? haſt thou not thus taught?

The Papiſtes euer falſe of promiſe.

Bland. Syr, as concernyng this matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and maſter Collins, ye ſaid then it was for other matters that I ſhoulde come hyther for: and further, that ye woulde be content, at my deſire, to conferre ſcriptures with me, to ſee if ye coulde wynne me: and ye ſaid, ye would borowe my Lord of Douers Librarie, that I ſhould haue what booke I would: and now ye require me thus to anſwer, contrary to your promiſe, ere any conference be had, & ſeeke rather to bring me into trouble, then to wynne me.

Harpſ. I wyll, as God ſhall helpe me, doo the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wylt be any thing conformable: and I truſt to diſſolue al thy doubtes, if thou be willyng to heare. And I alſo wyl deſire theſe two worſhipful men, my Lord of Douer, and maſter Collins to heare vs.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhalbe no ſuch witnes. But when we agree, ſet to our handes. Hereat made the people a noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the witnes: and here had we many moe wordes, then I can rehearſe. But at the laſt I ſaid: ſir wyll ye geue me leaue to aſke you one queſtion? And he ſaid, yea, with all my hart. For in that thou aſkeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou mayeſt be wonne.

M. Blandes queſtion to Doctour Harpeſfield.

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed almighty God to ſende his aungell vnto yͤ virgin Mary to ſalute her, & ſaid: Haile ful of grace. &c. came any ſubſtance from God our father into the virgins wombe, to become man? Whereat, as wel M. Archdeacon, as my Lorde of Douer, and maſter Collins ſtaied. But my Lord ſpake the firſt, and ſaid: the holy ghoſt came to her: and ere he had brought out his ſentence, maſter Siriac Peters ſaid: Virtus altiſſimi obumbrauit. Truth, ſaid maſter Archdeacon: it was the power of God, ſent by the holy ghoſt. They had forgotten, that genitus fuit ex ſubſtantia patris: Or els they perceiued wherunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they leaft it: by what wordes I can not tell, but I ſaid: ſir, ſhall I aſke one other? And he ſaid, yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſtes naturall body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no.

An other queſtion of M. Bland to D. Harpſfield

Harpſ. Harke, ſaid maſter Archdeacon: heare ye this heretike? He thinkes it an abſurditie to graunt al the quantities of Chriſtes natural body to be in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurditie. For euen that naturall body that was borne of the virgin Mary, is glorified, and that ſame bodye is in the ſacrament after the conſecration. But perceiue ye not yͤ arrogancie of this heretike, that wil put me to anſweare hym, and he wyll not anſweare me? he thought to put me to a pinche with his queſtion: for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. Sir, if ye be ſo muche diſcontented with me, I wyll ſay no more: yet I woulde all men hearde, that ye ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament, after the cōſecration.

How can the glorified body be in the Sacrament, when the Sacrament was geuen before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified.

Harpſ. I may call thee groſſe ignoraunt. Thou groſſe ignorant, is not that ſame body glorified, that was borne of the virgin Mary? is it then any abſurditie, to graunt that to be in the ſacrament? And whiles he ſpake many other wordes, I ſaid to maiſter Petit, that the ſacrament was inſtituted, deliuered, and receyued of his apoſtles, before Chriſtes bodye was crucified: and it was crucified before it was glorified: which ſaying maſter Petit partly recited to M. Archdeacon.

The body vnglorified was geuen in the Sacrament, in a glorified act, quoth Harpſfielde.

Harpſ. Thou art without all learnyng. Was not Chriſtes body geuen to his Apoſtles, as in a glorified acte? and yet no inconuenience, although his naturall body was not crucified: for whē he was borne of the virgin Mary without paine, was not that the acte of a glorified bodye? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his apoſtles, the doores being ſhut faſt, were not theſe actes of a glorified body?

Douer. Then my Lord of Douer helped hym to a better place, and ſaid: when Chriſte was in Mount Thabor, he was there glorified in his apoſtles ſight.

Harpſ. Ye ſay truth, my lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his apoſtles.

Bland. This me thinke is newe doctrine.

D. Harpeſfield renueth the bill of complaint againſt M. Bland.

Harpſ. Well, ſeeyng he wyll by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and proue theſe matters agaynſte hym. And therewithe the Archedeacon brought foorth a copie of the Byl of complaint that was put againſt me at Chriſtmas: and about that we talked a litle. And then Maiſter Archdeacon roſe vp, and ſayde: ſee yee good people, that knowe this matter, that ye come in, and proue it agaynſte hym. Whereunto aunſweared Thomas Auſten: I praye you (ſaide he) let vs be no more troubled with hym. And then ſpake John Auſten, and Heath with one eye, and beganne to accuſe me: but no anſweare they could haue of me, but doo to me what ye can by the law, and I wyll anſweare it. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten, Bland, ye were once abiured.

Thomas Auſten chargeth Maiſter Bland with an other vntruth.

Bland. Ye ſay not truely, good man Auſten, I was neuer abiured. Either, ſaide he, ye were abiured, or els ye had the kinges pardon. Neither of both: ye ſpeake this of malice: with many other brabling wordes moe. Then M. Archdeacon departed, and leaft maſter Collins, to cōmaund me to appeare the next day. Howbeit for certayne other vrgent buſines that I had, I dyd not appeare, but wrote a letter to M. Cōmiſſary, deſiring hym to reſpite yͤ matter tyll my commyng home againe: and if he woulde not, I would be content to ſubmit my ſelfe to the lawe when I came home.

1555. July.

Now about the .xxviij. day of Iune I came to maiſter Commiſſary, to ſhewe hym of my returne, and offered my ſelfe to ſatiſfie the lawe, if it were proceded againſt me, before M. Cockes of Stutray, and Markes the Apparitor: but M. Cōmiſſary ſaid gently, he had done nothing againſt me. And ſo appoynted me to appeare before hym the fryday ſeuennight after. Nowe in the meane tyme was the Seſſions holden at Cranbroke, where I was bounde to appeare: and carrying ſuretie with me, to be bound againe (for I looked for none other) dyd appeare the third day of Iuly.

M. Bland appearing at Seſſions in Cranbroke.

And ſir Iohn Baker ſaid: Bland, ye are, as we heare ſay, a Scot: where were ye borne and brought vp? And I ſaid, I was borne in Englande. And he ſaide, where? And I ſaid, in Sedber, and brought vp by one Doct. Lupton Prouoſt of Eton Colledge. Wel, ſaid he, I know him well. Remaine in your bond tyl after noone.

Syr Iohn Bakers talke wyth M. Bland.

M. Bland brought vp by D. Lupton Prouoſt of Eaton Colledge.

Then ſaid ſir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a ſtiffe harted felowe. Thou wylt not obey the lawe, nor anſwere when thou art called. No wyl, quoth ſir Iohn Baker? Maiſter Sheriffe, take hym to your warde: and the Bayliffe ſet me in the ſtockes, with other, and woulde not heare me ſpeake one word: and ſo we remayned in the gayle of Maidſton, tyl a fourtnight before Michaelmas, or thereabout: and thē we were caried to Rocheſter to Aſſiſe holdē there, where we were among the priſoners two dayes: and whē we were called, & the Iudges of Aſſiſe aſked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, M. Barrow Clarke of peace ſaid, that I was an excommunicate perſon.

Syr Thomas Moyles wordes.

M. Bland layd in Maydſtone Gayle.

M. Bland caryed to the Aſſiſe at Rocheſter.

Then maſter Roper of Linſted talked with the Iudges, but what, I am not able to ſay. But the Iudge of Aſſiſe ſaide, Take them to Maidſtone againe, and bryng them to the Seſſion that ſhalbe holden next at the town of Maldin: howbeit, the Sheriffe dyd not ſend for vs, ſo that we taryed at Maidſtone tyl the Seſſions holden at Grenwich the .xviij. and .xix. of Februarye. I and other beyng within the Barre amongſt the felons, and yrons vpon our armes, were called out the latter day by the Gayler & Bayliffes, and raſed of our yrons, and carryed by them into the towne, to ſir Iohn Baker, maſter Petit, maſter Webbe, & other two, whom I knew not.

M. Bland caried againe to Maydſtone Caſtle.

M. Bland appeareth at Seſſions in Grenewich.

An other examination of maiſter Bland
before Sir Iohn Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherfore were ye caſt into priſon?

Bland. I can not well tell. your Maiſterſhip caſte me in.

Baker. yea, but wherfore were ye in before that tyme?

Bland. For an vniuſt complaint put vpon me.

Baker. What was the complaint?

Bland. I told hym as truely and briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy booke: and I tooke hym a Latine Teſtament.

Baker. Wyll ye goe to the Churche, and obey and folowe the Queenes procedyngs, and do as an honeſt man ſhould doo?

Bland. I truſt to God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Baker. Wyl ye doo as I ſaid?

Bland. Wyl it pleaſe your maiſterſhip to geue me leaue to aſke you a queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Sir, may a man doo any thing, that his conſcience is not ſatiſfied in to be good?

A queſtion propounded to Syr Iohn Baker.

Baker. Awaye, awaye, and threwe downe the booke, and ſaid: It is no Teſtament. And I ſaid, yes. And maiſter Webbe tooke it vp, and ſaide vnto me marueylous gently: Maiſter Bland, I knewe you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reforme your ſelfe: with better wordes then I wyll write. And I ſaid: If ye haue knowen me of an other opinion, then I am of nowe, it was for lacke of knowledge.

Baker. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? by ſaint Mary, and thou hold thee there, I wyll geue ſixe fagots to burne thee withall, or thou ſhouldeſt be vnburned. Hence knaue, hence. And ſo were we repriued into our place againe, within the Barre. And at night when iudgement of felons, and all was done, we were called, and the Iudge ſaide to the Gayler, Take them with you, and deliuer them to the Ordinarye, & if they wyll not be reformed, let them be deliuered to vs againe, and they ſhal haue iudgement & execution. And one of our companye ſaide: My Lorde, if we be killed at your handes for Chriſtes ſake, we ſhal liue with hym for euer.

Haſty iudgement of a Iuſtyce.

M. Bland and hys felowes ſent to the Ordinary by Syr Iohn Baker

An other appearance of M. Bland
in the Spirituall Court.

Then came we to the Caſtle of Canterbury, and there we remayned tyll the ſeconde day of March, at whiche daye we were brought into the Chapterhouſe of Chriſtchurch where were ſet the Suffragan of Canterbury, maſter Collins, maiſter Mylles, with other: and then went to them maiſter Oxenden, maſter Petit, and maiſter Webbe, maſter Hardes Iuſtices. And when I was called, maſter Webbe ſaide: Here we preſent this man vnto you, as one vehemently ſuſpect of hereſie.

M. Bland brought agayne to the caſtle of Canterbury.

Bland. And I ſaide: Maiſter Webbe, ye haue no cauſe to ſuſpecte me of hereſie. I haue bene a priſoner this whole yeare, and no matter proued againſt me. I pray you wherfore haue I bene ſo long kept in priſon?

Webbe. Leaue your arrogant aſking of queſtions, & anſweare to that that is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do ſo: for I ſay you haue no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſie.

Webbe. Yes: ye denyed to ſir Iohn Baker, to be conformable to the Queenes proceedinges.

Bland. Is it a iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſie, for aſkyng a queſtion with leaue? So we had moe wordes there then I well remember.

The aunſweres of M. Bland firſt to the Iuſtices.

Then ſtood vp maiſter Petit, and ſaide: ye were caſte into priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then haue I had wrong. For I neuer fled, nor diſobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now ſay if I did: but they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw they held their peace, I ſaid: M. Commiſſary, haue you ben ẏ cauſe of this myne impriſonmēt? No, quoth he: ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appeare the fryday after the Seſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeake no more, but ſhut vp in a corner, tyll my companions were likewiſe preſented, and then we were ſent to Weſtgate into Priſon, and were put in ſeuerall cloſe holdes, that neuer one of vs coulde ſpeake to an other, nor no man was permitted to come to vs. We were foure tymes at this appearaunce. But one they diſpatched, by what meanes I can not tell: whoſe name was Cornewal a Tanner.

Cornewall a Tanner diſpatched in ſecret priſon

And thus hytherto paſſed the talke betweene Bland and the Iuſtices, and certayne Gentlemen of the ſhyre. Now foloweth the order of the reaſonyng betwene him and the Clergie men, before whom he was examined. But for as muche as the chiefeſt doer and Iudge againſt hym was the biſhop of Douer or Suffragan of Cāterbury called D. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appeare what litle truth or conſtancie is in theſe catholike perſecuters, I thought here to exhibite by the way a certaine popiſh letter, written of a Papiſt vnto hym. Wherein is declared what a goſpeller the ſaid Rich. Thornton was in K. Edw. tyme, which now turnyng with the world ſheweth hym ſelf ſuch a bytter perſecuter againſt Gods ſeruantes in Q. Maryes tyme. The copie of this letter here foloweth.

¶ A copie of a popiſh letter written to the biſhop of Douer by one Thomas Goldwel a prieſt, declaring what a profeſſour he was in king Edwardes tyme.

Right reuerende and my good Lorde, after my hartye thankes for your good cheare at my laſt being with your Lordſhip, this ſhalbe to certifie you, that as ſoone as I arriued with my Lords Grace, I gaue hym your letters, but I had muche worke to obteyne any thing of hym for you. For there hath bene geuen very euyll informations of you, and it hath bene ſaide, that you haue concurred with all maner of euyl procedings, the which hath theſe yeres paſt bene in England, as well againſt the holy ſacrament of the aultar, and againſt the ſupreme authoritie of Chriſts vicar in earth, as with the vſe of the abominable late Communion, and with the mariage of prieſtes, as wel religious, as ſecular: and that you haue geuen orders to (I can not tell how many) baſe, vnlearned, and euyl diſpoſed people, by reaſon of the whiche they haue taken vppon them to preache, and to doo muche hurt in Kent. So that men thinke that yet if any newe mutation (the which God forbyd) ſhoulde chaunce, you woulde be as readye to chaunge, as any other. And in deede it maketh me to feare the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtanding it pleaſed almighty God to prouide, that your abſolution was ſent vnto you (not looking, I dare ſay, for any ſuch thing) of all maner of matters paſt, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding the vanitie of the worlde, then the offence of God, the whiche he onely knoweth how much it greeues me, for the due loue I beare vnto you) preſumed to ſing Maſſe in Pontificalibus, the holy dayes immediately folowing, and alſo to miniſtrate to children the ſacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (beyng a member of the deuyll,) dyd ſomewhat comfort you ſo to doo.

The moneth of the arriuall of Cardinall Poole.

Thornton B. of Douer, a great doer agaynſt the Pope and Sacrament of the altar, in king Edwardes tyme.

Oh my Lord, what honor ſhould it haue bene both to God and your ſelfe, and alſo edification to all good people, (though al worldly men and heretikes would therfore haue laughed you to ſcorne) if you conſidering your great offences toward God, and his goodnes againe toward you, would like as you haue offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewiſe haue ſhewed your ſelfe penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, & not onely to haue celebrate for vanitie Pontificaliter, but alſo for a tyme to haue abſtained for reuerence totaliter from the aultar, according to the olde cuſtome of the churche. The which I haue alſo ſeene obſerued of ſome honeſt men, not being therto enioyned of any man. But that which is paſt can not be called againe. And I thought it not my parte to leaue your Lordſhip mine old frend and maiſter in the myre. Wherfore I ceaſed not to ſolicite your cauſe with my lords Grace, tyl at the laſt I obteined of his Grace for your lordſhip all the faculties, of the whiche I ſende you a copie here incloſed, partly for your owne conſolation, and partly for other, deſiring your Lordſhip ſo to vſe them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publiſhing them to any perſon, but to ſuch that you knowe wyl gladly receiue them. For hitherto there is neuer a Biſhop in Englande, who hath graunted hym ſo great authoritie concerning thoſe the which be vnder his cure. Onely M. Archdeacon hath the like, & in one thing more greater then be theſe your Lordſhips. Wherefore your Lordſhip ſhall doo well to remit vnto hym all ſuche Prieſtes as haue cure of ſoule, whether they be beneficed men, or pariſhe prieſtes. For he hath not onely authoritie to abſolue them as you haue, but alſo to geue thē authoritie to abſolue ſuch as be vnderneath their cures. And thus I commit your lordſhip to the protection of almighty God. Written at Bruſſel the. xvi. of Iune. 1554.

Power to geue abſolution graunted to the Biſhop of Douer from the Cardinall.

Your Lordſhips beadman,
Thomas Goldwel.

And thus muche concerning the Biſhop of Douer, by way of digreſſion. Now to returne againe to the examinations of M. Bland, let vs heare his owne report of his anſweres, as foloweth.

¶ Here foloweth myne anſwere, as nie as I can cal to remēbrance, euery woorde and ſentence: yet if any that was preſent can helpe to perfect it, I would he glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is neuer one ſentence, but it was openly ſpoken, the ninth of March, in the Chapter houſe of Crechurche, in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Mayor of the Citie being called to be aſſiſtance, and all other ſhut out.

The anſweare of Maiſter Bland in his appearaunce before the Commiſſarye and other in the ſpirituall Courte.

The aunſweres of M. Bland to the clergy men.

Maiſter Collins ſaid: Maiſter Bland, ye know that ye were preſented vnto vs, as one ſuſpected of hereſie. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reforme your ſelfe to the Lawes of the Realme, and of the holy church?

M. Bland vniuſtly ſuſpected of hereſie, and more vniuſtly puniſhed.

Bland. I deny that I am ſuſpected iuſtly of hereſie, and that ye hearde when I was preſented, that I denyed the ſuſpition to be iuſt, but to defend the vniuſt puniſhmēt that I haue ſuffered: neither can ye approue that any occaſion hath bene geuen by me, wherby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you haue any lawe or authoritie to procede againſt me for any thing done for an whole yeare agoe and more, I wyl anſwere to it.

Col. Ye were conuented before maiſter Archdeacon & me, and matter of hereſie laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſaid an whole yeare agoe, and for that I haue bene in priſon this yeare & more. If ye haue any thing againſt me by any lawe, I deſire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I wyl anſwere according to the lawe.

Then ſaide my Lorde Suffragan: but that I am one of the Iudges, I woulde ryſe, and ſtande by thee, and accuſe thee to be a Sacramentarie, and bring witneſſe to proue it: yea, and further, that thou haſt called the maſſe an abominable Idole.

The B. of Douer, once abhorred the Maſſe.

Bland. You (my Lorde) neuer hearde me ſay ſo: But I hearde you once ſay, that in your conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſſe three yeares. Thou lyeſt (quoth he) I neuer ſayde ſo.

Collins the Commiſſary profeſſed before the true doctrine of free Iuſtification by Chriſt.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnes to approue it, with the day, tyme, and place: and I once did heare M. Collins at a Viſitation in Wingam ſay, that Chriſt was a ful ſatiſfaction for all ſinne preſent, paſt, and to come, contrary to that he ſaith now.

And here we had more wordes of this matter, which I let paſſe for lacke of good remembrance.

Maiſter Collins ſaid, this is but a ſhift. You were better anſwere now: for els you ſhall to priſon againe, and be called on monday, and haue articles laide to you, & if ye then anſwere not directly, ye ſhalbe condemned pro confeſſo, and that wyl be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I doo not nowe, nor wyll not then denye to anſweare to any thing that ye can laye to my charge by the lawe: wherefore I truſt ye wyll let me haue the benefite of the Lawe.

Collins. This is the lawe, that if ye be required of your Ordinary, Reddere rationem fidei, then may ye not deny it. And that we do nowe.

M. Bland confeſſeth all the Articles of his Creed. If the fayth of the Sacrament be in the ſcripture and ſo neceſſary a thyng, why did not the Apoſtles then put it in the Creede, and make 13. Articles? If it be not in the ſcripture, nor yet put in the Creede why then doth the Pope ſo extremely bind vs vnto it?

Bland. To that then I wyll aunſweare. For I beleeue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen & earth, and in Jeſus Chriſte his onely ſonne our Lorde, with all the other Articles of the ſame Creede: And I beleeue all the Articles conteyned both in the Creede called the maſſe Creede, and in the Creede of Athanaſius: And I doo beleue, that al the holy ſcriptures, and al thinges therein conteyned, are moſt true.

Collins. This wyll not ſerue you: ye muſt aunſweare to all ſuche Articles in all theſe, as ſhall be layde to you, or asked of you.

Bland. Let me know the law that it is in that force (without any iuſte cauſe of ſuſpition proued againſte me) and I wyll anſweare.

Collins. How ſay ye, wyl ye anſwere?

Bland. Sir, I haue anſwered you. Haue him away, ſaide my Lord of Douer: he had better haue anſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to anſweare, if ye haue any thing againſt me by the lawe.

B. Douer. Ye haue preached many hereſies in Adiſham, where I am parſon nowe: and therfore ye muſt make anſwere to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the law, and I wyl anſwere them, if ye can approue that I am bound to anſwere to that was done a yere & more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, and compell me to anſwere to all thinges done in al my life I trowe.

Collins. It is not a yeare agoe ſince ye were before M. Archdeacon and me.

M. Bland appeared at v. Seſſions, and could not haue his cauſe tryed.

Bland. It is truth, it is a yeare and tenne weekes ſince the wordes were ſpoken: and I haue bene a priſoner euer ſince, and haue bene at fiue Seſſions, and neuer coulde haue any cauſe tryed. Me thinke your charities ſhoulde thinke it puniſhment enough, if I had bene gilty.

Collins. All this wyll not ſerue you: you muſte needes aunſweare, and it wyll be better for you to anſweare nowe, then an other tyme. Wyll ye refourme your ſelfe, and goe to the Churche, and worſhip Chriſte in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, and be obedient vnto all the queenes Lawes?

M. Bland called before the ſpirituall iudges not for any matter they had but that they would haue agaynſt hym.

Bland. I pray you, wherfore am I brought hither?

Collins. To anſweare to ſuch thinges as are demaunded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had had ſome matters againſt me by the law.

Collins. Wel, on monday at. ix. of the clocke ye ſhal ſee the law, and haue articles laid vnto you.

Then they had ſpyed Maiſter Cockes the Lawyer, and called hym in, and ſaide: Here is a Lawyer can tel you are bounde by the lawe to aunſweare: and he ſaide, as they had ſaide.

Collins. Doo ye not beleeue that after the conſecration of the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar there remayneth no ſubſtance of bread, but the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſte both God and man.

M. Bland denieth the realtie of Chriſtes preſence in the Sacrament.

Bland. Maiſter Commiſſary, I know not by any lawe, why ye ſhoulde aſke me that queſtion, more then any other man here. And after a litle talke, my Lord of Douer asked me this queſtion: Doeſt thou not beleue after the conſecration, that it is the body of Chriſt? And I ſaid, No, I doo not ſo beleue: for the ſcriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remayne the fleſh of Chriſt, to eate as a man ſhoulde eate mans fleſh?

The Capernaites tooke Chriſt to ſpeake literally of his body, and ſo do the Papiſtes, and not the Proteſtantes.

Then maiſter Glaſier ſaide, that was the opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that opinion, and ſpake long of cutting of Chriſtes body, as men cut fleſhe in the Shambles.

Then Maiſter Doctor Faucet ſaid: Maiſter Bland, for as muche as you and I were brought vp both in one houſe, and borne both in one Pariſhe, I woulde be as glad as any man aliue, to doo you good: but ye maye not thus ſtand againſt the church. For Chriſt ſaith: ye muſt humble your ſelfe, and take vp his Croſſe, and folowe hym. And to humble your ſelfe in this place, is to be content, and not

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Determination of the Church, is to be folowed ſo farre as the church determineth by the ſcriptures.

ſticke to your owne iudgement, but to humble your ſelfe to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the conſecration, there remayneth no bread, but the naturall bodye and bloud of Chriſt.

Bland. Maiſter Doctour, if ye take humblyng of our ſelfe in that place, to admytte the determination of the Church, then muſt we knowe by the Scriptures, that the ſame church determined nothyng but accordyng to the ſcriptures, as this is not: and therefore I doo not beleue any ſuch tranſubſtantiation, nor neuer wyll, God wyllyng. The (quoth he) I haue done with you: I wyl no more pray for you then for a dogge.

Then ſaid M. Glaſier: howe thinke ye? Dyd Paul when he ſaid: Is not the bread that we breake, a partaking of the body of Chriſt? Dyd he ſay Bakers bread?

Argument. Fes- The glorified body of Chriſt was not crucified. ti- The Apoſtels did eate the body crucified. no. Ergo, the Apoſtles did not eat the glorified body of Chriſt.

Bland. Though he dyd not meane bakers bread, that doth not proue that he brake natural and real fleſh.

Gla. No, by ſaint Mary, we ſay not ſo, but we ſay, it is the naturall body glorified, vnder the fourmes of bread and wyne.

Bland. Then the apoſtles had it not as we haue: or els his glorified body was crucified for vs.

Gla. Tuſhe, ye doo not vnderſtande the Scriptures. For Chriſtes bodye was euer glorified, in that it was ſo marueilouſly vnited to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed his bodye diuers tymes glorified, as in the Mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we ſee he was light, and had no weight in hym. Was not that then a glorified bodye?

Bland. Then belike Peters bodye was glorified: walkyng on the water was ÿ deede of a glorified body: and the yron that Elizeus made to ſwym vpon the water.

Douer. Tuſh, quoth my Lord of Douer, that was done by prayer. But they made ſuch a noyſe with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord ſayd.

It auayleth not to reaſon with the Papiſtes in tyme of their kingdome.

Bland. Maiſters, I knowe that it auayleth vs nothyng to reaſon with you, no more then it booted you in the tyme of the Goſpell. For then neyther the reaſon of Eckius, Coclæus, nor yet of detection of the Deuylles ſophiſtrie of my Lorde Chauncellours doyng, coulde take anye place. And it is knowen to ſome that be here, that ſomethyng I can ſay in them.

Douer. No, you knowe Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and ſuche other.

Bland. In deede my Lorde, I haue ſeene parte of their doynges.

Douer. That is ſeene by thee to day.

Gla. I was glad when I heard you ſay ye beleued the catholike church: and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I doo not.

Gla. Ye knowe that Chriſte ſayth: If thy brother haue offended thee, goe and reconcile hym, betweene thee and hym. If he heare thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, all thinges maye be eſtabliſhed. If he heare not then, Dic Eccleſiæ: If he heare not the Churche, take hym as an heathen. I pray you, where coulde ye haue founde this church of yours fiftie yeares ago?

The church viſible.

Bland. Ye know that the true church dyd not at al tymes floriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Douer. Then my Lorde cryed: No more, I commaunde you to holde your peace. Haue hym awaye, and bryng in an other.

Bland commaunded away.

Collins. Ye ſhall come agayne on Monday, at nyne of the clocke, and in the meane tyme ye ſhall haue whom ye wyl to conferre withal, your frend D. Faucet, or M. Glaſier, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I wil refuſe to talke with no man: as for any conference of your parte, it is but weake lawes, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no law, I dyd deſire conference. And ſo for that tyme I departed.

The monday after we were brought forth to the ſame place agayne: And then M. Collins began to ſpeake to me: but after what maner, it is cleane out of my mynde: but the end was, that I would refourme my ſelfe. But as I dyd before, I demaunded what they had to laye to my charge, & to ſee the law, which they ſayd before, I ſhould ſee.

Douer. What needes that? we haue enough agaynſte you. For ye * denyed to me the Tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament.

*Yea but why then did you priſon hym a whole yeare before.

Bland. I dyd refuſe to aunſweare, tyll ye promiſed that I ſhoulde ſee the Lawe, whereby ye maye compell me to aunſweare.

Douer. My Lord tooke the Scribes booke, and read the anſwer that I made to D. Faucets reaſon, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no ſuch anſwere when ye aſked me. I take M. Collins and M. Glaſier to witnes. Then they brought forth a Decretall, a booke of the biſhop of Romes law, to bynd me to anſweare, which my hart abhorred to looke vpon. The effect was, that the Ordinarye had authoritie to examine, and that they ſo examined, muſte needes anſweare. But I ſayde, that it meaned of ſuche as were iuſtly ſuſpect, as I was not. And here we had much communication. For I charged them with vniuſt impriſonment, which they could not auoyde.

The Popes kay.

But M. Oxenden would haue helped them, and ſayde, the Iuſtices put me in priſon for a ſermon ſeditiouſly ſpoken, and for troublyng a prieſt at maſſe.

M. Oxenden helpeth the Catholickes.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had bene tenne weekes in priſon, I was bayled, tyl I was caſt in agayne, (and as the Iuſtice ſaid) for the diſobeying myne Ordinary, which I neuer dyd.

Collins. Wyl ye be content to conferre with ſome? It wil be better for you: nowe we offer it you, becauſe ye woulde not deſire it.

Bland. As I dyd not refuſe before, no more wyl I nowe, But I dyd not perceyue before, but that one might haue come without any leaue aſking, to conferre the ſcriptures: and therefore I looked that D. Faucet would haue come to me without deſiring, if any commoditie to me had bene in conference: for though I was neuer able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

M. Bland was tutor to Doct. Faucet.

Collins. Are ye contente to come to his chamber at after noone?

Bland. Sir, I am a priſoner, and therefore it is meete that I obey, and come whyther you wyll, and ſo departed. At this tyme we were three. But they tooke an other to appeare before them the Tewſday ſeuennight after. And when he came, I knewe not what was done, but that I heare, they excommunicated hym, and let hym go. His name was Myller, a Clothier.

These 3. belike were, Bland, Shetterden, and Middleton.

Here foloweth a certayne confutation of M. Bland, againſte falſe and manifeſt abſurdities, graunted by M. Mylles, prieſt of Chriſtes Churche in Canterburye.

Mylles. We ſay, that Chriſt is in or vnder the ſacramēt really and corporally, which are the formes of bread and wyne, and that there his bodye is conteyned inuiſibly, and the qualities which we doo ſee, as whitenes and roundnes, be there without ſubſtance by Gods power, as quātitie and weight be there alſo by inuiſible meaſure.

The Popiſh fayth of the Sacrament.

Bland. This is your owne Diuinitie, to make accidences the Sacrament, and Chriſtes reall bodye inuiſibly conteyned in them, and ſo to deſtroye the ſacrament. And yet the Doctours ſaye: * Materia Sacramenti eſt panis & vinum. And God by his power worketh no myracles with Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſo to chaunge the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne into his bodye and bloud, in that he maketh accidences to be without their ſubſtaunce by inuiſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſtes ſacrament, contrary to your own Doctours, and trifle ſo with Gods worke.

* i. The matter of the Sacrament is bread and wyne.

Mylles. To Chriſte is geuen all power in heauen and in earth, ſo that by his omnipotent power of his Godhead he maye be, and is where he lyſteth, and is in the Sacramente really and corporally without occupying of place: for a glorified bodye occupyeth no place.

If Chriſt be able to be where he liſt & occupye no place: Why then is not he able to be aſwell vnder the ſubſtance of bread, as vnder the accidences of breade, ſeing he is omnipotent.

Bland. Marke your owne reaſon. All power is geuen to Chriſte, both in heauen and in earth: by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt, Ergo, he is in the ſacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I denye your argument: for it foloweth neyther of your Maior nor Minor. And firſt I would learne of you, howe you know that Chriſte lyſteth to be preſent at euery Prieſts lyſt. For if the prieſt lyſt not to ſaye your Maſſe, then Chriſt lyſteth not to be there.

Chriſt may be where he liſt: Ergo, Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, wythout occupying of place. The Antecedent is true, and the conſequent falſe.

Agayne ye ſay, All power is geuen vnto Chriſte, both in heauen and in earth, ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead, he may be where he lyſt: and by that reaſon he had not the power of his Godhead, tyll he had his humane bodye, and then he was not equal with the father in Diuinitie: for al power was not geuen to Chriſte, before the humanitie and the Godhead were knyt together, neyther was he Filius. Here is more daunger then ye are ware of: if ye would ſtande to it with iuſt Iudges.

Milles. We eate Chriſtes fleſh and bloud ſpiritually, when we receyue it with fayth and charitie. And we alſo doo eate it corporally in the ſacramente: and the body that we ſo receiue hath lyfe. For the Godhead is annexed therto. Which although it be receyued with the bodye of Chriſte, yet it is not inuiſible after a groſſe ſort, and the fleſh of Chriſte that we receyue is liuely, for it hath the ſpirite of God ioyned to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receyuyng of ỹ bloud of Chriſte, for it is contrarye to the nature of Chriſtes bloud. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without ſubſtance of bloud.

Caſe being put, that the Prieſt taking a great quantitie in the Chalice be made dronke, which of theſe three is it that maketh hym dronke, the nature of bloud? the accidences only of vvine? or els the true ſubſtance of vvyne? let any reſonable man iudge.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo muche againſt all men, to ſay that Chriſtes body is alyue in the ſacrament: it maye fortune to bring you to the truth in tyme to come. Me thinke it is euyll to keepe Chriſtes bodye aliue in the Pixe, or els muſt ye graunt that he is alyue in receyuyng, and dead in the Pixe. And ye ſay truth that it is * not the natur[illegible] receyuyng of Chriſtes bloud that maketh a man drunken: for it is the nature of wyne that dooth that, which ye denye not.

Argument.

* Chriſtes bloud hath not that qualitie to make a man dronke:

Receauing of that in the Chalice can make a man dronke.

Ergo that in the Chalice can not be the bloud of Chriſt.

And a more truth ye confeſſe then ye dyd thinke, when ye ſayde: If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtaunce of bloud: for in deede bloud hath no ſuche qualities with it: whiche is euident that there is no naturall bloud. If a man be drunken with wyne conſecrated, it muſte be a myracle, as I thinke you wyll haue it, that the ſayde accidences ſhould be without their naturall ſubſtaunce, and worke all the operations of both ſubſtaunce and accidences: and ſo it foloweth that a man may be drunken by myracle. The bodye that ye receiue, ye ſay, is alyue, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead, and the fleſhe that ye receyue is liuely, becauſe it hath the ſpirite of God ioyned to it.

This diuiſion is of your newe inuentions to diuide the bodye and the fleſhe, the one alyue by the Godhead, the other liuely by Gods ſpirite, and both one ſacramente: ye make of it a thyng ſo fantaſticall, that ye imagine a bodye without fleſh, and fleſh without a body, as ye do qualities & quantities without ſubſtance, and a liuyng bodye without qualities and quantities.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly intente in the Miniſter to conſecrate, after the conſecration thereof there is preſente the bodye and bloud of Chriſte, and no other ſubſtaunce, but accidentes without ſubſtaunce to a true beleeuer.

Fantaſticall abſurdities in the Popes doctrine to be noted.

Bland. Ye graunt three abſurdities, that in a Tunne of wyne conſecrate is nothyng but accidences, and to increaſe it withall, ye haue brought in two inconueniences: firſte, that it is not the worde of God that doth conſecrate, but the intente of the Prieſte muſte helpe to it: and if that lacke, ye ſeeme to graunt no conſecration, though the Prieſte ſpeake the worde: and yet your Doctours ſay, that the wickednes of the Prieſte miniſheth not the ſacrament.

And to an vnbeleeuer ye ſeeme to ſaye, that it is not the ſame that it is to the true beleuer: and then muſt the beleeuer haue ſome thyng to doo in the conſecration. Incidit in ſcyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.

Three inconueniences graunted by the Papiſtes:

1. That a tunne of vvyne being conſecrated, nothing remayneth but accidences: vvhich is falſe by the operation thereof.
2. Where hee ſayth that the vvorde of God doth not cōſecrate vvithout the intent of the Prieſt: vvhich is agaynſt their ovvne doctrine, ſaying that the vvickednes of the prieſt miniſheth not the Sacrament.
3. Where he ſayth, that to the vnbeleuer it is not the ſacrament, as the Papiſtes ſay, that the vvicked receaue the body.

Myllles. The ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes bodye dooth not fyl the Mouſes belly. For although he dooth receyue the outward fourmes of bread and wyne, yet he dooth not receyue the ſubſtaunce inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouſe dooth not eate the bodye of Chriſte, to ſpeake properly: for it dooth not feede hym ſpiritually nor corporally as it dooth man, becauſe he dooth not receyue it to any inducement of immortalitie to the fleſh.

Bland. Ye make not your doctrine playne to be vnderſtand: we muſt know howe a Mouſe can receyue the ſubſtaunce inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſay he dooth not receyue the ſubſtaunce inwardly, but without violation: Ergo, with violation he receyueth the ſubſtaunce inwardly. Ye ſay, that the Mouſe can not violate Chriſtes bodye. But he violateth the ſubſtaunce that he eateth. And this your proper ſpeache dooth importe as much, as that the Mouſe ſhould eate the ſacrament to as great effecte, and the ſame thyng, as dooth the vnworthy receyuer. For if that be the cauſe that ſhee properly eateth not the bodye of Chriſte, becauſe ſhee dooth not feede vpon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receyueth it to any inducement of immortalitie, as ye ſay: then it foloweth, that the vnbeleeuer and the * Mouſe receyueth both one thyng. And yet it can not be denyed but the * Mouſe wyll lyue with conſecrated breade, and then ye muſte graunte the abſurditie, that a ſubſtãce is nouriſhed & fed onely with accidences.

Argument.

A contrario ſenſu.

The mouſe receaueth not the body invvardly, but vvithout violation:

Ergo vvith violation he receyueth the body invvardly.

Argument.

The mouſe violateth not the body of Chriſt.

The mouſe violateth the ſubſtance vvhich he eateth:

Ergo the mouſe eateth no ſubſtance of Chriſtes body.

* The mouſe and the beleuer receaue the bodye of Chriſt, both a lyke, by the Papiſtes doctrine.

* *Argument.*

No mouſe can liue vvyth accidences onely vvithoute ſubſtance.

A mouſe may lyue vvyth conſecrated hoſtes.

Ergo conſecrated hoſtes haue not onely accidences but the ſubſtance of bread.

Myllés. Mens bodyes be fedde with Chriſtes body, as with immortall meate, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed to eternall lyfe: but mens bodyes be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and fourmes of bread and wyne: and we denye, that by the ſacramentall eatyng any groſſe humour turned into bloud, is made myraculouſly in the body.

Bland. Where it can not be denyed that a man may lyue, and naturally be nouriſhed in his naturall bodye with the Sacramentall breade and wyne conſecrated: ye can not auoyde that: but then ye turne to the ſpirituall worſhippyng of mans bodye, by Chriſtes bodye and Godhead annexed, whiche is nothyng to put awaye the abſurditie, that either a mans naturall bodye ſhoulde be fedde naturally with accidences, or els to haue them chaunged into groſſe humours. But ye ſay, mens bodyes be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and fourmes of breade and wyne, and then muſt ye needes graunt that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtance in man. For ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta, or els is al that is the nutriment in man, accidences, and no ſubſtance.

An other abſurditie, that mens bodies be nouriſhed naturally with accidences, and qualityes.

Myls. If the formes of bread & wine be burned, or wormes engendred, it is no derogation to the body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtãce cometh againe.

Bland. Ye graunt here that a ſubſtaunce maye be made of accidences, as aſhes or wormes: but I thinke you wyll haue it by your myracles, and this I count more abſurditie then the other, that Chriſts body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtaunce to come againe: for no worde in all the whole Bible ſeemes to ſerue you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though we granted which that we do not, that it were there.

An other abſurditie, that ſubſtance is made of accidences, when aſhes or wormes be made of the formes of bread and wyne.

God almighty open your hart, if it be his wyl and pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would anſwere you to al the reſt, in theſe and all other my doyngs.

I ſubmit my ſelfe to our ſaueour Jeſus Chriſt and his holye worde, deſiryng you in the bowels of Chriſte to doo the ſame.

Your Oratour in the Lord,
Iohn Bland.

¶ The laſt appearaunce and examination of Maiſter Bland.

Hitherto you haue hearde the troubleſome handlyng of this faythfull and bleſſed ſeruant of God, John Bland, toſte to and fro, from Priſon to Priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſte he was brough before the Byſhop of Douer, the Commiſſarye, and the Archdeacon, at Canterbury, the thirteenth day of June. The name of this Byſhop was Richarde Thornton. The Commiſſarye was Robert Collins, whom the Cardinall by his letters patent had ſubſtitute to be his factor, before his commyng ouer to England. The Archdeacon was Nicholas Harpſfield. Under theſe a great number of innocent Lambes of Chriſte were cruelly entreated and ſlayne at Canterburye, amongeſt whom this foreſayde maiſter Bland was one of the firſt: who as it is ſayd, beyng brought before the ſayde Biſhop and his Colleagues, which were John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Umfrey Middleton, William Coker, was examined of articles. To whom it was obiected by the Commiſſary, whether he did beleeue that Chriſte is really in the Sacrament, or no. &c. To this he anſwered, and ſayd: that he beleued that Chriſt is in the ſacrament, as he is in al other good bodyes: ſo that he iudged not Chriſt to be really in the ſacrament.

Richard Thornton the bloudy Byſhop of Douer.

The wordes of M. Bland at his examination.

Whereupon, the day beyng Monday, he was byd to appeare agayne vpon Wedneſday next, and frō thence he was deferred againe to monday folowyng, beyng the .xx. of June in the ſame Chapterhouſe, thē to heare further what ſhould be done, in caſe he woulde not relent to their mynd.

An other appearance.

The which day and place he appearyng, as before, was required to ſay his mynd plainly and fully to the foreſaid articles, beyng againe repeated to hym. Which articles commonly and in courſe they vſe to obiect to their Examinates whiche be brought before them, as here nowe foloweth, and neede not muche hereafter, ſpecially for that Countrey of

The laſt appearance of M. Bland before the Byſhop of Douer and other.

of Kent, to be repeated.

¶ Articles miniſtred by Richarde Biſhop of Douer, to Maiſter Bland, and likewiſe to the reſt folowing after hym.

Articles of Courſe, miniſtred againſt M. Bland.

1 FIrſte, that thou art of the Dioces of Canterburye, and ſo ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Archbiſhop there.

2 Item, that thou art a Chriſten man, and doeſt profeſſe the lawes of God, & faythe of Chriſtes Catholike Church, and the determination of the ſame.

3 Item, that all Parſons whiche teache, preache, beleeue, affirme, holde, mayntayne, or ſay within the Dioces of Canterbury, otherwiſe then our holy mother the church dooth, are excommunicate perſons and heretikes, and as excommunicate and heretikes ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4 Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholike fayth and determination of our mother holy Churche, within the Dioces of Canterbury, haſt openly ſpoken, maynteyned, holden, affirmed, and beleeued, and yet doeſt holde, mainteyne, affirme, and beleeue, that in the bleſſed Sacramente of the aultar, vnder the fourmes of bread and wyne, there is not the very bodye and bloud of our ſaueour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but onely a token, ſigne, & a remembrance therof, and that the very body and bloud of Chriſt is onely in heauen, and no where els.

5 Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholike fayth, and determination of our mother holy Churche, haſte within this Dioces of Canterbury openly ſpoken, ſayde, maynteyned, holden, affirmed, and beleued, and yet doeſt hold, mayntayne, affirme, and beleue, that it is againſt Gods word that the ſacrament of Chriſtes church ſhoulde be miniſtred in an vnknowen tongue: and that no man ſafely and with a ſafe conſcience, or without peryll of ſinne, receyueth any ſacrament miniſtred in any tongue that he vnderſtandeth not.

6 Item, that thou, contrary to the catholike fayth of our mother holy Churche, haſt, and yet doeſt holde opinion, and ſay: that it is againſt Gods word, that the ſacrament of the aultar ſhoulde be miniſtred in one kynde: and that no man may with a ſafe conſcience ſo receiue it.

7 Item, that the premiſſes be true, and that there is a cōmon fame vpon them within the Dioces of Canterbury.

The anſweares of Maiſter Bland to the foreſaide Articles.

Anſwere to the firſt article out of the Regiſter.

1 TO theſe articles M. Bland anſweryng agayne in order as they were obiected to hym, ſayth to the firſte, grauntyng the ſame, that he was a prieſt, and of the Dioces of Canterbury.

2 To the ſecond alſo he anſwereth affirmatiuely.

The Catholicke church of Chriſt. The Catholike Church of Antichriſt.

3 Item, to the thirde he aunſweareth, that the Article is true, meanyng the Catholike Churche to be Chriſtes Churche.

4 Item, in the fourth Article, as touchyng the firſte parte of the Article, hee dooth confeſſe, that hee hath preached and taught it, as it is conteyned in the ſame. And as touchyng the ſeconde parte of the Article, he dooth confeſſe, that he dooth nowe alſo holde and ſaye, as he preached and taught before.

5 Item, to the fift article he graunteth.

6 To the ſixt, he hath preached and held and doth hold, as it is conteyned in the article.

7 Item, to the laſt article he graunteth the ſame. &c.

M. Bland denyeth the Pope.

M. Bland condemned.

This done, and his anſweares and confeſſion taken, reſpite was geuen hym yet a fewe dayes to deliberate with hym ſelfe. So the. xxv. day of the ſayd moneth of June he makyng his appearyng agayne in the ſayd Chapterhouſe, there openly and boldely withſtoode the authoritie of the Pope, wherupon his ſentence was read, and ſo he condemned & commited to the ſecular power. Touchyng the forme and tenor of the ſentence, becauſe al their ſentences of courſe agree in one, reade before in the hiſtory of Maiſter Rogers. Pag. 1417.

¶ The prayer of Maiſter Bland before his death.

A prayer of M. Bland.

THe Lorde Ieſus, for whoſe loue I doo willingly leaue this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of this croſſe, with the loſſe of all earthly thinges, then to abide the blaſphemie of thy holy name, or els to obey mā in breaking thy Commaundementes: thou ſeeſt, Oh Lord, that where as I might liue in worldly wealth to worſhip falſe Gods, and honour thy enemie, I choſe rather the tormentes of this body, and loſſe of this my life, and haue counted al things but vile, duſt, and dung, that I might winne thee: Which death is more deare vnto me, then thouſandes of golde and ſyluer. Such loue, Oh Lorde haſt thou laide vp in my breſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded deſireth the ſoyle. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aide, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is voyde of all ſtrength of it ſelfe. Thou remembreſt, O Lorde, that I am but duſt, and not able to doo any thing that is good. Therfore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed goodnes haſt biddē me to this banket, and counted me worthy to drink of thine owne cup amongeſt thine elect: geue me ſtrength againſte this element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my mynde it maye be at thy commaundement, as an obedient ſeruant, ſweete and pleaſant: and through the ſtrength of thy holy ſpirit, I may paſſe through the ſtrength of this fire into thy boſome, according vnto thy promiſe, and for this mortalitie, to receiue immortalitie, and for this corruptible, to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering and ſacrifice, O Lorde, not for the ſacrifice it ſelfe, but for thy deare ſonnes ſake my Saueour: for whoſe teſtimonie I offer this free wyll offeryng with all my harte and with all my ſoule. O heauenly father, forgeue me my ſinnes, as I forgeue the whole world. O ſweete Saueour, ſpread thy winges ouer me. O God, graunt me thy holy Ghoſt, through whoſe mercyful inſpiration I am come hyther. Conducte me vnto euerlaſting life. Lorde into thy handes I commend my ſpirit: Lord Ieſus receyue my ſoule. So be it. 1555.

The hiſtorie of Iohn Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

July. 12. John Frankeſh. Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden, Martyrs.

HAuyng nowe paſſed ouer the examinations of Maiſter Bland, let vs further procede to the reſt of his felowes concaptiues, beyng ioyned the ſame tyme with hym both in the like cauſe, and like affliction. The names of whom were John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Coker: of whom Thacker onely gaue backe. The reſt conſtantly ſtandyng to the truth, were all together condemned by the Suffragan of Canterbury, the. xxv. day of June, the yere aboue expreſſed. Touchyng whoſe examinations I ſhall not neede long to ſtande, for ſo muche as the articles miniſtred againſt them, were all one: ſo in their anſweares they litle or nothyng diſagreed, as hereafter (by the Lords helpe) you ſhall heare. In the meane tyme, becauſe Nicholas Sheterdē in his examinations had a litle more larg talke wt the Archdeacon and the Commiſſarye, I wyll firſt begyn with the ſame.

¶ The firſt examination or reaſonyng of Nicholas Sheterden with M. Harpſfield Archdeacon, and M. Collins the Commiſſary, for the which they ſent hym to priſon.

The talke of Nicholas Sheterden with the Archdeacon and Commiſſary, about the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

FIrſt the Archdeacon and Commiſſary affirmed that the very bare wordes of Chriſt when he ſaid: This is my body, dyd change the ſubſtance, without any other interpretation or ſpiritual meanyng of the wordes.

Shet. Then belike when Chriſte ſayde: This cup is my bloud, the ſubſtaunce of the Cup was chaunged into his bloud, without any other meanyng, & ſo the cup was changed, and not the wyne.

Arch. Not ſo: for when Chriſt ſaid: This cup is my bloud, he meant not the cup, but the wyne in the cup.

The Romiſh catholikes can not deny a figuratiue ſpeach in the cup, and yet will not graunt the ſame in the bread.

Shet. If Chriſte ſpake one thyng, and meant an other, then the bare wordes dyd not chaunge the ſubſtaunce: but there muſt be a meanyng ſought as wel of the bread, as of the cup.

Arch. There muſt be a meanyng ſought of the cup otherwiſe then the words ſtand. But of the bread it muſt be vnderſtand onely as it ſtandeth, without any other meanyng.

Shet. Then do ye make one halfe of Chriſtes inſtitution a figure, or borowed ſpeach, & the other halfe a plaine ſpeach, and ſo ye diuide Chriſtes ſupper.

Arch. Chriſt meant the wyne, and not the cup, though he ſayd: This cup is my bloud.

Shet. Thē ſhew me whether the words which the prieſts do ſpeake ouer the cup, do change the ſubſtance, or whether the mynd of the prieſt doth it?

Arch. The mynd of the prieſt doth it, and not the wordes.

Shet. If the mynde of the Prieſte doth it, and not the wordes, if the Prieſt then dos mynde his harlot, or any other vayne thyng, that thyng ſo mynded was there made, and ſo the people do worſhip the Prieſtes harlot in ſteade of

Chriſtes bloud: and againe, none of the people can tel when it is Chriſtes bloud, or whē it is not, ſeeing the matter ſtādeth in the mynd of the prieſt. For no man can tel what the prieſt meaneth, but hym ſelfe: and ſo are they euer in daunger of committyng idolatrie.

If the mynde and not the wordes of the Prieſt doth it: how then is it that Duns and his fellowes ſay, that the wordes be the forme and formall cauſe onely that maketh the Sacrament?

Then was the Archdeacon ſomewhat moued, and ſate hym downe, and ſaide to the Commiſſarie: I pray you maiſter Commiſſary ſpeake you to hym an other while, for they are vnreaſonable and peruerſe anſweares, as euer I heard of. Then ſtood vp the Commiſſary, and ſaid:

Collins the Cōmiſſary taketh the matter in hand.

Commiſ. Your argument is much againſt your ſelfe: for ye graunt that the bread is a figure of Chriſtes body: but the Cup can be no figure of his bloud, nor yet his very bloud: and therefore Chriſt dyd not meane the cup, but the wyne in the cup.

Shet. My argument is not againſt me at al: for I do not ſpeake it to proue that the cup is his bloud, nor the figure of his bloud, but to proue that the bare wordes being ſpoken of the prieſt, do not change the ſubſtance no more of the bread, then they do change the cup into bloud.

Commiſ. It coulde not be ſpoken of the Cup, when he ſaide: This cup is my bloud, but he meant the wyne in the cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to anſwere my queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the mynd of the prieſt, whē he ſpeaketh ouer the cup, doth change it into bloud, or the bare wordes.

Commiſſ. Both together doth it, the wordes and the mind of the Prieſt together: yea the intent and the wordes together doth it.

The Commiſſary brought to an abſurditie.

Shet. If the wordes and intent together do chaunge the ſubſtance, yet muſt the cup be his bloud, and not the wyne, for as much as the woordes are, This cup is my bloud, and the intent, ye ſay, was the wyne: or els the wordes take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the Commiſſary in his chamber ſaid, it was the intent of the Prieſt before he went to Maſſe, without the woordes: for if the Prieſte dyd intende to doo as holye Churche had ordeyned, then the intent made the ſacrament to take effect.

The intent of the prieſt maketh not the Sacrament.

Shet. If the Sacramentes take effecte of the intente of the Prieſte, and not of Gods woorde, then manye Pariſhes hauyng a Prieſte that intendeth not well, are vtterly deceyued, both in Baptiſing, and alſo woorſhippyng that thing to be God, whiche is but bread, becauſe for lacke of the Prieſtes intente, the woordes doo take none effecte in it: ſo that by this, it is euer doubtfull whether they worſhip Chriſt, or bread, becauſe it is doutful what the prieſtes doo intende.

Chriſtes body whether it may be in two places at once.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſarye woulde proue to me, that Chriſtes Manhoode was in two places at one tyme, by theſe woordes of Chriſte in Iohn the thirde Chapter, where he ſayth: No man aſcendeth vp to heauen, but he that came downe from heauen, that is to ſay, the ſonne of man, which is in heauen. By this he woulde proue, that Chriſte was then in heauen, and in earth alſo, naturally and bodyly.

Shet. This place and other muſt needes be vnderſtand for the vnitie of perſons: in that Chriſte was God and man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or els ye muſt fal into great errour.

Commiſ. That is not ſo: for it was ſpoken of the manhoode of Chriſte, for as muche as he ſaith, the ſonne of man which is in heauen.

Shet. If ye wyl needs vnderſtand it to be ſpoken of Chriſtes manhood, then muſt ye fall into the error of the Anabaptiſtes, which deny that Chriſt tooke fleſh of the virgin: for if there be no body aſcended vp, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body downe with hym.

The Commiſſary brought to an other inconuenience.

Commiſ. Loe howe ye ſeeke an error in me, and yet ſee not howe ye erre your ſelfe. For it can not be ſpokē of the Godhead, except ye graunt that God is paſſible, for God can not come downe, becauſe he is not paſſible.

Shet. If that were a good argument that God coulde not come downe becauſe he is not paſſible: then it might be ſaid by the like argument, that God coulde not ſit, and then heauen is not his ſeate, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no right hand for Chriſt to ſit at.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God had no right hand in deede.

Shet. Oh what a ſpoyle of Chriſtes Religion wyll this be, that becauſe we can not tell howe God came downe, therfore we ſhall ſay, that he came not downe at all, and becauſe we can not tell what maner of hand he hath, to ſay, that he hath no hand at all: and then he can not reache the vttermoſt part of the ſea. O miſerie: at length it wyl come to paſſe, that God can not ſit, and then howe can heauen be his ſeate, and if heauen be not his ſeate, then there is no heauen: and then at length I doubt ye wyll ſay there is no God, or els no other God, but ſuch as the Heathē Gods are, which can not goe nor feele.

If God can not come downe then Chriſt were not God, for Chriſt came from heauen.

Commiſ. Why, dooth not the ſcripture ſay, that God is a ſpirite, and what hand can a ſpirite haue?

Shet. Truth it is, God is a ſpirit, & therfore is worſhipped in ſpirit and truth: and as he is a ſpirit, ſo hath he a ſpiritual power, ſo hath he a ſpiritual ſeat, a ſpiritual hand, and a ſpirituall ſworde: whiche we ſhall feele if we go this waye to worke, as we begyn. Becauſe we knowe not what hande God hath: therefore if we ſay he hath none, then it maye as wel be ſaid, there is no Chriſt.

Gods hand is ſpirituall.

Then the Cōmiſſary ſaid, he would talke no more with me, and ſo departed: and alſo the Commiſſary was compelled to graunt, that Chriſtes Teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was chaunged from that he left it: but he ſayde, they had power ſo to do.

¶ My firſt anſwering, after their law was ſtabliſhed.

Declaration of the firſt examination of Sheterden, after the law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I knowe ye wyll deſire to heare from me ſome certaintie of my ſtate: I was called before the Suffragan and ſeuen or eight of the chiefe prieſts, and examined of certayne Articles, and then I required to ſee their Commiſſion.

Sheterden requireth to ſee the Commiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me, and ſaide: There it is, and the King and Queenes letter alſo. Then I deſired to haue it read: and ſo in reading I perceyued, that on ſome notable ſuſpition he might examine vppon two articles: whether Chriſtes real preſence were in the Sacrament, and whether the Church of Englande be of Chriſtes Catholique Churche.

To that I anſwered, that I had bene a priſoner three quarters of a yeare, and as I thought wrongfully: reaſon woulde therefore that I ſhoulde anſweare to thoſe thinges wherfore I was priſoner.

Sheterden three quarters of a yeare in priſon before the law toke place.

Suff. The Suffragan ſaid, his Commiſſion was I muſt anſwere directly, yea, or nay.

Shet. This Commiſſion (ſayde I) was not generall to examine whom he wyl, but on iuſt ſuſpition.

Suff. He ſaid: I was ſuſpected, and preſented to hym.

Shet. Then I required that the accuſation myght be ſhewed.

Suff. He ſaide, he was not bounde to ſhewe it, but he commaunded me in the King and Queenes name to anſwere directly.

Shet. And I as a ſubiect do require of you iuſtice for that I haue done: I aſke no fauor.

Suff. He ſaid, I was ſuſpected.

Shet. I bade hym proue that ſuſpition, or what cauſe he had to ſuſpect.

Suff. Thou waſt caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

Shet. That was a prety ſuſpition, becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to Gods lawe and the Realme, that therfore I muſt now for amendes be examined of ſuſpition without cauſe, to hide al the wrong don to me before. For when I was caſt into priſon, there was no lawe, but I might ſpeake as I dyd: therefore in that poynt I coulde be no more ſuſpect, then you which preached the ſame your ſelfe not long before.

Suff. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

The proceedinges of the Papiſtes were agaynſt the law.

Shet. Well, yet in the King and Queenes name I muſt anſwer directly: and therfore I require as a ſubiect, that ye doo not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but proue me ſuſpect, more then you your ſelfe.

Milles. Then ſaid maiſter Milles, I had written to my mother, and he dyd ſee the letter wherein I perſwaded my mother to my opinions.

The Byſhop of Douer a proteſtant in K. Edwardes tyme.

Shet. In that I dyd but my duetie, to certifie her I was not in priſon for any euyl. And that was before the lawe alſo, and therfore no more ſuſpition was in me, then was in them which taught the like.

Mil. Well, ye are required here to anſweare directly, yea, or no.

Shet. Firſt then I require of you to proue his ſuſpition: and thus we toſſed to and fro. At laſt the Biſhop ſayde, he hym ſelfe dyd ſuſpect me. I aſked wherby?

Suff. Well, ſaid he, I my ſelfe dyd ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Shet. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerue you ſo to do without iuſt ſuſpition.

Suff. Wel, yet dyd I ſuſpect you.

Shet. It is not meete for you to be my accuſer, and my Iudge alſo: for that was too muche for one man. And thus many wordes were multiplied, and they were muche greued.

1555. July.

Vpon this it appeareth the letters were written to the B. of Winchester, by whom he was ſent for after and exa- mined.

Milles. If you were a Chriſtian man you would not be aſhamed of your fayth beyng required.

Shet. I am not aſhamed in deede, I thanke God, and if any man do come to me, either to teach or to learne I would declare it, but for as much as I perceaue you come neither to teach nor to learne, I hold beſt not to aunſwere you.

Milles. If you will not, then will we certifie the kynges Counſell.

Sheter. I am therewith content that you ſhould certifie that I had ſuffered three quarters priſon wrongfully, and therefore I deſire to be iuſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch priſonement: and then I will not refuſe to aunſwere your Articles, though there were a buſhell of thẽ. But to ſay that I would aunſwere, whereby you ſhoulde heale all your wrõg done to me agaynſt the law of God and the Realme, I will not.

Sheterden refuſeth to aunſwere before it be tryed, wherfore he was impriſoned.

Here much adoe there was to proue that hee had no wrong: and agayne that it was not they that did it. But he ſayd the Commiſſary was one of them: hee aunſwered no, it was the Archdeacon. He ſayd, you ſat with him, and hee aſked your counſell in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacõ and you be deuided one from an other. Well ſayd they: will ye now deny that ye ſayd thẽ, and promiſe here to ſubmit your ſelfe hẽceforth, and ye ſhall be deliuered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit hym ſelfe.

Shet. I am not ſo much bounde to you to graunt any ſuch promiſe: and agayne you ſhall well know that I would not promiſe to goe croſſe the ſtreete for you: but if I did at any tyme offend your lawe, let me haue the puniſhment, I aſke no fauour.

Then ſayd they that it was obſtinacie in hym that hee would not aunſwere, & a token that his fayth was naught, ſeyng he was aſhamed to vtter it.

Shet. Nay ſayd he, ye ſhall well knowe I am not aſhamed of my fayth: but becauſe you doe ſo greedely ſeeke bloud, I will aunſwere onely to that you haue agaynſt me.

Suffr. Nay, you ſhall aunſwere to the Articles, or els be cõdemned vpon ſuſpition.

Shet. I am content with that: yet all men ſhall know that as ye ſuſpect and can proue no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye cõdemne me without a matter, & then ſhall all men know ye ſeeke bloud, and not iuſtice.

Suffra. No we ſeeke not thy bloud, but thy conuerſion.

Shet. That we ſhall ſee. For then will you proue my peruerſion firſt, before you condemne me on your owne ſuſpition without proofe of the ſame: and by that I ſhall know whether you ſeeke bloud or no. Many other wordes were betwene them.

One Louies a loueles lawyer.

At laſt ſtept vp one Louies a Lawyer, whiche would proue his priſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old ſtatutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry. &c. but at laſt hee was compelled to forſake thoſe ſtatutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſayd it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas ſayd, if he could proue that mẽ might wrongfully impriſon before a law, and in the meane while make lawes, and then vnder that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſayd true, or els not.

Thus he kept the Bandogs at ſtaues end, not as thinkyng to eſcape them: but that I would ſee (ſayd hee) the Foxes leape aboue grounde for my bloud, if they can reach it (ſo it be the will of God): yet we ſhall ſee them gape, & leape for it. From Weſtgate in haſt.

By yours Nicholas Shetterden.

¶Notes of Nicholas Sheterden agaynſt the falſe worſhyppe and oblation of the Sacrament.

The holy ſigne in ſteede of the thyng ſignified, is ſeruile ſeruitude as S. Auguſtine termeth it, when the bread in the Sacrament is by commõ and ſolemne errour worſhypped in ſteede of the fleſh aſſumpted of the worde of God.

Falſe worſhip of the Sacrament.

There was no mention of worſhyppyng the creatures at the feaſt or firſt Supper that Chriſt did celebrate: therfore the ſaying of Chriſt concernyng diuorce, may well bee applyed to them: it was not ſo from the begynnyng, nor ſhall be to the end.

Agaynſt Sacramentall oblation.

The once made oblation of Chriſtes is hereby derogate, when this ſacramentall oblation & offering of thankes geuyng is beleued to bee propiciatory, and that it purgeth the ſoule, as well of the lyuyng as of the dead, agaynſt this ſaying to the Hebrues: With one onely oblation he hath made perfecte for euer thoſe that are ſanctified. Agayne: Where is remiſſion, there is no more oblation for ſinnes, makyng vs cleane by him.

Heb. 5.

This worde (by him ſelfe) hath a vehemency and pyth that driueth all Prieſtes from authoritie to enterpriſe ſuch oblatiõ, whereas what he himſelfe doth by him ſelfe, he leaueth not for other to do. So ſeemeth our Purgatory already paſt and done, not to come and remaynyng to be done.

¶His examination before the Byſhop of Wincheſter then L. Chauncellour.

A note of the wordes or talke paſſed betweene Nicolas Sheterden, and the B. of Wincheſter.

I Was called into a chamber before the L. Chauncellour, the ſuffragan, and other, Prieſtes, I thinke for the moſt part. He ſtandyng to the table called me to hym, and becauſe I ſaw the Cardinall was not there, I bowed my ſelfe and ſtoode neare.

Then ſayd he, I haue ſent for you, becauſe I heare you are indyted of hereſy: and beyng called before the Commiſſioners ye will not aunſwere nor ſubmit your ſelfe.

I ſayd, if it like you, I dyd not refuſe to aunſwere: but I dyd playnely aunſwere, that I had beene in priſon long tyme, and reaſõ it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged for that, and not to bee examined of articles to hyde my wrong impriſonment: neither did I knowe any inditement againſt me. If there were any, it could not be iuſt, for I was not abroad ſince the law was made.

Vniuſt impriſonment of Sheterden.

Winch. Well, yet if ſuch ſuſpition bee of you, if you bee a Chriſtian ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo purge your ſelfe.

Shet. I thought it ſufficient to aunſwere to mine offences. &c. truſtyng that they woulde lay no ſuch burden vpon me, whereby the wrong done to me might bee couered, but I would be proued to haue wrong or right.

Winch. He ſayd, if thou wilt declare thy ſelfe to the Church to be a chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then haue a wryt of wrõg impriſonment. &c.

Shet. I ſayd I was not minded to ſue now, but require to haue right iuſtice: but to make a promiſe I will not: but if I offend the law, then puniſh accordingly. For it might bee that my conſcience was not perſwaded, nor would be in priſon, ſeyng thoſe thinges whiche I haue learned, were by Gods lawe openly taught and receaued by authoritie of the Realme. And he ſayd, it was neuer receiued that I might ſpeake agaynſt the ſacrament. I ſayd, agaynſt ſome opinion of the ſacrament it was openly taught.

Wincheſt. maketh a miracle that there was no law in K. Edwardes tyme agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar

Winch. By no law, and that was notable to conſider, that all that while God preſerued that, ſo that no law could paſſe agaynſt it.

Shet. I ſayd their law dyd not only perſwade me, but this moſt: when they preached vnto vs, they tooke pain to ſet out the word of God in our toung, ſo that we may read & iudge whether they ſaye true or no: but nowe they take the light from vs, and woulde haue vs beleue it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſwaſion.

The Catholikes ſtand vpon there number.

The faythfull ſtand vpon the worde.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guid in vnderſtandyng, but the Doctors and al the whole Church: Now, whom wouldeſt thou beleue? either the fewe, or the many?

Shet. I did not beleue for the few, nor for the many, but only for that he bryngeth the word, and ſheweth it to me, to be ſo accordyng to the proceſſe therof. &c.

Winch. Well ſayd he, then If the Arian come to thee with ſcripture, thou wilt beleue hym, if he ſhew this text: My father is greater then I.

Shet. I aunſwered, no my Lord, he muſt bryng me alſo the contrary places and proue them both true, where hee ſayth: My father and I am one.

Winch. Yea, ſayd he, that is by charity, as we be one wt him.

Shet. I ſayd, that gloſe would not ſtand with the reſt of the ſcripture, where hee ſayd: I am the very ſame, that I ſay to you: He ſayd the truth, and the truth was God. &c. With much ſuch like. And here he made many wordes (but very gently) of ye Sacrament: Likewiſe Chriſt ſayd (quoth he) it was his body: yea that is to ſay, a figure of his body: and how men did not conſider the word was God, and God the word, and ſo prouoked me with ſuch temptation: but I let him alone and ſayd nothing.

So after many wordes he came to the Churches faith, and comely order of ceremonyes and images. And then I ioyned to hym agayne with the commaundementes.

Wincheſter defendeth Images.

Winch. He ſayd that was done that no falſe thing ſhoulde be made, as the Heathen would worſhip a Cat becauſe ſhee kylled Myſe.

Shet. I ſayd that it was playne that the law forbad not only ſuch, but euen to make an image of God to any maner of lykenes.

Winch. Where finde ye that?

No Image of God to be made.

Shet. Forſooth in the law, where God gaue them the commaundementes, for hee ſayd: Ye ſawe no ſhape, but heard a voice onely: and added a reaſon why: leſt they ſhoulde after make images and marre them ſelues, ſo that God would not ſhewe his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould haue no image of hym which was the true God. &c.

Winch. He ſayd I made a goodly interpretation.

Sheter. I ſayd no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bad me finde it, and I ſhould ſtraight be confounded with myne owne wordes: ſo that if there were any grace with me, I would truſt myne owne wit no more: and when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why ſayd he, can ye read no Latin?

Shet. No. Then was the Engliſh Bible brought. He bad me finde it: and ſo I read it alowd : and then hee ſayd loe, here thou mayeſt ſee: this is no more to forbid the Image of GOD, then of any other beaſt, foule or fiſh (the place was Deut. iiij.) I ſayd it did playnely forbid to make any of theſe to the Image of God, becauſe no man might know what ſhape he was of. Therfore might no mā ſay of any Image, this is an Image of God.

Deut. 4.

Winch. Well yet by your leaue, ſo much as was ſene we may, that is of Chriſt, of the holy Ghoſt: and the father appeared to Daniell like an old * man. &c.

* But the commaundement ſayth: Deut. 4. Thou ſhalt make no image of God either man or woman, &c. The holy ghoſt like a doue in ſome qualities, but not in ſhape. The qualities of this ſeemed here to want in Wincheſt.

Shet. That is no proofe that we may make Images contrary to the commaundement: for though the holy Ghoſt appeared like a Doue, yet hee was not like in ſhape, but in certaine qualities , and therefore when I ſawe the Doue whiche is Gods creature, in dede I might remember the ſpirite to be ſimple and louyng. &c. And with that hee was ſome what moued , and ſayd I had learned my leſſon, and aſked who taught me: with many wordes: and he ſayd, hee would proue howe good and profitable Images were to teach the vnlearned. &c.

Shet. At yͤ laſt I ſayd: my Lord, although I were able to make neuer ſo good a gloſe vppon the commaundementes, yet obedience is better then all our good intentes, and much ado we had: at laſt he ſaw, he ſayd, what I was, and how he had ſent for me for charitie ſake to talke with me, but now hee would not medle, and ſayd my wrong priſonment could not excuſe mee, but I muſt cleare my ſelfe.

Shetter. I ſayd that was eaſie for me to do. For I had not offended.

Winch. He ſaid I could not ſcape ſo: there I was deceiued.

Shet. I ſayd: well then I am vnder the law. &c.

Arch. The Archdeacon was there called in for me, and he layd to me, that with ſuch arrogancie and ſtoutneſſe as neuer was heard, I behaued my ſelfe before him, whereas he was mynded with ſuch mercy towarde me. &c. and many lyes he layd to me, that I was ſent home till an other tyme: and I would not be contented but went out of the Church with ſuch an outcry as was notable.

How the Catholickes falſely ſlaunder the faythfull innocent.

Shetterdē. I declared, that he falſly herein reported me, and brought in the lawes then in the Realme, and the Queenes Proclamation, that none of her ſubiectes ſhould be compelled till the law were to compell, & that I rehearſed the ſame in the Court for me, and I did vſe him then (ſayd I) as I vſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſayd, that I did not vſe my ſelfe very well now.

Shet. I ſayd, I had offered my ſelfe to be bayled, and to cōferre with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He ſayd I ſhould not conferre, but be obedient. I ſayd let me go and I will not deſire to conferre neither: and when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your brother, Nicolas Shetterden
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

¶The laſt examinations with the condemnation of M.Bland, Iohn Frankeſh, Nicolas Shetterden Vmfrey Middleton.

The finall condemnation of theſe 4. godly Martyrs.

AND thus much touchyng the particular, and ſeuerall examinations of Nicolas Shetterden, and of M. Bland. Now to touch ſomething alſo of the other Martyrs, which the ſame tyme were examined, and ſuffered with them together, to witte, Umfrey Middleton of Aſhford, and Iohn Frankeſh Vicare of Roluynden in the Dioces of Kent aboue mentioned, here firſt would bee declared the Articles, whiche publickely in their laſt examinations were ioyntly and ſeuerally miniſtred vnto them by the foreſayd Thornton Byſhop of Douer. But for aſmuch as theſe Articles beyng ordinary & of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of M. Bland, as may appeare before pag. 1585. It ſhall not therfore be needefull, to make any new rehearſall therof.

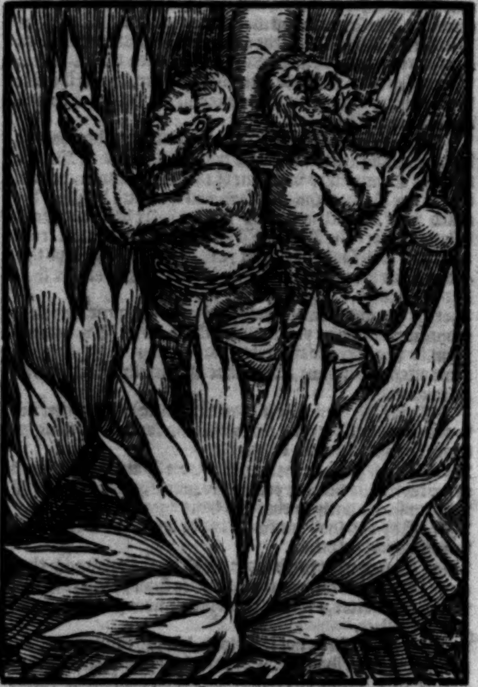
Read the Articles before. pag. 1585.

To theſe ſeuen Articles then beyng propounded to the fiue perſons aboue named, to witte, Iohn Frankeſh, Iohn Bland, Nicholas Shetterden, Umfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, firſt aunſwered Iohn Frankeſh ſome what doubtfully, deſiryng further reſpite to be giuen him of viij. dayes to deliberate with him ſelfe. Whiche was graunted. Maiſter Bland aunſwered flattely and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicolas Shetterden, and Umfrey Middleton aunſwered to the firſt, and ſecond Articles affirmatiuely. To the third cōcerning the Catholicke Church after a ſort they graunted. To the fourth and fift and ſixt touchyng the reall preſence, and the Sacrament to bee miniſtred in the Latin toung, and in one kynde, they refuſed vtterly and to ſweare. Shetterden ſayd hee would not aunſwere thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remayned priſoners, before the lawes of Parliament receiued. &c. Middleton added moreouer and confeſſed, that hee beleued in his owne God, ſaying, my liuyng God, & no dead God &c. Thacker onely relented & was cōtent to take penance. Thus the foreſayd foure vpō theſe aunſweres were condemned by the Byſhop of Douer, the 25. daye of Iune, an. 1555.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

Thacker recanted.

¶The burnyng of foure Martyrs.



The Martyrdome of Iohn Bland Iohn Frankeſh, Miniſters. Alſo of Nicholas Shetterden and Umfrey Middleton, burned at two ſeuerall ſtakes in Canterbury, Anno 1555. July 12.

And ſo beyng geuē to yͤ ſeculer power, they were burned at Cāterbury yͤ 12. day of July at ij. ſeuerall ſtakes, but al in one fire together, where they in the ſight of God and of his Angels, and before men, lyke true ſouldiours of Ieſus Chriſt, gaue a conſtant teſtimonye to the truth of hys holy Goſpell.

The prayer of Nicolas Sheterden before his death.

A Chriſtian prayer of Nicholas Shetterden before his death.

O Lord my God and Sauiour, whiche art Lord in heauen and earth, maker of all thinges viſible and inuiſible, I am the creature and worke of thy handes: Lord God looke vpon me, and other thy people, which at this tyme are oppreſſed of the wordly minded for thy lawes ſake: Ye Lorde thy law it ſelfe is now trodē vnder foote, & mens inuentiōs exalted aboue it: & for that cauſe do I, & many thy creatures, refuſe the glory, prayſe, & commodity of this life, & do chuſe to ſuffer aduerſitie, and to be baniſhed: yea to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hopes ſake that it is laid vp in ſtore. For lord thou knoweſt if we would but ſeme to pleaſe mē in things cōtrary to thy word, we might by thy permiſſiō enioy theſe commodities that other do, as wife children, goods, and frendes: which all I knowledge to be thy giftes, geuē to the end I ſhould ſerue the. And now Lord that the world will not ſuffer me to enioy them, except I offend thy lawes, behold I geue vnto the my whole ſpirite, ſoule and body, and loe, I leaue here all the pleaſures of this life, & do now leaue the vſe of them for the hope ſake of eternall life purchaſed in Chriſtes bloud, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with hym for hys truth, when ſoeuer the world and the deuill ſhall perſecute the ſame.

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

O father I do not preſume vnto the: in mine own righteouſnes: no: but onely in the merites of thy deare ſonne my Sauiour. For the which excellent gift of Saluation I cannot worthely prayſe the, neither is any ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of our bodies mortified, and obedient vnto thy wyll: and nowe Lorde, what ſoeuer rebellion hath bene, or is founde in my members, agaynſt thy will, yet do I here geue vnto the my body to the death, rather then I will vſe anye ſtraunge worſhipping, whiche I beſeche thee accept at my hande for a pure ſacrifice; let

Sacrifice of thankes for redemption.

Sacrifice of the body.

thys

1555. July.

let this torment bee to me the laſt enemy deſtroyed, euen death, the end of miſery, and the beginnyng of all ioy, peace, ſolace: and when the time of reſurrection commeth, then let me enioy agayne theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoyled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord Ieſu receiue my ſpirite into thy handes, Amen.

¶ Letters of Nicholas Shetterden, and firſt a Letter to his Mother.

A letter of Nicolas Sheterden to his mother.

Sathan transformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light.

AFter my humble and bounden dutye remembred, welbeloued Mother, this ſhall bee to wiſhe you increaſe of grace and godly wiſedome, that ye may ſee and perceyue the crafty bewitchyng of Sathan our mortall enemy, which as I haue diuers tymes declared vnto you, doth not openly ſhewe him ſelfe in his owne likeneſſe, but vnder colour of deuotion deceaueth them that keepe not a diligent eye vppon him, but hauyng confidence in mans traditions and cuſtomes of the worlde, leauyng the commaundementes of God, and Teſtament of his Sonne Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, do grow more into ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, then into wiſedome and true holyneſſe. For this is moſt true, that Sathan the enemy of ſoules, doth by his Miniſters make many beleue, that thoſe thynges which they compell vs vnto for their bellyes ſake, haue many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to Gods will, as doubtleſſe they be, euen as did the Serpent in Paradiſe to our firſt mother Eue. What (ſayd he) hath God commaunded ye ſhall not eate of all the trees in the Garden? The woman ſayd of the fruites of the trees in the Garden we may eate: but of the tree in the middeſt of the Garden, ſayd God, ſee ye eate not, leaſt ye dye. Euen ſo our Miniſters now a dayes ſay: hath God commaunded ye ſhall not make you any Image or likeneſſe of any thyng? Yea forſooth. Tuſhe ſay they, what harme can they do? May we not remember God the better when we ſee his Image or Picture? For they are good bookes for the laymen: but in deede they be better for the Prieſtes, becauſe they receaue the offerynges.

As the ſerpent ſeduced Eue by an Aple: ſo prieſtes ſeduce the people by Images.

Images were profitable bookes for prieſtes then for lay men.

And looke how truely the promiſe of the Serpent was kept with Eue, ſo is the perſwaſion of our Prieſtes founde true to vs. For as Adam and Eue did become lyke God in knowyng good and euill, ſo are we in remembryng God by his Image. For Adams eyes were ſo open, that he loſt both innocency and righteouſnes, and was become moſt miſerable of all creatures: and euen ſo we remember Chriſt ſo wel by Images, that we forget his commaundementes, and count his Teſtament confirmed in his bloud for ſtarke madneſſe or hereſie: ſo miſerably haue we remembred him, that of all people we are moſt blynd: and this doth follow vppon our preſumption, when we remember God by breakyng of hys law: and therfore ſurely except we repent ſhortly, God will remember vs in his wrath, and reward vs with his plagues: as ſure as there is a God it will come to paſſe.

Sheterden propheſieth of Gods plagues.

Learning agaynſt or without Gods word, is vayne and to no purpoſe Antichriſt hath turned the church cleane vpſide downe.

But I know the craftynes of them herein (I thanke God) which will ſay: Where went he to ſchoole? Is he wiſer then our great Doctours that ſtudyed all their lyfe? And loe, they ſay that it is good hay, although we ſmell it muſty our ſelues, yet we muſt beleue it is ſweete, and then pay them well for their ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I might ſay agayne: What Syr, be ye wiſer then Chriſte, and God his Father, or the holy Ghoſt? What wiſer then the Prophetes, and the Apoſtles, and all the holy Martyrs? I pray you Syr, where had you your hygh learnyng? It is hygher then God (beyng in heauen) is able to reach, or haue ye ſet it lower in hell then euer Chriſt durſt to venter? For it is ſome ſtraūge learnyng belyke, that Chriſt nor his Apoſtles could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it. But vayne men are neuer without ſome ſhift. For peraduenture they will not be aſhamed to ſay, that Chriſt comming on his Fathers meſſage, did forget halfe his errand by the way. For I dare ſay, the greater halfe of their ceremonyes were neuer commaunded by Chriſt: yea I doubte it would bee hard to finde one in the Church perfectly as he left: ſo Romiſhly hath Antichriſt turned the Church vpſidowne for lukers ſake.

Beloued mother, as I often tymes haue ſayde vnto you, euen ſo now I beſeeche you from my very hart roote in Chriſt, to conſider your owne ſoules health is offered you, doe not caſt it of: we haue not long tyme here. Why ſhould we deceaue our ſelues, either for eaſe of our fleſh, or for the winnyng of this worldes treaſure? I know that ſome will ſay to you, why ſhould we condemne our fathers that lyued thus? God forbid that we ſhould condemne any that dyd accordyng to their knowledge. But let vs take heede that they condemne not vs: for if they had heard the word as we haue, and had bene warned as we haue, it is to bee thought that they would more thankefully haue receiued it then we do: yea they were more faythful in that they knew, then many now are. Therefore they ſhall be our condemnatiō, if we do not embrace this grace offered vs. And ſurely looke how many of them God wil accept and ſaue, thoſe ſhall we neuer ſee, nor haue any part among them: for our diſobedience is more great then their ignoraunce. Wherfore if we will meete our fathers in bliſſe and ioy, let vs not refuſe his mercy offered more largely to vs, then to them, euē accordyng to Chriſtes promiſe, which ſayd, after ſuch great ignoraunce, as to ſeeke him from countrey to countrey, and finde him not: Yet ſhall the Goſpell (ſayth he) be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the end come.

The fathers that heard no better: are not to be cōdēned but rather will condemne vs that heare and receaue it not.

Gods viſitation not to be refuſed.

And now let vs know the time of our viſitation, and not turne backe agayne, ſeyng we are once deliuered: for ſurely God wil not beare it at our handes to turne backeward. Oh remember Lots wife. God muſt needes puniſh out of hand our ſhamefull backeſlidyng, either with induration and hardnes of hart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his Church and true ſeruauntes, or els reward it with open vengeaunce and plagues. And therefore good mother, accept this my ſimple letter as a fruite of my loue & obediēce to you. Would God we might ſo be knitte in fayth and truſt in Gods worde and promiſes here in this life, as we might together enioye the bliſſe and conſolation of eternall lyfe: whiche I deſire and ſeeke aboue all worldly treaſure, as ye partly knowe. If I would ſeeke the good will of men cōtrary to my conſciēce, I could make ſome my frendes, which now peraduenture are ielous ouer me amiſſe. But I thanke God, let them way the matter betwene God & their cōſciēces, & they haue no iuſt cauſe ſo to doe: neuertheleſſe I would they would yet refrayne and put their matter and myne into the euen balance of Gods moſt holy worde, there to be wayed by the mynde of the holy Ghoſt, expreſſed vnto vs by the holy Patriarkes, and Prophetes, and by Ieſus Chriſt our onely Sauiour and Mediatour, and by his Apoſtles: and then I doubt not, but our matter ſhall be ended with peace, and ioyfulnes of hart, which God graunt vs for his mercies ſake. Amen.

Experience how Gods Martyrs ſeeke not the world.

Your owne child Nicholas Shetterden priſoner for the truth in
Weſtgate. 1555.

¶ A Letter to his brother Water Shetterden.

My Vncle hath bene with me and made great promiſes and great threates alſo.

I Wiſh you health in Chriſt, true knowledge of his word and a faythfull obedient hart vnto the ſame. It is ſhewed me my brother, that ye willed me by a Letter made to a frend of yours, to perſwade with me, that I ſhould be ruled by myne Vncle, which ſayth he will beſtow his goodes very largely vppon me, if I would not ſtand to hyghe in myne owne conceit. But my good brother, I truſt ye do not iudge ſo euill of me, that I ſhould haue a fayth to ſell for money. For though he or you were able to geue me the treaſure of the whole coūtrey, yet I thanke my Lord God, I do iudge it but an heape of dong, in reſpect of that treaſure hid within: yet do I eſteeme a bukle of your ſhoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counſelled and ruled by him or you, or any other my frendes, I do not, neither haue refuſed it, if they require no more of me then my power, and that which belongeth to mortall men. But if they require of me any thyng which pertaineth to God onely, there is neither hygh nor low, frend nor foe, I truſt in God, ſhall get it of me, no nor yet the Aungels in heauen.

So ſhould he haue two bodyes at once, one glorified, and an other mortall. Noe order nor reaſon in the Popes doctrine.

For though I be not learned (as the vayne men of the world call learnyng) yet I thanke my Lord God, I haue learned out of Gods booke, to know GOD from his creatures, and to know Chriſt from his Sacramentes, and to put a difference betwene the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion and his Supper, & a difference betwene the water of Baptiſme, and the holy Ghoſt, and not to mixe and mingle all thynges confuſely together, ſo that if one aſke me a queſtion or a reaſon of my fayth, I muſt ſay thus, I beleue as holy Churche beleueth: if he aſke me what is the order of that fayth, I ſhould be ſo ignoraunt that I could not diſcerne God from his creatures, nor Chriſt frō his Sacramentes. If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly vtter my fayth, that I were not able to iudge betwene Chriſtes byrth and his burial, nor which were firſt, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would beleue that my fayth were ſound?

For ſome affirme that Chriſt did not geue to his Apoſtles a mortall and a paſſible body, but an immortall and a glorified body, ſo that he ſhould haue a glorified body before his death and ſo his glorification was before his reſurrection: and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and cruſified before his Baptiſme, and then they may as well ſay, hee was Baptiſed before his byrth, and borne before hee was conceiued, and conceiued before hee was promiſed, and that were euen right Antichriſt to turne all thynges backeward, and then ſay: Oh ye muſt beleue, for GOD is almightie, he can doe all thynges. &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty in deede, and yet I may not beleue thynges contrary to his word, that Christes body was glorified before hee dyed: for Gods omnipotencie doth not ſtand in thynges contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleaſure in tyme. Neither doth hee require of vs to iudge or beleue of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come, before the begynnyng, nor yet the fruite to come before the bloſſome. and yet is he neuertheles almighty.

We are bound to beleue what God hath expreſly willed, not what he is able to doe.

But if peraduenture ye ſhall thinke with your ſelfe: Why, they are learned: it were maruel but they ſhould know what is the truth, as well as other whiche neuer kept no ſuch ſtudy. &c. To that I aunſwere, that if they had ſtudied Gods word ỹ authour of truth, as they haue done Logicke, and Duns, with the Legende of lyes, they ſhoulde haue bene as expert in the truth, as they be now in vaid reaſons. But thus hath GOD fulfilled his promiſe, that ſuch ſhould bee deluded with lyes, whiche would not beleue nor walke in his truth.

He ſpeaketh not here agaynſt the true vſe of Logike.

And agayne, this is a good cauſe to make vs thinke ſurely, that this was the cauſe that God gaue them ouer at the firſt to errour, after the Apoſtles tyme by litle and litle, as they grewe in ſinne. For ſeyng we had his truth now among vs a few yeares, becauſe we did not obey vnto it, we ſee what a ſodayne chaunge God hath brought vpon vs for our ſinnes ſake. And why ſhould not we thincke that this and ſuch like diſobediẽce was the cauſe that God tooke his word from all Chriſtendome at the firſt, and caſt a darknes vpon them that would not walke in his light. For it is euident enough to ſee how like their doynges bee to Chriſtes and his Apoſtles, and that ſeene, either we muſt iudge Chriſtes doynges very ſlender, and theirs good, or els that in deede they bee the very Antichriſtes, whiche ſhould come and turne all thynges out of frame. Thus I haue bene bold to trouble you, whiche I truſt ſhall not bee altogether in vayne. Pray for me, as I do for you.

Why God taketh his word from realmes.

By your brother Nicolas Shetterden,
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

¶ An other Letter to his brother.

An other Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his brother.

GOd, whiche is the geuer of all goodnes, and that freely for his loue to vs (not onely without our deſertes, but contrary to the ſame) graunt you my brother ſuch encreaſe of Godly knowledge and loue vnto the vertues thereunto belongyng, as may geue you ſuch a taſt in heauenly thynges that all treaſure of earthly thynges may ſauour to you, as in deede they are, moſt vayne and vncertaine: ſo ſhall ye neuer take them for no better then they be. Yea, whether GOD take them from vs, and geue them vnto vs, we ſhall knowe our ſelues neither richer nor poorer before God: But if we lay vp in our hartes the treaſure of his word, we ſhall not onely enrich our ſelues agaynſt the tyme of neede, but alſo arme our ſelues agaynſt the battell with weapons and harnes, which is inuincible, and cloth our ſelues agaynſt the mariage. For beholde, the Lord hath called vs of long tyme to the feaſt, and blowen the trumpet to prepare the battel. Let vs know the tyme of our viſitation, leſt the Lord ſittyng on his mount bewayle our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is iuſt to puniſh ſuch as continue in ſinne, euẽ as hee is mercyfull to forgeue the repentaunt that turne in tyme: for ſo is God that cannot deny himſelfe.

Tyme of Gods viſitation to be receaued.

Let vs therefore in this day, while it is called to day, heare his voyce, and not harden our hartes by reſiſtaunce of his will, leſt hee ſweare in his wrath, that we ſhall not enter into his reſt. Lette vs count that ſufficient, That we haue ſpẽt the time paſt (as S. Peter ſaith) after the wil of the Gentiles, in eatyng and drinkyng, chamberyng and wantonneſſe, and in abhominable Idolatry. &c. And now let vs aſſay a newe lyfe and trade our members in vertue an other while, leſt peraduenture we might runne paſt any returne in the contrary. But if we may now returne and lay hand of his worde in deede and veritie, as we haue long tyme done in talke and libertie, then will God heape vp vppon vs ſuch certificate of conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in him, ſo that all treaſure ſhal be doũg, to that excellẽt knowledge of our Sauiour. Deare brother, my hartes deſire and prayer to God is, that we may together enioy the bliſſe of eternall inheritaũce by one ſpirituall regeneration and new byrth, as we are ioyned by nature. But alacke, the waye and meane thereunto hath bene much neglected of me (I will not ſay of you) for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe your ſelfe: for no doubt the beſt of vs both hath not ſought for wiſedome in Gods word, as ſome in the world whom we know, haue ſought for money: therfore they ſhall be our Iudges, if we do not learne by them: yea the very Emmet, as Salomon ſaith, doth teach vs to prouide for the tyme to come: for ſhe prouideth in Sommer agaynſt Winter.

Certificate of conſcience.

Spirituall prouiſion.

This is the beſt tokẽ I haue for you now, which though it bee ſimple, yet ſhall it declare partly my hartes deſire to you ward, which is euen as myne owne ſoule. Let nothyng diſmay you, for my cauſe: but bee ye ſure I ſhall haue victory in the truth, whiche truth is ſtronger then kynges, wyne, or women. For as Zorobabell ſayth: Wyne is vnrighteous, the kyng is vnrighteous, women are vnrighteous, yea all the childrẽ of men are vnrighteous, but the truth endureth, and is alwayes, ſtrong and conquereth for euer without ende: Therfore this is to deſire you and all other my frendes that wiſhe me good, to pray that God will alwayes keepe me in his truth as he hath begon, which prayer if it be of ſuch a mynde as laboureth to depart from euill, ſhall be to me the greateſt pleaſure vnder heauẽ. For I deſire nothyng in compariſon of Gods truth. I thanke him of his mercy, which ſo hath wrought, for I take it as a ſure ſeale of the endleſſe ioy which ſhall hereafter follow: whiche God bryng vs vnto, when his will and pleaſure is, Amen. From Canterbury.

3. Eſdras. 4.

The victorye of truth.

By yours Nicholas Shetterden.

¶ An other Letter of Nicholas Shetterden to his mother.

O My good mother, whom I loue with reuerence in the Lord, and accordyng to my duety, I deſire your fauourable bleſſyng, and forgeuenes of all my miſdeedes towards you. Oh my good mother, in fewe wordes I wiſhe you the ſame ſalutation, which I hope my ſelfe to feele, and partly taſt of before this come to you to read: And in the reſurrection. I verely beleue to haue it more perfectly in body and ſoule ioyned together for euer: and in that day God graunt you to ſee my face with ioy: but deare mother then beware of that great Idolatry and blaſphemous Maſſe. O let not that be your God, whiche mice and wormes can deuoure. Behold I call heauen and earth to record that it is no God, yea the fire that conſumeth it, & the moyſtenes that cauſeth it to mould, and I take Chriſtes Teſtamẽt to witnes, that it is none of his ordinaunces, but a mere inuention of men, and a ſnare to catch innocentes bloud: and now that GOD hath ſhewed it vnto you, bee warned in tyme: O geue ouer old cuſtomes, and become new in the truth. What ſtate ſoeuer your fathers be in, leaue that to God: and let vs follow the counſell of his worde. Deare mother, imbrace it with harty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your paſtime, but yet caſt of all carnal affections, & loue of worldly things: ſo ſhall we meete in ioy at the laſt day, or els I byd you fare well for euermore: Oh, farewell my frendes and louers all, God graunt me to ſee your faces in ioy, Amen.

To his mother an other letter written the day before his death.

Teſtimony and warning againſt the Idole of the aultar.

Whatſoeuer the fathers were, gods word muſt needes be followed.

From Weſtgate the 11. of Iuly. 1555. Your child written with his hand, and ſealed with his bloud, Nicolas Shetterden being appointed to be ſlayne.

¶ The copy of a letter written to his wyfe.

An other letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his wyfe.

I Wrote vnto you as one that longed more to heare of your health, then of all worldly treaſure, willyng you to entreate Eſau the elder brother by nature gently, geuyng to him his owne, yea, and offer him one of the droues, and ſay they be Iacobs, and are ſent for a preſent to my Lord Eſau: but he will not take it. &c. Now my beloued ye know the bleſſing of our father is, that the elder ſhal ſerue the younger, and wiſedome our mother hath taught vs the ſame, and I know ye do complayne of your * ſeruaunt the fleſhe, that he is rebellious, diſobediẽt, and vntoward: vnruly and crookedly ye thinke hee doth his ſeruice: but yet beholde, how ſhall ye pleade your cauſe before an indifferent judge: for if it be true that his ſeruice be not accordyng to his duety, as it is many tymes foundẽ in ſeruaunts: yet (I ſay) can you ſhew your cauſe to no indifferent iudge, but hee ſhall obiect agaynſt you that hee is not kept lyke a ſeruaunt but hee lacketh both meate and drinke, and other neceſſaries meete & due for a ſeruaunt: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your own complaynt then remedy or vauntage agaynſt your ſeruaunt, and it ſhalbe a cloke for him to hide all his rebellion & vntoward ſeruice, becauſe ye haue miſuſed him.

* By this ſeruaunt he meneth his owne body, which ſhe pinched to much with penury, or faſting, more then needed.

How a mans body is to be ordered with diſcretion.

And therefore my ſentence is, that ye paciently beare with him in ſmall faultes, and amende your owne great faultes, as oppreſſion, crueltie and couetouſneſſe, requiryng more then a ſeruaunt can do, ſpecially beyng tyred with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with ſtripes. And theſe thynges amended, if hee doe his ſeruice negligently (as no doubt ſometime he will) yet then ye may boldly correct him with diſcretiõ, and ſometyme if he do not his taſke ye may make him goe to bed ſuperleſſe: but yet beate hym not with durable ſtrokes, neither withholde his meate in due tyme, and pinche him not by the belly continually, but * let him haue ſome thyng to ioy in: onely watch him, and

* Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiſcẽtias.

1555.
July.

keepe him from doyng of harme. Though he be but a ſtraũger in the lyfe that is in God: yet be good to ſtraungers for we are all ſtraungers in darkeneſſe, and captiues in ſinne, as well ſoule and ſpirite, beyng in Egypt, as now the fleſhe is yet vnbaptiſed with the terrible redde Sea of death, and remember that one law abydeth for the ſtraunger, I meane one rewarde abideth both body and ſoule in the land of euerlaſtyng reſt. And therfore intreate him gently, and deale with him iuſtly now: *for the time will come that the yoke of bondage ſhalbe taken from his necke, and he ſhalbe a fellow heyre with your yonger brother.

The body of man is redemed as well as the ſoule.

Circumciſe hym therefore, but do not miſuſe him, nor keepe hym from his owne, but deale mercyfully with the ſtraunger, that he may ſay: Oh of what vnderſtandyng hart is this people, who hath God? or where is God ſo nigh as to theſe? God make you wiſe and politicke in hart, victorious in fielde of this world, to rule the nations with a rod: but kill not the Gabaonites with whom peace is taken: but let them drawe water, and hew wood, but geue them their meate and drinke due for labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedyed: for it is better and eaſier for a thirſty labouryng man to drinke, then for a dronken man to tell a ſober tale. Yea, it is a token that ye haue earneſtly followed your labour, and not kept company with dronkardes and belly Gods: and therfore be glad I ſay, yea and glad agayne: for great is your reward in heauen: yea bleſſed ſhall the bee that in this your zeale ſhall meete you and withdraw your hand from reuengyng your ſelfe vpon that churliſhe Naball: whiche thyng I hope to doe now with theſe ſweete reaſons, and frayles of Figges, I beyng of one houſe with your ſeruaunt Naball, I dare ſay to you, that churlyſhnes is his name: but reuenge not, for the Lord ſhall do it in his due tyme. Farewell myne owne hart.

The Gabaonites though they be but ſtrangers, and not to be pampered yet are they not to be caſt out.

Yours in bondes at Weſtgate.
Nicholas Shetterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe foreſayd, whiche was the 26. day of July, were alſo condemned for the ſame Articles W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambroke, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Aſhford, W. Stere of Aſhford. But becauſe the executiõ of theſe Martyrs pertaineth not to this moneth, more ſhalbe ſaid (ỹ Lord willing) of them, when we come to the moneth folowyng of Auguſt.

Nicolas Halle, and Chriſtopher Wayde, Martyrs.

July. 19. Nic. Hall, and Chriſtofer Wayde, Martyrs.

The ſame moneth of July next after the ſufferyng of the Kentiſhmen aboue named, followed the death and Martyrdome of Nicholas Halle Bricklayer, and Chriſtopher Wayde of Dartford, whiche both were condemned by Maurice Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, about the laſt day of the moneth of June. The ſixe Articles miniſtred to them were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect, with the Articles of the other Martyrs before ſpecified, pag. 1585. the brief ſumme wherof were theſe.

A brief ſumme of their Articles.

Articles obiected againſt Nic. Hall and Chriſtofer Wayde.

1. Firſt, that they were Chriſten men, and profeſſed the Catholicke determinatiõs of our mother holy Church.
2. That they which mainteine or hold, otherwiſe then our holy mother the Catholicke Church doth, are heretickes.
3. That they haue & do mainteine, that in the Sacramẽt of the aultar vnder the formes of bread and wyne, is not very body & bloud of Chriſt. And ỹ the ſayd very body of Chriſt is verely in heauen onely and not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they haue and do hold and mainteine, that the Maſſe as it is now vſed in the Catholicke Church is nought and abhominable.
5. Item, that they haue bene and be amongeſt the people of that Juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected vppon the premiſſes and thereupon indicted. &c.

The aunſweres.

Their aunſweres.

To theſe Articles they aunſwered as commonly other vſed to doe, whiche ſtand with Chriſt and his truth agaynſt theſe pretended Catholickes and their ſiniſter doctrine. Firſt graunting them ſelues Chriſten men, and acknowledgyng the determinations of the holy Churche, that is, of the congregation or body of Chriſt: ſaue that Halle denyed to call the Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Churche his mother, becauſe hee founde not this woorde (mother) in the Scripture.

This word mother church, is not found in the ſcripture.

To the ſecond they graunted. To the third Article as touchyng the very body and bloud of Chriſt to bee vnder the formes of bread and wyne in ſubſtaunce they would not graunt, onely affirmyng the very body of him to be in heauẽ, and in ỹ ſacramẽt to be a token or remẽbraunce of Chriſtes death: Nicholas Halle addyng moreouer, and ſaying, that whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but onely a token or remembraunce of Chriſtes death, nowe he ſayd, that there is neyther token nor remembraunce, becauſe it is now miſuſed and cleane turned from Chriſtes Inſtitution &c. And as concernyng the Maſſe in the iiij. article to be abominable, Chriſtopher Wayd with the other aunſwered, that as they had confeſſed before ſo would they now not go from that they had ſayd. To the fift Article, for the peoples ſuſpicion they made no great accoumpt nor ſticking to graunt to the ſame.

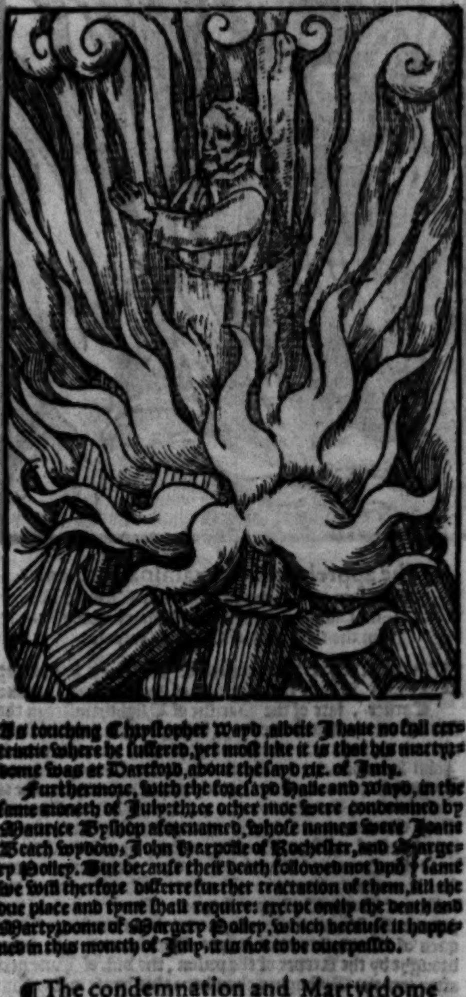
Aunſwere of N. Halle.

Anſwere of Chriſtofer Wayde.

And thus much concernyng the Articles and aunſweres of theſe good men, which beyng receaued, immediatly Sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſayd Maurice the Byſhop agaynſt them, the copy of which ſentence, as it runneth much what after the common courſe in condemnyng all other like ſeruauntes of Chriſt, ſo the ſame beyng exemplified before in the ſtory of Maiſter Rogers, pag. 1417, ſhall not greatly neede here agayne to bee repeated, but rather may bee referred ouer to the place aboue noted. Nicholas Halle was burned at Rocheſter about ỹ 19. day of July.

Condemnation of N. Halle and Chriſtopher Wayd, Martyrs.

The burnyng of Nicholas Halle.



The Martyrdome of Nich. Halle, at Rocheſter. Anno. 1555. July 19.

As touching Chriſtopher Wayd, albeit I haue no full certaintie where he ſuffered, yet moſt like it is that his martyrdome was at Dartford, about the ſayd xix. of July.

Furthermore, with the foreſayd Halle and Wayd, in the ſame moneth of July: three other moe were condemned by Maurice Byſhop aforenamed, whoſe names were Joane Beach wydow, John Harpolle of Rocheſter, and Margery Polley. But becauſe their death followed not vpõ ỹ ſame we will therfore differre further tractation of them, till the due place and tyme ſhall require: except onely the death and Martyrdome of Margery Polley, which becauſe it happened in this moneth of July, it is not to be ouerpaſſed.

Ex Regiſtro.

Joane Beach, Joh. Harpolle, Margery Polley condemned at Rocheſter.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Margery Polley.

Margery Polley Widdow and Martyr.

Margery Polley wydow, wife ſometime of Richard Polley of Peppyngbery, was accuſed and brought before ỹ foreſayd Maurice B. of Rocheſter about ỹ beginnyng of the moneth of June. Which Byſhop accordyng to the Pontificall ſolemnitie of that Church, riſing vp out of the chaire of his Maieſtie in the hygh ſwellyng ſtile after his ordinary faſhion to daſhe the ſely poore womã, beginneth in theſe wordes.

Ex Regiſtro.

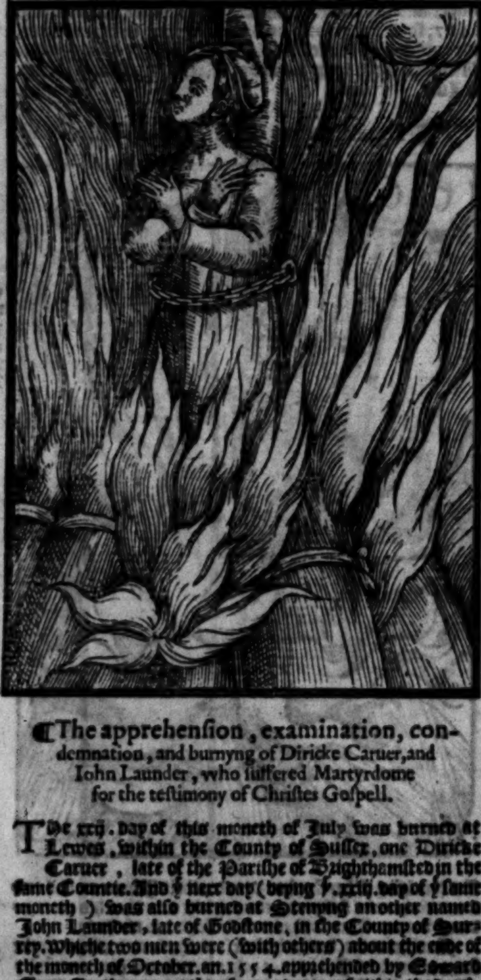
WE Maurice by the ſufferaunce of GOD Byſhop of Rocheſter proceedyng of our mere office in a cauſe of hereſie, agaynſt thee Margery Polley of the Pariſh of Pepingbery of our Dioceſſe and Iuriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and obiecte agaynſt thee all and ſingular theſe Articles inſuyng. To the whiche, and to euery parcell of them, we require of thee a true, full, and playne aunſwere, by vertue of thine othe thereupon to be giuen. &c.

The condemnation of Margery Polley.

Thus the oth firſt beyng miniſtred, and the Articles cōmēced againſt her, which Articles were the ſame miniſtred to Nicolas Halle and Warde before, ſhe ſo framed her aunſweres agayn eſpecially aūſweryng to the thyrd and fourth Article, that ſhe neither allowed the deitie of their Sacrament, nor the abſurditie of their Maſſe. For the which, ſentence was read agaynſt her about the begynnyng of Iune, and ſhe burnt at Tonbridge about the midle of Iuly.

¶The Martyrdome of Margery Polley.

The Martyrdome of Margery Polley, at Tunbridge. Anno. 1555. July.



¶The apprehenſion, examination, condemnation, and burnyng of Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder, who ſuffered Martyrdome for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

July 22. and 23. Diricke Caruer, and John Launder, Martyrs.

THe xxij. day of this moneth of Iuly was burned at Lewes, within the County of Suſſex, one Diricke Caruer, late of the Pariſhe of Brighthamſted in the ſame Countie. And ye next day (beyng ye. xxiij. day of ye ſame moneth) was alſo burned at Steyning an other named John Launder, late of Godſtone, in the County of Surrey. Whiche two men were (with others) about the ende of the moneth of October. an. 1554. apprehended by Edward Gage Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwellyng houſe of the ſayd Diricke: and by hym were ſent vp vnto the Queenes Counſaile, who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attend the leaſure of Boner Byſhop of London. From whence (vpon the Byſhops receipt of a Letter from the Lord Marques of Wincheſter now Lorde Treaſurer) they were brought by the Keeper of the priſon, the viij. of Iune next after, into the Byſhoppes chamber at his houſe in London: and there (beyng examined vppon diuers poyntes of Religion) they made their ſeuerall confeſſions, ſubſcribyng and ſignyng them with their owne handes. Whiche beyng read, the Byſhoppe obiected vnto them certaine other Articles, cauſing them to ſweare truely and directly to aūſwere therunto: whiche Articles they confeſſed to bee true, referryng them ſelues chiefly to their former confeſſions.

Edward Gage gentleman, perſecutor.

Caruer and Launder appearing before Byſhop Boner.

This done, after long perſwaſions and fayre exhortations, they were demaunded whether they would ſtand to their aunſweres. To whom Launder ſayd: I will neuer go from theſe aunſweres ſo long as I liue. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therfore they were commaunded to appeare agayne before the Byſhop in the Conſiſtorye at Paules, the. x. daye of the ſame moneth next followyng. Whiche articles and confeſſions, with the afore mencioned letter do here enſue.

¶A letter ſent frō the Marques of Wincheſter Lord Treaſurer, vnto Boner B. of Londō, touching the examination of the ſayd priſoners.

AFter my right harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your liuery of blacke agaynſt thys time: no more I ſhall maiſter Deane, to whome I wrote to make the ſermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my L. of Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whom I haue geuen like knowledge by my letter now ſent, and your Lordſhip muſt commaunde the Sextens of your church to be in readines for ryngyng in the time of ſeruice. And if ye bee not furniſhed with blacke apparell for the aulter, and for the prieſt, Deacon, and Subdeacon, I muſt haue knowledge therof, that it be taken of the Queenes ſtuffe, wherof I pray you let me be aduertiſed.

Theſe funerals were for the kinges grandmother the olde Queene of Spayne.

And ye haue ſent Bradford to newgate, as a man determined of hereſy before you: but as I perceiue ye haue not ſent me a Significauit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may procede with hym, and that ſhall I do, aſſone as I am aunſwered of you.

A Significauit to be ſent to the Lord treaſurer for burning of Bradford.

There be diuers like priſoners that came frō Suſſex, that bee not yet examined before you, lying nowe in Newgate, which muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I praye you they may be, and I certified of your procedynges, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your lordſhip hartely for my Conies, truſting to recompēce your Lordſhyp agayn ſhortly with twiſe as many. From my houſe this. vij. of Iune. 1555.

He meaneth Diricke Caruer, and John Launder.

Your louing friend, Wincheſter

Lord Treaſurer calleth vpon Boner for examination of these 2. perſons.

The Confeſſion of Diricke Caruer before Boner Byſhop of London.

Diricke Caruer his confeſſion.

DIricke Caruer Beerebrewer of Brighthāſted, in ye countye of Suſſex, where he hath dwelled by ye ſpace of eight or nyne yeares, borne, in the village of Dilſon by Stockome in the Land of Luke, fourty yeares of age, or thereabout, & now priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remayned & continued at the Counſayles commaundement, ſince Allhollowne day laſt paſt, beyng examined concernyng hys Fayth and beliefe in the ſacrament of the alter, ſayth that hee hath and doth beleue, that the very ſubſtaunce of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt is not in the ſayd Sacrament, & that there is no other ſubſtaunce remaynyng in the ſaid ſacrament after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne.

The materiall ſubſtance of the Sacrament beyng denyed to be the body of Chriſt really.

Item beyng examined concernyng the Maſſe in Latin now vſed in the Church of England, he beleueth that there is no ſacrifice in the ſayd Maſſe, and that there is in it no ſaluation for a Chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſayd in the mother toung, that he might vnderſtand it: and concernyng the ceremonies of the Churche, he ſayth and beleueth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

The vſe and ſacrifice of the Latin Maſſe denyed.

Item, beyng examined concernyng Auricular confeſſion, he aunſwereth: that he hath and doth beleue, that it is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſayle, but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand vppon anye mans head as is nowe vſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtian mans ſaluation. And further hee ſayth, yt he hath not bene confeſſed, nor receiued the Sacrament of the aulter, ſince the coronation of the Queene that now is.

Auricular confeſſion and abſolution of the prieſt reiected.

Item, concerning the faith and religion, now taught ſet forth and beleued in the church of England, he anſwereth, and beleueth, that the fayth and doctrine nowe taught, ſet foorth, and vſed in the ſayd Church of England, is not agreable to Gods word. And furthermore he ſaith, that Byſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and other of their opinion which were of late burned, were good Chriſtian men, and dyd preach the true doctrine of Chriſt, as he beleueth: and ſayth that they dyd ſhed their bloud in the ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſayth and beleueth.

The fayth of the church of England in Queene Maryes tyme reproued.

And further being examined ſayth, that ſince ye Queenes Coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in Engliſh red in his houſe at Brighthāſted diuers tymes, and lykewyſe ſince his commyng into Newgate, but the keeper hearyng therof, dyd take them awaye: and ſayth alſo that about a tweluemoneth now paſt, hee had the Engliſhe proceſſion ſayd in his houſe, with other Engliſhe prayers. And further ſayth, that Thomas Iueſon, Iohn Launder, and

William

Iueſon. Launder, and Weiſie impriſoned for hearing the Goſpell.

William Weiſy, beyng priſoners with hym in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his houſe at Brighthā=ſted, as they were hearyng of the Goſpell, then read in Engliſh, a litle before Allhollowne day laſt paſt, and brought to the Court: and beyng examined thereupon by the Counſayle were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

1555. Iuly.

¶The confeſsion of Iohn Launder before Boner Byſhop of London.

John Launder his confeſsion.

IOhn Launder huſbandman, of the Pariſh of Godſtone in the Countie of Surrey, of the age of .xxv. yeares, borne at Godſtone aforeſayd, beyng examined doth confeſſe and ſay, that aboute two dayes next before Allhollontyde now laſt paſt, this Examinate and one Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iueſon, William Weiſy, with diuers other perſonnes, to the number of twelue, (beyng all together in their Prayers and ſaying the ſeruice in Engliſhe ſet foorth in the tyme of Kyng Edwarde the ſixt, in the houſe of the ſayd Diricke ſituate at Brighthamſted in Suſſex) were apprehended by one Maiſter Edwarde Gage, and by hym ſent vp hether to London, to the King and Queenes Cõſaile, and by them (vppon his examination) committed to Newgate, where hee with his ſayd other fellowes hath euer ſince ramayned in priſon.

The cauſe of the apprehenſion of John Launder.

And further beyng examined, hee doth confeſſe and ſay, that the occaſion of his commyng to the ſayd Brighthamſted, was vppon certaine buſines there to be ſped for his father: and ſo beyng there, and hearyng that the ſayd Diricke was a man that did much fauour the Goſpell, this Examinate dyd reſorte to his houſe and company, whom before that tyme hee dyd neuer ſee or know and by reaſon of that his reſorte, hee was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſſe, and beleue, that there is here in earth, one whole and vniuerſall Catholicke Churche, whereof the members be diſperſed thorough the world, and doth beleue alſo, that the ſame Churche doth ſet foorth and teache onely two Sacramentes: videlicet, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And whoſoeuer doth teach or vſe any more Sacramentes, or yet any ceremonyes, hee doth not beleue that they be of the Catholicke Churche, but doth abhorre them from the bottome of his hart: And doth further ſay and beleue, that all the ſeruice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now vſed in this Realme of England (yea, and in all other partes of the world, which bene vſed after the ſame maner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Chriſtes inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſtes Catholicke Church, whereof he beleueth, that he him ſelfe is a member.

Two Sacramentes onely.

Ceremonies abhorred.

Alſo hee doth confeſſe and beleue, that in the Sacrament, now called the Sacrament of the Aultar, there is not really, and truely, contayned vnder the formes of bread and wyne, the very naturall body and bloud of Chriſt in ſubſtaunce: but his belief and fayth therein is as followeth, Videlicet: that when he doth receiue the materiall bread and wyne, he doth receiue the ſame in a remembraunce of Chriſtes death and Paſſion, and ſo receiuyng it, he doth eate and drinke Chriſtes body and bloud by fayth, and none other wayes, as he beleueth.

The reall preſence of Chriſtes body vnder the formes of bread and wyne denyed.

And moreouer he doth confeſſe, ſay, and beleue, that the Maſſe now vſed in the Realme of England, or els where in all Chriſtendome, is nought and abhominable and directly agaynſt Gods worde, and his Catholicke Churche: and that there is nothyng ſayd or vſed in it good or profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the gloria in excelſis, the Crede, Sanctus, Pater noſter, Agnus, and other partes of the Maſſe bene of themſelues good and profitable, yet the ſame beyng vſed amongeſt other thynges that be nought and ſuperfluous in the Maſſe, the ſame good thynges do become nought alſo, as he beleueth.

The Maſſe abhominable

Alſo hee doth beleue and confeſſe that Auricular confeſsion is not neceſſary to bee made to any Prieſt, or to any other creature, but euery perſon ought to acknowledge and cōfeſſe his ſinnes onely to God: and alſo that no perſon hath any authoritie to abſolue any man from his ſinnes: and alſo beleueth that the right and true waye (accordyng to the Scripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to ſinne, to ariſe to Chriſt agayne, is to be ſory for his offences, and to do the ſame, or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confeſsion of them to the Prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſtes handes. All whiche his ſayd opinions, he hath beleued by the ſpace of theſe vij. or viij. yeares paſt, and in that tyme, hath diuers and many tymes openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſayth. &c.

Auricular confeſsion not neceſſarye.

Articles obiected by Boner Byſhop of London, agaynſt Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder.

Articles ſayd to Diricke Caruer, and John Launder.

1. FIrſt, I do obiect agaynſt you, and euery of you, that ye and euery of you, beyng within the ſayd priſon of Newgate, and within this ſayd Citie of London, are of my iuriſdiction (beyng Byſhoppe of London) and ſubiect vnto the ſame, offendyng and treſpaſſyng within the ſayd priſon and Citie, in matters of Religion, and concernyng the Catholicke fayth and belief of the Church in any wiſe.

Sacramentes of pennaunce and of the aultar.

2. Item, I do obiect agaynſt you and euery of you, that ye & euery of you, ſince your firſt commyng & entryng into the ſayd priſon, & duryng your abode there, both there, & in ſundry places within this Citie & Dioces of London, haue holden, maintained, & defended ſundry opiniōs against the Sacramentes of the Church, eſpecially agaynſt the Sacramēt of penaunce, and alſo agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar.

Reall preſence.

3. Item, I do likewiſe obiect that ye, and euery of you, in all or in ſome of the ſayd places, haue (as concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar) holden, mainteined, and defended, to the beſt of your power, that in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar there is not the very ſubſtaunce of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt, but that in the Sacrament there is onely the ſubſtaunce of naturall bread and wyne, and no other ſubſtaunce.

The latin Maſſe.

4. Item, I do likewiſe obiect that you and euery of you, in all or ſome of the ſayd places: haue concernyng the Maſſe in Latine now vſed in the Churche, and the ſacrifice of the ſame, holden, mainteyned and lykewiſe defended, that the ſayd Maſſe is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

Ceremonies.

5. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that you and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the places, haue concernyng the ceremonies of the Churche, holden, mainteyned, and likewiſe defended, that the ſayd ceremonyes are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtfull and euill.

Auricular confeſsion.

6. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that you and euery of you in all, or ſome of ẏ ſayd places, haue concernyng the Sacrament of penaunce, holden, mainteined, and likewiſe defended, that auricular confeſsion (beyng a part therof) albeit it may be made vnto a good Prieſt for counſaile, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand vpon any mans head, and doyng as is now vſually done in the Churche, is nothyng profitable to any mans ſaluation, & that therefore ye neither haue bene confeſſed to the Prieſt, after the vſuall maner of the Church, nor yet receiued the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar ſince the coronation of the Queenes Maieſtie, which is more then the ſpace of one yeare and a halfe.

The fayth and doctrine of the Church of England.

7. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye and euery of you in all or ſome of the ſayd places concernyng the fayth and Religion now taught, ſet forth, vſed, and beleued in the Church of this Realme of England, and the doctrine of the ſame, haue holdē, beleued and ſayd, that it is not agreable to Gods word, but cleane contrary to the ſame.

8. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye and euery of you, in all, or ſome of the ſaid places, haue beleued, ſpoken, and ſayd, and to your power, vpholden, mainteined and ſayd that Biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opiniō, which of late within this realme were burnt for hereſie, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeakyng and holdyng agaynſt the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar, and that they dyd preach nothing, but the true doctrine of Chriſt, ſheding their bloud for the maintenaunce of the ſayd doctrine.

Defending of Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers. &c.

English ſeruice.

9. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye & euery of you, haue earneſtly laboured & trauailed to the beſt and vttermoſt of your power, to haue vp agayne the Engliſh ſeruice, and the Cōmunion in all pointes, as it was vſed in the latter dayes of Kyng Edward the vj. here in this Realme of England.

Defending the religion vſed in King Edwardes tyme.

10. Item, I do likewiſe obiect, that ye, and euery of you haue thought and do thinke, firmely and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo haue and do beleue, that the fayth, religion, and doctrine, ſet forth in the ſayd tyme of the foreſayd Kyng Edward was in all poyntes good and godly, contaynyng in it the true fayth and Religion of Chriſt, in euery part.

Abſence from Popiſh ſeruice.

11. Item, I do likewiſe obiect and ſay, that ye, and euery of you, (for your miſbelief, offence, tranſgreſsion, and miſbehauiour in the premiſſes, and for that alſo that you would not come to your ſeuerall Pariſh Churches, and heare your Diuine ſeruice there, as other Chriſtian people dyd, and do: but abſent your ſelfe from the ſame, and haue your priuate ſeruice in your houſes, eſpecially in the houſe of Diricke Caruer) were ſent vp vnto the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties priuy Counſaile, and by them or ſome of them, ſent afterward vnto the priſon of Newgate aforeſayd, hauyng thereby their authoritie, remayned as priſoners, duryng all the tyme ye haue bene there.

If their putting to death were not lawfull by God, why doe you excuſe it?

12. Item, I do likewiſe obiect and ſay, that I the ſayd byſhop of London, was commaunded by the authoritie, of the ſayd Counſaile, to make proceſſe agaynſt you, and euery of you, ſo that it was not my procuryng or ſearchyng, that ye ſhould be, commaunded or called before me in this matter of

Iſ it were lawfull, why doe ye ſo at mans commaundement.?

hereſie, but partly your owne demerites, and partly the ſayd commaundemẽt enforced me to call and ſend for you, to make aunſwere herein, and hereof to ſhew you the ſayd letters.

¶Their Aunſweres to the Articles.

Their aunſweres

VPon Monday, beyng the ſayd tenth day of Iune, theſe two perſons (with others) were brought by the Keeper vnto the Biſhops Conſiſtory (as it was before commaunded) at one of the clocke in the after noone, where the Byſhop firſt beginnyng with the ſayd Diricke Caruer, cauſed his confeſſion with the Articles and Aunſweres, to be openly read vnto hym (which order he kept at the condemnation of euery priſoner) aſkyng him whether hee would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſayd Diricke aunſwered, that he would: for your doctrine (quoth hee) is poyſon and Sorcery. If Chriſt were here, you would put him to a worſe death, then he was put to before.

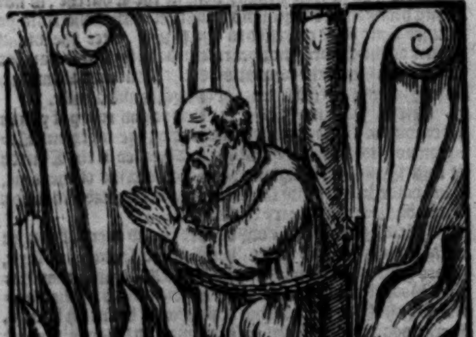
The wordes of Diricke Caruer to Boner.

You ſay, that you can make a God: ye can make a puddyng as well. Your Ceremonies in the Churche be beggary and poyſon. And farther I ſay, that auricular confeſſion is contrary to Gods word, and very poyſon: with diuers other ſuch wordes.

The Byſhop ſeyng this conſtancie, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruell threatnynges could once moue this good man to encline to their Idolatry, pronounced his vſuall and generall bleſſyng, as well towardes this Diricke, as alſo vppon the ſayd Iohn Launder (although ſeuerally), who (after the lyke maner of proceſſe vſed with him) remained in the ſame conſtancy, as did the other, and therfore were both deliuered vnto the Shiriffes, who were there preſent, but afterwardes were conueyed to the places aboue named, and there moſt ioyfully gaue their bodyes to be burned in the fire, and their ſoules into the handes of Almighty God, by Ieſus Chriſt, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of lyfe.

Diricke Caruer and Iohn Launder, ſent downe into the countrey to be burned.

¶The Martyrdome of Diricke Caruer.



The Martyrdome of Diricke Caruer, at Lewes. Anno. 1555. July. 22.

This Diricke was a man, whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporall riches, as with his ſpirituall treaſures: whiche riches yet were no clogge or let vnto his true profeſſyng of Chriſt, (the Lord by his grace ſo workyng in him:) of the whiche, there was ſuch hauocke made, by the greedy raueners of that tyme, that his poore wife and children had little or none therof. Duryng his impriſonment, although hee was well ſtricken in yeares (and as it were, paſt the tyme of learnyng) yet hee ſo ſpent his tyme, that beyng at his firſt apprehenſion vtterly ignoraunt of any Letter of the booke, he could before his death read perfectly any Printed Engliſhe. Whoſe diligence and zeale is worthy no ſmall commendation, and therfore I thought it good not to let it paſſe ouer in ſilẽce, for the good encouragement and example of others.

The cruell ſpoyle of Dirickes goodes.

Diricke learned to read in the priſon.

Moreouer, at his commyng into the Towne of Lewes to be burned, the people called vppon hym, beſechyng God to ſtrengthen him in the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt. He thanked them and prayed vnto G O D, that of his mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the lyke fayth. And when he came to the ſigne of the Starre, the people drew neare vnto him, where the Sheriffe ſayd that hee had founde him a faythfull man in all his aunſweres. And as he came to the ſtake, he kneeled downe and made his prayers, and the Shiriffe made haſt.

Diricke burned at Lewes.

Then his booke was throwen into the barrell, and when hee had ſtript him ſelfe (as a ioyfull member of God) he went into the barrell hym ſelfe. And as ſoone as euer hee came in, he tooke vp the booke and threw it among the people, and then the Shiriffe commaunded in the Kyng and Queenes name, in payne of death, to throw in the booke agayne. And immediatly, that faythfull member ſpake with a ioyfull voyce, ſaying:

Dirickes booke commaunded in the Queenes name to be throwen in agayne to the fier.

The teſtimony of Diricke at the ſtake.

Deare brethren and ſiſterne, witnes to you all, that I am come to ſeale with my bloud Chriſtes Goſpell, for becauſe I know that it is true: it is not vnknowen vnto all you, but that it hath bene truely preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for becauſe that I will not denye here Gods Goſpell, and be obedient to mans lawes, I am condemned to dye. Deare brethren and ſiſtern, as many of you as do beleue vpon the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe, ſee you do the workes appertainyng to the ſame. And as many of you as do beleue vppon the Pope of Rome, or any of his lawes, whiche he ſets forth in theſe dayes, you do beleue to your vtter cōdemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burne in hell perpetually.

The exhortation of Diricke to the people.

Immediatly the Shiriffe ſpake vnto hym, and ſayd: if thou doeſt not beleue on the Pope thou art damned body and ſoule. And further the Shiriffe ſayd vnto hym: ſpeake to thy God, that he may deliuer thee now, or els to ſtrike me downe to the example of this people: but this faythfull mēber ſayd, the Lord forgeue you your ſayinges.

Where finde you that in the Crede, to beleue on the Pope.

And then ſpake hee agayne to all the people there preſent, with a loude voyce, ſaying: deare brethren, and all you whō I haue offended in wordes or in deede, I aſke you for the Lordes ſake to forgeue me, and I hartly forgeue al you, whiche haue offended me in thought, word, or deede And he ſayd further in his prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou haſt written: He that will not forſake wife, childrē, houſe, and all that euer he hath, and take vp thy croſſe and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou Lorde knoweſt that I haue forſaken all, to come vnto thee: Lord haue mercy vpon me, for vnto thee I commend my ſpirite: and my ſoule doth reioyce in thee. Theſe were the laſt wordes of that faythfull member of Chriſt, before the fire was put to him. And afterward that the fire came to him, he cried: Oh Lord haue mercy vpon me, and ſprong vp in the fire, callyng vpon the name of Ieſus, and ſo ended.

Horrible prouoking of Gods iudgement.

Dirickes prayer at his death.

¶Thomas Iueſon, Martyr.

AT Chicheſter, about the ſame moneth was burned one Thomas Iueſon of Godſtone in the Countie of Surrey, Carpenter, whoſe apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation, (for as muche as it was at one tyme, and in one forme with Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder) I do here omit, referryng the reader to their hyſtory and proceſſe before mentioned, ſauyng onely this his ſeuerall confeſſion, and priuate aunſweres made before Byſhop Boner at his laſt examination in the Conſiſtory, I thought not to pretermit: who beyng examined vppon the foreſayd Articles, aunſwered as followeth.

Tho. Iueſon or Eueſon, apprehended with Diricke and other, and ſuffered at Chicheſter.

¶The aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon, to the obiections of Boner Byſhop of London, in a chamber at his houſe, in the moneth of Iuly.

Aunſweres of Thomas Iueſon.

1. FIrſt, that he beleued, that there is but one Catholicke, vniuerſall and whole Churche of Chriſt thorough the whole world, whiche hath and holdeth the true fayth, and all the neceſſary Articles of Chriſten belief, and all the Sacramentes of Chriſt, with the true vſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.
2. Item, that he is neceſſarily bounden to beleue and geue credite, in all the ſayd fayth, Articles of the belief, Religion, and the Sacramentes of Chriſt, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.
3. Item, that that fayth, Religion, and adminiſtration of Sacramentes, whiche is now beleued, vſed, taught, and ſet forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeyng with the truth and fayth of Chriſt, nor with the fayth of the ſayd Catho-

1555. July.

Catholicke and vniuerſall Church of Chriſt.

4. Item, concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, he beleueth, that it is a very Idoll, and deteſtable before God, as it is now miniſtred.

5. Item, that the Maſſe is nought, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, but that it is of mans inuention: and demaunded whether any thyng vſed in the Maſſe be good, he ſayd that he would aunſwere no further.

6. Item, that he had not receiued the Sacrament of the aultar, ſince it hath bene miniſtred as now it is in England, neither was confeſſed at any time within this ſeuen yeares, nor he hath not heard Maſſe by the ſame ſpace.

7. Item, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to a Prieſt, for that he cannot forgeue, nor abſolue him from ſinnes.

8. Item, concernyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, that it is a ſigne and token of Chriſt, as circumciſion was, and none otherwiſe, and hee beleueth that his ſinnes are * not waſhed away thereby, but his body onely waſhed: for his ſinnes be waſhed away onely by Chriſtes bloud.

* He meaneth not by the mere vertue of the element.

9. Item, that there bee in the Catholicke Churche of Chriſt, onely two Sacramentes, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, & no more, which are not rightly vſed at this preſent tyme in England, and therfore be vnprofitable.

Two Sacramentes.

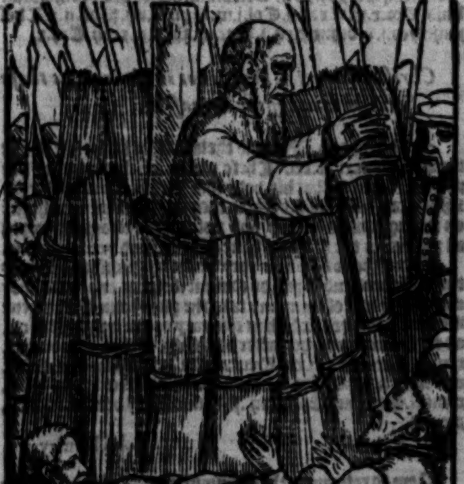
10. Item, he beleueth, that all the ceremonyes, now vſed in this Church of England, are vayne, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious, and nought.

Agaynſt ceremonyes.

Furthermore the ſayd Iueſon beyng earneſtly trauailed withall to recant, ſayd in this wiſe: I would not recant and forſake my opinion and belief, for all the goodes in London. I do appeale to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Churche, nor ſubmit my ſelfe to the ſame: and that I haue ſayd, I will ſay agayne. And if there came an Aungell from heauen, to teache me any other doctrine, then that whiche I am in now, I would not beleue him. Which aunſwere thus made, hee was condemned as an hereticke, and with the ſame perſons was committed to the ſecular power, (as they terme it) and at the place aboue mentioned was burned: perſeueryng ſtill in his conſtant fayth vnto the ende.

Tho. Iueſon condemned.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueſon.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueſon, at Chicheſter. Anno. 1555. July.

Iohn Aleworth.

IN the latter ende of this moneth of Iuly, Iohn Aleworth dyed in priſon, at the Towne of Readyng, beyng there in bondes for the cauſe and teſtimonie of the truth of the Lordes Goſpell. Whom although the Catholicke Prelates (accordyng to their vſuall ſolemnitie) dyd exclude out of their Catholicke buriall, yet wee ſee no cauſe why to exclude him out of the number of Chriſtes holy Martyrs and heyres of his holy kingdome.

Iohn Aleworth dyed in priſon.

Iames Abbes, a Martyr of bleſſed memory ſufferyng for the true cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell.

August. 2.

AMong many ŷ trauailed in theſe troubleſome dayes to keepe a good conſcience, there was one Iames Abbes a young man, whiche through compulſion of the tyranny then vſed, was enforced to haue his part with hys brethren in wandryng and goyng from place to place, to auoyde the perill of apprehendyng. But when tyme came that the Lorde had an other worke to do for him, hee was caught by the handes of wicked men, and brought before the Byſhop of Norwich D. Hoptō. who examinyng him of his Religion, and chargyng hym therwith very ſore, both with threates and fayre ſpeach, at the laſt the ſayd poore Iames dyd yeld, and relented to their naughty perſuaſiōs, although his conſcience conſented not therto.

Iames Abbes Martyr.

Iames Abbes relented.

Nowe when hee was diſmiſſed, and ſhould go from the Byſhop, the Byſhop callyng hym agayne, gaue him a peece of money, eyther fourty pence or xx. pence, whether I know not: whiche when the ſayd Iames had receiued and was gone from ŷ Biſhop, his conſcience began to rob ŷ inwardly to accuſe his fact, how he had diſpleaſed the Lord by conſentyng to theyr beaſtly illuſions, In which combate with him ſelfe (beyng pitiouſly vexed) he went immediatly to the Biſhop agayne, and there threw him his ſayd money which he had receiued at his hand, and ſayd, it repented him that euer he gaue his conſēt to their wicked perſwaſions, and that he gaue his conſent in takyng of his money.

Money geuen to Iames Abbes by the Byſhop.

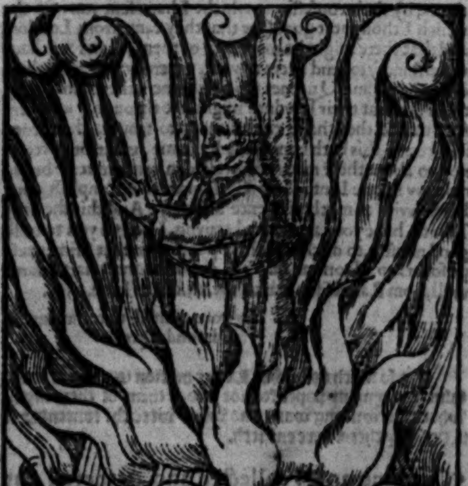
A notable example of ſtyng of conſcience.

Iames Abbes throweth to the Byſhop his money agayne.

Now this beyng done, the Biſhop with his Chaplaines dyd labour a freſhe to wynne him agayne: but in vayne, for the ſayd Iames Abbes would not yeld for none of them al, although he had playd Peter before through infirmitie, but ſtode manfully in his maſters quarell to the end, and abode the force of the fire, to the conſumyng of his body into aſhes. Whiche tyranny of burnyng was done in Berie ŷ ſecond day of Auguſt, an. 1555.

Iames Abbes made ſtrong by his infirmitie.

The Martyrdome of Iames Abbes.



The Martyrdome of Iames Abbes, at Bury. Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 2.

A diſcourſe of the apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation, of Iohn Denly Gentleman, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pathingham, Martyred for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell.

1555.

August.

Iohn Denley gentleman. Iohn Newman, Patricke Pachingham, Martyrs. Edmund Tyrell Eſquier.

IN the middeſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignaunt aduerſaryes perſecutyng and deſtroying the poore flocke of Chriſt, many there were, whiche though they were no ſpirituall men, yet thought to helpe forward, for their partes, and as one would ſay, to heape vp mo coales to this furious flame of perſecution, whether of a blynd zeale, or of a Paraſiticall flattery I knowe not. Amongeſt whiche one was Edmond Tyrell Eſquier, and at that tyme a Iuſtice of peace within the County of Eſſex, an aſſiſter (as it ſeemeth) to the cruell murtherers of Gods Saintes. Who as he came from the burnyng and death of certaine godly Martyrs, met with M. Iohn Denly Gentleman, and one Iohn Newman (both of Maydſtone in Kent) trauelyng vpō the way, and goyng to viſite ſuch their godly frendes, as then they had in the ſayd County of Eſſex. And vpō the ſight of them as he yet braggeth, firſt vpon ſuſpition apprehended, & ſearched them: & at laſt, findyng the confeſſiōs of their fayth in writyng about them, ſent them vp vnto the Queenes Commiſſioners, directyng alſo vnto one of the ſame Commiſſioners, theſe his fauourable Letters in their behalfe. The copy wherof here may appeare as followeth.

A copy of Edmund Tyrels Letter, to one of the Queenes Commiſſioners.

A letter of detection written by M. Edmund Tyrell to a Commiſſioner, whom I geſſe to be Syr Rich. Southwell.

SIr, with moſt harty commendations vnto you, theſe ſhalbe to aduertiſe you, that I haue receiued a Letter from Syr Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties Commiſſioners, by a ſeruaunt of the Kyng and Queenes, called Iohn Fayles, for certaine buſines, about Saint Oſythes, the whiche I could not immediately go about, for that I had receiued a letter from the Counſell, to aſſiſte the Shiriffe for the execution of the heretickes, the one at Rayleygh, and the other at Rocheford, the which was done vpon Tueſday laſt.

M. Denley and Iohn Newman by the way mette and apprehended by M. Edmund Tyrell.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Euen as I ſawe them, I ſuſpected them, and, then I dyd examine them, and ſearche them, and I did finde about them certaine Letters, whiche I haue ſent you, and alſo a certaine writyng in paper, what their fayth was. And they confeſſed to me that they had forſaken and fled out of their countrey for Religions ſake: and ſithen they haue bene in many coūtreyes, by their confeſſion, whiche I haue ſent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them, then I yet haue vnderſtand) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners there, might try them, ſo that their lewdnes might bee throughly knowen: for I thinke theſe haue cauſed many to trouble their conſciences. So this hath bene ſome let to me, wherfore I could not go about theſe matters expreſſed in your Letters: but to morrow noone I entend by Gods grace to accompliſh your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And this the holy Trinitie haue you euer in his keepyng, I beſech you to be ſo good maiſter, to diſcharge theſe poore men that bring theſe priſoners vp aſſoone as may be. And thus moſt hartly farewell, from Raimeſdon Parke, the. xij. day of Iune. 1555.

By your aſſured to commaunde,
Edmund Tyrell.

For ſo much as in this Letter mētion is made of a certaine writyng in paper founde about them of their fayth, what this writyng was, and what were the contentes of it, the copy therof here enſueth.

Certaine notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures, by Iohn Denley Gētleman, with a cōfeſſion of his fayth, touchyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, founde about him ready written, at his apprehenſion.

Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

M. Denleyes Notes touching matter of the ſacrament.

THe difference of doctrine betwene the Faithfull and the Papiſtes concernyng the Sacrament is: that the Papiſtes ſay, that Chriſt is corporally vnder or in the formes of bread and wyne: but the Faythfull ſay, that Chriſt is not there neither corporally, nor ſpiritually: but in them that worthely eate and drinke the bread and wyne, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

Figuratiuely. Spiritually. Really.

For figuratiuely he is in the bread and wyne, and ſpiritually hee is in them that worthely eate and drinke the bread and wyne: but really, carnally, and corporally he is onely in heauen, from whence hee ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

My beliefe in the ſacrament of the bleſſed body and bloud of my Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt.

The beliefe of M. Denley of the ſacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord.

AS concernyng the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, my beliefe is this, that the bread and wyne is appointed vnto a ſacrament: and that after thankes be geuen to God the father, then it doth repreſent vnto me the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt: not that the bread is the body, or the wyne the bloud, but that I in fayth do ſee that bleſſed body of our Sauiour broken on the Croſſe, and his precious bloude plenteouſlye ſhed for the redemption of my ſinnes. Alſo in fayth I heare hym call vs vnto hym, ſaying: Come vnto mee all you that labour and are laden, and I will refreſhe you. Eſay. 55. a. b. Mat. 11. &c. In faith I come vnto hym, & I am refreſhed, ſo ẏ I beleue that all that do come vnto the table of the Lorde in this fayth, feare, and loue, beyng ſory for their offences, intendyng earneſtly to lead a godly conuerſation in this vale of miſery, doe receaue the fruite of the death of Chriſt, whiche fruit is our ſaluation.

How bread repreſenteth the body of Chriſt.

The fruite of Chriſtes death, what it is, and how it is receaued in the ſacrament.

How Chriſt is receaued ſpiritually in the ſacrament.

I doe vnderſtant [ſpiritually] that as the outward man doth eate the materiall bread whiche comforteth the body, ſo doth the inward mā (through fayth) eate the body of Chriſt, beleuyng that as the bread is broken, ſo was Chriſtes body broken on the croſſe for our ſinnes, whiche comforteth our ſoules vnto life euerlaſtyng: and ſignifying thereby, that euen as that bread was deuided among them, ſo ſhould hys body and fruite of his paſſion be diſtributed vnto as many as beleued his wordes. But the bread broken and eaten in the ſupper, moniſheth and putteth vs in remembraunce of hys death, and ſo exciteth vs to thankeſgeuyng, to laude and prayſe God for the benefites of our redemption.

And thus wee there haue Chriſt preſent, in the inward eye and ſight of our fayth we eate his body, and drynke hys bloud, that is, we beleue ſurely that his body was crucified for our ſinnes, and hys bloud ſhed for our ſaluation.

The groſſe errour of the Papiſtes in the reall being of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Chriſtes body and bloud is not conteyned in the ſacramentall bread and wyne as the papiſts haue ſayd, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye read in theſe ſcriptures followyng: firſt read in Saint Mathew. ix. Luke v. Mathew. xxiiij. and xxvj. Marke. xvi. Luke. xxiiij. Iohn xij. Luke. xxij. in the end Iohn. xiij. xv. xvj. xvij. Actes. i. iij. vij. ix. Rom. viij. Pſal. viij. i. Cor. x. xj. Exo. xij. Col. j. iij. Ephe. j. iiij. Phil. ij. j. Theſ. j. iiij. Heb. j. v. viij. ix. x. xij. j. Pet. iij. Pſal. xi. xvij. Cu. ij. x.

Chriſtes materiall body is not in al places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtifie hereafter.

Chriſtes body not in all places at once.

Firſt, reade S. Mathew the laſt, Marke the laſt, Luke the laſt, Iohn. xi. xx. xxi. Theſe places of the ſcripture doe playnly declare, that his body that was borne of ẏ Virgin Mary, can not be in mo places then one, and that is in heauē on the right hand of God, and not in the ſacrament, nor in all places, as the Papiſts haue affirmed, and yet do affirme.

Idolatry to the creatures of bread and wyne.

Therfore whoſoeuer they be that do worſhip the creatures of bread and wyne, do commit idolatry, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, & geue it to his creatures: which is contrary to the minde of God, as theſe ſcriptures hereafter do teſtify, firſt in Exodus xx. xxij. xxiij. xxiiij. Leui. xix. Deut. iiij. vi. xxvij. Pſal. lxxx. Eſay. xlv. Mal. ij. Math. iiij. Luk. iiij. Act. xiiij. Reuel. xix. ij. Pſal. xcviij. j. Cor. viij. Ephe. iiij. j. Timo. ij. j. Iohn. v. Reuel. xix. xxij.

Iohn Denley.

M. Denley and his fellow priſoners ſent to B. Boner.

Now to returne to the Commiſſioners agayne, they receyuing theſe priſoners afore mencioned, after they ſaw they could litle preuayle by their own perſwaſions, ſent them vnto B. Boner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable diſcretion. Which howe diſcrete and fauourably it was, as well the hyſtory of others, as alſo the ſequele of this worke manifeſtly declare. For the. xxviij. daye of Iune, then next following, he cauſed the ſeid Denly and Newman with one Patrike Pachinkham, to bee brought into his chamber within his houſe or Palace, there examining them vppon their confeſſions (whiche Tyrell had founde about them) obiectyng alſo vnto them certayn other articles of his own. To the whiche they all aunſwered, in effect one thinge, although Denly aunſwered more largely then the others: and therfore I thought it inough onely to manifeſt hys, as ſufficient, and in no part differyng from the others, except that Pachingham had one article of no great force obiected to hym, which the reſt hed not.

M. Denley, Newman, and Pachingham, had in examination before the byſhop of London.

This done, the Biſhop vſed with them his accuſtomed perſwaſions, to the which Maiſter Denley ſayd: God ſaue me from your counceil, & kepe me in the minde that I am in, The wordes of M. Denley to Byſhop Boner.

for that you count hereſie, I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commaunded to appeare in the Byſhoppes Conſiſtory the v. day of July, then next commyng, in the after noone, where theſe articles were obiected agaynſt thẽ.

1555. Auguſt.

¶The Articles obiected by Edmond Boner, Byſhop of London, agaynſt Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, ioyntly and ſeuerally the xxviij. of Iune. 1555.

Articles obiected. Slaunder of hereſy. Catholicke church.

FIrſt, that the ſayd N. now is of the Dioces of London, and of the Juriſdiction of the Byſhop of London.

Secondly, that the ſayd N. hath not beleued, nor doth beleue that there is any Catholicke Churche of Chriſt here in earth.

Thirdly, that the ſayd N. hath not beleued, nor doth beleue, that this Church of England is any part or member of the ſayd Catholicke Church.

Maſſe.

Fourthly, the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that the Maſſe nowe vſed in this Realme of England, is naught, and full of Idolatry and euill, and playne agaynſt Gods word, and therefore he the ſayd N. hath not heard it, nor will not heare it.

Auricular confeſſion.

Fiftly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that auricular confeſſion vſed now in this Realme of England, is not good but contrary to Gods word.

Popiſh abſolution.

Sixtly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that abſolution geuen by the Prieſt hearing confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but contrary to the ſame.

Mattens, Euenſong, Eneling, with other rites of the Popes church.

Seuenthly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued and doth ſo beleue, that Chriſtenyng of children, as it is vſed in the Churche of England, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but agaynſt it: likewiſe cõfirmyng of children, geuyng of orders, ſaying of Mattens, and Euenſong, annoyntyng or enelyng of ſicke perſons, makyng of holy bread and holy water, with the reſt of the Church.

2. Sacramentes.

Eightly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that there are but two Sacramentes in Chriſtes Catholicke Church, that is to ſay, the Sacramẽt of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the aultar.

Ninthly, that the ſayd N. hath beleued, and doth ſo beleue, that for as much as Chriſt is aſcended vp into heauẽ, therefore the very body of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the aultar.

This Article was onely obiected agaynſt Patricke Pachingham.

Tenthly, that thou Patrike Pachyngham now beyng of the age of xxj. at the leaſt, beyng within the houſe of the Byſhop of London at Paules, and by him brought to the great Chappell to heare Maſſe there, the ſayd xxiij. day of June, the yeare of our Lord. 1555. diddeſt vnreuerently ſtand in the ſayd Chappell, hauyng thy cap on thy head all the Maſſe while, and diddeſt alſo refuſe to receiue holy water and holy bread at the Prieſtes handes, there contemnyng and deſpiſing both the Maſſe, and the ſayd holy water and holy bread.

¶The aunſwere of Iohn Denley, and the reſt, to the Articles obiected.

Their aunſweres.

TO the firſt Article, I aunſwere: it is very true.

The true Catholicke church not denyed.

To the ſecond Article, I aunſwere, that it is not true: for I beleue the holy Catholicke Churche which is builded vppon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apoſtles Chriſt beyng the head, whiche holy Churche is the congregation of the faythfull people, diſperſed thorough the whole world, and that where two or three are gathered together in Chriſtes name, they are the members of the ſayd holy Catholicke Churche whiche is diſperſed thorough the whole world, the which Church doth preach Gods word truely, and doth alſo miniſter the two Sacramentes, that is to ſay, Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, accordyng to his bleſſed word.

A notice of the true church.

The church of England now vſed, is no member of the true Catholicke church, and the reaſon why.

To the thyrd Article I aũſwere, that I do beleue that this Church of England, vſing the fayth & Religion which is now vſed, is no part or member of the foreſayd holy Catholicke Church, but is the Church of Antichriſt the Byſhop of Rome beyng the head thereof: for it is playne, that they haue altered the teſtament of God, & ſet vp a teſtamẽt of their own deuiſing, full of blaſphemy & lyes: for Chriſtes teſtament is, that he would haue all thyngs done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Math. 6. and alſo it appeareth by S. Paul. 1. Cor. 14. for he ſayth: That he that prophecieth, ſpeaketh vnto men, for their edifying for their exhortation, and for their comfort: he that ſpeaketh with the toung, profiteth himſelfe: he that prophecieth, edifieth the congregation.

1. Cor. 14.

Alſo hee ſayth: Euen ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeake with tõũges, except ye ſpeake wordes that haue ſignificatiõ, how ſhall it be vnderſtãd what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeake in the ayre, that is as much to ſay, in vayne. Alſo he ſayth: Thou verely geueſt thankes well, but the other is not edified. I thanke my GOD, I ſpeake with tounges more then ye all, yet had I rather in the congregation to ſpeake fiue woordes with vnderſtandyng, to the information of other, then ten thouſand wordes with the tounge. Alſo hee ſayth: Let all thynges be done to edification.

The Popes ſeruyce in the toung which edifieth not the people.

Alſo it is written in the Pſalme. 46. For God is kyng of all the earth: O ſing prayſes vnto him with vnderſtandyng. &c. So it doth appeare that this Church of England now vſed, is not builded vpon Chriſt, if S. Paules wordes be true, and alſo the Pſalmes: therefore this Church is not builded vpõ the Prophetes, Apoſtles, nor Chriſt, as I haue declared before.

The Maſſe abhominable and Idolatrous.

To this fourth Article I aunſwere, and I do beleue (as I haue aforeſayd) that the Maſſe now vſed in this realme of England, is naught and abhominable, idolatry and blaſphemy againſt Gods word: For Chriſt in his holy ſupper inſtituted the Sacramentes of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembraunce of his death till he come, and not to haue them worſhipped, and make an Idoll of them: for GOD will not be worſhipped in his creatures, but we ought to giue him prayſes for his creatures, which he hath created for vs. For he ſayth in the ſecond commaundement: Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen Image, nor the lykenes of any thing that is in heauẽ aboue, or in the earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow downe to thẽ, nor worſhyp them. So it appeareth by this commaundement, that we ought not to worſhip the Sacrament of bread and wine, for it is playne idolatry, for hee ſayth: No ſimilitude: therefore thou ſhalt not bowe downe to them, nor worſhyp them. I pray you what do you call kneelyng downe, holdyng vp the handes, knockyng of the breſt, puttyng of the cap, and makyng curteſie, with other like ſuperſtitiõs? you would make men to be ſo blynd, that this is no worſhippyng.

The Maſſe againſt Gods commaundemẽt.

Objection of the Papiſtes remoued.

Peraduenture ye will obiect and ſay, you do not worſhyp the bread and the wyne, but Chriſtes body whiche was borne of the Virgine Mary, contayned vnder the forme of bread and wyne. But that is a very lye: for Chriſtes body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, is in heauen, if S. Paules wordes be true, as vndoubtedly they are: for hee ſayth in the tenth of the Hebrues: But this man, after he hath offered one ſacrifice for ſinnes, is ſet down for euer on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarieth till his foes be made his footeſtoole.

Heb. 10.

Alſo in the ix. chap. he ſayth: For Chriſt is not entred into holy places that are made with handes, which are ſimilitudes of true thynges, but is entred into very heauen, for to appeare now in the ſight of God for vs. &c. Alſo Phil. 3. But our cõuerſation is in heauẽ, from whence we looke for the Sauiour, euen the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. &c. Theſſ. 1. For they themſelues ſhew of you, what maner of entryng in we had vnto you, and how ye turned to God frõ Images, for to ſerue the liuyng God, and for to looke for his ſonne frõ heauen, whom he rayſed from death, euen Ieſus, which deliuered vs from the wrath to come, &c. Alſo John. 16. I went out from the father, & came into the world: againe, I leaue the world, and goe to the father, &c. John. 17. Nowe I am not in the world, and they are in the worlde, and I come to thee. And theſe places of the Scripture with other moe, proueth playnely, to them that haue eares to heare, that Chriſtes body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, is in heauen, and not in the Sacramentall bread and wine, and therfore it is idolatry to worſhip them. &c.

Heb. 9.

Phil. 3.

1. Theſ. 1.

Scriptures prouing Chriſt not to be bodyly in the Sacrament.

Joh. 16.
Joh. 17.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſion.

To this fift Article I aunſwere, that I doe beleue as I haue aforeſayd, that auricular confeſſion is not good, as it is now vſed. Touchyng my ſinnes wherein I haue offended GOD, I muſt ſeeke to hym for remiſſion thereof, for our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth in the xj. of Saint Mathew: Come vnto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you. &c. The riotous ſonne Luke. xv. ſayth: I will ariſe and go to my father, and will ſay to hym, Father, I haue ſinned agaynſt heauen and before thee, and am no more woorthy to be called thy ſonne. &c. Pſalm. xxxi. I ſayd, I will knowledge myne offences, and accuſe my ſelfe vnto the Lorde, and ſo thou forgaueſt me the wickedneſſe of my ſinne. &c. Job. xiij. But I will reproue myne owne wayes in his ſight: He ſhall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before hym. Syrach. 34. ſayth: Who can bee clenſed of the vncleane? And there was but one of the ten Lepers that were clenſed, that came to Chriſt to geue him thankes. He aſked for the other ix. But if I haue offẽded my neighbour, I muſt reconcile my ſelfe to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious ſinner, after the firſt and ſecond admonitiõ, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the Miniſter of the congregation hath power by the worde to excommunicate me, and I am to bee taken as a Heathen perſon: not for a day,

Math. 11.

Luke 15.

Pſal. 31.

Job. 13.

Sirac. 34.

Remiſſion of ſinnes to be ſought onely at the handes of Chriſt.

day, or xl. dayes, but vnto ſuch tyme as I do openly in yͤ congregation knowledge my fault: thē the Miniſter hath power by the worde, to Preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſinnes in the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, as it is written in the xiij. of the Actes of the Apoſtles, Mathew. xviij. Other confeſſion I know none.

To this vi. Article, I the ſayd John Denley haue aunſwered in the fift, &c.

Baptiſme abuſed in the Popes Church.

To this ſeuenth Article I aunſwere, that as touchyng the Sacrament of Baptiſme, whiche is the Chriſtenyng of children, it is altered and chaunged: for S. John Baptiſt vſed nothyng, but the Preachyng of, the worde and the water, as it doth appeare, when Chriſt required to be Baptiſed of him, and others alſo whiche came to John to bee Baptiſed, as it appeareth Math. iij. Mar. i. Luke. iij. and Act. viij. the Chamberleine ſayd: See here is water, what letteth me to be Baptiſed? it appeareth here that Philippe had preached vnto him: for hee ſayd: here is water. We doe not read that he aſked for any creame, or oyle, nor for ſpettle, nor coniured water, nor coniured ware, nor yet criſome, nor ſalt: for it ſeemeth that Philippe had preached no ſuch thynges to hym: for he would as well haue aſked for them, as for water: and the water was not coniured, but euen as it was afore. Alſo Act. x. Then aunſwered Peter: Can any man forbyd water that theſe ſhould not bee Baptiſed? &c. Act. 16. And Paule and Silas preached vnto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: and he tooke them the ſame houre of the night, and waſhed their woūds, and ſo was he Baptiſed, & all they of his houſhold ſtraight way. Where ye ſee nothyng but preachyng the worde, and the water. The lyke alſo is to be ſayd of the reſt of the ceremonies of your Church.

Act. 8.
Actes. 10.
Act. 16.

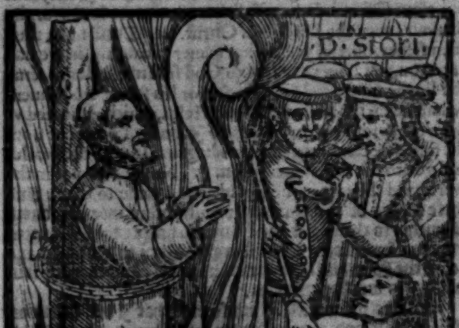
The Raynebow as good a Sacrament as ſome of the Popyſhe Sacramentes.

To the eight Article I aunſwere ſhortly, that there be Sacramentes no moe, but two, Baptiſme and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, except ye will make the Raynbow a Sacrament: for there is no Sacrament but hath a promiſe annexed vnto it.

To the ix. Article I do aunſwere you, that ye haue my mynde written already. For it was found about me when I was taken: and alſo ye know my mynde in the 4. article, playnly expreſſed cōcernyng the bodily preſence: for Chriſtes body is in heauen, and will not be contened in ſo ſmall a peece of bread: & as the wordes which Chriſt ſpake are true in deede: ſo muſt they alſo bee vnderſtanded by other of the Scriptures whiche Chriſt ſpake hymſelfe and alſo the Apoſtles after hym. And thus I make an end. &c.

By me Iohn Denley.

The Martyrdome of M. Iohn Denley.



The Martyrdome of Maiſter Denley with a fagot caſt at his face, at Vxbridge Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 8.

The firſt day of the moneth of July, the ſayd iij. priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory in Paules Church, where hee proceeded agaynſt them after hys vſuall forme and maner of lawe, readyng firſt their confeſſions, Articles, and aunſweres, and then temptyng them, ſometyme with fayre promiſes, other whiles with threatenynges, whiche were alwayes his chiefeſt Argumentes and reaſons to perſwade withall: in the ende, ſeyng their vnmoueable conſtancie, vppon the fift day of July he condemned them as heretickes, and gaue them vnto the Shiriffes of London, as to his common executioners: who kept them vntill they were commaunded by writte, to ſend them to their ſeuerall places of ſufferyng: whiche was for Maiſter Denley, Vxbridge: where the. viij. day of Auguſt he was burned. And beyng ſet in the fier with the burnyng flame about hym, he ſang in it a Pſalme.

M. Denley, Newman, Pachingham condemned the 5. day of July.

The vngentle dealing of Doctour Story agaynſt M. Denley.

Then cruell Doctour Story beyng there preſent commaunded one of the tormentours to hurle a Fagot at hym, whereupon beyng hurt therewith vpon the face that he bled agayne, he left his ſingyng and clapt both his handes on his face. Truely, quoth Doctour Story to him that hurled the Fagot, thou haſt mard a good old ſong.

The ſayd John Denley beyng yet ſtill in the flame of the fier, put his handes abroad and ſang agayne, yeldyng at the laſt his ſpirite into the handes of God through his ſonne Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyrdome of Patricke Pachingham at Vxbridge. Anno 1555. Auguſt 28.

The Martyrdome of John Newman at Saffron Walden Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 31.

After the Martyrdome of M. Denley at Vxbridge, which was the viij. of Auguſt, ſuffered alſo not long after, Patricke Pachingham at the ſame Towne of Vxbridge, about the 28. day of the ſayd moneth. This Pachinghā was charged of Boner (as ye heard in the x. article before) for his behauiour ſhewed in the Byſhoppes Chappell: who at the Maſſe tyme there ſtādyng, would not put of his cap: which was taken for an haynous offence. The ſayd Pachingham alſo beyng much laboured by Boner to recant, proteſted in theſe wordes to the Byſhop that the Church which he beleued was no Catholicke Church, but was the Church of Sathan, and therfore he would neuer turne to it. &c.

Furthermore, as touchyng the other, which was John Newman Peuterer, dwellyng at Maydſtone in Kent, he was burned this laſt of Auguſt at Saffron walden in the County of Eſſex, whoſe confeſſion is in the firſt booke of Actes and Monumentes more at large to be ſene.

¶Richard Hooke.

Richard Hooke Martyred at Chicheſter.

Likewiſe Richard Hooke about the ſame ſeaſon, and for the ſame matter gaue his life at Chicheſter.

¶The examinations, aunſweres, and condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, Wil. Stere, before the Byſhop of Douer, and Harpeſfield Arch. of Cant.

6. Martyrs in Kent.

Thornton, Harpeſfield, Richard Faucet, Rob. Collins, perſecutours.

Mention was made a litle before in the ſtory of M. Bland, & Nic. Shetterden, pag. 1591. of certaine other Kentiſh mē, who beyng the ſame tyme with them called forth, & examined by Thornton B. of Douer, N. Harpſfield, Ric. Faucet, & Rob. Collins: yet notwithſtādyng because the cōdenation & executiō of thē was differred a litle lōger till the latter end of yͤ moneth of Auguſt, cōming therfore now to the tyme of their ſufferyng, we will briefly touch ſome part of their examinatiōs & aunſweres, as we find thē in the Regiſters. The names of theſe were W. Coker, W. Hopper, Hen. Laurence, R. Colliar, R. Wright, W. Stere. What the articles obiected to M. Blād & thē were, ye heard before, pag. 1585. To the which Articles they aunſwered for themſelues ſeuerally in effect as followeth.

William Coker condemned.

First William Coker ſayd, he woulde aunſwere no otherwiſe then he had already aunſwered: and beyng offered to haue lōger reſpite of vj. dayes after, he refuſed to take it, and ſo vpon the ſame, ſentence of condemnatiō, was read agaynſt him, the xi. of July.

William Hopper condemned.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to graunt to the fayth and determination of the Catholicke Church: after callyng him ſelfe better to mynde, conſtantly ſtickyng to the truth, he was condemned the next weeke after, the 16. of July.

The wordes of Henry Laurence.

Henry Laurence examined the ſayd day of July. xvj. and partly differred to the ſecond of Auguſt, aunſweared to the Articles obiected agaynſt him: firſt, denying auricular confeſſion, and that he had not nor would receiue the Sacrament, becauſe (ſayth he) the order of the holy Scriptures is chaunged in the order of the Sacrament.

Ex Regiſtro.

Putting of his cap at the mention of the Sacrament.

Moreouer, the ſaid Laurence was charged for not puttyng of his cap when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament & did reuerence to the ſame, the ſayd Laurence aūſweryng in theſe wordes: what, ſayd he, ye ſhal not neede

1555. July.

Chriſt gaue his body, as he ſayd he was a doore.

to put of your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you neede to put of your cap thereunto. Farther beyng appoſed concerning the veritie of the ſacrament geuen to Chriſtes diſciples, he affirmed, that euen as Chriſt gaue his very body to his diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame, ſo likewiſe Chriſt him ſelfe ſaide, he was a doore. &c. adding moreouer, that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtyl, that the ſacrament of the aultar is an Idole, and no remembraunce of Chriſtes Paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt being required to put to his hand [illegible] ſubſcribing to his anſwers, he wrote theſe wordes vnder the byll of their examinations: Ye are all of Antichriſt, and hym ye fol. And here his hande was ſtayed to write any further: Belike he woulde haue written out (followe.) &c. And ſo vpon the ſame, ſentence was read againſt hym the. 2. of Auguſt.

The ſubſcription of Henry Laurence.

Richard Colliar of Aſhford.

Richard Colliar.

The wordes of Richard Colliar.

Only in the ſubſtance he meaneth.

RIchard Colliar aboue mentioned, hauing the ſixteenth daye of Auguſt to appeare, examined of the Sacrament of the Popiſhe Aultar, aunſweared, and ſaide, that he dyd not beleeue, that after the Conſecration there is the reall and ſubſtantiall bodye of Chriſte, but onely breade and wyne, and that it is moſte abominable, moſte deteſtable, and moſte wicked to beleeue otherwiſe. &c. Vppon this the ſentence was read againſt hym, and he condemned the. xvi. of Auguſt. After his condemnation he ſang a Pſalme. Wherfore the prieſtes and their officers railed at hym, ſaying, he was out of his wyts.

Richard Wright.

Richard Wright.

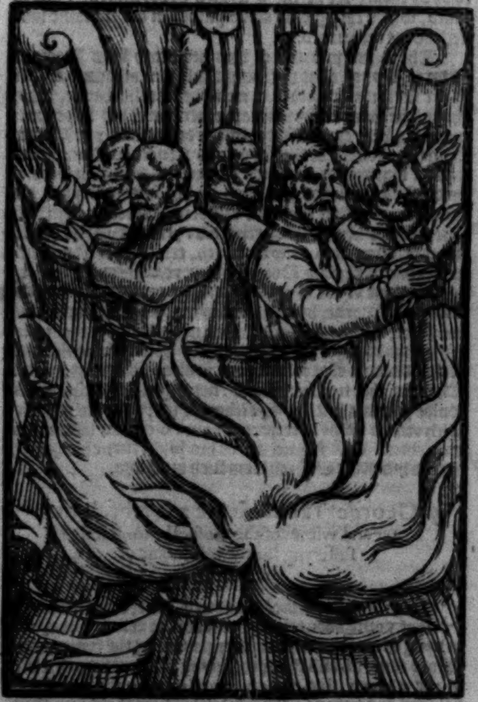
Richard Wright aſhamed to ſpeake of the Sacrament of the Aultar.

RIcharde Wright the ſame place and daye, being the ſixteenth of Auguſt, appearing, and required of the Iudge what he beleeued of the reall preſence in the Sacramente, aunſweared againe, that as touching the Sacrament of the Aultar and the Maſſe, he was aſhamed to ſpeake of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was vſed in the church. Againſt whom the ſentence alſo was read the day and place aforeſaid.

William Stere.

William Stere, Martyr.

The burnyng of ſixe godly Martyrs in one fire.



The Martyrdome of vi. Martyrs. W. Coker, W. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar R. Wright, W. Stere, at Cant. Anno. 1555. Auguſt.

WIlliam Stere of the foreſaide Pariſhe of Aſhford, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appeare the ſaide. xvi. daye of Auguſt, where he in the ſaide Chapterhouſe of Canterbury, being required to make aunſweare to the poſitions laide to hym by the Iudge, made anſweare againe, that he ſhould commaund his dogges, and not hym: and further declared, that Dicke of Douer had no authoritie to ſit againſt hym in iudgement, and aſked where his authoritie was. Who then ſhewed hym certaine Bulles & writinges from Rome, as he ſaide. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſaid Dicke ſaide alſo he had authoritie from the Queene. Then the Martyr alleging that the Biſhop of Canterburye (who then was in priſon) was his Dioceſan, vrged hym to ſhew his authoritie from the Archbiſhop, or els he denyed his authoritie to be ſufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, he founde it not (he ſaid) in the ſcripture, and therefore he would not anſweare therunto.

Dicke of Douer: ſo they termed then Richard Thornton B. of Douer.

He meaneth D. Cranmer impriſoned at Oxford.

And moreouer, the Iudge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the aultar with reuerence therof, and putting of his cap, he ſaide, that he needed not to reuerence that matter ſo highly. And thus ſaying to the Iudge, that he was a bloudy man. &c. the ſentence was pronounced againſt hym: after which ſentence being read, he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the aultar was the moſt blaſphemous Idol that euer was. &c.

Sentence againſt William Stere.

And thus theſe ſixe heauenly martyrs and witnes bearers to the truth, being cōdemned by the bloudy Suffragā & Archdeacō of Cant. M. Collins and M. Faucet, were burned al altogether in the ſame towne of Canterb. at three ſtakes and one fire, about the latter ende of Auguſt.

The copie of their ſentence cōdemnatorie you may finde aboue in the ſtorie of Iohn Rogers. pag. 1417. for the papiſtes in all their condemnations folowe one maner of ſentence of courſe commonly againſt all that be cōdemned thorow their vnmercyful tyrannie.

Read before, pag. 1417.

¶ The perſecution of ten martyrs together ſent by certaine of the Counſaile to Boner to be examined.

Ten Martyrs ſent vp together to Byſhop Boner.

AFter the burning of theſe ſixe aboue named, next foloweth the perſecution of ten other true ſeruants & ſaintes of the Lorde, not ſuch ſaintes as the Pope maketh, or whiche are mentioned in Legenda ſanctorū, or in vitis patrum, or in the fabulous boke de vita ſanctorum Wallenſium. &c. but ſuch as are ſpoken of in the holy Apocalyps, of whom it is written: Hi ſunt qui ſequūtur Agnū quocūq; ierit, quiq; lauarūt ſtolas ſuas in ſanguine agni. i. Theſe be they that folowe the Lambe witherſoeuer he goeth, and whiche haue waſhed their ſtooles in the bloud of the Lambe. &c. Thus theſe ſaintes be not of the Popes making, or rather to ſay yͤ truth, they are of the Popes making, of the popes making (I ſay) in this reſpect, not that the ſaintes of God are made by the Pope, but that the ſaintes of God are tryed and declared by the Pope: ſo as by afflictiōs of Satan Iobs pacience was proued, by Pharao Gods power declared, and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tullie writeth) for except he had loſt it before, Q. Fabius could not haue recouered it: ſo in like maner, vnleſſe by Antichriſte good men had bene deſtroyed, otherwiſe they had not bene tryed true Martyrs of Chriſt. The names of theſe were:

Apoc. 11.

Saintes of the Popes making.

Elizabeth Warne.
George Tankerfield
Robert Smyth.
Steuen Harwood.
Thomas Fuſt.

William Hale.
Thomas Leyes.
George King.
Iohn Wade.
Ioan Layſhford.

Ten Martyrs ſent by the commiſſioners.

The Priſons of London beginnyng nowe to be repleniſhed with Gods ſaintes, and ſtyll moe and moe comming in, the Counſaile & Commiſſioners thinking to make redy diſpatch with the poore priſoners, cauſed theſe ten aboue named to be ſent with their letter directed to Boner Biſhop of London, by hym to be examined, and ryd out of the way. The copie of which their letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here foloweth to be read and noted.

¶ A letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Biſhop of London Doctour Boner.

The letter of the commiſſioners to Byſhop Boner.

AFter our harty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend you here Iohn Wade, William Hayle, George King Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt Hoſier, Robert Smyth Painter, Steuē Harwod Bruer, George Tankerfield Cooke, Elizabeth Warne, Ioane Layſhford of London, Sacramentaries: all whiche we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, & to order according to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes: praying your Lordſhip to appoynt ſome of your officers to receiue thē at this bearers hand. And thus moſt hartily, fare your Lordſhip wel. From London this. 2. Iuly.

Your Lordſhips louyng frendes,
Nicholas Hare.
William Roper.
Richard Rede.
William Cooke.

Names of the Commiſſioners.

¶ In the number of theſe ten aboue mentioned was Iohn Wade, whoſe ſtorie comming to our handes, we thought good to inſert and record the ſame, in maner as foloweth.

IOhn Wade of Darford in the Countie of Kent Linnen weauer, was condemned by Maurice Biſhop of Rocheſter, and appoynted to be burned at Darford aforeſaide. At the daye appoynted for his execution, whiche was in the moneth of Iuly, there was betymes in the mornyng caryed out of the Towne in a Carte, a ſtake, and therewith many bundles of Reedes, to a place a quarter of a myle out of the Towne, called the Brymthe, into a Grauell Pyt thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thyther alſo was brought a load of Broome fagot, with other fagots and talwood. Unto which place reſorted the people of the Countrey in great number, and there taryed his commyng. In ſo muche that thyther came diuers Fruiterers with horſe loades of Cherryes, and ſolde them. About ten of the clocke commeth rydyng the Sheriffe, with a greate many of other Gentlemen and their retinue, appoynted to aſſiſt hym therein, and with them Wade rydyng pinioned, and by hym one Margerie Pollye of Tunbridge, both ſingyng of a Pſalme: whiche Margerie, as ſoone as ſhee eſpyed a farre of the multitude gathered about the place where ſhee ſhoulde ſuffer, waityng his commyng, ſhee ſaid vnto hym verye loude and chearefully: You maye reioyce Wade, to ſee ſuche a companye gathered to celebrate your marryage this day.

And ſo paſſing by the place, whiche ioyned harde to the hye way, they were caryed ſtreight downe to the Towne, where ſhee was kept vntyll the Sheriffe returned from Wades execution. And Wade being made ready, and ſtripped out of his clothes in an Inne, had brought vnto hym a faire long white ſhirt frō his wife, which being put on, & he pinioned, was led vp on foot again to the foreſaid place. And cōming ſtrayt to ẏ ſtake, toke it in his armes, imbracing it, & kiſſed it, ſettyng his backe vnto it, & ſtandyng in a Pitche Barrell, whiche was taken from the Beacon, beyng hard by: then a Smyth brought a hoope of yron, and with two ſtaples made hym faſt to the ſtake, vnder his armes.

As ſoone as he was thus ſetled, he ſpake, with his handes and eyes lyfted vp to heauen, with a chearefull and loude voyce, the laſt verſe of the. lxxxvi. Pſalme: Shewe ſome good token vpon me, O Lorde, that they which hate me, may ſee it, and be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt helped me, and comforted me. Neare vnto the ſtake was a litle hyll, vpon the top wherof were pitched vp foure ſtaues quadrangle wiſe, with a couering round about like a Pulpit into ẏ which place, as Wade was thus praying at ẏ ſtake, entred a Fryer with a booke in his hande, whom when Wade eſpied, he cryed earneſtly vnto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhortyng them to imbrace the doctrine of the Goſpell preached in K. Edward his dayes. Whom the Sheriffe, thus ſpeaking to the people often interrupted, ſaying, be quiet Wade, and dye paciently. I am (ſayde he) I thanke God, quiet, Maiſter Sheriffe, and ſo truſte to dye. All this while the Fryer ſtood ſtyl lokyng ouer the Couerlet, as though he would haue vttered ſomewhat: but Wade very mightily admoniſhed ẏ people to beware of that doctrine: whiche when the Fryer perceyued, whether he were amaſed, or coulde haue no audience of ẏ people, withdrew hymſelfe out of the place immediately without ſpeakyng any worde, and wente awaye downe to the Towne. Then the Reedes beyng ſet about hym, he pulled them and imbraced them in his armes, alwayes with his handes (makyng a hole againſte his face, that his voyce might be heard, whiche they perceiuyng that were his tormentors, alwaye caſte fagottes at the ſame hole, whiche notwithſtandyng he ſtyll as he coulde, put of his face beyng hurte with the ende of a fagot caſte thereat. Then fire beyng put vnto hym, he cryed vnto God often, Lorde Ieſus receyue my ſoule: without any token or ſigne of impacience in the fire, tyll at length, after the fire was once throughly kindled, he was heard no more ſpeake, ſtyll holdyng his hands vp ouer his head together towardes heauen, euen when he was dead and altogether roſted, as though they had bene ſtayed vp with a proppe ſtandyng vnder them.

This ſigne dyd God ſhewe vppon hym, whereby his very enimies might perceyue, ẏ God had accordyng to his prayer, ſhewed ſuch a token vpon hym, euen to their ſhame and confuſion. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, this was his ende. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirite of dumbnes the Fryer that Locuſt whiche was riſen vp to haue ſpoken agaynſte hym: and alſo no leſſe woonderfully ſuſteyned thoſe handes whiche he lyfted vp to hym for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præſentes Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc Miniſter Eccleſiæ Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher filius, Miniſter Eccleſiæ Rienſis.

¶ The hiſtorie of Elizabeth Warne, widowe, burnt at Stratford bowe.

Elizabeth Warne Martyr.

Read before pag. 1496.

Of theſe taken in Bow church yeard, read before pag. 1411.

NOwe ſeuerally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe tenne Martyrs aforenamed, firſte we wyll begynne with the hiſtorie of Elizabeth Warne, who in this moneth of Auguſt was burned at Stratford Bowe, nye vnto London, wydowe, late the wyfe of Iohn Warne Upholſter, and Martyr, who alſo was burned in the ende of the moneth of May laſt paſt, as before in his ſtorye is recorded, pag. 1496. This Elizabeth had bene apprehended amongeſt others, the firſte daye of Ianuarye, in a houſe in Bowe Churche yarde in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was carryed to the Counter (as is alſo aboue ſpecified) where ſhee laye as priſoner vntyll the. xx. day of Iune. At whiche tyme ſhee was brought vnto Newgate, and remayned there in like caſe vnto the ſeconde day of Iuly. Then ſhee was ſent by the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners vnto Boner Biſhop of London, who the firſt day of the ſame moneth, cauſed her with diuers others (as Robert Smyth, George Tankerfielde, &c.) to be brought before hym into his Pallace, and there examined her vpon ſundrye articles, ſuche as of common order be miniſtred vnto the poore Saintes and Martyrs of God, as ye maye more playnely perceyue by other more large and ample proceſſes, as wel before, as hereafter mentioned.

Elizabeth Warne brought to examination.

The chiefeſt obiection that he vſed, eyther towardes her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touchyng the reall and corporall preſence of the bodye and blood of Chriſte in the ſacrament of the aultar, as the chiefeſt grounde and profitableſt foundation for their Catholike dignitie. Many other matters he obiected againſte them, as for not commyng to the Churche, for ſpeakyng againſte the Maſſe, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and newe founde ſacramentes, with diuers other fonde and trifling toyes, not worthy any mentionyng. In the ende, when ſhee had bene diuers tymes brought before hym and other his adherentes, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhee ſayde: Doo what ye wyl. For if Chriſte was in an errour, then am I in an errour. Upon which aunſweare, ſhee was the. xij. day of the ſame moneth of Iuly adiudged and condemned as an heretique, and ſo deliuered vnto the ſecular power (as they terme it) to be by them (yet at the Clergies appoyntment) put to death, which thyng was accompliſhed in her the ſame moneth aboue mentioned.

The wordes of Elizabeth Warne at her examination.

A ſtory of D. Story wrytten vpon the report of D. Martyns owne wordes.

The chiefe procurer of this her death was Doctour Storye, beyng (as it is thought) of ſome alliaunce, eyther to her the ſaide Elizabeth, or els to her late huſbande. Who, though he was at the firſte apprehenſion of his ſaide kinſwoman, a very earneſt ſuiter for her deliueraunce to Doctor Martin, then one of the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (hym ſelfe beyng as yet not made Commiſſioner) and had by his ſuite obteyned his deliuerance for that preſent, as doctour Martin hym ſelfe (the authour hereof) hath reported: yet afterwardes (vpon what occaſion God onely knoweth, except vpon ſome burnyng charitie the ſaid Doctour Storye, obteynyng now the roume of one of the Commiſſioners, cauſed not onely the ſaid Iohn Warne, but alſo his wyfe, and afterwardes his daughter, to be againe apprehēded, neuer leauyng them, vntyll he had brought them all to aſhes. Suche was the rage of that deuoute Catholique, and white childe of the mother Churche, that neyther kynred, nor any other conſideration coulde preuaile with hym, although it dyd (at his requeſt) with others: who in reſpect of hym, were but ſtraungers vnto them. The Lorde, if it be his wyll, turne his hart, or els ryd his poore Church from ſuch an Hydra.

D. Story perſecuteth his kinſfolkes.

¶ George Tankerfielde a faythfull martyr and witnes of the Goſpell, conſtantly ſufferyng for the teſtimonie of the ſame.

The ſtory of George Tankerfeld Martyr.

GEorge Tankerfield of London Cooke, borne in the Citie of Yorke, about the age of. xxvij. or xxviij. yeres, was in kyng Edwardes dayes a very papiſt, tyl the tyme queene Mary came in, and then perceiuyng the great crueltie vſed of the Popes ſide, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doinges, and began (as he ſaid) in his hart to abhorre them. And as concernyng the maſſe, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much ſtriuyng with hym ſelfe in that caſe, at length he fel to prayer, deſiring God in mercy to opē to hym ỹ truth, that he might be thorowly perſwaded therin, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might vtterly hate it in his hart, & abhorre it: which according to his prayer, the Lord mercyfully heard, working dayly more and more in hym to deteſt & abhorre the ſame: and ſo was moued to reade the Teſtament, whereby (as he ſaid) the Lord lightened his mynd with the knowledge of the truth, working liuely fayth in hym to beleue the ſame, and vtterly to deteſt al Papiſtrie, and ſo he came no more to their doyngs: And not onely that, but alſo this liuely fayth, ſaid he, kindled ſuch a flame in hym, as would not be kept in, but vtter it ſelfe by confeſſion therof, reprouyng his own former doings to his frends, exhortyng them likewiſe to conuert and turne to the truth with hym, and thus he began to be ſmelled out among them, tyl at the laſt he was ſent for, as foloweth.

Tankerfield prayeth to God to know whether the Maſſe be good or no.

Tankerfield how he was firſt called to the knowledge of the Goſpell.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike hym with ſicknes, wherby he lay long ſicke: and on a certayne day to take the ayre abroad, he roſe vp and went and walked into the Temple fieldes, to ſee the ſhooters. In the meane ſeaſon came Beard home to his houſe, and inquired for hym, pretendyng to his wife that he came only for to haue hym to come and dreſſe a banket at the Lorde Pagets. The wife becauſe of his apparell (whiche was very braue) tooke him to bee ſome honeſt Gentleman, and with all ſpeede prepared her ſelfe to fetch her huſband, hauyng a good hope he ſhould now erne ſome money: and leſt this Gentleman ſhould not bee noyed with taryng, ſhe ſet him a couſhen to ſet him ſoft, and layd a fayre napkin before him, and ſet bread thereon, and came to her huſband: who when he heard it, ſayd: a banket woman? In deede it is ſuch a banket as wil not be very pleaſaunt to the fleſh: but Gods will be done. And when he came home hee ſaw who it was, and called him by hys name, whiche when hys wife perceiued and wherfore he came, like a tall womā, would play Peters part, and in ſtede of a ſword tooke a ſpit, and had runne hym thorow, had not the Conſtable whiche Bearde had ſent for by hys man, come in withall, who reſcued hym: yet ſhe ſent a brickebatte after hym and hit hym on the backe. And ſo Tankerfield was deliuered to the Cōſtable, and brought to Newgate about the laſt daye of February an. 1555. by the ſayd Bearde yeoman of the Gard, and Symon Ponder Pewterer, Conſtable of S. Dunſtās in the Weſt, ſent in by Syr Roger Chomley Knight and by Doctor Martin.

The order and maner how Tankerfield was firſt apprehended by Beard.

A falſe Iudas part of Beard.

Beard and Simon Ponder troublers of Gods Saintes.

Syr Roger Chomley, D. Martyn.

Articles ordinary.

Tankerfield thus beyng brought to priſon by hys aduerſaryes, at length by ỹ other aboue named was brought to his examination before Boner, who after his accuſtomed maner, obiected his articles and poſitions vnto hym: the copy and tenor of whiche hys ordynary Articles ye may read aboue expreſſed, pag. 1585.

To theſe Articles as aboue rehearſed, he aunſwered agayne, conſtantly declaryng hys minde both touching auricular confeſſion, and alſo the ſacrament of the Popiſh alter, and lykewiſe of the Maſſe &c: Firſt that hee was not confeſſed to any Prieſt v. yeares paſt, nor to any other but only to God, and further denying that he would hereafter be cōfeſſed to anye Prieſt, for that hee founde it not in Chriſtes booke, and tooke it onely to be a counſell.

Auricular confeſſion.

And concernyng the Sacrament, commonly called here in England of the aulter, hee confeſſed that hee neither had nor dyd beleue, that in the ſayd ſacrament, there is the reall body and bloude of Chriſt, becauſe that the bodye is aſcended into heauen, and there doth ſit at the right of God the father..

Sacrament of the altar.

And moreouer he ſayd, that the Maſſe nowe vſed in the Church of England was naught, and full of Idolatry and abomination and agaynſt the worde of God, affirming alſo, that there are but two Sacramentes in the Churche of Chriſte, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lorde. &c. And to theſe aſſertions, he ſayd, he woulde ſtand and ſo dyd to the end.

The Maſſe abhominable

Two Sacramentes.

And when at laſt the Byſhop began to read the ſentence exhortyng hym before with many wordes to reuoke hys profeſſed opinion (which they called damnable and heretical) hee notwithſtandyng, reſiſted all contrary perſwaſions, anſweryng the Byſhop agayne in this forme of wordes: I wil not (ſaid he) forſake myne opinions, except you (my Lorde) can repel them by ſcriptures, and I care not for your Diuinitie: for you condemne all men, and proue nothing againſt them. And after many fayre wordes of exhortation, whiche Boner then vſed (after his ordinarye maner) to conuert or rather peruert hym, he anſwered boldly again, ſaying moreouer: that the church wherof the Pope is ſupreme head, is no part of Chriſtes Catholike Church: and addyng therevnto, and poyntyng to the Biſhop, ſpake to the people, ſaying: Good people beware of him, and ſuch as he is: for theſe be the people that deceyueth you. &c.

The wordes of Tankerfield to Boner.

The wordes of Tankerfield at his condemnation.

Tankerfield geueth the people warning of Boner.

Theſe with other wordes moe, he ſpake: whereupon the Byſhop readyng the ſentence of his popiſh condemnatiō gaue hym to the ſecular power.

Tankerfield condemned.

And ſo this bleſſed ſeruaunt of God was had to ſaint Albons, and there with much pacience and conſtancie ended his life, the. xxvi. day of Auguſt, for the defence of the truth, which at length wyl haue the victorie.

The Martyrdome of George Tankerfield, at S. Albons. Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 26.

¶ The hiſtorie and examinations of Robert Smith, conſtantly mainteinyng the truth of Gods word, and ſuffering for the ſame in the moneth of Auguſt.

Robert Smith was brought vnto Newgate the fift of Nouember, in the firſt and ſecond yeare of the kyng and queene, by Io. Mathew, yeoman of the Gard of the queenes ſide, by the commaundemēt of the Counſaile. This Smith firſt gaue himſelfe vnto ſeruice in the houſe of ſir Thomas Smith knight, being thē Prouoſt of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windſore, hauing there in the Colledge a Clerkſhip of x. pound a yere. Of ſtature he was tal & ſlender, actiue about many things, but chiefly delighting in the arte of Painting, which many tymes, rather for his minds ſake thē for any liuyng or lucre, he dyd practiſe & exerciſe. In religion he was feruent, after he had once taſted the truth: wherein he was much confirmed by the preachinges & readings of one M. Turner of Windſore & others: whereupon at the commyng of Queene Mary he was depriued of his Clerkſhip by her viſitors, & not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Boner, as here foloweth, written and teſtified with his owne hand.

Rob. Smith of London, Martyr.

Rob. Smith actiue in the arte of paynting.

¶ The firſt examination of Robert Smith before Biſhop Boner.

About nyne of the clocke in the mornyng, I was among the reſt of my brethren brought to the Biſhops houſe: and I firſt of al was brought before hym into his chamber, vnto whom the Biſhop ſaid, as foloweth, after he had aſked my name.

The firſt examination of Rob. Smith before B. Boner.

Boner. Howe long is it agoe ſince the tyme that ye were confeſſed to any prieſt?

Smith. Neuer ſince I had yeares of diſcretion. For I neuer ſaw it needful, neither commaunded of God to come to ſhewe my faultes to any of that ſinfull number, whom ye cal prieſtes.

Confeſſion not needefull.

Boner. Thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe euen at the firſt chop to be a ranke heretike, which beyng wearye of painting, art entred into Diuinitie, and ſo fallen, through thy departing frō thy vocation, into hereſie.

Smith. Although I haue vnderſtanding in the ſaid occupation, yet (I prayſe God) I haue had litle neede all my lyfe hytherto to lyue by the ſame, but haue liued without the ſame in myne owne houſe as honeſtly in my vocation, as ye haue lyued in yours; and yet vſed the ſame better then euer you vſed the Pulpit.

Reiectio criminis ingenioſa & dicax.

Boner. How long is it ago ſince ye receiued the ſacrament of the aultar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

Smith. I neuer receiued ỹ ſame ſince I had yeres of diſcretion, nor neuer wyl, by Gods grace: neither do eſteeme the ſame in any poynt, becauſe it hath not Gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other vſage, but rather is ſet vp and erected to mocke God withal.

The ſacrament of the Altar.

Boner. Do ye not beleue that it is the very body of Chriſt that was borne of the virgin Mary, naturally, ſubſtātially and really, after the wordes of conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before it was none of Gods ordinaunces, as ye vſe it: then much leſſe to be God, or any part of his ſubſtance, but onely bread and wine erected to the vſe aforeſaid: yet neuertheleſſe, if ye can approue it to be the body that ye ſpake of, by the word, I wyl beleue it: if not, I wyl, as I do, accoūt it a deteſtable Idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth.

Boner. Then after many raging wordes & vaine obiectiōs, he ſaid there was no remedie but I muſt be burned.

Boners argument to proue the ſacrament.

Smith. Ye ſhall doo no more vnto me, then ye haue done to better men then either of vs both. But thinke not thereby to quench the ſpirite of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your ſore is too well ſeene to be healed ſo priuily with bloud. For euen the very children haue al your deedes in deriſion: ſo that although ye patche vp one place with authoritie, yet ſhall it breake out in fourty, to your ſhame.

Boner. Then after much ado, & many railyng ſentences, he ſaid, throwing away the paper of myne examinatiō: wel cū now by my truth, euen in good earneſt: if thou wylt goe and be ſhriuen, I wyll teare this paper in peeces.

Smith. To which I anſwered: It would be too much to his ſhame to ſhew it to men of diſcretion.

1555.
Auguſt.

Steuen Harwod examined before the Byſhop.

After whiche aunſweare, I was carryed downe into the Garden with my Gayler, and there remayned vntyll my brother Harwod was examined: and then being agayne brought vp before the ſayde Biſhop, he demaunded if I agreed with Harwood in his confeſſion, vpon theſe Articles folowing.

Robert Smith againe examined by the Byſhop.

Boner. What ſay you to the Catholike churche? Doo ye not confeſſe there is one in earth?

Smith. Yes verely, I beleeue that there is one Catholike Church, or faithfull Congregation, whiche as the Apoſtle ſaith, is builded vpon the Prophetes and Apoſtles, Chriſt Ieſus being the head corner ſtone: whiche Churche in all her woordes and woorkes, maunteyneth the woorde, and bringeth the ſame for her authoritie, and without it dooth nothing, nor ought to doo: of whiche I am aſſured, I am by grace made a member.

Where was the viſible church amongeſt the Proteſtantes?

Boner. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that I am bounde when my brother offendeth, and wyll not be reconciled, to bring hym before the Congregation: nowe if your Churche be the ſame, where maye a man finde it, to bryng his brother before the ſame?

Where was the viſible church amongeſt the Apoſtles?

Smith. It is written in the Actes of the Apoſtles, that when the tyrannie of the Biſhops was ſo great againſt the Church in * Iewrie, they were faine to congregate in houſes and priuie places, as they nowe doo: and yet were they neuertheleſſe the Church of God: and ſeeing they had their matters redreſſed being ſhut vp in a corner, may not we do the like now adayes?

Here he would not aunſwere me to the church of Iury, but ſlyeth to the v. of Corin.

Boner. Yea, their Church was knowen ful wel. For ſaint Paul wrytt to the Corinthians to haue the man puniſhed & excommunicate, that had committed euyll with his fathers wife. Whereby wee maye well perceiue, it was a knowen church, but yours is not knowen.

Smith. Then coulde ye not perſecute it, as ye doo: but (as ye ſay) the Churche of God at Corinth was manifeſt both to God and Paul: euen ſo is this Churche of God in Englande whom ye perſecute, both knowen to God, and alſo euen to the very wicked, although they knowe not, nor wyll not knowe their truth nor conuerſation: you and your ſinfull number haue profeſſed their veritie, and mainteyned the ſame a long ſeaſon.

Boner. Wel, thou ſayeſt that the church of God was only at Corinth when Paul wrote vnto them, and ſo wyll I put in writing: ſhal I?

How Boner layeth ſnares to catch the innocent.

Smith. I doo marueile greatly, my Lord, that ye are not aſhamed to laye ſnares for your brethren in this manner. This is now the third ſnare you haue laid for me. Firſt to make me confeſſe that the Churche of Englande is not the church of Chriſt: Secondly, to ſay, it is not knowen. Thirdly, to ſay the church of God is not vniuerſal, but particular: and this is not the office of a biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would haue done your beſt (I ſee) to haue entangled hym.

Harpſ. Well frende, quoth one of my Lordes Chapleynes, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God, I am that I am: and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vaine.

Boner. Wel, quoth my Lord, laughing: tel me, how ſayeſt thou of the church.

Smith. I tolde you whereuppon the true Churche is builded, and I affirme in England to be the Congregation of God, and alſo in Omnem terram, as it is written: Their ſounde is gone foorth into all landes, and that this is the afflicted and perſecuted Churche, whiche ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlaye, and kyll. And in Corinth was not all the Congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holye and elect people of God. For Paul neither Peter were preſent at Corinth when they wrote, & yet were they of the church of God, as many thouſandes moe, which alſo communicate in that holy ſpirite.

The church of Chriſt is not vniuerſally in one particular place.

Boner. What call ye Catholique, and what call you Churche?

Smith. Catholique is vniuerſall, and Church is a congregation knyt together in vnitie.

Then after muche like vaine talke, it was layde to my charge, that my felowe and I ſpake one thing. Whereof I prayſed God, and was ſent againe to a Garden. Where after a while, as my brother Harwod and I had bene together, commeth one of my Lordes Chaplaynes, that much deſired to common with me, demaundyng firſte if I were not a priſoner.

Talke betwene Robert Smyth and the Biſhops chaplaine.

Smith. I am in this fleſhe a priſoner, and ſubiect to my Maiſter and yours: but I hope yet the Lordes free man through Chriſt Ieſu.

Doct. I doo muche deſire to talke with you louingly, for becauſe ye are a man that I much lament, with many other ſweete wordes.

To whiche I aunſweared: Sub melle latet venenum.

Abſurditie graunted by the Catholickes that the body of Chriſt goeth into the belley, and ſo into the draught.

And after muche adoo about his God, I compelled hym to ſay, that it muſte nedes enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught. To which he anſwered.

Doct. What derogation was it to Chriſt, when ÿ Iewes ſpyt in his face?

Smith. If the Iewes being his enemies, dyd but ſpyt in his face, & we being his frendes throw him into the draught: which of vs haue deſerued the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth iniurie to Chriſt, ſhal haue a moſt plenteous ſaluation.

Compariſon betwene the Iewes that ſpit in Chriſtes face and papiſtes which let fall him into the draught.

Doct. Then ſtart he away, and woulde haue his humanitie incomprehenſible, making a compariſon betweene our ſoule and the body of Chriſt, bringing in to ſerue his turne, whiche waye Chriſte came in among his Diſciples, the doores being ſhut?

Note this Catholike doctrine, which reſembleth the body of Chriſt to the incomprehenſible ſoule of man.

Smith. Although it be ſayde, that when he came the doores were ſhut, yet haue I as muche to proue, that the doores opened at his commyng, as ye haue to proue he came through the doore. For that mighty god that brought the Diſciples out of priſons, which yet when ſearch came, were founde ſhut, was able to let Chriſte in at the doore, although it were ſhutte: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe, for they ſawe hym, hearde hym, and felt hym: and ſo can we not ſaye ye doo, neyther is he in more then in one place at once. At whiche aunſweare, when he had made many ſcoffynges, he departed awaye from me, and we were carryed into my Lordes Hall, where we were bayted of my Lordes band, almoſt al the day, vntyll our keeper ſeing their miſorder, ſhut vs vp al in a fayre chāber, while my Lorde went into his Synagogue, to condemne M. Denly & Iohn Newman.

The queſtion is not what Chriſt is able to doe in the ſacrament, but what he doth therein.

Then brought they vp my Lorde Mayor to heare our matter aboue in the chamber, and I firſt of all was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to ſup. Where my Lord Mayor being ſet with the Biſhop and one of the Sheriffes, wine was walking on euery ſide. I ſtandyng before them as an outcaſt, which made me remember howe Pilate & Herode were made frendes, but no man was ſory for Ioſephes hurt. But after my Lords had well drunke, my articles wer ſent for, and read, and he demaunded whether I ſayd not, as was written.

Rob. Smith brought agayne before the Byſhop and the Lord Mayor.

Smith. That I haue ſaid, I haue ſaid, and what I haue ſaid, I do meane vtterly.

Boner. Well my Lorde Mayor, your Lordſhyp hath hearde ſomewhat, what a ſtoute heretike this is, and that his Articles haue deſerued death: yet neuertheleſſe for ſo muche as they reporte me to ſeeke bloud, and call me bloudye Boner, where as God knoweth, I neuer ſought anye mans bloud in all my lyfe, I haue ſtayed hym from the Conſiſtorye this day, whither I might haue brought hym iuſtly: and yet here before your Lordſhip, I deſire hym to turne, and I wyll with all ſpeede diſpatch hym out of trouble: and this I profeſſe before your Lordſhip and all this audience.

B. Boner excuſeth him ſelfe of bloudines.

Smith. Why, my Lorde, doo ye put out this fayre viſer before my Lorde Mayor, to make hym beleue that ye ſeeke not my bloud, to cloke your murthers through my ſtoutenes, as ye call it? Haue ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whoſe hande when you had burned moſt cruelly, ye burnt alſo his body, and not only of hym, but of a great many of the members of Chriſte, men that feared God, and lyued vertuouſly, and alſo the Queenes Maieſties moſte true ſubiectes, as their goodes and bodyes haue made manifeſt? and ſeeing in theſe Saintes ye haue ſhewed ſo litle mercye, ſhall it ſeeme to my Lord and this audience, that ye wyl ſhewe me more fauour? No, no, my Lorde. But if ye meane as ye ſay, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to anſwere you vnto?

B. Boner proued to be cruell and bloudy.

Boner. Wel, what ſayeſt thou by the ſacrament of the altar? is it not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud, and bone, as it was borne of the virgin?

By this queſtion it may appeare whether the B. ſought bloud or no.

Smith. I haue aunſweared, that it is none of Gods order, neyther any Sacramente, but mans owne vayne inuention, and ſhewed hym the Lordes inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaryng that we knewe nothyng, bryngyng out his Hoc eſt corpus meum, to laye in my diſhe, I proued before the audience, that it was a dead God, declaryng the diſtinction appoynted betweene the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without bloud, hath no lyfe. At whiche Harpſfelde found hym ſelfe much offended, and tooke the tale out of my Lordes mouth, ſaying:

The Papiſts dead God, hauing body without bloud.

Harpſ. I wyll approue by the Scriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: for it is geuen in two partes, becauſe there is two thynges ſhewed, that is to ſay, his bodye and his Paſſion, as ſaith ſaint Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the repreſentation of his death and bloud ſheddyng.

Smith. ye falſifie the worde, and racke it to ſerue your purpoſe. For the wyne was not onely the ſhewing of his Paſſion, but the bread alſo: for our ſauiour ſaith: So oft as ye do this, do it in remēbrāce of me. And ſaint Paul ſayth: So oft as ye eate of this bread, & drinke of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death tyll he come. And here is as muche reuerence geuen to the one, as to the other.

Euen as the bread is the body: ſo is the cup the bloud.

Wherefore if the bread be his bodye, the cuppe muſt be his bloud, and as well ye make his body in the cuppe, as his bloud in the bread. Then vp roſe my Lorde and went to the table: where my Lorde Mayor deſired me to ſaue my ſoule. To whom I aunſwered, I hope it was ſaued thorowe Chriſte Ieſus, deſiryng him to haue pitie on his own ſoule, and remember whoſe ſword he caryed.

Rob. Smith commaunded of Boner into Limbo.

At whiche I was carryed into the Garden, and there abode vntyll the reſt of my frendes were examined, and ſo were we ſent awaye with many foule farewelles, to Newgate agayne, my Lorde Biſhop geuyng the keeper a charge to lay me in Lymbo.

An other examination of Robert Smith before the ſaide Biſhop.

An other examination of Rob. Smith. Boner beginneth with an vntruth.

VPpon Saterday at eight of the clocke, I was brought to his chamber agayne, and there by hym examined, as foloweth.

Boner. Thou Robert Smith. &c. ſayeſt, that there is no Catholike Church here on earth.

Smith. ye haue hearde me both ſpeake the contrarye, and ye haue written it as a witnes of the ſame.

Boner. yea, but I muſt aſke thee this queſtion: howe ſayeſt thou?

Smyth. Muſte ye of neceſſitie begynne with a lye? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to ende with the ſame. But there ſhall no lyers enter into the kingdome of God. Neuertheleſſe, if ye wyll be aunſwered, aſke myne articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I haue confeſſed a Church of God, as wel in earth as in heauen, and yet al one Churche, and one mans members, euen Chriſt Ieſus.

The church.

Boner. Wel, what ſayeſt thou to auricular confeſſion? is it not neceſſary to be vſed in Chriſtes church, and wylt not thou be ſhamen of the prieſt?

Smith. It is not needefull to be vſed in Chriſtes Church, as I aunſwered yeſterday. But if it be needefull for your Church, it is to picke mens purſes. And ſuche pickepurſe matters is all yͤ whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all is but money matters that ye mainteyne.

Auricular confeſſion is but a pickepurſe matter.

Boner. Why, howe art thou able to proue that confeſſion is a pickpurſe matter? Art thou not aſhamed ſo to ſaye?

Smith. I ſpeake by experience. For I haue both heard and ſeene the fruites of the ſame. For firſte it hath bene, we ſee, a bewrayer of kynges ſecretes, and the ſecretes of other mens conſciences. Who beyng deliuered, and glad to be diſcharged of their ſinnes, haue geuen to Prieſtes great ſummes of money to abſolue them, & ſing Maſſes for their ſoules health.

The inconueniences of Auricular confeſſion.

And for enſample, I beganne to bryng in a pageaunt, that by report was played at ſaint Thomas of Acres, and where I was ſometyme a child waytyng on a Gentleman of Northfolke, which beyng bounde in conſcience through the perſwaſion of the Prieſt, gaue away a great ſumme of his goodes, & forgaue vnto maiſter Greſſam a great ſumme of money, and to an other as much. The prieſt had for his part a ſumme, and the houſe had an annuitie to keepe him, the which thing when his brother heard, he came downe to London, and after declaration made to the Counſaile, howe by the ſubtiltie of the prieſt he had robbed his wyfe and children, recouered a great parte againe, to the value of two or three hundred poundes of maiſter Greſſam and his other frende: but what he gaue to the houſe, could not be recouered. This tale began I to tel. But when my Lord ſawe it ſauored not to his purpoſe, he began to reuile me, and ſayd: By the maſſe, if the Queenes maieſtie were of his mynde, I ſhould not come to talke before any man, but ſhoulde be put into a ſacke, and a dogge tied vnto the ſame, & ſo ſhould be throwen into the water.

A falſe practiſe of a prieſt vnder confeſſion.

Smith. To which I anſwered againe, ſaying: I know you ſpeake by practiſe, as much as by ſpeculation: for both you & your predeceſſours haue ſought all meanes poſſible to kyll Chriſt ſecretly: record of M. Hunne, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe, with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, & ſaid the ſame Hunne to haue hanged hym ſelfe: and alſo a good brother of yours, a Biſhop of your profeſſiō hauyng in his priſon an innocēt man, whom, becauſe he ſaw he was not able by the ſcriptures to ouercome, he made hym priuily to be ſnaried, and his fleſh to be torne and plucked awaye with a payre of pinſers, and bringing hym before the people, ſaid, the Rattes had eaten hym. Thus according to your othe, is all your dealing and hath bene: and as you taking vpon you the office, doo not without othes open your mouth, no more doo you without murder mainteine your traditions.

Of this murder of Richard Hunne, read before Pag. 780.

Example of terrible cruelty ſhewed vpon a poore innocent.

Boner. Ah, ye are a generation of lyers: there is not one true word that commeth out of your mouthes.

Smith. yea, my Lorde, I haue ſaid that Ieſus Chriſt is dead for my ſinnes, and riſen for my iuſtification, and this is no lye.

Boner. Then made he his man to put in my tale of the Gentleman of Northfolke, and would haue had me recite it againe: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in ſuche ſummes as he imagined. At the ende of this, commeth in M. Mordant knight, and ſate downe to heare my examination. Then ſaid my Lord, Howe ſayeſt thou Smith to the ſeuen ſacramentes? Beleueſt thou not that they be Gods order, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of. &c.

Syr John Mordant knight.

Smith. I beleue that in Gods Church are but two ſacramentes, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of Regeneration, & the ſacrament of the Lordes ſupper: and as for the ſacrament of the aultar, and al your ſacramentes, they maye well ſerue your church, but Gods church hath nothing to do with thē, neither haue I any thing to do to anſwere them, nor you to examine me of them.

Two Sacramentes.

Boner. Why, is Gods order chaunged in Baptiſme? In what poynt do we diſſent from the word of God?

Smith. Firſt, in halowing your water: in coniuring of the ſame: in baptiſing children, with annoynting and ſpittyng in their mouthes, mingled with ſalt, and with many other leude ceremonies, of whiche not one poynt is able to be proued in Gods order.

Baptiſme in what poyntes it is abuſed by the Catholickes.

Boner. By the maſſe this is the vnſhamefaſteſt heretique that euer I heard ſpeake.

Smith. Well ſworne my Lord, ye keepe a good watch.

Boner. Wel, maiſter controller, ye catche me at my wordes: but I wyl watch thee as wel, I warrant thee.

Mordant. By my troth, my Lord, quoth M. Mordant, I neuer hearde the like in all my life. But I pray you my Lord, marke wel his anſwere for Baptiſme. He diſalloweth therin, holy oyntment, ſalt, and ſuch other laudable ceremonies which no Chriſtian man wyl deny.

Smith. That is a ſhameful blaſphemie againſt Chriſt, ſo to vſe any mingle mangle in baptiſing young infantes.

Boner. I beleue, I tell thee, that if they dye before they be baptiſed, they be damned.

Smith. ye ſhall neuer be ſaued by that beliefe. But I pray you, my Lord, ſhewe me, are we ſaued by water, or by Chriſt?

Boner. By both.

Smith. Then the water dyed for our ſinnes: and ſo muſt ye ſay, that the water hath life, and it being our ſeruant, and created for vs, is our ſauiour: this, my Lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

This was ſpoken more to confound the opinion of water, then to let children to haue water.

Boner. Why, howe vnderſtandeſt thou theſe ſcriptures? Except a man be borne of water and of the ſpirite, he can not enter into the kingdome of God.

And againe, Suffer (ſaith our Sauiour) theſe children to come vnto me: and if thou wylt not ſuffer them to be baptiſed after the laudable order, thou letteſt thē to come vnto Chriſt.

Smith. Where ye alledge ſaint John, Except a man. &c. and wyll thereby proue the water to ſaue, and ſo the deede or worke to ſaue and put awaye ſinnes, I wyll ſende you to ſaint Paul, which aſketh of the Galathians: Whether they receiued the ſpirite by the deedes of the law, or by the preaching of faith? and there concludeth, that the holye Ghoſte accompanyeth the preaching of faith, and with the worde of fayth entreth into the harte. So nowe if Baptiſme preache me the waſhing in Chriſtes bloud, ſo doeth the holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is vnto me as a Preacher, and not a Sauiour. And where ye ſay, I let the children to come vnto Chriſte, it is manifeſt by our Sauiours wordes, that ye let them to come, that wyll not ſuffer them to come to hym without the neceſſitie of water. For he ſaith: ſuffer them to come vnto me, and not vnto water: and therefore if ye condemne them, ye condemne both the merites and wordes of Chriſte. For our Sauiour ſaith: Except ye turne and become as children, ye can not enter into the kingdome of God. And ſo brought I out manye other enſamples, to make manifeſt, that Chriſte hath clenſed originall ſinne, bringyng in enſamples out of ſcriptures for the ſame.

The water of Baptiſme a preacher, and not a Sauiour.

Boner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect, and then put away water.

Smith. It is not (ſaith ſaint Peter) the waſhing away of the filth of the fleſhe, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth vnto God. And for to proue that water only bringeth

The element of water in Baptiſme bringeth not the holy Ghoſt.

The holy ghoſt receaued of ſome before Baptiſme

not the holy ghoſt, it is writtē in the. viij. of the Actes, that Simon receyued water, but would haue receyued the holy ghoſt for money. Alſo that the holy ghoſt hath come before Baptiſme, it is written that John had the holy ghoſt in his mothers wombe. Cornelius, Paul, and the Queene of Candace ſeruant, with many other receyued the holy ghoſt before Baptiſme. Yea, and although your generation haue ſet at nought the word of God, and like ſwine turned his wordes vpſide downe, yet muſt his Church keepe the ſame in order that he leaſt them, whiche his Churche dare not breake: and to iudge children damned that be not baptiſed, it is wicked.

Mord. By our Lady ſir, but I beleue that if my childe dye without water, he is damned.

Boner. Yea, and ſo do I, and al Catholike men, good M. Mordant.

Smith. Wel, my Lord, ſuch Catholike, ſuch ſaluation.

Boner. Well Syr, what ſaye you to the Sacramente of Orders?

The Sacrament of orders.

Smith. Ye may call it the ſacrament of miſorders: for al orders are appoynted of God. But as for your ſhauyng, anoynting, greaſing, polyng, and roundyng, there are no ſuch thinges appoynted in Gods booke, and therfore I haue nothing to doo to beleue your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace or intelligence, ye would not ſo diſfigure your ſelfe as ye do.

Boner ſhaueth him ſelfe in anger of Robert Smyth.

Boner. Sayeſt thou ſo? now by my troth and I wyll go ſhaue my ſelfe to anger thee withal: and ſo ſent for his barber, which immediatly came. And before my face at ẏ doore of the next chamber he ſhaued hym ſelfe, deſiring me before he went, to anſwere to theſe articles.

Holy bread. Holy water. Annoynting.

Boner. What ſay you to the holy bread and holy water, to the ſacrament of annoynting, and to al the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the church?

Smith. I ſaye, they be bables for fooles to play withall, and not for the children of God to exerciſe them ſelues in: and therefore they maye goe among the refuſe. Then went away Maiſter Mordant, and my Lorde wente to ſhauing, leauyng there certayne Doctours, as he called them, to aſſay what they coulde doo, of whom I was bayted for halfe an houre: of whom I alſo aſked this queſtion: Where were all you in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeake now?

Talke betwene Rob. Smith and the Doctours.

Doct. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but nowe ye haue put on Lyons faces agayne, as ſaith ſ. John: Ye ſhew your ſelues now as ful of malice as ye may be. For ye haue for euery tyme a viſer: yea, and if an other king Edw. ſhould ariſe, ye woulde then ſay, Downe with the Pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his angels.

Then was I all to reuiled, and ſo ſent away, & brought in again to come before theſe men: and one of them that bayted me before, aſked me if I diſobeyed confeſſion?

Smith. To whom I anſwered: Looke in myne articles, and they ſhal ſhewe you what I allow.

Doct. Your articles confeſſe that you allowe not auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allowe it not, becauſe the word alloweth it not, nor commaundeth it.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſion.

Doct. Why, it is written, thou ſhalt not hide thy ſinnes & offences.

Smith. No more doo I when I confeſſe them to almighty God.

Doct. Why, ye can not ſay, that ye can hide them frō God, and therfore ye muſt vnderſtand the wordes are ſpoken to be vttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye haue made a good aunſweare: then muſte the Prieſt confeſſe hym ſelfe to me, as I to hym. For I know his faultes and ſecrettes no more then he knoweth myne. But if ye confeſſe you to the Prieſt, and not vnto God, ye ſhal haue the reward that Judas had: for he confeſſed hym ſelfe to the prieſt, and yet went and hanged hym ſelfe by and by: & ſo as many as do not knowledge their faults to God, are ſaid to hide them.

Doct. What dyd they that came to John to be baptiſed?

Smith. They came and confeſſed their ſinnes vnto almighty God.

Doct. And not vnto John?

Smith. If it were vnto John, as ye are not able to proue, yet was it to God before John, and the whole Congregation.

Confeſſing vnto John in the wildernes, was not to him, but before him to God.

Doct. Why, John was alone in the wyldernes.

Smith. Why, and yet the ſcriptures ſay he had many Diſciples, and that many Phariſees and Saduces came to his Baptiſme. Here the ſcriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed them ſelues to John, as ye ſay, it was to all the Congregation, as ſaint Paul doth to Timothie, and to all that read his Epiſtle, in openyng to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe he had bene a Tyrant. But as for eare confeſſion, ye neuer hearde it allowed by the worde. For the Prophet Dauid maketh his confeſſion vnto God, and ſaith: I wil cōfeſſe my ſinnes vnto the Lorde. Daniel maketh his confeſſion vnto the Lorde: Judith, Toby, Jeremie, Manaſſes, with all the forefathers dyd euen ſo. For the Lorde hath ſayde: Call vppon me in the tyme of trouble, and I wyll deliuer thee. Knocke, aſke, ſeeke, with ſuche like, and this is the worde of God. Now bring ſomewhat of the word to helpe your ſelfe withal. Then they raged and called me dogge, & ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are dogges, that for becauſe holy thinges are offered, you wyll ſlaye your frendes. For I maye ſaye with ſaint Paul: I haue fough with beaſtes in the likenes of men. For here I haue bene bayted theſe two dayes, of my Lorde and his great Bulles of Baſan, and in his Hall beneath haue I bene bayted of the reſt of his bande. With this came my Lorde from ſhauyng, and aſked me howe I lyked hym?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are euen as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhauen.

Boner. How ſtandeth it, maiſter Doctours, haue ye done any good?

Doct. No, by my troth my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then is it fulfilled which is written: How can an euyl tree bring forth good fruite?

Boner. Nay, naughty felowe, I ſet theſe Gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, ſuch Chriſtes: and as truely as they haue that name from Chriſte, ſo truely doo they teach Chriſt.

Boner. Wel, wylt thou neither heare them nor me?

Smith. Yes I am compelled to heare you: but ye can not compel me to folow you.

Boner. Wel, thou ſhalt be burned at a ſtake in Smithfield if thou wylt not turne.

The meruelous boldnes of Rob. Smith geuen him of God againſt Chriſtes enemies.

Smith. And ye ſhal burne in hel, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weery, I wyll ſtraine curteſie with you. I perceiue ye wyl not with your Doctors come vnto me, and I am not determined to come vnto you, by Gods grace. For I haue hardened my face againſt you as hard as braſſe. Then after many railing ſentences I was ſent away. And thus haue I leaft ẏ truth of myne anſweares in writing (gentle Reader) being compelled by my frendes to do it: that ye may ſee how the Lord hath, according to his promiſe, geuen me a mouth and wiſedome for to anſwere in his cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my cauſe not heard.

❧ The laſt examination of Robert Smith.

The laſt examination of Robert Smith before Byſhop Boner with his condemnation in the Conſiſtorye.

THe. xij. of July I was with my brethren brought into the Conſiſtory, and myne articles read before my Lorde Maior and the Sheriffes, with al the aſſiſtances: to which I anſwered, as foloweth.

Boner. By my faith, my Lord Maior, I haue ſhewed him as much fauor as any man liuyng might do: but I perceiue al is loſt, both in hym and al his company.

Smith. At this word which he coupled with an othe, came I in, and taking hym with the maner ſaid: My Lord, it is written: Ye muſt not ſweare.

Boner. Ah, maiſter controller, are ye come? Loe, my Lord Maior, this is Maiſter Speaker, poynting to my brother Tankerfielde, and this is maiſter Controller, pointing to me. And then beginnyng to reade my articles, he perſeuered tyl he came at my tale of the Gentleman of Northfolke, and then demaunded of my Lord Maior, if he heard of the ſame before. To which he anſweared, No. To whom I aunſweared.

Smith. My Lorde Maior, ſhall it pleaſe you to heare me to recite it, as I heard it & told it, and then ſhal you heare ẏ truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is vntrue.

Boner. How ſay you good M. Mordant, ſpake he not this that is here, as it is written? were ye not by?

Mord. Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard hym ſay it.

Syr John Mordant came in after thys ſtory was told.

Smith. How heard ye me ſay it, and were not preſent whē I ſpake it? ſhoulde ſuch a man make a lye? it is manifeſtly proued that the Prophet ſaith: Euen as the king ſaith, ſo ſaith the Iudge, that he may doo him a pleaſure againe. And ſo was brought out my Gayler for tryall therof, who there openly profeſſed, that neither maſter Mordant nor the Doctors before mentioned were preſent when I ſpake it. At whiche M. Mordant with bluſhing cheekes, ſaide, he heard them read, and heard me affirme the ſame, which was alſo not true. Then proceeded my lord with the reſt of mine articles, demaunding of me, if I ſaide not as was written. To which I anſweared, No: and turnyng to my Lorde

The wordes of Robert Smith to the Lord Maior.

1555. August.

Maior, I ſaide: I require you, my Lord Maior in Gods behalfe, vnto whom pertaineth your ſword and iuſtice, that I may here before your preſence anſweare to thoſe obiections that are layd againſt me, and haue the probation of the ſame: and if any thing that I haue ſaid or wyl ſay, be to be approued (as my Lord ſaith) hereſie, I ſhal not only with al my hart forſake the ſame, and cleaue to the truth, but alſo recant where ſoeuer ye ſhal aſſigne me, and al this audience ſhalbe witneſſes to the ſame.

Maior. Why Smith, thou canſt not denye, but this thou ſaydſt?

Here my brother Tankerfield recited the ſtory of my Lord Byſhops Cooke.

Smith. Yea, my Lord, I deny that which he hath writtē, becauſe he hath both added to, and diminiſhed frō the ſame: But what I haue ſpoken, I wyl neuer deny.

Maior. Why, thou ſpakeſt againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar.

Smith. I denyed it to be any Sacrament, and I doo ſtande here to make probation of the ſame: and if my Lorde here, or any of his Doctours be able to approue eyther the name, or vſage of the ſame, I wyll recante myne errour. Then ſpake my brother Tankerfield, & defended the probation of thinges, whiche they called hereſie, to the whiche the Biſhop anſwered.

Boner. By my troth, Maiſter ſpeaker, ye ſhall preache at a ſtake.

Smith. Wel ſworne, my Lord, ye keepe a good watch.

B. Boner no Saint.

Boner. Wel, maiſter controller, I am no ſaint.

Smith. No, my Lord, nor yet good Biſhop. For a biſhop ſaith ſ. Paul, ſhould be faultles, and a dedicate veſſell vnto God, and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in iudgemēt, & be a blaſphemer, condemnyng innocentes?

Boner. Wel, M. controller, ye are faultles.

This Mayor was Syr Iohn Lion. Here my brother Tankerfield pulled out of his boſome a teſtament requiring iudgement by the ſame, but it would not be heard.

Smith. My Lord Maior, I require you in Gods name, that I may haue Iuſtice. We be here to day a greate many of innocentes, that are wrongfully accuſed of hereſie. And I require you, if you wyll not ſeeme to be parciall, let me haue no more fauour at your handes, then the Apoſtle had at the handes of Feſtus and Agrippa, which beyng Heathen and Infidels, gaue hym leaue not onely to ſpeake for hym ſelfe, but alſo heard the probation of his cauſe. This require I at your hands, which being a Chriſtian Iudge, I hope wyll not denye me that right, whiche the Heathen haue ſuffered: if ye do, then ſhal al this audience, yea, & the Heathen ſpeake ſhame of your fact. For a citie (ſaith our Sauiour) that is builded on a hyl, can not be hid: if they therfore haue the truth, let it come to light. For al that wel doo, come to the light, and they that do euyl, hate the light.

This Sheriffe was M. Woodroſe.

Then my Lorde Maior hangyng downe his heade, ſayde nothyng, but the Biſhop tolde me, I ſhoulde preache at a Stake, and ſo the Sheriffe cryed, with the Biſhop, Awaye with me.

Iuſtice required in the Byſhops Conſiſtory, but could not be had.

Thus came I in before them foure tymes, deſiryng Iuſtice, but could haue none: and at length my frendes requiryng with one voyce the ſame, and could not haue it, we had ſentence, and then being caried out, were brought in agayne, and had it euery man ſeuerally geuen. But before the Biſhop gaue me ſentence, he tolde me in deriſion of my brother Tankerfielde, a tale betweene a Gentleman and his Cooke. To whiche I aunſweared: My Lorde, ye fill the peoples eare with fantaſies and fooliſhe tales, and make a laughing matter at bloud: but if ye were a true biſhop, ye ſhould leaue theſe raylyng ſentences, and ſpeake the wordes of God.

Boner. Well, I haue offred to that naughty felowe maiſter Speaker, your companion the Cooke, that my Chauncellor ſhould here inſtruct hym: but he hath here with greate diſdaine forſaken it. How ſayeſt thou, wylt thou haue hym inſtruct thee, and leade thee in the right way?

A lawfull requeſt not heard.

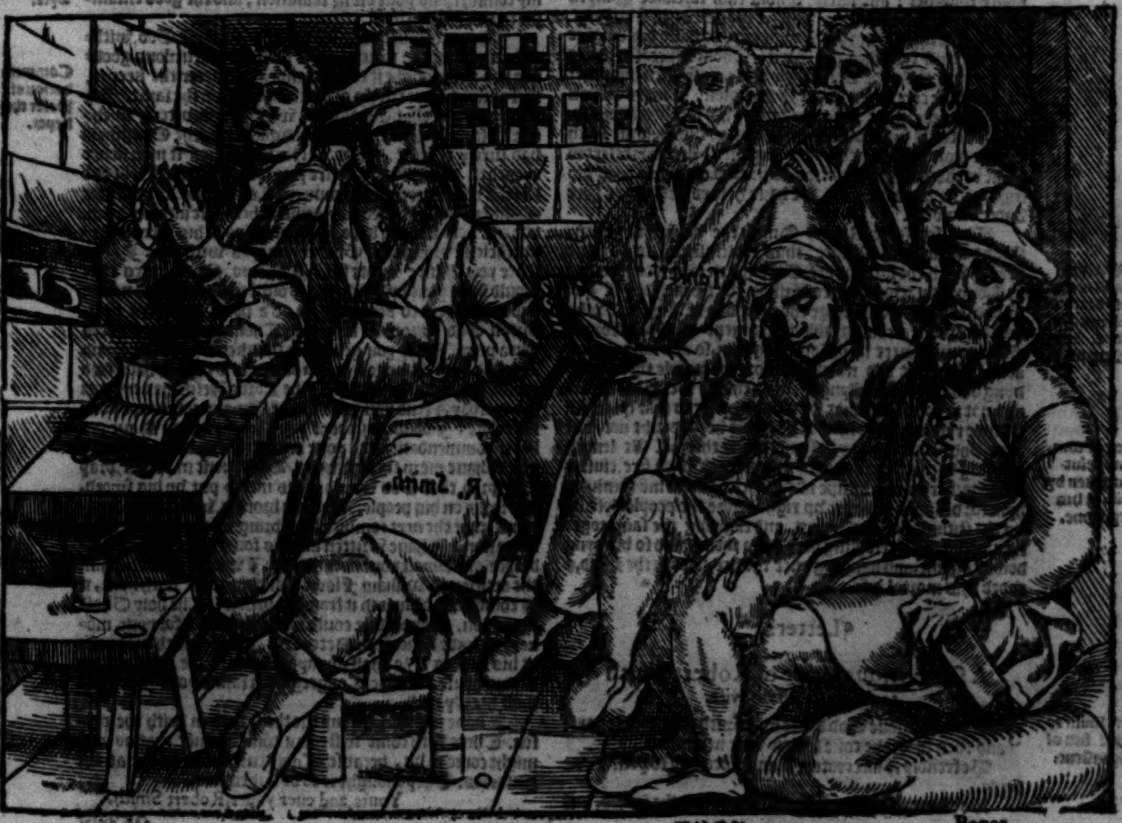
Smith. My Lord, if your Chauncellour ſhal doo me any good, and take any paynes, as ye ſay, let hym take myne articles in his handes, that ye haue obiected agaynſte me, and eyther proue one of them hereſie, or any thing that you doo, to be good: and if he be able ſo to doo, I ſtand here with all my harte to heare hym: if not, I haue no neede, I prayſe God, of his ſermon: for I come to anſwere for my lyfe, and not heare a ſermon.

The Byſhops ſentence beginneth with a wrong name.

Then beganne the ſentence, In Dei nomine. To which I anſweared, that he beganne in a wrong name, requiring of hym, where he learned in Scriptures to geue ſentence of death agaynſte any man for his conſcience ſake. To the whiche he made no aunſweare, but went forewarde to the ende, and immediately cryed, Away with me. Then I turned me to the Maior, and ſayde: Is it not enough for you my Lorde Maior, and ye that are the Sheriffes, that ye haue leaſt the ſtrayt way of the Lord, but that ye muſt condemne Chriſt cauſeles?

Where finde the Catholickes in the ſcripture to put any to death for their conſciences ſake.

¶ A picture deſcribing the maner and place of them which were in bondes for the teſtimonie of the truth, conferring together among them ſelues.



Boner. Well, Maiſter Contreller, nowe ye can not ſay, but I haue offered you fayre, to haue inſtruction. And nowe I pray thee, call me bloudy Biſhop, and ſaye, I ſeeke thy bloud.

Smith. Wel, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhal theſe ſtones cry it out, rather then it ſhal be hidden.

Boner. Away with hym, away with hym.

Woodroſe. Away with hym, take hym away.

Robert Smith wrongfully condemned by the Byſhop.

Smith. Well, good freendes, ye haue ſeene and hearde the greate wrong that we haue receyued this daye, and ye are all recordes, that we haue deſired the probation of our cauſe by Gods booke, and it hath not bene graunted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not hearde. Neuertheleſſe, my Lorde Mayor, for as muche as here ye haue exerciſed Gods ſworde cauſeleſſe, and wyll not heare the right of the poore, I commyt my cauſe to almightye God, that ſhall iudge all men according vnto right, before whom we ſhall both ſtande without authoritie: and there wyll I ſtande in the right, and haue true iudgement, to your great confuſion, except ye repent, whiche the Lord graunt you to doo, if it be his wyll. And then was I with the reſt of my brethren caryed away to Newgate.

The wordes of Robert Smith agayne to the Lord Mayor.

Thus, gentle Reader, as neare as I can, I haue ſet out the truth of myne examination, and the veritie of myne vniuſt condemnation for the truth, requiring God, that it maye not be layde to the charge of thee, O Englande, requiring your harty prayers vnto God for his grace and ſpirite of boldneſſe: which hope euen ſhortly to ſet to my ſeale, at Uxbridge, the eight of Auguſt, by Gods grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my ſaluation, and your conſolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus haſt thou (good Reader) not onely to note, but alſo to folowe in this man, a ſingular example of Chriſtian fortitude, whiche ſo manfully and valiauntly dyd ſtande in the defence of his maiſters cauſe. And as thou ſeeſt hym here boldly ſtande in examination before the Biſhop and Doctours: ſo was he no leſſe comfortable alſo in the priſon among his felowes. Whiche alſo is to be obſerued no leſſe in his other priſon felowes, who being there together, caſt in an outward houſe within Newgate, had godly conference with them ſelues, with dayly praying, and publike readyng, whiche they to their greate comforte vſed in that houſe together: amongeſt whom this foreſaide Smyth was a chiefe doer. Whoſe induſtrie was alwaies ſolicitous, not only for them of his owne company, but alſo his diligēce was carefull for other priſoners, whom hee ceaſed not to exhorte and diſſwade from their olde accuſtomed iniquitie: and many he conuerted vnto his Religion. Diuers letters he wrote there in the priſon to ſundry his frendes in metre, which becauſe we would not ouercharge this volume with matter more then is neceſſarily requiſite, we haue referred to the booke of our firſt edition, to be read. pag. 1261. Only ſuche as he wrote in proſe, we haue here expreſſed, as here vnder foloweth.

The godly behauiour of Robert Smith and his fellowes in pryſon.

This foreſaide Robert Smith the valiaunt and conſtaunt Martyr of Chriſte, thus repleniſhed (as ye haue heard) with the fortitude of Gods ſpirite, was condemned at London by Boner there Biſhop, the twelfth day of Iuly, and ſuffered at Uxbridge the eight day of Auguſt: who as he had bene a comfortable inſtrument of God before to all them that were in priſon with hym, ſo alſo nowe beyng at the ſtake, he dyd no leſſe comfort the people there ſtandyng aboute hym, willyng them to thinke wel of his cauſe, and not to doubt but that his bodye dying in that quarrell, ſhoulde ryſe againe to life. And, ſaide he, I doubt not, but that God wyll ſhewe you ſome token thereof. At length he being welnigh halfe burnt, and al black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lumpe like a blacke cole, al mē thinking hym for dead, ſodenly roſe vp right before the people, lyfting vp the ſtumpes of his armes, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a reioyſing hart vnto them, and ſo bendyng downe againe, and hanging ouer the fire, ſlept in the Lord, & ended this mortal lyfe.

The Martyrdome and comfortable death of Rob. Smith at Vxbridge. Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 8.

A token of comfort and reſurrection geuen by R. Smith at his Martyrdome.

¶Letters.

A ſententious letter of Robert Smith to Anne Smith his wife.

Robert Smith to his wyfe. full of ghoſtly inſtruction.

Seeke firſt to loue God deare wife, with your whole hart, and then ſhal it be eaſie to loue your neighbour.

Be frendly to all creatures, and eſpecially to your owne ſoule.

Be alwayes an enemie to the deuyl and the world, but eſpecially to your owne fleſh.

In hearing of good thinges ioyne the eares of your head and hart together.

Seeke vnitie and quietnes with all men, but eſpecially with your conſcience: for he wyl not eaſily be entreated.

Loue al men, but eſpecially your enemies.

Hate the ſins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be as ready to further your enimie, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Be good to thine enemy.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath clenſed, leſt his bloud be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue, with the teeth and lyps, that it might ſpeake vnder correction.

A double hedge to the toung.

Be ready at al tymes to looke in your brothers eye, but eſpecially in your owne eye. For he that warneth other of that he hym ſelf is faultie, doth geue his neighbour the cleare wine, and kepeth the dregs for him ſelfe.

Caſt out the mote in thine owne eye firſt.

Beware of riches and worldly honor: for without vnderſtanding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare and alſo pouertie, all whiche are like to conſumyng fire, of whiche if a man take a litle, it wil warme him, but if he take too much, it wil conſume hym. For it is hard for a man to cary fire in his boſome, and not be brent.

Couet not to be rich.

Shewe mercy vnto the ſaintes for Chriſtes ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the ſaintes ſake. Among all other priſoners viſite your owne ſoule: for it is incloſed in a perilous priſon.

Bleſſed be the mercifull.

If ye wyl loue God, hate euyll, and ye ſhall obteyne the reward of wel doing.

Thus fare you wel good Anne. Haue me hartily commended to al that loue the Lord vnfaynedly. I beſeech you haue me in your prayer while I am liuyng, and I am aſſured the Lord wyll accept it. Bring vp my children & yours in the feare of God, and then ſhal I not faile but receiue you together in the euerlaſtyng kyngdome of God, whiche I goe vnto.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

If ye wyl meete with me againe,
Forſake not Chriſt for any paine.

An other letter ſent to his wyfe Anne Smith.

An other letter of Robert Smith to his wyfe.

The grace of almighty God be alwayes with you and comfort, ſtrength, and ſtabliſh you in al things, that what his bleſſed wyll is, ye may folowe faythfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your owne ſaluation, and the good enſample to our poſteritie.

I haue receyued your letter, and I prayſe God, without any daunger: neuertheleſſe if Gods marueilous goodnes had not brought it to my handes by Peter the keper, there might haue riſen a great trouble vpon the ſame. For wel ye knowe that George is a wicked man, vtterly without all feare of God: and if he had gotten it, the Counſayle had ſurely ſeene it. But Peter like an honeſt man neuer opened it. Wherefore I deſire you from henceforth let your letters be deliuered at Chauncery Lanes ende, to my ſiſter Tankerfield, and ſhee may deliuer them ſafe into my hand. We are very ſtraitly kept, I prayſe God of his mercy. Neuertheleſſe almightye God is alwayes with vs. I haue ſente you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegges that ſhould haue gone by Nicholas to our frendes, I ſend nowe, and deſire them to accept them as a poore priſoners gyft, vntyll God geue more largely. Thomas Iurſon ſendeth you a peny, I pray you geue hym thankes for the ſame, and Dirick alſo. I haue ſent you of that litle that I haue two peeces of Spaniſhe money. The Lorde Ieſus haue you in his cuſtody, & ſend you good ſpeede. In any caſe kepe your ſelfe cloſe, I doubt muche of your walkynges. Haue my harty commendations to your parentes, and deſire the with you to haue me in their prayers. Be feruent in prayer, pray pray, that God would of his mercy put vp his ſworde, and looke on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next commer ſhall bring vp the Epiſtle exhortation. I haue written all this fourtnight for my Lady, yea, and almoſt done nothing els. I would haue ſent him the articles of William Flower, and my talke with hym, if I could haue deliuered it from the priſon. The holy Ghoſt keepe you. I would ye could make a meanes for your money, to ſende a cheeſe to Peter: for I finde much kindneſſe at his handes. Ye ſhall alwayes heare of me at Tankerfieldes houſe. All the Congregation ſalute you. Fare you moſt hartily well.

Commendation of Peter the keper.

I haue not yet (tell my brother) ſpoken with the perſon. There hath come ſo ſtrait a cōmaundemēt, that no man might come to vs, becauſe Cooly curſed the Pope at the gallowes. They thought it to be our counſel.

Yours, and euer yours, Robert Smith.

An other

1555. August.

¶ An other letter ſent to his wife.

An other letter of Rob. Smith to his wyfe.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from the Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you, deare wyfe, nowe and euer Amen: and preuent your wayes through his holy ſpirite, that ye may in al your wordes and workes pleaſe God, and eſchew euyl, to his honor and your ſaluation, that they which ſee your conuerſation, may in all thinges learne to do the like, euen to the vtter ſhame and confuſion of the wicked and vngodly. Amen.

Behold here the Communion of ſaintes.

I ſent you by M. Alexander, a purſe with money. I haue certaine tokens for you, ſent by my priſon felowes to you: that is, from M. Haukes. xij. d. frō M. Simſon. xij. d. from his wife. iiij. d. from M. Wattes fiue new grotes, frō M. Brocky. xij. d. from M. Bradford. xij. d. which men be al gone to death, except M. Bradford, he abideth ſtyl. Ther is alſo gone to death Nicholas Chamberlaine, Thom. Oſmund, William Bamford. There is alſo condemned this monday Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iuſon, Iohn Launder, and William Vaſſy is repriued. Pray to God to haue mercy vpon his people, and byd my brother, if he can conueniently, come downe on monday next: if he can not well doo it, let hym abide at home. Haue me hartily commended to your parentes. I haue ſent eche of them a token, a bowed grote, and deſire them for Gods ſake to helpe vs with their prayers. Haue litle Katherin in mynd. Commend me vnto al good frends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanitie. Let not God be diſhonoured in your cōuerſation, but like a good Matron, keepe your veſſell in holynes. The peace of God reſt with you for euer. Amen.

My brother Iuſon ſendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token. iij. pence. Iohn Launder ſendeth you a peece of Spaniſh money, father Heralt a peece of. vi. d. William Andrewes ſendeth you a caſe of Ginger, and I ſend your mother one, and a Nutmeg. I ſend Katherine Comfits for a token to eate. I haue ſent you a keyclog for a token.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

A letter ſent to his frende.

An other letter of Robert Smith to to a friend of his.

THe eternal God keepe you in his feare. I haue harty cōmendations vnto you and your husbande, beſeeching almighty God to preſerue you in well dooing, and in perfecte knowledge of his Chriſte, that ye may be found faultles in the day of the Lord. I haue heard ſay, that my frend is geuen ouer to vanitie: it breaketh my hart, not onely to heare that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth other, that it is vnhurtfull to goe to all abominations, whiche nowe ſtand in the Idols temples: neuertheleſſe deare frende, be ye not moued to folowe ſinners: for they haue no inheritannce with God and Chriſte. But looke that by going into the Idoll temple, ye defile not the temple of God: for light hath no felowſhip with darkeneſſe. But looke what the Lorde hath commaunded, that do. For if not going to Church were without perſecution, they would not learne you that leſſon. But al thing that is ſweet to the fleſh, is allowed of the fleſhly. The Lord ſhal reward euery man according to his workes, and he that leadeth into captiuitie, ſhall goe into captiuity, and he that by the fleſhly man is led in the fleſh, ſhal of the fleſh reape corruption. The Lorde Ieſu geue thee his holy ſpirite. Amen.

I haue ſent thee an Epiſtle in metre, which is not to be layd vp in thy cofer, but in thy hart.

Seeke peace, and enſue it. Feare God, loue God with al thy hart, with al thy ſoule, and with al thy ſtrength.

Thy frend and al mens in Chriſt Ieſus, Rob. Smith.
Scribled in much haſt from N. the. 12. of May.

An other letter of Rob. Smith to his wife.

To his wyfe an other letter.

THe God and father eternall, which brought againe from death our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, keepe thee deare wife & al thy parentes and frendes, now and euer. Amen.

I prayſe God for his mercy, I am in the ſame ſtate that ye left me in, rather better then worſe, looking dayly for the liuyng God, before whom I hunger full ſore to appere, and receyue the glory, of whiche I truſt thou art willyng to be a partaker (I geue Gode moſt harty thankes therefore) deſiring thee of all loues, to ſtande faſte in that fayth whiche thou haſte receyued, and let no man take awaye the ſeede that almightye God hath ſowen in thee, but lay handes of euerlaſting lyfe, whiche ſhall euer abide, when both the earth and all earthly frendes ſhall periſh: deſiring them alſo to receiue thankfully our trouble which is momentane & light, and as ſaint Paul ſaith, not worthy of the thinges which ſhalbe ſhewed on vs, that we paciently carying our croſſe, maye attaine to the place whither our Sauiour is gone before, to the whiche I beſeeche God of this mercy bring vs ſpedily. I haue bene much troubled about your deliueraunce, fearing much the perſwaſions of worldlinges, and haue found a frend which wyl (I truſt) finde a meane for you, if you be not already prouided, deſiring you in any caſe to abide ſuche order, as thoſe my frendes ſhall appoynt in God. And beare well in mynde the wordes whiche I ſpake at our departing, that as God hath founde vs, and alſo elected vs worthy to ſuffer with hym, we may endeuour our ſelues to folowe vprightly in this our vocation, deſiring you to preſent my hartye commendations to all our frendes, and eſpecially to your parentes, keeping your matter cloſe in any wiſe. Geue moſt harty thanks to my frend, which only for our cauſe is come to Windſore. Continue in prayer. Doo well. Be faultles in all thinges. Beware abominations. Keepe you cleane from ſinne. Pray for me, as I doo for you. I haue ſent you a peece of gold for a token, and moſte entierly deſire you, to ſende me worde, if ye lacke any thyng. The Lord Ieſu preſerue you and yours. Amen. From Newgate the. 15. of April.

By your husbande here and in heauen,
Robert Smith.

¶ Robert Smith to all faythfull ſeruauntes of Chriſte, exhorting them to be ſtrong vnder perſecution.

Content thy ſelfe with pacience,
With Chriſt to beare the croſſe of paine:
Which can and wyll thee recompence,
A thouſande folde with ioyes againe.
Let nothing cauſe thy hart to quaile,
Lanch out thy boate, hale vp thy ſaile.
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attaine,
Vnto the port that ſhall remaine.
For euermore.

¶ The burnyng of Steuen Harwood, and Thomas Fuſt, martyred for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell.

Steuen Harwood Thomas Fuſt. Martyrs.

ABout this tyme dyed alſo (by cruel fire) theſe two martyrs of God, that is to ſay, Steuen Harwood, at Stratford, and Thomas Fuſt, at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one tyme burned with the fore mentioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in ſundrye places: ſo were they alſo examined and openly condemned togethers with them. Their proceſſe becauſe it was ioyned all in one with the proceſſe of Robert Smith and other of the ſaide company aboue mentioned, I thought it ſuperfluous againe to repeate the ſame: ſaue that of Thomas Fuſt this is to be added, yͤ where as he in his laſt appearyng the twelfth of July, was moued by the Biſhop to reuoke his opinion, thus he anſwered: No (ſaid he) my lord, for there is no truth commeth out of your mouth, but all lyes. Ye condemne men, and wyll not heare yͤ truth. Where can ye finde any annoyntyng or greaſing in Gods booke? I ſpeake nothing but the truth, and I am certaine that it is the truth that I ſpeake. This anſwere of hym onely I finde noted by the Regiſter: although howe ſlenderly theſe Regiſters haue dealt in vttering ſuch matters, yͭ is, in omitting thoſe things which moſt worthy were to be knowē, by their doynges it is eaſie to be ſeene. But to be ſhort, after their anſweres made, both he and Thomas Fuſt were for their faithfull perſeuerance condemned together by the Biſhop in his accuſtomed pitie, as heretikes to be burned, and ſo (as before ye haue heard) finiſhed they their martyrdome, yͤ one at Stratford, & the other at Ware, in the moneth of Auguſt and yeare aboueſayde.

The aunſwere of Thomas Fuſt to Byſhop Boner.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Steuen Harwoode and Tho. Fuſt. Anno. 1555. Auguſt.

The conſtaunt martyrdome of William Haile, burned at Barnet.

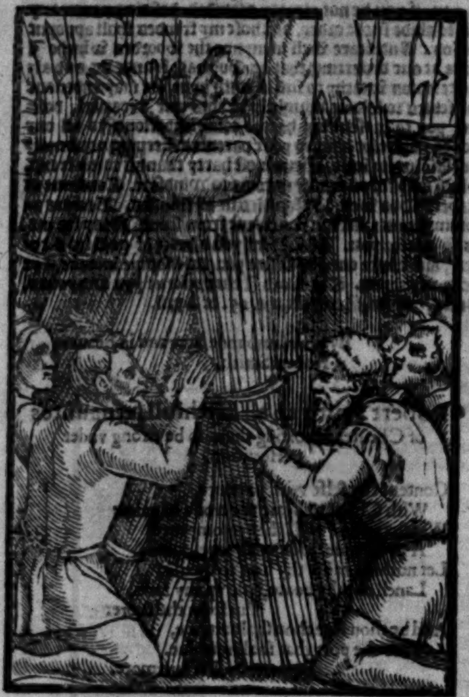
William Haile, Martyr.

OF the ſame company of theſe ten aboue recited, which were ſent vp to Biſhop Boner, by ſir Nicholas Hare and other Commiſſioners, in the company of George Tankerfielde and Robert Smith, was alſo William Hayle of Thorpe in the Countie of Eſſex, who likewiſe beyng examined with the reſt, the. 12. day of July, receyued with them alſo the ſentence of condemnation. Geuyng this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Ah good people, ſaid he, Hayles wordes to the people. Ex Regiſt.

beware of this Idolatrer, and this Antichriſt, poynting vnto the Biſhop of London, and ſo was he deliuered to the Sheriffes as an heretique to be burned, who ſent hym to Barnet, where, about the latter ende of Auguſt, he moſte conſtantly ſealed by his faith with the conſumyng of his body by cruel fire, yeeldyng his ſoule vnto the Lorde Jeſus his onely and moſt ſure Redeemer.

The Martyrdome of William Hayle at Barnet about the end of Auguſt. Anno. 1555.

¶ The martyrdome of William Haile.



¶ George Kyng, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, ſickened in priſon, and were buried in the fieldes.

YE hearde before, pag. 1599. of ten ſundry perſons ſent out of Newgate by M. Hare & other Commiſſioners, to be examined of Boner biſhop of London. Of whom ſixe already haue bene executed in ſeueral places, as hath bene ſhewed: whoſe names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Steuen Harwod, Thomas Fuſt, & William Haile. Other three, to wit, George King, Tho. Leyes, & John Wade ſickning in Lollardes Tower, were ſo weake that they were remoued into ſundry houſes within the citie of London, & there departed, and were caſt out into the fieldes, and there buried by night of the faithfull brethren, when none in the day durſt do it, propter metũ Iudeorum. The laſt that remayned of this foreſaid company, was Joane Layſh or Layſhford, the daughter in lawe to John Warne & Elizabeth Warne martyrs, but becauſe ſhee was repriued to a longer day, her ſtory & martyrdome we wyll deferre tyll the moneth of January the next yeare folowing.

3. Martyrs ſickened in priſon, and buried in the fieldes.

George King, Tho. Leyes, John Wade, Martyrs.

The ſtory of Joane Layſhford hereafter followeth among the Martyrs of the next yeare.

¶ William Andrew.

THe like catholike charitie was alſo ſhewed vpon Williã Andrew of Horſley in the countie of Eſſex Carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the firſt day of April. 1555. by John Motham Conſtable of Mauldon in Eſſex. The firſt and principall promoter of hym was the Lorde Rich, who ſent hym firſt to priſon. An other great doer againſt him alſo ſeemeth to be ſir Rich. Southwel knight, by a letter writtẽ by him to Boner, as by the copie herof apereth.

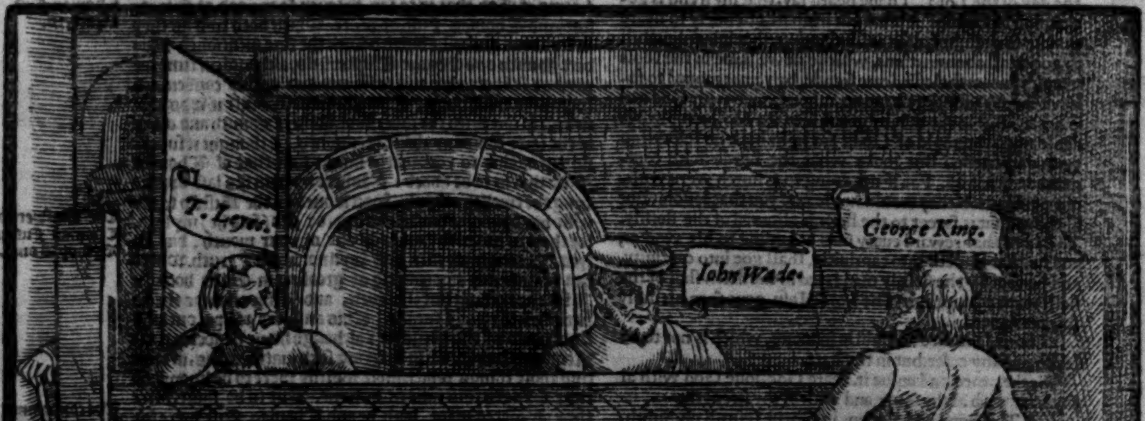
William Andrew buried in the fieldes.

The L. Rich the firſt ſender vp of W. Andrew.

¶ A letter ſent to Boner Biſhop of London, from Sir Richard Southwel knight.

PLeaſeth it your Lordſhip to vnderſtande, that the Lorde Rich did about ſeuen or eight weekes by paſt, ſende vp

¶ The picture deſcribing the ſtrayt handlyng of the cloſe priſoners in Lollardes tower.


T. Leyes.
John Wade.
George King.
Andrew.

vnto

A letter of Syr Richard Southwell to Biſhop Boner.

1555. Auguſt.

vnto the Counſaile, one William Andrew of Thorpe within the Countie of Eſſex, an arrogant heretike. Their pleaſure was to commaunde me to commyt hym vnto Newgate where he remayneth, and as I am infourmed, hath infected a number in the priſon with his hereſie. Your Lordſhip ſhall doo very well (if it pleaſe you) to conuent hym before you, and to take order with him, as his caſe doth require. I knowe the Counſaille meant to haue writ herein vnto your Lordſhip; but by occaſion of other buſineſſe the thing hath bene omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleaſure, I did aduiſe the keeper of Newgate to waite vpon you with theſe few lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your vertuous conſideration, I remaine your good Lordſhips to commaund, this. 12. of Iune. 1555.

Richard Southwel.

W. Andrew twyſe before B. Boner.

W. Andrew through ſtrait handling dyed in Newgate.

William Andrew buryed in the fieldes.

This William Andrewe being twiſe brought before Boner to examination, there manfully ſtoode in the defence of his Religion. At length through ſtrayte handlyng in the Priſon of Newgate, there he loſt his life, which els his aduerſaries woulde haue taken awaye by fire: and ſo after the popiſh maner he was caſt out into the fielde, & by night was priuily buried by the handes of good men and faythful brethren.

¶ The Martyrdome of Robert Samuell Preacher, ſuffering for the true defence of Chriſtes Goſpell.

M. Foſter Juſtice a perſecutour of Chriſtes people.

Robert Samuell in king Edwardes dayes a godly preacher.

MAiſter Foſter Juſtice, dwelling at Cobbock in ẏ Countie of Suffolk, & a litle frõ Ipſwich, being in continual hatred againſt ẏ truth & ẏ profeſſors of the ſame, did not onely not ceaſe daye nor night to ſtudye howe to bring thoſe in thral and captiuitie that were honeſt & godly inclined to religion, but alſo what ſoeuer they were that once came in his clawes, they eaſily eſcaped not without clog of conſcience, or els loſſe of life: ſo greedy was he of bloud. Amõg many whõ he had troubled, there was one Samuel in king Edwards dayes, a very godly and right faithfull fauourer of Gods worde, who for his valiant and conſtant behauiour in his ſermons, ſeemeth worthy of high admiration. He was miniſter at Barfold in Suffolke, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flocke which the Lorde had cõmitted to his charge, ſo long as the time woulde ſuffer him to doo his dutye.

Robert Samuell remoued from the miniſtery.

Robert Samuell would not conſent to the wicked decree of Q. Mary to put away his wyfe.

At the laſte being remoued from the Miniſterie, and put from his Benefice (as manye other good Paſtours were beſide) when he coulde not auoyde the raging violence of the tyme, yet woulde he not geue ouer his care that he had for his flocke, but woulde teache them priuily and by ſtealth, when he coulde not openly be ſuffered ſo to doo. At what tyme order was taken by the Queene, to be publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, that all Prieſtes whiche had maryed in Kyng Edwardes dayes, puttyng their wyues from them, ſhoulde be compelled to returne agayne to their chaſtitie and ſingle lyfe. This Decree woulde not Samuell ſtande vnto, for that he knewe it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable, but determinyng with hym ſelfe that Gods lawes were not to be broken for mans traditions, kept his wife ſtyll at Ipſwich, and gaue his diligence in the meane tyme to the inſtructyng of other whiche were about hym, as occaſion ſerued. At laſte maiſter Foſter hauyng intelligence hereof, being a great dooer in thoſe quarters, foreſlacked no time nor diligence, but eftſoones ſendeth out his eſpials abroade, laying harde wayte for Samuell, that if he came home to his wyfe at any tyme, they might apprehend hym, and cary hym to priſon.

Robert Samuell apprehended in his houſe by night.

Robert Samuell put in Ipſwich Gayle.

Robert Samuell remoued to Norwich.

In concluſion, when ſuche as ſhoulde betraye hym, eſpyed hym at home with his wife, they bringyng worde to the Officer, came immediately flocking about his houſe, and beſet it with a greate companye, and ſo tooke hym in the night ſeaſon, becauſe they durſte not doo it in the daye tyme, for feare of trouble and tumult, although good Samuell dyd nothyng withſtande thẽ at all, but meekely yelded hym ſelfe into their clouches of his owne accorde. Whẽ they had thus caught hym, they put hym into Ipſwiche Gayle, where he paſſed his tyme meekely among his godly brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carryed (through malice of the wicked ſorte) to Norwich, where the ſaide Biſhop Doctour Hopton, (whether he or Doctour Dunnynges his Chauncellour) full like vnmercyfull Prelates exerciſed greate crueltie agaynſte hym, as in deede they were men in that tyme of perſecution, as had not their matches for ſtraytnes and cruell tormenting the bodyes of the Saintes among all the reſt beſide, and ſpecially through the procuryng of Dunnynges. For although the other were ſharpe enough in their generation: yet could they be ſatiſfied with impriſonment and death, and woulde goe no further. Neyther dyd I euer yet heare of any beſides theſe, whiche ſo farre exceeded all boundes of pitie and compaſſion in tormentyng their poore brethren as this Biſhop dyd: in ſuche ſorte that many of them he peruerted and brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wyttes alſo.

The cruelty of Dunninges the bloudy Chauncellour.

The cruell handling of Robert Samuell in priſon.

Robert Samuell famiſhed in priſon.

Robert Samuell deſirous to drinke his owne water, and could not.

The biſhop therfore, or els his Chãcellor, thinking that he might as eaſily preuaile with Samuell, as he had done with other before, kept hym in a very ſtrait priſon at his firſt cõmyng, wher he was chained bolt vpright to a great poſt, in ſuche ſort, that ſtanding onely on typtoe, he was faine to ſtay vp the whole paiſe or weight of his body thereby. And to make amendes for the crueltie or paine that he ſuffered, they added a far more greuous torment, keping hym without meate and drinke, wherby he was vnmercyfully vexed through hũger & thirſt: ſauing that he had euery day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, & three ſponfuls of water, to the ende rather that he might be reſerued to farther torment, then that they would preſerue his life. O worthy conſtancie of the martyr. O pitiles hartes of papiſtes, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and nature. O the wonderfull ſtrength of Chriſte in his members. Whoſe ſtomacke, though it had bene made of Adamant ſtone, woulde not haue relented at theſe intollerable vexations, and extreme paynes aboue nature. Howe often tymes would he haue drunken his owne water, but his bodye was ſo dryed vp with this long emptines, that he was not able to make one drop of water.

Strange viſions that hapned to Samuell.

Samuell brought to burning.

Great comfortes miniſtred by the Lord to Samuell in his paynfull priſonment.

At the laſte when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe paynes that he had paſſed, certaine there were that hearde hym declare what ſtraunge thinges had happened vnto hym during the tyme of his impriſonmẽt: to wyt, ẏ after he had bene famiſhed or pined with hunger two or three dayes together, he then fell into a ſleepe, as it were one halfe in a ſlumber, at whiche tyme one clad all in white, ſeemed to ſtande before hym, which miniſtred comfort vnto hym by theſe wordes: Samuel, Samuel, be of good chere, and take a good hart vnto thee. For after this day ſhalt thou neuer be either hungry or thirſty. Which thyng came euen to paſſe accordingly: for ſpeedyly after he was burned, and from that tyme tyll he ſhoulde ſuffer, he feale neither hunger nor thirſt. And this declared he, to the ende (as he ſaid) that all men might beholde the wonderfull workes of God. Many moe like matters cõcernyng the great comfort he had of Chriſt in his afflictiõs, he could vtter (he ſaid) beſides this, but that ſhamfaſtnes and modeſtie would not ſuffer hym to vtter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I would he had bene leſſe modeſt in that behalfe, that the loue and care that Chriſte hath of his, might haue the more appeared therby vnto vs by ſuch preſent argumentes, for the more plentifull comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy ſcriptures already.

An other memorable viſion of Samuell in priſon.

No leſſe memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted concerning the three ladders which he told to diuers he ſaw in his ſleepe, ſet vp toward heauen: of the which there was one ſomewhat longer then the reſt, but yet at length they became one, ioynyng (as it were) al three together. This was a forewarnyng reuealed vnto hym, declaryng vndoubtedly the martyrdome, firſt of hym ſelfe, and then the death of two honeſt women, which were brought forth and ſuffered in the ſame towne anone after.

The name of this mayde was Roſe Nattingham.

Two godly women, the one a Bruers wyfe, the other a Shoomakers wyfe, apprehended.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certaine mayde to hym which tooke hym about the necke and kyſſed hym, who beyng marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next daye after, to be had to priſon and burned, as the very partie her ſelfe informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodnes would haue it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery handes, keeping her ſelfe ſecrete in the towne a good while after. But as this mayd, called Roſe Nattingham, was maruelouſly preſerued by the prouidence of God: ſo there were other two honeſt women dyd fall into the rage and furie of that tyme. The one was a Bruers wyfe, the other was a Shoomakers wife, but both together nowe eſpouſed to a newe huſband Chriſt.

This godly wyfe exhorted to flye, would not ſo doe hauing huſband and children to cure to.

With theſe two was this mayd aforeſaid very familiar & wel acquainted, who on a tyme geuyng coũſayle to ẏ one of them, that ſhee ſhould conuey her ſelfe away while ſhee had tyme and ſpace, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the queenes vniuſt proceedings, had this anſwere at her handes againe: I know wel, ſaith ſhe, that it is lawful enough to flee away, which remedy you may vſe, if you liſt. But my caſe ſtãdeth otherwiſe. I am tyed to an huſband, & haue beſides a ſort of yong childrẽ at home: and then I know not how my huſband, being a carnal man, wyl take my departure from hym: therfore I am mynded for the loue of Chriſt and his truth, to ſtand to the extremitie of the matter.

And

1555.
Auguſt.

Anne Potten. Michaell Truchfieldes wyfe.

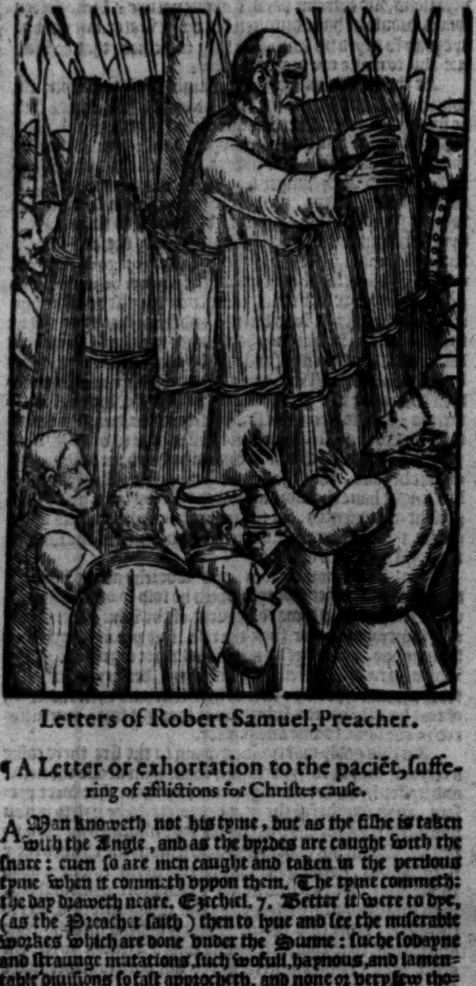
And ſo the next day after Samuel ſuffered, theſe two godly wiues, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joane Trunchfielde, the wife of Michaell Trunchfielde Shomaker of Ipſwich, were apprehended & had both into priſon together. Which as they were both by ſexe and nature ſomewhat tender: ſo were they at firſt leſſe able to endure the ſtraytnes of the priſon, and eſpecially the Brewers wife was caſt into marueilous great agonies and troubles of mynde thereby. But Chriſte beholding the weake infirmitie of his ſeruaunt, dyd not faile to helpe her when ſhee was in thus neceſſitie. So at the length they both ſuffered after Samuell. anno. 1556. February. 19. as ſhalbe, by the Lordes grace, declared hereafter. And theſe (no doubt) were thoſe two Ladders, whiche being ioyned with the thirde, Samuel ſawe ſtretched vp into heauen. This bleſſed Samuel the ſeruant of Chriſt, ſuffred the. 31. of Auguſt. ann. 1555.

The Lord Jeſus a ready helper in tyme of weakenes.

The report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſawe hym burne, that his body in burnyng dyd ſhine as bright and white as newe tried ſiluer in the eyes of thē that ſtoode by: as I am informed by ſome which were there, and did behold the ſight.

The cruel burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr.

The Martyrdome of Rob. Samuell burned at Ipſwich. Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 31.



Letters of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

¶ A Letter or exhortation to the paciēt, ſuffering of afflictions for Chriſtes cauſe.

A Man knoweth not his tyme, but as the fiſhe is taken with the Angle, and as the byrdes are caught with the ſnare: euen ſo are men caught and taken in the perilous tyme when it commeth vppon them. The tyme commeth: the day draweth neare. Ezechiel. 7. Better it were to dye, (as the Preacher ſaith) then to lyue and ſee the miſerable workes which are done vnder the Sunne: ſuche ſodayne and ſtraunge mutations, ſuch wofull, haynous, and lamentable diuiſions ſo faſt approcheth, and none or very few thorowly repenteth. Alas for this ſinfull Nation, a people of great iniquitie and ſeede of vngratiouſnes, corrupting their wayes. They haue forſaken the Lord, they haue prouoked the holy one of Iſrael to anger, & are gone backward. Who nowe liueth not in ſuch ſecuritie and reſt, as though al dangers were cleane ouerpaſt? Who nowe blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſte, with ſeeſt me, and ſeeſt me not? Yea, who lyueth not nowe in ſuche felicitie, worldly pleaſures, and ioyes, wholy ſeeking the world, prouiding and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and al carnall appetites, as though ſinne were cleane forgotten, ouerthrowen, and deuoured? Like hoggiſhe Gergeſites nowe are we more afrayde and aſhamed of Chriſte our Meſſias, fearing the loſſe of our filthy piggis, I meane our tranſitorie goodes, and diſquietyng of our ſinfull and mortal bodyes in this ſhort, vncertaine, and miſerable life, then of a Legion of Deuyls, ſeducing and bringing vs from hearing, reading, and beleeuyng Chriſte Gods eternal ſonne, and his holy worde, the power to ſaue our ſoules: vnto vanities, lyes, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Eccle. 9.

Eccle. 4.

Eſay. 1.

Complaynt agaynſt England & that not vndeſerued.

Math. 8. Engliſh people rightly reſembled to the Gergeſites. Marke 5. Rom. 10.

Oh perilous aboundance of goodes, too much ſaturitie of meates, wealth, and quietnes, whiche deſtroyed with ſo many ſoules, thoſe goodly Cities Sodome & Gomorre. Jeroboam, ſo long as he was but a poore man, not yet aduaunced to his dignitie, liued in the lawes of god without reprehenſion: but brought once to wealth and proſperous eſtate, he became a wicked and moſte ſhamefull Idolater. And what made the couetous yong man ſo loth to folow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake but worldly wealth which he then enioyed? Woe be vnto theſe falſe eluſions of the world, baites of perdition, hookes of the deuyll, which haue ſo ſhamefully deceiued and ſeduced full many from the right path vnto the Lorde, into the high wayes of confuſion and perpetual perdition.

Aboundance of goodes is a thing perilous. Gene. 19.

Math. 19.

We might nowe worthily (deare Chriſtians) lament and bewaile our heauie ſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorowfull chaunce: yea, I ſay, we might well accuſe our ſelues, and with Job curſe theſe our troublous, wicked, and bloudye laſte dayes of this worlde, were it not that we both ſee and beleeue, and finde in Gods ſacred booke, that a remnaunt God hath in all ages reſerued, I meane the faythful, as many as haue bene from the beginnyng of the worlde, exerciſed, whetted, and puliſhed with diuers afflictions, troubles, and toſſinges, caſte and daſhed againſte all perils and dangers, as the verye droſſe and outcaſtes of the earth, and yet wyll in no wiſe halte betweene God and Baall: for God verely abhorreth two men in one: he can not away with them that are betweene both, but caſteth them awaye as a filthy vomite. Chriſte wyll not part ſpoyle with his mortal enemie the deuyll: he wyll haue al or loſe al: he wyll not permit the Deuyl to haue the ſeruice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the hart and mynd: but he wyll be glorified both in your bodyes and in your ſpirites, whiche are his, as ſaint Paul ſaith. 1. Cor. 6. For he hath made all, bought all, and dearely payd for all, as ſaint Peter ſaith: With his own immaculate body hath he cleane diſcharged your bodyes from ſinne, death and hell, and with his moſte precious bloud payde your ranſome and full price once for all and for euer.

Job. 3. Eſay. 10. God hath alwayes a remnant, whom he polliſheth with hard aduerſaryes. 1. Cor. 4. Two men in one, God abhorreth.

Apoca. 3.

1. Pet. 1.

Now what harme, I pray you, or what loſſe ſuſteyne you by this? why are you, O vaine men, more afraid of Jeſus your gentle Sauiour, & his Goſpel of ſaluation, then of a Legion of cruell deuyls, going about with falſe deluſions vtterly to deſtroy you both bodies and ſoules? Thinke you to be more ſure then vnder your captaine Chriſt? Doo you promiſe your ſelues to be more quiet in Satans ſeruice, thē in Chriſtes religion? eſteeme you more theſe tranſitorie & pernitious pleaſures, then God & al his heauenly treaſures? Oh palpable darkeneſſe, horrible madnes, and wilful blindnes, without compariſon, too muche to be ſuffered any longer. We ſee, and wyl not ſee: we know and wyl not know: yea, we ſmarte and wyll not feele, and that our owne conſcience well knoweth. Oh miſerable and brainleſſe ſoules, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth, loſe the royall kingdome and permanent ioyes of God, with the euerlaſting glory which he hath prepared for them that truely loue hym, and renounce the worlde. The children of the worlde lyue in pleaſure and wealth, and the Deuyl, who is their God and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper vnto them, and letteth them enioy it. But let vs whiche be of Chriſte, ſeeke and enquire for heauenly things, which by Gods promiſe and mercy in Chriſt, ſhalbe peculiar vnto vs. Let (I ſay) the Greciens, Epicures, & ſuch other beaſtly Belials & carnal people, paſſe for things that be pleaſant for the body, and do apperteine to this tranſitorie life: Yet ſhal they once (as the kingly prophet ſaith) runne about the Citie of God to & fro houling like dogges, deſiring one ſcrap of the ioyes of Gods elect, but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

No true quietnes in Sathans ſeruice.

The myſerable madnes of worldly men lamented. 1. Cor. 4. John 12. Tranſitory pleaſures of this lyfe not to be paſſed vpon.

Pſalme 58. Luke 16.

Let vs therfore paſſe for thoſe things that do perteine to the ſpirite, and be celeſtial. We muſt be here (ſaith Paul) not as inhabitours and home dwellers, but as ſtraungers: not as ſtrangers onely, but after the mynd of Job, as painfull ſouldiers appoynted of our gouernour to fight agaynſte the gouernour of darkenes of this worlde, agaynſte ſpirituall craftines in heauenly thinges. The tyme is come: we muſt to it: the iudgement muſt begin firſt at the houſe of God. Beganne they not firſt with the greene & ſappy tree? and what folowed then on the drye braunches? Jeremie ſpeaking in the perſon of God, ſaith: In the Citie wherein my name is inuocate, wyl I begin to puniſh: but as for you,

(mea-

Coloſ. 3. Heb. 13. John 7.

Epheſ. 5. 1. Pet. 4. Luke 14.

(meanyng the wicked) you ſhall be as innocentes & not once touched: for the dregges of Gods wrath the bottome of all ſorowes, are reſerued vnto thẽ in the end: but Gods houſehold ſhal drinke the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therfore let vs ſay with Ezechias: Play the mẽ and ſhrinke not: let vs comfort our ſelues, for the Lord is with vs our helper, and fighteth for vs. The Lord is (ſayth hee) with you when you be with him, & when you ſeeke him he wil be foũde of you: and agayne, when you forſake him he will forſake you.

2. Para. 3.

Wherfore we ought not to be diſmayde or diſcourage our ſelues, but rather to be of good comfort: not to bee ſad but mery: not ſorrowfull, but ioyfull, in that God of his goodnes will vouchſafe to take vs as his beloued children, to ſubdue our ſinnefull luſtes, our wretched fleſh and bloud vnto his glory, the promotyng of his holy worde, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitation (Paule meanyng the body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall haue a buildyng of GOD not made with handes, but euerlaſtyng in heauen, with ſuch ioyes as fayth taketh not, hope toucheth not, nor charitie apprehendeth not. They paſſe all deſires and wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt, eſteemed they can not be. Wherfore the more affliction and perſecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicitie and greater ioy abydeth in heauen. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſaunt tranſitory lyfe and felicitie, which the vngodly fooliſhly imagine to procure vnto them ſelues by perſecutyng, and thruſtyng away the Goſpell, ſhall turne vnto their own trouble, and at laſt vnto horrible deſtruction and mutations of Realmes and Countries, & after this life (if they repẽt not) vnto their perpetuall infelicitie, perdition, & damnation. For they had rather with Naball and his temporall pleaſures deſcend to the deuill, then with poore Chriſt and his bodily troubles, aſcend vnto the kyngdome of God his father. But an vnwiſe man (ſayth the Pſalmiſt) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh vnderſtand them, that is, theſe bloudy perſecutours growe vp and floriſhe lyke the flower and graſſe in the field. But vnto this ende do they ſo floriſh, that they might be cut downe and caſt into the fire for euer. For, as Iob ſayth: Their ioy laſteth but the twinklyng of an eye, and death ſhall lye gnawyng vppon them as doth the flocke vppon the paſture: yea the cruell worme, late repentaunce (as S. Marke ſayth) ſhall lye gnawing, tormentyng, and accuſing their wretched conſcience for euermore.

2. Cor. 5.

Ioyes layd vp in Chriſt to mans ſenſe ineſtimable.

Samuell prophecieth of the deſtruction of the perſecutors.

1 Reg. 25.

To what end the perſecutors do floriſh in this worlde.

Iob. 21.

Pſal 40.

Mar. 9.

Let vs therfore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather then men. For although they ſlay our ſinnefull bodyes (yea rather our deadly enemyes) for Gods veritie: yet can they not do it, but by Gods ſufferaunce and good will, to his prayſe and honour, and to our eternall ioye and felicitie. For our bloud ſhed for the Goſpell, ſhall preache it with more fruite and greater furtheraunce, then dyd our mouthes, lyues and wrytynges: as did the bloud of Abell, Steuen, with many other moe. What though they laugh Chriſt and his word to ſcorne which ſit in the chayre of peruerſe peſtilent ſcorners? To whõ as to the wiſe Gentiles of the worlde, the Goſpell of Chriſt is but fooliſhnes, as it was to the Iewes a ſclaunder and a ſtũblyng ſtone, whereat they now beyng fallen, haue prouoked the wrath and vengeaunce of God vpon them.

The bloud of Gods Martyrs preacheth with more fruite then did their mouthes.

These are the dayes of vengeaunce (ſayth Luke) that all thynges written may bee fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſſe then a huge ſtorme of euils that ſhall come vpon vs, becauſe that a long & a curſed obſtinate maliciouſneſſe of vs, hath gone before crying in the eares of the Lorde GOD of hoſtes, who ſo many tymes and ſo many wayes haue bene prouoked with the vnſpeakeable richeſſe of his goodneſſe, his patience, and long ſufferyng, to amendement, and haue neuertheleſſe contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, prouokyng and ſtyrryng the preſence of Gods maieſtie vnto anger.

Luke. 2.

God long loketh for repentaunce, and we waxe worſe and worſe.

Now therfore ſayth GOD by the mouth of his Prophet: I will come vpon thee, and I will ſend my wrath vpon thee: vppon thee (I ſay) O England, and puniſhe thee accordyng to thy wayes, and reward thee after all thyne abhominations. Thou haſt kyndled the fire of Gods wrath & haſt ſtyrred vp the coales. For thou waſt once lightned and haddeſt taſted of the heauenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the holy ghoſt, and haddeſt taſted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſayth the Prophet. Alas O England, thou knewest thy Lorde and Maiſters will, but diddeſt nothyng thereafter: Thou muſt therefore (ſayth he) ſuffer many ſtripes, and many ſharpe ſtrokes, and walke on in the glitteryng and whote flame of thyne owne fire, and in the coales that thou haſt kyndled. This commeth to thee from my hand, ſayth the Lord: namely: That thou ſhalt ſleepe in ſorrow, yea euen ſo thou ſhalt. The playne truth telleth the tale, the immutable iuſtice of the euerliuing God, and the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginnyng confirmeth the ſame. The ioy of our hart (ſayth Ieremy) is gone, our glory is fallen away, our mery ſingyng is turned into mournyng, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas and weale away that euer we ſinned ſo ſore: Wo worth all abominations and wickednes: wo worth cloked hypocriſie: wo worth our carnall liberty: wo worth our moſt curſed Idolatry. For becauſe of theſe thinges, ſayth the Lord, ye ſhall periſhe with ſword, hunger, and peſtilence.

Eſay 3.

Wickednes of England declared.

Eſay 5.

England worthely rebuked.

Ieremy 5.

He bewayleth the ſtate of Englande.

Wherfore, let all the wicked enemies of Chriſt, and all the vnbeleuers looke to be tormented and vexed with al helliſh furies, and cleane without hope at Gods accompting day, which know not God in Chriſt to bee their very righteouſnes, their life, there onely ſaluation and alone Sauiour nor beleue not in him. They muſt, ſayth S. Iohn, needes abide and periſh wyth theyr ſynnes in death and in eternall damnation. But we be the children of Saintes, as the elder Toby dyd aunſwere, and looke for an other life, which God ſhall geue to al them which chaung not their fayth, nor ſhrinke not from him. Reioyce therfore ye Chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they can not take our ſoules and bodies out of the handes of the almightye, whiche be kept as in the boſome of our moſt ſweete and louing father, and if wee abyde faſt in Chriſt, and turne not away lyke weathercockes, ſurely we ſhall lyue for euer. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying: My ſheepe here my voyce, I knowe them, they harken vnto me and to no ſtraungers, and I geue them euerlaſtyng lyfe, for they ſhall not be loſt, nor no man ſhall plucke thẽ out of my handes: no not yet this flatteryng worlde with all his vayne pleaſures, nor any Tyranne wt his great threates and ſtout brags can once moue them out of the way of eternall lyfe. What conſolation and comfort may we haue more pleaſaunt and effectuous then this (God is on our ſide, and fighteth for vs: he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with vs. As the world can doe nothing agaynſt his might, neyther in taking away, or diminiſhing of his glory, nor puttyng hym from his celeſtiall throne: ſo can it not harme nor hurte anye one of his children without his good will. For we are mẽbers of his body, out of his fleſhe & of his bones, and as deare to hym as the apple of his eye.

Iohn 8.

Comfort to the afflicted brethren

Math. 10.

Iohn. 10.

Chriſt himſelfe ſuffereth in his members afflicted.

Eſay 5.

Ephe. 5.

Let vs therefore with an earneſt fayth, ſet faſt hold and ſure feeling vpon the promiſes of God in the Goſpel, and let vs not be ſundred from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let vs conſider the verity of God to be inuinſible, inuiolable, and immutable, Promiſing and geuyng vs his faythfull ſoldiours life eternall. It is he onely that hath deſerued it for vs: it is his onely benefite & of his onely mere mercy, & vnto hym only muſt we render thãkes. Let not therefore the vayne fantaſies and dreames of men, the fooliſh gaudes and toyes of the world, nor the craftie deluſions of the deuill, driue and ſeparate vs from our hope of the crowne of righteouſnes, that is layd vp in ſtore for vs agaynſt the laſt day. Oh that happy and merrye laſt day, I meane to the faythfull, when Chriſt by his couenaunt ſhall graunt and geue vnto them that ouercome and keepe hys wordes to the ende, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſtate with him, as he hath aſcended and ſitteth on throne with his father. The ſame body and ſoule that is nowe with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then be with Chriſt glorified: now in the butchers handes as ſheepe appointed to dye, then ſitting at gods table with Chriſt in his kyngdome, as Gods honorable and deare children: where wee ſhall haue for earthly pouertye, heauenly riches, for hunger and thirſt, ſaturitie of the pleaſaunt preſence of the glory of God, for ſorowes, troubles, and colde prone, celeſtiall ioyes, and the company of Angels, and for a bodily death, life eternall. Oh happy ſoules, oh precious death and euer more bleſſed: right deare in the eyes of God to you the ſpryng of the Lord ſhall euer be floriſhyng. Then (as ſayth Eſay): the redemed ſhal returne & come agayn into Sion prayſing the Lord, and eternall mercyes ſhalbe ouer theyr heades: they ſhall obteyne myrth and ſolace: ſorrow and wo ſhalbe vtterly vanquiſhed: yea I am euen hee ſayth the Lord that in al thinges geueth you euerlaſting cõſolation. To whom with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be glory and prayſe for euer Amen.

Gods promiſe is immutable.

O mery laſt day.

2. Tim. 2.

Chriſtes ſaintes be here in Butchers handes.

Pſal. 16.

Precious is the death of Gods Saintes.

Robert Samuell.

An other letter writtẽ to the Chriſtian cõgregation, by Robert Samuell, wherin he declareth the confeſſion of his fayth.

The beliefe of the hart iuſtifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Rom. 10.

Feare not the curſe of men, be not afrayde of theyr blaſphemyes and reuilynges, for wormes and mothes ſhall eate them vp like cloth and woll, but my righteouſnes ſhall endure for euer, and my ſauing health from generation to generation. Eſay. 51.

2. Timo. 3.
An other letter of Robert Samuell conteynyng hys fayth.
1. Peter. 3.

1555.
August.

COnſideryng with my ſelfe theſe perillous tymes, periſhyng dayes, and the vnconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our fayth, the ſiniſter reporte and falſe ſclaunder of Gods moſt holy worde, theſe vrgent cauſes in conſcience do conſtrayne me to confeſſe and acknowledge my fayth and meanyng in Chriſtes holy Religion, as S. Peter teacheth me, ſaying: be ready alwayes to geue an aunſwere to euery man that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekeneſſe and feare, hauyng a good conſcience, that when they backbite you as euill doers, they may bee aſhamed, for aſmuch as they haue falſely accuſed your good conuerſation in Chriſt.

As touchyng my doctrine, for that little talent that GOD hath geuen me, GOD I take to recorde, myne owne conſcience and myne auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners, willyngly taught any other thyng then I receiued of the holy Patriarckes, Prophetes, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. For it were not onely ſinne, but alſo the very part of a curſed miſcreant, to denye, to belye, or betray the innocency of that heauenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſſe and ſtand to the defence of the ſame, ſeyng that Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious bloud: and all good men haue more eſteemed the true and infallible worde of GOD, then all this tranſitorie worlde, or their owne mortall lyues. And I beleue this doctrine of the Patriarkes, Prophetes, Chriſt and his Apoſtles to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtruct and teache me and all the holy Church, of our dueties towardes God, the Magiſtrates, and our neighbours.

Marke. 8.

One God.

Firſt, and principally I do aſſuredly beleue without any doubtyng, that there is one deitie or Diuine eſſence, and infinite ſubſtaunce, whiche is both called and is in deede God euerlaſtyng, vnbodily, vnpartible, vnmeaſurable in power, wiſedome, and goodneſſe, the maker and preſeruer of all thynges, as well viſible as inuiſible: and yet there be three diſtinct perſons, all of one Godhead or Diuine beyng, and all of one power, coequall, conſubſtantiall, coeternall, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

Three perſons.

I beleue in God the Father Almightie. &c. As touchyng God the Father of heauen, I beleue as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to beleue. The Father is the firſt perſon in Trinitie, firſt cauſe of our ſaluation, which hath confeſſed vs with all maner of bleſſinges in heauenly thynges by Chriſt: whiche hath choſen vs before the foundations of the world were layd, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him: who hath prædeſtinate vs and ordayned vs to bee his children of adoption thorough Chriſt Ieſu. In him, as it is ſayd, we liue, we moue and haue our beyng: he nouriſheth, feedeth, and geueth meate to euery creature.

Ephes. 1.
Actes 17.
Psal. 176.

The ſecond Article.
Heb. 1.

And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely Sonne our Lorde. I beleue that the woorde, that is, the Sonne of GOD the ſecond perſon in Trinitie, did take mans nature in the wombe of the bleſſed Virgine Mary: So that there be in him two natures, a Diuine nature and an humaine nature in the vnitie of perſon inſeparable, conioyned and knitte in one Chriſt, truely God and truely man, the expreſſe and perfect Image of the inuiſible GOD, wherein the will of God the Father ſhyneth apparantly, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſſe, may behold what he ought to doe that he may pleaſe God the Father.

No merites to ſaluation but onely in Chriſt.
Eſay. 48. 43.
Gen. 1. 22.
Eſay. 53.
Actes. 12.
Math. 8.

Borne of the Virgine Mary: truely ſufferyng his Paſſion, crucified dead and buryed, to the entent to bryng vs agayne into fauour with God the Father almightie, and to be a ſacrifice, hoſt and oblation, not onely for originall ſinne, but alſo for all actuall ſinnes of the whole generation of mankynd. For all the workes, merites, deſeruynges, doynges and obedience of mã towardes God, although they be done by the ſpirite of God in the grace of God, yet beyng thus done, be of no validitie, worthynes, nor merite before God except God for his mercy and grace, accompt them worthy for the worthynes and merites of Chriſt Ieſus.

The ſame Chriſt went downe to the hels, & truely roſe agayne the third day, and aſcended into the heauens, that he might there ſtill reigne and haue dominion ouer all creatures: and from thence ſhall come. &c.

The Catholicke church is the communion of Saintes.

I beleue in the holy Ghoſt, coequal with God the Father and the Sonne, and proceedyng from them both: by whoſe vertue, ſtrength and operatiõ, the true Catholicke Church, whiche is the Communion and ſocietie of Saintes, is guided in all truth and veritie, and kept from all errours and falſe doctrine, the deuill, and all power of ſinne. Which Churche is ſanctified and halowed with the precious bloud, and ſpirite of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt: whiche hath alſo her ſigne and marke, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voyce of her onely and true paſtour Chriſt, & no ſtraungers. This Church alſo is the houſe of God, the cõgregatiõ of the liuing God, the piller of truth, the liuely body of Chriſt, a Church both in name and in deede.

John. 10. 8.
Galath. 1.
1. Timo. 3.

Remiſſion of ſinnes onlye by the merites of Chriſt apprehended by fayth.

I beleue the remiſſion of ſinnes, by the onely meanes and merites of Chriſtes death and paſſion: who was made vnto vs of God that onely ſacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for euer, for al them that be ſanctified.

I beleue the reſurrection of the body, wherby in the laſt day all men ſhall ryſe agayne from death, the ſoules ioyned agayne to the bodies, the good to euerlaſtyng life, the wicked to euerlaſtyng payne and puniſhment. And nothing may more certaynly ſtabliſhe and confirme our fayth that we ſhall ryſe agayne immortall both in body and ſoule, then the reſurrection of Chriſt our Sauiour and firſt fruites of the dead. Nowe that Chriſt our head is riſen, wee beyng his body and members muſt follow our head. Death, hell, and ſinne cannot ſunder nor plucke vs from hym. For as the Sonne can not be diuided nor ſundred from the Father, nor the holy Ghoſt from them both, no more may we being the faythfull members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our reſurrection, Chriſt woulde be ſeene after his reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his woundes beyng handled and felt, ſpeakyng and teaching, eatyng and drinking. &c. We looke (ſayth S. Paule) for Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, which ſhall transfigure our vyle bodies, and conforme them to his glorious body by the ſame Power and vertue, wherwith he is able to ſubdue al thynges: euen lyke as the grayne of wheate ſowen in the grounde is firſt putrified and brought as into a thinge of nought, yet after that it ſpringeth vp freſhly with a more goodly couler, form and beuty then it had before. The body is ſowen in corruption and ryſeth in incorruption: it is ſowen in diſhonour & ryſeth in honour.

Confirmation of our reſurrection.

John. 10.
John. 1.
Phil. 3.
John 12.
1. Cor. 15.

Thus I verely know and aſſuredly beleue the reſurrection of our bodies, and to haue life eternall by Chriſt and for Chriſtes ſake. Verely, verely, I ſay vnto you (ſayth Chriſt) he that heareth my worde and beleueth on hym that ſent me, hath euerlaſtyng life, and ſhall not come into damnatiõ, but is eſcaped from death to lyfe. It is Chriſt that dyed once for our ſinnes, and is riſen agayne, neuer more to die: it is he that ſwallowed vp death and hath caſt it vnder hys feete for euer. What nowe can death do vnto vs? Verely nothing els but for a little time ſeperate our precious ſoules from our wretched bodyes, that diuine ſubſtaunce from a Maſſe of ſynne, that eternall lyfe from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſoules out of this miſerable, wretched and ſorrowfull lyfe cumbred with al calamities, vnto that moſt bleſſed felicity and ioyes eternall.

John. 5.
Rom. 10.
Ose. 13.
The ſting of death plucked out.

His confeſſion touching the Sacramentes.

As concernyng the holy and reuerend Sacramentes of Chriſtes Church, whiche be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptiſm and the ſupper of the Lord, I beleue them to bee as S. Paul calleth them, confirmatiõs or ſeales of Gods promiſes, whiche haue added to them a promiſe of grace, and therefore they are called viſible ſignes of inuiſible grace.

Sacramentes are confirmations of gods grace and acceptation.
The Sacrament of Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of baptiſme is a marke of Chriſtes church a ſeale and confirmation of our acception into the Grace and fauour of God for Chriſtes ſake. For his innocency, hys righteouſnes, hys holynes, his iuſtice, is ours, geuen vs of God, and our ſinnes and vnrighteouſnes, by hys obedience and abaſing of him ſelfe to the death of the croſſe are his, wherof Baptiſme is the ſigne, ſeale, and confirmation.

Baptiſme is alſo a ſigne of repentaunce, to teſtifie that we be borne to the waues of perils, and chaunges of life, to the intent that we ſhould dye continually as long as we liue from ſinne, & ryſe agayne like new men vnto righteouſnes. Rom. 6.

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

The other Sacrament whiche is the Supper and holy Mańdy of our Sauiour Chriſt, wherby the church of Chriſt is knowen, I beleue to be a remembraunce of Chriſtes death and paſſion, a ſeale and confirmation of his moſt precious body geuen vnto death, euen to the vyle death of the croſſe wherwith we are redemed and deliuered from ſinne, death hel, and damnation, It is a viſible word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the eares. For like as the word is a meane to the eares wherby the holy Ghoſt moueth the harte to beleue, Romanes. 10: ſo this ſacrament is a meane to the eyes whereby the holy Ghoſt moueth the hart to beleue: it preacheth peace betwene God and man: it exhorteth to mutuall loue and all Godly life, and teacheth to contemne the worlde for the lyfe to come, when as Chriſt ſhall appeare, which nowe is in heauen and no where els as concernyng hys humane body.

Gods worde to the eare.
Gods worde to the eye.
Act. 1. 3.

Yet do I beleue aſſuredly that his very body is preſent in his moſt holy Supper at the contemplation of our ſpiritually eyes, and ſo verely eaten with the mouth of our fayth. For as ſoone as I heare theſe moſt comfortable and heauenly wordes ſpoken and pronounced by the mouth of the Miniſter, This is my body which is geuẽ for you, whẽ I heare

Chriſtes body preſent in the Sacrament to our ſpirituall eyes.

1555. Septemb.

How the body of Chriſt is ſpiritually to be eaten. Rom. 8. Heb. 9.

(I ſay) this heauenly harmony of Gods vnfallible promiſes and truth: I looke not vppon, neither do I behold bread and wyne: for I take and beleue the wordes ſimply and playnly euen as Chriſt ſpake them. For hearyng theſe wordes, my ſenſes be rapt and vtterly excluded: for fayth wholy taketh place, and not fleſhe nor the carnall imaginations of our groſſe, fleſhly, and vnreuerent eatyng after the maner of our bodily foode which profiteth nothyng at all, as Chriſt witneſſeth. Iohn. 6, but with a ſorrowfull and wounded conſcience, an hungry and thirſty ſoule, a pure and faythful mynde do fully embrace, beholde, and feede and looke vppon that moſt glorious body of Chriſt in heauen at the right hand of God the father, very God and very man, which was crucified and ſlayne, and his bloud ſhed for our ſinnes, there now makyng interceſſion, offeryng and geuyng his holy body for me, for my body, for my raunſome, for my full price and ſatiſfaction, who is my Chriſt and all that euer he hath; and by this ſpirituall and faythfull eatyng of this liuely and heauenly bread, I feele the moſt ſweete ſappe and taſt of the fruites, benefites, and vnſpeakeable ioyes of Chriſtes death and Paſſion fully diſgeſted into the bowelles of my ſoule. For my minde is quieted from all worldly aduerſities, tormoylynges, and troubles: my conſcience is pacified from ſinne, death, hell and damnation: my ſoule is full and hath euen ynough, and will no more: for all thynges are but loſſe, vyle dunge and droſſe, vayne vanitie, for the excellẽt knowledge ſake of Chriſt Ieſu my Lord and Sauiour.

Rom. 5.

Phil. 3.

John 6. Ephe. 5. Gala. 2. How Chriſtes fleſh is our meate, and his bloud our drinke.

Thus now is Chriſtes fleſh my very meate in deede, and his bloud my very drinke in deede, and I am become fleſhe of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I liue, yet not I, but Chriſt liueth in me: yea I dwell in hym and hee in me: for thorough fayth in Chriſt, and for Chriſtes ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, mynde, and fellowſhyp with the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt. Iohn. 17. Thus am I aſſured and fully perſuaded, and on this rocke haue I builded by Gods grace, my dwellyng and reſtyng place for body and ſoule, lyfe and death. And thus I committe my cauſe vnto Chriſt the righteous and iuſt iudge, who will an other day iudge theſe debates and controuerſies: whom I humbly beſeech to caſt his tender and mercyfull eyes vpõ the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and ſhortly to reduce thẽ into a godly and perpetuall concorde. Amen.

Marke. 8.

Thus do I beleue, and this is my fayth and my vnderſtandyng in Chriſt my Sauiour, and his true and holy Religion. And this who ſoeuer is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinnefull generation, of him ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed when hee commeth in the glory of his father with the holy Aungels.

Robert Samuell.

¶ William Allen, Martyr.

W. Allen, Martyr.

NExt after the ſufferyng of Robert Samuell, about the begynnyng of September was burned William Allen in Walſingam, labouryng man, ſeruaunt ſomtyme to Iohn Houghton of Somerton. He beyng brought before the Byſhop, and aſked the cauſe why he was impriſoned: aunſwered, that hee was put in priſon becauſe hee would not follow the Croſſe, ſaying that hee would neuer go on Proceſſion.

The Martyrdome of W. Allen at Walſingham Anno. 1555. September.

Then beyng willed by the Byſhoppe to returne agayne to the Catholicke Churche, hee aunſwered, that hee would turne to the Catholicke Churche, but not to the Romiſhe Church, & ſayd, that if he ſaw the Kyng and Queene, & all other folow the croſſe, or kneele down to the croſſe, he would not. For ẏ which, ſẽtence of condẽnatiõ was geuen agaynſt him, the xij. of Auguſt, and he burned at Walſingham about the begynnyng of September, who declared ſuch conſtancy at his Martyrdome, and had ſuch credite with the Iuſtices, by reaſon of his vpright and well tryed conuerſation among them, that hee was ſuffered to go vntyed to his ſufferyng, and there beyng faſtened with a chayne, ſtode quietly with out ſhrinckyng, vntill he dyed.

¶ The Martyrdome of Roger Coo of Melford in Suffolke, Shereman, first examined before the Byſhop of Norwich, and by him condemned, Anno. 1555. Auguſt. 12.

Roger Coo, Martyr.

Talke betwene Roger Coo and Hopton Byſhop of Norwich.

ROger Coo brought before the Byſhop, firſt was aſked why he was impriſoned.

Coo. At the Iuſtices commaundement.

Byſhop. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my accuſer, let him declare.

And his accuſer ſayd that hee would not receiue the Sacrament.

Biſh. Then the Byſhop ſayd that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a law.

Coo. But Coo aunſwered that there was no law to tranſgreſſe.

Byſh. The Byſhop thẽ aſked, what he ſayd to the law that then was?

Coo. He aunſwered how he had bene in priſon a long tyme, and knew it not.

Roger Coo to his accuſer.

No, ſayd his accuſer, nor wilt not. My Lord, aſke hym when he receaued the Sacrament.

Coo. When Coo heard him ſay ſo, he ſayd: I pray you my Lord, let him ſit downe and examine me him ſelfe.

Byſh. But the Byſhoppe would not heare that, but ſayd: Coo, why? will ye not receiue?

The Biſhop of Rome.

Coo. He aunſwered him that the Byſhoppe of Rome had chaunged Gods ordinaunces, & geuen the people bread and wine in the ſtede of the Goſpell, and the beleif of the ſame.

Byſh. How proue you that?

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Coo. Our Sauiour ſayd: My fleſhe is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede. He that eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me, and I in him, & the bread and wyne doth not ſo.

Byſhop. Well Coo, thou doeſt ſclaunder our holy Fathers. Did not Chriſt take bread, geue thankes, and brake it, and ſayd: This is my body?

Coo. Yes, ſayd hee, and ſo hee went further with the text, ſaying: Which ſhall be geuen for you: doe this in the remembraunce of me.

Byſh. You haue ſayd the truth.

Coo. Then Coo replyed further and ſayd: Chriſt willed to doe this in the remembraunce of him, and not to ſay this in the remembraunce of hym, neither did the holy Ghoſt ſo lead the Apoſtles, but taught them to geue thankes, and to breake bread from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the Byſhop ſayd.

Byſh. How proue you that?

Coo. It is written in the ſecond of the Actes.

Then the Byſhops Chaplayne ſayd it was true.

Byſh. The Byſhop aſked him if he could his beleif.

Coo. He aunſwered yea, and ſo ſayd part of the Creede, and then after he ſayd, he beleued more: for he beleued the x. commaundementes, that it was meete for all ſuch as looke to be ſaued to be obedient vnto them.

Byſh. Is not the holy Church to be beleued alſo?

Coo. Yea, if it be builded vpon the word of God.

Byſhop. The Byſhop ſayd to Coo, that hee had charge of his ſoule.

Coo. Haue ye ſo my Lord? Then if ye go to the deuill for your ſinnes, where ſhall I become?

Byſh. Do you not beleue as your father dyd? Was not he an honeſt man?

Daniell. 9.

Coo. It is written that after Chriſt hath ſuffered: There ſhall come a people with the Prince that ſhal deſtroy both Citie and Sanctuary. I pray you ſhew me whether this deſtruction was in my fathers tyme, or now?

Byſh. The Byſhop not aunſweryng his queſtion, aſked him whether he would not obey the kynges lawes?

Coo. As farre as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them.

* Well ſpoken and lyke the Popes clerke.

Byſh. * Whether they agree with the worde of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the kyng were an infidell.

Coo. If Sydrach, Myſaach, and Abednago had ſo done, Nabuchadonoſor had not confeſſed the liuyng God.

Byſh. Then the Biſhop told him, that theſe xxij. yeares we haue bene gouerned with ſuch kynges.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumme and dyd not ſpeake or barke?

Byſh. I durſt not for feare of death. And thus they ended.

¶ But after this done, it was reported that I replyed: wherefore I called it to memory, & wrote this my talkyng, ẏ light ſhould not be taken for darknes, nor ſinne for holynes, and the deuill for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and euer, Amen.

The Martyrdome of Roger Coo at Yexford. Anno 1555. September.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his ſondry troubles and conflictes with his aduerſaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford in the Cõtie of Suffolke, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged yeares. Anno. 1555. Menſ. Septemb.

¶ Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill.

Bocher, Martyr.

Tho. Cobbe of Hauerhill in Northfolke, Martyr.

Examinations of Tho. Cobbe.

OUer and beſides this foreſayd Roger Coo, William Allen, Iames Abbes of Stokennayland, Robert Samuell and other mo, in the ſame yeare vppon the xij. of Auguſt was alſo with them condẽned Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill, Bocher, and executed in the moneth of September aforeſayd, who beyng brought and examined by Michaell Dunnynges the bloudy Chauncellour of Norwich, firſt whether hee beleued that Chriſt is really

and

The reall preſence of Chriſt onely in heauen.

Q. Mary.

An. 1555.

Septemb.

and ſubſtauntially in the Sacrament of the aultar, aunſwered that the body of Chriſt borne of the bleſſed virgine was in heauen, and otherwiſe (he ſayd) he would not aunſwere, becauſe he had read it in the Scripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did neuer deſcend ſince, and therfore ſayd that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the Sacrament.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Cobbe at Thetford. Anno 1555. September.

Furthermore beyng demaunded, whether he would obey the lawes of the Realme of England made for the vnitie of fayth, or no, hee aunſwered, that his body ſhould be at the Kyng and Queenes commaundement ſo farre, as the law of GOD would ſuffer. &c. In fine the ſayd Thomas Cobbe beyng condemned the ſame xij. day of Auguſt, with the other his fellowmartyrs, was burned in the Towne of Tetford. An. 1555. Menſ. Septemb.

¶ The Martyrdome of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and Iames Tuttye.

NOw from Northfolke and Suffolke to returne agayne into the Dioceſſe of Caunterbury, we haue to entreate of fiue worthy Martyrs, whoſe bloud in the ſame yeare and moneth of September was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of Chriſt, and his Goſpelles cauſe. The names of the which fiue Martyrs were theſe.

George Catmer, of Hyth.
Robert Streater, of Hyth.
Anthony Burward, of Calete.
George Brodbrige, of Bromfield.
Iames Tuttye, of Brencheley.

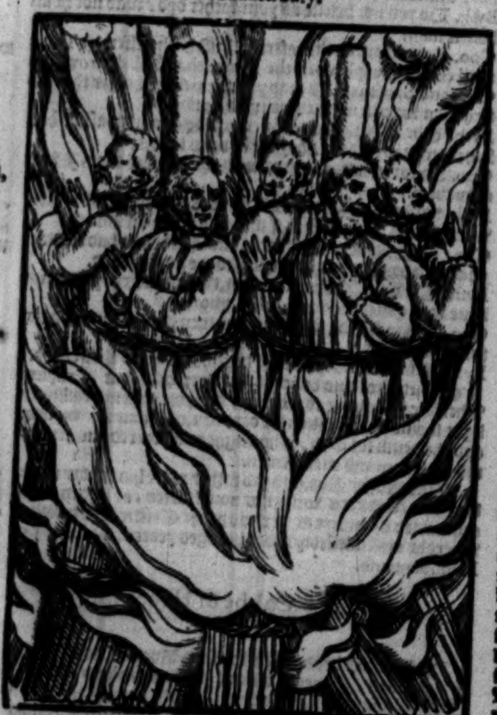
Examinations of theſe fiue Martyrs.

Who vpon the third day of Auguſt were brought before Thornton the foreſayd Byſhop of Douer and his complices, and there were both ioyntly and ſeuerally examined vpon certaine Articles, touchyng the Sacrament of the aultar, auricular confeſſion, and other ſuch lyke.

Examination and aunſweres of Catmer.

To the whiche the ſayd Catmer (beyng firſt examined) made aunſwere on this wiſe: Chriſt (quoth hee) ſitteth in heauen on the right hand of God the Father, and therfore I do not beleue him to bee in the Sacrament of the aultar: but he is in the worthy receiuer ſpiritually, and the Sacrament as you vſe it, is an abhominable Idoll.

¶ The burnyng of fiue Martyrs at Caunterbury.



The Martyrdome of Catmer, Streater, Burvvard, Brodbridge, & Tuttie, at Caunterbury. Anno. 1555. September. Ex Regiſtro.

Examination and aunſweres of Streater.

Next vnto hym was called forth Robert Streater: who beyng alſo aſked whether hee dyd beleue the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar, ſayd, that he dyd not ſo beleue: for you do maintayne Hereſie and Idolatry (quoth hee) in that ye teach to worſhyp a falſe God in the Sacrament, encloſed in a boxe. It is you that are the malignaunt Church: for in your Churche there are twenty thynges vſed agaynſt the law of God.

Burward examined.

The like obiection was articulate alſo agaynſt Anthony Burward, who alſo ſayd, that their Sacrament was made an Idoll.

Brodbridge examined.

After him was George Brodbridge demaunded what he ſayd to thoſe Articles. Who aunſwered, that hee would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, becauſe he could not forgeue his owne ſinnes: and further ſayd, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is not the reall body of our Sauiour Chriſt, but bread geuen in the remembraunce of him. Moreouer, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your Maſſe, I do (quoth he) vtterly defie them.

Iames Tuttie examined with his aunſwere to the ſame.

And laſt of all did alſo Iames Tuttye make and confirme their ſayd former aunſweres.

And therefore they were all fiue condemned to be burned as hereticks, and ſo were they all in one fire at Canterbury aforeſayd, about the vj. day of September then next followyng.

¶ Thomas Hayward, and Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

Thomas Hayward, Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

ALthough the rage and vehemencie of this terrible perſecution in Queene Maryes dayes dyd chiefly light in London, Eſſex, Northfolke, Suffolke, and Kent, as hath bene partly already declared: yet notwithſtandyng beſides the ſame, we finde but few partes of this Realme free from this fatall ſtorme, but ſome good Martyrs or other there ſhed their bloud. And firſt to begyn with the Dioces of Lichfield and Couentry, there we finde theſe two to be condemned, and alſo burned about the middeſt of the ſayd moneth of September at the Towne of Lichfield: whoſe names were Thomas Hayward, and Iohn Goreway.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Hayward and Iohn Goreway, at Lichfield, Anno 1555. September.

¶ The perſecution and ſtory of M. Robert Glouer Gentleman, and of Iohn Glouer his brother, in the Dioces of Lichfield.

The ſtory of M. Robert Glouer Martyr, and of M. Iohn Glouer his brother.

VNto this preſent tyme and moneth of September pertaineth alſo the memorable Martyrdome of Maiſter Robert Glouer Gentleman, in the Dioces of Lichfield and Couentry. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles, becauſe I can not well entreate but I muſt alſo intermixte ſome mention of hys brother Iohn Glouer, for ſomuch as this pryuy Commiſſion was chiefly ſent downe for the ſayd Iohn, and not for Robert Glouer (albeit it pleaſed almightye GOD, that Iohn eſcaped, and Robert in his ſtede was apprehended) I thought therfore in one ſtory to comprehend them both, in deſcribyng ſome parte of their vertuous inſtitution and order of lyfe, and firſt to begyn with Iohn the eldeſt brother. Who beyng a Gentleman borne, and heyre to hys father, dwellyng in the Towne of Mancetor, was endued with fayre poſſeſſions of worldly goodes, but yet much more plentyfully enriched, with Gods heauenly grace and inwarde vertues. Which grace of GOD ſo workyng in hym, hee with his two other brethren Robert and William, not onely receiued and embraced the happy light of Chriſtes holy Goſpell, but alſo moſt zelouſly profeſſed, and no leſſe diligently in their lyuyng and conuerſation followed the ſame: much vnlike vnto our tablegoſpellers now a dayes, Virtutem qui verba putāt, vt lucum ligna, as Horace ſeyth.

Iohn Glouer, Rob. Glouer, William Glouer. 3. godly brethre & zelous profeſſors of the Goſpell.

And as touchyng this foreſayd Iohn Glouer (who through his manifold afflictions ſeemed to haue a deeper taſt and contemplation of ſpirituall thynges, ioyned with mortification from all worldly cares more then the other had) although ſufficient relation bee made before in our firſt edition to be ſene, pag. 1277. yet as concernyng his ſpirituall conflictes, and the Lordes gracious workyng in him, becauſe the conſideration therof is both worthy of memory, and the example may worke experience peraduenture to the comfort of the godly, it ſhall not be hurtfull to rehearſe ſome parte of the ſame. So it pleaſed GOD to lay his heauy hand of inward afflictions and greuous paſſions vpon this man, that though he ſuffered not the paynes of the outward fire, as his brother and other Martyrs did: yet if we conſider what inwardly in ſpirite and mynde this man felt and ſuffered, and that of ſo long tyme, he may well bee counted with his brother Robert for a Martyr, beyng no leſſe deſirous with him of the ſame Martyrdome: yea and in compariſon may ſeeme to be chronicled for a double Martyr.

Touchyng further mention of M. Iohn Glouer, read in the firſt edition. pag. 1277.

The inward conflictes and exerciſes of M. Iohn Glouer.

For as the ſayd Robert was ſpeedely diſpatched with the ſharpe and extreme tormentes of the fire in a ſhort tyme: ſo this no leſſe bleſſed Saint of GOD, what & how much more greuous panges, what ſorrowfull tormentes,

Iohn Glouer a double Martyr.

What

1555. Septemb.

A heauy croſſe of inward tormentes layd vpon John Glouer.

The better conſcience the ſoner diſquieted.

what boyling heates of the fire of hell in his ſpirite inwardly hee felt and ſuſteyned, no ſpeech outwardly is able to expreſſe. Beyng young I remember I was once or twiſe with him, who partly by his talke I perceiued, and partly by myne owne eyes ſaw to bee ſo worne and conſumed by the ſpace of fiue yeares, that neither almoſt any brookyng of meate, quietnes of ſleepe, pleaſure of lyfe, yea and almoſt no kynde of ſenſes was left in hym. And doubtleſſe I haue greatly wondred oftentymes at the marueilous workes and operation of Chriſt ſhewed vppon hym, who vnleſſe he had releiued betymes his poore wretched ſeruaunt ſo farre worne, with ſome opportune conſolation, now and then betwixt, it could not poſſible bee, that he ſhould haue ſuſteined ſo vntolerable paynes and tormentes. And yet the occaſion therof was not of ſo great moment and weight. But this we ſee common among holy and bleſſed men, how the more deuout and godly they are, hauyng the feare of G O D before their eyes, the more ſuſpicion and miſtruſt they haue of themſelues: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that often they are ſo terrified and perplexed with ſmall matters, as though they were huge mountaines: where as contrary other there be, whom moſt haynous and very ſore crimes in deede do nothyng touch or ſtyrre at all.

The firſt occaſion of John Glouers inward affliction.

Heb. 7.

The occaſion of this was, that he beyng firſt called by the light of the holy ſpirite to the knowledge of the Goſpell, and hauyng receaued a wonderous ſweete feelyng of Chriſtes heauenly kyngdome, his mynde after that fallyng a litle to ſome cogitation of his former affayres belongyng to his vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt hymſelfe, vpō the occaſion of theſe wordes written in the. vj. to the Hebrues: For it can not be that they which were once illumined, and haue taſted the heauenly gift. &c. Vpon the conſideration of which wordes he fully perſwaded himſelfe, that he had ſinned verely agaynſt the holy Ghoſt: euen ſo much, that if he had bene in the deepeſt pitte of hell, he could almoſt haue diſpayred no more of his ſaluation. Here readely euery good man may iudge of himſelfe, what terrours, boylinges, and conuulſiōs tormoyled in the meane tyme in his wofull breſt: although it be hard for any mā to iudge the greuouſnes therof, vnleſſe he which hath experience of the like.

No grief like to the griefe of conſcience.

In comparyng now the tormentes of all Martyrs with his paynes, I pray you what paynes, puniſhement, and flames would not hee willyngly haue ſuffered, to haue had ſome refocillation and tyme of refreſhyng? who in ſuch intollerable griefes of mynde, although hee neither had nor could haue any ioye of his meate, yet was hee compelled to eate agaynſt his appetite, to the ende to differre the tyme of his damnation, ſo long as he might, thinkyng with himſelfe no leſſe, but that hee muſt needes bee throwen into hell the breath beyng once out of the body. Albeit Chriſt he thought did pitye his caſe, and was ſory for him: yet he could not (as he imagined) helpe, becauſe of the veritie of the word, which ſayd: It can not be. &c.

Heb. 7.

Chriſt a mercifull helper in temptations and hard diſtreſſes.

John Glouer by the grace of Chriſt reſtored agayne to perfect tranquilitye.

And thus I rehearſe of hym, not ſo much to open his woundes and ſorrowes, as for that by his example all we with him may glorifie the ſonne of G O D, who ſuffereth none to bee tempted aboue his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperitie of euilles, that what ſeemeth to vs intollerable, not onely he doth alleuiate the ſame, that we may beare it, but alſo turneth it to our further commoditie then we can thinke. Which well appeared in this good ſeruaunt of G O D, in no man more. Who albeit (as we haue ſayd) ſuffered many yeares ſo ſharpe temptations and ſtrong buffetynges of Sathan: yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerued him all the while, not onely at laſt dyd ryd him out of all diſcomforte, but alſo framed hym thereby to ſuch mortification of lyfe, as the lyke lightly hath not bene ſene, in ſuch ſorte as he beyng lyke one placed in heauen already and dead in this worlde, both in worde and meditation led a lyfe altogether celeſtiall, abhorryng in his mynde all prophane doynges. Neither was his talke any thyng diſcrepaunt from the fruites of his lyfe, throwyng out neuer any idle, vyle, or vayne language. The moſt part of his landes he diſtributed to the vſe of his brethren, and committed the reſt to the guidyng of his ſeruauntes and officers, whereby the more quietly hee might geue hym ſelfe to his godly ſtudy, as to a continuall Sabboth reſt. This was about the latter end of kyng Henryes reigne, and continued a great part of the tyme of kyng Edward vj.

After this in the perſecutyng dayes of Queene Mary, as ſoone as the Byſhop of Couentry heard the fame of this John aforeſayde beyng ſo ardent and zelous in the Goſpell of Chriſt, eftſoones hee wrote his Letter to the Maior and Officers of Couentry to apprehend him as ſoone as might be. But it chaunced otherwiſe by Gods holy prouidence, diſpoſing all thyngs after his owne ſecret pleaſure, who ſeyng his olde and truſtye ſeruaunt ſo many yeares with ſo extreme and many tormentes broken and dryed vp, would in no wiſe heape to many ſorrowes vppon one poore ſely wretch: neyther would commit him to the flames of fire who had bene already baked and ſcorched with the ſharpe fires of inward affliction, and hadde ſuſteyned ſo many burnyng dartes and conflictes of Sathan ſo many yeares. God therfore of his diuine prouidence thinkyng it to much, that one man ſhoulde bee ſo much ouercharged with ſo manye plagues and tormentes, dyd graciouſly prouide, that Robert his brother, beyng both ſtronger of body, and alſo better furniſhed with helpes of learnyng to aunſwere the aduerſaries (beyng a maiſter of Art in Cābridge) ſhould ſuſteine that conflicte, euen ſo it came to paſſe, as ye ſhal heare.

The Mayor of Couentry ſendeth a priuye watchword to John Glouer.

For as ſoone as the Maior of Couentry had receiued ŷ Byſhops letters for the apprehendyng of M. John Glouer, he ſent forthwith a priuy watchword to the ſayd John, to conuey away him ſelfe. Who with his brother William, was not ſo ſoone departed out of his houſe: but that yet in ſight of the Shriffe and other, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take him, accordyng to the Byſhops commaundement.

M. Robert Glouer apprehended lying ſicke in his chamber.

But when the ſayd John could in no place be found, one of ŷ officers goyng into an vpper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed: and ſicke of a long diſeaſe, who was by him incontinent brought before the Shriffe. Which Shriffe notwithſtandyng fauouryng Robert and his cauſe, would in dede fayne haue diſmiſſed him, and wrought what meanes he could, ſaying, that he was not the man for whom they were ſent: yet neuertheles beyng feared with the ſtout wordes of the officer contendyng with him to haue him ſtayed till the byſhops commyng, hee was conſtrayned to cary him away agaynſt his will, and ſo layed him faſt while the Byſhop came. And thus much by the way of preamble firſt concernyng the worthy remembraūce of M. John Glouer.

Now to enter the matter which principally we haue in hand, that is, to conſider the ſtory and Martyrdome of M. Robert Glouer, forſomuch as the whole narration of the ſame by his owne record and teſtimony in a writyng was ſent vnto his wife concernyng the maner of his orderyng ŷ handlyng, it ſhall therefore ſeeme beſt for the more credite of the matter, to exhibite the ſayd his owne letter, the wordes and contentes wherof here enſue, as followeth.

¶ A Letter of Maiſter Robert Glouer to his wife conteynyng the whole diſcourſe and deſcription of his troubles ſuſteined in pryſō, and of his ſundry conflictes betwene the Biſhop & him about Religion.

¶ To my intyrely beloued wife Mary Glouer.

A letter of M. Rob. Glouer to his wyfe, certifying her of all his troubles ſince his firſt apprehenſion.

The peace of conſcience whiche paſſeth all vnderſtandyng, the ſweete conſolation, comfort, ſtrength, and boldnes of the holy Ghoſt be cōtinually increaſed in your hart, through a feruent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt fayth in our moſt deare and onely Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I thanke you hartly moſt louing wife, for your letters ſent vnto me in my impriſonment. I red them with teares more then once or twiſe, with teares (I ſay) for ioy and gladnes, that God had wrought in you ſo mercifull a worke: firſt an vnfayned repentaunce, ſecondly an humble and harty recōciliation, thirdly a willing ſubmiſſion and obedience to the will of God in all thinges. Whiche when I red in your letters, and iudged them to procede from the bottome of your hart: I could not but be thankefull to God, reioyſing with teares for you and theſe his great mercies poured vpon you.

The worldly wantones commonly of Engliſh women noted.

These your letters, and the hearyng of your moſt godly procedinges and conſtant doynges from time to time, haue much releiued and comforted me at all tymes, and ſhall be a goodly teſtimony with you at the great daye, agaynſt many worldly and deinty dames, whiche ſet more by their owne pleaſure and pelfe in this worlde, then by Gods glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the euerlaſtyng health of theyr owne ſoules or others. My prayer ſhalbe whilſt I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good worke in you, wil finiſhe it to the glory of his name and by the mighty power and inſpiration of his holy ſpirite ſo ſtrengthen, ſtabliſh, and confirme you in all his wayes to the ende, that we may together ſhewe forth his prayſes in the worlde to come, to our vnſpeakeable conſolation euerlaſtyngly, Amen.

1. Tim. 2.

Ghoſtly leſſons and preceptes of Chriſtian lyfe.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuaunce in this miſerable worlde, aboue all thinges geue your ſelfe continually to prayer, lifting vp, as S. Paul ſayth, cleane or pure hādes without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgeuyng (as hee ſayth alſo) if you haue anye thinge agaynſt anye man, as Chriſt forgeueth vs. And that wee may be the better willing to geue, it is good often to call to remembraunce the mul=

titude

1. Peter 4.

Iohn. 12.

titude and greatneſſe of our owne ſinnes, whiche Chriſt dayly and hourely pardoneth and forgeueth vs, and then we ſhall, as Saint Peter affirmeth, be ready to couer and hyde the offences of our brethren, bee they neuer ſo many. And becauſe Gods worde teacheth vs, not onely the true maner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do or not doe in the whole diſcourſe and practiſe of this lyfe, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth GOD, and that, as Chriſt ſayth, The word of GOD that he hath ſpoken ſhall iudge in the laſt day: let your Prayer be to this ende ſpecially, that GOD of his great mercy would open and reuele more and more dayly to your hart the true ſenſe, knowledge, and vnderſtandyng of his moſt holy word, and geue you grace in your liuyng to expreſſe the fruites therof.

1. Cor. 1.

Luke. 17. Example of Lots wyfe.

Nothing vſed in Q. Maries tyme profitable to edification.

And for as much as it is, as the holy Ghoſt calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is ſeldome without hatred, perſecutiõ, perill, daūger of loſſe of life and goodes, and whatſoeuer ſeemeth pleaſaunt in this world, as experience teacheth you in this tyme: call vppon GOD continually for his aſſiſtaunce alwayes, as Chriſt teacheth, caſtyng your accomptes what it is like to coſt you, endeuoryng your ſelfe, through the helpe of the holy Ghoſt, by continuaunce of Prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorme or tempeſt ſhalbe able to ouerthrow or caſt it downe: remembryng alwayes (as Chriſt ſaith) Lothes wife, that is, to beware of lookyng backe to that thyng that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothyng diſpleaſeth GOD ſo much as Idolatry, that is, falſe worſhyppyng of GOD, otherwiſe then his worde commaundeth: looke not backe (I ſay) nor turne not your face to their Idolatrous and blaſphemous Maſſing, manifeſtly agaynſt the worde, practiſe, and example of Chriſt: as it is moſt manifeſt to all that haue any taſt of the true vnderſtandyng of Gods worde, that there remayneth nothyng in the Churche of England at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the Church and cõgregation of the Lord, all thynges beyng done in an vnknowen toung, contrary to the expreſſe commaundement of the holy Ghoſt.

The firſt note prouing the church of the Papiſtes not to be the true Church.

They obiect that they be the Church, and therfore they muſt be beleued. My aunſwere was, the Church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, whom ye haue refuſed, and choſen the man of ſinne, yͤ ſonne of perdition, enemy to Chriſt, the deuils deputy and lieftenaunt the Pope.

2. Note. Iohn. 10.

Chriſtes Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as hee ſayth: My ſheepe heare my voyce. If you abyde in me, and my worde in you, you bee my Diſciples. Their Church repelleth Gods word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

3. Note. Actes 7.

Chriſtes Churche dare not adde or diminiſhe, alter or chaunge his bleſſed Teſtament: but they be not afrayde to take away all that Chriſt inſtituted, and go a whoryng (as the Scripture ſayth) with their owne inuentions, Et lætari ſuper operibus manuum ſuarum. i. To glory and reioyce in the workes of their owne handes.

4. Note to know the church.

The Church of Chriſt is, hath bene, and ſhall be in all ages vnder the Croſſe, perſecuted, moleſted and afflicted, the world euer hatyng thẽ, becauſe they be not of the world. But theſe perſecute, murther, ſlay and kill ſuch as profeſſe the true doctrine of Chriſt, be they in learnyng, liuyng, conuerſation and other vertues neuer ſo excellent.

5. Note. Iohn 5.

Chriſt and his Churche reſerued the triall of their doctrine to the word of God, and gaue the people leaue to iudge therof by the ſame worde: Searche the Scriptures: But this Churche taketh away the word from the people, and ſuffereth neither learned nor vnlearned to examine or proue their doctrine by the word of God.

6. Note to know the church.

Ephes. 5.

The true Churche of God laboureth by all meanes to reſiſt and withſtand the luſtes, deſires, and motions of the world, the fleſh, and the deuill. Theſe for the moſt part, geue themſelues to all voluptuouſnes, and ſecretly commit ſuch thyngs, which (as S. Paule ſayth) it is ſhame to ſpeake of.

Compare the proceedinges and doinges of the Popes church with the true members of Chriſtes church, and you ſhall ſee what they are.

The church of the valiant Papiſtes compared to Nemrod, and why?

The Popes church ſtandeth all in lying and murdering.

By theſe and ſuch lyke manifeſt probations they do declare them ſelues to be none of the Church of Chriſte, but rather of the Sinagoge of Sathan. It ſhall be good for you oftentymes to conferre and compare their proceedynges and doyngs, with the practiſe of thoſe whom the word of God doth teache to haue bene true members of the Churche of God, and it ſhall worke in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldnes to withſtand with ſufferyng, their doynges. I likened them therfore to Nemrod, whõ the Scripture calleth a mighty Hunter or a ſtout Chãpion, tellyng them that that which they could not haue by yͤ word, they would haue by the ſword, & be the Church whether men will or no, and called them with good conſcience, as Chriſt called their forefathers, the children of the deuill: and as their father the deuill is a lyer and murtherer, ſo their kyngdome and Church (as they call it) ſtandeth by lying and murtheryng.

3. Reg. 18.

Luke. 9.

The Popes Church vnder paine of damnation is to be auoyded. Apoca. 2.

Phil. 1. He exhorteth to be bould in Chriſt.

Math. 13.

Worldly chriſtians reſembled to Aeſops Cocke.

Haue no fellowſhyp with them therfore, my deare wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, leſt you be partaker of theyr ſinnes: for whom is reſerued a heauy damnation, without ſpeedy repentaunce. Beware of ſuch as ſhall aduertiſe you ſomthing to beare with the worlde as they doe, for a ſeaſon. There is no dallying with Gods matters: It is a fearefull thing (as S. Paule ſayth) to fall into the handes of God. Remember the Prophet Helias: why halt you on both ſides? Remember what Chriſt ſayth: he that putteth his handes to the plough and looketh backe, is not worthy of me. And ſeyng God hath hetherto allowed you as a good Souldiour in the forward, play not the coward, neyther draw backe to rereward. S. Iohn numbreth among them that ſhall dwell in the fiery lake, ſuch as bee fearefull in Gods cauſe. Set before your eyes alwayes the examples of ſuch as haue behaued them ſelues boldly in Gods cauſe: as Steuen, Peter, Paule, Daniell, the three children, the wydowes ſonnes, and in your dayes, Anne Aſkewe, Laurence Saunders, Iohn Bradford, with many other faythfull witneſſes of Chriſt. Be not afrayd in nothyng, ſayth Saint Paule, of the aduerſaries of Chriſtes doctrine: the whiche is to them the cauſe of perdition, but to you of euerlaſting ſaluation. Chriſt commaundeth the ſame, ſaying: Feare them not. Let vs not follow the example of him which aſked time firſt to take leaue of his frendes. If we ſo do, we ſhall finde few of them that will encourage vs to goe forward in our buſines, pleaſe it God neuer ſo much. We read not yͭ Iames and Iohn, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put of the time tyll they had knowen their fathers and friendes pleaſure, but the ſcripture ſayth: They forſoke all, and by & by followed Chriſt. Chriſt lykened yͤ kyngdome of God to a precious pearle, yͤ which whoſoeuer findeth, ſelleth all that hee hath for to buy it. Yea, whoſoeuer hath but a little taſt or glimeryng how precious a treaſure the kingdome of heauen is, will gladly forgo both life and goodes for the obteynyng of it. But the moſt part nowe a dayes be lyke to Eſopes Cocke, which when he had found a precious ſtone wiſhed rather to haue found a barely corne. So ignorant be they howe precious a iewell the worde of God is, that they chooſe rather the thinges of thys world, which being compared to it, be leſſe in value then a barely corne.

Worldly allurementes and motions of drawing backe by Gods grace withſtanded.

If I would haue geuen place to worldly reaſons, theſe myght haue moued me: Firſt the forgoyng of you and my children: the conſideration of the ſtate of my children beyng yet tender of age and young, apt and inclinable to vertue & learnyng, and ſo hauyng the more neede of my aſſiſtance, beyng not altogether deſtitute of giftes to helpe them withall: poſſeſſions aboue the common ſort of men: becauſe I was neuer called to be a Preacher or Miniſter: and (becauſe of my ſickenes) feare of death in impriſonment before I ſhould come to my aunſwere, and ſo my death to bee vnprofitable.

Experience of the Lordes aſſiſtance in confirming his ſeruauntes.

M. Glouer committed to the Iayle, before any cauſe was declared.

But theſe and ſuch lyke, I thanke my heauenly father (which of his infinite mercy inſpired me wͭ his holy Ghoſt, for his ſonnes ſake my onely Sauiour and redeemer) preuailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderfull permiſſion of God, fallen into their handes, at the firſt ſight of the Shiriffe, nature a little abaſhed: yet ere euer I came to the priſon, by the workyng of God and through his goodnes feare departed. I ſayd to the Shiriffe at his commyng vnto mee: What matter haue you Maſter Sheriffe to charge me withall? he aunſwered: you ſhall know when you come before the Maiſters: and ſo takyng me with him, I looked to haue ben brought before the Maiſters, and to haue heard what they could haue burdened me withall: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the Iayle not beyng called to my aunſwere, litle iuſtice beyng ſhewed therin. But the leſſe iuſtice a man findeth at theyr handes, yͤ more conſolation in conſcience ſhall hee finde from God: for whoſoeuer is of the world, the world will loue him.

Gods mighty conſolation vpon Rob. Glouer in priſon.

M. Glouer weepeth for ioy in priſon.

After I came into priſon, and had repoſed my ſelf there a while, I wept for ioy and gladnes my belly full, muſing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) ſaying to my ſelfe after this ſort: O Lord who am I, on whome thou ſhouldeſt beſtowe thus thy great mercy, to be numbred among the Saintes that ſuffer for thy Goſpels ſake? And ſo beholding and conſideryng on the one ſide my imperfection, vnablenes, ſinfull miſery, and vnworthynes, and on the other ſide the greatnes of Gods mercy, to be called to ſo high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and ouercome for a while with ioy and gladnes, concludyng thus with my ſelfe in my hart: O Lord thou ſheweſt power in weaknes, wiſedome in fooliſhnes, mercy in ſinfulnes: who ſhall let thee to chooſe where and whom thou wilt? As I haue zelouſly loued the confeſſion of thy word, ſo euer thought I my ſelf to be moſt vnworthy to bee partaker of the affliction for the ſame.

Not long after, came vnto me M. W. Braſbrige, M. C. Phineys, M. N. Hopkyns, trauelyng wͭ me to be diſmiſſed

vpon

M. Glouer counſelled to put in bondes Rob. Glouer refuſeth to enter into bondes.

1555. Septemb.

vpon bondes. To whom my aunſwere was (to my remembraunce) after this ſorte: For as much as the Maiſters haue impriſoned me hauyng nothyng to burdein me withall, if I ſhould enter into bondes, I ſhould in ſo doyng accuſe my ſelfe: and ſeyng they haue no matter to lay to my charge, they may aſwell let me paſſe without bondes, as with bondes.

Worldly perſwaſions not receaued.

Secondarily, if I ſhall enter bondes, couenaunt, and promiſe to appeare, I ſhall do nothyng but excuſe, colour, and cloke their wickednesse, and endaunger my ſelfe neuertheleſſe, beyng bound by my promiſe to appeare. They alledged many worldly perſwaſiós vnto me to auoyde ỳ preſent perill, & alſo how to auoyde the forfiture, if I brake my promiſe. I ſayd vnto thẽ I had caſt my penyworth by Gods helpe. They vndertooke alſo to make the bonde eaſie.

M. Glouer agayne viſited with Gods holy comfort.

And when they were ſomewhat importune, I ſayd to Maiſter Hopkins, that libertie of conſcience was a precious thyng, and tooke as it were a pauſe, liftyng vp my hart to GOD earneſtly for his ayde and helpe that I might do the thyng that might pleaſe him. And ſo, when they had let their ſute fall, my hart, me thought, was wonderfully comforted. Maiſter Dudley commoned with me in like maner: whom I aunſwered in effect as I did before.

M. Glouer reaſoning with him ſelfe.

Afterward debatyng the matter with my ſelfe, theſe conſiderations came to my head: I haue from tyme to tyme with good conſcience (GOD I take to record) moued all ſuch as I had conference withall, to be no daliers in Gods matters, but to ſhewe them ſelues after ſo great a light and knowledge, harty, earneſt, conſtaunt, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a truth, & not to geue place one iote contrary to ỳ ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw my ſelfe, and make any ſhiftes to pull my owne necke out of the collor, I ſhall geue great offence to my weake brethren in Chriſt, and aduauntage to the enemyes to ſclaunder Gods word. It will be ſayd, hee hath bene a great boldner of others to be earneſt and feruent, to feare no worldly perils or daungers, but he him ſelfe will geue no ſuch example.

M. Glouer taketh courage, all feare and daungers ſet aſide.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty both to God & man, beyng (as it were) by ỳ great goodnes of GOD, maruelouſly called and appoynted hereunto, to ſet aſide all feare, perils, and daungers, all worldly reſpectes and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, accordyng to the meaſure of my ſmall gift, within the compaſſe of my vocation and callyng, from the bottome of my hart vnfaynedly moued, exhorted, and perſwaded all that profeſſe Gods worde, manfully to perſiſte in the defence of the ſame, not with ſworde and violence, but with ſufferyng and loſſe of lyfe, rather then to defile thẽſelues agayne with the whoriſh abhomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt: ſo the houre beyng come, with my fact and example to ratifie, confirme, and proteſt the ſame to the hartes of all true beleuers: and to this end (by the mighty aſſiſtaunce of Gods holy ſpirite) I reſolued my ſelfe with much peace of conſcience, willyngly to ſuſtaine what ſoeuer the Romiſhe Antichriſt ſhould do agaynſt me, & the rather becauſe I vnderſtode the Byſhops commyng to be at hand, and conſidered that poore mens conſciences ſhould be then ſharpely aſſaulted. So remayned I priſoner in Couẽtry by ỳ ſpace of. 10. or 11. dayes, beyng neuer called to my aunſwere of the Maiſters, contrary to the lawes of the Realme, they hauing neither ſtatute, law, proclamatió, letter, warrãt, nor cõmaundemẽt for my apprehẽſion. They would haue layd all the matter vpó the ſumner. Who beyng examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my frẽdes told me) ſaying that he had no cõmaundemẽt cõcernyng me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doyngs agaynſt me, to their charge at the great day.

M. Glouer reſolued in hym ſelfe to abyde the vttermoſt, in the Goſpels cauſe.

The Papiſtes procede with M. Glouer againſt the lawes of the Realme.

Commaundement geuen to the Sumner agaynſt Iohn Glouer, and not agaynſt Robert Glouer.

The ſecond day after the Byſhops commyng to Couentry, M. Warren came to the Yeldhall, and willed the chief Iayler to cary me to the Byſhop. I layd to Maiſter Warrens charge the cruell ſekyng of my death: and when hee would haue excuſed himſelfe, I told him he could not wype his handes ſo: he was as giltie of my bloud before God, as though he had murthered me with his owne handes.

This Byſhops name was Doct. Banes.

M. Warren of Couentry perſecutor of Rob. Glouer.

And ſo he parted from me ſaying, I needed not to feare if I would be of his belief. GOD open his eyes if it be his will, and geue him grace to beleue this, which he and all of his inclination, ſhall finde (I feare) to true for their partes: that is, that all they whiche cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt and afflict, the members of Chriſt for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimonie of Chriſtes worde, and cauſe them moſt vniuſtly to be ſlayne and murthered: without ſpeedy repentaunce, ſhall dwell with the deuil and his Aungels in the fiery lake euerlaſtyngly, where they ſhall wiſhe and deſire, cry and call, but in vayne (as their right companion Epulo did) to bee refreſhed of them, whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdayned, as ſlaues, miſers, and wretches.

A leſſon for all perſecutors.

Luke. 16.

When I came before the Biſhop in one Dentõs houſe, hee began with this proteſtation, that he was my Byſhop for lacke of a better, and willed me to ſubmit my ſelfe.

Rob. Glouer brought before Banes B. of Lichfield and Couentrye.

I ſayd to him, I am not come to accuſe my ſelfe: what haue you to lay to my charge?

He aſked me whether I was learned? I aunſwered, ſmally learned.

Maiſter Chauncellor ſtandyng by, ſayd I was a maſter of Art.

M. Rob. Glouer M. of Arte in Cambridge.

Then my Lord layd to my charge, my not commyng to the Church.

Rob. Glouer charged for not comming to the Church.

Here I might haue dalyed with him and put him to his proofes, for aſmuch as I had not bene for a long ſeaſon in his Dioces, neither was any of ỳ Citizens hable to proue any ſuch matters agaynſt me. Notwithſtandyng I aunſwered him through Gods mercyfull helpe, that I neither had nor woulde come at their Churche as long as their Maſſe was vſed there, to ſaue (if I had them) v. hundreth liues. I willed him to ſhew me one iote or title in the ſcripture for the proofe and defence of the Maſſe.

He aunſwered, he came to teach and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learne of him, ſo farre as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Byſhop. Who ſhall iudge the word?

Glouer. Chriſt was content that the people ſhould iudge his doctrine by ſearchyng the Scriptures, and ſo was Paule: me thinketh ye ſhould clayme no further priuiledge or preeminence then they had.

Thus ſpake Robert Glouer offeryng him further, that he was content the primitiue Churche next to the Apoſtles tyme, ſhould iudge betwixt the Byſhop and him. But he refuſed alſo to bee iudged by that. Then hee ſayd he was his Byſhop and therfore he muſt beleue him.

The Byſhop refuſeth to be iudged by the primatiue Church.

Glouer. If you ſay blacke is white my Lord (quoth Glouer) muſt I alſo ſay as you ſay, and beleue the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Maiſter Chauncellour here noted me to be arrogãt, becauſe I would not geue place to my Byſhop.

Glouer. If you will be beleued becauſe you be a Byſhop, why finde you fault with the people that beleued Maiſter Latymer, Maiſter Ridley, Maiſter Hoper, and the reſidue of them that were Byſhops?

Byſhop. Becauſe they were heretickes.

Glouer. And may not you erre (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lordes hand to perſwade me, and he oppreſſed me onely with his authoritie. Hee ſayd I diſſẽted from the Church, and aſked me where my Church was before kyng Edwardes tyme.

Where was the Church before K. Edwardes Tyme.

I deſired him to ſhew me where their Church was in Helias tyme, & what outward ſhew it had in Chriſts time.

Byſhop. Helias complaint was onely of the x. tribes that fell from Dauides houſe, whom he called heretickes.

Glouer. You be not able to ſhew any Prophetes that the other two tribes had at the ſame tyme.

The Byſhop could not ſhew where Gods Church was in Iſraell, nor where any prophet was in all Iuda, in Helias tyme.

My Lord makyng no aunſwere to that, Maiſter Rogers one of the Maiſters of the citie commeth in the meane ſeaſon, takyng vpon him as though he would aunſwere to the texte. But my Lord forth ẘ cõmaunded me to be committed to ſome Tower if they had any beſides the common Iayle, ſaying hee would at the ende of his viſitation of his Dioces, weede out ſuch wolues. Maiſter Rogers willed him to cõtent himſelfe for that night till they had taken further order for me. Euen where it pleaſeth you, ſayd I to my Lord, I am content: and ſo I was returned at that tyme to the common Iayle agayne from whence I came.

On the Friday mornyng beyng the nexte day after, I had warnyng by one of the priſoners to prepare my ſelfe to ride with my fellowe priſoners the ſame day to Lichfield, there to bee beſtowed at the Byſhoppes pleaſure. Whiche tydynges at the firſt ſomethyng diſcouraged me, fearyng leſt I ſhould, by the meanes of my great ſickeneſſe, through extreme handlyng (whiche I looked for) haue dyed in the priſon before I ſhould come to my aunſwere. But I rebuked immediately with Gods worde, this infidelitie in my ſelfe, and by the ſame corrected myne owne miſtruſt and fantaſie after this manner: What make I of GOD? Is not his power as greate in Lichfield as in Couentry? Doth not his promiſe extende as well to Lichfield, as to Couentry? Was he not with Abacucke, Daniell, Miſaach, and Ieremy in their moſt daungerous impriſonmentes? Hee knoweth what thynges we haue neede of. He hath numbred all the heares of our head. The Sparow falleth not on the ground without our heauenly fathers will: much more will he care for vs if we be not faithles, whom hee hath made worthy to bee witneſſes of his truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall neuer be deſtitute of his helpe, neither in priſon, neither in ſickeneſſe nor in health, neither in life nor in death, neither before kynges nor before Byſhoppes: not the Deuill him ſelfe, much leſſe one of his miniſters ſhall be able to preuayle agaynſte vs. With ſuche like meditations, I

Rob. Glouer ſomewhat diſcouraged at the firſt hearing that he ſhould be remoued from Couentry to Lichfield.

Robert Glouer comforted againe wyth the meditation of the Scripture and Gods promiſe.

M. Glouer waxeth chearefull againe and bolde.

Robert Glouer requireth to make his aunſwere at Couentrye.

waxed chearefull, and of good conſolation and comfort: So that hearyng one ſay that they could not prouide horſes enough for vs, I ſayd, let them cary vs in a dong cart for lacke of horſes, if they liſt: I am well content for my part.

Notwithſtandyng, at the requeſt of my frendes, I wrote to Maiſter Maior and his brethren briefly requiryng them, that I might make aunſwere here to ſuche thynges as ſhould bee layd to my charge: the contentes of whiche Letter were theſe.

The contentes of M. Glouers letter ſent to the Mayor of Couentrye and his brethren.

¶ A Letter of M. Robert Glouer, to the Maior of Couentry and his brethren.

I Beſeeche you to vnderſtand, that it is not vnknowen as well to the Keeper of the Iayle, as to the inhabitauntes aboute me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubiecte to very great ſickenes, and haue bene by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares and more, ſo that it is not lyke that I ſhall bee remoued without perill and daunger of lyfe. And becauſe I was here commicted to Warde by your appoyntement, I would gladly here aunſwere to ſuch thynges as ſhall bee layd to my charge. If I may obtaine this of you, I haue cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your indifferencie: if otherwiſe, I pray GOD it bee not layd to your charge at the great day, where euery man ſhall haue iuſt Iudgement without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, alwayes
myndful of you in my poore prayer,
Robert Glouer.

But I receiued no aunſwere of my Letters to nor fro, I coniectured that when the Byſhop and the Chauncellour had ſene them, it moued them the rather to haue me away, beyng more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to haue had me diſpatched priuely in priſon, then to come openly to my aunſwere. The maner of entreatyng and vſing me at my firſt commyng to priſon, did partly declare the ſame.

Robert Glouer and his fellow priſoners remoued from Couentrye to Lichfield in the face of the open market.

Certaine Sergeauntes and Conſtables of Couentry, beyng appointed to haue the conueying of vs to Lichfielde to bee deliuered there to one Iephcot the Chauncellours man ſent from Couentry with vs for the ſame purpoſe, we were commaunded to horſebacke about .xi. or .xij. of the clocke on Friday, beyng market day, that we might be the more gaſed and wondred at: and to kindle the peoples harts more agaynſt vs, they did proclayme a Letter concernyng a Proclamation made for callyng in and diſanullyng of all ſuch bookes as truely expounde and interprete the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about foure of the clocke at night, and had leaue to repoſe our ſelues for our ſupper time. We Inned at the ſigne of the Swan, where we were entertained frendly and gently.

Iephcot the Chauncellours ſeruant.

After ſupper Iephcot repayred to vs, whom we intreated that vpon ſureties we might reſt our ſelues that night, beyng vnprouided of any thyng to helpe our ſelues withall in the priſon at that preſent. He was content at the firſt (as he ſeemed) but afterwardes, whether it was by perſwaſiō, or rather (as it ſeemed to me) he did but of policie put of the tyme till he had gathered a multitude to ſtare & wonder vpō vs, and alſo that we ſhould prouide nothyng to eaſe our ſelues withall: he reuoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were had to the priſon, the multitude wonderyng at vs. I willed Iephcot before, to execute his office with mercy, tellyng him that they ſhould haue iudgement without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I founde at his hād.

Papiſtes keepe no promiſe.

He put me into a priſō the ſame night, where I continued vntill I was condemned, a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rowmes, ſtrong of buildyng, and very cold, with ſmall light, and there allowed he me a bundle of ſtraw in ſtead of my bed, without chayre, forme, or any other thyng els to eaſe my ſelf withall. God of his mercy gaue me great pacience through prayer that night, ſo that if it had bene his pleaſure, I could haue bene contēted to haue ended my life. But Iephcot and one Perſey the Byſhops man, whiche afterwardes was my continuall Keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the mornyng: to whom I ſayd, this is a great extremitie, God ſend vs patience: and no more.

Iephcot and Perſey cruell and ſtraite agaynſt M. Glouer.

Then they were content that I ſhould haue a bedde of myne owne procurement. But I was allowed no helpe, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtandyng my great ſickeneſſe, nor yet paper, pen, nor incke, or bookes, ſauyng my new Teſtament in Latine, and a prayer booke which I priuely ſtole in.

Talke betwene M. Glouer, and the Chauncellour in priſon.

Within two dayes after, Maiſter Chauncellour, and one Temſey a Prebendary there, came to me into my priſon. Maiſter Chauncellour exhorted me to conforme my ſelfe to my Lord and to the Church. He wiſhed to my ſoule no more hurt then to his owne: belike becauſe I had layde to his charge at Couentry the ſeekyng of my bloud vniuſtly and wrongfully.

Now thus the ſecond tyme I aunſwered M. Chauncellour to his exhortation, that I refuſed not to be ruled by that Church that was content to be ordered and gouerned by the word of God.

Chaun. He aſked me how I knew the worde of God, but by the Church?

The Church geueth witnes vvhich be the true bookes and writinges of the Apoſtles: as alſo the olde Sinagoge of the Ievves doth vvitneſſe vvhich be the true bookes of the holy Prophetes: yet it follovveth not thereby that the Ievves haue authoritye ouer the Scripture.

Glouer. The Church ſheweth whiche is the word of God, therfore the Church is aboue the worde of God. This is no good reaſon in learnyng ſayd I to Maiſter Chauncellour. For it is lyke vnto this: Iohn ſhewed the people who was Chriſt: Ergo, Iohn was aboue Chriſt. Or els, I haue a man that knoweth not the kyng, and I tell him who is the kyng: am I therfore aboue the kyng?

Maiſter Chauncellour ſayd, he came not to reaſon with me, and ſo departed. So remayned I without any further conference of any man by the ſpace of viij. dayes, and till the Byſhoppes commyng: In the whiche tyme I gaue my ſelfe continually to Prayer, and meditation of the mercyfull promiſes of God, made vnto all without exception of perſon, that call vppon the name of his deare Sonne Ieſus Chriſt. I founde in my ſelfe dayly amendement of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolations from GOD, by the helpe of his holy ſpirite, and ſometymes, as it were a taſte and glimmeryng of the lyfe to come: all for his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake: to him be all prayſe for euer and euer. Amen.

The comfortes and ſweete feelinges of M. Glouer in the priſon.

M. Glouer aſſaulted by the enemye in priſon concernyng his vnworthines.

Actes. 24.

Rom. 11.

Rom. 4.

Iohn 1.

Gods election bound to no worthines or perſon.

Rom. 10.

The enemy ceaſed not many tymes, ſundry wayes to aſſaulte me, oftentymes obiectyng to my conſcience myne owne vnworthynes, through the greatnes of the benefite to be coūted among ẏ nūber of thē ẏ ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, or his Goſpels ſake. Agaynſt him I replyed with the word of God in this ſorte: What were all thoſe whom God had choſen from the begynnyng, to be his witneſſes and cary his name before the worlde? were they not men, as Paule and Barnabas ſayd, Similiter obnoxij peccato, aſwell ſubiect to wickedneſſe, ſinne, imperfections, as other men bee? Euen ſuch were Noe, Abraham, Dauid and all the reſt. Quis prior dedit illi, as Paule ſayth? Who gaue firſt vnto him? And alſo ſpeakyng to euery man: What haſt thou that thou receiuedſt not? Likewiſe Iohn: All haue receiued of his fulnes: they were no bryngers of any goodnes to God, but altogether receiuers. They choſe not God firſt, but hee choſe them. They loued not God firſt, but he loued them firſt. yea he both loued and choſe them when they were his enemyes, full of ſinne and corruption, & voyde of all goodnes. Eſt Dominus omnium, diues in omnes & ſuper omnes inuocantes eum. He is and will be ſtill the ſame God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as hable, as ready, as willyng to forgiue ſinnes without reſpect of perſon, to the worldes ende, of all them that call vpon him. Propè eſt Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum: God is neare, he is at hand, hee is with all, with all (I ſay) and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faythfully in true repentaunce call vppon him, in what houre, what place, or what time ſoeuer it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, & of duetie to clayme and challenge his ayde, helpe, and aſſiſtaunce in all our perils, daungers, and diſtreſſe, calling vppon him, not in the confidence of our owne godlynes, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, who ſoeuer boldly approcheth to the mercy ſeate of the father, is ſure to receiue what ſoeuer is expedient or neceſſary either for body or ſoule, in more ample wiſe and large maner, then he can well wiſhe, or dare deſire. His word can not lye: Call vpō me in the day of trouble and I will heare thee, and thou ſhalt prayſe me.

Pſal. 145.

It is no arrogancy to preſume vpon Gods promiſe.

Pſal. 50.

Robert Glouer replyeth agaynſt the tentation of the enemye in that he is a ſinner.

I aunſwered the enemy alſo on this manner: I am a ſinner and therefore not worthy to bee a witneſſe of this truth. What then? Muſt I deny his wordes becauſe I am not worthy to profeſſe it? what bryng I to paſſe in ſo doyng, but adde ſinne to ſinne? what is greater ſinne then to deny the truth of Chriſtes Goſpel? as Chriſt him ſelfe beareth witneſſe: He that is aſhamed of me or of my woordes, of him I will bee alſo aſhamed before my father and all his Aungels. I might alſo by like reaſon forbeare to doe any of Gods commaundementes.

When I am prouoked to pray, the enemy may ſay vnto me, I am not worthy to pray, therfore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like manner, of all the commaundementes: I ſhall not forbeare ſwearyng, ſtealyng, murtheryng, becauſe I am not worthy to doe any commaundement of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the Deuill, and Sathans ſuggeſtions, whiche muſt be ouercome by continuaunce of Prayer, and with the word of GOD applyed accordyng to the meaſure of euery mans gift, agaynſt all aſſaultes of the Deuill.

At the Byſhops firſt comming to Lichfield after myne impriſonment, I was called into a by Chāber next to my

priſon,

M. Glouer brought agayne before the Byſhop.

priſon, to my Lord. Before whom when I came and ſawe none but his officers, chaplaynes, and ſeruauntes, except it were an old Prieſt, I was partly amazed and lifted vp my hart to God for his mercyfull helpe and aſſiſtaunce.

1555. Septemb.

Reaſoning betweene M. Glouer and the Byſhop.

My Lord aſked me how I liked my impriſonment. I gaue him no aunſwere touchyng that queſtiō. He proceeded to perſwade me to be a mēber of his Church, which had cōtinued ſo many yeares. As for our church (as he called it) it was not knowen, he ſayd, but lately in K. Edwardes tyme.

The true Church is alvvayes builded vpon the doctrine of the Apoſtles: vvhiche though it appeare not alvvayes alyke in outvvard ſight, the fault is in the tyme, not in the Church. Tymes do alter, and vvith the tymes the outvvard face of the Church may alter ſomtymes appearing more, ſometymes leſſe, ſometymes very litle, ſometymes nothing at all, according as the perſecution is. Neuertheles, the truth of the Churche abydeth alvvayes one. Neyther doth it goe by number of men but by ſoundnes of truth. Many agreeing in one may make an vnitye: but the veritie of the vvoorde maketh the Church vvhether it be in fevv or in many.

I profeſſe my ſelfe to be a member of that Church (ſayd I) that is builded vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophetes, Ieſus Chriſt beyng the head corner ſtone: and ſo alledged the place of S. Paule to the Ephes. And this Church hath bene frō the beginnyng (ſayd I) though it beare no glorious ſhewe before the world, beyng euer, for the moſt parte, vnder the Croſſe and affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted. My Lord on the other ſide, contended that they were the Church.

Glouer. So cried all the Clergy agaynſt the Prophetes of Hieruſalem, ſaying: Templum Domini, templum Domini, The Church, the Church. &c.

Byſhop. And alwayes when I was about to ſpeake any thyng, my Lord cryed, hold thy peace, hold thy peace: I commaunde thee by the vertue of obedience, to hold thy peace, callyng me a proude arrogaunt hereticke,

Glouer. I willed my Lord to burthen me with ſome ſpecialties, and then to cōuince me with ſome Scriptures and good learnyng.

Then my Lorde began to moue certaine queſtions. I refuſed to aunſwere him in corners, requiryng that I might make my aunſwere openly. He ſayd I ſhould aunſwere him there. I ſtode with him vpon that poynt vntill he ſayd I ſhould to priſon agayne, and there haue neither meate nor drinke till I had aunſwered him.

Then I lifted vp my hart to God, ꝧ I might ſtand & agree with the doctrine of his moſt holy word.

The firſt queſtion.

Byſhop. The firſt queſtion was this: how many Sacramentes Chriſt inſtituted to be vſed in the Church?

Glouer. The Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſayd I, and the Sacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt Supper.

Byſh. No more ſayd he?

Glouer. To all thoſe that declare a true and vnfayned repentaunce, a ſure hope, truſt, and confidence in the death of Chriſt, to ſuch Miniſters (I graūt) that they haue authoritie to pronounce by the power of Gods word, the remiſſion of ſinnes.

Power by Gods word in the miniſtery to remitte ſinnes.

Here interruptyng me hee would nedes beare me in hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that poynte, because that matter was of no great waight or importaunce: although he in ſo doyng, did me wrong for I called it not a Sacrament.

Second queſtion.

Hee aſked me further whether I allowed their confeſſion.

I ſayd no.

Third queſtion.

Byſhop. Then hee woulde knowe my mynde what I thought of the preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament.

Glouer. I aunſwered that their Maſſe was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, becauſe (ſayd I) you haue taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore againe, I will tell you my iudgement concernyng Chriſtes body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of GOD leaue behynde him by his owne hand in wrytyng concernyng the maner of his vſing and entreatyng in priſon, and alſo of his conflictes had with the Byſhoppe and hys Chauncellour. Mo examinations he had (no doubt) with the Byſhoppe in the publicke Conſiſtory, when hee was brought forth to bee condemned, whiche alſo hee would haue left vnto vs, if either length of lyfe, or layſure of tyme, or haſt of execution had permitted him to finiſhe that hee intended: but by reaſon of the writte of his burnyng beyng come downe from London, lacke of tyme neither did ſerue him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the Recordes of his laſt examinations, whereſoeuer they are become.

Onely this whiche I could learne by relation of one Auſten Bernher a Miniſter and a familiar frend of his, concernyng the goyng to his death I can reporte, that the ſayd bleſſed ſeruaunt of the Lord Maiſter Robert Glouer, after he was condemned by the Byſhop, and was now at a poynt to be deliuered out of this world, it ſo happened, that two or three dayes before, his hart beyng lumpiſh and deſolate of al ſpirituall conſolation, felt in him ſelfe no aptnes nor willingnes, but rather a heauines and dulnes of ſpirite, full of much diſcomfort to beare that bitter Croſſe of Martyrdome ready now to be layd vpon him.

Rob. Glouer deſtitute for a tyme of the Lordes comfort.

Wherupon he fearyng in him ſelfe, leſt the Lord had vtterly withdrawne his wonted fauour from him, made hys mone to this Auſten his frend aboue remembred, ſignifyng vnto him, how earneſtly he had prayed day and night vnto the Lord, and yet could receaue no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort from him.

The Lord for a tyme may withdraw his comfortes, but at length he viſiteth agayne his ſeruauntes.

Unto whom the ſayd Auſten aunſweryng agayne, willed and deſired him, paciently to wayte the Lords pleaſure and how ſoeuer his preſent feelyng was, yet ſeyng his cauſe was iuſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſticke to the ſame, and to play the man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good time would viſite him, and ſatiſfie his deſire with plenty of conſolation, whereof (he ſayd) he was right certayne and ſure, and therfore deſired him, when ſoeuer any ſuch feelyng of Gods heauenly mercies ſhould begyn to touch his hart, that then he would ſhew ſome ſignification thereof, wherby he might witnes with him ꝧ ſame, and ſo departed from hym.

The next day, when the time came of his Martyrdome, as he was goyng to the place and was now come to the ſight of ꝧ ſtake, although at the night before praying for ſtrength and courage he could feele none, ſodenly he was ſo mightely repleniſhed with Gods holy comfort and heauenly ioyes, that he cryed out clapping his handes to Auſten, and ſaying in theſe wordes: Auſten, he is come, he is come, &c: and that with ſuch ioy and alacritie, as one ſeemyng rather to be riſen from ſome deadly daunger, to liberty of life, then as one paſſing out of the world by any paynes of Death. Such was the chaunge of the meruelous workyng of the Lordes hand vpon that good man.

Rob. Glouer receaueth agayne comfort of the Lord.

¶ Cornelius Bongey fellow Martyr with Maiſter Robert Glouer.

IN the ſame fier with him was burned alſo Cornelius Bongey a Capper of Couentry, and condemned by the ſayd Radulph Byſhop of Couentry and Lichfield. As concernyng the Articles which were to him obiected, the effect therof was this.

Cornelius Bongey, Martyr.

Firſt it was articulate agaynſt him, that theſe three yeares laſt, in the City of Couentry and Lichfield, and other places about, he dyd hold, mayntayne, argue and teach, that the Prieſt hath no power here to abſolue anye ſinner from hys ſinnes.

Articles obiected to Cornelius Bongey.

Secondly, that by Baptiſme ſynnes be not waſhed away, becauſe he ſayd that the waſhyng of the fleſhe purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoule.

Thirdly, that there be in the Church onely two Sacramentes, that is, Baptiſme, and the Lordes Supper.

Fourthly: that in the Sacrament of theyr popiſh aulter, was not the real body and bloud of Chriſt, but the ſubſtance of bread & wyne there remaynyng ſtil, becauſe S. Paul calleth it bread and wyne. &c.

Fiftly, that he within the compaſſe of the ſayd yeares and time, did holde, mayntayne and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the viſible church here in earth. &c.

Sixtly, that he was of the dioces and iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield. &c.

Seuenthly, that the premiſes are true, manifeſt, and notorious, and that vpon the ſame there hath ben and is a publicke voyce and fame, as well in the places aboue rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about. &c,

¶ *Hys aunſweres.*

Unto the which articles he aunſweryng agayne, to the firſt he graunted, and to euery part therof, meanyng after the Popiſhe maner of abſolution.

His aunſweres to the Articles.

The ſecond he graunted firſt, after reuoked the ſame.

To the thyrd alſo hee graunted, addyng withall, that in ſcripture there be no more conteyned.

To the fourth, touching the ſacrament, he graunted and to euery part therof.

To the fift concernyng the Pope likewiſe.

Alſo to the ſixt he graunted and likewiſe to the ſeuenth.

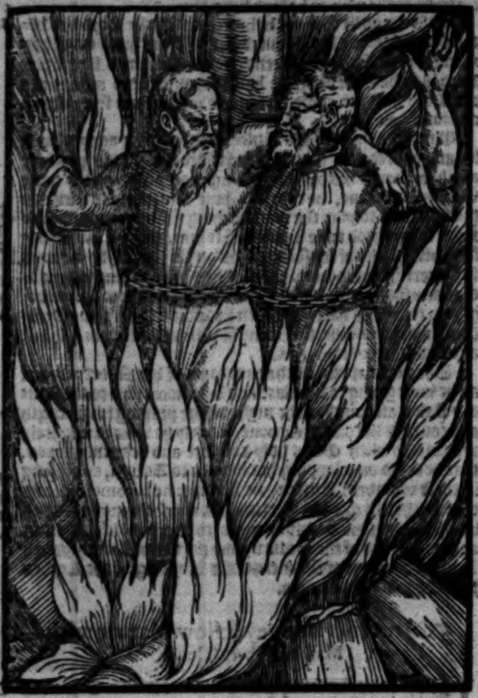
Upon theſe articles and his aunſweres to the ſame, the ſayd Radulph the Biſhop read the ſentence, and ſo committed him alſo after the condemnation of Maiſter Robert Glouer, to the ſeculer power.

Thus thys foreſayd Cornelius falſely condemned by the Byſhop before mencioned, ſuffered at the ſame ſtake with the Chriſtian Martyr Maiſter Robert Glouer at Couentry, about the xx. day of

1555. September.

¶The burnyng of M. Robert Glouer, and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry.

The Martyrdome of M. Robert Glouer and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry. Anno. 1555. September. 20.



¶Here followeth the ſtory of Iohn Glouer and William Glouer, how they were excommunicate and caſt out after their death, and buryed in the fieldes.

John Glouer and William Glouer after their death condemned and caſt out for hereſies.

NOw that we haue diſcourſed the ſtory of Maiſter Robert Glouer, ſomethyng alſo would bee touched of his other two brethren John and William Glouer, who albeit they were not called to finiſhe their courſe by like kynde of Martyrdome in the fier, as the other dyd: yet becauſe for their conſtaunt profeſſion of Gods Goſpell vnto the latter ende, they were exempted after their death, & caſt out of the ſame Church, as the other was, I thought them not vnworthy therfore in the ſtory to bee ioyned together, whiche in one cauſe and the ſame profeſſion were not ſundered one from the other.

And firſt concernyng Maiſter John Glouer the eldeſt brother, what inward ſtormes and agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly enemy, partly ye heard before deſcribed: now what his bodely enemyes wrought agaynſt him, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice, although God ſo reſtrained, that they could litle preuaile againſt him ſo long as his life endured, yet after his deceaſe, hauyng power vpon him, what they did ye ſhall now vnderſtand.

After the Martyrdome of Maiſter Robert Glouer, although John Glouer ſeyng his brother to bee apprehended for him, had ſmall hope of his lyfe for the great ſorrow of his hart, wherewith hee was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly haue put him ſelfe in his brothers ſteede, if frendes had not otherwiſe perſwaded with him, ſhewyng that in ſo doyng hee might intangle him ſelfe, but ſhould doe his brother no good. He thus in great care and vexation endured: yet notwithſtandyng, rubbyng out as well as he could, till at length about ỹ latter end of Queene Mary there was a new ſearch made for the ſayd John Glouer.

A new ſearch made for John Glouer.

Whereupon the Sheriffes with their vnder Officers and ſeruauntes beyng ſent to ſeeke him, came into his houſe, where he and his wife were. It chaunced as he was in his chamber by him ſelfe, the Officers buſtlyng into the houſe, and ſearchyng other roomes, came to the Chamber doore where this John Glouer was. Who beyng within, and holdyng the latch ſoftly with his hand, perceiued and heard the Officers buſtelyng about the doore, amongeſt whom one of the ſayd Officers hauing the ſtryng in his hand, was ready to draw and plucke at the ſame.

The prouydence of God agayne in ſauing John Glouer.

In the meane tyme an other commyng by (whoſe voyce hee heard and knewe) bad them come away, ſaying they had bene there before. Whervpō they departing thence, went to ſearche other corners of ỹ houſe, where they founde Agnes Glouer his wife, who beyng had to Lichfield, and there examined before the Byſhop, at length after much a do was conſtrayned to geue place to theyr tyranny. John Glouer in the meane time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he dyd lye, tooke an Agew, whereupon not long after he left this life, which the truel Papiſtes ſo long had ſought for.

Agnes Glouer wyfe of John Glouer apprehended.

Thus by the mighty protectiō of the almighty Lord, how John Glouer was deliuered and defended from the handes of the perſecuting enemies duryng al the tyme of his life, ye haue heard. Now what befell after his death both to him and to William his brother it is not vnworthy to be remembred. Who after that he was dead, and buried in ỹ Churchyard without Prieſt or Clerke, D. Drakot then Chauncellour, vi. weekes after ſent for the perſon of the Towne and demaunded how it chaunced that hee was there buried. The perſon aunſwered that he was then ſicke, and knewe not of it. Then the Chauncellour commaunded the perſon to go home and to cauſe the body of the ſayd John Glouer to be taken vp, and to be caſt ouer the wall into the hie way. The Parſon agayne anſwered that he had ben ſixe weekes in the earth and ſo ſmelled that none was able to abide ỹ ſauour of him. Wel quoth D. Drakot, then take this bill and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoule, and a twelue moneth after take vp his bones (for then the fleſh wil bee conſumed) and caſt them ouer the wall, that cartes and horſes may tread vpon them, and then wil I come and hallow agayn that place in the churchyarde where he was buried. Recorded by the Parſon of the towne who tolde the ſame to Hugh Burrowes dwelling at Fynden in Darbiſhiere, and to M. Rob. Glouers wyfe, by whoſe credible information we receaued the ſame.

D. Drakot not ſuffering John Glouer to be buried in the Churchyarde.

John Glouer after his death iudged of Doct. Drakot to be a damned ſoule.

Teſtimony of this ſtory.

Not much vnlike vſage was practiſed alſo by theſe Catholicke children of the mother Church vppon the body of Williā ỹ third brother. Whō, after it had pleaſed almighty God about ỹ ſame ſeaſō to cal out of this vale of miſerie, the good diſpoſed people of the Towne of Weme in Shropſhyre, where hee dyed, brought the body vnto the Pariſhe Church, entendyng there to haue it buried. But one Bernerd, beyng then Curate of the ſayd Church (and is yet as I heare ſay to this day) to ſtoppe the buriall therof, rode to the Byſhop named Rauſe Bayne, to certifie him of ỹ matter, and to haue his aduiſe therin. In the meane time, the body lying there a whole daye, in the night time one Rich. Morice a Taylour would haue enterred him. But then came John Thorlyne of Weme with other moe, and would not ſuffer the body to be buried: expreſſing to vs the contrary example of good Toby, for as hee was religious in buryyng the dead ſo thys man putteth religion in not buriyng the dead: ſo that after it had layne there two dayes and one night, commeth the foreſayd Bernerd the Curate with the Biſhops letter: the contentes of which letter beyng copied out worde for word here followeth.

The maner of handling the body of W. Glouer after his death.

Bernarde a Popiſh Curate of Weme.

John Thorlyne agaynſt the burying of W. Glouers brother.

¶A copie of the Byſhops letter written to the Pariſhe of Weme.

The letter of Rauſe Bayne B. of Cheſter, for the not burying of W. Glouers body.

VNderſtandyng that one Glouer an hereticke is dead in the Pariſh of Weme, whiche Glouer hath for all the time of my beyng in thys countrey ben knowen for a rebellion agaynſt our holy fayth and Religion, a contemner of the holye Sacramentes and ceremonies vſed in holye Church, and hath ſeparate him ſelfe from the holy Cōmunion of all good Chriſtian men, nor neuer required to be reconciled to our mother holy Church, nor in his laſt dayes dyd not call for his ghoſtly father, but dyed without all rites belongyng to a Chriſtian man: I thought it good not onely to commaunde the Curate of Weme that hee ſhoulde not be buried in Chriſtian mans buriall, but alſo will and commaunde all the pariſh of Weme that no man procure, help, nor ſpeake to haue him buried in holy groūd: but I doe charge and commaunde the Churche Wardens of Weme in ſpeciall, and al the pariſh of the ſame that they aſſiſte the ſayd Curate in defendyng and lettyng, and procuring that he be not buried neyther in the Church nor within the wanybles of the Churchyard, and likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the body to the place, to cary it away agayne, and that at their charge: as they will aunſwere at their peril. At Eccleſch, this vi. of September. an. 1558.

By your Ordinary Radulph Couentry and Lichfield.

By ỹ vertue of this foreſayd letter ſo it fel out, that they which brought the corps thether, were fayne at their owne charges to cary it backe agayne. But for ſo much as the body was corrupted, and ſmelt ſo ſtrongly that vnneth any man might come nere it, they were forced to draw it with horſes vnto a broome field, and there was he buryed.

The dead corpes of William Glouer dragged with horſe into the field.

Witneſſes of the godly end of the ſayd W. Glouer dying in the true fayth and confeſſion of Chriſt, Maiſter Nowell now Deane of Lichfield, George Wileſtone and his wife, Tho. Conſtantine, Roger Wydouſe, Iohn Prynne, George Torpelley. &c.

M. Edward Bourton not ſuffered to be buried in Chriſtian buriall, the ſame day when Q. Elizabeth was crowned.

The like example of charitable affection in theſe Catholicke Churchmen is alſo to be ſene and noted in the buryng of one maiſter Edward Bourton Eſquier, who in the ſame Dioceſſe of Cheſter departyng out of this world the very day before Queene Elizabeth was crowned, required of his frendes, as they would aunſwere for it, that his body ſhould be buryed in his Pariſh Church (whiche was S. Chaddes in Shrowſbury) ſo that no Maſſemonger ſhould be preſent thereat. Which thing being declared to the Curate of that Pariſh named ſir Iohn Marſhall, & the body beyng withall brought to the buriall, vpon the ſame day when the Queene was crowned, the Curate beyng therewith offended, ſayd playnly that he ſhould not be buried in the Church there. Wherunto one of his frendes, named George Torpelley aunſweryng agayne ſayd, that God would iudge him in the laſt day. &c. Then the Prieſt, Iudge God (ſayth hee) or deuill, the body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his owne garden. Where hee is no doubt as neare the kyngdome of heauen, as if he had bene buried in the middeſt of the Church.

Oliuer Richardine in Hartford weſt Martyr.

Moreouer, in the ſayd Countie of Salop, I finde that one Olyuer Richardyne of the Pariſh of Whitchurch was burned in Hartford weſte, Syr Iohn Ygone beyng Sheriffe the ſame tyme. Whiche ſeemeth to be about the latter yeare of kyng Henry viij. Whoſe name becauſe it was not mentioned before, I thought here to giue ſome little touch of him, hauyng now in hand to ſpeake of the perſecution within the Dioceſſe of Couentry and Lichfield.

¶The Martyrdome of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot Painter.

William Wolſey, Robert Pigot, Martyrs.

After the ſufferyng of Maiſter Robert Glouer and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry, followeth next the condemnation of other two bleſſed Martyrs which were iudged and condemned at Eley by Iohn Fuller the Byſhops Chauncellour of Eley, Doctour Sharton his Suffragane, Robert Steward Deane of Eley, Iohn Chriſtopherſon Deane of Norwich. &c. an. 1555. October ix. the names of which Martyrs were William Wolſey and Robert Pygot, dwellyng both in the Towne of Wiſbich, which William Wolſey beyng a Conſtable, dwellyng & inhabityng in the Town of Well, was there brought to death by the meanes and procurement of one Richard Euerard Gētleman a Iuſtice appointed for thoſe dayes, who extremely hādled the ſame William Wolſey, and bound him to the good abearyng, cauſing him to put in Sureties vppon his good behauiour vntill the next generall Seſſions holden within the Ile of Eley: and ſo the ſayd Wolſey beyng diſpatched of his office, and brought in trouble, remoued his houſe and dwellyng place, commyng to dwell in the Towne of Wiſbich. Then beyng called agayne at the next Seſſions, he was ſtill conſtrained to put in new ſureties, which at the length he refuſed to do, & ſo was commaunded to the Iayle, at the Syſe holden at Eley in Lent.

Richard Euerard extreame agaynſt William Wolſey

W. Wolſey commaunded to the Iayle.

In the Eaſter weeke followyng, there repayred to conferre with him, Doctour Fuller the Chauncellour, with Chriſtopherſon, and one Doctour Young: who layd earneſtly to his charge that he was out of the Catholicke faith, willyng him to medle no further with the Scriptures, then it did become ſuch lay men as he was, to do. The ſayd William Wolſey ſtandyng ſtill a great while, ſufferyng them to ſay their pleaſures, at the laſt aunſwered in this wiſe: Good Maiſter Doctour, what did our Sauiour Chriſt meane, when hee ſpake theſe wordes written in the xxiij. Chapter of S. Mathewes Goſpell: Wo be vnto you Scribes & Phariſeis, ye hypocrites, for ye ſhut vp the kyngdome of heauen before men: ye your ſelues go not in, neither ſuffer ye them that come to enter in.

D. Fuller, Chriſtopherſon, D. Yong came to conferre with Wolſey. Wolſey putteth a queſtion to the Doctours.

Yea ſayth Doctour Fuller, you muſt vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the Scribes and Phariſeis.

Nay Maiſter Doctour (ſayth Wolſey) Chriſt ſpake euen to you, and your fellowes here preſent, and to all other ſuch like as you be.

Away Maiſter Doctour (ſayth Chriſtopherſon) for you can do no good to this man. Yet ſayth Doctour Fuller, I will leaue thee a booke to read, I promiſe thee, of a learned mans doyng, that is to ſay of Doctor Watſons doyng, (who was then Byſhop of Lincoln.)

D. Watſons booke of Sermons or Homelies

Wolſey receauyng the ſame booke, did diligently read it ouer, whiche in many places did manifeſtly appeare contrary to the knowen truth of Gods worde. At the length a fourtnight or three weekes followyng, the ſayd Doctour Fuller reſortyng agayne to the priſon houſe to cōferre with the ſayd Wolſey, did aſke him how hee lyked the ſayd booke (thinking that he had won him by the readyng of the ſame): who aunſwered him and ſayd: Syr, I lyke the booke no otherwiſe then I thought before I ſhould finde it. Whereupon the Chauncellour takyng his booke departed home.

D. Fuller agayne reſorteth to W. Wolſey.

At night when Doctour Fuller came to his chamber to looke on it, he did finde in many places cōtrary to his minde, the booke raced with a pen by the ſayd Wolſey. The which he ſeyng, and beyng vexed therewith, ſayd: Oh this is an obſtinate hereticke and hath quyte marred my booke.

Then the Syſe holden at Wiſbich drawyng nye, Doctour Fuller commeth agayne to the ſayd Wolſey, and ſpeaketh vnto him on this maner: Thou doeſt much trouble my conſcience, wherfore I pray thee depart, and rule thy toung, ſo that I heare no more complaynt of thee, and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be complayned vpon, ſo farre as I may, I promiſe thee I will not heare of it.

The Chauncellor geueth leaue to Wolſey to depart.

Maiſter Doctour (quoth Wolſey) I was brought hether by a law, and by a law I will be deliuered.

Then beyng brought to the Seſſions before named, Wolſey was layd in the Caſtell at Wiſbich, thinkyng to him and all his frendes, that he ſhould haue ſuffered there at that preſent tyme, but it proued nothyng ſo.

W. Wolſey layd in the Caſtle of Wiſbich.

Then Robert Pygot the Painter being at libertie, was there preſented by ſome euill diſpoſed perſons (ſworne men as they called them) for not commyng to the Church.

Rob. Pigot paynter preſented for not commyng to the Church.

The ſayd Pygot beyng called in the Seſſions, would not abſent him ſelfe, but there did playnly appeare before Syr Clement Hygham beyng Iudge, who ſayd vnto him: Ah, are you the holy father the Paynter? How chaunce ye came not to the Churche? Syr (quoth the Paynter) I am not out of the Church, I truſt in God.

Talke betwene Syr Clement Higham Iudge, and Rob. Pigot.

No Syr, ſayd the Iudge, this is no Churche, this is a Haull. Yea ſir ſayd Pygot, I know very well it is a Haull: but hee that is in the true fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, is neuer abſent, but preſent in the Church of God.

Ah Syrha, ſayd the Iudge, you are to high learned for me to talke withall: wherfore I will ſend you to them that be better learned then I, ſtraight wayes commaundyng him to the Iayle where Wolſey lay. So the Seſſions being broken vp and ended, the ſayd Wolſey and Pygot were caryed agayne to Eley into priſon, where they both dyd remaine till the day of their death.

Rob. Pigot brought to the Iayle where William Wolſey lay.

Wolſey and Pigot returned to Eley to priſon.

T. Goodricke Byſhop of Eley.

In the meane time certaine of their neighbours of Wiſbych aforeſayd beyng at Eley, came to ſee how they did.

There came thether alſo a Chaplayne of Byſhop Gooderikes a Frenchman borne, one Peter Valentius, who ſayd vnto the ſayd Wolſey and Pygot: My brethren, accordyng to mine office I am come to talke with you, for I haue bene Amner here this .xx. yeares and aboue.

The Byſhops Chaplayne a frenchman comforteth the priſoners in the truth.

Wherefore I muſt deſire you my brethren to take it in good part that I am come to talke with you, I promiſe you, not to pull you from your fayth. But I both require and deſire in the name of Ieſus Chriſt that you ſtand to the truth of his Goſpell and worde, and I beſeech the almighty GOD for his ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake to preſerue both you and me in the ſame vnto the ende. For I know not my ſelfe (my brethren) how ſoone I ſhall be at the ſame point that you now are. Thus with many other like wordes hee made an ende, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheekes, contrary to all the hope that they had in him, God be prayſed therfore.

Then within ſhort tyme after, Pygot and Wolſey were called to iudgement about the ix. day of October, before Doctour Fuller then Chauncellour, with old Doct. Sharton, Chriſtopherſon, and others in Commiſſion, who layd earneſtly to their charge for their beliefe in diuers Articles, but eſpecially of the Sacrament of the aultar. Whereunto their aūſwere was: that the Sacrament of the aultar was an Idoll, and that the naturall body and bloud of Chriſt was not preſent really in the ſayd Sacrament, and to this opinion they ſayd they would ſticke, beleuyng perfectly the ſame to bee no hereſie that they had affirmed, but the very truth whereupon they would ſtād. Then ſayd the Doctour, that they were out of the Catholicke fayth.

Pigot and Wolſey called to iudgement in the Byſhops Conſiſtory

Then Doctour Sharton ſayd vnto them: good brethrē remember your ſelues and become new men, for I my ſelfe was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

The wordes of Nicholas Sharton to the Martyrs.

Ah ſayd Wolſey, are you become a new man? wo be to thee thou wicked new man, for God ſhall iuſtly iudge thee.

Wolſeyes aunſwere to Sharton.

Doctour Fuller then ſpake ſaying, this Wolſey is an obſtinate felow, and one that I could neuer do good vppon. But as for the Painter hee is a man quyet and indifferent (as farre as I perceiue) and is ſoone reformed, and may very well be deliuered for any euill opinion I finde in him.

M. Chriſtopherſon writeth what he would haue Pigot confeſſe of the Sacrament.

Then Chriſtopherſon called for penne and inke and wrote theſe wordes followyng: I Robert Pygot do beleue that after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remayneth no more bread and wyne, but the very body and bloud of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially, the ſelfe ſame that was borne of the Virgine Mary: and readyng it to the Painter, he ſayd thus: doeſt thou beleue all this accordyng as it is written?

Pigot refuſeth to ſubſcribe to Chriſtopherſons fayth.

Pygot. No Syr, ſayd the Paynter: that is your fayth and not myne.

Christopher. Loe Maiſter Doc. Fuller you would haue lette this felow go: he is as much an hereticke as the other.

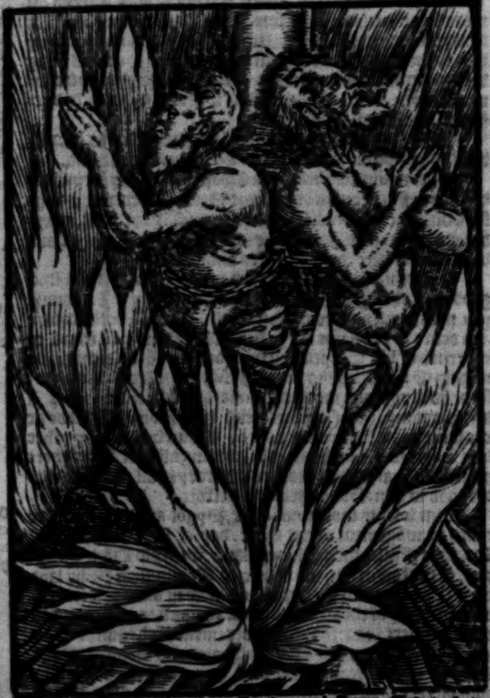
And ſo immediately iudgemēt was geuen vpon them to dye. Which done, after the ſētēce read, they were ſent agayn to the priſon, where they did lye till the day of their death.

M. Peacoke appoynted to preach at the burning of Wolſey and Pigot.

At which day one Peacoke Bachelour of diuinitie being appointed to preach, tooke his text out of the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Corinth. the 5. chap. of one that had liued vnordinately by abuſing his fathers wife: likenyng the ſayd Pygot and Wolſey to the ſame mā, often tymes ſaying, that ſuch menbers muſt be cut of from the congregation, moſt maliciouſly reportyng the ſayd Wolſey to be cleane out of the fayth, and in many places quyte denying the Scripture.

So his Sermon beyng ended, the forenamed, Pygot and Wolſey beyng brought to the place of execution and ſo bounde to the ſtake with a chayne, thether commeth one ſir Richard Collinſon a Prieſt, at that tyme deſolate of any liuyng place or ſtay of benefice, who ſayd vnto Wolſey: brother Wolſey the preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day that you are quyte out of the Catholicke fayth, and deny Baptiſme, and that you doe erre in the holy Scripture: Wherfore I beſeech you for the certifying of my conſciēce with others here preſent: that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do erre or finde fault.

¶The burnyng of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot, Martyrs.



The Martyrdome of W. Wolſey and Rob. Pigot at Eley Anno. 1555. October. 16.

W. Wolſey cleareth himſelfe to be found in all poyntes of the ſcripture belonging to his ſaluation.

Wolſey. I take the eternall and euerlaſtyng God to witneſſe that I do erre in no part or poynt of Gods booke the holy Bible, but hold and beleue in the ſame to be moſt firme and ſounde doctrine in all pointes moſt worthy for my ſaluation and for all other Chriſtians to the ende of the world. What ſoeuer myne aduerſaries report by me, God forgeue them therfore. With that cōmeth one to the fire with a great ſheete knit full of bookes to burne, like as they had ben new Teſtamētes. O ſayd Wolſey, geue me one of them, & Pygot deſired an other, both of them clappyng them cloſe to their breſtes ſaying the 106. Pſalme, deſiryng all the people to ſay Amen, and ſo receiued the fire moſt thankefully.

Bookes burned with Wolſey and Pigot.

Witneſſes and informers hereof.
Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Beſt. &c.

Concernyng the ſtory of William Wolſey I receiued moreouer from the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge by a credible perſon and my faythfull frend William Fulke, this relation whiche I thought in this place not vnmeete to be notified vnto the Reader in order and forme as followeth:

The natures of Wolſey, and Pigot deſcribed.

There were burned at Ely two Godly Martyrs, the one called Wolſey, the other Pygot. In theſe two appeared diuers opinions of one ſpirite. Pygot was myld, humble, and modeſt, promiſing that he would bee conformable to his perſecutours, if they could perſwade hym by the Scripture. The other Wolſey, was ſtout ſtrong and vehement, as one hauyng πληροφορίαν of the ſpirite, and deteſted all their doynges, as of whom he was ſure to receiue nothyng but crueltie and tyranny. He was wonderfull ielous ouer his companion, fearyng leſt his gentle nature would haue bene ouercome by the flatteryng intiſementes of the worlde, and therefore the ſame day that they were burned, when they would haue talked with him alone, he pulled him away frō them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſirous to glorifie GOD with his ſufferyng, that beyng wonderfull ſore tormented in the priſon with the tooth ake, hee feared nothyng more, then that he ſhould depart before the day of executiō (which he called his glad day) were come.

The zelous ſpirite of W. Wolſey.

W. Wolſey deſirous of Martyrdome.

Wolſey calleth the day of his Martyrdome, his glad day.

This Wolſey beyng in priſon at Ely was viſited by Thomas Hodilo Beerebrewer in Ely. To him he deliuered certaine money to be diſtributed (as hee appointed) part to his wife, and parte to his kinſfolkes and frendes, and eſpecially vi. ſhillynges. viij. pence to bee deliuered to one Richard Denton Smith dwellyng at Welle in Cambridgeſhyre within the iuriſdiction of the Ile of Ely, with this commendation, that he marueiled that he taryed ſo long behynde him, ſeyng he was the firſt that did deliuer him the booke of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, deſiring him to make haſt after as faſt as he could.

Thomas Hodilo Beerebrewer of Cābridge, witnes of this ſtory. Richard Denton firſt conuerter of Wolſey.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to auoyde daunger of the tyme, and to haue a witnes of his doynges herein deliuered the ſayd ſumme of money, to one M. Laurence preacher in Eſſex (whiche then reſorted often to his houſe) to be diſtributed as Wolſey had appointed: whiche thyng they performed, rydyng from place to place. And when this vi. ſhillyng. viij. pence was deliuered to Richard Dēton with the commendation aforeſayd, his aunſwere was this: I confeſſe it is true, but alas I can not burne. This was almoſt one whole yeare after Wolſey was burned. But he that could not burne in the cauſe of Chriſt, was afterward burned agaynſt his will whē Chriſt had geuen peace to his Church. For in the yeare of our Lord. 1564. On Tueſday beyng the. 18. day of April, his houſe was ſet on fire, and while he went in, to ſaue his goodes he loſt his life, with two other that were in the ſame houſe.

Money ſent by Wolſey to Denton. Wolſey exhorting Richard Denton to perſiſt in the truth.

Denton afrayd of burnyng. Richard Denton burned in his owne houſe, which before would not burne for Chriſt. Anno. 1564. Aprill. 18.

Witneſſed by Thomas Hodilo,
and William Fulke.

Not much vnlyke to this, was alſo the example of M. Weſt Chapleine to Byſhop Ridley, who refuſing to dye in Chriſtes cauſe with his Maiſter, ſayd Maſſe agaynſt his conſcience, and ſoone after dyed.

¶Doctour Nicholas Ridley and M. Hugh Latymer, both Byſhops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Chriſt, with their doynges, conferences, and ſufferynges deſcribed.

Doct. Nicolas Ridley,

The ſame yeare, moneth, and day in which the foreſayd ij. Martyrs William Wolſey, and Thomas Pygot ſuffered at Eley, the which was an. 1555. October 16. folowed alſo at Oxford the ſlaughter of two other ſpeciall and ſingular Captaines, and principall pillars of Chriſtes Church, Maiſter Ridley Byſhop of London and Maiſter Hugh Latymer, Byſhop ſometymes of Worceſter: of whoſe famous doynges and memorable learnyng, & incōparable ornamentes and giftes of grace, ioyned with no leſſe cōmendable ſinceritie of life, as all the Realme can witneſſe ſufficiently: ſo it needeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this tyme in ſettyng forth a full deſcription of the ſame, but onely to comprehend briefly a few wordes touchyng the order of their lyues, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerueth to the due inſtruction of the Reader, and maketh to the vſe of this preſent hiſtory, in declaryng firſt their begynnyng and bringyng vp, then their ſtudyes and actes in the Vniuerſitie, their preferrementes alſo by their ſtudyes to hygher dignitie, at laſt their trouble and trauaile in ſettyng forth Religion, and in mainteinyng the ſame to the ſheddyng of their bloud. And firſt to begyn with the lyfe of Maiſter Ridley, whoſe ſtory here enſueth.

Among many other worthy and ſondry hiſtories and notable Actes of ſuch as of late dayes haue bene tormoyled, murdered, and martyred for the true Goſpell of Chriſt

1555. October.

in Queene Maryes raigne, the tragicall ſtorye and lyfe of Doctour Ridley, I thought good to commend to Chronicle and leaue to perpetuall memorie: beſeechyng thee, gentle Reader, with care and ſtudy well to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deepely to print the ſame in thy breſt, ſeeyng hym to be a man beautified with ſuch excellent qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired and godly learned, and now writtē doubtleſſe in the booke of lyfe, with the bleſſed Saintes of the almighty, crowned and throned amongſt the glorious company of Martyrs. Firſt deſcendyng of a ſtocke right worſhipfull, he was borne in Northumberlandſhire, who beyng a childe, learned his Grammar with great dexteritie in Newcaſtle, and was remoued from thence to the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he in ſhort ſpace became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptnes, he was called to higher functions and Offices of the Uniuerſitie, by degree attaynyng thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembrooke hall, and there made Doctour of Diuinitie. After this departyng from thence, he trauailed to Paris, who at his returne, was made Chaplaine to kyng Henry the eight, and promoted afterwardes by him to the Biſhopricke of Rocheſter: and ſo from thence tranſlated to the See and Biſhopricke of London in kyng Edwardes dayes.

Nicholas Ridley borne in Northumberland.

Nicholas Ridley learned at Newcaſtle.

Nicholas Ridley Maiſter of Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

Nicholas Ridley made D. of Diuinitie.

Nicholas Ridley king Henryes Chapleine.

Nicholas Ridley made Byſhop of Rocheſter.

Nicholas Ridley made Byſhop of London.

In whiche callyng and offices he ſo trauailed and occupyed hym ſelfe by preachyng and teachyng the true and wholeſome doctrine of Chriſt, that neuer good chylde was more ſingularly loued of his deare parentes, then he of his flocke and Dioces. Euery holy day and Sonday he lightly preached in ſome one place or other, except he were otherwiſe letted by weighty affayres and buſines: to whoſe ſermons the people reſorted, ſwarmyng about hym like bees, and couetyng the ſweete flowers and wholeſome iuice of the fruitfull doctrine, whiche he dyd not onely preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his lyfe, as a glitteryng lanterne to the eyes and ſenſes of the blynde, in ſuch pure order and chaſtitie of lyfe (declinyng from euyll deſires and concupiſcences) that euen his very enimies coulde not reproue hym in any one iote thereof.

The fruitfull diligence of B. Ridley in preaching Gods worde.

Beſides this, he was paſſingly well learned, his memorye was great, and he of ſuche readyng withall, that of right he deſerued to be comparable to the beſt of this our age, as can teſtifie as well diuers his notable workes, pithy ſermons, and ſundry his diſputations in both the Uniuerſities, as alſo his very aduerſaries, all which wyll ſay no leſſe them ſelues.

B. Ridley of great memory and reading.

Beſides all this, wiſe he was of counſel, deepe of wyt, and very politike in al his doings. How mercyful & careful he was to reduce the obſtinate papiſtes frō their erroneous opinions, and by gentlenes to wynne them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handlyng of Doctor Heath late Archbiſhop of Yorke beyng priſoner with hym in king Edwardes tyme in his houſe one yeare, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a Prelate, and in all poyntes ſo good, godly, & ghoſtly a man, that England may iuſtly rue the loſſe of ſo worthy a treaſure. And thus hitherto concernyng theſe publike matters.

Nowe wyll I ſpeake ſomething further particularly of his perſon & conditions. He was a man right comely & wel proportioned in all poyntes, both in complexion & lineamentes of the body. He tooke all thinges in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his hart, but ſtreight wayes forgettyng al iniuries & offences done againſt hym. He was very kind & naturall to his kinſfolke, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwiſe then right would require, geuing them alwayes for a general rule, yea to his owne brother & ſiſter, that they doing euyl, ſhould ſeeke or looke for nothyng at his hand, but ſhould be as ſtraungers and alienes vnto hym, and they to be his brother or ſiſter, which vſed honeſtie, and a godly trade of life.

B. Ridley comely of proportion and complexion.

The fayre conditions of Byſhop Rydley.

B. Ridley tender to his kinred, yet not otherwyſe then truth and right required.

He vſing al kyndes of wayes to mortifie hym ſelf, was geuen to much prayer and contemplation: For duely euery mornyng, ſo ſoone as his apparell was done vppon hym, he went forthwith to his bed chamber, and there vppon his knees prayed the ſpace of halfe an houre: which being don, immediately he went to his ſtudye (if there came no other buſines to interrupt hym) where he continued tyl ten of the clocke, and then came to common prayer, dayly vſed in his houſe. The prayers being done, he went to dynner, where he vſed litle talke, except otherwiſe occaſiō by ſome had bene miniſtred, and then was it ſober, diſcrete, and wiſe, & ſometyme mery, as cauſe required.

B. Ridley a great mortifier of him ſelfe.

The order of his ſtudy and lyfe.

The dynner done, which was not very long, he vſed to ſit an houre or therabouts talking or playing at ẏ Cheſſes: That done, he returned to his ſtudy, & there would cōtinue, except ſuiters or buſines abrod were occaſiō of the cōtrary, vntyl fiue of the clocke at night, & then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoone: which being finiſhed, he went to ſupper, behauyng hym ſelfe there, as at his dynner before: After ſupper, recreating hym ſelf in playing at Cheſſes the ſpace of an houre, he would then returne againe to his ſtudy, continuyng there tyll a. xi. of the clocke at night, which was his common houre to goe to bed, then ſaying his prayers vpō his knees as in ẏ mornyng whē he roſe. Being at his manor of Fulham, as diuers tymes he vſed to be, he read dayly a Lecture to his familie at the cōmon prayer, beginnyng at the Actes of ẏ apoſtles, & ſo going throughout al the Epiſtles of S. Paul, geuing to euery man that could read a new Teſtament, hyring thē beſides with money to learne by hart certaine principal Chapters, but eſpecially the. xiij. chapter of the Actes, reading alſo vnto his houſhold oftentyme the hundred and one Pſalme, being marueilous careful ouer his familie, that they might be a ſpectacle of al vertue and honeſtie to other. To be ſhort, as he was godly and vertuous hym ſelfe, ſo nothing but vertue and godlynes reigned in his houſe, feedyng them with the foode of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt.

His order after Supper.

The carefull diligence of Byſhop Ridley in inſtructing his familye.

Nowe remayneth a worde or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindely pitie in the vſage of an olde woman called Maiſtreſſe Boner, mother to Doctour Boner, ſometime Biſhop of London: whiche I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemencie of Doctour Ridley, as the vnworthy immanitie and ingratefull diſpoſition agayne of Doctor Boner. Biſhop Ridley being at his Manor of Fulham, alwayes ſent for the ſaid maiſtreſſe Boner, dwellyng in an houſe adioynyng to his houſe, to dynner and ſupper, with one Maiſtreſſe Mungey Boners ſiſter, ſaying: go for my mother Boner, who commyng, was euer placed in ẏ chayre at ẏ Tables end, being ſo gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had bene borne of her own body, being neuer diſplaced of her ſeate, although the kynges Counſaile had bene preſent, ſaying, when any of them were there (as diuers tymes they were) by your Lordſhips fauour, this place of right and cuſtome is for my mother Boner. But howe well he was recompenced for this his ſingular gentlenes, and pitifull pitie after at the handes of the ſayd Doctor Boner, almoſt the leaſt child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward, was more enemy to Ridley, then Boner and his? Who more went about to ſeeke his deſtruction, then he? recompenſing his gentlenes with extreme crueltie. As wel appeared by the ſtrait handling of Ridleyes owne naturall ſiſter, and George Shypſide her huſband, from tyme to tyme: whereas the gentlenes of the other dyd ſuffer Boners mother, ſiſter, and other his kinred, not only quietly to enioy all ẏ which they had of Boner, but alſo entertayned thē in his houſe, ſhewing much courteſie and frendſhip daily vnto them: whereas on the other ſide, Biſhop Boner being reſtored againe, would not ſuffer the brother and naturall ſiſter of Biſhop Ridley, and other his frendes, not only not to enioy that which they had by the ſaid their brother Biſhop Ridley, but alſo churliſhly without al order of law or honeſtie, by extort power wraſted from them al the lyuyngs they had.

The behauiour of Byſhop Ridley to Doct. Boners mother.

The courteſye of Ridley and the curriſhnes of Boner deſcribed and compared together.

B. Ridley good and kinde to Boners mother.

Boner vnkind and churliſh to B. Ridleyes Siſter, and ſeeketh the death of his brother in lawe.

And yet being not therewith ſatiſfied, he ſought all the meanes he could, to worke the death of the foreſaid Shipſide, ſaying, that he would make twelue godfathers to goe vpon him, which had bene brought to paſſe in deede at what tyme he was priſoner at Oxford, had not God otherwiſe wrought his deliuerance by meanes of D. Heath Biſhop then of Worceſter. *Teſte Georg. Shipſido.*

Wherby all good indifferent Readers notoriouſly haue to vnderſtand, what great diuerſitie was in the diſpoſition of theſe two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pitie: ſo the other againe as muche or more excelled in churliſhe ingratitude, and deſpitefull diſdaine. But of this matter enough.

Nowe concernyng Gods vocation, how Doctor Ridley was firſt called to the ſauouring and fauouring of Chriſte and his Goſpell, partly by his diſputation before, and other his Treatiſes it maye appeare, that the firſt occaſion of his conuerſion, was by reading of Bertrams booke of the Sacrament, whom alſo the conference with Biſhop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr dyd not a litle confirme in that behalfe. Who nowe by the grace of God, being throughly wonne and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zelous in his old ignorance: ſo was he as conſtant and faythfull in the right knowledge which the Lorde had opened vnto hym, (as well appeared by his preachynges and doynges duryng all the tyme of kyng Edwarde) and ſo long dyd muche good, while authoritie of externe power might defend and hold vp the peace of the Churche, and proceedynges of the Goſpell. But after that it pleaſed ſo the heauenly wyll of our Lord our God to bereue vs of ẏ kyng, and to call from vs kyng Edwarde that precious Prince, as the whole ſtate of the Churche of Englande was left deſolate and open to the enimies hande: ſo this Biſhop Ridley, after the commyng in of Queene Mary, eftſoons

B. Ridley firſt conuerted by reading Bertrams Booke.

B. Ridley one of the firſt in trouble after the death of king Edward.

B. Ridley in the Tower.

and with the firſt was laid handes vpon and committed to priſon, as before hath ſufficiently bene expreſſed: firſt in the Tower, then after tranſlated from thence with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Maiſter Latimer, to Oxforde, was with them incloſed in the common Gayle and priſon of Bocardo, while at length being diſſeuered from them, he was committed to cuſtodie in the houſe of one Iriſh, wher he remayned tyl the laſt day of his death and martyrdome, which was from the yeare of our Lord. 1554. tyl the yeare 1555. and 16. day of October.

Byſhop Ridley remoued to the priſon of Bocardo in Oxford. Read before pag. 1171. Before pag. 1356

Furthermore, as touching his diſputations & conflictes had at Oxford, and alſo of his determination had at Cambridge, alſo his trauailes in perſwading and inſtructing the Lady Mary before ſhee was Queene, his reaſons & conference likewiſe had in the Tower at the Lieutenantes boord, enough hath bene ſaid already. Beſides this, other conferences he had in priſon with Doct. Cranmer & maiſter Latimer, which becauſe they be ſomwhat long here to be inſerted, & becauſe I ſee this volume ſwelleth already with abundance of other matter, and partly alſo for that the ſame be expreſſed before in our firſt edition, pag. 1285. I thought good either to referre the reader to the ſame, or els to deferre them tyl the latter end of this volume, where in the Appendix, God willing, both this and other diuers omiſſions and treatiſes ſhalbe ſupplied.

Read in our firſt edition, pag. 1285.

In the meane tyme it ſhal content the Reader for this preſent to haue certaine of his Letters, with a fewe other writinges of his, whiche we thought here to adioyne vnto the ſtorie of his lyfe aboue deſcribed, before we come to the death and burnyng of hym and Maiſter Latimer together: the order and proſecuting of whiche his Letters here vnder beginneth.

¶ Here foloweth the Letters of the reuerend Biſhop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.

¶ A letter ſent from B. Ridley and his priſon felowes, vnto M. Bradford, and his priſon felowes in the Kinges Bench in Southwarke. an. 1554.

A letter of Byſhop Ridley to Maiſter Bradford and others.

WEll beloued in Chriſt our Sauiour, we all with one hart wiſhe to you, with al thoſe that loue God in deede and truth, grace and health, and eſpecially to our dearely beloued companions whiche are in Chriſtes cauſe, and the cauſe both of their brethren and of their owne ſaluation, to put their necke willingly vnder the yoke of Chriſtes croſſe. How ioyfull it was to vs to heare the reporte of Doctour Taylour and of his godly confeſſion, &c. I enſure you, it is hard for me to expreſſe.

Bleſſed be God, whiche was and is the geuer of that, and of all godly ſtrength and ſtomacke in the tyme of aduerſitie. As for the rumours that haue or do goe abrode, either of our relenting or maſſing, we truſt that they whiche knowe God and their duetie towardes their brethren in Chriſte, wyll not be too light of credence. For it is not the ſclaunderers euyll tongue, but a mans euyll deede that can with God defile a man: and therefore with Gods grace, ye ſhal neuer haue other cauſe to do otherwiſe then ye ſay ye do, that is not to doubt, but that we wyll, by Gods grace, continue. &c. Like rumour as ye haue hearde of our commyng to London, hathe bene here ſpreadde of the commyng of certaine learned men, priſoners, hither from London: but as yet we know no certaintie whether of theſe rumors is, or ſhalbe more true. Know you that we haue you in our dayly remembraunce, and wiſhe you and all the reſt of our foreſaid companions, wel in Chriſt.

Falſe reportes ſpread by the Papiſtes.

It ſhould do vs much comfort, if we might haue knowledge of the ſtate of the reſt of our moſte dearely beloued, which in this troubleſome tyme do ſtand in Chriſtes cauſe, and in the defence of the truth therof. Somewhat we haue hearde of maiſter Hoopers matter: but of the reſt neuer a deale. We long to heare of father Crome, Doctor Sandys, M. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers. &c. We are in good health, thankes be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as ſowre ale doth in ſummer. It is reported to vs of our keepers, that the Vniuerſitie beareth vs heauily. A coale chaunced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floore: and no more harme was done, yͤ Bayliffes ſeruauntes ſitting by yͤ fire. An other night there chaunced (as maiſter Bayliffes told vs) a drunken felowe to multiply wordes, and for the ſame he was ſet in Bocardo. Vpon theſe thinges (as is reported) there is riſen a rumor in the towne & countrey about, that we ſhould haue broken the Priſon with ſuche violence, as if Maiſter Bayliffes had not played the pretye men, we ſhoulde haue made a ſcape. We had out of our priſon a wal that we might haue walken vppon, and our ſeruauntes had libertie to goe abroade in the towne or fieldes: but now both they and we are reſtrained of both.

This letter ſeemeth to be written a litle before, about the tyme of the burning of M. Rogers.

Whatſoeuer fault is done, the cauſe is layd vpon the poore Chriſtians.

My Lord of Worceſter paſſed by through Oxford, but he dyd not viſite vs. The ſame day beganne our reſtraint to be more, and the booke of the Communion was taken from vs by the Bayliffes, at the Maiors commaundement, as the Bayliffes dyd report to vs. No man is licenced to come vnto vs: afore they might, that would, ſee vs vpon the wal: but that is ſo grudged at, and ſo euyll reported, that we are now reſtrained. &c. Sir, bleſſed be God, with al our euyl reportes, grudges, and reſtrauntes, we are merry in God, and al our cure and care is and ſhal be (by Gods grace) to pleaſe and ſerue hym, of whom we looke and hope after this temporal and momentany miſeries, to haue eternal ioy and perpetual felicitie with Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, Peter & Paul, and al the heauenly company of the angels in heauen, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. As yet there was neuer learned man, or any ſcholer, or other that viſited vs ſince we came into Bocardo, whiche nowe in Oxford may be called a Colledge of * Quondams. For as ye knowe, we be no fewer then three: and I dare ſaye, euery one well contented with his portion, which I do recken to be our heauenly fathers fatherly good and gracious gyft. Thus fare you wel. We ſhal by Gods grace one day meete together, and be merry. The day aſſuredly approcheth apace: the Lorde graunt that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I feare me the worlde wyll waxe worſe and worſe. But then all our enemies ſhalbe ouerthrowen and troden vnder foote: righteouſnes and truth thē ſhal haue the victorie, and beare the bel away, whereof the Lord graunt vs to be partakers, and al that loueth truely the truth.

M. Ridley and his felow priſoners in Bocardo, reſtrayned of their libertie.

The ingratitude of the ſcholars in not viſiting the Byſhops in Bocardo.

* Bocardo a Colledge of Quondams.

We all praye you, as ye can, to cauſe all our commendations to be made to all ſuche as ye knowe dyd viſite vs and you, when we were in the Tower, with their frendly remembraunces and benefites. Maiſtreſſe Wilkenſon and maiſtreſſe Warcup haue not forgotten vs, but euer ſince we came into Bocardo, with their charitable and frendly beneuolence haue comforted vs: not that els we dyd lacke (for God be bleſſed, he euer hytherto hath prouided ſufficiently for vs) but that is a great comfort, and an occaſion for vs to bleſſe God, when we ſee that he maketh them ſo frendly to tender vs, whom ſome of vs were neuer familiarly acquainted withal.

The goodnes of Miſtreſſe Wilkinſon, and Anne Warcup to helpe the Biſhops in Bocardo.

Yours in Chriſt, Nich. Ridley.

¶ A Letter of Maiſter Ridley, ſent to a Coſin of his.

GOds holy ſpirit be with you now and euer. Amen.

When I call to remembraunce (beloued Coſin) the ſtate of thoſe that for feare of trouble, either for loſſe of goodes, wyl do in the ſight of the world thoſe thinges that they know & are aſſured are contrary to the wyl of God, I can do no leſſe but lament their caſe, being aſſured the ende therof wyl be ſo pitiful (without ſpeedy repentaunce) that I tremble and feare to haue it in remembrance. I woulde to God it laye vppon ſome earthly burden, ſo that freedome of cōſcience might be geuen vnto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of preſumption, but onely lamenting the ſtate of thoſe, whom I thought now in this dangerous time ſhould haue geuen both you and me comfortable inſtructions. But (alas) in ſteede therof we haue inſtructions to folow (I lament me to rehearſe it) ſuperſtitious Idolatrie. Yea, and that woorſt of all is, they wyl ſeeke to proue it by the Scripture. The Lorde for his mercye turne their hartes. Amen. Commend me. &c.

An other letter of Biſhop Ridley to his Coſin.

M. Ridley lamenteth the ſtate of them, which for feare of trouble doe wynd with the worlde and goe contrary to their conſcience.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

¶ To Maiſter Bradford.

BRother Bradford, I wiſhe you and your companye in Chriſt, yea and all the holy brotherhoode that nowe with you in diuers priſons ſuffereth and beareth paciently Chriſtes croſſe for the maintenaunce of his Goſpell, grace, mercye and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

An other worthy letter of B. Ridley to M. Bradford.

Syr, conſidering the ſtate of this chiualrie and warfare, wherein I doubt not but wee be ſet to fight vnder Chriſtes banner, and his croſſe agaynſt our ghoſtly enemie the Deuyll and the olde Serpent Satan, me thinke I perceiue two things to be his moſt perilous & moſt dangerous engines whiche he hath to impugne Chriſtes veritie, his goſpel, & his faith: and the ſame two alſo to be the moſt maſſy poſtes, and moſt mighty pyllers, wherby he mainteyneth and vpholdeth his Satanicall ſynagogue. Theſe two, ſir, are they, in my iudgement: the one, his falſe doctrine & idolatrical vſe of the Lordes ſupper: and the other, the wicked and abominable vſurpation of the primacie of the See of Rome. By theſe two Satan ſeemeth to me principally to

Two mayne pillers holding vp the Synagoge of Sathan.
1. Falſe doctrine of the Sacrament.
2. The Popes primacy.

main-

Apoc. 8.

Satans poyſon paynted ouer wyth fayre pretenſes of Religion.

Apoc. 2.

maintayne and vpholde his kingdome: by theſe two he driueth downe mightily (alas) I feare me, the third parte of the ſtarres in heauen. Theſe two poyſonfull rotten poſtes he hath ſo painted ouer w̃ ſuch a pretence & colour of Religion, of vnitie in Chriſtes Church, of the Catholike fayth, and ſuch like, that the wily ſerpent is able to deceyue (if it were poſſible) euen the elect of God. Wherfore Iohn ſayd not without great cauſe: If any know not Satans ſubtilties and the profundities therof, I wyll wiſh him no other burden to be laden withal.

Sir, becauſe theſe be his principall and mayne poſtes whereupon ſtandeth all his falſehoode, craft, and treacherie, therefore accordyng to the poore power that God hath geuen me, I haue bended myne artillery to ſhoote at the ſame. I know it to be but litle (God knoweth) that I can doo, and of my ſhotte I know they paſſe not. yet wyll I not, (God wyllyng) ceaſe to doo the beſt that I can, to ſhake thoſe cankered and rotten poſtes. The Lorde graunt me good ſucceſſe, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Chriſtes Goſpell. I haue nowe already (I thanke God) for this preſent tyme ſpent a good part of my powder in theſe ſcriblinges, whereof this bearer ſhall geue you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked ſurmiſe and ſay what they lyſt, knowe you for a certaintie, by Gods grace, without all doubt, that in Chriſtes Goſpels cauſe, agaynſt and vppon the foreſayde Gods enemies, I am fully determined to liue and dye. Farewell deare brother, and I beſeeche you and all the reſt of our brethren, to haue good remembraunce of the condemned heretiques (as they cal them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer ſhall certifie you of our ſtate. Farewel in the Lord. From Bocardo.

B. Ridleyes purpoſe to lyue and dye vpon the enemies of Chriſt and of the Goſpell.

Yours in Chriſt, Nicholas Ridley.

¶ An other Letter of Maiſter Ridley, vnto Maiſter Bradford and other his priſon felowes. Ann. 1555.

An other letter of B. Ridley anſweryng to M. Bradford.

* This was a treatiſe of the Lordes Supper, with other thinges, which M. Bradford ſent to hym to peruſe and to iudge thereof.

DEarly beloued, I wiſh you grace, mercy, and peace.

Accordyng to your mynde, I haue runne ouer all your * papers, and what I haue done (which is but ſmall) therein maye appeare. In two places I haue put in two looſe leaues. I had muche adoo to reade that was written in your great leaues, and I weene ſomewhere I haue altered ſome wordes, becauſe I could not reade perfectly that whiche was written. Syr, what ſhall beſt be done with theſe thinges, nowe ye muſte conſider: for if they come in ſight at this tyme, vndoubtedly they muſte to the fire with their father: and as for any ſafegard that your cuſtody can be vnto them, I am ſure you looke not for it. For as you haue bene partner of the worke, ſo I am ſure ye looke for none other, but to haue & receyue like wages, and to drinke of the ſame cuppe. Bleſſed be God that hath geuen you libertie in the meane ſeaſon, that you maye vſe your pen to his glorye, and the comforte (as I heare ſay) of many. I bleſſe God dayly in you, and al your whole company, to whõ I beſeech you commend me hartily. Now I loue my countrey man in deede and in truth, I meane Doctour Taylour, not for my earthly Countreys ſake, but for our heauenly fathers ſake, and for Chriſtes ſake, whom I hearde ſay, he dyd ſo ſtoutly in tyme of peryll confeſſe, and yet alſo for our countreys ſake and for all our mothers ſake: but I meane of the kingdome of heauen, and of heauenly Hieruſalem, & becauſe of the ſpirit, which bryngeth in hym, in you, and in your company ſuche bleſſed fruites of boldnes in the Lordes cauſe, of pacience, and conſtancie. The Lord which hath begun this worke in you al, perfourme and perfite this his owne deede, vntyl his owne day come. Amen.

Commendation of D. Taylour.

As yet I perceiue ye haue bene not bayted, & the cauſe thereof God knoweth, which wyll let them doo no more to his, then is his pleaſed wyll and pleaſure to ſuffer them to dooe for his owne glory, and to the profite of them which be truely his. For the father which dooth guide them that be Chriſtes to Chriſte, is more mightye then all they, and no man is able to pul them out of the fathers handes: except I ſay, it pleaſe our father, it pleaſe our maiſter Chriſte to ſuffer them, they ſhal not ſtyrre one heare of your heades.

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and Maiſter Hoopers Letters would that we ſhould ſaye what we thinke good concernyng your * mynde: that is, not for to aunſwere except ye might haue ſomewhat indifferent Iudges. We are (as ye knowe) ſeparated, and one of vs can not in anye thing conſult with an other, and muche ſtrayte watchyng of the Bayliffes is aboute vs, that there be no priuie conference amongeſt vs. And yet as we heare, the Scholers beareth vs more heauily then the townes men. A wonderfull thing: among ſo many, neuer yet Scholler offered to any of vs (ſo farre as I knowe) any manner of fauour, eyther for or in Chriſtes cauſe.

* This matter was concernyng the deliberation of the priſoners in London, what to doo if they were called to open diſputation.

Nowe as concernyng your demaunde of our counſell, for my parte I doo not miſlike that whiche I perceyue ye are mynded to doo. For I looke for none other, but if ye aunſweare afore the ſame Commiſſioners that wee did, ye ſhalbe ſerued and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as euer was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I thinke, that occaſion afterwarde may be geuen you, and the conſideration of the profite of your auditorie may perchaunce moue you to doo otherwiſe.

Finally, determinately to ſay what ſhall be beſt, I am not able, but I truſt he, whoſe cauſe ye haue in hande, ſhall put you in mynd to doo that which ſhall be moſt for his glorye, the profite of his flocke, and your owne ſaluation. This Letter muſte be common to you and Maiſter Hooper, in whom and in his priſon felowe good father C. I bleſſe God, euen from the bottome of my hart: for I doubt not but they both doo to our maiſter Chriſte, true, acceptable, and honourable ſeruice, and profitable to his flocke: the one with his penne, and the other with his fatherly example of pacience and conſtancie, and all manner of true godlynes. But what ſhall I neede to ſay to you: Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare ſay) it is with you as it is with vs, to whom all thinges here are common, meate, money, and what ſoeuer one of vs hath that can or may doo an other good. Although, I ſayde the Bailiffes and our Hoſteſſe ſtraytly watche vs, that we haue no conference or intelligence of any thing abroade, yet hath God prouided for euery one of vs, in ſteede of our ſeruauntes, faythfull felowes, whiche wyll be content to heare and ſee, and to doo for vs what ſoeuer they can. It is Gods worke ſurely, bleſſed be God for his vnſpeakeable goodnes. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the cõmunication of the holy ghoſt be with you al. Amen, Amen.

Communion of Saintes in B. Ridley, B. Hooper, D. Taylour, and other.

Gods prouiſion for hys Saintes.

As farre as London is from Oxforde, yet thence we haue receyued of late, both meate, money, and ſhyrtes, not onely from ſuch as are of our acquaintaunce, but of ſome (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had neuer to my knowledge, any acquaintance. I knowe for whoſe ſake they doo it: to hym therfore be al honour glory and due thankes.

The chriſtian charitye of certayne godly brethren of London toward the priſoned Biſhops in Oxford.

And yet I pray you doo ſo much as to ſhew them that we haue receiued their beneuolence; and (God be bleſſed) haue plentie of al ſuch thyngs. This I deſire you to do: for I know they be of M. Hoopers, & your familiar acquaintance. Maiſter Latimer was craſed: but I heare nowe, (thankes be to God) that he amendeth againe.

Nicholas Ridley.

¶ An other Letter of Maiſter Ridley vnto Maiſter Bradford.

This letter of B. Ridley was written to M. Bradford ſone after hys condemnation, when it was thought that he ſhould be had to Lankeſhire.

OH deare brother, ſeeing the tyme is nowe come, wherein it pleaſeth the heauenly father, for Chriſt our Sauiours his ſake, to call vppon you, and to byd you to come, happye are you that euer you were borne, thus to be founde awake at the Lordes callyng. Euge ſerue bone & fidelis: quia ſuper pauca fuiſti fidelis, ſuper multa te conſtituet, & intrabis in gaudium Domini. i. Well good ſeruaunte and faithfull, becauſe thou haſte bene truſtie in ſmall matters, he ſhall ſet thee ouer greate thinges; and thou ſhalt enter into the ioye of thy Lorde.

Math. 25.

O deare brother, what meaneth this, that you are ſent into your owne natiue countrey? The wiſedome and policie of the worlde may meane what they wyll, but I truſt, God wyll ſo order the matter finally by his fatherly prouidence, that ſome great occaſion of Gods Gracious goodnes ſhal be plenteouſly poured abroad amongeſt his, our deare brethren in that countrey, by this your martyrdome. Wher the martyrs for Chriſtes ſake ſhed their blood, & loſt their liues, O what wondrous thinges hath Chriſt afterward wrought to his glory, & cõfirmation of their doctrine? If it be not ẏ place that ſanctifieth the man, but the holy mã doth by Chriſt ſanctifie ẏ place: brother Bradford, the happy & holy ſhalbe that place, wherin thou ſhalt ſuffer, & ſhalt be with thy aſhes in Chriſtes cauſe ſprinkled ouer withal. Al thy countrey may reioyce of thee, that euer it brought forth ſuch a one, which would render his life againe in his cauſe, of whõ he had receiued it. Brother Bradford, ſo long as I ſhal vnderſtand thou art in thy iorney, by Gods grace I ſhal cal vpõ our heauenly father for Chriſtes ſake, to ſet thee ſafely home: and then good brother ſpeake you, and pray for the remnãt that are for to ſuffer for Chriſtes ſake, according to that thou then ſhalt know more clearly.

We do looke nowe euery day when we ſhalbe called on: bleſſed be God. I weene I am the weakeſt many wayes of our company: and yet I thanke our Lorde God and

heauenly

The reioyſing of Byſhop Ridley at the conſtancy of M. Rogers.

1555. October.

heauenly father by Chriſt, that ſince I hearde of our deare brother Rogers departyng and ſtoute confeſſion of Chriſt and his truth euen vnto the death, my hart (bleſſed be God) reioyced of it, that ſince that tyme, I ſay, I neuer felt anye lumpiſhe heauines in my hart, as I graunt I haue felt ſomtimes before. O good brother, bleſſed be God in the, and bleſſed be the tyme that euer I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Chriſt, Nicholas
Ridley. Brother farewell.

¶ To the brethren remaynyng in captiuity of the fleſh, and diſparſed abroad in ſundry priſons, but knit together in vnity of ſpirite and holy Religion in the bowels of the Lord Ieſu.

A letter of Byſhop Ridley to all the perſecuted flocke of Chriſt, written in Latin and tranſlated into Engliſh.

GRace, peace and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thankes can wee render vnto the Lorde for you my brethren, namely for the great conſolatiõ which through you we haue receiued in the Lorde, who notwithſtandyng the rage of Sathan that goeth about by all maner of ſubtill meanes to begyle the world, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore and ſet vp his kingdome agayne that of late began to decay and fall to ruine: ye remayne yet ſtill vnmoueable as men ſurely grounded vpon a ſtrong rocke. And now, albeit that Sathan by his ſoldiours and wicked miniſters, dayly (as wee heare) draweth numbers vnto him, ſo that it is ſayd of him that he plucketh euen the very ſtarres out of heauen, whiles hee driueth into ſome men the feare of death and loſſe of all theyr goodes, and ſheweth and offereth to other ſome the pleaſaunte baites of the worlde, namely riches, wealth and all kynde of delyghtes and pleaſures, fayre houſes, great reuenewes, fat benefices, and what not? and al to the intent they ſhoulde fal downe and worſhip, not the Lord, but the Dragon the olde Serpent whiche is the deuill, that great beaſt, and his image, and ſhoulde be inticed to commit fornication with the ſtrompet of Babilon, together with the kynges of the earth, with the leſſer beaſt, and with the falſe Prophetes, and ſo to reioyſe and be pleaſaunt with her, and to bee drunken with the wyne of her fornication: yet bleſſed be God the father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, whiche hath geuen vnto you a manly courage and hath ſo ſtrengthned you in the inward man by the power of his ſpirite, that you can contemne aſwell all the terrours, as alſo the vayne flatteryng allurementes of the worlde, eſtemyng them as vanities, mere trifles, & thinges of nought: who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely ſtabliſhed in your hartes ſo ſtedfaſt a fayth and loue of the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, ioyned with ſuch conſtancie that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they neuer ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other Ieſus or any other Chriſt to be forced vppon you, beſides hym whom the Prophetes haue ſpoken of before, the Apoſtles haue preached the holy Martyrs of God haue confeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their bloud.

Apoc. 12.

Apoc. 17.

Gal. 5.
Math. 24.

He exhorteth the brethren to ſtand faſt.

In this fayth ſtande ye faſt my brethren, and ſuffer not your ſelues to be brought vnder the yoke of bondage and ſuperſtition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Sauiour warned his before hand, that ſuch ſhould come as would point vnto the world an other Chriſt, and would ſet hym out with ſo many falſe miracles, and with ſuch deceiueable and ſubtill practiſes, that euen the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhoulde be therby deceaued: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Sauiour geue warnyng of before: But continue ye faythfull and conſtant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our graund captaine hath ouercome the worlde: for hee that is in vs is ſtronger then he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth vnto vs that for the elects ſake the dayes of wickednes ſhall be ſhortned. In the meane ſeaſon abyde ye and endure with patience as ye haue begun: endure I ſay, and reſerue your ſelues vnto better times, as one of the Heathen Poetes ſayd, ceaſe not to ſhew your ſelues valiaunt Souldiours of the Lorde, and helpe to mayntayne the traueling fayth of the Goſpell.

1. John 4.

Virgil.
Aeneid. 1.
Phil. 1.

Heb. 10.

Pacience neceſſary for all Chriſtians.
1 John 10.

Ye haue nede of patience, that after ye haue done the will of God, ye may receaue the promiſes. For yet a very litle while, and he that ſhall come will come, and wil not tary, and the iuſt ſhall liue by fayth: but if any withdraw hym ſelfe, my ſoule ſhall haue noe pleaſure in him (ſayth the Lord). But we are not they which do withdraw our ſelues vnto damnation, but beleue vnto the ſaluation of the ſoule. Let vs not ſuffer theſe wordes of Chriſt to fall out of our hartes by any maner of terrors or threatnings of the world. Feare not them which kill the body: the reſt ye know. For I write not vnto you as to men which are ignoraunt of the truth, but whiche know the truth, and to this ende onely, that we agreeyng together in one fayth, may take comfort one of an other, and be the more confirmed and ſtrengthned thereby. We neuer had a better or more iuſt cauſe either to contemne our life or ſhedde our bloud: we can not take in hand the defence of a more certaine, cleare, & manifeſt truth. For it is not any ceremonie for the which we contende, but it toucheth the very ſubſtaunce of our whole Religion, yea, euen Chriſt hym ſelfe. Shall we, either can we receiue and acknowledge any other Chriſt in ſteede of hym, who is alone the euerlaſting Sonne of the euerlaſting father, and is the brightnes of the glorye, and liuely Image of the ſubſtaunce of the Father, in whom onely dwelleth corporally the fulnes of the Godhead, who is the onely way, the truth and the life? Let ſuch wickednes (my brethren) let ſuche horrible wickednes be farre from vs. For although there be that are called Gods, whether in heauen either in earth, as there be many Gods and many Lordes, yet vnto vs there is but one God, whiche is the Father, of whom are all things, & we in hym, & one Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by whõ are all things, & we by hym: but euery mã hath not knowledge. This is life eternall (ſaith Saint Iohn) that they knowe thee to be the onely true God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Ieſus Chriſte. If any therfore would force vpon vs any other God, beſides hym whom Paul and the Apoſtles haue taught, let vs not heare hym, but let vs flee from hym, and hold hym accurſed.

The quarell of the Martyrs is iuſt and true.

Heb. 1.
Coloſ. 1.
Martyrs put to death becauſe they will acknowledge no more Chriſtes but one.
1. Cor. 8.

John 17.

The profundities of Sathan.
Apoc. 2.
1. Pet. 5.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deepe and profound ſubtilties of Satan: for he wyll not ceaſe to raunge about you, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible whom he may deuoure: but play ye the men, and be of Good comfort in the Lorde. And albeit your enimies and the aduerſaries of the truth, armed with al worldly force and power that may be, doo ſet vpon you: yet be not ye faint harted, nor ſhrinke not therefore: but truſt vnto your Captaine Chriſte, truſt vnto the ſpirite of truth, and truſt to the truth of your cauſe: which, as it may by ẏ malice of Satã be darkened, ſo cã it neuer be cleane put out. For we haue (high prayſe be geuen to God therfore) moſt plainly, euidently, and clearely on our ſide, all the Prophets, all the Apoſtles, and vndoubtedly al the auncient Eccleſiaſticall writers whiche haue written, vntyll of late yeares paſt.

The Martyrs haue all the Prophets, Apoſtles, and auncient eccleſiaſticall writers on their ſide.
Phil. 1.

Let vs be hardye and of good courage therefore, and throughly comforte our ſelues in the Lorde. Bee in no wiſe afraide of your aduerſaries: for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſaluation, and that of GOD. For vnto you it is geuen, that not onely ye ſhoulde beleeue on hym, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. And when ye are rayled vppon for the name of Chriſte, remember that by the voyce of Peter, yea, and of Chriſte our Sauiour alſo, ye are coũted with the Prophetes, with the Apoſtles, and with the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, happy and bleſſed therefore: for the glory and ſpirit of God reſteth vpon you.

1. Pet. 4.

He exhorteth vs not to wiſhe euill to our perſecutours.

1. Pet. 3

On their parte our Sauiour Chriſte is euyll ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they els do vnto you by perſecuting you, and working al crueltie & villanie againſt you, but make your crownes more glorious, yea beautifie and multiplie the ſame, and heape vpon them ſelues the horrible plagues and heauie wrath of God: and therfore good brethrẽ, though they rage neuer ſo fiercely againſt vs, yet let vs not wiſh euyl vnto them againe, knowing that whiles for Chriſtes cauſe they vexe and perſecute vs, they are like mad men, moſt outragious and cruell againſt them ſelues, heaping hot burnyng coles vppon their owne heades: but rather let vs wiſh wel vnto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Chriſte Ieſu, that we ſhould be heyres of the bleſſing. Let vs pray therefore vnto God, that he would driue out of their hartes this darkenes of errours, and make the light of his truth to ſhine vnto them, that they acknowledging their blindnes, may with al humble repentance be conuerted vnto the Lord, and together with vs confeſſe hym to be the onely true God, whiche is the father of light, & his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, worſhipping him in ſpirit and veritie. Amen. The ſpirit of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt comfort your hartes in the loue of God and pacience of Chriſt. Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whoſe name this bearer ſhall ſignifie vnto you, ready alwaies by the grace of God, to liue and die with you.

¶ To the brethren which conſtantly cleaue vnto Chriſt, in ſuffering affliction with him, and for his ſake.

An other letter of B. Ridley wherein he comforteth the brethren in captiuitie tranſlated out of the latin.

GRace and peace from God the father, and frõ our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be multiplied vnto you. Amen.

Although brethren, we haue of late heard nothing from you, neither haue at this preſent any newes to ſend you: yet we thought good ſomething to write vnto you, wherby ye might vnderſtande that we haue good remembraunce of

Communion and vnitie of Saintes.

you continually, as we doubt not but ye haue of vs alſo. When this meſſenger commyng vnto vs from you of late, had brought vs good tidinges of your great conſtancie, fortitude, and pacience in the Lord: we were filled with much ioy and gladnes, geuing thankes to God the father through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whiche hath cauſed his face ſo to ſhine vpon you, and with the light of ſpirituall vnderſtanding hath ſo lightened your hartes, that now being in captiuitie and bandes for Chriſtes cauſe, ye haue not ceaſed, as muche as in you lyeth, by wordes, but much more by deede and by your example, to ſtabliſhe and confirme that thing, which when ye were at libertie in the world, ye laboured to publiſh and ſet abrode by the worde and doctrine: that is to ſay, holding faſt the worde of life, yee ſhine as lightes in the worlde in the middeſt of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with ſo muche the greater glorye of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and profite of your brethren, by howe much Satan more cruelly now rageth and buſily laboureth to darken the light of the Goſpel.

Phil. 2.

Reaſons prouing the religion in Q. Maryes tyme not to be of God.

And as for the darknes that Sathan nowe bringeth vpon the Church of Englande, who needeth to doubt therof? Of late tyme our Sauiour Chriſte, his Apoſtles, Prophetes, and Teachers, ſpake in the Temple to the people of Englande in the Engliſhe tongue, ſo that they might be vnderſtanded plainly and without any hardnes, of the godly and ſuch as ſought for heauenly knowledge in matters whiche of neceſſitie of ſaluation perteyned to the obteinyng of eternall life: but nowe thoſe thinges which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a ſtraunge tongue without interpretation, manifeſtly againſt ſaint Paules commaundement, ſo that there is no man able to vnderſtande them which hath not learned that ſtraunge and vnknowen tongue.

Compariſon betwene the religion in K. Edwardes tyme, and the religion ſet out in Queene Maryes tyme.

Scriptures in K. Edwardes tyme knowen, in Queene Maryes tyme vnknowen.

Of late dayes thoſe heauenly myſteries, whereby Chriſt hath ingraffed vs into his body, and hath vnited vs one to an other, whereby alſo being regenerate and borne anewe vnto God, he hath nouriſhed, encreaſed, and ſtrengthened vs, whereby moreouer, either he hath taught and ſet foorth an order amongeſt them whiche are whole, or els to the ſicke in ſoule or body hath geuen, as it were wholeſome medicines and remedies: thoſe (I ſay) were al plainlye ſet foorth to the people in their owne language, ſo that what great and exceeding good thinges euery man had receiued of God: what duetie euery one owed to an other by Gods ordinaunce: what euery one had profeſſed in his vocation, and was bound to obſerue: where remedie was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God had geuen a deſire and willyng hart to vnderſtande thoſe thinges, might ſoone perceiue and vnderſtand. But nowe all theſe thinges are taught and ſet foorth in ſuch ſort, that the people redeemed with Chriſtes bloud, and for whoſe ſakes they were by Chriſt hym ſelf ordeined, can haue no maner of vnderſtanding therof at al.

In king Edwardes time the people knew what they prayed: in Q. Maryes tyme they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

Of late, (for as much as wee knowe not howe to pray as wee ought) our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte in his Prayer, wherof he would haue no man ignoraunt, and alſo the holy Ghoſte in the Pſalmes, Hymnes, and ſpirituall ſonges which are ſet foorth in the Bible, dyd teache and inſtructe all the people of Englande in the Engliſhe tongue, that they might aſke ſuch thinges as are according to the wyll of the Father, and might ioyne their hartes and lyppes in prayer together: but nowe all theſe thinges are commaunded to be hyd and ſhutte vp from them in a ſtraunge tongue, whereby it muſte needes folowe, that the people neyther can tell howe to praye, nor what to praye for: and howe can they ioyne their hartes and voyce together, when they vnderſtande no more what the voyce ſignifieth, then a brute beaſte.

The Catechiſme ſet forth in king Edwardes tyme for children in Q. Maryes tyme forbidden.

Finally, I heare ſaye, that the Catechiſme whiche was lately ſet foorth in the Engliſhe tongue, is nowe in euery Pulpite condemned. Oh deuiliſh malice, and moſte ſpitefully iniurious to the ſaluation of mankinde purchaſed by Ieſus Chriſte. In deede Satan coulde not long ſuffer that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abrode in the worlde: he ſawe well enough that nothing was able to ouerthrow his kingdome ſo much, as if children being godly inſtructed in Religion, ſhoulde learne to knowe Chriſte whileſt they are yet young: whereby not onely children, but the elder ſorte alſo and aged folkes that before were not taught to knowe Chriſt in their childehood, ſhoulde nowe euen with children and babes be forced to learne to know hym. Now therfore he rageth: nowe he rageth. But what els doo they (brethren) whiche ſerue Satan and become his miniſters and ſlaues in mainteinyng of his impietie, but euē the ſame which they dyd, to whom Chriſt our Sauiour threatneth this curſe in the Goſpell: Woe vnto you whiche ſhutte vp the kingdome of heauen before men, and take awaye the key of knowledge from them: you your ſelues haue not entred in, neither haue you ſuffered them that woulde enter, to come in.

Math. 23.

The Catholicke Phariſies neyther enter them ſelues, nor will ſuffer other to enter Gods kingdome.

And frō whence ſhall we ſay (brethren) that this horrible & miſcheuous darknes proceedeth, which is nowe brought vpon the worlde? From whence, I pray you, but euen from the ſmoke of the greate furnace of ÿ bottomleſſe pyt, ſo that the ſunne and the ayre are now darkened by the ſmoke of the pyt? Now, euen now (out of doubt brethren) the pyt is opened amongeſt vs, and the Locuſtes begyn to ſwarme, and Abbadon now raigneth.

Apoc. 9.

The pit of the Locuſts opened. Apoca. 7.

Ye therfore (my brethren) which pertaine vnto Chriſt, and haue the ſeale of God marked in your foreheades, that is to wyt, are ſealed with ÿ earneſt of the ſpirite to be a peculiar people of God, quite your ſelues like men, and be ſtrong, for he that is in vs, is ſtronger then he which is in the world: and ye know, that all that is borne of God ouercommeth the world, and this is our victorie that ouercommeth the world, euen our fayth. Let the world freat, let it rage neuer ſo much, be it neuer ſo cruell and bloudy, yet be ye ſure that no man can take vs out of the fathers handes, for he is greater then all: who hath not ſpared his owne ſonne, but hath geuen hym to death for vs all, and therefore how ſhal he not with hym geue vs all thinges alſo? Who ſhal lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that iuſtifieth, who ſhall then condemne? It is Chriſt that is dead, yea rather which is riſen againe, who is alſo at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for vs. Who ſhal ſeparate vs from the loue of Chriſt? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakednes, or peryll, or ſworde? the reſt ye knowe, brethren. We are certainely perſwaded with S. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that no kind of thing ſhalbe able to ſeparate vs frō the loue of God which is in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to paſſe by the grace and mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſte, to the comfort both of you and of vs all, as we for our partes wyl cōtinually (God willyng) pray for you: ſo (deare brethren in the Lord) with all earneſt and harty requeſt we beſeech you, euen in the bowelles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that ye wyl not ceaſe to pray for vs. Fare ye well, deare brethren. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you al euermore. Amen.

1. Iohn 5.

Exhortation to ſtand conſtant in Chriſt and his truth.

Rom. 8.

Yours in the Lorde,
Nicholas Ridley.

¶ A Letter of Biſhop Ridley anſwearing to a certaine Letter of one Maiſter Weſt, ſometime his Chapleine.

An other letter of B. Ridley anſwering one M. Weſt ſometyme his Chaplayne.

I Wiſhe you grace in God and loue of ÿ truth, without the which truth ſtabliſhed in mens hartes by the mighty hand of almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtand by the truth in Chriſt in tyme of trouble, then it is for the waxe to abide the heate of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (bleſſed be God) perſwaded that this world is but tranſitorie, and (as ſaint Iohn ſaith) The worlde paſſeth awaye and the luſt therof. I am perſwaded Chriſtes wordes to be true: Who ſoeuer ſhal confeſſe me before men, hym wyll I confeſſe alſo before my father whiche is in heauen: and I beleue that no earthly creature ſhalbe ſaued, whom the Redeemer & ſauiour of the world ſhal before his father denye. This the Lord graunt, that it may be ſo graffed, eſtabliſhed & fixed in my hart, that neither things preſent nor to come, high nor low, life nor death be able to remoue me thence. It is a goodly wiſhe, that you wiſhe me deepely to conſider things perteinyng vnto Gods glory: but if you had wiſhed alſo, that neither feare of death, nor hope of worldly proſperitie ſhould let me to mainteyne Gods word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would haue liked me well. You deſire me for Gods ſake to remember my ſelfe. In deede ſir, nowe it is tyme ſo to do, for ſo farre as I can perceiue, it ſtandeth me vpon no leſſe daunger, then of the loſſe both of body and ſoule, and I trowe, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing wyll awake hym. He that wyl not feare hym that threatneth to caſt both body & ſoule into euerlaſting fire, whom wyl he feare? With this feare, O Lord, faſten thou together our fraile fleſh, that we neuer ſwarue from thy lawes. You ſay, you haue made much ſute for me. Syr, God graunt that you haue not in ſuing for my worldly deliuerance, impayred and hyndered the furtherāce of Gods word and his truth.

1. Iohn 2.

Math. 10.

No creature can be ſaued, whom Chriſt denyeth before his father.

What it is for a man well to remember him ſelfe.

Luke 12.

Feare of God.

Byſhop Ridley refuſeth to haue ſute made for him.

You haue knowen me long in deede: in the which tyme it hath chaunced me (as you ſay) to miſlike ſome thinges. It is true, I graunt: for ſodayne chaunges without ſubſtantiall and neceſſarye cauſe, and the heady ſetting foorth of extremities, I dyd neuer loue. Confeſſion vnto the miniſter which is able to inſtruct, correct, comfort, and informe the weake, wounded, and ignoraunt conſcience, in deede I euer thought might doo muche good in Chriſtes Congre-

Confeſſion to the miniſter in the way of aſking counſayle not miſliked.

gation

B. Ridley euer a Reuerend handler of the Sacrament.

gation, and ſo, I aſſure you, I thinke euen at this daye. My doctrine and my preaching you ſay, you haue heard often, and after your iudgment haue thought it godly, ſauing only for the ſacrament, whiche thing although it was of me reuerently handled, and a great deale better then of the reſt, (as you) yet in the margent you write warily, and in this world wiſely: and yet me thought al ſounded not wel. Sir, but that I ſee ſo many changes in this world, and ſo much alteration, els at this your ſaying I would not a litle marueile. I haue taken you for my frende, and a man whom I fanſied for plainnes and faithfulnes, as much (I aſſure you) as for your learning: and haue you kept this ſo cloſe in your hart from me vnto this day? Syr, I conſider moe things then one, & wyll not ſay al that I thinke. But what neede you to care what I thinke, for any thing I ſhalbe able to do vnto you, either good or harme? You geue me good leſſons to ſtand in nothing againſt my learnyng, & to beware of vaine glory. Truely ſir, I herein like your counſell very well, & by Gods grace I intend to folow it vnto my lyues ende.

The part of a true Byſhop only to ſeeke the glory of Chriſt his Maſter.

To write vnto thoſe whō you name, I cā not ſee what it wyll auaile me. For this I would haue you knowe, that I eſteeme nothing auaileable for me, which alſo wyll not farther the glory of God. And now, becauſe I perceiue you haue an entire zeale and deſire of my deliuerance out of this captiuitie & worldly miſery, if I ſhould not beare you a good hart in God againe, me thinke I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my diſſolution & departure out of this world is at hand, I can not tel: ẏ Lords wyl be fulfilled how ſone ſoeuer it ſhal come. I know the Lords wordes muſt be verified on me, that I ſhal appere before the incorrupt iudge, & be countable to hym of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercy is my ſhootanker of eternall ſaluation, yet am I perſwaded, that who ſoeuer wittingly neglecteth & regardeth not to cleare his cōſcience, he can not haue peace with God, nor a liuely faith in his mercy. Conſcience therfore moueth me, cōſidering you wer one of my familie & one of my houſhold, of whō then I thinke I had a ſpecial cure, & of al thē which were wͭin my houſe, which in deede ought to haue ben an example of godlynes to al the reſt of my cure, not only of good life, but alſo in promoting of Gods word to the vttermoſt of their power, (but, alas, now when the trial doth ſeparate the chaffe from the corne, how ſmall a deale it is, God knoweth, which the wynd dooth not blow away:) this conſcience, I ſay, doth moue me to feare, leſt the lightnes of my familie ſhal be laid to my charge for lacke of more earneſt and diligent inſtruction which ſhould haue ben don. But bleſſed be God which hath geuen me grace to ſee this my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my harte, before my departing hence.

B. Ridley repenteth that he was not more earneſt in ſtabliſhing the conſciences of his famely and cure.

D. Haruy charged.

Good monitions of B. Ridley to his old Chaplēs.

This conſcience doth moue me alſo now to require both you and my frend Doct. Haruy, to remēber your promiſes made to me in tymes paſt, of the pure ſetting forth & preaching of Gods woord and his truth. Theſe promiſes, although you ſhal not neede to feare to be charged with thē of me hereafter before the world, yet looke for none other (I exhort you as my frendes) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This conſcience and the loue that I beare vnto you, byddeth me now ſay vnto you both in Gods name, feare God, and loue not the world: for God is able to caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. When his wrath ſhal ſodenly be kindled, bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in hym. And the ſaying of ſaint Iohn is true: All that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, & the pride of life, is not of the father, but of the worlde, and the world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof, but he that dooth the wyll of God abideth for euer. If this gyfte of grace (which vndoubtedly is neceſſarily required vnto eternal ſaluation) were truely and vnfainedly graffed & firmely ſtabliſhed in mens hartes, they would not be ſo light, ſo ſodenly to ſhrinke from the maintenance & cōfeſſion of the truth, as is nowe (alas) ſeene ſo manifeſtly of ſo many in theſe dayes. But here peraduenture you would know of me what is the truth. Syr, Gods word is the truth, as ſaint Iohn ſaith, & that euen the ſame that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary & change as the Moone, yet Gods word is ſtable & abideth one for euermore: and of Chriſt it is truely ſaid: Chriſt yeſterday and to day, the ſame is alſo for euer.

Pſal. 2.

Iohn. 2.

What is truth. Iohn. 17. Eccle. 27.

Heb. 13.

Common prayer in the common tongue.

When I was in office, all that were eſteemed learned in Gods worde, agreed this to be a truth in Gods word written, that the common prayer of the Churche ſhoulde be had in the common tongue. You know I haue conferred with many, and I enſure you I neuer found man (ſo farre as I do remember) neither olde nor new, goſpeller nor papiſt, of what iudgement ſoeuer he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If thē it wer a truth of Gods word, thinke you that the alteration of the worlde can make it an vntruth? If it can not, why then do ſo many men ſhrinke from the confeſſion and maintenance of this truth receyued once of vs al? For what is it, I pray you, els to confeſſe or denye Chriſte in this worlde, but to mainteyne the truth taught in Gods word, or for any worldly reſpect to ſhrinke from the ſame? This one thing haue I brought for an enſample: other thinges be in like caſe, which nowe particularly I nede not to rehearſe. For he that wyl forſake wittingly, either for feare or gaine of the worlde, any one open truth of Gods word, if he be conſtrained, he wyl aſſuredly forſake God and al his truth, rather then he wyl endaunger hym ſelfe to looſe or to leaue that he loueth better in deede, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

What it is to confeſſe Chriſt.

He that denyeth an open truth againſt Gods word for worldly daunger, will be as ready to deny God himſelfe.

Death common to good and bad.

Damnable agreement.

I like very well your plaine ſpeakyng, wherein you ſaye, I muſt eyther agree or dye, and I thinke that you meane of the bodyly death, whiche is common both to good and bad. Syr, I knowe I muſt dye whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make ſuch an agreement, by the which I could neuer eſcape this death whiche is ſo common to all, and alſo incurre the gylt of death and eternall damnation? Lord graunt that I may vtterly abhorre and deteſt this damnable agreement ſo long as I lyue. And becauſe (I dare ſaye) you wrote of frendſhip vnto me this ſhorte earneſt aduertiſement, and I thinke veryly, wiſhyng me to lyue, and not to dye, therefore bearyng you in my harte no leſſe loue in GOD, then you doo me in the worlde, I ſay vnto you in the woorde of the Lord (and that I ſay to you, I ſay to all my frendes and louers in God) that if you do not confeſſe and mainteyne to your power and knowledge that whiche is grounded vpon Gods woorde, but wyll eyther for feare or gayne of the worlde, ſhrinke and play the * Apoſtata, in deede you ſhall dye the death: you knowe what I meane. And I beſeeche you al my true frendes and louers in God, remember what I ſay, for this may be the laſt tyme peraduenture that euer I ſhal write vnto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the.viij.
day of April. 1555.

* Apoſtata was he who fled from his Captayne to the enemie. He was alſo ſo called that departed from the Chriſtians to the Iewes and Gentiles.

The ſumme of M. Grindals letter to B. Ridley.

M. Grindall now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the citie of Frankford, wrote to D. Ridley then priſoner, a certaine Epiſtle. Wherin firſt he lamenteth his captiuitie, exhorting him withal to be cōſtant. Secondly he certifieth hym of the ſtate of the Engliſhe exiles being diſperſed in Germany, and of the ſingular prouidence of God in ſtirring vp ẏ fauour of the Magiſtrates and rulers there towardes them. Thirdly, he writeth to knowe his mynd and wyl concernyng the printing of his booke againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of certaine other treatiſes and his diſputations. Wherunto Biſhop Ridley anſwereth againe in order, as foloweth.

¶ The anſweare of Doctour Ridley
to the letter aboueſaide.

An anſweare of B. Ridley to M. Grindals letter ſent from Franckford.

BLeſſed be God our heauenly father which enclined your hart to haue ſuch a deſire to write vnto me, & bleſſed be he againe which hath heard your requeſt, & hath brought your letters ſafe vnto my handes: and ouer al this, I bleſſe hym through our Lord Ieſus Chriſte, for the great comfort I haue receyued by the ſame, of the knowledge of your ſtate, & of other our dearely beloued brethren and countreymen in thoſe parties beyond the ſea.

Dearely beloued brother Grindall, I ſaye to you and all the reſt of our brethren in Chriſte with you, reioyce in the Lord, and as ye loue me and the other my reuerende fathers and concaptiues (whiche vndoubtedly are Gloria Chriſti,) lament not our ſtate, but I beſeeche you and thē all to geue to our heauenly Father for his endleſſe mercyes and vnſpeakeable benefites euen in the myddeſt of all our troubles geuen vnto vs, moſt harty thankes. For knowe ye, that as the weight of his croſſe hath increaſed vpon vs, ſo he hath not nor dooth not ceaſe to multiplye his mercyes to ſtrengthen vs, and I truſt, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he wyll ſo doo for Chriſte our Maiſters ſake, euen to the ende. To heare that you and our other brethren doo finde in your exile fauour and grace with the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Citizens, at Tigury, at Frankford, and other where, it dooth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that doo in deede loue Chriſte and his true woorde. I enſure you it warmed my hart, to heare you by chaunce to name ſome, as Scory and Coxe. &c. Oh that it had come in your mynde to haue ſaide ſomewhat alſo of Checke, of Turner, of Leuer, of Hampſon, of Chambers, but I truſt to God they be all well. And ſir, ſeyng you ſay, that there be in thoſe parties with you of ſtudentes and Miniſters ſo good a number, nowe therefore care ye not for vs, otherwiſe then to wiſhe that Gods glory may be ſet forth by vs. For whenſoeuer God ſhall call vs home (as we looke

Experience of Gods ſtrength toward his Saynctes in their impriſonment.

dayly

daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe GOD to ſay, come) you, bleſſed be God, are enough through his ayde, to light & ſet vp againe the lanterne of his worde in England. As concernyng the copies ye ſay ye haue with you, I wonder how euer they did and could finde the way to come to you. My diſputation, except he haue that whiche I gathered my ſelfe after the diſputation done, I can not think ye haue it truly. If ye haue that, then ye haue therewithall the whole maner after the whiche I was vſed in the diſputation.

This diſputation of his owne pennyng, is to be ſene before pag. 1373.

As for the treatiſe in Engliſh. Contra tranſubſtantiationem, vix poſſum adduci vt credam operæpretium fore vt in latinum trāsferatur. Cæterum quicquid ſit, nullo modo velim vt quicquam quocunq; modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis dominus cōſtituerit fieri, vobis prius certo conſtiterit: & thus much vnto your letters. Now although I ſuppoſe ye know a good parte of our ſtate here (for we are forth commyng, euen as when ye departed. &c.) you ſhal vnderſtand yͤ I was in the Tower about yͤ ſpace of two monethes cloſe priſoner, & after that had graunted to me without my labor, the liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about halfe a yeare, and then becauſe I refuſed to allow the Maſſe with my preſence, I was ſhut vp in cloſe priſon again.

B. Ridley priſoner in the Tower halfe a yeare & more.

The laſte Lent ſaue one, it chaūced by reaſon of the tumult ſtirred vp in Kent, ther was ſo many priſoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latymer, Maſter Bradford, and I were put altogether in one priſon, where we remained ſtill almoſte to the next Eaſter, and then we thre, Canterbury, Latimer and I, were ſodainly ſent a little before Eaſter to Oxford, & were ſuffered to haue nothyng with vs, but that we caried vpon vs. About the Whitſontide following was our diſputations at Oxford, after the which was al taken from vs, as pen and inke. &c. Our owne ſeruantes were taken from vs before, and euery one had put to hym a ſtraunge man, and we eche one appointed to bee kept in ſeuerall places, as we are vnto this day.

Canter. Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, priſoners together in the Tower.

Canter. Ridley, Latimer, remoued to Oxford.

Bleſſed be God, we three at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheare. We haue looked long ago to haue bene diſpatched, for we were all thre on one day within a day or two of our diſputations, of D. Weſton being the head commiſſioner, condemned for heretikes, & ſince that tyme we remayne as we wer of hym left. The lords wil be fulfilled in vs, as I do not doubt, but by his grace it ſhal be to his glory & our endles ſaluatiō through Ieſus Chriſt our lord.

D. Weſton cōdemner of Cāter. Ridley, and Latymer.

Likewiſe the Lord hitherto hath preſerued aboue al our expectation, our deare brother, & in Chriſtes cauſe a ſtrong Champion Iohn Bradforde. Hee is likewiſe condemned, and is already deliuered vnto the ſecular power, & writtes (as we haue heard ſay) geuen out for his execution, and called in againe. Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerueth whom he liſteth, notwithſtandyng the wonderfull ragyng of the world. Many (as we heare ſay) haue ſuffered valiantly, confeſſyng Chriſtes truth, and nothyng yeldyng to the aduerſary, yea not for the feare or paynes of death.

Writtes for the burning of Ioh. Bradford called in againe.

The names of them whiche I knewe, and haue now ſuffred, are theſe, Farrar the Biſhop of S. Dauides, Hooper the Biſhop of Worceſter, Rogers tuus olim cōprebēdarius. D. Taillour of Hadley, M. Sanders, & one Tōkins a weauer, & now this laſt day M. Cardmaker, with an other, wer burnt in Smithfield at Lōdon, and many other in Eſſex & Kent, whoſe names are written in the booke of lyfe, whom yet I do not know.

Names of Martyrs.

Weſt your olde companion and ſomtyme myne officer (alas) hath relented (as I haue heard) but the lord hath ſhortned his daies, for anone he died and is gon. Grimbolde was caught by the heele and caſte into the Marſhalſe, but now is at liberty again, but I feare me he eſcaped not without ſome beckyng and bowyng (alas) of his knee vnto Baall.

This Weſt, when he had relented and ſayd maſſe againſt his conſcience, ſhortly after pined away and dyed for ſorow.

My deare frend Thomas Ridley of the Bulhead in cheape, which was to me the moſt faithfull friend that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo vnto God. My brother Shipſide that hath maried my ſiſter, hath bene almoſt halfe a yere in priſon, for deliuering (as he was accuſed) of certaine things, I wene, from me: but now thankes be to God, he is at libertie againe, but ſo that the Biſhop hath taken from hym his * Parke.

* Note how Boner here requited the kindnes of B. Ridley ſhewed to his mother.

Of all vs thre concaptiues at Oxford, I am kepte moſt ſtrait, and with leaſt liberty, Vel quia viro in cuius ædibus, ego cuſtodior, vxor dominatur (licet modo ſit Pręfectus ciuitatis) mulier vetula, moroſa, & ſuperſtitioſiſſ. quæ etiā hoc ſibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctiſſime & cautiſſime cuſtodire, vir autem ipſe Iriſchius nomine, mitis ſatis eſt oībus, vxori vero pluſquā obſequentiſſ. Licet vxorē (vti noſti) nunquā habuerim, tamē ex hac quotidiana cōſuetudine, quem cū iſtis coniugibus habeo, videor mihi nōnihil poſſe intelligere quā graue malū & intolerabile iugū ſit cū mala muliere in cōiugio collocari. Recte ergo ſapiēs dixit, vxor bona donū Dei: & iterū mulieris bonę beatus vir. Vel hæc inquā cauſa eſt, vel quia à magnis magiſtratibus (neſcio quas ob cauſas) illud eſt, vt ita fieret, ipſis mādatū: id ꝙ illi ſi quādo de mea nimia ſeruitute apud eos cōqueror, ſedulo ſępe rurſus mihi inculcāt.

At Cambridge (as I heare ſay) Omnes ſtudiorum & ſtatutorum reformationes nuper factæ, nunc ſunt denuo deformatæ & deletę, & omnia ſunt in priſtinum chaos & in antiquum papiſmum reducta: omnes collegiorum pręfecti qui ſynceritati Euangelij fauebant, vel qui coniugati erant, loco moti ſunt, & alij Papiſticæ factionis in eorū loca ſurrogati, quod & de ſocijs collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum eſſe audio. Nec mirum, nā & iſtud paſſim factum eſt in vniuerſo regno Angliæ, in omnibus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Decanis, prebēdarijs, Sacerdotibus Eccleſiarum, & in toto clero: and to tel you much naughty matter in a fewe wordes, Papiſmus apud nos vbique in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.

All the ſtatutes of reformation in Cambridge broken, and all things reduced agayne into the old ſtate of Popery.

The Lord be merciful, and for Chriſtes ſake pardon vs our olde vnkindnes and vnthankfulnes: for when he powred vpon vs the giftes of his manifolde graces and fauour (alas) we did not ſerue him nor rendred vnto hym thankes accordyng to yͤ ſame. We paſtors many of vs were to cold and bare to much (alas) with the wicked world, our Magiſtrates did abuſe to their own worldly gaine, both Gods Goſpel and the miniſters of the ſame. The people in many places was waywarde & vnkinde. Thus of euery ſide and of euery ſort we haue prouoked Gods anger and wrath to fall vpon vs: but bleſſed might he be that hath not ſuffered hys to continue in thoſe waies, which ſo wholy haue diſpleaſed his ſecret Maieſtie, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his owne ſonnes croſſe, vnto his glory & our endles ſaluatiō, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde.

Vnthankefull receauing of Gods great giftes and graces.

Coldnes of paſtors, corruptiō of Magiſtrates, waywardnes of the people, prouoked Goddes wrathe.

My daily praier is (as God doth know) and by gods grace ſhal be ſo long as I liue in this world, for you my deare brethren that are fled out of your owne countrey, bicauſe ye will rather forſake all worldly thynges then the truth of Gods word. It is euen the ſame that I vſe to make to GOD for all thoſe churches abroad through the world, which haue forſaken the kingdome of Antichriſt, & profeſſed openly the purity of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt: that is, that God our eternall father for our Sauiour Chriſtes ſake, wil daily encreaſe in you the gracious gifte of his heauenly ſpirite to the true ſettyng forth of his glory and of his Goſpell, and make you to agree brotherly in that truth of the ſame, that ther ariſe no rote of bitternes amōg you that may infect that good ſeede whiche God hath ſowen in your harts already, and finally that your life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, accordyng to the rule of Gods worde, & accordyng to that vocation wherunto we are called by the Goſpell of Chriſte our Sauiour, that the honeſty and purity of the ſame may prouoke all that ſhal ſee or know it, to the loue of your doctrine, & to loue you for your honeſty and vertues ſake, & ſo both in brotherlie vnity of your true doctrine & alſo in yͤ Godly vertue of your honeſt life, to glorify our father which is in heauē.

The prayer of B. Ridley for al the churches abroad which openly profeſſe the Goſpell of Chriſt Ieſus.

Ex noſtratibus magni aliquot magiſtratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arūdellus, & Dominus Pachetus iā legione fungūtur, vna cū Cardinali Polo, in partibus trāſmarinis, ad cōponendam (vt aiunt) pacem inter imperatorē, regē noſtrum, & Francorū regem. Poſt illorum magiſtratuum noſtrorum reditū, & partū reginę, quem iam quotidie expectamus & iā aliquandiu expectamus, quemq; Deus pro ſui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare: nos tunc ſtatim nihil aliud quam noſtræ confeſſionis de hoſte noſtro antiquo triūphales in domino coronas expectamus.

B. Ridley prayeth for Queene Mary.

Omnium veſtrum precibus me humillime ex toto corde commendo. In primis, tuis ô chariſſ. in Chriſto frater, & dilectiſſ. Grindalle, & chariſſ. fratrum & vnicè mihi in domino dilectorū, Checi, Coxi, Turneri Leueri, Sampſonis, Chamberi, & omnium fratrū noſtrorum & conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt & diligunt dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reuerendiſſ. patres & concaptiuos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum, iam vere magni paſtoris & Archipreſulis nomine digniſſ. & veteranum illum Chriſti & noſtræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apoſtolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi frater harum prolixitatem, non enim poſt hac credo chariſsime frater, meis literis iā amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonij. N. R.

¶ To Auguſtine Bernher.

A letter of B. Ridley to one Auſten Bernher.

BRother Auguſtine, I bleſſe God with all my hart in his manifold mercifull giftes, geuen vnto our deare brethren in Chriſte, eſpecially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleaſed to ſet forth firſt, no doubt but of his gracious goodnes and fatherly fauour towards hym. And likewiſe bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hoper, Saunders, and Taylour, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord likewiſe to ſet in the forefront of the battaill againſt his aduerſaries, and hath endued them all (ſo farre as I can heare) to ſtande in the cōfeſſion of his truth, and to be content in his cauſe, and for his Goſpels ſake to loſe their life. And euermore and without ende bleſſed be euen the ſame our heauenly father for our deare & entirely beloued brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceiue) calleth for: for I weene hee will no longer vouchſafe hym too abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I doo not doubt but that he (for thoſe gifts of grace which the Lorde hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath holpen thoſe which are gon before in their iourney, that is, hath animated and encouraged them too keepe the hie way, & ſic currere vti tandem acciperent præmium. The Lord bee his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thanke God hartely that euer I was acquainted with him, and that euer I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet againe I bleſſe God in our deare brother, and of this time Protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And nowe becauſe Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath & knoweth wherein he will beſtow him) I truſt to God it ſhall pleaſe him of his goodnes to ſtrēgthē me to make vp the trinitie out of Paules Churche, to ſuffer for Chriſte, whom God the father hath annointed, the holy ſpirit doth beare witnes vnto, Paule and all the Apoſtles preached. Thus fare you wel. I had no paper: I was conſtrained thus to write.

Commemoration of ſaintes.

Protomartyr is the firſt martyr whom he ſo called, becauſe he was the firſt that ſuffered here in thoſe bloudy daies.

¶ *Here beginneth the life, actes, & doynges* of maiſter Hugh Latimer, the famous preacher and worthie Martyr of Chriſt and his Goſpell.

The ſtory of M. Hugh Latymer Martyr.

NOw conſequently after the life of B. Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we haue expreſſed, partly we haue differred to our later appendix, followeth likewiſe the life and doynges of the worthy champion, and old practiſed ſouldiour of Chriſte M. Hugh Latimer, of whoſe actes and longe trauailes euen from his firſt yeres and tender age, to begin here to entreate: firſt he was the ſonne of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeſſon in the Countie of Leiceſter, a houſebandman of righte good eſtimation: with whom alſo he was brought vp vntill he was of the age of fower yeres or thereabout. At whiche tyme his parentes (hauyng hym as then left for their onely ſonne, with ſixe other daughters) ſeyng his ready, prompte, and ſharpe wit, purpoſed to traine hym vp in eruditiō, and knowledge of good literature: wherein he ſo profited in his youth, at the cōmon ſcholes of his owne countrey, that at the age of .xiiii. yeres, he was ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge. Where after ſome continuaunce of exerciſes in other thynges, he gaue him ſelf to the ſtudie of ſuche ſchole Diuinitie, as the ignoraunce of that age did ſuffer.

M. Latymer firſt ſet to ſchole.

M. Latimer ſent to Cambridge.

M. Latymer a long tyme was a zelous & ſuperſtitious Papiſt.

Zelous he was then in the Popiſhe Religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupulous (as hym ſelfe confeſſeth) that beyng a Prieſt, and vſyng to ſaie Maſſe, he was ſo ſeruile an obſeruer of the Romiſhe Decrees, that he had thought he had neuer ſufficiētly mingled his Maſſyng wine with water: and moreouer, that he ſhould neuer be damned, if he were once a profeſſed Frier, with diuers ſuche ſuperſtitious fantaſies. And in this blinde zeale he was a very enemie to the profeſſours of Chriſtes Goſpell: as bothe his Oration made when he proceded Bachelour of Diuinitie, againſt Philip Melancthon, and alſo his other workes did plainly declare. But eſpecially his Popiſhe zeale could in no caſe abide in thoſe daies good M. Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in Cābridge, moſte diſpitfully railyng againſt hym, and willyng the youth of Cambridge, in no wiſe to beleue hym. Read before pa. 986.

M. Latymer declamed in Cambridge againſt Melancthon.

Of this M. Stafford reade before pag. 986.

Notwithſtandyng ſuche was the goodnes & mercifull purpoſe of God, that when he ſawe his good time, by the whiche waie he thought to haue vtterly defaced the profeſſors of the Goſpell and true church of Chriſt he was at lengthe hym ſelf by a member of the ſame, prettily caught in the bleſſed net of Gods worde. For M. Thomas Bilney (whoſe ſtory is before deſcribed) beyng at that time a trier out of Sathans ſubtilties, & a ſecret ouerthrower of Antichriſtes kyngdome, ſeyng M. Latimer to haue a zeale in his waies (although without knowledge) was ſtriken with a brotherly pitie towards him, & bethought by what meanes he might beſt win this zelous ignoraunt brother, to the true knowledge of Chriſt. Wherefore, after a ſhort time, he came to M. Latimers ſtudy, & deſired him to heare him make his confeſſion. Which thing he willyngly graunted: by hearyng whereof he was (through the good ſpirite of God) ſo touched, that hereupon he forſooke his former ſtudiyng of the ſchole Doctors, & other ſuche fopperies and became a earneſt ſtudent of true Diuinitie, as he hym ſelf, aſwell in his conferēce with M. Ridley, as alſo in his firſt ſermon made vpon the Pater noſter, doeth confeſſe. So that wheras before he was an enemy, and almoſt a perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zelous ſeker after him, chaunging his old maner of cauillyng & railing, into a diligēt kind of conferring, both with M. Bilney & others, & came alſo to M. Stafford before he died, & deſired him to forgiue him. Read before pa. 986.

Latymer conuerted by M. Bilney.

Reade M. Latymers owne confeſſion in his firſt ſermon vpon the Pater noſter.

After this his winnyng to Chriſt, he was not ſatiſfied with his own cōuerſiō only, but like a true diſciple of the bleſſed Samaritane, pitied the miſery of others, and therfore became both a publicke preacher, & alſo a priuate inſtructer to the reſt of his brethren within the vniuerſitie, by the ſpace of 3. yeres, ſpending his time partly in the Latin tong amongſt the learned, & partly amongſt the ſimple people in his naturall & vulgar lāgage. Howbeit, as Sathā neuer ſlepeth whē he ſeeth his kingdome begin to decay, ſo likewiſe now ſeyng ẏ this worthy mēber of chriſt would be a ſhrewd ſhaker therof he raiſed vp his impious imps to moleſt & trouble him.

M. Latymer a Papiſt, turned to a zelous Chriſtian.

M. Latimer becommeth a preacher in Cambridge.

Amongeſt theſe there was an Auguſtine Frier, who tooke occaſiō vpon certain ſermons that M. Latimer made about Chriſtenmas 1529. aſwell in the church of S. Edward, as alſo in S. Auguſtines, within the vniuerſitie in Cambridge, to inueye againſt him, for that M. Latimer in the ſaid ſermons (alludyng to the common vſage of the ſeaſon) gaue the people certain cardes out of the 5.6.7. chapiters of S. Matthewe, whereupon they might, not onely thā, but alwaies els occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the cardes he limited the hart as the principal thing that thei ſhould ſerue God with all: wherby he quite ouerthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tendyng to ẏ neceſſarie furtheraunce of Gods holy worde & Sacramentes. For the better atteinyng hereof, he wiſhed the ſcriptures to bee in Engliſh, wherby the cōmon people might the better learne their duties, aſwell to God, as their neighbors.

Enemies ſtirred in Cambridge againſt M. Latymer.

M. Latymers preachyng of the Cardes in Cambridge.

The hādling of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſantly applied of him, ẏ not only it declared a ſingular towardnes of witt in the preacher, but alſo wrought in the hearers muche fruite, to the ouerthrow of Popiſh ſuperſtition, & ſetting vp of perfect religion.

This was vpon the Sondaie before Chriſtenmas daie, on whiche daie commyng to the churche, and cauſyng the bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, takyng for his text the wordes of the Goſpell aforſaid, red in the church that daie: Tu quis es. &c. In deliueryng the whiche cardes (as is abouesaied) he made the harte to be triumph, exhortyng and inuityng all men therby to ſerue the lorde with inward hart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies: addyng moreouer to the praiſe of that triūph, that though it were neuer ſo ſmall, yet it would make vp the beſte cote carde beſide in the bunche, yea though it were the kyng of Clubbes. &c. meanyng therby, how the Lorde would bee worſhipped and ſerued in ſimplicitie of the harte and veritie, wherin conſiſteth true Chriſtian religion, and not in the outward deedes of the letter onely, or in the gliſteryng ſhewe of mannes traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vowes, deuotions, voluntarie workes, & workes of ſupererogatiō, foūdations, oblations, the Popes ſupremacie. &c. ſo that all theſe either were nedeles, where the other is preſent: or els were of ſmal eſtimatiō, in compariſon of the other.

The difference betwene true & falſe religion.

The tenour and effecte of theſe his Sermons, ſo far as thei could come to our handes, for ſo muche as thei are collected and expreſſed in our firſte edition, page, 1298. and peraduenture alſo maie bee repeated againe in our latter appendix, belongyng to the ende of this Volume,

Anno. 1555. October.

Volume, I ſhall therefore referre the reader, either to the one place, or to the other.

It would aſke a longe diſcourſe to declare, what a ſtirre there was in Cambridge, vpō this preachyng of M.Latimer. Belike Sathan beganne to feele him ſelf and his kingdome to be touched to nere, and therefore thought it tyme to looke aboute hym, and to make out his men of armes.

Firſte came out the Priour of the Blacke Friers called Bucknham, otherwiſe ſurnamed Domine labia. Who thinking to make a greate hande againſt maiſter Latimer, aboute the ſame tyme of Chriſtenmas, when M.Latimer brought forthe his cardes to deface belike the doynges of the other, brought out his Chriſtēmas Dice, caſtyng there to his audience cinque and quater: meanyng by the cinque fiue places in the newe Teſtament, and the fower doctors by the quater, by which his cinque quater he would proue, that it was not expediēt the Scripture to bee in Engliſhe, leſt the ignorant and vulgare ſort through the occaſiō thereof, might happely be brought in daunger to leaue their vocation, or els to runne into ſome inconuenience: As for example the Plowman when he heareth this in the Goſpell: No mā that laieth his hand on the plough and looketh backe, is mete for the kyngdome of God, might peraduenture hearyng this, ceaſe from his plough. Likewiſe the Baker when he heareth that a little Leauen corrupteth a whole lumpe of dowe, maie percaſe leaue our bread vnleauened, and ſo our bodies ſhall bee vnſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple man, whē he heareth in the Goſpell: If thine eye offende thee, plucke it out, and caſt it frō thee, maie make hym ſelf blinde, and ſo fill the worlde full of beggars. These with other mo, this clarkely frier brought out to the number of fiue, to proue his purpoſe.

D. Delvſace playeth at dice with M. Latymer.

Note theſe great reaſons of the Catholickes, why the Scriptures ſhuld not come in Engliſh.

Maiſter Latimer hearyng this Frierly Sermon of Doctour Bucknam, commeth againe the after noone, or ſhortly after, to the Churche to aunſwere the Frier, where reſorted to hym a great multitude, as well of the Vniuerſitie, as of the Toune, bothe Doctours and other graduates, with greate expectation to heare what he could ſaie: among whom alſo directely in the face of Latimer vnderneth the Pulpit ſat Bucknham the forſaid Frier Prior of the blacke Friers with his blacke Friers coule about his ſhoulders.

Then M.Latimer firſte repetyng the Frierly reaſons of Doctour Bucknham, whereby he would proue it a daungerous thyng for the vulgar people, to haue the ſcripture in the vulgar tongue, ſo refuted the Frier ſo aunſwered to his obiections, ſo dalied with his bald reaſons of the Plowman lookyng backe, and of the Baker leauyng his breade vnleauened, that the vanitie of the Frier might to al men appeare: well prouyng and declaryng to the people, howe there was no ſuche feare nor daunger for the ſcriptures, to be in Engliſhe as the Frier pretended: at leaſt this requiryng, that the Scripture might bee ſo longe in Engliſhe tongue, till Engliſhe men were ſo madde, that neither the Ploweman durſt looke backe, nor the Baker would leaue his bread vnleauened: and procedyng moreouer in his ſermon, he began to diſcourſe of the miſtical ſpeaches and figuratiue phraſes of the Scripture: whiche phraiſes he ſaied were not ſo diffuſe and difficulte, as thei were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrue toungue moſt commonly vſed and knowen: and not onely in the Hebrue tongue: But alſo euery ſpeache (ſaieth he) hath his Metaphors, and like figuratiue ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all menne, that the verie Painters doe paint them in walles and in houſes: As for example (ſaieth he, lookyng toward the Frier that ſat ouer againſt him) when thei paint a Foxe preaching out of a Friers coule, none is ſo madde to take this to be a Foxe that preacheth, but knowe well enough the meanyng of the matter, whiche is to painte out vnto vs, what hypocriſie, craft, and ſubtile diſſimulatiō lieth hid many tymes in theſe Friers coules, willyng vs thereby to beware of them. In fine, Frier Bucknham with this Sermon was ſo daſhed, that neuer after he durſt pepe out of the Pulpit againſt M.Latimer.

Aunſwere of M. Latymer to D. Bucknhams Sermon.

Beſides this Bucknhā there was alſo an other railing Frier, not of the ſame coate, but of the ſame note & faction, a graie Frier and a Doctor, an outlandiſhman, called D. Venetus, who likewiſe in his brawlyng Sermons, railed and raged againſte M. Latimer, callyng hym a madde and braineles man, and willyng the people not to beleue hym. &c. To whom M. Latimer aunſweryng againe, taketh for his ground the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt Math. 5. Thou ſhalte not kill. &c. but I ſaie vnto you, who ſoeuer is angrie with his neighbour ſhalbe in daunger of iudgement: And who ſoeuer ſhall ſaie vnto his neighbour Racha (or any other like wordes of rebukyng, as braineleſſe) ſhalbe in daunger of Coūſaill: And who ſoeuer ſhal ſaie to his neighbour foole, ſhalbe in daunger of hell fire. &c. In diſcuſſyng of whiche place, firſt he diuideth the offence of killyng into three braunches. One to bee with hande, an other with harte, the thirde with worde. With hande, when we vſe any weapon drawen to ſpill the life of our neighboure. With harte when we be angrie with hym. With worde whē in worde or countenaunce we diſdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully reuile hym. Wordes of rebukyng are whē we ſpeake any opprobrious and vnſemely thing, whereby the pacience of our neighbour is moued, as when we call hym madde (ſaied he) or braineleſſe, or ſuche like: whiche are giltie of Counſaill. Wordes of ſpite or reuilyng are, when wee call hym foole: whiche Chriſt ſaieth is giltie of hell fire. &c.

An other barking frier againſt M. Latymer.

Math 5.

Aunſwere of Maiſter Latymer to an other railing fryer.

Thus M.Latimer in handling and trimmyng this matter, after that with the weight of Chriſtes wordes, and the explainyng of the ſame, he had ſufficiētly borne the Frier cleane doune, then he turned to the v. chap. of the booke of Wiſedome. Out of the whiche chap. he declared to the audience, how the true ſeruauntes & preachers of God in this worlde commonly are ſcorned and reuiled of the proude enemies of Gods worde, whiche compt them here as mad men, fooles, brainles, & drunken: ſo did thei (ſaied he) in the ſcripture call thē whiche moſte purely preached, and ſet forthe the glory of Gods worde. But (ſaied he) what will be the ende of theſe gely felowes, or what will thei ſay in the ende? Nos inſenſati, nos inſenſati, &c. We madmen, we mad fooles, We, we our ſelues. &c. And that will be their ende, excepte they repente. And thus endyng his Sermon, he ſo confounded the poore Frier, that he droue hym not onely out of countenaunce, but alſo cleane out of the Vniuerſitie.

Sapien. 5.

Act. 5.

But what ſhould I here ſtande deciphryng the names of his aduerſaries, whē whole ſwarmes of Friers and Doctours flockt againſt hym on euery ſide almoſt through the whole Vniuerſitie, preachyng likewiſe and barkyng againſt hym. Amōgeſt whō was D. Watſon maiſter of Chriſtes Colledge, whoſe ſcholer Latimer had been afore. D. Notaries maiſter of Clarehall. D. Philo maiſter of Michael houſe, D. Metecalfe maiſter of ſaint Johns, Doctour Blith of the kynges hal. D. Bulloke maiſter of the Quenes colledge. D. Cliffe of Clement hoſtle, D. Donnes of Jeſus Colledge, D. Palmes maiſter of S. Nicholas hoſtle, Bain, Rud, and Grenewode Bach. of Diuinitie, all three of ſaint Jhons Colledge. Alſo Brikenden Bacheler of Diuinitie of the ſame houſe, and ſcholer ſomtyme to the ſaid Latimer. Briefly, almoſt as many as wer heades there of houſes, ſo many impugners did this worthie Standerbearer of Chriſtes Goſpell ſuſtaine.

Then came at laſte D. Weſt Biſhop of Eley, who preachyng againſt M.Latimer at Barwell Abbey, forbad hym within the Churches of that Vniuerſitie to preache any more. Notwithſtandyng ſo the Lorde prouided, that D. Barnes Prior of the Auſten Friers, did licence M.Latimer to preach in his churche of the Auſtens, and he hym ſelf preached at the churche by called S. Edwardes churche, whiche was the firſt ſermon of the Goſpell whiche D. Barnes preached, beyng vpon Chriſtmas euen vpon a Sondaie. Wherupon certain Articles were gathered out of his ſermon, and wer cōmenced againſt hym by M. Tiuell fellowe of the Kynges Hall, and ſo by the Vicechauncellour preſented to ẏ Cardinall, as in his ſtorie before hath been declared.

D. Weſt Biſhop of Eley forbidding M. Latymer to preach.

This M. Latimer (as you haue heard) beyng baited by the Friers, Doctors, and maiſters of that Vniuerſitie about the yere aforeſaid. 1529. notwithſtanding the maugre and malice of theſe malignant aduerſaries continued yet in Cambridge, preachyng the ſpace of iij. yeres together, with ſuche fauour and appauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuche admiration of his enemies that heard hym, that the Biſhop hym ſelf commyng in, and hearyng his gifte, wiſhed hym ſelf to haue the like, and was compelled to commende hym vpon the ſame.

So M.Latimer with M. Bilney after this continued yet in Cambridge a certaine ſpace, where he with the ſaied Bilney vſed muche to conferre and company together, in ſo muche that the place where thei moſte vſed to walke in the fieldes, was called long after, the Heretickes hill.

Bilney & Latymer ioyned companions.

The ſocietie of theſe twoo, as it was muche noted of many in that Uniuerſitie:ſo it was full of many good examples,to al ſuche as would followe their doynges,bothe in viſityng the priſoners,in relieuyng the nedy,in feding the hungrie,whereof ſomwhat is before mentioned in the hiſtorie of M.Bilney. In a place of his Sermons M. Latimer maketh mention of a certaine hiſtorie,whiche happened about this time in Cābridge betwene them twoo and a certain woman, then priſoner in the Caſtle or Tower of Cambridge,which I thought here not unworthie to be remembred. The hiſtorie is this: It ſo chaunced that after M. Latimer had been acquainted with the foreſaid M. Bilney, he went with hym to viſite the priſoners in the Tower in Cambridge, and beyng there among other priſoners, there was a woman whiche was accuſed that ſhe had killed her owne child,whiche acte ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly denied. Whereby it gaue thē occaſion to ſearche for the matter, and at length thei founde that her huſbande loued her not, and therefore ſought all meanes he could to make her awaie. The matter was thus.

A ſtory of a certaine woman cōdemned who was ſaued by Maiſter Latymer.

Maiſter Latymer obtained pardon of the kyng for a woman wrongfully condemned.

Purification of women.

A childe of hers had been ſicke a whole yere,and at length died in harueſt tyme,as it wer in a conſumptiō. Which when it was gone, ſhe went to haue her neighbours to helpe her to the buriall, but all were in Harueſt abroad:whereby ſhe was inforced with heauineſſe of harte,alone to prepare the child to the buriall. Her huſbande commyng home,and not louyng her,accuſed her of murtheryng the child. This was the cauſe of her trouble:and M.Latimer by earneſt inquiſition,of conſcience thought the woman not giltie. Then immediatly after,was he called to preache before kyng Hēry the viij.at Winſore:where after his Sermon,the kynges maieſtie ſent for hym,and talked with hym familiarly. At whiche tyme M.Latimer findyng oportunitie,kneled doune,opened his whole matter to the kyng,& begged her pardon:which the king moſte graciouſly graunted,and gaue it hym at his returne homeward. In the meane tyme the woman was deliuered of a child in the priſon, whoſe Godfather was Maiſter Latimer, and Maiſtres Cheeke Godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon,but laboured to haue her confeſſe the truthe of the matter. At lengthe tyme came when ſhe looked to ſuffer: and Maiſter Latimer came as he was wont,to enſtructe her:unto whom ſhe made greate lamentation and mone, to be purified before her ſufferyng, for ſhe thought to be damned,if ſhe ſhould ſuffer without purification. Then M.Bilney beyng with M.Latimer,bothe tolde her that that lawe was made to the Jewes,and not to us, and how women be aſwell in the fauour of God before thei be purified,as after:and rather it was appointed for a ciuil and politicke lawe,for natural honeſtie ſake,then that thei ſhould any thing the more be purified from ſynne thereby.&c. So thus thei trauailed with this woman, till thei had brought her to a good trade, and then at length ſhewed her the kynges pardon, and let her goe.

D. Redman againſt M. Latymer.

This good acte among many other at this tyme happened in Cambridge,by M. Latimer,and maiſter Bilney. But this was not alone,for many moe like matters were wroughte by them, if all were knowen, whereof partly ſome are touched before,ſuche eſpecially as concerne M. Bilney, mention whereof is aboue expreſſed pag 1981. But as it is commonly ſeen in the naturall courſe of thynges, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, ſo the more ſmoke ariſeth withall,in muche like ſorte it happened with M. Latimer,whoſe towardnes the more it began to ſpryng,his vertues to be ſeen,and his doynges to be knowē,the more his aduerſaries beganne to ſpurne and kindle againſt hym. Concernyng theſe aduerſaries, and ſuche as did moleſt hym,partly their names be aboue expreſſed. Amōg the reſt of this nomber was doctor Redman,of whom mention is made before in the raigne of kyng Edward pag.1311. a man fauouring at that tyme ſomwhat more of ſuperſtition,then of true religion, after the zeale of the Phariſeis,yet not ſo malignant or harmfull,but of a ciuill and quiet diſpoſitiō,and alſo ſo liberall in well doyng,that fewe poore Scholers were in that uniuerſitie,whiche fared not better by his purſe. This doctor Redman beyng of no little authoritie in Cambridge, perceiuyng and underſtandyng the bolde enterpriſe of M.Latimer,in ſettyng abroade the worde and doctrine of the Goſpell,at this tyme, or muche about the ſame, writeth to hym,ſekyng by perſwaſiō to reuoke the ſaid Latimer from that kynde and maner of teachyng: to whom M. Latimer maketh aunſwere againe in fewe wordes. The ſumme and effecte of bothe their letters tranſlated out of Latine,here followe to be ſeen.

¶The ſumme of the Epiſtle written by Doctour Redman,to Maiſter Latimer.

A letter of D. Redman to M. Latymer.

GRace be vnto you,and true peace in Chriſt Ieſu.I beſeche you hartely, and require you moſte earneſtly, euen for charities ſake, that you will not ſtand in your own conceit with a mynd ſo indurate, nor preferre your own ſingular iudgement in matters of religion and controuerſies, before ſo many learned men, and that more is, before the whole catholike Church, eſpecially conſidering that you neither haue any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the teſtimony of any autenticall wryter. Nay, nay: I beſeech you rather conſider that you are a man, and that liyng and vanitye maie quickely bleare your eye, whiche doeth ſometyme transforme it ſelf into an Aungell of light.

Iudge not ſo raſhly of vs,as that wicked ſpirit hath tickled you in the eare. Witte you well that we are carefull for you,and that we wiſhe you to bee ſaued,and that we are carefull alſo for our owne Saluation. Laie doune your ſtomacke I praie you,and humble your ſpirite, and ſuffer not the Churche to take offence with the hardnes of your hart,nor that her vnitie and Chriſtes coate without ſeame (as muche as lieth in you) ſhould bee torne a ſunder. Conſider what the ſaiyng of the wiſeman is, and bee obediente thereunto: Truſte not in your owne wiſedome. The Lorde Ieſus Chriſt.&c.

¶The ſumme of M. Latimers aunſwere to Doctour Redman.

Aunſwere of M. Latymer to D. Redman.

REuerende M.Redman, it is euen enough for me,that Chriſtes ſhepe heare no mannes voyce but Chriſt: & as for you, you haue no voyce of Chriſte againſte me: whereas for my part, I haue a harte that is readie to harken to any voyce of Chriſt that you can bryng me. Thus fare you well,and trouble me no more from the talkyng with the Lorde my God.

M. Latymer called vp to the Cardinall.

After maiſter Latimer had thus trauailed in preachyng,and teachyng in the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge, about the ſpace of three yeres, at length he was called up to the Cardinall for hereſie,by the procurement of certain of the ſaied Uniuerſitie, where he was content to ſubſcribe,and graunt to ſuche Articles,as then thei propounded unto hym.&c.

D. Buttes a worthy fauourer of Gods word.

After that,he retourned to the Uniuerſitie againe, where ſhortly after,by the meanes of Doc. Buttes the kynges Phiſition,a ſinguler good man,and a ſpeciall fauourer of good procedinges, he was in the nomber of them whiche laboured in the cauſe of the kynges ſupremacie. Then went he to the Court,where he remained a certain time in the ſaied Doct. Buttes chamber, preachyng then in London very often. At laſte beyng wearie of the Courte,hauyng a benefice offered by the kyng,at the ſute of the lorde Crūwell and D. Buttes, was glad thereof,ſekyng by that meanes to be rid out of the Court,wherewith in no caſe he could agre: and ſo hauyng a graunte of the Benefice, contrary to the minde of Doctour Buttes, he would nedes departe, and be reſident at the ſame.

M. Latymer beneficed in Wilſhire in weſt Kington.

This benefice was in Wilſhire, under the Dioces of Sarum,the name of whiche toune was called Weſte Kyngton. Where this good preacher did exerciſe hym ſelf with muche diligence of teachyng to inſtructe his flocke: and not onely to them his diligence extended, but alſo to all the cōtrey about. In fine,his diligence was ſo greate, his preachyng ſo mightie,the maner of his teachyng ſo zelous, that there in like ſort he could not eſcape without enemies. So true it is that Sainct Paule foretelleth us: Whoſoeuer will liue godlie in Chriſt,ſhall ſuffer perſecution. It ſo chaunced ȳ whereas he preachyng upon the bleſſed virgin Chriſtes mother (whom we call our Ladie) had thereupon declared his minde,referryng and reducyng all honour onely to Chriſt our onely ſauior,certain Popiſh prieſtes being therewith offended, ſought and wrought muche trouble againſt hym,drawyng out Articles and impoſitiōs whiche thei untruly,uniuſtly,falſly, and uncharitablie imputed unto hym,firſt that he ſhould preache againſt our Ladie,for that he reproued in a Sermō the ſuperſtitious rudeneſſe of certain blinde Prieſtes,whiche ſo helde altogether upon that bleſſed Uirgine,as though ſhe neuer had any ſynne, nor were ſaued by Chriſte the onely

M. Latimer troubled for preachyng Chriſt onely to be our Sauiour,and not our Lady.

The ſuperſtitious rudenes of blinde Prieſtes.

Anno. 1555. October.

onely Sauiour of the whole worlde.

Item, that he ſhould ſaie, that Seinctes wer not to be worſhipped.

Matter deuiſed agaynſt M. Latymer by Popiſh Prieſtes.

Item, that Aue Maria was a ſalutation onely, and no praier.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no purgatorie, in ſaiyng, that he had leuer be in Purgatorie then in Lollards tower.

Touchyng the whole diſcourſe of whiche Articles, with his reply and aunſwere to the ſame, hereafter ſhal followe (by the Lordes aſſiſtaunce) when we come to his letters.

Doct. Powell, Doct. Wilſone, D. Sherwood, Hubberdine, D. Warrham Archbyſhop of Canterbury. D. Stokeſley B. of London, troublers of M. Latymer.

The chief impugners and moleſters of him, beſides theſe countrey prieſtes, were D. Powell of Saliſbury, D. Wilſon ſomtime of Cambridge, M. Huberdin, and D. Sherwode. Of whom ſome preached againſte hym, ſome alſo did write againſte hym: in ſo muche that by their procurement he was cited vp, & called to appeare before W. Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Jhon Stokeſley Biſhop of London. Anno 1531. Jan. xxix. the copie of whiche citation maie appeare in our firſt edition, pag. 1332. more at large.

M. Latymer appealed from the Byſhop of Londons citation, to his own Ordinary.

M. Latymer moleſted by Warrhã Archbyſhop of Cant. and Stokeſley Byſhop of London.

Againſt this citation, although M. Latimer did appeale to his own Ordinarie, requiryng by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtandyng, he was had vp to Lõdon before Warrhã the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Lõdon, where he was greatly moleſted, and deteined a long ſpace from his cure at home. There he beyng called thriſe euery weke before the ſaid Biſhops, to make aunſwere for his preaching, had certain articles or propoſitions drawen out & laied to him, whereunto thei required hym to ſubſcribe. At length he not onely perceiuyng their practical proceadynges, but alſo muche greued with their troubleſome vnquietnes, whiche neither would preache them ſelues, nor yet ſuffer hym to preache and to doe his duetie, writeth to the foreſaied Archbiſhoppe, partly excuſyng his infirmitie, whereby he could not appeare at their commaundemẽt partely expoſtulatyng with them for ſo troublyng, and deteinyng hym from his duetie doyng, and that for no iuſte cauſe, but onely for preachyng the truthe againſt certaine vain abuſes crept into religion, muche needefull to be ſpoken againſt. Whiche all maie appeare by his Epiſtle ſent to a certain Biſhop or Archbiſhop, in our firſte edition expreſſed in Latin at large, pag. 1331. if any bee diſpoſed there to ſee and peruſe the ſame. In the whiche foreſaied Epiſtle (as there is to be ſeen) he maketh mention of certaine Articles or propoſitions, wherunto he was required by the biſhops to ſubſcribe. The copie of whiche articles or bare propoſitions (as he termeth them) I thought here vnder to notifie, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſhe, as followeth.

M. Latymers letter to the Archbyſh. read thereof in the firſte edition pag. 1333.

¶ Articles deuiſed by the Biſhops, for M. Latimer to ſubſcribe vnto.

Articles propounded to M. Latimer to ſubſcribe vnto.

I Beleue that there is a purgatorie to purge the ſoules of the deade after this life.

That the ſoules in Purgatorie are holpen with the Maſſes, praiers, and almes of the liuyng.

That the Saintes doe pray as Mediatours now for vs in heauen.

That thei are to be honoured of vs in heauen.

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to call vppon the Saintes, that thei maie praie as Mediatours for vs vnto God.

That Pilgrimages and oblations doen to the Sepulchers, and Reliques of Saintes, are meritorious.

That thei whiche haue vowed perpetuall chaſtitie, maie not marie, nor breake their vowe, without the diſpenſation of the Pope.

That the keyes of bindyng and loſyng deliuered to Peter, doe ſtill remain with the Biſhops of Rome, his Succeſſours, although thei liue wickedly, and are by no meanes, nor at any tyme committed to laye men.

That men maie merite and deſerue at Gods hande by faſtyng, praier, and other good workes of pitie.

That thei whiche are forbidden of the Biſhoppe to preache, as ſuſpecte perſones, ought to ceaſe vntill thei haue purged them ſelues before the ſaied Biſhops, or their Superiours, and be reſtored againe.

That the faſt whiche is vſed in Lent, and other faſtes preſcribed by the Canõs, and by cuſtome receiued of the Chriſtians (except neceſſitie otherwiſe require) are to be obſerued and kept.

That God in euery one of the ſeuen Sacramentes geueth grace to a man, rightly receiuyng the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctifiynges and bleſſynges, by vſe and cuſtome receiued into the Churche, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifix & other Saintes, ſhould bee had in the Churche as a remembraunce, and to the honor and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Saintes.

That it is laudable and profitable, to decke and to cloth thoſe Images, and to ſet vp burnyng lightes before them, to the honour of the ſaied Saintes.

M. Latymer whether he ſubſcribed or no, it is vncertein.

To theſe Articles whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is vncertain. It appeareth by his Epiſtle aboue written to the Biſhop, that he durſt not conſent vnto them, where he writeth in theſe wordes: His ego nudis ſententijs ſubſcribere non audeo, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, autorculus eſſe nolo. &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterward to agre, through the cruell handlyng of the Biſhoppes, it is in doubt. By the wordes and the title in Tonſtalles Regiſter prefixed before the Articles, it maie ſeme that he ſubſcribed. The wordes of the Regiſter bee theſe: Hugo Latimerus in ſacra Theologia Bacch. in Vniuerſitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepiſcopo, Iohan. Lond. Epiſcopo, reliquáque concione apud Weſtmonaſt. vocatus, confeſſus eſt & recognouit fidem ſuam, ſic ſentiendo vt ſequitur, in his artic. xxi. die Martij. Anno. 1531. If theſe wordes bee true, it maie bee ſo thought that he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no greate matter nor maruaile, the iniquitie of the tyme beyng ſuche, that either he muſt nedes ſo doe, or els abide the Biſhoppes bleſſyng, that is, cruell ſentence of death, whiche he at that tyme (as hym ſelf confeſſed preachyng at Stamforde) was lothe to ſuſtaine for ſuche matters as theſe were, vnleſſe it were for Articles neceſſarie of his beliefe, by which his wordes I coniecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length, albeit it was long before he could bee brought ſo to doe. Yet this by the waie is to bee noted, concernyng the craftie & deceiptfull handlyng of theſe Biſhoppes in his examinations, what ſubtile deuiſes thei vſed the ſame tyme to entrap hym in their ſnares. The ſtorie he ſheweth forth hym ſelf in a certaine Sermon preached at Stamford. an. 1550. Octob. 9. his wordes be theſe. I was once (ſaieth he) in examination before v. or vi. Biſhops, where I had muche tormoilyng: euery weeke thriſe I came to examinations, and many ſnares and trappes wer laied to get ſome thyng. Now God knoweth I was ignoraunt of the Lawe, but that God gaue me aunſwere and wiſedome what I ſhould ſpeake: it was God in deede, for els I had neuer eſcaped them. At the laſt I was brought forthe to be examined into a chamber hãged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was ſomwhat altered. For where as before there was wont euer to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken awaie, and an arras hanged ouer the chimney, and the table ſtoode nere the chimneis ende.

The crafty handling of the Byſhops in examining M. Latymer.

Ex verbis Latimeri.

There was amongeſt theſe Biſhoppes that examined me, one with whõ I haue been very familiar, and tooke hym for my greate frende, an aged man, and he ſat next the table ende.

Then amongeſt al other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtill and craftie one, & ſuche a one in deede, as I could not thinke ſo greate daunger in. And when I ſhould make aunſwere, I praie you M. Latimer ſaied one, ſpeake out, I am very thicke of hearyng, and here be many that ſitte farre of. I maruailed at this, that I was bidden ſpeake out, and began to miſdeme, & gaue an eare to the chimney; and ſir, there I heard a penne walkyng in the chimney behinde the clothe. They had appointed one there to write all mine aunſwers: for they made ſure, that I ſhould not ſtarte from them: there was no ſtartyng from them, God was my good lorde, and gaue me aunſwere, I could neuer els haue ſcaped it. The queſtion to hym there and then obiected, was this: whether he thought in his conſcience, that he hath been ſuſpected of hereſie. This was a captious queſtion. There was no holdyng of peace would ſerue, for that was to graunte hym ſelf faultie. To aunſwere, it was euery waie full of daunger. But God whiche alwaie geueth in neede what to aunſwere, helped hym, or els (as he cõfeſſeth hym ſelf) he had neuer eſcaped their bloudie handes. Albeit what was his aunſwere, he doeth not there expreſſe. And thus hitherto you haue heard declared ỹ manifold troubles of this godly preacher in the tyme not onely of his beyng in the vniuerſitie, but eſpecially at his benefice, as partly by his own

A ſubtile and captious queſtion put to M. Latymer by the Byſhops.

wordes aboue mencioned, and partly by his owne letters hereafter folowyng may better appeare.

In theſe ſo hard and daungerous ſtraites, and ſuch ſnares of the Biſhops, harde it had bene for hym and impoſſible to haue eſcaped and continued ſo long, had not the almighty helping hand of the higheſt, as he ſtirred hym vp, ſo haue preſerued hym through the fauour and power of his Prince: who with much fauour embraced him, and with his mere power ſometime reſcued and deliuered hym out of the crooked clawes of his enemies. Moreouer, at lẽgth alſo, through the procurement, partly of D. Buttes, partly of good Cromwell, (whoſe ſtory ye had before) he auaunced him to the degree & dignity of a Biſhop, making him the Biſhop of Worceſter, which ſo cõtinued a few yeares, inſtructing his Dioces, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Paſtor with wholſome doctrine and example of perfect conuerſation duly agreyng to the ſame. It were a long matter to ſtand particularly vpon ſuch thynges as myght here be brought to the commendation of hys paines, as ſtudy, readines and continual carefulnes in teachyng preaching, exhortyng, viſityng, correctyng and reformyng, either as his abilitie could ſerue, or els the tyme would beare. But the daies then were ſo daungerous and variable, that he could not in al things do that he would: yet what he mught doe, that he perfourmed to the vttermoſt of hys ſtrength, ſo that although he could not vtterly extinguiſh al the ſparkling relikes of old ſuperſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be vſed with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this thyng, as in diuers other it did appeare, that when it could not bee auoyded, but holy water and holy bread muſt needes be receaued, yet hee ſo prepared and inſtructed them of his Dioces, with ſuch informations and leſſons, that in receauyng thereof ſuperſtition ſhould bee excluded, and ſome remembraunce taken thereby, teachyng and charging the Miniſters of his Dioces, in deliueryng the holy bread and holy water, to ſay theſe wordes folowyng.

Maſter Latymer reſcued by the King.

Maſter Latymer aduaunced to the Biſhopriks of Worceſter by the King.

The paſtorall diligẽce of M. Latymer in his dioces.

The time daungerous for B. Latymer to worke in.

¶Wordes ſpoken to the people in geuyng them the holy water.

Remember your promiſe in Baptiſme,
Chriſt hys mercy and bloud ſheedyng,
By whoſe moſt holy ſprinkelyng,
Of all your ſinnes you haue free pardonyng.

Wordes vſed in Byſhop Latymers dioces in geuing holy water.

¶What to ſay in geuyng holy bread.

Of Chriſtes body this is a token,
Which on the croſſe for our ſinnes was broken,
Wherefore of your ſinnes you muſt be forſakers,
If of Chriſtes death you will be partakers.

Words vſed in geuing holy bread.

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent care of this Biſhop was in dooyng the duety of a faithfull Paſtour among his flocke. And moreouer it is to bee thought that he would haue brought more thinges els to paſſe, if the tyme then had aunſwered to his deſyre: for he was not ignoraunt, how the inſtitution of holy water and holy bread, not onely had no ground in ſcripture, but alſo howe full of prophane exorciſmes and coniurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Goſpel. Thus this good man behaued him ſelfe in his Dioces: but, as before, both in the vniuerſity, and at his benefice he was toſt & tormoiled by wicked and euill diſpoſed perſons, ſo in his Biſhopricke alſo he was not all cleare & voyde of ſome that ſought his trouble. As among many other euill willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall perſon, whiche accuſed him then to the King for his Sermons. The ſtory becauſe he ſheweth hym ſelf in a Sermon of hys before King Edward, I thought therefore to vſe his owne wordes which be theſe.

The behauiour of Byſhop Latymer in his office.

The troubles of Maſter Latymer in hys Biſhopricke.

In the Kings daies that dead is, a great many of vs were called together before hym, to ſay our mindes in certaine matters. In the ende, one kneleth downe and accuſeth mee of ſedition and that I had preached ſeditious doctrine. A heauy ſalutation, and a hard point of ſuch a mans doyng, as if I ſhould name, ye would not thinke it. The King turned to me and ſaid: What ſay you to that ſyr?

Ex verbis Latimeri, pro concione.

B. Latimer accuſed to K. Henry for his preaching.

Then I kneeled downe, & tourned me firſt to my accuſer, and required him: Syr what forme of preaching would you appoynt mee? in preachyng before a King would you haue mee preach nothyng as concernyng a King in ẏ Kings Sermon? haue you any cõmiſſion to appoint me what I ſhal preach? beſides this I aſked hym diuers other queſtions, and he would make mee none anſwere to any of them all: he had nothing to ſay.

M. Latymer anſwereth his accuſer.

Then I tourned me to the King, and ſubmitted my ſelfe to his grace, and ſayd: I neuer thought my ſelfe worthy, nor I neuer ſued to be a Preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willyng (if you miſlike mee) to geue place to my betters: for I graunt there bee a greate manye, more worthy of the roome then I am. And if it be your graces pleaſure ſo to allowe them for preachers, I could bee content to beare their bookes after them. But if your grace alow me for a preacher, I would deſire your grace to geue me leaue to diſcharge my conſcience, geue me leaue to frame my doctrine accordyng to my audience. I had bene a very dolte to haue preached ſo at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace.

The wordes of B. Latymer to the King.

And I thanke almighty God (whiche hath alwayes bene my remedy) that my ſayinges were well accepted of the King, for like a gracious Lorde he tourned into an other communication. It is euen as the Scripture ſaith: Cor Regis in manu Domini. i. The Lord directed the Kinges hart. Certaine of my friendes came to mee with teares in their eyes, and told mee they looked I ſhould haue bene in the Tower the ſame night.

The Kings harte affected toward B. Latymer.

Beſides this dyuers other conflictes and combattes this Godlye Biſhop ſuſtained in his owne countrey and Dioces, in taking the cauſe of right and equity againſt oppreſſion and wrong. As, for an other example, there was at that tyme not far from the Dioces of Worceter a certaine Iuſtice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceaſed. This Iuſtice in purchaſing of certaine land for his brother, or for hym ſelfe, went about to wrong or dammify a poore man, who made his complaint to M. Latimer. He firſt hearing, then tendering his rightfull cauſe, wrote his letter to the Gentleman: exhortyng hym to remember hym ſelfe, to conſider the cauſe and to abſtaine from iniury. The Iuſtice of peace not content withal (as the faſhion of men is when they are tolde of their fault) ſendeth word agayne, in great diſpleaſure, that he would not ſo take it at his hãds, with ſuch threatning wordes. &c. M. Latimer hearyng this, aunſwered againe by writing: the copy whereof among his letters, in the firſte edition is to be ſeene, pag. 1359.

B. Latymer taketh ẏ poore mans part agaynſt his oppreſſour.

It were a large and a long proceſſe to ſtory out al the doynges, trauailes and writings of this Chriſtian Biſhop, neither yet haue we expreſſed all that came to our handes: but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he cõtinued in this laborious function of a Biſhop the ſpace of certeine yeres, till the commyng in of the vi. Articles. The beyng diſtreſſed through ẏ ſtraitnes of tyme, ſo that either hee muſt loſe the quiet of a good cõſcience, or els muſt forſake his Biſhopricke, he dyd of his owne free accord reſigne his Paſtorſhip. At which time Sharton then Biſhop of Saliſbury reſigned likewyſe with hym his Biſhopricke. And ſo theſe two remained a greate ſpace vnbiſhopped, keepyng ſilence till the time of king Edward of bleſſed memorie. At what time he firſt put of his Rochet in his chamber among his frẽdes, ſodeinly he gaue a ſkip in the floore for ioy, feelyng his ſhoulders ſo light, & being diſcharged (as he ſaid) of ſuch an heauie burden. Howbeit neither was he ſo lightned, but that troubles and labours folowed him where ſoeuer he went. For a little after he had renounced his Biſhopricke, firſte hee was almoſt ſlaine, but ſore bruſſed with the fall of a tree. Then cõmyng vp to London for remedy, he was moleſted and troubled of the Biſhops, wherby he was againe in no litle daunger, & at length was caſt into ẏ Tower wher he cõtinually remained priſoner, till the time that bleſſed K. Edward entred his crowne, by meanes whereof the goldẽ mouth of this preacher, long ſhut vp before, was now opened againe. And ſo he beginnyng a freſh to ſet forth his plough again, continued, all the time of the ſaid King, laboryng in the lords harueſt moſt fruitfully, diſchargyng his talent, as well in diuers other places of this Realme, as in Stamford, and before the Duches of Suffolke (whoſe Sermons be extant and ſet forth in print) as alſo at London in the conuocatiõ houſe: and eſpecially before the kyng at the Court, in the ſame place of the inward garden which was before applied to laſciuious and courtly paſtimes, there hee diſpenſed the fruitfull word of the glorious Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, preachyng there before the kyng and his whole Court, to the edification of many.

Byſhop Latimer at the cõming in of the ſixe Articles reſigned his Biſhopricke.

Maſter Latymer kept ſilence till the time of King Edward.

The whole life of M. Latymer full of tribulations.

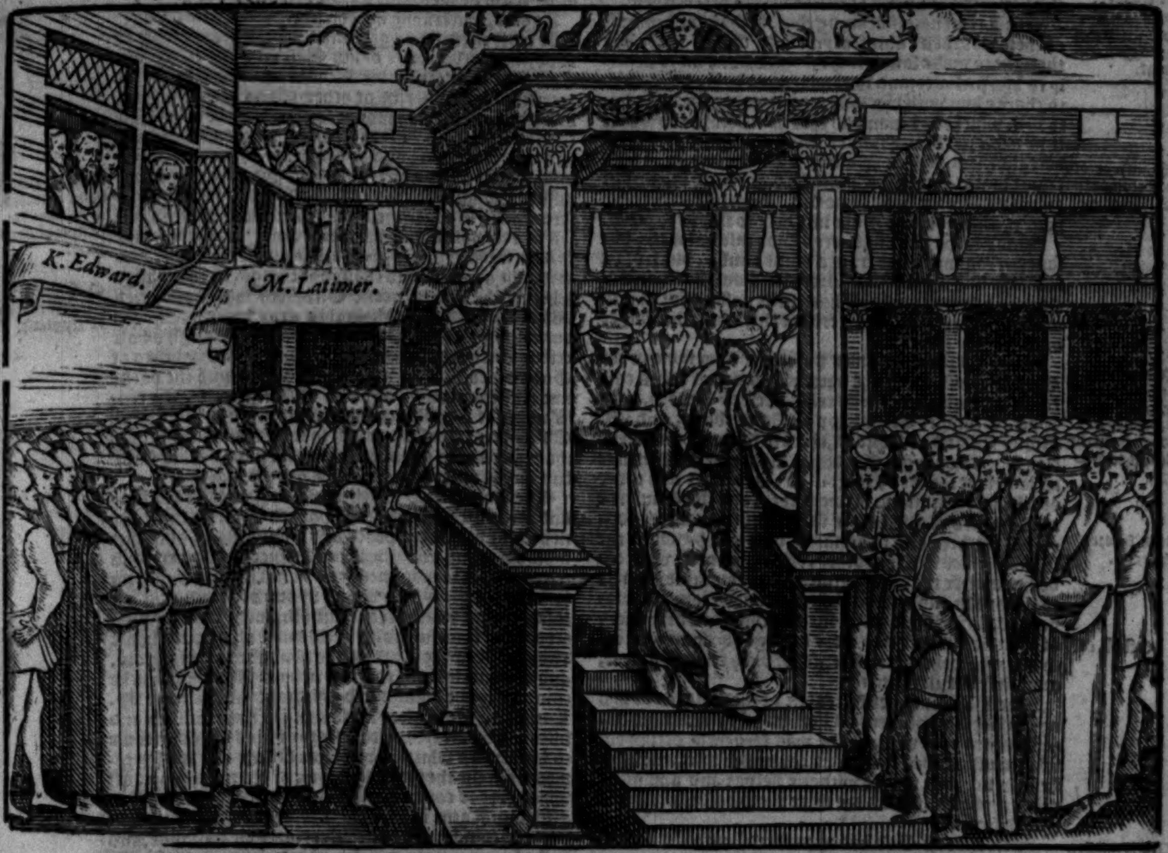
M. Latymer almoſt ſlayne with the fall of a tree.

M. Latymer caſt into the tower.

M. Latymer reſtored by K. Edward to liberty of preaching.

Diuers Sermons of M. Latymer in K. Edwardes time.

¶ A deſcription of Maiſter Latimer, preachyng before Kyng Edvvard the ſixt, in the Preachyng place at Weſtminſter.


K. Edward.
M. Latimer.

M. Latymer preaching before kyng Edward.

The diligent traueling of M. Latymer in K. Edwardes time.

The early waking of Maſter Latymer to his booke.

IN this his paineful trauayle he occupied him ſelf al King Edwardes daies, preachyng for the moſt part euery Sonday twiſe, to no ſmall ſhame of al other loytering and vnpreachyng Prelates, which occupy great romes and do little good: and that ſo muche more to their ſhame, becauſe he beyng a ſore bruſed man by the fall of the Tree, mencioned a little before, and aboue lxvii. yeares of age toke ſo little eaſe, and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. Not to ſpeake here of his indefatigable trauayle and diligence in his own priuate ſtudies, who notwithſtandyng both hys yeares, and other paines in preachyng, euery mornyng ordinarily, Wynter, and Sommer, about twoo of the clocke in the mornyng was at his boke moſt diligently. How carefull his harte was of the preſeruation of the Churche and the good ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, his letters can teſtifie, wherewith he continually admoniſhed ſuch as then were in authoritie, of their duty, and aſſiſted them with hys godly counſell.

M. Latymer propheciethe what plages are to come in Queene Maries time.

M. Latymer called vp to London by Winchester.

M. Latymer being premoniſhed before yet refuſeth to eſcape.

As the diligence of this man of God neuer ceaſed al the tyme of kyng Edward, to profit the Churche both publickely & priuately, ſo among other doinges in hym to bee noted, this is not lightly to bee ouerpaſſed, but worthy to be obſerued, that God not onely gaue vnto hym his ſpirite plenteouſly and comfortably to preache hys word vnto his Church, but alſo by the ſame ſpirite he did ſo euidently foreſhewe and prophecie of all thoſe kindes of plagues before, whiche afterward enſued, that if England euer had a Prophet he might ſeeme to be one. And as touchyng hym ſelfe, hee euer affirmed that the preachyng of the Goſpell would coſt hym hys life, to the whiche he no leſſe chearefully prepared himſelfe, then certainly was perſwaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the ſame purpoſe, as the euent did to truely proue the ſame. For after the death of the ſayd bleſſed K. Edward, not long after Queene Mary was proclaymed, a Purſuant was ſent downe (by the meanes no doubt of Winchester) into the coũtrey, to cal hym vp, of whoſe comming although maſter Latimer lacked no forewarnyng beeyng premoniſhed about ſixe houres before by one John Careles (whoſe ſtory heafter followeth) yet ſo farre of was it that hee thought to eſcape, that he prepared hym ſelfe towardes hys iorney before the ſayd Purſuāt came to his houſe.

Maſter Latymers wordes to the Queenes Purſuant.

At the which thing when the Purſuant marueiled, ſeyng hym ſo prepared towardes hys iourney, he ſayd vnto hym: My friend, you bee a welcome Meſſenger to mee. And bee it knowen vnto you, and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to London at this preſent, being called by my Prince to render a reconing of my doctrine, as euer I was at any place in the world. And I doubt not, but that God, as he hath made mee worthy to preach his word before two excellent Princes, ſo he will able me to witnes the ſame vnto yͤ third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally. &c. At the which tyme the Purſuant, when he had deliuered hys letters, departed, affirmyng that he had commaundement not to tary for hym. By whoſe ſodaine departure it was manifeſt that thei would not haue hym appeare but rather to haue fled out of the realme. They knewe that his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their Popery, and confirme the godly in the truthe.

M. Latymer commeth vp to London not compelled.

M. Latimers wordes commyng thorough Smithfield.

M. Latymer chereful in his priſonment.

Thus M. Latimer beyng ſent for, and commyng vp to London through Smithfield (where merely he ſayd that Smithfield had lōg groned for him) was brought before the Councell, where he paciently bearyng al the mockes and tauntes geuen hym by the ſcornefull Papiſtes, was caſt againe into the Tower, where hee beyng aſſiſted with the heauenly grace of Chriſte, ſuſtayned moſt pacient impriſonment a long tyme, not withſtandyng the cruell and vnmercifull handlyng of the Lordly Papiſtes, which thought then their kyngdome would neuer fall: yet he ſhewed hym ſelfe not onely pacient, but alſo therefull in and aboue al that which they could or would worke againſt hym: yea ſuch a valiant ſpirite the Lord gaue hym, that he was able not onelye to deſpiſe the terribleneſ of priſons and torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to ſcorne the doinges of his enemies. As it is not vnknowen to the eares of many, what hee aunſwered to the Lieutenaunt beyng then in the Tower. For when the Lieutenantes man vpon a tyme came to him, the aged Father kept without fire in the froſty wynter, and welny ſtarued for colde, merely had the man tell his Maiſter, that if he did not looke the better to hym, perchaunce he would deceiue hym.

Maiſter Latymers mery meſſage to the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenaunt hearyng this, bethought hymſelfe of theſe wordes, and fearyng leſte that in deede hee thought to make ſome eſcape, begā to loke more ſtraitly to hys priſoner, and ſo commyng to hym, begynneth to charge him with hys wordes, recityng the ſame vnto hym whiche hys man had told hym before: how that if he were not better looked vnto, perchaūce he would deceaue them. &c. Yea Maiſter Lieutenaunt, ſo I ſayd (quot he) for you looke I thinke ý I ſhould burne: but except you let me haue ſome fire, I am like to deceaue your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarue for cold.

The aunſwer of M. Latymer to the Lieutenant.

Many ſuche like aunſweres and reaſons, mery, but ſauery, commyng not from a vaine minde, but from a conſtant and quiet reaſon, proceded from that man, declaryng a firme and ſtable hart, little paſſing for al this great bluſteryng of their terrible threates, but rather deridyng the ſame.

M. Latymer with Doctour Cranmer and B. Ridley, remoued from the Tower to Oxford.

Read before pag. 1360.

Octob. 16.

Thus Maiſter Latimer paſſyng a long tyme in the Tower, with as muche pacience as a man in his caſe could do, from thence was trāſported to Oxford, with Doct. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and M. Ridley Biſhop of London, there to diſpute vpon Articles ſent down from Gardiner Biſhop at Wincheſter as is before touched, pag. 1358. the maner and order of which diſputations betwene them and the Vniuerſity Doctours is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed, pag. 1360. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſaid Latymer with his other felow priſoners were cōdemned after the diſputations, & ſo committed agayne to the priſon, and there they continued from the moneth of April aboue mentioned, to this preſent moneth of October: where they were moſt godly occupied, eyther with brotherly conference, or with feruent prayer, or with fruitfull wrytyng.

Albeit M. Latymer by reaſon of the feblenes of hys age, wrote leaſt of them all in this later time of his impriſonment: yet in prayer he was feruently occupyed, wherin oftentimes ſo long he continued kneelyng, that he was not able to ryſe without helpe: and amongeſt other thynges, theſe were three principall matters hee praied for.

Three requeſtes of M. Latimers prayer.

Firſt, that as God had appointed hym to be a preacher of his worde, ſo alſo he would giue hym grace to ſtande to hys doctrine vntill hys death, that he might geue hys hart bloud for the ſame.

Once agayne, once agayne.

Secondly, that God of his mercy would reſtore hys Goſpell to England once againe, and theſe wordes once agayne, once agayne, he did ſo inculcate and beate into the eares of the Lord God, as though he had ſeen God before hym, and ſpoken to hym face to face.

M. Latimers prayer for Q. Elizabeth.

The third matter was, to pray for the preſeruation of the Queenes maieſty, that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accuſtomably to name, and euen with teares deſired God to make her a comfort to his comfortles Realme of England. Theſe were the matters he praied for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe thinges of hym deſired in vaine, as the good ſucceſſe thereof after folowyng did declare: for the Lord moſt graciouſly did graunt all thoſe his requeſtes.

All three requeſtes of M. Latymer graunted of the Lord.

Firſt concernyng his conſtancy, euen in the moſt extremity the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted hym. For when he ſtoode at the ſtake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to ſet the fire to hym, and to the learned and godly Biſhop M. Ridley, he lifted vp hys eyes towardes Heauen with an amiable and comfortable countenaunce, ſaiyng theſe wordes: Fidelis eſt Deus qui non ſinit nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus: God is faithfull, which doth not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrength: and ſo afterward by & by ſhed his bloud in the cauſe of Chriſt, the which bloud ranne of his harte in ſuche aboundaunce that all thoſe that were preſent, beyng godly, did maruell to ſee the moſte parte of the bloud in his bodye to bee gathered to his hart, and with ſuch violence to guſhe out, his body beyng opened by the force of the fire: by the whiche thyng God moſt graciouſly graunted his requeſt, which was that hee might ſheede his harte bloud in the defence of the Goſpell.

The vnthankfulnes of England.

How mercifully the Lorde heard his ſecond requeſt, in reſtoryng his Goſpell once again into this Realme, theſe preſent daies cā beare record. And what then ſhal England ſay now for her defenſe, which beyng ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the worde of God, ſo ſlenderly & vnthankefully conſidereth either her owne miſery paſt, or the great benefite of God now preſent? The Lord be mercifull vnto vs, Amen.

Gods gratious helpe in time of nede, vpon the realme of England.

Q. Elizabeth graūted of God to England.

Againe, concernyng his third requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectuouſly graunted, to the great prayſe of God, the furtheraunce of his Goſpell, and to the vnſpeakable comfort of this Realme. For whether at the requeſt of his praier, or of other Gods holy Saintes, or whether God was moued with the cry of hys whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a deſperate caſe, and ſo deſperate that the enemyes mightely floriſhed and triumphed, gods word was baniſhed, Spaniards receiued, no place left for Chriſtes ſeruauntes to couer their heades: ſodenly the lord called to remembraunce his mercy, and forgettyng our former iniquity, made an end of all theſe miſeries, and wrought a meruelous chaūge of things, at the chaūge whereof the ſayd Queene Elizabeth was appoynted and annoynted, for whom this gray headed father ſo earneſtly prayed in hys impriſonment: through whoſe true, naturall, and imperiall crowne, the brightnes of Gods word was ſet vp againe to confound the darke and falſeuiſured kyngdome of Antichriſte, the true Temple of Chriſte reedified, the captiuity of ſorowfull Chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the praiers of ſo many good men, ſpecially of this faithfull and true ſeruaunt of the Lord M. Latymer.

God for Chriſtes ſake ſo graunt.

The ſame GOD which at the requeſtes of his holy and faithfull Saintes hath poured vpon vs ſuche benefites of his mercy, peace and tranquillity, aſſiſt our moſt vertuous and Chriſtian Princeſſe: and her Subiectes, that wee may euery one in his ſtate and callyng ſo ſerue his glory, and walke in our vocation, that we loſe not that whiche they haue obtained, but may proceede in al faithfulnes, to build and keepe vp the houſe and temple of the Lord, to the aduanſing of his glory, and our euerlaſtyng comfort in hym. And thus muche concerning the doings and laborious trauailes of M. Latimer. Now after theſe thinges thus finiſhed and diſcourſed pertaynyng to ý ſtory of his life, let vs come to his letters which he wrote at diuers and ſundry tymes from the the firſt beginnyng of his preachyng, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latin, lack of ſpace and place at this preſent will not permit, neuertheles certaine we will take, and firſt concernyng the articles aboue mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the Prieſtes of the countrey about his benefice at Weſt Kington: what he wryteth therof to M. Morice, the copy thereof here followeth.

¶ *Letters of Maſter Latimer.*

¶ A letter of M. Latimer to maiſter Morice, concernyng the articles written, which were falſely and vntruely layed againſt hym.

A letter of M. Latymer to M. Morice.

Right worſhipfull, and mine owne good M. Morice, ſalutem in Chriſto Ieſu. And I thanke you for all hartie kindnes, not onely heretofore ſhewed vnto me, but alſo that nowe of late, you would vouchſafe to write vnto me ſo poore a wretche, to my greate comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothyng in it, but GOD will reward you for me, and ſupply aboundantly myne vnability. &c. Maiſter Morice you would wonder to know how I haue bene intreated at Briſtowe. I meane of ſome of the Priſtes, whiche firſt deſyred mee, welcomed me, made me cheare, heard what I ſaid, allowed my ſayyng in all thinges whiles I was with them: when I was gone home to my Benefice, perceauyng that the people fauoured me ſo greatly, and that the Maior had appoynted me to preache at Eaſter, priuely they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the Biſhops licence, which they knew well inough I had not, and ſo craftely defeated maiſter Maiors appointment, pretendyng that they were ſory for it, procuryng alſo certaine Preachers to blatter againſt me, as Huberdyn and powell, with other moe: whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wiſe counſaile of the towne, to knowe what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declaimed againſt me, they ſayd they ſpake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abyde by any thyng: So that they had place and tyme to belye mee ſhamefully, but they had no place nor tyme to lay to my charge, when I was preſent and ready to make them aunſwere. God amend them, and ſwage their malice that thei haue againſt the truth and me. &c.

Note the diſſembling incōſtancy of Popiſh prieſtes.

Inhibition procured againſt M. Latymer not to preach.

Hubberdine & Powell preach againſt M. Latymer.

Our Lady vvas a ſynner.

So they

What the Papiſtes do geue to our Lady.

So they did belye mee to haue ſayd, when I had ſayd nothing ſo, but to reproue certaine both Prieſtes and beneficed men, whiche doe geue ſo muche to our Lady, as though ſhe had not bene ſaued by Chriſt, a whole Sauior both of her, and of al that be and ſhalbe ſaued: I did reaſon after this maner, that either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſynner: if a ſynner, then ſhe was deliuered from ſynne by Chriſt: ſo that he ſaued her, either by deliueryng or by preſeruyng her from ſinne, ſo that without hym neither ſhe, nor none other, neither be, nor could be ſaued. And to auoide all offence, I ſhewed how it might be aunſwered, both to certaine Scriptures which maketh al generally ſinners, and how it might be aunſwered vnto Chryſoſtome and Theophilact, whiche maketh her namely and ſpecially a ſinner. But all would not ſerue, their malice is ſo great: notwithſtandyng that fiue hundred honeſt men can and will beare record. When they can not reproue that thing that I do ſaie, then thei will belye mee to ſaie that thing that thei can not reproue, for they will needes appeare to be againſt me.

Our Lady not without ſynne.

Papiſtes depraue whé they cãnot diſproue.

¶Sainctes are not to be vvorſhipped.

Difference betwixt Images and Sainctes.

So thei lied, when I had ſhewed diuers ſignifications of this word (Sainctes) among the vulgare people. Firſt Images of Saintes are called Sainctes, and ſo thei are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praiyng to them: for thei are neither Mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of interceſſion. And yet thei may be well vſed, when thei be applied to that vſe that thei were ordeined for, to be lay mens bookes for remembraunce of heauenly thinges. &c.

Maiſter Latimers errour in thoſe daies.

Take Saintes for inhabiters of heauen, and worſhipping of them, for praiyng to them, I neuer denied, but that thei might be worſhipped, and be our Mediatours, though not by way of redemption (for ſo Chriſt alonely is a whole Mediator, both for them and for vs) yet by the way of interceſſion. &c.

¶Pilgrimage.

Pare awaie the ſkurfe, & cleane take al Popery awaie.

And I neuer denied Pilgrimage. And yet I haue ſaied that much ſcurffe muſt be pared awaie ere euer it can be well doen, ſuperſtition, idolatry, falſe faith, and truſt in the Image, vniuſt eſtimation of the thing, ſetting aſyde Gods ordinaunce for doing of the thing: debtes muſt be paid, reſtitutions made, wife and children prouided for, dutie to our poore neighbours diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it nede not to be done, for it is neither vnder the bidding of God nor of man to be done. And wiues muſt counſell with Huſbandes, and Huſbandes and wiues with Curates, before it be vowed to be done. &c.

¶Aue Maria.

Aue Maria.

As for the Aue Maria, who can thinke that I would deny it? I ſaid it was an heauenly gretyng or ſaluting of our bleſſed Lady, wherein the Angell Gabriell ſent from the father of heauen, did annunciate and ſhew vnto her the good will of God towardes her, what he would with her & to what he had choſen her. But I ſaied, it was not properly a Praier, as the Pater noſter, which our ſauior Chriſt himſelfe made for a proper Praier, and bad vs ſay it for a Praier, not adding that we ſhould ſay. x. or. xx. Aue Maries, withall: and I denied not but that we may well ſay the Aue Maria alſo, but not ſo that wee ſhall thinke that the Pater noſter is not good, a whole and a perfit prayer, nor can not be wel ſaid without Aue Maria: ſo that I did not ſpeake againſt well ſaiyng of it, but againſt ſuperſtitious ſaiyng of it, and of the Pater Noſter to: and yet I put a difference betwixt that, & that which Chriſt made to be ſaid for a praier. &c.

Aue Maria no praier.

¶No fyre in hell.

Whether the fier in hell be a materiall fier, or ſpirituall.

The worme of conſcience is ſo called by a metaphoricall ſpeache.

Who euer could ſay or thinke ſo? Howbeit good Authors doe put a difference betwixt a ſuffering in the fire with bodyes, and without bodies. The ſoule without the body is a ſpirituall ſubſtaunce, which thei ſay can not receaue a corporall quality, and ſome maketh it a ſpirituall fire: and ſome a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a Worme, and it is thought of ſome not to be a materiall worme that is a liuing beaſt, but it is a metaphor, but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worme it is, a paine it is, a torment it is, an anguiſh it is, a griefe, a miſery, a ſorow, a heauines inexplicable, intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in euery point who can tell, but he that is of Gods priuy counſell, ſaith S. Auſten? God geue vs grace rather to be diligent to keepe vs out of it, then to be curious to diſcuſſe the propertie of it: for certaine we be, that there is litle eaſe, yea none at all, but wepyng wailyng, and gnaſhyng of teeth, whiche bee two effectes of extreme pain, rather certaine tokens what payne there is, than what maner paine there is.

¶No Purgatory.

Maiſter Latymer had leauer be in Purgatory then Lollars Tower.

He that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had leauer be in it, then in Lollers tower the Biſhops priſon, for diuers ſkils and cauſes.

Cauſes declared why it is better to be in Purgatory thẽ in Lollars Tower.

Firſt, in this I might dye bodily for lacke of meate and drinke: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might dye ghoſtly for feare of paine, or lacke of good counſell: There I could not.

Item, in this I might be in extreme neceſſitie: In that I could not, if it be perill of periſhing.

Item, in this I might lacke charitie: There I could not.

Item, in this I might loſe my pacience: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be in perill and daunger of death: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be without ſuertie of ſaluation: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſhonour GOD: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might murmur and grudge againſt God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might diſpleaſe GOD: In that I could not.

Item in this I might be diſpleaſed with God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be iudged to perpetuall priſon as thei call it: In that I could not.

Itẽ, in this I might bee craftily handled: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be brought to bear a fagot: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be diſcontented with God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be ſeparated and diſſeuered from Chriſt: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be a member of the deuill: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might bee an inheritour of hell: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might praie out of charitie and in vaine: In that I could not.

Item, in this my Lorde and his Chaplaines might manacle me by night: In that thei could not.

Item, in this thei might ſtrangle me, and ſaie that I had hanged my ſelfe: In that thei could not.

As they did with Hunne.

Item, in this thei might haue me to the Conſiſtory and iudge me after their faſhion: From thence thei could not.

Ergo I had leuer be there then here. For though the fire be called neuer ſo hot, yet and if the Biſhops two fingers can ſhake awaie a peece, a fryers coule an other part, and ſcala cœli altogether, I will neuer foũd Abbay, Colledge, nor Chauntrey for that purpoſe.

Chriſoſtome.

What is the greateſt paine to damned ſoules.

For ſeyng there is no paine that can breake my charity, breake my pacience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe mee not to ioy in God, nor that can bring me to daũger of death, or to daunger of deſperation, or from ſuertie of ſaluation, that can ſeparate me from Chriſte, or Chriſte from mee, I care the leſſe for it. Iohn Chriſoſtome ſaith, that the greateſt paine the damned ſoules haue, is to be ſeparate and cut of from Chriſt for euer: which paine he ſaith is greater then many helles: which paines the ſoules in Purgatory neither haue nor can haue.

Prouiſion of Purgatory bringeth many to hell.

Conſider M. Morice, whether prouiſion for Purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hel. Dettes haue not ben payed: reſtitution of euill gotten lands and goodes hath not bene made: chriſtiẽ people (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoeuer wee do, Chriſt reputeth done to himſelf, to whom we are bounden vnder payne of damnation to do for, as we would be done for our ſelfe) are neglect and ſuffred to periſhe: laſt willes vnfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinaunce ſet aſyde: and alſo for Purgatory, foundations haue bene taken for ſufficient ſatiſfaction: ſo we haue tryfled away the ordinaũce of God, and reſtitutiõs. Thus we haue gone to hell, with Maſſes, Diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill Pilgrimages from Idolatry, and purge Purgatory from robbery, but hee ſhalbe in peril to come in ſuſpition of hereſy with them? ſo that they may pill with Pilgrimage,

& ſpoyle with Purgatory. And verely the abuſe of them cannot bee taken away, but great luker and vauntage ſhall fall away from them, which had leuer haue profite with abuſe, then lacke the ſame with vſe: and that is the waſpe that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſyde reſtitution, and robbing of Chriſte, it would be but a poore Purgatory: So poore that it ſhould not be able to feede ſo fatte, and tricke vp ſo many idle and ſlothfull lubbers.

What ẏ waſpe is that ſtingeth the Papiſtes, & maketh them to ſwell.

I take God to witnes I would hurt to no man, but it greueth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy. I cannot vnderſtand what they meane by the Popes pardoning of Purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage: and as for ſuffrage, vnleſſe he do his duetie, and ſeeke not his own, but Chriſts glory, I had leauer haue the ſuffrage of iacke of the ſkulſery which in his calling doth exercyſe both faith and charity: but for his Maſſe. And that is as good of an other ſimple Prieſt as of him. For as for authority of keyes, is to looſe from giltines of ſinne and eternall payne, dewe to the ſame, according to Chriſtes worde, and not to his owne priuate will. And as for Pilgrimage, you would wonder what iuggling there is to get money withall. I dwell within a halfe a mile, of the Foſſeway, and you would wonder to ſee how they come by flockes out of the Weſt countrey to many Images, but chiefly to the bloud of Hailes. And they beleue verely that it is the very bloude that was in Chriſtes body, ſhed vppon the Mount of Caluery for our ſaluation, and that the ſight of it with their bodyly eye, doth certifie them and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in cleane life, and in ſtate of ſaluation without ſpot of ſinne, which doeth bolden then to many things. For you would wonder if you ſhould common with thē both comming and goyng, what faithes they haue. For as for forgeuing their enemies, and recōciling their Chriſten brethen, they can not away withall: for the ſight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

The Popes pardoning out of purgatory, a vaine inuention.

Suffrage. Maſſe. Pilgrimage. Authoritie of keyes.

This bloud of Hailes was proued before the King, and openly ſhewed at Paules croſſe by the Biſhop of Rocheſter that then was, to be but the bloud of a Ducke.

I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romanes: Iuſtificati ex fide pacem habemus.i.We being iuſtified by faith haue peace with God.

Two certifications of our remiſſion out of the Scripture.

If I ſee the bloud of Chriſt with the eye of my ſoule, that is true faith that his bloud was ſhed for me. &c.

An other in the Epiſtle of Iohn: Nos ſcimus quod tranſlati ſumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres. i. We know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we loue the brethen. But I read not that I haue peace with God, or that I am trāſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the bloud of Hailes. It is very probable that all the bloud that was in the body of Chriſt, was vnited and knit to his Diuinitie, and then no part therof ſhall returne to his corruption. And I maruaile that Chriſt ſhall haue two reſurrections. And if it were, that they that did violently & iniuriouſly plucke it out of his body when they ſcourged him and nayled him to the Croſſe, did ſee it with their bodely eye, yet they were not in cleane life. And we ſee the ſelf ſame bloud in forme of wine, when we haue conſecrate, and may both ſee it, feele it, and receaue it to our damnation as touching bodily receauyng. And many do ſee it at Hailes without confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the deuill in our time is not dead.

The bodily ſeing of Chriſtes bloud profiteth litle.

Chriſt hath left a doctrine behynd him, wherein we be taught how to beleue, and what to beleue: he doth ſuffer the deuill to vſe his craftie faſhion for our triall and probation. It were litle thanke worthy to beleue well and rightly, if nothing ſhould moue vs to falſe faith and to beleue ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vayne that Chriſte whē he had taught truly, by and by bad: beware of falſe Prophetes, which would bryng in error ſlily. But we be ſecure and vncarefull, as though falſe Prophetes coulde not meddle with vs, & as though the warnyng of Chriſt were no more earneſt and effectuall, then is the warnyng of mothers when they trifle with their children, and byd them beware the bugge. &c.

Warning agaynſt falſe Prophets.

Lo Sir, how I runne at riot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to haue written but halfe a doſen lynes: but thus I forget my ſelfe euer when I write to a truſtly frende, which will take in worth my folly, & kepe it from my enemy. &c.

As for Doct. Wilſon, I wotte not what I ſhould ſay: but I pray God endue him with charitie. Neither hee, nor none of his countreymen did euer loue me ſince I did invey agaynſt their factions, & partialitie in Cambridge. Before that, who was more fauoured of him thē I? That is the boile that may not be touched. &c.

D. Wilſon agaynſt M. Latymer, and why.

A certaine frend ſhewed me, that Doct. Wilſon is gone now into his countrey about Beuerley in Holdernes, and from thence hee will go a progreſſe through Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and ſo from thēce to Briſtow. What he entendeth by this progreſſe God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Briſtow I ſhall here tell. &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable witte. He is here ſeruus hominum: for he will Preach what ſoeuer the Byſhops wil bid him Preach. Verely in my mind they are more to be blamed then he. He doth magnifie the Pope more then enough. As for our Sauiour Chriſt and Chriſten Kynges are litle beholdyng to him. No doubt hee did miſſe the cuſhon in many thinges. Howbeit they that did ſend him (men thinke) will defend him: I pray God amend him, and them both. They would fayne make matter againſt me, entendyng ſo either to deliuer him by me, or els to ridde vs both together, and ſo they would thinke hym well beſtowed. &c.

Hubberdin a great rayler agaynſt M. Latymer.

As touching Doct. Powell, how highly he tooke vpon him in Briſtow, and how litle hee regarded the ſworde which repreſenteth the kyngs perſon, many can tell you. I thinke there is neuer an Earle in this realme that knoweth his obedience by Chriſtes commaundement to his Prince, and wotteth what the ſword doth ſignifie, that would haue taken vpon him ſo ſtoutly. Howbeit Maiſter Maior, as hee is a profound wiſe man, did twicke him pretily: it were to long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a litle beholdyng to him. For to occaſion the people to them, he alledged this text.

D. Powell a ſtout preacher of Popery.

Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, vxorem.i. Who ſo euer leaueth father, houſe, wyfe. &c. By that you may perceaue his hoate zeale & crooked iudgement. &c. Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſhe that it would pleaſe the kynges grace to cōmaund me to Preach before his highnes a whole yeare together euery Sonday, that hee him ſelfe might perceaue how they belye me, ſaying, that I haue neither learning, nor vtterāce worthy therunto. &c. I pray you pardon me I can not make an end.

Scripture applyed of the Papiſtes.

¶ A brief digreſſion touchyng the raylyng of Hubberdin againſt M. Latymer.

Foraſmuch as mencion hath bene made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old diuine of Oxford, a right painted Phariſey, and a great ſtraier abroad in al quarters of the realme to deface and impeache the ſpringyng of Gods holy Goſpell, ſome thyng would be added more touchyng that man, whoſe doynges and pageantes if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to beholde. Who in all his life and in al his actions (in one word to deſcribe him) ſemeth nothyng els but a right Image or counterfait, ſetting out vnto vs in liuely colours the paterne of perfect hipocriſy. But becauſe the man is nowe gone, to ſpare therefore the dead (although he litle deſerued to be ſpared, which neuer ſpared to worke what vilany he could againſt the true ſeruauntes of the Lord) this ſhalbe enough for example ſake, for al chriſten men neceſſarily to obſerue, how the ſaied Hubberdin after his long railyng in all places againſt Luther, Melangthon, Zuinglius, Iohn Frith, Tindale, Latimer, and al other like profeſſours, after his hypocriticall open almes giuen out of other mens purſes, his long praiers, pretenſed deuotions, deuout faſtynges, his wolwarde goyng, and other his prodigious demeanour, rydyng in his long Gowne downe to the horſe heeles like a Phariſey, or rather like a slouen, dyrted vp to the horſe belly, after his forged Tales and Fables, Dialogues, dreames, dauncinges, hoppinges and leapinges, with other like hiſtrionicall toyes and geſtures vſed in the Pulpit, and all againſt Heretikes: at laſt ridyng by a Church ſide where the youth of the pariſhe were dauncing in the Churchyarde, ſodeinly this Silenus lightyng from his horſe, by occaſion of their dauncyng came into the Churche, and there cauſing the bell to tolle in the people, thought in ſtead of a fitte of mirth, to geue them a Sermon of dauncing. In the whiche Sermon after he had patched vp certaine common textes out of Scriptures, and then comming to the Doctors, firſt to Auguſtine, then to Ambroſe, ſo to Hierome, and Gregory, Chriſoſtome, and other Doctors, had made them euery one (after his Dialogue maner, by name to aunſwere to his call, and to ſing after his tune for the probation of the ſacrament of ẏ alter againſt Iohn Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latymer, and other heretikes (as he called them) at laſte to ſhewe

A note touching Hubberdin.

Hubberdin a right Image of hypocriſie.

Hubberdin a great rayler agaynſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt.

A dauncing Sermō of Hubberdine.

Anno.1555. October.

A dauncyng Sermon of Hubberdin.

Hubberdine dauncing in the pulpet fel with the pulpit, and brake his leg.

Anſwere of the churchwardēs.

ſhewe a perfect hermony of all theſe Doctors together, as he had made them before to ſing after his tune, ſo now to make them daunce alſo after his pype, firſt hee calleth out Chriſt and his Apoſtles, then the Doctors and auncient Seniours of the Church, as in a round ring all to daunce together: with pype vppe Hubberdyn. Now daunce Chriſt, now daunce Peter, Paule, now daunce Auſten, Ambroſe, Hierome, and thus old Hubberdin as hee was dauncing with his Doctours luſtely in the Pulpit againſte the Heretikes, how hee ſtampt and tooke one I cannot tell, but craſh quot the Pulpit, downe commeth the dauncer, and there lay Hubberdyn not dauncing, but ſprawling in the middeſt of his audience: where altogether hee brake not hys necke, yet he ſo brake his legge the ſame tyme and bruſed his old bones, that he neuer came in Pulpit more, and dyed not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the Churche Wardens wer called and charged for the Pulpit being no ſtronger, they made aunſwere again, excuſing them ſelues that they had made their Pulpit for preachyng, and not for dauncing. &c. But to ſpende no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpoſe againe.

D. Sherewood writeth againſt Maiſter Latymer.

Amongeſt many other impugners and aduerſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort whiche did infeſt thys good man in Sermons: ſome alſo there were, whiche attempted the pen againſt hym. In the number of whō was one Doctor Sherwode, whom vpon the ſame occaſion of preachyng of the Virgin Mary (or as they thought, againſt the Virgin) did inuade hym with his pen, writing againſt him in Latin, whoſe long Epiſtle, with M. Latimers anſwere alſo in Latin to the ſame, becauſe it would aſke to muche roume here to be inſerted, I deſyre the Reader to reſorte to the booke of the Actes and Monumentes of the firſt edition, pag. 1317.

Beſides theſe Lattin letters aboue expreſſed, other letters alſo he wrote in Engliſhe, as well to others, as namely to ſyr Edward Bainton Knight, which letters albeit thei do containe much fruitfull matter worthy to be red and knowen, yet becauſe of haſte, whiche I am compelled to make, ſome of them for length I muſte pretermitte, referryng the Reader to my firſte edition, page 1321. Some againe to ſatiſfie the Reader I thought here preſently to inſert, which albeit may ſeme ſomewhat prolixe in readyng, yet the fruite thereof (I truſt) ſhall recompence the length of them. Firſte the aunſwere of M. Baytons letter to Latimer here vnder foloweth.

¶ A letter of Syr Edvvard Bayton Knight, aunſvvering to a letter of M. Latymer ſent to hym before.

The copy of Sir Edward Baitons letter to M. Latimer.

These frendes of M. Bayton ſeme to be ſome popiſh prieſts, and enemies to the Goſpell, as Powell, Wilſon, Sherwod, Hubberdin. &c.

The Papiſtes will not haue vnity diſturbed.

Papiſtry corroborated with authoritie of holy Fathers.

M. Baiton will folow the moſt number.

MAiſter Latymer, after harty recommendations, I haue cōmunicated the effect of your letters to diuers of my frendes, ſuche as for Chriſten charitie (as they ſay) rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opiniō (if it ſwarue from the truth) or at the leaſt in your maner and behauour, in aſmuche as it geueth occaſion of ſclaunder and trouble in let of your good purpoſes, then any other inconuenience to your perſon or good name. And for aſmuch as your ſaid letter miſliked them in ſome part, and that I haue ſuche confidence in your Chriſten breſte, as in my iudgement ye will conformably and gladly, both heare that may bee reformed in you, & alſo (as it is worthy) ſo knowledge and confeſſe the ſame: I haue therfore deſired them to take the paine to note their mindes in this letter which I ſend to you, as aggregate of their ſayinges, and ſent from me your aſſured frend and fauourer, in that that is the verie truth of Gods word, wherein neuertheles, as I truſt ye your ſelfe will temper your owne iudgement, and in a ſobernes affirme no truth of your ſelfe, which ſhould deuide the vnity of the Congregation in Chriſt, and the receiued truth agreed vpon by holy fathers of the Churche, conſonaunt to the Scripture of GOD, euen ſo what ſo euer ye will do therin (as I thinke ye will not otherwiſe then ye ſhould do) I being vnlearned, and not of the knowledge to geue ſentence in this altercation and contentiō, muſt rather of good cōgruence ſhew my ſelf in that you diſagree with them, readier to folow their doctrine in truth, then yours, vnleſſe it may pleaſe almighty God to inſpire & confirme the hartes of ſuch people to teſtifie the ſame in ſome honeſt number as ought to induce mee to geue credence vnto them.

Note the proceding of the Popes church, which would not haue the people exerciſe of Gods truth and religion.

Errour and falſe doctrine would faine lye ſtill in peace and not be ſtirred.

Vnitie in the Lord, in Baptiſme, in faith.

The Chaine of chriſten Charitie.

Onely God knoweth the certaine truth, which is cōmunicate vnto vs, as our capacitie may comprehende it by faith, but that is per ſpeculum in enigmate. And there haue bene qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſciētiam. Among which I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to cal this or that truth it requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me vnlearned, that I take for truth, may be otherwiſe, not hauing ſenſus exercitatos, as S. Paul ſaith, ad diſcernendū bonum & malum, and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or maner of teachyng, whiche cauſeth diſſenſion in a Chriſtian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of S. John in his Epiſtle, where he ſaith: Omnis qui confitetur Chriſtum in carne. &c. ex Deo eſt. And like as the word of GOD hath alwaies cauſed diſſenſion among men vnchriſtened, wherupon hath enſued and folowed Martyrdom to the preacher: ſo in Chriſtes congregation among them that profeſſe Chriſtes name, In vno Domino, vno Baptiſmate & vna fide, they that preach and ſtirre rather contention, then charitie, though they can defende their ſaying, yet their teachyng is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Chriſten charitie, and maketh diuiſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an vnitie of faith and Baptiſme. But for this point I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may bee agreement, but alſo ſuche ſobernes and vniforme behauiour vſed in teachyng and preachyng, as menne may wholy expreſſe (as they maye) the charitie of God, tendyng onely to the vnion in loue of vs all, to the profite and ſaluation of our ſoules.

¶ The aunſvvere of M. Latimer to the letter of Syr Edward Bayton aboue prefixed.

Aunſwere of M. Latymer to M. Baitons letter.

The Bee. The Spinner.

Euery thing as it is taken.

RIght worſhipfull Syr, and my ſingular good maiſter, ſalutem in Chriſt Ieſu, with dew commendation and alſo thankes for your great goodnes towards me &c. And where as you haue communicate my laſt letters to certaine of your frendes, which rather deſire this or that in me &c. what I thinke therein I will not now ſay, not for that there could be any perill or daunger in the ſayd letters (well taken) as farre as I can iudge, but for that they were raſhly and vndeuiſedly ſcribled, as ye might well know both by my excuſe, and by them ſelues alſo, though none excuſe had bene made. And beſides that, ye know right well, that where as the Bee gathereth hony, euen there the Spinner gathereth venome, not for any diuerſity of the flower, but for diuerſe natures in the that ſucketh the flower: As in times paſt, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in it ſelfe was to ſome, offence, to ſome fooliſhnes, to other otherwiſe diſpoſed, the wiſedome of God. Such diuerſitie was in the redreſſe of hearers thereof.

Had I wiſt.

But this notwithſtanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad: if it be good, the communicating thereof to your frendes can not be hurtful to me: if it be otherwiſe, why ſhould you not communicate it to them, which both coulde and woulde inſtruct you in the truth, and reforme my errour. Let this paſſe, I will not contend: had I wyſt commeth euer out of ſeaſon. Truly I were not well aduiſed if I woulde not eyther be glad of your inſtruction, or yet refuſe myne own reformatiō, but yet it is good for a mā to looke or he leapeth, and God forbyd that you ſhould be addict and ſworne to me ſo wretched a foole, that you ſhoulde not rather follow the doctrine of your frends in truth, ſo great learned men as they appeare to be, then the opinions of me, hauyng neuer ſo Chriſten a breſt.

Example of a true diligent paſtor.

M. Latimer vnfurniſhed with outward helps.

M. Latymer blamed for ſaying he was ſure of the truth

Wherefore do as you will: for as I woulde not if I could, ſo can I not if I would, be noyſome vnto you: but yet I ſay, I woulde my letters had bene vnwritten, if for none other cauſe, at leſt way, in aſmuch as they cauſe me to more writyng, an occupation nothyng meete for my mad head: and as touching pointes which in my foreſaid letters miſlike your frendes, I haue now litle layſure to make an anſwere therto for the great buſines that I haue in my litle cure. I know not what other mē haue in their great cures, ſeing that I am alone without any prieſt to ſerue my cure, without my ſcholer too read vnto me, without any booke neceſſary to be loked vpon, without learned men to come and counſell withall. All which thinges other haue at hand abundantly: but ſome thing muſt bee done, how ſo euer it bee. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine owne iudgement, affirming nothing with preiudice of better. Firſt ye miſlike, that I ſay I am ſure that I preach the truth, ſaying in reprofe of the ſame, that God knoweth certaine truth. In deede alonely God knoweth all certaine truth, and a-

lonely

which he preached.

As God alone knoweth all truth: so some truth he reueleth to bee certain to his seruauntes.

lonely God knoweth it as of him ſelfe, & none knoweth certaine truth but God, and thoſe which bee taught of God, as ſaith S.Paul: Deus enim illis patefecit: And Chriſt him ſelfe: erunt omnes docti a Deo. And your frendes deny not but that certaine truth is communicate to vs, as our capacitie may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacitie: now certaine it is that euery man hath not like capacitie. &c.

It is no preſumption in a preacher being certain of that which he preacheth, to ſhew it to the people.

Let not man preach except he be certayn of that which he preacheth.

Euery true chriſtian ought to be certayne of his faith.

The doubting doctrine of the Catholickes.

Argumentes.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancie: eyther I am certaine or vncertaine that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may I not ſay ſo, to courage my hearers to receiue the ſame more ardētly, and enſue it more ſtudiouſly? If I be vncertaine, why dare I be ſo bold to preach it? And if your frendes in whom ye truſt ſo greatly, bee preachers them ſelues, after their Sermon I pray you aſke thē whether they be certaine & ſure, that they taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learne to ſpeake after them. If they ſay they be ſure, ye know what foloweth: If they ſay they be vnſure, whē ſhall you be ſure that hath ſo doubtfull teachers and vnſure? And you your ſelues, whether are you certaine or vncertaine, that Chriſt is your Sauiour, and ſo forth of other Articles that ye be bounden to beleue, or whether be ye ſure or vnſure, that ciuile ordinaunces be the good workes of God, & that you do God ſeruice in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent: if ye be vncertaine, take heede he be your ſure frēd that heareth you ſay ſo: & then, with what conſcience do you doubt: Cum quicquid non eſt ex fide, peccatū ſit? But contrary ſay you, alonely God knoweth certaine truth, & ye haue it but per ſpeculum in enigmate: and there haue bene, qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam: and to call this or that truth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, conſidering that to you vnlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not hauing ſenſus exercitatos (as Paul ſaith) ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, as ye reaſon againſt me, & ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander mekely hether and thether, omni vento doctrinæ. &c. Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but per ſpeculū in enigmate? What then? Ergo it is not certaine and ſure?

Aunſwere:

1. The certeinty of faith is the moſt ſureſt certayntie.

Certain knowledge.

Cleare knowledge.

M. Latimer not ignorant of the ſchole ſubtilties.

1. Which haue had knowledge without any zeale of God, who holding the veritie of God in vnrighteouſnes, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes, while they knowing the will of God, doe nothyng thereafter.

1. To hym that hath not, that alſo which he hath, that is, that which he ſemeth to haue ſhall be taken from him: whē as to abuſe that which a man hath, or not to vſe it wel, is as not to haue it.

I deny your argumēt by your leaue: yea if it be by faith, as ye ſay, it is much ſure, quia certitudo fidei eſt maxima certitudo, as Duns and other ſchole Doctors ſay: ſo that there is a great diſcrepaunce betweene certaine knowledge, and cleare knowledge: for that may be of thinges abſent that appeare not, this requireth the preſence of the obiect, I meane of the thing knowen: ſo that I certainely and ſurely know that thing which I perfectly beleue, though I do not clearely and euidently know it. I know your ſchole ſubtleties as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmaticall knowledge, that is to ſay, darke and obſcure knowledge might not be certaine and ſure knowledge becauſe it is not cleare, manifeſt, and euident knowledge: and yet there hath bene (they ſay) qui zelum Dei habuerunt ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, which haue had a zeale, but not after knowledge. Truth it is, there hath bene ſuch, and yet bee to many, to the great hinderaūce of Chriſtes glory, which nothyng doth more obſcure, then an hot zele, accompanied with great authority without right iudgement. There haue bene alſo, Qui ſcientiam habuerūt abſque zelo Dei, qui veritatem Dei in iniuſtitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoſcentes, nihil minus quàm faciunt: I meane not among Turkes and Sarazens that be vnchriſtened, but of them that be chriſtened: & there haue bene alſo that haue loſt ſcientiam Dei, id eſt, ſpiritualem diuini verbi ſenſum, quem prius habuerūt. i. The ſpirituall knowledge of Gods word which they had before, becauſe they haue not enſued after it, nor promoted the ſame, but rather with their mother wits haue impugned the wiſedome of the father, and hindred the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath bene taken away from them, vt iuſtificetur Chriſtus in ſermonibus ſuis, & vincat cum iudicatur, threatning, Math.13. Ei vero qui nō habet, etiam quod habet, id eſt, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo, cum abuti habito, vel non bene vti, ſit non habere, nec non ſit verum illud quoque, non habitaturam, videlicet ſapientiā in corpore peccatis ſubdito, qui adhuc & ſi carnaliter ſapiant plus ſatis, at ſtat ſententia, nempe carnalem & philoſophicam ſcripturarum intelligentiam, non eſſe ſapientiam Dei, quę à ſapiētibus abſconditur, paruulis reuelatur. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deepe and profoūd knowledge, then either euery man hath a deepe and profoūde knowledge, or els no man can call this or that truth: and it behoueth euery Preacher to haue ſo deepe and profounde knowledge, that he may cal this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth, and yet he may be ignorant and vncertaine in many things, both this and that, as Apollo was: but which thinges, whether this or that, he wil not attēpt to preach for the truth. And as for my ſelf, I truſt in God, I may haue ſenſus exercitatos well inough ad diſcernēdum bonum & malum. i. Senſes exerciſed to diſcerne good & euill in thoſe things which without deepe and profound knowledge in many things I preach not: yea, there be many things in ſcripture in which I cannot certainly diſcerne bonum & malum, I meane verum & falſum: no, not with all the exerciſe that I haue in ſcripture, nor yet with helpe of all Interpreters that I haue, to content my ſelfe and other in all ſcrupuloſity that may aryſe: but in ſuch I am woont to wade no farther into the ſtreame, then that I may eyther go ouer, or els returne backe again, hauing euer reſpect, not to the oſtentation of my litle wit, but to the edificatiō of them that heare me, as farforth as I can, neither paſſing myne own nor yet their capacity.

And alſo ſeing it is true, that Gods wiſdome will not dwell in a body ſubiect to ſinne, albeit he chaunce in carnal wiſdome to much, yet the ſame carnall and philoſophicall vnderſtanding of Gods Scriptures, is not the wiſdome of God, which is hidde from the wiſe and is reuealed to little ones.

Euery preacher ought to be ſure of the truth.

There be many truthes, whereof a good man may well be ignorant.

There be many things in ſcripture in the profundities whereof a man may not wade to farre.

Againſt Preachers whiche take vpon them to define great ſubtilties and hie matters in the pulpit.

Vaine ſubtilties and queſtions to be declined.

And ſuch maner of argumentation might well ſerue the Deuill cōtra puſillanimes, to occaſion them to wander and wauer in the faith, & to be vncertaine in things in which they ought to be certaine: or els it may appeare to make and ſerue againſt ſuch Preachers which will define great ſubtilties & hygh matters in the Pulpit, which no man can be certaine and ſure of by Gods word to bee truth, ne ſenſus quidem habens ad diſcernendum bonum & malum exercitatiſſimos: as whether, if Adam had not ſinned we ſhould haue had Stockfiſhe out of Iſelād: howe many Larkes for a peny if euery Starre in the element where a flickering Hobby: how many yeares a man ſhall lye in Purgatory for one ſinne if he buy not plenty of the oyle that runneth ouer our lampes too ſlake the ſinne withall, and ſo forget hell which cannot be ſlaked, to prouide for Purgatory.

Simple and plaine preaching of faith, & of the fruites thereof.

Fooliſhe humilitie.

Wherein to bee humble, and wherein to be ſtoute.

A meane betwen to hie, and to low.

Such argumentation (I ſay) might appeare to make well againſt ſuch Preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly vtter true faith and fruites of the ſame, which be the good workes of God, quæ preparauit deus vt in eis ambularemus, i. which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, euery man to do the thing that perteyneth to his office and duty in his degree & calling, as the woord of God appointeth, which thing a man may doe with ſobernes, hauing ſenſus ad diſcernendum honū & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos. For it is but fooliſh humilitie, willingly to continue alwayes infantulus in Chriſto & in infirmitate. i. an infant ſtill in Chriſt, and in infirmitie: in reproofe of which it was ſayd: Facti eſtis opus habentes lacte nō ſolido cibo. For S.Paule ſayth not: Eſtote humiles, vt non capiatis. For though he would not that wee ſhould thinke arrogantly of our ſelf, and aboute that that it becōmeth vs to thinke of our ſelf, but ſo to thinke of our ſelf, vt ſimus ſobrij ac modeſti, yet he byddeth vs ſo to thinke of our ſelfe, vt cuique Deus partitus eſt mēſurā fidei, i. as God hath diſtributed to euery one the meaſure of faith. For he that may not with mekenes thinke in him ſelfe what God hath done for him, and of him ſelfe as God hath done for him, how ſhall he or when ſhall he geue due thākes to God for his giftes? And if your frends will not allow the ſame, I pray you enquyre of thē whether they may cum ſobrietate & modeſtia bee ſure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, cum ſobrietate & modeſtia folow S. Paules bidding, where he ſaith vnto vs all: Nolite fieri pueri ſenſibus, ſed malitia infantes eſtote. i. Be not children in vnderſtanding, but in malitiouſnes bee infantes. God geue vs all grace to keepe the meane, and to thinke of our ſelfe neyther to hygh nor to low, but ſo that wee may reſtore vnto him, qui peregre profectus eſt, his gifts againe cum vſura, that is to ſay, with good vſe of the ſame, ſo that ædificemus inuicem with the ſame, ad gloriam Dei, Amen.

For my life I truſt in God that I neither haue, neither (by Gods grace) ſhall I, neither in ſobernes, nor yet in drunkennes affirme any truth of my ſelfe, therewith ētendyng too diuide that vnitie of the Congregation of Chriſt, and the receiued truth agreed vpon by the holy Fathers of the Church conſonāt to the Scripture of God, though it be ſhewed you neuer ſo often, that an opiniō or maner of teachyng, which cauſeth diſſenſiō in a Chriſtian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of S. Iohn in his Epiſtle where hee ſaith: Omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtū in carne, ex Deo eſt. i. Euery one that confeſſeth Chriſt in the fleſhe, is of God. Firſt not euery

thing

Not euery thing where vpō diſſenſion cōmeth, is the cauſe of diſſenſion.

thing wherupon foloweth diſſention, cauſeth diſſention, as I would they that ſhewed you that, would alſo ſhewe you, whether this opinion, that a man may not mary his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as Gamaliell ſaid, diſſoluetur: if it be of God, as I thinke it is, and perchaunce your frendes alſo, quis poteſt diſſoluere niſi qui videbitur Deo repugnare? i. Who can diſſolue it but ſhall ſeme to repugne againſt GOD? And yet there be many not Heathennes, but in Chriſtēdome, that diſſenteth from the ſame, which could beare full euill to heare ſaid vnto them: vos ex patre diabolo eſtis. So that ſuch an opiniō might ſeme to ſome to make a diſſenſion in a Chriſtian Congregation, ſauyng that they maye ſaye perchaunce with more libertie then other, that an occaſion is ſometime taken and not geuen, whiche with their fauour I might abuſe for my defenſe, ſauyng that, non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate

He meaneth the Pope and his Papiſtes, whiche could not abide the diſſoluing of the mariage betwene kyng Henry and his brothers wife.

Occaſion may be taken where none is geuen.

The Galathians hauyng for preachers and teachers the falſe Apoſtles, by whoſe teachyng they were degenerate from the ſweete libertye of the Goſpell into the ſowre bond of Ceremonies, thought them ſelues peraduenture a Chriſten congregation when S.Paule did write his Epiſtle vnto them, and were in a quiet trade vnder the dominion of maiſterlye Curates, ſo that the falſe Apoſtles might haue obiected to S.Paule that this Apoſtleſhip was not of GOD, for as muche as there was diſſention in a Chriſtian congregation by occaſion thereof, while ſome woulde renue their opinions by occaſion of the Epiſtle ſome would opinari, as they were wont to do, and folow their great Lordes and maiſters the falſe Apoſtles, which were not heathen and vnchriſtened, but Chriſtened, and hye Prelats of the profeſſors of Chriſt. For your frendes I know right well what Eraſmus hath ſaid in an Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſis of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, which Eraſmus hath cauſed no ſmal diſſenſion with his pen in a Chriſtian Congregation, in as muche as manye haue diſſented from hym, not alonely in Cloyſters, (men more then chriſtened men) of high perfection, but alſo at Paules Croſſe, and Saint Mary Spitle: beſides many that with no ſmall zeale haue written againſte hym, but not without aunſwere.

The church of the Galathians.

Eraſmus in his epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſe, in 1.Cor.

And I woulde fayne learne of your frendes, whether that S.Hieromes writing were of God, which cauſed diſſenſion in a Chriſtian cōgregation, as it appeareth by hys owne wordes in the prologue before the Canonicall Epiſtles, which be theſe: Et tu virgo Chriſti Euſtochium, dum à me impenſius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo ſenectutem inuidorum dētibus vel morſibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falſarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: ſed ego in tali opere nec illorum inuidentiam pertimeſco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poſcentibus denegabo. I pray you what were they that called S. Hierome falſarium and corrupter of Scripture, and for enuye would haue bitten hym with their teeth? vnchriſten, or chriſten? what had the vnchriſten to doe with chriſten doctrine? They were worſhipful fathers of a chriſtian congregation, menne of muche more hotter ſtomackes then right iudgement, of a greater authority then good charity: but Saint Hierome would not ceaſe to doe good for the euill, ſpeakyng of them that were nought, geuyng in that an enſample to vs of the ſame: and if this diſſenſion were in Saint Hieromes tyme, what may be in our tyme? de malo in peius ſcilicet.

Hierome in prologo ſuper Canon. Epiſt.

Hierome noted of ſome to be a falſifier and a corrupter of the ſcriptures.

Worſhipfull fathers of greater authoritie thē of good charity.

And I pray you what meaneth your frendes by a chriſtian congregation? Al thoſe (trowe ye) that haue beene chriſtened? But many of thoſe bene in worſe condition and ſhall haue greater damnation, then many vnchriſtened. For it is not inough to a Chriſtian Congregation that is of God, to haue bene chriſtened: but it is to be cōſidered what we promiſe when we be chriſtened, to renounce Sathan, his workes, his pompes: Whiche thyng if we buſy not our ſelſe to do, let vs not crake that we profeſſe Chriſtes name in a Chriſtian congregation, in vno baptiſmo. i. in one baptiſme.

It is not inough to bee chriſtened: but to kepe our promiſe made whē wee be chriſtened.

Vnitie in baptiſme, is not inough.

And where they adde in vno Domino. i. in one Lord, I read in Math. 17. nō omnis qui dicit, domine domine. &c. i. Not euery one that ſaieth Lorde, Lord. &c. And in Luke the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch profeſſores, and confeſſores, ſaiyng to them: Cur dicitis domine, domine, & non facitis quæ dico? i. Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? euen as though it wer inough to a Chriſtian man, or to a Chriſtian congregation to ſay euery day, Domine dominus noſter, and to ſalute Chriſte with a double Domine. But I would your frendes woulde take the paynes to reade ouer Chryſoſtome ſuper Mattheum, hom. 49. cap. 24. to learne to know a Chriſtian congregation, if it will pleaſe them to learne at hym. And where they adde, in vna fide. i. in one fayth, S.Iames ſaieth boldly: oſtende mihi fidem ex operibus. i. ſhew me thy faith by thy workes. And S.Hierome: Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem oſtendimus. And Scripture ſayeth, qui credit deo, attendit mandatis: And the deuils beleue to their little comfort. I pray GOD to ſaue you and your frendes from that beleeuyng Congregation, and from that faithfull company.

Too pretend vnitie vnder the title of one Lord, is not inough.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 49. in Mat. Cap. 24.

To be in vnitie of faith, except the faith be foūd, is not inough.

i. If we beleue, we ſhewe the truth in woorking.

i. He that beleueth God, attendeth to his commaundementes.

Therfore all this toucheth not them that be vnchriſtened, but them that be chriſtened and aunſwere not vnto their chriſtendome. For Saint Hierome ſheweth how true Preachers ſhould order them ſelues, when euill Prieſtes and falſe Preachers, & populus ab his deceptus. i. The people be by them deceiued, ſhould be angry with them for preachyng the truth, Tom. 5. in Hieremiam Capi. 26. exhortyng them to ſuffer death for the ſame of the euyll Prieſtes and falſe Preachers and the people deceiued of them, whiche euyll Prieſtes and falſe Preachers with the people deceiued, be chriſtened as wel as other: and I fear me that S. Hierome might appeare to ſome Chriſtian cōgregation, as they will bee called, to write ſeditiouſly, to deuide the vnity of a greate honeſt nomber, confeſſyng Chriſt in vno baptiſmate, vno domino, vna fide, ſaiyng: populus qui ante ſub magiſtris conſopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leuiter tacti fumigant, ſed montes veteris & noui teſtamenti, Prophetas, Apoſtolos, & Euangeliſtas, & cum eiuſmodi montium lectione verſatus, ſi non inuenerit doctores (meſſis enim multa, operarij autem pauci) tunc & populi ſtudium comprobabitur, quo fugerit and montes, & magiſtrorum deſidia coarguetur. To. 6. in Naum cap. 30.

Hieron. Tom. 5. in Hierem, Cap. 26.

How true preachers ſhould order them ſelues, when the wicked prieſts be againſt them.

Hieron. Tom. 6. in Naum Cap. 30.

i. The people which before were brought a ſleepe by theyr Maiſters, muſt go vp too the mountaines, not ſuch mountaines whiche ſmoke when they are touched, but to the mountaines of the old & newe teſtament, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Euangeliſtes. And whē thou art occupied with reading in thoſe mountaines, if then thou find no inſtructors, (for the haruest is great, and the workemen be few) yet ſhall the diligent ſtudy of the people bee [illegible] mountaines and the ſlothfulnes of the maiſters ſhall bee rebuked.

I do maruaile why our Chriſtian congregation bee ſo greatly greued that lay people would reade ſcripture, ſeyng that S. Hierome alloweth and approueth the ſame, which compareth not here the vnchriſtened to the chriſtened, but the lay people chriſtened to their Curats chriſtened, vnder which they haue bene rocked and locked a ſlepe in a ſubtile trade a great while full ſoundly, though now of late they haue bene waked, but to their payne, at the leaſte waye, to the payne of them that haue wakened them with the worde of God: and it is properly ſayd of S. Hierome to call them Maſters and not ſeruants, meanyng that ſeruantes teacheth not their owne doctrine, but the doctrine of their Maiſter Chriſte, to his glory. Maſters teacheth not Chriſtes doctrine, but their owne, to their own glory: whiche maſterly Curates cannot be quiet till they haue brought the people a ſleepe againe: but Chriſte the very true Maſter ſayth: vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes veſtræ, neq; viæ meæ viæ veſtræ, dicit dominus: and there haue been, qui cogitauerunt concilia, quæ non potuerunt ſtabilire. i. whiche haue gone abount councels, whiche they could not eſtabliſh. I pray God giue our people grace ſo to wake, vt ſtudium illorum comprobetur, and our mayſters ſo to ſleepe, vt non deſidia illorum coarguatur. For who is ſo blind that he ſeeth not how farre our Chriſtian congregation doth gainſay S. Hierome, and ſpeaketh after an other faſhion. God amende that is a miſſe: for wee be ſomthyng wide, Iwis.

But now your frendes haue learned of S. Iohn, that omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt. i. Euery one that confeſſeth Ieſus Chriſt in fleſh, is of God. And I haue learned of S.Paule, that there haue been, not among the heathen, but among the Chriſten, qui ore cōfitētur, factis autem negant. i. which confeſſe Chriſt with their mouth, and deny hym with their actes: ſo that Saint Paule ſhould appeare to expounde S. Iohn, ſauyng that I will not affirme any thyng as of my ſelfe, but leaue it to your frendes to ſhew your, vtrum qui factis negant Chriſtū & vita, ſint ex deo necne per ſolam oris confeſſionē: for your frendes knoweth well inough by the ſame. Saint Iohn, qui ex deo eſt, non peccat: and there both haue bene and be now to many, qui ore tenus cōfitentur Chriſtum veniſſe in carne, which wil not effectually heare the woord of God by conſentyng to the ſame, notwithſtandyng that S Iohn ſayth, qui ex deo eſt, verbum dei audit, vos non anditis quia ex deo non eſtis: & many ſhall hear, nunquam noui vos. i. I neuer knew you, whiche ſhall not alonely be chriſtened, but alſo ſhall prophetare, and doe puiſſaunt thinges in nomine Chriſti: and Saint Paule ſayd their ſhould come Lupi graues qui non percerent gregi. i. rauenyng wolues whiche will not ſpare the flocke, meanyng it of them that ſhould confiteri Chriſtum in carne in their lips, and yet vſurpe by ſucceſſiō the office, which Chriſt calleth ſpeudoprophetas. i. falſe prophetes, & bid-

i. Which with mouth onely confeſſe Chriſt to come in fleſh.

deth vs beware of them, ſaiyng they ſhall come in veſtimentis ouium, id eſt, in ſheepes cloathing, and yet they may wear both ſatten, ſilke, and veluet, called afterwards ſerui nequam, non paſcentes ſed percutientes conſeruos, edentes & bibentes cum ebrijs, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis. They are called ſerui, ſeruauntes I trow, quod ore confitentur Chriſtum in carne: nequā vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem: And yet your frendes reaſon as though there could none barke and bite at true Preachers, but they that bee vnchriſtened, notwithſtandyng that S. Auſtin vpō the ſame Epiſtle of Iohn calleth ſuch confeſſors of Chriſt, qui ore confitentur, & factis negāt, Antichriſtos: a ſtraunge name for a chriſtian congregation: and though S. Auſtin could defend his ſaiyng, yet his ſaiyng myght appeare not to bee of God, to ſome mens iudgment, in that it breaketh the chaine of Chriſtes charity, ſo to cauſe men to hate Antichriſtianiſmum, Antichriſtes, accordyng to the doctrine of S. Paul: ſitis odio perſequentes quod malum eſt. i. Hate that is euil: and ſo makyng diuiſion, not betwene chriſtened and vnchriſtened, but betwene Chriſtians and Antichriſtians, when neither pen nor tōge cā diuide the Antichriſtiās frō their blind folly. And I would you would cauſe your frēdes to read ouer S. Auſtin, vpon the Epiſtle of S. Iohn, & tel you the meanyng thereof, if they thinke it expediente for you to know it, as I remēber it is tractatu. 3. but I am not ſure nor certaine of that, becauſe I did not ſee it ſince I was at Cambridge: and here haue I not Saint Auſtines woorkes to looke for it: but well I wotte, that there he teacheth vs to know the Chriſtians from the Antichriſtians, whiche both be chriſtened, and both confeſſe Ieſum eſſe Chriſtū, if thei be aſked the queſtion: and yet the one part denieth it in very deede: but to know whether, non linguam ſed facta attendamus, & viuendi genus, num ſtudeamus officia vocationis prę̨ſtare an non ſtudeamus, immo perſuaſi forte ſumus non neceſſe eſſe vt prę̨ſtemus, ſed omnia in primitiuam eccleſiam & tempora præterita &c. quaſi nobis ſat ſit dominari, & ſecularibus negotijs nos totos voluere, ac voluptatibus & pompæ inhiare: and yet we will appeare, vel ſoli ex deo eſſe: ſed longe aliter Chriſtum confitentur, qui confitendo ex Deo eſſe comprobantur.

Naughty ſeruauntes not fedyng, but ſmityng their felowſeruauntes, eating & drinking with the drunken which ſhall haue their portion with hypocrites.

i. Becauſe they confeſſe Chriſt in fleſh: and naughty they are called, becauſe they deny him in theyr deedes, not geuing meat in due ſeaſon, and exerciſing maiſterſhippe ouer the flocke.

Auguſt. in Ioan. Tract. 3.

Both Chriſtians and Antichriſtians confeſſe the name of Chriſt.

i. Let vs not ſtand vpon our talkes but attend to our doynges and conuerſatiō of life, whether wee, not onely doe not put our endeuour therto, but alſo perſuade our ſelues as though it were not neceſſary for vs to accōpliſh ſuche thinges, &c. but ỳ it is inough to beare rule ỳ authoritie ouer them, and to beſtow our ſelues wholy vpō ſecular matters, pleaſures, and pompe of this world.

And yet as long as they miniſter the woord of God or his Sacramentes, or any thyng that GOD hath ordeined to the ſaluation of mankynd, wherewith God hath promiſed to be preſent, to woorke with the miniſtration of the ſame to the ende of the world, they be to be hearde, to be obeyed, to be honored for Gods ordinaunce ſake, which is effectuall and fruitfull, whatſoeuer the miniſter be, though he bee the Deuill, and neither Churche, nor member of the ſame, as origine ſayth, and Chriſoſtome, ſo that it is not all one to honour them, & truſt in them, Saint Hierome ſayth: but there is required a iudgement, to diſcerne when they miniſter Gods woorde and ordinance of the ſame, and their owne, leſt peraduenture we take chalke for cheſe, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digeſtion. For as it is commonly ſaid, the blind eateth many a flie, as they did which were perſuaded à principibus ſacerdotum vt peterent Barrabam, Ieſum autem crucifigerent. i. Of the hye Prieſtes, to aſke Barrabas and to crucifie Ieſus: and ye know that to folow blynd guydes is to come into the pit with the ſame. And will you knowe, ſayth Sainct Auguſtine, howe apertly they reſiſt Chriſte, when men begyn to blame them for their miſliuyng, and intolerable ſecularitye, and negligence? they dare not for ſhame blaſpheme Chriſt hym ſelfe, but they will blaſpheme the Miniſters and Preachers of whom they bee blamed.

In the people is required a iudgement to diſcerne, whether they take of their miniſters chalke for cheeſe.

The blind eateth many a fly.

Intolerable ſecularitie and negligence in churchmen.

Therſore, where as ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in vtteryng of the truth, when ſhall that be as long as we will not heare the truth, but diſquiete with crafty conueiaunce the preachers of the truth, becauſe they reproue our ilneſſe with the truth: And to ſay truthe better it were to haue a deformitie in preachyng, ſo that ſome would preache the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the woord (as Lyranus ſayth in his tyme few did, what they do now a dayes I report me to them that can iudge) then to haue ſuche an vniformitie, that the ſelye people ſhould be therby occaſioned to continue ſtill in their lamentable ignoraunce, corrupt iudgement, ſuperſtition and idolatry, and eſteme thinges as they do all, prepoſterouſly, doyng that that they neede not for to do, leauing vndon that they ought to do, for lacke or want of knowyng what is to bee done, and ſo ſhewe their loue to God, not as God biddeth (which ſayth. Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſeruate. And agayne: Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me) but as they byd qui quærunt quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Ieſu Chriſti. i. whiche ſeeke theyr owne thynges: not Chriſtes as though to tythe mynt were more, then iudgement, faith, and mercy.

Better is in the churche a deformed diſagreement, ſo that Chriſt be truly preached, then vniforme ignoraunce agreeing in Idolatrie.

i. If ye loue me keepe my commaundementes.

i. He ỳ knoweth my precepts and doth them, he loueth me.

And what is to liue in ſtate of Curates, but that hee taught which ſayd: Petre amas me? paſce, paſce, paſce: Peter loueſt thou me? feede: feede, feede: whiche is now ſet aſide, as though to loue were to doe nothyng els, but to weare ringes: miters, and rochets &c. And when they erre in right liuyng, how can the people but erre in louyng, & all of the new faſhion, to his diſhonour that ſuffered hys paſſion, and taught the true kynde of louyng, whiche is now tourned into pipyng, plaiyng, and curious ſingyng, which will not be reformed (I trow) niſi per manum Dei validam. And I haue both S. Auſten, and S. Thomas, with diuers other, that lex is taken, not alonely for Ceremonies, but alſo for Moralls, where it is ſayd: Non eſtis ſub lege: though your frendes reproue the ſame. But they can make no diuiſion in a Chriſtian congregation. And where as both you & they would haue a ſobernes in our preachyng, I pray God ſend it vnto vs, what ſoeuer ye meane by it. For I ſee well, who ſoeuer will be happy, and buſy with væ vobis, he ſhall ſhortly after come coram nobis.

The ſtate of Curates what it is.

The true honour of Chriſt turned to Piping, Plaing, & Singing.

Hee that will be buſie with væ vobis, let him looke ſhortely for coram nobis.

And where your frendes thinke that I made a ly, when I ſayd that I haue thought in tymes paſte that the Pope had bene Lorde of the worlde, though your frendes bee much better learned then I, yet am I ſure that they know not what I either thinke, or haue thought, better then I, iuxta illud: nemo nouit quæ ſunt hominis. &c. as though better men then I haue not thought ſo, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Octauus, the great learned man Iohn of the burnt Tower: preſbiter Cardinalis in his booke where he proueth the Pope to be aboue the Councell General and Speciall, where he ſaith that the Pope is Rex regum, and dominus dominantium. i. The Kynge of kinges, and Lord of Lordes, and that he is verus Dominus totius orbis, iure, licet non facto: i. the true Lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not ſo: & that Cōſtantinus did but reſtore his owne vnto hym, when hee gaue vnto hym Rome, ſo that in propria venit, as S. Iohn ſaith Chriſt did, & ſui eum non receperunt: and yet I heare not that any of our Chriſtian congregation hath reclamed againſt hym, vntill now of late diſſenſion began. Who bee your frendes I cannot tell: but I would you would deſire them to be my good maſters, and if they will do me no good, at the leaſt way doe mee no harme: and though they can doe you no more good then I, yet I am ſure I would bee as loth to hurt you as they, either with myne opinions, maner of Preachyng, or writyng.

Iohannes de turre Cremata.

The Pope great Maiſter, Lord, and King ouer all the world.

i. He came into his owne, and his owne receaued him not. Ioh. 1.

And as for the Popes high dominion ouer all, there is one Raphaell Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in times paſt a Marchaunt of diſpenſations, whiche I ſuppoſe would dye in the quarell, as Gods true knight, and true Martyr. As touchyng Purgatory, and worſhippyng of Saintes, I ſhewed to you my mynde before my Ordinary: and yet I marueiled ſomethyng, that after priuate communication had with hym, ye would (as it were) adiure me to open my mind before him, not geuing me warning before, ſauyng I can not interprete euill your doynges towardes me: and yet neither myne Ordinary, nor you diſallowed the thyng that I ſayd, and I looked not to eſcape better then Doctor Crome: but when I haue opened my mynd neuer ſo muche, yet I ſhalbe reported to denye my preachyng, of them that haue belyed my preachyng, as he was. Sed opus eſt magna patientia ad ſuſtinendas calumnias malignantis Eccleſiæ.

The Popes dominion.

Purgatory.

Worſhipping of Saintes.

i. I ſhall haue neede of great paciēce to beare the falſe reportes of the malignant church.

Syr, I haue had more buſines in my little cure ſince I ſpake with you, what with ſick folkes, and what with matrimonies, then I haue had ſince I came to it, or then I would haue thought a man ſhould haue in a greate cure. I wonder how men can goe quietly to bed whiche haue great cures and many, and yet peraduenture are in none of them all. But I praye you tell none of your frendes that I ſayd ſo fooliſhly, leſt I make a diſſention in a Chriſtian congregation, and diuide a ſweete and a reſtfull vnion, or tot quot, with hæc requies mea in ſeculum ſeculi. Syr I had made an ende of this ſcriblyng, and was beginnyng to write it agayne more truely and more diſtinctlye, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lorde of Farleys, with a Citation to appeare before my Lord of London in haſte, to be puniſhed for ſuche exceſſes as I committed at my laſte beyng there, ſo that I coulde not performe my purpoſe: I doubt whether ye can read it, as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you ſend it mee again, and that you ſo do, whether you can reade it or not. Ieſu

A priuy nippe to ſuch as haue many cures ỳ are reſident at none.

mercy, what world is this, that I ſhall be put to ſo greate labour and paynes, beſides great coſtes, aboue my power for preachyng of a poore ſimple Sermon? But I trow, our Sauiour Chriſt ſayd true: Oportet pati, & ſic intrare: tam periculoſum eſt in Chriſto piè viuere velle: yea, in a chriſten Congregation. G O D make vs all Chriſten, after the right faſhion, Amen.

I must needes ſuffer and ſo enter: So perilous a thing it is to liue vertuouſly in Chriſt.

Of theſe 2. Proclamatiõs, read before pag. 901. 1216.

Here foloweth an other letter of M. Latymer written to Kyng Henry the eight vpon this occaſion. Ye heard before pag. 901. 1216. of twoo ſondry Proclamatiõs ſet out by the Byſhops in the tyme of Kyng Henry, the one in the yeare. 1531. and the other ſet out an. 1546. In the whiche Proclamations beeyng aucthoriſed by the Kynges name, were inhibited all Engliſhe bookes either conteinyng or tendyng to any matter of the Scripture. Where alſo wee haue expreſſed at large the whole Catologue of all their errours and hereſies, which the ſayd Byſhops falſely haue excerpted, & maliciouſly imputed to godly writers, with their places and quotatiõs aboue aſſigned in the page aforeſayd. Now Maſter Latymer growyng in ſome fauour with the Kyng, and ſeyng the great decay of Chriſtes Religion by reaſon of theſe Proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeale of conſcience, directeth vnto Kyng Henry this letter here vnder enſuyng, thereby entendyng by all meanes poſſible to perſwade the Kynges mynd to ſet opẽ agayn the freedome of Gods holy word amongeſt his ſubiectes. The copy and tenour of his letter herere foloweth.

¶The letter of Maiſter Latymer written to Kyng Henry, for the reſtoryng agayne the free liberty of readyng the holy ſcripture.

¶To the moſt mighty Prince Kyng of England Henry the eight, Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

An other letter of M. Latymer to K. Henry.

August. ad Caſulanum.

Chryſoſt.

The holy Doctor Saint Auſtine in an Epiſtle which he wrote to Caſulanus ſayth that he which for feare of any power hydeth the truth, prouoketh the wrath of God to come vpon hym: for he feareth men more then God. And accordyng to the ſame, the holy man Saint John Chryſoſtome ſaith: that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie, but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce and ſhewe the truth that he knoweth. Theſe ſentences (moſte redoubted Kyng) when I red now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward partes of myne hart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled and vexed me greuouſly in my cõſcience, and at the laſt droue me to this ſtraite, that eyther I muſt ſhew forth ſuch thynges as I haue red and learned in Scripture, or els to bee of the ſort that prouoke the wrath of GOD vppon them, and be traitours vnto the truth: the whiche thyng rather then it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhement.

M. Latymer touched in conſcience to write to the King.

That is to be a traytour to truth.

For what other thing is it to be a traytour vnto the truth, then to be a Traytour and a Judas to Chriſte, which is the very truth and cauſe of al truth? the which ſayth that who ſo euer denieth hym here before men, he will deny hym before his father in heauen. The which denying ought more to bee feared and dread, then the loſſe of all temporall goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſclaunder, hurtes, baniſhmentes, and all maner of tormentes, and cruelties, yea, and death it ſelfe, be it neuer ſo ſhamefull and painfull. But alas, how little do men regard thoſe ſharpe ſayinges of theſe two holy men? and how little doe they feare the terrible iudgement of almighty God? and ſpecially they which boaſt themſelues to bee guydes and Captaynes vnto other, and chalengyng vnto them ſelues the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet wil neither ſhew the truth themſelues (as they be bound) neither ſuffer them that would: So that vnto them may bee ſayd that whiche our Sauiour Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſeis, Math. 23. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, whiche ſhutte vp the kyngdome of heauen before menne, and neither will you enter in your ſelues, neyther ſuffer them that woulde, to enter. And they will as much as in them lieth, debar, not onely the word of God, which Dauid calleth a light to direct and ſhewe euery man how to order his affectiõs and luſtes, accordyng to the Commaundementes of God: but alſo by their ſubtill wylines they inſtructe, moue, and prouoke, in a manner, all Kynges in Chriſtendome to ayde, ſuccour, and helpe them in thys their miſchiefe: and eſpecially in this your Realme, they haue ſore blynded your Leige people and Subiectes with their Lawes, Cuſtomes, Ceremonies, and Banbery gloſes, and puniſhed them with Curſinges, Excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would ſaye) and now, at the laſt when they ſee that they cannot preuaile agaynſt the open truth (which the more is perſecuted, the more it increaſeth by their tyranny) they haue made it treaſon to your noble grace to haue the Scripture in Engliſhe.

Math. 23.

The ſubtile wilines and practiſes of the Prelates.

Here I beſech your grace to pardon me a whyle and paciently to heare me a worde or two: yea and though it bee ſo that as concernyng your hye Maieſtie and regall power, whereunto almighty God hath called your grace, there is as greate difference betweene you and me, as betwene God and man. For you be here to me and to all your ſubiectes, in Gods ſteede, to defende, ayde, and ſuccour vs in our right, and ſo I ſhoulde tremble and quake to ſpeake to your grace. But again, as concernyng that you be a mortall man, in daunger of ſynne, hauyng in you the corrupte nature of Adam, in the whiche all we bee both conceaued and borne, ſo haue you no leſſe neede of the merites of Chriſtes paſſion for your ſaluation, then I and other of your ſubiectes haue, which be all members of the miſticall body of Chriſt. And though you bee an hygher member, yet you muſte not diſdayne the leſſer. For as Sainct Paule ſaith: thoſe members that be taken moſte vileſt and had in leaſt reputation, bee as neceſſary as the other, for the preſeruation and keepyng of the body. This, moſt gracious Kyng, when I conſidered, and alſo your fauourable and gentle nature, I was bolde to wryte thys rude, homely, and ſimple letter vnto your grace, truſtyng that you will accept my true and faithfull mynd euen as it is.

Pſal. 5.
Epheſ. 2.

Kinges ſtand as much in neede of Chriſtes paſſion, as any infectious ſubiect.

Rom. 12.
1. Corinth. 2.
Ephe. 4.
1. Cor. 12.

Firſt and before all thyngs I will exhort your grace to marke the lyfe and proceſſe of our Sauiour Chriſte and his Apoſtles in preaching and ſettyng forth of the Goſpell, and to note alſo the wordes of our Maiſter Chriſte, whiche he had to his Diſciples when hee ſent them forth to preache his Goſpell, and to theſe haue euer in your mind the golden rule of our maſter Chriſt: The tree is knowen by the fruite. For by the diligent markyng of theſe, your grace ſhall clearly knowe and perceaue who be the true followers of Chriſt and teachers of his Goſpel, and who be not. And concernyng the firſt, all Scripture ſheweth plainly that our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſtes lyfe was very poore.

Math. 7.

The rule of Chriſt.

Beginne at hys byrth, and I beſeech you, who euer heard of a poorer or ſo poore as hee was? It were to long to write how pore Joſeph and the bleſſed Virgin Mary toke their iourney from Nazareth toward Bethlem in the cold and froſty Wynter, hauyng no body to wayte vppon them, but hee both Maiſter and man, and ſhe both Miſtres and maide. How vilely thinkes your grace, they were intreated in the Innes and lodginges by the way? and in how vyle and abiect place was this poore mayde, the Mother of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, brought to bedde in, without company, light or any other thyng neceſſary for a woman in that plight? Was not here a poore beginnyng, as concernyng the world? Yes truely. And accordyng to this beginnyng was the proceſſe and ende of hys life in this worlde, and yet he might by his godly power haue had all the goodes and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure, when and where he would.

The pouertie of Chriſtes life expreſſed.

But this hee did to ſhewe vs that his followers and Vicars ſhould not regard nor ſet by the riches & treaſures of this world, but after the ſaiyng of Dauid wee ought to take them, which ſaith thus: If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let hym not ſet hys affiaunce, pleaſure, truſt, and hart vpon them. So that it is not againſt the pouerty in ſpirite which Chriſt praiſeth in the Goſpell of S. Mathew, chap. 5. to be rich, to be in dignity, and in honour, ſo that their harts be not fixed and ſet vpon them ſo much, that they neither care for GOD nor good man. But they be enemies to this pouerty in ſpirite, haue they neuer ſo little, that haue gredy and deſirous mindes to the goods of this world, only becauſe they would liue after their owne pleaſure & luſtes. And they alſo be priuy enemyes (and ſo much the worſe) whiche haue profeſſed (as they ſaye, wilfull pouerty, and will not be called worldly men. And they haue Lordes landes, and Kinges riches, yea rather then they would loſe one iot of that whiche they haue, they will ſet debate betwene King, and Kyng, Realme and Realme, yea betwene the King and his Subiects,

The poore condition of Chriſtes life, is an example to vs to caſt downe our pride, nor to ſet by riches.

It is not againſt the pouertie of the ſpirite, to be rich.

What is to be poore in ſpirit, and what not.

Priuy enemies to ſpirituall pouertie.

Againſt monkes and friers, and prelates of the ſpiritualtie.

Math. 17.

Subiection to ſuperiour powers.

and cauſe rebellion againſt the Temporall power, to the which our Sauiour Chriſt himſelfe obeyed & payed tribute, as the Goſpell declareth: vnto whom the holy Apoſtle S. Paule teacheth euery Chriſten man to obey. Yea and beſide all this, they will curſe and ban, as much as in them lieth, euen into the deepe pit of hell, al that gainſay their appetite, whereby they thynke their goodes, promotions, or dignitie ſhould decay.

Ambitiõ of the ſpiritualtie.

Your grace may ſee what meanes and craft the Spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine to breake and withſtand the Actes which were made in your Graces laſt Pariament againſt their ſuperfluities. Wherfore they that thus doe, your Grace may knowe them not to be the true followers of Chriſte. And although I named the Spiritualty to be corrupt with this vnthriftie ambition: yet I meane not all to be faulty therein, for there bee ſome good of them. Neither will I that your Grace ſhould take away the goodes due to the church, but take away ſuch euill perſones from the goods, and ſet better in their ſteede.

Math. 7.

Math. 15.

Chriſt promiſeth no promotions, but perſecution to hys folowers.

Math. 24.

John. 16.

Math. 10.

Gods word only is the weapõ of ſpirituall paſtors.

I name nor appoint no perſon nor perſons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Sauiour Chriſt, as in Mathew the ſeuenth Chapter: By their fruites ye ſhal know them. As touchyng the wordes that our Sauiour Chriſt ſpake to his Diſciples when hee ſent them to preache his Goſpell, they be red in Mathew the fiftenth Chapiter, where hee ſheweth, that here they ſhall bee hated and deſpiſed of all men worldly, and brought before Kinges and Rulers, and that all euill ſhould bee ſayd by them, for their preachyng ſake, but he exhorteth them to take paciently ſuch perſecution by his owne example, ſaying: It becometh not the ſeruaunt to be aboue the Maſter. And ſeyng they called mee Belzebub, what maruayle is it, if they call you deuiliſh perſons and heretikes? Read the. xiiii. Chapiter of Saint Matthewes Goſpell, and there your Grace ſhall ſee, that he promiſed to the true Preachers no worldlye promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kindes of puniſhment, and that they ſhoulde bee betrayed euen by their owne brethren and children. In John alſo hee ſaieth: In the worlde ye ſhall haue oppreſsion, and the worlde ſhall hate you: but in mee you ſhall haue peace. And in the. x. chapiter of S. Mathewes Goſpell ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt alſo: Loe I ſend you forth as ſhepe among wolues. So that the true Preachers goe like ſheepe harmeles, and be perſecuted, and yet thei reuenge not their wrõg, but remit all to God: ſo farre it is of that they wil perſecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And ſo this is the moſt euident token that our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt would that his Goſpell and the Preachers of it ſhould be knowen by, and that it ſhould bee deſpiſed among thoſe worldly wyſe men, and that they ſhould repute it but foliſhnes and deceiuable doctrine, and the true Preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, and driuen from towne to towne, yea and at the laſt loſe both goodes and lyfe.

The Apoſtles were perſecuted, but neuer no perſecutors.

Philip. 1.

And yet they that did this perſecution, ſhould thinke that they did wel, and a great pleaſure of GOD. And the Apoſtles remembryng this leſſon of our Sauiour Chriſt, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may reade in the Actes of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtles. But we neuer redde that they euer perſecuted any man. The holy Apoſtle Saint Paule ſayth, that euery man that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhould ſuffer perſecution. And alſo he ſayth further in the Epiſtle written to the Philippians in the firſt chapter: that it is not onely geuen you to beleue in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.

Perſecution a ſure marke of true preaching.

The word of the croſſe.

Wherfore, take this for a ſure cõcluſion, that there, where the woord of GOD is truely preached, there is perſecution, aſwell of the hearers as of the teachers: and where as is quietneſſe and reſte in worldlye pleaſure, there is not the trueth. For the worlde loueth all that are of the worlde, and hateth all thynges that is contrary to it. And to be ſhort, Saint Paul calleth the Goſpel the word of the croſſe, the word of puniſhment. And the holye Scripture doth promiſe nothyng to the fauourers and followers of it in thys world, but trouble, vexation, and perſecutiõ, which theſe worldly men cannot ſuffer, nor away withall.

John. 3.

Crafty pretences of the prelates to ſtoppe the reading of holy ſcripture.

Belly wiſedome.

Therefore, pleaſeth it your good Grace, to returne to this golden rule of our Maſter and Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte, whiche is this: by their fruites you ſhall know them. For where you ſet perſecution, there is the Goſpell, and there is the truth: and they that do perſecute, be voyde and without all truth: not caryng for the cleare light, which (as our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in the third chapter of Saint Johns Goſpell) is come into the worlde, and whiche ſhall vtter and ſhewe foorth euery mans workes. And thei, whoſe workes be nought, dare not come to this light, but go about to ſtop it and hynder it, lettyng as muche as they maye, that the holy Scripture ſhould not be red in our mother toung, ſaying that it would cauſe hereſy and inſurrection, and ſo they perſwade, at the leaſte way they would fayne perſwade your Grace to keepe it backe. But here marke their ſhameles boldnes, which be not aſhamed, contrary to Chriſtes doctrine, to gather figges of Thornes, and grapes of buſhes, and to call light darkenes, and darkenes light, ſweete ſower, and ſower ſweete, good euill, and euill good, and to ſaye that that, whiche teacheth all obedience, ſhould cauſe diſſenſion and ſtrife, but ſuche is their belly wiſedome: therewith they iudge and meaſure euery thyng, to holde and keepe ſtill thys wicked Mammon, the goodes of this worlde, whiche is their GOD, and hath ſo blynded the eyes of theyr hartes, that they cannot ſee the cleare light of the Sacred Scripture, though they bable neuer ſo much of it.

Perſwaſions to let ỹ Scripture to be red in Engliſh.

Siniſter counſell about princes.

Wicked politie turned to hys owne deſtruction.

But as concernyng this matter, other men haue ſhewed your Grace their myndes, how neceſſarye it is to haue the Scripture in Engliſhe. The which thyng alſo your Grace hath promiſed by your laſte Proclamation: the whiche promiſe I praye God that your gracious highnes may ſhortly performe, euen to daye before to morrow. Nor let not the wickednes of theſe worldly men deceiue you from your Godlye purpoſe and promiſe. Remember the ſubtile worldly wiſe councellours of Hammon the ſonne of Naas, kyng of the Ammonites, which, when Dauid had ſent his Seruauntes to comfort the young kyng for the death of his Father, by crafty imaginations counſelled Hammon, not alonely not to receiue them gently, but to entreate them moſte ſhamefullye and cruellye ſaiyng: that they came not to comfort hym, but to eſpy and ſearch his land, ſo that afterwarde they bringyng Dauid woord how euery thyng ſtoode, Dauid might come and conquer it: And ſo they cauſed the young kyng to ſheare their heades, and cut their coates by the poyntes, and ſente them awaye lyke fooles: whom he ought rather to haue made muche of, and to haue entreated them gently, & haue geuen them great thanks and rewards. O wretched Councellers. But ſee what followed of this carnall and worldlye wiſedome. Truely nothyng but deſtruction of all the whole Realme, and alſo of all them whiche tooke their partes.

Vnder the pretence of inſurrectiõ and hereſies, the prelates ſtoppe the liberty of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Obiection preuented and anſwered.

The cauſe and cauſers of the Kings proclamation againſt the reading of Scripture bookes in Engliſh.

He meaneth of Cranmer, Crõwell, and one or two mo, againſt whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his faction did preuayle.

Therefore good kyng, ſeeyng that the right Dauid, that is to ſay, our Sauiour Chriſt hath ſent his Seruaunts, that is to ſay, true preachers, & his owne word alſo to comfort our weake & ſicke ſoules, let not theſe worldly menne make your Grace beleue that they will cauſe inſurrections and hereſies, and ſuche miſchiefes as they Imagine of their owne mad braines, leſte that he be auenged vpon you and your realm, as was Dauid vpon the Ammonites, and as he hath euer bene auenged vpon them which haue obſtinatly withſtande & gainſayd his woorde. But peraduenture they will lay this againſt me, and ſay that experience doth ſhew, how that ſuch men as call them ſelues folowers of the Goſpel, regardeth not your Graces commaundement, neither ſet by your Proclamation, and that was well proued by theſe perſons whiche of late were puniſhed in London for keepyng of ſuch bokes as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regard nor eſteeme other your Graces lawes, ſtatutes, & ordinaunces. But this is but a crafty perſuaſiõ. For your grace knoweth that there is no man liuynge, ſpecially that loueth worldlye promotion, that is ſo foliſh to ſet forth, promote, or enhaũce his enemy, wherby he ſhould be let of his worldly pleaſures & fleſhly deſires: but rather he will ſeeke al the waies poſſible that he can, vtterly to confound, deſtroy, & put hym out of the way. And ſo as concernyng your laſt proclamation prohibiting ſuch bokes, the very true cauſe of it, and chief Counſellours (as men ſay, and of likelihode it ſhould be) were they whoſe euill liuyng and cloked hipocriſie theſe bokes vttered and diſcloſed. And howbeit ỹ there were iij. or iiij. that would haue had the Scripture to go forth in Engliſhe, yet it happened there, as it is euermore ſeene, that the moſte part ouercommeth the better, and ſo it might bee that theſe men did not take this proclamatiõ as yours, but as theirs ſet forth in your name, as they haue done many times

A practiſe of prelates, to cõuey their owne proclamations vnder yͤ kings name and authoritie.

He meaneth of yͤ Pope, which went about to driue K. Henry out of his kingdome, and that not without ſome adherẽtes, nere about the King.

ny times moe, which hath put this your realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it to great penury, and more would haue done if god had not mercifully prouided to bryng your Grace to knowledge of the falſhode and priuy treaſon, whiche their head and captaine was about: and be you ſure not without adherentes, if the matter be dewly ſearched. For what maruaile is it, that they beyng ſo nigh of your Councell, and ſo familiar with your lordes, ſhould prouoke both your Grace and them to prohibite theſe bokes, which before by their owne authoritie haue forbidden the newe Teſtament, vnder payne of euerlaſtyng dãnation: for ſuch is their maner, to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the new Teſtament (and ſo I thinke by the other) was mekely offered to euery man that would & could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

The cauſe of inſurrectiõs is falſly layed vpõ Engliſhe bookes: but rather is to bee layd vpõ the Popes pardons.

Extortioners, bribers, theeues, bee the greateſt enemies to the Goſpell to be in Engliſh.

Moreouer, I will aſke them the cauſes of all inſurrections, whiche hath bene in this Realme heretofore. And whence is it that there be ſo many Extorcioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeues whiche dayly doe not breake onely your graces lawes, ordinaunces, and ſtatutes, but alſo the lawes and commaundementes of almighty God? I thinke they will not ſay theſe bookes, but rather their pardons which cauſeth many a man to ſin in truſt of thẽ. For as for thoſe malefactours which I now rehearſed, you ſhall not find one amõgeſt a hundreth, but that he will crie out both of theſe bokes, and alſo of them that haue them, yea & wilbe glad to ſpend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, vppon Fagots to burn both the bokes and them that haue them.

The froward life of the Goſpellers, is not to be layd to the Goſpell.

Lacke of good Curates, is the cauſe of all miſchiefe in the Realme.

And as touching theſe men that wer lately puniſhed for theſe bookes, there is no man (I heare ſay) that can lay any word or deede againſt them that ſhould ſoũd to the breaking of any of your Graces lawes (this onely except) if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it ſo that their be ſome that haue theſe bookes, that be euil, vnruly, and ſelfe willed perſons, not regardyng Gods lawes nor mans, yet theſe bokes be not the cauſe thereof, no more then was the bodily preſence of Chriſt and his woordes the cauſe that Judas fell, but their owne froward mind and carnall wit, which ſhould be amended by the vertuous example of liuyng of their Curates, and by the true expoſition of the Scripture. If the lay people had ſuche Curates that would thus do their office, theſe bokes nor the deuill him ſelf could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame, ſo that yͤ lacke of good Curates is the deſtruction & cauſe of all miſchief. Neither do I write theſe thinges becauſe that I wil either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirme all to be true written in theſe bokes, which I haue not all read, but to ſhewe that there canne not ſuche inconuenience folow of them, and ſpecially of the Scripture as they would make men beleue ſhould folow.

The Goſpell will not goe forth with out perſecution, though yͤ King would permit the reading therof to be free.

The laſt ſigne before yͤ iudgement daye, is that the goſpell ſhould be preached through the world.

M. Latymer chaffereth forth his talent.

And though it bee ſo that your Grace maye by other bookes, and namely by the Scripture it ſelf know and perceiue the hipocrite wolues clad in ſhepes clothyng, yet I thinke my ſelf bound in conſcience to vtter vnto your grace ſuch thynges as God put in mind to write. And this I doe (God ſo iudge me) not for hate of any perſon or perſons liuyng, nor for that that I thinke the word of God ſhould go foorth without perſecution, if your Grace had commaunded that euery man within your Realme ſhould haue it in his mothers tong. For the Goſpel muſt nedes haue perſecution vnto the time that it be preached throughout all the worlde, which is the laſt ſigne that Chriſt ſhewed to the Diſciples that ſhould come before the day of iudgement: ſo that if your grace had once commaunded that the ſcripture ſhould be put forth, the deuill would ſet forth ſome wyle or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the loue that I haue to God principally, & the glory of his name, which is onely knowen by his worde, and for the true allegiaunce that I owe vnto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my hart the talent geuen mee of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may encreaſe to the pleaſure of God, to exhorte your grace to auoyde and beware of theſe miſcheuous flatterers and their abominable waies and counſels.

Hee meaneth this belike by Sir T. More, who for the Biſhops pleaſure ſet his pen againſt the Goſpell.

S. Paul a good example for all perſecutors to folow.

And take hede whoſe coũſels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be ſome that for feare of loſing of their worldly worſhip and honour, will not leaue their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withal by whom they had greet promotion, they tooke vpon them to defende by writyng, ſo that nowe they thinke that all their felicity which thei put in this life, ſhould be mard, & their wiſedome not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they haue ſo ſclaunderouſly oppreſſed, ſhould be nowe put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember S. Paule, how feruent he was againſte the trueth (and yͭ of a good zeale) before he was called: he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhemente and greate perſecutions for that whiche hee before deſpiſed and called hereſie. And I am ſure that their liuyng is not more perfect then S. Paules was, as concernyng the outwarde workes of the law, before he was conuerted.

King Dauid a good example to all Kinges to ſubmitte their intentes and purpoſes to Gods word.

By Nathan we may learne not to bee aſhamed to call backe our wordes whẽ we know gods pleaſure to be otherwiſe.

Alſo the kyng and Prophet Dauid was not aſhamed to forſake his good entent in buildyng of the Temple, after that the Prophet Nathan had ſhewed him that it was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhoulde build any houſe for hym and notwithſtandyng that Nathan had before allowed and praiſed the purpoſe of Dauid, yet he was not aſhamed to reuoke and eate his wordes agayne when hee knewe that they were not accordyng to Gods will and pleaſure.

The Popes title geuen to K. Henry.

Wherfore they bee ſore drowned in worldly wiſdome that thinke it againſt their worſhip to knowledge their ignoraunce: whom I pray to God that your grace may eſpie, and take hede of their worldly wiſedom, which is fooliſhnes before God, that you may do that that God commaundeth, and not that ſemeth good in your owne ſight without the word of God, that your grace may bẽ found acceptable is his ſight and one of the mẽbers of his church, & accordyng to the office that he hath called your grace vnto, you may be found a faithfull miniſter of his giftes, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not haue it defended by man or mans power, but by his wordes onely, by the which he hath euermore defended it, and that by a way farre aboue mans power or reaſon, as all the ſtories of the Bible maketh mention.

Defender of the faith no mete title for man.

The faith of Chriſt is not defended by mã or mãs power, but by Chriſt alone and his word.

Wherfore gracious king remember your ſelfe, haue pitie vpon your ſoule, and thinke that the daye is euen at hand when you ſhall geue accomptes of your office & of yͤ bloud that hath bene ſhed with your ſword. In the whiche date that your grace maye ſtande ſtedfaſtly and be not aſhamed, but to be cleare and ready in your reckenyng, and to haue (as they ſay, your Quites eſt, ſealed with the bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt which only ſerueth at that day, is my dayly prayer to him that ſuffred death for our ſinnes, whiche alſo praieth to his father for grace for vs continually. To whom bee all honour and praiſe for euer, Amen. The ſpirit of God preſerue your grace. Anno Domini 1530. 1. die Decembris.

Diuers things in this letter of M. Latymer to the King, to be conſidered.

The heauenly courage of M. Latymer in diſcharging his conſcience.

In this letter of M.Latimer to yͤ king aboue prefixed, many thinges we haue to conſider: Firſt his good conſcience to God, his good will to the king, the duety of a right paſtor vnto truth, his tender care to the common wealth, and eſpecially to the church of Chriſt. Further we haue to conſider the abuſe of Princes Courts, how kinges many tymes be abuſed with flatterers and wicked counſellers about them, & eſpecially wee may note the ſubtile practiſes of prelates, in abuſing the name & authoritie of kinges to ſet forth their owne malignant proceedinges. We may ſee moreouer, and rather maruelle at in the ſaid letter, the great boldnes and diuine ſtoutnes in this man, who as yet beyng no Biſhop, ſo freely and plainly without al fear of death aduentryng his owne life to diſcharge his conſcience, durſt ſo boldly, to ſo mighty a Prince, in ſuch a daungerous caſe againſt the kings law and proclamation ſet out, in ſuch a terrible time, take vpõ hym to write, and to admoniſh that, whiche no counceller durſt once ſpeake vnto him, in defence of Chriſtes Goſpell. Whoſe example if the Biſhops and Prelats of this Realme, for their partes likewiſe in like caſes of neceſſitie would folow, (as in deede thei ſhould) ſo many things peraduenture would not be ſo out of frame as they be, and all for lacke that the officers of Gods word do not their duetie.

The Kyng wel pleaſed with the playnes of M. Latymer.

Finally, this moreouer in the ſaied letter is to be noted, howe bleſſedly almighty GOD wrought with his faithfull ſeruaunt, whoſe bold aduenture, and holſome counſaile, though it did not preuaile through the iniquitie of the time: yet notwithſtãding God ſo wrought with his ſeruaunt in doing his duety, that no daunger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to hym therby, but rather thankes and good will of the Prince: for not long after the ſame hee was aduaunced by the kyng to the Biſhopricke of Worceſter, as is aboue declared.

Seing M. Latymer was ſo bolde and plaine with the king, (as is afore ſpecified) no greate maruell if he did vſe like freedome & plaines toward other meaner perſons in admoniſhyng them of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were geuen, where truth and equitie required his defence againſt iniurie and oppreſsion. For example whereof wee haue an other letter of his, written to a certen Iuſtice of peace in Warwickſhire, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhal be here vnnamed. The letter although it may ſeeme ſomwhat lõg and tedious: yet I thought here not to ouerpaſſe the ſame for diuers and ſondry reſpectes: firſt that the vertue and faithfull conſcience of this good Paſtor may appeare more at large: alſo for that all other Biſhops and paſtors by this example may learne with like zeale and ſtomacke to diſcharge their duetie and conſcience in reformyng thinges amyſſe and in pouderyng with the ſalt of Gods word the ſores of the people. Whiche thyng if euery Biſhop for his part within his Dioces had done in kyng Edwardes dayes, in redreſſyng ſuch corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verely I ſuppoſe that the perſecution of Queene Mary had not ſo plagued the Realme as it did: but where as neuer man almoſt liueth in due order, and yet neuer a Biſhop will ſtyrre to ſeeke redreſſe, what can become of the Realme? Item, an other reſpect is becauſe of the Iuſtices and all other placed in roome & office, whiche may take heede hereby, not to abuſe their authoritie to treade downe trueth and beare downe poore men with open wrong through extortion or partialitie: and finally that al iniurious oppreſſours, whatſoeuer, by the ſaied letter maye take ſome frute of holſome admonition. What the argumente and occaſion was of this letter, I ſhewed before pag. 908. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as foloweth.

Example for Biſhops and al good Paſtors to follow.

Warning to Iuſtices of peace.

¶ A fruitfull letter of M.Latimer, written to a certayne Gentleman.

A letter of M. Latymer to a certaine gentleman.

Right worſhipfull, ſalutem in domino. And now Syr I vnderſtand, that you be in great admiratiõs at me, & take very greuouſly my maner of writing to you, adding therunto that you will not beare it at my hand, no not and I were the beſt Biſhop in England. &c.

Ah Sir? I ſee well I may ſay as the common ſaying is: Well haue I fiſhed and caught a Frog: brought little to paſſe with much ado. You will not beare it with me, you ſay. Why Syr, what will ye do with me? you will not fight with me, I trow. It might ſeme vnſemely for a Iuſtice of peace to be a breaker of peace. I am glad the doting time of my fooliſh youth is gone & paſt? What will you then do with me, in that you ſay you will not beare it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchaunce you will conuent mee before ſome Iudge, and call me into ſome court. Deus bene vertat. Equidem nõ recuſo iudicium vllum. Accuſemus inuicem, vt emendemus alius aliũ in nomine domini. Fiat iuſtitia in iudicio. And thẽ and there, do beſt haue beſt, for club half peny. Or peraduenture ye will ſet pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting me you will defend your ſelfe and your brother againſt me. Now that would I ſee, quoth long Roben, vt dicitur vulgariter. Nõ potero ſane non vehementer probare eiuſmodi induſtriam: For ſo ſhould both your integrities and innocencies beſt appeare, if you be able to defẽd both your own procedĩgs, and your brothers doinges in this matter to bee vpright. Et ego tum iuſtis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter cõfeſſurus. But I thinke it will not be. But now firſt of all let mee know what it is that ye will not beare at my hande? What haue I done with my hande? what hath my hand treſpaſſed you? Forſooth, that can I tell, no man better. For I haue charitably moniſhed you in a ſecret letter, of your ſlipper dealing, & ſuch like miſbehauiour. O quàm graue piaculum? i. what a ſore matter is this? And will ye not beare ſo much with me? Will he not take ſuch a ſhew of my good will towardes you, and toward the ſauyng of your ſoule at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would haue thought that Maiſter N. had bene ſo impotent, that he would not beare a godly monition for the wealth of his ſoule? I haue in vſe to commit ſuch treſpaſſes many times in a yeare with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lord and Ladies, of the beſt in the Realme, and yet hetherto I haue not heard that any of them haue ſayd in their diſpleaſure, that they will not beare it at my hãd. Are you yet to be taught, what is the office, liberty, & priuiledge of a Preacher? What is it els, but euen arguere mundum de peccato, without reſpect of perſons, quod quidem ipſum eſt ipſius ſpiritus ſancti peculiare in eccleſia munus & officium, ſed non niſi per Prædicatores legitimos exequendum. You could but yll beare (belike) to heare your fault openly reproued in the pulpit, which cannot beare the ſame in a ſecrete ſealed vp letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly, niſi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, ſit iam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere. But Maiſter N. if you will geue me leaue to be plain with you, I feare me you be ſo plunged in worldly purchaſings, and ſo drowned in the manifold dreges of this deceiuable world, that I weene you haue forgotten your Cathechiſme. Reade therefore agayne the opening of the firſt commaundement, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you haue iuſt cauſe to complayne. &c.

i. God turne it to good, I refuſe no iudgement. Let vs accuſe one an other, that one of vs may amend an other in the name of the Lord. Let iuſtice procede in iudgement.

i. I cannot chuſe but much alow ſuch diligence.

i. And then will I gladly geue place confeſſing my faut humbly, as one conquered with iuſt reaſons.

As may well appeare by his letter ſent to the King before.

i. To rebuke the worlde of ſinne.

i. Which thing vndoubtedly is the peculiar office and duty of the holy ghoſt in the church of God, ſo that it be practiſed by lawfull preachers.

i. Vnleſſe perhaps to rebuke ſinne ſharpely, be now to lacke all charitie, frendſhip, and truth.

Item Syr, you ſaid further that I am wonderfully abuſed by my neyghbour. &c. How ſo, good Maiſter N? Wherein? Or how will ye proue it to be true, and when? So you ſaid that he had abuſed you, & geuen you wrõg information, but the contrary is found true by good teſtimony of Maiſter Chamber, which heard aſwel as you, what my neighbour ſaid, & hath teſtified the ſame, both to you, and againſt you, full like him ſelfe. Maiſter N. to forge and feine (which argueth an yll cauſe) that is one thing: but to proue what a man doth ſay, that is an other thing. As though you were priuiledged to outface poore men, & beare them in hãd what you liſt, as may ſeeme to make ſome maintenãce for your naughty cauſe. Truſt me maſter N. I was but very litle acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began: but now I haue founde him ſo conformable to honeſty, vpright in his dealings, and ſo true in his talke, that I eſteeme him better, then I do ſome other whom I haue perceiued and found otherwaies. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his backe in his folly, but eſteeme all men as I finde them, allowing what is good, and diſalowing what is bad, In omnibus hominibus, ſiue amicis ſiue inimicis, iuxta præceptum Paulinum, à filijs huius ſeculi in pretio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, proſequentes quod malum eſt, adhærentes autem ei quod bonum eſt: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus vnquam, id quod filij huius ſeculi vulgo faciunt, vt eſt videre vbique. And nowe what maner of man doe you make me. Maiſter N. when you note me to bee ſo much abuſed by ſo ignorant a man, ſo ſimple, ſo playne, and ſo farre without all wrincles? Haue I lyued ſo long in this tottering world, and haue I beene ſo many wayes tormoyled and toſſed vp and downe, and ſo much, as it were ſeaſoned with the pouder of ſo many experiences to and fro, to be nowe ſo farre bewitched & alienated from my wits, as though I could not diſcerne cheeſe from chalke, truth from falſhood, but that euery ſely ſoule, & baſe witted man might eaſely abuſe me to what enterpriſe he liſted at his pleaſure? Well, I ſay not nay, but I may be abuſed. But why do you not tell me how your brother abuſed me, promiſing before me and many mo, that he would ſtand to your awardſhip, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, howe thoſe two falſe faithles wretches abuſed me, promiſing alſo to abide your award, and doth it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your ſelfe haue abuſed mee, promiſyng me to redreſſe the iniury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, & haue not fulfilled your promiſe? Theſe notable abuſes be nothing with you, but onely you muſt needes burden me with my neighbours abuſing of me, which is none at all, as farforth as euer I could perceiue, ſo God helpe mee in my neede. For if he had abuſed me as you and other haue done, I ſhould be ſoone at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him. &c.

M. Latymer flattereth no man.

i. Among al men, eyther frendes or enemies according to Paules precept, not eſteemed of the children of this world, hate you ſaith he, that which is euill, and cleaue to that which is good.

And let vs not at any time for the fauour of men, call good euill, and euill good, as children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is euery where to be ſeene.

Item Syr, you ſaid further, that I ſhall neuer be able to proue that either your brother, or the ij. tenauntes agreed to ſtand to your award. &c. No Syr? Maiſter N. you ſay belike as you would haue it to be, or as your brother with his adherẽtes haue perſuaded you to thinke it to be, ſo inducyng you to do their requeſt to your owne ſhame and rebuke, if you perſeuer in the ſame, beſide the perill of your ſoule, for conſentyng at leaſt vaye, to the maintenaunce by falſhod of your brothers iniquitie. For in that you would your awardſhip ſhould take none effect, you ſhewe your ſelfe nothing inclinable to the redreſſe of your brothers vnright dealyng with an honeſt poore man, which hath bene ready at your requeſt to do you pleaſure with his thinges, or els he had neuer come into this wrangle for his owne goods with your brother.

Bolſtering of falſehode and iniquitie.

Brother ought not to beare with brother, to beare downe right and truth, eſpecially being a Iuſtice.

Ah Maiſter N. what maner of man do you ſhew your ſelfe to be? or what maner of cõſciẽce do you ſhew your ſelfe to haue? For firſt, as touchyng your brother, you know right well, that Syr Tho. Cokin with a letter of his

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owne hand writyng, hath witneſſed vnto your brothers agreement, whiche letter hee ſent to me vnſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour and other moe ere I ſealed it, and perchaunce haue a copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. With what conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhal neuer be able to proue it? Shall not three men vpon their othes make a ſufficient profe trow you? vel ipſo dicente Domino: in ore duorum vel trium. &c. Yea, you thinke it true I dare ſay, in your conſcience, if you haue any cōſcience, though I were in my graue, and ſo vnable to proue any thing. And as for the ij. tenauntes, they be as they bee, and I truſt to ſee them handled according as they be: for there be three mē yet aliue that dare ſweare vpon a booke, that they both did agree. But what ſhould wee looke for at ſuch mens handes, when you your ſelfe play the part you do? Verum viuit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia & iudicat iuſtè. &c.

i. The Lord himſelf ſaying: in the mouth of two or three. &c.

i. Corrupt tenantes.

i. But God is yet aliue, which ſeeth all, and iudgeth iuſtly.

Item Syr, you ſayd yet further, that the Iuſtices of peace in the countrey thinke you very vnnaturall, in takyng part with me before your brother. &c. Ah Maiſter N. what a ſentēce is this to come out of your mouth? For partakyng is one thyng, and miniſtryng of iuſtice is an other thyng: and a worthy miniſter of iuſtice will be no partaker, but one indifferent betwene partie and partie. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to miniſter iuſtice betwene your brother and my neyghbour without any partakyng with either other. But what maner of iuſtices bee they I pray you, which woulde ſo fayne haue you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and ſhould reforme and amend your brother? as you your ſelfe know, no mā better. What? Iuſtices? no Iugglers you might more worthely call ſuch as they be, the Iuſtices. Be they thoſe iuſtices which call you vnnatural, for that you will not take your brothers part againſt all right and conſcience, whom you had picked out & appointed to haue the finall hearyng and determinyng of my neighbours cauſe after your ſubſtantiall and fine award makyng? Verely I thinke no leſſe. For ſoth he is much beholdyng to you, & I alſo for his ſake. Is that the holeſome counſell that you haue to giue your poore neighbours in their neede? In deede you ſhew your ſelfe a worthy Iuggler: oh, I would haue ſayd a Iuſticier, among other of your iugglyng and partakyng Iuſtices. Deum bonum, what is this worlde? Mary Syr my neighbour had ſponne a faire thred, if your partakyng Iuſtices through your good counſell had had his matter in orderyng, and finiſhyng. I pray God ſaue me and all my frendes, with all Gods little flocke, from the whole felowſhyp of your ſo naturall and partaking Iuſtices, Amen.

Were not here a good ſort of Juſtices, trow you?

Juſtices turned to Jugglers.

Partaking Juſtices.

i. O good God.

Lord God, who would haue thought that there had beene ſo many partakyng Iuſtices, that is to ſay, vniuſt iuſtices in Warwikſhyre, if Maiſter N. him ſelfe one of the ſame order (but altogether out of order) and therfore knoweth it beſt, had not told vs the tale? but theſe call you (you ſay) very vnnaturall. &c. And why not rather (I pray you) to much naturall? For wee read de natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat iuſticiæ plena: hæc niſi reparata ſemper manet iniuſta, iniuſtitiæ fructꝰ alios poſt alios paritura: ſo that he that will not helpe his brother hauing a iuſt cauſe in his nede, may be iuſtly called vnnaturall, as not doyng iuxta inſtinctū naturæ, ſiue integrę, ſiue reparatę. i. According to the inſtinct of nature either as it was at the beginning, or as it was reſtored. But hee that will take his brothers part agaynſt right, as to ratifie his brothers wrong deceiuyng, hee is to much naturall, tanquam ſequens ingenium ſiue inclinationem naturæ corruptæ, contra voluntatem Dei. i. As one following the diſpoſition and inclination of corrupt nature agaynſt the will of God: and ſo to be naturall may well ſeeme to bee cater coſin or coſin germane with, to bee diabolicall.

i. Of a double nature, ſound and corrupt. That was full of Juſtice. This vnleſſe it be reſtored, abideth alwaies vniuſt, bringing forth the fruites of wickednes one after an other.

I feare me we haue to many Iuſtices that be to much naturall to their own periſhment both body and ſoule. For worthy Iuſtices, hauing euer the feare and dread of God before their eyes (quales ſunt pauciores apud nos, quàm vellem) will haue no reſpect at all in their iudgementes and procedinges, ad propinquitatem ſanguinis, but altogether ad dignitatem & æquitatem cauſæ, vt quod iuſtum eſt ſemper iudicent intuitu Dei, non quod iniuſtum eſt intuitu hominum: of which number I pray God make you one, Amen. Iuſtus eſt, (ſaith Iohn) qui facit iuſticiam. At, qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quiſquis iniuſte facit in gratiam & fauorem vllius hominis) ex diabolo eſt. i. He is iuſt that doth iuſtice. But he that ſinneth (as they all do which do vniuſtly for fauour and pleaſure of men) is of the deuill. (ſaith he:) which once all our partaking and vnnaturall Iuſtices be, with all their partialitie and naturallitie. Quare dignum & Iuſtum eſt, that as many as be ſuch Iuſtices, iuſte priuentur munere, & amplius quoque plectantur pro ſui quiſque facinoris quantitate, vt vel ſic tandem abſcindantur, tāquam nati in incommodum reipub. noſtræ, qui nos cōturbant cum adiuuare debeant, Amen.

(i. Of which ſort wee haue fewer amongſt vs, then I would.)

i. To vicinity of bloud.

i. To the merites and equitie of the cauſe, that they may euer iudge that thing which is true and right for the reſpect of God, and not that thing which is falſe and vniuſt, for reſpect of man.

i. Be iuſtly depriued of their offices, & further alſo be puniſhed, according to the quantitie or qualitie of their crime, ſo that by that meanes they may be cut of, as men borne and bred to the hurt and detriment of the common wealth, which trouble vs, when they ought to helpe vs.

Quare ſeponite iuſtitiā & ſequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would haue you to doe, that is, euen as iuſt as Germanes lipps, which came not together by nyne myle, Vt vulgo dicunt. &c.

Item Syr, finally and laſt of all you added theſe wordes following? Well (quod you) let M. Latymer take heede how hee medleth with my brother: for hee is like to fynd as crabbed and as froward a peece of hym, as euer hee found in his life. &c. Ah Syr? and is your brother ſuch a one as you ſpeake of in dede? merciful God, what a commendation is this for one brother to geue an other? Eſt ne eiuſmodi gloriatio tua mi amice? And were it not poſſible, trow you, to make him better? It is written: Vexatio dat intellectum. And againe: Bonum mihi Domine quòd humiliaſti me. At leaſt way I may pray to God for him, as Dauid did for ſuch like, ad hunc modū: Chamo & fręno maxillas eorum conſtringe qui non approximant ad te. In the meane ſeaſon I would I had neuer knowen neither of you both: for ſo ſhould I haue ben without this inward ſorrowe of my hart, to ſee ſuch vntowardnes of you both to godlines: for I can not bee but heauy harted, to ſee ſuch men ſo wickedly mynded. Well, let vs ponder a little better your wordes, where you ſay, I ſhall fynde hym as crabbed and as froward a peece. &c. Marke well your owne wordes. For by the tenor of the ſame it playnely appeareth, that you confeſſe your brothers cauſe wherein hee ſo ſtifly ſtandeth, to bee vniuſt and very nought. For hee that ſtandeth ſo ſtifly in a good quarell and a iuſt cauſe, as many good men haue done, is called a faſt man, a conſtant, a truſty man. But hee that is ſo obſtable and vntractable in wickednes and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and a froward peece, as you name your brother to be.

i. Is this your glorying my friend?

i. Vexatiō geueth vnderſtanding.

i. It is good, O Lord, that thou haſt humbled me.

i. After this ſort, bind faſt aſſes with bridle and ſnaffle, that they approch not nere vnto thee.

Wherefore, knowing ſo well your brothers cauſe to be ſo naughty, why haue you not endeuored your ſelfe, as a worthy Iuſtice, to reforme hym accordingly, as I requyred you, and you promiſed me to do, now almoſt twelue monethes ago, if not altogether? Summa ſummarum, Maiſter N. if you will not come of ſhortely, and apply your ſelfe therunto more effectually hereafter then you haue done heretofore, bee you well aſſured thereof, I ſhall detect you to all the friendes that I haue in England, both hye and lowe, aſwell hys crabbednes and frowardnes, as your colourable ſupportation of the ſame, that I truſt I ſhalbe able thereby, eyther to bring you both to ſome goodnes, or at leaſt way, I ſhall ſo warne my frendes and all honeſt hartes to beware of your ilnes, that they ſhall take either no hurt at all, or, at leaſt waye, leſſe harme by you through myne aduertyſement, in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better auoyd and ſhunne your company. You ſhall not ſtay me Maiſter N. no though you would giue me all the landes and goodes you haue, as rich as you are noted to be. Ego nolo tam iuſtam cauſam derelinquere: ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare. For whether it be per deteſtabilem ſuperbiam, whether per abominabilem auaritiam, or by both two linked together, it is no ſmall iniquitie to keepe any one poore mā ſo long from his right and duty ſo ſtifneckidly and obſtinately, or whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any maner of wayes to conſent to the ſame? You know, I trow, Maiſter N. furtum quid ſit: nempe quouiſmodo auferre vel retinere alienam rem inuito Domino, vt quidam definiunt. Si fur ſit qui ſic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuſcūque ambagibus ſuffulcit? id eſt. What theft is, that is, to take or deteine by any maner of way, an other mans good againſt his will that is the owner, as ſome define it. If he be a theefe that ſo doth openly, what ſhal he be that approueth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintayneth, & ſupporteh him by any maner of colour? Conſider with your ſelfe good Maſter N. quid ſit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrē, and what followeth therof. It is truly ſaid: non tollitur peccatum, niſi reſtituatur oblatū. No reſtitution, no ſaluation: which is as well to be vnderſtād, de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, as de rebus per manifeſtum furtum & latrocinium

i. I will not forſake ſuch a iuſt cauſe, neyther will I communicate with other mens ſinnes.

i. By deteſtable pride.

i. By abominable auarice.

i. What is to oppreſſe & to defraud your brother in his buſines.

i. The ſinne is not forgeuen, except the thing bee reſtored againe that is taken away.

partis. Wherfore let not your brother maiſter N. by cauillation continue in the deuils poſſeſsion. I wil do the beſt I can, & wraſtle with the deuill, omnibus viribus, to deliuer you bothe frō him. I will leaue no one ſtone vnmoued, to haue bothe you and your brother ſaued. There is neither Archbiſhop nor Biſhop, nor yet any learned man either in Vniuerſities or elſwhere, that I am acquainted withall, that ſhall not write vnto you, & in their writyng by their learnyng confute you. There is no Godlie man of Lawe in this realme, that I am acquainted withall, but thei ſhall write vnto you, and confute you by the Lawe, There is neither Lorde nor Ladie, nor yet any noble perſonage in this realme, that I am acquainted withall, but thei ſhall write vnto you, and Godlie threaten you with their authoritie. I will doe all this: yea, and kneele vppon bothe my knees before the Kynges Maieſtie, & all his honorable Counſaill, with moſte humble petition for your reformation, rather then the deuill ſhall poſſeſſe you ſtil. to your finall damnation. So that I doe not deſpaire, but verely truſt, one waie or other, to plucke bothe you, and alſo your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you ſaie he is, out of the deuilles clawes, maugre the deuilles harte.

i. Of thinges gottē by fraude, guile, & deceit, as of thinges gotten by open theft and robbery.

Godly threats of M. Latymer to ſaue the ſoule of his friend.

Theſe premiſſes well conſidered, looke vpon it, good maiſter N. that we haue no farther adoe. Gods plague is preſently vpon vs: therefore let vs now diligently looke about vs, and in no wiſe defende, but willyngly reknowledge, and amende what ſoeuer hath been amiſſe. Theſe were the capitall pointes of your talke (as I was infourmed) after you had peruſed that my nipping and vnpleaſaunt letter: and I thought good to make you ſome aunſwer to them, if perchaunce I might ſo moue you, the rather to call your ſelf to ſome better remembraunce, & ſo more earneſtly applie your ſelf, to accompliſhe and performe what you haue begun & promiſed to doe, namely the thing it ſelf beyng of ſuche ſorte, as apparently tēdeth both to your own worſhip, & alſo to gods high pleaſure.

Thus loe with a mad heade, but yet a good will, after long ſcriblyng, I wot not well what (but I knowe you cā reade it, and comprehende it well enough) I bidde you moſte hartly well to fare in the lorde, with good health, and long life to Gods pleaſure, Amen. From Baxſterley the .xv. of Iuly.

Duryng the tyme that the ſaid M. Latimer was priſoner in Oxforde, we read not of muche that he did write, beſides his conference with D. Ridley, and his proteſtation at the tyme of his diſputation. Otherwiſe of letters, we finde verie fewe or none, that he did write to his frēdes abroad, ſaue onely theſe fewe lines, which he wrote to one maiſtres Wilkinſon of London, a godlie matron, and an exile afterwarde for the Goſpelles ſake. Who ſo long as ſhe remained in Englande, was a ſingular patroneſſe to the good Saincte s of God, and learned Biſhops, as to maiſter Hoper, to the Biſhoppe of Hereford, to maiſter Couerdale, M. Latimer, Doctour Cranmer with many other. The coppie and effecte of whiche his letter to maiſtres Wilkinſon here followeth.

¶A letter ſent to maiſtres Wilkenſon of London, widowe, from M. Hugh Latimer out of Bocardo in Oxforde.

IF the gifte of a pot of cold water, ſhall not be in obliuion with God, how can God forget your manifold & bountifull giftes, whē he ſhall ſaie to you: I was in priſon & you viſited me. God graunt vs all to do & ſuffer while we be here, as maie be to his will and pleaſure, Amen.

Yours in Bocardo. Hugh Latimer.

Touchyng the memorable actes & doynges of this worthie man, among many other this is not to bee neglected, what a bold enterpriſe he attempted, in ſending to kyng Henry a preſent: the maner whereof was this. There was then, and yet remaineth ſtill, an olde cuſtome receiued frō the old Romans, that vpon Newyeres daie, beyng the firſt daie of January, euery Biſhop with ſome handſome Newyeares gifte, ſhould gratifie the Kyng: and ſo thei did, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, ſome with a purſe full of money, & ſome one thing, ſome an other: but Maiſter Latimer beyng Biſhop of Worceſter then, among the reſt preſented a newe Teſtamente, for his Newyeares gifte, with a napkyn hauyng this poſie about it: Fornicatores & adulteros iudicabit Dominus.

M. Latymers Newyeares gift ſent to K. Henry.

And thus haſte thou, gentle reader, the whole life, bothe of M. Ridley, & of M. Latimer, twoo worthy doers in the Churche of Chriſte, ſeuerally and by them ſelues ſet forthe, and deſcribed with all their doynges, writynges, diſputations, ſufferynges, their painful trauailes, faithfull preachynges, ſtudious ſeruice in Chriſtes churche, their pacient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that whiche thei had taught, with all other their proceedynges from tyme to tyme, ſince their firſte ſpringyng yeres, to this preſent tyme and Monethe of Queene Mary, beyng the Monethe of October. Anno 1555. In the whiche Moneth thei were bothe broughte forthe together, to their finall examination and execution. Wherfore, as we haue heretofore declared, bothe their liues ſeuerally, and diſtinctly one from the other, ſo now ioyntly to couple them bothe together, as thei were together both ioyned in one ſocietie of cauſe and Martyrdome, we will by the grace of Chriſte proſecute the reſt that remaineth, concernyng their latter examination, diſgradyng, and conſtant ſufferyng, with the order and maner alſo of the Commiſſioners, whiche were Maiſter White Biſhoppe of Lincolne, Maiſter Brokes Biſhoppe of Gloceſter, with others: and what were their wordes, their obiections, their Orations there vſed, and what againe were the aunſweres of theſe men to the ſame, as in proceſſe here followeth to bee ſeen.

B. Ridley, and M. Latymer brought forth to examinatiō.

October. 1.

M. White B. of Lincolne M. Brokes B. of Gloceſter the Popes deputies.

¶The order and maner of the examination of Doctor Ridley & M. Latimer, had the xxx. daie of September. 1555.

FIrſte, after the apperyng of Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, before the Popes Delegate, and the Queenes Commiſſioners in ſaint Maries Churche at Oxford, about the .xii. daie of September, whereof more ſhalbee ſaied (by the Lordes grace) when we come to the death of the ſaied Archbiſhoppe: ſhortly after, vpon the xxviii. daie of the ſaied Moneth of September, was ſent doune to Oxford an other Commiſſion from Cardinall Poole Legate a latere, to Ihō White, Biſhoppe of Lincolne, to Doctor Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter, and to Doctor Holiman, Biſhop of Briſtow. The contentes & vertue of whiche commiſſion was, that the ſaied John of Lincolne, James of Gloceſter, and Jhon of Briſtow, thei or twoo of them, ſhould haue ful power and authoritie, to aſcite, examine, and Iudge M. Hugh Latimer, and
M. Doctour Ridley, pretenſed Biſhops of Worceſter »
and London, for diuerſe and ſundrie erronious opi- »
nions, whiche the ſaied Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas »
Ridley, did holde and maintaine in open diſputations »
had in Oxforde, in the Monethes of Maie, June, and »
July, in the yeare of our Lorde 1554. as long before in »
the tyme of perdition and ſithen. The whiche opinions »
if the named perſones would now recant, geuyng and »
yeldyng them ſelues to the determination of the vni- »
uerſal and catholicke churche, planted by Peter in the »
bleſſed Sea of Rome, that then the deputed Judges, »
by the ſaid authoritie of their commiſſion, ſhould haue »
power to receiue the ſaied penitent perſones, and forth »
with miniſtre to them the reconciliation of the holy fa- »
ther the Pope: but if the ſaied Hugh Latimer, and Ni- »
cholas Ridley would ſtoutly and ſtubburnly defende, »
& maintaine theſe their erronious aſſertions, that then »
the ſaid lordes by their commiſſion, ſhould procede in »
forme of Judgement, accordyng to the Lawe of Here- »
tickes, that is, degradyng them from their promotion, »
and dignitie of Biſhoppes, Prieſtes, and all other ec- »
cleſiaſticall orders, ſhould pronounce them as Heretic- »
kes, and therfore cleane to cut thē of from the churche »
and ſo to yelde them to receiue puniſhemente, due to all »
ſuche hereſie and ſchiſme. »

The laſt examenation of B. Ridley and M. Latymer.

The effect of the Cardinals commiſſion ſent downe to Oxford.

Wherfore, the laſt of September, the ſaid two perſones Nicholas Ridley & Hugh Latimer, were aſcited to appere before the ſaid lordes, in the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford, at. viii. of the clocke. At what tyme thether repaired the Lordes, placyng them ſelues in an highe ſeate, made for publicke lectures and diſputations, accordyng to the vſage of that ſchoole, beyng then faire ſet, and trimmed with clothe of Tiſſue, and cuſhynges of veluet: and after the ſaied Lordes were placed and ſet, the ſaid Latimer and Ridley were ſent for: and firſt appered M. Doctour Ridley, and anon M. Latimer. But becauſe it ſemed good ſeuerally to examine them, M. Latimer was kepte backe, vntill Doctour Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore ſone after the cōmyng of Doctour Ridley into the ſchole, the commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed Notarie, and openly read. But Doct. Ridley ſtanding bare headed, humbly expectyng the cauſe of that his apperance, effſones as he had heard the Cardinall named, and the Popes holineſſe,

D. Ridley and M. Latymer aſcited to appeare, the laſt of Septemb.

Anno. 1555. October.

holineſſe, put on his cappe. Wherefore after the Commiſſion was publiſhed, in forme and ſenſe aboue ſpecified, the B. of Lincolne ſpake in ſenſe folowyng.

B. Ridley putteth on his cap, at hearing of the Popes name.

The wordes of the Biſhop of Lincol. to D. Ridley, for not putting of his cappe.

Lincol. M. Ridley, although neither I, neither my lordes here, in reſpect of our owne perſones, doe looke for cappe or knee, yet becauſe we beare and repreſente, ſuche perſones as we doe, that is, my lorde Cardinals grace, Legate a latere to the Popes holines, as well in that he is of a noble parentage, and (therwith M. Ridley moued his cap with lowlie obeiſaunce) deſcendyng from the regall bloud, as in that hee is a man worthie to be reuerēced with all humilitie, for his great knowledge and learnyng, noble vertues, and godlie life, and eſpecially in that he is here in England deputie to the Popes holineſſe, it ſhould haue becommed you at his name, to haue diſcouered your head. Wherefore except you will of your owne ſelf, take the paines to put your hande to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſaid Cardinall, as of the Popes holineſſe vncouer the ſame, leſt that this your contumacie exhibited now before vs, ſhould be preiudiciall to the ſaid moſt reuerend perſones (whiche thing we maie in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhal cauſe vs to take the paine, to cauſe ſome man to plucke of your cappe from you. To whom M. Ridley makyng his petition for licence, aunſwered.

Anſwere of D. Ridley, to the B. of Lincol.

Ridley. As touchyng that you ſaied (my lorde) that you of your own perſones deſire ne cappe ne knee, but only require the ſame, in conſideration that you repreſent the Cardinalles graces perſone, I doe you to wit, and thereupon make my proteſtatiō, that I did put on my cap at the namyng of the Cardinals grace, neither for any contumacie that I beare towardes your owne perſones, neither for any derogation of honor toward the lorde Cardinals grace. For I knowe hym to bee a man worthie of all humilitie, reuerence, and honour, in that he came of the moſt regall bloud, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learnyng and vertue: and as touchyng theſe vertues and pointes, I with al humilitie (therewith he put of his cap, & bowed his knee) and obeiſaunce that I maie, will reuerence & honour his grace: but in that he is Legate to the B. of Rome (and therewith put on his cap): whoſe vſurped ſupremacy, and abuſed authoritie, I vtterly refuſe and renoūce, I maie in no wiſe giue any obeiſaunce, or honour vnto hym, leaſt that my ſo doyng and behauiour, might be preiudiciall to myne othe, and derogation to the veritie of Gods worde: and therefore that I might not onely by confeſſion, profeſſe the veritie in not reuerencyng the renounced authoritie, contrary to Goddes worde, but alſo in geſture, in behauiour, and all my doynges expreſſe the ſame, I haue put on my cap: and for this conſideration onely, and not for any cōtumacie to your lordſhippes, neither contempt of this worſhipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the Cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I haue kept on my cappe.

D. Ridley reuerenceth the perſon of the Cardinall, but not his Legacie

D. Ridley oweth no reuerēce to the Pope.

D. White Biſhop of Lincolne, replieth agayne.

Lincol. M. Ridley, you excuſe your ſelf of that, with the whiche wee preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you kepe on your cap, neither for any contumacie towardes vs (whiche looke for no ſuche honour of you) neither for any contempt of this audience: whiche although iuſtly thei maie (yet as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe doe not require any ſuche obeiſaūce of you: neither in derogatiō of any honor due to my lordes Cardinals grace, for his regall diſcent (at whiche worde M. Ridley moued his cap) and excellent qualities: for although in al the premiſſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpectes, we require none of you, but onely in that my Lorde Cardinalles grace is here in Englande, deputie of the Popes holineſſe (at which worde the lordes & others put of their caps, and M. Ridley put on his): and therefore we ſay vnto you the ſecond tyme, that except you take the paines your ſelf, to put your hande to your heade, and put of your cap, you ſhall put vs to the paine, to cauſe ſome man take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmitie and ſicknes, or other more reaſonable cauſe, vpō the conſideratiō whereof, we maie doe as we thinke good.

Putting of caps at the namyng of the Pope.

D. Ridley aunſwereth.

Ridley. The premiſſes I ſaied onely for this ende, that it might as well appeare to your Lordſhips, as to this worſhipfull audience, why and for what conſideration, I vſed ſuche kinde of behauior, in not humbleyng my ſelf to your lordſhippes with cap and knee: and as for my ſickneſſe, I thanke my lorde God, that I am as well at eaſe, as I was this long ſeaſon: and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appeare by this my behauiour, that I acknowledge in no point ẏ vſurped ſupremacie of Rome and therefore contemne and vtterly deſpiſe, all authoritie commyng from hym. In takyng of my cap, doe as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhippes, and I ſhalbe content.

The vſurped ſupremacy of Rome denied.

D. Ridleys cap plucke of perforce.

Then the B. of Lincolne, after the thirde admonition, commaunded one of the Bedles (that is an officer of the vniuerſitie) to plucke his cap from his head. M. Ridley bowyng his heade to the officer, gently permitted hym to take awaie his cap.

After this, the B. of Lincolne in a longe Oration, exhorted M. Ridley to recante, and ſubmit hym ſelf to the vniuerſall faithe of Chriſt, in this maner.

The oration of B. White.

Lincol. M. Ridley, I am ſure you haue ſufficiently pondered with your ſelf, the effects of this our commiſſion with good aduiſement, conſideryng bothe pointes thereof, how that authoritie is giuen to vs, if you ſhall receiue the true doctrine of the Churche, whiche firſte was foūded by * Peter at Rome, immediatly after the death of Chriſt, and from hym by lineall ſucceſſiō hath been brought to this our tyme, if you will bee contente to renounce your former errours, recante your hereticall and ſedicious opinions, content to yelde your ſelf to the vndoubted faithe, and truthe of the Goſpell, receiued and alwaies taught of the catholicke, and Apoſtolicke churche, the whiche the Kyng and Quene, all the Nobles of this Realme, and commōns of the ſame, all Chriſtian people haue and doe confeſſe, you onely ſtandyng alone by your ſelf. You vnderſtand and perceiue, I am ſure, that authoritie is giuen vs to receiue you, to reconcile you, and vpon due penaūce to adioyne and aſſociate you againe into the number of the catholickes and Chriſtes churche, from the which you haue ſo long ſtraied, without the whiche no man can bee ſaued, the whiche thyng I and my Lordes here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this Realme moſt hartely deſire, and I for my part (wherewith he put of his cap) moſte earneſtly exhorte you to doe.

* Nay, the faith of Chriſt maye be proued to haue bene at Rome in Tiberius tyme before Peter came there.

Though the countrey of Rome bee not ſtrange: yet the doctrine of Rome is ſtraunge.

Remember M. Ridley, it is no ſtraunge countrey, whether I exhort you to retourne. You were once one of vs: you haue taken degrees in the ſchoole. You wer made Prieſte, and became a Preacher, ſettyng forthe the ſame doctrine, whiche we doe now. You were made Biſhop accordyng to our Lawes: and to be ſhort, it is not ſo longe agone, ſithe you ſeparated your ſelf from vs, and in the tyme of Hereſie, became a ſetter forthe of that Deuilliſhe and ſedicious doctrine, whiche in theſe latter daies was preached amongeſt vs: For at what tyme the newe doctrine of * onely faithe began to ſpring the counſaill willyng to win my Lorde Chauncellour, ſent you to hym (I then beyng in my lordes houſe vnknowen as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my lorde ſecretly, and were departed, immediatly my Lorde declared certaine pointes of your talke, and meanes of your perſwaſion, and amongeſt other thinges was one, that you ſhould ſaie, * tuſh my lorde, this matter of iuſtification is but a trifle, let vs not ſticke to cōdiſcende herein to them: but for Gods loue my Lorde, ſtande ſtoutly in the veritie of the Sacrament, for I ſe that thei will aſſault that alſo. If this bee true (as my Lorde is a manne credible enough in ſuche a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touchyng the truthe of the moſte bleſſed Sacrament.

* An other vntruth in B. White: for only faith, is no new doctrine.

* The wordes of D. Ridley falſely reported.

Alſo in a Sermon of yours at Paules Croſſe, you as effectually and as Catholickely ſpake of that bleſſed Sacramente, as any man might haue doen, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtraunge thyng, nor vnknowen place whereunto I exhorte you. I wiſhe you to retourne thether from whence you came: That is, together with vs to acknowledge ẏ truthe, to acknowledge the Church of God, wherein no man maie erre, to acknowledge the ſupremacie, of our moſte reuerend father in God the Popes holineſſe (whiche as I ſaid) lineally taketh his diſcent from Peter, vppon whom Chriſt promiſed before his death to builde his church the whiche ſupremacie or prerogatiue, the moſte auncient Fathers in all ages, in all tymes did acknowledge: and here he broughte a place or twoo out of the Doctours, but eſpecially ſtaied vpon a ſaiyng of ſainct Auſten, whiche writeth in this maner: Totus orbis chriſtianus in tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubiectus eſt. That is: All the chriſtian countreis beyond the ſea, are ſubiect to the church of Rome. Here you ſe M. Ridley, that all chriſtendome is ſubiect to the churche of Rome. What ſhould ſtaie you therefore to confeſſe the ſame with Sainct Auſten, and the other Fathers?

The B. of Lincolne perſuadeth D. Ridley to returne to the Popes church.

Dubitatur vtrum hæc forma verborum ſit Auguſtini.

Then

Anno.1555. October.

Anſwere of D. Ridley to the B. of Lincolne.

Three pointes noted in the biſhoppe of Lincolnes Oratiõ.

Then maiſter Ridley deſired his pacience, to ſuffer hym to ſpeake ſomewhat of the premiſſes, leſt the multitude of thynges might confounde his memorie, and hauyng graunt thereunto, ſaied in this maner:

Ridley. My Lorde, I moſte hartely thanke your Lordſhip, as well for your gentlenes, as alſo for your ſobrietie in talke, and for your good and fauourable zeale in this learned exhortation, in the whiche I haue marked eſpecially three pointes, whiche you vſed to perſwade me to leaue my doctrine, and religiõ, whiche I perfectly knowe, and am throughly perſwaded to be grounded not vpon mannes imagination and decrees, but vpon the infallible truthe of Chriſtes Goſpell, and not to looke backe, and to retourne to the Romiſhe Sea, cõtrary to myne othe, contrary to the prerogatiue and crowne of this Realme, and eſpecially (whiche moueth me moſte) contrary to the expreſſed worde of God.

1. The ſea of Rome founded vpon Peter.

2. The ſea of Rome confirmed by old doctors.

3. D. Ridley once of the ſame ſea.

The firſt point is this, that the ſea of Rome takyng his beginnyng from Peter, vpõ whom you ſaie Chriſt hath builded his churche, hath in all ages lineally from Biſhop to Biſhop been brought to this tyme.

Secondly, that euen the holy Fathers from tyme to tyme, haue in their writynges confeſſed the ſame.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the ſame opiniõ and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

Math. 16.

Firſte, as touchyng the ſaiyng of Chriſte, from whence your lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the churche vpõ Peter, truely the place is not ſo to be vnderſtand as you take it, as the circumſtaunce of the place wil declare. For after that Chriſte had aſked his Diſciples, whom men iudged hym to be, and thei had aunſwered, that ſome had ſaied he was a Prophete, ſome Helias, ſome one thing, ſome an other: then he ſaied, whom ſaie ye that I am? Then Peter ſaied: I ſaie that thou arte Chriſte the Sonne of God. To whom Chriſt aunſwered: I ſaie, Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. i. Thou art Peter, and vpõ this ſtone will I builde my Churche: that is to ſaie, vppon this ſtone, not meanyng Peter hymſelf, as though he would haue conſtitute a mortall manne, ſo fraile and brickle a foundation of his ſtable and vnfallible Churche: But vpon this rocke ſtone, that is, this confeſſion of thyne, that I am the ſonne of God, I will builde my churche.

The churche not builded vppon Peter.

The churche builded vppon faith: not vpon any perſon.

For this is the foundation and beginnyng of all chriſtianitie, with worde, harte, and mynde, to confeſſe that Chriſt is the Sonne of God. Whoſoeuer beleueth not this, Chriſte is not in hym: and he can not haue the marke of Chriſte printed in his foreheade, whiche confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the ſonne of God. Therefore Chriſt ſaied vnto Peter, that vpon this rocke, that is, vpon this his confeſſion, that he was Chriſte the ſonne of GOD, he would builde his churche, to declare that without this faithe, no man can come to Chriſt: ſo that this belief, that Chriſt is the ſonne of God, is the foũdation of our chriſtianitie, and the foundation of the churche. Here you ſee vpon what foundation Chriſtes churche is builte, not vpon the frailtie of man, but vpon the ſtable and infallible worde of God.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, Math. 16. expounded.

Fayth is the foundatiõ of the church.

Lineall diſcent of the Biſhop of Rome.

Now as touchyng the lineall diſcent of the Biſhoppes in the Sea of Rome, true it is that the Patriarke of Rome in the Apoſtles tyme, and long after, was a greate maintainer, and a ſetter forthe of Chriſtes glorie, in the whiche aboue al other countreis and regions there eſpecially was Preached the true Goſpell, the Sacramentes were moſte duely miniſtered, and as before Chriſtes commyng, it was a citie ſo valiaunte in proweſſe, and marſhall affaires, that al the worlde was in a maner ſubiecte to it, and after Chriſtes Paſſion, diuers of the Apoſtles there ſuffered perſecution for the Goſpelles ſake: ſo after that the Emperours, their hartes beeyng illuminated, receiued the Goſpell, and became Chriſtians, the Goſpell there, as well for the greate power & dominion, as for the fame of the place flouriſhed moſte, whereby the Biſhoppes of that place were had in more reuerence and honour, moſte eſteemed in all counſailes and aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to bee their heade, but becauſe the place was moſte reuerenced & ſpoken of, for the greate power and ſtrength of the ſame. As nowe here in Englande, the Biſhoppe of Lincolne in Seſſions and ſittynges, hath the preeminence of the other Biſhoppes, not that he is the heade and ruler of them, but for the dignitie of the Biſhoprick (and therewith the people ſmiled). Wherefore the Doctours in their writynges, haue ſpoken moſte reuerentely of this Sea of Rome, and in their writynges preferred it: and this is the prerogatiue, whiche your Lordſhip did rehearſe, the auncient Doctours to giue to the Sea of Rome.

Why the Biſhops of Rome haue bene more eſteemed then the Biſhops of other cities.

The prerogatiue that the doctors geue to the ſea of Rome, and for what cauſe.

The ſea of Rome ſo long as it continued in ſounde doctrine, was worthy to bee reuerenced.

Semblably, I can not nor dare not but commend, reuerence, and honour the Sea of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion, and ſettyng forth of Gods glorie, and in due preachyng of the Goſpell, as it did many yeares after Chriſt. But after that the Biſhoppes of that Sea, ſeekyng their owne pride, & not Gods honour, began to ſet them ſelues aboue Kynges and Emperours, challengyng to them the title of Goddes Vicars, the dominion and Supremacie ouer all the worlde, I can not but with S. Gregorie a Biſhop of Rome alſo, cõfeſſe that the Biſhop of that place is the verie true Antichriſt, whereof ſaint John ſpeaketh by the name of the hore of Babilon, and ſay with the ſaid S. Gregorie: he that maketh hym ſelf a Biſhop ouer all the worlde, is worſe then Antichriſt.

The Biſhop of Rome proued to be Antichriſt.

The place of Saint Auſten aunſwered.

4. Patriarches in the church in Auſtines time.

Now, where as you ſaie that ſaint Auſtine ſhould ſeme, not onely to giue ſuche a prerogatiue, but alſo a ſupremacie to the Sea of Rome, in that he ſaith, all the Chriſtian worlde is ſubiecte to the Churche of Rome, and therefore ſhould giue to that Sea a certain kinde of ſubiection: I am ſure your Lordſhip knoweth that in S. Auſtines tyme, there wer fower Patriarckes, of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioche, and Rome, whiche Patriarckes had vnder them certain cõtreis, as in Englande the Archbiſhop of Canterburie hath vnder him diuers Biſhoprickes in Englãde and Wales, to whom he maie be ſaied to bee their Patriarcke. Alſo your Lordſhip knoweth right well, that at what tyme S. Auſten wrote this booke, he was then biſhop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that betwene Europe and Africa, lieth the ſea called Mare mediterraneum, ſo that all the Countreis in Europe to hym whiche is in Africa, maie bee called tranſmarine, countreis beyond the ſea. Hereof S. Auſten ſaith: Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis & longe remotis terris eccleſiæ Romanæ ſubiectus eſt. That is, all the Chriſtian countreis beyonde the ſeas and farre regions, are ſubiect to the Sea of Rome. If I ſhould ſaie all cõtreis beyonde the ſea, I doe except Englande, whiche to me now beyng in England, is not beyond the ſea. In this ſenſe S. Auſten ſaieth, all the countreis beyond the ſea are ſubiecte to the ſea of Rome, declaryng thereby that Rome was one of the ſeas of the fower Patriarckes, and had vnder it Europe: but by what ſubiectiõ I pray you? onely for a preeminence, as wee here in England ſaie, that all the Biſhoprickes in England, are ſubiect to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterburie and Yorke.

Countreys beyõd the ſea ſubiect to Rome, how & in what reſpect.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet no ſupreme head of churches.

For this preeminence alſo the other Doctours (as you recited) ſaie, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the Biſhopricke of Lincolne, is mother to the Biſhopricke of Oxforde, becauſe the Biſhopricke of Oxford came from the Biſhopricke of Lincolne, and they were bothe once one: and ſo is the Archbiſhopricke of Canterburie, mother to the other Biſhoprickes, which are in her Prouince. In like ſorte the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, is mother to the Northbiſhoprickes: and yet no man will ſay, that Lincolne, Canterburie, or Yorke is ſupreme heade to other Biſhoprickes: neither then ought we to confeſſe the Sea of Rome to bee ſupreme head, becauſe the Doctors in their writynges, confeſſe the Sea of Rome to be mother of Churches.

Now, where as you ſay, I was once of the ſame religion, whiche you are of, the truthe is, I can not but confeſſe the ſame. Yet ſo was Sainct Paule a perſecutor of Chriſt. But in that you ſaie, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I doyng my meſſage to my Lorde of Wincheſter, ſhould deſire hym to ſtande ſtout in that groſſe opinion of the Supper of the lord, in verie deede I was ſent (as your Lordſhip ſaid) frõ the Counſaill, to my Lorde of Wincheſter, to exhorte hym to receiue alſo the true confeſſion of Juſtification, and becauſe he was verie refractorious, I ſaid to hym: why my Lorde, what make you ſo great a matter herein? You ſee many Anabaptiſtes riſe againſte the Sacrament of the altar: I praie you my Lorde be diligent in confoũdyng them: for at that tyme my lorde of Wincheſter and I had to dooe, with twoo Anabaptiſtes of Kente. In this ſenſe I willed my Lorde to bee ſtiffe in the defence of the Sacramente, againſte the deteſtable errours of the Anabaptiſtes, and not in the confirmation of that groſſe and carnall opiniõ now maintained.

D. Ridley falſly charged to preach tranſubſtantiation at Paules croſſe.

In like ſort, as touchyng ẏ ſermon, whiche I made at Paules croſſe, you ſhall vnderſtande, that there wer at Paules, and diuers other places, fixed railing billes againſt the Sacrament, termyng it Iacke of the boxe, the ſacrament of the halter, round Robin, with like vnſemely termes: foꝛ the whiche cauſes, I to rebuke the vnreuerent behauiour of certaine euill diſpoſed perſones, pꝛeached as reuerently of that matter as I might, declaryng what eſtimation and reuerence, ought to bee giuen to it, what daunger enſued the miſhandling therof, affirmyng in that Sacrament to bee truely and verily the bodie and bloud of Chꝛiſt, effecteouſly by grace and ſpirite: whiche woꝛdes the vnlearned vnderſtandyng not, ſuppoſed that I had ment of the groſſe and carnall beyng, whiche the Romiſhe Decrees ſet foꝛth, that a bodie hauyng life and motion, ſhould be in dede vnder the ſhapes of bꝛead and wine.

D. Ridley miſtaken in his ſermon.

With that the Biſhop of Lincolne, ſomwhat interruptyng hym, ſaied.

Lincolne again replyeth

Lincol. Well M. Ridley, thus you wꝛeſt places to your owne pleaſure: foꝛ where as S. Auſten ſaith that the whole Chꝛiſtian woꝛlde, is ſubiecte to the Sea of Rome without limitation, and vſeth theſe woꝛdes: In tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris, onely to expꝛeſſe the latitude of the dominion of the Sea of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the woꝛlde, yea Countreis farre diſtant from Rome, yet neuertheleſſe are ſubiecte to that Sea, yet you would wꝛeſt it, and leaue it onely to Europe. I am ſure ye will not deny, but that totus mundus is moꝛe then Europe.

D. Ridley agayne anſwereth to þ woꝛdes of Auſten.

Ridley. In deede my Loꝛde, if ſainct Auſten had ſaid ſimpliciter totus mundus, and not added in tranſmarinis it had been without limitation: but in that he ſaid totus mundus in tranſmarinis partibus, all the Countreis beyonde the Seas, he hym ſelf doeth limite the vniuerſall pꝛopoſition, declaryng howe farre he mente by totus mundus.

The biſhop not ſtaiyng foꝛ this aunſwere, did pꝛoceade, ſaiyng.

Lincolne. Well, if I would ſtaie vpon this place, I could bꝛyng many mo places of the fathers, foꝛ the cōfirmation therof, but we haue certain inſtructions, acoꝛdyng to the whiche we muſt pꝛoceade, and came not hither to diſpute the matter with you, but onely to take your aunſweres to certaine Articles, and vſed this in the waie of exhoꝛtation: in the whiche you interrupted me, wherefoꝛe I will retourne thither againe.

Lincolne returneth againe to his oꝛation.

Ye muſte conſider that the Churche of Chꝛiſte lieth not hidden, but is a citie in the mountaine, and a candle on the candleſticke. Ponder with your ſelf, that the Churche of Chꝛiſte is catholica, catholicke, whiche is deducted of κατ ὅλον, that is, per omnia; ſo that Chꝛiſtes Churche is vniuerſally ſpꝛeadde thꝛoughout the woꝛlde, not contained in the* allegation of places, not compꝛehended in the circuite of Englande, not contained in the cōpaſſe of Germanie and Saxonie, as your churche is. Wherefoꝛe M. Ridley, foꝛ Gods loue be ye not ſingular: acknowledge with al þ realme the truth, it ſhall not be (as you alledge pꝛeiudiciall to þ crowne, foꝛ the King and Quene their maieſties haue renounced that vſurped power taken of their pꝛedeceſſours, and iuſtly haue renoūced it. Foꝛ I am ſure you knowe that there are twoo powers, the one declared by the ſwoꝛde, the other by the keyes. The Swoꝛde is giuen to Kynges, and rulers of countreis: the Keyes wer deliuered by Chꝛiſt to Peter, and of hym lefte to all the ſucceſſours. As touchyng our goodes, poſſeſſions, and liues, wee with you acknowledge vs Subiectes to the Kyng and Queene, who hath the tempoꝛall ſwoꝛd: but as concernyng matters of religion, as touchyng Gods quarell and his woꝛde, we acknowledge an other hed: and as the Kyng and þ Quene their highnes do in all woꝛldely affaires, iuſtly chalenge the pꝛerogatiue and pꝛimacie, ſo in Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall matters thei acknowledge them ſelues not to bee heades and rulers, but members of Chꝛiſtes bodie. Why therfoꝛe ſhould ye ſticke at that matter, the whiche their Maieſties haue foꝛſaken and yelded?

* And why do you then alledgate it to the citie of Rome?

2. Powers, of the Keyes and of the Swoꝛd.

England how ſubiect to the King, and how to the Pope.

D. Ridley exhorted to ſubmit himſelfe to the Pope.

Wherefoꝛe M. Ridley, you ſhall not onely not doe iniurie to the crowne, and be pꝛeiudiciall to their maieſties honoꝛ, in acknowledgyng with all Chꝛiſtendome the Popes holineſſe to bee ſupꝛeme heade of Chꝛiſtes Churche, here militaunte in yearth, but doe a thyng moſte delectable in their ſighte, and moſte deſired of their highneſſe. Thus if you ſhall doe, reuokyng together all your errours, acknowledging with the reſidue of the realme, the common and publicke fault, you ſhal doe that that all men moſte hartely deſire: you ſhall bꝛyng quietneſſe to your conſcience, and health to your ſoule: then ſhall we with greate ioye, by the authoꝛitie committed to vs frō the Cardinals grace, receiue you into the Churche again, acknowledgyng you to be no longer a rotten, but a liuely member of the ſame, but if you ſhall ſtill be ſingular, if you ſhall ſtill and obſtinately perſeuer in your errours, ſtubboꝛnly maintaiyng your foꝛmer hereſies, then we muſt againſt our wil, acoꝛdyng to our commiſſion, ſeparate you from vs, and cut you of from the churche, leaſt the rottenneſſe of one part in pꝛoceſſe of tyme, putrifie and coꝛrupt the whole bodie: then muſt we confeſſe & publiſhe you to bee none of ours: then muſte we yelde you vp to the Tempoꝛall iudges, of whom excepte it otherwiſe pleaſe the Kyng and Quenes highnes, you muſt receiue puniſhment by the lawes of this realme, due foꝛ heretickes.

Feare of puniſhement ſet befoꝛe him.

Wherefoꝛe M. Ridley, conſider your ſtate, remember your foꝛmer degrees, ſpare youre bodie, eſpecially conſider your ſoule, whiche Chꝛiſt ſo dearely boughte with his pꝛecious bloud, doe not you raſhly caſt awaie that, whiche was pꝛecious in Gods ſighte, enfoꝛce not vs to doe all that wee maie doe, whiche is onely to publiſhe you to be none of vs, to cut you of frō the church foꝛ we doe not, noꝛ can not condēne you to die (as moſt vntruely hath been repoꝛted of vs) but that is the tempoꝛall Iudges* office: we onely declare you to bee none of the Churche, and then muſt you, accoꝛdyng to the tenoꝛ of them, and pleaſure of the rulers, abide their determination, ſo that we, after that we haue giuen you vp to the tempoꝛall rulers, haue no further to do with you. But I truſt M. Ridley, we ſhall not haue occaſiō to doe that we maie. I truſt you will ſuffer vs to reſt in that point of our commiſſion, whiche we moſte hartely deſire, that is, vpon recantation and repentaunce to receiue you, to reconcile you, and again to adioyne you to the vnitie of the churche.

* But that office you your ſelues haue aſſigned vnto them.

Then M. Ridley with often interruption, at length ſpake.

Aunſwere of D. Ridley to Lincolne.

Rid. My loꝛde, I acknowledge an vnſpotted church of Chꝛiſte, in the whiche* no man can erre, without the whiche no man cā be ſaued, the which is ſpꝛed thꝛoughout all the woꝛlde, that is, the congregation of the faithfull: neither doe I alligate oꝛ bind the ſame to any one place, as you ſaied, but confeſſe the ſame to bee ſpꝛedde thꝛoughout all the woꝛlde: and where as Chꝛiſtes Sacramentes are duely miniſtered, his Goſpell truly pꝛeached and followed, there doeth Chꝛiſtes Churche ſhine as a citie vpon an hill, and as a Candle in the Candleſticke: but rather it is ſuch as you, that would haue the churche of Chꝛiſt bound to a place, whiche appoint the ſame to Rome, that there and no where els is the foūdation of Chꝛiſtes Churche. But I am fully perſwaded that Chꝛiſtes Churche is euery where founded, in euery place where his Goſpell is truely receiued, and effectually followed. And in that the Churche of God is in doubt, I vſe herein the wiſe counſaill of Vincentinus Lyranenſis, whom I am ſure you will allowe: who giuyng pꝛeceptes how the catholicke Churche maie be in al ſchiſmes and hereſies knowen, writeth in this maner: When (ſaieth he) one parte is coꝛrupted with hereſies, then pꝛeferre the whole woꝛlde befoꝛe that one parte: but if the greateſt part be infected, then pꝛeferre antiquitie.

* He meaneth, in which no generall errour can be finally.

The church tied to no place.

The catholickes do bind the church to a certaine place, and that onely to Rome.

The Pꝛoteſtantes bind the churche to no one certaine place, but follow the true cōfeſſion of the woꝛd.

The Counſell of Lyra what church to follow.

In like ſoꝛt now, when I perceiue the greateſt part of Chꝛiſtianitie to be infected with the poiſon of the ſea of Rome, I repaire to the vſage of þ pꝛimatiue church, whiche I finde cleane contrary to the Popes decrees: as in that the Pꝛieſt receiueth alone, in that it is made vnlawfull to the Laitie to receiue in bothe kindes, and ſuche like: Wherefoꝛe it requireth, that I pꝛeferre the antiquitie of the pꝛimatiue Churche, befoꝛe the nouelitie of the Romiſhe churche.

The greateſt part of Chriſtianitie infected with the Churche of Rome and in what pointes.

Lincol. M. Ridley, theſe faultes whiche you charge the Sea of Rome withall, are in deede no faultes. Foꝛ firſt it was neuer foꝛbid the Laitie, but that thei might if thei * demaunded, receiue vnder bothe kindes. You knowe alſo, that Chꝛiſt after his reſurrection, at what tyme he went with his Apoſtles to Galile, opened hym ſelf by bꝛeakyng of bꝛeade. You knowe that S. Paule after his longe ſailyng towardes Rome brake breade, and that the Apoſtles came together in bꝛeakyng of bꝛead, which declareth þ it is not vnlawfull to miniſter the Sacramente vnder the foꝛme of bꝛead onely: and yet the churche had iuſt occaſion to decree, that the laitie ſhould receiue in one kinde onely, thereby to take awaie an opinion of the vnlearned, that Chꝛiſte was not wholy bothe fleſh & bloud vnder the foꝛme of bꝛead.

* The Bohemians required that, and were ſhent foꝛ their laboure. Read befoꝛe pa. 579.

Great reaſons of the Catholickes to pꝛoue the communion vnder one kinde.

Therefoꝛe

Anno.1555. October.

Therefore to take awaie that opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the peoples faithe, the holy Ghoſt in the churche thought good to decree, that the Laitie ſhould receiue onely in one kinde: and it is no newes for the Churche vpon iuſt conſideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, that ſaincte Paule writyng to certaine of the Gentiles, whiche had receiued the Goſpell, biddeth them to abſtaine a ſuffocato & ſanguine, from thynges ſtifled, and from bloud, ſo that this ſemeth to be an expreſſe commandemēt: yet who will ſaie but that it is lawfull to eate bloudyngs? how is it lawfull, but by the permiſſion of the churche?

Argument. The Churche did abrogate the precept of the Apoſtle of ſtrangled & bloudinges. Ergo the church likewiſe hath authoritie touchīg the miniſtratiō vnder both kindes.

Aunſwere. The precept of the Apoſtles was but for a tyme, and for a purpoſe, by litle to winne the Jewes. Chriſtes commaundement [doe thys] was for euer and ſimply cōmaunded without any hearing with the ſtrong or weake.

Rid. My lorde, ſuche thinges as S. Paule enioyned to the Gentiles for a ſufferance, by a little and little to win the Iewes to Chriſt, were onely commaundementes of tyme, and reſpected not the ſucceſſors: but Chriſtes commaundement: doe this (that is, that whiche he did in remembraunce, whiche was not to miniſter in one kinde onely) was not a cōmaundement for a tyme, but to perſeuer to the worldes ende.

But the B. of Lincolne not attendyng to this aunſwere, without any ſtaie proceaded in his oration.

So that the Churche ſemeth to haue authoritie by the holy Ghoſt, whom Chriſt ſaied he would ſende after his aſcenſion, whiche ſhould teache the Apoſtles al truthe, to haue power and iuriſdiction to alter ſuche pointes of the Scripture, euer reſeruyng the foundation: but we came not, as I ſaied before, in this ſort to reaſon the matter with you, but haue certaine inſtructions miniſtered vnto vs, accordyng to the tenor of the whiche we muſt procede, propoſyng certaine articles, vnto the whiche we require your aunſwere directly, either affirmatiuely, either negatiuely to euery of them, either deniyng them, either grauntyng them without farther diſputations or reaſoning: for we haue already ſtretched our inſtructions, in that we ſuffred you to debate and reaſon the matter, in ſuche ſorte as wee haue doen: the whiche Articles you ſhall heare now, and to morrowe at eight of the clocke in S. Maries churche, we wil require and take your aunſweres, and then accordyng to the ſame procede: and if you require a copie of them, you ſhall haue it, pen, ynke and paper, alſo all ſuche bookes as you ſhall demaunde, if thei bee to bee gotten in the Vniuerſitie.

¶The Articles.

Articles ioyntly and ſeuerally miniſtred to D. Ridley and M. Latymer, by the Popes deputies.

IN dei nomine, Amen. Nos Iohannes Lincoln. Iacobus Glocest. & Iohannes Briſtol. Epiſcopi, per Reuerēdiſ. dominum Reginaldum miſeratione diuina S. Mariæ in Coſmedin. &c.

1 We doe obiect to thee Nic. Ridley, & to thee Hugh Latimer, ioyntly and ſeuerally, firſt that thou Nichol. Ridley in this high Vniuerſitie of Oxford. Anno. 1554 in the Monethes of Aprill, Maie, June, July, or in ſome one or mo of them, haſte affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other tymes and places beſides, that the true & naturall body of Chriſt, after the conſecration of the Prieſte, is not really preſent in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. Item, that in the yeare and monethes aforſaid, thou haſte publickly affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, remaineth ſtill the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine.

3. Item, that in the ſaid yere and monethes, thou haſt openly affirmed, and obſtinatly maintained, that in the Maſſe is no propiciatorie Sacrifice for the quicke and the deade.

4. Item, that in the yeare, place, and monthes aforeſaied, theſe thy foreſaid aſſertions ſolemnely haue been condemned, by the ſcholaſticall cenſure of this ſchole, as hereticall, and contrary to the Catholicke faithe, by the worſhipfull M. Doctour Weſton Prolocutor then of the conuocation houſe, as alſo by other ſondry learned men, of bothe the Vniuerſities.

5. Item, that all and ſingulare the premiſes be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowen by publicke fame, as well to them nere hande, as alſo to them in diſtant places farre of.

¶Examinations vpon the ſaied Articles.

ALl theſe articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearſall ſhalbe of any of them, the reader maie haue recourſe hether, and peruſe the ſame, and not to trouble the ſtorie with ſeuerall repetitions thereof.

Lincol. After theſe Articles wer read, the Biſhops tooke counſaill togethers. At the laſt the Biſhoppe of Lincolne ſaied: theſe are the very ſame Articles which you in open diſputation here in the Vniuerſitie did maintaine and defende. What ſaie you vnto the firſte? I praie you aunſwere affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

B. Ridley examined vpon the Articles aforeſayd.

Rid. Why my Lorde, I ſuppoſed your gentleneſſe had been ſuche, that you would haue giuē me ſpace vntill to morowe, that vpon good aduiſemente, I might bryng a determinate aunſwere.

Lincol. Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that your aunſweres now ſhall be preiudiciall to your aunſweres to morowe. I will take your aunſweres at this tyme, and yet notwithſtandyng it ſhalbe lawfull to you to adde, diminiſh, alter, and chaunge of theſe aunſweres to morowe what you will.

Rid. In deede, in like maner at our laſt diſputatiōs I had many thynges promiſed, and fewe performed. It was ſaied that after diſputations, I ſhould haue a copie thereof, and licence to chaunge myne aunſweres, as I ſhould thinke good: it was meete alſo ẏ I ſhould haue ſeen what was written by the Notaries at that tyme. So your lordſhip pretended greate gentlenes in giuyng me a tyme, but this gentlenes is the ſame, that Chriſt had of the high Prieſtes: for you, as your lordſhip ſaieth, haue no power to condemne me, neither at any tyme to put a man to death: ſo in like ſort the high Prieſtes ſaied, that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death, but committed Chriſt to Pilat, neither would ſuffer hym to abſolue Chriſte, although he ſought all the meanes therefore that he might. Then ſpake Doctour Weſton, one of the audience.

The Catholickes promiſſe fayre, but they performe nothing.

The hie prieſts had not power to put Chriſt to death, but they had power to commith hym to Pelate, neyther would thei ſuffer him to abſolue Chriſt.

Weſtō. What? doe you make the kyng Pilate?

Rid. No maiſter Doctor, I doe but compare your deedes with Caiphas his deedes and the high Prieſtes, whiche would condemne no manne to death, as ye will not, and yet would not ſuffer Pilat to abſolue and deliuer Chriſt.

D. Weſton ſhooteth his bolt.

Lincol. M. Ridley, we minde not but that you ſhall enioye the benefite of aunſweryng to morowe, and will take your aunſweres now as now: to morowe you ſhal chaūge, take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane ſeaſon we require you to aunſwere directely to euery Article, either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

Rid. Seyng you appoint me a tyme to aunſwere to morowe, and yet will take mine aunſweres out of hād, firſt I require the Notaries, to take and write my proteſtation, that in no pointe I acknowledge your authoritie, or admit you to be my Judges, in that pointe you are authoriſed from the Pope. Therefore whatſoeuer I ſhall ſaie or doe, I proteſt, I neither ſaie it, neither doe it willyngly, thereby to admit the authoritie of the Pope: and if your lordſhip will giue me leaue, I will ſhewe the cauſes, whiche moueth me thereunto.

The proteſtatiō of D. Ridley.

Lincol. No M. Ridley, we haue inſtructions to the contrary. We maie not ſuffer you.

Rid. I will be ſhort: I praie your lordſhip ſuffer me to ſpeake in fewe wordes.

D. Ridley can not be ſuffred to ſpeake.

Linc. No M. Ridley, we maie not abuſe the hearers eares.

Rid. Why my lorde? ſuffer me to ſpeake iij. wordes.

Linc. Well M. Ridley, to morowe you ſhall ſpeake xl. The tyme is farre paſte: therefore we require your aunſwere determinatly. What ſaie you to the firſt Article? and thereupon rehearſed the ſame.

Ridley. My proteſtation alwaies ſaued, that by this myne aunſwere I doe not condeſcende to your authoritie, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I aunſwere thus: In a ſenſe the firſte Article is true, and in a ſenſe it is falſe: for if you take really for verè, for ſpiritually by grace and efficacie, then is it true that the naturall bodie and bloud of Chriſt is in the Sacrament verè & realiter, in dede and really: but if you take theſe termes ſo groſſely, that you would conclude thereby a naturall bodie hauyng motion, to bee contained vnder the formes of bread and wine verè & realiter, thā really is not the bodie and bloud of Chriſte in the Sacramente, no more then the holie Ghoſte is in the elemente of water it our Baptiſme. Becauſe this aunſwere was not vnderſtoode, the Notaries wiſt not how to note it: wherfore the Biſhoppe of Lincolne willed hym to aunſwere either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely, either to graunt the Article, or to deny it?

The reall preſence in the Sacrament may haue a double ſenſe.

Equiuocation in the worde really.

How the body of Chriſt may bee ſayd to bee really, & how not really in the Sacramēt.

Rid. My lorde, you knowe that where any æquiuocation (whiche is a worde hauyng twoo ſignifications) is, except diſtinction be giuen, no directe aunſwere can bee made: for it is one of Ariſtotles fallacies, contei-

nyng

2. Queſtions vnder one.

ning ij. queſtions vnder one, the which can not be ſatiſfied with one aunſwere. For both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and naturall body and bloud of Chriſte, euen that whiche was borne of the Virgin Mary, whiche aſcended into Heauen, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, whiche ſhall come from thence to iudge the quicke & the dead, onely we differ in *modo*: in the way and maner of beyng: we confeſſe al one thyng to be in the ſacrament, and diſſent in the maner of beyng there. I beyng fullie by Gods woord therunto perſuaded, confeſſe Chriſtes natural body to be in yͤ Sacrament in deede by ſpirite and grace, becauſe that who ſoeuer receiueth worthely that bread and wyne, receiueth effectuouſly Chriſtes body and drinketh his bloud, that is, hee is made effectually partaker of hys paſſion: and you make a groſſer kynd of beyng, encloſing a naturall, a liuelye and mouyng body vnder the ſhape or forme of bread and wyne.

The Papiſtes & Proteſtantes in graunting the preſence do agree: onely in the maner of beyng they differ.

How Chriſtes body is effectuouſly receaued in the Sacrament.

How Chriſt may be graunted really to be in the Sacrament, and how not.

Now, this difference conſidered, to the queſtiō thus I aunſwere: that in the Sacrament of the altar is the naturall bodie and bloud of Chriſte *verè & realiter*, in deede and really, if you take theſe termes in deede and really for ſpiritually by grace and efficacie: for ſo euerie worthy receiuer, receiueth the very true body of Chriſt: but if you meane reallye and in deede, ſo that thereby you woulde include a liuely and a mouable bodie vnder the formes of Bread and Wyne, then in that ſenſe is not Chriſtes bodie in the Sacrament reallie and in deede.

¶ This aunſwere taken and penned of the Notaries, the Byſhop of Lyncolne propoſed the ſecond queſtion or Article. To whom he aunſwered:

What change is in the Sacramentall bread. Sacramentall mutation.

Rid. Alwayes my proteſtation reſerued, I aunſwere thus: that in the Sacrament is a certaine chaunge in that that Bread whiche before was common bread, is nowe made a liuely repreſentation of Chriſtes Bodie, and not onely a figure, but effectuouſly repreſenteth hys bodye, that euen as the mortal bodye was nouriſhed by that viſible bread, ſo is the internall ſoule fed with the heauenlye foode of Chriſtes bodye, whiche the eyes of faithe ſeeth, as the bodilye eyes ſeeth onelye bread. Suche a Sacramentall mutation I graunt to bee in the bread and wyne, which truely is no ſmall chaunge, but ſuche a chaunge as no mortall man can make but onely the omnipotencie of Chriſtes word.

The ſubſtance of bread & wine in the Sacrament not chaūged.

¶ Then the Biſhop of Lyncolne willed hym to aunſwere directly, either affirmatiuely or negatiuely without further declaration of the matter. Then hee aunſwered:

Compariſon betwene the Sacrament of the cōmunion, & of Baptiſme.

Rid. That notwithſtandyng this ſacramentall mutation of the whiche he ſpake, and all the Doctors confeſſed, the true ſubſtaunce and nature of bread and wyne remaineth, with the which the body is in like ſort nouriſhed as is the ſoule by grace and ſpirite with the body of Chriſt. Euen ſo in Baptiſme the body is waſhed with the viſible water, and the ſoule is clenſed frō all filth by the inuiſible holy Ghoſte, and yet the water ceaſeth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of the water ſtill: In like ſort in the Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper the bread ceaſeth not to be bread.

What difference the Catholickes put betwene the Sacrament of the communion, and Baptiſme.

Then the Notaries penned, that he aunſwered affirmatiuely to the ſecōd Article. The Biſhop of Lyncolne declared a difference betwene the Sacrament of the altar and Baptiſme, becauſe that Chriſte ſaied not by the water this is yͤ holy Ghoſt, as he did by the bread: thys is my body.

Then Maſter Ridley recited Saint Auſten, which cōferred both the Sacraments the one with the other: but the Biſhop of Lyncolne notwithſtandyng therupon recited the third Article, and required a direct aunſwere. To whom Ridley ſayd:

Anſwere to the third Article.

Rid. Chriſte as Saint Paule writeth, made one perfect ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole worlde, neither can any man reiterate that ſacrifice of his: and yet is the Communion an acceptable Sacrifice to GOD of praiſe and thankes geuyng: but to ſay that thereby ſinnes are taken awaye (whiche wholye and perfectly was done by Chriſtes paſſion, of the whiche the Communion is onely a memory) that is a great derogation of the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion: for the Sacrament was inſtituted that we receiuyng it, and thereby recogniſyng and remembryng hys Paſſyon, ſhould bee partakers of the merites of the ſame: For otherwiſe doth thys Sacrament take vppon it the office of Chriſtes Paſſion, whereby it might folow that Chriſte dyed in vaine.

Propitiatory ſacrifice of the Maſſe is a derogation to Chriſtes paſſion.

¶ The Notaries penned this his aunſwere to be affirmatiuely. Then ſaid the Biſhop of Lincolne:

Lin. In deede as you alledge out of Saint Paule, Chriſte made one perfecte oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloudy ſacrifice vpon the croſſe: yet neuertheleſſe he hath lefte this ſacrifice, but not bloudie, in the remembraunce of that, by the whiche ſinnes are forgeuen: the whiche is no derogation of Chriſtes paſſion.

Vnbloudy ſacrifice.

¶ Then recited the Byſhop of Lyncolne the fourth Article. To the which M. Ridley aunſwered:

Anſwere to the fourth Article.

Rid. That in ſome part the fourth was true, and in ſome part falſe: true in that thoſe hys aſſertions were condemned as hereſies, although iniuſtly: falſe in that it was ſayd that they were condemned *ſententia ſcholaſtica*, in that the diſputations were in ſuche ſort ordered, that it was farre from any ſchole acte.

¶ This aunſwere penned of the Notaries, the Byſhoppe of Lyncolne rehearſed the fift Article. To the whiche he aunſwered:

Rid. That the premiſſes were in ſuche ſorte true, as in theſe hys aunſweres he had declared. Whether that al men ſpake euill of them he knew not, in that he came not ſo much abroad to heare what euery man reported.

¶ This aunſwere alſo written of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Lyncolne ſayd:

D. Ridley aſſigned to appeare agayne the next day.

Lin. To Morow at eight of the clocke you ſhal appeare before vs in S. Maryes Churche, and then becauſe wee can not well agree vppon your aunſwere to the firſt Article (for it was long before hee was vnderſtoode) if it ſhal pleaſe you to write your aunſwere, you ſhall haue penne, inke, and paper, and bookes ſuche as you ſhall require: but if you write anye thyng ſauyng your aūſweres to theſe Articles, we will not receiue it: and ſo he chargyng the Maior with hym, declaryng alſo to yͤ Maior that he ſhould ſuffer hym to haue penne and inke dimiſſed M. Ridley, and ſent for M. Latimer, who beyng brought to the Diuinitie ſchole, there taryed till they called for hym.

¶ Maiſter Latimer appeareth before the Commiſſioners.

M. Latymer appeareth before the Deputies.

NOw after M. Ridley was committed to the Maior, then the Biſhop of Lincolne commaunded the Bailyffes to bryng in the other priſoner, who eftſones as he was placed, ſaid to the Lordes:

Lat. My Lordes, if I appeare againe, I pray you not to ſende for mee vntill you bee ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to myne old age to tary ſo long gaſing vpon the cold walles. Then the biſhop of Lyncolne ſayd:

Linc. M. Latimer I am ſorye you were brought ſo ſoone, although it is the Bailiffes faulte, and not myne: but it ſhall be amended.

The order of M. Latymers apparell.

Then M. Latymer bowed his knee downe to the ground, holdyng his hat in his hand, hauing a kerchef on his head, and vpon it a night cap or two, and a great cap (ſuche as townes men vſe, with two broad flaps to butten vnder the chin) wearyng an old thred bare Briſtowe fryſe gowne gyrded to his bodie with a peny leather gyrdel, at the which hanged by a long ſtring of leather his Teſtament, and his Spectacles without caſe, dependyng about his necke vpon his breſt. After thys the Biſhop of Lincolne began on this maner:

The oration of Lincolne to M. Latymer.

Linc. M. Latimer, you ſhal vnderſtand that I and my Lordes here haue a Commiſſion frō my lord Cardinall Poles Grace Legate *a latere*, to this Realme of Englande, from our moſt reuerend father in God the Popes holynes, to examine you vpon certayne opinions and aſſertions of yours, whiche you as well here openly in diſputations in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. as at ſundry and diuers other times did affirme, maintayne, and obſtinatly defende. In the whiche Commiſſion be eſpecially two poyntes: the one whiche we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, reuoke, and diſanull theſe your errours, and together with all this Realme, yea all the world confeſſe the truthe, we vpon due repentance of your part ſhould receiue you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no lenger a ſtraied ſheepe, but adioyne you again to the vnity of Chriſtes church, from the which you in the tyme of ſchiſme fell: So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I deſire you but to retourne thether from whence you went.

But this church then ſtandeth vpō the truth of Gods word, & not vpon the fantaſie of man.

Conſider M. Latymer, that without the vnity of the church is no ſaluation, and in the church can be no errours. Therefore what ſhould ſtay you to confeſſe that

Anno.1555. October.

What the firſt occaſion of this was, and what were the manifold miſdemeanours of ẏ Pope, read before pag.1046. 1047.1243.

How you ſpared the dead, your owne actes can beare witnes.

The Popes authoritie.

which all the Realme confeſſeth, to forſake that which the king and Queene their Maieſties haue renounced, and all the realme recanted: it was a commen errour, & it is now of all confeſſed: it ſhall bee no more ſhame to you, then it was to vs all. Conſider M. Latimer, that within theſe. xx. yeares this Realme alſo with all the worlde confeſſed on church, acknowledged in Chriſtes church an head, and by what meanes and for what occaſion it cut of it ſelfe from the reſt of Chriſtianitie, it renounced that which in all tymes and ages was confeſſed, it is well knowen, and might be now declared vpon what good foundation the ſea of Rome was forſaken, ſaue that wee muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſall would be approbrious: it is no vſurped power as it hath bene termed, but founded vpō Peter by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by diuers places as well of the auncient fathers as the expreſſe word of God, may be proued.

With that M. Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hande, began ſomewhat to remoue his cap and kerchef from his eares.

ποιμαίνειν, ſignifieth to feede or to rule.

The Biſhop proceeded ſaying: for Chriſt ſpake expreſſye to Peter ſaying, paſce oues meas, & rege oues meas, the which word doth not onely declare a certaine ruling of Chriſtes flocke, but includeth alſo a certayne preeminence and gouernment, and therfore is the king called Rex à regendo: ſo that in ſaiyng rege, Chriſt declared a power whiche he gaue to Peter, whiche iuriſdiction & power Peter by hand deliuered to Clement, and ſo in all ages hath it remained in the ſea of Rome. This if you ſhall confeſſe with vs, and acknowledge with all the realme your errours and falſe aſſertions, then ſhall you doe that whiche we moſt deſire, then ſhal we reſt vpon the firſt part of our commiſſion, then ſhall wee receiue you, acknowledge you one of the churche, and accordyng to the authoritie geuen to vs, miniſter vnto you vpon due repentaunce, the benefite of abſolution, to the which the King and the Queene their Maieſties were not aſhamed to ſubmit them ſelues, although they of them ſelues were vnſpotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation, yet leſte the putrifaction and rottenneſſe of all the body might bee noyſome, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſaid) moſt humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to my Lorde Cardinall hys grace, by hym, as Legate to the Popes holynes, to bee partakers of the reconciliation: but if you ſhall ſtubburnlye perſeuer in your blindnes, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you as you ſtand now alone, will be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſme and hereſie you will ſtill diuide your ſelfe from our Church, then muſte we procede to the ſeconde part of the commiſſion, whiche we would be loth to doe, that is, not to condemne you, for that we can not doe (that the temporall ſworde of the realme, and * not wee will doe) but to ſeparate you from vs, to acknowledge you to bee none of vs, to renounce you as no member of the churche, to declare that you are filius perditionis, a loſte childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, ſo to cut you of from the church, and ſo to commit you to the temporall Iudges, permittyng them to procede againſt you, accordyng to the tenor of their lawes.

Benefite of the Popes abſolution offered to M. Latymer.

* Qui tradiderunt me tibi maius peccatum habent, ſayth Chriſt.

Perſuaſions vſed to M. Latymer to returne to the vnity of the Popes church.

Therfore M. Latimer, for Gods loue conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you haue taken degrees in the ſchole, borne the office of a Biſhop, remember you are an old man, ſpare your bodye, accelerate not your death, & eſpecially remember your ſoules health, quiet of your conſcience, conſider that if you ſhould dye in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God: for it is the cauſe that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you dye in this ſtate, you dye without grace, for without the Churche can bee no ſaluation. Let not vayne glory haue the vpper hande, humiliate your ſelfe, captiuate your vnderſtandyng, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the churche, doe not force vs to doe all that we may doe, let vs reſt in that part which we moſt hartely deſire, and I, for my part (then the Biſhop put of his cap) againe with all my hart exhort you.

Reaſons to perſwade the fleſh, but not to ſatiſfy conſcience.

After the Biſhop had ſomwhat pauſed, then maiſter Latimer lift vp his head (for before hee leaned on hys elbowe) and aſked whether his Lordſhip had ſaid: and the biſhop aunſwered yea.

Lati. Then will your Lordſhippe geue mee leaue to ſpeake a word or two?

Linc. Yea M. Latimer, ſo that you vſe a modeſt kind of talke, without railyng or tauntes.

M. Latymer hath leaue to ſit downe.

Lati. I beſech your lordſhip, licence me to ſit downe.

Linc. At your pleaſure M. Latimer, take as muche eaſe as you will.

Aunſwere of M. Latymer to the B. of Lincolne.

The vniuerſall church hath not his foundation only in Rome.

Lati. Your Lordſhippe gentlye exhorted me in manye wordes, to come to the vnitie of the churche. I confeſſe (my Lord) a catholike Churche, ſpread throughout all the worlde, in the whiche no man may erre, without the whiche vnitie of the church no man can be ſaued: but I knowe perfectly by Gods worde that this churche is in all the worlde, and hath not his foundation in Rome onely, as you ſay, & me thought your Lordſhip brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirme the ſame, that there was a iuriſdiction geuen to Peter, in that Chriſte bad hym regere, gouerne his people. In deede my Lorde, S. Peter did well and truelye his office, in that he was bid regere: but ſince the Biſhops of Rome haue taken a newe kynd of regere. In deede they ought to regere, but how my Lord? not as they will themſelues: but this regere muſt be hedged in, and digged in. They muſt regere, but ſecundum verbum dei: they muſt rule, but accordyng to the word of God.

Argument. Chriſt bad Peter regere, gouerne his people. Ergo the Pope muſt play the Rex, to reigne ouer Kinges & Emperours.

Regere ſecundum verbū, turned to regere ſecundum voluntatem.

Deut. 21.

But the Biſhops of Rome haue turned regere ſecundum verbum dei, into regere ſecundum voluntatem ſuā: they haue turned the rule accordyng to the worde of God into the rule accordyng to their owne pleaſures, and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a boke ſet forth whiche hath diuers pointes in it, and amongeſt other, this poynt is one, whiche your Lordſhip went about to proue by this word regere, and the argument which he bringeth forthe for the proofe of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomie, where it is ſaid: if there riſeth any controuerſie emong the people, the Prieſtes Leuitici generis, of the order of Leuiticus ſhal decide the matter ſecundum legem dei, accordyng to the law of God: ſo it muſte be taken. This booke perceiuyng this authoritie to be geuen to the Prieſtes of the olde law, taketh occaſion to proue the ſame to be geuen to the Biſhops and other the Clergy of the new law: but in prouyng this matter, where as it was ſaide there, as the Prieſtes of the order of Leuiticus ſhould determine the matter accordyng to gods law, that (accordyng to gods law) is left out, and onely is recited: as the Prieſtes of the order of Leuiticus ſhal decide the matter, ſo it ought to bee taken of the people: a large authoritie I enſure you. What geldyng of Scripture is this? what clippyng of Gods coyne? With the whiche termes the audience ſmiled. This is much like the regere which your Lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay my Lords, wee may not geue ſuch authoritie to the Clergie, to rule all thinges as they will. Let them keepe themſelues within their commiſſion. Now I truſt my Lord, I do not raile yet?

Clipping of Gods ſcriptures by the Catholickes.

Linc. No M. Latimer, your talke is more like tauntes then railyng: but in that I haue not red the booke whiche you blame ſo much, nor know not of any ſuche, I can ſay nothyng therein.

The author of this boke Doctour Brookes, which there was in the commiſſion.

Lati. Yes my Lorde, the booke is open to be red, and is intituled to one which is biſhop of Gloceſter, whom I neuer knewe, neither did at anye tyme ſee hym to my knowledge. With that the people laughed, becauſe the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſat there in commiſſion.

Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſtoode vp, and ſaide it was his booke.

Lati. Was it yours my Lorde? In deede I knewe not your Lordſhip, neither euer did ſee you before, neither yet ſee you now, through the brightnes of ẏ ſunne ſhinyng betwixt you & me. Then the audience laughed again: and M. Latimer ſpake vnto them ſaiyng: Why my maiſters, this is no laughyng matter, I aunſwere vpon lyfe and death. Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.

The Biſhop of Lincolne commaunded ſilence, and then ſaid:

Linc. M. Latimer, if you had kepte you ſelfe within youre boundes, if you had not vſed ſuche ſcoffes and tauntes, this had not bene done.

Brookes B. of Gloceſter ſpeaketh.

After this the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſayd in excuſing of his booke.

Gloc. M. Latimer, hereby euery man maye ſee what learnyng you haue.

Then M. Latimer interrupted hym ſaiyng.

Lati. Lo, you looke for learning at my handes, which haue gone ſo longe to the ſchole of obliuion, makynge the bare walles my library, keepyng me ſo long in priſon without booke or penne and inke: and now you let me loſe to come and aunſwere to articles. You deale with me as though two were appointed to fight for life

th, and ouer night the one through frendes
ur is cheriſhed, and hath good counſell geuen
to encounter with his enimie. The other for
lacke of friendes, all the whole night is ſet in
es. In the mornyng when they ſhall meete, the
ſtrength and luſty: the other is ſtarke of hys
,and almoſte dead for feeblenes. Thinke you
runne through this man with a ſpeere is not a
ictory?

e Biſhop of Gloceſter interruptyng his aun-
roceeded, ſaying:

I went not about to recite anie place of Scrip-
that place of my booke: for then if I had not re-
faithfully, you might haue had iuſt occaſion of
nſion: but I only in that place formed an argu-
maiore, in this ſenſe: that if in the olde lawe the
es had power to decide matters of controuer-
ich more then ought the autoritie to be geuen to
gy in the new law: and I pray you in this point
uailleth the reherſall, ſecundum legem dei.

Yes my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge
y to bee geuen to the ſpiritualtie to decide mat-
eligion, and, as my Lord ſayd euen now, to rege-
hey muſte do it ſecundum verbum dei, and not
um voluntatem ſuam, accordyng to the woorde
y of God, and not after their owne will, after
une imaginations and fantaſies.

Biſhop of Gloceſter would haue ſpoken more,
that ẏ Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that they came
diſpute with M. Latimer, but to take his deter-
aunſweres to their articles, and ſo began to pro-
ſame articles which were propoſed to M. Rid-
t M. Latimer interrupted hym, ſpeaking to the
of Gloceſter: wel my Lord, I could wiſh more
l dealyng with Gods woorde, and not to leaue
rt, and ſnatche a part here and an other there,
ehearſe the whole faithfully.

the Biſhop of Lincolne not attendyng to this
of M. Latimer, proceeded in rehearſyng the ar-
n forme and ſenſe as I declared before in the
ation of the articles propoſed to Maſter Ryd-
d required Maſter Latimers aunſwere the firſt,
Maſter Latimer makyng his proteſtation, that
hſtandyng theſe his aunſwers it ſhould not bee
therby he would acknowledge any authoritye of
op of Rome, ſaying that he was the King and
their Maieſties ſubiect and not the Popes,
could ſerue two maſters at one tyme, except he
irſt renounce one of them: required the Nota-
to take his proteſtation, that what ſoeuer hee
ſaye or doe, it ſhould not be taken as though he
reby agree to any authoritie that came from the
p of Rome.

The Biſhop of Lincolne ſaied, that his prote-
ſhould be ſo taken: but he required hym to aun-
riefly affirmatiuely, or negatiuely to the firſt ar-
d ſo ricited the ſame againe: and Maſter Laty-
nſwered as followeth,

I do not denie (my Lorde) that in the Sacra-
ſpirite and grace is the very bodie and bloud
iſt, becauſe that euery man by receiuyng bodilie
ead and wine, ſpiritually receiueth the body and
of Chriſte, and is made partaker thereby of the
s of Chriſtes Paſſion: but I deny that the body
oud of Chriſte is in ſuch ſort in the Sacrament
would haue it.

Then Maſter Latimer, you aunſwere affir-
ly.

Yea, if you meane of that groſſe and carnall be-
hich you do take.

e Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirma-

What ſaie you Maſter Latimer to the ſeconde
e? and recited the ſame.

There is, my Lord, a chaunge in the bread and
and ſuche a chaunge as no power, but the omni-
cie of GOD can make, in that that which before
read, ſhoulde nowe haue that dignitie to exhibite
tes body, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the
ſtil wyne: for the chaunge is not in the nature, but
gnitie, becauſe nowe that whiche was common
ath the dignitie to exhibite Chriſtes bodye, for
it was common bread, it is now no more com-
ead, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy
ctified by Gods word.

h that the Biſhop of Lincolne ſmyled, ſaying:

Linc. Lo Maſter Latimer, ſee what ſtedfaſtnes is in your doctrine: That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſhe: for where as you moſte rayled at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Lati. Tuſh, a ruſhe for holy bread. I ſay the bread in the communion is an holy bread in deede.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne interrupted hym and ſayd.

Subſtance of bread and wine in the Sacrament vnchaged.

Linc. O, you make a difference betwene holy bread, and holy bread (with that the audience laughed). Well Maſter Latimer, is not this your aunſwere, that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine remaineth after the wordes of conſecration?

Difference betwene Chriſtes holy bred, and the Popes holy bread.

Lati. Yes verely, it muſt needes be ſo, for Chriſt hym ſelfe calleth it bread, Saint Paul calleth it bread, the Doctors confeſſeth the ſame, the nature of a ſacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I cal it holy bread, not in that I make no differẽce betwixt your holy bread and thys, but for the holye office whiche it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Chriſtes bodye, and not onelye a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

3. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Lati. No, No my Lord, Chriſte made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer hym againe, neither can the Prieſt offer vp Chriſte againe for the ſinnes of man, which he tooke awaie by offeryng him ſelfe once for all (as Saint Paule sayth) vppon the croſſe, neither is there anye propitiation for our ſinnes, ſauyng his croſſe onely.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

4. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the fourth Maſter Latymer? and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when Maſter Latimer aunſwered not, the Biſhoppe aſked hym whether he heard hym or no?

Lati. Yes, but I do not vnderſtand what you meane thereby.

Linc. Marye onelye this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by M. Doctor Weſton as hereſies: is it not ſo M. Latimer?

Lati. Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how vniuſtly, he that ſhall be iudge of all knoweth.

So the Notaries tooke his aunſwere, to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

5. Article

Linc. What ſaye you M. Latimer to the. v. article? and recited it.

Lati. I knowe not what you meane by theſe termes. I am no Lawier: I would you would propoſe ẏ matter plainly.

Linc. In that we procede accordyng to the law, wee muſte vſe their termes alſo. The meanyng onely is this, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, euil ſpoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouthes of the people.

Lati. I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I haue bene ſecluded a long tyme. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This aunſwere taken, the Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid:

M. Latymer aſſigned to appeare the next day agayne.

Linc. M. Latimer, wee meane not that theſe your aunſweres ſhalbe preiudiciall to you. To morowe you ſhall appeare before vs againe, and then it ſhalbe lawfull for you to alter & chaunge what you will. We giue you reſpite till to morow, truſtyng that after you haue pondered well all thinges againſt to morowe, you will not be aſhamed to confeſſe the truthe.

Lati. Now my Lorde I pray you geue mee licence in three wordes to declare the cauſes why I haue refuſed the authority of the Pope.

Linc. Nay M. Latimer, to morow you ſhall haue lycence to ſpeake. xl. wordes.

Lati. Nay my Lordes, I beſeech you to doe with mee now as it ſhal pleaſe your lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow againe.

Linc. Yes M. Latimer, you muſt needes appeare againe to morow

Lati. Truely my Lord, as for my part I require no reſpite, for I am at a point: you ſhall geue mee reſpite in vaine: Therefore I pray you let not me trouble you to morow.

Linc. Yes, for wee truſt God will worke with you againſt to morrow. There is no remedy, you muſte neewhich all the Realme confeſſeth, to forſake that which the king and Queene their Maieſties haue renounced, and all the realme recanted: it was a common errour, & it is now of all confeſſed: it ſhall bee no more ſhame to you, then it was to vs all. Conſider M. Latimer, that within theſe. xx. yeares this Realme alſo with all the worlde confeſſed on church, acknowledged in Chriſtes church an head, and by what meanes and for what occaſion it cut of it ſelfe from the reſt of Chriſtianitie, it renounced that which in all tymes and ages was confeſſed, it is well knowen, and might be now declared vpon what good foundation the ſea of Rome was forſaken, ſaue that wee muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſall would be approbrious: it is no vſurped power as it hath bene termed, but founded vpō Peter by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by diuers places as well of the auncient fathers as the expreſſe word of God, may be proued.

What the firſt occaſion of this was, and what were the manifold miſdemeanours of ẏ Pope, read before pag. 1046. 1047. 1243.

How you ſpared the dead, your owne actes can beare witnes.

The Popes authoritie.

With that M. Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hande, began ſomewhat to remoue his cap and kerchef from his eares.

The Biſhop proceeded ſaiyng: for Chriſt ſpake expreſlye to Peter ſaiyng, paſce oues meas, & rege oues meas, the which word doth not onely declare a certaine riſlyng of Chriſtes flocke, but includeth alſo a certayne preeminence and gouernment, and therfore is the king called Rex à regendo: ſo that in ſaiyng rege, Chriſt declared a power whiche he gaue to Peter, whiche iuriſdiction & power Peter by hand deliuered to Clement, and ſo in all ages hath it remained in the ſea of Rome. This if you ſhall confeſſe with vs, and acknowledge with all the realme your errours and falſe aſſertions, then ſhall you doe that whiche we moſt deſire, then ſhal we reſt vpon the firſt part of our commiſſion, then ſhall wee receiue you, acknowledge you one of the churche, and accordyng to the authoritie geuen to vs, miniſter vnto you vpon due repentaunce, the benefite of abſolution, to the which the King and the Queene their Maieſties were not aſhamed to ſubmit them ſelues, although they of them ſelues were vnſpotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation, yet leſte the putrifaction and rottenneſſe of all the body might bee noyſome, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſaid) moſt humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to my Lorde Cardinall hys grace, by hym, as Legate to the Popes holynes, to bee partakers of the reconciliation: but if you ſhall ſtubburnlye perſeuer in your blindnes, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you as you ſtand now alone, will be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſme and hereſie you will ſtill diuide your ſelfe from our Church, then muſte we procede to the ſeconde part of the commiſſion, whiche we would be loth to doe, that is, not to condemne you, for that we can not doe (that the temporall ſworde of the realme, and *not wee will doe) but to ſeparate you from vs, to acknowledge you to bee none of vs, to renounce you as no member of the churche, to declare that you are filius perditionis, a loſte childe, and as you are a rotten member of the church, ſo to cut you of from the church, and ſo to commit you to the temporall Iudges, permittyng them to procede againſt you, accordyng to the tenor of their lawes.

ποιμαίνειν, ſignifieth to feede or to rule.

Benefite of the Popes abſolution offered to M. Latymer.

* Qui tradiderunt me tibi maius peccatum habent, ſayth Chriſt.

Therfore M. Latimer, for Gods loue conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you haue taken degrees in the ſchole, borne the office of a Biſhop, remember you are an old man, ſpare your bodye, accelerate not your death, & eſpecially remember your ſoules health, quiet of your conſcience, conſider that if you ſhould dye in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God: for it is the cauſe that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you dye in this ſtate, you dye without grace, for without the Churche can bee no ſaluation. Let not vayne glory haue the vpper hande, humiliate your ſelfe, captiuate your vnderſtandyng, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the churche, doe not force vs to doe all that we may doe, let vs reſt in that part which we moſt hartely deſire, and I, for my part (then the Biſhop put of his cap) againe with all my hart exhort you.

Perſuaſions vſed to M. Latymer to returne to the vnity of the Popes church.

Reaſons to perſwade the fleſh, but not to ſatiſfy conſcience.

After the Biſhop had ſomwhat pauſed, then maiſter Latimer lift vp his head (for before hee leaned on hys elbowe) and aſked whether his Lordſhip had ſaid: and the biſhop aunſwered yea.

Lati. Then will your Lordſhippe geue mee leaue to ſpeake a word or two?

Linc. Yea M. Latimer, ſo that you vſe a modeſt kind of talke, without railyng or tauntes.

Lati. I beſech your lordſhip, licence me to ſ
Linc. At your pleaſure M. Latimer, take a
caſe as you will.
Lati. Your Lordſhippe gentlye exhorted me t
wordes, to come to the vnitie of the churche. I
(my Lord) a catholike Churche, ſpread through
the worlde, in the whiche no man may erre, with
whiche vnitie of the church no man can be ſau
knowe perfectly by Gods worde that this chu
all the worlde, and hath not his foundation in
onely, as you ſay, & me thought your Lordſhip b
a place out of the Scriptures to confirme th
that there was a iuriſdiction geuen to Peter
Chriſte bad hym regere, gouerne his people. I
my Lorde, S. Peter did well and truelye his
that he was bid regere: but ſince the Biſhops o
haue taken a newe kynd of regere. In deede th
to regere, but how my Lord? not as they will
ues: but this regere muſt be hedged in, and di
They muſt regere, but ſecundum verbum dei: t
rule, but accordyng to the word of God.
But the Biſhops of Rome haue turned rege
dum verbum dei, into regere ſecundum volunta
they haue turned the rule accordyng to the w
God into the rule accordyng to their owne p
and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a boke
whiche hath diuers pointes in it, and amonge
this poynt is one, whiche your Lordſhip went
proue by this word regere, and the argument
bringeth forthe for the proofe of that matter,
out of Deuteronomie, where it is ſaid: if there
ny controuerſie emong the people, the Prieſt
ci generis, of the order of Leuiticus ſhal decide
ter ſecundum legem dei, accordyng to the law
ſo it muſte be taken. This booke perceiuyng
thoritie to be geuen to the Prieſtes of the old
keth occaſion to proue the ſame to be geuen t
ſhops and other the Clergy of the new law: bu
uyng this matter, where as it was ſaide there
Prieſtes of the order of Leuiticus ſhould deter
matter accordyng to gods law, that (accordyng
law) is left out, and onely is recited: as the P
the order of Leuiticus ſhal decide the matter, ſ
to bee taken of the people: a large authoritie
you. What geldyng of Scripture is this? w
pyng of Gods coyne? With the whiche term
dience ſmiled. This is much like the regere w
Lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay my Lords, we
geue ſuch authoritie to the Clergie, to rule a
as they will. Let them keepe themſelues wi
commiſſion. Now I truſt my Lord, I do not
Linc. No M. Latimer, your talke is more l
tes then railyng: but in that I haue not red
whiche you blame ſo much, nor know not of
I can ſay nothyng therein.
Lati. Yes my Lorde, the booke is open to b
is intituled to one which is biſhop of Gloceſt
I neuer knewe, neither did at anye tyme ſee
knowledge. With that the people laughed, b
Biſhop of Gloceſter ſat there in commiſſion
Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſtoode vp,
it was his booke.
Lati. Was it yours my Lorde? In deede
not your Lordſhip, neither euer did ſee you b
ther yet ſee you now, through the brightnes
ſhinyng betwixt you & me. Then the audien
again: and M. Latimer ſpake vnto them ſai
my maiſters, this is no laughyng matter, I
vpon lyfe and death. Væ vobis qui ridetis nu
niam flebitis.
The Biſhop of Lincolne commaunded ſi
then ſaid:
Linc. M. Latimer, if you had kepte you ſe
youre boundes, if you had not vſed ſuche ſ
tauntes, this had not bene done.
After this the Biſhop of Gloceſter ſayd i
of his booke.
Gloc. M. Latimer, hereby euery man may
learnyng you haue.
Then M. Latimer interrupted hym ſayn
Lati. Lo, you looke for learning at my ha
haue gone ſo longe to the ſchole of obliuion
the bare walles my library, keepyng me ſo
ſon without booke or penne and inke: and
me loſe to come and aunſwere to articles
with me as though two were appointed to ſig

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The Catholickes how vnreaſonable they are in their vſing of men.

and death, and ouer night the one through frendes and fauour is cheriſhed, and hath good counſell geuen hym how to encounter with his enimie. The other for enuye or lacke of friendes, all the whole night is ſet in the ſtockes. In the mornyng when they ſhall meete, the one is in ſtrength and luſty: the other is ſtarke of hys limmes, and almoſte dead for feebleneſſe. Thinke you that to runne through this man with a ſpeere is not a goodly victory?

But the Biſhop of Gloceſter interruptyng his aunſwere proceeded, ſaying:

The Catholickes alleage the ſcriptures, but take not all.

Glo. I went not about to recite anie place of Scripture in that place of my booke: for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might haue had iuſt occaſion of reprehenſion: but I only in that place formed an argument à maiore, in this ſenſe: that if in the olde lawe the Prieſtes had power to decide matters of controuerſies, much more then ought the autoritie to be geuen to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what auaileth the reherſall, ſecundum legem dei.

Lati. Yes my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge autority to bee geuen to the ſpiritualtie to decide matter of religion, and, as my Lord ſayd euen now, to regere: but they muſte do it ſecundum verbum dei, and not ſecundum voluntatem ſuam, accordyng to the woorde and law of God, and not after their owne will, after their owne imaginations and fantaſies.

The Biſhop of Gloceſter would haue ſpoken more, ſauyng that yͤ Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate aunſweres to their articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame articles which were propoſed to M. Ridley. But M. Latimer interrupted hym, ſpeakyng to the Biſhop of Gloceſter: wel my Lord, I could wiſh more faithfull dealyng with Gods woorde, and not to leaue out a part, and ſnatche a part here and an other there, but to rehearſe the whole faithfully.

The proteſtation of M. Latymer.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne not attendyng to this ſaiyng of M. Latimer, proceeded in rehearſyng the articles in forme and ſenſe as I declared before in the examination of the articles propoſed to Maſter Rydley, and required Maſter Latimers aunſwere the firſt, Then Maſter Latimer makyng his proteſtation, that notwithſtandyng theſe his aunſwers it ſhould not bee taken yͭ therby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, ſaiyng that he was the King and Queene their Maieſties ſubiect and not the Popes, neither could ſerue two maſters at one tyme, except he ſhould firſt renounce one of them: required the Notaries ſo to take his proteſtation, that what ſoeuer hee ſhould ſaye or doe, it ſhould not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the Biſhop of Rome.

1. Article.

Linc. The Biſhop of Lincolne ſaied, that his proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken: but he required hym to aunſwere briefly affirmatiuely, or negatiuely to the firſt article, and ſo ricited the ſame agayne: and Maſter Latymer aunſwered as followeth,

The body of Chriſt in the Sacrament receaued by ſpirite and grace.

Lati. I do not denie (my Lorde) that in the Sacrament by ſpirite and grace is the very bodie and bloud of Chriſt, becauſe that euery man by receiuyng bodilie that bread and wine, ſpiritually receiueth the body and bloud of Chriſte, and is made partaker thereby of the merites of Chriſtes Paſſion: but I deny that the body and bloud of Chriſte is in ſuch ſort in the Sacrament as you would haue it.

Linc. Then Maſter Latimer, you aunſwere affirmatiuely.

M. Latymer agaynſt the groſſe and carnall beyng of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Lati. Yea, if you meane of that groſſe and carnall beyng, which you do take.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

Linc. What ſaie you Maſter Latimer to the ſeconde article? and recited the ſame.

2. Article. What change is in the bread and wine in the Sacrament, not in the nature but in the dignitie of repreſenting.

Lati. There is, my Lord, a chaunge in the bread and wyne, and ſuche a chaunge as no power, but the omnipotencie of GOD can make, in that that which before was bread, ſhoulde nowe haue that dignitie to exhibite Chriſtes body, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the wyne ſtil wyne: for the chaunge is not in the nature, but in the dignitie, becauſe nowe that whiche was common bread hath the dignitie to exhibite Chriſtes bodye, for wher as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy bread ſanctified by Gods word.

With that the Biſhop of Lincolne ſmyled, ſaying:

Linc. Lo Maſter Latimer, ſee what ſtedfaſtnes is in your doctrine! That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſhe: for where as you moſte rayled at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread,

Lati. Tuſh, a ruſhe for holy bread. I ſay the bread in the communion is an holy bread in deede.

But the Biſhop of Lincolne interrupted hym and ſayd.

Subſtance of bread and wine in the Sacrament vnchaunged.

Linc. O, you make a difference betwene holy bread, and holy bread (with that the audience laughed). Well Maſter Latimer, is not this your aunſwere, that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine remaineth after the wordes of conſecration?

Difference betwene Chriſtes holy bread, and the Popes holy bread.

Lati. Yes verely, it muſt needes be ſo, for Chriſt hym ſelfe calleth it bread, Saint Paul calleth it bread, the Doctors confeſſeth the ſame, the nature of a ſacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I cal it holy bread, not in that I make no differẽce betwixt your holy bread and thys, but for the holye office whiche it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Chriſtes bodye, and not onelye a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

3. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Lati. No, No my Lord, Chriſte made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer hym agayne, neither can the Prieſt offer vp Chriſte agayne for the ſinnes of man, which he tooke awaie by offeryng him ſelfe once for all (as Saint Paule ſayth) vppon the croſſe, neither is there anye propitiation for our ſinnes, ſauyng his croſſe onely.

So the Notaries penned his aunſwere to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

4. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the fourth Maſter Latymer? and recited it. After the recitall whereof, when Maſter Latimer aunſwered not, the Biſhoppe aſked hym whether he heard hym or no?

Lati. Yes, but I do not vnderſtand what you meane thereby.

Linc. Marye onelye this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by M. Doctor Weſton as hereſies: is it not ſo M. Latimer?

Lati. Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how vniuſtly, he that ſhall be iudge of all knoweth.

So the Notaries tooke his aunſwere, to this article alſo to be affirmatiuely.

5. Article.

Linc. What ſaye you M. Latimer to the. v. article? and recited it.

Lati. I knowe not what you meane by theſe termes. I am no Lawier: I would you would propoſe yͤ matter plainly.

Linc. In that we procede accordyng to the law, wee muſte vſe their termes alſo. The meanyng onely is this, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, euil ſpoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouthes of the people.

Lati. I cannot tell how much nor what men talke of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I haue bene ſecluded a long tyme. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This aunſwere taken, the Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid:

M. Latymer aſſigned to appeare the next day agayne.

Linc. M. Latimer, wee meane not that theſe your aunſweres ſhalbe preiudiciall to you. To morowe you ſhall appeare before vs againe, and then it ſhalbe lawfull for you to alter & chaunge what you will. We giue you reſpite till to morow, truſtyng that after you haue pondered well all thinges againſt to morowe, you will not be aſhamed to confeſſe the truthe.

Lati. Now my Lorde I pray you geue mee licence in three wordes to declare the cauſes why I haue refuſed the authoritie of the Pope.

Linc. Nay M. Latimer, to morow you ſhall haue licence to ſpeake. xl. wordes.

Lati. Nay my Lordes, I beſeech you to doe with mee now as it ſhal pleaſe your lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow againe.

Linc. Yes M. Latimer, you muſt needes appeare agayne to morow

Lati. Truely my Lord, as for my part I require no reſpite, for I am at a point: you ſhall geue mee reſpite in vaine: Therefore I pray you let not mee trouble you to morow.

Linc. Yes, for wee truſt God will worke with you againſt to morrow. There is no remedy, you muſte nee-

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des appeare againe to morrowe at eight of the Clocke in S.Maries Churche. And forthwith the Biſhoppe charged the Maior with M. Latymer, and diſmiſſed hym, and then brake vp their Seſſion for that daye, about one of the clocke at after noone.

¶Here foloweth the ſecond Seſſion.

The next dayes Seſſion. October. 1.

THe next day followyng (whiche was the firſt daye of October) ſomwhat after eight of the clocke, the ſaid Lordes repayred to S.Maries Church, and after thei were ſet in a high throne well trimmed with clothe of tiſſewe and ſilke, then appeared M. Ridley, who was ſet at a framed table a good ſpace frõ the biſhops feete, which table had a ſilke cloth caſt ouer it, ẏ which place was compaſſed about with framed ſeates in quadrate forme, partlye for Gentlemen whiche repaired thether, (for this was the Seſſion day alſo of Gaile deliuery) and heades of the Uniuerſity to ſit, and partly to kepe of the preaſſe of the audience: for the whole bodye as well of the Uniuerſitie as of the towne, came thether to ſee the end of theſe two perſons. After M. Ridleys appearaunce, and the ſilence of the audience, the Biſhop of Lincolne ſpake in maner followyng.

D. Ridleys appearance before the deputies.

The wordes of W. White B. of Lincolne, to D. Ridley about his cap.

Linc. M. Ridley, yeſterday when that we challenged you for not vncoueryng your head, you excuſed your ſelfe of that whereof no man accuſed you, in ſaiyng you did not put on your cap for anie obſtinacie toward vs, which as touchyng our owne perſons deſired no ſuche obedience of you, but onely in reſpect of thẽ whoſe perſons we beare: neither (you ſayd) for any contempt that you beare to this worſhipful audience, which although iuſtly maie, yet in this caſe require no ſuch humilitie of you: neither for any derogation of honour to my Lorde Cardinalls grace, in that he deſcendeth from the regal bloud, in that he is a man moſte noble, both for his excellẽt qualities and ſingular learnyng: for as touchyng theſe pointes, you ſaied you with all humilitie woulde honour, reuerence and worſhip his grace: but in that he is Legate to the moſt reuerent father in God the Popes holines (with that the Biſhop with all then preſent put of their caps, but M. Ridley moued not his) you ſaid you ne could ne would by anie meanes be induced to giue hym honor: but for as much as this is the point as we told you yeſterdaye, why we require honour and reuerence of you, we tell you nowe as wee did then, except you take the paynes to moue your bonet, we will take ẏ paines to cauſe your bonet to be taken frõ you, except you pretend ſicknes, as yeſterday you did not.

Capping again at the namyng of the Pope.

D. Ridley refuſeth to put of his cap to the Pope or to thẽ which come frõ the Pope.

Rid. I pretende nowe none other cauſe, then I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby It may appere that not onely in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behauiour, in no point I agree or admit any authoritie or power that ſhall come from the Pope, and nor for anie pride of minde (as God is my iudge) neither for contempt of your Lordſhips, or of this worſhipfull audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lorde Cardinals Grace as concernynge thoſe pointes whiche your Lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble parentage and ſingular graces in learnyng: And as for takyng my cap awaie, your lordſhip maie doe as it ſhall pleaſe you: it ſhall not offende mee, but I ſhalbe content with your ordinaunce in that behalfe.

Linc. For as muche as you do aunſwere now as you did yeſterday, we muſt doe alſo as we did then, & forthwith one of the Bedles very haſtely ſnatched his cappe from his head.

¶After this the Biſhop of Lyncolne began the examination in ſenſe folowyng.

The laſt examination of Biſhop Ridley.

The wordes of the B. of Lincolne.

Linc. M. Ridley, yeſterday wee tooke your aunſwere to certaine Articles, which we then propoſed vnto you: but becauſe that wee could not bee throughly ſatiſfied with your aunſwere then to the firſte Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate aunſwere of you, we (you requiryng the ſame) graunted you licence to bring your aunſwere in writyng, and therupon commaunded the Maior that you ſhould haue penne, paper and inke, yea any bokes alſo that you would require, if they were to bee gotten: wee licenced you then alſo to alter your former aũſweres this day at your pleaſure: Therefore we are come now hether to ſee whether you are in the ſame mind now that you were in yeſterdaie, (whiche we would not wiſh) or contrarye, contented to reuoke all your former aſſertions, and in al pointes cõtent to ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the vniuerſall Churche; and I for my part moſte earneſtly exhorte you (and therewith he put of his cappe) not becauſe my conſcience pricketh me as you ſaid yeſterday, but becauſe I ſee you a rotten member and in the waie of perdition.

Yeſterday I brought forth amongeſt other, S. Auſten, to proue that authoritie hath alwaies bene geuen to the ſea of Rome, and you wreſted the wordes farre contrary to S. Auſtens meanyng, in that you woulde haue totus mundus to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, where as in deede the proceſſe of S. Auguſtines wordes will not admit that your interpretation. For he ſaith not totus mundus Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis &c. but firſt, totus mundus Chriſtianus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubiectus eſt: All the Chriſtian worlde is ſubiecte to the Churche of Rome, and afterwarde addeth in tranſmarinis partibus, beyond the Sea, but onely to augment the dominion of the ſea of Rome.

The place of Saint Auſten again repeated, Totus mundus.&c.

Rid. But M. Ridley ſtill perſeuered in his former aunſwere, ſaiyng: I am ſure my Lorde you haue ſome ſkill in Coſmography, in the whiche you ſhall vnderſtand that there is a ſea called mare mediterraneũ, caſt betwene Europe and Africa, in the which he ment Europe beyond the Sea, euen as I ſhoulde ſaie the whole world beyond the Sea, exceptyng England in ẏ which I ſtand: and here many wordes were ſpent vppon the interpretation of the ſame place of S. Auſten.

Anſwere of D. Ridley to the place of Saint Auſten as before.

Linc. After long diſceptation, the Biſhoppe of Lyncolne ſaid, that the meaning of S. Auguſtine might be knowen by the conſent of other of the Doctours, and rehearſed diuers.

But M. Ridley required the rehearſall of the places, and to reade the verie wordes of the Doctours, ſaiyng that perhaps thoſe which the Biſhop rehearſed, beyng proponed in other termes in the Doctours, would admit a contrarie meanyng and interpretation: but in that booke out of the which the biſhop rehearſed them, was none of the Doctours, but onely of the ſentences drawen out of the Doctours of ſome ſtudious man: hee could not recite the verie wordes of the Doctours.

How the Catholiches vſe to alledge ẏ Doctors.

Linc. Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he ſaid) made againſt M. Ridley in the Sacrament, euen by Philippe Melancthon his owne alledgyng in his common places, and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vayne, becauſe all ſuche bookes were burned a little before, wherefore he paſſed it ouer.

A place of Cyrillus alledged by Melãcthon.

Scripture bookes burned at Oxford.

Cyrillus alſo in an other place prouing to ẏ Iewes that Chriſt was come, vſeth this reaſon * Altars are erected in Chriſtes name in Britaine and in farre countreyes: Ergo, Chriſt is come. But we maye vſe the contrary of that reaſon: Altars are plucked down in Britaine: Ergo, Chriſte is not come. A good Argument à contrarijs: I will ſtand to it in the ſcholes by & by with any man. Ye ſee what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Iewes, to proue that Chriſte is not come.

* Argumentũ à contrario ſenſu ex Cyrillo contra Iudæos.

Altars be erected in Chriſtes remembrance in Britaine:
Ergo, Chriſt is come.
Altars be now plucked downe in Brytaine:
Ergo, Chriſt is not come.

Aunſwere.

This argument is not à ſenſu contrario. For erecting of altars in the antecedent, and pluckyng downe altars in the conſequent, be not contrary. In the antecedent Cyril meaneth the table, or els the celebration of the Lordes ſupper in his remembraunce.

In the conſequent by plucking doune of altars, is ment the takyng away of places & monumentes, ſeruyng not to the Lordes Supper, but to Idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lordes Supper in his remembraunce may be erected agayne.

D. Ridley ſmilynge, aunſwered: your Lordſhip is not ignoraunt that this word altare in ſcripture ſignifieth aſwel the altar whereupon ẏ Iewes were wõt to make their burnt ſacrifices, as the table of the Lordes Supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by thys worde altare, not that Iewiſh altar, but the table of the lord, and by that ſaiyng (altars are erected in Chriſtes name, Ergo Chriſt is come) he meaneth that the Communion is miniſtred in his remembraunce, Ergo Chriſt is come: for the ſtrength of his Argument is, becauſe the remembraunce of a thyng can not be except the thing it ſelfe be paſte: then could not all countreys celebrate the Cõmunion in the remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion, except Chriſt had bene come and ſuffred. As for the takyng doune of the altars, it was done vpon iuſt conſiderations, for that they ſeemed to come to nigh to the Iewes vſage. Neither was the Supper of the Lorde at any time more better miniſtred, more duely receiued, then in theſe latter daies whẽ al thinges were brought to the rites and vſage of the primatiue Church.

Linc. A godly receiuyng I promiſe you, to ſet an oyſter table in ſtede of an alter, and to come from Pud-

B. White blaſphemouſly calleth ẏ bord of ẏ Lordes ſupper, an Oyſter table.

dynges at Weſtminſter, to receiue: and yet when your table was conſtituted, you could neuer be content, in placyng yͤ ſame nowe Eaſt, now North, now one way, now an other, vntill it pleaſed God of his goodnes to place it cleane out of the Church.

Rid. Your Lordſhips vnreuerent termes do not eleuate the thing. Perhaps ſome mē came more deuoutlie from puddings thē other mē now do frō other things.

Linc. As for that, M. Ridley, you ought to be iudge of no man: but by this your reaſonyng you cauſe vs to ſtretch and enlarge our inſtructions. Wee came not to reaſon, but to take your determinate aunſweres to our Articles: and eftſoones he red the firſte Article in maner aboue ſpecified.

The Articles red againe to M. Ridley.

Now M. Ridley, what ſaie you to the firſt Article? if you haue brought your aunſwere in writyng, wee will receiue it: but if you haue written any other matter, we will not receiue it.

Rid. Then M. Ridley tooke a ſheete of paper out of his boſome, and began to read that which he had written: but the B. of Lincolne commaunded the Bedle to take it from hym. But he deſired licence to read it, ſaying that it was nothing but his aunſwere, but the Biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer hym.

B. Ridley not ſuffered to read his owne aunſwere.

Rid. Why my Lord, will you require myne aunſwer, and not ſuffer mee to publiſhe it? I beſeeche you my Lordes, let the audience beare witnes in this matter. Your Lordſhips may handle it at your pleaſures: therfore let the audience be witnes to your doynges.

Note extreme dealing of theſe catholike men.

Linc. Well M. Ridley, wee will firſte ſee what you haue written, and then if we ſhall thinke it good to bee red, you ſhall haue it publiſhed: but except you will deliuer it firſt, we will take none at all of you.

With that M. Ridley ſeyng no remedy, deliuered it to an Officer, which immediatly deliuered it to the Biſhop of Lincolne, who after hee had ſecretly communicated it to the other two biſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not reade it as it was written, ſaying, that it cōteined wordes of blaſphemie: therefore he would not fill the eares of the audience therwithall and ſo abuſe their pacience: notwithſtanding M. Ridley deſired very inſtantly to haue it publiſhed, ſaiyng that except a line or two, there was nothing conteined but the aunciēt Doctors ſaiynges for the confirmation of his aſſertions.

The deputies durſt not read out the writing of Biſhop Ridley.

After the ſaid Biſhops had ſecretly vewed yͤ whole, then the Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid: In the firſt part M. Ridley, is nothyng contained but youre proteſtation, that you would not haue theſe your aunſweres ſo to be taken, as though you ſeemed thereby to conſent to the authoritie or iuriſdiction of the Popes holines.

Rid. No my Lorde, I praie you reade it out that the audience may heare it: but the Biſhoppe of Lincolne would in no wiſe, becauſe (he ſaid) there were conteined wordes of blaſphemy.

Then the Biſhop of Lincolne recited the firſte Article, and required M. Ridleys aunſwere to it. Then M. Ridley ſaid, that his aūſwere was there in writing, and deſired that it might be publiſhed: but the Biſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the Notaries tooke his aunſwere, that he referred him to his aunſwere in writyng exhibited now, and alſo before at the tyme of diſputation, M. Doct. Weſton beyng prolocutor.

To the firſt Article.

In likewiſe the Biſhop of Lincolne recited the ſecond article, and required an aunſwere, and M. Ridley referred him to his aunſwer in writing, exhibyted now, and alſo before at the tyme of diſputatiō: and like aunſweres were taken to all the reſidue of the articles.

To the ſecond Article.

Theſe aunſweres in maner rehearſed, taken, and penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of Gloceſter begā an exhortation to moue M. Ridley to turne.

Glo. If you would once empty your ſtomacke, captiuate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with vs conſider what a feble ground of your religion you haue, I do not doubt but you might eaſely be perduced to acknowledge one Church with vs, to confeſſe one faith with vs, and to beleue one religion with vs. For what a weake and feble ſtay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the ſingularitie of his owne witte: ſo that if you ouerthrowe the ſingularitie of Ridleys witte, then muſt nedes the Religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall alſo. You remember well M. Ridley, that the Prophet ſpeaketh moſte truely, ſaying: væ, væ, wo, wo bee to them whiche are ſingular and wiſe in their owne conceytes,

The wordes of exhortation of Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter to M. Ridley.

But you will ſaie, how it is true that the Prophet ſaith: but how know you that I am wiſe in myne owne conceit? Yes M. Ridley, you refuſe the determination of the catholike Churche: you muſte needes be ſingular and wiſe in youre owne conceite, for you bring ſcripture for the probation of your aſſertions, and wee alſo bring Scriptures: you vnderſtande them in one ſenſe, and wee in an other. Howe will you knowe the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then are you ſingular in your owne conceit: but if you ſay ye will folowe the mindes of the Doctors and aunciēt fathers, ſemblably you vnderſtande them in one meanyng, and wee take them in an other: howe will ye knowe the trueth herein? If you ſtande to your owne iudgemēt, then are you ſingular in your owne conceit, then can not you auoide the væ and wo which the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

B. Ridley vntruely charged with ſingularitie.

Wherefore, if you haue no ſtaie but the catholicke churche in matters of controuerſie, except you will reſt vpon the ſingularitie and wiſdom of your owne brain, if the Prophet moſt truely ſaieth, Væ, væ, wo, wo bee to them that are wiſe in their owne conceite: then for gods loue M. Ridley ſtand not ſingular, be not you wiſe in your owne concietes, pleaſe not your ſelfe ouermuche. Howe were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Eutichians, with other diuers Herętickes whiche haue bene in the church, how I pray you were they ſuppreſſed and conuinced? by reaſonyng in diſputations? No truely, the Arrians had mo places of Scriptures for the confirmation of their hereſie, then the Catholickes for the defence of the truthe. Howe then were they conuinced? onelye by the determination of the Churche. And in deede except we do conſtitute the church our foundation, ſtay, and Iudge, we can haue no end of controuerſies, no ende of diſputations. For in that we all bring ſcriptures and Doctors for the probation of our aſſertions, who ſhould be iudge of this our controuerſie? If we our ſelues, then be we ſingular & wiſe in our owne conceites, then can not we auoide the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

The determination of the church is onely that, whereupon our catholicke men doe groūd their faith.

It remaineth therefore that we ſubmitte our ſelues to the determination and arbitrement of the Churche, with whom God promiſed to remaine to the worldes end, to whom he promiſed to ſend the holy ghoſt which ſhould teache it the truth. Wherfore M. Ridley, if you will auoid the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of, be not you wiſe in your iudgement: if you will not be wiſe and ſingular in your owne iudgement, captiuate your owne vnderſtandyng, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmit youre ſelfe to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the ſumme of the Oration of the biſhop of Gloceſter, by the whiche he endeuored in many mo wordes, amplifiyng and enlargyng the matter eloquently with ſundry pointes of Rhetorick, to moue affections, to perſwade maſter Ridley to recant and forſake his religion.

To whom M. Ridley aunſwered in few wordes, that he ſaid moſt truly with yͤ Prophet, wo be to him which is wiſe in his owne conceit, but that he acknowledged no ſuch ſingularitie in him, ne knewe any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to him ſelf. And where as he ſaid Maiſter Cranmer leaned to hym, that was moſte vntrue, in that he was but a yong ſcholer in compariſon of Maiſter Cranmer. For at what time he was a yong ſcholer, then M. Cranmer a Doctor, ſo that hee confeſſed that M. Cranmer might haue bene his ſcholemaſter theſe many yeres. It ſeemed that hee would haue ſpoken more, but the Biſhop of Gloceſter interrupted hym, ſaying.

A briefe aunſwere of B. Ridley to B. Brokes tale.

Glo. Why M. Ridley, it is your owne confeſſion, for M. Latimer at the tyme of diſputations confeſſed hym learnyng to lye in M. Cranmers bookes, and Maiſter Cranmer alſo ſaid that it was your doyng.

Linc. Likewiſe the Biſhop of Lincolne with manie wordes and gentle, holdyng his cap in hand, deſired him to turne. But M. Ridley made an abſolute aunſwere, that he was fully perſwaded, the religion which he defended to be grounded vpon Gods word, and therfore without great offence towardes God, great perill and damage of his ſoule, hee coulde not forſake his maſter and Lord God, but deſired the biſhop to performe his graunt in that his Lordſhip ſayed the day before, that he ſhould haue licence to ſhewe the cauſe why he coulde not with a ſafe conſcience admit the authoritye of the Pope: but the Biſhop of Lincolne ſaid, that where as then he had demaunded licence to ſpeake three wordes,

Biſhop Ridley could not for his conſcience yeld to the Popes doctrine.

Anno.1555. October.

he was contented then that hee ſhoulde ſpeake. xl. and that graunt he would performe.

D. Weſton ſhooteth his bolt.

Then ſtepped forth D.Weſton, which ſat by & ſaid: why my Lord he hath ſpoken fower hundred already.

B. Ridley limited no more but 40. wordes to ſpeake.

Note reader the extreme dealyng of the Papiſtes.

M.Ridley confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed number, neither of that matter. The biſhop of Lincolne bad hym take his licence: but hee ſhoulde ſpeake but.xl.and he would tel them vpon his fingers, and eftſoones M.Ridley began to ſpeake: but before he had ended halfe a ſentence, the Doctours ſittyng by cried and ſaid, that his number was out, and with that he was put to ſilence.

After this the Biſhop of Lincolne whiche ſat in the middes, began to ſpeake as foloweth.

Linc. Now I perceiue M.Ridley, you will not permit ne ſuffer vs to ſtaie in that point of our Commiſſiō which we moſt deſired: for I enſure you, there is neuer a worde in our commiſſion more true then, dolentes & gemētes. For in dede I for my part, I take god to witnes, am ſory for you. Wherunto M.Ridley anſwered:

Rid. I beleue it well my Lorde, for as muche as one day it will be burdenous to your ſoule.

Sentence of condemnation red againſt B. Ridley.

The effect of the condemnation: Whereof read the tenour before pa.1417.

Linc. Nay not ſo M.Ridley, but becauſe I am ſory to ſee ſuche ſtubbornes in you, that by no meanes you may be perſuaded to acknowledge your errours, and receiue the truth: but ſeyng it is ſo, becauſe you wil not ſuffer vs to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of neceſſitie procede to the other part of our Commiſſion. Therfore I pray you harken what I ſhal ſay, & forthwith did read the ſentence of condemnation, whiche was written in a long proceſſe: the tenour of whiche becauſe it is ſufficiently already expreſſed before, pag.1417. wee thought meete in this place to omit, for aſmuche as they are rather wordes of courſe, then thinges deuiſed vpon deliberation. Howbeit in deede the effecte was, that for as muche as the ſaied Nic.Ridley did affirme, maintaine, and ſtubbornely defend certaine opinions, aſſertions and hereſſes, contrary to the word of God, and the receiued faith of the Churche, as in denying the true and naturall bodie of Chriſte, and his naturall bloud to be the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondarily in affirming the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine to remaine after the wordes of the conſecration: Thirdly in denyng the Maſſe to bee a liuelye Sacrifice of the Churche for the quicke and the dead, and by no meanes would bee perduced and brought from theſe his hereſſes, they therefore the ſaid Iohn of Lyncolne, Iames of Gloceſter, Ihon of Briſtowe, did iudge and condemne the ſayde Nic.Ridley as an Hereticke, and ſo adiudged him preſently both by worde and alſo in deede to be degraduated from the degree of a Biſhop, from Prieſthode and all Eccleſiaſticall order: declaryng moreouer the ſayd Nic.Ridley to be no member of the Church, and therefore committed hym to the ſecular powers, of them to receiue due puniſhment accordyng to the tenour of the temporall lawes: and further excommunicatyng hym by the great excommunication.

¶The laſt appearaunce and examination of M.Latymer before the Commiſſioners.

The laſt appearaunce and examination of M.Latymer before the Commiſſioners.

This ſentence beyng publiſhed by the Biſhop of Lincolne, M.Ridley was committed as a priſoner to the Maior, and immediatly M.Latimer was ſent for: but in the meane ſeaſon the Carpet or cloth which lay vpō the table, whereat M.Ridley ſtode, was remoued, becauſe (as men reported) M.Latymer had neuer the degree of a Doctor as M.Ridley had. But eftſones as M.Latymer appeared as he did the day before, perceiuyng no cloth vpon the table, laid his hat, whiche was an olde felt, vnder his elbowes, and immediatly ſpake to the Commiſſioners, ſaiyng:

Lati. My Lordes, I beſeech your Lordſhips to ſet a better order here at your entraunce: for I am an olde man and haue a verye euill backe, ſo that the preſſe of the multitude doth me much harme.

Linc. I am ſory M.Latimer for your hurte. At your departure we will ſee to better order.

With that M.Latimer thanked his Lordſhyp, makyng a very low curteſie. After this the Biſhoppe of Lincolne began on this manner.

The Biſhop of Lincolnes wordes to M. Latymer.

Linc. M.Latimer, although yeſterday after wee had taken your aunſweres to thoſe articles whiche we propoſed, might haue iuſtly proceded to iudgemēt againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame, yet we hauyng a good hope of your returnyng, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, reuoke your errours, and turne to the catholick church, differred farther proceſſe till this day, and now accordyng to the appointment, we haue called you here before vs, to heare whether you are content to reuoke your heretical aſſertions, and ſubmit your ſelfe to the determination of the church, as we moſt hartely deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly doe exhort you, either to know whether you perſeuer ſtill the man that you were, for the which we would be ſory.

It ſemed that the Biſhop would haue farther proceded, ſauyng that M.Latimer interrupted hym, ſaiyng:

M.Latymer ſtout with the Commiſſioners.

Lati. Your Lordſhip often doth repeate the catholick Churche, as though I ſhoulde denie the ſame. No my Lord, I confeſſe there is a catholicke church, to the determination of the whiche I will ſtande, but not the church which you call catholicke, which ſoner might be termed diabolicke. And where as you ioyne together the Romiſh and catholicke churche, ſtaie there I praie you. For it is an other thing to ſaie Romiſh Churche, and an other thing to ſaie catholicke churche: I muſt vſe here in this myne aunſwere the counſel of Cyprianus, who at what time hee was aſcited before certaine Biſhoppes that gaue hym leaue to take deliberation and counſell to trye and examine his opinion, hee aunſwered them thus: in ſtickyng and perſeueryng in the trueth, there muſte no counſell, nor deliberation be taken. And again being demaunded of them ſittyng in iudgement, whiche was moſte like to bee of the Church of Chriſt, either he whiche was perſecuted, either they which did perſecute: Chriſt, ſaid he, hath forſhewed that he that doth follow hym, muſt take vp hys croſſe and follow him. Chriſt gaue knowledge that the diſciples ſhould haue perſecution and trouble. Howe thinke you then my Lords, is it like ẏ the ſea of Rome, whiche hath bene a continuall perſecutor, is rather the Churche, or that ſmall flocke whiche hath continually bene peſecuted of it euen to death? Alſo the flocke of Chriſt hath bene but few in compariſon to the reſidue, and euer in ſubiection: whiche he proued, beginning at Noes tyme euen to the Apoſtles.

The Catholicke church and the Romiſh church be two thinges. Cyprians counſell, in truth no deliberation to be taken.

M.Latymers queſtion to the Biſhops.

Whether is more like, the ſea of Rome, which perſecuteth, or the little flocke which is perſecuted to be the true church. &c.

Linc. Your cauſe and S. Cyprians is not one, but cleane contrary, for he ſuffered perſecution for Chriſtes ſake and the Goſpell: but you are in trouble for your errours and falſe aſſertions, contrarie to the worde of God, and the receiued trueth of the Church.

Lati. M.Latimer interruptyng hym, ſaid: yes verely, my cauſe is as good as S. Ciprians: for his was for the word of God and ſo is myne.

The cauſe of the Martyrs of the primitiue tyme, and of the Martyrs of the latter tyme all one.

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

Alſo at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that ẏ Apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great perſecution. Further, before Chriſtes commyng, continually they were very fewe which truely ſerued God: but after his commyng beganne the time of grace, then began the Churche to encreaſe, and was continually augmented vntill that it came vnto this perfection, and now hath iuſtly that iuriſdiction whiche the vnchriſtian Princes before by tyranny did reſiſt: there is a diuerſe conſideration of the eſtate of the Churche nowe in the tyme of grace, and before Chriſtes commyng. But M.Latimer, although wee had inſtructions geuen vs determinately to take your aunſwere to ſuche articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any reaſonyng or diſputations, yet wee hoping by talke ſomewhat to preuayle with you, appointed you to appeare before vs yeſterday in the diuinitie ſchole, a place for diſputations. And where as then notwithſtandyng you had licence to ſaye your mynde, and were aunſwered to euerye matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors. We thinkyng that from that tyme ye woulde with good aduiſement conſider your ſtate, gaue you reſpite from that tyme yeſterdaie when we dimiſſed you, vntill this time, and now haue called you againe here in this place, by youre aunſweres to learne whether you are the ſame man as you were then or no? Therefore wee will propoſe vnto you the ſame articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate aunſwere, without farther reaſoning, and eftſones recited the firſt article.

The image of the Churche before Chriſtes commyng compared with the Church after his commyng.

The Articles againe propounded to maiſter Latymer.

Maſter Latymer againe aunſwereth with proteſtation, as before.

Lati. Alwaies my proteſtation ſaued, that by theſe myne aunſweres it ſhoulde not bee thought that I did condeſcend and agree to your Lordſhips authoritie in that you are legaſed by authoritie of the Pope, ſo that thereby I might ſeeme to conſent to his iuriſdiction, to the firſt article I anſwere now as I did yeſterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receiuer receiueth the very body of Chriſt, and drinketh his bloud by Spirite,

The very body of Chriſt receaued in the Sacrament by the ſpirite & grace.

and

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and grace. But after that corporall being which the Romiſh Church preſcribeth, Chriſtes body and bloud is not in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Aunſwers to the 2. and 3. Articles.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely. For the ſecond article, he referred himſelfe to his aunſweres made before.

Linc. After this the Biſhop of Lincolne recyted the third article, and requyred a determinate aunſwere.

Lat. Chriſt made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice, neyther needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory ſacrifice.

The Notaries tooke his aunſwere to bee affirmatiuely.

In like maner did he aunſwere to the other articles, not varying from hys aunſweres made the day before.

M. Latymer will not deny his Maſter Chriſt.

Condemnation red againſt M. Latymer.

After his aunſweres were penned of the Notaries, and the Biſhop of Lyncolne had exhorted him in lyke ſort to recant as he did M. Ridley, and reuoke his errours and falſe aſſertions, and M. Latimer had aunſwered yͭ he ne could, ne would deny his maſter Chriſt & his veritie, the Byſhop of Lyncolne deſired M. Latymer to harken to hym, and then Maiſter Latymer harkenyng for ſome new matter and other talke, the Byſhop of Lyncolne red his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the ſaid three Biſhops brake vp their Seſſions, and dimiſſed the audience.

The Papiſtes falſe in theyr promiſes.

But M. Latymer required the Byſhop to performe his promiſe, in ſaying the daye before, that he ſhould haue licēce briefly to declare the cauſes why he refuſed the Popes authoritie.

Lincol. But the Byſhop ſaid, that now he could not heare him, neither ought to talke with him.

M. Latimer appealeth to the next generall Councell truly called in the Lordes name: but that Councell is long a comming.

Then M. Latimer asked him whether it were not lawfull for him to appeale from this his iudgement. And the Byſhop asked him againe, to whom he would appeale. To the next generall Councell, quoth M. Latymer, which ſhalbe truly called in gods name. With that appellation the Byſhop was content: but hee ſayd it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a conuocation as he ment would be called.

Then the Biſhop committed M. Latimer, to the Maior, ſaying: now he is your priſoner maſter Maior. Becauſe the preſſe of people was not yet diminiſhed, ech man lookyng for farther proceſſe, the Byſhop of Lyncolne commaunded auoydance, and willed M. Latymer to tary till the preſſe were diminiſhed leſt hee ſhould take hurt at his egreſſiō, as he did at his entrance. And ſo continued Byſhop Ridley, and M. Latimer in durāce till the 16. day of the ſaid moneth of October.

¶ A cōmunication betwene D. Brokes, & D. Ridley in M. Iryſh his houſe, the xv. daye of October, at which time he was degraded.

October. 15.

The talke betwene Doctor Brookes B. of Glocester, and D. Ridley, vpō his degradatiō.

In the meane ſeaſon vpō the 15. day in the morning and the ſame yeare aboue ſayd, the Byſhop of Gloceſter Doct. Brokes, and the Vicechauncelour of Oxford Doct. Marſhall, with diuerſe other of the chief and heades of the ſame Vniuerſitie, & many other moe accōpanying with them, came vnto M. Iriſh his houſe the Maior of Oxford, where D. Ridley, late Byſhop of London was cloſe priſoner. And when the Byſhop of Gloceſter came into the chamber where the ſayd D. Ridley did lye, he told him for what purpoſe their commyng was vnto hym, ſaying: that yet once agayne the Queenes Maieſtie dyd offer vnto hym by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receiue the ſame, and come home agayne to the fayth which hee was Baptiſed in, and reuoke his erroneous doctrine that hee of late had taught abroad to the deſtructiō of many. And further ſayd, that if he would not recant, & become one of the Catholicke Church with them, then they muſt needes (againſt their willes) proceede according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But (ſayth he) we haue beene oftentymes with you, & haue requeſted that you would recant this your fantaſticall and deuiliſh opinion, where hetherto you haue not, although you might in ſo doyng wynne many, & do much good. Therfore good M. Ridley, cōſider with your ſelfe the daunger that ſhal enſue both of body & ſoule, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt your ſelfe away in refuſing mercy offered vnto you at this time.

No mercy to be had without conſenting to iniquity.

Aunſwere of D. Ridley to B. Brookes.

My Lord, quoth D. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein: and as for the doctrine which I haue taught, my conſciēce aſſureth me that it was ſound, and according to Gods word (to his glory bee it ſpoken) the which doctrine the Lord God being my helper, I will maintaine ſo long as my tongue ſhall wagge, and the breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof, ſeale the ſame with my bloud.

O worthy champion of Chriſts Church.

Brok. Well, you were beſt, M. Ridley, not to do ſo, but to become one of the Churche with vs. For you know this well enough, that whoſoeuer is out of the catholike church, can not be ſaued: therfore I ſay once againe, that whiles you haue time and mercy offered you, receiue it, and confeſſe with vs the Popes holines to be the chief head of the ſame Church.

With that their caps went of, but D. Ridley held on his cap.

Rid. I maruelle that you will trouble me with any ſuch vayne and fooliſh talke. You know my mynd concernyng the vſurped authoritie of the Romiſh Antichriſt. As I cōfeſſed opēly in the ſcholes, ſo do I now, that both by my behauiour and talke I do no obediēce at all vnto the Byſhop of Rome, nor to his vſurped authoritie, and that for diuers good & godly cōſiderations. And here Doct. Ridley would haue reaſoned with the ſaid Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter, of the Byſhop of Romes authorities, but could not be ſuffred, & yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly agaynſt the Pope therin, that the Byſhop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he ſhould be compelled agaynſt his will. And ſeyng ſayth he, that you will not receiue the Queenes mercy now offered vnto you, but ſtubburnly refuſe the ſame, wee muſt, againſt our willes, proceede according to our Cōmiſſion to diſgradyng, takyng from you the dignitie of Prieſthode. For we take you for no Biſhop, & therfore we will the ſooner haue done with you: ſo, committyng you to the ſecular power, you know what doth follow.

D. Ridley commaunded to ſilence, when other wiſe hee could not be reſtrained.

Rid. Do with me as it ſhal pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abyde the ſame with all my hart.

Brok. Put of your cap M. Ridley, and put vppon you this ſurples.

D. Ridley refuſeth to put on the ſurples.

Rid. Not I truly.

Brok. But you muſt.

Rid. I will not.

Brok. You muſt: therefore make no more a do, but put this ſurples vpon you.

Rid. Truly if it come vpō me, it ſhalbe againſt my wil.

Brok. Will you not do it vpon you?

Rid. No, that I will not.

Brok. It ſhalbe put vpon you by one or other.

Rid. Do therin as it ſhall pleaſe you. I am well cōtented with that, and more then that: the ſeruaunt is not aboue his Maſter. If they delt ſo cruelly with our Sauiour Chriſt, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he ſuffered the ſame patiētly, how much more doth it become vs his ſeruauntes? and in ſaying of theſe wordes they put vppon the ſayd Doct. Ridley the ſurples, with all the trinkettes appertaining to yͤ Maſſe, and as they were puttyng on the ſame, Doct. Ridley did vehemently inuey againſt the Romiſh Biſhop and all that fooliſh apparell, callyng hym Antichriſt, and the apparell fooliſh and abominable, yea to fond for a Vice in a play, in ſo much that Brokes was excedyng angry with him, & bad him hold his peace. For he did but raile. Doct. Ridley aunſwered agayne, and ſayd: ſo long as his tounge and breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeake agaynſt their abominable doings, what ſo euer happened vnto him for ſo doyng.

D. Ridley inueyeth agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome, and his fooliſh apparel.

The ſurples here is called a fooliſh apparel.

Brok. Well, you were beſt to hold your peace, leſt your mouth be ſtopped. At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greeke Lecture ſtādyng by, ſayd to Doct. Brokes: Syr, the law is he ſhould be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which wordes Doct. Ridley lookyng earneſtly vpon him that ſo ſayd, wagged his head at him, and made no anſwere againe, but with a ſigh ſayd: Oh well, well, well.

Maſter Edridge giueth counſel that B. Ridley ſhould be gagged.

So they proceeded in their doinges: yet neuertheleſſe Doct. Ridley was euer talking thinges not pleaſant to their eares, although one or other bad him hold his peace, leſt he ſhould be cauſed againſt his will.

Diſgradeing of B. Ridley.

When as they came to that place where as Doctor Ridley ſhould hold the chalice, & the wafer cake (called the ſinging bread) they bad him holde the ſame in his hand. And Doct. Ridley ſayd: they ſhall not come in my handes, for if they do, they ſhall fall to the groūd for all me. Thē there was one appointed to hold them in his hand while biſhop Brokes red a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of ſpirituall perſons, according to the Popes law.

Ridley would not let come in his hande the Chalice & Wafer cake.

Afterward they put a booke in his hand, and withall

D. Ridley diſgraded from preaching.

red (as is before ſaied) a certaine thyng in Latine, the effecte thereof was: We doe take from you the office of preaching the Goſpel, &c. At whiche wordes D. Ridley gaue a great ſigh, lookyng vp towarde heauen, ſaiyng: Oh Lorde God forgiue them this their wickedneſſe.

And as they put vpon hym the Maſſe geare, ſo thei began with the vppermoſt garmēt, in takyng it away again, readyng a thyng in Latin, accordyng to the order contained in the ſaied booke of the Popes lawe. Now when all was taken from hym ſauyng onely the Surples lefte on his backe, as they were readyng and takyng it awaie, Doctour Ridley ſaid vnto them: Lorde God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that whiche he neuer had? I was neuer ſinger in all my life: and yet you will take from me, that whiche I neuer had.

All the gliſtering of Antichriſtes kingdome conſiſteth in apiſh toyes.

So when al this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very ſolemnely, Doctor Ridley ſaied vnto Doctour Brokes: haue you doen? If you haue doen, then giue me leaue to talke with you a little, concernyng theſe matters. Brokes aunſwered and ſaied: Maiſter Ridley, we maie not talke with you you be out of the Churche, and our Lawe is that wee maie not talke with any that bee out of the Churche. Then M. Ridley ſaied: ſeyng that you will not ſuffer me to talke, neither will vouchſafe to heare me, what remedy but pacience? I referre my cauſe to my heauenly Father, who will reforme thynges that bee amiſſe, when it ſhall pleaſe hym.

A prayſe of Bertrams booke vpon the Sacrament.

At whiche wordes they would haue been gone, but that M. Ridley ſaid: my lorde, I would wiſh that your Lordſhip would vouchſafe to read ouer & peruſe a little booke of Bertrās doynges concerning the Sacrament, I promiſe you, you ſhall finde muche good learnyng therein, if you will read the ſame with an indifferent iudgement. D. Brokes made no aunſwere to this, but would haue been gone awaie. Then M. Ridley ſaid: Oh, I perceiue that you can not awaie with this maner of talke. Well it booteth not: I wil ſay no more, I will ſpeake of worldly affaires. I praie you therfore (my lord) heare me, and be a meane to the Quenes maieſtie, in the behalfe of a great many of poore men, and eſpecially for my poore ſiſter and her houſband, which ſtandeth there. Thei had a poore liuyng graunted vnto them by me, whiles I was in the Sea of London, and the ſame is taken away from thē, by hym that now occupieth the ſame rome, without all lawe or conſciēce. Here I haue a Supplication to the Quenes Maieſtie in their behalues. You ſhal heare the ſame read: ſo ſhal you perceiue the matter the better. Then he reade the ſame, and when he came to the place in the Supplication, that touched his ſiſter by name, then he wepte, ſo that for a little ſpace he could not ſpeake for weepyng. After that he had lefte of wepyng, he ſaied: this is nature that moueth me. But I haue now doen, and with that reade out the reſte, and deliuered the ſame to his brother, commaundyng hym to put it vp to the Quenes Maieſtie, and to ſue, not onely for hym ſelf, but alſo for ſuche as had any Leaſes or grauntes by hym and were put from the ſame by Doctour Boner, then Biſhop of London, whereunto Brokes ſaied: in deede M. Ridley your requeſt in this Supplication is very lawfull and honeſt: therefore I muſte needes in conſcience, ſpeake to the Queenes Maieſtie for them.

Note the charitie of the Papiſtes.

M. Ridleys ſiſter put from her leaſe by D. Boner.

Ridley. I praie you for Gods ſake doe ſo.

Brokes. I thinke your requeſt will be graunted, except one thyng let it, and that is (I feare) becauſe you do not allowe the Quenes procedynges, but obſtinatly withſtande the ſame, that it wil hardly be graunted.

Ridley. What remedy, I cā do no more but ſpeake and write: I truſte I haue diſcharged my conſcience therein, and Gods will be doen.

Brokes. I will doe what lieth in me.

The copie of this Supplication written to the Quene, here followeth.

¶ Maiſter Ridley to the Queenes maieſty.

A ſupplication of B. Ridley to Queene Mary, in the behalfe of certain poore mens leaſes.

IT maye pleaſe your Maieſtie for Chriſte our Sauiors ſake, in a matter of conſcience (and now not for my ſelfe, but for other poore men) to vouchſafe to heare & vnderſtand this mine humble ſupplication. It is ſo (honourable princeſſe) that in the time whiles I was in the miniſtery of the Sea of London, diuers poore men tenauntes thereof, haue taken new Leaſes of their tenauntries and holdinges, and ſome haue renued and chaunged their old, and therefore haue payed fynes and ſummes of mony, both to me and alſo to the chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the ſame.

This Biſhop was D. Boner.

Now, I heare ſay that the Biſhop which occupieth the ſame roome now, wil not allow the foreſaid leaſes, which muſt redound to many poore mens vtter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is myne humble ſupplication vnto your honorable grace, that it maye pleaſe the ſame for Chriſtes ſake, to bee vnto the foreſayd poore men their gracious patroneſſe and defendour, either that they may enioy their foreſayd leaſes and yeares renued, as (I ſuppoſe) when their matter ſhalbe heard with conſcience, both iuſtice, cōſcience and equity ſhall requyre, for that their leaſes ſhalbe found (I truſt) made without fraude or couen, eyther of their part, or of myne, and alwayes alſo the old rentes reſerued to the ſea without any kind of damage therof: or if this wil not be graunted, then that it may pleaſe your gracious hyghnes to commaund that the poore men may be reſtored to their former leaſes & yeares, and to haue rendred to them again ſuch ſummes of money as they payd to me & to that chapter for their leaſes and yeares ſo now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fynes payed to me, may bee eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your Maieſtie to commaund ſome porcion of thoſe goodes which I left in my houſe when I fled in hope of pardon for my treſpaſſe towardes your grace, which goodes (as I haue heard) be yet reſerued in the ſame houſe. I ſuppoſe that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in myne offices, & ſpecially in an yron cheſt in my bed chamber, will go nigh to reſtore all ſuch fynes receaued, the true ſummes and parcels whereof are not ſet in their leaſes: and therefore if that waye ſhall pleaſe your hyghnes, they muſt be known by ſuch waies and meanes as your Maieſtie by the aduyſe of men of wiſdome and conſcience ſhall appoynt: but yet for Chriſtes ſake I craue and moſt humbly beſech your Maieſtie of your moſt gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

It to ſuccour the widow and fatherles is pure and vndefiled religiō, as Saint Iames ſaith: Then is Boner and his religion filthy & abominable whiche doth ſuch wrong to the Widow and fatherles.

I haue alſo a poore Siſter that came to me out of the North, with three fatherles children for her reliefe, whom I married after to a ſeruant of myne owne houſe: ſhe is put out of that I did prouyde for them. I beſech your honourable grace, that her caſe may bee mercifully conſidered, & that the rather, in contemplation that I neuer had of him, which ſuffred indurance at my intrance to the ſea of Londō, not one peny of his moueable goodes, for it was almoſt halfe a yeare after his depoſition afore I did enter into that place: yea, and alſo if any were left, knowen to bee his, hee had licence to cary it away, or there for his vſe it did lye ſafe: as hys officers do know. I payed for the lead which I founde there, when I occupyed any of it to the behoofe of the church or of the houſe. And moreouer I had not onely no part of hys moueable goodes, but alſo (as his olde receiuer and then mine, called M. Staunton can teſtify) I payed for him towardes his ſeruauntes common liueries and wages, after his depoſition. 53. or 55. poundes, I can not tell whether. In all theſe matters I beſech your honorable Maieſtie to heare the aduiſe of men of cōſcience and in eſpecially the Archbyſhop now of Yorke, which for that hee was continually in my houſe a yeare and more before myne impriſonment, I ſuppoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome part of theſe things, and alſo his grace doth know my Siſter, for whoſe ſuccour and ſome reliefe now vnto your hyghnes I make moſt humble ſute.

Notwithſtanding theſe godly and iuſt requeſtes, no iuſtice could bee had vntill that now of late ſome of theſe ſhamefull iniuries, by order of law haue bene redreſſed.

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This degradation being paſt, and all thinges finiſhed, Doct. Brokes called the Bailiffes, deliuering to them M. Ridley with this charge, to keepe him ſafely from any man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the place of execution when they where cōmaunded. Then M. Ridley in praiſing God, braſt out with theſe wordes and ſayd: God I thanke thee, and to thy prayſe bee it ſpoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it ſhould ſurely be layd in my lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto Brokes ſayd, he playd the part of a proud Phariſey, exalting and prayſing himſelfe.

The life of M. Ridley ſuch as could not with any notorious crime be charged.

But M. Ridley ſayd: No, no, no, as I haue ſayd before, to Gods glory bee it ſpoken. I confeſſe my ſelfe to bee a miſerable wretched ſinner, and haue great neede of Gods helpe and mercy, and do dayly call and cry for the ſame: therefore I pray you haue no ſuch opinion in me. Then they departed, and in going away, a certaine Warden of a Colledge, of whoſe name I am not

very

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* The wordes of a certain Warden or head of a College.

very ſure, bad Doct.Ridley repent him, and forſake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. Ridley ſayd: Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it bee his bleſſed will) haue mercy vpon you, and graunt you the vnderſtanding of his worde. Then the Wardon being in a chaſe thereat, ſaid: I truſt that I ſhall neuer be of your erroneous and deuilyſh opinion, neyther yet to be in that place whether you ſhall go. He is, ſaith he, the moſt obſtinateſt, & wilfulleſt man that euer I heard talke ſince I was borne,

¶ The behauiour of Doctour Ridley at his Supper the night before his ſuffring.

D. Ridley biddeth geſtes to his mariage.

THe night before he ſuffered, his beard was waſhed, and his legges: and as he ſat at ſupper the ſame night at M. Iriſhes (who was his keper) he bad his hoſtes, and the reſt at the bourde to his mariage: for (ſaith he) to morow I muſt be maried: and ſo ſhewed hym ſelf to be as mery as euer he was at any tyme before. And wiſhing his ſiſter at his mariage he aſked his brother ſittyng at the Table, whether ſhe could finde in her harte to bee there or no: and he aunſwered, yea, I dare ſaie, with all her harte: at whiche worde he ſaied, he was glad to heare of her ſo muche therein. So at this talke Maiſtres Iriſhe wept.

Maiſtres Iriſh a great Papiſt before, weepeth for D. Ridley.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and ſaied: Oh maiſtres Iriſhe, you loue me not now, I ſee well enough. For in that you wepe, it doeth appeare you will not be at my mariage, neither are content therewith. In deede you be not ſo muche my frende, as I thought you had been. But quiet your ſelf: though my breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharpe and painfull, yet I am ſure my ſupper ſhalbe more pleaſaunt and ſweete. &c.

D. Ridley careles of his death.

When they aroſe from the Table, his brother offered hym to watche all night with hym. But he ſaid, no, no, that you ſhall not. For I mynde (God willyng) to goe to bed, and to ſlepe as quietly to nighte, as euer I did in my life. So his brother departed, exhortyng him to be of good chere, and to take his Croſſe quietly, for the reward was greate. &c.

¶ The behauiour of Doctor Ridley and M. Latimer, at the tyme of their death, whiche was the .xvi. daie of October. An. 1555.

The order and maner of D. Ridley and M. Latymer going to the ſtake.

VPon the Northſide of the toune, in the Ditche ouer againſt Baily Colledge, the place of execution was appointed: and for feare of any tumult that might ariſe, to let the burning of thē, the Lorde Willyams was commaunded by the Queenes Letters, and the houſeholders of the Citie, to bee there aſſiſtaunt ſufficiently appointed, and when euery thyng was in a readineſſe, the priſoners were brought forthe by the Maior and Bailiffes.

M. Ridley had a faire blacke goune furred, and faced with foines, ſuche as he was wont to weare beyng Biſhop, & a tippet of veluet furred likewiſe about his necke, a veluet night cap vpon his head, & a corner cap vpō the ſame, goyng in a paire of ſlippers to the ſtake, and goyng betwene the Maior and an Alderman. &c.

After hym came M. Latimer in a poore Briſtowe friſe frocke all worne, with his buttened cappe, & a kerchief on his head, al ready to ẏ fire, a new long ſhroude hanging ouer his hoſe doune to the feete, whiche at the firſt ſight, ſtirred mennes hartes to rue vpon them, beholdyng on the one ſide the honour they ſomtyme had, on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

M. Doctor Ridley, as he paſſed towardes Bocardo, lookyng vp where M. Cranmer did lye, hoping belike to haue ſeen hym at the glaſſe windowe, & to haue ſpoken vnto hym. But then M. Cranmer was buſie wͭ Frier Soto & his felowes diſputyng together, ſo that he could not ſee hym through that occaſion. Then M. Ridley lookyng backe, eſpied M. Latimer commyng after. Vnto whom he ſaied: Oh be ye there? Yea ſaied M. Latimer) haue after as faſt as I can followe. So he followyng a pretie waie of, at length thei came both to the ſtake one after the other, where firſte D. Ridley enteryng the place, marueilous earneſtly holdyng vp bothe his handes, looked towardes heauen: then ſhortly after eſpiyng M. Latimer, with a wonderous cherefull looke, ran to hym, embraced and kiſſed hym, and as thei that ſtoode neare reported, comforted hym, ſaiyng: be of good harte brother, for God will either aſſwage the furie of the flame, or els ſtrengthen vs to abide it.

D. Ridley and M. Latymer brought together to the ſtake

The behauiour of D. Ridley & M. Latymer at the ſtake.

With that went he to the ſtake, kneled doune by it, kiſſed it, moſte effectuouſly praied, and behinde him M. Latimer kneeled, as earneſtly callyng vppon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a litle while, till thei whiche were appointed to ſee the execution, remoued them ſelues out of the Sunne. What thei ſaied, I can learne of no man.

D. Smith preaching at the burning of D. Ridley and M. Latymer.

Then D. Smith of whoſe recātation in kyng Edwardes tyme, ye heard before, pag. 1370. began his ſermon to them, vpon this text of ſaint Paule, in the xiij. Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeo, nihil inde vtilitatis capio. That is: If I yelde my bodie to the fire to be burnte, and haue not Charitie, I ſhall gaine nothyng thereby. Wherein he alledged that the goodneſſe of the cauſe, and not the order of death, maketh the holineſſe of the perſone: Whiche he confirmed by the examples of Iudas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her ſelf, for that they and ſuche like as he recited, mighte then bee adiudged righteous, whiche deſperately ſundered their liues from their bodies, as he feared that thoſe menne that ſtoode before hym would doe. But he cried ſtill to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the Churche. And on the other ſide, he declared their diuerſities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of whiche ſecte they were, (he ſaid) and that was the worſte: but the old churche of Chriſt and the Catholicke faithe beleued farre otherwiſe. At whiche place they lifted vp bothe their handes and eyes to heauen, as it were callyng GOD to witneſſe of the truthe. The whiche countenaunce they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he ſpake amiſſe. He ended with a very ſhorte exhortation to them, to recante and come home againe to the Churche, and ſaue their liues and ſoules, which els were condemned. His Sermon was ſcante in all a quarter of an hower.

Doct. Smith raylath agaynſt the Martyrs.

Chriſtes cōgregatiō burdened with diuerſitie of opinions.

Doctour Ridley ſaied to M. Latimer: will you begin to aunſwere the Sermon, or ſhal I? Maiſter Latimer ſaied: beginne you firſt, I praie you. I will, ſaied M. Ridley.

D. Ridley ready to anſwere D. Smithes Sermon, but could not be ſuffered.

Then the wicked Sermon beyng ended, Doctoure Ridley and maiſter Latimer kneled doune vpon their knees towardes my Lorde Willyams of Tame, the Vicechauncellour of Oxford, and diuers other Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, whiche ſat vpō a forme there by. Vnto whom M. Ridley ſaied: I beſeche you my lorde, euen for Chriſtes ſake, that I may ſpeake but twoo or thre wordes: and whileſt my lorde bent his heade to the Maior and Vicechauncellour, to knowe (as it appeared) whether he mighte giue hym leaue to ſpeake, the Bailiffes and D. Marſhall Vicechauncellour ran haſtely vnto hym, and with their hādes ſtopped his mouthe, and ſaied: M. Ridley, if you will reuoke your erroneous opinions, and recante the ſame, you ſhall not onely haue libertie ſo to doe, but alſo the benefite of a ſubiecte, that is, haue your life. Not otherwiſe, ſaied M. Ridley? No ꝙ Doctor Marſhall: therefore if you will not do ſo, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſertes. Well (ꝙ maiſter Ridley] ſo long as the breathe is in my bodie, I will neuer deny my Lorde Chriſte, and his knowen truthe: Gods will be doen in me. And with that he roſe vp, & ſaied with a loude voice: Wel, then I cōmit our cauſe to almightie God, whiche ſhall indifferently iudge all.

Doct. Marſhall Vicechauncellour of Oxford, ſtoppeth Doct. Ridleis mouth.

M. Ridley cōmitteth his cauſe to God.

To whoſe ſaiyng, M. Latimer added his old Poſie. Well, there is nothyng hid but it ſhall bee opened: and he ſaied he could aunſwere Smith well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently thei were cōmaunded to make them ready, whiche they with all mekeneſſe obeyed. M. Ridley tooke his goune and his * Tippet, and gaue it to his brother in lawe M. Shepſide, who all his tyme of impriſonment, although he might not be ſuffered to come to hym, laie there at his owne charges to prouide hym neceſſaries, whiche from tyme to tyme, he ſente hym by the Sergeant that kepte hym. Some other of his apparell that was little worthe, he gaue awaie: other the Bailiffes tooke.

M. Latymers wordes when he could not be ſuffered to anſwere Doctour Smith.

* This was no popiſh Tippet, but made only to kepe his necke warme.

He gaue awaie beſides, diuers other ſmall thynges to gentlemen ſtandyng by, and diuers of them pitifully weepyng, as to Sir Henry Ley he gaue a new groate, and to diuers of my lorde Willyams gentlemen, ſome Napkins, ſome Nutmegges, and races of Ginger, his Diall, and ſuche other thynges as he had about hym, to euery one that ſtoode nexte hym. Some plucked the pointes of his hoſe. Happie was he that might get any ragge of hym.

D. Ridley giueth awaye his apparell and other giftes to the people about him.

M. Latimer

Anno. 1555. October.

M. Latymer ſtanding at the ſtake in his ſhirte.

M. Latimer gaue nothyng, but verie quietly ſuffered his keper to pull of his hoſe, and his other arraye, whiche to loke vnto was verie ſimple: and beyng ſtripped into his ſhrowde, he ſeemed as comely a perſone to them that were there preſent, as one ſhould lightly ſee: and wheras in his clothes, he appered a withered and crooked ſelie old man, he now ſtoode bolte vpright, as comely a father, as one might lightly beholde.

B. Ridley thanketh God for his Martyrdome, and prayeth for England.

Then M. Ridley ſtandyng as yet in his truſſe, ſaid to his brother: it were beſte for me to goe in my truſſe ſtill. No (ꝙ his brother) it will put you to more paine: and the truſſe will doe a poore man good. Whereunto M. Ridley ſaied: be it, in the name of God, and ſo vnlaced hym ſelf. Then beyng in his ſhirte, he ſtoode vpon the foreſaied ſtone, and helde vp his handes, and ſaied: Oh heauenly Father, I giue vnto thee moſte hartie thankes, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſour of thee: euen vnto death. I beſeche thee Lorde God, take mercy vpon this Realme of Englande, and deliuer the ſame from all her enemes.

Gunpouder geuen to the Martyrs.

Then the Smith tooke a chaine of iron, & brought the ſame about both Doctor Ridleys, and maiſter Latimers middles: and as he was knockyng in a ſtaple, Doctor Ridley tooke the chaine in his hande, and ſhaked the ſame, for it did girde in his bealie, and looking aſide to the Smith, ſaied: good fellowe, knocke it in hard, for the fleſhe will haue his courſe. Then his brother did bryng hym gunpouder in a bagge, and would haue tied the ſame about his necke. Maiſter Ridley aſked what it was. His brother ſaied gunpouder. Then ſaid he, I take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receiue it as ſent of hym. And haue you any, ſaied he, for my brother, meanyng maiſter Latimer? Yea ſir, that I haue (ꝙ his brother.) Then giue it vnto hym, ſaied he, betyme, leaſt ye come to late. So his brother went, and carried of the ſame gunpouder vnto M. Latimer.

B. Ridleys ſute to the L. of Tame for leaſes of poore men.

D. Boner taketh awaye the leaſes from poore mē graūted before by B. Ridley.

In the meane tyme Doctor Ridley ſpake vnto my lorde Willyams, and ſaid: My lorde I muſt be a ſuter vnto your lordſhip, in the behalfe of diuers poore mē, and eſpecially in the cauſe of my poore Siſter: I haue made a ſupplication to the Queenes Maieſtie in their behalfes. I beſeche your Lordſhip for Chriſtes ſake, to be a meane to her grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your lordſhip, to certifie you hereof. There is nothyng in al ẏ worlde that troubleth my conſcience (I praiſe God) this onely excepted. Whiles I was in the Sea of London, diuers poore men tooke Leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now, I heare ſaie, the Biſhoppe that now occupieth the ſame rome, will not allow my graūtes vnto thē made, but contrary vnto al lawe and conſcience, hath taken from them their liuynges, and will not ſuffer them to enioye the ſame. I beſeche you my lorde, be a meane for them: you ſhall doe a good deede, and God will reward you.

The Churche lightened by ẏ Martyrdome of Sainctes.

Then brought thei a fagot kindeled with fire, and laied the ſame doune at Doctour Ridleis feete. To whom M. Latimer ſpake in this maner: Bee of good comfort M. Ridley, and plaie the manne: we ſhall this daie light ſuche a candle by Gods grace in Englande, as (I truſt) ſhall neuer be put out.

M. Latymers prayer and Martyrdome.

And ſo the fire beyng giuen vnto them, when Doct. Ridley ſawe the fire flamyng vp toward hym, he cried with a wonderfull loude voyce: In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum, Domine recipe ſpiritum meum, and after repeated this latter parte often in Engliſhe: Lorde Lorde receiue my ſpirite: Maiſter Latimer criyng as vehemently on the other ſide: Oh Father of heauen receiue my ſoule: who receiued the flame as it were embraſyng of it. After, as he had ſtroked his face with his handes, and (as it were) bathed them a little in the fire, he ſone died (as it appeared) with verie little paine or none. And thus muche concernyng the ende of this old and bleſſed ſeruaunte of God M. Latimer, for whoſe laborious trauailes, fruitfull life, and conſtaunte death, the whole Realme hath cauſe to giue greate thankes to almightie God.

The order of B. Ridleys burnyng.

But M. Ridley by reaſon of the euill makyng of the fire vnto hym, becauſe the woodden fagottes were laied about the goſſe, and ouer high built, the fire burned firſte beneath, beyng kepte doune by the woodde. Which when he felt, he deſired them for Chriſtes ſake to let the fire come vnto hym. Whiche when his brother in lawe heard, but not well vnderſtode, entending to rid him out of his pain (for the whiche cauſe he gaue attendaunce) as one in ſuche ſorrowe, not well aduiſed what he did, heaped fagottes vpon hym, ſo that he cleane couered hym, whiche made the fire more vehemente beneath, that it burned cleane all his neather partes, before it once touched the vpper, and that made hym leape vp and doune vnder the fagottes, and often deſire them to lette the fire come vnto hym, ſaiyng: I can not burne. Whiche in deede appeared well: for after his legges were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtrugglyng through the paine (whereof he had no releaſe, but onely his contentation in God) he ſhewed that ſide towardes vs cleane, ſhirt & all vntouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgat not to call vnto God ſtill, hauyng in his mouth: Lorde haue mercie vpō me, intermedlyng this crie, let the fire come vnto me, I can not burne. In whiche paines he laboured til one of the ſtanders by with his bill, pulled of the fagottes aboue and wher he ſawe the fire flame vp, he wreſted hym ſelf vnto that ſide. And when the flame touched the gunpouder, he was ſeen ſtirre no more, but burned on the other ſide, falling doune at M. Latimers feete. Which ſome ſaid happened, by reaſon that the chaine looſed: other ſaid that he fel ouer the chaine, by reaſon of ẏ poiſe of his bodie, and the weakenes of the neather limmes.

D. Ridley long in burning.

The death and Martyrdome of D. Ridley.

The lamenting hartes of the people, at the Martyrdome of theſe two ſainctes.

Some ſaie that before he was like to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to holde hym to it with their billes. Howſoeuer it was, ſurely it moued hundredes to teares, in beholdyng the horrible ſighte. For I thynke there was none that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercie, whiche would not haue lamented to beholde the furie of the fire ſo to rage vpon their bodies. Signes there were of ſorrowe on euery ſide. Some tooke it greuouſly to ſee their deathes, whoſe liues thei held full deare. Some pitied their perſones ẏ thought their ſoules had no neede thereof. His brother moued many men, ſeyng his miſerable caſe: ſeyng (I ſaie) hym cōpelled to ſuche infelicitie, that he thought then to do hym beſt ſeruice, whē he haſtened his ende. Some cried out of the lucke, to ſee his endeuour, who moſte dearly loued hym, and ſought his releaſe, tourne to his greater vexation, and encreaſe of paine. But who ſo conſidered their prefermentes in tyme paſt, the places of honor that thei ſomtyme occupied in this cōmon wealthe, the fauor thei wer in with their princes, and the opiniō of learnyng thei had, could not chuſe but ſorrowe with teares, to ſee ſo great dignitie, honour, and eſtimation, ſo neceſſarie members ſometyme accoumpted, ſo many godlie vertues, the ſtudie of ſo many yeres, ſuche excellent learnyng, to be putte into the fire, and conſumed in one moment. Well, deade they are, and the rewarde of this world thei haue already. What reward remaineth for them in heauen, the day of the lordes glory when he cōmeth with his ſainctes, ſhall ſhortly I truſt, declare.

Albeit, I haue differred and put ouer many treatiſes, letters, and exhortations belonging to the ſtorie of the Martyres, vnto the latter appendix in the ende of this volume: thinkyng alſo to haue doen the like with theſe farewels, and exhortations folowyng of D. Ridley, yet for certain purpoſes mouing me thereunto, and eſpecially conſideryng the fruitfull admonitions, holeſome doctrine, and neceſſarie exhortations conteined in the ſame, I thought beſt here to beſtowe, & conſequently to adioyne the ſaied tractations of that learned Paſtour, with the life and ſtorie of the authour. Whereof the two firſt be in maner of his farewels, the one to his kinſfolkes, and generally to all the faithfull of the nūber of Chriſtes congregation: the other more ſpecial to the priſoners, and baniſhed Chriſtians in the Goſpelles cauſe: the third cōtaineth a fruitfull and a generall admonition to the Citie of London, and to all other, with neceſſarie preceptes of Chriſtian office, as by the tenour of them here followeth in order to be ſeen.

¶A treatiſe or a letter written by D. Ridley in ſteede of his laſte farewell, to all his true and faithfull frends in God, wtth a ſharpe admonition withall vnto the Papiſtes.

The firſt farewell of B. Ridley to his frendes.

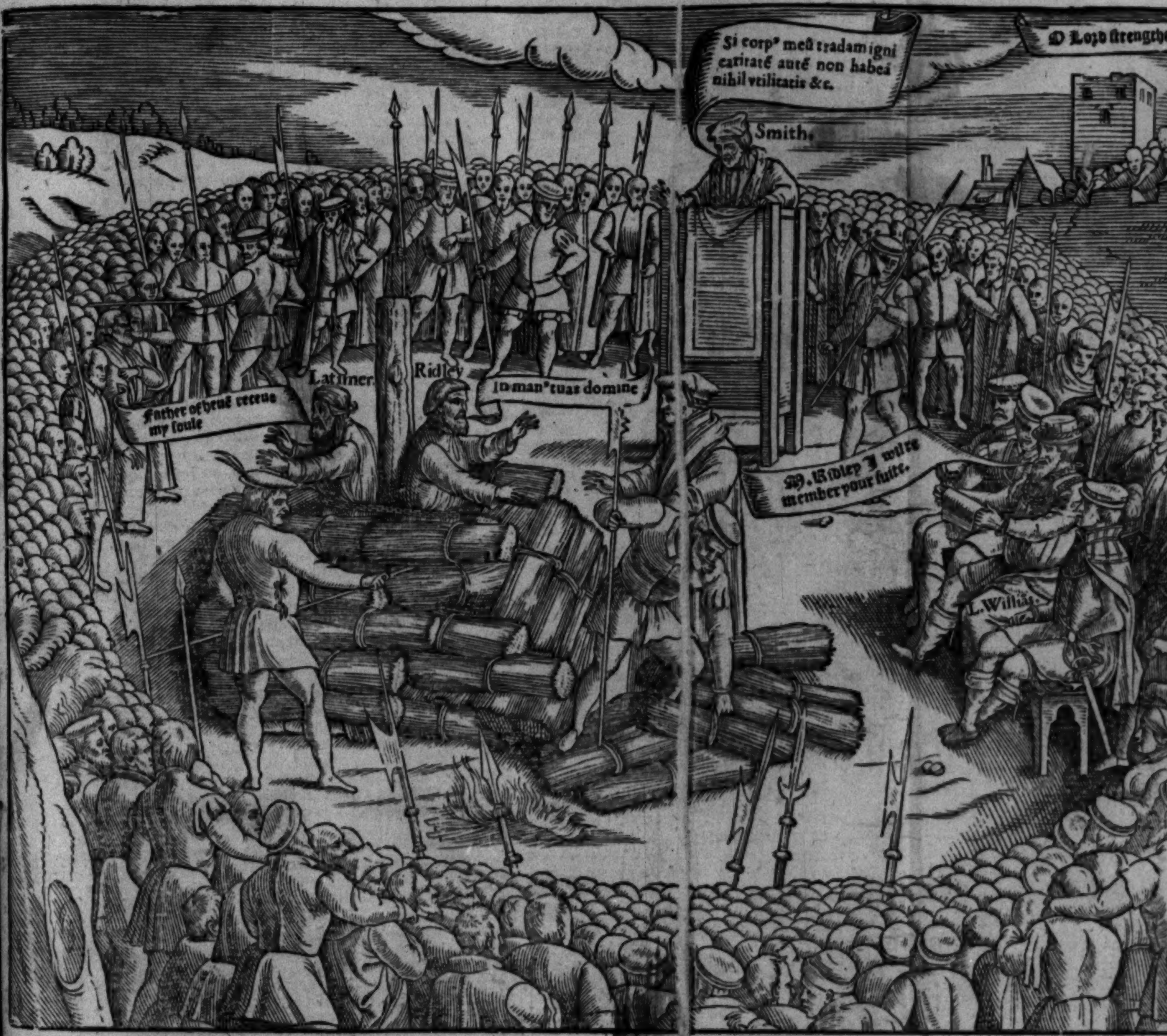
AT the name of Ieſus let euery knee bow, both of thynges in heauen, and thynges in yearth, and thynges vnder the yearth, and let euery tongue confeſſe, that Ieſus Chriſt is the lorde vnto the glorie of God the Father, Amen.

As a manne myndyng to take a farre iourney, and to depart from his familiar frēdes, commonly and naturally hath a deſire, to bidde his frendes farewell, before his departure: ſo likewiſe now I lookyng daiely, when I ſhould be called for to depart hence from you,

(O

brethren, and ſiſters in honour he called the holie Prophetes, and dearely be

A table deſcribing the burnyng of Byſhop Ridley and Father Latimer at Oxford, D. Smyth there preaching at the tyme of theyr martyrdome.


Si corp' meũ tradam igni caritatẽ autẽ non habeã nihil vtilitatis &c.
Smith.
O Lord ſtrengthe
Latimer.
Ridley
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Father of heuẽ receiue my ſoule
M. Ridley I will remember your ſuite.
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D.Ridley long in burning.

The death and Martyrdome of D.Ridley.

Some ſaie that before he was like to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to holde hym to it with their billes. Howſoeuer it was , ſurely it moued hundredes to teares,in beholdyng the horrible ſighte. For I thynke there was none that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercie,whiche would not haue lamented to beholde the furie of the fire ſo to rage vpon their bodies. Signes there were of ſorrowe on euery ſide . Some tooke it greuouſly to ſee their deathes,whoſe liues thei held full deare. Some pitied their perſones ŷ thought their ſoules had no neede thereof . His brother moued many men,ſeyng his miſerable caſe:ſeyng(I ſaie)hym cōpelled to ſuche infelicitie, that he thought then to do hym beſt ſeruice,whē he haſtened his ende. Some cried out of the lucke,to ſee his endeuour,who moſte dearly loued hym,and ſought his releaſe, tourne to his greater vexation,and encreaſe of paine. But who ſo conſidered their prefermentes in tyme paſt,the places of honor that thei ſomtyme occupied in this cōmon wealthe, the fauor thei wer in with their princes,and the opiniō of learnyng thei had,could not chuſe but ſorrowe with teares,to ſee ſo great dignitie,honour,and eſtimation, ſo neceſſarie members ſometyme accoumpted, ſo many godlie vertues,the ſtudie of ſo many yeres,ſuche excellent learnyng,to be putte into the fire,and conſumed in one moment,Well,deade they are,and the rewarde of this world thei haue already. What reward remaineth for them in heauen,the day of the lordes glory when he cōmeth with his ſainctes,ſhall ſhortly I truſt,declare.

The lamentyng hartes of the people, at the Martyrdome of theſe two ſainctes.

Albeit,I haue differred and put ouer many treatiſes,letters,and exhortations belonging to the ſtorie of the Martyres, vnto the latter appendix in the ende of this volume:thinkyng alſo to haue doen the like with theſe farewels,and exhortations folowyng of D.Ridley,yet for certain purpoſes mouing me thereunto,and eſpecially conſideryng the fruitfull admonitions,holeſome doctrine,and neceſſarie exhortations conteined in the ſame,I thought beſt here to beſtowe,& conſequently to adioyne the ſaied tractations of that learned Paſtour,with the life and ſtorie of the authour. Whereof the two firſt be in maner of his farewels,the one to his kinſfolkes,and generally to all the faithfull of the nūber of Chriſtes congregation:the other more ſpecial to the priſoners,and baniſhed Chriſtians in the Goſpelles cauſe:the third cōtaineth a fruitfull and a generall admonition to the Citie of London , and to all other, with neceſſarie preceptes of Chriſtian office, as by the tenour of them here followeth in order to be ſeen.

¶A treatiſe or a letter written by D. Ridley in ſteede of his laſte farewell , to all his true and faithfull frends in God, with a ſharpe admonition withall vnto the Papiſtes.

AT the name of Ieſus let euery knee bow, both of thynges in heauen , and thynges in yearth, and thynges vnder the yearth , and let euery tongue confeſſe,that Ieſus Chriſt is the lorde vnto the glorie of God the Father,Amen.

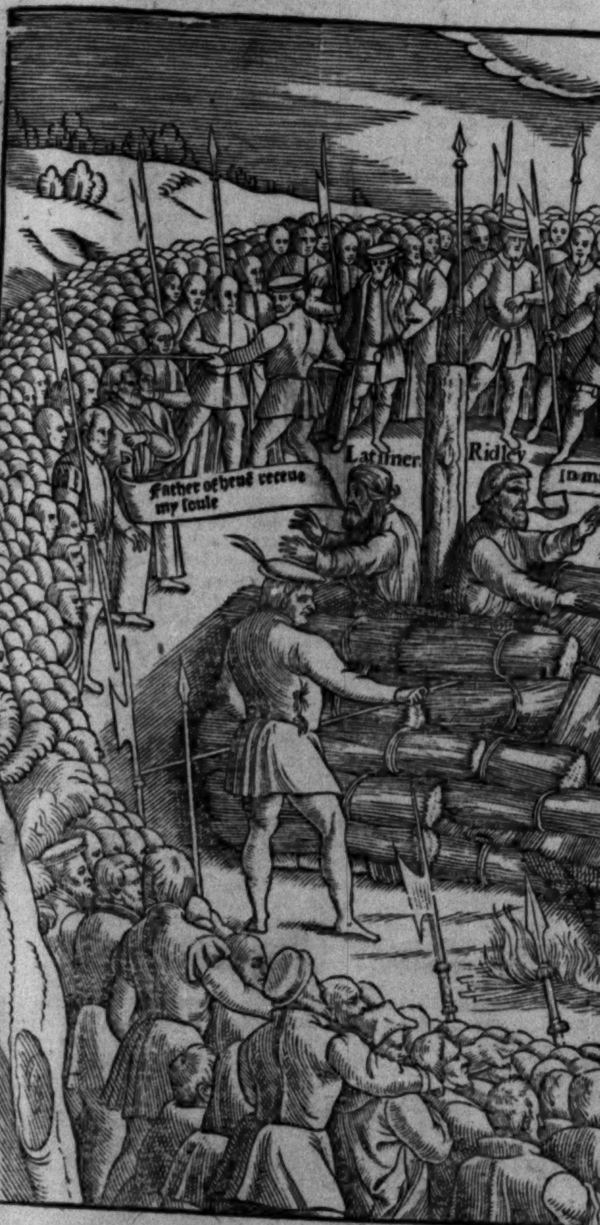
The firſt farewell of D. Ridley to his frendes.

As a manne myndyng to take a farre iourney, and to depart from his familiar frēdes,commonly and naturally hath a deſire,to bidde his frendes farewell,before his departure:ſo likewiſe now I lookyng daiely, when I ſhould be called for to depart hence from you,

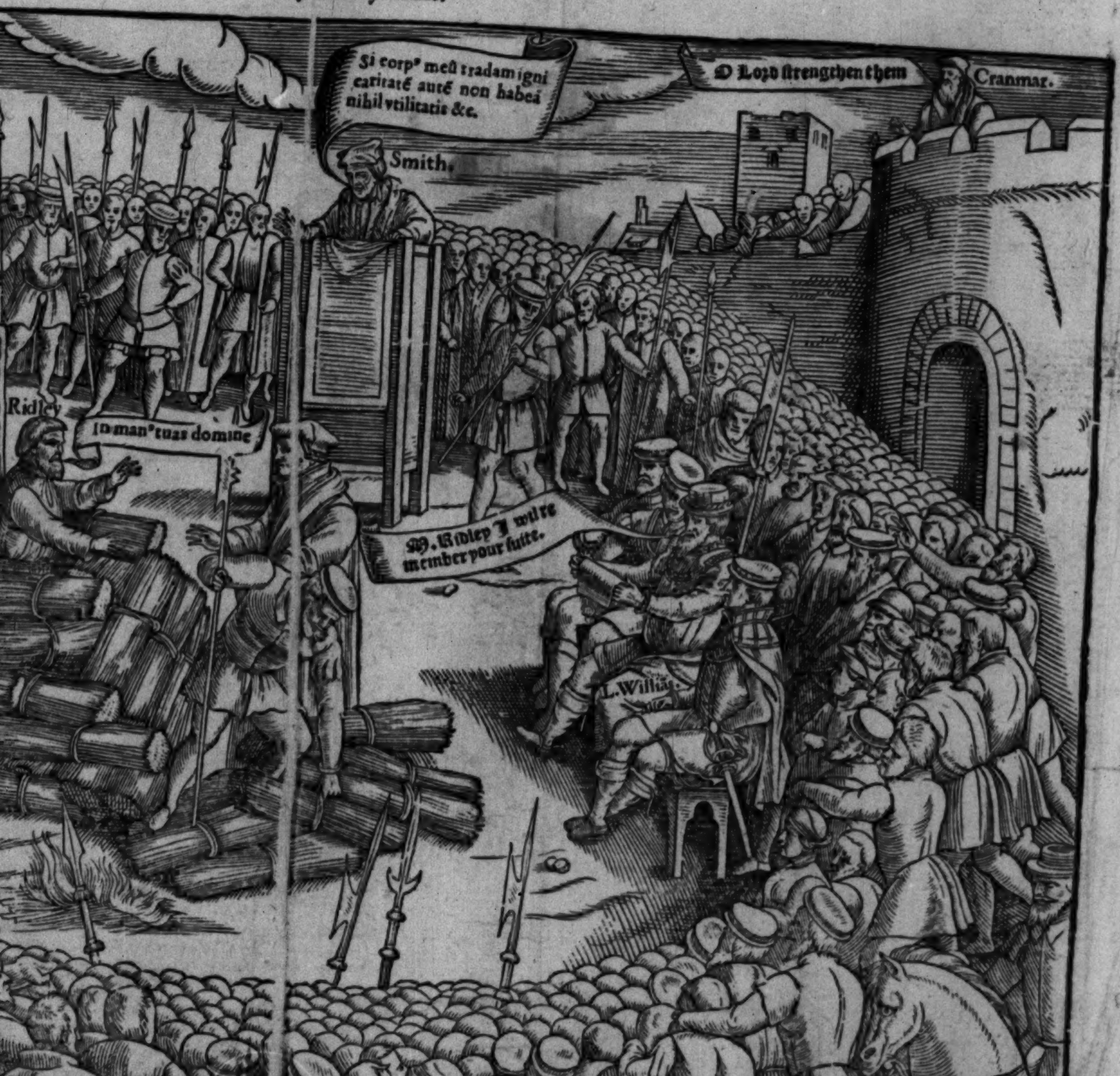
(O

and ſiſters in

A table deſ
Latimer


Father of heuē receue my ſoule
Latimer.
Ridley
In ma

A table deſcribing the burnyng of Byſhop Ridley and Father Latimer at Oxford, D.Smyth there preaching at the tyme of theyr martyrdome.


Si corp⁹ meũ tradam igni caritatẽ autẽ non habeã nihil vtilitatis &c.
Smith.
O Lord ſtrengthen them
Cranmar.
Ridley
In man⁹ tuas domine
M. Ridley I will remember your ſuite.
L.Williã.

M. Latimer gaue nothyng, but verie quietly ſuffe- ſed what he did, heaped faggottes vpon hym ſo that

M. Latymer ſtandyng at the ſtake in his ſhirte.

Table deſcribing the burning of Byſhop R
Latimer at Oxford, D. Smyth there preaching at
theyr martyrdome.

Si corpus tradidero
caritatē autē non habu
nihil mihi proderit &c.

B. Ridley thanketh God for his Martyrdome, and prayeth for England.

Gunpouder geuen to the Martyrs.

B. Ridleys ſute to the Q. of Tame for leaſes of poore men.

D. Boner taketh awaye the leaſes from poore mē graūted before by B. Ridley.

The Church lightened by ẏ Martyrdome of Saintes.

M. Latymers prayer and Martyrdome.

The order of B. Ridleys buryng.

(O all ye my dearely beloued brethren, and ſiſters in our Sauiour Chriſte, that dwell here in this worlde) hauyng a like minde towardes you all (and bleſſed bee God for ſuche tyme and leaſure, whereof I right hartely thanke his heauenly goodneſſe:) to bidde you all my deare brethren and ſiſters (I ſaie in Chriſte) that dwell vppon the yearth, after ſuche maner as I can, Farewell.

Commendation of George Shipſide his brother in law.

Farewell my deare brother George Shipſide, whō I haue euer founde faithfull, truſtie, and louyng in all ſtate and conditions, and now in the tyme of my croſſe, ouer all other to me moſte frendly and ſtedfaſt, and that whiche liked me beſte, ouer all other thynges, in Gods cauſe euer hartie.

Farewell my deare ſiſter Alice his wife. I am glad to heare of thee, that thou dooeſt take Chriſtes croſſe, which is laied now (bleſſed be God) bothe on thy backe and myne, in good parte. Thanke thou God that hath giuen thee a godlie and louyng houſeband: ſe thou honour hym, and obeye hym, accordyng to Gods Lawe, Honour thy mother in Lawe his mother, and loue all thoſe that pertaine vnto hym, beyng ready to doe them good, as it ſhall lye in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy houſebande, but that he which hath giuen hym a harte to loue and feare God, and in God them that pertaine vnto him, ſhall alſo make him frendly, and beneficiall vnto thy children, euen as if thei had been gotten of his owne bodie.

To his brother John Ridley.

Farewell my welbeloued brother John Ridley, of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and louyng Siſter Elizabeth: whom beſides the naturall league of amitie, your tender loue, whiche you wer ſaid euer to beare towardes me, aboue the reſte of your brethren, dooeth binde me to loue. My mynde was to haue acknowledged this your louyng affection, and to haue acquited it with deedes, and not with wordes alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bidde farewell, whom I loue for the meeke and gentle ſpirite, that GOD hath giuen her, whiche is a precious thyng in the ſight of God.

To his ſiſter in lawe of Vnthanke, wife to Hugh his brother.

Farewell my beloued Siſter of Vnthanke, with al your childrē, my Nephewes and Nices. Since the departyng of my brother Hugh, my mynde was to haue been vnto them in ſteede of their father: but the Lorde God muſt and will be their father, if thei will loue him and feare hym, and liue in the trade of his lawe.

To his Coſin M. Nicholas Ridley.

Farewell my welbeloued and worſhipfull Coſins, Maiſter Nicholas Ridley of Willimountſwicke, and your wife, and I thanke you for all your kindnes ſhewed bothe to me, and alſo to all your owne kinſfolke and myne. Good Coſin, as GOD hath ſet you in our ſtocke and kindred (not for any reſpect of your perſon, but of his abundaunt grace and goodneſſe, to bee as it were the Belweather to order, and conducte the reſte, and hath alſo endued you with his manifolde giftes of grace, bothe heauenly and worldly aboue others: ſo I praie you good Coſin (as my truſt and hope is in you) continue and increaſe in the maintenaūce of the truth, honeſtie, righteouſneſſe, and all true godlineſſe, and to the vttermoſte of your power, to withſtande falſhoode, vntruthe, vnrighteouſneſſe, and all vngodlines, which is forbidden, and condemned by the worde, and Lawes of God.

To his Coſin Rafe Ridley.

Farewell my yonge Coſin Rauſe Whitfielde. Oh your tyme was verie ſhort with me. My mynde was to haue dooen you good: and yet you caught in that little tyme a loſſe, but I truſte it ſhall bee recompenſed, as it ſhall pleaſe almightie God.

To all his kindred.

Farewell all my whole kindred, and countreimen: farewell in Chriſte altogether. The Lorde whiche is the ſearcher of ſecretes, knoweth that accordyng to my hartes deſire, my hope was of late, that I ſhould haue come among you, and to haue brought with me abundaunce of Chriſtes bleſſed Goſpell, accordyng to the duetie of that office and miniſterie, whereunto among you I was choſen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late pereleſſe Prince kyng Edward, and ſo alſo denounced openly in his Courte, by his priuie Counſaill.

Biſhop Ridley appoynted to be Biſhop of Durham.

I warne you all my welbeloued kinſfolke and coūtreimē, that ye be not amaſed or aſtonied, at the kind of my departure, or diſſolutiō: for I enſure you, I thinke it the moſte honour that euer I was called vnto in al my life, and therefore I thanke my Lorde GOD hartely for it, that it hath pleaſed hym to call me of his greate mercie vnto this high honour, to ſuffer death willyngly for his ſake, and in his cauſe: vnto the which honour he called the holie Prophetes, and dearely beloued Apoſtelles, and his bleſſed choſen Martyres.

Martyrdome a Gods ſingular and rare promotion.

For knowe ye that I doubt no more, but that the cauſes wherefore I am put to death, are Goddes cauſes, and the cauſes of the truth, then I doubt that the Goſpell, whiche John wrote, is the Goſpell of Chriſt, or that Paules Epiſtles are the verie worde of GOD. And to haue a harte willyng to abide, and ſtande in Gods cauſe, and in Chriſtes quarell euen vnto death, I enſure thee (O manne) it is an ineſtimable and an honourable gifte of God, giuen onely to the true electes, and dearely beloued children of God, and inheritours of the kyngdome of heauen. For the holie Apoſtell, and alſo Martyre in Chriſtes cauſe, Sainct Peter ſaieth: If ye ſuffer rebuke in the name of Chriſt that is, in Chriſtes cauſe, and for his truthes ſake, then are ye happie and bleſſed, for the glorie of the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. If for rebukes ſake ſuffered in Chriſtes name, a man is pronounced by the mouthe of that holie Apoſtle, bleſſed and happie: how muche more happie, and bleſſed is he that hath the grace to ſuffer death alſo. Wherefore, all ye that bee my true louers and frendes, reioyce, and reioice with me again, and render with me hartie thankes to God our heauenly Father, that for his Sonnes ſake my Sauiour and redemer Chriſte, he hath vouchſafed to call me, beeyng els without his gracious goodnes, in my ſelf but a ſinfull and a vile wretch, to call me (I ſaie) vnto this high dignitie of his true Prophettes, of his faithfull Apoſtles, and of his holy elect and choſen Martirs, that is, to dye and to ſpende this temporall life in the defence and maintenaunce of his eternall & euerlaſtyng truth.

1. Peter 4.

A bleſſed thyng to ſuffer death for Chriſt.

Ye knowe that bee my Countreymen dwellyng vpon the borders, where (alas) the true manne ſuffereth oftentymes muche wrong at the Theeues hande, if it chaunce a man to bee ſlaine of a theefe (as it oft chaunceth there) whiche went out with his neighbour to help hym to reſcue his goodes againe, that the more cruelly he bee ſlaine, and the more ſtedfaſtly he ſtucke by his neighbour, in the fight againſt the face of the Theefe, the more fauour and frendſhip ſhall all his poſteritie haue for the ſlaine mannes ſake, of all them that bee true, as longe as the memorie of his facte, and his poſteritie dooeth endure: Euen ſo, ye that bee my kinſefolke and countreimen, knowe ye (how ſoeuer the blind ignoraunt, and wicked worlde hereafter ſhall raile vpon my death, whiche thing thei can not doe worſe then their fathers did, of the death of Chriſt our Sauiour, of his holie Prophettes, Apoſtles, and Martyres:) knowe ye, (I ſaie) that bothe before God, and al them that bee godly, and that truely knowe, and followe the lawes of God, ye haue, and ſhall haue by Gods grace, euer cauſe to reioyce, and to thanke God highly, and to thinke good of it, and in GOD to reioyce of me your fleſhe & bloud, whom God of his gracious goodnes hath vouchſafed, to aſſociate vnto the bleſſed companie of his holie Martyres in heauen, and I doubte not in the infinite goodneſſe of my Lorde God, nor in the faithfull fellowſhip of his elect, and choſen people, but at bothe their handes in my cauſe, ye ſhall rather finde the more fauour and grace: For the Lorde ſaith, that he will be bothe to them, and theirs that loue hym, the more louyng againe in a thouſande generations: the Lorde is ſo full of mercie to thē (I ſaie) and theirs whiche doe loue hym in deede. And Chriſt ſaith again, that no man can ſhewe more loue, then to giue his life for his frende.

If it be a point of a faithfull frēd to die with his frend vpon theues for worldly goods: howe muche more then to die in Chriſtes quarell vpon the enemies of his church?

Deuter. 7.
Iohn. 15.

Now alſo knowe ye, all my true louers in GOD, my kinſfolke and Countreymen, that the cauſe wherefore I am putte to death, is euen after the ſame ſorte and condition, but touchyng more nere Goddes cauſe, and in more waightie matters, but in the general kind all one, for bothe is Goddes cauſe, bothe is in the maintenaunce of righte, and bothe for the Common wealthe, and bothe for the weale alſo of the Chriſtian brother: although yet there is in theſe twoo no ſmall difference, bothe concernyng the enemies, the goodes ſtolne, and the maner of the fighte. For knowe ye all, that like as there, when the poore true manne is robbed by the Theefe of his owne goodes truely gotten (where vppon he and his houſholde ſhould liue) he is greatly wronged, and the Theefe in ſtealyng, and robbyng with violence the poore mannes goodes, dooeth offende God, dooeth tranſgreſſe his lawe, and is iniurious bothe to the poore man, & to the cōmon wealthe: ſo I ſaie, knowe ye all that euen here in the cauſe of

To die in any right, whatſoeuer it be, is to die in Gods cauſe.

my

To die in the truth againſt theeues, and to die for the truth againſt Chriſtes enemies, compared.

Truth taught in the church of England.

my death it is with the Churche of England, I meane the congregation of the true choſen children of God in this realme of Englãde, whiche I knowledge not onely to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my ſpirituall brethren, and ſiſters in Chriſt, yea, members of one bodie, wherein by Gods grace I am, and haue been grafted in Chriſte. This Churche of Englande had of late of the infinite goodneſſe, and aboundant grace of almightie God, greate ſubſtaunce, great riches of heauenly treaſure, greate plentie of Goddes true and ſincere worde, the true and wholſome adminiſtration of Chriſtes holie ſacramentes, the whole profeſſion of Chriſtes religiõ, truely and plainly ſet forthe in Baptiſme, the plain declaration and vnderſtanding of the ſame, taught in the holie Cathechiſme, to haue been learned of all true Chriſtians.

True miniſtratiõ of the Lordes ſupper.

This churche had alſo a true and ſincere forme, and maner of the Lordes Supper, wherein, accordyng to Ieſus Chriſtes owne ordinaunce, and holie inſtitution, Chriſtes commaundementes were executed and doen. For vpon the bread and wine ſet vpon the Lordes table, thankes were giuen, the commemoration of the lordes death was had, the bread in yͤ remembraunce of Chriſtes bodie torne vppon the croſſe, was broken, and the cuppe in the remembraunce of Chriſtes bloud ſhedde, was diſtributed, and bothe communicated vnto all that were preſent, and would receiue them, and alſo thei were exhorted of the Miniſter ſo to doe.

Seruice in the vulgare tõgue.

All was doen openly in the vulgare tonge, ſo that euery thing might be bothe eaſly heard, and plainly vnderſtande of all the people, to gods high glorie, and the edification of the whole churche. This churche had of late the whole diuine ſeruice, all common and publicke praiers ordained to be ſaied, and heard in the common congregation, not onely framed and faſhioned to the true vaine of holie ſcripture, but alſo ſet forthe accordyng to the commaundement of the Lorde, and ſainct Paules doctrine for the peoples edification, in their vulgare tongue.

Homilies in the church of England.

Articles ſet forthe for matters of controuerſie.

It had alſo holie and wholſome Homelies, in commendation of the principall vertues: whiche are commended in Scripture, and likewiſe other Homelies againſt the moſte pernicious and capitall vices that vſeth (alas) to raigne in this realme of England. This church had in matters of controuerſie, articles ſo penned, and framed after the holie Scripture, and grounded vpon the true vnderſtandyng of Gods worde, that in ſhort tyme, if thei had been vniuerſally receiued, thei ſhould haue been able to haue ſet in Chriſtes Church, muche concorde and vnitie in Chriſtes true Religion, and to haue expelled many falſe errours and hereſies, wherewith this Churche (alas) was almoſte ouergone.

Theues of Samaria in Chriſtes church, Sabei, Chaldei.

Robbing of Chriſtes church.

Baptiſme mixt with mens fantaſies.

But (alas) of late into this ſpirituall poſſeſſion of the heauenly treaſure of theſe Godlie riches, are entered in theeues that haue robbed, and ſpoiled all this heauenly treaſure awaie. I maie well complaine on theſe thieues, and crie out vpõ them with the Prophet, ſaiyng: Deus venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam. &c. Pſalme.72. O Lorde God, the Gentiles, Heathen nations are come into thy heritage: Thei haue defiled thy holie Temple, and made Ieruſalem an heape of ſtones, that is: thei haue broken and beaten doune to the grounde thy holie Citie. This Heathenishe generatiõ, theſe Theeues of Samaria, theſe Sabei and Caldei, theſe robbers haue ruſhed out of their dẽnes, and haue robbed the Churche of Englande, of all the foreſaied holie treaſure of God: thei haue caried it awaie, and ouerthrowen it, and in the ſtede of Gods holie woorde, the true and right adminiſtration of Chriſtes holie Sacramentes, as of Baptiſme and others, thei mixte their miniſterie with mennes fooliſh fantaſies, and many wicked and vngodlie traditions withall.

The Lordes ſupper turned to the Maſſe.

Luke.22.

1. Cor.11.

The Lordes cuppe robbed.

In the ſteede of the Lordes holie Table, thei giue the people, with muche ſolemne diſguiſyng, a thyng whiche thei cal their Maſſe, but in deede and in truth, it is a verie maſkyng, and mockerie of the true Supper of the Lorde, or rather I maie call it a craftie iugling, whereby theſe falſe theeues & iuglers, haue bewitched the minds of the ſimple people, that thei haue brought them from the true worſhip of God, vnto pernicious Idolatrie, and make them to beleue that to be Chriſte our Lorde and Sauiour, whiche in deede is neither GOD, nor man, nor hath any life in it ſelf, but in ſubſtaunce is the creature of bread and wine, and in vſe of the Lordes table, is the Sacrament of Chriſtes bodie and bloud: and for this holy vſe, for the whiche the lorde hath ordained them in his Table, to repreſent vnto vs his bleſſed bodie, torne vpon the croſſe for vs, and his bloud there ſhed, it pleaſed hym to call them his bodie and bloud, whiche vnderſtanding, Chriſte declareth to bee his true meanyng, when he ſaieth: Doe this in the remembraunce of me. And againe, S. Paule likewiſe dooeth ſette out the ſame more plainly, ſpeakyng of the ſame Sacrament, after the wordes of the conſecratiõ, ſaiyng: As often as ye ſhall eate of this bread, & drinke of this Cuppe, ye ſhall ſet forthe (he meaneth with the ſame) the Lordes death vntill his commyng againe. And here againe theſe theeues haue robbed alſo yͤ people of the Lordes Cuppe, contrary to the plaine wordes of Chriſt, written in his Goſpell.

Prayers turned to an vnknowne tõgue.

Now, for the common publike praiers, whiche wer in the vulgare tongue, theſe theeues haue brought in againe a ſtraunge tongue, whereof the people vnderſtande not one worde. Wherein what doe thei els, but robbe the people of their Diuine ſeruice, wherein they ought to praie together with the miniſter: and to praie in a ſtraunge tongue, what is it, but (as ſaincte Paule calleth it) barbarouſnes, childiſhnes, vnprofitable follie, yea, and plaine madneſſe?

In ſteade of Homelies the Popes decrees ſet vp.

The Popes doctrine conteineth blaſphemy to god, treaſon to Chriſt, is cõtrary to Gods word, is a ſubuerſion of true godlines, and deſtruction of mans ſoule.

For the godlie Articles of vnitie in Religion, and for the wholeſome Homelies, what dooe theſe theeues place in the ſteede of them, but the Popes Lawes and Decrees, lyng Legendes, fained fables and miracles, to delude and abuſe the ſimplicitie of the rude people. Thus this robberie and theft is not onely committed, naie, ſacrilege and wicked ſpoile of heauenly thynges, but alſo in the ſtede of the ſame, is brought in and placed, the abominable deſolation of the tyraunte Antiochus, of proude Senacherib, of the ſhameleſſe faced kyng, and of the Babilonicall Beaſte. Unto this robberie, this thefte and ſacrilege, for that I can not conſente, nor (GOD willyng) neuer ſhall ſo longe as the breathe is in my bodie, becauſe it is blaſphemie againſt God, high treaſon vnto Chriſte our heauenly Kyng, Lorde, maſter, and our onely Sauiour and Redemer, it is plaine contrary to Gods woorde, and to Chriſtes Goſpell, it is the ſubuerſion of all true godlineſſe, and againſt the euerlaſtyng ſaluation of myne owne ſoule, and of all my brethren and ſiſters, whom Chriſt my ſauiour hath ſo dearely bought, with no leſſe price, then with the effuſion and ſhedyng foorthe of his moſte precious bloud: Therefore, all ye my true louers in God, my kinſefolke and countreimen, for this cauſe (I ſaie) knowe ye that I am put to death, whiche by Goddes grace I ſhall willyngly take, with hartie thankes to God therefore, in certaine hope without any doubting, to receiue at Gods hande again of his free mercie and grace, euerlaſtyng life.

Compariſon betweene Popiſh perſecuters and ſtrong theeues.

Although the cauſe of the true manne ſlaine of the theefe, helpyng his neighbour to recouer his goodes againe, and the cauſe wherefore I am to be put to death in a generalitie is bothe one (as I ſaied before) yet knowe ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe theeues againſt whom I doe ſtande, are muche worſe then the robbers and theeues of the borders. The goodes whiche thei ſteale, are muche more precious, and their kindes of fighte are farre diuers. Theſe theeues are worſe (I ſaie) for thei are more cruell, more wicked, more falſe, more deceiptfull and craftie: for thoſe will but kill the bodie, but theſe will not ſtrike to kill bothe bodie and ſoule. Thoſe for the generall theft and robberie, bee called and are in deede theeues and robbers: but theſe for their ſpirituall kinde of robberie, are called Sacrilegi, as ye would ſaie Churche robbers. Thei are more wicked: For thoſe goe about to ſpoile menne of worldly thinges, worldly riches, gold and ſiluer, and worldly ſubſtaunce: theſe goe about in the waies of the Deuill, their ghoſtly father, to ſteale from the vniuerſall Churche, and particularly from euery man, al heauenly treaſure, true faith, true charitie, and hope of ſaluation in the bloude of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, yea to ſpoile vs of our Sauiour Chriſte, of his Goſpell, of his heauenly Spirite, and of the heauenly heritage of the kyngdome of heauen, ſo dearly purchaſed vnto vs, with the death of our Maiſter and Sauiour Chriſt. Theſe be the goodes and godly ſubſtaunce whereupon the Chriſtian before God muſte liue, and without the whiche he can not liue: Theſe goodes (I ſaie) theſe theeues, theſe churche robbers, goe about to ſpoile vs of. The whiche goodes, as to the manne of God thei excell, and farre paſſe all worldly treaſure: ſo to withſtande euen vnto the death, ſuche theeues as go about to ſpoyle both vs and the whole churche of ſuch goodes, is moſt high and honourable ſeruice done vnto God.

Popiſh perſecuters when they are falſe theues, yet will they be called true catholikes.

Theſe churchrobbers be alſo muche more falſe, craftie, and deceitfull, then the theues vpon the borders: for theſe haue not the craft ſo to commende their thefte that they dare auouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themſelues to be euill, they ſteale commonly vpon the night, they dare not appeare at iudgementes and Seſſions where iuſtice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thether, they neuer hang any man, but they bee ofte tymes hanged for their faultes: But theſe Churche robbers can ſo cloke and colour their ſpirituall robbery, that they can make the people to beleue falſhed to be truth, and truth falſhed, good to bee euill, and euil good, light to be darkenes, and darknes light, ſuperſtition to bee true religion, and idolatrie to be the true worſhip of God, and that whiche is in ſubſtance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other ſubſtaunce but onely the ſubſtance of Chriſt the liuing Lord both God and man. And with this their falſhod and crafte, they can ſo iuggle and bewitch the vnderſtanding of the ſimple, that they dare auouch it openly in court and in towne, and feare neither hangyng nor headyng, as the poore theues of the borders doe, but ſtout and ſtrong like Nembroth, dare condemne to be burned in flamyng fire quicke and aliue, whoſoeuer will goe about to bewraie their falſhed.

The fight with ſpirituall theues, is worſe then with temporall theues.

The kind of fight againſt theſe Churche robbers, is alſo of an other ſort and kind, then is that whiche is againſt the theues of the borders. For there the true mē go forth againſt them with ſpeare and launce, with bow and bill, and all ſuche kinde of bodely weapons as the true men haue: but here as the enimies bee of an other nature, ſo the watchmen of Chriſtes flocke, the warriours that fight in the Lords warre, muſt be armed and fight with an other kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the ſouldiours of Antichriſt, although the battell is ſetforth againſt the Church by mortall men being fleſh and bloud, & neuertheles members of their father the deuill, yet for that their graund maiſter is the power of darkenes, their members are ſpirituall wickednes, wicked ſpirites, ſpirites of errours, of hereſies, of all deceite and vngodlines, ſpirites of idolatrie, ſuperſtition and hipocriſie, whiche are called of S. Paule Principates and powers, Lordes of the world, rulers of the darknes of this worlde, and ſpirituall ſubtelties concernyng heauenly thinges, and therfore our weapons muſt be fit and meete to fight againe ſuche, not carnall nor bodily weapons as ſpeare and launce, but ſpirituall and heauenly: we muſte fight againſt ſuch with the armour of God, not entendyng to kil their bodies, but their errours, their falſe craft and hereſies, their idolatrie, ſuperſtition and hipocriſy, and to ſaue (as muche as lieth in vs) both their bodies and ſoules.

Epheſians. 6.

Epheſians. 6.

The weapons of a chriſtian warriour.

And therfore, as S. Paule teacheth vs, we fight not againſt fleſh and bloud, that is, we fight not with bodely weapon to kill the man, but with the weapōs of god, to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to ſaue both body and ſoule. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charitie, righteouſnes, truth, patience, praier vnto god, and our ſword wherwith we ſmite our enemies, we beate and batter and beare downe all falſhed, is the word of God. With theſe weapons, vnder the banner of the croſſe of Chriſt we do fight, euer hauyng our eye vpon our graund maiſter, Duke and capitaine Chriſt, and then we recken our ſelues to triumphe, and to win the croune of euerlaſtyng bliſſe, when enduring in this battaile without any ſhrinkyng or yeldyng to the enemies, after the example of our graund capitaine Chriſt our Maiſter, after the example of his holy Prophets, Apoſtles & Martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlaine in our mortall bodies, of ours enmies, and are moſt cruelly and without all mercie murdered doune like a meanie of ſheepe. And the more cruell, the more painefull, the more vile and ſpitefull is the kinde of the death whereunto we be put: the more glorious in GOD, the more bleſſed and happie we recken, (without all doubtes) our Martyrdome to be.

And thus much deare louers and frendes in God, my countreymen and kinſfolke. I haue ſpoken for youre comfort, leſt of my death (of whoſe life you looked peraduenture ſometymes to haue had honeſtie, pleaſures, and commodities) ye might be abaſhed or thinke any euill: whereas ye haue rather cauſe to reioyſe (if ye loue me in deede) for that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignitie, then euer I did enioye before either in Rocheſter or in the Sea of London, or euer ſhould haue had in the Sea of Durham, wherunto I was laſt of all elected and named: yea I count it greater honour before god in dede to die in his cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) then is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be geuen to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be Gods, to be Chriſtes quarell and of his Goſpell, to bee the common weale of all the electe and choſen children of God, of all the inheritours of the kingdome of heauen, who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredlie by Gods worde, and the teſtimony of his owne conſcience (as I through the infinite goodnes of God, not of my ſelfe, but by his grace, acknowledge my ſelfe to do) who is he (I ſaye) that knoweth this and both loueth and feareth God in deede and in truth, loueth and beleueth his Maſter Chriſt and his bleſſed goſpel, loueth his brotherhode the choſen children of god, and alſo luſteth and longeth for euerlaſting life, who is he (I ſaye againe) that would not or can not finde in his harte in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lorde forbid that any ſuche ſhould bee that ſhoulde forſake this grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comforte through Ieſus Chriſte our Lord, that he which hath put this minde, will, and affection by his holy ſpirite in my hart to ſtand againſt the face of the enemy in his cauſe, and to chuſe rather the loſſe of al my worldly ſubſtance, yea and of my life too, then to denie his knowne truth, that he will comforte me, ayde mee, and ſtrengthen mee euermore euen vnto the ende, and to the yeldyng vp of my ſpirite and ſoule into his holy handes: whereof I moſte hartely beſeech his moſt holy Sacred maieſtie of his infinite goodnes and mercie, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

D. Ridley named to the Sea of Durham.

The cauſe of Martyrs is the cōmon cauſe of Chriſt, and of al his elect ſaintes.

Let no man ſhrinke to die in ſuch a bleſſed and cōmon quarell.

To his frendes in Cambridge.

Now that I haue taken my leaue of my countreymen and kinſfolke, and the Lord doth lend me life and geueth me leyſure, I will bid my other good frendes in God of other places alſo, farewell. And whom firſt or before other, thā the vniuerſity of Cambridge wheras I haue dwelt longer, found more faithfull and hartie frendes, receiued more benefites (the benefites of my naturall parentes only excepted) then euer I did euen in mine owne natiue countrey wherin I was borne.

Benefites ſhewed to D. Ridley in Cambridge.

Farewel therfore Cambridge my louing mother and tender nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manyfold benefites, yea if I ſhoulde not for thy benefites at the leaſt loue thee againe, truely I were to be counted vngrate and vnkind. What benefites hadſt thou euer, that thou vſeſt to geue and beſtow vpon thy beſt beloued childrē, that thou thoughteſt to good for me? Thou diddeſt beſtow on me all thy ſchole degrees: of thy common offices, the Chaplainſhip of the Vniuerſitie, the office of the Proctorſhip, and of a common reader, and of thy priuate commodities and emolumentes in Colledges? what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſte to bee Scholer then Fellowe, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me againe to a Maſterſhip of a right worſhipfull colledge. I thanke thee my louyng mother for all this thy kindnes, and I pray God that his lawes and the ſincere goſpell of Chriſte, may euer be truely taught & faithfully learned in thee.

Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

Farewell Pembroke hall, of late mine owne Colledge, my cure & my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt euer named ſithens I knew thee (which is now a. xxx. yeres agoe) to bee ſtudious, well learned, and a greate ſetter forth of Chriſtes goſpell, and of Gods true word: ſo I found thee, and bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee in deede. Wo is me for thee mine owne deare Colledge, if euer thou ſuffer thy ſelfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the wals, buttes, & trees, if they could ſpeake, would beare me witnes) I learned without booke almoſt all Paules Epiſtles, yea and I wene all the Canonicall Epiſtles ſaue onely the Apocalipſe. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great parte did depart from me, yet the ſweete ſmell therof I truſt I ſhall cary with me into heauen: for the profite therof I thinke I haue felt in all my life tyme euer after, & I weene of late (whether they abide there nowe or no I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lorde graunt that this zeale and loue towarde that parte of Gods word, which is a kay and a true commentary to all holy Scripture, may euer abide in that Colledge ſo long as the world ſhall endure.

Commendation of Pembroke hall to be a ſetter forth euer of the goſpell.

D. Ridley learned the Epiſtles of S. Paul and Peter without booke in Pembroke hall.

D. Ridley called into Kent by Archbiſhop Cranmer.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury Thomas Cranmer, that moſt reuerend Father and man of God, and of hym by and by ſent to be Vicar of Herne in Eaſt kent. Wherfore farewell Herne thou worſhipfull and wealthy pariſhe, the firſt cure whereunto I was called to miniſter Gods worde. Thou haſt heard of my mouth oft times the worde of God preached, not after the popiſh trade, but after Chriſtes Goſpell: Oh that the fruite had anſwered to the ſeede. And yet I muſt knowledge me to be thy dettour for the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, which at that tyme I acknowledge God had not reuealed vnto me: but I bleſſe God in all that godly vertue and zeale of Gods word, which the Lord by preachyng of his word did kindle manifeſtly both in the hart and in the life and workes of that Godly woman there my Lady Phines: the Lorde graunt that his worde toke like effect there in many other moe.

To the pariſhe of Herne in Kent.

The godly Lady Phines in Herne pariſh.

To the metrapoliticke Sea of Canterbury.

Farewell thou Cathedrall churche of Caunterbury, the Metrapoliticke ſea, whereof once I was a member. To ſpeake thinges pleaſaunt vnto the, I dare not for daunger of conſcience and diſpleaſure of my lord God, and to ſaye what lieth in my hart, were nowe to muche, and I feare were able to doe the nowe but little good. Neuertheles, for the frendſhip I haue founde in ſome there, and for charitie ſake, I wiſhe thee to bee waſhed cleane of al wordlines and vngodlines, that thou maiſt be found of God after thy name, Chriſtes Churche in dede and in truth.

To the Sea of Rocheſter.

Farewell Rocheſter, ſometime my Cathedrall Sea, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did find muche gentlenes and obedience, and I truſte thou wilt not ſaye the contrary but I did vſe it to Gods glory, and thyne owne profite in god. Oh that thou haddeſt and mighteſt haue continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods law wherein I did leaue thee: then thy charge and burden ſhould not haue bene ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verely it is like to be (alas) on the latter daie.

To Weſtminſter.

To Weſtminſter, other aduertiſemẽt in god I haue not now to ſaye, then I haue ſaid before to the Cathedral Church of Caunterburie: and ſo GOD geue thee of his grace, that thou maiſte learne in deede and in truthe to pleaſe hym after his owne lawes. And thus fare you well.

To the Sea of London.

Oh London, London, to whom now may I ſpeake in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewell? Shall I ſpeake to the Prebendaries of Paules? Alas, all that loued Gods woorde, and were true ſetters forth thereof, are now (as I heare ſaie) ſome burnt and ſlaine, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome holden in hard priſon, and appointed daily to be put to moſt cruel death for Chriſtes Goſpel ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could neuer brooke me well, nor I could neuer delight in them.

B. Ridley depoſed from the Sea of London without right or iudgement.

Shall I ſpeake to the Sea thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully by the ſpace of thre yeares? But what may I ſay to it, beyng (as I heare ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by iudgement as an vniuſt vſurper of that roome. O iudgement iudgemẽt. Can this be iuſte iudgement to condemne the chief miniſter of Gods worde, the Paſtour and Biſhop of the Dioces, and neuer bring hym into iudgement, that hee might haue heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor neuer ſuffer him to haue any place or tyme to aunſwere for himſelfe? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter when true iuſtice ſhal haue place, this iudgement can euer be allowed either of GOD or of man? Well, as for the cauſe and whole matter of my depoſitiõ, and the ſpoyle of my goodes which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I referre it vnto God which is a iuſt iudge: and I beſeech God, if it bee his pleaſure, that that whiche is but my perſonall wrong, be not layd to thy charge in the latter day, this onely can I pray for.

The Sea of London worthely rebuked.

O thou now wicked and bloudy ſea, why doeſt thou ſet vp againe many altares of Idolatrie, which by the word of God were iuſtly taken awaie? Why haſt thou ouerthrowne the Lordes table? Why doeſt thou daily delude thy people, maſkyng in thy Maſſes in ſteede of the Lordes holy ſupper, which ought to be common aſwell (ſaith Chryſoſtome, yea the Lorde hymſelfe) to the people as to the Prieſt? How dareſt thou denie to the people of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſſe cõmaundemẽt in the Goſpell, his holy cuppe? Why bableſt thou to the people the common Praier in a ſtraunge tongue, wherein S. Paule commaundeth in the Lordes name, that no man ſhould ſpeake before the congregation, except it ſhoulde bee by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might bee edified? Nay, harken thou whoriſh Baud of Babylon, thou wicked limme of Antichriſt, thou bloudy wolfe, why ſlaieſt thou doune, and makeſt hauock of the Prophetes of God? Why murthereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſtes pore ſeely ſheepe which will not heare thy voyce because thou art a ſtraunger, and will followe none other but their owne Paſtour Chriſt his voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require the bloud of his Saintes at thy handes? Thy GOD, whiche is the worke of thy handes, and whom thou ſaieſt thou haſte power to make, that thy deafe and dumme God (I ſay) wil not in dede, nor cannot (although thou art not aſhamed to call hym thy maker) make thee to eſcape the reuengyng hand of the high and almighty God. But be thou aſſured that the liuing Lord our Sauiour and redemer, whiche ſitteth on the right hand of his father in glory, he ſeeth al thy wicked waies and crueltie done to his deare members, and hee will not forget his holye ones, and his handes (O thou whoriſhe drabbe) ſhalte thou neuer eſcape. In ſteed of my farewell to thee nowe I ſay, fye vppon thee, fye vpon thee filthy drabbe, and al thy falſe Prophets.

The bloudy ſea of London.

B. Ridleys propheſie vpon the Epiſcopall Sea of Londõ.

To the citie of London.

Yet thou O London, I may not leaue thee thus. Although thy Epiſcopal ſea, now beyng ioyned in league with the ſeat of Sathan, thus hath now both handled me and the Saintes of God: yet I do not doubt but in that great Citie there be many priuy mourners which doe daily mourne for that miſchiefe, the whiche neuer did nor ſhall conſent to that wickednes, but doe deteſt and abhorre it as the waies of Satan. But theſe priuy mourners here I will paſſe by, and bid them fare well with their fellowes hereafter, when the place and occaſion ſhall more conueniently require. Among the worſhipfull of the city, and ſpecially which were in office of the Mairalty, yea and in other Cities alſo (whom to name nowe it ſhall not bee neceſſary) in the tyme of my Miniſterie, which was from the later part of ſir Rowlande Hilles yeare vnto ſir George Barnes yeare and a great part therof, I doe acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanitie and gentlenes, as me thought: but (to ſay the truth) that I doe eſteeme aboue all other for true chriſtian kindnes which is ſhewed in Gods cauſe and done for hys ſake. Wherefore O Dobbes, Dobbes, Alderman and Knight, thou in thy yeare diddeſt winne my hart for euermore, for that honourable acte, that moſt bleſſed worke of God of the erection and ſettyng vp of Chriſtes holy hoſpitals, & truely religious houſes which by thee, and through thee were begonne. For thou like a man of god, when the matter was moued for the reliefe of Chriſtes pore ſely members to be holpen from extreme miſery, hunger and famine, thy hart (I ſay) was moued with pitie, & as Chriſtes high honourable officer in that cauſe, thou calledſt together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the Citye, before whom thou brakeſt the matter for the pore: thou diddeſt plead their cauſe, yea, and not only in thine owne perſon thou diddeſt ſet forth Chriſtes cauſe, but to further the matter thou broughteſt mee into the councell Chamber of the Citie before the Aldermen alone, whõ thou haddeſt aſſembled there together to heare mee ſpeake what I coulde ſaye as an aduocate by office and duetie in the poore mens cauſe. The Lorde wrought with thee, and gaue thee the conſent of thy brethren: wherby the matter was brought to the common counſell, and ſo to the whole bodye of the Citye, by whom with an vniforme conſent, it was committed to be drawne, ordered, and deuiſed by a certaine number of the moſte witty Citizens and politique, endued alſo with godlines, and with ready hartes to ſet forwarde ſuche a noble act, as could be choſen in all the whole City, and thei like true and faithfull Miniſters bothe to their Citie and their Maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deuiſed, and brought forthe the matter, that thouſandes of ſeely poore members of Chriſte, whiche els for extreme hunger and miſerye ſhould haue famiſhed and periſhed, ſhall bee relieued, holpen and brought vp, and ſhall haue cauſe to bleſſe the Aldermen of that tyme, the common Counſell and the whole body of the Citie, but ſpecially thee O Dobbes, and thoſe choſen men, by whom this honourable worke of GOD was begon and wrought, and that ſo long through out all ages, as that godly woorke ſhall endure: whiche I pray almighty God may be euer vnto the worldes ende, Amen.

Commendation of ſyr Richarde Dobbes, Alderman and Knight.

The erecting of the hoſpitall by B. Ridley and ſyr Richard Dobbes, Maior of London.

And thou O Syr George Barnes (the trueth is to

Commendatiõ of Syr George Barnes Maior of London.

Bridewell obtayned of King Edward by Sir George Barnes, to ſet poore people a worke.

be confeſſed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other) thou waſt in thy yeare not onely a furtherer and continuer of that whiche before thee by thy predeceſſor was well begonne: but alſo diddeſt laboure ſo to haue perfited the worke, that it ſhoulde haue beene an abſolute thyng and a perfecte ſpectacle of true charitie and Godlineſſe vnto all Chriſtendome. Thyne endeuour was to haue ſet vp an houſe of occupations, both that all kynde of pouertie beyng able to worke, ſhould not haue lacked, whereuppon profitablye they might haue bene occupied to their owne reliefe and to the profite and commoditie of the common wealthe of the Citie, and alſo to haue retired thither, the poore Babes brought vp in the Hoſpitals, when they had come to a certaine age and ſtrength, and alſo all thoſe whiche in the Hoſpitalles aforeſaid had beene cured of their diſeaſes. And to haue brought this to paſſe, thou obtainedſt (not without great diligence and labour, bothe of thee and thy brethren) of that Godlie Kyng Edwarde, that chriſtian and pierles Princes hande, his princelie place of Bridewell, and what other thinges to the performance of the ſame, and vnder what condition it is not vnknowne. That this thyne endeuour hath not had like ſucceſſe, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and ſtate of the tyme, which the Lorde of his infinite mercie vouchſafe to amende when it ſhall be his gracious will and pleaſure.

To the Citizẽs of London.

Farewell now all ye Citizens that be of GOD, of what ſtate and condition ſo euer ye be. Undoubtedly in London ye haue hearde Gods worde truely preached. My hartes deſire and dailie praier ſhall be for you (as for whom, for my time, I knowe to my Lorde God I am countable) that ye neuer ſwarue, neither for loſſe of life nor worldly goodes, from Gods holye worde, and yelde vnto Antichriſt: whereupon muſt needes folow the extreme diſpleaſure of GOD, and the loſſe both of your bodies and ſoules into perpetuall damnation for euermore.

To the higher houſe and temporall Lordes of the Parliament.

Gal. 3.

A good warnĩg or leſſon to the temporall Lordes.

Now that I haue gone through the places where I haue dwelt anye ſpace in the tyme of my pilgrimage here vpon earth, remembring that for the ſpace of king Edwardes raigne, which was for the time of mine office in the Seas of London and Rocheſter, I was a member of the higher houſe of the parliament: therfore (ſeyng my God hath geuen me leyſure and the remembraunce therof) I will bid my Lordes of the temporaltie farewell. They ſhall haue no iuſt cauſe (by Goddes grace, to take it that I entend to ſay, in ill part. As for the ſpirituall Prelacie that now is, I haue nothyng to ſaie to them, except I ſhoulde repeate againe a greate part of that I haue ſaid before now alreadie to the ſea of London. To you therfore my Lordes of the temporaltie will I ſpeake, and this would I haue you firſte to vnderſtande, that when I wrote this, I loked dailie when I ſhoulde bee called to the chaunge of this life, and thought that this my writyng ſhoulde not come to youre knowledge, before the tyme of the diſſolution of my Body and Soule ſhould be expired, and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes onely the feare of God, and chriſtian charitie toward you, whiche moued me to write: for of you hereafter I loke not in this worlde, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure. If my talke ſhall do you neuer ſo much pleaſure or profite, you can not promote me, nor if I diſpleaſe you, ye can not hurte me or harme me, for I ſhall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you feare God, and can be content to heare the talke of hym that ſeeketh nothyng at your handes, but to ſerue God and to doe you good: hearken what I ſaie. I ſaie vnto you, as S. Paule ſaith to the Galathians: I wonder my Lordes what hath bewitched you, that ye ſo ſodainly are fallen from Chriſte vnto Antichriſt, from Chriſtes Goſpell vnto mens traditions, from the Lorde that bought you, vnto the Biſhop now of Rome. I warne you of your perill: be not deceiued, except you wil be found willingly conſenters vnto your owne death. For if ye thinke thus: Wee are laye men, this is a matter of religion, we followe as we are taught and led, if our teachers and gouernours teache vs & leade vs amiſſe, the fault is in them, they ſhal bear the blame: My Lordes this is true (I graunt you) that both the falſe teacher, and the corrupt gouernour, ſhall be puniſhed for the death of their Subiecte, whom they haue falſelye taught and corruptlie ledde, yea and his bloud ſhall be required at their handes: but yet neuertheleſſe ſhall that Subiect dye the death himſelfe alſo, that is, hee ſhall alſo bee damned for his owne ſinne; for if the blind lead the blind, Chriſt ſaieth not the leader onely, but hee ſaieth: both ſhall fall in the Ditche. Shall the Sinagoge and the Senate of the Iewes (trowe ye) which forſooke Chriſt and conſented to his death, therefore be excuſed, bicauſe Annas, and Cayphas, with the Scribes and Phariſeis and their clergie, did teache them amiſſe? yea and alſo Pilate their gouernour and the Emperours Lieuetenaunt by his tyrannie, did without cauſe put hym to death? Forſooth no my Lordes, no. For notwithſtandyng that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates waſhing of his handes, neither of both ſhall excuſe either that Sinagoge and Seignorie, or Pilate: but at the Lordes hande, for the effuſion of that innocent bloud, on the latter day all ſhal drinke of the deadly whip. Ye are wittie and vnderſtand what I meane: therfore I will paſſe ouer this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his aduerſarie the Biſhop of Rome.

Ezech. 3.
Luke 6.

Ignorance will not excuſe the ſpecialty being ſeduced in religion.

The Lordes of the parliament be fallen from Chriſt to Chriſtes enemy.

Act. 26.

Many good men in the Sea of Rome.

So long as the ſea of Rome folowed the rules of the Apoſtles, it might be called Peter or Paules chaire.

The church receiued of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God.
Tertull.

And leſt, my Lordes, ye may peraduenture thinke, thus barelie to call the Biſhop of Rome Chriſtes aduerſarie, or (to ſpeake it in plaine termes) to call hym Antichriſt, that it is done in mine anguiſhe, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate man do not care what I ſaie, or vppon whom I doe raile: therfore, that your Lordſhippes maie perceiue my minde, and thereby vnderſtande that I ſpeake the wordes of the trueth and of ſobrietie (as Sainct Paule ſaide vnto Feſtus) bee it knowne vnto your Lordſhips al, that as concernyng the Biſhoppe of Rome, I neither hate the perſon nor the place. For I enſure your Lordſhippes (the liuyng Lord beareth me witnes, before whom I ſpeake) I do thinke manie a good holie manne, manie Martyrs and Saintes of GOD haue ſitte and taught in that place Chriſtes Goſpell truelie, whiche therefore iuſtlie may be called Apoſtolici, that is, true Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and alſo that Churche and Congregation of Chriſtians to bee a right Apoſtolike churche, yea and that certaine C. yeres after the ſame was firſte erected and builded vpon Chriſt, by the true Apoſtolicall doctrine taught by the mouthes of the Apoſtles them ſelues. If ye will know how long that was and how many hundreth yeres, to bee curious in pointyng the preciſe nomber of the yeres I will not bee to bolde, but thus I ſaie: ſo long and ſo manye hundreth yeres as that Sea did truelie teache and preache that Goſpell, that Religion, exerciſed that power, and ordered euerie thyng by thoſe lawes and rules whiche that Sea receiued of the Apoſtles, and (as Tertullian ſaieth) the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God: ſo long (I ſaie) that Sea might well haue beene called Peter and Paules chaire and Sea, or rather Chriſtes chaire, & the Biſhop thereof Apoſtolicus, or true Diſciple and Succeſſour of the Apoſtles, and a Miniſter of Chriſt.

The Sea of Rome hath degenerated from the Apoſtles rules and hath ſet vp an other religion.

Hath exerciſed an other power.

Hath ordeined ſtraũge lawes.

If true doctrine maketh ſea Apoſtolike: then cõtrary doctrine maketh the ſea to be antichriſt.

But ſince the time that that Sea hath degenerated from the trade of trueth and true religion the whiche it receiued of the Apoſtles at the beginnyng, and hath preached an other Goſpell, hath ſet vp an other religion, hath exerciſed an other power, and hath taken vpon it to order and rule the churche of Chriſte by other ſtraunge lawes, Canons and rules then euer it receiued of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles of Chriſt, whiche thinges it doth at this daie, and hath continued ſo doyng (alas, alas) of too too long a tyme: ſince the tyme (I ſaie) that the ſtate and condition of that Sea hath thus bene chaunged, in truthe it ought of dutie and of right to haue the names chaũged both of the Sea and of the ſitter therein. For vnderſtand my Lords, it was neither for the priuilege of the place or perſon thereof, that that Sea and Biſhop therof were called Apoſtolike: but for the true trade of Chriſtes Religion which was taught and maintained in that Sea at the firſte, and of thoſe Godly men. And therefore as truelie and iuſtly as that Sea then, for that true trade of religion and conſanguinitie of doctrine with the Religion and doctrine of Chriſtes Apoſtles, was called Apoſtolick: ſo as truely & as iuſtly for the contrarietie of religion, and diuerſitie of doctrine from Chriſte and his Apoſtles, that Sea and the Biſhop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are in deede Antichriſtian.

Apocalip. 17.
Apocalip. 11.

The Sea is the ſeat of Sathan, and the Biſhop of the ſame, that mainteineth the abominations thereof, is Antichriſte hym ſelfe in deede. And for the ſame cauſes this Sea at this daie is the ſame which Saint Iohn calleth in his reuelation, Babylon or the whore of Babylon, and ſpirituall Sodoma and Egyptus, the mother of fornications and of the abominations vpon

Kinges committing adultery with the whore of Babylon, what it meaneth.

the earth. And with this whore doeth ſpiritually medle and lyeth with her, and committeth moſte ſtinkyng and abominable adultry before God, all thoſe Kynges and Princes, yea and all nations of the earth whiche doe conſente to her abominations, and vſe or practiſe the ſame: that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearſe ſome for example ſake) her diſpenſations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her inuocation of Saintes, hir worſhipping of images, her falſe counterfait religion in her Monkerie and Frerage, and her traditions, wherby gods lawes are defiled: as her Maſſyng & falſe miniſtryng of Gods word & the ſacramentes of Chriſt cleane contrary to Chriſtes word, & the Apoſtles doctrine, whereof in particularitie I haue touched ſomething before in my talke had with the Sea of London, and in other treatiſes more at large: wherein (if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring the ſame to light) it ſhall appeare I truſt by Gods grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whoſe rule in iudgement of Religion is Gods word, that that Religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith whiche this whore of Babylon, and the Beſt whereupon ſhe doth ſit, maintaineth at this daye with all violence of fire and ſword, with ſpoile and baniſhment (accordyng to Daniels Prophecie) and finallie with all falſhed, deceit, hipocriſie, and all kinde of vngodlines: are as cleane contrarie to Gods word, as darkenes is vnto light, or light vnto darkenes, white to blacke, or blacke to white, or as Beliall vnto Chriſt or Chriſte vnto Antichriſt hym ſelfe.

Apocalip.17.
Daniel.7.

He ſpeaketh to the lordes temporall.

I knowe my Lordes, and foreſawe when I wrote this, that ſo manie of you as ſhoulde ſee this my writyng, not beyng before indued with the ſpirite of grace and the light of Gods word, ſo many (I ſaie) would at theſe my wordes Lordlike ſtampe and ſpurne, and ſpit thereat. But ſober your ſelues with pacience and bee ſtill, and know ye that in my writyng of this, my minde was none other, but in God (as the liuyng God doeth beare mee witnes) bothe to doe you profite and pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your diſpleaſure, by yͤ tyme this ſhall come to your knowledge. I truſte by Gods grace to be in the handes and protection of the almightie, my heauenly father, and the liuyng Lord, whiche is (as S. John ſaith) the greateſt of all, and then I ſhal not neede (I trowe) to feare what anye Lorde, no nor what king or prince can doe vnto mee.

My Lordes, if in times paſt ye haue bene contented to heare mee ſometimes in matters of Religion before the Prince in the pulpit, and in the Parlament houſe, and haue not ſeemed to haue deſpiſed what I haue ſaied (when as els if ye had perceiued iuſte occaſion, ye might then haue ſuſpected in my talke, though it had bene reaſonable, either deſire of worldly gaine, or feare of diſpleaſure) how hath then your Lordſhippes more cauſe to harken to my word and to heare me paciently, ſeyng nowe ye can not iuſtly thinke of me being in this caſe appointed to die, and lookyng dailie when I ſhall bee called to come before the eternall iudge, otherwiſe but that I onely ſtudie to ſerue my Lorde God, and to ſaie that thynge whiche I am perſuaded aſſuredlye by Gods worde ſhall and doth pleaſe hym, and profit al them to whom God ſhall geue grace to heare and beleue what I doe ſay? And I do ſaie euen that I haue ſaid heretofore both of the Sea of Rome and of the biſhop thereof, I meane after this their preſent ſtate at this daie. Wherein if ye will not beleue the miniſters of God, & true preachers of his word, verely I denounce vnto you in verbo domini, except ye do repent betime, it ſhal tourne to your confuſion, and to your ſmart on the latter day. Forget not what I ſaie my Lords, for gods ſake forget not, but remember it vpon your bed. For I tell you moreouer, as I know I muſt be countable of this my talke and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternall iudge (who will iudge nothyng amiſſe) ſo ſhall you bee countable of your duety in hearyng, and you ſhall bee charged, if ye wil harkē to gods word, for not obeiyng to the truth. Alas my Lordes, how chaunceth this, that this matter is now a new againe to be perſuaded vnto you? Who would haue thought of late, but your lordſhips had bene perſuaded in deede ſufficiently, or that ye could euer haue agreed ſo vniformelie with one conſent to the aboliſhment of the vſurpation of the biſhop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policie wherein the prince muſt be obeied, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy ſaith now, and ſo ſaith the Popes lawes in deede) ſtandeth the vnitie of the Catholike Churche, and a matter of neceſſitie of our ſaluation? Hath the time, beyng ſo ſhort ſince the death of the two laſte Kinges, Henry the. viii. and Edward his ſonne, altered the nature of the matter? If it haue not, but was of the ſame nature and daunger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is ſaid by the Popes lawes, and the inſtructions ſet forth in Engliſh to the curates of the dioces of Yorke) in deede a matter of neceſſitie to ſaluation: how then chaunced it that ye were all (O my Lordes) ſo light, and ſo little paſſed vpon the catholike faith and the vnitie thereof, (without the whiche no man can be ſaued) as for youre Princes pleaſures, which were but mortal men, to forſake the vnitie of your catholike faith, that is, to forſake Chriſt and his holy goſpell? And furthermore, if it were both then and nowe is ſo neceſſarie to ſaluation, how chaunced it alſo that ye, all the whole bodie of the Parliament agreing with you, did not only aboliſh and expell the Biſhop of Rome, but alſo did abiure hym in your owne perſons, and did decree in your actes greate othes to be taken of both the ſpiritualty and temporaltie, whoſoeuer ſhould enter into anye waightie & chargeable office in the common wealth? But on the other ſide, if the law & decree which maketh the ſupremacie of the ſea and biſhop of Rome ouer the vniuerſall church of Chriſte, be a thing of neceſſitie required vnto ſaluation by an Antichriſtian law (as it is in dede) and ſuch inſtructions as are geuen to the Dioces of Yorke, bee in deede a ſetting forthe of the power of that Beaſt of Babilon by the craft & falſhode of his falſe Prophetes (as of truth, compared vnto Gods worde, and truelye iudged by the ſame, it ſhal plainely appere that thei be) then my Lordes neuer thinke other, but the daie ſhall come when ye ſhall be charged with this your vndoyng of that, that once ye had well done, and with this youre periurie and breach of your oth, which oth was done in iudgement, iuſtice, and truthe agreable to Gods lawe.

Psalme 4.

If yͤ vnity of yͤ Popes church, ſtand vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation: why did yͤ lordes of this realme abiure this vnitie in K. Henry, and K. Edwardes dayes? If it be otherwiſe, why then do they periure themſelues turning to it againe?

Ieremy.4.

The whore of Babilon may well for a tyme dally with you, and make you ſo dronken with the wine of her filthy ſtewes and whoredome (as with her diſpenſations and promiſes of pardon à pœna & culpa) that for dronkennes and blindnes ye maye thynke your ſelues ſafe. But be ye aſſured, when the liuyng Lorde ſhall trie the matter by the fire, and iudge it accordyng to his worde, when all her abominations ſhall appeare what they be: then ye my Lordes, (I geue your Lordſhips warnyng in time) repent if ye be happy, and loue your owne ſoules health, repent I ſaye, or els without all doubt, ye ſhall neuer eſcape the handes of the liuyng Lorde, for the gilt of your periurie and breach of your othe. As ye haue banketted and laine by the whore in the fornication of her whoriſh diſpenſations, pardons, idolatrie, and ſuch like abominations: ſo ſhall ye drinke with her (except ye repent betime) of the cuppe of the Lords indignation and euerlaſting wrathe, whiche is prepared for the Beaſt, his falſe prophetes, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredome and abominations, muſte alſo bee partner with them of their Plagues, and on the latter daie ſhall bee throwne with them into the lake burnyng with Brimſtone and vnquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well my Lordes all. I praie God geue you vnderſtandyng of his bleſſed will and pleaſure, and make you to beleue and embrace the truth, Amen.

¶An other farewell to the priſoners in Chriſtes goſpels cauſe, and to all them which for the ſame cauſe are exiled & baniſhed out from their own coūtrey, chooſing rather to leaue all worldly cōmodity, then their maiſter Chriſt.

An other farewel of B. Ridley to the priſoners. &c.

Farewell my dearely beloued brethren in Chriſt, both ye my fellow priſoners, and ye alſo that be exiled and baniſhed out of your coūtreis, becauſe ye wil rather forſake all worldly commoditie, then the goſpell of Chriſt.

Farewell all ye together in Chriſt: farewell and bee mery, for ye know that the triall of your faythe bringeth forth patience, and patience ſhall make vs perfect, whole and ſound on euery ſyde, and ſuch after triall (ye know) ſhall receiue the crowne of life, according to the promiſe of the Lorde made to his dearely beloued, let vs therfore be pacient vnto the comming of the Lord. As the huſbandman abydeth patiently the former and latter raine for the encreaſe of his croppe, ſo let vs bee patient and plucke vp our hartes, for the comming of the Lord approcheth apace. Let vs (my deare brethren) take example of patiēce in tribulatiō of the Prophets, which ſpake likewiſe gods word truely in his name. Let Iob be to vs as an example of patience, and the ende which the

Iacob.5.

Lorde

1. Peter 1.
1. Peter 2.

Lord ſuffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know my brethren by gods word, that our faith is much more precious then any corruptible gold, and yet that is tryed by the fire: euen ſo our faith is therefore tried likewiſe in tribulations, that it may be found when the Lorde ſhall appeare, laudable, glorious, and honorable. For if we for Chriſtes cauſe doe ſuffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called, that is our ſtate and vocation, wherwith let vs be content. Chriſt we know ſuffred for vs afflictions, leauing vs an example that we ſhould folow his foteſteps, for he cōmitted no ſinne, nor was ther any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed vpō, and all to reuiled, he rayled not againe: whē he was euill intreated, hee dyd not threaten, but committed the puniſhment therof to him that iudgeth a ryght.

Math. 5.
Luke 21.

Let vs euer haue in freſh remembrance thoſe wonderfull comfortable ſentences ſpoken by the mouth of our Sauiour Chriſt: Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake, for theyrs is the kingdome of heauen. Bleſſed are ye when men reuile you, perſecute you, and ſpeake all euill againſt you for my ſake: reioyſe and bee glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for ſo did they perſecute the Prophetes whiche were before you. Therfore let vs alway beare this in our minds, that if any incommodity doe chaūce vnto vs for righteouſnes ſake, happy are we whatſoeuer the worlde doth thinke of vs. Chriſt our maiſter hath tolde vs before hand, that the brother ſhould put the brother to death, and the father the ſonne, and the children ſhould riſe againſt theyr parents and kill them, & that Chriſtes true Apoſtles ſhould be hated of all men for his names ſake: but he that ſhall abide paciently vnto the end, ſhalbe ſaued.

Luke 6.
Math. 10.
Math. 10.

Let vs then endure in all troubles paciently after the example of our maiſter Chriſt, and be contented therewith, for he ſuffred being our maiſter & Lord: how doth it not then become vs to ſuffer? For the diſciple is not aboue his maiſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue his Lord. It may ſuffice the diſciple to be as his maiſter, and the ſeruaunt to be as his Lord. If they haue called the father of the family, the maiſter of the houſhold Belzebub, how much more ſhal they call ſo them of his houſhold? Feare them not then (ſaieth our Sauiour) for all priuities ſhalbe made plaine: there is now nothing ſecrete, but it ſhall be ſhewed in light. Of Chriſtes wordes let vs neither be aſhamed nor afaid to ſpeake them, for ſo Chriſt our maiſter commaūdeth vs, ſaying: that I tell you priuily, ſpeake openly abroade, and that I tell you in your eare, preach it vpon the houſe top. And feare not them which kill the body, for the ſoule they can not kill: but feare him which can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire.

Math. 10.
To confeſſe Chriſt, and not to feare daunger.
2. Corin. 4.

Know ye that the heauenly Father hath euer a gratious eye and reſpect towarde you, and a fatherly prouidence for you, ſo that without his knowledge and permiſſion, nothing can do you harme. Let vs therfore caſt all our care vpon him, and hee ſhall prouide that which ſhalbe beſt for vs. For if of two ſmall ſparrowes which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your father, and all the heares of our head are nūbred, feare not thē (ſayth our maſter Chriſt) for ye are more worth then many ſmall ſparrowes. And let vs not ſticke to confeſſe our maiſter Chriſt for feare of daunger whatſoeuer it ſhall be, remembring the promiſe, that Chriſt maketh, ſaying: whoſoeuer ſhall confeſſe me before men, hym ſhall I confeſſe before my father which is in heauen: but whoſoeuer ſhall deny me, him ſhal I likewiſe deny before my father which is in heauen. Chriſt came not to geue vnto vs here a carnall amity, & a worldly peace, or to knit his vnto the world in eaſe and peace, but rather to ſeparate and diuide them from the world, and to ioyne them vnto himſelfe: in whoſe cauſe wee muſt, if wee will be his, forſake father and mother, and ſticke vnto him. If wee forſake him or ſhrinke from him for trouble or deathes ſake, which hee calleth his croſſe: he will none of vs, wee cannot be his. If for his cauſe we ſhal loſe our temporall liues here, we ſhall finde them agayne and enioy them for euermore: but if in his cauſe we will not be contented to leaue nor looſe them here: then ſhall wee looſe them ſo, that wee ſhall neuer find them again, but in euerlaſting death. What though our troubles here be painfull for the time, and the ſting of death bitter and vnpleaſaunt: yet we know that they ſhall not laſt in cōpariſon of eternitie, no not the twinckling of an eye, and that they paciently taken in Chriſtes cauſe, ſhall procure and get vs vnmeaſurable heapes of heauenly glory, vnto the which theſe temporall paines of death and troubles compared, are not to be eſtemed, but to be reioyſed vpon. Wonder not, (ſayth S. Peter) as though it were any ſtraunge matter that ye are tryed by the fire (he meaneth of tribulation) which thing (ſayth he) is done to proue you: nay rather in that ye are partners of Chriſtes afflictions, reioyce, that in his gloryous reuelation, ye may reioyce with mery hartes. If ye ſuffer rebukes in Chriſtes name, happy are ye, for the glory and ſpirit of God reſteth vpon you. Of them God is reuiled & diſhonored, but of you he is glorified.

1. Peter 3.

The cauſes why the Apoſtles ſo reioyſed in their afflictions.
1. Corin. 2.

Let no man be aſhamed of that he ſuffreth as a Chriſtian, and in Chriſtes cauſe: for now is the time that iudgement and correction muſt begin at the houſe of God, and if it begin firſt at vs: what ſhall be the ende of thoſe, thinke ye, which beleue not the Goſpel? And if the righteous ſhall be hardly ſaued, the wicked & the ſinner where ſhal he appeare? Wherfore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay downe and commit their ſoules to him by well doing, as to a truſty and faithfull maker. This (as I ſayd) maye not ſeeme ſtraunge to vs, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Chriſtes congregation in this world, is ſerued with the like, and by the ſame is made perfect. For the feruent loue that the Apoſtles had vnto their maiſter Chriſt, and for the great cōmodities and increaſe of all godlines which they felt by their faith to enſue of afflictions in Chriſtes cauſe, & thirdly for the heapes of heauenly ioyes which the ſame doe get vnto the godly, which ſhall indure in heauen for euermore: for theſe cauſes (I ſay) the Apoſtles of their afflictiōs did ioy, and reioyced in that they were had and accompted worthy to ſuffer contumelies and rebukes for Chriſtes name. And Paule, as he gloryed in the grace & fauour of god, wherunto he was brought and ſtode in by faith: ſo he reioyced in his afflictions the heauenly and ſpirituall profits which he numbred to riſe vpon them: yea, hee was ſo farre in loue with that that the carnall man lotheth ſo much, that is, with Chriſtes croſſe, that he iudged himſelfe to know nothing els but Chriſt crucified: he will glory (he ſayth) in nothing elles but in Chriſtes croſſe, yea and he bleſſeth all thoſe, as the onely true Iſraelites and elect people of God with peace and mercy, whiche walketh after that rule and after none other.

2. Corin. 12.
2. Timoth. 2.
The glory of Paule wherein it conſiſted.
2. Timoth. 2.
2. Timoth. 3.
Gal. 4.
The waye to heauen is by afflictions.
Heb. 11.

O Lord, what a wonderfull ſpirit was that that made Paule, in ſetting forth of himſelfe againſt the vanity of Satans Pſeudopoſtels, and in his claime there, that he in Chriſtes cauſe did excell and paſſe them all, what wonderfull ſpirit was that (I ſay) that made him to recken vp all his troubles, his laboures, his beatings, his whippinges and ſcourgings, his ſhipwrackes, his daungres and perils by water & by land, his famine, hunger, nakednes, and colde, with many moe, and the daily care of all the congregatiōs of Chriſt, among whom euery mans paine did pearce his hart, and euery mans grief was greuous vnto him? O Lord, is this Paules Primacy, whereof hee thought ſo much good that he did excell other? Is not this Paules ſaying vnto Timothy his owne ſcholer? and doth it not pertayne to whoſoeuer will be Chriſtes true ſouldiours: beare thou (ſayth he) affliction like a good ſouldiour of Ieſu Chriſt. This is true: if we dye with him (he meaneth Chriſt) we ſhall liue with him: if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall raygne with him: if we deny him, he ſhall deny vs: if we be faythles, he remayneth faythfull, he cannot deny himſelf. This Paule would haue knowen to euery body: for there is none other way to heauen but Chriſt and his way: and all that will liue godly in Chriſt, ſhall (ſayth S. Paule) ſuffer perſecution. By this way went to heauen the Patriarkes, the Prophets, Chriſt our Maſter, his Apoſtles, his Martyrs, and all the godly ſince the beginning. And as it hath bene of old, that he which was borne after the fleſh, perſecuted him which was borne after the ſpirit, for ſo it was in Iſaacks time: ſo ſayd S. Paule, it was in his time alſo. And whether it be ſo or no now, let the ſpirituall man, the ſelfe ſame man I meane that is indued with the ſpirit of almighty God, let him be iudge. Of the croſſe of the Patriarkes, as ye may read in their ſtoryes if ye read the booke of Geneſis, ye ſhall perceiue. Of other S. Paule in few words comprehendeth much matter, ſpeaking in a generality of the wonderfull afflictions, death, and tormentes which the men of God in gods cauſe & for the truth ſake willingly and gladly dyd ſuffer. After much particular reherſall of many, he ſayth: other were racked, and deſpiſed, and would not be deliuered, that they might obtayne a better reſurrection. Other agayne were tried with mockings and ſcourgings, and moreouer with bondes and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, hewen aſunder, tempted, [illegible]ll and were ſlaine vpon the edge of the ſworde, ſome wandred to and fro in ſheepes pilches, in goates pilches, forſaken, oppreſſed, afflicted, ſuch godly mē as the world was vnworthy of, wandring in wildernes, in moūtaines, in caues, and in dennes, and all theſe were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for vs the ſeruaunts of God, and for thoſe their brethren which are to be ſlaine as they were for the word of gods ſake, that none be ſhut out, but that we may all goe together to meete our Maiſter Chriſt in the ayre at his comming, and ſo to bee in bliſſe with him in body and in ſoule for euermore.

Heb. 12.

Reaſons to moue vs to pacience vnder the croſſe.

Therfore, ſeing we haue ſo much occaſion to ſuffer and to take afflictions for Chriſtes names ſake paciently, ſo many commodities thereby, ſo waighty cauſes, ſo many good examples, ſo great neceſſity, ſo ſure promiſes of eternall life and heauenly ioyes, of him that cannot lie: Let vs throw away whatſoeuer might let vs, all burden of ſinne, and all kinde of carnality, and patiently and conſtantly let vs run for the beſt game in this race that is ſet before vs, euer hauing our eyes vpon Ieſus Chriſt the ringleader, capitaine, and perſiter of our faith, which for the ioy that was ſet before him, endured the croſſe, not paſſyng vpon the ignominy and ſhame therof, and is ſet nowe at the right hand of the throne of God. Conſider this, that he ſuffred ſuch ſtrife of ſinners againſt himſelf, that ye ſhould not geue ouer, nor faint in your mindes, As yet brethren wee haue not withſtand vnto death, fighting againſt ſinne. Let vs neuer forget deare brethen for Chriſtes ſake, that fatherly exhortation of the wyſe that ſpeaketh vnto vs as vnto his childrē the godly wiſdome of God, ſaying thus: My ſonne, deſpiſe not the correction of the Lord, nor fall not from him when thou art rebuked of him, for whom the Lord loueth, him doth he correct, & ſcourgeth euery child whom he receiueth.

Prouerb. 3.

Heb. 12.

What childe is he whom the father doth not chaſten: If ye be free from chaſtiſement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards and no children. Seing then, when as we haue had carnall parents which chaſtened vs, we reuerenced them, ſhall not we much more be ſubiect vnto our ſpirituall father that we might liue? And they for a little time taught vs after their owne minde: but this father teacheth vs to our commodity, to geue vnto vs his holynes. All chaſtiſement for the preſent time, appeareth not pleaſant but painfull: but afterward it rendreth the fruit of righteouſnes on them, which are exerciſed in it. Wherfore let vs be of good chere (good brethren) and let vs plucke vp our feble members that were fallen or began to faynt, hart, handes, knees, and all the reſt, and let vs walke vpright and ſtraight, that no limping nor haulting bring vs out of the way. Let vs looke, not vpon the things that be preſent, but with the eyes of our fayth let vs ſtedfaſtly, beholde the thinges that be euerlaſting in heauen, and ſo chooſe rather in reſpect of that which is to come, with the choſen mēbers of Chriſt to beare Chriſtes croſſe, then for this ſhort life time, to enioy all the riches, honors, and pleaſures of the broad world. Why ſhould we Chriſtians feare death? Can death depriue vs of Chriſt, which is all our comfort, our ioy, and our life? Nay forſoth. But contrary, death ſhall deliuer vs from this mortall body, which lodeth & beareth downe the ſpirite that it can not ſo well perceyue heauenly things: in the which ſo long as wee dwell, wee are abſent from God.

2. Corin. 5.

2. Corin. 5.

Wherfore, vnderſtanding our ſtate in that we be chriſtians, that if our mortall body, which is our earthly houſe, were deſtroyed, wee haue a buildyng, a houſe not made with handes, but euerlaſting in heauen &c: therfore we are of good cheare, and know that when we are in the body, we are abſent from God, for wee walke by fayth, and not by cleare ſight. Neuertheles wee are bolde, and had rather be abſent from the body and preſente with God. Wherefore, we ſtriue, whether we be preſent at home, or abſent abroad, that we may alwayes pleaſe him. And who that hath true faith in our Sauiour Chriſt, wherby he knoweth ſomewhat truſly what Chriſt our Sauiour is, that he is the eternall ſonne of God, lyfe, light, the wiſedome of the father, all goodnes, all righteouſnes and whatſoeuer is good that harte can deſire, yea infinite plenty of all theſe, aboue that that mans hart can eyther conceiue or thinke, (for in him dwelleth the fulnes of the godhead corporally) and alſo that he is geuen vs of the father, and made of God to be our wiſdome, our righteouſnes, our holynes, and our redemption: who (I ſay) is he that beleueth this in dede, that would not gladly be with his maiſter Chriſt? Paule for this knowledge coueted to haue beene looſed from the body, and to haue bene with Chriſt, for that he counted it much better for himſelfe, and had rather to be looſed than to liue. Therfore theſe wordes of Chriſt to the thiefe on the croſſe, that aſked of him mercy, were full of comfort and ſolace: This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe. To die in the defence of Chriſtes goſpell, it is our bounden duety to Chriſt, and alſo to our neighbour. To Chriſt, for he dyed for vs, and roſe againe that he myght be Lord ouer all. And ſeing he died for vs, we alſo (ſayth S. Ihon) ſhould ieopard, yea geue our life for our brethren. And this kind of geuyng and loſing, is getting and winning in deede: for he that geueth or looſeth his lyfe thus, getteth and wynneth it for euermore. Bleſſed are they therfore that dye in the Lord, and if they dye in the Lordes cauſe, they are moſt happy of all. Let vs not then feare death, which can do vs no harme, otherwiſe then for a moment to make the fleſhe to ſmart: but that our faith which is ſurely faſtned and fixed vnto the word of God, telleth vs that wee ſhall bee anone after death, in peace, in the hands of God, in ioy, in ſolace, & that from death we ſhall go ſtraight vnto life. For S. Iohn ſayth: he that liueth and beleueth in me, ſhall neuer dye. And in an other place: he ſhall depart from death vnto life. And therefore this death of the Chriſtian, is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entraunce into euerlaſting life: Therefore Paule calleth it but a diſſolution and reſolution, and bothe Peter & Paule, a putting of this Tabernacle or dwelling houſe. Meanyng therby the mortall body, as wherin the ſoule or ſpirit doth dwell here in this world for a ſmall time. Yea this death may be called to the chriſtian, an ende of all miſeries. For ſo long as we liue here, we muſt paſſe through many tribulatiōs before ve can enter into the kingdome of heauen. And now, after that death hath ſhot his bolt, all the chriſtian mans enemyes haue done what they can, and after that they haue no more to do. What coulde hurt or harme poore Lazarus that ley at the rich mans gate? His former penury and pouerty? his miſery, beggery, and horrible ſores and ſicknes? For ſo ſone as death had ſtriken him with his dart, ſo ſoone came the angels, and caryed him ſtraight vp into Abrahams boſome. What loſt hee by death, who from miſery and paine, is ſet by the miniſtery of Aungels in a place both of ioy and ſolace.

1. Corin. 1.
Philip. 1.
Luke. 23.
Rom. 9.
1. Iohn. 3.
Apocalip. 14.

To couet to be with Chriſt, & not to feare death.

Iohn 11.
Iohn. 5.
2. Peter 1.
2. Corin. 5.
Act. 14.
Luke. 16.

Farewell deare brethen, farewell, and let vs comfort our hartes in all troubles, and in death with the word of God: for heauen and earth ſhall periſh, but the word of the Lord endureth for euer.

Farewell Chriſts dearly beloued ſpouſe here wādring in this world as in a ſtraunge land, farre from thine own country, and compaſſed about on euery hād with deadly enemies, which ceaſe not to aſſault thee, euer ſeking thy deſtruction.

Farewell, farewell O ye the whole and vniuerſall cōgregation of the choſen of God here liuing vpon earth, the true church militāt of Chriſt, the true myſtical body of Chriſt, the very houſhold and family of God, and the ſacred temple of the holy ghoſt. Farewell.

Luke. 12.

Farewell, O thou little flocke of the high heauenly paſtor Chriſte, for to thee it hath pleaſed the heauenly father to geue an euerlaſting and eternall kingdome. Farewell.

Farewell thou ſpirituall houſe of God, thou holy and royall prieſthode, thou choſen generation, thou holy nation, thou wonne ſpouſe. Farewell. Farewell.

N. R.

¶An other treatiſe of B. Ridley, wherin is contained firſte a lamentation for the chaunge of Religion in Englande: then a compariſon betwene the doctrine of the Goſpell, and the Romiſhe Religion, with wholſome inſtructions in the ende to all Chriſtians, how to behaue them ſelues in tyme of triall.

The ſtate of the church of England deſcribed and lamented.

Alas, what miſerie is thy Churche brought vnto (O Lorde) at this date? Where of late the worde of the Lorde was truely preached, was read and heard in euery toune, in euery church, in euery village, yea, almoſte in euery honeſt mannes houſe: Alas nowe is it exiled, and baniſhed out of the whole realme. Of late who was not taken for a louer of Gods worde, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the ſame? And nowe (alas) who dare beare any open countenaunce toward it, but ſuche as are content in Chriſtes cauſe, and for his wordes ſake to ſtande to the daunger, and loſſe of all that thei haue?

Of late there was to be found of euery age, of euery degree and kinde of people, that gaue their diligēce

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to learne (as they could) out of Gods worde, the articles of the Chriſtian faithe, the commaundementes of GOD, and the Lordes praier. The babes and young children were taught theſe thynges of their parentes, of their maiſters, and wekely of their Curates in euery churche: and the aged folke, which had been brought vp in blindeneſſe, and in ignoraunce of thoſe thynges, whiche euery chriſtian is bounde to knowe, whē otherwiſe they could not, yet they learned the ſame by often hearyng their children, and ſeruauntes repeatyng the ſame: but nowe (alas, and alas againe) the falſe Prophetes of Antichriſt, whiche are paſt all ſhame, doe openly preach in pulpittes vnto the people of God, that the Catechiſme is to be compted hereſie: wherby their old blindnes is brought home againe: for the aged are afraied of the higher powers, and the youth is abaſhed and aſhamed, euen of that whiche they haue learned, though it be Gods worde, and dare no more medle.

Of late in euery congregation throughout al Englande, was made praier and petition vnto God, to be deliuered from the tyrannie of the Biſhoppe of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities: frō all falſe doctrine and hereſie: and nowe alas, Sathan hath perſwaded Englande by his falſhed and crafte, to reuoke her olde godly praier, to recant the ſame, & prouoke the fearfull wrathe, and indignation of God vpon her owne pate.

The lamentable chaunge of religion in the church.

Jeremy. 4.

Of late by ſtraite lawes and ordinaunces, with the conſent of the nobles and commonaltie, and full agremente, and counſaill of the prelates and cleargie, was baniſhed hence the Beaſt of Babilon, with Lawes (I ſaie) and with othes and all meanes that then could be deuiſed for ſo godly a purpoſe: but now (alas) all theſe lawes are troden vnder foote: the Nobles, the Commonaltie, the Prelates and Clergie are quite chaunged, and all thoſe othes, though they wer made in iudgement, iuſtice & truthe, and the matter neuer ſo good, doeth no more holde then a bonde of Ruſhes, or of a Barley ſtrawe, nor publicke periurie no more feareth them, then a ſhadowe vpon the wall.

1. Corin. 14.

Of late it was agreed in Englande of all handes, accordyng to Paules doctrine, and Chriſtes commaūdement: (as Paule ſaieth plaine) that nothyng ought to bee doen in the Churche, in the publique congregation, but in that tongue whiche the congregation could vnderſtande, that all might bee edified thereby, whether it were Common Praier, Adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, or any other thynge belongyng to the publique miniſterie of Gods holie and wholſome worde: but (alas) all is tourned vpſidoune, Paules doctrine is put aparte: Chriſtes commaundemente is not regarded: For nothyng is heard commonly in the churche, but in a ſtraunge tongue, that the people doth nothyng vnderſtande.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late al men and women wer taught after Chriſtes doctrine, to pray in that tong which thei could vnderſtand, that thei might praie with harte, that whiche they ſhould ſpeake with their tongue: now (alas) the vnlearned people is brought in that blindneſſe againe, to thinke that they praie, when they ſpeake with their tongue, they can not tell what, nor whereof: their harte is nothyng mindefull at all, for that it can vnderſtand neuer a whit thereof.

Abuſe in the Lordes ſupper.

Of late the Lordes Supper was duely miniſtered and taught to bee made common, to all that were true Chriſtians, with thankes giuyng, and ſettyng forth of the Lordes death and paſſion, vntill his retournyng againe, to iudge bothe quicke and dead: but now (alas) the Lordes table is quite ouerthrowen, and that which ought to be common to all godlie, is made priuate to a fewe vngodlie, without any kinde of thankes giuyng, or any ſettyng foorthe of the Lordes death at all, that the people is able to vnderſtande.

The ſacrament turned out of his right vſe and kind.

Of late all that were endued with the lighte, and grace of vnderſtandyng of Goddes holy miſteries, did bleſſe God, whiche had brought them out of that horrible blindnes and ignoraunce, whereby in tymes paſt beyng ſeduced by Sathās ſubtelties, they beleued that the Sacrament was not the Sacramēt, but the thyng it ſelf wherof it is a Sacrament: that the creature was the Creator, and that the thynge whiche hath neither life nor ſenſe (alas ſuche was the horrible blindeneſſe) was the Lorde hym ſelf, whiche made the eye to ſe, and hath giuen all ſenſes and vnderſtandyng vnto man: but now (alas) Englande is retourned againe like a Dogge to her owne vomit and ſpuyng, and is in worſe caſe then euer ſhe was: For it had been better neuer to haue knowen the truthe, then to forſake the truth once receiued and knowen: and now, not onely that light is turned into darkeneſſe, and Gods grace is receiued in vaine, but alſo lawes of death are made by high court of Parliamente, maiſterfully to maintaine by ſworde, fire, and all kinde of violence, that hainous Idolatrie wherein that adoration is giuen vnto the liueleſſe and dumme creature, whiche is onely due vnto the euerliuyng GOD: yea, they ſaie they can, and doe make of bread bothe man and God, by their tranſſubſtantiatiō. O wicked inuention, and Sathans owne broode.

Idolatry in worſhipping the creature for the creator.

The cuppe debarred from the miniſtration of the Lordes ſupper.

Of late was the Lordes cuppe at his table diſtributed, accordyng to his owne commaundement, by his expreſſe wordes in his Goſpell, as well to the Laitie as to the Clergie, whiche order Chriſtes Churche obſerued ſo many hundreth yeres after (as all the auncient Eccleſiaſticall writers doe teſtifie) without contradictiō of any one of them, that can be ſhewed vnto this date: but now (alas) not onely the lordes cōmaundemēt is broken, his cup is denied to his ſeruauntes, to whom he commaunded it ſhould bee diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet vp a new blaſphemous kind of ſacrifice to ſatiſfie and paie the price of ſinnes, bothe of the dead and of the quicke, to the greate and intolerable contumely of Chriſte our Sauiour his death and Paſſion, whiche was and is the one onely ſufficient, and euerlaſtyng auailable ſacrifice ſatiſfactory, for al the elects of God, from Adam the firſt, to the laſt that ſhalbe borne in the ende of the worlde.

Blaſphemous ſacrifice for ſinne.

Deuter. 5.

Of late the commaundemente of God: Thou ſhalte not make to thy ſelf any grauen Image, nor any ſimilitude, or likeneſſe of any thyng in heauen aboue, or in yearth beneath, or in the water vnder the yearth, thou ſhalt not bowe doune to them nor worſhip them: This commaundement of God (I ſaie) was grauen almoſte euery where in Churches, was learned of euery bodie both yong & old: wherupon Images that prouoked the ſimple, and ignoraunte people vnto Idolatrie (as the wiſe man ſaieth) were taken out of the Churches, and ſtraitely forbidden that none ſhould any where, either bowe doune to them, or worſhip them: but nowe (alas) Gods holie worde is blotted, and raſed out of Churches, and ſtockes and ſtones are ſette vp in the place thereof. God commaunded his worde ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continuall remembraunce at al tymes, and in euery place: and on the other ſide he forbad Images and Idols, ſo to be either made, or ſet in any place, where any ſhould bowe or worſhip them: but now (alas) that whiche God commaunded, is not paſſed vpon, and that whiche he forbiddeth, is maiſterfully maintained by falſhed and crafte, and wickedly vpholden.

Idolatry to ſtockes and ſtones.

Of late all miniſters that were admitted to the publike office, and miniſterie of Goddes holie worde, in their admiſſion made a ſolemne profeſſion before the congregation, that thei ſhould teache the people nothyng, as doctrine neceſſarie to attaine eternall ſaluation, but that whiche is Goddes owne holie worde, or maie be thereof grounded without any doubt: whereby vaniſhed and melted awaie of them ſelues many vain, yea wicked traditions of man, as waxe before the fire: but now at one brunte they are reuiued, and are in full hope all to retourne againe, in as greate ſtrength as euer they haue been. And how can any man looke for any other thing, but when you haue receiued the head, you muſte alſo receiue the whole bodie withall, or els how can the head abide? The head, vnder Sathan, of all miſchief is Antichriſt and his broode, and the ſame is he whiche is the Babilonicall Beaſt. The Beaſt is he, whereupon the Whore ſitteth. The Whore is that Citie, ſaieth John in plaine wordes, whiche hath Empire ouer the Kynges of the yearth. This Whore hath a golden cuppe of abominations in her hande, whereof ſhe maketh to drinke the Kynges of the yearth, and of the wine of this harlot hath all nations dronke, yea, and Kynges of the yearth haue line by this Whore, & Marchauntes of the yearth, by vertue of her pleaſant marchaundiſe haue been made riche.

The whore of Babilon, with her cup of abominations mentioned, expounded.

Apocalip. 17.

Nowe, what Citie is there in all the whole worlde, that when John wrote, ruled ouer the Kynges of the yearth: or what Citie can bee read of in any tyme, that of the Citie it ſelf, chalenged the Empire ouer the kynges of the yearth, but onely the Citie of Rome, and that ſince the vſurpation of that Sea hath growen to her full ſtrength? And is it not reade, that the olde and auncient writers vnderſtand, Peters former Epiſtle to bee written at Rome, and it to bee called of hym in the ſame Epiſtle in plaine termes, Babilon: by the abominacions thereof, I vnderſtande all the whole trade of the Romiſhe religion, vnder the name & title of Chriſt whiche is contrary to the onely rule of all true religion, that is Gods woorde. What woorde of God hath that Deuiliſh drabbe, for the maintenaunce of her manifolde abominations, and to ſette to ſell ſuche marchaundiſe, wherewith (alas the madneſſe of manne) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almoſt the whole world? Did not Peter the verie true Apoſtle of Chriſte, of whom this ſtinkyng ſtrumpet beareth her ſelf ſo high, (but falſely and without all iuſte cauſe) did not he, I ſaie, giue all the worlde warnyng of her pelfe & traſhe, of her falſe Doctours and Apoſtles (for this Whore and Beaſt will be called Dominus Apoſtolicus, who ſo euer ſaie naie) after this maner in his latter Epiſtle? There was amōg the people in tymes paſt falſe Prophets, as all ſhalbe their among you in tyme to come falſe teachers, which ſhal priuely bryng in peſtilēt ſectes, euen deniyng the Lord which hath bought them, and redemed them, procuryng to them ſelues ſwift damnatiō, and many ſhall followe their dannable waies, by whō the waie of truthe ſhall bee railed vpon, and through coueteouſneſſe by counterfaite tales or ſermons, they ſhall (ſaieth Peter) make marchandiſe vpon you. &c. And doeth not John likewiſe in his reuelation, after he hath reckened vp a great rablemēt of this whores myſtical marchādiſe, at the laſt (as though he would knit vp all in plaine wordes, without any miſt at all, ſetting out the whores marchandiſe) recken vp among the reſt, and concludeth ſaying, Et animas hominum: that is to ſay, and the ſoules of men to? Whereupon I pray you aroſe this true prouerbe in Latin: omnia Romæ venalia: All things for mony are ſet to ſale at Rome? was not that a worthy commendation of Chriſtes Vicar in earth that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders a Byſhop of Rome, thus I weene, in Latin?

2.Peter 2.

The myſticall marchandiſe of the Babyloniſcal ſtrumpet.

All thinges at Rome for money.

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Chriſtum.
Vendere iure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

☞ Theſe two verſes in Latin, I haue read thus of one tranſlated into Engliſh rime.

Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,
  ſelleth for money both right and dome:
And al kind of holines the holy father doth not ſticke,
  to ſet to ſell, ready money for to get.
And eke Chriſt him ſelfe he dare be bolde,
  to chop and chaunge for ſiluer and golde.
And why ſhould any thinke this to be ſore,
  For what doth he ſell, but that he bought before?

Verſes agaynſt Pope Alexander.

I graunt theſe verſes to be light gere, and the verſe is but rude, but (alas) ſuche conditions were more wicked and lewd then any wit could expreſſe. If theſe had bene but the faults of one or a few in numbre, they had beene leſſe pernicious, and might haue bene taken for perſonal crimes, not to be imputed vnto that Sea: but now (alas) the matter is more then euident to all that haue godly vnderſtanding, that theſe crimes bee grounded vpon lawes, be eſtabliſhed by cuſtome, and ſet forth by all kinde of wicked doctrine, falſhod, and craft, and therefore are not nowe to be eſtemed for any one mans or a few mens perſonal crimes, but are now by lawes, cuſtome, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked Sea, ỹ maketh in dede the body of the Beaſt whereupon the abominable whore doth ſit.

But you would know which be thoſe marchandiſe whiche I ſaid this whore ſetteth forth to ſell, for the which all her falſe Prophets with all their iugglings & crafty gloſes can not bring one iote of Gods worde. Surely, ſurely, they be not only all theſe abominatiōs which are come into the church of England already (wherof I haue ſpoken ſomewhat before) but alſo an innumerable rablement of abominations and wicked abuſes which now muſt nedes folow: as popiſh pardōs, pilgrimages, Romiſh purgatory, Romiſh maſſes, Placebo & Dirige, with trentals and Scala cœli, diſpenſatiōs and immunities from all godly diſcipline lawes and good order, pluralities, vnions, and tot quottes, with a thouſand moe. Now ſhall come in the flattering friers, and the falſe pardoners and play their olde prancks and knauery as they were wont to do. Now you ſhall haue (but of the Sea of Rome onely, and that for money) canonizing of ſuch ſaintes as haue ſtand ſtoute in the Popes cauſe, ſhrining of reliques, and from any kind of wickednes (if you will pay well for it) clere abſolutiō a pœna & culpa, with thouſands of yeres, yea at euery poore biſhops hande and ſuffragan, ye ſhall haue halowing of churches, chappels, altares, ſuperaltares, chalices, and of all the whole houſhold ſtuffe and adornament which ſhall be vſed in the church after the Romiſh guiſe, for all theſe things muſt be eſteemed of ſuch high price, that they may not be done but by a conſecrate biſhop onely. O Lord, all theſe thinges are ſuch, as thy Apoſtles neuer knew. As for coniuring (they cal it halowing, but it is coniuring in dede) of water and ſalt, of chriſtening of bels and ſuch like light thinges, what neede I to ſpeake? for euery prieſt that can but read, hath power (they ſay) not onely to do that, but alſo hath ſuche power ouer Chriſtes body, as to make both God and man once at the leaſt euery day, of a wafer cake.

Abominations, and wicked abuſes of ỹ Sea of Rome declared.

After the reherſall of the ſayd abominations, and remembrāce of a number of many mo, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to thinke vpon, and were to long to deſcribe: when I conſider on the other ſide the eternall worde of God that abideth for euer, and the vndefiled law of the Lord which turneth the ſoule from all wickednes and geueth wiſedome vnto the innocent babes, I meane that milke that is without all guiſe, as Peter doth cal it, that good word of God, ỹ word of truth which muſt be grauen within the hart and that is able to ſaue mens ſoules, that wholſome ſeede, not mortall but immortall of the eternall and euerliuing God, whereby the man is borne a new, and made the childe of God, that ſeede of God, wherby the man of God ſo being borne can not ſinne, as John ſayth (he meaneth ſo long as that ſeede doth abide in him) that holy ſcripture which hath not beene deuiſed by the wit of man, but taught from heauen by the inſpiration of the holy ghoſt, which is profitable to teach, to reproue, to correct, to inſtruct and geue order in all righteouſnes that the man of God may be whole & ſound, ready to performe euery good worke: when (I ſay) I conſider this holy and wholeſome true word that teacheth vs truely our bounden duety towardes our lord God in euery point, what his bleſſed will and pleaſure is, what his infinite great goodnes and mercy is, what he hath done for vs, how he hath geuen his owne onely dearly beloued ſonne to death for our ſaluatiō and by him hath ſent vs the reuelation of this bleſſed wil and pleaſure, what his eternall worde willeth vs both to beleue and alſo to doe, and hath for the ſame purpoſe inſpired the holy Apoſtles with the holy ghoſt & ſent them abrode into all the world, and alſo made them & other diſciples of Chriſt inſpired by the ſame ſpirit, to write & leaue behinde them the ſame thinges that they taught (which as they did procede of the ſpirit of truth, ſo by the confeſſion of all them that euer were endued with the ſpirit of God, were ſufficient to the obteyning of eternall ſaluation:) and likewiſe when I conſider that all that man doth profeſſe in his regeneratiō whē he is receiued into ỹ holy Catholicke church of Chriſt, and is now to be accounted for one of the liuely members of Chriſtes owne body, all that is grounded vpō Gods holy word, and ſtandeth in the profeſſion of that fayth, and obedience of thoſe commaundements which are all contayned and compriſed in Gods holy worde: and furthermore when I cōſider whom our Sauiour Chriſt pronounceth in his goſpell to be bleſſed, and to whom Moſes geueth his benedictiōs in the law, what waies the law, the Prophets, the Pſalmes, and all holy Scriptures both new and old doth declare to be the waies of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in Gods fauour, which is that faith that iuſtifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth paſſe and excell all, which be the properties of heauenly wiſedome, and which is that vndefiled religion, that is allowed of God, which things Chriſt himſelfe called the weighty matters of the law, what thing is that which is onely auaileable in Chriſt, and what knowledge is that, that Paule eſtemed ſo much, that he coūted himſelfe only to knowe, what ſhall be the maner of the extreme iudgemēt of the latter day, who ſhal iudge and by what he ſhall iudge, and what ſhall be required at our handes at that fearful day, how all things muſt be tried by the fire, and that that onely ſhall ſtand for euer which Chriſtes words ſhall allow, which ſhall be the iudge of all fleſhe to geue ſentence vppon all fleſhe and euery liuing ſoule either of eternall damnation or of euerlaſting ſaluation, from which ſentence there

The true word of God and the office of ỹ ſame declared.

ſhall be no place to appeale, no witte ſhall ſerue to delude, nor no power to withſtande or reuoke: when (I ſaie) I conſider all theſe thynges, and conferre to the ſame againe and againe, all thoſe waies wherein ſtandeth the ſubſtance of the Romiſhe religion (whereof I ſpake before) it maie bee euident and eaſie to perceiue, that theſe twoo waies, theſe twoo religions, the one of Chriſte, the other of the Romiſhe Sea, in theſe latter daies, bee as farre diſtaunte the one from the other, as light and darkenes, good and euill, righteouſneſſe and vnrighteouſnes, Chriſt and Beliall. He that is hard of beliefe, let hym note & weigh wel with hym ſelf the places of holy ſcriptures, whiche be appointed in the margent, whereupon this talke is grounded, and by Gods grace he may receiue ſome light. And vnto the contemner I haue nothyng nowe to ſaie, but to rehearſe the ſaiyng of the Prophete Eſaie, whiche Paule ſpake to the Iewes in the ende of the Actes of the Apoſtles. After he had expounded vnto them the truth of Gods worde, and declared vnto them Chriſte, out of the Lawe of Moſes and the Prophetes, from mornyng to night all the daie long, he ſaied vnto them that would not beleue: Well (ſaied he) ſpake the holie Ghoſt vnto our fathers, ſaiyng: go vnto this people and tell them: ye ſhall heare with your eares, and not vnderſtande, and ſeeyng, you ſhall beholde, and not ſee the thyng, for the harte of this people is waxed groſſe and dulle, and with their eares thei are harde of hearyng, and they haue ſhut together their eyes, that they ſhould not ſee, nor heare with their eares, nor vnderſtande with their hartes, that they mighte retourne, and I ſhould heale them, ſayth the Lorde God.

Note here that theſe ſcriptures were written by M. Ridley in the Margent, but were not in the copy which we followed.

Act. 28.

Alas Englande, alas that this heauie plague of god ſhould fall vpō thee. Alas my dearly beloued cōtrey, what thyng is it now that maie do thee good? Vndoubtedly thy plague is ſo greate, that it is vtterly vncurable, but by the bottomleſſe mercie, and infinite power of almightie God. Alas my deare countrey, what haſt thou doen, that thus haſt prouoked the wrathe of God, and cauſed hym to poure out his vengeaunce vpon thee, for thyne owne deſertes? Canſt thou be content to heare thy faultes tolde thee? Alas thou haſte heard ofte, and wouldeſt neuer amende. Englande, thy faultes of all degrees and ſortes of men, of the Magiſtrates, of the Miniſters, and of the Common people, were neuer more plainly tolde, ſince thou bareſt that name, then thou didſt heare them of late, euen before the Magiſtrates in Kyng Edwardes daies, but thou heardeſt them onely, and didſt amende neuer a whitte. For euen of thy greateſt Magiſtrates, ſome (the Kynges highneſſe then, that innocente, that godlie harted, and pereles yong chriſtian Prince excepted) euermore vnkindly and vngently againſt thoſe that went about moſte buſily, and moſte wholſomely to cure their ſore backes, ſpurned priuely, and would not ſpare to ſpeak euill of them, euen vnto the Prince hym ſelf, and yet would they towardes the ſame preachers, outwardly beare a ioly countenaunce, and a faire face.

Cranmer and Ridley ſtandyng in the Duke of Somerſets cauſe.

Cranmer repugning agaynſt the ſpoyle of the Church goods.

I haue heard that Crāmer and an other, whom I will not name, were bothe in high diſpleaſure, the one for ſhewing his conſcience ſecretlye, but plainlye and fully in the Duke of Somerſettes cauſe, and bothe of late, but ſpecially Crāmer for repugning, as thei might againſt the late ſpoyle of the churche goodes, taken awaie onely by commaundement of the higher powers, without any lawe, or order of iuſtice, and without any requeſt of conſent of them, to whom they did belōg. As for Latimer, Leuer, Bradford, and Knoxe, their tonges were ſo ſharpe, they ripped in ſo deepe in their galled backes, to haue purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter, that was feſtered in their harts, of inſaciable coueteouſneſſe, of filthy carnalitie, and voluptuouſneſſe, of intollerable ambition and pride, of vngodlie lothſomnes, to heare poore mens cauſes, and to heare Gods worde, that theſe men of all other, theſe Magiſtrates then could neuer abide. Other there were, very godly menne, and well learned, that went about by the wholſome plaſters of Gods worde, how be it after a more ſoft maner of handlyng of the matter, but (alas) all ſped in like. For all that could be doen of all hādes, their diſeaſe did not miniſhe, but daiely did encreaſe, whiche (no doubt) is no ſmall occaſion in that ſtate, of the heauie plague of GOD, that is poured vpon Englande at this daie. As for the common ſorte of other inferior Magiſtrates, as iudges of the lawes, iuſtices of peace, ſergeantes, common lawiers, it maie be truly ſaid of them, as of the moſt part of the Clergie, of Curates, Vicares, Parſones, Prebendaries, Doctors of the lawe, Archdeacons, Deanes, yea, and I maie ſaie, of Biſhops alſo, I feare me, for ẏ moſt part, although I doubte not but God had and hath euer, whom he in euery ſtate knewe, & knoweth to be his, but for the moſt part (I ſaie) thei wer neuer perſuaded in their hartes, but from the teeth forwarde, and for the Kynges ſake, in the truthe of Gods worde, and yet all theſe did diſſemble, and bare a copie of a countenaunce, as if they had been ſounde within.

Latymer.
Bradford.
Leuer.
Knoxe.

The corrupt life of goſpelers in K. Edwardes tyme.

And this diſſimulatiō Sathan knewe well inough, and therefore deſired, and hath euer gone about, that the high Magiſtrates by any maner of meanes, might bee deceiued in matters of Religion, for then he beyng of councel with the diſſimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he ſhould bryng to paſſe, and rule all euen after his owne will.

Hypocriſy a double euill.

Hypocriſie and diſſimulation S. Hierome doeth call wel a double wickednes, for neither it loueth the truth (whiche is one great euill) and alſo falſly it pretendeth to deceiue ẏ ſimple for an other thyng. This hypocriſie and diſſimulation with God in matters of religion (no doubte) hath wholy alſo prouoked the anger of God. And as for ẏ cōmon people, although there were many good, where thei wer well and diligently taught, yet (God knoweth) a greate number receiued Gods true word, & high benefites with vnthankfull hartes. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to haue ſeen in many places, ẏ people ſo lothſomly, & ſo vnreligiouſly to come to ẏ holy Communion, & to receiue it accordingly, and to the common praiers, & other Diuine ſeruice, whiche wer accordyng to the true vaine of Gods holie worde, in all pointes ſo godlie, and wholſomely ſette forthe, in compariſon of that blinde zeale, and vndiſcrete deuotion, whiche they had afore tymes to thoſe thynges, whereof they vnderſtoode neuer one whitte, nor could be edified by them any thyng at all.

The ſlackneſ that was in the time to good workes.

And again, as for almes deedes, which are taught in Gods worde (whereby we are certaine that God is pleaſed with them, and doeth and will require ſuche at our handes, whiche are a part of true religion, as S. Iames ſaieth, and ſuche as he ſaith him ſelf, he ſetteth more by, then by ſacrifice, as to prouide for ẏ fatherles infantes and orphanes, for the lame, aged, and impotent poore nedy folke, and to make publike prouiſion, that the pouertie that might labour, ſhould haue wherwith to labor vpon, and ſo be kept from ſhamfull beggery & ſtealing) in theſe workes I ſaie, how wayward wer many, in compariſon (I meane) of that great prodigalitie, whereby in tymes paſte they ſpared not to ſpende vpon flattering Friers, falſe Pardoners, paintyng and gilting of ſtockes and ſtones, to be ſet vp and honored in churches, plainly againſt gods word. And yet becauſe no place is to be defrauded of their iuſt cōmendation, London, I muſte confeſſe, for ſuche godlie workes in ſir Richard Dobs knight, then lord Maior his yere, began maruellous well: the lorde graunt the ſame maie ſo likewiſe perſeuer, continue, yea, and encreaſe to the comforte and relief of the nedy and helpeleſſe, that was ſo godlie begun, Amen.

Gods plague vpon England iuſtly deſerued.

All theſe thyngs do miniſter matter of more mournyng, and bewailing the miſerable ſtate that nowe is: for by this it maie bee perceiued, how Englande hath deſerued this iuſt plague of God. And alſo it is greatly to bee feared, that thoſe good thynges, whatſoeuer thei were that had their beginnyng in the tyme when Gods word was ſo freely preached, now with the exile and baniſhement of the ſame, will departe againe.

But to returne againe to the conſideration of this miſerable ſtate of Chriſtes churche in Englande, and to leaue farther & more exquiſite ſearchyng of the cauſes thereof, vnto Gods ſecrete and vnſearcheable iudgementes, let vs ſee what is beſte now to bee doen for Chriſtes little flocke. This is one maxime and principle in Chriſtes law: He that denieth Chriſt before mē, hym ſhall Chriſt deny afore his father, and all his Angels of heauen. And therefore euery one that looketh to haue by Chriſt our Sauior euerlaſtyng life, let hym prepare him ſelf ſo, that he deny not his maiſter Chriſt, or els he is but a caſte awaie, and a wretche, how ſo euer he be counted, or taken here in the worlde.

He exhorteth to conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt.

Now then ſeing the doctrine of Antichriſt is returned again into this realme, and the higher powers (alas) are ſo deceiued, & bewitched, that they are perſuaded it to bee truthe, and Chriſtes true doctrine to bee

error

Puniſhment of heretiques more gentle in the old time, and how it was vſed.

erroꝛ and hereſie, and the old lawes of Antichriſte are allowed to returne with ye power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for by reaſon, to the man of God, and true chriſtian abidyng in this realme, but extreme violence of death, or els to deny his maiſter. I graunt the hartes of princes are in Gods handes, and whether ſoeuer he will, he can make them to bowe: and alſo that chriſtiã princes in old tyme, vſed a more gẽtle kinde of puniſhment, euen to them whiche were heretikes in deede, as degradation, and depoſitiõ out of their roumes and offices, exile and baniſhement out of their dominions and coũtreis, and alſo (as it is red) the true biſhops of Chriſtes church, were ſomtyme interceſſors for the heretickes vnto princes, that thei would not kil them, as is red of S. Auguſtine. But as yet Antichriſtes kyngdome was not ſo erected at that tyme, nor is now accuſtomed ſo to order thẽ, that will not fal doune and worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, but (euen as al the worlde knoweth) after the ſame maner that bothe John and Daniell hath propheſied before, that is by violence of death: and Daniell declareth farther, that the kinde of death accuſtomably ſhould be by ſworde, fire, and impriſonmente. Therefore if thou, O man of God, weſt purpoſe to abide in this realme, prepare and arme thy ſelf to die: for bothe by Antichriſtes accuſtomable lawes, and theſe prophecies, there is no apperance, or likelihod of any other thyng, except thou wilt deny thy maiſter Chriſt, whiche is the loſſe at the laſte, bothe of body and ſoule vnto euerlaſting death. Therfore my good brother or ſiſter in Chriſte, whatſoeuer thou be, to thee that canſt, and maieſt ſo do, that counſaile that I thinke is ye beſt ſauegard for thee, both for thy body, and moſt ſureſt for thy ſoules health, is that whiche I ſhal ſhewe thee hereafter. But firſt I warne thee to vnderſtande me, to ſpeake to hym or her, which bee not in captiuitie, or called already for to confeſſe Chriſt, but are at libertie abrode.

Counſel geuen in theſe daies of perſecution, what to doe.

My councell (I ſaie) therfore is this, to flie frõ the plague, and to get thee hence. I conſider not onely the ſubtelties of Sathan, and how he is able to deceiue by his falſe perſuaſions (if it were poſſible) euen the choſen of God, and alſo the greate frailtie, whiche is oftetymes more in a man, then he doeth knowe in hym ſelf, whiche in the tyme of temptation, then wil vtter it ſelf: I do not onely conſider theſe thynges (I ſaie) but that our maſter Chriſt, whoſe life was, and is a perfect rule of the Chriſtian mannes life, that he hym ſelf auoided oftentymes the furie, and madnes of the Jewes, by departyng from the countrey or place.

Paule likewiſe, when he was ſought in Damaſco, and the gates of the citie were laied in waite for hym, was conueighed by night, beyng let doune in a baſket, out at a windowe ouer the wall: and Helias the Prophet fled the perſecution of wicked Jeſabell: & Chriſt our Sauiour ſaith in the Goſpell: When thei perſecute you in one citie, flie vnto an other: & ſo did many good, greate learned, and vertuous men of God, which wer greate and ſtoute champions neuertheleſſe, and ſtoute confeſſors, and mainteiners of Chriſt and his truthe, in due tyme and place. Of ſuche was the greate clarke Athanaſius. But this is ſo plaine to bee lawfull by gods worde, and exãples of holy men, that I neede not to ſtande in it. Hauyng this for my groũd, I ſay to thee O man of God, this ſemeth to me to bee the moſte ſure waie for thy ſauegard, to depart and flie farre from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truely, before God, I thinke that the abomination that Daniell Propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet vp in the holie place. For all Antichriſtes doctrine, lawes, rites and religion, cõtrary to Chriſte, and to the true ſeruyng and worſhippyng of God, I vnderſtande to be that abhomination: Therefore now is the tyme in Englãde, for thoſe wordes of Chriſt: Tunc, inquit, qui in Iudea ſunt fugiant ad mõtes. Then (ſaith he) marke this Chriſtes [then] for truly I am perſuaded, & I truſt by the ſpirit of God, that this [then] is commaunded: Then (ſaith Chriſt) thei that be in Iewrie, let thẽ flie into the mountaines, and he that is on the houſe toppe, let hym not come doune to take awaie any thing out of his houſe, and he that is abrode in the fielde, lette him not retourne to take his clothes. Wo bee to the greate bealied women, and to them that geue ſucke, but praie (ſaieth Chriſt) that your flight be not in Winter, nor on the Sabboth daie.

Suche as remayned out of captiuity counſayled to voyde the realme.

The abomination of deſolation, ſet vp in England.

These wordes of Chriſt are miſticall, and therfore haue nede of interpretation. I vnderſtande all thoſe to be in Jewrie ſpiritually, which truely confeſſe one true liuyng God, & the whole truthe of his worde, after the doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt. Suche are they whõ Chriſt here biddeth, in ye time of the raigne of Antichriſtes abominations, to flie vnto the mountaines: whiche ſignifieth places of ſafegard, & all ſuche thinges which are able to defende from the plague. That he biddeth hym that is on the houſe top, not to come doune, and hym that is in the field, not to returne to take with hym his clothes, he meaneth that thei ſhould ſpede thẽ to get them awaie betyme, leſt in their taryng, and triflyng about worldly prouiſiõ, thei be trapped in the ſnare ere euer thei be aware, and caught by the backe, & for gain of ſmall worldly thinges, endaunger and caſt them ſelues into great perilles of more waightie matters. And where he ſaieth: wo bee to the greate bealied women, & to them that giue ſucke: women greate with childe, and nigh to their lying doune, and to be brought to bed, are not able to trauell: nor alſo thoſe women, whiche are brought to bed, and now giueth their babes ſucke. By theſe therefore Chriſte Spiritually vnderſtandeth all ſuche to be in extreme daunger, whiche this worde [wo] ſignifieth: all ſuche (I ſaie) as are ſo letted by any maner of meanes, that thei no waies bee able to flie from the plague. And wher Chriſt ſaith: praie that your flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabboth daie: in winter the commõ courſe of the yere teacheth vs, that the waies be foule, and therefore it is a harde thyng, then to take a farre iourney for many incommodities, and daungers of the waies in that time of the yere: & on the Sabboth daie it was not lawfull to iourney, but a little waye. Now Chriſt therefore, meanyng that wee ſhould haue nede, bothe to ſpede our iourney quickly, which cannot be doen in Winter, for the incõmodities of the waies, and alſo to go far, whiche cannot be doen on the Sabboth daie: he biddeth vs therefore praie, that our flight be not in Winter, nor on the Sabboth daie: that is, to praie that we maie flie in tyme, and alſo farre enough frõ the danger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould flie, followeth in the ſame place of ſaint Matthewes Goſpell, whiche I now paſſe ouer: thou maieſt read them there.

Chriſt commaundeth to flie vnto the mountaynes.

Apocalip.18.

And in the .xviii. chapter of the Reuelation, the angell is ſaid to haue cried mightely with a loude voyce: Flie my people out of Babilon, leſt you be infected with her faultes, and ſo bee made partners of her plagues: for her offences & ſinnes are growne ſo great, that thei ſwell and are come vnto the heauens: certainly the tyme doth approche, and the Lordes daie is at hande. Heare (I beſeche you) alſo holy Paule, that bleſſed Apoſtle: he plainly forbiddeth vs: ducere iugum cum incredulis, that is, to ioyne or couple our ſelues with the vnfaithefull, for what fellowſhip can there be (ſaith he) of righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes, what companie hath lighte with darknes, or what agrement hath Chriſt with Beliall, or what part can the faithfull haue with the vnfaithfull, or how doeth the temple of God agree with Images or Idols, for you are the tẽple of the liuing God: as God hath ſaid, I will walke and dwell in them, I will be then God, and thei ſhalbe my people, wherfore depart from amõgſt them, and get you from them (ſaith the lorde) and touch no vncleane thing: and I will receiue you, and be to you in the ſteede of your father, and you ſhalbee vnto me as my ſonnes and daughters, ſaieth the almightie Lorde.

2. Corin. 6.

Counſell to depart the realme.

This councell to depart the realme, I do not marueil if it doe ſeme to diuers (euen of thẽ I meane that beare fauour to Godward) diuerſly. Many (I truſte) that bee learned ſhall thinke the councell good. Other there be peraduẽture, that will thinke it rather a thing to bee more tolerable, and that it maie bee in deede by Gods worde lawfully doen, rather then to be counſailed to bee doen, for thei will peraduenture ſaie, wee ſhould counſell a man alwaies to doe that, whiche is beſt of all, and of moſte perfection: but boldly in Chriſtes cauſe to ſpende a mannes life, is beſte of all, and of moſte perfection, and to flie it maie ſeme to ſmell of cowardnes. In many thynges, that whiche is beſte for one at ſome tymes, is not beſt for all at all tymes, and it is not moſte perfection, nor mete for a childe to couet to run, before he can goe. I will not make here a diſcourſe in this matter, what mighte here bee obiected, and what might be aunſwered againe: I leaue that to the wittie, and eloquent men of the worlde.

Doubtes whether to fly or to tary debated.

This is my minde, whiche I would thou ſhouldeſt knowe, O man of God, as I would wiſhe, and I doe praie to almightie God it maie be, that euery true chriſtian, either brother or ſiſter (after thei bee called, and brought into the wreſtlyng place, to ſtriue in Chriſtes cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to confeſſe the truth of the Goſpell, and of the chriſtian faithe, in hope of euerlaſtyng life) ſhould not ſhrinke, nor relent one inche, or giue backe, whatſoeuer ſhall befall, but ſtande to their tackle, and ſticke by it euen vnto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſticke by them at the latter daie: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſhe nor councell any, either brother or ſiſter of their owne ſwinge, to ſtarte vp into the ſtage, or to caſt them ſelues either before, or farther in daunger then tyme and nede ſhall require: for vndoubtedly whē God ſeeth his tyme, and his pleaſure is, that his glorie ſhall be ſette forthe, and his Churche edefied by thy death and confeſſion, meanes ſhall be found by his fatherly vniuerſall prouidence, that thou without thyne owne preſumpteous prouocation, ſhall be lawfully called to doe thy feate, and to plaie thy part. The miſerable ende that one Quintus came vnto, maie bee a warnyng, and a fearfull example for all men, to beware of preſumption, and raſheneſſe in ſuche thynges (as Euſebius writeth in Eccle. hiſtoria) for euermore.

Preſumptuous prouocatiō and raſh running into danger forbidden.

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccle. lib. 4. cap. 15.

But a third ſort of men there bee, whiche alſo will be counted fauorers of Gods worde, and are (I feare) in number farre mo, and worſe to be perſuaded to that whiche is the godlie meane. I meane of ſuche as will peraduenture ſaie or thinke, that my former councell, whiche was to flie the infection of the Antichriſtiā doctrine, by departyng out of the realme, is more then nedeth, and other waies and meanes maie bee founde, bothe to abide, and alſo to be cleare out of daunger of the foreſaied plague. If that could be founde in deede truely agreable to Gods worde, I would bee as glad to heare it (God is my witneſſe) as who is the other. Yes peraduenture will ſome ſaie. Thus it maie bee. Thou maieſt kepe thy ſelf, thy faithe, and thy religion cloſe to thy ſelf, and inwardly and priuately worſhippe God in ſpirit and truthe, and outwardly ſe thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſour of common order: ſo maieſt thou be ſuffered in the common wealth and yet vſe thy religion without offence of thy conſcience. In other countreis ſomwhere this peraduenture might bee vſed, but in Englande what ſhall bee, God wot, but it was neuer yet, ſo farre as euer I haue knowen or heard. And alſo how can it bee, but either thou muſte tranſgreſſe the common order, and the Romiſhe lawes & cuſtomes, whiche haue been vſed in England, in the tymes paſt of Poperie, and now (it is certaine) thei retourne again: I ſaie, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe rites, lawes, and cuſtomes, and ſo bewraie thy ſelf, or els if thou bee in deede a man of God, thou ſhalte offende thy conſcience, for in obſeruyng of them, thou ſhalt be compelled to breake Gods lawe, whiche is the rule of conſcience to the man of God. For how canſt thou reſort euery holy daie to the churche, & beare a face to worſhip the creature for the creatour, as thou muſt do, & peraduenture confeſſe it to with thy mouth, and to ſprinkle thy ſelf with thy coniured water?

Conſcience in religiō would not be diſſembled.

Thou muſte bee contributor alſo to the charges of all their poperie, as of bookes of Antichriſtes ſeruice, of lightes of the roode loft, of the ſepulchre, for ſetting vp and paintyng of Images (naie in deede of Idols) and thou muſt beare a face to worſhip them alſo, or els thou muſt be had by ỹ backe. Thou muſt ſerue ỹ turne, to giue the holy loues (as thei cal it) whiche is nothing els but a very mockerie of the lordes holy table. Thou muſt be a contributor to the charges of all the diſgiſed apparell, that the Popiſhe ſacrificyng Prieſte, like vnto Aaron, muſt plaie his part in. Yea when the Pardoner cōmeth about, or the flatteryng Frier to begge for the maintenaunce of ſuperſtition, excepte thou doe as thy neighbours doe, looke not long to liue in reſte. If any of thy houſholde dye, if thou wilte not paie money for ringyng and ſyngyng, for Requiem Maſſes, Dirige, and Commendations, and ſuche like trumperie of the Antichriſtian religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckened for a catholicke manne, or for amicus Cæſaris? A hundred thynges moe maie be reckened, and many of more weight, & of more euident ſuperſtitiō and Idolatrie, then ſome of theſe which I haue now rehearſed, whiche God knoweth be ill enough: but theſe are enough to declare, and to ſet before thine eyes, the thing that I intende: that is, if thou abide and wilte dwell in Englande, thou muſt either doe theſe, and many other mo cōtrary to Gods worde, which forbiddeth not onely the thing whiche is euill, but alſo ſaith: Ab omni ſpecie mali abſtinete vos, abſtaine from all thynges that haue any appearaunce of euill: or els if thou wilt not do them, how thou canſt liue in Englande in reſt ſauſe frō the ſtake, truely I can not tell.

A hard dwelling in Englād for a good man, either without danger of conſcience or peril of life.

But peraduenture (as a man is ready to finde, and inuent ſome colour to cloke his conſcience, to doe that thyng that his harte deſireth) thou wilt ſaie, though at any tyme I ſhall be forced, to doe any of theſe thynges and ſuche like, yet will I haue no confidence in thē, but outwardly with my bodie: I will keepe my harte vnto God, and will not doe that of myne owne mynde willyngly neither, but to auoyde an other inconuenience: I truſt therefore God will hold me excuſed, for he ſhal haue my harte, what can I doe more?

O my frendes, beware for Gods ſake, and knowe that the ſubtelties of Sathan are depe. He that is not able by Gods worde to perceiue them, is heauely lade. Praie therefore with Dauid: Lorde let me not haue a mynde, to inuente excuſes for to cloke my ſynne. Examine my deare frendes, theſe thy wiſe waies with the worde of God, and if thei doe agree, thou maieſt vſe them: if not, knowe, though they maie ſeem neuer ſo fine and goodlie, yet in deede thei bee of Sathans broode. Gods worde is certaine, that forbiddeth to worſhippe the creature for the creatour, for that is haynous Idolatrie, and againſt the firſt commaundemente of God, and it is alſo againſt the ſeconde commaundemente of the firſt table to bowe doune, or to doe worſhip vnto any Images of God, or of any other thyng. And Gods worde requireth not onely the beliefe of the harte, but alſo the confeſſion of the mouthe: and to beare parte of the charges, to the maintenaunce of thynges vngodly, what is that, but in thy ſo doyng, a conſente to the thyng doen? Now conſenters and the doers, Goddes worde accounteth to be giltie bothe. And it is not lawfull by Sainte Paules doctrine, whiche was inſpired hym by the ſpirite of GOD, to doe ill that thereof the thyng, whiche is good maie come.

Inuent no excuſes to cloke ſinne.

Confeſſion of mouth muſt go with belief of hart.

Thy harte (thou ſaieſt) God ſhall haue, and yet wilt thou ſuffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhorre. Beware O man, take hede what thou ſayeſt. Man may be deceiued, but no man may deceiue God, for he is called and is truely καρδιογνώστης, that is to ſay, the ſearcher of the hart. Now, to geue God thy harte, is to geue him thy whole harte, to loue him, to dread him, and to truſt in him aboue all other things. He that hath my commaundementes (ſayth Chriſt) and obſerueth and kepeth them, it is he that loueth me: and to dread God aboue al other, is rather willingly to incurre the daunger and perill of all fearefull thinges, then wittingly to do that thing which is cōtrary to his bleſſed will and commaundement: and to truſt in him aboue all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his rewarde, and of his tuition, and of his goodnes and mercy, and to preferre that aboue all things in the world, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, how canſt thou ſay truly, that God hath thy hart after this maner of ſort (which is to haue thy harte in dede) whē thy dedes do declare farre an other thing? Thy body, O man, is Gods, and all the partes thereof, euen as thy ſoule is: hee made them both, and Chriſt with his bloud hath redemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearely, & dareſt thou ſuffer any part of eyther of them to doe ſeruice to Sathan? Surely in ſo doing, thou committeſt ſacriledge and doeſt robbe God: thou defileſt the liuely temple of the liuing God if thou ſuffer thy body to do Sathan ſeruice. Doe you not know (ſayth S. Paul) that your body is a liuely temple of God? And may a man then take and vſe any parte therof but in the ſeruice of God? No ſurely, it is not lawfull ſo to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor foote, nor any part of the whole body.

To truſt in god what it is.

1. Corin. 3.
2. Corin. 6.

Doth not Paule cōmaund to the Romaines, which pertayneth to euery chriſtian ſoule: As you haue in tymes paſt (ſayth he) geuen your members to doe ſeruice vnto vncleanes and wickednes, from one wickednes to another: ſo now geue your members to doe ſeruice vnto righteouſnes, that you may be ſanctified. And I pray thee good brother, what doeſt thou thinke is to beare the marke of the beaſt in the forhead, and in the hand that S. Iohn ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warely to ſpeake of gods myſteries which he ſhewed by the ſpirite of propheſying to his ſeruaūt Iohn, yet to redd them with reuerence, and to pray for the ſame ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſary for our tyme to know, I thinke it neceſſary and good. Wherfore, what I ſuppoſe

Roma. 6.

To beare the beaſtes marke: what it is.
Apocalip. 13. 14. 20.

poſe is to beare the Beaſtes marke, I will tell thee, and committe the iudgementes of myne interpretation, as in all other thynges, to the Spirituall manne. I ſuppoſe he beareth the Beaſte of Babilons marke in his forheade, whiche is not aſhamed of the Beaſtes waies, but will profeſſe them openly to ſette forth the his maiſter the beaſt Abaddon. And likewiſe he beareth his marke in his hande, that will, and doeth practiſe the workes of the Beaſt with his power and hande. And likewiſe I will not let to tell thee, what I thinke to be ſigned in the forheade for the ſeruaunt of God, whereof Iohn alſo ſpeaketh, reckening vp many thouſandes, ſo to haue been ſigned of euery tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forhead, for the ſeruaunt of GOD, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodneſſe, & hath giuen hym grace and ſtrengthe ſtoutly to confeſſe hym, & his truthe before the worlde. And to haue grace and ſtrength to confeſſe Chriſt, and the doctrine of the croſſe, and to lament and mourne for the abominatiōs of Antichriſte, I ſuppoſe is to bee ſigned with Tau, whereof Ezechiel the Prophet doeth ſpeake. Thus I ſuppoſe theſe Propheſies are ſpiritually to bee vnderſtanded: and to looke for other corporall markes to be ſeen in mennes forheades, or in their handes, is nothing els but to loke that there ſhould come ſome brute beaſt out of Babilon, or ſome Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camell, or ſome other ſuche monſtrous Beaſt with .x. hornes, that ſhould do all the wonderfull thynges ſpoken in Iohn: and yet of a Beaſt ſpeaketh Iohn, but I vnderſtande hym ſo to be called, not for that he ſhall be any ſuche brute Beaſt, but for that he is, and ſhall bee the child of perdition, whiche for his crueltie and beaſtly maners, is well called a Beaſt.

The literall taking of the ſcripture, made the Iewes infidels.

The carnall Iewes knewe there was a promiſe made, that Helias ſhould come before Chriſt the Meſſias, the annointed of God, to prepare his waies: they knewe alſo there was a promiſe of Meſſias, that he ſhould come, and be a kyng, and raigne in the houſe of Dauid for euermore, but they vnderſtoode all ſo groſly, and ſo carnally, that they neither knewe Helias, nor Meſſias when they came, for they looked for Helias to come downe from heauen in his owne perſone, and for Meſſias to come and raigne in worldly pompe, power, riches, and glory, when as the propheſies of bothe wer ſpiritually to haue been vnderſtanded: of Helias that he ſhould come, not in perſone, but in ſpirit, that is, one whiche ſhould be indued with the ſpirite, and giftes of grace of Helias, whiche was in deede Ihon Baptiſte, as Chriſt hym ſelf did declare to his Apoſtles. And of Meſſias raigne, all the Prophetes were to bee vnderſtanded of the raigne of his ſpirituall kyngdome, ouer the houſe of Iacob, and the true Iſraelites for euermore. And ſo by that their groſſe, and carnall vnderſtandyng, they miſtoke bothe Helias, and the true Meſſias, and when they came, knewe neither of them both. So likewiſe I feare me (naie it is certaine) the worlde that wanteth the lighte of the ſpirite of GOD (for the worlde is not able to receiue hym, ſaieth Ihon) neither doeth, nor ſhall knowe the Beaſte, nor his markes, though he rage cruelly, and liue neuer ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in nomber like the ſande of the ſea. The Lorde therefore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blinde, with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceiue, and vnderſtande the wordes of God, after the mynde of his ſpirite, Amen.

The Popes marked men.

Here remaineth twoo obiections, whiche maie ſeem waightie, and the which maie peraduenture moue many, not to followe the former councel. The former reaſon is: A man will ſaie, Oh ſir it is no ſmall matter ye ſpeake of, to depart from a mannes own natiue countrey, into a ſtraunge realme. Many men haue ſo greate lettes, as howe is it poſſible that they can, or may doe ſo? Some haue landes and poſſeſſions, whiche they can not cary with them: ſome haue father, mother, wife, children, and kinſfolke, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almoſt) as to ſuffer death, and to goe to a ſtraunge countrey, that thou knoweſt not, neither the maner of the people, nor how thou maieſt awaie either with the people, or with the countrey. Or what a hard thyng is it to liue amōg a ſtraunge people, whoſe tongue thou doeſt not vnderſtande, &c.

Carnall obiectiōs anſwered.

I graunt here thou maieſt heape a nūber of worldly incommodities, whiche are ſurely very like to enſue the departure out of a mannes owne natiue countrey, I meane out of the whole realme, into a ſtrāge land: but what of all theſe, and a thouſande moe of the like ſorte? I will ſet vnto them one ſaiyng of our Sauiour Chriſt, whiche vnto the faithfull child of God, & to the true chriſtian, is able to counteruaile all theſe, yea and to waie them downe. Chriſt our ſauior ſaieth in Luke: If any come to me, and doe not hate his father and mother (he meaneth, and will not in his cauſe forſake his father and mother) his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too, he cānot be my diſciple: and whoſoeuer doeth not beare his croſſe and come after me, he cā not bee my diſciple. And in the ſame place he declareth by ij. parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrier, that euery man that will not in Chriſtes cauſe, forſake all that euer he hath, he can not bee his diſciple. Looke the place who will, the matter is ſo plainly ſet forth, that no gloſes, nor clokyng of cōſciēce to the manne of God, can ſerue to the contrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe, for the imbraſyng of Chriſtes croſſe, when Chriſt and his cauſe laieth it vpon our backe: but this is ſo plaine, that I nede here to rehearſe no more.

An other worldly obiection anſwered.

The latter reaſon and obiectiō whereof I ſpake before, is of more force, & includeth a neceſſitie, which after the common ſaiyng, hath no lawe, and therfore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good anſwer. This maie be obiected of ſome: alas ſir I graunt al theſe thinges do greue me, & becauſe I vnderſtande thei doe not agree with Gods worde, whiche is the rule of my conſcience, I loth either to loke on thē, or to heare thē. But ſir (alas) I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſicke man a lame man, or I haue ſo many ſmal infantes & a lame wife, whiche all liueth by my labor, & by my prouiſiō: if I leaue thē, thei ſhal ſterue, and I am not able to cary them with me, ſuche is my ſtate. Alas ſir, what ſhall I doe? And theſe cauſes maie chaunce to ſome menne of God, whereby either it ſhalbe for thē vtterly impoſſible to depart the countrey, or els in departyng, thei ſhalbe inforced to forſake ſuche in extreme neceſſities, of whō both God & nature hath committed vnto thē the care.

Alas what coūcel is here to be giuen? O lamentable ſtate. O ſorowfull hart ẏ nether can depart, & without extreme daunger & perill, is not able to tary ſtill. And theſe are thei whō our ſauior Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them in his propheſie of the latter tyme, great bealied or trauelling women, & women that giue after thei bee brought to bed, their ſmall babes ſucke. The ſtate of ſuche as are not able to fly the infectiō of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſtes abominations, Chriſt lamenting, and not curſyng, ſaith: Wo be to the great bealied and trauelling women, & women that giue ſucke in thoſe daies. For theſe alas my harte mourneth ẏ more, the leſſe I am able to giue any cōfortable counſell but this: that alwaies, as thei loke for euerlaſting life, thei abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoeuer ſhall befall, & for the reſte to put their truſt now wholy in God, whiche is able to ſaue them againſt all apparance: and cōmonly in extremities, whē al worldly comfort faileth, & the danger is at higheſt, then vnto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercy, to be moſte ready for to put his helping hand. Daniel God ſuffred to bee caſt into the denne of Lions, and the iij. children into the hot burnyng fornace, and yet he ſaued thē all. Paule was plucked out of the mouthe of the Lion (as he ſaieth of hym ſelfe) and in Aſia he was brought in ſuche trouble, that he loked for no other thyng, but for preſent death, and yet he that raiſeth the dead to life againe, did bryng hym out of all his troubles, & taught him and al other that be in troubles for Chriſtes cauſe, not to truſt to them ſelues, but in almightie God.

A leſſō to truſt to ẏ Lord, who is alwayes a help in extremitie of neede.

Of Gods gracious aide in extreme perilles toward them that put their truſt in hym, all Scripture is full bothe olde and newe. What daungers were the Patriarkes often brought vnto, as Abrahām, Iſaac, and Iacob, but of all other Ioſeph, & how mercifully were thei deliuered again? In what perils was Moiſes whē he was fain to flie for the ſauegard of his life? And whē was he ſent again to deliuer the Iſraelites frō the ſeruile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme miſerie. And when did the Lorde mightely deliuer his people from Pharao his ſworde? Not before they were brought in ſuche ſtraites, that they were ſo cōpaſſed on euery ſide (the maine ſea on the one ſide, and the maine hoſte on the other) that they could loke for none other (yea what did thei els in deede loke for?) but either to haue been drowned in the ſea or els to haue fallen on the edge of Pharao his ſword. Theſe iudges, whiche wrought moſte wonderfull thinges in

Examples of gods redy help in extreme perils.

the deliuerie of the people, were euer geuen when the people was brought to moſt miſerie before: as Othoniel, Aioth, Saugar, Gedeon, Jephthe, Samſon. And ſo was Saull indued with ſtrength and boldnes from aboue, againſt the Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Amalechites for the defence of the people of God. Dauid likewiſe felt Gods help moſt ſenſibly euer in his extreme perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeake of the Prophetes of God, whom GOD ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extreme perilles, and ſo mightelie deliuered them againe: as Helias, Jeremy, Daniell, Micheas, and Jonas, and many other, whom it were but to long to reahearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord vſe hys ſeruauntes otherwiſe in the newe law after Chriſtes incarnation? Read the Actes of the Apoſtles, and you ſhall ſee no. Were not the Apoſtles caſte into priſon, and brought out by the mightie hand of God? Did not the Angell deliuer Peter out of the ſtrong priſon, and bryng hym out by the yron gates of the Citie, & ſet hym free? And when, I pray you? Euen the ſame night before Herod appointed to haue brought hym in iudgement for to haue ſlaine hym, as hee had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paule and Silas, when after they had bene ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner Priſon, and there were laid faſt in the ſtockes, I pray you what apparance was there that the magiſtrates ſhould be glad to come the next day themſelues to them, to deſire them to be content and to depart in peace? Who prouided for Paul, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted out of all daunger, and brought to Felix the Emperours Deputie, when as both the high Prieſtes, the Phariſeis, and rulers of the Jewes had conſpired to require iudgement of death againſt hym, he beyng faſt in priſon, and alſo more then .xl. men had ſworne eche one to other, that they woulde neuer eate nor drinke vntill they had ſlaine Paule? A thing wonderfull, that no reaſon could haue inuented, or manne could haue looked for: God prouided Paule his owne ſiſters ſonne a yong man, that diſapointed that conſpiracy, and all their former coniuration. The maner how the thing came to paſſe, thou maiſt reade in the .xxiii. of the Actes. I wil not be tedious vnto thee here with the reherſall therof.

Examples of gods deliuerance.

Act. 23.

Now, to deſcende from the Apoſtles to the Martyrs that folowed next in Chriſtes church, and in them likewiſe to declare how gracious our good God euer hath bene to worke wonderfullye with them whiche in his cauſe haue bene in extreme perilles, it were a matter enough to write a long booke. I will here name but one man & one woman, that is, Athanaſius the great clark and godlie man ſtoutlye ſtandyng in Chriſtes cauſe againſt the Arrians, & that holy woman Blandina, ſtandyng ſo conſtantly in all extreme paines, in the ſimple confeſſion of Chriſte. If thou wilte haue examples of mo, loke and thou ſhalt haue both theſe and a C. moe in Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria of Euſebius, and in Tripartita hiſtoria.

But for al theſe examples both of holy ſcripture, and of other hiſtories, I feare mee the weake man of God incombred with the frailty and infirmitie of the fleſhe, will haue now and then ſuch thoughtes and quawmes (as they call them) to run ouer his hart, and to thinke thus: All theſe thinges whiche are rehearſed out of the Scripture, I beleue to be true, and of the reſt truly I do thinke well, and can beleue them alſo to be true: but all theſe we muſt needes graunt were ſpeciall miracles of God, which now in our daies are ceaſed we ſee, and to require them at Gods handes, were it not to tempt God.

Welbeloued brother, I graunt ſuch were great wonderful workes of God, and we haue not ſeene many of ſuche miracles in our time, either for that our ſight is not cleare (for truely God worketh with his, his parte in all times) or els becauſe wee haue not the like faithe of them for whoſe cauſe God wrought ſuch thinges: or becauſe, after that he had ſet forth the trueth of his doctrine by ſuche miracles then ſufficiently, the time of ſo many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of theſe is the moſt ſpeciall cauſe of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth: I leaue that to God. But know thou this my welbeloued in God, that gods hand is as ſtrong as euer it was, he may do what his gracious pleaſure is, and he is as good and gracious as euer he was. Man chaungeth as the garment doth, but GOD our heauenly father is euen the ſame now that he was, and ſhalbe for euermore.

God worketh great myracles in our time although euery man doth not ſee them.

The worlde without doubt (this I doe beleue, and therfore I ſay) draweth towardes an ende, and in all ages God hath had his owne maner, after his ſecret and vnſearchable wiſedome, to vſe his elect, ſometimes to deliuer them and to keepe them ſafe, and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drinke of Chriſtes cuppe, that is, to feele the ſmart, and to feele of the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feleth eaſe in the other: is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one, towardes them in bothe, and loueth them no leſſe when he ſuffereth them to be beaten, yea and to be put to bodily death, then when he worketh wonders for their maruellous deliuerie. Nay rather hee doth more for them, when in anguiſhe of the tormentes he ſtandeth by them and ſtrengthneth them in their faith, to ſuffer in the confeſſion of the trueth and his faithe, the bitter panges of death, then when hee openeth the priſon dore and letteth them go loſe: for here he doth but reſpit them to an other time, & leaueth them in daunger to fall in like perill againe: and there he maketh them perfect, to bee without daunger, paine, or perill after that for euermore. But this his loue towardes them, how ſoeuer the worlde doth iudge of it, is all one, both when he deliuereth and when hee ſuffereth them to bee put to death. He loued as well Peter and Paul, when, after they had (accordyng to his bleſſed will, pleaſure, and prouidence, finiſhed their courſes, and done their ſeruices appointed them by hym here in preachinge of his Goſpell) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruell tyrant Nero (as the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie ſaith) as when he ſent the Angell to bryng Peter out of priſon, and for Paules deliuery he made all the dores of the priſon to flie wide open, and the foundatiō of the ſame like an earthquake to tremble and ſhake.

The Lord fauor no leſſe in aduerſitie, then in proſperitie.

Thinkeſt thou (O thou man of God) that Chriſte our ſauiour had leſſe affection to the firſt Martyr Stephen, becauſe he ſuffered his enemies euen at the firſte conflict to ſtone hym to death? No ſurely: nor James Johns brother, which was one of the three that Paule calleth Primates or Principals amongſt the Apoſtles of Chriſt. He loued him neuer a whit the worſe then he did the other, although he ſuffered Herodes the tyrants ſword to cut of his head. Nay, doth not Daniell ſaye, ſpeakyng of the crueltie of Antichriſtes time: Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, & ruent in gladio & in flamma, & in captiuitate, & in rapina dierum. &c. Et de eruditis ruent vt conflentur & eligantur, & dealbentur. &c. (That is, and the learned (he meaneth truelie learned in Gods law) ſhall teach many, and ſhall fall vpon the Sworde, and in the flame, (that is, ſhall bee burned in the flamyng fire) and in captiuitie (that is, ſhall bee in priſon, and bee ſpoiled and robbed of their goods for a long ſeaſon). And after a little in the ſame place of Daniell it foloweth: and of the learned there be, which ſhal fal or be ouerthrowen, that they may be knowne, tried, choſen, and made white: he meaneth, be burniſhed and ſcoured a new, picked and choſen, and make freſhe and luſty. If that then was foreſeene for to bee done to the Godly learned, and for ſo gracious cauſes, let euery one to whom any ſuch thing by the will of GOD doth chaunce, be mery in God, and reioyce, for it is to Gods glory, and to his owne euerlaſtyng wealth. Wherefore well is he that euer he was borne, for whom thus graciouſly God hath prouided, hauyng grace of God, and ſtrength of the holie Ghoſt to ſtande ſtedfaſtlie in the height of the ſtorme. Happy is hee that euer hee was borne, whom God his heauenly Father hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorifie hym, and to edifie his churche by the effuſion of his bloud.

Daniell. 11.

Daniell. ibid.

To dye in Chriſtes cauſe is an high honour, to the whiche no manne certainelye ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignitie: For no man is alowed to preſume for to take vnto hym ſelfe any office of honour, but hee whiche is thereunto called of God. Therefore John ſaith well, ſpeakyng of them, whiche haue obtained the victorie by the bloud of the Lambe, and by the worde of his teſtimony, that they loued not their liues, euen vnto death. And our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith: He that ſhall looſe his life for my cauſe, ſhall find it. And this maner of ſpeache pertaineth not to one kinde of Chriſtians, (as the worldlie dothe wickedly dreame) but to all that do truely pertaine vnto Chriſt. For when Chriſte had called vnto hym the multitude together with his Diſciples, he ſaid vnto them (marke that he ſaid not this to the diſciples and Apoſtles onely, but

Martyrdome an high honour.

Apocalip. 12.

Math. 16.

Mark. 8.

ly, but he ſaid it to all) whoſoeuer wil folow me, let him forſake or denie himſelfe, and take vp his croſſe and folowe mee: for whoſoeuer will ſaue his life, ſhall loſe it (he meaneth whoſoeuer will, to ſaue his life, both forſake or leaue hym and his truth): and whoſoeuer ſhall looſe his life for my cauſe, and the Goſpels ſake, ſhall ſaue it: For what ſhall it profite a man if he ſhall winne the whole worlde and loſe his owne ſoule? his owne life? or what ſhall a man geue to recompence that loſſe of his owne life, and of his owne ſoule? Whoſoeuer ſhalbe aſhamed of me and my wordes (that is to confeſſe me and my goſpell) before this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of hym ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed when he cometh in the glory of his father, with the holy Angels. Know thou O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoufe, and to the furtherance of thee, towardes thy ſaluation. All thinges (ſaith Paul) worketh with the good to goodnes, euen the enemyes of God, and ſuche kind of puniſhmentes whereby they goe about to deſtroy them, ſhall be forced by Gods power, might, & fatherly prouidẽce, for to do them ſeruice.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that pouertie, aduerſitie, ſicknes, tribulation, yea painfull death of the godly, be tokens that god doth not loue them: but euen cleane the contrary, as all the whole courſe of ſcripture doth euidently declare: for then hee woulde neuer haue ſuffered his moſte derely beloued the Patriarkes to haue had ſuche troubles, his Prophetes, his Apoſtles, his Martyrs and chiefe Champions and maintainers of his truthe and Goſpell, ſo cruellye of the wicked to haue bene murdered and ſlaine. Of the whiche ſome were racked (as the Apoſtle ſaith) and woulde not bee deliuered, that they might receiue a better reſurrection. Some were tried by mockynges and ſcourginges, yea moreouer by bondes and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, they were hewen and cut aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlaine with the ſworde, thei wandered vp and doune in ſheepes ſkinnes & Goates ſkinnes, beyng forſaken, afflicted & tormented: ſuche men as the world was not worthy to haue, wanderyng in wilderneſſe, in mountaines, in dennes and caues of the earth. All theſe were approued by the teſtimony of faith, and receiued not the promiſe, becauſe god did prouide better for vs, that without vs they ſhould not be cõſummated. They tary now for vs vndoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commaunded to haue pacience yet (ſaithe the Lord) a little while, vntill the number of their fellowe ſeruauntes be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be ſlaine, as they were.

Heb. 11.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lordes ſake, let vs not for the loue of this life, tarye them to long, and be occaſiõ of delay of that glorious cõſummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the whiche alſo the liuing endued with gods ſpirite, ought ſo earneſtlye to deſire and to grone for with all the creatures of GOD. Let vs all with John the ſeruaunt of God, crye in our hartes vnto our Sauiour Chriſt: Veni domine Ieſu, come Lord Jeſu come. For then when Chriſt which is our life, ſhall be made manifeſt and appeare in glory, then ſhal the children of God appeare what they be, euen like vnto Chriſte: for this our weake body ſhall be transfigurated and made like vnto Chriſtes glorious body, and that by the power wherby he is able to ſubdue vnto hymſelfe al thinges. Then, that whiche is nowe corruptible, ſhall bee made incorruptible: that is now vile, ſhall then be made glorious: that is nowe weake, ſhall riſe then mightie and ſtrong: that is groſſe and carnall, ſhal be made fine and ſpirituall, for then wee ſhall ſee and haue the vnſpeakeable ioy and fruition of the glorious maieſtie of our Lorde euen as he is.

Apocalip. 22.

Who or what then ſhall let vs to ieoparde, to ieopard? yea, to ſpende this life whiche wee haue here, in Chriſtes cauſe? in our Lord God his cauſe? O thou therfore man of God, thou that art loden, and ſo letted like vnto a greate bellied woman, that thou canſte not flie the plague, yet if thou luſt after ſuche thinges as I haue ſpoken of, ſtande faſte what ſoeuer ſhall befall, in thy maiſters cauſe: and take this thy lettyng to flie, for a callyng of GOD to fight in thy Maiſter Chriſte his cauſe. Of this be thou certaine, they can do nothing vnto thee, whiche thy father is not aware of, or hath not foreſeene before: they can do no more then it ſhal pleaſe hym to ſuffer them to do for the furtheraũce of his glory, edifiyng of his Churche, and thyne owne ſaluation. Let them then do what thei ſhall, ſeeing to thee (O man of God) all thinges ſhall be forced to ſerue, & to worke with thee vnto the beſt before god. O be not afraid and remember the ende.

Nothing happeneth without gods foreſight.

All this whiche I haue ſpoken for the comfort of the lamentable caſe of the manne whom Chriſt calleth the greate bellied woman, I meane to bee ſpoken likewiſe to the captiue and priſoner in Gods cauſe: for ſuche I count to bee as it were already ſummoned and preſſed to fight vnder the bãner of the croſſe of Chriſt, & as it were Souldiers allowed and taken vp for the Lords warres, to do to their Lorde and Maiſter good and honorable ſeruice, and to ſticke to hym, as men of truſty ſeruice in his cauſe, euen vnto death, & to thinke their life loſt in his cauſe, is to win it in eternall glory for euermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and to make an end of this treatiſe, I ſay vnto all that loue God our heauenly father: that loue Chriſt Jeſus our redemer and Sauiour: that loue to folowe the waies of the holye ghoſt whiche is our comforter and ſanctifier of all: vnto all that loue Chriſtes ſpouſe and body, the true catholick church of Chriſt, yea that loue life and their owne ſoules health: I ſay vnto all theſe, hearken my deare brethren and ſiſters, all you that be of God, of all ſortes, ages, dignities, or degrees: harken to the worde of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte ſpoken to his Apoſtles, and meant to all his in S. Mathewes Goſpell: Feare not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the ſoule: but feare hym more whiche may deſtroy and caſte both body and ſoule into hell fire. Are not two ſmall Sparrowes ſold for a mite, and one of them ſhall not fall or light vppon the ground without your father? All the heares of your head be numbred. Feare them not, you are much more worth then are the little Sparrowes. Euery one then that confeſſeth mee before menne, hym ſhall I likewiſe confeſſe before my father whiche is in heauẽ. But whoſoeuer ſhal deny me before men, I ſhal deny him likewiſe before my father which is in heauen.

Math. 10.

The Lorde graunte vs therefore of his heauenlie grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſſe him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinfull generation, that he may confeſſe vs againe at the latter day before his father whiche is in heauen, to his glory and our euerlaſtyng comfort, ioy and ſaluation.

To our heauenly Father, to our Sauiour and redemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the holy ghoſt, be all glory and honour now and for euer. Amen.

Thus with the death and Martyrdome of theſe two learned Paſtors, and conſtant Souldiers of Chriſte, M. Latimer, and B. Ridley, you haue diuers of their letters and other writyngs of theirs expreſſed, with the Farewels alſo of B. Ridley, wherin he toke his leaue of the worlde, takyng his iourney to the kingdome of heauen. Diuers and ſondry other treatiſes of his remaine alſo in my hande both in Latine and Engliſhe, whereof ye ſhall ſee (GOD willing) the effect and contents, in the forepromiſed Appendix, which I purpoſe by the Lords grace after the finiſhyng of theſe ſtories, to adioyne.

¶ The death and ende of Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The death of Steuen Gardiner, enemie to Gods word.

Nouember.

The next moneth, after the burnyng of Doct. Ridley and M. Latimer, which was the moneth of Nouember, Stephen Gardiner Biſhop and Chauncellour, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched lyfe. Concernyng the qualities, nature, and diſpoſition of which man, for ſomuch as ſomewhat hath bene declared before in the ſtory of Kyng Edwards reigne, I ſhall neede therfore the leſſe now to ſtand greatly vpon the ſame. Firſte, this Vipers brode crept out of the town of Bery in Suffolk, brought vp moſt part of his youth in Cambridge, his wit, capacitie, memory, and other induments of nature not to bee complained of, if he had well vſed and rightly applied the ſame: wherein there was no great want of gods part in him, if he had not rather hym ſelf wanted to yͤ goodnes of his giftes. Through this promptnes, actiuitie, and towardnes of his, he profited not a little in ſuche ſtudies as hee gaue his head vnto, as firſt in the law ciuill, then in languages and ſuche other like, eſpeciallye in thoſe artes and faculties, whiche had any proſpect to dignitie and preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other ornamentes or helpes of nature, memory chiefly ſemed in hym very beneficiall, rather then diligence of ſtudy.

The vices of Wincheſter deſcribed.

To theſe giftes and qualities were ioyned agayne as great or greater vices, which not ſo much followed

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hym, as ouertooke hym, not ſo muche burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole realme. He was of a proude ſtomake and high minded, in his owne opinion and conceite flatteryng hym ſelfe to much, in wit craftie and ſubtile, toward his ſuperiour flatteryng and faire ſpoken, to his inferiours fierce, againſt his equal ſtout and enuious, namely if in iudgement and ſentence hee any thyng withſtode him: as appered betwene the good Lord Cromwell and hym in the reigne of king Henry, beyng of like hautines of ſtomacke, as the poetes wryt of Pelides, Cedere neſcius. Who although would geue no place to men, yet notwithſtandyng I wiſhe he would haue geuē place to truth, accordyng as he ſemed not altogether ignorant of the truth. What his knowledge was therin, it is euident partly to vnderſtand as well by his booke De vera obedientia, as alſo by his Sermon before King Edward: alſo by his aunſweres to the Councell the ſame time: & moreouer by his owne wordes maye be gathered in ſundrye places, as more plainly may appeare by that which hereafter foloweth.

Upon his eſtimatiō & fame he ſtode ſo to much, more then was mete for a man of his coate & callyng, whoſe profeſſion was to be crucified vnto the worlde: whiche thing made hym ſo ſtiffe in maintainyng ŷ hee had once begon to take vpon hym. I wil not here ſpeake of that whiche hath bene conſtantly reported to mee, touchyng the monſtrous makyng & miſhaped faſhion of his feete and toes, the nailes whereof were ſaid not to be like to other mens, but to crooke dounteward, and to be ſharp like the clawes of rauening beaſts. What his learning was in the Ciuill and Canon lawe, I haue not to ſay. What it was in other liberal ſciences and artes this I ſuppoſe, ŷ neither his cōtinuāce in ſtudy, nor diligēce of readyng was ſuch (by reaſon of his to much intermedlyng in Princes matters) as coulde truely well merite vnto him the title of a depe learned manne. But what learnyng or cunnyng ſoeuer it was hee had, ſo it fared in hym, as it doth in Butchers, whiche vſe to blowe vp their fleſhe: euen ſo he with boldnes and ſtoutnes, and ſpecially with authoritie made thoſe giftes that he had to appeare much greater then they were in very deede. Wherunto vſe peraduenture alſo & experience abroad brought no litle helpes, rather then either quicknes of witte, or happines of education.

Winchester not worthy the title of a learned man.

And as touching Diuinitie, he was ſo variable wauering with tyme, that no conſtant cenſure can be geuen what to make of hym. If his doynges & writynges were accordyng to his conſcience, no man can rightlye ſay whether he was a right proteſtant or Papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe then he thought, for feare, or to ſerue the time, then was he a double depe diſſembler before God and man, to ſay & vnſay, to write & vnwrite, to ſweare and forſweare ſo as he did. For firſt in the beginnyng of Quene Annes time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſy in the matter of the kings diuorce as Ste. Gardiner? who was firſt ſent to Rome and then to the Emperour with Edward Foxe, as chief agēt in the behalfe of Lady Anne. By whō alſo he was preferred to the Biſhopricke of Wint. as Edm. Boner was by ŷ Lord Cromwel to the Biſhopricke of London. Againe, at the aboliſhing of the Pope, who ſo ready to ſweare, or ſo vehemēt to write againſt the Pope as he, as not only by his Sermons, but alſo by his boke De obedientia may appeare. In which booke De obedientia, leſt any ſhould thinke him drawen therunto otherwiſe thā by his own conſent, he plainly declareth how not raſhly nor vppon a ſodeine, but vppon long deliberation and aduiſemēt in hym ſelfe about the matter, he at length vttered his iudgemēt: Wherof read before, pa. 1030. And moreouer, he ſo vttered his iudgement in writyng againſte the vſurped ſupremacie of the Pope, that commyng to Louane, afterwarde he was there accompted for a perſon excommunicate, and a ſchiſmaticke, in ſo muche that he was not permitted in their Churche to ſay Maſſe, and moreouer in their publicke ſermōs they openly cried out againſt hym. Wherof read hereafter folowing pa. 1687.

The mutabilitie of Steuen Gardiner in religion.

Touching the doinges of Winchester at Louane, read the letter of Philander to Celſpine pag. 1687.

And thus long continued he firme & forward ſo that who but Winchester durying al the tyme and reigne of Queene Anne. After her deceaſe that tyme by litle and litle caried hym awaye, till at length the emulation of Cromwels eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much fauoring of Boner (whom Winchester at that tyme in no caſe could abide) made hym an vtter enemy both againſt hym: and alſo his Religion: till againe in King Edwardes dates he began a little to rebate from certeine pointes of Popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the Goſpell, as both by his Sermon before kyng Edward, and alſo by his ſubſcribyng to certaine Articles may appeare: and this was an halfe turne of Stephen Gardiner from Popery againe to the Goſpell, and (no doubt) he would haue further turned, had not the vnlucky decaye of the Duke of Somerſet cleane tourned him away from true Diuinitie to plain Popery: wherin he continued a cruell perſecutour to his dying daye.

The firſt turnyng of Winchester from the Goſpell, and why?

An other halfe turne of Winchester from Popery to the Goſpell.

Winchester turned to a full Papiſt.

And thus much concernyng the trade & profeſſion of Ste. Gardiners Popiſh diuinity. In which his popiſh trade, whether he folowed more true iudgement, or els tyme, or rather the ſpirite of ambition and vaine glory, it is doubtfull to ſay, and ſo muche the more doubtful, becauſe in his doynges and writynges a man may ſee hym not onely contrarye to hym ſelfe, but alſo in ſome pointes contrary to other Papiſtes. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, hee ſemeth therein not ſo muche to folowe his owne ſenſe, as the mind and meanyng of Pereleſſus: out of whoſe bookes the greateſt parte of Winchesters Diuinitie ſemeth to be borowed.

Winchester neuer conſtant in hym ſelfe, nor agreeing with other Papiſtes.

A great part of Winchesters diuinitie is to be found in Pereſcus.

And therfore, as in the true knowledge of gods holy word and ſcripture he appeareth no body: ſo in his pen & ſtile of writinge no leſſe farre he is frō commendation, then he is from all plainnes and perſpicuitie, In whoſe obſcure and perplexe kind of writyng although peraduenture ſome ſenſe may be found with ſome ſearching, yet ſhall no reader finde anye ſweetnes in his readyng.

Winchesters ſtile vnpleaſant.

What moued him to be ſo ſturdy againſt M. Cheke, & Sir T. Smith for ŷ Greke pronunciation, other may thinke what they pleaſe: I ſpeake but what I thinke, that he ſo did, for that he ſawe it a thing rather newly begun, then truely impugned. Such was the diſpoſition of that wit (as it ſemeth) that of purpoſe he euer affected to ſeme to be a patrone of al old cuſtoms, though they were neuer ſo rotten with age. This one thing I cannot but ſmile at in my minde, when I ſee howe hee braggeth and vaunteth himſelfe in al his letters to the Lord Protector and other of the Councel, of the hie fauour of his noble King of famous memory, the Kings father that dead is. &c. when nothyng was leſſe true, neither did the king leſſe fauour any Engliſh man then him, as by the depoſitiōs both of the erle of Warwicke and of the Lorde Paget maie appeare in the pages of the firſte booke. 814. 816. But into this falſe and fooles paradiſe he was brought through the ſayd Lorde Paget, who, as he reporteth himſelfe in his meſſages from the king to the ſaid Winchester, deluded hym, tellyng hym much otherwiſe then the king had ſpoken, which thing puffed vp this vain glorious Thraſo not a litle, thinking the Moone was made of grene cheſe. &c.

The vayne bragging of Ste. Gardiner noted.

Read in ŷ firſte booke of Actes & Monumētes, pag. 814. 816.

But whatſoeuer he was, ſeyng he is now gone, I referre hym to his Iudge, to whō he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they whiche were preſent therein, would teſtifie to vs what they ſawe. This we haue all to thinke, that his death happened ſo oportunely, ŷ England hath a mighty cauſe to geue thankes to the Lord therefore: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt in peruertyng his Princes, in bringyng in the. vi. Articles, in murderyng Gods Saintes, in defacing Chriſtes ſincere Religion. &c. as alſo eſpeciallye for that hee had thought to haue brought to paſſe in murdryng alſo our Noble Queene that now is. For what ſoeuer daunger it was of death ŷ ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) procede frō that bloudy Biſhop, who was the cauſe therof. And if it be certaine which we haue heard, that her highnes beyng in the Tower, a wrytte came downe from certayne of the Councell for her Execution, it is out of controuerſie, that wily Winchester was the onely Dedalus and framer of that ingine. Who (no doubt) in that one daye had brought this whole realme into wofull ruine, had not the Lords moſt gratious councell, through M. Bridges then the Lieutenaunt, commyng in haſt to the Queene, certified her of the matter, and preuented Architophels bloudy deuiſes. For the whiche, thankes be to the ſame our Lord and Sauiour, in the congregation of all Engliſh Churches, Amen.

Ste. Gardiner eſpecially hunteth for the life of Lady Elizabeth.

Q. Elizabeth preſerued.

M. Bridges Lieutenant, the Lordes organe in ſauing the Lady Elizabeths life.

Of thinges vncertaine, I muſt ſpeake vncertainly, for lacke of fuller information, or els peraduenture they be in ŷ Realme that can ſay more thē here I haue expreſſed. For as Boner, Story, Thornton, Harpſfeld, Dunning, with other, were occupied in putting ŷ poore braunches of gods Saintes to death: ſo this Biſhop for his part bent all his deuiſes & had ſpent al his pouder in aſſailyng the roote, and in caſting ſuch a platforme (as he himſelfe in wordes at his death is ſayd to

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confeſſe) to buyld his popery vpp, as he thought ſhould haue ſtande for euer & a day. But (as I ſaid before) of vncertain things I can ſpeake but vncerteinly. Wherfore as touching the maner and order of his death, how riche he died, what wordes he ſpake, what litle repentaunce hee ſhewed, whether hee died with his tongue ſwolne and out of his mouthe, as Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Cauntorb. pag. 567. or whether he ſtonke before he died, as Cardinall Wolſey did, reade before pag. 970. or whether hee dyed in diſpayre as Latomus and others did. &c. All this I referre either to their reportes of whō I heard it, or leaue it to the knowledge of them whiche know it better.

Tho. Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury.

Read before pag. 970.

I could name the man (but I abſtain from names) who being then preſent, and a great doer about the ſaid Wincheſter, reported to vs concerning the ſaid biſhop, that when Doctor Day Biſhop of Chicheſter came to hym, and began to comfort him with wordes of Gods promiſe, and with the free iuſtification in the bloud of Chriſt our Sauiour, repeating the Scriptures to him. Wincheſter hearing that, what my Lord (quoth he) wil you open that gappe nowe? then farewell altogether. To mee and ſuche other in my caſe you maie ſpeake it: but open this windowe vnto the people, then farewell altogether.

Moreouer, what D. Boner then ſaw in him, or what he heard of hym, and what wordes paſſed betweene them about the tyme of his extremity, betwixt hym & hym be it. If Boner did there behold any thing whiche might turne to his good example, I exhort him to take it, & to beware in tyme, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the friuolous Epitaph which was made of his death, deuiſed of a Papiſt for a popiſh Biſhop, but I pretermit it, and in ſtede thereof I haue here inſerted certaine gatheringes out of his Sermons, wordes and writinges, wherein may appeare firſt what an earneſt and vehement enemye hee was to the Pope if hee would haue bene conſtant in him ſelfe: then howe inconſtantly he varied from himſelfe: and thirdly how he ſtandyng vpon a ſingularitie of his own wit, wauereth alſo frō other Papiſts in certaine pointes. In the gathering whereof albeit there be ſome paines, and tediouſnes alſo in readyng: yet I thought not to pretermit the ſame vppon certaine conſiderations, namelye for that ſo many yet to this day there bee, whiche ſticke ſo much to Gardiners wit, learnyng, and religion, takyng him for ſuch a doughty piller of the Popes church. To the intent therfore, that ſuch as hetherto haue bene deceiued by hym may no longer bee abuſed therein if they will either credit his owne wordes, workes, Sermons, writinges, diſputations: or els will be iudged by hys owne witneſſes of his owne party produced, wee haue here collected ſuch manifeſt probations, which may notoriouſly declare how effectuouſly firſt he withſtode the Popes ſupremacie: and likewiſe afterward may declare manifeſt contrarietie & repugnance of the ſaid Gardiner, firſt with other writers, and laſtly with him ſelfe: firſte beginnyng with his Sermon preached before kyng Edward. The ſumme and effect of whiche Sermon briefly collected by M. Udal, here vnder foloweth to be ſeene.

¶ The ſumme and effect of the Sermon which Gardiner B. of Wincheſter preached before King Edward. An. 1550.

The effect of Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſters Sermon.

Moſt honorable audience, I purpoſe by the grace of God to declare ſome part of the Goſpell that is accuſtomably vſed to be read in the Church as this day. And for becauſe that without the ſpeciall grace of God, neither I can ſpeake any thing to your edifying, nor yet receaue the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſyre you all, that we may ioyntly pray, altogether for the aſſiſtance of his grace. In which praier I commend to almighty God, your moſt excellēt Maieſty our ſoueraigne lord, King of England, France and Ireland, and of the church of Englād and Ireland next and immediatly vnder God here on earth the ſupreme head, Queene Katherin Dowager, my Lady Maries grace, my Lady Elizabethes grace your Maieſties moſt deare Syſters, my Lord Protectors grace, with all others of your moſt honorable Coūſail, the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, and I ſhall deſire you to cōmend vnto God with your prayer, the ſoules departed vnto God in Chriſts fayth, and among theſe moſt ſpecially our late ſoueraigne Lord K. Henry the eight, your maieſties moſt noble father. For theſe and for grace neceſſary I ſhall deſire you to ſay a Pater noſter, and ſo forth.

Supreme head.

The Goſpell beginneth: Cum veniſſet Ieſus in partes Cæſareæ Philippi. &c. When Ieſus was come into the parties of Ceſaria a city that Philippus builded, he aſked his diſciples and ſayd: whom do men ſay that the ſonne of man is? They ſayde, ſome ſaie that thou art Iohn the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Elye, ſome that thou art Ieremy or ſome of the Prophets. He ſayd to them: but whom ſay ye that I am? Then aunſwered Simon Peter and ſayd, thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God. &c. I cannot haue time I thinke to ſpeake of the Goſpell throughly, for other matters that I haue here nowe to ſaye, but I ſhall note vnto you ſuche thinges as I may, and firſt of the diuerſity of opinions concerning Chriſt, which were among the people variable: but amongſt his, that is the diſciples of Chriſtes ſchoole, there was no varietie, they agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no varietie. For when Peter had for all the reſt, and in the name of all the reſt made his aunſwere that Chriſt was the ſonne of God, they all with one conſent confeſſed that he had ſpoken the truth. Yet theſe opiniōs of Chriſt that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet were they honorable and not ſclaunderous: for to ſay that Chriſt was Elie and Iohn the Baptiſt, was honorable. For ſome thought him ſo to be becauſe he dyd frankely, ſharply and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Ieremy, had alſo an honorable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to bee becauſe of his great learnyng which they perceiued in him, and marueiled where hee had it. And they that ſayd he was ſome of the Prophets, had an honorable opinion of him, and fauoured him and thought well of him.

Math. 16.

Diuers iudgementes of Chriſt.

But there was an other ſort of people that ſpake euill of him, and ſclaundered him, and rayled on him, ſaying that hee was a glotton, and a drinker of wyne, that hee had a deuil in him, that he was a deceauer of the people, that he was a Carpenters ſonne, as though hee were the worſe for his fathers craft. But of theſe he aſked no queſtiō: for among theſe none agreed with the other. Wherin ye ſhall note that man of his owne power and ſtrength can nothing doe, nor nothing that good is he can do of his own inuention or deuiſe, but erreth and faileth when he is left to his owne inuention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and ſo ſtout of his owne courage, that he deuiſeth nothing wel when ſoeuer he is left to him ſelfe, without God, and then neuer doe any ſuch agree in any truth, but wander and erre in all that they do. As men of law, if they be aſked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not haue two of them agree in opinion: in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not haue two of them agree in opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them aſked their opiniō in any matter, if they ſhould aunſwer all one thing, they feare leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed and thought to haue no learning. Therefore be they neuer ſo many of them, they will not agree in their aunſweres, but deuiſe ech man a ſundry aunſwer in any thing that they are aſked.

Man cā do nothing of him ſelfe.

Diſagrement amongſt men of law.

The Philoſophers that were not of Chriſtes ſchoole, erred euery one in their vayne opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Diſagrement among Philoſophers.

Yea, men of ſimplicitie, though they meane well, yet beyng out of Chriſtes ſchoole, they agree not, but vary in their opinions: As theſe ſimple people heere ſpoken of, becauſe they were not perfect diſciples of Chriſtes ſchoole, they varied and agreed not in their opinion of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſayd he was Iohn, ſome Elie, ſome Ieremie, but none made the right aunſwere. He that aunſwered here, was Symon the ſonne of Ionas, and he ſayd: Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the lyuing God.

Diſagrement among ſimple people.

Where ye ſhall note the properties that were in Peter. He was called Symon, which is obedience, and Ionas is a doue, ſo that in him that is of Chriſtes ſchoole, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicitie. He muſt be humble and innocent as a doue that will be of Chriſtes ſchole. Pryde is a let of Chriſtes ſchole, for as the wiſe man ſaith: God reſiſteth the proud, and giueth grace vnto the humble and meeke. And according to the ſame, doth Chriſt in the Goſpell ſay: O father, I confeſſe vnto thee, that is: I laude & magniſie thee, for that thou haſt hidden theſe thinges from the wiſe, and haſt opened them vnto the litle ones. Whereupon ſayth S. Auguſtine, that the giftes of learnyng and knowledge of ſciences, are no let to Chriſtes ſchole, but a furtherance thereunto if they be well applied and vſed as they ought to be: but he that is proude, & fedeth him ſelfe with his owne conceate and opinion of him ſelfe and abuſeth the giftes of God,

Simon ſignifieth obedience.

Ionas ſignifieth a doue.

Obedience.

Simplicitie.

Learning without humilitie neuer findeth Chriſtes ſchole.

God, applying his learning and knowledge to the ſatiſfying and folowyng of his owne fantaſie, is no right Diſciple of Chriſt, but falleth into errour. Dicentes ſe ſapiẽtes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt: When they ſayd and affirmed them ſelues to be wiſe, they were made fooles.

Humilitie the porter of Chriſtes ſchole.

The Philoſophers had euery one a ſecte of his owne, and had many gay ſentences for the commendation of their opinions, and euery man thought his owne opiniõ to be beſt: but becauſe they applied all to their owne pride & glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled thẽ ſelues as they ought to haue done, but folowed their owne fanſie, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Chriſtes ſchole: and all that haue gone out of Chriſtes ſchoole, pride hath brought them out of it, and ſuch as haue not entred, haue kept them ſelues out of it with pride likewiſe: therfore all ſuch as wilbe ſcholers of Chriſtes ſchoole and diſcipline, muſt bee humble and meeke: otherwiſe, Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt.

He that can not learne this leſſon of Peter, and humbly confeſſe with Peter that Chriſt is the ſonne of the liuyng God, is no ſcholer of Chriſtes ſchole, be he otherwiſe neuer ſo well learned, neuer ſo well ſeene in other ſciences. But now concernyng the aunſwere of Peter, Mathew here in this place ſayth: he aunſwered: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei viui. S. Luke ſayth, he aũſwered: Tu es Chriſtus Dei. And S. Marke ſayth, he aũſwered: Tu es Chriſtus. But in all that is no varietie: for to ſay Chriſtus filius Dei viui, and to ſay Chriſtus Dei, and to ſay Chriſtus, is in effect all one, and no diuerſitie in it, for Chriſtus alone is the whole, and hee that confeſſeth throughly Chriſt, is throughly a Chriſten man, and doth therin confeſſe him to be the Lord and Sauiour of the worlde. But now we muſt conſider what Chriſt is. Chriſt was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Sauiour: he was ſent to be our Byſhop and alſo our ſacrifice, he was ſent from the Trinitie to be our Mediatour betwene God and vs, and to reconcilie vs to the fauour of God the Father: hee was the Byſhop that offred for our ſinnes, and the Sacrifice that was offred, and as hee is our Byſhop, ſo is he our meane to pacifie God for vs, for that was the office of a Byſhop to ſacrifice for the ſinnes of the people, and to make interceſſion for the people, and as he was our ſacrifice, ſo was he our reconciliation to God againe.

The office of Chriſt declared.

To beleue Chriſt throughly.

But we muſt confeſſe and beleue him throughly I ſay, for as hee was our Byſhop then, ſo is it hee that ſtill keepeth vs in fauour with God, and like as his ſacrifice then made was ſufficient for vs to deliuer vs from our ſinnes and to bring vs in fauour with God, ſo to continue vs in the ſame fauour of God, he ordeined a perpetuall remembraunce of him ſelf, he ordeined him ſelfe for a memory of him ſelfe at his laſt Supper when he inſtituted the Sacrament of the altar, not for an other redemption, as though the world neded a new redẽption from ſinne, but that wee might throughly remember his moſt holy paſſion hee inſtituted this Sacrament by his moſt holy word, ſaying: This is my body, which worde, is ſufficiẽt to proue the Sacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the ſubſtaunce thereof. And this dayly ſacrifice he inſtituted to be cõtinued amongſt Chriſten men, not for nede of an other redemption or ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of the world, for that was ſufficiently perfourmed by his ſacrifice of his body and bloud done vpõ the Croſſe: neither that he is now our Byſhop for neede of any farther ſacrifice to be made for ſinne, but to * continue vs in the remembraunce of his paſſion ſuffred for vs, to make vs ſtrong in beleuyng the fruite of his paſſion, to mak vs diligent in thankeſgeuyng for the benefite of his paſſion, to eſtabliſh our faith & to make it ſtrõg in acknowledgyng the efficacie of his death and paſſion ſuffred for vs. And this is the true vnderſtandyng of the Maſſe, not for an other redemption, but that we maye be ſtrong in beleuyng the benefite of Chriſtes death and bloud ſhedyng for vs vpon the Croſſe. And this it is that we muſt beleue of Chriſt, and beleue it throughly, and therfore by your pacience, as Peter made his cõfeſsion, ſo wil I make confeſsion, wherin by your Maieſties leaue and ſufferaunce, I will playnly declare what I thinke of the ſtate of the Church of England at this daye, how I like it, and what I thinke of it.

Note here Winchester: The Sacrament was ordeined to kepe vs in the perpetuall fauour of God.

Winchesters dayly ſacrifice.

* Note here Winchester contrary to him ſelfe: for before he ſayd the Sacrament was ordeined to kepe vs in the fauour of God, & now he ſayth it is to kepe vs in remembraũce of his paſſion.

What Winchester thinketh of the church of England.

What Winchester thinketh of the Maſſe.

Where I ſayd of the Maſſe, that it was a ſacrifice ordeined to make vs the more ſtrong in the fayth and remembraunce of Chriſtes paſsion, and for commendyng vnto God the ſoules of ſuch as bee dead in Chriſt (for theſe two thinges are the ſpeciall cauſes why the Maſſe was inſtituted) the Parlamẽt very well ordeined Maſſe to be kept, and becauſe wee ſhould be the more ſtrong in the faith and deuocion towardes God, it was well done of the Parlamẽt, for mouyng the people more and more with deuotion, to ordeine that this Sacrament ſhould be receyued in both kyndes. Therfore I ſay that the Act of Parliamẽt for receiuyng of the Sacrament of the altar in both kyndes, was well made.

Winchester allowed the Sacramẽt in both kindes.

I ſay alſo that the proclamation which was made that no man ſhould vnreuerently ſpeake of the Sacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeake of it then Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this proclamation ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as will vnreuerently ſpeake of the Sacrament: for in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing agaynſt the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherfore if they were the childeren of obedience, they would not vſe any vnreuerent talke agaynſt the Sacrament, nor blaſpheme the holy Sacrament. For no word of the Scripture maketh any thyng agaynſt it.

The opinion of Winchester of chauntry Maſſes.

But here it may be ſayd vnto me: why Syr, is this your opinion? It is good you ſpeake plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare you minde plainly without any colouring or couert ſpeaking. The Act for the diſſoluing and ſuppreſsing of the Chauntries ſeemeth to make againſt the Maſſe, how like you that Act? What ſay you of it? or what would you ſay of it, if you were alone? I will ſpeake what I thinke of it, I will vſe no colourable or couert words, I will not vſe a deuiſed ſpeech for a time, and afterwarde * go from it againe. If chauntries were abuſed by applying the Maſſe for the ſatisfaction of ſinne, or to bring men to heauen, or to take away ſinne, or to make men of wicked iuſt, I like the Act well, and they might well bee diſſolued, for the Maſſe was not inſtituted for any ſuch purpoſe: yet neuertheles for them that were in them (I ſpake now, as in the cauſe of the poore) it were well done that they were prouided of lyuinges. The Acte doth graciouſly prouide for them during their lyues, and I doubt not but that your Maieſtie and the Lordes of your moſt honorable Counſell haue willed and taken order that they ſhould be well looked vnto, but yet how they ſhall be vſed at the handes of vnder officers, God knoweth, full hardly, I feare. But as for the Chauntries them ſelues, if there were any ſuch * abuſe in them concerning the Maſſe, it is no matter if they be taken away.

* Whether ye did or not let Q. Maries time iudge.

Note, Winchester doth not alow Maſſe for ſatiſfaction, to bring men to heauen, to take away ſinne, or to make men iuſt. &c.

* As there was in deede.

Maſſes of Scala cœli.

King Henry the eight a noble and wyſe Prince, not without a great paine maintayned the Maſſe, and yet in his doctrine it was confeſſed that Maſſes of Scala cœli were not to be vſed ne allowed, becauſe they did peruert the right vſe and inſtitution of the Maſſe. For when men adde vnto the Maſſe an opinion of ſatiſfaction, or of a new redemption, thẽ do they put it to an other vſe then it was ordained for. I that allowe Maſſe ſo well, and I that allowe praying for the dead (as in deede the dead are of Chriſtian charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the realme in that matter of puttyng downe Chauntries.

Winchester craftely ſpeaketh agaynſt the abuſe of the Maſſe, not agaynſt the Maſſe.

Winchester agaynſt Chauntreys.

But yet ye would ſay vnto me: there be fewer Maſſes by putting awaye the Chauntries. So were there when Abbeyes were diſſolued: ſo be there when ye vnite many Churches in one. But this is no iniury nor preiudice to the Maſſe, it cõſiſteth not in the number nor in the multitude, but in the thing it ſelfe, ſo that the decay of the Maſſe by taking awaye of the Chauntries, is aunſwered by the Abbeyes. But yet I would haue it conſidered for the perſons that are in them, I ſpeake of the poore mens liuinges.

Winchester alloweth the proclamation ſet forth for receauing in both kindes.

I haue now declared what I thinke of the Acte of parlament made for the receiuing of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte in both kindes. Ye haue my minde and opinion concerning the proclamation that came foorth for the ſame Act, and I haue ſhewed my minde therein euen plainly as I thinke, and I haue euer bene agreable to this point, I haue oftentimes reaſoned in it, I haue ſpoken and alſo written in it, both beyonde the ſeas and on this ſyde the ſeas: my bookes be abroade, which I cannot vnwrite agayne. I was euer of this opinion, that it might bee receaued in both kindes, and it was a conſtitution prouinciall ſcarce two hundred yeare agone, made by Peckam then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it ſhould be receiued in both kindes, at leaſt wiſe in eccleſijs maioribus, that is, in the greater churches, for in the ſmaller churches it was not thought to be ſo expedient. Thus haue I euer thought of this matter: I haue neuer bene of other minde, nor I haue not chaunged my conſcience, but I haue obeyed and followed the order of the Realme, and I praie you

It was a conſtitutiõ prouinciall of Peckam to receaue in both kindes in Eccleſijs maioribus: in ſmaller churches it was thought not ſo expedient.

to obey orders as I haue obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

Math. 16.

Nowe I will returne to the text. When Simon had aunſwered: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei viui, Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God, Then Chriſt ſayd vnto him: bleſſed art thou Simon Bariona, for fleſhe and bloude haue not opened that vnto thee, but my father which is in heauen, and I ſay vnto thee that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuayle againſt it. Bleſſed art thou (ſaid he) for fleſh and bloud haue not opened that vnto thee. For otherwiſe in Iohn, Andrew told of Chriſt and ſaid: I haue found the Meſſias which is Chriſt. But that is not enough. He that ſhall confeſſe Chriſt, muſt haue an inward teaching, and muſt bee ſpiritually taught by the father of heauen, for Andrewes confeſsion was nothing but a carnall confeſsion, and ſuch a one as any other might haue made by naturall reaſon: but the confeſsion of Peter was aboue reaſon of man, for Chriſt was there a very man, and Peters eyes told him that he was a man and nothing els, but he was inwardly taught by the father of heauen and had a ſecret knowledge geuen him from heauen, not by fleſh and bloud, that is to ſay, by mans reaſon, but inwardly by the father of heauen: and ſeing this was aboue reaſon, it is a merueilous thing that reaſon ſhould bee vſed to impugne faith, which is not wythin the precinct of carnall men, and ſuche as vſe groſſe reaſon.

Iohn. 1.

Outward confeſſing without inward teaching is not enough.

But Peter had an other leſſon inwardly taught hym, and becauſe he could his leſſon, Chriſt gaue him a new name: for Petra is a ſtone, a new name of a Chriſten mā, for vpon this confeſsion of thy faith, heere I will build my church, that is, I will ſtabliſh all thoſe which I entēd to gather vnto thee: Et Dæmones non preualebunt aduerſus eam, that is: and the Deuils ſhall not preuaile againſt it: for he that with a good hart, and ſure faith cōfeſſeth this, he is ſure from all perill: this world nor Sathan can do him no harme.

Petrus what it ſignifieth.

Note what Wincheſter here ſayth: that vpon the cōfeſſion of Peter the church is builded.

But now for a further declaration, it is a merueilous thing, that vpō theſe wordes the Biſhop of Rome ſhould found his ſupremacie, for whether it be ſuper Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpoſe to make a foundatiō of any ſuch ſupremacie. For otherwiſe when Peter ſpake carnally to Chriſt (as in the ſame chapter a litle folowing) Sathan was his name, where Chriſt ſayd: Go after me Sathan, ſo that the name of Peter is no foundation for the ſupremacie, but as it is ſayd in Scripture: Fundati eſtis ſuper fundamentum Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum: that is, by participation (for godly participation geueth names of thynges) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the riuer is called the head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this confeſsion of Chriſt, which is not an Argument for dignitie, but for the qualitie that was in the mā For the firſt mā is not euermore the beſt. The Headman of a Queſt is not alwayes the beſt man in the Queſt, but is choſen to bee the Headman for ſome other qualitie that is in him. Vertue may allure men, ſo that the inferiour perſon in dignitie may be the better in place, as the king ſometime chuſeth a meane man to be of his Coūſayle of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the kyng the kyng ſtill. And in ſome caſe the kyng of England might ſend to Rome, and if the Biſhop of Rome were a mā of ſuch wiſedome, vertue, & learning that he were able in matters of cōtroverſie concernyng religion, to ſet a vnitie in the Church of England, the kyng might well enough ſend vnto him for his Counſel and helpe, & yet ſhould not in ſo doyng, geue the Byſhop of Rome any ſuperioritie ouer the king. For if a kyng be ſicke, he will haue the beſt Phiſition, if he haue warre, he will haue the beſt captaine, and yet are not thoſe the ſuperiours but the inferiours.

Steuen Gardiner agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie.

Peter called Sathan.

Peters name no foundatiō for ſupremacie.

How Peter might be called head of the church as is the head of a riuer.

A headman is not alwayes of dignitie, but rather of qualitie.

A ſcholemaſter is a ſubiect, a Phiſition is a ſubiect, a Captaine is a ſubiect, Counſellours are ſubiectes, yet do theſe order and direct the kyng: wherfore leuing the Byſhop of Rome, this I ſay to declare of what opinion I am of. I do not now ſpeake what I could ſay. I haue ſpoken beyond the Seas, I haue written, my bookes be abroad. But this is not the place here: I ſay that this place maketh nothyng for the Byſhop of Rome, but for Chriſt only, for none can put Aliud fundamentum niſi id quod poſitum eſt, qui eſt Chriſtus Ieſus.

Tu es Petrus, maketh nothing for the B. of Rome.

But now to go forth declaring my minde, in my time hath come many alterations. Firſt a great alteration it was to renounce the Byſhop of Romes authoritie, and I was one that ſtode in it. A great alteration it was that Abbayes were diſſolued. A great alteration it was that Images were pulled downe: and to all theſe did I condeſcend, and yet I haue beene counted a maintayner of ſuperſtition, and I haue beene called a Maſter of Ceremonies and of outward thynges, and I haue bene noted to take that religion which conſiſteth in outward thinges, as though hee were a ryght Chriſtian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, wherof I promiſed to declare my conſcience and ſo will I, and how I haue eſtemed ceremonies, and that I haue neuer beene of other opinion then I am concerning ceremonies, and myne opinion I haue gathered of Auguſtine, and Ierome, auncient fathers and Doctours of the Church.

Wincheſter agaynſt ỹ Pope, agaynſt Abbeyes, and Images.

Maſter of Ceremonies.

Ceremonies ſerue to moue men to ſerue God, and as long as they be vſed for that purpoſe, they may bee well vſed in the church: but when man maketh him ſelfe ſeruaunt to them and not them to ſerue him, then bee our ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by ouer much familiarity of them men abuſe them, they do euill. For wee muſt not ſerue creatures, but Deo. We had Monkery, Nunry, Fryery of a wondrous number, much variety of garmentes, variety of deuiſes in dwelling, many ſondry orders and faſhions in mouing of the body. Theſe thinges were firſt ordayned to admoniſh them to their duety to God, to labour for the neceſsity of the poore, and to ſpare from their owne bellies to the poore, and therfore was their fare ordeined and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe thinges, and ſet them in an hyer place then they ought to do, not taking monition therby the better to ſerue God, but eſteming perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolued, their houſes and garmentes were taken away.

Wincheſters opinion of Ceremonies.

Ceremonies how and when they are abuſed.

Ceremonies ſeruauntes to men, not men to ceremonies.

But one thing king Henry would not take away, that was the vow of chaſtity. The vow of obedience he conuerted to himſelſe: the vow of chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remayne with them.

Vowe of chaſtitie.

We had many Images wherto pilgrimages were done, and many tombes that men vſed to viſit, by reaſon wherof they fell in a fancy of Idolatry & ſuperſtition, aboue the thinges that they might haue beene taken for, and becauſe they had not the vſe that they were ordeyned for, they were left. When men put the Images in a higher place then they ſerued for: then were they taken cleane away: as giue a chyld a gay booke to learne vppon, and then if he gaſe vpon the gorgeouſnes of his booke, and learne not his leſſon according to the intēt that that boke was geuen for, the booke is taken away from him again. So the Images, when men deuyſed and fell to haue them in hygher place and eſtimation then they were firſt ſet vp in the Church for, then they might bee taken awaye: and I was neuer of other mynd, nor neuer had other opinion of them. Diuers thinges there be in the church which be in the liberty of the ruler to order as he ſeeth cauſe, and he that is ruler may eyther let them ſtand or els may cauſe them to be taken away.

Wincheſter neuer agaynſt ỹ taking away of Images being abuſed with Idolatrie.

There be two maner of reformations. We haue had of both ſortes. There be thinges in the church the which if they be abuſed, may not be takē away. As for baptiſme, if it be abuſed, there may not an other thing bee put in the place of it, but the thing muſt be reformed and brought to the rihgt vſe againe. Alſo preaching, if it be abuſed, may not bee taken awaye, but muſt bee reformed and brought to the right vſe: but there be other thinges vſed in the church in which the Rulers haue liberty, either to reforme them or to take them away. We haue had many Images, which bee now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the Rulers for the abuſe of them, eyther to reforme them, or to take them away. And becauſe it was an eaſier way to take them away, then to bring them to the right vſe that they were ordayned for, they were all cleane taken away, and ſo they might bee. Yea Syr will ye ſay, but ye haue maintayned and defended them and haue preached agaynſt ſuche perſons as deſpyſed them. It is truth, I haue preached agaynſt the deſpyſers of thē, and haue ſayd, that Images might bee ſuffered and vſed in the church as lay mens bookes, yet I neuer otherwiſe defended them, but to be vſed for ſuch purpoſe as they were firſt ſet vp in the church for, but now that men be waxed wanton, they are cleane taken away, wherin our religion is no more touched thē whē bookes were taken away for abuſing of them.

Two maner of reformations, one where the thinges cannot be taken away, but the abuſe: the other where both the thinges and the abuſe may be taken away.

To take away all Images lyeth in the liberty of the Rulers.

There was an order taken for bookes not to bee vſed, wherein ſome might haue ſaid, the bookes are good, and I know how to vſe them, I may therefore vſe them well ynough. I will therefore vſe them though they bee forbidden: but if thou haue any charity, thou oughteſt to be contented rather to haue them cleane taken awaye, then

If abuſing of Images to Idolatrie be cauſe ſufficient to take away Images, why did Wincheſter hold with them before? if it be not cauſe ſufficient, why doth he now graunt to the taking of them awaye, being no more wantonly abuſed, then they were before time?

then to declare thy ſelfe to haue an other opinion then thou oughteſt to haue.

As touching ceremonies, I eſteeme them all as Paule eſteemeth them, thinges indifferent, where he ſayth: Regnum Dei nō eſt eſca & potus. So of ceremonies. Neuertheles wee haue time, place, and number, as a certayne number of Pſalmes to bee ſayd at tymes, which may be vſed without ſuperſtition, but theſe thinges muſt ſerue vs, and not we ſerue them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as haue power, we muſt folow it, and we muſt obey the Rulers that appoint ſuch time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not ſay, if the time will ſerue me, then I will come an houre after. No Syr ye muſt keepe this tyme and this houre, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the rulers, not for the thinges, but for the order that is ſet. I haue beene euer of this opinion.

Taking away of Palmes and Candels.

We had palmes and candels takē away, which things may indifferently haue eyther of the two reformations aboue ſayd. When they were in place, they ſhould haue put men in remembraunce of their duety and deuotion towardes God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and myght bee taken awaye. But the religion of Chriſt is not in theſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them, the religiō of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But men muſt in ſuch thinges be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience ſake. S. Paul ſayth, that we ſhould rebuke euery brother that walketh inordinately. I haue tolde you myne opinion, and my conſciēce telleth me that I haue ſpoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceiued in me, nor be ſclaundered in me, nor make no further ſearch to know my hart.

B. Gardiner ſpeaketh accordyng to his vnconſtant conſcience.

Winchester liketh well the communion.

I like well the communion becauſe it prouoketh men more and more to deuotion. I lyke well the proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the mouthes of all ſuch as vnreuerently ſpeake or rayle agaynſt the Sacrament. I lyke well the reſt of the Kinges Maieſties procedinges concerning the Sacrament. I haue nowe told you what I lyke. But ſhall I ſpeake nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeake not playnely. I will therefore ſhew my conſcience playnely.

B. Gardiner liketh well K. Edwardes procedinges.

B. Gardiner miſlyketh the preachers in K. Edwards time, and why?

B. Gardiner cōpareth preachers to Poſtes caryng truth in their letters & lyes in their mouthes.

I miſlyke that preachers which preach by the Kinges lycence, and thoſe readers which by the Kinges permiſſion and ſuffraunce do readde open lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talke agaynſt the Maſſe, and agaynſt the Sacrament. And to whom may I lyken ſuch readers and preachers? I maye lyken them vnto Poſtes, for the prouerbe ſayth, that Poſtes do beare truth in their letters and lyes in their mouthes: and ſo do they, and to ſpeake ſo agaynſt the Sacrament, it is the moſt marueilous matter that euer I ſaw or heard of. I woulde wiſhe therefore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalfe, and that there might be but one order or rule, for as the Poet ſayth (I may vſe the verſe of a Poet well ynough, for ſo doth Paul of the great Poet, οὐχ ἄγαθου πολυκοιρανίη εἷς κοίρανος ἔςω. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king. They call it going before the King, and ſuch make them ſelues Kinges. Well what miſlyketh me els?

B. Gardiner miſliketh the breaking of a Vowe of chaſtitie.

It miſlyketh mee that Prieſtes and men that vowed chaſtity, ſhould openly mary and auow it openly: which is a thing that ſince the beginning of the churche hath not bene ſeene in any time, that men that haue bene admitted to any eccleſiaſticall adminiſtratiō ſhould mary. Wee read of married Prieſtes, that is to ſay: of married men choſen to be Prieſtes and Miniſters in the church. And in Epiphanius, wee read, that ſome ſuch for neceſſity were wincked at. But that men being prieſtes already ſhould mary, was neuer yet ſeene in Chriſtes church from the beginning of the Apoſtles tyme. I haue written in it, and ſtudied for it, and the very ſame places that are therein alleadged to mayntayne the mariage of Prieſtes, being diligently read ſhall playnely confound them that maintayne to mary your Prieſtes, or at the fartheſt, within two lynes after.

B. Gardiner againſt mariage of Prieſtes.

Thus haue I ſhewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the inferiours, and in order proceeding from the higher powers. And thus I haue (as I truſt) plainely declared my ſelfe, without any couering or counterfayting. And I beſech your moſt excellent maieſty to eſteme and take me as I am, and not to bee ſclaundered in me, for I haue told you the playne truth as it is, and I haue opened my conſcience vnto you. I haue not played the Poſt with you, to cary truth in my letters, and lyes in my mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place: but I haue diſcloſed the playne truth as it lyeth in my mynd. And thus I commit your moſt excellent Maieſtie and all your moſte honorable Councellours with the reſt of the deuout audience here preſent, vnto God. To whom bee all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

B. Gardiner agreeing to reformation of religiō how farre and wherein.

Thus hauyng compriſed the ſumme and chief purpoſe of his Sermon, with other ſuch matter aboue ſtoryed, wherein may appeare the double faced doynges of this Byſhop in matters of Religion: now for the more fortification of that which hath ben ſayd, if any ſhall deny this foreſayd Sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirme therefore the ſame, we will here adioyne certeine brief notes and ſpecialties in maner of a ſummary table, collected as well out of the teſtimonies and depoſitions of hys owne frendes and ſeruauntes, and other whiche were ſworne truely to declare theyr knowledge in this behalfe, as alſo out of hys owne writynges and workes agreeyng with the ſame. In all which foreſayd allegations it may remayne notorious and famous to all men, how, in what pointes, and how farre the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter agreed with the reformation of Religion receaued, not onely in Kyng Henryes, but alſo in Kyng Edwardes dayes.

And becauſe it will be long and a double labour to repeate all the wordes and teſtimoniall ſayinges of euery witnes particularly, the ſame being expreſſed ſufficiently in our firſt impreſſion before, it ſhall therefore ſuffice by quotations briefly to aſſigne the place to the reader, where he may find all thoſe pointes of reformation, wherunto the ſaid Byſhop Gardiner fully agreed with the doctrine now receaued, and firſt in withſtandyng the Popes ſupremacie, as is here vnder noted.

¶ The Popes ſupremacie impugned by Byſhop Gardiner.

Places in B. Gardiners bookes & Sermōs expreſſed, where he impugneth ŷ Popes ſupremacie.

FIrſt, as touchyng the confeſſion and iudgemēt of Steuē Gardiner againſt the ſupremacie of the B. of Rome, read in his booke De vera obedientia. fol. 6.

Item, concernyng the diſputations and defenſions of Byſhop Gardiner at Louane agaynſt the Popes ſupremacie, read in our firſt impreſſion, pag. 802. alſo in this preſent Volume.

Read in the firſt impreſſion of Actes and Monumentes.

Item, how the ſaid Byſhop Gardiner in his Sermons & preachings, as where he expoundeth the place [Tu es Petrus] nothing at all to make for the authority of the Romiſh Byſhop, maruelyng how the Pope could vſurpe ſo much to take vp that place to build vppon, when Chriſt had taken it vp before to build his Church, read in the old booke, pag. 845. col. 1. pag. 647. col. 1. pag 846. col. 1. & the depoſitions of Doct. Redman, pag. 853. col. 1.

Item, how the confeſsion of Peter was the confeſſion of all the Apoſtles, like as the bleſſing geuen to Peter partayned as well to all the Apoſtles as to Peter, read ibidem, pag. 847. col. 1.

Item, that the place: Paſce oues meas, was not ſpeciall to Peter alone, but generall to all the Apoſtles. Alſo that the Greke Church dyd neuer receaue the ſaid Byſhop of Rome for their vniuerſall head, read in the ſame booke, pag. 847. col. 1. pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, that the authority of the Byſhop of Rome, was not receyued of the moſt part of Chriſten Princes, read the depoſitions of Syr Tho. Smyth, pag. 827. col. 2.

Item, how the ſaid Byſhop Gardiner would not graunt, that the ſayd authority was receyued generally. Ibidem, pag. 827. col. 2.

Item, that the Church was builded vppon Chriſtes fayth, and not vpon Peter, read the depoſitions of Rob. Willanton, pag. 836. col. 2.

The head man of Enqueſt.

And though Peter was called Princeps Apoſtolorum, that was nothing els, but like as it is in an inqueſt, where the foreman or headman is not ſo called becauſe he is beſt or chiefeſt of that cōpany, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt. Read in the depoſitions of M. Baſſet, pag. 850. col. 2. pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, when the keyes were giuen, they were giuen generally to all the Apoſtles. Read the depoſitions of Rob. Willanton, pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, how the ſayd Byſhop taketh away all ſuch Scriptures which are thought to ſerue for the Popes ſupremacie, as Super hanc Petram: Paſce oues meas: Princeps Apoſtolorum. &c. prouyng that they ſerue nothing for his authority, read likewiſe in the ſame booke in the depoſitions of M. Baſſet his owne ſeruaunt, pag 850. col. 2.

Item, how the ſayd Byſhop in his booke De vera obedientia, did not only write againſt the Popes ſupremacie, but alſo did defend the ſame at Louane, pag.802. And moreouer in his Sermõs dyd alledge & preach the ſame, pag.774. col.2. and that alſo Vehemently, pag.850.col.2.Lin. 50. Pithely, pag.846.col.1.Lin. 31. Earneſtly, pag. 843. col. 1. Lin. 75. Very earneſtly, pag. 843. col. 1. Lin. 44. Very forwardly, pag. 827. col. 1. Lin. 82.

Winchester Vehement, Pithy, Earneſt, Forward, againſt yͤ Pope.

And not onely did ſo vehemently, pythely, earneſtly, and forwardly preach him ſelfe againſt the Popes ſupremacie, but alſo did cauſe M.White then Scholemaiſter, after Byſhop of Wynt. to make certayne verſes extolling the kinges ſupremacy agaynſt the vſurped power of the Pope, encouraging alſo his ſcholers to do the like. Read the depoſitions of Iohn White ſcholemaiſter of Wincheſter, pag. 845.col.2.

Winchester cauſed verſes to be written agaynſt the Pope.

Winchester 14. yeares preached agaynſt the Popes authoritie.

Item, how he, for the ſpace of 14. yeres together, preached againſt the Popes ſupremacie in diuers Sermons, & eſpecially in one Sermon before king Henry, read the depoſitions of Iohn Pottinger, pag.844.col.1.Lin.1.

¶ Places noted wherin B.Gardiner impugned Ceremonies, Monkery, Images, Chauntreys. &c.

Winchester againſt ceremonies.

ITem, for ceremonies and Images which were abuſed, to be taken away by publicke authoritie, he dyd well allow it, as a child to haue his boke taken from him whē he abuſed it, or deliteth onely in the golden couer. Read in the foreſaid old booke the depoſitions of Chriſtopher Malton, pag.846.col.1. pag.849.col.2. pag.841.col.1.

Item, the diſſoluing of Monaſteries & religious houſes he alloweth, & graunteth that they were iuſtly ſuppreſſed. Read the depoſitions of D. Weſton, pag.845.col.1. pag.837.col.1. pag.851.col.1.

Winchester agaynſt Images abuſed.

Concerning Images beyng by King Edwardes Iniunctions aboliſhed, how the ſaid Byſhop exhorted the people in his Sermons tu bo contēted therwith, read the depoſitions of W.Lorkyng, pag.840.col 1.

Winchester againſt Monkes and Friers.

Monkes and Friers he calleth flatteryng knaues. Read the depoſitions of Syr Tho.Smith, pag.827.col.2.

Friers he neuer liked in all his life.pag.827.col.1. Mõkes he counted but belly Gods. Ibid.pag.827.col.2.

Winchester agaynſt yͤ going about of S. Nicolas. &c.

The goyng about of S. Nicolas, S. Katherine, and S. Clement, he affirmeth to bee childrens toyes. Ibid. pag. 827. col. 1.

Winchester againſt Chātrey Obites.

The taking away or tranſpoſing of Chauntrey Obites hee referreth to the arbitrement of the politicke rulers, graunting that if they did diſſolue them it might well be ſo done. Read the depoſitions of M.Baſſet his owne ſeruaunt, pag.850.col.2.

Item, he wiſheth them to be committed to a better vſe, and that Monaſteries were iuſtly taken awaye. Read the depoſitions of George Bullocke, pag.847.col.1.

Winchester would not that a man ſhould be addicted to dayes, howers, number, time, and place. &c.

The obſeruyng of dayes, houres, nomber, tyme, and place, if they be orderly and publikely commaunded by the rulers, it is but to ſet the Church in an outward and publicke order: but if a man inwardly and priuately be addicted to the ſame thinking his prayer otherwiſe not auaylable but by obſeruing therof, it is an errour. Read the depoſitions of Doct.Redman, pag.853.col.2. pag 854.

Winchester liketh the communion.

The communion ſet out by K. Edward he lyked well. Ibid.pag.853.col.2. pag 854.

Winchester liketh the booke of common ſeruice.

The booke of common ſeruice he was cõtent both to kepe him ſelfe, and cauſe it to be kept of others. Read the depoſitions of the Duke of Somerſet, pag.818.col.1.

Winchester exhorteth to come and heare yͤ homilies red.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the Church to heare thē. Read the depoſitions of M.Pottinger his one ſeruaunt, pag.843.col.1.

In ſumme, to all Iniunctions, Statutes, and proclamations ſet forth by the king and ſuperiour powers, he yelded and graunted. Read in the depoſitions of George Bullocke, pag.847.col.2.

Winchester cauſed Cardinall Poole to be expelled France.

Item, Cardinall Poole comming to the French king to ſtirre him vp againſt Englād, Wint. cauſed him to be expelled out of Fraunce. Witnes Cuth.Byſhop of Dureſme, pag.818.col.2.

Winchester ſworne and forſworne.

Item, the ſaid Wincheſter ſworne againſt the Pope by expreſſe clauſes in his proxie. Read in the depoſition of Iohn Coke Regiſt. pag.860.col.1.lin.13.

The booke of Iohn Elder ſent into Scotland.

Now (gentle reader) lay theſe writynges, preachynges, and doynges of this Byſhop in the dayes of king Henry and kyng Edward, with his doynges in Queene Maries tyme, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable hee was, how inconſtant and contrary to him ſelfe, how periured and falſe, and farre differyng from that which he was reported to be in a certain Engliſh boke ſet out in Queene Maries tyme, which ſayth that there were iij. onely in England, whoſe conſcience had beene neuer deſteined in Religion, of whom he falſely ſayth the foreſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter was one.

Although B.Gardiner in graunting to theſe points of religion (as ye haue heard) and other ſome againe denying, could not therefore deſerue the name and fame of a perfect Chriſtian, yet notwithſtanding if he had continued in this iudgement ſtyll, and bene conſtant in him ſelfe, he might haue wonne more commendation both with God and man. But as ſoone as the tyme began to alter, hee likewyſe altering with the tyme, was ſo farre chaunged from that he ſeemed, that neither hee agreed with other Papiſtes, nor yet with him ſelf, as Doct.Ridley in certaine treatiſes hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glaſſe may be ſeene the maniſeſt contrarietie and repugnaūce in him, not only from the truth of Gods bleſſed word, but alſo how the ſayd Byſhop ſtādіng ſo much in a ſingularity by him ſelfe, neyther agreeth with other his fellow writers of his own factiõ, nor yet fully accordeth with him ſelf in certaine caſes of the ſacramēt, as the foreſaid Doct.Ridley in examining his words & workes, hath well ſet out in this table here vnder enſuing.

Wincheſter neither agreeth with the Proteſtantes in the Goſpell, neither in property with the Papiſtes: neither with himſelfe.

¶ Certain matters wherein Steuen Gardiner Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, varieth from other of the Papiſtes, touchyng the Sacramente of the Lordes Supper.

1. Other catholickes ſaie, that the body of Chriſt is made of bread. Thomas vult ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia, queſti.75.artic.4. Wincheſter ſaieth, that the body of Chriſte is not made of the matter of breade, nor neuer was ſo taught, but is made preſent of bread, page.89.lin.8.page.228.line.44.

Ex pane, non de pane.

Confutation of Wincheſter againſt Cranmer.

This confutation, with the leafe and line here aſſigned is in Cranmers booke agaynſt Wincheſter.

Wincheſter ſaieth, that Chriſt called bread his bodie, when he ſaied: This is my bodie, page.292.lin.19. And in the deuils Sophiſtrie, fol.27. Other ſaie cōtrary. And Smith fol.53. Marcus Antonius obiect.13.14.20.

Wincheſter ſaieth, that breade is my body, is as muche to ſaie, as bread is made my body. And ſo he taketh (eſt) for (ſit) pag.333.lin.25.pag.120.line.23.28.30. Confutation. Other ſaie that (eſt) is taken there ſubſtantiuely, that is to ſaie, onely for is, and not for is made. Marcus Antonius.fol.171.fac.2.

Wincheſter ſaith that Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament carnally and corporally, after the ſame ſignification that he is in heauen, pag.161.lin.6. Confutatiō.

Simplicitatē ſermonis ſequentes. &c. vid.fol.171.

Wincheſter ſaieth alſo, that when wee ſpeake of
Chriſtes body, we muſt vnderſtand a true body, which
hath bothe forme and quantitie, pag.81.lin,5.Mar.Ant. 2.
obiect.77. Smith ſaieth that Chriſtes bodie in the Sa- 3.
crament hath not his proper forme & quantitie.fol.106. 4.
And the contrary he ſaieth.fol.105. Chedſey in diſputatione cum Petro Mart.fol.41.fac.2.

Wincheſter ſaieth: we beleue ſimply that Chriſtes body is naturally and corporally in the Sacramente without drawyng awaie his accidences, or addyng, pag.367.lin.41. Smith ſaieth: we ſaie that Chriſtes bodie is in the Sacrament againſt nature, with all his qualities and accidences.fol.105.

5. Wincheſter ſaith, that Gods workes be al ſemelines, without confuſion, although he can not locally diſtinct Chriſtes heade from his feete, nor his legs from his armes, pag.70.lin.5.13.14.pag.69.lin.34. Confutation. Other ſaie that Chriſtes heade and feete, & other partes, be not in deede locally diſtinct in the ſacrament but be ſo cōfounded, that where ſoeuer one is, there be all the reſt. tert parte ſum q.76.art.3. Innoc.ter.lib.4.& 8.

6. Wincheſter ſaieth that Chriſtes bodie is in the ſacramente ſenſibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally. pag.181.lin.13.22.&c. Confutation. Other ſaie contrary. Smith. fol.59.

7. Other ſaie that Chriſtes feete in the Sacramente bee there where his heade is. Wincheſter ſaieth, that whoſoeuer ſaieth ſo, maie be called mad, pag.70.lin 13. 14. Confutation.

8. Other ſay, yͭ corporall Chriſt goeth into the mouth or ſtomacke, and no farther. Bonauentura, Hugo, Inno. 13.lib.4.cap.15.Gloſ.de conſecrat. diſtinct.2.cap.tribus, & in gloſ.non iſte. Thomas.parte.3.queſt.80.arti.3. Tamdiu manet dū eſt in digeſtione. Smith.fol.64. He ſaith contrary.pag.59.lin,30.& pag.60.lin.38.12. Confutation.

9. Wincheſter ſaith that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in hym that receiueth the Sacramente worthely, ſo longe as he remaineth a member of Chriſte. page.64.lin. 22. Confutation. Other ſaie contrary. Smith, fol.64.&c. as before in the ſeuenth line aboue.

10. Wincheſter ſaieth that no creature can eate the body of Chriſt but onely man, pag.75.lin.24. Confutatiō.

Other saie cleane cōtrary. Thomas part. 3. q. 8. art. 3. hoc derogat [inquit] veritati corporis Christi. Perin in his sermon of the Sacramente. What inconuenience is it though the impassible body lye in ẏ mouthe or mawe of the beaste? &c. M. Sententiarum. Qui dicit corpus Christi non posse a mure manducari aut a bruto, is condemned.

11. A mouse may eate Christes body, sayth the Maister of Sentence.

Winchester saith that an vnrepētant sinner receiuyng the Sacrament, hath not Christes body nor spirite within hym. pag. 256. lin. 18. 25. 26. Smith saith that he hath Christes body and spirit within hym. fol. 156.

12. A mouse can not eate it saith Winchester.

Winchester saith, that of the figure it maie not bee saied: I adore it, worship it: and that is not to be adored whiche the bodily eye seeth. pag. 203. lin. 38. pa. 272. lin. 6. Marc. Ant. fol. 155. fac. 2. Docetur populus non adorare q̄ vident oculis corporis. Smith saith cōtrary. fo. 145. fa. 2.

13. Within hym, that is, within his soule.

Winchester saieth, that reason will agree with the doctrine of Transubstantiation well enough, pag. 30. lin. 12. Confutation. Smith saieth that Transubstantiation is against reason, & naturall operation. fol. 60.

14.

Other saie that wormes in the sacramēt be gēdred of accidences. Ex speciebus Sacramentalibus generātur vermes. Tho. par. q. 76. art. 5. Winchester saith ẏ they bee wrōg borne in hand to saie so. pa. 400. lin. [illegible]. Confutatiō.

15.

Winchester saith that the accidences of bread and wine do mould, sower, and ware vineger, pa. 300. lin. 24. and pa. 400. lin. 6. Confutation. & Marc. Ant. obiect. 73. But he answereth so confusely, that the reader can not vnderstand him, be he neuer so attentiue. Smith saith: thus I saie, that the consecrated wine turneth not into vineger, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engēdreth wormes, nor is burned, nor receiueth into it any poison, as long as Christes body & bloud are vnder ẏ formes of thē: which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tary there, in their naturall disposition & condition, and the bread & wine might bee naturally there, if they had not been chaunged into Christes body and bloud, and also as long as the hoste and consecrated wine are apt to be receiued of man, and no longer, but go & depart thence by Gods power, as it pleaseth hym: & then a newe substance is made of God, whiche tourneth into vineger, engēdreth wormes, mouldeth, is burned, fedeth Rattes and Mice, receiueth poison &c. fol. 64. and fol. 105.

16.

Winchester saieth: euery yea contayneth a nay, in it naturally: So as who soeuer saieth, this is breade, saieth it is no wine. For in the rule of common reason the graunt of one substāce, is the deniall of an other. And therefore reason hath these conclusions throughly: whatsoeuer is bread, is no wine, whatsoeuer is wine is no milke, and so forthe. So Christe saying: This is my body, saith it is no bread, pag. 291. lin. 22. and pa. 300. lin. 17. Smith saith, that a boy whiche hath onely learned the Sophistrie, will not dispute so fondlie. fol. 77.

17. The Masse taketh his satisfaction by the deuotion of the Priest & people, and not of the thing offered.

Other saie, that the Masse is a sacrifice satisfactory by deuotion of the priest, & of them for whō it is offred, and not by ẏ thing that is offered. Tho. part. 3. q. 79. art. 5. Winchester saieth otherwise, pag. 92. lin. 5. Cōfutation.

18.

Winchester saieth, that the onely immolation of Christe in hym self vpon the aultar of the crosse, is the very satisfactorie sacrifice for the reconciliation of mākinde, vnto the fauour of God, pag. 437. lin. 31. Smith saieth: what is it to offer Christes body and bloud at Masse, to purchase therby euerlasting life, if the Masse be not a sacrifice to pacifie Gods wrathe for synne, and to obtaine his mercie: fol. 14. 148. 164. Where he saieth further: Priestes doe offer for our saluation, to get heauen, and to auoide hell.

¶ Matters wherein the Bishop of Winchester varieth from hym self.

1. Proposition.

The body of Christ in the Sacrament is not made of bread, but is made present of bread, pag. 89. lin. 9. &c. and pag. 228. lin. 44. Confutation against Cranmer.

Contradiction.

Of bread is made the body of Christ. pag. 318. li. 13.

The catholicke faith hath from the beginnyng cōfessed truely Christes intent, to make bread his bodie, pag. 29. line 2. Confutation.

And of many breades is made one body of Christ. pag. 167. lin. 2. Confutation.

And faithe sheweth me, that breade is the bodie of Christ, that is to saie, made the body of Christ. pa. 133. lin. 23. 25. Confutation.

Christ gaue that he made of bread, pag. 291. lin. 34.

2. Proposition.

Christe spake plainly: This is my bodie, makyng demonstration of the bread, when he saied: This is my body. In the deuils Sophistrie. 27.

Contradiction.

The demonstration (This) maie be referred to the inuisible substaunce, pag. 150. lin. 41. Confutation.

The verbe (is) was of his body and of his bloude, and not of the bread and wine, pag. 84. lin. 43.

Illis verbis (Hoc est corpus meum) substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quādo corpus de substantia sua, non aliunde, predicetur. Mar. Antonius. fol. 24. fa. 1.

3. Proposition.

When Christe saied: This is my bodie, the truthe of the literall sense hath an absurditie in carnall reasonyng. pag. 57. lin. 34. Confutation.

Contradiction.

What cā be more euidently spoken of the presence of Christes naturall bodie and bloud, in the most blessed Sacrament of the aultar, then with these wordes: This is my bodie. In the deuils Sophistrie. fol. [illegible].

4. Proposition.

Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ God & man, and when we speake of Christes body, we must vnderstand a true body, which hath both forme & quantitie. pag. 81. lin. 5. Mar. Ant. obiect. 77. Smith fo. [illegible].

And he is presente in the Sacramente, as he is in heauen, pag. 81. lin. 4. &c. Confutation.

We beleue simply the substaunce of Christes body to be in the Sacrament without drawyng awaie of the accidences or addyng. pag. 337. lin. 41. Confutation.

Contradiction.

Christe is not present in the Sacramente, after the maner of quantitie, but vnder the forme and qualities of bread and wine. pag. 81. lin. 19. and pag. 101. lin. 22.

5. Proposition.

In such as receiue the Sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally. pag. 190. lin. 7. pag. 197. lin. 27. pag. 217. lin. 28.

Contradiction.

The maner of Christes beyng in the Sacramente is not corporall, nor carnall, nor naturall, nor sensible, nor perceptible, but onely spirituall, pag. 81. line. 18. & and line 25. pag. 263. line 11. Confutation.

6. Proposition.

We receiue Christ in the Sacramente of his fleshe and bloud, if we receiue hym worthily, pag. 190. line 7. pag. 197. line 27. Confutation.

When an vnrepentaunt sinner receiueth the Sacrament, he hath not Christes body within hym, pa. 256. line 18. Confutation.

He that eateth verely the fleshe of Christe, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in hym, pag. [illegible] line 31. Confutation.

Contradiction.

An euill man in the Sacrament receiueth in deede Christes very bodie, pag. 28. line 24. 25.

Euill men eate verely the fleshe of Christ, pag. 256. line 24. 25. &c. Confutation.

7. Proposition.

Christ giueth vs to be eaten the same fleshe that he tooke of the virgine Marie, pag. 274. line 25.

Contradiction.

We receiue not in the Sacrament Christes fleshe that was crucified, pag. 176. line 1. Confutation.

8. Proposition.

S. Augustines rule in his boke De doctrina Christiana, pertaineth not to Christes supper, pag. 152. lin. 40.

Contradiction.

Sainte Augustine meaneth of the Sacramente, ibidem, and pag. 10. line 44. Confutation.

9. Proposition.

Reason in place of seruice (as beyng inferiour to faithe) will agree with the faithe of Transubstantiation well enough, pag. 300. line 15. Confutation.

And as reason receiued into faithes seruice, doth not striue ẇ transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it: so mans senses be no suche direct aduersaries to trāsubstantiatiō, as a matter whereof thei cannot skill, for the senses cannot skill of substances. pag. 307. lin. [illegible] &c.

Contradiction.

Thine eyes say there is but bread and wine, thy tast saith the same, thy felyng & smellyng agree fully to the: Herevnto is added the carnall mans vnderstandyng, which because it taketh ẏ beginning of ẏ senses, procedeth in reasoning sensually. In ẏ deuils Sophistry. fo. 6.

The Churche hath not forborne to preache the truthe, to the confusion of mannes senses and vnderstandyng. fol. 15.

10. Proposition.

It is called bread, because of the outwarde visible matter, pag. 327. line.

Contradiction.

When it is called bread, it is ment Christe the spirituall bread, pag. 320. line 41.

11. Proposition.

And the catholicke faithe teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward signe, and not in the bodie of Christ pag. 165. line [illegible] and pag. 392. line 41. and in the Deuilles Sophistrie. fol. 17.

Contradiction.

That whiche is broken is the body of Christ, pag. 392. line 49.

12. Proposition.

The inwarde nature of the bread is the substance, pag. 323. line 14.

Contradiction.

Substaunce signifieth in Theodoret (he saith) the outward nature, pag. 404. line 40.

The substaunces of breade and wine bee visible creatures, pag. 322. line 30. and 327. line 32.

Accidences

Anno. 1555. October.

Accidentes be the viſible natures, and viſible elementes, pag. 256. lin. 6. and 15. &c.

13. Propoſition. Contradiction.

Chriſt is our ſatiſfaction wholie and fully, and hath paied our whole dette to God the Father, for the appeaſing of his wrathe againſt vs, pag. 92. lin. 6. 7.

14. Propoſition.

The acte of the Prieſt, doen accordyng to Goddes commaundement, muſte needes bee propitiatorie, and ought to bee truſted on, to haue a propitiatorie effecte. pag. 237. lin. 30.

Contradiction.

The Sacrifice of our Sauiour Chriſt was neuer reiterate, pag. 276. lin. 8.

15. Propoſition.

Prieſtes doe Sacrifice Chriſt, pag. 93. lin. 16.

Contradiction.

And the catholicke doctrine teacheth the daiely ſacrifice, to be the ſame in eſſence that was offered on the croſſe, pag. 435. lin. 16.

16. Propoſition.

The Neſtorians graunted both the Godhead and manhead, alwaies to bee in Chriſt continually, pa. 148. lin. 15, 22.

Contradiction.

The Neſtorians denied Chriſt conceiued God, or borne God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not borne a biſhop, is after made a Biſhop. So the Neſtorians ſaied, that the Godhead was an acceſſion after by merite, and that he was conceiued onely man, pag. 147. lin. 47. 50. 51. and pag. 148. lin. 47.

17. Propoſition.

Chriſt vſeth vs familiarly as he did his Apoſtles. pag. 93. lin. 21.

Contradiction.

Chriſte is not to bee ſaied conuerſaunte in yearth, pag. 14. lin. 11. &c.

¶Certaine thynges that Winchester graunted vnto.

Notes declaring wherein Winchest. graunted to the ſpirituall vſe of the Sacrament.

CHriſt declareth eatyng of hym ſelf, to ſignifie beleuyng, pag. 19. lin. antepenultima. Confutatiõ.

Chriſt muſt be ſpiritually in man, before he receiue the Sacramente, or els he cannot receiue the Sacramente worthely, page. 54. lin. 44. page. 160. line vltima, pag. 196. lin. 3. pag. 205. lin. 32.

How Chriſt is preſente, page. 63. lin. 29. &c. page. 81. lin. 11. pag. 81. lin. 16. pag. 65. lin. 15.

By faithe wee knowe onely the beyng preſente of Chriſtes moſte precious bodie, not the maner thereof, pag. 70. lin. 15.

When wee ſpeake of Chriſtes bodie, we muſte vnderſtande a true bodie, whiche hath bothe forme and quantitie, pag. 81. lin. 5. lin. 35.

Although Chriſtes body haue all thoſe truthes of forme and quantitie: yet it is not preſent after the maner of quantitie, ibidem, lin. 8. 9.

The demonſtratiue (this) maie bee referred to the inuiſible ſubſtaunce, pag. 150. lin. 42.

In the old praiers & ceremonies found, as though the people did communicate with the prieſt, pa. 165. li. 46.

The maner of Chriſtes beyng in the Sacramente is not corporall, nor carnall, not naturall, not ſenſible, not perceptible, but onely ſpirituall, pag. 181. lin. 19. &c. lin. 29. pag. 223. lin. 21.

When the vnrepentant ſinner receiueth the ſacrament, he hath not Chriſtes body within hym, pa. 256. li. 18.

Wee eate not Chriſte, as he ſitteth in heauen raigning, pag. 276. lin. 18.

The worde (Tranſubſtantiation) was firſt ſpoken of in a generall Councell, where the Biſhop of Rome was preſent, pag. 283. lin. 21.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt ſpoken of.

In the Sacrifice of the churche, Chriſtes death is not iterated, but a memorie daiely renewed of ẏ death: ſo as Chriſtes offeryng on the croſſe once doen and cõſummate, is now onely remembred, pag. 440. lin. 40. &c.

To theſe notes & places of D. Ridley, let vs alſo adioyne other 12. places or articles of the like affinitie, taken out of his Booke called the examination of the proude hunter, noted in the latter ende of D. Turners ſeconde courſe. By theſe articles it maie appeare how this biſhop ſwarueth no leſſe from the ſounde truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, then he did in the other bothe from hym ſelfe, and alſo from other his fellowe brethren of his owne catholicke mother Churche of Rome. The Articles in ſumme are theſe.

¶Twelue newe founde Articles of Steuen Gardiners Crede, taught in his booke called the Examination of the hunter.

Alleged out of the booke of Doct. Turner intituled, The reſcuer of the Romiſh Foxe.

1. The ceremonies and traditions whiche the Biſhop of Rome hath ordained, and are nowe allowed in England, are the pale of the churche of England. fo. 7.
2. The Popes ceremonies and traditions, are good and politicke Lawes, whereby God hath encloſed the kynges ſubiectes vnder his maieſtie alone. ibidem.
3. As kyng Richard an euill mã, made a good politike lawe for the body, and common wealth of England: ſo can the Pope an euill man, make good lawes & wholſome doctrine for mans ſoule, & Chriſtes church. fol. 23.

One vſurper well compared with an other.

4. What ſoeuer is good ſpoken, and vſed by man, is muche more of God then Chriſtes doctrine, is his fathers doctrine. fol. 33.

4. Note here blaſphemous Winchest. preferring ẏ wordes ſpoken by man before Chriſtes doctrine.

5. He that ſaieth that the Lawe of the Goſpell, ought onely to be holden in Chriſtes churche, and is ſufficient alone for it, ſpeaketh ſo farre out of reaſon, that he is not worthy to be reaſoned withall. fol. 37.
6. They that holde that the croſſe of ſiluer or golde, ought not to be worſhipped with kiſſyng of it, and bowyng and kneelyng to it, are enemies of Chriſtes true croſſe, and take awaie the meanes that might ſette out the glory of Chriſtes croſſe. fol. 49.
7. Neither Paule nor the Croſſe, can be worſhipped with godlie honour. fol. 61.
8. As Chriſt vſed claie for an inſtrument to heale the blinde mannes eyes withall, and hath ſaued diuers by faith, & made it an inſtrument of ſaluatiõ, and as God hath ordained Timothe to be an inſtrument of ſaluation, bothe to him ſelf & for other, ſo maie the Pope ordain holy water, to be an inſtrumẽt of ſaluatiõ both of body & ſoule, to al thē that are ſprinkled with it. fol. 64.

Chriſt neuer made clay to be an inſtrument for ſaluation of mans ſoule.

9. No man can commit Idolatry with his body alone and in onely kiſſyng of an Image or Idol, and in onely kneelyng to it, can no Idolatrie be committed. fo. 52.
10. For as muche as GOD vnderſtandeth them that ſyng in Latine, though they vnderſtande not them ſelues, their praier is acceptable before God. fol. 76.

Euil both like.

11. As a father maie forbid certaine of his children to marrie, ſo maie a kyng in his kyngdome, forbid certaine of his ſubiectes to marrie, that is to ſaie, all the Prieſtes of his Realme. fol. 83.
12. He that would take awaie the Popes ceremonies out of the churche, ſhould driue awaie al godlines and ſeemelineſſe, al religious and deuoute behauiour out of the Churche. fol. 94.

The B. of Winchest. Maſter of ceremonies.

Here haſt thou (good reader) this ſtout Prelate of Winche. with all his properties, doynges, & qualities, as in a certain Anatomie proportioned out vnto thee, wherby thou maieſt boldly iudge (and nothyng erre in thy iudgemẽt) what is to be eſteemed of hym by his fruites: as who neither was true Proteſtãt, nor right Papiſte: neither conſtãt in his error, nor yet ſtedfaſt in the truthe: neither frende to the Pope, and yet a perfecte enemie to Chriſt: falſe in kyng Henries tyme, a diſſembler in kyng Edwardes tyme, double periured, and a murderer in Queene Maries time, mutable and inconſtante in all tymes. And finally, where in his letters to the lorde Protectour and others, vſually he vaunteth ſo muche of his late ſoueraigne lorde kyng Henry the viij. and of the greate reputation that he was in with hym, read I beſeche, and behold in the depoſitions of the lorde Paget in the old boke, pag. 806. col. 1. and alſo in the depoſitions of the Erle of Bedford pag. 824. and there ye ſhall ſee the kyng before his death, bothe exceptyng hym out of his Pardone, and quite ſtrikyng hym out of his laſt will and teſtament, ſo deteſted and abhorred hym, as he did no Engliſhe man more. And where as the lorde Paget beyng ſent in meſſage from the kyng to the biſhop, by other wordes then the kynges mynde and will was, of his owne dexteritie gaue to hym good and gracious wordes, whiche in deede the kyng neither knewe, nor yet were ſente by hym: the B. perſwadyng hym ſelf otherwiſe of the kynges fauor towardes him, then it was in deede, was therein farre deceiued, and brought into a fooles Paradiſe: whereof reade bothe in the old booke before, page. 806. 824. and alſo in this preſent volume, pag. 1253.

The B. of Winchest. falſly pretendeth the fauour of Kyng Hēry towardes hym.

To deſcribe and paint out the vnſtable mutabilitie of this biſhop aforeſaid, albeit here nede no more to be added beſides that whiche is already declared, yet notwithſtandyng, ſeyng the matter is not long, it ſhall not be out of the waie to annexe withall vnto the premiſſes, a pece of Oſianders letter, written to one Criſpine Phiſicion in Oxforde, ſent from Antwerpe, concernyng the doynges and behauiour of this Biſhop of Winchester, whoſe ſtorie we haue now in hande. The copie of whiche Oſianders letter, written to the ſaied Criſpine his frende, beginneth thus.

Winchester vnſtable in religion.

Read in the firſt edition pag. 801.

¶Doctiſsimo viro, Edmundo Criſpino amico integerrimo, Oxoniæ.

ANte meam ex Lutetia profectionẽ, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum noſtrũ. &c.

¶The Engliſhe whereof, as muche as to the preſent purpoſe appertaineth, here followeth tranſlated.

A letter of Driſder to one Criſpine, reporting the doinges of the Byſhop of Wincheſter at Louane.

Before my departure from the Citie of Paris, I wrote vnto you by our frēde the Engliſhman. &c. Now you ſhalbe contented onely with the narration of your Biſhop of Wincheſter, who (as appartained to the Ambaſſadour of ſo noble a prince) came to Louane with a great brauerie, and was there receiued at one Ieremies houſe, and moſte honourably entertained: where the facultie of Diuines for honor ſake, preſented hym wine in the name of the whole Vniuerſitie. But our famous Doctours, and learned Maiſters, for that thei would more depely ſearche and vnderſtande the learnyng, and excellencie of the Prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certaine Oration, made by hym, and now extante, intituled *De vera obedientia*, in the whiche his Oration, he did impugne the ſupremacy of the B. of Rome, and preferred his Lordes and kynges authoritie, before the holie Apoſtolicke Sea, as thei terme it: whiche beyng read and conſidered by thē, they did not onely repente them, for giuyng hym ſuche honour, but alſo recanted that, whiche they had doen: and did not ſo muche honour hym afore, but now they were as earneſt and as ſpitefull againſt hym. Richard Lathomus, interpreter of termes, with the fauourers of that fraternitie, and other champions of the fallyng churche, diſputed with hym concernyng the Popes ſupremacy. The biſhop ſtoutly defended his ſaid Oratiō. The Diuines contrary ſtifly maintained their opiniō, and diuers tymes openly with exclamations called the ſaied biſhop an excommunicate perſone, and a ſciſmaticke, to no little reproche & infamie of the Engliſh nation. The Biſhoppe not long after, myndyng to ſaie Maſſe in Sainct Peters Churche, they did deny vnto hym, as to an excommunicate perſone, the ornamentes and veſtimentes mete for the ſame, wherewith he beeyng highly offended, ſodainly haſtened his iourney frō thence. The Deane the nexte daie after made an eloquent Oration, wherin he openly diſgraced, and defamed hym. You haue heard nowe a true ſtorie, for oure Doctour was a beholder of the whole Tragedie. &c.

B. Gardiner defēdeth his boke De vera obedientia at Louane. Wincheſter compted for an excommunicate and a ſcheſmaticke, at Louane.

And this now beyng ſufficiente for Gardiners ſtorie, to leaue hym to his iudge, and to let hym go, we ſhal retourne and proceede (by the grace and leaue of the Lorde) as the courſe of theſe doifull daies ſhall leade vs, to proſecute the reſidue of Chriſtes Martyres, as now in order followeth.

¶The burnyng of Iohn Web gentleman, George Roper, and Gregorie Parke, at Canterburie, as followeth.

Nouemb. 30. W. Webbe, George Roper, Gregory Parke Martyrs.

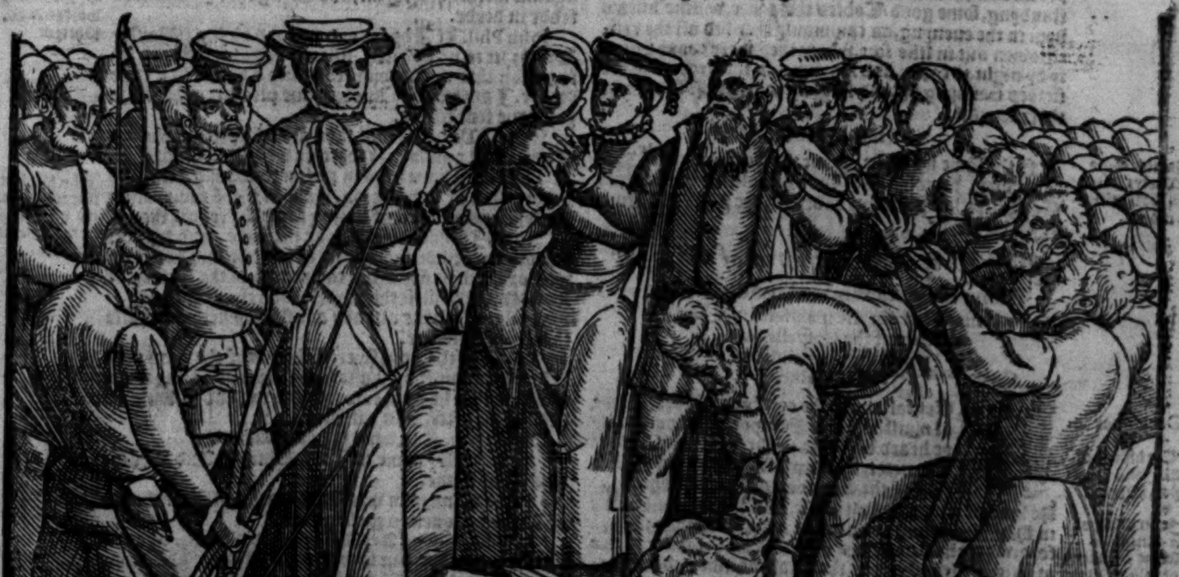
Next after the death and conſtant Martyrdom of the twoo moſte worthy champions, and ſtanderdbearers of Chriſtes armie, Doctor Nicolas Ridley, and Maiſter Hugh Latimer (of whom ye haue heard at large) followed thre other ſtout and bolde ſouldiours, that is to ſaie, Iohn Web gentleman, George Roper, and Gregorie Parke.

The appearaūce of W. Webbe before the B. of Douer.

This Iohn Web was brought before the Biſhop of Douer, and Nicolas Harpeſfield, or ſome other deputed in their roume, long before the other twoo, videlicet, the xvi. daie of September, and there had propounded vnto hym ſuche ordinarie Articles (as it ſeemeth) as was commonly miniſtred by Boner, to thoſe of his iuriſdiction: and beyng willed for that preſent to departe, and to deliberate with hym ſelf vpon the matter, againſt the next tyme of his appearaunce, he made aunſwere, that he would no otherwiſe ſaie (by Gods grace) then he had already ſaied, whiche was this: As touchyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes bodie, I doe beleue (q he) to be lefte vnto his Churche (with thankes giuyng) in commemoration of his death and Paſſion, vntill his commyng againe, So that it is left in remēbraunce of his bodie, and not by the woordes of conſecration to bee made his body, really, ſubſtancially, and the ſame body that was borne of the virgine Marie: I vtterly doe deny that. After this (beſides ſondry other times) the third daie of October the ſaid Iohn Web, and Gregorie Roper, & George Parke were brought all three together before the ſaied Iudge: who there and then agreyng, and ſtedfaſtly allowyng the former aunſwere made before by Maiſter Web, were by the bloudy Prelates adiudged heretickes, and therefore

Aunſweres of Maiſter Webbe to the Biſhops articles.

¶The order and maner of buryng in the fieldes, ſuche as died in priſon, and namely of Willyā Wiſeman, mentioned in the page followyng.



about

Anno. 1555.
Nouember.
December.

George Roper leapeth at the ſtake.

about the ende of the ſame moneth of Octob. or els as I otherwiſe finde in the latter ende of Nouember, thei togither were taken & brought out of priſō to the place of Martyrdome. Who by the waie goyng toward the ſtake, ſaied certaine Pſalmes mournfully. Roper was a yonger man of a freſhe colour, courage, and complexion, the other twoo were ſomewhat more elderly, all goyng in white linnen, with their gounes vpō. Roper at his commyng to the ſtake puttyng of his goune, fet a greate leape. So ſone as the flame was about hym, the ſaid Roper put not bothe his armes from his bodie like a Roode, and ſo ſtoode ſtedfaſt, continuyng in that maner, not pluckyng his armes in, till the fire had conſumed them, and burnt them of.

George Roper ſtoode in the fier like a roode

The Martyrdome of Webbe, Roper, and Parke, at Canterbury.

And thus theſe foreſaied Martyres of Chriſte, beyng brought (as I ſaied) to the ſtake, and there compaſſed about with a chaine, were burnte and conſumed all three together in one fire at Caunterburie, abidyng moſte paciently their tormentes, and countyng them ſelues happie, and bleſſed of the Lorde, that thei were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſtes Goſpelles ſake.

¶Of Willyam Wiſeman.

December. 13.

The xiii. of December in the Lollardes Tower died William Wiſeman, a Clothworker of London, where he was in priſon and bandes, for the Goſpel and woorde of God. How, and wherevpon he deceaſed it is not fully certaine. Some thought that either throwe famine, or ill handlyng of ſome murtheryng Papiſtes, he was made awaie. By reaſon whereof the Crouner named Iohn Gibbes gentleman, with an enqueſt of twelue men, were faine to ſitte vpon hym, who although to the outwarde appearaunce were ſaied to finde nothyng in hym els, but onely Gods viſitation, yet what other priuie cauſes there mighte bee of his death, the lorde knoweth: I haue not to ſaie. After the ſaied William was departed (as is ſaied) in the Tower, the holy catholicke churche men, caſt hym out into the fieldes, commaundyng that no manne ſhould burie hym, accordyng as their deuoute maner is to doe with all ſuche as die in like ſort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no buriall, but to bee caſt to dogges & birdes, ἑλώρια κυνέσσι as the Poet ſaieth. And yet all this their mercileſſe commaundement not withſtandyng, ſome good Tobies there wer, whiche buried hym in the euenyng, as commonly they did all the reſt, throwen out in like ſort, whom they were wont priuely by night to couer, and many times the archers in the fieldes ſtandyng by, and ſingyng together Pſalmes at their buriall.

William Wiſeman dead in Lollars tower, and caſt into the fieldes.

¶Iames Gore.

Iames Gore Martyr, died in Colcheſter priſon.

In the ſame monethe, about the ſeuenth daie of December, deceaſed alſo Iames Gore in the priſon at Colcheſter, laied there in bādes for the right and truth of Gods worde.

¶*The proces and hiſtorie of Maiſter* Iohn Philpot, examined, condemned, & martyred for the maintenaunce and defence of the Goſpells cauſe, againſt the Antichriſtian Sea of Rome.

December 20.

The hiſtory of M. Iohn Philpot, Martyr.

Next followeth the conſtaunt Martyrdome of maiſter Iohn Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of queene Maries tyme, in proſecutyng the diſputation of the Conuocation houſe. pag. 1571. He was of a worſhipfull houſe, a knightes ſonne borne in Hāpſhire, brought vp in the newe Colledge in Oxford, where he ſtudied the Ciuill lawe, the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen yeares, beſides the ſtudie of other liberall artes, eſpecially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely in the knowledge of the Hebrue tongue. &c. In witte he was pregnant and happie, of a ſingular courage, in ſpirite feruent, in religion zelous and alſo well practiſed, & exerciſed in the ſame (whiche is no ſmall matter in a true Diuine) of nature and cōdition plaine and apert, farre from all flatterie, farther from all hypocriſie, and deceitfull diſſimulatiō. What his learnyng was, his owne examinations penned of his owne hande can declare.

John Philpot a Knightes ſonne, ſtudent of law in New Colledge in Oxford.

John Philpot went ouer to Italy.

From Oxford, deſirous to ſee other countreis, as occaſion ſerued thereunto, he wente ouer into Italie, and places there aboutes, where he commyng vppon a tyme from Venice to Padua, was in daunger through a certain Franciſcan Frier, accompanying hym in his iourney, who commyng to Padua, ſought to accuſe hym of hereſie. At length retournyng to Englande his countrey againe, as the tyme miniſtred more boldeneſſe to hym, in the daies of Kyng Edward, he had diuers conflictes with Gardiner the Biſhop, in the citie of Wincheſter, as appereth by diuers of Wincheſters letters, and his examinations. Whereof reade before page. 1301.

John Philpot in daunger by an Italiā fryer.

The returne of John Philpot into England.

After that, hauyng an aduouſon by the ſaied Biſhop, he was made there Archedeacon of Wincheſter, vnder Doctor Ponet, who then ſucceded Gardiner in that Biſhopricke. Thus duryng the tyme of King Edward, he continued to no ſmal profite, of thoſe parties thereabout. Whē that bleſſed Kyng was taken awaie, and Marie his ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudie was wholy bent, to alter the ſtate of Religion, in the woful Realme of Englande: firſte ſhe cauſed a Conuocation of the Prelates, and learned men to bee congregate, to the accompliſhement of her deſire.

John Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter.

This D. Ponet Byſhop of Wincheſter fled afterward into Germany, and there deceaſed. An. 1557.

In the whiche Conuocation Maiſter Philpot beyng preſent, accordyng to his roume and degree, with a fewe other, ſuſteined the cauſe of the Goſpell manfully againſt the aduerſary part (as is aboue recited) for the whiche cauſe, notwithſtandyng the libertie of the houſe promiſed before, he was called to accompte before Biſhop Gardiner the Chauncellour, then being his ordinarie, by whom he was firſte examined, although that examination came not yet to our handes. From thence again he was remoued to Boner, and other Commiſſioners, with whom he had diuers & ſondrie conflictes, as in his examination here followyng maie appeare.

John Philpot ſent from Gardener, to Boner.

¶The firſt examination of Iohn Philpot, before the Queenes Commiſsioners, M. Chomley, M. Roper, and doctor Storie, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Seſsions hall. 2. Octo. 1555.

The firſt examinatiō of M. Philpot, before the commiſſioners.

Doctor Storie, before I was called into an inner Parler where they ſatte, came out into the hall where I was, to vewe me amōg other that there were, and paſſyng by me, ſaid: Ha maiſter Philpot, and in retournyng immediatly againe, ſtaied againſt me, beholdyng me, and ſaiyng that I was well fedde in deede.

D. Stories wordes to M. Philpot.

Iohn Phil. If I be fat and in good likyng (Maiſter Doctor) it is no maruell, ſince I haue been ſtalled vp in priſon this twelue monethes and a halfe, in a cloſe corner. I am come to knowe your pleaſure, wherefore you haue ſent for me.

Storie. We heare that thou art a ſuſpecte perſone, & of hereticall opinions, & therfore we haue ſent for thee.

Philpot. I haue been in priſon thus long, only vpō the occaſion of diſputation, made in the Conuocation houſe, & vpon ſuſpect of ſetting forth the report therof.

John Philpot impriſoned for the diſputation in the Cōuocation houſe.

Storie. If thou wilte reuoke the ſame, and become an honeſt mā, thou ſhalt be ſet at libertie, and doe right well: or els thou ſhalte bee committed to the Biſhop of London. How ſaieſt thou, wilt thou reuoke it or no?

Philpot. I haue already aunſwered in this behalfe to myne Ordinarie.

Storie. If thou aunſwereſt thus, whē thou commeſt before vs anon, thou ſhalte heare more of our myndes: and with this he went into the Parler, and I within a little while after, was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is Iohn Philpot. And ſo he intituled my name.

Storie. This man was Archdeacon of Wincheſter of Doctor Ponettes preſentment.

Philpot. I was Archdeacon in deede, but none of his preſentmente, but by vertue of a former aduouſon giuen by my lorde Chauncellour that now is.

Storie. Ye maie bee ſure that my Lorde Chauncellour, would not make any ſuche as he is, Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hether to me M. Philpot. We heare ſaie that you are out of the catholicke churche, & haue been a diſturber of the ſame: out of the which who ſo is he cannot be the child of ſaluation. Wherefore if you will come into ẏ ſame, you ſhalbe receiued & find fauor.

Philpo. I am come before your worſhipful maiſterſhippes at your appointment, vnderſtandyng that you are Magiſtrates authoriſed by the Queenes maieſtie, to whom I owe, and will doe my due obedience, to the vttermoſt. Wherfore I deſire to knowe what cauſe I

haue

John Philpot lying in priſon a yeare and a halfe before he was called to his aunſwere.

No particular matter againſt M. Philpot but onely ſuſpicion.

haue offended in wherfore I am nowe called before you. And if I can not be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the lawes of this realme, I deſire your maſterſhips that I may haue the benefite of a ſubiect, and be deliuered out of my long wrongfull impriſonment, where I haue lyen this twelue moneth and this halfe, without any calling to anſweare before now, and my liuing taken from me without al lawe.

Roper. Though we haue no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may both by our Commiſſiō and by the lawe driue you to aunſweare to the ſuſpition of a ſclaunder going on you: and beſides this, we haue ſtatutes to charge you herein withal.

Phil. If I haue offended any ſtatute, charge me therewithal: and if I haue incurred the penaltie therof, puniſhe me accordingly. And becauſe you are magiſtrates and executors of the Queenes maieſties lawes, by force whereof you do nowe ſit, I deſire that if I be founde no notorious tranſgreſſour of any of them, I maye not be burdened with more then I haue done.

Cholm. If the Iuſtice do ſuſpect a felon, he may examine hym vpon ſuſpition therof, & commit hym to priſon, though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceyue whereabout this man goeth. He is playne in Cardmakers caſe, for he made the ſelfe ſame allegations. But they wyll not ſerue thee, for thou art an heretike, and holdeſt againſte the bleſſed Maſſe: howe ſayeſt thou to that?

Phil. I am no heretike.

The Maior is not vniuerſally true, for in the tyme of king Edward, who that ſpake againſt the Maſſe as M. Philpot did by thoſe lawes was no heretike but a perfect chriſtian.

Story. I wil proue thee an heretike. who ſoeuer hath holden againſt the bleſſed maſſe, is an heretike: but thou haſt holden againſt the ſame, therfore thou art an heretike.

Phil. That which I ſpake, & which you are able to charge me withal, was in the Conuocation, where, by ŷ queenes maieſties wyl & her whole Counſaile, libertie was geuē to euery man of the houſe to vtter his conſcience, & to ſay his mynd freely of ſuch queſtions in religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor: for the which now I ought not to be moleſted and impriſoned as I haue bene, neither now be compelled of you to anſwere to the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt go to the Lollardes Tower, & be handled there like an heretike, as thou art, and anſweare to the ſame that thou there diddeſt ſpeake, and be iudged by the biſhop of London.

John Philpot appealeth to his ordinary.

Phil. I haue already bene conuented of this matter before my Lorde Chauncellour myne Ordinarye, who this long tyme hath kept me in priſon: therefore if his Lordſhip wyll take my life awaye, as he hath done my libertie and liuyng, he may, the which I thinke he can not do of his conſcience, and therefore hath let me lye this long in priſon: wherfore I am content to abide the ende of him herein that is myne Ordinary, and do refuſe the auditorie of the biſhop of London, becauſe he is an vncompetent Iudge for me, & not myne Ordinary.

M. Philpot hauing publicke leaue, ſpake in the conuocation, Ergo, he muſt be committed to Lollardes Tower, by D. Storyes Logike.

Story. But ſir, thou ſpakeſt wordes in the Conuocation houſe, which is of the biſhop of Londons Dioces, and therfore thou ſhalt be caried to the Lollards Tower, to be iudged by hym for the wordes thou ſpakeſt in his dioces againſt the bleſſed maſſe.

Phil. Sir, you know by the law, that I may haue Exceptionem fori: and it is againſt al equitie, that I ſhoulde be twiſe vexed for one cauſe, & that by ſuch, as by the law haue nothing to do with me.

Roper. You can not deny, but that you ſpake againſte the maſſe in the Conuocation houſe.

Story. Doeſt thou denye that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Phil. I can not denye that I haue ſpoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therfore, I am here ready to ſuffer what ſoeuer I ſhalbe adiudged vnto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vaine glory.

Cholm. Play the wiſe Gentleman, and be conformable, & be not ſtubborne in your opinions, neither caſt your ſelfe away. I would be glad to do you good.

John Philpot charged further by the commiſſioners then the law would beare.

Phil. I deſire you ſir, with the reſt here, that I be not charged further at your handes, then the law chargeth me, for that I haue done, ſince there was then no lawe againſt that directly, wherwith I am now charged. And you, M. Doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I truſt wyl ſhew me ſome frendſhip, and not extremitie.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldeſt be a good Catholike man, I woulde be thy frende, and ſpende my gowne to doo thee good: but I wyll be no freende to an heretike, as thou art, but wyll ſpende both my gowne and my coate, but I wyll burne thee. How ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament of the aultar?

Nowe commeth in the Butchers axe.

Philpot. Sir, I am not come nowe to diſpute with your maſterſhip, and the tyme nowe ſerueth not thereto, but to anſwere to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Wel, ſince thou wylt not reuoke that thou haſt don, thou ſhalt be had into the Lollards Tower.

M. Philpot requireth to ſee their commiſſion.

Phil. Syr ſince you will needes ſhewe me this extremitye, and charge me with my conſcience, I doe deſyre to ſee your Commiſſion, whether you haue this authoritye ſo to do, and after the vewe therof I ſhall (according to my duty) make you further aunſwere, if you may by the vertue therof burthen me with my conſcience.

Roper. Let hym ſee the Commiſſion: is it here?

Story, Shall we let euery vyle perſon ſee our Cōmiſſiō?

Cholm. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thurſday he ſhall ſee our Commiſſion.

Story. No, let hym lye in the meane while in the Lolardes Tower: for I will ſweepe the Kinges Bench and all other priſons alſo of theſe heretickes: they ſhall not haue that reſorte as they haue had, to ſcatter theyr hereſies.

Phil. You haue power to trāſferre my body from place to place at your pleaſure: but you haue no power ouer my ſoule, And I paſſe not whether you commit me, for I can not be worſe entreated then I am, kept al day in cloſe chāber: wherefore it is no maruel that my fleſhe is puft vp wherewithall Maſter Doctour is offended.

Story. Marſhall, take him home with you agayne, and ſee that you bryng him agayne on Thurſday, and then we ſhall rydde your fyngers of hym, and afterwarde of your other heretickes.

Phil. God hath appointed a day ſhortly to come, in ŷ which he will iudge vs with righteouſnes, howe ſoeuer you iudge of vs now.

Roper. Be content to bee ruled by Maſter Doctour, and ſhew your ſelfe a Catholicke man.

Philpot will not diſſemble againſt his conſcience.

Phil. Syr if I ſhould ſpeake otherwiſe then my conſcience is, I ſhould but diſſemble with you: and why be you ſo earneſt to haue me ſhew my ſelfe a diſſembler both to God and you, which I can not do?

Roper. We do not require you to diſſemble with vs, but to be a Catholike man.

Phil. If I do ſtand in any thing againſt that wherin any man is able to burthen me with one iote of the ſcripture, I ſhalbe content to be counted no Catholike man, or an heretike, as you pleaſe.

Story. Haue we Scripture, Scripture? and with that he roſe vp, ſaying: who ſhalbe Iudge, I pray you? This man is like his felow Woodman, which the other day would haue nothyng els but ſcripture. And this is the beginnyng of this tragedie.

¶ The ſecond examination of Iohn Philpot before the Queenes Commiſſioners, M. Cholmley, Roper, Doctor Story, Doctor Cooke, and the Scribe, the. 24. day of October. 1555. at Newgat Seſſions Hall.

The ſecond Examination of John Philpot before the Commiſſioners.

At my commyng, a man of Algate of myne acquaintance ſaid vnto me: God haue mercy on you, for you are alredy condemned in this world: for Doctour Story ſaid, that my Lord Chancelor hath commaunded to do you away. After a litle conſultation had betwene them, M. Cholmley called me vnto hym, ſaying.

Cholm. M. Philpot, ſhew your ſelfe a wiſe man, and be not ſtubborne in your owne opinion, but be conformable to the Queenes proceedings, and lyue, and you ſhalbe wel aſſured of great fauor and reputation.

Phil. I ſhall do as it becommeth a Chriſtian man to do.

Story. This man is the rankeſt heretike that hath bene in all my Lorde Chauncellours Dioces, and hath done more hurte then anye man els there: therefore his pleaſure is, that he ſhoulde haue the Lawe to proceede againſt hym, and I haue ſpoken with my Lorde herein, and hee wylleth him to be committed to the Biſhop of London, and there to recant, or els burne. He howled and wepte in the Conuocation houſe, and made ſuch adoo as neuer man dyd, as all the heretikes doo when they lacke learnyng to aunſweare. He ſhall goe after his felowes. Howe ſayeſt thou, wylt thou recant?

Phil. I know nothing I haue done, that I ought to recant.

Story. Wel, then I pray you let vs cōmit hym to the Lollardes Tower, there to remaine vntyll he be further examined before the biſhop of London: for he is too fine fed in the Kinges Bench, and he hath too much fauor there. For his Keeper ſaid at the doore yeſterday, that he was the fineſt felow, and one of the beſt learned in Englande: and with this he roſe vp and went his way.

Cooke. This man hath moſt ſtoutly mainteyned hereſies ſince the Queenes cōmyng in, as any that I haue heard of: therfore it is moſt mete he ſhould be adiudged by the biſhop of Lōdon, for the hereſies he hath mainteyned.

Phil. I haue maintayned no hereſies.

Cooke. No haue? Did ye not openly ſpeake againſt the ſacrament of the altar in the Conuocation houſe? Cal you that no hereſie? wilt thou recant that, or not?

Phil. It was the Queenes maieſties pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſeeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the Counſaile.

Cooke. Did the Queene geue you leaue to be an heretike? you may be ſure her grace wyl not ſo do. Wel, we wyll not diſpute the matter with you, my lord of Lōdon ſhal procede by inquiſition vppon thee, and if thou wylt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

Phil. My Lorde of London is not myne Ordinarye in this behalfe, and I haue already anſwered vnto myne Ordinary in this matter: and therfore (as I haue ſaid before) you ſhal doo me great wrong, to vexe me twiſe for one matter, ſince I haue ſuſteined this long impriſonment, beſides the loſſe of my liuing.

Roper. You were a very vnmeete man to be an Archedeacon.

Phil. I knowe I was as meete a man, as he that hath it nowe.

Cooke. A meete man, quoth he? he troubled M. Roper and the whole countrey.

Phil. There was neuer poore Archdeacon ſo handled at your handes as I am, and that without any iuſt cauſe ye be able to lay vnto me.

Cooke. Thou art no Archdeacon.

John Philpot depriued from his Archdeaconry without any law.

Phil. I am Archdeacō ſtyl, although an other be in poſſeſſion of my liuyng: for I was neuer depriued by any law.

Cooke. No, ſir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretike ſhoulde haue no Ordinarye proceedyng about his depriuation: but the Biſhop may vpon knowledge thereof procede to depriuation.

Whether an heretike ſuſpected may without ordinary proceſſe be depriued of his lyuing by hys ordinary before his death, and by what law.

Phil. Maiſter Doctor, you know that the common lawe is otherwiſe: and beſides this, the ſtatutes of this Realme be otherwiſe, which geueth this benefite to euerye perſon, though he be an heretike, to enioy his liuing vntyl he be put to death for the ſame.

Cholm. No, there thou art deceiued.

Phil. Vpon the liuyng I paſſe not. But the vniuſt dealyng greeueth me, that I ſhoulde be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to al lawe.

Cholm. Why, wyl you not agree, that the Queenes Maieſtie may cauſe you to be examined of your faith?

Phil. Aske you Maiſter Doctour Cooke, and he will tell you that the temporal magiſtrates haue nothing to do with matters of faith for determination thereof. And ſaint Ambroſe ſaith: Diuina Imperatoriæ maieſtati non ſunt ſubiecta, that the thinges of God are not ſubiect to the power and authoritie of Princes.

Cooke. No? may not the temporal power commit you to to be examined of your faith, to the biſhop?

Phil. Yea, ſir, I deny not that: but you wyl not graunt that the ſame may examine any of their owne authoritie.

Cooke. Let hym be had away.

John Philpot agayne requireth to ſee their commiſſion, and yet it could not be ſeene and that alſo agaynſt the law.

Phil. Your maiſterſhip promiſed me the laſt tyme I was before you, I ſhould ſee your Commiſſion, by what authoritie you do cal me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to anſwere to ſo much as you demaund.

Roper. Let hym ſee the Commiſſion.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to M. Roper, and was about to open the ſame.

Cooke. No, what wyl you do? he ſhal not ſee it.

Phil. Then do you me wrong, to cal me and vexe me, not ſhewing your authoritie in this behalfe.

Cooke. If we doo you wrong, complaine on vs: and in the meane while thou ſhalt lye in the Lollardes tower.

Phil. Sir, I am a poore Gentleman: therefore I truſt of your gentlenes you wyll not commit me to ſo vile & ſtrait a place, being found no haynous treſpaſſer.

Cooke. Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil. Yes, that I am.

Cooke. An heretike is no Gentleman: for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

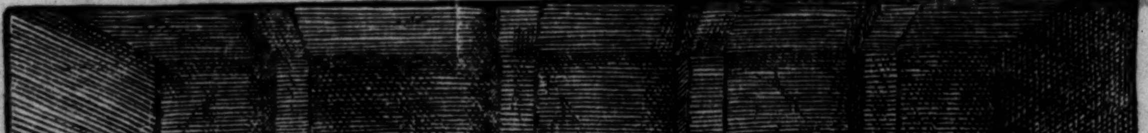
Phil. The offenſe can not take away the ſtate of a Gentleman as long as he liueth, although he were a traytour: but I meane not to boaſt of my gentlemanſhip, but wyl put it vnder my foot, ſince you do no more eſteeme it.

Story. What wil you ſuffer this heretike to prate with you al this day?

Cooke. He ſaith he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentlemā, quoth he? he is a vile heretike knaue: for an heretike is no Gentleman. Let the Keeper of Lollardes

¶ Maiſter Philpots being in the Colehouſe, where he founde Thomas Whytell prieſt, ſitting in the ſtockes.



lardes

John Whilpot commaunded to Lollars Tower by D. Story.

1555. Decemb.

lardes Tower come in, and haue him away.

The Keeper. Here ſir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards Tower, or els to the Biſhops Colehouſe.

Phil. Sir, if I were a dogge, you coulde not appoint me a worſe and more vile place: but I muſte be content with what ſoeuer iniurie you do offer me. God geue you a more mercifull hart: you are very cruel vppon one that hath neuer offended you. I pray you M. Cholmly, ſhewe me ſome frendſhip, that I be not caried to ſo vile a place. And he called me aſide, and ſaide:

Cholmley talketh with M. Philpot apart.

Cholm. I am not ſkilful of their doinges, neither of their lawes: I can not tel what they meane. I would I coulde do you good.

Phil. I am contente to goe whither you wyll haue me. There was neuer man more cruelly handled, then I am at your handes, that without any iuſt cauſe knowen, ſhoulde thus be entreated.

Story. Shal we ſuffer this heretike thus to reproue vs? haue him hence.

Phil. God forgeue you, & geue you more mercifull hartes, & ſhew you more mercy in ye time of neede: Et quod facis, fac citius: Do quickly that you haue in hand.

Story. Do you not heare how he maketh vs Iudaſſes?

Phil. That is after your owne vnderſtanding.

After this, I with foure other moe wer brought to the Keepers houſe in Pater noſter Rowe, where we ſupped, and after ſupper I was called vp to a chamber by the Archdeacon of Londons ſeruant, and that in his maſters name: who offred me a bed for that night. To whō I gaue thankes, ſaying: that it ſhoulde be a griefe to me to lie well one night, and the next worſe: wherfore I wil begyn (ſaid I) as I am like to continue, to take ſuche part as my felowes do. And with that we were brought through Pater noſter row, to my lorde of Londons Colehouſe: vnto the whiche is ioyned a litle blind houſe, with a great payre of ſtocks appoynted both for hād & foot, (but thanks be to God we haue not plaied of thoſe orgaines yet, although ſome before vs had tried them) & there we found a Miniſter of Eſſex, a maried prieſt, a man of godly zeale, with one other poore man. And this Miniſter (at my cōmyng) deſired to ſpeake with me, & did greatly lament his owne infirmitie, for that through extremitie of impriſonment, he was conſtrained by writing to yelde to the Biſhop of London: whereupon he was once ſet at libertie, and afterwarde fealt ſuch a hell in his conſcience, that he could ſcarſe refraine from deſtroying him ſelfe, and neuer could be at quiet vntyl he had gone vnto the Biſhoppes Regiſter, deſiring to ſee his Byll againe, the which, as ſoone as he had receiued, he tare it in peeces: and after he was as ioyfull as any man might be. Of the which when my lorde of London had vnderſtanding, he ſente for hym, and fell vppon hym like a Lion, and like a manly Biſhop buffeted hym well, ſo that he made his face blacke and blewe, and pluckt away a great peece of his beard: but now thankes be to God, he is as ioyfull vnder the Croſſe, as any of vs, & very ſory of his former infirmitie. I write this becauſe I would all men to take heede how they do contrary to their conſcience: which is to fal into the paines of hel. And here an ende.

M. Whilpot layd in Byſhop Boners Colehouſe.

This godly man was Thomas Whittell. whoſe ſtory followeth.

Example what an vnquiet conſcience doth.

Thomas Whittell after his recantation repenteth and tare his ſubſcription.

B. Boner plucke away a great part of Whittells beard, and made his face blacke and blewe.

The maner of my callyng firſt before the Biſhop of London, the ſecond night of myne impriſonment in his Colehouſe.

The firſt appearing of John Whilpot before Byſhop Boner.

The Biſhop ſent vnto me, M. Iohnſon, his Regiſter, with a meſſe of meate and a good pot of drinke, & bread, ſaying, that my lorde had no knowledge erſt of my being here, for whiche he was ſory: therefore he had ſent me and my felowes that meate, knowing whether I would receiue the ſame.

B. Boners charitie ſent to John Philpot.

I thanked God for my lordes charitie, that it pleaſed hym to remember poore priſoners, deſiring almighty God to encreaſe the ſame in hym and in all others: and therefore I would not refuſe his beneficence, and therwith tooke the ſame vnto my brethren, prayſing God for his prouidence towardes his afflicted flocke, that he ſtirred our aduerſaries vp to helpe the ſame in their neceſſitie.

Iohnſon. My Lord would knowe the cauſe of your ſending hyther (for he knoweth nothing therof) and wondreth that he ſhoulde be troubled with priſoners of other Dioces then his owne.

Philpot. I declared vnto hym the whole cauſe. After the which he ſaid, my lordes wyl was that I ſhoulde haue any frendſhip I would deſire, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, one of my lords Gentlemen commeth for me, and I was brought into his preſence, where he ſat at a table alone, with three or foure of his Chaplains waiting vpon hym, and his Regiſter.

Boner. M. Philpot, you are welcome, geue me your hand.

Phil. With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his hande, I to render curteſie for curteſie, kiſſed my hand, & gaue hym the ſame.

B. Boner entertaining M. Whilpot.

Boner. I am right ſory for your trouble, and I promiſe you, before it was within theſe two houres, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cauſe of your ſending hither: for I promiſe you I knowe nothing therof as yet; neither I woulde you ſhoulde thinke, that I was the cauſe thereof: and I marueile that other men wyl trouble me with their matters, but I muſt be obediēt to my betters: and ywis, men ſpeake otherwiſe of me then I deſerue.

B. Boner made the common Inquiſitor agaynſt his will.

Phil. I ſhewed hym the ſumme of the matter: that it was for the diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, for the which I was againſt al right moleſted.

Boner. I marueile that you ſhould be troubled, therefore, if there was none other cauſe but this. But peraduenture you haue mainteined the ſame ſince, and ſome of your freendes of late haue aſked, whether you doo ſtande to the ſame, and you haue ſaid, yea: and for this you might be cōmitted to priſon.

Phil. It it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I am burdened none otherwiſe then I haue tolde you, by the Commiſſioners, who haue ſent me hether, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Boner. A man may ſpeake in the parlament houſe, though it be a place of free ſpeach, as he may be impriſoned for, as in caſe he ſpeake wordes of high treaſon againſte the king or queene: & ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe then it became you, of the Church of Chriſt.

Phil. I ſpake nothing whiche was out of the articles whiche were called in queſtion, and agreed vppon to be diſputed by the whole houſe, and by the Queenes permiſſion and the Counſaile.

Boner. Why, may we diſpute of our faith?

Phil. Yea that we may.

Boner. Nay, I trow not, by the law.

* Or els why were the queſtions there propounded.

Phil. In deede by the Ciuil law I know it is not lawful, but by Gods law we may reaſon therof. For S. Peter ſaith: Be ye ready to render accompt vnto all men of that hope which is in you, that demaund you of the ſame.

1. Peter 3.

Boner. In deede ſaint Peter ſaith ſo. Why, then I aſke of you what your iudgement is of the Sacramente of the aultar?

Phil. My lord, ſaint Ambroſe ſaith, that the diſputation of faith ought to be in the cōgregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bounde to render accompt therof to euery man priuately, vnleſſe it be to edifie. But nowe I can not ſhewe you my mynde, but I muſt runne vppon the pikes in daunger of my life therfore. Wherefore, as the ſaide Doctor ſaid vnto Valentinian the Emperour, ſo ſay I to your lordſhip: Tolle legem, & fiet certamen: Take away the law, and I ſhal reaſon with you. And yet if I come in open iudgement, where I am bound by the lawe to anſweare, I truſt I ſhal vtter my conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

No man is bound to render acompt of his fayth priuately, vnles it be to edifie.

Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.

Boner. I perceiue you are learned. I woulde haue ſuch as you be about me. But you muſt come & be of the church, for there is but one Church.

One Church.

Phil. God forbid I ſhould be out of the Churche. I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I knowe, as I am taught by the ſcripture, that there is but one Catholike Church, Vna Columba, vna Sponſa, vna Dilecta: One Doue, one Spouſe, one beloued Congregation, out of the whiche there is no ſaluation.

Boner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the ſame, and walke not with vs?

Phil. My Lorde, I am ſure I am within the boundes of the Churche whereupon ſhee is builded, whiche is the worde of God.

Boner. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am foure and fourtie.

Boner. You are not now of the ſame faith your godfathers and godmothers promiſed for you, in the whiche you were baptiſed.

The fayth promiſed by his godfathers was the fayth of Chriſt, after his Creede onely.

Phil. Yes, that I thanke God I am: for I was baptiſed into the faith of Chriſt, which I now hold.

Boner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Phil. I am aſſured of that by ſaint Paul, ſaying: That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptiſme, of the which I am.

Boner. You were. xx. yeare ago of an other faith then you be nowe.

Phil. In deede (my lorde) to tell you playne, I was then nullius fidei, Of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liuer, neither hot nor colde.

Boner. Why, doo you not think that we haue nowe the true faith?

Phil. I deſire your lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this tyme. I am ſure that Gods worde throughly with the Primitiue church and al the ancient writers doo agree with this faith I am of.

* And why then began you ſo haſtely with him in the Sacrament of your altar.

Boner. Well, I promiſe you I meane you no more * hurt, then to myne owne perſon: I wyl not therfore burden you with your conſcience as nowe. I marueile that you are ſo mery in priſon as you be, ſinging and reioyſing, as the Prophet ſaith: Exultantes in rebus peſſimis; reioyſing in your naughtines. Me thinketh you do not wel herein: you ſhould rather lament and be ſory.

B. Boner offended with M. Philpots ſinging in priſon.

Phil. My lord, the mirth that we make is but in ſinging certaine Pſalmes, according as we are commaunded by S. Paul, willing vs to be mery in the Lorde, ſinging together in Hymnes and Pſalmes: and I truſt your lordſhip can not be diſpleaſed with that.

Boner. We may ſay vnto you, as Chriſt ſaid in the Goſpel: Tibijs cecinimus vobis, & non planxiſtis.

Phil. Here my lorde ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his Chaplaines to helpe, and put him in remembraunce of the text better: but they were mumme: and I recited out the text vnto hym, whiche made nothing to his purpoſe, vnles he would haue vs to mourne, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtil ſorowful things vnto vs, threatnyng fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a darke comfortleſſe place, and therfore it behoueth vs to be merye, leaſt, as Salomon ſaith, ſorowfulneſſe eate vp our hart. Therefore I truſte your Lordſhip wyll not be angrye for our ſinging of Pſalmes, ſince ſaint Paul ſaith: If any man be of an vpright mind, let hym ſing. And we therefore, to teſtifie that we are of an vpright mynde to God (though wee be in miſerie) doo ſing.

Boner. I wyll trouble you no further as nowe. If I can doo you any good, I wyll be glad to doo it for you. God be with you, good Maiſter Philpot, and geue you good night. Haue hym to the Seller, and let hym drinke a cup of wyne.

Thus I departed, and by my lordes Regiſter I was brought to his Seller doore, where I dranke a good cup of wine. And my lordes Chapleine M. Couſin folowed me, taking acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcome, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

The ende of his firſt talke with B. Boner.

Phil. I am wel taught the contrary by Salomon, ſaying: Væ ſoli: Wo be to him that is alone. After that I was caried to my lordes Colehouſe againe, where I with my ſixe felowes doo rouſe together in the ſtrawe as chearefully (we thanke God) as other do in their beds of Downe.

Thus for the third fitte.

¶ The fourth examination of M. Philpot in the Archdeacons houſe of London, the ſaid moneth of October, before the Biſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Gloceſter.

An other examination of Iohn Philpot, before the Byſhops.

Boner. Maiſter Philpot, it hath pleaſed my Lordes to take paines here to day, to dine with my poore Archdeacon, and in the dynner tyme it chaunced vs to haue communication of you, and you wer pitied here of many that knew you in the newe Colledge in Oxforde: and I alſo doo pitie your caſe, becauſe you ſeeme vnto me by the talke I had with you the other night, to be learned, and therfore now I haue ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned Biſhops at my houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talke with you. and at my requeſt (I thanke them) they are content ſo to do. Now therfore vtter your mynd freely, & you ſhal with all fauour be ſatiſfied. I am ſory to ſee you lye in ſo euyll a caſe as you do, and would faine you ſhould do better, as you may, if you liſt.

Bath. My lords here haue not ſent for you to fawne vpon you, but for charities ſake to exhorte you to come into the right catholike way of the church.

And why doo not you Byſhops your ſelues pray alſo for them that are out of the way.

Worc. Before he begynneth to ſpeake, it is beſt that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his hart, that he may conceiue the truth.

Phil. With that I fell down vpon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this maner:

The prayer of Iohn Philpot before the Byſhops.

Almighty God, which art the geuer of all wiſedome & vnderſtanding, I beſeech thee of thine infinite goodnes and mercy in Ieſus Chriſte, to geue me, moſte vile ſinner in thy ſight, the ſpirite of wiſedome to ſpeake and make anſweare in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better vnderſtanding, if I be deceiued in any thing.

B. Boner againſt prayer.

Boner. Nay, my Lorde of Worceſter, you did not well to exhort hym to make any prayer. For this is the thing they haue a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vaine prayers, in the whiche they glory muche. For in this poynt they are muche like to certaine errant heretiques, of whom Plinie maketh mention, that dyd dayly ſing antelucanos Hymnos: Prayſe vnto God before the dawning of the day.

B. Boner here ſeemeth more ſkilful in his law then in church ſtoryes.

Phil. My lord, God make me & all you here preſent ſuche heretiks as thoſe were ẏ ſoong thoſe morning Hymnes: for they were right Chriſtians, with whom the tyrantes of the world were offended for their well doyng.

Bath. Procede to that he hath to ſay. He hath prayed I can not tel for what.

Boner. Say on, M. Philpot: my lordes wyll gladly heare you.

Phil. I haue, my Lordes, bene this twelue moneth and an halfe in Priſon without any iuſt cauſe, that I knowe, and my liuyng taken from me without any lawfull order, and nowe am I brought (contrarye to right, from myne owne Territorie and Ordinarye, into an other mans iuriſdiction, I knowe not why. Wherfore, if your lordſhips can burden me with any euyll done, I ſtande here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuche thing maye be iuſtly laid to my charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongfull trouble.

M. Philpot complayneth of his wrongfull impriſonment.

Boner. There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promiſe you, ye were ſent hyther to me without my knowledge. Therfore ſpeake your conſcience without any feare.

Phil. My Lord, I haue learned to anſweare in matters of Religion, In Eccleſia legitimè vocatus: In the Congregation being thereto lawfully called: but nowe I am not lawfully called, neither is here a iuſt congregation where I ought to anſweare.

M. Philpot called in no ſufficient aſſembly, and therefore not bound to anſwere, wherby to put himſelfe in daunger.

Boner. In deede this man tolde me the laſt tyme I ſpake with hym, that hee was a Lawyer, and woulde not vtter his conſcience in matters of fayth, vnleſſe it were in the hearing of the people, where hee might ſpeake to vayne glorye.

Phil. My lord, I ſaid not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to my ſelfe that name, although I was once a nouice in the ſame, where I learned ſomething for mine owne defence, when I am called in iudgement to anſwere to any cauſe, and wherby I haue bene taught, not to put my ſelfe further in danger then I neede, and ſo farre am I a Lawyer, and no further.

Bath. If you wyll not anſweare to my lordes requeſt, you ſeeme to be a * wylful man in your opinion.

* Wilfull becauſe he will not put him ſelfe wilfully into the Wolues mouth.

Phil. My lord of London is not myne Ordinarye before whom I am bounde to anſweare in this behalfe, as maiſter D. Cole (which is a Lawyer) can wel tel you by the law. And I haue not offended my lord of London wherefore he ſhoulde cal me.

Boner. Yes, I haue to lay to your charge, ẏ you haue offended in my dioces by ſpeaking againſt ẏ bleſſed ſacramēt of the aulter, and therfore I may cal you & procede againſt you to puniſh you by the lawe.

Phil. I haue not offended in your Dioces. For that whiche I ſpake of the ſacrament was in Paules Church in the Conuocation houſe, whiche (as I vnderſtande) is a peculiar iuriſdiction belonging to the Deane of Paules, and therefore is counted of your Lordſhips Dioces, but not in your Dioces.

This offence was for ſpeaking in the Conuocation houſe with publike libertye of the Parliament.

Boner. Is not Paules Church in my Dioces? well I wote, it coſteth me a good deale of money by the yeare, the leading thereof.

Phil. That may be, & yet be exempted from your lordſhips iuriſdiction. And albeit I had ſo offended in your Dioces, yet I ought by the lawe, to be ſent to myne Ordinarye, if I require it, and not to be puniſhed by you that are not myne Ordinary. And already (as I haue told you) I haue bene conuented of myne Ordinary for this cauſe, which you goe about to enquire of me.

B. Boner not lawfull ordinary to Iohn Philpot.

Boner. How ſay you, M. D. Cole, may not I procede againſt hym by ẏ law, for that he hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. Me thinketh M. Philpot needeth not to ſtande ſo much with your Lordſhip in that poynt as he dooth, ſithen you ſeeke not to hynder hym, but to further hym: therfore I thinke it beſt that he go to the matter that is layde againſt hym of the Conuocation, and make no longer delaye.

Phil. I woulde willingly ſhew my minde of the matter, but I am ſure it wyll be laide againſt me to my preiudice when I come to iudgement.

Cole. Why, then you may ſpeake by proteſtation.

Phil. But what ſhall my proteſtation auaile in a cauſe of hereſie (as you call it) if I ſpeake otherwiſe then you wyll haue me, ſince that which I ſpake in the Conuocatiō houſe, being a place priuileged, can not now helpe me?

Note how theſe men hunt for innocent bloud.

Boner. But M. Doct. Cole, may I not procede againſt hym for that offence he hath done in my Dioces?

Cole. You may cal hym before you, my lord, if he be found in your Dioces.

M. Philpot agayne appealeth from B. Boner to his Ordinary.

Phil. But I haue by force ben brought out of mine own Dioces to my Lordes, and required to be iudged of myne owne Ordinarye: and therefore I knowe maiſter Doctor wyll not ſay of his knowledge, that your lordſhip ought to proceede againſte me. And here Maiſter Doctour woulde ſay nothing.

Worceſt. Doo you not thinke to finde before my lorde here as good equitie in your cauſe, as before your owne Ordinarye?

Phil. I can not blame my Lorde of Londons equitie, with whom (I thanke his Lordſhip) I haue found more gentlenes ſince I came, then of myne owne Ordinarye (I ſpeake it for no flatterie) this tweluemoneth and this halfe before, who neuer woulde call me to aunſweare, as his Lordſhip hath done nowe twiſe. Sed nemo prohibetur vti iure ſuo: but I ought not to be foreſtalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the ſame for diuers other conſiderations.

No man is forbid to vſe his owne right due vnto hym.

Boner. Nowe you can not ſay hereafter, but that ye haue bene gently communed withal of my lordes here, and yet you be wilful and obſtinate in your error, and in your owen opinions, & wil not ſhew any cauſe why you will not come into the vnitie of the Church with vs.

Phil. My lordes, in that I doo not declare my minde accordyng to your expectation, is (as I haue ſaid) becauſe I can not ſpeake without preſent daunger of my life. But rather then you ſhoulde report me by this, either obſtinate or ſelfe willed, without any iuſt ground, wherupon I ſtande: I wyl open vnto you ſomewhat of my minde, or rather the whole, deſiring your lordſhips which ſeeme to be pillers of the Churche of England, to ſatiſfie me in the ſame: and I will referre al other cauſes in the which I diſſent from you vnto one or two articles, or rather to one, whiche includeth them both: in the which if I can by the ſcriptures be ſatiſfied at your mouthes, I ſhall as willingly agree to you as any other, in al poyntes.

Boner. Theſe heretikes come alwayes with their ifs, as this man doth now, ſaying: if he can be ſatiſfied by the ſcriptures: ſo that he wyll alwayes haue this exception, I am not ſatiſfied, although the matter be neuer ſo plainly proued againſt him. But wil you promiſe to be ſatiſfied, if my lordes take ſome paines about you?

May rather theſe Catholiche Prelates will be ſatiſfied with no reaſonable offer.

Phil. I ſay (my lorde) I will be ſatiſfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God and his eternal ſonne Jeſus Chriſt my Sauiour, and the holy ghoſt and his angels, and you here preſent that be iudges of that I ſpeake, that I do not ſtand in any opiniō of wilfulnes or ſingularitie, but only vpon my conſcience, certainly enfourmed by Gods word, frō the which I dare not go for feare of damnation: and this is the cauſe of mine earneſtnes in this behalfe.

Boner. I wyl trouble my lordes no longer, ſeeing that you wil not declare your mynd.

Phil. I am aboute ſo to doo, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to heare me ſpeake.

Bath. Geue hym leaue (my lorde) to ſpeake that he hath to ſay.

Phil. My lordes, it is not vnknowen to you, that the chiefe cauſe why you do count me and ſuch as I am for heretikes, is becauſe we be not at vnitie with your Churche. You ſay, you are of the true Church: and we ſay, we are of the true Church. You ſay, that who is out of your church, is damned: and we thinke verily on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are graffed in Gods word, we ſhould ſtand in the ſtate of dānation. wherfore if your lordſhip can bring any better authorities for your church, then we can do for ours, & proue by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the whiche you are) is the true Catholike Church, as in all your ſermons, writinges, and argumentes you doo vpholde, and that all Chriſten perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame vnder paine of damnation (as you ſay) and that the ſame Churche (as you pretende) hath authoritie to interprete the ſcriptures, as it ſeemeth her good, and that all men are bound to folowe ſuche interpretations onely: I ſhalbe as conformable to the ſame Churche as you may deſire me, the whiche otherwiſe I dare not: therefore I require you for Gods ſake to ſatiſfie me in this.

The chiefeſt controuerſie in the church of Chriſt now, is to know which is the true church of Chriſt.

Cole. If you ſtand vpon this poynt onely, you may ſoone be ſatiſfied if you liſt.

Phil. It is the thing that I require, & to this I haue ſaid, I wyl ſtand, and referre al other controuerſies wherein I ſtand now againſt you, and wyl put my hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my worde.

Boner. I pray you, maiſter Philpot, what faith were you of twentie yeares ago? This man wyll haue euery yeare a newe faith.

S. Paul 20. yeares before his conuerſion, and S. Peter before his calling, was of an other fayth then they were afterward: and yet it followeth not that they would haue euery yeare a new fayth.

Phil. My Lord, to tell you plaine, I thinke I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liuer, and knewe not God then, as I ought to do. God forgeue me.

Boner. No were? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Phil. My lord, I haue declared you on my cōſcience what I then was and iudge of my ſelfe. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thing I deſire to be ſatiſfied of you?

Boner. Maiſter Doctour Cole, I pray you ſay your mind to him.

Cole. What wil you ſay, if I can proue that it was decreed by an vniuerſal Councel in Athanaſius time: that al the Chriſten church ſhould folow the determination of ẏ church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

The determination of the primitiue Church, and of the church of of Rome as it is now, is not all one.

Phil. If you Maiſter Doctour can ſhew me the ſame, graunted to the See of Rome, by the authoritie of the ſcripture, I will gladly harken thereto. But I thinke you be not able to ſhewe any ſuche thing: for Athanaſius was Preſident of Nicene Councel, and there was no ſuch thing decreed, I am ſure.

Athanaſius miſalleged.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at an other time.

Phil. I deſire to ſee the proofe thereof. And vpon this M. Harpſfield Chancelour to the Biſhop of London, brought in a booke of Irenæus, with certaine leaues turned in, and laide it before the Biſhops to helpe them in their perplexitie, if it might be: the which after the Biſhops of Bath and Gloceſter had read together, the Biſhop of Gloceſter gaue me the booke.

Gloc. Take the booke, M. Philpot, and looke vpon that place, and there may you ſee howe the church of Rome is to be folowed of al men.

A place of Irenæus alledged.

Phil. I tooke the booke, and read the place, the which after I had read, I ſaide it made nothing againſte me, but againſte the Arians and other heretikes, againſte whom Irenæus wrote, prouing that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and folowe after ſtraunge doctrine in Europa, and that the chiefe Church of the ſame was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to his time continued by faithfull ſucceſſion of the faithfull Biſhoppes, in preaching the true Goſpell, as they had receiued of the Apoſtles, and nothing like to the late ſprong heretikes. &c. Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neyther to be credited. the whiche thing if you my lordes be able to proue nowe of the Churche of Rome, then had you as good authoritie againſte me in my cauſe nowe, as Irenæus had againſte thoſe heretikes. But the Churche of Rome hath ſwarued from the truth and ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, whiche it mainteined in Irenæus time, and was vncorrupted from that whiche it is nowe: wherefore your lordſhips can not iuſtly applie the authoritie of Irenæus to the church of Rome now, whiche is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the Primitiue church.

The Church of Rome not now as it was then.

Boner. So will you ſay ſtill, it maketh nothing for the purpoſe, what ſoeuer authoritie we bring, and will neuer be ſatiſfied.

Phil. My lord, when I doo by iuſt reaſon proue, that the authorities which be brought againſte me doo not make to the purpoſe (as I haue already proued) I truſt you will receiue mine anſweare.

Worc. It is to be proued moſt manifeſtly by all auncient writers, that the See of Rome hath alwaies folowid the truth, & neuer was deceiued, vntil of late certaine heretikes had defaced the ſame.

The Church of Rome neuer deceaued.

Phil. Let that be proued, and I haue done.

Worceſt. Nay, you are of ſuche arrogancie, ſingularitie, and vaine glorye, that you wil not ſee it, be it neuer ſo well proued.

Phil. Ha, my Lordes, is it nowe time (thinke you) for me to followe ſingularitie or vaine glorie, ſince it is nowe vppon daunger of my life and death, not onely preſentlye, but alſo before God to come? and I knowe, if I die not in the true faith, I ſhall die euerlaſtingly, and againe I knowe, if I do not as you woulde haue me, you wil kill me and many thouſandes moe: yet had I leuer periſhe at your handes, then to periſhe eternally. And at this time I haue loſt al my commodities of this world, and now lie in a Colehouſe, where a man would not laie a dogge, with ẏ whiche I am wel contented.

Cole. Where are you able to proue, that the Church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what hiſtorie? certaine it is by Euſebius, that the Church was ſtabliſhed at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was biſhop .25. yeares at Rome.

Phil. I knowe well that Euſebius ſo writeth: but if we compare that whiche ſaint Paul writeth to the Galathians the firſt it wyll manifeſtly appeare the contrarye, that he was not halfe ſo long there. He liued not paſt .xxxv. yeres after he was called to be an Apoſtle: and Paul maketh mention of his abidyng at Hieruſalem after Chriſtes death more then .xviij. yeares.

I find not in Euſebius that Peter ſhould be Biſhop of Rome. 25. yeares, but this is in Linus, Hierom. lib. de viris illuſtr. and in Abdias. lib. 1. de vita Petri.

Cole. What did Peter write to the Galathians?

Phil. No, I ſay Paul maketh mention of Peter writing to the Galathians, and of his abiding at Hieruſalem. And further, I am able to proue, both by Euſebius & other hiſtoriographers, that the church of Rome hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent dooth erre, becauſe ſhee agreeth not with that which they wrote. The Primitiue Church dyd vſe according to the Goſpell, and there needeth none other proofe but compare the one with the other.

Marke my Lordes wyſe parable.

Boner. I may cōpare this man to a certaine man I read of, which fel into a deſperation, & went into a wood to hang hym ſelf, and when he came there, he went vewing of euery tree, and could finde none on the which he might vouchſafe to hang hym ſelfe. But I wyl not apply it as I might. I pray you (M. Doctor) go forth with hym.

Cole. My Lord, there be on euery ſide on me that be better able to anſwere him, and I loue not to ſal in diſputation, for that now adayes a man ſhall not but ſuſteine ſhame and obloquie therby of the people. I had leuer ſhewe my mynde in writing.

Neyther you nor they are able in this caſe.

Phil. And I had leuer that you ſhould do ſo then otherwiſe, for then a man may better iudge of your wordes then by argument, and I beſeeche you ſo to doo. But if I were a riche man, I durſt wager an hundred poundes, that you ſhall not be able to ſhewe that you haue ſaide, to be decreed by a general Councel in Athanaſius tyme. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a generall Councell in Africa many yeares after, that none of Africa (vnder payne of excommunication) ſhould appeale to Rome: the whiche Decree I am ſure they would not haue made, if by the ſcriptures and by an vniuerſal Councel it had ben decreed, that al men ſhould abide & folow the determination of the church of Rome.

Reaſon why it is not lyke that in Athanaſius tyme al men were bound to abyde the determination of Rome.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they reuoked that error again.

Phil. So you ſay, M. Doctour, but I pray you ſhewe me where. I haue hitherto heard nothing of you for my confutation, but bare wordes without any authoritie.

Boner. What, I pray you, ought we to diſpute with you of our faith? Iuſtinian in the law hath a title, De fide catholica, to the contrary.

Phil. I am certaine the Ciuil law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our fayth muſt not depend vpon the Ciuil law. For as ſaint Ambroſe ſaith: Non lex ſed fides congregauit Eccleſiam: Not the lawe but the Goſpel (ſaith he) hath gathered the church together.

Not the law, but the Goſpell gathered the Church together. Ambroſe.

Worceſt. M. Philpot, you haue the ſpirit of pride wherwith ye be led, which wyl not let you to yelde to the truth: leaue it for ſhame.

Phil. Sir, I am ſure I haue the ſpirite of faith, by the which I ſpeake at this preſent: neither am I aſhamed to ſtand in my fayth.

Gloceſt. What, do you thinke your ſelfe better learned thā ſo many notable learned men as be here?

Phil. Elias alone had the truth, when there were foure hundred prieſtes againſt hym.

400. Prieſtes agaynſt one Helias.

Worceſt. Oh, you would be counted now for Helias. And yet I tel thee he was deceyued: for he thought there had ben none good but hym ſelfe, and yet he was deceyued, for there were ſeuen hundred beſides hym.

Phil. Yea but he was not deceyued in doctrine, as ỹ other ſeuen hundred were.

Worceſt. By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you can not be content to be of the Church which euer hath ben of that faithfull antiquitie.

Phil. My Lord, I know Rome, & haue ben there, where I ſaw your Lordſhip.

Worceſt. In deede I dyd flee from hence thither, & I remember not that I ſawe you there. But I am ſorye that you haue ben there: for the wickednes which you haue ſene there, peraduenture cauſeth you to do as you do.

A good commendation for Rome by a Romaniſt.

Phil. No my Lord, I doo not as I do, for that cauſe: for I am taught otherwiſe by the Goſpel, not altogether to refuſe the miniſter for his euyl lyuyng, ſo that he bring ſounde doctrine out of Gods booke.

Worc. Do you thinke that the vniuerſal Church may be deceyued?

Whether the vniuerſall church may be deceaued?

Phil. S. Paul to the Theſſalonians propheſieth that ther ſhoulde come an vniuerſall departing from the faith in the latter dayes before the cōmyng of Chriſt, ſaying: Non veniet Chriſtus niſi venerit defectio prius: that is, Chriſt ſhal not come, til there come a departing firſt.

2. Theſ. 2.

Cole. Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in ſaint Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departyng from the Empyre: For it is in Greke, Ἀποςασία.

A defection propheſied of in the Church.

Phil. Mary in deede you (M. doctor) put me in good remembrance of the meaning of ſ. Paul in that place, for Apoſtaſia is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof commeth Apoſtata, whiche properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his faith: and ſaint Paul in the ſame place after ſpeaketh of the decay of the Empire.

ἀποςασία.
ἀποςάτης.

Cole. Apoſtaſia doth not onely ſignifie a departing frō the faith, but alſo from the Empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Phil. I neuer read it ſo taken, and when you ſhalbe able to ſhewe it (as you ſay in wordes) I wyll beleue it, and not before.

Worceſt. I am ſory that you ſhould be againſt the Chriſten world.

Phil. The world commonly and ſuch as be called Chriſtians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and bene enimies to the ſame.

Gloc. Why, M. Philpot, do you thinke that the vniuerſal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?

Phil. The church that you are of, was neuer vniuerſal, for two partes of the world, which is, Aſia an Africa neuer cōſented to the ſupremacie of the Biſhop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do folow his decrees.

The Popes church which now is, was neuer vniuerſall.

Gloc. Yes, in Florentines Councel they did agree.

Phil. It was ſaid ſo by falſe report, after they of Aſia and Africa were gone home: but it was not ſo in dede, as the ſequele of them al hitherto doth proue the contrary.

Of thes Florentines Councell, which was about the yeare. 1432 read before pag. 645. 675.

Gloc. I pray you, by whom wyl you be iudged in matters of controuerſie which happen dayly?

Phil. By the word of God. For Chriſt ſaith in ſ. Iohn: The word that he ſpake, ſhal be Iudge in the latter day.

The word or the church iudge in controuerſies.

Gloc. What if you take the word one way, and I an other way: who ſhal be iudge then?

Phil. The Primitiue church.

Gloc. I know you meane the Doctors that wrote therof.

Phil. I meane verily ſo.

Gloc. What if you take the Doctors in one ſenſe, and I in an other, who ſhalbe iudge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreeable to Gods word.

Cole. My lordes, why doo you trouble your ſelues to anſwer hym in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the ſacrament, and he to ſhift hym ſelfe of that, brought in an other matter.

Phil. This is the matter, M. Cole, to the which I haue referred al other queſtions, and deſire to be ſatiſfied.

Worc. It is wonder to ſee how he ſtandeth with a fewe againſt a great multitude.

Phil. We haue almoſt as many as you. For we haue Aſia, Africa, Germanie, Denmarke, and a greate parte of France, and dayly the number of the Goſpel doth encreaſe: ſo that I am credibly infourmed, that for this Religion in the whiche I ſtande, and for the whiche I am like to dye, a great multitude dooth dayly come out of Fraunce through perſecution, that the cities of Germanie be ſcarſe able to receyue them: and therefore your Lordſhip maye be ſure, the word of God wyl one day take place, doo what you can to the contrary.

Iohn Philpots propheſy of the increaſe of the Goſpell.

Worc. They were wel occupied to bring you ſuch newes, and you haue bene well kept to haue ſuche reſort vnto you. Thou art the arrogantest felow and ſtouteſt fond felow that euer I knew.

Phil. I pray your lordſhip to beare with my haſty ſpeach: for it is parte of my corrupt nature to ſpeake ſomewhat haſtily: but for al that I meane with humilitie to do my dutie to your lordſhip.

Boner. M. Philpot, my lordes wyl trouble you no further at this tyme, but you ſhall goe from whence you came, and haue ſuch fauor as in the meane while I can ſhew you: and vpon wedneſday next you ſhalbe called againe to be hearde what you can ſay for the maintenance of your error.

Iohn Philpot put of to an other day.

Phil. My Lord, my deſire is to be ſatiſfied of you in that I haue required: and your Lordſhip ſhall finde me, as I haue ſaid.

Worc. We wiſh you as wel as our ſelues.

Phil. I thinke the ſame (my Lords) but I feare you are deceiued, and haue a zeale of your ſelues, not according to knowledge.

Worc. God ſend you more grace.

Phil. And alſo God encreaſe the ſame in you, and open your eyes that you may ſee to mainteine his truth and his true Church.

Then the biſhops roſe vp & conſulted together, & cauſed a writing to be made, in ỹ which I thinke my blood by thē was bought & ſold, and therto they put to their handes, and after this I was caried to my Colehouſe againe.

¶Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedie.
God haſten the end therof to his glory. Amen

Iohn Philpot to certayne that required him to write his examinations.

1555. Decemb.

The vnordinate and vnlearned proceedinges of theſe Catholickes agaynſt the poore flocke of Chriſt.

BEcauſe I haue begon to write vnto you of myne examinations before the Byſhoppe and other, more to ſatiſfie your deſire then it is any thyng worthy to be written: I haue thought it good to write vnto you alſo that whiche hath bene done of late, that the ſame might come to lyght whiche they do in darkenes and priuy corners, and that the worlde now and the poſteritie hereafter might know howe vnorderly, vniuſtly, and vnlearnedly theſe rauenyng wolues do procede agaynſt the ſeely and faythfull flocke of Chriſt, and condemne and perſecute the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt in vs, whiche they are not able by honeſt meanes to reſiſt, but onely by tyranny and violence.

¶The 5. examinatiō of Iohn Philpot, had before the Byſhops of London, Rocheſter, Couentry, S. Aſſes (I trow) and one other, whoſe ſeas I know not, Doct. Story, Curtop, Doct. Sauerſon, Doct Pēdleton, with diuers other Chaplaines and Gentlemē of the Queenes chamber and diuers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of Londons palace.

The fift examination of M. Philpot.

BOner. M. Philpot come you hether. I haue deſired my Lordes here and other learned men to take ſome paynes once agayne, and to do you good: and becauſe I do mynde to ſit in iudgement on you to morrow (as I am commaunded) yet I would you ſhould haue as much fauour as I cā ſhew you, if you wilbe any thyng conformable. Therfore play the wiſe man, and be not ſingular in your opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned men.

Phil. My Lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on me in iudgement to morrow, I am glad therof. For I was promiſed by them whiche ſent me vnto you, that I ſhould haue bene iudged the next day after: but promiſe hath not bene kept with me, to my farther grief. I looke for none other but death at your handes, and I am as ready to yeld my lyfe in Chriſtes cauſe, as you be to require it.

John Philpot ready to yeld his lyfe in Chriſtes cauſe.

Boner. Lo what a wilfull man this is? By my fayth it is but folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe herretickes. I am ſory that you will be no more tractable, & that I am compelled to ſhew extremitie agaynſt you.

Phil. My Lord, you neede not to ſhew extremity agaynſt me vnles you liſt: neither by the law (as I haue ſayd) you haue any thyng to do with me, for that you are not myne Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your priſon.

Boner. Why, the Queenes Commiſſioners ſent you hether vnto me vpon your examination had before them. I know not well the cauſe: but I am ſure they would not haue ſent you hether to me, vnleſſe you had made ſome talke to them, otherwiſe then it becommeth a Chriſtian man.

Phil. My Lord, in deede they ſent me hether without any occaſion than miniſtred by me. Onely they layd vnto me the diſputation I made in the Conuocation houſe, requiryng me to aunſwere the ſame, and to recant it. The whiche becauſe I would not do, they ſēt me hether to your Lordſhip.

Boner. Why did you not aunſwere them thereto?

Phil. For that they were temporall men, & ought not to be iudges in ſpirituall cauſes wherof they demaūded me, without ſhewyng any authoritie whereby I was bound to aunſwere them, & hereupon they committed me to your priſon.

B. Boner ſeeketh cauſe agaynſt hym and yet pretendeth to be ſory of his trouble.

Boner. In deede I remember now, you maintained open hereſie in my Dioces: wherfore the Cōmiſſioners ſent you vnto me that I ſhould procede agaynſt you, for that you haue ſpoken in my Dioces.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand ſtill vppon my lawfull plea in this behalfe, that though it were as great hereſie as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore in reſpect of the priuiledge of the Parlament houſe, whereof the Conuocation houſe is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankely ſpeake their myndes: and here is preſent a Gentleman of the Queenes Maieſties that was preſent at the diſputation, and can teſtifie that the queſtions whiche were there in controuerſie, were not ſet forth by me, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Queenes Maieſties name, all men to diſpute their myndes freely in the ſame, that were of the houſe.

M. Philpots iuſt defence for ſpeaking in the Parlament.

The Queenes Gentleman. Though the Parlament houſe be a place of priuiledge for men of the houſe to ſpeake, yet may none ſpeake any treaſon agaynſt the Queene, or maintaine treaſon agaynſt the crowne.

Phil. But if there be any matter which otherwiſe it were treaſon to ſpeake of, were it treaſon for any perſon to ſpeake therein, ſpecially the thing being propoſed by the Speaker? I thinke not.

It were the part of a charitable Byſhop to make a matter better, and not worſe.

The Queenes Gentleman. You may make the matter eaſie inough to you yet, as I perceiue, if you will reuoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubburnely maintaine.

S. Aſſe. This man did not ſpeake vnder reformation as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς ἢ κατηγορικῶς, whiche is earneſtly and perſwaſibly, as euer I heard any.

Phil. My Lordes, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I haue lawfully done, neyther will admit my iuſt defence for that was ſpoken in the conuocation houſe by me, contrary to the lawes and cuſtome of the Realme. I appeale to the whole Parlament houſe, to be iudged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I haue there ſpoken.

John Philpot appealeth to the whole Parliament houſe.

Rocheſt. But haue you ſpoken and mayntayned the ſame ſynce that time, or no?

Phil. If any man can charge mee iuſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make aunſwere.

Rocheſt. How ſay you to it now? wil you ſtand to that you haue ſpoken in the Conuocation houſe, and do you thinke you ſayd then well, or no?

Phil. My Lord, you are not mine Ordinary to procede ex officio agaynſt me and therfore I am not bounde to tell you my conſcience of your demaundes.

S. Aſſe. What ſay you now? Is not there in ẏ bleſſed ſacramēt of ẏ aultar (& with that they put of all theyr caps for reuerence of that Idol) the preſence of our Sauiour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the wordes of conſecration?

This Byſhop belyke would fayne haue bloud.

Phil. I do beleue in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body duly miniſtred, to be ſuch maner of preſence, as the word teacheth me to beleue.

S. Aſſe. I pray you how is that?

Phil. As for that I will declare an other tyme when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my mynde of this matter but I am not yet driuen to that point. And the ſcripture ſayth: All thinges ought to be done after an order.

An other Byſh. This is a froward & a vayngloriouſ man.

Boner. It is not lawfull for a man by the ciuill lawe to diſpute his fayth openly, as it appeareth in the title, De ſumma trinitate & fide catholica.

Phil. My Lorde, I haue aunſwered you to this queſtion before.

Boner. Why? I neuer aſked the of this before now.

B. Boner here forgetteth him ſelfe.

Phil. Yes that you dyd at my laſt examination, by that token I aunſwered your Lordſhip by S. Ambroſe, that the Church is congregated by the word, and not by mans law. Wherfore I adde nowe further of this ſaying: Quôd qui fidem repudiat, & legem obijcit, iniuſtus eſt, quia iuſtus ex fide viuit. i. That he which refuſeth the word, and obiecteth the law, is an vniuſt man, becauſe the iuſt ſhal lyue by fayth. And moreouer (my Lorde) the title whiche your Lordſhip alledgeth out of the lawe, maketh it not vnlawfull to diſpute of all the articles of the fayth, but of the Trinitie.

Amb. lib. 5. Epiſt. 30. Eodem contra Auxentium.

Boner. Thou lyeſt, it is not ſo: and I will ſhewe you by the Booke howe ignoraunt hee is. And with that hee went with all haſt to his ſtudy, and fet his booke and openly read the text and the title of the lawe, and charged me with ſuch wordes as ſeemed to make for his purpoſe, ſaying: how ſayeſt thou to this.

Phil. My Lord, I ſay as I ſayd before, that the law meaneth of the catholyke fayth determined in the Counſel of Calcedonia, where the articles of the crede were onely concluded vpon.

Boner. Thou art the veriest beaſt that euer I heard. I muſt nedes ſpeake it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Phil. Your Lordſhip may ſpeake your pleaſure of me. But what is this to the purpoſe, whiche our Lordſhip is ſo earneſt in? you know that our fayth is not grounded vpon the ciuill law: therfore it is not materiall to me what ſoeuer the lawe ſayth.

Our fayth not grounded vpon the ciuill law.

Boner. By what lawe wilt thou be iudged? Wilt thou bee iudged by the common law.

Phil. No my Lord, our faith dependeth not vpon the lawes of man.

S. Aſſe. He will be iudged by no law, But as he liſt himſelf.

Worceſt. The common lawes are but abſtractes of ẏ ſcriptures and Doctours.

Phil. What ſoeuer you do make them, they are no groundes of my fayth, by the which I ought to be iudged.

Boner. I muſt nedes procede agaynſt the to morow.

Phil. If your Lordſhip ſo do, I will haue Exceptionem fori, for you are not my competent Iudge.

John Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his defence of the law, in refuſing the iudge, not to be competent.

Boner. By what lawe cāſt thou refuſe me to be thy iudge?

Phil. By the Ciuill law, De competente Iudice.

Boner. There is no ſuch title in the lawe. In what booke is it, as cunnyng a lawyer as you be.

Phil. My Lord, I take vpon me no great cunnyng in the law: but you driue me to my ſhiftes for my defenſe, and I am ſure, if I hadde the bookes of the law, I were able to ſhew what I ſay.

De officio ordinarij, is a title in the 1. booke of the Decretales.

Boner. What? De competente Iudice? I will go fet the my bookes. There is a title in deede De officijs Iudicis ordinarij.

De foro competenti is a title in the 2. booke of the Decretales.

Phil. Verely that is the ſame De cōpetēte Iudice, which I haue alledged. With that hee ran to his ſtudy, and brought the whole courſe of the law betwene his handes, which (as it might appeare) he had wel occupied, by the duſt they were embrued withall.

Boner. There be the bookes: finde it now (if thou canſt) and I will promiſe thee to releaſe thee out of priſon.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand not here to reaſon matters of the Ciuill law, although I am not altogether ignoraunt of the ſame for that I haue bene a Student in the ſame ſixe or vij. yeares: but to aunſwere to the Articles of fayth with the which you may lawfully burthen me. And where as you go about vnlawfully to procede, I challenge, accordyng to my knowledge, the benefite of the law in my defence.

Boner. Why, thou wilt aunſwere directly to nothyng thou art charged withall: therefore ſay not hereafter but you might haue bene ſatiſfied here by learned men, if you would haue declared your mynde.

M. Philpot returneth agayne to his queſtion of the Church.

Phil. My Lord, I haue declared my mynde vnto you and to other of the Byſhoppes at my laſt beyng before you, deſiryng you to be ſatiſfied but of one thing, whereunto I haue referred all other controuerſies: the whiche if your Lordſhyps now, or other learned men can ſimply reſolue me of, I am as cōtented to bee reformable in all thynges, as you ſhall require: the whiche is to proue that the Churche of Rome (whereof you are) is the Catholicke Church.

Couen. Why? do you not beleue your Crede, Credo Eccleſiam Catholicam?

Phil. yes that I do: but I cannot vnderſtād Rome (wherewith all you burden vs) to be the ſame, neither like to it.

That Peter dyd build the Church of Rome it is falſe, for both the ſcripture ſayth, that Peter was ſet ouer the circumciſed, & not ouer the Gentiles, & alſo it is to be proued by Oroſius Suetonius, Tertulianus, and other ſtoryes, that the fayth of Chriſt was in Rome in Tyberius tyme before Peter euer ſaw Rome.

S.Aſſe. It is moſt euidēt that S. Peter did builde the Catholicke Church at Rome. And Chriſt ſayd: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.

Moreouer, the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the ſea of Rome can be proued from tyme to tyme, as it can be of none other place ſo well, whiche is a manifeſt probation of the Catholicke Church, as diuers Doctours do write.

Phil. That you would haue to be vndoubted, is moſt vncertaine, & that by the authoritie which you alledge of Chriſt, ſaying vnto Peter: Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke I will build my Church, vnles you can proue the rocke to ſignifie Rome, as you would make me falſly beleue. And although you cā proue the ſucceſſiō of Biſhops frō Peter, yet this is not ſufficiēt to proue Rome the catholicke Church, vnleſſe you cā proue the ſucceſſion of Peters fayth wherevpon the Catholicke Church is builded, to haue continued in his ſucceſſours at Rome, and at this preſent to remaine.

Bon. Is there any mo churches thē one catholicke church? And I pray you tell me, into what faith were you baptiſed.

Philpot. I acknowledge one holy Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Church, whereof I am a member (I prayſe God) and I am of that Catholicke fayth of Chriſt, where into I was Baptiſed.

Catholicke.

Couen. I pray you, can you tell what this worde Catholicke doth ſignifie? ſhew it if you can.

The Popes fayth hangeth vpon the multitude.

Fides catholica ſecundum Auguſt.

Phil. yes that I cā, I thāke God. The Catholicke fayth, or the Catholicke Church is not as now a dayes the people be taught, to be that which is moſt vniuerſall, or of moſt part of men receaued, whereby you do inferre our fayth to hang vpon the multitude, which is not ſo: but I eſteeme the Catholicke Church to be as S. Auſten defineth the ſame. Æſtimamus fidē Catholicā a rebus præteritis, præſentibus, & futuris. i. We iudge (ſayth he) the catholicke fayth, of that which hath bene, is, and ſhalbe. So that if you can be able to proue that your fayth and Churche hath bene from the begynnyng taught, and is, and ſhall be: then may you count your ſelues Catholicke, otherwiſe not. And Catholicke is a Greeke word compounded of κατὰ, whiche ſignifieth after or accordyng, and ὅλον, a ſumme, or principle, or whole. So that Catholicke Churche or Catholicke Fayth is as much to ſay, as the firſt, whole, ſounde, or chiefeſt fayth.

Boner. Doth S. Auſten ſay ſo as he alledgeth it? or doth he meane as he taketh the ſame? How ſay you M. Curtop?

Curtop. In deede (my Lord) S. Auguſtine hath ſuch a ſayyng, ſpeakyng agaynſt the Donatiſtes, that the Catholicke fayth ought to be eſteemed of thynges in tymes paſt, and as they are practiſed accordyng to the ſame, and ought to bee through all ages, and not after a new maner, as the Donatiſtes began to profeſſe.

Phil. You haue ſayd well M. Curtop, and after the meanyng of S. Auſten, and to confirme that which I haue ſayd for the ſignification of Catholicke.

Couen. Let the booke be ſene my Lord.

Boner. I pray you my Lord be cheſt, or in good fayth I will breake euen of & let all alone. Do you thinke the Catholicke Church (vntil it was within theſe few yeares in ŷ which a few vpō ſingularity haue ſwarued frō the ſame) hath erred?

Phil. I do not thinke that the Catholicke Church can erre in doctrine: but I require you to proue this Churche of Rome to be the Catholicke Church.

Where M. Curtop ſaith this, I can not fynde, but this I finde that Euſebius doth report that Ireneus did reproue Victor Byſhop of Rome for his raſh ſentence in excommunicating the Churches of Greece concerning the obſeruation of the feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 26. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 21.

Curtop. I can proue that Ireneus (which was within an hundred yeeres after Chriſt) came to Victor then Biſhop of Rome, to aſke his aduiſe about the excommunication of certayne heretickes, the which he would not haue done (by all lykelyhood) if he had not taken hym to be ſupreme head.

Couent. Marke well this argument, howe are you able to aunſwere to the ſame? Aunſwere if you can.

Phil. It is ſoone aunſwered my Lord, for that it is of no force, neyther this fact of Ireneus maketh no more for the ſupremacie of the Byſhop of Rome, then myne hath done which haue ben at Rome as well as hee, and might haue ſpoken with the Pope if I had liſt: and yet I would none in England dyd fauour his ſupremacy more then I.

S.Aſſe. You are the more to blame (by the fayth of my body) for ŷ you fauour ŷ ſame no better, ſince all the Catholicke Church (vntill theſe few yeares) haue taken him to be ſupreme head of ŷ Church, beſides this good mā Ireneus.

Phil. That is not likely, that Ireneus ſo tooke him, or the primatiue Church: for I am able to ſhewe ſeuen generall Councels after Ireneus tyme wherin he was neuer ſo taken, whiche may bee a ſufficient proofe that the catholicke primatiue Church neuer tooke him for ſupreme head.

The other Biſh. This man will neuer be ſatiſfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more with him.

7. Generall Councels in which the Byſhop of Rome was neuer taken for ſupreame head.

Phil. Oh my Lordes, would you haue me ſatiſfied with nothing? Iudge (I pray you) who of vs hath better authority, hee which bringeth the example of one man goyng to Rome, or I that by theſe many generall Councels am able to proue, ŷ he was neuer ſo taken in many hundred yeares after Chriſt, as by Nicene, Epheſine the firſt and the ſecond, Calcedone, Cōſtantinopolitane, Carthaginenſ. Aquilienſe.

Couen. Why will ye not admit the Church of Rome to bee the Catholike Church?

The church of Rome diſſenteth from the primatiue church.

Phil. Becauſe it followeth not the primatiue Catholicke Church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more then an apple is like a nut.

Couent. Wherin doth it diſſent?

Phil. It were to long to recite all, but two thinges I will name: the ſupremacie and tranſubſtantiation.

Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation.

Curtop. As for Tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and Decreed for an article of fayth not much aboue three hundreth yeares, yet it was alwayes beleued in the church.

Bon. Yea that it was. Very wel ſaid of you maſter Curtop.

Phil. Yea haue ſayd right, that Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation of the Byſhop of Rome, and you are not able to ſhew any auncient writer, that the primatiue Church did beleue any ſuch thing: and with this Curtop ſhranke away. And immediatly after, the Imbaſſadour of Spayne came in, to whom my Lorde of London went, leauyng the other with me. To whom I ſayd: my Lordes, if you can ſhew me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true Catholicke Church, I ſhalbe content to be one therof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in al thyngs: for I know there is no ſaluation but within the Church.

John Philpot returneth agayne to his iſſue.

Couent. Can you diſproue that the Church of Rome is not the Catholicke Church.

Rome is not the Catholicke Church and why.

Phil. Yea that I am able: but I deſire rather to heare of you for the proofe therof. And ſeyng I cannot haue my requeſt at your hands, neyther be ſatiſfied with any probable authority, I will ſhewe you good proofe why it is not. For if the primatiue Church were Catholicke, as it was in deede, and ought to be the forme and Scholemaſtres of the Church to the worldes end: then is not the Church of Rome now the Catholicke Church which diſſenteth ſo farre from the ſame both in doctrine and vſe of the ſacramentes.

Couent. How proue you that the Churche of Rome nowe diſſenteth in doctrine and vſe of the Sacramentes from the primatiue Church?

Compariſon betwene the primatiue Church and the popes Catholicke Church.

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it will ſoone appeare: as ye may ſee both in Euſebius and in other Eccleſiaſticall and auncient writers.

Couent. What haue you to ſay more, why it is not the Catholicke Church?

The fayth of the Popes church was neuer vniuerſall.

Phil. Becauſe it is not (by your owne interpretatiō of Catholicke) vniuerſall neyther neuer was, albeit you falſly perſuade the people that it is ſo. For the world beyng deuided in three partes, Aſia, Africa, and Europa, ij. partes therof, Aſia and Africa profeſſing Chriſt as wel as we, did neuer conſent to the Church of Rome, which is of Europa: whiche is a ſufficient teſtimony that your fayth was neuer vniuerſall.

Couent. How proue you that?

Phil. All the Hiſtoriographers which write of the procedynges of the Churche, doe teſtifie the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent tyme doth declare that to be true which I ſay. For at this preſent the Churche of Aſia and Africa doe not

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conſent to the Church of Rome. Yea and beſides all this, the moſt part of Europa doth not agree neither allowe the Churche of Rome: as Germany, the kyngdome of Denmarke, the kyngdome of Poole, a great part of Fraunce, England, and Zeland, whiche is a manifeſt probation that your Church is not vniuerſall. And after this, the Byſhop of Londō called away the other Byſhops, and left with me diuers Gētlemē, with certaine of his Chaplaines, as Doct. Sauerſon an Engliſhman, whiche had proceded Doctour in Bonony, who after began with me in this maner.

Doct.Sauer. Maiſter Philpot, I remember you beyond ſea ſince the time you reaſoned with a Frier (a notable learned man) commyng from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Phil. I can not forget that, for the Frier threatned me to accuſe me of hereſie as ſoone as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him ſo boldly of the truth. Hee was no ſuch learned man as you name hym to be, but onely in his ſchole pointes a good Purgatory Frier.

Doct.Sauer. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am ſory to heare that you this day hauing commoned with ſo many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them then you be.

Phil. I wilbe conformable to all them that be conformable to Chriſt in his word. And I pray you good Maiſter Doctour, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe men more then God, cōtrary to your learnyng for worldly eſtimations ſake.

Doct.Sauer. No that I am not. Vpō what occaſion ſhould you thinke thus of me?

Phil. Vpon no euill that I do know of you, Maiſter Doctour: but I ſpeake as one wiſhyng that you ſhould not be led away frō the truth for promotions ſake, as many Doctours be now a dayes.

For the further debating of this matter, that Cyprian doth alow no ſuch thing, read the anſweres of Maiſter Nowell to M. Dorman.

Doct.Sauer. I haue heard your argumentations hetherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old auncient writers be agaynſt you in that you do not allow the Church of Rome neither the ſupremacy: for S. Cyprian (which is an old auncient writer) doth allow the Byſhop of Rome to be the ſupreme head of the Church.

Phil. That I am ſure of he doth not. For he writyng vnto Cornelius then Byſhop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and felow Byſhoppe, neither attributed to him the name either of Pope, or elles of any other vſurped termes whiche now be aſcribed to the Byſhop of Rome to the ſettyng forth of his dignitie.

Doct.Sauer. You can not bee able to ſhew that S. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his felow Byſhop.

Phil. I will wager with you that I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in Cyprian, as I haue ſayd.

Doctour Sauer. I will lay none other wager with you, but booke for booke, that it is not ſo.

Phil. I agree thereto, & I pray you one of my Lordes Chaplaines to fet vs Cyprian hether for the triall hereof. And ſo that one of them went to my Lordes ſtudy & brought forth Cyprian, & by and by he turned to the firſt booke of his Epiſtles, the 3. Epiſtle, and there would haue ſeemed to haue gathered a ſtrong Argument for the ſupremacy of the Byſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſayth: It goeth not well with the Church when the high Prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſtede of Chriſt after Gods word, and the conſent of his felow Byſhops, and the agreement of the people.

Cypri. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3:

Doct.Sauer. How can you auoyde this place which maketh ſo playnly for the Byſhop of Romes ſupremacy?

D. Sauerſon hath loſt his booke to M Philpot.

Phil. It maketh not ſo playne, Maiſter Doctour, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will geue you to vnderſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager whiche we made, ẏ your booke is myne. For here you may ſee that he calleth Cornelius his felow Byſhop, as he doth alſo in other places. And now for the vnderſtandyng of that place, you doe miſcōſtrue it, to make the high Prieſt onely for the Byſhop of Rome & otherwiſe then it was in his tyme. For there were by Nicene Councell iiij. Patriarckes appointed, the Patriarke of Hieruſalem, the Patriarke of Cōſtātinople, the Patriarke of Alexandria, & the Patriarke of Rome, of which foure the Patriarke of Rome was placed loweſt in the Councell, and ſo continued many yeares, for the tyme of vij. or viij. generall Councels, as I am able to ſhew.

Cypri. lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.
Cap. 16. Nic. Conc. 3. Patriarches onely be named, to whom afterward the Patriarke of Conſtantinople was alſo ioyned.

Therefore S. Cyprian writyng to Cornelius Patriarke of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow Byſhoppe) findeth him ſelfe offended, that certaine heretickes beyng iuſtly excommunicated by him (as the Nouatians were) dyd flye from his Dioces, which was their chief Byſhop, refuſing to bee obedient to him and to be reformed, to the Byſhoppe of Rome and to the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, and there were receaued in communion of congregation, in derogation of good order and diſcipline in the Churche, and to the maintaynyng of hereſies and ſchiſmes: and that hereſies dyd ſpryng vp and ſchiſmes dayly ariſe hereof, that obedience was not geuen to the Prieſt of GOD, nor once conſidered him to be in the Church, for the tyme, the Prieſt, and for the tyme the Iudge in Chriſtes ſtede (as in the decree of Nicene Councell was appointed) not meanyng the Byſhop of Rome onely, but euery Patriarke in his precinct: who had euery one of thē a Colledge in Cathedrall Church of learned Prieſtes, in hearyng of whom by a conuocation of all his fellow Byſhops, with the conſent of the people, all hereſies were determined by the worde of God: and this is the meanyng of S. Cyprian.

Cyprian hath alſo theſe wordes folowing in the ſame Epiſtle: It was declared amongeſt vs and it is alſo according to iuſtice and equity that euery mans cauſe ſhould be hearde where the fault was committed, and to euery ſeuerall Paſtor there is a portion of the flocke appoynted to rule and gouerne, for the which hee muſt make an accompt before God.
Cypri. lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.

D.Sauer. You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwiſe.

Phil. Vpon what grōd it ſhould ſeeme otherwiſe vnto you, I know not: but this meanyng which I haue declared, the generall Coūcels vij. or viij. one after an other, confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one ſupreme head onely.

Pend. There were not ſo many generall Councels, but iiij. onely allowed.

Phil. That is not ſo M. Pendleton, although there be iiij. ſpecially allowed for the confirmatiō of the Trinitie: but beſide theſe foure there were many other generall Councels, as you may learne by many writers.

A Chaplain. Did not Chriſt build his Church vpon Peter? S. Cyprian ſayth ſo.

How Saint Cyprian meaneth, Chriſt to build his Church vpon Peter.

Phil. S. Cyprian De ſimplicitate prælatorum declareth in what reſpect hee ſo ſayd. In perſona vnius dedit Dominus omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denunciaret. i. GOD gaue in perſon of one man the keyes to all, that he might ſignifie the vnitie of all men. And alſo S. Auſten ſayth in the x. treatiſe of S. Iohn: Si in Petro non eſſet Eccleſiæ myſterium, non ei diceret Dominus: tibi dabo claues. Si autem hoc Petro dictum eſt, non habet Eccleſia: ſi autem Eccleſia habet, quando claues accepit, Eccleſiam totam deſignauit. i. If in Peter had not bene the myſterie of the Church, the Lord had not ſayde vnto hym: I will geue vnto thee the keyes. For if that were ſayd vnto Peter, the Churche hath them not: if the Churche haue them, when Peter receiued them he ſignified the whole Churche. As alſo Saint Hierome a Prieſt of Rome writing to Nepotian, ſayth: that all Churches doe leane to their owne Paſtours, where hee ſpeaketh of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the Biſhop of Rome. And Ad Euagium he ſayth, that where ſoeuer a Byſhop bee, whether it bee at Rome, or at Euagie, or at Regium, he is of one power and of one Iuriſdiction.

Cypria. De ſimplicitate Prælatorum.
Auguſt. tract. 10. in Ioan.

Hieronym. ad Nepotianum.

Hieronym. ad Euagium.

D.Sauer. S. Hierome De cœleſti hierarchia? It was Dyoniſius you meane.

Phil. I ſay not that Hierome wrote any booke ſo entituled. But I ſay that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, hee maketh mention of the Eccleſiaſticall regiment.

Doct.Sauer. I wonder you wil ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your errour, to your owne deſtruction.

Philpot. I am ſure we are in no errour, by the promiſe of Chriſt made to the faythfull ones, whiche is, that he will geue to his true Churche ſuch a ſpirite of wiſedome, that the aduerſaries thereof ſhould neuer be able to reſiſte. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reaſonyng neither by writyng, your Sinagoge of Rome is able to aūſwere. Where is there one of you all that euer hath bene able to aunſwere any of the Godly learned Miniſters of Germany, who haue diſcloſed your counterfait Religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to aunſwere Caluins Inſtitutions, which is Miniſter of Geneua?

Doct.Sauer. A godly Miniſter in deede, of receit of cutpurſſes & runnagate traitours. And of late I can tell you, there is ſuch contention fallen betwene him and his owne ſectes, that he was fayne to flye the towne, about predeſtination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneua hether.

False ſclaunder.

Phil. I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly man, & that godly church where he is miniſter, as it is your churches cōdition when you can not aunſwere men by learnyng, to oppreſſe them with blaſphemies and falſe reportes. For in the matter of predeſtinatiō he is in none other opiniō thē all ẏ Doctours of the Church be, agreeyng to the Scriptures.

Sauer. Men be able to aūſwere him if they liſt. And I pray you which of you haue aunſwered Byſhop Fiſhers booke.

Phil. Yes (Maiſter Doctour) that booke is aūſwered and aunſwered agayne, if you lyſt to ſeeke what hath bene written agaynſt him.

And after this Doctour Story came in. To whom I ſayd Maiſter Doctour, you haue done me great iniurie, and without lawe haue ſtraightly impriſoned me, more lyke a Dogge then a man. And beſides this, you haue not kepte promiſe with me, for you promiſed that I ſhould be iudged the next day after.

D. Story commeth in.

Story. I am come now to kepe promiſe with thee. Was there euer ſuch a fantaſticall man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beaſt. Yea theſe heretickes be worſe then brute beaſtes: for they will vppon a vayne ſingularitie take vpon them to bee wiſer then all men, beyng in deede very fooles

Happy are you when they reuile you, and ſay all euill agaynſt you for my names ſake. Math. 5.

and Aſſeheades, not able to maintayne that which of an arrogant obſtinacie they do ſtand in.

Phil. M. Doctor, I am cōtent to abyde your railing iudgement of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am vnder your feete to be troden on as you liſt. GOD forgeue it you: yet am I no hereticke. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to proue that I hold any iote agaynſt the word of God, otherwiſe then a Chriſtian man ought.

The Papiſtes will not be ruled by the ſcriptures without their owne iudge.

Story. The word of God? forſoth the worde of God. It is but a folly to reaſon with theſe heretickes, for they are incurable and deſperate. But as I may reaſon with thee, not that I haue any hope to wyn thee, whom wilt thou appoint to be iudge of the word whereto thou ſtandeſt?

Phil. Verely the word it ſelfe.

Story. Do you not ſee the ignoraunce of this beaſtly hereticke? He willeth the word to be iudged of the worde. Can the word ſpeake?

Phil. If I can not proue that which I haue ſayd by good authoritie, I will be content to be counted an hereticke and an ignoraunt perſon, and further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let vs heare what wiſe authoritie thou canſt bring in.

Iohn. 12.

Phil. It is the ſaying of Chriſt in S. Iohn: Verbum quod locutus ſum, iudicabit in nouiſſimo die. The worde whiche I haue ſpoken (ſayth Chriſt) ſhall iudge in the laſt day. If the word ſhall iudge in the laſt day, much more it ought to iudge our doynges now: and I am ſure I haue my iudge on my ſide, who ſhall abſolue and iuſtifie me in an other world. How ſoeuer now it ſhall pleaſe you by authoritie vnrighteouſly to iudge of me and others, ſure I am in an other world to iudge you.

What ſay you now Maiſter Doctor.

M. Doctor hauing not to aunſwere, falleth to raylyng.

Story. What? you purpoſe to be a ſtinckyng Martyr, and to ſit in iudgement with Chriſt at the laſt day to iudge the xij. tribes of Iſraell.

Phil. Yea Syr, I doubt not thereof, hauyng the promiſe of Chriſt, if I dye for righteouſnes ſake, whiche you haue begon to perſecute in me.

Story. I told you it is but vayne to argue with this hereticke: he is drowned in his hereſies without all learnyng.

Phil. Syr, I haue brought you for that I haue ſayd, good authoritie out of Gods booke, to the whiche you aunſwere nothyng, but go about ſtill to geue raylyng iudgemēt agaynſt me without any cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When the Iudge in Weſtminſter hall geueth ſentence, doth the word geue ſentence, or the Iudge? tell me.

Gods iudgement and ciuil iudgement not lyke.

Phil. Ciuill matters be ſubiect to Ciuill mē, and they haue authoritie by the word to be iudge of them. But the worde of GOD is not ſubiect to mans iudgement, but ought to iudge all the wiſedome, thoughtes, and doynges of men, and therfore your compariſon diſproueth nothyng that I haue ſayd, neither aunſwereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the Church vpon the Scripture?

The iudgement of the Church, how farre it ſerueth.

Phil. Yes, if it be accordyng to the word of the true Church: and this I ſay to you, as I haue ſayd heretofore, that if ye can proue ẏ Church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be ẏ true Catholicke Church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yeld thereto (as long as it can bee ſo proued) as you may deſire me.

Preſcription of tyme.

Story. What a fellow is this? He will beleue nothyng but what he lyſt himſelfe. Are we not in poſſeſſiō of the church? Haue not your forefathers theſe many hundred yeares takē this church for the Catholicke church wherof we are now? And if we had none other proufe but this, it were ſufficiēt: for preſcription of tyme maketh a good title in the law.

Preſcription of tyme maketh no tytle in Gods matters.

Philpot. You do well (Maiſter Doctour) to alledge preſcription of many yeares, for it is all that you haue to ſhewe for your ſelues. But you muſt vnderſtand, Ex diuinis nulla occurrit præſcriptio, that preſcription hath no place in matters belongyng to God, as I am able to ſhewe by the teſtimony of many Doctours.

Story. Well Syr, you are like to goe after your fathers Latymer the Sophiſter, and Ridley, who had nothyng to alledge for hym ſelfe but that hee had learned his hereſie of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poore Bacheler of Arte, he trembled as though he had had the palſey, as theſe heretickes haue alwayes ſome token of feare wherby a mā may know them, as you may ſee this mans eyes do tremble in his head. But I diſpatched them: and I tell thee that there hath bene yet neuer a one burnt, but I haue ſpoken with him, and haue bene a cauſe of his diſpatch.

D. Story confeſſeth himſelfe to be the chiefe diſpatcher of all Gods Saintes that ſuffered in Q. Maryes time.

Phil. You haue the more to aūſwere for, Maiſter Doctour, as you ſhal feele in an other world, how much ſoeuer you do now triumph of your proceedynges.

Story. I tell thee I will neuer be confeſſed therof. And becauſe I can not now tary to ſpeake with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my commyng was to ſignifie to his Lordſhyp, that he muſt out of hand rid this hereticke away. And goyng away he ſayd vnto me, I certifie thee that thou mayeſt thanke none other man but me.

Storyes crueltie.

Phil. I thanke you therefore with all myne hart: and God forgeue it you.

Story. What? doeſt thou thanke me? if I had thee in my ſtudy halfe an houre, I thinke I ſhould make you ſing an other ſong.

Phil. No M. Doctour, I ſtand vpō to ſure a ground to be ouerthrowen by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after an other, vntill I was left all alone. And afterwardes with my Keeper goyng to my Colehouſe (as I went) I met with my Lord of London, who ſpake vnto me gently, as he hath herberto in wordes, ſaying:

Iohn Philpot left poſt alone.

London. Philpot, if there be any pleaſure I may ſhew you in my houſe, I pray you require it, and you ſhall haue it.

Philpot. My Lord, the pleaſure that I will require of your Lordſhyp is to haſten my iudgement whiche is committed vnto you, and ſo diſpatch me forth of this miſerable world, vnto my eternall reſt. And for all his fayre ſpeach I can not attaine hetherto this fortnight ſpace, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodgyng. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, & to be counted amongeſt the vileſt, that he may in tyme of reward receiue exaltation & glory. Therfore prayſed be God that hath humbled me, and geuen me grace with gladnes to be content there withall.

The ſtraite handling of Iohn Philpot in priſon, for all the Byſhops fayre wordes.

Let all that loue the truth ſay. Amen.

Thus endeth the fift Tragedy.

¶ The ſixt examination of Iohn Philpot had before the right honorable Lordes, Lord Chamberlaine to the kynges Maieſtie, the Vicoũt Herford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Rich, the Lorde S. Iohns, the Lord Windſore, the Lord Shādoys, Sir Iohn Bridges Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and two other moe whoſe names I know not, with the Byſhop of London and D. Chadſey, the vj. day of Nouember. An. 1555.

Philpot. Before that I was called afore the Lordes, and whiles they were in ſittyng downe, the Byſhop of London came aſide to me and wiſpered in myne eare, willing me to vſe my ſelfe before the Lords of the Queenes Maieſties Counſell prudently, and to take heede what I ſayd: and thus hee pretended to geue me counſaile because hee wiſhed me to doe well, as I might now doe if I liſt. And after the Lordes & other worſhipfull gentlemē of the Queenes Maieſties ſeruauntes were ſet, my Lord of London placed himſelfe at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lordes I was placed at the vpper end agaynſt him: where I kneelyng downe, the Lordes commaunded me to ſtād vp, and after in this maner the Byſhop began to ſpeake.

The 6. examination of M. Philpot before certayne Lordes, and the Byſhop of London.

London. M. Philpot, I haue heretofore both priuately my ſelfe, and openly before my Lordes of the Clergy, mo tymes then once cauſed you to bee talked withall to reforme you of your errours, but I haue not founde you yet ſo tractable as I would wiſhe; wherefore now I haue deſired theſe honorable Lordes of the temporaltie and of the Queenes Maieſties Counſaile, who haue taken paynes with me this day (I thanke them therefore) to heare you what you can ſay, that they may be Iudges whether I haue ſought all meanes to do you good or no; and I dare bee bold to ſay in their behalfe, that if you ſhewe your ſelfe conformable to the Queenes Maieſties proceedynges, you ſhall finde as much fauour for your deliueraunce, as you can wiſhe. I ſpeake not this to fawne vppon you, but to bryng you home into the Church. Now let them heare what you can ſay.

The wordes of Byſhop Boner to M. Philpot.

Phil. My Lord, I thanke GOD of this day, that I haue ſuch an honorable audience to declare my mynde before. And I can not but commende your Lordſhyppes equitie in this behalfe, whiche agreeth with the order of the primatiue Church, which was, if any body had bene ſuſpected of hereſie (as I am now) he ſhould be called, firſt before ẏ Archbyſhop or Byſhop of the Dioces where hee was ſuſpected, ſecondly in the preſence of others his felow byſhops & learned elders, & thirdly in the hearing of the laytie: where after the iudgemēt of Gods word declared, & with the aſſent of other Byſhops & conſent of the people he was condemned to exile for an hereticke, or abſolued. And the ſecond poynt of that good order I haue found at your Lordſhyps hands already in beyng called before you & your fellow Byſhops: & now haue ẏ third ſort of mē, at whoſe hādes I truſt to finde more righteouſnes in my cauſe then I haue found with my Lordes of the Clergy: God graunt I may haue at laſt the iudgement of Gods word concernyng the ſame.

M. Philpots anſwere to the Byſhop.

Heretickes in the primatiue Church only condemned to exile.

London. Maiſter Philpot. I pray you ere you goe any further, tell my Lordes here playnly whether you were by me or by my procuremēt committed to priſon or not, and whether I haue ſhewed you any crueltie ſithen ye haue bene cōmitted to my priſon.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhyp to geue me leaue to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Aunſwere firſt of all to my Lordes two queſtiōs, and then proceede forth to the matter. How ſay you? were you impriſoned by my Lord or no? can you finde any fault ſince with his cruell vſing of you?

Phil. I can not lay to my Lordes charge the cauſe of my impriſonement, neither I may ſay that hee hath vſed me cruelly, but rather for my part I might ſay that I haue founde more gentleneſſe at his Lordſhyppes handes then I dyd at myne owne Ordinaries for the tyme I haue beene within his priſon, for that hee hath called me three or foure tymes to myne aunſwere, to the whiche I was not called twelue moneth and a halfe before.

B. Boner not the cauſe of M. Philpots impriſonment.

Rich. Well, now go forth to your matter.

Philpot. The matter is, that I am impriſoned for the diſputation had by me in the Conuocation houſe agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, whiche matter was not moued principally by me, but by the Prolocutor, with the conſent of the Queenes Maieſtie and of the whole houſe, and that houſe beyng a member of the Parlament houſe, ought to be a place of free ſpeeche for all men of the houſe, by the auncient and laudable cuſtome of this realme. Wherfore I thinke my ſelfe to haue ſuſtained hetherto great iniury for ſpeaking my conſcience freely in ſuch a place as I might lawfully do it: and I deſire your honorable Lordſhyppes iudgementes which be of the Parlamēt houſe, whether of right I ought to be empeached therfore, and ſuſtaine the loſſe of my lyuyng (as I haue done) and moreouer of my life, as it is ſought.

The conuocation no part of the Parlament houſe ſayth the Lord Rich.

Rich. You are deceiued herein: for the Conuocation houſe is no part of the Parlament houſe.

Phil. My Lord, I haue alwayes vnderſtanded the contrary by ſuch as are more expert men in thynges of this Realme then I: and agayne, the title of euery Act leadeth me to thinke otherwiſe, whiche alledgeth the agreement of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the ſpirituall Lordes of the vpper houſe.

Winſor. In deede the Conuocation houſe is called together by one writte of the Summons of ẏ Parlament of an olde cuſtome: notwithſtandyng that houſe is no part of the Parlament houſe.

Whether the Conuocation be part of the Parlament houſe or no: yet free libertye was geuen by the Queene, euery man to ſpeake his conſcience.

Phil. My Lordes, I muſt be cōtented to abide your iudgementes in this behalfe.

Rich. We haue told you the truth. Mary yet we would not that you ſhould bee troubled for any thyng that there was ſpokē, ſo that you hauing ſpoken amiſſe, do declare now that you are ſory therefore.

Lond. My Lordes hee hath ſpoken there manifeſt hereſie, yea and there ſtoutly maintained the ſame agaynſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar (& with that he put of his cap that all the Lordes might reuerence & vayle their bonets at that Idole as they did) & would not allow the reall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſt in the ſame: yet my Lordes, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him extremitie for ſo doyng, in caſe he will repent & reuoke his wicked ſayinges: & in fayth if he will ſo do, with your Lordſhypps conſent he ſhalbe releaſed by and by: Mary if he wil not, he ſhal looke for the extremitie of the law, & that ſhortly.

Chamb. My Lord of Londō ſpeaketh reaſonably vnto you: take it whiles it is offered you.

Rich. How ſay you? will you acknowledge the reall preſēce of the bloud and body of Chriſt, as all the learned mē of this Realme do in the Maſſe, and as I do, and will beleue as long as I liue, I do proteſt it?

Phil. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt ſuch a preſence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That ſhall be none otherwiſe then you lyſt.

London. A Sacramēt is the ſigne of a holy thyng: So that there is both the ſigne which is the accident (as the whiteneſſe, roūdnes, and ſhape of bread) and their is alſo the thyng it ſelfe, as very Chriſt both God and man. But theſe heretickes will haue the Sacramentes to bee but bare ſignes. How ſay you? declare vnto my Lordes here whether you do allow the thyng it ſelfe in the Sacrament or no?

How Boner taketh in the Sacrament, to be both the ſigne and thing ſignified.

Phil. I do cōfeſſe that in ẏ Lordes Supper there is in due reſpectes both the ſigne and the thyng ſignified, when it is duely miniſtred after the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

Both the ſigne and the thing ſignified in due reſpectes, be in the Sacrament.

London. You may ſee how he goeth about the buſh (as hee hath done before) with my Lordes of the Clergy, and dare not vtter his mynde playnly.

Rich. Shew vs what maner of preſence you allowe in the Sacrament.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe you my Lord of London, to geue me leaue to proceede orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mynde without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mynde therein.

L. Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him ſpeake his minde.

Phil. My Lordes, that at the firſt I haue not playnely declared my iudgement vnto you in this, becauſe I can not ſpeake hereof without the daunger of my life.

Rich. There is none of vs here ẏ ſeeketh thy life, or meane to take any aduantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeake.

Ye ſay ye ſeeke not hys lyfe, and yet ye know to aunſwere to that ye aſke will be his death.

Phil. Although I miſtruſt not your honorable Lordſhyps ẏ be heare of ẏ temporallity: yet here is one that ſitteth agaynſt me (pointing to my Lord of London) that will lay it to my charge euen to the death. Notwithſtandyng, ſeyng your honours doe require me to declare my mynde of the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, that ye may perceaue that I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, neyther do mayntayne any opinion without probable and ſufficient authority of the ſcripture, I will ſhewe frankely my minde without all colour, what ſoeuer ſhall enſue vnto me therefore, ſo that my Lord of London will not let me to vtter my mynde.

Rich: My Lorde, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeyng hee is willing to ſhew his minde.

London. I am content my Lordes, let him ſay what he can I will heare him.

Phil. That whiche I do entend to ſpeake vnto you (right honorable Lordes) I do proteſt here, firſt before God and his Aungels, that I ſpeake it neyther of vaynglory, neither of ſingularitye, neyther of wilfull ſtubburnes, but truely vpon a good conſcience grounded on Gods word, agaynſt ẏ which I dare not do for feare of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neyther do I diſagree to the proceedinges of this Realme in the Religiō for that I loue not the Queene (whome I loue from the bottom of my hart) but becauſe I ought to loue and feare God in his woorde more then man in his lawes, though I ſtand as I ſeeme to do, in this conſideration, and for non other as God I call to witnes.

The proteſtation of Iohn Philpot before the Lordes.

There be two things principally, by the which the Clergy at this day doth deceyue the whole realm: that is, the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and the name of the Catholicke church: the which both they do vſurpe, hauyng in deede none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they term of the aulter, I ſay now as I ſayd in the Conuocation houſe that it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither in the ſame is there any maner of Chriſtes preſence. Wherefore they deceiue the Queenes maieſty: and you of the nobility of this realme, in making you to beleue that to be a Sacrament whiche is none, and cauſe you to commit manifeſt Idolatrye in worſhippyng that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimony of this to bee true, beſides manyfeſt proofe which I am able to make to ẏ queenes maieſty and to all you of her nobilitye, I will yeld my life. The which to do, if it were not vpon a ſure ground, it were to my vtter damnation.

Two thynges wherein the Clergye deceyueth the whole Realme.

The Papiſtes haue neyther the Sacrament of the Lordes body nor the true Church.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholicke Church (wherby they blynd many folkes eyes) they are nothing ſo, callyng you from the true religion whiche was reueled and taught in K. Edwardes time, vnto vayne ſuperſtition. And this I will ſay for the triall hereof, that if they can proue them ſelues to be the Catholicke Church (as they ſhall neuer be able to do) I will neuer be agaynſt their doynges, but reuoke all that I haue ſayd. And I ſhall deſyre you (my Lordes) to be a meane for me to ẏ Queenes maieſty, that I may be brought to the iuſt trial hereof, yea I will not refuſe to ſtand agaynſt ten of the beſt of them in this realme. And if they be able to proue otherwiſe then I haue ſayd, eyther by wryting or by reaſoning, with good & lawfull authority, I will here promiſe to recant whatſoeuer I haue ſayd, and to conſent to them in all pointes. And in the declaration of theſe thinges more at large, which now I wryte in ſumme: the Byſhop of London oftſones would haue interrupted me, but the Lordes procured me libertye to make out my tale, to the great grief of my Lord Biſhop of London, as it appeared by his dumpes he was in.

Papiſtes vntruly vſurpe the name of the Church.

M. Philpot offereth himſelfe to ſtand againſt 10. of the beſt learned in the realme in proofe of hys cauſe.

London It hath ben tolde me before, that you loue to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretickes do boaſt of the ſpirite of God, and euery one woulde haue a Churche by him ſelfe: as Ioan of Kent and the Anabaptiſtes. I had my ſelfe Ioan of Kent a ſeuennight in my houſe after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterbury and Biſhop Ridley reſorted almoſt dayly vnto her: but ſhee was ſo high in the ſpirite that they coulde doe nothing with her for all theyr learnyng. But ſhe went wilfully vnto the fyre, was burnt, and ſo do you now.

Phil. As for Ioan of Kent, ſhee was a vayne woman (I knew her wel) & an heretick in dede, wel worthy to be burnt becauſe ſhe ſtode agaynſt one of the manifeſt articles of our fayth, contrary to the ſcripture: & ſuch vayn ſpirites be ſone knowē from ẏ true ſpirite of god and his church, for that the ſame abydeth within the limites of Gods woorde and will

The Popes Catholickes when they haue no iuſt reaſon wherewith to perſuade, they fall to rating, and to charge men wyth ſtubbernes.

not

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not goe out of the ſame, neither ſtubburnely maintaine any thing contrary to the word, as I haue Gods word throughly on my ſide to ſhew for that I ſtand in.

London. I pray you, how wil you ioyne me theſe two Scriptures together: Pater maior me eſt: & pater & ego vnum ſumus, I muſt interprete the ſame, becauſe my Lordes here vnderſtand not the Latin: that is to ſay: The Father is greater then I: and, I & the Father are one. But I cry you mercy my Lordes, I haue miſpoken, in ſaying you vnderſtand no Latine: for the moſt parte of you vnderſtand Latine as well as I. But I ſpake in conſideration of my Lord Shādoys and M. Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin mē. Now ſhew you your cunning, & ioyne theſe two Scriptures by the word if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can right well. For we muſt vnderſtand that in Chriſt there be two natures, the Diuinitie and Humanitie, & in reſpect of his humanitie it is ſpoken of Chriſt: The Father is greater then I. But in reſpect of his Deitie, he ſayd agayne: The Father and I be one.

London. But what Scripture haue you?

Pſalme. 8.

Philpot. Yes, I haue ſufficient Scripture for the proofe of that I haue ſayd. For the firſt, it is written of Chriſt in the Pſalmes: Diminuiſti eum paulominus ab Angelis: Thou haſt made him a little leſſer then Aungelles. It is the xv. Pſalme, beginning: Cœli enarrant. And there I miſreckened, wherewithall my Lord tooke me.

London. It is in Domine Dominus noſter. Ye may ſee my Lordes how well this man is vſed to ſay his Mattins.

Phil. Though I ſay not Mattins in ſuch order as your Lordſhip meaneth: yet I remēber of old, that Domine Dominus noſter, and Cœli enarrant, bee not farre aſunder: and albeit I miſnamed the Pſalme, it is no preiudice to the truth of that I haue proued.

London. What ſay you then to the ſecond Scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?

Scriptures alleged.

Phil. The text it ſelfe declareth, that notwithſtanding Chriſt did abaſe himſelfe in our humane nature: yet he is ſtill one in Deitie with the father. And this S. Paule to the Hebrues doth more at large ſet forth. And as I haue by the Scriptures ioyned theſe two Scriptures together, ſo am I able to do in all other Articles of faith which we ought to beleue and by the manifeſt word of God to expounde them.

How the letter killeth, and whom.
2. Cor. 3.

London. How cā that be, ſeing S. Paule ſaith, that the letter killeth, but it is the ſpirite that giueth life.

Philpot. S. Paule meaneth not yͤ the word of God written in it ſelfe killeth, which is the worde of life and the faythfull teſtimonie of the Lorde, but that the word is vnprofitable and killeth him that is voyde of the ſpirit of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the world: and therefore S. Paule ſayd, That the Goſpel to ſome was a ſauour of life vnto life, and to ſome other a ſauour of death vnto death. Alſo an example hereof we haue in the vj. of Iohn, of them who hearyng the word of GOD without the ſpirite were offended thereby: wherfore Chriſt ſayd: The fleſh profiteth nothyng, it is the ſpirite that quickeneth.

Iohn. 6.

London. What? doe you vnderſtand that of S. Paule and of S. Iohn ſo?

Philpot. It is not myne owne interpretation, it is agreable to the word in other places: and I haue learned the ſame of auncient Fathers interpretyng it likewiſe. And to the Corinthians it is written: Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt ſpiritus Dei: ſpiritualis dijudicat omnia. The naturall man perceiueth not the thynges that be of the ſpirite of God: but the ſpirituall man which is indued with the ſpirite, iudgeth all thynges.

1. Cor. 2.

London. You ſee my Lordes, that this man will haue but his owne mynde, and will wilfully caſt away himſelfe. I am ſory for him.

Phil. The wordes that I haue ſpokē be none of myne but of the Goſpell, whereon I ought to ſtand. And if you my Lord of Lōdon, can bring better authoritie for the faith you would draw me vnto, then that which I ſtand vpō, I will gladly heare the ſame by you or by any other in this realme.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Lords.

Wherefore I kneelyng downe, beſought the Lordes to be good vnto me a poore Gentleman, that would fayne liue in the world if I might: and to teſtifie, as you haue heard me to ſay this day, that if any mā can approue that I ought to be of any other maner of faith then that of which I now am, and can proue the ſame ſufficiently, I will be neither willfull neither deſperate, as my Lord of London would make you beleue me to be.

Rich. What countrey man be you? are you of the Philpots of Hampſhyre?

Phil. Yea my Lord, I was Syr Peter Philpots ſonne of Hampſhyre.

Rich. He is my neare kinſman: wherefore I am the more ſory for him.

Phil. I thanke your Lordſhyp that it pleaſeth you to chalenge kinred of a poore priſoner.

Rich. In fayth I would go an hundreth myles on my bare feete to do you good.

Cham. He may do well inough if he liſt.

S.Iohn. M. Philpot you are my country man, & I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich. You ſayd euen now, that you would deſyre to maintayne your beliefe before ten of the beſt in the realm. You dyd not well to compare with the Nobilitye, of the realme: But what if you haue x. of the beſt of the Realme to heare you, will you be tryed by them?

Phil. My Lorde, your Lordſhip miſtaketh mee to thinke that I challenge tenne of the beſt of the Nobilitye in this realme: It was no part of my mynde, but I ment of the beſt learned on the contrary ſyde.

Iohn Philpot will not be iudged by his aduerſaryes, but by the hearers, ſo far as they ſhall iudge by Gods worde.

Rich. Well, I take your meanyng. What if meanes be made to the Queenes maieſty, that you ſhall haue your requeſt will you be iudged by them?

Phil. My Lord, it is not meete that a man ſhould be iudged by his aduerſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be iudged?

Phil. I will make your honours iudges, that ſhall bee hearers of vs.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queenes maieſty that you ſhal haue ten learned men to reaſon with you and twenty or forty of the Nobility to heare, ſo you wil promiſe to abyde theyr iudgement. How ſay you? will you promiſe here afore my Lordes ſo to do?

Phil. I will be contented to be iudged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promiſe to agree to theyr iudgemēt.

Phil. There be cauſes why I may not ſo do, vnleſſe I were ſure they would iudge accordyng to the word of God.

Rich. O, I perceaue you will haue no man iudge but your ſelfe, and thinke your ſelfe wiſer then all the learned men of this Realme.

Phil. My Lord, I ſeeke not to be myne owne Iudge, but am content to be iudged by other, ſo that the order of iudgement in matters of religion be kept that was in the primatiue Church, which is, firſt that Gods will by his worde was ſought, and therunto both the ſpiritualitie and temporalitie was gathered together, and gaue their conſentes and iudgement, and ſuch kynde of iudgement I will ſtand to.

The true order of Iudgement vſed in the primatiue Church.

B. Boner bewrayeth his owne ignorance.

London. My Lordes he woulde make you beleue that hee were profoundlye ſene in auncient writers of the iudgementes of the primatiue Church, and there was neuer any ſuch maner of iudgement vſed as he now talketh of.

Phil. In the Epiſtles of Saint Cyprian I am able to ſhew it you.

London. A, I tell you there is no ſuch thinge: fet me Cyprian hether.

B. Boner dare not fetch out his booke.

Phil. You ſhal finde it otherwiſe when the booke commeth. And D. Chadſey his Chapleyne (whome hee appointed to fet his booke) whiſpered the Byſhop in his eare, and fet not the booke, by lykelyhood that he ſhoulde haue ſuſteyned the reproch therof if the booke had bene fet. Well my Lorde (quoth I) maiſter Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or els he would haue fet the booke ere this.

Rich. You woulde haue none other iudge (I ſee) but the worde.

In a controuerſie of the lawe whether the law or the iudge of the law doth iudge.

Phil. Yea my Lord. I will be tryed by the word, and by ſuch as will iudge accordyng to the worde. As for an example, if there were a controuerſie betwixt your Lordſhip and an other vpon the wordes of a Statute, muſt not the wordes of the ſtatute iudge and determine the Controuerſye?

Rich. No mary, the Iudges of the lawe may determine the meanyng therof.

B. Boner triumpheth before the victory.

London. He hath brought as good example agaynſt him ſelf as can be.

And here the Byſhop thought hee had good hankaſt agaynſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many wordes to the iudgement of the Church.

The Lordes. Hee hath ouerthrowen him ſelfe by hys owne argument.

As a Iudge of the law may not diſcerne the meaning of a ſtatute otherwiſe then agreeable to the wordes: ſo hath the church no power to iudge the meaning of Gods word, contrary to it ſelfe.

Phil. My Lordes, it ſeemeth to your honours that you haue great aduauntage of mee by the example I brought in, to expreſſe my cauſe; but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholy with me, and nothing agaynſt me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will aſke of my L. Rich here, whom I know to haue good knowledge in the lawes and ſtatutes of this Realme, albeit a Iudge may diſcerne yͤ meaning of a ſtatute agreable to yͤ wordes, whether yͤ ſame may iudge a meanyng contrary to yͤ expreſſe wordes or no?

Rich. He cannot ſo do.

Phil. Euen ſo ſay I, that no man ought to iudge the worde of God to haue a meanyng contrary to the expreſſe wordes therof, as this falſe Church of Rome doth in many thinges: and with this the Lordes ſeemed to be ſatiſfied, and made no further replication herein.

Obiection of the Lord Rich, why the wordes of this ſcripture are not to be taken: [this is my body.]

Rich. I maruaile then why you do deny the expreſſe wordes of Chriſt in the Sacramēt, ſaying: This is my body, and yet you wil not ſticke to ſay it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotencie to make it his body, as he was to make man fleſh of a peece of claye? Did not he ſay: This is my body which ſhal be betrayed for you? & was not his very body betrayed for vs? therfore it muſt needes be his body.

London. My Lord Rich, you haue ſayd wonderfull well and learnedly. But you might haue begon with him before alſo in the vj. of Iohn, where Chriſt promiſed to geue his body in the Sacramēt of the aultar, ſaying: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt: The bread which I will geue, is my fleſh. How can you aunſwere to that?

Phil. If it pleaſe you to geue me leaue to aunſwere firſt my Lord Rich, I will alſo aunſwere this obiection.

Rich. Aunſwere my Lord of Lōdō firſt, & after come to me.

Aunſwere to B. Boners obiection.

Philpot. My Lord of London may be ſoone aunſwered, that the ſaying of Saint Iohn is, that the humanitie of Chriſt, whiche hee tooke on him for the redemption of man, is the bread of lyfe, whereby our bodyes and ſoules bee ſuſteined to eternall life, of the which the Sacramentall bread is a liuely repreſentation and an effectuall cohabitation to all ſuch as beleue on his Paſſion: and as Chriſt ſayth in the ſame vj. of Iohn, I am the bread that came downe frō heauen, but yet he is not materiall neither naturall bread. Likewiſe the bread is his fleſh, not naturall or ſubſtauntiall, but by ſignification, and by grace in a Sacrament.

The place Iohn 6. expounded. [The bread that I vvill geue is my fleſh. &c.]

Aunſwere to the Lord Riches obiection.

Papiſtes cater coſins to the Capernaites.

And nowe to my Lord Riches Argument. I doe not denye the expreſſe wordes of Chriſt in the Sacrament, This is my body: but I denye that they are naturally and corporally to bee taken: they muſt be taken Sacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſſe declaration of Chriſt ſaying, that the wordes of the Sacrament whiche the Capernaites tooke carnally, as the Papiſtes now doe, ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not carnally, as they falſely imagine, not waying what interpretation of Chriſt hath made in this behalfe, neither follow the Inſtitution Chriſt, neither the vſe of the Apoſtles and of the primatiue church, who neuer taught, neither declared no ſuch carnall manner of preſence as is nowe exacted of vs violently without any grounde of Scripture or antiquitie, who vſed to put out of the Church all ſuch as did not receiue the Sacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burne that which was left after the receiuyng, as by the Canon of the Apoſtles and by the decree of the Councell of Antioch, may appeare.

Tranſubſtantiation hath neyther ground of Scripture, nor Antiquitie.

London. No, that is not ſo: they were onely Cathecumenis whiche went out of the Church at the celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not onely of ſuch as were Nouices in fayth, but all others that did not receiue.

London. What ſay you to the omnipotencie of God? is not he able to performe that whiche he ſpake, as my Lord Rich hath very well ſayd? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotencie may make him ſelfe to be this carpet if he will.

Pſal. 150.

Phil. As concernyng the omnipotencie of GOD, I ſay that GOD is able to doe (as the Prophet Dauid ſayth) what ſoeuer he willeth: but hee willeth nothyng that is not agreable to his worde: as that is blaſphemye whiche my Lord of London hath ſpoken, that GOD may become a Carpet. For as I haue learned of auncient writers: Non poteſt Deus facere quæ ſunt naturæ ſuæ contraria: That is, God can not doe that whiche is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a creature, and God is the creator: and the creator can not bee the creature: wherefore vnleſſe you can declare by the word, that Chriſt is otherwiſe preſent with vs then ſpiritually and Sacramentally by grace, as hee hath taught vs, you pretende the omnipotencie of God in vayne.

B. Boners irreuerent and blaſphemous ſpeaking of God.

The omnipotency pretended in vayne.

London. Why? will you not ſay that Chriſt is really preſent in the Sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Chriſt in the Sacrament really preſent to the receauer.

What he calleth really.

Phil. I deny not that Chriſt is really in the Sacrament to the receauer therof accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution.

London. What meane you by really preſent?

Phil. I meane by really preſent, preſent in deede.

London. Is God really preſent euery where?

Philpot. He is ſo.

London. How proue you that?

Phil. The Prophet Eſay ſayth: That God filleth all places: and whereſoeuer bee two or three gathered together in Chriſtes name, there is he in the middeſt of them.

London. What? his humanitie?

Phil. No my Lord, I meane the deitie, accordyng to that you demaunded.

B. Boner to weake for Iohn Philpot.

Rich. My Lord of London, I pray you let Maiſter Doctour Chedſey reaſon with him, and let vs ſee how hee can aunſwere him: for I tell thee hee is a learned man in deede, and one that I do credite before a great many of you, whoſe doctrine the Queenes Maieſtie and the whole realme doth well allow, therfore heere him.

The Lordes fall to drinking.

London. My Lordes I pray you, will it pleaſe you to drinke? you haue talked a great while, and much talke is thirſty. I will leaue M. Doctour and him reaſonyng together a while, with your leaue, and will come to you by and by agayne. He wēt (as I ſuppoſe) to make rowme for more drinke, after the Lordes had dronken.

Lord Rich biddeth M. Philpot to drinke.

Rich. My Lord Rich ſayd to the Lordes, I pray you let the poore man drinke, for he is thirſty: and with that, he called for a cup of drinke, and gaue it me, and I dranke before them all: God requite it him, for I was a thyrſt in deede. Afterwardes Doctour Chadſey began in this wiſe, makyng a great proceſſe, of the which this is the effect.

Chadſey beginneth to diſpute with M. Philpot.

Chadſey. M. Philpot findeth fault with the Conuocation houſe before your Lordſhyppes, that he hath layne this long in priſon, and that he had there a dozen Argumentes, whereof he could not be ſuffred to proſecute one throughly, whiche is not ſo: for he had * leaue to ſay what hee could and was aunſwered to aſmuch as he was able to bryng: and when he had * nothyng els to ſay, he fell to weepyng. I was there preſent and can teſtifie therof: albeit there is a booke abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in the which there is * neuer a true word: And where as you require to be ſatiſfied of the Sacrament, I will ſhewe you the * truth therof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctours.

4. Vntruthes of Chadſey, at one clappe.
* 1. Vntruth.
* 2. Vntruth.
* 3. Vntruth.
* 4. Vntruth.

M. Philpot aunſwereth D. Chadſey.

Philpot. It is a ſhrewed lykelyhoode that you will conclude with any truth, ſince you haue begon with ſo manifeſt vntruthes, as to ſay that I was aunſwered whiles I had any thyng to ſay, and that I wept for lacke of matter to ſay, and that the booke of the report of the diſputation is nothyng true. GOD be prayſe, there were a good many of Noble men, Gentlemen, and worſhypfull men that heard and ſawe the doynges thereof, whiche can teſtifie that you here haue made an vniuſt reporte before theſe honourable Lordes. And that I wept, was not for lacke of matter, as you ſclaunder me: for I thanke God, I haue more matter then the beſt of you all ſhall euer be able to aunſwere, as litle learnyng as I haue: but my weepyng was, as Chriſtes was vpō Hieruſalē ſeing yͤ deſtruction that ſhould fall vpō her: and I foreſeyng then the deſtruction whiche you (through violence and vnrighteouſneſſe, which you there declared) would worke agaynſt the true Churche of Chriſt and his faythfull members (as this day beareth witneſſe) was compelled to weepe in remembraunce of that which I with infinite more haue felt and ſhall feele.

Iohn Philpot interrupted in his aunſwere.

All theſe wordes I dyd not then ſpeake out, beyng interrupted by my Lorde Rich, ſaying that I ſhoulde ſuffer him to proceede out in his matter, and afterwardes I ſhould haue leaſure to aunſwere him in euery Article. But he promiſed more then he could performe as the ende dyd well declare: for hee had not the conſent of the ſpiritualtie to hys promiſe, whiche now rule the roſt. GOD ſhorten their cruell dayes, for his electes ſake. And therefore I adde this, which I had purpoſed to haue ſpoken if then I might haue bene ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the thynges done in the Conuocation houſe and now layd to my charge, if they ſhould not bee aunſwered by me, might recken Doctour Chadſeys ſayinges to be true. And as concernyng the booke of the report of the diſputations, I wrote the ſame, & it is true in euery Argument, as Maiſter Deane of Rocheſter, and Maiſter Cheyney Archdeacon of Harford (yet beyng alyue, and within this Realme) can teſtifie.

Prayſe be to the Lord, for ſo he hath.

Chadſey proueth the Sacrament by the 6. of Iohn.

Chadſey. you haue of Scriptures the foure Euangeliſtes for the probation of Chriſtes reall preſence to bee in the Sacrament after the wordes of conſecration, with S. Paule to the Corinthians: which all ſay: Hoc eſt corpus meū: This is my body. They ſay not as you would haue me to beleue, this is not the body. But ſpecially the vj. of Iohn proueth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to geue his body, which he performed in his laſt ſupper, as it appeareth by theſe wordes: Panis quē ego dabo, caro mea eſt, quā ego dabo pro mūdi vita: The bread which I will geue is my fleſh, which I will geue for the life of the world.

Phil. My Lord Rich, with your leaue, I muſt nedes interrupt him a little, becauſe he ſpeaketh opē blaſphemy agaynſt yͤ death of Chriſt: for if that promiſe brought in by S. Iohn was performed by Chriſt in his laſt ſupper, then needed hee not to haue dyed after he had geuen the Sacrament.

Rich. Let Maiſter Doctour make an ende of his Argumentes, and afterward obiect to hym what you can.

* So is there twiſe Ego too, and yet but one naturall body.

Chadſey. you muſt note that there is twiſe * Dabo in this ſaying of S. Iohn, & the firſt is referred to the Sacrament of the aultar & the ſecond to the ſacrifice vpō the croſſe: and beſides theſe manifeſt Scriptures, there be many auncient Doctours prouyng the ſame, as Ignatius, Irenæus, & S. Cyprian (whoſe authorities he recited at large) whiche I do omit becauſe I was not permitted to aunſwere the ſame.

John Philpot aunſwereth with proteſtation.

Rich. Now aunſwere, and obiect to him what you can, and you ſhalbe heard.

Philpot. My Lord, the chiefeſt grounde where he with the reſt of his ſide do grounde them ſelues agaynſt vs, be theſe wordes: This is my body, with a falſe pretence of the omnipotencie of God. And before I will come to the particular aunſweres of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordſhyppes may the better vnderſtand me, what I meane and whereupon I ſtand, I will require Maiſter Doctour to aunſwere me one queſtion. But firſt of all, I do proteſt to your honours that I thinke as reuerently of the Sacrament, as a Chriſtian man ought to do: and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, miniſtred after Chriſtes Inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt treaſures and comfortes that hee left vs on the earth: and contrarywiſe it is moſt diſcomfort and abhominable, not beyng miniſtred as it ought to bee, as it is vſed now a dayes. And nowe to my queſtion, whiche is this: whether theſe wordes onely: Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body, ſpoke by a Prieſt ouer the bread and wyne, may make the body and bloud of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe or no?

A queſtion of John Philpot.

Chadſey. Staggeryng what he might ſay, at laſt he ſayd, that theſe wordes alone, pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſufficient to make the bread and the wyne the very body & bloud of Chriſt really.

Blaſphemy to ſay that theſe wordes onely [this is my body] make a reall preſence.

Philpot. That is blaſphemy to ſay, and agaynſt all the Scriptures and Doctours, who affirme that the forme and ſubſtaunce in conſecration muſt be obſerued whiche Chriſt vſed and did Inſtitute, as Saint Cyprian ſayth. In ſacrificio quod Chriſtus eſt, non niſi Chriſtus ſequendus: In the ſacrifice whiche is Chriſt, onely is Chriſt to bee followed. And by the lawe it is forbidden to adde or take away from Gods worde. And S. Peter ſayth, If any man ſpeake, let him ſpeake as the word of God. Wherfore whoſoeuer ſayth that theſe wordes onely, This is my body, do make a preſence of Chriſt, without, bleſſe, take, and eate, which be three as ſubſtauntiall pointes of the Sacrament as, This is my body, is, he is highly deceaued.

Cypr. lib. 2. Epiſtol. 3.

Theſe wordes [bleſſe, take, and eate] be as ſubſtantiall poyntes of the Sacrament, as [this is my body.]

Therfore S. Auſten ſayth, Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum: Let the worde be ioyned to the element, and it becommeth a Sacrament: So that if the entier worde of Chriſtes Inſtitution be not obſerued in the miniſtration of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament: as the ſacrifices whiche the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable becauſe they were not in all poyntes done accordyng to Gods word. Wherefore except bleſſyng be made after the word (which is a due thankeſgeuyng for our redemption in Chriſt): and alſo a ſhewyng forth of the Lordes death in ſuch wiſe as the congregation may be edified: and moreouer a takyng and eatyng after Chriſtes commaundement: except (I ſay) theſe three partes be firſt performed (whiche is not done in the Maſſe) theſe wordes: This is my body, whiche are laſt placed in the Inſtitution of the Lordes Supper, can not be verified. For Chriſt commaunded aſwell, Take ye, eate ye, as This is my body.

Chadſey. Chriſt ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body, and not, take ye, eate ye.

M. Doctor taken with the maner.

Phil. No did Maiſter Doctour? Be not theſe the wordes of Chriſt: Accipite, manducate? and do not theſe wordes in the plurall number ſignifie, Take ye, eate ye: and not take thou, eate thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

Chadſey. I graunt it is as you ſay.

Philpot. Likewiſe of conſequencie, you (Maiſter Doctour) muſt needes deny, which you haue ſayd, that theſe wordes, This is my body, beyng onely ſpoken, bee ſufficient to make the body and bloud of Chriſt in the Sacramēt, as you haue vntruely ſayd.

London. Then came in the Biſhop agayne, and ſayd, what is that you would haue Maiſter Doctour deny?

Phil. My Lord, Maiſter Doctour hath affirmed that theſe wordes, This is my body, ſpokē by the prieſt, onely do make the Sacrament.

Lond. In deede if M. Briges ſhould ſpeake theſe wordes ouer the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a Prieſt ſpeake them after a due maner, they are effectuall, and make a reall body.

The wordes of Chriſt: [this is my body] except a prieſt ſpeake them, make no body.

Phil. Maiſter Doctour hath ſayd otherwiſe.

London. I thinke you miſtake him: for hee meaneth of the wordes duely pronounced.

Philpot. Let him reuoke that he hath graunted, and then will I begyn agayne with that [illegible] before was ſayd: that, This is my body, hath no [illegible] except, bleſſe, take, and eate, duely go before. And therfore becauſe the ſame wordes do not go before This is my body, [illegible] prepoſterouſly follow in your ſacrament of the Maſſe, it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſent.

Chadſey. If, This is my body, onely do not make the Sacrament, no more do, bleſſe, take, and eate.

Philpot. I graunt that the one without the other can not make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament vnleſſe the whole action of Chriſt doth concurre together accordyng to the firſt Inſtitution.

Chadſey. Why, then you will not haue it to be the body of Chriſt, vnleſſe it be receaued.

Phil. No verely, it is not the very body of Chriſt to none other, but to ſuch as condignely receaue the ſame after his Inſtitution.

Sacramentes without theyr vſe, be no Sacramentes.

Londō. Is not a loafe a loafe, beyng ſet on the table though no body eate therof?

Philpot. It is not lyke my Lord. For a loafe is a loafe before it bee ſet on the Table: but ſo is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacrament before it be duely miniſtred at the table of the Lord.

The Sacrament of the Lordes body without receauing, is no Sacrament.

London. I pray you, what is it in the meane while, before it is receaued, after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken? aunſwere me.

Phil. It is (my Lord) the ſigne begon of a holy thyng, & yet no perfect Sacrament vntill it be receaued. For in the Sacrament there be two thynges to be conſidered, the ſigne and the thyng it ſelfe, whiche is Chriſt and his whole Paſſion: & it is that to none but to ſuch as worthely receaue the holy ſignes of bread & wine, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution.

Winſor. There were neuer none that denied the wordes of Chriſt as you do. Did not he ſay: This is my body?

Philpot. My Lord, I pray you be not deceaued. We do not deny the wordes of Chriſt: but we ſay, theſe wordes be of none effect, beyng ſpoken otherwiſe then Chriſt dyd inſtitute them in his laſt Supper. For an example: Chriſt byddeth the Churche to Baptiſe in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: if a Prieſt ſay thoſe wordes ouer the water and there bee no child to be Baptiſed, thoſe wordes onely pronounced do not make Baptiſme. And agayne, Baptiſme is onely Baptiſme to ſuch as bee Baptiſed, and to none other ſtandyng by.

As Baptiſme, is no baptiſme but to the childe that is baptiſed, and not to the ſtanders by: ſo the Sacrament of the body is no ſacrament but to them that worthely receaue.

L.Chamb. I pray you my Lord, let me aſke him one queſtion. What kynd of preſence in the Sacrament (duely miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes ordinaunce) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthely to receaue, then do I confeſſe the preſence of Chriſt wholy to be, with all the fruites of his Paſſion, vnto the ſayd worthy receauer, by the ſpirite of GOD, and that Chriſt is thereby ioyned to him and he to Chriſt.

L.Chamb. I am aunſwered.

London. My Lordes, take no heede of him, for he goeth about to deceaue you. His ſimilitude that hee bryngeth in of Baptiſme, is nothyng like to the Sacrament of the aultar. For if I ſhould ſay to Syr John Briges beyng with me at Supper, and hauyng a fat Capon, take, eate, this is a fat Capon, although he eate not therof, is it not a Capon ſtill? And likewiſe of a peece of Beefe, or of a cup of wyne, if I ſay: drinke, this is a good cup of wyne, is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not therof?

My Lord is better ſkilled in a fat Capon, then in Chriſtes Sacramentes.

Philpot. My Lorde, your ſimilitudes be to groſſe for ſo hyghe myſteries as we haue in hand, as if I were your equall, I could more playnly declare: and there is much more diſſimilitude betwene common meates and drinkes then there is betwene Baptiſme and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpirituall thynges with ſpirituall, and not ſpirituall thynges with corporall thynges. And meates and drinkes bee of their owne natures good or euill, and your wordes commendyng or diſcommendyng, do but declare what they are. But the Sacramentes be to be conſidered accordyng to the worde whiche Chriſt ſpake of them, of the whiche, Take ye, and eate ye, be ſome of the chief, concurrent to the makyng of the ſame, without the whiche there can bee no Sacramentes: and therfore in Greeke, the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt is called κοινωνία .i. Communion: and likewiſe in the Goſpell Chriſte commaunded, ſaying: Diuidite inter vos .i. Diuide it among you.

Chadſey. S. Paule calleth it a Communication.

Phil. That doth more expreſly ſhew that there muſt be a participation of the Sacrament together.

London. My Lordes, I am ſory I haue troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can doe no good: I will trouble you no longer nowe: and with that the Lordes roſe vp, none of them ſaying any euill worde vnto me, halfe amazed, in my iudgement, GOD worke it, to good.

You are to weake my Lord, you may riſe when ye will.

Thus endeth the ſixt part of this Tragedie:
The ſeuenth looke for with ioy.

¶The vij. examination of Iohn Philpot, had the xix. of Nouember before the Byſhoppes of London and Rocheſter, the Chauncellour of Lichfield, and Doctour Chadſey.

An other callyng of Iohn Philpot before the Byſhop.

London. Syrha come hither. How chaunce you come no ſooner? It is well done of you to make Maiſter Chauncellour and me to tary for you this houre, by the fayth of my body, halfe an houre before Maſſe, and halfe an houre euen at Maſſe, lookyng for your commyng.

Phil. My Lord, it is not vnknowen vnto you, that I am a priſoner, and that the doores be ſhut vpon me, and I can not come when I lyſt: but as ſoone as the doores of my priſon were open, I came immediatly.

London. We ſent for thee to the intent thou ſhouldeſt haue come to Maſſe. Howe ſay you, woulde you haue come to Maſſe or no, if the doores had ſooner bene opened?

Phil. My Lord, that is an other maner of queſtion.

You ſayd before he was learned.

London. Loe Maiſter Chauncellour, I told you we ſhould haue a froward fellow of him: he will aunſwere directly to nothyng. I haue had him before both ſpirituall Lordes and the temporall, and thus he fareth ſtill: yet hee reckeneth him ſelfe better learned then all the Realme. Yea, before the temporall Lordes the other day, he was ſo fooliſhe to chalenge the beſt: he would make him ſelfe learned, and is a very ignoraunt foole in deede.

Philpot. I recken I aunſwered your Lordſhyp before the Lordes playne enough.

London. Why aunſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldeſt haue gone to Maſſe with vs or no, if thou haddeſt come in tyme?

Philpot. Mine aunſwere ſhalbe thus, that if your Lordſhip can proue your Maſſe, whereunto you would haue me to come, to be the true ſeruice of God, whereunto a Chriſtian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

Note how ſubſtancially B. Boner proueth the Maſſe.

London. Looke I pray you: the Kyng and the Queene, and all the Nobilitie of the Realme doe come to Maſſe, and yet he will not. By my fayth thou art to well handled: thou ſhalt be worſe handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Phil. If to lye in a blynd Colehouſe, may be counted good handlyng, both without fire and candle, then may it be ſayd, I am well handled. Your Lordſhyp hath power to entreate my body as you lyſt.

London. Thou art a foole, and a very ignoraunt foole. Maiſter Chauncellour, in good fayth I haue handled him and his fellowes with as much gentleneſſe as they can deſire. I let their frendes come vnto them to relieue them. And wot ye what? the other day they had gotten themſelues vp into the top of the leades with a many of Prentiſes, gaſing abroad as though they had bene at libertie: but I ſhall cut of your reſort: and as for the Prentiſes, they were as good not to come to you if I take them.

The priſoners charged with that whiche they neyther did nor knew of.

Philpot. My Lord, we haue no ſuch reſorte to vs as your Lordſhyp imagineth, and there commeth very few vnto vs. And of Prentiſes I know not one, neither haue we any leades to walke on ouer our Colehouſe, that I wot of: wherfore your Lordſhyp hath miſtaken your marke.

He meaneth Steuen Gardiner, whiche in this moneth dyed a little before.

London. Nay, now you thinke (becauſe my Lord Chauncellour is gone) that we will burne no mo: yes I warrant thee, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, vnleſſe you do recant.

Philpot. My Lord, I had not thought that I ſhould haue bene alyue now, neither ſo raw as I am, but well roſted vnto aſhes.

Chaunc. Caſt not your ſelfe wilfully away M. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned men of this Realme, and you may do well ynough.

M. Philpot ſtandeth vpon his conſcience and the feare of God.

Phil. My cōſcience beareth me record that I ſeke to pleaſe God, & that the loue and feare of God cauſeth me to do as I do: & I were of al other creatures moſt miſerable, if for myne own will onely I did loſe all the commodities I might haue in this lyfe, and afterward to be caſt to damnation. But I am ſure, it is not my will wheron I ſtand, but Gods will, which will not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chaunc. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceaued.

B. Boner proceedeth Ex officio with M. Philpot.

London. Well, ſince thou wilt not be cōformable by no fayre meanes, I will proceede agaynſt thee Ex officio, and therfore harken here to ſuch Articles as I haue here written, and I charge thee to make aunſwere to them: and with that he read a libell whiche hee had in his hand of diuers Articles, and when he had done, he bad me aunſwere.

Vntruthes in the Byſhops Articles.

Philpot. Your Libell (my Lord) conteineth in ſumme, two ſpeciall pointes: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your Dioces, and therfore your Lordſhyp vpon diuers ſuſpectes and infamies of hereſie goyng vpon me, is moued to proceede agaynſt me by your Ordinary office: the whiche firſt is not true, for that I am not of your Lordſhyps Dioces, as the libell doth meete. And the ſecōd is, that I beyng Baptiſed in the Catholicke Churche, & in the Catholicke fayth, am gone from them: the which is not ſo, for I am of that Catholicke fayth & Churche as I was baptiſed vnto.

London. What? art thou not of my Dioces? Where are ye now, I pray you?

Phil. My Lord, I cā not deny but I am in your Colehouſe, which is your Dioceſſe: yet am I not of your dioceſſe.

London. You were ſent hether vnto me by the Queenes maieſtyes commiſſioners, and thou art nowe in my dioces: wherfore I will proceede agaynſt the as thy Ordinary.

Iohn Philpot chalengeth the priuiledge of his ordinary right.

Phil. I was brought hether through violence, and therfore my preſent beyng nowe in your dioces, is not inough to abridge me of myne owne ordinary iuriſdiction, neyther maketh it mee vnwillingly ſubiect to your iuriſdiction ſince it commeth by force, and by ſuch men as had no iuſt authoritie ſo to doe, no more then a ſanctuarye man beyng by force brought forth of his place of priuiledge, doth thereby loſe his priuiledge, but alwayes may chalēge the ſame where ſoeuer he be brought.

Chadley. Hath not the Queenes Maieſtye authoritye by her Commiſſioners, to remoue your body whether ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Spirituall thinges are not ſubiect to temporal powers, & therefore the temporall commiſſioners had no power to remoue him into an other mans dioces.

Phil. I graunt that the Queenes maieſtye (of her iuſt power) may tranſpoſe my body, whether it ſhall pleaſe her grace to commaunde the ſame. But yet by your lawes. Spiritualia non ſunt ſubiecta Imperatoris poteſtati. i. Spirituall cauſes be not ſubiect to the temporall power. As for example: you maſter Doctour if the Queenes Maieſtye would appoint two temporall men to be iudges ouer you in certayne ſpirituall matters, might not you alledge the priuiledge of a Clarke, demaund competent ſpirituall iudges in your cauſes?

London. Doth not a man (I pray you) ſortiri forum ratione delicti?

Phil. My Lord, your rule is true in tēporall matters, but in ſpirituall cauſes it is not ſo: whiche bee otherwiſe priuileged.

London. What ſayeſt thou then to the ſecond article, and to the other?

Phil. My Lorde I ſay that I am not bounde to aunſwere the ſecond, neyther the reſt, vnleſſe the fyrſt be proued.

London. Well, ſuppoſe the fyrſt may be proued (as it will be) what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame catholicke fayth, neyther of the ſame Church now, as you were baptiſed in?

Phil. I am of the ſame catholicke fayth, and of the ſame catholicke Church which is of Chriſt, the pyller and ſtabliſhment of truth.

London. Nay that you are not.

Phil. Yes that I am.

London. Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of an other fayth then you be now.

A man is not baptiſed into his godfathers fayth nor hys godmothers fayth: but into the fayth of Chriſtes church. Iohn Philpot proueth hys church to be frō Chriſt.

Phil. I was not baptiſed neyther into my godfathers fayth nor my Godmothers, but into the fayth, & into the Church of Chriſt.

London. How know you that?

Phil. By the word of God, which is the touchſtone of fayth and the limites of the Church.

Lond. How long hath your Church ſtand, I pray you?

Phil. Euen from the begynnyng, from Chriſt and from his Apoſtles, and from theyr immediate ſucceſſors.

Chaun. He will proue his Churche to be before Chriſt.

Phil. If I dyd ſo, I go not amiſſe: for there was a church before the commyng of Chriſt, whiche maketh one catholicke Church.

Chaun. It is ſo in deede.

No rule better then Antiquitie, Vniuerſalitie, and Vnitie, to proue the true fayth and church of the Proteſtantes.

Phil. I will deſyre no better rule then the ſame whiche is often tymes brought in of your ſyde, to proue both my fayth and the catholicke Church: that is, antiquitie, vniuerſalitie, and vnitie.

London. Do you not ſee what a bragging fooliſh fellow this is? He woulde ſeeme to be very well ſeene in the Doctors, and he is but a foole. By what Doctour art thou able to proue thy Churche? Name hym, and thou ſhalt haue him.

Phil. My Lorde, let mee haue all your auncient wryters with pen, and ynke, and paper, and I will proue both my fayth and my Church out of euery one of them.

Becauſe you dare not.

London. No that thou ſhalt not haue. You ſhall ſee how he lyeth. S. Cyprian ſayth, there muſt be one hygh Prieſt, to the which the reſidue muſt obey, and they will allowe not head, neyther Vicar generall.

S. Cyprian meaneth euery church to haue his owne gouernour not all churches to be vnder one.

Phil. S. Cyprian ſayth not, that there ſhoulde bee a Vicar generall ouer all. For in his booke De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, I am ſure hee ſayth the contrary: Vnus epiſcopatus eſt, cuius pars in ſolidum a ſingulis tenetur. i. There is but one biſhopricke whiche is wholy poſſeſſed of euery Byſhop in part.

London. Fet hether the booke, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt place agaynſt the.

Cypri. li. 1. epiſt. 3.

Doctor Chadley brought the booke, and turned to yͤ place in an Epiſtle written vnto Cornelius then byſhop of Rome and recited theſe wordes in ſumme, that it went not well with the Church, where the hygh Prieſt was not obeyed, and ſo woulde haue concluded for their confirmation of the Byſhoppes ſaying.

The place of S. Cyprian explaned.

Phil. Maiſter Doctour you miſcõſtrue the place of S. Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by the high Prieſt, the Biſhop of Rome: but euery Patriarcke in his precinct, of whõ there were foure appointed in his time. And in writing vnto Cornelius he meaneth by the high prieſt, himſelfe, which was then chief Biſhop of Africa, whoſe authoritie the heretickes began to deſpiſe. wherof he complaineth to Cornelius, and ſayth: the Church can not, be well ordered, where the chief Miniſter by order, after the iudgement of the ſcriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the conſent of his fellow Biſhops, is not obeyed.

London. Hath not the Biſhop of Rome alwayes bene ſupreme head of the Church, and Chriſtes Vicare in earth euen from Peter?

The B. of Rome no more head of the church, then the Byſhop of London.

Phil. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authoritie, then the Biſhop of London hath.

London. Was not Peter head of the Churche? And hath not the Biſhop of Rome, which is his ſucceſſour, the ſame authoritie?

Peter had no more authoritie ouer the Church then euery one of the Apoſtles.

Phil. I graũt that the biſhop of Rome as he is ẏ ſucceſſour of Peter, hath the ſame authoritie as Peter had: but Peter had no more authoritie, then euery one of the Apoſtles had.

Chaunc. Yes that S. Peter had: for Chriſt ſayd ſpecially vnto him: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum: I will geue thee the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen: The which he ſpake to none other of his Diſciples ſingularly but to him.

Peter beareth but a figure of the Church.

Phil. S. Auguſtine aunſwereth otherwiſe to the obiection, and ſayth: That if in Peter there had not bene the figure of the Church, the Lord had not ſayd vnto hym, to thee will I geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. The whiche if Peter receaued not, the Church hath thẽ not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.

B. Boners diuinitie lyeth much in the ciuill lawe.

London. What if I can proue and ſhew you out of the Ciuill law, that all Chriſtendome ought to folow the holy Catholicke Church of Rome, as there is a ſpeciall title therof, De Catholica fide & ſancta Romana Eccleſia.

Phil. That is nothyng materiall, ſeyng the thynges of God be not ſubiect to mans lawes: and Diuine matters muſt be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

Cyprian.

A Doctour. What will you ſay, if I can proue that Chriſt builded his Churche vppon Peter, and that out of S. Cyprian? Will you thẽ beleue that the Byſhop of Rome ought to be ſupreme head of the Church?

Phil. I know what S. Cyprian writeth in that behalfe: but he meaneth nothyng as you take it.

A Doctour. S. Cyprian hath theſe wordes: Quòd ſuper petrum fundata fuit Eccleſia, tanquam ſuper originem vnitatis. That vpon Peter was builded the Church, as vpon the firſt begynnyng of vnitie.

The place of Cyprian expounded.

Philpot. Hee declareth that in an example, that vnitie muſt be in the Churche: he grounded on Peter his Churche alone, and not vpon men. The whiche he doth more manifeſtly declare in the booke De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, ſaying: In perſona vnius Chriſtus dedit omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denotaret. In the perſon of one man God gaue the keyes to all, that hee in ſignification thereby might declare the vnitie of all men.

A Doctour. What? will you vnderſtand S. Cyprian ſo? That were good in deede.

Phil. I thinke you can not vnderſtand S. Cyprian better, then he doth declare him ſelfe.

B. Boner goeth to the Parlament.

London. I will deſire you (M. Chauncellour) to take ſome paynes with Maiſter Doct. Chadſey, about his examination, for I muſt go to the Parlament houſe. And I will deſire you to dyne with me.

Phil. Then the Doct. tooke againe his former authoritie in hãd for want, of an other, & would haue made a farther circũſtaunce, digreſſing from his purpoſe. To whõ I ſayd, hee knew not where about he went, and there with he laughed. And I ſayd, his Diuinitie was nothyng but ſcoffing.

A Doct. Yea? then I haue done with you: & ſo went away.

Phil. You are to yong in Diuinitie to teach me in the matters of my fayth. Though you be learned in other thynges more then I, yet in Diuinitie I haue bene longer practiſed then you, for any thyng I can heare of you: therefore be not to haſty to iudge that you do not perfectly know.

Chaunc. Peter and his ſucceſſours from the begynnyng haue bene allowed for the ſupreme head of the Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Chriſt ſayd vnto him in S. Iohn thriſe: Feede my ſheepe, paſce oues meas.

The wordes of Chriſt to Peter, feede my ſheepe.

Paſce oues meas, expounded by Ite, prædicate.

Philpot. That is none otherwiſe to bee taken, then Ite, prædicate, go ye and preache: whiche was ſpoken to all the Apoſtles, as well as vnto Peter. And that Chriſt, ſayd thriſe: Paſce oues meas, Feede my ſheepe, it ſignifieth nothyng elles but the earneſt ſtudy that the miniſters of God ought to haue in preachyng the word. God graunt that you of the Clergy would way your duetie in this behalfe more then you do. Is this a iuſt interpretation of the ſcripture, to take paſce oues meas, for to be Lorde of the whole world?

In this meane while came in a batcheler of diuinity, which is a reader of Greeke in Oxford belongyng to the Byſhop, and he tooke vpon him to helpe M. Chauncellour.

Scholer. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a Greeke author called Theophilacte, to interprete it ſo? will you beleue hys interpretation?

Theophilacte of no great authoritye.

Phil. Theophilacte is a late wryter, and one that was a fauourer of the B. of Rome: and therefore not to bee credited ſince his interpretation is contrary to the manifeſt wordes of the ſcripture, and contrary to the determination of many generall Councels.

Scholer. In what generall Councell was it otherwiſe, that the Byſhop of Rome, was not ſupreme head ouer all.

In Nice councell the B. of Rome was no ſupreame head, nor Preſident there.

Phil. In Nice Councell I am ſure it was otherwiſe: for Athanaſius was there the chiefe Byſhop and preſident of the Counſell, and not the Byſhop of Rome.

Scholer. Nay, that is not ſo.

Phil. Then I perceiue you are better ſene in wordes then in knowledge of thinges: & I will gage with you what you will, it is ſo: as you may ſee in ẏ Epitome of ẏ Councels.

The Scholer of Oxford ſhrinketh away.

Scholer. I will fet Euſebius and ſhewe the contrary, and the booke of generall Councels. He went into my Lordes cloſet, and brought Euſebius: but the generall Councels he brought not, ſaying (for ſauyng of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would haue defended that it was otherwiſe in Euſebius, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhranke away confounded.

Chaun. The Church of Rome hath ben alwayes taken for the whole Catholicke Churche: therefore I woulde aduiſe you to come into the ſame with vs. You ſee all the men of this realme do cõdẽne you. And why will you be ſo ſingular.

The Popes ſide not able to proue the Church of Rome to be the holy catholicke church.

phil. I haue ſayd, and ſtill doe ſay, that if you can bee able to proue it vnto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the Church which you doe make ſo much of, is a falſe church, & a Sinagoge of Satã. And you with ẏ learned mẽ of the Realme do perſecute the true Church, and condemne ſuch as be more righteous then you.

Chaun. Do you heare (M. Doctour) what hee ſayth, that the Church of Rome is the deuill?

3. Blind coniectures out of the epiſtle of Auſten to Innocentius prouing the Sea of Rome to be ſupreame head.

Chad. I wiſh you dyd thinke more reuerently of ẏ church of Rome. What will you ſay if I can ſhewe you out of S. Auſten in his Epiſtle written vnto Pope Innocentius, that the whole generall Councell of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefeſt ouer al other?

Phil. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he fet the booke of S. Auſtine, and turned to the Epiſtle: but he could not proue his allegation manifeſtly, but by coniectures in this wiſe:

The ſucceſſion of Byſhops from Peter to S. Auſtens tyme.

Chad. Here you may ſee that the councel of Carthage wryting to Innocentius the Byſhop, calleth the Sea of Rome the Apoſtolicke Sea. And beſydes this they wryte vnto hym, certyfing him of thinges done in the Councell for the condemnation of the donatiſts, requiryng hys approbation in the ſame whiche they would not haue done, if they hadde not taken the Churche of Rome for the ſupreme head of others. And moreouer you may ſee howe S. Auſtine doth proue the Church of Rome to be the Catholicke Churche by continuall ſucceſſion of ẏ Byſhop vntill his tyme, which ſucceſſion we can proue vntill our dayes: therefore by the ſome reaſon of S. Auſtine we ſay now, that the Church of Rome is the catholicke Church.

The coniectures of D. Chadſey aunſwered.

How the Sea of Rome may be called Apoſtolicall, and how not Apoſtolicall.

The being of Peter at Rome geueth no perpetuitie to Rome to be the head of the whole Church.

phil. Maiſter Doctour, I haue conſidered how you do way S. Auguſtine: and contrary to his meanyng and wordes you would inferre your falſe concluſion. As concernyng that it was called by hym the Apoſtolicall Sea, that is not materiall to proue the church of Rome now to be the catholicke Church. I will graunt it now that it is the Apoſtolicke ſea in reſpect that Paule and Peter did once there preach the Goſpell, and abode there for a certayne ſeaſon. I woulde you could proue it to be ẏ Apoſtolicall ſea of that true religiõ and ſincerity as the Apoſtle left it, and dyd teach the ſame: the which if ye could do, you might boaſt of Rome as of the Apoſtolicall ſea: otherwiſe it is nowe of no more force, thẽ if the Turke at Antioch and at Ieruſalem ſhould boaſt of the Apoſtolicke ſeas, becauſe the Apoſtles once dyd there abyde and founded the Church of Chriſt.

The Counſell of Carthage wrote to Innocentius B. of Rome to confirme their actes with his ſubſcriptions Ergo the B. of Rome is aboue all Biſhops.

Argument. a cauſa non ſufficiente.

And where as that the whole Councell of Carthage did wryte vnto Pope Innocentius, certifying hym of that was done in the generall councell, & willyng hym to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſyng of the Donatiſtes, as they had done, that fact of the Councell proueth nothyng the ſupremacy of the Byſhop of Rome, no more then if the whole Conuocation houſe now gathered together, and agreeyng vpon certayne articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome Biſhop that vppon certayne impedimentes is not preſent, willyng him to agree therto, and to ſet thẽ forth in his Dioces. The which fact doth not make any ſuch biſhop of greater authoritie then the reſt, becauſe his conſent is brotherly required.

The ſcope of S. Auguſtines argument is not to proue the Church of Rome therfore to bee found in the doctrine becauſe it hath ſucceſſion of Byſhops from the Apoſtles, but to proue the Donatiſtes to be ſchiſmatickes, for that the Churche of Rome continuing both ſound in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and alſo in reteyning ſtill ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles tyme, yet they woulde forſake the vnitie of that Churche, and ſet vp an other Church of their owne.

The Argument is this.

To diſceuer from that Churche vvhich by continuall ſucceſſion of Biſhops diſcendeth from the Apoſtles, and keepeth the ſame inſtitution ſtill in fayth and doctrine, is to breake the vnitie of the Churche, and to be ſchiſmatickes.

The Donatiſtes do ſo from the Church of Rome, hauing no iuſt cauſe of doctrine ſo to doe. Ergo the Donatiſtes be ſchiſmaticks.

And touchyng the ſucceſſion of the Byſhops of Rome brought in by S. Auſten, it maketh nothyng nowe thereby to proue the ſame Catholicke Churche, vnleſſe you cã conclude with the ſame reaſon as S. Auſten doth. And the rehearſall of the ſucceſſion of the Byſhoppes doth tend to this onely to proue the Donatiſtes to bee heretickes, becauſe they began aſwel at Rome as in Affrica, to founde an other Church of their owne ſettyng vp then was grounded by Peter & Paule & by their ſucceſſours, whõ he reciteth vntill his tyme, whiche all taught no ſuch doctrine, neither no ſuch church as the Donatiſtes.

And if preſently you bee able to proue by the ſucceſſion of Byſhops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that ſuch doctrine hath bene taught by any of the ſucceſſours of Peters ſea as is now taught and beleued of vs, you haue good reaſon agaynſt vs: otherwiſe, it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

The Chauncellor about to miniſter articles agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Chaunc. Wel M. Doctour, you ſee we can doe no good in perſuadyng of him: let vs miniſter the Articles whiche my Lord hath left vs, vnto him. How ſay you M. Philpot to theſe articles? M. Johnſõ, I pray you write his aunſweres.

John Philpot refuſeth the Chauncellor to be his Ordinary.

Phil. Maiſter Chauncellour, you haue no authoritie to enquire of me my beliefe in ſuch Articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of Londons Dioces: and to be briefe with you, I will make no further aunſwere herein, then I haue already to the Biſhop.

Chaunc. Why, then let vs go our wayes, and let his Keeper take him away.

Thus endeth the vij. part of this Tragedy.

¶The ſumme of a priuate conference or talke betwene M. Philpot and the Byſhop.

Priuate talke betwene M. Philpot, and B. Boner.

1555. Decemb.

PHil. The next day in the mornyng betime the Byſhoppe ſent one of his men vnto me, to call me vp into his Chappell to heare Maſſe.

Byſhops man. Maiſter Philpot where be you?

Phil. Who is that calleth me?

Byſhops man. My Lordes will is, you ſhould riſe and come to heare Maſſe: will you come or no?

Phil. My ſtomacke is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am ſicke. After this the Keeper was ſent to bring me to my Lord.

The keeper. M. Philpot, you muſt riſe & come to my Lord.

Phil. I am at your commaundement (M. Keeper) as ſoone as I can: and goyng out of the priſon he aſked me, ſaying:

The Keeper. Will you go to Maſſe?

I marueil how the Prieſtes eating vp a whole man fleſh, bloud, and bone to breakefaſt, can haue ſuch a hungry ſtomacke to their dinner afterward as they haue, as if they had eaten neuer a bit of meate before.

Phil. My ſtomacke is to raw to digeſt ſuch raw meates of fleſh, bloud, and bone this morning. After this my Keeper preſented me to the Biſhop in his Hall.

London. Maiſter Philpot, I charge you to aunſwere to ſuch Articles as my Chapplaine, and my Regiſter haue frõ me to obiect againſt you, go and aunſwere them.

John Philpot refuſeth to aunſwere but in open iudgement.

Philpot. My Lord, Omnia iudicia debent eſſe publica: All iudgementes ought to bee publicke. Therefore if your Lordſhyp haue any thyng to charg me lawfully withall, let me bee in iudgement lawfully and openly called, and I will aunſwere accordyng to my duetie: otherwiſe in corners I will not.

London. Thou art a fooliſh knaue I ſee well inough: thou ſhalt aũſwere whether thou wilt or no. Go thy wayes with them I ſay.

Phil. I may well go with them at your Lordſhips pleaſure: but I will make them no further aunſwere then I haue ſayd already.

John Philpot commaunded to be ſet in the ſtockes in the Gatehouſe.

London. No wilt thou knaue? Haue him away, and ſet him in the ſtockes. What fooliſh knaue?

Phil. In deede (my Lord) you handle me with others like fooles: & we muſt be contẽt to be made fooles at your hãds: ſtockes & violence is your Biſhoplike almes. You go about by force in corners to oppreſſe, and be aſhamed that your doyngs ſhould come to light: God ſhortẽ your cruell kingdome for his mercies ſake. And I was put by & by into ÿ ſtocks in an houſe alone ſeparate from my felowes. God be prayſed that hee hath thought me worthy to ſuffer any thing for his names ſake. Better it is to ſit in the ſtockes of this world, then to ſit in the ſtockes of a damnable conſcience.

¶An other conference betwene the Byſhop and M. Philpot and other priſoners.

An other dayes talke of the biſhop with Iohn Philpot and other priſoners.

PHil. The next day after, an houre before day, the Biſhop ſent for me againe by the Keeper.

The Keeper. M. Philpot, ariſe, you muſt come to my Lord.

John Philpot denyeth to come before the byſhop for feare of ſome priuye practiſe.

Phil. I wonder what my Lorde meaneth that hee ſendeth for me thus early. I feare he will vſe ſome violence towardes me, wherfore I pray you make him this aunſwere, that if he ſend for me by an order of law, I will come & aunſwere: otherwiſe, ſince I am not of his Dioces neither is he mine Ordinary, I will not (without I bee violently conſtrained) come vnto him.

Keeper. I will go tell my Lord what aunſwere you make: and ſo he went away to the Biſhop, and immediatly returned with two of the biſhops men, ſaying that I muſt come whether I would or no.

John Philpot brought to the Byſhop by violence.

Phil. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then muſt I go, otherwiſe I wil not: and therewith one of them tooke me with force by the arme, and led me vp into the biſhops Gallery.

London. What? thou art a fooliſh knaue in deede: thou wilt not come without thou be fet.

Phil. I am brought in deede (my Lord) by violence vnto you, and your crueltie is ſuch, that I am afrayed to come before you. I would your Lordſhip would gently proceede againſt me by the law.

Note here the iuſt dealinges of theſe Byſhops.

This Byſhop of Lincolne was D. White.

London. I am blamed of the Lordes the Biſhoppes for that I haue not diſpatched thee ere this. And in fayth I made ſute to my Lorde Cardinall and to all the Conuocation houſe, that they would heare thee. And my Lord of Lyncolne ſtode vp, and ſaid that thou were a frãtike felow, and a man that wyll haue the laſt word. And they all haue blamed me, becauſe I haue brought thee ſo often before the Lordes openly: and they ſay it is meate and drinke to you to ſpeake in an opẽ audience, you glory ſo of your ſelfe. Wherfore I am commaunded to take a farther order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no farther delay. Mary if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgeue thee all that is paſt, and thou ſhalt haue no hurt for any thing that is all ready ſaid or done.

John Philpot being archdeacon excommunicated B. White for preaching falſe doctrine.

Phil. My Lord, I haue aunſwered you already in this behalfe, what I will do. And as for report of Maiſter White Biſhop of Lyncolne, I paſſe not: who is knowẽ to be mine enemy, for that I being Archdeacõ did excommunicate him for Preaching naughtie doctrine. If Chriſt my Maiſter were called a madde man, it is no maruaile though ye count me frantike.

London. Haddeſt not thou a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kill thy ſelfe? Or as it is told me (Mary I am coũſelled to take hede of thee) to kil me? but I feare thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee vnder my feete: do the beſt thou canſt.

Matter made of a knife ſent to Iohn Philpot in a Pigs bely.

Philpot. My Lord, I can not deny but that there was a knife in the Pigges belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpoſe I know not, vnleſſe it were becauſe hee that ſent the meate thought I was without a knife, and ſo put it in. But other thinges your Lordſhippe needeth not to feare: for I was neuer without a knife ſince I came to priſon. And touchyng your owne perſon, you ſhould lyue long if you ſhould liue vntill I would go about to kill you: and I confeſſe, by violence your Lordſhyp is able to ouercome me.

Articles agaynſt put to Iohn Philpot.

London. I charge thee to aunſwere to mine Articles. Hold him a booke. Thou ſhalt ſweare to aunſwere truely to all ſuch Articles, as I ſhall demaunde thee of.

Phil. I will firſt know your Lordſhip to be myne Ordinary, before I ſweare herein.

London. What? we ſhall haue an Anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawfull to ſweare before a Iudge.

Phil. My Lord, I am no Anabaptiſt. I thinke it lawfull to ſweare before a competent Iudge, beyng lawfully required. But I refuſe to ſweare in theſe cauſes before your Lordſhip, becauſe you are not myne Ordinary.

B. Boner of meere power and authoritie pronounceth him ſelfe to be Philpots Ordinary.

London. I am thine Ordinary, & here do pronounce by ſentence peremptory, that I am thine Ordinary, and that thou art of my Dioces: & here he bad cal in more to beare witnes. And I make thee (takyng one of his ſeruauntes by the arme) to be myne Notary. And now harken to my Articles, to the whiche (when he had read them) hee moniſhed me to make aũſwere and ſayd to the Keeper, fet me his fellowes, and I ſhall make them to be witnes agaynſt him.

In the meane while came in one of the Shriffes of Lõdon, whom the Biſhop (callyng for two chayres) placed by him, ſaying: M. Sheriffe I would you ſhould vnderſtand how I do proceede againſt this man. M. Sheriffe you ſhall heare what Articles this man doth maintaine: and ſo read a rablement of fayned Articles: that I ſhould deny Baptiſme to bee neceſſary to them that were borne of Chriſtian parentes, that I denyed faſtyng and prayer, and all other good deedes, & I maintained onely bare faith to be ſufficiẽt to ſaluation what ſoeuer a man did beſides, and I maintayned God to be the authour of all ſinne and wickednes.

False Articles fayned agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Phil. Ye my Lord, haue ye nothyng of truth to charge me withall, but ye muſt be fayne to imagine theſe blaſphemous lyes agaynſt me? You might as well haue ſayd I had killed your father. The Scriptures ſay, That GOD will deſtroy all them that ſpeake lyes. And is not your Lordſhyp aſhamed to ſay before this worſhypfull Gentleman (who is vnknowen vnto me) I maintayne theſe abhominable blaſphemyes whiche you haue rehearſed: which if I did maintaine, I were well worthy to be counted an hereticke, and to be burned an hundred tymes if it were poſſible?

B. Boner taken with an vntruth.

London. I doe obiecte them vnto thee, to heare what thou wilt ſay in them, and howe thou canſt purge thy ſelfe of them.

Philpot. Then it was not iuſtly ſayd of your Lordſhyp in the begynnyng, that I did maynteine them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe Articles you haue read, in forme as they are written.

London. How ſayeſt thou? wilt thou aunſwere to them or no?

Phil. I will firſt know you to be myne Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch thynges, and then afterward beyng lawfully called in iudgement, I will ſhew my mynde fully therof, and not otherwiſe.

London. Well, then I will make thy fellowes to be witnes agaynſt thee: where are they? come.

Other priſoners called in to beare witneſſe agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Keeper. They be here my Lord.

London. Come hether Syrs, hold them a booke, you ſhall ſweare by the contents of that booke, that you ſhall (all maner of affections layd a part) ſay the truth of all ſuch Articles as you ſhall be demaunded of concernyng this man here preſent, whiche is a very naughty man, and take you heede of him that he doth not deceiue you, as I am afeard hee doth you much hurt, and ſtrengtheneth you in your errours.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not ſweare except we know whereto: we can accuſe him of no euill, we haue bene but a while acquainted with him.

The priſoners refuſe to be ſworne agaynſt M. Philpot.

Phil. I wonder your Lordſhyp knowyng the law, will go about contrary to the ſame, to haue infamous perſons to be witneſſes, for your Lordſhip doth take thē to be heretickes, and by the law an hereticke can not be a witnes.

London. Yes, one hereticke agaynſt an other may be well inough. And Maiſter Sheriffe, I will make one of them to be witnes agaynſt an other.

B. Boner againe doth agaynſt the law.

Phil. You haue the law in your hand, and you will do what you liſt.

Priſoners. No my Lord.

London. No will? I will make you ſweare, whether you will or no. I weene they be Anabaptiſtes, M. Sheriffe: they thinke it not lawfull to ſweare before a Iudge.

Note how the Byſhops make Anabaptiſtes.

Phil. We thinke it lawful to ſweare for a man iudicially called, as we are not now, but in a blynd corner.

London. Why then, ſeyng you will not ſweare agaynſt your fellow, you ſhall ſweare for your ſelues, and I doe here in the preſence of Maiſter Shriffe obiect the ſame Articles vnto you, as I haue done vnto him, and doe require you vnder the payne of excommunication, to aunſwere particularly vnto euery one of them when you ſhall be examined, as you ſhall be by and by examined after by my Regiſter and ſome of my Chaplaines.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not accuſe our ſelues. If any man can lay any thyng agaynſt vs, we are here ready to aunſwere therto: otherwiſe we pray your Lordſhip not to burden vs: for ſome of vs are here before you, we know no iuſt cauſe why.

London. Maiſter Sheriffe, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward men. And loe he roſe vp and was goyng away, talkyng with Maiſter Sheriffe.

Philpot. Maiſter Sheriffe, I pray you recorde how my Lord proceedeth agaynſt vs in corners without all order of law, hauyng no iuſt cauſe to lay agaynſt vs. And after this were all commaunded to be put in the ſtockes, where I ſet from mornyng vntill night, and the Keeper at night vppon fauour let me out.

B. Boner ſeeketh corners.

¶An other priuate conference betwene the Byſhop and Maiſter Philpot in the Colehouſe.

PHil. The Sonday after, the Biſhop came into the Colehouſe at night with the Keeper, and viewed the houſe, ſaying that hee was neuer here afore: whereby a man may geſſe how he hath kept Gods commaundement in viſityng the priſoners, ſeyng he was neuer with them that haue bene ſo nigh his noſe: And he came not thē for any good zeale, but to view the place, & thought it to good for me, & therfore after Supper betwene viij. and ix. he ſent for me, ſaying.

An other priuate talke or conference betwene him and the Byſhop.

B. Boner viewing his Colehouſe.

Lond. Sir, I haue great diſpleaſure of the Queene and the Coūſell for keepyng you ſo long & lettyng you haue ſo much libertie. And beſides that, you be ponder, and ſtrengthen the other priſoners in their errours, as I haue layd wayte for your doynges, and am certified of you well inough: I will ſequeſter you therfore from them, and you ſhall hurt no mo as you haue done, and I will out of hand diſpatch you, as I am commaunded, vnleſſe you will be a conformable man.

Philpot. My Lord, you haue my body in your cuſtody: you may tranſport it whether it pleaſe you: I am content. And I would you would make as quicke expeditiō in my iudgement, as you ſay, I long therfore, & as for cōformitie, I am ready to yeld to all truth, if any can bring better then I.

London. Why? you will beleue no man but your ſelfe, whatſoeuer they ſay.

Phil. My beliefe muſt not hang vpon mens ſayings, without ſure authoritie of Gods word, the which if any cā ſhew me, I will be pliant to the ſame: Otherwiſe I can not goe from my certaine faith, to that which is vncertaine.

London. Haue you then the truth onely?

Phil. My Lord, I will ſpeake my mynde freely vnto you, and vpon no malice I beare you, before God. You haue not the truth, neither are you of the Church of GOD: but you perſecute both the truth and the true Churche of God, for the which cauſe you can not proſper long. You ſee God doth not proſper your doynges accordyng to your expectation. Hee hath of late ſhewed his iuſt iudgement agaynſt one of your greateſt doers, who by reporte dyed miſerablie. I enuie not your authoritie you are in. You that haue learning ſhould know beſt how to rule. And ſeing GOD hath reſtored you to your dignitie and liuing agayne, vſe the ſame to Gods glorie, and to the ſetting forth of his true Religion: otherwiſe it will not continue, do what you can. With this ſaying he was apauſed, and ſayd at length.

He meaneth Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Good counſell geuen to B. Boner.

London. That good mā was puniſhed for ſuch as thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him haue him to the place that is prouided for him. Go your way before.

Phil. And hee followed me, calling the Keeper aſide, commaunding to keepe all men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequele did declare) and brought me to his priuie doore that goeth into the Church, and commaunded two of his men to accompany the Keeper and to ſee me placed.

And afterwardes I paſſed through Paules vp to Lollardes tower, and after that turned a long all the Weſt ſide of Paules through the wall, and paſſing through vj. or vij. doores, came to my lodging through many ſtraites: where I called to remembraunce that ſtraite is the way to heauen. And it is in a Tower right on the other ſide of Lollardes tower, as high almoſt as the battlementes of Paules, viij. foote of breadth, and xiij. of length, and almoſt ouer the priſon where I was before, hauing a windowe openyng towardes the Eaſt, by the whiche I may looke ouer the tops of a great many of houſes, but ſee no man paſſing into them: and who ſo walketh in the Byſhoppes vtter Gallery goyng to his Chappell, may ſee my window and me ſtādyng in the ſame.

Iohn Philpot conueyed into a cloſe Tower ioyning to Paules Church.

And as I was come to my place, the Keeper pluckt of my gowne, and ſearched me very narrowly, and tooke away penner, inkhorne, girdle, and knife, but (as God would) I had an incklyng a little before I was called, of my remouyng, and thereupon made an errant to the ſtoole, where full ſore againſt my will I caſt away many a ſweete letter and frendly: but that I had written of my laſt examination before, I thruſt into my hoſe, thinking the next day to haue made an end therof, & with going it was fallen downe to my legge, the which he by feeling did ſoone eſpie, and aſked what that was. I ſaid they were certaine letters: and with that hee was very buſie to haue them out. Let me alone (ſaid I) I will plucke them out, with that I put in my hand, hauing two other Letters therein, and brought vppe the ſame writing to my codpeece, and there left it, geuing him the other two Letters that were not of any great importaunce. The whiche for to make a ſhew that they had bene weightie, I began to teare aſwell as I could, till they ſnatched them from me, and ſo deluded him (I thāke God) of his purpoſe.

M. Philpot ſearched for writinges.

The copie of his examinations by Gods great working preſerued.

After this hee went his way, and as hee was goyng, one of them that came with him ſayd, that I did not deliuer the writinges I had in my hoſe, but two other Letters I had in my hand before. No did quoth he? I will go ſearch him better: the which I hearing, conueyed myne examination I had written, into an other place beſides my bed, and tooke all the Letters I had in my purſe, and was tearing of them when he came agayne, and as he came I threw the ſame out of my window, ſaying that I heard what he ſayd: wherefore I did preuent his ſearching agayne, whereof I was right glad. God bee prayſed that gaue me that preſent ſhift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the whiche if they had knowen, it would haue bene a great occaſion of more ſtraiter keeping and looking vnto, although they looke as narowly as they may.

¶The

¶ The eight examination of Iohn Philpot before the B. of London, the B. of S. Dauids, M. Mordant and others, in the Biſhops Chappell.

The eight examination of M. Philpot.

THe next day after, my keeper came before day in the mornyng to call me downe, and ſo was I brought downe into his Wardrobe, where with a Keeper I was leaft, and there continued al the day. But after dynner I was called downe into the Chappell, before the Biſhop of London, the biſhop of ſaint Dauids, maſter Mordant one of the queenes Counſaile, Maiſter Archedeacon of London, and before a great many moe Balaamites: and the Biſhop ſpake vnto me in this wiſe:

Articles obiected and red to Iohn Philpot.

Lond. Sir, here I obiect and lay vnto you in the preſence of my lord of ſaint Dauids, and of maſter Mordant, and of theſe worſhipful men, theſe articles here in this libel conteined, and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly haue anſwered to ſome of his blaſphemies, he woulde not permit me, but ſaide, I ſhoulde haue leaſure enough to ſaye what I would, when he had ſaide, and to theſe here I adde an other ſchedule. Alſo I require thee to aunſweare to the Catheciſme ſet foorth in the ſchiſmatical tyme of kyng Edward. Alſo I wyl thee to anſweare to certaine concluſions, agreed vppon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here doo bring forth theſe witneſſes againſt thee, in thine owne preſence, namely my lorde of ſaint Dauids, maſter Mordant, and maſter Harpsfield, with as many of you as were preſent in the diſputation he made in the Conuocation houſe, willing you to teſtifie (of your othes taken vpon a booke) his ſtubborne and vnreuerent behauiour he did there vſe againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar. Geue me a booke, and receiuyng one, he opened the ſame, ſaying: I wyl teach hym here one tricke in our law, which he knoweth not: that is, My lord of ſaint Dauids, becauſe you are a Biſhop, you haue this priuiledge, that you may ſweare, Inſpectis Euangelijs & non tactis: By looking on the Goſpel booke without touching of the ſame. And ſo he opened the booke in his ſight, and ſhut it againe, and cauſed the other to put their handes on the booke, and tooke their othe, and willed them to reſort to his Regiſter to make their depoſitions when they might be beſt at leaſure: and afterwards he turned to me, and ſaid: Now ſir, you ſhal anſwere but two wordes, whether you wyl anſweare to theſe articles whiche I haue laid vnto you, directly, yea, or nay.

Witneſſes ſworne agaynſt M. Philpot.

Phil. My Lord, you haue tolde a long tale againſt me, conteinyng many lying blaſphemies, whiche can not be anſwered in two wordes. Beſides this, you promiſed me at the beginnyng, that I ſhoulde ſaye what I coulde for my defence, and now wil you not geue me leaue to ſpeake? What lawe is this?

Papiſtes keepe no promiſe.

Lond. Speake, yea, or nay: for you ſhal ſay no more at this tyme. The cauſe was (as I geſſe) that he ſawe ſo many there gathered to heare.

Phil. Then my two wordes you would haue me ſpeake, ſhalbe that I haue appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient Iudge.

Iohn Philpot agayne appealeth from B. Boner.

Lond. In deede (M. Mordant) he hath appealed to the king and to the queene: but I wyl be ſo bold with her maieſtie, to ſtay that appeale in myne owne handes.

Phil. You wyl doo what you liſt (my Lord) you haue the law in your handes.

Lond. Wylt thou anſweare, or no?

Phil. I wyll not anſwere otherwiſe then I haue ſaide.

Lond. Regiſter, note his anſwere that he maketh.

B. Boner doth without order of law.

Phil. Knocke me in the head with an Hatchet, or ſet vp a ſtake, and burne me out of hand without farther law: as well you may doo ſo, as doo that you doo, for all is without order of lawe. Suche tyrannie was neuer ſeene, as you vſe nowe adayes. God of his mercy deſtroy your cruell kingdome. And whileſt I ſpake this, the Biſhop wente away in haſte.

S. Dauids. M. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and haue pacience with you.

Phil. My Lord, I thanke God I haue pacience to beare and abide al your cruel intents againſt me, notwithſtanding I ſpeake this earneſtly, being moued therto iuſtly, to notifie your vniuſt and cruell dealings with men in corners, without al due order of lawe.

After this, at night I was conducted againe by three or foure into the Colehouſe.

¶ The ninth examination of M. Philpot before Boner and his Chaplaines.

The 9. examination of Iohn Philpot before the Byſhop and his Chapleyns.

IN the mornyng the nexte daye I was called downe betymes, by my keeper, and brought againe into the Wardrobe, where I remayned vntyll the Biſhop had hearde his Maſſe, and afterwarde he ſente vp for me into his inward Parlour, and there he called for a chayre to ſit downe, and brought his infamous Libell of his forged Articles in his hande, and ſate downe, willyng me to drawe neare vnto hym and ſaid:

Lond. I am this daye appoynted to tarrye at home from the Parlament houſe, to examine you and your felowes vpon theſe Articles, and you ſtande dallying with me, and wyll neither anſweare to nor fro. Iwis all your exceptions wyll not ſerue you. Wyll it not be a fayre honeſtie for you, (thinke ye) that when thou commeſt afore my Lord Maior and the Sheriffes, and other worſhipfull audience, whē I ſhall ſay before them all, that I haue had thee theſe many tymes before me, & before ſo many learned men, and thē thou couldeſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy bragges of learnyng, neither wouldeſt anſweare directly to any thing.

Phil. My lord, I haue told you my mynde plaine enough: but yet I do not intend to looſe that priuiledge the lawe geueth me, the which is free choyſe to anſweare where I am not bound, and this priuiledge wyl I cleaue vnto, vntyl I be compelled otherwiſe.

Iohn Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his former plea to aunſwere before his owne ordinary.

Lond. Wel, I perceiue you wyll play the obſtinate foole. Lay thine appellation when thou commeſt in iudgement, & anſwere in the meane while to theſe articles.

Phil. No, my Lord, by your leaue I wyl not anſweare to them, vntyl my lawful appeale be tryed.

Lond. Wel, thou ſhalt heare them, and with that he began to reade them.

Phil. I ſhranke backe into ẏ window, & looked on a booke, and after he had read them ouer, he ſaid vnto me.

Iohn Philpot will not heare his articles red.

Lond. I haue read them ouer, although it hath not pleaſed you to heare me. I marueile (in good faith) what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilful and ſo ſtubborne, ſeeing thou mayeſt do wel enough, if thou liſt. It is but a ſingularitie. Dooeſt thou not ſee al the Realme againſt thee?

Phil. My Lord, I ſpeake vnto you in the witnes of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded vnto mine owne wyll, neither ſtand vpon myne owne ſtubbornnes or ſingularitie, but vppon my conſcience inſtructed by Gods word: and if your lordſhip can ſhewe better euidence then I haue, for a good faith, I wyll folow the ſame.

Lond. What, thou wylt not (loe) for all that. Well, all that is paſt ſhalbe forgotten: and be conformable vnto vs. Iwis thou mighteſt finde as much fauour as thou wouldeſt deſire.

Phil. Then I perceiuyng that he fawned ſo muche vpon me, thought it good to geue hym ſome comfort of relentyng, to the ende I might openly geue hym and his hypocriticall generation, openly a further foyle, perceiuyng that they dare reaſon openly with none, but with ſuch as be vnlearned, and for lacke of knowlege not able to aunſweare, or els with ſuche as they haue a hope, that for feare or loue of the worlde, wyll recant. I ſaide: My Lord, it is not vnknowen to you, that I haue openly in the audience of a great number, ſtande to the maintenance of theſe opinions I am in, and by learnyng dyd offer to defend thē: therefore (my Lord) I would it might openly appeare to the world, that I am wonne by learning, or els what wyll they ſay, but that either for feare or loue of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? and if I haue any kind of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhalbe as conformable as you may require me.

Lond. Yea mary, now ye ſpeake ſomwhat like a reaſonable man. Iwis you might haue had a great deale more fauour in my houſe and libertie then you haue had: and you ſhall lacke nothing that is within my houſe, cal for it, & you ſhall haue it. And what is it that you would openly by learning ſomewhat be ſatiſfied in, tel me?

Phil. My Lord, I haue openly ſaid, and do beleue it alſo, that your ſacrifice of the Maſſe is no ſacrament.

Lond. What, do you deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Talke of the Sacraments.

Phil. No, my Lord, I denye not the preſence of Chriſte in the Sacrament, but I haue denyed the ſacrament of the altar, as it is vſed in your Maſſe, to be the true ſacrament of Chriſtes inſtitution. And firſt it muſt be proued a ſacrament, ere there can be any kind of preſence granted.

Lond. Why, do you deny the Maſſe to be a ſacrament? I pray you what is a Sacrament? is it not a ſigne of a holy thing, as ſaint Auſtine doth define it?

Phil. Yes verily that it is.

Lond. Then I make this argument vnto you. A ſacrament is the ſigne of a holy thing: but the Maſſe is a ſigne of a holy thing: Ergo it is a ſacrament.

Phil. You muſt adde this to your Maior or firſt propoſition, as ſaint Auſtine doth meane, that a Sacrament is the ſigne of a holy thing inſtituted of God, and commaunded:

The Byſhop being brought to a narrow ſtraite, is fayne to call for more helpe.

for otherwiſe it can be no ſacramēt, for al men can not make a ſacrament.

Lond. I graūt that, and ſuch a ſigne of a holy thing is the Maſſe of Chriſtes inſtitution.

Phil. I deny that, my Lord.

Lond. I wyl proue this by S. Auſtine by and by. I wyll go ſhew you the booke, and you ſhal haue any booke I haue that you wyll demaund. Hoe, who is without there? call me M. Doct. Chadſey, M. Archdeacon, M. Coſins, and other Chapleynes hither.

Here, my Lorde: Maiſter Doctour Chadſey is gone to weſtminſter, and Maiſter Archdeacon was here euen nowe.

Lond. M. Coſins, I pray you examine hym vpon theſe articles, and write his anſweare he maketh to euery one of them. I wyl go examine his felowes, and ſend you S. Auſtine by and by. I finde this man more conformable thē he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my Lorde, you ſhall finde hym at length a good Catholike man. Mary here be a ſight of hereſies: I dare ſay, you wyl hold none of them, neither ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Phil. M. Coſins. I haue told my Lord already, that I wyll anſweare to none of theſe articles he hath obiected againſt me: but if you wyll with learning anſweare to that which is in queſtiō betwene my Lord and me, I wil gladly heare and commen with you.

Whether the Maſſe be a Sacrament.

Coſins. No wyll you? Why, what is that then which is in queſtion betweene my Lord and you?

Phil. Whether your Maſſe be a ſacrament, or no?

Coſins. What, the Maſſe to be a Sacrament? who euer doubted therof?

Phil. If it be an vndoubted truth, you may the ſoner proue it: for I doubt much therof.

Coſins. Why, I wyll proue it. It is the ſigne of a holy thing: Ergo, it is a ſacrament.

Phil. I deny your antecedent.

Coſins. What, wyll you ſo? then there is no reaſonyng with you.

M. Coſins geueth ouer in the playne feld.

Thus maiſter Coſins gaue ouer in the plaine fielde for want of further proofe. And then the morowe Maſſe Chaplein began to ſpeake for his occupation, and with that M. Harpsfield came out from my Lord with S. Auſtines Epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpſ. My Lord hath ſent you here S. Auſtine to looke vpon, and I pray you looke what he ſaith in a certayne Epiſtle whiche he writeth. I wyll reade ouer the whole. Here maye you heare the celebration of the Maſſe, and how he reproueth them that wente a haukyng and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, on the Sabboth and holy dayes.

Phil. I perceiue the contentes of this Epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither nothing that maketh for the proofe of your ſacrament of the Maſſe.

Harpſ. No doth he not make mention of the maſſe, and the celebration thereof? what can be ſpoken more plaine?

The epiſtle of S. Auſten alleged for confirmation of the Maſſe aunſwered how it is deriued.

Phil. S. Auſtine meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true vſe of the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and not of your priuate Maſſe, whiche you of late yeares haue erected in the ſteede thereof. For this word Maſſe hath ben an old terme attributed to the Communion, euen from the Primitiue church. And I pray you tel me what Miſſa doth ſignifie. I thinke not many that ſay Maſſe, can wel tel.

Coſins. No can? that is maruel.

Phil. Then tel, if you can. But M. Coſins and my morow maſſe Chaplaine were dumbe, lookyng vpon M. Harpſfield for helpe, and at length he ſpake.

The worde Miſſa.

Harpſ. You thinke it cōmeth of the Hebrue word Maſſah, as though none were ſeene in the Hebrue but you.

Phil. I haue not gone ſo long to Schole, to deriue the ſignification of Miſſa, whiche is a Latine worde, out of Hebrue: but I haue learned to interprete Greeke wordes by Greeke, and Latine by Latine, and Hebrue by Hebrue. I take the Communion to be called Miſſa à mittendo, of ſuche thinges as at the celebration of the Communion were ſente by ſuche as were of abilitie, to the reliefe of the poore, where the rich brought after their deuotion and abilitie, and required the Miniſter in the celebration of the Communion, to praye vnto God for them, and to accept their common almes, whiche they at ſuche tymes dyd ſende for the helpe of their poore brethren and ſiſters: and for this cauſe was it called Miſſa, as learned men doo witneſſe. At the whiche celebration of the Maſſe, all that were preſent dyd communicate vnder both kindes, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, as they dyd in Saint Auguſtines tyme. But vnleſſe you can ſhew that your Maſſe is vſed as then was, ye ſhall neuer by the name of Maſſe (which ſaint Auſtine attributed to the true vſe of the Communion) proue your priuate Maſſe to be a Sacrament, vnleſſe ye can proue the ſame to be nowe in your Maſſes as was then, whiche is cleane contrary.

The Maſſe is a ſacrifice quoth Harpſfeld.

Harpſ. What deny you the maſſe to be a Sacrament. For ſhame ſpeake it not.

Phil. I wyll not be aſhamed to denye it, if you can not proue it.

Harpſ. Why, it is a ſacrifice, which is more then a ſacramēt.

Phil. You maye make of it as muche as you liſt: but you ſhall neuer make it a ſacrifice, as you imagine thereof, but firſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

Harpſ. Why, dooth not Chriſte ſay: This is my body? and doth not the prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt dyd?

A Sacrament is no Sacrament without his vſe.

Phil. The pronunciation is not onely enough, vnleſſe the wordes be therwithall applyed to the vſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For though you ſpeake the wordes of Baptiſme ouer water neuer ſo many tymes, yet there is no Baptiſme vnleſſe there be a Chriſtian perſon to be baptiſed.

Harpſ. Nay, that is not like: for, Hoc eſt corpus meum, is an indicatiue propoſition, ſhewing a workyng of God in the ſubſtance of bread and wyne.

Phil. It is not onely an indicatiue propoſition, but alſo imperatiue or commaunding. For he that ſaide: Hoc eſt corpus meum. i. This is my body, ſaid alſo: Accipite, manducate. i. Take ye, eate ye. And excepte the former part of the inſtitution of Chriſtes ſacramēt be accompliſhed accordyng to the Communion, the latter, This is my bodye, can haue no verification, take it whiche way you wyl, and how you wyll.

Morowmaſſe Chap. Why, then you wyl make the Sacrament to ſtand in the receiuing, and that receiuyng maketh it a ſacrament.

Receauing maketh not the Sacrament. but yet the ſacrament of the Lords Supper without it be receaued is no Sacrament.

phil. I doo not ſay, that the receiuyng maketh it the Sacrament onely: but I ſaye, that a common receiuyng muſte needes be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a neceſſarye member, without the whiche it can no be a Sacrament, becauſe Chriſte hath made this a principall parte of the Sacrament, Take ye, eate ye, whiche you doo not in your Maſſe accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution: wherfore it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Chriſtes inſtitution.

Coſins. We doo forbyd none to come to it, but as many as lyſt, maye be partakers with vs at the Maſſe, if they require it.

phil. Nay, that they ſhal not, though they require it. You wyll miniſter but one kinde vnto them, whiche is not after Chriſtes inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you goe to maſſe, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a ſacrifice of thankes geuyng for Chriſtes Paſſion with you, and to exhorte them to be partakers with you, accordyng to Chriſtes commaundement, ſaying vnto all that be preſent: Take ye, eate ye: and likewiſe by preaching ſhewe forth the Lordes death, which you do not.

What the Prieſtes ought to doe at there Maſſe.

Coſins. What and if all thinges be done euen as you would haue it, and whileſt the Miniſter is aboute to miniſter the Sacrament, before any haue receiued it, there riſe a ſodayne hurly burly, that the communicantes be compelled to go away: is it not a ſacrament for all that none hath communicated beſide the prieſt?

phil. In this caſe where all thinges are appoynted to be done according to Gods word, if incidēt neceſſitie had not let, I can not ſay, but it is a ſacrament, and that he whiche hath receyued, hath receyued the true ſacrament. After this the morowmaſſe prieſt made this apiſh reaſon.

The morowmaſſe prieſt. If the ſacrament of the maſſe be no ſacrament, vnleſſe all doo receiue it, becauſe Chriſt ſaide: Take ye, eate ye, then the ſacrament of Baptiſme is no Sacramēt, wher there is but one baptiſed, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles: Go preach the Goſpel to al creatures, baptiſing al nations in the name of the father &c.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme may be miniſtred to any ſingular perſon.

phil. In that ſaying of Chriſt: Baptiſing all nations, is a commaundement to the Apoſtles to baptiſe all ſortes of men, and to exclude none that doo beleeue, be he Gentile, or Iewe, not meanyng al at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many examples, that Baptiſme may be ſingularly miniſtred to one perſon, as we haue example in Chriſte baptiſed of Iohn, and in the Eunuche baptiſed of Philip, with many moe ſuche like: but ſo haue you not of the Sacramentes of the body and bloud of Chriſte, but contrarywiſe by the expreſſe wordes of Saint Paul you are commaunded to vſe it in a Communion and participation of many together, the. xi. to the Corinthians: Quoties conuenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectate: As oft as you come together to eate (meanyng the Lordes ſupper) tarie one for an other. And alſo the Miniſter in the celebration of the Sacramentes, ſpeaketh vnto all that be preſent

The Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper requireth a communion.

ſentyng Chriſtes behalfe, to communicate with hym, ſaying: Take ye, and eate ye. Wherfore, as many as be preſent, and doo not communicate, breake Gods commaundement in not receiuyng the ſame, and the Miniſter is no iuſt Miniſter, that dooth not diſtribute the Sacramente as Chriſt did, to al that are preſent, and where Gods woord is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no ſacrament.

At the miniſtration of the ſupper all that be preſent ought to communicate.

Harpſ. What, would you haue it no ſacrament, without it be a Communion?

Phil. I make it not ſo, but Gods expreſſe word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo al the ancient writers: as S. Chryſoſtome writing vpon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians ſaith: That the oblation is in vaine, where as none doth cõmunicate with the prieſt. If by his iudgment the action of the prieſt alone is in vaine, where is no Communion, how can that be a ſacrament which he calleth a vaine oblation, and a vaine ſtanding at the aultar?

Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Ephe.

It is no Sacrament without it be a communion.

Coſins. You are ſuch an other felow as I haue not heard, that will not haue the Maſſe to be a ſacrament: you are no man for me to reaſon withall. Come, let vs goe, poynting to the Morowmaſſe Chapleine: we wyll leaue you (maiſter Archdeacon) and hym together: and ſo they wente away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earneſt perſwaſions with me ſaying:

Coſins and the Chaplayne geue ouer their part.

Harpſ. Maiſter Philpot, you and I haue bene of old acquaintaunce a long tyme. We were ſchoolefelowes both in Wincheſter and in Oxforde many yeares. Wherefore I muſt wiſhe you as well to do as my ſelfe, and I praye you ſo thinke of me.

Phil. I thanke you for your good wyl towardes me. But if you be deceiued (as I am ſure you are) I ſhal deſire you not to wiſhe me deceiued with you. For afore God I tell you plainely you are highly deceiued, and mainteine falſe religion, and be not thoſe men you take your ſelues for: and if you do not repent, and leaue of your perſecuting of Chriſtes truth, you wyl goe to the deuill for it. Therefore conſider it in tyme, I geue you warnyng: for in the day of iudgment els I ſhalbe a witnes againſte you, that I tolde you this here talking together.

Talke betwene M. Philpot, and M. Harpesfield Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Fye, that is but your owne vaine ſingular opinion. I perceiue you are ſtyll nowe that man you were in Oxford.

Phil. I truſt you can report no notorious euyll that euer you knew by me there.

Harpſ. I can ſay no euyll of your conuerſation, but I knowe you to be a ſtudious man. Mary, if you remember, when we met in diſputation in Paruis, you woulde not lightly geue ouer, and for that cauſe I ſpeake that I haue ſayde.

Phil. Maiſter Harpſfield, you knowe in the Schooles at Oxford, when we were young men, we did ſtriue muche vppon vaine glory and vppon contention, more then for the truth: but nowe our yeares and our riper learnyng teache vs to fall to a truth, whiche muſte be our poſition for euer. And if I was then, in my tyme of ignoraunce earneſt in myne owne cauſe, I ought nowe to be earneſt in my Maiſter Chriſtes cauſe, and in his truth. I knowe nowe that nothing done vpon vaine glorye and ſingularitie can pleaſe God, haue it neuer ſo goodly a ſhew: wherfore I pray you iudge not ſo of me now.

Harpſ. What, wyl you thinke your ſelfe better learned, then al the learned men in this Realme?

Phil. My faith hangeth not vpon the learned of ẏ world, but vpon the learned of Gods word.

M. Harpesfield ſtandeth vpon number and multitude.

Harpſ. Well, I wyll talke with you no more as nowe, but pray to God to open your hart.

Phil. I pray God open both our harts, to do more his wil then we haue done in tymes paſt.

Harpſ. Ho Keeper, take hym away with you.

Phil. I pray you Maiſter Harpſfielde, tell me what this Pronoune (Hoc) doth demonſtrate and ſhewe in this indicatiue propoſition, as you cal it: Hoc eſt corpus meũ: This is my body.

What this Pronoune [Hoc] doth demonſtrate.

Harpſ. It dooth demonſtrate the ſubſtaunce of breade, whiche by the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, and by the omnipotencie of God, is turned into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes very body.

Phil. Is the ſubſtaunce of ẏ bread (as you ſay) turned into Chriſtes body?

Harpſ. Yea that it is.

Phil. Why, then Chriſtes body receyueth dayly a great increaſe of many thouſande peeces of bread into his body, and that is his body become nowe, which was not before. And by this you woulde ſeeme to make, that there is an alteration in Chriſtes glorified body, which is a wicked thing to thinke.

Harpſ. Then he ſet about againe, and remembring better hym ſelfe, and ſeeing the inconuenience of his firſt aſſertion of the tranſubſtantiation of bread into Chriſtes bodye, he ſaid, that the ſubſtance of bread after the wordes ſpoken by the Prieſt, was euacuated or vaniſhed away by the omnipotencie of God.

M. Harpſfield in a double tale.

Phil. This is an other ſong then you ſang firſte. And here you may ſee howe contrary you are to your ſelues. For in deede your ſcholemen do holde, that the very ſubſtaunce of bread is really turned into the ſubſtance of Chriſtes bodye. And nowe you perceiuyng of late the inconuenience whiche is obiected againſte you in that opinion, you are driuen to imagine a newe ſhift, and ſay, the ſubſtance of bread is euacuated, contrary to that your Church hath firſt beleued and taught. O what contrarietie is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere truth?

Contrarietie in Popiſh doctrine.

Harpſ. Is not God omnipotent? and can not he do as he hath ſaid?

Phil. But his omnipotencie wyl not doo as you ſay, contrarye to his woorde and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include hym bodyly in a peece of bread, and of neceſſitie to tye hym thereto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a peece of bread, God and man, whiche you ſee before your face dooth putrifie after a certayne tyme. Is not Gods omnipotencie as able to geue his body with the Sacramentall bread, as to make ſo many turnynges away of the bread, as you doo, and that directly againſte the Scripture, whiche calleth it bread many tymes after the conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many alterations of the Lordes holy inſtitution, as you do, & to take away the ſubſtantial partes of the Sacrament, as, Take ye, eate ye, drink ye al of this. Do ye this in remembraunce of me: and to place in their ſteden, Heare ye, gaſe ye, knocke ye, worſhip ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the quicke and the dead? If this be not blaſphemie to God and his ſacrament, to adde and to plucke away in this ſort, and that contrary to the mynde of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, tell me.

Pretence of Gods omnipotency.

The ſubſtanciall partes of the ſacrament taken away by the Papiſtes.

Harpſ. I know you haue gathered the ſayings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpoſe. I wyll talke no longer with you.

M. Harpesfield geueth ouer for lacke of good matter.

Phil. I pray God open both our hartes, to doo more his wyl, then we haue in tymes paſt.

Harpſ. O Keeper, take hym away with you.

¶ The tenth examination of Iohn Philpot before Biſhop Boner, his Regiſter, and others.

The next day after dynner, I was brought into my lordes vpper Hall, and there he called me before hym & his Regiſter, & before Doct. Chadſey, in the preſence of two homely Gentlemen, and a prieſt, whiche I knewe not: at what tyme the biſhop ſaid.

His tenth examination before the B. and others.

London. I doo here laye vnto this man in your preſence, (requiring you to be witnes againſt hym, as muche as you knowe in any of them) theſe articles, this booke of the Catechiſme made in kyng Edwardes dayes, alſo theſe concluſions agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge: alſo I lay vnto hym, that he hath deſpiſed the cenſures of ẏ church, and hath ſtanden accurſed more then this tweluemoneth, & neuer required abſolution thereof. How ſay you, waſt thou not accurſed by my Lord Chancelor?

Phil. I was excommunicated by hym wrongfully, and without any iuſt cauſe, and without order of law, being neuer perſonally cited.

John Philpot accurſed by Doct. Gardiner, without order of law.

Lond. Diddeſt not thou tel me the other day, when I required thee to come to ẏ maſſe, that thou waſt excommunicated, and therfore by the lawe couldeſt not heare maſſe? How long haſt thou bene thus excommunicate?

Phil. More then a. xij. moneth and a halfe.

Lond. Lo, you may heare what he ſaith. Write it.

Phil. But as you woulde haue written that I haue ſaid I haue ben thus long excommunicated, ſo alſo let him write, that I dyd require of my Lorde Chauncellour that did excommunicate me, my abſolution: but he would not geue it me, ſaying, ẏ I was excommunicate ipſo iure, becauſe I was an heretike (as it pleaſed hym to cal me) therefore accurſed by your lawes, & ſo commaunded me to priſon, where I remaine.

John Philpot required abſolution of Wincheſter and was denyed it.

Gentleman. Why do you not require abſolution at my lordes handes here now?

Phil. Becauſe he is not myne Ordinarye, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right.

B. Boner will needes be his Ordinary.

Lond. What an obſtinate fellow is this? I tell thee I wyll be thine Ordinary whether thou wylt or no.

Phil. And becauſe of this your vnrighteous dealyng towardes me, I haue appealed from you, & require you M. Regiſter, that my appeale may be entred in writing.

M. Philpot appealeth from the Byſhop of London agayne.

Lond. Haue you hearde ſuch a froward felowe as this? he ſeemed ſemed yeſterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope in hym. I tel thee thou art of my Dioces.

Phil. I am of Wincheſter Dioces, and not of London Dioces.

Lond. I pray you, maye not a man be of two Dioces at once?

Phil. No, that he can not.

How one may be of three dioces at once.

Lond. Loe, wyl you ſee what an ignorant foole is this in the law, in that which he woulde ſeeme to be ſeene? I tell thee a man may be of three dioces at once: as if thou were borne in London, by reaſon thereof thou ſhouldeſt be of my dioces: or els, if thou were not borne, but haddeſt a dignitie here, alſo thou art to be counted of my dioces, or els by reaſon of thy habitation in my dioces.

Phil. In none of theſe reſpectes I am of your Lordſhips dioces. But for al that, this wyl not folow, that I dwelling at Wincheſter, am at that preſent of London dioces.

Lond. What wyll you lay thereof? wylt thou recant, if I proue it?

Phil. But what ſhal I wynne, if you do not?

Lond. I will geue thee my biſhopricke, if I proue it not.

Phil. Yea, but who ſhall deliuer it me, if I wyn?

Phil. Thou art an arrogant foole. Enter their othes, and take theſe witneſſes depoſitions. I muſt be gon to the parlament houſe.

After this ſpake vnto me a Prieſt ſtanding by, aſking me whether I was kyn to my Lord Rich, or no?

Phil. I ſaid, he ſaide ſo him ſelfe vnto me the other daye: but how, I knowe not.

Chad. I heard hym ſay, that he was his very nigh kinſman.

His Baalamite kinſman.

Baalamite. Why, then you & I muſt be of kyn, for he is my nigh kinſman. How chance it, that you and I be of contrary iudgements?

Phil. It is no marueile, for Chriſt prophecied, that the father ſhalbe diuided againſt the ſonne, & the ſonne againſt the father for my truthes ſake.

Baala. You do hold (as I vnderſtand) againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and againſt the holy maſſe.

Phil. If you can proue it a Sacrament, I wil not hold againſt you.

Scripture handſomely applied.

Baala. What, proue it a ſacrament, quoth he? doth not S. Paul ſay: Quæ oculus non vidit & auris nō audiuit, ea præparauit Deus diligentibus ſe? That ſuch thinges as the eye hath not ſeene, neither eare hearde, hath God prepared for them that loue him.

Phil. That ſaying of S. Paul concerneth nothing your ſacrament, but is meant of the heauenly ioyes that be prepared for al faithful beleuers.

Baala. Why, then I perceiue you vnderſtand not S. Paul. By God, you are deceiued.

Phil. You ought not to ſweare, kinſman, if you wil that I ſhal ſo call you, & without diſworſhip of our kinred, I vnderſtande S. Paul as wel as you, and knowe what I ſay: and with that ſhewed hym a Greeke Teſtament with Eraſmus tranſlation, and with the old alſo, demaunding him which text he was beſt acquainted withal.

Baala. I knew Greeke too once, as wel as you: I care not which you reade.

Phil. You know them then al alike: you vnderſtand the one as wel as the other. With this my Baalamite kinſman departed in a furie.

The next dayes talke with the Biſhop.

The next day after I was brought downe againe after dynner, to the Chappel, and there my Baalamite kinſman (to verifie the ſcriptures, as a mans owne kinſfolkes ſhall be his enimies) came in with the Biſhop as a witnes againſt me: and there the Biſhop cauſed an other that came to him about other matters, to ſweare alſo to be a witnes againſt me, which was a prieſt alſo, ſaying:

Witnes agayne ſworne agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Lond. You ſhall ſweare to depoſe all the truth of certaine Articles you ſhalbe enquired of, concerning this man: and here I (according to the lawe) do bring them forth in thy preſence.

Iohn Philpot appealeth agayne from the Byſh.

Phil. My Lorde, I doo not agree to the production of them, but doo appeale from all theſe and others your procedinges againſt me: and require you, Maiſter Regiſter, that my appeale may be entred, & I wyll geue you for your labour.

Reg. Your appeale ſhalbe entred at leaſure. Whom do you appeale vnto? tel me.

Phil. I appeale to a higher Iudge, as to the Lieutenaunt of the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury: for I know not who is Biſhop thereof at this preſent. With that the biſhop went away, and my Baalamite kinſman looking big vpon me, but ſaid neuer a worde.

Thus I haue in haſte ſcribled out al myne examinations hitherto, that the ſame which hath bene done vnto me in darkenes, might come to light, and that the papiſtes bloudy proceedinges and nakedneſſe in their falſe religion, might be knowen to their confuſion. Ieſus is Immanuel, that is, God with vs. Amen. 1555.

¶ The. 11. examination of Iohn Philpot, had on Saint Andrewes day, before the biſhop of Dureſme, the biſhop of Chicheſter, the biſhop of Bath, the biſhop of London, the Prolocutor, maiſter Chriſtopherſon, and Doctour Chadſey, M. Morgan of Oxford, M. Huſſey of the Arches, Doct. Weſton, Doct. Harpſfield Archdeacon, M. Coſins, and M. Iohnſon Regiſter to the Biſhop of London, in his palace.

Yet an other examination of I. Philpot before Biſhops and Doctors.

I Was commyng, being ſent for, with my Keeper, and the Biſhop of London met me in his hall doore, and full manerly he played the Gentleman Vſher, to bring me before the Lordes, ſaying:

Lond. My Lordes, I ſhal deſire you to take ſome paines with this man, he is a Gentleman, and I would he ſhould do wel: but he wyl wilfully caſt away him ſelfe.

Dureſ. Come hither ſir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is Philpot.

Dureſ. I haue heard of that name to be a worſhipful ſtock, and ſince you be a Gentleman, do as you may liue worſhipfully among other Gentlemen. What is the cauſe of your trouble now?

Phil. I told hym the cauſe, as in my former examinatiōs is expreſſed.

Dureſ. Well, all cauſes ſet aparte, wyll you nowe be a conformable man to the Catholike faith, and leaue all newe fangled opinions and hereſies? Iwis I was in Germanie with Luther at the beginnyng of theſe opinions, and can tel how they beganne. Leaue them, and folowe the Catholike church throughout the whole world, as the whole Realme now doth.

Phil. My Lord, I am of the Catholike faith, and deſire to liue and dye in the ſame, but it is not vnknowen to your Lordſhip, that I with others theſe twentie yeres haue ben taught an other maner of faith then you nowe goe about to compell vs vnto: wherefore it is requiſite that we haue a tyme to weigh the ſame, and to heare howe it agreeth with Gods worde. For faith is not at a ſodeyne neither wonne neither remoued, but as S. Paul ſaith, Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the worde: Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum.

Setling of a mans conſcience in religion requireth good aduiſement.

Papiſtes will haue fayth to be compelled.

Chich. And if you wyll geue me leaue, my Lord, I wyll ſhew hym howe he taketh the ſaying of S. Paul amiſſe, as many other now a dayes alledging the ſame doo, that they ought not be compelled to beleue, wheras S. Paul meaneth of Infidels, and not of the faithful. And ſo S. Auſtine writing againſt the Donatiſtes, ſaith, that the faithfull may be compelled to beleue.

Bernard. in canti. Serm. 66

Fayth ought not to be compelled.

Phil. S. Bernard (and it pleaſe your Lordſhip) doth take that ſenſe of S. Paul as I doo, ſaying, that Fides eſt ſuadenda, & non imponenda: Faith muſte be perſwaded to a man, and not enioyned. And S. Auſtine ſpeaketh of ſuche as were firſte throughly perſwaded by manifeſt ſcriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubborne wilfulnes.

Chich. So Bernard meaneth of Infidels alſo.

Phil. No, my Lord, that he doth not: for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he wryteth of ſuch as were deceyued by errours.

Chich. My Lord of Dureſme, I haue bene ſo bold to interrupt your Lordſhip of your tale: I pray you nowe procede on.

Dureſ. Maiſter Philpot, wyl you be of the ſame catholike faith and Churche with vs, you were baptiſed in, and your godfathers promiſed for you, and hold as we doo? and then may you be rid out of trouble. I perceiue you are learned, & it is pitie but you ſhould do wel.

Iohn Philpot is of the ſame fayth and church ſtill as he was baptiſed.

Phil. I am of the ſame Catholique faith and Catholique Churche I was baptiſed vnto, and in that wyll I liue and dye.

Dureſ. That is wel ſaid: if you hold there, you can not do but wel.

Chich. Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwiſe then you doo. Are you of the ſame faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?

No man bound to be of the fayth of his Godfathers in euery reſpect.

Phil. I cannot tel what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptiſed vnto, which is, in the faith of Chriſt. For I was not baptiſed in the faith of my Godfathers, but in the faith of Chriſt.

The place of S. Auſten [in fide Suſceptorum] expounded.

Chriſto. S. Auſtine ſaith, that infantes are baptiſed in fide Suſceptorum: In the faith of their Godfathers.

Phil. Saint Auſtine in ſo ſaying meaneth of the faith of Chriſt, which the godfathers doo or ought to beleue, & none otherwiſe.

Dureſ. How ſay you, wyll you beleue as we doo, and all the learned of the Realme, or no, and be of one Church with vs?

Phil. My Lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you, that there hath bene alwayes two churches.

Chich. Nay, that is not ſo: there is but one Catholike church.

The true Church, and the falſe church euer ioyned together.

Auguſt. De Ciuit. Dei. lib. 15 cap. 15.

The true and falſe church declared firſt in Abell and Caine.

Phil. I ſhall deſire your Lordſhippes to heare out my tale, and to take my meanyng. For I knowe there is but one true Churche: but alwayes from the beginnyng there hath bene ioyned to the ſame true Churche, a falſe Church, aduerſarie to the true, and that was declared at the firſte in Abell and Cain, who perſecuted and ſlewe his brother, in whom (as Saint Auguſtine witneſſeth) is repreſented the falſe and true Churche. And after that, as ſoone as God had choſen his peculiar people, and ſhewed vnto them his ſanctuarie, holy ſtatutes, and wyll, anone after aroſe the falſe Churche, and tenne of the twelue tribes of Iſraell diuided them ſelues from the true Churche of Iuda & Beniamin, and made to them ſelues at Bethell, and ſet vp golden Calues, and yet pretended therewith to ſerue God, and ſo abuſed his worde: Notwithſtanding God was diſpleaſed with them, and ceaſed not his wrath, vntyll he had vtterly deſtroyed them.

Chich. I wyll graunt you before the commyng of Chriſt there were two churches in the olde lawe: but in the newe law, ſince Chriſtes commyng, you can not ſhewe it to be ſo by the ſcripture.

Phil. Yes, my Lord, that I can, if you wyl geue me leaue. After Chriſte had choſen his twelue Apoſtles, was there not a Iudas in the new lawe, and a Symon Magus? And were not they of the falſe church?

Chich. Yea, but I meane after the Goſpell was written, where can you finde me two churches after Chriſt had aſcended, and ſent the holy ghoſt?

The B. of Chicheſter D. Day driuen to a ſtaye.

Phil. The Goſpel was within eight yeares after the aſcenſion written by S. Mathew, and the writing thereof is not material to the declaratiō of theſe two churches, to haue bene alwayes from tyme to tyme, as by example it maye be ſhewed: and yet as euyl as my memorie is, I remember in the newe Teſtament is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalyps: and alſo ſaint Paul to the Theſſalonians maketh mention, that Antichriſte with his falſe generation ſhall ſit in the temple. To the which Chicheſter replied not.

Dureſ. The churche in the ſcripture is likened to a great Fiſhers Net, whiche conteineth in it both good fiſhes and bad fiſhes. I truſt you wyl be of the better ſort, & leane to the truth.

Phil. My Lord, it is my whole deſire nowe to folowe that which is good, what ſoeuer I haue done in tymes paſt, and to cleaue to Gods truth.

Dureſ. Do you ſo, and then ſhall you doo wel. It is almoſt night, my Lord of London, I muſt needes be gone.

The byſhops beginne to be weary of their part.

Lond. Nay, my Lorde of Dureſme, I muſte deſire your Lordſhip, and my Lord of Chicheſter, to tary a litle while. And before he had ſo ſaid, ẏ B. of Bath wēt his way without ſaying any word. What my Lord of Bath, wil you be gon? I pray you tarry. My Lordes, I haue earneſt matter to charge this man withal, wherof I would your Lordſhips to be made priuie: and I haue them here written in a libell. I pray you ſit downe againe, or els I wyll. Firſt I laye to hym here, that he hath written in a Bible whiche I tooke from hym, this erroneous ſaying: Quod ſpiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terra. i. The holy ghoſt is Chriſtes vicar in earth. Wyl thou abide by this ſaying of thine, That the Spirite is Chriſtes vicar on earth?

B. Bonner would fayne picke out matter if he could tell how.

Phil. My Lorde, it is not my ſaying, it is a better learned mans then myne. For I vſe not to write myne owne ſayinges, but the notable ſayings of other aūcient writers, as all the others be where ye finde the ſame written. And as I remember, it is euen the ſaying of Saint Bernarde, and a ſaying that I neede not to be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended, as my Lorde of Dureſme and my Lorde of Chicheſter by their learnyng can diſcerne, and wyll not recken it euyll ſayd.

Lond. No wyll? Why, take away the firſt ſillable, and it ſoundeth Arius.

Phil. That is farre fetched in deede: if your Lordſhip wil ſcanne mens ſayings in ſuch wiſe, you may finde out what you liſt.

An other matter picked agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Lond. But to helpe this, I finde moreouer written with his owne hand in an other booke: In me Ioanne Philpotto vbi abundauit peccatum, ſuperabundauit & gratia: that is, In me Iohn Philpot, where ſinne did abound, grace hath ſuperabounded. I pray you what ſuperabundaunt grace haue you more then other men? So ſaid Arius, that he had the aboundance of grace aboue al other.

Rom. 5.
1. Tim. 1.

Phil. My lord, you neede not to be offended with that ſaying more then the other, for it is the ſaying of S. Paul hym ſelfe, and I did apply it to my ſelfe for my comfort, knowing that though my ſinnes be huge & great in ẏ ſight of God, yet is his mercy and grace aboue them al. And concernyng Arius and his adherents, I defie them, as it is well knowen I haue written againſt them.

John Philpot falſely charged with vntruth, when no truth can be found agaynſt him.

Lond. Alſo I lay to thy charge, that thou kylledſt thy father, and waſt accurſed of thy mother in her deathbed, as I can bring witnes herof.

Phil. O Lorde, what blaſphemie is this? Hath your Lordſhip nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I maye ſpeake it with your honours) ſuche forged blaſphemous lyes? If any of theſe can be proued, I wyll promiſe here to recant at Paules Croſſe, what you wyll haue me: I am ſo ſure they are as great blaſphemies as may be obiected againſt any man. Ha, my Lordes, I pray you conſider how my Lord of London hath hitherto proceeded againſte me: for in deede he hath none other but ſuch pretenſed ſclanderous lyes.

Chich. They be Parerga: that is, matters beſide the purpoſe.

Dureſ. My Lord, I muſt needes byd you farewel.

M. Philpot charged with a letter written to M. Grene.

Lond. Nay, my Lord, here is a letter whiche I ſhall deſire your Lordſhip to heare ere you goe. This man (beyng in my keeping) hath taken vpon hym to write letters out of Priſon, and to peruert a young Gentleman called Maiſter Grene, in my houſe (cal hym hither) and hath made a falſe report of his examination, as you ſhal heare, not being content to be euyl hym ſelfe, but to make others as bad as him ſelfe. He al to tare the letter, when he ſawe my man went about to ſearche him, but yet I haue peeced it againe together, and cauſed a copie to be written therof, and he read the torne letter, bidding M. Chriſtopherſon and Morgan to marke the copie therof.

The contentes of M. Philpots letter to M. Grene.

The contentes of the Letter was the examination of maſter Grene, before the biſhop of London, in the preſence of maſter Fecknam Deane of Paules, & of diuers others, whoſe ready anſweares in the Scriptures and in the Doctours was wondred at of the Deane hym ſelfe, and of many others, as maſter Fecknam did report: and that he was committed to Doctor Chadſey, and to haue his meate from the Biſhops owne table. Howe ſay you, my Lordes, was this wel done of him, being my priſoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a ſhamefull lye, that he was in Doctor Chadſeys keeping. How ſay you, M. Doct. Chadſey? is it not a ſhameful lie?

Chad. Yes, my Lord, he was neuer in my keeping.

M. Grene called.

Lond. Art thou not aſhamed to write ſuche ſhamefull lyes? come hither maiſter Grene, did not I ſhew you this letter?

Grene. Yea forſooth, my Lord, you ſhewed it me.

Lond. Howe thinke you, my Lordes, is not this an honeſt man to belie me?

M. Philpot agayne charged with an vntruth.

Phil. Your Lordſhip doth miſtake al thinges. This letter (as your Lordſhip may perceiue, & all other ẏ haue hearde the ſame) was not written by me, but by a frende of myne, certifying me at my requeſt how M. Grene ſped at the biſhop of Londons handes: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it neede to feare, but that might be written as my report.

Lond. Then tel me who wrote it, if you dare.

Phil. No, my Lord, it is not my ductie to accuſe my frend, and ſpecially ſeeing you wyll take all thinges to the worſt: neither you ſhall neuer knowe of me who wrote it. Your lordſhip may ſee in the ende of the letter, that my frende did write vnto me vppon the occaſion of my appeale whiche I haue made to the whole parlament houſe, about ſuch matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Lond. I woulde ſee any ſo hardye to put vp thyne Appeale.

Phil. My Lord, I can not tel what God wyll worke: I haue written it, ſpeede as it may.

Lond. My Lord, I haue vſed him with much gentlenes ſince he came to me. How ſayeſt thou, haue I not?

Phil. If to lie in the vileſt priſon in this towne (beyng a Gentleman and an Archdeacon) and in a Colehouſe by the ſpace of fiue or ſixe weekes already, without fire or cādle, be to be counted gentlenes at your handes, I muſt needes ſay I haue founde gentlenes. But there were neuer men ſo cruelly handled as we are at theſe dayes.

Lond. Loe, what a varlet is this? Beſides this (my Lordes) euen yeſterdaye he procured his man to bring a Bladder of blacke Pouder, I can not tell for what purpoſe I.

Phil. Your Lordſhip needeth not to miſtruſt the matter: it is nothing but to make ynke withal, for lacke of inke, as I had it before in the kings Bench, when my keper tooke away my inkhorne.

Lond. And why ſhouldeſt thou goe about any ſuch thing, vnknowing vnto me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this houſe, I tel thee.

Phil. My Lord, becauſe you haue cauſed my pennar and ynkhorne to be taken from me, I would yet faine that my frendes might vnderſtand what I lacke, not that I intended to write any thing that I would be afeard ſhould come to your ſight.

Blacke pouder ſent to Iohn Philpot to make Inke.

Lond. More then this, my Lordes, he cauſed a pigge to be roſted, and made a knife to be put betweene the ſkinne & the fleſh, for what purpoſe, iudge you. How ſayeſt thou, diddeſt thou not ſo?

Phil. I can not deny but there was halfe a pig ſent me, and vnder the ſame a knife lying in the ſauce: but for no yl purpoſe that I know: your lordſhip may iudge what you wyl. It was not to kill my ſelfe, nor none other, as you woulde haue men to beleue: for I was neuer yet without a knife ſince I came to priſon. Therfore al theſe be but falſe ſurmiſes, and not worth rehearſal.

Falſe ſurmiſes layd agaynſt Iohn Philpot.

Lond. I haue here to lay to his charge (chiefeſt of al) his booke of the report of the diſputation had in the Conuocation houſe, which is the rankeſt hereſie that may be, againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar. Howe ſay you, Maiſter Doctor Weſton? dyd he maintein the ſame there ſtubbornly, or no?

Weſt. Yea, my lord, that he dyd, and would neuer be anſwered. And it is pitie that the ſame worſhipfull congregation ſhould be ſclaundered with ſuch vntrue reportes.

Phil. You aunſweared me in deede, Maiſter Doctour, (being then Prolocutor) goodly, with holde thy peace, and haue hym to priſon, and put hym out of the houſe. I haue read the booke, and I find the report of euery mans argument to be true in all poyntes. And if there be any fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your doinges too fauourably, and nothing like to that you did vſe me, being an Archdeacon, and not of the worſt of the houſe.

D. Weſtons chiefe argumentes in the conuocation houſe.

Weſt. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. In deede M. Doctour, ye haue among you vnarchdeaconed me as now (I thanke God of it) and that without al order of law.

Lond. I pray you, my Lordes, harken what he writeth of hym ſelfe. I read it ouer this morning, and made a note of it. He ſaith, that Doct. Weſton called him frantike and mad man, and ſaid, he ſhould go to Bedlem.

Phil. In deede, my Lord, ſo it pleaſed M. Weſton to taunt at me, & ſay his ſhameful pleaſure: but yet I was no whyt the more ſo for all his ſayinges, then Chriſt was when the Scribes and the Phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a deuyl, moſt blaſphemouſly.

Dureſ. My Lorde of London, I can tarry no longer. I muſt needes bid you farewel. Maſter Philpot, me thinketh you haue ſaide well, that you wyll abide in the Catholique faith, and in the Catholike Church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhal do right wel. And ſo he departed with M. Weſton and M. Huſſey.

Byſhop Tonſtall and M. Weſton, geue ouer the matter.

Phil. I haue purpoſed ſo to doo, howe ſoeuer I ſpeede, by Gods grace.

Lond. I pray you, my Lord of Chicheſter, and M. Prolocutor, and M. Doct. Morgan, to common with him whiles I bring my Lord of Dureſme going.

Chriſto. Maiſter Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome (if you be remembred, but you haue forgotten me) and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters, and I find you nowe the ſame man as you were then. I wiſhe it were otherwiſe. For Gods ſake be conformable to men that be better learned then you, and ſtand not in your owne conceite.

Phil. Where as you call me to remembraunce of acquaintance had at Rome, in deede it was ſo, though it were but very ſtraunge on your part to meward, being driuen to neceſſitie.

Chriſto. You knowe the world was daungerous at that tyme.

Phil. Nothing ſo daungerous as it is nowe: but let that paſſe. Where as you ſay, you finde me the ſame man I was then, I prayſe God for that you ſee not me like a reede wauering with euery winde. And where as you woulde haue me folowe better learned men then my ſelfe: in deede I do acknowledge that you & a great many other are farre better learned then I, whoſe bookes in reſpect of learnyng I am not worthy to cary after you: but faith and the wiſedome of God conſiſteth not in learning onely, and therefore Saint Paul wylleth, that our faith be not grounded vpon the wiſedome of man. If you can ſhewe by learnyng out of Gods Booke, that I ought to be of an other fayth then I am, I wyll heare you and any other man what ſoeuer he be.

Wiſedome in Gods matters conſiſteth not in mans learning.

Chriſto. I marueile why you ſhould diſſent from the catholike Churche, ſince it hath thus long vniuerſally bene receiued, except within this fiue or ſixe yeares here in Englande.

Phil. I do not diſſent from the true Catholike church: I do onely diſſent from the biſhop of Rome, whiche if you can proue to be the Catholike church of Chriſt, I wyl be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſto, Wil you beleue S. Cyprian, if I can ſhew you out of hym, Quòd Eccleſia Romana eſt talis ad quã perfidia accedere non poteſt: That the church of Rome is ſuch a one, vnto the which miſbeliefe can not approch.

Phil. I am ſure you can not ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of S. Cyprian.

Chriſto. What wyl you ſay theron?

Phil. I wyl ſay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Wyll you promiſe to recant, if he ſhewe his ſaying to be true?

Phil. My faith ſhall not hang vppon any Doctours ſaying, further then he ſhall be able to proue the ſame by Gods worde.

Chriſto. I wyl go fet the booke & ſhewe it hym by and by: and therwithal he went into the biſhops ſtudy, and fet Cyprian, & appoynted out theſe wordes in one of his Epiſtles: Ad Romanos autem quorũ fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, nõ poteſt accedere perfidia: But vnto the Romanes whoſe faith, by the teſtimonie of the Apoſtle, is praiſed, miſbeliefe can haue no acceſſe.

Cyprian ad Corne. li. 1. Epiſt. 3.

Phil. Theſe wordes of Cyprian doo nothing proue your pretenſed aſſertion, whiche is, that to the Churche of Rome there could come no miſbeliefe.

Chriſto. Good Lorde, no dooth? What can be ſaide more plainely?

Phil. He ſpeaketh not of the Churche of Rome abſolutely.

Chriſto. By God, a child that can but his Grammar, wyl not deny that you do, the wordes be ſo plaine.

Phil. Sweare not, M. doct. but weigh Cyprians wordes with me, & I ſhal make you to ſay as I haue ſaid.

Chriſto. I am no doctor, but I perceiue it is but labor loſt to reaſon with you.

Boner. And with that the biſhop of London came in blowing againe, and ſaid: What is my Lord of Chicheſter gon away alſo? (for he euen a litle before depated alſo without any other word ſaying, but he muſt needes be gone.) What is the matter you now ſtand vpon?

D. Day Byſhop of Chicheſter ſhrinketh alſo away.

Morgan. M. Chriſtopherſon hath ſhewed M. Philpot a notable place of the authoritie of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

Boner. Where is the place? let me ſee. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither ſir, what ſay you to this? Nay tary a litle, I wyll helpe this place with S. Paules owne teſtimonie the firſt to the Romanes, where he ſaith, that their faith is preached throughout the world: howe can you be able to anſwere to this?

Phil. Yes, my Lord, it is ſoone anſwered, if you wyll conſider al the wordes of Cyprian: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his tyme were faithfull at Rome, that folowed the doctrine of Saint Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world by an Epiſtle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With ſuche as are prayſed of S. Paul at Rome, for folowing the true faith, miſbeliefe can haue no place. And now if you can ſhew that the faith which the Church of Rome holdeth nowe, is that faith which the Apoſtle prayſed & allowed in the Romanes in his time, then wyl I ſay that S. Cyprian then ſaid, and with you, that infidelitie can haue no place there: but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the authoritie of yͤ churche of Rome, as you do miſtake it.

The place of Cyprian expounded.
Ad Romanos quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, perfidia accedere non poteſt.

Chriſto. You vnderſtand Cyprian wel in deede: I thinke you neuer read hym in your life.

Phil. Yes, M. Doctour, that I haue, I can ſhewe you a booke noted with myne own hand: though I haue not read ſo much as you, yet I haue read ſomwhat. It is ſhame for you to wraſt and wrieth the Doctours as you do, to mainteine a falſe religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright, and in deede your falſe packing of doctors together, hath geuen me and others occaſion to looke vpon them, whereby we finde you ſhameful lyers, and miſreporters of the ancient Doctors.

Papiſtes wraſters and miſreporters of the Doctors.

Morgan. What, wil you be in hand to allowe doctors now? they of your ſect doo not ſo. I marueile therof you wil allowe them.

Phil. I do allowe them, in as much as they do agree with the ſcriptures: and ſo do al they which be of the truth, howe ſoeuer you terme vs: and I prayſe God for that good vnderſtanding I haue receiued by them.

Chriſto. What, you vnderſtand not the Doctors: you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Phil. I thanke God I vnderſtande them better then you: for you haue, Excæcationem cordis: The blindenes of harte, ſo that you vnderſtande not truely what you reade, no more then the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian dooth well decleare. And afore God you are but deceiuers of the people, for all your bragge you make of learnyng, neither haue ye Scripture or auncient Doctour on your ſide, being truely taken.

Doctours make againſt the papiſtes, if they be rightly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the Doctors be on our ſide, and againſte you altogether.

Phil. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your Pulpites alone, and none to anſwere you. But if you wyl come to caſte accoũtes with me therof, I wyl venter wͭ you a recantation, that I (as litle ſight as I haue in the Doctors) wyl bring more authorities of auncient Doctors on my ſide, then you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other ſide yeeld. Are ye ſo content herewith?

Christo. It is but folly to reaſon with you: you wil beleue no man but your ſelfe.

Phil. I wil beleue you or any other learned man, if you cã bring any thing worthy to be beleued. You can not wynne me with vaine wordes from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, he.

phil. Except the Articles of the Trinitie, you are corrupt in al other thinges, and ſound in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you? do we not beleue wel on the ſacrament?

phil. It is the thing which (among al other) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherin, I pray you? tel vs.

Phil. I haue tolde you before (M. Doctor) in the Conuocation houſe.

Morgan. Yea mary: in deede you told vs there very well. For there you fell downe vpon your knees, and fell to weeping: ha, ha, ha.

Morgã here beginneth to play the ieſter.

Phil. I did weepe in deede, and ſo did Chriſt vpon Ieruſalem, and am not to be blamed therefore, if you conſider the cauſe of my weeping.

Morgan. What, make you your ſelfe Chriſt? ha, ha.

Phil. No, ſir, I make not my ſelfe Chriſt: but I am not aſhamed to do as my maiſter and ſauiour did, to bewaile & lament your infidelitie and idolatrie, which I there foreſaw through tyrannie you woulde bring againe to this Realme, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Christo. Wherin do we abuſe the ſacrament? tel vs.

The Sacrament abuſed by the Papiſtes, how and wherein.

Phil. As I may touche but one of the leaſt abuſes, you miniſter it not in both kindes, as you ought to do, but keepe the one halfe from the people, contrarye to Chriſtes inſtitution.

Christo. Why, is there not as much conteined in one kind, as in both? And what neede is it then to miniſter in both kindes?

Sacrament in one kinde.

Phil. I beleue not ſo: for if it had, Chriſt would haue geuen but one kind onely: for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous: and therefore you can not ſay, that the whole effect of the ſacrament is as wel in the one kind, as in both, ſince the Scripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Christo. What if I can proue it by ſcripture, that we may miniſter it in one kind? The apoſtles did ſo, as it may appeare in the Actes of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written, that the Apoſtles continued In orationibus & fractione panis: In prayers, & in breaking of bread, which is meant of the ſacrament.

Phil. Why, Maiſter Doctour, doo you not knowe that Saint Luke by the making mention of the breaking of bread, meaneth the whole vſe of the Sacrament, according to Chriſtes inſtitution, by a Figure whiche you haue learned in Grammar, * Synecdoche, where parte is mentioned, and the whole vnderſtanded to be done, as Chriſt commaunded it.

* Synechdoche is a figure, when by one thing or by part, the whole is vnderſtanded.

Christo. Nay, that is not ſo: For I can ſhew out of Euſebius in Eccleſ. Hiſtoria, that there was a man of God, (whom he named) that ſent the ſacrament in one kinde by a boy to one that was ſicke.

Euſebius hath theſe wordes: Parum Euchariſtiæ puero dedit. i. He gaue a litle of the Sacrament to the boy: which wordes may very well comprehende both partes: and it ſeemeth by the wordes that follow, that part of it was licour, for it is written in the ſame place: Iuſſit vt id infunderet et in os ſenis inſtillaret. i. He commaunded that he ſhould poure it and droppe it into the olde mans mouth, and ſo he did. Euſebius in eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6. Cap. 44.

Phil. I haue read in deede that they did vſe to geue that was leaſt of the Cõmunion bread, to children, to mariners, and to women, and ſo peraduenture the boy might carry a peece of that was leaſt to the ſicke man.

Christo. Nay, as a ſacrament it was purpoſely ſent vnto hym.

Phil. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay, that he had not the cup miniſtred vnto him alſo by ſome other ſent vnto him: but though one man did vſe it thus, dooth it folowe that all men maye doo the like? S. Cyprian noteth many abuſes of the ſacramẽt in his tyme, which roſe vpon ſingular mens examples, as vſing of water in ſteede of wine: therefore he ſaith: Non reſpiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, ſed quid Chriſtus qui omnium primus, ante nos fecerit & mandauit: That is, We muſte not looke what any man hath don before vs, but what Chriſt firſt of al men did and commaunded.

Christo. Hath not the church taught vs ſo to vſe the ſacrament? and how do we know that Chriſt is Homouſios, that is of one ſubſtance with the father, but by the determination of the church? Howe can you proue that otherwiſe by expreſſe wordes of Scripture, and where find you Homouſios, in al the ſcripture?

Phil. Yes, that I do, in the firſt to yͤ Hebrues, where it is written, that Chriſt is the expreſſe Image of Gods owne ſubſtance, eiuſdem ſubſtantiæ.

Christo. Nay, that is not ſo. It is. there no more but expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ: the expreſſe Image of Gods ſubſtance, and Image is accident.

Phil. It is in the Text of his ſubſtance, Subſtantiæ illius, or of his owne ſubſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of hym ſelfe in S. Iohn, manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying: I and the father be one thing: Ego & pater vnum ſumus. And whereas you ſay, Imago here is accidence, the auncient fathers vſe this for a ſtrong argument, to proue Chriſte to be God, becauſe he is the very Image of God.

Christo. Yea do? is this a good argument, becauſe we are the Image of God, Ergo, we are God?

Phil. We are not called the expreſſe Image of God, as it is written of Chriſte, and we are but the Image of God by participation, and as it is written in Geneſis, we are made to the likenes & ſimilitude of God. But you ought to know (M. Chriſtopherſon) that there is no accidence in God, & therfore Chriſt cã not be the Image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

The Image of God is not lyke in Chriſt, and in vs.

Christo. Tuſhe.

Morgan. Howe ſay you to the preſence of the ſacrament? wyll you ſtande to the iudgement here of your booke, or no? or wyl you recant?

Preſence of the Sacrament.

phil. I know you go but about to catch me in wordes. If you can proue that booke to be of my ſettyng forth, lay it to my charge when I come to iudgement.

Morgan. Speake, be you of the ſame mynde as this booke is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, vnleſſe you become an other maner of man then you were.

phil. What I was, you know: what I am, I wyll not tel you now: but thus I wyll ſay to you by the way, that if you can proue your ſacrament of the Maſſe (as you nowe vſe it) to be a ſacrament, I wil then graunt you a preſence: but firſt you muſt proue the ſame a Sacrament, and afterward entreate of the preſence.

The Sacrament of the Maſſe as it is vſed, is no Sacrament.

Morgan. Hoo, do you doubt that it is a ſacrament?

Phil. I am paſt doubting, for I beleeue you can neuer be able to proue it a ſacrament.

Christo. Yea do, good Lord, doth not S. Auſtine call it the ſacrament of the aultar? How ſay you to that?

Phil. That maketh nothyng for the probation of your Sacramente. For ſo he with other auncient writers doo call the holy Communion or the Supper of the Lorde in reſpect that it is the Sacramente of the Sacrifice whiche Chriſt offered vpon the aultar of the Croſſe, the whiche ſacrifice al the aultars and ſacrifices done vppon the aultars in the old lawe did prefigure and ſhadowe, the which perteineth nothyng to your ſacrament hanging vpon your altars made of lyme and ſtone.

The holy Communion is called of S. Auſten to be the Sacrament of the altar how and in what ſenſe.

Christo. No doth? I pray you, what ſignifieth altar?

Altar what it ſignifieth.

Phil. Not as you falſly take it, materially, but for the ſacrifice of the altar of the croſſe.

Christo. Where finde you it euer ſo taken?

Phil. Yes that I do, in S. Paul to the Hebrues. 13. where he ſaith: Habemus altare de quo non eſt fas edere his qui tabernaculo deſeruiunt: we haue an altar, of the whiche it is not lawful for them to eate, that ſerue the tabernacle. Is not altar there taken for the ſacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lyme and ſtone?

Christo. Well, God bleſſe me out of your cõpany. You are ſuch an obſtinate heretike, as I haue not heard the like.

Phil. I pray God keepe me frõ ſuch blind doctors, which when they are not able to proue what they ſay, then they fall to blaſphemyng (as you nowe doo) for lacke of better proofe. In the meane while the biſhop of London was talkyng with ſome other by, and at length came in to ſupplye his part, and ſaid:

Chriſtopherſon for lacke of better profe falleth to exclaiming.

Boner. I pray you, maſters, harken what I ſhall ſay to this man: come hither M. Grene. And now ſir, (poynting to me) you can not thinke it ſufficiẽt to be naught your ſelf, but muſt go about to procure this yong Gentleman by your letters to do the like.

Phil. My Lorde, he can not ſaye, that I euer hytherto wrote vnto him concerning any ſuch matter, as he here can teſtifie.

Grene. No, you neuer wrote vnto me.

Boner. Why, is not this your letter whiche you did write concerning him?

Phil. I haue ſhewed your Lordſhip my mind concerning that letter already: it was not written to M. Greene, neither was he priuie of the writing thereof.

Wrangling matter agaynſt M. Philpot.

Boner. How ſay you thẽ: if a mã be in an errour, & you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a caſe?

Phil. I am bounde to do the beſt I can to bring hym out of it.

Boner. If M. Grene here be in the like, are you not boũd to reforme him thereof, if you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and wil do the vttermoſt to my power therein. The Biſhop remembring him ſelfe, thinking that he woulde but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that whiche he called an errour, ceaſed to goe any further in his demaunde, and called maſter Greene aſide, and before his Regiſter read hym a letter, I know not the contentes thereof: and therwithal he gaue Maſter Greene the booke of my diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, and afterward went aſide, commoning with maſter Chriſtopherſon, leauing M. Morgan, maſter Harpsfield, and M. Coſins to reaſon with me in the hearing of M. Grene.

Morgan. M. Philpot, I would aſke you how olde your Religion is.

John Philpots religion elder then Popery by a 1000. yeares.

Phil. It is older then yours by a thouſande yeares and more.

Morgan. I pray you, where was it fiftie yeares agoe?

Phil. It was in Germanie apparant by the teſtimonies of Huſſe, Jerome of Prage, and Wickliffe, whom your generation a hundred yeares agoe and more dyd burne for preaching the truth vnto you: and before their time and ſince hath bene, although vnder perſecution it hath ben put to ſilence.

This religion was not ſeene openly a 100. yeares ago: Ergo this religion was not. The antecedent is true and the conſequent falſe.

Morgan. That is a marueilous ſtrange religion, which no man can tel certainely where to finde it.

Phil. It ought to be no marueile vnto you to ſee Gods truth through violence oppreſſed: for ſo it hath bene frõ the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by ſtories, and as Chriſtes true religion is nowe to be founde here in England, although hypocriſie hath by violẽce the vpper hand. And in the Apocalyps you may ſee it was propheſied, that the true church ſhould be driuen into corners, and into wyldernes, and ſuffer great perſecution.

Morgan. A, are you ſeene in the Apocalyps? there are many ſtraunge thinges.

Phil. If I tel you the truth which you are not able to reſiſt, beleue it, & dally not out ſo earneſt matters. Me thinke you are liker a ſcoffer in a play, then a reaſonable doctour to inſtruct a man: you are bare arſed and daūce naked in a net, and yet you ſee not your owne nakednes.

Scoffing Morgan.

Morgan. What (I pray you) be not ſo quicke with me. Let vs talke a litle more coldly together.

Phil. I wyll talke with you as mildely as you can deſire, if you wil ſpeake learnedly and charitably. But if you goe aboute with tauntes to delude truth, I wil not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why, wil you not ſubmit your iudgement to the learned men of this Realme?

Phil. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground, wherupon I maye with a good conſcience ſettle my faith more ſurely then on that whiche I am nowe grounded vppon by Gods manifeſt word.

Morgan. No do? that is marueile that ſo many learned mẽ ſhould be deceiued.

1. Cor. 1.

Phil. It is no marueile, by S. Paul: for he ſaith, that not many wiſe, neither many learned after the world be called to the knowledge of the Goſpel.

Morgan. Haue you then alone the ſpirite of God, and not we?

Phil. I ſay not that I alone haue the ſpirite of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Chriſt, haue the ſpirite of God as wel as I.

Morgan. Howe knowe you that you haue the Spirite of God?

Phil. By the faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan falleth to ſcoffing and rayling at the good Martyrs of God.

Morgan. A, by faith, do you ſo? I weene it be the ſpirit of the buttry, which your felowes haue had that haue ben burned before you, who were dronke the night before they wẽt to their death, and I weene went dronken vnto it.

Phil. It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the ſpirite of the Buttery, then with the ſpirite of God. Wherefore I muſt nowe tell thee (thou painted wal and hypocrite) in the name of the liuyng Lord, whoſe truth I haue told thee, that God ſhall raine fire and brymſtone vpon ſuch ſcorners of his word, and blaſphemers of his people, as thou art.

Morgan. What, you rage nowe.

Phil. Thy fooliſh blaſphemies haue compelled the ſpirite of God which is in me, to ſpeake that whiche I haue ſaide vnto thee, thou enimie of al righteouſnes.

Morgan. Why do you iudge me ſo?

Phil. By thine owne wicked wordes I iudge of thee, thou blinde and blaſphemous Doctour: for as it is written: By thy wordes thou ſhalt be iuſtified, and by thy wordes thou ſhalt be condemned. I haue ſpoken on Gods behalfe, and nowe haue I done with thee.

Morgan. Why, then I tell thee, Philpot, that thou art an heretike, and ſhalt be burnt for thine hereſie, & afterwardes goe to hel fire.

John Philpot in great zeale denounceth hell fire to Morgan, vnleſſe he repent.

Phil. I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I paſſe not this for thy fire and fagots, neither (I thanke God my Lord) ſtand in feare of the ſame: my faith in Chriſt ſhall ouercome thẽ. But the hell fire which thou threatneſt me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (vnleſſe thou ſpeedily repent) and for ſuch hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What, thou ſpeakeſt vpon wine: thou haſt tipled wel to day, by likelihood.

Phil. So ſaid the curſed generation of the Apoſtles being repleniſhed with the holy Ghoſt, & ſpeaking the wondrous workes of God: they ſaid they were dronke, when they had nothing els to ſay, as thou doeſt now.

Morgan. Why, I am able to anſwere thee, ywis, I trow.

Phil. So it ſeemeth with blaſphemies and lyes.

Morgan. Nay, euen with learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Morgan fombling and ſtammering in the Conuocation houſe.

Phil. That appeared well at my diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, where thou tookeſt vppon thee to anſweare thoſe fewe argumentes I was permitted to make, and yet waſt not able to aunſweare one, but in thine aunſweares dyddeſt fomble and ſtammar, that the whole houſe was aſhamed of thee: and ẏ final concluſion of al thine anſweres was, that thou couldeſt anſwere me, if I were in the ſchooles at Oxford.

Morgan. What, did I ſo? thou belieſt me.

Phil. I doo not belie thee: the booke of the reporte of the diſputation beareth record thereto, and al that were preſent then, can tel (if they liſt) thou ſaidſt ſo. And I tel thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that ſpirit of truth, which ſpeaketh in me for the defence of Chriſtes true Religion. I am able by the might therof, to driue thee round about this gallery before me: and if it would pleaſe the Queenes maieſty and her Counſaile to heare thee and me, I woulde make thee for ſhame ſhrinke behinde the doore.

Morgan. Yea, would you ſo?

Morgan taken vp for halting.

Phil. Thou haſte the ſpirite of illuſion and Sophiſtrie, whiche is not able to counteruaile the ſpirit of truth. Thou art but an Aſſe in the true vnderſtanding of thinges pertainyng vnto God. I call thee Aſſe, not in reſpect of malice, but in that thou kickeſt againſt the truth, and art voyd of all godly vnderſtanding, not able to anſwere to that thou braggeſt in.

Morgan. Why, haue I not anſwered thee in all things thou haſt ſaid vnto me? I take them to record.

Phil. Aſke of my felow whether I be a thiefe.

Coſins. Harke, he maketh vs al theeues.

Phil. You know that phraſe of the Prouerbe, that like wil hold with like. And I am ſure, you wyll not iudge with me, againſt hym, ſpeake I neuer ſo true: and in this ſenſe I ſpeake it. The ſtrongeſt anſwere that he hath made againſt me, is, that you wyl burne me.

Morgan. Why, we do not burne you: it is the Temporall men that burne you, and not we.

Phil. Thus you woulde (as Pilate dyd) waſhe your handes of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, Inuocate ſeculare brachium: call vppon the ſecular power to be executioners of your vnrighteous iudgementes. And haue you not a title in your law, De hæreticis comburendis, for to burne heretickes?

Harpſ. I haue hearde you both a good whyle reaſon together, and I neuer heard ſo ſtout an heretike as you are, M. Philpot.

Coſins. Neither I in al my life.

Phil. You are not able to proue me an heretike, by one iote of Gods worde.

M. Harpsfield and Coſins depart.

Harpſ. You haue the Spirite of arrogancie. I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and M. Coſins alſo. And with that the biſhop and Chriſtoforſon came in againe, and ſaid.

Boner. Maiſter Doctour, howe dooth this man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lord, I do aſke hym where his church was fiftie yeares agoe?

Boner. Are you not halfe agreed, as one man ſayde once to

two or

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tway parties, of whom the one was equally diſagreeing frõ the other?

Chriſto. My Lorde, it is but follie to reaſon with him any further: your Lordſhip ſhall but looſe time, for he is incurable.

Boner. Wel then, let his keeper haue him away. And with that Doct. Chadſey led me a way by the whiche we coulde not paſſe, and therfore came backe againe through the Biſhops chamber, where al theſe Doctors were cluſtred together: and as I was paſſing, the Biſhop tooke me by the gowne, and ſaid: wote you what M. Chriſtoforſon telleth me? I pray you M. Chriſtoforſõ rehearſe ẏ ſentẽce in Latine, and ſo he did. The contentes therof was, that an heretike would not be won.

Chriſto. S. Paul ſaith: Hæreticum hominem poſt vnam atque alteram admonitionem deuita: Flee an heretike after once or twiſe warning.

Al the Doctors. Yea, my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do, & trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Christianisme called heresye.

Phil. You muſt firſt proue me iuſtly to be an heretike, before you vſe the iudgement of S. Paul againſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion againſt the manifeſt word, the which you can not proue by me. And becauſe you want in your profe, and be able to proue nothing againſt me, therfore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an heretike, for the ſafegard of your owne counterfeit honeſties: but afore God you are the heretikes, which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubbornly mainteine ſo many things directly againſt Gods worde, as God in his time ſhal reueale. As I went out of his chãber, the Biſhop called me aſide, and ſaid:

Boner. I pray thee in good ſadnes, what meaneſt thou by writing in the beginning of the Bible: Spiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terris? The ſpirite is the vicar of Chriſte on the earth? Iwis you haue ſome ſpecial meaning therof.

The holy ghost is Christes Vicar in earth, and how?

Phil. My Lorde, I haue none other meaning then (as I haue tolde you already) that Chriſte ſince his aſcenſion worketh all thinges in vs by his ſpirite, and by his ſpirite doth dwel in vs. I pray you, my Lord, let me haue my Bible, with other lawfull bookes and writinges whiche you haue of myne, whereof many of them be none of myne, but lent to me by my frendes.

Boner. Your Bible you ſhal not haue, but I wil perhaps let you haue an other: and after I haue peruſed the reſt, you ſhal haue ſuch as I thinke good.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you woulde let me haue candle light.

Boner. To what purpoſe, I pray you?

Phil. The nights be long, & I would faine occupy my ſelfe about ſomwhat, and not ſpend my tyme idlely.

Boner. You may then pray.

Phil. I can not well ſay my prayers without light.

John Philpot denyed to haue candle light.

Boner. Can you not ſay your Pater noſter, without a candle? I tell you ſir, you ſhall haue ſome meate and drinke of me, but candle you get none.

Phil. I had leuer haue a candle, then your meate or drinke: but ſeeing I ſhal not haue my requeſt, the lord ſhal be my light.

Boner. Haue him downe.

Chad. I wil bring him to his keeper, my lord. M. Philpot, I wonder that all theſe learned men whom you haue talked withal this day, can nothing perſwade you?

Phil. Why, M. Doctor, would you haue me to be perſwaded with nothing? or woulde you haue me builde my faith vpon ſand? What do you al bring, wherby I ought by any ſufficient authoritie to be perſwaded to you?

Chad. I am ſory you wil ſo wilfully caſt away your ſelfe, where as you might liue worſhipfully. Doo you not thinke other haue ſoules to ſaue as wel as you haue?

Phil. Euery man ſhall receiue according to his owne doinges. Sure I am you are deceiued, and mainteine a falſe religion: and as for my caſting away, I would my burning day were to morowe: for this delay is euery day to dye, and yet not to be dead.

Chad. You are not like to die yet, I can tel you.

Phil. I am the more ſory therof. But the wil of God be done of me, to his glory. Amen.

¶ The. 12. examination of Iohn Philpot, on Wedneſday the fourth of December before the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of Worceſter, and the Biſhop of Bangor.

The twelfth examination of M. Philpot before certeine Byshops.

IN the morning I was ſet downe to the wardrobe adioyning to the Chappell, and within a while after came three of the Biſhops Chapleines vnto me, ſaying:

Chapleines. M. Philpot, my Lord hath ſent vs vnto you, to deſire you to come to maſſe, certifying you that there is a Doctor of Diuinitie a Chapleine of my Lordes, a notable learned man, called Doct. Chadſey, going to maſſe: therfore we alſo pray you, good M. Philpot, be content to come: it is hard hereby.

John Philpot sent for to masse, refuseth to come.

Phil. I wonder my Lorde would trouble you in ſending you about this matter, ſeeing he knoweth I am a man (by your lawe) that can not heare maſſe, becauſe I ſtand excõmunicate.

Biſhops Chap. Your excommunication is but vpon a contumacie, and my Lorde wyl diſpenſe with you, if you wyll come.

Phil. My Lorde can not, for he is not myne Ordinarye, and I wyll not ſeeke any ſuche thing at his handes. With this anſweare they went their way. And after Maſſe the Biſhop called me before hym into his Chappell, and there in the preſence of his Regiſter (after he had ſayde his minde, becauſe I would not come to Maſſe) recited the articles, which he often tymes before had done in that behalf, with the depoſitions of the witneſſes, of whom ſome were not examined.

The Byshop layeth out his articles agayne.

Boner. Sir, what can you now ſay, why I ſhould not proceede to geue ſentence againſt thee as an heretike?

Phil. Why, my Lorde, wyll you proceede to geue ſentence againſt me, before your witneſſes be examined? that is plain againſte your owne Lawe, as all your doinges haue bene hitherto.

The Byshops doinges against the lawe.

Boner. See what a foole thou art in the lawe. I neede not to recite the depoſitions of the witnes, but if I liſt: for I knowe them wel enough already.

Phil. It appeareth in deede you may do what you liſt.

Boner. Tell me, I ſay, whether thou wylt anſwer, or no: whether if thou were abſolued of thine excommunication, thou wouldeſt come to maſſe, or no?

Phil. I haue anſwered as much as I intend to doo, vntyll I be called to lawful iudgment: and as concerning my conſcience, I wyll not make you God to ſit there as yet: it is Gods part only to be ſearcher of the hart.

Boner. Looke how fooliſhly he ſpeaketh. Art thou God? and yet doeſt thou not ſit in thine owne conſcience?

Phil. I ſit not in myne own conſcience: but I know it, and God there onely ought to ſit, and no man els.

Boner. Thou art a naughty felowe, and haſte done muche hurt, & haſt ſeduced other poore felowes here in priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, & haſt made them reioyce and ſing with thee.

John Philpot is rebuked for singing.

Phil. Yea, my Lorde, we ſhall ſing, when you and ſuche other as you are, ſhall crye, Væ, Væ, Woe, woe, excepte you repente.

Boner. What an arrogant foole is this? I wyll handle thee like an hereticke, and that ſhortly.

Phil. I feare nothing (I thanke God) you can do to me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Boner. Haue him away, this is a knaue in deede.

Phil. And I was had into the Wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an houre after was ſent for to come before him and the biſhops of Worceſter and Bangor.

Boner. Sir, I haue talked with you many tymes, and haue cauſed you to be talked withall of many learned men, yea and honourable both Temporall and Spirituall, and it auaileth nothing with you, I am blamed that I haue brought thee afore ſo many: for they ſay, thou glorieſt to haue many to talke withall. Well, nowe it lyeth thee vpon to looke to thy ſelfe: for thy tyme draweth neare to an end, if thou doo not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the Synode to offer you this grace, that if you wyll come to the vnitie of the Church of Rome with vs, and acknowledge the reall preſence of Chriſte in the ſacrament of the aultar with vs, all that is paſt ſhalbe forgeuen, and you receiued to fauor.

Worc. Maiſter Philpot, we are ſent (as you here haue hearde, by my Lorde of London) from the Synode, to offer you mercy, if you wyll receiue it. And of good wyl I beare you, I wiſhe you to take it, whileſt it is offered, and bee not a ſingular man againſte a whole multitude of learned men, whiche nowe in faſting and prayer are gathered together to deuiſe thinges to doo you good. There haue many learned mẽ talked w you: why ſhould you thinke your ſelfe better learned then them all? Be not of ſuche arrogancie, but haue humilitie, and remember there is no ſaluation but in the church.

Talke betwene John Philpot and the B. of Worcester and Bangor.

Bangor. Me thinketh my Lorde hath ſaide wonderfully well vnto you, that you ſhoulde not thinke your ſelfe ſo well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of ſo good wyt, but other be as wiſe as you, neither of ſo good memorie, but other haue as good memorie as you. Therefore miſtruſt your owne iudgement, and come

If violence and tiranny be no token of true religion: what may men iudge then of the Popes religion, I pray you?

Q. Mary.
An. 1555.
December.

home to vs againe. I wis I neuer liked your Religion, becauſe it was ſet forth by violence and tyrannie, & that is no token of true Religiō. And I was that ſame maner of man then that I am nowe, and a greate many moe. Mary, for feare we held our peace, and bare with that tyme. Wherfore M. Philpot, I would you did wel, for I loue you: & therfore be content to come home with vs againe into the catholike church of Rome.

The Popes religion hath no other ground to ſtand vpon, but violence.

Phil. Where, my Lord, (as I may begyn firſt to anſwere you) you ſay, that Religion is to be miſliked, whiche is ſet forth by tyrannie, I pray God you geue not men occaſion to thinke the ſame by yours at this daye, whiche haue none other argument to ſtand by, but violence. If you can ſhewe me by any good ſufficient ground, whereby to grounde my conſcience, that the churche of Rome is the true Catholike church, wherunto you cal me, I wyll gladly be of the ſame: othrwiſe I can not ſo ſoone chaunge the Religion I haue learned theſe many yeares.

Where this religion was 100. yeares ago.

Bangor. Where was your Religion (I pray you) an hundred yeres agoe, that any man knew of it?

Phil. It was in Germanie, and in diuers other places apparent.

Worc. Jeſus, wyll you be ſtyl ſo ſingular a man? What is Germanie to the whole world?

Boner rayleth on Latimer.

Boner. My Lordes, I pray you geue me leaue to tell you, that I ſent for him to heare maſſe this mornyng: and wote you what excuſe he made vnto me? forſooth that he was accurſed, alleging his own ſhame. He plaieth as that varlet Latimer did at Cambridge. When the Vicechancellor ſent for him (who intended to haue excommunicated hym for ſome of his hereſies) & the Chancellor was commyng to his chamber, he hearing that the Chancellour was commyng, made anſwere that he was ſicke of the plague, & ſo deluded the Chancellour: euen ſo this man ſaith, he is accurſed, becauſe he wyl not come to maſſe.

Worc. My Lord (I am ſure) here doth behaue him ſelfe like a father vnto you: therfore be admoniſhed by him, and by vs that come now frendly vnto you, and folowe your fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbidden vs of God by the Prophet Ezechiel, to folowe our fathers, neither to walke in their cōmaundementes.

Worc. It is written alſo in an other place: Interroga patres; Aske of your fathers.

Fathers may be aſked, but not followed further then they follow the Scriptures.

phil, We ought to aſke in deede our fathers that haue more experience and knowledge then we, of Gods wyll, but no more to allowe them, then we perceiue they agree with the Scripture.

Worc. You wyl be a contentious man, I ſee wel: and S. Paul ſaith, that we, neither the church of God haue no ſuch cuſtome.

phil. I am not contentious but for the veritie of my faith, in the which I ought to cōtend with al ſuch as do impugne the ſame without any iuſt obiection.

Worc. Let vs riſe, my lord, for I ſee we ſhal do no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tary and heare the articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, and afterward ſtanding they reaſoned with me a while.

Worc. Maiſter Philpot, I am very ſory that you wyll be ſo ſingular. I neuer talked with none yet in my Dioces, but after one communication had with me, they haue bene contented to reuoke their errours, & to teach the people how they were deceiued, and ſo do much good, as you may, if you lyſt. For as I vnderſtande, you were Archdeacon of Winchester (which is the eye of the Biſhop) and you maye doo muche good in that countrey, if you woulde forſake your errors, and come to the catholike church.

Phil. Wherwithal you ſo ſoone perſwaded thē to your wil, I ſee not. Errour, that I knowe, I holde none, and of the Catholike church I am ſure I am.

Worc. The Catholike Churche dooth acknowledge a reall preſence of Chriſte in the Sacrament, and ſo wyl not you.

* Note he ſayth not in the Sacrament but in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

Phil. That is not ſo: For I acknowledge a very eſſentiall preſence in the duely* vſing of the ſacrament.

Worc. What, a real preſence?

phil. Yea, a real preſence by the ſpirite of God in the right adminiſtration.

Worc. That is wel ſaid: and doo you agree with the Catholike church alſo?

phil. I do agree with the true Catholik church.

Worc. My Lord of London, this man ſpeaketh reaſonably nowe.

Boner. You do agree in generalities, but when it ſhal come to the particularities, you wil farre diſagree.

Worc. Wel keepe your ſelfe here, and you ſhall haue other learned Biſhops to commun further with you, as my lorde of Dureſme, and my Lorde of Chicheſter (whom I heare ſay) you do like well.

phil. I doo like them as I doo al other that ſpeaketh the truth. I haue once already ſpoken with them, & they found no fault with me.

Worc. Pray in the meane ſeaſon for grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is the comfortableſt exerciſe I feele in my trouble, and my conſcience is quiet, and I haue the peace of mind, which can not be the fruites of hereſie.

Worc. We will bid you farewell for this tyme.

After dinner M. Philpot called againe.

Phil. After dynner they called for me againe, and demaunded of me whether I meant as I ſpake before dynner, and not to goe from it. To whom I anſwered, that I woulde not go from that I had ſaide.

Worc. You ſaide at my departing from you before dynner, that if we dyd burne you, we ſhould burne a catholike man. Wyll you be a Catholike man, and ſtande to the Catholike church?

Phil. I wyl ſtand to the true Catholike church.

To ſtand to the Catholicke church is not enough wyth theſe men, except you be in the church of Rome.

Worc. Wyl you ſtand to the Catholike church of Rome?

Phil. If you can proue the ſame to be the catholike church I wyll be one therof.

Worc. Did not Chriſte ſay vnto Peter, and to all his ſucceſſors of Rome: Paſce oues meas, paſce agnos meos? Feede my ſheepe, feede my lambes? which doth ſignifie, that he gaue hym a more authoritie then the reſt.

The wordes of Chriſt, [feede my ſheepe] opened.

Phil. That ſaying perteyneth nothing to the authoritie of Peter aboue others, but declareth what Chriſte requireth of his beloued Apoſtles, that they ſhoulde with all diligence preache to the flocke of Chriſte, the waye of ſaluation, and that dooth the iteration of feeding ſpoken to Peter, onely ſignifie. But the Biſhop of Rome litle regardeth this ſpirituall feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an eaſier way to make hym ſelfe Lord of the whole world, yea & of Gods word to, and doth not feede Chriſten flocke, as Peter dyd.

The Pope is no feeder.

Worc. How can you tel that?

phil. Yes, I haue bene there, and I could not learne of all his countreymen, what euer he preacheth.

Worc. Though he preacheth not one waye, he preacheth an other, by procuryng good order for the Churche to be kept in.

phil. I am ſure that it wyl be his damnation before God, that he leaueth that he is commaunded of Chriſte, & ſetteth forth his owne Decrees to deface the Goſpel.

Worc. It is the euyl liuyng that you haue ſeene at Rome, that cauſeth you to haue this yl iudgement of the church of Rome. I can not tarry nowe with you to reaſon further of this matter. How ſay you to the real preſence of the ſacrament, wyll you ſtande to that?

By really he meaneth truely.

phil. I do acknowledge (as I haue ſaid) a real preſence of the ſacrament in the due adminiſtration therof, to the worthy receiuers by the ſpirit of God.

Worc. You adde now a great many moe wordes then you dyd before: and yet you ſay more of the Sacrament, then a great many wyl doo.

Talke with D. Chadſey, and Doctor Wright, and other.

Thus they departed: and after them came in to me D. Chadſey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxforde, with a great many moe.

Chadſey. Maiſter Philpot, here is maiſter Archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to geue you good counſel: I pray you heare hym.

Phil. I wyl refuſe to heare none that wyl counſell me any good: and if any can bring any matter better then I haue, I wyl ſticke therunto.

wright. I would wiſhe you, Maiſter Philpot to agree with the Catholique Churche, and not to ſtande in your owne conceite: you ſee a great many of learned men againſt you.

Phil. I am (maiſter Doctor) of the vnfained Catholike Church, and wyl lyue and dye therein: and if you can proue your church to be the true Catholike church, I wyl be one of the ſame.

Wright. I came not to diſpute with you, but to exhorte you. Here be better learned then I that can enforme you better then I.

You promiſe more Chadſey then you can proue.

Chad. What proofe woulde you haue? I wyll proue vnto you our church to haue his being and foundation by the ſcriptures, by the Apoſtles, and by the Primitiue churche, confirmed with the bloud of Martyrs, and the teſtimonie of all Confeſſours.

Phil. Geue me your hand, M. Doctor, proue that, & haue with you.

D. Chadſey fetteth his booke of Annotations.

Chadſey. If I had my bookes here, I coulde ſoone proue it, I wyll goe fet ſome: and with that he wente and fet his booke of Annotations, ſaying: I can not bring my

Bookes well, therefore I haue brought my Booke of Annotations, and turned there to a common place of the Sacramente, aſking me whether the Catholike Churche did not allowe the preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, or no? I heare ſay, you doo confeſſe a reall preſence: but I wyl be hanged, if you wyl abide by it. You wyl deny it by and by.

Phil. That I haue ſaid, I can not deny, neither intend not, what ſoeuer you ſay.

Chad. If there be a reall preſence in the ſacrament, then euyll men receiue Chriſt, which thing you wyl not graunt, I am ſure.

Whether euill men receiue the body of Chriſt.

Phil. I denye the argument. For I doo not graunte in the Sacrament, by tranſubſtantiation any real preſence, as you falſly imagine, but in the due adminiſtratiō to the worthy receiuers.

Chad. I wyll proue that the euyll and wicked men eate the body of Chriſt, as well as the good men, by Saint Auſtine here.

Phil. And in the beginnyng of his Texte Saint Auguſtine ſeemeth to approue his aſſertion: but I bade hym reade out to the ende, and there ſaint Auſtine declareth that it was quodam modo, after a certaine maner the euyll men receiued the body of Chriſte, whiche is ſacramentally only, in the vtter ſignes, and not really, or in deede, as the good dooth. And thus all the Doctours that you ſeeme to bring in for your purpoſe, be quite againſte you, if you did rightly weigh them.

Quodam modo.

Chad. By God you are a ſubtile felow. See how he would wrythe S. Auſtines wordes.

Phil. See who of vs wryeth S. Auſtine more, you or I, whiche take his meaning by his owne expreſſe wordes. And ſeing you charge me of ſubtiltie, what ſubtiltie is this of you, to ſay, that you wil proue your matter of the church euen from the beginnyng, promiſing to ſhewe your bookes therin, and when it commeth to the ſhewing, you are able to ſhewe none, and for want of proofe ſlip into a bymatter, & and yet faint in the proofe thereof. Afore God you are bare arſt in all your religion.

D. Chadſey fainteth in his proofe.

Chad. You ſhalbe cōſtrained to come to vs at length, whether you wil, or no.

Phil. Hold that argument faſt: for it is the beſt you haue: for you haue nothing but violence.

The thirteenth examination of Maiſter Philpot, before the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and diuers other Biſhops.

The 13. examination of M. Philpot, before the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and other Byſhops.

THe Thurſday after, I was called in the mornyng before the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Biſhop of Bath, and the Biſhop of London. The Biſhop of Chicheſter being firſte come, beganne to talke with me.

Chich. I am come of good wyll to talke with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the Catholike church, & to wil you miſtruſt your own iudgement, and to learne firſt to haue humilitie, and by the ſame to learne of others that be better learned then you, as they did learne of ſuche as were their betters before them.

Phil. We muſte be all taught of God, and I will with all humilitie learne of them that wyll enforme me by Gods worde, what I haue to doo. I confeſſe I haue but little learnyng in reſpecte of you, that both for your yeares and great exerciſe to excell therein: but faith conſiſteth not onlye in learning, but in ſimplicitie of beleuing that whiche Gods worde teacheth. Therefore I wyll be gladde to heare both of your Lordſhip, and of anye other (that God hathe reuealed vnto by his worde) the true Doctrine thereof, and to thanke you, that it dooth pleaſe you to take paynes herein.

Fayth conſiſteth not in learning but in beleuing.

Chich. You take the firſt alleged, amiſſe, as though al men ſhould be taught by inſpiration, and not by learning. Howe do we beleue the Goſpel, but by the authoritie of the church and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it?

Phil. S. Paul ſaith: He learned not the Goſpel by men, neither of men, but by the reuelation of Ieſus Chriſt: which is a ſufficient proofe that the Goſpell taketh not his authoritie of man, but of God onely.

The authoritye of the Church.

Chich. S. Paul ſpeaketh but of his own knowledge how he came therto.

Phil. Nay, he ſpeaketh of the Goſpell generally. Whiche commeth not from man, but from God, and that the church muſt onely teache that whiche commeth from God, and not mans precepts.

Chich. Doth not S. Auſtine ſay: I woulde not beleue the Goſpell, if the authoritie of the churche did not moue me thereto?

The place of S. Auſten I would not beleue the worde if the church did not moue me &c.

Phil. I graunt that the authoritie of the Churche dooth moue the vnbeleeuers to beleeue, but yet the Churche geueth not the worde his authoritie: for the worde hath his authoritie onely from God, and not of man: men be but diſpoſers thereof. For firſt the worde hath his being before the Churche, and the worde is the foundation of the church: and firſt is the foundation ſure, before the building theron can be ſtedfaſt.

The word hath his authoritie onely of God, and not of the Church.

Chich. I perceiue you miſtake me. I ſpeake of the knowledge of the Goſpell, and not of the authoritie: for by the church we haue al knowledge of the Goſpel.

Phil. I confeſſe that. For faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the worde. And I acknowledge, that God appoynteth an ordinarye meanes for men to come vnto the knowledge now, & not myraculouſly, as he hath don in times paſt: yet we that be taught by men muſt take heede that we learne nothing els but that which was taught in the Primatiue churche by reuelation. Here came in the Biſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Bath, and after they had ſaluted one an other, and commoned a while together, the Archbiſhop of Yorke called me vnto them, ſaying:

The word is the foundation of the Church, and not the Church of the word.

Yorke. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the waye, are come of charitie to enforme you, & to bring you into the true faith, & to the catholike church againe, willing you firſte to haue humilitie, and to be humble & willing to learne of your betters: for els we can doo no good with you. And God ſaith by his Prophet: On whom ſhal I reſt, but on the humble and meeke, and ſuch as tremble at my word.

Talke betwene the Archbiſh. of Yorke and Iohn Philpot.

Now if you wyl ſo be, we wil be glad to trauaile w̄ you.

Phil. I know that humilitie is the doore wherby we enter vnto Chriſt, and I thanke his goodnes I haue entred in at the ſame vnto hym, & with all humilitie heare what ſoeuer truth you ſhal ſpeake vnto me.

Yorke. What be the matters you ſtande on, and require to be ſatiſfied in?

Phil. My lord, & it pleaſe your grace, we were entred into a good matter before you came, of the church, and howe we ſhould know the truth but by the church.

Yorke. In deede that is the head, we neede to begynne at. For the church being truely knowen, we ſhall ſooner agree in the particuler thinges.

Phil. If your Lordſhips can proue the church of Rome to be the true catholike church, it ſhal do much to perſwade me toward that you would haue me incline vnto.

Yorke. Why, let vs go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Phil. It is a Congregation of people, diſperſed through the worlde, agreeing together in the worde of GOD, vſing the Sacramentes and all other thinges according to the ſame.

The Church defined.

Yorke. Your definition is of many wordes to no purpoſe.

Phil. I do not preciſely define the church, but declare vnto you what I thinke the church is.

Yorke. Is the church viſible or inuiſible?

phil. It is both viſible and inuiſible. The inuiſible church is of all the electes of God onely: the viſible conſiſteth of both good and bad, vſing all thinges in faith, according to Gods worde.

The Church both viſible and inuiſible.

Yorke. The church is an vniuerſall congregation of faithful people in Chriſt through the world: which this worde Catholike dooth well expreſſe: for what is Catholike els? doth it not ſignifie vniuerſal?

phil. The church is defined by S. Auſtine to be called catholike in this wiſe: Eccleſia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia vniuerſaliter perfecta eſt & in nullo claudicat: The churche is called therfore Catholike, becauſe it is throughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.

Catholicke defined by S. Auſt.

Yorke. Nay, it is called Catholike, becauſe it is vniuerſally receiued of al Chriſtian nations, for the moſt part.

Catholicke defined by the Papiſtes.

Phil. The Churche was Catholique in the Apoſtles tyme: yet was it not vniuerſally receyued of the worlde: but becauſe their Doctrine whiche they had receyued of Chriſte, was perfecte, and appoynted to be preached and receyued of the whole worlde, therefore it is called the Catholike faith, and all perſons receiuyng the ſame, to be counted the Catholike Churche. And S. Auſtine in an other place writeth, that the Catholike church is that which beleueth aright.

Yorke. If you wyll learne, I wyll ſhewe you by Saint Auſtine, writing againſte the Donatiſtes, that he proueth the Catholike Church by two principall poyntes, which is, vniuerſalitie and ſucceſſion of Biſhops in one Apoſtolicall See from tyme to tyme. Nowe thus wyll I make myne argument.

Vniuerſalitye and ſucceſſion.

The Church of Rome is vniuerſall, & hath had her ſucceſſiō of biſhops from tyme to tyme.

This cōſequent being reduced into a ſyllogiſme of the firſt figure, wyll ground vpon a falſe Maior.

Da- Vniuerſalitie and Succeſſion make a true Church.
ri- The Churche of Rome hath vniuerſall ſucceſſion.
j. Ergo the Church of Rome is the true Church.

Ergo, it is the Catholike church.

How anſwere you to this argument?

phil. I denye the antecedent, that the Catholique Churche is onely knowen by vniuerſalitie, and ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

1555.

December.

* To this is ſufficiently anſwered before.

Yorke. I wyl proue it. And with that he brought forth a booke whiche he had noted out of the Doctours, and turned to his common places therin of the church, and recited one or two out of S. Auſtine, & ſpecially out of his Epiſtle written againſt the Donatiſtes, where S. Auſtine manifeſtly* proueth, that the Donatiſtes were not the catholike church, becauſe they had no ſucceſſion of biſhops in their opinion, neither vniuerſalitie: and the ſame force hath ſ. Auſtines argument againſt you.

Vniuerſalitie alwayes to be ioyned with Veritie.

phil. My Lorde, I haue weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceiue it maketh nothing againſt me, neither it commeth to your purpoſe. For I wil ſtande to the trial of S. Auſtine for the approbatiō of the catholike Church, wherof I am. For ſ. Auſtine ſpeaketh of vniuerſalitie ioyned with veritie, and of faithful ſucceſſors of Peter, before corruption came into the Church. And ſo if you can deduce your argumēt for the See of Rome now, as S. Auſten might doo in his time, I woulde ſaye it might be of ſome force: otherwiſe not.

* Not principally by your leaue, my Lord.

Yorke. S. Auſten proueth the Catholike church* principally by ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and therfore you vnderſtand not ſ. Auſten. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatiſtes, againſte whom he wrote? Can you tel? what countrey were they of?

Phil. They were a certaine ſect of men, affirming among other hereſies, that the dignitie of the ſacramentes depended vpon the worthines of the Miniſter: ſo that if the Miniſter were good, the ſacramentes which he miniſtred were auailable, or els not.

The errour of the Donatiſtes.

Chicheſt. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read an other authoritie of ſ. Auſten, out of a booke, which he brought euen to the ſame purpoſe that the other was.

phil. I challenge ſaint Auſten to be with me throughly in this poynt, and wyl ſtand to his iudgemēt, taking one place with an other.

The Church may be certeine and yet not tyed to one place.

Chich. If you wil not haue the Church to be certaine, I pray you by whom wil you be iudged in matters of controuerſie?

Phil. I do not deny the Church to be certaine: but I denye that it is neceſſarily tyed to any place, longer then it abideth in the word, and for al controuerſies the word ought to be iudge.

Chich. But what if I take it one way, & you an other? how then?

Auguſt. De doctrina Chriſtiana.

Phil. S. Auſten ſheweth a remedie for that, and wylleth, quòd vnus locus per plura intelligi debeat: That one place of the Scripture ought to be vnderſtand by the moe.

Argument A cauſa non ſufficiente et non totali.

Yorke. How anſweare you to this argument? Rome hath a knowen ſucceſſion of Biſhoppes, which your church hath not.

Ergo, that is the Catholike Churche, and yours is not, becauſe there is no ſuche ſucceſſion can be proued for your church.

The Argument denyed.

Phil. I deny (my Lorde) that ſucceſſion of Biſhops is an infallible poynt to knowe the church by: for there may be a ſucceſſion of Biſhops knowen in a place, and yet there be no Church, as at Antioche and at Hieruſalem, and in other places, where the Apoſtles abode as wel as at Rome. But if you put to the ſucceſſion of biſhops ſucceſſion of doctrine withal (as S. Auſten doth) I wyl graunt it to be a good proofe for the Catholike church: but a local ſucceſſion only is nothing vailable.

Locall ſucceſſion without ſucceſſion of doctrine, nothing auayleth.

Yorke. You wyll haue no church then, I ſee wel.

Phil. Yes, my lorde, I acknowledge the Catholike church, as I am bound by my Creede: but I can not acknowledge a falſe church for the true.

Chich. Why, is there two catholike churches then?

Apoca. 2.

Phil. No, I know there is but one catholike churche, but there haue bene and be at this preſent, that take vpon them the name of Chriſt & of his church, which be not ſo in dede, as it is written: That there be that cal thē ſelues Apoſtles and be not ſo in deede, but the Synagogue of Satan, & lyers. And now it is with vs, as it was with the two women in Salomons tyme, which laye together, and the one ſuppreſſed her childe, and afterwarde went aboute to challenge the true mothers childe.

3. Reg. 3.
The mother Church of Rome compared to the woman in Salomons tyme, that falſly chalenged the true mothers child from her.

Chich. What a babling is here with you nowe? I ſee you lacke humilitie. You wyll goe about to teache, and not to learne.

Phil. My lords, I muſt deſire you to beare with my haſty ſpeach: it is my infirmitie of nature. All that I ſpeake is to learne by. I would you did vnderſtand al my mind, that I might be ſatiſfied by you through better authoritie.

Chich. My Lord, & it pleaſe your grace, turne the argument vpon hym, whiche you haue made, and let hym ſhewe the ſucceſſion of the Biſhoppes of his Churche, as we can doo. Howe ſaye you, can you ſhewe the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in your Church from tyme to tyme? I tel you, this argument troubled Doctour * Ridley ſo ſore, that he coulde neuer anſweare it: yet he was a man well learned, I dare ſay you wyl ſay ſo.

* So ye ſay now, when ye would geue him no leaue nor tyme when he was alyue to make his anſweres.

Phil. He was a man ſo learned, that I was not worthye to cary his bookes for learning.

Chich. I promiſe you he was neuer able to anſweare that. He was a man that I loued well, and he me: for he came vnto me diuers tymes being in priſon, and conferred with me.

Phil. I woonder, my Lord, you ſhould make this argument which you would turne vpon me, for the tryall of my church wherof I am, or that you would make biſhop Ridley ſo ignorant that he was not able to anſwere it, ſince it is of no force. For behold, firſt I denyed you that local ſucceſſion of Biſhops in one place, is a neceſſarye poynt alone to proue the Catholike church by, and that whiche I haue denyed, you can not proue: and is it then reaſon that you ſhould put me to the tryall of that, which by you is vnproued, and of no force to conclude againſt me.

Succeſſion of Byſhops alone is no ſufficient poynt, to proue the Catholicke Church.

Chich. I ſee, my Lordes, we doo but loſe our labours to reaſon with hym: he taketh hym ſelfe better learned then wee.

Phil. I take vpon me the name of no learnyng: I boaſt of no knowledge, but of faith & of Chriſt, and that I am bound vndoubtedly to know, as I am ſure I do.

Chich. Theſe heretikes take vpō thē to be ſure of al things they ſtand in. You ſhould ſay rather with humilitie, I truſt I know Chriſt, then that you be ſure therof.

Leaue your reuiling termes, my Lord, and go to the matter.

Phil. Let hym doubt of his faith that lyſteth: God geue me alwayes grace to beleue that I am ſure of true faith & fauour in Chriſt.

Note how theſe men ground their fayth not vpon Gods worde, but vpon the determination of their owne knowne Church.

Bath. Howe wyll you be able to anſwere heretikes, but by the determination of the knowen Catholike church?

Phil. I am able to anſwere all heretikes by the worde of God, and conuince them by the ſame.

Chich. Howe arrogantly is that ſpoken? I dare not ſaye ſo.

Phil. My Lord, I pray you beare with me: for I am bold in the truth ſide, and I ſpeake ſomewhat by experience that I haue had with heretikes: and I know the Arians be the ſubtelleſt that euer were, and yet I haue manifeſt ſcriptures to beate them downe withal.

Chich. I perceiue nowe you are the ſame manner of man I haue hearde of, whiche wyll not be ſatiſfied by learnyng.

Phil. Alas, my Lord, why do you ſay ſo? I do deſire moſt humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I ſhould learne: and hitherto you haue ſhewed me no better: therefore I praye your Lordſhip not to miſiudge without a cauſe.

Bath. If you be the true Catholike church, then wyl you hold with the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacramēt, which the true church hath euer mainteyned.

Phil. And I, my Lord, with the true church do holde the ſame in the due miniſtration of the ſacrament: but I deſire you, my Lorde, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other: for if the church be proued, we ſhall ſoone agree in the reſt. In the meane while my lord of Yorke was turning his booke for moe places to helpe forth his cauſe.

My Lord of Yorke turneth to ſeeke his bookes.

Auguſt. De ſimplicitate credendi.

Yorke. I haue found at length a very notable place, which I haue looked for al this while, of S. Auſtine, De ſimplicitate credendi.

M. Philpot falſely reported to deny Doctours.

Chich. It is but folly (my Lorde) that your grace doo reade hym any moe places, for he eſteemeth them not.

Phil. I eſteeme them, in as muche as they be of force: as your Lordſhip doth heare me deny no Doctours you bring, but onely require the true application of them, according to the Writers meanyng, & as by his owne wordes may be proued.

4. poyntes to proue the Catholicke Church, out of S. Auſt.
1. Conſent of al nations.

Yorke. I wyll reade hym the place, and ſo make an ende. After he had read the ſentence, he ſaide, that by foure ſpeciall poyntes here S. Auſtine proueth the catholike church. The firſt is, by the conſent of al nations, the ſecond, by the Apoſtolike See, the third, by vniuerſalitie, & the fourth, by this worde Catholike.

Chich. That is a notable place in deede, and it pleaſe your grace.

Phil. I pray you, my Lord, of what church doth S. Auſtine write the ſame, of Rome, or not?

Yorke.

1555. Decemb.

Yorke. Yea, he writeth it of the Church of Rome.

Phil. I will lay with your Lordshyppe as much as I can make, it is not so: and let the booke be ſene.

Bath. What art thou able to lay, that haſt nothyng.

Yorke. Doth he not make mention here of the Apoſtolicke ſea, whereby he meaneth Rome?

2. Sea Apoſtolicall. 3. Vniuerſalitie. 4. Catholick. Anſwere to the Archbyſhops 4. poyntes.

Philpot. That is very ſtraitly interpreted my Lord, as though the Apoſtolicke ſea had bene no where els but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet ſhall you neuer verifie the ſame, vnleſſe all the other conditions do go therewith as S. Auguſtine doth procede withall, wherof none except the Apoſtolicke ſea can now bee verified of the Churche of Rome. For the fayth whiche that Sea now mayntaineth, hath not the conſent of all nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it can not haue the name of Catholicke, becauſe it differeth from the Catholicke Churches whiche the Apoſtles planted, almoſt in all thynges.

Yorke. Nay, hee goeth about here to proue the Catholicke Church by vniuerſalitie: ⁊ how can you ſhew your Church to be vniuerſall fifty or an hundred yeares ago?

Chriſtes Church ceaſeth not to be his church albeit in time of perſecutiō it be hid ſometyme in corners. Firſt anſwere to hys reaſon, and call him obſtinate afterward.

Phil. That is not material, neither anything againſt S. Auguſtine. For my Church (wherof I am) were to be counted vniuerſal, though it were but in .x. perſõs, becauſe it agreeth with the ſame that the Apoſtles vniuerſally did plant.

Yorke. I perceiue you are an obſtinate man in your opiniõ, ⁊ will not be taught: wherfore it is but loſt labour to talke with you any lenger: you are a member to be cut of.

Chicheſter. I haue heard of you before how you troubled the good Byſhop of Wincheſter, and now I ſee in you that I haue heard.

Phil. I truſt you ſee no euill in me by this. I deſire of you a ſure grounde to build my fayth on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeake not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chicheſter. Thou art as* impudent a felow as I haue cõmoned withall.

* Becauſe my Lord, you be not able to aunſwere him.

Philpot. That is ſpoken vncharitably my Lord, to blaſpheme him whom you can not iuſtly reproue.

Chicheſter. Why, you are not God. Blaſphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Philpot. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy layd to man ſpeakyng in Gods cauſe, as you now doe lay vnto me for ſpeakyng freely the truth afore GOD, to maintaine your vayne Religion. You are voyde of all good groũd. I perceiue you are blynd guides and leaders of the blynde, and therfore (as I am bounde to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecutyng the truth, which otherwiſe by iuſt order you are able to conuince by no meanes. Your owne Doctours and teſtimonies which you bring, be euidently agaynſt you, and yet you will not ſee the truth.

Chicheſt. Haue we this thanke for our good will, cõmyng to inſtruct thee?

Veritas odium parit.

Philpot. My Lordes, you muſt beare with me, ſince I ſpeake in Chriſtes cauſe: and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully ſlayne by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the diſhonour of GOD, and to hypocriſie with you. If I told you not your fault it ſhould be required at my handes in the day of Iudgement. Therfore knowe you (ye hypocrites in deede) that it is the ſpirite of God that telleth you your ſinne, and not I. I paſſe not (I thanke God) of all your crueltie. God forgeue it you, ⁊ geue you grace to repent. And ſo they departed.

The free hart of Iohn Philpot in telling truth.

¶ An other talke the ſame day.

The ſame day at night before ſupper, ỹ Biſhop ſet for me into his Chappell in the preſence of Archdeacon Harpeſfield, Doctour Chadſey, and other his Chaplaines, and his ſeruanntes: at what tyme he ſayd.

An other calling of M. Philpot before the Byſhop.

London. Maiſter Philpot, I haue by ſundry meanes gone about to do you good, and I maruelle you doe ſo litle conſider it: by my truth I can not tell what to ſay to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man or no, and wherupon you chiefly ſtand.

Phil. I haue told your Lordſhyps oftentymes playne enough, whereon I ſtand chiefly, requiryng a ſure probation of the Church whereunto you call me.

Harpſ. S. Auſten wrytyng agaynſt the Donatiſtes, declareth foure ſpeciall notes to know the Church by: the cõſent of many nations, the fayth of the Sacramentes confirmed by antiquitie, ſucceſſion of Byſhops, and vniuerſalitie.

To this was aunſwered ſufficiently before.

London. I pray you Maiſter Archdeacon, fet the booke hether: it is a notable place, let him ſee it. And the booke was brought, and the Byſhop read it, demaundyng how I could aunſwere the ſame.

Phil. My Lord, I like S. Auſtens foure pointes for the triall of the Catholicke Church, wherof I am: for it can abide euery poynt therof together, which yours can not do.

Harpſ. Haue not we ſucceſſion of Byſhops in the Sea and church of Rome? wherfore then do you deny our Churche to be the catholicke Church?

Phil. S. Auſtine doth not put ſucceſſion of Byſhops onely to be ſufficient, but he addeth the vſe of the Sacramentes accordyng to antiquitye and doctrine vniuerſally taught ⁊ receiued of moſt nations from the beginnyng of the primatiue Church, the which your Churche is farre from. But my church can auouch all theſe better then yours: therefore by S. Auſtins iudgement whiche you here bryng, myne is the catholicke Church, and not yours.

Harpſ. Chad. It is but folly (my Lorde) for you to reaſon with him, for he is irrecuperable.

Phil. That is a good ſhyft for you to runne vnto, when you be confounded in your owne ſayinges, and haue nothyng els to ſaye: you are euidently deceiued, and yet will not ſee it when it is layd to your face.

It is beſt for you to ſay ſo, when you haue no other way to ſhift of his Argumentes.

Thus haue I at large ſet forth, as many of the ſayd Iohn Philpot his examinatiõs and priuie conferences, as are yet come to lyght, beyng faythfully written with his owne hand. And although he was diuers other tymes, after this, examined, both openly in the Conſiſtory at Paules, and alſo ſecretly in the Byſhops houſe: yet, what was there ſayd, is not yet ſufficiently knowen, eyther becauſe M. Philpot was not him ſelfe ſuffered to wryte, or els for that his wrytynges are by ſome kept cloſe, and not brought forth, otherwiſe then as ỹ byſhops Regiſter hath noted, whoſe handelyng of ſuch matters, becauſe it is (eyther for feare or for fauour of his Lord and maſter) very ſlender, litle light of any true and right meanyng can be gathered, eſpecially on ỹ behalfe of the aunſwerer. How be it ſuch as it is, ſuch thought I good to put foorth requiryng the reader to iudge hereof accordyng to his aunſweres in his former examinations.

¶ The laſt examinations of M. Philpot in open iudgement, with his finall condemnation by Byſhop Boner in the Conſiſtory at Paules.

The Byſhop hauyng ſufficiently taken his pleaſure with maſter Philpot in his priuate talkes, and ſeyng his zealous, learned, and immutable Conſtancie, thought it nowe high tyme to ryd his handes of hym, and therfore on the .xiij. and .xiiij. dayes of December, ſitting iudicially in the Conſiſtory at Paules, hee cauſed him to be brought thether before hym and others, as it ſeemeth, more for others ſake, the for any good affection to iuſtice and right iudgement. The effect aswell of which two ſundry their proceedinges, as alſo of one other had the .xi. day of ỹ ſame moneth in his chappell, appeare in a maner to be all one. The Byſhop therefore firſt ſpeakyng to Maiſter Philpot, ſayd:

The laſt examinations of M. Philpot in open iudgement, with his final condemnation by B. Boner in the conſiſtory at Paules. December. 14.

Lond. M. Philpot, amongeſt other thinges that were leyd and obiected vnto you, there three thinges ye were eſpecially charged and burdened withall.

M. Philpot called into open iudgement. 3. Speciall Articles layd to M. Philpot.

The firſt is, that you beyng fallen from the vnitie of Chriſtes Catholicke Churche, do refuſe and will not come and be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, that you haue blaſphemouſly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, callyng it idolatry.

And the third is, that you haue ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrament of the aulter, denyyng the real preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud to be in the ſame.

And accordyng to the will and pleaſure of the Synode legatine, ye haue ben oft and many tymes by me inuited and required to go from your ſayd errours and hereſies, and to returne to the vnity of the catholicke Church, whiche if you will now willingly do, ye ſhal be mercifully and gladly receiued, charitably vſed, and haue al the fauour I can ſhew you. And now to tell you true, it is aſſigned ⁊ appointed to geue ſentẽce againſt you, if you ſtand herein, and will not returne. Wherfore if ye ſo refuſe, I do aſke of you whether you haue any cauſe that you can ſhew, why I ſhoulde not now geue ſentence agaynſt you?

Phil. Vnder proteſtation, not to go from my appeale that I haue made, and alſo not to conſent to you as my competent iudge, I ſay, touching your firſt obiection concernyng the Catholicke Churche, I neyther was nor am out of the ſame. And as touching the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and the Sacrament of the* alter, I neuer ſpake agaynſt the ſame. And as concernyng the pleaſure of the Sinode, I ſay: that theſe .xx. yeares I haue bene brought vp in the fayth of the true Catholicke church, which is contrary to your church, wherũto ye would haue me to come: ⁊ in that tyme I haue ben many tymes ſworne (as well in the reigne of K. Henry the viij. as in the reigne of good kyng Edward his ſonne) agaynſt the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome, which othe I thinke that I am bound in my conſcience to kepe, quia teneor reddere Domino iuramentum. But if you or any

* Here eyther the Regiſter belyeth M. Philpot or els he ment as not offending the law, thereby to be accuſed, for otherwiſe all his former examinations doe declare that he ſpake agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar.

ny of the Synode can by Gods word perſwade me that my ſayd othe was vnlawfull, and that I am bounde by Gods law to come to your Church, fayth, and Religiō, wherof you be now, I will gladly yeld, agree, and be conformable vnto you: otherwiſe not.

B. Boner with all his Doctors, not able to ſatiſfie M. Philpots offer.

Boner thē not able with all his learned Doctours to accompliſh this his offered cōdition, fell to perſwadyng of him, as well by his accuſtomed vayne promiſes, as alſo by bloudy threatnynges to returne to their Church: to the whiche he aunſwered.

Phil. You and all other of your ſort are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocriſie, your tyranny, ignoraunce and Idolatry.

December 16.

Upon theſe wordes, the Byſhop dyd for that tyme diſmiſſe him, cōmaundyng that on Monday the xvj. day of the ſame moneth, betwene the houres of one & three in the after noone, he ſhould agayne be brought thether, their to haue the definitiue ſentence of condemnation pronounced agaynſt him, if he remayned then in his former conſtancie.

¶The laſt examination of Maiſter Iohn Philpot.

The laſt examination of John Philpot.

AT whiche day and tyme, Maiſter Philpot beyng there preſented before the Byſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Lichfield, Boner Byſhoppe of London began his talke in this maner.

London. My Lord Stokeſley, my predeceſſour, when he went about to geue ſentence agaynſt an hereticke, vſed to make this prayer.

B. Stokeſleyes prayer when he gaue ſentence vpon any.

Deus qui errantibus vt in viā poſſint redire iuſtitiæ, veritatis tuæ lumen oſtendis, da cunctis qui Chriſtiana profeſſione cenſentur, & illa reſpuere quæ huic inimica ſunt nomini, & ea quæ ſint apta ſectari per Chriſtum dominum noſtrum, Amen. Which I will folow. And ſo he read it with a loude voyce in Latin. To the which Maiſter Philpot ſayd:

Philpot. I would ye would ſpeake in Engliſh, that all men might heare and vnderſtand you: for Paule willeth that all thynges ſpoken in the congregation to edifie, ſhould be ſpoken in a toung that all men might vnderſtand.

Wherupon the Byſhop did read it in Engliſh: and whē he came to theſe wordes: to refuſe thoſe thynges whiche are foes to this name, Philpot ſayd:

B. Boner prayeth agaynſt him ſelfe.

Phil. Then they all muſt turne away from you: for you are enemyes to that name (meanyng Chriſtes name) and God ſaue vs from ſuch hypocrites as would haue thynges in a toung that men can not vnderſtand.

London. Whom do you meane?

Phil. You and all other that be of your generation and ſect. And I am ſory to ſee you ſit in ỳ place ỳ you now ſit in, pretēdyng to execute iuſtice, & doe nothyng leſſe but deceiue all men in this Realme.

And then turnyng himſelfe vnto the people, hee farther ſayd: oh all you Gentlemen, beware of theſe men (meanyng the Byſhops) and all their doynges, which be contrary vnto the primatiue Churche. And I would know of you my Lord by what authoritie you do procede agaynſt me?

B. Boner hath no authoritie by right to procede agaynſt M. Philpot.

London. Becauſe I am Byſhop of London.

Philpot. Well, then ye are not my Byſhop nor I haue not offended in your Dioceſſe: and moreouer I haue appealed from you, and therefore by your owne law you ought not to procede agaynſt me, eſpecially beyng brought hether from an other place by violence.

London. Why? who ſent you hether to me?

Philpot. That did Doctour Story and Doctour Cooke, with other the Kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners: and my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own ſhepe, but ye muſt alſo meddle with other mens ſheepe?

Then the Byſhop deliuered vnto Philpot two bookes, one of the Ciuile law, and the other of the Canon, out of the whiche he would haue proued that he had authoritie to procede agaynſt him in ſuch ſorte as he did. M. Philpot then peruſing the ſame, and ſeyng the ſmall and ſlender proofe that was there alledged, ſayd vnto the Byſhop:

Philpot. I perceiue your law and Diuinitie is all one: for you haue knowledge in neither of them: and I would ye did know your owne ignoraunce: but ye daunce in a net, and thinke that no man doth ſee you. Hereupon they had much talke, but what it was, it is not yet knowen. At laſt Boner ſpake vnto him and ſayd:

London. Philpot, as concernyng your obiections agaynſt my iuriſdiction, ye ſhall vnderſtand that both the Ciuill and Canon lawes make agaynſt you: and as for your appeale, it is not allowed in this caſe. For it is writtē in the law: A iudice diſpoſitionem iuris exequente, non eſt appellandum.

B. Boner noted to be ignorant in the law.

Philpot. My Lorde it appeareth by your interpretation of the lawe, that ye haue noe knowledge therein, nor that ye doe vnderſtand the lawe: for if ye dyd, ye woulde not bryng in that text.

This law ſeemeth either blyndly compared of the Byſhop, or els not rightly collected of his Regiſter.

Hereupon the Byſhop recited a lawe of the Romains, that it was not lawfull for a Iew to keepe a Chriſtian man in captiuitie, and to vſe him as his ſlaue, laying then to the ſayd Philpots charge, that hee dyd not vnderſtand the law, but dyd lyke a Iewe. Wherunto Philpot aunſwered:

Phil. No, I am no Iewe: but you my Lorde are a Iewe. For you profeſſe Chriſt and mainteine Antichriſt: you profeſſe the Goſpell, & maynteine ſuperſtition, & ye bee able to charge me with nothing.

Lond. and other Biſh. With what can you charge vs?

Phil. You are enemyes to all truth, and all your doynges be naught full of Idolatrye, ſauyng the article of the Trinitye.

The Lord Maior with the Shrieffes aſſiſtant to B. Boner agaynſt John Philpot.

Whyleſt they were thus debating the matter, there came thether Syr Williā Garret knight then Maior of London, Sir Martyn Bowes Knight, and Thomas Leigh, then Shrieffe of the ſame City, and ſat downe with the ſayd byſhops in the ſayd Conſiſtory, where and what tyme Byſhop Boner ſpake theſe wordes in effect as followeth.

Lond. Philpot, before the commyng of my Lord Maior, becauſe I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I haue heretofore and now intend to charge you with all, vntill his commyng, I dyd rehearſe vnto you a prayer both in Engliſh and in Latyn, whiche Byſhop Stokeſly my predeceſſor vſed when he intended to procede to geue ſētence agaynſt an hereticke.

And here they did agayne read the ſayd prayer both in Engliſh and alſo in Latin: which beyng ended, he ſpake agayne vnto him and ſayd:

The 3. Articles againſt John Philpot agayne repeated.

Boner. Philpot, amongeſt other I haue to charge you, eſpecially with three thinges.

1. Firſt, where you haue fallē from the vnitye of Chriſtes Catholicke church, you haue therupon bene inuited and required, not onely by me, but alſo by many and diuers others catholicke Byſhops, and other learned men, to returne and come agayne to the ſame: and alſo you haue bene offered by me: that if you would ſo returne and confeſſe your errours and hereſies, you ſhoulde be mercifully receiued, and haue ſo much fauour as I could ſhew vnto you.
2. The ſecond is, that you haue blaſphemouſly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, callyng it idolatry and abomination.
3. And thirdly that you haue ſpoken and holden agaynſt ỳ ſacrament of the aulter, denying the real preſēce of Chriſtes body and bloud to be in the ſame.

This beyng ſpoken, the Byſhop recyted vnto him a certayne exhortation in Engliſhe, the tenour and forme wherof is this.

¶Byſhop Boners exhortation.

An exhortation of B. Boner to John Philpot. December 16.

MAſter Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the vnity of the catholicke church, frō whence ye dyd fall in the tyme of the late ſchiſme here in this Realme of England, agaynſt the ſea Apoſtolicke of Rome, will now hartely & obediently be reconciled to the vnity of the ſame catholicke Church, profeſſing and promiſing to obſerue & keepe to the beſt of your power the fayth and Chriſtian Religion obſerued & kept of al faythfull people of the ſame: and moreouer if ye which heretofore, eſpecially in the yeare of our Lord. 1553. 1554. 1555. or in one of them, haue offended and treſpaſſed greuouſly agaynſt the ſacrifice of rhe maſſe, callyng it idolatrye and abominable, and lykewiſe haue offended and treſpaſſed agaynſt the ſacramēt of the alter, denying the real preſēce of Chriſtes body & bloud to be there in the ſacramēt of the alter, affirming alſo withall material bread & materiall wyne to be in the ſacrament of the aulter, & not the ſubſtaunce of the body & blond of Chriſt: if ye, I ſay, wilbe reconcyled as is afore, and wil forſake your hereſies and errors before touched, beyng hereticall and damnable, and will allowe alſo the ſacrament of the Maſſe, ye ſhall be mercifully reciued & charitably vſed, with as much fauour as may be: if not, ye ſhall be reputed, taken and iudged for an hereticke (as ye be in deede.) Nowe do you chuſe what ye will do: you are counſelled herein friendly and fauourably.

Ita eſt quod Ed. Boner Epiſ. Lond.

John Philpot aunſwereth to the Byſhops exhortation before the Lord Maior.

The Byſhops exhortation thus ended, M. Philpot turned him ſelfe vnto the Lord Maior and ſayd:

Phil. To you my Lord Mayor bearing ỳ ſword, I am glad that it is my chaūce now to ſtand before that authority that hath defended the Goſpell, and the truth of Gods word: but I am ſory to ſee that that authority whiche repreſenteth the Kings and Queenes perſons, ſhoulde nowe be chaunged,

ged, and be at the commaundement of Antichriſt. And ye (ſpeakyng to the Byſhops) pretend to be the felowes of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and yet ye be very Antichriſtes and deceiuers of the people: and I am glad that God hath geuen me power to ſtand here this day, and to declare and defend my fayth, which is founded on Chriſt.

To the firſt article. John Philpot is of the Catholicke Church, but not of the Babilonicall church.

Therefore as touchyng your firſt obiection, I ſay that I am of the Catholicke Church, wherof I was neuer out, and that your Church (which ye pretend to be the Catholicke Church) is the Church of Rome, & ſo the Babylonicall & not the Catholicke church: of that Church I am not.

To the 2. Article. John Philpot ſpeaketh not agaynſt the true ſacrifice, but agaynſt the ſacrifice ſet vpon the altar, vſed in priuate maſſes.

As touchyng your ſecond obiectiō, which is, that I ſhould ſpeake agaynſt ye ſacrifice of ye Maſſe, I do ſay, that I haue not ſpoke againſt ye true ſacrifice, but I haue ſpoke againſt your priuate maſſes that you vſe in corners, which is blaſphemy to ye true ſacrifice: for your ſacrifice daily reiterated, is a blaſphemy againſt Chriſtes death, & it is a lie of your owne inuentiō. And that abhominable ſacrifice which ye ſet vpon the aultar and vſe in your priuate Maſſes in ſtede of the liuely ſacrifice, is Idolatry, & ye ſhall neuer proue it by Gods word: therefore ye haue deceiued the people with that your ſacrifice of the Maſſe, which ye make a maſkyng.

To the third Article. Philpot denyeth not the ſacramēt of the altar of the croſſe, but the Sacrament of the altar of ſtone he denieth.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge that I deny the body and bloud of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the aultar, I can not tell what aultar ye meane, whether it be the aultar of the Croſſe, or the aultar of ſtone. And if ye call it the Sacrament of the aultar in reſpect of the aultar of the ſtone, then I defie your Chriſt: for it is a rotten Chriſt.

Philpot chargeth the clergie of Q. Maryes tyme, to be Idolaters to God, and traytors to K. Henry and K. Edward.

And as touchyng your tranſubſtantiation, I vtterly deny it: for it was brought vp firſt by a Pope. Now as concernyng your offer made from the Synode, which is gathered together in Antichriſtes name: proue me that to be of the Catholicke church (which ye ſhal neuer do) & I will follow you, & do as you would haue me to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do committe Idolatry. Ye be alſo traytors: for in your Pulpits you rayle vpon good kynges, as kyng Henry, and kyng Edward his ſonne, which haue ſtand agaynſt the vſurped power of the Byſhop of Rome: agaynſt whom alſo I haue taken an othe, which if ye cā ſhew me by Gods law that I haue taken vniuſtly, I will then yeld vnto you. But I pray God turne the Kyng & Queenes hartes from your Sinagoge & church, for you do abuſe that good Queene.

D. Banes B. of Couentrye ſpeaketh.

Here the Byſhop of Couentry and Lichfield began to ſhew where the true Church was, ſaying.

Couē. The true catholicke Church is ſet vpō an high hill.

Phil. Yea at Rome, which is the Babylonicall Church.

How can the Apoſtles be of that church where their doctrine is agaynſt it.

Couen. No: in our true catholicke church are the Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes, and Martyrs: but before Martin Luther, there was no Apoſtle, Euāgeliſt, or martyr of your church.

Phil. Will ye know the cauſe why? Chriſt did propheſie, that in the latter dayes there ſhould come falſe Prophetes and hypocrites, as you be.

Couen. Your Church of Geneua, which ye call the Catholicke Church, is that which Chriſt propheſied of.

The church of England in K. Edwards tyme.

Phil. I allow the Church of Geneua, and the doctrine of the ſame: for it is, vna Catholica, & Apoſtolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apoſtles did preach: and the doctrine taught and preached in kyng Edwardes dayes, was alſo accordyng to the ſame. And are ye not aſhamed to perſecute me and others for your churches ſake, which is Babylonicall and contrary to the true Catholicke Church?

After this they had great conference togethers, aſwell out of the Scriptures, as alſo out of the Doctours. But when Boner ſawe that by learnyng they were not able to conuince M. Philpot, he thought then by his diffamations to bryng him out of credite: and therefore turnyng him ſelfe vnto the Lord Maior of London, brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of pouder, and ſayd:

B. Boner chargeth him with falſe ſurmiſes, for want of true matter.

London. My Lord, this man had a roſted pigge brought vnto him, and this knife was put ſecretly betwene the ſkin and the fleſhe thereof, and ſo was it ſent him, beyng in priſon. And alſo this pouder was ſent vnto him, vnder pretēce that it was good and comfortable for him to eate or drinke: which pouder was onely to make inke to write withall. For whē his keeper did perceiue it, he tooke it and brought it vnto me. Which when I did ſee, I thought it had bene gunpouder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burne. Then I tooke it for poyſon, and ſo gaue it to a dogge, but it was not ſo. Then I tooke a litle water, and it made as fayre inke, as euer I did write withall. Therefore my Lord, you may vnderſtand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot had a knife brought hym vnder a pig: Ergo the church of Rome is a Catholicke Church.

Phil. Ah my Lord, haue ye nothyng els to charge me withall but theſe trifles, ſeyng I ſtand vppon lyfe and death? Doth the knife in the pigge proue the Churche of Rome to be a Catholicke Church? &c.

Articles concluded in Cābridge and Oxford.

Then the Byſhoppe brought foorth a certaine inſtrument conteinyng Articles and Queſtiōs, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof ye haue mention before page. 1358. Alſo hee did exhibite two Bookes in Print: the one was the Catechiſme made in kyng Edwardes dayes, An. 1552. the other concernyng the true report of the diſputation in the Conuocation houſe, mention wherof is aboue expreſſed.

The Catechiſme ſet forth in K. Edwardes dayes.

The booke of report of the diſputation in the Conuocation houſe.

Moreouer hee did bryng forth and layde to Maiſter Philpots charge two Letters: the one touchyng Bartlet Greene, the other contaynyng Godly exhortations and comfortes: whiche both were written vnto hym by ſome of his Godly frendes: the tenour whereof we thought here alſo to exhibite.

¶ A Letter exhibited by Boner, written by ſome frend of M. Philpot, & ſent to him concernyng the handlyng of Maiſter Greene in Boners houſe at London.

A letter written to M. Philpot touching the handling of M. Grene, exhibited by B. Boner.

YOu ſhall vnderſtand that M. Greene came vnto the Byſhop of London on Sonday laſt, where he was curteouſly receiued: for what policie the ſequele declareth. His entertainement for one day or two, was to dyne at my Lordes owne table, or els to haue his meate from thence. Duryng thoſe dayes he lay in D. Chadſeys chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deede the Byſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipfull men (who were ſuters for him, but to him vnknowen) that he in no caſe ſhould be examined: before which M. Fecknā would haue had him in his frendly cuſtody, if he would haue deſired to haue cōferred with him, which he vtterly refuſed. And in that the biſhop obiected againſt him ſingularitie & obſtinacie, his aunſwere thereunto was thus: To auoyde all ſuſpitiō therof, although I my ſelf am yoūg & vtterly vnlearned in reſpect of the learned (& yet I vnderſtād, I thanke my Lord) yet let me haue ſuch bookes as I ſhall require: and if I, by Gods ſpirite, do not thereby aunſwere all your bookes and obiections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Wherunto the Biſhop and his aſſented, permittyng him at the firſt to haue ſuch bookes. Who at ſondry tymes haue reaſoned with him, and haue found him ſo ſtrōg and riſe in the Scriptures and godly fathers, that ſithens they haue not onely taken from hym ſuch libertie of bookes, but al other bookes, not leauing him ſo much as the new Teſtamēt. Sithens they haue baited and vſed him moſt cruelly. This M. Fecknā reported: ſaying farther, that he neuer heard the like young man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him God knoweth, but death I thinke, for he remaineth more and more willing to dye, as I vnderſtand. Concernyng your bill I ſhall conferre with others therein, knowyng that the ſame Court is able to redreſſe the ſame. And yet I thinke it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeake therin, or preferre the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpirituall thynges. Notwithſtandyng, I will aſſertaine you therof: committyng you to the holy Ghoſt, who keepe you and vs all as his.

Boner breaketh promiſe.

M. Grene ſtrōg in ſcriptures and Doctours.

Fecknams report of Bart. Grene.

This bill was a ſupplication to be offered vp in the Parliament.

Your owne. &c.

¶ The copy of an other letter written by the faithfull and Chriſten harted Lady, the Lady Vane, to Maiſter Philpot, exhibited likewiſe by Byſhop Boner.

A letter written to M. Philpot by the faythfull Chriſten Lady, the Lady Vane.

HArty thankes rendred vnto you my well beloued in Chriſt, for the booke ye ſent me, wherein I finde great conſolations, and accordyng to the doctrine therof, do prepare my cheekes to the ſtrikers, and my womanliſh backe to their burthens of reproofe, and ſo in the ſtrength of my God I truſt to leape ouer the wall: for his ſweetenes ouercommeth me dayly, and maketh all theſe Poticary drugges of the world, euen medicinelike in my mouth. For the continuaunce whereof, I beſeech thee (my deare fellow ſouldiour) make thy faythfull prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and gladſome conſciēce finiſh my courſe, and obtaine the reward, though it be no whit due to my worke. I am not content that you ſo often gratifie me with thākes for that which is none worthy, but ducty on my part a ſmall relief to you. But if you would loue me ſo much, that I might ſupply your lackes, thē would I thinke ye beleued my offers to be ſuch, as agreed with my hart. And for the ſhort charge ye ſpeake of, the meanes are not ſo pleaſant, if God (whom my truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare: but Salomon ſayth: All thing hath here his time: you to day, & I to morow, & ſo the end of Adās line is ſoone runne out. The mighty God geue vs his grace, that duryng this tyme his glory be not defaced through our weakenes. Becauſe ye deſire to ſhew your ſelfe a worthy ſouldiour, if neede ſo require, I will ſupply your requeſt for the Scarfe ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handy worke before your Captaine, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incenſe which our beloued Chriſt offereth for his owne: to whom I bequeth both our bodies & ſoules.

Your very owne in the Lord. F. E.

Ouer and beſides theſe Letters, the Byſhop dyd alſo bryng forth a Supplication made by Maiſter Philpot vnto the high Court of Parlament, wherof mention is made in the firſt of the two letters laſt mentioned: the copy wherof doth here enſue, as followeth.

¶To the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties hyghnes, the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled.

A ſupplication of I. Philpot to the Kyng and Queene.

IN moſt humble wiſe complayneth vnto this honorable Court of Parlament Iohn Philpot Clarke, that where there was by the Queenes hyghneſſe a Parlament called in the firſt yeare of her gracious raigne, & after the old cuſtome a Conuocation of the Clergy, your ſuppliant then beyng one of the ſayd Conuocation houſe, and matters there riſing vpon the vſing of Sacramentes, did diſpute in the ſame, knowyng that there all men had and hath had free ſpeach, and ought not to be after troubled for any thyng there ſpoken, and yet, that notwithſtandyng, not long after the ſayd Parlament, your ſayd ſuppliant (without any acte or matter) was commaunded to priſon to the Kynges Bench by the late Lord Chauncellour, where he hath remained euer ſithens, vntill now of late that my Lord the B. of London, hath ſent for your ſayd ſuppliant to examine him, (beyng none of his dioces) vpō certaine matters, wherin they would haue your Oratour to declare his conſcience, which the ſaid Byſhop ſayth he hath authoritie to do, by reaſon of an Acte of Parlamēt made in the firſt and ſecond yeares of the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties raignes, for the reuiuyng of three Statutes made agaynſt them that hold any opinion agaynſt the Catholicke ſayth: whereby he affirmeth that euery Ordinary may Ex officio examine euery mans conſcience: and for that your ſayd Oratour hath and doth refuſe, that the ſayd Byſhop of London hath any authoritie ouer your ſayd Oratour, for that he is neither his Dioceſane, nor hath publiſhed, preached, nor held any opinion agaynſt the Catholicke ſayth (notwithſtandyng the ſayd Byſhop of Lōdon deteineth him in the Colehouſe in the ſtockes, without either bed, or any other thyng to lye vpon, but ſtraw): and for that your ſayd Oratour can not appeale for his reliefe from the ſayd Byſhop, to any other Iudge, but the ſame Byſhop may refuſe the ſame by their law, and therefore hath no ſuccour and helpe, but by this high Court of Parlament, for the explanation of the ſayd Acte: therfore it may pleaſe you, that it may be enacted by the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, the Lordes ſpirituall and tēporall, and the Cōmons of this preſent Parlament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that no Byſhop nor Ordinary ſhall committe nor detaine in priſon, any ſuſpect perſon or perſonnes for the Catholicke ſayth, except he or they haue ſpoken, written, or done ſome manifeſt Act agaynſt the Catholicke ſayth, and the ſame to be lawfully proued agaynſt euery ſuch perſon and perſons, by the teſtimony of two lawfull witneſſes, to be brought afore the ſayd perſon or perſons ſo accuſed, before he or they ſhall either be committed to priſon, or conuict for any ſuch offence or offences: the ſayd former Statute, made in the ſayd firſt and ſecond yeare of our ſayd ſoueraigne Lord and Lady notwithſtandyng. Whereby your ſayd Oratour ſhall not onely be ſet at libertie, and diuers other mo now remainyng in priſon: but alſo the bloud of diuers of the Queenes Maieſties true and faythfull ſubiectes preſerued.

The ſtrait handling of Iohn Philpot in the Byſhops Colehouſe.

¶The condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, Iohn Philpot.

These bookes, Letters, Supplications and other matters beyng thus read, the Byſhop demaunded of him, if the booke intituled The true reporte of the diſputation. &c. were of his pennyng or not? Whereunto Philpot aunſwered, that it was a good and true booke, and of his owne pennyng and ſettyng forth.

The Byſhops waxyng now weery, and beyng not able by any ſufficient grounde, either of Gods worde, or of the true auncient Catholicke fathers, to conuince and ouercome him, fell by fayre and flatteryng ſpeach, to perſwade with him, promiſing that if he would reuoke his opinions, and come home agayne to their Romiſhe and Babylonicall Church, he ſhould not onely be pardoned that whiche was paſt, but alſo they would with all fauour and chereſulneſſe of hart, receiue him agayne as a true member therof. Which wordes when Boner ſaw would take no place: he demaunded of M. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrāt you) whether he had any iuſt cauſe to alledge, why he ſhould not condēne him as an hereticke. Well quoth M. Philpot, your idolatrous Sacramēt which you haue found out, ye would fayne defend, but ye can not, nor neuer ſhall.

Ah my Lord what neded this queſtion when no reaſonable aunſwere could be allowed.

In the end, the Biſhop ſeyng his vnmoueable ſtedfaſtnes in the truth, did pronounce openly the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt him. In the readyng wherof, when he came to theſe wordes: Te que etiam tanquam hæreticum, obſtinatum, pertinacem & impœnitentē. &c. Maiſter Philpot ſayd, I thanke God that I am an hereticke out of your curſed Church: I am no hereticke before God. But GOD bleſſe you and geue you once grace to repent your wicked doynges: and let all men beware of your bloudy Church.

Sentence of condemnation read agaynſt M. Philpot. M. Philpots wordes in readyng the ſentence.

Moreouer, whileſt Boner was about the middeſt of the Sentence, the Byſhop of Bath pulled him by the ſleeue and ſayd: My Lord, my Lord: know of him firſt whether he will recant or no? Then Boner ſayd (full like himſelfe) oh let me alone: and ſo read forth the Sentence.

And when he had done, hee deliuered him to the Sheriffes: and ſo two Officers brought him thorough the Byſhops houſe into Pater noſter rowe, and there his ſeruaunt met him, and when he ſaw him, he ſayd: Ah deare Maiſter.

M. Philpot deliuered to the Sheriffes.

Then M. Philpot ſayd to his man: content thy ſelfe, I ſhall do well inough, for thou ſhalt ſee me agayne.

M. Philpot to his ſeruaunt.

And ſo the Officers thruſt him away, & had his Maiſter to Newgate. And as he went, he ſayd to the people: Ah good people, bleſſed be God for this day: and ſo the Officers deliuered him to the Keeper. Then his man thruſt to go in after his Maiſter, and one of the Officers ſayd vnto him: hence fellow, what wouldeſt thou haue?

And hee ſayd, I would fayne ſpeake with my Maiſter. Maiſter Philpot then turned him about, and ſayd to him: to morrow you ſhall ſpeake with me.

M. Philpot brought into Newgate, his man permitted to enter with him.

Then the vnderkeeper ſayd to Maiſter Philpot: is this your man? And he ſayd, yea. So he did licence his man to go in with him, & Maiſter Philpot & his man were turned into a litle chamber on the right hand, and there remained a litle tyme, vntill Alexander the chief Keeper did come vnto him: who at his entryng, greeted him wt theſe wordes: Ah, ſayd hee, haſt not thou done well to bryng thy ſelfe hether? Well ſayd Maiſter Philpot, I muſt be content, for it is Gods appointment: and I ſhall deſire you to let me haue your gentle fauour, for you and I haue bene of old acquaintaunce. Well ſayd Alexāder, I will ſhew thee gentlenes and fauour, ſo thou wilt be ruled by me. Then ſayd M. Philpot: I pray you ſhew me what you would haue me to do.

Talke betwene M. Philpot, and Alexander the keeper.

He ſayd, if you would recant, I will ſhew you any pleaſure I can. Nay, ſayd Maiſter Philpot, I will neuer recant whileſt I haue my lyfe, that which I haue ſpoken, for it is a moſt certaine truth, and in witneſſe herof, I will ſeale it with my bloud. Then Alexander ſayd: this is the ſaying of all the whole packe of you heretickes. Whereupon he commaunded him to be ſet vpon the blocke, and as many irons vpon his legges as he might beare, for that he would not follow his wicked mynde.

Then the Clarke told Alexander in his eare that Maiſter Philpot had geuen his man money. And Alexander ſayd to his man: what money hath thy Maiſter geuen thee? His man ſayd: my maiſter hath geuen me none. No ſayd Alexāder? hath he geuen thee none? that will I know, for I will ſearch thee. Do with me what you lyſt, & ſearche me all that you can, quoth his ſeruaūt. He hath geuē me a toke or two, to ſend to his frēds, as to his brother & ſiſter. Ah ſayd Alexander to M. Philpot: Thou art a maintainer of heretickes. Thy mā ſhould haue gone to ſome of thine affinitie: but he ſhal be knowē well inough. Nay, ſayd M. Philpot: I do ſēd it to my frēds. There he is: let him make aūſwere to it. But good M. Alexander, be ſo much my frend, that theſe irons may be taken of. Well, ſayd Alexander, geue me my fees, and I will take them of: if not, thou ſhalt weare them ſtill.

Good Philpot loden with yrons, because he would not recant at Alexanders bidding. Alexander ſearcheth Philpots tokens from his man.

Then ſayd Maiſter Philpot, ſir, what is your fees? he ſayd, foure pounde was his fees. Ah ſayd Maiſter Philpot, I haue not ſo much: I am but a poore man, and I haue bene long in priſon. What wilt thou geue me then, ſayd Alexander? Syr (ſayd hee) I will geue you twenty ſhillynges, and that I will ſend my man for, or elles I will lay my gowne to gage: for the tyme is not long (I am ſure) that I ſhall be with you: for the Byſhop ſayd vnto me that I ſhould be ſoone diſpatched.

Alexander the cruell keeper requireth 4. poūds of M. Philpot for his yrons.

Then ſayd Alexander vnto hym, what is yt to me? and with that he departed from him, & cōmaunded him to be had into Limbo, and ſo his commaundement was fulfilled: but before he could be taken from the blocke, the Clarke would haue a grote.

M. Philpot had into Limbo.

Then one Witterence, Steward of the houſe, tooke him on his backe, and caryed him down, his man knew not whether. Wherfore Maiſter Philpot ſayd to his man: go to Maiſter Sheriffe and ſhewe him how I am vſed, and deſire Maiſter Sheriffe to be good vnto me. And ſo his ſeruaunt went ſtraightway, & tooke an honeſt man with him.

And when they came to Maiſter Sheriffe (which was Maiſter Macham) and ſhewed him how M. Philpot was handled in Newgate, the Sheriffe hearyng this, tooke his ring of from his finger, and deliuered it vnto that honeſt mā

Maiſter Macham Sheriffe, a good man, ſendeth his Ring to take of M. Philpots yrons, and to reſtore the mans tokens.

which

Note the cherefulnes of this keper.

M. Philpot with much a doe releaſed of his yrons.

which came with M. Philpots man, and bad him go vnto Alexander yͤ keeper, and cōmaund him to take of his irons, & to handle him more gently, and to geue his man agayne that which he had taken from him. And when they came agayne to the ſayd Alexander, & told their meſſage frō the Sheriffe, Alexander tooke the ring, and ſayd: Ah, I perceaue that maſter Sheriffe is a bearer with him, and all ſuch herethickes as he is: therfore to morrow I will ſhewe it to his betters, yet at .x. of the clocke he went into M. Philpot where hee lay, and tooke of his irons, and gaue him ſuch thinges as he had taken before from his ſeruant.

December 17. M. Philpot warned by the Sheriffes to prepare him agaynſt the next day to the fire.

Upon Tueſday at ſupper, beyng yͤ .xvij. day of December, there came a meſſenger from the Sheriffes, and bad M. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he ſhould ſuffer, & be burned at a ſtake with fire. M. Philpot aunſwered and ſayd, I am ready: God graunt me ſtrength, and a ioyfull reſurrection. And ſo hee went vnto his chamber, and poured out his ſpirite vnto the Lord God, geuyng him moſt harty thankes that he of his mercy had made him worthy to ſuffer for his truth.

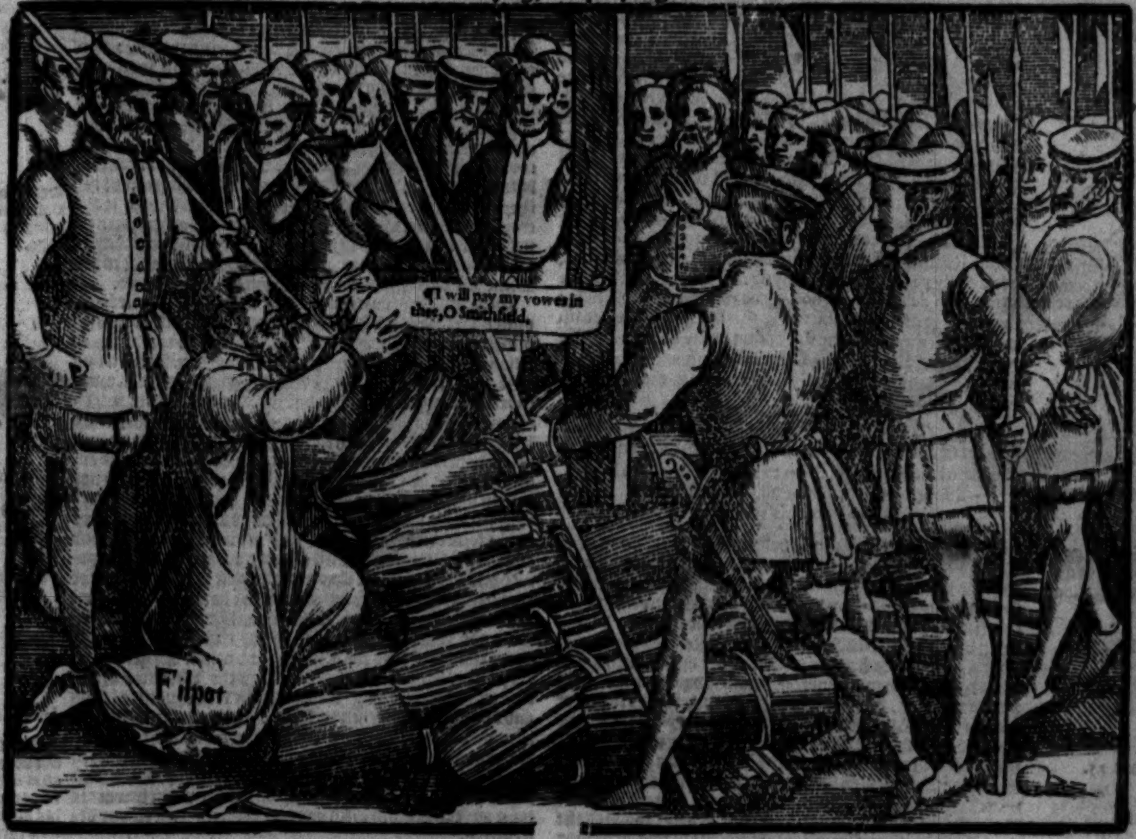
December 18.

In the mornyng the Sheriffes came accordyng to the order, about .viij. of the clocke, and called for him, and hee moſt ioyfully came downe vnto them. And there his man dyd meete him, and ſayd: A deare maſter, farewell. Hys maſter ſayd vnto hym, ſerue God and he will helpe the. And ſo he went with the Sheriffes vnto the place of execution: and when he was entryng into Smithfielde, the way was foule, and two officers tooke him vp to beare him to yͤ ſtake. Then he ſayd merily: what? will you make me a Pope? I am content to go to my iourneys ende on foote. But firſt commyng into Smithfield, he kneled downe there ſaying theſe wordes: I will pay my vowes in the O Smithfield.

M. Philpot brought to the place of Martyrdome.

M. Philpots wordes going to the ſtake.

The Martyrdome of Maiſter Iohn Philpot Archdeacon, with the maner of his kneelyng, and praying at the ſtake.


I will pay my vowes in thee, O Smithfield.
Filpot

M. Philpots prayers.

And when he was come to the place of ſufferyng, he kiſſed the ſtake & ſayd: ſhall I diſdayne to ſuffer at this ſtake ſeyng my redemer dyd not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile death vpon the Croſſe for me? And then with an obedient hart full meekely he ſayd the Cvj. Cvij. and Cviij. Pſalme: and when he had made an ende of all his prayers, hee ſayd to the officers: What haue you done for me? & euery one of the declared what they had done: & he gaue to euery of them money.

John Philpot geueth the Officers money.

Then they bound hym vnto the ſtake, & ſet fire vnto that conſtant Martyr: who the .xviij. daye of December, in the middeſt of the fiery flames, yelded his ſoule into the handes of the almighty God, and full lyke a Lambe gaue vp his breath, his body beyng conſumed into aſhes.

The wrytinges and examinations of M. John Philpot by the meruailous prouidence of almightey God preſerued.

Thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the life and doynges of this learned and worthy ſouldiour of the Lord, John Philpot: & all his examinations that came to our handes, firſt penned and written with hys owne hande, beyng meruelouſly reſerued from the ſight and handes of his enemies: who by al maner meanes ſought not onely to ſtoppe him frō al wrytyng, but alſo to ſpoyle and depriue hym of that which he had written. For the whiche cauſe hee was many times ſtripped and ſearched in the priſon of his keeper: but yet ſo happely theſe his wrytinges were conueyed and hyd in places about hym or els his keepers eyes ſo blynded, that notwithſtandyng al this malicious purpoſe of the Biſhops, they are yet remaynyng and haue come to light.

A prayer to be ſayd at the ſtake, of all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his ſake.

A godly prayer to be ſayd at the tyme of Martyrdome.

MErcifull God and father, to whom our Sauiour Chriſt approched in his feare and neede by reaſon of death, and found comfort: Gracious God and moſt bounteous Chriſt on whom ſteuen called in hys extreme nede, and receiued ſtrength: Moſt benigne holy ſpirite, whiche in the middeſt of all Croſſes and death, diddeſt comfort the Apoſtle S. Paule, with more conſolations in Chriſt, then hee felt ſorrowes and terrours, haue mercy vppon me miſerable, vile, and wretched ſinner, whiche nowe drawe nere the gates of death, deſerued both in ſoule and body eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old and new tranſgreſſions, whiche to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and knowen: Oh be mercifull vnto mee, for the bytter death and bloudſheding of thine owne onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſte. And though thy iuſtice do require (in reſpect of my ſynnes) that now thē ſhouldeſt not heare mee, meaſuryng mee with the ſame meaſure I haue meaſured thy Maieſtye, contemning thy dayly calles: yet lette thy mercye whiche is aboue all thy woorkes, and wherwith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I ſay) preuaile towardes me, through, and for the mediation of Chriſt our Sauiour. For whoſe ſake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bryng me forth now as one of his witneſſes, and a record bearer of thy verity & truth taught by him, to giue my life therfore (to which dignitie I do acknowledge deare God, that there was neuer any ſo vnworthy and ſo vnmete, no not the theefe that hanged with him on the Croſſe): I moſt humbly therfore pray thee that thou wouldeſt, accordingly aide, helpe, and aſſiſte me with thy ſtrength and heauenly grace, that with Chriſt thy ſonne I may finde cōfort, with Steuen I may ſee thy preſence & gracious power, with Paule and all others which for thy names ſake haue ſuffred afflictiō and death, I may finde ſo preſent with me thy gracious conſolations, that I may by my death glorifie thy holy name, propagate and ratifie thy veritie, comfort the harts of the heauy, confirme thy Church in thy veritie, conuert ſome that are to be conuerted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do nothyng but dayly heape ſinne vpon ſinne, & ſo enter into the fruitiō of thy bleſſed mercy: wherof now geue and encreaſe in me a liuely truſt, ſenſe, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the tormēts of fire, the panges of ſinne, the dartes of Sathan, and the dolours of hell may neuer depreſſe me, but may be driuen away thorough the working of that moſt gracious ſpirite: which now plenteouſly endue me withall, that through the ſame ſpirite I may offer (as now I deſire to do in Chriſt and by him) my ſelfe wholy ſoule and body, to be a liuely ſacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy ſight. Deare father, whoſe I am, and alwayes haue bene, euen from my mothers wombe, yea euen before the world was made, to whom I commend my ſelfe, ſoule and body, familie, and frendes, countrey, and all the whole Church, yea euen my very enemyes, accordyng to thy good pleaſure, beſeechyng thee entirely to geue once more to this Realme of England, the bleſſing of thy word agayn, with godly peace, to the teachyng and ſettyng forth of the ſame. Oh deare father, now geue me grace to come vnto thee. Purge and ſo purifie me by this fire in Chriſtes death and Paſſion thorough thy ſpirit, that I may be a burnt offeryng of ſweete ſmell in thy ſight, whiche liueſt and raigneſt with the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, nowe and euermore world without end. Amen. I. B.

He prayeth for reſtoring of the Goſpel and peace in England.

¶ *Letters of Maiſter Philpot.*

¶ A letter which he ſent to the Chriſtian congregation, exhortyng them to refraine from the Idolatrous ſeruice of the Papiſtes, and to ſerue God after his worde.

A letter of M. Philpot to the Congregation.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this preſent in England, the faythles departyng both of men and women frō the true knowledge & vſe of Chriſtes ſincere religiō, which ſo plentifully they haue bene taught and do know, their own conſciences bearyng witneſſe to the veritie therof. If that earth be curſed of God, which eftſoones receiuyng moiſture & pleaſaunt dewes from heauen, doth not bryng forth fruite accordyngly: how much more greuous iudgement ſhal ſuch perſons receiue, which hauyng receiued from the father of heauen the perfite knowledge of his word by the miniſtery therof, do not ſhew forth Gods worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require in the day of iudgement a godly vſury of all maner of talentes whiche he ſendeth vnto men & women: how much more will hee require the ſame of his pure Religion reueled vnto vs (which is of all other talentes the chiefeſt and moſt pertaining to our exerciſe in this life) if we hide the ſame in a napkin and ſet it not forth to the vſurie of Gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright light of his Goſpell, whiche in times paſt was ſuppreſſed & hid vnder the vile aſhes of mās traditiōs, & hath cauſed the brightnes therof to ſhine in our harts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before mē to the honour of his name. It is not onely geuen vs to beleue, but alſo to confeſſe & declare what we beleue in our outward cōuerſation. For as S. Paule writeth to the Romaines: The beliefe of the hart iuſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth, maketh a mā ſafe. It is all one before God, not to beleue at all, & not to ſhew forth the liuely workes of our belief. For Chriſt ſayth: Either make the tree good and his fruites good, or els make the tree euill & the fruites euill, becauſe a good tree bringeth forth good fruites: So that the perſon which knoweth his maiſters will & doth it not, ſhal be beatē with many ſtripes. And not all they which ſay Lord Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdome of God, but hee that doth the will of the father. And whoſoeuer in the tyme of triall is aſhamed of me (ſayth Chriſt) and of my wordes, of him the ſonne of mā wilbe aſhamed before his father. After that we haue built our ſelues into yͤ true church of god, it hath pleaſed him by geuing vs ouer into the hāds of the wicked ſinagoges, to proue our building, & to haue it knowē as wel to yͤ world as to our ſelues, yͭ we haue ben wiſe builders into the true church of God vpō yͤ rocke, & not on the ſand, & therfore now the tempeſt is riſen, and the ſtormes do mightely blow agaynſt vs, that we might notwithſtandyng ſtand vpright and be firme in the Lorde, to his honour and glory, and to our eternall felicitie. There is no new thing happened vnto vs, for with ſuch tempeſts and dengerous weathers the church of God hath continually bene exerciſed. Now once agayne as the Prophet Aggeus telleth vs: The Lord ſhaketh the earth, that thoſe might abide for euer, whiche be not ouerthrowne.

Heb. 6. Math. 25. Math. 5. Rom. 10. Math. 12. Luke. 12. Math 7. Luke 9. Math. 7. Aggeus. 2.

Therfore my dearely beloued, be ſtable and immoueable in the worde of God, and in the faythfull obſeruation therof, and let no man deceiue you with vayne wordes: ſaying, that you may keepe your fayth to your ſelues, & diſſemble wͭ Antichriſt, & ſo liue at reſt & quietnes in yͤ world, as moſt mē do, yeldyng to neceſſity. This is yͤ wiſedome of yͤ fleſh but yͤ wiſdome of yͤ fleſh is death & enmitie to God, as our ſauiour for enſāple aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Chriſt not to go to Ieruſalē to celebrate yͤ paſſeouer & there to be ſlayne, but counſelled him to looke better to himſelfe.

Wiſedome of the fleſhe not to be harkened vnto.

Rom. 8. 1. Cor. 6. Math. 16.

Likewiſe the worlde woulde not haue vs to forſake it, neither to aſſociate our ſelues to the true Church which is the body of Chriſt, whereof we are liuely members, and to vſe the ſacramentes after Gods worde with the daunger of our liues. But we muſt learne to aunſwere the worlde, as Chriſt did Peter, and ſay: go behynde me Sathan, thou ſauoureſt not the thinges of God. Shall I not drynke of the cuppe which the father geueth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be ſlayne in the Churche of God, then to bee counted the ſonne of the kyng and the Sinagoge of falſe religion. Death for righteouſnes is not to be abhorred, but rather to be deſired, whiche aſſuredly bryngeth with it the crowne of euerlaſting glory. Theſe bloudy executioners do not perſecute Chriſtes Martyrs, but crowne them with euerlaſtyng felicity, wee were borne into this worlde to bee witneſſes vnto the truth, both learned and vnlearned.

Heb. 11. Pſal. 116.

Death for righteouſnes bryngeth felicitye.

Now ſince the tyme is come that we muſt ſhew our fayth and declare whether we will be Gods ſeruantes in righteouſnes and holynes, as haue bene taught and are bound to follow, or els with hypocriſy ſerue vnrighteouſnes: let vs take good heede that wee be found faythfull in the Lordes couenaunt and true members of his Churche: in the which through knowledge we are ingraffed, from the which if we fall by tranſgreſſion with the commen ſort of people, it will more ſtraitly be required of vs, then many yet do make accompt therof. We can not ſerue two Maſters: we may not halt on both ſides, and thinke to pleaſe God: we muſt be feruent in Gods cauſe, or els he will caſt vs out from him. For by the firſt commaundement wee are commaunded to loue God with all our hart, with all our minde, with all our power and ſtrength: but they are manifeſt tranſgreſſours of this commandement, which with theyr hart, mynde or bodely power do communicate with a ſtraunge religion, contrary to the woorde of God, in the Papiſticall Sinagoge, which calleth it ſelfe the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God nowe which ſo do, as the Iſraelites dyd in times paſt by forſaking Ieruſalem the true churche of God and by goyng to Bethell to ſerue God in a congregation of their owne ſettyng vp, and after theyr owne imaginations and traditions: for the whiche doyng God vtterly deſtroyed all Iſraell, as al the Prophetes almoſt do teſtify. This happened vnto them for our enſample, that we might beware to haue anye fellowſhip with any like congregation to our deſtruction.

Godly counſell.

Luke 18. 3. Reg. 18. Apo. 3. 3. Reg. 31.

God will not be ſerued after mans imagination but as him ſelfe preſcribeth.

God hath one Catholicke churche diſperſed throughout the worlde, and therfore we are taught in our Creede to beleue one catholicke Church, and to haue communion therewith: which catholicke church is grounded vpō yͤ foundation of the Prophetes and of the Apoſtles, and vpon none other, as S. Paule witneſſeth to the Epheſians. Therefore whereſoeuer we perceiue any people to worſhip God truly after yͤ worde, there we may be certayne yͤ church of Chriſt to be: vnto the which we ought to aſſociate our ſelues, and to deſyre with the Prophet Dauid, to prayſe God in yͤ middeſt of this church. But if we behold thorough iniquitye of tyme, ſegregations to be made with counterfait religion, otherwiſe then the worde of God doth teach, wee ought then if we be required, to be companions thereof, to ſay agayne with Dauid: I haue hated the Sinagoge of the malignant, & wil not ſit with the wicked. In the Apocalyps the church of Epheſus is highly cōmended, becauſe ſhe tryed ſuch as ſayd they were Apoſtles, and were not in deede, & therfore would not abyde the company of them. Further, God commaunded his people yͭ they ſhould not ſeeke Bethell, neither enter into Gilgall where idolatrye was vſed by the mouth of his Prophet Amos. Alſo we muſt conſider that our bodies be yͤ tēple of god, & whoſoeuer (as S. Paul teach) doth prophane the tēple of god, him the Lord wil deſtroy. May we thē take yͤ tēple of Chriſt & make it yͤ mēber of an harlot

Ephe. 2. Pſal. 21. Pſal. 26. Apoc. 2. Amos. 5. 1. Cor. 3.

All

1555. Decemb.

All ſtraunge religion and Idolatry is counted whoredome with the Prophetes, and that more deteſtable in the ſight of God, then the aduoutrous abuſe of the body.

Not lawfull for a true Chriſtian to come to the Popiſhe Maſſe.

Therefore the Princes of the earth in the reuelation of S. John, be ſayd to go a whoring, whē they are in loue with falſe religion, and follow the ſame. How then by any meanes may a Chriſtian man thinke it tolerable to be preſent at the Popiſh priuate Maſſe (which is the very prophanation of the Sacramēt of the body and bloud of Chriſt) and at other idolatrous worſhyppynges and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation therof, in ſettyng many traditions aboue Gods preceptes, ſince God by his word iudgeth all ſtraunge religion, which is not accordyng to his inſtitution, for whoredome and aduoutry?

Not enough to confeſſe God in hart, but in mouth alſo.

Some fondly thinke that the preſence of the body is not materiall, ſo that the hart do not conſent to their wicked doynges. But ſuch perſons litle conſider what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthiās, commaundyng them to glorifie God as well in body as in ſoule.

Moreouer, we can doe no greater iniurie to the true Church of Chriſt, then to ſeeme to haue forſaken her, and diſalow her by cleauyng to her aduerſary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weake, that we allow the ſame, and ſo contrary to the worde, doe geue a great offence to the Church of God, and doe outwardly ſclaunder (as much as men may) the truth of Chriſt. But woe be vnto him by whom any ſuch offence commeth. Better it were for him to haue a mylſtone tyed about his necke, and to be caſt into the bottome of the ſea. Such be traytours to the truth, like vnto Judas, who with a kiſſe betrayed Chriſt. Our God is a gelous God, and cannot be content that we ſhould be of any other then of that vnſpotted Church, whereof he is the head onely, and wherein he hath planted vs by Baptiſme. This gelouſie which God hath towardes vs, will cry for vengeaunce in the day of vengeaunce, agaynſt all ſuch as now haue ſo large conſciences to doe that whiche is contrary to Gods glory, and the ſinceritie of his word, except they do in tyme repēt, and cleaue vnſeparably to the Goſpell of Chriſt, how much ſoeuer at this preſent both men and women otherwiſe in their owne corrupt iudgement, do flatter themſelues. God willeth vs to iudge vprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his ſight, and to abſtaine from all maner of euill, & therfore Chriſt commaundeth vs in the Goſpell to beware of the leauen of the Phariſies, which is hypocriſie.

A leſſon for large conſciences.

Marke 8.

Reaſons prouing that true Chriſtians ought in no wyſe to participate with Papiſtes.

S. Paule to the Hebrues ſayth: If any man withdraw him ſelfe from the fayth, his ſoule ſhall haue no pleaſure in him: therfore he ſaith alſo: That we are none ſuch as do withdraw our ſelues into perditiō, but we belong vnto fayth, for the attainment of lyfe. S. John in the Apocalyps telleth vs playnly, that none of thoſe, who were written in the booke of lyfe, do receiue the marke of the beaſt, which is of the Papiſticall Synagoge, either in their foreheades, or els in their handes, that is, apparantly or obediently.

Heb. 10.

Apoc. 13.

Ephe. 5.

S. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not haue any felowſhyp with the workes of darkeneſſe, but in the middeſt of this wicked and frowarde generation we ought to ſhyne lyke lightes vpholdyng the worde of truth. Further hee ſayth, that we may not touche any vncleane thyng: whiche ſignifieth that our outward conuerſation in forreine thynges, ought to be pure and vndefiled as well as the inward, that with a cleane ſpirite and rectified body, we might ſerue GOD iuſtly in holynes and righteouſnes all the dayes of our lyfe.

Phil. 2.

2. Cor. 6.

Finally in the. 18. of the Apocalyps, GOD biddeth vs playnly to departe from this Babylonicall Synagoge, and not to be partakers of her treſpaſſe. S. Paule to the Theſſalonians commaundeth vs in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to withdraw our ſelues frō euery brother that walketh inordinately, and not accordyng to the inſtitution which he had receaued of him.

Apoc. 18.

2. Theſ. 3.

Ponder ye therfore well good brethren and ſiſters, theſe ſcriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, wherof one iote is not written in vayne: whiche be vtterly agaynſt all counterfaite illuſion to bee vſed of vs with the Papiſtes in their fantaſticall religiō, and be aduerſaries to all them that haue ſo light conſciences in ſo doyng: and if they doe not agree with this aduerſary (I meane the word of GOD) whiche is contrary to their attemptes, he will (as it is ſignified in the Goſpell) deliuer them to the Judge, whiche is Chriſt, and the Judge will deliuer them to the executioner, ẏ is ẏ Deuill, & the Deuill ſhall committe them to the horrible priſon of hell fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with ſulphure and brimſtone, with waylyng and gnaſhyng of teeth world without ende. But yet many will ſay for their vayne excuſe: God is mercyfull & his mercy is ouer all. But the ſcripture teacheth vs, that curſed is he that ſinneth vpō hope of forgeuenes. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is aboue all his workes, & yet but vpō ſuch as feare him: for ſo is it written in the Pſalmes: The mercy of God is on thē that feare him, and on ſuch as put their truſt in him. Where we may learne that they only put their truſt in God, that feare him, and to feare God, is to turne frō euill and to do that is good. So that ſuch as doe looke to be partakers of Gods mercy, may not abyde in that which is knowen to be manifeſt euill and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

The place of Math. 5. expounded.

Math 24.

A curſed thing to ſinne vpon hope of forgeuenes.

Pſal. 102. 146.

An other ſorte of perſons do make them a cloke for the tyme vnder the pretence of obedience to the Magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they bee wicked. But ſuch muſt learne of Chriſt to geue to Cæſar that is Cæſars, and to GOD that is due to GOD, and with S. Peter, to obey the hygher powers in the Lord, albeit they be euill, if they commaunde nothyng contrary to Gods word: otherwiſe we ought not to obeye their commaundementes, although we ſhould ſuffer death therfore: as we haue the Apoſtles for our example herein to follow, who anſwered the magiſtrates as we ought to do in this caſe, not obeying their wicked preceptes, ſaying: Iudge you whether it bee more righteous that we ſhould obey men rather then God.

Luke 20.
1. Pet. 2.

Obedience to Magiſtrates, what, and how farre.

Alſo, Daniel choſe rather to be caſt into the denne of Liōs to be deuoured, then to obey the kynges wicked cōmaundementes. If the blynd lead the blynd, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuſe for the trāſgreſſiō of Gods word, whether a man do it voluntarily or at cōmaundement, although great dānatiō is to them, by whō the offence cōmeth. Some other there be that for an extreme refuge in their euil doings, do run to Gods predeſtination & election, ſaying: that if I be elected of God to ſaluation, I ſhalbe ſaued, whatſoeuer I do. But ſuch be great tempters of God & abhominable blaſphemers of Gods holy election, & caſt thē ſelues downe from the pinacle of the tēple in preſūption, that God may preſerue thē by his aūgels through predeſtination. Such verily may reckē thēſelues to be none of Gods elect childrē, that wil do euill that good may enſue: whoſe damnation is iuſt, as S. Paule ſayth. Gods predeſtination & electiō ought to be with a ſimple eye conſidered, to make vs more warely to walke in good & godly conuerſation accordyng to Gods word, and not to ſet cocke in the hoope, & put all on Gods backe to do wickedly at large: for the elect children of God muſt walke in righteouſnes & holynes after that they be once called to true knowledge: For ſo ſayth S. Paule to the Epheſians: That God hath choſen vs before the foundations of the worlde were layd, that we ſhould be holy & blameles in his ſight.

Actes. 4.
Daniell. 6.
Math. 15.

Againſt ſuch as ſinne wilfully vpon hope of election.
Rom. 3.

Ephe. 1.

Therfore S. Peter willeth vs through good workes to make our vocatiō & electiō certaine to our ſelues, which we know not but by the good workyng of Gods ſpirite in vs, accordyng to the rule of the Goſpell: & he that cōformeth not him ſelfe to the ſame in godly conuerſation, may iuſtly tremble and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkenes. For the children of light will walke in the workes of light and not of darkenes: though they fall, they do not lye ſtill.

2. Peter 1.

Prouerb. 24.

Let all vayne excuſations be ſet a parte, and whiles ye haue light, as Chriſt commaundeth, beleue the light and abyde in the ſame, leſt eternall darkenes ouertake you vnwares. The light is come into the worlde, but (alas) men loue darkeneſſe more then the light. God geue vs his pure eyeſalue to heale our blyndnes in this behalfe. O that men and women would be healed, and not ſeeke to bee wilfully blynded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may ſee how daungerous a thyng it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conſcience.

John. 12.

John. 3.

Heb. 6. 10.

But what ſayd I conſcience? many affirme their conſcience will beare them well enough to doe all that they do, and to go to the Idolatrous Church to ſeruice: whoſe conſcience is very large to ſatiſfie man more than God. And although their conſcience can beare them ſo to doe, yet I am ſure that a good conſcience will not permitte them ſo to doe: which can not be good vnleſſe it be directed after the knowledge of Gods worde: and therfore in Latin this feelyng of mynde is called Conſcientia, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

Large conſcience.

And therfore if our cōſcience be led of her ſelfe, & not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to bee excuſed, as S. Paule beareth witnes, ſaying: Although my cōſciēce accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not iuſtified. And hee ioyneth a good cōſciēce with theſe 3. ſiſters, charitie, a pure hart, & vnfained fayth. Charitie keepeth Gods cōmaūdemēts, a pure hart loueth & feareth God aboue all, & vnfayned fayth is neuer aſhamed of the profeſſiō of the Goſpell, whatſoeuer damage ſhe ſhall ſuffer in body thereby. The Lord which hath reueled his holy wil vnto vs by his word, graūt vs neuer to be aſhamed of it, and geue vs grace ſo earneſtly to cleaue to his holy word and true church, that for no maner of worldly reſpect we become partakers of the workes of hypocriſie, which God doth abhorre: ſo that we may be found faythfull in the Lordes Teſtamēt to the end both in hart, word, & deede.

1. Cor. 4.
1. Tim. 1.

Charitie.
Pure hart
Fayth vnfayned.
Good conſcience.

dede, to the glory of God & our euerlaſting ſaluation. Amē.

Iohn Philpot priſoner in the
Kynges Benche for the teſti-
mony of the truth. 1555.

¶ To his deare frend in the Lord Iohn Careles priſoner in the Kynges Bench.

An other letter of M. Philpot to Iohn Careles.

MY dearely beloued brother Careles, I haue receiued your louyng Letters full of loue and compaſſion, in ſo much that they made my hard hart to weepe, to ſee you ſo carefull for one that hath bene ſo vnprofitable a member as I haue bene & am in Chriſtes church. God make me worthy of that I am called vnto, & I pray you, ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weepe for him who hath not deſerued ſuch gētle teares: and prayſe GOD with me, for that I now approch to the cōpany of them, whoſe wāt you may worthely lament. God geue your pitifull hart his inward conſolation. In deede my deare Careles, I am in this world in hell, & in the ſhadow of death: but he that hath brought me for my deſertes downe vnto hell, ſhal ſhortly lift me vp to heauen, where I ſhal looke continually for your cōming and others my faithfull brethrē in the Kings Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the iudgement of this world, yet aſſuredly I feele in the ſame, the conſolation of heauē, I prayſe God: and this lothſome & horrible priſon is as pleaſāt to me, as the walke in the garden of the Kynges Bench.

Experience of the Lordes comfort in trouble.

You know brother Careles, that the way to heauen out of this life, is very narrow, and we muſt ſtriue to enter in at a narrow gate. If GOD do mitigate the ougleneſ of myne impriſonmēt, what wil he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened vnto me that I might be hereafter an enſample of cōfort, if the like happen vnto you or to any other of my deare brethrē with you in theſe cruell dayes, in the which the deuill ſo rageth at the faythfull flocke of Chriſt, but in vayne (I truſt) agaynſt any of vs, who bee perſwaded that neither life neither death is able to ſeparate vs from the loue of Chriſtes Goſpel, which is Gods high treaſure cōmitted to our brittle veſſels to glorifie vs by the ſame. God of his mercy make vs faythfull ſtewardes to the end, & geue vs grace to feare nothing whatſoeuer in his good pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame. That I haue not written vnto you erſt, the cauſe is our ſtrait keepyng and the want of light by night, for the day ſerueth vs but a while in our darke cloſet. This is the firſt letter that I haue written ſince I came to priſon, beſides the reporte of mine examinations, and I am fayne to ſcrible it out in haſt.

Example of Chriſtes comfort to be taken by M. Philpot.

Commend me to all our faythfull brethrē, and byd them with a good courage looke for their redemption, and frame themſelues to be harty ſouldiours in Chriſt. They haue takē his preſt money a great while, and now let them ſhew themſelues ready to ſerue him faythfully, and not to fly out of the Lordes campe into the world, as many do. Let them remēber that in the Apocalips the feareful be excluded the kingdome. Let vs be of good cheare for our Lord ouercame the world, that we ſhould do the like. Bleſſed is the ſeruaunt whom whē the Lord commeth, he findeth watchyng. O let vs watch and pray earneſtly one for an other, that we be not led into tēptation. Be ioyfull vnder the croſſe, and prayſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt ſacrifice which the Lord chiefly delighteth in. Commende me to my father Hunt, and deſire him to loue and continue in the vnitie of Chriſtes true Church, which he hath begon, and then ſhall he make me more & more to ioy vnder my croſſe with him. Tell my brother Clements that he hath cōforted me much by his louing token in ſignificatiō of an vnfained vnitie with vs: let him encreaſe my ioy vnto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my louing frēds, M. Meryng, M. Crooch, with the reſt, & ſpecially M. Marſhal & his wife, with great thākes for his kindnes ſhewed vnto me. Farewel my deare Careles. I haue dalied with the deuil a while, but now I am ouer the ſhooes: God ſend me well out.

Apoc. 21.

Out of the Colehouſe by your
brother Iohn Philpot.

¶ An other Letter to Iohn Careles, profitable to be read of all them which mourne in repentaunce for their ſinnes.

An other letter of M. Philpot to the ſame partye.

THe God of all comfort, and the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſend vnto thee my deare brother Careles, the inward conſolation of his holy ſpirite, in all the malicious aſſaultes & troubelous temptations of our common aduerſarie the Deuill. Amen.

That GOD geueth you ſo contrite a hart for your ſinnes, I can not but reioyce to beholde the liuely marke of the children of God. whoſe propertie is to thinke more lowly and vily of them ſelues, then of any other, and often tymes do ſet their ſinnes before them, that they might the more be ſtyrred to bryng forth the fruites of repentaunce, and learne to mourne in this worlde, that in an other they might the more be ſtyrred to bryng forth the fruites of repentaunce, & learne to mourne in this world, that in an other they might be glad and reioyce. Such a broken hart is a pleaſaunt ſacrifice vnto God: O that I had the lyke contrite hart. God mollifie my ſtony hart, which lamenteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable iniquities. Prayſed be God that he hath geuen you this ſorrowfull hart in reſpect of righteouſneſs, & I pray you let me be partaker of theſe Godly ſorrowes for ſinne, which be ÿ teſtimony of the preſence of the holy ghoſt. Did not the ſword of ſorrow pearce the hart of the elect and bleſſed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weepe bitterly for his ſinnes, which was ſo beloued of Chriſt? did not Mary Magdalen waſh the feete of our ſauiour with her teares, & receiued therewithall remiſſion of her ſeuenfold ſinnes.

To this letter Careles maketh a very godly aunſwere, which you ſhall ſee after in his ſtory.

Be of good comfort therfore myne owne deare hart, in this thy ſorrow, for it is the earneſt peny of eternall conſolation. In thy ſorrow laugh, for the ſpirite of God is with thee. Bleſſed bee they (ſayth Chriſt) that mourne: for they ſhall be comforted. They went forth & wept ſayth the Prophet: ſuch ſhall come agayne, hauing their gripes ful of gladnes. And although a ſorrowfull hart in conſideration of his ſinne, be an acceptable Sacrifice before God, whereby we are ſtirred vp to more thākfulnes vnto God, knowyng that much is forgeuē vs that we might loue the more: yet the man of God muſt keepe a meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed vp by to much ſorrow. S. Paul would not the Theſſalonians to be ſory as other mē which haue no hope. Such a ſorrow is not cōmendable, but worketh dānation, & is farre frō the children of God, who are cōtinually ſorrowfull in God whē they looke vpō their owne vnworthyneſs, with hope of forgiuenes. For God to this end by his ſpirite ſetteth the ſinnes of his elect ſtill before thē, that where they perceiue ſinne to abound, there they might be aſſured that grace ſhall ſuperabound: & bringeth thē downe vnto hell, that he might lift them vp with greater ioy vnto heauen. Wherfore, myne owne bowels in Chriſt, as long as you are not voyde altogether of hope, be not diſmayd through your penſiue hart for your ſinnes, how huge ſo euer they haue bene, for God is able to forgeue more then you are able to ſinne: yea, & he will forgeue him which with hope is ſory for his ſinnes.

Math. 15.
Pſal. 125.
Pſal. 51.
Luke 7.
Sorow in a Chriſtian man ought to be moderate.
1. Theſ. 4.
2. Cor. 7.
Rom. 5.

But know brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the helpe of Gods ſpirite, to do that is good, the euill ſpirite Sathan layeth hard wayt to turne the good vnto euill, and goeth aboute to mixe the deteſtable darnell of deſperation with the godly ſorrow of a pure penitent hart. You be not ignoraunt of his malicious ſubteltie, and how that continually he aſſaulteth that good which the grace of GOD planteth, I ſee the battell betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea and that dayly: For you haue layd hold vppon the anker of ſaluation, which is hope in Chriſt, the whiche will not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed.

Sathans practiſe to bring the godly repentance of a ſinner, to deſperation.

Be not diſcomforted that you haue this conflict: but be glad that God hath geuē you the ſame to try your fayth, and that you might appeare dayly worthy of ÿ kingdome of god, for the which you ſtriue. God beholdeth your ſtriuyng fayth agaynſt Sathan, & is pleaſed with your mighty reſiſtaunce. The ſpirite which is in you, is mightyer then all the aduerſaries power. Tēpt he may, and lying awayt at your heeles, geue you a fall vnwares: but ouercome hee ſhall not: yea he can not, for you are ſealed vp already with a liuely faith to be the child of God for euer: & whom God hath once ſealed for his owne, him he neuer vtterly forſaketh. The iuſt falleth. vij. tymes, but he riſeth agayne. It is mans frailtie to fall, but it is the propertie of the Deuils child to lye ſtill.

Gods children fall. The deuils children lye ſtill.

This ſtrife agaynſt ſinne is a ſufficiēt teſtimony that you are the child of God, for if you were not, you ſhould feele no ſuch malice as he now troubleth you withall. When this ſtrong Goliah hath the hold, all thyngs be in peace which he poſſeſſeth, & becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you vnaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, & hold out the buckler of fayth, & with the ſword of gods promiſes ſmite him on the ſcalpe, that hee may receiue a deadly wound, and neuer bee able to ſtand agaynſt you any more. S. Iames telleth you that he is but a coward, ſaying: Reſiſt the deuill and he will flye away. It is the will of God that hee ſhould thus long tempt you & not go away as yet, or els he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receiue the foyle at your handes and encreaſe the crowne of your glory: for he that ouercommeth ſhall be crowned. Therfore glory in your temptations, ſince they ſhall turne to your felicitie. Be not afrayde of your continuall aſſaultes: which be occaſions of your dayly victory. The word of God abydeth for euer. In what houre ſoeuer a ſinner repenteth him of his ſinnes, they be forgeuen. Who can lay any thyng to the charge of Gods elect: Do you not perceiue the manifeſt tokens of your election?

Luke 11.
Strife agaynſt ſinne is a token of Gods childe.
Iames 4.
Ezech. 18.

tion? Firſt your vocation to the Goſpell, and after your vocation, the manifeſt giftes of the ſpirite of God geuen vnto you aboue many other of your condition, with godlyneſſe whiche beleueth and yeldeth to the authoritie of the Scriptures, & is zealous for the ſame? Beyng you are Gods own dearlyng, who can hurt you? Be not of a deiect mynde for theſe temptations, neither make your vnfayned frendes to be more ſorrowfull for you, then neede doth require.

True Chriſtians how they ought to be careles in their carefull eſtate.

Since G O D hath willed you at your Baptiſme in Chriſt to be Careles, why do you make your ſelfe carefull? Caſt all your care on hym. Set the Lord before your eyes alwayes, for hee is on your right ſide that you ſhall not bee moued. Behold the goodnes of God toward me. I am careles, beyng faſt cloſed in a payre of ſtockes, which pinch me for very ſtraitnes: and will you be carefull? I will not haue that vnſeemely addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtles you haue none other cauſe but ſo to be. I pray, I beſeech you, that I may be ſtill careleſſe in my carefull eſtate, as you haue cauſe to be careleſſe in your caſier condition. Be thankefull and put away all care, and then I ſhall be ioyfull in my ſtraite preſent care. Commend me to all our brethren, and deſire them to praye for me that I may ouercome my temptations: for the deuill rageth againſt me, I am put in the ſtockes in a place alone, becauſe I would not aunſwere to ſuch articles as they would charge me withall in a corner at the Byſhops appointment, & becauſe I did not come to Maſſe whē the byſhop ſent for me, I will lye all the dayes of my life in the ſtockes (by Gods grace) rather then I will conſent to the wicked generation. Prayſe God & be ioyful that it hath pleaſed him to make vs worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for his names ſake. The deuill muſt rage for x. dayes. Cōmend me to Maiſter F. & thanke him for his law books, but law neither equitie will take any place among theſe bloudthirſty. I would for your ſake their vniuſt dealing were noted vnto the Parlamēt houſe, if it might auayle. God ſhortē theſe euil dayes. I haue aunſwered the Byſhop meetely playne already, & I ſayd to him, if he will cal me in opē iudgemēt, I wil aunſwere him as plainly as hee will require: otherwiſe I haue refuſed, becauſe I feare they will condēne me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be with you my deare brother. I cā write no more for lacke of light, & that I haue written I cā not read my ſelfe, and God knoweth it is written farre vneaſely. I pray God you may picke out ſome vnderſtādyng of my mynde towardes you. Written in a Colehouſe of darkenes out of a payre of paynfull ſtockes by thyne owne in Chriſt.

John Philpot.

An other Letter of M. Philpot to certaine godly women, forſakyng their owne countrey for the Goſpell: ful of frutefull preceptes and leſſons for all good women.

An other letter of M. Philpot to certayne godly women.

THe ſpirite of truth reueled vnto you my dearely beloued, by the Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, be continually abidyng with you, and augmented into a perfect buildyng of you into the liuely tēple of God, through the mightie operation of his power. Amen.

I read in the Euangeliſtes of certaine Godly women that miniſtred vnto Chriſt, followyng him in the dayes of his Paſſion, and neuer forſoke him, but beyng dead in hys graue, brought oyle to annoynt him, vntill that he had ſhewed himſelfe vnto them after his reſurrection, and bidden them ſhew vnto his Diſciples, which at his Paſſiō were diſperſed, and tel thē that he was riſen, and that they ſhould ſee him in Galile. To whom I may iuſtly compare you (my louyng Siſters in Chriſt) who of late haue ſene him ſuffer in his mēbers, and haue miniſtred to their neceſſitie, annointyng them with the comfortable oyle of your charitable aſſiſtaunce, euen to the death: and now ſince ye haue ſeene Chriſt to liue in the aſhes of them whom the tyrannes haue ſlayne, he willeth you to go away vpon iuſt occaſion offered you, and to declare to our diſperſed brethrē and ſiſters, that he is riſē and liueth in his elect mēbers in England, & by death doth ouercome infidelitie, & that they ſhall ſee him in Galile, which is by forſakyng this world, and by a faythfull deſire to paſſe out of this worlde by thoſe wayes whiche he with his holy Martyrs hath gone on before.

God therefore (entire Siſters) direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias vnto a ſtraunge land: G O D geue you health both of body and ſoule, that ye may go from vertue to vertue, and growe from ſtrength to ſtrength, vntill ye may ſee face to face the God of Syon in his holy hill, with the innumerable cōpany of his bleſſed Martyrs and Saintes. Let there be continuall aſcenſions vnto heauē in your harts. Let there bee no decreaſe of any vertue, whiche is already planted in you. Bee as the lyght of the iuſt, ſuch as Salomon ſayth increaſeth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the ſtrength of God be commended in your weake veſſels, as it is. Be examples of fayth and ſobrietie to all that ye ſhall come in company withall. Let your godlye conuerſation ſpeake where your toung may not, in the congregation. Be ſwift to heare and ſlow to ſpeake, after the counſell of Saint Iames. Be not curious about other mens doynges, but be occupyed in prayer and continuall meditation, with reuerent talkyng of the worde of God, without contention amongeſt the Saintes. Let your fayth ſhyne in a ſtraunge countrey, as it hath done in your own, that your father which is in heauē may be gloryfied by you to the end.

Wholſome and godly preceptes of lyfe.

This farewell I ſende you, not as a thing nedeful, (which know already what your ducty is, and bee deſirous to performe the ſame) but as one that would haue you vnderſtād that he is mindful of your godly cōuerſatiō, wherof he hath had good experience, and therfore wryteth this to be as a perpetuall memoriall betwixt you and him vntill our metyng together before God, where we ſhall ioy that wee haue here louingly put one an other in memory of our ducty to performe it.

Farewell agayne, myne owne bowels in Chriſt, & take me with you whereſoeuer you goe, and leaue your ſelues with me, that in ſpirite we may bee preſent one with an other. Cōmend me to the whole cōgregation of Chriſt, willing thē not to leaue their countrey without witnes of the Goſpell after that we all be ſlayne, which already be ſtaulled vp and appointed to the ſlaughter, and in the meane ſeaſon to pray earneſtly for our conſtancy, that Chriſt may be glorified in vs and in them both by lyfe and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for euer, Iohn Philpot.

An exhortation to his own Siſter cōſtantly to ſticke to the truth, which ſhe had fruitefully profeſſed.

An other letter of M. Philpot to his owne Siſter, full of fruitfull exhortation.

GOd the eternall father, who hath iuſtified you by the bloud of his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and called you to halowe his name through a good conuerſation and profeſſion of lyfe, he ſanctifie you with dayly encreaſe of vertue & fayth by hys holy ſpirite, that you may appeare a veſſell of ſanctification, in the middeſt of this wicked and peruerſe generation, to the laud and prayſe of the Goſpell, Amen.

I haue occaſion (mine owne deare ſiſter) to prayſe God in you for two cauſes: the one, that to your habilitie you are ready to ſhew your ſelf a naturall louing ſiſter vnto me your poore afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you haue eftſoones teſtified beyng abſent, as alſo preſently viſityng me: whiche well declareth that you be a very naturall ſiſter in deede, and to be prayſed in this behalfe. But in the other, that you be alſo a ſiſter to me in fayth after Chriſtes goſpel, I am occaſioned to thanke God ſo much the more, howe much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpirituall conſanguinitie is more pardurable then that whiche is of fleſh and bloud, and is a worker of that whiche is by nature: for commonly ſuch as be vngodly, be vnnaturall and onely louers of them ſelues, as dayly experience teacheth vs. The lyuyng Lord, whiche through the incorruptible ſeede of his worde hath begotten you to be my liege ſiſter, geue you grace ſo to growe in that generation, that you may encreaſe to a perfect age in the Lord to be my ſiſter with Chriſt for euer.

Spirituall conſanguinitie and naturall, compared.

Looke therefore that you continue a faythfull ſiſter as you are called and are godly entered, not onely to me but to all the Church of Chriſt, ye to Chriſt him ſelfe, who voucheth you in this your vnfayned fayth, worthy to be hys ſiſter. Conſider this dignitye to ſurmount all the vayne dignities of the worlde, and let it accordingly preuayle more with you, then al earthly delightes: for therby you are called to an equall portion of the euerlaſting inheritaunce of Chriſt if now in no wiſe you do ſhewe your ſelfe an vnnaturall ſiſter to him in forſakyng him in trouble, whiche I truſt you will neuer for no kynde of worldly reſpect do. You are vnder daungerous temptations to bee turned from that naturall loue you owe vnto Chriſt, and you ſhalbe tryed with Gods people through a ſieue of great affliction: for ſo Sathan deſireth vs to be ſifted, that through feare of ſharpe troubles we might fall from the ſtablenes of our fayth, and ſo bee depriued of that honour, ioy, and reward, whiche is prepared for ſuche as continue faythfull brothers and ſiſters in the Lordes couenant to the ende. Therefore the wiſe man in the booke of Eccleſiaſticus biddeth them that come to the ſeruice of the Lorde, To prepare them ſelues to ſuffer temptations.

The Sieue of afflictions. Luke. 22.

Eccle. 2.

Since then that for the glory of god and our fayth, we are called now to abide the brunt of thē, & that when our aduerſary hath done al that he can, yet we may be ſtable & ſtand: this Chriſt our firſt begottē brother looketh for at our hādes, and all our brethren and ſiſters in heauen deſire to ſee our fayth through afflictions to be perfect, ỹ we might fulfill

Chriſt our firſt borne brother.

their number: and the vniuerſall Churche here militaunt, reioyceth at our conſtauncie, whom all by the contrary we ſhould make ſory, to the daunger of the loſſe both of body and ſoule. Feare not therfore, what ſoeuer be threatened of the wicked worlde: prepare your backe, and ſee it be ready to cary Chriſtes Croſſe. And if you ſee any vntowardneſſe in you (as the fleſh is continually repugnaunt to the will of GOD) aſke with faythfull prayer that the good ſpirite of GOD may lead your ſinnefull fleſh whether it would not: for if we will dwell in the fleſh and follow the counſell therof, we ſhall neuer do the will of God, neither worke that tendeth to our ſaluation.

A Chriſten mans backe ſhould alwayes be ready to beare Chriſtes croſſe.

You are at this preſent in the confines and borders of Babylon where you are in daunger to drinke of the whores cup, vnleſſe you be vigilant in prayer. Take heede the Serpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicitie of your fayth, as he did our firſt mother Eue. Let no worldly felowſhyp make you partaker of iniquitie. He that toucheth tarre can not but be defiled thereby. With ſuch as be peruerſe, a mā ſhal ſoone be peruerted: with the holy you ſhalbe holy. Therefore ſay continually with the Prophete Dauid: Vnto the Saintes that be on the earth, all my will is on them. You haue bene ſanctified and made pure through the truth: take heede you be not vnholyed and defiled, leſt the laſt bee worſe then the firſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in any doubt of your ſincere continuaūce (of the which I haue had ſo good experience): but becauſe the dayes be euill, and in the ſame it is the duety of euery one of vs to exhorte an other.

Vngodly fellowſhip to be eſchewed.

Pſal. 15.

I am bold to put you (my good ſiſter) in remembraunce of that which doth not a litle comfort me to remēber, in my troubles & dayly temptations. Wherfore I doubt not, you wil take that in good part which commeth frō your brother both in ſpirite & body, who tendreth your ſaluation as earneſtly as his owne, that we might ioye together eternally with ſuch ioy as the world ſhall neuer bee able to take from vs. Thākes be vnto God, you haue begon to runne a good & great tyme well in the wayes of the Lord: run out of the race to the end which you haue begon, and thē ſhall you receiue the crowne of glory. None ſhalbe crowned but ſuch as lawfully ſtriueth. Be not ouercome of euill, but ouercome euill with good, & the Lord ſhal make you one of thoſe faythfull virgines that ſhall follow the Lambe whereſoeuer hee goeth: the which Chriſt graunt both you and me, Amen.

2. Tim. 2.

Apoc. 4.

Commend me to all them that loue me in the Lord vnfaynedly. God encreaſe our fayth and geue vs neuer to be aſhamed of his Goſpell. That ſame requeſt whiche I haue made to my brother Thomas, I make alſo to you, deſiryng you by all meanes you can to accōpliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatiſfied with that is myne owne, to the contentation of my mynde, which can not bee quyet vntill they be diſcharged: therfore I pray you helpe to purchaſe quietneſſe that I might departe out of this world in peace. My diſſolution I looke for dayly, but the Lord knoweth how vnworthy I am of ſo hygh an honour, as to dye for the teſtimonie of his truth. Pray that GOD would vouchſafe to make me worthy, as he hath done of long impriſonment, for the which his name be prayſed for euer. Pray and looke for the commyng of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great ouer vs, and I will pray for you as long as I liue. The ix. of Iuly in the Kynges Bench.

This was for the firſt fruites of his Archdeaconry, wherof all the tyme of his impriſonment he had no commoditie, and yet his ſureties were compelled to pay the ſame.

Your owne louyng brother as well in fayth as in body. Iohn Philpot.

¶An other Letter of Iohn Philpot to certaine Godly brethren.

An other letter of Iohn Philpot contaynyng godly exhortations.

THe grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt his eternall ſonne, and the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt our comforter, ſtrengthen your harts and comfort your myndes that you may reioyce, and lyue in the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell to the end. Amen.

I do much reioyce, dearely beloued in the Lord, to heare of your conſtant fayth in the word of God, which you haue ſo purely receaued: which do not with the worldlynges decline from the puritie thereof, albeit ye ſuffer griefe and trouble thereby: for the which I prayſe GOD moſt hartely: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begon this good worke in you, make it perfite to the ende, as I doubt not but he will, for the faythfull zeale ye haue to his truth and to his afflicted Churche. Therfore that ye may the better ſtand and beare the brunt of many temptations whiche you are lyke to bee aſſaulted withall in theſe wicked and ſtormy dayes: I thought it good, as it is the duety of one Chriſtian man to exhorte an other in the tyme of trouble, to put you in remembraunce therof, and to will you with the wiſe man to prepare your ſelues to temptations: and to beware that ye, which yet do ſtand by the goodnes of God, may not fall from your liuely knowledge and hope. It is an eaſie thyng to begyn to doe well, but to continue out in well doyng, is the onely propertie of the children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhall bee ſaued. For ſo ſayth our Sauiour in his Goſpell: Bleſſed are they that perſeuer to the end.

He commendeth their faythfull zeale to Gods worde.

He exhorteth them to continue and to ſtand faſt.

Math. 10.

Let not therfore this certayntie of your ſaluation, whiche is continuaunce in the ſincerity of fayth, ſlide frō you. Eſteme it more then all the riches and pleaſures of thys world, for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternall life. This is that precious ſtone for the which the wiſe marchant man, after the Goſpell, doth ſell all that hee hath and byeth the ſame. God in the 3. of the Apocalyps doth ſignifie to the church, that there ſhall come a tyme of temptatiō vpon the whole worlde, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the daunger of which temptation all ſuch ſhal be deliuered as obſerue his word: which word there is called the word of patiēce: to geue vs to vnderſtand that we muſt be ready to ſuffer all kynde of iniuries and ſclaunders for the profeſſion therof.

Apoc. 3.

The word of patience.

Therefore God commaundeth vs there to hold it faſt, that no man might bereft vs of our Crowne of glorye, and as Saint Peter telleth vs now we are afflicted with diuers aſſayes, as it is neede it ſhould ſo bee. That the triall of our fayth beyng much more precious then gold that periſheth, and yet is tryed by fire, might redounde to the laud glory and honour of Ieſus Chriſt. S. Paule to the Hebrues ſheweth vs, that Chriſt our Sauiour was in his humanitie made perfect by afflictions, that we beyng called to perfection in him, might more willingly ſuſteyne the troubles of the world, by the which God geueth all thē that be exerciſed in the ſame for his ſake, his holynes. And in the xij. chap. of the ſayd Epiſtle is written: My ſonne refuſe not the correction of the Lorde, nor ſhrynke not, when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chaſtice euery ſonne, whō he receaueth. &c. Chriſt in the Goſpell of S. Iohn biddeth his Diſciples to looke after afflictions, ſaying in the worlde ye ſhall haue trouble, but in mee ye ſhall haue ioye. And therfore in the middeſt of theyr trouble, in the xxj. of Saint Luke hee byddeth them, looke vp and liſt vp their heades, for your redemption (ſayth he) is at hande. And in the xxij. hee ſayth to all ſuch as be afflicted for him: You are thoſe that haue abiden with me in my temptations, and therfore I appoint vnto you a kingdome, as my father hath appointed for me, to eate and drynke vpon my table in my kyngdome.

1. Pet. 1.

Heb. 2.

Iohn. 16.

Luke. 21.

Luke. 22.

O how glorious be the croſſes of Chriſt, which bryng the bearers of them vnto ſo bleſſed an ende. Shall we not bee glad, to bee partakers of ſuch ſhame as may bryng vs to ſo high a dignitye? God open there eyes to ſee all thinges as they be, & to iudge vprightly. Thē doutles we would thinke with Moyſes, that it is better to bee afflicted with the people of God: then to bee counted the kyng of Egyptes ſonne. Then ſhould we ioyfully ſay, with dauid in all our aduerſities and troubles: It is good (O Lord) thou haſt brought me low, to the ende I might learne thy righteouſnes. Therfore S. Paule woulde not glory in any other thing of the world but in the croſſe of Chriſt, and in other his infirmities. Wee haue the commaundement of Chriſt, dayly to take vp hys croſſe & follow hym. We haue the godly enſāpls of all his Apoſtles & holy martyrs, which with great ioye & exultatiō, haue ſuffered the loſſe of lands, goods, & life for the hope of a better reward: which is layd vp for al thoſe in heauē, that vnfaynedly cleaue to the goſpel, & neuer be aſhamed therof.

The fruit that commeth by bearing of the Croſſe.

Great is the felicitie of the world to the outward man, & very pleaſant are the tranſitory delightes therof: but the rewarde of the rightuous after the word of god, doth incomparably excell them all, in ſo much that S. Paul to the Rom. doth playnely affirme, that all the tribulatiōs of this world cā not deſerue that glory, which ſhal be ſhewed vpon vs.

The delightes of the worlde nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Let vs therfore good brethren & ſiſterne be mery & glad in theſe troubleſome dayes, the which be ſent of God, to declare our fayth, & to bryng vs to the end & fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lords Sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for vs, we could not but deſire the Lorde, to haſt the daye of our death, in the which wee might ſet foorth by true confeſſion, his glorye. Neyther ſhoulde wee bee afrayde to meete our aduerſaries, which ſo earneſtly ſeeke our ſpoyle & death, as Chriſt dyd Iudas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him ſaying I am he whom ye ſeeke. It is commaunded vs by the Goſpell, not to feare them, that can kill the body, but to feare God, who can caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. So much we are bound to obſerue this commaundement as any other which God hath geuen vs. The Lord encreaſe our fayth, that wee may feare God more then man. The Lorde geue vs ſuch loue towards him & his truth, that we may be content to forſake all and followe him. Nowe will it appeare what we loue beſt: for to that wee loue wee will ſticke. There is none to bee counted woorthy a Chriſtian, except he can find in his hart for Chriſtes ſake, if the cōfeſſion of his truth doth require it, to renouce al which he hath

Conſideration of the ioyes to come.

The note of a true Chriſtian.

and

How a Chriſten man gayneth an hundreth folde in this lyfe.

Phil. 4.

A compariſon betwene the loſſe and the gaine that commeth by following of Chriſt.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

The lacke of Gods peace a thing moſt miſerable.

and follow him: and in ſo doyng hee gaineth an hundreth fold more in this life (as our Sauiour ſayd to Peter) and here after is aſſured of eternall life. Beholde I pray you, what he loſeth, whiche in this lyfe receaueth an hundreth for one, with aſſuraūce of eternal life. O happy exchaūce. Perchaūce your outward man wil ſay: if I were ſure of this great recōpence here, I could be glad to forſake all. But where is this hundreth fold in this life to be found? Yes truely: for in ſtede of worldly riches which thou doeſt forſake, whiche be but temporall, thou haſt found the euerlaſtyng riches of heauē, which be glory, honour, and prayſe, both before God, Aungels and men: and for an earthly habitation, haſt an eternall manſion with Chriſt in heauen, for euen nowe thou art of the Citie and houſhold of the Saints with God, as it is verified in the iiij. to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can laſt but a while, thou doeſt poſſeſſe the peace of God, which paſſeth al vnderſtādyng: & for the loſſe of a few frēds thou art made a felowe of the innumerable cōpany of heauē, and a perpetuall frend of all thoſe that haue dyed in the Lord frō the begynnyng of the world. Is not this more then an hundreth fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world haue through faythfull imitation of Chriſt (which the world cā not take from vs) ten thouſand fold more, thē thoſe thynges that moſt highly bee eſtemed in the worlde, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguiſhe and a gnawyng fury of hell. As of late God hath ſet example before our eyes, to teach vs how horrible an euill it is to forſake the peace of Chriſtes truth, which breedeth a worme in cōſcience that neuer ſhall reſt.

O that we would way this with indifferēt ballāces. Thē ſhould we not be diſmayed of this troublous tyme, neither ſorrow after a worldly manner, for the loſſe which we are now like to ſuſteine, as the weake faythleſſe perſonnes do, which loue their goodes, more then God, and the thynges viſible, aboue thoſe whiche be inuiſible: but rather would hartely reioyce and be thankefull, that it pleaſeth God to call vs to be ſouldiours in his cauſe, agaynſt the woorkes of hypocriſie, and to make vs like vnto our Sauiour Chriſt in ſufferyng, whereby we may aſſure our ſelues of his eternall glory: For bleſſed are they, ſayth Chriſt, that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake. And as S. Paule witneſſeth to Timothe: If we dye with Chriſt, we ſhall lyue with Chriſt: and if we deny him, he will deny vs.

2.Tim. 2.

Phil. 3.

O that we would enter into the veile of Gods promiſes. Then ſhould we with Saint Paule to the Phillippians, reiecte all and counte all thynges but for droſſe, ſo that we may gayne Chriſt. GOD whiche is the lightener of all darkenes and putter away of all blyndnes, annoynt our eyes with the true eyeſalue, that we might behold his glory, and our eternall felicitie, which is hidden with Chriſt, and prepared for vs that doe abyde in his Teſtament: for bleſſed is that ſeruaunt that whom the Maiſter when he commeth, as Chriſt ſayd, doth finde faythfull. Let vs therfore watch, and pray one for an other, that we yeld not in any point of our Religion to the Antichrſtian Sinagoge, and that we be not ouerthrowen of theſe temptations. Stand therfore and be no cowardes in the cauſe of your ſaluation: for his ſpirite that is in vs, is ſtronger then he whiche in the world doth now rage againſt vs. Let vs not put out the ſpirite of GOD from vs, by whoſe might we ſhall ouercome our enemyes, and thē death ſhalbe as great a gaine to vs as it was to the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Paule. Why then do ye mourne? why do ye weepe? why be ye ſo carefull, as though God had forſaken you? he is neuer more preſent with vs, then when we be in trouble, if we do not forſake him. We are in his handes, and no body can doe vs any iniurie or wrong without his good will & pleaſure. He hath cōmaunded his aūgels to keepe vs, that we ſtōble not at a ſtone without his diuine prouidēce. The deuill can not hurt any of vs, and much leſſe any of his miniſters, without the good will of our eternall father.

He exhorteth to be ioyfull in affliction.

To be pacient and not to murmure in afflictions.

Therefore let vs be of good comforte, and continually geue thankes vnto God for our eſtate, what ſoeuer it be: for if we murmure againſt the ſame, we murmure againſt God, who ſendeth the ſame. Which if we do, we kicke but againſt the pricke, and prouoke more the wrath of God agaynſt vs: which by pacient ſufferyng, otherwiſe would ſooner be turned into our fauour through faythfull prayer.

I beſeech you with S. Paule, to geue your bodyes pure, and holy ſacrifices vnto God. He hath geuē vs bodies to beſtow vnto his glory, and not after our owne concupiſcence. If many yeares GOD hath ſuffered vs to vſe your bodyes, which be his temples, after the luſt of the fleſh, in vayne delightes, not according to his glory: is it not our duetie in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yeld vnto Gods glory our bodies, with all that we haue, in demonſtration of true repentaunce of that we haue euill ſpent before? Cannot the enſample of the bleſſed mā Iob horribly afflicted, cauſe vs to ſay? The Lord hath geuē it, the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed be the name of the Lorde. Euen as it hath pleaſed the Lord, ſo is it come to paſſe. If we caſt our whole care likewiſe vpon GOD, he will turne our miſerie into felicitie, as well as he did to Iob. God tēpteth vs now, as he did our father Abrahā, cōmaundyng him to ſlay his ſonne Iſaac in ſacrifice to him: which Iſaac by interpretation doth ſignifie myrth and ioy. Who by his obedience preſerued Iſaac vnto long lyfe, and offered in his ſtede a Ramme that was tyed by the hornes in the brambles. Semblably we all are commaūded, to ſacrifice vnto God our Iſaac, which is our ioy and cōſolation: the whiche if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our ioy ſhall not periſh, but liue and be encreaſed, although our Ramme be ſacrificed for our Iſaac: which doth ſignifie that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh entāgled thorough ſinne, with the cares of this ſtingyng world, muſt be mortified for the preſeruation, and perfect augmentation of our myrth and ioy, which is ſealed vp for vs in Chriſt.

Job. 1.

Gene. 22.

How to Sacrifice our Iſaac to God.

Remedies agaynſt the temptations of the deuill and the world.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations, wherewith all we are now encombred, ye can not haue a better remedy then to ſet before your eyes, how our Sauiour Chriſt ouercame them in the deſert, and to follow his enſample: that if the deuil himſelfe, or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly wiſe way that ye may haue your faire houſes, landes, and goods to liue on ſtil, ye muſt ſay, that man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Chriſtes temptations miſtically applyed.

Agayne, if the deuill counſailleth you, to caſt your ſelues downe to the earth, as to reuoke your ſincere belief, and Godly conuerſation, and to bee conformable to the learned men of the world, pretendyng that God wilbe well enough content therewith: ye muſt aunſwere that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the deuill offer you large promiſes of honor, dignitie and poſſeſſions, ſo that ye will worſhyppe Idols in his Synagoge, ye muſt ſay: go behynd me Sathan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhyp his Lorde God and ſerue him onely.

Finally, if your mother, brother, ſiſter, wife, child, kinſman, or frend, doe ſeeke of you, to doe otherwayes then the word of GOD hath taught you, ye muſt ſay with Chriſt that they are your mothers, brothers, ſiſters, wiues, children and kinſmen, whiche do the will of GOD the father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy, conforme vs all vnfaynedly to the ende. Amen.

Your louyng and faythfull brother in Chriſt,
in captiuitie, Iohn Philpot. An. 1555.

¶To his frend and faythfull brother in the Lord Maiſter Robert Harrington.

An other letter of Iohn Philpot to M. Harrington his frend.

GEntle Maiſter Harrington, I can not tell what condigne thankes I may geue vnto God for you, in reſpect of that great gentleneſſe and payne whiche you haue taken for the reliefe of me and of other our afflicted brethren in Chriſt. God be prayſed for his mercy, whoſe louyng prouidence we haue ſene towardes vs by ſuch faythfull Stewardes as you haue bene towardes a great many. Bleſſed bee you of GOD for the louyng care whiche you haue taken for his poore flocke. God hath reſerued your reward of thankes in heauen, and therfore I do not go about to render you any, leſt I might ſeeme to iudge, that you looked for that here, which is reſerued to a better place. I thanke God for that I haue founde by your faythfull and diligent induſtry, & God forgeue me my vnworthynes for ſo great benefites. God geue me grace to ſerue him faythfully, & to runne out my race with ioye. Glorious is the courſe of the Martyrs of Chriſt at this day. Neuer had the electes of God a better time for their glory thē this is. Now may they be aſſured vnder ẏ croſſe, that they are Chriſts deſciples for euer.

John. 21.

Me thynke I ſee you deſiryng to bee vnder the ſame. The fleſhe draweth backe, but the ſpirite ſayth, it muſt be brought whether it would not. Here is the victory of the worlde; here is true fayth and euerlaſtyng glory. Who is he which deſireth not to be found faithfull to his maiſter? And now is the tyme that euery faythfull ſeruaūt of Chriſt hath iuſt oportunitie to ſhew hymſelfe a glorious ſouldiour in the Lordes ſight. Now doe the Amalachites inuade the true Iſraelites, that the Iſraelites might with ſpeede be glorified. I neede not, for want of vnderſtandyng, to admoniſhe you hereof, but as a willyng ſouldiour in Chriſt, to exhorte you ſo to runne as you may get the victory, and that ſpeedely with vs. A man that is byd to a glorious feaſt, wiſheth his frend to go with him & to be partaker therof. God doth call me moſt vnworthy, amōg other, to drinke of the bridecup of his ſonne, whereby we ſhalbe made worthy (as many of our brethrē haue bene before vs) to ſit at the right hand and at the left hand of Chriſt. O what vnſpeakable condition is that? may any worldly thing ſtay vs from the deſire thereof? Since we ſeeke the kyngdome of God, why do we not apprehend it beyng ſo neare offered vnto vs?

Let vs approch neare vnto God, and God will drawe neare vnto vs. GOD draw vs after him, that we may all runne after the ſauour of his ſweete oyntmentes. Chriſt annoynt vs, that we may be ſuppled in theſe euill dayes to runne lightly vnto the glory of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment, loſſe of goodes, and ſheddyng of our bloud, bee the iuſt price which we muſt willyngly beſtow for the ſame. Wherfore (dearely beloued in the Lord) let not the great charges keepe you backe from byyng this glory: for the reward is x. thouſand fold greater then the price.

Reward greater then the price.

That you haue maryed a wife, whom God bleſſe, I can not excuſe you from this Marte, but you muſt bryng your wife for a vſury to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yokefellowes. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bandes, but yet moſt comfortable to the ſpirite, aſſuryng vs that we are made worthy thorough Chriſt, of the kyngdome for the whiche we ſuffer. Prayſed bee the Lord for the affliction whiche we ſuffer, and he geue vs ſtrength to continue to the end.

Godly matrimony how to be vſed.

Commend me to M. Heath, and tell him that I would wiſhe him with me, to proue how apt he is to cary the croſſe of Chriſt. I pray for his continuaũce in Chriſt, as for myne owne. Commend me to his wife and to Miſtres Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might neuer enter into the ſame, but be rapſed vp from hel to heauen, through the word that ſanctifieth vs. Commẽd me to M. Eliſing and his wife, and thanke them that they remẽbred to prouide me ſome eaſe in priſon, and tell them that though my Lordes Col house be but very blacke, yet it is more to be deſired of the faythfull, then the Queenes palace. God make her a ioyfull mother, & preſerue them both to the comfort of Gods people. Thus for this tyme, farewel deare brother. Written in poſt haſt becauſe of ſtraite keepyng.

This day I looke to bee called before the Commiſſioners agayne. Pray (deare brother) for the ſpirite of wiſedome to remaine with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thanke you both for your tokens. Your token I haue ſent to your wife, and my token vnto you, is my faythfull hart with this Letter. Commend me to all my frendes, and tell them, I thanke God, I am chearefull in Chriſt, wiſhyng thẽ to feare God more then mã, and to learne to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this world: deſiryng you all to pray for me, that I may end my iourney with fidelitie. Amen.

Iohn Philpot.

¶ Here followeth an other letter of M. Philpot to the Lady Vane, which, because for the length I could not wholy inſert, I haue excerpted certaine specialties thereout, as followeth.

THe principall ſpirite of GOD the father, geuen vnto vs by Chriſt Ieſus our mercyfull Sauiour, confirme, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſhe you in the true knowledge of the Goſpell, that your faythfull hart (worſhipfull and deare ſiſter in the Lord) may attaine and taſt withall the Saintes, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the ſweete croſſe of Chriſt. Amen. &c.

O, happy are you amongeſt all other women, that haue founde this precious ſtone which is hydden in the Goſpell: for the whiche we ought to ſell all other thynges, and to purchaſe the ſame. O happy woman, whoſe hart GOD hath moued and enlarged to be in the profeſſion therof. Other ſeeke worldly goodes, honours, and delightes: but you ſeeke with a good vnderſtãdyng, to ſerue God in ſpirite and veritie. This is the gate that leadeth to heauen: this is your portion for euer. By this ſhall you ſee GOD face to face (whiche ſight is vnſpeakeable ioye) and by this ſhall ye ſee whatſoeuer your hart can deſire. By this ſhall you haue a full ſight of all the beutiful heauenly powers, and of all the celeſtiall Paradiſe. By this ſhall ye know them that you neuer knewe, and be ioyous and glad with thoſe whiche you haue knowen here in God, world without end. &c.

He bewayleth the ſtate of England.

Ah, I lament the infidelitie of Englãd, that after ſo great light, is ſtept into ſo huge darknes agayne. The ſeruaũt that knoweth his maiſters will and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang ouer England, yea though the Goſpell ſhould be reſtored agayn. Happy ſhall that perſon be, whom the Lord ſhall take out of this world, not to ſee them. Ah the great periury whiche men haue runne into ſo wilfully agaynſt God by receiuyng Antichriſt agayne and his wicked lawes: which do threaten a great ruine vnto England. O that the Lord would turne his iuſt iudgemẽts vpõ the authors of the trucebreakyng betwene God and vs, that they might be brought low (as Nabuchodonoſor was) that his people might be deliuered, and his glory exalted, GOD graunt that that good lucke which you hope ſhortely to come vppon the houſe of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well wiſhing onely. Ah Lord, take away thy heauy hand from vs, and ſtretch it out vppon thyne enemies theſe hypocrites, as thou haſt begõ, that they may be confounded. O let not the weake periſh for want of knowledge thorough our ſinnes. Although thou kill vs, yet will we put our truſt in thee.

Plagues prophecied to England though the Goſpell be reſtored agayne.

Good lucke foreſhewed in reſtoring agayne the Goſpell.

Thus (deare hart) you teach me to pray with you in wrytyng. God heare our prayers, and geue vs the ſpirite of effectuall prayer, to poure out our hartes continually together before God, that we may finde mercy both for our ſelues, & for our afflicted brethren & ſiſterne. I can not but prayſe God in you, for that pitifull hart that taketh other folkes calamities to hart, as your owne. Bleſſed be they that mourne, for ſuch ſhall be comforted. GOD wipe away all teares from your pitifull eyes, & ſorrow frõ your mercyfull hart, that you may (as doubtleſſe you ſhall doe ſhortly) reioyce with his electes for euer. You haue ſo armed me to the Lordes battell both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I can not faynt, but ouercome by death. You haue appointed me to ſo good and gracious a Generall of the field, to ſo victorious a Captaine, and to ſo fauorable a Marſhall, that if I ſhould not go on luſtely, there were no ſparcle of heauenly manhode in me. I wil preſent your coate armour before my Captaine, and in the ſame I truſt by hym to ouercome. The Scarffe I deſire as an outward ſigne to ſhew to our enemyes, who ſee not our glorious end, neither what GOD worketh inwardly in vs, thorough the blindnes of their hartes, that they perſecute Chriſtes croſſe in vs, whereby he hath ſealed vp the truth of his Goſpell by his death vnto vs, that we by our death (if neede be) might confirme the ſame, and neuer be aſhamed, what ſoeuer torment we do ſuffer for hys names ſake: & our weake brethren ſeyng the ſame might be more encouraged to take vppe Chriſtes croſſe, and to folow him. God geue vs grace to do all things to his glory. Amen. &c.

Philpots Scarffe.

The world wondreth how we can be mery in ſuch extreme miſerie, but our GOD is omnipotent which turneth miſery into felicitie. Beleue me deare Siſter, there is no ſuch ioye in the worlde as the people of Chriſt haue vnder the Croſſe. I ſpeake by experiẽce: therfore beleue me, and feare nothyng that the worlde can doe vnto you. For when they impriſon our bodyes, they ſet our ſoules at libertie with God. When they caſt vs downe, they lift vs vp: yea whẽ they kill vs, then do they bryng vs to euerlaſtyng lyfe. And what greater glory can there be, then to bee at comformitie with Chriſt? which afflictions do worke in vs.

Experience of Gods comfort in the tyme of affliction.

Perſecutours, when they priſon mens bodyes, they ſet their ſoules at libertye.

God open our eyes to ſee more and more the glorye of God in the Croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, and make vs worthy partakers of the ſame. Let vs reioyce in nothyng, with S. Paule, but in the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified vnto vs, and we to the world. The croſſe of Chriſt be our ſtandard to fight vnder for euer. Whiles I am thus talkyng with you of our common conſolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and vnordinate tediouſneſſe: but you muſt impute it to loue whiche can not quickely depart from them whom he loueth, but deſireth to poure himſelfe into their boſomes.

Therefore though your fleſhe would be offended (as it might iuſtly bee) at ſuch rudenes, yet your ſpirite will ſay nay, which taketh all thyng in good part that commeth of loue. And now I am departyng: yet will I take my leaue ere I go, and would fayne ſpeake ſomewhat that might declare my ſincere loue to you for euer: farewell. O elect veſſell of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flocke, farewell on earth, whom in heauen, I am ſure, I ſhal not forget. Farewell vnder the croſſe moſt ioyfully: and vntill we meete, alwayes remember what Chriſt ſayth: Be of good chere, for I haue ouercome the world. &c.

GOD poure his ſpirite aboundauntly vpon you myne owne deare bowelles in Chriſt, vntill you may come to ſee the God of all Gods with his electes in the euerlaſtyng Syon. I ſend to you the kiſſe of peace with the whiche I doe moſt entirely take my leaue of you, at this preſent. It is neceſſary we departe hence or els we could not be glorified. Your hart is heauy becauſe I ſay I muſt depart from you. It is the callyng of our mercyfull father, wherewithall you are cõtent, & ſo am I. Be of good comfort: hold out your buckler of faith: for by the ſtrẽgth therof we ſhal ſhortly mete in eternall glory: to the which Chriſt bryng both vs. Amen. Amen. The x. of December. 1555.

Death why ſhould I feare thee,
Since thou canſt not hurt mee:
But rid me from miſery,
Vnto eternall glory.

Dead to the world and liuing to Chriſt, your owne brother ſealed vp in the veritie of the Goſpell for euer.

Iohn Philpot.

¶ An

¶ An other letter of M. Philpot, written to the ſame Lady, being a great ſupporter of him.

An other letter of M. Philpot to a certayne godly Lady.

I Can not but moſt hartily geue God thankes for theſe his giftes in you, whoſe brightnes many beholding that are weake, are muche encouraged to ſeeke God likewiſe, and to cleaue to hym, hauing the enſample of ſo faithfull and conſtant a Gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queene of the South ſhall riſe with the men of Chriſtes generation, and condemne them, for that ſhee came from the ende of the worlde to heare the wiſedome of Salomon: then ſhall your ſincere and godly conuerſation, thus ſhinyng in this daungerous tyme of the trial of Chriſtes people (being a woman of a right worſhipfull eſtate and wealthy condition) condemne in the latter day a greate many of theſe fainte harted Goſpellers, which ſo ſoone be gone backe and turned from the truth, at the voyce of a handmaiden: ſeeing that neither the feare of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſions of the world (wherwithal you are ſufficiētly indued aboue a great many) can ſeparate you from the loue of the truthe, whiche God hath reueled vnto you. Whereby it appeareth that the ſeede of Gods word which was ſowen in you, fel not, neyther in the high way, neither amōg the thornes, neither vpō the ſtones, but vpon a good ground, which is bleſſed of god, & bringeth forth fruite, with great affliction, an hūdred fold, to the glory of God, and the encreaſe of his church. &c.

Againſt faint harted Goſpellers.

In conſideration wherof, S. Iames biddeth vs highly to reioyce, when ſoeuer we fall in into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent vertue pacience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Chriſt, with whō we here being like in ſuffering, aſſuredly ſhal hereafter be partakers of his eternall glory. Therfore S. Paul ſaith: God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing, but in the croſſe of our lord Ieſus Chriſt. I that am vnder the croſſe with you (thanks be geuen to God therfore) haue fealt in the ſame more true ioye and conſolation, then euer I dyd by any benefite that God hath geuen me in my life before. For the more the worlde dooth hate vs, the nigher God is vnto vs, and there is no perfect ioy, but in God. Wherfore Chriſt ſaid: In me you ſhall haue ioy, but in the worlde affliction. Bleſſed be God whiche ſendeth vs this affliction, that we might perfectly ioy in him. For this cauſe in the ripeſt tyme of iniquitie, and in the moſte feruent ſeaſon of perſecution of the true church, which Chriſt in ẏ. xxi. of Luke propheſied to come, he wylleth vs to be of good cheare, and to lift vp our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Iohn 16.

Luke 21.

O that the Lord would come and deliuer vs from this worlde, whiche is a vale of miſerye, vnto his owne kingdome, where floweth perpetuall ioy and conſolation. And verely that is the true and onely ioy whiche is conceyued, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we doo poſſeſſe, no bodye can take it awaye from vs. To the which ioy al other ioyes being cōpared, are but mournings, al delightes ſorowe, al ſweetnes ſower, all beautie filth, and finally all other thynges that be counted pleaſaunt, are tediouſnes. Your owne ſelfe is better witnes of this, then I: aſke your ſelfe, with whom you are beſt acquainted. Doth not the holy Ghoſte ſpeake the ſame in your harte? Haue you not perſwaded your ſelf this to be true, before I wrote therof? For howe ſhoulde you, being a woman, and a young Gentlewoman, beautifull, and at your owne libertie, haue ouercome this your fraile kinde and age, and deſpiſed your excellent beautie and eſtate, vnleſſe all thoſe thinges which be ſubiect to the ſenſes, had bene counted of you vile, and litle to be eſteemed in compariſon of thoſe things which inwardly do comfort you, to ouercome the fleſhe, the worlde, and the deuyll. &c.

Perfect ioy conſidered.

Compariſon betwene the ioy in God and the ioy in this world

God encreaſe your ioy in all ſpirituall thyngs, and eſtabliſh your hope to the day of eternal reſt. You haue forſaken darkenes, and are entred into light. God graunt the ſame may ſhine ſtyll in you, vntyl the perfect day come of the lord, in the whiche is all our conſolation. Here we muſt be darkened, that there we may appeare as bright as the Sunne in the face of the whole world, and of al them that now condemne vs for our wel doyng: whoſe Iudges then we ſhal be, to their horrible griefe, though nowe wrongfully they iudge vs. Pray hartily, and that often, that God once again for his Chriſtes ſake, woulde be mercyfull to his afflicted church in England. Faythfull prayer is the onely remedye that we haue againſt the fiery dartes of the deuyl, that be kindled agaynſt vs. By prayer the Amalechites ſhal be ouercome, and the roarynges of the Lyon, which ſeeketh ſtil to deuoure vs, ſhalbe ſtopped and put to ſilence. The Lord ſtop Leuiathans mouth, that he ſwalowe not vp Gods ſeely people, according to his expectation. &c.

Gods Saintes ſhal be as Iudges agaynſt their aduerſaryes.

Prayſe the Lord for the faithfull teſtimonie and ſacrifice which two of our brethren of late haue through fire rendred to the truth of the Goſpell, which nowe triumpheth by the death of godly Martyrs. The Lord is at hande, therfore watche and pray. The laſt of May. 1555. Captiue in the Kynges Bench.

The Goſpell triumpheth by the death of Martyrs.

Yours with hart in Chriſt, Iohn Philpot.

¶ An other Letter of maiſter Philpot, to the godly Lady Vane.

An other letter of Iohn Philpot to the Lady Vane.

GOd the Father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt encreaſe in your godly hart the faith of the Goſpel, which is your eternal inheritance, & the holy ghoſt comfort your ſpirit with al ſpiritual conſolation, to the day of the Lord. Amen.

I can not but prayſe God moſt highly and earneſtly, my deare & faythful Lady, for the great & vnfained loue whiche you beare vnto me in Chriſte, declared oftentymes as well now as of late, by manifeſt and liberall tokens. Bleſſed be God that hath made you ſo worthy a member in his kingdome. For it can not be but ſuch ſhal reape with abundance in tyme of reward, that here do ſowe ſo plenteouſly in well doyng. Albeit I am moſt vnworthy to receiue any ſuch benefite at your handes, as in reſpecte of a pyller of Chriſtes church, which am ſcarſe a ſhadowe therof. But the zeale of Chriſtes Church in you wiſheth me to be ſuch a one as the tyme doth require. God fulfil your deſire of me, that I may be found conſtant, & no wandring ſtarre. I am not worthy of the name of a Prophet, or of a Miniſter of Gods word, for that I haue (beyng letted by the iniquitie of tyme) litle or nothing labored therin. I am a frende of our cōmon ſpouſe Ieſus, and doo reioyce of the veritie of his worde: for the which (prayſed be his name) he hath counted me worthy to ſuffer: and in deede who that geueth a draught of water in the name of a Diſciple (as Chriſte hath promiſed) ſhall not looſe his rewarde. Therfore, that your gentlenes doth in the name of hym, which I am not, the Lord recompence vnto you in all his bleſſinges, whiche he is accuſtomed to poure on them which loue his flocke vnfainedly.

Lady Vane a liberall benefactor to Gods Saintes.

Marke 9.

Good Lady, you haue to ioy that the kingdome of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not aſhamed of the bandes of Chriſte, which you with his people in part do ſuffer. They may be aſſured of the glory euerlaſtyng, which here are not aſhamed to take vp the croſſe of Chriſte, and to folowe hym. Here we muſt weepe and lament, whiles the worlde laugheth and triumpheth ouer vs: but our teares ſhal ſhortly be turned into vnſpeakeable ioy, and we ſhall eternally be merye together, when the worlde ſhal lament their infidelitie without ende. &c.

I would I were able to do any thyng that might ſhew condigne thanks for that ſincere loue you beare vnto me in Chriſte. You adiure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in al my nedes. I thanke God which ceaſeth not to prouide for his. I lacke nothing at this preſent, but onely habilitie to thanke your faithfull harte for your goodnes towardes me. I loue you and not yours, as it is meete Chriſtians to loue one an other in God: & your faith which I behold in you, is more worth vnto me then al your poſſeſſions. And I thinke I ſhal not neede long to be chargeable vnto you, for that this weeke I looke for Commiſſioners to ſit on me, and on my felow priſoners in priſon, leſt ẏ ſpirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not ſo good as Iohn the Baptiſt which was beheaded in priſon. Darknes can not abide the light. Therfore their doynges muſt declare what they are. We are as ſheepe appoynted for a ſacrifice to the Lorde. We muſt not feare the fire, for our lord is a cōſumming fire, which wyll put out the fiercenes of raging torments frō vs. Be not afraid of them that can kyl the body, but feare hym that can caſte both bodye and ſoule into Hel fire. God forbyd that we ſhould reioyce otherwiſe thē in the croſſe of Chriſt, & pray that he would make vs worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. God wyl haue our faith tried & knowen, and therfore let vs willyngly hūble our ſelues vnder the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriouſly lyft vs vp in his good tyme. There is none perfectly faithfull in deede tyll he can ſay with S. Paul: I am perſwaded that neither death, neither life, neither augels, neither princes or powers, neither thinges preſent, neither thinges to come, neither highnes, neither lownes, neither any orher creature is able to ſeparate me from the loue of God which is in Chriſt Ieſu our Lorde. This faith God plant both in you and me vnmoueably. In this faith we haue to reioyce, and in none other.

A perfect Chriſ man how he is knowen.

Rom. 8.

Al the tribulations of the worlde are not worthy of the eternall weight of glorye whiche is prepared for them, that here do with pacience abide the croſſe. Wherfore let vs be ſtrong with the ſtrength in hym, that is able to make vs ſtrong, and lament the weakenes, I might ſay the infidelitie of our faint Goſpellers. Chriſte whom we would pretend to haue put vpon vs, is the ſtrength of God, and how

The tyme of tribulation better for a Christian, then the tyme of ioy.

then may they be weake where Chriſte is? we haue more to be glad, touchyng our ſelues, of this tyme, then we haue had of any time before, in the which we haue ſo ready a way to goe vnto God, and ſo good occaſion to ſhewe our duetie in glorifying his holy name. For if we be impriſoned in this cauſe, we are bleſſed. If we looſe al that we haue, we are bleſſed a hundred folde. If we dye, we are bleſſed eternally: ſo that in ſuffering of perſecutions all is full of bleſſinges. We bleſſed therefore (O elect Lady) of God, with yͤ bleſſed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiſcence of the worlde. Embrace that whiche is perfect, and ioyfully looke for the commyng and croſſe of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt. &c. Thus deſiring God to preſerue you to the true peace, and to geue you victorie of that temptation which nowe is come to trye our faith. Chriſt be with you and bleſſe you both in body and ſoule: and my prayer ſhal folow you where ſoeuer you goe, as I deſire that you maye be with me. The laſte weeke I ſent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before haue a cōuenient meſſenger. As ſoone as I haue word, you ſhalbe ſatiſfied of your requeſt. Loue me as you doo, & the God of loue be with you. The. xx. day of Auguſt.

By yours with all his power, in the
Lord, Iohn Philpot.

An other Letter ful of ſpirituall conſolation, to the ſaid Ladie.

An other letter of M. Philpot to the ſame Lady

THe mercy of God the father, and the conſolation of the holy ghoſt thorow Ieſus Chriſt, be with you & ſtrēgth you my deare mother and ſiſter in the Lord, in theſe daungerous dayes, to the crowne of eternal glory which is nowe offered to al faithful ſouldiers in the Goſpel. Amen.

As your good Ladyſhip dooth deſire to heare from me, ſo am I deſirous to write, as your gentlenes and dayly goodnes byndeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who enuying all good exerciſes whiche I haue had and receyued by myne eaſie impriſonment in tymes paſte, hath brought me out of the Kinges Benche, into the Biſhop of Londons Colehouſe, a darke and a vgly priſon as any is about London (but my darke bodye of ſinne hath well deſerued the ſame, and the Lorde nowe hath brought me into outwarde darkenes, that I might the more be lightened by hym, as he is moſt preſent with his children in the middeſt of darknes) where I can not be ſuffred to haue any candle light, neither ynke, nor paper, but by ſtealth. wherefore I can not write to you as I would, neither as my duetie is. As Chriſt my maiſter was ſente from Annas to Caiphas, ſo am I ſente from Wincheſter Dioces to London. I truſt to make a ſpeedy end of my courſe: God geue me grace & pacience to be a faithful folower of my maiſter. I haue bene already this ſeuennight in his Colehouſe and haue of late bene foure tymes called to myne anſweare, but hitherto not called to iudgement, which I do dayly looke for, but I feare they wyll prolong me and trie me by ſtrait impriſonment a while, in the which Gods wyl be done.

Experience of Chriſt, comforting his ſaintes in their perſecution.

Pray (deare Lady) that my faith faint not, which I praiſe God, is preſently more liuely with me then it hath bene in tymes paſte. I taſte and feele the faithfulnes of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble and to deliuer them. I thanke the Lord, I am not alone, but haue ſixe other faithful companions: who in our darknes do chearfully ſing Hymnes and prayſes vnto God for his great goodnes. We are ſo ioyful, that I wiſhe you part of my ioy. For you that are ſo careful of my bodyly reliefe, how can I but wiſh you ſpiritual conſolation and that abūdantly? Let not, deare hart, my ſtraite impriſonment any thing moleſte you: for it hath added and dayly doth, vnto my ioy: but rather be glad and thankfull vnto God with me, that it hath pleaſed hym to make me moſte wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we haue not reſiſted vnto bloud. God make vs neuer to count our bloud more precious in our eyes then his truth.

Ah my deare ſiſter, I thanke you againe for your laſt letter you ſent me: it is a ſingular comfort vnto me, as oft as I reade the ſame. I haue it in my boſome, & wyl cary the ſame euen to the ſtake with me, in witnes that Chriſt hath ſo cōſtant and faithful a Lady in England. God ſuccour & keepe that ſpirite in you, for it is the very ſpirit of adoption of the childe of God. Suche chearefull and holy ſpirites vnder the croſſe be acceptable ſacrifices in the ſight of god: for Chriſt came to caſt fire into the earth, and looketh that it ſhoulde be kindled. Be you feruent in ſpirite in our Chriſtes cauſe, as you haue begō, for that is the principal ſpirit wherwithal Dauid deſired to be confirmed. O how I do reioyce your Ladyſhip to goe arme in arme with me vnto Chriſt, or rather before me, I can not but ioy of ſuch a worſhipful felow. Me thinketh I ſee you to mourne, & deſire to be looſed out of the earthly and fraile habitacle of this body. O howe amiable and pleaſant is it to dwell in the Lordes tabernacle? Our Chriſte and his heauenly company looke for vs: let vs haſt and runne therto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace vs. Myne owne bowels in the Lorde, be meery in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who dayly offereth your mercyful almes: which moſt vnworthyly I do receyue ſtyll of you, vnto the Lorde. But nowe deare mother, you neede not to burden ſo muche your ſelfe (as my laſt letters did ſignifie) for that my chargeable impriſonment is cut of, and a litle nowe ſerueth me: wherefore I pray you ſend no more vntyl I ſend to you, for I haue ſufficient and abounde. Gods peace be with you for euer. Out of my Lorde of Londons Colehouſe, the laſt of October.

Your owne, Iohn Philpot.

An other Letter of M. Philpot to the ſaide Lady, wherin partly he cōplaineth of the diſſimulation and periurie of Engliſh men, falling agayn to the Pope, and partly he expreſſeth his ioy in his afflictions.

An other letter of M. Philpot.

I Can not but ioy with you, my harty beloued in Chriſt, of the fall of Senacherib, ſince it is to the glorye of God, and to the conſolation of his Churche, to ſee the fall of their enemies before their face, accordyng as it is written: The iuſt ſhall reioyce when he ſeeth the vengeaunce of the wicked. God make this your ioy perfite: for as concernyng my ſelf, I coūt not to ſee thoſe good dayes wherof you haue a glimmeryng in this lyfe. For although the Cokatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon yet lyueth. But a great hope there is of their ſhorte confuſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doynges accordyng to their expectation. Moſt happyeſt ſhal he be, whom the lord ſhall moſt ſooneſt take out of this life, that he may not ſee the plagues, which the manifeſt periurie, and the manifolde idolatrie and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

By this Senacherib, hee meaneth the death of the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The Lord is iuſt, & all vnrighteouſnes diſpleaſeth hym, & eyther here or els in an other worlde he will puniſh this groſſe infidelity of yͤ world: but his elect, & ſuch as he loueth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not bee cōdēned hereafter with the worlde eternally, wee haue nothyng ſo much to reioyce in, as in the croſſe of Ieſu Chriſt, & in that wee are partakers of his afflictions, whiche be the earneſt penny of that eternall kingdome, whiche he vpon the croſſe for vs hath purchaſed. For as Paule his faythfull witnes ſayth: If we ſuffer with hym, wee ſhall raygne with him. If we dye with him, we ſhall lyue with him.

Wherfore mine own deare bowels, prayſe God with me moſt intirely, that it hath pleaſed him now mercifully to viſit the ſinnes of my youth, and my huge vnthankefulnes, and by the ſame doth geue me ſuch conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodnes and mercye, and turneth hys fatherly caſtigation into my crowne of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercy? To hym that is immortall, inuiſible, and onely wiſe, be all honor, prayſe and glory therfore, Amen.

He expreſſeth the great ioy which Gods priſoners feele in their ſufferinges.

This is the day that the Lorde hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliſſe, O how my hart leapeth for ioy, that I am ſo neere the apprehenſion therof. God forgiue me mine vnthankefulnes, and vnworthynes of ſo great glorye. The ſwordes whiche pearced Maries hart in the paſſion of our Sauiour, which dayly alſo go through your faythfull hart, be more glorious and to be deſired then the golden Scepters of this worlde. O bleſſed be they that mourne in thys world to Godward, for they ſhall eternally bee comforted. God make my ſtony hart to mourne more then it doth. I haue ſo much ioy of the reward that is prepared for me moſt wretched ſinner that though I bee in a place of darkenes and mournyng, yet I can not lament, but both night & day am ſo ioyfull, as though I were vnder no Croſſe at all: yea in all the dayes of my lyfe I was neuer ſo mery, the name of the Lorde be prayſed therfore for euer and euer, and he pardō myne vnthankfulnes. Our enemies do freate, fume, and gnaſh theyr teeth to ſee and heare that we, vnder this greuous affliction in the world, can be ſo mery. We are of them counted as deſperate perſones, for the certayne hope and feelyng whiche we haue of our euerlaſtyng ſaluation: and it is no meruell, for the worldly man can not perceiue the things of God, it is mere fooliſhnes and abomination to them.

John Philpot neuer ſo mery in all his lyfe before.

Be thankefull vnto our God myne owne deare helper, for his wonderous workyng in his choſen people. Pray inſtantly that this ioy be neuer taken from vs, for it paſſeth all the delightes of this world. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth all vnderſtandyng: this peace the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feele, and therfore can not faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let vs pray for our weak brethren and ſiſters ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleuiate the greeuous and intollerable burden of theſe cruell dayes. But touching our ſelues, let vs hartily beſeeche our Sauiour to vouchſafe to geue vs this glorious gyft to ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, and that we may thinke the ſhame of the world to be our glory, as it is in dede. God increaſe our faith & open our eyes to behold what is prepared for vs. I lacke nothing, prayſe be to God. I truſt my mariage garment is ready. I wyll ſend you my examinations as ſoone as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fyl your mercyful hart with al ioy and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the Colehouſe, the xix. of Nouemb.

Your owne louer, Iohn Philpot.

¶ A Letter of maſter Philpot, to a frend of his priſoner the ſame tyme in Newgate, wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the matter or queſtion of Infantes to be baptiſed.

A letter of M. Philpot, ſtabliſhing a certayne brother in the matter of baptiſing of infantes.

THe God of al light and vnderſtandyng lighten your hart with all true knowledge of his worde, and make you perfecte to the day of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called through the mighty operation of his holy ſpirite. Amen.

I receyued yeſternight from you deare brother S. and felowe priſoner for the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, a Letter, wherein you gently require my iudgement concernyng the Baptiſme of infantes, whiche is the effecte thereof. And before I doo ſhewe you what I haue learned out of Gods word, & of his true & infallible church touchyng the ſame, I thinke it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night whiles muſing on your letter I fel aſleepe, knowing that God doth not without cauſe reueale to his people who haue their myndes fixed on hym, ſpeciall and ſpirituall reuelations to their comfort, as a taſte of their ioye and kingdome to come, whiche fleſhe and bloud can not comprehende.

A viſion reuealed to M. Philpot vpon a letter to be anſwered.

Beyng in the myddeſt of my ſweete reſt, it ſeemed me to ſee a greate beautifull Citie all of the colour of Azer, and white, foure ſquare in a marueilous beautifull compoſition in the middeſt of the ſkie, the ſight whereof ſo inwardly cōforted me, that I am not able to expreſſe the conſolation I had therof, yea the remembraunce thereof cauſeth as yet my hart to leape for ioy, and as charitie is no churle, but woulde others to be partakers of his delight, ſo me thought I called to others (I can not tel whom) and whiles they came, & we together behelde the ſame, by and by to my great griefe it vaded away.

The viſion expounded.

This dreame I thinke not to haue come of the illuſion of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo muche ſpirituall ioy, and I take it to be of the working of Gods ſpirite for the contentation of your requeſt, as he wrought in Peter to ſatiſfie Cornelius. Therfore I interprete this beautifull Citie to be the glorious Church of Chriſte, and the appearance of it in the ſkie, ſignifieth the heauenly ſtate thereof, whoſe conuerſation is in heauen, and that accordyng to the Primitiue Church which is now in heauen, men ought to meaſure and iudge the Church of Chriſt nowe in earth, for, as the Prophete Dauid ſaith: The foūdations therof be in the holy hylles, and glorious thinges be ſpoken of the Citie of God. And the marueilous quadrature of ẏ ſame, I take to ſignifie the vniuerſal agreement in the ſame, and that all the Church here militant ought to conſent to the Primitiue Church throughout the foure partes of the worlde, as the Prophet affirmeth, ſaying: God maketh vs to dwell after one maner in one houſe. And that I conceyued ſo wonderful ioy at the contemplation therof, I vnderſtande the vnſpeakable ioy which they haue that be at vnitie with Chriſtes Primitiue Church: For there is ioy in the holy ghoſt and peace which paſſeth all vnderſtanding, as it is written in the Pſalmes: As of ioyful perſons is the dwellyng of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruitiō of this viſion, and to behold this wonderfull citie, I conſter it by the wyl of God this viſion to haue come vpō me, muſing on your letter, to ẏ end that vnder this figure I might haue occaſion to moue you with many others to behold the primatiue church in al your opinions cōcerning faith, and to confirme your ſelf in al poynts to the ſame, which is the piller & ſtabliſhment of truth, & teacheth the trye vſe of the ſacramentes, and hauyng with a greater fulnes then we haue now the firſt fruites of the holy Ghoſt, dyd declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures accordyng to all veritie, euen as our Sauiour promiſed to ſend them an other comforter, which ſhould teache them al truth.

The primitiue example for vs to follow.

Pſal. 67.

And ſince al truth was taught and reueled to the Primatiue Church which is our mother, let vs all that be obedient children of God ſubmit our ſelues to the iudgement of that Church for the better vnderſtanding of the articles of our fayth, and of the doubtfull ſentences of the Scripture. Let vs not goe about to ſhewe in vs by folowyng any priuate mans interpretation vpon the worde, an other Spirite then they of the Primatiue Churche had, leaſt we deceyue our ſelues. For there is but one fayth and one Spirite, whiche is not contrary to hym ſelfe, neyther otherwiſe nowe teacheth vs then he dyd then. Therfore let vs beleue as they haue taught vs of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, accordyng as the true Catholicke Churche is at this day: and the God of peace aſſuredly wyll be with vs & deliuer vs out of al our worldly troubles & miſeries, & make vs partakers of their ioy and bleſſe, through our obedience to fayth with them.

Iob. 8.

Therfore God commaundeth vs in Iob, to aſke of the elder generation, and to ſearch diligently the memorie of the Fathers. For we are but yeſterdayes chyldre, and be ignorant, and our dayes are like a ſhadowe, and they ſhall teache thee (ſaith the Lord) and ſpeake to thee, and ſhal vtter wordes from their harts. And by Salomon we are commaunded, not to reiecte the direction of our mother. The Lorde graunt you to direct your ſteppes in all thynges after her, & to abhorre all contention with her. For as S. Paul writeth: If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any ſuch cuſtome.

Pro. 6.

1. Cor. 11.

Hitherto I haue ſhewed you, good brother S. my iudgement generally of that you ſtande in doubt and diſſent from others, to the whiche I wiſhe you as myne owne harte to be conformable, & then doubtles you can not erre, but boldly may be glad in your troubles and triumphe at the houre of your death, that you ſhall dye in the Church of God a faythfull Martyr, and receyue the crowne of eternall glory. And thus much haue I written vpon the occaſion of a viſion before God vnfained. But that you maye not thinke that I goe about to ſatiſfie you with vncertayne viſions only, and not after Gods word, I wil take the ground of your letter and ſpecially anſweare to the ſame by the ſcriptures and by vnfallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and proue the Baptiſme of Infantes to be lawfull, commendable and neceſſary, wherof you ſeeme to ſtand in doubt.

Proofe by teſtimonyes and ſcriptures.

In deede if you looke vpon the Papiſticall Synagogue onely, which hath corrupted Gods worde by falſe interpretations, and hath peruerted the true vſe of Chriſtes ſacramēts, you might ſeeme to haue good handfaſt of your opiniō agaynſt the Baptiſme of Infantes. But for as much as it is of more antiquitie, and hath his beginnyng from Gods worde and from the vſe of the Primatiue Churche, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the popiſh Church, be neglected, or thought not expedient to be vſed in Chriſtes church. Auxentius, one of the Arians ſect with his adherēts, was one of the firſt that denyed the baptiſme of children, & next after hym Pelagius the heretike, and ſome other there wer in S. Bernards tyme, as it doth appeare by his writings, and in our dayes the Anabaptiſtes, an inordinate kynde of men ſtyrred vp by the deuyll, to the deſtruction of the Goſpel. But the Catholike truth deliuered vnto vs by the ſcriptures plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be baptiſed, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of ſanctification or remiſſion of their ſinnes. Therfore ſince that Infantes be in the number or ſcroll of Gods people, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in Chriſt, it muſt needes folow thereby, that they ought to be baptiſed as wel as thoſe that can profeſſe their fayth. For we iudge the people of God as well by the free & liberal promiſe of God, as by the confeſſion of fayth. For to whom ſoeuer God promiſeth him ſelfe to be their God, and whō he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no man without great impietie may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiſeth that he wyl not only be the God of ſuch as do profeſſe hym, but alſo of infantes: promiſing them his grace and remiſſion of ſinnes, as it appeareth by the wordes of the couenant made vnto Abraham: I wyl ſet my couenāt betweene thee and me (ſaith the Lord) and betweene thy ſeede after thee, in their generations, with an euerlaſtyng couenant, to be thy God, & the God of thy ſeede after thee. To the which couenaunt Circumciſion was added to be a ſigne of ſatiſfaction as wel in children as in men, & no man may thinke that this promiſe is abrogated with Circumciſion and other ceremonial lawes. For Chriſt came to fulfyl the promiſes, & not to diſſolue them. Therefore in the Goſpel he ſaith of infants, that is, of ſuch as yet beleued not: Let thy litle ones come vnto me, and forbyd thē not, for of ſuch is the kingdome of heauen. Agayne: It is not the wyll of your father whiche is in heauen, that any of theſe litle ones doo periſhe. Alſo: He that receyueth one ſuch litle childe in my name, receyueth me. Take heede therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe babes, for I tell you, their Angelles

Baptiſme of infantes of olde antiquitie in the Church.

Euery thing abuſed in the popes Church is not therfore to be reiected, but the Antiquitie thereof to be ſearched, and to be reduced agayne to the ſame.

The People of God is to be iudged by his free promiſe, and not by their confeſſion.

Gene. 17.

Math. 5.

Math. 10.
Math. 19.
Math. 18.

do continually ſee in heauen my fathers face. And what may be ſaid more plainer then this: It is not the wyl of the heauenly father, that the infants ſhould periſh? wherby we may gather that he receiueth them freely vnto this grace, although as yet they confeſſe not their faith. Since then that the worde of the promiſe which is conteyned in Baptiſme, perteyneth as well to chyldren as to men, why ſhoulde the ſigne of the promiſe which is Baptiſme in water, be withdrawen from children, when Chriſt himſelfe commaundeth them to be receyued of vs, and promiſeth the rewarde of a Prophete to thoſe that receyue ſuch a litle infant, as he for an example dyd put before his Diſciples.

Math. 18.

Argumentes prouing the baptiſme of childrē to be of God and that the Apoſtles baptiſe children.

Nowe wyll I proue with manifeſt argumentes, that chyldren ought to be baptiſed, & that the Apoſtles of Chriſte dyd baptiſe chyldren. The Lorde commaunded his Apoſtles to baptiſe all nations: therefore alſo children ought to be baptiſed, for they are comprehended vnder this worde, All nations.

Actes 10.

An other argument.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was ſaid to Peter, That thing which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be common or vncleane: But God doth repute children among the faithful: Ergo, they be faythful, except we had leaue to reſiſt God, & ſeeme ſtronger and wiſer then he.

And without al doubt the apoſtles baptiſed thoſe which Chriſt commaunded: But he commaunded the faithful to be baptiſed, among the whiche infantes be reckened: The Apoſtles then baptiſed infantes.

1. Cor. 1.

An other argument.

In ſacramentes 2. thynges to be conſidered.

The Goſpell is more then Baptiſme, for Paul ſaide: The Lord ſent me to preach the Goſpel, and not to baptiſe: not that he denyed abſolutely that he was ſente to baptiſe, but that he preferred doctrine before Baptiſme, for ye Lord commaunded both to the Apoſtles: but chyldren be receyued by the doctrine of the Goſpel of God, & not refuſed: therfore what perſon being of reaſon, may deny them baptiſme, which is a thyng leſſer then the Goſpel? for in the Sacramentes be two thynges to be conſidered, the thyng ſignified, and the ſigne, & the thing ſignified is greater then the ſigne, and from the thyng ſignified in Baptiſme, chyldren are not excluded: who therfore may deny them the ſigne, which is, Baptiſme in water?

Actes 10.

An other reaſon.

S. Peter could not deny thē to be baptiſed in water, to whom he ſaw the holy Ghoſt geuen, which is the certayne ſigne of Gods people: for he ſaith in the Actes: May any body forbid them to be baptiſed in water, who haue receiued the holy Ghoſt as wel as we? Therefore S. Peter denyed not Baptiſme to Infantes, for he knew certainely both by the doctrine of Chriſte, and by the couenant which is euerlaſting, that the kingdome of heauen perteyned to infantes.

An other reaſon.
Rom. 8.

None be receyued into the kyngdome of heauen, but ſuche as God loueth, and whiche are endued with his ſpirite, for who ſo hath not the ſpirite of God, he is none of his: But Infantes be beloued of God, and therfore want not the ſpirite of God: wherefore if they haue the ſpirite of God as well as men, if they be numbred among the people of God, as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withſtande children to be baptiſed with water in the name of the Lord?

An other reaſon.

Mat. 10.

The Apoſtles in tymes paſt beyng yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmure againſt thoſe which brought their chyldren vnto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, & ſayd: Let the Babes come vnto me. Why then do not theſe rebellious Anabaptiſtes obey the commaundemente of the Lord? For what do they nowe adayes els that bring their chyldren to Baptiſme, then that they dyd in tymes paſte, which brought their children to the Lord, and our Lord receyued them, and putting his handes on them, bleſſed them, and both by wordes and by gentle behauiour towards them declared manifeſtly that chyldren be the people of God, and entirely beloued of God. But ſome wyll ſay, why then dyd not Chriſte baptiſe them? Becauſe it is written: Jeſus hym ſelfe baptiſed not, but his diſciples.

Obiection.

John. 4.

An other reaſon.

Coloſ. 2.

Moreouer, Circumciſion in the old law, was miniſtred to infantes: therfore Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred in the new law vnto chyldren. For Baptiſme is come in the ſteed of Circumciſiō, as S. Paul witneſſeth, ſaying to the Coloſſians: By Chriſt ye are circumciſed with a Circumciſion which is without handes, when ye put of the body of ſinne of the fleſh, by the Circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with hym through Baptiſme. Behold, Paul calleth Baptiſme the Circumciſion of a Chriſtian man, whiche is don without hands, not that water may be miniſtred without handes, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumciſed, albeit the myſterie of Circumciſion do ſtil remayne in faythful people.

An other reaſon.

Joſue. 5.

To this I may adde, that the ſeruauntes of God were alwayes ready to miniſter the ſacramentes to them, for whō they were inſtituted. As for an example, we maye beholde Joſue, who moſte diligently procured the people of Iſraell to be circumciſed, before they entred into the land of promiſe: but ſince the Apoſtles were the preachers of the word, and the very faythfull ſeruauntes of Jeſus Chriſt, who maye hereafter doubt that they baptiſed infants, ſithen Baptiſme is in place of Circumciſion?

An other reaſon.

Item, the Apoſtles dyd attemperate all their doynges to the ſhadowes & figures of the old Teſtament: therfore it is certayne that they dyd attemperate baptiſme accordingly to Circumciſion, & baptiſed chyldren, becauſe they were vnder the figure of baptiſme: for the people of Iſrael paſſed thorow the red ſea, & the botome of the water of Jordane with their chyldren. And although the chyldren be not alwayes expreſſed, neyther the womē in the holy ſcriptures, yet they are comprehended and vnderſtand in the ſame.

An other reaſon.

Alſo the Scripture euidently telleth vs, that the Apoſtles baptiſed whole families or houſholdes: But the chyldren be comprehended in a familie or a houſeholde, as the chiefeſt and deareſt parte thereof: Therefore we maye conclude, that the Apoſtles dyd baptiſe Infantes or chyldren, and not onely men of lawfull age. And that the houſe or houſhold is taken for man, woman, and chylde, it is manifeſt in the. xvij. of Geneſis, and alſo in that Joſeph doth cal Jacob with al his houſe, to come out of the land of Chanaan, into Egypt.

Argumentes of example and Antiquitye.

Finally, I can declare out of auncient writers, that the baptiſme of infants hath continued from the Apoſtles tyme vnto ours, neither that it was inſtituted by any Councels, neyther of the Pope, or of other men, but commended from the ſcripture by the Apoſtles them ſelues. Origen vppon the declaration of S. Paules Epiſtles to the Romanes, expoundyng the ſixt chapter, ſayth: That the Churche of Chriſte receiued the baptiſme of infantes from the very Apoſtles. S. Hierome maketh mention of the Baptiſme of Infants, in the thirde booke agaynſt the Pelagians, and in his Epiſtle vnto Leta. S. Auſten reciteth for this purpoſe a place out of John Biſhop of Conſtantinople in his firſte booke againſt Julian. Cap. 2. and he againe writyng to S. Hierome. Epiſt. 28. ſayth: That S. Cyprian not making any new decree, but firmely obſeruing the faith of the church iudged with his felowe Biſhops, that as ſoone as one was borne, he might be lawfully baptiſed. The place of Cypriā is to be ſeene in his Epſtile to Fidus.

Origen who was 100. yeeres after Chriſt.

S. Auſten and S. Jerome 400. after Chriſt.

Verba Iohannis Conſtantinopol.

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τα παιδία βαπτίζομεν καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα οὐκ ἔχοντα.

Cyprian 150 after Chriſt.

Alſo S. Auſten writyng agaynſt the Donatiſtes in the 4. booke, ca. 23. and. 24. ſaith, that the baptiſme of infantes was not deriued frō the authoritie of mē, neither of Councels, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Auguſt. contra Donatiſtas.

Cyrillus.

Cyril vpon Leuiticus cap. 8. approueth the baptiſme of chyldren, and cōdemneth the iteration of Baptiſme. Theſe authorities of men I do alledge, not to tye the Baptiſme of chyldren vnto the teſtimonies of men, but to ſhewe howe mens teſtimonies do agree with Gods word, and that the veritie of antiquitie is on our ſide, & that the Anabaptiſtes haue nothyng but lyes for them, and newe imaginations which fayne the Baptiſme of chyldren to be the Popes commaundement.

After this wyll I anſweare to the ſumme of your argumentes for the contrary. The firſt whiche includeth all the reſt, is, It is written: Goe ye into al the worlde, and preach the glad tidinges to all creatures. He that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued: but he that beleueth not, ſhall be damned. &c.

Math. 18.

To this I anſweare, that nothyng is added to Gods word by the baptiſme of chyldren, as you pretende, but that is done which the ſame worde doth require, for that chyldren are accounted of Chriſt in the Goſpel among the number of ſuch as beleue, as it appeareth by theſe wordes: He that offendeth one of theſe litle babes which beleue in me, it were better for him to haue a myllſtone tyed aboute his necke, and to be caſte into the bottome of the ſea. Where playnly Chriſte calleth ſuche as be not able to confeſſe their fayth, beleuers: becauſe of his mere grace he reputeth them for beleuers. And this is no woonder ſo to be taken, ſithen God imputeth fayth for righteouſnes vnto men that be of a riper age: for both in men & chyldren righteouſnes, acceptation, or ſanctification is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be prayſed.

Righteouſnes and acceptation is onely by imputation and mere grace.

1. Cor. 7.

And that the children of faythful parents are ſanctified, & among ſuch as do beleue, is apparent in the. 1. Cor. 7. And where as you do gather by the order of the wordes in the ſayd commaundement of Chriſt, that chyldren ought to be taught before they be baptiſed, & to this ende you allege many places out of the Actes, prouyng that ſuche as confeſſed their fayth firſt, were baptiſed after: I anſwere, that if the order of wordes might weigh anything in this cauſe, we haue the ſcripture that maketh as wel for vs. For in * S. Marke we reade, that John dyd baptiſe in the deſert, preachyng baptiſme of repentance. In the whiche place we ſee baptiſing go before, and preachyng to folow.

* Marke. 1.

And

1555. Decemb.

Math. 28.

And alſo I wyl declare this place of Mathewe exactly conſidered, to make for the vſe of baptiſme in chyldren, for S. Mathew hath it wrytten in this wiſe: Al power is geuen me (ſaith the Lord) in heauen and in earth, therfore goyng forth, μαθητεύσατε, that is, Diſciple ye (as I may expreſſe the ſignification of the word:) that is, make or gather to me Diſciples of al nations. And folowyng he declareth the way how they ſhould gather to hym diſciples out of all nations, baptiſing thẽ and teaching: by baptiſing & teaching ye ſhal procure a church to me. And both theſe aptly & briefly ſeuerally he ſetteth forth, ſaying: Baptiſing them in the name of the father and the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerue all thinges what ſoeuer I haue commaunded you. Now then Baptiſme goeth before doctrine.

The place of Mathew. 28. [he that beleueth and is Baptiſed] opened.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles which neuer heard any thing before of God, & of the ſonne of God, & of the holy ghoſt, ought to be baptiſed, neither they would permyt thẽ ſelues to be baptiſed before they knewe to what end. But this I haue declared to ſhew you, vpon howe feeble foūdatiō the Anabaptiſts be groūded. And playnly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord dyd onely commaunde ſuche to be baptiſed whom the Apoſtles had firſte of all taught. Neyther here verely is ſignified who onely be to be Baptiſed, but he ſpeaketh of ſuche as be of perfecte age, and of the firſte foundations of fayth, and of the church to be planted among the Gẽtiles which were as yet rude and ignorant of Religion.

Suche as be of age may heare, beleue and confeſſe that is preached and taught, but ſo can not infantes: therfore we may iuſtly collect, that he ſpeaketh here nothyng of infants or chyldren. But for al this they be not to be excluded from Baptiſme.

It is a general rule: He that doth not labor, muſt not eate. But who is ſo barbarous that might thynke hereby, that chyldren ſhould be famiſhed?

In the firſt conuerting of infidels, beleuing ought to go before baptiſing. But where fayth is receiued: gods grace and Sacramentes go not by age, but as well be children of the fayth full receaued as the fathers.

The Lord ſent his apoſtles at the begynnyng of the ſettyng vp his true religion vnto al nations, vnto ſuch as wer both ignorant of God, & were out of the couenant of God, & truely ſuche perſons it behoued not firſt to be baptiſed and afterward taught, but firſt to be taught and after baptiſed. If at this day we ſhould go to the Turkes to cõuert them to the fayth of Chriſt, verely firſt we ought to teach them, & afterward baptiſe ſuch as would yelde to be the ſeruantes of Chriſt. Likewiſe the Lord hym ſelfe in tymes paſt dyd, when firſt he renewed the couenant with Abraham and ordeyned Circumciſion to be a ſeale of the couenant after that Abraham was circumciſed. But he when he perceyued the infants alſo to perteyne to the couenaunt, & that Circumciſion was the ſealyng vp of the couenaunt, dyd not onely circumciſe Iſmael his ſonne that was. xiij. yeares of age, but al other infantes that were borne in his houſe, among whõ we recken Iſaac.

Why children of chriſtian parentes be receiued to baptiſme.

Euen ſo faythfull people whiche were conuerted from Heathen Idolatrie by the preaching of the Goſpel, and confeſſyng the fayth, were baptiſed, when they vnderſtode their chyldren to be counted among the people of God, and that Baptiſme was the token of the people of God, they procured alſo their chyldren to be baptiſed. Therefore as it is wrytten: Abraham circumciſed all the male chyldren of his houſe, Semblably we reade in the Actes & wrytings of the Apoſtles, that after yͤ maſter of the houſe was turned to the fayth, all the whole houſe was baptiſed. And as concernyng thoſe which of old tyme were compelled to confeſſe their fayth before they receyued baptiſme, which were called Cathecumeni, they were ſuche as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles to the Church, who beyng yet rude of fayth, they dyd inſtruct in the principles of their beliefe, & afterward they dyd baptiſe them: but the ſame auncient fathers notwithſtandyng dyd baptiſe the chyldren of faythful men, as I haue already partly declared.

Cathecumeni is as much to ſay as young Nouices and beginners in Chriſtes fayth.

And becauſe you do require a haſty aunſweare of your letter, of one that is but a dull wryter, I am here inforced to ceaſe particularly to goe through your letter in anſwearyng therto, knowyng that I haue fully aunſweared euery parte therof in that I haue already wrytten, although not in ſuch order as it had bene meete, and as I purpoſed. But for as muche as I vnderſtande that you wyll be no contentious man, neyther in this matter neyther in any other, contrarye to the iudgement of Chriſtes Primatiue Church, which is the bodye and fulnes of Chriſte. I deſire you in the entyre loue of hym, or rather Chriſt deſireth you by me (that your ioy maye be perfecte, whereto you are nowe called) to ſubmyt your iudgement to that Church, and to be at peace and vnitie with the ſame, that the coate of Chriſt which ought to be without ſeame, but now alas moſt miſerably is torne in peeces by many daungerous ſectes and damnable opinions, maye appeare by you in no parte to haue bene rented, neyther that any gyddy head in theſe dog dayes might take an example by you to diſſent from Chriſtes true Churche: I beſeech thee deare brother in the Goſpel, folowe the ſteps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primatiue church, and of ſuch as at this day folowe the ſame: decline not from them neither to the right hande nor to the left. Then ſhall death be it neuer ſo bytter, be more ſweeter then this lyfe: then ſhall Chriſt with all the heauenly Hieruſalem triumphantly imbrace your ſpirit with vnſpeakeable gladnes and exaltation, who in this earth was cõtent to ioyne your ſpirit & their ſpirites, according as it is cõmaūded by yͤ word, that the ſpirite of Prophetes ſhould be ſubiect to the Prophets. One thyng aſke with Dauid ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwel with a full accorde in his houſe, for there is glory & worſhyp: and ſo with Simeon in the temple embracing Chriſt, depart in peace: to the which peace Chriſt bryng both you and me, and al our louyng brethrẽ that loue God in the vnitie of fayth, by ſuch wayes as ſhal pleaſe hym, to his glory. Let the bytter paſſiõ of Chriſt which he ſuffred for your ſake, and the horrible tormentes which yͤ godly martyrs of Chriſt haue endured before vs, and alſo the ineſtimable reward of your lyfe to come, which is hydden yet a litle while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthẽ, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

1. Cor. 14.

Your yoke felowe in captiuitie for the veritie
of Chriſtes Goſpel, to lyue and die with you
in the vnitie of faith, Iohn Philpot.

Concerning the partie to whom this letter was written, note that he was conuerted and afterwarde dyed in the ſame fayth as this letter did perſuade hym.

¶ *Anno. 1556.*

¶ The ſtorye of ſeuen Martyrs ſufferyng together at London for the like teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpel.

An. 1556.
Ianuary.

The Catholike Prelates of the Popes band being as yet not ſatiſfied with this their one yeres bloudy murdering of the reuerende, learned, & principall members of Chriſtes Church, (wherof there were now very few, which eyther were not conſumed by moſte cruell fire, or els for the auoydyng of their Popiſhe rage, compelled to flee their naturall countrey) continued ſtyll this next yeare alſo, whiche was anno. 1556. in no leſſe crueltie towardes the more ſimple & inferior ſort of people (I meane in degre, though, God be prayſed, not in ſtedfaſtnes) hauyng yet ſometymes amongſt them ſuch as were both learned & of good eſtimation, as in continuance of this hiſtory ſhal appeare.

Wherfore (as the firſt fruites therof) to begynne this yeare withal: about the. xxvij. day of Ianuary were burned in Smithfield at Lõdon, theſe ſeuen perſons hereafter folowyng, to wyt:

- Thomas Wittle, Prieſt.
- Barthelet Greene, Gentleman.
- Iohn Tudſon, Artificer.
- Iohn Went, Artificer.
- Thomas Browne,
- Iſabel Foſter, wife.
- Ioane Warren, alias Laſhford, Mayd.

Seuen godly Martyrs ſuffering together in Smithfield. Anno. 1556. Ianuary. 27.

All whiche ſeuen, as they were burned together in one fire, ſo were they likewiſe al vpon one ſort and forme of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, for as much as the gyftes of God in them were diuers (ſome more abounding in knowledge then others) their dealynges withall were alſo diuers, as ſhalbe more plainly perceyued in the diſcourſing of their ſeueral proceſſes hereafter folowing. And therfore for the better vnderſtandyng hereof, I wyl firſt (by the leaue of the Lorde) paſſing ouer their priuate articles and examinations had at ſundrye tymes in the Biſhops houſe, ſet forth their generall examinations in the publike Conſiſtorie, vpon the biſhops articles there miniſtred vnto them, with their anſweares alſo vnto the ſame, according as they al agreed after one maner and ſort together, as here by the wordes both of the articles & their anſweares vnder wrytten, may appeare.

¶ The forme and wordes of Boners Articles miniſtred to the ſeuen perſons aboue mentioned, in his Conſiſtorye.

And firſt to behold the maner of ſpeach in theſe Biſhops ſitting in their maieſtie, to terrifie the eares of the ſimple withal, let vs heare the Pontifical phraſe of this Biſhops begynnyng in this ſort.

¶ The within written articles, and euery of them and euery part and parcell of them, we Edmund by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of London, doo obiecte and minyſter to thee Tho. Whittle. &c. of our mere office, for thy ſoule health, and for reformation of thine offences and miſdemeanors,

demeanors, moniſhing thee in the vertue of obedience, and vnder the paynes of both cenſures of the Churche, and alſo of other paynes of the lawe, to anſweare fully, plainely, and truely to al the ſame.

1 FIrſt, that thou N. haſt firmely, ſtedfaſtly, & conſtantly beleued in tymes paſt, and ſo doeſt now beleue at this preſent, that there is here in earth a catholike church, in the which Catholike church, the fayth and Religion of Chriſte is truely profeſſed, allowed, receyued, kept, and retained of al faythful and true Chriſten people.

7. Sacramentes.

2 Item, that thou the ſayd N. in tymes paſt, haſt alſo beleued, & ſo doeſt beleue at this preſent, that there are in the ſayd Catholike church ſeuen ſacramentes, inſtituted & ordeyned by God, and by the conſent of the holy churche allowed, approued, receyued, kept, and reteyned.

The godfathers fayth.

3 Item, that thou the ſayd N. waſt in tymes paſt baptiſed in the fayth of the ſayd Catholike church, profeſſing by thy godfathers & godmothers the fayth & religion of Chriſt and the obſeruation therof, renouncyng there the deuyl & all his pompes and workes, and waſt by the ſayd Sacrament of Baptiſme incorporate to the catholike churche, and made a faythful member therof.

4 Item, that thou the ſaid N. commyng to the age of .14. yeares, & ſo to the age of diſcretion, dyddeſt not depart from thy ſaid profeſſion & fayth, nor dyddeſt miſlike any parte of the ſame fayth or doyngs, but diddeſt like a faythfull Chriſtian perſon abide & continue in all the ſame, by the ſpace of certayne yeares, ratifying and confirmyng al the ſame.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe.

5 Item, that thou the ſayd N. notwithſtandyng the premiſſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay, within theſe two yeres laſt paſt, within the Citie and Dioces of London, ſwarued at the leaſt way from ſome part of the ſaid Catholike fayth & Religion: and among other thyngs thou haſt miſliked and earneſtly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the ſacrament of the aultar, and the vnitie of the church, raylyng & malignyng on the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, and the fayth obſerued in the ſame.

Sea of Rome.

6 Item, that thou the ſayde N. haſt heretofore refuſed, & doeſt refuſe at this preſent to be reconciled agayne to the vnitie of the church, knowledging and confeſſing the authoritie of the ſayd Sea of Rome to be lawful.

Sacrament of the Altar.

7 Item, that thou the ſayde N. miſlikyng the ſacrifice of the maſſe, and the ſacramēt of the altar, haſt refuſed to come to thy pariſh church to heare maſſe, & to receyue the ſayd ſacrament, and haſt alſo expreſſely ſayd, that in the ſayd Sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and bloud of our ſauiour Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but haſt affirmed expreſſely, that the maſſe is Idolatrie & abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the altar there is none other ſubſtance, but only material bread, and material wyne, whiche are tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud onely, & that the ſubſtance of Chriſtes body & bloud is in no wiſe in the ſayd Sacrament of the aultar.

8 Item, that thou the ſayde N. beyng conuented before certayne Iudges or Commiſſioners, for thy diſorder herein, and beyng founde obſtinate, wylfull, and heady, waſt by their commaundemēt ſent vnto me and my priſon, to be examined by me, and Proceſſe to be made agaynſt thee for thy offence herein.

9 Item, that al and ſingular the premiſſes haue bene, and be true and manifeſt, and thy ſelfe not onely infamed & ſuſpected therof, but alſo culpable therein: and by reaſon of the ſame thou waſt and art of the Iuriſdiction of me Edmund Biſhop of London, and before me accordyngly to the order of the Eccleſiaſtical lawes, art to be conuented, and alſo by me to be puniſhed and reformed.

¶ Here folowe likewiſe their aunſweares in a general, made to the articles aboue rehearſed.

¶ And firſt concerning the firſt article, in beleuyng there is a Catholike Church.

Aunſwere to the firſt Article.

TO the firſt article they altogether agreeyng, affirmed the ſame to be true: Iohn Tudſon & Tho. Browne further addyng, that the churche of England as it was at that preſent vſed, was no part of the true Catholike church.

¶ Concerning the ſecond article, that there be in the church ſeuen ſacraments.

To the 2. Article.

To the ſeconde article they aunſweared, that they acknowledged but only two Sacramentes in Chriſtes catholike Churche, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord: Iohn Went and Tudſon affirmyng that the ſacrament of the altar, as it is vſed, is an Idol, and no Sacrament at al.

¶ Concerning the third article, that they were firſt baptiſed in the fayth of the Catholike church, profeſſing by their godfathers the profeſſion of the ſame. &c.

To the third Article.

To the third article they agreed and confeſſed all to be true, that they were baptiſed in the faith of Chriſte and of the church then taught: and afterward duryng the tyme of K. Edward the ſixt, they hearing the Goſpell preached, and the truth opened, folowed the order of religion and doctrine then vſed and ſet forth in the raigne of the ſayde kyng Edwarde.

¶ Cōcerning the fourth article, that they for the ſpace of certaine yeres did ratifie or allow, & not depart from any part of the profeſſion of the ſame Church.

To the 4. Article.

To this fourth article they graunted alſo & agreed: Iohn Went addyng moreouer, that about ſeuen yeres paſt, he then beyng about twenty yeres of age, began to miſlike certayne things vſed in the Church of England, as the miniſtration of the ſacrament of the altar: likewiſe all the ceremonies of the ſayd churche, & dyd likewiſe at that preſent tyme miſlike the ſame, as they were vſed, although his godfathers and godmothers promiſed for hym the contrary.

Iohn Tudſon added alſo in muche like ſort, and ſayde, that when he came to the yeares of diſcretion, that is, about nyne yeares paſt, beyng about eighteene yeares of age, he dyd miſlike the doctrine & religion then taught and ſet forth in the Church of Englande, ſaying in kyng Edwardes tyme, in whoſe tyme the Goſpell was truely ſet forth: and further ſayde, that the doctrine ſet forth in the Queenes raigne, was not agreable to Gods worde, nor yet to the true Catholike Churche that Chriſt ſpeaketh of. &c.

The fayth which they were Baptiſed in, vvas in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, beleuing the Articles of the Creede, vvith promiſe made to abrenounce the Deuill, the fleſh, and the vvorld: of the vvhiche fayth their Godfathers and Godmothers vvere ſureties for them, and in this fayth they continue ſtill. As for other ceremonies & abuſes of the Churche, they neuer made any promyſe in their Baptiſme.

Iſabell Foſter with other graunted, addyng likewiſe, and ſaying to the ſayde fourre articles, that ſhee continued in the ſame fayth and Religion which ſhee was baptiſed in, after ſhee came to the yeares of diſcretion, as other common people dyd, howbeit, blyndly and without knowledge, tyll the raigne of kyng Edward the ſixt: at whiche tyme ſhee hearyng the Goſpell truely preached and opened to the people, receyued therupon the faith and religion then taught and ſet forth. &c.

¶ Concernyng the fift Article, that they of late yeares haue ſwarued and gone away, miſliked, and ſpoken againſt the profeſſion of the ſame church, at leſt ſome parte thereof, eſpecially the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, the Sacramente of the aultar, and the authoritie of the Church of Rome.

To the fift article they anſwered, the ſame to be true, accordyng to the contentes thereof: Thomas Whittell addyng moreouer, that he had ſwarued and gone awaye, not in whole, but in part, not from the whole Catholik Churche, but from the Churche of Rome, in ſpeaking againſte the Maſſe, the ſacrifice therof, and the Sea of Rome.

Ioane Laſhford (alias Ioane Warne) graunting with the other the ſayde article, addeth moreouer, that ſhee neuer hytherto ſwarued or wente awaye, nor yet doth, from anye parte of Chriſtes Catholike fayth and Religion: but ſaith, that from the tyme ſhee was eleuen yeares of age, ſhee hath miſliked the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, the Sacrament of the altar, and the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, with the Doctrine thereof, becauſe they be againſte Chriſtes Catholike church and the right faith of the ſame.

To ſwarue from the corruptions of the Sea of Rome, and ſacrifice of the Maſſe is not to goe frō the Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

Bartlet Grene anſwering with the other to this article, addeth, & ſaith, that hee ſwarued not from the Catholike faith, but only from the church of Rome. &c.

¶ Concerning the ſixt article, that they refuſe to be reconciled to the vnitie of the ſaid church of Rome.

To the 6. Article.

To the ſixt article, they anſweare and confeſſe the ſame to be true, rendring the cauſe thereof, becauſe (ſay they) the ſame Church and doctrine therein ſet forth and taught, diſagreeth from the vnitie of Chriſtes word, and the true catholike faith. &c.

The Catholicke Church and the Church of Rome are 2. thinges.

Whereunto Bartlet Grene anſwered, that he is contented to be recōciled to the vnitie of Chriſts catholike church, but not of the church of Rome.

In like maner added alſo Iohn Went.

¶ Concerning the ſeuenth article, that they refuſe to come to heare Maſſe, and to receiue the ſaid ſacrament callyng it an Idol. &c.

To the 7. Article.

To the ſeuenth article, they anſweare and confeſſe the contents therof to be true, geuing withal the reaſon & cauſe of this their ſo doing, for that the Maſſe with the ſacramēt therof, as it was then vſed & ſet forth in the churche of England, is diſſonant to the word & teaching of the Goſpel. &c.

The Maſſe diſſonant from the word of the Goſpell.

Anno. 1556.
January.

The Maſſe ful of idolatrie.

John Went repenteth his going to maſſe.

John Went furthermore ſaide, as concernyng the Maſſe, that he beleueth no leſſe: but the Maſſe, whiche he calleth the Supper of the Lord, as it is now vſed in the Realme of England, is nought, full of Idolatrie, and againſt Gods word, ſo farre as he ſeeth it: howbeit, he ſaid that ſince the Queenes coronation, by chaunce he hath bene preſent, where the Maſſe hath beene ſayd, wherof he is ſory.

Iſabell Foſter alſo aunſweryng to the ſayd articles with the other before, confeſſed moreouer that ſince Queene Maries reigne ſhe hath not heard Maſſe, nor receaued the Sacrament, but hath refuſed to come in place where it was miniſtred: for ſhe knoweth no ſuche Sacrament to be. And being demaunded of her beliefe in the ſame, ſhe ſaith, that there is but onely materiall bread and materiall wine, and not the ſubſtaunce reall of the body of Chriſte in the ſame Sacrament: For ſo ſhe hath beene taught to beleue by the preachers in the time of king Edward, whom ſhe beleueth to haue preached the truth in that behalfe.

To the 8. Article.

¶Concernyng the viij. Article, that they were ſent by the Commiſsioners to the Biſhop to be examined and impriſoned.

To the. viij. Article they graunt the ſame and the contentes thereof to be ſo.

Thomas Whittle addyng and affirmyng that the Lord Chauncellour that then was, ſent hym vp to the Biſhop there preſent.

Bartlet Greene added, that he was ſent vp to the ſayd Biſhop, but for no offence herein articulate.

John Went ſayd that Doct. Story, Queene Maries Commiſsioner examined hym vppon the Sacrament, and becauſe hee denied the reall preſence hee preſented this Examinate to the Biſhop.

John Tudſon likewiſe examined by M. Cholmly and Doctor Story vpon the ſame matters and for not cōmyng to the church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the Biſhop.

Thomas Browne alſo ſayd, that hee, for not commyng to the Churche of S. Brides, was brought by the Conſtable to the Biſhop. &c.

Joane Warne confeſſed that ſhe was ſente by D. Story to the Biſhop of London, about. xii. weekes ago, ſince whiche tyme ſhe hath continued with the ſayde Biſhop.

¶Concernyng the. ix. Article.

To the 9. Article.

To the. ix. Article they confeſſe and ſay, that as they beleue the premiſſes before by them confeſſed to bee true: ſo they deny not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the iuriſdiction of London.

And thus hauyng expreſſed their articles, with their aunſwers ioyntly made vnto the ſame, yet remaineth further more fully now to diſcourſe the ſtories & handlyng of all the. vij. aforeſayde Martyrs ſeuerally and particularly by themſelues, firſt beginnyng with Thomas Whittell.

¶ *The Hiſtory of all theſe vij. Martyrs* particularly deſcribed in order here foloweth, and firſt of Thomas Whittell, who firſt recantyng, then returnyng againe with great conſtancie and fortitude, ſtoode to the defence of Chriſtes doctrine againſt the Papiſtes, to the fine.

Thomas Whittell, Martyr.

IN the ſtory of M. Philpot mention was made before, pag. 1691. of a maried Prieſt, whom he found in the Colehouſe at his firſt commyng thither, in heauines of mynd and greate ſorrowe for recantyng the doctrine whiche hee had taught in King Edwardes daies, whoſe name was Thomas Whittell of Eſſex: and thus lieth his ſtory. This Thomas Whittell after hee had beene expulſed from the place in Eſſex where hee ſerued, wente abroad where he might, nowe here and there as occaſion was miniſtred, preachyng and ſowyng the Goſpell of Chriſte. At length beyng apprehended by one Edmond Alabaſter, in hope of reward and promotion, whiche hee miſerably gaped after, hee was brought firſte as priſoner before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who then was fallen lately ſicke of his diſeaſe, whereof not long after he died moſte ſtraungely. But the apprehender for his profered ſeruice was highlie checked and rated of the Biſhop, aſkyng if there were no man vnto whom he might bryng ſuche Raſcals, but to hym? Hence (quoth he) out of my ſight thou varlet: what doeſt thou trouble mee with ſuche matters? The greedy Cormorant beyng thus defeated of his deſired praye, yet thinkyng to ſeeke and to hunt further, caried his priſoner to the Biſhop of London, with whō what an euill meſſe of handling this Whittell had, and how he was by the Biſhop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his owne narration in a letter ſent vnto his frend, manifeſtly may appeare.

Edmond Alabaſter, a promoter and perſecuter.

Tho. Whittell reporteth of the maner of hys handling with B. Boner.

Upon Thurſday, whiche was the. x. of January, the biſhop of London ſent for me Thomas Whittell Miniſter out of the Porters lodge, where I had beene all night lying vpon the earth vpon a pallet, where I had as painefull a night of ſickenes as euer I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talketh with me many things of the ſacrament ſo groſſely, as is not worthy to bee rehearſed. And amongeſt other thinges he aſked me if I would haue come to Maſſe that mornyng, if he had ſent for mee. Whereunto I aunſwered, that I woulde haue come to hym at hys commaundement, but to your Maſſe (ſaid I) I haue ſmall affectiō. At which aunſwere he was diſpleaſed ſore, and ſayd I ſhould be fed with bread and water. And as I followed hym through the great hal, he turned backe and beat me with hys fiſt, firſt on the one cheeke, and then on the other, as the ſigne of my beatyng dyd manie dayes appeare. And then he led me into a little ſalthouſe, where I had no ſtraw nor bed, but lay two nightes on a table and ſlept ſoundly, I thanke God.

Tho. Whittell beaten on the face by Boner.

Episcopū non percuſſorem eſſe oportet. Tit. 1.

Then vpon the Friday next after I was brought to my Lorde, and he then gaue me many fayre wordes, and ſayd he would be good to me. And ſo he goyng to Fulham, committed mee to D. Harpsfield, that he and I in that after noone ſhoulde common together, and drewe out certayne Articles, whereunto if I would ſubſcribe I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But D. Harpsfield ſent not for me till night, and then perſwaded me very ſore to forſake my opinions. I aunſwered I helde nothing but the trueth, & therfore I could not ſo lightly turne therefrom. So I thought I ſhould at that tyme haue had no more ado: but he had made a certaine bill, which the Regiſter pulled out of his boſome, and redde it. The byll in deede was very eaſely made, and therefore more daungerous: for the effect thereof was to deteſt all errours and hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and other ſacramentes, and to beleue the faith of the catholicke churche, and liue accordingly.

Tho. Whittell conuented before D. Harpsfield.

¶ The copy of this bill here mencioned, if it pleaſe the gentle reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our handes we haue hereunto adioyned, written and conceiued in their owne wordes, as followeth to be ſeene.

¶The Bill of ſubmiſsion offred to Thomas Whittell to ſubſcribe.

The bill of ſubmiſsion put to Thomas Whittel to ſubſcribe vnto.

I Thomas Whittell Prieſt, of the Dioces of London, knowledge and confeſſe with my mouth agreeyng with my hart before you reuerend father in god Edm. biſhop of London my Ordinary, that I do deteſt and abhorre all maner of hereſies and errours againſt the Sacrament of the aultar, or any of the Sacramentes of the Church, whiche hereſies and errours haue heretofore bene condemned in any wiſe by the catholicke churche: and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſentes that I do both now hold, and alſo intend by Gods grace alwaies hereafter to hold, obſerue, & keepe in all pointes the Catholicke faith and beliefe of Chriſtes Church, accordyng as this Churche of Englande beyng a member of the ſaied Catholicke Churche doth nowe profeſſe and keepe, and in no wiſe to ſwarue, decline, or go from the ſaid faith duryng my naturall life, ſubmitting my ſelfe fully and wholy to you reuerend father my ſaid Ordinary in all things concernyng my reformation and amendement at all tymes. In witneſſe wherof I the ſaid Thomas Whittell Prieſt haue hereunto ſubſcribed my name, written. &c.

Tho. Whittell through infirmitie ſubſcribeth to the bill.

To this Bill I did in deede ſet to my hand, beyng much deſired and counſelled ſo to do, and the fleſhe beyng alwaies deſirous to haue libertie, I conſidered not throughly the inconuenience that might come thereupon: and reſpite I deſired to haue had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now whē I had ſo done, I had little ioy therof. For by and by my mynd and cōſcience told me by Gods word that I had done euill by ſuch a ſleighty meanes to ſhake of the ſweete Croſſe of Chriſt, and yet it was not my ſeekyng, as God he kno

Tho. Whittell compuncted in conſcience for forſaking of the croſſe of Chriſt.

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weth, but altogether came of them. O the craftie ſubtiltie of Sathan in his members. Let euerie man that God ſhall deliuer into their handes, take good heede, and cleaue faſt to Chriſt: for they will leaue no corner of his conſcience vnſought, but wil attempt all gilefull and ſubtile meanes to corrupt hym, to fall both from God and his truthe. But yet let no manne diſpaire of Gods helpe: for Peter did fall and riſe againe. And Dauid ſaith: A righteous man though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt awaie: for the Lord vpholdeth hym with his hand. For I for my part haue felt my infirmities, and yet haue I founde Gods preſent helpe and comfort in tyme of neede, I thanke hym therfore.

A good warnyng to all, that all chriſtians not to fall into the crafty handes of ȳ Papiſtes.

The night after I had ſubſcribed, I was ſore greeued, and for ſorrow of conſcience could not ſleepe. For in the deliueraunce of my body out of bondes, whiche I might haue had, I could finde no ioye nor comforte, but ſtill was in my conſcience tormented more and more, beyng aſſured by Gods ſpirit and his word, that I through euill counſell and aduiſement had done amiſſe. And both with diſquietnes of mynde and with my other cruell handelyng, I was ſickely, lyyng vpon the ground when the keeper came: and ſo I deſired hym to pray Doctor Harpſefield to come to mee, and ſo he did.

Cōfort agaynſt deſpaire. Tho. Whittell repenteth his recantation.

And when he came, and the Regiſter with hym, I told hym that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpeciallie I tolde hym I was greeued very muche in my conſcience and mynd becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſayde that my conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the iuſt iudgment of God and his worde, that I had felt hell in my conſcience, and Sathan readie to deuour me: and therfore I pray you M. Harpſfield (ſaid I) let me haue the bill againe, for I will not ſtande to it. So hee gentlye commaunded it to be fetched, and gaue it mee, and ſuffred me to pull out my name, wherof I was right glad whē I had ſo done, although death ſhould folow. And hereby I had experience of Gods prouidence and mercye towardes mee, who trieth his people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: for in the middeſt of this temptation and trouble hee gaue mee warnynge of my deede, and alſo deliuered mee, his name be praiſed for euermore, Amen.

Experience of Gods prouidence ſuffering his people to fall, but not to be loſt.

Neither deuill nor cruell tyraunt can plucke anie of Chriſtes ſheepe out of his hande. Of the whiche flocke of Chriſtes ſheepe I truſte vndoubtedly I am one by meanes of his death and bloudſheddyng, whiche ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at his right hand, and receiue with other his bleſſed benediction. And now beyng condemned to dye, my conſcience and mynde, I prayſe God, is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am verie well willyng and content to geue ouer this bodye to the death for the teſtimony of his truth and pure religiō, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe religion and doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeake not truely. And as for Fountayne, I ſaw not hym all that while.

Peace of conſcience a great treaſure.

By me Thomas whittell Miniſter.

¶ Concernyng the troubled mynde of this Godlie man, and the tearyng of his name out of the bill, herefolloweth the report of the ſame, written in the letters both of the ſaid Harpſfielde, and alſo of Ionhſon the Regiſter, beyng then preſent thereat, and reporters of the ſame vnto the Biſhop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be ſeene.

¶The copy of Nic. Harpſfields letter, touchyng M. whittell, written to Boner B. of London.

A letter of M. Harpſfield declaring howe Tho. Whittell rent hys ſubſcription out of the Byſhops Regiſter.

PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to vnderſtande, that yeſterday I dined with my Lorde of Exceter, Who ſone after my firſt commyng vnto hym, asked mee what newes. I aunſwered none but good, that I had heard. No ſaith he? Why, it is a rumor in the Citie, that to morrowe the Queenes grace will take her iorney towardes the kyng. I aunſwered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an inuention of Heretickes: yea and further ſaith he, there is report made abroad of my Lord our Maſter, that he is in diſcomfort, and therefore will ſuffer no manne to come vnto hym. When I heard thus muche, I began to laugh, and declare how vntrue this report was, ſo that my Lorde (who before was very ſad) afterward knowyng the truth, reioyced much to heare that all was wel with your Lordſhip, and deſired me to do my hartie commendations to your Lordſhip.

One of my Lord of Penbrokes retinue a very handſom man, and as farre as I can yet learne Catholicke, is a ſuter to your Lordſhip to haue licence to erect a ſchole: and the order, whiche hee entendeth to vſe, is conteined in this printed paper, whiche I ſend herein incloſed to your Lordſhip. I would be gladde for my Lorde of Pembrokes ſake that he vnderſtode, that vpō my motion your Lordſhip were content he ſhould teache as he intendeth. Maiſter Iohnſon and I haue traueled with the Prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his name to this draught which is herein incloſed, and hath promiſed he will ſtand to the ſame before your Lordſhip.

When I had written thus muche, ſodeinly came tidynges to me that Iordanis conuerſus eſt retrorſum. Cluney commyng to the Prieſt, founde hym liyng proſtrate, and gronyng as though he ſhoulde haue dyed forthwith. Then Cluney tooke hym vp, and ſet him vpon a ſtoole, and came to me and told mee of this reuell. It chaunced that M. Ionhſon was with me, and we went to this fonde Hereticke and founde hym liyng all along, holdyng his handes vp, and looking hypocritically towardes heauen. I cauſed Thomas More and Cluney to ſet hym on the ſtoole, and with much ado at length he told me that Sathan had bene with hym in the night, and told hym that he was damned, and weping he praied M. Iohnſon & me to ſee the bill wherunto he ſubſcribed, and when he ſaw it, he tare out his name è libro ſcilicet viuētium. Me thinketh by him he wil needes burne a Fagot, neither is there any other likelihode of the young woman. I haue enquired of the twoo perſons whiche ſue to haue a licence to eate fleſh. And the woman of Chriſte Churche is in deede very much diſeaſed, and hath bene long diſeaſed, and ſhe and her huſband both Catholike. Of the other yet I can learne nothyng. Thus Ieſus euermore preſerue youre good Lordſhippe, and my miſtres your Lordſhips ſiſter, with all yours. This preſent Saterday.

The meaneth of the returne agayne of Tho. Whittell.

This young woman was Ioane Warne, otherwiſe named Ioane Laſhford, who was burned alſo with ȳ ſame Whittell.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden ſeruaunt
Iohn Hapesfield.

¶Here foloweth an other letter of Robert Iohnſon Regeſter, touchyng Thomas Whittell, written to Boner Biſhop of London.

An other letter of Iohnſon touching the ſayd Tho. Whittell.

MY bounden duety premiſed, pleaſeth your Lordſhyp to vnderſtand that this laſt Friday in the after none, Maiſter Archdeacon of London did diligently trauaile with Sir Thomas whittell. I being preſent, and perceiuing his cōformity, as outwardly appeared, deuiſed a ſubmiſſion, and hee beyng content therewith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this Saterday mornyng Maſter Archdeacon and I, vpon Cluneyes report, declaryng that he fayned himſelf to be extracted of his ſenſes, went vnto hym, to whom he declared that Sathan in the night tyme appeared vnto hym, & ſaid that he was damned, for that he had done againſt his conſcience in ſubſcribing the ſayde ſubmiſſion, with other like wordes. &c. And then Maiſter Archedeacon at his earneſt requeſt, deliuered vnto hym the ſubmiſſion. And thereupon the ſaid Whittell did tear out his ſubſcription, made in the foote of the ſame, as your Lordſhip ſhall perceiue by the ſubmiſſion ſent nowe vnto your Lordſhip by Maſter Archdeacon: wherewith the ſaid Whittell was ſomwhat quieted.

And as touching Ioane Laſhford, Maſter Archdeacon did likewiſe trauaill with her, and ſhewyng her Sir Thomas ſubmiſſion, which I red vnto her two times, demanded if ſhe could be content to make the like ſubmiſſion, and ſhe deſired reſpite vntill this morning. And beeyng now eftſones demaunded, in likewiſe, ſaieth, that ſhe will not make anie thing in writing, nor put anie ſigne thereunto. Maſter Archdeacon and I entende this after noone to examine the ſaide Sir Thomas vppon Articles: for as yet there doth appeare nothing in writing againſt hym, as knoweth almightie GOD, who preſerue your good Lordſhip in proſperitie long with honor to endure. From London this Saterday.

Touching Ioane Laſhford.

By your Lordſhips daily bedeſman, and
bounden ſeruaunt, Robert Iohnſonne.

¶The condemnation, death, and Martyrdome of Thomas Whittell.

The laſt examination of Tho. Whittell.

COncernyng the wordes and aunſweres of the ſayde Thomas Whittell at his laſte examination before the biſhop, vpon the .xiiij. day of Ianuarye, the yeare aboue expreſſed, Boner with his other fellowe Bonerlinges ſitting in his Conſiſtory at after none, firſt called forth Thomas Whittell, with whom he began in effect as followeth: Becauſe ye be a Prieſt (ſaith hee) as I and other Biſhops here bee, and did receaue the order of Prieſthode after the rite and forme of the catholicke

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tholike churche, ye ſhall not thinke but I will miniſter iuſtice as well vnto you, as to other. And then the ſaid Boner in further communication did charge hym, that when in tymes paſt he had ſaid Maſſe accordyng to the order then vſed, the ſame Whittell now of late had raiſed and ſpoken againſt the ſame, ſaying that it was Idolatry and abomination. Whervnto Thomas Whittell aunſweryng againe ſaid, that at ſuch tyme as he ſo ſaid Maſſe, he was then ignoraunt. &c. addyng moreouer that the eleuation of the Sacrament at the Maſſe geueth occaſion of idolatrie to them that be ignoraunt and vnlearned.

Eleuation of the Sacrament cauſe of Idolatry.

After this the Biſhop makyng haſt to the Articles (which in all his examinations euer he harped vpon) came to this article: That thou waſt in tymes paſt baptiſed in the faith of the catholicke church.

B. Boners argument. He was baptiſed in the faith of the Catholicke church: Ergo, he was baptiſed in the faith of Rome.

To this the ſaid Whittell inferred againe: I was baptiſed in the faith of the catholicke church, although I did forſake the church of Rome. And ye my Lord do call theſe hereſies that be no hereſies, and doe charge me therwith as hereſies, and ye ground your ſelf vpon that religion which is not agreable to Gods word. &c.

Then the ſaid victorious ſouldiour and ſeruaunt of our Sauiour, conſtant in the veritie receiued and profeſſed, was againe admoniſhed, and with perſwaſions entreated by the Biſhop: who becauſe he would not agree vnto the ſame, the Biſhoppe forthwith proceeded, firſt to his actuall degradation, that is, to vnprieſt him of all his prieſtly ornaments, and clarkly habite. The order and maner of whiche their popiſhe and moſt vaine degradation, before in the ſtory of biſhop Hoper page. 1415. is to be ſeene. Then Whittell in the middeſt of the ceremonies, when hee ſawe them ſo buſye in diſgradyng hym after their father the Popes Pontificall faſhiō, ſaid vnto them: Paul and Titus had not ſo much adoe with their Prieſtes & Biſhops. And farther, ſpeakyng to the Biſhop, he ſaid vnto hym: My Lorde, your religion ſtandeth moſt with the churche of Rome, and not with the catholicke church of Chriſt.

Tho. Whittell degraded.

Whittels wordes to B. Boner.

The biſhop after this, accordyng to his accuſtomed and formall proceedings, aſſaied hym yet againe with wordes, rather then with ſubſtantiall argumentes, to conforme hym to his religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſaid: As for your religion I can not be perſwaded that it is accordyng to Gods word.

The biſhop then aſked what faute he founde in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Aultar.

Whittell aunſwered and ſaide, it is not vſed accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, in that it is priuately, and not openly done: and alſo for that it is miniſtred but in one kinde to the lay people, which is againſt Chriſtes ordinaunce. Farther, Chriſt commaunded it not to be eleuated nor adored: For the adoration and eleuation cannot be approued by Scripture.

Cauſes why the adminiſtration of the Popiſh ſacrament is to bee reproued.

Well, quoth Boner, my Lordes here and other learned menne haue ſhewed great learnyng for thy conuerſion, wherefore if thou wilt yet returne to the faith and religion of the catholike Churche, I will receiue thee therunto, and not commit thee to the ſecular power. &c. To make ſhort, Whittell ſtrengthened with the grace of the Lord, ſtoode ſtrong and vnmoueable in that hee had affirmed. Wherefore the ſentence beyng redde, the next daye followyng hee was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo in fewe dayes after brought to the fire with ỹ other ſixe afore named, ſealyng vp the teſtimony of his doctrine with his bloud, whiche he willingly and cheerfully gaue for the witnes of the truth.

¶ *Letters of Thomas Whittell.*

¶ A letter of Thomas VVhittell to Iohn Careleſſe priſoner in the Kinges Benche.

A letter of Tho. Whittell written to Iohn Careles.

THe peace of God in Chriſt be with you continually dearely beloued brother in Chriſt, with the aſſiſtaunce of Gods grace and holy ſpirit, to the workyng & performyng of thoſe thinges whiche maie comfort and edifie his church (as ye dayly doe) to the glorie of his name, and the increaſe of your ioy and ſolace of ſoule in this life, and alſo your reward in heauen with Chriſt our Captain, whoſe faithfull Souldiours ye are in the life to come, Amen.

I haue greatly reioyced (my deare hart) with thankes to GOD for you, ſince I haue heard of your faith and loue which you bare towardes God and his Sainctes, with a moſte godlye ardent zeale to the veritie of Chriſtes doctrine and religion which I haue heard by the report of many, but ſpecially by ỹ declaration of that valiant captaine in Chriſtes church, that ſtout Champion in Gods cauſe, that Spectacle to the worlde, I meane our good brother Philpot, who now lieth vnder the Aulter, and ſweetely enioyeth the promiſed reward. And ſpeciallye I and my condemned fellowes geue thankes to God for your louing and comfortable letter in the deepenes of our trouble (after the fleſhe) ſent vnto vs to the conſolation of vs all, but moſt ſpeciallye to me moſte ſynfull miſer on myne one behalfe, but happie, I hope, through Gods louyng kindnes in Chriſte ſhewed vnto mee: who ſuffered mee to fainte and faile through humane infirmity, by the workyng of the Archenemy in his ſwyne Souldiours the Biſhops and Prieſtes: In whom ſo liuely appeareth the very viſage and ſhape of Sathan, that a man (if it were not preiudice to Gods wordes) might well affirme them to bee deuils incarnate, as I by experience doe ſpeake. Wherfore, who ſo ſhall for conſcience matters come in their handes, had neede of the wiſdome of the Serpent to ſaue his head, though it be with the woundyng of his body, and to take diligent heede howe he conſenteth to their wicked writings, or ſetteth his hand to their conueiances.

Hys iudgement and experience of Popiſh prelates.

Sore did they aſſault mee and craftely tempt mee to their wicked waies, or at leaſt to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and diſſimulation. And (alas) ſomethyng they did preuaile. Not that I did any thyng at all lyke their opinions and falſe papiſticall religion, or els doubted of the truth wherein I ſtande, but onely the infirmitie of the fleſhe beguiled mee, deſiryng libertie by an vnlawfull meanes: God laye it not to my charge at that daye, and ſo I hartely deſire you to praie. Howbeit vncertaine I am whether more profite came thereby: profite to me, in that God ſuffered Sathan to buffet me by his foreſaid miniſter of miſchiefe, ſhewyng me myne infirmitie, that I ſhoulde not boaſt nor reioyce in my ſelfe, but onely in the Lorde, who when he had led me to hell in my conſcience through the reſpecte of his fearefull iudgementes againſt mee for my fearfulnes, miſtruſt, & craftie clokyng in ſuch ſpirituall and weightie matters (in the whiche myne agony and diſtreſſe, I found this old verſe true, Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus) yet he brought mee from thence againe to the magnifyyng of his name, ſuſpectyng of fleſhe and bloude, and conſolation of myne owne ſoule, or elles that I might feele diſprofite in offendyng the congregation of God, whiche peraduenture will rather adiudge my fall to come of doubtfulnes in my doctrine and religion, then of humane imbecillitie.

Well, of the importune burden of a troubled conſcience for denying or diſſemblyng the knowe veritie, I by experience could ſay very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writyng, to the warnyng of other, if god graunt time: For now am I and my fellowes ready to go hence euen for Chriſtes cauſe: Gods name be praiſed who hath hetherto called vs. Pray, I pray you that we may ende our courſe with ioy, and at your appointed tyme you ſhall come after. But as the Lorde hath kept you, ſo will he preſerue your life ſtill, to the intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe & conuince theſe vngodlye contentions and controuerſies, which now do to much raigne, brawling about termes to no edificatiō. God is diſhonored, the church diſquieted, and occaſion to ſpeake euill of the goſpel miniſtred to our aduerſaries. But ſuch is the ſubtiltie of ſathan, that whom he cannot win with groſſe idolatrie in open religion, then he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceiue in opinions, in a priuate profeſſion. But here I will abruptly leaue, leſt with my rude and ſimple veyne I ſhoulde be tedious to you, deſiryng you (my louyng brother) if it ſhall not ſeeme greeuous vnto you, to write vnto me and my fellowes yet once againe, if you haue leaſure, and we tyme to the ſame.

The burden of a troubled conſcience.

Prouide me M. Philpots .ix. examinatiōs for a frend of myne, and I ſhall paie you therefore, by the leaue of almighty God our heauenly Father, who correcteth all his deare children in this worlde, that they ſhoulde not be damned with the worlde, and trieth the faithe of hys Saintes through many tribulatiōs, that beyng found conſtant to the end, he may crowne his owne giftes in them, and in heauen highly rewarde them: Whether I truſt to go before, looking for you to follow (my faithfull friend) that we may ſing perpetual praiſe to our louing Lord god for victory ouer Death and ſinne, whom

He ſueth for the examinations of M. Philpot.

Anno. 1556. January.

for vs by Ieſus Chriſte God and man, our onely and ſufficient Sauiour and Aduocate. Amen. Farewell, and praie in faith.

Yours Thomas Whittell Miniſter, and now condemned to die for the Goſpels ſake. 1556. January. 21.

¶ *All my felowes ſalute you. Salute all our faithfull brethren with you.*

¶ To my deare frend and brother Iohn VVent, and other his priſon felowes in Lollards Tower.

Actes. 12.

HE that preſerued Ioſeph priſoner in Egypt, fedde Daniell in the Lions denne, and deliuered Paul, Peter, and the Apoſtles out of priſon, vouchſafe of his goodnes to keepe, feede, and deliuer you my good brother Went, with the other our felow ſouldiours your priſon felowes, as may be moſt to his glorie, to your conſolation, and the edification of his Churche.

2. Theſſ. 1. — 1. Peter. 2. — Math. 10. — 1. Peter 4. — Hebr. 11. — Apocalip. 12. — **Sathan can not abide Chriſt to be receiued for our onely Sauiour, and thereof riſeth all this perſecution.** — Apocalip. 2. — Pſalme 115. — Heb. 13.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt earneſtly, when I heare of your conſtancy in the faithe and ioye in the Croſſe of Chriſte whiche you now beare and ſuffer together, with manie other good members of Chriſt: whiche is a token that by Chriſte ye are counted worthy the kyngdome of God, as Paule ſayth. And though the world counteth the yoke and croſſe of Chriſt as a moſt pernicious and hurtfull thing, yet wee whiche haue taſted howe frendly the Lorde is, cannot but reioyce in this perſecution as touchyng our ſelues, in as muche as the cauſe for the which we ſuffer is the Lordes cauſe, and not ours: at whoſe hand if we endure to the ende, we ſhall receiue through his liberall promiſe in Chriſte, not onely a greate reward in heauen, but alſo the kyngdome of heauen it ſelfe, and alſo in the meane ſeaſon be ſure to be defended & cared for, ſo that wee ſhall lacke no neceſſary thinges, neither a heare of our heades ſhall periſhe without his knowledge. O what is hee that woulde miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerue ſo louyng a father? O how vnhappy are they that forſake hym and put their truſt in manne? But howe bleſſed are they that for his loue and for his holy woordes ſake, in theſe troubleſome daies doe committe their ſoules and bodies into his handes with well doyng, countyng it greater happines and riches to ſuffer rebuke with Chriſte and his Church, then to enioy the pleaſures of this life for a litle ſhort ſeaſon? This croſſe that wee now beare, hath beene common to all the faithfull from Abell hetherto, and ſhalbe to the ende, becauſe the deuill hauing greate wrath againſt God and his Chriſte, can not abyde that he ſhould for his manifolde mercies be lauded and magnified, and Chriſte to be taken and beleued vpon for our onely and ſufficient redemer, Sauiour, and aduocate: and therefore, becauſe we will not deny Chriſt, nor diſſemble with our faith, but openly proteſt and profeſſe the ſame before the world, he ſeeketh by all meanes to ſtyrre vp his wicked members, to perſecute and kill the bodies of the true Chriſtians: as Saint Iohn ſaith, the Deuill ſhal caſt ſome of you into Priſon. And Dauid ſaith, I beleued, and therfore haue I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled. This notwithſtandyng, go forward deare brethren, as ye haue begon, to fight the Lordes battell, conſideryng Chriſte the Captaine of your warre, who will both fight for you, geue you victory, and alſo highly rewarde your paynes. Conſider to your comfort, the notable and chiefe ſheepheardes and ſouldiours of Chriſte whiche are gone before vs in theſe daies, I meane thoſe learned and Godlie Biſhops, Doctours, and other miniſters of Gods woorde: whoſe faith and examples wee that bee inferiours ought to follow, as Saint Paul ſaith: Remember them that haue declared vnto you the worde of God, the ende of whoſe conuerſation ſee that ye looke vppon, and followe their faith. The grace and bleſſyng of God, with the miniſtery of his holy Angels, be with you for euer, Amen. All my priſon felowes grete you.

From the Colehouſe this. 4. of December. By your pore brother Thomas Whittell, an vnworthy Miniſter of Chriſte now his priſoner for the Goſpels ſake. Amen.

¶ To all the true profeſſours and louers of Gods holy Goſpell within the Citie of London.

A letter of Thomas Whittell to the true profeſſors of the Citie of London.

THe ſame faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary bleſſed, the Lorde God encreaſe and make ſtable in your hartes, my dere and faithfull brethren and ſiſters of London, for euer and euer, Amen.

Rom. 4. — Luke. 1. — 1. Peter. 1. — **4. Notes.** — Rom. 8. — Gene. 22. — Iob. 1. — Rom. 9. — 2. Corin. 11. — Act. 16. — Geneſis 4. — 2. Machab. 6. — Act. 7. — Math. 17. — Iames 5. — Pſalme 6.

Dearely beloued, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongeſt you to trie you, as though ſome ſtraunge thing had happened vnto you: but reioyce in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſtes paſſions, that whẽ his glory appeareth, ye may be mery and glad. &c. Out of theſe woordes of Saint Peter, I gather moſte ſpecially theſe. 4. notes. Firſte, that perſecution happeneth to Chriſtes churche for their triall, that is, for the probation and prooſe of their faith. Whiche faith, like as it is knowne with God in the depth of our hartes, ſo will hee haue it made manifeſt to the whole worlde throw perſecution, that ſo it maie euidentlie appeare that hee hath ſuche a churche and people vppon earth, whiche ſo truſteth in hym and feareth his holie name, that no kinde of perſecution, paines, nor death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the loue of hym. And thus was Abraham tried, and Iob tempted, that their faithe whiche before lay hid almoſte in their hartes, might be made knowne to the whole world to be ſo ſteadfaſt and ſtrong, that the deuill, naturall loue, nor no other enemy could be able to bereue them thereof. Wherby alſo God was to bee magnified, who both trieth his people by many tribulations, and alſo ſtandeth by them in the middeſt of their troubles to deliuer them by lyfe or death, as he ſeeth beſt: like as he aſſiſted Loth, and deliuered hym out of his enemies handes, Ioſeph out of the handes of his Brethren and out of Priſon, Paule from his enemies in Damaſco, and the Apoſtles out of the Stockes and Priſon. Theſe with many mo he deliuered to life: and alſo hee deliuered Abell, Eleazar, Steuẽ and Iohn Baptiſt, with other manie by death, and hath alſo by the triall of their faithe made them good preſidents and examples to vs and all that come after, to ſuffer affliction in the like cauſe, as Saint Iames ſaith: Take, my brethren (ſaith he) the Prophets for an enſample of ſufferyng aduerſitie and of long patience, which ſpake vnto you in the name of the Lorde: behold wee count them happie whiche endure. Ye haue heard of the patience of Iob, and haue knowne what ende the Lorde made with hym, for the Lorde is verie pitifull and merciful. Alſo the Lorde trieth vs, to let vs ſee our owne hartes and thoughtes, that no hypocriſie nor ambition deceiue vs, and that the ſtronge in Chriſte maie praie that hee fall not but endure to the ende, and that thoſe that fall through fearefull infirmitie, might ſpeedelye repent and riſe againe with Peter, and alſo that the weake ones might bewaile their weakenes, and crye with Dauid: haue mercie vpon mee O Lorde, for I am weake: O Lorde heale mee for all my bones are vexed.

Luke 2. — **The croſſe trieth the good people from the bad.** — Sirach. 2.

Of this openyng of the harts by perſecution, ſpake holie Simion to Mary Chriſtes mother when he ſaid: the Sworde, that is, the Croſſe of perſecution ſhall pearſe thy Soule, that the thoughtes of manie hartes may bee opened. For like as a king that ſhoulde go to battell, is compelled to looke in his coffers what treaſure hee hath, and alſo what number and puiſance of menne and weapons hee hath, ſo that if he ſee hymſelfe vnreadye and vnarmed to bicker with his enemie, hee ſurceaſeth and taketh truce for a tyme: euen ſo wee by perſecutions haue our hartes opened that we may loke therein to ſee what faith in Chriſte we haue, and what ſtrength to withſtande the enemies, and to beare the croſſe, that if we bee riche in theſe treaſures, wee might reioyce and valiauntlie go to Battell: or if wee wante theſe thinges, with all ſpeede to call and crie vpon hym whiche geueth all good giftes to thoſe that aſke them. Item, the croſſe trieth the good people from the bad, the faithfull from the worldlinges and hipocrites, and alſo clenſeth and ſcoureth the faithfull hartes from all corruption and filthines both of the fleſhe and the ſpirite. And euen as yron, except it be often ſcoured, will ſoone waxe ruſtie: ſo except our ſinfull hartes and fleſh be often ſcoured with yͤ whetſton of the Croſſe, they wil ſoone corrupt and ouergrowe with the ruſte of all filthines and ſinne. And therefore it is meete and good for vs (as the wiſe man ſaieth) that as golde and ſiluer are tried in the fire, ſo ſhoulde the hartes of acceptable menne be tried in the Fornace of aduerſitie. Abide the triall (deare frendes) that ye maie obtaine the crowne of life. Fight manfullie in this the Lordes cauſe, that ye maie obtaine a glorious victorie here, and receiue a great rewarde in Heauen hereafter. As ye are called Chriſtians, and would be angry to be called Iewes or Turkes,

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Turkes, ſo declare your chꝛiſtianitie by folowyng the ſteps of Chꝛiſte, whoſe name ye beare: ſuffer with hym and foꝛ his Goſpels ſake, rather then to denie hym oꝛ to defile your faithe and conſcience with falſe woꝛſhipping of Romiſh religion.

Preach.12.

Take vp your croſſe (my deare hartes) now when it is offered you, and go vp with Chꝛiſt to Jeruſalem amongſt the Biſhops, Pꝛieſtes, and Rulers if God call you thereto, and they will anone ſende you to Caluerye: from whence (dying in the cauſe of the Goſpell, wherein our good Pꝛeachers and Bꝛethꝛen haue geuen their liues) your ſoules (I warrant you) through Chꝛiſt Jeſu, ſhall aſcende to God that gaue them, and the bodie ſhall come after at the laſte date, and ſo ſhall ye dwell with the Loꝛde foꝛ euer in vnſpeakeable ioye and bliſſe. O bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution foꝛ righteouſnes ſake, as Chꝛiſtes people in this Jewiſhe England now doth, foꝛ theirs is the kingdome of heauen. O my beloued, ſet your mindes on this kingdome where Chꝛiſte our head and kyng is, conſideryng that as the bꝛute beaſte looketh dounewardes with the face towardes the earth, ſo man is made contrariwiſe with his face lookyng vpwarde towardes the heauens, becauſe his conuerſation ſhould be in heauen & heauenly thynges, and not vpõ the earth and earthly things, and S. Paule ſaith: ſet your mindes on thinges which are aboue, where Chꝛiſt is. And againe he ſaieth: our conuerſation is in heauen, from whence wee loke foꝛ our Sauiour, who wil chaunge our vile bodies, and make them like to his gloꝛious body. Oh the gloꝛious eſtate that we be called vnto. The Loꝛde pꝛeſerue vs harmeles to his eternall kingdome thꝛough Chꝛiſte Jeſus our Loꝛde, Amen.

Coloſ.3.
Philip.3.

The ſecond note. Perſecution no ſtrange thing in the church.

The ſecond thing that I note in the foꝛeſaid woꝛdes of Peter, is that he calleth perſecution no ſtrange thing. And trueth it is: foꝛ whiche of the Pꝛophetes were not perſecuted with Chꝛiſt and his Apoſtles, and ſome of them in the ende cruelly killed foꝛ the truthes ſake? Caine killed Abell, Iſaac was perſecuted of Iſmaell, Jacob was hated of Eſau, Joſephe was pꝛiſoned and ſet in the Stockes, the Pꝛophet Eſay was cut in twoo with a Sawe, Jeremie was ſtoned, Micheas was buffeted and fed with bꝛead and water, Helias was ſoꝛe perſecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her vij. ſonnes were cruelly killed. What Chꝛiſte and the Apoſtles ſuffered it is well knowne. So that by manie tribulations (as Paule ſaith) we muſt enter into the kingdome of Heauen. All the holy Pꝛophetes, Chꝛiſte and his Apoſtles ſuffered ſuche afflictions, not foꝛ euell doyng, but foꝛ pꝛeachyng Gods woꝛde, foꝛ rebukyng the woꝛld of ſinne, and foꝛ their faith in Jeſus Chꝛiſte. This is the oꝛdinaunce of God (my frendes) this is the high waie to Heauen, by coꝛpoꝛall death to eternall life: as Chꝛiſte ſaith, he that heareth my woꝛds and beleueth in hym that ſent me, hath eternall life, and ſhall not come into iudgemente, but is eſcaped from death to life. Let vs neuer feare death, which is killed by Chꝛiſt, but beleue in hym and liue foꝛ euer, as Paul ſaith: There is no dãnation to them that are in Chꝛiſt Jeſu, which walke not after the fleſhe, but after the ſpirite. And again Paul ſaith: Death where is thy ſting? Hell where is thy victoꝛie? Thankes be to God which hath giuen vs victoꝛie through Jeſu Chꝛiſte. Beſides this, ye haue ſeene and dailie doe ſee the bloud of your good Pꝛeachers and bꝛethꝛen whiche hath been ſhed in the goſpels cauſe in this ſinfull Sodome, this bloudy Jeruſalem, this vnhappy citie of Lõdon. Let not their bloud be foꝛgotten, noꝛ the bloud of your good biſhop Ridley, who like a good ſhepherd, to your comfoꝛt and example, hath geuen his life foꝛ his ſheepe. S. Paule ſaith: remember them that haue ſpoken to you the woꝛd of God, and loke vpon the ende of their conuerſation, and folow their faith.

3. Regum.
4. Regum.
2.Mac.6.7.
Act.14.
Iohn.5.
Roman.8.
1.Cor.15.
Example of Gods Martyrs goyng befoꝛe.
Iohn.10.
Heb.13.

The Deuil euer ſtirreth vp falſe teachers, as hee hath done nowe ouer all Englande, as Peter, Paule and Jude pꝛophecied it ſhould bee, to poyſon and kill our ſoules with the falſe doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpoſe that way, then moueth he his members to perſecute the ſelie carcaſes of the Saintes, becauſe they will not denye noꝛ diſſemble their pure faithe in our liuyng Chꝛiſte, and confeſſe a dead bꝛeadie Chꝛiſte, and honour the ſame as Chꝛiſte God and man, contrarie to Gods commaundement. This is the woꝛkyng of Sathan, who knowyng his owne iuſte damnation, woulde all mankinde to bee partakers with hym of the ſame: ſuche a moꝛtall hatred beareth he againſt GOD and his people. And therefoꝛe when this wicked tempter coulde not kill Chꝛiſte with ſubtell tentation to fall downe and woꝛſhip hym, then hee ſtirred vp his Seruantes the Biſhops and Phariſees to kill his bodie, whereby notwithſtandyng the Deuill loſt his title and intereſt whiche he had to mans ſoule, and man by hys pꝛecious paſſion and death was raunſomed from the Deuill, death and Hell, to immoꝛtalitie and life euerlaſtyng: and ſo when Sathan thought to haue won al in killyng of Chꝛiſt, he loſt al: and ſo ſhall he doe in vs if wee abyde conſtaunt and ſtronge in the faithe of our Loꝛde and Sauiour Jeſu Chꝛiſte vnto the ende. God graunt it, foꝛ his mercies ſake in Chꝛiſt. Bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in hym, Amen.

2. Peter 2.
1. Timoth. 4.
2. Timoth. 3.
Iude.1.
Exod.10.
1.Iohn.5.
2.Cor.10.
Math.4.
When Sathan could not bring Chꝛiſt to fall downe and woꝛſhip hym, he ſet the Phariſees to kill hym.

Wherfoꝛe (my hartelie beloued Bꝛethꝛen and Siſters) bee of good comfoꝛt through Jeſus Chꝛiſte: foꝛ hee that is in vs, in ſtronger then hee that is in the woꝛlde. Therefoꝛe dꝛawe ye nere to God, and hee will dꝛawe nere to you. Reſiſte the Deuill and hee will (as James ſaith) flie from you. Beware of the leuen of the Phariſees. Touche not Pitche, leaſt ye be defiled therwith. Eate no Swines fleſhe, foꝛ it is againſt the law: I meane, defile not your ſelues neither inwardlye noꝛ outwardly with this falſe and wicked Religion of Antichꝛiſt: foꝛ it is nothyng els but Pitche, and Swines fleſhe. Beware of the beaſtes marke leſte ye dꝛinke of the cuppe of Gods wꝛath. If GOD haue geuen you knowledge and faithe, diſſemble not therewith. Denie not the knowne veritie befoꝛe menne, leſte Chꝛiſte denie you befoꝛe his Father. Come awaie from Babylon, as John biddeth you, and touche no vncleane thing, but ſeparate your ſelues from the companie of the vngodly, as Paule commaundeth you. What ſo euer ye haue done amiſſe heretofoꝛe, now repent and amend, foꝛ with the Loꝛd there is mercie and plenteous redemption.

James.2.
Math.16.
Apoc.13.14.
Apoc.18.
2.Cor.6.
Pſalm.129.

The third note.

The thirde thing and note whiche I gather out of the foꝛeſaid woozdes of Peter, is this, that hee ſaieth: Reioyce becauſe ye are partakers of Chꝛiſtes Paſſions. Our ſufferinges (my welbeloued) are Chꝛiſtes ſufferinges: and that iniurie that is done to vs foꝛ hys ſake, he reckeneth it to be done to hymſelfe, as he ſaied to Paule: Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou mee? Therefoꝛe we ought to reioyce in our ſufferinges, as Paule wꝛiteth: whiche wee ſuffer with Chꝛiſte and one with an other, as Peter ſaieth, and ſo to fulfill that which is behind of the Paſſions of Chꝛiſt in our fleſh: whiche Chꝛiſt hath by his Paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaued vs in his owne perſon: howbeit his elect muſte ſuffer with hym and foꝛ hym vnto the woꝛldes ende, that he maie be gloꝛified in them, and they thereby coꝛrected and clenſed from ſinne in this woꝛlde, and bee made moꝛe meete temples foꝛ the holie ghoſte, and alſo obtaine a greate rewarde in heauen foꝛ their ſufferyng foꝛ righteouſnes ſake, accoꝛdyng to his pꝛomiſe. And therefoꝛe I ſaie (my bꝛethꝛen) reioyce in the Loꝛde alwaies, and againe I ſaie reioyce. Let vs reioyce in the croſſe of our Loꝛde Jeſus Chꝛiſt, wherby the woꝛld is crucified to vs, and we to it.

Act. 9.
Col.1.
Math.5.
Phil. 3.
Galat.6.

The fowerth note.

And why ſhould wee ſo greatly reioyce in the croſſe of Chꝛiſte, whiche we nowe ſuffer? Becauſe (ſaith Peter) when hys gloꝛy appeareth, wee maie be merie and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his woozdes aboue wꝛitten: Wherein is ſet out the rewarde of ſufferyng, not to be had in this woꝛlde: but at his commyng to iudgement when we ſhall bee raiſed againe, and then ſhall they that haue ſowen in teares, reape in ioye, as Chꝛiſte ſaithe: Bleſſed are they that weepe here, foꝛ they ſhell laugh. Bleſſed are ye when menne hate you, and thꝛuſte you out of their companie, railyng on you, and abhoꝛryng your name as an euill thyng foꝛ the ſonne of mans ſake, reioyce ye in that day and bee gladde, foꝛ your rewarde is greate in Heauen.

Luke.6.

Wherfoꝛe (my dearely beloued) through hope of this heauenly ioy and rewarde, whiche hee that can not lye hath pꝛomiſed (whiche ioy is ſo great that no eare hath heard, no eye hath ſeene, noꝛ the hart can thinke, where we ſhall dwell foꝛ euer in the heauenly Citye, the celeſtiall Jeruſalem, in the pꝛeſence of God the Father, and Jeſus Chꝛiſte our Mediatour, as Paule ſaith, and in the companie of innumerable Angels, and with the ſpirites and ſoules of all faithfull and iuſt men) reioyce & be glad: & ſeing ye be called to ſo great gloꝛy, ſee that ye make your election and vocation ſure by good woozkes, and ſpecially by ſufferyng aduerſitie foꝛ the Goſpels ſake: foꝛ it is geuen vs of God (ſaieth Paule) not

*.1.Cor.2.
*.Heb.12.

2.Peter 1. Phillip.1. Iohn.14.

onely to beleue in Chriſt,but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. Continue in prayer,and praie for mee that I may ende my courſe with ioy. Haue brotherly loue amongſt your ſelues,whiche is a token that ye be Chriſtes diſciples. Edifie and comforte one an other in the woorde of the Lorde,and the God of peace and loue bee with you alwaies,Amen For your liberalitie and kindnes ſhewed vpon the priſoners and afflicted people of God in thys tyme of perſecution, the Lorde will rewarde you when he commeth to reward euerie manne accordyng to their deedes,and will not leaue a cuppe of cold water beſtowed vpon his faithfull people,vnrewarded.God make you riche in al grace,that ye alwaies hauing ſufficient may bee riche vnto all manner of good woorkes. The grace of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte,the loue of GOD, and the felowſhippe of the holy ghoſte bee with you alwaies,Amen,

Math. 10. 2. Corin. 8.

Your brother now in bondes for the Goſpell,Thomas Whittell.

¶To my louyng ad faithfull brother Iohn Careles Priſoner in the Kynges Bench.

An other letter of Thomas Whittell.

THe ſame faith for the which Abraham was accounted iuſt and Mary bleſſed,whereby alſo all iuſte men liue, the Lord God our louing father encreaſe and ſtabliſhe in you and me,to the obtainyng of eternal life in our alone and ſwete Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte,Amen.

Pſalme 16.

I can not worthelie and ſufficientlie praiſe G O D(my hartely beloued brother) for the cōſolation and ioy that I receiued by reaſon of your louing letters,repentyng me muche that I being ſo long ſo neare you , did not enterpriſe to ſtirre vppe familiaritie and communication betweene vs by writing, to mutuall conſolation in Chriſte. For what is there vppon earth wherein to reioyſe(where all thinges are tranſitorie and vaine , yea man him ſelfe, reſpecting this life)but, as Dauid ſaith, the Sainctes that dwell vpon the earth, and ſuche as excell in vertue? But here now I conſider,that if the fellowſhip, loue,and ioy of faithfull men and children of GOD being as we now be in double bondage,the bodie within clay walles, and the ſoule within theſe frayle earthlie bodies, be ſo greate and comfortable:how vnſpeakeable will thoſe ioyes bee, when we ſhall bee deliuered from all corruption into the glorious libertie of the ſonnes of God? Where we ſhal be preſent together continually in our glorified bodies, beholdyng the face of our father preſently(whom now we ſee but in the glaſſe of faith)with his deare ſonne Chriſt our redeemer and brother , and the bleſſed companie of Aungels and all faithfull ſaued ſoules.

The ſocietie of Saincts.

Of the incomparable good thinges and heauenly treaſures laid vp for vs in heauen by Chriſte Ieſu.For the obtainyng whereof,we ought to ſet light by all temporall greefes and tranſitorie afflictions ſo muche the more, in that our good GOD is faithfull and will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our ſtrength , and that namely in the ende of our life,when the tree where it falleth,lieth ſtill, as the preacher ſaith:whē euerie one , cauſa ſua dormit, & cauſa ſua reſurget:for els before the ende he ſuffereth his ſometime to fall,but not finallye to periſhe : as Peter ſinked vpō the Sea,but yet was not drouned,and ſinned greuouſly vpon the land through infirmitie deniyng his Maiſter,but yet founde mercie : for the righteous falleth oftentimes.And Chriſtes holy Apoſtles are taught to ſay, remitte nobis debita noſtra . Yea though the righteous fall,ſaith Dauid, he ſhall not be caſt awaie,for the Lorde vpholdeth hym with his hand. Oh the bottomles mercie of GOD towardes vs miſerable ſinners. He vouchſafe to plant in my hart true repentaunce and faithe, to the obtainyng of remiſſion of all my ſinnes in the mercies of God and merites of Chriſt his ſonne, and thereto I praie you ſay,Amen.

Eccle.11.

Gods ſainctes ſuffered ſometimes to fall,but not finally to periſhe.

Oh my hartely beloued,it greueth me to ſee the ſpoile and hauocke that Saul maketh with the congregation of Chriſt : but what remedie? This is Gods will and ordinaunce,that his people ſhal here both be puniſhed in the fleſh,and tried in their faith,as it is written: Many are the troubles of the righteous , but the Lord deliuereth them out of all:for by a ſtrait path and narrow dore muſt wee enter . Whether? Into the ioyfull kingdome of heauen: therefore bleſſed are you,and other that ſuffer perſecution for Chriſtes ſake,for the poſſeſſing of the ſame . Praie for me and my felowes(good brother)that we may fight a good fight,that we maie keepe the faithe,and ende our courſe with ioyfull gladnes,for now the time of our deliueraunce is at hand.The Lord guide,defend, and kepe vs and you, & all his people in our iorney , that we may ſafely through a ſhort death,paſſe to that lōg laſting life.

Farewell my deare and louing brother and fellowe ſouldiour in Chriſt : farewell(I ſaie)in him: who receiue our ſoules in peace when thei ſhall depart from theſe tabernacles, and he graunt vs a ioyfull reſurrection,and a merie meeting at the laſt daie , and continuall dwelling together in this eternall heauenlie kingdome , through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord,Amen.

Yours with my poore praier,other pleaſure can I do you none, Thomas Whittell Miniſter.

¶*To my deare brethren M.Filles and Cutbert.*

An other letter of Thomas Whittel to certaine of his frendes.

MY deare and welbeloued brethren in Chriſte, M. Filles & Cutbert, I wiſh you all welfare of ſoule and body. Welfare to the ſoule,is repentance of ſinns, faithfull affiance in Chriſt Ieſus,& a godly life. Welfare to the body,is the health of the ſame, with al neceſſary thinges for this bodely life. The ſoule of man is immortall,and therefore ought to be well kept,leſt immortality to ioy,ſhould turne to immortalitie of ſorow. As for the body,be it neuer ſo wel kept and much made of,yet ſhortly by nature will it periſhe and decaye. But thoſe that are engraffed and incorporated into Chriſte by true faith, feelyng the motion of Gods holy ſpirite, as a pledge of their election and enheritaunce,excityng and ſtirring them,not onely to ſeeke heauenly thinges, but alſo to hate vice,and embrace vertue, will not only doe thoſe thinges, but alſo if neede require,will gladly take vp their croſſe & folow their Captaine,their king, and their Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt(as his pore afflicted church of Englande nowe doth)againſt that falſe and Antichriſtian doctrine and religion now vſed,and ſpecially that blaſphemous Maſſe,wherin Chriſtes Supper and holye ordinaunce is altogether peruerted and abuſed contrary to his inſtitution,and to Paules procedings:ſo that,that which they haue in their Maſſe,is neither Sacramēt of Chriſt,nor yet ſacrifice for ſinne, as the Prieſtes falſely pretende . It is a Sacrament, that is,as S. Auguſtine ſaith,a viſible ſigne of inuiſible grace , when it is miniſtred to the communicantes accordyng to Chriſtes example , and as it was of late yeares in this realm.And as for ſacrifice,there is none to be made now for ſinne:for Chriſte with one ſacrifice hath perfited for euer thoſe that are ſanctified.

Welfare of ſoule. Welfare of body.

Math. 26. Mark. 14. Luke. 22. 2. Corin. 11.

No ſacrifice in the Maſſe is to be made for ſinne.

Hebr. 9.10.

Beware of falſe Religion,and mens vaine traditions,and ſerue God with reuerence and godly feare,accordyng to the doctrine of his Goſpell, whereto cleaue ye that ye may bee bleſſed,though of wicked men ye bee hated and accurſed. Rather drinke of the cup of Chriſt with his Churche,then of the cup of that roſecoloured whore of Babilon,which is full of abominations. Rather ſtriue ye to go to heauen by the path which is ſtrait to fleſh and bloud,with the little flocke , then to go the wide waie,folowing the enticementes of the world and the fleſh,whiche leadeth to damnation. Like as Chriſt ſuffered in the fleſhe,ſaithe S. Peter , ſo arme ye your ſelues with the ſame mind: for Chriſte ſuffered for vs, leuyng vs example to folow his footeſteppes. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his ſake, great is their rewarde in heauen. He that ouercommeth(ſaith S. Iohn,)ſhall eate of the tree of life:he ſhal haue a croune of life,and not be hurt of ẏ ſecond death:he ſhalbe clothed ẇ white aray,& not be put out of ẏ boke of life: Yea I will confeſſe his name ſaith Chriſte,before my father , & before his Angels,& he ſhalbe a piller in the houſe of god,and ſit with mee on my ſeate And thus I bid you farewell, myne owne Brethren and deare Fellowes in Chriſte. Whoſe grace and peace be alwaie with you, Amen.

Luke 11. Apocalip.18. Peter 4.1. Apocalip.2.3.

This world I do forſake:
To Chriſt I me betake,
And for his Goſpel ſake
Paciently death I take.
My body to the duſte,
Now to returne it muſt:
My ſoule I know ful wel,
with my god it ſhal dwel.

Thomas Whittell.

¶An other letter of M. Thomas VVhittell written to a certaine Godlie woman.

An other letter of Thomas Whittell to a godly woman.

OH my deare and louyng ſiſter in Chriſte , bee not diſmayde in this ſtorme of perſecution, for Paule calleth the Goſpel the word of the Croſſe,becauſe it is neuer truly taught,but the croſſe and cruell perſecution immediately and neceſſarily doth follow the ſame, and therfore it is a manifeſt token of Gods truth , and hath bene here and is ſtill abroad , and that is a cauſe of the rage & cruelty of Sathan againſt Chriſte and his members , whiche

muſt

Anno.1556. January.

To bee ſtronge againſt Sathā, and not to feare perſecution.

muſt bee corrected for their ſinnes in this worlde: theyr fayth muſt be tried, that after triall and pacient ſuffering the faithfull may receaue the crowne of glory. Feare not therfore my welbeloued, but proceede in the knowledge and feare of God, and he will keepe you from all euyll. Call vpon hys holy name, and hee will ſtrengthen you and aſſiſt you in all your wayes: and if it pleaſe hym to lay his croſſe vpon you for his Goſpels ſake, refuſe it not, neither ſhake it of by vnlawfull meanes, leſt you ſhould (as God forbid) finde a more greuous croſſe, and torment of conſcience if you ſhould diſſemble and denye the knowen verity, then is any perſecution or death of body. Oh how happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake! their rewarde is greate in heauen. The momentane afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that ſhall bee ſhewed vppon vs. Oh remember the godly women of the old teſtamēt and new, which lyued in Gods ſeruice and feare, & therefore are now in blyſſe and commended for euer: as namely Iudith, Heſter, Abigael, the Mother of the vij. ſonnes, Mary, Elizabeth, Suſanna, Lidia, and Phebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, & feare nothing: for Sathan is cōquered by our Sauiour Chriſt: ſinne is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternall life is ſet wide open: God graunt we may enter therein through the doore Ieſus Chriſt, Amen.

Good counſell not to forſake the Lorde for perſecution.

Thomas Whittell.

¶ The ſtory of M. Bartlet Greene, Gentleman and Lawyer, Martyr.

The ſtorie of maſter Bartlet Grene gentleman & martyr. January.27.

After the martirdom of Thomas Whittell, next followeth in order to ſpeake of Bartlet Grene, who the nexte daie after the foreſaid Whittell, was likewiſe cōdemned. This Grene was of a good houſe, and hauyng ſuche parentes, as bothe fauoured learnyng, & were alſo willyng to bryng vp this their childe in the ſame. Who after ſome enteraunce in other inferiour Schooles, was by them ſent vnto the vniuerſitie of Oxford: where through exerciſe and diligente ſtudie, he ſo profited, that within ſhorte tyme he attained, aſwell vnto the knowledge of ſundrie prophane ſciences, as alſo now in his laſte yeres, vnto the godlie vnderſtandyng of Diuinitie. Whereunto through ignorance (in whiche he was trained vp from his youth) he was at the firſt an vtter enemie, vntill ſuche tyme as God of his mercie had opened his eyes, by his often repairyng vnto the common Lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in the ſame vniuerſitie: ſo that thereby as by Gods inſtrument) he ſawe the true light of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Bartlet Grene ſtudente at Oxford.

Maſter Grene cōuerted by the Lecture of Peter Martyr.

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became vnto hym as the fountaine of liuely water, that our Sauior Chriſt ſpake of vnto the woman of Samaria, ſo as he neuer thirſted any more, but had a well ſpringyng vnto euerlaſtyng life. In ſo muche as when he was called by his frendes from the Vniuerſitie, and was placed in the Tēple at London, there to attain the knowledge of the common lawes of the Realme, he yet continued ſtill in his former ſtudie, and earneſt profeſſion of the Goſpell: wherein alſo he did not a little profite. Howbeit (ſuche is the frailtie of our corrupte nature, without the ſpeciall aſſiſtaunce of Gods holy ſpirite) through the continuall accompanyng, and fellowſhip of ſuche worldly (I will not ſaie to muche youthfull) yong gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houſes, he became by little and little, a compartener of their fōde follies, and youthfull vanities, aſwell in his apparell, as alſo in bankettynges, and other ſuperfluous exceſſes, whiche he afterward (beyng againe called by Gods mercifull correction) did ſore lament and bewaile: as appeareth by his owne teſtimonie, notified and lefte in a booke of a certaine frende of his, a little before his death, written with his owne hande, in maner as followeth.

Iohn.iiii.

M. Grene ſtudent in the Tēple at London.

¶This did M. Bartlet Grene write in M. Bartram Calthrops booke.

A good note or leſſon for yong Lawyers to marke and followe.

Two thynges haue verie muche troubled me whileſt I was in the Temple, Pride, and Glottonie, whiche vnder the colour of glorie and good fellowſhip, drewe me almoſte from GOD. Againſte bothe there is one remedie, by praier earneſt, and without ceaſyng. And for as muche as vaine glorie is ſo ſubtile an aduerſarie, that almoſte it woundeth deadly, ere euer a man cā perceiue himſelf to be ſmitten, therfore we ought ſo muche the rather by continuall praier, to labor for humbleneſſe of minde. Truely Glottonie beginneth vnder a charitable pretence, of mutuall loue and ſocietie, and hath in it moſt vncharitableneſſe. When we ſeke to refreſhe our bodies, that they maie be the more apt to ſerue God, & performe our dueties towardes our neighbors, then ſtealeth it in as a priuie theefe, and murdereth bothe bodie and ſoule, that now it is not apt to praie, or ſerue God, nor apt to ſtudy, or labour for our neighbors. Let vs therefore watche and be ſober: For our aduerſarie the deuil walketh about like a roaryng Lion, ſekyng whō he maie deuoure. And remember what Salomon ſaieth: Melior eſt patiens viro forti, & qui dominatur animo, expugnatore vrbium. i. A pacient manne is better then a ſtronge warriour, and he that conquereth his owne ſtomacke, is better then he that conquereth tounes & cities.

What leude company doth.

Bartlet Grene.

Animorum in fide vnio, per charitatem acta, ſumma eſt amicitia. Vale (mi Bartrame) & mei memineris, vt ſemper ſimillimi efficiamur. Vale. Apud nouam Portam. 20. Ianuarij. 1556.

i. Agreement of mindes ioinyng in vnitie of faithe, & growyng vp in charitie, is true & ſtedfaſt amitie. Fare well (my Bartrame, and remember me, þ euer we maie be like together. Fare well. At Newgate. January.xx. Anno.1556.

Set ſober loue againſt haſtie wrathe.

Bartlet Grene.

Thus wee ſee the fatherly kindeneſſe of our moſte gracious and mercifull God, who neuer ſuffereth his electe children ſo to fall, that they lye ſtil in ſecuritie of ſinne, but often tymes quickeneth thē vp by ſome ſuche meanes, as perhaps they thinke leaſt of, as he did here this his ſtraied ſheepe. And now therefore to retourne to our hiſtorie: for the better maintenaunce of hym ſelf in theſe his ſtudies, and other his affaires he had a large exhibition of his grandfather maiſter D. Bartlet, who duryng the tyme of Grenes impriſonmente made vnto hym large offers of greate liuynges, if he would recante, and (forſake the truthe, and Goſpell of Chriſte) come home againe to the churche and Sinagoge of Rome. But theſe his perſwaſions (the Lorde be therefore praiſed) tooke ſmall effect in this faithfull hart, as the ſequell did declare. He was a man beloued of all men (except of the Papiſtes, who loue none that loue the truthe) and ſo he well deſerued: for he was of a meeke, humble, diſcrete, and moſte gentle behauiour to all. Iniurious he was to none, beneficiall to many, eſpecially to thoſe that were of the houſholde of faithe: as appeared (amongeſt other) by his frendly dealyng with Maiſter Chriſtopher Goodman, beeyng at that preſent a poore exile beyonde the ſeas. With whō this Bartlet Grene (aſwell for his towarde learnyng, as alſo for his ſober and godlie behauiour) had often ſocietie in Oxforde, in the daies of good Kyng Edward: whiche now, notwithſtandyng his frendes miſerie and baniſhement, he did not lightly forget, and that turned as it chaunced (not without the prouidence of almightie God) to the greate grief of bothe, the one of harte for the loſſe of his frende, and the other of body in ſufferyng the cruell and murtheryng rage of Papiſtes.

Large giftes offered to M. Grene by doctor Bartlet, to retourne to the Churche of Rome.

Frendſhip betwene Chriſtopher Goodmā, and M. Grene.

The cauſe hereof was a Letter whiche Grene did write vnto the ſaid Goodman, cōtainyng aſwel the report of certaine demaundes or queſtions, whiche were caſt abroad in London (as appereth hereafter in a letter of his owne pennyng, whiche he ment to haue ſente vnto M. Philpot, wherein he declareth his full vſage before the Biſhop of London and others) as alſo an aunſwere to a queſtion made by the ſaied Chriſtopher Goodman, in a letter written vnto hym, in which he required to haue the certaintie of the report, whiche was ſpread amongeſt them on the other ſide of the Seas, that the Quene was dead. Whereunto maſter Grene aunſwered ſimply, and as the truthe then was, that ſhe was not deade.

Occaſion of apprehendyng of maſter Grene, came by letters intercepted.

Theſe letters with many other, written to diuers of the godlie exiles, by their frendes here in England, beeyng deliuered to a meſſenger to carry ouer, came by the apprehenſion of the ſaid bearer, vnto the handes of the Kyng and Queenes Councell. Who at their conuenient leaſure (whiche in thoſe daies by ſome of them was quickly found out for ſuche matters) peruſed the whole number of the ſaied letters, and amongeſt them eſpied this letter of maiſter Grenes, written vnto his frende Chriſtopher Goodman, in the contentes whereof (amongeſt other newes and priuate matters) they founde theſe wordes: The Queene is not yet deade. Whiche wordes were onely written as an aunſwere,

M. Grene examined by the counſell of his faithe.

to certiſie M. Goodman of the truthe of his former demaunde. Howbeit (to ſome of the counſell) they ſemed very hainous woordes, yea, treaſon they would haue made them, if the Lawe would haue ſuffered. Whiche when they could not doe (and beyng yet very loth to let any ſuche depart frely, whom they ſuſpected to be a fauourer of the Goſpell) they then examined hym vpon his faithe in religion, but vpon what pointes, it is not certainly knowen.

John Bourne a ſtirrer of perſecution.

Neuertheleſſe (as it ſeemeth) his aunſweres were ſuche, as little pleaſed them (eſpecially the annointed ſort) and therefore after they had long detained hym in priſon, as well in the Tower of London, as elſwhere, they ſent hym at laſt vnto Boner Biſhop of London, to be ordered accordyng to his Eccleſiaſticall lawe: as appeareth by their letters ſente vnto the Biſhop, with the ſaid priſoner alſo: wherein it maie appeare that ſir John Bourne (then Secretary to the Queene) was a chief ſtirrer in ſuche caſes, yea, and an entiſer of others of the counſell: who otherwiſe (if for feare they durſte) would haue been content to haue let ſuche matters alone. The lord forgiue thẽ their weakenes (if it be his good pleaſure) and giue thẽ true repentaunce, Amen.

¶ A letter ſent vnto Boner Byſhop of London, by the Queenes Counſell, dated the xj. daye of Nouember 1555. but not deliuered vntill the 17. of the ſame moneth.

A letter from the Counſell to Boner.

AFter our right hartye commendations to your good Lordſhyp, we ſend to the ſame herewith, the body of one Bartlet Greene, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obſtinate ſtandyng in matters agaynſt the Catholicke Religion, whom the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties pleaſures are (becauſe hee is of your Lordſhyps Dioces) ye ſhall cauſe to bee ordred according to the lawes in ſuch caſes prouided. And thus we byd your goodſhyp hartly farewell. From S. Iames the xj. of Nouember. 1555.

Your good Lordſhyps louyng frendes,

Winchester. Penbroke. Tho. Ely. William Haward. Iohn Bourne. Thom. Wharton.

Poſt ſcript.

¶ Syr Iohn Bourne will wayt vpon your Lordſhip, and ſignifie further of the King and Queenes Maieſties pleaſures herein.

Now that ye maie the better vnderſtande, the certaintie of his handelyng, after this his commyng vnto Boners cuſtodie, I haue thought it good to put forth his own letter, containyng at large the diſcourſe of the ſame. Whiche letter he wrote, and did meane to haue ſente vnto Maiſter Philpot, but was preuented, belike either by Philpottes death, or els (and rather) by the wiLe watchyng of his keper: for it came (by what meanes I knowe not certainly) vnto the Biſhops handes, and beyng deliuered vnto his Regiſter, was found in one of his bookes of recorde. The copie whereof here followeth.

¶ A letter of Barthelet Greene, written vnto Iohn Philpot, contaynyng beſides other particular matter betwixt him and M. Philpot, a brief rehearſall of his handlyng, and certaine his conferences with Boner & others, at his firſt commyng to the Byſhops.

M. Grene preſented before B. Boner.

M. Dee was yet vnder band of recogniſance for the good abearing & forth commyng till Chriſtmas next after.

THat which was lackyng in talke (through my defaulte) at your beyng here, I haue ſupplied by writyng in your abſence, now at the length getting ſome opportunity and leaſure. The 17. day of Nouemb. being brought hether by twoo of the clocke at after noone, I was preſented before my Lord of London and other twoo Byſhops, Maiſter Deane, M. Roper, M. Welch, Doct. Harpſfield Archdeacon of London, and other twoo or three, all ſittyng at one table. There were alſo preſent Doct. Dale, M. George Mordãt, M. Dee. Then, after the Biſhop of London had reade vnto hymſelf the letter that come frõ the Counſell, hee ſpeake with mo wordes, but (as I remember) to this effect: that the cauſe of their aſſemblie was, to heare mine examination, whereunto he had authoritie by the Counſell, and had prouided M. Welch and an other, whoſe name I know not (but well I remember, though he obteined it not, yet deſired he my Lord, that I might heare the Counſels letters) to be there if any matters of the cõmon law ſhould ariſe, to diſcuſſe them, he intreated my Lord to determine all controuerſies of Scriptures: and as for the Ciuill law, he and Doct. Dale ſhould take it on them.

M. Grene committed firſte to the Fleete, and vpon what occaſion.

Wherefore he demaunded of me the cauſe of myne impriſonment. I ſayd that the occaſion of mine apprehenſion was a letter whiche I wrote to one Chriſtofer Goodman, wherein (certifying hym of ſuch newes as happened heere) amongeſt the reſt, I wrote that there were certaine printed papers of queſtions ſcattered abroad. Wherupon, being ſuſpected to be priuy vnto the deuiſing or publiſhyng of the ſame, I was committed to the Fleete: but ſithens heard I nothing therof, after the Commiſſioners had receaued my ſubmiſſion. The ſumme whereof was: that as I was ſure there neyther could be any true witnes, nor probable coniecture agaynſt me in that behalfe: ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their conſciences would iudge me priuy to the deuiſing, printing, or publiſhyng of thoſe queſtions. But my Lord affirmyng that there was an other cauſe of myne impriſonment ſithens, demaunded if I had not after, ſith I was committed vnto the Fleete, ſpoken or written ſomewhat agaynſt the naturall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Then deſired I his Lordſhyp to bee good vnto me, truſtyng that he would put me to aunſwere to no newe matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtode long on that, M. Welch aunſwered that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well. For albeit I were impriſoned for treaſon, if duryng the tyme of endurance I had maintained hereſie, that were no ſufficiẽt allegation againſt the Ordinary: neither, whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Then my Lord affirmyng that I was not brought before him but for hereſie, & the other Gentleman ſaying that doubtles I was diſcharged of my former matter, my deſire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to heare my accuſers.

D. Chadſey witneſſeth againſt M. Grene.

Then Doct. Chadſey was ſent for, who reported that in the preſence of M. Moſley and the Lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake agaynſte the reall preſence and the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichriſt.

Talke betwene M. Grene and the commiſſioners.

Is not this true, quoth my Lord? I ſayd yea. Will you continue therin, quoth he? Yea ſayd I. Wilt thou then maintaine it by learning, ſayd he? Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew my ſelfe to haue litle witte, knowyng myne owne youth and ignoraunce, if I would take on me to maintayne any controuerſie agaynſt ſo many graue and learned men. But my cõſcience was ſatiſfied in the truth, which was ſufficient to my ſaluation.

Roper. Conſcience? (quoth M. Roper) ſo ſhall euery Iew and Turke be ſaued.

We had hereafter much talke to no purpoſe, and eſpecially on my part, who felt in my ſelfe, through colde and open ayre much dulnes of wit and memory. At the length, I was aſked what conſcience was: and I ſayed, the certifying of the truth.

Perſwaſion of M. Welche to M. Grene.

M. Welch. With that M. Welch roſe vp, deſiring leaue to talke with me alone. So he takyng me aſide into an other chamber, ſaid, that he was ſorie for my trouble, and would gladly ſee me at libertie: he maruailed, that I beeyng a yonge manne, would ſtande againſt al the learned men of the realme, yea, and contrary to the whole determination of the catholicke Churche from Chriſtes time, in a matter wherein I could haue no greate learnyng. I oughte not to thynke myne owne witte better then all mennes, but ſhould beleue them that wer learned. I promiſe you (q he) I haue reade all Peter Martyrs booke, and Cranmers, and all the reſte of them, and haue conferred them with the contrary, as Roffenſis, and the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter. &c. and could not perceiue, but that there was one continuall truthe, whiche from the beginnyng had been maintained: and thoſe that at any tyme ſeuered from this vnitie, were aunſwered and aunſwered again. This was the ſumme of his tale, whiche lacked neither witte nor eloquence.

Aunſwere of M. Grene to M. Welche.

Modeſtie of M. Grene.

M. Grene. Then ſpake I. For aſmuche as it pleaſeth your maiſterſhip to vſe me ſo familiarly (for he ſo behaued hym ſelf towardes me, as though I had been his equall) I ſhal open my minde frely vnto you, deſiryng you for to take it in good worthe. I conſider my youth, lacke of wit & learnyng, whiche would God it were but a litle vnder the opinion that ſome men haue of me. But God is not bounde to tyme, witte, or knowledge, but rather choſeth infirma mundi, vt confunderet fortia. Neither cã

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Roma.9.

men appointe bondes to Goddes mercie: For, I will haue compaſsion (ſaieth he) on whom I will ſhewe mercie. There is no reſpecte of perſones with God, whether it be old or yonge, riche, or poore, wiſe, or fooliſhe, Father or Baſketmaker. GOD giueth knowledge of his truthe, through his free grace, to whō he liſte. Iames.1. Neither doe I thinke my ſelf onely to haue the truthe, but ſtedfaſtly beleue that Chriſt hath his ſpouſe the Catholicke & vniuerſall Churche, diſperſed in many realmes where it pleaſeth hym: ſpiritus vbi vult ſpirat: no more is he addicted to any one place, then to the perſone and qualitie of one man. Of this Churche I nothyng doubt my ſelf to be a member, truſtyng to bee ſaued by the faithe that is taught in the ſame. But how this churche is knowen, is in a maner the ende of all controuerſie. And the true markes of Chriſtes churche is the true preaching of his word and miniſteryng of his Sacramentes. Theſe markes were ſealed by the Apoſtles, and confirmed by the auncient Fathers, till at the length they wer through the wickednes of men and the deuil, ſore worne, and almoſte vtterly taken awaie. But God bee praiſed that he hath renewed the printe, that his truthe maie bee knowen in many places. For my ſelf, I call GOD to witneſſe, I haue no hope in myne own witte and learnyng, whiche is verie ſmall: but I was perſwaded thereto by hym, as by an *inſtrumente, that is excellente in all good learnyng and liuyng. And God is my recorde, that chiefly I ſought it of hym, by continuall prayer with teares.

The Spirite of God abideth nither to perſons, nor places.

The ende of all controuerſies is to know the true Churche.

Markes of the true Churche.

*By this inſtrumente, he meaneth Peter Martyr.

M. Grene ſekyng his knowledge of GOD with teares.

Furthermore, what I haue doen herein, it is not nedefull for me to ſpeake: but one thing (I ſaie) I wiſhe of God with all my harte, that all menne whiche are of contrary iudgemente, would ſeke the truthe in like maner. Now I am brought hether before a greate many of Biſhoppes, & learned men, to bee made a foole and laughyng ſtocke: but I waigh it not a ruſhe: For GOD knoweth that my whole ſtudie is to pleaſe hym: beſides that, care I not for mannes pleaſure, or diſpleaſure.

M.Welch. No M Grene (q he) thinke not ſo vncharitably of any man, but iudge rather that men labour for your ſoules healthe, as for their owne. And alas, how wil you condēne all our forefathers? Or how can you thinke your ſelf to bee of the catholike Churche, without any continuaunce, and contrary to the iudgement of all learned menne?

M. Welche replieth to Maiſter Grene.

Grene. Then ſaied I, ſir, I haue no authoritie to iudge any man: neuertheleſſe, I doubt not, but that I am of the true catholike Churche, how ſo euer our learned menne here iudge of me.

Welche. Why, then (ſaied he) doe you ſuppoſe your owne witte and learnyng, better then all theirs? If you do not giue credite onely to them, other learned men ſhall reſorte vnto you, that ſhall perſwade you by the Scriptures and Doctors.

Grene. Sir (q I) God knoweth that I refuſe not to learn of any childe, but I would embrace the truthe from the mouthe of a naturall foole, in any thyng wherein I am ignoraunt, and that in all thynges, sauyng my faithe. But concernyng the truthe, wherein I am throughly perſwaded, I can not ſubmit my ſelf to learne, vnleſſe it bee, as your maiſterſhippe ſaied, that ye peruſed the bookes on bothe ſides: For ſo might I make my ſelf an indifferente iudge: otherwiſe I maie be ſeduced.

M. Grene conſentes to giue place in all other thynges, ſaue onely to faithe.

And here we fell out againe in a longe talke of the Churche, wherein his learnyng and witte, was muche aboue myne: but in the ende when I tolde hym I was perſwaded, and that he did but loſe his labour.

Welc. Why then (q he) what ſhal I report to my lord?

Grene. Euen as pleaſeth you (q I) or els you maie ſaie that I would be glad to learne, if I had bookes on bothe ſides. So he goyng in, the Biſhoppes (euen then riſen, and ready to depart) aſked how he liked me? He aunſwered: in faithe my Lorde, he will bee glad to learne. Whiche woordes when they were taken, leaſt they ſhould miſtake his meanyng and mynde, I ſaied: yea my Lorde, ſo that I maie haue bookes on bothe ſides, as Caluin, & my lorde of Canterburies booke, & ſuche other. Well (q my lorde) I will ſatiſfie thy mynde therein alſo: and they all were in greate hope, that ſhortly I ſhould become a good Catholicke, as they call it.

Then was I brought into my Lordes inner Chamber (*where you were) and there was put in a chamber with maſter Dee, who entreated me verie frēdly. That night I ſupped at my Lordes table, and ſate with maiſter Dee in the chamber you did ſee. On the morrowe I was ſerued at dinner from my Lordes table, and at night did eate in the hall with his gentlemen: where I haue been placed euer ſithēce, & fared wōderful wel. Yea, to ſay the truth, for my libertie within the bondes of his lordſhips houſe for my lodgyng and fare, ſcarce haue I been at any tyme abrode, in better caſe ſo long together, and haue found ſo muche gentlenes of my Lord, and his Chaplaines, and other ſeruauntes, that I ſhould eaſily haue forgotten that I was in priſon, were it not that this greate cheare was often pouthered with vnſauerie ſauſes of examinatiōs, exhortations, poſynges, and diſputations.

*Where Philpot was, he meaneth, to whom he wrote this letter.

Frendly entertainment of M. Grene, in Biſhop Boners houſe for a tyme.

For ſhortly after ſupper the firſte Mondaie at night I was had into my Lordes bedde chamber, and there he would knowe of me how I came firſt into theſe hereſies. I ſaied I was perſwaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the Doctors, alleadged by Peter Martyr, in his Lectures vpon the 11. Chapiter of the firſte Epiſtle to the Corinthians, whileſt he intreated there on that place De cœna domini, by the ſpace of a moneth together. But then my Lorde enforced the plaineſſe of Chriſtes woordes, and his almightie power, demaundyng of me, what reaſon ſhould moue me from the literall ſenſe of the woordes: but I hauyng no luſte to thoſe matters, would haue alledged that there were bookes ſufficiente of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Oecolampadius: neuertheleſſe when this ſhifte would not ſerue, but I was conſtrained to ſaie ſomewhat, I ſaied I was moued from the literall ſenſe, by the maner of ſpeakyng, by the circumſtaunce, and by conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is euident that Chriſte tooke breade, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeyng it) breade, whiche he affirmed to bee his bodie.

M. Grene had in priuate examination before the Biſhop.

M. Grene vrged with the literall ſenſe of the woordes [This is my bodie.]

Cauſes mouyng M. Grene from the literal ſenſe of the wordes aforeſaied.

Chriſte affirmed that bread was his bodie:

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no meanes bee true.

Ergo, the woordes, if they be taken accordyng to the letter, can not be true.

Argument.

For this predication, Panis eſt corpus Chriſti, or corpus Chriſti eſt panis, is neither identica, nor accidentalis, nor eſſentialis prædicatiō. Wherefore of neceſſitie, I muſt ſaie it was ſpoken in the like ſenſe, as Chriſt was a dore, a vine, & a way. Neither can it ſerue to ſay, that it was not of breade that he affirmed to bee his bodie, and that for twoo cauſes.

Why the woordes of Chriſt of his bodie, muſt nedes be taken Spiritually.

For what ſoeuer he ſhewed, that was breade: for nought els was ſeen.

But that which he ſhewed, he affirmed to be his body:

Ergo he affirmed of bread, that it was his bodie.

Argument.

The ſeconde reaſon is: for that it was not chaunged before, ſeyng benedixit, is gratias egit, or els Chriſte affirmed no true propoſition, & you are without authoritie.

In the ende of this letter, there were noted theſe ſentences followyng, collected for confirmation of his former aſſertions, videlicet.

Eadem locutio poculi. i. The ſame phraſe is vſed and ſpoken vpon the cup.

Dicitur poſtea panis. i. It is called breade in the ſame place afterward.

Eadem ratione reiecero corpus, qua tu panem. i. By the reaſon, as it maie be denied to bee bread, it maie bee denied to be the bodie.

Aſcendit in cœlū. i. His bodie is aſcēded into heauen.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt natiuitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus locis: Ergo. &c.

In bodie he was like to vs in all thynges after his natiuitie (ſynne excepted). Seeyng then our bodie can not be in twoo places at once: Ergo, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant. &c. His diſciples tooke it as no miracle nor wonder.

Reaſons mouyng Maiſter Grene to take the woordes ſpiritually, not literally.

¶The laſt examination and condemnation of maiſter Grene.

The laſt examination of M. Grene.

Thus (as it ſemeth) for this tyme, they lefte of. But not longe after the Biſhoppe perceiuyng Grenes learnyng, and conſtancie to bee ſuche, as neither he, nor any of his Doctours and Chaplaines, could by the Scripture refell, beganne then to obiect and put in practiſe his chiefe, and ſtrongeſt argumente againſte hym: whiche was the rigour of the Lawe, and crueltie of execution: an argumente I enſure you, whiche without the ſpeciall grace of our God, to fleſhe is importable. And therefore vſyng lawe as a cloke of his tyrannie, the. xxviij. daie of Nouember, the ſaied Biſhop examined hym vpon certaine pointes of chriſtian Religion. Whereunto when he had aunſwered, the Biſhop appointed his Regiſter (as their moſte common maner is) to drawe there out

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order of confeſſion. Whiche beyng afterwardes red unto Grene, was alſo ſubſcribed by hym, as a confirmation of his former aſſertions: The tenour whereof here enſueth.

¶The confeſſion and ſaiyng of Bartlet Grene.

A draught of M. Grenes confeſſion, gathered by the Bishops Regiſter.

BArtlet Grene borne in the citie of London, in the Pariſhe of Baſſynghall of the Dioces of London, and of the age of xxvi. yeres, beyng examined in the Biſhoppes palace there, the xxvii. daie of Nouember, anno. 1555. upon certaine articles aunſwered as followeth. Videlicet, that neither in the tyme of Kyng Edward, after that the Maſſe by hym was put doune, neither in the tyme of Quene Mary, after that the Maſſe was reſtored againe, he hath heard any Maſſe at all: but he ſaieth that in the raigne of the ſaid Queenes Maieſtie, he the ſaied Bartlet twoo tymes, to witte, at twoo Eaſter tides or daies, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the Preachers in Kyng Edwardes tyme, within the Pariſhe of ſainte Michaels in Cornhill, of the Dioces of London, did receiue the Communion with the ſaied Pulline, and Chriſtopher Goodman, ſometyme reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in Oxford, now gone beyonde the Sea, and the ſecond tyme with the ſaied Pulline with one Bunneger, maiſter of Arte of Magdalene Colledge in Oxforde: and this Examinate alſo ſaieth, that at bothe the ſaied Cōmunions he, and the other before named did take, and receiue bread and wine, whiche bread and wine he called Sacramentall breade, and Sacramentall wine, whiche he ſaieth were uſed there by them, Pullen onely readyng the wordes of the inſtitution, expreſſed in the booke of Communion.

Ex Regiſt.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

In whiche receiuyng and uſyng, this Examinate ſaieth, that the other afore named, did receiue the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and that thei receiued materiall breade, and materiall wine, no ſubſtaunce thereof chaunged, and ſo no reall preſence of the bodie and bloud of Chriſte there beyng, but onely grace added thereto. And further this Examinate ſaieth, that he hath heretofore, duryng the reigne of the Queenes Maieſtie aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo now doeth refuſe to come and heare Maſſe, and to receiue the Sacrament of the Aultar, as they are nowe uſed and miniſtred in this Churche of Englande, becauſe he ſaieth that concernyng the Maſſe, he can not be perſwaded in his cōſcience, that the ſacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreable to Gods worde, or maintainable by the ſame: or that without deadly offence, he can not worſhip the bodie and bloud of Chriſt, that is pretended to be there. And as concernyng the Sacrament of the Aultar, this Examinate ſaieth, that he heretofore duryng the ſaied raigne, hath refuſed, and now doeth refuſe to receiue the ſame, as it is nowe uſed in this Churche of Englande, becauſe it is not uſed, accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſte, but bothe in a ſtraunge tonge, and alſo not miniſtered in bothe kindes, and beſides that, contrary to Goddes worde it is there taught, that the thyng there miniſtred is to bee adored, as the reall and true body of Chriſt. And furthermore this Examinate ſaieth, that duryng the ſaied raigne, he hath not been confeſſed to the Prieſte, nor receiued abſolution at his handes, becauſe he is not bounde by Gods worde, to make auricular confeſſion.

M. Grene refuſing to heare Maſſe.

Sacrifice of the Maſſe not maintainable by Gods word.

M. Greene againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Auricular confeſſion refuſed.

Bartlet Grene.

Many other ſondrie cōferences, and publicke examinations they brought hym unto. But in the ende (ſeyng his ſtedfaſtneſſe of faith to be ſuche, as againſt the which, neither their threatnynges, nor yet their flatteryng promiſes could preuaile, the. xv. daie of January, the Biſhop cauſed hym with the reſt aboue named, to bee brought into the Conſiſtorie in Paules: where, beyng ſet in his Judgemente ſeate, accompanied with Fecknam, then Deane of the ſame Churche, and other his Chaplaines, after he had condemned the other ſixe he then called for Bartlet Grene, began with theſe or the like wordes.

Maiſter Grene with the other ſix Martyrs brought to the Conſiſtory.

B. Boners wordes to the audience.

Honourable audience, I thinke it beſt to open unto you, the conuerſation of this manne, called Bartlet Grene. And becauſe you ſhall not charge me, that I goe about to ſeeke any mannes bloude, here you ſhall heare the Counſelles letters, whiche they ſente with hym unto me. The effecte whereof is: that where he had been of long tyme in the Tower of Lōdon for hereſie, thei haue now ſent hym unto me to bee ordered, accordyng to the lawes therefore prouided. And now to thee Bartlet Grene I propoſe theſe ix. Articles. Then he read the Articles aboue mentioned, whiche were generally obiected to all theſe ſeuen priſoners, to wit, Thomas Whittel, John Tudſon, John Went, Thomas Browne, Iſabell Foſter, Joane Laſhforde, Bartlet Grene.

9. Articles ſet to M. Grene.

But when M. Grene would haue aunſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with promiſe that he ſhould haue tyme to aunſwere ſufficiently: and therfore the Biſhopps procedyng, ſaied that when Grene came firſte to his houſe, he deſired to haue the bookes of the auncient Doctors of the churche to read, whiche he ſaied he graunted hym.

M. Grene not ſuffered to aunſwere to the Articles.

Wherevnto Grene aunſwered and ſaid, that if the Doctours were with indifferent iudgement weighed, they made more a greate deale with hym, then they did with them.

Doctors read with indifferent iudgement, make more againſt the papiſtes, then with them.

Feck. Upon whiche wordes Fecknam Deane of Paules ſtoode up, and marueilyng why he ſaied ſo, aſked hym if he would be content, to ſtande to the iudgement of the Doctours.

Grene. Grene then ſaied, that he was contente, to ſtande to their Doctours iudgement.

Feck. I will then propounde unto you (qd. Feckn.) the Doctours, and interprete them your ſelf. So he alledged a place of Chryſoſtome, ad popul. Antioche. whiche was this: * Elias aſcendens melotem ſuum poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus verò aſcendens carnem ſuam aſſumpſit, & eandem poſt ſe reliquit: and he demaunded Grene, how he underſtoode the place.

Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch.

* I. Elias goyng up left his cloke behind him, but Chriſt aſcendyng up toke his fleſhe, and alſo left it behind him.

Grene. Then Grene praied hym that he would cōfer the Doctours saiynges together, and therefore alledged the ſame Doctour againe, writyng uppon the 1. Cor. 10. An non eſt panis, quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nō ne eſt Calix. &c. Whereby he proued that this Doctour called the Sacrament but a ſigne of the Lordes bodie. Many other wordes of probation and deniall were betwixt them.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 10.

I. Is not the bread which we bleſſe the communicatiō of the Lordes body.

Feck. At laſte Fecknam demaunded of hym, howe long he had been of this opinion? For M. Grene (ſaied he) you confeſſed once to me, that when you wer at Oxford at ſchoole, you were called the rankeſt Papiſt in that houſe, and beyng compelled to goe to the Lecture of Peter Martyr, you were conuerted from your olde doctrine.

M. Grene firſt a ranke Papiſt.

Grene And Grene confeſſed the ſame.

Feck. Then againe he ſaied, that Grene tolde hym that the ſaied Peter Martyr was a Papiſt at his firſt commyng to Oxford. Whereupō he made an exclamation, and praied the people to conſider, how vaine his doctrine that he profeſſed was, whiche was grounded upon one man, and that upon ſo unconſtant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiuing the wicked intent of the Counſell, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true and Catholicke faithe.

Untrue report of Peter Martyr.

Grene. Grene ſaied that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did beleue ſo becauſe Martyr beleued ỹ ſame, but becauſe that he had heard the Scriptures, and the Doctors of the churche truly and wholſomely expounded by hym: neither had he any regard of the man, but of the worde whiche he ſpake. And further he ſaied, that he heard the ſaied M. Peter ſaie often, that he had not as yet, while he was a Papiſte, read Chryſoſtome upon the x. to the Corinthes, nor many other places of the Doctours: but when he had read them, and well conſidered them, he was contente to yelde to the Doctours, hauyng firſte humbled hym ſelf in praier, deſiryng GOD to illuminate hym, and bryng hym to the true underſtandyng of the ſcripture. Whiche thyng (ſaied Grene) if you my Lorde would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and ſhewe you his truthe, no more then I doe doubt his wordes to bee true, that ſaieth: Aſke, and it ſhall bee giuen to you, knocke, and it ſhall bee opened unto you. &c.

Peter Martyr firſt turned frō popery to the truth, by prayer and readyng the Doctors.

Feck. Then Fecknam aſked hym, what he thought of this article: Sanctam eccleſiam catholicam?

Grene. And Grene aunſwered, that he did beleue one holie and uniuerſall Churche throughout all the worlde.

One holy Catholike church.

Feck. Then Fecknam ſaied, that he would faine haue a ſure marke and token, whereby he might knowe this Churche, and therefore he praied Grene, to define unto hym this Churche.

Grene. Grene aunſwered, that his Churche did agree

True markes of the church.

gree in veritie of the true doctrine of Chꝛiſt, and was knowen by the true adminiſtration of his ſacramentes,

Diſagrement noted amongſt pꝛofeſſoꝛs of the Goſpell, by Fecknam.

Feck. Whereupon Fecknam ſaied, that he would pꝛoue the Churche whereof he was, to be neuer agreeyng in doctrine, but alwaies to haue been in controuerſie in their religiõ. Foꝛ (ſaid he) Luther and Zwinglius, could neuer agree in their wꝛityngs oꝛ ſaiynges, noꝛ Oecolampadius with Caroloſtadius, noꝛ Caroloſtadius with either Zwinglius oꝛ Luther. &c. foꝛ Luther, wꝛityng vpon the Sacramente of the aultar, ſaied: that in hoc pane vel ſub hoc pane corpus domini accipimus: and Zwinglius controllyng hym ſaied: that ſub ſigno panis corpus domini accipimus: and the other controlled hym in like caſe.

The Goſpellers in woꝛdes ſeeme to diſſent, but in effect do agree with the woꝛd.

Grene. Then M. Grene pꝛoued their opinions of the Sacramente to bee one in effecte, beyng rightly weighed: and though their woꝛdes did not ſounde all one, yet they meant one thing, and their opinions were all one, as he pꝛoued by diuers other examples.

Feckn. Then Fecknam deſired hym that he would not ſo wilfully caſte hym ſelf awaie, but to bee rather confoꝛmable to reaſon, and that my Loꝛde Biſhoppe there pꝛeſente, would bee good vnto hym, and would graunt hym reſpite (if he would demaũde it) foꝛ a foꝛtnight, oꝛ thꝛee weekes, and that he ſhould chooſe any learned manne whom he would, and ſhould goe with hym home to his houſe, and that he whom he would chooſe, would willyngly take the paines to reade and conferre the Doctoꝛs with hym, and open the Doctoꝛs myndes and meanynges vnto hym.

Boner foꝛbiddeth M. Grene to be called Maſter.

Boner. Then Boner ſaid, that he was pꝛoude and an obſtinate boye, and therefoꝛe he badde Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call hym no moꝛe M. Grene: foꝛ (ſaied he) you ought not to call an hereticke maiſter.

Note the blind ignoꝛance of Pendleton, as though ẏ kingdome of Chꝛiſt was not gotten at the death of Chꝛiſt.

Pendle. After this, Doctour Pendleton alledged to hym this text out of the .xxij. of Luke: Ex hoc non mãducabo illud, donec impleatur in regno Dei. Here (ſaied he) you muſt confeſſe your opinion to bee falſe, els you muſte ſaie that Chꝛiſte was a lier: foꝛ Chꝛiſte ſaied: I will eate no moꝛe of this, while it be fulfilled in my fathers kyngdome. If Chꝛiſt did eate no moꝛe the bꝛead when he ſpake theſe woꝛdes, then muſt you ſaie that he was a lier, foꝛ he did eate bꝛeade after with his Diſciples befoꝛe he aſcended. But if you ſaie he did eate his bodie then, and after but bꝛeade, it will not agree with the Scriptures, noꝛ with good reaſon.

Grene. Then Grene aunſwered and ſaied, that this was ſpoken by anticipation, as one of their owne Biſhops (whiche is now dead) did ſaie.

This Byſhop belike was the Byſhop of Wincheſt.

Pendle. Then Doctour Pendleton ſaied, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, noꝛ no ſufficient aunſwere foꝛ hym in this caſe: foꝛ (ſaied he) it is wel knowen that that Biſhop was of a cõtrary opinion to you, and that he died a good chꝛiſtian man.

Grene. To whiche woꝛdes Grene ſaied: I doe not call hym to witneſſe in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient manne, to pꝛoue my ſaiyng to bee true in this matter: but I doe alledge hym againſte you, as Paule did the ſcripture, whiche he found grauen in the aultar of the Athenians againſt them ſelues, ignoto Deo.

In the old tyme excommunication was the greateſt penaltie in matters of faith and cõſcience.

These with many other woꝛdes, were betwene them, whiche I doe ouerpaſſe, becauſe it were to longe to ſtande vpon recitall of euery thyng. Laſte of all the Biſhop aſked hym if he would recant. He ſaied naye, he would not. But my loꝛde (ſaied he) in old tyme there were no menne put to death foꝛ their conſcience, vntill ſuche tyme as Biſhops founde the meanes to make it death, to beleue contrarie to them: but excommunication (my Loꝛde) was the greateſt penaltie, whiche men had foꝛ their conſcience: yea, in ſo muche that S. Auguſtine wꝛote, and commaunded that no man ſhould be put to death foꝛ his opinion.

Boner. Then Boner ſaid, that when S. Auguſtine ſawe, what inconueniences followed of that commaundement, he wꝛote again to the Tempoꝛall rulers, commaundyng them to puniſhe their bodies alſo.

Grene. But, ſaied Grene, he had not put them to death.

Boner. He had puniſhe them, q Boner.

Grene. Yea, ſaied Grene, but not put thẽ to death.

Bo. That thei ſhould be puniſhed, q Boner again.

Sentẽce geuen agaynſt M. Grene.

This talke ended, he aſked Grene if he woud recante, and retourne to their Romiſhe mother. Whiche when he denied, the Biſhoppe pꝛonounced the ſentence diffinitiue againſte hym, and ſo committed hym to the Sheriffes of London, who cauſed hym to bee carried to Newgate.

The woꝛdes of Maſter Grene to his freindes by ẏ way going to Newgate.

And as he was goyng thether, there met hym twoo gentlemen, beyng bothe his eſpeciall frendes, myndyng belike to comfoꝛte this their perſecuted bꝛother: but at their metyng, their louyng and frendly hartes (not able any longer to hide them ſelues) were manifeſted by the aboundaunce of their pitifull teares. To whom, when Grene ſawe them, he ſaied in theſe oꝛ like woꝛdes: Ah my freindes, is this your comfoꝛte ye are come to giue me, in this my occaſion of heauineſſe? Muſt I, who needed to haue comfoꝛte miniſtred to me, become nowe a comfoꝛter of you? And thus declaryng his moſte quiet and peaceable mynde and conſcience, he chearefully ſpake to them and others, vntill he came to the pꝛiſon dooꝛe, into the whiche he ioyfully entered, and there remained alwaies either in pꝛaier (whereunto he muche gaue hym ſelf) oꝛ els in ſome other godlie meditations and exerciſes, vnto the .xxvij. daie of January, when he with his other aboue mentioned bꝛethꝛen wente moſte chearefully vnto the place of their toꝛmentes, often repeatyng, as well by the waie, as alſo at the ſtake, theſe Latine verſes followyng.

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis,
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

Verſes of M. Grene wꝛitten in his frendes booke.

In Engliſhe thus.

O Chꝛiſt my God, ſure hope of health,
beſides thee haue I none:
The truthe I loue, and falſehoode hate,
by thee my guide alone.

Duryng the tyme of his impꝛiſonmente in Newegate, diuers of his freindes had acceſſe vnto hym, to whom he gaue ſundꝛie godlie exhoꝛtations: wherewith they were not onely well contented, but foꝛ better remembꝛaunce, aſwel of the ſame his inſtructions, as alſo of his owne good and godlie perſone, they deſired hym to wꝛite ſomwhat in their bookes, whiche requeſt he willyngly graunted, as in maner here enſueth.

¶These verſes were written in a booke of maiſter Huſſey of the Temple.

Behold thy ſelf by me, ſuche one was I, as thou:
And thou in time ſhalt be, euen duſt as I am now.
Bartlet Grene.

¶These verſes were alſo written in a booke of maiſter Willyam Fletewood, of the ſame houſe.

My reſting roote is found, vain hope and hap adew,
Lout whõ you liſt to change, death ſhall me rid frõ you.
Bartlet Grene.

Emonges other diuers and ſingular good vertues of this good manne, eſpecially in hym was to be noted ſuche a modeſt nature, ſo humbly thinkyng of hym ſelf, as in fewe men is to be founde, euer deiectyng hym ſelf vnder that was in him, and euer ſeming to be leſſe then he was, ſo that nothyng leſſe he could abide, then to heare of his pꝛaiſe oꝛ commendation: as well declareth not onely his letter written to M. Philpot, wherein he doeth earneſtly expoſtulate with hym, foꝛ ſclaunderyng him with pꝛaiſe of his wit and learnyng, and other manifolde vertues of greate excellencie, but alſo by his owne ſpeache and aunſweres in his examinatiõ wherein he caſteth frõ hym all knowledge of learnyng and cunnyng, when notwithſtandyng he had moꝛe in hym, then to any mennes eyes did appeare.

The ſingular modeſty, and humble nature of M. Grene.

So great and admirable was this gift of modeſty grafted in the nature of hym, ſo farre abhoꝛryng from all pꝛide and arrogancie, that as he could not abide any thyng that was ſpoken to his aduauncemente oꝛ pꝛaiſe: ſo neither did there appeare in hym any ſhewe of bꝛagge in thoſe thinges wherein he might iuſtly gloꝛy, whiche were his puniſhmentes and ſufferynges foꝛ the cauſe and quarell of Chꝛiſt. Foꝛ when he was beaten and ſkourged with roddes by Biſhop Boner (whiche ſcarſe any man would beleue, noꝛ I neither, but that I heard it of hym, whiche heard it of his mouthe) and he greatly reioyced in the ſame, yet his ſhamefaſt modeſtie was ſuche, that neuer he would expꝛeſſe any mention thereof, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to gloꝛie to muche in himſelf, ſaue ẏ only he opened the ſame to one M. Cotten of the Tẽple a frẽde of his, a little befoꝛe his death.

The pitifull nature of M. Grene.

Moꝛeouer, to this rare and maidenlie modeſtie in hym, was alſo adioyned the like nature of mercie and pitifull compaſſion: whiche affectiõ though it ſemed to be little regarded of ſome, yet in my minde is there no other thing wꝛought in nature, wherin man reſembleth moꝛe truely the Image of the high maieſtie of almighty

tie God, then this. And as in this reſpecte of mercifull tenderneſſe, manne onely excelleth all other beaſtes: ſo almoſte no leſſe maie this manne ſeme to paſſe many other menne, whoſe cuſtomable propertie and exerciſe was to viſite the poore priſoners with hym in priſon, bothe with bodily relief, and alſo with ſpirituall comfort: and findyng many of them (I meane ſuche as wer there for thefte, and other naughtie factes) verie penitent and ſorie for their euill demeanours, in hope of their amendemente, did not onely by mouthe, but alſo by his letters require, yea, as it were of duetie in loue, did charge his frendes, to trauaile for their deliuerances: ſuche was the pitie and charitable mercie of this godlie and moſte true mēber of Chriſtes churche: as appeareth by this letter here followyng.

¶ To my verie louyng friendes and Maiſters, M. Goryng, M. Femeham, M. Fletewode, M. Ruſewell. M. Bell, M. Huſſey, M. Calthrop, M. Boyer, and other my Maiſters of the Temple, Bartlet Grene wiſheth healthe of bodie and ſoule.

A letter of M. Bartlet Grene to certeine of his louing friendes in the Temple.

VErie friendes are they, whiche are knitte together with the knotte of Charitie. Charitie doeth not decaie, but increaſe in them that dye faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be abſente in bodie, yet are wee preſent in the ſpirite, coupled together with the vnitie of faithe in the bonde of peace, whiche is loue. How is he worthy the name of a freinde, that meaſureth his frendſhip with the diſtaunce of place, or partyng of perſones? If thy frende bee out of ſighte, is thy frendſhip ended? If he be gone into the countrey, wilt thou ceaſe to loue him? If he be paſſed the ſeas, will you ſo forſake him? If he be caried into heauen, is charitie hindred thereby? On the one ſyde wee haue the vſe of the fathers from the primatiue church, that gaue thankes for their friendes that died in the faithe, to proue that charitie died not with death. On the other ſide (ſaieth Horace) Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

What true frendſhip is.

True friendſhip is not meaſured by diſtāce of place or of perſons.

What ſpeake I of Horace? Saieth not ſainct Paule the ſame thyng? For we are mēbers of his bodie, of his fleſhe, and of his bloud, yea, wee are members one of an other. Is the hande or arme, foote or legge a member, when it is diſſeuered from the bodie? How can we bee members, except we be ioyned together? What is the line that coupleth vs, but loue? When all thinges ſhall faile, loue faileth neuer. Hope hath his ende, when we gette that wee hoped for. Faithe is finiſhed in heauen, loue endureth for euer: Loue (I ſaie) that proceedeth of charitie, for carnall loue, when that whiche he loued is loſte, doeth periſhe with the fleſhe. Neither was that euer but fleſhely loue, whiche by diſtaunce of place, or ſeueryng of bodies, is parted aſunder. If loue bee the ende or ſumme of the lawe, if heauen & yearth ſhall periſhe, if one iote of Gods woorde ſhall not decaie, why would we thinke that loue laſteth not euer.

Loue onely coupleth together.

Al other things fayle, loue onely endureth for euer.

I neede not to write muche to you my frendes, neither can I haue laiſure now that the keepers are riſen: but this I ſaie: if we keepe Chriſtes commaundement in louyng eche other, as he loued vs, then ſhould our loue bee euerlaſtyng. This frendſhip Paule felt when it moued him to ſaie, that neither length nor bredth (meanyng no diſtance of place) neither height nor depth ſhould ſeuere hym from the loue of Chriſt. Waigh well this place, and meete it with Paules meaſures: ſo ſhall wee finde, that if our loue be vnfained, it can neuer bee ended. Now maie you ſaie, why writeſt thou this? Certes to the ende that if our frendſhip bee ſtable, you maie accompliſhe this the laſt requeſt of your freinde, and performe after my death the friendſhip we began in our life, that amitie maie encreaſe vntill God make it perfecte at our nexte meetyng together.

Loue vnfayned neuer endeth.

Maſter Fletewood, I beſeche you remember Wittrāce and Cooke, twoo ſingular men amongeſt common priſoners, M Fernham & M. Bell, with M. Huſſey (as I hope) will diſpatch Palmer and Richardſon with his companions. I praie you M. Calthrop thinke on Iohn Groue, an honeſt poore man, Trafford, and Rice Aprice his accomplices. My coſin Thomas Witton (a Scriuener in Lōberdſtreete) hath promiſed to further their deliuery: at the leaſt he can inſtruct you whiche waie to worke. I doubt not but that M. Boyer will labor for the good wife Cooper (for ſhe is worthy to be holpen) & Berard the Frenchman. There bee alſo diuers other well diſpoſed menne, whoſe deliueraunce if ye will not labour for: yet I humbly beſeche you to ſeeke their relief, as you ſhal ſe cauſe, namely of Henry Aprice, Lancelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockyngham, a yonge man of goodlie giftes in witte and learnyng, and (ſauyng that he is ſomwhat wilde) likely to doe well hereafter. There bee alſo twoo women, Conyngham and Alice Alexander that maie proue honeſte. For theſe and all other poore priſoners, here I make this my humble ſute, and praier to you all my maiſters, & eſpecially good frendes, beſechyng you of all bondes of amitie, for the precious bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, in the bowelles of mercie: to tender the cauſes of miſerable captiues: helpe to clothe Chriſte, viſite the afflicted, comfort the ſorowfull, and releue the needy. The verie God of peace guide your hartes to haue mercie on the poore, and loue faithfully together, Amen. This preſent Monday, when I looke to dye, and liue for euer.

The ſute of M. Grene for the ſauing of certeine poore priſoners in Newgate.

Yours as euer Bartlet Grene.

¶ An other letter of M. Grene to Maiſtres Elizabeth Clarke.

An other letter of Bartlet Grene to Maiſtres Elizabeth Clarke.

WOuld God (if it were his pleaſure) that with this letter I might ſende you my harte and mynde, & whatſoeuer there is in me els, that pertaineth vnto God: So ſhould I thinke it the beſte meſſage, and happieſt letter that euer I could write. But though I obtaine not my deſire, yet ſhall I not ceace with continuall praier to labour for you, deſiryng almightie God to encreaſe that, which he hath long ſith begunne in you, of ſober life, and earneſt zeale towardes his religion. In faithe (as ſaieth ſainct Paule) She that is a true widowe and frendleſſe, putteth her truſt in God, cōtinuyng daie and night in ſupplicatiō and praier: but ſhe that liueth in pleaſure is dead, euen yet aliue. And verely a true widowe is ſhe that hath maried Chriſte, forſakyng the vanities of the worlde, and luſte of the fleſhe. For as the maried woman careth how to loue, pleaſe, and ſerue her houſeband: ſo ought the widowe to geue all her hart and ſoule, thoughtes and woordes, ſtudies and labours: faithfully to loue God, vertuouſly to bryng vp her children and houſholde, and diligentely to prouide for the poore and oppreſſed. Therfore ſainct Paule firſt inſtructeth a widowe howe to behaue her ſelf, that is: Not to liue in pleaſure, then to watche vnto praier, as the onely meanes to obtaine all our deſires, ſtedfaſtly laiyng vp all our truſt in God, as Dauid right well ſaieth: Firſt eſchew euill, then doe good. Of Anna the praiſe was written, that ſhe neuer went out of the Temple, but ſerued God with faſtyng and praier night and daie: ſo well had ſhe eſpouſed Chriſt. Iudith ware a ſmocke of heare, continuyng in faſtyng, and had good report of all men. The next care that belongeth to a widowe, is that ſhe bryng vp her children and houſholde godlie, in the nourture and information of the Lorde, Whereof Saincte Paule ſaieth: If any haue children or Nephewes, let them learne firſte to rule their own houſe godlie, and to recompence their elders. The incontinencie and coueteouſnes of Phinees and Ophny, not corrected by Ely their father, prouoked Gods vengeaunce vpon hym, and all his kinred. The ouer tender loue of Abſolon, expelled Dauid frō his kingdome, The vnrebuked ſynnes of Ammon encouraged Abſolon to ſlea his brother: moſte manifeſt examples againſte the parentes, for the offences of their children. Contrariwiſe, howe greatly might Hannah reioyce ouer Samuel her ſonne, whō ſhe had brought vp in the houſe of the Lord: What thākes might Tobias wife giue for her ſonne Toby? How happie was Salomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan? But aboue all widowes, thriſe bleſſed was the happie mother of the ſeuen ſonnes, that ſo had inſtructed them by the feare of God, that by no tormentes they would ſhrincke from the loue of his truthe? Of the laſte parte ſaincte Paule ſheweth that a widowe ſhould be choſen, If ſhe haue nouriſhed her children, if ſhe haue been liberall to ſtraungers, if ſhe haue waſhed the ſainctes feete, and if ſhe haue miniſtred to them in aduerſitie. Herein it is euident how earneſtly ſainct Paul would haue widowes bent towardes the poore, for that (as though they onely had been therefore meete) he appointed onely widowes to miniſter to the Sainctes, and to gather for the poore. Which vſe alſo cōtinued, almoſt throughout the primitiue Church, that widowes had the charge, and gatheryng for poore men and ſtraungers.

1. Timoth. 5.
1. Corin. 5.
1. Timoth. 5.
Pſalme 34.
Luke. 2.
Iudith. 8.
Epheſians. 6.
1. Timoth. 5.
1. Reg. 2.
2. Reg. 15.
1. Reg. 3.
2. Reg. 13.
3. Reg 1.
2. Mach. 7.
1. Timo. 5.

The office and exerciſe of chriſten widowes in the primatiue Church.

Of your neighbours I nede not to put you in remembraunce, ſeeyng you daiely feede them with good hoſpitalitie, by whiche meanes alſo many foreners are of you relieued: but of the poore almes houſes, and miſerable priſoners here in London, many lackyng their liber-

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ty without cauſe, ſome vnder the colour of religiō, ſome only kept for fees, and ſome on priuate mens diſpleaſure. Alas that Chriſt ſo hungreth, and no man will feede him: is ſo ſore oppreſt with thirſt, and no man will geue hym to drinke: deſtitute of all lodgyng, & not relieued: naked, and not cloathed: ſicke, and not viſited: impriſoned, and not ſeene. In time paſt men could beſtowe large ſummes of money on copes, veſtimentes, and ornamentes of the church. Why rather folow we not *S. Ambroſes example, which ſold the ſame to the reliefe of the poore, or Chryſoſtomes commaundement, which willeth firſt to decke and garniſh the liuyng temple of God? But alas, ſuche is the wickednes of theſe our laſt dayes, that nothing moueth vs: neither the pure doctrine, the godlines of life, nor good examples of the aunciēt fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they haue written any thyng that ſerueth for ſectes and diſſenſion, that wil their charitable children embrace, publiſhe and maintaine with Sworde, Fagot and Fire. But all in vaine: they ſtriue againſt the ſtreame. For though in deſpite of the truth, by force of the oeres of craftie perſwaſion, they may bryng them ſelues into the hauen of hell: yet can they not make all menne beleue, that the bankes moue whileſt the ſhippe ſayleth, nor euer ſhall be able to turne the direct courſe of the ſtreame of Gods truth. Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt ſtrengthen you in all pure doctrine and vpright liuyng, and geue your grace, vertuouſly to bring vp your children and family, and carefullie to prouide for the poore and oppreſſed, Amen. At Newgate the 20. of Ianuary. An. 1556.

Your aſſured, Bartlet Grene.

* Saint Ambroſe tooke frō the church, and gaue to ẏ poore: wee take from the poore theyr tithes and impropriations, and geue them to churches & miniſters where is nothing but ſinging, and ſhewes.

¶An other certayne writyng of M. Bartlet Greene.

An other certaine writing of M. Bartlet Grene.

BEtter is the day of death (ſaith Salomon) then the day of birth. Man that is borne of womā, liueth but a ſhort time, & is repleniſhed with many miſeries: but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is borne in trauell, to liue in miſery. Man through Chriſt, doth die in ioy, and liue in felicity. He is borne to die, & dieth to liue. Straight as he cōmeth in the world, with cries he vttereth his miſerable eſtate: ſtraight as he departeth, with ſonges he praiſeth god for euer. Scarce yet in his Cradle. iij. deadly enemies aſſault him: after death no aduerſary may annoy him. Whileſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth God: when he is dead hee fulfilleth his will. In this life here hee dieth through ſinne: in the life to come he liueth in righteouſnes. Through many tribulatiōs in earth he is ſtil purged: with ioy vnſpeakeable in heauē is he made pure for euer. Here he dieth euery houre: there he liueth continuallye. Here is ſinne: there is righteouſnes. Here is time: there is eternity. Here is hatred: there is loue. Here is paine: there is pleaſure. Here is miſery: there is felicity. Here is corruptiō: there is immortality. Here we ſee vanity: there ſhal we behold the Maieſty of God, with triūphant and vnſpeakeable ioy in glory euerlaſting. Seeke therfore the things that are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God the father: vnto whō with the ſonne and the holy ghoſt, be all honor and glory, world without ende. Amen

Yours in Chriſt, Bartlet Greene.

Diuers other letters and matters there were beſide whiche this ſeruaunt of God did write, as namely certaine notes and extractes in Latin out of the Doctors and other authours for his memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the ſearching and knowledge of the lawe of God, although his profeſſion was the temporall law. Where I would to God, hee were not among the lawyers ſuch a phenix that he had very fewe or no fellowes to flye with hym, or to followe his ſteppes. But GOD is to be praiſed, that although we read of fewe or none among that ſorte that dyed as hee did: yet good wittes do ſpring vp daily of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuche towardnes and Godly zeale, that ſome hope already appeareth, ſhortly to come to paſſe, ẏ thys godly Phenix ſhal not flie alone. Theſe foreſaid notes and gatherings of his out of the Doctours, were takē from hym by Boner, beeyng found about hym, whiche was to him no little griefe. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, whiche was the. xv. date of January, and afterwarde burned with the other Martyrs, the. 27. of the ſame moneth.

A commendation of Lawers.

3. *Thomas Browne, Martyr.*

Ex Regiſt.

Tho. Browne, Martyr.

January 27.

THomas Browne, borne in the pariſh of Hiſton, within the Dioces of Elye, came afterwarde to London, where he dwelled in the pariſhe of S. Brides in Fleteſtrete, a maried mā, of ẏ age of 37. yeres: who becauſe he came not to his pariſh church was preſented by the Conſtable of the Pariſh to Boner. As touching whoſe articles, wherupon he was examined by the ſaid Boner, with his anſweres alſo annexed to the ſame, mention goeth before, as in the generall proceſſe of him and of the reſt, may appeare. This Thomas Browne being had to Fulhā, with the other there to be examined, was required vpon Thurſeday, beyng the. xxvi. daye of September, to come into the Chappel to heare Maſſe, which he refuſing to do went into the warren, and there kneled among the trees. For this hee was greatlye charged of the Biſhop, as for an hainous matter, becauſe hee ſaid it was done in deſpite and contempt of their Maſſe: which ſeemed to the Biſhop and his Chaplaines no ſmall offence. At length being producted to his laſt examination before the ſaid Biſhop, xv. daye of January, there to here the ſentence diffinitiue againſt him, firſt he was required with many faire wordes and gloſing promiſes to reuoke his doctrine, to whom the foreſaid Biſhoppe ſpeakyng theſe wordes, ſaide: Browne, ye haue beene before me many tymes and oft, and I haue trauailed with thee, to winne thee from thyne errours: yet thou and ſuche like haue and doe report that I go about to ſeeke thy bloud. &c.

Tho. Browne preſented by ẏ Conſtable of Saint Brides.

Browne kneeleth amōg the trees at the Maſſe time.

B. Boners wordes to Tho. Browne.

To whom the ſaid Thomas Browne aunſwered againe: yea my Lord (ſaid he) in deede ye be a bloudſucker, and I would I had as much bloud, as is water in the Sea, for you to ſucke.

B. Boner charged to be a bloudſucker.

Boner then proceeding to the articles, when he had red them vnto him again, as he had done diuers tymes before, aſked him whether he was content and willing to relinquiſh thoſe his hereſies and erroneous opiniōs (as he called them) and returne againe vnto the vnitie of the catholike faith. Wherunto he made aunſwere againe, ſaiyng: if they were hereſies, hee would forſake thē. They be hereſies (quoth the Biſhop.) How will ye proue it, ſaid Browne? for I will not goe from myne aunſweres, except you can proue them to be hereſies, which ye ſhal neuer do. For that which you cal hereſie, is no hereſie. With that Boner not able, or els not diſpoſed to ſupply the part of a ſufficient teacher, in prouing that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the ſcripture, went about with wordes and promiſe of pardon, to allure him to renounce thoſe his hereſies, as he called them, and to returne vnto the vnitie of his mother the Catholicke church. &c.

The aunſwere of Thomas Browne to Biſhop Boner.

To whom the ſaid Thomas inferred againe, as foloweth: Proue it (ſaid he) to be hereſie, that I do holde and maintaine, and I will turne to you. But you condemne me, becauſe I will not confeſſe and beleue the bread in the Sacrament of the aultar (as you cal it) to be the body of Chriſte, and therefore ye ſpill mine and ſuche like innocentes bloud, beeyng the Queenes true ſubiectes, for which you ſhall aunſwere, & that ſhortly.

After this beyng ſpoken, Boner as hee had done to the other before, red in writing the ſentence diffinitiue againſte him. The copie and forme of whiche ſentence wherwith the Papiſts were wont to condemne all the innocent ſainctes of Chriſt, is aboue expreſſed, pa. 417. And ſo this done hee was committed to the Shiriffes to be had awaie, and burned the. xxvii. day of the ſaide moneth of January, conſtantly abidyng, with the other, the Popes tormentes for the true confeſſion of his Chriſtian faith.

Sentence read agaynſt Thom. Browne.

4. *Iohn Tudſon Martyr.*

John Tudſon, Martyr.

January 27.

THe ſame date and time, when the foreſaid John Browne, with his felowes was condemned (as is aboue rehearſed) beyng the xv. daye of January was alſo producted John Tudſon with the reſt of the ſaid company, vnto the like condemnation. This John Tudſon was borne in Ipſwich in the County of Suffolke, after that apprentiſe in London, dwellyng with one George Goodyere of the pariſh of S. Mary Botulph, within the dioces of London, who beeing complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and D. Story, was by thē ſent vnto Boner biſhop of London, and was diuers times before him in examination.

The Articles and interrogatories miniſtred vnto hym, as vnto the reſt, before are ſpecified, with his anſweres alſo to the ſame annexed. &c. After this he was brought vnto the open Conſiſtory: where the ſaid bleſſed and true ſeruaunt of the Lorde John Tudſon, appearing before the ſaid biſhop and his complices, was moued with ſondry perſwaſions (as their maner is) to

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The conſtant perſiſting of Joh, Tudſon.

go from his opinion (which they named hereſy) and to perſiſt in the vnity of the Church whiche they were of, but he conſtauntlie perſiſting in that whiche he had receiued by the Preachers in king Edwardes time, refuſed ſo to doe, ſaiyng there was no hereſie in his aunſweres. For I (ſaide he) defie all hereſie. The Biſhop yet ſtill vſed his olde accuſtomed perſwaſions to remoue hym, promiſing moreouer all his offences and errours, (as hee called them) to bee forgeuen hym, if hee would returne. &c. Then ſaid Tudſon: Tell me wherin I haue offended, And I will returne. Then ſaid the Biſhop: In your aunſweres. No, ſaid Tudſon again, I haue not therein offended: and ye, my Lord pretend charitie, but nothing therof appeareth in your workes. Thus after a few wordes the Biſhop did likewiſe promulgate againſt him ſentence of condemnation, which beyng red, the Godly and conſtaunt Martyr was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo with much patience finiſhed this life with the other aboue named, the .xxvii. daie of January.

Sentence read agaynſt John Tudſon.

5. Iohn Went Martyr.

John Went, Martyr.

January 27.

IOhn Went borne in Langham in Eſſex, within the Dioces of London, of the age of .27. and a Sherman by occupation, firſt was examined (as partly is touched before) by Doctor Story vpon the Sacrament of his Popiſh Aultar, and becauſe the poore man did not accord with him throughly in the reall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſte, the ſaied Storie did ſend hym vp to Boner Biſhop of London. Who likewiſe after diuers examinations vppon the Articles aforeſaid in the Conſiſtory, attempted the like maner of perſuaſions with him, as he did with the other to recant and returne. To whom in fewe wordes the ſaide Went aunſwered again, he would not, but that by the leaue of God, he would ſtande firme and conſtaunt in that he had ſaide. And when the Biſhop yet notwithſtandyng did ſtill vrge and call vpon hym with wordes and fayre gloſes, to geue ouer hym ſelfe to their opinion, hee could haue no other aunſwere of him but this: No, I ſay as I haue ſaid. &c. Wherupon beyng condemned by the biſhops ſentence, he was committed vnto the Sheriffes (whō that ſhameles ſhauelyng at that tyme abuſed for his ſeruile Butchers) and ſo brought to his Martyrdome, whiche he with no leſſe conſtancie ſuffered to the ende with the reſt of that bleſſed ſocietie of Martyrs aboue named.

John Went withſtandeth the Byſhops perſuaſions.

John Went cōdemned.

6. Iſabell Foſter, Martyr.

Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.

January 27.

WIth theſe fiue perſons aboue recited and condemned, were alſo twoo women in the foreſaide companie condemned the ſame tyme, and likewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe, the one a wife called Iſabell Foſter, the other a maide named Ioane Warne, or otherwiſe Laſhford.

Iſabell Foſter conſtant in cōfeſſing Chriſtes Goſpell,

This foreſaid Iſabell was borne in Grakeſtocke in the Dioces of Carlill, and afterwarde maried to one John Foſter Cutler, of the Pariſhe of S. Brides in Fleteſtrete, beyng of the age of lv. yeares. She likewiſe for not commyng vnto the Church, beyng ſent vnto Boner, and ſo impriſoned, was ſondry tymes examined by the ſaide Biſhop, but neuer ouercome, nor remoued from the conſtaunt confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell. At length commyng vnto her finall examination before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory the xv. daie of the ſaid moneth of January, ſhe was moued againe, whether ſhe woulde yet goe from her former aunſweres. Whereunto ſhe gaue a reſolute aunſwere in few wordes: I wil not (ſaith ſhe) go from them by Gods grace: and thereunto did adhere, neither beeyng caſte downe by the manacyng threates of the Biſhoppe, nor yet yeldyng through his alluryng enticementes, promiſing both life and libertie if ſhe woulde aſſociate her ſelfe in the vnitie of the Catholicke Churche. Whereunto ſhe ſaid againe in this wiſe, that ſhe truſted ſhe was neuer out of the Catholicke Churche. &c. and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtaunt, till the ſentence diffinitiue was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by the commaundement of the Biſhoppe to the ſecular power, and ſo brought a fewe daies after to the ſtake, the 27. daie of the foreſaid moneth: where ſhe like a faithfull witnes of the Lordes truthe (with the other fiue aforeſaid) ended her troubles here, to finde a better reſt in the kingdome of Chriſte our Sauiour.

The wordes of Iſabell Foſter at her laſte examination,

Iſabell Foſter condemned.

7 Ioane Laſhford, alias Ioane Warne, Martyr.

Ioane Laſhford alias, Ioane Warne, Martyr.

January 27.

IN a certaine place of theſe Actes and Monumentes heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, pag. 1608. col. 1. who with her houſbande John Warne (as is aforeſaid) in the beginnyng of Queene Maries Reigne was apprehended in Bowe Churchyarde for beeyng there at a Communion: and bothe ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the man in the moneth of May, then the wife in July after: & now the daughter in the moneth of January followed her Parentes in the ſame Martyrdome. Furthermore in the ſame place and page mencion was made alſo of Doct. Storie: who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat neare vnto the ſaid parties, either in kyndred or alliaunce, albeit as I vnderſtād ſince of ſome, there was no kindred betwene them, but only that ſhe was his ſeruaunt. Yet notwithſtandyng the ſaid Doctor Storie (as it is aboue ſpecified) before hee was Commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the parties to Doctour Martine then Commiſſioner: but afterward being placed in commiſſion hymſelfe, ſo farre forgate himſelfe and his old ſeruaunt, that he became no ſmal procurer of their deathes. I will not here expoſtulate with the harde hart of that man, nor with his inconſtancie: Who yet notwithſtandyng, after hee had brought them to death, was reſted him ſelfe for .lx. pound, charged with dette in their behalfe: whiche if it be true, it maye thereby appeare that hee was in ſome peece of kindred ioyned or allied vnto them. But leauyng that perſon vnto the good pleaſure of the Lorde, let vs returne vnto that we haue in hand.

D. Story firſt interceſſor for John Warne & his daughter, & afterward the cheefeſt perſecutor agaynſt them.

Ioane Laſhford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

This Ioane Laſhforde borne in the Pariſhe of litle Hallowes in Thames ſtreete, was the daughter of one Robert Laſhforde Cutler, and of the foreſaid Elizabeth, who afterward was maried to John Warne vpholſter, who (as is ſaid) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of GOD, to the burnyng fire: and after him his wife, & after her this Ioane Laſhford their daughter. Who about the age of twentie yeares, miniſtring to her Father and mother in priſon, ſuſpected and knowen to bee of the ſame doctrine and religion, was ſent vp to Boner Biſhoppe of London by Doctour Storie (as is aboue in her aunſweres to the articles declared) and ſo committed to the Counter in the Poultrie, where ſhe remained the ſpace of fiue weekes, and from thence had to Newgate, where ſhe continued the ſpace of certaine monethes.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

The confeſſion of Ioane before the Byſhop.

After that, remainyng priſoner in the cuſtodie of the ſaid Boner, her confeſſion was, being examined, that the whole .xii. Moneth before and more, ſhe came vnto no Popiſhe Maſſe, Seruice in the Churche, neither would do, either to receiue the Sacrament of the Aultar, or to be confeſſed, becauſe her conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to doe, confeſſyng and proteſtyng that in the Sacrament of the aultar, there is not the real preſence of Chriſtes bodye and bloud, nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution after the Popiſhe ſort, was neceſſary, nor the Maſſe to be good or according vnto the Scripture, but ſaide that both the ſaide Sacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the Maſſe, with all other their ſuperfluous Sacramentes, ceremonies and Diuine ſeruice as then vſed in this Realme of Englande, were moſt vile and contrarie to Chriſtes woordes and inſtitution, ſo that neither they were at the begynnyng, nor ſhall be at the latter ende. This Godly Damoſell feble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by grace in this her Confeſſion and Faith, ſtoode ſo firme, that neither the flatteryng promiſes, nor the violent threates of the Biſhops could turne her, but beyng moued and exhorted by the Biſhoppe to returne to the Catholicke vnitie of the Churche, ſaith boldly to hym againe: if ye will leaue of your abomination, ſo I will returne, and otherwiſe I will not.

Superfluous and Popiſh ceremonies.

The worthy conſtancie of a mayde.

The wordes of Joane Laſhford at here laſt examination.

Whereupon the Biſhop yet againe promiſed her Pardon of all her errours (as hee called them) if ſhee would bee conformed. To this ſhe aunſwered agayne, ſaiyng vnto the Biſhop: Doe as it pleaſeth you, and I praie GOD that you maie doe that whiche may pleaſe God.

The Sentence and condemnation of Ioane Laſhford.

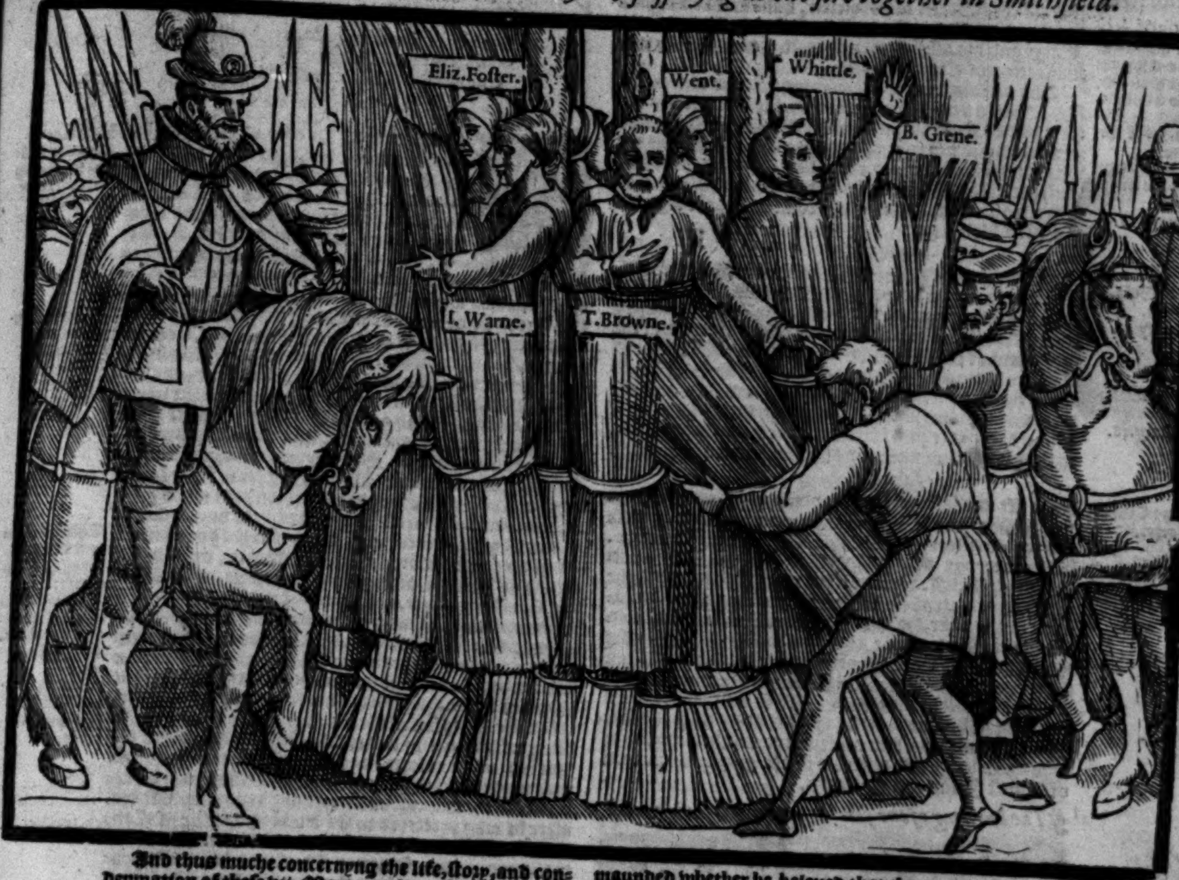
January 27.

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſeueryng in the Lordes holy truth, was by the ſentence diffinitiue condemned, and committed vnto the Sherifes, by whom the foreſaide .xxvii. daie of January ſhee with the reſte being brought vnto the ſtake, there waſhed her clothes in the bloud of the Lambe, dying moſt cōſtantly for his word and truth, to whom moſt louingly ſhe eſpouſed her ſelf.

Seuen

Anno. 1556. January.

¶ Seuen godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſufferyng at one fire together in Smithfield.


Eliz. Foſter.
Went.
Whittle.
B. Grene.
I. Warne.
T. Browne.

And thus muche concernyng the life, ſtory, and condemnation of theſe vii. Martyrs aboue ſpecified.

January. 31.

¶ Fiue other Martyrs in Canterbury, foure vvomen and one man, at tvvo ſtakes and one fyre all together burned.

4. Women and one man Martyrs.

After theſe ſeuen aboue rehearſed, martyred together in Smithfield, ſhortly after in the ſame moneth the .xxxi. daye of Ianuarye, followed an other like felowſhip of godly Martyrs at Canterbury, foure women and one man, whoſe names bee theſe.

- Iohn Lomas, a yong man.
- Anne Albright.
- Ioane Catmer.
- Annes Snoth, Widow.
- Ioane Sole, Wife.

1 Iohn Lomas, Martyr.

John Lomas, Martyr.

Iohn Lomas of the Pariſh of Tenterden, detected and preſented of that Religion which the Papiſtes call hereſie, and cited vpon the ſame to appeare at Canterbury, examined there of the firſt article, whether he beleued the catholicke church or no, aunſwered thus: that he beleued ſo much as is contained in Gods booke and no more.

The aunſwere of John Lomas at his examination.

Then beeyng aſſigned to appeare againe vnder the paine of law the nexte Wedneſeday ſeuennyght after, which was the .xvii. day of January, the ſaide Lomas examined whether he would be confeſſed of a Prieſt or no, aunſwered and ſaide, that hee found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any prieſt, in Gods boke, neither would be confeſſed, vnleſſe hee were accuſed by ſome man of ſinne. Againe examined whether he beleued the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the Altar really vnder the formes of bread and wine after the conſecration or no, hee aunſwered that hee beleued no realty of Chriſtes body to be in the ſacrament, neither found he writtẽ that he is there vnder forme or treſtell, but he beleued ſo muche as is written. Beyng then demaunded whether he beleued that there is a catholicke church or no, and whether he would bee content to be a member of the ſame, he anſwered thereunto that he beleued ſo much as was written in gods boke, and other aunſwere then this he refuſed to geue. &c. Wherupon the ſentence was geuen and red againſt hym the .xviii. day of January, and ſo cõmitted to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the conſcience of a true faith, with the other fower women here folowyng.

The ſacrament of the aultar denyed.

Realtie of Chriſt, neyther vnder forme nor treſtell.

Sentence agaynſt John Lomas.

2 Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

January. 31.

Agnes Snoth widow, of the Pariſhe of Smarden, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of Chriſtes Religion, was diuers tymes examined before the Phariſaicall fathers. Who there compelled to anſwere to ſuche articles and interrogatories as ſhoulde be miniſtred vnto her, firſte denied to be confeſſed to a Prieſt: notwithſtandyng ſhe denied not to confeſſe her offences as one to an other, but not auricularly to anie Prieſt. And as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or anye other did receiue the ſacrament ſo as Chriſte and as his Apoſtles after hym did deliuer it, then ſhe and they did receiue it to their comfort: but as it is nowe vſed in the churche, ſhe ſaide that no man could otherwiſe receiue it thã to his damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterwarde beyng examined againe concernyng penaunce, whether it were a Sacrament or no, ſhee plainlye denied the ſame, and that the Popiſh maner of their abſolution was not conſonant to the word, nor neceſſary to be taken: with ſuche other like, agreyng with the aunſwers and cõfeſſion of Iohn Lomas before mencioned. Wherupõ the ſentence likewiſe beyng red, ſhe was committed to the Sheriffes of Canterburye and ſo ſufferyng Martyrdome with the reſt, declared her ſelfe a perfect and conſtant witnes of Chriſt and of his truth, the .xxxi. day of January.

Confeſſion auricular refuſed.

The ſacrament how to be receaued.

Penaunce is denied to be a ſacrament.

Agnes Snoth cõdemned and cõmitted to the ſecular power.

3 Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, Martyr.

Anne Albright Martyr.

Againſt Anne Albright likewiſe appearyng before the Iudge and his Collegues, it was alſo obiected concerning the ſame matter of Confeſſion. Wherunto ſhe aunſwered in theſe wordes ſaying: that ſhee would not hee confeſſed of a Prieſt, and added moreo-

Auricular confeſſion.

Anno. 1556.
January.

The conſtant perſiſting of Joh. Tudſon.

go from his opinion (which they named hereſy) and to perſiſt in the vnity of the Church whiche they were of, but he conſtauntlie perſiſting in that whiche he had receiued by the Preachers in king Edwardes time, refuſed ſo to doe, ſaiyng there was no hereſie in his aunſweres. For I (ſaide he) defie all hereſie. The Biſhop yet ſtill vſed his olde accuſtomed perſwaſions to remoue hym, promiſing moreouer all his offences and errours, (as hee called them) to bee forgeuen hym, if hee would returne. &c. Then ſaid Tudſon: Tell me wherin I haue offended, And I will returne. Then ſaid the Biſhop: In your aunſweres. No, ſaid Tudſon again, I haue not therein offended: and ye, my Lord pretend charitie, but nothing therof appeareth in your workes. Thus after a few wordes the Biſhop did likewiſe promulgate againſt him ſentence of condemnation, which beyng red, the Godly and conſtaunt Martyr was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo with much pacience finiſhed this life with the other aboue named, the xxvii. daie of January.

Sentence read agaynſt John Tudſon.

5. *John Went Martyr.*

John Went, Martyr.
January 27.

JOhn Went borne in Langham in Eſſex, within the Dioces of London, of the age of .27. and a Shereman by occupation, firſt was examined (as partly is touched before) by Doctor Story vpon the Sacrament of his Popiſh Aultar, and becauſe the poore man did not accord with him throughly in the reall preſence of the body and bloud of Chriſte, the ſaied Storie did ſend hym vp to Boner Biſhop of London. Who likewiſe after diuers examinations vppon the Articles aforeſaid in the Conſiſtory, attempted the like maner of perſuaſions with hym, as he did with the other to recant and returne. To whom in fewe wordes the ſaide Went aunſwered again, he would not, but that by the leaue of God, he would ſtande firme and conſtaunt in that he had ſaide. And when the Biſhop yet notwithſtandyng did ſtill vrge and call vpon hym with wordes and fayre gloſes, to geue ouer hym ſelfe to their opinion, hee could haue no other aunſwere of him but this: No, I ſay as I haue ſaid. &c. Wherupon beyng condemned by the biſhops ſentence, he was committed vnto the Sheriffes (whō that ſhameles ſhanelyng at that tyme abuſed for his ſeruile Butchers) and ſo brought to his Martyrdome, whiche he with no leſſe conſtancie ſuffered to the ende with the reſt of that bleſſed ſocietie of Martyrs aboue named.

John Went withſtandeth the Byſhops perſuaſions.

John Went cōdemned.

6. *Iſabell Foſter, Martyr.*

Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.
January 27.

WIth theſe fiue perſons aboue recited and condemned, were alſo twoo women in the foreſaide companie condemned the ſame tyme, and likewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe, the one a wife called Iſabell Foſter, the other a maide named Joane Warne, or otherwiſe Laſhford.

Iſabell Foſter conſtant in cōfeſſing Chriſtes Goſpell.

This foreſaid Iſabell was borne in Grakeſtocke in the Dioces of Carlill, and afterwarde maried to one John Foſter Cutler, of the Pariſhe of S. Brides in Fleeteſtrete, beyng of the age of lv. yeares. She likewiſe for not commyng vnto the Church, beyng ſent vnto Boner, and ſo impriſoned, was ſondry tymes examined by the ſaide Biſhop, but neuer ouercome, nor remoued from the conſtaunt confeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell. At length commyng vnto her finall examination before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory the xv. daie of the ſaid moneth of January, ſhe was moued againe, whether ſhe woulde yet goe from her former aunſweres. Whereunto ſhe gaue a reſolute aunſwere in few wordes: I wil not (ſaith ſhe) go from them by Gods grace: and thereunto did adhere, neither beeyng caſte downe by the manacyng threates of the Biſhoppe, nor yet yeldyng through his alluryng enticementes, promiſing both life and libertie if ſhe woulde aſſociate her ſelfe in the vnitie of the Catholicke Churche. Whereunto ſhe ſaid againe in this wiſe, that ſhe truſted ſhe was neuer out of the Catholicke Churche. &c. and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtaunt, till the ſentence diffinitiue was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by the commaundement of the Biſhoppe to the ſecular power, and ſo brought a fewe daies after to the ſtake, the 27. daie of the foreſaid moneth: where ſhe like a faithfull witnes of the Lordes truthe (with the other fiue aforeſaid) ended her troubles here, to finde a better reſt in the kingdome of Chriſte our Sauiour.

The wordes of Iſabell Foſter at her laſte examination.

Iſabell Foſter condemned.

7 *Ioane Laſhford, alias Ioane Warne, Martyr.*

Joane Laſhford alias, Joane Warne, Martyr.
January 27.

IN a certaine place of theſe Actes and Monumentes heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne. pag. 1608. col. 2. who with her houſbande John Warne (as is aforeſaid) in the beginnyng of Queene Maries Reigne was apprehended in Bowe Churchyarde for beeyng there at a Communion: and bothe ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the man in the moneth of May, then the wife in July after: & now the daughter in the moneth of January followed her Parentes in the ſame Martyrdome. Furthermore in the ſame place and page mencion was made alſo of Doct. Storie: who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat neare vnto the ſaid parties, either in kyndred or alliaunce, albeit as I vnderſtād ſince of ſome, there was no kindred betwene them, but only that ſhe was his ſeruaunt. Yet notwithſtandyng the ſaid Doctor Storie (as it is aboue ſpecified) before hee was Commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the parties to Doctour Martine then Commiſſioner, but afterward being placed in commiſſion hymſelfe, ſo farre forgate himſelfe and his old ſeruaunt, that he became no ſmal procurer of their deathes. I wil not here expoſtulate with the harde hart of that man, nor with his inconſtancie: Who yet notwithſtandyng, after hee had brought them to death, was reſſed him ſelfe for .lx. pound, charged with dette in their behalfe: whiche if it be true, it maye thereby appeare that hee was in ſome peece of kindred ioyned or allied vnto them. But leauyng that perſon vnto the good pleaſure of the Lorde, let vs returne vnto that we haue in hand.

D. Story firſt interceſſor for John Warne & his daughter, & afterward the chiefeſt perſecutor agaynſt them.

Joane Laſhford daughter of Elizabeth Warne.

This Joane Laſhforde borne in the Pariſhe of litle Hallowes in Thames ſtreete, was the daughter of one Robert Laſhforde Cutler, and of the foreſaid Elizabeth, who afterward was maried to John Warne vpholſter, who (as is ſaid) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of GOD, to the burnyng fire: and after him his wife, & after her this Joane Laſhford their daughter. Who about the age of twentie yeares, miniſtring to her Father and mother in priſon, ſuſpected and knowen to bee of the ſame doctrine and religion, was ſent vp to Boner Biſhoppe of London by Doctour Storie (as is aboue in her aunſweres to the articles declared) and ſo committed to the Counter in the Poultrie, where ſhe remained the ſpace of fiue weekes, and from thence had to Newgate, where ſhe continued the ſpace of certaine monethes.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

The confeſſion of Joane before the Byſhop.

After that, remaining priſoner in the cuſtodie of the ſaid Boner, her confeſſion was, being examined, that the whole .xii. Moneth before and more, ſhe came vnto no Popiſhe Maſſe, Seruice in the Churche, neither would do, either to receiue the Sacrament of the Aultar, or to be confeſſed, becauſe her conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to doe, confeſſyng and proteſſyng that in the Sacrament of the aultar, there is not the real preſence of Chriſtes bodye and bloud, nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution after the Popiſhe ſort, was neceſſary, nor the Maſſe to be good or according vnto the Scripture, but ſaide that both the ſaide Sacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the Maſſe, with all other their ſuperfluous Sacramentes, ceremonies and Diuine ſeruice as then vſed in this Realme of Englande, were moſt vile and contrarie to Chriſtes wordes and inſtitution, ſo that neither they were at the begynnyng, nor ſhall be at the latter ende. This Godly Damoſell feble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by grace in this her Confeſſion and Faith, ſtoode ſo firme, that neither the flatteryng promiſes, nor the violent threates of the Biſhops could turne her, but beyng moued and exhorted by the Biſhoppe to returne to the Catholicke vnitie of the Churche, ſaith boldly to hym againe: if ye will leaue of your abomination, ſo I will returne, and otherwiſe I will not.

Superfluous and Popiſh ceremonies.

The worthy conſtancie of a mayde.

The wordes of Joane Laſhford at here laſt examination.

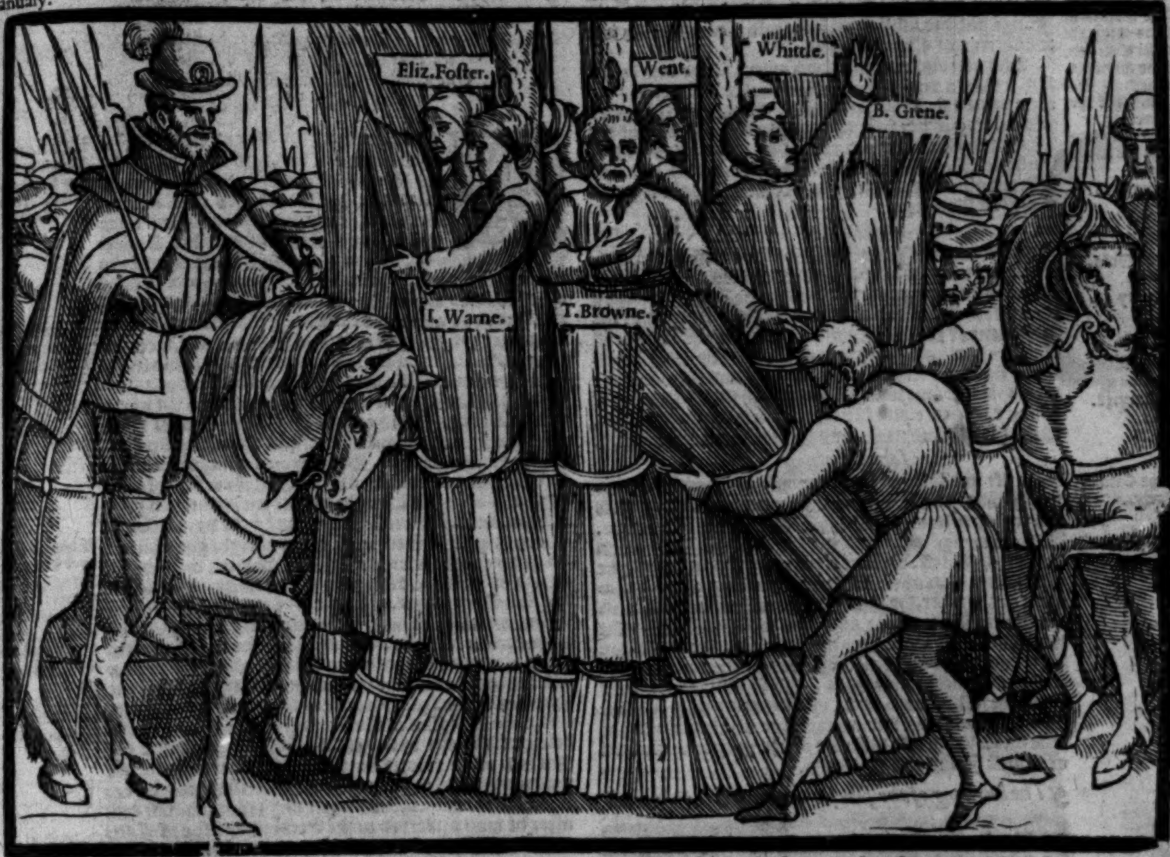
Whereupon the Biſhop yet againe promiſed her Pardon of all her errours (as hee called them) if ſhee would bee conformed. To this ſhe aunſwered agayne, ſaiyng vnto the Biſhop: Doe as it pleaſeth you, and I praie GOD that you maie doe that whiche may pleaſe God.

The Sentence and condemnation of Joane Laſhford.
January 27.

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſeueryng in the Lordes holy truth, was by the ſentence diffinitiue condemned, and committed vnto the Sherifes, by whom the foreſaide .xxvii. daie of January ſhee with the reſte being brought vnto the ſtake, there waſhed her clothes in the bloud of the Lambe, dying moſt cōſtantly for his word and truth, to whom moſt louingly ſhe eſpouſed her ſelf.

Anno. 1556. January.

❡ Seuen godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſufferyng at one fire together in Smithfield.


Eliz. Foster.
Went.
Whittle.
B. Grene.
I. Warne.
T. Browne.

And thus muche concernyng the life, ſtory, and condemnation of theſe vii. Martyrs aboue ſpecified.

January. 31.

❡ Fiue other Martyrs in Canterbury, foure vvomen and one man, at tvvo ſtakes and one fyre all together burned.

After theſe ſeuen aboue rehearſed, martyred together in Smithfield, ſhortly after in the ſame moneth the.xxxi.daye of Januarye, followed an other like felowſhip of godly Martyrs at Canterbury, foure women and one man, whoſe names bee theſe.

4. Women and one man Martyrs.

John Lomas, a yong man.
Anne Albright.
Ioane Catmer.
Annes Snoth, Widow.
Ioane Sole, Wife.

1 *Iohn Lomas, Martyr.*

John Lomas, Martyr.

IOhn Lomas of the Pariſh of Tenterden, detected and preſented of that Religion which the Papiſtes call hereſie, and cited vpon the ſame to appeare at Canterbury, examined there of the firſt article, whether he beleued the catholicke church or no, aunſwered thus: that he beleued ſo much as is contained in Gods booke and no more.

The aunſwere of John Lomas at his examination.

Then beeyng aſſigned to appeare againe vnder the paine of law the nexte Wedneſeday ſeuennyght after, which was the.xvii.day of January, the ſaide Lomas examined whether he would be confeſſed of a Prieſt or no, aunſwered and ſaide, that hee found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any prieſt, in Gods boke, neither would be confeſſed, vnleſſe hee were accuſed by ſome man of ſinne. Againe examined whether he beleued the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the Altar really vnder the formes of bread and wine after the conſecration or no, hee aunſwered that hee beleued no realty of Chriſtes body to be in the ſacrament, neither found he writtē that he is there vnder forme or treſtell, but he beleued ſo muche as is written. Beyng then demaunded whether he beleued that there is a catholicke church or no, and whether he would bee content to be a member of the ſame, he anſwered thereunto that he beleued ſo much as was written in gods boke, and other aunſwere then this he refuſed to geue. &c. Wherupon the ſentence was geuen and red againſt hym the.xviii. day of January, and ſo cōmitted to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the conſcience of a true faith, with the other fower women here folowyng.

The ſacrament of the aultar denyed.

Realtie of Chriſt, neyther vnder forme nor treſtell.

Sentence agaynſt John Lomas.

2 *Agnes Snoth, Martyr.*

January. 31.

AGnes Snoth widow, of the Pariſhe of Smarden, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of Chriſtes Religion, was diuers tymes examined before the Phariſaicall fathers. Who there compelled to anſwere to ſuche articles and interrogatories as ſhoulde be miniſtred vnto her, firſte denied to be confeſſed to a Prieſt: notwithſtandyng ſhe denied not to confeſſe her offences as one to an other, but not auricularly to anie Prieſt. And as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or anye other did receiue the ſacrament ſo as Chriſte and as his Apoſtles after hym did deliuer it, then ſhe and they did receiue it to their comfort: but as it is nowe vſed in the churche, ſhe ſaide that no man could otherwiſe receiue it thā to his damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterwarde beyng examined againe concernyng penaunce, whether it were a Sacrament or no, ſhee plainlye denied the ſame, and that the Popiſh maner of their abſolution was not conſonant to the word, nor neceſſary to be taken: with ſuche other like, agreyng with the aunſwers and cōfeſſion of John Lomas before mencioned. Wherupō the ſentence likewiſe beyng red, ſhe was committed to the Sheriffes of Canterburye and ſo ſufferyng Martyrdome with the reſt, declared her ſelfe a perfect and conſtant witnes of Chriſt and of his truth, the.xxxi.day of January.

Confeſſion auricular refuſed.

The ſacrament how to be receaued.

Penaunce is denied to be a ſacrament.

Agnes Snoth cōdemned and cōmitted to the ſecular power.

3 *Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, Martyr.*

Anne Albright Martyr.

AGainſt Anne Albright likewiſe appearyng before the Judge and his Colleagues, it was alſo obiected concerning the ſame matter of Confeſſion. Wherunto ſhe aunſwered in theſe woordes ſaiyng: that ſhee would not bee confeſſed of a Prieſt, and added moreo-

Auricular confeſſion.

Anno. 1556. January.

The wordes of Anne Albright to the Prieſtes.

Anne Albright denieth the Sacrament of the aulter.

uer, ſpeaking vnto the Prieſtes: You Prieſts (ſaide ſhe) are the children of perdition, and can doe no good by your confeſſion. And likewiſe ſpeakyng vnto the Judge and his aſſiſtaunces, ſhe told them that they wer ſubuerters of Chriſtes truth.

Condemnation of Joane Albright. January 18.

And as touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter, ſhe ſaid it was a noughty and abominable idoll, and ſo vtterly denied the ſame ſacrament. Thus perſiſtyng and perſeueryng in her former ſayinges and aunſweres, ſhe was condemned the ſaid. xviii. day of the ſaid moneth, with the other aboue mencioned: with whom alſo ſhee ſuffered quietly and with great comfort for the right of Chriſtes Religion.

Ioane Sole.

Joane Sole. Martyr. January 31.

Condemnation of Joane Sole. January. 18.

IN like maner Joane Sole, of the pariſh of Horton, was cōdemned of the ſame Phariſeis and Prieſts, for not allowyng confeſſion auricular, and for denying the reall preſence and ſubſtaunce of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the aultar. Who after their Phariſaicall ſentence being promulgat, was brought by the Sheriffes to the ſtake with the other fower, and ſuſtained the like Martyrdome with them through the aſſiſtaunce of Gods holy grace and ſpirite mightely working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

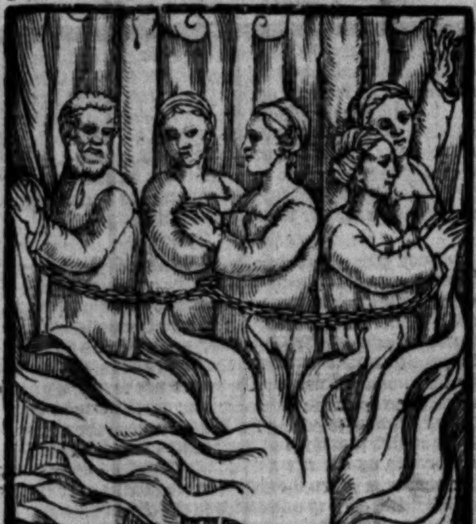
Ioane Catmer.

Joane Catmer, Martyr.

January. 31.

THe fift and laſte of this heauenly company of Martyrs was Joane Catmer of the pariſh of Hith, wife (as it ſhould ſeeme) of George Catmer burned before. Who beyng aſked what ſhe ſaied to Confeſſion made to a Prieſt, denied to bee confeſſed to anye ſuche prieſt. And moreouer the Judge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe ſaid and affirmed that ſhe beleued not in that Sacrament, as it was then vſed, for that it was made (ſaid ſhe) a very idoll. In this her confeſſion ſhe remainyng and perſiſting, was by the like ſentence cruellye of them condemned, and ſo ſuffered with the foreſaide Thomas Lomas and the other three fellowe Martyrs, ratifiyng and confeſſing with their bloud the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt Jeſus our Sauiour.

¶ The burnyng of the foreſayd man and foure womē.



The Martyrdome of John Lomas, Agnes Snoth, Anne Albright, Joane Sole, Joane Catmer, at at Canterbury. An. 1556. January. 31.

These. v. perſons were burnt at. 2. ſtakes and one fire together at Canterbury, as is before ſaid. Who, when the fire was flaming about their eares, did ſing Pſalmes. Wherat the good knight Syr John Nortō beyng there preſent, wept bitterly at the ſight thereof.

The Judges and the other aſſiſtantes which ſet vpon her and the other foure aboue mencioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Milles, Robert Collins, and John Baker the Notarye.

Perſecutours.

¶ The life, ſtate, and ſtory of the Reuerend Paſtour and Prelate Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Martyr, burned at Oxford for the confeſſion of Chriſtes true doctrine vnder Queene Mary.

An. 1556. March. 21.

March. 21. Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Martyr.

Thomas Cranmer a gentleman borne.

Thomas Cranmer firſt commyng to Cambridge.

Thomas Cranmer fellow of Jeſus colledge.

Cranmer maried.

Cranmer reader in Buckingham Colledge.

AS concernyng the life and eſtate of that moſt reuerend father in God and worthy Prelate of Godly memory Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and of the originall cauſe and occaſion of his preferment vnto his Archiepiſcopall dignitie, who of many hath beene thought to haue procured the ſame by frendſhip onely, and of ſome other eſtemed vnworthy of ſo high a vocation: it is firſt therfore to be noted and conſidered that the ſame Tho. Cranmer comming of an auncient parentage, from the conqueſt to be deducted, and continuyng ſithens in the name and family of a Gentleman, was borne in a Village called Arſelacton in Notyngham ſhiere. Of whoſe ſaide name and familye there remaineth at theſe dates one Manour and manſion houſe in Lincolne ſhire called Cranmer Hall. &c. Some tymes of heritage of the ſaide ſtocke and family. Who beyng from his infancie kept at ſchole, and brought vp not without much good ciuility, came in proceſſe of tyme vnto the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and there proſpering in right good knowledge amongſt the better ſort of ſtudents, was choſen fellow of Jeſus Colledge in Cambridge. And ſo beyng Maiſter of Arte, and fellow of the ſame Colledge, it chaunced hym to mary a Gentlemans Daughter: by meanes whereof he loſte and gaue ouer his fellowſhip there, & became the reader in Buckingham Colledge: and for that he woulde with more diligence apply that his office of readyng, placed his ſaide wife in an Inne, called the Dolphin in Cambridge, the wife of ẏ houſe being of affinitie vnto her. By reaſon wherof and for that his often reſorte vnto his wife in that Inne hee was much marked of ſome popiſh marchauntes: wherupō roſe the ſlaunderous noyſe and report againſt him after he was preferred to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury raiſed vp by the malicious diſdaine of certain malignaunt aduerſaries to Chriſt and his truth, bruting abroad euery where that he was but an Hoſteler, and therfore without all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reportes, one of their practiſes in that behalfe ſhal hereafter be declared as place and tyme ſhal ſerue.

But in the meane tyme to returne to the matter preſent. Whileſt this ſaid M. Cranmer continued as reader in Buckinghā Colledge, his wife died in childbed. After whoſe death, the Maiſters and fellowes of Jeſus Colledge deſirous againe of their old companion, namely for his towardnes in learning, choſe him again fellow of the ſame Colledge. Where he remainyng at his ſtudie, became in fewe yeres after, the reader of the Diuinity lecture in the ſame Colledge, and in ſuch ſpeciall eſtimation and reputation with the whole vniuerſity, that being Doctour of Diuinitie he was commonly appointed one of the heades (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned men) to examine ſuche as yearely profeſſe in commencement, either Bachelers, or Doctours of Diuinitie, by whoſe approbation the whole vniuerſity licenceth them to procede vnto their degree: and againe by whoſe diſalowaunce the vniuerſitie alſo reiecteth them for a time to proceede vntill they be better furniſhed with more knowledge.

Thomas Cranmer after the deceaſſe of hys wife, Choſen fellow into Jeſus colledge.

Thomas Cranmer made reader in Jeſus colledge, and Doctour of Diuinitie.

Doctor Cranmer publike examiner in Cambridge of them that were to procede.

Friers in hatred with Doct. Cranmer.

Doct. Barret.

Now, Doctour Cranmer euer muche fauouryng the knowledge of the Scripture, would neuer admit anie to procede in Diuinity, vnleſſe they were ſubſtantiallie ſeene in the ſtory of the Bible: by meanes whereof certaine Fryers and other Religious perſons, who were principally brought vp in ẏ ſtudy of ſchole autors without regard had to the autority of ſcriptures, were commonly reiected by hym, ſo that hee was greatly for that his ſeuere examinatiō of the religious ſort, much hated and had in greate indignation: and yet it came to paſſe in the end that diuers of them beyng thus compelled to ſtudy the ſcriptures, became afterwards very wel learned and well affected, in ſo much, that when they proceded Doctours of Diuinitie, could not ouermuch extoll and commend Maſter Doctor Cranmers goodnes towardes them, who had for a tyme put them backe, to aſpire vnto better knowledge and perfection. Amongeſt whō D. Barret a white Fryer who afterwards dwelt at

Anno.1556. March.

at Norwich, was after that ſort hādled, giuing him no leſſe commendation for his happy reiectyng of hym for a better amendment. Thus much I repete that our apiſh and Popiſhe ſort of ignoraunt Prieſtes may well vnderſtand that this his exerciſe, kinde of life, and vocation was not altogether Hoſtelerliſhe.

Doctour Cranmer appoincted to be fellow of the Cardinall Colledge in Oxforde refuſed.

Queſtion of the kinges deuorce with Katherine Dowager.

Well, to go forwardes: Like as he was neither in fame vnknowen, nor in knowledge obſcure, ſo was hee greatly ſolicited by Doct. Capon, to haue bene one of the felowes in the foundation of Cardinall Wolſeys Colledge in Oxforde (whiche hee vtterlye refuſed not without daunger of indignation. Notwithſtandyng foreſeyng that whiche after chaunced, to the vtter confuſion of many wel affected learned men there without cōſideratiō (becauſe mans glory was there more ſought for, then gods) he ſtode to the daunger of the ſaid indignation, whiche chaunced more proſperouſly vnto hym within few yeares after, then he looked for. For whiles he thus continued in Cābridge. The great and weightie cauſe of Kyng Henry the viii. his diuorce with the Lady Katherine dowager of Spayne, came into queſtion, which beyng many waies by the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeares amongeſt the Canoniſtes, Ciuilians, and other learned men diuerſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſſe that this ſaide Doct. Cranmer by reaſon that the plague was in Cambridge, reſorted to Waltham Abbey to one M. Creſſes houſe there, whoſe wife was of kynne to the ſayd M. Cranmer. And for that he had ij. ſonnes of the ſaid Creſſey with hym at Cambridge as his pupulles, he reſted at Waltham croſſe at the houſe of the ſaid M. Creſſey, with the ſaid ij. children, duryng that ſomer tyme whiles the plague reigned.

Stephen Gardiner and Doctour Foxe, chiefe furtherers of the kings diuorce.

D. Stephens. D. Fox. D. Cranmer, conferring together in the kinges cauſe.

In this ſomer tyme Cardinall Campeius and Cardinall Wolſey, beyng in commiſſion from the Pope to here and determine that greate cauſe in controuerſie betwene the King and the Queene his pretended wife, dalied and delated all that ſomer time vntil the moneth of Auguſt came in hearing the ſaid cauſe in controuerſie debated. When Auguſt was come, the ſaid Cardinals little mindyng to procede to ſentence geuing, toke occaſion to finiſhe their Commiſſion, and not further to determine therein, pretendyng not to bee permitted by the lawes to keepe Courtes of Eccleſiaſtill matters in Harueſt tyme, whiche ſodeine ſtaye and giuyng ouer of the ſaide Commiſſion by both the Cardinalls beeyng vnknowen to the king, it ſo muche moued hym that he takyng it as a mocke at the Cardinals handes, commaunded the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke to diſpatche forthwith Cardinall Campeius home again to Rome, and ſo in haſt remoued hym ſelfe from London to Walthā for a night or twaine whiles his houſholde remoued to Grenewich: by meanes whereof it chaunced that the harbengers lodged Doct. Stephens Secretary, and Doct. Foxe Almoſner (who were the chiefe furtherers, preferrers and defendours on the kinges behalfe of the ſaid cauſe) in the houſe of the ſaid M. Creſſey, where the ſaid Doctor Cranmer was alſo lodged and reſident. When ſupper tyme came, they all three Doctours mette togethers, Doctour Stephens and Doctor Foxe muche maruailyng of Doctor Cranmers beyng there. Who declared to them the cauſe of his there beeyng, namelye for that the Plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of olde acquaintaunce, ſo the Secretary and the Almoſner right well enterteined Doctor Cranmer, mindyng to vnderſtand part of his opinion touching their great buſines they had in hande. And ſo as good occaſion ſerued, whiles they were at ſupper, they conferred with Doctor Cranmer concernyng the kynges cauſe, requeſtyng hym of his opinion what he thought therein.

D. Cranmers anſwere in the queſtion of the kinges deuorce.

D. Cranmers deuiſe well liked of.

Whereto Doct. Cranmer aunſwered, that he could ſay little to the matter, for that he had not ſtudied nor looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſaid to them, that in his opinion they made more adoe in proſecutyng the lawe Eccleſiaſticall, then needed. It were better as I ſuppoſe (ꝙ Doctour Cranmer) that the queſtion, whether a man may mary his brothers wife or no, were decided and diſcuſſed by the Diuines, and by the authoritie of the word of God, whereby the conſcience of the Prince might be better ſatiſfied and quieted, then thus from yeare to yeare by fruſtratory delayes to prolong the tyme, leauing the very truth of the matter vnboulted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will ſoone declare, make open, and manifeſt being by learned men well handled, ⁊ that maie be aſwell done in Englande in the Vniuerſities here, as at Rome or els where in any forein natiō, the authoritie whereof will compell anye Iudge ſoone to come to a diffinitiue ſentence: and therefore as I take it, you might this way haue made an end of this matter long ſithens. When Doctor Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other twoo well liked of his deuiſe, and wiſhed that they had ſo proceded afore tyme, and therupon conceiued ſome matter of that deuiſe to inſtruct the kyng withall, who then was minded to ſende to Rome againe for a new Commiſſion.

The king troubled about the diuorce.

D. Cranmers deuiſe reported to the kyng.

Note the glorious head of D. Stephens.

Now the next day when the king remoued to Grenewich, like as he tooke hymſelfe not well handled by the Cardinalls in thus differryng his cauſe, ſo his minde beyng vnquieted and deſirous of an ende of hys long and tedious ſute, he called to him theſe his ij. principall doers of his ſaid cauſe, namely the ſaid Doctour Stephens and Doct. Foxe, ſaiyng vnto them: What nowe my maſters (quoth the king) ſhall we do in this infinite cauſe of mine? I ſee by it there muſt be a new Commiſſion procured from Rome, and when we ſhall haue an end God knoweth and not I. When the king had ſaid ſomewhat his mynde herein, the Almoſner Doctour Foxe ſaid vnto the kyng agayne: wee truſte that there ſhalbe better wayes deuiſed for your Maieſtie, then to make trauaile ſo farre as to Rome anye more in your highnes cauſe, whiche by chaunce was put into oure heades this other night beyng at Waltham. The king beyng very deſirous to vnderſtand his meanyng, ſayd: Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by any better or ſhorter way to procede in our ſaied cauſe? Then ſaid Doct. Foxe: It chaunced vs to be lodged at Waltham in M. Creſſeis houſe this other night, your highnes beyng there, where we mette with an olde acquaintaunce of ours named Doctour Cranmer, with whom hauyng conference concernyng your highnes cauſe, he thought that the next way were, firſte to inſtruct and quiet your Maieſties conſcience by tryyng your highnes queſtion out by the authoritie of the word of God, and therupon to procede to a final ſentēce. With this report the Secretary was not cōtent with the Almoſner, for that he did not vtter this deuiſe as of their owne inuention. And when the Secretary woulde haue ſemed by colorable wordes to make it appeare to the kyng, that they of them ſelues had deuiſed that meanes: the kyng then ſaid, where is that Doct. Cranmer? is he ſtill at Waltham? They aunſwered that they left him there. Mary, ſaid the kyng, I will ſurely ſpeake with him, and therefore let hym bee ſent for out of hand. I perceiue quoth the Kyng, that that manne hath the ſowe by the right eare. And if I had knowen this deuiſe but ij. yeare agoe, it had been in my waie a great peece of money, and had alſo rid me out of muche diſquietnes.

D. Cranmer ſent for to the king.

D. Cranmer ſeeketh excuſes loth to come vnto the kyngs preſence.

D. Cranmer brought to the Kyng.

Talke betwene the kyng and D. Cranmer.

The king troubled in conſcience.

Whereupon Doctor Cranmer was ſent for, and beyng remoued from Waltham to Cambridge and ſo towardes his frendes in Notingham ſhiere, a Poſt went for hym. But when he came to London, he beganne to quarell with thoſe two his acquaintaunces, that he by their meanes was thus troubled and brought thither to bee combred in a matter wherein hee had nothing at all trauayled in ſtudie, and therefore moſt inſtantlie intreated them, that they would make his excuſe in ſuche ſort that he might bee diſpatched away from commyng in the Kinges preſence. They promiſed and tooke the matter vpon them ſo to do if by any meanes they might compaſſe it. But al was in vaine, for the more they began to excuſe Doctor Cranmers abſence, the more the king chid with them for that they brought hym not out of hād to his preſence, ſo that no excuſe ſeruing, he was faine vndelaiedly to come to the Court vnto the king, whom the gentle Prince benignely acceptyng, demaunded his name, ⁊ ſaid vnto hym: Were you not at Waltham ſuch a tyme, in the company of my Secretary and my Almoſner? Doctour Cranmer affirming the ſame, the Kyng ſaid again: had you not conference with them concernyng our matter of diuorce nowe in queſtion after this ſorte, repetyng the maner and order thereof? That is right true, if it pleaſe your highneſſe ꝙ Doctour Cranmer. Well ſayd the kyng, I well perceiue that you haue the right ſcope of this matter. You muſt vnderſtande, quoth the Kyng, that I haue beene long troubled in conſcience, and now I perceiue that by this meanes I might haue beene long agoe releaſed one way or other, from the ſame, if we had this way proceded. And therefore Maiſter Doctour I praie you, and neuertheleſſe becauſe you are a ſubiecte I charge and commaund you (all your other buſines and affaires ſet apart) to take ſome paynes to ſee this my cauſe to bee furthered accordyng to your deuiſe, aſmuch as it maie lye in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand wherunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before GOD and the world, that I ſeke not to be deuorced frō the Queene, if by any meanes I were iuſtly perſuaded that our matrimony were inuiolable, and not againſt the Lawes of God: for otherwiſe there was neuer cauſe to moue me to ſeeke any ſuch extremitie. Neither there was euer Prince had a more gentler, a more obedient and louing companion and wife then the Queene is, nor I neuer fantiſed womā in all reſpectes better, if this doubt had not riſen: aſſuryng you that for the ſingular vertues wherewith ſhe is indued, beſides the conſideration of her noble ſtocke, I could bee right well contented ſtill to remaine with her, if ſo it would ſtande with the will and pleaſure of almightye God. And thus greatly commendyng her manye and ſingular qualities, the Kyng ſaid: I therefore praie you with an indifferent eye, and with aſmuch dexteritie as lieth in you, that you for your parte do handle the matter for the diſchargyng of both our conſciences.

Marke this you Papiſtes, which ſo raſhly iudge the kings diuorce, and the Popes ouerthrowe to haue ſprong of light cauſes.

D. Crāmer excuſyng & diſablyng hymſelfe to the king.

Doct. Cranmer muche diſablyng himſelfe to medle in ſo weightie a matter, beſought the kinges highnes to committe the triall and examinyng of this matter by the word of god, unto the beſt learned men of both his Uniuerſities Cambridge and Oxforde. You ſay well, ſaid the kyng, and I am content therwith. But yet neuertheles, I will haue you ſpecially to write your mind therin. And ſo callyng the Earle of Wiltſhiere to him, ſaid: I praie you my Lord, let Doctour Cranmer haue entertainement in your houſe at Durham place for a tyme, to the intent he may be there quiet to accompliſhe my requeſt, and let hym lacke neither bookes, ne anye thing requiſite for his ſtudy. And thus after the kings departure, Doctour Cranmer went with my Lorde of Wiltſhiere unto his houſe, where he incontinent wrote his minde concernyng the kinges queſtion: adding to the ſame beſides the authorities of the Scriptures: of generall Councels, and of auncient writers: alſo his opinion whiche was this: that the Biſhop of Rome had no ſuche authoritie, as whereby he might diſpence with the word of God and the Scripture. When Doctour Crāmer had made this booke, and committed it to the kyng, the king ſaid to hym: will you abide by this, that you haue here writtē before the biſhop of Rome? That will I doe, by Gods grace, q Doctor Cranmer, if your Maieſtie doe ſende mee thether. Mary q the kyng, I will ſend you euen to hym in a ſure Ambaſage.

D. Cranmer aſſigned by the king to ſearche the Scriptures in the cauſe of his diuorce.

The king firſt giuen to underſtand that the Pope hath no authoritie to diſpence with the worde of God.

The kinges matter remoued from the Popes Canon law, to the trial of the Scriptures.

And thus by meanes of D. Cranmers handlyng of this matter with the Kyng, not onely certane learned men were ſent abroade to the moſt part of the uniuerſities in Chriſtendome, to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame beyng by Commiſſion diſputed by the diuines in both the uniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxforde, it was there concluded that no ſuche matrimonie was by the word of God lawfull. Whereupon a ſolemne ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the Biſhop of Rome then beyng at Bonony, wherin went the Earle of Wiltſhiere, D. Cranmer, D. Stokeſley, D. Carne, D. Benet, and diuers other learned men & gentlemen. And when the tyme came that they ſhould come before the biſhop of Rome to declare the cauſe of their ambaſſage, the Biſhop ſitting on high in his clothe of eſtate, and in his rich apparel, with his ſandales on his feete, offryng as it were, his foote to be kiſſed of the Ambaſſadours, the Earle of Wiltſhiere diſdainyng thereat, ſtoode ſtill and made no countenaunce therunto, ſo that all the reſt kept them ſelues from that Idolatry.

The kinges mariage found by Gods word unlawfull.

Doctour Cranmer with other ſent to Rome Ambaſſadour to the Pope.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadours not haſty to kiſſe the Popes foote,

Howbeit, one thing is not here to bee omitted, as a prognoſticate of our ſeperation from the ſea of Rome, whiche then chaunced by a Spaniell of the Earle of Wiltſhiere. For he hauing there a great ſpaniel which came out of England with him, ſtode directly betwene the Earle and the Biſhop of Rome. When the ſaid biſhop had aduaunced forth his foote to bee kiſſed, nowe whether the Spaniell perceaued the Biſhops foote of an other nature then it ought to be, and ſo takyng it to be ſome kynde of repaſt, or whether it was the will of God to ſhewe ſome token by the Dog unto the Biſhop of his inordinate pride, that his feete were more meete to be bitten of Dogges, then kyſſed of Chriſten men: the Spaniell (I ſay) when the Biſhoppe extended his foote to be kiſſe, no man regarding the ſame, ſtraight waye (as though hee had beene of purpoſe appointed therunto) went directly to the Popes feete, and not onely kiſſed the ſame unmanerly, but as ſome plainly reported and affirmed, tooke faſt with his mouth the great Toe of the Pope, ſo that in haſt he pulled in his glorious feete from the Spaniell. Whereat our men ſmilyng in their ſleeues, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine the pontificall biſhop after that ſought no more at that preſent for kiſſyng of his feete, but without any further ceremony gaue eare to the Ambaſſadours, what they had to ſay.

The unmanerly nature of a Dogge, preſumyng to kiſſe the Popes tote.

Who entryng there before the biſhop, offered on the kinges behalfe to be defended, that no man iure diuino coulde or ought to marry his brothers wife, and that the Biſhop of Rome by no meanes ought to diſpence to the contrary. Diuers promiſes were made, and ſundry daies appointed, wherein the queſtion ſhould haue bene diſputed, and when our part was readie to aunſwere, no man there appeared to diſpute in that behalf. So in the ende the Biſhop makyng to our Ambaſſadours good countenaunce, and gratifiyng D. Cranmer with the office of the Penitenciarſhip, diſmiſſed them undiſputed withall.

Arguing to the Popes face, that contrary to the word of God he had no power to diſpenſe.

Doctour Cranmer made the Popes Penitenciary.

Wherupon the Earle of Wiltſhire and other Commiſſioners, leauing D. Cranmer, returned home againe into England. And forthwith D. Cranmer went to the Emperour beyng in his iourney towardes Vienna in expedition againſt the Turke, there to aunſwere ſuche learned men of the Emperours counſaill, as would or could ſay any thing to the contrary part. Where amongeſt the reſt at the ſame tyme, was Cornelius Agrippa an high officer in the Emperours court, who hauyng priuate conference with Doctour Cranmer in the queſtion, was ſo fully reſolued and ſatiſfied in the matter, that afterwardes there was neuer diſputation openly offered to D. Cranmer in that behalfe. For thorow the perſwaſion of Agrippa, all other learned menne there were muche diſcouraged: In ſo much that after Doct. Cranmer was returned into Englande, Agrippa fell into ſuch diſpleaſure with the Emperour, as ſome men thought, that becauſe of the hinderyng and diſcouragyng ſo muche the contrary part, he was committed to priſon, where he for ſorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the meane ſpace while the Emperour returned home from Vienna through Germany, D. Cranmer in that viage had conference with diuers learned men of Germany concernyng the ſaide queſtion, who verye ambiguouſlye heretofore conceiuyng the cauſe, were fully reſolued and ſatiſfied by hym.

Doctor Cranmer Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

Conference betwene Biſhop Cranmer and Cornelius Agrippa.

This matter thus proſperyng on Doct. Cranmers behalfe, aſwell touchyng the kynges queſtion, as concernyng the inualiditie of the biſhop of Romes authoritie, Biſhop Warcham then Archbiſhop of Canterbury departed this tranſitory life, wherby that dignity then beyng in the kynges gift and diſpoſition, was immediatly giuē to Doctour Cranmer as worthy for his trauaile, of ſuche a promotion. Thus muche touchyng the preferment of D. Cranmer unto his dignitie, and by what meanes he atchiued unto the ſame: not by flattery, not by bribes, nor by none other unlawfull meanes: whiche thing I haue more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railyng mouthes of ſuche, who being thēſelues obſcure and unlearned, ſhame not ſo to detracte a learned man moſte ignominiouſly with the ſurname of an Hoſtler; whom for his godly zeale unto ſincere religion they ought with much humilitie to haue had in regard and reputation.

Doctour Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Cant.

Now as concernyng his behauiour and trade of life towardes God and the world, beyng now entered into his ſaid dignitie, and for ſo muche as the Apoſtle S. Paule writyng to two Biſhops, Timothy and Titus, ſetteth out unto us a perfect deſcription of a true Biſhop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the ſame, unto the whiche exemplar it ſhalbe hard in theſe ſtraunge dayes to finde the Image of anye Biſhop correſpondent: yet for example ſake let us take this Archbiſhop of Cāterbury, and trie hym by the rule thereof, to ſee either how nere he commeth to the deſcription of Saint Paule, or els how farre of he ſwarueth from the common courſe of other in his tyme, of his calling. The rule of Saint Paule is to be found, firſt, 1. Timoth. 3. alſo in his Epiſtle to Titus cap. 1. in theſe wordes.

1. Timoth. 3. Titus 1.

The rule of a true Biſhop.

A Biſhoppe muſte be faultles, as becommeth the "
Miniſter of GOD: Not ſturbburne, nor angry, no "
drunkarde, no fighter, not geuen to filthy luker: but "
harberous, "

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harberous, one that loueth goodnes, ſober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaueth vnto
„ *the true woorde and doctrine, that he may be able to*
„ *exhorte. &c.*

A miniſter muſt be fautles.

Unto this rule and touchſtone, to lay now the lyfe and conuerſation of this Archbiſhop, we will firſt begynne with that which is thus written: A Byſhop muſt be fautles as becommeth the Miniſter of God. Lyke as no man is without ſinne, and euery man caryeth with hym hys eſpeciall vice and fault: ſo yet neuertheles, the Apoſtle meaneth, that the Byſhop & miniſter muſt be fautles in compariſon of the common conuerſation of mẽ of the world, which ſeeme more licẽtiouſly to liue at their owne liberties and pleaſures, then the Biſhop or Miniſter ought to do, hauyng ſmall regard vnto good example geuyng: which a Byſhop and Miniſter moſt carefully ought to cõſider, leſt by his diſſolute life the word of God be ſclaũdered & euil ſpokẽ of. Which thyng to auoyd, and the better to accompliſh thys precept of the Apoſtle, thys worthy man euermore gaue hym ſelfe to continuall ſtudy, not breakyng that order that he in the Uniuerſitie commonly vſed: that is, by v. of the clocke in the mornyng at his booke and ſo cõſumyng that tyme in ſtudy and prayer vntill ix. of the cloke, he thẽ applied him ſelfe (if the Princes affaires did not call him away) vntill dinner time, to heare ſuters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as appertained vnto his ſpeciall cure & charge, cõmitting his temporall affaires both of his houſhold and other forraine buſines, vnto his Officers. So that ſuch thynges were neuer impedimentes neither to his ſtudy, nor to his paſtoral charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt Religion, & in ſetting forth of true and ſincere doctrine. For the moſt part alwayes beyng in Commiſſion, hee aſſociated hym ſelfe with learned men for ſiftyng and boultyng out of one matter or other for the commoditie and profite of the Church of Englãd. By meanes whereof, & what for his priuate ſtudy, he was neuer idle: beſides that, he accõpted it no idle pointe to beſtow one houre or twaine of the day in ouer reading ſuch works & bokes as daily came frõ beyond ẏ Seas.

The order of D. Cranmers ſtudy.

After dinner, if any ſuters were attendant, he would very diligẽtly heare them, and diſpatch thẽ in ſuch ſort, as euery man commended his lenitie and gẽtilnes, although the caſe required that ſome whiles diuers of them were cõmitted by hym to priſon. And hauyng no ſuters after dinner, for an houre or therabout he would play at the Cheſts, or behold ſuch as could play. That done, thẽ againe to his ordinary ſtudy, at the which cõmonly he for the moſt part ſtode, & ſeldome ſat: & there cõtinuing vntill v. of the cloke, beſtowed that houre in hearyng the cõmon prayer, and walkyng or vſing ſome honeſt paſtyme vntill ſupper time. At ſupper, if he had appetite (as many tymes he would not ſup) yet would he ſit down at ẏ table hauing his ordinary prouiſion of his meſſe furniſhed with expedient cõpany, he wearing on his hãds his gloues, becauſe he would (as it were) thereby weane himſelfe from eating of meate: but yet keeping the company with ſuch fruitfull talke as dyd repaſt and much delyght the hearers: ſo that by this meanes hoſpitalitie was wel furniſhed, and the almes cheſt wel mainteined for the reliefe of the poore. After ſupper hee woulde conſume one houre at the leaſt, in walking or ſome other honeſt paſtyme: and then again vntill ix. of the clocke, at one kynde of ſtudy or other: So that no houre of the day was ſpent in vayne, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed as tended to the glory of God, the ſeruice of the Prince, or to the commodity of the church. Which his well beſtowing of his time procured to him moſt happely a good report of all men, to be in reſpect of other mens conuerſation faultes, as it became the miniſter of God.

The temperate dyet of D. Crãmer.

„ *That a Byſhop ought not to be ſtubburne.*

The gentle nature of D. Crãmer.

Secondly it is required: That a Byſhop ought not to be ſtubburne. With which kind of vice without great wrõg this Archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged: whoſe nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſoner wonne to any honeſt ſute or purpoſe, ſpecially in ſuch thinges wherin by his word, writing, counſel, or dede, he might gratify eyther any gentle or noble man, or do good to any meane perſon, or els relieue the needy and poore. Onely in cauſes pertaynyng to God or hys Prince, no man more ſtoute, more conſtant, or more hard to be wonne: as in that part his earneſt defence in the Parlament houſe aboue three dayes together in diſputing agaynſt the vi. articles of Gardiners deuiſe, can teſtify. And though the kyng would needes haue them vppon ſome politicke conſideration to goe forward, yet he ſo handled himſelfe aſwell in the Parliament houſe as afterwardes by writing, ſo obediently and with ſuch humble behauiour in wordes towardes his prince, proteſting ẏ cauſe not to be his, but almighty Gods, who was the authour of all truth, that the king did not onely well lyke hys defence, willing hym to depart out of the Parlamẽt houſe into the Coũſaile chamber whileſt the Act ſhould paſſe and be graunted, for ſafegard of his conſcience, which he with humble proteſtatiõ refuſed, hoping that his maieſty in proceſſe of tyme would reuoke them agayne: but alſo after the Parlament was finiſhed, the kyng perceiuing the zealous affectiõ that the Archbiſhop bare towards the defence of his cauſe, which many wayes by ſcriptures & manifold authorities and reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the Lord Cromwel then Uicegerent, with the two Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke and all the Lordes of the Parlamẽt, to dine with him at Lambeth: Where it was declared by the Uicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the kings pleaſure, that they all ſhoulde in his hyghnes behalfe, cheriſh, comfort and animate him, as one that for hys trauaill in that Parlament, had ſhewed him ſelfe both greatly learned, and alſo diſcrete and wiſe, & therefore they willed hym not to bee diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrary to hys allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the kings maieſtie of his great goodnes towardes hym, and them all for their paines, ſaying: I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhal take place to the glory of God and the commoditie of the realme, in the meane tyme I will ſatiſfie my ſelfe with the honorable conſent of your honours and the whole Parlament.

Cranmer ſtout and conſtant in Gods cauſe.

D. Cranmer a ſtout enemy agaynſt the vi. Articles.

Of this cõmyng of the L. Cromwell, and the two Dukes to the Archbiſhop read before. pag.1111. col.1.

Here is to be noted, that this mans ſtoute & godly defence of the truth herein, ſo bound the Princes conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be cleane ouerthrowen with authority and power, and therefore this way God working in the Princes mynde, a playne token was declared hereby that all thinges were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſayd ſixe Articles, as it ought to haue bene, for els the Prince myght haue had iuſte cauſe to haue borne his great indignatiõ towardes the Archbiſhop. Let vs pray that both the like ſtoutnes may be perceiued in all Eccleſiaſtical & learned men where the truth ought to be defended, & alſo the like relenting & flexibilitie may take place in Princes and Noble men, whẽ they ſhall haue occaſion offered them to mayntayne the ſame, ſo that they vtterly ouerwhelme not the truth by ſelfe will, power, and authority. Now in the end thys Archbiſhops cõſtancy was ſuch towardꝭ Gods cauſe, that he confirmed all his doinges by bitter death in the fire, without reſpecte of any worldly treaſure or pleaſure. And as touchyng hys ſtoutnes in hys Princes cauſe, the contrary reſiſtaunce of the Duke of Northumberland agaynſt hym proued ryght well hys good mynde that waye: which chaunced by reaſon that hee would not conſent to the diſſoluing of Chauntreyes vntill the king came of age, to the intẽt that they might then better ſerue to furniſh hys royall eſtate, then to haue ſo great treaſure cõſumed in his nonage. Which hys ſtoutnes ioyned with ſuch ſimplicity, ſurely was thought to diuers of the Counſaile, a thing incredible, ſpecially in ſuche ſort to contende with hym who was ſo accoũted in this realme, as few or none would or durſt gainſtand him.

Example for Eccleſiaſticall paſtors.

Archbiſhop Cranmer in diſpleaſure about the employng of Chauntrey landes.

So deare was to hym the cauſe of God, and of hys Prince, that for the one he would not keepe hys conſciẽce clogged, nor for the other lurke or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very enemies might eaſily intreate him in any cauſe reaſonable: & ſuch thinges as he grãted, he did without any ſuſpicion of rebroidyng or meede therefore: So that he was altogethers voide of the vice of the ſtubburnes, and rather culpable of ouer much facilitie and gentilnes.

Not angry. „

Thẽ foloweth: Not angry. Surely if ouermuch pacience may bee a vice, this man may ſeeme peraduenture to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doinges I cannot ſay: for the moſt

The ſingular patience of this Archbiſhop.

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part, ſuche was his mortification that way, that fewe wee ſhall finde in whom the ſaying of our Sauiour Chriſt ſo much preuailed as with hym, who would not onely haue a man to forgiue his enemyes, but alſo to pray for them: that leſſon neuer went out of his memory. For it was knowen that hee had many cruell enemyes, not for his owne deſertes, but only for his Religion ſake: & yet what ſoeuer he was that either ſought his hinderaunce, either in goodes, eſtimation, or lyfe, and vppon conference would ſeeme neuer ſo ſlenderly any thyng to relent or excuſe himſelfe, he would both forget the offence committed, and alſo euermore afterwardes frendly enterteine him, and ſhew ſuch pleaſure to him, as by any meanes poſſible he might performe or declare: In ſomuch that it came into a cōmō prouerbe: Do vnto my Lord of Canterbury diſpleaſure or a ſhrewd turne, and then you may be ſure to haue him your frend whiles he lyueth. Of which his gentill diſpoſition in abſteinyng from reuengement, amongſt many examples therof I will repete here one.

A ſtory betwene the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and a Popiſhe Prieſt his enemie.

It chaunced an ignoraunt Prieſt and parſon in the North parties, the Towne is not now in remembrāce, but he was a kinſman of one Cherſey a Grocer dwelling within Lōdō (being one of thoſe prieſtes that vſe more to ſtudy at the Alehouſe then in his chamber or in his ſtudy) to ſit on a time with his honeſt neighbors at the Alehouſe within his owne Pariſh, where was communication miniſtred in commendatiō of my Lord Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant. This ſayd parſon enuying hys name onely for Religion ſake, ſayd to hys neighbours: what make you of him (ꝙ hee) hee was but an Hoſtler, and hath no more learnyng then the goſlyngs that goeth yonder on ẏ greene, with ſuch lyke ſclaunderous vncomely wordes. These honeſt neighbours of hys not well bearyng thoſe his vnſeemely wordes, articled againſt him, and ſent their complaynt vnto ẏ Lord Cromwell, then Vicegerēt in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, who ſent for the Prieſt and cōmitted hym to the Fleete, myndyng to haue had hym recant thoſe his ſclaunderous wordes at Paules croſſe. Howbeit ẏ Lord Cromwell hauyng great affaires of the Prince thē in hand, forgat his priſoner in the Fleete: So that this Cherſey the Groſſer vnderſtādyng that his kynſman was in duraunce in the Fleete, only for ſpeakyng wordes agaynſt my Lord of Cant. conſulted with the Prieſt, and betwene them deuiſed to make ſute rather vnto the Archbyſhop for his deliueraunce, then to the Lord Cromwell, before whom he was accuſed: vnderſtandyng right well that there was great diuerſitie of natures betwene thoſe ij. eſtates, the one gentill and full of clemency, and the other ſeuere and ſomewhat intractable, namely againſt a Papiſt: So that Cherſey toke vpō him firſt to try my Lord of Cāterburyes benignitie, namely for that his coſins accuſation touched onely the offence agaynſt hym and none other. Whereupon the ſayd Cherſey came to one of the Archb. Gentlemen (whoſe father bought yearely all his ſpices and frute of the ſayd Cherſey, and ſo therby of familiar acquaintaunce with the Gentlemā) who opening to him the trouble wherin his kinſman was, requeſted that he would be a meanes to my Lord his maſter to heare his ſute in the behalfe of his kynſman.

The rayling of a Popiſh prieſt againſt Doctor Cranmer.

Cherſey ſuyng for his kinſmā to the Archb.

The matter was moued. The Archbiſhop lyke as he was of nature gentill, & of much clemency, ſo would he neuer ſhew hym ſelfe ſtraunge vnto ſuters, but incontinently ſent for the ſayd Cherſey. When hee came before hym, Cherſey declared, that there was a kynſman of hys in the Fleete, a Prieſt of the North countrey, and as I may tell your grace the truth (ꝙ Cherſey) a man of ſmall ciuilitie and of leſſe learnyng. And yet he hath a perſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my Lord Cromwel hath layd him in priſon beyng in his cure) is vnſerued, and he hath continued in duraunce aboue ij. monethes, & is called to no aunſwere, and knoweth not whē he ſhall come to any end, ſo that this hys impriſonment conſumeth his ſubſtaunce, and wil vtterly vndoe him, vnleſſe your Grace be his good Lord. I know not the man (ſayd the Archbiſhop) nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

Sayd Cherſey agayne, hee onely hath offended agaynſt your Grace, and agaynſt no man els, as may well be perceued by the Articles obiected agaynſt him, the copy whereof the ſayd Cherſey then exhibited vnto the ſayd Archb. of Canterbury. Who well peruſing the ſayd Articles, ſayd: This is the common talke of al the ignorant Papiſtical Prieſts in Englād againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was neuer made priuy vnto this accuſation, nor of his indurance I neuer heard before this time. Notwithſtanding if there be nothing els to charge hym withall agaynſt the Prince or any of the Counſail, I will at your requeſt take order with him, and ſende him home agayne to his cure to do his duty: and ſo thereupon ſent his ryng to the Warden of the Fleete, willing him to ſend the priſoner vnto him with his keeper at after noone.

The Prieſt ſent for to the Archbiſhop.

When the keeper had brought the priſoner at the houre appointed, & Cherſey had well inſtructed his coſyn in any wiſe to ſubmit himſelf vnto the Archbiſhop, confeſſing his fault, where by that way he ſhould moſt eaſely haue an ende and wyn hys fauour: thus the perſon being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there ſitting vnder the vyne, the Archbyſhop demaunded of the parſon what was the cauſe of his indurance, and who committed hym to the Fleete? The Parſon aunſwered and ſaid: that the Lord Cromwell ſent him thether, for that certaine malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh, had wrongfully accuſed him of words which he neuer ſpake nor mente. Cherſey hearyng hys fooliſhe Coſyn ſo farre out of the way from his former inſtruction, ſayd: Thou daſterdly dolt and varlet, is this thy promiſe that thou madeſt to me? Is there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours handes againſt thee to proue thee a lyer? Surely my Lord (ꝙ Cherſey) it is pitie to do him good. I am ſory that I haue troubled your Grace thus farre with him.

The Archbiſhops wordes vnto the parſō.

Well, ſayd the Archb. vnto the Parſon, if you haue not offended me, I can do you no good, for I am intreated to helpe one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my Lord Cromwell hath cōmitted you to priſon wrongfully, that lyeth in himſelfe to amend and not in me. If your offence onely toucheth me, I will be bolde to do ſome what for your friendes ſake here. If you haue not offended agaynſt me, then haue I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remayne from whence you came. Lord what ado his kinſman Cherſy made with him, calling him al kind of opprobrious names. In the end my Lord of Canterbury ſeeming to ryſe and go his wayes, the fonde Prieſt fell downe on his knees, and ſaid: I beſech your grace to forgiue me this offence: aſſuring your grace that I ſpake thoſe wordes being drunke and not well aduyſed. Ah, ſayd my Lord, this is ſome what, and yet it is no good excuſe, for drunkennes euermore vttereth that which lieth hid in the hart of man when he is ſober, alleadging a text or twayne out of the ſcriptures concernyng the vyce of drunkennes, whiche commeth not now to remembraunce.

The prieſt confeſſeth his fault to the Archbiſhoppe.

Now therfore (ſaid ẏ Archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to common with you, hopyng that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobrietie. Tell me then, ꝙ he, dyd you euer ſee me, or were you euer acquainted with me before this day? The Prieſt aunſwered and ſayd, that neuer in his life he ſaw his grace. Why than (ſaid the Archbiſhop) what occaſion had you to call me an Hoſtler: and that I had not ſo much learning as the Goſlings which then went on the greene before your face? If I haue no learning, you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appoſe me, either in Grammer or in other liberall ſciences, for I haue at one tyme or other taſted partly of them. Or els if you are a Diuine, ſay ſomewhat that way.

The raſhe tongues of menne, ſclaunderouſly ſpeakyng euill by men, whom they neuer knewe, nor ſaw before.

The Prieſt being amaſed at my Lordes familiar talke, made aunſwere and ſayd: I beſech your grace to pardon me. I am altogethers vnlearned, and vnderſtand not the Latin toung but very ſimply. My onely ſtudy hath bene to ſay my ſeruice and Maſſe faire and deliberate, which I can do aſwell as any Prieſt in the cōtrey where I dwell, I thanke God. Well, ſayd the other, if you will not appoſe me, I will be ſo bold to appoſe you, and yet as eaſely as I can deuiſe, and that only in the ſtory of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe that you are dayly exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was king Dauids father, ſaid my Lord? The Prieſt ſtoode ſtill pauſing a whyle and ſaid: In good fayth my Lord, I haue forgotten his name. Then ſaid the other agayne to him: if you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then who was Salamons father? The fond fooliſh Prieſt without all conſideratiō what was demaunded of him before, made aunſwere. Good my Lord beare with me, I am not further ſene in the Bible then is dayly read in our ſeruice in the church.

The Prieſtes aunſwere.

The Maſſe Prieſt ignoraunte in the Scripture.

The Archb. then aunſwering ſayd: this my queſtiō may be found well aunſwered in your ſeruice. But I now well perceiue, howſoeuer you haue iudged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you haue none at all. But this is the commō practiſe of all you which are ignorant and ſuperſtitious Prieſtes, to ſclaunder, backbite, and hate all ſuch as are learned & well affected towards Gods word and ſincere religion. Cōmon reaſon might haue taught you what an vnlikely thyng it was, & cōtrary to all maner of reaſon, that a Prince hauing twoo Uniuerſities within his Realme of well learned men, and deſirous to be reſolued of as doubtful a queſtion as in theſe many yeares was not moued the like within Chriſtendome, ſhould be driuen to that neceſſity for the defence of his cauſe, to ſend out of his realme an Hoſtler, being a mā of no better knowledge then is a goſlyng, in an ambaſſade to aunſwere al learned men, both in the court of Rome, and in the Emperours court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as toucheth the kynges Matrimony, and the diuorce thereof. I ſay, if you were men of any reaſonable conſideration, you myght thinke it both vnſeemely and vncomely for a Prince ſo to do. But looke where malice raygneth in man, there reaſon can take no place: and therefore I ſee by it, that you al are at a point with me, that no reaſon or authoritie can perſwade you to fauour my name, who neuer ment euill to you, but your both commoditie and profite. Howbeit God amend you all, forgeue you, and ſend you better myndes.

The guiſe of popiſhe Prieſtes, when they fauour not the Religion of a man: they ſclaūder his perſon.

Euill well neuer ſaieth well.

With theſe wordes the Prieſt ſeemed to weepe, and deſired hys Grace to pardon hys fault and frailtie, ſo that by hys meanes hee myght returne to hys cure agayne, & he would ſure recant thoſe his fooliſh wordes before his pariſhioners ſo ſoone as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, ſayd the Archbiſhop, ſo had you neede. And geuing him a godly admonitiō to refuſe the haunting of the Alehouſe, and to beſtow his time better in the continuall reading of the ſcriptures, he dimiſſed him from the Fleete.

The Archbiſhop forgiueth and diſmiſſeth the Prieſt.

The Lord Cromwell perceiuyng within a fortenight after, that his priſoner was ſent home without any opē puniſhmēt, came to Lambeth vnto the Archb. & in a great heate ſayd to him: My Lord, I vnderſtād that you haue diſpatched the Northen Prieſt that I of late ſent to the Fleete, home agayne, who vnhoneſtly railed of you and called you an hoſtler.

The lord Cromwell offended with the Archbiſhop in forgiuing the Popiſhe Prieſte.

In deede I haue ſo done (ſayd he agayne) for that in his abſence the people of his cure wanted their diuine ſeruice. It is very deuout diuine ſeruice that he ſayth, q the Lord Cromwell: It were more mete for him to be an hoſtler then a Curate, who ſticked not to cal you an hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therfore I would not tell you of his knauery whē I ſent him to priſon. Howbeit henceforth they ſhal cut your throte, before that I ſay any thyng more to them on your behalfe. Why? what would you haue done with him, q the Archbiſhop? there was nothing layde to his charge, other then wordes ſpoken agaynſt me: and now the man is repentaunt and well reconciled, and hath bene at great charges in priſon: it is time therfore that he were rid of his trouble. Well, ſayd my Lord Cromwell, I ment that he ſhould haue preached at Paules Croſſe a recantation before hee had gone home. That had bene well done, q the other: for then you would haue had all the world aſwell to wonder at me as at him. Well, well, ſayd the Lord Cromwell: we ſhall ſo long beare with theſe Popiſh knaues, that at length they will bryng vs in deede to be wondered at of the whole world.

The Archbiſhop defendeth his enemie that before railed vpon hym.

This example among other, ſerueth to declare that there remained ſmall deſire of reuengyng in the ſayd Archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietnes and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he neuer raged ſo far with any of his houſhold ſeruauntes, as once to cal the meaneſt of them varlet or knaue in anger, much leſſe to reproue a ſtraunger with any reprochfull wordes: Much vnlike in this part to ẏ propertie (as it ſemeth) to ſome other inferiour Biſhops of this realme, which haue not ſpared to flye in the faces, to plucke of the beardes, to burne the hands: to beate and ſcourge with roddes the bodies both of gentlemen, maried men and other, hauyng almoſt nothyng els in their mouth, but fooles and knaues, &c. and yet after all this, thinke thē ſelues good perfect Byſhops, after the rule which followeth and ſayth.

The Archbiſh. Cranmer was neuer heard to call any of his houſholde once verlet, or knaue

No ſtriker, nor fighter.

No ſtriker, nor fighter: From which kynd of vice the nature of this Archbiſhop was ſo farre of, as was his doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered farre of from all condition and example of blynd Popery. After the prohibition of theſe foreſayd vices, ſucceedeth the mother of all good vertues neceſſarily required of all true Chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpirituall Prelate which is.

Not giuen to filthy luker, but harberous.

Not giuen to filthy luker, but harberous. &c. The contrary whereof was ſo odious vnto S. Paul, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſſe then a kynde of Idolatry in that it maketh mē to forget their dutie to God ſo farre, and in ſtede of him to worſhip their treaſure. How litle this Prelate we ſpeake of, was infected with this vice, and how he was no nyggard, all kynd of people that know him, aſwell learned beyond the Seas and on this ſide, to whom yerely he gaue in exhibitiō no ſmal ſummes of money, as other, both Gentlemen, meane men, & poore men, who had in their neceſſitie that which he could cōueniently ſpare, lende, or make, cā wel teſtifie. And albeit ſuch was his liberalitie to all ſortes of mē, that no man did lacke whom he could do for, either in giuyng or lendyng: yet neuertheles ſuch was agayne his circūſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Q. Mary to the Tower, he ought no man liuyng a peny that could or would demaunde any dutie of him, but ſatiſfied euery man to the vttermoſt: where els no ſmall ſummes of money were owyng to him of diuers perſons, which by breakyng their billes & obligatiōs he freely forgaue & ſuppreſſed before his attainder: Inſomuch that when he perceiued the fatall end of kyng Edward ſhould worke to him no good ſucceſſe touching his body & goods, he incontinently called for his Officers, his Steward & other, commaundyng them in any wiſe to paye where any peny was owyng, which was out of hād diſpatched, And thē he ſaid: Now I thanke God I am myne owne man & in conſcience with Gods helpe hable els to aunſwere all the world and worldly aduerſities, whiche ſome men ſuppoſeth he might alſo haue auoided if he would haue bene coūſelled by ſome of his frendes. It followeth moreouer.

Not giuen to filthie luker, but harberous.

The liberall doynges of this Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop clearyng all his dettes before his attainder.

Harberous.

And as touching this word Harberous, whereby is mēt the good mayntenaūce of hoſpitalitie, ſo litle was this propertie lacking in him, that ſome men miſlikyng the ſame, thought it rather a houſe of ouermuch lauiſhing and vnprofitable expenſe. But as nothyng can be ſo wel done, which by ſome or other ſhall not be maligned and detracted: ſo neither did this man lacke his cauillers: ſome findyng fault with his ouermuch prodigallitie: ſome on the contrary part repynyng and cōplaynyng of his ſpare houſe and ſtrait order, much vnder the ſtate of his reuenues & callyng: of which twoo, the firſt ſort muſt cōſider the cauſes which moued him to that liberall & large kynd of expēſes. Wherin here commeth to be conſidered the time wherein he ſerued: which was when reformatiō of religion firſt began to be aduaūced: in which time the whole weight and care of the ſame moſt chiefly depended vpon his hand. Duryng which ſeaſon almoſt for the ſpace of xvi. yeares together, his houſe was neuer lightly vnfurniſhed of a number, both of learned men and Cōmiſſioners from time to time appoynted for decydyng of Eccleſiaſticall affaires.

The large expenſes of doctor Cranmer.

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome ouer large and lauiſhing more then needed in hoſpitalitie: ſo on the other ſide there wāted not ſome, of whom he was much noted and accuſed agayne, yea & alſo complained of to kyng Henry viij. for to ſlender and nyggardly houſekeping, as not worthy to bee accompted the hoſpitalitie of a meane Gentleman: as here folowyng ſhall appeare.

After that the ample & great poſſeſſions, reuenewes, iuelles, rich ornamētes and other treaſures of the Abbeys were diſſolued & brought into the kynges hands, in the diſſoluyng whereof many Cormorantes were fedde and ſatiſfied, & yet not ſo fully ſatiſfied, but that within a few yeares they began to wax hungry agayne and for ſomuch as no more could be ſcraped nowe out of the Abbeys: they began to ſeeke, how by ſome other pray to ſatiſfie their appetites, which was to tickle the kyngs eares with the rich reuenew of ẏ Biſhops landes.

The Biſhops landes ſought.

Vntroth told to the Kyng of the Archbiſhop of Canterburyes houſe keping.

des. And to bryng this deuiſe to paſſe, thei procured ſir Thomas Seimour Knight, of the priuie Chamber, to bee a promoter of the matter, who not in all pointes muche fauouryng the Archbiſhoppe, hauyng tyme and a conueniente occaſion, declared to the Kyng, that my lorde of Canterburie did nothing els, but ſel his woodes, and lette his Leaſes by greate and many fines, makyng hauocke of all the roialties of the Archebiſhopricke, and that not onely to the intent to gather vp treaſure for his wife and his children, keepyng no maner of hoſpitalitie, in reſpecte of ſo greate a reuenewe: aduertiſyng the Kyng further, that it was the opinion of many wiſe men, that it were more meete for the Biſhoppes, to haue a ſufficiente yerely ſtipende in money out of the Exchequer, then to bee combered with thoſe temporall affaires of their roialties, beyng impedimētes vnto their ſtudie, and paſtorall charge, & his highnes to haue their landes and roialties conuerted to his proper vſe, which beſides their honeſt ſtipendes, would be vnto his Maieſtie no ſmall commoditie and profite.

The Kinges aunſwere to the complayner of the Archbiſhop.

When the Kyng had heard this faire tale, he ſaied little thereunto, other then this: Well (q he) wee will talke more of this matter an other tyme. Now, within a fortnight after, or thereabout (whether by chaunce, or of ſette purpoſe, it is not knowen) it came to paſſe, that one daie his highneſſe goyng to dinner had waſhed, ſir Thomas Seimour then holdyng the Ewer, he ſaied to the ſaied ſir Thomas: Goe you out of hande to Lābeth, vnto my Lorde of Canterburie, and bidde him to bee with me at twoo of the Clocke at after noone, and faile not. Sir Thomas ſtraight waies went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate, the porter beyng in the lodge, came out, and conueighed hym to the hall, which was throughly furniſhed and ſette, bothe with the houſholde ſeruauntes, and ſtraungers, with fower principall head meſſes of Officers, as daiely it was accuſtomed to bee. When ſir Thomas Seimour ſawe that ſtately large Halle ſo well ſette and furniſhed, beeyng therewith abaſhed, and ſomewhat giltie of an vntruth tolde to the Kyng before, he retired backe, and would needes haue gone to the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie by the Chappell, and not through the Halle. Richarde Neuell gentleman, then Stewarde of the houſholde, perceiuyng his retire, came by and by vnto hym, and after gentle intertainmente, demaunded of hym, whether he would ſpeake with my Lorde or no. Sir Thomas ſaied, that he muſte needes doe ſo from the Kynges highneſſe, ſaiyng to hym: and this waie I am goyng to my Lordes grace. Sir, ſaied the Steward, you can not goe that waie, for the doore is faſt ſhutte, in the Dinner tyme: and ſo by gentle meanes brought hym vp to my Lordes chamber, through the Hall, who then was at Dinner: with whom he dined, after he had doen his meſſage: whoſe ordinarie fare might alwaies well bee ſeme a right honourable perſonage. When Dinner was ſcarſe doen, ſir Thomas toke his leaue of my Lorde, and went againe to the courte.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburyes houſe keping.

So ſone as the kynges highneſſe ſawe hym, he ſaid to hym: haue you been with my Lorde of Canterburie? Sir Thomas aunſwered: that I haue, if it pleaſe your Maieſtie, and he will bee with your highneſſe ſtraight waies. Dined you not with hym, ſaied the kyng? Yes ſir (ſaid he) that haue I doen. And with that worde, whether he eſpied by the kynges cōtenance, or by his wordes any thyng tendyng to diſpleaſure, he ſtraight waie without delaie, kneled doune vpon his knee, and ſaid: I beſeche your maieſtie to pardon me: I doe now well remember and vnderſtande, that of late I tolde your highneſſe a greate vntruthe, concernyng my Lorde of Canterburies houſe kepyng: but from henceforthe I entende neuer to beleue that perſone, whiche did putte that vaine tale into my heade: For I aſſure your highneſſe, that I neuer ſawe ſo honourable a Halle ſette in this Realme, beſides your Maieſties Halle, in all my life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in eche degree, If I had not ſeen it my ſelf, I could neuer haue beleued it: and hym ſelf alſo ſo honourably ſerued.

The complayner aſketh pardon of the King for his vntrue report.

The King ſpeaketh in defence of ẏ Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Ah ſir, q the Kynges highneſſe? Haue you now eſpied the truthe? I thought that you would tell me an other tale, whē you had been there. He was a very varlet (q the King) that tolde you that tale: for he ſpendeth (ah good man ſaied the Kyng) all that he hath in houſkeepyng. But now I perceiue whiche waie the winde bloweth. There are a ſorte of you, to whom I haue liberally giuen of the poſſeſſions, and reuenewes of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, whiche like as you haue lightly gotten, ſo haue you more vnthriftely ſpente, ſome at Dice, other ſome in gaie apparell, and other waies worſe, I feare me: and nowe as all is gone, you would faine haue me make an other cheuaunce with the Biſhops landes, to accompliſhe your gredie appetites. But let no other Biſhoppes beſtowe their reuenewes worſe then my lorde of Cāterburie doeth, then ſhal you haue no cauſe to complaine of their kepyng of houſe.

And thus the tale beeyng ſhut vp, and ended by the Kynges highneſſe, neither ſir Thomas Seimour, nor none els on his behalfe euer after durſt renewe, or reuiue that ſute any more in Kyng Henries daies: ſo that it maie be euident to all indifferent men, the liberalitie of the Archbiſhop in houſekepyng what it was, whiche beeyng defended, and commended by the Prince hym ſelfe, rather maie giue a good example to his poſteritie to followe, then was then to bee depraued of any priuate ſubiecte, ſuche as knewe hym not.

The almes of the Archbiſhop toward the poore.

In which Archbiſhop this moreouer is to be noted, with a memorandum, touchyng the relief of the poore, impotente, ſicke, and ſuche as then came from the warres at Bullein, and other partes beyonde the Seas, lame, wounded, and deſtitute, for whom he prouided, beſides his manſion houſe at Bechiſborne in Kent, the Parſonage barne well furniſhed with certain lodgynges, for the ſicke and maimed ſouldiours. To whō were alſo appointed the Almoſner, a Phiſition, and a Surgion, to attend vpon them, and to dreſſe, and cure ſuche as were not able to reſort to their Countries, hauyng daiely from the Biſhoppes Kitchin hotte brothe and meate, for otherwiſe the common almes of the houſhold was beſtowed vpon the poore neighbours of the ſhire. And when any of the impotente did recouer, and were able to trauaile, they had conuenient money deliuered to beare their charges, accordyng to the number of miles from that place diſtaunt. And this good example of mercy, and liberall benignitie, I thought here good not in ſilence to be ſuppreſſed, wherby other maie be moued accordyng to their vocation, to walke in the ſteppes of no leſſe liberalitie, then in him in this behalf appeered.

> *One that loueth goodneſſe, ſober mynded, righ-* »
> *teous, holie, and temperate.* »

Now followeth together theſe vertues, One that loueth goodneſſe, ſober minded, righteous, holie, and temperate. As concernyng theſe qualities, the trade of his life before ioyned, with his benigne and gentle diſpoſition, doe teſtifie that he could not be voide of theſe good vertues raignyng in hym, whiche was ſo aboundantly adorned with the other, whiche aboue we haue declared.

To cleaue faſt to the word of doctrine: able to exhorte in holſome learning, and to reproue the gaynſayer. Titus. 1.

> *To cleaue faſt vnto the true worde of doctrine, that he maie bee able to exhort with wholſome learnyng, and to improue that ſaie againſt it.*

Then concludeth ſaincte Paule, with the moſte excellent vertue of all other, to bee wiſhed in a Prelate of the Churche. For if this conſtauncie bee not in hym to this ende, that is: To cleaue faſte vnto the true worde of doctrine, that he maie be able to exhort with wholſome learnyng, and to improue that ſaie againſt it: If he bee voide (I ſaie) of theſe giftes and graces, he is worthie of no commendation, but ſhall ſeme an Idol, and a deceiuer of the worlde. Neither ſhall he deſerue the name of a Biſhoppe, if either for dread or meede, affection or fauour, he doe at any tyme, or in any point ſwarue frō the truthe. As in this behalf the worthie conſtancie of this ſaid Archbiſhop neuer, for the moſte part, ſhronke for no maner of ſtorme: but was ſo many waies tried, that neither fauour of his Prince, nor feare of the indignatiō of the ſame, nor any other worldly reſpect could alienate or chaunge his purpoſe, grounded vpon that infallible doctrine of the Goſpell. Notwithſtandyng, his conſtante defence of Gods truthe, was euer ioyned with ſuche meekeneſſe toward the Kyng, that he neuer tooke occaſion of offence againſt hym.

Archbyſhop Cranmer euer conſtant in defence of Chriſtes truth and Goſpell.

Read before pag. 1110. col. 2.

At the tyme of ſettyng forthe the ſixe Articles, mention was made before, in the ſtorie of Kyng Henry the viij. pag. 1110. col. 2. how aduēturouſly this Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer did oppoſe hymſelf, ſtandyng, as it were, poſte alone, againſt the whole Parlamēt, diſputyng, and replying three daies together againſt the ſaid Articles: In ſo muche that the Kyng, when neither he could miſlike his reaſons, and yet would needes haue theſe Articles to paſſe, required hym to abſent hym ſelf for the tyme out of the chamber, while the Acte ſhould

paſſe,

Read before pag. 1311.

paſſe, and ſo he did: and how the Kyng afterward ſent all the Lordes of the Parlament, vnto the Archbiſhop to Lambeth, to cheare his mynde againe, that he might not be diſcouraged: all whiche appereth in the page aboue expreſſed 1111. And this was doen duryng yet the ſtate and tyme of the lorde Cromwels authoritie. And now that it maie appeare likewiſe, that after the decaie of the Lorde Cromwell, yet his conſtancie in Chriſtes cauſe did not decay, you ſhal heare what folowed after.

The Archbyſhop alone ſtādeth in defenſe of the truth.

B. Heth and B. Skippe forſake the Archbyſhop in the plaine fielde.

The Archbyſhop incenſed by B. Heath and Skippe to geue ouer the defenſe of the Goſpell.

For after the apprehenſion of the lorde Cromwell, when the aduerſaries of the Goſpell thought all thynges ſure now on their ſide, it was ſo appointed amongeſt them, that x. or xij. Biſhops, and other learned men ioyned together in commiſſion, came to the ſaied Archbiſhop of Canterburie, for the eſtabliſhyng of certaine Articles of our Religion, whiche the Papiſtes then thought to win to their purpoſe againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop. For hauyng now the lorde Cromwell faſte and ſure, they thought all had been ſafe, and ſure for euer: as in deede to all mennes reaſonable cōſideration, that tyme appeared ſo daungerous, that there was no maner hope that Religion reformed, ſhould any one weke longer ſtande, ſuche account was then made of the kynges vntowardneſſe thereunto: In ſo muche that of all thoſe Commiſſioners, there was not one left to ſtay on the Archbiſhops parte, but he alone againſt them all, ſtoode in defence of the truthe, and thoſe that he moſte truſted to, namely biſhop Heath, and biſhop Skip left hym in the plain field: who then ſo turned againſt hym, that thei toke vpon them to perſwade him to their purpoſe: and hauyng hym twune from the reſt of the Commiſſioners, into his garden at Lambeth, there by al maner of effectuall perſwaſions, entreated hym to leaue of his ouermuche conſtancie, and to encline vnto the kynges intent, who was fully ſet to haue it otherwiſe then he then had penned, or ment to haue ſet abroad. When thoſe twoo his familiars, with one or twoo others his frendes, had vſed all their eloquence, and policie, he litle regardyng their inconſtancie, and remiſnes in gods cauſe or quarell, ſaied vnto them right notably:

The aunſwere of the Archbyſhop to D. Heath, and Skippe.

You make muche ado to haue me come to your purpoſe, alledgyng that it is the Kynges pleaſure to haue the Articles in that ſort, you haue deuiſed them to procede, and now that you doe perceiue his highnes by ſiniſter information, to be bent that waie, you thinke it a cōuenient thing to apply vnto his highneſſe minde. You bee my frendes bothe, eſpecially the one of you I did putte to his Maieſtie as of truſt. Beware I ſaie, what you doe. There is but one truthe in our Articles to be concluded vpon, whiche if you doe hide from his highneſſe by conſentyng vnto a contrary doctrine, and then after in proceſſe of tyme, when the truth cannot be hidden from hym, his highnes ſhall perceiue how that you haue dealte colourably with hym, I knowe his graces nature ſo well (q the Archbiſhop) that he wil neuer after truſt and credite you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are bothe my frendes, ſo therefore, I will you to beware thereof in tyme, and diſcharge your conſciences in mainteinaunce of the truth. But all this would not ſerue, for thei ſtill ſwarued: and in the ende by diſchargyng of his conſcience, & declaryng the truth vnto the Kyng, God ſo wrought with the Kyng, that his highneſſe ioyned with hym againſt the reſt, ſo that the booke of Articles paſſyng on his ſide, he wanne the Gole from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would haue been laied in London, that he ſhould haue been laied vp with Cromwell at that tyme in the Tower, for his ſtiffe ſtandyng to his tackle. After that daie there could neither Counſeller, Biſhop, or Papiſt win hym out of the Kynges fauour.

The Papiſtes buſy to bring the Archbyſhop out of credit with the King.

The Archbyſhop agayne accuſed to the King.

Notwithſtanding, not long after that, certain of the Counſaile, whoſe names neede not to bee repeated, by the enticement, and prouocation of his auncient enemy the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other of the ſame ſecte, attempted the Kyng againſte hym, declaryng plainely, that the realme was ſo infected with hereſies and heretickes, that it was daungerous for his highneſſe, farther to permit it vnreformed, leſt peraduenture by long ſufferyng, ſuche cōtention ſhould ariſe, and enſue in the realme among his ſubiectes, that thereby might ſpryng horrible commotions, and vprores, like as in ſome partes of Germanie, it did not longe agoe: the enormitie whereof they could not impute to any ſo muche, as to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who by his own preachyng, and his Chapleins, had filled the whole realme full of diuers pernicious hereſies. The Kyng would needes know his accuſers. Thei aunſwered, that foraſmuche as he was a Counſeller, no man durſt take vpon hym to accuſe him: but if it would pleaſe his highneſſe, to committe hym to the Tower for a tyme, there would bee accuſations, and proofes enough againſte him, for otherwiſe iuſte teſtimonie, and witneſſe againſt hym would not appeare, and therefore your highneſſe (ſaied they) muſte needes giue vs the Counſaill libertie, and leaue to commit hym to duraunce.

The King ſent Syr Antony Deny at midnight for the Archbyſhop.

The Kinges wordes and aduiſe for the ſupportation of the Archbyſhop.

The kyng perceiuyng their importune ſute againſt the Archebiſhoppe (but yet meanyng not to haue hym wronged, and vtterly giuen ouer vnto their handes) graunted to them, that they ſhould the nexte daie, committe hym to the Tower for his triall. When Nighte came, the Kyng ſent ſir Anthonie Dene aboute midnight, to Lābeth to the Archbiſhop, willyng hym forthwith to reſorte vnto hym at the Courte. The meſſage doen, the Archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed hym ſelf to the Court, and commyng into the Galerie where the kyng walked, and taried for hym, his highneſſe ſaied: Ah my Lorde of Canterburie: I can tell you newes. For diuers waightie conſiderations it is determined by me, and the Counſaile, that you to morrowe at nine of the clocke ſhall bee committed to the Tower, for that you, and your Chaplains (as information is giuen vs) haue taught & preached, and therby ſowen within the realme ſuche a number of execrable hereſies, that it is feared, the whole realme beyng infected with thē no ſmall contention, and commotions will riſe thereby amōgeſt my ſubiectes, as of late daies the like was in diuers partes of Germanie: and therfore the Cōſail haue requeſted me, for the triall of this matter, to ſuffer thē to commit you to the Tower, or els no man dare come forthe, as witneſſe in theſe matters, you beyng a Counſellour.

The Archbyſhops anſwere to the King.

When the king had ſaid his minde, the Archbiſhop kneeled downe, and ſaied: I am content if it pleaſe your grace, with all my harte, to go thether at your highnes commaundement, and I moſte humbly thanke your Maieſtie, that I maie come to my triall, for there bee that haue many waies ſclaundered me, and nowe this waie I hope to trie my ſelf, not worthy of ſuche report.

The kinges fauorable care & conſideration toward ÿ Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.

The King ſendeth his ſignet in the behalfe of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The Kyng perceiuyng the mannes vprightneſſe, ioyned with ſuche ſimplicitie, ſaied: Oh Lorde, what maner a man be you? What ſimplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather haue ſued to vs, to haue taken the paines to haue heard you, and your accuſers together for your triall, without any ſuche induraunce. Doe not you knowe, what ſtate you bee in with the whole worlde, and how many greate enemies you haue? Doe you not conſider, what an eaſie thyng it is, to procure three or fower falſe knaues to witneſſe againſte you? Thinke you to haue better lucke that waie, then your Maiſter Chriſte had? I ſee by it, you will runne headlonge to your vndoyng, if I would ſuffer you. Your enemies ſhall not ſo preuaile againſt you, for I haue otherwiſe deuiſed with my ſelfe, to keepe you out of their handes, Yet notwithſtanding, to morrowe whē the Counſaile ſhall ſitte, and ſende for you, reſort vnto them, and if in chargyng you with this matter, they doe commit you to the Tower: require of them, becauſe you are one of them a Counſeller, that you maie haue your accuſers brought before them, and that you maie aunſwere their accuſations before them, without any further induraunce, and vſe for your ſelf as good perſwaſions that waie, as you maie deuiſe, and if no intreatie or reaſonable requeſt will ſerue, then deliuer vnto them this my ryng (whiche then the Kyng deliuered vnto the Archbiſhoppe) and ſaie vnto them, if there be no remedie my Lordes, but that I muſt needes goe to the Tower, then I reuoke my cauſe from you, and appeale to the Kynges owne perſone, by this his token vnto you all, for (ſaied the Kyng then vnto the Archbiſhoppe) ſo ſone as thei ſhall ſee this my ryng, thei knowe it ſo wel that they ſhall vnderſtande, that I haue reſumed the whole cauſe into myne owne handes, and determination, and that I haue diſcharged them thereof.

The Archebiſhoppe perceiuyng the kynges benignitie ſo muche to him wardes, had muche a doe to forbeare teares. Well, ſaied the kyng, goe your waies my Lorde, and doe as I haue bidden you. My Lorde humblyng hym ſelf with thankes, tooke his leaue of the kynges highneſſe for that night.

The Archbyſhop being one of the Counſel, made to ſtand at the Counſell chamber dore waiting.

On the morowe about ix. of the clocke before noone, the Counſaile ſent a gentleman Huſher for the Archebiſhop, who when he came to the Counſail chāber dore, could not bee let in, but of purpoſe (as it ſeemed) was compelled there to waite among the Pages, Lackeis, and ſeruyng men all alone. Doctor Buttes the kynges Phiſition reſortyng that waie, and eſpiyng howe my Lorde of Canterburie was handled, went to the kynges highneſſe and ſaied: My lorde of Canterbury, if it pleaſe your grace, is well promoted: for nowe he is become a lackey or a ſeruyng man, for yonder he ſtandeth this halfe hower, without the Counſail chamber dore amongeſt them. It is not ſo, ꝙ the kyng, I trowe, nor the Counſaile hath not ſo little diſcretion, as to vſe the Metropolitane of the Realme in that ſort, ſpecially beyng one of their owne number: but let them alone (ſaid the kyng) and we ſhall heare more ſone.

Doctor Buttes ỹ kinges Phiſition, a friend of the Archbyſhops

Anone the Archbiſhop was called into the Counſaill Chamber: to whom was alledged, as before is rehearſed. The Archbiſhop aunſwered in like ſort, as the kyng had aduiſed hym: & in the ende when he perceiued that no maner of perſwaſion or intreatie could ſerue, he deliuered to them the Kynges rynge, reuokyng his cauſe into the Kynges handes. The whole Counſaile beyng thereat ſomewhat amaſed, the Erle of Bedford with a loude voice, confirmyng his wordes with a ſolemne othe, ſaied: when you firſt began this matter my Lordes, I tolde you what would come of it. Doe you thinke that the Kyng will ſuffer this mannes finger to ake: muche more (I warrãt you) wil he defende his life againſt brablyng varlettes. You doe but comber your ſelues to heare tales & fables againſt hym. And ſo incontinently vpõ the receipt of the kynges token, thei al roſe, and caried to the king his ring, ſurrendering that matter as the order and vſe was, into his own handes.

The Archbyſhop called before the Counſaile.

The Counſaile being ſette againſt ỹ Archbiſhop, hee ſheweth the kynges ring & appealeth from them.

When thei wer all come to the kynges preſence, his highnes with a ſeuere countenaunce, ſaid vnto thẽ: Ah my lordes, I thought I had had wiſer men of my counſaile, then now I finde you. What diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of the Realme, & one of you in office, to waite at the Counſail chamber dore amongeſt ſeruyng men? You might haue cõſidered that he was a Counſeller as well as you, and you had no ſuche cõmiſſion of me ſo to handle hym. I was content that you ſhould trie him as a Counſeller, and not as a meane ſubiect. But now I well perceiue that things be doen againſt him maliciouſly, and if ſome of you might haue had your minds, you would haue tried him to the vttermoſt. But I do you all to wit, and proteſt, that if a Prince maie bee beholdyng vnto his ſubiecte (and ſo ſolemly laiyng his hande vpon his breaſte) ſaied: by the faithe I owe to God, I take this man here my Lorde of Canterburie, to be of al other a moſte faithfull ſubiecte vnto vs, and one to whõ we are muche beholding, geuyng hym greate commendations otherwiſe. And with that one or twoo of the chiefeſt of the Counſaile, making their excuſe, declared, that in requeſting his induraunce, it was rather meante for his triall, and his purgation againſt the common fame, and ſclaunder of the worlde, then for any malice conceiued againſt him. Well, well my Lordes, ꝙ the kyng, take hym and well vſe hym, as he is worthie to be, and make no more ado. And with that euery man caught hym by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers, whiche might eaſely be doen with that man.

The kinges wordes to the counſaile in defence of the Archbiſhop.

The Lordes of the Counſaile glad to bee friendes againe with the Archbiſhop.

And it was muche to be marueiled, that they would goe ſo farre with hym, thus to ſeeke his vndoyng, this well vnderſtandyng before, that the kyng moſte entirely loued him, and alwaies would ſtande in his defence who ſoeuer ſpake againſte hym: as many other tymes the kynges pacience was by ſiniſter informations, againſt hym tried: In ſo muche that the Lorde Cromwell was euermore wont to ſaie vnto hym: My Lorde of Canterburie, you are moſte happie of all men: for you maie doe and ſpeake what you liſte, and ſaie what all men can againſt you, the kyng wil neuer beleue one worde to your detriment or hinderaunce. I am ſure, I take more paines then all the Counſaile doeth, and ſpende more largely in the Kynges affaires, aſwell beyonde the Seas, as on this ſide: yea I aſſure you, euen verie ſpies in other foreine Realmes, and at Rome els where, coſteth me aboue a 1000. markes a yere: and doe what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the cõmoditie of the Kyng and the Realme, I am euery daie chidden, and many falſe tales now and then beleued againſt me: and therefore you are moſte happy, for in no pointe can you bee diſcredited with the kyng. To this the Archbiſhop againe aunſweryng, if the kynges maieſtie (ſaied he) were not good to me that waie, I were not able to ſtand and endure one whole weke, but your wiſedome and policie is ſuche, that you are able to ſhift well enough for your ſelf.

The king a great ſupporter of Cranmer.

The Lord Cromwels wordes to the Archbiſhop.

Now, when the kynges highnes had thus benignely, and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid Archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation, by the Cõſaile laied againſt him, al wiſe men would haue thought, that it had been mere follie afterwardes to haue attempted any matter againſt hym: but yet looke where malice raigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſtie can take place. Suche therfore as had conceiued depe rancour and diſpleaſure againſte hym, ceaſed not to perſecute hym by all poſſible meanes. Then brought they againſt hym a newe kinde of accuſation, and cauſed ſir John Goſtwike knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuſe the Archbiſhop openly in the Parlament houſe, laiyng to his charge his Sermons preached at Sandwiche, and his Lectures read at Canterburie, wherein ſhould be conteined manifeſt hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the aultar. &c. which accuſation came to the kynges eare. Why, ꝙ the kyng, where dwelleth Goſtewicke? As I take it, either in Bedfordſhire or Buckynghamſhire, & hath he ſo opẽ an eare that he can heare my Lorde of Canterburies preachyng out of Kẽt: this is very like, ſaied the kyng. If he had been a Kẽtiſhman, there had been ſomthyng worthy of conſideratiõ: but as for Goſtwicke, I know him well enough, and what good Religion he is of. Go to hym, and tell hym, ſaied the kyng to one of his priuie Chamber, if he go not to my lorde of Canterburie, and ſo reconcile hym ſelf to hym, that he maie become his good Lorde, I will pull the Goſlinges fethers ſo, that hearafter he ſhall haue little luſt to ſclãder the Metropolitane, or any other learned manne. When ſir John Goſtewicke heard theſe wordes, it was no neede to bid him haſt himſelf to Lambeth vnto the Metropolitane, makyng to hym as many frendes as poſſible he might. When he came to the Arch. he was fain to diſcloſe vnto hym, by what meanes he was procured to do that he did, requeſting his clemẽcie to be his good lorde, or els he toke himſelf vtterly vndoen, beyng ſo in the kynges indignation, as he vnderſtode he was by that afore declared, whiche ſute was ſone wone at his hande: and ſo the Archb. caſting into the ſatchell behind him, al thoſe ſir John Goſtewickes ingratitudes, went to the king, and wan to ſir John his Princes fauour againe. And thus the kyng made a ſhort ende of this accuſation.

An other accuſation brought into the Parlament houſe by Syr John Goſtwiche, againſt ỹ Archbiſhop.

Goſtwicke checked of the king, for accuſing the Archbiſhop.

Goſtwicke glad to fall in agayne with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Wel: here you maie perceiue that malicious inuention, went not the wiſeſt waie to worke, to procure a ſtraunger dwelling a farre of, to accuſe the Archbiſhop of his doctrine, preached in his Dioceſſe: and therefore hath blinde malice learned ſome more wiſedome now, to accuſe the Archbiſhop in ſuche ſort, as he ſhall neuer bee able to auoide it. And therefore it was procured by his auncient enemies, that not onely the Prebendaries of his Cathedrall churche in Canterburie, but alſo the moſte famous Juſtices of Peace in the Shere ſhould accuſe hym, and Article againſte hym: whiche in verie dede was moſte ſubſtancially brought to paſſe, and the Articles bothe well written, and ſubſcribed, were deliuered to the kynges highnes, as a thyng of ſuche effect, that there muſt nedes followe to the ſaied Archb. both indignation of the prince, and condigne puniſhmẽt for his greuous offence committed by hym & his chaplains in preachyng ſuche erroneous doctrine, as thei did win his Dioces of Canterburie: whereof thei beeyng ſuche witneſſe of credite, no man had cauſe to doubte of their circumſpect doynges. This accuſation articularly ſent out, was deliuered to the kyng, by ſome of the Counſailes meanes. When the kyng had peruſed the booke, he wrapt it vp, and put it into his ſleue: and findyng occaſion to ſolace hymſelf vpon the Thames, came with his Barge furniſhed with his Muſicions, a longe by Lambeth Bridge towardes Chelſey. The noyſe of the Muſicions prouoked the Archbiſhop, to reſorte to the bridge to doe his duetie, and to ſalute his Prince. Whõ when the Kyng had perceiued to ſtande at the Bridge, eftſones he commaunded the watermen, to drawe towardes the ſhore, and ſo came ſtraight to the Bridge.

New accuſers by the Prebendaries and Juſtices of Kent agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Articles put vp to the King in writing againſt D. Cranmer.

Ah my Chaplaine, ſaied the Kyng to the Archebiſhop: Come into the Barge to me. The Archbiſhoppe declared to his highneſſe, that he would take his owne Barge, and waite vppon his Maieſtie. No ſaied the kyng, you muſte come into my Barge, for I haue to talke with you. When the Kyng and the Archbiſhop all alone in the Barge were ſette togethers, ſaied the Kyng to the Archbiſhoppe, I haue newes out of Kent for you my Lorde. The Archbiſhop aunſwered: Good

The King maketh the Archbiſhop priuy of the Articles.

I hope, if it pleaſe your highnes. Mary ſayd the kyng they be ſo good, that I now know yͤ greateſt hereticke in Kent, ⁊ with that pulled out of his ſleeue the booke of Articles againſt both the ſayd Archbiſhop, and his Preachers, and gaue the booke to him, willing him to peruſe the ſame. When the Archb. had read the Articles, and ſaw him ſelfe ſo vncurteouſly handeled of his own church, whereof he was head, I meane of the Prebendaries of his Cathedrall church, and of ſuch hys neighbours as hee had many wayes gratified, I meane the Iuſtices of the peace, it much greeued hym. Notwithſtanding he kneeled downe to the Kyng, and beſought his Maieſty to graunt out a Commiſſion to whomſoeuer it pleaſed hys highnes, for them to try out the truthe of this accuſation. In very deede, ſayd the Kyng, I do ſo meane, and you your ſelfe ſhall bee chiefe Cõmiſſioner, to adioyne to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall thinke good your ſelfe. Then it will be thought (ꝙ the Archbiſhop to the Kyng) that it is not indifferent (if it pleaſe your Grace) that I ſhould be myne own Iudge, and my Chaplaines alſo. Well, ſayd the Kyng, I will haue none other but your ſelfe, and ſuch as you will appoynt. For I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you bee dryuen to accuſe your ſelfe, and I know partly how this geare proceedeth, ⁊ if you handle the matter wiſely, you ſhall finde a pretye conſpiracie deuiſed agaynſt you. Whom will you haue with you, ſayd the Kyng? Whom it ſhall pleaſe your grace to name, ꝙ the Archbiſhop. I will appoint Doct. Belhous for one, name you the other, ſayd the King, meete for that purpoſe. My Chauncellour D. Cox, and Huſſey my Regiſter, ſayd the Archb. are men expert to examine ſuch troubleſome matters. Well, ſaid the Kyng, let there be a Commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and aduertiſe me of your doynges.

Commiſſion appointed to be ſent into Kent, for triall of the Articles.

Cõmiſſioners appointed to Cranmer, Doctour Bellowes, D. Cox Chañc. Maſter Huſſey Regiſter.

They came into Kent, and there they ſat about three weekes to bult out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſatiõ, for therof the Kyng would chiefly be aduertiſed. Now the Inquiſition being begun by the Commiſſioners, euery man ſhroncke in his hornes, and no man would cõfeſſe any thing to the purpoſe. For Doct. Coxe and Huſſey, being friendly vnto the Papiſtes, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing materiall to come to lyght. This thing being well perceyued by one of the Archbiſhops ſeruauntes his Secretary, he wrote incontinently vnto Doct. Buttes and Maſter Deny, declaring that if the Kynges Maieſtie dyd not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my Lord, then thoſe that then were there with hym, it were not poſſible that any thing ſhould come to lyght: and therefore wiſhed that Doct. Lee or ſome other ſtoute man that had bene exerciſed in the Kings Eccleſiaſtical affaires in his viſitations, might be ſent to the Archbiſhop. Vpon theſe letters Doct. Lee was ſent for to Yorke by the King, and hauing the kings farther mind declared vnto him, when he came to the Court, he reſorted incontinently into Kẽt, ſo that on Alhallow euen, he deliuered to the Archbiſhop the kinges Ring, with a declaration of his highnes farther pleaſure: and by and by vpon his meſſage done, he appointed the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to name him a doſen or xvi. of his Officers ⁊ gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, ⁊ audacitie: to whom he gaue in Commiſſion from the King, to ſearch both the purſes, Cheſtes, and chambers, of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this cõfederacy both within the Cathedrall church and without, ⁊ ſuch letters or writinges as they could find about thẽ, to bring them to the Archbiſhop and him.

D. Cox chãcel. and M. Huſſey falſe to the Archbiſhop.

This Secretarie was maiſter Raphe Morice witneſſe and drawer of this ſtorie.

D. Lee of Yorke appointed Cõmiſſioner with the Archbiſhop for tryeng out the conſpiracie.

Theſe men thus appointed, went in one houre and inſtant, to the perſons, houſes, and places, that they were appointed vnto: and within foure houres afterwardes the whole conſpiracy was diſcloſed by fynding of letters, ſome from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from D. London at Oxford, and from Iuſtices of the Shiere, with other: ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould haue bene the ende of their conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certaine chambers and Cheſts of Gentlemen of the ſhiere were alſo ſearched, where alſo were found letters ſeruing to this purpoſe. Amongſt all other, came to my Lordes handes two letters, one of the Suffragan of Douer, and an other of Doct. Barbar a Ciuilian, whom continually the Archbiſhop reteined with hym in houſholde for expedition of matters in ſute before him, as a counſellour in the Law when nede required. Theſe two mẽ being well promoted by the Archbiſhop, he vſed euer in ſuch familiarity, that when the Suffragan being a prebend of Caunterbury, came to him, he alwayes ſet him at his owne meſſe, and the other neuer from his table, as men in whom hee had much delyght and comfort, when time of care and penſiuenes chaunced. But that which they dyd, was altogether counterfait, and the Deuill was turned into the Aungell of light, for they both were of this confederacy.

The cõſpiracie of the Papiſtes againſt yͤ Archbiſhoppe found out.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter, D. London, the Suffragan of Douer, doctour Barbar, with certaine Iuſtices of Kente, chief cõſpirers againſte the Archbiſhoppe.

Domeſticall enemies and cõſpirers againſt their Maſter.

When my Lord had gotten theſe their letters into his handes, he on a day, when it chaunced the Suffragan to come to him to his houſe at Bekiſburne, called to him into his ſtudy the ſaid Suffragan of Douer ⁊ D. Barbar, ſaying: come your wayes with me, for I muſt haue your aduiſe in a matter. When they were with him in his ſtudy al togethers, he ſaid to them, you twayne be men in whom I haue had much confidence and truſt; you muſt now giue me ſome good counſaile, for I am ſhamfully abuſed with one or twayne to whõ I haue ſhewed all my ſecretes from time to time, and did truſt them as my ſelfe. The matter is ſo now fallen out that they not onely haue diſcloſed my ſecretes, but alſo haue taken vpon them to accuſe me of hereſie and are become witnes againſt me. I require you therfore of your good aduice how I ſhall behaue my ſelfe towardes them. You are both my frendes, and ſuch as I alwayes haue vſed when I needed counſell. What ſay you to the matter, ꝙ the Archbiſhop?

Priuy talke betwene the Archbiſhop and his Suffragan, and doctor Barbar.

Mary, ꝙ Doct. Barbar, ſuch vilens and knaues, (ſauing your honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hãd without any other law. Hanging were to good, ꝙ the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman my ſelfe.

The Suffragã and Ciuilian geue iudgemẽt againſte themſelues.

At theſe wordes, the Archbiſhop caſt vp his handes to heauen ⁊ ſaid: Oh Lord moſt mercifull God, whom may a man truſt now adayes? It is moſt true which is ſayd: *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, & ponit carnem brachium ſuum.* There was neuer man handled as I am: but oh Lorde thou haſt euermore defended me, and lent me one great frend and Maſter (meanyng the Kyng) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand vpright one daye vnouerthrowen, I prayſe thy holy name therfore: and with that he pulled out of his boſome their two letters, and ſaid: know ye theſe letters my maſters? With that they fel down vpõ their knees, ⁊ deſired forgiuenes, declaring how they a yeare before were attempted to do the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailyng their doynges, beſought his grace to pardon ⁊ forgeue them. Well, ſaid the gentle Archbiſhop, God make you both good men. I neuer deſerued this at your handes: but aſke God forgeuenes, againſt whom you haue highly offended. If ſuch mẽ as you are, be not to be truſted, what ſhould I do aliue? I perceiue now that there is no fidelitie or truth amongeſt men. I am brought to this point now that I feare my left hand will accuſe my right hand. I nede not muche maruaile hereat, for our ſauiour Chriſt truly prophecied of ſuche a worlde to come in the latter daies. I beſech him of his great mercy to finiſhe that tyme ſhortly, and ſo departyng he diſmiſſed them bothe with gentle and comfortable wordes, in ſuche ſort that neuer after appeared in his countenaunce or wordes any remembraunce therof.

The falſe Suffragã and Barbar the Ciuiliã, aſke the Archbiſhop forgiueneſſe.

The Archbiſhop forgiueth his enemies.

Now, when all thoſe letters and accuſations were found, they were put into a Cheſte, the Kynges Maieſtie myndyng to haue peruſed ſome of them and to haue partly puniſhed the principals of it. The Cheſte and writynges were brought to Lãbeth. At what time began the Parlament, Lorde what adoe there was, to procure the Kyng a ſubſide, to the intent that therupon might enſue a pardon, which in dede folowed, and ſo nothing was done, other then their falſehode knowen. This was the laſt puſh of the pike that was inferred againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop in kyng Henry the viij. his dayes: for neuer after durſt any man moue matter againſt him in his time.

Practiſe to get pardon for [illegible] leſauours.

And thus haue ye both the working and diſcloſing of this Popiſh conſpiracy againſt this worthy Archbiſhop and Martyr of Chriſt Tho. Cranmer. In the whiche conſpiracie forſomuch as complaint was alſo made vnto the kyng of his Chaplains, and good preachers in Kent, it ſhall not be out of the ſtory ſomething likewiſe to touch therof eſpecially of Rich. Turner the Preacher the ſame tyme in this Archbyſhops Dioces and Curate to M. Morice the Archbyſhops Secretary, in the Towne of Chartham, by whoſe diligent

Richard Turner a faithfull preacher in Kẽt.

Papiſtes ſet agaynſt the Archbiſhop, by occaſiō of Turners preachyng.

preaching a great part of this hartburnyng of the Papiſtes toke his firſt kyndlyng agaynſt the Archbiſhop. Touchyng the deſcription of whiche ſtorie, becauſe by me nothing ſhalbe ſayd either more or leſſe, then is the truth, ye ſhall heare the very certeintie thereof truely compiled in a letter ſent the ſame tyme to Doct. Buttes and Sir Anth. Deny, to be ſhewed vnto the kyng, and ſo it was, written by the foreſaid M. Moryce Secretary thē to the Archbiſhop farmour of the ſame benefice of Chartham, and patrone to M. Turner there miniſter and Preacher aforeſaid.

¶ A letter or Apologie of M. Moryce, ſent to Syr W. Buttes, and Syr Anth. Deny, defendyng the cauſe of M. Rich. Turner preacher, agaynſt the Papiſtes.

THe letter firſt beginning in theſe wordes: I am certeine right worſhipfull, that it is not vnknowen to your diſcret wiſedomes. &c. And after a fewe lynes, comming to the matter, thus the ſayd letter procedeth:

The troubles of Richarde Turner miniſter at Charthā.

As your worſhips well knowe, It was my chaunce to be brought vp vnder my Lord of Canterbury my maſter, in writing of the Eccleſiaſticall affaires of this realme, aſwell touching the reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the aduauncement of that pure & ſincere religion receiued by the doctrine of the Goſpell, which I take to be ſo ſubſtantially handled and builded vpō the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apoſtles, that hell gates ſhall neuer preuaile againſt it. The conſideration wherof compelled me, being a Farmour of the Parſonage of Chartham in Kent, to reteine with me one named M. Richard Turner, a man not onely learned in the ſcriptures of God, but alſo in conuerſation of life towardes the world, irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my cōſcience I placed at Chartham aforeſayd to bee Curate there. This man becauſe he was a ſtraunger in the countrey there, and ſo thereby voide of grudge or diſpleaſure of any old rancour in the coūtrey, I thought it had bene a meane to haue gotten him the better credite in his doctrine: but where malice once taketh fire againſt truth, no policie I ſee is able to quench it. Well, thys man as he knew what appertayned vnto his office, ſo he ſpared not weekely both Sundayes and holydaies to open the Goſpell and Epiſtell vnto his audience, after ſuche a ſort (when occaſion ſerued) that aſwell by hys vehement inueying againſt the Biſhop of Romes vſurped power and authoritie, as in the earneſt ſetting forthe and aduaūcing of the kinges Maieſties ſupremacie, innumerable of the people of the coūtrey reſorting vnto his ſermons, chaunged their opinions, and fauoured effectually the religion receiued. The confluence of the people ſo dayly encreaſed that the church beyng a fayre, ample, & large church, was not now and then able to receyue the number. The fame of this new inſtruction of the people was ſo blaſted abroad, that the popiſh Prieſtes were wonderfully amaſed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their Pope ſo to be defaced, & their Prince ſo highly aduaunced.

M. Raph Morice Patrone of Richard Turner preacher.

The great concurſe of people to M. Turners preachyng.

Now thought they, it is hygh tyme for vs to worke, or els all wil here be vtterly loſt by this mans preaching. Some then went with Capons, ſome with Hens, ſome with Chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other vnto the Iuſtices, ſuch as then fauoured their cauſe and faction, and ſuch as are no ſmall fooles, as Syr Iohn Baker, Syr Chriſtofer Hales, Syr Thomas Moyle Knightes, with other Iuſtices. The Prebendaries of CHRISTES Church in Canterbury were made priuy hereof, gyuing their ſuccour and ayd thereunto: So that in concluſion poore Turner and other Preachers were greuouſly complayned of vnto the kings Maieſty. Whereupon my L. of Canterbury and certaine other Commiſſioners were appoynted at Lambeth to ſit vppon the examination of theſe ſeditious Preachers. Howbeit before Turner went vp to hys examination, I obtayned of Syr Tho. Moyle that hee in Eaſter weeke was content to heare Turner preach a rehearſall ſermon in hys pariſh church at Weſtwell, of all the doctrine of his Sermons preached at his cure in Chartham, whiche hee moſt gently graunting, heard Turner both before noone & after noone on the Wedenſday in Eaſter weeke laſt paſt, and (as it ſeemed) tooke all thinges in good part, remitting Turner home to his ſayd cure with gentle and fauorable wordes. I ſuppoſed by this meanes to haue ſtayed Maiſter Turner at home from farther examination, hoping that Syr Thomas Moyle would haue aunſwered for hym at Lambeth before the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after Maiſter Moyles comming to London, ſuch information was layd in againſt Turner, that he was ſent for to make aunſwere him ſelfe before the ſayd Commiſſioners, and there appearyng before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfite, and learned aunſwer vnto the Articles obiected, that he was with a good exhortation diſcharged home againe, without any maner of recantation or other iniunction.

Sir Iohn Baker, ſir Chriſtopher Hales, ſir Thomas Moile Iuſtices, with the Prebendaries of Canterburie, perſecuters of Goddes people.

Sir Thomas Moile hearyng Turner, could finde no faulte with his doctrine.

M. Turner appearyng before the Commiſſioners at Lambeth, was diſcharged, and ſent home.

Nowe, when the Popecatholicke Clergy of Kent vnderſtode of his comming home without controlemēt, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before, agaynſt their blind and dumme ceremonies, ſtraight way by the helpe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, they found a new meanes to put him to an vtter confuſion, deuiſing that hee came home from examination in ſuch glorious Pompe by the hyewayes ſide in the woodes adioyning, that v. C. perſons met hym then with banketting diſhes to welcome him home, ſtirring the people rather to an vprore and a commotion, thē to kepe them in any quiet obedience: when in very deede, contrary to this ſurmyſe (as God would) on this ſyde Rocheſter a mile or twoo, for auoyding all ſuch light and glorious talke with any of his familiars or acquaintaunce, he of purpoſe left the hye way, and came through the woodes all alone aboue xviij. myles together on fote, ſo weried and megered for want of ſuſtinance, that when he came into my houſe at Chartham, hee was not well able to ſtand or ſpeake for fayntnes and thurſt.

New matter made agaynſt Richard Turner.

The practiſe of Papiſtes to holde vp their kyngdom with lyes.

This malicious tale being reported vnto the kinges hyghnes, his Maieſtie was ſo ſore agreeued therewith, that he ſent for the Archb. of Caunterbury, willing him to cauſe Turner to be whipt out of the countrey. By meanes wherof the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury ſent agayne for Turner. I hearing thereof, made incontinently report by my letters, with ſuche vehemencie prouyng it mere malyce, that the Archbyſhop vnderſtanding the truth, pacified agayne the kings Maieſties wrath. Home commeth Turner once agayne to his Cure without blot. Which ſo wroong the Papiſtes, in that they could not preuayle, that they thought it all in vayne any farther to attempt agaynſt him concerning any accuſatiō for matters in Kent, the Archb. of Caunterbury beyng his Ordinarie. Well, yet would they not thus leaue hym vndiſcredited. Then was there other new matter deuiſed, howe that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countreyes before he came into Kēt, laying to his charge that he had both tranſlated the Maſſe into Engliſhe, and ſayd or miniſtred the ſame, and that he had preached agaynſt Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead. &c. By meanes whereof he was nowe conuented before the whole Counſayle by the Byſhop of Wincheſter. Who ſent Siriacke Petite Gentleman for hym, which brought hym vp to London bound (as I heard ſay) and being examined before the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter and other, was committed to ward for a ſeaſon.

The kyng deceiued by ſiniſter informations.

New matter made agaynſt Rich. Turner.

In the whiche meane tyme the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury being in Kent, about the tryall of conſpiracy purpoſed agaynſt himſelfe by the Iuſtices of the ſheare, and the Prebendaries of Chriſtes Church, Turner is now ſent downe to the Archbyſhop to the intent hee ſhould recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the vtter ſubuerſion and defacing of all that he had moſt godly & earneſtly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtheraunce and ſetting forth of the kinges highnes proceedinges. If his maieſty will thus permit learned honeſt men thus dayly to bee ouercrowed and troden vnder foote with a ſort of tyrannous, or rather trayterous Papiſts (who can not abide to heare his Maieſtes ſupremacie aduaunced, nor the ſincere woorde of God preached) it were better for men to dwell amongſt the Infidels and miſcreants then in England. What reaſon is this that Turner ſhould recant here in Kent, the doctrine which in other Countreyes he hath taught, to the wounding and ouerthrowing moſt deſperatly of fiue hundred mens conſciences, and aboue (I dare ſay) who lately by his ſincere preachyng haue embraced a ryght good opinion both of the Kinges ſupremacy, and alſo of the reformed religion receiued. All good ſubiectes may well lament the kinges Maieſties eſtate in this behalfe, that no man may dare to be ſo bold to aduaunce his highnes title, but that euery ignorant and malicious Papiſt ſhall ſpurne agaynſt him, ſeekyng his vtter vndoyng, and that by the ayde of papiſticall Iuſtices ſet in authoritie, I beſeche your worſhips to pardon me of my rude & homely termes. They herein deſerue worſe, if worſe maye be deuiſed. For what honeſt man can beare with this, that ſo noble a Princes eares ſhall be thus impudently abuſed

Conſpiracie agaynſt ẏ Archbiſhop Cāterb. by the Iuſtices of Kent.

with manifeſt lyes and fables, as this one is of Turners comming home in ſuch a triumph as they craftely and falſely had deuiſed? It is eaſely to be eſpied what they meane and go about, that the Prince being a lyue dare take in hand ſo vncurteouſly to abuſe both the gentle nature of the Prince, and his godly Preacher, the aduaūcer and extoller of his iuſt authoritie. What thinke your worſhips they would attempt, if his maieſty were at Gods mercy (as God forſend that euer any of vs ſhould ſee that day, without better reformatiō) that can thus dally with his hyghnes, blyndyng his eyes with miſtes, whyleſt he lyueth and raygneth amongſt vs in moſt proſperitie? As for my Lord of Canterbury dare nothing do for the poore mans delyuery, he hath done ſo much for him already. And his Grace hath told me playnly that it is put into the kinges head, that he is the maynteyner and ſupporter of all the heretickes with in the Realme, nor will not permit me nor my neighbors to reſort vnto the Coūſaile for his purgatiō whileſt he was at Chartham, ſauing onely I haue obtained this at his hand, that I may become a ſuter in writing to my frendes and good Maſters in the court for his deliuery.

And therfore it is (right worſhipfull) that I haue now taken pen in hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our miſerie vnto you concernyng the extreme handling of this honeſt poore man M. Turner, that if it may poſſibly bee brought to paſſe by your godly wiſedome, that the poore man may be releaſed and diſcharged of his recantation, you cā not do to God & your Prince a more acceptable ſeruice, in my poore opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould bee driuen to recant (as I am ſure hee will ſooner dye) both Gods cauſe and the kynges ſhal ſuffer no ſmall detriment amongeſt his poore louyng ſubiectes here. For if there be no better ſtay for the maynteinaunce of theſe godly Preachers, the kynges authoritie concernyng hys ſupremacie, ſhal lye poſt alone hidden in the Act of Parlament, and not in the hartes of his ſubiectes. If they can bring to paſſe, that Turner may recant, to the defacyng of his good doctrine preached here, then haue they that for which they haue thus long trauailed. And yet in effect ſhall not Turner recant, but kyng Henry the viii. in Turners perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant to the woundyng of all mens conſciences here. If the kynges Maieſtie do not eſteme his authoritie giuen to his highnes by Gods word and his Parlamēt, it were well done, that the Preachers had good warnyng to talke no more to the people thereof, then thus to be toſſed and tormoiled for doyng their duties, by thē members of Antichriſt.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for euer ſclaunder Turners doctrine here, they haue indited him for offendyng againſt the vj. Articles, this laſt Seſſions, by the witnes of ij. Papiſtes of the Pariſh of Chartham his vtter enemies, Sandēr and Browne by name, for a Sermō preached at Chartham on paſſiō Sunday, which chaunced on S. Gregories euen, they both being abſent that day at Wye faire, as it is wel proued, namely for that he ſhould preach agaynſt the Maſſe, ſaying that our Sauiour Chriſt was the only ſoule Prieſt which ſong Maſſe on the aultar of the Croſſe, there ſacrificing for the ſinnes of the world once for euer, and that all other Maſſes were but remembraunces and thankes giuyng for that one ſacrifice, or ſuch wordes in effect.

Sander, and Browne two perſecuting Papiſtes.

Wherfore, to conclude (right worſhypfull) knowyng your godly zeales, aſwel towardes the preferment of ſincere Religion, as your no leſſe affection towardes the kyng his Maieſties perſon and his godly procedynges, I moſt humbly beſech you in the bowels of our Sauiour Chriſt, ſo to ponder the weighty conſideration of the premiſſes, as by your trauailes vnto the kings Maieſtie or to the honorable Counſaile, we here in Kent, that haue now of late our hartes bent towardes the obſeruation of the law of God & the Prince, thorough Turners godly perſuaſions, may receyue from your worſhips ſome comfortable worde of his deliueraunce, or els certeinly many an honeſt and ſimple man lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall awaye deſperatly from the ſame, not without daunger of their ſoules. In accompliſhyng wherof your worſhyps ſhall not onely do vnto almighty God and the Prince moſt true and acceptable ſeruice, but alſo bind the ſaid M. Turner, with al other to whom this cauſe doth apperteine, both dayly to pray for your proſperities, and alſo bee at your commaundementes duryng their liues. From Canterbury the 1. daye of Nouember.

Your worſhips euermore at commaundement, R. M.

And thus much cōteineth the letter ſent (as is ſaid) by M. Morice to Doct. Buttes and Sir Anth. Deny. Now, what ſucceſſe and ſpede this letter had, it foloweth to be declared. For Doct. Buttes the kinges Phiſition aforeſaid, after the receite of theſe letters, conſideryng the weyghtie contentes of the ſame, as he was euer a forward friende in the Goſpels cauſe, ſo hee thought not to forſlacke this matter to the vttermoſt of his diligence, and ſo ſpying his tyme, when the kyng was in trymmyng and in waſhyng (as his maner was at certeine times to call for his Barbar) Doct. Buttes (whoſe maner was at ſuch tymes euer to bee preſent, and with ſome pleaſant conceites to refreſh and ſolace the kynges mynde) brought with him in his hand this letter. The kyng aſkyng what newes, Doct. Buttes pleaſauntly and merely begynneth to inſinuate vnto the king the effect of the matter, and ſo at the kynges commaundement read out the letter: which when the king had heard, and pauſed a litle with him ſelfe vpon the ſame, commaūded agayne the letter to be read vnto him. The hearyng and conſideration wherof ſo altered the kynges mynde, that whereas before hee commaunded the ſayd Turner to bee whypped out of the countrey, he now commaunded him to be reteined as a faithfull ſubiect. And here of that matter an end. Let vs now returne to the Archbiſhop agayne.

The kinges fauour reconciled agayne to M. Turner.

Who although he was compaſſed about (as is ſaid) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty traynes impugned, yet through Gods more mighty prouidence, workyng in the kynges hart ſo to fauour him, hee rubbed out all king Henries time without blemiſh or foile by meanes of the kynges ſupportation, who not onely defended the ſayd Archbiſhop agaynſt all hys conſpired aduerſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpeciall fauour vnto him in ſuch ſort, that he beyng not ignorāt of his wife, whom hee had maryed before at Noremberge (beyng Niece to the wife of Oſiander) keepyng her alſo all the vi. Articles tyme contrary to the law, notwithſtandyng hee both permitted the ſame, and kepte his counſell.

This Archb. maryed his ſecond wife at Noremberge.

Then after the death of kyng Henry, immediatly ſucceded his ſonne K. Edward, vnder whoſe gouernement and protectiō the ſtate of this Archbiſhop, being hys Godfather, was nothyng appaired, but rather more aduaunced.

Duryng all this meane time of kyng Henry aforeſaid, vntil the entryng of king Edward, it ſeemeth that Cranmer was ſcarſely yet throughly perſuaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at leaſt, was not yet fully rypened in the ſame: wherein ſhortly after he beyng more groundly confirmed by conference with B. Ridley, in proceſſe of tyme did ſo profite in more ryper knowledge, that at laſt hee tooke vpon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw downe firſt the corporall preſence: ſecondly the phantaſticall tranſubſtantiation: thirdly the Idolatrous adoration: fourthly the falſe errour of the Papiſtes, that wicked men doe eate the naturall body of Chriſt: & laſtly the blaſphemous ſacrifice of the maſſe. Whervpon in concluſion he wrote fiue bookes for the publicke inſtruction of the Church of England, which inſtruction yet to this day ſtandeth and is receaued in this Church of England.

The true and godly doctrine of the Sacramēt in 5. bokes ſet forth by the Archb. of Cant.

Agaynſt theſe fiue bokes of the Archbiſhop, Steuen Gardiner, the Archenemy to Chriſt and his Goſpell, beyng then in the Tower, ſlubbereth vp a certein aunſwere ſuch as it was, which he in open Court exhibited vp at Lābeth beyng there examined by the Archbiſhop aforeſaid and other the kynges Cōmiſſioners in kyng Edwardes dayes, which booke was intituled: An Explication and aſſertion of the true Catholicke fayth, touchyng the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, with a confutation of a booke written agaynſt the ſame.

An explication of Steuē Gardiner agaynſt Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant.

Againſt this Explication, or rather a cauilling Sophiſtication of Steuen Gardiner Doctour of law, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury learnedly and copiouſly repleyng againe, maketh aunſwere, which alſo he publiſhed abroad to the eyes and iudgements of all men in print. All which writynges and bookes, as well of the one part as of the other, our preſent ſtory woulde require here to bee inferred: but becauſe to proſecute the whole matter at length will not bee comprehended in a ſmall rowme, and may make to long tariaunce in our ſtory, it ſhall therfore be beſt to put of the ſame vnto the place of the Appendix folowyng, wherein (the Lord willyng) we intende to cloſe vp both theſe, and o-

The aunſwere of Doc. Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury, agaynſt Stephē Gardiner.

ther diuers treatiſes of theſe learned Martyrs, as to this our ſtory ſhall apperteine.

Marcus Anthonius written by St. Gardiner.

Archbiſhop of Canterb. about an aunſwere to Marcus Anthonius.

Notes of D. Ridley agaynſt Marcus Anthonius.

Peter Martyrs booke of defence agaynſt Marcus Anthonius.

The vnquyet ſpirite of Stephen Gardiner beyng not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out an other booke in Latine of the like Popiſhe argument, but after an other title, named Marcus Anthonius Cōſtantius. Wherunto firſt the Archbyſhop agayne intendyng a full confutation, had already abſolued three partes of his aunſwere lying in priſon. Of the which partes, two periſhed in Oxford; ȳ other yet remaineth in my hādes ready to be ſeene & ſet forth, as the Lord ſhal ſee good. Alſo B. Ridley lying likewiſe the ſame time in priſon, hauing there the ſayd booke of Marcus Anthonius, for lacke of penne and paper, with a lead of a window in the margent of the boke wrote annotations, as straitnes of time would ſerue him, in refutation of the ſame booke. And finally becauſe thoſe worthy Martyrs had neither libertie nor layſure to go through wyth that trauaile, that which lacked in them, for accompliſhmēt of that behalfe, was ſupplied ſhortly after by Peter Martyr, who aboundantly and ſubſtancially hath ouerthrowne that booke in his learned Defenſion of the truth, agaynſt the falſe Sophiſtication of Marcus Anthonius aforeſayd.

Beſides theſe bookes aboue recited, of this Archbiſhop diuers other things there were alſo of his doyng, as the booke of reformation, the Catechiſme, with the boke of Homilies, wherof part was by him contriued, part by his procurement approued & publiſhed. Wherunto alſo may be adioyned an other wrytyng or confutation of his agaynſt 88. Articles by the conuocation deuiſed and propoūded, but yet not ratified nor receaued, in the reigne and time of Kyng Henry.

And thus much hetherto concernyng the doynges and trauailes of this Archbyſhop of Canterbury duryng the lyues both of kyng Henry, and of kyng Edward his ſonne. Which ij. kynges ſo long as they continued, this Archbiſhop lacked no ſtay of mayntenaūce agaynſt all his maligners.

Lady Iane.

Afterward this K. Edward Prince of moſt worthy towardnes fallyng ſicke, when hee perceiued that hys death was at hand, and the force of his paynfull diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to liue longer, and knowing that his ſiſter Mary was wholy wedded to popiſh religiō, bequeathed the ſucceſſiō of the Realme to the lady Iane (a lady of great byrth, but of greater learning, beyng Neece to kyng Henry the eight by his ſiſter) by conſent of all the Counſel and lawyers of this realme. To this teſtamēt of the Kinges, when all the Nobles of the realme, ſtates and Iudges had ſubſcribed: they ſent for the Archbiſhop, and required hym that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But hee excuſing hymſelfe on this maner, ſayd: that it was otherwyſe in the teſtament of kyng Henry his father, and that he had ſworne to the ſucceſſion of Mary as then the next heyre, by which oth hee was ſo bounde, that without manyfeſt periurie he could not go from it. The Counſell aunſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conſciences as well as hee, and moreouer that they were ſworne to that teſtament, and therefore hee ſhould not thinke there was any daunger therin, or that he ſhould be in more peryll of periury then the reſt.

Cranmer refuſeth to ſweare to Lady Iane.

To this the Archbiſhop aunſwered, that hee was iudge of no mans conſcience but his owne: and therefore as hee would not bee preiudiciall to others, ſo hee woulde not commit hys conſcience vnto other mens factes, or caſt him ſelfe to daunger, ſeyng that euery man ſhould geue accompt of his owne conſcience and not of other mens. And as cōcernyng ſubſcription, before he had ſpoken with the kyng him ſelfe, hee vtterly refuſed to do it.

Cranmer through ȳ perſwaſion of the Counſell, the King, and lawyers ſubſcribed to K. Edwardes Teſtament.

The kyng therefore beyng demaunded of the Archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſayd: that the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realme counſelled hym vnto it, and perſwaded him that the bond of the firſt teſtament could nothing let, but that this Lady Iane myght ſucceede him as heyre, and the people without daunger acknowledge her as their Queene. Who then demaundyng leaue of the kyng, that he myght firſt talke with certaine Lawyers that were in the Court, when they all agreed that by law of the Realme it might be ſo, returning to the king, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Well, not long after this, king Edward died, being almoſt ſixtene yeares old, to ȳ great ſorrow, but greater calamitie of the whole Realme. After whoſe deceaſe immediately it was commaunded that the Lady Iane which was vnwylling therevnto, ſhould be proclaymed Queene. Which thing much myſliked the cōmon people: not that they did ſo much fauour Mary, before whom they ſaw the Lady Iane preferred, as for the hatred conceiued agaynſt ſome, whom they coulde not fauour. Beſides this, other cauſes there happened alſo of diſcord betwene the Nobles and the commons the ſame time, for what iniuries of commons and encloſures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and vncharitable dealing betwene the landlords and tenantes, I can not tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearyng of the death of her brother, & ſhifting for her ſelfe, was ſo aſſiſted by the Cōmons, that eftſoones ſhe preuayled. Who being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the Realme, not long after came to London, and after ſhe had cauſed firſt the two fathers, the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Suffolke to bee executed (as is aboue remembred) lykewyſe ſhe cauſed the Lady Iane being both in age tender and innocent from this crime, after ſhee coulde by no meanes bee turned from the conſtancie of her fayth, together with her huſband to be beheaded.

Manet alta mente repoſtum Iudicium paridis, ſpretæque iniuria matris. Virgil. Æneid. 1.

The reſt of the Nobles paiyng fines, were forgeuē, the Archbiſhop of Cant. onely excepted. Who though he deſired pardon by meanes of frendes, could obtaine none: in ſo much that the Queene woulde not once vouchſafe to ſee him: For as yet the olde grudges agaynſt the Archbiſhop for the diuorcement of her mother, remayned hyd in the bottome of her hart. Beſides this diuorce, ſhe remembred the ſtate of religiō chaunged: all which was reputed to the Archbiſhop, as the chiefe cauſe thereof.

This Doctour Thornton was after the biſhop of Douer, a cruel & wicked perſecuter.

Whyle theſe thinges were in doing, a rumor was in all mens mouthes, that the Archbiſhop, to curry fauour with the Queene, had promiſed to ſay a Dirige Maſſe after the olde cuſtome, for the funerall of Kyng Edward her brother. Neither wāted there ſome which reported that he had already ſaid Maſſe at Cāterbury: which Maſſe in dede was ſaid by D. Thornton. This rumor Cranmer thinking ſpeedely to ſtay, gaue forth a writing in his purgation: the tenour whereof beyng before expreſſed, pag. 1395. col. 1. I neede not here againe to recite.

This byll being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, commeth in by chaunce M. Scory, Biſhop the of Rocheſter, who after he had red and peruſed the ſame, required of the Archbyſhop to haue a copy of the bill. The Archbiſhop when he had graūted and permitted the ſame to Maſter Scory, by the occaſion therof M. Scory lending it to ſome frend of his, there were diuers copies taken out therof, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the cōmon people: in ſo much that euery Scriueners ſhop almoſt, was occupied in writing & copiyng out the ſame, & ſo at lēgth ſome of thoſe copies comming to the Biſhops handes, and ſo brought to the Counſell, and they ſending it to the Cōmiſſioners, the matter was knowen, and ſo he commaunded to appeare.

This Byſhop was D. Heath, byſhop after of Yorke.

Wherupon D. Cranmer at his day prefixed, appeared before the ſaid Commiſſioners, bringing a true Inuentory, as he was commaūded, of all his goodes. That done, a Biſhop of the Queenes priuy Counſell, being one of the ſayd Commiſſioners, after the Inuentory was receaued, bringing in mēcion of the byll: My Lord (ſayd hee) there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you ſeeme to be aggreeued with ſetting vp the Maſſe agayne: we doubt not but you are ſory that it is gone abroad.

To whom the Archbiſhop aunſwered agayne, ſaiyng: as I do not deny my ſelfe to be the very autour of that bill or letter, ſo much I confeſſe here vnto you, cōcerning the ſame bill, that I am ſory that the ſayd bill went from me in ſuch ſort as it did. For when I had written it, M. Scory got the copy of me, & is now come abroad, and as I vnderſtād, the City is full of it. For which I am ſory, that it ſo paſſed my handes: for I had intēded otherwiſe to haue made it in a more large and ample maner, and mynded to haue ſet it on Paules Church dore, and on the dores of all the Churches in London, with mine owne ſeale ioyned thereto.

At which wordes when they ſaw the conſtantnes of the man, they diſmiſſed hym, affirming they had no more at that preſent to ſay vnto him, but that ſhortly hee ſhould heare further. The ſayd Byſhop declared afterward to one of Doctour Cranmers friendes, that notwithſtandyng hys atteinder of treaſon, the

Queenes

Anno.1556. March.

Queenes determination at that time was, that Cranmer ſhould only haue bene depriued of his Archbiſhopricke, and haue had a ſufficient liuyng aſſigned hym, vppon his exhibiting of a true Inuentory, with commaundement to keepe his houſe without medling in matters of religiõ. But how that was true, I haue not to ſay. This is certain, that not lõg after this, he was ſent vnto the Tower, & ſoone after cõdemned of treaſon. Notwithſtanding, the Queene when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his pardon, ſeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and ſpecially ſeyng he laſt of all other ſubſcribed to king Edwards requeſt, and that againſt his owne wil, releaſed to him his action of treaſon, and accuſed him onely of hereſy: which liked the Archbiſhop right well, and came to paſſe as he wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not nowe his owne, but Chriſtes, not the Queenes, but the Churches. Thus ſtode the cauſe of Crãmer, till at length it was determined by ẏ Queene and the Counſell, that he ſhould be remoued from the Tower where he was priſoner, to Oxford, there to diſpute with the Doctours and Diuines. And priuely word was ſent before to them of Oxford to prepare them ſelues, and make them ready to diſpute. And although the Queene and the Biſhops had cõcluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed thẽ that the matter ſhould be debated with argumentes, that vnder ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation, the murther of the man might be couered. Neither could their haſty ſpeede of reuengemẽt abide any long delay: and therefore in all haſt he was caryed to Oxford.

Cranmer condemned of treaſon.

Cranmer releaſed of treaſon, and accuſed of hereſie.

Cranmer had to Oxforde.

What this diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions, & reaſons on both ſides, and alſo touchyng his condemnation by the Vniuerſitie and the Prolocutor, becauſe ſufficiently it hath bene declared pag. 1358. we mind now therfore to procede to his finall iudgement & order of condemnation, which was the xij. daye of September an. 1556. and ſeuen dayes before the condemnation of Biſhop Ridley and M. Latymer, as is aboue foretouched. pag. 1649. col. 1. The ſtory wherof here followeth, faythfully collected by the report and narratiõ (comming by chaunce to our handes) of one who being both preſent therat, and alſo a deuout fauorer of the Sea and faction of Rome can lacke no credit (I trowe) with ſuch, which ſeke what they can to diſcredit what ſoeuer maketh not with their phantaſied religion of Rome.

After the diſputations done & finiſhed in Oxford betwene ẏ Doctors of both Vniuerſities & the thre worthy Biſhops D. Crãmer, Ridley, & Latimer, ye heard then how ſentence cõdemnatory immediatly vpon the ſame was miniſtred againſt thẽ by D. Weſton & other of the vniuerſitie: wherby they were iudged to be heretickes, and ſo committed to the Maior and Sheriffes of Oxford. But foraſmuch as the ſentẽce geuen them, was voyd in law (for at that time the authority of the Pope was not yet receiued into the land) therefore was a new Cõmiſsiõ ſent from Rome, and a new proceſſe framed for the conuiction of theſe reuerende and godly learned men aforſaid. In which commiſsion firſt was Doct. James Brookes Biſhop of Gloceſter the Popes Subdelegate, with Doct. Martin, and Doct. Story Cõmiſsioners in ẏ King & Queenes behalfe, for execution of the ſame. Of the which 3. Commiſsioners aboue named, as touching D. Martin, this by the way is to be vnderſtand, that although he was vſed for an inſtrument of the Popes ſide, to ſerue a turne (whoſe booke alſo is extãt againſt ẏ lawfull mariage of Prieſtes) yet notwithſtanding neither was he ſo bytter an enemy in this perſecutiõ, as other Cõmiſsioners were, & alſo in this time of Queene Elizabeth, where diuers other Doctors of the Arches refuſed to be ſworne againſt the Pope, he denied not the oth: & yet notwithſtanding not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the purpoſe of this ſtory. Wherof firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the circumſtance, and the whole ſtate of the matter, as in a generall deſcription, before we come to their Orations, accordyng as in a parcell of a certaine letter touchyng the ſame, it came to our handes.

Of this cõdemnation, read before pag. 1632. colume. 1.

Doct. Brokes, Doct. Martyn, Doctor Story, commiſsioners againſte the Archbiſhop.

Doctor Martin not ſo bitter in this perſecutiõ, as other Commiſsioners were.

In primis here is to be vnderſtand, that the comming downe of the foreſayd Cõmiſsioners, which was vpon Thurſday, the xij. of September, an. 1555. in the church of S. Mary, & in the Eaſt end of the ſaid church at the high aultar, was erected a ſolemne Scaffold for Byſhop Brookes aforeſayd, repreſenting the Popes perſon, ten foote hye. The ſeate was made that he myght ſit vnder the Sacrament of the aultar. And on the ryght hand of the Popes Delegate beneath hym ſat Doctor Martin, and on the left hand ſat Doct. Story the kynges and Queenes Commiſsioners, which were both Doctours of the Ciuill lawe, and vnderneath them other Doctours, Scribes and Phariſeis alſo, with the Popes Collector and a rablement of ſuch other lyke.

The order of ſetting and placyng the Commiſsioners.

And thus theſe Biſhops being placed in their Põtificalibus, the biſhop of Cãterbury was ſent for to come before them. He hauing intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered him ſelfe. He came forth of the priſon to the church of S. Mary, ſet forth with bylles and gleues for feare leaſt he ſhould ſtart away, being clothed in a fayre blacke gowne, with his hoode on both ſhoulders, ſuch as Doctors of Diuinity in ẏ Vniuerſitie vſe to weare. Who after hee was come into the church, and dyd ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus, he dyd not put of his cap to none of them, but ſtod ſtil till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or els his Doctor, called: Thomas Archb. of Canterbury, appeare here and make aunſwere to that ſhall be layd to thy charge: that is to ſay, for blaſphemy, incontinency, and hereſie: make aunſwere here to the B. of Gloceſter repreſenting the Popes perſon.

The apearing of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie before the commiſsioners.

Upon this hee beyng brought more neare vnto the ſcaffold, where the foreſayd Biſhops ſat, he firſt well viewed the place of iudgement, and ſpiyng where the King & Queenes maieſties Proctors were, puttyng of his cap, he firſt humbly bowing his knee to the groũd, made reuerence to the one, and after to the other.

The Archbi. giueth reuerẽce to the Queenes Cõmiſsioners.

That done, beholding the Biſhop in the face, he put on his bonet agayne, making no maner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Biſhop being offended, ſayd vnto him, that it might be ſeeme him right wel, waying the authoritie he did repreſent, to do hys duetie vnto hym. Whereunto Doctour Cranmer aunſwered and ſayd, that he had once taken a ſolemne othe, neuer to conſent to the admittyng of the Biſhop of Romes authority into this Realme of England agayne, and that he had done it aduiſedly, and ment by Gods grace to kepe it, and therfore would commit nothyng either by ſigne or token, which might argue his conſent to the receiuyng of the ſame, and ſo he deſired the ſayd Biſhop to iudge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his perſon, which hee could haue bene content to haue honored as well as any of the other, if his Cõmiſsion had come from as good authoritie as theirs. This anſwered he both modeſtly, wiſely, prudently, & patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowyng nor making any reuerẽce to him that repreſented the Popes perſon, which was wonderouſly of the people marked, that was there preſent and ſawe it, and marked it as nye as could be poſsible.

Doct. Cranmer ſheweth no reuerence to the popes delegate.

¶The Oration of D. Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter vnto D. Cranmer Archbi. of Cant. in the churche of S. Mary at Oxford. Anno. 1556. Mar. 12.

WHen after many meanes vſed, thei perceiued that the Archbiſhop would not moue his bonet, the Biſhop proceded in theſe wordes followyng.

My Lorde, at this preſent we are come to you as Commiſsioners, and for you, not intrudyng our ſelues by our own authoritie, but ſent by Commiſsion, partly from the Popes holines, partly from the Kyng and Queenes moſte excellent Maieſties, not to your vtter diſcomforte, but to your comfort, if ye will your ſelf. Wee come not to iudge you, but to put you in remẽbrance of that ye haue been, and ſhalbe. Neither come we to diſpute with you, but to examine you in certaine matters: whiche beyng doen, to make relation thereof, to hym that hath power to iudge you. The firſt beyng well taken, ſhall make the ſeconde to be well taken. For if you of your part, be moued to come to a conformitie, then ſhall not onely we of our ſide take ioye of our examination, but alſo they that haue ſent vs.

The Oration of Biſh. Brokes.

And firſte, as charitie doeth moue vs, I would thinke good, ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſeconde chapiter of S. John in the Apoc. Memor eſto vnde excideris, & age pœnitẽtiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus. i. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and doe the firſte workes. Or if not, and ſo as ye knowe what foloweth. Remember your ſelf from whẽce you haue falled. You haue fallen frõ the vniuerſall, & Catholicke churche of Chriſt, from the very true and receiued faithe of all Chriſtendõ, and that by open hereſie. You haue fallen frõ your promiſe to GOD, from your fidelitie and allegeaunce, and

Apocal. 2.

Hereſy, adulterie, treaſō, laied to D. Cranmer.

that by open preachyng, mariage, & adulterie. You haue fallen from your ſoueraigne prince and Queene by open treaſon. Remember therfore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the daunger can not be ſeen. Wherſore when I ſaie, remēber from whence you haue fallen, I put you in mynde not onely of your fall, but alſo of the ſtate you were in before your fall. You were ſomtyme as I and other poore men, in a meane eſtate. God I take to witnes I ſpeake it to no reproch or abaſement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high degree, from one degree to an other, from better to better, and neuer gaue you ouer, till he had appointed you Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Angliæ, Paſtorem gregis ſui. Suche greate truſte did he putte you in, in his Churche. What could he doe more? for euen as he ordained Moiſes to be a ruler ouer his churche of Iſraell, and gaue hym full authoritie vpon the ſame: ſo did he make you ouer his churche of Englande. And when did he this for you? forſothe when you gaue no occaſion or cauſe of miſtruſt either to him, or to his Magiſtrates. For although it be cōiectured, that in al your time, ye were not vpright in the honor & faithe of Chriſte, but rather ſet vp of purpoſe as a fitte inſtrument, whereby the churche might be ſpoiled, & brought into ruine, yet maie it appeere by many your doynges otherwiſe, and I for my part, as it behoueth eche one of vs ſhall thinke the beſte. For who was thought as then more deuout? who was more religious in the face of the worlde? Who was thought to haue more conſcience of a vowe makyng, & obſeruyng the order of the Churche, more earneſt in the defence of the reall preſence of Chriſtes bodie and bloud in the Sacramēt of the aultar then ye were? and then all thynges proſpered with you: your Prince fauoured you, yea, God hym ſelf fauoured you: your candleſticke was ſet vp in the higheſt place of the Churche, and the light of your candle was ouer all the Churche. I would God it had ſo continued ſtill.

The high eſtate of D. Cranmer, ſomtyme Arch. of Canterbury.

But after you beganne to fall by Schiſme, and would not acknowledge the Popes holineſſe as ſupreme heade: but would ſtoutly vphold the vnlawful requeſtes of king Henry the viij, and would beare with that ſhould not be borne withall, then began you to fanſie vnlawfull libertie, and when you had exiled good conſcience, then enſued a greate ſhipwracke in the Sea, whiche was out of the true and Catholicke churche, caſt into the ſea of deſperation, for as he ſaieth, *Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus. When you had forſaken God, God forſoke you, and gaue you ouer to your owne will, and ſuffred you to fall from Schiſme to Apoſtacy, from Apoſtacie to hereſie, from hereſie to periurie, from periurie to treaſon, and ſo in concluſion, into the full indignatiō of our ſoueraigne prince whiche you maie thinke a iuſte puniſhement of God, for your other abominable opinions.

That is, without the churche there is no ſaluation.

After that, ye fell lower & lower, & now to the loweſt degree of al, to the ende of honor and life. For if the light of your Candle be as it hath been hetherto duſkey, your Candleſticke is like to be remoued, and to haue a greate fall, ſo lowe and ſo farre out of knowledge, that it ſhalbe quite out of Gods fauour, and paſt all hope of recouerie: *Quia in inferno nulla eſt redēptio. The daunger whereof beyng ſo greate, verie pitie cauſeth me to ſaie: * Memor eſto vnde excideris. I adde alſo, and whether you fall.

That is, for in hell there is no redemption.
That is, remēber frō whence thou haſt fallē.

But here peraduenture you will ſaie to me: what ſir, my fall is not ſo greate as you make it. I haue not yet fallen from the Catholicke Churche. For that is not the Catholicke Churche, that the Pope is heade of. There is an other Churche. But as touchyng that, I aunſwere: you are ſure of that as the Donatiſtes were, for they ſaied that thei had the true Churche, and that the name of the true Chriſtians remained onely in Aphricke, where onely their ſeditious ſecte was preached, and as you thinke, ſo thought Nouatus, that all they that did acknowledge their ſupreme heade at the Sea of Rome, were out of the Churche of Chriſte. But here ſainct Cyprian defendyng Cornelius againſt Nouatus, Libro ſecundo, Epiſtola Sexta, ſaith on this wiſe? Eccleſia vna eſt, quæ cum ſit vna intus & foris eſſe non poteſt. So if that Nouatus were in the true Churche: then was not Cornelius, who in deede by lawfull ſucceſsiō, ſucceded Pope Fabian. Here S. Cyprian entendeth by the whole proceſſe to proue, & concludeth therupon, that the true churche was onely Rome. Gather you then what will followe of your fall. But you will ſaie peraduenture, that ye fell not by hereſie, and ſo ſaied the Arrians, alledgyng for them ſelues that they had Scripture, & goyng about to perſwade their ſchiſme by Scripture, for in deede they had more places by twoo and fortie, whiche by their torture ſeemed to depende vppon Scripture, then the Catholickes had.

Cyprian. lib.2 Epiſto.6.

Prouokyng the Scripture.

So did the Martians prouoke their hereſie to Scripture: But thoſe are no Scriptures, for they are not truely alledged, nor truely interpreted, but vntruely wreſted and wrong, accordyng to their owne fantaſies. And therfore were they all iuſtly condemned, for their wrong takyng of the Scriptures: and the Churche replieth againſt them, ſaiyng: Qui eſtis vos? quando? vnde? quid agitis in meo non Mei? The Churche ſaieth, what make you here in my inheritage? From whence came you? The Scripture is my inheritage. I am right heire thereof. I holde it by true ſucceſsion of the Apoſtles, for as the Apoſtles required me to holde, ſo doe I holde it. The Apoſtles haue receiued me, and put me in my right, & haue reiected you as baſtardes, hauyng no title thereunto.

Breakyng of vowe.

Alſo ye will deny that you haue fallen by Apoſtaſie, by breaking your vow, & ſo Vigilantius ſaid, in ſo muche that he would admitte none to his miniſterie, but thoſe that had their wiues bagged with children. What nowe? Shall we ſaie that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Did not Donatus, and Nouatus fall becauſe they ſaied ſo, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let vs beleue as we liſte, pretendyng well, and ſaie ſo: naie, there is no manne ſo blinde that will ſaie ſo. For excepte the Churche, whiche condemneth them for their ſaie ſo, doe approue vs for to doe ſo, then will ſhe condemne you alſo. So that your deniall will not ſtande. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence you haue fallen, and howe lowe ye ſhall fall, if you holde on as ye doe begin. But I truſte you wil not continue, but reuoke your ſelf in tyme, and the remedie followeth.

That is, repent and do thy firſt workes.

*Age pœnitentiam & prima opera fac, for by ſuche meanes as ye haue fallen, ye muſte riſe againe. Firſte, your harte hath fallen, then your tongue, and your penne, and beſides youre owne damage hath cauſed many more to fall. Therefore, firſte your harte muſte tourne, and then ſhall the tongue and the penne bee quickly tourned: Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, & mouebo Candelabrum tuum de loco ſuo.

I neede not to teache you a methode to tourne: you knowe the ready waie your ſelf. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right & truth, then the way ſhould ſone be founde out. For if ye remēber how many he haue brought by abhominable hereſie, into the waie of perdition, I doubt not but very conſcience would moue you, as muche for them, as for your ſelf to come againe. And ſo would you ſpare neither tongue nor pen, if harte were once reformed: for as touchyng that pointe, the holie Ghoſte toucheth their hartes very nere, by the mouthe of his holie Prophet Ezechiel, when he requireth the bloud of his flocke at the Prieſtes handes, for lacke of good and wholſome foode: howe muche more ſhould this touche your giltie harte, hauyng ouer muche diligence to teach them the waie of perdition, and feedyng them with baggage, & corrupt foode, whiche is hereſie. Qui conuertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vitæ ſuæ, ſaluam faciet animam ſuam a morte, & operiet multitudinem peccatorū ſuorū. He that ſhall conuert a ſynner from his wicked life, ſhall ſaue his ſoule from death, and ſhall couer the multitude of ſynnes. So that if it be true that he, who conuerteth a ſynner ſaueth a ſoule, then the contrary muſte nedes be true, that he that peruerteth a ſoule, and teacheth hym the waie of perdition, muſt nedes be damned.

Ezech. 33.

Orig. in Epiſt. Paul. ad Rom.

Origenes ſuper Paulum ad Romanos: The damnatiō of thoſe that preacheth hereſie, doeth increaſe to the day of iudgemēt. The more that periſhe by hereticall doctrine the more greuous ſhall their tormente bee, that miniſter ſuche doctrine. Berengarius who ſemed to feare that daūger, prouided for it in his life tyme, but not without a troubled & diſquiet conſcience. He did not onely repent, but recante, and not ſo muche for hym ſelf, as for them, whom he had with moſte peſtilente hereſies infected. For as he laie in his death bedde vpon epiphanie daie, he demaunded of them that wer preſent, is this (ꝗ he) the daie of Epiphanie, and appearyng of the Lorde? They aunſwered hym, yea. Then (ꝗ he) this daie ſhall the Lorde appere to me, either to my comforte, either to my diſcomforte. This remorſe argueth, that he feared the daūger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the faith of Chriſt. Origenes vpon him ſaith in this wiſe: Although his owne bloud was not vppon his heade, for that he did repente, and was ſory for his former errours, yet beyng conuerted he feared the bloud of them, whom he had infected, and who receiued his doctrine.

Berengarius.

Let this moue you euen at the laſt point. In ſo muche as your caſe is not vnlike to Beringarius, lette your repen-

taunce

Anno.1556. March.

taunce be like alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you (tell mee) frō this godly retourne? feare, that ye haue gone ſo farre, ye may not returne? nay, then may I ſay as Dauid ſaide: Illic trepidauerunt vbi non erat timor. Ye feare where you haue no cauſe to feare. For if ye repent and be hartely ſorie for your former hereſie & apoſtaſie, ye neede not to feare. For as God of his part is mercifull and gratious to the repentaunt ſinner, ſo is the Kyng, ſo is the Queene merciful, which ye may wel perceaue by your owne caſe, ſince ye might haue ſuffered a great whiles agoe for treaſon committed againſt her highnes, but that ye haue bene ſpared and reſerued vppon hope of amendement, which ſhe conceaued very good of you, but now as it ſemeth is but a very deſperate hope. And what do you therby? * Secundum duritiem cordis theſaurizas tibi iram in die iræ.

* That is accordyng to the hardnes of your harte ye treaſure vp to your ſelfe anger in the day of wrathe.

Well, what is it then, if feare do not hinder you? ſhame, to vnſay that, that you haue ſaid? Nay it is no ſhame? vnleſſe ye thinke it ſhame to agree with the true and the Catholicke Churche of Chriſte. And if that be ſhame, then blame S. Paule, who perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſte with ſword, then blame S. Peter, who denied his maiſter Chriſte with an oth that he neuer knewe hym. S. Cyprian before his returne beyng a witch. S. Auguſtine beyng ix. yeres out of the Church. They thought it no ſhame after their returne of that they had returned. Shall it then bee ſhame for you to conuert and conſent with the Churche of Chriſt? no no.

What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanitie of the worlde I for my part iudge not in you beyng a man of learnyng and knowyng your eſtate.

And as for the loſſe of your eſtimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Metropolitane of England, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhal be as well ſtill, yea and rather better.

And as for the winnyng of good mē, there is no doubt but al that be here preſent, & the whole congregation of Chriſtes Churche alſo will more reioyce of your returne, then they were ſory for your fall. And as for the other, ye nede not to doubt, for they ſhall all come after: and to ſaie the truth, if you ſhould loſe them for euer, it were no force, ye ſhould haue no loſſe therby. I do not here touch them whiche ſhould confirme your eſtimation. For as S. Paule after his conuerſion was receaued into the Church of Chriſte with wonderfull ioy to the whole congregation, euen ſo ſhall you be. The fame of your returne ſhalbe ſpread abroad throughout al Chriſtendome where your face was neuer knowen.

But you will ſaie perhappes, your conſcience will not ſuffer you. My Lord, there is a good conſcience, and there is a bad conſcience. The good conſcience haue not they as Saint Paule declareth to Timothe concernyng Hymæneus and Alexander. This euill and badde conſcience is (ſaith S. Cyprian) well to be knowen by his marke. What marke? This conſcience is marked with the print of hereſie. This conſcience is a naughtie, filthie, and a bronded conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I haue conceaued a better hope of you then ſo, or els would I neuer goe about to perſuade or exhort you. But what conſcience ſhould ſtaie you to returne to the Catholicke faithe and vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt? what conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deuiliſh and ſeuerall Churche? to a libertie whiche neuer had grounde in the holie Scriptures? If you iudge your libertie to be good, then iudge you all Chriſtendome to do euill beſides you.

A good conſcience.

Marke of an euill conſcience.

O what a preſumptuous perſuaſion is this, vpon this vtterlie to forſake the Church of Chriſt? Vnder what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuſes? as though in your Church were no abuſes: yes that there were. And if you forſake the vniuerſall Church for the abuſes, why doe ye not then forſake your particular Churche, and ſo be flittyng from one to an other? That is not the next waie, to ſlippe from the Church for the abuſes: for if you had ſene abuſes, you ſhould rather haue endeuoured for a reformation then for a defection. He is a good Surgeon who for a litle paine in the toe will cut of the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth ache, which cutteth awaie the head by the ſhoulders. It is mere folie to amende abuſes by abuſes. Ye are like Diogenes: for Diogenes on a time enuiyng the clenlines of Plato, ſaid on this wiſe: Ecce calco faſtum Platonis. Plato aunſwered, Sed alio faſtu, So that Diogenes ſeemed more faultie of the two.

Abuſes in the Church require a reformation, and not a defection.

But when we haue ſaid all that we can, peraduenture you will ſaie. I will not returne. And to that I ſaie, I will not aunſwere. Neuertheles heare what Chriſte ſaieth to ſuche obſtinate and ſtiſnecked people in the parable of the Supper. When he had ſent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they woulde not come, he bad his ſeruauntes going into the waies and ſtreetes, to compell men to come in: Cogite intrare. If then the Churche will not leeſe anie member that maie bee compelled to come in, ye muſt thinke it good to take the compulſion, leſte you looſe your part of the ſupper whiche the Lorde hath prepared for you: and this compulſion ſtandeth wel with charitie.

Cogite intrare, Charitely expounded.

But it maie be perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſticke to your tackle, and not to geue ouer, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye ſhall die in a good quarell, and God ſhall accept your oblation. But heare what Chriſt ſaith of a meaner gift: If thou come to the altar to offer thy oblation, and knoweſt that thy brother hath ſomwhat to ſaie againſte thee, leaue there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer vp thy gift, or elles thy brother will make thy offering vnſauerie before G O D. This hee ſaid vnto all the worlde, to the ende they ſhould knowe how their offeringes ſhould be receaued, if they were not according.

Math. 5.

Remember you therefore before you offer vp your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of Rome and alſo of England, where not one onely brother, but a number haue matter againſt you, ſo iuſt, that they will make your burnt offering to ſtinke before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſte needes appoint vpon a Sacrifice, make yet a meane firſt to them that haue to laie againſt you. I ſaie no more then the Church hath allowed me to ſaie. For the ſacrifice that is offered without the Church, is not profitable. The premiſſes therefore conſidered, for Gods ſake, I ſaie, Memor eſto vnde excideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus. &c. Caſte not your ſelfe awaie, ſpare your bodie, ſpare your ſoule, ſpare them alſo whom you haue ſeduced, ſpare the ſheeding of Chriſtes bloud for you in vaine. Harden not your hart, acknowledge the truth, yeld to the preſcript word of God, to the Catholicke Churche of Rome, to the receaued veritie of all Chriſtendome. Wed not your ſelfe to your owne ſelfewill. Stande not to muche in your owne conceite, thinke not your ſelfe wiſer then all Chriſtendome is beſides you. Leaue of this vniuſt cauill, How: leaue why: leaue Reaſon: leaue wonder: and beleue as the Catholicke Churche doth beleeue and teache you. Perſwade with your ſelfe, that extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus .i. without the Churche there is no ſaluation. And thus muche haue I ſaid of charitie. If this poore ſimple exhortation of mine maie ſinke into your head, and take effect with you, thē haue I ſaid as I would haue ſaid, otherwiſe not as I woulde, but as I could for this preſent.

Melle litas pernicias.

And thus Biſhoppe Brokes finiſhing his Oration, ſat doune. After whom Doctour Martin taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martyn.

Oration of D. Martin.

ALbeit there be two Gouernmentes, the one ſpirituall and the other temporall, the one hauing the keyes, the other the ſword, yet in all ages we read that for the honour and glory of god both theſe powers haue bene adioyned together. For if we read the olde Teſtament, we ſhall find that ſo did Ioſias and Ezechias. So did the king of the Niniuites compell a generall faſte through all the whole Citie. So did Darius in breaking the greate Idoll Bell, and deliuering Godlie Daniell out of the denne of Lions. So did Nabuchodonoſor make and inſtitute lawes againſte the blaſphemers of God. But to let paſſe theſe examples with a greate number more, and to come to Chriſtes time, it is not vnknowen what great trauaile they tooke to ſet forth Gods Honour: and although the rule and gouernment of the Church did onelie appertaine to the ſpiritualtie, yet for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies and ſchiſmes, Kinges were admitted as ayders thereunto. Firſte Conſtantinus the great, called a Councell at Nyce for the ſuppreſſion of the Arians ſect, where the ſame time was raiſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the Fathers could not agree vpon the puttyng downe of the Arians, they referred their iudgement to Conſtantine. God forbid, quoth Conſtantine: you ought to rule me and not I you. And as Conſtantine did, ſo did Theodoſius againſt the Neſtorians, ſo did Martianus againſte Manichæus. Iouinian made a law, that no man ſhoulde marry with a Nunne, that had wedded her ſelfe to the Church.

Temporall Magiſtrates ayders, not rulers in ſpirituall cauſes.

So had kyng Hēry the viij. the title of Defender of the faithe, becauſe he wrote againſt Luther & his complices. So theſe. ix. hundred yeres the kynges of Spaine had that title of Catholicke, for the expulſion of the Arrians: and to ſaie the truthe, the Kyng and the Quenes Maieſties do nothyng degenerate from their auncetrie, takyng vppon them to reſtore againe the title to bee Defender of the faithe, to the right heire thereof the Popes holineſſe.

Therefore theſe twoo Princes, perceiuyng this noble realme, how it hath been brought from the vnitie of the true and Catholicke Churche, the whiche you and your confederates doe, and haue renounced: perceiuyng alſo that you doe perſiſt in your deteſtable errours, & will by no meanes, bee reuoked from the ſame, haue made their humble requeſt and petition to the Popes holineſſe Paulus 4. as ſupreme head of the churche of Chriſt, declaring to hym, that where you were Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Metropolitane of Englande, and at your conſecratiō tooke twoo ſolemne othes, for your due obedience to be giuen to the Sea of Rome, to become a true Preacher, or Paſtour of his flocke, yet contrary to your othe, and allegiaunce for vnitie, haue ſowed diſcorde: for chaſtitie, mariage and adulterie: for obedience, contention: and for faithe, ye haue been the authour of all miſchief. The Popes holineſſe conſideryng their requeſt, and petitiō, hath graunted them, that accordyng to the Cenſure of this Realme, proceſſe ſhould be made againſt you.

The Popes Charitie and Iuſtice to the Archbiſhop.

And where as in this late tyme, you bothe excluded Charitie and Iuſtice, yet hath his holineſſe decreed, that you ſhall haue bothe Charitie, and Iuſtice ſhewed vnto you. He willeth you ſhould haue the lawes in moſte ample maner, to aunſwere in your behalfe, and that ye ſhall here come before my Lorde of Gloceſter, as high Commiſsioner from his holineſſe, to the examination of ſuche Articles, as ſhall bee propoſed againſt you, and that wee ſhould require the examination of you, in the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties behalfe. The King and Queene as touchyng them ſelues, becauſe by the lawe they can not appeare perſonally, Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ, haue appointed as their atturneis Doctor Storie and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordſhip our Proxie, ſealed with the broade ſeale of Englande, and offer my ſelfe to bee Proctour in the Kynges Maieſties behalfe. I exhibite here alſo certaine Articles, containyng the manifeſt adulterie and periurie: Alſo bookes of hereſie, made partly by hym, partly ſette forthe by his authoritie. And here I produce hym as partly principall, to aunſwere to youre good Lordſhip.

Thus when D. Martin had ended his Oration, the Archebiſhop beginneth, as here foloweth.

Cran. Shall I then make myne aunſwere?

Mart. As you thinke good: no man ſhall let you.

And here the Archbiſhop kneelyng downe on both knees toward the Weſt, ſaid firſt the Lordes Praier. Then riſing vp hee reciteth the Articles of the Crede. Which done, he entreth with his proteſtation in forme as followeth.

¶The Fayth and Profeſsion of Doctour Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cant. before the Commiſsioners.

The profeſsion or proteſtatiō of Doct. Cranmer before the commiſsioners.

This I do profeſſe as touchyng my faith, & make my proteſtation, whiche I deſire you to note. I will neuer conſent that the Biſhoppe of Rome ſhall haue any iuriſdiction within this Realme.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Mart. Marke M. Cranmer, howe you aunſwere for your ſelfe. You refuſe and deny him, by whoſe lawes ye yet doe remaine in life, beeyng otherwiſe attaynted of high treaſon, and but a dead man by the lawes of this Realme.

Cran. I proteſt before God I was no Traitour, but in deede I cōfeſſed more at my arraignement then was true.

Mart. That is not to bee reaſoned at this preſent. You knowe ye were condemned for a Traitour, and Res iudicata pro veritate accipitur. But procede to your matter.

Cran. I will neuer conſent to the Biſhop of Rome, for then ſhould I geue my ſelfe to the deuil: for I haue made an othe to the king, and I muſt obey the king by Gods lawes. By the Scripture the king is chief, and no forein perſon in his own Realme aboue him. There is no Subiect but to a kyng. I am a ſubiect, I owe my fidelitie to the Crowne. The Pope is contrarie to the crowne. I can not obey both: for no man can ſerue two maſters at once, as you in the beginnyng of your Oration declared by the ſworde and the keyes, attributyng the keyes to the Pope, and the ſword to the kyng. But I ſay the king hath both. Therfore he that is ſubiect to Rome and the lawes of Rome, hee is periured, for the Popes and the Iudges Lawes are contrary, they are vncerteine and confounded.

Cauſes alleadged why doctor Cranmer cānot receiue ẏ Pope.

A Prieſt indetted, by the lawes of the Realme ſhall be ſhued before a temporal iudge: by the Popes lawes contrarie.

The Lawes of this realme and the Popes contrarie.

The Pope doth the kyng iniurie in that he hath hys power from the Pope. The kyng is head in his owne Realme: But the Pope claimeth al Biſhops, Prieſts, Curates. &c. So the Pope in euerye Realme hath a Realme.

Againe by the lawes of Rome the Benefice muſt bee geuen by the biſhoppe: by the lawes of the Realme, the patron geueth the Benefice. Herein the lawes bee as contrary as fire and water.

No man can by the lawes of Rome procede in a premunire, and ſo is the law of the Realme expelled, and the kyng ſtandeth accurſed in mainteinyng his owne lawes. Therefore in conſideration that the Kyng and Queene take their power of hym, as though GOD ſhould geue it to them, there is no true ſubiecte vnleſſe he be abrogate, ſeeyng the crowne is holden of hym beyng out of the Realme.

The Popes procedings cōtrary to God.

The Biſhop of Rome is contrary to God, and iniurious to his lawes: for God commaunded al men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therfore hath appointed one holiday in the weeke at the leaſt, for the people to come to the Churche and heare the worde of GOD expounded vnto them, and that they might the better vnderſtand it, to heare it in their mother toung which they know. The Pope doth contrary: for he willeth the ſeruice to be had in the latin toung, which they do not vnderſtand. God would haue it to be perceiued: the Pope will not. When the Prieſte geueth thankes God would that the people ſhould doe ſo to, and God will them to confeſſe altogether: the Pope will not.

Now, as concerning the Sacrament, I haue taught no falſe doctrine of the Sacrament of the Aultar: For if it can bee proued by any Doctour aboue 1000. yeares after Chriſt, that Chriſtes bodie is there really, I will geue ouer. My booke was made ſeuē yeres ago, and no man hath brough any autors againſt it. I beleue that who ſo eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his Natiuity, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcention, but not that corporally that ſitteth in heauen.

The reall preſence is not to be proued by any doctor aboue a 1000. yeares after Chriſte.

Now, Chriſt commaunded all to drinke of the Cup, The Pope taketh it awaie from the laye men: and yet one ſaith that if Chriſte had died for the Deuill, that he ſhould drinke thereof.

Chriſte biddeth vs to obey the kyng, etiam diſcolo. The Biſhop of Rome biddeth vs to obey hym: therefore vnleſſe hee bee Antichriſte, I can not tell what to make of hym. Wherefore if I ſhould obey hym I can not obey Chriſt.

He is like the Deuill in his doynges, for the Deuill ſaid to Chriſt: if thou wilt fall downe and worſhip mee, I will geue the all the kingdomes of the world. Thus he tooke vppon hym to geue that whiche was not his owne. Euen ſo the Biſhoppe of Rome geueth Princes their Crownes beeyng none of his owne: for where Princes either by election, either by ſucceſsion, either by inheritage obtaine their Crowne, hee ſaieth that they ſhould haue it from hym.

The pope likened to the Deuill, & wherin.

Chriſt ſaith that Antichriſt ſhall bee. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that aduaunced hymſelfe aboue all other creatures. Nowe, if there bee none alreadye that hath aduaunced hymſelfe after ſuche ſorte beſides the Pope, then in the meane tyme let hym be Antichriſt.

The Pope proued Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end.

Cranmer. For he will be the Vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the old and new Teſtament alſo, yea and with Apoſtacy.

Now I haue declared why I can not with my conſcience obey the Pope. I ſpeake not this for hatred I beare to him that now ſupplieth the roome, for I know hym not. I pray GOD geue hym grace not to followe his auncetors. Neyther ſay I this for my defence, but to declare my conſcience for the zeale that I beare to Gods worde, troden vnder foote by the Biſhoppe of Rome. I caſt feare apart, for Chriſte ſaid to his Apoſtles, that in the latter dayes they ſhoulde ſuffer muche ſorow,

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Math. 16.

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ſorowe, and bee put to death for his names ſake: feare them not (ſaith he) but feare hym whiche when he hath killed the body, hath power to caſte the ſoule into fyre euerlaſtyng. Alſo Chriſte ſaithe: that he that will liue ſhal dye, and he that looſeth his life for my names ſake, he ſhall finde it againe. Moreouer he ſaid: confeſſe mee before men, and be not afrayd: if you do ſo I will ſtand with you: if you ſhrincke from me I will ſhrincke from you. This is a comfortable and a terrible ſaiyng, thys maketh mee to ſet all feare apart. I ſaye therefore the Biſhoppe of Rome treadeth vnder foote Gods lawes and the kinges.

The Pope would geue Biſhopricks: ſo would the king. But at the laſt the kyng gat the vpper hand, and ſo are all Biſhops periured, firſt to the Pope and then to the kyng.

The Popes lawes agaynſt ẏ lawes of this Realme.

The Crowne hath nothyng to doe with the Clergy. For if a Clarke come before a Iudge, the Iudge ſhall make proceſſe againſte hym, but not to execute any lawes. For if the Iudge ſhoulde put hym to execution, then is the Kynge accurſed in mainteinyng his owne lawes. And therefore ſaye I that hee is neither true to God, neither to the king that firſte receaued the Pope. But I ſhall hartely praye for ſuche Councellours, as may informe her the truthe, for the King and Queene if they be well infourmed, will do well.

Mart. As you vnderſtand, then if they maintaine the Supremacie of Rome, they can not maintayne England too.

To be called vniuerſal head, is a marke of Antichriſt. Gregor.

Cranmer. I require you to declare to the Kynge and Queene what I haue ſaide, and howe their othes doe ſtand with the Realme & the Pope. S. Gregory ſayth, he that taketh vpon hym to be head of the Vniuerſall Churche, is worſe then the Antichriſt. If any man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt Gods word to holde his ſtyrrop when he taketh his horſe, and kiſſe his feete (as kinges do) then will I kiſſe his feete alſo.

The Biſhop of Gloceſter charged wyth periury.

And you for your parte my Lorde, are periured, for now ye ſit Iudge for the Pope, and yet ye did receaue your Biſhopricke of the king. You haue taken an othe to be aduerſary to this Realme, for the Popes lawes are contrary to the lawes of the Realme.

Gloceſter. You were the cauſe that I did forſake the Pope, and did ſweare that he ought not to be ſupreme head, and gaue it to king Henry the eight, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Warrham Archb. gaue vp firſt the ſupremacie to the kyng.

Both the vniuerſities ſubſcribed to the kinges ſupremacie before Cranmer was Archbiſhop.

Cran. To this I aunſwere, ſaid he: You report mee ill, and ſay not the truthe, and I will proue it here before you all. The truthe is, that my predeceſſor Biſhop Warrham gaue the Supremacy to Kynge Henry the viii, and ſaid that he ought to haue it before the biſhop of Rome, and that Gods worde would beare him. And vpon the ſame was there ſent to both the Vniuerſites Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the worde of God would doe touching the Supremacie, and it was reaſoned vpon and argued at length. So at the laſte both the Vniuerſities agreed, and ſet to their Seales, and ſent it to king Henry the eight to the court, that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Diuinitie at that tyme, and your conſent was therunto, as your hand doth appeare. Therefore you miſreport mee, that I was the cauſe of your fallyng away from the Pope, but it was your ſelfe. All this was in biſhop Warrhams time and whileſt he was aliue, ſo that it was three quarters of a yeare after ere euer I had the Biſhopricke of Canterburie in my handes, and before I might doe any thing. So that here you haue reported of mee that, whiche ye can not proue, whiche is euill done. All this while hys cap was on his head.

Gloc. We come to examine you, and you, me thinke, examine vs.

¶ *Doctor Stories* Oration.

Doct. Storyes oration agaynſt the Archb.

Story. Pleaſeth it your good Lordſhippe: becauſe it hath pleaſed the kyng and Queenes Maieſties to appoint my companion and me, to heare the examination of this man before your good Lordſhip, to geue mee leaue ſomewhat to talke in that behalfe. Although I know that in talke with hereticks there commeth hurt to all menne, for it weerieth the ſtedfaſte, troubleth the doubtfull, and taketh in ſnare the weake and ſimple; yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bounde to aunſwere your Lordſhip ſitting for the Popes holines, becauſe of a Premunire, and the worde of God, as he termeth it: I thinke good ſomwhat to ſaie, that all men may ſee how hee runneth out of his race of reaſon into the rage of common talke, ſuche as here I truſt hath done muche good. And as the king and Queenes Maieſties will be glad to heare of your moſt charitable dealyng with hym, ſo will they be wery to heare the blideryng of this ſtubburne hereticke. And where he alledgeth diuinitie, minglyng fas nefaſque together, he ſhould not haue bene heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for hym to alledge, the iudge is not competent? Doe we not ſee that in the common law it is not lawfull for a man in Weſtminſter hal to refuſe his Iudge? And ſhal we diſpute contra eum qui negat principia? Although there bee here a great companie of learned men that knowe it vnmeete ſo to do, yet haue I here a plaine Canon wherin he declareth hym ſelfe conuicted ipſo facto. This Canon is this: Sit ergo ruinæ ſuo dolore proſtratus quiſquis Apoſtolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, ſed exors à ſancto fiat miniſterio, nec de eo eius iudicio quiſquam poſthac curam habeat, quin iam damnatus à ſancta & Apoſtolica Eccleſia ſua inobedientia ac preſumptione à quoquam eſſe non dubitetur. Quin maioris excommunicationis deiectione eſt abijciendus, cui ſanctæ Eccleſiæ commiſſa fuerit diſciplina, qui non ſolum iuſſionibus prælatæ ſanctæ Eccleſiæ parere debuit, ſed etiam alijs ne præterirent inſinuare. Sitque alienus à diuinis & pontificalibus officijs, qui noluerit præceptis Apoſtolicis obtemperare.

Wordes of the Popes Canon.

Note the worſhipful reaſons of Doct. Story wherewith he proueth ẏ Popes ſupremacy.

He hath alledged many matters againſt the Supremacy, but maliciouſly. Ye ſay ẏ the king in his Realme is Supreme head of the Churche. Well Syr, you will graunt me that there was a perfect catholicke Church before any king was chriſtened. Then, if it were a perfect Church, it muſt needes haue a head, which muſt needes bee before any kyng was member thereof, for you know Conſtantinus was the firſt Chriſtened king that euer was. And although you are bounde (as S. Paule ſaith) to obey your rulers, and kinges haue rule of the people, yet doth it not folow that they haue cure of ſoules: for A fortiori, the head may do that the miniſter can not do: but the Prieſt may conſecrate and the kyng can not, therefore the kyng is not head.

Doct. Story reaſoneth as though to fede with the word, and to gouerne with ẏ ſworde, were all one.

It was licenſed by Chriſt to euery man to bring into the ſheepefolde, and to augment the flocke, but not to rule, for that was onely geuen to Peter.

And where the Apoſtles do call vppon men to obey their Princes, Cui tributum, tributum, cui veſtigal, veſtigal: they perceiuyng that men were bent to a kind of libertie and diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and paiment of their tribute: which exhortation extendeth onely to temporall matters.

A maxime in the lawe.

And againe, where you ſay that the Biſhop of Rome maketh Lawes contrary to the Lawes of the Realme, that is not true, for this is a maxime in the law: Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit vniuerſale falſum.

Now, as touching that monſtrous talke of your conſcience, that is no conſcience that ye profeſſe: it is but priuata ſcientia, electio and ſecta. And as yet for al your glorious bable, you haue not proued by Gods lawes that ye ought not to aunſwere the Popes holines.

A rule of Law.

The Canons which be receaued of al Chriſtendome compel you to aunſwere, therefore you are bound ſo to doe. And although this Realme of late tyme, through ſuch Schiſmatickes as you were, haue exiled and baniſhed the Canons, yet that can not make for you. For you know your ſelfe that Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid ſtatuere poteſt. Wherefore this Ile beeyng in deede but a member of the whole, could not determine againſte the whole. That notwithſtandyng the ſame lawes beyng put awaie by a Parlament, are nowe receaued again by a Parlament, and haue as full authoritie nowe as they had then, and they will nowe that ye aunſwere the Popes holines: therefore by the Lawes of this realme ye are bounde to aunſwere hym. Wherefore my good Lorde, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I can no otherwiſe terme hym conſideryng hys diſobedience) hath brought for his defence, ſhall nothyng preuaile with you nor take anye effect. Require him therefore to aunſwere directlie to your good Lordſhip: commaunde him to ſet aſide his trifles, and to bee obedient to the lawes and ordinances of this Realme. Take witnes here of his ſtubburne contempt againſte the Kynges and Quenes Maieſties, and compell hym to aunſwere directly to ſuch Articles, as wee ſhall here lay againſt hym, and in refuſall, that your good Lordſhip will excommunicate him.

Doct. Story chargeth the Archb. with ſtubbernes.

As ſoone as Doctor Story had thus ended his tale

beginneth,

Partialetie in the reporter.

beginneth Doctor Martin again to enter ſpeache with the Archbiſhop, whiche talke I thought here likewiſe not to let paſſe, although the report of the ſame be ſuch, as the author thereof ſeemeth in his writyng very partiall: for as he expreſſeth the ſpeach of Doctor Martin at full, and to the vttermoſt of his diligence, leauyng out nothing in that part, that either was or coulde bee ſaid more: ſo againe on the other part howe rawe and weake he leaueth the matter, it is eaſie to perceiue, who neither comprehendeth all that Doct. Cranmer again aunſwered for his defence, nor yet in thoſe ſhort ſpeaches whiche hee expreſſeth, ſeemeth to diſcharge the part of a ſincere and faithfull reporter. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as it is, I thought good the reader to vnderſtande, who in peruſing the ſame maye vſe therein his owne iudgement and conſideration.

¶Talke betvvene Doctour Martyn and the Archbiſhop.

Talke betwene D. Martin and the Archbiſhop.

Maſter Cranmer, ye haue told here a long glorious tale, pretendyng ſome matter of conſcience in apparaunce, but in verity you haue no conſcience at all. You ſay that you haue ſworn once to Kyng Henrie the eight againſte the Popes iuriſdictiō, and therfore ye may neuer forſweare the ſame, & ſo ye make a great matter of conſcience in the breach of the ſaid oth. Here wil I aſke you a queſtion or two. What if ye made an othe to an harlot to liue with her in continuall adultery ought you to kepe it?

Cran. I thinke no.

Mart. What if you did ſweare neuer to lend a poore man one penny, ought you to keepe it?

Cran. I thinke not.

Vnaduiſed othes are not to be kept.

Mart. Herode did ſweare what ſoeuer his harlot aſked of him, he would geue her, and he gaue her John Baptiſtes head: did he well in keeping his oth?

Cran. I thinke not.

Jephthes oth.

Mart. Jephthe one of ÿ Judges of Iſraell did ſwear vnto God, that if he woulde geue him victory ouer hys enemies, hee would offer vnto God the firſte ſoule that came foorthe of his houſe: it happened that his owne daughter came firſte, and hee ſlue her to ſaue his othe. Did he well?

Cran. I thinke not.

Mart. So ſaithe S. Ambroſe de officijs. *Miſerabilis neceſſitas quæ ſoluitur parricidio. Then M. Cranmer, you can no leſſe confeſſe by the Premiſſes but that you ought not to haue conſcience of euery othe, but if it bee iuſt, lawfull, and aduiſedly taken.

*That is, it is a meſerable neceſſity which is paied with parricide.

Cran. So was that oth.

Mart. That is not ſo, for firſte it was vniuſte, for it tended to the taking away of an other mans right. It was not lawful, for the lawes of God and the Church were againſt it. Beſides, it was not voluntary, for euerie man and woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaſeth you to ſaie ſo.

The Archbiſhop being ſworne to the Kyng, ought not to ſweare to the Pope.

Mart. Let all the world be iudge. But Syr, you that pretend to haue ſuche a conſcience to breake an oth, I praie you did you neuer ſwere and breake the ſame?

Cran. I remember not.

Mart. I will helpe your memory. Did you neuer ſwear obedience to the Sea of Rome?

Cran. In dede I did once ſweare vnto the ſame.

Mart. Yea that ye did twiſe, as appeareth by recordes and writinges here readie to be ſhewed.

The Archbiſh. ſworne firſt to the Pope by Proteſtation.

Cran. But I remember I ſaued all by proteſtation that I made by the counſaile of the beſt learned men I could get at that tyme.

Mart. Harken good people what this man ſaithe. He made a proteſtation one daye, to keepe neuer a whit of that which he would ſweare the next daie: was this the part of a chriſtian man? If a chriſtian man would bargayne with a Turke, and before he maketh his bargaine ſolemnly, before witneſſe readeth in his Paper that he holdeth ſecretly in hande, or peraduenture proteſteth before one or twoo, that he mindeth not to performe what ſo euer hee ſhall promiſe to the Turke: I ſay if a chriſtian man would ſerue a Turke in this maner, that the chriſtian man were worſe then the Turke. What would you then ſaie to this man that made a ſolemne oth and promiſe vnto God and his churche, and made a proteſtation before quite contrary?

Cran. That whiche I did, I did by the beſt learned mens aduiſe I could get at that tyme.

Mart. I proteſt before all the learned menne here, that there is no learnyng will ſaue your periury herein, for there be two rules of the Ciuill law cleane contrary againſt you, and ſo brought forth his rules: whiche beyng done, hee proceeded further. But will you haue the truthe of the matter? King Henrie the eight euen then ment the lamentable chaunge which after you ſee came to paſſe: & to further his pitifull proceedynges from the diuorcement of his moſt lawfull wife, to the deteſtable departyng from the vnitie of Chriſtes Churche, this man made the foreſaid proteſtation, and on the other ſide, he letted not to make two ſolemne othes quite contrary, and why? for otherwiſe by the Lawes and Canons of this Realme he could not aſpyre to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury.

D. Martyn would proue the Archb. perſured in forſwearyng his oth made to the Pope.

Cran. I proteſt before you all, there was neuer man came more vnwilling to a Biſhopricke, then I did to that. In ſo muche that when King Henry did ſende for in Poſt, that I ſhould come ouer, I prolōged my iourney by ſeuen wekes at the leaſt, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meane tyme.

D. Cranmer vnwilling to be made Archb.

Mart. You declare well by the way that the king toke you to be a manne of a good conſcience, who could not finde within all his Realme anie man that would ſette forth his ſtraunge attemptes, but was inforced to ſend for you in Poſt to come out of Germanie. What maie we coniecture hereby, but that there was a compact betwene you beyng then Queene Annes Chaplen, and the king. Geue me the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury, and I will geue you licenſe to liue in adultery.

Falſe ſlaunder of D. Martyn.

Cran. You ſay not true.

Mart. Let your Proteſtation, ioined with the reſte of your talke, geue iudgement. Hinc prima mali labes. Of that your execrable periurie, and his coloured and to ſhamefully ſuffered adulterie, came hereſie and all miſchief to this Realme.

And this haue I ſpoken as touching your conſcience you make for breakyng your hereticall oth made to the king. But to breake your former oth made at two ſundry tymes both to God and his Churche, you haue no conſcience at all. And nowe to aunſwere an other part of your Oration, wherein you bryng in Gods woorde, that you haue it on your ſide and no man els, and that the Pope hath deuiſed a newe Scripture contrary to the Scriptures of God, ye play herein as the Phariſeis did whiche cried alwaies *Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini: The word of the Lorde, the worde of the Lorde, when they ment nothing ſo. This bettereth not your cauſe, becauſe you ſay, you haue Gods woord for you, for ſo Baſilides and Photinus the heretickes ſaide, that they had Gods woord to maintaine their hereſie. So Neſtorius, ſo Macedonius, ſo Pelagius, and brieflie all the Heretickes that euer were, pretended that they had Gods word for them, yea and ſo the Deuill beyng the Father of hereſies alledged Gods woord for hym, ſaiyng: Scriptum eſt, It is written: So ſaide hee to Chriſt, Mitte te deorſum, Caſt thy ſelfe backward, which you applied moſte falſly againſte the Pope. But if you marke the Deuils language well, it agreed with your proceedinges moſt truely. For, Mitte te deorſum, Caſt thy ſelfe downeward, ſaid he: and ſo taught you to caſt all thinges downeward. Downe with the Sacrament, downe with the Maſſe, downe with the Aultars, downe with the Armes of Chriſte, and vp with a Lion and a Dog, downe with Abbeis, downe with Chauntreys, downe with Hoſpitals and Colledges, downe with *faſting, and Praier, yea downe with all that good and godly is. All your proceedinges and preachinges tended to no other, but to fulfill the Diuels requeſt, Mitte te deorſum. And therefore tell not vs that you haue Gods word. For GOD hath geuen vs by his woord, a marke to knowe that your teaching proceeded not of GOD, but of the Deuill, and that your doctrine came not of Chriſte, but of Antichriſt. For Chriſt ſaid there ſhould come againſt his Church, Lupi rapaces, id eſt, Rauenyng Wolues, and Pſeudoapoſtoli, id eſt, Falſe Apoſtles. But how ſhould wee knowe them? Chriſte teacheth vs ſaiyng: Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos, id eſt. By their fruites ye ſhal know them. Why, what be their fruites? S. Paule declareth: Poſt carnem in cōcupiſcentia & immunditia ambulant: poteſtatem contemnunt. &c. i. After the fleſhe they walke in concupiſcence, and vncleanes: they contemne Poteſtates. Againe: In diebus nouiſſimis erunt periculoſa tempora, erunt ſeipſos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus: proditores. &c. i. In the latter daies there ſhall be perillous times. Then ſhal there be men louing them ſelues, couetous, proud, diſobediēt to parēts, treaſonworkers. Whether theſe

*Nay the Phariſeis cried not: Verbum Domini, but templum domini, as the Papiſtes do now againſt the Proteſtantes.

So did King Ezechias, and Joſias downe with monumentes of Idolatrie, and are commended.

*An other falſe ſlaunder of D. Martyn.

Whether theſe be the fruites of the Goſpellers or of the Papiſtes more, let the conuerſation of them both geue iudgement.

Anno. 1556. Marche.

An other falſe ſclaunder of D. Martyn.

theſe bee not the fruites of your Goſpell, I referre mee to this worſhipfull audience: whether the ſayed Goſpell began not with periurie, proceeded with adulterie, was maintained with hereſie, and ended in conſpiracy.

Now Syr, two pointes more I marked in your raging diſcourſe that you made here: the one againſt the holy Sacrament: the other againſt the Popes iuriſdiction, and the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolicke.

Doctrine of the Sacrament.

Touchyng the firſt, ye ſay you haue Gods word with you, yea and all the Doctors. I woulde here aſke but one queſtion of you: whether Gods woord be contrary to it ſelfe, and whether the Doctors teache doctrine contrary to them ſelues, or no? For you Maſter Cranmer, haue taught in this high Sacrament of the Aulter thre contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in euery one, Verbum Domini.

Cran. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the ſame.

Mart. What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the Sacramentary in the kyngs preſence in Whitehall?

Cran. I mainteined then the Papiſtes doctrine.

So was ſaincte Auguſten firſte a Pagane, then a Manichee, and then a Catholicke.

Mart. That is to ſaye, the Catholicke and vniuerſall doctrine of Chriſtes Churche. And howe when Kyng Henry died? did you not tranſlate Iuſtas Ionas booke?

Cran. I did ſo.

Martin. Then there you defended an other doctrine touchyng the Sacrament: by the ſame token, that you ſent to Lynne your Printer, that where as in the firſte Print there was an affirmatiue, that is to ſaie, Chriſtes body really in the ſacrament, you ſent then to your Printer to put in a not, whereby it came miraculouſlie to paſſe, that Chriſtes body was cleane conueied out of the Sacrament.

Cranmer. I remember there were two Printes of my ſaide booke, but where the ſame not was put in, I can not tell.

Mart. Then from a Lutherane ye became a Zuinglian, whiche is the vileſt hereſie of all in the high miſtery of the Sacrament, and for the ſame hereſie you did helpe to burne Lambert the Sacramentary, which you now call the Catholicke faith and Gods word.

Doct. Cranmer firſt won to the knowledge of the Sacrament by D. Ridley.

Cran. I graunt that then I beleued otherwiſe then I do now: and ſo I did vntill my Lord of London D. Ridley did cōferre with me, and by ſondry perſuaſions and authorities of Doctours draw me quite from my opinion.

Supremacie of the Pope.

Mart. Now Syr, as touchyng the laſte parte of your Oration, you denied that the Popes holines was Supreme head of the Church of Chriſt.

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Who ſay you then is ſupreme head?

Cran. Chriſt.

Mart. But whom hath Chriſte lefte here in earth hys Vicar and head of his Church?

Cran. No body.

Mart. Ah, why tolde you not Kyng Henry this when you made hym Supreme head? and nowe no bodie is. This is treaſon againſt his owne perſon, as you then made him.

Kyng Henrie was not Supreme head, but onely of his owne Realme. The Pope wil be vniuerſall head ouer all.

Cran. I meane not but euerie king in his owne Realm and dominion is ſupreme head, and ſo was he ſupreme head of the Church of Chriſt in England.

Mart. Is this alwaies true? and was it euer ſo in Chriſtes Church?

Cran. It was ſo.

Mart. Then what ſaie you by Nero: he was the mightieſt Prince of the earthe after Chriſte was aſcended: was he head of Chriſtes Church?

Cran. Nero was Peters head.

Mart. I aſke whether Nero was head of the Church or no? if he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid before, that all Princes bee and euer were heades of the Churche within their Realmes.

Cran. Nay it is true, for Nero was head of the church that is, in worldly reſpect of the Temporall bodies of men, of whom the church conſiſteth: for ſo he beheaded Peter and the Apoſtles. And the Turke too is head of the Church in Turky.

Mart. Then he that beheaded ỹ heades of the church and crucified the Apoſtles, was head of Chriſtes Church, and he that was neuer member of the church, is head of the Churche, by your new founde vnderſtandyng of Gods worde.

¶ It is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but much other matter paſſed in this communication betwene them, eſpeciallye on the Archbiſhops behalfe. Whoſe aunſweres I doe not thinke to be ſo ſclender, nor altogether in the ſame forme of wordes framed, if the truthe, as it was, might be knowen: but ſo it pleaſed the Notarye thereof beyng to muche parcially addicted to his mother Sea of Rome in fauour of his faction, to diminiſh and driue doune the other ſide, either in not ſhewing al, or in reportyng the thing otherwiſe then it was: as the common guiſe is of moſte writers, to what ſide their affection moſte waieth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let vs procede further in the ſtorye of this matter.

The aunſwere of the Archbiſhop, not ſincerely reported.

It followed then (ſaith this reporter) when the Archbiſhop thus had aunſwered and the ſtanders by began to murmur againſt him, the Iudges not cōtented with his aunſweres, willed him to aunſwere directly to the Interrogatories: which Interrogatories articulated againſt him in forme of law, wer theſe vnder folowing.

¶ Interrogatories obiected to the Archbiſhop, with his aunſweres annexed to the ſame.

Interrogatories laied againſt the Archbiſhop

1. Interrog. Firſte was obiected, that he the foreſaid Thom. Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, maried one Ioane ſurnamed blacke or browne, dwellyng at the Signe of the Dolphine in Cambridge.

Aunſwere. Whereunto he aunſwered, that whether ſhe was called blacke or browne, he knewe not, but that he maried there one Ioane, that he graunted.

The firſte mariage of ỹ Archbiſhoppe.

2. Interro. That after the death of the foreſaid wife, he entered into holy orders, & after that was made Archbiſhop by the Pope.

Aunſ. He receaued (hee ſaide) a certeine Bull of the Pope, whiche he deliuered vnto the king, & was Archbiſhop by hym.

The ſeconde mariage of the Archbiſhoppe.

3. Inter. Item, that he beyng in holy orders, maried an other woman, as his ſecond wife, named Anne, and ſo was twiſe maried.

Aunſ. To this he graunted.

4. Inter. Item, in the time of Kyng Henry 8. he kept the ſaid wife ſecretly, and had children by her.

Aunſ. Hereunto he alſo graunted: affirming that it was better for hym to haue his owne, then to do like other Prieſtes, holdyng and keping other mens wiues.

5. Inter. Item, in the tyme of Kyng Edward he brought out the ſaid his wife openly, affirmyng and profeſſyng publickly the ſame to be his wife.

Aunſ. He denied not but he ſo did, and lawfully might doe the ſame, for aſmuche as the lawes of the Realme did ſo permit hym.

6. Inter. Item, that he ſhamed not openly to glory hym ſelfe to haue had his wife in ſecret many yeares.

Aunſ. And though hee ſo did (hee ſaide) there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed therof.

The Archbiſh. charged with his doctrine, and bookes.

7. Inter. Item, that the ſaid Tho. Crāmer falling afterward into the depe bottome of errours, did flie and recuſe the authoritie of the Churche, did hold & folow the hereſie concerning the Sacrament of the aultar, & alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad diuers bokes.

Aunſ. Wherunto, when the names of the bookes were rectied to hym, he denied not ſuch bokes which he was the true authour of. As touching the treatiſe of Peter Martyr vpon the Sacrament, he denied that hee euer ſawe it before it was abroad, yet did approue and well like of the ſame. As for the Catechiſme, the booke of Articles, with the the booke againſte Wincheſter, hee graunted the ſame to be his doynges.

8. Inter. Item, that hee compelled many agaynſte there willes to ſubſcribe to the ſame Articles.

Aunſ. He exhorted (hee ſaide) ſuche as were willyng to ſubſcribe: but againſt their willes, he compelled none.

9. Inter. Item, for ſo muche hee ſurceaſed not to perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, hee was therefore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxforde, at what tyme it was commonly thought that the Parlament there ſhould be holden.

Aunſ. To this he ſaide, that he knewe no ſuche enorme and inordinate crimes, that euer he committed.

10. Inter. Item, that in the ſaid Citie of Oxforde, he did openly mainteine his hereſie, and there was conuicted vpon the ſame.

Aunſ. He defended (he ſaide) there the cauſe of the Sacrament, but to be conuicted in the ſame that he denied.

11. Inter. Item, when he perſeuered ſtill in the ſame, hee was by the publicke cenſure of the vniuerſity, pronounced an hereticke, and his bookes to be hereticall.

Aunſwer.

Aunſ. That he was ſo denounced, he denied not: but ẏ he was an heretick, or his bokes heretical, ẏ he denied.

12. Inter. Item, that he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of Schiſme, as who not only himſelfe receded from the Catholicke Church and ſea of Rome, but alſo moued the king, and ſubiectes of this Realme to the ſame.

Aunſ. As touching the receding, that he wel graunted: but that receding or departing (ſaid he) was only from the ſea of Rome, & had in it no matter of any Schiſme.

The Archbiſhop ſworne to the Pope by proteſtation.

13. Inter. Item, that hee had beene twiſe ſworne to the Pope: and withall D. Martin brought out the inſtrument of the Publicke Notary, wherein was conteined his proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, aſking if he had any thing els proteſted.

Aunſ. Whereunto he aunſwered, that hee did nothing but by the lawes of the Realme.

14. Inter. Item, that he the ſaied Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, did not onely offend in the Premiſſes, but alſo in taking vpon hym the authoritie of the ſea of Rome, in that without leaue or licence from the ſaid Sea, hee conſecrated Biſhops and Prieſtes.

Aunſ. He graunted, that he did execute ſuch thinges as were wont to bee referred to the Pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the publicke lawes and determination of the Realme.

15 Inter. Item, that when the whole Realme had ſubſcribed to the authoritie of the Pope, he onely ſtill perſiſted in his errour.

Aunſ. That he did not admit the Popes authoritie, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he denied.

16. Inter. Item, that all and ſingular the Premiſſes be true.

Aunſ. That likewiſe he graunted, excepting thoſe thinges whereunto he had now aunſwered.

After he had thus aunſwered to the obiections aforeſaid, and the publicke Notary had entred the ſame, the Iudges and Commiſſioners, as hauyng now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to ryſe and depart: but the Biſhop of Gloceſter, thinkyng it not the beſt ſo to diſmiſſe the people, beyng ſomewhat ſtirred with the wordes of the Archbiſhop, began with this Oration in the hearyng of the people, to declame.

¶The Oration of Biſhop Brookes in cloſing vp this examination againſt Doctour Crãmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

An other oration of Biſhoppe Brokes to archbiſhop Crãmer

Maſter Cranmer, I can not otherwiſe terme you conſideryng your obſtinacy, I am right ſory, I am right hartely ſorye to heare ſuche wordes eſcape your mouth ſo vnaduiſedlie. I had conceaued a right good hope of your amendement: I ſuppoſed that this obſtinacie of yours came not of a vaine glory, but rather of a corrupt conſciẽce, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your returne. But nowe I perceaue by your fooliſh bable, that it is farre otherwiſe. Ye are ſo puffed vp with vaine glorye, there is ſuch a cauteria of hereſy crept into your cõſcience, that I am cleane voyd of hope, & my hope is turned into vain hope. But who can ſtaye hym that willinglye runneth into perdition? who can ſaue that which will be loſt? God would haue you to be ſaued, and you refuſe it. Perditio tua ſuper te Iſraell, tantummodo in me ſaluatio tua, ait Dominus per Prophetam. i. Thy perdition is onely vpon thy ſelfe, O Iſraell: onely in me is thy ſaluation, ſaith the Lord by his Prophet, You haue vttered ſo erroneous talke, with ſuch open malice againſt the Popes holines, with ſuch open lying againſt the Church of Rome, with ſuche open blaſphemie againſt the Sacrament of the Aultar, that no mouth coulde haue expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

Maiſter Cranmer not to bee reaſoned withall.

To reaſon with you, although I would of my ſelfe to ſatiſfy this audience, yet may I not by our Commiſſion, neither can I find how I may doe it with the ſcriptures: For the Apoſtle doeth commaund that ſuche a one ſhoulde not onelye not bee talked withall, but alſo ſhunned and auoided ſaying: Hereticum hominem poſt vnum aut alterum conuentum, deuita, ſciens quòd huiuſmodi peruerſus eſt & delinquit, quum ſit proprio iudicio condemnatus. i. An hereticall perſon after once or twiſe conferryng, ſhunne, knowyng that he is peruerſe and ſinneth, beyng of his owne iudgement condemned. Ye haue bene conferred withall not once nor twiſe, but often tymes, ye haue oft beene louingly admoniſhed, ye haue bene oft ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt yeare in the open ſchole, in open diſputations ye haue beene openly conuict, ye haue beene openly driuen out of the Schole with hiſſes, your booke whiche ye bragge you made ſeuen yeares ago, and no man aunſwered it: Marcus Antonius hath ſufficientlye detected and confuted, and ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted hereſie.

Wherfore beyng ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withall, and conuicted) if ye deny you to be the man whom the Apoſtle noteth, heare then what Origine ſaith, who wrote aboue 1300. yeares ago: and interpreteth the ſaying of the Apoſtle in this wiſe, in Apologia Pamphili. Hereticus eſt omnis ille habendus, qui Chriſto ſe credere profitetur & aliter de Chriſti veritate ſentit quàm ſe habet Eccleſiaſtica traditio. Euen now ye profeſſed a kynd of Chriſtianitie and holines vnto vs, for at your beginnyng you fell downe vpon your knees, and ſaid the Lordes praier (God wotte like an hypocrite) and then ſtandyng vpon your feete, you rehearſed the articles of your faith: but to what end I pray you els, but to cloke that inward hereſy rooted in you, that you might blind the poore ſimple & vnlearned peoples eyes? For what will they ſaie or thinke, if they do not thus ſaye? Good Lorde, what meaneth theſe men to ſay that he is an heretike, they are deceiued, this is a good Chriſtian, hee beleueth as we beleue.

Origenes in Apologia Pamphili.

What an hereticke is, after the Popes meanyng.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an hereticke? To the ſimple and vnlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that haue profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not inough to recite your beliefe. For vnleſſe (as Origene ſayth) ye beleue all thinges that the Church hath decreed beſides, you are no Chriſtian man. In the whiche becauſe you doe halt and will come to no conformitie, from hence forth ye are to bee taken for an hereticke, with whom we ought neither to diſpute, neither to reaſon, whom we ought rather to eſchewe and auoid.

Neuertheleſſe, although I do not intende to reaſon with you, but to geue you vp as an abiect and outcaſte from Gods fauour, yet becauſe ye haue vttered to the annoiyng of the people ſuche peſtilent hereſies as may do harme among ſome rude and vnlearned, I thinke meete and not abs re, ſomewhat to ſaye herein: not becauſe I hope to haue any good at your handes, whiche I would willingly wiſhe, but that I may eſtabliſhe the ſimple people whiche be here preſent, leſt they beyng ſeduced by your diabolicall doctrine, may periſhe therby. And firſte (as it behoueth euery man to purge hymſelfe firſte before he enter with anye other) where you accuſe me of an oth made againſt the biſhop of Rome, I confeſſe it and deny it not, and therfore do ſay with the reſt of this realme, good and catholicke men, the ſaying of the Prophet: Peccauimus cum patribus noſtris, iniuſtè egimus, iniquitatem fecimus. i. We haue ſinned with our fathers: wee haue done vniuſtly, and wickedly. Delicta iuuentutis meę, & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine. i. The ſinnes of my youth, and my ignoraunces, O Lord do not remember. I was then a young man, and as yong a Scholer here in the vniuerſitie.

B. Brokes recanteth his othe made to ẏ king againſt ẏ Pope.

I knew not then what an othe did meane, and yet to ſaie the truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed I ſaie by you M. Cranmer, and here were you the authour and cauſe of my periury, you are to bee blamed herein, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two othes, the one contrarye to the other, it is not ſo, for the othe I made to the Popes holines, appertaineth onely to ſpirituall things. The other oth that I made to the king, pertaineth onely to Temporall thinges: that is to ſaie, that I do acknowledge all my temporall liuings to procede onely from the king and from none els. But all menne may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſte of your opinions.

Supremacie.

Now Sir, as concernyng the Supremacy whiche is only dew to the ſea of Rome, a word or two. Although there bee a number of places whiche doe confirme that Chriſt appointed Peter head of the Church, yet this is a moſte euidente place. When Chriſte demaunded of his Apoſtles whom men called hym: they aunſwered: ſome Elias, ſome a Prophet. &c. But Chriſt replied to Peter, and ſaied: Whom ſaieſt thou Peter that I am? Peter aunſwered: Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei, and Chriſte replied: Tu es Petrus & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. The Doctours interpretyng this place, ſuper hanc Petram expound it, id eſt, non ſolum ſuper fidem Petri ſed ſuper te Petre. And why did Chriſt chaũge his name from Simon to Peter, whiche in Latine is a ſtone, but onely to declare that he was onely the foundation

The Churche builded vppon Peter.

dation and head of the Church.

[Paſce] expounded by Chryſoſtome.

Agayne, where Chriſt demaunded of Peter beyng amongſt the reſt of his Apoſtles three tymes a rew, Petre amas me? he gaue hym charge ouer his ſheep Paſce oues meas Paſce agnos meos. Which place Chryſoſtome interpretyng ſayth, Paſce, hoc eſt, loco mei eſto præpoſitus & caput fratrũ tuorum. To conclude, when they came that required Didrachma of Chriſt, he commaunded Peter to caſt his net into the ſea, and to take out of the fiſhes mouth that he tolde ſtaterem hoc eſt duplex Didrachma, & da inquit pro te & me Petre. Which wordes do ſignifie, that when he had payed for them two, he had payed for all the reſt. For as in the old law there were appointed two heades ouer the people of Iſraell, Moiſes and Aaron, Moiſes as chief, and Aaron next head vnder him: ſo in the newe lawe there were to heades of the church, which were Chriſt and Peter, Chriſt as head of al, and Peter next vnder him. S. Auſtine in, 75. queſtione Veteris & noui Teſtamẽti, Saluator (inquit) quum pro ſe & Petro dari iubebat Didrachma, pro omnibus ipſum dari cẽſuit, ipſum enim conſtituit caput eorum. i. Our Sauiour Chriſt (ſayth S. Auſtine) cõmaundyng the tribute to bee geuen for hym and for Peter, meant thereby the ſame to be geuen for all other, for he appoynted hym to be head of them. What can be more playne then this? But I wyll not tary vpon this matter.

Auguſt. Queſt. 75.

Seruice in Latin.

Now as touchyng the Popes Lawes, where you ſay, they be cõtrary, becauſe the ſeruice which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in Latine: I anſwere, who ſoeuer wyll take the paynes to peruſe the chapter, which is the. xiiij. of the firſt to the Corinthians, ſhall find, that his meanyng is concernyng preachyng, and Obiter onely of prayyng.

Sacrament in one kinde.

Againe, where you ſay, that the Popes holynes doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the lay men, and Chriſt would haue it vnder both, ye can ſay no more but this: Bibite ex eo omnes: Drinke ye al of this: And what foloweth: Et biberũt ex eo omnes. i. And al dranke therof. Now, if a man would be ſo proterue with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gaue it onely to his Apoſtles, in whoſe places ſucceded prieſtes, and not lay men.

Authoritie of the Church in changing rites.

And admyt that Chriſte commaunded it to be receyued vnder both kyndes, yet the Churche hathe authoritie to chaunge that, as well as other. Ye reade, that Chriſte callyng his Apoſtles together, ſayd vnto them: Ite, prædicate Euangelium omni nationi baptizantes in nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. i. Goe and preach the Goſpel to euery nation, baptiſing in the name of the father, of the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt. But the Apoſtles beyng deſirous to publiſhe Chriſtes name euerywhere, dyd baptiſe onely in Chriſtes name. Againe, Chriſte before his laſt Supper waſhed his Apoſtles feete, ſaying: Si ego laui pedes veſtros dominus & magiſter, & vos debetis alter alterius lauare pedes. i. If I haue waſhed your feete beyng your Lord and maiſter, alſo you ought to waſh the feet one of an other. Exemplum dedi vobis. i. I haue geuen you example. This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, ẏ ſimple people ſhould not think a rebaptizatiõ in it. So becauſe ſayd ẏ Apoſtle: Accepi à Domino quod & tradidi vobis, Dominus noſter qua nocte tradebatur. &c. i. I haue receiued of the lord the ſame which I haue deliuered to you, that our Lorde the ſame night in whiche he was betrayed. &c. Notwithſtandyng that this was a precept that the ſacrament ſhould be miniſtred after ſupper, the church hath altered it, & commaunded it to be receyued faſtyng. And where Chriſte dyd breake the bread, we receyue the whole hoſt. Chriſt miniſtred ſitting at the table, we ſtanding at ẏ altar.

Rites and ceremonies ſubiect to the diſpoſition of the church

It was alſo commaunded in the. xv. of the Actes, that Chriſtian men ſhoulde abſteyne à ſuffocato & ſanguine. i. From ſtrangled and bloud. But the Churche perceyuyng it to be a precept but for a tyme, hath altered it. Chriſt commaunded to keepe holy, Diem Sabbati. i. The Sabbat day, and the Churche hath altered it to Sonday. If then the church may change thynges that be ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures, ſhee may alſo chaunge the forme of receyuyng of lay men vnder both kindes, for diuers occaſions.

Reaſons why lay men receaue not vnder both kindes.

Firſt, becauſe in caryyng to the ſicke, the bloud may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next, that no occaſion might be geuen to heretikes to thinke that there is not ſo much vnder one kynd, as vnder both.

But why woulde you haue it vnder both kyndes, I pray you els, but only to peruert and contrary the cõmaundement of the Churche? For when you had it vnder both kyndes, you beleued in neyther. And we hauyng but one, beleue both kyndes. Now ſir, as concernyng the ſacrament of the altar, where you ſay, you haue a number of Doctors of your ſide, and we none of our ſide, that is to ſay, to confirme the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, in deede one to ſtop your mouth, I thinke it not poſſible to finde. Neuertheleſſe, where your requeſt is to haue one ſhewed vnto you, and then you wyll recant, I wyll ſhewe you two.

Reall preſence proued by D. Brokes.

S. Auguſtine Super. 33, Pſalm. ferebatur manibus ſuis: I finde not howe this is true in Dauid (ſayth he) literally, that he was borne in his owne handes, but in Chriſt I finde it literally, when he gaue his body to his Apoſtles at his laſt ſupper.

Auguſt. Pſal. 33.
Cyprian De Cœna Domini.

Againe S. Cyprian De Cœna Domini, ſaith: Panis quem dominus noſter diſcipulis ſuis porrigebat, non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro. What can be more plaine then this? yet to your expoſition it is not playne enough. But geue me your figuratiue, ſignificatiue and ſuch other like termes, and I wyll defend that Chriſte hath not yet aſcended: no nor yet that he was incarnate. &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom Chryſoſtome ſpake of in this wiſe, ſaying: Audi homo fidelis qui contra hæreticum contendis, ſi Phariſæi conuicti, & non placati & hæretici. &c. Heare, O thou Chriſtian man: wylt thou doo more then Chriſt could doo? Chriſt confuted the Phariſeis, yet could he not put them to ſilence: Et fortior es tu Chriſto? And art thou ſtronger then Chriſte? Wylt thou goe aboute to bryng them to ſilence that wyll receyue no anſweare? as who ſhoulde ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much haue I ſayd, not for you maiſter Cranmer, for my hope that I conceyued of you, is now gone and paſt, but in ſomewhat to ſatiſfie the rude and vnlearned people, that they perceyuyng your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better eſchewe your deteſtable and abominable ſchiſme.

And thus ended this Prelate his worſhipful tale. After whom doctor Story taketh the mater, and thus inferreth in wordes, as foloweth.

D. Storyes talke to the Archbiſhop

Maiſter Cranmer, you haue made a goodly proceſſe concernyng your hereticall othe made to the Kyng, but you forget your othe made to the Sea Apoſtolike. As concernyng your othe made to ẏ kyng, if you made it to hym onely, it toke an end by his death, and ſo is it releaſed: if you made it to his ſucceſſors, wel ſir, the true ſucceſſors haue the Empyre, and they wyl you to diſſolue the ſame, and become a member of Chriſtes Church againe, and it ſtandeth well with charitie.

To this the Archbiſhop aunſweared agayne, ſayth the Reporter: but what his aunſweare was, that he ſuppreſſeth, and returneth to the wordes of D. Story, who imperiouſly turnyng his ſpeach agayne to the Archbiſhop, ſayde as foloweth.

Holde your peace ſir, and ſo ſhall it right well become you, conſideryng that I gaue you licence before, to ſay your phanſie. your othe was no othe, for it lacked the three poyntes of an othe, that is to ſay, Iudicium, Iuſtitiam, & Veritatem.

Three thinges required in an othe.

These with like wordes to the ſame effect being vttered by doctor Story, ſeekyng to breake vp and to make an ende of that ſeſſiõ, he eftſoones called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworne vpon the booke, to vtter and declare the next day, what ſoeuer they knew, or could remember to be inferred agaynſt doctor Cranmers hereſie. The names of the witneſſes were theſe.

D. Story calleth for witneſſes.

Doct. Marſhall, Commiſſary, & Deane of Chriſtes church.
Doctor Smith, vnder Commiſſary.
Doct. Treſham.

Doct. Crooke.
M. London.
M. Curtop.
M. Warde.
M. Serles.

Witneſſes ſworne agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

After the depoſitions of which witneſſes beyng taken, Doct. Story admoniſhed the Archbiſhop, permitting hym to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſayd witneſſes to be refuſed. Who thẽ would admit none of them al, being men periured, and not in Chriſtian religion. For if to ſweare (ſaid he) againſt ẏ Pope were vnlawful, they ſhould rather haue geuen their lyues, then their oth. But if it were lawfull, then are they periured, to defende hym whom they forſware before. Neuertheleſſe, this anſwere of the Archb. beyng lightly regarded, as litle to the purpoſe apperteinyng, he was commaunded agayne to the place from whence he came. Who at his departyng out, like as at his firſt cõmyng in, ſhewed low obedience to Doct. Martin, and to Doctor Storye, the Queenes Commiſſioners. Then Doctour Story poyntyng hym to the Biſhop of Glocester, ſaid, that he ought rather to geue reuerence vnto hym. So the reuerend Archbiſhop departyng without any obeyſance exhibited to the Biſhop, all the other roſe vp, and departed euery one to his owne. And thus brake vp the Seſſion for this day, about two of the clocke at after noone.

The Archb. refuſeth thoſe Iurates periured.

The Archb. ſent agayne to Bocardo.

The Archb. agayne geueth no reuerence to the Popes Delegate

And thus much hitherto concernyng the ſummary effect

The aunſweres of the Archb. not indifferently reported.

of this Action or Seſſion, with the Orations, diſcourſes, and articles commenced agaynſt the Archbiſhop of Cant. alſo with the reaſons and anſweres of the ſayd Archbiſhop to their obiections and interrogatoryes. Touchyng which his anſweares, for ſomuch as they being recited by report of a papiſt (as is aforeſayd) ſeme to be not indifferently handled, it ſhall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye haue heard the Orations of Biſhop Brokes, with the reaſons & talke of the other Commiſſioners, amplified and ſet forth at large on the one ſide, ſo now in repetyng the wordes and aunſweares of the other parte, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what ſpeach the ſaid Archbiſhop vſed for hym ſelfe in the ſame Action, by the faythful relation and teſtimonie of certaine other, who were likewiſe there preſent, and doo thus reporte the effect of the Archbiſhops wordes, anſweryng to the firſt Oration of biſhop Brokes, in maner as foloweth.

¶ A more full anſweare of the Archbiſhop of Cant. to the firſt Oration of Biſhop Brokes.

A more full aunſwere of the Archb. to Biſhop Brokes oration.

MY Lord, you haue very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in remembraunce of many thynges touchyng my ſelfe, wherein I doo not meane to ſpende the tyme in anſwearyng of them. I acknowledge Gods goodnes to me in all his gyftes, and thanke hym as hartily for this ſtate wherein I finde my ſelfe nowe, as euer I dyd for the tyme of my proſperitie: and it is not the loſſe of my promotions that greeueth me. The greateſt griefe I haue at this tyme, is, and one of the greateſt that euer I had in all my lyfe, to ſee the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties by their Proctours here to become my accuſers, and that in their owne Realme and Countrey, before a forreyne power. If I haue tranſgreſſed the lawes of the Land, their maieſties haue ſufficient authoritie and power both from God, and by the ordinaunce of the Realme to puniſhe me, whereunto I both haue and at all tymes ſhalbe contente to ſubmyt my ſelfe.

Q. Mary accuſeth the Archb. for taking her owne part againſt a forein power.

Alas, what hath the Pope to doo in Englande? whoſe iuriſdiction is ſo farre different from the iuriſdiction of this Realme, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The Lawes alſo are ſo diuers, that whoſoeuer ſweareth to both, muſt needes incurre periury in the one. Whiche as often as I remember, euen for the loue that I beare to her grace, I can not be but hartily ſory to thinke vpon it, how that her highnes the day of her coronation, at which tyme ſhee tooke a ſolemne oth to obſerue al the lawes and liberties of this Realme of England, at the ſame tyme alſo tooke an othe to the Biſhop of Rome, and promiſed to maintayne that Sea. The ſtate of England being ſo repugnant to the ſupremacie of the Pope, it was impoſſible but ſhee muſt needes be forſworne in the one. Wherin if her grace had bene faythfully aduertiſed by her Counſaile, then ſurely ſhee would neuer haue done it.

The lawes of the realme and of the pope are contrary.

No man can be true both to the realme and to the Pope together.

The Lawes of this Realme are, that the kyng of England is the ſupreme and ſole gouernour of al his countreys and dominions: and that he holdeth his crowne and Scepter of hym ſelfe, by the auncient lawes, cuſtomes, and deſcentes of the kynges of the Realme, and of none other. The Pope ſayth, that all Emperours and kynges holde their Crownes and Regalities of hym, and that he may depoſe them when he lyſt: which is high treaſon for any man to affirme and thinke, being borne within the kyngs dominions.

The contrarietie betwene the lawes of this realme, and of the pope diſcribed.

The Lawes of Englande are, that all Biſhoppes and Prieſtes offendyng in caſes of Felonie or Treaſon, are to be iudged and tryed by the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Realme. The Popes Lawes are, that the ſecular power can not iudge the ſpiritual power, and that they are not vnder their iuriſdiction: whiche robbeth the kyng of the one part of his people.

The Lawes alſo of Englande are, that whoſoeuer hyndereth the execution or proceedyng of the Lawes of England for any other forreine Lawes, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporall, incurreth the daunger of a Premunire. The Popes Lawes are, that whoſoeuer hyndereth the proceedynges or executions of his Lawes, for any other Lawes of any other kyng or countrey, both the Prince hym ſelfe, his Counſayle, all his Officers, Scribes, Clerkes, and whoſoeuer geue conſent or ayde to the makyng or executyng of any ſuch lawes, ſtandeth accurſed. A heauy caſe (if his curſe were any thyng worth) that the Kyng and Queene can not vſe their owne Lawes, but they and al theirs muſt ſtand accurſed. Theſe thynges and many more examples he alledged, whiche (he ſayde) ſtyrred hym that he coulde not geue his conſent to the receyuyng of ſuch an enemie into the Realme, ſo ſubuertyng the dignitie & auncient liberties of the ſame.

Kinges and Princes can not vſe their owne lawes in their dominions for the Pope.

Cauſe why the Archb. would not admit the Pope.

And as for the matter of Hereſie and Schiſme, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted and called GOD to witnes, that he knewe none that he maintayned. But if that were an hereſie to deny the Popes authoritie, and the Religion whiche the Sea of Rome hath publiſhed to the worlde theſe latter yeares, then all the auncient Fathers of the Primitiue Churche, the Apoſtles and Chriſte hym ſelfe taught hereſie: and he deſired all them preſent to beare hym witneſſe, that he tooke the traditions and Religion of that vſurpyng Prelate to be moſte erroneous, falſe, and againſt the doctrine of the whole Scripture: which he had oftentymes well proued by wrytyng, and the Authour of yͤ ſame to be very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of by the Apoſtles and Prophetes, in whom dyd moſt euidently concurre al ſignes and tokens whereby he was paynted to the world to be knowen.

The Popes religion moſt erroneous.

All markes of Antichriſt moſt concurre in the Pope.

For it was moſte euident that he had aduaunced hym ſelfe aboue all Emperours and kinges of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their ſtates and Empires of hym, as of their chiefe, and to be at his commaundement to depoſe and erect at his good wyl and pleaſure: and that the ſtories make mention of his intollerable and inſolent pride and tyrannie, vſed ouer them in ſuche ſort, as no kyng woulde haue vſed to his Chriſtian ſubiectes, nor yet a good maiſter to his ſeruauntes, ſettyng his feete in the Emperours necke, affirmyng yͭ to be verified in hym, which was ſpoken only of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe wordes: Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconē. Other ſome had he made to hold his ſtyrrops: others he had diſplaced and remoued from their Empires and ſeates royal: and not content herewithal, more inſolent then Lucifer, hath occupyed not only the higheſt place in this world, aboue Kinges and Princes, but hath further preſumed to ſit in yͤ ſeate of almightie God, which only he reſerued to him ſelfe, whiche is the conſcience of man: and for to keepe the poſſeſſion thereof, he hath promiſed forgeuenes of ſinnes totiens quotiens.

The Popes pride and intollerable tyranny.

Of this treading of the Emperours necke, read before pag. 207.

Markes of Antichriſt.

He hath brought in Gods of his owne framyng, and inuented a newe Religion, ful of gaine and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, onely for the maintaynyng of his kingdome, diſplacing Chriſt from his glory, and holdyng his people in a miſerable ſeruitude of blyndnes, to the loſſe of a great number of ſoules, which God at the latter day ſhal exact at his hand: boaſtyng many tymes in his Canons and Decrees, that he can diſpenſe Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & nouum Teſtamentum: and that he, Plenitudine poteſtatis, tantū poteſt quantum Deus: That is, Againſt Peter, againſte Paul, againſte the olde and newe Teſtament: and of the fulnes of power may do as muche as God. O Lord, who euer hearde ſuche blaſphemie? If there be any man that can aduaunce hym ſelfe aboue hym, let hym be iudged Antichriſt.

The Pope diſpenſeth agaynſt the new and the olde Teſtament.

If any can go before the Pope in pride, let him be called Antichriſt.

This enemie of GOD and of our Redemption, is ſo euidently paynted out in the Scriptures by ſuche manifeſt ſignes and tokens, whiche all ſo clearely appeare in hym, that except a man wyll ſhut vp his eyes and hart agaynſt the lyght, he can not but knowe hym: and therefore for my parte, I wyll neuer geue my conſent to the receyuyng of hym into this Churche of Englande. And you, my Lorde, and the reſt that ſit here in Commiſſion, conſider well and examine your owne conſciences: you haue ſworne agaynſte hym, you are learned, & can iudge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blynde. As for me, I haue herein diſcharged myne owne conſcience towarde the worlde, and I wyll write alſo my mynde to her grace touchyng this matter. The copie of whiche letter ſent to the Queene, ye ſhall finde after in the end of his ſtory.

While he in this ſorte made his anſweare, ye hearde before howe Doctour Storye and Martin diuers tymes interrupted hym with blaſphemous talke, and woulde fayne haue had the Biſhop of Glocester to put hym to ſilence: who notwithſtandyng dyd not, but ſuffered hym to ende his tale at full. After this ye heard alſo howe they proceded to examine hym of diuers articles, whereof the chiefe was: That at the tyme of his creatyng Archbiſh. of Canterbury, he was ſworne to the Pope, and had his inſtitutiō and induction from hym, and promiſed to mainteyn there the authoritie of that Sea: and therfore was periured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſticke to his firſt othe, and returne to his old folde agayne, then to continue obſtinately in an othe forced in the tyme of ſchiſme.

His aunſweres to their Articles.

How Cranmer was made Archb. agaynſt his will.

To that he aunſweared, ſauyng his proteſtation, (whiche terme he vſed before all his aunſweares) that at ſuch tyme as Archb. Warrham dyed, he was Embaſſador in Germanie for the king, who ſent for hym therupō home, & hauyng intelligēce by ſome of his frends (who wer neare about the kyng) how he meant to beſtow the ſame Biſhopryke vpon hym, and therefore counſelled hym in that caſe to make haſte home, he feelyng in hym ſelfe a greate inhabilitie to ſuche a promotion, and very ſory to leaue his ſtudy,

and

1556. March.

and eſpecially conſidering by what meanes he muſt haue it, whiche was cleane againſt his conſcience, whiche he could not vtter without great peryl and danger, deuiſed an excuſe to the kyng of matter of great importaunce, for the whiche his longer abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſary, thinking by that meanes in his abſence, that the kyng would haue beſtowed it vppon ſome other, and ſo remayned there by that deuiſe, one halfe yeare after the king had written for hym to come home. But after that no ſuche matter fell out, as he ſeemed to make ſuſpition of, the kyng ſent for hym againe. Who after his returne, vnderſtandyng ſtyll the Archbiſhopricke to be reſerued for hym, made meanes by diuers of his beſt frendes, to ſhyft it of, deſiryng rather ſome ſmaller liuyng, that he might more quietly folow his booke.

To be briefe, when the kyng hym ſelfe ſpake with him, declaryng his full intention for his ſeruice ſake, and for the good opinion he conceyued of hym, was to beſtow that dignitie vppon hym, after long diſablyng of hym ſelfe, perceyuyng he coulde by no perſwaſions alter the kynges determination, he brake frankely his conſcience with hym, moſt humbly crauyng firſt his Graces pardon, for that he ſhould declare vnto his highneſſe. Whiche obteyned, he declared, that if he accepted ẏ Office, thē he muſt receyue it at the Popes hande, whiche he neyther woulde, nor could doo, for that his highneſſe was onely the ſupreme Gouernour of this Churche of England, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and that the full right and donation of al maner of Biſhoprikes and benefices, as wel as of any other Temporall dignities and promotions, apperteyned to his Grace, and not to any other forreine authoritie, what ſoeuer it was: and therefore if he might ſerue God in that vocation, hym, and his countrey, ſeeing it was his pleaſure ſo to haue it, he would accept it, and receyue it of his maieſtie, and of none other ſtraunger, who had no authoritie within this Realme, neyther in any ſuche gyft, nor in any other thing. Whereat the kyng (ſayde he) ſtaying a whyle & muſing, aſked me how I was able to proue it. At which tyme I alledged many textes out of the Scriptures, and the fathers alſo, approuyng the ſupreme and higheſt authoritie of kings in their Realmes & dominions, diſcloſing therwithall the intollerable vſurpation of the Pope of Rome.

D. Cranmer denyed that he tooke the Archbiſhopricke at the Popes handes.

Cranmers aunſwere to K. Henry refuſing to be Archbyſhop. Firſt breakyng of the matter of the Popes ſupremacye to K. Henry.

Afterwards it pleaſed his highnes (quoth the Archb.) many and ſundry tymes to talke with me of it, and perceyuyng that I coulde not be brought to acknowledge the authoritie of the B. of Rome, the kyng hym ſelfe called D. Oliuer, and other Ciuil Lawyers, & deuiſed with thē how he might beſtowe it vpon me, inforcyng me nothing againſt my conſcience. Who therupon informed hym, that I might doo it by the way of proteſtatiō, & ſo one to be ſent to Rome, who might take the othe, and doo euery thyng in my name. Which when I vnderſtood, I ſayd, he ſhould doo it Super animam ſuam: and I in deede Bona fide made my proteſtation, that I dyd not acknowledge his authoritie any further, then as it agreed with the expreſſe word of God, & that it might be lawful for me at al times to ſpeake againſt him, and to impugne his errors, when tyme and occaſion ſhoulde ſerue me. And this my proteſtation dyd I cauſe to be enrolled, and there I thinke it remayneth.

Cranmer ſworne to the Pope vnder Proteſtation. Cranmer in ſwearing to the Pope did nothing without aduiſe of the beſt learned in this Realme.

They obiected to hym alſo that he was maryed: which he confeſſed. Wherupon D. Martin ſaid, that his chyldren were boudmen to the See of Canterbury. At which ſaying the Archb. ſmiled, and aſked hym if a prieſt at his Benefice kept a Concubine, and had by her baſtardes, whether they were bondmen to the benefice, or no, ſaying, I truſt you wil make my childrens cauſes no worſe.

The Archb. aunſwereth for his wyfe and children.

After this Doctour Martin demaunded of hym who was ſupreme head of the Churche of Englande? Mary, quoth my Lorde of Canterbury, Chriſte is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the vniuerſal church. Why (quoth Doctour Martin) you made kyng Henrye the eight ſupreme heade of the Churche. Yea (ſayde the Archbiſhop) of all the people of England, as wel Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal. And not of the Church, ſaid Martin? No, ſaid he, for Chriſt is onely head of his Churche, and of the fayth and Religion of the ſame. The kyng is head and gouernour of his people, which are the viſible church. What (quoth Martin) you neuer durſt tel the king ſo. Yes, that I durſt (quoth he) and dyd, and in the publication of his Style, wherin he was named ſupreme head of the church, there was neuer other thyng meant. A number of other fond & fooliſh obiections were made, with repetition wherof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

Becauſe there was offence taken at this word Supreame hed, it was declared in the Queenes ſtyle to be ſupreame gouernour.

Thus after they had receyued his anſweare to all their obiections, they cited hym (as is aforeſayde) to appeare at Rome within foure ſcore dayes, to make there his perſonall aunſweares: which he ſayd, if the Kyng and Queene would ſende hym, he would be content to doo. and ſo thence was caryed to priſon againe, where he continually remayned, notwithſtandyng that he was commaunded to appeare at Rome.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Rome.

Wherin al men that haue eyes to ſee, may eaſily perceiue the crafty practiſe of theſe Prelates, and the viſured face of their Iuſtice, as though the Court of Rome would condemne no man before he anſweared for hym ſelfe, as al lawe and equitie required. But the very ſame inſtant tyme, the holynes of that vnholy father, contrary to all reaſon and iuſtice, ſent his letter executorye vnto the Kyng and Queene to degrade and depriue hym of his dignitie: whiche thyng he dyd not onely before the. lxxx. dayes were ended, but before there were. xx. dayes ſpent. Furthermore, wheras the ſaid Archbiſhop was faſt deteyned in ſtrayt priſon, ſo that he could not appeare (as was notorious bothe in England and alſo in the Romiſh Court) and therfore had a lawfull and moſt iuſt excuſe of his abſence by al lawes, both popiſhe and other: yet in the ende of the ſayd. lxxx. dayes was that worthy Martyr decreed Contumax, that is, ſturdily, frowardly, and wylfully abſent, and in payne of the ſame his abſence, condemned, and put to death.

A poynt to be noted in the crafty practiſe of romiſh hipocrites.

As touchyng the foreſaide executorye Letters of the Pope ſente to the Kyng and Queene, begynnyng thus: Paulus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi, & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ Mariæ Reginæ. &c. becauſe the full tenour thereof is expreſſed in our firſte impreſſion of Actes. Pag. 1490. it ſhall not be needeful to comber this volume in repeating the ſame againe.

Of this letter of the Pope, read in the firſt booke pag. 1490.

¶ Doctor Thurlby and Doctour Boner commyng with a newe Commiſsion to ſit vpon the Archbiſhop the. 14. day of February.

This Letter or ſentence definitiue of the Pope, was dated the firſt day of Ianuary, and was deliuered here in England about the myddeſt of February. Upon the receit of which letters an other Seſſiō was appoynted for ẏ Archbiſhop to appeare the fourteenth daye of Februarye, before certayne Commiſſioners directed down by the queene, the chiefe whereof was the Biſhop of Ely Doctor Thurlby. Concernyng which D. Thurlby, by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the ſayde Archbiſhoppes houſholde Chapleyne, yet he was ſo familiarely acquainted with hym, ſo dearely beloued, ſo inwardly accepted and aduaunced of hym (not like a Chapleyne, but rather like a natural brother) that there was neuer any thing in the Archbiſhops houſe ſo deare, were it Plate, Iewel, Horſe, Mappes, bookes, or any thyng els, but if Thurlby dyd neuer ſo litle commende it, (a ſubtile kynde of beggyng) the Archbiſhop by and by, eyther gaue it to hym, or ſhortly ſent it after hym to his houſe. So greatly was the Archbiſhop inamored with hym, that who ſoeuer woulde obtayne any thing of hym, moſt commonly woulde make their way before by Doctour Thurlby. Which bymatter of ẏ ſayd Doctour Thurlby, I thought here to recite, not ſo much to rebrayd the man with the vyce of vnthankfulnes, as chiefly and onely for this, to admoniſh hym of olde benefites receyued, wherby he may the better remember his old benefactor, and ſo to fauour the cauſe and quarrell of hym whō he was ſo ſingularly bounden vnto.

A new commiſsion ſent downe from Rome agaynſt the Archbyſhop.

Doct. Thurlby, Doct. Boner, Commiſsioners.

The olde benefites and familiaritie betwene the Archbyſhop and Doct. Thurlby.

With the ſaid Doctour Thurlby Biſhop of Ely, was alſo aſſigned in the ſame Commiſſion Doctor Boner Biſhop of London, which two commyng to Oxford vppon S. Valentines day, as the Popes delegates, with a new commiſſion from Rome, by the vertue thereof commaunded the Archbiſhop aforeſayd to come before them, in the Quier of Chriſtes Church before the high aultar, where they ſittyng (accordyng to their maner) in their pontificalibus, firſt begā as the faſhion is, to reade their Commiſſion: wherin was conteined, how that in the Court of Rome al thinges being indifferently examined, both the articles layde to his charge, with the anſweares made vnto them, and witneſſes examined on both partes, and counſel heard as wel on the kyng & queenes behalfe his accuſers, as on ẏ behalfe of T. Crāmer, ẏ party gyltie, ſo that he wanted nothyng apperteynyng to his neceſſary defenſe, &c. Which foreſaid Cōmiſſion, as it was in reading, O Lord, ſaid the Archbiſh. what lyes be theſe, that I being continually in priſon, and neuer could be ſuffered to haue counſell or aduocate at home, ſhoulde produce witnes and appoynt my counſel at Rome? God muſt needes puniſh this open & ſhameles lying. They read on the Cōmiſſion which came from the Pope, Plenitudine poteſtatis, ſupplying al maner of defectes in lawe or proceſſe, cōmitted in dealing with the Archbiſhop, and geuing them ful authoritie to proceede to the depriuation and degradation of hym, and ſo vpon excōmunication to deliuer hym vp to the ſecular power, Omni appellatione remota.

A new ſetting of the Popes delegates in Chriſtes church agaynſt the Archbyſhop of Cant.

The Popes Commiſsion groundeth vpon lyes.

When the Commiſſion was read thus, they proceedyng

The order of Archbyſhopes degradation.

thereupon to his degradation, firſt clothed & diſguiſed hym, puttyng on hym a Surples, and then an Albe: after that the veſtiment of a Subdeacon, and euery other furniture, as a prieſt ready to Maſſe.

When they had apparelled hym ſo farre, what, ſayd he, I thinke I ſhall ſay Maſſe: yea, ſaid Coſins one of Boners Chapleines, my Lord, I truſt to ſee you ſay Maſſe, for all this. Doo you ſo, quoth he? that ſhal you neuer ſee, nor I wyl neuer doo it.

Then they inueſted hym in all maner of robes of a Biſhop and Archbiſhop, as he is at his inſtallyng, ſauyng that as euery thing then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo euery thing in this was of Canuas and old cloutes, with a Miter and a Pall of the ſame ſute done vpon hym in mockery, and then the Croſiar ſtaffe was put in his hand.

B. Boners eloquent oration agaynſt the Archbyſhop Cranmer.

This done after the Popes pontificall forme and maner, Boner, who by the ſpace of many yeares had borne, as it ſeemed, no great good wyll towardes hym, and nowe reioyced to ſee this day wherein he might triumph ouer hym, and take his pleaſure at full, beganne to ſtretch out his eloquence, makyng his Oration to the aſſemble, after this maner of ſort:

This is the man who hath euer deſpiſed the Popes holynes, and nowe is to be iudged by hym. This is the man who hath pulled down ſo many churches, and now is come to be iudged in a church. This is the man that contemned the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and now is come to be cōdemned afore that bleſſed ſacrament hangyng ouer the aultar. This is the man that like Lucifer ſate in the place of Chriſt vpon an altar to iudge other, and now is come before an altar to be iudged hym ſelfe.

Boner taken with an vntruth.

Whereunto the Archbiſhop interruptyng hym, ſayde: that in that he belied hym, as he dyd in many other things: For that which he would now ſeeme to charge hym withal, was his owne fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thyng you meane of, was in Paules Church (ſayd he) where I came to ſit in Commiſſiō: and there was a ſcaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your Officers, and whether there were any altar vnder it, or not, I coulde not perceiue it, nor once ſuſpected it: wherfore you do wittingly euyl to charge me with it.

Vnmanerlynes of B. Boner to his brother in tyme of aduerſytye.

But Boner wente on ſtyll in his Rhetoricall repetition, lying and raylyng agaynſt the Archbiſhop, begynnyng euerye ſentence with, This is the man, this is the man, tyll at length there was neuer a man but was weerye of the vnmanerly vſage of hym in that tyme and place: In ſo muche that the Biſhop of Ely aforeſayd diuers tymes pulled hym by the ſleaue to make an end, and ſayd to hym afterward when they went to dynner, that he had broke promiſe with hym: for he had entreated hym earneſtly to vſe hym with reuerence.

Archbyſhop Cranmer appealeth from the Pope to a generall Councell.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle towarde his diſgradyng, and firſt to take from hym his Croſiar ſtaffe out of his handes, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliuer, and withal imitatyng the example of Martin Luther, pulled an Appeale out of his left ſleaue vnder the wreſt, which he there and thē deliuered vnto them, ſaying: I appeale to the next general Councell: and herein I haue comprehended my cauſe and forme of it, whiche I deſire may be admitted: and prayed diuers of the ſtanders by by name to be witneſſes, and eſpecially M. Curtop, to whō he ſpake twiſe. &c.

The copie of which his appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibite, ad rei memoriam, as in forme here foloweth.

¶ The tenour of the Appeale of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the Pope, to the next generall Councell.

Chalenge or appeale of the Archbyſhop from the Pope to a generall Councell.

IN the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Firſt, my playne proteſtation made, that I entende to ſpeake nothyng againſt one holy catholike and Apoſtolicall church, or the authoritie therof (the which authoritie I haue in great reuerence, and to whom my mynd is in al thynges to obey) and if any thyng peraduenture eyther by ſlipperines of tongue, or by indignation of abuſes, or els by the prouocation of myne aduerſaries be ſpoken or done otherwiſe then well, or not with ſuch reuerence as becommeth me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

The Pope not vnſinnable. The Pope hath no power to deſtruction, but to edifye.

Although the Biſhop of Rome (whom they cal Pope) beareth the roume of Chriſt in earth, and hath authoritie of god, yet by that power or authoritie he is not become vnſinable, neither hath he receyued that power to deſtroy, but to edifie the congregation: Therfore if he ſhal commaund any thyng ÿ is right to be done, he ought to take it paciently & in good part, in caſe he be not therin obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if he commaund any thyng againſt the preceptes of God: no, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, euen as Paul withſtood Peter. And if he be ayded by helpe of princes deceyued perchaunce by a falſe ſuggeſtion, or with euyl counſell, can not be reſiſted, but the remedyes of withſtandyng hym be taken away, there is neuertheles one remedy of appealyng (whiche no prince can take awaye) vttered by the verye Lawe of nature: for as muche as it is a certayne defence, whiche is meete for euery body by the lawe of God, of nature, and of man.

Remedy of appealing ſtandeth with law, of God and nature. The inferiour cannot forbid to appeale to the ſuperiour. Generall Councell is ſuperiour to the Pope.

And where as the lawes doo permit a man to appeale, not onely from the griefes and iniuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhal be done hereafter, or threatned to be done, in ſomuch that the inferiour cannot make lawes of not appealing to a ſuperiour power: and ſince it is openly inough confeſſed, that a holy generall Counſell, lawfully geathered together in the holy Ghoſt, and repreſentyng the holy Catholike Churche, is aboue the Pope, eſpecially in matters cōcerning faith, that he can not make decrees that men ſhal not appeale frō hym to a general Councel: therfore I Tho. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or in tyme paſt ruler of the Metropolical church of Canterbury, Doctor in Diuinitie, doo ſay & publiſhe before you, the publike Notary, & witneſſes here preſent, with minde and intent to challenge and appeale from the perſons and griefes vnderneath written, and to profer my ſelfe in place and tyme conueniente and meete, to proue the Articles that folowe. And I openly confeſſe, that I would lawfully haue publiſhed them before this day, if I might haue had either libertie to come abroade my ſelfe, or licence of a Notary and witneſſes. But further then I am able to doo, I knowe well is not required of the lawes.

The cauſes why he doth appeale. The 1. cauſe.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Rome, when he was faſt in priſon that he could not come.

1 Firſt I ſay and publiſhe, that James by the mercye of God Prieſt, called Cardinall of the Pyt, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the church of Rome, Judge & Cōmiſſary ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy Lorde the Pope, (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to Rome, there to appeare. lxxx. dayes after the Citation ſerued on me, to make anſweare to certaine articles touching the peryll of my ſtate and lyfe. And where as I was kept in priſon with moſte ſtrayt warde, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to goe to Rome, nor to come out of priſon, and in ſo greeuous cauſes concerning ſtate and lyfe, no man is bound to ſend a proctour, and though I woulde neuer ſo faine ſende my Proctour, yet by reaſon of pouertie I am not able (for all that euer I had, wherewith I ſhould beare my Proctors coſtes and charges, is quite taken from me) neuertheleſſe ÿ moſt reuerende Cardinall aforeſaide doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appeare, or not, he wyll neuertheleſſe yet procede in iudgement againſt me, Wherin I feele my ſelf ſo greeued, that nothing cā be imagined more miſcheuous or further from reaſon.

Note with what iuſtice and ſinceritie this Catholicke Church doth procede.

The 2. cauſe.

2 Secondly, the reuerend father James Brokes by the mercy of God biſhop of Gloceſter, Judge and vnderdeputy (as he affirmed) of the moſt reuerend Cardinall, cauſed me to be cited at Oxford (where I was then kept in priſon) to anſweare to certaine articles, concerning the daunger of my ſtate and lyfe. And when I being vnlearned and ignorant in the lawes, deſired counſell of the learned in the lawe, that thing was moſt vnrighteouſly denyed me, contrary to the equitie of al lawes both of God and man. Wherin againe I feele me moſt wrongfully greeued.

The Archb. denyed to haue counſell of the law.

The 3. cauſe.

The Papiſts procede contrary to law.

3 And when I refuſed the ſaide Biſhop of Gloceſter to be my Judge for moſt iuſt cauſes, which I then declared, he neuertheles wēt on ſtil, & made proces againſt me, cōtrary to ÿ rule of ÿ lawes of appealing, which ſay: A judge that is refuſed, ought not to proceede in the cauſe, but to leaue of. And when he had required of me anſweares to certaine articles, I refuſed to make hym any anſweare, I ſayde, I woulde yet gladlye make aunſweare to the moſte renowmed Kynges and Queenes deputies or Attorneys then preſent, with this condition notwithſtandyng, that myne anſweare ſhould be extraiudiciall, and that was permitted me. And with this my proteſtation made & admitted, I made anſwere, but myne anſweare was ſodaine and vnprouided for: & therfore I deſired to haue a copy of mine anſweares, that I might put to, take away, chaunge, and amende them: and this was alſo permitted me. Neuertheleſſe, contrary to his promiſe made vnto me, no reſpect had to my proteſtation, nor licence geuen to amende myne aunſweare, the ſayd reuerende father Biſhop of Gloceſter (as I heare) commaunded myne anſweares to be enacted, contrary to the equitie of the lawe. In whiche thing againe I feele me much greeued.

The Papiſts contrary to their owne promiſe.

The 4. cauſe.

4 Furthermore, I could not for many cauſes admyt the Biſhop of Romes vſurped authoritie in this Realme, nor conſent to it: firſt, my ſolemne othe lettyng me, whiche I made in the tyme of moſt famous memorie of kyng Henry the

Cauſes mouing the Archb. why he could not admit the Popes authoritye.

the right, accordyng to the lawes of Englande: Secondly, becauſe I knowe the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, which he vſurpeth, to be agaynſt the crowne, cuſtomes, and lawes of this Realme of Englande, in ſo muche, that neyther the kyng can be crowned in this Realme, without the moſte greuous crime of periurie, nor maye Biſhops enioy their Biſhoprikes, nor iudgementes be vſed accordyng to the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme, except by the Biſhop of Romes authoritie be accurſed both the kyng and Queene, the Judges, wryters, and executors of the lawes and cuſtomes, with all that conſent to them. Finally the whole Realme ſhalbe accurſed.

The Popes authoritie cannot be admitted in this Realme without periury.

The 5. cauſe. Inconuenience to this Realme in admitting the Popes authoritie.

5 Moreouer, that heynous and vſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, through reſeruations of the Biſhoprikes Prouiſions, Annates, Diſpenſations, Pardonnes, Appellations, Bulles, and other curſed Marchaundiſe of Rome, was wont exceadyngly to ſpoyle and conſume the riches and ſubſtaunce of this Realme, whiche all thynges ſhoulde folowe agayne by recogniſing and receyuyng of that vſurped authoritie vnto the vnmeaſurable loſſe of this Realme.

The 6. cauſe.

6 Finally, it is moſt euident by that vſurped authoritie, not onely the Crowne of Englande to be vnder yoke, the Lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme to be throwen down and troden vnder foote: but alſo the moſte holy Decrees of Councels, together with the preceptes both of the Goſpel, and of God.

The primatiue ſtate of the Church of Rome ſincere and pure.

When in tymes paſt the ſonne of righteouſneſſe beyng ryſen in the world, Chriſtian Religion, by the preachyng of the Apoſtles beganne to be ſpread very farre abroade and to floriſh, in ſo much that their ſounde went out into all the world: innumerable people, which walked in darknes, ſawe a great light, Gods glory euery where publiſhed dyd floriſh, the onely carke and care of the Miniſters of the Churche was, purely and ſincerely to preache Chriſte, the peoples to imbrace and folow Chriſtes doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were Lady of the world, both was, & alſo was coūted worthyly the mother of other churches, for as much as thē ſhee firſt begat to Chriſt, nouriſhed with the foode of pure doctrine, dyd helpe them with their riches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a Sanctuary for the miſerable, ſhe reioyced with them that reioyced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the Biſhops of Rome, riches were deſpiſed, worldly glory and pompe was troden vnder foot, pleaſures and ryot nothing regarded. Then this fraile & vncertaine lyfe, being ful of al miſeries, was laughed to ſcorne, whiles through the example of Romiſh martyrs mē dyd euery where preſſe forthward to ẏ lyfe to come. But afterwarde the vngratiouſnes of damnable ambition neuer ſatiſfied, auarice and the horrible enormitie of vices had corrupted and taken the Sea of Rome, there folowed euerye where almoſt the deformities of al Churches, growing out of kynd, into the maners of the church their mother, leauing their former innocencie and puritie, and ſlippyng into foule and heynous vſages.

The Church of Rome how and where it began to alter. Deformities of the church of Rome, infecting all other churches.

The B. of Rome no equall iudge in his owne cauſe.

For the forelayd and many other griefes and abuſes, (which I intende to proue, and doo proffer my ſelfe in tyme conuenient, to proue hereafter) ſince reformation of the aboue mentioned abuſes, is not to be looked for of the Biſhop of Rome, neyther can I hope by reaſon of his wicked abuſes and vſurped authoritie, to haue hym an equall iudge in his owne cauſe: therefore I doo challenge and appeale in theſe wrytynges, from the Pope, hauyng no good counſell, and from the aboue named pretenſes, Commiſſions, and Judges, from their Citations, Proceſſes, and from all other thynges that haue or ſhall folow thereupon, and from euery one of them, and from all their ſentences, cenſures, paynes, and puniſhmentes of curſing, ſuſpenſion, and interdictyng, and from all others what ſoeuer, their denountynges and declarations (as they pretend) of ſchiſme, of hereſie, adulterie, depriuation, degradyng, by them or by any of them in any manner wiſe attempted, done, and ſette forwarde, to be attempted, to be done, and to be ſet forth hereafter (ſauyng alwayes their honours and reuerences) as vnequal and vnrighteous, mere tyrannical and violent, and from euerye griefe to come, whiche ſhall happen to me, as well for my ſelfe as for all and euery one that cleaueth to me, or wyll hereafter be on my ſide, vnto a free generall Councel, that ſhal hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure place, to the whiche place I or a Proctour deputed by me, maye freely and with ſafetie come, and to hym or them, to whom a man maye by the lawe, priuiledge, cuſtome, or otherwiſe challenge and appeale.

Appellation from the Pope to a generall Councell.

And I deſire, the firſt, the ſeconde, and the thirde tyme, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly, that I maye haue * meſſengers, if there be any man that wyll & can geue me them. And I make open promiſe of proſecuting this myne appellation, by the way of diſanullyng, abuſe, inequalitie, and vnrighteouſnes, or otherwiſe as I ſhalbe better able: choyſe and libertie reſerued to me, to put to, diminiſh, chaunge, correct, & interpretate my ſayings, and to reforme al things after a better faſhion, ſauyng alwayes to me euery other benefite of the lawe, and to them that eyther be, or wyl be on my part.

* Letters of protection and defence.

Defence of his doctrine.

And touching my doctrine of the ſacrament, & other my doctrine, of what kynde ſoeuer it be, I proteſt that it was neuer my mind to wryte, ſpeake, or vnderſtād any thing contrary to ẏ moſt holy word of God, or els againſt the holy catholike church of Chriſt, but purely & ſimply to imitate and teach thoſe things onely, which I had learned of the ſacred ſcripture, & of the holy catholike church of Chriſt from the beginning, & alſo according the expoſition of ẏ moſt holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

The Archb. no hereticke and why.

And if any thing hath peraduenture chaunced otherwiſe then I thought, I may erre: but heretike I can not be, for as muche as I am ready in all thynges to folowe the iudgement of the moſt ſacred worde of God, and of the holy Catholike church, deſiring none other thyng, then meekely and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbyd) I haue ſwarued from the truth.

He proteſteth him ſelfe to be Catholicke.

And I proteſt & openly confeſſe, that in al my doctrine & preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my doctrine what ſoeuer it be, not onely I meane & iudge thoſe things, as the catholike church, & the moſt holy fathers of old wᵗ one accord haue meant & iudged, but alſo I would gladly vſe the ſame wordes that they vſed, & not vſe any other wordes, but to ſet my hand to al & ſingular their ſpeches, phraſes, wayes & formes of ſpeach, which they do vſe in their treatiſes vpon the ſacramēt, & to keepe ſtyl their interpretatiō. But in this thing I onely am accuſed for an heretike, becauſe I allowe not ẏ doctrine lately brought in, of the ſacramēt, & becauſe I cōſent not to wordes not accuſtomed in ſcripture & vnknowen to the ancient Fathers, but newly inuented & brought in by men, and belonging to the deſtruction of ſoules, and ouerthrowing of the pure and old religion. yeuen. &c.

New termes of the Sacrament brought in by the Pope vnknowen to the ſcripture and olde doctours.

This Appeale beyng put vp to the Biſhop of Ely, he ſayd: My Lorde, our Commiſſion is to proceede agaynſt you: Omni appellatione remota: and therfore we can not admit it.

Talke betweene D. Thurlby and the Archb. about the appeale.

Why (quoth he) then you doo me the more wrong: for my caſe is not as euery priuate mans caſe. The matter is betweene the Pope and me *immediatè*, and none otherwiſe: and I thinke no man ought to be a Judge in his own cauſe.

Well (quoth Ely) if it may be admitted, it ſhall, and ſo receyued it of hym. And then beganne he to perſwade earneſtly with the Archbiſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to weigh it well, while there was tyme to doo hym good, promiſing to become a ſuter to the kyng and Queene for hym: and ſo proteſted his great loue & frendſhip that had ben betweene them, hartily weeping, ſo that for a tyme he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not bene the kyng and queenes cōmaundement, whom he could not deny, els no worldly cōmoditie ſhould haue made hym to haue done it, concludyng that to be one of the ſorowfulleſt thynges that euer happened vnto hym. The Archbiſhop gently ſeemyng to cōfort hym, ſaid, he was very well content withal: and ſo proceeded they to his degradation: the perfect forme wherof, with al the rites & ceremonies therto apperteynyng, taken out of the Popes Pontifical, becauſe it is already deſcribed at ful in our firſt booke of Monumentes, I ſhall referre the Reader to the ſame, which he ſhal finde, pag. 1493.

Thurlby weepeth for the Archb.

Of this forme of degradation, read in the firſt booke of Actes pag. 1493

Here then to be ſhort, when they came to take of his Pal (which is a ſolemne veſture of an Archbiſh.) then ſaid he: Which of you hath a Pall, to take of my Pall? Which imported as much as they being his inferiours, could not diſgrade hym. Whereunto one of them ſayd, in that they were but biſhops, they were his inferiors, & not competent Judges: but being the Popes Delegates, they might take his Pall, and ſo they dyd: and ſo proceedyng, tooke euery thyng in order from hym, as it was put on. Then a Barber clipped his heare round about, and the Biſhop ſcraped the tops of his fingers where he had ben annoynted, wherein Biſhop Boner behaued hym ſelfe as roughly and vnmannerly, as the other Biſhop was to hym ſoft and gentle. Whiles they were thus doing, All this (quoth the Archbiſhop) needed not: I had my ſelfe done with this geare long ago.

Laſt of al, they ſtripped hym out of his gowne into his Jacket, and put vpon hym a poore yeoman Bedles gowne, full bare and nearely worne, and as euyl fauoredly made as one might lightly ſee, & a townes mans cap on his head, & ſo deliuered hym to the ſeculer power.

After this pageant of degradation and al was finiſhed, then ſpake Lorde Boner, ſaying to hym: Now are you no

Lorde any more: and ſo when ſoeuer he ſpake to the people of hym (as he was continually barking againſt hym) euer he vſed this terme: This Gentleman here. &c.

Lord Boner vnlordeth the Archbyſhop.

It is happy this Byſhop had ſo much manner yet to call hym gentleman.

And thus with great compaſſion and pitie of euery man in this euyl fauored gowne was he caried to priſon. Whom there folowed a gentlemā of Gloceſterſhyre with the Archbiſhops own gown, who ſtanding by, & being thought to be toward one of the biſhops, had it deliuered to hym: who by the way talking with hym, ſaid: the biſhop of Ely proteſted his frendſhip with teares. Yea (ſaid he) he might haue vſed a great deale more frendſhip toward me, & neuer haue ben ye worſe thought on, for I haue wel deſerued it: and going into ye priſō vp with hym, aſked hym if he would drinke. Who anſweared hym ſaying: if he had a peece of ſaltfiſhe, that he had better wyll to eate: for he had bene that day ſomewhat troubled with this matter, & had eaten litle, but now yt it is paſt, my hart (ſaid he) is wel quieted. Wherupon the Gentleman ſaid, he would geue hym money with al his hart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the law, and fearing M. Farmers caſe, durſt therfore geue him nothing, but gaue money to the Bayliffes that ſtode by, & ſayd, that if they were good men, they would beſtow it on him (for my Lord of Canterbury had not one peny in his purſe to helpe hym) and ſo leaft hym, my Lord bidding him earneſtly farewel, commendyng hym ſelfe to his prayers and al his frendes. That night this Gentleman was ſtayd by Boner & Ely, for geuyng hym this money: and but by the helpe of frendes, he had bene ſent vp to the Cōſaile. Such was the crueltie and iniquitie of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment.

Curteſy ſhewed to the Archbiſhop by a Gentleman. This Farmer had loſt all his landes for releuing a prieſt in the Tower in king Henryes tyme.

The gentleman in daunger for releuing the Archbyſhop.

¶Here foloweth the recãtation of the Archbiſhop, with his repentance for the ſame.

IN this meane tyme, whyle the Archbiſhop was thus remaynyng in durance (whom they had kept nowe in priſon almoſt the ſpace of three yeares) the Doctours and Diuines of Oxford buſied them ſelues al that euer they coulde, about M. Cranmer, to haue hym recante, aſſaying by all craftye practiſes and allurementes they might deuiſe how to bring their purpoſe to paſſe. And to the intent they might wynne hym eaſily, they had hym to the Deanes houſe of Chriſtes church in the ſaid Vniuerſitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had his pleaſure for walking, & al other things that might bring hym from Chriſt. Ouer and beſides al this, ſecretly and ſleightely they ſuborned certayne men, whiche when they coulde not expugne hym by argumentes and diſputation, ſhould by entreatie & fayre promiſes, or any other meanes allure hym to recantation: perceyuyng otherwiſe what a great wound they ſhould receyue, if the Archbiſh. had ſtood ſtedfaſt in his ſentence: & againe on the other ſide, how great profit they ſhould get, if he as the principal ſtanderd bearer, ſhould be ouerthrowē. By reaſon wherof ye wily papiſts flocked about hym, with threatning, flattering, entreating, & promiſing, & al other meanes: eſpecialy Henry Sydal, and fryer John a Spaniard, De Villa Garcina, to the ende to driue hym to the vttermoſt of their poſſibilitie, from his former ſentence, to recantation.

Perſwaſions of the Papiſtes to the Archbyſhop to recant.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the kyng & Queene, and eſpecially how gaynful to him, and for his ſoules health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreouer, how the Counſaile and the Noble men bare hym good wyl. They put hym in hope, that he ſhould not onely haue his lyfe, but alſo be reſtored to his auncient dignitie, ſaying, it was but a ſmal matter, & ſo eaſie that they required hym to do, only that he would ſubſcribe to a fewe wordes wt his owne hand, which if he dyd, there ſhoulde be nothyng in the Realme, that the Queene woulde not eaſily graunt hym, whether he would haue riches or dignity, or els if he had rather lyue a priuate lyfe in quiet reſt, in what ſoeuer place he lyſted, without all publike miniſtery, only that he would ſet his name in two wordes to a litle leafe of paper: but if he refuſed, there was no hope of health & pardon: for the Queene was ſo purpoſed, that ſhee would haue Cranmer a Catholike, or els no Cranmer at all: Therefore he ſhoulde chuſe whether he thought it better to ende his lyfe ſhortly in the flames & firebrandes nowe ready to be kyndled, then with much honour to prolong his lyfe, vntyl the courſe of nature dyd cal hym: for there was no myddle way.

Moreouer, they exhorted hym that he would loke to his wealth, his eſtimation & quietnes, ſaying, he was not ſo old but that many yeares yet remayned in this his ſo luſty age: & if he would not do it in reſpect of the queene, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his lyfe, & not ſuffer that other mē ſhould be more careful for his health, then he was hym ſelf: ſaying, this was agreable to his notable learning & vertues, which being adioyned with his lyfe, woulde be profitable both to hym ſelf, & to many other: but being extinct by death, ſhould be fruitful to no man: that he ſhould take good heede that he went not too farre: yet there was tyme enough to reſtore al thyng ſafe, and nothyng wanted, if he wanted not to hym ſelfe. Therfore they would hym to lay hold vpon the occaſion of his health while it was offered, leaſt if he woulde nowe refuſe it while it was offered, he might hereafter ſeeke it when he could not haue it.

Finally, if the deſire of lyfe dyd nothyng moue hym, yet he ſhould remember that to dye is greuous in al ages, and eſpecially in theſe his yeares and flower of dignitie it were more greuous: but to dye in the fire and ſuch tormentes, is moſt greeuous of al. With theſe and like prouocations theſe fayre flatterers ceaſed not to ſolicite and vrge hym, vſing all meanes they could to draw hym to their ſide: whoſe force his manly conſtancie dyd a great while reſiſt: but at laſt when they made no end of callyng and cryıng vpon him, the Archbiſhop being ouercome, whether thorow their importunitie, or by his owne imbecilitie, or of what mynd, I can not tell, at length gaue his hand.

The Archb. contented to recant.

It might be ſuppoſed, that it was done for the hope of lyfe, and better dayes to come. But as we maye ſince perceyue by a letter of his ſente to a Lawyer, the moſte cauſe why he deſired his tyme to be delayed, was that he woulde make an ende of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begunne: but howe ſoeuer it was, playne it was, to be agaynſt his conſcience. The fourme of whiche recantation made by the Fryers and Doctours, wherevnto he ſubſcribed, was this.

Cauſes mouing the Archb. to geue with the tyme.

The copy & words of Cranmers recantatiō.

I Thomas Cranmer late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhorre, and deteſt all maner of hereſies and errours of Luther and Zwinglius, and all other teachynges whiche be contrarye to ſounde and true doctrines. And I beleue moſte conſtantly in my harte, and with my mouth I confeſſe one holy and Catholike Churche viſible, without the whiche there is no ſaluation, and therof I knowledge the Biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme heade in earth, whom I knowledge to be the hygheſt Biſhop and Pope, and Chriſtes Vicar, vnto whom al Chriſten people ought to be ſubiect.

The copy of Cranmers recantation ſpreſed abroad by the Papiſtes.

And as concernyng the Sacramentes, I beleeue and worſhyp in the Sacrament of the aultar, the very bodye and bloud of Chriſte, beyng conteyned moſte truely vnder the formes of bread & wyne, the bread through the mighty power of God beyng turned in to the body of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, and the wyne into his bloud.

And in the other ſixe ſacraments alſo (like as in this) I beleue & hold as the vniuerſal church holdeth, & the churche of Rome iudgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I beleue that there is a place of purgatory where ſoules departed be puniſhed for a tyme, for whō the church doth godly & wholſomely pray, like as it doth honour Saintes and make prayers to them.

Finally in al things I profeſſe, that I do not otherwiſe beleue, then the catholike church, & the church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am ſory that euer I helde or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech almighty God, that of his mercy he wyl vouchſafe to forgeue me, what ſoeuer I haue offended agaynſt God or his churche, and alſo I deſire & beſeeche al Chriſtian people to pray for me.

And al ſuch as haue bene deceyued either by myne example or doctrine, I require thē by the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt that they wyl returne the vnitie of the church, that we may be al of one mynd, without ſchiſme or diuiſion.

And to conclude, I ſubmyt my ſelfe to the Catholike church of Chriſt, and to the ſupreme head therof, ſo I ſubmyt my ſelfe vnto the moſte excellent Maieſties of Philip and Mary, Kyng and Queene of this Realme of England, &c. and to all their lawes and ordinaunces, beyng ready alwayes as a faythfull ſubiect euer to obey them. And God is my wytnes that I haue not done this for fauour or feare of any perſon, but wyllyngly and of myne owne mynde, as wel to the charge of myne owē conſcience, as to the inſtruction of other.

This recantation of the Archbiſh. was not ſo ſoone cōceyued, but the Doctors & Prelates without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted and ſet abroad in all mens handes. Whereunto for better credit, firſte was added the name of Thom. Cranmer, with a ſolemne ſubſcription, then folowed the witneſſes of this recantation, Henry Sydal, & Frier John De Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in no certayne aſſuraunce of his lyfe, although the ſame was faythfully promiſed to hym by the Doctours: but after that they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to al aduenture, as became men of that Religion to do.

The queenes hart ſet agaynſt Cranmer,

The Queene hauyng now gotten a tyme to reuenge her old grief, receaued his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death, ſhe would nothyng relent.

Cranmer in a miſerable caſe.

Now was Cranmers cauſe in a miſerable takyng, who neither inwardly had any quietneſſe in his owne conſcience, nor yet outwardly any helpe in his aduerſaries.

1556. March.

Beſides this, on the one ſide was prayſe, on the other ſide ſcorne, on both ſides daunger, ſo that neither he could dye honeſtly, nor yet vnhoneſtly liue: And where as hee ſought profite, he fell into double diſprofite, that neither with good men he could auoyde ſecret ſhame, nor yet with euill men the note of diſſimulation.

The Queene conferreth with Doct. Cole about Cranmers burning.

In the meane tyme while theſe thynges were a doyng (as I ſayd) in the priſon amõg the Doctours: the Queene takyng ſecrete Counſell, how to diſpatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew nothyng of her ſecret hate, and looked for nothyng leſſe then death) appointed Doct. Cole, and ſecretly gaue him in commaundement, that agaynſt the 21. of March, he ſhould prepare a funerall Sermõ for Crãmers burnyng, & ſo inſtructyng him orderly and diligently of her will & pleaſure in that behalfe, ſendeth him away.

L. Williams of Tame, Lord Shandoys, Syr Tho. Brydges, Syr John Browne, appoynted to be at Cranmers execution.

Soone after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the Lord Shandoys, Syr Thomas Bridges, & Syr John Browne were ſent for, with other worſhypfull men and Iuſtices, commaunded in the Queenes name, to be at Oxford at the ſame day, with their ſeruauntes and retinue, leſt Cranmers death ſhould rayſe there any tumult.

Cole the Doctour hauyng his leſſon geuen him before, and charged by her commaundement, returned to Oxford ready to play his part, who as the day of executiõ drew neare euen the day before came into the priſon to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the Catholicke fayth wherin before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had aunſwered, that by Gods grace hee would dayly be more confirmed in the Catholicke fayth: Cole departing for that tyme, the next day folowyng repayred to the Archbyſhop agayne, geuyng no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therfore in the mornyng, which was the 21. day of March appointed for Cranmers execution, the ſayd Cole commyng to him aſked, if he had any money. To whom when he aunſwered that he had none, hee deliuered him 15. crownes to geue the poore to whom he would: and ſo exhortyng him ſo much as he could to conſtancy in fayth, departed thence about his buſines, as to his Sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like Argumentes, the Archbyſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then, because the day was not farre paſt, and the Lordes and Knightes that were looked for, were not yet come, there came to him the Spaniſh Frier, witnes of his recantation, bryngyng a paper with Articles, which Cranmer ſhould openly profeſſe in his recantation before the people, earneſtly deſiryng that he would write the ſayd inſtrument with the Articles with his owne hand, and ſigne it with his name: whiche when he had done, the ſayd Frier deſired that hee would write an other copy therof whiche ſhould remayne with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the Archbyſhop beyng not ignoraunt whereunto their ſecrete deuiſes tended, and thinkyng that the tyme was at hand, in whiche he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of hys fayth with Chriſtes people, he put ſecretly in his boſome his Prayer with his exhortation, written in an other paper, which he mynded to recite to the people before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his fayth, fearyng leſt if they had heard the confeſſion of his fayth firſt, they would not afterward haue ſuffered him to exhort the people.

Cranmer writeth and ſubſcribeth the Articles with his owne hand.

Soone after, about ix. of the clocke, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Syr John Browne, and the other Iuſtices with certaine other noble men, that were ſent of the Queenes counſell, came to Oxford with a great trayne of waytyng men. Alſo of the other multitude on euery ſide (as is wont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe and greater expectation. For firſt of all they that were of the Popes ſide, were in great hope that day to heare ſomethyng of Cranmer that ſhould ſtabliſh the vanitie of their opinion: the other part whiche were endued with a better mynde, could not yet doubt, that he which by continuall ſtudy & labour, for ſo many yeares had ſet forth the doctrine of the Goſpell, either would or could now in the laſt Act of his life forſake his part. Briefly, as euery mans will enclined, either to this part or to that, ſo accordyng to the diuerſitie of their deſires, euery mã wiſhed & hoped for. And yet becauſe in an vncertaine thyng the certaintie could be knowen of none what would be the ende: all their myndes were hangyng betwene hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtfull a matter, the more was the multitude that were gathered thether to heare and behold.

In this ſo great frequence and expectation, Cranmer at length commeth from the priſon Bocardo, vnto S. Maries church (becauſe it was a foule and a rayny daye) the chiefe church in the Uniuerſity, in this order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree: after them was Cranmer brought, betwene two Friers, whiche mumblyng to and fro certayne Pſalmes in the ſtreetes, aunſwered one an other vntill they came to the Churche doore, and there they began the ſong of Simeon, Nunc Dimittis: and enteryng into the Church, the Pſalme ſaying Friers brought him to his ſtandyng, and there left him. There was a ſtage ſet vp ouer agaynſt the Pulpit, of a meane height from the ground, where Cranmer had hys ſtandyng, waytyng vntill Cole made him ready to his ſermõ.

D. Cranmer brought to Doct. Coles Sermon.

Cranmer ſet vp vpon a ſtage.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man gaue a ſorowfull ſpectacle to all Chriſtian eyes that behelde him. He that late was Archbiſhop, Metropolitane, & Primate of England, and the kynges priuy Councellour, beyng now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill fauoredly clothed, with an olde ſquare cap, expoſed to the contempt of all men, dyd admoniſhe men not onely of his owne calamity, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe, and bewayle his fortune, and might not feare his owne chaunce, to ſee ſuch a Prelate, ſo graue a Councellour, and of ſo long continued honour, after ſo many dignities, in his old yeares to be depriued of his eſtate, adiudged to dye, and in ſo paynfull a death to ende his life, & now preſently from ſuch freſh ornamentes, to diſcend to ſuch vyle and ragged apparell?

In this habite when he had ſtode a good ſpace vpon the ſtage, turnyng to a piller neare adioynyng thereunto hee lifted vp his handes to heauen, and prayed vnto God once or twiſe: till at ỹ length Doctor Cole cõming into ỹ Pulpit, & begynnyng his ſermon, entred firſt into mẽtion of Tobias and Zachary, whom after that he had praiſed in the begynnyng of his Sermon for their perſeuerance in the true worſhipping of God, he then deuides hys whole ſermon into iij. partes (accordyng to the ſolemne cuſtome of the ſcholes) entendyng to ſpeake firſt of the mercy of God, ſecondly of hys iuſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the Princes ſecretes are not to be opened. And proceedyng a little from the begynnyng, he tooke occaſion by & by to turne his tale to Crãmer, and with many hote wordes reproued hym, that once hee beyng endued with the fauour and feelyng of holeſome and Catholicke doctrine, fell into the contrarye opinion of pernicious errour, which he had not only defended by wrytinges and al his power: but alſo allured other men to do the lyke, with great liberalitye of giftes, as it were, appointyng rewardes for errour: and after hee hadde allured them, by all meanes dyd cheriſh them.

D. Coles ſermon diuided into three partes.

The ſumme and effect of D. Coles Sermon at Oxford.

It were to long to repete all thynges, that in long order were then pronounced. The ſumme of this triparte declamation was, that hee ſayd Gods mercy was ſo tempered with his iuſtice, that hee dyd not altogether require puniſhment accordyng to the merites of offenders, nor yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame altogether to goe vnpuniſhed, yea though they had repented. As in Dauid, who when hee was bidden chuſe of three kindes of puniſhment whiche he would, and he had choſen peſtilence for three dayes: the Lord forgaue hym halfe the tyme, but dyd not releaſe all: And that the ſame thing came to paſſe in him alſo, to whome although pardon and reconciliation was due accordyng to the Canons, ſeyng he repented from his errors, yet there were cauſes why the Queene and the Counſell at this tyme iudged hym to death: of whiche, leſt he ſhould maruell to much, he ſhould heare ſome.

If Cole gaue this iudgement vpon Cranmer when he had repented, what iudgement is then to be geuen of Cole which alwayes hath perdured in error and neuer yet repented.

Firſt that beyng a traitour, hee had diſſolued the lawfull matrimony betwene the kyng her father and mother: beſides the driuyng out of the Popes authoritye, whyle hee was Metropolitane.

Secondly, that he had bene an heretike, from whom as from an author and onely fountayne, all hereticall doctrine and ſchiſmaticall opinions that ſo many yeares haue preuailed in England, dyd firſt ryſe and ſpryng: of whiche hee had not bene a ſecrete fauourer onely, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender euen to the ende of his life, ſowing them abroad by wrytinges and argumentes, priuately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the Catholicke Church.

If all heretickes in Englãd ſhould be burned, where ſhould D. Cole haue bene ere now.

And farther, it ſeemed meete, accordyng to the lawe of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made euen with Thomas More Chauncellour that dyed for the Churche, ſo there ſhoulde bee one that ſhould make euen with Fiſher of Rocheſter: and becauſe that Ridley, Hoper, Ferrar, were not able to make euen with that man, it ſeemed meete, that Cranmer ſhould be ioyned to them to fill vp this part of equalitye.

Lex non æqualitatis ſed iniquitatis.

Beſides theſe, there were other iuſt and weyghty cauſes, which ſeemed to the Queene & the Coũſell, which was not meete at that tyme to be opened to the common people.

After this, turnyng hys tale to the hearers, he bad all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothyng is

No ſtate in this earth ſo hie may ſo ſure, but it may fall.

ſo hygh, that cā promiſe it ſelfe ſafetie on the earth, and that Gods vengeaunce is equally ſtretched agaynſt all men, and ſpareth none: therefore they ſhould beware & learne to feare their Prince. And ſeyng the Queenes Maieſtie would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſſe in the lyke cauſe ſhe would ſpare other men, that no man ſhould thinke to make thereby any defence of his errour, either in riches or any kynde of authoritie. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamitie euery man might conſider his owne fortune: who from the toppe of dignitie, none beyng more honorable then he in the whole Realme, and next the kyng, was fallen into ſo great miſerie, as they might now ſee, beyng a mā of ſo high degree, ſometyme one of the chiefeſt Prelates in the Church and an Archbiſhop, the chief of the Counſell, the ſecōd perſon in the Realme of long tyme, a mā thought in greateſt aſſuraunce, hauyng a kyng on his ſide: notwithſtādyng all his authoritie and defence to be debaſed from high eſtate, to a low degree, of a Counſellour to become a caitiffe, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the poreſt wretche would not chaunge condition with him: briefly ſo heaped with miſery on all ſides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

Doct. Cole encourageth the Archb. to take his death patientlye.

The latter part of his Sermon he conuerted to the Archbyſhop: whom he comforted & encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with theſe and ſuch lyke: biddyng him not miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receiue that the theefe dyd, to whom Chriſt ſayd: Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. That is. This day thou ſhalt bee with me in Paradiſe. And out of Saint Paule hee armed hym agaynſt the terrour of the fire, by this: Dominus fidelis eſt, non ſinet vos tentari vltra quàm ferre poteſtis. That is, The Lord is faythfull whiche will not ſuffer you to bee tempted aboue your ſtrength, by the example of the three children, to whom GOD made the flame to ſeeme lyke a pleaſaunt dew, addyng alſo the reioyſing of S. Andrew in his croſſe, the pacience of S. Laurence on the fire, aſſuryng him, that GOD, if he called on him, and to ſuch as dye in his fayth, either would abate the fury of the flame, or geue hym ſtrength to abyde it.

1. Cor. 10.

Doct. Cole reioyceth in the Archbiſhops conuerſion, but that reioycing laſted not long.

He glorified GOD much in his conuerſion, becauſe it appeared to be onely his worke, declaryng what trauell and conference had bene with him to conuert him, and all preuayled not, till that it pleaſed GOD of his mercy to reclayme him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of whiche place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doynges, thus temperyng his iudgement and talke of him, that while the tyme (ſayd hee) he flowed in riches and honour, he was vnworthy of his life: and now that he might not lyue, he was vnworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould cary with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſayd) and alſo he did promiſe in the name of all the Prieſtes that were preſent, that immediately after his death, there ſhould be Diriges, Maſſes, and funerals executed for him in all the Churches of Oxford for the ſuccour of his ſoule.

Diriges and maſſes promiſed for Cranmers ſoule.

Cranmer in all this meane tyme with what great griefe of mynd hee ſtode hearyng this Sermon, the outward ſhewes of his body and countenaunce did better expreſſe, then any man can declare: one while liftyng vp his handes and eyes vnto heauen, and then agayne for ſhame lettyng them downe to the earth. A man might haue ſeene the very image and ſhape of perfite ſorrowe lyuely in him expreſſed. More then twenty ſeuerall tymes the teares guſhed out aboundauntly, dropped downe marueilouſly from his fatherly face. They which were preſent do teſtifie, that they neuer ſaw in any child more teares, then braſt out from him at that tyme, all the Sermon while: but ſpecially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marueilous what commiſeration and pitie moued all mens hartes, that beheld ſo heauy a countenaunce and ſuch aboundaunce of teares in an old man of ſo reuerend dignitie.

The teares of the Archbiſhop.

Cole after hee had ended his Sermon, called backe the people that were ready to departe, to Prayers. Brethren (ſayd hee) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this mans earneſt conuerſion and repentaunce, you ſhall heare him ſpeake before you, and therfore I pray you Maiſter Cranmer, that you will now performe that you promiſed not long agoe, namely that you would openly expreſſe the true & vndoubted profeſſion of your fayth, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that al men may vnderſtand that you are a Catholicke in deede. I will do it (ſayd the Archbiſhop) and with a good will: who by and by riſing vp, and puttyng of his cap, began to ſpeake thus vnto the people.

Cranmer required to declare his fayth.

Cranmer willing to declare his fayth.

The wordes of the Archbyſhop to the people.

I deſire you welbeloued brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgeue me my ſinnes, whiche aboue all men both in number and greatnes, I haue committed: but among all the reſt, there is one offence whiche of all at this tyme doth vexe and trouble me, wherof in proceſſe of my talke you ſhall heare more in his proper place, and then puttyng his hande into his boſome, he drew forth his Prayer, which he recited to the people in this ſenſe.

¶ The prayer of Doctor Cranmer Archbyſhop.

GOod Chriſten people, my dearely beloued brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, I beſech you moſt hartely to pray for me to almighty God, that hee will forgeue me all my ſinnes and offences, which be many, without number, and great aboue meaſure. But yet one thing greueth my conſcience more then all the reſt, wherof God willing, I entend to ſpeake more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoeuer my ſinnes be, I beſech you to pray GOD of his mercy to pardon & forgeue them all. And here kneelyng downe, hee ſayd:

The prayer of Archb. Cranmer.

O father of heauen: O ſonne of God redemer of the world: O holy Ghoſt three perſons and one God, haue mercy vpō moſt wretched caitife and miſerable ſinner. I haue offended both againſt heauē & earth more thē my tonge cā expreſſe. Whether then may I go, or whether ſhould I flie? To heauē I may be aſhamed to lyft vp myne eyes, and in earth I finde no place of refuge or ſuccour. To the therfore (O Lord) do I runn: to the do I humble my ſelf ſaying, O Lord my God, my ſins bee great, but yet haue mercy vpon me for thy great mercy. The great miſtery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offēſes. Thou diddeſt not geue thy ſonne (O heauēly father) vnto death for ſmall ſins onely, but for all the greateſt ſinnes of the world, ſo that the ſinner returne to the with his whole hart, as I do here at this preſēt. Wherfore haue mercy on me, O God, whoſe propertie is alwayes to haue mercy, haue mercy vpon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I craue nothyng O Lord, for mine owne merites, but for thy names ſake, that it may be halowed therby and for thy deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake. And now therfore, our father of heauen, halowed be thy name. &c. And this he ryſing ſayd:

The laſt wordes of exhortation of the Archb. to the people.

Euery man (good people) deſireth at the tyme of their death to geue ſome good exhortatiō, that other may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I beſech God graunt me grace, that I may ſpeake ſome thing at this my departyng, whereby God may bee glorified, and you edified.

Firſt, it is an heauy caſe to ſee that ſo many folke bee ſo much doted vpon the loue of this falſe worlde, and ſo careful for it, that of the loue of god, or the world to come, they ſeeme care very little or nothing. Therfore this ſhall be my firſt exhortation, that you ſet not your mindes ouer much vpon this gloſing worlde, but vpon God and vppon the world to come: and to learne to knowe what this leſſon meaneth, which S. Iohn teacheth, that the loue of this world is hatred agaynſt God.

Exhortation to contempt of the world.

The ſecond exhortation is, that next vnder God you obey your Kyng and Queene willingly and gladly, without murmuryng or grudgyng: not for feare of them onely, but much more for ỹ feare of God: knowing that they be Gods miniſters, appointed by God to rule and gouerne you: and therfore who ſoeuer reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God.

Exhortation to obedience.

The third exhortatiō is, ỹ you loue altogether like brethren & ſiſters. For alas, pitie it is to ſee what contention & hatred one Chriſten man beareth to an other, not takyng ech other as brother and ſiſter, but rather as ſtraungers & mortall enemies. But I pray you learne and beare well away this one leſſon, to do good vnto all men, aſmuch in you lyeth and to hurt no man, no more then you would hurt your owne naturall louyng brother or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoeuer hateth any perſon and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely & without al doubt God is not with that man, although he thinke him ſelfe neuer ſo much in Gods fauour.

Exhortation to brotherly loue.

The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that haue great ſubſtaunce and riches of this world, that they will well cōſider and wey three ſayinges of the ſcripture. One is of our Sauiour Chriſt him ſelfe, who ſayth: It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kyngdome of heauen. A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken of him, that knoweth the truth.

Exhortation to rich men of this world mouing them to charitable almes.

Luke. 18.

1. Iohn. 3.

The ſecond is of S. Iohn, whoſe ſaying is this: Hee that hath the ſubſtance of this world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſitie, and ſhutteth vp his mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loueth God?

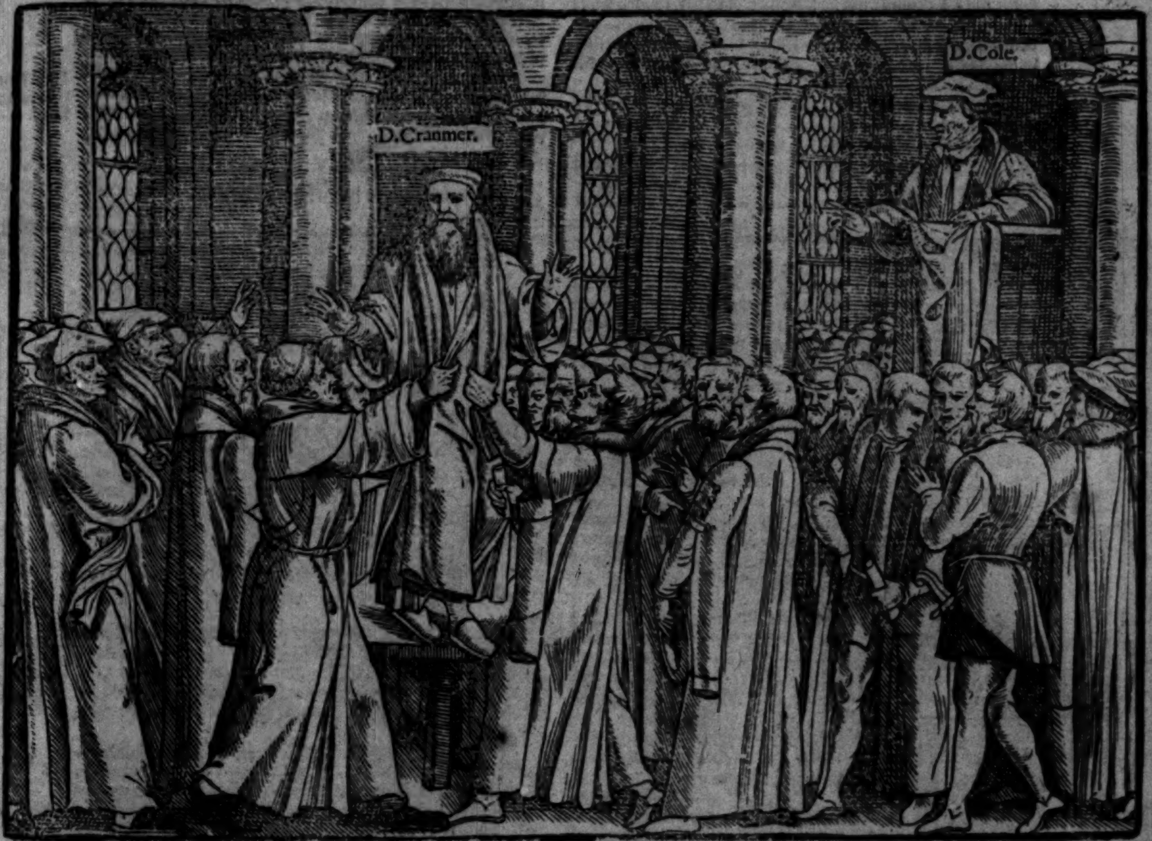
The third is of S. Iames, who ſpeaketh to the couetous rich man after this maner: Weepe you and howle for the miſerie that ſhall come vpon you: your riches do rotte, your clothes be moth eaten, your gold and ſiluer doth canker and

Jacob. 5.

1556.
March.

ruſt, and their ruſt ſhall beare witnes agaynſt you, and conſume you like fire: you gather a horde or treaſure of Gods indignation agaynſt the laſt day. Let thē that be rich, ponder wel theſe three ſentences: for if euer they had occaſiō to ſhew their charitie, they haue it now at this preſent, the poore people beyng ſo many, and victuals ſo deare.

The deſcription of Doct. Cranmer, how he was plucked downe from the ſtage by Friers and Papiſtes, for the true confeſſion of his fayth.


D.Cole.
D.Cranmer.

And now, for as much as I am come to the laſt ende of my lyfe, whereupon hangeth all my life paſt, and all my lyfe to come, either to lyue with my Maiſter Chriſt for euer in ioy, or els to be in payne for euer wͭ wicked deuils in hell, & I ſee before myne eyes preſently either heauen ready to receaue me, or els hell ready to ſwallow me vp: I ſhall therfore declare vnto you my very fayth how I beleue, without any colour or diſſimulatiō: for now is no tyme to diſſemble, what ſoeuer I haue ſayd or written in tyme paſt.

The Archb. declareth the true confeſſion of his fayth without all colour or diſſēbling.

Firſt, I beleue in God the Father almighty maker of heauen and earth. &c. And I beleue euery Article of the Catholicke fayth, euery word and ſentence taught by our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophetes, in the new and old Teſtament.

The Archb. reuoketh his former recantation and repenteth the ſame.

And now I come to the great thing that ſo much troubleth my conſcience more then any thyng that euer I dyd or ſayd in my whole lyfe, & that is the ſettyng abroad of a wrytyng contrary to the truth: whiche now here I renounce & refuſe as thynges written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my hart, and written for feare of death, and to ſaue my life if it might bee, and that is, all ſuch billes and papers which I haue written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation: wherein I haue written many thyngs vntrue. And for aſmuch as my hand offended, wrytyng cōtrary to my hart, my hād ſhall firſt be puniſhed therfore: for may I come to the fire, it ſhalbe firſt burned.

The Archb. refuſeth the Pope as Chriſtes enemy and Antichriſt.

And as for the Pope, I refuſe him as Chriſtes enemy & Antichriſt, with all hys falſe doctrine.

The Archb. ſtandeth to his booke written agaynſt Winchester.

And as for the Sacrament, I beleue as I haue taught in my booke agaynſt the Byſhop of Winchester, the which my booke teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the Sacrament that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the Judgement of God, where the Papiſticall doctrine contrary thereto, ſhalbe aſhamed to ſhew her face.

Here the ſtanders by were all aſtonyed, marueiled, were amaſed, did looke one vpon an other, whoſe expectatiō he had ſo notably deceiued. Some began to admoniſhe him of his recantation, and to accuſe him of falſhode.

The expectation of the papiſtes deceaued.

Briefly, it was a world to ſee the Doctours beguiled of ſo great an hope. I thinke there was neuer crueltie more notably or better in tyme deluded and deceiued. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory & a perpetuall triumph by this mans retractation.

The Papiſtes in a great chafe agaynſt the Archb.

Who as ſoone as they heard theſe thynges, began to let downe their eares, to rage, fret, and fume: and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not reuenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the world can dye but once: and where as of neceſſitie he muſt needes dye that day, though the Papiſtes had bene neuer ſo well pleaſed: now beyng neuer ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twiſe killed of them. And ſo when they could do nothyng elles vnto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothyng, they ceaſſed not to obiect vnto him his falſehode and diſſimulation.

Cranmers aunſwere to the papiſtes.

Unto whiche accuſation he aunſwered: Ah my Maiſters (quoth he) do not you take it ſo. Alwayes ſince I liued hetherto, I haue bene a hater of falſehod, and a louer of ſimplicitie, & neuer before this tyme haue I diſſembled: and in ſaying this, all the teares that remayned in his body, appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeake more of the Sacrament and of the Papacie, ſome of them began to cry out, yalpe, and baule, and ſpecially Cole cryed out vpon him: ſtoppe the heretickes mouth, and take him awey.

Cranmer pulled downe from the ſtage.

Cranmer led to the fire.

And then Cranmer beyng pulled downe from the ſtage, was ledde to the fire accompanyed with thoſe Friers, vexyng, troublyng, and threatenyng him moſt cruelly. What madneſſe (ſay they) hath brought thee agayne into this errour, by whiche thou wilt drawe innumerable ſoules with thee into hell? To whom he aunſwered nothyng, but directed all his talke to the people, ſauyng that to one troublyng him in the way, he ſpake and exhorted him to get hym home to his ſtudy, and apply his booke diligently, ſaying if he did diligently call vpon God, by readyng more he ſhould get knowledge.

But the other Spaniſh barker, ragyng and fomyng,

were

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was almoſt out of his wittes, alwayes hauyng this in his mouth: Non feciſti? diddeſt thou it not?

The Archb. brought to the place of execution.

But whē he came to the place where the holy Byſhops and Martyrs of God, Hugh Latymer and Ridley, were burnt before him for ý confeſſion of ý truth: kneelyng down, he prayed to God, and not lōg taryng in his Prayers, puttyng of his garmentes to his ſhyrt, he prepared himſelfe to death. His ſhyrt was made long down to his feete. His feete were bare. Likewiſe his head, when both his cappes were of, was ſo bare, that not one heare could be ſene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, coueryng his face with marueilous grauitie. Such a countenaunce of grauitie moued the hartes, both of his frendes and of his enemyes.

Then the Spaniſh Friers, John and Richard, of whō mention was made before, began to exhorte hym and play their partes with him a freſhe, but with vayne and loſt labour, Cranmer with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abydyng in the profeſſion of hys doctrine, gaue his hand to certaine old men, and other that ſtode by, biddyng them farewell.

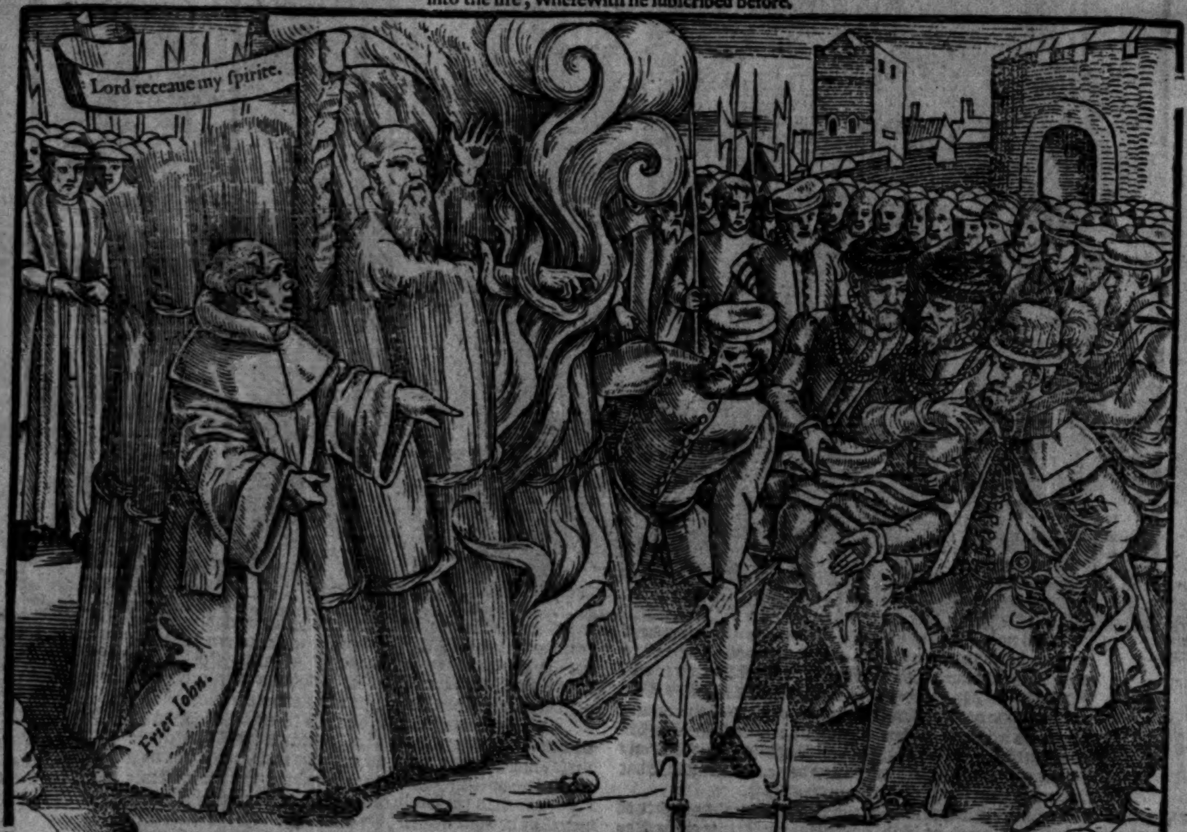
M. Ely refuſeth to geue his hand to the Archbyſhop.

And when hee had thought to haue done ſo lykewiſe to Ely, the ſayd Ely drew backe his hād and refuſed, ſaying: it was not lawfull to ſalute heretickes, & ſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned vnto ý opiniōs ý he had forſworne. And if he had knowē before that he would haue done ſo, he would neuer haue vſed his company ſo familiarly, and chyde thoſe Sergeaunts & Citizens which had not refuſed to geue him their handes. This Ely was a Prieſt lately made, & ſtudēt in Diuinitie, beyng thē one of the fellowes of Brazennoſe.

The Archb. tyed to the ſtake.

Then was an yron chayne tyed about Cranmer, whō whē they perceiued to be more ſtedfaſt thē ý he could be moued from his Sentence, they cōmaunded the fire to bee ſet vnto hym.

❡The burnyng of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury Doctour Thomas Cranmer, in the Townedich at Oxford, with his hand firſt thruſt into the fire, wherewith he ſubſcribed before.


Lord receaue my ſpirite.
Frier John.

Cranmer putteth his right hand which ſubſcribed firſt into the fire.

And whē the wood was kindled, & the fire begā to burne neare him, ſtretchyng out his arme, he put his right hand into the flame: which he held ſo ſtedfaſt & immoueable (ſauing that once with the ſame hand he wiped his face) that all mē might ſee his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did ſo abyde the burnyng of the flame, with ſuch conſtancie & ſtedfaſtnes, that ſtandyng alwayes in one place without mouyng of his body, he ſeemed to moue no more then ý ſtake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted vp into heauen, and oftentymes hee repeated, his vnworthy right hād, ſo lōg as his voyce would ſuffer him: & vſing often the wordes of Steuen, Lord Ieſus receaue my ſpirite, in the greatnes of the flame, he gaue vp the Ghoſt.

The laſt wordes of Cranmer at his death.

The Fryers lying report of Cranmer.

This fortitude of mynde, which perchaūce is rare & not vſed among the Spanyardes, when Frier John ſaw, thinkyng it came not of fortitude but of deſperation (although ſuch maner exāples which are of the like conſtācie haue bene cōmon here in Englād) ran to the Lord Williās of Tame, cryng that the Archb. was vexed in mynde, & dyed in great deſperation. But he which was not ignoraūt of the Archb. conſtācy, beyng vnknowē to the Spanyardes, ſmiled onely, & (as it were) by ſilence rebuked the Friers folly. And this was the end of this learned Archb. whō, leſt by euil ſubſcribyng he ſhould haue periſhed, by well recātyng God preſerued: & leſt he ſhould haue liued longer with ſhame & reproofe, it pleaſed God rather to take him away, to the glory of hys name & profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his Churche in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimony and bloud of ſuch a Martyr: & ſo good alſo to ý man, with this croſſe of tribulatiō to purge his offences in this world. not onely of his recātatiō, but alſo of his ſtādyng againſt John Lābert, & M. Allen, or if there were any other with whoſe burnyng & bloud his handes had bene before any thyng polluted. But eſpecially he had to reioyce, that dying in ſuch a cauſe, he was to be numbred amongeſt Chriſtes Martyrs, much more worthy the name of S. Thomas of Cāterbury then he whom the Pope falſly before did Canoniſe.

Archb. Cranmer the middle Martyr of all the Martyrs burnt in Q. Maryes tyme.

And thus haue you the ful ſtory cōcerning the life & death of this reuerēd Archb. & Martyr of God Tho. Cranmer, & alſo of diuers other the learned ſort of Chriſts martyrs burned in Queene Maries tyme, of whō this Archb. was the laſt, being burnt about the very middle tyme of the raigne of that Queene, & almoſt the very middle man of all the Martyrs which were burned in all her raigne beſides.

Now, after ý life & ſtory of this foreſayd Archb. diſcourſed, let vs adioyne withal his letters, begynnyng firſt ẇ his famous letter writtē to Q. Mary which he wrote vnto her incontinent after hee was cited vp to Rome by Byſhoppe Brokes and his fellowes, the tenour wherof here foloweth.

❡*Letters of Doct. Tho. Cranmer Archb.*

❡The Archbyſhop of Canterburyes letter to the Queenes hyghneſſe.

It

A wryting or letter of the Archb. ſent to Q. Mary.

1556. March.

IT may pleaſe your Maieſtie to pardon my preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to write to your highnes. But very neceſſitie cõſtrayneth me, that your Maieſty may know my mynde rather by myne owne writyng, thẽ by other mens reportes. So it is that vpõ Wedenſday beyng the. 12. day of this moneth, I was cited to appeare at Rome the. lxxx. day after, there to make aunſwere to ſuch matters as ſhould be obiected agaynſt me, vpõ the behalfe of the kyng, & your moſt excellẽt Maieſtie: which matters the Thurſday followyng were obiected agaynſt me by Doct. Martin, & Doct. Story your maieſties Proctors, before the B. of Glocceſter, ſittyng in iudgement by cõmiſſion frõ Rome. But (alas) it can not but greeue the hart of a naturall ſubiect, to be accuſed of the Kyng & Queene of his owne realme: and ſpecially before an outward Iudge, or by authoritie commyng frõ any perſon out of this realme: Where ỹ Kyng & Queene, as they were ſubiectes within their owne realme, ſhall complaine, and require iuſtice at a ſtraungers handes agaynſt their own ſubiect, beyng already cõdẽned to death by their owne lawes: As though the Kyng & Queene could not do or haue iuſtice within their owne realmes, againſt their own ſubiectes, but they muſt ſeeke it at a ſtraũgers handes in a ſtraunge land: the like wherof (I thinke) was neuer ſene. I would haue wiſhed to haue had ſome meaner aduerſaries: and I thinke that death ſhall not greeue me much more, then to haue my moſt dread & moſt gracious ſoueraigne Lord and Lady, to whõ vnder God I do owe all obediẽce, to be myne accuſers in iudgement, within their owne Realme, before any ſtraũger and outward power. But for as much as in the tyme of the Prince of moſt famous memory kyng Henry viij. your graces father, I was ſworne neuer to cõſent, that the Byſhop of Rome ſhould haue or exerciſe any authoritie or iuriſdiction in this realme of England, therfore leſt I ſhould allow his authoritie contrary to myne oth, I refuſed to make aunſwere to the Byſhop of Glocceſter ſittyng here in iudgemẽt by the popes authority, leſt I ſhould rũne into periurie.

The king and Queene make themſelues no better then ſubiectes complaynyng of their owne ſubiect vnto the Pope.

The firſt cauſe why the Archb. would not make aunſwere to the Popes delegate, is to auoyde periury.

An other cauſe why I refuſed the Popes authoritie is this, that his authoritie, as he claymeth it, repugneth to ỹ crowne imperiall of this realme, & to the lawes of the ſame: which euery true ſubiect is bounde to defend. Firſt, ſo that the Pope ſayth, that all maner of power, as well temporall as ſpirituall, is geuẽ firſt to him of God, & that the tẽporall power he geueth vnto Emperours & kyngs to vſe it vnder him, but ſo as it be alwayes at his cõmaundement & becke.

The 2. cauſe is that the popes lawes are contrary to the crowne and lawes of England.

But contrary to this clayme, the Emperiall crowne and iuriſdiction temporall of this Realme is taken immediately from God, to be vſed vnder him onely, and is ſubiect vnto none, but to God alone.

The oth of the king and Iuſtices, and the duty of ſubiectes.

Moreouer, to the Emperiall lawes & cuſtomes of this realme, the kyng in his Coronation, & all Iuſtices when they receaue their offices, be ſworne, & all the whole realme is bound to defend & maintayne. But cõtrary hereunto the Pope by his authoritie maketh voyde, & cõmaũdeth to blot out of our bookes, all lawes & cuſtomes beyng repugnaunt to his lawes, & declareth accurſed all rulers & gouernours, all the makers, writers and executours of ſuch lawes or cuſtomes: as it appeareth by many of the Popes lawes, wherof one or two I ſhal rehearſe. In the decrees Diſtinct. 10. is written thus: Conſtitutiones cõtra Canones & decreta præſulum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti. That is: the conſtitutions or ſtatutes enacted agaynſt the Canõs & decrees of the Byſhops of Rome or their good cuſtomes, are of none effect. Alſo, Extra, de ſentẽtia excõmunicationis, nouerit: Excõmunicamus omnes hæreticos vtriuſque ſexus, quocunq; nomine cẽſeantur, & fautores, & receptores, & defenſores eorũ: nec non & qui de cætero ſeruari fecerint ſtatuta edita & conſuetudines, contra Eccleſiæ libertatẽ, niſi ea de capitularibus ſuis intra duos mẽſes poſt huiuſmodi publicationẽ ſententiæ fecerint amoueri. Item excõmunicamus ſtatutarios, & ſcriptores ſtatutorũ ipſorũ, nec non poteſtates, cõſules, rectores, & cõſiliarios locorũ, vbi de cætero huiuſmodi ſtatuta & cõſuetudines editæ fuerint vel ſeruatæ: nec nõ & illos qui ſecundũ ea præſumpſerint iudicare, vel in publicam formã ſcribere iudicata. That is to ſay: we excõmunicate all heretickes of both ſexes, what name ſoeuer they be called by, & their fautors and receptors & defendors: & alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerued the ſtatutes & cuſtomes made againſt the libertie of the church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their recordes & chapters within ij. monethes after the publication hereof. Alſo we excõmunicate the ſtatute makers & writers of thoſe ſtatutes, & all the poteſtates, conſuls, gouernours & cõſellours of places where ſuch ſtatutes and cuſtomes ſhall be made or kept: and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to geue iudgement according to thẽ, or ſhall notifie in publicke forme the matters ſo iudged.

Diſt. 10. Conſtitutiones.

Extrau. De Sẽtẽti. et reiudic. Nouerit.

Now by theſe lawes, if the Byſhop of Romes authoritie whiche he claymeth by God, be lawfull: all your graces lawes and cuſtomes of your Realme, beyng contrary to the Popes lawes, be naught, & as well your maieſtye as your Iudges, Iuſtices, and all other executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongeſt heretickes, which God forbyd. And yet this curſe can neuer be auoyded (if the Pope haue ſuch power as he claymeth) vntill ſuch time as the lawes and cuſtomes of this realme (beyng contrary to his lawes) bee taken away and blotted out of the law bookes. And although there be many lawes of this Realme contrary to the lawes of Rome, yet I named but a fewe: as to conuicte a Clarke before any temporall Iudge of this Realme for debt, felony, murther, or for any other crime: whiche Clarkes by the Popes lawes be ſo exempt from the kynges lawes, that they can be no where ſued, but before their ordinary.

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The Popes lawes and the lawes of England doe vary, how and wherein.

Alſo the pope by his lawes may geue all byſhoprickes & benefices ſpirituall, which by the lawes of this realme, can be geuen but onely by the kyng and other patrones of ỹ ſame, except they fall into the lapſe.

Caſes wherein the popes lawes repugne agaynſt our lawes.

By the Popes lawes Ius patronatus ſhall be ſued onely before the eccleſiaſtical Iudge: but by the lawes of the Realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporall Iudge.

And to be ſhort, the lawes of this Realm do agree with the Popes lawes like fire and water. And yet the kynges of this realme haue prouided for their lawes by the Premunire: ſo that if any man haue let the execution of the lawes of this realme by any authority from the See of Rome, he falleth into the premunire.

Prouiſion agaynſt the popes lawes by Premunire.

But to meete with this, the Popes haue prouided for their lawes by curſing. For who ſo euer letteth the Popes lawes to haue full courſe within this realme, by the Popes power ſtandeth accurſed. So that the Popes power treadeth all the lawes and cuſtomes of this Realme vnder his feete, curſing al that execute them, vntill ſuch tyme as they geue place vnto his lawes.

The prouiſo of the Pope againſt our Premunire.

But it may be ſayd, that notwithſtandyng al the Popes decrees, yet we do execute ſtyll the lawes and cuſtomes of this realme. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of ỹ Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it vniuſtly, if the Popes power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtãd excommunicate, and ſhall do, vntill we leaue the execution of our owne lawes and cuſtomes. Thus wee be well reconciled to Rome, allowing ſuch authority, wherby the Realme ſtandeth accurſed, before God, if the Pope haue any ſuch authority.

Marke this well.

These thinges (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the Parlament houſe, when the Popes authority was receiued agayne within this realme: For if they had, I do not beleue that either the kyng or Queenes Maieſty, or ỹ Nobles of this Realme, or the Commons of the ſame would euer haue conſented to receiue agayn ſuch a forraine authority, ſo iniurious, hurtful, & preiudicial as well to the crown, as to the lawes & cuſtomes & ſtate of this realme, as wherby they muſt nedes acknowledge the ſelues to be accurſed.

But none could open this matter well but the clergye, and ſuch of them as had red the Popes lawes, wherby the Pope had made him ſelfe, as it were a God. Theſe ſeeke to mayntayn the Pope, whom they deſired to haue their chiefe head, to the intent they myght haue as it were a kyngdome and lawes within them ſelues, diſtinct from the lawes of the crowne, and wherwith the crowne may not medle: and ſo beyng exempted from the lawes of the Realme, might lyue in this Realme like Lordes and kyngs, wtout dãmage or feare of any man, ſo that they pleaſe their high & ſupreme head at Rome. For this conſideration (I weene) ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the Parlament, wheras if they had done their duties to the crowne & whole realme, they ſhould haue opened their mouthes, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and daungers that might enſue to the crowne and realme.

The clergies duetie in the Parlament.

The Clergy of England more addicted to the Pope then to their true allegeance to their Country.

And if I ſhould agree to allowe ſuch authoritie within this realme, wherby I muſt nedes confeſſe, that your moſt gratious highnes, and alſo your Realme ſhould euer continue accurſed, vntyl ye ſhal ceaſe from the execution of your owne lawes & cuſtomes of your realme: I could not thinke my ſelfe true, eyther to your highnes, or to this my naturall countrey, knowyng that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuſe other men: but he that knoweth howe preiudiciall and iniurious the power and authoritie which he challengeth euery where, is to the crowne, lawes, and cuſtomes of this realme, and yet wyll allow the ſame, I can not ſee in any wiſe howe he can keepe his due allegeance, fidelitie, and truth, to the crowne and ſtate of this realme.

An other cauſe I alledged, why I could not allowe the authoritie of the Pope, which is this: That by his authoritie he ſubuerteth not only the lawes of this realme, but alſo ỹ lawes of God: ſo that who ſoeuer be vnder his authority, he ſuffereth thẽ not to be vnder Chriſtes religion purely as Chriſte dyd commaund. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by Gods lawes all Chriſtian people be

The thyrd cauſe why he could not allowe the Pope.

bounden

Why Latin ſeruice ought not to be allowed in England.

bounden diligently to learne his word, that they may know how to beleue & lyue accordyngly, for that purpoſe he ordained holydayes, when they ought, leauing apart all other buſines, to giue themſelues wholy to know & ſerue God. Therfore Gods will and commaundement is, that whē the people be gathered together, that Miniſters ſhould vſe ſuch language as the people may vnderſtand and take profite thereby, or els hold their peace. For as an harpe or lute, if it geue no certaine ſoūde that men may know what is ſtrickē, who can daunce after it? for all the ſounde is in vayne: ſo is it vayne and profiteth nothyng, ſayth almightie GOD by the mouth of S. Paule, if the Prieſt ſpeake to the people in a language which they know not: For els hee may profite hym ſelfe, but profiteth not the people, ſayth S. Paule.

But herein I was aunſwered thus: that S. Paul ſpake onely of preachyng, that the preacher ſhould ſpeake in a toūg which the people did know, or els his preaching auaileth nothyng. But if the preaching auayleth nothyng, beyng ſpokē in a lāguage which the people vnderſtād not, how ſhould any other ſeruice auaile thē, being ſpokē in the ſame lāguage? And yet that S. Paul mēt not onely of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his owne wordes. For he ſpeaking by name expreſſely of praying, ſingyng, & thankyng of God, & of all other thynges which the prieſts ſay in the churches, wherūto the people ſay Amē, which they vſed not in preachyng, but in other Diuine ſeruice: that whether the Prieſts rehearſe the wōderfull workes of God, or the great benefites of god vnto mākynd aboue all other creatures, or geue thankes vnto God, or make opē profeſſiō of their fayth, or hūble cōfeſſion of their ſinnes, with earneſt requeſt of mercy & forgeuenes, or make ſute or requeſt vnto God for any thyng: then all the people vnderſtādyng what the prieſtes ſay, might giue their myndes & voyces with them & ſay Amē, that is to ſay, allow what the Prieſts ſay, that the rehearſall of Gods vniuerſall workes & benefites, the geuyng of thankes, the profeſſion of fayth, the cōfeſſiō of ſinnes, & the requeſtes & petitiōs of the Prieſts & of the people, might aſcēd vp into the eares of God al together, & be as a ſweet ſauour, odour, & incēſe in his noſe: & thus was it vſed many C. yeares after Chriſtes Aſcēſiō. But the aforeſayd thyngs can not be done whē the Prieſts ſpeake to the people in a lāguage not knowen and ſo they (or their Clarke in their name) ſay Amen, but they can not tell wherūto: whereas ſ. Paul ſaith: How cā the people ſay Amē to thy well ſaying, whē they vnderſtād not what thou ſayeſt? And thus was S. Paul vnderſtāden of all interpreters, both the Grekes & Latines, old & new, ſchole authors & others that I haue read, vntill aboue xxx. yeares paſt. At which tyme one Eckius, with other of his ſort, begā to deuiſe a new expoſitiō, vnderſtāding ſ. Paul of preachyng onely. But whē a good number of the beſt learned mē reputed within this realme, ſome fauoring ẏ old, ſome the new learnyng, as they terme it, (where in deede that which they call ẏ old, is the new, & that which they call the new, is in deede the old) but whē a great nūber of ſuch learned mē of both ſortes were gathered together at Winſore, for the reformatiō of the ſeruice of the Church: it was agreed by both without cōtrouerſie (not one ſaying cōtrary) that the ſeruice of the church ought to be in the mother toung, & that S. Paul in the xiiij. chap. to the Corinth. was ſo to be vnderſtāden. And ſo is S. Paul to be vnderſtāden in ẏ Ciuil law more thē a 1000. yeares paſt: where Iuſtinianus a moſt godly Emperour, in a Synode writeth on this maner: Iubem⁹ vt oēs Epiſcopi pariter & preſbyteri nō tacito modo, ſed clara voce, quæ a fideli populo exaudiatur, ſacrā oblationē & preces in ſacro Baptiſmate adhibitas celebrēt, quo maiori exinde deuotione in depromēdis Domini Dei laudibus audiētiū animi afficiantur. Ita enim & Diu⁹ Paul⁹ docet in Epiſtola ad Corinth: Si ſolūmodo benedicat ſpiritus, quomodo is qui priuati locū tenet, dicet ad gratiarū actionē tuā, Amē, quandoquidē quid dicas nō videt? Tu quidē pulchre gratias agis, alter autē nō ædificatur. That is to ſay: We commaunde, that all Byſhops and Prieſtes celebrate the holy oblatiō and prayers vſed in holy Baptiſme, not after a ſtil cloſe maner, but with a cleare loud voyce, that they may be plainly heard of the faythfull people, ſo as the hearers myndes may be lifted vp thereby with the greater deuotiō, in vttering the prayſes of the Lord god. For ſo Paule teacheth alſo in the Epiſtle to the Corinthiās: If the ſpirite do onely bleſſe (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupieth the place of a priuate perſō ſay, Amē, to thy thākes geuyng? for he perceaueth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou doeſt geue thākes wel, but the other is not edified. And not onely the Ciuill law & all other writers a thouſand and fiue hundreth yeares continually together haue expounded S. Paul not of preachyng onely, but of other ſeruice ſayd in the Churche: but alſo reaſon geueth the ſame, that if men be commaunded to heare any thyng, it muſt be ſpoken in a language whiche the hearers vnderſtand, or els (as S. Paule ſayth) what auayleth it to heare? So that the Pope giuing a contrary cōmaundement, that the people commyng to the church ſhall heare they wot not what, and ſhall aunſwere they know not wherunto, taketh vpon him to commaund, not onely agaynſt reaſon, but alſo directly agaynſt God.

The Papiſtes and Proteſtantes both agreed in Windſor, the ſeruice of the church to be in the mother tounge. Anno. 1549.

1.Cor. 14.

The Pope commaundeth both agaynſt God and naturall reaſon.

And agayn I ſayd, whereas our Sauiour Chriſt ordayned the ſacrament of his moſt precious body and bloud, to bee receaued of all Chriſten people vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and ſayd of the cup: Drynke ye all of this: the Pope giueth a cleane contrary commaundement, that no lay men ſhall drynke of the cup of theyr ſaluation: as though the cup of ſaluation by the bloud of Chriſt, perteyned not to lay men. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whoſe workes S. Hierome dyd tranſlate about xi. hūdred yeares paſt) ſayth: that if Chriſt had bene crucified for the deuils, his cuppe ſhould not be denyed them: yet the Pope denyeth the cup of Chriſt to Chriſten people, for whō Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the pope in theſe thinges I muſt nedes diſobey my Sauiour Chriſt.

The Sacrament ought to be receiued in both kyndes of all Chriſtians. Ex Theophilo Alexandrino.

But I was aunſwered hereunto (as commonly the Papiſtes do aunſwere) that vnder the forme of bread is whole Chriſtes fleſh and bloud: ſo that whoſoeuer receiueth the forme of bread, receiueth aſwell Chriſtes bloud as his fleſh. Let it be ſo: yet in the forme of bread onely, Chriſtes bloude is not drunken, but eaten: nor is receaued in the cuppe in the forme of wyne, as Chriſt commaunded, but eaten with the fleſh vnder the form of bread. And moreouer, the bread is not the Sacrament of his bloude, but of his fleſh onely: nor the cup is not ẏ Sacrament of his fleſhe, but of his bloud onely. And ſo the Pope kepeth from all lay Perſons the Sacrament of their redemption by Chriſtes bloud, whiche Chriſt commaundeth to be geuen vnto them.

The excuſe of the Papiſtes why they take away the cup.

And furthermore Chriſt ordeyned the Sacrament in ij. kyndes, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his bloude was ſeparated from his fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kynde alone: So that the lay people receiue not the whole Sacrament, whereby Chriſtes death is repreſented, as he commaunded.

Moreouer, as the pope taketh vpon him to geue the temporall ſworde, by royall and Imperiall Power, to Kynges and Princes, ſo doth he likewiſe take vppon him to depoſe them from their Imperiall ſtates, if they bee diſobedient to him, and commaundeth the ſubiectes to diſobey theyr Princes, aſſoilyng the ſubiectes as well of their obedience, as of theyr lawfull othes made vnto theyr true Kynges & Princes, directly contrary to Gods Commaundemente, who commaundeth all ſubiectes to obey theyr Kynges, or theyr rulers vnder thē. One Iohn Patriarke of Conſtantinople in the tyme of S. Gregory claymed ſuperioritie aboue all other Byſhops. To whom S. Gregory wryteth, that therin he dyd iniury to his three brethrē, which were equal with him that is to ſay, the Byſhop of Rome, ẏ Byſhop of Alexandria, and of Antiochia: whiche three were Patriarchall ſeas, as well as Conſtantinople, and were brethrē one to an other. But (ſayth ſ. Gregory) If any one ſhal exalt him ſelf aboue al the reſt, to be the vniuerſal byſhop, ẏ ſame paſſeth in pride. But now the Byſhop of Rome exalteth himſelfe, not onely aboue all Kynges and Emperours, and aboue all the whole world, takyng vpō him to giue & take away, to ſet vp & put downe, as he ſhall thinke good. And as the Deuill hauyng no ſuch authoritie, yet toke vppon him to geue vnto Chriſt all the kingdomes of the world, if he would fal down and worſhyp him: in like maner the Pope taketh vpon him to geue Empires & Kyngdomes, beyng none of his, to ſuch as will fall downe and worſhyp him, and kiſſe his feete.

Miſorder in the Pope, in aſſoylyng the diſobedience of ſubiectes toward their Princes.

Note the ſaying of S. Gregory.

The deuill and the pope are lyke.

And moreouer, his lawyers and gloſers ſo flatter him, that they fayne he may commaund Emperours and kynges to hold his ſtirrop when he lighteth vpō his horſe, and to be his footemen: and that, if any Emperour and kyng geue him any thyng, they geue him nothyng but that is his owne, and that he may diſpenſe agaynſt Gods word, agaynſt both the olde and new Teſtament, agaynſt S. Paules Epiſtles, & agaynſt the Goſpell. And furthermore what ſoeuer he doth although he drawe innumerable people by heapes with hym ſelfe into hell: yet may no mortall man reproue him: becauſe he beyng iudge of all men, may bee iudged of noe man. And thus he ſitteth in the Temple of God as he were a God, & nameth him ſelfe Gods Vicar, & yet he diſpenſeth agaynſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſtes part, I cā not tell what is Antichriſt, whiche is no more to ſay but Chriſtes enemy and aduerſary: who ſhall ſit in the temple of God, aduauncyng him ſelfe aboue all other, yet by hypocriſie and fayned religion ſhall ſubuert the true Religion of Chriſt, & vnder pretenſe and colour of Chriſtian Religion, ſhal worke agaynſt Chriſt, & therfore hath ẏ name of Antichriſt. Nowe if any man lift him ſelf higher then the pope hath done, who lifteth him ſelf aboue all the world, or can be more aduerſary to Chriſt, then to diſpenſe agaynſt Gods lawes, and where Chriſt hath geuen any commaundemēt, to cōmaund direct-

Emperours and kinges made the Popes footemen.

The Pope is Antichriſt, that is, Chriſtes enemy.

True markes prouing that the Pope is Antichriſt.

is the contrary: that man muſt needes be taken for Antichriſt. But vntill the tyme that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may eaſely coniecture, where to finde Antichriſt.

Note this concluſion.

Wherfore, ſeing the pope thus, to ouerthrow both Gods lawes & mans lawes, taketh vpon him to make Emperours and Kyngs to be vaſſals & ſubiectes vnto him, ſpecially the crowne of this Realme, with the lawes and cuſtomes of the ſame: I ſee no meane, how I may conſent to admit this vſurped power within this Realme, contrary to myne othe, myne obedience to Gods law, myne allegeaunce & duety to your Maieſtie, and my loue and affection to this Realme.

The cauſe why the Archbiſhop ſpake and wrote thus.

This that I haue ſpoken, agaynſt the power & authoritie of the Pope, I haue not ſpoke (I take God to record & iudge) for any malice I owe to the popes perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhal pray to God to giue him grace, that he may ſeeke aboue all things to promote Gods honor & glory, & not to folow ÿ trade of his predeceſſors in theſe latter dayes.

Nor I haue not ſpoke it for feare of puniſhment & to auoyde the ſame (thinking it rather an occaſiõ to aggrauate, thẽ to diminiſh my trouble): but I haue ſpoke it for my moſt boundẽ duety to the crowne, liberties, lawes & cuſtomes of this realme of England, but moſt ſpecially to diſcharge my cõſcience in vttering the truth to Gods glory, caſtyng away all feare, by the cõfort which I haue in Chriſt, who ſayth: Feare not thẽ that kill the body, & can not kill the ſoule, but feare him that cã caſt both body and ſoule into hell fire. He that for feare to loſe this life, will forſake the truth, ſhal loſe the euerlaſtyng life: And he that for the truthes ſake will ſpend his lyfe, ſhall finde euerlaſtyng life. And Chriſt promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his father, which will ſtand faſt with him here. Which cõfort is ſo great, that whoſoeuer hath his eyes fixed vpon Chriſt, can not greatly paſſe on this lyfe, knowyng that he may bee ſure to haue Chriſt ſtand by him, in the preſence of his father in heauen.

Math. 10.

And as touchyng the Sacramẽt, I ſayd: For as much as the whole matter ſtandeth in the vnderſtandyng of theſe wordes of Chriſt: This is my body: This is my bloud: I ſayd ÿ Chriſt in theſe wordes made demõſtratiõ of ÿ bread & wine & ſpake figuratiuely, callyng bread his body, & wyne his bloud, becauſe he ordayned them to be Sacramentes of his body and bloud. And where the Papiſtes ſay in thoſe two pointes contrary vnto me, that Chriſt called not bread his body, but a ſubſtaunce vncertaine, nor ſpake figuratiuely: Herein I ſayd, I would be iudged by the old Church, and whiche doctrine could bee proued the elder, that I would ſtand vnto. And for aſmuch as I haue alledged in my booke many old authours, both Greekes and Latines, which about a thouſand yeares after Chriſt continually taught as I do: if they could bryng forth but one old author, that ſayth in theſe two pointes as they ſay, I offered vj. or vij. yeares ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will geue place vnto them.

The Sacrament.

A double errour of the Papiſtes in the wordes of the Sacrament.

Cranmer ſtandeth to be iudged by the olde Church.

But when I bryng forth any author that ſayth in moſt playne termes, as I do, yet ſaith the other part, that the authours ment not ſo: as who ſhould ſay, that the authours ſpake on thyng and ment cleane contrary. And vpon the other part when they can not finde any one author, that ſayth in wordes as they ſay: yet ſay they, that the authours ment as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeake more to the purpoſe herein, I referre me to the iudgement of all indifferent hearers: yea the old Church of Rome about a thouſand yeares together, neither beleued nor vſed the Sacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late yeares.

The Papiſtes not able to bring forth one olde author aboue a thouſand yeares, to make with the Sacrament.

For in the begynnyng, the Churche of Rome taught a pure and a ſounde doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Churche of Rome fell into a new doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: with the doctrine they chaunged the vſe of the Sacrament, contrary to that Chriſt commaunded, and the old Churche of Rome vſed aboue a thouſand yeares. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am cõtent to ſtand to the triall. But their doctrine is ſo fonde and vncomfortable, that I maruaile that any man would allowe it, if he knew what it is. But whoſoeuer they beare the people in hand, that which they write in their bookes hath neither truth nor comfort.

With the ſubſtaunce the vſe alſo chaunged of the Sacrament.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Chriſt is made two bodyes: one naturall, hauing diſtaunce of members, with forme and proportion of mans perfite body, and this body is in heauen: but the body of Chriſt in the Sacramẽt, by their owne doctrine, muſt needes be a monſtruous body, hauyng neither diſtaunce of members, nor forme, faſhion or proportion of a mans natural body. And ſuch a body is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with ÿ forme of bread, & entreth no farther then the forme of bread goeth, nor taryeth no longer then the forme of bread is by naturall heate in digeſtyng: So that when the forme of bread is digeſted, that body of Chriſt is gone. And for aſmuch as euill men be as long in digeſtyng as good men, the body of Chriſt (by their doctrine) entreth as farre, and taryeth as long in wicked men, as in godly men. And what cõfort can be herein to any Chriſtian man, to receaue Chriſtes vnſhapen body, and it to enter no farther then the ſtomacke, and to depart by and by, as ſoone as the bread is conſumed?

The Papiſtes make Chriſt two bodyes. Neither truth nor comfort in the Popes doctrine of the Sacrament.

Marke the errours of the Papiſtes in their doctrine of the Sacrament.

It ſeemeth to me a more ſounde & comfortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, & that hath forme & faſhion of a mãs true body: which body ſpiritually entreth into the whole mã, body & ſoule: and though the Sacrament be conſumed, yet whole Chriſt remayneth, & feedeth the receauer vnto eternall life, if he cõtinue in godlynes, and neuer departeth, vntill the receauer forſake him. And as for the wicked, they haue not Chriſt within thẽ at all, who cã not be where Belial is. And this is my fayth, & (as me ſeemeth) a ſound doctrine, accordyng to Gods word, & ſufficiẽt for a Chriſtiã to beleue in that matter. And if it cã be ſhewed vnto me, that the popes authoritie is not preiudiciall to the thynges before mẽtioned, or that my doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I thinke cannot be ſhewed) then I was neuer nor will be ſo peruerſe, to ſtãd wilfully in myne own opiniõ, but I ſhal with all humilitie ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the pope, not onely to kiſſe his feete, but an other part alſo.

The Proteſtants doctrine of the Sacrament more comfortable, then the doctrine of the Papiſtes.

An other cauſe why I refuſed to take the byſh. of Gloceſter for my Judge, was the reſpect of his own perſon, beyng more then once periured: Firſt, for that he beyng diuers tymes ſworne neuer to cõſent that the byſh. of Rome ſhould haue any iuriſdictiõ within this realme, but to take the kyng & his ſucceſſours for ſupreme heades of this Realme, as by Gods lawes they be: contrary to that lawfull othe, the ſayd Byſhop ſat then in Judgement by authoritie from Rome: wherein he was periured, & not worthy to ſit as a Judge.

An other reſpect why the Archb. refuſed Byſhop Brokes to be his Judge.

The ſecõd periurie was, that he toke his Byſhopricke both of the Queenes maieſtie & of the Pope, makyng to ech of them a ſolẽne othe: which othes be ſo cõtrary, that the one muſt needes be periured. And furthermore in ſwearyng to the Pope, to maintaine his lawes, decrees, cõſtitutions, ordinaunces, reſeruations, and prouiſions, he declareth himſelf an enemy to the imperiall crowne, and to the lawes and ſtate of this Realme: whereby he declared himſelfe not worthy to ſit as a Judge within this Realme. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my Judge.

Double periury in B. Brokes.

¶This was written in an other Letter to the Queene.

I Learned by Doctour Martin, that at the day of your Maieſties coronation, you tooke an othe of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the ſame tyme you tooke an other othe to this Realme, to maintayne the lawes, liberties, and cuſtomes of the ſame. And if your Maieſtie did make an othe to the pope, I thinke it was according to the other othes, which he vſeth to miniſter to Princes: whiche is to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to maintaine his authoritie, honour, lawes, landes, and priuiledges. And if it be ſo (which I know not, but by reporte) then I beſeech your Maieſtie to looke vpon your othe made to the crowne and realme, and to expend and weigh the ij. othes together, to ſee how they do agree, & thẽ to do as your graces cõſciẽce ſhall geue you: For I am ſurely perſwaded, that willyngly your Maieſtie will not offend, nor do agaynſt your conſcience for nothyng.

A peece of an other letter to the Queene.

Contradiction in the Queenes othes, ſworne both to the Realme, and to the Pope in one day.

But I feare me that there be cõtradictiõs in your othes, and that thoſe whiche ſhould haue informed your Grace throughly, did not their duetie therin. And if your Maieſtie ponder the two othes diligẽtly, I thinke you ſhall perceiue you were deceiued: & then your highnes may vſe the matter as God ſhall put in your hart. Furthermore, I am kept here from cõpany of learned men, frõ bookes, frõ counſaile, from pen and inke, ſauyng at this tyme to write vnto your Maieſtie: which all were neceſſarie for a man beyng in my caſe. Wherfore I beſeech your Maieſtie, that I may haue ſuch of theſe as may ſtand with your Maieſties pleaſure. And as for myne appearaunce at Rome, if your Maieſtie will geue me leaue, I will appeare there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defend his truth there, aſwell as here. But I referre it wholy to your Maieſties pleaſure.

¶An other Letter of the Archbyſhop to Doctour Martin, and Doctour Story.

I Haue me commended vnto you. And as I promiſed, I haue ſent my Letters vnto the Queenes Maieſtie vnſigned: praying you to ſigne them and deliuer them with all ſpeede. I might haue ſent them by the Caryer ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearyng Maiſter Bailiffe ſay, that he would goe to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meete Meſſenger to ſend my Letters by. For better is later and ſurer, then ſooner and neuer to be deliuered. Yet one thyng I haue written to the Queenes Maieſtie incloſed and ſealed: which I require you, may be ſo deliuered without delay, &

This letter to Doct. Martin, and Doct. Story.

not be opened vntill it bee deliuered vnto her graces owne handes. I haue written al that I remember I ſayd, except that which I ſpake agaynſt the byſhop of Gloceſters own perſon, which I thought not meete to write, And in ſome places I haue written more then I ſayd, which I would haue anſwered to ÿ byſhop, if you would haue ſuffered me.

Cranmers aunſweres before B. Brookes extra iudiciall.

you promiſed I ſhould ſee myne aunſwere to the. xvj. Articles, that I might correct, amende and chaunge them where I thought good, whiche your promiſe you kept not. And myne aunſwere was not made vppon my othe, nor repeated nor made in Iudicio, but Extra iudicium, as I proteſted: nor to the Byſhop of Gloceſter as Iudge, but to you the Kynges and Queenes Proctours. I truſt you deale ſincerely with me without fraude or craſt, and vſe me as you would wiſh to be vſed in like caſe your ſelues. Remember that, Qua menſura menſi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis. i. What meaſure you meate, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you agayne. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his ſpirite to induce you into truth.

Ye heard before how the Archbyſhop Doctour Cranmer, in the moneth of Februarie was cited vp to Rome, and in the moneth of March next followyng was degraded by the Biſhop of Eley, and Biſhop Boner. In tyme of which his degradation he put vp his Appellation.

In this his Appellation, becauſe he needed the helpe of ſome good and Godly Lawyer, hee writeth to a certaine frende of his, about the ſame: the copy of whiche Letter in Latine is before expreſſed in the old booke of Actes there to be read, page. 1492. The Engliſh of the ſame I thought here to inſerte, as vnder enſueth.

¶ A Letter of Doctour Cranmer Archbyſhop to a Lawyer, for the drawyng out of his Appeale.

An other letter of the Archb. to a certayne learned Lawyer his frend, about his Appeale.

THe law of nature requireth of all men, that ſo farre forth as it may be done without offence to GOD, euery one ſhould ſeeke to defende and preſerue his owne lyfe. Which thyng, when I about three dayes ago bethought my ſelfe of, and there withall remembred how that Martin Luther appealed in his tyme from Pope Leo the tenth, to a generall Councell (leſt I ſhoulde ſeeme raſhly and vnaduiſedly to caſt away my ſelfe) I determined to appeale in like ſorte to ſome lawfull and free generall Councell. But ſeyng the order and forme of an Appeale perteyneth to the Lawyers, wherof I me ſelfe am ignorant, and ſeyng that Luthers Appeale commeth not to my hand: I purpoſed to breake my mynde in this matter to ſome faythfull frēd & ſkilful in the law, whoſe helpe I might vſe in this behalfe, and you onely amōg other, came to my remembrāce, as a man moſt meete in this Vniuerſitie for that purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth great ſilence, ſo that no mā know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make myne aunſwere at Rome, the xvj. day of this moneth: before the which day I thinke it good, after ſentence pronoūced, to make myne Appeale. But whether I ſhould firſt Appeale from the iudge delegate to the Pope, and ſo afterward to the general Coūcell, or els leauyng the Pope, I ſhould appeale immediately to the Councell: herein I ſtand in neede of your Councell.

Many cauſes there be for the which I thinke good to appeale. Firſt bycauſe I am by an othe boūd, neuer to cōſent to the receiuyng of the Byſhop of Romes authoritie into this Realme. Beſides this, where as I vtterly refuſed to make aūſwere to the Articles obiected vnto me by the Byſhoppe of Gloceſter appoynted by the Pope to be my iudge, yet I was content to aunſwere Martin and Story, with this Proteſtation, that myne aunſwere ſhould not bee taken as made before a iudge, nor yet in place of iudgement, but as pertaynyng nothyng to iudgement at al: and moreouer, after I had made myne aunſwere, I required to haue a copy of the ſame, that I might, either by addyng thereunto, or by alteryng or takyng from it, correct and amende it, as I thought good. The which, though both the Byſhop of Gloceſter and alſo the Kyng and Queenes Proctours promiſed me, yet haue they altogether brokē promiſe with me, and haue not permitted me to correct my ſayd aunſweres accordyng to my requeſt, and yet notwithſtandyng haue (as I vnderſtand) regiſtred the ſame as Actes formally done in place of iudgement.

Finally for aſmuch as all this my trouble commeth vpon my departyng from the Byſhop of Rome and from the Popiſh Religion, ſo that now the quarell is betwixt the Pope himſelfe and me, and no mā can be a lawfull and indifferent iudge in his owne cauſe: it ſeemeth (me thinke) good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appeale to ſome generall Coūcell in this matter: ſpecially ſeing the law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man, the remedy of appeale in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lacke of perfect ſkyll herein you ſhall haue neede of further aduiſe: thē I beſeech you euē for the fidelitie and loue you beare to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no creature alyue, whoſe the caſe is. And for aſmuch as the tyme is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obteine this much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your ſtudyes and buſines for the tyme, you will apply this my matter onely, till you haue brought it to paſſe. The chiefeſt cauſe in very deede (to tell you the truth) of this myne Appeale is, that I might gayne tyme (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to liue vntill I haue finiſhed myne anſwere agaynſt Marcus Antonius Cōſtantius, which I haue now in hand. But if the aduerſaryes of the truth will not admitte myne Appeale (as I feare they will not) Gods will be done: I paſſe not vpon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life or by my death. For it is much better for me to dye in Chriſtes quarell and to raigne with him, then here to be ſhut vp and kept in the priſon of this body, vnleſſe it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this warrefare, for the commoditie and profite of my brethren, and to the further aduauncing of Gods glory: to whō be all glory for euermore. Amen.

This Conſtantius was Stephen Gardiner, as conſtant in deede as a wethercocke: who thus named himſelfe, writing agaynſt this good Archb.

There is alſo yet an other cauſe why I thinke good to Appeale, that where as I am cited to goe to Rome to aunſwere there for my ſelfe, I am notwithſtandyng kept here faſt in priſon, that I can not there appeare at the tyme appointed. And moreouer, for aſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in is a matter of lyfe and death, ſo that I haue great neede of learned counſell for my defence in this behalfe: yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all maner of counſell and helpe of Proctours, Aduocates, and Lawyers was vtterly denyed me.

Your louyng frend Thomas Cranmer.

¶ An other Letter of Doctour Cranmer Archbyſhop to Miſtres Wilkinſon, exhortyng her to flye in the tyme of perſecution.

An other letter of the Archb. to Miſtres Wilkinſon.

THe true comforter in all diſtreſſe, is onely GOD through his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and who ſoeuer hath hym, hath company enough, although hee were in a wildernesse all alone: and he that hath twenty thouſand in his company, if GOD be abſent, is in a miſerable wilderneſſe and deſolation. In hym is all comfort, and without hym is none. Wherfore I beſeech you ſeke your dwellyng there as you may truely and rightly ſerue GOD, and dwell in him, and haue him euer dwellyng in you. What can be ſo heauy a burden as an vnquyet conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man can not bee ſuffered to ſerue GOD in Chriſtes true Religion? If you be loth to departe from your kynne and frendes, remember that Chriſt calleth them his mother, ſiſters, and brothers that do his fathers will. Where we finde therfore God truely honoured accordyng to his will, there we can lacke neither frend nor kynne.

Math. 3.

If you bee loth to departe for ſclaunderyng of Gods worde, remember that Chriſt, when his houre was not yet come, departed out of his countrey into Samaria, to auoyde the malice of the Scribes and Phariſeis: and commaunded his Apoſtles that if they were purſued in one place, they ſhould flye to an other. And was not Paule let downe by a baſket out at a window, to auoyde the perſecution of Aretas? And what wiſedome and policie he vſed from tyme to tyme to eſcape the malice of his enemyes, the Actes of the Apoſtles doe declare. And after the ſame ſorte dyd the other Apoſtles: albeit when it came to ſuch a poynt, that they could no longer eſcape daunger of the perſecutors of Gods true Religion, then they ſhewed themſelues, that their flying before came not of feare, but of Godly wiſedome to do more good: and that they would not raſhly without vrgent neceſſitie, offer themſelues to death, whiche had bene but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended and could no longer auoyde, then they ſtode boldly to the profeſſion of Chriſt: then they ſhewed how litle they paſſed of death: how much they feared God more then men: how much they loued and preferred the eternall lyfe to come, aboue this ſhort and miſerable lyfe.

John. 4.

Math. 5.

2. Cor. 11.

Wherefore, I exhorte you, aſwell by Chriſtes commaundement, as by the example of hym and his Apoſtles, to withdrawe your ſelfe from the malice of yours and Gods enemyes, into ſume place where GOD is moſt purely ſerued: which is no ſclaunderyng of the truth, but a preſeruyng of your ſelfe to GOD and the truth, and to the ſocietie and comfort of Chriſtes little flocke. And that you will do, do it with ſpeede, leſt by your owne folly you fall into the perſecutors handes. And the Lord ſend his holy ſpirite to leade and guyde you where ſoeuer you goe, and all that be Godly, will ſay. Amen.

1556. March.

¶Unto theſe former Letters of Doctour Cranmer Archbyſhop, written by him vnto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annexe withall a certaine letter alſo of Doctour Taylor writtē to him and his fellow priſoners: the tenour of which Letter here foloweth.

¶To my deare fathers and brethren Doctour Cranmer, Doctour, Ridley, and Doctour Latimer priſoners in Oxford for the faythfull teſtimony of Gods holy worde.

A letter written to Doct. Cranmer and his fellowes, by Doct. Taylour.

Right reuerend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enioye continually Gods grace and peace through Ieſus Chriſt: & God be prayſed againe, for this your moſt excellent promotion whiche ye are called vnto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted woorthy to be allowed amongeſt the number of Chriſtes recordes and witneſſes. England hath had but a fewe learned Byſhoppes that would ſticke to Chriſt ad ignem incluſiuè. Once agayne I thanke God hartly in Chriſt for your moſt happy onſet, moſt valiaunt proceedyng, moſt conſtaunt ſufferyng of all ſuch infamies, hyſſinges, clappynges, tauntes, open rebukes, loſſe of liuyng and libertie for the defence of Gods cauſe, truth, and glory. I can not vtter with pēne how I reioyce in my hart for you three ſuch Captaines in the foreward vnder Chriſtes croſſe, banner, or ſtanderd in ſuch a cauſe and ſkirmiſhe, when, not onely one or two of our deare redeemers ſtrong holdes are beſieged, but all his chief Caſtels ordeined for our ſafegard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your enterpriſe in the ſight of all that be in heauen, and of all Gods people in earth, is moſt pleaſaunt to behold. This is an other maner of nobilitie, then to be in the forefronte in worldly warefares. For gods ſake pray for vs, for we fayle not dayly to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be prayſed, and we doubt not but ye be ſo in Chriſtes owne ſweete ſchole. Heauē is all and wholy of our ſide: therfore Gaudete in domino ſemper, & iterū gaudete & exultate. i. Reioyce alwayes in the Lord: and agayne reioyce and be glad.

Many profeſſe God ad ignē excluſiuè, that is, in wordes and outward profeſſion, but few ſticke to hym ad ignem incluſiuè, that is, in deed, and in ſufferyng for his ſake.

Your aſſured in Chriſt
Rowland Taylour.

¶De Tho. Cranmeri Archiepiſcopi qui carcere detinebatur palinodia.

Te Cranmere, grauis ſontem prope fecerat error,
　Sed reuocas lubricos ad meliora pedes.
Te docuit lapſus magis vt veſtigia firmes,
　Atq; magis Chriſto conſociere tuo:
Vtq; tuæ melius ſtudeas hæreſcere cauſæ
　Sic mala non rarò cauſa fuere boni.
Et benè ſucceſſit, nam ficta & adultera turba
　Illudens alijs, luditur arte pari,
Nempè pia ſic eſt fruſtatus fraude papiſmus:
　Et ceſſit ſummo gloria tota Deo.

¶Perſecution in Suffolke, Agnes Potten, and Ioane Trunchfield, Martyrs.

Agnes Potten. Ioane Trunchfield, Martyrs.

IN the ſtory of Robert Samuell, mention was made before page. 1 6 0 3. of two Godly women in the ſame Towne of Ipſwitch, whiche ſhortly after hym ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the crowne of Martyrdome: the names of whom was Agnes the wife of Robert Potten, and an other wife of Michaell Trunchfield, a Shoomaker, both dwellyng in one Towne: who about the ſame tyme that the Archbyſhop aforeſayd was burned at Oxford, ſuffered likewiſe in the foreſayd Towne of Ipſwitch, either in the ſame moneth of March, or (as ſome ſay) in the ende of February the next moneth before.

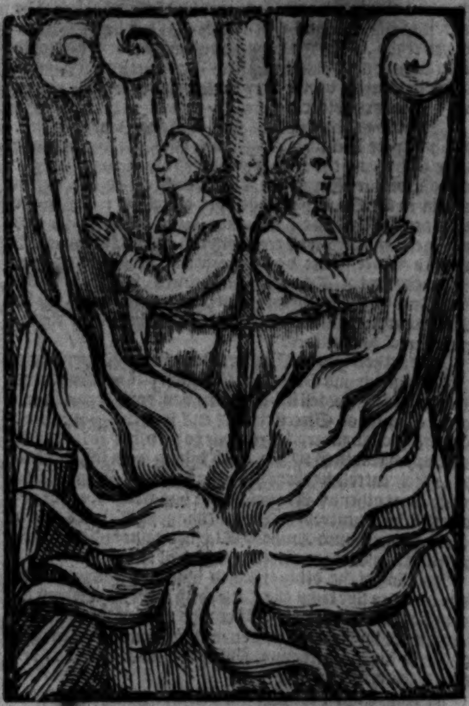
The opinions of theſe two Women and Martyrs.

Their opinion or perſwaſion was this, that in the Sacrament was the memoriall onely of Chriſtes death and Paſſion: for ſayd they, Ieſus Chriſt is aſcended vp into heauen, and is on the right hand of God the father, accordyng to the Scriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was borne of the Virgine Mary.

For this they were burned. In whoſe ſufferyng, their conſtancie worthely was to be wondered at, who beyng ſo ſimple women, ſo manfully ſtode to the confeſſion and teſtimony of Gods word and veritie: In ſomuch that, whē they had prepared and vndreſſed thēſelues ready to the fire, with comfortable wordes of the Scripture they earneſtly required the people to credite and to lay hold on the word of God, and not vpon mans deuiſes and inuentions, deſpiſing the ordinaunces and inſtitutions of the Romiſh Antichriſt, with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten Religion: and ſo continuing in the torment of fire, they held vp their handes and called vnto God conſtauntly, ſo long as lyfe did endure.

The ſtrength of God in weake veſſels.

¶The burnyng of two women.



The Martyrdome of Agnes Potten, and Ioane Trunchfield, at Ipſwitch. Anno. 1556. March.

This Pottens wife in a night a little before her death, beyng a ſlepe in her bed, ſawe a bright burnyng fyre, ryght vp as a pole, and on ÿ ſyde of the fire ſhe thought there ſtode a number of Q. Maryes friendes lokyng on. Then beyng a ſleepe, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with her ſelfe whether her fire ſhould burne ſo bright or no: and in deede her ſufferyng was not farre vnlike to her dreame.

The burning of Agnes Potten reuealed to her before in her ſleepe.

This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two beyng alwayes together in priſon, the one which was Michaels wyfe, ſeemed to be nothing ſo ardent and zelous as Pottens wife was, although (God be thanked) they dyd ſtoutly ſtande to the confeſſion of the truth both: but when the ſayd Michaels wife came to the ſtake and ſaw nothing but preſent death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in ioye, and comfort. Albeit both of them dyd ioyfully ſuffer, as it was marueiled at of thoſe that knewe them, and dyd behold theyr end. And thus theſe two Martyrs ended their lyues with great triumph: the Lorde graunt we may do the like, Amen.

God geueth ſtrength many tymes, where moſt weakenes is.

¶Perſecution in the Dioces of Saliſbury.

AFter theſe ij. women of Ipſwich, ſucceeded iij. men which were burnt ÿ ſame moneth at one fire in Saliſbury, who in the like quarell with the other that went before them and led the daūce, ſpared not theyr bodies, to bryng their ſoules to ÿ celeſtiall felicity, wherof they were throughly aſſured in Chriſt Ieſus by his promiſes as ſone as the furious flames of fire hadde put their bodies and ſoules a ſonder.

March. 24. Other 3. Martyrs ſuffering at Saliſbury.

¶Their names were

Robert Spicer, free Maſon.
William Coberley, Taylor.
Iohn Maundrell, huſbandman.

¶The ſtory of Iohn Maundrell, William Coberley, and Iohn Spicer, Martyrs,

FIrſt, Iohn Maundrell whiche was the ſonne of Robert Maundrel of Rowd in the County of Wiltſhyre Fermer was from his childhode brought vp in huſbandry, and after he came to mans ſtate, dyd abyde and dwell in a Village called Buchamton in the Pariſh of Keuel within the County of Wiltſhyre aforeſayd, where hee hadde wife and children, beyng of good name and fame. Whiche Iohn Maundrell, after that the Scripture was tranſlated into Engliſh by the faythfull Apoſtle of England, W. Tyndall, became a diligent hearer and a feruent embracer of Gods true Religion,

The ſtory of Iohn Maundrell.

Maundrell conuerted firſt by Tyndals Teſtament.

March.

Maundrell an earneſt louer and and hearer of Gods word.

ſo that he delited in nothyng ſo much, as to heare and ſpeake of Gods word, neuer beyng without the new Teſtament about him, although he could not read him ſelfe. But when he came into any company that could read, his booke was alwayes ready, hauyng a very good memory: ſo that he could recite by hart moſt places of yͤ new Teſtament, his conuerſation and liuyng beyng very honeſt and charitable as his neighbours are able to teſtifie.

Maundrell accuſed for ſpeakyng agaynſt holy bread and holy water.

Maundrell put to open penance in K. Henryes dayes.

So it was, that in the dayes of Kyng Henry the viij. at what tyme Doctour Trigonion, and Doctour Lee dyd viſite Abbayes, the ſayd John Maundrell was brought before Doctour Trigonion at an Abbay called Edyngton within in the County of Wiltſhyre aforeſayd: where hee was accuſed that, hee had ſpoken agaynſt holy water and holy bread and ſuch lyke ceremonyes, and for the ſame dyd weare a white ſheete bearyng a candle in his hand about the market in the Towne of the Deuiſes, whiche is in the ſayd County. Neuertheles his feruency did not abate, but by Gods mercyfull aſſiſtaunce he tooke better hold, as the ſequele hereof will declare.

Antony Clee of Veys.

For in the dayes of Queene Mary, when Popery was reſtored agayne and Gods true Religion put to ſilence, the ſayd John Maundrell left his owne houſe and departed into the County of Gloceſterſhyre and into the North part of Wiltſhyre, wanderyng from one to an other to ſuch men as he knew feared GOD, with whom as a ſeruaunt to keepe their cattell, he there did remayne, with John Bridges or ſome other at Kyngeſwoode: but after a tyme he returned to his countrey, and there commyng to the Veys to a frend of his named Anthony Clee, had talke and conferēce with him in a Garden of returnyng home to his houſe.

And when the other exhorted him by the wordes of Scripture, to flye from one Citie to an other, he replying agayne by the wordes of the Apocalips. 21. of them that be fearefull &c. ſayd that he needes muſt go home, and ſo dyd. where, he with Spicer and Coberley vſed at tymes to reſort and conferre together.

Maundrell, Spicer, and Coberley ſpeaking againſt the proceſſion.

At length vpon the Sonday folowyng they agreed together to go to the Pariſh Church called Keuell, where the ſayd John Maundrell & the other two, ſeyng the Pariſhoners in yͤ proceſſion to folow & worſhyp yͤ Idol there caried, aduertiſed them to leaue the ſame & to returne to the liuyng God, namely ſpeakyng to one Robert Barkeſdale head man of the Pariſh, but he tooke no regarde to theſe wordes.

Maundrell calleth purgatory the Popes pinfolde.

Maundrell Spicer, Coberley, ſent to Saliſbury.

D. Capon B. of Saliſbury.

After this the Vicare came into the Pulpite, who there beyng aboute to read his bedroll and to pray for the ſoules in Purgatory, the ſayd John Maundrell ſpeakyng with an audible voyce ſayd: that that was the Popes pynfold: the other two affirmyng the ſame. After which wordes, by commaundement of the Prieſt, they were had to the ſtockes, where they remayned till their ſeruice was done, & then were brought before a Juſtice of peace, and ſo the next day caryed to Saliſbury all three, & preſented before Biſhop Capon, and W. Geffrey beyng Chauncellour of the Dioces. By whom they were impriſoned and often times examined of their fayth in their houſes, but ſeldome openly. And at their laſt examination theſe were the Articles, whiche the Chauncellour alledged agaynſt them, beyng accompanyed with the Sheriffe of the ſhyre one M. Saint Johns, and other Popiſh Prieſtes in the Pariſhe Church of Fiſherton Anger, demaundyng how they did beleue.

Confeſſion of their beliefe.

They aunſwered: as Chriſten men ſhould and ought to beleue: and firſt they ſayd they beleued in God the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the holy Ghoſt, the xij. Articles of the Creede, the holy Scripture from the firſt of Geneſis to the laſt of the Apocalips.

Sacrament of the altar.

But that fayth the Chauncellour would not allowe. wherefore he apposed them in particular Articles: Firſt, whether that they did not beleue that in the Sacrament of the aultar (as he termed it) after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt at Maſſe, there remained no ſubſtāce of bread nor wyne, but Chriſtes body fleſhe and bloud as he was borne of the virgine Mary. Whereunto they aunſwered negatiuely, ſaying that the popiſh Maſſe was abhominable Idolatry and iniurious to the bloud of Chriſt: but confeſſing that in a faythfull congregation, receauyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, beyng duely miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, Chriſtes body and bloud is ſpiritually receiued of the faythfull beleuer.

Agaynſt the Popes ſupremacy.

Alſo, beyng aſked whether the Pope was ſupreme head of the Churche, and Chriſtes Vicare on earth: they aunſwered negatiuely, ſaying that the Byſhoppe of Rome doth vſurpe ouer Emperours and Kynges beyng Antichriſt and Gods enemy.

The Chauncellour ſayd: will you haue the Churche without a head?

Chriſt onely ſupreame head of his church: vnder him euery Prince in his owne dominion.

They aunſwered: Chriſt was head of his Church, and vnder Chriſt the Queenes Maieſty. What, ſaid the Chauncellour? a woman head of the Church? yea ſayd they, within her graces dominions.

Purgatory.

Alſo that the ſoules in purgatory were deliuered by the Popes pardons and the ſuffrages of the Church?

They ſayd they beleued faythfully that yͤ bloud of Chriſt had purged their ſinnes and the ſinnes of al them that were ſaued, vnto the ende of the worlde, ſo yͭ they feared nothing the Popes Purgatory nor eſteemed his pardons.

Images.

Alſo, whether Images were neceſſary to be in the churches, as lay mens bookes, and Saintes to bee prayed vnto and worſhipped.

Sentenced agaynſt theſe 3. Martyrs.

March 23.

Maundrell Spicer Coberley, brought to the place of Martyrdome

The wordes of Maūdrell.

They aunſwered negatiuely: John Maundrell addyng that wooden Images were good to roſt a ſhoulder of muttō, but euill in the Church: wherby Idolatry was committed. Thoſe Articles thus aunſwered (for their Articles were one, and their aunſweres in maner like) the Chauncellour red their condemnation, and ſo deliuered them to the Sheriffe. Then ſpake John Spycer, ſaying: Oh M. Sheriffe, nowe muſt you be their butcher, that you may bee gilty alſo with them of Innocent bloud before the Lord. This was the 23. day of March. an. 1556. and the. 24. day of the ſame moneth they were carryed out of the common Gayle to a place betwixt Saliſbury and Wilton, where were ij. poſtes ſet for them to bee burnt at. Whiche men commyng to the place kneeled downe and made their prayers ſecretly together, and then beyng diſclothed to theyr ſhyrtes, Joh. Maūdrell ſpake with a loud voyce: not for all Saliſbury. Whiche words men iudged to be an anſwere to the Sheriffe, which offered him yͤ Queenes pardō if he would recant. And after that, in lyke maner ſpake John Spicer ſayng: this is the ioifulleſt day that euer I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two ſtakes: where moſt conſtantly they gaue theyr bodies to the fire and theyr ſoules to the Lord for teſtimonie of hys truth.

Alice Coberley being in durance, how ſhe was brought by the keepers wyfe to reuoke.

As touching William Coberley, this moreouer is to bee noted, that his wife alſo, called Alyce, beyng apprehended, was in the keepers houſe the ſame tyme detayned while her huſband was in priſon. Where the keepers wife named Agnes Penycote, had ſecretly heated a key fire hoate, and layd it in graſſe on the backſide. So ſpeakyng to Alyce Coberley to fet her the key in all haſt, yͭ ſayd Alyce went with ſpede to bryng the key, and ſo takyng vp the key in haſt dyd piteouſly burne her hand. Whereupon ſhee cryng out at the ſodein burnyng of her hand: Ah thou drabbe, quoth the other thou that canſt not abyde the burnyng of the key, howe wilt thou be able to burne the whole body, and ſo ſhe afterwarde reuoked. And thus much concernyng theſe three Saliſbury Martyrs.

¶ A diſcourſe of the death and Martyrdome of. vi. other Martyrs ſufferyng at London whoſe names here follow.

Aprill. 24. Sixe Martyrs burnt in Smythfield at one ſtake.

ABout the. xxiiij. day of Aprill. Anno Do. 1556. were burned in Smithfield at one fyre, theſe ſixe conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, ſufferyng for the profeſſion of the Goſpell, viz.

Robert Drakes Miniſter.
William Tyms Curate.
Rychard Spurge Shereman.
Thomas Spurge Fuller.
Iohn Cauell Weauer.
George Ambroſe Fuller.

Theſe Martyrs were ſent vp by the Lord Rich, by M. Tyrell, and others.

They were all of Eſſex, and ſo of the dioces of London, and were ſent vp: ſome by the Lorde Rich, and ſome by others at ſundry tymes, vnto Steuen Gardiner B. of Wincheſter, then Lord Chauncellour of England, about the. xxij day of March. An. 1555. Who vpon ſmall examination, ſent them, ſome vnto the kynges Bench, and others vnto the Marſhalſey, where they remayned almoſt all yͤ whole yeare (vntill the death of the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter) & had duryng that tyme nothyng ſayd vnto them. Whereupon, after that Doctor Heath Archbyſhop of Yorke was choſen to yͤ office of Lord Chauncellorſhip, foure of theſe perſecuted brethren, beyng now weery of this theyr long impriſonmēt, made theyr ſupplication vnto the ſayd D. Heath, requiryng his fauour and ayde for their deliueraunce: the copy whereof enſueth.

¶ To the right reuerend father Tho. Archb. of Yorke, Lord Chauncellour of England.

A ſupplication to the Lord Chauncelor.

MAy it pleaſe your honorable good lordſhip, for the loue of god, to tēder the humble ſute of your lordſhips poore Orators, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, whichè haue lyen in great miſery in the Marſhalſey, by the ſpace of. x. monethes

1556. Aprill.

and more, at the commaundement of the late Lord Chauncellour, to their vtter vndoyng, with their wiues and childrē. In conſideration wherof, your Lordſhyps ſayd Oratours do moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good Lordſhyp to ſuffer thē to be brought before your honour, and there, if any man of good conſcience can lay any thyng vnto our charge, we truſt either to declare our innocency agaynſt their accuſations, or if otherwiſe their accuſations can be proued true and we faulty, we are ready (GOD helpyng vs) with our condigne puniſhments to ſatiſfie the law accordyng to your wiſe Iudgement, as we hope full of fatherly mercy towardes vs and all men, accordyng to your Godly office, in the which we pray for your godly ſucces to the good pleaſure of God, Amen.

This Supplication was ſent (as is ſayd) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe 4. vnder followyng.

Names ſubſcribed to the ſupplication.

Richard Spurge.
Thomas Spurge.
George Ambroſe.
Iohn Cauell.

Richard Spurge.

Ric. Spurge examined.

The Parſon of Bockyng accuſer.

VPon the receipt and ſight hereof, it was not long after, but Syr Richard Read Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the Chauncery. 16. day of January, was ſent vnto ye Marſhalſey, to examine ye ſayd foure priſoners: and therfore beginnyng firſt with Richard Spurge vpon certaine demaundes, receiued his aunſweres therunto: the effect wherof was, that he with others were complayned vppon by the Parſon of Bockyng, vnto the Lord Rich, for that they came not vnto their Pariſh Church of Bockyng, where they inhabited: and therupon was by the ſayd Lord Riche, ſent vnto the late Lord Chauncellour, about the xxij day of March laſt paſt, videl. an. 1555.

For not commyng to the Popiſh Church.

And farther he ſayd, that he came not to ye church ſithens the firſt alteratiō of the Engliſh ſeruice into Latin (Chriſtmaſſe day then a tweluemoneth onely except) and that, becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the Maſſe alſo, as not conſonant and agreeyng with Gods holy word.

Moreouer, he required that hee might not be any more examined vpō the matter, vnles it pleaſed the Lord Chancellour that then was, to know his fayth therein, which to him he would willyngly vtter.

Thomas Spurge.

Thomas Spurge examined.

Not commyng to the Church, and why.

Sacrament of the Altar.

THomas Spurge beyng then next examined, made the ſame aunſwere in effect that the other had done: confeſſing that he abſented himſelfe from the Church, becauſe the word of God was not there truely taught, nor the Sacramentes of Chriſt duely miniſtred in ſuch ſorte as was preſcribed by the ſame word. And beyng farther examined of his belief concernyng the Sacrament of the aultar, he ſayd: that if any could accuſe him thereof, hee would then make aunſwere as God had geuen him knowledge therein.

George Ambroſe.

George Ambroſe examined.

THe lyke aunſwere made George Ambroſe, addyng moreouer, that after he had read the late Byſhop of Wincheſters booke, intituled *De vera Obedientia*, with Boners Preface thereunto annexed, inueying (both) agaynſt the authoritie of ye Byſhop of Rome, he did much leſſe ſet by their doynges then before.

Iohn Cauell.

John Cauel examined.

The cauſe why John Cauell came not to church. The Parſon of Bocking falſe and contrary to his owne doctrine.

IOhn Cauell agreeyng in other matters with them, aunſwered that the cauſe why hee did forbeare the commyng to the Churche, was, that the Parſon there had preached two contrary doctrines. For firſt in a Sermon that hee made at the Queenes firſt entry to the crowne, he did exhort the people to beleue the Goſpell: for it was the truth, and if they dyd not beleue it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecōd Sermon, he preached that the Teſtamēt was falſe in fourty places, whiche contrarietie in him was a cauſe amongeſt other, of his abſentyng from the Church.

Robert Drakes.

Robert Drakes Parſon of Thundersley examined.

Drakes placed in the benefice of Thundersley by the Lord Rich.

ABout the fourth day of Marche next after, Robert Drakes alſo was examined, who was Parſon of Thundersley in Eſſex, and had there remayned the ſpace of three yeares. He was firſt made Deacon by Doctour Taylour of Hadley, at the commaundement of Doctour Cranmer, late Archbyſhop of Caunterbury. And within one yeare after (whiche was the thyrd of the reigne of kyng Edward) he was by the ſayd Archbyſhop and Doctour Ridley Byſhop of London, admitted Miniſter of Gods holy word and Sacramentes, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after ſtabliſhed, and was preſented vnto the ſayd benefice of Thundersley by the Lord Rich, at the ſute of Maiſter Cauſton and Maiſter Treheron: and now notwithſtandyng was ſent vppe by the ſayd Lord Riche, with the others before mentioned: and at his commyng to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, was by him demaunded whether he would conforme him ſelfe like a ſubiect to the lawes of this realme then in force. To the which he ſayd, he would abyde all lawes that ſtode with the lawes of GOD: and thereupon was committed to priſon, where he and the reſt aboue named did remaine euer ſithens.

William Tyms.

NOw remaineth likewiſe to declare the examination of William Tyms, Deacō and Curate of Hocley in Eſſex. But before I come to his examination, firſt here is to be opened and ſet forth the order and maner of his trouble, how and by whom he was firſt apprehended in Eſſex, and from thence ſent vppe to London: the ſtory wherof followeth in this maner.

The ſtory of William Tyms Deacon, and Curate of Hocley, with the maner of his takyng.

The firſt occaſion of takyng W. Tyms.

THere was at Hocley in Queene Maries dayes, two Sermons preached in the woodes, the which woodes were appertainyng to Maiſter Tyrrel, and the name of the one wood was called Plumbarow wood, and the other Beches wood, and there was at the ſame Sermons an honeſt man and his wife with him, whoſe name was John Gye, the whiche Gye was Maiſter Tyrrels ſeruaunt, and dyd dwell vnder him, beyng his Herd at a farme of his called Plombarow. Shortly after it was knowen to Maiſter Tyrrell, how that his wodes were polluted with Sermons, the which he did take very euill, and much matter did riſe about it, as an vnlawfull aſſembly: the whiche was layd to John Gyes charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that vnlawfull acte to his Maiſter, beyng then in the commiſſion of the peace, appointed at that tyme to kepe downe the Goſpell, the which he did to the vttermoſt, as it may appeare in many of his actes. Good God geue him repentaūce, if it be thy will.

M. Tirrell offended with Sermons preached in his woodes.

Shortly after it pleaſed Maiſter Tyrell to come to Hocley, to ſift out this matter, and to know who was at theſe preachynges. Well, there were found many faultie: for it is ſuppoſed there were a hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Maiſter Tyrell to begyn firſt with John Gye, & aſked him where that naughty fellowe was that ſerued their Pariſh, one Tyms: for it is told me (ſayd he) that he is the cauſer to bryng theſe naughty fellowes into the countrey. Therfore I charg thee Gye to ſet me this naughty fellow Tyms for thou knoweſt where he is. No ſayd Gye, I do not know. So in no wiſe he could not make him ſet him.

John Gye M. Tirrels ſeruaunt an honeſt man.

Then ſtepped forth an other of M. Tyrrels men, willyng to ſhewe his Maiſter pleaſure, whoſe name was Richard Shereſſe, & ſayd to his Maiſter: Syr I know where he is. Well ſayd Maiſter Tyrrell, go to the Conſtables and charge them to bryng him to me.

Rich. Shereſſe, M. Tirrels man, perſecutor.

So this Shereſſe beyng diligent, made ſure worke and had him brought before his Maiſter with the Conſtables, whoſe names be theſe, Edward Hedge and John James.

Edward Hedge, John James, Conſtables.

So when he came before Maiſter Tyrrell, then Maiſter Tyrrell commaūded all men to depart: and it was wiſely done, for hee was not able to open his mouth agaynſt Tyms without reproch, and there he kept him about three houres. But there were ſome that liſtened at the walles, and heard Maiſter Tyrrell ſay thus to Tyms.

Talke betwene M. Tirrell, and Will. Tyms.

Me thinketh (ſayd he) that whē I ſee the bleſſed Roode, it maketh me thinke of God?

Why Syr, ſayd Tyms, if an Idole that is made with mans handes doth make you remember GOD: how much more ought the creatures of God as man beyng his workemanſhyp, or the graſſe, or the trees that bryngeth forth fruit, make you remember God.

So Maiſter Tyrrell ended his talke with Tyms, it ſhould ſeeme in an heate, for he braſt out and called him traytorly knaue.

Why Syr, ſayd Tyms, in kyng Edwardes dayes you did affirme the truth that I do now.

Affirme, quoth Tyrrell? nay by Gods body, I neuer thought it with my hart.

Well ſayd Tyms, then I pray you M. Tyrrell beare with me, for I haue bene a Traytor but a while, but you haue bene a Traytor vj. yeares.

Tyms ſent vp to London.

After this, Tyms was ſent to Lōdon to the Byſhop, &

Aprill.

Will. Tyms brought and examined before B. Boner and the biſhop of Bath.

from him to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo from him to the Kynges Bench, & then was Maiſter Tyrrels rage ſeaſed wich thẽ that were in the woods at the Sermõs. So M. Tyrrel tooke away Gyes coate, & gaue it to Ioh. Trulford, & ſent hym to S. Toſies to ſee good rule kept there.

When Tymes came before the Byſhop of Lõdon, there was at that tyme the Byſhop of Bathe, & there was William Tymes examined of his fayth before them both, So mightely God wrought with this true harted man, that he had wherewith to aunſwere them both. for the Conſtables did ſay that brought him before the Byſhop, that they neuer heard the lyke. Then the Biſhop (as though he would haue had Tyms to turne from the truth) ſayd to the Cõſtables: I pray you (ſayd he) geue him good counſaile, that he may turne from his errours. My Lord, ſayd the Conſtables, he is at a poynt, for he will not turne.

Then both the Byſhoppes waxed wery of him, for he had troubled them about a ſixe or ſeuen houres. Then the Byſhops began to pitie Tyms caſe, and to flatter hym ſaying: Ah good fellow (ſayd they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh ſpirite, we would thou hadſt learnyng to thy ſpirite. I thanke you my Lordes ſayd Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning. So thus they broke vp, & ſent Tyms to ỹ Byſhop of Wincheſter, and there were Edward Hyght and Iohn Iames the Conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and Tyms was cõmaunded to the Kynges Bench, whereas he was mightely ſtrengthened with the good men that he founde there.

W. Tyms ſent from B. Boner to the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

And thus hetherto ye haue heard, firſt vppon what occaſion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was entreated of M. Tyrrell the Iuſtice, & by him ſent vp to the Ordinary of the Dioces, which was Byſhop Boner: who after certaine talke & debating he had with the ſaid Tyms, at length directed him to the Byſhop of Wincheſter, beyng then Lord Chauncellour, and yet liuyng, and ſo was commaunded by him vpon the ſame to the Kynges Bench.

Talke betwene the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and W. Tyms.

Here by the way is to be vnderſtanded, that Tyms as he was but a Deacon, ſo was he but ſimply or at leaſt not Prieſtly apparelled, for as much as he went not in a gowne, but in a coate: and his hoſen were of two colours, the vpper part white, and the neather ſtockes of ſheepes ruſſet. Whereupon the proude Prelate ſendyng for him to come before him, and ſeyng his ſimple attire, began to mocke him ſaying: Ah ſirha, are you a Deacon? yea my Lord that I am, quoth Tyms. So me thinketh ſayd the Byſhop, ye are decked like a Deacõ. My Lord ſaid Tyms, my veſture doth not ſo much varie from a Deacon, but me thinketh your apparell doth as much varie frõ an Apoſtle.

So then there ſpake one of the Byſhops Gentlemen: My Lord (ſayd he in mockadge) geue him a chaire, a toſte, and drinke, and he will be luſty. But the Byſhop bad, haue him away, and commaunded him to come before him agayne the next day at an houre appointed.

These 5. Martyrs were, R. Drakes, Tho. Spurge, Rich. Spurge, Cauell, Ambroſe. Their examinations before the Byſhop of London. Sacrament of the altar.

But Wincheſter for lacke of layſure, or becauſe of ſickenes growyng vppon him, or for what cauſe elles I know not, either would not, or could not attende vnto him, but returned him agayne to his Ordinary Byſhop from whence he came. So William Tyms beyng put agayne to Byſhop Boner, was placed together and coupled with the other fiue Martyrs aboue named, and with them brought together to publicke examination before the Byſhop, the xxi. day of March, firſt in the Byſhops Palace of London: where the ſayd Byſhop after his accuſtomed maner proceedyng agaynſt them, enquired of them their fayth vppon the Sacrament of the aultar. To whom they aunſwered, that the body of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the aultar really and corporally after the wordes of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, of the which opinion they had bene of long tyme, ſome later, ſome ſooner, euen as God of his mercy did call them vnto the knowledge of his Goſpell.

Then the Byſhops Chapleyns began to reaſon with thẽ, but with no great authorities either of the Scriptures, or of the auncient fathers (ye may be ſure) as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

¶An other examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the reſt, before the Byſhop.

March 23.

THe xxiij. day of the ſame moneth next after, the Byſhop ſent agayne for Tymes and Drakes, and Ex officio did obiect vnto them certaine Articles, the ſumme and maner whereof ye may read before in the pag. 1585. And the xxvj. day of the ſame moneth, he ſent for the other foure, miniſtryng vnto them alſo the ſame generall Articles. Unto the which they all in effect aunſwered in matters touching their fayth, as did the ſayd Bartlet Greene and the reſt. Other appearynges they had, as ỹ Byſhops cõmon maner of proceedyng was, more (as I haue often ſayd) for order and forme of law, then for any zeale of iuſtice.

Drakes and W. Tyms with the reſt agayne examined.

March. 18.

But in concluſiõ, the xxviij. day of this moneth of March, William Tyms and Rob. Drakes with the other 4. aboue named, were brought to the open Conſiſtory in Paules before the ſayd Byſhop of Londõ, to be condemned for hereſie.

B. Boners wordes to W. Tyms.

The Byſhop firſt began in this or lyke ſorte: Tyms, quoth he, I will begyn with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt bene the ryngleader of theſe thy cõpanions, thou haſt taught them hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt indeuored as much as in thee lyeth, to make them lyke vnto thy ſelfe. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of other, I would then haue vſed thee more charitably, and not haue brought thee to this open rebuke. I would accordyng to the rule of Chriſt in the xviij. of Mathew, haue told thee thy fault betwene me & thee: if thou wouldeſt not haue heard me, I would not ſo haue left thee, but I with two or three other, would haue exhorted thee: if that would not haue ſerued, thẽ would I haue told the Church. &c. But for that thy fault is open & manifeſt to the world, & thou thy ſelf remaineſt ſtout in thine errour, this charitable dealyng is not to be extended towardes thee. I haue therfore thought good to procede by an other rule, whereof S. Paule ſpeaketh, 1. Tim. 5. Such as ſinne, rebuke thẽ openly, that other may feare. For this cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receiue iudgement accordyng to thy deſertes. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not procede agaynſt thee as thine Ordinary.

Math. 18.

1. Tym. 5.

The anſwer of W. Tyms to B. Boner.

My Lord (quoth Tyms) will you now geue me leaue to ſpeake? yea quoth the Byſhop. Then ſayd Tyms: My Lord, I marueile that you will begyn with a lye. You call me ỹ ringleader & teacher of this company, but how vntruly you haue ſayd, ſhall ſhortly appeare: for there is none of all theſe my brethren, whiche are brought hether as priſoners, but when they were at libertie and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doynges, as much as they do at this preſent: and for that cauſe they are now priſoners.

So it is euident that they learned not their Religion in priſon. And as for me, I neuer knew them, vntill ſuch tyme as I by your commaundement was priſoner with them: how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all the world may ſee how vntruly you haue ſpokẽ. And as for my fault which you make ſo greuous, whatſoeuer you iudge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other religiõ, thẽ Chriſt preached, the Apoſtles witneſſed, the primatiue church receaued, & now of late the Apoſtolicall and Euãgelicall Preachers of this realme haue faythfully taught: for the whiche you haue cruelly burned them, and now you ſeeke our bloud alſo. Procede on hardly by what rule you will: I force not, I do not refuſe you for my Ordinary.

B. Boners wordes.

Then ſayd the Byſhop, I perceaue thou wilt not bee counted their ringleader. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe to the Catholicke Church as an obedient child: in ſo doyng thou ſhalt be receaued and do well inough, otherwiſe thou ſhalt haue iudgement as an hereticke.

One of the priſoners aunſwereth to B. Boner.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly knowen) ſayd: my Lord, you are no vpright Iudge, for you iudge after your owne luſt. But if you will iudge vs accordyng to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, whiche is the word of truth, we will accorde to your iudgement: for vnto that word we wholy ſubmit our ſelues. But as for your iudgement without that truth, God ſhall condemne. And this priſoner was very earneſtly in hand with the Byſhop, that they might be iudged by the word of God.

With this the Byſhop was offended, callyng him buſie knaue, and commaunded him to hold his toung, or elles he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

W. Tyms agayne aunſwereth.

Then Tyms aunſwered and ſayd: My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the Catholicke Churche, whatſoeuer you iudge of me. But as for your Church, you haue before this day renounced it, and by corporall oth promiſed neuer to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to the which you haue receaued into this Realme the Popes authoritie, and therfore you are falſely periured and forſworne all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you haue both ſpoken and written very earneſtly agaynſt that vſurped power, and now you do burne mẽ that will not acknowledge the Pope to be ſupreme head.

B. Boner charged with periury, and inconſtancy.

Haue I, quoth the Biſhop? where haue I written any thyng agaynſt the Church of Rome?

Boners preface to Wincheſters booke De obedientia.

My Lord, quoth Tyms, the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter wrote a very learned Oration intituled De vera obedientia, which conteyneth worthy matter agaynſt the Romiſh authoritie. Unto the which booke you made a Preface, inueyng largely agaynſt the Byſhop of Rome, reprouyng his tyranny and falſehode, callyng his power falſe and pretenced. The booke is extent, and you can not deny it.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelfe by feare.

Then was the Byſhoppe ſomewhat abaſhed, and lokyng vpõ ſuch as were preſent, ſpake very gẽtly ſaying: Lo, here is a Goodly matter in deede. My Lord of Wincheſter being a great learned man, did write a booke agaynſt the ſu-

premacy

premacie of the Popes holyneſ, and I alſo dyd wryte a Preface before the ſame booke, tendyng to the ſame effecte. And thus dyd we becauſe of the perilous worlde that then was. For then was it made treaſon by the Lawes of this Realme to maintayne the Popes authoritie, and greate daunger it was to be ſuſpected a fauourer of the Sea of Rome, and therefore feare compelled vs to beare with the tyme, for otherwiſe there had bene no way but one. You know when any vttered his conſcience in maintaynyng the Popes authoritie, he ſuffered death for it.

And then turnyng his tale vnto Tyms, he ſayd: But ſince that time, euen ſithence ẏ commyng in of the Queenes Maieſtie, when we might be bold to ſpeake our conſcience, we haue acknowledged our faultes, and my Lorde of Wincheſter hym ſelfe ſhamed not to recant the ſame at Paules Croſſe. And alſo thou thy ſelfe ſeeſt that I ſtande not in it, but wyllyngly haue ſubmitted my ſelfe. Doo thou alſo as we haue done.

Tyms agayne replyeth to the Byſhop.

My Lord, quoth Tyms, that which you haue written againſt the ſupremacie of the Pope, may be wel approued by the ſcriptures. But that which you now do, is agaynſt the word of God, as I can wel proue.

Then an other, I ſuppoſe it was Doct. Cooke, ſayde: Tyms, I pray thee let me talke with thee a litle, for I thinke we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt muche of the Scripture, and yet vnderſtandeſt it not. I wyll tel thee to whom thou mayeſt be compared. Thou art like to one which intendyng to goe on huntyng, ryſeth vp early in the mornyng, taketh his houndes, and forth he goeth vp to the hylls, and downe into the valleys: he paſſeth ouer ẏ fieldes ouer hedge and diche, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets: thus laboureth he all the whole day without findyng any game. At night home he cōmeth wery of his trauaile, not hauyng caught any thyng at al: and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in readyng of the Scriptures, thou takeſt the letter, but the meanyng thou knoweſt not, and thus thy readyng is as vnprofitable vnto thee, as huntyng was vnto the man I ſpake of euen now.

An hunters parable agaynſt W. Tyms wiſely aplyed.

Syr, quoth Tyms, you haue not well applyed your ſimilitude: for I prayſe God, I haue not read the ſcriptures vnprofitably: but God, I thank hym hath reueled vnto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſaluation.

The anſwere of Tyms to the hunters ſimilitude.

Then ſaid the Biſhop: you brag much of knowledge, & yet you know nothyng: you ſpeake much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tel me: How knoweſt thou that thyng to be the worde of God, whiche thou calleſt Scripture?

B. Boners reaſon.

To this anſwered Rob. Drakes, that he dyd know it to be the worde of God, for that it doth ſhewe vnto them their ſaluation in Chriſt, and doth reuoke & cal backe al men from wicked lyfe, vnto a pure and vndefiled conuerſation.

Rob. Drakes anſwereth.

The biſhop replyed, that ẏ heathen writers haue taught precepts of good liuyng, as wel as the ſcripture, & yet their wrytyngs are not eſteemed to be Gods word.

Boner replyeth.

To this anſwered Tyms, ſaying: the olde Teſtament beareth witnes of thoſe things which are writtē in ẏ new, for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the newe Teſtament, but it was foreſhewed in the law and Prophetes.

Tyms anſwereth to Boner.

I wyll denye all, quoth the Biſhop, I wyll denye all: what ſayeſt thou then? Then Robert Drakes alledged a ſentence in Latine out of the Prophet Eſay in the. 59. cha. of his prophecie: Spiritus meus qui eſt in te. &c. My ſpirite whiche is in thee, and my woordes which I haue put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeede, nor out of the mouth of the ſeede of thy ſeede, frō hence forth euen for euer: meanyng therby to proue, that he which had the ſpirit of God, coulde thereby diſcerne and iudge truely which was Gods worde: but before he could explicate his mynd, he was interrupted by the Biſhop, who ſpake vnto Doctor Pendleton, ſaying:

Boner denying the principles of diuinitie.
Eſay. 59.

Maiſter Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomewhat vnto theſe folkes that may doo them ſome good. Then D. Pendleton, as he leaned neare vnto the Biſhop, couered his face with both his handes, to the end he might the more quietly deuiſe what to ſay, but other talk was preſently miniſtred, ſo that for that tyme he ſayd nothing.

B. Boner calleth for more helpe.

D. Pendleton ſtudieth for talke.

And thus muche William Aleſbury wytneſſe herof, being preſent thereat, ſo farre as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſaid (for they made not yet an end a good while after) becauſe he departed then out of the houſe, he doth not knowe, nor dyd not heare.

Then the biſhop after this and ſuch like communicatiō thus paſſed betweene them, proceedyng at length in forme of lawe, cauſed both his articles and anſweares to the ſame, there and then to be openly read: the ſumme of which his confeſſion recorded and leaft by his owne hande wrytyng, tended to this effect, as followeth.

The articles for the which William Tyms of Hokley in Eſſex, was condemned in the Conſiſtory in Paules, the. xxviij. day of March, with his anſweares and confeſſion vpon the ſame.

Firſte I dyd truely confeſſe and beleue, that I was baptiſed in the true Catholike Church of Chriſt: for whē I was baptiſed, there was the Element and the worde of God, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution. And my Godfathers and Godmother dyd promiſe for me, that I ſhoulde forſake the Deuyll and all his workes, and that I ſhoulde keepe Gods Commaundements, and beleue all the articles of the Chriſtian fayth: the which I doo beleue at this day, and with Gods helpe I truſt to doo, while I lyue: for it was not the wickednes of the Miniſter that made the ſacrament of none effect. &c.

Articles anſwered by W. Tyms.

His Baptiſme by his godfathers.

Item, I confeſſed two Sacramentes, and but two in Chriſtes true Churche: that is, the Sacramente of Baptiſme, and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his ſacraments, as it pleaſeth hym.

Onely 2. Sacramentes.

Item, I confeſſed that Chriſte hath a viſible Churche, wherin the word of God is truely preached, and the ſacramentes truely miniſtred.

The true viſible Church.

Item, I confeſſed the Sea of Rome to be as the late biſhop of Wincheſter hath written in his bookes De vera obedientia, to the whiche I ſaide vnto the Biſhop of London, that he had made a godly Preface: & alſo John Bale hath plainly declared in his booke called the Image of both churches, euen ſo much as I beleue therof.

Wincheſters booke De obedientia.

Item, I confeſſed the Maſſe to be blaſphemie to Chriſtes death and paſſion.

The Maſſe blaſphemous.

Item, I confeſſed that in the Sacrament of the aultar Chriſt is not preſent neither ſpiritually nor corporally, but as they vſe it, it is an abominable Idol.

Sacrament of the altar an Idol.

Laſt of al, I confeſſed the biſhop of London to be mine Ordinary.

After this, the Biſhop fallyng to entreatyng and perſwaſions, earneſtly exhorted hym to reuoke his hereſies, (as he termed them) and to reforme hym ſelfe vnto the Churche of Rome, and not to ſticke ſo much to the literall ſenſe of the Scriptures, but to vſe the interpretation of the olde Fathers.

To which Tyms anſweared: I wyll not reforme my ſelfe therunto. And I thanke God of this day: for I truſt he wyl turne your curſings into bleſſinges.

And furthermore aſking this queſtiō, he ſaid: And what haue you to mainteyne the reall preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but only the bare letter?

We haue (quoth the biſhop) the Catholike church.

No, ſaid Tyms, you haue the papiſh Church of Rome for you, for whiche you be periured and forſworne. And the Sea of Rome is the Sea of Antichriſte: and therfore to that Churche I wyl not conforme my ſelfe, nor once conſent vnto it.

The Popes Church.
The Sea of Rome, the Sea of Antichriſt.

Then the biſhop ſeeing his conſtant boldnes to be vnmoueable, proceedyng to his condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitiue vpon hym, and gaue hym ouer vnto the ſecular power.

Sentence red agaynſt W. Tyms.

¶ The condemnation of Robert Drakes.

After, callyng for Robert Drakes, he vſed towardes hym the like manner of exhortation that he dyd before. To whom Drakes ſaid: As for your church of Rome, I vtterly deſie and deny it, with all the workes thereof, euen as I deny the deuyl and al his workes.

The anſwere of Rob. Drakes.

The biſhop thē vſing his accuſtomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at laſt gaue hym the like bleſſing that Tyms had, and ſo charged the Sheriffe with hym.

Sentence geuen agaynſt Drakes.

The condemnation of Thomas Spurge, and of the other three martyrs.

Thomas Spurge being next demaunded if he woulde returne to the Catholike Church, ſaid as foloweth: As for your church of Rome, I doo vtterly deny it: but to the true Catholike church I am content to returne, and continue in the ſame, whereof I beleue the Churche of Rome to be no part or member. Then in fine, callyng the reſt in their courſes, and vppon the like demaundes receyuyng the like anſweres, the ſaid biſhop gaue vnto eche of them their ſeuerall iudgements, and ſo riddyng his bloudy handes, cōmitted thē vnto the cuſtodie of the Sheriffes of London, who ſent thē vnto Newgate, whither they went all moſte ioyfully, abydyng there the Lordes good tyme, wherein they ſhould ſeale this their fayth with the ſheddyng of their bloud: whiche

The anſwere of Tho. Spurge.

Sentence geuen agaynſt Tho. Spurge, Rich. Spurge, Cauell, Ambroſe.

they moſte ſtoutly and wyllyngly performed, the .xiiii. day of April, as before is mentioned.

Letters of William Tyms.

To his faythful ſiſter in the Lord, pariſhner in the towne of Hockley, named Agnes Glaſcocke.

A letter of Will. Tyms to Agnes Glaſcocke.

THe grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father thorow Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, with the ſweet comfort of his holy and mightie ſpirite, to the performaunce of his wil, to your euerlaſting comfort be with you my deare ſiſter Glaſcock, both now and euermore, Amen.

My moſt deare and entirely beloued ſiſter, yea mother I may right well cal you for the motherly care which you haue alwayes had for me, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you, giuing God moſt harty thankes for you, that he hath geuen you ſo louing a hart to Chriſtes poore Goſpel, and his poore afflicted flocke for the ſame: and as you haue ful godly begone, ſo I beſech God to geue you power, to go forward in the ſame, and neuer more to looke backe fearing neither fyre, neyther ſword: and then I warrant you, you haue not farre to run.

And now my deare hart, remember well what I haue taught you when I was preſent with you, and alſo writen being abſent, and no doubt we ſhal ſhortly meete agayne with a moſt ioyful meeting. I go vpon Friday next to the biſhop of Londons Colehouſe, whiche is the .xx. daye of March, where I thinke it wil be hard for any of my frends to ſpeake with me. Howbeit I truſt I ſhal not long tary there, but ſhortly after be caried vp after my deare brethren and ſiſterne which are gone before me into heauē in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leaue of you tyl we meete in heauen: and hye you after. I haue tarryed a greate whyle for you: and ſeeyng you be ſo long a makyng ready, I wyll tarrye no longer for you. You ſhall finde me meeryly ſingyng, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lorde God of Sabboth, at my iourneys ende. Therefore nowe my deare hart, make good haſt and loyter not by the way, leaſt night take you, and ſo ye be ſhut out of the gate with the fooliſhe virgines. And nowe my ſiſter, in witnes that I haue taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my bloud, for a teſtimoniall vnto you, that I wyll ſeale the ſimple doctrine whiche I haue taught you, with the reſt. And thus fare you wel: and God defend you from Antichriſt and al his Miniſters the falſe prieſtes. Amen.

These wordes folowing were written with his own bloud.

Continue in prayer.
Aſke in fayth.
And obteyne your deſire.

By me William Tyms in the Kynges Bench for the Goſpell of Chriſt.

An other letter of the ſaid W. Tyms, wherin he doth comfort his ſiſter Glaſcocke, being in great ſorowe and repentance, for going to the Maſſe.

An other letter of Will. Tyms to Miſtres Glaſcocke.

GOd be merciful vnto you, pardon and forgeue all your ſinnes, and ſend you fayth to beleeue the ſame, that you may be partaker of his heauenly kingdome, Amen.

My deare ſiſter, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you: and as I haue lamented your fallyng from God, by beyng partaker with that Idolatrous Prieſt, ſo haue I ſince I heard of your earneſt repentaunce, very much reioyced, and alſo prayſed almightye God for his mercy ſhewed vnto you, in that he hath not left you to your ſelfe, but ſince your denyall he hath ſhewed his mercy on you by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and ſo cauſed you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weepe for your ſinnes: where as if God had left you to your ſelfe, you had run forward from one euyll vnto an other, till at the length your harte ſhould eyther haue bene hardened, or els you ſhould haue diſpayred of the mercy of God. And ſeyng that God hath bene ſo mercyfull vnto you as he hath bene, bee you not vnthankeful vnto him for the ſame. For I certifie you that your ſorowfull harte that you haue had, doth declare vnto me that God hath pardoned and forgeuen all your ſinnes for the bloudſheding of that immaculate lambe Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauior.

Therfore, as Peter, after the tyme that Chriſt had forgiuen him his ſinne, did boldly confeſſe Chriſt before al his enemies: euen ſo my deare hart in the Lord, ſeyng that God hath ſo mercyfully pardoned and forgeuen your ſinnes, now cleaue vnto hym and be at defiance with his enimies the Papiſtes: and as they do beare witneſſe with their father the deuill by goyng to the Church and ſheding of the innocent bloud of all thoſe that wil not go with them, euen ſo do you beare witnes with Chriſt, by not comming there. For all thoſe that do go thither ſhalbe partakers of their brethems bloud that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt, except they repent and amend: which grace that they may ſo doe, I beſech the eternall God for his Chriſtes ſake if it be his good wil, to giue them in his good time. And the ſame good God that hath bene ſo mercyfull vnto you to cal you to repentaunce, him I beſech to keepe you in his feare and loue, that you may haue alwayes affiaunce in him and euermore ſeeke his honour and glory to your euerlaſting comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Thus fare you wel from the kinges bench this xxviii, of Auguſt.

By me William Tyms.

An other letter of W. Tims to certaine godly women of his pariſh, folowers of the Goſpel.

An other letter of Will. Tyms to certayne godly women of his Pariſh.

GRace, mercy and peace from God the father, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you both now and euermore, Amen.

Deare Siſteres, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you, thanking you for the great kyndneſſe ſhewed vnto me in this time of my impriſonment, and not only vnto me, but alſo vnto my poore wyfe and children: and alſo for the great kindneſſe that you ſhew vnto al the liuyng Saints that be diſperſed abroade, and are fayne to hide their heads for feare of this cruel perſecution.

Deare ſiſters, when I do remember your conſtancie in Chriſt, I cal to remembrance the conſtancie of diuers godly women, as Suſanna, Iudith, Heſter, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions ſaued both her husbandes life and all her houſhoulde, when Dauid had thought to haue ſlaine hym for his churliſh anſweare that he ſent hym. Alſo I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lordes Spyes, how God preſerued her and her whole houſhold for her faithfulnes that ſhee bare to Gods people. So I do beleue, that when the Lord ſhall ſend his angel to deſtroy theſe Idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and ſhal finde the bloud of the Lambe ſprinkled on the doore poſtes of your harts, he wyl go by and not hurt you, but ſpare your whole houſholdes for your ſakes. Alſo I do remember Mary Magdalen, how faithfull ſhee was: for ſhee was the firſt that preached the reſurrection of Chriſte. Remember the bleſſed Martyr Anne Askew in our time, and folow her example of conſtancie. And for the loue of God take heede that in no caſe you doo not conſent to Idolatrie, but ſtande faſt to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her ſeuen ſonnes put to death before her face, and ſhee alwayes comforting them, yea and laſt of all ſuffered death her ſelfe for the teſtimonie of her God, which is the liuyng God. Thus I beſeech God to ſend you grace and ſtrength to ſtande faſt to the Lorde, as ſhee dyd, and then you ſhall be ſure of the ſame kingdome that ſhee is ſure of: to the which kingdome I pray God bring both you and me. Amen.

By me William Tyms prisoner
in the Kinges Benche.

An other Letter of william Tyms to his frend in Hockley.

An other letter of Will. Tyms to his frendes in Hockley.

THe grace of God the Father, through the merites of his deare ſonne Ieſus our Lord and onely Saueour, with the continual ayde of his holy and mighty ſpirit, to the performance of his wyll, to our euerlaſting comfort, be with you my deare brethren, both now and euermore. Amen.

My dearely beloued, I beſeeche God to rewarde the great goodnes that you haue ſhewed vnto me, ſeuen folde into your boſomes: and as you haue alwayes had a moſte godly loue vnto his worde, euen ſo I beſeeche hym to geue you grace to loue your own ſoules, and then I truſt that you wyll flee from all thoſe thinges that ſhoulde diſpleaſe our good and mercyful God, and hate and abhorre al the companye of thoſe that woulde haue you to worſhip God any otherwiſe then is conteyned in his holy woorde. And beware of thoſe maiſters of Idolatrie, that is, theſe papiſticall prieſtes. My deare brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember wel what I haue ſaid vnto you and alſo written, the which I am now ready to ſeale with my bloud. I praiſe God that euer I liue to ſee the day, and bleſſed be my good and mercyfull God, that euer he gaue me a body to gloryfie his name. And deare hartes, I do nowe write vnto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembraunce, that I haue not forgotten you, to the end, that I would not haue you forget me, but to remember well what I haue ſimply by woord of mouth and writyng taught you. The whiche although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truely, as your own conſcience beareth me record: and therfore in any caſe take good heede that you do not that thing whiche your owne conſcience doth condemne. Therefore come out of Sodome and goe to heauenward with the ſeruauntes and martyrs of God, leaſt you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is cōmyng vpon this wicked nation, from the which the Lord our God defende you, and ſende vs a ioyfull meeting in the kingdome of heauen: vnto the which God bring you al, Amē. Thus now I take my leaue of you for euer in this world, except I be burned amongeſt you, which thing is vncertaine vnto me, as yet.

By me your pooreſt and moſt vnworthy brother in Chriſte, W. Tyms, in Newgate, the. 12. day of April, condemned to dye for Chriſtes veritie.

¶ An other Letter of William Tyms, geuyng thankes to his pariſhners, for their charitie ſhewed to his wyfe being brought to bed of a chylde in his captiuitie.

An other letter of W. Tyms to the faythfull brethren in his pariſh.

The euerlaſtyng peace of our deare Lord and only Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweete comfort of his holy & mighty ſpirite, to the encreaſe of your faith, to the perfourmance of his wyl, and to your eternal comfort in the euerlaſtyng kyngdome of heauen, be with you, my deare brethren and ſiſterne both now and euer. Amen.

My moſt deare brethren & ſiſterne in our Lord and ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, I haue me moſt hartily cōmended vnto you, with harty thankes for all the great liberalitie that you haue ſhewed vnto me, & ſpecially now in thys tyme of my neceſſitie, whē that God hath ſent my poore wife a child in my captiuitie: which is no litle care to me, ſo to prouide, that I might keepe both the chyld & my wife from the Antichriſtian church: the which thing, I thanke my good god, thorow his moſt gracious prouidēce, I haue yet don, though it be (as you know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God: and it greeueth me that I haue bene ſo chargeable to them as I haue ben, & ſpecially you my deare brethren, I being ſo vnworthy a member as I haue bene, & alſo of ſo ſmal acquaintãce: but ſuch is the mercyful goodnes of God, ſo to moue your hartes with charitie towards me. And as he hath moued your harts ſo to do, euē ſo I beſeech God to geue you power to forſake & refuſe all thynges the which be diſpleaſant in his ſight, & to doo al thinges which be requiſite to a Chriſtian: & ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame as you haue godly begon, neither fearing fire nor ſword. And my moſt deare harts, remember wel the ſimple plaine doctrine the which I haue taught you & alſo writtē vnto you, which was the truth, & for a teſtimonie of yͤ ſame, I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly heare, or els ſee that I wyll ſeale the ſame with my bloud. And in the meane time I deſire you al to remember me in your prayers, as I know you doo, & as, with Gods helpe, I wyl doo for you, that God for his deare ſonne Chriſtes ſake, wyl ſo finiſh the dayes of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with Abraham, Iſaac & Jacob, in the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen: to the which I beſeeche the eternall God for his Chriſtes ſake to bring both you and al yours. Amen.

By me William Tyms.

¶ An other Letter of William Tyms to his ſiſter Colfoxe and Agnes Glaſcocke.

A letter of W. Tyms to his ſiſters in the Lord Colfoxe, and Glaſcocke.

Grace & peace from God the father of all mercye, through the merites of our deare ſauiour Jeſus Chriſte be perceyued & ſealt in the harts of you my dearly beloued ſiſters in the Lorde, by the mighty working of the holy Ghoſte the comforter, both now and euermore. Amen.

My moſt deare and entirely beloued ſiſters in the Lord after my moſt harty commendations, according to my moſt bounden duetie, I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt bound to do: that is, I geue you warnyng of your enimies, which be yͤ Papiſtes, and take good heede to them, for they ſerue a craftye maiſter, yea, and as Saint Peter ſaith, he ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaryng Lion ſeeking whom he may deuoure. For your old familiar frendes or worldly companions, when they ſee that you wyll not runne to the Idols Temple with them, it wyll ſeeme a ſtraunge thyng vnto them, that ye runne not to the ſame exceſſe of ryot, as ſaint Peter ſaith, and therfore they wyll ſpeake euyl of you, raple on you, and perſecute you.

1. Peter 5.

1. Peter 4.

But my deare ſiſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to trye you, and let it not ſeeme a ſtraunge thing vnto you. But when they doo ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, euen becauſe you wyl not forſake God as they doo. For the hatred they beare you, is for the word of God, and then it is Gods cauſe, and I tell you he wyll reuenge it. And therefore if ye be rayled on and troubled for his ſake, thinke your ſelues moſt happy. For if you ſuffer with the Patriarches, Prophetes, and Apoſtles, then ſhall you be ſure to be partakers of the ſame ioy that they are in. Yea you haue heard by the word of God how cruelly the tyrants alwayes haue perſecuted yͤ true mēbers of Chriſt, as he hym ſelfe hath promiſed, that they ſhall doo vnto yͤ end of the worlde.

Rom. 12.

By the waye I wyll bring to your remembraunce the holy martyr S. Steuen, who for fauouryng, mainteynyng, and defending the ſame doctrine that we nowe ſuffer for, was called a blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at Jeruſalem. And Chriſtes Apoſtles were diuerſly afflicted the world ouer, for the ſame by this viperous generation. Antipas yͤ faithful witnes of Chriſt was ſlaine at Pergamus. Jaſon for receiuyng of Paul and Silas with other diſciples & teachers of the Goſpel, was brought before the counſaile at Theſſalonica, and accuſed for a ſeditious traytor againſt Cæſar. No maruelle therfore though at this day we be vexed on the ſame ſort, mainteinyng the ſame cauſe, and fauouring the teachers therof. Is there any other rewarde folowing the true ſeruauntes of God now, then hath bene afore tymes? No ſurely, for ſo hath Chriſte promiſed. And if they haue perſecuted hym, needes muſt they perſecute his members, if they haue called the maiſter of the houſe Belſebub, ſo wyl they doo his houſhold: Ye ſhal be hated of all men (ſaith Chriſt) for my names ſake.

Stephen for the ſame goſpell put to death.

Antipas.
Jaſon.
Act. 7.
Apoc. 2.
Math. 2. 3.
1. Theſſ. 2.
Rom. 16.
Act. 17.
John. 16.
Act. 9.
Phil. 2.
Luke. 21.
John. 1. 3.
1 Cor. 6.
Math. 10.

It is no new thing, my deare harts, to ſee the true members of Chriſt handled as in our dayes they be, as it is not vnknowen to you how they be cruelly entreated, yͤ blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For heretikes muſt they be taken, which folowe not their traditions. And then they may as wel cal Chriſt an heritike, for he neuer allowed their dirty ceremonies. He neuer wēt a proceſſion with a Cope, Croſſe, or Candleſticke. He neuer cenſed Image, nor ſang Latine ſeruice. He neuer ſate in confeſſion. He neuer preached of Purgatory, nor of the Popes pardons. He neuer honored ſaints, nor prayed for the dead. He neuer ſaid Maſſe, Mattins, nor euenſong. He neuer cōmaunded to faſt Fryday nor Vigil, Lent, nor Aduent. He neuer halowed church nor chalice, aſhes, nor Palmes, candles, nor bels. He neuer made holy water nor holy bread: with ſuch like. But ſuche dumbe ceremonies, not hauyng the expreſſe cōmaundement of God, he calleth the leauen of the Phariſeis and damnable hypocriſie: admoniſhing his diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth al thoſe that addeth to his word ſuch beggerly ſhadowes, wipyng their names cleane out of the booke of lyfe. S. Paul ſaith, they haue no portion with Chriſte, whiche wrap them ſelues againe with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Chriſt may as wel be called an heretiche as theſe men.

Math. 16.
Luke 12.
Deut. 4.
Apoc. 22.
Pſal. 68.
Gala. 4.

Therfore my deare hartes, ſeeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word deliuered vs from al ſuch darke, blynde, dumbe, beggerly traditions of men, ſtand faſt in the libertie wherewith Chriſte hath made you free, and wrap not your ſelues againe in the yoke of bondage. But let vs alwayes be ready, looking for the commyng of our lord & Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, which, as S. Peter ſaith, wyl come as a thiefe in the night. And as our Captaine Chriſt ſaith: If the good man of the houſe knewe what houre the thiefe would come, he would ſurely watch.

Gala. 5.

2. Pet. 3.
Math. 24.

Therfore my deare harts, be of good comfort, although the world rage neuer ſo ſore againſt you. And for your cōfort marke well the great mercy of God, who according to his promiſe, for the weakenes of our nature hath ſo aſſwaged the heate of the fire, that our deare brethren whiche are gon before vs, to yͤ ſight of al men, haue found it rather to be ioy then payne. And thinke you ſurely that God wyl be as mercyful vnto you, as he hath ben vnto them: and ſay with S. Paul: Who ſhal ſeparate vs from the loue of God? ſhal tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either hunger, either nakednes, either peril, either ſword? as it is written for thy ſake are we kylled al the day long. &c.

Rom. 8.

Therfore my deare ſiſters, if to ſaue your liues, any diſſembling Goſpellers woulde haue you to goe to the Idoles temple with them, ſay vnto them: No, for my maſter Chriſt ſaith: He that would ſaue his life, ſhall looſe it. And in an other place to comfort vs he ſaith: There ſhal not one heare fal from your head, without it be your heauēly fathers wil. And therefore ſay you that you wyl not be of that ſort, that be neither hot nor cold, leaſt God ſhould ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them this anſweare, ſaying: S. Paul ſaith: Beare no ſtraunge yoke with the vnbeleuers. For what felowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes, what cōpany hath light with darkenes, what concord hath Chriſte with Bellial, either what part hath he that beleueth, with an Infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with Images? And ye are yͤ tēple of God, as God ſaith: I wil dwel among thē, walke among thē & wyll be their God, & they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out frō among thē, & ſeparate

Math 10.

2. Cor. 6.

your ſelues (ſaith the Lord) and touch no vncleane thyng: ſo wyl I receyue you, and wyll be a father vnto you, and ye ſhal be my ſonnes and daughters, ſaith the Lord.

Thus mine own bowels in the lord, as I began, ſo make I an ende, bidding you beware of your enimies, and take vp your croſſe & folowe your captaine Chriſt in at the narowe gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhal be ſure to raigne & reioyce with hym in his euerlaſting kingdome, which he him ſelf hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious bloud: to whom with the father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour both now and for euer. Amen.

By me William Tyms.

An other letter of W. Tyms, with an exhortation to al Gods faithful ſeruauntes to eſchewe the ſocietie of Idolaters, and Gods enimies.

An other letter of Will. Tyms to Gods faythfull ſeruauntes.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

B. Boner went away from W. Tyms, belyke not able to make his part good.

Heb. 9.

God geueth mouth and vtteraunce to his Saintes.

I thanke my God with al remembraunce of you alwayes in my prayers for you, & pray with gladnes, becauſe of the felowſhip which ye haue in the goſpel, frō the firſt day that I knew you, vntil this day: & I am ſurely certified of this, that he which hath begon a good worke in you, ſhal go forth with it, vntyl the day of Ieſus Chriſte, as it becōmeth me to iudge of you: whom I haue in my hart, & as cōpanions of grace with me, euen in my bonds. And thus I pray that your loue may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I moſte hartily deſire of God, that as you haue a willyng mynd to cōfort my vile earthly body in this time of perſecution, ſo he wyl ſtrengthen you with his holy ſpirite, that my impriſonmēt do not diſcōfort, but rather ſtrengthē & comfort you, to ſee the goodnes of God ſhewed vnto me, in that being a man without learnyng, & brought before three ſuch biſhops cōcernyng worldly wiſdome, he gaue me both mouth & wiſdome: in ſo much that the Biſhop of London went away in a great haſt from me, & after that, he ſent his man with a Bible, turnyng to the. ix. cha. to the Heb. & the B. of Bath lookyng on it, ſaid: What meaneth my lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Thē I looked on it, & ſaid: my lord ſeeth that I was weake, & therfore he hath holpen me: for here he hath condēned the ſacrifice of your maſſe: for you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your maſſe, both for the quicke & the dead: & here ſ. Paul ſaith: Without bloud ſhedding there is no forgeuenes of ſinnes: therefore that is here condemned. He anſweared, yea, ſaith he ſo? So ſay al ſuche heretikes: and ſo forth with many like argumentes: which my neighbours that heard them, can declare: therfore I leaue thē. This haue I written, that you ſhould not be afeard, but cal vpon God, for he hath cōmaunded vs to aſke, & we ſhal haue: Seeke, & you ſhal find, knocke, & it ſhalbe opened vnto you. Alſo he hath cōmaunded vs to cal on hym in the day of trouble, & he hath promiſed to heare vs. Therfore if we haue not both mouth & wiſdome at his hand, the fault is in vs, ỹ either we wyl not repēt vs of our wickednes, & amēd our lyues, or els we be vnfaithful, & beleue not the promiſes of God: & ſo we our ſelues are the cauſe that this wiſedome is lacking in vs. Therfore let vs repent & amend our lyues, & God is mercyful. And in any caſe, as I haue alwaies ſaid vnto you, ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now: beware of idolatrie, & of your own good intents: if not, mark what hath folowed vpō thē ỹ haue left Gods cōmaundements, & don their own good intents. Remēber whē the children of Iſrael had made them a goldē calfe, dyd not God ſay, they had mard all, & would haue deſtroyed thē, had not Moyſes earneſtly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that proueth the wrath of God to come vpon the people for Idolatrie: therfore as we wyl auoyd the wrath of God, let vs keepe vs vnſtayned from it. You haue examples out of the old Teſtament, how loth the godly Fathers were to be partakers with the wicked. And yet to ſee how litle we regard it, it would make any chriſten mans hart to weepe. God ſend vs more grace. Firſt looke in the. 11. & 12. of Geneſis. Abraham, becauſe he would not be partaker of their idolatrie, fled frō the people of Caldea, being his natiue coūtrey. Alſo in the. 19. of Geneſis, Lot at the cōmaundement of the angels departed frō Sodome, leſt he tarying with the Sodomites, ſhould haue ben conſumed with them. In the. 21. of Geneſis, Sara would not ſuffer Iſmael which was geuen to mocking, to keepe cōpany with her ſonne Iſaac, leaſt he alſo ſhould become a mocker. Looke in Num. the. xvj. Moyſes at Gods appoyntmēt cōmaunded the people to depart frō the dwelling places of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, leſt they alſo ſhould be al wrapped in their ſinnes & to periſh among them. So do I, euen as Moyſes cōmaunded thē that they ſhoulde not keepe cōpany with thoſe wicked people, leſt the vengeance of God ſhould light on them, ſo do I geue you warning that you ſhould not keepe companye with the Idolaters in their idolatrous temples, leaſt the wrath of God come vpon you to deſtroy you.

Warning to come away from the wicked.

2. Cor. 6.

Looke what ſ. Paul ſaith in his ſecond Epiſtle & the. 6. chap. to the Corinth. Set your ſelues (ſaith he) therfore at large, and beare no ſtraunge yoke with the vnbeleuers, for what felowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes? what company hath light with darknes? what cōcord hath Chriſte with Beliall? either what part hath he that beleueth, with an Infidel? How agreeth the tēple of god with Images? And ye are the temple of God, as ſaith God: I wil dwel among them, & walke among them, and wyl be their God, and they ſhal be my people. Wherfore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelues (ſaith the Lord) and touch no vncleane thing.

Sirach. 13.

What it is to be aſſociate in ill company.

A vyle ſeruaunt of B. Boners.

Actes. 2.

Good brethren, marke what commeth of keeping companye with the wicked. Syrach ſaith: He that toucheth pitch, ſhal be defiled withal: and he that keepeth company with the proude, ſhal clothe him ſelfe with pride. Euen ſo he that is familiar with Idolaters, can not be vnſtayned from Idolatrie, except he do it to wyn them to Chriſte, as there be but a few that do: yea it may not be where Idolatrie is openly cōmitted, as for an enſample: Peter, ſo lōg as he continued with Chriſt & Chriſtes diſciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, cōfeſſed openly Chriſt to be the ſonne of the liuyng God, and promiſed that he woulde not onely goe to priſon, but alſo to very death with hym: but when he came once into the Court into the Biſhops houſe, he ſtrayt way was ſtriken with ſuche a feare, that a poore mayden & ſimple Ruffin (ſuch a one as my L. of London hath, ỹ ſaid: By Gods bloud, if I meete w any of theſe vile heretikes, I wyll thruſt a narow in hym:) when Peter (I ſay) was amongſt them, he denyed his maiſter, & ſwore that he neuer knew him, whō he, before he cam there, boldly confeſſed before al men: and againe, after that he had repented hym of his wicked dede, he boldly preached to the beleeuyng Iewes, commaunding them among other his godly exhortations, to ſaue them ſelues from that vntoward generation. How many of our Prieſtes before this ſtorme of perſecution when the Goſpel was truely preached, were bold, and could ſay, they would dye rather then denye their Maſter? but whē they come once into the biſhops houſes, they preach no more Chriſt, but vtterly deny hym: therfore I pray God keepe them from thence, or els ſende thē more grace and ſtrength. It is nedeful to pray: therfore watche in prayer.

Rom. 15.

Rom. 16.

Math. 24.

B. Boner not able to aunſwere to this place of Dauid.

Paul, al the while he was among the Biſhops, was a cruel perſecuter, but after he was called of God frō the Biſhops, he became a true preacher: therfore god keepe al chriſtien men out of the handes of our biſhops. S. Paul in the xv. to the Rom. ſaith: I dare not ſpeake any of thoſe thinges ỹ Chriſt hath not wrought by. He ſaith alſo: I beſeech you brethrē, marke thē that make diuiſion, & geue occaſiōs of euyll, contrary to the doctrine that ye haue learned, and them auoyd, for they that are ſuch, ſerue not the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, but their own bellyes, and with ſweete & flatteryng words deceiue the harts of the ſimple. Our maſter Chriſt hym ſelfe hath geuen vs warning which they be: for he hath ſet the playne marke on them, in the. 24. of Math. If they ſay, here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, beleue them not, ſaith Chriſt. If they ſay, he is in the deſert, go not forth. If they ſay, he is in the ſecrete place, beleue them not. And I pray you, where can he be more ſecret, thē in ſo ſmall a peece of bread? for my Lorde of London, like a lyer, ſayde to me, that after the wordes be ſpoken, there remayneth neyther bread nor wyne. Then I aſked hym what he ſayd to Dauid, where he ſaith: Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption? how ſay you to that? Wyll not your ſacrament of the Aultar putrifie or corrupte? He aunſweared, yes. I aſked hym, what it was that dyd corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wyne. He anſweared, and ſayd, the accidences. I ſayd vnto hym, it was a mad accidence without ſubſtance: for you ſay, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothyng to* corrupt: with many ſuche like argumentes.

* How can corruption be referred to accidences when by all Philoſophy generation and corruption belong onely to the predicament of ſubſtance.

Therfore beware of them, for they goe about to deceiue you with ſuche argumentes. Say not but ye be warned, & a greate deale the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceyue you, becauſe you haue had ſo muche warnyng. Repent you betymes of your ſinfull lyues, and amende, & then no doubt but God wyll eyther turne their hartes, or els take them away, or els he will geue vs that, that he promiſed to his Diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame reward that they had. And if we diſdayne the one, let vs not looke for the other. For he that wyll be his fathers heyre, muſt be contented to receiue his fathers correction. For S. Paul ſaith in the. xij. to the Romanes: If we be not vnder correction, whereof al are partakers, then are we baſtardes, and not ſonnes.

And you know what belongeth to a baſtard: he ſhall not be his fathers heyre. And if we remember our ſelues well how negligent we haue bene to keepe our fathers cōmaundemēt, we ſhal find our ſelues worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuſe his correction, he wil refuſe vs to be his ſonnes. I pray you looke what he promiſed to his diſciples, & I pray you alſo looke how willingly they receyued it. And ſo muſt we doo, if we wyll be partakers with thē. Firſt let vs ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his diſciples. Looke in the. x. of ſ. Mat. and there ſhal you ſee theſe wordes: Behold I ſend you forth as ſheepe among wolues. Be wiſe thefore as ſerpents, and innocent as doues. Beware of men, for they ſhal deliuer you vp to the Counſels, and ſhal ſcourge you in their Synagoges: ye ſhall be brought before the head rulers & kinges for my names ſake. But when they put you vp, take ye no thought: how or what ye ſhal ſpeake: for it ſhal be geuen you in the ſame houre what ye ſhal ſpeake. For it is not you that ſpeake, but the ſpirit of my father which ſpeaketh in you. &c. Reade the whole chapt. for it is very cōfortable to a chriſten man: & marke it wel, & you ſhal find what we ought to doo in the tyme of perſecution. Alſo looke in the. 2. Epiſtle of ſ. Paul to the Corinth. and the. 4. chap. he ſaith: For we whiche liue are alwayes deliuered vnto death for Ieſus ſake, that the life alſo of Ieſus might appeare in our mortall fleſh. Thus you heare that S. Paul doth boaſt of perſecution: euen ſo ſhould we, for it is the way to bring vs to reſt.

Math. 10.

2. Cor. 4.

Actes 21.

Therfore let vs ſtriue to enter in at the narow gate, and let vs remember the ſaying of S. Paul in the. 21. chapt. of the actes of the Apoſtles, when he was going to Ieruſalē. When he was in the houſe of Philip the Euangeliſt, there came in a Prophete, and tooke of his gyrdle, and bounde his handes and his feete, ſaying: Thus ſhal they doo with the man that oweth this gyrdle, when he commeth to Ieruſalem. When the Diſciples heard that, they would haue perſwaded hym that he ſhould not goe thyther. Here you ſhall ſee what anſwere this Paſtor made them: he was a faithful ſheepheard: What doo ye weeping and breaking of my hart? I am not ready to be bounde onely, but alſo to dye at Hieruſalem, for the name of the Lord Ieſus.

A note for them which ſhrinke away hauing cure.

Yet I thinke there be ſome that wyll ſay, that I needed not to haue ben takē, if I would haue kept me out of ỹ way. But I ſay vnto you, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our ſheepheards as be gon, maketh ſo many of the flocke to ſcatter: which wyl be required at their hands, of the maſter of the ſheepe. What ſhal he ſay to them at the day of accompt, when they ſhal come to receiue their wages? He ſhal ſay to them: Depart frō me ye wicked hyrelings, for when ye ſaw the wolfe come, ye ran away, & leaft my ſheepe in the wylderneſ. If you had ben good ſheepheards, ye would rather haue loſt your lyues, then haue loſt one ſheepe cōmitted to your charge through your fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the ſheepe in, when their ſheepheard runneth away from them? I neede not to tell you, you knowe the daunger that foloweth ſo wel.

Rom. 8.

Therfore let vs pray to God to ſend vs faithful ſheepeheards, & alſo obediēt ſheepe, that wyl not heare a ſtrangers voyce. I would al men would marke wel the ſaying of S. Paul in the. 8. to the Rom. where he ſaith in theſe wordes: Who ſhal ſeparate vs from the loue of God? Shal tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either nakednes, either peryll, either ſword? As it is written: For thy ſake are we killed al day long, & are counted as ſheepe appoynted to be ſlaine: neuertheles we ouercome ſtrongly through his helpe that loued vs. Yea, I am ſure that neither death, neither lyfe, neither angels, neither rule, neither power, neither thyngs preſent, neither thinges to come, neither heigth, neither depth, neither any other creature ſhal be able to ſeparate vs from the loue of God: and ſo forth. Alſo he ſaith in an other place: All that wyll liue godly in Chriſte Ieſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. Thus I proue it to be our heauenly fathers rod: therfore let vs thankfully receyue it like obedient chyldren, and then our father wyl loue vs.

2. Tim. 3.

1. Peter 4.

Yet heare what S. Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle and the. iiij. chap.: Dearly beloued (ſaith he) be not troubled in this heate whiche is now come among you to trye you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened vnto you: but reioyce, in as muche as ye are partakers of Chriſtes paſſions, that when his glorye appeareth, you may be mery & glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſte, happy are ye: for the ſpirit of glory, & the ſpirit of God reſteth vpon you. On their part he is euyl ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Here S. Peter ſaith it is no ſtrange thing: and that I haue partly proued before, becauſe we haue nothing els promiſed vs in this world.

1. Reg. 19.

Therfore let vs call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can doo nothing to vs, til God permit it. As for enſample: looke in the firſt booke of Kynges, the. xix. chapt. there you ſhal ſee how Saul perſecuted Dauid, purpoſing to kyl hym: but his labour was in vaine.

3. Reg. 19.

Job. 2.

Dan. 8.

Alſo in the. 3. booke of Kings, the. 19. cha. Ieſabel threatned & ſware to ſlea Elias, but the Lord preſerued him. Alſo in the. 2. chap. of Iob, you ſee that Satan could do nothing to Iob, tyll God ſuffered hym, neither exerciſe his cruelnes any further then God had appoynted hym. The godly woman Suſanna, in the. 8. of Daniel, through the falſe accuſation of the wicked Iudges, was euē at a poynt to dye, yet God wonderfully deliuered her. Theſe haue I written to put you in remembraunce, that man can doo no more then is the wyl of God: therfore let vs not reſiſt his wyl, but referre al to hym: and let vs be doing that thing that God hath commaunded vs in his holy word.

Exhortation not to refuſe Chriſtes croſſe.

Pſal. 119.

Deare brethren, for the bloud of Chriſt refuſe not ỹ croſſe of Chriſt, but remember the ſaying of the godly man Dauid in his. 119. Pſalme, where he ſaith: It is good for me that I haue bene in trouble, that I may learne thy ſtatutes. In ỹ ſame place he ſaith: Before I was in trouble, I went wrong, but now I haue kept thy word. Euē ſo it is in trouble with vs: for the word of God was neuer ſo ſweet and comfortable, as it is now that we be in trouble. Alſo S. Paul ſaith in the fift chapter to the Rom. We reioyce in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth pacience, pacience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, & hope maketh not aſhamed.

Gods worde neuer ſo ſweet as in trouble.

Rom. 5.

2. Tim. 1.

Alſo I pray you remember the ſaying of S. Paul in the ſecond to Timothe and the firſt chapter where he ſaith: Be not aſhamed to teſtifie the Lord, neither be aſhamed of me. Euen ſo ſay I vnto you, deare brethren: Be not aſhamed of my impriſonment, neither ſory, but reioyce with me, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodnes to cal me to ſuch a dignitie as this ſhalbe vnto me, if I maye haue his grace to looſe my life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his names ſake: for then I ſhall be ſure to find it againe with aduantage: Therfore I deſire you all that you wyl pray with me vnto almighty God, that he of his mercyfull goodnes wyll ſend me his grace & ſtrength, that I may continue vnto the end: as I wyll pray for you, that God wyl preſerue you frō all the wicked wayes of Antichriſt, & ſtrengthen & comforte you, if it be his good pleaſure that you ſhall ſuffer any thyng for his names ſake: as he hath faithfully promiſed to do. And I certifie you, that if al mē knew the cōfort they ſhould receiue at the hande of God, being in priſon, I thinke there would come mo to priſon then there doo. For ſurely we find ſuch cōfort at the hand of God ſince we haue bene in priſon, that we had rather dye then to be abrode to ſee the idolatrie that is cōmitted among them that be abrod: beſide the ſeeking one of an others bloud, & other wickednes to muche. God ſend men more grace. But I truſt amongſt you there be none ſuch: & if there be, repent & amend, leſt it be verified on you, that is ſpoken by the Prophet Ierem. 2. cha. where he ſaith: My people hath cōmitted two great euyls. They haue forſaken me the foũtaine of the liuyng waters, & digged them pyttes: pyttes (I ſay) that are broken, and can hold no water. Alſo in the. vij. he ſaith: Take heede: ye truſt in counſels that begyle you, and do you no good. In the. xxiij. he ſaith: Heare not the words of the Prophets that preach their owne dreames. Good brethren, beware of thoſe falſe Prophets that I haue geuen you warnyng of.

Experience of Gods comfort in impriſonment to be noted.

Jerem. 2.

Jerem. 7.

Jerem. 23.

Dearly beloued, here I make an end at this tyme, deſiring ỹ ſame health both of body & ſoule, vnto you all, that I would haue my ſelf: and I end with the ſame that S. Peter ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle & the fift cha. Submit your ſelues therefore vnder the mighty hand of God, that he maye exalt you when the time is come. Caſt al your care on him for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your aduerſary the deuil like a roring Lion walketh about, ſeeking whō he may deuoure, whom reſiſt ſtedfaſt in fayth: remembring that ye doo but fulfill the ſame afflictions that are appoynted to your brethren that are in the worlde. The God of al grace that called you vnto his eternall glory, by Chriſt Ieſus, ſhal his owne ſelfe, after you haue ſuffered a litle affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you. To hym be glory and dominion for euer, & while the world endureth. Amen.

Greete one an other with an holy kyſſe of loue. Peace be with you al which are in Chriſt Ieſus. I pray you all, ſay, Amen. Theſe be in the ſame priſon where I am: the Biſhop of S. Dauids, Doctor Taylor of Hadley, maſter Philpot, and my ſingular good father M. Bradford, with fiue other of Suſſex, lay men.

I deſire ſome good brother, to write this newe, for I wrote it (as I doo many tymes) with feare. For if the kepers had found me, they would haue taken it from me, & my pen and ynke alſo.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me paſſe all the comforte of any man: for I thanke hym, I was neuer martyr in Chriſt.

By me William Tyms, priſoner
in the Kinges Benche.

Experiment of Gods comfort in the priſonment of his ſeruauntes.

About this tyme or ſomewhat before, came downe certayne Commiſſioners aſſigned by the Queene and Counſayle, to Northfolke and Suffolke (as to other Countreys els beſides) to enquire of matters of Religion: vnto the whiche Commiſſioners there was a Supplication then exhibited by ſome good and well diſpoſed men (as by the ſame maye appeare) dwellyng about thoſe partyes. Whiche Supplication, as I thought it not vnworthy to be read, bearyng the date of this preſent yeare, to be printed, ſo I thought it was not to be omitted, nor vnworthy here to be placed, in conſideration of ẏ fruite which thereof might enſue to the Reader.

¶ A certayne godly Supplication exhibited by certaine inhabitantes of the countrey of Northfolke, to the Cõmiſſioners commyng downe to Northfolke & Suffolke, fruitful to be read and marked of al men.

A ſupplication exhibited to the Commiſſioners in Northfolke.

IN moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſeche your honours right honourable Commiſſioners, to tender and pitie the humble ſute of vs poore men, and true faythfull, and obedient ſubiectes: who as we haue euer heretofore, ſo intende we with Gods grace, to continue in Chriſtian obedience vnto the end, (and according to the holy worde of God) with all reuerence feare of God, to do our bounden duetie to all thoſe ſuperiour powers, whom God hath appoynted ouer vs, doing as S. Paul ſaith: Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the ſuperiour powers, For there is no power but of God: but thoſe powers that are, are ordeyned of God. Wherefore who ſoeuer reſiſteth the powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, & they that reſiſt, get them ſelues iudgement. Theſe leſſons (right honourable Commiſſioners) we haue learned of the holy worde of God, in our mother tongue.

Rom. 13.

The authoritie of Kinges and Queenes approued.

Firſt, that the authoritie of a King, Queene, Lord, and other their officers vnder them, is no tyrannical vſurpation but a iuſt, holy, lawful, and neceſſary eſtate for man to be gouerned by, and that the ſame is of God, the fountaine and authour of righteouſnes.

Secondly, that to obey the ſame in al thinges not againſt God, is to obey God: and to reſiſte them, is to reſiſt God. Therfore as to obey God in his Miniſters and Magiſtrates, bringeth life: ſo to reſiſt God in them, bringeth puniſhment & death. The ſame leſſõ haue we learned of S. Peter ſaying: Be ye ſubiect to al humane ordinances for the lords ſake, whether it be to the king, as to the moſt higheſt, or to the Lieutenãts ſet frõ hym to the puniſhment of euil doers, but to the prayſe of ſuch as do wel. For ſo is the wyl of God, that with well doing, ye ſhoulde ſtop the mouthes of fooliſh & ignorant mẽ, as free, and not as hauyng the libertie to be a cloke to malice, but as the ſeruauntes of God. Wherfore, conſidering with our ſelues, both that the magiſtrates power is of God & that for the Lordes ſake, we be bound to chriſtian obedience vnto thẽ, hauing now preſently a commaundement, as though it were frõ the Queenes maieſtie: with al humble obedience due to the regall power and authoritie ordeyned of God (which we acknowledge to ſtand whole & perfectly in her grace) and with due reuerence vnto you her graces Commiſſioners, we humbly beſeche you with patience and pitie to receiue this our anſwere vnto that commaundement, geuen vnto vs.

1. Pet. 2.

Chriſten men bound to obey God in his Magiſtrates.

Firſt, right honourable Cõmiſſioners, we haue conſidered our ſelues to be, not onely Engliſhe men, but alſo Chriſtians, and therefore bounde by the holy vowe made to God in our Baptiſme, to preferre Gods honour in al thinges, and that al obedience (not onely of vs mortall men, but euen of the very angels and heauenly ſpirites) is due vnto Gods word: in ſo much that no obedience can be true and perfect, eyther before God or man, that wholy & fully agreeth not with Gods worde.

The honour of God to be preferred before all regall honour and power.

Then haue we weighed the cõmaundement concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed Latine ſeruice geuẽ vnto vs to diſſent & diſagree from Gods worde, and to commaund manifeſt impietie, & the ouerthrow of godlynes and true religion, & to import a ſubuerſion of the regal power of this our natiue countrey & realme of England, with the bringing in of the Romiſh biſhops ſupremacie, with all errours, ſuperſtitions, and idolatrie, waſting of our goodes & bodyes, deſtroying of our ſoules, bringing with it nothyng, but the ſeuere wrath of God: which we already feele, & feare leaſt the ſame ſhalbe more fiercely kindled vpon vs. Wherfore we humbly proteſt, that we can not be perſwaded, that the ſaine wicked commaundement ſhoulde come from the Queenes maieſtie, but rather from ſome other, abuſing the Queenes goodnes and fauour, and ſtudying to worke ſome feate againſt the Queene, her crowne, & the realme, to pleaſe with it the Romane biſhop, at whoſe handes the ſame thinketh hereafter to be aduaunced.

Q. Maryes Iniunctions diſagreeing from Gods word, how and wherin.

Heſt. 3.

1. Eſd. 4.

Queene Mary euell incenſed.

As the Agagite Aman wrought maliciouſly agaynſte the noble king Aſſuerus: and as the Princes of Babell wrought againſt the good king Darius: ſo thinke we the Queenes moſt gentle hart to be abuſed of ſome, who ſekyng them ſelues & their own vaine glory, procure ſuch cõmaundements as are againſt the glory of God. For we cãnot haue ſo euyll an opinion in her maieſtie, that ſhee ſhould ſubuerte the moſt godly & holy religiõ (ſo accordingly to Gods word ſet forth by the moſt noble, vertuous, and innocent king, a very Saint of God, our late moſt deare king Edward, her graces brother) except ſhee were wonderfully abuſed: who as hatyng reformation, wyll rather the deſtruction of all others, thẽ acknowledge their errors, & to be according to gods word, reformed. For truely ẏ Religiõ lately ſet forth by K. Edward, is ſuch in our cõſciences, as euery Chriſtiã man is bound to confeſſe to be the truth of God: and euery member of Chriſtes church here in England muſt nedes embrace the ſame in hart, and confeſſe it with mouth, and (if nede require) loſe and forſake, not onely houſe, lande, and poſſeſſions, riches, wyfe, chyldren, and frendes: but alſo (if God wyll ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all manner of perſecution, and to loſe their lyues in the defence of Gods worde and truth ſet out amongeſt vs. For our Sauiour Chriſt requireth the ſame of vs ſaying: Who ſo euer ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinfull generation, the ſonne of man wyl alſo be aſhamed of hym, when he ſhall come in the glory of his father with the holy angels. And againe ſaith he: Who ſoeuer wyll confeſſe me before men, I wyll confeſſe hym before my father that is in heauen. And who ſoeuer wyl deny me before mẽ, I wyl alſo deny him before my father that is in heauen. And who ſoeuer ſhal ſpeake a worde againſt the ſonne of man, it ſhall be forgeuen hym: but who ſoeuer ſhall rayle againſte the holy Ghoſt, it ſhal not be forgeuen hym.

Religion ſet forth in K. Edwardes tyme, commended.

Luke. 9.

Math. 10.

Math. 12.

An honeſt petition to Queene Mary.

We humbly beſeche the Queenes Maieſtie, and you her honourable Commiſſioners, be not offended with vs, for confeſſing this truth of God, ſo ſtraytly geuen vs in charge of Chriſte: neither bryng vppon vs that great ſinne that ſhall neuer be forgeuen, and ſhall cauſe our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſte in the great day of iudgement, before his heauenly Father all his angelles, to denye vs, and to take from vs the bleſſed price and raunſome of his bloudſhed, wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that day, neyther the Queenes highnes, neither you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe vs, nor to purchaſe a pardon of Chriſte for this horrible ſinne and blaſphemie of caſting aſide and condemnyng his worde. We can not agree nor conſent vnto this ſo horrible a ſinne: but we beſeche God for his mercy to geue vs and all men grace, moſt earneſtly to flee from it, and rather (if the wyl of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremitie and puniſhment in this worlde, then to incurre ſuch damnation before God.

Examples of king Manaſſes.

4. Reg. 23.

Manaſſes, who reſtored againe the wickednes of idolatrous religion (before put downe by Ezechias his father) brought the wrath of God vpon the people: ſo that the ſcripture ſaith: Notwithſtanding the reformation made by Ioſias, the lord turned not frõ the fiercenes of his great wrath wherwith he was angry againſt Iuda, becauſe of the prouocation with the whiche Manaſſes prouoked hym. And the Lord ſaid: euen Iuda wyl I take away from my preſence, as I caſt away Iſrael: and I wyll caſt away this citie of Ieruſalem, and the houſe wherof I ſaid: my name ſhall be there. Ieroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected vp a new founde ſeruice of God, and not onely ſinned hym ſelfe, but alſo made al Iſrael to ſinne with hym: ſo that not only he was damned for commaunding, but the wrath of God came vpon al Iſrael, for obeying that his vngodly commaundement. Yet was it not ſo heynous offence to bring in an Idolatrie neuer yet heard of, as after reformation made by ẏ godly kinges and princes, by the vertuous and holy biſhops, by the Prophetes and ſeruauntes of God, to reiecte and caſte of the worde and true Religion of God, and to receyue agayne a damned impietie.

Examples of Ieroboam.

Foule Idolatry ſet out with fayre ſhewes and pretenſes.

This moſte heynous offence is nowe offered vnto vs: although the ſame be paynted and coloured with the name of reformation, reſtoryng of Religion, auncient fayth, with the name of the Catholike Churche, of vnitie, Catholike truth, & with the cloke of fayned holynes. Theſe are ſheepe ſkinnes, vnder the which (as Chriſt ſaith) rauenyng wolues couer them ſelues. But Chriſt willeth vs to looke vpon their fruites, whereby we may know them: and truely this is no good fruite, to caſt aſide Gods worde, and to baniſh the Engliſh ſeruice out of the Churches, & in the place of it, to bring in a Latin tongue vnknowen vnto the people. Whiche as it edifieth no man, ſo hath it bene occaſion of all

blyndnes

Ignoraunce vniuerſally ouerſpread.

blyndnes and errour among the people. For after the bleſſed reformation begunne by the moſt noble Prince of godly memorie the Queenes good father, and by our late holy and innocent kyng, her good brother finiſhed: it is not vnknowen what blyndnes and errour we were all in, when not one man in all this Realme vnlearned in the Latine, coulde ſay in Engliſhe the Lordes prayer, or knew any one article of his beleife, or rehearſe any one of the ten commaundementes. And that ignoraunce, mother of miſchiefe, was the verye roote & wellſpring of al Idolatrie, Sodomitical Monkerie, and whoriſh chaſtitie of vnmaried Prieſtes, of al whoredome, brothelhouſes, couetouſnes, ſwearing, and blaſphemie, & all other wicked ſinful liuing. Theſe brought in ý ſeuere wrath & vengeaunce of God, plaguing ſinne with famine & peſtilence, & at laſt the ſworde conſumed and auenged all their impietie and wicked lyuing. As it is greatly to be feared, the ſame or more greuous plagues ſhal nowe againe folowe.

Seruice in Latin not to be admitted.

We can not therefore conſent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our Engliſhe tongue whiche we vnderſtand, ſhould be taken away from vs, and for it a Latine ſeruice, we wote not what (for none of vs vnderſtand it) to be agayne brought in amongeſt vs, ſpecially ſeing that Chriſte hath ſayde: My ſheepe heare my voyce and folowe me, and I geue to them euerlaſting life.

Iohn 10.

The ſeruice in Engliſhe teacheth vs, that we are the Lordes people, and the ſheepe of his paſture: and God commaundeth that we harden not our hartes, as when they prouoked the Lordes wrath in the wildernes, leſt he ſweare vnto vs, as he dyd ſweare vnto them, that they ſhoulde not enter into his reſt.

Agaynſt Latin Mattins.

The Seruice in Latine is a confuſed noyſe: whiche if it be good, (as they ſay it is) yet vnto vs that lacke vnderſtanding, what goodnes can it bring? S. Paul commaundeth, that in the Churches al thinges ſhould be done to edifying, whiche we are ſure is Gods commaundement. But in the Latine Seruice nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroye thoſe that are alreadie edified & to driue vs from Gods word and truth, and from beleuing of ý ſame, & ſo to bring vs to beleue lyes & fables, ý tempting & prouoking God, we ſhould be brought into that iudgement that bleſſed Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying: Antichriſt ſhal come according to the woorking of Satan, with all maner of power and ſignes and lying wonders, in all deceyueablenes of vnrighteouſnes in thoſe that periſh: becauſe they haue not receyued the loue of the truth, that they might be ſaued. And therefore God wyll ſende them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould beleue lyes & be damned, as many as haue not beleued the truth, but haue approued vnrighteouſnes.

In the popes ſeruice there is no edifying what fables be in it the Lord knoweth.
2. Theſſ. 2.

Thus altogether drawen from God, we ſhall fall into his wrath through vnbeliefe, tyll he ſweare vnto vs, as he did vnto the vnfaythfull Iewes, that ſuche Infidels ſhall not enter into his reſt.

In the adminiſtration of the Lordes Supper, whiche we confeſſe to be the holy Communion, and partakyng with Chriſt and his holy Congregation, we haue learned Gods holy commaundementes, and at the rehearſal of euery one of thẽ, to aſke God mercy for our moſt greuous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to aſke grace of God to kepe them in tyme to come, that the ſame may not only outwardly ſound in our eares, but alſo inwardly by the holy ghoſt be written in our hartes.

The true vſe of the Lordes ſupper expreſſed.

We haue learned alſo the holy Prayer made for the Queenes Maieſtie: wherein we learne that her power and authoritie is of God: therefore we pray to GOD for her, that ſhe and all Magiſtrates vnder her, maye rule according to Gods word, and we her ſubiectes obey according to the ſame.

Truely (moſt honourable Commiſſioners) we can not thinke theſe thinges euyll, but thinke them moſte worthy to be retayned in our Churches, and we ſhould thinke our ſelues not to haue true ſubiectes hartes, if we ſhould goe about to put away ſuche godly prayers, as put vs perpetually in memorie of our bounden obedience and duetie to God and our Rulers. For, as we thinke, at this preſent the vnquiet multitude had more nede to haue theſe thynges more often and earneſtly beaten and driuen into them (ſpecially geuen in many places to ſturre and trouble) then to take from them that bleſſed doctrine, whereby onely they may to their ſaluation, be kept in quiet.

Cauſes why the Commiſſioners [illegible] Communion ought not to be [illegible].

Furthermore, we can not forſake that bleſſed partakyng of the bodye and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſtes inſtitution, miniſtred with ſuche godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching vs the knowledge of GOD, the exceadyng loue and charitie of our louyng Redeemer Chriſte, in offeryng his bodye vppon the Croſſe for our ſinnes, and ſheddyng his moſte precious bloud for our redemption, which we in eatyng that bleſſed bread, and drinkyng of that bleſſed Cup, faithfully beleue that we receyue, and be perfectly ioyned with Chriſte and his holy Catholike Church into one body, and into one vnitie and brotherly loue, whereby eche member faithfully embraceth other. We muſt nedes confeſſe this inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereby we haue the onely comfort in conſcience againſt ſinne and damnation, with the aſſurance of ſaluation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many haynous ſinnes, muche lewing, ſtrife, and contention is ended: drunkennes, whoredome, and other vices, in ſome reformed: godnes and vertue increaſed and nouriſhed.

Receauing in both kyndes.

The Maſſe hath nothing in it but an heape of ceremonies.

In the Latine Maſſe we neuer had no ſuche edifying, but only we ſawe a great many of ceremonies and ſtraunge geſtures: as turning of the Prieſte, Croſſinges, Bleſſinges, breathynges, waſhyng of handes, and ſpreadyng abroade of his armes, and ſuch like ceremonies that we vnderſtande not. And concernyng the Latine tongue, wherein the Prieſt prayeth, we wote not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth vs. We are not partakers of the Sacrament, as Chriſtes inſtitution appoynteth we ſhould be.

In the miniſtryng of the Sacrament, the Prieſtes alter the inſtitution of Chriſte, committyng thefte and Sacrilege, robbyng vs of the Cup of Chriſtes bloud, contrarye to Chriſtes commaundement, ſaying: Drinke ye al of this.

The people robbed of Gods worde.

They robbe vs alſo of Gods worde, ſpeakyng all thynges in Latine, whiche nothyng edifieth vs eyther in fayth or maners. Chriſte commaunded not that his Supper ſhoulde be miniſtred in an vnknowen tongue: but for as much as fayth commeth of hearyng, and hearyng commeth of Gods worde, howe can we beleue Chriſtes worde and promiſe made vnto vs in this holy Sacramente, ſaying: This is my bodye broken for you, and this is my bloud of the newe Teſtament, which is ſhedde for you, for the remiſſion of ſinnes, if the ſame promiſes of Chriſt eyther be not at al recited, or els ſo recited in Latine, that ý Congregation vnderſtandeth not or heareth not what is ſpoken? Saint Paul ſaith thus, recityng the ſaying of Eſay: As truely as I lyue, ſaith the Lord, al knees ſhal bow vnto me, al tongues ſhal geue prayſe vnto God. Alſo he ſaith: Al tongs muſt confeſſe, that Ieſus Chriſte is the Lord, vnto the glory of God the father. The holy ghoſt came vpon the Apoſtles in fiery tongues, ſo that they ſpake the tongues of all nations vnder heauen. S. Paul miniſtred to the Corinthians and preached to them in their owne mother tongue, and rebuked the bringyng in of ſtraunge tongues into the congregations. We can not thinke it to be euel, that ſo holy an Apoſtle rebuked. And what ſoeuer vertue the Latin tongue hath to ſuch as vnderſtand it, to vs Engliſh men not vnderſtanding it, it is altogether without vertue and edifying, & therefore vnmete for our Churches.

Phil. 2.

All thinges done in the Church ought to be in a knowen tongue.

The Prieſtes complayne, that we laye men loue them not; nor haue them in honour. But it is their owne fault. For howe ſhould we loue them, that onely ſeeke to kepe vs in blyndnes and ignoraunce, to damne our ſoules, to deſtroy our bodyes, to robbe and ſpoyle our goodes and ſubſtaunce vnder a colour of pretenſed holynes? We knowe (right honourable Commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuche wolues, and how by the authoritie of Gods worde, ſuch are to be fled, as peſtilences to the Lordes lambes, whom they miſerably dayly murder.

That Prieſtes be not had in honour, it is their owne fault.

But we haue rather choſẽ by this our meke ſupplication, humbly to deſire the Queenes maieſtie, & you her honorable Commiſſioners, to render Gods word agayne vnto the Churches, & to permit vs freely to enioy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately ſet out by the holy ſaint of God, our late moſt deare kyng Edward, is Chriſtes true religion, written in the holy ſcripture of God, & by Chriſt & his Apoſtles taught vnto his church. Wherefore we can not allow with ſafe conſciences this refuſall of it & caſting of it out of our Churches, for as much as to refuſe, caſt of, and to reiect, is to caſt of Chriſt hym ſelf, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed body broken for our ſinnes, and in his bloud ſhed for our redemption. Which thyng who ſo doth, the ſame without repentaunce can looke for no ſacrifice for his ſinnes, but muſt fearfully wayte for the iudgement, and for that vehement fire that ſhal deſtroy Chriſtes aduerſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the lawe of Moſes, is without mercy put to death vnder two or three witneſſes: howe much more greuous tormentes ſhal he ſuffer that treadeth vnder foote the ſonne of God, and eſteemeth the bloud of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a prophane thyng, and contumeliouſly vſeth the ſpirit of grace?

Gods word and true religion caſt out of the church in Q. Maryes tyme.

Wherefore, we moſte humbly praye and beſeche the Queenes gracious Maieſtie, to haue mercy and pitie vpon vs her poore and faythfull ſubiectes, and not to compell vs to doe the thyng that is agaynſt our conſciences, and ſhall ſo incurably wound vs in hart, by bringyng into the Churche the Latine Maſſe and Seruice that nothing edifieth vs, and caſtyng out Chriſtes holy Communion and Engliſhe ſeruice, ſo cauſing vs to ſinne agaynſt our redemption. For ſuch as wilfully and wittingly agaynſt their conſciences ſhal ſo do (as it is to be feared many one doth) they are in a miſerable ſtate, vntyl the mercy of God turne the: which if he do not, we certainly beleue, that they ſhal eternally be damned: and as in this worlde they denye Chriſtes holy word & Commaundementes before men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his heauenly father and his angels.

The Popiſh folowing of Chriſtes Croſſe in proceſſion.

And where as it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go on Proceſſion (as they call it) at which tyme the Prieſtes ſay in Latine, ſuche thynges as we are ignoraunt of, the ſame edifieth nothyng at all vnto godlyneſ. And we haue learned, that to folowe Chriſtes croſſe, is an other matter, namely, to take vp our croſſe and to folow Chriſt in pacient ſufferyng for his loue, tribulations, ſickenes, pouertie, priſon, or any other aduerſitie, whē ſoeuer Gods holy wyl & pleaſure is to lay ÿ ſame vpon vs. The triumphant Paſſion and death of Chriſt, whereby in his owne perſon he conquered death, ſinne, hell, and damnation, hath moſte liuely bene preached vnto vs, and the glory of Chriſtes croſſe declared by our Preachers: whereby we haue learned the cauſes and effectes of the ſame more liuely in one Sermon, then in al the Proceſſions that euer we went in, or euer ſhall go in.

The true folowing of Chriſtes Croſſe.

When we worſhipped the diuine Trinitie kneelyng, and in the Letanie inuocatyng the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, aſkyng mercy for our ſinnes, and deſiryng ſuch petitions as the nede of our frayle eſtate and this mortall lyfe requireth, we were edified, both to knowe vnto whom all Chriſtian prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to knowe that of Gods hand we receyue all thynges, as well to the ſaluation of our ſoules, as to the reliefe of our mortal neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the Queenes maieſtie, that the ſame moſt holy prayeres maye be continued amongeſt vs: that our Miniſters praying in our mother tongue, and we vnderſtandyng their prayers and petitions, may anſweare, Amen, vnto them. At euenyng ſeruice, we vnderſtode our Miniſters prayers, we were taught & admoniſhed by the Scriptures then read: which in the Latin Euenſong is al gone.

Prayers and euenyng ſeruice in Engliſh.

At the miniſtration of holy Baptiſme, we learned what league and couenaunt God had made with vs, and what vowes and promiſes we vppon our partes had made: namely to beleue in hym, to forſake Satan and his workes, and to walke in the way of Gods holy worde and commaundementes.

Baptiſme Engliſhe.

The Chriſtian Chatechiſme continually taught and called to remembraunce the ſame, wheras before no man knew any thyng at al. And many good men of .lx. yeares, that had ben godfathers to .xxx. children, knew no more of the godfathers office, but to waſh their handes ere they departed the Church, or els to faſt fiue Frydayes, bread and water.

Catechiſme in Engliſh.

O mercyful God, haue pitie vpon vs. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy preſence? We may well lament our miſerable eſtate to receyue ſuche a commaundement, to reiect and caſt out of our Churches al theſe moſt godly prayers, inſtructions, admonitions, and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Chriſt our Sauiour, his holy worde, and all his doctrine of our ſaluation, the candle to our feete, and the light to our ſteppes, the bread commyng downe from heauen, that geueth lyfe. Whiche who ſo drinketh, it ſhalbe in hym a well ſpryng ſtreamyng vnto eternal lyfe: wherby we haue learned al righteouſnes, al true Religion, all true obedience towardes our gouernours, all charitie one towardes an other, al good workes that God would vs to walke in, what puniſhment abydeth the wicked, and what heauenly reward God wyl geue to thoſe that reuerently walke in his wayes and commaundementes.

The effectes of Gods worde deſcribed.

Wherefore right honourable Commiſſioners, we can not without impietie, refuſe and caſt from vs the holy word of God which we haue receyued, nor condemne any thyng ſet forth by our moſt godly late kyng Edward and his vertuous proceedynges, ſo agreable to Gods worde. And our moſt humble ſute is, that the commaundement may be reuoked, ſo that we be not conſtrayned thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we thinke, if the holy worde of God had not taken ſome roote among vs, we could not in tyme paſt haue don that poore duetie of ours, which we did in aſſiſting the Queene our moſt deare ſoueraigne, agaynſt her Graces mortal foe that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden duetie, and we thanke God for the knowledge of his worde and grace, that we then did ſome parte of our bounden ſeruice.

Suffolke and Northfolke men moued by Gods word doe ſet vp the Queene.

And we meekely pray and beſeeche the Queenes Maieſtie, for the deare paſſion of Jeſus Chriſte, that the ſame worde be not taken away out of her churches, nor from vs her louyng, faythfull, and true ſubiectes: leſt if the like neceſſitie ſhould hereafter chaunce (which God for his mercyes ſake forbyd, and euer ſaue and defend her grace and vs all) the wante of knowledge or due remembraunce of Gods worde may be occaſion of greate ruine to an infinite number of her graces true ſubiectes. And truely we iudge this to be one ſubtile part of the deuyll (enemie to all godly peace and quietnes) that by takyng Gods worde from among vs, and plantyng ignoraunce, he maye make a way to al miſchiefe and wickednes: and by baniſhyng the holy goſpel of peace, he may bryng vpon vs the heauie wrath of god, with al maner of plagues: as dearthe, ſtraunge ſickenes, peſtilence, morren, moſt terrible vprores, commotions, and ſeditions. Theſe thinges dyd the Lord threaten vnto the Iewes for refuſing his word, ſaying: Goe, and thou ſhalt ſay vnto this people: Ye ſhal heare in deede, but ye ſhal not vnderſtand: ye ſhal plainly ſee, and not perceiue. Harden the hart of this people, ſtop their eares, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not with their eyes, heare not with their eares and vnderſtand not with their harts, and conuert & be healed. And I ſaid: how long Lord? And he anſwered, Vntil the cities be deſtroied, vtterly waſted without habiters, & the houſes without men, tyl the land alſo be deſolate & lye vnbuilded. And the Prophet Micheas, conſideryng the contempt of Gods word among the Iſraelites, threatned them thus: When the daye, that thy preachers warned thee of, commeth, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no man beleue his frende, or put confidence in his brother. Keepe the doore of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy boſome: for the ſonne ſhal put his father to diſhonor, and the daughter ſhal riſe againſt her mother, the daughter in lawe againſte the mother in the law: and a mans foes ſhalbe euen they of his own houſhold. The ſame plague threatned Chriſt vnto the Iewes, for refuſing his peace profered them in the Goſpel, and he wept on the citie Jeruſalem, which murdered the Prophetes, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent vnto her.

Inconueniences that folow by takyng away Gods word.

Eſay 6.

Mich. 6.

Luke 19.

The ſame plagues, we are afrayd, wyl alſo fal vpon vs. For whereas heretofore with the receyuyng of Chriſtes word & peaceable Goſpel we had great benedictions of god, eſpecially this Chriſtian concord & holy peace, ſo that al were at a full and perfect ſtay in Religion, no man offended with an other, but as the ſonnes of peace eche of vs in chriſtian charitie embraced other: now, alas for pitie, ÿ deuyl (ridyng vppon ÿ red horſe, ſhewed vnto S. Iohn in the Reuelation) is come forth, and power is geuen hym to take peace from the earth. For now a man can goe to no place but malicious buſie bodyes curiouſly ſearch out his dedes, mark his wordes & if he agree not with them in deſpiſing Gods worde, then wyl they ſpitefully & hatefully rayle againſt hym and it, callyng it error and hereſie, and the profeſſors thereof heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, with other odious and deſpiteful names: as traytours, and not the Queenes frendes, nor fauourers of the Queenes proceedinges: as if to loue Gods worde were hereſie, and as though to talke of Chriſte, were to be ſchiſmatikes: as though none could be true to the Queene, that were not falſe to God: as though none were ÿ queenes frendes, but ſuch as deſpitefully rayle on her graces father & brother, and on Gods word that they ſet forth: as though none fauoured the Queenes maieſtie, but ſuche as hate all godly knowledge.

Apoc. 6.

Louing of Gods worde made hereſie.

And in very dede theſe thynges that al this turmoyle is made for, are mere inuentions of Popes, brought into the Church, of their owne imaginations, without commaundement or enſample eyther of Chriſt or of his Apoſtles: and there is not one word in the Bible, that beyng truely alledged, mainteyneth them, nor any Doctour of antiquitie before S. Auſtines dayes, as it hath bene diuers tymes ſufficiently proued before all the whole Parliament and Conuocation of this Realme. Yet theſe being mere traditions of Biſhops, are ſet out for Gods commaundementes: and the Queenes authoritie (geuen to her of God to mainteine his worde) muſt be abuſed to put downe Gods word. And you right honourable Juſtices and kepers of lawes and righteouſnes, are alſo abuſed and made the Biſhops apparitours, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh traſhe, as is to Chriſtes diſhonour, and agaynſt the ſupreme authoritie of the regall eſtate of this Realme. And we poore ſubiectes for ſpeaking of that which is truth, and our bounde allegeance, are daylye puniſhed: rayled vpō, and noted for ſeditious, and not the Queenes frendes.

All that the Papiſtes ſtriue for, are but mans mere inuentions beſide Gods worde.

The Queene her commiſſioners, and Juſtices abuſed by the Byſhops.

But God (who is bleſſed for euer) knoweth that they ſclaunder vs, and pul the thorne out of their owne foote, and put it in ours: for the ſearcher of hartes knoweth, that we beare a faythfull and true hart vnto her grace, and vnto all her proceedynges, that are not againſt God & his holy word. And we dayly pray vnto the heauenly father, to lighten her graces royall hart with the glorious light of his Goſpel, that ſhee may eſtabliſh and confirme that Religion, that her graces brother, our moſt deare king, did ſet out amongſt vs: and ſo gouernyng & rulyng this her realme in the feare

True ſubiectes wrongfully ſclaundered.

and

1556.
Aprill.

and true way of God, ſhee may long lyue, and with proſperitie, peace, and honor raigne ouer vs.

But we, can not thinke that thoſe men doo ſeeke either Gods honour, or her Graces proſperitie, or wealth of the Realme, ÿ take from her graces faithfull ſubiectes, Gods worde, which onely is the roote of all loue and faythful obedience vnto her grace, and of all honeſtie, good lyfe, and vertuous concord among her Commons. And this we feare, leaſt the roote being taken awaye, the braunches wyll ſoone wyther and be fruitles. And when the Philiſtines haue ſtopped vp the welſpring, the fayre ſtreames that ſhoulde flowe, ſhall ſoone be dryed vp. All our watchmen, our true preachers haue taught vs, that as long as we retained gods word, we ſhoulde haue God our gracious mercyfull father, but if we refuſed and caſt of the Lordes yoke of his doctrine, then ſhal we looke for the Lordes wrath and ſeuere viſitation to plague vs, as he dyd the Iewes for the like offenſes. And Paul ſayth: God gaue to them the ſpirit of vnquietnes and vprore, eyes wherewith they ſhould not ſee, & eares wherewith they ſhoulde not heare, vntyll this day. And as Dauid ſaide: Let their table be made a ſnare to take them ſelues withall, a trap to catch them, and a ſtumbling blocke to fall at. Let their eyes be blynded, that they ſee not, and bowe thou downe their backes alwayes.

Rom. 1.

Pſal. 69.

What vnquietnes followeth the lacke of Gods word.

O mercyfull God, al this is now come vpon vs, ÿ dayly more & more encreaſed, and we feare at laſt it wyl ſo bowe downe our backes, that we ſhal vtterly be deſtroyed. The troubleſome ſpirit of vprores & vnquietnes, daily troubleth mens hartes, & worketh ſuch vnquietnes in all places, that no man that loueth quietnes, can tel where to place himſelf. Men haue eyes, and ſee not how greuous offence it is, to caſt of the yoke of Gods doctrine, & to beare the heauy burden that vnfaythful hypocrites lay vpō vs. We haue eares and heare not the warnyng of Gods worde, calling vs to true repentance, nor his threates againſt our impietie. Our moſt ſweete table of Chriſtes word and moſt holy Communion is taken awaye, and turned to a moſte perilous ſnare, through the brawling diſputations of men. And as ÿ Idoll of abomination, betokeneth finall ſubuerſion vnto the Iewiſhe nation: ſo we feare, this ſetting aſide of the Goſpell and holy Communion of Chriſt, and the placyng in of Romiſh Religion, betokeneth deſolation to be at hande, of this noble Realme of England.

For the plagues of hunger, peſtilence, and ſworde, can not long tary: but except we repent and turne agayne to the Lorde, our backes ſhall be ſo bowed, that the like horrible plagues were neuer ſeene. And no maruayle: for the like offence was neuer cōmitted, as to reiect and caſt of Chriſte and his word, and in plaine Engliſhe to ſay: We wyll not haue hym to raigne ouer vs. O Lord how terrible is it that foloweth in the Goſpel? Thoſe myne enimies that woulde not haue me to raigne ouer them, bring them hyther, and ſlay them before me. God be mercyfull vnto vs, and moue the Queenes maieſties hart, and the hartes of her honourable Counſayle, and your hartes (right honourable Cōmiſſioners) to weigh theſe daungers in due tyme, and to call Gods word into your Counſaile, & then you ſhal ſee, howe it agreeth with this Biſhoplike commaundement: and to be as ware to auoyd the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the ſame, as you are prudent and wiſe in matters of this world: leaſt if the almightie be contemned, he ſtretch forth his arme, which no man can turne, & kyndle his wrath, that no man can quench.

Luke 19.

Warning to Q. Mary, to her Counſaile and Commiſſioners.

We haue humblye opened vnto you our conſciences, doubtleſſe ſore wounded and greeued by this commaundement: and we meekely pray and beſeeche the Queenes maieſtie, for the precious death and bloudſhed of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, to haue mercy and pitie vpon vs her Graces poore Commons, faythfull, and true ſubiectes, members of the ſame body politike, whereof her grace is ſupreme head. All our bodyes, goodes, landes, and lyues are readye to doo her grace faythful obedience, and true ſeruice in al commaundementes that are not agaynſt God and his worde: but in theſe thynges that import a denyal of Chriſte, and refuſall of his worde and holy Communion, we can not conſent nor agree vnto it. For we haue bound our ſelues in Baptiſme to be Chriſtes Diſciples, and to keepe his holy worde and ordinaunces. And if we deny hym before men, he wyl deny vs before his heauenly Father and his holy Angelles in the day of iudgement: whiche we truſt her benigne Grace wyll not require of vs.

The bodie of true ſubiectes belongeth, firſt to Chriſt then to the Queene.

How farre a Prince ought to require obedience of his ſubiectes.

And we humbly beſeeche her Maieſtie, that we be not enforced vnto it: but as we ſerue her grace with body and goodes, and due obedience, accordyng to Gods commaundement: ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerue GOD and Chriſt our ſauiour, and keepe vnto hym our ſoules, whiche he hath with his precious bloud redeemed: that ſo (as Chriſt teacheth) we maye render to Cæſar, that is due to Cæſar, and to God, that is due to God.

For we thinke it no true obedience vnto the Queenes highnes, or to any other magiſtrate ordeyned of God vnder her, to obey in thynges contrary to Gods worde, although the ſame be neuer ſo ſtraytly charged in her Graces name. The biſhop of Winchester hath truely taught in that poynt, in his booke of true obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not againſt the Lord: as the Apoſtles anſwered before the Counſaile at Ieruſalem, cōmaundyng them no more to preache in the name of the Lord Ieſus: Iudge you (ſaid they) whether it be right in the ſight of God, to heare you, rather then God. And againe they ſaide: We muſt obey God rather then man. Wherefore we learne, that true obedience is to obey God, kyng of al kynges, and Lord of all Lordes: and for hym, in hym, and not againſt hym and his word, to obey the princes & magiſtrates of this worlde, who are not truely obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed, when God is faythfully obeyed.

True obedience how farre it ſtretcheth.

Actes 4.

Tobias diſobeyed not his kyng, although contrary to his cōmaundement, and contrary to the vſage of al other, when they went to Dan & Bethel, he went vnto Ieruſalem, and worſhipped in ÿ tēple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refuſing king Nabuchodonoſors cōmaundemēt, pleaſed God more then the whole multitude that obeyed it. And Daniel, that prayed to the God of heauen, contrary to kyng Darius commaundementes, bare a more true & faythfull hart to the kyng, then thoſe wicked Counſellers, that procured that wicked lawe, or thoſe that for feare of flattery obeyed it. Which two peſtilences (feare and flattery) haue euer deſtroyed true obedience to God and man: when wicked godles men (that care not if the deuyll were worſhipped, ſo they may get and obteyne riches, promotions, and dignities, and worldly glory) turne to and fro, as euery wind bloweth: and weake and fraile men fearyng loſſe of goodes, puniſhment, or death, doo outwardly in body that thing, that their harts and conſciences inwardly abhorreth: and ſo outwardly diſobeye God, and in hart diſſemble with man. Which diſſimulation we thinke worthy hate of all men, and moſt vncomely for Chriſtian men.

True obedience.

Example of true obedience.

Feare and flattery, enemies to true obedience to God and man.

Wherfore we humbly beſeech the Queenes maieſtie, with pitie & mercy to tender the lamentable ſuite of vs her poore ſubiects, which be by this cōmaundement ſore hurt & wounded in our conſciences, & driuen to many miſeries, & by the malicious attempts of wicked men, ſuffer great wronges & iniuries, ſclaunders, loſſe of goodes, & bodyly vexations. We thinke not good, by any vnlawful ſturre of comotion, to ſeeke remedie: but intend by Gods grace, to obey her maieſtie in al thyngs, not agaynſt God & his holy word. But vnto ſuche vngodly biſhoplike cōmaundemēts, as are agaynſt God, we anſweare with the Apoſtles: God muſt be obeyed rather then man. If perſecution ſhal enſue (which ſome threaten vs with) we deſire the heauenly father, accordyng to his promiſe, to looke from heauen, to heare our crye, to iudge betweene vs & our aduerſaryes, & to geue vs fayth, ſtrength, and pacience, to continue faythfully vnto the end, & to ſhorten theſe euyl dayes, for his choſens ſake: and ſo we faythfully beleue he wyl.

Falſe diſſemblers worthy to be hated of all men.

Notwithſtandyng, we truſt the Queenes gracious and merciful hart wil not ſuffer ſuch tyranny to be done againſt her poore, innocent, faythfull, & obedient ſubiects, that dayly pray vnto God for her: which haue no remedy in this world but to ſue vnto her highnes, our moſt gracious and benigne ſoueraigne: whō we pray and beſeech, for the deare bloud of Chriſt, to pitie our lamentable caſe & hurt of conſcience, & to cal backe al ſuch cōmaundements, as are agaynſt Gods honor, as the good king Darius, Aſſuerus, Traianus, Theodoſius, and diuers other haue done: and to permit the holy word of God and true religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy & innocent kyng Edward, a very ſaint of God) to be reſtored againe vnto our Churches, to be frequented amongeſt vs. So ſhal we growe & increaſe in the knowledge of God & of Chriſt, in true repentance & amendement of lyfe: ſo ſhal we exhibite true obedience to our lawful magiſtrates & al ſuperiors ordeyned of God: ſo ſhal loue and charitie (of late thorow this cōmaundement ſo decayed) be agayne reſtored, the honour of her regall eſtate the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, and godlynes & vertuous lyfe among her louyng ſubiectes increaſed and maynteyned.

Queene Maryes authoritie ſtriuing agaynſt mens conſciences.

And we moſt hartily pray you (right honorable Commiſſioners) to be meanes vnto the queenes highnes, and to her honorable Counſayle, that this our humble ſuite maye be fauorably tendred, and graciouſly heard & graunted. And we ſhall not ceaſe day and night to pray vnto the heauenly father, long to preſerue her grace, and all other magiſtrates in his feare and loue, and in proſperous peace and wealth, with long lyfe and honour. Amen.

Your poore ſuppliants, the louers of Chriſtes
true Religion in Northfolke and Suffolke.

John Harpole, Ioane Beach, Martyrs.

¶ The ſtorye of Iohn Harpole, of the pariſhe of Saint Nicholas in Rocheſter, Ioane Beach wydowe, of Tunbridge, Martyrs.

TOuchyng the examination of Ioane Beache wydowe, and of Iohn Harpole within the Dioces of Rocheſter, by Maurice B. of ÿ ſayd Dioces, remembraunce was made before in the ſtory of Nicholas Hall, Pag. 1591. wherin was declared the foure articles Conſiſtoriall of the Biſhop, obiected and layd, as vnto the ſaid Nich. Hall and his company, ſo alſo to this Ioane Beach wydow: wherof the firſt was this.

Ex. Regiſt. Articles layd to Ioane Beach.

1 That ſhee was of the pariſh of Tunbridge, in the Dioces of Rocheſter.

2 Item that all perſons which preache, teache, beleeue, or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to that their mother holy Catholike Churche of Chriſt, are excommunicate perſons and heretikes.

3 Item, that the ſayde Ioane Beach hath and yet doth affirme, mainteyne, and beleue contrarye to the ſayde mother holy Churche of Chriſte, videlicet, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, vnder forme of bread and wyne, there is not the verye bodye and bloud of our Sauiour in ſubſtaunce, but onely a token and a memoriall thereof: and that the very body and bloud of Chriſt is in heauen, and not in the ſacrament.

4 Item, that ſhee hath bene, and yet is, amongeſt the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected to be a ſacramentary, and heretike.

¶ Her perſonall anſweres to the ſaid articles.

Aunſweres of Ioane Beach, to the Articles.

TO the which foreſaid articles, her anſweres were theſe: Firſt, that ſhee was and is of the ſayde pariſhe of Tunbridge in the Dioces of Rocheſter.

2 That al perſons which doo preach or holde otherwiſe ÿ contrary to that, which the holy catholike church of Chriſt doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretikes: addyng withal, that neuertheleſſe ſhee beleueth not the holy Catholike church to be her mother, but beleueth only the father of heauen to be her father.

The Catholicke Church no mother.

3 Thirdly, that ſhee hath, and yet doth verely beleue, holde, and affirme, in the Sacramente of the Aultar vnder fourmes of bread and wyne, not to be the verye bodye and bloud of our Sauiour in ſubſtaunce, but onely a token and remembraunce of his death to the faythfull receyuer, and that his body and ſubſtaunce is onely in heauen, and not in the Sacrament.

4 Laſtly, as touchyng howe ſhee hath bene or is noted and reputed among the pariſhners of Tunbridge, ſhee ſaid, ſhee could not tel: howbeit ſhee beleued, ſhee was not ſo taken and reputed.

¶ Examination and condemnation of Iohn Harpole and Ioane Beach.

THe like matter, and the ſame foure Articles were alſo the ſame preſent tyme and place miniſtred to Iohn Harpole by the foreſayde Biſhop Maurice: who, after the like aunſweares receyued of hym, as of the other before, adiudged and condemned them both together to death, by one fourme of ſentence, accordyng to the tenour and courſe of their ſeueral ſentence, which ye may reade before in maiſter Rogers ſtory. pag. 1417.

And thus theſe two Chriſtian Martyrs coupled in one confeſſion, being condemned by the Biſhop, ſuffered together at one fire, in the towne of Rocheſter, where they together ended their lyues about the firſt day of this preſent moneth of April.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Harpole, and Ioane Beach, at Rocheſter. Anno. 1556. April. 1.

¶ Iohn Hullyer Miniſter and Martyr.

Iohn Hullier, Martyr.

NExt after theſe enſueth the martyrdome of Iohn Hullyer, Miniſter, who firſt beyng brought vp in the ſchole of Eaton, was afterward ſcholler, and then Conduct in the Kinges Colledge at Cambridge, and in the ſame Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, ſuffered vnder Doctour Thurlby Biſhop of Ely, and his Chauncellour, for the ſincere ſettyng out of the light of Gods gracious Goſpell reuealed in theſe our dayes. In whoſe behalfe this is to be lamented, that among ſo many freſhe wyttes and ſtyrryng pennes in that Vniuerſitie, ſo litle matter is left vnto vs, touchyng the proceſſe of his iudgement, and order of his ſufferyng, which ſo innocently gaue his lyfe in ſuche a cauſe, among the myddeſt of them. By certayne letters whiche he hym ſelfe left behynd hym, it appeareth, that he was zelous and earneſt in that doctrine of truth, whiche euery true Chriſtian man ought to embrace. His Martyrdome was about the ſecond day of this preſent moneth of April.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Hullier Miniſter who ſuffered at Cambridge.

Anno. 1556. Aprill 2.

¶ *Letters of M. Iohn Hullier Miniſter.*

¶ A Letter of Iohn Hullier to the Chriſtian congregation, exhortyng them faithfully to abide in the doctrine of the Lorde.

A letter exhortatory of Iohn Hullier, to the flocke of the faythfull chriſtians. Math. 24.

IT ſtandeth nowe moſt in hande (O deare Chriſtians) all them that looke to be accounted of Chriſtes flocke at that great and terrible day, when a ſeparatiō ſhal be made of that ſort that ſhalbe receyued, from the other which ſhall be refuſed, faithfully in this tyme of great afflictions, to heare our Maiſter Chriſtes voyce, the onely true ſheepehearde of our ſoules, which ſaith: Who ſoeuer ſhall endure to the ende, ſhall be ſafe. For euen now is that great trouble in hande (as here in Englande we may wel ſee) that our Sauiour Chriſt ſpake of ſo long before, which ſhould folow the true and ſincere preachyng of his Goſpell. Therefore in this tyme we muſt needes eyther ſhewe that we be his faythfull ſouldiers, and continue in his battayle, vnto the ende, puttyng on the armour of God, the buckler of fayth, the breſtplate of loue, the helmet of hope and ſaluatiō, and the ſword of his holy worde (which we haue heard plentifully) with al inſtaunce of ſupplication and prayer: or els if we doo not worke and labour with theſe, we are Apoſtataes and falſe ſouldiers, ſhrinkyng moſt vnthankfully from our gracious and ſoueraigne Lorde and Captayne Chriſt, and leanyng to Belial. For as he ſaith plainely: Who ſoeuer beareth not my croſſe and foloweth me, he can not be my diſciple. And no man can ſerue two maiſters: for either he muſt hate the one, and loue the other, or els he ſhall leane to the one, and deſpiſe the other. The which thyng the faythfull Prophet Helias ſignified when he came to the people, and ſayd: Why halt ye betweene two opinions? If the Lord be God, folow hym, or if Baal be he, then folowe hym.

Ephe. 6. 1. Theſſ. 5.

Luke. 14. Math. 6.

3. Reg. 18.

Nowe let vs not thinke, but that the ſame was recorded in writyng for our inſtruction, whom the endes of the worlde are come vpon, as the Apoſtle Saint Paul ſayth: Whatſoeuer thynges are written aforehande, they are written for our learnyng. If Chriſte be that onely good and true Sheepehearde that gaue his lyfe for vs, then let vs that beare his marke, and haue our conſciences ſprinkled with his bloud, folowe all together for our ſaluation, his heauenly voyce and callyng, accordyng to our profeſſion and firſt promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo doo, certaynely (ſay what we can) although we beare the name of Chriſt, yet we be none of his ſheepe in deede. For he ſayth very manifeſtly: My ſheepe heare my voyce, and folow me: a ſtraunger they wil not folowe, but wyll flee from hym, for they knowe not the voyce of a ſtraunger.

Rom. 15.

John. 10.

Therfore let euery man take good heede in theſe perilous dayes (whereof we haue had ſo much warnyng aforehand) that he be not begyled by the goodly outward ſhew & appearance, as Eue was of our old ſubtile enimy, whoſe crafte & wilyneſ is ſo manifold & diuers, & ſo ful of cloſe windyngs, that if he can not bring him directly ÿ the playne ſtrait way to cōſent to his ſuggeſtions, then he wil allure hym & wynd him in by ſome other falſe waies (as it were by a traine) ÿ he ſhal not perceiue it, to deceyue hym withall, & to ſteale from hym that goodly victorie of ÿ incorruptible & eternal crowne of glory, which no mā els can haue, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this preſent day, if he cā not induce him thorowly as other doo, to fauor his deuiliſh religiō, & of good wil & free hart to helpe to vpholde ÿ ſame, yet he wil entangle hym to reſort to his wicked & whoriſh ſchoolehouſe, & at the leſt wiſe to be cōuerſant & keepe cōpany wt his cōgregatiō there & to hold his peace & ſay nothing, what ſoeuer he thinke, ſo that he be not a diligent ſouldier & a good labourer on Chriſtes ſide, to further his kingdome: by that ſubtile meanes flatteryng hym that he ſhall both ſaue his lyfe, and alſo his goods, & lyue in quiet. But if we looke wel on Chriſtes holy will & teſtamēt, we ſhall perceyue ÿ he came not to make any ſuche peace vppon earth, nor yet that he gaue any ſuche peace to his Diſciples: I leaue peace with you (ſaith he) my peace I geue you, not as the world geueth it, geue I vnto you. let not your hart be troubled, nor fearful. Theſe thinges haue I ſpokē vnto you, that in me ye ſheuld haue peace. In the world ye ſhal haue affliction, but be of good cheare, I haue ouercome the worlde. The ſeruaunt is not greater then his Lord and maiſter: if they haue perſecuted me, they ſhal alſo perſecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father & mother, wife, children, ſiſters, yea, and moreouer his owne life, it is not poſſible for him to be my diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that nowe weepe, for ye ſhall laugh: and wo be vnto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourne & weepe. He that wyll finde his life, ſhal looſe it.

The wilines of the ſubtile Serpent.

2. Tim. 2.

Math. 10. Iohn 14. 15. 16.

The peace of Chriſt, to them that ſuſtayne the troubles of this worlde.

Luke. 14.

Ther-

Iohn. 11.

Therfore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerue & kepe vs, that we neuer obey ſuch a falſe flattering, which at length wyl pay vs home once for all, bringyng for temporall peace and quietnes, euerlaſting trouble, vexation, and diſquietnes: for theſe vayne and tranſitory goodes, extreme loſſe and vtter dammage of the eternall treaſure and inheritaunce: for this mortall lyfe, depriuation of the moſte ioyful lyfe immortal: finally, the entrance into endles death moſt miſerable, vnmeaſurable payne and torment both of body and ſoule.

The ſtrait way of Chriſt better then the brode way of this world.

Nowe conferring theſe two ſcholemaſters together, let vs conſider the thyng well, and determine with our ſelues, which way we ought to take, and not to take the common brode way which ſemeth here moſt pleaſant, & that ye moſt part of people take. Surely I iudge it to be better to goe to ſchole with our maiſter Chriſt, and to be vnder his Ferula and rod (although it ſeeme ſharpe and greuous for a tyme) that at the length we may be inheritours with him of euerlaſting ioy, rather then to keepe company with the Deuyls ſcholers, the adulterous generatiō, in his Schole that is all full of pleaſure for a whyle, and at the ende to be payd with the wages of continuall burnyng in the moſt horrible lake which burneth euermore with fire and brymſtone without any ende. What ſhall then theſe vayne goodes and temporall pleaſures auayle? Who ſhall then helpe when we crye inceſſantly, wo, wo, alas & weale away, for vnmeaſurable paine, griefe, & ſorow? O let vs therfore take hede betime, & rather be content to take paynes in this worlde for a tyme, that we may pleaſe God. Our Sauiour Chriſte the true teacher ſaith: Euery braunch that bringeth not forth fruite in me, my father wyl take away. Iohn 15.

Eccle. 41.

Vngodly company to be auoyded.

It is alſo not written in vayne: The children of the vngodly are abominable children, and ſo are they that keepe company with the vngodly. What doth he els, I pray you, that reſorteth to the miniſtration & ſeruice that is moſt repugnant & contrary to Chriſtes holy teſtament, there kepyng ſtyl ſilence, and nothing reprouyng the ſame, but in the face of the world by his very dede it ſelfe, declareth himſelfe to be of a falſe, fearful, diſſembling, fayned, & vnfaithful hart, and to haue layd awaye from hym the armour of light, diſcouragyng as much as lyeth in hym, al the reſidue of Chriſtes hoſt, & geuing a manifeſt offence, to ye weake & alſo cōfirmyng, encouragyng, and reioyſing the hartes of the aduerſaryes in all their euyll doyng? By which example he doth ſhewe hym ſelfe, neyther to loue God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian Miniſter, nor yet his neighbour, before whom he ſhould rebuke the euyl, as it is expreſſely commaunded in Gods holy law, where it is ſayd: Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou beare not ſinne for his ſake. Wherefore let ſuch a one neuer fantaſie to deceyue hym ſelfe, that his name is regiſtred in the booke of lyfe, to haue the ſtipend of Chriſtes ſouldier, except he doo the duetie and performe the parte of a faythfull and right true ſouldier, as other haue done before. For ſuche fearefulnes cōmeth not from God, as teſtifieth S. Paul, ſaying: God hath not geuen vs the ſpirit of feare, but of power and of loue. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtifie our Lorde, but ſuffer aduerſitie alſo with the Goſpell, through the power of God, which ſaued vs, & called vs with an holy calling.

Leuit. 18

Gods ſtipend commeth not, but to ſuch as play his ſouldiours.

2. Tim. 1.

Fearefulnes in Chriſtes cauſe diſproued.

Math. 10.

To be now fearful when moſt nede is that we ſhoulde be of ſtrong harts, is vtterly ye reiectyng of the feare of god, and plaine vnfaithfulnes & diſobedience to the expreſſe commaundement of our ſauiour Chriſt, which ſaith in his holy goſpel: Feare not them that kyl the body. &c. For what faythfulnes doo we expreſſe towardes hym, when he ſayth thus to vs, & yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, beyng euer fearefull, euen as the vnbeleuyng Iſraelites, whiche vnfaithfully feared Gods ennimies the heathen Cananites, where as he had oftentymes geuen them cōmaundement by his true Prophet Moſes, to do the contrary? for the which cauſe, al the whole number of that ſect were deſtroyed in proceſſe of tyme in the wyldernes, & enioyed not the pleaſant lande of promiſe. Whiche was a bodyly figure ſhewed before, & now agreeing to the promiſe of the heauenly inheritance, which ſhall be geuen to none other, but onely to al ſuch as with loue vnfayned, be wholy bent, without any feare of man, to fulfil Gods holy wyl and pleaſure. But al they that perteyne to the liuely fayth to the winnyng of the ſoule, wyl faythfully ſticke to the cōmaundement, truſtyng moſt firmely & faythfully, that he that gaue the ſame, wyll alſo geue ſtrength plentifully to perfourme it euen in the weakeſt veſſels of all, as we haue heard and ſeene by many and diuers examples, he only be prayſed therfore.

Num. 13. 14.

Example by the fearefull Iſraelites.

S. Peter ſaith: Feare not though they ſeeme terrible vnto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hartes. Onely (ſaith S. Paul) let your conuerſation be as it becommeth the goſpel of Chriſte. Continue in one ſpirit, and in one ſoule, labouring as we do, to mainteine the faith of the goſpel, and in nothing fearing your aduerſaries: which is to them a token of damnatiō, and to you of ſaluation, and that of God: for vnto you it is geuen, that not only ye ſhoulde beleue in Chriſte, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. Wherefore let vs be right wel aſſured that we ſhall yelde a moſt ſtrayte reckenyng and accompt, if we tranſgreſſe the ſayd moſte wholeſome preceptes geuen vs of our Maiſter Chriſte and of his apoſtles, and nowe in this troubleſome tyme wherein the Goſpell is perſecuted, ſhewe our ſelues fearefull ſouldiers: as it is manifeſtly declared in the Reuelation of S. Iohn, where it is written: That the fearefull ſhall haue their part with the vnbeleuyng, and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymſtone, whiche is the ſecond death. Again, it is written in the ſame booke for our warnyng: Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neyther cold nor hote, I wyl ſpue thee out of my mouth.

1. Pet. 3.
Phil. 1.

Apoc. 21.

Apoc. 3.

Nowe therfore good Chriſtians, theſe true teſtimonies of Gods liuely word deepely cōſidered & wayed, let vs chiefly ſtand in awe of his moſt terrible iudgementes, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt hym. Let hym alwayes be our feare and dread. He nowe chaſteneth, he nowe nurtureth vs for our profite, delightyng in vs euen as a louing father in his beloued chyld, to make vs perfect, & to haue vs to be partakers of his holynes. He now iudgeth vs, not vtterly takyng away his euerlaſtyng loue and mercy frō vs, as he doth from the malignāt & wicked, that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuſe his moſt louyng chaſtiſing, and folowe the worlde, we muſt nedes haue our portion with the worlde. Wide is the gate & broad is the way which leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be which goe in therat. But ſtrayt is the gate & narrow is the way that leadeth vnto lyfe, & fewe there be that finde it. O how much better is it to goe this narowe waye with the people of God, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne for a tyme? In conſideration whereof, let vs without any more ſlacking & further delayes in this great warnyng by Gods louyng viſitation, ſubmit our ſelues betyme vnder his mighty hande, that he maye exalt vs when the tyme is come. And thus I wholy cōmit you to hym, & to the worde of his grace, whiche is able to builde further, beſeeching you moſt hartily to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the power of his might, & ſtand perfect in al thynges, beyng alwayes prepared & ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord vnto eternal reſt, & I wil pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he wil graciouſly heare vs for his promiſe ſake made vnto al faythfull in his dearly beloued ſonne Chriſte our alone Sauiour, whoſe grace be with your ſpirite, moſt deare Chriſtians, for euer. So be it.

Eſay. 8.
Prouer. 3.

Heb. 12.
1. Cor. 11.
2. Reg. 7.

Math. 7.

1. Pet. 5.

By your Chriſtian brother, Iohn Hullier,
a priſoner of the Lord.

¶ Iohn Hullyer being of long tyme priſoner and now openly iudged to dye for the teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus, wiſheth hartily to the whole congregation of God, the ſtrength of his holy ſpirit, to their euerlaſting health both of bodye and ſoule.

An other letter of Iohn Hullier to the congregation of Chriſtes faythfull followers.

I Now (moſte deare Chriſtians) hauyng the ſweete comfort of Gods ſauyng health, and beyng confirmed with his free ſpirit (be he only prayſed therfore) am conſtrayned in my conſcience, thinking it my very duetie to admoniſhe you, as ye tender the ſaluation of your ſoules, by al maner of meanes to ſeparate your ſelues from the companye of the Popes hyrelings, conſideryng what is ſayd in the Reuelation of S. Iohn, by the angell of God, touchyng all men. The wordes be theſe: If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receiue his marke in his forehead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drinke the wyne of the wrath of God, whiche is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be puniſhed with fire and brymſtone before the holy angels & before the lambe, and the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth vp euermore. Marke wel here good Chriſtians, who is this beaſt, & worſhippers, that ſhal be partakers of that vnſpeakeable torment. This beaſt is none other but the carnal & fleſhly kingdome of Antichriſt, the Pope with his rabble of falſe Prophetes and Miniſters, as it is moſt manifeſt: which to mainteyne their high titles, worldly promotions and dignities, doo with much crueltie dayly more and more ſet forth and eſtabliſhe their owne traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to Gods holy ordinances, ſtatuts, lawes, and commaundementes, and wholy repugnaunt to his ſincere & pure religion and true worſhippyng.

Apoc. 14.

He exhorteth the faythfull to ſeparate themſelues from the Popes marked miniſters.

Nowe what doo they els but worſhip this Beaſte and his Image, who after they had once already eſcaped from the filthynes of the worlde, through the knowledge of the Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, are yet agayne tangled

2. Peter. 2.

therin and exerce me, vſing diſſimulation vnfaithfully, for feare of their diſpleaſure, doyng one thyng outwardly, and thinkyng inwardly an other: ſo hauyng them in reuerence vnder a cloke and colour, to whom they ought not ſo muche as to ſay God ſpede: and abiding them ſelues to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhorre as a den of theeues and murtherers, and as the Brothell houſe of moſt blaſphemous fornicators: whoſe voyces beyng contrary to Chriſtes voyce, if they were of his flocke, they would not knowe, but would flee from them: as he hym ſelfe beyng the good ſhepheard of our ſoules doth full well in his holy Goſpel teſtifie. Againe, what do they els I pray you, but receyue the Beaſtes marke in their foreheades and in their handes, which doe beare a fayre face and countenaunce outwardly in ſupportyng them as other do, beyng aſhamed openly to confeſſe Chriſt and his holy Goſpell? But this faynednes and diſſimulation, Chriſte and his Goſpel wyl in no wiſe allowe. Of whom it is ſayde: who ſoeuer ſhal be aſhamed of me and my wordes in this adulterous and ſinfull generation, of hym alſo ſhal the ſonne of man be aſhamed, when he ſhall come in the glory of his father with his holy angels. Therefore ſaith almighty God by his Prophet Malachie: Curſed be the diſſemblers. Ye were once lightened, and taſted of the heauenly gyft, and were become partakers of the holy ghoſt, and taſted of the worde of God, and of the power of the worlde to come. And our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith: No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh backe, is apt for the kingdome of God. Therefore S. John the Apoſtle vſeth this for a manifeſt token, that the backſlyding from the true preachers of Gods worde, declareth euidently, that they be not of the number of them. For ſaith he: They went out from vs, but they were not of vs: for if they had ben of vs, no doubt, they would haue continued with vs. Surely, ſo long as we vſe diſſimulation, and to play on both handes, we are not in the light. For what ſoeuer is manifeſt, the ſame is light, as the elect veſſel of God S. Paul witneſſeth.

John. 3.
John. 10. Eze. 16.
John. 10. Againſt diſſembling bearers with the Papiſts
Marke. 18.
Luke 9.
Mala. 1. Heb. 6.
Luke 6. 1. John. 2.
Ephe. 4.

Wherfore (good Chriſtians) for Gods moſt deare loue, deceiue not your ſelues through your owne wiſedome, and through the wiſedome of the worlde, which is fooliſhnes before God, but certifie and ſtaye your owne conſcience with the ſure truth and faithful worde of God, & with the infallible teſtimonies of holy ſcripture. For although Gods mercy is ouer al his workes, yet it doth not extend but onely to them that holde faſt the confidence & reioyſing of hope vnto the end, not being weary in well doyng, but rather waxing euery day ſtronger and ſtronger in the inward man. Therfore in the Reuelation of S. John, where it is entreated of the Beaſt and his Image, it is alſo ſaid: Here is the ſufferance of Saintes, and here are they that keepe the cōmaundementes, and the faith of Ieſus Chriſt. Whereby almighty God doth ſhewe plainly, that he doth vſe thoſe wicked men as inſtrumentes for a tyme, to trye the patience and fayth of his peculiar people, without the performaunce wherof we can haue no part among the lyuing, but as it is ſayde in the ſame Reuelation: The fearefull ſhall haue their parte in the lake that burneth with fire and brymſtone, whiche is the ſecond death.

1. Cor. 3.
Pſal. 3. Heb 3.
2. Cor. 4. Gods mercy to whom it belongeth.

But peraduenture ye wyl obiect & ſay vnto me: what ſhall we do? Shall we caſt our ſelues headlong to death? I ſay not ſo. But this I ſay, that we are al bound (if euer we looke to receyue ſaluation at Gods hande) in this caſe wholy to be obedient to his determinate counſell and foreknowledge, expreſſed by the gyft of the ſpirite in holy Scripture: and then to caſte all our care vpon hym, who worketh all in all for the beſt, vnto them that loue hym: and thus he geueth commaundement, ſaying: Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſinnes, and that ye receyue not of her plagues. Nowe who hearyng this terrible voyce of God, whiche muſt nedes be fulfilled, wyll not with all ſpede and diligence apply hym ſelfe to do thereafter, except ſuch as wyl preſumptuouſly tempt hym? And as touchyng ſuch the wiſe man ſaith: He that loueth peryl and daunger, ſhal periſh therein. But they that be of the fayth of Abraham, euen as he dyd, ſo wyll they in all aſſayes and tryals be obedient to the heauenly voyce, howe ſo euer it ſeemeth contrary to their own natural wyl and carnal reaſon, according to the ſure worde of fayth, which ſaith: Hope thou in the Lord and keepe his way: holde thee ſtyll in the Lord, and abide paciently vpon hym. Let not thy ielouſie moue thee alſo to do euyl. Come out from among them, & ioyne not your ſelues to their vnlawful aſſemblies: yea, do not once ſhewe your ſelues with the leaſt parte of your body, to fauour their wicked doyngs, but glorifie God (as moſt right is) ſo wel in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your ſpirite, or els you can do neither of both well: for your body doth belong to God, ſo wel as your ſpirite. At the dreadfull day of iudgement, we ſhal all receyue the workes of our bodyes, according to that we haue done, whether it be good or bad.

Obiection aunſwered.
1. Cor. 12. Rom. 18.
Apoc. 18.
Eccle. 3.
Pſal. 36.
2. Cor. 6.
The body muſt adioyne wyth the ſpirite in ſeruing God.

Therefore what ſoeuer we do, we may not bryng the ſpirite in bondage to the body, but contrarywiſe we muſte ſubdue the body & yͤ wyll of the fleſhe to the ſpirit, that the ſpirite may freely accompliſh the wyl of God in al thynges: for otherwiſe we ſhall neuer be partakers of his promiſe, with the true chyldren of Abraham. For as S. Paul ſaith: They which are the children of the fleſh, are not the chyldren of God. If we ſhall liue according to the fleſh, we ſhal dye. For to be carnally mynded, is death: but to be ſpiritually mynded, is lyfe and peace, becauſe that the fleſhly minded is enmitie to God: for it is not obedient to the lawe of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the fleſhe can not pleaſe God. Now chuſe you which way you wil take: either yͤ narow way yͭ leadeth vnto lyfe, which Chriſt hym ſelfe and his faythfull folowers haue gone through before: or els the broad path way that leadeth to deſtruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleaſure in for a while. I for my part haue nowe written this ſhort admonition vnto you of good wyll (as God be my witnes) to exhorte you to that way which at length you your ſelues ſhould proue and finde to be beſt, yea and reioyce thereof. And I do not onely write this, but I wyl alſo (wͭ the aſſiſtance of Gods grace) ratifie and confirme, and ſeale the ſame with the effuſion of my bloud, when the ful time ſhal be expired that he hath appoynted: which (ſo farre forth as I may iudge) muſt nedes be within theſe fewe dayes. Therefore I now byd you all moſt hartyly farewell in the Lorde, whoſe grace be with your ſpirite. Amen. Watche and pray, watch and pray, pray pray. So be it.

Faythfull admonition.

Iohn Hullyer.

Beſides theſe letters, the ſayd John Hullyer left alſo a godly prayer, whiche if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, it is extant in the old booke of Actes, to be found, pag. 1515.

¶ The death and martyrdome of ſixe conſtand profeſſours of Chriſte, burned at Colcheſter, for the teſtimonie of the Goſpel, the 28. day of Aprill.

NOt long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Eſſex Martyrs, executed in Smithfielde as is aboue ſpecified, folowed in the ſame order likewiſe of Martyrdome, at one like fire, in the towne of Colcheſter (where the moſt part of them did inhabite) ſixe other bleſſed martyrs, whoſe names be theſe:

Aprill. 28.
The Martyrdome of ſixe men at Colcheſter.

Chriſtopher Lyſter, of Dagneham, Husbandman.
Iohn Mace, of Colcheſter, Apothecary.
Iohn Spenſer, of Colcheſter, Weauer.
Simon Ioyne, Sawyer.
Richard Nichols, of Colcheſter, Weauer.
Iohn Hamond, of Colcheſter, Tanner.

With theſe ſixe was alſo ioyned an other, whoſe name was Roger Graſbroke, but he afterwarde ſubmitted hym ſelfe. Theſe aboue named, the Biſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemeth by the ſhort proceſſe recorded by his Regiſter) was as nowe weerye, made a verye quicke diſpatche. For ſoone after that, they were deliuered vnto one John Kingſtone, Bacheler of Ciuil Lawe, and then Commiſſary to the Biſhop, by the Earle of Oxford and other Commiſſioners (as appeareth by a byll endented, made betwene the Commiſſioners and the ſayd Commiſſary, for the receypt of the ſayd priſoners, dated the. xxviij. day of March, Anno regni regis & Reginæ Philippi & Mariæ ſecundo & tertio: whiche is the yeare of our Lorde. 1556.) and by hym ſent vp vnto his Lorde and Maiſter, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought vnto his houſe at Fulham: where in the open Churche, iudicially were miniſtred vnto them the ſame articles that were propounded vnto Bartlet Grene and others, mentioned before, pag. 1585. To the whiche they made their ſeuerall aunſweares, agreeing altogether in one truth, as by the ſumme and effect therof here enſuyng, more plainly appeareth.

Roger Graſbroke.
John Kingſton B. Bonners Commiſſary in Eſſex.
Theſe Martyrs were deliuered by the Earle of Oxford to the Commiſſary, and by the Commiſſary ſent to the Byſhop.
Theſe articles reade before pag. 1585.

1 To the firſt article they all conſented and agreed: John Spenſer adding further therto, that the church malignant, (which is the Churche of Rome) is no parte of Chriſtes Catholike church: and that he neither hath, nor doth beleue the doctrine and religion, taught & ſet forth in the ſayde Romiſh and malignant church.

2 To the ſecond they anſwered: that they beleued that in the true Catholike church of Chriſt, there be but two Sacramentes: that is to ſay, the ſacrament of Baptiſme, & the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

3 To the thirde article they all agreed, confeſſing that

Their aunſweres to the Byſhops Articles.
The Church of Rome no part of Chriſtes Catholike church.
Two Sacramentes.

they

Profeſſion of Baptiſme.

they were baptiſed in the fayth and beliefe of the Catholicke church, & that their Godfathers & Godmothers had profeſſed & promiſed for them as is conteyned in the ſame article.

4. To the fourth they aunſwered, that they alwayes were and yet then did continue in the fayth and profeſſion, wherein they were baptiſed: Richard Nicols adding alſo: that he had more playnely learned the truth of his profeſſion by the doctrine ſet forth in king Edward the ſixt his dayes, and thereupon he had buylded his fayth, and would continue in the ſame to his liues end, God aſſiſtyng him.

To deny the beggerly vſages of the popes church is not to deny the Catholicke faith of Chriſt.

5. To the fift they aunſwered, that they neither ſwarued nor went away from the Catholicke fayth of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that within the tyme articulate (and before) they had miſliked, and earneſtly ſpoken agaynſt the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, and agaynſt the Sacrament of the aultar, affirmyng that they would not come to heare or be partakers therof, becauſe they had and then did beleue, that they were ſet forth and vſed contrary to Gods worde and glory. And moreouer they did graunt that they had ſpoken agaynſt the vſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, as an oppreſſour of Chriſtes Church and Goſpell, and that he ought not to haue any authoritie in Englãd. For all which ſayings they were no whit ſory, but rather reioyced and were glad.

The Pope ought to haue no authoritie in England.

6. To the ſixt they aunſwered, that they neuer refuſed, nor yet then preſently did refuſe to be reconciled to the vnitie of Chriſtes Catholicke Churche, but they ſayd they had, and then did, and ſo euer would hereafter vtterly refuſe to come to the Church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authoritie of the ſeat thereof, but did vtterly abhorre the ſame, for puttyng downe the booke of God the Bible, & ſettyng vp the Babylonicall Maſſe, with all other of Antichriſtes marchaundiſe.

The Church of Rome to be abhorred.

7. To the ſeuenth article, the effect therof they all graunted. And Symond Joyne declared further, that the cauſe of his refuſing to be partaker of their trumpery, was for that the commaundementes of God were there broke, and Chriſtes ordinaunces chaunged and put out, and the Byſhop of Romes ordinaunces in ſteede therof put in. Moreouer, as touchyng the Sacrament of Chriſtes body, Chriſtopher Liſter affirmed that in the ſayd Sacrament there is the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine, as well after the wordes of conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very body and bloud of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially, and truely, but onely Sacramentally and ſpiritually by fayth in the faythfull receiuers, & that the Maſſe is not propitiatory, for the quicke or for the dead, but mere Idolatry and abhomination.

Agaynſt the Popes trumpery.

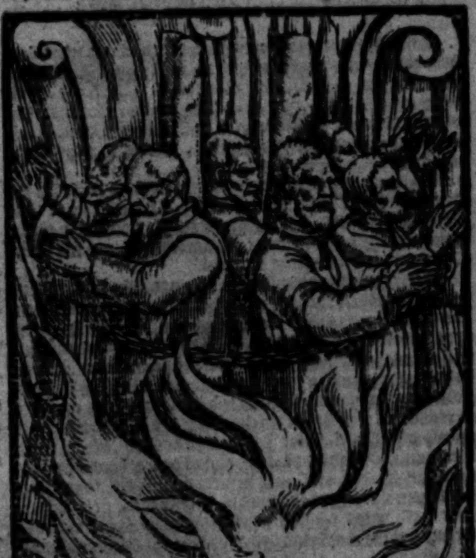
Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Agaynſt the Maſſe.

8. To the eight they ſayd, that they were ſent to Colcheſter priſon by the Kyng & Queenes Commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to their Pariſh Churches, and by thẽ ſent vnto the Byſhop of London, to be therof further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, that that which they had ſayd in the premiſſes was true, and that they were of the Dioces of London.

¶The burnyng of theſe foreſayd vj. men at Colcheſter.



The Martyrdome of Chriſtopher Liſter. John Mace. Joh. Spẽcer. Simon Joyne. Richard Nicols. John Hamond, at Colcheſter. Anno. 1556. Aprill 28.

These aunſwers thus made, the Byſhop did diſmiſſe them for that preſent: vntill the afternoone. At whiche tyme hauyng firſt their articles and aunſwers red vnto them agayne, and they ſtandyng moſt firmely vnto their chriſtian profeſſion, they were by diuers wayes and meanes aſſayed and tryed if they would reuoke the ſame their profeſſed fayth, and returne to the vnity of Antichriſtes church.

Which thing when they refuſed, the byſhop ſtoutly pronounced the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt them, committyng them vnto the temporall power, who vpon the receite of the kyng and Queenes writ, ſent them vnto Colcheſter, where ye .xxviij. day of Aprill, moſt chearefully they ended theyr liues to the glory of Gods holy name, & the great incouragement of others.

Sentence geuen agaynſt them by B. Boner.

¶Hugh Lauerocke an olde lame man, Iohn Apprice a blynde man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bow.

May. 15.

Two burned together at one ſtake. Hugh Lauerocke an olde lame man, and John Apprice, a blynd man.

IN the diſcourſe of this parcel or part of hiſtory, I know not, whether more to maruayle at the great & vnſearchable mercyes of God (with whome there is no reſpect in decrees of perſons, but he chooſeth as well the poore, lame, and blynde, as the rich, mighty, and healthfull, to ſet forth his glory) or els to note the vnreaſonable or rather vnnaturall doynges of theſe vnmercifull catholickes (I meane B. Boner, and his complices) in whome was ſo little fauour or mercy to all ſortes and kyndes of men, that alſo they ſpared neyther impotent age, neyther lame, nor blynde, as may well appeare by theſe poore creatures, whoſe names and ſtories here vnder follow.

{ Hugh Lauerocke, of the pariſh of Barkyng }
{ Paynter, of the age of. 68. a lame creple. }
{ Iohn Apprice, a blynd man

These two poore and ſimple creatures beyng beſyde, accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of theirs, vnto the Byſhop and other of the kyng and Queenes Commiſſioners, were ſent for by theyr officer: and ſo beyng brought end deliuered into the handes of the ſayd Byſhop, were the firſt day of may examined before him in his Pallace at Lõdon: where hee firſt propounded and obiected agaynſt them thoſe .ix. articles, wherof often mention is made before miniſtred as well vnto Bartlet Grene, as alſo vnto many others. To the whiche they aunſwered in effect, as Chriſtopher Liſter, John Mace, and other before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were agayne ſent to priſon, and beſide other tymes, the .ix. day of the ſame moneth, in the Conſiſtory at Paules were agayne openly produced and there after the old order, traueyled withall to recant theyr opinions agaynſt the Sacrament of the aulter.

The wordes of John Lauerocke to Boner.

Whereunto Hugh Lauerocke firſt ſayd: I will ſtand to myne aunſweres, & to that that I haue cõfeſſed: and I can not finde in the ſcriptures, that the Prieſtes ſhould lift vp ouer their head a cake of bread.

The wordes of John Apprice to the Byſhop.

The Byſhop then turned him vnto John Apprice & aſked what he would ſay.

To whom he aunſwered: your doctrine (ſayd he) that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreable with the world & embraced of the ſame, that it can not be agreable with ye ſcripture of God. And ye are not of the Catholicke Churche: for ye make lawes to kill men, And make the Queene your hangman.

At whiche wordes the Byſhop, belike, ſomewhat tickled, & therfore very loth to delay theyr condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burnyng charity) commaunded that they ſhould be brought after him vnto Fulham, whether he before dinner dyd go, and therein the afternoone after his ſolemne maner, in the open Church he pronounced the definitiue ſentence of condemnation agaynſt them, and ſo deliueryng thẽ into the handes of ye tẽporall officer, thought to diſpatch his handes of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his conſcience before the iudgement of God, from the giltines of innocent bloud.

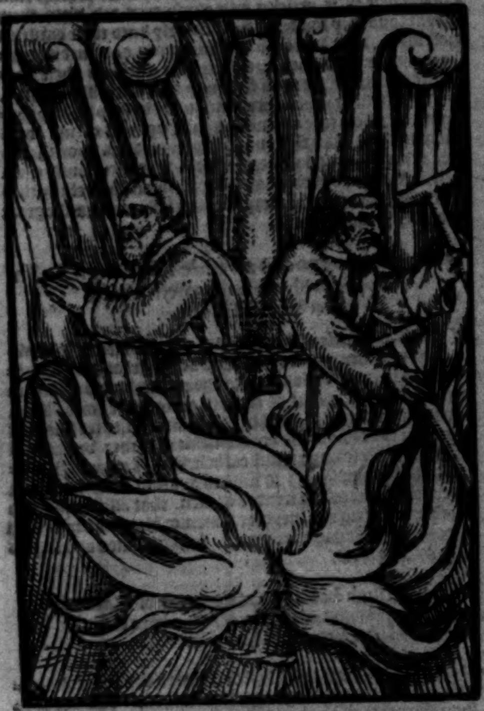
Sentence of condemnation geuen agaynſt Hugh Lauerocke, and John Apprice.

The poore men beyng now in the temporall officers hãdes might not there bee ſuffered long to remayne, & therfore the xv. day of May, very early in the mornyng they were caried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford the Bowe, and moſt quietly in the fire prayſing God, yelded vp their ſoules into his handes, through a lyuely fayth in Jeſus Chriſt, whom vnto the ende they dyd moſt conſtantly confeſſe.

At theyr death, Hugh Lauerocke, after he was cheined caſtyng away his crouch, and comfortyng John Apprice his fellow Martyr, ſayd vnto him: be of good comfort my brother: for my Lorde of London is our good Phiſition. He will heale vs both ſhortly, the of thy blindnes, and mee of

¶The Martyrdome of a blynd man, and a lame man, at Stratford the Bow.

The Martyrdome of Hugh Lauerocke and John Apprice, at Stratford the Bow. Anno. 1556. May. 15.



of any lamenes. And ſo paciently theſe two good Saintes of God together ſuffered.

¶Three women the ſame tyme burned in Smithfield, Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackuell, and Ioane Hornes.

May. 16.

The next day after the Martyrdome of this lame and blynd man aboue ſpecified, in the ſayd moneth of May were brought to the fire three women, with whom alſo was adioyned an other, who beyng in the ſame conſtauncie with them, was likewiſe partaker of the ſayd condemnatiō. The names of theſe were.

Katherin Hutte, Elizabeth Thackuell, Ioane Hornes. Martyrs.

Katherine Hut of Bockyng, widow.
Ioane Hornes of Billerica, Mayde.
Elizabeth Thackuell of great Burſted, Mayde,
Margaret Ellys of Billerica, Mayde.

How theſe with diuers other moe were perſecuted and ſent vp, eſpecially by Syr John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrrell Eſquier, Iuſtices of peace, this their Letter following will declare.

¶A Letter ſent vnto Boner Byſhoppe of London, from Sir Iohn Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrrell Eſquire, Iuſtices of peace for the County of Eſſex.

A letter of certayne perſecuting Iuſtices to Boner.

OVr humble commendations to your Lordſhyp: theſe ſhall be to aduertiſe you, that we haue ſent your good Lordſhyp, Ioane Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, Iames Harrys ſeruaunt of William Harrys of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellys, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the Churche, nor to the reall preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, to vſe your Lordſhyps pleaſure with them, as you thinke good, not doubtyng with the puniſhement of theſe and the other before ſent to your Lordſhip, but that the Pariſh of great Burſtede and Billerica ſhall be brought to good conformitie. Thus committyng your good Lordſhyp to the tuition of almighty God, we take our leaue. From great Burſtede this preſent ſecond day of March. 1556.

Your Lordſhyps to commaund,
Iohn Mordant. Edmund Tyrrell.

After the receite of theſe Letters, Byſhop Boner entryng to examination of theſe iiij. women aboue named, laid and obiected the lyke Articles to them, as after his vſuall forme he vſed to miniſter, and are before expreſſed, pag. 1585.

Seeke theſe Articles before pag. 1585.

whereunto the ſayd women likewiſe agreeyng in the ſame vnitie of ſpirite and doctrine, accorded in their aunſweres, much agreeyng vnto the other before them.

As firſt, to the Article in the firſt place obiected they conſented and graunted, beleuing the ſayd Article to bee true in euery part therof.

2. To the ſecond, partly they aunſwered, they could not tell what a Sacrament is: Elizabeth Thackuell, and Katheryn Hut addyng moreouer, that Matrimony and Baptiſme and the Lordes ſupper were Sacraments ordeyned in the church: but whether the other ſpecified in this article be ſacraments (as they hearde them called) ordeyned by God or not, they could not tell. Margaret Ellys beyng examined ſeuerally, as the other were, vpon the ſame, howe many Sacramentes there were, aunſwered (as a young Mayde vnſkilled, in her ſimple ignoraunce) that ſhe ſhoulde not tell. Howbeit ſhe had heard (ſhe ſayd) that there was one ſacrament but what it was ſhe could not tell. &c.

The ſimple ignoraunce of theſe women had more neede to be inſtructed then they to be burned.

3. To the Third likewiſe they graunted, that they were baptiſed by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which godfathers & godmothers (ſayd Margaret Ellys) dyd not then know ſo much, as ſhe now doth know: Katherin Hut addyng withall, and ſaying, that ſhe was baptiſed: but what her godfather and godmothers dyd then promiſe for her in her name, ſhe could not tell.

4. To the fourth article, Margaret Ellys, and Elizabeth Thackuell dyd graunt therunto: Katherin Hut ſayd moreouer that ſhe beyng of the age of. xuij. yeares, was of the fayth wherein ſhe was Chriſtened, and yet neuertheles the ſayd fayth in that age (ſhe ſayd) was but a dead fayth, becauſe ſhe dyd not then vnderſtād what ſhe dyd beleue. Ioane Hornes added that ſhe beyng. xj. yeares of age, begā to learn the fayth ſet forth in kynge Edwardes dayes, in the which fayth and Religion (ſhe ſayd) ſhe hath hetherto, and yet doth and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

5. To the fift article, they aunſwered and confeſſed, accordyng all in this effect, that as touching the Maſſe, they knew no goodnes in it, and as touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter, they beleued that Chriſtes naturall body is in heauen, and not in the Sacrament of the aulter: And as concernyng the Sea of Rome, they acknowledged no ſuch ſupremacy in that ſea, neyther haue they any thing to do therewith.

Agaynſt the Maſſe and Sacrament of the Altar.

6. In aunſweryng the ſixt article, they dyd all generally refuſe to be reconciled or vnited to the church of Rome: or any other Church contrary to that wherein they now ſtande and dyd profeſſe.

7. To the ſeuenth article, they aunſwered likewiſe that they had ſo done and ſayd in all thinges, as in this article contayned: Katheryn Hut addyng moreouer the reaſon why: for that (ſayd ſhe) neyther the ſeruice in Latin, Maſſe, Matins, and Euenſong, nor the Sacramentes were vſed and miniſtred accordyng to Gods word: And furthermore, that the Maſſe is an idoll, neyther is the true body and bloude of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aulter, as they make men beleue.

8. Their aunſwere to the eyght article declared that they were al and euery one ſent vp to Boner by Syr Joh. Mordaunt knight, and iuſtice of peace in Eſſex (the Lord of hys mercy ſend vs better Iuſtices I beſech him) for that they could not affirme ỹ preſence of Chriſtes body & bloud to bee truely and really in the Sacrament, and for that they come not to their pariſh popiſh Church.

Syr John Mordant Promoter.

9. To the nynth article, they aunſwered and confeſſed the premiſſes therof to be true, and denyed not the ſame: ſaue that Katherin Hut ſayd, that ſhe was of Bocking in Eſſex of the peculiar iuriſdiction of Caunterbury, and not of the Dioces and iuriſdiction of London.

Katherin Hutte.

After theſe their aunſweres receiued, they were produced agayne about the xiij. of Aprill to further examination, and ſo at length to their finall iudgement, where Katherin Hut widow ſtandyng before the Byſhop boldly and cōſtantly ſtode to that which ſhe had ſayd before, neyther yeldyng to hys fayre promiſes, nor ouerthrowne with his terrour, who beyng required of the Sacrament to ſay her mynde, & to reuoke her ſelfe vnto the fellowſhip of ỹ Catholicke fayth openly proteſted, ſaying: I deny it to be God, becauſe it is a dumme God and made w mans handes. Wherein ỹ good & faythfull Martyr of Chriſt firmely perſiſtyng, ſo receaued her ſentence beyng condemned of Boner to the fire: which ſhee with great conſtancye ſuſteyned by the Grace and ſtrength of the Lord, and dyd abyde for the cauſe and loue of Chriſt.

The wordes of Katherin Hutte, of the Sacrament.

Ioane Hornes mayde.

Ioane Hornes mayd, producted likewiſe to her iudgemēt & cōdēnatiō, with like firmnes & Chriſtiā fortitude declared her ſelfe a true martyr folower of Chriſtes teſtamēt, geuing no place to the aduerſary: but beyng charged that ſhe did not beleue the Sacramēt of Chriſtes body & bloud to be Chriſt

hym

1556.
Maye.

him ſelfe, of the which Sacrament (contrary to the nature of a Sacrament) the aduerſaryes are wont to make an Idoll ſeruice: to this ſhe proteſtyng openly her mynde, ſayd as followeth: If you can make your God to ſhedde bloud, or to ſhew any condition of a true liuely body, then will I beleue you: but it is but bread (as touchyng the ſubſtaunce therof) meanyng the matter wherof the Sacrament conſiſteth: and that you call hereſie, I truſt to ſerue my Lord God in. &c.

The wordes and profeſſion of Joane Hornes touching the Sacrament.

And as concernyng the Romiſh ſea, ſhe ſayd: my Lord (ſpeakyng to Boner) I forſake all his abhominations, and from them good Lord deliuer vs. From this her ſtable and conſtaunt aſſertion, when the Byſhop was to weake to remoue her, and to ignoraunt to conuince her, he knockt her downe with the butcherly axe of his ſentence. And ſo the holy Virgine and Martyr committed to the ſhambles of the ſecular ſword, was offered vp with her other felowes a burnt ſacrifice to the Lord, In odorem bonæ fragrantiæ, in the ſauour of a ſweete and pleaſaunt ſmell.

The Butcherly axe of Boner.

As touchyng Margaret Ellys, ſhe likewiſe perſeueryng in her foreſayd confeſſion, and reſiſtyng the falſe Catholicke errours and hereſies of the Papiſtes, was by the ſayd Boner adiudged and condemned: but before the tyme of her burnyng came, preuented by death in Newgate priſon, departed and ſlept in the Lord.

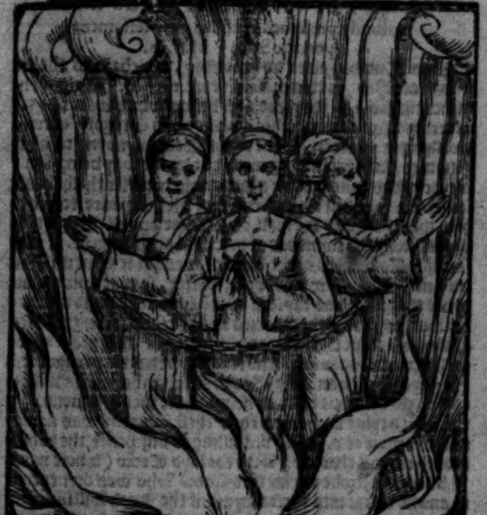
Margaret Ellys dyed in newgate.

No leſſe ſtrength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other mayde Elizabeth Thackuell, whoſe hart & mynde the Lord, had ſo confirmed in his truth, ſo armed with patience, that as her aduerſaries could by no ſufficient knowledge of Scripture conuict her affirmation, ſo by no forceable attemptes they could remoue her confeſſion. Whereupon ſhe ſtandyng to the death, beyng in lyke ſorte condemned, by the ſayd vnbyſhoplyke *πλήκτης, gaue her ſelfe willyngly and mildly for the confirmation and ſealyng vp of the ſincere truth of Gods word.

Elizabeth Thackuell, Mayd and Martyr.

*i. A perſecutor.

¶The Martyrdome of three women.



The Martyrdome of Katherine Hutte, Joane Hornes, Elizabeth Thacknell, in Smithfelde. Anno. 1556. May. 16.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falſly and wrongfully by men condemned for the iuſt quarell and cauſe of Gods Goſpell, were had to Smithfield, and there cruelly bounde to the ſtake, gaue their bodyes to the tormentours, their ſpirites they commended to GOD. For whoſe glory they were willyng and ready to ſuffer what ſoeuer the cruell handes of their enemyes ſhould worke agaynſt them, dying more ioyfully in ẏ flamyng fire, then ſome of thē ẏ burned them, did peraduenture in their beddes. Such a Lord is God, glorious & wonderfull in all his Saintes. The Martyrdome of theſe Saintes of God was the 16. of May.

¶Thomas Drowry a blynd boy, and Thomas Croker Briclayer, Martyrs.

YE heard a litle before, of two men, the one blynd, the other lame, whiche ſuffered about the xv. of May. And here is not to bee forgotten an other as Godly a couple, whiche ſuffered the lyke paſſion and Martyrdome for the ſame cauſe of Religion at Glocester: of the whiche two, the one was the blynd boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the hiſtory of Byſhoppe Hoper, whom the ſayd vertuous Byſhop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.

May. 5. Tho. Drowry a blynd boy, and Tho. Croker, Martyrs. Perſecution at Gloceſter. Of this blynde boy, read before pag. 1435.

With him alſo was burned an other in the ſame place, and at ẏ ſame fire in Glocester, about the v. of May, whoſe name was Thomas Croker Bricklayer.

¶Perſecution in Suffolke. Three burnt at Beckles. May. 21.

AFter the death of theſe aboue rehearſed, were three men burnt at Beckles in Suffolke, in one fire, about the xxi. day of May. an. 1556. Whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified.

The Martyrdome of three men burned at Beckleyes.

{ Thomas Spicer, of Wynſton, Laborer. | Iohn Deny, and Edmund Pole. }

This Thomas Spicer was a ſingle man, of the age of xix. yeares, and by vocation a Labourer, dwellyng in Wynſton in the County of Suffolke, and there taken in his maſters houſe in Sommer, about or anone after the riſing of the Sunne (beyng in his bed) by James Ling and John Keretch of the ſame Towne, and William Dauyes of Debnam in the ſayd County.

James Ling. John Keretch, Will. Dawes, perſecutors.

The occaſion of his takyng was, for that he would not go to their Popiſh Church to heare Maſſe, and receiue their Idole at the commaundement of Syr John Tyrrell Knight, of Gyppyng hall in Suffolke, and certaine other Juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to Eay doungeon in Suffolke, till at length they were all three together brought before Dunnyng then Chauncellour of Norwich, and M. Mynges the Regiſter, ſittyng at the Towne of Beckles to be examined.

Dunning. Minges perſecutors.

And there the ſayd Chauncellour perſwadyng what he could to turne them from the truth, could by no meanes preuayle of his purpoſe. Whereby myndyng in the ende to giue Sentence on them, he burſt out in teares, intreatyng them to remēber thē ſelues, & to turne agayne to the holy mother Church, for that they were deceaued and out of the truth, & that they ſhould not wilfully caſt away them ſelues, with ſuch lyke wordes.

Now, as he was thus labouryng them and ſeemed very loth to read the Sentence (for they were the firſt that hee cōdemned in that Dioces) the Regiſter there ſittyng by, beyng weary, belyke, of taryng, or els perceauyng the conſtant Martyrs to be at a point, called vpō the Chauncellour in haſt to rid them out of the way, and to make and end. At which wordes the Chauncellour read the cōdemnation ouer them with teares, and deliuered them to the ſecular power.

¶Their Articles.

THe Articles obiected to theſe and commonly to all other condemned in that Dioces by Doct. Hopton Byſhop of Norwich, and by Dunnyng his Chauncellour, were theſe.

The articles wherupon they were condemned.

1. Firſt, was articulate againſt them, that they beleued not the Pope of Rome to bee ſupreme head immediately vnder Chriſt in earth of the vniuerſall Catholicke Church.
2. Item, that they beleued not holy bread, and holy water, aſhes, Palmes, and all other lyke ceremonyes vſed in the Church, to be good and laudable for ſtyrryng vp the people to deuotion.
3. Item, that they beleued not, after the wordes of conſecratiō ſpokē by the Prieſt, the very naturall body of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne, to be in the Sacrament of the aultar.
4. Item, that they beleued it to bee Idolatry to worſhyp Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aultar.
5. Item, that they tooke bread and wyne in remembraūce of Chriſtes Paſſion.
6. Item, that they would not folow the croſſe in proceſſiō nor be confeſſed to a Prieſt.
7. Item, that they affirmed no mortall man to haue in him ſelfe free will to do good or euill.

Ceremonyes.

Sacrament of the Altar.

For this doctrine and Articles aboue prefixed, theſe three (as is aforeſayd) were condemned by Doctour Dunnyng, and committed to the power ſecular, Syr John Silyard beyng the ſame tyme hyghe Sheriffe of Northfolke and Suffolke.

And the next day folowyng vpon the ſame, they were all burnt together in the ſayd Towne of Beckles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writte De comburendo, was not yet come downe, nor could not be, the Lord Chauncellour

Execution of burning in Northfolke done without a writte.

Q. Mary.

An. 1556.

Maye.

lour B. Heath, beyng the ſome tyme at London. Which if it be true, then it is playne, that both they went beyond their Commiſſion, that were the executioners, and alſo the Clergie whiche were the inſtigatours thereof, can not make good that they now pretend: ſaying, that they did nothyng but by a lawe. But this let the Lord finde out, when he ſeeth his tyme.

Syr John Silliardes wordes

In the meane tyme, whyle theſe good men were at the ſtake, and had prayed, they ſayd their beliefe: and when they came to the recityng of the Catholicke Church, Syr John Silliard ſpake to them. That is well ſayd Syrs, quoth he. I am glad to heare you ſay, you doe beleue the Catholicke Church. That is the beſt word I heard of you yet.

Edmunde Pole refuſeth the Popes Church.

To which his ſayinges, Edmund Pole anſwered, that though they beleue the Catholicke Church, yet do they not beleue in their popiſh Church, which is no part of Chriſtes Catholicke Church, and therfore no part of their belief.

When they roſe frõ prayer, they all went ioyfully to the ſtake, and beyng bound thereto, and the fire burnyng about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible voyce, that it was wonderfull to all thoſe which ſtode by and heard thẽ.

Robart Bacon an enemye.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwellyng in the ſayd Beckles, a very enemy to Gods truth, and a perſecutour of hys people, beyng there preſent within hearyng thereof, willed the tormentours to throw on Fagots to ſtoppe the knaues breathes, as he termed them: ſo hote was his burnyng charitie. But theſe good men not regardyng their malice, confeſſed the truth, and yelded their lyues to the death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and ioyfully. The which their conſtancie in the like cauſe, the Lord graunt we may imitate and follow vnto the end, whether it be death or lyfe to glorifie the name of Chriſt, Amen.

And for aſmuch as we haue here entred into the perſecution of Northfolke and Suffolke, it commeth therfore to mynde by occaſion hereof, briefly to touche by the way, ſome parte (for the whole matter can not be ſo expreſt as it was done (touchyng the troubles of the Townes of Wynſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke, rayſed and ſtyrred by the ſayd Syr John Tyrrell and other Juſtices there) of the like aſſinitie. The ſumme and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me by writyng.

❡ The perſecution in the Townes of Wynſon and Mendleſam in Suffolke.

Perſecution at Winſton and Mendleſham in Suffolke. Wynſon or Wynſton. The names of good men perſecuted in Suffolke Mendleſam.

By the procurement of Syr John Tyrrell Knight and other of his Colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the Towne of Wynſon in Suffolke theſe perſons here after followyng. an. 1556.

Miſtres Alyce Twaites Gentlewoman, of the age of lx. yeares and more, and two of her ſeruauntes.
Humfrey Smith and his wife.
William Katchpoole and his wife.
John Maulyng and his wife.
Nicholas Burlyngham and his wife.
And one Rought and his wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driuen out of the towne of Mendleſam, in the County of Suffolke.

Gods people perſecuted.

Symon Harlſton and Katherine his wife, with his fiue children.
William Whityng and Katherine his wife.
Thomas Dobſon and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his wife.
John Doncon and his wife and his mayde.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the elder.
One Konnoldes wife.
A poore widow.
One mother Semons mayde.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrayned to do agaynſt their conſcience, by the helpe of the Pariſhe Prieſt, whoſe name was Syr John Brodiſh.

¶ Theſe be the chiefeſt cauſes why thoſe aboue named were perſecuted.

The fayth and doctrine of theſe Confeſſours.

1. Firſt, they did hold and beleue the holy word of God to be the ſufficient doctrine vnto their ſaluation.

2. Secondly, they denyed the Popes vſurped authoritie, and did hold all that Churche of Antichriſt to be Chriſtes aduerſaries: and further, refuſed the abuſed Sacramentes, defied the Maſſe and all Popiſhe ſeruice and ceremonyes, ſaying they robbed GOD of his honour, and Chriſt of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacyng of that they did there.

3. Thirdly, they did hold, that the miniſters of yͤ Church, by Gods word might lawfully marry.

4. Fourthly, they held the Queene to be as chief head: and wicked rulers to be a great plague ſent of God for ſinne. &c.

5. Fiftly, they denyed mans free will, and that the Popes Church did erre, and many other in that poynt with them, rebukyng their falſe confidence in workes, & their falſe truſt in mans righteouſneſſe. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for goyng ſo openly, and talkyng ſo freely, their anſwere was: they knowledged, cõfeſſed, & beleued & therefore they muſt ſpeake: & yͤ their tribulatiõ was Gods good will and prouidence, and that his iudgementes were right, to puniſhe them, with other, for their ſinnes: and that of very faythfulneſſe and mercy GOD had cauſed thẽ to be troubled: So that one heare of their heades ſhould not periſh before the tyme: but all thynges ſhould worke vnto the beſt, to them that loue GOD: and that Chriſt Jeſus was their lyfe and onely righteouſneſſe, and that onely by fayth in hym, and for his ſake, all good thynges were freely geuen them: alſo forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, and life euerlaſtyng.

Witneſſed by the faythfull report of Suffolke men.

Many of theſe perſecuted, were of great ſubſtaunce, and had poſſeſſions of their owne.

Geue God the prayſe.

❡ For ſo much as we are now in yͤ moneth of May, before we ouerpaſſe the ſame, and becauſe the ſtory is not lõg, and not vnworthy peraduenture of notyng, it ſhall not greue the ſtudious reader, a litle to geue the hearyng therof, whereby to learne to maruaile and muſe at the great workes of the Lord. They that go downe (ſayth the Pſalme) into the ſea, labouryng vpon the water, haue ſene the workes of the Lord, and his mightie wonders vppon the deepe. Pſal. 106. &c. The truth wherof may well appeare in this ſtory following: whiche ſtory as it is ſignified and written to me by relation of the partie him ſelfe, whiche was doer therof, called Thomas Morſe, ſo I thought to purporte the ſame as followeth.

Pſal. 106.

¶ A ſtory of one Gregory Crow marueilouſly preſerued with his new teſtament vpon the Seas. May. 26.

A ſtory of Gregory Crow merueilouſly preſerued vpon the ſea with his new Teſtament.

Vpon Tueſday after Whitſonday, whiche was the 26. day of May, in this preſent yeare. 1556. (or els, as he rather thinketh, in the yeare next before, which was. 1555.) a certaine poore man, whoſe name was Gregory Crow, dwellyng in Malden, went to the Sea, myndyng to haue gone into Kent for fullyng earth, but by the way being foule wether, was driuen vpon a ſande, where preſently the boate ſanke and was full of water: ſo that the men were forced to hold them ſelues by the maſt of the boate, and all thyngs that would ſwim did ſwim out of her. Amongeſt whiche, Crow ſaw his Teſtament in the water, & caught it & put it in his boſome. Now it was ebbyng water, ſo that within one houre the boate was dry, but broke, ſo as they could not ſaue her: but they went them ſelues vpõ the ſand (beyng x. myles at the leaſt from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would ſend ſome ſhyp that way to ſaue thẽ (beyng two men and one Boy in all): for they might not tary vpõ the ſand but halfe an houre, but it would be floud. In the which tyme they found their cheſt wherein was money to the ſumme of v. pound vj. ſhillinges viij. pence, the which money the mã that was with the ſayd Crow (whoſe name I know not) tooke & gaue it to Crow who was owner therof, and he caſt it into the ſea ſaying: if the Lord will ſaue our liues, he will prouide vs a lyuing and ſo they went vppon the maſte there hangyng by the armes & legges for the ſpace of x. houres, in the which tyme the boy was ſo weery, and beaten with the Sea, that he fell of and was drowned.

Crowes boat broken vpon the ſand.

Crow taketh his Teſtament and caſteth his money away. The boy beaten with ſea, and drowned

And when the water was gone agayne, and the ſand dry, Crow ſayd to his man: It were beſt for vs to take downe our maſtes, and when the floud commeth we will ſit vpon them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bryng vs to ſome ſhyp that maye take vs vp. Which thyng they did, and ſo at x. of the clocke in the night of the ſame Tewſday, the floud did beare vp the maſt wheupon they ſat.

Crowes man dead vpon the Maſte. Gregory Crow driuen vpon the Seas ſitting vpon a Maſte.

And vppon the Wedenſday in the night the man dyed, beyng ouercome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who driuyng vp and downe in the Sea, callyng vppon God as he could, and might not ſleepe for feare that the ſea would haue beaten him of.

Gods prouidence to be noted.

So at length I my ſelfe (ſayth Thomas Morſe) beyng laden to Antwarpe with my Crayer, goyng from Lee vpon Friday, hauyng within my Crayer, of Marriners and Marchants, to the number of xvj. perſons, and ſo commyng to the Forland, the wynd was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrayned to go ſomewhat out of my way, beyng in the after noone about vj. of the clocke, where at the laſt we ſaw a thyng a farre of, appearing vnto vs like a ſmall Boy, that Fiſhermen do vſe to lay with their hookes.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſayd, let vs haue ſome fiſhe. And I ſayd to him that was at the helme: keepe your courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the Fiſherman, and haue no fiſh neither, and ſo at my commaundement he did. But at length he at the helme ſtanding hygher then all we did, ſayd: Me thinke Maiſter, it is a man. But yet they beyng in doubt that it was but a Fiſhers Boy, returned the ſhyp from him agayne to keepe their courſe.

God a marueilous helper in tyme of neede.

Crow beholdyng the ſhyp to turne from him, beyng then in vtter deſpayre, and ready now to periſhe with watchyng, famine, and moreouer miſerably beaten with the Seas, at laſt tooke his Maryners cap from his head, and holdyng vp the ſame with his arme, as hygh as he could, thought by ſhakyng it as well as he might, to geue them ſome token of better ſight.

Whereupon the Shypman more ſenſibly perceiuyng a thyng to moue, aduertiſed vs agayne, declaryng how he dyd ſee playnly a mans arme: and with that we all beheld hym well, and ſo came to hym, and tooke him vp. And as ſone as we had him in our ſhyp, he began to put his hand in his boſome: and one aſked him if he had money there. No ſayd he, I haue a booke here, I thinke it be wet: and ſo drew out his Teſtament which we then dryed. But the Sea had ſo beaten him, that his eyes, noſe and mouth was almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heate of his face, and the weather had made. So we made a fire and ſhifted him with dry clothes, and gaue him Aqua compoſita to drinke, and ſuch meate as was in the ſhyp, and then let him ſleepe.

Crow with the teſtament preſerued on the Sea.

The next day when we awaked him about viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, and his bloud began ſomewhat to appeare in his fleſhe (for when we tooke him vppe his fleſh was euen as though it had bene ſodden, or as a drowned mans is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſayling to Antwerpe, the Marchauntes whiche ſaw the thyng publiſhed the ſame in Antwerpe, and becauſe it was wonderfull, the people there both men and women came to the ſhyp to ſee him many of them, and ſome gaue him a petycoate, ſome a ſhyrt, ſome hoſen, and ſome money, alwayes notyng how he caſt away his money, and kept his booke.

And many of the women wept when they heard & ſaw him. And Maiſter gouernour of the Engliſh nation there, had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter, & pityng his caſe commaunded the Officer of the Engliſh houſe to go with him to the ſeuerall houſes amongeſt the Engliſh Marchauntes, and I with them, and at their houſes there was geuen him vj. pound, x. ſhyllynges. And ſo from thence he went with me to Roane, where the people alſo came to him to ſee him, maruailyng at the great workes of God.

The ſumme of his money caſt into the ſea reſtored hym agayne.

And thus much concernyng this poore man with hys new Teſtament preſerued in the ſea (which Teſtament the Popes Clergy condemneth on the land) ye haue heard, as I receiued by the relation of the partie aboue named, who was the doer therof, and yet aliue dwellyng in Lee, well knowen to all Marchauntes of London. In which ſtory thus by the way vnderſtand good Reader (whiche rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poore man thus ſeen ẏ preſerued in the ſea with a new Teſtament in his boſome, had had in ſtede of that, a pyxe with a cōſecrated hoſte about him, no doubt it had bene long ere this tyme, all Chriſtendome ouer for a miracle, ſo farre as the pope hath any land. But to let the pope with his falſe miracles go, let vs returne agayn to our matter begon, & adioyne an other hiſtory of much like [illegible], teſtified likewiſe by the information of the ſaid Thomas Morſe aboue mentioned, to the intent to make knowen the worthy actes of the Almighty, that he may be magnified in all his wonderous workes. The ſtory is thus declared, which happened an. 1565. about Michaelmas.

¶ An other like ſtory of Gods prouidence vpon three men deliuered vpon the Sea.

An other lyke ſtory of three men that feared God, by Gods prouidence preſerued on the Sea.

There was a ſhyp (ſayth the ſayd Thomas Morſe) whereof I had a part, goyng towards the Bay for ſalt, with two ſhyppes of Wichelſey, whiche were altogether goyng for ſale, as before is ſayd. At what tyme they were within ten myle of the North Foreland, otherwiſe called Tenate, the wynde did come ſo contrary to our ſhyp, that they were forced to go cleane out of the way, and the other two ſhyppes kept their courſe ſtill, vntill our ſhyppe was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thyng driuyng vpon the ſea, and hoyſed out their boate and went vnto it, and it was three men ſittyng vpon a peece of their ſhip, whiche had ſitten ſo two dayes and two nightes.

Three ſitting vpon a peece of their ſhypp two dayes and two nightes in the ſea.

There had bene in their ſhyp eight men more, whiche were drowned, beyng all French men, dwellyng in a place in Fraunce called Olloyne. They had bene at Danſwiche and loſt their ſhip about Orford Naſe, as might be learned by theyr wordes. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the ſhip. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhip, was, that after the commyng in they gaue thankes for theyr deliueraunce: both mornyng and euenyng they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before & after meate, and when they came into Fraunce, our ſhyps went to the ſame place, where theſe men dwelled and one of them dyd ſell vnto our men their ſhyps ladyng of ſalt, and dyd vſe the very curteouſly and frendly, and not at that tyme onely but alwayes when ſoeuer that ſhip commeth thether (as ſhe hath ben there twiſe ſince) hee alwayes doth for them, ſo that they can lacke nothyng. I ſhould haue noted that after our ſhip had taken vp thoſe iij. men out of the Sea, they had the wynd fayre preſently, and came and ouertooke the other two ſhips agayne, and ſo they proceded in theyr voyage together.

¶ For the more credite of this ſtory aboue recited, to ſatiſfie eyther the doubtful, or to preuent the quareller, I haue not onely alleadged the name of the partie whiche was the doer therof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his own words as I of him receiued it: the partie and reporter him ſelfe being yet aliue & dwelling at Lee, a mā ſo wel knowē amōgſt the moſt Marchantes of London, that Who ſo heareth the name of Tho. Morſe, will neyther doubt thereof. And agayne, the matter it ſelfe beyng ſo notoriouſly knowen to marchantes aſwell here as at Antwerpe, that though hys name were not expreſſed, the ſtory can lacke no witneſſes.

¶ The death of william Slech in the Kinges Bench.

The laſt daye of the ſayd moneth of May, in ẏ yeare aboueſayd, John Slech beyng in priſon for the ſayd doctrine of the Lordes Goſpell, and the confeſſion of hys truth, dyed in the Kynges Bench, and was buryed on the Backſide of the ſayde priſon, for that the Romiſh Catholicke ſpiritualitie thought hym not worthy to come within their Popeholy Churchyardes, neyther in any other Chriſtian buriall, as they call it.

May. 31. W. Slech dead in the Kinges Bench, and buried in the fieldes.

¶ The ſtory of foure men condemned at Lewes the vi. day of Iune.

In Iune next followyng, about ẏ ſixt day of ẏ ſame moneth iiij. Martyrs ſuffered together at Lewes, whoſe names were theſe.

Iune 6. 4. Martyrs burnt at Lewes.

Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote, Carpenter.
Iohn Oſwald, of Woodmancote, huſbandman.
Thomas Auyngton, of Ardyngly, Turner.
Thomas Reat.

To Thomas Harland I finde in the Byſhop of Londons Regiſters, to be obiected for not commyng to Church. Whereunto he aunſwered: that after the Maſſe was reſtored, hee neuer had will to heare the ſame, becauſe (ſayde he) it was in Latin, whiche hee dyd not vnderſtand: and therfore as good (quoth he) neuer a whitte, as neuer the better.

Ex Regiſt. Anſwere of Tho. Harland.

Iohn Oſwald, denyed to aunſwere any thyng, vntill hys accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him: and neuertheles ſayd, ẏ fire & Fagots could not make him afrayde: but as the good preachers which were in kynge Edwardes tyme haue ſuffered, & gone before: ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad therof.

Theſe foure after longe impriſonment in the Kynges Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Suſſex in one fire, the day of the moneth aforeſayd.

¶ The Martyrdome of Thomas whoode, and Thomas Myſles.

In the ſame towne of Lewes, and in ẏ ſame moneth likewyſe, were burned Thomas Whoode Miniſter: and Thomas Myles, about .xx. day of the ſame moneth, for reſiſtyng the erroneous and hereticall doctrine of the pretenſed Catholicke Church of Rome.

Anſwere of Iohn Oſwald.

¶ Two dead in the Kynges Bench.

In the which moneth likewiſe William Adherall Miniſter impriſoned in the Kynges Bench there dyed the .xxiij. day of the ſame moneth, and was buried on the backſide: Alſo Iohn Clement wheelewright, who lying in the ſayd priſon, in lyke ſorte vpon the dunghil was buried in the backſide two dayes after, videlicet, the .xxv. day of Iune.

Iune. 20. 2 Martyrs burnt at Lewes.
Iune. 23. William Adheralt.
Iune. 25. Iohn Clement.

¶ A

Q.Mary. An. 1556. June.

A Marchauntes ſeruaunt burnt at Leyceſter.

June. 26. A marchauntes ſeruaunt.

The next day followyng of the ſayd moneth of June, we read of a certaine young man a Marchauntes ſeruaunt, who for the lyke godlynes ſuffered cruell perſecution of the Papiſtes, and was burnt at Leyceſter, the. xxvj. of the moneth of June aboue named.

Xiij. Martyrs burnt at Stratford the Bow.

June. 27. Xiij. Martyrs ſufferyng at Stratford the Bowe.

Not long after the death of ŷ Marchauntes ſeruaunt before mētioned, there followed in this happy & bleſſed order of Martyrs burnt in one fire at Stratford the Bow by London, a xj. men and two women, whoſe dwellynges were in ſondry places in Eſſex, ŷ whoſe names hereafter followeth.

Henry Adlington.
Laurence Pernam.
Henry Wye.
William Hallywell.
Thomas Bowyer.
Georges Searles.
Edmund Hurſte.

Lyon Cawch.
Raphe Iackſon.
Iohn Deryfall.
Iohn Routh.
Elizabeth Peper, and
Agnes George.

Read before pag. 1585.

Unto whom the vj. of June, an. 1556. D. Darbeſhyre Boners Chauncellour, in forme of law, miniſtred the ſame Articles that were propounded vnto Thomas Whittle and his company, mentioned before, pag. 1585. to the which they made their ſeuerall aunſweres, in ſimplicitie, and in a good conſcience. The ſumme and effect whereof enſueth.

Aunſwere to their articles.

1. To the firſt they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: but Lyon Cawch added further, that hee beleued that the true fayth and Religion of Chriſt is, where ſoeuer the word of God is truely preached.

Aunſwere to the 2. Article.

2. To the ſecond Article, they all aunſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeuen Sacramentes: Some affirmyng that in the Churche of Chriſt, there bee but two Sacramentes, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Lordes Supper. Others referryng themſelues to beleue as the Scripture teacheth them. And other ſome refuſed to make aunſwere becauſe of their ſimplicitie.

Aunſwere to the 3. article.

3. To the third article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely.

Aunſwere to the 4. article.

4. To the fourth Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: ſauyng Iohn Routh, who ſayd he would make no aunſwere therunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he beleued the Article to be true: but it was becauſe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in kyng Edward the ſixt his tyme, ſhe went from her old fayth and Religion, and beleued in the fayth and Religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

Aunſwere to the 5. article.

5. To the fift they all aunſwered in effect affirmatiuely: ſauyng Iohn Routh, whoſe aunſwere was, that the Maſſe is ſuch a thyng, which can not nor will not enter into his conſcience: And Henry Adlyngton aunſwered, that for iiij. or v. yeares before, hee miſlyked the Maſſe, and alſo the Sacrament of the aultar, becauſe they can not bee proued by the Scriptures. And as touchyng the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, he beyng but xiiij. yeares of age, tooke an othe agaynſt the ſame, whiche othe (he ſayd) he intended to kepe by the grace of God.

Aunſwere to the 6. article.

6. To the ſixt they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: ſauyng Iohn Routh, and William Hallywell, who both refuſed to aunſwere, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two women added, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the fayth and Religion that was then vſed in the Realme of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he neuer refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the vnitie of the Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

Aunſwers to the 7. article.

7. To the ſeuenth Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely: but William Hallywell denyed that euer hee called the Maſſe Idolatry & abhominatiō. And Henry Wye affirmyng the Article to be true: yet he confeſſed his infirmitie, that he went to his Pariſh Church and receiued before he was put in priſon.

To the 8. article their aunſweres.

8. To the eight Article Edmund Hurſt, Raphe Iackſonne, and George Searles aunſwered affirmatiuely. Henry Wye ſayd hee was brought before certaine Juſtices of peace in Eſſex, concernyng one Higbed, his late Maiſter, and therupon hee was committed to Colcheſter Caſtell, and from thence ſent to London to the Byſhop, to be further examined. William Hallywell affirmed the lyke confeſſion as Henry Wye did, onely Higbed excepted. Iohn Derifall ſayd he was called before the Lord Riche & M. Mildmay of Chelmsford and was by them ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be further by him examined. Tho. Bowyer ſayd he was brought before one M. Wiſeman of Felſted, And by hym was ſent to Colcheſter Caſtell, and frō thence was caryed to Boner Byſhop of Londō, to be by him further examined. Lion Cawch ſayd that he was ſent to come before the Kyng and Queenes maieſties Commiſsioners, & there before the appearyng their tymes, was ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by hym further examined. Henry Adlyngton ſayd, that he commyng to Newgate to ſpeake with one Gratwicke, there beyng priſoner for the teſtimony of Ieſu Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Doct. Story, and by hym ſent to Boner Byſhop of London to be by hym further examined. Iohn Routh ſayd, that he was conuented before the Erle of Oxford and by hym ſent to the Caſtell of Colcheſter: and from thence conueyed to Boner Byſhop of Londō to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam ſayd, that hee was committed to Hartford priſon, becauſe he would not go to church, and from thence ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by hym further examined. Agnes George ſayd, that ſhe was committed to pryſon in Colcheſter, at the commaundement of one M. Maynard an Alderman of the towne, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Church, and from thence was ſent to Boner B. of Londō to be by hym further examined. Elizabeth Peper ſayd, that ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables and an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to Churche, and by them was ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the 9. article their aunſweres.

9. To the ninth article they al beleued the premiſſes to bee true, as they by them confeſſed, and that they were of the Dioces and iuriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Peper added that ſhe was of the Towne of Colcheſter.

And Agnes George added that ſhee was of the pariſhe of Barefolde. And Lion Cawch added that he was the of ŷ city of London, by reaſon that he was at ŷ preſent a marchant there.

Henry Wye.

Henry Wye Bruer, was of the pariſhe of Stanford le hope, and of xxxij. yeares of age.

W. Hallywell.

William Hallywell was a Smith, of the pariſhe of Walthā Holie Croſſe, and of the age of xxiiij. yeares or thereabouts.

Rafe Iackſō.

Rafe Iackſō was a Seruingman of Chepyng Onger, and of the age of xxiiij. yeares.

Laurence Pernam.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of Hoddeſdon, within the Pariſhe of Amwell, in the County of Hartford, and of the age of xxij. yeares.

Joh Deriſal.

Iohn Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of Retyngton in Eſſex, and of the age of l. yeares.

Edm. Hurſt.

Edmund Hurſt was a Labourer, of ŷ Pariſh of S. James in Colcheſter, and of the age of L. yeares and aboue.

Thomas Bowyer.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weauer of Much Dunmow, and of ŷ age of xxxiij. yeares.

George Searles.

George Searles was a Taylour, betweene xx. and xxi. yeares of age, of the Pariſhe of White Notley, where hee was taken and caried to the L. Rich, who ſent him to Colcheſter Caſtle, with a commaundement that no frend hee had ſhould ſpeake with him. There he lay fiue weekes, and was ſent vp to London, where hee was ſometyme in the Byſhops Colehouſe, ſometyme in Lollardes Tower, & laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent about a fortnight before Eaſter, in the place aforeſayd.

Lion Cauch.

Lyon Cauch was a broker, borne in Flaunders, and then reſident at his takyng in the Citie of London, and of ŷ age of xxxiiij. yeares or thereabouts.

Henry Adlington. Joh. Routh.

Henry Adlyngton was a Sawyer, and of Greneſted in the County of Suſſex, and of the age of xxx. yeares.

Iohn Routh was a Labourer, and of the Pariſhe of Wyckes in Eſſex, and of the age of xxvi. yeares.

Elizabeth Peper.

Elizabeth Peper was ŷ wife of Thomas Peper Weauer, of the Pariſh of S. James in the Towne of Colcheſter, and of the age of xxx. yeares or thereabouts.

Agnes George.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George huſbandman of weſt Barfold in the countye of Eſſex, and of the age of xxvi. yeares. This Richard George had an other wife burned beſide her in the Poſterne at Colcheſter, and him ſelfe lay in priſon vntill Queene Elizabeth came to the reigne, and then was deliuered.

In Regiſt.

When theſe xiij. were condemned, and the day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the xxvij. day of June, an. 1556. they were caryed from Newgate in London the ſayd day, to Stratford the Bowe (which was the place appoynted for their Martyrdome) ŷ there diuided into two partes, in two ſeuerall chambers. Afterward the Shirife who there attended vpon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their liues therefore ſhould be ſaued, willing and exhortyng them to do the like, and not to caſt away themſelues.

A practiſe of policye in the Shiriffe of London.

Vnto whom they aunſwered, that their fayth was not buylded on man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the Shirife perceauing no good to be done with them, went to the

other

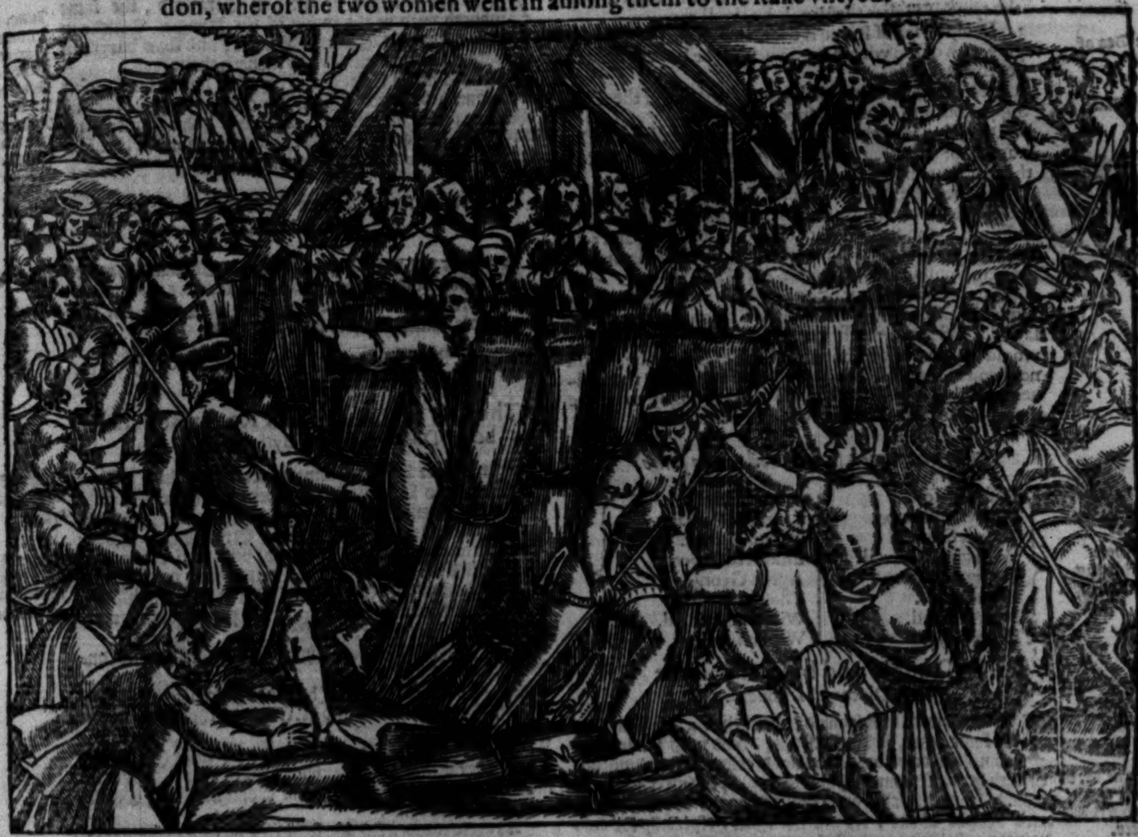
1556. June.

other part, and ſayd (like a lyar) the like to them, that they whom he had bene with before, had recanted, & ſhould therfore not ſuffer death, counſellyng them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelues, but to play the wiſe men. &c.

Unto whom they aunſwered as their brethren had done before, ỹ their fayth was not builded on man, but on Chriſt and his ſure word. &c.

Now when hee ſaw it booted not to perſwade (for they were, God be prayſed, ſurely grounded on the rocke Jeſus Chriſt) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and beyng all there together, moſt earneſtly they prayed vnto God, and ioyfully went to the ſtake and kiſſed it & embraced it very hartely.

¶The burnyng of xiij. perſons at Stratford the Bow neare London, wherof the two women went in among them to the ſtake vntyed.



Two women ſtanding at the ſtake vnbound.

The eleuen men were tyed to three ſtakes, and the two women loſe in the middeſt without any ſtake, and ſo were they all burnt in one fire, with ſuch loue to eche others, and conſtauncie in our Sauiour Chriſt, that it made all the lookers on to maruell. The Lord graunt vs the lyke grace, in the like neede, accordyng to the good pleaſure of his will. Amen.

In the company of theſe foreſayd xiij. were three more condemned to dye, whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified.

These iij. were diſpenſed withall by the Cardinall.

{ Thomas Freeman, William Adams. }
{ William Stannard, and

which three aunſwered to thoſe Articles that were propounded vnto the ſayd xiij. in effect as they did. And beyng thus in the handes of the ſecular power, Cardinall Poole ſent his diſpenſation for their lyues, by what occaſion I can not ſafely ſay, but by meanes thereof they then eſcaped. The copy of whiche diſpenſation becauſe it is exemplified in our firſt Impreſſion, I ſhall deſire the Reader to reſort to the place of the pag, which is. 1525.

The ſclaunders of Fecknam reproued.

The Monday after theſe foreſayd xvj. were condemned, Fecknam Deane of Paules Preached at Paules Croſſe, where he declared, that they had as many ſondry opinions, as there were ſondry perſons. At the hearyng wherof, they drue out their fayth, and ſet to their handes as hereafter followeth, and directed the ſame to their frendes, and the faithfull congregation, as followeth.

¶Vnto all our dearely beloued frendes, and the holy Congregation of Ieſus Chriſt, euen ſo many as loue God, grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. So be it.

BE it manifeſt to all, vnto whom this our certificate ſhall be ſene, that where vpon Saterday, beyng the xiij. day of Iune, at Fulham before the Byſhoppe of London, xvi. of vs (whoſe names here vnder are ſubſcribed) were condemned to dye for the moſt pure and ſincere truth of Chriſtes veritie: whiche moſt Godly truth hath bene from the begynnyng, with the wicked aduerſaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Deuill and his impes euen at this preſent likewiſe dayly ſclaũdered. Vpon which occaſion, deareły beloued brethren, we are moued, yea conſtrayned, in the eares of all men to manifeſt our beliefe, and alſo briefly the Articles wherefore we are condemned, for the auoydyng of falſe reportes and ſclaunderous tounges, whiche might happen by the moſt vngodly and vncharitable Sermon, late Preached at Paules croſſe the xiiij. day of the ſayd moneth, beyng Sonday, by Maiſter Fecknam, now Deane of the ſame Churche: where he in that moſt worthy audience defamed vs to be in xvj. ſundry opinions, whiche were a thyng preiudiciall to all Chriſtian veritie: and for a true teſtimoniall therof, this here vnder written ſhal aunſwere our cauſe, and therfore we pray you that are of God to iudge.

A Letter or Apologie of the Martyrs purgyng them ſelues of the falſe ſclaunder of M. Fecknam.

The firſt, we beleue we were Baptiſed in the fayth of Chriſtes Church, and incorporate vnto him, & made members of his Churche, in the whiche fayth we continue. And although we haue erred for a certaine time, yet the roote of fayth was preſerued in vs by the holy ghoſt, which hath reduced vs into a full certainetie of the ſame, and we do perſiſt, and will by Gods aſſiſtance to the end. Now marke, that although the Miniſter were of the Churche malignaunt, yet his wickednes did not hurt vs, for that he Baptiſed vs in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

Vniforme agreement in their fayth.

There was both the worde and the element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncyng for vs the Deuill and all his woorkes, and confeſſyng the Articles of the Chriſtian fayth for vs, and alſo witneſſes that we were Baptiſed, not in the fayth of the Church of Rome, but in the

The profeſſion of their Baptiſme.

faith of Chriſtes Church.

Sacramentes of the Church.

1. Item, there are but two Sacramētes in Chriſtes Church, that is, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and the Lordes Supper. For in theſe are contayned the fayth of Chriſt his Church: that is, the two Teſtamentes, the law and the Goſpell. The effect of the law is repentaunce, and the effect of the Goſpell remiſſion of ſinnes.

The viſible Church.

2. Item, we beleue that there is a viſible Churche, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly miniſtred: viſible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saintes confirmed, as it was in the tyme of Helias the Prophet as well as nowe.

The Sea of Rome.

3. Item, the ſea of Rome is the ſea of Antichriſt, the congregation of the wicked. &c. whereof the Pope is head vnder the Deuill.

The Maſſe.

4. Itē, the Maſſe is not onely a prophanation of the Lords Supper, but alſo a moſt blaſphemous Idoll.

Tranſubſtantiation denyed.

5. Item, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the Sacrament of the aultar, and there remaineth no ſubſtaunce in the ſame, but onely the ſubſtaunce of bread and wyne.

For theſe the Articles of our beliefe, we beyng condemned to dye, do willingly offer our corruptible bodyes to be diſſolued in the fire, all with one voyce aſſentyng and conſentyng thereunto, and in no one point diſſentyng or diſagreeyng from any of our former Articles.

Apparant alſo let it be and knowen, that beyng of the former Articles before the bloudy Byſhop examined, the ſayd day and time, we affirmed to beleue all that he or they would approue by the ſcriptures. But he ſaid that he would not ſtand to proue it with heretickes, but ſaid, they themſelues were the holy Churche, and that we ought to beleue them, or els to be cut of like withered braunches.

¶ *Their names ſubſcribed to the ſame:*

xiij. of theſe were Martyrs, as is before ſayd.

Rafe Iackſon.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon a Cawch.
William Hallywell.
Georges Searles.
Iohn Routh.
Iohn Deriſall.
Henry Wye.
Edmund Hurſt.
Laurence Parnam.
Thomas Boyer.
Elizabeth Peper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

¶Trouble and buſineſſe in the Dioces of Lichfield.

June. 14.

Rafe Bane B. of Couentry and Lichfield, a cruell perſecuter.

IN the Dioces of Lichfield, about the 14. of June, in the ſame yeare, John Colſtocke, who was lately come from London before, and now dwellyng at Welyngton, though hee ſuffered no Martyrdome, yet ſuſteyned ſome trouble, beyng attached and examined by the Byſhoppe named Raphe Bane, for his Religion, eſpecially for two pointes, in holdyng agaynſt the realtye of Chriſt in the Sacrament, & agaynſt Auricular confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt. For the whiche cauſe beyng compelled to recant, he was enioyned in the Church of S. Cedde to beare a Fagot before the Croſſe, bareheaded, hauyng in the one hād a Taper, and in the other a payre of beades. &c.

Amongeſt diuers other whiche in the ſame Dioces and the ſame tyme were ſuſpected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flyer of Uttoxater Shomaker, Nicholas Ball of Uttoxater Capper, Thomas Pyot of Chedull.

Marying in Lent puniſhed.

June. 26.

Thomas Johnſon for ſwearing by the holy Maſſe, did penaunce.

Item Henry Crimes, for maryng his wife on Palmeſonday euen. &c. Some other alſo there were which had the lyke penaunce enioyned them, as Thomas Johnſon, about the xxvj. day of this moneth of June, becauſe he ſware by the holy Maſſe before ẏ Byſhop ſittyng in iudgement: who for the ſame was driuen to goe before the croſſe with his Taper and beades. &c.

Concernyng the whiche Thomas Flyer aboue named, beyng a godly and a zelous man, this furthermore is to be noted, and not vnworthy of gratefull memory, that where as in the Towne of Uttoxater, commaundement was directed vnto hym amongeſt others, from the Ordinary, for pullyng downe Monumentes of ſuperſtition, and namely the roode loft: hee beyng one of the Churche Wardens, or Sidemen, on a tyme had talke vpon the ſame with certaine of his neighbours: where one wiſhed them ill to chieue, that ſhould go about ſuch an acte.

Tho: Flyer ſlayne in Gods quarell.

What wordes paſſed elles amongeſt them, miniſtryng matter of further prouocation, it is not perfectly knowen. In fine the ſayd Flyer beyng offended, and afterward meetyng with him that had vſed ſuch wordes before began to common with him of the matter: but in the ende the man ſo little repented him of thoſe ſayinges, that hee added yet more fierce wordes, and at length ſtrokes alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that at that conflict, the ſayd Thomas Flyer was ſlayne: and yet ſo was the matter handled, and ſuch amendes was made with money by the murtherer, and his frendes, to the ſayd Flyers wife, that hee ſuffered little or nothyng for the ſame, ſaue onely that hee was baniſhed that Towne, and ſworne and bounde, neuer to come in it ſo long as the ſayd Flyers wife ſhould lyue.

¶Three men dead in the priſon of the Kynges Bench.

June. 17. Thomas Parret.

June. 5. Martyn Hunt.

John Norice Confeſſors.

AFter the burnyng of theſe in Stratford, the ſame moneth dyed in the priſon of the Kynges Benche in Southwarke one Thomas Parret, and was buryed in the backeſide, the xxvij. day of ẏ moneth aboue ſayd.

Alſo Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the ſame priſon was famiſhed the xxix. day. At which tyme likewiſe dyed in the ſame priſon, as I finde recorded, one John Norice, and after the ſame ſort as the other, was buryed on the backſide of the ſayd priſon, the day aboue mentioned.

¶The ſtory of three Martyrs ſufferyng at S. Edmundes Bury.

June. 30.

AFter the death of the aforeſayd Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, were three Martyred at S. Edmundes Bury in Suffolke in one fire, whoſe names are here vnder ſpecified:

Roger Bernard.
Adam Foſter.
Robert Lawſon.

¶The firſt examination of Roger Bernard, before Doctour Hopton Byſhop of Norwich.

Roger Bernard Martyr.

Roger Bernard refuſeth auricular confeſſion.

WHen Roger Bernard came before the Byſhop, firſt he was aſked whether hee had bene with the Prieſt at Eaſter to be ſhriuen, and whether he had receiued the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar or no. Unto whom Roger Bernard aunſwered no: I haue not bene with the Prieſt, nor confeſſed my ſelfe vnto hym, but I haue confeſſed my ſinnes vnto almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgeuē me: wherfore I ſhall not neede to go to the Prieſt for ſuch matters, who can not helpe him ſelfe.

Byſhop. Surely Bernard thou muſt needes go and confeſſe thy ſelfe vnto him.

Roger. That ſhall I not do (by Gods grace) while I liue.

Byſhop. What a ſtoute boyly hereticke is this? how malapertly he aunſwereth.

Roger. My Lord, it greeueth me no whit (I thanke God) to be called hereticke at your handes: for ſo your forefathers called the Prophetes and Confeſſours of Chriſt, long before this tyme.

At theſe wordes the Byſhop roſe vp in a great heate, and bad Bernard folow him. Then the Byſhop went and kneeled before that they call the Sacrament of the aultar, and as he was in his prayers kneelyng, he looked backe, and aſked Bernard why he came not, and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard aunſwered: I can not tell why I ſhould ſo do. Why (quoth the Byſhop) thou lewde felow, whō ſeeſt thou yonder, poyntyng to the pyx ouer the aultar?

Roger. I ſee no body there: do you my Lord?

Byſhop. Why naughty man, doeſt thou not ſee thy maker?

Note the Catholicke charitie of this prelate.

Roger. My maker? No, I ſee nothyng but a fewe cloutes hangyng together on a heape. With that the Byſhop roſe vp ſore diſpleaſed, and commaunded the Gaylor to take him away, and to lay yrons enough on him: For (quoth he) I will tame him or he go from me, I trow ſo: and ſo he was caryed away.

¶The ſecond examination of Roger Bernard before the ſayd Byſhop.

An other examination of Roger Bernard.

THe next day Bernard was brought agayne before the Byſhop, who aſked him if he did not remember him ſelfe ſince the day before that he was before him.

Roger. Yes my Lord, I haue remembred my ſelfe very well, for the ſame man I was yeſterday, I am this day, and I hope ſhall be all the dayes of my lyfe, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

One of the Garde taketh Bernard to ſchole.

A wholeſome company of Caterpillers.

Then one of the Garde ſtandyng by, ſayd: my Lord I pray you trouble not your ſelfe any more with hym, but let me haue the examinyng of hym: I ſhall handle hym after an other ſorte, I trow, and make him a fayre childe or he go, you ſhall ſee.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to an Inne, where were a great many of Prieſtes aſſembled together, and there they fell all in flatteryng him, and perſwadyng him with gay intiſing wordes what they could: but

but when therein they might not preuaile, for that the Lord aſſiſted the good poore man, then began they to threaten hym with whippyng, ſtockyng, burnyng, & ſuch like, that it was wonderfull the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard ſayd: frendes, I am not better thē my Maiſter Chriſt, and the Prophetes, whiche your fathers ſerued after ſuch ſorte, and I for his names ſake am content to ſuffer the like at your handes if God ſhall ſo permit, truſtyng that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame accordyng to his promiſe, in ſpite of the deuill and all his miniſters. So when they could not make him to relent or yeld, they ſayd: behold a right Scholer of Iohn Fortune: whom they had then in priſon. Then caried they him to the Byſhop who immediatly condēned him as an hereticke, and deliuered him to the ſecular power.

Roger Bernard condēned by the Byſhop of Norwich. Bernard taken by Tamages men.

This Roger Bernard was a ſingle man, and by his vocation a labourer, dwellyng in Franſden in Suffolke, who was taken in the night by Maiſter Tamages men becauſe he would not go to Church to heare their vnſauery ſeruice, and ſo by them caryed to priſon.

¶ Adam Foſter.

ADam Foſter of the age of xxvi. yeares, huſbandman, beyng maryed, dwellyng in Mendleſam in the County of Suffolke, was taken at home in his houſe a little before the Sunne goyng downe, by the Conſtables of the ſayd towne, George Reuet & Thomas Mowſe, at ỹ commaundement of Syr Iohn Tyrrell of Gipping hall in Suffolke Knight, becauſe he would not go to Church and heare Maſſe, and receaue at Eaſter, except he might haue it after Chriſtes holy ordinaunce. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them vnto the Iuſtice. Unto whom Adam Foſter ſayd: for Chriſtes cauſe, and to ſaue his conſcience he was well cōtented: and ſo they led him to Syr Iohn Tyrell, and hee ſent him to Eye dungeon in Suffolke, from whence at length he was ſent to Norwich, and there condemned by Byſhop Hopton.

Iune. 30. Adam Foſter, Martyr. George Reuet, Thomas Mouſe, Syr Iohn Tirrell, perſecutours.

Now after this takyng, the ſayd Thomas Mowſe and George Reuet were ſtricken with a great feare & ſicknes, whereby Mowſe pined & conſumed away euen vnto death, although he was a man of a young & luſty age. But George Reuet, who was the ſayd Mowſes fellow, and a great reader of the Scripture, or (as a man may terme it) a talkatiue goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the workes of God, but let his ſonne to helpe ỹ Prieſt ſay Maſſe, & to be clarke of the ſame towne of Mendleſham for lukers ſake: yet was there a fayre warnyng geuen him of God, although he had not the grace ſo to conſider it: the which thyng was this.

Gods ſtroke vpon wilfull perſecutors.

A young man of the ſame Pariſh newly maryed, called Robert Edgar, beyng of a rype wytte and ſounde, was Clarke in the ſayd Churche before the ſayd Reuet ſet his ſonne in that rowme, and executed the office a little, yea, alas to long, agaynſt his owne conſcience: whereby at length the Lord ſo tooke away his wittes, that many yeares after, his poore and woful wife, good woman, was compelled to keepe him cheyned and bounde continually, leſt he ſhould vnwares do him ſelfe or ſome other, ſome miſchief, as many tymes (the more pitie) he was ready enough to do.

A younge man partly Clarke agaynſt his conſcience.

This (as I ſayd) would not admoniſhe Reuet, but needes he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtandyng at the length, as many men were offended with him in the Pariſhe, ſo honeſt women eſpecially (beyng mightely grieued at his vngodly doynges) came to him & ſayd: neighbour Reuet, are ye not afrayde to let your ſonne helpe the naughty Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, and to ſerue that abhominable Idoll? and he ſayd no.

Then ſayd they, we feare not to go to Church and heare Maſſe, ſeyng you beyng a man, that ſo much profeſſe Chriſtianitie, will let your ſonne helpe the Prieſt ſay Maſſe. &c.

At which wordes Reuet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer vnto God after this maner or with ſuch like wordes, ſaying: O Lord, if it be not thy will that my ſonne ſhould ſo do, then I beſeche thee ſend ſome ſtraunge token to let me vnderſtand what thy good pleaſure is therein. &c. So, accordyng to his petition, within ſhort ſpace after his neighbours Bull came into his paſture, and there he hauyng a very proper geldyng which was his felicitie aboue any thyng he had, the Bull runnyng vpon hym, did ſo wounde & gore him, that immediatly thereof his geldyng dyed, and he thereby nothyng amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lordes hand vpon him, for the ſufferaunce of his ſonne in that wicked vocatiō: yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to vſe and frequent the ſame agaynſt his owne conſcience.

Reuet prayed for a ſtraunge token.

Reuet confeſſed the Lordes hand agaynſt hym, and yet continued in his ſame.

At the laſt the Lord iuſtly ſent vpon him a great ſwellyng in his legges, whiche did ſo greuouſly vexe and trouble him by reaſon it ſwelled vpward, that at length hauyng thereby brought vpon him a very ſtraunge ſickenes, he dyed moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient maner, ỹ it terrified all good hartes to heare therof. The Lord graunt, for Chriſtes ſake, that we may obſerue his iudgementes better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen. Ex teſtimonio quorundam Suffolcenſium.

Reuet died of a ſtraunge ſicknes. The Lordes hand vpon Reuet.

¶ Robert Lawſon.

ROBert Lawſon was a ſingle man, of ỹ age of xxx. yeares and by vocation a linnen Weauer, who was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the commaundement of Syr Iohn Tyrrel of Gyppyng hall in Suffolke Knight & ſo was immediatly caryed to Eye Dungeon in Suffolke, where he remayned a certayne tyme, and after was led to Bery. The cauſe of his takyng was, for that hee would not go to Church to heare Maſſe, & receiue theyr popiſh Idoll.

Iune. 30. Robert Lawſon, Martyr. Rob. Kereth a perſecuter.

When theſe three foreſayd Martyrs were caryed to their deathes, videl. Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, and Robert Lawſon at Bery, after they had made their prayer, beyng at the ſtake and the tormentors attendyng the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their liues, in ſuch happy and bleſſed condition, as dyd notably ſet forth their conſtancye, and ioyfull end, to the great prayſe of God, and their commendation in hym, and alſo to the encouragement of others in the ſame quarell to do the like. The Lorde of ſtrength fortifie vs to ſtand as his true ſoldiours in what ſtandyng ſoeuer he ſhall thinke it good to place vs, Amen.

The Martyrdome of Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, Robert Lawſon, at Bury. Anno. 1556. Iune. 30.

¶ In the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the prieſtes there, to Iohn Fortune, & called his ſcholer. This Iohn Fortune, otherwiſe called Cutler, of Hintleſham in Suffolke, was by his occupation a Blacke Smith, whom they had before them in examination a little before the 20. day of Aprill. In ſpirite he was zelous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Chriſtes cauſe ſtoute and valiant, in his aunſweres marueilous, and no leſſe patient in his wrongfull ſufferyng, thē conſtant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or dyed in priſon, I can not certeinly finde: but rather I ſuppoſe ỹ he was burned. Certeine it is, how ſoeuer hee was made away he neuer yelded. What his aunſweres and examinations were before D. Parker and the Byſhop, ye ſhall heare hym, although not with his owne mouth ſpeakyng, yet with his owne hand you ſhall ſee written, what he dyd ſay, as foloweth.

¶ The examination of Iohn Fortune before Doctour Parker and Maiſter Foſter,

FIrſt Doct. Parker aſked me how I beleued in the Catholicke fayth.

The examination of Iohn Fortune before Doct. Parker and M. Foſter.

And I aſked him which fayth he ment: whether ỹ fayth that Steuen had, or the fayth of thē ỹ put Steuē to death. D. Parker being moued, ſaid: what a naughty felow is this? you ſhall ſee anon hee will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter,

M. Foſter. Then ſayd Maiſter Foſter: I knowe you well enough. you are a buſie marchaunt. How ſayeſt thou by the bleſſed Maſſe?

Fort. And I ſtode ſtill and made no aunſwere.

Foſt. Then ſayd M. Foſter: why ſpeakeſt thou not, and make the gentleman an aunſwere?

Fort. And I ſayd: ſilence is a good aunſwere to a fooliſhe queſtion.

Park. Then ſayd the Doctour: I am ſure hee will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the alter alſo.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Fort. And I ſayd: I knowe none ſuch, but onely the Sacrament of the body and bloude of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

Park. Then ſayd he: you deny the order of the ſeuē Sacramentes. And why doeſt not thou beleue in the Sacrament of the aulter?

Fort. And I ſayd: becauſe it is not written in Gods booke.

Park. Then ſayd hee: you will not beleue vnwritten verities.

Fort. And I ſayd: I will beleue that thoſe vnwritten verities that agree with the written verities, be true: but thoſe vnwritten verities that be of your own makyng, and inuented of your owne brayne, I do not beleue.

Foſt. Wel, ſayd M. Foſter: you ſhall be whipped and burned for this geare, I trow.

M. Foſter threatned Iohn Fortune to be whipped.

Fort. Then ſayd I: if you knew howe theſe wordes do reioyce my hart, you would not haue ſpoken them.

Foſt. Why thou foole, doeſt thou reioyce in whyppyng.

Fort. Yea, ſayd I. for it is written in the Scriptures, and Chriſt ſayth: thou ſhalt be whipped for my names ſake: and ſince the tyme ỹ the ſword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maydenhead of this perſecution.

Away with him then (ſayd he): for he is ten tymes worſe then Samuell: and ſo was he caried to priſon agayn

¶The ſecond examination of Iohn Fortune before the Byſhop of Norwich.

WHen I came before the Byſhop, he aſked me if I dyd not beleue in the Catholicke Church. I ſayd: I beleue that Church whereof Chriſt is the head.

Then ſayd the Byſhop: doeſt thou not beleue that the Pope is ſupreme head of the Churche? And I ſayd: no, Chriſt is the head of the true Church.

Byſh. So do I beleue alſo: but the Pope is Gods Vicare vpon earth, and the head of the Churche, and I beleue that he hath power to forgeue ſinnes alſo.

Fortune. Then ſayd I: the Pope is but a man, and the Prophet Dauid ſayth: That no man can deliuer his brother, nor make agreement for hym vnto God: For it coſte more to redeeme their ſoules, ſo that he muſt let that alone for euer.

Psal. 49.

Byſh. And the Byſhop agayne fetchyng about a great circumſtaunce, ſayd: like as the Belwether weareth the Bell, and is the head of the flocke of ſheepe: ſo is the Pope our head. And as the hiues of Bees haue a Maiſter Bee that bryngeth the Bees to the hiue agayne: ſo doth our head bryng vs home agayne to our true Church.

The Pope likened to a Belwether or a Maſter Bee.

Fortune. Then I aſked him whether the Pope were a ſpirituall man: and he ſayd yea. And I ſayd agayne: they are ſpitefull men, for in xvi. monethes there were three Popes, and one poyſoned an other for that preſumptuous ſeate of Antichriſt.

Poyſoned Popes.

Byſh. It is maliciouſly ſpoken (ſayd he): for thou muſt obey the power and not the man. And thus was the pope denyed to be ſupreme head.

Well, ſayd he, what ſayeſt thou to the ceremonyes of the Church?

Ceremonies of the Church.

Fort. And I aunſwered: All thynges that are not planted by my heauenly father, ſhalbe plucked vppe by the rootes, ſayth Chriſt. For they were not from the begynnyng, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Math. 15.

Byſh. They are good and godly, and neceſſary to be vſed.

Fort. S. Paule called them weake and beggarly.

Byſh. No, that is a lye.

Fortune. I hearyng that, ſayd: that Saint Paule wryteth thus in the fourth to the Galathians: Ye fooliſhe Galathians (ſayth he) who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeeke to be in bondage to theſe weake and beggarly ceremonyes? Now whiche of you do lye? you or Saint Paule? And alſo it is ſayd, that workes inſtituted and enioyned without the commaundement of GOD, perteyne not to the worſhyp of God, accordyng to the text: In vayne do men worſhyppe me with mens traditions and commaundementes. And Saint Paule ſayth: Wherefore doe ye cary vs awaye from the grace of Chriſt to an other kinde of doctrine? And Chriſt openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Phariſeis, Doctours, Prieſtes, Byſhoppes and Hypocrites, for makyng Gods commaundementes of none effect, to ſupport their owne tradition.

Gal. 4.

Math. 15.

Byſhop. Thou lyeſt, there is not ſuch a worde in all the Scriptures, thou naughtie hereticke. Thou art worſe then all other herettickes: for Hoper (ſayd hee) and Bradford allowe them to be good, and thou doeſt not. Away with him.

¶Here you may perceiue, how that the Catholicke Church cā not erre, but what ſoeuer they ſay, muſt needes be true. And ſo my Lord Byſhop can not lye, as it may appeare to all men moſt playnly in the text.

It is pitie that popiſh prelates can not lye.

¶The thyrd examination of Iohn Fortune before the Byſhop of Norwich.

An other examination of Iohn Fortune.

THe next day I was brought before the ſayd Byſhop agayne, where hee made a Sermon vpon the vi. Chapter of Saint Iohns Goſpell of Chriſtes wordes: I am the bread that came downe from heauen. &c. and thereupon had a great bibble babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſayd to me.

Byſh. How beleueſt thou in the Sacrament of the aultar? doeſt thou not beleue that after the conſecratiō, there is the reall ſubſtaunce of the body of Chriſt?

Sacrament of the Aultar.

Fort. And I aunſwered him, that it is the greateſt plague that euer came into England.

Byſh. Why ſo?

Fort. I ſayd: if I were a Byſhop, and you a poore man as I am, I would be aſhamed to aſke ſuch a queſtion. For a Biſhop ſhoulde be apt to teach and not to learne.

Byſh. I am appointed by the law to teach, ſo are not you.

Fortune. And I ſayd: your law breaketh out very well, for you haue burned vp the true Byſhops and Preachers, and maintained lyers to be in their ſteede.

Byſh. Now you may vnderſtand that he is a traytour: for he denyeth the hygher powers.

Fort. I am no traitour: For S. Paule ſayth: All ſoules muſt obey the hyer powers, and I reſiſt not the hyer powers, cōcernyng my body, but I muſt reſiſt your euil doctrine wherewith you would infect my ſoule.

Catholicke prelates obſequious to hyer powers ſo long as they make for them: agayne, but when they bee otherwiſe, then they excommunicate them.

A Doct. Then ſayd a Doctour: my Lord, you do not well: let him aunſwere ſhortly to his articles.

Byſh. Howe ſayeſt thou? make aunſwere quickely to theſe Articles.

Fort. S. Paule ſayth: Chriſt dyd one ſacrifice once for all, and ſet him downe on the right hande of his father, triumphyng ouer hell and death, makyng interceſſion for ſinnes.

Heb. 10.

Byſh. I aſke the no ſuch queſtion, but make aunſwere to this article.

Fort. If it bee not God before the conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without begynnyng and without endyng.

Byſh. Then ſayd he: lo, what a ſtiffe hereticke is this? he hath denyed altogether: how ſayeſt thou? Is it idolatrye to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament or no.

Fort. God is a ſpirite, and will bee worſhipped in ſpirite and trueth.

Byſh. I aſke thee no ſuch queſtion: anſwere me directly.

Fort. I aunſwere that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Dan. 11.

Byſh. It is pitie that the grounde beareth the, or that thou haſt a toung to ſpeake. Thē ſayd ÿ Scribe: here are a great many more articles.

Byſh. Then ſayd the Byſhop: Away with him, for he hath ſpoken to much.

¶An other examination.

AND when I came to mine examination agayne, the Biſhop aſked me if I would ſtand vnto mine anſwere that I had made before: and I ſayd, yea, for I had ſpoken nothyng but the truth. And after that hee made a great circumſtaunce vpon the Sacrament.

Other talke betweene Iohn Fortune and the Byſhop of Norwich.

Thē I deſired him to ſtand to ÿ text, ÿ he red the Goſpell on Corpus Chriſti day, whiche ſayd: I am the bread which came downe from heauen: beleueſt thou not this? And I ſayd: yea truely.

John. 6.

And he ſayd, why doeſt thou deny the Sacrament?

Becauſe your doctrine is ſo falſe, ſayd I.

Then ſayd he: how can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the Scripture? And I ſayd, Chriſt ſayd: I am the bread, and you ſay the bread is he. Therfore your doctrine is falſe, ſayd I.

And he ſayd: doeſt thou not beleue that the bread is he? And I ſayd no,

Byſh. I will bryng the to it by the Scriptures.

Fort. Hold that faſt my Lord: for that is the beſt Argument that you haue yet.

Byſh. Thou ſhalt be burned like an hereticke.

Fort. Who ſhall geue iudgement vpon me?

Byſh. I will iudge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and neuer be ſhriuen vpon it.

Fort. Is there not a lawe for the ſpiritualtie as well as for the temporaltye? and Syr Clement Higham ſayd yes. What meaneſt thou by that?

Fort. When a man is periured by the law, he is caſt ouer the barre, and ſitteth no more in iudgement. And the byſhop is a periured mā and ought to ſit in iudgement of no man.

The Byſhop of Norwich charged with periury.

Byſh. How proueſt thou that?

Fort. Becauſe you tooke an oth by kyng Henryes dayes to reſiſt the Pope. So both ſpirituall and temporall are periured, that here can be no true iudgement.

Byſh. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape iudgement, by that? no, for my Chauncellour ſhall iudge thee. He tooke no oth, for hee was out then of the Realme.

M. Hygham. It is tyme to weede out ſuch felowes as you be in deede.

Byſh. Good felow, why beleueſt not thou in the Sacrament of the aulter?

Fort. Becauſe I finde it not in Gods booke, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there, I would beleue it wt al my hart.

Byſh. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fort. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecond commaundemēt: and ſeyng it is not written in Gods booke, why do you then robbe me of my life.

Then the Byſhop hauyng no more to ſay, commaunded the Baliffe to take him away.

And thus much touchyng the examinatiō of thys man. Now whether he dyed in fire, or otherwiſe preuented with death: as I ſayd before, I am vncerteine.

In the Regiſters of Norwich thus I do finde, that his ſentence of condemnation was drawen and Regiſtred, but whether it was pronounced in ÿ ſayd Regiſter, it is not expreſſed

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preſſed accordyng as the vſuall maner of the Notary is ſo to declare in the end of ÿ ſentence. Neuertheles this is moſt certaine, that he neuer abiured nor recanted, howſoeuer it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of this world.

¶The death of Iohn Careles in the Kynges Benche.

Iuly 1. The death of Iohn Careles priſoner in the Kings Bench.

ABout this tyme, the firſt day of Iuly, amongeſt diuers other priſoners whiche dyed the ſame yeare in the Kynges Bench, was alſo one Iohn Careles of Couentry, a Weauer. Who though hee were by the ſecrete iudgement of almighty God preuented by death, ſo that he came not to the full Martyrdome of his body, yet is hee no leſſe worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſtes Martyrs, then other that ſuffered moſt cruell tormentes, aſwell for that hee was for the ſame truthes ſake a long tyme impriſoned, as alſo for his willyng mynd & zelous affectiõ he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as well may appeare by his examination had before Doctour Martin. Whiche examination because it conteineth nothyng almoſt but wranglyng interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctour Martin would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accuſation, but onely vrged him to detect his fellowes, it ſhall not be greatly materiall therfore to expreſſe the whole, but onely to excerpt ſo much, as perteinyng to the queſtion of predeſtination, may bryng ſome fruite to the Reader.

Iohn Careles examined before Doct. Martyn.

¶The effect of Iohn Careles examination before Doctour Martin briefly declared.

The effect of Iohn Careles examination.

FIrſt, Doctour Martin callyng Iohn Careles to him in his Chamber, demaunded what was his name? To whom when the other had aunſwered, that his name was Iohn Careles, then began Doctour Martin to deſcant at his pleaſure vpon that name, ſaying: that it would appeare by his conditions, by that tyme he had done with him, that he would be a true careles man in deede. And ſo after other by talke there ſpent about much needeleſſe matter, then he aſked him where he was borne.

Carel. Forſooth, ſayth he, at Couentry.

Mart. At Couentry? what ſo farre, man? How camſt thou hether? who ſent thee to the Kynges Bench to priſon?

How Iohn Careles was brought to the Kings Bench.

Carel. I was brought thether by a writ, I trow, what he was I can not tell. I thinke M. Marſhall can tell you.

Marſhall. In good fayth I can not tell what the matter is: but in deede my Lord chief Iuſtice ſent him from the barre.

Mart. Well Careles, I would wiſhe, thou ſhouldeſt play the wiſe mans part. Thou art a handſome man: And it is pitie but thou ſhouldeſt do well, and ſaue that whiche God hath bought.

Careles. I thanke your good Maiſterſhyp moſt hartely: And I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certaine of my ſaluation by Ieſus Chriſt: ſo that my ſoule is ſafe already what ſoeuer paynes my body ſuffer here for a litle tyme.

Mart. Yea Mary, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh, in what ſoeuer opiniõ thou doeſt dye.

Iohn Careles examined vpon predeſtination.

Careles. That GOD hath predeſtinate me to eternall life in Ieſus Chriſt, I am moſt certaine, and euen ſo am I ſure that his holy ſpirite (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerue me from all hereſies and euill opinions, that I ſhall dye in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me heare your fayth in predeſtination. For that ſhalbe written alſo.

Careles. Your Maiſterſhyp ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſayd your ſelfe erewhile, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my conſcience. I will trouble my ſelfe with aunſweryng of no moe matters then I needes muſt, vntill I come before them that ſhall haue more authoritie farther to examine me.

Doct. Martyn declareth his Commiſſion.

Mart. I tell thee then I haue Commiſſion: yea, and commaundement from the Counſell to examine thee: for they deliuered me thy Articles.

Careles. Yea, I thinke in deede that your Maiſterſhyp is appointed to examine me of my Articles whiche you haue there in writyng, and I haue told you the truth. I do confeſſe them to be myne owne fact and deede: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, wherof my Articles ſpeaketh nothyng at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet agayne, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch thynges as lie in controuerſie betwene thee and thy felowes in the Kynges Bench, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy fellow N. hath confeſſed and thy ſelfe doeſt not deny it.

Carel. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that matter, might haue found him ſelfe much better occupyed.

Martin. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkeſt thou I would not haue knowen it? yes, or els thou ſhouldeſt haue withſtand my Commiſſion. For I tell thee truth. I may now examine thee of the bleſſed Sacrament, or any other thyng that I liſt, but that I would ſhewe thee fauour, and not be to haſty with thee at the firſt.

Why Doct. Martyn would not examine him of the Sacrament.

Marſhall. Yea in deede Careles, Maiſter Doctour hath Commiſſion to examine you or any other of your felowes.

Mart. Yea mary haue I, I tell the truth of it.

Carel. Then let your Scribe ſet his pen to the peper, and you ſhal haue it roundly euen as the truth is. I beleue that almighty GOD our moſt deare louyng father of his great mercy and infinite goodnes, did elect in Chriſt.

Mart. Tuſh, what neede all that long circumſtance? write, I beleue that God elected, and make no more ado.

Carel. No, not ſo M. Doctour. It is an hygh miſtery, and ought reuerently to be ſpokẽ of. And if my wordes may not be written as I do vtter them, I will not ſpeake at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſines then needeth.

Careles opinion of Gods election.

Careles. I beleue that Almighty GOD our moſt deare louyng Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſſe (through Ieſus Chriſt) did elect and appoynt in him before the foundation of the earth was layd, a Church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and gouerne by his grace and holy ſpirite, ſo that not one of them ſhall euer finally periſh. When this was written, Maiſter Doctour tooke it in his hand and read it, ſaying.

Mart. Why? who will deny this?

D. Martyn auoweth Careles iudgement of Gods election.

Carel. If your Maiſterſhyp do allow it, and other learned men when they ſhall ſee it, I haue my hartes deſire.

Mart. And do you hold none otherwiſe, thẽ is there writtẽ?

Carel. No verely, nor neuer did.

Mart. Write that he ſaith, otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written. It was told me alſo that thou doeſt affirme, that Chriſt did not dye effectually for all men.

Carel. What ſoeuer hath bene told you it is not much materiall vnto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them aunſwere. For in deede I do beleue that Chriſt did effectually dye for all thoſe that do effectually repent and beleue, and for none other: ſo that was written alſo.

Mart. Now Syr, what is Trewes fayth of predeſtination? he beleueth that all men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhalbe damned. Doth he not?

Carel. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

A wrong fayth of Predeſtination, beleuing to be elected in reſpect of good workes.

Carel. Truly I thinke he doth beleue as your Maiſterſhyp and the reſt of the Clergy do beleue of predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good workes, and ſo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write that he ſayth, his fellow Trew beleueth of predeſtination as the Papiſtes do beleue.

Carel. Ah Maiſter Doctour, did I ſo terme you? Seyng that this my confeſſion ſhall come before the Counſell, I pray you place my termes as reuerently as I ſpake them.

Mart. Well, well. Write that Trew is of the ſame fayth as the Catholickes be.

Carel. I did not ſo terme you neither. I wonder what you meane.

Marſhall. You ſayd the Clergy, did you not Careles?

Carel. Yes forſooth did I. So then it was written of the Clergy.

Mart. Now Syr, what ſay you more?

Carel. Forſooth I haue no farther to ſay in this matter.

Mart. Well, Careles I pray thee proue thy ſelfe a wiſe mã, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

D. Martyn pretendeth fauour to Careles.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Maiſter Doctour, I would full gladly lyue, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience. And your Maiſterſhyp ſhall right well perceiue that I will be no wilfull mã, but in all thyngs that I ſtand vpon, I will haue a ſure grounde.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careles, that I would gladly make ſome meanes to preſerue thy lyfe: but thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord. Wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwater into Irelãd? me thinkes thou art a goodly tal felow to do the Queene ſeruice there. How ſayeſt thou?

Carel. Verely Maiſter Doctour, whether I be in Ireland, Fraunce, or Spayne, or any place els, I am ready to do her grace the beſt ſeruice that I can, with body, goodes, and life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Mart. That is honeſtly ſayd. I promiſe thee euery man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you Maiſter Marſhall, this man is meete for all manner of ſeruice. In deede thou art worthy Careles, to haue the more fauour.

Carel. In deede Syr, I hope to be meete and ready vnto all thynges that pertaineth vnto a true Chriſtian ſubiect to do. And if her grace or her officers vnder her do require me to any thyng contrary vnto Chriſtes Religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſeruice in Smithfield for not obſeruyng it, as my bedfellow and other brethren haue done, prayſed bee God for them.

Mart. By my trouth thou art a pleaſaunt fellow as euer I talked with of all the Proteſtants, except it were Tomſon. I am ſory that I muſt depart with thee ſo ſoone: but I haue ſuch buſines now, yͭ I cã tary wᵗ yͤ no lõger. Well, yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at iarre amongeſt your ſelues in the Kynges Bench, and it is ſo through out all your congregation for you will not be a Church.

More varietie in the Popes Church, then is amongeſt the Proteſtantes.

Careles. No Maiſter Doctour, that is not ſo. There is a thouſãd tymes more varietie in opinions among your Doctours, which you call of the Catholicke Church, yea & that in the Sacrament for the which there is ſo much bloudſhed now a dayes. I meane of your latter Doctours & new writers: as for the old they agree wholy with vs.

Mart. No Careles, that is not ſo: there thou art deceiued.

Carel. Verely it is ſo, Maiſter Doctour. I am not deceiued therein any thyng at all, as it hath bene, and is euidently proued by ſuch as GOD hath endued with great learnyng. Then he turned to the Marſhal, and whiſpered with him a while.

Doctour Martyn taketh his leaue gently of Careles.

Martin. Turnyng vnto me agayne, ſayd: Farewell Careles, for I can tary no longer with thee now, my buſineſſe is ſuch.

Carel. God be with you, good Maiſter Doctour. The Lord geue your Maiſterſhyp health of body and ſoule.

Mart. God haue mercy good Careles and God keepe thee from all errours, & geue thee grace to do as wel as I would wiſhe my ſelfe.

Carel. I thanke your good Maiſterſhyp. I pray GOD I may do alwayes that is acceptable in his ſight. Whereunto they all ſayd, Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad hart: God onely haue the whole prayſe, Amen.

It appeareth by examination of the foreſayd Iohn Careles, yͭ he endured priſoner the ſpace of two whole yeares, hauyng wife and children. In the whiche his captiuitie, firſt beyng in Couentry Iayle, he was there in ſuch credite with his Keper, that vppon his worde he was let out to play in the Pageant about the Citie with other, his companions. And that done, keepyng touch with his Keper, he returned agayne into priſon at his houre appointed.

And after that beyng brought vp to London hee was indued with ſuch pacience and conſtaunt fortitude, that hee longed for nothyng more earneſtly, then to come to that promotion to dye in the fire for the profeſſion of his fayth: and yet it ſo pleaſed the Lord to preuent him with death, that he came not to it, but dyed in the priſon, and after was buryed in the fieldes in a dounghill.

Iohn Careles dyed in priſon, and was buryed in the fieldes.

¶ In the meane tyme while hee was in priſon in the Kynges Bench, it chaunced he was in great heauyneſ and perturbation of mynde and conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Maiſter Philpot being then in the Colehouſe. Vpon the occaſion hereof Maiſter Philpot ſent an Epiſtle conſolatorie vnto him, ſpecified before amõg Maiſter Philpots letters, pag. 1762. Vnto the which Epiſtle Iohn Careles maketh aunſwere agayne as followeth.

¶ *Letters of Iohn Careles.*

¶ A Letter of Iohn Careles aunſweryng to the louing Epiſtle or Letter ſent to him before by Maiſter Iohn Philpot.

A faythfull frend is a ſtrõg defence, who ſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure.

A faithfull frend hath no peere, the weight of gold and ſiluer is not to be compared to the goodnes of his fayth.

A faythfull frende is a medicine of lyfe, and they that feare the Lord ſhall finde him. Eccleſiaſt. 6.

A letter of Iohn Careles to M. Philpot.

THe father of mercy and GOD of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternall ſpirite (my moſt deare and faythfull louyng frend, good Maiſter Philpot) as you haue comforted me by the mighty operation of the ſame: the euerlaſtyng God be prayſed therfore for euer, Amen.

Ah my deare hart and moſt louyng brother, if I ſhould do nothyng els day and night, ſo long as the dayes of heauen do endure, but kneele on my knees and read Pſalmes, I can neuer bee able vnto render God condigne thankes for his great mercy, fatherly kyndneſſe, and moſt louyng compaſſion extended vnto me moſt vyle, ſinnefull, wicked, and vnworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would opẽ my mouth and geue me a thãkefull hart, that from the bottome of the ſame might flowe his continuall prayſe. Oh that my ſinnefull fleſh (which is the cauſe of my ſorrow) were cleane ſeparated from me, that I might ſing Pſalmes of thankes geuyng vnto the Lordes name for euer: that with good Samuels mother I might continually record this noble verſe folowing, the which by good experience I haue found moſt true, prayſed be my good God therfore:

1. Reg. 2. Iohn Careles rayſed vp by the Lord out of great heauines.

The Lord (ſayth that good woman) killeth and maketh alyue: he bryngeth downe to hell and fetcheth vp agayne. Prayſed be that Lord for euer, yea, and prayſed be his name, for that hee hath geuen me true experience and lyuely feelyng of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord GOD, whoſe mercy endureth for euer, whiche hath not dealt with me accordyng to my deepe deſertes, nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure when I had iuſtly deſerued it. Oh what reward ſhall I geue agayne vnto the Lord for all the great benefites that he hath done for my ſoule? I will gladly receiue the cup of ſaluation at his hãd, and will worſhyp his name with prayer and with prayſe.

Ah my deare hart, yea moſt deare vnto me in the Lord, thinke not this ſodeine chaunge in me, to be ſome fikle phãtaſie of my fooliſhe head (as in deede ſome other would ſurely ſuſpect it to be). For doubtles it is the maruellous doyng of the Lord, moſt mercyfull vnto me his vnworthy creature. God for his great mercyes ſake geue me grace to be more thankefull vnto him then I heretofore haue bene, and keepe me that I neuer fall forth of his fauour agayne.

And now my deare brother, and moſt bleſſed meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautifull feete haue brought much glad tidynges vnto my ſoule, what ſhall I do or ſay vnto you, in the leſt parte to recompenſe the fatherly affection and Godly care that you continually keepe for me? Oh that God would geue me the ſpirite of feruent prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome little part of my duety toward you. Ah my true louyng frend, how ſoone did you lay aſide all other buſineſſe, to make a ſweete plaſter for my wounded conſcience, yea and that out of a paynefull payre of ſtockes, whiche place muſt needes be vneaſie to write in. But God hath brought you into a ſtrait place, that you might ſet my ſoule at liberty. Out of your pinching & paynful ſeat you haue plentyfully poured vppon me your precious narde, the ſweete ſauour wherof hath greatly refreſhed my tyred ſoule. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you both body & ſoule, by pouring the oyle of his gracious ſpirit into your ſweet hart.

This comfort receaued of M. Philpot, read in M. Philpots letters, pag. 1726.

Ah good Ieremy, hath Phaſure put thee in the ſtockes? why, now thou haſt the right reward of a Prophet. Thy glory neuer began to appeare vntill now. I doubt not but ſhortly, in ſtede of Ahikam the ſonne of Shaphan, Ieſus the ſonne of the liuyng God will come and deliuer thee forth of the handes of all thyne enemyes, and will alſo make good agaynſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagoge, all the wordes that thou haſt ſpoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defended Tower, an yron piller, and a braſen wall againſt the whole rable of Antichriſt, and though they fight agaynſt thee neuer ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not ouercome thee, for the Lord himſelfe is with thee to helpe and deliuer thee: and he will rid thee out of the handes of the wicked, and will deliuer thee out of the handes of the Tyrantes. And in that you are not buſie in caſtyng pearles before ſwyne, nor in geuyng the holy thynges vnto dogges, you are much to be commended, in my ſimple iudgemẽt. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt behauiour hetherto hath bene as much to Gods glory and to the ſhame and cõfuſion of your enemyes, as any mans doynges that are gone before you.

Iere. 20.

Iere. 26.

Iere. 1.

Iere. 15.

Math. 7.

The circumſpect behauiour of M. Philpot.

Wherfore myne aduiſe and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your louyng frendes, that you ſtill keepe that order with thoſe bloudthurſty byteſheepes, Byſhoppes I ſhould ſay, that you haue begon. For though in concluſion they will ſurely haue your bloud, yet ſhall they come by it with ſhame inough, and to their perpetuall infamy whiles the world doth endure. They would in deede cõdemne you in hugger mugger, to darken Gods glory if it might be. But Sathans thoughtes are not vnknowen to you, and the depth of his ſubtiltie is by you wel foreſene. Therfore let them do whatſoeuer GOD ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all thynges ſhall turne to your beſt. Though you lye in the darke, ſlorryed with the Byſhops blacke coale duſt: yet ſhall you be ſhortly reſtored vnto the heauenly light, and made as white as ſnow in Salmon, and as the wynges of a Doue that is couered with ſiluer winges, and her fethers like gold. You knowe the veſſell, before it be made bright, is ſoyled with oyle and other thynges that it may ſcoure the better.

Iohn Careles aduiſe to M. Philpot.

Pſal. 68.

Oh happy bee you that you be nowe in the ſcouryng houſe: for ſhortly you ſhalbe ſet vpon the celeſtial ſhelfe as bright as aũgels. Therfore my deare hart, I will now accordyng to your louyng requeſt, caſt away all care, and reioyce with you, and prayſe God for you, and pray for you day and night:

Iohn Careles care turned into ioy.

night: yea, I wyll nowe with Gods grace ſing Pſalmes of prayſe and thankes geuyng with you. For nowe my ſoule is turned to her old reſt againe, and hath taken a ſwete nap in Chriſtes lap. I haue caſt my care vpon the Lord, which careth for me, and wyll be Careles, according to my name, in that reſpecte which you would haue me. I wyll leaue out my vnſemely addition as long as I lyue: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoone as I had read your moſte godly and comfortable letter, my ſorowes vaniſhed away as ſmoke in the wind, my ſpirite reuiued, and comfort came againe, wherby I am ſure the ſpirite of God was author of it.

Gods gracious worke through M. Philpots letter.

Oh, good M. Philpot, which art a principal pot in deede filled with moſt precious licour, as it appereth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame: Oh pot moſt happy, of the high Potter ordeined to honour, which doeſt conteine ſuch heauenly treaſure in the earthen veſſel: Oh pot thriſe happy, in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great myracle, altering thy nature, and turnyng water into wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the maiſter of the feaſt hath filled my cup ſo ful, that I am become drunken in the ioy of the ſpirite thorow the ſame: When Martyrdome ſhal breake thee (O veſſel of honour) I knowe the fragant ſauour of thy precious Narde wyll much reioyce the heauy hartes of Chriſtes true members, although the Iudaſſes wyll grudge and murmure at the ſame. Yea and burſt out into words of ſclaunder, ſaying: it is but loſt and waſte.

John Careles drunken with ioy of the ſpirite.

Be not offended, deare harte, at my Metaphoricall ſpeache. For I am diſpoſed to be meery, and with Dauid to daunce before the Arke of the Lorde: and though you play vppon a payre of Organes not verye comely or eaſie to the fleſhe, yet the ſweete ſound that came from the ſame, cauſeth me thus to doo. O that I were with you in bodye, as preſently as I am in ſpirite, that I might ſing all care awaye in Chriſt: for now the tyme of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all things happen aright: For my olde frendes of Couentry haue put the Counſayle in remembraunce of me, not ſixe dayes agoe, ſaying, that I am more worthy to be burned, then any that was burned yet. Gods bleſſing on their hartes for their good reporte. God make me worthy of that dignitie, & haſten the tyme, that I might ſet forth his glory.

2. Reg. 6.

Careles accuſed to the Councell by certayne backe frendes in Couentry.

Pray for me deare hart, I beſeeche you, and wyl al your company to do the ſame, and I wyll pray God for you all ſo long as I lyue. And nowe farewel in Chriſte, thou bleſſed of Gods own mouth. I wyll for a tyme take my leaue, but not my laſt farewell. Bleſſed be the tyme that euer I came into the kynges Bench, to be ioyned in loue and felowiſhyp with ſuche deare chyldren of the Lorde. My good brother Bradford ſhal not be dead whiles you be aliue: for veryly the ſpirit of hym doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your letters of cõfort vnto me in ech point do agree, as though the one were a copie of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water: the Lord geue good increaſe. My deare brethren and felow priſoners here, haue them humbly and hartily commended vnto you, and your company, mournyng for your miſerie, but yet reioyſing for your plenteous conſolation and comfort in Chriſt. We are all chearfull and meery vnder our croſſe, and do lacke no neceſſaries, prayſed be God for his prouidence and greate mercy towardes vs for euermore. Amen.

Note how comfortably the Lord worketh in his priſoned Sainctes.

Gods prouidence toward his people.

¶ To his wyfe.

AS by the greate mercye of God, at the tyme of his good wyll and prouidence appoynted (my dearely beloued wyfe) you and I were ioyned together in the holy and Chriſtian ſtate of godly Matrimonie, as wel to our greate ioy and comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the encreaſe of his bleſſed Church and faythful congregation, by hauyng lawfull chyldren by vs in the ſame, with the which God of his mercy hath bleſſed vs, prayſed be his name therfore: euẽ ſo now by his mercyfull wyll and diuine ordinaunce, the tyme is come (ſo farre as I can perceyue) wherein he wyl, for his glory and our eternal comfort, diſſolue ẏ ſame, and ſeparate vs aſunder agayne for a tyme. Wherfore I thought it good, yea and my bounden duetie, by this ſimple letter to prouoke ſtyrre, and admoniſh you, to behaue your ſelfe in al your doynges, ſayinges, and thoughtes, moſt thankfully vnto our good God for the ſame. And therefore (my deare wyfe) as you haue hartily reioyced in the Lorde, and oftentymes geuen God thankes for his goodnes, in bryngyng vs together in his holy ordinaunce: euen ſo now I deſire you, when this tyme of our ſeparation ſhall come, to reioyce with me in the Lord, and to geue hym moſt harty thankes, that he hath (to his glory and our endles commoditie) ſeparated vs agayne for a litle tyme, and hath mercyfully taken me vnto hymſelf forth of this miſerable worlde, into his celeſtiall kyngdome: beleuyng and hopyng alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodnes, for his ſonne Chriſtes ſake, wyll ſhortly bryng you and your deare chyldrẽ thither to me, ẏ we may moſt ioyfully together ſing prayſes vnto his glorious name for euer. And yet once agayne I deſire you for the loue of God, ⁊ as euer you loued me, to reioyce with me, and to geue God continual thankes for doyng his moſt mercyful wyl vpon me.

An other letter of John Careles to his wyfe.

Here is a true marke of a faythfull Chriſtian, forſaking wyfe and children for Chriſtes ſake.

I heare ſay, that you doo oftentymes vſe to repete this godly ſaying: The Lordes wyl be fulfilled. Doubtles it reioyſeth my poore hart to heare that report of you, and for the Lords ſake, vſe that godly prayer continually, and teache your children and familie to ſaye the ſame day ⁊ night: and not only ſay it wt your tongues, but alſo with your hart ⁊ mynd, and ioyfully to ſubmit your wyl to Gods wyl in very deede, knowing and beleuing aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours, otherwiſe thẽ it ſhal be his almighty and fatherly good wyll and pleaſure, and for your eternal comfort and commoditie. Which thing to be moſt true ⁊ certayne, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy goſpell, ſaying: Are not two little Sparowes ſold for a farthing, & yet not one of them ſhal periſhe without the wyll of your heauenly father? And he cõcludeth, ſaying: Feare not ye therfore, for ye are better then many Sparowes. As though he ſhould haue ſaid, If God haue ſuche a reſpect ⁊ care for a poore ſparow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhal not be takẽ in the lyme twig, net, or pytfal, vntyl it be his good wyl ⁊ pleaſure: you may be wel aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearly loueth, that he hath geuen his onely deare ſonne for you) ſhall periſhe, or departe forth of this miſerable lyfe without his almighty good wyl and pleaſure.

True obedience of a faythfull woman.

Math. 10.

Therefore deare wyfe, put your truſte and confidence wholy and onely in hym, and euer pray that his wyl be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeyng to his wyll: the whiche I pray God it may euer be, Amen. And as for worldly thinges, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lorde your deare God and father wyll not ſee you nor yours lacke, if you continue in his loue and chyldely feare, and keepe a cleare conſcience from all kynde of Idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and wickednes, as my truſte is that you wyll doo, although it be with the loſſe and daunger of this temporall lyfe. And good Margaret, feare not them that can but kyll the body (and yet can they not doo that, vntyl God geue them leaue) but feare to diſpleaſe hym that can kyll both body and ſoule, and caſt them into hell fire. Let not the remembraunce of your chyldren keepe you from God. The Lord hym ſelfe wyl be a Father and a Mother, better then euer you or I could haue bene, vnto them. He hym ſelfe wyll doo all thinges neceſſary for them: yea, as muche as rocke the Cradle, if neede be. He hath geuen his holy Angels charge ouer them, therefore commyt them vnto hym. But if you maye lyue with a cleare conſcience, (for els I woulde not haue you to lyue) and ſee the bringyng vp of your chyldren your ſelfe, looke that you nurture them in the feare of God, and keepe them farre from Idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and all other kynde of wickednes: and for Gods ſake helpe them to ſome learnyng, if it be poſſible, that they maye increaſe in vertue and godly knowledge, whiche ſhall be a better dowry to marry them withall, then any worldly ſubſtaunce: and when they be come to age, prouide them ſuche huſbandes as feare God, and loue his holy word. I charge you take heede that you matche them with no Papiſtes, and if you lyue, and marry agayne your ſelfe (whiche thing I woulde wiſhe you to doo, if neede require, or els not) good wyfe take heede howe you beſtowe your ſelfe (that you and my poore children be not compelled to wickednes. But if you ſhall be able well to lyue Gods true wydowe, I would counſell you ſo to lyue ſtyll, for the more quietnes of your ſelfe and your poore children. Take heede, Margaret, and play the wiſe womans part. You haue warnyng by other, if you wyll take an example. And thus I commyt you and my ſweete children vnto Gods moſt mercyful defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend vs a mery meetyng together in heauen. Farewel in Chriſt, farewel myne owne deare hartes all. Pray, pray.

Good counſell geuen to his wyfe.

Care of Children to be caſt vpon the Lord.

The mothers dutye in bringing vp her children.

¶ To my good brother M. Iohn Bradford.

THe peace of God in Jeſus Chriſte, the eternall comforte of his ſweete ſpirite, whiche hath ſurely ſealed you vnto eternall ſaluation, be with you and ſtrengthen you in your ioyfull iourney towardes the celeſtiall Hieruſalem (my deare frende and moſt faythfull brother Maſter Bradford) to the ſettyng forth of Gods glory, and to your eternall ioye in Chriſt, Amen.

A ſweete Letter of John Careles to M. Bradford, a litle before his Martyrdome.

Euer ſince that good M. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter (my deare hart in the Lord) I haue cõtinued in great heauines and perplexitie: not for any hurt or diſcommoditie that I can perceyue commyng towardes you, vnto whom

He mourneth for the loſſe and lacke of Maſter Bradford in the Church.

1556.

Iuly.

doubtles, death is made lyfe and great felicitie: but for the great loſſe that Gods Churche here in Englande ſhall ſuſtaine by the takyng away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lorde hath made you to be. Oh that my life and a thouſand ſuch wretched lyues mo might go for yours. Oh, why doth God ſuffer me and ſuch other Caterpyllers to lyue, that can doo nothing but conſume the almes of the church, and take away you ſo worthy a workman & labourer in the Lords vineyard? But wo be to our ſinnes & great vnthankfulnes, whiche is the greateſt cauſe of the takyng away of ſuch worthy inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his people. If we had ben thankful vnto God for the good miniſters of his word, we had not bene ſo ſoone depriued both of it and them. The Lorde forgeue our great ingratitude & ſinnes, and geue vs true repentance and fayth, and hold his hand of mercy ouer vs, for his deare ſonne Chriſtes ſake. Take not awaye all thy true preachers forth of this realme (O Lord) but leaue vs a ſeede, leaſt Englande be made like vnto Sodome and Gomorre, when thy true Lothes be gone.

He reioyceth for the honour of M. Bradfords Martyrdome.

But what goe I about to mingle your myrth with my mournyng, and your iuſt ioy with my deſerued ſorowe? If I loued you in deede, as I haue pretended, I ſhoulde ſurely reioyce with you moſt hartily, & prayſe God on your behalfe from the very bottome of my hart: I ſhould prayſe God day and night for your excellent election in and thorow his great mercy, and ſhould geue hym moſt humble thankes for your vocation by his Goſpell, and your true knowledge in the ſame: I ſhould earneſtly prayſe hym for your ſweete iuſtification, whereof you are moſt certaine by Gods grace and ſpirite, and ſhould inſtantly pray vnto hym for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue: I ſhoulde reioyce and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by the crowne of Martyrdome, and to be appoynted to that honour, to teſtifie his truth, and to ſeale it with your bloud: I ſhoulde highly extoll the Lorde, who hath geuen you a glorious victorie ouer all your enemies, viſible and inuiſible, and hath geuen you grace and ſtrength to finiſhe the Tower that you haue begunne to build. Finally, if I loued you, I ſhould moſt hartily reioyce and be glad to ſee you deliuered from this body of ſinne and vile pryſon of the fleſhe, and brought into that heauenly tabernacle where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and neuer offend hym more.

John Careles taketh his leaue of M. Bradford.

This and much more ſhould I doo, if I had a good hart towardes God, or you his deare chylde. But (alas) I am an hypocrite, & doo ſeeke nothyng but myne owne commoditie. I would haue Gods euerlaſtyng prouidence geue place to my peuiſh wyll & purpoſe, although it were to the hynderance of his glory and your ſweete commoditie. God forgeue me my horrible ingratitude, ſinnes, & offences againſt hym, and good brother, doo you forgeue me my great negligence and vnthankfulnes towardes you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I wyl put my wyl to Gods wil, and pray that the ſame maye be fulfilled in you, ſo long as you be on this earth: and when you are taken hence, I wyll moſt hartily prayſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I haue my being in this world. Ah my deare hart, nowe I muſte take my leaue of you, and as I thinke, my Vltimum vale in this lyfe, but in the lyfe to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merylye meete together, & that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leaue of you (my deare hart in the Lord) I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember al the ſweet meſſeges that the Lord our good God and moſt deare louing father hath ſent you by me his moſt vnworthy ſeruaunt, whiche as they are moſte true, ſo ſhal they be moſt truly accompliſhed vpon you eternally: and for the more aſſurance and certificate therof to your godly conſcience, he hath cōmaunded me to repete the ſame vnto you againe, in his owne name and word.

Teſtimony of Gods ſpirite.

John Careles doth Gods meſſage to Maſter Bradford.

Power and practiſe of the keyes of the Goſpell.

Therfore nowe geue eare and faythfull credence. Harken O ye heauens, and thou earth geue eare, and beare me witnes at the great day, that I doo here faythfully and truely the Lords meſſage vnto his deare ſeruant, his ſingularly beloued and elect childe John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloued of God, I pronounce & teſtifie vnto thee in the word and name of the Lord Iehoua, that al thy ſinnes what ſoeuer they be, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed, & forgeuen thee, by the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſte thyne only Lord and ſweet ſauiour, in whom thou doeſt vndoubtedly beleue. Chriſte hath clenſed thee with his bloud, and clothed thee with his righteouſnes, and hath made thee in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinckle: ſo that when the fire doth his appoynted office, thou ſhalt be receiued (as a ſweete burnt ſacrifice) into heauen, where thou ſhalt ioyfully remaine in Gods preſence for euer, as the true inheritour of his euerlaſting kingdome, vnto ÿ whiche thou waſt vndoubtedly predeſtinate & ordeined by the lords vnfallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the worlde was layd. And that this is moſt true that I haue ſayd, I call the whole Trinitie, the almighty and eternall Maieſtie of God the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt to my record at this preſent: whom I humbly beſeech to confirme and ſtabliſhe in thee the true and liuely feelyng of the ſame. Amen. Selah.

Nowe with a merry hart and a ioyfull ſpirit, ſomthing mixed with lawfull teares I take my farewell of you, mine owne deare brother in the Lorde: who ſende vs ſhortly a merry meetyng in his kingdome, that we maye both ſing prayſes together vnto hym with his holy Aungells and bleſſed ſpirits for euer and euer. Farewel thou bleſſed of the Lord, farewell in Chriſt: depart vnto thy reſt in the Lord: and pray for me, for Gods ſake.

As I had made an ende of this ſimple letter, I hearde ſome comfort both of good Maiſter Philpots ſeruaunt and yours: but (alas) I doo ſcarcely beleue them. Well, I wyll hope in God, and pray al night that God wyll ſend me ſome comfort to morowe, and if the Lorde geue you ſparyng to morow, let me heare foure wordes of comfort from you, for Gods ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for euer. Amen.

Yours for euer in the Lord Ieſus, Iohn
Careles, liuyng in hope againſt hope.

In readyng this letter of John Careles to M. Bradford, aboue prefixed, wherein he maketh ſo much mention of a certayne letter of his ſent to hym, and of the greate excedyng conſolation, he receyued of the ſame, thou wylt wiſhe peraduenture (good louyng Reader) in thy mynde, to haue ſome ſight alſo of the ſaid letter of maſter Bradford. Wherin to ſatiſfie thy deſire, or rather to preuent thy petition, I haue hereunto annexed the ſame, to the entent thou mayeſt not onely vnderſtand the contentes thereof, but alſo receyue fruit therof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purport of the letter here foloweth.

¶ Maiſter Bradford to Careles.

A comfortable Letter of M. Bradford to John Careles.

ALmighty God our deare father, through and for the merites of his dearly beloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, be mercyful vnto vs, pardon vs our offences, and vnder the winges of his mercy he protect vs from al euyll, from henceforth and for euer. Amen.

Practiſe of the keyes of the Goſpell.

Deare brother Careles, I hartily pray you to praye to God for me, for the pardon of my manyfolde ſinnes and moſte greeuous offences, whiche neede none other demonſtration vnto you then this, namely that I haue behaued my ſelfe ſo negligently in aunſwearing your godly triple letters, whiche are three witneſſes againſt me. God lay not them nor none other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my wyll but his wyll be done. Concernyng your requeſt of abſolution (my deareſt brother) what ſhall I ſay, but euen as truth is, that the Lorde of all mercye, and Father of all comforte, through the merites and mediation of his deare ſonne thy onely Lorde and Saueour, hath clearely remitted and pardoned all thy offences what ſoeuer they be, that euer hitherto thou haſte committed againſt his maieſtie: and therefore he hath geuen to thee as to his childe (deare brother Iohn Careles) in token that thy ſinnes are pardoned: he (I ſay) hath geuen vnto thee a penitent and beleuyng hart: that is, a harte which deſireth to repent and beleue: For ſuche a one is taken of hym (he accepting the wyl for the deede) for a penitent and beleuing hart in deede.

Wherefore (my good brother) be merry, glad, and of good cheare, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſinnes: thou ſhalt not dye. Goe thy wayes: the Lord hath put away thy ſinnes. The Eaſt is not ſo farre from the Weſt, as the Lorde now hath put thy ſinnes from thee. Looke how the heauēs be in compariſon of the earth, ſo far hath his mercy preuailed towarde thee his deare childe, Iohn Careles, through Chriſt the beloued. Say therefore with Dauid: Prayſe the Lord oh my ſoule, and all that is within me prayſe his holy name: for he hath forgeuen thee al thy ſinnes: as truely he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witnes. God make me worthy to heare from you the like true meſſage for my ſelf. Myne owne dearly beloued, you haue great cauſe to thanke God moſt hartily that hath geuen you ſuch repentance and faith: the Lord increaſe the ſame in you and me a moſt miſerable wretche, whoſe harte is harder then the Adamant ſtone, or els I could not thus long haue ſtayed from writing vnto you. If I liue, and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amendes. Pray for me my moſt deare brother, I hartily beſeech you, and forgeue me my long ſilence. God our father be with vs for euer. Amen.

Yours in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

¶ To

¶ To my moſt deare and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the teſtimonie of Gods euerlaſting truth.

An other letter of Iohn Careles to the conſtant brethren in Newgate condemned.

The euerlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual ioy, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirite, with the increaſe of fayth & liuely feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my moſt deare & faithful louyng brother Tymms, and with al the reſt of my deare harts in the Lord, your faithfull felow ſouldiers and moſt cõſtant companions in bondes, yea of men condemned moſt cruelly for the ſincere teſtimonie of Gods euerlaſting truth, to the ful finiſhing of that good worke, which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you all, that the ſame may be to his glory, the commoditie of his poore afflicted church, and to your euerlaſting comfort in hym. Amen.

Example of true loue and charitie among the Martyrs.

Ah my moſt ſweete and louyng brethren, and deareſt hartes in the Lord, what ſhall I ſay, or howe ſhall I write vnto you in the leaſt point or part, to vtter the great ioy that my poore hart hath conceiued in God, through the moſt godly example of your Chriſtian conſtancie and ſincere confeſſion of Chriſtes veritie? Truely my tongue can not declare, nor my penne expreſſe the abundance of ſpiritual myrth and gladnes, that my mynde and inwarde man hath feelt, euer ſince I heard of your harty boldnes, and modeſt behauiour before that bloudy butcher, in the tyme of al your crafty examinations, eſpecially at your cruell condemnation in their curſed Conſiſtory place. Bleſſed be God the father of all mercy, & prayſed be his name, for that he hath ſo graciouſly performed vpon you his deare darlynges, his moſte ſweete and comfortable promiſes, in not onely geuyng you the continuall ayde, ſtrength, and comfort of his holy and mightye ſpirite, to the faythfull confeſſion of his Chriſte. for whoſe cauſe (O moſt happy men) ye are condemned to dye: but alſo in geuyng you ſuch a mouth & wiſedome, as al your wicked enemies were not able to reſiſt, but were fayne to crye: Peace peace, & not ſuffer you to ſpeake.

The enemyes not able to withſtand the wiſedome of God in his Sainctes, but compelled to byd them holde their peace.

As truely as God lyueth (my deare brethren) this is not only vnto you a moſt euident probation that God is on our ſide, and a ſure certaintie of your euerlaſting ſaluation in him, but alſo to your cruel aduerſaries (or rather Gods curſed enemies) a plain demõſtration of their iuſt eternal woe & damnation, which they ſhal be ful ſure ſhortly to feele, when ye ſhal ful ſweetly poſſeſſe the place of felicity and pleaſure prepared for you frõ the beginnyng.

Therefore (my dearly beloued) ceaſe not ſo long as ye be in this lyfe, to prayſe the Lorde with a luſty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodnes, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignitie, to ſuffer for his ſake, not onely the loſſe of goodes, wyfe, and chyldren, long impriſonment, cruel oppreſſion. &c. but alſo the very depriuation of this mortall lyfe, with the diſſolution of your bodyes in the fire. The which is the greateſt promotion that GOD can bring you or any other vnto in this vale of miſerie, yea ſo great an honour, as the higheſt Aungell in heauen is not permitted to haue: & yet hath the Lord (for his dere ſonne Chriſtes ſake) reputed you worthy of the ſame, yea and that before me and many other, which haue both long looked and longed for the ſame.

Iohn Careles longeth to dye a Martyr in the Goſpels cauſe.

Ah my moſt deare brother Tymms, whoſe tyme reſteth altogether in the handes of the Lorde, in a full happy tyme cameſt thou into this troubleſome worlde, but in a muche more bleſſed houre ſhalt thou departe forth of the ſame: ſo that the ſweete ſaying of Salomon, or rather of the holy ghoſt, ſhall be full well verified vpon thee, yea and all thy faythful felowes: Better is the day of death (ſaith he) then the day of byrth. This ſaying can not be verified vpon euery man, but vpon thee my deare brother, and ſuche as thou art, whoſe death is moſt precious before God, and full deare ſhal your bloud be in his ſight. Bleſſed be God for thee my deare brother Tymmes, and bleſſed be God agayn that euer I knew thee, for in a moſt happy tyme I came firſt into thy company. Pray for me, deare brother, pray for me, that God wil once vouch me worthy of that great dignitie wherunto he hath now brought you.

Eccle. 7.

Of the Martyrdome of this Tyms read before pag. 1788.

The Martyrdome of Drake. ibid.

Ah my louyng brother Drake, whoſe ſoule draweth nowe nigh vnto GOD, of whom you haue receyued the ſame, full glad maye you be that euer GOD gaue you a lyfe to leaue for his ſake: Full well wyll he reſtore it to you againe in a thouſand folde more glorious wiſe. Prayſe God, good brother, as you haue great cauſe, and pray for me, I beſeeche you, which am ſo much vnworthy (ſo great are my ſinnes) of that great dignitie wherunto the Lord hath called you and the reſt of your godly brethren: whom I beſeeche you to comfort in the Lord, as you can ful wel: prayſed be God for his gyftes, whiche you haue hartily applyed to the ſettyng forth of his glory, and the commoditie of his poore afflicted Church. Which thyng ſhal ſurely redounde to your euerlaſting ioy & cõfort, as you ſhall moſt effectually feele or euer it be long, though the wicked of ỷ world iudge farre otherwiſe.

The Martyrdome of Cauill, Ambroſe and both the Spurges, read in the ſame page. 1788.

Ah myne own harts, and moſt dearly beloued brethren, Cauell, Ambroſe, and both the Spurges: bleſſed be the Lord on your behalf, and prayſed be his name: which hath geuen you ſuch a glorious victorie. Full valiaunt haue you ſhewed your ſelues in the Lordes fight, & full faythfully in your paynful ſeruice. Faint not, but goe on forward as ye haue moſt godly begon, for great ſhal your reward be at the end of this your trauaile. Ah my good faithfull brethren all, what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I write vnto you, but euen the ſame that good Elizabeth did ſay to her godly kinſwoman Mary the bleſſed mother of Chriſt: Happy art thou (quoth that good woman) whiche haſt beleued: for all thinges whiche the Lord hath ſpoken to thee, ſhalbe fulfilled.

Luke. 1.

So I ſay to you (my deare hartes in the Lord) happy are ye al, yea twiſe happy ſhal ye be for euermore, becauſe ye haue ſtedfaſtly beleued the moſt ſweet promiſes which God the father hath made vnto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promiſed you (which are the faithful ſeede of the beleuyng Abraham) that ye ſhall be bleſſed euer, world without end. The promiſes of God your ſweete father, as ye doo beleue, ſo doo ye beare record that God is true. The teſtimonie wherof ye haue ful worthily borne to the world, & ſhortly wil ful ſurely ſeale the ſame with your bloud, yea euen to morow, I doo vnderſtand.

He encourageth Gods Martyrs vnto their death.

Oh conſtant Chriſtians: oh valiant ſouldiers of the high captaine Jeſus Chriſte, who for your ſake hath conquered the deuyll, death, ſinne, & hell, and hath geuen you ful victorie ouer thẽ for euermore. Oh worthy witneſſes, and moſt glorious martyrs, whoſe inuincible faith hath ouercome that proude, ſturdy, bragging prince of the world, & al his wicked army, ouer whom ye ſhall ſhortly triumph for euermore. Ah my ſweet harts, the euerlaſtyng treaſures are ful ſurely layd vp for you in heauen. The incorruptible and moſt glorious crowne of victorie is already made & prepared for you, to be ſhortly clapt vpõ al your happy heades. The holy angels of your heauenly father are already appoynted to conduct your ſweete ſoules into Abrahams boſome. All the heauenly hoſt reioyſeth already, for that they ſhal ſhortly receiue you with ioy and felicitie into their bleſſed felowſhip. Selah.

Reioyce with double ioye, and be glad my deare brethren, for doubtles ye haue more cauſe then can be expreſſed. But (alas) I that for my ſinnes am leaft behynd, may lye and lament with the holy Prophete, ſaying: Woe is me that the dayes of my ioyfull reſt are prolonged. Ah curſed Satan, whiche hath cauſed me ſo ſore to offende my moſte deare louyng father, whereby my exile and baniſhment is ſo much prolonged. Oh Chriſt my aduocate, pacifie thy fathers wrath, whiche I haue iuſtly deſerued, that he maye take me home to him in his ſweet mercy. Oh that I might nowe come home vnto thee with my bleſſed brethren. Well, thy wyll (O Lorde) be effectuouſly fulfilled, for it is onely good, and turneth al thinges to the beſt, for ſuch as thou in thy mercyes haſt choſen.

Pſal. 119.

And nowe farewell my deare hartes, moſt happy in the Lord. I truſt in my good God, yet ſhortly to ſee you in the celeſtiall citie, whereof vndoubtedly the Lorde hath already made you free citizens. Though ye be yet with vs for a litle tyme, your verye home is in heauen, where your treaſure doth remayne with your ſweete Lorde and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſte, whoſe calling you haue hearde with the eares of your hartes, and therefore ye ſhall neuer come into iudgement, but paſſe from death to life. Your ſinnes ſhall neuer be remembred, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great: for your Sauiour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the Sea: he hath remoued them from you as farre as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and his mercye hath muche more preuailed ouer you, then is diſtance betweene heauen & earth: and he hath geuen you for an euerlaſting poſſeſſion of the ſame, all his holynes, righteouſnes, & iuſtification, yea & the holy ghoſt into your hartes, wherwith ye are ſurely ſealed vnto the day of redemption, to certifie you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted ſonnes, whereby ye may boldly cry vnto God: Abba deare father, for euermore: ſo that nowe no creature in heauen, earth, nor hell, ſhal be hable to accuſe you before the throne of the heauenly King. Satan is nowe caſt out from you: he hym ſelfe is iudged, and hath no part in you. He will once maye bite you by the heele, and then he hath done, for at that tyme you ſhall ſquiſe his head through your own good Chriſt, and ſo haue you ſinall victory for euermore. In ioyful triumph wherof, ye ſhal ſwiftly aſcende into the place of eternall reſt, whither your elder brother Chriſt is gone before you, to take poſſeſſion for you, and to prepare your place vnder the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hoper, Saunders, Farrar, Taylour, Bradford, Philpot, with many other, who

Pſal. 103.

Triumph of Martyrs.

Gen. 3.

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wil be ful glad of your comming, to ſee the moe of their appoynted number, that their bloud may ſo much the ſooner be reuenged vpon them that dwel on the earth.

Thus I make an ende, committyng you all to Gods moſte mercyfull defence, whoſe quarrell ye haue defended, whoſe cauſe ye haue promoted, whoſe glorye ye haue ſet forth, and whoſe name ye haue conſtantly confeſſed. Farewell for a while, my deare hartes in the Lorde: I wyll make as muche haſte after you as I maye. All our deare brethren ſalute you. They pray for you, and prayſe God for you cōtinually. Bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, ſaith the holy ghoſt, and their workes folow them.

Apoc. 14.

Your owne, Iohn Careles, a moſt vnprofitable ſeruant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

¶ In the pag. 1742. ye heard before the letter of Thomas whittel, written to Iohn Careles, wherein he yeldeth great thankes vnto him, for the ſingular ioy and conſolatiō receiued by his letters. The copie of which letters ſent vnto him, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, here vnder foloweth, to ſatiſfie his deſire.

¶ To M. Grene, M. Whittel, and certaine other, priſoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for teſtimonie of the Lord Ieſus.

An other letter of Iohn Careles, wherein he doth animate Grene, Whittell, and the reſt of that company vnto theyr Martyrdome.

The euerlaſting peace in Jeſus Chriſte, the continuall comfort of his moſte pure and holy ſpirite, be with you, my moſte deare and faithfull brethren and ſiſters of Newgate, the Lordes appoynted ſheepe vnto the ſlaughter, to the good performaunce of the great and notable worke of the Lord, which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you al: that the ſame may redound to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to the commoditie of his Churche, and to your owne euerlaſting comfort in him. So be it.

Ah my deare hartes, and moſt faithfull brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, what high laudes and prayſe, yea what humble & continuall thankes am I bound to geue to God our father for you and on your moſt happy behalfe. Who ſo mightily hath magnified him ſelfe in you thus farre forth, in geuing you his holy & mighty ſpirite, to the conſtant confeſſing of Chriſtes veritie, euen to the cruel condemnation, & I doubt not but he wyl doo the ſame to the death. Oh happye and bleſſed are you that euer you were borne, that the Lord wyll vouche you worthy of this great dignitie, to dye for his ſake. Doubtles it is the greateſt honour that God cā geue you in this life. Yea if they be ſo bleſſed of God that die in the Lord, as the holy ghoſt ſaith they be: how muche more bleſſed and happy then are you, that die not only in the Lord, but alſo for the Lord. Oh that it were the good wyll of God, that the good houre were nowe come, that I might goe with you. Ah that my ſinnes made me not vnworthy of ſuch an excellent dignitie.

Apoc. 14.

To dye in the Lord: and for the Lord.

Be thankful deare hartes, be thankful and reioyce in the Lord: for mighty is his mercy towardes you, and great is your reward in heauen, the which you like faithful perſons haue plucked to you with a godly violence of an inuincible faith. Oh worthy warriours of the moſt high captaine: Oh conſtant confeſſors of the euerlaſting veritie: how glorious a crowne of victorie ſhal you ſhortly receiue, which is prepared for al ſuch as doo continue to the ende? Oh you ſweete ſaintes of the Lord, howe precious ſhal your death be in his ſight? Oh howe deare are your ſoules to your redeemer, in whoſe hand they ſhall moſt ioyfully reſt, and the paynes of death ſhal neuer touch you? Oh howe bleſſed ſhall you be, when Chriſt ſhall appeare, at the which tyme you ſhall receiue your bodies agayne ful of immortalitie? Oh how ioyful ſhall you be, when Chriſt, according to his promiſe, ſhall knowledge you before his father and his holy aungels, as you haue moſt conſtantly confeſſed hym to be your Lorde & onely Sauiour before men?

Oh bleſſed Grene, thou meeke and louing lambe of the Lorde, howe happy art thou to be appoynted to dye for his ſake? A ful daintie diſh art thou for the Lords owne tooth. Freſhe and Grene ſhalt thou be in the houſe of the Lord, & thy fruites ſhal neuer wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth ſowing thy good fruits with teares, the time ſhal come that thou ſhalt reape with ioy and gladnes, the fruits of euerlaſting life, and that without ceaſing. Be merry therfore and feare not, for it is thy fathers wyll to geue thee a kingdome, whereunto he hath choſen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

Of this Bartholomew Greene read before pag. 1743.

Luke 12.

Oh happy Miniſter, thou man of God, how glad mayeſt thou be of Gods gracious fauour, whiche hath preuented thee in the day of thy tryall? Oh happy Peter, whoſe part thou haſt well played: therefore thy rewarde and portion ſhall be like vnto his. Now haſt thou good experience of mans infirmitie, but much more proofe and taſt, yea ſenſe and feeling of Gods aboundant bottomles mercy. Although Satan deſired to ſift thee, yet Chriſte thy good Captaine, prayed that thy faith ſhoulde not faile. Gods ſtrength is made perfect by thy weakenes, and his grace is ſufficient for thee his deare childe. Thine example did ſo encourage & ſtrength thy poore brethrē, that God is euery way glorified by thee, and ſhortly wil he glorifie thee with him ſelfe, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling before the worlde was made. Therefore reioyce and be glad, for thou haſte good occaſion, in finding ſuche fauour in his ſight.

Of this Thomas Whittell, read before pag. 1737.

Luke. 22.

This is moſt true (Oh my other brethren, whom I do not knowe, neither haue I heard muche of you) happy are you that euer you wer borne, and bleſſed be our God which hath geuen you ſuch victorie ouer the bloudy beaſt. Shortly ſhall you be clothed in large white garmentes, and fyne raynes of righteouſnes, and ſo ſhall you folowe the Lambe on mount Sion with newe ſonges of mirth and melodie, for your deliuerie forth of Satans power and tyrannie. God for euermore be bleſſed for you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he wil: for he neuer failed thē that put their truſt in him.

Apoc. 19.

Oh my deare and faithfull ſiſter Ioane Warner, what ſhal I ſay to thee? Thy trial hath bene great: thy victorie in Chriſt hath bene notable. Thou haſte ouercome many a ſharpe ſhower and ſtorme. Shortly ſhalt thou arriue at the hauen of quiet reſt, and receiue a rewarde due to a conſtant Martyr. Thou ſhalt goe home to thy heauenly father, and poſſeſſe for euer the inheritance which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parentes be, ſtill looking for thee, which haue triumphed ouer Antichriſt moſte victoriouſly. Oh bleſſed parentes of happy children, whiche haue ſhewed ſuch an example, as ẏ like hath bene ſeldome ſeene. I ſalute thee deare ſiſter of like conſtant mynd: whoſe cōſtant example is worthy of continuall memorie. Prayſed be God for you myne owne ſweete ſiſters, whiche hath made you to play ſuch wiſe virgins partes. He hath plentifully poured the oyle of his ſpirite into the lampes of your faith, ſo that the light therof ſhall neuer be extinct. You ſhall enter with your bridegrome into euerlaſting ioy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginnyng.

Of Ioane Warner, read before pag. 1730.

He meaneth Elizabeth Foſter. pag. 1750.

Math. 25.

Oh my deare brethren and ſiſters, you bleſſed ſaintes of the Lord, howe much & howe deepely am I bound to prayſe God for you both day & night. Pray, pray for me (my deare hartes) for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to folow your trace. Oh that I had run the race of my life, as farre as you haue done yours, & were as nigh my iorneys end, as you be vnto yours. But alas, I lie like the lame man at the pooles ſide by Salomōs porch, & euery mā goeth into the place of health before me. But God wil appoynt me one, one day to put me in. I truſt my lord of Londons Colehouſe is emptie, & al his officers idle. Therefore they muſt ſhortly fetch more ſheepe to the ſhambles: for he is the common ſlaughter ſlaue of al England. But happy are you that are paſſed through the pikes, & deliuered out of his handes, and from al the angels of the darknes of this world, which long tempted you in the wildernes of the ſame: but nowe ſhal the aungels of God come and miniſter vnto you, for they are your ſeruauntes to hold you vp in their handes, that you ſhall not hurt your foote, no nor one heare of your head ſhal periſh. They ſhal cary you vp to heauen in a fiery chariot, though you leaue your Mantell behynde you for a tyme, tyll God reſtore the ſame to you againe in a more ample and glorious ſort.

Iohn. 5.

B. Boner called the ſlaughter ſlaue of England.

Pſal. 90.
4. Reg. 2.

Thus in haſte, as it doth appeare, I am conſtrained to make an ende, committing you all to Gods moſte mercyfull defence: who euer haue you in his bleſſed keeping, deſiryng you all to remember me in your godly and faithfull prayers, as I wyll not forget you in myne, by Gods grace. The bleſſing of God be with you all my deare brethren and ſiſters. All our brethren and felowe priſoners here haue them moſt hartily commended vnto you, & pray for you without ceaſing. God ſende vs a mery meeting in his kingdome. Amen.

By your brother and vnfained louer, Iohn Careles, priſoner, abiding his moſt mercyful wyll and pleaſure. Pray, pray, pray.

¶ To my deare and faithful brother, William Tymmes, priſoner in Newgate.

An other letter of Iohn Careles priuately written to his bedfellow W. Tymmes.

The euerlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſte, with the continuall ioy, comfort, & ſtrength of his ſweet ſpirit be multiplyed, and dayly more and more encreaſed in your good hart (my moſt faithful and deare brother Tymmes) to the full quieting of your conſcience, and beating backe of all the fiery dartes of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receiue the glorious crowne of victorie, and in the ſame triumphe ouer al your enimies for euermore. Amen.

Gods children neuer tempted aboue their ſtrength.

I can not expreſſe the exceeding great ioy and conſolation of my poore hart, conſidering the marueilous workes of God moſt graciouſly wrought vpon you, not only in prouyng you and tryyng your faith by his great & huge croſſes both inwardly & outwardly, but alſo in geuing you ſo great conſolation & conſtancie in the middes of the ſame. Faithful is God and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid: That he wil neuer ſuffer his choſen children to be tempted aboue their ſtrength, but in the middes of their temptation wil make an outſcape for them, by ſuch meanes as may make to his glory and their euerlaſting conſolation. My deare hart, great cauſe haue you to be of good comfort, for I ſee in you as liuely a token of Gods euerlaſting loue and fauour in Jeſus Chriſt, as euer I perceiued in any man. In reſpect wherof I do euen with my hart, loue, honour, & reuerence you, beſeeching God for his glorious names ſake in the bowels and bloud of our Lord & only Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, to finiſh his good worke in you, as I doubt not but he wyll do, according to his infallible promiſes: yea I am wel aſſured therof, for as much as you haue ſo effectually receyued his holy ſpirit in to your hart, as a pleadge and ſure ſeale of your eternall redemption, and a teſtimonie of your adoption in Chriſt Jeſu. For which cauſe Satan ſo ſore enuieth you, that he hath nowe bent al his fierce Ordinance againſt your thinking therby vtterly to deſtroy ẏ inuincible fort of your faith founded moſte firmely vppon the vnmoueable Rocke Chriſt, againſt the which, the deuyl, ſinne, nor yet hel gates ſhal neuer preuaile. Selah.

He comforteth M. Tymmes being condemned to the day of his Martyrdome.

Therefore myne owne bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, whiche doubtles ſhal greatly encreaſe your crowne of glorye, triumphe, and victorie: but take a good hart vnto you, and buckle boldly with Sathen both in hym ſelfe and in his ſubtile members. It is the very Diuine ordinaunce of God, that all his regenerate children ſhalbe tempted, proued, and tryed: as we ſee by the example of our Sauiour Chriſte, who as ſoone as he was baptiſed, was ſtrayt wayes led of the holy Ghoſt into the wyldernes, there to be tempted of the deuyll. But there got he ſuch a glorious victorie of Satan, that he coulde neuer ſince finally preuaile againſt any of his poore members, but in euery aſſault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly he getteth a foyle and taketh ſhame: ſo that now he rageth with all the ſpite poſſible, ſpecially becauſe he knoweth his tyme is but ſhorte. S. James teſtifieth that he is but a very coward, that wyl ſoone flee, if he be faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tempting tooles, the Lord hath made thē manifeſt vnto vs, ſo that he can not deceiue vs, though he aſſault vs: for as S. Paul ſaith: His very thoughts are not vnknowen to vs, as it doth in you largely appeare, prayſed be the Lordes name therfore.

It is the nature of Gods children to be tempted. Math. 4.

James. 4. Sathans tempting tooles. 1. Cor. 2.

Two principall pellets of Sathan wherby he aſſaulteth Gods ſeruauntes. 1. Feare of ſinne and death, and infidelitie of Gods promyſes. Remedye agaynſt feare, and infidelitie.

You ſee, deare brother, that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be euen paſſing from this vale of miſerie, he hathe but two wayes, or two peeces of Ordinaunce to ſhoote at you, with the whiche he can not hurte you, becauſe you haue two Bulwarkes to defende you. The firſte of theſe terrible Gunnes that Satan hath ſhot at you, is the very ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, feare, and infidelitie: for the vgleſomenes of death, and horrour of my ſinnes, whiche be ſo many, greeuous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away bẏ ẏ ſurer ſhield of fayth in the moſte precious death and bloudſhedding of our deare Lord and onely Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, whom the father hath geuen vnto vs wholy to be ours for euermore, & with him hath geuē vs al things, as Paul ſaith: ſo that though we be neuer ſo great ſinners, yet Chriſte is made vnto vs holynes, righteouſnes, and iuſtification. He hath clothed vs with all his merites, mercies, and moſt ſweete ſufferinges, and hath takē vnto hym al our miſerie, wretchednes, ſinne, and infirmitie. So that if any ſhould nowe be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needes be Jeſus Chriſte, which hath taken them vpon hym. But in deede he hath made ſatiſfaction for thē to the vttermoſt iote: ſo that for his ſake they ſhal neuer be imputed to vs, if they were a thouſand tymes ſo many moe as they be. This do you moſte effectuouſly feele and knowe, deare brother, a great deale better then I can tel you, bleſſed be God therfore.

The ſecond pellet of Sathan, is confidence and truſt in our owne good workes.

And nowe Satan, ſeeing that he can not preuaile with his boyſtrous batterie againſte this Bulwarke of fayth, whiche doth ſo quenche al his fiery dartes, that they can do you no harme, but rather do you good ſeruice to caſte you downe vnder the mighty hande of GOD, that he maye take you vp by his onely grace and power, and ſo you may render hym all the glory by Jeſus Chriſte, (whiche thing the enimie can not abide in no wiſe) therefore he ſhooteth of his other Peece moſt peſtilent, to prouoke you to put ſome part of your truſt and confidence in your ſelfe, and in your owne holynes and righteouſnes, that you might that waye robbe God of his glory, Chriſt of his honour and dignitie of his death. But bleſſed be the Lord God, you haue alſo a full ſtrong Bulwarke to beate backe this peſtiferous Pellet alſo, euen the pure lawe of God, whiche proueth the beſt of vs all damnable ſinners in the ſight of God, if he woulde enter into iudgement with vs, according to the ſeueritie of the ſame, and that euen our beſt workes are polluted and defiled in ſuch ſort, as the Prophet deſcribeth them. With which maner of ſpeaking, our free wil Phariſeis are much offended: for it felleth al mans righteouſnes to the ground, (I had like to haue ſaid, to the bottome of hell) and extolleth onely the righteouſnes of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before God, and is freely geuen to all thoſe that firmely beleue, as bleſſed be God you do.

Remedie againſt the 2. Pellet.

Eſay. 64.

Ah my good brother Tymmes, Sathan hath put his hande in a wrong boxe when he begynneth to tempt you, either to vaine glory or miſtruſte: for you are an olde beaten ſouldier, and haue had good experience of theſe maner of temptations, both by your ſelfe and other, whom you know wel were the beloued of God. Be of good cheare therfore, deare hart, be of good cheare, for nowe Satan hath wrought al his malice: he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhot of all his laſt Peeces, wherewith he had thought to haue done moſte miſchiefe: but nowe he ſeeth he can not preuaile (the ſtrong tower of your faith being ſo inuincible) he wil plucke vp all his tentes, and get him to ſome other place to practiſe the like aſſaultes: and then wil the Aungels of God come and miniſter vnto you ẏ moſt ſweete & heauenly cōſolations of the holy ghoſt. To him therefore who is able to do exceding abundently aboue all that euer we can deſire or thinke, I do moſt hartily commit you, with al the reſt of your godly priſon felowes, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defende you with his grace and mighty operation of his holy ſpirite, as he hath hitherto done, that you hauing a moſt glorious victorie ouer the ſubtile Serpent and all his wicked ſeede, maye alſo receiue the crowne of glory and immortalitie prepared for you before the foundations of the worlde were laide, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the handes of hym whoſe promiſe is vnfallible, that the Deuyl, ſinne, death, or hell, ſhall neuer be able to depriue you of the ſame. The bleſſing of God be with you now & for euermore. Amen. Pray pray, pray for me.

Sathan often come in Gods Sainctes.

Your owne for euer, Iohn Careles.

¶ To my good ſiſter M. C.

An other letter of John Careles to M. Cotton a faythfull ſiſter and fauourer of the Goſpell.

The peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comfortes of his ſweete ſpirit, be with you my deare and faithful ſiſter, to the ful accompliſhment of that good worke which he hath moſt graciouſly begon in you, that the ſame may be effectuall to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to your euerlaſting conſolation in hym. Amen.

My louing and faithfull Siſter in the Lorde, I thanke you for all your louing kindnes ſhewed vnto me, but ſpecially for your godly remembraunce of me in your feruent and faithfull prayers, and for your moſt godly and comfortable letter, whereby you do not onely much encreaſe my ioy and comfort, but alſo put me in remembraunce of my duetie towardes you.

Gods great giftes in women.

Bleſſed be the Lorde our God, which of his great mercye hath ſo beautified his Churche in theſe our dayes, that euen vnto many godly women he hath geuen moſt excellent giftes of knowledge and vnderſtanding of his truth, ſo that they are not onely well able to enforme their owne conſciences in al things neceſſarie to ſaluation, but alſo moſt ſweetly to comfort their ſorowfull brethren & ſiſters that ſuſteine any trouble for the teſtimonie of Gods truth, yea and that which is more, euen in the middeſt of their great conflictes of conſcience. Of whiche moſte happy number of godly and vertuous women, my deare hart, you are one, and that of the chiefeſt, being plentifully endued with the giftes of Gods moſt gracious ſpirit, as it doth ful wel appere in your daily doinges, God onely haue the prayſe therfore.

Note how God ſometyme geueth comfort by weaker veſſels.

For as much thē as God hath geuē you ẏ gift to write, I ſhall moſte hartily deſire you to let me heare from you ſometymes, be it neuer ſo litle, for truely I take great comforte and courage thereby, ſpecially in my poore conſcience, whiche is ſore aſſaulted of ſubtile Satan, and in a manner oppreſſed of my ſinnes. Pray, deare Siſter, that GOD maye geue me true, hartie, and earneſt repentaunce, and increaſe my faith, for they are both the good gyftes of God onely, and farre paſſe the reache of my power, to take at my pleaſure.

John Careles nothing touched with feare of death, or of the fire, but onely of his ſinnes.

Therefore deare Siſter, if you will helpe me to begge the ſame of our deare louing father, I am ſure that he both can and wil geue them me in his good tyme. And as for the feare of death or terrour of the fire, I moſte hartily thanke my good God, I feele it not: onely it is myne owne ſinnes and vnthankfulnes, which holdeth harde bataile, and wageth ſtrong warre againſt me, which onely goeth about to ſeparate me from my good captaine Chriſt, that I ſhoulde not enioy his glorious victorie: but God being on my ſide, (as I am ſure he is) that can not continually preuaile againſt me. Though God for a tyme permit Satan to take his pleaſure on me, as he dyd vppon Iob, yet I doubt not but in the end all ſhall turne to my profite, through the merites of our Lord & Saueour Ieſus Chriſt: to whoſe moſt mercyfull defence, I cōmpt you, deare ſiſter, with al the reſt of the Lordes elect. Farewel in Chriſt.

Your vnfainedly, Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

¶ To my deare brother. T. V.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles wherein he comforteth the afflicted mind of a certeine good brother mourning for lacke of Gods feeling.

The euerlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continual comfortes of his moſt pure and holy ſpirite, be with you my moſt deare frend and faithfull brother W. to the increaſe of your faith, and comforte of your ſorowfull ſpirite, which is to the Father a ſweete ſcrifice, through Chriſte: for whoſeſake he wyll neuer deſpiſe your humble and contrite hart, but doth fauourably accept the ſame, and wyll in moſt ample wiſe performe the deſire therof, to his glory, and your eternal comfort in hym.

Pſal. 57.

Pſal. 45.

Comfort for a ſicke conſcience.

Math. 9.

In the myds of my manyfold croſſes & troubles, wherin I am conſtrained to flee vnto God for refuge & ſuccour by earneſt & faithful prayer, I can not forget you (my dere hart in the Lord) but eſteamyng your ſtate for myne owne, I doo poure forth my complaint for you, as I doo for my ſelfe, and rather more, as I thinke preſent need doth require, deſiring moſt hartily to heare of the good ſucceſſe of the ſame in you. The Lord God for his great mercyes ſake, accompliſhe my deſire, as I doubt not but he wyl, when he ſeeth it good and moſt to his glory, and to your comfort & cōmoditie. Oh that I might once ſee you ſo merry in Chriſt, as you haue iuſte cauſe to be, that you might ſay with Dauid: Awake my glory, awake Lute and Harpe, bring forth the Pſalter with the meery ſong, that I might ſing a newe ſong of prayſe and thankeſgeuing vnto the Lord, for the light of his fauorable countenaunce, his helpe, and deliuerance. Oh, that would refreſhe me as a moſte precious oyle, and gladden my poore hart, which is aſſaulted with ſorowe, moe wayes then one. I doubt not but the ſame ſhall by your meanes receyue much comfort, though for a tyme it doth mourne with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea & that with ſuch gladnes as ſhall continue for euer. But in the meane ſpace (I ſay) moſt happy are you, that ſo hartily mourne the abſence of the bridegrome. If you were not a weddyng childe, you coulde neuer doo it. Onely Chriſtes true Diſciples doo mourne for his abſence: therfore ſhall they doubtles reioyce at his preſence, which wyll be ſo much more ioyful, by howe much the abſence is more ſorowful.

Pſal. 42.

Therfore, my good brother, take a good hart vnto you, & be of good cheare. Say with the Prophete Dauid: O my ſoule why art thou ſo heauie, and why art thou ſo diſquieted within me? O put thy truſt in God, for I wil yet geue hym thankes for the helpe of his louing countenaunce, and becauſe he is my God. Reade the Pſalme, the. xli. and. xlii. for your cōfort, & conſider that the holy king & Prophet, at the making & firſt ſaying of them, was euē in the ſame caſe that you are now in: but he ſtyl cōforted hym ſelfe with the ſweet promiſes of God: and ſo doo you my deare hart, for to you they doo as wel pertaine, as they dyd to hym, & as ſurely ſhal they be performed vpon you, as they were vpō hym: for he is one God and deare father vnto you both, & for his mercy, truth, and promiſe ſake, he muſte needes make good vnto you al that he hath ſaid.

Gods loue goeth not by our deſeruinges, but by fayth in Ieſus.

If his loue towardes you, ſtoode in the reſpecte of your owne merite or worthynes, you might wel mourne, lament and complaine: yea, you had good cauſe to doubt, feare, and miſtruſt. But ſeeyng he loueth you onely for and in Ieſus Chriſte, who is your whole holynes, righteouſnes, and redemption: laye away all mournyng, lamentyng, and complaynyng: baniſh from you all feare, miſtruſt, and infidelitie, and knowe that as long as Chriſt doth continue Gods ſonne, ſo long muſte the loue of the Father continue towardes you immutable, and his good wyll vnchaungeable, and can not be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is moſte true, that as long as the cauſe of any thyng doth laſt, ſo long muſt the effect remayne: but Chriſt is the whole cauſe, why the Father loueth you, and he alſo continueth for euer: then muſt I needes conclude, that the loue of the father continueth towardes you for euer, and (as the Pſalmiſt moſt ioyfully ſo often ſingeth) His mercy endureth for euer and euer.

Chriſt onely is the cauſe why his father loueth vs.

Why God ſometyme hydeth hym ſelfe from vs.

This is moſt true, myne owne deare hart, although the Lord for a tyme hide it from your ſenſes, that you might be the more earneſt in prayer to hym for the feeling of it, and alſo the more thankfull for it when he doth geue the liuely taſt of it, as doubtles he wyll doo ere euer it be long: and then ſhal you be well able to comfort other in the ſame ſtate that you are nowe in, with the ſame comfort wherwith you are and further ſhal be comforted of God.

Heb. 12.

Eccle. 7.

Meaſure ought to be in mourning.

Phil. 4.

Therfore lyft vp your handes that are nowe a litle fallen downe, and ſtretche forth the weake knees of your troubled mynde, whiche nowe mourneth with a godly mournyng, and therefore ſhall it be full wel comforted with that ſweete peace of God which paſſeth all vnderſtanding: and you are ſure already to enioy the bleſſing that Chriſt gaue vnto the godly mourners of Sion vppon the Mount, at the firſt ſermon that he made. Oh happy W. in whoſe mournyng company I had rather be, then in the houſe of myrth and banketyng of ſuche as ſee not what cauſe they haue to mourne and be ſorye. But yet my good brother, vſe a meaſure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithfull frendes too muche ſorye for you. Let the perſwaſions of ſuche godly louers as you doo dayly company withall, or rather the perſwaſions of the holy Ghoſt by them, moue you to ſome godly myrth and reioyſing. Conſider that you are commaunded of God by the mouth of Saint Paul thereto: Reioyce in the Lorde (ſaith he) and I ſay agayne reioyce. Marke howe he doubleth the ſentence, that we may perceiue it is a moſt earneſt and neceſſary thing he requireth. Obey the commaundement of God in this behalfe: wherein as you can not but highly pleaſe hym, ſo I aſſure you, you ſhall very muche reioyce my poore harte, and the hartes of other which pray for you with mourning teares, and make that cruell enimie Sathan and all your aduerſaries ſorie, which wyll reioyce and laugh to ſee you mourne. Oh my good brother, let it manifeſtly appeare, that the lord of his great mercy hath hearde our faithfull and hartye requeſtes for you. Oh how would that reioyce me in the myds of my troubles?

Example of Chriſtian charitie and compaſſion towardes his afflicted brother.

Therfore now to conclude, becauſe the darknes cōſtraineth me to make an ende for this tyme, I ſay, my deare and faithful brother W. in reſpect of the great cauſe you haue of your owne part through Chriſt, and for the glory & honour of almighty God: the comfort, ioy, and reioyſing of your dere brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt: alſo your owne duetie by the commaundement of God: and laſt of all to vexe, moleſt, and greue Satan withal, reioyce in the Lord, and be moſt hartily glad in hym, who is wholy yours, and you are his and ſhalbe for euermore. Selah.

Farewel myne owne bowels in the Lord, & praiſe God with ioyful lyps & a merry hart, & pray for me his moſt vnprofitable ſeruant, which haue more cauſe concernyng my ſelfe, to lament, then any one man lyuyng: but my good bridegrome is preſent, and biddeth me caſt away my mourning garmentes, and therfore I muſt needes be mery with him: and ſo he biddeth you to be, by my mouth, for he is preſent with you, although for ſorow you cā not know hym, as Magdalen could not in the garden, vntyl he ſpake vnto her. The Lord God ſpeake theſe wordes of comfort in your hart, and open the eyes of your mynd, that you may perfectly perceiue & feele his bleſſed preſence, & ſo reioyce in the ſame for euermore. Amen. Comfort your hart in Chriſte, and caſt your care vpon hym, for he careth for you.

Your brother in the Lord, abiding his
good pleaſure, Iohn Careles.

¶ To my deare and faithful brother,
Auguſtine Bernher.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles to faythfull Auguſtine Bernher counſelling hym to be circumſpect in thoſe daungerous dayes.

THe peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the helpe, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his eternal ſpirite be with you, my deare and faithfull brother Auguſtine, and with al the reſt of my good brethren and ſiſters of the houſes of Baxterley and Mancceter (whiche mourneth for the miſerie of Gods people) to your euerlaſting conſolation in hym. Amen.

Right glad I am to heare (my deare and faithfull brother Auguſtine) that God of his great mercye and infinite goodnes, hath yet ſo graciouſly deliuered and preſerued you out of your enimies handes, beſeeching almighty God alſo, from the bottome of my hart, to be your continual defence vnto the ende, as hitherto he hath moſt graciouſly bene, that you may liue & die both to gods glory, the cōmoditie of his Church, & to the increaſe of your owne euerlaſting ioy and comfort in hym.

Knowe you, deare brother, that I haue receyued your Letter, for the whiche I hartyly thanke you. In deede I thinke it very ſhort, although it ſeemeth ſomthing ſharply to rebuke me in the begynnyng, for the breache of my promiſe, in not writing to you of this long tyme. Well brother, I am contente to beare it with pacience, conſidering that you

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you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comforte you and all heuie hartes) neither will I ſpend ynke and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be ſo mindles of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly performe to the vttermoſt of my power, as gladly as any poore wretch ſhall doe in the world, and I thanke God I haue done no leſſe of long tyme. And as my poore prayer ſhalbe a handmayd to wayte vppon you which way ſo euer you ryde or goe, ſo I beſech you that my ſimple counſell may take ſome place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you paſſe in no ſmall perill: God keepe and preſerue you for his names ſake. I doe not diſalow, but much praiſe and commende your harty boldenes in putting your ſelf in preaſſe, when any one of Gods people needeth your helpe in any point. But yet I would not haue you thruſt your ſelfe in daunger, when you can doe them no good, or at leaſt wiſe when they may well enough ſpare that good you woulde doe them: For if you ſhoulde then chaunce to be taken, you ſhall not onely be no comfort vnto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow vnto their ſorrow.

He counſelleth Auguſtine to be circumſpect, and not raſhly to thruſt him ſelf in daunger.

I doe not perſuade you to abſent your ſelfe from any place where your preſence of neceſſitie is required: for in all ſuch places, I know, God will preſerue you, as he hath hetherto wonderfully done, praiſed bee his name therfore: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permitte you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetely comfort your conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very prouidence and appointment of God that you ſhould there and then be taken vp for a witnes of his truth vnto the worlde: but I can not alow, nor bee contented that you ſhould raſhely or negligently thruſt your ſelfe into that place where your wicked enemies doe continually haunt, yea and lay waite for you, when no neceſſitie of your ſelfe nor of any other of Gods people doth require your companie. If they neede any of your godly counſell, you may write vnto them that thing that you thinke good: which (I dare ſay) will be ſufficient vnto them. For (continuall thankes and praiſes be geuen vnto the euerlaſting God) there is none of thoſe that bee cruelly condemned for Gods truth, that now be weakelinges: for they haue manfully paſſed through the pikes, and they haue boldly abidden the brunt of the battel, & therefore I recken the worſt is paſt with them already: So that now and then a godly letter from you to them, ſhall doe as much good as your company ſhall doe, and perchaunce more too: for writing ſticketh longer in the memorie then wordes doe: yea though your letters were as ſhort to them, as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame be ſomething ſweter and not althing ſo ſharpe.

This (deare brother) is the ſimple counſell which I would gladly haue you obſerue, partly for that I hartely pray for your preſeruation to the commoditie of Chriſtes Churche, and partly for that I vnfainedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquilitie of your owne cōſcience, which I know will bee quickely readie to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherin you haue not the word of God for your warrant. For in a glaſſe that is cleare, a ſmall mote will ſoone appeare: euen ſo the good conſcience of Gods choſen children being more cleare then Criſtall, will quickely accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit, where as the wicked worldlinges haue their conſcience ſo clogged & corrupted through the cuſtome of ſinne, that they can not once ſee nor perceaue their own ſhamefull deedes and wicked workes, vntill God ſet the ſame before them for their vtter deſtruction, and then deſpaire they immediatly. But ſeing that God hath geuen you a cleare conſcience and a pure, ſharpe, quicke, & liuely ſight in your ſoule, I would wiſhe you to beware that you doe nothing vnaduiſedly, but vpon a good ground. For an accuſing conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approch, and then Sathan will not ſticke to tell you that you haue to much tempted God, when peraduenture you haue done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe (I ſay) partly I haue thought it good to admoniſh you (as I haue done often) to be circumſpect, according to the counſel of Chriſt, which biddeth you to beware of men. Other thinges I haue not to write, for I know this bearer can certifie you of all thinges at large, better then I can declare it by writing.

A good conſcience is ſoone moued.

Conſcience of ſinne ſometymes is taken where none is committed.

Math. 10.

I beſech you good Auguſtine, helpe mee forwardes with your hartie prayers, for I truſt I haue but a ſmall time to tarie in this troubleſome world. Doct. Story told our Marſhall that we ſhould all be diſpatched ſo ſoone as he came from Oxforde, whether he and other bloudy butchers bee gone to make ſlaughter of Chriſtes ſheepe that lye there appointed to bee ſlaine. God for Chriſtes ſake put them and ſuch like, beſides their cruell purpoſe, if it be his good will and pleaſure: Amen good Lord. I pray you do my moſt hartie commēdations to my deare ſiſter and faithfull frend, good Miſtres Mary Glouer. I beſech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but hee is. I am very glad to heare that ſhe doth ſo ioyfully & ſo patiently beare this great croſſe that God hath layd vpon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all other his deare Saintes vnto the ende, Amen. Commende me vnto my deare and faithfull Siſter Elizabeth B. I thanke her moſt hartely for my napkin and ſo I do you deare brother, for my ſherte. Truly that daye that wee were appointed to come to our anſwere before the Commiſſioners (which had ſent word the ſame morning, that they would come to the Kinges Bench by viij. of the clocke, and the houſe and all thinges were trimmed and made ready for them) I got that ſhert on my backe & that napkin in my hand, and me thought that they did helpe to harneſſe me and weapon me well, to go fight againſt that bloudy beaſt of Babylon. And truſt me truly, if they had come, I would haue ſtrikē iij. ſtrokes the more for your two ſakes, aſwell as God would haue abled me to haue ſet them on, as by Gods grace I will not faile to doe at the next ſkirmiſhe that I come to: Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardie to lay on good loade. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him down, that he ſhould neuer be able for to riſe againe. But that ſtroke belongeth onely vnto the Lord, to ſtrike at his comming, the which I truſt will bee ſhortely. Oh haſten it good Lorde, and ſhorten theſe ſorowfull and ſinfull dayes, for thy great mercies ſake.

D. Story.

The Chriſtian courage of Iohn Careles.

Farewell my deare and faithfull louyng brother. The Lord defend, keepe, and preſerue you from the power of your enemies viſible and inuiſible, and ſend vs a moſt ioyfull & mery metyng here or elſwhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodnes to appoint vs. In the meane ſpace I ſhal moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I neuer had more neede in my life: and doubtles you ſhall neuer want my poore prayer, if it ſhall pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinnefull a wretch as I am. The Lorde impute not my ſinnes to me, for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake: vnto whoſe moſt mercifull defence, I doe moſt hartely commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and euer, Amen. I pray you doe my moſt hartie commendations vnto M. Iohn Glouer. I doe not forget him in my dayly prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Of this Iohn Glouer, read before pag. 1610.

Your poore brother, alwayes mindfull of
you in my prayer, Iohn Careles priſoner,
abydyng Gods pleaſure.

¶ To my deare brother Harry Adlington priſoner in the Lolardes Tower.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the continuall aide, ſtrength, ioy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mightie ſpirite, with the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of his mercies: be moſt effectuouſly wrought in your hart, my deare and faithfull louing brother Adlington, & in the hartes of all your other godly priſon fellowes, to the full finiſhing of that good worke, which the Lorde hath moſt graciouſly begon in you: that the ſame may be to the ſetting forth of his glory, the cōmoditie of his poore afflicted Church, & to your owne eternall ioy and comfort in him, Amen.

Another Letter of Iohn Careles to Henry Adlington after a Martyr, partly comforting, and partly counſelling him how to anſwere his aduerſaries.

My moſt deare and faithfull louing brother in our Lord, I with all the reſt of my louing brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and hartely cōmende vs vnto you, with all faithful remembraunce of you in our daily prayers, geuing God earneſt thankes on your moſte happie behalfe, for that he hath geuen you ſuch hartie boldnes and Chriſtian conſtancie in the faithfull confeſſiō of his euerlaſting veritie. Bleſſed be God for thee my dearely beloued brother, whiche hath vouched thee worthy of ſo great dignitie, as to ſuffer for his ſake and the ſettyng forth of his glorie. Oh glad in hart mayeſt thou bee, to whom it is geuen, not onely to beleue in thy Lorde and Chriſt moſt liuely: but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſeely ſhepe appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therfore my good brother, for your calling vnto the croſſe of Chriſte, was after a marueilous ſort. Surely, it was onely the Lordes appointment, and therefore he will well performe his owne worke in and vpon you, to the great magnifying of hys glorie, and comfort of your brethren: whoſe hartes are mightely refreſhed, to heare how hartely you haue behaued your ſelf hetherto.

Anno. 1556.
Iuly.

This preſent daye I receaued a letter from you, at the reading wherof my brethren and I were not a litle comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt, and your continuaunce ſo ſtedfaſt in him: which thinges be the ſpecial giftes of God, not geuen vnto euery man, but to you his deare dearling, electe, and choſen in Chriſt, and ſuch as you bee. And where as you doe require to know my ſimple minde concerning your aunſwere vnto Doct. Story and the Chauncelour: truly I ſay you did aunſwere them very well: for there are but twoo Sacramentes in deede: that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſme, & the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, as you haue full well aunſwered them: prayſed be God for his good giftes, who chuſeth the weake to confound the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If, when you come before them agayne, they do aſke you what a Sacrament is, ſay you that a Sacrament, beyng miniſtred according to Chriſtes inſtitution, is a viſible ſigne of an inuiſible grace, and hath the promiſe of Gods mercy annexed vnto it, auailable to all ſuch as do worthely receaue it, and not vnworthely worſhip it: as they would haue vs to do, contrary to Gods commaũdement. And theſe properties belonging to Chriſtes true Sacramentes, can not be applied vnto any one of thoſe fiue Sacramẽtes which they haue inuented of their owne braine, ſince Antichriſt began to reigne, to blind the people withall.

What a Sacrament is.

I perceiue deare hart, that vpõ Friday they do entend to condemne you & to geue you your iudgement. Therfore I thinke they wil haue no great reaſoning with you, but bidde you aunſwere them directly, either yea or nay, to all ſuch thinges as they haue to charge you withall, which they haue gathered of you ſince you came into their cruell handes. But if they will needes make many wordes with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therefore perchaunce they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtiõs, to comber your knowledge, and then ſeeme to triumph ouer you & that truth that you doe hold: if (I ſay) they doe this (as perhappes for ſome euill purpoſe they will) then bee you ſo plaine and ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly vnto them theſe or ſuch like wordes, as nigh as you can.

He inſtructeth him how and what to aunſwere to the aduerſaries.

Be it knowen vnto you, that I in all pointes doe beleue as it becommeth a true Chriſtiã, and as I haue bene truly taught in the dayes of that godly kyng Edward, of ſuch godly Preachers and Prophetes ſent of God, as haue ſealed their doctrine with their bloud: from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poore man without learning, but am commaunded of God to folow the counſell of his conſtant Preachers, and ſo do I entend to do, God geuing me grace and aſſiſtance thereto. As for you, I knowe you to bee none of Chriſtes ſhepeheardes, but rauening wolues which come to kil and ſcatter the flock of Chriſt, as the Lord ſayd you ſhould: and doth will vs to beware of you and your poiſoned doctrine, bidding vs to iudge you according to your fruites, whereby all men may ſee and know what you be, that wil not be wilfully blind. But the good ſhepeheardes haue geue their liues for the defence of Chriſtes flocke: and I am commaunded to folow their faithfull and Godly example, and to confeſſe with them one truth, euen to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it good: and this as a true Chriſtian, I haue hetherto done, and henceforth by Gods grace entend for to doe. And if for the ſame, God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you haue done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that onely is good. But of this be you ſure, the Lord will ſhortly call you to accompt for all the innocent bloud that is ſhed within this Realme: which you haue brought into a moſt wofull caſe, and made many a heauie harte in the ſame, and mo I perceaue you will make, ſo long as the Lord for our ſinnes will ſuffer you to proſper, and vntill the time that your owne iniquitie bee full ripe. But then bee you ſure the Lord will ſit in iudgement vppon you, as well as you doe now vpon his Saintes, and will reward you according to your deſeruinges: to whom with my whole hart I commit my cauſe, and hee will make aunſwere for me, when the full time of my refreſhyng commeth. In the meane ſpace I wil keepe ſilẽce with this that I haue ſaid, truſting that I haue ſufficiently diſcharged my conſciẽce in confeſſing my faith and Religion to you, declaring of what Church I am, euen of the Catholicke Church of Ieſus Chriſt, which was well knowen to be here in Englãd in our late good kinges dayes, by twoo ſpeciall tokens which cã not deceaue me, nor ſuffer me to be deceaued: that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due adminiſtration of the holy Sacramentes: which is not to be ſeene in your Romiſh church, and therfore it can not iuſtly be called the Church and ſpouſe of Chriſt. I beleue in the holie Trinitie, and all the other Articles of the Chriſtian faith contained in the three Credes, and finally al the canonical Scripture to be true in euery ſentence. And I deteſt all ſectes both of the Arrians and Anabaptiſtes, or any other that diuide them ſelues from the true Church of Chriſt, which is his myſticall body, the ground and piller of truth, and the verie houſe of the liuing God. And if for theſe thinges you take away my life, and make your ſelues giltie of my bloud, you may: for I am in your handes, as the ſheepe brought to the Shambles, abiding the grace of the Butcher. And be you ſure, your iudgemẽt ſlepeth not, but whẽ you crie peace, peace, and all is ſafe: then ſhall your plagues begyn like the ſorrowes of a woman traueling with child, according to Chriſtes infallible promiſe.

We are bound to follow our true preachers.

God will require a count of bloud.

The Catholicke church in K. Edwardes dayes in England.

Two ſpeciall markes to know the true church in England in kyng Edwardes dayes.

1. Theſſ. 5.

This kind of aunſwere my deare harte, it ſhall be beſt for you to make, and by Gods grace, I do entend to take the ſame order my ſelfe in time to come, when the Lord ſhall vouch me worthie of that great dignitie, wherunto he hath called you. And if they ſhal laugh you to ſcorne, as I know they will, ſaying thou art a foole and an vnlearned aſſehead, and art able to make aunſwere to nothing &c: care not you for it, but ſtill commit your cauſe vnto God, who will make aunſwere for you, and tell them that they haue bene aunſwered againe and againe of diuers godly and learned men: but all will not helpe, for you haue one ſolution for all maner of queſtions, euen a faire fire and Fagots: this will be the ende of your diſputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but doe that which you are appointed, when God ſhall permit the time. I am no better then Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other of my good brethen that are gone before me.

The Papiſtes haue one ſolution for all maner of queſtions.

This kinde of aunſwere will cut their combes moſt, and edifie the people that ſtand by, ſo that the ſame bee done coldly with ſobrietie, mekenes, and patience: as I heard ſay our ſwete brethren Thomas Harland and Iohn Oſwald did at Lewes in Suſſex, to the great reioycing of the children of GOD that were in thoſe parties: and I heare ſay, that they were diſſolued from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saterday laſt, and were condemned but the Wedniſday before: ſo that we may perceiue the Papiſtes haue quicke worke in hand, that they make ſuch haſt to haue vs home to our heauenly father. Therfore let vs make our ſelues ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leauing theſe ſone mantels and old clokes behinde vs for a litle time which God ſhall reſtore vnto vs againe in a more glorious wiſe.

4. Reg. 2.

My good brother Harry, you ſhall vnderſtand that bragging Iohn T. hath begilde his keepers (who truſted him to wel) and is runne away from them, and hath brought the poore men into great daunger by the ſame. The one of them is caſt by the Counſels commaundement, into the gate houſe at Weſtminſter, the other is fled forth of the cõtrey for feare. Thus you may ſee the fruites of our freewill men, that made ſo much boaſt of their owne ſtrength. But that houſe which is not builded ſurely vppon the vnmoueable rocke, will not long ſtand againſt the boiſtrous windes & ſtormes, that blow ſo ſtrongly in theſe dayes of trouble.

Freewill.

But my dearely beloued brother, bleſſed be God for you and ſuch as you be, which haue played the partes of wiſe builders. You haue digged downe paſt the ſand of your owne naturall ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your owne worldly wiſedome, and are now come to the hard ſtone and vnmoueable rocke Chriſt, who is your onely keper: and vpon him alone you haue builded your faith moſt firmely, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wauering. Therefore neither the ſtormes nor tempeſtes, windes nor weathers that Sathan and all his wily workemen can bring againſt you, with the very gates of hell to helpe them, ſhal euer be able once to moue your houſe, much leſſe to ouerthrow it: for the Lord God him ſelfe, and no man, is the builder therof, and hath promiſed to preſerue and kepe the ſame ſafe for euer. Vnto his moſt merciful defence therfore, I do hartely commit you and all your good company, deſiring him for his ſwete ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, to confirme and ſtrengthen you all, that you may be conſtant vnto the very ende: that after the finall victory is one gotten, you may receiue the immerceſsible crowne of glory, of Gods free gift, through his great mercy in Ieſus Chriſt our alone Sauiour. To whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, bee all honour,

Anno. 1556. July.

nour, glorie, praiſe, thankes, power, rule and dominion for euer and euermore, Amen. The bleſſing of God be with you all.

Iohn Careles.

¶ To my moſt deare and faithfull brother. T. V.

A letter of Iohn Careles written with heauenly power to comfort an afflicted brother oppreſſed with penſiuenes and mourning for his ſinnes.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the cõtinuall ioy and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirite, with the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of his mercy, bee with you my deare hart in the Lord, and faithfull louing brother T.V. to the full accõpliſhing of that good worke which he hath ſo graciouſly begon in you, that the ſame, by al meanes, may be to the ſetting forth of his glory, to the cõmoditie of his poore afflicted cõgregation, and to the ſwete comfort & quietnes of your cõſcience in him now and euermore. Amen.

With ſuch due honour, loue, and reuerence, as it becõmeth me to beare vnto the ſweete Saintes and dearely beloued children of God, I haue me moſt hartely commended vnto you, my deare brother V. with all earneſt and faithful remembraunce of you in my dayly prayers, thanking God right hartely that you do likewiſe remember me in yours, aſſuring you that my poore harte doth dayly feele great conſolation therby, God onely haue the praiſe for the ſame & all other his benefites. Ah my deare harte in the Lord, well is me that euer I was borne, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodnes hath vſed me moſt miſerable wretch at any time, as his inſtrument, to miniſter any thing vnto you either by worde or writing, that might be an occaſion of your ioy and comfort in the Lord, & a prouoking of you to praiſe and thãkeſgeuing vnto God for the ſame, as your moſt louing and godly letter ſeemeth to import. Oh happie am I that the Lord hath appointed me vnto ſo good a groũd to ſowe his ſeede vppon: but much more happie are you whoſe harte the Lorde hath prepared and made ſo meete to receiue the ſame ſo effectuouſly, geuing thereto the ſweete ſhowers and heauenly dewes of his grace and holy ſpirite, that it may bring forth fruite in due ſeaſon accordingly: the increaſe whereof we ſhal ſhortly reape together with perfect ioy and gladnes, and that continually.

Therfore (my deare brother) I ſay vnto you as good Elizabeth did to her deare coſin Mary: Happy are you, & happy ſhall you be for euermore, becauſe you haue beleued. The moſt ſweete and faithfull promiſes of your redemer Ieſus Chriſt you haue ſurely laid vp in the treaſury of your hart. His comfortable callinges you haue faithfully heard: his louing admonitions you haue humbly obeyed, and therefore you ſhall neuer come into iudgement: your ſinnes ſhall neuer be remembred: for your Sauiour hath caſt them all into the bottome of the Sea: he hath remoued them from you as farre as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and hath geuen you for an euerlaſting poſſeſſion his iuſtification and holines: ſo that now no creature neither in heauen nor in earth ſhalbe able to accuſe you before the throne of the heauenly king. Sathã is now iudged: he is now caſt out from you: he hath no part in you: you are wholy geuen vnto Chriſt, which will not looſe you your ſtedfaſt faith in him hath ouercome that ſturdie and bragging prince of the world: Chriſt hath geuen you the finall victorie ouer him and all his armie, that they ſhall neuer hurt you. What would you haue more? Oh my deare hart, how great treaſures are laid vp in ſtore for you, and how glorious a crowne is already made and prepared for you?

Luke. 1.

Remiſſion of ſinnes.

Mich. 7.

Pſal. 103.

Teſtimony of Gods ſpirite.

And albeit the holy Ghoſt doth beare witnes of all theſe things in your hart, and maketh you more ſure and certaine therof, then if you had all the outward oracles in the world: yet I being certainely perſuaded and fully aſſured by the teſtimony of Gods ſpirit in my cõſcience, of your eternall and ſure ſaluation in our ſwete Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, haue thought it good, yea and my bounden duetie, not onely at this time to write vnto you, and to ſhew my ioyful hart in that behalfe: but alſo by the word and commaundement of Chriſt, to pronounce and affirme in the name and word of the heauenly king Iehouah, and in the behalfe of his ſweete ſonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom all knees ſhall bow, whom all creatures ſhall worſhip: and alſo by the impulſion of the holy Ghoſt, by whoſe power and ſtrength all the faithfull be regenerate: I doe (I ſay) pronounce to the my deare brother T.V. that thou art already a Citizen of heauen. The Lord thy God in whom thou doeſt put all thy truſt, for his deare ſonnes ſake, in whom thou doeſt alſo vndoubtedly beleue, hath freely forgeuen thee all thy ſinnes, clearely releaſed all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thine offences, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great, and will neuer remember them any more to cõdemnation. As truly as he liueth, hee will not haue the dye the death, but hath verely determined, purpoſed, and eternally decreed, that thou ſhalt liue with him for euer. Thy ſore ſhalbe healed, and thy woũdes bounde vp euen of him ſelf for his owne names ſake. He doth not nor wil not looke vpon thy ſinnes in the: but he reſpecteth and beholdeth the in Chriſt, in whom thou art liuely graffed by faith in his bloud, and in whom thou art moſt aſſuredly elected and choſen to be a ſweete veſſel of his mercie and ſaluation, and waſt thereto predeſtinate in him before the foundation of the world was laid. In teſtimonie and earneſt whereof, he hath geuen the his good and holy ſpirite which worketh in the, faith, loue, and vnfained repentaunce, with other godly vertues, contrary to the corruption of thy nature.

Duetie of the true keyes of the Goſpell.

Experience of Chriſt working in his church.

Alſo he hath commaunded me this day (although a moſt vnworthy wretch) to be a witnes hereof by the miniſterie of his holy word, grounded vppon the truth of his moſt faithfull promiſes: the whiche thou beleuing, ſhalt liue for euer. Beleueſt thou this my deare hart? I knowe well thou doeſt beleue. The Lorde increaſe thy faith, & geue the a liuely feeling of all his mercies: whereof thou art warranted and aſſured by the teſtimonie of the holy Ghoſt, who confirme in thy conſcience (to the vtter ouerthrowing of Sathan, and thoſe his moſt hurtfull dubitations, whereby he is accuſtomed to moleſt & vexe the true children of God) all that I haue ſayd: and by Gods grace I will, as a witnes therof, confirme & ſeale the ſame with my bloud, for a moſt certaine truth.

Wherfore (my good brother) praiſe the Lord with a ioyfull hart, and geue him thankes for this his exceding great mercy, caſting away all dubitation and wauering, yea all ſorrow of hart and penſiuenes of minde: for this the Lord your God and moſt deare and louing father, cõmaundeth you to doe by me, nay rather by his owne mouth and word pronounced by me. But now my deare brother, after that I haue done my meſſage: or rather the Lordes meſſage in deede, I could finde in my harte to write ij. or iij. ſheetes of paper, declaring the ioy I beare in my hart for you, myne owne bowels in the Lord: yet the time being ſo ſhort (as you doe well know) I am here conſtrained to make an ende, deſiring you to pardon my ſlacknes, and to forgiue my great negligence towardes you, promiſing you ſtill that ſo lõg as my poore life doth laſt, my prayer ſhall ſupplie that my penne doth want: as knoweth the almightie God, to whoſe moſt merciful defence I do hartely cõmit you and all other his deare children, as well as though I had rehearſed them by name, deſiring them moſt hartely to remember me in their hartie and dayly prayers, as I know right well they doe: for I feele the dayly comfort & commoditie therof, & therfore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, or any ſuch like. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

Yours for euer vnfaynedly, Iohn Careles.

¶ A letter of thankes to a faithfull frend of his, by whom he had receaued much comfort in his inward troubles.

An other Letter of Ioh. Careles to a faythfull frend of his, of thankſgeuing.

BLeſſed be God the father of all mercy, for the great comfort and Chriſtian conſolation which he hath ſo mercifully miniſtred vnto my poore afflicted harte by your meanes, my moſt deare and faithful brother. Truly me thinketh your wordes or rather Gods wordes by you vttered, haue a wonderfull power and efficacie working in my hart at the hearing or reading of them. Reioyce therfore my deare brother, and be thankefull vnto God: for verily he both is and will be mightely magnified in you, and that diuers and many wayes, both to the ſtrengthening of them that ſtand in his truth, and alſo to the raiſing vp of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankefull for you and on your behalfe, for verily great is the goodnes of God towardes me in geuing me acquaintaunce in faithfull loue and amitie with you: Gods name for euer be praiſed therfore, and he performe all his merciful promiſes vpon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

He geueth him thankes.

I thanke my God moſt hartely, and alſo you my good brother, for that you are carefull for me in your faithfull prayers, remembring my iuſt deſerued ſorrowes, as though they were your owne, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy deare childrẽ ſhould be ſo carefull? Oh ſweete Lord, forgeue me my great ingratitude and ſinne, and graunt that I neuer abuſe thy great benefites.

ſires. Oh let the loue of thine elect, which loue me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſigne and token, yea a moſt firme teſtimonie and a ſeale to my ſinnefull conſcience of thine euerlaſting loue and mercie towardes me in Chriſt: as verely it would and ought to be, if mine infidelitie did not let it. Oh circumciſe therfore the foreſkinne of my hart, that I maie with liuely faith behold thy great loue towardes me in all thine elect, that I may alwayes be thãkefull for the ſame, and loue thee and them againe moſt hartely and vnfainedly.

What a treaſure a truſty frẽd is.

Ah my deare hart, how ſwetely & how truly, yea how godly & how comfortably haue you reherſed the ſweete ſaying of Salomon concerning proſperitie with true and godly frendes? I will ioyne with it the ſentence which goeth a litle before, for doubtles it may be well verified on you. A ſure frend (ſaith the wiſeman) will be vnto the euen as thyne owne ſoule, and deale faithfully with thy houſhold folke. If thou ſuffer trouble and aduerſitie, he is with the and hideth not his face from the. A faithfull frẽd is a ſtrõg defence: who ſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure. A faithfull frend hath no peere: the waight of gold is not to be compared to the goodnes of his fayth. A faithfull frend is a medicine of life, and they that feare the Lord, ſhall finde him. &c. Lo (my deare hart in the Lord) here is a liuely image or deſcriptiõ of you: for verely ſuch a one haue I alwayes foũd you vnto me, not onely ſorrowyng for my great ſorrow: but alſo oftentimes makyng me mery & ioyfull, with ſuch ioyes as the world cã not feele. Now let the world brag of his fained frendſhip: but I will boaſt of this true frendſhip in God, and eſteme it a more treaſure then all tranſitorie thinges. And as for my mourning, deare brother, God hath made you to turne it vnto mirth: for God hath put you in the ſtede of them to be my comfort, whom hee hath in his great mercy taken away. I truſt henceforth to leaue the mourning for my greate loſſe, and to praiſe God for gainyng vnto him ſelfe ſo great glorie by his choſen childrẽ. God make me a true mourner of Syon, both for mine owne ſinne and wickednes, and alſo to ſee his honor defaced, that I may be made meete and apt to beare the ioyfull and comfortable meſſage that your beautifull feete ſhall bring me. God bleſſe the my deare hart & faithful louing brother, and increaſe his good giftes of grace in the, as he hath moſt happely begon, that you may dayly more effectually feele and liuely perceiue the certaintie of Gods grace wherin you ſtand, and firmely to teſtifie the ſame, to the conuerſion or confounding of all gainſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all Gods deare children, Amen. Farewell mine owne ſwete brother, farewell as mine owne hart.

Eccle. 6.

There is no true frendſhip but amongeſt godly perſons.

Such mourners ſhould we be continually with this and others gods deare children: and bleſſed be they that ſo mourne.

Your owne in Chriſt, Iohn Careles.

❧ An other letter of Iohn Careles to a certeine godly faithfull ſiſter, by the name of E. K.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles to a godly Chriſtian woman.

THe grace and free mercy of God in Ieſus Chriſt, the ſwete cõſolatiõs of the holy Ghoſt the guide of all Gods deare children, be with you, ſtrengthen and comfort you my dearely beloued ſwete ſiſter E. K. now and euer, Amen.

Albeit, my dearely beloued ſiſter in Chriſt, that as yet we did neuer ſee one an other perſonally to any knowledge, yet by the vertuous reporte that I haue heard of you, and alſo by the large louing token that I haue receaued from you, me thinke that I do euen preſently ſee you, and behold your perſon, faithfully walking in the feare and loue of God, ioying and reioycing with you in the ſpirite as though wee were ſwetely talking together of Chriſtes veritie. The Lord God doe I humbly beſech in the bowels and bloud of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, that he will ſtrengthen vs both with his holy and mightie ſpirite, that we may conſtantly continue in the confeſſion of his truth vnto the ende: that like as wee now ſee one an other preſently in ſpirite, we may alſo ſee one an other perſonally in the glorious preſence of God, and his holy Aungels, where vndoubtedly, we ſhal know one an others perſonage, to our great ioy, felicitie, and endles comfort.

Preparation to the Croſſe.

And now therfore deare ſiſter K. be ſtrong in the Lord our God, for doubtles the tyme of triall is at hande: a great perſecution with cruell murthering of Gods deare Saintes is like to bee very ſhortly in this wofull wicked Realme of England. Therfore deare ſiſter, for the loue of God, prepare you to the croſſe with all diligẽce, & make your ſelf ready to dye with Chriſt, that you may alſo liue with him for euer. There is no remedy, if you will bee Chriſtes Diſciple, you muſt needes take vp your croſſe and folow him, for the Diſciple muſt not looke to bee aboue his maſter, nor the ſeruaunt to be better intreated then his Lord. If we were of the world (good ſiſter) no doubt, the worlde would loue vs. But for as much as Chriſt hath choſen vs out of the world, to ſerue God in ſpirite and veritie, let vs be well aſſured the world will hate vs and perſecute vs, as it hath done our Lord, and maſter Chriſt. But yet let vs be of good chere, for Chriſt hath ouercome the world. The payne is but ſhort that we can feele here, but the pleaſure is perpetuall that we ſhall feele elſwhere.

Conſolatiõ vnder the croſſe.

Let vs ſet before vs the example of Chriſt, which abode the croſſe and deſpiſed the ſhame in reſpect of the ioy that was ſet before him: Euen ſo let vs conſider for whoſe ſake we ſuffer, whoſe cauſe we defend, and what glorious reward we ſhal haue at the day of our victorie, and then doubtles the conſolation of theſe thinges will make ſwete all our ſufferinges, and ſoone ſwallow vp all the ſorrowes that we are ſowſed in for Gods ſake. I could recite diuers textes of the Scriptures to confirme this point. But I neede not, for I am well aſſured that you doe know them moſt perfectly already. The Lord geue you ſtrength and aſſiſte you with hys holy ſpirite, that you may continually walke in all pointes accordyng to your godly knowledge: And then ſhall you not doe as the moſte parte of our Goſpellers doe nowe adayes, the more is the pitie. There are a great many in England, that doe perfectly know, that the idolatrous Maſſe is abominable, deuiliſh, and deteſtable in the ſight of God. And yet, alas they bee not afrayd to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the holy Ghoſt, with beyng preſent at it, ſo ſinning againſt God and their owne conſcience.

Againſt Maſſing Goſpellers.

But deare ſiſter K. doe you flie from it, both in body and ſoule, as you would flie from the very deuill hym ſelfe. Drinke not of the whore of Babylons cuppe by no meanes, for it will infect the body and poiſon the ſoule. Be not partakers of her ſinnes (ſaith the Aungel) leſt you bee partakers of the plagues that ſhortly ſhalbe powred vpõ her. O what an aray is this? that ſo many that know Gods truth, will now turne agayne and defile them ſelues in the filthie puddle of Antichriſtes ſtinking religiõ? They go about to ſaue their liues with their double diſſimulation: but doubtles, they ſhall looſe euerlaſting life by it, if they do not repẽt in time & turne vnto the Lord. But deare ſiſter, my truſt is, that you doe vtterly abhorre the comming to any ſuch thing. I hope that you wil not by any meanes turne backe into Egypt nowe, but that you will boldly venter through the wildernes of trouble and perſecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kinde of heauenly pleaſures and ioyfull delectations, and poſſeſſe the ſame for euer.

Exhortation to flye from the Maſſe.

Let vs conſider, howe that euery one of vs doth owe vnto God a death by nature, and how ſoone the Lord will require it of vs, we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodnes appoint vs to pay natures det with ſuffring for his truth and Goſpels ſake, and ſo making vs his faithfull witneſſes with the Prophetes, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Confeſſours, yea with his dearely beloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to whom hee doth here begyn to faſhion vs like in ſuffering, that wee might bee like him alſo in glory. Thus my dearely beloued ſiſter, I haue beene bold to trouble you a little with my rude and ſimple letter, beyng made in haſt as it doth appeare: Yet I deſire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poore zeale vnto you, and to accept my good will. And if it pleaſe God to ſpare me life and libertie, I truſt heereafter to write vnto you more largely. Fare ye well deare ſiſter E. K. the Lord bleſſe you and all yours, and powre vppon you the heauenly dewe of his grace. The Lorde endue you with plentifull knowledge of his veritie, and fill you with his holy and mightie ſpirite, that you maye continually reioyce in the comfortes of the ſame now and euer, Amen. Pray, pray, pray, with ſtedfaſt fayth.

Your dayly Oratour Iohn Careles
priſoner of the Lord.

❧ In the letters of William Tymmes, ye heard before pag. 1792. much mencion made of Agnes Glaſcoke. This Agnes Glaſcoke, through infirmitie, and her huſbandes perſuaſion, was allured too goe too Maſſe. For which cauſe ſhee fallyng in great ſorrow and repentaunce was raiſed vp agayne by the comfortable letters of W. Tymmes and Iohn Careles, as before you may

Read before pag. 1792.

may read, and after that was conſtant in the ſincere profeſſion of the veritie, and in daũger for the ſame of perſecution: vnto whom Iohn Careles writeth therefore this letter as foloweth.

¶ *A Letter of Careles to Agnes Glaſcocke.*

A letter of John Careles to Miſtres Agnes Glaſcocke.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt: the cõtinual ayd, ſtrength, and comfortes of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirite, bee with you my deare and faithful ſiſter Glaſcoke, to the good performance of that good worke which god hath ſo graciouſly begon in you, to his glory, the cõmoditie of his poore afflicted church, and to your owne eternall comfort in him, Amen.

In our Lord I haue my moſt humble and hartie commendations vnto you my deare ſiſter, and moſt faithfull mother Glaſcoke, with all remẽbraũce of you in my dayly prayers, geuing God moſt hartie laude, prayſe, and thankes, for you and on your behalfe, in that he of hys great mercy hath hetherto ſo mightely ſtrẽgthened you, conſtantly to cleaue vnto your Captaine Chriſt, notwithſtanding the great aſſaultes and manifold temptations, that you haue had to the contrary. Doubtles deare hart it can not be expreſſed, what ioy and comfort it is vnto my very ſoule, to ſee how mightely the Lord hath magnified him ſelf in you, & other his deare electe darelynges, whom hee will ſhortly glorifie with him ſelfe, as he hath done other of his ſweete Saintes that are gone before you. Reioyce therfore and be glad: for verilie you haue good cauſe if you diligently conſider the great dignity that God hath called you vnto eũ now in your old age, to bee one of his worthy witneſſes vnto the world, and I thinke you ſhall with me and other your brethren in bondes, ſeale the Lordes veritie with the teſtimony of your bloud. Surely ſweete ſiſter, this is the greateſt promocion that God can bring you or any other vnto in this life: and an honor that the higheſt aungel in heauen is not permitted to haue.

What an high honour it is to ſuffer for Chriſt.

Therefore happie are you, oh faithfull daughter of Abrahã, that the Lord will now preferre you before many other, yea or any other of your age, that I doe know in England. Oh faithfull and vertuous matrone, which wilt not bee moued from the ſure rocke Chriſt, vpon whom you haue ſo firmly built your houſe, that neither ſtormes nor tempeſtes, neither yet hell gates, or any other temptations ſhall euer be able once to preuaile againſt it. Full well doth it appeare by your conſtant continuance, that you haue played the part of a wiſe builder in counting the coſt afore hand belonging to the finiſhyng of your tower, and I doubt not but (through Gods gift) you haue ſufficient to the performance therof, that the hypocrites, of their part ſhall haue no iuſt cauſe to triumph againſt you or to mocke you, ſaiyng, loe this woman began to build, but is not able to make an ende. Therfore goe on boldly and feare not: for God is faythfull (as S. Paule ſaith) which wil not ſuffer you to be tẽpted aboue your ſtrength, but either will hee geue you grace and ſtrength to ſtand vnto the death (which is the gate and entraunce into life) or els he will make ſuch an outſcape for you as ſhalbe to the ſettyng forth of his glory: the which aboue al other things, we that are his choſen children ought for to ſeeke, yea euen with the loſſe of our owne liues, beyng yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhal not bee ſhortened one minute of an houre before the tyme that God hath appointed.

Caſt therfore (deare ſiſter) all your care vpõ the Lord, which (as S. Peter ſayth) careth for you. Great is his prouidence for you, and mighty is his loue and mercy towardes you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his holy ſpirite he will euermore guide you: wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you vnto the day of redemptiõ: he hath alſo geuen you the ſame in earneſt for the recouery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which hee hath prepared for you before the foundation of the worlde was layd. Be ſtrong therfore and take a good hart, as I heare ſay you be. God for euer be bleſſed for you, which hath graft his loue in your good hart that nothyng is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer aduerſitie with the people of God then to enioy the pleaſure of ſinne for a litle ſeaſon. Oh happy woman that canſt finde in thyne hart to eſteeme the rebukes of Chriſte to be greater riches then all the treaſures of the world, as good Moyſes did. Doubtles great is your reward in heauen: which you ſhall ſhortly receaue of his free gift, and not of any deſeruing.

An exhortatiõ to be ſtrõg.

Thus deare mother Glaſcoke, I haue beene bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple letters, deſiryng you to take thẽ in good worth, beyng done in great haſt, as it doth appeare: but yet procedyng from a poore harte which floweth ouer in loue towardes you: as my dayly prayers for you can teſtifie: which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my duety towardes you that my penne nowe wanteth. I thanke you deare hart, for all your louing tokens, & for the great kindenes you haue hetherto ſhewed vnto my poore brother Tymmes and his wife and children, with all other of Gods people to whom you dayly doe good: the Lord recompence the ſame ſeuenfold into your boſome, as I doubt not but he will, accordyng to his vnfallible promiſes. I pray you haue my hartie cõmendacions vnto your huſbande. I beſech the Lord ſtrength him in the confeſſion of his truth (as my truſt is that he will) that we may all ioyfully reſt with Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob in the kyngdome of God: vnto the whiche hee bring vs, that with his moſt precious bloud hath bought vs. The bleſſing of God bee with you now and euer, Amen.

The charitie of Miſtres Glaſcocke to the priſoned Saintes.

Your dayly Oratour and vnfayned
louer Iohn Careles, priſoner of the
Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

¶A brief admonition written to Miſtres Agnes Glaſcoke, in a booke of hers whẽ ſhe came to the priſon to viſite him.

A note or poeſy written in Miſtres Glaſcockes booke by John Careles.

THere is nothyng that the holy Scripture throughout doth ſo much cõmend vnto vs, as true faith and ſtedfaſt truſt in the promiſes of Gods eternal mercies towardes vs in Ieſus Chriſt. For from the ſame, as forth of the chiefe fountaine and welſpryng of lyfe, do flow all kindes of vertues and godly fruites, ſpecially true loue towardes God, in the which wee ought purely to ſerue hym all the dayes of our life: and alſo Chriſtian charitie towards our neighbors, aſwell to helpe them at all needes, as alſo not to hurt them by any meanes. Therfore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and liuely feeling of Gods mercy: for all thinges are poſſible vnto him that cã vndoubtedly beleue. Faith is that thing which aſſureth vs of Gods mercy, and whereby we vanquiſhe all the fiery dartes of the deuill: our victory that ouercommeth the world: the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſh: and finally that which ſetteth vs at peace with God, and quieteth our conſciences alwayes before him, and maketh vs mery and ioyfull vnder the croſſe, with many moe thinges then I can nowe expreſſe. Pray therfore for faith, in faith. And for the Lordes ſake, beware of Popery and Popiſh Idolatry, the Idol of the wicked Maſſe, and other Idolatrous ſeruice. Make not your body, which is a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that wee ſhall receaue of God accordyng to that we do in the body, be it good or euill. Therfore glorifie God in your body, which is dearely bought. Betray not the truth, leſt the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You can not ſerue two maſters. I write not this as doubtyng you, but by the way of admonitiõ. God keepe you from all euill.

The effectes of faith.

☞ My Siſter deare, God geue you grace
With ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſtes name:
His Goſpell ſtill for to embrace,
And liue accordyng to the ſame.
To dye therefore, thinke it no ſhame,
But hope in God with faithfull truſt:
And he will geue you prayſe with fame,
When you ſhall ryſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſwete and ioyfull day,
To God with faith your prayer make:
And thinke on me I doe you pray,
The which did write this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your caſtell and ſtronge rocke
He keepe you whether you ſlepe or wake,
Farewell deare Miſtres A. Glaſcocke.

¶An other letter of Iohn Careles to Miſtres A. G. to comfort her in her repentaunce, after ſhe had bene at Maſſe, fruitefull for all them to be read, which haue fallen, and are to be rayſed vp agayne.

An other comfortable Letter of John Careles to Miſtres A. G. being in great repentance for going to the Maſſe.

THe peace of God in Ieſus Chriſt: the eternall comfortes of his ſweete ſpirite be with you, and ſtrength and comfort you my deare and faithfull ſiſter, Amen.

Although the perillous dayes be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceiued: yet let the true faithfull Chriſtians reioyce

Anno, 1556. Iuly.

and be glad, knowyng that the Lorde him ſelfe is their keper, who will not ſuffer one heare of their heades to periſhe without his almightie good will and pleaſure, neither will ſuffer them to bee further tempted then hee will geue them ſtrength to beare: but will in the middeſt of their temptation make away for them to eſcape out: So good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen children. And though ſometimes he doe let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he wil raiſe them vp agayne to the further encreaſe of their comfort and to the ſettyng forth of his glory & prayſe. Which thing (my deare and faithfull louing ſiſter) I truſt ſhalbe well verified on you. For I doe heare ſay that by the manifold allurementes, inticementes, procurementes, yea and enforcementes that you deare harte haue had, your foote hath chaũced to ſlip forth of the way, to the great diſcomfort of your ſoule & the heauines of your hart: but my good ſiſter, be of good cheare, for the Lord will not ſo leaue you, but he wil raiſe you vp againe & make you ſtronger then euer you were: ſo that your fall ſhall turne to his glorie and your profite. For if you had not by this proued the experiẽce of your owne ſtrength, or rather your owne weakenes, you would haue ſtand to much in your owne conceite, or perchaunce haue gloried in your ſelf, and haue deſpiſed and condemned other weake perſons that haue committed the like offence. Therefore nowe you may ſee what the beſt of vs all can do, if God leaue vs to our ſelues. Which thing ought to moue you to be diligent to call earneſtly vpon God for his grace and the ſtrength of his holy ſpirite (without the which wee are not able to ſtand one houre) and to be moſt thankefull for the ſame when you haue it, and then to be more circumſpect in time to come.

Therefore deare ſiſter, ſeying that you haue done otherwiſe then the word of God and your owne conſciẽce would allow, yet deare hart, do you not thinke that God therefore will caſt you cleane away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for all them that truly repent and beleue in him, although the ſinnes of them were as many in number as the ſandes in the Sea, and as great as the ſinnes of the whole worlde. It is a greater ſinne to miſtruſt the mercy and promiſes of God, then to commit the greateſt offence in the world. Therefore (good ſiſter) beware in any wiſe, that you doe not once miſtruſt the promiſes of Gods mercy towardes you: but knowe for a very ſuretie that all your ſinnes bee vtterly forgeuen you for Chriſtes ſake, be they neuer ſo many, ſo greuous, or ſo great.

To truſt to Gods promiſſe.

But now (deare hart) take heede and beware that you doe not cloke that ſinne and increaſe the ſame dayly, in communicating with the wicked in their Idolatrie, and deuiliſh doinges at their denne of theeues. Do not (I ſay) deare ſiſter, come at any of their Antichriſtian ſeruice, leſt by litle and litle you vtterly loſe a good conſcience, and at length eſteme it for none offence: as (alas) a great nomber doth at this day, to the great perill of their ſoules. The Lorde bee mercifull vnto them & geue thẽ grace to repent in time and turne to the Lorde, and then they ſhalbe ſure to finde mercy at the Lordes hand, as doubtles you haue done, praiſed be his name therfore.

Cuſtome of ſinne a perilous matter.

Ah my deare ſiſter, you maie nowe ſee the wordes of Chriſt verified vpon your ſelfe: that a mans greateſt foes ſhall be they of his owne houſhold: for your houſeband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrantes in the world could neuer haue made you to doe. Doubtles he may be ſorie for it. God geue him grace to repent, or els, without doubt, it will be layd to his charge one day whẽ he would not by his will beare it for all the goods in the world. Well, I thinke by brother Tymmes will write him a letter ſhortly that ſhall touch his conſcience, if he haue any conſcience at all.

A. S. intiſed by her huſband to go to the Maſſe.

But nowe agayne to you deare ſiſter. The thing that is done can not be vndone, and you are not the firſt that hath offended, neither are you ſo good and ſo holy, as hath at a time ſlipt forth of the way. Therefore I would not haue you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I heare ſay you be, as though God were not as hable to forgeue you your offence, as he was to forgeue his deare Saintes that offended him in times paſt: or as though God were not as mercifull now, as euer he was. Where as in very dede, There is with the Lord (as the Prophet ſaith) mercy and plentifull redemption: and his mercy farre ſurmounteth all his workes: and hee neuer faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidẽce in him, how great an offender or how wicked a treſpaſſer ſo euer he be. No, he maketh their falles and backeſlydinges many times to turne to their profite and commoditie, and to the ſetting forth of his glory: As doubtles deare ſiſter, yours ſhall doe, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt only in his infinite and eternall ſweete mercies.

The rayſing vp of a troubled conſcience after his fall.

God turneth all thinges to y^e beſt, to them that be his.

Oh what a ſuttel, craftie, lying ſerpent is that Sathan our old enemie, that when he ſeeth that he can not make vs to cõtinue in our wickednes to do him ſeruice, would then bring vs into a doubting and miſtruſtyng of the mercy of God: which is the greateſt offence that can be: yea infidelity is the roote & originall of all other ſinnes. Therefore (my ſwete ſiſter) geue no place to that cruell aduerſarie of mankinde, who hath beene a lyer and a murtherer from the beginnyng, but ſtedfaſtly beleue the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt vnworthy ſeruant, that all your ſinnes be pardoned, forgeuen, and cleane releaſed for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake our only Lord and Sauiour. To whom with the father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praiſe, thankes, power, rule, and dominion for euer and for euer, Amen. Farewell my deare ſiſter, and bee of good chere. Beleue in the Lord and you ſhal liue for euer. The Lord increaſe your faith, Amen, Amen.

Sathan when he can not bring a man to his ſeruice, he parſeth him with diſtruſt of gods mercies.

Your poore brother and dayly faithfull
Oratour Iohn Careles, priſoner of the
Lord. Pray for me.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Careles to A. B. a faithfull Miniſter of the Lord, conteining certaine fruitfull preceptes of Matrimony.

A Letter of Iohn Careles to A. B. a faithfull ſeruant of Chriſt.

I Beſech the ſame euerlaſting Lord (my deare & faithfull brother) that bleſſed young Tobias with his wife Sara, and brought them together in due time with reuerence and feare, preſerue and bleſſe you both, and your ſede after you, that they may encreaſe the number of the faithfull by thouſandes and thouſandes. And as the Lord of his great mercie and fatherly prouidẽce hath bene alwayes carefull for you, & now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good worke in couplyng you with a faithfull mate: ſo ſee that you be thankefull for his prouidence towardes you, that it may euery way in you be an encreaſe of loue and godlynes, yea of Chriſtian ioy & gladnes in theſe ſorowfull dayes: but yet ſo, that you mourne with the true mourners of Syon, and be ſory (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperitie, that the Lord may build vp the walles of Hieruſalem agayne.

Pſal.146.

Oh that the Lord would turne Syons captiuitie as the riuer, into the South: Then ſhould our hartes be made glad and our mouthes filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites ſay: the Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great thinges for vs already: whereof let vs hartely reioyce, and prayſe his name therfore. For though we now ſowe with teares, yet ſhall we be ſure to reape with gladnes: and as wee nowe goe forth weepyng, bearyng forth good ſeede, ſo ſhall wee come again with ioy, and bring our ſheaues ful of corne. Yea the death of the Martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhalbe the life of the Goſpell, ſpite of the Papiſtes hartes.

The death of the Martyrs is the life of the Goſpell.

Pray for me (deare hart) that I may be counted worthy to ſowe ſome ſeede amongeſt the ſweete Saintes of the Lord, that I may reape the ſame againe without ceaſing, at the harueſt. It is now ſowyng time of the yeare, men ſay in the countrey, and I thinke that I ſhall make an end of ſowyng before all march be paſt: for I heare ſay that I ſhall proue how my plough will enter into the ſtonie ground of the hard harted Papiſtes, within theſe foure dayes. I hope to hold faſt, and not to looke backe, neither for feare nor flattery, vntill I haue made an ende of ſowyng, and then wil I ſettle downe and reſt me, and aſke them all no leaue, and looke for the liuely frute and encreaſe therof with ioy and gladnes.

A ſowyng ti in Chriſtes Church.

My deare brother, the time approcheth nere (I prayſe God therefore) that I muſt put of this ſinfull tabernacle and go home to my heauenly father, where diuers of my deare brethren are already, looking and wiſhing for me. I beſech you therefore that you will helpe me forward with your faithfull prayers, as I know you doe, for I doe feele the comfort and commoditie therof.

That you haue obſerued my ſimple counſell, I am right glad, and I truſt in the Lord God, you ſhall fynde comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo doe in deede, I haue bene ſo bold to write theſe few wordes vnto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life: therefore marke them well. Firſt and aboue all thynges, you

This counſ was y^t he ſ marry, no withſtandi certeine le whereby Sa ſought to h ter his m

The roote of bitternes to be weded out with the ſpade of patience.

you muſt be very circumſpect to keepe the band of loue, and beware that there neuer ſpringe vp the roote of bitternes betwene you. If at any tyme there happen to riſe any cauſe of vnkindnes betweene you (as it is vnpoſſible alwaies to be free frō it) ſee that you weede vp the ſame with all lenitie, gentlenes and pacience, and neuer ſuffer your ſelfe, nor your wife to ſleepe in diſpleaſure.

How and when the houſband ought to reproue.

If you haue cauſe to ſpeake ſharpely, and ſometymes to reproue, beware that you do not the ſame in the preſence of other: but kepe your wordes vntill a conuenient tyme (whiche is the point of a wiſe man, ſaith Salomon) and then vtter them in the Spirite of meekenes and the gronyng ſpirite of perfect loue: whiche you muſt alſo let ſometymes to couer faultes, and winke at them if they be not intollerable. What ſoeuer loſſe and miſchaunce ſhall happen vnto you, take it pacientlie, and beare it merilie: and though the ſame ſhoulde come partly through your wiues negligence, yet let it rather be a louyng warning to take heede in time to come, then a cauſe of ſorow for that which is paſt and can not be holpen. I know by mine own experience that wee are in this life ſubiecte to manie inconueniences, and that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure, and readie to thinke vnkindnes for euerie litle trifle, and ſpecially with our beſt frendes, yea ſooneſt with our louing wiues, which be moſt lotheſt to diſpleaſe vs.

Faultes ſometime muſt be couered with loue.

Not to take vnkindnes for euery trifle.

But let vs beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all, in loue to beare with them, accordyng to Chriſtes example towardes his congregation, for whom hee gaue him ſelfe to clenſe it. &c. I had thought to haue treated this matter at large, but euen now I am interrupted and otherwiſe letted. I doubt not but you know your duetie therin a greate deale better then I can declare it vnto you, and as you know it, ſo will do it: but I loue to be bolde with you. I entende to write alſo to your wife verie ſhortly, and ſo take my laſte farewell of you for euer in this worlde. And thus in great haſt I am now conſtreined to make an end. The bleſſyng of God be alwaies with you.

Your owne for euer Iohn Careles.
Pray, pray, pray with faith.

¶Another Letter of Iohn Careles to Elizabeth, wife of the ſaid A. B. conteinyng likewiſe certain Godly preceptes of Matrimony perteining to her duetie.

An other Letter of Iohn Careles to the wife of the partie aboue ſpecified.

THe euerlaſting peace of God in Ieſus Chriſte, the continuall aide, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holie and mightie ſpirite, with increaſe of knowledge, faithe, and perfect feeling of Gods eternall mercie, be with you my deare and faithfull louing ſiſter. E. B. and with your Godlie louing houſeband my deare and faithfull brother, to the full performaunce of that good which he hath ſo graciouſlie begon in you, that in all thinges you maie bee made riche and bleſſed in him, and your ſeede after you, now and euer, Amen.

As I haue beene long deſirous to write vnto you (my deare hart in the Lord) not onelie being therto bound of duetie, but alſo often prouoked of him, to whom I owe my ſelfe and all that I am hable to do (I meane euen that bleſſed of the Lordes owne mouth, whom God hath ioyned with you in that holie and Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimonie) euen ſo at the laſt I haue obteined time and occaſion, in ſome part to performe that which I haue long purpoſed. And for as muche as the Lord of his great mercie and fatherly care and prouidence ouer you his deare child, hath now graciouſly accōpliſhed that good worke amonges manie others, whiche I (as a frend of the Bridgrome) haue full hartelie wiſhed and often praied for: I thinke it good, yea and my bounden duetie, to treate of ſuche thinges as maie bee profitable to preſerue mutuall loue and faithfull amitie betwene you: whiche I knowe Sathan will chieflie labour to diminiſhe, if he can not altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many ioyfull occaſions you ſhould bee prouoked continuallie to praiſe GOD for his good gifte, whiche that enemie hath by all meanes ſought to hinder from you.

Sathan an enemie to to all godly affaires.

As for all other thinges, I knowe you are ſufficientlie inſtructed, and alſo haue a moſte godlie learned companion, who is well hable further to teach you if neede do require. But in this thing I knowe my experience is more then his. Therfore my good ſiſter, firſt and before all thinges, ſee that you doe diligentlie conſider, that as euerie good and perfect gifte perteinyng to ſoule and bodie, is giuen from aboue, and cōmeth from the father of light: euen ſo to whom ſo euer the Lord dealeth any of his benefites, of them he doth chiefly require alwaies a thankefull hart for the ſame: For els he will either take awaie his good giftes againe, or turne the ſame to their greate diſcommodity, and in the end to the encreaſe of their damnation: So deteſtable in his ſight is the ſinne of ingratitude. But to ſuche as bee thankefull for his benefites, hee doth not onelie to the olde euer add new, but alſo maketh the commodity of his former giftes euer more and more to encreaſe, vntill by them they are fullie perſuaded and throughlie certified of his euerlaſting loue in Chriſt Ieſu, whiche is eternall life it ſelfe: So muche doth hee of his great mercie, delight in a thankefull hart.

The ſigne of ingratitude.

Therfore I do yet once againe earneſtlie require you, that aboue all thinges you be thankefull to God for his benefites: not onely for your election, creation, redemption, and preſeruation, but alſo for his other temporall giftes wherwith he hath indued you: amongſt the which the chief and moſt excellēt is (as teſtifieth the holy ghoſt) your good, godly, and faithfull louyng houſband. For (as the wiſe man ſaith) Goodes and poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his frendes, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord wil giue for a good portion, to ſuch as feare hym.

God loueth a thankeful hart.

A good wife is the gift of God.

And the like is of a good houſeband, as the Lord hath now giuen you, praiſed be his name therefore. Hee hath not geuen you an ignoraunt, frowarde, churliſhe, brawlyng, waſtefull, riotyng, dronken houſbande, wherewith he hath plagued many other (as he might alſo haue done you) but he hath giuen you a moſt godly, learned, gentle louing, quiet, patient, thriftie, diligēt and ſober huſband: by whom he will nouriſh, cheriſh, keepe and defend you: inſtruct and teach you, yea care and prouide for you and your children (the whiche he will alſo by him giue you) ſuch thinges, as be neceſſary for you. Hee hath not dealt ſo with euerie body: and yet he hath done this and much more for you my deare ſiſter, and will therto increaſe ioy and loue betweene you: For as he delighteth in the loue and godlie agrement of man and wife together, ſo is it he only that maketh them & al the whole houſhold to be of one mind. Vnto the whiche his gracious worke he requireth your diligence, and will vſe you as his inſtrument and mean, the more effectuouſly to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerue this my ſimple counſell, the which I haue here written as a teſtimoniall of my good will towardes you, becauſe I thinke in this life I ſhall neuer more ſee you.

God deliteth in the agrement betwene man and wife.

Now, as I haue ſhewed you how you ſhould be thankfull vnto God for his good giftes: ſo I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you to be euermore thankefull vnto your deare louing houſband: who hath giuen him ſelfe vnto you: which is a more precious Iuell in the Churche of God, then perchaunce you are yet aware of. Thinke your ſelfe vnworthy to be matched with ſuch an inſtrument of God: and alſo reuerence euermore the giftes of GOD in him, and ſeeke with true obedience and loue to ſerue hym, in recompence of his true and painefull hart towardes you. Be lothe in anie wiſe to offende hym: yea rather bee carefull and diligent to pleaſe hym, that his ſoule maie bleſſe you. If at anie tyme you ſhall chaunce to anger hym, or to do or ſpeake anie thyng that ſhall greeue hym, ſee that you neuer reſt vntill you haue pacified hym and made hym mery againe.

The duetie of wiues towardes their houſbandes.

If at any time he ſhall chaunce to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you can not do therwith (which thing happeneth ſometimes of the beſt menne liuyng) ſee that you beare it paciently, and giue him no vncomely or vnkind woord for it: but euermore looke vppon him with a louyng and cherefull countenaunce, and rather take the fault vpon you, then ſeeme to be diſpleaſed.

Be alwaies merie and cherefull in his companie, but not with to much lightnes. Beware in anie wiſe of ſwelling, powting, or lowring, for that is a token of a cruell and vnlouing hart: except it be in reſpect of ſinne, or in the time of ſickenes.

A chereful countenaunce.

Be not ſorrowfull for anie aduerſitie that GOD ſendeth: but beware that nothing bee ſpilte or go to waſte through your negligence. In anie wiſe ſee that you bee quicke and cleanly about his meate and drinke, and prepare hym the ſame accordyng to his diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanely and welfauouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Temperaunce in apparell.

Finally in word and deede ſhew your ſelfe wiſe, humble, mery, and louyng towardes hym, and alſo towardes ſuch as hee doth loue, and then ſhall you leade a bleſſed life. I could ſpeake of manie other thinges, the whiche I haue learned and proued true by experience: but I know

DDDD.d.iiij. that

Anno.1556. Iuly.

that you will doe in all thynges,muche better then I can teache you, becauſe you haue that annointyng that teacheth you all thynges: who hath alſo giuen you an harte to obeye,and ſerue hym. Yet I truſte you will not bee offended for this,whiche I haue written: but rather accept my good will towardes you, whom I loue in the Lorde, as well as I doe my daughter Iudith.

Thus as myne owne ſoule,I commende you bothe to God, deſiryng hym to bleſſe you with all maner of Spirituall bleſſynges,in heauenly thynges, and alſo with the dewe of heauen,& fatneſſe of the yearth,that in all thynges you maie be made riche in Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde & onely Sauiour. The Lorde increaſe and bleſſe the fruite of your bodies,that your children maie ſtand round about your table,thicke,freſhe,and luſtie,like the Oliue braunches. God giue you bothe a long life, that you maie ſe & bleſſe your childrens children, vnto the third and fourth generation,& teach thẽ the true feare and loue of God,& that faith for the which thei ſhalbe accepted in his ſight.

God let you ſe the proſperitie of Syō,for whoſe liyng in the duſt,let your hartes mourne. The Lorde make perfecte your loue together in hym,and alwaies encreaſe the ſame, and bryng you bothe in peace to your graues,at a good age. And now I bid you both moſte hartly farewel: and I think I ſhall now take my leaue of you for euer in this life. I beſech you both to aide me with your cōtinual praiers (as I will not forget you in myne) that I may haue a ioyfull victorie through Ieſus Chriſte: To whoſe moſte mercifull defence, I doe moſte hartely for euer cōmende you to bee kepte vnblameable, vntill his commyng: The whiche I beſeche hym to haſten for his mercies ſake.

Note, ỹ bothe theſe departed in quiet peace, the one 1565. the other 1568.

Your owne vnfainedly Iohn
Careles,priſoner of the lord.

Here endeth the letters of Iohn Careles.

¶ *The hiſtorie and Martirdom of a learned and vertuous yonge man called Iulins Palmer,* ſometyme fellowe of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford,with twoo other Martirs,to wit, Iohn Gwin, and Thomas Aſkine,burned together in Newberie, at a place there called the Sande pittes.

The ſtorie of Palmer.

The ſame moneth of Iuly,in whiche Careles, as before is declared, was releaſed out of priſon by death,in ſhorte tyme after,about the.xvi. daie of the ſaid moneth of Iuly, ſuffered theſe three godlie and conſtaunt Martyres aboue mentioned,at Newberie,in whiche number was Iulins Palmer,somtyme ſtudent and fellowe of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford,and afterwardes Schoole maſter in the towne of Readyng. Concernyng whoſe ſtorie and Martyrdome,here foloweth,although not ſo muche as he deſerueth to bee ſaied: yet ſo muche as ſufficientely maie ſette forthe the great workyng of GOD in this yonge man.

¶ *Iulins Palmer.*

As all Gods workes are wonderous, in callyng of all ſortes of men to cōfirme his truthe,and to beare witneſſe vnto his aſſured,and infallible worde, whiche the aduerſaries haue depraued,& corrupted with their falſe gloſes,to eſtabliſhe the fleſhely kyngdome of Antichriſte,and to purchaſe ſecuritie in the worlde, which they ſeke to kepe in their poſſeſſion by all meanes poſſible,rather curſyng with the Thunderbolte of excommunication, burnyng, hangyng, drownyng, rackyng, ſcourgyng,and perſecutyng by ſecret practiſe,and open violence,the ſimple ſhepe of our Sauiour Chriſt:then that their falſe forged packing,ſhould be detected,their eſtimation appaired, their kitchen cooled,their rentes, reuenues,goodes,landes and poſſeſſions abated: I ſaie as Goddes workes be wonderfull,whiche choſeth ſome of al ſortes,to confeſſe his Goſpell:ſo there is no one exāple,in the whole godlie fellowſhip of Martyrs, more to bee marked,yea,more to bee wondered at,then this:that one, which in all kyng Edwardes daies,was a Papiſt within the Vniuerſitie of Oxford,and ſo obſtinate,as that he did vtterly abhorre all godlie praier, and ſincere Preachyng, and almoſte of all them,with whom he liued, was therefore likewiſe abhorred, and (as I may ſaie) pointed at with the finger,did yet after in Queene Maries tyme ſuffer moſte cruell death, at the Papiſtes handes,at Newberie in Barckſhiere,for the moſte redy,& zelous profeſſion of the bleſſed truthe.

Iulins Palmer borne in Couentrie.

His name was Iulins Palmer,borne in Couētrie, where alſo his parentes dwelte. His Father had ſome tyme been Maior of that citie, and occupied marchandiſe,albeeit he was an Vpholſter by his miſterie. How he was brought vp in his yong,and tender yeres,from his firſte entryng,wee knowe not,but as we haue learned,he was ſometyme ſcholer to maſter Harley,whiche taught the free ſchole of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford,by whoſe diligence,and the goodneſſe of his owne capacitie, he became a towarde yonge ſcholer in proſe, and verſe. For he had a very prompt and ready memorie,a witte ſharpe and pregnant. He ſpake Latine with greate facilitie of vtteraunce,and wanted not competēt knowledge in the Greke tong:in ſo muche that diuers tymes he ſupplied the roome of the Greke reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtill diſputer,bothe in the publique ſchooles,and alſo at home. He vſed to ſaie,that he was neuer ſo pleaſauntly occupied, as when he came to the hard debatyng,of profounde queſtions in Philoſophy: ſo that he hath oftētymes watched,and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſyng, and ſearchyng out the truthe of depe,and diffuſe queſtions,as De principijs,de infinito, de vacuo,te tempore,de caſu,& fortuna.&c. And this vſed he to doe ſōdrie times,with diuerſe of his equalles.

Iulins Palmer ſcholer to M, Harley, ſchoole maiſter of Magdalene Colledge.

Iulins Palmer addicted to Philoſophie.

In familiar talke he greatly delited,for the exerciſe of his learnyng,to defende the contrary to that,whiche was affirmed,yet with modeſtie,and without all oſtentation. For he greately abhorred all ouerthwart cauilyng,all friuolous talke,and vnſauerie brabblyng. He was not captious,but would reaſon ſo ſoberly,& with ſuche probabilitie, that euen his aduerſaries would no leſſe maruell at the dexteritie of his inuentiō:then at his comely & decent behauiour in proſecuting the ſame.

Iulins Palmer beginneth to apply Diuinitie.

And although he applied Diuinitie very lately,yet it appeareth,that he recompenſed the ſmall tyme of his ſtudie, with the greatneſſe of diligence beſtowed in the ſame,and his late comming to the truthe,with his earneſte and zealous procedyng therein. For by the ſecrete inſpiration of Gods holie ſpirite,inwardly workyng in his harte, he gaue an apparant ſignificatiō in his yong yeres, that if God had ſpared his life to age,he would haue growen to ſuche maturitie,and ripenes of iudgement,as whereby he ſhould haue been an ornamente to Chriſtes Churche,and an honour to his countrey.

The ciuill behauiour of Iulins Palmer.

And ſomewhat to ſpeake of his ciuill behauiour,he was of maners courteous without curioſitie, of countenaunce chereful,without high lookes,of ſpeach pleaſaunt,without affectation,he was affable and lowly as any child,and yet quicke ſpirited,and vehement in reaſonyng. He practiſed no deceipt toward any man,for he was of ſuche ſimplicitie, that he was apter to be deceiued,then to deceiue,and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproches,& iniuries,that he would ſaie:none were to be cōpted valiant,but ſuche as could deſpiſe iniury.

Palmers prouerbe.

In priuate ſtudie he was ſo vnfatigable, that he aroſe ordinarily euery mornyng at.iiij.of the clocke,and went not lightly to bed,before.x.at night. In ſo muche that as he grewe in yeres and vnderſtādyng:ſo he came to be a Bacheler of Art, & at length for the hope appearyng in hym,to the preferment of a felowſhip in Magdalene Colledge, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a reader in Logique Anno 1550. Now if he had at the firſte,fauoured ſincere Religion,ſo muche as he followed his booke,then had we had the leſſe matter to note in him. But in deede he was ſo muche (as is aforeſaied) addicted to the Romiſhe faithe,that his company and conuerſation in the ſame houſe, was altogether with ſuche, as were bitter enemies to the Goſpell of Chriſt. If he came to cōmon praier at any tyme,it was by violence,and compulſion,for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he heare none hym ſelf, nor yet ſuffer his ſcholers,to reſorte vnto them,by his good will,for he was full perſwaded,that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers them ſelues,he did both diſdaine,and deſpiſe,and all ſuche as were ſetters forth of ſounde doctrine beſide. For the whiche contumacie, and ſtubborneſſe, he was ſo ofte called before the officers of the Colledge,& puniſhed somtyme by the purſe, ſometyme by the lacke of his commons,and otherwhile by certaine taſkes, and exerciſes of learnyng,enioyned vnto hym:that diuerſe ſuppoſed hym to haue endeuoured of ſet purpoſe,continually to ſeke occaſion,whereby he might be counted,a ſufferer for that fantaſied religion of the Romiſhe Churche.

Palmer felowe of Magdalene college.

Palmer reader of Logique in in his college.

Palmer an bitter enemie to ſounde religiō.

Palmer impugnce of true preachers in Kyng Edwardes tyme.

In the ende,not long before the death of kyng Edward

Anno.1556. July.

Libelles ſet vp in Oxforde againſt D. Haddon Preſident.

ward that godlie prince,certain ſclaunderous libelles, and railyng verſes,wer priuely fixed to the walles and doores in ſondrie places of the Colledge, againſte the Preſident,whiche was then Doctor Haddon,whereby was miniſtered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well knowen that he,and ſome of his companions,had verie little before, ſpoken contumelious wordes againſt the Preſident: it could not be now auoided , but that thereby aroſe a vehemente ſurmiſe,and ſuſpicion,that he conſpiring with others,had contriued,made,and ſcattered abroad the ſaied ſclaunderous writynges.Greate inquiſition was made in the Colledge,to ſerche out the author of ſo malicious, and deſpitefull a deede,but nothyng could bee founde, and proued againſte Palmer , or any of his companions. Nowe Palmer beeyng hereupon examined by the officers, did not onely with ſtoute courage deny the fact to haue been his: but alſo ſpake further many reprochful words,touchyng the ſaied officers,and ſent the ſame to them in writyng, whereby he was by them adiudged,to bee an vnworthie member of that ſocietie . And ſo for this,and other Popiſhe pranckes(cōtinuyng obſtinate ſtill)he was expelled the houſe.

Iu. Palmer expelled the Colledge for Poperie.

After he was thus diſpatched of his roome,he was faine for his owne maintenaunce, to applie hym ſelf to bee a teacher of children , in the houſe of ſir Fraunces Knolles,in the whiche trade he continued vntil the cōmyng of Queene Mary.And when her viſitours were ſent to Magdalene Colledge,vnder a title of reformation(whereas all thynges were better afore)I meane to diſplace diuerſe of the fellowes that were learned, & to put right Catholickes(as they called them)in their roomes:then came this Iulins Palmer, waityng to be reſtored to his liuyng againe,of whiche he had been depriued before,thinkyng by good right,to be reſtored of them,whoſe faithe and Religion(as he ſaied)he did to the vttermoſte of his power defende,and maintain.And in deede,at length he obtained the ſame.Then after he was reſtored againe , to his houſe in Queene Maries raigne,GOD dealt ſo mercifull with hym, that in the ende he became of an obſtinate Papiſte,an earneſt and a zealous Goſpeller.Of whoſe conuerſion to the truth, that I maie make faithfull relation , you ſhall heare what I haue learned of them , that dwelte in the ſame houſe, and were familiar with hym.

Iul. Palmer driuen to teach children.

Palmer reſtored againe to his Colledge.

The conuerſiō of Palmer after his reſtoryng againe into the colledge.

When he was by the Viſiters reſtored to his Colledge,although he begā ſome thing to fauour and taſte of Gods truthe,by conference and companie of certain godlie and zealous men abrode, in tyme of his expulſion,ſpecially at the houſe of ſir Fraunces Knowles:yet was he not throughly perſwaded,but in moſte pointes continued for a while,either blinde , or els doubtfull. Neither could he choſe , but vtter hym ſelf in priuate reaſonyng from tyme to tyme,bothe in what pointes he was fully reſolued,and alſo of what pointes he doubted. For ſuche was his nature alwaie, bothe in Papiſtrie,and in the Goſpell:vtterly to deteſt all diſſimulatiō,in ſo muche that by the meanes of his plaineſſe,and for that he could not flatter,he ſuffred muche woe,both in kyng Edwardes,and alſo in Queene Maries tyme. Whereas he might at the firſte haue liued in greate quietneſſe,if he could haue diſſembled,and bothe doen, and ſpoken againſt his cōſcience,as many ſliryng Papiſtes then did . And likewiſe he might haue eſcaped burnyng in Queene Maries tyme , if he would either haue ſpoken,or kept ſilence againſte his conſcience,as many weake Goſpellers did.But Palmer could in nowiſe diſſemble.

Plain Palmer could neuer diſſemble with his conſcience.

The firſt occaſion of Iulins Pal. conuerſiō, was by the cōſtant death of the Martyrs.

Now within ſhort ſpace, GOD ſo wrought in his harte , that he became very inquiſitiue, and carefull to heare, and vnderſtande, howe the Martyres were apprehended,what Articles they died for, how they were vſed,and after what ſorte they tooke their death. In ſo muche that he ſpared not at his owne charges,to ſende ouer one of his ſcholers , in the companie of a Bacheler of that houſe,to Gloceſter , to ſee,and vnderſtande the whole order of Biſhop Hopers death,and to bryng hym true report thereof.Whiche thyng ſome thinke,he the rather did,becauſe he was wonte in kyng Edwardes tyme to ſaie:that none of them all,would ſtande to death for their Religion . Thus he learned with what extreme and horrible crueltie the Martyres of GOD were tried, and how valiauntly they ouercame al kind of tormentes to the ende. Whereof he hymſelf alſo did ſee more experience afterward,at the examination,and death of thoſe holie Confeſſours,and Martyres which were burned at Oxforde before his eyes , in ſo muche that the firſt hope,whiche the godlie conceiued of hym, was at the retourne from the burnyng of Biſhop Ridley, and B. Latimer . At what tyme in the hearyng of diuerſe of his frendes,he braſte out into theſe wordes, and ſuche like:O ragyng crueltie,O tyrannie tragical, and more then barbarous.

Note howe the bloud of Martyrs worketh.

Frō that date forward, he ſtudiouſly ſought to vnderſtande the truthe,and therefore with all ſpede he borowed Peter Martyrs commentaries vpon the firſt to the Corinthes,of one of Magdalenes yet aliue,and other good bookes of other men.And ſo through hartie praier,and diligent ſearch, and conference of the ſcriptures,at length he beleued, & imbraced the truthe with greate ioy: and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily more and more,he declared it bothe in worde and deede: In ſuche ſort,as he neuer hated the truthe more ſtubbornly before , then afterwarde he willyngly embraced the ſame,when it pleaſed God to open his eyes,and to reueale vnto hym the light of his worde.And now again when he ſhould come to Churche,in thoſe daies of Poperie,there to bee occupied among the reſte,in ſyngyng of Reſpondes , readyng of Legendes , and ſuche like ſtuffe allotted vnto hym, he had as muche pleaſure(he ſaied)to be at them,as a Beare to be baited, and wearied with Dogges.When he came,it was(as it appeared)more to auoide diſpleaſure,and daunger:then for any good will,and ready affection.

Palmer feruēt in the Goſpelles cauſe.

Superſtitious toyes.

At lengthe through Goddes grace, he grewe vp to ſuche maturitie,& ripenes in the truthe : that he ſpared not to declare certaine ſparkes thereof in his outward behauiour,and doynges. For when he ſhould kepe his bowyng meaſures at *the Confiteor(as the cuſtome there was(in turnyng hym ſelf to and fro , ſometyme Eaſtwarde, ſometyme Weſtwarde,and afterwarde knocke his breaſt at the eleuation tyme (againſt whiche Idolatrous adoratiō, his harte did ſo vehemently riſe , that ſometyme he would abſent hymſelf from thē,and ſomtyme beyng there,he would euen at the ſacryng time(as thei termed it)get hym out of the churche,to auoide thoſe vngodly geſtures , & Idolatrous adoration.To bee ſhort,perceiuyng after a while, that he was greatly ſuſpected,and abhorred of the Preſident,then beyng, whiche was maiſter Cole,and of diuerſe other, whiche before were his frendes , and therewithall feelyng greate conflicte, and torment of conſcience daiely to grow, with his conuerſation with Idolaters: ſeyng alſo that his newe life, and old liuyng might not well, nor quietly ſtande together,he addreſſed hymſelf,to departe the houſe. For he thought it not beſt,to abide the daunger of expulſion,as he did at the firſte : ſeeyng the weather was now waxed warmer. And beyng demaunded at that tyme,of a ſpeciall frende(who would gladly haue perſwaded hym to ſtaie there longer) whether he would goe,or how he would liue, he made this aunſwere:Domini eſt terra,& plenitudo eius.i.The yearth is the Lordes, and the fulneſſe thereof . Lette the Lorde worke. I wil commit my ſelf to God,& the wide world.

*By theſe meaſures he meaneth a certain ceremonie of that Colledge, whiche was this: That in the Confiteor tyme at Euēſong,the whole cōpany of the quier(which was there)to the nūber of a hundreth)ſtanding vp, & turnyng their faces firſte to the high Altar, ſhould then turne them to the Preſidēt, and from hym to the Altar again,and ſo after this turnyng three tymes together, the Preſident ſhould ſaye: Miſereatur , whiche does euery man to place himſelf againe in his ſtall.

Here I thinke it expediente , before I write of the painfull ſurges that he ſuffered,after he came abroade into the perillous gulfes , and deepe ſea of this wretched wide worlde : firſt,to rehearſe one or twoo examples of his outwarde behauiour , at ſuche tymes as he had recourſe to the Colledge, after his laſt departure, whereby the reader maie yet better vnderſtande,of his ſimplicitie and plainneſſe,and how farre wide he was, from all cloked diſſimulation in Goddes cauſe,whiche certaine godleſſe perſones, haue ſought maliciouſly to charge hym with all.Beeyng at Oxforde on a certaine time in Magdalene Colledge,and hauyng knowledge that the Spaniſhe Frier Iohn (who ſucceded Doctor Peter Martyr , in the office of the Diuinitie Lecture) would preache there that preſente Sondaie,he would not at the firſte, graunt to bee preſent at it. At length a freinde of his,a fellowe of that houſe , perſwaded ſo muche with hym , that he was contente to accompanie his ſaied freinde to the Churche. But ſodainly as the Frier vehemently inueighed againſte Gods truthe, in defendyng certaine Popiſhe hereſies, Palmer hauyng many eyes bente,and directed towardes hym,departed from amongeſte the middeſt of the auditorie, and was founde in his freindes chamber,weepyng bitterly.Afterward

Doctour Ihon the Spaniſhe Frier ſucceded D. Peter Martyr in the diuinitie Lecture.

Palmer could not abide the blaſphemous ſermon of Frier Iohn.

ward beyng demaunded, why he ſlipte awaie vpō ſuche a ſodaine, Oh ſaied he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould haue openly ſtopped my eares. For the Friers blaſphemous talke in diſprouyng, or rather deprauyng the veritie, made myne eares not to glowe, but my hart worſe to ſmarte, then if my eares had been cutte from my heade.

It chaunced an other tyme, that the ſame frende of his called maiſter Shipper, beyng then Burſar of the houſe, bad him to a dinner in his chamber, Palmer not knowyng what gheaſtes were alſo thither inuited, and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meete with the foreſaied Frier, with whom were preſent Doctour Smith, D. Treſham, and diuerſe other Papiſtes, whoſe cōpany Palmer could not wel beare: and therefore whiſperyng a frende in the eare, he ſaied. he would be gone, for that was no place for hym. I wil (ſaieth he) to the Burſars table in the greate hall. The Burſar vnderſtandyng his mynde, deſired hym of all frendſhip not ſo to departe, alledgyng that it were the nexte waie to bewraie hym ſelfe, and as it were of purpoſe, to caſte hym ſelfe into the Briers, with many other perſwaſions, as the ſhortneſſe of tyme would permit. In the ende he condiſcended to his requeſt, and taried. Now as he came to the fier ſide, the Frier ſaluted hym, chearefully in Latine, for he could not ſpeake Engliſhe. Palmer with an amiable countenaunce reſaluted him gently. But when the Frier offred hym his hande he caſtyng his eye aſide, as though he had not ſeen it, founde matter of talke to an other ſtandyng by, and ſo auoided it, whiche thyng was well marked of ſome, not without greate grudge of ſtomacke.

Palmer refuſeth to take Frier Iohn by the hande.

Iu. Palmer refuſeth to drinke with Frier Iohn.

After they were ſet, and had well eaten, the Frier with a pleaſaunt looke, offeryng hym the Cuppe, ſaied: Propino tibi iuuenis erudite. i. I drincke to you learned yonge man. Palmer at that worde, bluſhyng as red as Scarlet, aunſwered: Non agnoſco nomen, domine. i. I knowledge no ſuche name, O ſir. And therwith takyng the cup at his hande, he ſet it doune by hym, as though he would haue pledged hym anone after, but in the ende it was alſo well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was doen, beyng ſharply rebuked of the ſaied Burſar his frend, for his ſo vnwiſe, vnciuile, and vnſemely behauiour (as he termed it) he made aunſwere for hym ſelf, and ſaied: Oleum eorum non demulcet, ſed frangit caput meum. i. The oyle of theſe men doeth not ſupple, but breaketh my heade.

Barwickes wordes to Palmer.

In other tyme, whiche was alſo the laſt tyme of his beyng at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwicke an olde acquaintaunce of his, beeyng ſometyme Clarke of Magdalenes, and then fellowe of Trinitie Colledge, a ranke Papiſt, began to reaſon with him, in his frendes chamber aforeſaid, and perceiuyng hym to be zealous, and earneſt in the defence of the veritie, he ſaid vnto him, in the hearing of M. Thomas Parry, & others there preſent: well Palmer, well, now thou arte ſtout, and hardie in thine opinion, but if thou wer once broughte to the ſtake, I beleue thou wouldeſt tell me an other tale. I aduiſe thee beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewde matter to burne. Truely ſaith Palmer, I haue been in daunger of burnyng once or twiſe, and hetherto (I thanke God) I haue eſcaped it. But I iudge verely it will be my ende at the laſte, welcome be it, by the grace of God. In deede it is a hard matter for them to burne, that haue the mynde and ſoule linked to the bodie, as a theefes foote is tied in a paire of Fetters: but if a man be once hable, through the helpe of Gods ſpirite, to ſeparate and diuide the ſoule from the bodie, for hym it is no more maſterie to burne, then for me to eate this peece of breade. Thus muche by the waie, concernyng his plainneſſe, without diſſimulation, and how he feared not openly to ſhewe hym ſelfe more grieued in harte, to heare the worde of God blaſphemed, then to ſuffer any worldly paines. Now let vs procede in our ſtorie, and faithfully declare bothe the occaſion, and maner of his death.

Palmers godly aunſwere to Barwicke.

Iul. Palmer placed by patēt to be ſcholemaſter at Redyng.

Within ſhorte ſpace, after he had yelded vp his fellowſhip in Oxforde, he was through Gods prouidence (who neuer faileth them, that firſt ſeeke his glorie) placed ſcholemaſter by Patent, in the Grammer ſchole of Redyng, where he was well accepted of all thoſe that feared God, and fauoured his worde, aſwell for his good learnyng, and knowledge, as alſo for his earneſt zeale, and profeſſion of the truthe. But Sathan the enemie of all godlie attemptes, enuiyng his good procedynges, and proſperous ſucceſſe in the ſame, would not ſuffer hym there, long to be in quiet. Wherefore he ſtirred vp againſt hym, certaine double faced Hypocrites, whiche by diſſimulation, and craftie inſinuation, had crept in, to vnderſtande his ſecretes, vnder the pretence of a zeale to the Goſpell. Whiche men he (ſuſpectyng no deceipte) right ioyfully imbraced, makyng them priuie of al his doynges. For as he hymſelf was then feruently enflamed, with the loue of heauenly doctrine: ſo had he an incredible deſire, by all meanes poſſible to allure, & encourage others, to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Palmer circū-uented by falſe Iudaſſes.

Palmer ſtudie ſearched for bookes.

Theſe faithfull and truſtie brethren, ſo ſone as thei had found good oportunitie, ſpared not in his abſence, to rifle his Studie of certaine godlie bookes, and writynges, amongeſte the whiche was his replication to Morwins verſes, touchyng Wincheſters Epitaphe: and other argumentes, bothe in Latine and Engliſhe, written by hym againſt the Popiſhe procedynges, and ſpecially againſt their vnnaturall, and brutiſhe tyrannie, executed toward the Martyrs of God. When they had thus doen, they were not aſhamed to threaten him, that thei would exhibite the ſame to the Counſaile, vnleſſe he would without delaye, departe out of their coaſtes, and giue ouer the ſchole to a friend of theirs. The truthe of this ſtorie, appeareth in part, by a letter written with his owne hande, out of priſon, eight daies before he was burned, whiche becauſe it is of certain credite, and came to our handes, therefore we are the bolder, to auouche it for a truthe.

Iulius. Palmer forced to departe the towne of Redyng.

Thus then was this ſelie yonge man, for the ſaueguard of his life, forced to depart vpon the ſodaine from Redyng, leauyng behinde hym, in the handes of his enemies his ſtuffe, and one quarters ſtipende, and ſo he tooke his iourney towarde Eſham, where his mother then dwelte, hopyng to obtaine at her handes, certaine legacies, due to hym by his fathers laſt will, whiche he ſhould haue receiued certaine yeres before, and takyng his iourney by Oxforde, he requeſted certaine of his freindes, to accompanie hym thither. His mother vnderſtandyng his ſtate, and errande by maſter Shipper and his brother (whom he had ſente before to entreate for hym) aſſone as ſhe beheld hym on his knees, aſking her bleſſyng, as he had been accuſtomed to doe, thou ſhalt ſaied ſhe, haue Chriſtes curſe and myne, whereſoeuer thou goe. He pauſyng a little, as one amaſed, at ſo heauie a greetyng, at length ſaied: O mother, your owne curſe you maie giue me, whiche God knoweth I neuer deſerued, but Goddes curſe you can not giue me, for he hath alreadie bleſſed me. Naie, ſaieth ſhe, thou wenteſt from Gods bleſſyng into the warme Sunne, whē thou waſt baniſhed for an heretique, out of that worſhipfull houſe in Oxforde, and nowe for the like knauerie, arte driuen out of Redyng to. Alas mother, ſaieth he, you haue been miſſe informed. I was not expelled, nor driuen awaie, but freely reſigned of myne owne accorde. And hereticke I am none, for I ſtāde not ſtubbornely againſt any true doctrine, but defende it, to my power. And you maie bee ſure, they vſe not to expell, nor baniſhe: but to burne heretikes (as they terme thē.) Well (q ſhe) I am ſure, thou dooeſt not beleue, as thy father and I, and all our forefathers haue doen: But as wee were taught by the newe lawe in Kyng Edwardes dayes, whiche is damnable hereſie.

Vnnaturall wordes of a mother.

Mothers maie giue their owne curſe, but gods they can not giue, muche leſſe can the Pope.

In deede I confeſſe (ſaied he) that I beleue that doctrine, whiche was taught in kyng Edwardes tyme, whiche is not hereſie but truthe, neither is it newe, but as old as Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. If thou be at that pointe (ſaieth ſhe) I require thee to departe from my houſe, and out of my ſighte, and neuer take me for thy mother hereafter. As for money, and gooddes I haue none of thyne, thy father bequeathed nought for heretiques. Faggottes I haue to burne thee, more thou getteſt not at my handes. Mother (ſaieth he) whereas you haue curſed me, I againe praie God to bleſſe you, and proſpere you all your life long, and with like ſofte talke, ſwete wordes, and aboundaunce of teares trickelyng doune his cheekes, he departed from her, wherwith ſhe ſo mollified her harde harte, that ſhe hurled an old angell after hym, and ſaied: take that to keepe thee a true manne.

The father ſhal be deuided againſt the ſōne, the mother againſt, &c. Luke.12.

Palmer departeth his mother.

Thus poore Palmer, beeyng deſtitute of worldlie freindſhip, and cruelly repelled of her, whom he tooke to haue been his ſureſt freinde, wiſte not whiche waie to tourne his face. Sone after, when he had bethought hym ſelfe, it came to his mynde, to retourne ſecretly to Magdalene Colledge, vpon the aſſured truſt and affiaunce, that he had in a priuie freinde, or twoo, in that houſe, Anno.1556. July.

Alane Cope a helper, and ſupporter of Iul. Palmer.

houſe. At what tyme, by the ſuite of one Alane Cope, then fellowe of the houſe, he obtained letters commendatorie, from M. Cole Preſident there, for his preferment to a ſchole in Glouceſter ſhiere. So he getteth hym awaie, committed by his frendes, to Gods diuine protection, of whom ſome accompanied hym as farre as Euſam Ferrie, and ſome to Burforde.

Afterwarde as he went alone muſyng, and ponderyng of matters, it came in his heade (as he writeth in an Epiſtle, to one of his friendes) to leaue his appointed iourney, and to returne cloſely to Redyng, truſtyng there by the helpe of frendes, to receiue his Quarters ſtipende, and conueigh his ſtuffe to the cuſtodie of ſome truſtie body. To Redyng he commeth, and taketh vp his lodging at the Cardinall hatte, deſiring his hoſtes inſtantly, to aſſigne hym a cloſe chamber, where he might bee alone, from all reſorte of companie. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this Viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delaye, they laied their heades together, and conſulted, what waye they might moſte ſafely procede againſte hym, to bryng their old cankered malice to paſſe. And ſone it was cõcluded, that one M. Hampton (whiche then bare twoo faces in one hoode, and vnder the colour of a brother, plaied the parte of a diſſemblyng hypocrite) ſhould reſorte to hym, vnder the pretence of frendſhip, to feele, and fiſhe out the cauſe of his repaire to Redyng.

Hampton of Redyng, a diſſemblyng hypocrite, and a falſe witneſſe.

Palmer as he was a manne ſimple, and without all wrinckels of cloked colluſion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earneſtly perſwaded hym to the contrary, declaryng what daunger might enſue, if this were attempted. Againſt his counſaile Palmer replied verie muche, and as they waxed hote in talke, Hamptõ flange awaie in a furie, and saied: as he had fiſhed, ſo ſhould he foule for hym. Palmer not yet ſuſpectyng ſuche pretenſed, and deuiſed miſchief, as by this crooked, and peſtiferous generation, was now in brewyng againſte hym, called for his ſupper, and went quietly to bedde. But quietly he could not long reſte there. For within ſhort ſpace after, the officers, and their retinue, came ruſhyng in with Lanternes and billes, requiryng hym in the Kyng and Queenes names, to make readie hymſelf, and quietly to departe with them. So this ſeely yonge manne, perceiuyng that he was thus Iudaſly betraied (without openyng his lippes) was lead awaie as a Lambe to the ſlaughter, and was committed to warde, whom the keper as a rauenyng Wolue, gredie of his praie, brought doune into a vile, ſtinckyng, and blinde dungeon, prepared for theeues, and murderers, and there he lefte hym for a tyme, hangyng by the handes and feete, in a paire of ſtockes, ſo high, that well nere no parte of his bodie touched the grounde,

Palmer betraied, and apprehended,

Palmer miſerably vſed in priſon.

In this caue, or dungeon, he remained about tenne daies, vnder the tyrannie of this vnmercifull keper.

¶ Here folovveth the firſt examination and accuſation of Iulins Palmer at Readyng.

The firſte examination of Iul. Palmer.

AFter this, hee was brought before the Maior, and there by the procurement of a falſe brother, one Thomas Thackham (which had then obteined the preferment of the ſchole for him, and his aſſignes) he had diuerſe grieuous, and enormious crimes, laide to his charge. For this Thackam (fearyng leſte Palmer by the vertue of his former Patent, would remoue him from teaching the ſchole) takyng on him the office of an accuſer, had ſuborned .iij. falſe witneſſes, to wit: Cox, Cately, and Downer, whiche men vnder the name of brethren, had bene conuerſant with Palmer, and robbed his ſtudie, as is aforeſaid. Theſe burdened him with no leſſe then treaſon, ſedition, ſurmiſed murther, and adulterie.

Coxe, Cately, Downer, three falſe perſecutyng accuſers.

To whom Palmer aunſwered, that if ſuche horrible, and hainous crimes might be proued againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit hymſelf, to all kinde of tormentes that could bee deuiſed. But O ye cruell bloudſuckers (saieth he) ye followe the olde practiſes of your progenitours, the Viperous and Woluiſhe generatiõ of Phariſies and Papiſtes: but be ye well aſſured, that GOD alreadie ſeeth your ſubtill deuiſes, and craftie packyng, and will not ſuffer the outragious furie of your venemous tongues, and fierie harts to eſcape vnpuniſhed. All this while no mention was made of Hereſie, or Hereticall writynges.

¶ Their greateſt proofes againſt hym, were theſe.

Euidence put vp againſte Palmer.

FIrſte, that Palmer saied, the Queenes ſworde was not put in her hande to execute tyrannie, and to kille and murther the true ſeruauntes of God.

Item, that her ſworde was to blunt toward the Papiſtes, but toward the true Chriſtians it was to ſharpe.

Note the worſhipfull proofes of the quarellyng Papiſtes.

Item, that certaine ſeruauntes of Sir Fraunces Knowles, and others reſortyng to his lectures, had fallen out among them ſelues, and were like to haue committed murther, and therefore he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of vnlawfull aſſembles.

Item, that his Oſtes had written a letter vnto him (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to retourne to Redyng, and ſent hym her commendations by the token: that the knife lay hid vnder the beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him, to murther her houſebande.

Item, that they founde hym alone, with his Oſtes by the fire ſide in the halle, the doore beyng ſhut to them forſothe. Whẽ this euidence was geuen vp, the Maior diſmiſſed them, and went to dinner, commaũdyng Palmer to the Cage, to make hym an open Spectacle of ignominie to the eyes of the worlde. And Thackham, the better to couer his owne ſhame, cauſed it to be bruted, that he was ſo puniſhed for his euill life, and wickedneſſe alreadie proued againſt hym.

Palmer cleereth hym ſelf.

Note here, the fruite of Romiſhe religion.

In the after noone Palmer came to his aunſwere and did ſo mightely and clearely deface their euidence, and defend his owne innocencie, prouing alſo, that the ſaied letters were by thẽ ſelues forged: that the Maior himſelf was ſo muche aſhamed, that he had giuen ſuche credite vnto them, and ſo muche borne with them, ſo that he ſought meanes, how they might conueigh hym out of the countrey priuely.

Galante a zealous profeſſor.

But here among other thynges, this is not with ſilence to bee paſſed ouer, that one John Galante a zealous profeſſour of the Goſpell, a little after this, came to the priſon, and founde hym ſomewhat better intreated then before. When he behelde hym, O Palmer (saieth he) thou haſte deceiued diuers mennes expectation: for wee heare that you ſuffer not for righteouſnes ſake: but for your owne demerites. O brother Galante (saieth he) theſe bee the old practiſes of that Sathanicall broode. But be you will aſſured, and God be praiſed for it, I haue ſo pourged my ſelf, and detected their falſhode, that from henceforthe I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith. And there hauyng penne and ynke he did write ſomewhat whereby part of his ſtorie, here rehearſed is well confirmed. But nowe to theſe bloudie aduerſaries.

Newe pollicie deuiſed againſt Iul. Palmer.

After this, when they ſawe the matter frame ſo ill fauouredly, fearyng that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretely, their doynges would tende no leſſe to their ſhame, and daunger: then to the Maiors diſhoneſty, they deuiſed a new pollicie, to bring to paſſe their long hidden, and feſtered malice againſte hym, whiche was their extreme refuge. For, where as before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe hym of hereſie, ſeeyng they had beene counted earneſt brethren themſelues: and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken vp his ſtudie, and committed theft: yet nowe leſte their iniquitie ſhould haue bene reuealed to the world, they put both feare, and ſhame aſide, and began to refricate and rippe vp the olde ſoare, the ſcarre whereof had bene but ſuperficially cured, as you haue hearde, and ſo to colour their former practiſes, with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged hym, with the writinges that they had ſtolen out of his ſtudie.

Palmer called before the Maior of Redyng, Burde the Officiall, and two Iuſtices.

D. Ieffery the biſhops Chancellour of Sarum.

Thus Palmer was once againe called out of the priſon to appeare before the Maior, and Burde the officiall, and twoo other Iuſtices, to render an accompt of his faithe before them: To aunſwere to ſuche Articles and informations, as were laied againſt him. And when they had gathered of his owne mouthe ſufficient matter to entrappe hym, they deuiſed a Certificate, or Bill of Inſtructions againſt hym, to be directed to D. Ieffrey, who had determined to holde hys Viſitation, the next Tueſday at Newberie, whiche was the .xvi. of July. And thus were the falſe witneſſes, & bloudy accuſers winked at, and the Innocent deliuered to the Lyon to be deuoured. When it was therefore concluded, that Palmer ſhould be ſent ouer to Newbery, the ſaid Letters teſtimoniall were conueied ouer together with hym, the contentes whereof ſhall partly appeare hereafter. In the meane tyme, I thinke it good here to rehearſe one example among other, bothe of charitable affection towarde hym, and of his modeſtie correſpondent to the ſame.

Maſter Rider of Reding a faithfull witnes of Gods truthe, Anno, 1556. Iuly.

Maiſter Wider of Redyng, a faithfull fauourer of Goddes Goſpell.

truthe, hearyng howe cruellie Palmer had beene delte withall in the priſon, and pyned awaie for lacke of neceſſaries, and how euidently he had proued himſelfe innocent before the Officers, of ſuche crimes as were obiected againſt hym: he ſent to hym his ſeruaunt, ſecretly the night before his departure to Newbery, with a bowed groate in token of his good harte towarde hym, requiring hym to let him vnderſtand if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would prouide for him. Palmer aunſwered, the Lord reward your Maiſter for his beneuolence towarde mee, a miſerable abiect in this worlde, and tell hym that (God be praiſed) I lacke nothing.

Thomas Aſkin or Robertes felowe priſoner with Iulins Palmer.

In the mornyng before they toke their iourney Thomas Aſkine, alias Robertes, beyng felow priſoner with hym in Chriſtes cauſe, ſittyng at breakfaſt, and beholdyng Palmer very ſad, leaning to a window in the corner of the houſe, aſked why he came not to breakefaſt. Becauſe I lacke money (ſaithe Palmer) to deſcharge the ſhot. Come on man (quoth he) God be praiſed for it I haue inough for vs both. Whiche thing when Maiſter Wider heard of, it cannot be expreſſed, howe muche it greeued hym, that Palmer had deceiued hym with ſo modeſt an aunſwere.

Iulins Palmer brought to Newberie.

Thus to Newbery they came, on monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hoſtry of the blynd houſe, where they found Iohn Gwyn, their faithfull brother in the Lorde. Nowe, howe they came before the Conſiſtory of Doct. Ieffrey, and howe Palmer was examined, it doth in part appeare by this examination hereunto annexed, whiche although it bee not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchaunce altogether in ſuche forme of wordes: yet as exactly, as we were hable to compas, and diſpoſe it, beeing gathered out of ſeuerall notes of Richard Shipper, Iohn Hunt, Iohn Syrr of Newbery, Richard White of Marlebrough, whiche were oculati teſtes, and preſent at the hearyng thereof.

Witneſſes to the ſecond part of this ſtorie.

¶The ſecond examination and accuſation of Iulins Palmer, at Newbery in the hearyng of moe then three hundreth perſons.

The examination of Iulins Palmer before Doctor Ieffrey.

The Iudges of Iul. Palmer.

IN the yere 1556. the xv. of Iuly 4. or 5. ſeates were prepared in the Quyre of the Parriſhe Churche of Newbery, for the viſitours, whoſe names here enſue: Doctor Ieffrey for the Biſhop of Sarum, Sir Richarde Bridges Knight, and then high Sheriffe of the ſheire. Sir William Rainſforde Knight, Maiſter Iohn Winſcombe Eſquier, and the Perſon of Inglefield. After the priſoners were preſented, the Commiſſion read, and other thinges done in order accordingly, Doctour Ieffrey called to Palmer and ſaide: Art thou that ſillye writer of three halfepeny bookes that wee heare of.

Palmer. I know not what you meane.

Ieffrey. Haue you taught Latine ſo long, that nowe you vnderſtand not Engliſhe?

To this he aunſwered nothing.

Then Doctor Ieffrey ſtandyng vp, ſaid: We haue receiued certaine writinges and Articles againſte you, from the right worſhipfull the Maior of Reading, and other Iuſtices, whereby we vnderſtande, that beyng conuented afore them, you were conuicte of certain hereſies.

Firſt that you deny the Popes holines ſupremacie.

Next, that there are but two Sacramentes.

Thirdly, that the Prieſt ſheweth vppe an Idoll at Maſſe: and therefore you went to no Maſſe, ſince your firſt commyng to Readyng.

Fourthly, that there is no Purgatorie.

Laſt of al, that you be a ſower of ſedition, and haue ſought to deuide the vnitie of the Queenes ſubiectes.

The Sheriffe. You were beſt ſee firſte what he will ſay to his owne handy worke.

Ieffrey. Ye ſaye truth. Tell me, Palmer art thou he that wrote this faire Volume? Looke vpon it.

Palmer. I wrote it in deede, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Ieffrey. Is this doggiſhe rime yours alſo? looke.

Palmer. I wrote this, I denie not.

Ieffrey. And what ſaye you to theſe Latine Verſes, entituled Epicidion. &c. are they yours too?

Palmer. Yea Syr.

Ieffrey. Art thou not aſhamed to affirme it? It came of no good Spirite, that thou diddeſt both raile at the dead, and ſclaunder a learned, and Catholike man yet alyue.

Palmer. If it be a ſclaunder, he hath ſclaundred hymſelfe: For I do but report his owne writyng, and open the follie therein declared. And I recken it no railyng to inuey againſt Annas and Cayphas beyng dead.

Ieffrey. Saieſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant it, and wring Peccaui out of your lying lyps, ere I haue done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of my ſelfe I be hable to doe nothing, yet if you, and all myne enemies both bodely and ghoſtly, ſhould do your worſt, you ſhal not be hable to bryng that to paſſe, neither ſhall ye preuaile againſt Gods mightie ſpirite, by whom wee vnderſtand the truthe, and ſpeake it boldly.

Ieffrey. Ah, are you full of the Spirite? Are ye inſpired with the holy ghoſt?

Palmer. Syr, no man can beleeue, but by the inſpiration of the holy ghoſt. Therfore If I were not a ſpirituall man, and inſpired with Gods holy ſpirite, I were not a true Chriſtian. Qui ſpiritum Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt eius. i. He that hath not the ſpirite of Chriſte, is none of his.

Ieffrey. I perceiue you lacke no wordes.

The holy ghoſt ſhall teach you in that howre what you ſhall aunſwere. Luke. 1.

Palmer. Chriſte hath promiſed not onely to giue vs ſtore of wordes neceſſary: but with them, ſuche force of matter, as the gates of Hell, ſhall not bee hable to confound, or preuaile againſt it.

Ieffrey. Chriſt made ſuch a promiſe to his Apoſtles. I trow you will not compare with them?

Palmer. With the holy Apoſtles I maie not cōpare, neither haue I anye affiaunce in my owne wit or learnyng, whiche I know is but ſmall, yet this promiſe I am certaine, pertaineth to all ſuche, as are apointed to defend Gods truth, againſt his enemies, in the tyme of their perſecution for the ſame.

Ieffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well aſſured, that through his grace, it pertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall (I doubt not) appere, if ye geue mee leaue to diſpute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I haue there written.

Ieffrey. Thou art but a beardles boy, ſtart vp yeſterday out of the ſcholes, and dareſt thou preſume to offer diſputation, or to encounter with a Doctour?

A warrant to the Apoſtles, that yong and ſimple haue the gifte of ŷ holy ghoſt.

Palmer. Remember M. Doctour: Spiritus vbi vult ſpirat. And againe: Ex ore infantium. &c. And in an other place: Abſcondiſti hæc a ſapientibus. &c. i. The ſpirite breatheth whē it pleaſeth him. &c. Out of the mouth of Infantes. &c. And thou haſt hidden theſe thinges from the wiſe. &c. God is not tyed to tyme, witte, learnyng, place, nor perſon. And although your wit and learning be greater then myne: yet your belief in the trueth, and zeale to defend the ſame, is not greater then myne.

Gods ſpirite is not bounde to place, or perſ.

Regiſter. Syr, if you ſuffer hym thus impudentlie to trifle with you, he will neuer haue done.

Note how theſe enemies dare not abide diſputation.

Ieffrey. Well, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue it not in Commiſſion at this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it meete that we ſhould call againe into queſtion, ſuche Articles, as are alreadie diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined, by our mother the holie Churche, whom wee ought to beleeue without why or wherefore, as the Crede telleth vs. But the cauſe why ye be nowe called hither, is that ye might be examined vpō ſuche articles, as are miniſtrede againſte you, and ſuche matter as is here contained in your hande writyng, that it maie bee ſeene, whether you will ſtand to it, or nay. How ſay you to this?

The churche of Rome is but a particular Churche.

The churche is not to bee beleued for herſelf.

Palmer. By your holy Church, you meane the Sinagoge of Rome, which is not vniuerſal, but a particular Churche of ſhauelynges. The Catholicke Churche I beleue, yet not for her owne ſake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that is to ſaie: a Churche that groundeth her belief vpon the worde of her ſpouſe Chriſt.

Ieffrey. Leaue railing, and anſwere me directly to my queſtion. Will ye ſtand to your writing, or will ye not?

Palmer. If ye proue anie ſentence therin cōpriſed, not to ſtand with Gods woord, I will preſently recant it.

Ieffrey. Thou impudent felow, haue I not told thee, that I came not to diſpute with thee, but to examine thee.

Here the Parſon of Inglefield, pointing to the pixe, ſaid. What ſeeſt thou yonder.

Palmer. A Cannepie of ſilke brodered with gold.

Perſon. Yea, but what is within it.

Palmer. A peece of bread in a cloute, I trow.

Perſon. Thou art as froward an Heretike as euer I talked with all. Here was muche ſpoken of Confiteor &

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other partes of the Maſſe.

Perſon. Do you not beleue that they which receiue the holy Sacrament of the aulter, do truely eate Chriſtes naturall body?

The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Palmer. If the Sacrament of the Lords Supper be miniſtred, as Chriſte did ordeine it, the faithfull receiuers do in deede ſpiritually and truely, eate and drinke in it, Chriſtes very naturall body and bloud.

Perſon. The faithfull receauers? ye cannot bleare our eyes with ſuch Sophiſtry. Do not all maner receauers, good and bad, faithfull, and vnfaithfull, receaue the verie naturall body in forme of bread?

Palmer. No Syr.

Perſon. How proue you that?

The wicked receiue not the Lordes bodie.

Palmer. By this place. Qui manducat me, viuet propter me. i. He that eateth me, ſhall liue for me.

Perſon. See that fond felow, whiles he taketh hymſelfe to be a Doctour of the law, you ſhall ſee me proue hym a ſtarke fooliſh dawe. Do you not reade likewiſe: Quicunque inuocauerit nomen domini ſaluus erit? id eſt. Whoſoeuer inuocateth the name of the Lorde, ſhal be ſaued? Ergo. Do none but the godly call vpō him? therefore you muſt marke howe S. Paule aunſwereth you. He ſaith, that the wicked doe eate the true body to their condemnation.

As Palmer was bent to aunſwere hym at the full, the Perſon interrupted hym, criyng ſtill, what ſayeſt thou to S. Paule.

Palmer. I ſay, that S. Paule hath no ſuch wordes.

Perſon. See, the impudent fellowe denieth the playne text. Qui edit & bibit corpus Domini indignè, reus erit Iudicij. i. He that eateth and drinketh the bodye of the Lord vnworthely, is giltie of iudgement.

Palmer. I beſeche you lend me your booke.

Perſon. Not ſo.

The Sherife. I pray you lend hym your booke. So the booke was giuen ouer to hym.

Palmer. Your owne booke hath, Qui manducat hunc panem. &c. i. He that eateth this bread.

Perſon. But S. Hieromes tranſlation hath Corpus.

The Parſō cōfounded with his own booke.

Palmer. Not ſo Maſter Perſon, and God be prayſed that I haue in the meane ſeaſon, ſhut vppe your lippes with your owne booke.

The Parſones mouth ſtopped.

Ieffrey. It ſkilleth no matter, whether ye write bread or body, for we be able to proue that he ment the bodie. And whereas you ſaye, thei eate it ſpiritually, that is but a blynd ſhift of deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſaie els?

Ieffrey. As holy Churche ſaithe, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good Scripture, I may ſaye groſſly or monſtrouſly.

Ieffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell mee: Is Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament, or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Preſence in the Sacrament.

Ieffrey. How is he preſent.

Palmer. The Doctors ſay modo ineffabili. Therfore why do ye aſke me. Would God ye had a minde ready to beleue it, or I a tongue able to expreſſe it vnto you.

Baptiſme of Infantes.

Ieffrey. What ſay you, to the baptiſme of Infantes.

Palmer. I ſay that it ſtandeth with Gods woord, and therefore it ought of neceſſitie to bee retayned in the Church.

Ieffrey. Ye haue forgotten your ſelfe I wis, for ye write that children may be ſaued without it.

Palmer. So I write, and ſo I ſaie.

Children dying before thei come to Baptiſme are ſaued, of this it followeth not, ergo: childrē that are brought, ought not to be Baptiſed.

Ieffrey. Then it is not neceſſarie to be frequēted and continued in the Church.

Palmer. Your Argument is not good M. Doctour.

Ieffrey. Will ye ſtand to it?

Palmer. Yea Maſter Doctour, God willyng.

Ieffrey. Note it regiſter.

More of his Examination in that tyme and place is not yet come to our handes. When ſoeuer GOD ſendeth it, I will impart and communicate the ſame to the Reader. In the meane ſeaſon we are credibly informed of this, that Syr Richard Abridges the ſame daye after diner, ſent for hym to his lodging, and there in the preſence of diuerſe perſons yet aliue in Newbery and els whore, frendly exhorted him, to reuoke his opinion, to ſpare his yong yeres, wit, and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhewe thy ſelfe corrigible, and repentaunt, in good faith (ſaith he) I promiſe thee before this companie, I will geue thee meate and drinke, and bokes, and ten pound yerely ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mynde to mariage, I wil procure thee a wife, and a ferme, and helpe to ſtuffe and frit thy ferme for thee.

Sir Richard Abridges gentell offer to Palmer.

How saieſt thou?

Palmer refuſeth worldly offers to kepe his conſcience.

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further aunſwere, concernyng his Religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reuerently, concludyng in the ende, that as he had alreadie in twoo places renounced his liuing for Chriſtes ſake, ſo he would with Gods grace be ready to ſurrender, and yeld vp his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſende tyme.

When ſir Richard perceiued, that he would by no meanes relente: Well Palmer (ſaieth he) then I perceiue one of vs twaine ſhall be damned. For we bee of twoo faithes, and certaine I am, that there is but one faithe that leadeth to life, and ſaluation.

Palmer. O ſir, I hope that we bothe ſhall be ſaued.

Sir Richard. How maie that be?

God calleth at diuerſe tymes, and howres.

Palm. Right wel ſir: for as it hath pleaſed our mercifull Sauiour, according to the Goſpelles parable, to call me at the third hower of the daie, euen in my flowres, at the age of. 24. yeres: euen ſo I truſte he hath called, and will call you at the eleuēth hower of this your old age, and giue you euerlaſtyng life for your portion.

Sir Richard. Saieſt thou ſo? Well Palmer well, I would I might haue thee but one Monethe in my houſe, I doubt not, but I would conuert thee, or thou ſhouldeſt conuert me.

Then saied maſter Winchcome: Take pitie on thy golden yeres, and pleaſaunte flowres of luſtie youth, before it be to late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpryngyng flowres, that ſhall neuer vade awaie.

Winchcome. If thou be at that pointe, I haue won with thee.

Ihon Gwyn, Thomas Aſkin Martyrs condemned.

Then was Palmer commaunded againe to the blinde houſe, but the other twoo ſelie men, were lead againe the ſame after noone to the conſiſtorie, and there were condemned, and deliuered to the Secular power of the Sheriffe there preſent, by name ſir Richard Abridges.

Sir Richard Abridges Sherife.

It is reported alſo, that Doctour Ieffrey offered Palmer a good liuyng, if he would outwardlie ſhewe hymſelf conformable, keepyng his conſcience ſecrete to hym ſelf, or at leſt declare that he doubted, whiche was the trueſt doctrine. But I cānot affirme it for a ſuretie.

The next mornyng the. xvi. of July, Palmer was required to ſubſcribe to certaine Articles, whiche they had drawen out, touchyng the cauſe of his condemnation: in the front whereof, were pluckte together many hainous termes, as horrible, hereticall, damnable, deuilliſhe, and execrable doctrine. To theſe wordes Palmer refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirmyng, that the doctrine whiche he profeſſed, was not ſuche, but good and ſound doctrine.

Palmer required to ſette his hande to his Articles.

Ieffrey. Ye maie ſee good people, what ſhiftes theſe heretickes ſeke to eſcape burning, when they ſe Iuſtice miniſtred vnto them. But I tell thee this ſtile is agreable to the lawe, And therefore I can not alter it.

Palmer. Then can not I ſubſcribe to it.

Ieffrey. Wilte thou then craue mercie, if thou like not Iuſtice? and reuoke thy hereſie.

Palmer. I forſake the Pope, and his Popelynges, withall Popiſhe hereſie.

Ieffrey. Then ſubſcribe to the Articles.

Palmer. Alter the Epithetons, and I will ſubſcribe.

Ieffrey. Subſcribe and qualifie ẏ matter with thine owne penne. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Doctour Ieffrey proceeded to reade the Popiſhe ſentence of his cruell condemnation, and ſo was he deliuered to the charge of the ſecular power, and was burned the ſame daie in the after noone, about fiue of the clocke.

The Popiſhe ſentence read againſt Palmer.

Within one howre before they went to the place of execution, Palmer in the preſence of many people, comforted his fellowes with theſe wordes: Brethren (ſaith he) be of good chere in the Lorde, and faint not. Remēber the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt, where he ſaith: Happie are you, when men reuile you, and perſecute you for righteouſneſſe ſake. Reioyce and be glad, for greate is your reward in heauen. Feare not them that kill the bodie, and be not hable to touche the ſoule. God is faithefull, and will not ſuffer vs to be tempted farther, then we ſhalbe hable to beare it. We ſhall not ende our liues in the fire, but make a chaunge for a better life. Yea for coales, we ſhall receiue pearles. For Gods holy ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite, that he hath euen now prepared for vs a ſweete Supper in heauen, for his ſake, whiche

Palmer comforteth his two fellowe Martyrs goyng to their death.

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ſuffered firſt for vs.

Palmer, Guyn, Aſkine, brought to the place of ſlaughter.

With theſe and ſuche like wordes, he did not onely comforte the hartes of his ſeelie brethren, that were with hym appointed as ſhepe to be ſlaine, but alſo wreſted out plentifull teares, from the eyes of many that heard hym. And as they were ſyngyng a Pſalme, came the Sheriffe ſir Richard Abridges, and the Bailiffes of the toune, wi.h a greate companie of harneſſed, and weaponed men, to conducte them to the fire. When thei were come to the place, where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell all three to the grounde, and Palmer with an audible voice, pronounced the .xxxi. Pſalme: but the other twoo made their praiers ſecretly to almightie God.

The wordes of Palmer to the Popiſhe Prieſtes.

And as Palmer began to ariſe, there came behinde hym twoo Popiſhe Prieſtes, exhortyng hym yet to recant, and ſaue his ſoule. Palmer aunſwered and ſaied: Awaie, awaie, tempt me no longer. Awaie I ſaie from me, all ye that worke iniquitie. For the Lorde hath heard the voice of my teares. And ſo forthwith thei put of their raimente, and went to the ſtake, and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the poſt, Palmer ſaied: Good people praie for vs, that wee maie perſeuere to the ende. And for Chriſtes ſake, beware of Popiſhe teachers, for they deceiue you.

The wordes of theſe Martyrs at their death. The Martyrdome of the three godly Sainctes.

As he ſpake this, a ſeruaunte of one of the Bailiffes, threwe a Fagot at his face, that the bloude guſhed out in diuerſe places. For the whiche facte the Sheriffe reuiled hym, callyng hym cruell tormentour, and with his walkyng ſtaffe brake his head, that the bloud likewiſe ran about his eares. When the fire was kindled, and beganne to take holde vpon their bodies: they lift their handes towardes heauen, and quietly and cherefully, as though they had felte no ſmarte, they cried: Lorde Ieſu ſtrength vs, Lorde Ieſu aſſiſte vs, Lorde Ieſu receiue our ſoules. And ſo they continued without any ſtruglyng, holdyng vp their handes, and knockyng their hartes, and callyng vpon Ieſu, vntill they had ended their mortall liues.

A notable ſpectacle in the Martyrdome of Iulins Palmer.

Among other thynges, this is alſo to be noted, that after their three heades by force of the ragyng, and deuouryng flames of fire, were fallen together in a plūpe or cluſter, whiche was maruellous to behold, and that they all were iudged already to haue giuē vp the ghoſt, ſodainly Palmer, as a manne waked out of ſleepe, moued his tongue and Iawes, and was heard to pronounce this worde Ieſu. So beyng reſolued into Aſhes, he yelded to GOD as ioyfull a ſoule (confirmed with the ſweete promiſes of Chriſte) as any one that euer was called beſide, to ſuffer for his bleſſed name. God graunte vs all to bee moued with the like ſpirite, workyng in our hartes conſtauntely to ſtande in defence, and confeſſion of Chriſtes holie Goſpell, to the ende, Amen.

Epitaphium in Palmerū.

De martyrio Palmeri hexaſticon.

Palmerus flammas Chriſti pro dogmate paſſus,
  Impoſitum pondus, ceu bona palma tulit.
Non retroceſsit, ſed contra audentior iuit,
  Illæſam retinens, fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cœlum nunc Palmifer iſte receptus,
  Iuſticiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.

Iuſtus vt Palma florebit.

¶ A memorable ſtorie of one Agnes Wardall in the towne of Ipſwiche purſued for the true faithe of Chriſtes Goſpell.

Iuly. A notable ſtory of Agnes Wardall of Ipſwich.

About the ſaied monethe of Iuly, in this preſent yere. 1556. there was one Richard Argentine, Doctour of Phiſicke, otherwiſe called Richard Sexten, with certaine other dwellyng then in the Toune of Ipſwiche, not many in number, but in harte and purpoſe mightily bente to impugne, and impeache the growyng of Chriſtes Goſpell, and the fauourers of the ſame. In the number of whō were Philip Vlmes, Edmonde Leache, Ihon Stewarde, and Mathewe Butler Apothecarie, a curious ſingyng mā, a fine plaier of the Organes, a perfecte Papiſte, and a diligent promoter of good menne. This Butler beyng then Conſtable in the towne of Ipſwiche, as he was in his watche by night vpon Cornehill, commeth to hym D. Argentine in greate haſte, giuyng hym intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, beeyng then lately come home to her houſe in Ipſwiche. Whereupon immediately ſuche a waie was contriued betwene them, that the ſaid Agnes Wardall forthwith ſhould be apprehended: but God in whoſe prouidence the directiō of al things conſiſteth, by whoſe diſpoſition they haue their operatiō, ſo graciouſly prouided for his ſeruaunt, and ſo preuented their malignant deuiſes, that they came to no great effect in workyng, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here conſequentlie you ſhall further vnderſtand.

D. Argentine Scholemaſter, Mat. Butler. Conſtable, Phil. Vlmes, Edm. Leach. Iohn Steward perſecutors.

Robert Wardall driuen by perſecution to ſerue in a ſhip.

This Agnes Wardall was a womam that liued in Gods feare, and was at defiaunce with their Romiſhe traſhe, deſiring rather with hard fare and euill lodging to be abroad, then to be at home in her houſe, & among the tentes of the vngodly: her huſband alſo being a mā liuyng in the feare of God, and for the teſtimony of his conſcience being alſo hunted, by force of the lawe was conſtrained to auoide his houſe, and got into a Crare with an honeſt man, ſeruyng as a ſayler, a facultie not before of hym frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, becauſe God had geuen him an impediment by reaſon of a ſtumped foote, vnfit to clymbe to top and yard: yet ſo it pleaſed GOD to enhable hym with his ſtrength, that he was ſtrong and luſty to do good ſeruice, as they can wel witnes that were of his company.

Agnes Wardall perſecuted by D. Argentine and his mates.

The ſaid Agnes Wardal chaunced on a day to come home to ſee her poore houſe and childrē, which was vnder the guidyng of a young maid, and beeyng eſpyed, newes was borne to D. Argentine, who hauing knowledge therof, as is afore ſaid, went ſpedely vnto the Apothecary the Conſtable aforeſaid, and informed hym what a notable cure was to bee brought on Wardals wife, in the apprehendyng of her. Whiche was more like to ſpede then miſſe, had not the mightie prouidence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

Vnmercifull ſeekers of a poore womans bloud.

This knowen to the Conſtable the watch was charged ſpeedely, and eche company ſent to his place. And Argentine and Butler tooke vnto them a good nomber, and forth they go vnto the houſe of this poore woman to lay hands vpon her, and beſet the houſe on the foreſide and backeſide, lying open in the fieldes, and other ſome were ſet to the houſe of his mother, whiche was not farre from his houſe. This doen, one knockt at the ſtreet doore, where Argentine and Butler was, with one of their Weapons, and no aunſwere was made: the ſeconde tyme ſomwhat harder, but had no aunſwere. In the meane tyme they fearyng that ſome conueiaunce was made, knocked the thirde tyme more harder then before.

There was not far from the doore where they knocked, a certein bay window where one might looke out, and ſpeake: And ſo at the thirde knockyng, a woman, who at that tyme was tenaunt to Robert Wardalles mother, & had but two nightes before lien in the houſe, ſpeaking out hard by their eares, aſked who was there?

The Lorde bleſſe euery good man and woman from ſuch wicked ſpirites.

Ah ſyrrha, q Argentine, are ye ſo nie and will not ſpeake? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, beyng ſo nie? How fortuned it, quoth the woman? Mary I ſhall tell you: I am but a ſtraunger here, and I haue heard ſaye, that there bee ſpirites walkyng hereabout, which if a man do aunſwere at the firſt call, or ſecond, he ſtandes in greate daunger: and I was neuer ſo afraid of my life. At this her aunſwere, they laughed, and commaunded her to open the doore in the Queenes name: for they were the Queenes watch.

He ſleepeth nor ſlumbreth not that keepeth Iſraell. Pſalme. 120.

Agnes Wardall beyng at that tyme in bed in an inner chamber, hauyng her maid with her, and her twoo children, ſhe beyng at that tyme very heauy a ſleepe, hard not the knockyng. Her mayde hearyng at the ſecond knocke, called and ſhogged her dame, and with muche ado awaked her, and ſaid: the watche is at the doore. What thou lieſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly, ſaid the maid, and hath knockt twiſe. With that ſhe aroſe with all ſpeede, and put on her clothes very ſleyghtly, and tooke with her a Bocarom apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her head, when ſhe was faine to creepe in a ditch with nettels, and ſo paſſed doune into a parlour, wherin ſtoode a cupbord with a fayre preſſe, into the whiche the mayd did locke her.

Agnes Wardal hydeth her ſelf in a preſſe from the handes of her perſecutors.

And immediatly went vp to a chamber, whiche was hard by the ſtreete, where ſhe might ſee and ſpeake to the watch, and ſaid: who is there. Then they bad her open the doore. And ſhe ſaide, we haue no Candle. And they ſaide, open the doore or we will laye it in the floore: With that ſhe came doune and opened the dore. Then aſked they the maid: who is within? And ſhe ſaid, none but a woman that dwelleth within vs, and twoo children. Then ſaid they, where is thy dame? Truely, ſaide

ſhe

Anno. 1556. July.

Example of a faithfull maide to her miſtres.

ſhe, I can not tell, ſhee is not within. She was here in the euenyng, ſayde they. Yea, ſaide the maide, but ſhe went forth I knowe not whether. Notwithſtandyng they charged her that ſhe knewe where ſhe was, whiche ſhe denied. Then got they a Candle light at one of the neighbours houſes, and came in: and in the Entrie met the woman which had aunſwered them at the window, and ſaid, ſhe was afraied of ſpirites. Argentine lokyng vpon her, clapt her on the backe, and ſaid: thou art not the woman whom we ſeeke for.

The houſe ſearched for Agnes Wardall.

Gods maruelous protection working for his ſeruaunt.

So entred they the houſe, and ſearched a Parlour next the ſtreete where the woman lay, whiche was his mothers tenaunt, and a young child that ſucked on her breſt, and not only in the bed turnyng it downe paſt all honeſt humanitie, but alſo vnder the beddes, behind the Painted clothes, and in the Chimney and vp into the Chymney. And findyng the bedde hoate, ſaide: who lay here in the bed. The woman ſaid: I and my child. And none els, quoth they. No, ſaid the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in the which ſtode the Cupbord wherein ſhe was, and ſearched the Parlour, which was but a litle one. And on of the cōpany laying his hand on the cupbord, ſaide: this is a fayre cupbord, ſhe mate bee here for any thing that is doone. That is true, ſaith an other of them. Notwithſtandyng they loked no farther, but went from that into the chamber a loft, wherein the ſaid Agnes had layen with her mayde and children, with all other rowmes and chambers.

The boy and the maide ſent to the cage.

At length came downe into the yearde, where they found a horſe tyed at a pale eatyng of ſhorne Graſſe. Then aſked they the maide: whoſe horſe is this? She aunſwered, it is her horſe in deede, and ſhe came in before night, and went abroad againe, but I knowe not whether. Then were they in good hope to finde their pray and beſtirred them with ſpeede, and went into an out Chamber that was in the yearde, in whiche was a boy in bed of 13. or 14. yeres old. And beyng in his dead ſleepe, they ſodenly awaked hym, and examined him for his dame. Who anſwered he knew not where ſhe was. and vnto that ſtoode firmely, although their threates were vehement, not onely to the poore ſely boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plaine mayd. Then cauſed they him to ariſe and dreſſe hym, and ſent both mayd and boy vp to the cage, where they put the mayde, but kept the boy among their truſtie Souldiours, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeake with an other.

Agnes Wardal in daunger to be ſmothered.

Now, while ſome were on the cornehill, and other ſome ſearching the neighbours houſes and backeſides, the wife of Wardall being in the preſſe faſt locked, and almoſt ſmothered for want of breath, deſired the womā her mothers Tenaunt, when ſhe hard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She aſked her where the keyes were: Who aunſwered they were in a hamper, whiche ſhe found and aſſaied to vnlocke the Preſſe, and of a long tyme could not. Then deſired ſhe her to breake it open: for (ſaid ſhe) I had rather fall into their handes, then to kill my ſelfe. Then went her mothers tenaunt, and ſought for her houſbandes hammer and chyſell, to breake it open, but could not find it, nor any thyng els to breake it open with all, and came againe and tolde her ſhe could finde nothing to breake it open with.

Gods merciful helpe in the tyme of neede.

Then ſayde ſhe, aſſay againe to open it, for I truſte God will geue you power to open it. And being within in much extremitie, ſhe hartily prayed vnto God, who heard her prayer, and helped her: for at the firſt aſſay and turne of the key, it opened eaſely. When ſhe came out, ſhe looked as pale and as bleake as one that were layd out dead by the walles, and as ſhe her ſelfe looked afterward when ſhe was dead, as the ſame woman reported, whiche then let her out, and was alſo at her death long after in the Quenes Maieſties raigne that now is, and al on a vehement ſweat was ſhe like droppes of rayne.

John Bate cryer of Ipſwech, a ſpitefull enemie againſt Gods people.

Then went ſhe out into the backeſide, where was a pale toward the fieldes for the defence of the Garden, wherein was one or two looſe pales, by the which both ſhe and her huſband had diuers times vſed to come and go in and out: ſo went ſhe out into the fieldes. And paſſing one litle field and ouer a ſtile, ſhrouded her ſelfe in a low ditch with nettles: & couered her head whith the bocarom apron afore mentioned, and ſo crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long ſearch, when thei could not find her in the towne, certaine of the watche retourned agayne into the fieldes ſide: among whom was one George Mannyng with John Bate the Crier of the ſame towne commyng together. This Mannyng was a ſimple honeſt plaine man, but Bate a verie enemie, and one that in Quene Maries time would haue bene a Prieſt, as it was reported, but that he was maried.

Another eſcape of Agnes Wardall by Gods good prouidence.

Mannyng eſpiyng where ſhe lay, gaue a hemme, and made a noyce with his bil, he being before Bate, at the which ſhe lay ſtill: and at laſt they departed to the ſtreet ſide to the Conſtable. All this time the maide was in the Cage, and the boy with the other of the watche vntill perfite day light. Then went they vp and let out the maid, and ſent her home, & the boy alſo: but they made the mayd beleue they had found her dame. Who aunſwered: if ye haue her, kepe her faſt.

George Mannyng an honeſt man.

On the morow, Mannyng ſent her word to beware that ſhe ſhould hyde her ſelfe no more ſo neare.

The doinges and conditions of Doctour Argentine deſcribed.

D. Argentine in Kyng Edwardes tyme a Proteſtaunt.

D. Argentine in Quene Maries tyme a foule Papiſt, and a perſecutour.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithfull ſeruaunt deliuered from their crueltie, and they knowen to be his aduerſaries, not onely at that tyme, but diuers tymes after and before. Notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Argentine at his firſt commyng to Ipſwiche, came in a Seruyng mans coate. And then beyng in the daies of Kyng Henry the viij. he would accuſtomablie vſe the readyng of Lectures him ſelfe, in the whiche he was well commended at that tyme. After obtained the office of vſher of the free Grammer ſchole: and the maſter beyng dead, got to be maſter him ſelfe. And beyng maried to a verie honeſt woman, remained there the daies of King Edward. And when God tooke him frō vs for our iuſte deſerued plague, and Queene Mary came to her Raigne, none more hoate in all Papiſtrie and Superſtition, then he, paintyng the Poſtes of the towne with viuat Regina Maria, and in euery corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife (which was an honeſt woman) was made a Prieſt: takyng vppon hym diuers tymes to preache (but neuer without his white minuier hode) ſuche doctrine as was ſhamefull to heare, ſaying Maſſe, and caryng about the Pixe in hye proceſſions. Furthermore, leadyng the boy S. Nicolas with his minuier hode, about the ſtreetes for apples and belie there. And who ſo woulde not receaue him, he made them heretikes, and ſuche alſo as would not giue his fagot to the bonefire for Queene Maries child. And thus continued he at Ipſwich the moſt part of Queene Maries daies, moleſtyng there good men: ſome for not goyng to the Church: ſome for not beyng confeſſed: ſome for not receauing, &c. till at length, towarde the end of Queene Mary, he came to London, and in this Queenes tyme began to ſhewe him ſelfe againe a perfect Proteſtant. And thus much of Argentine. Ex teſtimonio Petri Moonæi.

¶ *The trouble of Peter Moone and his wife, and of other godly Proteſtantes at Byſhop Hoptons viſitation in Ipſwiche.*

Peter Moone accuſed to B. Hopton.

IN the yeare of our Lord God. 1556. The ſceane or viſitation, beeyng kept before Whitſontyde, in the towne of Ipſwich in Suffolke, by D. Hopton being then Biſhop of Norwiche, and Myles Dunnynges, beeyng then hys Chaūcelour, diuers and ſondry godly proteſtantes, through the accuſation of euill men, were ſore troubled and preſented before hym: among whom were accuſed one Peter Moone a Taylor, and Anne his wife: for their diſobedience to the law, in not ſhewyng their readines to come to the Churche, and to bee partaker of ſuch Romiſh obſeruances as at that tyme were vſed.

3. Articles obiected to Peter Moone.

And firſt the ſaid Peter Moone was commaunded to come before the Biſhoppe, where he was examined of three ſondry Articles, to witte: 1. Whether the Pope were ſupreme head: 2. Whether Kyng Philippe and Queene Mary were right inheritours to the crowne. 3. And whether in the Sacrament of the altar was the very body of Chriſt ſubſtātially & really there preſent.

Peter Moone graunteth to the Biſhops articles through infirmitie.

Unto the whiche, the ſaide Peter beyng timerous and weake, fearing more the face of man then the heuy wrath of God, affirmed and in maner graunted vnto the demaundes. Whereupon the Biſhop beyng in good hope, that although hee had not come to the Church, nor receiued their Sacrament of the Aultar, nor bene readie to doe his duetie as the law had commaunded: yet there ſhewyng his mynde, ſaide, that he liked well the man: for ſuch as haue bene (ſaid he) earneſt in euill thinges, will alſo be earneſt in that that is good and godly, if once they be wonne.

Thus as this Spirituall father was commendyng his carnall child, and rather preferryng him to hel fire, then vnto the ſincere word and commaundementes of God, it chaunced amongeſt many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the ſame towne named Sharpe, an earneſt member of their Romiſh ſew, doyng of a very cōſcience that he did, who after the death of Queene Mary liued not many yeares, but rendred his life in godly repentaunce, proteſting that if GOD ſhoulde ſuffer hym to liue, he would neuer bee the man he had beene before, what lawes ſoeuer ſhould come againe: ſo that before the time of his ſickenes, he frequētyng earneſtly the Sermons made in the ſame Towne by diuers godly learned, would weepe as it had bene a childe, beyng notwithſtandyng of courage as ſtout a man as any was in Ipſwiche. Such is the marueilous mercy of God, in callyng to his kyngdome, whom, and when he pleaſeth.

Commendation of Sharpe of Ipſwich.

Rich. Sharpe of Ipſwich repenteth his Popery at his death.

This portman aforeſaid, perceauing the Biſhoppe thus, as it were, at an end with the ſaid Moone, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid vnto the biſhop: my Lord, in dede I haue a good hope in the man, and that he wil be conformable: but my Lorde, he hath a perillous woman to his wife. For I will tell you my Lorde, ſhe neuer came to Church yet, ſince the Queenes reigne, except it were at Euenſong, or when ſhee was churched. And not then vntill Maſſe were done. Wherfore your good Lordſhip might doe a good deede to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if ye could doe anie good. And therefore I beſeeche your good Lordſhip to commaund him to pray her to come before your Lordſhip.

Sharpe accuſeth Moones wife.

At the which wordes, Moone was ſomwhat ſtirred in that he ſaid, commaund him to praie her to come before your Lordſhippe. And he ſayd vnto him, vnder my Lordes correction I ſpeake, I am as able to cōmaund her to come before my Lorde, as ye are to commaunde the worſt boy in your houſe. Yea my Lorde, ſayd the other, I cry your Lordſhippe mercy: I haue informed your Lordſhip with an vntroth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he ſaith, he might haue commaunded her to haue come to Churche in all this tyme, if it had pleaſed him. Well ſaid the Biſhop, looke ye come before me again at after noone, and bring your wife with you: I will talke with her.

Peter Moone commaunded to bring his wife before the Biſhop.

As my Lordes dinner at that tyme was ſeruyng vp, Moone departed and taried not to take part therof hauing ſuch an hard breakfaſt giuen him before to digeſt. At after none Moone delaied and waited his time, bethinkyng when he might moſte cōueniently come, eſpecially when his accuſer and his wiues ſhould not haue beene there. And accordyng to commaundement came with his wife, whiche was not ſo ſecretly, but his accuſer had knowledge therof, and came with all expedition in ſuch poſt ſpeede, that in a maner he was wyndleſſe entryng into the Biſhops chamber.

The Biſhop hearing that Moone and his wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to Moone: is this your wife Moone? Yea my Lord, ſaid he. O good Lord (ſaid the Biſhop) howe a man may be deceaued in a woman. I promiſe you a man woulde take her for as honeſt a woman, by all outward appearaunce, as can bee. Why my Lord, ſaid Moones wife, I truſt there is none that can charge me with any diſhoneſtie, as concernyng my body, I defie all the world in that reſpect.

Moone & hys wife brought before the Biſhop.

Nay (q the Biſhoppe) I meane not, as concernyng the diſhoneſtie of thy bodie: but thou hadſt bene better to haue geuen the vſe of thy bodie vnto xx. ſondry men, then to doe as thou haſt done. For thou haſte done as much as in thee lieth, to plucke the King and the Quenes Maieſties out of their royall Seates, through thy diſobedience, in ſhewyng thy ſelfe an open enemy vnto Gods lawes, and their procedinges.

B. Hopton prefereth xx. men committing adultery, before one woman tranſgreſſyng the Popes ordinaunces.

Then began the Biſhop to examine the ſaid Moone again, with the aforeſaid articles, & his wife alſo. And hearyng her huſband relent, did alſo affirme the ſame, whiche turned vnto either of them no ſmall trouble of minde afterwarde, but yet neither were they like thus to eſcape, but that in the meane time Dunning the Biſhops Chācelour came vp in great haſt, and brought newes to the Biſhop, that there were ſuche a nomber of Heretickes come, of whiche ſome came from Hopford, ſome from Lanham, and about from the Clothe countrey, that it woulde make a man out of his wittes to heare them, and there are among them both heretickes and Anabaptiſtes, ſaid he. And thus Doct. Dunnyng with his bloſtering wordes interruptyng Moones examination, went downe againe as the deuill had driuen him, to kepe his ſturre among them, and to take order what ſhould be done with them.

The Biſhop beginnyng to bewayle the ſtate of the countrey, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a number of Heretickes and rehearſing partly their opinions to theſe that were at that tyme in the chamber, Moones wife had a young child, whiche ſhe her ſelfe nurſed, and the childe beyng brought into the yeard vnder the Biſhops chamber cryed, ſo that ſhe heard it, and then ſaid: My Lorde, I truſt ye haue doone with mee. My childe crieth beneth, I muſte goe giue my childe ſucke, with ſuch like wordes. And the Biſhop beyng, as it were, out of mind to talke with thē any more, ſaid: go your way, I will talke with you in the mornyng: looke ye be here againe in the mornyng: with this they both departed.

Moones child a part of Gods prouidence in their deliueraunce frō further trouble.

And beneath in the ſtone Hall of the ſame houſe, the Chauncelour Dunnyng beeyng verie buſie about his bloudy buſines, eſpied Moone and his wife commyng, and muſt needes paſſe by the place where he ſtode, and ſaid: Nay ſoft, I muſt talke with you both: for ye are as euill as any that are here to day. To whō Moones wife anſwered: My Lord hath had vs in examination, and therfore ye ſhall haue nought to do with vs. Nay, q he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talke with you alſo. Vnto whom Moone anſwered: In the preſence of the more, the leſſe hath no power: My Lorde hath taken order with vs, and therfore we are as his Lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repaire before hym againe to morrow. At the which he let them go, although he was earneſtly procured by the partie aboue ſpecified, to haue ſhewed his qualitie, which was nothing els but tyrāny.

Moones anſwere to the Biſhoppes Chauncelour.

Moone and his wife eſcapeth from the Biſhop and his Chauncelour.

So departed Moone and his wife without hurt of body: but afterward when they with Peter the Apoſtle behelde the face of Chriſte, they were ſore wounded in conſciences, aſhamed of their doynges, and alſo at the doore of deſperation. In ſo muche, that when the ſayd Moone came home to his Houſe, and entryng into a parlour alone by him ſelfe, cōſidering his eſtate, & ſawe where a ſword of his did hang againſt a wall, was earneſtly allured by the enemie Sathan to haue taken it downe, and therwith to haue ſlaine hym ſelfe: but God, who caſteth not away the penitent ſinner repenting his fall with harte, defended his vnworthy ſeruaunt from that temptation, and hath (I truſte) lefte hym to the amendement of life by the aſſiſtaunce of his holie ſpirite and to make him one among the elect that ſhalbe ſaued.

Moone and his wife confounded in conſcience for their denial.

Moone ſeeketh to kill him ſelf, but by Gods mercifull prouidence was preſerued.

The morow they both remained and kept houſe with no ſmall grief of conſcience waityng and lookyng with feare, when to be ſent for to the Biſhop, rather then offeryng their diligence to kepe the Biſhoppes appointment, but God ſo wrought, that when the tyme drewe neare that they feared callyng forth, the bels ronge for the biſhops departure out of the towne. For the which they were not onely glad, but alſo manie a good harte in Ipſwiche reioyſed and gaue thankes to God. God for his mercie graunt, that our ſinne neuer deſerue to prouoke Gods ire, that the like daies come againe. And if it ſo do, God make them, with all other weakelinges, ſtrong and worthy ſouldiours to incounter with the ghoſtly enemies, the world, the fleſh, and the deuill. And boldly to ſtand to the confeſſion of Chriſt, and of his Goſpell, ſaiyng with the Apoſtles: Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more then God, iudge ye.

Gods prouidence in remouing awaie the Biſhop.

Teſtified and recorded by Peter Moone.

¶ *A tragicall, lamentable, and pitifull Hiſtory, full of moſt cruell and tyrannicall murder,*

done by the pretenſed Catholiques, vpon three women and an Infant: to wyt, the mother, her
two daughters, and the child, in the
Iſle of Garneſey, for Chriſtes true
Religion, the yeare of our
Lord. 1556. July. 18.

AMong all and ſingular Hyſtories touched in this booke before, as there bee many pitifull, diuers lamentable, ſome horrible and Tragicall: ſo is there none almoſt either in cruelty to be compared or ſo farre of from al compaſſion and ſenſe of humanity, as this merciles fact of the Papiſtes, done in the Iſle of Garneſey, vpon three women and an infant, whoſe names be theſe, as folow.

The Martyrdome of three women with a young Infant burnt in the Iſle of Garneſey. July. 18.

Katherine

Anno. 1556. July.

Katherine Cawches, the Mother.
Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter.
Perrotine Maſſey, the other daughter.
An Infant, the ſonne of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpoſe of this ſtorie, it ſhalbe neceſſary, for the better explanyng of the matter, to begin firſte with the circumſtaunces, whereupon the firſte Originall and occaſion did riſe of this tragicall cruelltie. The caſe was this.

The firſt occaſion of the trouble of theſe women.

The xxvij. day of May, an. 1556. in the Iſle of Garnſey, which is a member of England, in a towne there called S. Peters port, was a noughty womā named Vincent Goſſet, who beyng euill diſpoſed, went (the daie aforeſaide) to the howſe of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the towne of the ſaide S. Peters Port, about x. of the clock at night, and there taking the key of the houſe (lyng vnder the doore) entred into a chamber toward the ſtreete, where ſhe eſpiyng a Cup of Siluer within a Cupbord, tooke it awaie, and ſo conueied her ſelfe out of the houſe againe. Who immediatlie after this fact done, (whether by counſell or by what occaſiō els, I haue not to ſay) brought the ſayd cup to one Perotine Maſſey, an honeſt woman, dwellyng in the ſaide towne, deſiring her to lend her. vi. d. vpon the ſame.

Perrotine ſeing the cup or goblet, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) the ſame to be ſtollen, aunſwered that ſhee would not take it: yet neuertheleſſe hauing knowledge of the owner thereof, tooke it, to reſtore it againe to whom it did appertaine, and to the ende ſhe ſhould not cary it to an other, gaue her then preſently vi. d. Where moreouer is to bee noted, that Thomas Effart ſaithe and teſtifieth, that knowledge was giuen by the ſayde Perrotine to Conronney touchyng the ſtealyng of hys peece, who efteſones vpon the miſſyng thereof attached the ſaid Vincent Goſſet, of the treſpaſſe. Who beeyng apprehended and examined vpon the ſame, immediatly confeſſed the fact, deſiryng to haue one ſent with her (whiche was Collas de Loutre) with vi. d. to fetche againe the goblet, where it was: And ſo did.

Nicholas Cary Conſtable, accuſer.

The next daie folowyng, the kynges officers beyng informed of the premiſſes by one Nicolas Cary of the ſayd towne Conſtable, aſſembled the Iuſtices there, to inquire and examine further, as well vpon that fact of Vincent Goſſet, as vppon other griefes and thynges there amiſſe. So that after declaration made by the officers and the Conſtable before the Iuſtice, for that the ſaid Conſtable did report to haue found certeine veſſel of Peuter in the houſe of the foreſaid Perotine Maſſey (who then dwelt with her mother Katherine Cawches, and her Siſter Guillemine Guilbert) the whiche veſſell did beare no marke, and eſpecially for that there was a Peuter diſh, wherof the name was ſcraped out, their bodies vppon the ſame were attached, and put in priſon, and their moueable goodes taken by Inuentory. Within a fewe daies after theſe thinges doone and paſt, theſe three ſely women abidyng thus in duraunce in the Caſtle, made their ſupplication to the Iuſtices to haue iuſtice miniſtred vnto them, videlicet: If they had offended the Law, then to let them haue the law: if not, beſeechyng to graunt them the benefite of Subiectes. &c. Which ſupplication put vp, therupō were they appoincted to come to their aunſwere the fifte daye of Iune, in the yeare aforeſaide. Vpon whiche daie, after ſtraight examinyng of the matter, and the honeſt aunſwering of the cauſe by the ſaid good women, at the laſt they ſubmitted them to the report of their neighbours, that they were no theeues, nor euill diſpoſed perſones, but liued truelie and honeſtlie, as became Chriſtian women to do, the falſe and vntrue reporte of their accuſers notwithſtandyng.

Katherine with her two daughters, impriſoned in ẏ Caſtel.

Katherin with her two daughters, ſtand to ẏ iudgement of their neighbours.

So the cauſe beyng thus debated, after the inquirie made by the kinges Officers, they were found by their ſayd Neighbours not giltie of that they were charged with, but had liued alwaies as honeſt women among them: ſauyng only that to the commaundements of holy Church, they had not bene obedient. &c. Vppon this triall, and verdite of the neighbours, it was in fine adiudged, firſte that the ſaide Vincent Goſſet, beeyng atteinted of fellony and condemned for the ſame ſhoulde be whipped, and after her eare being nayled to the Pillory, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the Iſle without further puniſhment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not commyng to the Church, they were returned priſoners againe into the Caſtle the firſt of Iuly. And thus farre concernyng the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtaunces and appurtenance of the ſame in euery poynt as the caſe ſtoode, accordyng to the faithfull tenour and teſtimony of the Garnſey men written with their owne hands both in French and Engliſh toung. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended againſt theſe women, and nothing proued, and howe by the atteſtation of their neighbours they were fullie clered of that fact, and ſhoulde by the temporall Court haue bene diſmiſſed, had not the ſpiritual Clergy men picking matter of religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuche extremitie in perſecuting theſe miſerable priſoners, that in no caſe they coulde eſcape their bloudye hands, til at lengeh they had brought them (as you ſhal heare) to their finall end. For after the time of this declaration aboue mentioned made by the neighbours, wherby they were purged of all other thinges, & beyng then knowen of their not commyng to the Church, the Bailiffes Lieutenaunt and the Iuſtice, thinking the matter not to pertein to them, but to the Clergy, forthwith wrote their Letters or Mandate vnder their ſignes to the Deane, whoſe name was Iaques Amye, and Curates of the ſaid Iſle: The contentes whereof here foloweth.

The three women quit of theft and diſhoneſtie.

New trouble agaynſt the three women, for not commyng to the Church.

Iaques Amye Deane of Garneſey, perſecutor.

¶ A Letter ſent from the Bailiffes Lieutenaunt, and Iurates of Saint Peters Port, to the Deane and Curates of the Iſle of Garneſey.

MAſter Deane, and Iuſtices in your Court and iuriſdiction, after all amiable recommendations, pleaſeth you to knowe that we are informed by the depoſition of certain honeſt men, paſt before vs in maner of an inquiry: in the which inquiry Katherine Cawches and her two daughters haue ſubmitted themſelues in a certaine matter criminal. Wherin we be informed that thei haue bene diſobedient to the commaundementes, and ordinances of the Churche, in contemnyng and forſakyng the Maſſe and the ordinaunces of the ſame, againſte the will and commaundement of our ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng and the Queene. Wherof we ſende you the ſaid matter, foraſmuch as the matter is ſpirituall, to the end you may procede therin after your good diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it perteined to your office, recommendyng you to God, the whiche geue you grace to do that pertaineth to right and iuſtice. Writtē the firſt day of the moneth of Iuly, the yeare of our Lord. 1556.

After theſe letters, and information thus addreſſed to Iaques Amy Deane, & to other of the Clergie, the ſaid women were againe commenſed before the Iuſtice aforeſaid with his aſſiſtances. In the preſence of whom they beyng examined of their faithe, concernyng the ordinances of the Romiſh Church, made their aunſwere that they would obey and keepe the ordinaunces of the King & Quene, & the commaundements of the Church, notwithſtandyng that they had ſayd and done the contrary in the tyme of kyng Edward the vi. in ſhewyng obedience to his ordinances and commaundements before. After which aunſwere taken, they were retourned again to priſon, vntil the other had an anſwere of their letter from the Deane & his complices. Duryng which tyme, the Deane and Curates gaue their information touching the ſaid women, and deliuered the ſame to the Bailiffe and Iurates, condemning and reputing them for heretickes, the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being euer examined at any time before of their faith and Religion. Whereupon when the ſaied Bailiffe and Iurates vnderſtoode that the ſaied Deane and Curates had not examined the women of their faith, would not ſit in iudgement on that day, but ordained the women to come firſt before the Dean and Curates to be examined of their faith. And ſo the officers at the commaundement of the Iuſtices, did fetche and preſent them before the ſaid Deane and Curates. The whiche beyng accompliſhed and doone, they were examined a parte ſeuerally one from an other: After whiche examination thei incontinently were retourned againe into priſon.

Raſh information geuen, before the cauſe was heard.

Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maſſey, Guillemine Guilbert, examined before the Deane and his felowes.

Then the xiij. day of the ſaid moneth of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſaid, after the examination aboue ſpecified before Elyer Goſſelin Bailiffe, in the preſence of Thomas Deuicke, Pierres Martine, Nicolas Cary, John Blondel, Nicolas de Liſle, John Lauerchaunt, John le Feuer, Pierres Bonnamy, Nicolas Martin, John de la March Iurates, Syr Iaques Amy Deane, and the Curates, did deliuer before ẏ Iuſtice vnder ẏ ſeale of the Deane, and vnder the ſignes of the Curates, a

The names of the perſecutors which ſatte vpō the death of the three women.

Katherine Cawches, Perrotine Maſſey, Guillemine Guilbert, wrongfully condemned by the Deane and Juſtices.

The vniuſt ſentence of the Deane againſt the .3. Martyrs.

certaine Acte and Sentence, the ſumme whereof was that Katherine Cawches and her .ij. daughters were found heretikes, and ſuch they reputed them, and haue deliuered them to Juſtice, to doe execution, accordyng to the Sentence, of the whiche the tenour foloweth.

¶ *The Sentence.*

AN. dom. millesimo, quingenteſimo, quinquageſimo ſexto, die vero. xiij. menſis Iulij apud Eccleſiam diui Petri in portu maris inſula promotor. per nos Dominum Decanum inquiſitio facta fuit de fide Catholica, & ſuper Sacramenta Eccleſiaſtica, videlicet ſuper Sacramentum Baptiſmi, confirmationis, pœnitentiæ, ordinis Matrimonij Euchariſtiæ, & extremæ vnctionis, nec non ſuper ceremonias Eccleſiæ, ac de veneratione & honoratione beatæ Mariæ & ſanctorũ, de Miſſa & eius efficacia, & de ceremonijs Eccleſiæ, videlicet Katherinæ Cawches, eiuſdemq; duarum filiarum Guilleminæ & Parotinę nuncupatarum, & harum tam coniunctim quam ſeparatim & via iuris. Et quamuis pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delicta ſua cognoſcenda *hortauimus & inuitauimus, quæ quidē prædicta omnino negauerunt & negant, quod locutæ fuerunt aliquod verbum inane, inhoneſtum, ocioſum, & vanum contra fidem Catholicam, Sacramenta Eccleſiæ, & alias ceremonias Eccleſiæ. Quapropter auditis negationibus prædictarum, & atteſtationibus & depoſitionibus teſtium per nos viſis, conſideratis, & bene ponderatis, & per opiniones Curatorum & Vicariorum ibidem aſsiſtentium ſuper eaſdem; Katherinam & Parotinam, nec non & Guilleminam crimine hereticas inuenimus & reputamus. Quapropter coram vobis Domino Balliuo omnino remittimus vt antea remiſsimus. Thomas le Coll de mandato, Iohn Alles, Guillielmus Panquet, Petrus Tardiſe, & Iohannes Manatiell.

*Solœciciſmus catholicus.

When this was done, commaundement was geuen to the kinges officers, to go to the Caſtle to fetche the ſaid woman, to heare the ſentence againſte them in the preſence aforeſaid. And they appearyng before them, ſaid in the eares of all the auditorie, that they would ſe their accuſars, & know them that had depoſed againſte them, becauſe they might make aunſweres to their ſayings and perſonages and to haue their libel accordingly: for they knew not to haue offended the maieſties of the King and Queene, nor of the Churche, but intierlie would obey, obſerue and keepe the ordinaunces of the Kyng and Queene, and of Churche, as all good and true Subiectes are bound to do. And for any breach of the King and Quenes lawes that they had done, they required Juſtice. All which their reaſons and allegations notwithſtãding, the ſaid poore women were condemned, and adiudged to be burnt, vntil thei were conſumed into Aſhes, accordyng to a ſentence geuen by Elyer Goſlyne Bailiſe: of the whiche ſentence the tenour hereafter foloweth.

The thre women willing to be conformed to the Queenes ordinaunces, were notwithſtandyng condemned.

¶ *The effect of the ſentence in Engliſh.*

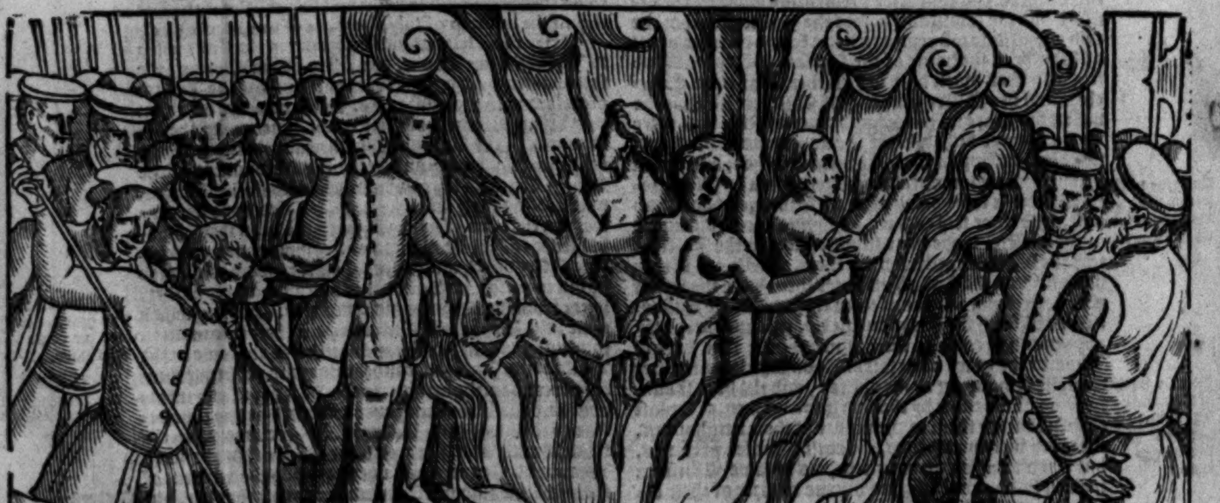
THe xvij. (or as ſome other thinke the xxvij. day) of the moneth of July. 1556. Elier Goſſelin Bailiſe in the preſence of Thomas Deuicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, Iohn Bloundell, Nicholas Deuiſe, Iohn le Marchaunt, Iohn le Feauer, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine and Iohn de la March Iurates: Katherine Cowches, Perotine Maſſey, and Guillemyne Guilbert, the ſaid Perotine and Guillemyne daughters to the ſaid Katherine, are all condemned & iudged this day to be burned, vntill they bee conſumed to aſhes in the place accuſtomed, with the confiſcation of all their goodes, moueables, and heritages, to bee in the handes of the Kyng and Quenes Maieſties, accordyng and after the effect of a ſentence deliuered in Iuſtice, by maſter Deane & the Curats the xiij. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare aforeſaid, in the which they haue bene approued heretickes.

The wilfull ſentence and murther of Ellyer Goſſelyne Bailiffe, againſt the thre innocent women in Garneſey.

After which ſentence pronounced, the ſaide women did appeale vnto the Kyng and the Queene, and their honorable Counſell, ſaying that againſt reaſon & right they wer condemned, and for that cauſe thei made their apeale: notwithſtandyng they could not be heard, but were deliuered by the ſaied Bailiffe, to the Kyng and

The mother and the two daughters made their appeale to the king & Quene, but could not be heard.

¶ *A lamentable ſpectacle of iij. VVomen, vvith a ſely infant braſtyng out of the Mothers Wombe, beyng firſt taken out of the fire, and caſt in againe, and ſo all burned together in the Iſle of Garneſey. 1556. Iuly. 18.*



Quenes

Queenes Officers, to ſee the execution done on them, accordyng to the ſaid ſentence.

The tyme then beyng come, when theſe three good ſeruauntes and holy Saintes of GOD, the Innocent mother with her twoo daughters ſhoulde ſuffer, in the place where they ſhould conſummate their Martyrdoms, were three ſtakes ſet vp. At the midle poſt was the mother, the eldeſt daughter on the right hand; the yongeſt on the other. They were firſte ſtrangled, but the Rope brake before they were deade, and ſo the poore women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her ſide, where happened a ruefull ſight, not onely to the eyes of all that there ſtode, but alſo to the eares of all true harted Chriſtians, that ſhall read this hiſtory: For as the bely of the woman braſt a ſonder by vehemencie of the flame, the Infant beyng a faire man child, fell into the fire, and eftſones beyng taken out of the fire by one W. Houſe, was layd vpon the graſſe.

Then was the child had to the Prouoſt, and from him to the Bailiffe, who gaue cenſure, that it ſhould be caried backe again and caſt into the fire. And ſo the infant Baptized in his owne bloud, to fill vp the number of Gods innocent Saintes, was both borne, and died a Martyr, leauyng behinde to the worlde, whiche it neuer ſawe, a ſpectacle wherein the whole worlde maie ſee the Herodian crueltie of this graceleſſe generation of Catholicke tormentours, Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.

Now for ſomuche as this ſtorie percaſe, for the horrible ſtraungeneſſe of the facte, will be hardely beleued of ſome, but rather thought to bee forged, or els more amplified of me, then truthe will beare me out, therefore to diſcharge my credite herein, I haue not onely foretold thee a little before how I receiued this ſtorie, by the faithfull relatiõ, bothe of Frenche and Engliſh, of them whiche were there preſente witneſſes, and lookers vppon: but alſo haue hereto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſaied inhabitauntes of Garneſey, and of the brother of the ſaied twoo ſiſters, complainyng to the Queene, and her Commiſſioners, concernyng the horriblenes of the act: whiche ſupplicatiõ, for the more euidence here vnder followeth to be ſene.

To the right honorable, & the Queenes highnes moſt gracious Commiſsioners, for the hearyng and determinyng of matters of Religion and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.

a ſupplication.

Moſt lamentably and woſully complainyng, ſheweth vnto your gracious and honorable Lordſhips, your poore and humble Oratour Mathew Cauches, of the Iſle of Garneſey, that where Iaques Amy Clerke, Deane of the Iſle aforeſayd, aſsiſted by the Curates there, agaynſt all order, law, and reaſon, by colour of a ſentẽce of hereſie, pronoũced againſt Katherine Cauches, the Siſter of your honours ſaid ſuppliant, & Perrotine and Guillemine, her twoo daughters, did cauſe the ſame Katherine, beyng a poore widow, and her ſayd two daughters, moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſayd perſons, ne any of them did hold, mainteine, or defend any thing directly againſt the Eccleſiaſtical lawes then in place, vnder the raigne of the late Queene Mary, but in all thinges ſubmitted them ſelues obediently to the lawes then in force, and yet the crueltie of the ſaid Deane and his accomplices in perpetratyng ſuch murther as aforeſayd, raged ſo farre, that where as, whileſt the ſayd perſons did cõſume with violent fire, the wombe of the ſaid Perrotine beyng burned, there did iſſue from her a goodly mã child, which by the Officers was taken vp and handled, and after in a moſt deſpightfull maner, throwne into the fire, and there alſo with the ſely mother moſt cruelly burnt. In tender conſideration wherof, and for ſo much as this bloudy murther was not in due order of any law, or in any maner accordyng to iuſtice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copie of the whole procedings in this matter, by the ſayd Deane and his accõplices, here ready to be ſhewed to your honours, will make very plaine and manifeſt: It may therefore pleaſe your good & gracious Lordſhips, of the zeale that you beare to Iuſtice, and for our Lord Ieſu Chriſtes ſake, to haue due conſideratiõ in Iuſtice of ſuch horrible murther, ſo cruelly committed as aforeſayd, accordyng to the right demerite thereof. And that it may pleaſe your honorable Lordſhips to order & decree alſo, that all the goodes of all the ſayd parties, by pretence aforeſayd wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be deliuered to your ſayd poore beſecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours ſayd Suppliant will dayly pray to God for your long preſeruation, to his glory, and your euerlaſtyng health.

This ſupplication beyng preſented in maner aforeſaied, to the Queenes honourable Commiſſioners in the yere 1561. ſuche order therein was taken, that the matter beyng returned againe doune, to the ſaied countrey, further to be examined, the Deane thereupon was committed to priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his liuynges. So that in concluſion, bothe he, and all other partakers of that bloudie murder, whether of conſcience, or feare of the Lawe, were driuen not long after, to acknowledge their treſpaſſe, and to ſubmit them ſelues to the Queenes Pardon. The tenour of whoſe ſeuerall ſubmiſſions, as they are lefte in the Rolles, I thought here to publiſhe to the worlde, for a memoriall of more truthe of this ſtorie.

Jaques Amy the Deane diſpoſſeſſed of his liuinges.

The ſeuerall ſubmiſſi on of certaine Gerneſey men, confeſſyng their treſpaſſe in the wrongfull condemnation of the three women aboue ſpecified.

Hellyer Goſſeline, of the Pariſhe of S. Peter le porte in Gerneſey marchaunt, Nicolas Carie, the elder, John Marchant, Peter Bonamie, of the Pariſhe of S. Martin, and Nicolas Martin, ſonne of John, hauyng humbly ſubmitted them ſelues to the Queenes moſte excellent Maieſtie, acknowledgyng their erronious Judgementes, aſwell againſte Katherine Cauches, and Guillemine, and Perotine, her twoo daughters, and the infante of the ſaid Perotine, executed by fire, for ſuppoſed hereſie, as alſo for the acquityng of Nicholas Norman, a wilfull murderer, and other matters cõtained in their ſeuerall Submiſſions, praie the Queenes Maieſties Pardon for the ſaied crimes and others, committed in their ſeuerall Submiſſions.

The ſubmiſſions of the Garneſey men, confeſſyng their treſpaſſe againſt the Garneſey women aforeſaid.

John Blondell the elder, of the Pariſhe of ſaincte Sauiour, within the Jſle of Garneſey, vpõ like Submiſſiõ, and acknowledgyng of his offence, praieth like grace and pardon for his conſent giuen, to the execution of the ſaied three women.

Richard de Wike, of the Pariſhe of ſainct Peter le port, Marchant, praieth like grace and pardon for his conſent, and iudgement giuen for the acquityng of the ſaied Norman, accordyng to his Supplication, and ſubmiſſion late preſented by Peter Bonamie, the ſame De Wike, and Peter Pelley, of the Pariſhe of ſaincte Peter le Port, Marchauntes.

The ſaied Peter Pelley, praieth the benefite of the ſaied Pardon, to bee extended vnto hym, accordyng to his Submiſſion in the ſaied Supplication.

Jaques Amy Clerke, praieth the benefite of the ſaied pardon for his ſentẽce with the Clergies, againſt the ſaied women, accordyng to his Submiſſion.

Thomas Effart, of the Pariſhe of ſaincte Peter le port, humbly praieth, as Procurour lawfully conſtituted by the Chapiter, Bailiffe, and Jurates, that the ſame pardon maie extende to acquite all the inhabitauntes of the ſaied Jſle, of the arrerages. &c.

The copy of the Queenes pardon, folowyng vpon their Submiſsion, as in forme here vnder enſueth.

The copie of the Queenes pardon to them of Garneſey.

Regina, omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu, noſtris pardonauimus, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per pręſentes perdonamus, remittimus & relaxamus Hillerio Goſſelyne, de Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra inſulam noſtram de Garneſey, Mercatori: Iohãni Blundell de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey ſeniori, Marchant: Nicolao Carie ſeniori de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra eandẽ inſulam de Garneſey, Mercatori: Iohanni Marchant de eiſdem Parochia & inſula Generoſo: Nicolao Martin filio Iohãnis de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey Mercatori: Richardo Deuike de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey Mercatori: Petro Pelley de dicta Parochia ſancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictã inſulam de Garneſey, Mercatori: & Iacobo Amy de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra dictam inſulam de Garneſey, Clerico: & eorum cuilibet, coniũctim & diuiſim, ſeu quocunque alio nomine, ſiue quibuſcũque alijs nominibus cognominibus ſiue additionibus, nominis vel cognominis, officiorum, artium vel locorum, ijdem Hillerius, Nic. Carie, Iohannes, Nicholaus Martin, Iohannes Blundell, Richardus, Petrus, & Iacobus cenſeantur, vocentur, ſiue nuncupentur aut nuper cenſebantur, vocabãtur ſiue nũcupabantur, aut quocũque alio nomine, ſeu cognomine, aut additione nominis, vel cognominis, dignitatis, officij, artis, aut loci, aliqui eorũdem Hillerij, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Iohannis Blundell, Richardi, Petri, & Iacobi, cenſeantur, vocentur, ſiue nuncupentur, aut nuper cenſebantur, vocabantur, ſiue nuncupabantur, omnia & omnimoda murdra, homicidia, felonias, & felonicas interfectiones Katherinæ Cauches, & Guilleminæ, & Perotinæ, filiarum eiuſdem Katherinæ, & earum cuiuſlibet, ac acceſſarias earundem: ac omnia, & ſingula, felonias, inſultus, verberationes, vulnerationes, combuſtiones, tranſgreſſiones, offenſas, riotas, routas, cõuenticula illicita, aſſemblationes, congregationes, inſidiationes, cõſpirationes, acceſſarias, auxiliationes, compercuſſiones, procurationes, abbettationes, confortationes, & manutentiones, concelamenta, foresfacturas, contemptus, impetitiones, negligẽtias, & alia malefacta quæcũque, murdra, homicidia & felonicam interfectionem, prędictarum, Katherinæ, Guilleminæ, & Perotinæ, ſeu alicuius earum tangen. in aliquo, ſeu concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem, Nicolaum Martin, Iohannem Blundell, Richardum, Petrum, & Iacobum, ſeu eorum aliquem vel aliquos, ante præſentem diem, qualitercunque fact. habit. commiſſ. ſiue perpetrat. ac omnes & ſingulas fugam, & fugas, quaſcũque per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohannem, Nicolaum Martin, Iohãnem Blundell, Richardum Deuicke, Petrum Pelley, & Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorũ aliquem, ſiue aliquos, ratione ſeu occaſione murdra, homicidia, aut feloniam interfectionem præd. fact. ſiue habit. adeo plenè & integrè, ac in tam ampliſ. modo, & forma, prout, ſi quilibet prædictorum Hellerij Goſſelyne, Nicolai Carie, Iohannis Marchant, Nicholai Martin, Iohannis Blundell, Richardi Deuicke, Petri Pelley, & Iacobi Amy, ſpecialiter litteras noſtras patentes de perdonatione habuiſſet.

Perdonauimus etiam, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac pro nobis hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfato Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundell, Richardo Deuicke, Petro Pelley, & Amy, & eorum vnicuique, hæredibus, executoribus, adminiſtratoribus, & aſsign. ſuis imperpet. omnes & omnimodas intruſiones, infractiones, & ingreſſus, per ipſos ſeu eorum aliquem, eiuſuè aut eorum vel alicuius eorũ procuratores, agentes, vel miniſtros, in omnia & ſingula maneria, terras, tenementa, poſſeſſiones, & hæreditamenta noſtra, quæcunque, quarumcunque nuper Cantariarum, Gildarum, obit. fraternitat. ſeu collegiorum noſtrorum, aut alicuius ſeu aliquorum progenitorum noſtrorum, infra prædictam inſulam de Garneſey exiſten. ante decimum ſeptimum diem Nouemb. Anno regni noſtri primo fact. perpetrat. ſiue commiſ. Ac omnia & ſingula debita, redditus, computa, arreragia, & collectiones, receptiones, detentiones, & non ſolutiones granorum, & aliorum reddituum, exituum, proficuorum quorumcunque nobis aut alicui progenitorum noſtrorum, pro eiſdẽ Cantarijs, Gildis, obit. fraternitatibus, ſeu collegiis, ſiue eorum aliquo vel aliquibus, quouiſmodo ante prædictum decimum ſeptimum diem Nouemb. Decimo Anno regni noſtri primo, debit. pertinent. ſiue ſpectant.

Perdonauimus, remiſimus, & relaxauimus, ac de gratia ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſciẽtia, & mero motu noſtris prædictis, pro nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus præfatis Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marcham, Nicolao Martin, & Richardo Deuicke, & eorum cuique liberationem, euaſionem, eſcapiam, & voluntar. ad libertatem poſitionem cuiuſdam Nicolai Norman, nuper de Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra prædictam inſulam Yoman, de homicidio, ſiue murdro, nuper iudicat. attinct. & conuict. exiſten. pro interfectione ſiue murderatione, cuiuſdam Iohannis Breghault, de dicta Parochia ſancti Saluatoris, infra inſulam prædictam, huſbandmã. Ac omnia & omnimoda, felonias, crimina, offenſas, pœnas, mortis, punitiones, forisfactur. contemptus negligenc. ignorantias ac alia delicta & offenſas, quæcunque prædictam liberationem, euaſionem, eſcapiam, & ad libertatem poſitionem prædicti Nicolai Norman tangendi, ſeu aliquo modo concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohãnem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, & Richardum Deuicke, ſeu eorum aliquem, vel aliquos, ante pręſentem diem, qualitercunque habit. fact. commiſſ. ſiue illapſa.

Perdonauimus etiam, remiſimus & relaxauimus, ac per præſentes, ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, pro nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, perdonamus, remittimus & relaxamus, præfatis Hillerio Goſſelyne, Nicolao Carie, Iohanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Iohanni Blundell, Richardo Deuicke, Petro Pelley, & Iacobo Amy, omnia & omnimoda riotas, routas, illicitas congregationes, & conuenticula illicita, in pacis noſtræ perturbationem, per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Iohãnem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, Iohannem Blundell, Richardum Deuicke, Petrum Pelley, & Iacobum Amy, ſeu eorum aliquem, ſiue aliquos, ante hac qualitercunque infra inſulam prædictam habit. comiſſ. fact. ſiue perpetrat. &c.

¶ Defence of this Garneſey ſtory agaynſt M. Harding.

Defence of this Garneſey ſtory agaynſt M. Harding.

AND thus haue you the true narration of this hiſtorie, diſcourſed without corruptyng or falſifyng any part or ſentence therof, no leſſe faithfully of my parte reported, then I receiued thẽ, who dwellyng in the ſame Iſle, and beyng preſente the ſame tyme, were beſte acquainted with the matter, and haue giuen ſufficient euidence, not onely to me, but alſo to the Queenes highneſſe Commiſſioners, concernyng the ſame, as both by the letter of the Bailife, by the ſentence of the Deane, by the ſupplication of the plaintife, and ſubmiſſion of the parties, and likewiſe by the quenes Pardon graunted vnto them, maie well appeare.

The cruel dealing of ẏ Garneſey men againſt theſe thre women.

By all whiche proofes and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for all menne to perceiue, what crueltie, and wrong was wrought againſte theſe poore women aboue ſpecified, and no leſſe matter offered, in a caſe ſo vniuſte, iuſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wõder at the hard hartes of theſe men, but eſpecially of the catholicke Clergie of Garneſey, who profeſſyng the Goſpell of peace and charitie, ſhould after the exãple of Chriſt, walke in the ſteppes of mekeneſſe, & mercie, and yet contrary, not onely to all Chriſtian charitie and manſuetude, but alſo againſt all order of equitie, or humanitie, were ſo extreme and rigorous, to condemne them to the burnyng fire, vnder the pretenſed colour of hereſie. Who if they had been heretickes in deede, yet mercie would haue corrected the errour, and ſaue life, equitie would haue conſidered mannes weake fragilitie. at leaſt true iuſtice would haue heard bothe the parties aduiſedly, and alſo ſubſtauncially haue ſurueighed the cauſe, and not to raſhe out the ſentence of death ſo haſtely, as they did: yea, and though they had been heretickes in deede, yet true chriſtiã charitie would haue ſtretched farther, and at leaſt to haue giuen thẽ laiſure, and reſpite of tyme, to reclame them ſelues. But now what is here to bee ſaied, they beyng no heretickes at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can be proued? For if king Edwardes Religion (whiche was obiected to them) were hereſie, yet were they then no heretickes, whẽ thei reuoked the ſame: and if Queene Maries Religion were hereſie, then were they muche more heretickes thẽ ſelues, whiche condemned them of hereſie.

Maiſter Harding in his Reioynder againſt M. Iewell. pag. 184.

But moſte of all we haue herein to wonder at Maſter Hardyng, who in his late reioynder, writtẽ againſt the Biſhoppe of Saliſburie, notwithſtandyng all theſe euidences, and demonſtrations ſo certaine, and manifeſtly appearyng, yet goeth about, firſte to deny the ſtorie, termyng it to be a fable, and afterwarde beyng forced to flie a ſtatu inficiali, and to admitte the ſtorie, he remoueth ad traſlationem criminis; and there ſekyng by all meanes, to cleare the Clergie from the ſpot of crueltie, transferreth the whole blame onely, vpon the women that ſuffered, but principally vppon poore Perotine: whom he ſpecially chargeth with twoo capital crimes, to witte, whoredome, and murder.

Twoo crimes obiected againſt Perrotine Maſſey.

Maiſter Harding in his Reioinder fo. 184. pag. 2.

And firſte, touchyng his accuſation of whoredome, let vs heare, how he proueth his matter. Becauſe (ſaieth he) by ſtorie it is graunted, that ſhe was with childe: and yet the Hiſtoriographer doeth not declare (neither durſt for ſhame) who was her huſbãd, or father to the child. &c As though Hiſtoriographers beyng occupied in ſettyng forthe the perſecution of Gods people, ſufferyng death for religion, and doctrine of Chriſt, were bound, or had nothyng els to doe, but to plaie the Sumner, and to bryng forthe, who were houſbandes to the wiues, and fathers to their children: whiche newfound lawe of hiſtorie, being neuer required before, nor obſerued of any ſtorie writers, if M. H. now ſhall exacte of me, firſte let hym begin with hymſelf, and ſhew vs (as wiſe as he is)

who

Perotine vntruly accuſed of whoredome.

who was his owne father, if he can. And yet I thinke not contrary, but his mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſſe do I thinke alſo of this Perotine aforeſaid, wherof more ſhalbe ſaid (God willyng) hereafter.

But in the meane tyme here commeth in the cauillyng obiectiõ of M.H. and beareth the reader in hand, as though for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſſe it. &c. My anſwere wherunto is this. Firſt to expreſſe euery minute of matter in euery ſtory occurrẽt, what ſtory writer in al the world is able to performe it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reaſonable reader would require it? Thirdly, & albeit ſome curious readers would ſo require, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite, nor conueniẽt to be obſerued. And fourthly, what if it were not remembred of the author? What if it were to him not knowen? what if it were of purpoſe omitted as a matter not materiall to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incurre, which the reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to ſhame and blame, what ſoeuer in euery narratiõ is not expreſſed? or doth M.H. him ſelfe in all his Sermons neuer pretermit any thing, that conueniently might be inferred? Who was the huſband of this Perotine, the Hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed: I graunt, and what therof? Ergo therupon, concludeth he, that for ſhame I durſt not. Nay I may marueile rather that hee durſt for ſhame vtter ſuch vntydy Argumentes, or ſo aſſeuerãtly to pronoũce of an other mãs mind and purpoſe, which is as priuie to him, as then it was to me vnknowen what was her huſbands name. And though it had ben knowẽ, what was that material in the ſtory to be vttered? or what had it relieued the cruel partes of them, which burned both the mother & infant together, though the infantes father had ben expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceale that, whiche was not in my knowledge at that tyme (if I would) to expreſſe, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſdeeme?

M. Hardyng requireth of others to doe that, which he is not able to do him ſelfe.

Neuertheles if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this infantes father, I will not ſticke with M.H. although I cã not ſweare for the matter, yet to take ſo much payne for his pleaſure, to goe as neare it as I may. For preciſely and determinatly to point out the right father either of this, or of any child: I trow, neither will M.H. require it of me, neither is he able peraduenture him ſelfe beyng aſked, to demonſtrate his owne. And yet as much as I may, to ſatiſfie his daintie deſire herein, and partly to helpe the innocencie of the woman, touching this demaunde, who ſhould be the infantes father, who, ſay I, but his owne mothers huſband: the name of which huſband was Dauid Iores, a Miniſter, and maryed to the ſayd Perotyne in kyng Edwardes tyme, in the church of our Ladyes Caſtle Pariſh at Garneſey: the partie which maryed them beyng called M. Noel Regnet a French man, and yet alyue, wytnes hereunto, and now dwelling in London in S. Martyns Le grande.

Dauid Iores huſbãd to Perotine Maſſey.

Perotine maried, where, and by whom.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I haue ſhewed forth, for M.H. pleaſure the right huſbãd of this Perotyne, and what was his name, who was alſo alyue, his wife beyng great with child, & partaker of the perſecution of the ſame time, & a Scholemaſter afterward in Normandie, ec. Now if M.H. can take any ſuch aduantage hereof to diſproue that I haue ſaid: or be ſo priuie to the begettyng of this child, that he can proue the ſayd Dauid Iores, which was the right huſbãd to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning, by what mightie demonſtrations he can induce vs to deeme the contrary, & as I ſhall ſee his reaſons, I ſhall ſhape him an anſwere, in ſuch ſorte (I truſt) that he ſhall well perceaue, that whoredome, whereſoeuer I may know it, ſhal finde no bolſteryng by me, I wiſh it might finde as litle amõgſt the chaſte Catholickes of M.H. Church.

Perotine falſly accuſed of murder.

From this I procede now to the ſecond part of his infamous accuſation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A ſtraunge caſe, that ſhe which was murdered her ſelfe, with her child, and dyed before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murder the childe. Murder doubtles is an horrible iniquitie in any perſon. But the mother to be the murderer of her owne infant, it is a double abomination, and more then a monſter, ſo farre diſagreeyng from all nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Vide ſupra pag. 1129. col. 1.

A ſtory of yong infantes murdered in Lentõ Abbay, & found in the 8. yeare of Q. Eliſab.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thorowly touchyng this murdering mother, let vs ſe. Firſt, what hand dyd ſhe lay vpon the child? None. What weapon vſed ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drowne it, or caſt it in ſome ponde, as we read of the ſtrompetes at Rome, whoſe childrẽs heads were taken vp in Pope Gregoryes mote, by hundrethes, what time Prieſtes began firſt to be reſtrained of lawfull wedlocke: witnes the epiſtle of Voluſianus pag. 1129. or els did ſhe throw it by the walles into ſome priuie corner, as I am credibly certified, the in that viij. yeare of Q. Eliſabeth, certeine ſcalpes & other yong infantes bones were found and taken out with a ſticke in the hole of a ſtone wall in Lenton Abbay, by certeine Gentlemen within the Country of Nottyngham, Iames Barniſſe, Richard Louett, & W. Louelace walkyng in the Prior chamber: witnes the ſayd W. Louelace, with other which ſaw the bones aforeſayd? Or otherwiſe did ſhee take any hurtfull drinke to impotionate ẏ child within her, as commonly it is reported, fewe Nonneries to haue beene in England, wherin ſuch a tree hath not beene growing within their ground, meete for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wyttyngly thruſt her ſelfe in ieoperdy, to the deſtruction of her childe, when ſhee needed not, as Pope Ioane, whẽ ſhe might haue kept her bed, would needes aduẽture forth in proceſſion, where both ſhe her ſelfe, and her infant periſhed in the open ſtreete?

Pope Ioane murdered of her childe.

Wel then, thus much by this hetherto alledged and graunted, we haue gottẽ this womã here to be accuſed of murderyng her child, which neither layd hand vpon it, nor vſed weapon agaynſt it, neyther vſed any other practiſe, in drownyng, hangyng, breakyng, buryng, poyſoning, or any other wilfull meanes, wherby to deſtroy it. And how then? by what maner of waye was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forſoth: (ſaith M.H.) when ſhe was accuſed and condemned to be burned, ſho did not clayme the benefite of her bely, whereby the life both of her ſelfe for the tyme might haue bene delayed, and the child preſerued.

How and by what reaſon M. Harding proueth Perotine to be a murderer.

Whether ſhe did or no, I haue not perfectly to ſay: no more, I weene, hath M.H. Howbeit this is certeine, and by witnes knowen, that ſhe vttered no leſſe to her ghoſtly father in confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame vnto the Iudges? They would (ſayth he) haue ſpared her life for the tyme, and ſo the innocẽt had ben preſerued. And how is M.H. ſure of this, more then was the life ſpared of the yong Lady, a miſtres ſometime of M.H. who ſuffered, notwithſtandyng ſhe was reported of ſome to be with childe? Becauſe the law (ſayth he) is beneficiall to women in her caſe, clayming the benefite therof.

Lady Iane thought to be with childe at her death.

The law beneficial to womẽ clayming the benefite of their belly.

The law ſo giueth, I graunt. But it foloweth not therfore, what ſoeuer the law giueth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put by and by in executiõ. But many times the law goeth as pleaſeth them which haue the handlyng of the law. As for example, the law willeth none to be condemned by ſentẽce of death, for hereſie, which the firſt time reuoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law, they condemned her vnlawfully. Agayne, the like law preſcribeth, none to be executed for hereſie, before the writte be ſent downe de comburendo, and yet cõtrary to this law, without any ſuch writ (as farre as I yet vnderſtand) they burned her moſt cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doynges herein ſeemed, neither to obſerue law, nor to regard honeſty, nor much to paſſe for charitie? And albeit ſhe had claimed neuer ſo much the priuiledge of the law, what had that auayled with thoſe men, whoſe huntyng altogether (as by their procedynges may appeare) ſemeth to be for the houſhold goods of theſe women, whiche after their death immediatly they encroched into their owne handes.

Vnlawful proceding in the death of Perotine.

But be it admitted, that neither ſhe demaunded this benefite of the law, nor that the Iudges would euer haue denyed her, if ſhe had ſo done: yet had it bene the part of a graue accuſer, before he had deſcended into ſuch a raylyng action of murder againſt a poore womã now dead and gone, firſt to haue aduiſed wiſely with him ſelf, whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligẽce what benefite the law would haue giuen, in caſe it had bene required. For not vnlike it is, and wel may be thought rather yea, then no, that the ſimple woman, brought vp al her life long in her mothers houſe in an obſcure Iland, & in ſuch an outcorner of the realme, farre of from the Court, & practiſe of Engliſh lawes, neuer heard before of any ſuch benefite of the law: and therefore vpon mere ſimplicitie, and for lacke of ſkill required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require.

Perotine defended by ſimple ignorance.

Peraduen-

Lacke in the Judges. The prieſt to blame.

Peraduenture alſo her ſenſes might bee ſo aſtonyed with the greatnes and ſodenes of the feare, that it was out of her remembraunce. Certes, it had bene the duetie of the Judges, which knew the law, & hauing the woman before them could not be ignorant of her caſe, to haue queſtioned with her thereof, and to haue holpen her ſimplicitie in that behalfe. Or at leaſt, if they had diſdayned, yet it had beene the prieſtes part, who was her ghoſtly father, and made priuy therunto, eyther to haue inſtructed her, or to haue ſtayed the execution of her death, for ſauegard of the childe.

Reioynder fol. 185. pag. 1.

But all thys denyeth M. H. and to aggrauate the matter, inferreth, that ſhe, not of any ſimple vnſkilfulnes of the law, but only of mere wilfulnes, for auoyding of worldly ſhame, concealed her owne turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her babe. &c. Theſe be ẏ wordes of M. H. written by him not of any ſure ground, but only vpon his catholicke coniecture: for other demonſtration certenly to proue this true, he bringeth none.

M. Hardinges ground onely vpon coniectures.

Wherfore to aunſwere coniecture by coniecture, thus I reply to him agayne, that in caſe ſhe had bene aſked the queſtiō of the Judges and Inquiſiteurs, whether ſhe had bene with child, and then had denyed the ſame: or els if ſhe, by any other colorable meanes, had cloked her beyng with child, whereby it ſhould not appeare, this accuſer might haue ſome probable aduantage agaynſt the woman.

Perotine as ſhe did not open her being with child: ſo neither dyd ſhe euer deny it.

Now, as ſhe was neuer demaunded of their partes any ſuch queſtiō, nor did euer deny any ſuch matter: ſo to anſwere this man with as good probabilitie, I hold, that in caſe they had inquired that matter of her, ſhee would neuer haue denyed it. And therefore where as ſhe is accuſed for her not vttering of her child: why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon again be defended for not denying the ſame.

The ſtate of M. Hardinges accuſation.

But ſhe ſhould haue vttered it, ſaieth he. It had ben well done: ſaye I. And I would ſhe had, but yet that is not the queſtion betwene him & me, what ſhe ſhould haue done, but why ſhee did it not. M. Harding wandring in his blind ſurmiſes, phentaſieth the cauſe only to be, for hyding her diſhoneſty, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpell. So that in Summa, to this effect tendeth all his accuſation.

M. Hardinges Argument.

Perotine beyng byg with child at her condemnation
did not ſhew it to the Judges.
Ergo, ſhe did it to cōceale her turpitude, and becauſe
ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpell.

The Argumēt aunſwered.

But here this accuſer muſt vnderſtand, if he haue not forgotte his Logike, that ſuch argumentes which truly do hold, a Signis, do alwayes preſuppoſe, that the ſignes which goe before the thinges ſignified, muſt be neceſſarie, perpetuall, and firme, as is betwene cauſes naturall and their effectes. Otherwiſe if the ſignes be doubtfull, voluntarie, or accidentall, there is no firme conſequent can procede therof.

Argumentes of ſignes and cōiectures how they holde.

Now, if the ſaid accuſer ſhould be put to his proofe, how to iuſtifie this his ſequele to be true by euident demōſtration, that ſhe did it only for couering her diſhoneſtie: I ſuppoſe verely he ſhould be foūd to ſay more, then he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into ẏ like caſe, as were the phariſeis, who cōming to accuſe the adultereſſe before Chriſt, went away mute, with as much ſhame out of the temple, as the woman her ſelfe came in, hauing not one word to aunſwere. For a man to pronounce aſſuredly vpon the ſecret cogitation and intent eyther of man or woman, further then by vtterance of ſpeach is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacitie & is to be left onely to him, which is ſcrutans corda & renes Deus.

But forſomuch as M. H. worketh (as I ſayd) by ſurmiſes, conſtruyng euery thing to the worſt, let vs ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much againe to the contrary, cōcerning the qualitie of this ſurmiſed murder. Wherin diuers thinges are to be conſidered, as here in order foloweth.

The firſt coniecture.

The firſt coniecture is this, that ſuch maner of women whiche for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, haue other wayes to compaſſe that wickednes, thē by ſilence keeping. Now, as touchyng this Perotine goyng to be burned, neither could this ſilēce ſaue her if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame, neither is it to be thought any ſuch intent euer to be in her, to murder her child: as might well appeare in her mothers houſe, where if ſhee might haue continued her whole time out ſhe entēded no leſſe but honeſtly to be brought to bed, & to nurſe vp her child, neither caryng for ſhame of the world, nor fearyng any ſclaunder to the Goſpell, Wherby may be argued, that no ſuch intent of murder was euer in her thought. For how is it like that ſhe, which had gone ſo long with child, almoſt to the full time of her deliuerāce, and neuer thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that while, ſhould now going to her owne death, minde more hurt to her child, then ſhe did before, hoping her ſelfe to liue?

The 2. coniecture.

Secondly, how knoweth M. H. to the contrary, but that ſhe was knowne in the towne to be with child, and went boldely abroade without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe, why ſhe ſhould conceale her child more now after her condemnation, then ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

The 3. coniecture.

Thirdly, admit the caſe it was not knowne before, what aduantage thereby ſhould riſe to her, being now appoynted to dye, by concealing her being with child. She ſhould haue eſchued (ſayeth M. H.) the publike ſhame and obloquie of the worlde, in that none ſhould haue knowne her to be with child. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a maried wife to be noted to be with child? Againe, what gaine had that bene to her, to auoyde the ſhame and fame of the world, which had not to liue in the world, being now condemned to dye?

The 4. coniecture.

Fourthly, how is it like, that for ſhame ſhe went to conceale that from the worlde, which both knewe ſhee ſhould not liue in the world, and alſo ſuffer that kind of death, wherby her child could not be hidden from the ſight of the world, though ſhe had gone about her ſelfe neuer ſo much to conceale it?

The 5. coniecture.

Fiftly, how is it to be thought, that any woman, going to ſuch a ſharpe puniſhement of fier to be cōſumed, would lette for any worldly ſhame, to reſchue her owne life frō ſo bitter torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafegard alſo of her child, if by any meanes ſhe had knowne any remedy?

The 6. coniecture.

Sixtly, forſomuch as M. Harding doth ſo haynouſly charge her with the wilfull murdering of her owne naturall child: let all indifferēt conſciences this conſider with themſelues, what was the cauſe that moued her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſaue her owne life, and eſpecially the poore innocent? Wherby it is manifeſt to be vnderſtanded, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſaue her infant, if the fathers of the ſpiritualtie had not bene ſo cruell, agaynſt all order of law to caſt both her and her child awaye, all this her ſayd recantation notwithſtanding.

The 7. coniecture.

Seuenthly and laſtly, when M. H. hath inueied all that euer he can againſt this poore Perotine, yet is all the ſame but a bymatter from his principall purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing therby through his deprauing of her, to iuſtifie and excuſe the Popeholy Clergie, which wrought her death. Which will not be. For whatſoeuer her life was beſides, yet forſomuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation, was neither for theft, whoredome, nor murder, but onely and merely for Religion, which deſerued no death: I therfore hauing in my ſtory no further to deale, as I ſayd before, ſo doe I ſay again, that the cauſe of her cōdemnyng was wrongful, her death was cruel, the ſight of the babe was rueful, the procedyng of the Judges was vnlawfull, the whole ſtory is pitifull, and of al this the Prieſtes and Clergie were the authors principall. All which beyng conſidered, and well expēded, M. H. I truſt, may ſtand ſufficiently contented. Or if he thinke murder to be a thing, which ought not (as it ought not in deede) lightly to be paſſed ouer, let him thē finde out murder where it is, and tell vs truely without affection of partialitie, where the true murder lieth: whether in the poore woman, which together with her child was murdered, or in thē which without al law and conſcience, brought them both to death?

The concluſiō of this Defence

Briefly and finally to conclude with this mā, whatſoeuer the womā was, ſhe is now gone. To byte ſo bitterly againſt the dead it is litle honeſty. And though ẏ accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here neded not. Now the ſame beyng falſe, it is to much vnmerciful. At leaſt beyng doubtful & to him vnknowen, charitie would haue iudged the beſt. Humanitie would haue ſpared the dead. And if he could not foord her his good word: yet he might haue left her cauſe vnto the Lord, which ſhall iudge both her and him. To pray for the dead, he findeth in his Maſſe: but to backebyte the dead, he neither findeth in his Maſſe, Mattens, nor Euenſong. And no doubt but in his Dirige and commēdations he commendeth many one, leſſe deſeruyng to be commended then this woman, let Catholicke affection be ſet aſide. And though the merites of her cauſe deſerued not his commendations, yet did ſhe neuer deſerue this at M. Hardynges handes to giue her ſuch a Kyrieleſon (as they ſay) after her departure. Crueltie ſhe ſuffered enough aliue, though M. H. had not added this cruell inuectiue to her former afflictions: wherein notwithſtādyng he hurteth not her, but hurteth parauenture him ſelfe, neither ſo much deſteineth her honeſty, as he blemiſheth his owne. It hath been the maner of learned men in time paſt, with their defending oration, euer to be more ready, then to accuſe. And if they dyd at any time accuſe: yet neuer but enforced, neither did they accuſe any but ſuch only as were aliue, & that neither but in ſuch matters, wherin either the common wealth, or them ſelues were vehemently touched.

Now, if this greue him ſo greatly, that in my ſtory I haue termed her to be a Martyr, let him conſider the cauſe wherfore ſhe ſuffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredome, but onely for the religion in K. Edwardes time receaued, and when he hath confuted that religion, I ſhall croſſe her out of the booke and fellowſhip of Martyrs. In the meane tyme my exhortation ſhalbe this to M. Hardyng:

Firſt, that if he will nedes become a writer in theſe ſo furious & outragious dayes of ours, he will ſeaſon his veyne of writyng with more mildenes and charitie, and not to giue ſuch example of raylyng to others.

Exhortation to M. Hardyng.

Secondly, that he will moderate his iudgyng and condemnyng of other with more equitie and indifferēcie, and not to be ſo raſhe and partiall. For if ſhe be to be accoūted a murderer, which ſo carefully went about by recantation to ſaue both her ſelf and her child from the fire: what is to be ſayd of them which condemned her ſo cruelly, and cauſed both her and the infant to be burned, notwithſtandyng that ſhe for ſafegard of their lyues had (as I ſaid) recanted. And yet ſo partiall is he, that in all this inuectiue criyng out ſo intemperately agaynſt the woman and the child that were burned, hee ſpeaketh neuer a worde of their condemners and true murderers in deede.

Murder in the ſpiritual Clergie noted.

Thirdly, for ſomuch as M. Hardyng is here in hād with infanticide, and with caſtyng away yong childrēs liues, I would wiſhe, that as he hath ſifted the doyngs of this woman to ẏ vttermoſt, who was rather murdered then a murderer, ſo hee would with an indifferent eye loke on the other ſide a litle vpon them of his own clergie, and ſee what he could finde there among thoſe wilfull contemners of immaculate mariage. Not that I do accuſe any of incontinencie, whoſe liues I know not, but there is one aboue, that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they neuer ſo ſecret to man, and moſt certainely will pay home at length with fier and brimſtone when hee ſeeth his time. I ſaye no more, and not ſo muche as I might, following herein the Painters, which when their colours will not ſerue to expreſſe a thing that they meane, they ſhadow it with a veile. But howſoeuer the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not bee ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide, moſt ſure & manifeſt it is, that they are more then worthely to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the children and ſeruaūtes of God, both men and women, wyues and maydes, old & yong, blind and lame, madde and vnmadde, diſcrete and ſimple innocentes, learned with the vnlearned, and that of all degrees from the hye Archbiſhoppe to the Clarke and Sexten of the church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſiō of innocēt Chriſtian bloud, as cryeth vp dayly to God for vengeance.

God knoweth what ſpellyng and murdryng of infātes there is in the world

And therfore M. H. in my minde ſhould do well, to ſpare a litle time frō theſe his inuectiues wherwith he appeacheth ẏ pore proteſtantes of murder, whom they haue murdered them ſelues, and exerciſe hys penne with ſome more fruitfull matter, to exhorte theſe ſpiritual fathers firſt to ceaſe frō murdering of their own children, to ſpare the bloud of innocentes, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members, as they do: and furthermore to exhorte in like maner theſe Agamiſtes, and wilfull reiecters of matrimonie, to take themſelues to lawfull wiues, and not to reſiſt gods holy ordinance, nor encounter his inſtitution with an other contrary inſtitution of their owne deuiſing, leſt perhaps they preuented by fragilitie, maye fall into daunger of ſuch inconueniences aboue touched: which if they be not in them, I ſhalbe glad: but if they be, it is neither their raylyng agaynſt the poore proteſtantes, nor yet their ſecrete auricular confeſſion, that ſhall couer their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reuele abſcondita tenebrarum, & iudicare ſæculum per ignem.

Agamiſtæ, of ἄγαμος, which ſignifieth men vnmaried, or agaīſt mariage.

And thus for lacke of further layſure, I end with M. H. hauing no more at this tyme to ſay vnto him, but wiſh him to feare God, to embrace his truth, to remember him ſelfe, and to ſurceaſe from this vncharitable raylyng and brawlyng, eſpecially agaynſt the dead which can not aunſwere him: or if he will nedes continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of other, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, that his accuſatiō be true: ſecondly, that no blynd affectiō of partialitie be mixt withall: thirdly, who ſoeuer taketh vpon them to carpe and appeach the crimes of other, ought them ſelues to be ſincere & vpright, and to ſee what may be written in their own foreheades. Whoredome and murder be greuous offenſes, & worthy to be accuſed. But to accuſe of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leaue the other perſons vntouched whiche were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuſer, which deſerueth hym ſelf to be accuſed of partialitie. As verely I thinke by this woman, that if ſhe had bene a Catholicke Papiſt and a deuout follower of their Church, as ſhe was a Proteſtant, ſhe had neither bene condemned then aliue of them, nor nowe accuſed beyng dead of M. H. But God forgeue him, and make him a good man, if it be his will.

The partes of a true accuſer.

¶Three Martyrs burned at Greneſtede in Suſſex.

Iuly. xviii.

The Martyrdome of two men & one woman at Greneſtede in Suſſex.

NEre about the ſame time that theſe three women with the infant were burned at Garneſey, ſuffered other three likewiſe at Grineſted in Suſſex, two mē and one woman, the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, Iohn Forman, and mother Tree, who for righteouſnes ſake, geue thē ſelues to death and tormentes of the fire, patiently abidyng what the furious rage of man coulde ſay or worke agaynſt them, at the ſayd Towne of Greneſted endyng their liues, the xviij. of the ſayd moneth of Iuly, and in the yeare aforeſayd.

¶The burnyng and Martyrdome of Thomas Moore in the Towne of Leceſter, Iune 26. the yere 1556.

Iune. xxvi.

The burnyng of Tho. Moore a ſimple innocēt, at Leiceſter.

AS the bloudie rage of this perſecution, ſpared neither manne, woman, nor child, wife, nor maide, lame, blinde, nor creple, and ſo through all men and women, as there was no difference, either of age or ſexe conſidered: ſo neither was there any condition or qualitie reſpected of any perſone: but who ſoeuer he were that helde not, as thei did on the Pope, and Sacramente of the Altar, were he learned, or vnlearned, wiſe, or ſimple, innocent, al went to the fire. As maie appeare by this ſimple poore creature, and innocent ſoule named Thomas Moore, retainyng as a ſeruaunte to a Marchaunte mannes houſe in the toune of Leiceſter, about the age of 24. and after in maner of an houſebande man, for ſpeakyng certaine wordes, that his Maker was in heauen, and pot in the Pixe, was thereupon apprehended in the countrey, beyng with his freindes. Who commyng before his Ordinarie, firſte was aſked, whether he did not beleue his Maker there to be, pointyng to the high Altar. Whiche he denied.

Thomas Moore examined before the Biſhoppe.

Then aſked the Biſhop, howe then, ſaied he, doeſt thou beleue?

The yonge man aunſwered againe: as his Crede did teache hym.

To whō the Biſhop ſaied: and what is yonder that thou ſeeſt aboue the altar? He aunſweryng, ſaid: forſoth I cā not tell what you would haue me to ſe. I ſe there fine clothes, with golden taſſelles, and other gaie gere hangyng about the pixe. What is within I can not ſe.

Why? Doeſt thou not beleue, ſaieth the Biſhoppe, Chriſte to bee there, fleſhe, bloud, and bone? No, that I doe not, ſaied he.

Whereupon the Ordinarie makyng ſhort with him, red the ſentence, and ſo condemned the true and faithfull ſeruaunt of Chriſt to death, in ſainct Margaretes churche in Leiceſter: who was burnt, & ſuffred a ioyful

The condemnation & Martyrdome of Thomas Moore. Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Lincol.

and glorious Martyrdome, for the teſtimonie of righteouſneſſe, in the ſame Toune of Leiceſter, the yeare of our lorde aboue mentioned 1556. about the 26. of Iune.

To this Thomas Moore, wee haue alſo annexed the aunſweres, and examination of one Ihon Iackſon, before Doctour Cooke one of the Commiſſioners, for that it belongeth muche vnto the ſame tyme.

¶The examination of Iohn Iackeſon, had before Doctor Cooke, the. 11. daie of Marche. Anno. 1556.

Examination of Iohn Iackſon, before doctour Cooke.

FIrſt, when I came before hym, he railed on me, and called me hereticke. I aunſwered and ſaied: I am no hereticke.

Cooke. Yes, ꝙ he. For maſter Read told me that thou waſt the rankeſt hereticke of all them in the Kynges Benche.

Iackſon. I ſaied, I knewe hym not.

Cooke. No, ꝙ he? Yes, he examined thee at the kynges Benche.

Iackſon. I aunſwered hym, and ſaied: he examined fiue other, but not me.

Cooke. Then aunſwere me: what ſaieſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Tell me.

Iackſon. I aunſwered: It is a diffuſe queſtion, to aſke me at the firſt daſhe, you promiſyng to deliuer me.

Cooke. What an hereticke is this, ꝙ he?

Iackſon. I ſaid: It is eaſier to call a man hereticke, then to proue hym one.

The Churche.

Cooke. Then he ſaied: what Churche art thou of?

Iackſō. What church, ꝙ I? I am of the ſame church that is builded on the fōdation of the Prophetes and the Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt beyng ẏ head corner ſtone.

Cooke. Thou art an hereticke, ꝙ he.

Iackſon. Yea, ꝙ I: how can that be, ſeyng that I am of that Churche? I am ſure you will not ſaie that the Prophetes, and Apoſtles were heretickes.

The Sacramēt of the altar.

Cooke. No, ꝙ he. But what ſaieſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar againe? Tell me.

Iackſon. I aunſwered hym, and ſaied: I finde it not written.

Cooke. No, ꝙ he? Keper, awaie with hym.

Iackſon. Yet I taried there longe, and did talke with hym, and I ſaied: Sir, I can bee contente to bee tractable, and obedient to the woorde of God.

Cooke. He aunſwered, & ſaied to me, that I knewe not, what the woorde of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Iackſon. I aunſwered, & ſaied to hym, yes that I do.

Cooke. Whereby, ꝙ he?

Iackſon. Hereby ſaied I. Our ſauiour Chriſt ſaith: Searche the ſcriptures, for in thē you thinke to haue eternall life. For they be they that teſtifie of me.

Iohn. 5.

Cooke. This is a wiſe proofe, ꝙ he.

Iackſon. It is ſo, ꝙ I? What ſaie you then to theſe wordes that the Prophet Dauid ſaied? Whatſoeuer he bee that feareth the Lorde, he will ſhewe hym the waie that he hath choſen: his ſoule ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſeede ſhall poſſeſſe the lande. The ſecretes of the Lorde are among them that feare hym, and he ſheweth them his couenaunt. &c.

Cooke. Well, ꝙ he, you ſhall bee ridde ſhortly one waie or other.

Iackſon. Then I ſaied to hym: My life lieth not in mannes handes: therefore no man ſhall doe more vnto me, then God will ſuffer hym.

Cooke. No, ꝙ he? Thou art a ſtubborne & a noughtie fellowe.

Iackſon. You can not iudge me, ꝙ I, except you did ſee ſome euill by me.

Cooke. No, ꝙ he? Why maie not I iudge thee, as well as thou, and thy fellowes iudge vs, and call vs Papiſtes?

Although they call you Papiſtes, yet they iudge you not to death.

Iackſon. Why, ꝙ I, that is no iudgemēt, but Chriſt ſaieth: If you refuſe me, and receiue not my woorde, you haue one that iudgeth you. The woorde that I haue ſpoken vnto you now, ſhall iudge you in the laſte daie.

Heade of the Churche.

Cooke. I praie thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

Iackſon. I aunſwered, and ſaied: Chriſt is the head.

Cooke. But who is head in yearth?

Iackſon. I ſaied: Chriſt had mēbers here in yearth.

Cooke. Who are they, ꝙ he?

Iackſō. They, ꝙ I, that are ruled by ẏ word of god.

Cooke. You are a good fellowe, ꝙ he.

Iackſon. I am that I am, ꝙ I.

Cooke. Then he ſayde to my keper, haue him to priſon agayne.

Iackſon. I am contented with that, ꝙ I: and ſo we departed. I aunſwered no further in this matter, becauſe I thought he ſhould not haue my bloud in a corner. But I hope in the liuing God, that when the time ſhall come before the congregation, I ſhall ſhake their building on an other maner of faſhion. For they build but vpon ſande, and their walles be daubed with vntempered morter, and therfore they cannot ſtand long.

The buildynges of the Papiſtes bee but daubed walles.

Therefore good brothers and ſiſters, be of good chere, for I truſt in my God, I, and my other priſon fellowes ſhall goe ioyfully before you, prayſing God moſt hartely, that we are coūted worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. I pray you accept my ſimple aunſwere at this time, committing you vnto God.

¶Of this Iohn Iackeſon, beſides his foreſayd aunſweres and examination before Doct. Cooke one of the Commiſſioners, no more as yet came vnto our handes.

¶The examination of Iohn Nevvman Martyr, which is to be referred to his ſtory before, pag. 1596.

Referre this to the page. 1596.

IOhn Newman firſt was apprehended in Kente, dwellyng in the toune of Maideſtone, and there was examined before D. Thornton Suffragan, and others, at Tenterden. Frō thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with M. Denley and Pachyngham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before ſtoried. But becauſe his examination and aunſweres before the Suffragan came not then to my handes, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather then they ſhould vtterly bee ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his aunſwere was, by writing to the ſaid Suffragan, after his apprehēſion, you ſhall heare by the tenour of his owne wordes as followe.

The copie of Iohn Newmannes wordes in writyng to D. Thornton.

IT may pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of king Edwardes raigne, we were diligētly inſtructed with continuall Sermons made by ſuch mē whoſe faith, wiſedome, learning & vertuous liuing, was commended vnto all men, vnder the kynges hand and ſeale, and vnder the handes of the whole Coūſell. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſuading vs by the allegations of Gods word, that there was no tranſubſtantiation, nor corporall preſence in the Sacrament. Their doctrine was not beleued of vs ſodenly, but by their continuall preaching, and alſo by our continuall prayer vnto God that we might neuer be deceaued: but if it were true, that God would incline our hartes vnto it: and if it were not true, that we might neuer beleue it. We wayed that they laboured with Gods word, and we aſked the aduiſe of our frendes: neither could we finde that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learne, that the kynges grace and his Counſell, and the moſt part of the whole Realme, beleued as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrary. Alſo we know that the preachers were commaunded by the kyng and lawes of the Realme, to preach vnto vs ſuche doctrine, as was to the authoritie of Gods word, agreable and no other. And by their diligent ſettyng forth of it, by the kynges commaundement, and the whole conſent of the whole Counſell, and by the authoritie of the Parlament, we embraſed it, and receiued it, as a very infallible truth taught vnto vs, for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Wherfore, vntill ſuch tyme as our conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by Gods word, wee cannot with ſauegarde of our conſciences, take it, as many ſuppoſe at this time. And we truſt in God that the Queenes mercyfull highnes, neither yet her moſt honorable Coūſell will in a matter of faith vſe compulſion, nor violēce, becauſe faith is the gift of God, and cōmeth not of man, neither of mans lawes, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch time as God geueth it.

¶The examination and aunſweres of Iohn Newman Martyr, before D. Thornton and others.

The examination and aunſweres of Iohn Newman: Which is to be referred to the pag. 1595.

FIrſt, one of the Doctours, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or Fauced, or ſome other, whoſe name Iohn Newman doth not expreſſe, begynneth aſkyng in this wiſe.

Doctor.

Anno. 1556.

Doctor. How ſay ye to this? This is my body whiche is giuen for you.

Newman. It is a figuratiue ſpeach, one thyng ſpoken, and an other ment, as Chriſt ſaith: I am a vine, I am a dore, I am a ſtone, &c. Is he therfore a materiall ſtone, a vine, or a dore?

This cuppe is the Newe Teſtament, is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Doct. This is no figuratiue ſpeach. For he ſaith: This is my body which is geuen for you, and ſo ſaith he not of the ſtone, vine, or dore: but that is a figuratiue ſpeach.

New. Chriſt ſaith, this Cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud. If ye wil haue it ſo ment, then let them take and eate the Cup.

Doct. Nay, that is not ſo ment, ſo it is a common phraſe of ſpeach among our ſelues: we ſay to our frend. drinke a cup of drinke, & yet we ment he ſhould drinke the drinke in the cup.

New. Why if wee will haue the one ſo vnderſtande, ye muſt ſo vnderſtand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common vſe of ſpeach, to ſaie drinke a cup of Ale, or Beere? And therefore it is no figuratiue ſpeach.

What is a figuratiue ſpeache?

New. The often vſing of a thing doth not make that thing otherwiſe then it is: but where ſoeuer one thyng is ſpoken, and an other ment, it is a figuratiue ſpeach.

Doct. Well, we will not ſtande here about. How ſay ye by the reall preſence? Is not Chriſtes naturall bodie there that was borne of the virgine Mary?

New. No, I do not ſo beleue, neither can I ſo beleue: for the ſoule of man doth not feede vpon natural thinges, as the body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth he feede?

New. I thinke the ſoule of man doth feede as the aungels in heauen, whoſe feeding is only the pleaſure, ioy, felicitie, and delectation that they haue of God: and ſo the ſoule of man doth feede and eate, through faith, the body of Chriſt.

Colens reaſoneth with Newman.

Colens. Yea, but if the body do not feede vpon natural thinges, the ſoule can not continue with the body: therfore the body muſt needes feede vpon natural thinges, that both may liue together.

New. I graunt it to be true: but yet the ſoule doth liue otherwiſe then the body, whiche doth periſhe: therefore naturall thinges doe but feede the body onely. I praie you what did Iudas receiue at the ſupper.

Colens. Mary, Iudas did receiue the verie bodie of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

Whither Iudas receiued the bodie of Chriſte, or no?

New. Why? was the deuill entred into hym before. Then he had both the deuill and Chriſt in hym at one tyme.

Colens. Nay, the deuill did enter into him afterwarde.

New. Yea, and before to, what doe ye thinke? had hee but one deuill. Nay I thinke he had rather a legion of deuils at the latter ende.

Colens. Well, put caſe it be ſo, what ſaye you to that?

New. Mary, if Chriſt & the deuill were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Colens. We graunt they were both in Iudas at that tyme: for Chriſt may be where the Deuill is, if he will, but the deuil cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſte will not bee in an vncleane perſon that hath the deuill.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with Iho Newman.

Thornton. Why, will ye not beleue that Chriſt was in hell, and ye will graunt that the deuill is there: and ſo might he be in Iudas, and if it pleaſed hym.

New. Chriſte woulde not ſuffer Mary Magdalene to touche him, whiche ſought him at his graue, & did loue hym entirely: much leſſe he will ſuffer an vngodly man to receiue hym into his vncleane body.

Thornton. Yes, ſeyng God may do all thinges, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will: And doth not the Pſalme ſay: he is in hell, and in al places. Why ſhould we then doubt of his beyng there.

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient, to proue that his humanitie is in all places.

Thornt. No, doe you not beleue that God is omnipotent, and maie do all thinges?

New. I do beleue that God is almightie, and may doe all that he will do.

The omnipotencie of Chriſt doth not proue hym to be really in the Sacrament.

Thornt. Nay, but and if he be omnipotent, he may do al thinges, and there is nothyng vnpoſſible for him to do.

New. I know God is almightye, and can do all that he will, but he can not make his Sonne a lier, he can not deny hym ſelfe, nor he can not reſtore virginitie once violated and defiled.

Thornt. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile virginitie: we ſpeake but of things that god doth.

New. Why, will ye haue the humanitie of Chriſte in all places, as the deitie is?

Abſurditie in the Popes doctrine.

Thornt. Yea, hee is in all places, as the deitie is, if it pleaſe him.

New. I will promiſe you that ſeemeth to mee a verie great hereſie: for heauen and earth are not able to conteine the diuine power of God, for it is in al places, as here and in euery place: and yet ye will ſay, that where ſo euer the deitie is, there is alſo the humanitie: and ſo ye will make him no bodie, but a fantaſticall body, and not a body in deede.

Thornt. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places, as the deitie is, but if it pleaſe him, hee may bee in all places, with the deitie.

The humanitie of Chriſte may not bee in all places.

New. I promiſe you that it ſeemeth to mee as great an hereſie as euer I heard in my life: & I dare not graunt it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very man, and that were againſt all the Scriptures.

Thornt. Tuſhe, what ſhall wee ſtande reaſoning with hym? I dare ſaie he doth not beleue, that Chriſt came out of his mother, not openyng the matrice. Doe you beleue that Chriſte roſe from death and came through the ſtone?

New. I do beleue that Chriſt roſe from death: But I do not beleue that hee came through the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſaie.

Thornt. Loe, howe ſaye you, hee doth not beleue that Chriſt came through the ſtone: And if he doth not beleue this, how ſhall he beleue the other? If he could beleue this, it were eaſie for hym to beleue the other.

Note the groſſe ignoraunce of this Suffragan.

New. The Scripture doth not ſaye hee went through the ſtone, but it ſaith the aungels of God, came downe and roled away the ſtone, and for feare of hym, the keepers became euen as dead men.

Thornt. A foole, foole, that was becauſe the women ſhould ſee that he was riſen againe from death.

New. Well the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you and more to.

Thornt. Well, let vs not ſtand any longer about hym. Backe againe to the reall preſence. How ſay ye, is the body of Chriſt really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I haue aunſwered you already.

Thornt. Well, do ye not beleue that he is there really?

New. No, I beleue it not.

Thornt. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needes ſtand to it, till I be perſuaded by a further truth.

Thornt. Nay, ye will not bee perſuaded, but ſtande to your owne opinion.

New. Nay I ſtand not to myne owne opinion. GOD I take to witnes, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witnes with me, and nothyng but the Scriptures: and I take God to witnes, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that that I doe, is onely my conſcience, and if there be a further truth, then I ſee, except it appeare a truth to me, I can not receiue it as a truthe. And ſeyng faith is the gift of GOD, and commeth not of man, for it is not you that can giue me faith nor no man els, therefore I truſt ye will beare the more with me, ſeyng it muſt be wrought by God, and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receiue it with all my hart, and embrace it.

¶ Thornton had many other queſtions, which I did not beare away: but as I do vnderſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for tauntes, fooliſhe, and vnlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his giftes, and God increaſe in vs ſtrength.

¶ The Argumentes of Iohn Newman.

Argument in ye ſecond figure.

If the bodie of Chriſt were really and bodelie in the Sacrament, then who ſoeuer receaued the Sacrament, receiued alſo the body.

The wicked, receauing the Sacrament, receaue not the bodie of Chriſt.

Ergo, the bodie of Chriſt is not really in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Ca. They whiche eate the fleſhe, and drinke the bloude of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.

meſ. The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.

tres Ergo, The wicked eate not the fleſhe, nor drinke the bloud of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca. They that haue Chriſte dwellyng in them, bryng forth much fruite. John.15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in hym, bringeth ſorth much fruite.&c.

meſ. The wicked bring forth no fruite of goodnes.

tres. Ergo, they haue not Chriſtes body dwellyng in thē.

Argument.

Argumēt in the 3. figure.

Da. Where remembraunce is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.

ti. Remembraunce of Chriſtes body is in the Sacrament: Do this in remembraunce of me.&c.

ſi. Ergo, Chriſtes body there is imported to be abſent.

Mary they will ſay, we ſee him not with our outward eyes, but hee is commended vnder the forme of bread and wine, and that that we ſee, is nothing but a qualitie or an accidence. But let them ſhew me a qualitie or en accidence without a ſubſtance, and I will beleue them. And thus much concernyng Newmans examinations & argumentes, whoſe Martyrdome is before expreſſed.

¶ The Martyrdome of Joane VVaſt, a blind vvoman in the tovvne of Darby.

Auguſt the.1. Joan Waſte a blinde woman and Martyr.

The firſte daie of Auguſt, in the yeare aboue ſpecified, ſuffered likewiſe at the Towne of Darby, a certaine poore honeſt godly woman, being blind from her birth, and vnmaried, about the age of xxii. named Joane Waſt, of the pariſhe of Alhallowes. Of them that ſat vppon this innocent womans bloud, the chiefeſt was Rafe Bayne Biſhop of the Dioces, Doctor Draycot his Chauncellour, ſir John Port Knight, Henrie Vernon Eſquyre, Peter Finſh officiall of Darby, with the aſſiſtance alſo of diuers other, Richard Ward, and William Bembrige, the ſame tyme beyng Bailiffes of the Towne of Darby.&c. Firſt after the aboue named Biſhop, and Doct. Draycot had cauſed the ſaied Joane Waſt to bee aprehended in the towne of Darby, ſuſpectyng her to be guiltie of certaine hereſies, ſhe was diuers times priuelie examined, as well in Priſon as out of Priſon, by Finſhe the Officall aforeſaide: After that brought to publique examination before the Biſhop, at laſte was there burnt in Darby, as is aboue ſaide. Touchyng whoſe life, bringing vp, and conuerſation, ſomwhat more amply we mind to diſcourſe, as by faithfull relation hath come to my handes.

The life and conuerſation of Joan Waſte.

Firſt, this Joane Waſte was the daughter of one William Waſte, an honeſt poore manne, and by his ſcience a Barber: who ſomtime alſo vſed to make Ropes. His wife had the ſame Joane, and one other at one birth, and ſhe was borne blind. And when ſhe was about xii. or xiiii. yeares old, ſhe learned to knit hoſen & ſleues, and other thinges, whiche in time ſhe could doe verie well. Furthermore as tyme ſerued ſhee woulde helpe her father to turne ropes, and do ſuch other thinges as ſhe was able, & in no caſe would be idle. Thus continued ſhe with her father and mother duryng their liues: After whoſe departure then kepte ſhee with one Roger Waſte her brother, who in the tyme of Kyng Edward the ſixt, of bleſſed memorie, gaue her ſelfe daily to go to the Churche to heare Diuine ſeruice red in the vulgar toung. And thus by hearyng Homelies and Sermons, ſhee became meruelous well affected to the religion then taught. So at length hauing by her labor gotten and ſaued ſo muche monie as would buy her a New teſtamente, ſhe cauſed one to be prouided for her.

Joan Waſte drawen by the ſpirite of God, to the loue of Religion.

And though ſhe was of her ſelfe vnlearned and by reaſon of her blindnes vnable to reade, yet for the greate deſire ſhee had to vnderſtande and haue printed in her memory the ſayinges of holy Scriptures conteined in the New Teſtament, ſhe acquainted her ſelfe chiefelie with one John Hurt, then priſoner in the common hall of Darby, for debtes.

The earneſt deſire of Joane Waſt to learne the ſcriptures.

The ſame John Hurt beeyng a ſober graue man of the age of three ſcore and ten yeres, by her earneſt intreatie, and beyng a Priſoner, and many times idle and without companie, did for his exerciſe dailie reade vnto her ſome one Chapiter of the new Teſtament. And if at anie tyme hee were otherwiſe occupied or letted through ſickenes, ſhee woulde repaire vnto one John Pemerton Clarke of the pariſh church of all Saintes in the ſame towne of Darby, or to ſome other perſon whiche could reade, and ſometimes ſhe woulde geue a pennie or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuche perſons as would not freely reade vnto her, appointing vnto them aforehand how manie Chapiters of the Newe Teſtament they ſhoulde reade, or how often they ſhoulde repeate one Chapiter vpon a price.

John Hurt and John Pemerton readers to Joane Waſte.

A notable gifte of God in a blind woman.

Moreouer in the ſaid Joane Waſt, this was notorious that ſhe beyng vtterlie blinde, coulde notwithſtandyng without a guide, go to any church within the ſaide towne of Darby, or to any other place or perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, ÿ ſhe was able not onely to recite manie Chapiters of the New Teſtament without boke, but alſo could aptlie impugne, by diuers places of Scriptures, as well ſinne, as ſuche abuſes in Religion, as then were to much in vſe, in diuers and ſondry perſons.

Joane Waſte both blind and vnlearned, yet was perfecte in the ſcriptures.

As this Godly woman thus dailie increaſed in the knowledge of Gods holy word and no leſſe in her life expreſſed the vertuous fruites and exerciſe of the ſame: Not longe after, through the fatall death of bleſſed K. Edward followed the wofull ruine of Religion, in the raigne of Q. Mary his ſiſter. In which alteration, notwithſtandyng the generall backſlidyng of the greateſt part and multitude of the whole realme into the old papiſme againe: yet this poore blinde woman continuing in a conſtaunt conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former exerciſe, both being zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in Religion with thoſe whiche taught contrary doctrine to that ſhe before had learned in King Edwardes time, as is aboue declared.

For the whiche ſhe was called and conuented before the foreſayde Biſhop and D. Draycot, with diuers others called in to beare witnes.

Articles miniſtred vnto her.

The Articles obiected to Joane Waſte.

The Articles miniſtred to her, and wherwith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe did hold the Sacrament of the Aultar, to be but onely a memory or repreſentatiō of Chriſtes body, and materiall bread and wine, but not his naturall bodie, vnleſſe it were receiued. And that it ought not to be reſerued from time to time ouer the Aultar, but immediatly to be receyued.&c.

Item that ſhe did hold, in the receiuyng of the Sacrament of the Aultar, ſhe did not receiue the ſame body that was borne of the virgin Mary, and ſuffred vpon the croſſe for our redemption.&c.

Item, ſhe did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper did not bleſſe the bread that he had then in his handes, but was bleſſed himſelfe, and by the vertue of the wordes of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is not cōuerted and turned into the ſubſtance of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

Item, ſhe did graunt that ſhe was of the Pariſh of Alhallowes in Darby.&c.

Item, that all and ſingular the premiſſes are true and notorious by publike report and fame.&c.

The aunſwere of Joane Waſte to the Articles.

Wherunto ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe beleued therein ſo much as the holy Scriptures taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached vnto her by diuers learned men: Whereof ſome ſuffered impriſonment, and other ſome ſuffered death for the ſame Doctrine. Amongeſt whom, ſhe named, beſides other, Doctour Taylor, whom ſhee ſaid tooke it of his conſcience that that doctrine whiche he taught was true, and aſked of them, if they would do ſo in like caſe for their doctrine, whiche if they woulde not, ſhee deſired them for Gods ſake not to trouble her beyng a blind, pore, and vnlerned woman, with anye further talke, ſaiyng (by Gods aſſiſtance) that ſhe was ready to yeld vp her life in that faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

Well argued. Becauſe Chriſt is omnipotent. Ergo, there is no bread in the Sacrament.

And yet notwithſtandyng beyng preſſe by the ſaide Biſhop and Doct. Draycot, with many argumentes of Chriſtes omnipotency, as, why was not Chriſt able as well to make the bread his body, as to turne water into wine, raiſe Lazarus from death, and ſuch other like argumentes: and many tymes beyng threatned with greuous impriſonmentes, tormentes, and death. The poore woman thus beeyng, as it were, halfe aſtonyed through their terrors and threates, and deſirous (as it ſemed) to prolong her life, offred vnto the Biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that companie, take it vpon his conſcience, that that doctrine which he would haue her to beleue concernyng the Sacrament, was true, and that he would at the dreadfull daie of iudgement aunſwere for her therein (as the ſaid Doct. Tayler, in diuers of his ſermons did offer) ſhe would then further aunſwere them.

The offer of Joane Waſte to the Biſhoppe, if he would take vpon his conſcience, to aunſwere before God for his doctrine.

Wherunto the Biſhop aunſwered, he would. But

Doctor

Anno.1556. August. September.

Note here the difference betweene the conſcience of the Proteſtant, and of the Papiſt. The Biſhop & his Chauncellour durſte not take vpon their conſcience, to aunſwere before GOD for their doctrine.

Doctor Draycot his Chauncelour, hearyng that, ſaid: My Lord, you know not what you doe: you may in no caſe aunſwere for an heretike. And immediatlie he aſked the poore woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould aunſwere for her ſelfe. Unto whoſe ſaynges the Biſhop alſo reformed himſelf.

Sentence pronoũced againſt Joane Waſte.

The writte brought doune for the burning of Joane Waſt.

The poore woman perceauyng this, aunſwered agayne, that if they refuſed to take of their conſcience that it was true they woulde haue her to beleue, ſhee would anſwere no further, but deſired them to do their pleaſure, and ſo after certein circumſtances, they pronounced ſentence againſte her, and deliuered her vnto the Baliffes of the ſaide towne of Darby afore named. Who after they had kept her about a moneth or fiue weekes, at length there came vnto them a writ De heretico comburendo: by vertue wherof they were appoynted by the ſaid Biſhop to bring her to the pariſh church of all Sainctes at a daie appointed where D. Draycot ſhould make a Sermon.

Doctor Draicot appointed to preache at the burnyng of Joane Waſte.

D.Draycottes railyng Sermon againſte Joane Waſte.

When the daye and tyme was come that this innocẽt Martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt commeth to the Churche Doct. Draycot accompanied with diuers gentlemen, as M. Thomas Powthred, M. Henry Uernon, M. Dethicke of Newall, and diuers others. This done, and all thinges now in a readines, at laſte the poore blinde creature and ſeruaunt of God was brought and ſet before the Pulpit, where the ſaid Doctour beyng entred into his Sermon, and there inueiyng againſte diuers matters, whiche hee called Hereſies, declared vnto the people that that woman was condemned for deniyng the bleſſed Sacramente of the Altar to bee the verie body and bloud of Chriſt really and ſubſtancially, and was therebye cut of from the bodye of the Catholicke church: and ſaid, that ſhe was not onely blind of her bodily eyes, but alſo blind in the eyes of her ſoule. And he ſaid, that as her body ſhould be preſently cõſumed with materiall fire: ſo her ſoule ſhould be burned in hel with euerlaſtyng fire, as ſone as it ſhould be ſeparated from the body, and there to remaine world without end, and ſaide it was not lawfull for the people to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible threates he made an ende of his Sermon, and commaunded the Bailiffes and thoſe gentlemen to ſee her executed. And the Sermon thus ended, eftſones the bleſſed ſeruaunt of God was caried awaye frõ the ſaied churche, to a place called the windmill Pit, neare vnto the ſaide towne, and holdyng the foreſaid Roger Waſt her brother by the hand ſhe prepared her ſelfe, and deſired the people to pray with her, and ſaide ſuche praiers as ſhe before had learned, and cried vpon Chriſte to haue mercy vpon her as long as life ſerued. In this meane ſeaſon, the ſaid D. Draycot went to his Inne, for greate ſorrowe of her death, and there layed him downe, and ſlept during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joane waſte.

[illegible] are you when men ſhal reuile you, and ſaie all euill againſte you, for my names ſake. Math. v.

Joane Waſte brought to the place of execution.

The Martyrdome of Joane Waſte.

Now, for ſo much as I am not ignoraunt (faithful reader) that this, and other ſtories moe, ſet forth of the Martyrs, ſhall not lacke carpers and markers enowe, readye to ſeeke all holes and corners, how to diffame the memory of Gods good Sainctes, and to condemne theſe hiſtories, of lyes and vntruthes: eſpecially hiſtories wherein they ſee their ſhamefull actes and vnchriſtian cruelty detected and brought to light: therfore for better confirmation of this hiſtorie aboue written, and to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch Momes, this ſhalbe to admoniſh all & ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poore blinde womans life and death, in ſuche ſort as is aboue prefixed, hath beene confeſſed to be verey true, by diuers perſons of worthy credit and yet liuing: and alſo hath beene ſpecially peruſed and examined by W. Baynbridge, tofore mentioned, Bayliffe then of Darby: who aſwell of his owne knowledge, as by ſpeciall enquirie and conference, by hym made, with diuers others, hath certified vs the ſame to be vndoubted: beſides the Teſtimoniall of John Cadman Curate of the ſaid towne, and of other alſo, vppon whoſe honeſtie well knowen, and their report herein nothing differyng from ſuch as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I haue bene here the more bold to commit this ſtorie to poſteritie, for all good men to conſider and to iudge vpon.

❡Edvvard Sharp.

Septemb. 8.

The Martyrdome of Edward Sharpe at Briſtowe.

About the beginning of the next moneth following, whiche was September, a certain godly, aged, deuout, and zelous perſon of the Lordes glory, borne in Wiltſhire, named Edwarde Sharpe, of the age of .lx. yeares, or thereaboute, was condemned at Briſtow to the like Martyrdome, wher he conſtantly and manfully perſiſtyng in the iuſt quarell of Chriſtes Goſpell, for miſliking and renouncing the ordinaunces of the Romiſh Churche, was tried as pure golde, and made a liuely Sacrifice in the fire: in whoſe death, as in the death of al his other ſaintes, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his greate grace of conſtancie: to whom be praiſe for euer, Amen.

❡Foure ſuffered at Mayfield.

Septẽb.24. The Martyrdome of fower at Maifelde in Suſſex.

Next after the martyrdome of Edward Sharp aboue ſaide, followed. iiij. whiche ſuffered at Mayfield in Suſſex, the .xxiiij. day of September. an. 1556, Of whoſe names .ij. wee finde recorded, and the other twoo we yet know not, and therefore accordyng to our regiſter, here vnder they be ſpecified, as we find them.

John Hart.	A Shomaker.
Thomas Rauẽſdale	And a Coriar.

Which ſaid. 4. being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their praier, and were at the ſtake, ready to abide the force of the fire, they conſtantlie and ioyfullie yelded their liues for the teſtimonie of the glorious Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſte, vnto whom be praiſe for euer and euer, Amen.

September.25 The Martyrdome of a Carpenter at Briſtowe.

The daie after the martyrdome of theſe foreſaid at Mayfield, which was the 24. of September. an. 1556. was a young man (which by ſcience was a Carpenter, whoſe name we haue not) put to death for the like teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt at Briſtow, where he yelding hym ſelfe to the torments of the fire, gaue vp his life into the handes of the Lord, with ſuch ioyfull conſtancy and triumphe, as all the Church of Chriſt haue iuſt cauſe to praiſe God for hym.

❡The Martyrdome of John Horne, and a vvoman.

September.27 The Martyrdome of John Horne, and a womã, at Wottõ vnderhedge in Glocesterſhire.

Now, not long after the death of the ſaid yõg man at Briſtow, in the ſame moneth were two mo godly Martyrs conſumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in Gloceſterſhire, whoſe names are aboue ſpecified, whiche died verie gloriouſly in a conſtant faith, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the Godly. So graciouſly did the Lorde worke in them, that death vnto them was life, and life with a blotted conſcience was death.

❡A pitifull ſtory concernyng the vnmercifull handlyng of W. Dangerfield, and Ioane his wife beyng in childbed, taken out of her houſe, with her ſuckyng infant of xiiij. dayes old, and laid in the common Iayle amongeſt theeues and murderers.

The cruell handelyng of W. Dangerfield and Joane his wife in priſon.

When I had written and finiſhed the ſtory of the Garnſey women, with the yong infant there with them burned, and alſo had paſſed the burnynge of the poore blinde woman Joane Waſt at Darby, I well hoped I ſhoulde haue found no mo ſuch like ſtories of vnmercifull cruelty ſhewed vpon ſely women with their children and young infants: but now commyng to the perſecution of Gloceſterſhire about the partes of Briſtow, I finde an other ſtorie of ſuch vnmercifulnes ſhewed againſt a woman in childbed, as farre from all charitie and humanitie, as hath beene any other ſtory yet hetherto rehearſed, as by the ſequele hereof may appeare.

In the Pariſhe of Wotton Underhedge, not farre from Briſtow, was dwellyng one W. Dangerfield a right honeſt and godly poreman, who by Joane Dangerfield his wife had ix. children, and ſhe nowe lying in childbed of the tenth. This William after he had bene abroad from his Houſe a certaine ſpace, for feare of perſecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repayred home to viſite her, as naturall duetie required, and to ſee his children, ſhee beyng nowe deliuered foure dayes before.

The retourne of this man was not ſo ſoone knowen

No charitie in in popery to be noted.

W. Dangerfield apprehended in his owne houſe.

Joane the wife of W. Dangerfield taken with her yong infant out of childbed, and had to priſon.

to ſome of his vnkinde and vncharitable neighbours, but they incenſed with the ſpirite of Papiſtrie, eftſones beſet the houſe about, and there tooke the ſaid William Dangerfield, and caried him to priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the Biſhoppe, beyng then Doctour Brookes: in whoſe cruell handlyng he remained a certeine ſpace, ſo long till his legges almoſte were freated of with yrons.

After the apprehenſion of the Huſbande, the wife likewiſe was taken, with her yong borne childe, beyng but 14. dayes olde (as is ſaide) out of her child bed, and caried into the common Jayle, and there placed amongeſt Theues and murderers, where bothe ſhee and her poore innocent found ſo ſmall charitie amongſt the catholike men, that ſhe neuer could come to any fire, but was driuen to warme the clothes that ſhe ſhould put about the child, in her boſome.

Dangerfield made to beleue falſely, that his wife had recanted.

Dangerfield vppon hope of his wiues recantation, conſented to the Biſhop.

In the meane ſeaſon while they lay thus incloſed in ſeuerall priſons, the huſband and the wife, the Biſhop beginneth to practiſe not with the woman firſte, as the Serpent did with Eue, but with the man, craftely deceiuyng his ſimplicitie, with fayre gloſing wordes, falſely perſuading him that his wife had recanted, and aſking him, wherefore he ſhould more ſtande in his owne conceate, then ſhe, beyng as well learned as he, and ſo ſubtilly drew out a forme of recantation, wherewith he deceiued the ſimple ſoule. Whereunto after that hee had once graunted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered hym to goe to his wife, where ſhe lay in the common Jayle.

The wife lamented the fall of her huſband.

Then they with melting hartes opening their minds one to an other, whē he ſaw his wife not releaſed, and perceauyng that he had not done well, he declared vnto her the whole matter, how falſely he was circumuented by the ſubtile flatteringes of the Biſhop, bearyng hym in hand that certeinely ſhe had recanted: and thus deceauyng me (ſaid he) brought this vnto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſome the copy of the recātation, wherunto he had graunted his promiſe. At the ſight wherof the wife hearyng what her houſebād had done, her hart claue aſunder, ſaiyng: Alacke, thus long haue we continued one, and hath Satan ſo preuailed, to cauſe you to breake your firſt vow made to Chriſt in Baptiſme? And ſo departed the ſaid Williā and Joane his wife, with what hartes the Lorde knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewaile his promiſe made to the Biſhop, and to make his praier to almighty God, deſiring him, that he might not liue ſo long as to call euill good, and good euill: or light darkenes, or darkenes light, and ſo departed he home toward his houſe: where by the way homewarde (as it is affirmed) he tooke his death, and ſhortly after departed, accordyng to his prayer, after he had endured in priſon xij. weekes.

Dangerfield lamenteth his promiſe made to the Biſhop.

The praier of Dangerfield to God.

The death of the huſband.

After this, Joane his wife continued ſtill in priſon with her tender infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before the Biſhop to be examined. Whereunto what her aunſwers were, it is not certainlie knowne. Howbeit moſt like it is, whatſoeuer they were, they pleaſed not the Biſhoppe, as appeared by his ire increaſed againſt the poore woman and her long continuance in the priſon, together with her tender babe, which alſo remained with her in the Jayle, partaker of her Martyrdome, ſo long as her Milke would ſerue to giue it ſucke, till at length the childe beeyng ſtarued for colde and famine, was ſent awaye when it was paſte all remedye, and ſo ſhortly after died. And not long after the Mother alſo followed, beſides the old woman which was mother of the houſbande, of the age of 80. yeeres and vpwarde. Who beyng left in the houſe after their apprehenſion, for lacke of comfort there periſhed alſo:

The young infant famiſhed in priſon.

The Martyrdome of the mother.

The death of the old womā.

And thus haue ye in one ſtory the death of foure together: firſt of the old woman, then of the huſband, after that of the innocent child, and laſtly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly vnderſtand, that they were all vndone by the ſame.

W. Bridges perſecuted the ſame time for Gods word, and witnes of this ſtory.

This ſtory is reported and teſtified as well by other as namely by Miſtres Bridges, dwellyng in the ſame towne, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and hardly eſcaped with her life.

A Shomaker ſufferyng in
Northampton.

October 12.

IN the moneth of October followyng, was burned at the towne of Northampton, a Shomaker, a true witnes and diſciple of the Lord, who, accordyng to the grace of GOD geuen vnto hym, cleauyng faſte to the ſound doctrine and preachyng of Gods worde, renounced the vntrue and falſe coloured Religion of the Romiſh ſea, wherin many a good man hath bene drowned.

The Martyrdom of a Shomaker of Northampton.

October 18.

Three died in the Caſtell of Chiciſter, Confeſſors.

After whom, not long after in the ſame moneth of October died alſo in the Caſtle of Chiciſter three godly confeſſors, beyng there in bondes for the like cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpel, who alſo ſhould haue ſuffred the like Martyrdome, had not their naturall death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruell handlyng of the papiſtes made them awaie before, and afterward buried them in the field.

John Hooke, Martyr.

I reade moreouer that in this preſent yeare, to wit an. 1556. was burnt one called Hooke a true witnes of the Lordes truth, at Cheſter.

Fiue famiſhed in Canterbury Caſtell
by the vnmercifull tiranny of the Papiſtes about the beginnyng of Nouember.

B. Boner, Nicholas Harpsfield, D. Dunnyng, three ſore perſecutores.

AS among all the Biſhops, Boner Byſhop of London principallie excelled in perſecutyng the poore Members and Saints of Chriſt: ſo of al Archdeacons Nicholas Harpesfield Archedeacon of Canterbury (as may by mans ſight appeare) was the foreſt, and of leaſt compaſſion) onely Dunnyng of Norwich excepted) by whoſe vnmercifull nature and agreſt diſpoſition verie manie were put to death in that Dioces of Canterbury, not onely in the bloudy time of that Queene, but ſome alſo in the bleſſed beginnyng of this our moſte renowned Queene that now is, as by the grace of Chriſte hereafter ſhall appeare.

Perſecution in Kent.

Read before pag. 1585.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in Queene Maries time within the foreſaid dioces of Canterbury, ſome be recited already, with the order and forme ſet doune of ſuche Articles as then were moſte commonly miniſtred to the Examinates by Thornton, ſuffragne of Douer, and the ſaid Nicholas Harpsfield and other, as before in the volume of this hiſtory may appeare pag. 1585. Now to proceede in the order and courſe of tyme where wee lefte, next followeth the moneth of Nouember.

xv. Martyrs and Confeſſors together priſoned in Canterbury.

In the beginnyng wherof wer together in the Caſtell of Canterburie, xv. godly and innocent Martyrs, of which number, not one eſcaped with their life, but either were burned, or els were famiſhed in priſon. Of the which two ſortes, which is the eaſier death GOD knoweth: it is hard to iudge. Notwithſtandyng, the truth is, that of theſe xv. x. were burned and ſuffered in the fire, of whom in the next booke more ſhall followe hereafter, the Lorde willing. The other v. were pined and famiſhed moſt vnmercifully in the ſtraite priſō, of whom wee haue here preſently to entreate. Whoſe names wery theſe.

Fiue Confeſſors and Martyrs famiſhed in priſon.

1 Iohn Clerke.
2 Dunſton Chittenden.
Whiche twoo were yet vncondemned.

3 W. Foſter of Stone.
4 Alice Potkins wife, of Staplecherſt.
5 Iohn Archer of Cranbroke, Weuer.
Theſe were condemned to bee burnt.

W. Foſter, Alice Potkins, John Archer, died after their condemnation.

Of theſe fiue priſoners, the firſte two were vncondemned, the other three laſt were cōdemned and ſhould haue bene burned, but ſuffered no leſſe tormentes then if they had abid the fire, beeyng macerat and pined to death by famine. What their articles and aunſwers were, it nedeth not here to recite, ſeeing all they, in that tyme of Queene Mary, commonly ſuffered for one maner and ſorte of cauſe, that is, for holding againſte the vij. Sacramentes, againſt the realtie of Chriſtes beyng in his ſupper, for ſpeakyng againſt the churche of Rome, and determinations of the ſame, againſt Images ſet vp and worſhipped in the church, for not commyng to the church, and ſuch other like. &c.

W. Foſter, Martyr. His aunſwere to the articles.

Firſte, William Foſter aunſweryng to theſe and like Articles, ſaid, that he beleued well in all the Articles of the the Crede: but to beleue to be mo ſacramentes then two, and to pray to ſaintes either to profite vs, or to pray for ſoules in purgatory to profite them, that faith and workes do iuſtifie, or to allow the popiſh ceremonies in the Churche, that he denied. Moreouer he ſaide, to cary Candels vpon Candelmas daie were as good

Anno.1556.
December.

Caryng about the Croſſe.

good for hym as to cary a dungforke, and that it is as neceſſary to cary the gallowes about, if his father were hãged, as the croſſe. To come to the churche he cannot, ſaid he, with a ſafe conſcience. Concernyng fiſhe daies and fleſhe daies, hee graunted it good to put difference therin, except where neceſſitie required the contrary.

Neceſſitie alwaies excuſed in matters indifferent.

Wil. Foſter apprehẽded by ſir Tho. Moyle.

This William Foſter was a laboryng man, of the age of xl. yeares. He was apprehended and impriſoned by Syr Thomas Moyle Knight.

Mother Potkins Martyr, troubled by W. Robertes.

Alice Potkins in Chriſte but one yere olde.

Alice Potkins alſo for the like confeſſion, was condemned to bee burned, for that ſhee was not, neither would be confeſſed to the Prieſt, for that ſhe receaued not the ſacrament of the aultar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to ſainctes, nor creepe to the Croſſe. &c. Being demaunded of her age, ſhe ſaide that ſhe was xlix. yeares old according to her old age, and according to her yong age, ſince ſhe learned Chriſt, ſhe was of one yeares age, and was committed by maiſter Robertes to priſon.

The aunſwere of Jhon Archer Martyr.

The aunſwere and Confeſſion of John Archer of Cranbroke, was much in like ſort. And although certein of theſe vpon ignorant ſimplicitie ſwarued a litle in the number of Sacramentes, ſome grauntyng one Sacrament, That is, the body of Chriſt hangyng vpon the croſſe, ſome mo, ſome leſſe. &c. yet in the principall matter touching the doctrine of ſaluation for faith to ſtaie vpon, and in diſagreeing from the erryng determinations of the Popiſh Church, they moſt agreed. Concernyng the not prayng to Saintes, and for the dead in Purgatory, for not creeping to the Croſſe, for faith onely to iuſtifie, for takyng of an oth & ſuch other like, he graunted as the other had done. This Father Archer by his occupation a weuer of the town of Crãbroke, of the age of l. yeres, was attached and impriſoned by Syr John Gilford Knight. And thus haue ye the cauſe & impriſonment of theſe fiue godly priſoners. Now as touching the crueltie of their death, for that ye ſhall not ſurmiſe the ſuſpicion or relation thereof to procede of my ſelf, ye ſhall heare their owne teſtimony and certification by their owne Letter throwen out of the Priſon concernyng the vnmercifull dealyng of the Catholicke tyrauntes in famiſhyng them, as is aforeſaid. The wordes and copy of their letter is this.

[illegible] Gilford committed father Archer to priſon.

The copie of a letter written and caſte out of the caſtle of Cant. by the priſoners, there in bandes for Gods worde, declaryng how the Papiſtes went about to famiſh them to death: of the which company v. were famiſhed amongſt them alredy.

The priſoners letter, declaryng how they were handled and famiſhed in priſon.

Be it knowen to all men that ſhall reade, or heare reade theſe our letters, that wee the poore priſoners of the Caſtle of Canterburie for Gods truthe, are kepte and lye in cold yrons, and our kepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought to vs to comfort vs. And if any man do bryng any thyng, as bread, butter, cheſe, or any other foode, the ſaied keper will charge them that ſo bryng vs any thyng, except money or raiment, to cary it with them againe, or els if he doe receiue any foode of any for vs, he doeth kepe it for hymſelf, and he and his ſeruauntes doe ſpend it, ſo that wee haue nothyng thereof: and thus the keeper kepeth awaie our vittals from vs. In ſo muche that there are fower of vs priſoners there for Gods truthe, famiſhed already, and thus is it his minde to famiſhe vs all: and we thinke he is appointed thereunto of the Biſhops and prieſtes, and alſo of the Iuſtices, ſo to famiſhe vs, & not onely vs of the ſaied Caſtell, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to bee alſo famiſhed: notwithſtandyng wee write not theſe our letters, to that entent we mought not aforde to be famiſhed for the lorde Ieſus ſake, but for this cauſe and entent, that they hauyng no lawe ſo to famiſhe vs in priſon, ſhould not doe it priuely, but that the murtherers hartes ſhould bee openly knowen to all the worlde, that all menne maie knowe of what Churche they are, and who is their father.

Out of the Caſtell of Canterburie.

The trouble and vexation of good people in the Dioces of Lichfield.

Doctor Bane, Doctor Draicot his Chauncelor in Lichfield cruell perſecutours.

These foreſaid monethes of September, Nouember, and December as they were troubleſome to diuers other places, and eſpecially to the Dioces of Caunterbury by reaſon of the Archdeacon aboue named: ſo likewiſe they brought no little buſines in the Countrey of Lichfield and Couentrey by a cruell Biſhoppe there called Rafe Bane, and a more cruell Chauncellor named Doctor Draycot, through the fierce inquiſition of whom, great ſtirre was there among the people, being called to examination for their faith, and many cauſed to beare fagots. Who although they were not put to the torment of death, yet becauſe it may appere what a number there is in the countreyes of England abroad, which in their harts haue a miſliking of the popes Romiſh lawes & religion, if for feare they durſt vtter their myndes, I thought to make a rehearſall of their names whiche in the foreſaide Dioces of Couentry and Lichefield were taken in ſuſpicion and examined for their religion.

The names of them that bare fagottes in the dioces of Lichfield and Couentrie.

And firſte amongeſt them that were detected and inioyned to the popiſh penance, that is, to beare a fagot, candell, and beades about in proceſſion, were Agnes Forman, detected, examined, and by witnes conuicted and bare a fagot the 12 of September. Likewiſe Margery Kirry, Thomas Norrein, Thomas Stiffe, William Rayne, Robert Katreues, Thomas Smith, John Borſley the yonger. Item John Waterhouſe, againſt whom came in witnes and accuſers Richarde Caterbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laiyng againſt him for seldome comming to the Churche, for geuing no reuerence at the leuation of the Sacrament, but lokyng vppon his booke, for not kiſſyng the pax. &c. Robert Biſſel, Leonard West, Richard B[illegible]ly of the Pariſh of Whitacre.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doctor.
Richard Iurdian, Prieſt.
Edmund Crokell, Prieſt.
Thomas Whithed, Prieſt.
William Taylour, Prieſt.
Anſelme Sele, Prieſt.
Richard Slauy, Prieſt maried.
Edward Hawes, Prieſt maried.
Robert Aſton, Prieſt depriued.
Henry Tecka, Prieſt depriued.
Robert Moſſey, prieſt maried and depriued.

These were depriued.

The names of them whiche were troubled there, and bare no fagottes.

Beſide theſe were diuers other whiche in like ſorte were detected, accuſed, & examined, although they bare no fagot, but were dimiſſed, as Richard Kemp, John Frankling, William Marler, Ielius Dudley, Euſtach Wyſacre, William Shene, Antony Alterwitel, Thomas Steylbe, Henry Burdin, William Moſley, John Leech, John Richardſon, Antony Iones, alias Bulton, Thomas Wilſon, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres his ſonne, Iſabell Barker, Martine Newman, William Cuderby, Cicely Preſton, Thomas Sauiter, John Stafford Shomaker, Richard Wodburne, Thomas Arnall Shomaker, John Robinſon, Hugh Moore ſhomaker, John Udale, Thomas Arch, Fraunces Warde, John Auines, Richarde Foxall, Thomas Underdowne, Richard Weuer.

Joice Lewes Martyr, read hereafter.

The next moneth followyng, beyng October, came vnder examination Joyce Lewes gentlewoman, of whom we differ to ſpeake vntill the next yeare, at what tyme ſhe was burned.

These forenamed perſons with many mo followyng in the next yeare after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through feare of death: yet for this cauſe I doe here recite them that by them it might appeare, what a number there were not onely in the countrey of Lichefield, but alſo in other parties in hart ſet againſte the Popes procedings, if that feare rather then conſcience had not compelled them to the contrarie.

The concluſion of this xj booke, vvith a brief ſtory of Syr Iohn Cheeke, &c.

The concluſion of the xi. booke.

AND thus haue ye the whole perſecution of this yeare declared, whiche was the yeare of oure Lord. 1556. and the fourth of Queene Maries reigne, with the names and cauſes of all them which ſuffered Martyrdome within the compaſſe of the ſaid yeare: the number of all which ſlaine and martyred in diuers places of England at ſundry tymes this yere came to aboue. 84. perſons, whereof many were women, wiues, widowes, and maydens: beſides them whiche otherwiſe by ſecret practiſe were made away, or driuen out of goodes and houſes, or out of the Realme, or els within the realme, were put to penance, and coacted by forceable violence to recant, ſaue onely that I haue omitted the ſtory of ſir John Cheeke, Knight, a Scholemaſter ſometymes to Kyng Edwarde. The worthines of whiche man deſerueth much to be ſaide: but his fall would

84. Martyres and aboue in this yere. 1556 put to death in this realme.

Anno, 1556. December.

A brief declaration of Maſter Chekes recantation.

would rather be couered in ſilence and obliuion. Only to note a word or twoo of a fewe thinges to the preſent ſtory moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

First M. Cheeke beyng in the countrey of Germany out of all daunger of perſecution, with many mo of his owne countreymen and acquaintance, was not onely in ſafetie, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germanes, and alſo well placed in the Citie of Strausbourgh. Where if he had contented himſelfe to haue remained, rather geuing place to tyme, then to preſume vpon aduentures, peraduenture it had beene better with hym. But what fatall inſtigation wrought in his mind, I know not. In the ende ſo it fell, that he would nedes take his iourney with ſir Peter Carewe from hie Germany vnto Bruxels, and that (as I haue credibly heard of them which knew ſomwhat, not without the foreſtallyng of his aduentured iourney by the conſtellation of ſtarres and diſpoſition of the heauens aboue. For as he was a man famouſly expert & trauayled in the knowledge of ſundry artes and ſciences: ſo was he a litle to muche addicted to the curious practiſing of this ſtardiuinitie, which we cal aſtrologie. But how ſoeuer it was, or whatſoeuer it was that the ſtarres did promiſe him, truth was, that men here in earth kept litle promiſe with him. For hauing (as it is ſaid) K. Philips ſafeconduct to paſſe & repaſſe, & that by the meanes (as I find) of the lord Paget & ſir John Maſ. pledging for his ſafegard K. Philips fidelitie, he came to Bruxels to ſee the Queenes Imbaſſadours, and hauyng brought the Lorde Paget on his waie towarde England, in the returne betwene Bruxels & Anwarpe was taken with ſir Peter Carew by the prouoſt Marſhall, ſpoyled of their horſes, and clapped into a carte, their legs, armes, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and ſo ſhipped, beyng blindfield vnder the hatches, and ſo brought to the Tower of London.

Aſtrologie.

M. Cheeke, and ſir Peter Carew apprehended in their iourney to Antwarpe.

Thus the good man being intrapped, & in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two waies to take, either to chaunge his religion, or to chaunge hys life. Other remedy with thoſe holy Catholickes there was none. Neither could his conſcience excuſe hym, nor truth defend hym, nor learnyng helpe hym.

M. Feckenam ſpeaketh for M. Cheeke.

Albeit M. Feckenham, whether by the Queene ſuborned, or vpon his owne deuotion and frendſhip toward his olde acquaintaunce, tooke vpon him the defence and commendació of M. Cheke, ſpeaking in his behalf, yet no mercy could be had with the Queene, but he muſt nedes recant, and ſo did he. The copy of whoſe recantation preſcribed vnto him, becauſe it is knowne and in the handes of diuers, it needeth not here to bee expreſſed.

The death and repentaunce of ſir Ihō Cheeke.

Then after his recantation, hee was thorough the craftie handlyng of the catholikes, allured firſt to dine and company with them, at length drawen vnwares to ſit in place, where the pore Martyrs were brought before Boner and other Biſhops to bee condemned, the remorſe whereof ſo mightely wrought in his hart, that not longe after he lefte this mortal life. Whoſe fall although it was full of infirmitie, yet his riſing again by repentaunce was greate, and his ende comfortable, the Lorde bee praiſed.

¶ The ende of the xj. Booke.

¶ Here beginneth the xij. Booke conteynyng the bloudy doynges and perſecutious of the aduerſaries againſt the faithfull and true ſeruauntes of Chriſt, with the particular proceſſes and names of ſuch as were put to ſlaughter from the beginnyng of Ianuary, An. 1557. and the fift of Queene Mary.

The order and maner of the Cardinals viſitation in Cambridge, with the condemnyng, takyng vp, and burnyng the bones and Bookes of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, anno. 1557. Ianuar. 9.

Anno. 1557. January. 9. Viſitation at Cābridge, with the burnyng of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius bones.

CArdinall Poole, three yeares after hys retourne into Englande, hauyng ſomewhat withdrawen his minde from other affaires of the Realme, and hauyng in all pointes eſtabliſhed the Romiſhe Religion, began to haue an eye to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, whiche place among other, eſpecially ſeemed to haue nede of reformation out of hand. To performe this charge, were choſen Cuthberte Scot, not long before conſecrated Biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, Archpreiſte of the people of Bodolon, in the Dioces of Veron, profeſſed in both the lawes, and bearyng the name of the Popes Datary, Thomas Watſon, elected Biſhoppe of Lincolne, John Chriſtopherſon, elected Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, and Henry Cole Prouoſt of the Colledge of Eton. There was good cauſe why the matter was eſpecially committed to theſe perſons. For as touching Ormanet, it is well knowen that hee was a manne of muche eſtimation with Julius the thirde, at that time Biſhoppe of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinall Poole, becauſe without hys knowledge (as in whom he put his chief truſt and confidence) the Biſhoppe woulde haue nothyng done that was of any importance or weight.

The Inquiſitours.

These perſons thus appointed (in the meane while as the viſitours were addreſſyng them ſelues to their iourney) ſent their letters with the Cardinals Citation before Doctour Andrew Perne, Vicechauncellour then of Cambridge, with the other Commiſſioners aſſociate, commaundyng him to warne all the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie in their name, to bee in a readines againſt the eleuenth daie of January betwixt eight and tenne of the clocke in the church of ſaint Mary the virgin: willyng hym eſpecially to bee there hym ſelfe in preſence, and alſo to ſette forwarde all the reſidue to whoſe charge it belonged, that they ſhoud ſearch out al Statutes, Bookes, Priuileges, and Monuments appertainyng to the Vniuerſitie, or to any of the Colledges, or finally to any of them ſelues, and theſe to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and euery man to appeare there perſonally: for they woulde not faile, but be there at the ſame tyme, to lay before them ſuche thinges as ſhould ſeeme neceſſarie to thys charge of reformyng the Vniuerſitie, and further to geue charge of all ſuche thinges as ſhould ſeeme moſt for the profite and behoue of the ſame, together with ſuche thinges as were to be done on their parte, accordyng as ſhould ſeeme moſt agreable to the Decrees of the Canon lawe.

A Citation ſent before to doctor Andrew Perne Vicechauncellour.

This Citation of the Cardinall beyng brought to Cambridge by Maſter Bullocke, was firſte exhibited in the Conuocation houſe of Regentes, and there openly red by the Orator of the Vniuerſity the eleuenth daie of December.

Preparation in Cambridge toward the viſitation.

After this, vppon the 24. of December, whiche was Chriſtenmaſſe euen, the Vicechauncellour, with the heades of houſes meetyng together in the Scholes, it was there concluded, that the viſitours charges ſhould be borne by the Vniuerſity and Colledges (which then coſt the Vniuerſitie an hundreth pound thicke) and alſo that no Maſter of any Colledge ſhould ſuffer any of the felowes, ſcholers, or Miniſters, to go forth of the towne, but to returne before the Viſitation.

On Friday, the viij. of January, the Queenes Commiſſioners, videlicet, Doct. Perne Vicechauncellour, Doctor Seghwicke, Doctor Harly, M. Franck, Ruſt, and an other who is here nameles, alſo with ſir James Dyer, the Recorder, M. Chapman, Euered ſittyng together in the Hall, certaine were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge giuen what ſhould be done. And firſte the Commiſſion was read. Then were all the high Conſtables called to bryng in their precepts, and ſworne. Alſo .ij. of euery Pariſhe of x. or xij. hundredes, were ſworne to inquire of hereſie, lollardy, conſpiracie, ſeditious wordes, tales, and rumors againſt the Kyng and Queene. Item, for hereticall and ſeditious bookes, for negligẽces and miſdemeanour in the church, for obſeruation of Ceremonies, for Ornamentes, and ſtocke of the church.

The cauſe why the reformation was taken in hande.

We ſayde at the firſte, that the Cardinall thought the Vniuerſitie to haue neede of reformation. The reaſon why he ſhould thinke ſo, was this: either becauſe the ſame of long continuaunce ſince any manne could remember, had caſt of the Yoke of the Biſhoppe of Rome, and cleaued to the wholſome doctrine of the Goſpell, or els by reaſon that both for the late Schiſme, not yet worne out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martine Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſayd Vniuerſitie interpreted holy Scripture, they ſaw many ſo ſore corrupted and ſpotted with this infection, that (euen as when a fire is ſpread in a towne) vnleſſe a ſpeedy remedie were adhibited out of hande, it were not poſſible, to their thinking, to quench it many yeres after. Who alſo feared (if it were not looked to in time) leſt this miſchief ſhould take rote, and by litle and litle infect all the members nexte vnto it, which yet were whole and ſound.

The commyng of the Inquiſitors, & of their entertainment.

This was the yeare of our Lord. 1556. To the entent therfore to make a ſalue for this ſore, the Inquiſitours, of whom we ſpake before, came vnto Cābridge the ninth day of January. As they were yet on their iourney, not farre from the towne, diuers of the Maſters and Preſidentes of the Colledges met them, and brought them courteouſly, firſt into the towne, and after to their lodgyng. They were entertained in Trinitie Colledge by M. John Chriſtopherſon Maſter of the ſame houſe, & lately before elected Byſhop of Chicheſter. Notwithſtādyng they were deſired, ſome to one place, and ſome to an other, as occaſiō ſerued, either to do their duties, or to ſhew their good willes: Cole to ÿ kinges Colledge, and D. Watſon to S. Johns. But whether it were for the acquaintaunce of Chriſtopherſon, or for the largenes of the houſe, which ſemed moſt conueniēt for their purpoſe, they all toke vp their lodginges in the ſaid Colledge with M. Chriſtopherſon.

M. Chriſtopherſon M. of Trinitie Colledge, Biſhop elect of Chicheſter.

An Oratiō gratulatory at their cōming thether

At their comming thether an Oration was made by a felow of the houſe, who in the name of all the reſt, with long Proteſtation declared that they were moſt hartely welcome thither, and that he and his fellowes gaue them great thākes, that it had pleaſed their lordſhips to haue ſo good opinion of them, as to choſe their houſe eſpecially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to ſtād in hope of ſome further beneuolence towardes them, and alſo done great worſhyp to their Colledge by their beyng there: wherfore they ſhould looke at their hand agayne for as much duetie and reuerence, as lay in their power to performe.

Watſon aunſwereth to the Oration.

To this Oratiō Watſon made aunſwere, that this forward and earneſt good willes & minde of theirs, in doyng ſuche curteſie, was right thankefully taken, both of him and his, exhortyng them to continue ſtedfaſtly in the ſame, and to procede alſo whē nede ſhould require: for it was ſo farre from any of their thoughts, to ſtop them in this their race, that they would rather haſt them forward to runne through more ſpedely, beyng not without good cauſe perſuaded to cōceiue good hope of their beneuolence towardes them, in aſmuch as they would do for them, what ſoeuer might turne to their profite and commoditie.

January. 9.

January. 10.

This day, for aſmuch as it was toward euening ere they came, and the ſunne was goyng downe, was nothing els done. The next day being the tēth of January, they beſtowed in recreatyng them ſelues after their iourney, and in ſetting other thinges at a ſtay. Neuertheles to the entent the ſame ſhould not eſcape altogether without doing of ſomewhat, they interdited the 2. Churches, namely S. Maries, where Martin Bucer, & S. Michaels, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

S. Maries and S. Michaels interdicted because of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius buriall.

These men were dead a good while before. Paulus Phagius had ſcarce yet ſhewed the proofe of his wit & learning, whē he departed to God. 1549. Bucer liued but a litle after. During which time ſomewhat by writing, but chiefly by readyng & preachyng openly (wherin the old mā being painful in the word of God, neuer ſpared him ſelf nor regarded his health) he brought al men into ſuch admiratiō of him, that neither his frēdes could ſufficiētly prayſe him, neither his enemies in any point finde fault with his ſingular life and ſincere doctrine. A moſt certaine token whereof may be his ſumptuous buriall, ſolemniſed with ſo great aſſiſtence and gladnes of al the degrees of the Uniuerſity, that it was not poſſible to deuiſe more to the ſetting out & amplifying of the ſame. The whole maner and order of the doyng wherof, beyng written by M. Nicolas Carre, a learned man in a little treatiſe to Syr John Cheke Knight, with an Epiſtle full of conſolation as concernyng his departure added thereunto, was ſent afterward vnto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

Commendatiō of Martin Bucer.

From the buriall of Bucer and Phagius, vnto the commyng of theſe viſitours were paſſed about three or iiij. yeares more or leſſe. And frō the time that that bleſſed kyng Edward the vi. deceaſed, vnto that day, the Prieſtes neuer ceaſſed to celebrate their Maſſes, and al other kinde of Ceremonies in thoſe places, and that without ſcruple of conſcience, as farre as men could perceiue. But after the time that theſe Commiſſioners came thether, thoſe thinges that before were accompted for ſacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and vnholy. For they commaūded that all thoſe aſſemblies that ſhould hereafter bee made for the executyng of holy Ceremonies, ſhould be remoued to the kinges Chappell, which is a place farre more ſtately then all the other.

January. 11.

Now was come the 11. day, in the which the Uicechancellor of the Uniuerſitie, with the maiſters & Preſidētes of the Colledges, & all other the Graduates of euery houſe, were commaunded to appeare before the ſaied Cōmiſſioners in there habites. It was cōmaunded that the ſcholers alſo ſhould come in there ſurpliſes, but that was not done. They aſſembled in great number to Trinitie Colledge: hauing the Uniuerſitie croſſe borne before them and in the gatehouſe a forme was ſet and couered, with cuſſhings and carpet on the ground for the viſitors. Where the Uicechancellour hauing on a tyſhew cope ſprinkled holy water on them, and purpoſed to ſence them, but they refuſed it there, whiche notwithſtanding afterwarde in the Queenes Colledge and elſwhere they refuſed not.

There M. Jhō Stokes cōmon Orator of the vniuerſitie, made an oration in the name of all the reſt. The copie wherof I thought good here to exemplificate, in Latin as it was pronounced.

¶ Maiſter Stokes Oration to Queene Maryes Viſitors at Cambrige, an. 1557. Ianu. 11.

The oration of maſter Stokes publike Orator of the Uniuerſitie.

Academia, Reuerendi Patres, in expectatione aduentus veſtri ſollicita aliquādiu fuit, nunc pręſentia dominationum veſtrarum valde recreata libentiſsime vultus veſtros intuetur, & ad apertam voluntatis ſuæ teſtificationem, ecce vniuerſa ſe ſuaſque opes effudit. Conuenit in hunc locum tota Cantabrigiæ frequentia, adſunt omnes ordines, de quorū certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem volūtate, illud publica fide apud dominationes veſtras affirmo, eos & ſeparatim ſingulos, & cōiunctim omnes optatiſsimum hunc aduentū mirificis ſtudijs, & conſentiētibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus perſuaſum, & negotium hoc quod hodierno die, fauente Deo, excellentia veſtra auſpicatur, ad academiæ rationes fore accommodum, neque in re, ad communem ſalutem tam neceſſaria, operam aliquando veſtram nobis defuturam. Permulta ſunt ad hanc opinionem confirmandam, ſed cætera non perſequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quæ ita intime cum præſenti negotio cohærent, vt diuelli ab eo diſiungique nulla ratione poſsint. Atque ſunt illa quidem numero certa & finita: verum re & virtute, ita immenſa, vt nulla dicendi facultate mea plene comprehendi poſſent: quoniam tamen & antea ſum profeſſus ſummam eſſe academiæ lætitiam, eamque iuſtis de cauſis in aduentu veſtro ſuſceptam, quæſo à vobis, vt dum eas breuiter recenſeo faciles mihi aures præbeatis.

Cardinal Polus.

Reuerendiſſ. in Chriſto Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionem oppreſſam reſtituit, patriæ ruinas ſuffulſit, leges & decreta quaſi poſtliminio reduxit, iſte inquam, iſte Polus Anglus, & verè noſter Moyſes, legationis veſtræ autor eſt, à cuius excellenti virtute in omnes ſuæ patrię partes plurima commoda dimanarūt. Quo vinculo neceſsitudinis, & ſi omnibus temporibus optima ab illo ſperare liceret, quod ex corpore ſimus ipſius reipublicæ, arctior eſt tamen & interior cauſa, quę nobis cum dominatione illius ſeparatim intercedit. Superiore anno academiæ procurationem in ſe humaniſsimè recepit, quam liberari cuſtodia ita cœptam tenere ſe velle, literis ſignificauit, vt nō ſolum incommoda dimoueret, quibus ſtudia noſtra affligerētur, ſed vt ornamēta adijceret ea, quorum ſplendore augeri dignitas academiæ aut maximè illuſtrari poſſet. Quæ res & ſpem antea noſtram confirmauit, & nunc in eam cogitationem nos adducit, vt omnem illius humanitatem in hanc vnam viſitationem eſſe collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea a vobis expectamus omnia, quæ ſummi cancellarij noſtri inſignis amor præter communem charitatem academiæ, quaſi pupillæ ſuæ proprię pollicetur. Atque vtinam quidem ipſe ſine reipublicę detrimento, hoc tempore adeſſe poſſet, & academiā ſuam è tenebris & profunda nocte emerſam, ipſe ſuis radijs veræ religionis ſplendore illuſtraret, verum optionī noſtræ publica vtilitas repugnat, qua valde impeditus ſanctiſſ. mæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ legatus, vos Vicarios ſubſtituit: quorum naturas propter prouidentiam, perſonas propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationē aptiſſimas ad hanc rem eſſe iudicauit. Itaque illud verè & ex animis iſtorū omnium affirmare poſſum, vos eos eſſe viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutē colimus, volū-

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tatem, fidem, & conſilium ad publicam ſalutem impēdimus. Poſtquàm enim ſingulari & præſtantiſſima virtute Cardinalis Poli, legati è ſuperiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucē in republica reſpicere cœpimus, vna certè grauiſſima etiam ſuperioris ætatis mala ſenſimus, quibus profectò infinitis & miſerrimis etſi antea premeremur, tamen ad calamitatis noſtræ magnitudinem acceſsit eiuſdem ignoratio, vt (mea quidem opinione) eo ſimus magis miſerabiles iudicandi, quòd tam turbulenta tempeſtate iactati ne moueri quidem nos, tam graui & periculoſo hæreſis morbo oppreſsi, aut ægrotare mentes noſtras, non intelleximus. Valde enim periculoſa eſt ægrotatio illa, quæcunque ſine doloris ſenſu naturam cōficit, & affectos ſæpe prius extinguit, quàm ægrotare ſe fateantur. Eiuſmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quæ ad alias fortaſſe res ſatis ingenioſa & ſolers, in hac Religionis cauſa, propter caput Eccleſiæ læſum, vnde omnis ſentiendi vis eſt, omnino hebes, ſtupida, & ſine mente fuit, quoad tertio ante hunc anno diuina ſanctiſsimi patris Iulij Clementia Angliæ ferè emortuæ miſerata, iterum nos Eccleſiæ inſerit, corpus ſenſusq; recreat, cuius ope conualeſcēs Britannia, quam certa gehennæ pericula effugerit, quiuis facile intelligit. Idē Academia cernit acutius, neque quicquàm mali vſpiam accidiſſe putat, quo noſtra Regio in hac religionis vaſtitate & ſchiſmate miſerius fuerit afflicta. Non eſt opus recenſere in hoc loco euerſa Monaſteria, ſpoliata Templa, ſtrages ſacerdotū, cædes nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius Regni egeſtatem, quæ & ſi aliunde accidere poſſunt, tamē cum tam grauia ſint vt opprimant, vltionis & vindictæ potius quàm probādi cauſa in malos & nocentes infligi putamus. Sed ſunt iſta fortunæ ludibria, grauiora ſumus paſsi religionis & conſcientiæ detrimēta: pietas in Deum omnis euanuerat, virginalis ſacerdotū profeſsio ad libidinem ſoluta eſt, animus quaſi conſopitus iacebat, quem nullæ Ceremoniæ excitabant, ipſa mens opinionum varietate ita diſtracta, ita ſibi ipſi diſſentiens, vt infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In his erant duo præcipue fontes, ex quorum riuulis & hauſiſſe Academiam paulo liberalius, & illa potione ferme inebriatam confitemur.

Prior ortum habebat ex illa noſtri violēta diuulſione, à Catholicæ Eccleſiæ vnitate, re non diſsimili illius pugnæ, quam olim Menenius Agrippa in inteſtina ciuium diſcordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Poſterior ex immenſa palude & cœno Wicleuiano emanauit: quem celebris apud nos imo miſerabilis de Sacramento altaris patefecit. De cuius rei veritate plerique ſuo ſenſu abundantes, pro arbitrio quiſque ſuo ſtatuerat. Nos Philoſophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorum ſchola ad ſcripturæ lumen aliquid attulimus, quòd enim Chriſtus omnino, præciſe, & ſine exceptione, de vera & perpetua ſui corporis præſentia affirmarat (in cuius verbi veritate fundamētum fidei noſtræ collocatur) id nos ita ſumus interpretati, vt mancam & alienam Chriſti vocem iudicaremus, niſi illa Epicuri propria particula (quaſi) adderetur, & quod Chriſtiani corpus & ſanguinem, id nos quaſi corpus & ſanguinem diceremus. Sed non eſt iſtius temporis præterita nimium meminiſſe, quæ vtinā æterna obliuione obrui poſſent, neque vlla tātæ labis memoria ad poſteros noſtros propagetur, tamen fuerunt attingēda generatim quidem, quod erranti cōfeſsio ſalutaris ſit, membratim verò, quod Academia his vulneribus à Cēſoria poteſtate confecta, à Cenſoria medicina ad ſalutem reduci poſtulat. Ipſa vero pro ſe & ſuis ſpondet omnes in authoritate veſtra futuros, quos aſsiduis cōcionibus adeo ad pœnitentiam edocuit, vt & eos ad ſanam religionem fidiſsime tranſijſſe, & in eadem diligenti præſentis vitæ vſu ſuperioris ætatis damna ſarcituros putetis. Nam qui primi in hoc curſu ſunt acerrime cōtendunt in eo, quod tam voluntariè ſuſceperunt & qui pigrius egreſsi, quaſi pomeridianis horis ad hoc certamen acceſſerunt, ei certè præbent iam immutatæ voluntatis indicia, vt quomodo temerè & iuueniliter à ſana religione defecerunt, ita non niſi maturi & cum iudicio ab hæreſi deſciuiſſe videantur. Vniuerſis vero ſimul reſtituta & deſiderata religio magis placere videtur, quia ſi aſsiduè præcepta, neque ad tempus obſcurata fuiſſet.

Quapropter Academia ſupplex & proſtrata primùm à Deo immortali pacem & veniam petit precaturq; ab eo, vt hodiernum diem ad ſuorum ſalutem conſeruandam, & rempublicam hanc conſtituendam illuxiſſe patiatur. Deinde pro ſe, pro ſuis, pro vniuerſis, pro ſingulis, hāc petitionem ad celſitudines veſtras affert, vt ſuperiorū temporum offenſas ex errore & iuſtitia profectas præſenti hominum induſtriæ cōdonetis. De reliquis vero pro ſumma prudentia veſtra, & ſingulari in nos amore eā ſententiam feratis, vt ſuorum cauſas vel iuſtitia veſtra bonas inueniat, vel clementia bonas eſſe faciat. In vtroque par erit beneficium, ſiue Academiam pro cauſarum æquitate iudicaueritis, ſiue pro amoris veſtri abundantia innocentē eam eſſe volueritis. Nos pro referenda gratia, ſummam in ſacris modeſtiam, aſsiduam in literis operam, perpetuum veræ religionis amorem, ſempiternam veſtri beneficij memoriam repromittimus.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Biſhop of Cheſter aunſwered thereunto, that they tooke in right good part, that the mother the Vniuerſitie had made ſo open a declaration of her good will towardes them: for the which he gaue moſt harty thankes, deſiring her to performe in deede and in her workes, the thinges that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of her ſelfe in wordes and communication.

The aunſwere of maſter Sc. Biſhop of Cheſter, to the oration of Iohn Stokes.

As concerning their good willes, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For their comming thether was not to deale any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to the amendemēt: but both the Cardinal himſelf, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew fauour, deuiſing how to bring all thinges to peace and trāquility, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, thē that they which haue erred and gone aſtray, ſhould returne into the right path agayne. The right reuerend father the lord Cardinal (whom he wiſhed to haue bene preſent) wiſhed the ſelf ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as her with his owne handes to ſuſteyne & hold vp now ready to fall, or rather to rayſe vp already fallē to the groūd, the Vniuerſity his ward: for he gladly taketh vppon him the name and duety of her Gardein, whom it greatly greued that the infectiōs of the times paſt had ſpread abroade ſo greuous diſeaſes, that euē the Vniuerſity it ſelf was touched with the cōtagions ayre therof. For he would gladlier haue come thither to viſite & ſalute it, then to correct it, if the weighty affayres of the realme would haue permitted it. But now ſeing he could not ſo do, he had appoynted this Commiſſion, in the which he had aſſigned them to be his deputies, which (for becauſe they knew him to ſet much ſtore by the Vniuerſity) ſhould extēd the more fauor to it, & (for becauſe they thēſelues had bene there brought vp) would the more earneſtly embrace it. The chiefe matter that they came for, tended to thys ende, that ſuch as had erred ſhould cōfeſſe their faultes, and returne into the ryght waye agayne. For they were in good forwardnes of healing, that acknowledged thēſelues to haue offēded. And therfore it was wiſely propounded on his part that he would not altogether excuſe the faultes of the Vniuerſity, nor of other men, but confeſſe and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many thinges had nede to be corrected and amended.

The Commiſſion aſſigned by the Cardinall, and why.

The cauſes declared.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither was to rayſe vp them that were fallen, & to receyue into fauour ſuch as were ſory and would amend, wherin if (contrary to theyr expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would: yet notwithſtanding according to theyr duety, they would ſhew themſelues ſo diligēt for theyr part, as that no lacke might be found in them. For it was more openly knowne than that it could be denyed, that many men did diuers thinges of a froward wilfulnes, and take ſtoutly vpon thē, wherewith as they were greatly moued and agreued (as reaſon was) ſo they coueted to remedy the miſchiefe. Agaynſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeeme hereafter to be ſtraitly determined, it was to be imputed to theyr own deſeruing, and not to the willes of them. Neither ought ſuch as are whole and ſounde to be moued at the chaſtiſment of others, forasmuch as it pertayned not onely to the wyping out of the foule blot, which now ſticked in the vniuerſitie, but alſo to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For theyr owne partes, they more enclined vnto mercy then to rigor. Howbeit conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines bee healed, they were driuen of neceſſity to vſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought agayne to their right mindes, which thing they chiefely coueted (for they wiſhed that al ſhould amend and be led by wholſome counſell) and would yet at legth waxe wery of their errors, and in ſtede of them frequēt again the auncient cuſtomes of themſelues, and of their forefathers, they might boldly looke for al kind of humanity and gentlenes at theyr handes, in all this theyr buſines of reformation, which they had now entred and begon, requeſting no more of the Vniuerſity but to do as became them: which beyng performed, he promiſed that their beneuolence,

Mercie more commended of all menne, but rigor worketh commonly in actes of moſte menne expreſſed.

neither

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neither in any publike nor in any priuate perſons caſe ſhould in any wyſe be behynd hand.

A Maſſe at the Kynges Colledge.
Ormanet Datarie.

These thinges beyng finiſhed, they were brought proceſſionaliter to yͤ kinges colledge, by all the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie, wheras was ſong a Maſſe of the holy ghoſt with great ſolemnitie, nothing wanting in that behalfe that might make to the ſetting forth of the ſame. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly ſurnamed Datary (who albeit he were inferior in eſtate vnto Cheſter beyng a Byſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authoritie) while the Maſſe was a celebrating, eft ſtanding, eft ſitting, and ſometime kneling on his knees, obſerued certaine Ceremonies, which afterwarde were required of all others to bee obſerued, as in proceſſe hereof was to bee ſeene.

Pecocke preacheth at ſaint Maries.

From thence they attended all vpon the Legates to S. Maries church, which we declared before to haue beene interdited. In the which place, for as much as it was ſuſpended, although no Maſſe might be ſonge, yet there was a Sermō made in open audience by M. Pecocke in the Latin tounge, preaching agaynſt hereſies & heretickes, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley. &c. The which being ended, they proceded eftſones to the viſitatiō. Where firſt Doct. Haruy did in the Cardinals name exhibite the commiſſion to the Byſhop of Cheſter with a few wordes in Latin. Which being accepted, and by M. Clarke openly redde to the end, thē the Vicechauncellour with an oration did exhibite the certificat vnder his ſeale of office, with the Cardinals citation annexed, conteining euery mans name in the Vniuerſitie, and Colledges, with the officers and all the maiſters of houſes. Among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey maiſter of the kinges Colledge, a worthy old man, both for his wiſedome and his hoare heares. who hearing his owne name recited next after yͤ Vicechauncellors, ſaid: he was there preſent as all the other were: neuertheles for as much as the reformation of his houſe was wholly reſerued to the diſcretion of the Biſhop of Lincolne, not only by the kynges letters patentes, but alſo by graunt of confirmation from the biſhop of Rome him ſelfe, vnder a penaltie if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtraungers to intermedle, he openly proteſted in diſcharge of his duety, that vnleſſe theyr commiſſion gaue them authoritie and iuriſdiction vpō that Colledge, either by expreſſe wordes or manifeſt ſenſe, he vtterly exempted him ſelf from beyng preſent. This hys exception they toke all in great diſpleaſure: alleging that they were fully authoriſed for the order of that matter by the Cardinall, out of whoſe iuriſdiction no place nor perſons was exempted: wherefore he had done euill to call into queſtion theyr authoritie, ſo well knowen to all men. Cheſter ſemed to be more moued at the matter then all the other: and that was becauſe Braſſey had a litle before obtayned the worſhip of that roume, euen vtterly agaynſt his will, and maugre his head, doing the worſt he could agaynſt him.

The citation of the Maſters of the Colledges.

Robert Braſſeis exception.

Altercation betwene D. Braſſe and D. Scot B. of Cheſter.

After the formall ſolemnity of theſe thinges thus accompliſhed, the Commiſſion being red, and the citation exhibited, alſo the maiſters of houſes beyng onely cited, euery man for a whyle departed home to his own houſe, with commaundement to bee at the common ſchooles of the ſayd Vniuerſitie at one of the clocke of the ſame day. When the degrees of the Vniuerſitie, commonly called Regents and non Regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpēt the reſt of the day in reading ouer of Charters, graunted to the Vniuerſitie by kinges and princes, in ſearching out of Bulles and pardons from the Pope, and in peruſing of other monumentes pertaynyng to the Vniuerſitie.

Inquiſition at the common Schooles.

January. 12.
Inquiſition at the Kynges Colledge.

The next day followyng, beyng the 12. of January, they reſorted to the kings Colledge to make Inquiſition, eyther becauſe the ſame for the worthynes thereof was chiefe and ſoueraigne of all the reſidue, or els becauſe that that houſe eſpecially before all others, had beene counted, time out of minde, neuer to be without an hereticke (as they terme them) or twaine. And at that preſent time albeit that many now alate had withdrawen themſelues from thence, yet they iudged there were ſome remaynyng ſtill. The order and maner how they would bee interteyned of euery Colledge, when they ſhould come to make Inquiſition, they themſelues appoynted, which was in this ſort.

The maner of receiuyng the Inquiſitours when they wēt to make Inquiſition.

They commaunded the maſter of euery houſe together with the reſidue, as well fellowes as ſcholers, appareled in prieſtlike garmēts (which they call habits) to mete them at the vttermoſt gate of theyr houſe toward the towne. The maiſter him ſelfe to be dreſſed in like apparell as the prieſt when he reueſteth himſelfe to Maſſe, ſauyng that he ſhould put on vppermoſt his habit, as the reſt did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wiſe. The Maiſter of the houſe to goe formoſt. Next vnto him euery man in his order as he was of degree, ſeigniorities, or of yeares. Before the maſter ſhould be caried a croſſe & holy water, to ſprinckle the Commiſſioners withall, and then after that the ſayd Commiſſioners to bee ſenſed. And ſo after thys meting, and mumbling of a few deuotions, they determined with thys pompe and ſolemnity to bee brought to the Chappell.

Note the ambitious pompe of theſe Papiſtes.

Many thought they tooke more honor vppon them than belonged to the ſtate of man. Other ſome (foraſmuch as at that time they not only pretended the iuriſdictiō of the Cardinall, but alſo repreſented the power and authoritie of the byſhop of Rome hymſelfe, who was accoumpted to be more thā a mortall man) ſaid it was farre leſſe then of duety appertayned to his holynes, in that the honor that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to hys holynes. Now was the houre come at which they appoynted to meete: and being entred the kinges Colledge gate, where they loked for the Maſter and fellowes of the houſe, ſeing no man came to meete them, they proceded forthe to the church dore, where they ſtayed. There perceauing how the maſter and the reſt of the houſe were preſſing them ſelues as faſt they could, as in ſuch order as was appointed before, they came in ſodainly vpon them before they had ſet any foote out of their places.

The Commiſſioners repreſent the Pope.

Here was a foule fault cōmitted, that theſe men came in without Proceſſion.

Then the maſter firſt excuſed him ſelfe, that he was ready no ſoner, acknowledging that it had beene hys duety to haue bene in a readines. Secondly, he ſaid he was very glad of their comming, promyſing firſt in his owne name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reuerence as myght bee, in all matters concerning theyr common vtility, the which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at theyr handes, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in S. Maryes church, the ſame exception he made to them now alſo: the which his doyng he beſought them not to bee offended withall. For ſeing hee dyd it onely for the diſcharge of his duety, hee had iuſter cauſe to be held excuſed.

D. Braſſey excuſeth hym ſelf for yͤ ſlackneſſe of his proceſſiō.

D. Braſſey maketh exception againe.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his tale, but the Biſhop of Cheſter with a frowning looke and an angry countenaunce, interrupting him of his talke, ſayd: hee neded not to repeat the thinges he had proteſted before, nor they to make aunſwere any more to thoſe thinges wherein they had ſufficiently enformed him before. He rather feared that their quarel was not good, that they made ſuch a do about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting holes. For ſo were diſeaſed perſons oftentimes wont to do, when for the payne and griefe they are not able to abide a ſtrong medicine. As though that any man were able to graunt ſo ſtrong a priuiledge, as to withſtande the Popes authority. As for the biſhops letters, he ſaid muſt needes make on his ſide, and with ſuch as were with him, and could not in any wiſe be alleged againſt him. Therefore he admoniſhed hym to deſiſt from hys vnprofitable altercation, and to conforme himſelf and his to ſuch thinges as then were in doyng.

Doctor Scots aunſwere to D. Braſſey.

The Popes authoritie ſwalloweth vp all other priuileges.

After this they went to maſſe. Which finiſhed, with great ſolemnitie, firſt they went to the high altar of the church, and hauyng there ſaluted their God, and ſearching whether all were wel about him or no, they walked through all the inner chappels of the church. The church goodes, the croſſes, the chalices, yͤ maſſe bokes, the veſtmentes, and whatſoeuer ornamentes were beſides, were commaunded to be brought out vnto them. When they had ſufficiently vewed al thinges, and had called forth by name euery fellowe and ſcholler of the houſe, they went to the maiſters lodging, where firſt and formoſt ſwearyng them vpon a booke to aunſwer to all ſuche interrogatories as ſhould bee propounded vnto them (as far as they knewe) they examined firſt the maſter himſelf, and afterward all the reſidue, euery man in his turne. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this othe, both becauſe they had geuen their faith to the colledge before, and alſo becauſe they thought it agaynſt all right and reaſon to ſweare agaynſt themſelues: for it was cōtrary to all law that a man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelfe, and not to be ſuffred to keepe his conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt

The Legates ſalutyng firſt their God.

The othe refuſed of ſome in the Kynges Colledge, and why.

proofe to be laid to his charge: but much more vniuſt is it, that a man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelfe. Neuertheles theſe perſons alſo, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their fayth geuen before to the colledge, were not impeched therby) were contented to be ſworne.

The conſultation of the maſters vpon the takyng vp of M. Bucer.

Inquiſition to bee made of Mart. Bucers doctrine.

Mart. Bucers buriall againſt the holy Canō lawes.

Cauſes why Martin Bucer & Paulus Phagius bodies ought to bee taken vp.

Three dayes long laſted the Inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their commyng, and it was thought that the caſe of Bucer and Phagius was delaid longer then neded. For they looked to haue had much altercatiō and buſines about the matter. Now, foraſmuch as ye preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and aduiſement, the Vicechauncelor and the Maiſters of the Colledges aſſembled at the common ſchooles, where euery man gaue his verdite what he thought mete to bee done in this matter of Bucer. After much debatyng, they agreed altogether in this determination: that foraſmuch as Martin Bucer whiles hee liued, had not onely ſowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelfe beene a ſectary and famous hereticke erring from the Catholicke church, and geuing others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe: a ſupplication ſhould be made to the lord Commiſſioners, in the name of the whole Vniuerſitie, that his dead carkas might forthwith be digged vp (for ſo it was nedefull to be done) to the intent that inquiſition might bee made as touching hys doctrine, the which beyng brought in examination, if it were not found to bee good and wholeſome, the lawe might proceede againſt him: for it was againſt the rule of the holy Canons, that his body ſhould be buried in chriſten buriall. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open derogation of gods honour, and the violating of his holy lawes, with the great perill of many mens ſoules, and the offence of the faithfull, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a tyme as that was. Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which vtterly diſſented from all other men in the trade of their liuyng, lawes, and cuſtomes, ſhould haue any part with them in honour of buriall. And therefore the glory of God firſt and before all thinges ought to be defended, the infamie (which through this thing riſeth on them) with al ſpede put away, no roume at all left vnto thoſe perſons to reſt in, who euen in the ſame places where they lay, were iniurious and noyeſome to the very elementes, but the place ought to be purged, and all thinges ſo ordered as might be to the ſatiſfying of the conſciences of the weake. In executing wherof, ſo notable an example ought to be geuen to all men, that no man hereafter ſhould be ſo bolde to attempt the like.

Andrew Perne Vicechauncellour, made factor for the Vniuerſitie in the caſe of M. Bucer & Phagius. M. Chriſtophersons teſtimony of Perne. A Supplicatiō putte vp to the Inquiſitors by the vniuerſitie. Note this feate of conueyance.

They gaue the ſame verdite by common aſſent vpō Phagius alſo. Vnto this writing they annexed an other, by the whiche they lawfully authoriſed Andrewe Perne the Vicechauncelor, to be the cōmō factor for the Vniuerſity. He was a man meeteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimonie of Chriſtopherſon hee was demed to be moſt catholicke of all others. This ſupplication confirmed by the conſent of all the degrees of the Vniuerſitie, and ſigned with their common ſeale, the next day, which was the xiij. of January, the Vicechauncelor put vp to the Commiſſioners. Note here good Reader, what a feate conueyaūce this was, to ſuborne the Vniuerſitie vnder a colourable pretēſe to deſire this thing of them by way of peticion. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would neuer haue gone about it of themſelues.

But this gloſe was ſoone found out. For the Commiſſioners had geuen the Vicechauncelor inſtructions in writyng before. But peraduenture they thought by this meanes to remoue the enuy of this acte from themſelues.

The ſentence of condemnatiō againſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, copied out by the Datarie.

Thus the Vicechauncelor came vnto the Commiſſioners according to appointmēt made the day before, about vij. of the clocke in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his commyng, but that he had not onely obteyned his ſute, but alſo euen at the very ſame tyme receiued the ſentence of condemnation, for takyng vp Bucer and Phagius, faire copied out by Ormanet Datary himſelfe. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the degrees of the Vniuerſitie. Whervpon a ſolemne conuocation called congregatio regentium & non regentiū for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at ix. of the clocke: where the graduates being aſſembled together, the demaund was propounded cōcernyng the condemnatiō of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace aſked, which was this: Pleaſeth it you that M. Bucer for the hereſies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he dyed without repentaunce, and was buried in chriſten buriall, maye be exhumate and taken vp agayne, &c. After this grace eftſoones beyng graunted, then was the ſentence of condemnation drawen by the Datary, openly red, and immediatly an other grace aſked, that the ſame might be ſigned with the common ſeale. The whiche requeſt was very lightly and eaſily obteyned. And it was no meruayle. For nowe after the death of King Edward, ſince the tyme that the gouernement of the Realme came to the hande of Queene Mary, all ſuche perſons beyng driuen awaye as had reiected the Romiſhe religion (in whom well nye alonely reſted whatſoeuer wit and learning was in the whole Vniuerſitie beſides) ſuche a ſort of raſcalles were put in their roumes, that all places nowe ſwarmed with vnlearned and vnnurtured Chapleins. To whom nothing was greater pleaſure, then to cauſe all men to ſpeake ſclaunder and reproch of Bucer. There were diuers yet lefte among them, that ſpake agaynſte their demaundes. But they (becauſe, as it commonly commeth to paſſe, that might ouercommeth right) coulde nothing auaile. For this is a common cuſtome in all ſuch matters and ordinances, that loke what the greater number decreeth, is publiſhed in the name of all: and that which the better part diſallowed, ſeemeth as though no man at all diſallowed it.

Grace aſked in the congregatiō for the takyng vp of Martin Bucer.

January. 14.

The Sentence is ſigned with the cōmon ſeale of the Vniuerſitie.

The Sentence engroſſed new againe.

The next day beyng the 14. of January, all the viſitors (onely Chriſtopherſon elect of Chicheſter excepted) came to the kynges colledge. Where firſt goyng into the church, and there making their prayers at the greſinges, they ſo proceded into the ſtalles, there ſitting all the Maſſe tyme, the company ſtanding in their copes, and ſingyng a ſolemne reſpōde in honour of the viſitors. After the reſponde done, the Prouoſt in the beſt cope made to them his proteſtation, vnto whom the Byſhop of Cheſter made aunſwere alſo in Latine, declaring that he could not perceaue to what purpoſe his proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and beare with him. Then went they to Maſſe: which ended, the catholicke viſitors approched vp to the altar, and tooke downe the ſacrament, and ſearched the pixe, but firſt the two Biſhops ſenſed the ſacramēt. Then they went to the reueſtry, and opened the chaliſes, corporas caſes, and criſmatory, & vewed all thoſe thinges. And ſo returning into the Prouoſtes chamber, deuided themſelues in examination of the Prouoſt, Viceprouoſt, and the reſt of the company. The ſame day D. Bacon maiſter of Gonwell hall, had the Vicechauncelour, D. Yong, D. Haruy, Swinborne, Maptide with others, home to diner. Theſe men immediately after dinner, cauſed the common ſeale of the Vniuerſity to be put to the foreſaid inſtrument of condemnation, accordyng as was determined the day before by the generall conſent of the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie. And by and by after, they caried the ſame to the Commiſſioners to their lodging. The whiche when they had receyued, foraſmuch as after more diligent peruſing thereof, it liked not them in all pointes, ſome things they raſed out, ſome they enterlined, other ſome they chaunged: ſo that in fine, they were faine to take the paine to engroſſe it new againe.

January. 15.

D. Haruie preſenteth a Mandate from the Cardinall.

D. Perne maketh petition that Bucer and Phagius maie bee cited to the Courte.

To the ſigning wherof a cōgregatiō was eftſoones called of all the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie agaynſt the next day, which there beyng red ouer, a new grace again was aſked and graūted for ſettyng to the ſeale. Then were the Graduates diſmiſſed with commaūdement to reſort forthwith to S. Mary church, whether the Commiſſioners alſo repayred. When they had taken their places, Doct. Haruy preſented to them before all the company, a new commiſſion to make enqueſt vpon hereſie, then newly ſent from the Cardinal, which was red immediatly by Vincent of Noally, Ormanets Clarke. This done, Doct. Perne (who as ye heard, was factour for the Vniuerſitie) exhibited to the Commiſſioners in the name of the Vniuerſitie, the ſentence of the foreſayd condemnation. The copie and tenour wherof, hereafter (God willing) ſhall folow. This condemnation beyng openly red, then Doctour Perne aforeſayd deſired to ſend out proceſſe to cite Bucer & Phagius to appeare, or any other that would take vpon them to pleade their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the Court agaynſt the next Monday: to the intent that whē they had exhibited them ſelues, the

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Court might the better determine what ought to bee done to them by order of lawe.

The Commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next daye proceſſe went out to cite the offendours. This citation Vincent of Noally their common Notarie, hauyng firſt read it ouer before certaine witneſſes appoynted for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed vp in places conuenient, to witte, vppon S. Marie church doore, the doore of the common Schooles, and the croſſe in the markerſteade of the ſame towne. In this was ſpecified, that who ſoeuer would maintayne Bucer and Phagius, or ſtand in defence of their doctrine, ſhoulde at the xviij. day of the ſame moneth ſtand forth before the L. Commiſſioners in S. Marie church, which was appointed the place of iudgemēt, and there euery man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commaundement was ſet out with many wordes.

M. Bucer and Phagius cited out of their graues to appeare, or any other þ would aunſwere for them.

January.17.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward iudgement. Therefore the next day before the day limited, whiche was the xvij. of January, the Vicechauncellour called to him to Peterhouſe (wherof he was Maiſter.) Doct. Yong, Doct. Segiſwyke, & with them Bullocke, Tayler, Parker, and Redmā, Whitlocke, Mytch, and certaine others. These mē caſt their heades together how they might beare witnes agaynſt Bucer & Phagius, to conuince them of hereſie. For ſeyng the matter was brought in face of open Court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſſe: that ſome Patrones of their cauſe would come out, they thought it nedefull to haue witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine. What came of this their conſultation, it is not perfectly knowen.

Witneſſes ſworne agaynſt M. Bucer.

January.18.

The xviij. day the Vicechauncellour going to the Inquiſitours ſittyng at the kinges Colledge, did put them in remembraunce, that the ſame was the day in which by their proceſſe ſent forth the xvi. daye before, they had commaunded to appeare in S. Marie church ſuch as would take vppon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the lawe. Hee deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchaunce any man would trie the aduenture of the law. They lightly cōdeſcended therunto. When the Vicechauncellour had brought them thether, he exhibited vnto them the proceſſe of the Citation which he had receiued of them to publiſh a litle before, ſaying that he had diligently executed what ſoeuer the contentes of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and that no mā put forth him ſelfe to aunſwere for the offendours, the Judges called aſide Doct. Yong, Doct. Segiſwike, Bullocke, Tayler, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, aboue mentioned. Alſo Browne, Gogmā, Rud, Johnſon, Mytch, Rauen and Carre, who had before written out the buriall of Bucer, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſend it to Syr John Cheke knight. These men taking firſt their oth vpō a booke, were commaunded to beare witneſſe agaynſt the hereſies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The xxij. daye of the ſame moneth was limited to thys iurie to bring in their verdicte.

Other witneſſes ſworne agaynſt Maiſter Bucer.

In the meane while, Ormanet and Doct. Watſon abode at home in their lodging, to take the depoſitions of them whom we ſhewed you before to haue bene called to Peterhouſe, and to haue communicated with the Vicechauncellour as cōcernyng that matter, whoſe depoſitiōs (as I told you) neuer came to light. The Byſhop of Cheſter and Doct. Cole this day viſited them of Katherine Hall, where, as farre as could be learned, nothyng was done worthy of rehearſall.

As Ormanet þ Popes Datary was ſitting at Trinitie Colledge, John Dale, one of the Queenes Colledge, came to him, whom he had commaunded before to bryng with hym the pixe, wherein the Byſhop of Romes God of bread is wont to be encloſed. For Ormanet told thē he had a precious iewell: the ſame was a linnen clout that the Pope had conſecrated with hys owne handes, which he promiſed to beſtow vpon them for a gift. But Dale miſunderſtandyng Ormanet, in ſtede of the pixe brought a chalice and a ſingyng cake, called the hoſte, the which he had wrapped vp and put in his boſome. When he was come, Ormanet demaūded if hee had brought him the thing hee ſent him for. To whom he aunſwered, he had brought it. Thē geue it me (q he.) Dale pulled out the chalice & the ſingyng cake. When Ormanet ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat backe as it had bene in a wonder, callyng hym blockehead, & litle better then a mad mā, demaundyng what he mēt by thoſe thynges, ſaying: he willed hym to bryng none of that gere, and that he was vnworthy to enioy ſo hygh a benefite: yet notwithſtandyng for as much as he had promiſed before to geue it them, hee would performe his promiſe. Wherupon with great reuerēce and Ceremony he pulled out the linnen cloth and layd it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commaundyng them both for the holynes of the thing, and alſo for the authour of it, to keepe it among them with ſuch due reuerence as belonged to ſo holy a relique.

A beaſtliche gift by Ormanet to Trinitie Colledge.

Ormanet in a peltyng chafe with M. Dale.

About the ſame time the Commiſſioners had geuen commaundement to the Maiſters of the Colledges, that euery man ſhould put in writyng what bookes he had, with the authours names. And to the intent that euery man ſhould execute it without deceit, they tooke a corporall othe of them. This commaundement ſome executed exactely and diligentely: other ſome, for as much as they demed it wrongfull, executed it ſlackely enough.

A commaundement for bringing in of hereticall bookes.

We declared before that the xviij. day was limited for the day of iudgement. Whē the day came and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appeare at their call in the Court, nor that any put forth him ſelf to defend them: yet the courtuous Commiſſioners woulde not procede to iudgemēt, which neuertheleſſe, for their contumacy in abſentyng them ſelues, they might haue done, conſideryng how that day was peremptory. But theſe men beyng bent altogether to equitie and mercy, had rather ſhewe ſome fauor, then to doe the vttermoſt they might by the law. Wherupon Vincent publiſhed the ſecōd proces, and ſet it vp in the ſame places, as in maner before. The meanyng therof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put of the iudgemēt day vnto the xxvi. of the ſame moneth. Vpon the which day the Vicechauncellour was ſent for to their lodgyng, with whom they agreed concernyng the order of publiſhing the ſentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no ſolemnitie in the matter, they commaunded hym further to warne the Maior of the Towne to be there at the day appointed, with all his burgeſſes, which the Vicechaūcellour did ſpeede with all readines.

Graciouſly conſidered.

Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius the ſeconde tyme cited to appere.

January.26.

This day (as I ſaid) was the 26. of January, which being now come, firſt all degrees of the mother Vniuerſitie were aſſembled. And to fil vp this pageāt, thether came alſo the Maior and his townеſmen, and all met together in S. Marie Church to behold what there ſhould be determined vpō theſe men. After long attendaunce, at length the Commiſſioners came forth and went vp to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher then the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Doct. Perne the Vicechauncellour, the player of this enterlude, faſhionyng his countenaunce with great grauitie, reached to them the proces that was laſtly publiſhed, to cite them, ſaying theſe wordes: I bryng forth agayne (q he) to you right reuerend fathers and Commiſſioners of the moſt reuerend my Lord Cardinall Poole (paynting out the reſt of his ſtile) this Citatiō executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame: omittyng nothyng for his part that might make to the commēdation of this matter. When he had thus finiſhed his tale, by and by the Byſhop of Cheſter, after he had a litle bewed the people, began in maner as followeth.

An high matter in a low houſe.

The Oration of Doct. Scot byſhop of Cheſter, before the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE ſee (q he) how ſore the Vniuerſitie preſſeth vppon vs, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh vnto vs, not onely to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which, theſe certain yeares paſt haue ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretickes (as they be in dede) but alſo that we will commaund their dead carcaſſes, which vnto this daye haue obtained honorable buriall among you, to be digged vp, & as it is excellently ordeined by the Canon lawe, to bee caſt into fire, or what ſoeuer is more greuous then fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the Vniuerſitie deale not ſlyghtly nor ſlackely with vs in this caſe, but doe ſo preſſe vppon vs, and folow the ſute ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce geue vs any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of it ſelfe be ſuch, as that euen the vnworthynes of thoſe perſons though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce vs to the doyng thereof, muche the rather moued with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions, it is mete and conuenient we ſhould graunt it. For how ſoeuer we of our ſelues

The Oration of Doct. Scot Biſhop of Cheſter, before the pronouncyng of the ſentence of condēnation.

What diſſembling is here in theſe Popeholy Catholickes.

Tyrannie couered with the viſor of mercy.

ſelues art enclined to mercy in our hartes (thẽ the which we proteſt there is nothyng vnder the ſunne to vs more deare and acceptable) yet notwithſtandyng, the very lawe riſeth vp to reuengement, ſo that the common ſaluation of you all, whiche the lawe prouideth for, muſt bee preferred before the priuate charitie of our mindes. Neither ought any ſuche negligence to ouertake vs for our partes, that we beyng ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhypwracke of our former calamitie, ſhould now ſuffer this vnexpiable miſchief, to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weake.

Sathan transformyng hym ſelf into an Angell of light.

Moreouer, it is but reaſon that wee ſhould doe ſomewhat at ſo earneſt entreataunce and ſute of the Vniuerſitie. It nedeth not me to ſpeake much of our ſelues. For if we had beene deſirous to enterpriſe this matter, it had beene lawfull after the firſt Citation, to haue proceded to iudgement: but for becauſe wee were willing that their defendours ſhould bee heard, and that the matter ſhould bee denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſſe. If wee had deſyred reuengement, wee myght haue ſhewed cruelty vppon them that are aliue: of the which (alas the more pity) there are to many that embrace thys doctrine. If wee thirſted for bloud, it was not to bee ſought in withered carcaſſes and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceaue, it was no part of our willes that wee now came hether, but partly induced at the entreataunce of the Vniuerſitie, partly moued with the vnworthynes of the caſe it ſelf, but eſpecially for the care and regarde we haue of your health and ſaluation, which we couet by all meanes to preſerue.

O Lorde God, as though this were the doyng of the Vniuerſitie, and not your owne.

The Wolfe pretendeth to bee a Lambe.

As though the Cardinall ſent you not downe before ye came to the Vniuerſitie.

For you your ſelues are the cauſe of this buſines: you gaue occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this daie ought to be a notable example to remaine as a memoriall to them that ſhall come after: as in that which ye may learne, not only to ſhake of the filth which ye haue taken of theſe perſons, but alſo to beware hereafter, that ye fall no more ſo ſhamefully as ye haue done. But I truſt God will defende you, and geue ye mindes to kepe your ſelues from it.

As concerning the parties them ſelues, whoſe caſe now hangeth in law, they bare aboute the name of the Goſpell, where as in dede they wrought nothing els than theuery & deceit. And ſo much the wickeder were they, in that they ſought to couer ſo ſhamefull actes, with the cloke of ſo fayre and holy a name. Wherfore it is not to be doubted but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of it ſelfe wicked, to you pernicious, by the authours thereof ſhamefull and abominable. But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeaũce, will winke at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding, if we vpon whom the charge of the lords flocke leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape vnpuniſhed, we ſhould not liue in quiet one houre.

Bucer & Phagius falſely accuſed of hypocriſie, by falſe hypocrites.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſie: the forme and tenour of which ſentence, framed after the Barbarous rude ſtile of that church, thus followeth.

¶ The ſentence of condemnation agaynſt M. Bucer, and Paul. Phagius.

NOs Cuthbertus Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus Ceſtrenſis, Nicolaus Ormanetus, Archipreſ. plebis Bodoloni Veronen. dioceſis infraſcripti, Reuerendi domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watſon Decanus Duuelmen. & Henricus Cole, Præpoſitus Collegij Etonen. ad Vniuerſitatem ſtudij generalis oppidi Cantabrigien. Elien. dioc. viſitand. Necnon ad in quibuſcunque cauſis in eodem oppido Cantabrigiæ, & locis ei adiacen. commorantes perſonas, motis, & mouendis, inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expreſſe ad eorum, qui in hæreſi deceſſerint, memoriam damnandum, per literas illuſtriſſimi ac reuerendiſſimi in Chriſto patris, domini Reginaldi Mariæ in Coſmedin, S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, ſanctiſſimi domini noſtri Papæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad Sereniſſimum Philippum ac Sereniſſimam Mariam Angliæ Regem & Reginam, & vniuerſum Angliæ Regnum de latere Legati, Commiſſarij, ſiue delegati ſpecialiter deputati, & ad huiuſmodi peragendum ſufficienti facultate muniti, ſaluatoris & Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti nomine inuocato, pro tribunali ſeden. & ſolum Deum qui iuſtus eſt Dominus præ oculis habẽtes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſententiam, quam de ſacræ Theologiæ, & Iuriſperitorum conſilio erimus, in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis, quæ coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Vniuerſitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex vna, & iniquitatis filios quondam Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, & in hoc oppido olim commorantes & decedentes, reos denunciatos de & ſuper crimine hæreſis notorie per eos, dũ vixerint, incurſo, rebuſque alijs in actis cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus, in prima verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur inſtantia, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus prædictos.

The Sentence of condemnatiõ againſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas & dogmata ſanctorum patrum, necnon Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones, chriſtianæque religionis, hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus ac proceſſus (qui ſingulis annis die cœnę domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari & legi conſueuerunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wicleffiſtæ, & Lutherani, & omnes alij hæretici damnati, & anathematizati fuerunt) de Sacramentis Eccleſiæ, preſertim circa illorum numerum, aliter quàm ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſeruat, ſentiendo, & docendo, ac ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ, & ſummi Pontificis primatum, & authoritatem negando, & publicè damnãdo, & præſertim hunc articulum.

Againſt Martin Bucer.

Quod Eccleſia erret in fide & moribus.

Hic in publicis commitijs expreſſè defendendo, & illum verum eſſe definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tam per damnatæ memoriæ Iohannem Wicleffe & id maxime.

Omnia fato & abſoluta neceſſitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum, & alios hereſiarchas propoſita & damnata, quàm à ſe etiam inuenta & fabricata, falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo, & ſequendo, ac deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimi faciẽdo, impreſſoſque publicando in illiſque ſcripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione huiuſmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non ſolum hæreticum, ſed hæreſiarcham.

Paulum verò Fagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæreſim ſapiunt, ab eo in ſuis ſcriptis prolata, impiæ memorię Iohãnem Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum prædictũ, necnon Philippum Melancthonem, & Iohannem Brentium, notorios & inſignes hæreſiarchas, & eorum doctrinam, & in eius ſcriptis impreſſis & vulgo æditis, non ſolum probando, ſed ſummis laudibus attollendo, ſe non ſolum hæreticis fauere, ſed eorum falſis dogmatibus aſſentire, & ea credere, & probare: ad eaque credenda, alios inducere, niti manifeſte ſe oſtendit, & hic pro hæretico communiter & notoriè habitus & reputatus, in huiuſmodi errore impænitens deceſſit, non ſolum hæreticorum fautorem, ſed hæreticum fuiſſe, necnon eoſdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Fagium excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias quaſcunque contra huiuſmodi perſonas, tam de iure communi, quàm per literas, proceſſum prędictorum ſtatutas ſententias, cenſuras, & pœnas damnabiliter incidiſſe & incurriſſe: & eorum memoriam condemnandam eſſe, & condemnamus, ac eorum corpora & oſſa quæ hoc tempore pernicioſiſſimi ſchiſmatis, & aliarum hæreſium, in hoc regno vigentium, Eccleſiaſticæ fuerunt temere tradita ſepulturæ, quatenus ab alijs fideliũ corporibus, & oſſibus diſcerni poſſunt iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, exhumanda, & procul ab Eccleſia proijcienda, & exhumari & proijci mandamus, & eorum libros ac Scripturas, ſi quæ hic reperiantur, publicè comburen. & comburi præcipimus: ac eoſdem libros & Scripturas quibuſcunque, tam huius vniuerſitatis, quàm oppidi, & locorum eis adiacentium, perſonis, ſub pœnis, tam ex iure communi, quàm literis proceſſuum prædictorum, ſeu quomodolibet alias cõtra haben. & legen. libros hæreticos ſtatutis, interdicimus.

Againſt Paulus Phagius.

Paulus Phagius for commendyng Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancthon, and Brentius, condẽned.

After the ſentence thus red, the Biſhop commaunded their bodyes to be digged out of their graues, and being diſgraded from holy orders, deliuered them into the hands of the ſecular power. For it was not lawfull for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring from all bloudſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murder, to put any man to death.

¶ The effect of Doct. Pernes Sermon agaynſt Maſter Bucer.

OVer and beſides this oration & ſentence of Doctour Scot, came in alſo Doctour Perne Vicechancellour, with his ſermon tendyng to the ſame effect, to the deprauing of M. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the

Pernes Sermon againſt Bucer.

132. Pſalme: Beholde howe good and pleaſaunt a thyng it is. &c.

Where beginnyng firſte with the commendation of concord, & of the mutuall knittyng together of the myndes, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to holde together, vnles the concorde were deriued out of the head, the whiche he made to be the Biſhop of Rome, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof, he paſſed forth to Bucer, vppon whom he made a ſhamefull raylyng, ſaying: that his doctrine gaue occaſion of diuiſion in the common wealth, and that there was not ſo greeuous a miſchiefe, whiche by his meanes had not bene brought into the Realme.

Although all men mighte perceiue by the bookes he had compiled, what manner of Doctrine it was: yet notwithſtanding (he ſaid) he knewe it more perfectly him ſelf then any did, and that he had learned it apart at the authours hand hym ſelfe.

D. Pernes accuſation agaynſt M. Bucer.

For at ſuche tyme as they had communication ſecretely among them ſelues, Bucer (ſaid he) woulde oftentymes wiſhe he might be called by ſome other name, then by the name he had: for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf giltie of ſo greeuous a crime, he might by this meanes eſcape vnknowen to the world, and auoyd the talke that wēt among men of hym.

A fine hereſy noted of D. Perne.

Moreouer, among other thynges, he tolde howe Bucer helde opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſſe to hym his owne ſelfe) that God was the authour and welſpryng, not onely of good, but alſo of euyll: and that what ſoeuer was of that ſort, flowed from hym as from the head ſpring, and maker therof. The which doctrine he vpheld to be ſincere: howbeit, for offending diuers mens conſciences, he durſt not put it into mens heades.

Shamefull lying of D. Perne agaynſt M. Bucer.

Many other thynges he patched together of like purpoſe and effect, as of the ſupremacie of the biſhop of Rome, of the mariage of Prieſtes, of diuorcementes, and of ſhamefull vſurie alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawfull to be vſed among Chriſten people, with diuers other of the like ſorte.

In all which his allegations, conſideryng how lewdly without all ſhame he lyed vpon Bucer (as his writings euidently declare) he dyd not ſo muche hynder his name with raylyng vpon hym, as wynne vnto hym ſelfe an inreparable infamie, by forgyng ſo ſhamefull leaſinges vppon ſo worthy a man.

But what needeth witnes to proue hym a lyer? his owne conſcience ſhall make as muche agaynſte hym, as a number of men.

D. Perne ſpeaketh agaynſt his owne conſcience, in raylyng agaynſt M. Bucer.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his owne familiar frendes teſtified, that the ſayde Doctour Perne him ſelfe, either immediately after his Sermon, or els ſomwhat before he went to it, ſtrikyng hym ſelfe on the breſt, and in a maner weepyng, wiſhed at home at his houſe with all his hart, that God woulde graunt his ſoule might euen then preſently departe and remayne with Bucers. For he knewe well enough that his lyfe was ſuche, that if any mans ſoule were worthy of heauen, he thought his in eſpecially to be moſt worthy.

Verſes agaynſt M. Bucer and Phagius.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the meane tyme the leaues of the Churche doores were couered ouer with verſes: in the which the young men, to ſhew their folly, which ſcarſe knew hym by ſight, blaſed Bucers name with moſt reprochful Poetrie.

The Sentence of condemnation ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters.

These thynges beyng diſpatched, Perne (as though he had ſped his matter marueilouſly well) was for his labour, of courteſie bydden to dynner to Trinitie Colledge by the Commiſſioners. Where, after the table was taken vp, they cauſed the ſentence of Condemnation to be copyed out with all ſpeede: which beyng ſigned with the Byſhop of Cheſters Seale, the next day folowyng was for a triumph ſent to London with diuers of thoſe verſes & ſclaunderous Libelles.

A writte for burning of heretickes.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their owne letters, wherein they both aduertiſed the Cardinall howe farre they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his Grace, that he woulde cauſe to be ſent out of hande to Smyth the Maior of the Towne, the Commaundement, commonly called a Writte for the burnyng of Heretikes. For vnleſſe he had the Queenes warrant to ſaue hym harmeleſſe, he would not haue to do in the matter: and that which remayned to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched tyll that warrant came.

Whiles this Purſiuant went on his iourney, they willed to be brought vnto them, the bookes that they commaunded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

Watſons Sermon vpon Candlemas day.

About the ſame tyme, Doctour Watſon takyng occaſion vpon the day, becauſe it was a high Feaſt, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memoriall of the Purification of the bleſſed Virgine, made a Sermon to the people vppon that Pſalme: We haue receyued thy mercye, O Lorde, in the myddeſt of thy Temple, &c. In the whiche Sermon he ſpake muche reproch of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe men and all the heretikes of our time that were of the ſame opinion (the which for the moſt part he ſaid, were budded out of Germanie,) among other things which they had perniciouſly put into mens heads, taught to caſte awaye all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtandyng the Apoſtle hym ſelfe commaunded all thynges to be done in due order.

And vppon that deede of the bleſſed Virgine and Ioſeph whiche was done by them as vppon that daye, it was manifeſtly apparaunt, that they with our Sauiour being then a litle babe, obſerued theſe rites and Ceremonies for Catholike men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the Temple the ſame tyme with waxe Candles in their handes, after the maner of Proceſſion (as they terme it) in good order, with much reuerence and deuotion: and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mocke at theſe things with the heretikes and ſchiſmatikes.

Mary and Ioſeph went a proceſſion with waxe candels, or els D. Watſon ſayth falſe.

As he was tellyng his tale of Chriſt, Mary, and Ioſeph, one of them that heard hym, a pleaſant and mery conceyted felowe, turnyng hym ſelfe to hym that ſtode next hym, and if it be true (quoth he) that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might ſpurre hym a queſtion) bare the Croſſe before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemne ceremonies. Not only this man ieſted at the Preachers folly, but diuers other alſo laughed at his manifeſt vnſhamefaſtnes, in preaching theſe ſo vayne and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

A queſtion to be ſpurred to D. Watſon.

The ſodayne ſownde of Chriſtopherſon.

While he was thus talkyng to his audience, Iohn Chriſtopherſon elected Biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtriken with a ſodayne ſicknes, fell downe in a ſounde among the preaſſe, and with muche adoo, being ſcarſe able a good while to come to hym ſelfe agayne, in the meane tyme babled many thynges vnaduiſedly, and as though he had bene out of his wyttes. Some thought it came vppon this occaſion, becauſe he had bene greatly accuſed before the Commiſſioners for miſſpending and miſorderyng the goods of the Colledge, and therefore was greeued with the matter, knowyng that they had bene offended with hym, by that that Ormanet had cancelled before his face a Leaſe of his, by the which he had let to ferme to his brother in Law a certayne Manor of that Colledge, becauſe the couenants ſeemed vnreaſonable.

By this tyme was returned agayne the Purſiuant, who (as we before told) was ſent to London w the Commiſſioners letters, and brought with hym a warrant for the burning of theſe men.

The day aſſigned for burning of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius bodyes.

Upon the receit wherof they appoynted the ſixt day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter. For it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therfore when the ſaid day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent for the Vicechauncellour, demaundyng of hym in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readynes for the accompliſhment of this buſines, or no. Underſtandyng by hym that all thinges were ready, they commaunded the matter to be diſpatched out of hand.

The taking vp of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

The Vicechancellor therfore taking with hym Marſhal the cōmon Notary, went firſt to S. Michaels church wher Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sewyer, & Hen. Adams, men of the ſame pariſh, and bound them with an othe, to dyg vp Phagius bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhall tooke their othes, receiuyng the like of Roger Smith and W. Haſell, the towne Sergeantes, & of Iohn Capper, Warden of the ſame church, for doing ÿ like with Bucer. Smith the Maior of the towne, which ſhould be their executioner, (for it was not lawfull for them to intermeddle in caſes of bloud) commaunded certayne of his townſmen to wayte vpon hym in harneſſe, by whom the dead bodyes were garded, and beyng bound with ropes, & layd vpon mens ſhoulders (for they were encloſed in cheſtes, Bucer in the ſame that he was buryed, and Phagius in a newe) they were borne into the middeſt of ÿ market ſtede with a great trayne of people folowyng them.

The burning of Mart. Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

This place was prepared before, and a greate Poſte was ſet faſte in the grounde, to bynde the carcaſſes to, and a great heape of woode was layde ready to burne them withall.

When they came thyther, the Cheſtes were ſet vp on ende, with the deade bodyes in them, and faſtened on both

Sathan transforming hym ſelf into an Angell of light.

ſelues art enclined to mercy in our hartes(thẽ the which we proteſt there is nothyng vnder the ſunne to vs more deare and acceptable) yet notwithſtandyng, the very lawe riſeth vp to reuengement, ſo that the common ſaluation of you all, whiche the lawe prouideth for, muſt bee preferred before the priuate charitie of our mindes. Neither ought any ſuche negligence to ouertake vs for our partes, that we beyng ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhypwracke of our former calamitie, ſhould now ſuffer this vnexpiable miſchief, to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weake.

O Lorde God: as though this were the doyng of the Vniuerſitie, and not your owne.

Moreouer, it is but reaſon that wee ſhould doe ſomewhat at ſo earneſt entreataunce and ſute of the Vniuerſitie. It nedeth not me to ſpeake much of our ſelues. For if we had beene deſirous to enterpriſe this matter, it had beene lawfull after the firſt Citation, to haue proceded to iudgement: but for becauſe wee were willing that their defendours ſhould bee heard, and that the matter ſhould bee denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſſe. If wee had deſyred reuengement, wee myght haue ſhewed cruelty vppon them that are aliue: of the which (alas the more pity) there are to many that embrace thys doctrine. If wee thirſted for bloud, it was not to bee ſought in withered carcaſſes and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceaue, it was no part of our willes that wee now came hether, but partly induced at the entreataunce of the Vniuerſitie, partly moued with the vnworthynes of the caſe it ſelf, but eſpecially for the care and regarde we haue of your health and ſaluation, which we couet by all meanes to preſerue.

The Wolfe pretendeth to bee a Lambe.

As though the Cardinall ſent you not doune before ye came to the Vniuerſitie.

For you your ſelues are the cauſe of this buſines: you gaue occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this daie ought to be a notable example to remaine as a memoriall to them that ſhall come after: as in that which ye may learne, not only to ſhake of the filth which ye haue taken of theſe perſons, but alſo to beware hereafter, that ye fall no more ſo ſhamefully as ye haue done. But I truſt God will defende you, and geue ye mindes to kepe your ſelues from it.

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As concerning the parties them ſelues, whoſe caſe now hangeth in law, they bare aboute the name of the Goſpell, where as in dede they wrought nothing els than theuery & deceit. And ſo much the wickeder were they, in that they ſought to couer ſo ſhamefull actes, with the cloke of ſo fayre and holy a name. Wherfore it is not to be doubted but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of it ſelfe wicked, to you pernicious, by the authours thereof ſhamefull and abominable. But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeaũce, will winke at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding, if we vpon whom the charge of the lords flocke leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape vnpuniſhed, we ſhould not liue in quiet one houre.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſie: the forme and tenour of which ſentence, framed after the Barbarous rude ſtile of that church, thus followeth.

¶ The ſentence of condemnation agaynſt M.Bucer, and Paul. Phagius.

The Sentence of condemnatiõ agaynſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

Nos Cuthbertus Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus Ceſtrenſis, Nicolaus Ormanetus, Archipreſ. plebis Bodoloni Veronen. dioceſis infraſcripti, Reuerendi domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watſon Decanus Duuelmen. & Henricus Cole, Præpoſitus Collegij Etonen. ad Vniuerſitatem ſtudij generalis oppidi Cantabrigien. Elien. dioc. viſitand. Necnon ad in quibuſcunque cauſis in eodem oppido Cantabrigiæ, & locis ei adiacen. commorantes perſonas, motis, & mouendis, inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expreſſe ad eorum, qui in hæreſi deceſſerint, memoriam damnandum, per literas illuſtriſſimi ac reuerendiſſimi in Chriſto patris, domini Reginaldi Mariæ in Coſmedin, S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Presbyteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, ſanctiſſimi domini noſtri Papæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad Sereniſſimum Philippum ac Sereniſſimam Mariam Angliæ Regem & Reginam, & vniuerſum Angliæ Regnum de latere Legati, Commiſſarij, ſiue delegati ſpecialiter deputati, & ad huiuſmodi peragendum ſufficienti facultate muniti, ſaluatoris & Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti nomine inuocato, pro tribunali ſeden. & ſolum Deum qui iuſtus eſt Dominus præ oculis habẽtes, per hanc noſtram diffinitiuam ſententiam, quam de ſacræ Theologiæ, & Iuriſperitorum conſilio ferimus, in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis, quæ coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Vniuerſitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex vna, & iniquitatis filios quondam Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, & in hoc oppido olim commorantes & decedentes, reos denunciatos de & ſuper crimine hæreſis notorie per eos, dũ vixerint, incurſo, rebuſque alijs in actis cauſæ & cauſarum huiuſmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus, in prima verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur inſtantia, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus prædictos.

Agaynſt Martin Bucer.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas & dogmata ſanctorum patrum, necnon Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones, chriſtianæque religionis, hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus ac proceſſus (qui ſingulis annis die cœnę domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari & legi conſueuerunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wicleffiſtæ, & Lutherani, & omnes alij hæretici damnati, & anathematizati fuerunt) de Sacramentis Eccleſiæ, preſertim circa illorum numerum, aliter quàm ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſeruat, ſentiendo, & docendo, ac ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ, & ſummi Pontificis primatum, & authoritatem negando, & publicè damnãdo, & præſertim hunc articulum.

Quod Eccleſia erret in fide & moribus.

Hic in publicis commitijs expreſſè defendendo, & illum verum eſſe definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tam per damnatæ memoriæ Iohannem Wicleffe & id maxime,

Omnia fato & abſoluta neceſſitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum, & alios hęreſiarchas propoſita & damnata, quàm à ſe etiam inuenta & fabricata, falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo, & ſequendo, ac deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimi faciẽdo, impreſſoſque publicando in illiſque ſcripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione huiuſmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non ſolum hæreticum, ſed hæreſiarcham.

Agaynſt Paulus Phagius.

Paulus Phagius for commendyng Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melãcthon, and Brẽtius, condẽned.

Paulum verò Fagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæreſim ſapiunt, ab eo in ſuis ſcriptis prolata, impiæ memorię Iohãnem Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum prædictũ, necnon Philippum Melancthonem, & Iohannem Brentium, notorios & inſignes hæreſiarchas, & eorum doctrinam, & in eius ſcriptis impreſſis & vulgo æditis, non ſolum probando, ſed ſummis laudibus attollendo, ſe non ſolum hæreticis fauere, ſed eorum falſis dogmatibus aſſentire, & ea credere, & probare: ad eaque credenda, alios inducere, niti manifeſte ſe oſtendit, & hic pro hæretico communiter & notoriè habitus & reputatus, in huiuſmodi errore impænitens deceſſit, non ſolum hæreticorum fautorem, ſed hæreticum fuiſſe, necnon eoſdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Fagium excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias quaſcunque contra huiuſmodi perſonas, tam de iure communi, quàm per literas, proceſſum prędictorum ſtatutas ſententias, cenſuras, & pœnas damnabiliter incidiſſe & incurriſſe: & eorum memoriam condemnandam eſſe, & condemnamus, ac eorum corpora & oſſa quæ hoc tempore pernicioſiſſimi ſchiſmatis, & aliarum hæreſium, in hoc regno vigentium, Eccleſiaſticæ fuerunt temere tradita ſepulturæ, quatenus ab alijs fideliũ corporibus, & oſſibus diſcerni poſſunt iuxta canonicas ſanctiones, exhumanda, & procul ab Eccleſia proijcienda, & exhumari & proijci mandamus, & eorum libros ac Scripturas, ſi quæ hic reperiantur, publicè comburen. & comburi præcipimus: ac eoſdem libros & Scripturas quibuſcunque, tam huius vniuerſitatis, quàm oppidi, & locorum eis adiacentium, perſonis, ſub pœnis, tam ex iure communi, quàm literis proceſſuum prædictorum, ſeu quomodolibet alias cõtra haben. & legen. libros hæreticos ſtatutis, interdicimus.

After the ſentence thus red, the Biſhop commaunded their bodyes to be digged out of their graues, and being diſgraded from holy orders, deliuered them into the hands of the ſecular power. For it was not lawfull for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring from all bloudſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murder, to put any man to death.

¶ The effect of Doct. Pernes Sermon agaynſt Maſter Bucer.

Pernes Sermon againſt Bucer.

Over and beſides this oration & ſentence of Doctour Scot, came in alſo Doctour Perne Vicechancellour, with his ſermon tendyng to the ſame effect, to the deprauing of M. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the

132. Pſalme:

1557. January.

132. Pſalme: Beholde howe good and pleaſaunt a thyng it is. &c.

Where beginnyng firſte with the commendation of concord, & of the mutuall knittyng together of the myndes, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to holde together, vnles the concorde were deriued out of the head, the whiche he made to be the Biſhop of Rome, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof, he paſſed forth to Bucer, vppon whom he made a ſhamefull raylyng, ſaying: that his doctrine gaue occaſion of diuiſion in the common wealth, and that there was not ſo greeuous a miſchiefe, whiche by his meanes had not bene brought into the Realme.

Although all men mighte perceiue by the bookes he had compiled, what manner of Doctrine it was: yet notwithſtanding (he ſaid) he knewe it more perfectly him ſelf then any did, and that he had learned it apart at the authours hand hym ſelfe.

D. Pernes acuſation agaynſt M. Bucer.

For at ſuche tyme as they had communication ſecretely among them ſelues, Bucer (ſaid he) woulde oftentymes wiſhe he might be called by ſome other name, then by the name he had: for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf giltie of ſo greeuous a crime, he might by this meanes eſcape vnknowen to the world, and auoyd the talke that wēt among men of hym.

A ſore hereſy noted of D. Perne.

Moreouer, among other thynges, he tolde howe Bucer helde opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſſe to hym his owne ſelfe) that God was the authour and welſpryng, not onely of good, but alſo of euyll: and that what ſoeuer was of that ſort, flowed from hym as from the head ſpring, and maker therof. The which doctrine he vpheld to be ſincere: howbeit, for offending diuers mens conſciences, he durſt not put it into mens heades.

Shamefull lying of D. Perne agaynſt M. Bucer.

Many other thynges he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the ſupremacie of the biſhop of Rome, of the mariage of Prieſtes, of diuorcementes, and of ſhamefull vſurie alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawfull to be vſed among Chriſten people, with diuers other of the like ſorte.

In all which his allegations, conſideryng how lewdly without all ſhame he lyed vpon Bucer (as his writinges euidently declare) he dyd not ſo muche hynder his name with raylyng vpon hym, as wynne vnto hym ſelfe an inexpiable infamie, by forgyng ſo ſhamefull leaſinges vppon ſo worthy a man.

But what nedeth witnes to proue hym a lyer? his owne conſcience ſhall make as muche agaynſte hym, as a number of men.

D. Perne ſpeaketh agaynſt his owne conſcience, in ſaying agaynſt M. Bucer.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his owne familiar frendes teſtified, that the ſayde Doctour Perne him ſelfe, either immediately after his Sermon, or els ſomwhat before he went to it, ſtrikyng hym ſelfe on the breſt, and in a maner weepyng, wiſhed at home at his houſe with all his hart, that God woulde graunt his ſoule might euen then preſently departe and remayne with Bucers. For he knewe well enough that his lyfe was ſuche, that if any mans ſoule were worthy of heauen, he thought his in eſpecially to be moſt worthy.

Verſes agaynſt M. Bucer and Phagius.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the meane tyme the leaues of the Churche dores were couered ouer with verſes: in the which the young men, to ſhew their folly, which ſcarſe knew hym by ſight, blaſed Bucers name with moſt reprochful Poetrie.

The Sentence of condemnation ſent to London with the Commiſſioners letters.

Theſe thynges beyng diſpatched, Perne (as though he had ſped his matter marueilouſly well) was for his labour, of courteſie bydden to dynner to Trinitie Colledge by the Commiſſioners. Where, after the table was taken vp, they cauſed the ſentence of Condemnation to be copyed out with all ſpeede: which beyng ſigned with the Byſhop of Cheſters Seale, the next day folowyng was for a triumph ſent to London with diuers of thoſe verſes & ſclaunderous Libelles.

A writte for burning of heretickes.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their owne letters, wherein they both aduertiſed the Cardinall howe farre they had proceded in that matter, and alſo deſired his Grace, that he woulde cauſe to be ſente oute of hande to Smyth the Maior of the Towne, the Commaundement, commonly called a Writte for the burnyng of Heretikes. For vnleſſe he had the Queenes warrant to ſaue hym harmeleſſe, he would not haue to doo in the matter: and that which remayned to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched tyll that warrant came.

Whiles this Purſuiuant went on his iourney, they willed to be brought vnto them, the bookes that they commaunded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

Watſons Sermon vpon Candlemas day.

About the ſame tyme, Doctour Watſon takyng occaſion vpon the day, becauſe it was a high Feaſt, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memoriall of the Purification of the bleſſed Virgine, made a Sermon to the people vppon that Pſalme: We haue receyued thy mercye, O Lorde, in the myddeſt of thy Temple. &c. In the whiche Sermon he ſpake muche reproch of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe men and all the heretikes of our time that were of the ſame opinion (the which for the moſt part he ſaid, were budded out of Germanie,) amōg other things which they had perniciouſly put into mens heads, taught to caſte awaye all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtandyng the Apoſtle hym ſelfe commaunded all thynges to be done in due order.

Mary and Ioſeph went a proceſſion with waxe candels, or els D. Watſon ſayth falſe.

And vppon that deede of the bleſſed Virgine and Ioſeph whiche was done by them as vppon that daye, it was manifeſtly apparaunt, that they with our Sauiour being then a litle babe, obſerued theſe rites and Ceremonies for Catholike men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the Temple the ſame tyme with waxe Candles in their handes, after the maner of Proceſſion (as they terme it) in good order, with much reuerence and deuotion: and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mocke at theſe things with the heretikes and ſchiſmatikes.

A queſtion to be anſwered to D. Watſon.

As he was tellyng his tale of Chriſt, Mary, and Ioſeph, one of them that heard hym, a pleaſant and merry conceyted felowe, turnyng hym ſelfe to hym that ſtoode nexte hym, and if it be true (quoth he) that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might ſpurre hym a queſtion) bare the Croſſe before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemne ceremonies. Not only this man ieſted at the Preachers folly, but diuers other alſo laughed at his manifeſt vnſhamefaſtnes, in preaching theſe ſo vayne and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

The ſodayne ſownde of Chriſtopherſon.

While he was thus talkyng to his audience, Iohn Chriſtopherſon elected Biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtriken with a ſodayne ſicknes, fell downe in a ſounde among the preaſſe, and with muche adoo, being ſcarſe able a good while to come to hym ſelfe agayne, in the meane tyme babled many thynges vnaduiſedly, and as though he had bene out of his wyttes. Some thought it came vppon this occaſion, becauſe he had bene greatly accuſed before the Commiſſioners for miſpending and miſordering the goodes of the Colledge, and therefore was greeued with the matter, knowyng that they had bene offended with hym, by that that Ormanet had cancelled before his face a Leaſe of his, by the which he had let to ferme to his brother in Law a certayne Manor of that Colledge, becauſe the couenauntes ſemed vnreaſonable.

By this tyme was returned agayne the Purſiuant, who (as we before told) was ſent to London w the Commiſſioners letters, and brought with hym a warrant for the burning of theſe men.

The day aſſigned for burning of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius bodyes.

Vpon the receit wherof they appoynted the firſt day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter. For it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therfore when the ſaid day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent for the Vicechauncellour, demaunding of hym in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readynes for the accompliſhment of this buſines, or no. Vnderſtandyng by hym that all thinges were ready, they commaunded the matter to be broched out of hand.

The taking vp of Martyn Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

The Vicechauncellor therfore taking with hym Marſhal the cōmon Notary, went firſt to S. Michaels church wher Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, & Hen. Adams, men of the ſame pariſh, and bound them with an othe, to dyg vp Phagius bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhall toke their othes, receiuyng the like of Roger Smith and W. Haſell, the towne Sergeants, & of Iohn Capper, Warde of the ſame church, for doing yͤ like with Bucer. Smith the Maior of the towne, which ſhould be their executioner, (for it was not lawfull for them to intermeddle in caſes of bloud) commaunded certayne of his townesmen to wayte vpon hym in harneſſe, by whom the dead bodyes were garded, and beyng bound with ropes, & layd vpon mens ſhoulders (for they were encloſed in cheſtes, Bucer in the ſame that he was buryed, and Phagius in a newe) they were borne into the middeſt of yͤ marketſtede with a great trayne of people folowyng them.

The burning of Mar. Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

This place was prepared before, and a greate Poſte was ſet faſte in the grounde, to bynde the carcaſſes to, and a great heape of wodde was layde readye to burne them withall.

When they came thyther, the Cheſtes were ſet vp an ende, with the deade bodyes in them, and faſtened on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the Poſt with a long yron Chayne, as if they had bene alyue. Fyre beyng forthwith put to, as ſone as it beganne to flame round about, a great ſort of bookes that were condemned with them, were caſte into the ſame.

The talke of the countreyfolke of the burnyng of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

There was that day gathered into the towne, a great multitude of countrey folke (for it was market day) who ſeeyng men borne to executiõ, and learnyng by inquirie that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extreme crueltie of the Commiſſioners toward the rotten carcaſſes, and partly laughed at their folly in makyng ſuch preparature. For what needeth any weapon, ſaide they? as though they were afrayd that the dead bodyes which feale them not, would doo them ſome harme? Or to what purpoſe ſerueth that chayne wherwith they are tyed, ſithens they might be burnt looſe without peryll? for it was not to be feared that they would runne away.

Thus euery body that ſtood by, found fault with the crueltie of the dede, either ſharply or els lightly, as euery mans mynd gaue hym. There were very fewe that liked their doyng therin.

The purpoſe of Doctour Watſon. Sermon againſt Martin Bucer.

Watſons Sermon at the burnyng of Bucer and Phagius.

IN the meane tyme that they were a roſtyng in the fyre, Watſon went into the Pulpite in Saint Mary church, and there before his audience railed vpon their doctrine, as wicked & erroneous: ſaying, that it was the ground of all miſchiefe that had happened of a long tyme in the common weale. For behold (ſayd he) as well the proſperitie as the aduerſitie of theſe yeares that haue enſued, and ye ſhall finde that all thynges haue chaunced vnluckely to them that haue folowed this newe found fayth: as contrary all thynges haue happened fortunately to them that haue eſchewed it. What robbyng and polyng (quoth he) haue we ſeene in this Realme, as long as Religion was defaced with ſectes, the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenaunce of the whole publike weale) and the goodes of the Realme ſhamefully ſpent in waſte, for the mayntenaunce of a fewe folkes luſtes: all good order broken: all diſcipline caſt aſide: holy dayes appoynted to the ſolemniſing of ceremonies neglected: and that more is the places them ſelues beaten downe, fleſhe and other kynde of prohibited ſuſtenaunce eaten euery where vpon dayes forbydden, without remorſe of conſcience: the Prieſtes had in deriſion, the Maſſe rayled vpon: no honor don to the Sacraments of the Church: all eſtates and degrees geuen to ſuch a licencious libertie without checke, that al thynges may ſeme to draw to their vtter ruine and decay.

As though in theſe dayes of Q. Mary had bene rayſed no ſubſidies at all.

Watſon ſclaunderouſly depraueth the doctrine of the Proteſtantes.

And yet in the meane tyme, the name of the Goſpell was pretended outwardely, as though that for it men ought of duetie to geue credite to their erroneous opinions: whereas in dede there is nothyng more diſcrepant, or more to the ſclaunder of Gods worde then the ſame. For what other thyng taught they to remayne in that moſte bleſſed and myſticall Sacrament of the body of our Lorde, than bare vnleauened bread? And what els doo the remnaunt of them teach vnto this day? Wheras Chriſte by expreſſe wordes doth aſſure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatall and abſolute neceſſitie of Predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they haue leaft no choyſe at al in thyngs. As who ſhould ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſithens he had not the power to determine otherwiſe then the matter ſhould come to paſſe. The which was the peculiar opinion of them that made God the authour of euill, bringing men through this perſwaſion into ſuch a careles ſecuritie of the euerlaſting eternitie, that in the meane ſeaſon it made no matter either toward ſaluatiõ, or toward damnation, what a man dyd in this lyfe. Theſe errours (which were not euen among the Heathen men) were defended by them with great ſtoutnes.

Watſon and Scot had both ſubſcribed to the doctrine of the Goſpell in the raigne of K. Edwarde the vj.

Theſe and many ſuch other thynges he ſclaunderouſly and falſely alledged agaynſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he hym ſelfe taught it) eyther he would not vnderſtand, or els he was mynded to ſclaunder. And yet he was not ignoraunt, that Bucer taught none other thynges then the very ſame wherunto both he and Scot in the raigne of kyng Edward the ſixt had wyllyngly aſſented, by ſubſcribyng therto with their owne handes. While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written verſes before, dyd ſet vp other new, in the which like a ſort of water frogges, they ſpued out their venemous malice againſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this Enterlude, and yet there remayned a fewe thynges to be done, among the which was the reconcilyng of two churches of our Lady, and of S. Michael, which we declared to haue bene enterdicted before.

The reconciling of the Churches that were interdicted.

This was done the next day folowyng by the aforeſayd Byſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremoniall ſolemnitie as the law required. But that vnpatient God, whom Bucers carcaſſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet returned thyther agayne: neyther was it lawfull for hym to come there any more, but if he were brought thyther with great ſolemnitie. As I ſuppoſe, duryng all the tyme of his abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſſioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there continued as a ſoiourner. For thyther came all the Graduates of the Uniuerſitie, the eyght day of February, of gentlenes and curteſie, to bryng hym home agayne. Amongeſt the which number, the Biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to hym, becauſe he was a Biſhop) tooke and caryed hym cladde in a long Rochet, and a large Typpet of Sarcenet about his necke, wherin he wrapped his Idol alſo. Ormanet Dataryehad geuen the ſame a litle before to the Uniuerſitie, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

A ſolemne Proceſſion of the Uniuerſitie and of the townesmen.

When this Idoll ſhould returne home, he went not the ſtraighteſt and neareſt way, as other folkes are wont to goe, but he fetched a compaſſe about the moſt parte of the towne, and romed through ſo many of the ſtreates, that it was a large houre and more, ere he could find the way into his Church agayne. I beleue the auncient Romanes obſerued a cuſtome not much vnlike this in their Proceſſion, when they made ſupplications at the Shrines of all their Gods. The order of which Proceſſion was this: the maiſters Regentes went before ſingyng with a loude voyce: Salue feſta dies. &c. Next them folowed the Biſhop of Cheſter, about hym went Ormanet and his felowe Commiſſioners, with the Maiſters of the Colledges, bearyng euery man a long Taper light in his hand. After whom a litle ſpace of, folowed other degrees of the Uniuerſitie. Laſt behynd came the Maior & his townesmen. Before them all went the bedles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow them ſelues humbly before the hoſt. If any refuſed ſo to doo, they threatned to ſend hym forthwith to the Tolboth. Their God beyng led with this pompe, and pacified with great ſacrificed Hoſtes of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſetled hym ſelfe agayne in his accuſtomed roume.

The order of Proceſſion in Cãbridge.

Scot of Cheſter prayed with many wordes, that that day might be luckie and fortunate to hym ſelfe, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (nowe that Gods wrath was appeaſed, and al other thynges ſet in good order) all men would make them ſelues conformable to peace and quietnes, namely in matters appertaynyng to Religion. After this they beſtowed a fewe dayes in puniſhyng and amercyng ſuch as they thought had deſerued it. Some they ſuſpended from geuyng voyces eyther to their owne preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbad to haue the charge of pupilles, leaſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (beyng pliable to take what print ſoeuer ſhould be layde vppon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſie, others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Certaine of the Uniuerſitie amerced and puniſhed.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certayne Statutes, by the which they would haue the Uniuerſitie hereafter ordered. Wherin they enacted many thynges as concernyng the election of their Officers of the Uniuerſitie, of keepyng and adminiſtryng the goodes of the Uniuerſitie, and of many other thynges. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for Religion. In the which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all thynges, eyther with open blaſphemie, or with ridiculous ſuperſtition. For they preſcribed at howe many Maſſes euery man ſhould be day by day, and howe many Pater noſters and Aues euery man ſhould ſay, when he ſhould enter into the Churche, and in his entraunce, after what ſort he ſhould bowe hym ſelfe to the aultar, and howe to the Maiſter of the houſe, what he ſhould doo there, and how long he ſhould tary, how many, & what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations other ſhould vſe while the Prieſt is in his Memento mumblyng ſecretly to hym ſelfe, what tyme of the Maſſe a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit downe, when he ſhould make curteſie, when excluſiuely, when incluſiuely, and many other ſuperſtitious toyes they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious nowe to recite them.

The decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Moreouer theſe maſters of good order, for faſhions ſake, ordeined that euery mã ſhould put on a Surplice, not torne nor worne, but cleane, forbyddyng them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes theron.

Theſe thynges thus ſet at a ſtaye, when the Commiſſioners

ſioners were nowe ready to goe their wayes, the Uniuerſitie for ſo greate benefites (whiche ſhe ſhoulde not ſuffer to fall out of remembraunce many yeares after) couetyng to ſhewe ſome token of curteſie towardes them agayne, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctourſhip for all the reſidue, ſauyng Chriſtopherſon, who nowe by reaſon he was elected Biſhop, preuentyng that degree, had receyued that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarrels, who through prouokyng euery man to accuſe one an other, left ſuch gappes & breaches in mēs harts at their departure, that to this day they coulde neuer be cloſed nor ioyned agayne together.

Ormanet and Cole promoted Doctours.

These Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the

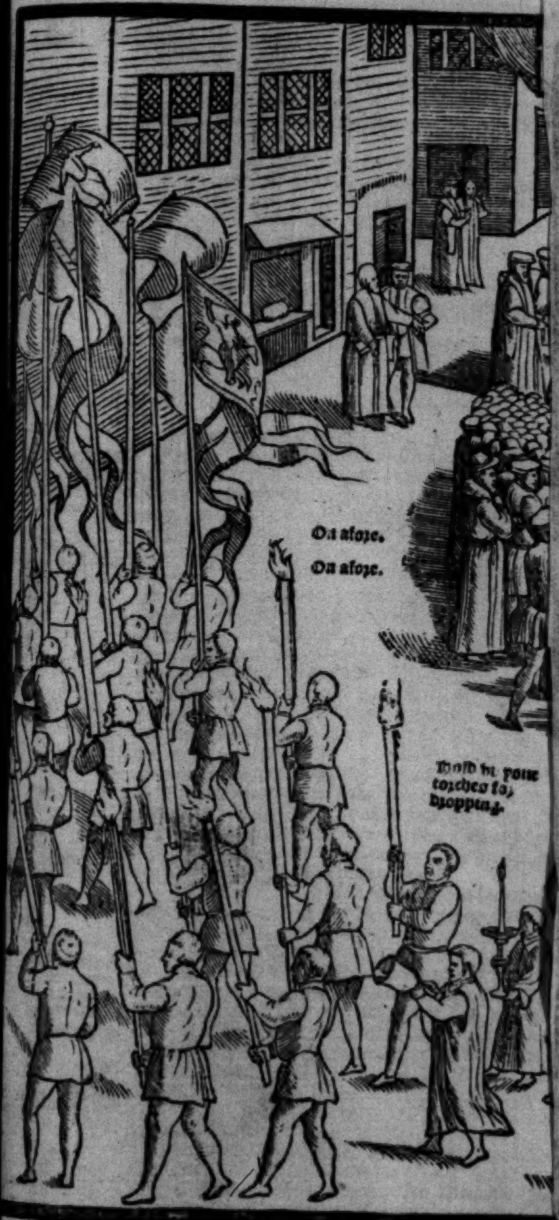
chre or graue of that good and vertuous woman) wylled certaine of that Colledge, in the whiche this vncurteous touch was attempted and done, to take her out of that vncleane & diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole towne, to bury her agayne in a more decent and honeſt monument. For though of the body beyng once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, howe or where the bones were layd: yet was ſome reuerence to be vſed towarde her for ſexe and womanhode ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had trauayled ſo farre at kyng Edwardes requeſt, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt paynes, beyng an old man, in readyng and ſettyng forth the truth all he could, with learnyng to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerued of

Peter Martyrs wyues bones agayne reduced out of the Dunghill, and layde in a decent monument.

Great ingratitude ſhewed to Peter Martyr.

The order and

gius bone


On afore.
On afore.
Hold vp your torches so, dropping.

M. James Calfield.

The bones of Peter Martyrs wyfe coupled with the bones of S. Fridewide

rticles of the Cardinall to be nquired in hys iſitation of ent.

[illegible] with ſtakes, and bound to the Poſt with a long yron [illegible]ne, as if they had bene alyue. Fyre beyng forthwith [illegible] as ſone as it beganne to flame round about, a great [illegible] of bookes that were condemned with them, were caſte [illegible] the ſame.

[illegible] was that day gathered into the towne, a great [illegible] of countrey folke (for it was market day) who [illegible] men borne to executiō, and learnyng by inquirie that [illegible] were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the ex[illegible] crueltie of the Commiſſioners toward the rotten car[illegible] and partly laughed at their folly in makyng ſuch pre[illegible]. For what needeth any weapon, ſaide they? as [illegible] they were afrayd that the dead bodyes which feale [illegible] doo them ſome harme? Or to what pur[illegible] chayne wherwith they are tyed, ſithens [illegible] loſe without peryll? for it was not to [illegible] would runne away.

[illegible] that ſtood by, found fault with the [illegible] either ſharply or els lightly, as euery [illegible]. There were very fewe that liked

[illegible] the purpoſe of Doctour Wat[illegible] Sermon againſt Martin Bucer.

I[illegible] meane tyme that they were a roſtyng in the fyre, [illegible] went into the Pulpite in Saint Mary church, [illegible] there before his audience railed vpon their doctrine, [illegible] & erroneous: ſaying, that it was the ground [illegible] miſchiefe that had happened of a long tyme in the co[illegible] weale. For behold (ſayd he) as well the proſpe[illegible] aduerſitie of theſe yeares that haue enſued, and pe[illegible] finde that all thynges haue chaunced vnluckely to th[illegible] haue folowed this newe found fayth: as contra[illegible]ry [illegible] thynges haue happened fortunately to them that haue [illegible] it. What robbyng and polyng (quoth he) haue we ſeene [illegible] Realme, as long as Religion was defaced [illegible] common treaſure (gathered for the main[illegible] whole publike weale) and the goodes of the [illegible] ſpent in waſte, for the mayntenaunce of [illegible] all good order broken: all diſcipline caſt [illegible] appoynted to the ſolemniſing of ceremo[illegible] what more is the places them ſelues dea[illegible] other kynde of prohibited ſuſtenaunce [illegible] on dayes forbydden, without remorſe [illegible] ſtes had in deriſion, the Maſſe ray[illegible] on to the Sacramentes of the Church: [illegible] degrees geuen to ſuch a licencious libertie wit[illegible] that al thynges may ſeeme to drawe to their [illegible] and decay.

[illegible] in the meane tyme, the name of the Goſpell wa[illegible] outwardely, as though that for it men ough[illegible] to geue credite to their erroneous opinions: w[illegible] there is nothyng more diſcrepant, or more [illegible] ſclaunder of Gods worde then the ſame. For wha[illegible] thyng taught they to reuiue in that moſte bleſſ[illegible] miſticall Sacrament of the body of our Lorde, then [illegible] vnleauened bread? And what els doo the rem[illegible] teach vnto this day? wheras Chriſte by expre[illegible] doth affirme it to be his very body. How pe[illegible] is that which concerneth the fatall and abſolute [illegible] of Predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch [illegible] that they haue left no choyſe at al in thynges. As [illegible] ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of [illegible] ſeyng he had not the power to determine o[illegible] matter ſhould come to paſſe. The which [illegible] opinion of them that made God the au[illegible] men through this perſwaſion into [illegible] of the euerlaſting eternitie, that in [illegible] made no matter either toward ſaluatiō, [illegible] what a man dyd in this lyfe. Theſe [illegible] not euen among the Heathen men) [illegible] with great ſtoutnes.

[illegible] ſuch other thynges he ſclaunderouſly [illegible] agaynſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch [illegible] taught it) eyther he would not vnder[illegible] was mynded to ſclaunder. And yet he was [illegible] that Bucer taught none other thynges then [illegible] wherunto both he and Scot in the raigne [illegible] Edward the ſixt had wyllyngly aſſented, by ſubſcr[illegible] with their owne handes. While he talked in this [illegible] the people, many of them that had writ[illegible] dyd ſet vp other new, in the which like a ſort of [illegible] they ſpued out their venemous malice ag[illegible] and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this Enterlude, and yet there remayned a fewe thynges to be done, among the which was the reconcilyng of two churches of our Lady, and of S. Michael, whiche we declared to haue bene enterdicted before.

This was done the next day folowyng by the aforeſayd Byſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremoniall ſolemnitie as the law required. But that vnpaiſable God, whom Bucers carcaſſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet returned thyther agayne: neyther was it lawfull for hym to come there any more, but if he were brought thyther with great ſolemnitie. As I ſuppoſe, duryng all the tyme of his abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſſioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there continued as a ſoiourner. For thyther came all the Graduates of the Vniuerſitie, the eyght day of February, of gentlenes and curteſie, to bryng hym home agayne. Amongeſt the which number, the Biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to hym, becauſe he was a Biſhop) tooke and caryed hym cladde in a long Rochet, and a large Typpet of Sarcenet about his necke, wherin he wrapped his Idol alſo. Ormanet Datarye had geuen the ſame a litle before to the Vniuerſitie, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

A ſolemne Proceſſion of the Vniuerſitie and of the townesmen.

When this Idoll ſhould returne home, he went not the ſtraighteſt and neareſt way, as other folkes are wont to goe, but he fetched a compaſſe about the moſt parte of the towne, and romed through ſo many of the ſtreates, that it was a large houre and more, ere he could find the way into his Church agayne. I beleue the auncient Romanes obſerued a cuſtome not much vnlike this in their Proceſſion, when they made ſupplications at the Shrynes of all their Gods. The order of which Proceſſion was this: the maſters Regentes went before ſingyng with a loude voyce: Salue feſta dies. &c. Next them folowed the Biſhop of Cheſter, about hym went Ormanet and his felowe Commiſſioners, with the Maiſters of the Colledges, bearyng euery man a long Taper light in his hand. After whom a litle ſpace of, folowed other degrees of the Vniuerſitie. Laſt behynd came the Maior & his townesmen. Before them all wēt the bedles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow them ſelues humbly before the hoſt. If any refuſed ſo to doo, they thratned to ſend hym forthwith to the Tolboth. Their God beyng led with this pompe, and pacified with great ſacrificed Hoſtes of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſetled hym ſelfe agayne in his accuſtomed roume.

The order of Proceſſion in Cābrydge.

Scot of Cheſter prayed with many wordes, that that day might be luckie and fortunate to hym ſelfe, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (nowe that Gods wrath was appeaſed, and al other thynges ſet in good order) all men would make them ſelues conformable to peace and quietnes, namely in matters apperteynyng to Religion. After this they beſtowed a fewe dayes in puniſhyng and amercyng ſuch as they thought had deſerued it. Some they ſuſpended from geuyng voyces eyther to their owne preferment or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbad to haue the charge of pupilles, leaſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (beyng pliable to take what print ſoeuer ſhould be layde vppon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſie, others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Certaine of the Vniuerſitie amerced and puniſhed.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certayne Statutes, by the which they would haue the Vniuerſitie hereafter ordered. Wherin they enacted many thynges as concernyng the election of their Officers of the Vniuerſitie, of keepyng and adminiſtryng the goodes of the Vniuerſitie, and of many other thynges. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for Religion. In the which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all thynges, eyther with open blaſpheme, or with rediculous ſuperſtition. For they preſcribed at howe many Maſſes euery man ſhould be day by day, and howe many Pater noſters and Aues euery man ſhould ſay, when he ſhould enter into the Churche, and in his entraunce, after what ſort he ſhould bowe hym ſelfe to the aultar, and howe to the Maiſter of the houſe, what he ſhould doo there, and how long he ſhould tary, how many, & what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations other ſhould vſe while the Prieſt is in his Memento mumblyng ſecretly to hym ſelfe, what tyme of the Maſſe a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit downe, when he ſhould make curteſie, when excluſiuely, when incluſiuely, and many other ſuperſtitious toyes they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious nowe to recite them.

The decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Moreouer these maſters of good order, for faſhions ſake, ordeined that euery mā ſhould put on a Surplice, not torne nor worne, but cleane, forbyddyng them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes theron.

These thynges thus ſet at a ſtaye, when the Commiſſioners

1557. February

ſioners were nowe ready to goe their wayes, the Uniuerſitie for ſo greate benefites (whiche ſhe ſhoulde not ſuffer to fall out of remembraunce many yeares after) couetyng to ſhewe ſome token of curteſie towardes them agayne, dignified Opmanet and Cole with the degree of Doctourſhip for all the reſidue, ſauyng Chriſtopherſon, who nowe by reaſon he was elected Biſhop, preuentyng that degree, had receyued that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarrels, who through prouokyng euery man to accuſe one an other, leaſt ſuch gappes & breaches in mēs harts at their departure, that to this day they coulde neuer be cloſed nor ioyned agayne together.

Opmanet and Cole created Doctours.

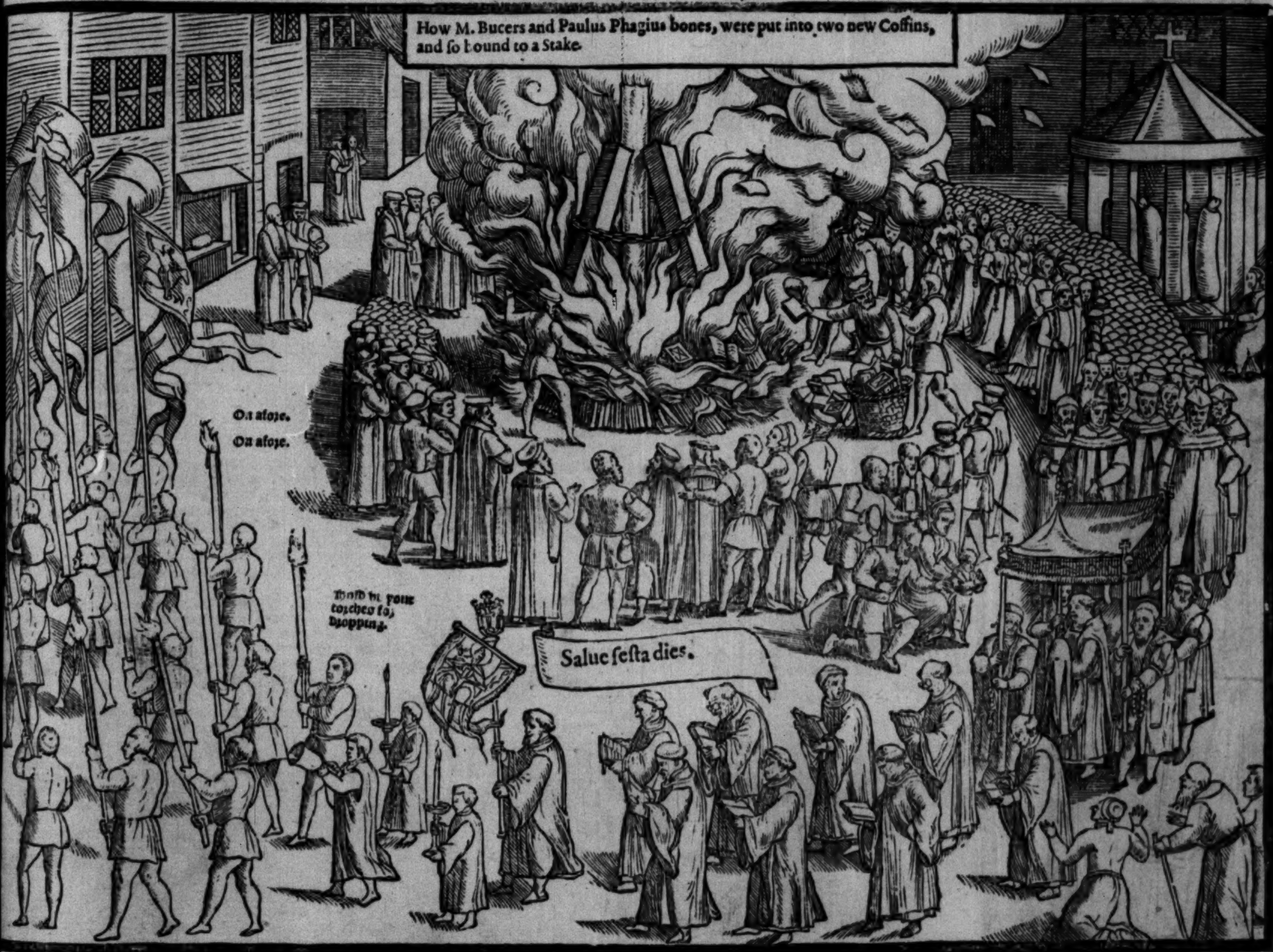
Theſe Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the

chre or graue of that good and vertuous woman) wylled certaine of that Colledge, in the whiche this vncurteous touch was attempted and done, to take her out of that vncleane & diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole towne, to bury her agayne in a more decent and honeſt monument. For though of the body beyng once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, howe or where the bones were layd: yet was ſome reuerence to be vſed towarde her for ſexe and womanhode ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had trauayled ſo farre at kyng Edwardes requeſt, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt paynes, beyng an old man, in readyng and ſettyng forth the truth all he could, with learnyng to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerued of

Peter Martyrs wyues bones agayne reduced out of the Dunghill, and layde in a decent monument.

Great ingrati-

The order and maner of burning M. Martin Bucers and Paulus Phagius bones, and alſo their Bookes, with a ſolemne generall Proceſsion,
At Cambridge. Anno. 1557. February. 16.


How M. Bucers and Paulus Phagius bones, were put into two new Coffins, and ſo bound to a Stake.
On afore.
On afore.
Hold vp your torches for dropping.
Salue feſta dies.

The talke of the countrey folke of the burning of M. Bucer and Paulus Phagius.

ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the Poſt with a long yron Chayne, as if they had bene aliue. Fyre beyng forthwith put to, as ſoone as it beganne to flame round about, a great ſort of bookes that were condemned with them, were caſt into the ſame.

There was that day gathered into the towne, a great multitude of countrey folke (for it was market day) who ſeeing men borne to executiõ, and learnyng by inquirie that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extreme crueltie of the Commiſsioners toward the rotten carcaſſes, and partly laughed at their folly in makyng ſuch preparature. For what needeth any weapon, ſayde they? as though they were afrayd that the dead bodyes which feale them not, would doe them ſome harme? Or to what pur-

this Enterlude, and yet there remayned a fewe thynges to be done, among the which was the reconcilyng of two churches, of our Lady, and of S. Michael, whiche we declared to haue bene enterdicted before.

This was done the next day folowyng by the aforeſayd Byſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremoniall ſolemnitie as the law required. But that impacient God, whom Bucers carcaſſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet returned thyther agayne: neyther was it lawfull for hym to come there any more, but if he were brought thyther with great ſolemnitie. As I ſuppoſe, durying all the tyme of his abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſsioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there continued as a ſoiourner. For thyther came all the Graduates of the

Watſons Sermon at the burning of Bucer and Phagius.

As though in theſe dayes of Q. Mary had bene rayſed no ſubſidies at all.

Watſon ſlaunderouſly deprauing the doctrine of the Proteſtantes.

Watſon and Scot had both ſubſcribed to the doctrine of the Goſpell in the raigne of K. Edwarde the vi.

The reconciling of the Churches that were interdicted.

ſioners were more ready to goe their wayes, the Uniuerſitie for ſo great benefites (whiche ſhe ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembraunce many yeares after) couetyng to ſhewe ſome token of curteſie towardes them agayne, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctourſhip for all the reſidue, ſauyng Chriſtopherſon, who nowe by reaſon he was elected Biſhop, preuentyng that degree, had receyued that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarrels, who through prouokyng euery man to accuſe one an other, leaſt ſuch gappes & breaches in mẽs harts at their departure, that to this day they could neuer be cloſed nor ioyned agayne together.

Ormanet and Cole created Doctours.

Theſe Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the Uniuerſitie, gaue commaundement, that the Maiſters of euery houſe ſhould copie out their Statutes, the whiche beſide common Ordinaunces, conteyned in them certayne Rules of priuate Order, for euerye houſe particularly. Swinborne (who as I ſayd, was Maiſter of Clare hall) being demaunded whether he would haue thoſe thyngs engroſſed in parchment or in paper, aunſweared ỹ it made no matter wherein they were written: for the paper, or a ſleighter thyng that were of leſſe continuaunce then paper, would ſerue the turne wel enough: For he ſaid, a ſlenderer thyng then that, would laſt a great deale longer, then thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Neyther was the man deceyued in his coniecture. For within two yeares after, GOD beholdyng vs with mercy, called Queene Marye out of this lyfe: wherof more ſhal appeare (the Lord willyng) in due place hereafter.

Swinbornes ſaying as concerning the decrees of the Inquiſitors.

And thus muche concernyng the viſitation of Cambridge, with the burnyng of Bucer and Phagius bones. And here of this matter an end, referryng the reſt that followeth, as touchyng M. Ackworthes Oration and D. Redmans Epitaph funerall vpon M. Bucer, to our former booke of the firſt edition. pag. 1552. 1558.

¶ The deſpitefull handlyng and madnes of the papiſtes towarde Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, taken vp frõ her graue at the cõmaundement of Cardinal Poole, and after buryed in a dunghyll.

AND becauſe the one Uniuerſitie ſhould not mocke the other, like crueltie was alſo declared vpon the dead body of Peter Martyrs wyfe at Oxford, an honeſt, graue, and ſober Matrone, while ſhee liued, and of poore people alwayes a great helper, as many that be dwellyng there, can right wel teſtifie. In ỹ yeare of our Lord. 1552. ſhee departed this lyfe, to great ſorow of al thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſities many tymes & often ſhee had liberally eaſed and relieued. Nowe, when Brokes Biſhop of Gloceſter, Nicholas Ormanet Datary, Robert Morwen Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge, Cole and Wright Doctours of the Ciuill Law, came thyther as the Cardinals viſitours, they among other thinges had in Cõmiſſion to take vp this good woman agayne out of her graue, and to conſume her carkas with fire, not doubting but that ſhee was of ỹ ſame religion that her huſband had profeſſed before, whẽ he read the Kynges lecture there. And to make a ſhewe that they would doo nothing diſorderly, they called al thoſe before thẽ that had any acquaintance with her or her huſband. They miniſtred an oth vnto them that they ſhould not conceale what ſoeuer was demaunded. In fine, their anſwere was that they knewe not what religion ſhee was of, by reaſon they vnderſtood not her language.

The takyng vp of Peter Martyrs wiues bones.

Commendation of Peter Martyrs wyfe.

Iurates ſworne agaynſt Peter Martyrs wyfe.

To be ſhort, after theſe viſitours had ſped their buſines they came for, they gate them to the Cardinall agayne, certifying hym that vpon due inquiſition made, they could learne nothyng, vppon which by the law they might burne her. Notwithſtandyng the Cardinall dyd not leaue the matter ſo, but wrote downe his letters a good while after to Marſhall, then Deane of Frideſwides, that he ſhould dyg her vp, and lay her out of chriſtian buryal, becauſe ſhee was interred nigh vnto S. Frideſwides reliques, ſometyme had in great reuerence in that Colledge. Doct. Marſhal like a prety man callyng his ſpades and Mattockes together in the euenyng, when he was well whitled, cauſed her to be taken vp, and buryed in a dunghyll.

Cardinall Poole earneſt in burnyng dead mens bodies.

D. Marſhall Deane of Frideſwides.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed GOD vnder good Queene Elizabeth, to geue quietnes to his Church, long tyme perſecuted with priſon and death, then Doctour Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall Biſhop of London, Richard Goodricke, with diuers other her Maieſties high Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (nothing ignoraunt how farre the aduerſaries of the truth had tranſgreſſed the boundes of all humanitie, in violating the ſepulchre or graue of that good and vertuous woman) willed certaine of that Colledge, in the whiche this vncourteous touch was attempted and done, to take her out of that vncleane & diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole towne, to bury her agayne in a more decent and honeſt monument. For though of the body beyng once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, howe or where the bones were layd: yet was ſome reuerence to be vſed towarde her for ſexe and womanhode ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had trauayled ſo farre at kyng Edwardes requeſt, from the place wherin he dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt paynes, beyng an old man, in readyng and ſettyng forth the truth all he could, with learnyng to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerued of that Uniuerſitie: ſhould with ſo vngentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded agayne, as to haue his wyfe, that was a godly woman, a ſtraunger, good to many, eſpecially to the poore, and hurtfull to none, eyther in worde or deede, without iuſt deſeruyng, and beſide their owne law, not procedyng againſt her accordyng to the order therof, ſpitefully to be layd in a ſtinkyng dunghyll.

Peter Martyrs wyues bones agayne reduced out of the Dunghill, and layde in a decent monument.

Great ingratitude ſhewed to Peter Martyr.

To all good natures the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be endued with humanity, vtterly to be abhorred. Wherfore maiſter Calfeld, then Subdeane of the Colledge, diligently prouided, that from Marſhals dunghyl ſhee was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place agayne, yea and withall coupled her with Frideſwides bones, that in caſe any Cardinal wyll be ſo mad hereafter to remoue this womans bones agayne, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcerne the bones of her from the other. And becauſe to the intent the ſame might be notified to the myndes of men the better, the next day after, which was ſonday, M. Rogerſon preached vnto the people, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealyng of the aduerſaries, which were not contented to practiſe their crueltie againſt the liuing, but that they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lyen two yeares in her graue. God graunt them once to ſee their own wickednes. Amen.

M. Iames Calfield.

The bones of Peter Martyrs wyfe coupled with the bones of S. Frideſwide.

And thus much touchyng the noble actes and ſtrangenes of this worthy Cardinal in both the Uniuerſities: wherunto it ſhall not be impertinent, here alſo conſequently to adioyne and ſet forth to the eyes of the worlde, the blynde and bloudy articles ſet out by Cardinall Poole, to be inquired vpon within his dioces of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appeare what yokes and ſnares of fond & fruitles traditions were layd vpon the poore flocke of Chriſte, to entangle and oppreſſe them with loſſe of lyfe and libertie. By the which wiſe men haue to ſee what godly fruites proceded from that Catholike Church and See of Rome. In whiche albeit thou ſeeſt (good Reader) ſome good articles interſparſed withall, let that nothyng moue thee: for els how could ſuch poyſon be miniſtred, but it muſt haue ſome honye to reliſh the readers taſte.

¶ Here folowe the articles ſet forth by Cardinal Poole, to be inquired in his ordinary viſitation, within his Dioces of Canterbury.

¶ *Touchyng the Clergie.*

1 FIrſte, whether the Diuine Seruice in the Churche at tymes, dayes, houres, be obſerued and kept duely, or no.

Articles of the Cardinall to be inquired in his viſitation of Kent.

2 Item, whether the Parſons, Uicars, and Curates do comely and decently in their maners and doynges behaue them ſelues or no.

3 Item, whether they doo reuerently and duely miniſter the ſacraments and ſacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether any of their pariſhioners doo dye without miniſtration of the ſacraments, through the negligence of their Curates, or no.

5 Item, whether the ſayd Parſons, vicars, or curates, do haunt Tauernes or Alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamie and ſclaunder, or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teachyng the Mydwyues howe to chriſten chyldren in tyme of neceſſitie, accordyng to the Canons of the church, or no.

7 Item, whether they ſee that the Font be comely kept, and haue holy water alwayes ready for chyldren to be chriſtened.

8 Item, if they doo keepe a booke of al the names of them that be reconciled to the vnitie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be any Prieſtes, that late vnlawfully had women vnder pretenced mariage, and hytherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwellyng places.

10 Item, whether they do diligently teache their pariſhioners, the articles of the faith, and the ten commaundementes.

11 Item, whether they do decently obſerue thoſe things that do concerne the ſeruice of the church, & al thoſe thinges that tend to a good and a chriſtian life, according to the Canons of the Church.

12 Item, whether they do deuoutly in their prayers pray for the proſperous eſtate of the King & Queenes maieſties.

13 Item, whether the ſaid Parſons and Vicars do ſufficiently repayre their Chauncels, Rectories, and Vicarages, and do keepe and maintaine them ſufficiently repayred and amended.

14 Item, whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholike faith, and vnitie of the church.

15 Item, whether any of them do ſay the diuine ſeruice, or do miniſter the Sacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the vſual order of the church.

16 Item, whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keepe any women in their houſes, or do keepe company with me ſuſpected of hereſies, or of euyl opinions.

17 Item, whether any of thē that were vnder pretence of lawful matrimonie maryed, and now reconciled, do priuily reſort to their pretenſed wyues, or that the ſaid women do priuily reſort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they do goe decently appareled, as it becommeth ſad, ſober, and diſcrete Miniſters, and whether they haue their crownes and beardes ſhauen.

19 Item, whether any of thē do vſe any vnlawful games as Dice, Cardes, & other like, wherby they grow to ſclaunder and euyl report.

20 Item, whether they do keepe reſidence and hoſpitalitie vpon their Benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to al the lawes Eccleſiaſtical.

21 Item, whether they do keepe the booke or Regiſter of Chriſtenyng, Buryng, and Mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

¶ Touchyng the lay people.

Articles of Cardinall Poole to be inquired vpon touching the Laitie.

1 FIrſt, whether any maner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſo euer he be, do holde, maintayne, or affirme any hereſies, errours, or erroneous opinions, contrary to to the lawes Eccleſiaſtical, and the vnitie of the catholike Church.

2 Item, whether any perſon do holde, affirme, or ſaye that in the bleſſed Sacramente of the Aultar there is not conteined the real and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt: or that by any maner of meanes do contemne and deſpiſe the ſaide bleſſed Sacrament, or do refuſe to do reuerence or worſhip thereunto.

3 Item, whether they do contemne or deſpiſe by any maner of meanes any other of the Sacramentes, Rites, or Ceremonies of the Churche, or do refuſe or deny auricular confeſſion.

4 Item, whether any do abſent or refraine, without vrgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the Churche, and reuerently to heare the diuine ſeruice vpon Sondayes and holy dayes.

5 Item, whether being in the Church, they do not apply them ſelues to heare the diuine ſeruice, and to be contemplatiue in holy prayer, and not to walke, iangle, or talke, in the tyme of the diuine ſeruice.

6 Item, whether any be fornicaters, adulterers, or do cōmit inceſt, or be bawdes, and receiuers of euyl perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

7 Item, whether any do blaſpheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common ſwearers.

8 Item, whether any be periured, or haue cōmitted Simonie or vſury, or do ſtyll remaine in the ſame.

9 Item, whether the Churches & churchyardes be well and honeſtly repayred and incloſed.

10 Item, whether the Churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all ornaments and bookes neceſſary, and whether they haue a Roode in their Church of a decent ſtature, with Mary and Iohn, and an Image of the Patrone of the ſame church.

11 Item, whether any do withholde, or doth draw from the church any maner of money or goodes, or that do withhold their due and accuſtomed tithes from their parſons and vicars.

12 Item, whether any be common drunkardes, ribaldes, or men of euyl liuing, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtymes, eſpecially in the tyme of diuine ſeruice.

13 Item, if there be any that do practiſe or exerciſe any artes of Magike, or Necromancie, or do vſe or practiſe any Incantations, Sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected therof.

14 Item, whether any be maryed in the degrees of affinitie, or conſanguinitie, prohibited by ÿ lawes of holy church or that do mary, the banes not aſked, or do make any priuie contractes.

15 Item, whether in the tyme of Eaſter laſt, any were not confeſſed, or dyd not receyue the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, or dyd reuerently behaue them ſelues in the receiuyng therof.

16 Item, whether any do keepe any ſecrete conuenticles, preachinges, lectures, or readinges, in matters of Religion, contrary to the lawes.

17 Item, whether any do now not duely keepe the faſting and embring dayes.

18 Item, whether the aultars in the churches be conſecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the ſacrament be carryed deuoutly to them that fall ſicke, with light and with a litle Sacryng Bell.

20 Item, whether the common ſcholes be well kept, and that the ſchole maiſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo Catholike, and men of good and vpright iudgement, & that they be examined and approued by the Ordinary.

21 Item, whether any do take vpon them to miniſter the goodes of thoſe that be dead, without authoritie from the Ordinary.

22 Itē, whether the poore people in euery pariſh be charitably prouided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a Lampe or a Candle before the ſacramēt. And if there do not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient tyme.

25 Item, whether any do keepe or haue in their cuſtody, any erroneous or vnlawful bookes.

26 Item, whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amendyng of the high wayes, or any other charitable deede.

27 Item, whether any haue put away their wyues, or any wyues do withdraw them ſelues from their huſbands, being not lawfully diuorced.

28 Item, whether any do violate or breake the ſondayes and holy dayes, doing their dayly labours and exerciſes vpō the ſame.

29 Item, whether the Tauernes or Alehouſes, vppon the ſondayes and holy dayes, in the time of Maſſe, Matins and Euenſong, do keepe open their dores, and do receyue people into their houſes to drinke and eate, and therby neglect their duties in commyng to the church.

30 Item, whether any haue, or do depraue or contemne the authoritie or Iuriſdiction of the Popes holynes, or the See of Rome.

31 Item, whether any Mynſtrels, or any other perſons do vſe to ſing any ſonges againſt the holy ſacramentes, or any other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be any hoſpitals within your pariſhes, & whether the foundations of thē be duely & truely obſerued and kept. And whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

33 Item, whether any goodes, plate, iewels, or poſſeſſiōs be taken away, or withholden from the ſaid Hoſpitals, and by whom.

¶ A hiſtorye of tenne Martyrs condemned and burned within the Dioces of Canterbury, for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſte, and truth of his Goſpell.

January. 15. Read afore pag. 1860.

MEntion was made a litle before of the perſecution in Kent, pag. 1860. where we declared, that fifteene were in the Caſtle of Canterbury impriſoned and condemned for Gods worde. Of the which fifteene moreouer we ſhewed and declared fiue to be famiſhed vnto death within the ſaide Caſtle, and buryed by the high way, about the begynnyng of Nouember. The other ten, in the firſt moneth of the next yeare folowyng, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1557. were committed vnto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by Thornton, called Biſhop or Suffragane of Douer, otherwiſe called Dicke of Douer, and by Nicholas Harpsfielde the Archdeacon of the ſayde Prouince.

The Martyrdome of x. burned in the Dioces of Cant.

The names of theſe tenne godly and Chriſtian Martyrs be theſe:

1557. January.

The names of the Martyrs.

Iohn Philpot of Tenterden.	Mat. Bradbrige of Tenterden.
W. Waterer of Bedingden.	Thom. Stephens of Bedingden.
Stephē Kempe of Norgate.	Nich. Finall of Tenterden.
W. Haye of Hythe.	W. Lowicke of Crābroke
Thomas Hudſon of Salenge.	W. Prowtyng of Thornham.

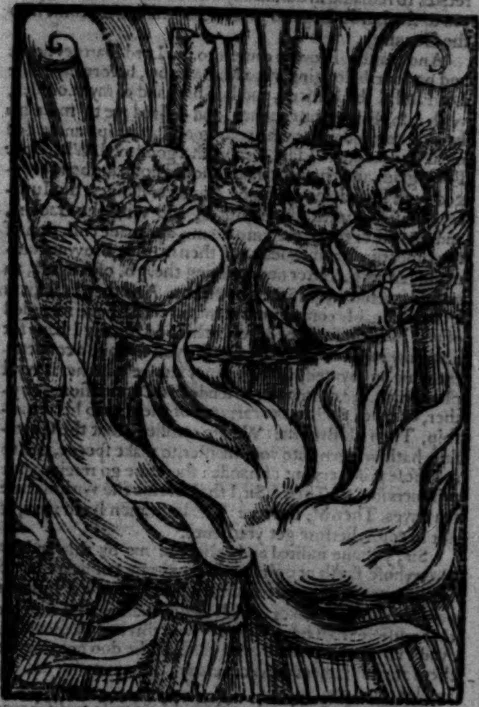
Concerning their articles read before pag. 1585.

What the ordinarye articles were commonly obiected to them of Canterbury Dioces, is before rehearſed. Pag. 1585. ſaue onely that to ſome of theſe, as to them that folowed after, as the tyme of their perſecution dyd grow, ſo their articles withall dyd increaſe to the number of two & twenty conteinyng ſuch like matter as ſerued to the maintenaunce of the Romiſh Sea.

The cauſe of their Martyrdome.

To theſe articles what their aunſweares were, likewiſe, needeth here no great rehearſall, ſeeyng they all agreed together, though not in the ſame forme of wordes, yet in much like effect of purpoſes: firſt graunting the Churche of Chriſte, and denying the Churche of Rome, denying the ſeuen Sacramentes, refuſing the Maſſe, and the hearyng of Latine Seruice, prayng to Saintes, iuſtificati-on of workes. &c. And though they dyd not all aunſweare vniformely in ſome ſmaller thinges, as their learnyng ſerued them, yet in the moſt principal and chiefeſt matters they dyd not greatly diſcorde. &c.

The burnyng of ſixe martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdome of Waterer, Kempe, W. Hay, Hudſon, Lowicke, W. Prowtyng at Canterbury. Anno. 1557. January. 15.

The other 4. were burned at the ſame tyme 2. at Wye and 2. at Aſhford.

Of theſe tenne godly Martyrs of Chriſte, ſixe were burned at Canterbury, about the ſixtene of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowike, Hudſon, and Haye. Other two, that is, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the ſame moneth. Other two, which were Final and Bradbrige, were burned both together at Aſhford, the. xvi. of the ſame.

Examples how kinges and princes and the power of the world, bend them ſelues agaynſt Chriſt and his worde, and yet could neuer preuayle.

The nexte moneth folowing, whiche was Februarye, came out an other bloudy Commiſſion from the kyng and Queene, to kindle vp the fire of perſecution, as though it were not hoate enough alreadye: the contentes of whiche Commiſſion I thought here not to pretermit: not for lacke of matter, whereof I haue too much: but that the Reader may vnderſtand how kinges and princes of this world like as in the firſt perſecutions of the Primitiue Church vnder Valerianus, Decius, Maximian, Diocleſian, Licinius, &c. ſo nowe alſo in theſe latter perilous dayes, haue ſet out all their maine force and power, with lawes, policie, and authoritie, to the vttermoſt they coulde deuiſe againſt Chriſte and his bleſſed Goſpel. And yet notwithſtandyng al theſe lawes, conſtitutions, Iniunctions, and terrible proclamations prouided againſt Chriſte and his Goſpell, Chriſte yet ſtyll contiaueth, his goſpel floriſheth, and truth preuaileth: kings and Emperours in their owne purpoſes ouerthrowen, their deuiſes diſſolued, their counſailes confounded: as examples both of this, and of al tymes & ages do make manifeſt. But nowe let vs heare the intent of this Commiſſion, in tenour as foloweth.

A bloudy Commiſſion geuen forth by kyng Philip and Queene Mary, to perſecute the poore members of Chriſt.

A terrible proclamation of K. Philip and Q. Mary, againſt the poore ſeruauntes and members of Chriſt.

Philip and Mary by the grace of God kyng and Queene of England. &c. To the right reuerende Father in God our right truſty & welbeloued Counſailour Thomas B. Elye, and to our right truſty and welbeloued Williā Windſore knight. L. Windſore, Edw. North knight. L. North, and to our truſty & welbeloued Counſailours, Io. Bourn knyght, one of our chiefe Secretaryes, Iohn Mordaunt knight, Frances Engleſield knight, maiſter of our Wardes and Liueries, Edward Walgraue knight, Maiſter of our great Wardrobe, Nicholas Hare knight, maſter of the Rolles, and our high Court of Chauncery, & to our truſty and welbeloued Tho. Pope knight, Roger Cholmley knight, Richard Rede knight, Rowland Hyl knight, William Raſtal Sergeant at law, Henry Cole Clerke, Deane of Paules, William Roper, and Rafe Cholmley, Eſquiers, Williā Cooke, Thomas Martin, Iohn Story, & Iohn Vaughan Doctours of Law, greeting.

Perſecutors.

The meaning of the Goſpellers falſely reported, and ſclaundered.

For as muche as diuers deuiliſhe and ſclaunderous perſons, hauyng not onely inuented, bruted, and ſet forth diuers falſe rumors, tales, and ſeditious ſclaunders againſt vs, but alſo haue ſowen diuers hereſies, and hereticall opinions, and ſet forth diuers ſeditious bookes within this our Realme of England, meanyng thereby to ſtyrre vp diuiſion, ſtrife, contention, and ſedition, not only amongeſt our louyng ſubiectes, but alſo betwixt vs and our ſaid ſubiects, with diuers others outragious miſdemeanors, enormities, contemptes, and offences, dayly committed and done, to the diſquieting of vs and our people, we myndyng the due puniſhment of ſuch offendours, & ye repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehauiours from henceforth, hauyng ſpeciall truſte and confidence in your fidelities, wiſedomes, and diſcretions, haue authoriſed appoynted, and aſſigned you to be our Commiſſioners, and by theſe preſentes do geue ful power and authoritie vnto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the othes of twelue good and lawfull men, as by witneſſes and all other meanes and politike wayes you cā deuiſe, of al and ſingular heretical opinions Lollardies, heretical and ſeditious bookes, concealements contemptes, conſpiracies, and all falſe rumours, tales, ſeditious and ſclaunderous wordes or ſayinges, rayſed, publiſhed, bruted, inuented, or ſet forth againſt vs, or eyther of vs, or againſt the quiet gouernance and rule of our people, & ſubiectes, by bookes, lyes, tales, or otherwiſe, in any Countie, Key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our Realme of England or els where, in any place or places beyond the Seas, and of the bringyng in, vtterers, byers, ſellers, readers, keepers, or conueyers of any ſuch letter, booke, rumor, and tale, and of all and euery their coadiutors, counſellers, comforters, procurers, abettors, and mainteyners, geuyng vnto you and three of you, full power and authoritie by vertue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your handes & poſſeſſions, all maner of hereticall and ſeditious bookes, letters, and writyngs, whereſoeuer they or any of them ſhalbe found, as well in Printers houſes and ſhops, as elſwhere, willyng you and euery of you to ſearche for the ſame in all places, accordyng to your diſcretions.

What watch is here to keepe downe Chriſt, but yet he will ryſe.

Enormities or miſbehauiours.

And alſo to enquire, heare, and determine all and ſingular enormities, diſturbaunces, miſbehauiours, and negligences commytted in any Churche, Chappell, or other halowed place within this Realme, and alſo for and concernyng the takyng awaye or withholdyng any landes, tenementes, goodes, ornamentes, ſtockes of money, or other thynges belongyng to euerye of the ſame Churches and Chappelles, and all accountes and reckenynges concernyng the ſame.

Not comming to the Church ſeruice.

And alſo to enquire and ſearche out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receyue the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, to heare Maſſe, or come to their pariſhe Churches, or other conuenient places appoynted for diuine ſeruice, and all ſuche as refuſe to goe on Proceſſion, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe them ſelues in anye church or other halowed place, whereſoeuer any of the ſame offences haue bene, or hereafter ſhalbe committed within this our ſaid Realme.

Heretickes to be committed to their Ordinary.

Neuertheles our wyll and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or con-committed before you, do obſtinately perſiſt or ſtand in any maner of hereſie, or hereticall opinion, that then ye or three of you do immediately take order, that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be deliuered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be vſed according to the ſpirituall and eccleſiaſticall lawes.

Vacabounds or maiſterles men.

And alſo we geue vnto you, or three of you, full power and authoritie, to enquire and ſearche out al vacabounds, and maiſterles men, Barretours, quarrellers, and ſuſpect perſons, abiding within our citie of London, & tenne myles compaſſe of the ſame, and al aſſaultes and affrayes done and committed within the ſame citie and compaſſe.

Decay of Churches and Chappels.

And further to ſearche out all waſte, decayes, and ruines of Churches, Chauncelles, Chappelles, Perſonages and Vicarages in the Dioces of the ſame, being within this Realme, geuyng you and euery of you full power and authoritie by vertue hereof to heare and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters aboue ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your wiſedomes, conſciences, and diſcretions, willing and commaunding you or three of you, from tyme to tyme, to vſe and deuiſe al ſuch politike wayes and meanes, for the trial and ſearching out of the premiſſes, as by you or three of you ſhall be thought moſt expedient & neceſſary: and vppon inquirie and due proofe had, knowen, perceiued and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficient witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the premiſſes or any part therof, or by any other wayes or meanes requiſite, to geue and award ſuch puniſhmēt to the offenders, by fine, impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch order for redreſſe and reformation of the premiſſes, as to your wiſedomes, or three of you ſhalbe thought meete & conuenient.

Puniſhing of the obſtinate.

Further willyng and commaunding you and euery three of you, in caſe you ſhall finde any perſon or perſons, obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearaunce before you or three of you, at your calling or aſſignement, or els in not accompliſhing or not obeying your Decrees, Orders, and Commaundementes in any thing or thinges, touching the premiſſes or any parte thereof, to commit the ſame perſon or perſons ſo offending, to ward, there to remayne, tyll by you or three of you he be diſcharged or deliuered. &c. And ſo forth with other ſuch like matter, as foloweth, ſee in our firſt edition, pag. 1563.

¶ The apprehenſion of two and twentie priſoners ſent vp together for Gods woorde, to London, from Colcheſter.

AFter this bloudy Proclamation or Commiſſion thus geuen out at London, which was February 8. the third and fourth yeares of the Kynge and Queenes raigne, theſe new Inquiſitours, eſpecially ſome of them beganne to ruffle and to take vppon them not a litle: ſo that al quarters were ful of perſecution and priſons almoſt ful of priſoners, namely in the Dioces of Canterbury. whereof (by the leaue of Chriſt) we wyll ſay more anone.

Perſecution about Colcheſter.

XXij. for Gods worde apprehended.

In the meane tyme, about the Towne of Colcheſter, the wynde of perſecution beganne fiercely to riſe: inſomuch that three and twentie together, men and women were apprehended at one clap, of the which. xxiij. one eſcaped. The other. xxij. were driuen vp like a flocke of Chriſten lambes, to London, with two or three leaders with them at moſt, ready to geue their ſkinnes to be pluckt of for the Goſpelles ſake. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, afraide belike of the number, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought meanes to deliuer them, and ſo they dyd, drawing out a very eaſie ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffring them to drawe it out thē ſelues: notwithſtanding diuers of thē afterward were takē againe, & ſuffered, as hereafter ye ſhal heare (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way commyng vp, ſaw thē in the fields ſcattering in ſuch ſort, as ẏ they might haue eaſily eſcaped away. And whē they entred into the townes, their keepers called them againe into aray, to goe two & two together, hauing a bande or lyne going betweene them, they holding the ſame in their handes, hauing an other corde euery one about his arme, as though they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteene men and eight women carried vp to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to geue them ſtrength. At the entring into London, they were pinioned, & ſo came into the citie, as the Picture here ſhortly after folowing with their names alſo ſubſcribed, doth deſcribe. But firſt let vs declare concerning their taking and their attachers, contained in the Cōmiſſaryes letter, written to Boner: then, the Indenture made betweene the cōmiſſioners and the popiſhe Commiſſary. The letter of the Commiſſary is this.

The way and order of theſe 22. priſoners comming vp to London.

¶ The Letter of the Commiſſary, called Iohn Kingſton, written to Biſhop Boner.

Lords of Oxforde, L. Darcy, H. Tyrell, Antony Browne, William Bendelowes, Edmunde Tyrell, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, Iohn Kingſtone Commiſſarie perſecutors.

AFter my duetie done in receiuyng and accōpliſhing your honorable and moſt louing letters, dated the. 7. of Auguſt: Be it knowen vnto your Lordſhip, that the. 28. of Auguſt, the Lord of Oxenford, lord Darcy, H. Tyril, A. Brown, w. Bendlowes, E. Tyril, Ric. Weſten, Roger Apleton, publiſhed their cōmiſſion to ſeiſe lands and tenements & goods of the fugitiues, ſo that the owners ſhould haue neither vſe nor commoditie thereof, but by Inuentory remaine in ſafe keeping, vntyl the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the queenes graces warrant, for the reſtitutiō of the Church goods within Colcheſter, and the hundredes therabout, to the vſe of Gods ſeruice. And then were called the pariſhes particularly, and the heretikes partly cōmitted to my examination. And that diuers perſons ſhould certifie me of their ornaments of their Churches, betwyixt this and the Iuſtices next appearaunce, which ſhalbe on Michaelmaſſe euen next. And that pariſh which had preſented at two ſeueral tymes, to haue al ornaments, with other things in good order, were exonerated for euer, to they were warned againe, and others to make their appearance from tyme to tyme. And thoſe names blotted in the Indenture, were indited for treaſon, fugitiues, or diſobedients, and were put forth by maiſter Brownes commaundement. And before the ſealing, my Lord Darcy ſaide vnto me apart, and M. Bendlowes, that I ſhoulde haue ſufficient tyme to ſend vnto your Lordſhip, yea, if neede were, the heretikes to remaine in durance tyl I had an anſwere frō you: yea to the Lorde Legates graces Commiſſioners come into the Countrey.

And maiſter Browne came into my Lord Darcyes houſe and parlour belonging vnto M. Barnaby, before my ſayde Lord and al the Iuſtices, and laid his hand of my ſhoulder, with a ſmilyng countenaunce, and deſired me to make his harty commendations vnto your good Lordſhip, and asked me if I would, and I ſaid, Yea, with a good wyl. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not haue bene charged with ſo ſodaine carriage. But after dynner, the Iuſtices counſelled with the Bayliffes, and with the Gaolers, and then after tooke me vnto them, and made collation of the Indentures, and ſealed: and then maiſter Browne commaunded me this after noone, being the. 30. of Auguſt, to go and receiue my priſoners by and by. And then I ſaid, it is an vnreaſonable commaundement, for that I haue attended of you here theſe three dayes, & this Sōday early I haue ſēt home my men. Wherefore I deſire you to haue a conuenient tyme appoynted, wherin I may knowe whether it wyll pleaſe my Lord my maiſter to ſende his Commiſſioners hyther, or that I ſhall make carryage of them vnto his Lordſhip. Then M. Browne: We are certified, that the Counſaile hath written vnto your maiſter, to make ſpeede, and to ryd theſe priſoners out of hande: therefore go receiue your priſoners in haſt. Then I: Sir, I ſhal receiue thē within theſe ten dayes. Then M. Browne: The limitation lyeth in vs, & not in you, wherfore get you hence.

Maiſter Browne a hoate and haſtie walker in perſecuting Gods people.

Sir, ye haue indited and deliuered me by this Indenture, whoſe fayth or opinions I knowe not, truſtyng that ye wyll graunt me a tyme to examine them, leaſte I ſhoulde puniſhe the Catholikes. Well, ſaide maiſter Browne, for that cauſe ye ſhall haue tyme betwixt this and Wedneſday. And I ſay vnto you maiſter Bayliffes, if he doo not receyue them at your handes on Wedneſday, ſet open your doores, and let them goe.

Then I: My Lord and maiſters al, I promiſe to diſcharge the town and countrey of theſe heretikes, within ten daies. Then my Lord Darcy ſaid: Commiſſary, we doo and muſte al agree in one. Wherfore do you receiue them on, or before Wedneſday.

Then I: My Lorde, the laſte I carryed, I was goyng betwixte the Caſtell and Saint Katherines Chappell, two houres and an halfe, and in greate preaſſe and daunger: wherefore this maye be to deſire your Lordſhip, to geue in commaundemente vnto my Maiſter Sayer, Bayliffe, here preſent, for to ayde me through his Liberties, not onely with men and weapons, but that the Towne clarke maye be ready there with his booke to write the names of the moſte buſie perſons, and this vpon three houres warning, al which both my Lord and M. Browne commaunded.

What adoe is here with the Butchers to bring the poore Lābes to the Shambles.

Thomas Alſey of Copford Apparitor to B. Boner.

And the. 31. of Auguſt, Williā Goodwin of Muchbyrch husbandman, this brynger, and Thomas Alſey of Coporde your Lordſhips Apparitour of your Conſiſtorie in Colcheſter, couenaunted with me, that they ſhould hyre two other men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a Bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clocke at afternoon, ſo

that

xxij. poore priſoners in bondes for Christ and his worde.

that I might receiue this bargayne before Maiſter Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, xlvj. ſhillynges viij. pence. Wherfore they ſhould then go forth with me vnto Colcheſter, and on Wendenſday before three of the clocke in the mornyng receiue there at my hand within the Caſtell, and Mote Hall, fourten men, and eight women, ready bounde with giues and hempe, and driue, cary, or leade and fede with meate and drinke, as heretickes ought to bee founde continually, vnto ſuch tyme that the ſayd William and Thomas, ſhall cauſe the ſayd xxij. perſons for to be deliuered vnto my Lord of Londons Officers, and within the ſafe keepyng of my ſayd Lord, and then to bryng vnto me agayne the ſayd Giues, with a perfect tokẽ, of, or frõ my ſaid Lord, and then this couenaunt is voide, or els. &c.

Maiſter Bendlowes ſayd vnto me in my Lord of Oxenfordes Chamber at the Kynges head, after I had ſayd Maſſe before the Lordes, that on the morrow after Holy Roode day, when we ſhall meete at Chelmeſford for the diuiſion of theſe landes, I thinke Maiſter Archdeacon, you, and Maiſter Smith ſhalbe fayne to ride with certaine of the Iury to thoſe porcions and manours in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe deuide our ſelues, to treade and view the grounde with the Queſt, or els I think the Queſt wil not labour the matter, and ſo do you ſaye vnto Maiſter Archdeacon.

Alice Walleys bigge with child, one of the ix. women penitents ſent to recant. A caſe well ſerued.

Alyce the wife of William Walleys of Colcheſter, hath ſubmitted herſelfe, abiured her erroneous opinions, aſked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemne penaunce in her Pariſh Churche at Saint Peters on Sonday next, and to continue a Catholicke and a faythfull woman, as long as GOD ſhould ſend her life. And for theſe couenauntes, her huſband ſtandeth bound in fiue pounde. Which Alyce is one of the nine womẽ of this your Indenture: and that ſhe is bigge with child. Wherfore ſhe remayneth at home, and this done in the preſence of the Bayliffes, Aldermen, and townclarke. And for that Maiſter Browne was certified, there was no Curate at Lexdon, hee inquired who was the Farmer. The aunſwere was made: Syr Fraunces Iobſon. Who is the Parſon? They of the Queſtmen aunſwered, Syr Roger Goſtlow. Whẽ was he with you? Not theſe fourten yeares. How is your Cure ſerued? Now and then. Who is the patron? My Lord of Arundell. And within ſhort tyme after Syr Fraunces Iobſon came with great curteſie vnto my Lord Darcies place. And of all Gentlemen about vs I ſaw no more come in. Sir Robert Smith Prieſt, ſometyme Chanon of Bridlington, now Curate of Appledore, in the wild of Kent, came to Colcheſter the. 28. day of Auguſt with his wife bigge with child, of late diuorced, taken on ſuſpition, examined of the Lordes, and M. Browne told me that they haue receiued letters frõ the counſell, for the attachment of certaine perſons, and eſpecially of one Prieſt, whoſe name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubtyng this Prieſt to be he the ſayd Pullen, although neither hee nor his wife would confeſſe the ſame. Wherfore he lyeth ſtill in priſon, but ſurely this is not Pullen. If it pleaſe your Lordſhyp to haue in remembraunce, that the houſholders might be compelled to bryng euery man his owne wife to her owne ſeate in the Church in tyme of Diuine ſeruice, it would profite much. And alſo there be yet ſtandyng Hoſpitals and other of like foundation about Colcheſter, whiche I haue not knowen to appeare at any viſitation, as the Maiſter and Lazars of Mary Magdalene in Colcheſter, the Proctour of Saint Katherines Chappell in Colcheſter, the Hoſpitall or Beadhouſe of the foundatiõ of Lord H. Marney, in Laremarney, the Hoſpitall and Beadmen of little Horkſley. Thus preſumyng of your Lordſhyps goodneſſe, I am more then bold euer to trouble you, with this worldly buſines, beſeechyng almighty God to ſend your honorable Lordſhyp a condigne reward.

M. Pullen layde for.

From Eaſtthorp this preſent xxx. of Auguſt.

Maiſter Browne doer of all thynges.

We founde a Letter touchyng the Mariage of Prieſtes in the handes of the aforeſayd Syr Robert Smith. Alſo I deſired Maiſter Browne the doer of all thyngs, to require the audience to bryng in their vnlawfull writynges and bookes. Who aſked me if I had proclaymed the Proclamation. And I ſayd, yea. Then hee ſayd openly on the Bench, that they ſhould be proclaymed euery quarter once. And then take the Conſtables and Officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offenders, accordyngly.

By your poore Beadman,
Iohn Kyngſton, Prieſt.

An Indenture made betwene the Lordes and Iuſtices within ſpecified, and Boners Commiſſary, concernyng the deliuery of the priſoners aboue named.

Indenture betwene the Iuſtices and Boners Cõmiſſary, for remouing of priſoners.

This Indenture made the. xxix. day of Auguſt, in the third and fourth yeares of the reignes of our ſoueraigne Lord and Lady Philip and Mary by the grace of God K. and Queene of England, Spayne, Fraunce, both Cicils, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the fayth, Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Burgundye, Myllayn and Brabant, Counties of Haſburgh, Flaunders, and Tiroll, betwene the ryght honourable Lord, Iohn de Uere, Erle of Oxford, Lord hygh Chamberlaine of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chiche, Henry Tirel Knight, Anthony Brown, the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties Sergeaunt at lawe, William Bendelowes, Sergeaunt at law, Edmund Tirell, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, Eſquiers, Iuſtices of Oyer, and determiner, and of the peace, within the ſayde Countye of Eſſex, to be kept of the one party, and Iohn Kyngſton clerke Bacheler at law, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of London of the other party, witneſſeth that Robert Colman of Walton in the County of Eſſex labourer, Iohn Winſley of Horſley Magna in the ſayd County, Spinſter, Steuen Glouer of Rayley, in the County aforeſayd, Glouer, Richard Clerke of much Holland in the ſayd County Mariner, William Munt, of much Bently, in the ſayde County huſbandmã, Tho. Winſley of much Horſley in ÿ ſayd County, Sawyer, Margaret Field of Rameſey, in the ſayd County Spinſter: Agnes Whitlocke of Douercort, in the ſayd Countye, Spinſter, Alice Munt of much Bentley in the ſayd County, Spinſter, Roſe Allyn of the ſame towne and Countye, Spinſter, Richard Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſayd County Corier, Richard Atkin of Halſted in the ſayd County, Weauer, Robert Barcocke of Wiſton, in the county of Suffolke, Carpenter, Richard George of Weſtbarhoult, in the Countye of Eſſex, laborer, Rich. Iolley of Colcheſter in the ſayd Countye, Mariner, Thomas Fereſaine of the ſame towne and County, Mercer, Robert Debnam late of Dedham, in the ſayd County, Weauer, Cicely Warren of Cockſal in the ſayd Countye, Spinſter, Chriſtian Peper widow, of the ſame towne and County, Allin Simpſon, Elene Euring, Alice the wife of William Walles of Colcheſter, Spinſter, and William Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſayd County, Glaſier, beyng indited of Hereſy, are deliuered to the ſayd Iohn Kingſton clerke, Ordinary to the Byſhop of London, accordyng to the ſtatute in that caſe prouided.

The names of Christes priſoners perſecuted.

In witnes wherof to the one part of this Indenture, remaynyng with the ſayd Erle, Lorde, and other the Iuſtices, the ſayd Ordinary hath ſet to his hand and ſeale, and to the other part remaynyng with the ſayd Ordinary, the ſayd Erle, Lord, and other the Iuſtices haue ſet to their ſeuerall handes & ſeales, the day and yeares aboue written.

Oxenford.	William Bendelowes.
Thomas Darcy.	Edmund Tyrell.
Henry Tyrell.	Richard Weſton.
Antony Browne.	Roger Appleton.

The names of the perſecutours.

These xxij. aforeſayd priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to B. Boner. As touchyng the order and maner of theyr commyng and bryngyng, ÿ ſayd Boner him ſelfe writeth to Cardinall Poole, as you ſhal heare.

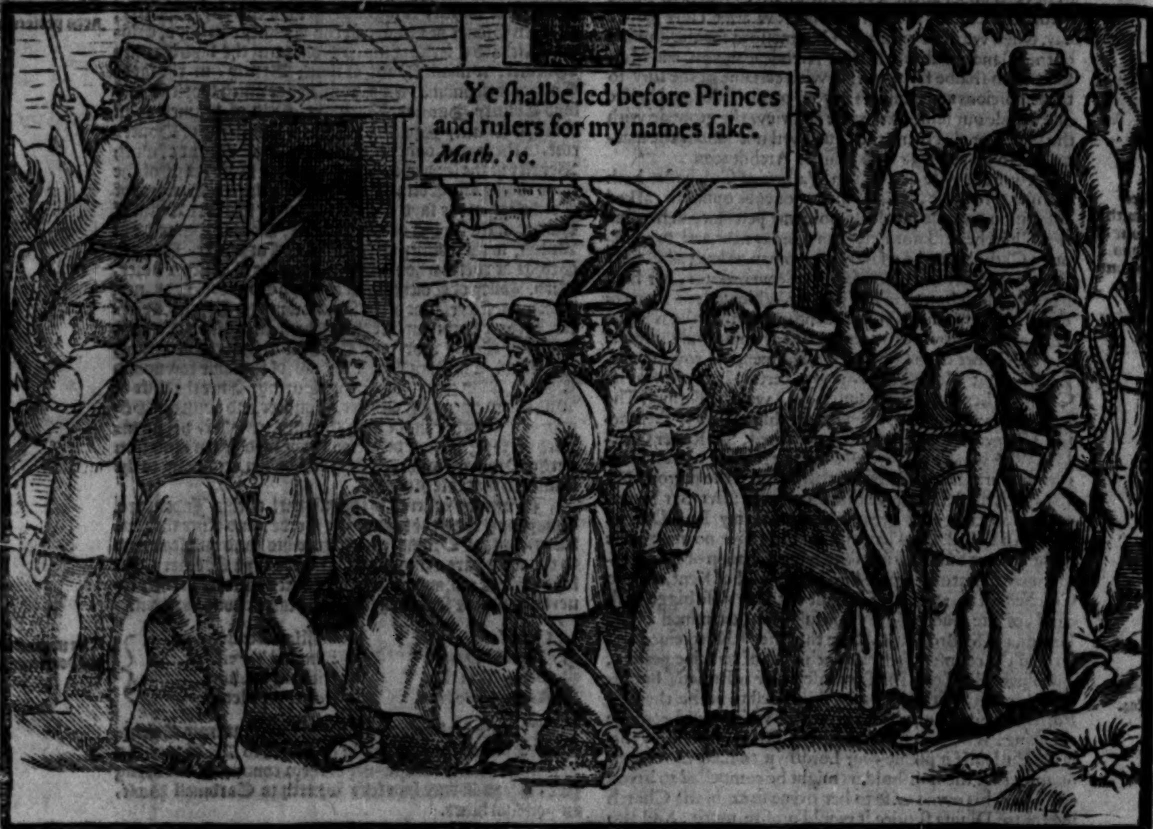
A letter of B. Boner to Cardinall Poole.

B. Boners Letter to Cardinall Poole, concernyng the xxij. priſoners aforeſayd.

May it pleaſe your good grace with my moſt humble obedience, reuerence and duetie, to vnderſtand that going to London vppon Thurſday laſt, and thinkyng to be trobled with M. Germaines matter onely, & ſuch other cõmon matters as are accuſtomed, enough to wery a right ſtrõg body, I had the day following to cõfort my ſtomacke withall letters from Colcheſter, that eyther that day, or the day following I ſhould haue ſent thence xxij. heretickes, indited before the Commiſſioners, and in deede ſo had & compelled to beare their charges as I did of the other, whiche both ſtoode me aboue xx. nobles, a ſume of mony that I thought ful euil beſtowed. And theſe heretickes, notwithſtandyng they had honeſt catholicke keepers to conduct & bryng thẽ vp to me, and in al the way from Colcheſter to Stratford of the Bow, dyd go quietly, and obediently, yet commyng to Stratford, they began to take hart of grace & to do as pleaſed them ſelues, for there they began to haue their garde, which generally encreaſed til they came to Algate, where they were lodged Friday night. And albeit I tooke order that the ſayd heretickes ſhoulde be with me very early on Saterday mornyng, to the entent they myght quietly come and be examined by mee, yet it was betwene x. and xi. of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapeſyde, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with aboute a thouſande Perſons. Whiche thyng I tooke very ſtraunge and ſpake to Syr Iohn Greſſam then beyng with me, to tell the Maior and the Shrieffes that this thyng was not well ſuffered in the Citie. Theſe naughty heretickes al the way they came through Cheapſyde both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort a promiſcua plebe, and beyng entred into my houſe and talked withall, they ſhewed them ſelues deſperate and very obſtinate, yet I vſed al the honeſt meanes I could, both by my ſelfe and other to haue wonne them, cauſing diuers learned men to talke with them: and findyng nothing in them but pride and wilfulnes, I thought to haue had them all hether to Fulham, and here to geue ſentence agaynſt them. Neuertheles perceiuy[illegible]oyng that your grace was offended, I thought it my duety before I anye thyng further proceded herein, to aduertiſe firſt your grace hereof, and know your good pleaſure, which I beſech your grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leaue of your good grace, beſechyng almightye God alwayes to preſerue the ſame. At Fullam, poſtridie Natiu. 1556.

Your graces moſt bounden Bedeſmā
and ſeruant, Edmund London.

¶ The Picture of xxij. Godly and faythfull Chriſtians, apprehended about Colcheſter, priſoned together in one bande, and ſo with three leaders at the moſt, brought vp to London.


Ye ſhalbe led before Princes and rulers for my names ſake.
Math. 10.

By this letter of Byſhop Boner to the Cardinall, is to be vnderſtand, what good will was in this Byſhop to haue the bloud of theſe men, and to haue paſt with ſentence of cōdemnation agaynſt them, had not the Cardinall ſomewhat (as it ſeemed) haue ſtayde his feruent headynes. Concernyng the which Cardinall, although it cannot be denyed by hys Actes and wrytynges, but that he was a profeſſed enemy, and no otherwiſe to be reputed but for a papiſte: yet agayne it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the bloudy and cruell ſort of papiſts, as may appeare not onely by ſtayyng the rage of this Byſhop: but alſo by his ſolicitous wrytyng, and long letters written to Cranmer, alſo by the complaynts of certayne papiſtes, accuſing him to the pope to be a bearer with the heretickes, and by the popes letters ſent to hym vpon the ſame, callyng hym vp to Rome, and ſettyng Frier Peto in his place, had not Queene Mary by ſpeciall entreaty haue kept hym out of the popes daunger. Al which letters I haue (if neede be) to ſhewe: beſides alſo that it is thought of him that toward his latter ende, a little before his commyng from Rome to England, he began ſomewhat to fauour the doctrine of Luther, and was no leſſe ſuſpected at Rome: Yea and furthermore dyd there at Rome conuert a certayne learned Spanyard from papiſme to Luthers ſide: notwithſtandyng the pompe and glory of the worlde afterward caryed hym away to play the papiſt thus as he dyd. But of this Cardinall enough.

B. Boners crueltye ſomewhat ſtayed by the Cardinall.

Cardinall Poole a Papiſt, but no bloudy Papiſt.

Cardinall Poole halfe ſuſpected for a Lutheran at Rome.

To returne nowe to this godly company agayne, firſt howe they were brought vp in bandes to London, ye haue heard: Alſo howe Boner was about to haue red the ſentence of death vpon them, and how he was ſtayed by ẏ Cardinall ye vnderſtand. As touchyng their confeſſion, whiche they articled vp in wrytyng, it were to tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touchyng the article of the Lordes Supper (for the which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrot, as here foloweth.

The ſupper of the Lord.

Whereas Chriſt at his laſt Supper toke bread, and when he had geuen thankes he brake it and gaue it to his diſciples and ſayd: take, eate, this is my body: and likewiſe toke the cuppe and thanked, &c. We do vnderſtand it to be a figuratiue ſpeach, as the moſt maner of hys language was in parrables and darcke ſentences, that they which are carnally mynded, ſhould ſee with theyr eyes, and not perceaue, and heare with theyr eares, and not vnderſtand, ſignifying this, that as he dyd breake the bread among them, beyng but one loafe, and they all were partakers therof, ſo we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered vpon the croſſe for vs, are all partakers therof, and his bloude clenſeth vs from our ſinnes, and hath pacified Gods wrath towardes vs and made the atonement betwene God and vs, if we walke henceforth in the light euen as he is the true light.

Their opinion and iudgement of the Lordes Supper. Chriſtes language to ſpeake in parrables.

And in that he ſayd farther, do this in the remembrance of me, it is a memoriall and token of the ſufferyng and death of Jeſu Chriſt: and he commaunded it for this cauſe, ẏ the congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thanke and laude him for all his benefites, and mag-

The cauſe why the bread and cup was geuen in the Supper.

magnifie his holy name, and ſo to breake the bread & drinke the wyne, in remembraunce that Chriſt hath geuen his body and ſhed his bloud for vs.

Thus ye may well perceaue, though Chriſt called the bread his body, and the wyne his bloud, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtaunce of his body ſhould bee in the bread and wine: as diuers places in Scripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the Apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeach. as in Iohn. 15. I am the true vine, alſo in Iohn the. 10. I am the doore, and as it is written in the 9. to the Hebrues, and in Exodus 24. how Moyſes tooke the bloud of the Calues and ſprinckled both the booke and all the people, ſaying: This is the bloud of the couenaunt or Teſtament. And alſo in the 5. Chapter of Ezechiell, how the Lord ſayd vnto him concernyng the third part of his heare ſaying: This is Hieruſalem &c.

How the Scriptures ought to be examined.

Thus we ſee the Scriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would haue vs to ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous vnderſtandyng of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy Scriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great Idolatry is ſprong out of the carnall vnderſtandyng of the word of Chriſt: This is my body, and yet dayly ſpringeth, to the great diſhonour of God, ſo that men worſhyp a peece of bread for God, yea and hold that to be their maker.

Idolatry in worſhipping the Sacramentall bread and wyne.

After this confeſſion of their fayth and doctrine, beyng written and exhibited, they alſo deuiſed a letter withall, in maner of a ſhort Supplication, or rather an admonition to the Iudges and Commiſſioners, requiryng that Iuſtice and Iudgement, after the rule of Gods word might be miniſtred vnto thẽ. The copy of which their letter I thought here alſo to ſhew vnto the Reader in forme as foloweth.

¶A Letter or Supplication of the priſoners to the Iudges.

A letter or requeſt of the priſoners to the Iudges.

TO the right honorable audience before whom theſe our ſimple writynges and the Confeſſion of our fayth ſhall come to bee read or ſene, we poore priſoners beyng faſt in bandes vppon the triall of our fayth, whiche we offer to be tryed by the Scriptures, pray moſt hartely, that for aſmuch as God hath geuen you power and ſtrength ouer vs, as concernyng our bodyes, vnder whom we ſubmit our ſelues as obedient ſubiectes in all thynges due, ye beyng officers and rulers of the people, may execute true Iudgement, keepe the lawes of righteouſneſſe, gouerne the people accordyng to right, and to heare the poore and helpeles in truth, and to defend their cauſe.

GOD for his ſonne Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, geue you the wiſedome and vnderſtandyng of Salomon, Dauid, Ezechias, Moyſes, with diuers other moſt vertuous rulers, by whoſe wiſedoms and moſt godly vnderſtandyng, the people were iuſtly ruled, and gouerned in the feare of God, all wickedneſſe was by them ouerthrowen and beaten downe, and all godlynes and vertue did floriſhe and ſpryng. O God which art the moſt higheſt, the creator and maker of all thynges, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, whiche doeſt try all mens workes and imaginations, before whoſe Iudgement ſeate ſhall come both hyghe and low, rich and poore, we moſt humbly beſech thee to put into our rulers hartes the pure loue and feare of thy name, that euen as they themſelues would be iudged, and as they ſhall make aunſwere before thee, ſo to heare our cauſes, to iudge with mercy, and to read ouer theſe our requeſtes and confeſſions of our fayth, with deliberation, and a godly iudgement.

And if any thyng here ſeemeth to your honorable audience to be erroneous or diſagreeyng to the Scripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhyp to heare vs patiently, which do offer our ſelues to the Scripture, thereby to make aunſwere, and to bee tryed, in ſo doyng we poore ſubiectes beyng in much captiuitie and bondage are moſt bounde to pray for your noble eſtate and long preſeruation.

The requeſt of theſe men beyng ſo iuſt, and their doctrine ſo ſounde, yet all this could not preuayle with the Byſhoppe and other Iudges, but that Sentence ſhould haue proceeded agaynſt them incontinent, had not the goodneſſe of the Lorde better prouided for his ſeruauntes, then the Byſhoppe had intended. For as they were now vnder the edge of the Axe, ready to be condemned by Sentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the Cardinall, and ſome other wiſer heades fearyng belike, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbaunce might riſe peraduenture among the people, and ſo was decreed among themſelues, that rather they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, ſuch as they would them ſelues, and ſo to be ſent home agayne, as they were in deede: howbeit diuers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the meane ſpace as touchyng their ſubmiſſion which they made, this it was, as in forme here followeth.

¶The ſubmiſſion or confeſſion of theſe aforeſayd priſoners.

An eaſy ſubmiſſion of the priſoners.

BEcauſe our Sauiour Chriſt at his laſt Supper tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it vnto his Diſciples and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you, this do in the remembraunce of me: Therfore accordyng to the wordes of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, we do beleue in the Sacrament, to be Chriſtes body. And likewiſe he tooke the cuppe, gaue thankes, and gaue it to his Diſciples and ſayd, This is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many.

Therefore likewiſe we do beleue that it is the bloud of Chriſt, accordyng as Chriſtes Church doth miniſter the ſame. Vnto the whiche Catholicke Church of Chriſt, we do in this, like as in al other matters ſubmit our ſelues, promiſing therein to lyue as it becommeth good Chriſten men, and here in this Realme to vſe our ſelues, as it becommeth faithfull ſubiectes vnto our moſt gracious king & Queene, and to all other ſuperiours both ſpirituall and temporall, accordyng to our bounden duties.

The names of them which ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion were theſe, Iohn Atkine, Alyn Symſon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Mount, Richard Iolye, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Wynſley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clerke, Stephen Glouer, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, william Bongeor, Robert Bercocke, Margaret Hide, Elyn Ewryng, Chriſtian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alyce Mount, Ioane Winſley, Cyſly Warren, Roſe Alyn, Anne Whitlocke, George Barker, Iohn Saxbye, Thomas Locker, Alyce Locker.

¶A ſtory of fiue other godly Martyrs burned at one fire in Smithfield, the 12. day of Aprill.

Aprill. 12.

TO proceede further in this ſtory of perſecuted Martyrs, next in order follow fiue other burned at London in Smithfield in the foreſayd yeare of the Lord. 1557. Aprill 12. whoſe names were theſe.

Thomas Loſeby.
Henry Ramſey.
Thomas Thyrtell.
Margaret Hyde, and
Agnes Stanley.

V. Martyrs.

Who beyng, ſome by the Lord Rich, ſome by other Iuſtices of peace, and Conſtables (their owne neighbours) at the firſt accuſed, and apprehended for not commyng to their Pariſhe Churches, were in the end ſent vnto Boner Byſhop of London, and by his commaundement the xxvij. day of January, were examined before Doctour Darbyſhire, then Chauncellour to the ſayd Byſhop, vpon the former generall Articles mentioned, pag. 1585.

Touching theſe articles read before pag 1585.

¶Aunſweres to the Articles.

Their aunſweres to the articles.

WHoſe aunſweres thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and Catholicke Church, whereof they ſtedfaſtly beleued, and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member: ſo in the ſame Churche they beleued there were but two Sacramentes, that is to ſay: Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord. Howbeit ſome of them attributed the title and honour of a Sacrament, to the holy eſtate of Matrimony, which vndoubtedly was done rather of ſimple ignoraunce thẽ of any wilfull opiniõ, and are therof to be adiudged as before is admoniſhed.

Two ſacraments onely.

Moreouer, they acknowledged themſelues to be Baptiſed into the fayth of that true Church, as in the third Article is ſpecified. And here in readyng, as well of theſe Articles, as alſo of the reſt, marke I beſeech you, the crafty ſubtletie of theſe Catholicke champions, who intermixtyng certaine poyntes of fayth, and of the true Church, with the Idolatrous and ſuperſtitious mamettrie of their Romiſh Synagoge, cauſe the poore and ſimple people, for lacke of knowledge, oftentymes to fall into their crafty nettes.

Craftye dealing of the Papiſtes.

For after they haue made them graunt a true Churche, with the Sacramentes of the ſame, though not in ſuch number as they would haue them, and alſo that they were Chriſtened into the fayth thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, they craftely now in the other their obiections, deſcendyng as it were from the fayth of the Trinitie, vnto their Idolatrous Maſſe and other ſuperſtitious ceremonyes, would make them graunt, that now in denying thereof, they haue ſeuered them ſelues from the fayth of the true Churche, whereunto they were Baptiſed, which is moſt falſe. For though the true light of Gods Goſpell and holy word, was miſerably darkened,

and

1557.
Aprill.

hid in a maner vtterly extinguiſhed: yet the true fayth of the Trinitie, by the mercyfull prouidence of God, was ſtill preſerued, and into the fayth therof were we Baptiſed, and not into the beliefe and profeſſion of their horrible Idolatry and Papiſticall ceremonies.

Simple ignorance deceiued.

They which ſeparate them ſelues from certayne traſhe brought into the Church, doe not ſeparate them ſelues from the Church.

These thynges not throughly weyed by theſe poore, yet faythfull, and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorauntly to graunt, that when they came to the yeares of diſcretion, and vnderſtode the light of the Goſpell, they did ſeparate themſelues from the fayth of the Church, meanyng none other but onely to ſeparate themſelues from the admittyng or allowyng of ſuch their Papiſh and erroneous traſh as they now had defiled ẏ church of Chriſt withall, & not fro their fayth receiued in baptiſme, which in expreſſe wordes in their aunſweres to the other Articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaryng the Maſſe & Sacrament of the aultar, to be moſt wicked blaſphemy agaynſt Chriſt Ieſus, and contrary to the truth of his Goſpell, and therfore vtterly they refuſed to aſſent and to be reconciled agayne therunto.

These aunſweres in effect, of them thus taken by the ſayd Chauncellour, they were for that tyme diſmiſſed: but the Byſhop takyng the matter into his owne handes, the vj. day of Marche, propounded vnto them certaine other new Articles, the copy wherof followeth.

¶Other Articles obiected by Boner Biſhop of London, agaynſt Tho. Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thyrtell, Margarete Hide, and Agnes Stanley, the vj. day of Marche, beyng the ſecond tyme of their examination.

Other new articles propounded to them by B. Boner.

Maſſe and 7. Sacramentes.

1. First, that thou haſt thought, beleued, and ſpoken, within ſome part of the Citie and Dioces of London, that the fayth, Religion, and Eccleſiaſticall ſeruice here obſerued and kept, as it is in the Realme of England, is not a true & a laudable fayth, Religion, and ſeruice, eſpecially concernyng the Maſſe, and the ſeuen Sacramentes, nor is agreable to Gods word and Teſtament, and that thou canſt not finde in thy hart without murmuryng, grudging, or ſcruple to receiue and vſe it, & to conforme thy ſelfe vnto it, as other ſubiectes of this Realme cuſtomable haue done and do.

Engliſhe ſeruice.

2. Item, that thou haſt thought. &c. that the Engliſh ſeruice ſet forth in the tyme of king Edward the vj. here in this Realme of England, was and is good, godly, and Catholicke in all pointes, and that it alone ought here in this Realme to be receiued, vſed, and practiſed, and none other.

Commyng to Church.

3. Item, likewiſe thou haſt thought. &c. that thou art not bounde to come to thy Pariſh Church, and there to be preſent, and heare Mattins, Maſſe, Euenſong, and other Diuine ſeruice, ſong or ſayd there.

Aſhes, Palmes, Creeping to the Croſſe, holy bread, holy water. &c.

4. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that thou art not bound to come to proceſſion to the Church vpon dayes and tymes appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the Pariſhe, ſingyng or ſaying then the accuſtomed prayers vſed in the Church, nor to beare a taper or candell on Candlemas day, nor take Aſhes vppon Aſhewedneſday, nor beare Palmes vpon Palme Sonday, nor to creepe to the Croſſe vppon dayes accuſtomed, nor to receiue and kiſſe the pax at Maſſe tyme, nor to receiue holy water or holy bread, or to accept & allow the ceremonyes and vſages of the Churche, after the maner and faſhion as they are vſed in this Realme.

Confeſſion.

5. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that thou art not bound at any tyme to confeſſe thy ſinnes to any Prieſt, and to receiue abſolution at his handes, as Gods Miniſter, nor to receiue at any tyme the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar, eſpecially as it is vſed in the Church of England.

6. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that in matters of Religiõ and fayth, thou muſt follow and beleue thyne owne conſciẽce onely, and not geue credite to the determination and cõmon order of the Catholicke Church, and the Sea of Rome, nor to any member therof.

Abſolute neceſſitye.

7. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that all thynges do chaunce of an abſolute and preciſe mere neceſſitie, ſo that whether man do well or euill, he could not choſe but do ſo, and that therfore no man hath any free will at all.

Chriſtenyng of Infantes.

8. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that the faſhion and maner of Chriſtenyng of Infantes, is not agreable to Gods word, and that none cã be effectually Baptiſed, and thereby ſaued, except he haue yeares of diſcretion to beleue him ſelfe, and ſo willyngly accept or refuſe Baptiſme at his pleaſure.

Praying for the dead.

9. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that Prayers to Saintes, or Prayers for the dead, are not auaylable and not allowable by Gods worde, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the ſoules departed do ſtraightwaies go to heauẽ or to hel, or els do ſleape till the day of dome, ſo that there is no place of purgation at all.

Martyrs that ſuffered.

10. Itẽ, thou haſt thought. &c. that all ſuch as in the tyme of kyng Henry the viij. or in tyme of Queene Mary Queene of England, haue bene burned as heretickes, were no heretickes at all, but faythfull and good Chriſten people, eſpecially Barnes, Garret, Ierome, Frith, Rogers, Hoper, Cardemaker, Latymer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and ſuch like, and that thou diddeſt and doeſt allow, like, and approue all their opinions, and doeſt miſlike their condemnations and burnynges.

Faſting dayes.

11. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that faſtyng and prayers vſed in this Churche of England, and the appointyng of dayes for faſtyng, and the abſtainyng from fleſhe vpon faſtyng dayes, and eſpecially in the tyme of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by Gods word, but is hypocriſie and fooliſhnes: and that men ought to haue libertie to eate at all tymes all kyndes of meate.

Sacrament of the altar.

12. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that the Sacramẽt of the aultar is an Idoll, and to reſerue and keepe it, or to honor it, is playne Idolatry & ſuperſtition: and likewiſe of the Maſſe and the eleuation of the Sacrament.

Takyng of an oth.

13. Item, thou haſt thought. &c. that thou or any els, conuented before an Eccleſiaſticall Iudge concernyng matters of belief and fayth, art not nor is bound to make aunſwere at all, eſpecially vnder an othe vpon a booke.

¶Their aunſweres to the Articles before obiected.

Their aunſweres to the articles before obiected.

Their aunſweres to theſe obiections were, that as touchyng the firſt, ſecond, thyrd, fourth, fift, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally graunted vnto, ſaying that they denyed the ſoules of the departed to ſleepe till the day of iudgement, as is mentioned in the ninth Article.

And as concernyng the ſixt obiectiõ, they thought themſelues bounde to beleue the true Catholicke Church, ſo farre forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them accordyng to Gods holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babilonicall Church of Rome.

As for the ſeuenth, eight, and thirteenth, they vtterly denyed, that euer they were of any ſuch abſurde opinions as are contained therein, but they graũted that man of him ſelfe without the helpe and aſſiſtaunce of Gods ſpirite, hath no power to do any good thyng acceptable in Gods ſight.

True faſting.

To the eleuenth they ſayd, that true faſtyng and prayer, vſed accordyng to Gods word, are allowable and auaylable in his ſight, and that by the ſame word euery faythfull man may eate all meates at all tymes, with thankeſgeuyng to God for the ſame.

After this, the firſt day of Aprill, were they agayne cõuented before the Byſhop in his palace at London, where litle appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their aunſweres, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant and deny the receaued and infallible truth, the Byſhoppe cauſed them to be brought into the open Conſiſtory, the thyrd day of the ſame moneth of Aprill in the forenoone, where firſt vnderſtandyng by them their immutable conſtauncie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, he demaunded particularly of euery one what they had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the Sentence of condemnation.

Thomas Loſebies wordes to the Byſhop.

To whom Thomas Loſeby firſt aunſwered: God geue me grace and ſtrength to ſtand agaynſt you, and your Sentence, and alſo agaynſt your law, which is a deuouryng law, for it deuoureth the flocke of Chriſt. And I perceaue there is no way with me but death, except I would cõſent to your deuouryng law, and beleue in that Idoll the Maſſe.

Thomas Thyrtells wordes to Boner.

Next vnto him aunſwered Thomas Thyrtell, ſaying: my Lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an hereticke, thẽ you make Chriſt and all the xij. Apoſtles heretickes, for I am in the true fayth and right beliefe, and I will ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall haue eternall life therfore.

Henry Ramſeyes wordes to Boner.

The Byſhoppe then aſked the lyke queſtion of Henry Ramſey, who ſayd agayne: my Lord, will you haue me to goe from the truth that I am in? I ſay vnto you that my opinions be the very truth, whiche I will ſtand vnto, and not go from them: and I ſay vnto you farther, that there are two Churches vpon the earth, and we (meanyng him ſelfe and other true Martyrs and profeſſours of Chriſt) be of the true Church, and ye be not.

Margaret Hydes wordes to Boner.

Unto this queſtion, next aunſwered Margarete Hide, ſaying: My Lord, you haue no cauſe to geue Sentence agaynſt me, for I am in the true fayth and opinion, and will neuer forſake it: and I do wiſhe that I were more ſtronger in it then I am.

Agnes Stanleyes wordes to Boner.

Laſt of all aunſwered Agnes Stanley, and ſayd: I had rather that euery heare of my head were burned, if it were neuer ſo much worth, thẽ that I will forſake my fayth and opinion which is the true fayth.

The tyme beyng now ſpent, they were commaunded to appeare agayne at afternoone in the ſame place, which commaunde-

maunde-

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maundement beyng obeyed, yͤ Byſhop firſt called for Loſeby, and after his accuſtomed maner wylled his Articles and aunſweres to be read: and in readyng therof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the aulter, the Byſhoppe with his Colleagues put of their cappes, whereat Loſeby ſayd: my Lord, ſeyng you put of your cappe, I will put on my cappe, and there withall did put on his cappe. And after, the Byſhop continuyng in his accuſtomable perſwaſions, Loſeby agayne ſayd vnto him: my Lord, I truſt I haue the ſpirite of truth, which you deteſt and abhorre, for the wiſedome of God is fooliſhnes vnto you. Whereupon the Byſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt him. And deliueryng him vnto the Sheriffe, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he vſed the like order of exhortations.

Loſebyes wordes to the Byſhop.
Sentence geuen agaynſt Loſeby.

To whom notwithſtandyng ſhe ſayd: I will not departe from my ſayinges till I bee burned: and my Lorde (quoth ſhe) I would ſee you inſtruct me with ſome parte of Gods worde, and not to geue me inſtructions of holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture. But he beyng neither him ſelfe, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſhe her requeſt, to make ſhort worke, vſed his finall reaſon of commencement, whiche was the Sentence of condemnation. And therefore leauyng her of, called for an other, videl. Agnes Stanley, who vppon the Byſhops lyke perſwaſions made this aunſwere.

The wordes of Margaret Hyde to the Byſhop.

Sentence geuen agaynſt Margaret Hyde.

My Lord, where you ſay I am an hereticke, I am none: neither yet will I beleue you, nor any man that is wiſe will beleue as you do. And as for theſe that ye ſay bee burnt for hereſie, I beleue are true Martyrs before God: therfore I will not go from my opinion and fayth, as long as I lyue.

The wordes of Agnes Stanley to the Byſhop.

Her talke thus ended, ſhe receiued the like reward that the other had. And the Byſhop then turnyng his tale and maner of inticement vnto Thomas Thyrtell, receiued of him likewiſe this finall aunſwere: My Lord, I will not hold with your Idolatrous wayes, as you do: for I ſay the Maſſe is Idolatry, and will ſticke to my fayth and beliefe ſo long as the breath is in my body. Vpon whiche wordes he was alſo condemned as an hereticke.

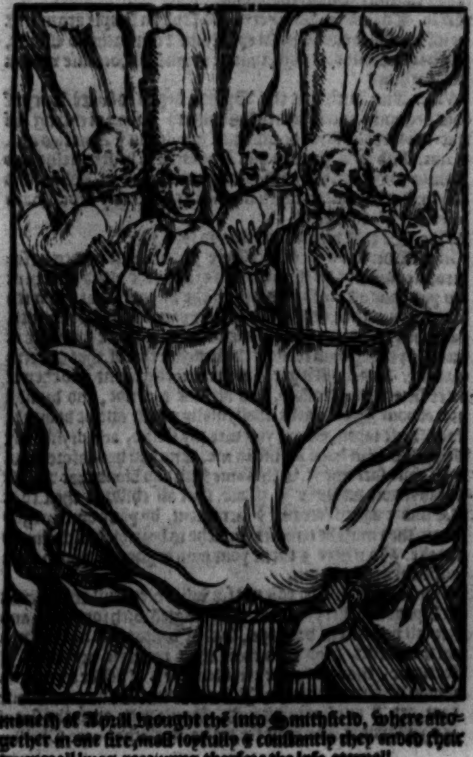
The wordes of Thomas Thirtell to the Byſhop.
Thomas Thirtell condemned.

Laſt of all, was Henry Ramſey demaunded if hee would (as the reſt) ſtand vnto his aunſweres, or els recantyng the ſame, come home agayne, and be a member of their Church. Whereunto he aunſwered: I will not go from my Religion and beliefe as long as I lyue: and my Lorde (quoth he) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreable to Gods word.

The aunſwere and condemnation of Henry Ramſey.

After theſe wordes, the Byſhop (to conclude) pronouncyng the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt him and the reſt (as ye haue heard) charged the Sheriffe of Lōdō with thē: who beyng therunto commaunded, the xij. day of the ſame moneth of Aprill brought thē into Smithfield, where altogether in one fire, moſt ioyfully & conſtantly they ended their temporall liues, receiuyng therfore the lyfe eternall.

¶The cruell burnyng of fiue Martyrs in Smithfield.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell, Margaret Hyde, Agnes Stanley, in Smithfield Anno. 1557. Aprill. 12.

¶Three burned in Saint Georges field in Southwarke.

AFter theſe, moreouer in the moneth of May, folowed 3. other that ſuffered in S. Georges field in Southwarke, William Morant, Steuen Gratwicke, with one King.

May.
W. Morant.
Steuen Gratwicke. One King. Martyrs.

Among other hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned ſaintes of God, I finde the condemnation of none more ſtraunge nor vnlawfull, then of this Steuen Gratwicke. Who firſt was condemned by the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter, whiche were not hys Ordinaries.

The ſtraunge dealing of the Biſhops with Steuen Gratwicke, Martyr.

Secondly when he dyd appeale from thoſe incompetent Iudges to his right Ordinary, his appeale could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other ſhift to colour theyr inordinate proceedynges with all, they ſuborned one of the prieſtes to come in for a counterfeate and a falſe Ordinary, and to ſit vpon him.

Fourthly beyng openly conuinced and euerturned in his own argumentes, yet the ſayd Byſhop of Wincheſter D. White, neyther would yeld to the force of truth, nor ſuffer any of the audience aſſiſtant, once to ſay, God ſtrengthen hym.

Fiftly, as they brought in a falſe Ordinary to ſit vppon hym: ſo they pretended falſe Articles agaynſt him, whiche were no part of his examinatiō, but of theyr own deuiſing, to haue his bloud.

Sixtly and laſtly, hauyng no other ground nor iuſt matter agaynſt hym, but onely for ſaying theſe wordes: that which I ſayd, I haue ſayd, they red the Sentence of death vpon hym.

And this was the dealyng of theſe men, whiche needes will be reputed for catholicke fathers of yͤ ſpiritualtie, ſucceders of the Apoſtles, diſciples of Chriſt, pillers of the holy Church, and leaders of the people. Of whoſe doynges and proceedynges, how agreable they are to yͤ example of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, I leaue to diſcuſſe, referryng the iudgement hereof to them, which know the inſtitution of Chriſtes religion and doctrine.

Nowe leſt peraduenture the diſordered miſrule of theſe Chriſtmas Lordes, will not be credited vpon the ſimple narration of the ſtory, ye ſhall heare the whole diſcourſe of this proces regiſtred by the hand of the Martyr him ſelfe, who as he could tell beſt what was done: ſo I am ſure would not teſtifie otherwiſe, thē truth was, accordyng as you ſhal heare by his owne declaration here followyng.

The inordinate handlyng of Steuen Gratwicke written and teſtified by his owne record.

¶The declaration of Steuen Gratwicke concernyng his owne ſtory and condemnation.

VPon the xxv. day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, 1557. I Steuen Gratwyke came before the Byſhop of Wincheſter, D. White, into S. Georges church in Southwarke at eyght of the clocke in the mornyng and then he called me before hym, and ſayd vnto me.

The ſtory and examination of Steuen Gratwicke Martyr, vnder the B. of Wincheſter and Rocheſter. &c.

B. Wincheſter. Steuen Gratwyke, how ſtandeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to reuoke thy hereſies, the whiche thou haſt maynteyned and defended here within my Dioces, often tymes before me and alſo vppon Sunday laſt, ye ſtoode vp in the face of the whole Church mayntenyng your hereſies, ſo that you haue offended within the libertie of my dioces, and now I beyng your Ordinary you muſt aunſwere to me directly, whether you will reuoke them or not: the which I haue here in wryting, and if ſo be, that you will not reuoke them, then I will excommunicate you: and therefore note well what you do, for now I reade here the articles agaynſt you.

And ſo when he had ended, he bad me aunſwere vnto thē.

Gratw. My Lorde, theſe articles whiche you haue here obiected agaynſt me, are not mine but of your owne makyng. For I neuer had any of myne examinations written at any tyme, and therfore theſe be obiections that you lay agaynſt me as a ſnare to get my bloud.

Wherefore I deſire your lawfull fauour, to allowe my lawfull appeale vnto myne Ordinary, for I haue nothyng to do with you. And whereas you doe burden me, that I haue offended within your dioces, it is nothyng ſo, for I haue not interpriſed neyther to preach nor teach within your dioces, but was apprehended by mine own byſhop, & ſent priſoner into your dioces, by the conſent of the Counſell and myne own Ordinary, and therfore I ſo beyng in your dioces, you haue no cauſe to let my lawfull appeale.

Steuen Gratwicke appealeth from the Biſhop of Wincheſter to his owne Ordinary.

And with that there came the Byſhop of Rocheſter, & was receaued at the B. of Wincheſters handes with much gladnes, accordyng to their determinate purpoſe, before inuented. And ſo followed the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter commeth in.

And

Catholicke conueyaunce among theſe Byſhops.

And then the Byſhop agayne ſtart vp as a man halfe rauiſhed of his wittes for ioye, embracyng him with many gẽtle woordes, and ſayd, that he was very glad of his commyng, makyng him ſelfe ignoraunt therof, as he thought it ſhould appeaſe to me. Then ſayd Wincheſter.

B. Win. Syr, I am very glad of your cõmyng. For here I haue one before me, who hath appealed vnto you beyng his Ordinary. Then ſayd the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Arch. Cant. I know this man very well. He hath bene diuers tymes before me. And then I aunſwered and ſayd.

Ste. Gratwicke not of Rocheſter Dioces.

Gratw. My Lord, I am not of his Dioces, not by fiue myles: for his Dioces reacheth on that parties but to the Cliffes of Lewes, & I dwelled at Bright Hempſon, fiue myles beyond, in the Dioces of the Byſhop of Chicheſter, and therfore I am not of his Dioces.

The Byſhops counterfaite a falſe Ordinary agaynſt Ste. Gratwicke.

Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and the Archdeacon of Cãterbury, caſt their heades together, & laughed: & thẽ they ſayd my Ordinary would be here by and by, and ſo they ſent forth for a counterfeite in ſteede of myne Ordinary, and then I ſaw them laugh, and I ſpake vnto them, and ſayd:

See what care theſe men haue of poore mens bloud.

Grat. Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my bloud, and therein triumphe? you haue more cauſe to looke waightely vppon the matter, for I ſtand here before you vpon life and death. But you declare your ſelues what you are, for you are lapped in Lãbes apparell, but I would to God ye had the coates accordyng to your aſſembly here, whiche is ſcarlet gownes, for I do here perceiue you are bent to haue my bloud.

Here commeth in the vyce in the play.

And thẽ came ruſhing in their cõterfeited Biſhop, who was the hyred ſeruaunt to deliuer me into the handes of the high Prieſt: and the Byſhop hearyng him come, with haſt enquired of his man, who was there, and he ſayd, my Lord of Chicheſter. Then the Byſhop with haſt roſe vp, & ſayd.

Wint. Ye are moſt hartely welcome, and required hym to ſit downe: and then ſayd the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter to me: Lo here is your Ordinary. What haue you now to ſay vnto him?

Grat. I haue nothyng to ſay to him. If he haue nothyng to ſay to me, I pray you let me departe. Then aunſwered my Counterfeite Ordinary, and ſayd.

Counterf. Here ye ſtand before my Lordes and me in triall of your fayth, and if you bryng the truth, we ſhall by compulſiõ geue place vnto you, as it is to be proued by the word, and your doctrine to be heard and placed for a truth.

Grat. Then I demaunded of him whether hee ment by authoritie, or by the Iudgement of the ſpirite of God in his members.

And he aunſwered me, by authoritie as well as by the ſpirite.

Chriſt bringing the truth could not be heard of the Scribes and Phariſes.

Grat. Then I ſayd: Now will I turne your owne Argument vpon you: for Chriſt came before the high Prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſeis, bryngyng the truth with him, beyng the very truth him ſelfe, whiche truth can not lye, yet both he and his truth was condemned, and tooke no place with them. And alſo the Apoſtles, and all the Martyrs that dyed ſince Chriſt: therefore I turne your owne Argument vpon you aunſwere it if you can.

Counterf. Then he with a great haſt of coller, ſayd vnto the Byſhop of Wincheſter: obiect ſome Articles agaynſt him, for hee is obſtinate, and would fayne get out of our handes, therefore hold him to ſome particular: ſo that other aunſwere could I not haue of his Argument.

Obiections of the Byſhops own making.

Wint. Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter began to read his obiectiõs of his owne makyng agaynſt me, and bad me aunſwere vnto them. And I ſayd:

Grat. No, except you would ſet the law apart, becauſe I ſee you are myndefull of my bloud.

Wint. Now you may ſee he will not aunſwere to theſe, but as he hath aforeſayd. Then ſpake the Counterfeite Ordinarie agayne, and ſayd:

Counterf. My Lord, aſke him what he ſayth to the Sacrament of the aultar. Then the Byſhop aſked me, as my Counterfeite Ordinary required him.

Sacrament of the Lordes ſupper.

Grat. My Lord, I do beleue that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truely miniſtred in both kyndes accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt, vnto the worthy receauer, hee eateth miſtically by fayth the body and bloud of Chriſt. Thẽ I aſked him if it were not the truth. And he ſayd yes. Then ſayd I, beare witneſſe of the truth.

The ſacrament of the altar no ſacrament.

Wincheſter. Then the Byſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe head beyng ſubtileſt to gather vpon my wordes, ſayd: My Lord ſee you not how he creepeth away with his hereſies, and couereth them priuily? Note how he here ſeparateth the Sacrament of the aultar, from the Supper of the Lord meanyng it not to be the true Sacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our miniſtratiõ in one kynde, and alloweth that the vnworthy receauer doth not eate and drynke the body and bloud of Chriſt: which be ſore matters truely weyed, being couered very craftely with his ſubtill ſhiftes of ſophiſtry, but he ſhall aunſwere directly or euer he depart.

The wicked eate not the body of the Lorde.

Grat. My Lord, thys is but your gatheryng of my wordes for you before confeſſed the ſame ſayinges to be the truth, & this you catch at me, and fayne would haue a vauntage for my bloud: but ſeyng you iudge me not to meane the ſacrament of the aulter, nowe come to the probation of the ſame Sacrament, and proue it to be the true ſacrament, and I am with you: or els if you can proue your church to be the true church, I am alſo with you.

The Byſhop of Wincheſters reaſon to proue the ſacrament in one kinde.

But then he called to memory the laſt probation of the Church and Sacramentes, howe he before was driuen to forſake the ſcriptures, and to ſhew me by good reaſon howe they might miniſter the ſacrament in one kynd: and his reaſon was this: Like as a man or woman dyeth on a ſodayne, and ſo when we haue geuen him the body of Chriſt, in the meane tyme the partie dyeth, and ſo he eateth the body of Chriſt, & not drynketh his bloud. And this was his ſimple ſhift in the prouyng of theyr Sacramentes: ſo that he was now halfe abaſhed to beginne that matter agayne.

But yet a little ſubtill ſhift he brought in, and ſayd.

Winc. What ſayeſt thou by the adminiſtration of ẏ prieſtes euery daye from them ſelues, and they miniſter in both kindes?

To that I aunſwered: you haue two adminiſtrations: for I am ſure at Eaſter you miniſter but in one kynd, and therfore it is not accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your owne imaginations.

Winc. Why, then what ſayeſt thou to theſe wordes: Take, eate this is my body. Theſe are the wordes of Chriſt. wilt thou deny them?

Grat. My Lord, they are the wordes of ſcripture, I affirme them, and not deny them.

Rocheſt. Why, then thou doeſt confeſſe in the Sacrament of the aulter to be a reall preſence, the ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, and is aſcended vp into heauen.

Grat. My Lorde, what do you meane? doe you not alſo meane a viſible body? for it cannot be, but of neceſſity, if it be a reall preſence, and a materiall body, it muſt bee a viſible body alſo.

Winc. Nay, I ſay vnto thee, it is a reall preſence, and a materiall body, and an inuiſible bodye to.

The Catholickes make a phantaſticall body in the ſacrament.

Grat. My Lord, then of neceſſity it muſt needes be a phantaſticall body, for if it ſhoulde be materiall, and inuiſible as you affirme, then it muſt needes be a phantaſticall body: for it is apparant that Chriſtes humayne body was viſible, and ſene.

Winc. Then the Byſhop brake out and ſayd: when diddeſt thou ſee him? I pray the tell me.

Grat. To that I aunſwered and ſayd: a ſimple argument it is. Becauſe our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Chriſt, doth that proue or follow, that he is inuiſible, becauſe we can not ſee him?

Winc. And with that the Byſhop began to ware wery of his argumẽt, and remoued his talke to Iudas in eatyng the ſacrament, and ſayd: he eate him wholy, as ẏ Apoſtles dyd.

Grat. And then I aſked him, if he ment Chriſtes fleſhe and bloude the whiche he ſpeaketh of in the vj. of Iohn, and ſayth: he that eateth my fleſh, and drynketh my bloud, hath eternall life in me.

Winc. To that he aunſwered, and ſayd, yea.

If the wicked doe eate the body of Chriſt, they muſt needes be ſaued: And if Infantes eate him not, they muſt be condemned by the Popes doctrine.

Grat. Then ſayd I, of neceſſitye Iudas muſt needes be ſaued, becauſe he eate the fleſh, and dranke the bloud of Chriſt as you haue affirmed, and alſo all the vngodly that dye without repentaunce, becauſe they haue eaten your ſacramente, whiche you ſay is the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt: therefore of neceſſitye they ſhall receaue the benefite therof, that is, eternall life. Whiche is a great abſurditie to graunt, and then of neceſſitie, it muſt follow, that all that eate not, and drynke not of your Sacrament, ſhall finally periſh and be damned: for Chriſt ſayth, except you eate my fleſhe, and drynke my bloud, you can haue no life in me. And you haue afore ſayd, that your ſacrament, is the ſame fleſh and bloud that Chriſt ſpeaketh of, and here I proue, that all children then, that dye vnder age to receaue ẏ ſacrament, by your owen argument, they muſt be damned, whiche is horrible blaſphemy to ſpeake. Now here I turne your own argument vppon you: aunſwere it if you can.

Winc. My Lord, do you not ſee what deceitfull argumentes he bryngeth in here agaynſt vs, mingled with ſophiſtry, and kepeth himſelfe in vauntage, ſo that we can get no hold vpon him. But I ſay vnto thee, thou peruerſe heretike, I ſee nowe, thou art a peruerſe fellowe. I hadde a better opinion of thee, but nowe I ſee we looſe our tyme about thee, yet I aunſwere thee: S. Paule doth open the ſixt of Ioh. playne, if thou wilt ſee, for he ſayth: they eate Chriſtes

body,

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body, and drinke his bloud vnworthely, and that was the cauſe of their damnation.

Falſehoode in alleaging the Scriptures.

Grat. My Lord, take heede you do not adde vnto the text, for he that addeth vnto the text, is accurſed of god, and I am ſure here you haue brought more then Paule hath ſpoken, for he ſayth not, becauſe they haue eaten his body and drunke his bloud vnworthely, but S. Paule ſayth: Who ſo euer ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of the Cuppe vnworthely, ſhall be giltie of the body and bloud of Chriſt. Note my Lord, he ſaith not as you haue affirmed, but cleane contrary. And with that they all were in a great rage.

The Byſhops fayled of their purpoſe, and in a rage.

Winc. And the byſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, I belyed the text.

Grat. And then I called for the text.

Winc. And he ſayd, I aſked thee euen now if thou vnderſtodeſt Latin, and thou ſaydſt whether I can or no, the people ſhall beare witnes in Engliſh.

Grat. And ſo I called agayne for the Teſtament, whether it were Latin or Engliſh for the triall of the text.

Wincheſter. And then whẽ Byſhop of Wincheſter ſaw that I cared not, whether of the tranſlations I had, he ſtode vppe thinkyng to beguile ſome ſimple man that had a booke there, and bad him that had an Engliſh Teſtament to bring it in, that he might get ſome hold at him that ſhould bryng a teſtament, but God diſapoynted him therof, and ſo he flue away from his matter, and began to rayle vpon me, & ſayd my ſubtill Argumentes ſhould not ſerue, for if I would not aunſwere directly, I ſhould neuertheleſſe be excommunicated: for (ſayd he) I ſee a madde toye in thyne head: thou gloryeſt much in thy talke, and thinkeſt now the people are come about thee, that thou ſhalt encourage them with thy conſtant hereticall opinion. For the laſt day when thou waſt before me vpon Sonday in S. Mary Oueries church, thou there reprouedſt my Sermon, & haddeſt a thouſand by thee at the leaſt, to bid God ſtrengthen thee: but now let me ſee him here that dare opẽ his mouth to bid God ſtrengthẽ thee: he ſhall dye the death that thou ſhalt dye.

No Engliſh Teſtament durſt bee brought.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter reproued of Gratwicke in his ſermon.

Grat. To that I aunſwered: my Lord I know your crueltye doth extend more largelyer then your pitie. Good experience ſo I haue to ſay, for you keepe men in priſon a yeare or two taking their bookes from them, permittyng them not ſo much as a Teſtament to looke vpon for their ſoules comfort, the which all men ought to haue: and ſo you entreat thẽ more like brute beaſtes then Chriſten men.

The Byſhop of Wincheſter threatneth thẽ that prayeth to God to ſtrengthen Gratwicke.

The crueltie of Catholickes vpon Chriſtian priſoners.

Wint. No, Syr we will vſe you as we will vſe the child, for if the child will hurt himſelfe with the knife, we will keepe the knife from him. So becauſe you will damne your ſoule with the word, therfore you ſhall not haue it.

A popiſhe ſimilitude, and well applyed.

Grat. My Lord, a ſimple Argument you bring for to maintayne and couer your fault. Are you not aſhamed to make the word the cauſe of our damnation? I neuer knew any man but onely you that did not affirme our ſinnes to be the cauſe of our damnation, and not the worde, as you ſay: and therfore if your Argument be good, then this is good alſo: Becauſe that ſome men do abuſe drinke, therfore the benefite of drinke ſhould be taken from all men, or any other ſuch like good gift.

Wincheſter ouerthrowen in his owne ſimilitude.

Wint. My Lordes, here we loſe much tyme, for this fellow is peruerſe, ſpeakyng nothyng but Sophiſtry and peruerſe queſtions: ſo that we can get no aduauntage vpon him.

Then ſpake my Counterfeite Ordinary as one halfe a ſleepe all this while: yet ſomewhat with haſt, when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and ſayd.

Counterf. Read theſe Articles agaynſt him once more, and if he will not aunſwere them, take him vpõ his firſt wordes: That which I ſayd, that I haue ſayd.

Wint. Then the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter began to read them agayne.

Grat. But I ſayd vnto him, I would not aunſwere them, becauſe they were none of myne examinations, but obiections of their owne makyng, because they would haue my bloud. But yet I ſayd, if they would ſet the law a part, I would talke my cõſcience freely to them.

Counterf. Then my Cõuterfeite Ordinary began to ſpeake agayne charging me with the ſaying of S. Peter, that I ſhould render account of ſuch hope as was in me.

Grat. So can I doe, and yet ſhall I not pleaſe you, for here I now render my hope as S. Peter willeth me: I beleue onely in Jeſus Chriſt, to haue my whole ſaluation in him, by him, and through him: but I perceaue you would haue me render my fayth in ſuch ſort, as you might haue my bloud, and therefore you bryng good Scriptures and euill apply them.

Theſe Catholickes will not be contented with the confeſſing of Chriſt onely.

Wint. Why, this fellow is peruerted, & we ſhall get no more at his handes then we haue already: therfore let vs pronoũce ſentence agaynſt him, for we do but loſe our tyme.

Grat. Nay good my Lordes, ſeing you will needes haue my bloud, let me ſay a little more for my ſelfe.

Upon Sonday laſt, when I was before you, you preached this, which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the Apoſtle S. James, and ſayd: If any man thinke him ſelfe a religious man, and in the meane tyme ſeduce his toũg or his hart, the ſame mans religion is a vayne Religion: and ſo my Lord you ſtandyng there in the Pulpit, in the meane tyme ſeduced your toung to ſclaunder vs poore priſoners beyng there preſent in yron bondes, burdenyng vs with the ſect of Arrians, and with the ſect of Herodians, & with the ſect of Anabaptiſtes, and with the ſect of Sacramentaries, and with the ſect of Pelagians.

The rayling Sermon of Wincheſter agaynſt good men.

Wincheſter preacheth agaynſt hym ſelfe.

And when we ſtode vppe to purge our ſelues thereof, you ſayd you would cut out our tounges, and cauſe vs to bee pulled out of the Churche by violence. But there you gaue your ſelfe a ſhrewde blowe, for your tounge in the meane tyme ſclaundered your neighbour. For I my Lord will geue my lyfe agaynſte all theſe hereſies, the whiche you there burdened vs withall, euen as I will geue my lyfe agaynſt that wherein I nowe ſtand before you. And with that he was ragyng angry and caught my condemnation and ſayd.

True Chriſtians not ſuffered to purge them ſelues.

He meaneth agaynſt the reall preſence.

Wint. Thou wilt graunt here no more, but this worde: That I haue ſayd, I haue ſayd: and here I gather matter enough to condẽne thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou haſt heretofore ſayd.

Grat. Then I aunſwered: If you can proue that euer any of myne examinations were written, it were inough: but you haue nothyng agaynſt me, but obiections of your owne makyng.

Wint. Haue at thee now. If thou wilt not yeld, I will pronoũce ſentence agaynſt thee, & ſo he proceeded forth onward a pace, curſing and bannyng in Latin: ſo that I told him: If the people might heare it in Engliſh, they would thinke you an vncharitable Byſhop.

Wincheſter condemneth Steuen Gratwicke, and why?

Grat. And then I ſayd, ſtay my Lord and note what you do, for you haue neither temporall law nor ſpirituall here agaynſt me in any iuſt cauſe.

Steuen Gratwicke condemned agaynſt order, both of temporall and ſpirituall lawe.

Then ſtepped forth a Gentleman & ſayd vnto my Lord: take heede what you do, for he doth here ſay that you haue no title nor cauſe why you ſhould condemne him.

Then the Byſhop looked about him agayne and aſked me if I would recant.

I aſked him wherof I ſhould recant?

Thẽ ſayd the Byſhop: are you there? nay then I know what I haue to do, and ſo he proceeded forth in readyng my condemnation.

And there was an other Gentleman whiche began to ſnappe and ſnach at me: and then ſayd I, I would God I had knowen this or euer I had come from home: I would ſurely haue put on my breech, and not had my ſkynne thus torne. And all this while the Byſhop read forth ſtill.

At laſt his chaplynes cryed, ſtoppe, ſtoppe my Lord, for now he will recant, and then the Biſhop aſked me agayne.

And I aunſwered & ſayd: my Lord, my fayth is grounded more ſtedfaſtly, then to chaũge in a moment, it is no proceſſe of tyme can alter me, vnleſſe my fayth were as the waues of the ſea: and ſo the Byſhop made an ende, and deliuered me into the handes of the Sheriffe, to be caryed priſoner to the Marſhalſey agayne.

Steuen Gratwicke conſtant in Chriſt and in his death.

And when I was condemned, I deſired God with a loude voyce that hee would not lay my bloud to their charges, if it were his good will, and ſo then, they refuſed my prayer and ſent me away. Then I beganne to talke as I went, and they cryed, cut out his toũg, or ſtoppe his mouth, and ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſey, and lapped in yron bandes. Therfore I pray vnto G O D that they vnto whom this preſent wrytyng ſhall come, may take example by my death and ſouldiour fare. So be it.

Gratwicke after his condemnation prayeth for his enemies.

By me Steuen Gratwicke condemned for Gods euerlaſtyng truth.

¶Steuen Gratwike to the Reader.

Steuen Gratwicke to the Reader.

HEre for want of tyme I haue left out many matters, becauſe the Lord hath haſtened the tyme, ſo that I haue written but the brieſneſſe of the matter in probation of fayth, and the reward of fayth, the whiche the Byſhoppe of Rocheſter and I debated vpon: the which matter I would haue bene very glad to haue ſet downe in wrytyng.

Alſo much more talke there was, that the Byſhop of Wincheſter and I had concernyng my worldly frendes and perſonable eſtate: for he played Sathan with me: he caryed me vp to the mountaines, and there told me, my learnyng was good and my eloquence, and alſo my knowledge, ſaue that I did abuſe it (ſayd he): and then he fell to prayſing of my perſon, that it was comely & worthy to ſerue a Prince.

Wincheſter attempteth Steuen Gratwicke with flattering and prayſing.

Thus Sathan flattered with me to make me aunſwere vnto ſuch obiections as he would lay agaynſt me, that I might fall into his Dioces.

Thus Steuen Gratwicke this Chriſtian Martyr, beyng wrongfully condemned by the Byſhop of Wincheſter (as ye haue heard) was burned with William Morant, & one King, in S. Georges field, about the latter end of May.

¶Seuen Godly Martyrs, fiue women and two men, burned at Maydſtone for the word of truth, and profeſſing of ſincere Religion of Chriſt.

June 18.

I Shewed a litle before, how after the vnmercyfull Proclamation was ſent and ſet forth by the Kyng and Queene, in the moneth of February laſt, the ſtorme of perſecution began in all places to riſe (whereof ſome part alſo is declared before): but yet in no place more then in the countrey and Dioceſſe of Caunterbury, by reaſon of certaine the aforeſayd Inquiſitours, beyng now armed with authoritie, but eſpecially by reaſon of Richard Thornton Suffragan of Douer, and the Archdeacon of Caunterbury, who of their owne nature were ſo furious and fiery agaynſt the harmeleſſe flocke of Chriſt, that there was no neede of any Proclamation to ſtyrre vp the coales of their burnyng crueltie: by reaſon whereof many a Godly Saint lyeth ſlayne vnder the aultar: as in diuers places of this booke well may appeare.

Richard Thornton. Nicholas Harpsfield, perſecutors.

And now to returne to the ſayd Dioceſſe of Canterbury agayne, in the next moneth followyng, beyng the moneth of June, the xviij. day of the ſame were ſeuen Chriſtiā and true faythfull Martyrs of Chriſt burned at Maydſtone, whoſe name here follow.

The names of the Martyrs.

Ioane Bradbridge of Staplehurſt.
Walter Apelbye of Maydſtone.
Petronill his wife.
Edmund Alen of Fritenden.
Katherine his wife.
Ioane Mannynges wife, of Maydſtone.
Elizabeth a blynd Mayden.

As concernyng the generall Articles commonly obiected to them in the publicke Conſiſtory, and the order of their condemnation, it differreth not much from the vſuall maner expreſſed before, pag. 1585. neither did their aunſweres in effect much differre from the other that ſuffered vnder the ſame Ordinary in the foreſaid Dioces of Canterbury.

Now as touchyng their accuſers, and maner of apprehenſion, and their priuate conflictes with the aduerſaries, I finde no great matter commyng to my handes, ſaue onely of Edmund Alen ſome intimation is geuen me, how his troubles came, what was his cauſe and aunſweres before the Juſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall vnderſtand.

¶The examination of Edmund Alen.

The ſtory of Edmund Alen, with his trouble and examination before Syr John Baker.

This Allen was a Milner of the Pariſh of Frytenden in Kent, and in a deare yeare, when as many poore people were like to ſtarue, he fed them, and ſold his corne better chepe by halfe then others did: and did not that onely, but alſo fed them with the foode of life, readyng to thē the Scriptures and interpretyng them.

This beyng knowne to the Popiſhe Prieſtes there abouts dwellyng, by the procurement of them, namely of John Taylour Parſon of Fritenden, and Thomas Henden Parſon of Staplehurſt, hee was eftſoones complayned of to the Juſtices, and brought before Syr John Baker Knight, who firſt ſendyng for them, committed both him and his wife to warde: but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went ouer vnto Calyce. Where after that he had continued a certaine ſpace, he began to be troubled in conſcience, & there meetyng with one John Web of ẏ ſame pariſh of Fritendē, (who was likewiſe fled from the tyranny of Syr John Baker, and Parſon Taylour) ſeyd vnto him, that he could not be quyet there, whatſoeuer the cauſe was: for God (ſayd he) had ſome thyng to do for him in England, & thus ſhortly he returned home agayne to the Pariſhe of Fritenden. Where was a cruell Prieſt, there Parſon, called John Taylour.

Edmund Allen went to Calice.

Edmund Allen returneth againe from Calice, and is apprehended.

This Parſon Taylour beyng informed by his brother Sextan, that Edmund Allen the Milner and his wife, were returned, and were not at Maſſe tyme in the Churche: as he was the ſame tyme in the middeſt of his Maſſe, vpon a Sonday, a litle before the eleuation (as they terme it) euen almoſt at the liftyng vp of his Romiſh God, hee turned him to the people in the Churche in great rage, and commaunded them, with all ſpeede, to goe vnto their houſe and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haſt as might be poſſible. Whiche promiſe he well performed. For he had not ſo ſoone made an ende of Ite miſſa eſt, and the veſtimentes of his backe, but by and by he was at the houſe, and there laying hand of the ſayd Alen, cauſed him agayne to be brought to Syr John Baker, with a greuous complaynt of his exhortyng and readyng the Scriptures to the people, & ſo was he and his wife ſent to Maydſtone priſon. Witneſſed by Richard Fletcher Vicare of Cranbroke, and John Webbe of Fritenden.

Marke what a holy Maſſe ſayng was here and what a charitable religion is this.

Witneſſes to the ſtory.

They were not ſo ſoone in priſon, but Maiſter Baker immediately ſent vnto their houſe, certaine of his mē, John Doue, Thomas Beſt, Thomas Linley, Perciuall Barbell, with the foreſayd John Taylour Parſon of Fritenden, and Thomas Henden Parſon of Staplehurſt, to take an inuentory of all the goodes that were in the houſe. Where they found in the bedſtraw a caſked locked with a padlocke, and ſo cuttyng the wiſt therof, opened it, and founde therein a ſackecloth bagge of money conteynyng the ſumme of xiij. or xiiij. pound, partly in gold, and partly in ſiluer. Which money after they had told and put in the bagge agayne, like good caruers for themſelues, they caried away with them.

John Doue, Tho. Beſt, Tho. Linley, Perciuall Barbell, perſecutors.

Beſides alſo they found there certaine bookes, as Pſalters, Bibles, and other writynges. All which bookes, with the money, were deliuered to the foreſayd Prieſt Thomas Henden, Parſon of Staplehurſt, and after in the raigne of this Queene, an. 5. Reg. Eliſab. was by right law recouered from him agayne, as in Recordes remaineth to be ſeene.

Tho. Henden prieſt perſecutor.

Thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, beyng maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly ſpoyled and robbed of all their goodes, were brought (as is aforeſayd) before Syr John Baker the Juſtice, to be examined: who tauntyng and reuilyng him without all mercy and pitie, aſked him if thoſe were the fruites of his Goſpell, to haue conuenticles to gather people together, to make conſpiracies, to ſow ſedition and rebellion: and thus he begun with him to reaſon.

¶The talke or reaſonyng betwene Syr Iohn Baker, Colins his chaplayne, and Edmund Allen.

The examination of Edmund Allen before Syr John Baker.

Baker. Who gaue thee authoritie to preach and interpret? Art thou a Prieſt? art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy licence.

Martin Collins, Syr John Bakers Scholemaiſter ſayd, ſurely he is an arrant hereticke and worthy to be burned.

Allen. And it may pleaſe your honour to geue me leaue to aunſwere in the cauſe of my fayth, I am perſwaded that GOD hath geuen me this authoritie as hee hath geuen to all other Chriſtians. Why are we called Chriſtians if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his law, if we do not interprete it to others that haue not ſo much vnderſtandyng? Is not Chriſt our Father? ſhall not the ſonne follow the fathers ſteppes? is not Chriſt our Maiſter? and ſhall the Scholer be inhibited to learne and preach his preceptes? Is not Chriſt our redeemer? and ſhall not we prayſe his name, and ſerue him that hath redeemed vs from ſinne and damnation? Did not Chriſt beyng but 12. yeares of age diſpute with the Doctours and interprete the Prophet Eſay, and notwithſtanding he was neither of the tribe of Leuy which were Prieſtes, but of the ryall tribe of Juda, neither had taked any outward Prieſthode? wherfore if we be Chriſtians, we muſt do the ſame.

Priuate teaching or expounding of the Scriptures forbidden to no man.

Luke 4.

Collins. And it ſhall like your honour, what a knaue is this, that compareth himſelfe with Chriſt.

Baker. Let him alone, he will pumpe out anone an infinite heape of hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thy ſelfe?

Allen. Yea that I haue. Adam was licenced of GOD, and Abraham was commaunded to teach his children and poſteritie, and ſo Dauid preacheth in diuers Pſalmes: and Salomon alſo preached to the people, as the booke of the Preacher prouveth very well, where hee teacheth that there is no immortall felicitie in this lyfe, but in the next. And Noe taught them that were diſobedient in his dayes, and therefore is called the eight Preacher of righteouſneſſe in the ſecond Epiſtle of Peter.

Alſo in the 11. of Numbers, where Moyſes had choſen 52. elders to helpe him to teache and rule the reſt, Eldad and Medad preached in the tentes, wherfore Joſua beyng offended, complayned to Moyſes that Eldad and Medad dyd preache without licence. To whom Moyſes aunſwered and wiſhed that all the people could do the lyke. What ſhould I be long? moſt of the Prieſts were not of the tribe of Leuy and Aaron.

Preaching without licence in the olde Teſtament.

Collins. Theſe are authorities of the old Teſtament and therefore abrogated, but thou art a foole and knoweſt no Schole pointes. Is not the law deuided into the law ceremoniall, morall, and iudiciall?

Allen. I graunt that the ceremonyes ceaſed when Chriſt came, as S. Paule prooueth to the Hebrues, and to the Coloſſians, where he ſayth: Let no man iudge you in any part of a Sabboth day, new Moone, or other ceremonies whiche

Coloſſ. 2.

1557. Iune.

are figures of thinges to come, for Chriſt is the body.

Collins. And are not the iudicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the 5. of Mathew, and by Paule in the 1. Epiſtle to Timothe. 4. The law ſayth he is not ſet forth for the vertuous and godly, but for menſlayers, periured, aduouterers and ſuch like.

Collins. * Thou art an hereticke. Wilt thou call the Iudicials of Moyſes agayne? wilt thou haue adultery puniſhed with death? diſobedient children to their parentes to be ſtoned? wilt thou haue Legem talionis? But thou art an Aſſe. Why ſhould I ſpeake Latine to thee thou erroneous rebell? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to haue thy teeth and toung plucked out.

* Albeit the poſitiue law of Moſes Iudicials do not binde the Gentiles with the ſame neceſſitie abſolutely in euery condition, as it did the Iewes, to whom it was peculiarly geuen: yet may the Gentiles borow out of the ſame law, ſuch thinges that ſhall be expedient for theyr regiment. Neither can they borowe any lawes better then out of Moſes.

Allin. If we had that law, we ſhould neither haue diſobedient children, neither adulterers, neither falſe witnes bearers, neither Ruffians.

Baker. M. Collins, let vs returne to our firſt matter. Why diddeſt thou teach the people, whom thou ſaydſt thou didſt feede both bodely and ſpiritually, beyng no Prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all Kynges to rule our affections, prieſt to preach out the vertues and word of God, as Peter writeth: and liuely ſtones, to geue light to other. For as out of flint ſtones commeth forth that, that is able to ſet all the world on fire, ſo out of Chriſtians ſhould ſpryng the beames of ẏ Goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the world. If we muſt geue a reckenyng of our fayth to euery man, and now to you demaundyng it, then muſt we ſtudy the Scriptures and practiſe them. What auayleth it a man to haue meate and will eate none, or apparell and will weare none, or to haue an occupation, and to teach none, or to be a lawyer and vtter none? Shall euery artificer be ſuffred, yea & commended to practiſe his facultie & ſcience, & the Chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not euery Lawyer practiſe his law? Is not euery Chriſtiã a folower of Chriſt? Shal ignorãce which is condẽned in all ſciences be practiſed of Chriſtians? Doth not S. Paule forbid any mans ſpirite to be quenched? Doth he prohibite any man that hath any of theſe giftes, which he repeateth, 1. Cor. 14. to practiſe the ſame? Onely he forbiddeth women, but no mã. The Iewes neuer forbad any. Read ẏ Actes of the Apoſtles. And ẏ reſtraint was made by Gregory the 9. Pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man preach in Kyng Edwardes dayes.

In tyme of publicke corruption, and in want of true teachers, it is not forbidden to any man to teach.

Pope Gregory the 9. firſt reſtrayned lay men to teach or inſtruct others in Scriptures.

Collins. This villaine (and it lyke your honour) is mad. By my Prieſthode, I beleue that he will ſay, a Prieſt hath no more authoritie then an other man. Doth not a Prieſt bynde and looſe?

Allin. No, my ſinne bindeth me, and my repentaunce looſeth. GOD forgiueth ſinne onely, and no Prieſt. For euery Chriſtian when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelfe, and when hee repenteth, looſeth him ſelfe. And if any other be loſed from his ſinne by my exhortation, I am ſayd to looſe him: and if he perſeuere in ſinne, notwithſtandyng my exhortation, I am ſayd to bynde him, although it is God that byndeth and looſeth, and geueth the increaſe: Therfore ſayth Chriſt, Math. 18. Whereſoeuer two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the middeſt of thẽ, & whoſoeuer ſinnes they forgeue, they are forgeuẽ: and whoſoeuer they retaine they are retayned. Neither hath the Pope any keyes, ſaue the keyes of errour: for the key that openeth the locke to Gods myſteries and to ſaluation, is the key of fayth and repentaunce. And as I haue heard learned men reaſon. S. Auſtine and Origene, with others, are of this opinion. Then they reuiled him and layde him in the ſtockes all the night. Wherewith certaine that were better mynded, beyng offended with ſuch extremitie, willed Allin to keepe his conſcience to him ſelfe, and to follow Baruckes counſell in the 6. chap. Therfore whẽ ye ſee the multitude of people worſhippyng them, behinde and before, ſay ye in your hartes, O Lord it is thou that ought onely to be worſhipped.

Sinne bindeth: Repentance loſeth. God forgeueth: Man exhorteth. Math. 18.

How man remitteth ſinne or reteyneth. The Popes keyes be the keyes of errour.

Baruc. 6.

Wherewith hee was perſwaded to goe to heare Maſſe the next day, and ſodenly before the ſacryng went out, and conſidered in the Churchyard with him ſelfe, that ſuch a litle cake betwene the Prieſtes fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a materiall body, neither to haue ſoule, life, ſinnewes, bones, fleſh, legges, head, armes, nor breſt, and lamented, that he was ſeduced by the place of Barucke, which his conſcience gaue him, to be no Scripture, or elles to haue an other meanyng: and after this he was brought agayne before Syr Iohn Baker, who aſked why he did refuſe to worſhyp the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar.

Allin brought agayne before Syr Iohn Baker.

Talke of the Sacrament.

Allin. It is an Idoll.

Collins. It is Gods body.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the Maſſe it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Collins. How proueſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſat at his laſt Supper, and gaue the bread to eate.

Collins. Bread knaue?

Allin. yea bread, which you call Chriſtes body. Sat he ſtill at the table, or was he both in theyr mouthes, and at the table? If he were both in theyr mouthes and at the table, then had he ij. bodyes, or els had a fantaſticall bodie: which is an abſurditie to ſay it.

Syr Iohn Baker. Chriſtes body was glorified, and myght be in mo places then one.

This Papiſt graunteth that Chriſt had a glorified body at his ſupper.

Allin. Then had he more bodies then one, by your one placyng of hym.

Collins. Thou ignorant Aſſe, the ſcole men ſay, that a glorified body may be euery where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it roſe agayne, then was it not glorified at his laſt ſupper, and therfore was not at the table, and in their mouthes, by your owne reaſon.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neyther God, nor any thyng els: but Chriſtes body ſay you, occupieth no place: therfore it is neither God nor any thyng els. If it be nothing then is your religion nothyng. If it be God, then haue we iiij. in one Trinity. which is the perſon of the father, the perſon of the ſonne, the perſon of the holy Ghoſt, ẏ humane nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothing, which you muſt needes confeſſe if he occupie no place, then is our ſtudy in vayne, our fayth proſtrate, and our hope without rewarde.

The Papiſtes make 4. perſons in one Trinitie.

Collins. This rebell will beleue nothyng but Scripture. How knoweſt thou that it is the ſcripture but by ẏ church? and ſo ſayth S. Auſtin.

Allin. I cannot tell what Auſtin ſayth, but I am perſuaded, that it is Scripture, by diuers Argumentes

Firſt that the law worketh in me my condẽnation. The law telleth me that of my ſelfe I am damned: and this damnation, M. Collins, you muſt finde in your ſelfe, or els you ſhal neuer come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of conſcience, without fayth, is deſperation, ſo is a glorious and romiſh faythe without the lamentatiõs of a mãs ſinnes preſumption.

How the ſcripture is knowen to be ſcripture.

The ſecond is the Goſpell, which is the power and ſpirite of God. This ſpirite (ſayth S. Paul) certifieth my ſpirite, that I am the ſonne of God, and that theſe are the Scriptures.

The thyrd, are the wonderfull workes of God, whiche cauſe me to beleue that there is a God though wee glorifie hym not as God. Rom. 1. The ſonne, the moone, ẏ ſtarres and other his workes (as Dauid diſcourſeth in the 19. Pſalme) declareth that there is a God, and that theſe are the ſcriptures, becauſe that they teach nothyng els but God & his power, maieſty & might: & becauſe ẏ the ſcripture teacheth nothyng diſſonant frõ this preſcription of nature.

Pſal. 19.

And fourthly, becauſe that the word of God gaue authority to the Church in Paradiſe, ſaying that the ſeede of the woman ſhoulde braſt downe the Serpentes head. Thys ſeede is the Goſpell: this is all the ſcriptures, and by thys we are aſſured of eternall life, and theſe wordes: The ſeede of the woman ſhall braſt the Serpentes head, gaue authority to the Church, and not the Church to the word.

Baker. I heard ſay that you ſpake agaynſt prieſtes and Byſhops.

Allin. I ſpake for them, for now they haue ſo much liuing and eſpecially Biſhops, Archdeacons, and Deanes, that they neyther can nor will teach Gods worde. If they had a hundreth poundes a peece, then would they apply their ſtudy: now they can not for other affaires.

Collins. Who will then ſet his children to ſchole.

Allin. Where there is now one ſet to ſchole for that ende, there would be forty, becauſe that one Byſhops liuyng diuided into xxx or xl. partes, would find ſo many as wel learned men as the Byſhops be now, who haue all this liuyng, neyther had Peter or Paule any ſuch reuenew.

The reuenewes of Byſhops and Prelates in England.

Baker. Let vs diſpatch him: he will marre all.

Collins. If euery man had a hundreth poundes, as he ſaith it would make mo learned men.

Baker. But our biſhops would be angry if ẏ they knew it.

Allin. It were for a common wealth to haue ſuch Byſhoprickes diuided for the further increaſe of learnyng.

Baker. What ſayeſt thou to the Sacrament?

Allin. As I ſayd before.

Baker. Away with him. And thus was he caried to priſon and afterward burned. And thus much touching the particular ſtory of Edm. Allin and his wife.

Who with the fiue other Martyrs aboue named, being vij. to witte, v. women, and ij. men were altogether burned at Maydſtone, the yeare and moneth afore mentioned, and the xviij. day of the ſame moneth.

The Martyrdome of v. women and ij. men, at Cant. Anno. 1557. Iune. 18.

❡An other ſtory of like crueltie, ſhewed vpon other vij. Martyrs burnt at Canterbury. iij. men and iiij. women.

June. 19. The ſtory of vij. other Martyrs.

Q. Mary.

An. 1557.

June.

Unmercifull crueltie of the Catholickes againſt poore women.

AMong ſuch infinite ſeas of troubles in theſe moſt daungerous dayes, who can withhold himſelfe from bitter teares, to ſee the maddyng rage of theſe pretenſed Catholickes, who beyng neuer ſatiſfied with bloud to mainteyne their carnall kyngdome, preſume ſo hyghly to violate the preciſe lawe of Gods commaundementes in ſlaying the ſimple poore Lambes of the glorious Congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, and that for the true teſtimonie of a good conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate Goſpell of their ſaluation. What hart will not lament the murderyng miſchiefe of theſe mē, who for want of worke, do ſo wreke their tine on ſely poore women, whoſe weake imbecillitie the more ſtrength it lacketh by naturall imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of Prieſtes that ſhould be charitable.

But bleſſed be the Lord omnipotent, who ſupernaturally, hath indued from aboue ſuch weake creatures with ſuch manly ſtomacke and fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the vttermoſt extremitie of theſe pityles perſecutours: as he did before ſtrengthen the mother of the vij. ſonnes in the Machabees, & as he hath done ſince with diuers & ſondry other godly women in theſe our latter dayes, partly before mentioned & partly to be mentioned hereafter, and here preſently may appeare by the Martyrdome of theſe vij. here vnder followyng, of the which were 4. women and 3. men, burnt together at Cāterbury yͤ xxxj. day of the ſayd moneth of June, in the yeare aforeſayd, whoſe names are theſe.

* This Bradbridges wyfe was thought to be with childe.

John Fiſhcocke.
Nicolas White.
Nicolas Pardue.
Barbara Final, widow.
* Bradbreges widow.
Wilſons wife.
Bendens wife.

Roger and Tho. Hall two godly brethren of Alice Benden.

As it were to tedious exactly and particularly to proſecute the ſeuerall ſtory of euery one of theſe godly Martyrs: ſo I can not paſſe ouer vntouched the cruell and vnchriſtian handlyng of Alyce Benden during her impriſonment, accordyng as I haue receaued by the faythfull relation of them whiche beſt were acquainted with her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, beyng her owne naturall brethren. The ſtory is thus.

¶ The order of the impriſonment and tragicall hādlyng of Alyce Benden, wife of Edward Benden of the Pariſh of Stapleherſt in the County of Kent, for the teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.

The impriſonment of Alice Benden, and maner of her handling.

M. Robertes of Crambroke perſecutor.

Alice Benden impriſoned for not comming to the Church.

Alice Benden deliuered by ſute of her neighbours.

FIrſt Alyce Benden was brought before one Maiſter Robertes of Crābroke in the ſaid County, the xxij. day of October, in the yeare of our Lord. 1556. of whō ſhe was demaunded, why ſhe would not go to the Church.

And ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe could not ſo do with a good and cleare conſcience, becauſe there was much Idolatry committed agaynſt the glory of God. For the whiche, with many mockes and tauntes ſhe was ſent to priſon, where ſhe lay xiiij. dayes. For on the 20. day of October her huſband required his neighbours the wealthy men of Stapleherſt to write to the Byſhop of Douer, who had the chief gouernement of the tyrānical ſword in Kent for thoſe dayes, which they did, deſiryng him to ſend her home.

Wherefore the Byſhop called her before him and aſked her if ſhe would go home and go to the Church.

Wherunto ſhe aunſwered: If I would haue ſo done I neede not to haue come hether.

Then wilt thou go home and be ſhriuen of the Pariſh Prieſt? And ſhe ſayd, no, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſayd he, go thy wayes home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Wherunto ſhe aunſwered nothyng. But a Prieſt that ſtode by, ſaid: ſhe ſayth, ſhe will, my Lord. Wherfore he let her go, and ſhe came forthwith home.

The huſband procureth the trouble and impriſonment of his wyfe.

Syr John Gilford commaundeth Alice Benden to the Caſtle of Canterbury.

On the Saterday followyng, her huſband willed her to go to the Churche: whiche ſhe both then and elles when refuſed to do. Wherefore on the Monday, xiiij. dayes after, he goyng to the Churche, came into the company of diuers inhabitauntes of the ſame Pariſh, among whom thorough his fond talke and behauiour, he procured her to be ſent to Syr John Gilford, who commaunded her to priſon agayne, yea and the more to vtter his owne ſhame, the ſayd her huſband tooke money of the Conſtable to carry her to priſon, the price of his wiues bloud, meanyng in deede to carry her to priſon hym ſelfe. But ſhe hauyng much more care of his honeſt and good report, then he had regarde (as it is eaſie to ſee) of his owne infamy, and no leſſe aſhamed of his ſo rude and vnnaturall doynges, choſe rather to committe her ſelfe willyngly into the handes of her enemyes, then that the world ſhould witnes agaynſt her huſband, of ſo facinorous a fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the Conſtable, deſiryng him to go with her. But he aunſwered that he could not ſo doe, but graunted her his boy to go with her: with whom ſhe went to priſon, namely, the caſtle of Canterbury, accordyng to the commaundement geuen.

The ſpare dyet of Alice Benden and Potkins wife in Canterbury Caſtle.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while ſhe was in this priſon, ſhe practiſed with a priſon fellow of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to liue both of them with two pence halfepeny a day, to try thereby howe well they coulde ſuſteyne penurie and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard that when they ſhoulde bee remoued from thence to the Byſhops priſon, their liuynges ſhoulde be but three farthinges a peece a day, and dyd in deede both ſo liue for xiiij. dayes ere ſhe were from thence remoued.

The 22. day of January followyng, her huſband went agayne to the Byſhop, deſiryng hym to deliuer his wife out of priſon: but he ſayd ſhee was an obſtinate hereticke and would not be reformed, and therefore ſayd that he coulde not deliuer her.

The huſband complayneth of his wyues brother Rog. Hall.

Then ſayd he: my Lord, ſhe hath a brother whoſe name is Roger Hall, that reſorteth vnto her. If your Lordſhyp could keepe hym from her, ſhe woulde turne: for he comforteth her, geueth her money, and perſwadeth her not to returne or relent.

Alice Benden remoued to the Byſhops priſ.

This occaſion was not ſo ſoone geuen, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the Byſhop commaundyng her vpon the ſame to a priſō called Mondayes hole, there alſo hee gaue ſtraite charge that if at any tyme her brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

The Byſhops priſon deſcribed.

Example of Gods mercyfull prouidence in relieuing hys Saynctes.

This priſon was within a Court where the Prebendes chambers were, beyng a vale beneath the ground, and being before the window incloſed with a pale of height, by eſtimation. 4. foote and a halfe, and diſtant from the ſame. 3. foote, ſo that ſhe looking from beneath might only ſee ſuch as ſtoode at the pale. After this her Brother ſought often for her, w̄ no leſſe daunger of life, then diligence. But for the vnknowē ſituation of the place, it beyng alſo, but rarely vſed for a priſon, and the matter as cloſely kept as it was ſecretly done he could neuer come to vnderſtand of her beyng there, vntill through Gods mercifull will and vnſearchable prouidence, he commyng thether very rath in a mornyng, her keper beyng then gone to the Church to ring (for he was a bell ringer) chaunced to heare her voyce, as ſhee powred out vnto God her ſorowful complayntes, ſaying the Pſalmes of Dauid: & there could he none otherwiſe relieue her, but by puttyng money in a loafe of bread and ſticking the ſame on a pole, and ſo reached it vnto her: for neyther with meate nor drinke he could ſuſteyne her. And this was fiue weekes after her commyng thether. All the whiche tyme no creature was knowen to come at her, more then her keper.

Alice Benden kept in the Byſhops priſon ix. weekes with bread and water.

Their lying in that priſon was onely vpon a litle ſhort ſtraw, betwene a paire of ſtockes & a ſtone wall: beyng allowed three farthinges a day, that is, a halfe peny bread, & a farthyng drinke: neither coulde ſhee get any more for her money. Wherefore ſhee deſired to haue her whole alowance in bread, and vſed water for her drinke. Thus did ſhe lye ix. weekes. During all which tyme ſhe neuer changed her apparell: whereby ſhe became at the laſt a moſt pitious and lothſome creature to beholde.

The affliction of Alice Benden at her firſt comming to priſon.

At her firſt comming into this place, ſhe did grieuouſly bewayle with great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with her ſelfe: why her Lord God did with his ſo heauy Juſtice ſuffer her to be ſequeſtred from her louyng felowes into ſo extreame miſery.

Alice Benden receaueth comfort of the Lord in the middeſt of her myſeryes.

In theſe dolorous mournynges dyd ſhe continue till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorowfull ſupplications in rehearſing this verſe of the Pſalme: why art thou ſo heauy O my ſoule? and agayne: The right hand of the moſt higheſt can change all: ſhe receaued comfort in the middeſt of her miſeries: and after that continued very ioyfull vntill her deliuery from the ſame.

Alice Benden called before the Byſhop.

The anſwere of Alice Benden to the Byſhop.

About the xxv. day of March, in the yeare of our Lord. 1557. ſhe was called before the Byſhop: who demaunded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and go to yͤ church or no, promiſing her great fauour if ſhe would be reformed and do as they dyd.

To whome ſhe aunſwered: I am throughly perſwaded by the great extremitie that you haue already ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neyther can your doynges be godly and I ſee (ſayth ſhe) that you ſeke my vtter deſtruction, ſhewing how lame ſhe then was, of cold taken, and for lacke of foode, while ſhe lay in that paynfull priſon: whereby ſhee was not able to moue her ſelfe without great payne.

Alice Benden from the Byſhops priſon, ſent to Weſtgate.

Then dyd the Byſhop deliuer her from that filthy hole, and ſent her to Weſtgate, wheras after ſhe had ben changed, & for a while bene cleane kept, her ſkinne did wholy ſo pille & ſcale of, as if ſhe had bene with ſome mortall venome poyſoned. Here ſhe cōtinued til the latter end of April. At which tyme they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committyng her then to the priſon called the Caſtle.

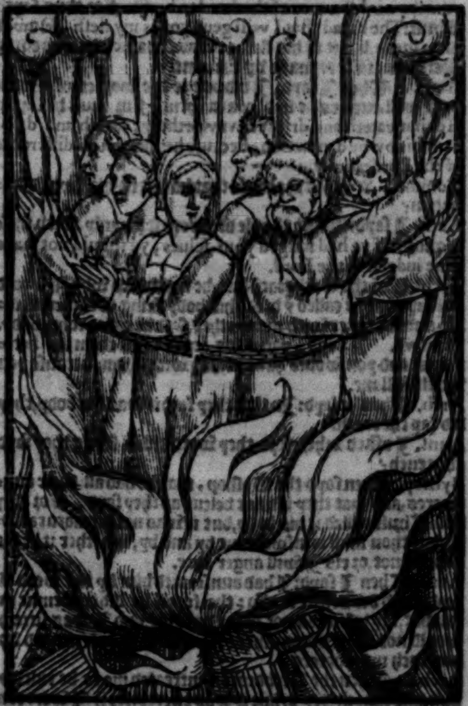
Where

Alice Benden condemned, and ſent to the Caſtle in Cant.

where ſhe cõtinued tel the ſlaughter day, which was the xix. day of June, whẽ by terrible fire they tooke away her life.

When ſhe was at the ſtake, ſhe caſt her handkerchiſe vnto one John Bankes, requiryng him to keepe the ſame in the memory of her, and from about her middle ſhe tooke a white lace whiche ſhe gaue to the keeper, deſiryng him to geue the ſame to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bounde with except the chayne. A ſhillyng alſo of Philip and Mary ſhe tooke forth, which her father had bowed and ſent her whẽ ſhe was firſt ſent to priſon, deſiryng that her ſayd brother ſhould with obedient ſalutations render the ſame to her father agayn, and ſhew him that it was the firſt peece of money that he ſent her after her troubles begon, whiche (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept and now ſent him to do him to vnderſtand that ſhe neuer lacked money while ſhe was in priſon.

¶ The burnyng of vij. Martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdome of 3. men, and 4 women at Canterbury. Anno. 1557. June. 19.

With this Alyce Benden were burned alſo the reſidue of the other bleſſed Martyrs aboue named, beyng ſeuen in number. Who beyng brought to the place where they ſhould ſuffer for the Lordes cauſe at Canterbury, vndreſſed themſelues ioyfully to the fire, and beyng ready thereto, they all (like the communion of Saintes) kneeled downe and made their humble Prayers vnto the Lord, with ſuch zeale and affection, as euen the enemyes of the Croſſe of Chriſt could not but lyke it. When they had made inuocation together, they roſe and went to the ſtake, where beyng compaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yelded their ſoules and liues gloriouſly into the handes of the Lord.

This Bradbreges wife, when ſhe was condemned of the Biſhop to be burned, had two children named Pacience and Charitie. Who the ſayd to the Byſhop that if he would needes burne her, yet ſhe truſted, that hee would take and keepe Pacience and Charitie, meanyng her two children. Nay, quoth the Byſhoppe, by the fayth of my body, I will medle with neither of them both.

The byſhop will neither keepe Patience nor Charitie.

¶ The troubles and examinations of Matthew Plaſe.

Matthew Plaſe.

VNto theſe holy Martyrs of Kent aboue ſpecified, whereof ſeuen ſuffered at Maydeſtone, and ſeuen at Canterbury, I thought not vnmeete here alſo to be adioyned the examination of Mathew Plaſe, a weauer, of the ſame Countie of Kent, and a faythfull Chriſtian. Who beyng apprehended and impriſoned lykewiſe for the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, in the Caſtell of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the Byſhoppe of Douer, and Harpſfield the Archdeacon, as here is to be read and ſeene.

¶ The examination and aunſweres of Mathewe Plaſe Weauer, of the Pariſhe of Stone in the Countie of Kent, before Thornton Byſhoppe of Douer, Harpeſfield Archdeacon, Collins Commiſſary, and other Inquiſitours An. 1557.

Examination of Mathew Plaſe before the Byſhop of Douer, Harpeſfield Archdeacon, and Collins Commiſſary. &c.

FIrſt when I came before the Byſhop, he aſked me whether I were not of that Dioces, and where I dwelt, for that was my firſt Article.

Aunſwe. I aunſwered, I was of the Pariſh of Stone in Kent, and ſubiect vnto the Kyng and Queene of England.

Byſh. Then he ſayd, I was indicted by twelue mẽ, at Aſhford at the Seſſions, for hereſie.

Aunſ. I ſayd, that was ſooner ſayd then proued.

Byſh. Then he ſayd, it was the truth that he had ſpoken to me, for he had whereby to proue it.

Aunſ. Then I deſired him to let me heare it, and I would aunſwere to it.

Byſh. But he ſayd he would not ſo do, but I ſhould aunſwere to my Article, yea or nay.

Aunſ. I ſayd, he could not: for I was not at Aſhford, and therfore he had nothyng to lay to my charge. But now I perceaue you goe about to lay a net to haue my bloud.

Arch. After many wordes betwixt the Byſhop and me, the Archdeacõ ſayd: peace, peace, we do not deſire thy bloud, but we are glad to heare that thou art no hereticke, with many flatteryng wordes, and ſayd: yet I was ſuſpected of hereſie, and if I would be content to confeſſe how I did beleue as concernyng thoſe Articles, they would gladly teach me.

Aunſ. But I ſayd, I did not ſo thinke, for I talked with one of your Doctours, and after long talke, he would needes know how I did beleue in the Sacrament, and I recited vnto him the text, and becauſe I would not make him an expoſition, he would teach me nothyng: yet I prayed him for my learnyng to write his mynde, and if it were the truth, I would beleue him: and this I did deſire him for the loue of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Thẽ ſaid he, it was not ſo, he durſt ſweare vpõ a booke.

Aunſ. I ſayd, it would be ſo proued.

Archd. Then he ſtode vp with a long proceſſe, and ſayd: he would tell me the truth, and was ſure that the ſame Doctour did beleue as he did.

Aunſ. I aſked him how he knew that, ſeyng S. Paul doth ſay, that no man knoweth what is in man but the ſpirite which dwelleth in him: but if you wiſt what Chriſt ment by theſe wordes, I require mercy & not ſacrifice, you would not kill innocentes.

Oſe. vj. Math. ix.

Byſhop. The Byſhop began with me agayne, and charged me in the Kyng and Queenes name, and the Lord Cardinals, to aunſwere yea or nay, to the Articles that followed.

Aunſ. Then I commaunded him in his name that ſhould come in flamyng fire with his mighty Angels to render vengeaunce to the diſobedient, and to all thoſe ẏ beleued not the Goſpell of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhould be puniſhed with euerlaſtyng damnation, that he ſhould ſpeake nothyng but the truth grounded vpon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then I would aunſwere him, or els not.

Byſh. Then he was very angry, and ſayd: if I would not aunſwere he would condemne me in deede: vnleſſe I would aunſwere euery Article.

Aunſ. Well ſayd I, if you do, you ſhalbe giltie of my bloud, and proue your ſelfe a murtherer.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon tooke the Articles in his hand & read the ſecond Article, which was, that I was a Chriſtian man, and did beleue in their mother the Catholicke Church, and the determination therof.

The Catholicke Church.

Aunſ. I ſayd, I was a Chriſtian man in deede, and therefore they had nothyng agaynſt me.

Arch. Thẽ ſayd he, what ſayeſt thou to ẏ catholicke church, which hath ſo long continued except it were ij. or x. yeares, that this hereſie hath ſprong vp here in this Realme.

Aunſ. I ſayd, no man can accuſe me of any thyng ſpoken agaynſt the Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

Byſhop. Then ſayd the Byſhop: doeſt thou not beleue the Creede?

Aunſ. Yes verely I beleue my Creede, & all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the Scriptures.

This Article of the K. & Queene is no article of his Catholicke Creede.

Byſh. Then ſayth he: thou doeſt confeſſe that there is a Catholicke Church, I am glad of that: but tell me, is the Kyng and Queene of that Church or not?

Aunſwe. Well ſayd I, now I perceaue, you goe aboute to bee both myne accuſer, and alſo my Judge, contrary to all right: I confeſſe Chriſt hath a Churche vppon earth, whiche is built vppon the Apoſtles and Prophetes, Chriſt beyng the head thereof: and as touchyng the Kyng and Queene, I aunſwere, I haue nothyng to do with no mans faith but with myne owne, neither came I hether to iudge, for

And yet he ſayd before that he went not about to ſeeke his bloud.

I Iudge not my ſelfe, but the Lord muſt iudge me.

Byſhop. Then ſayd he: Is there no part of that Churche here in England?

Aunſ. Well I perceaue, you would fayne haue ſome thyng to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Chriſt ſayth, whereas two or three bee gathered together in his name, there is he in the middeſt among them.

Then the Archdeacon ſtode vp with his mockes, to put me out of comfort, & ſayd to the people: that I had no witte, but that I thought all they were deceaued ſo long tyme, & that halfe a dozen of vs ſhould haue the truth in a corner, & that all they ſhould be deceaued, with ſuch like tauntes and mockes: but would not ſuffer me to ſpeake one word.

Iudgement without truth.

Archd. Then he read the Article of the Sacrament, and ſayd, I did deny the reall preſence to be in the Sacrament after it was once conſecrated, and that I ſayd, Chriſtes body was in heauen and no where els, and that the bread was nothyng but a ſigne, token, or remembraunce.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: you haue to ſhew where and what my wordes were: and hereof we talked a great while.

Byſh. At the laſt the Byſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me in the Kynges, Queenes, and Cardinals name before the Maior and his brethren, takyng them to witnes, if I did not ſay yea or nay, he would condemne me.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: ſeyng you haue nothyng to accuſe me of, wherfore ſhould I ſo aunſwere?

Arch. Thẽ the Archdeacõ ſaid, I was giltie: & ſaid I was like a theefe at the barre, which woulde not cõfeſſe his faulte because his accuſers were not preſent: with a great many wordes, and would not let me open my mouth agaynſt him.

Aunſ. Then I ſaw where about they went, grauntyng to aunſwere them by the worde, or els I thinke they would haue condemned me for holdyng of my peace: and this was my begynnyng: I beleue that Chriſt tooke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you, this do in remembraunce of me.

Mat. Plaiſe confeſſeth his minde of the Sacrament

Arch. Doeſt thou beleue that Chriſt ment euẽ as he ſayd?

Aunſ. I ſayd, Chriſt was no diſſembler, but ſpake the very truth.

Arch. Thou haſt very well ſayd: we will make the beſt of thy wordes. Then he preaſed me with many wordes goyng about to proue it his body reall and ſubſtantiall, and ſayd: Chriſt called him ſelfe bread: and this to proue, when Chriſt ſayd: This is my body, ỹ bread was his body, ſayd he, in dede, reall & ſubſtauntiall, not ſo long & ſo big as it houng on the Croſſe, as the Capernaites did thinke: but we eate it, as mãs weake nature can eate Chriſt. Therfore when he had ſayd: This is my body, the bread was his body in very dede.

Capernaiticall doctrine.

Aunſwe. Then I aſked him, what Chriſt ment by theſe wordes. Which is geuen for you?

Arch. He ſayd: Chriſt ſpake that by the bread alſo, but it was not written in Mathew, but Luke had thoſe wordes.

Aunſ. Then I aſked him, if Chriſtes body were made of bread, that was geuen for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for vs, or not?

Arch. Then he ſayd: no by ſaint Mary, I ſay not ſo.

Aunſ. You haue ſayd the truth in dede, & euen as I beleue.

Arch. Then he ſtode vp with a great many of wordes and ſayd: that I did thinke it but bare bread ſtill, as other bread is: but he was ſure Chriſt called it his body, and thẽ it was his body in deede, for he would beleue Chriſt.

Chriſt called it his body: Ergo, he made it his body. It followeth not: For a thyng may be called, and yet no nature chaunged.

Aunſ. When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinkyng to haue condemned me by their law, I ſayd: he had not iudged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did beleue the wordes of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as hee could proue by the word.

Arch. Then he would heare what I did ſay it was.

Aunſ. I ſayd, I did beleue it was that he gaue them.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what it was that he gaue them.

Aunſ. I ſayd, that which he brake.

Arch. Then he aſked me, what was that he brake?

Aunſ. I ſayd, that he tooke.

Arch. What was it that he did take?

Aunſ. I ſayd the text ſayth, he tooke bread.

Arch. Well, then thou ſayeſt it was but bread that his Diſciples did eate, by thy reaſon.

Aunſ. Thus much I ſay: looke what hee gaue them, they did eate in deede.

Arch. Why, then was not that his body that they did eate?

Aunſ. It was that which he brake.

Arch. Well ſayd he, I perceaue thy meanyng well inough, for thou doeſt thinke it is but bread ſtil, and that he was not able to make it his body.

Aunſ. That is your expoſition vpon my mynde.

Arch. Then ſayd he, what diddeſt thou receaue when thou diddeſt receaue laſt?

Aunſ. I ſayd, I do beleue, that I did eate Chriſtes fleſhe, & drinke his bloud. For he ſaith: My fleſh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.

Arch. Then he ſayd, I had well aunſwered, thinkyng to haue had ſome aduauntage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eate his fleſh and drinke his bloud.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd, I muſt aunſwere you by the worde. Chriſt ſayth: He that eateth my fleſh, & drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him.

Archdeacon. Then he faced out the matter with Sophiſtry and ſayd, I did eate Chriſt, as that Church was in his eye, with many ſuch like mockes, but would not let me aunſwere one word.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary did aſke me, if I did not remember S. Paule, whiche did rebuke the Corinthes for their euill behauiour, and because they made no difference of the Lordes body, and brought in to proue his matter how he called him ſelfe bread in the vj. of Iohn. So Paule ſayth: So oft as ye eate of this bread (meanyng Chriſtes body) vnworthely, ye eate and drinke your owne damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lordes body. For thus ſayth Chriſt: The bread that I will geue you is my fleſh. Now, it is no bread, but it is his fleſhe. And thus he alledged euery Scripture falſe to make vp the matter.

Falſe allegyng the Scriptures.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd, I did beleue the wordes of Paule very well, euen as he had ſpoken them. For thus he ſayth: He that eateth and drinketh vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lordes body.

Commiſ. What is the cauſe that he eateth his owne damnation?

Aunſ. I ſayd, Saint Paule declareth it playnly with theſe wordes: If ye had iudged your ſelues, ye ſhould not haue bene iudged of the Lord.

Arch. Thẽ the Archdeacõ ſaid, he marueiled why I would not ſay, that he called ỹ bread his body, ſeing Crãmer, Ridley, and Latimer with many other ſaid he called it his body.

They ſayd that Chriſt called it his body: but they ſaid not, that it was his body.

Aunſwe. I ſayd, you haue condemned them as heretickes, and you would haue me ſay with them, because you would kill me.

Arch. Then he ſayd: In that they ſaid it was his body, they did ſay the truth.

Aunſ. I aſked wherefore they were killed, ſeyng they ſayd the truth?

Byſhop. Then ſayd the Byſhop, that he had all their aunſweres, and that they did not beleue as they ſayd. For they ſaid, Chriſt called it his body, but it was not his naturall body: but thou ſhalt aunſwere me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or els I will anger thee.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: I had aunſwered him by the word already, and did beleue it alſo: therfore if he did condemne me for that, my lyfe was not deare vnto me, and I was ſure he ſhould not ſcape vnpuniſhed: for God will be reuenged vpon ſuch murtherers.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered: for if I were condemned, I muſt nedes be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my ſoule might be ſaued: with many moe wordes, and deſired me that I would beleue him, for hee would ſpeake the truth, begynnyng how Chriſt fed fiue thouſand with fiue loaues, and how he turned the water into wyne: euen ſo Chriſt tooke bread, and bleſt it, and when he had done, he brake it, and ſayd: This is my body, and then he commaunded them to eate it, and therfore it muſt nedes be his body.

Aunſ. Then I deſired him to ſpeake the text right, or els I would not beleue him.

Arch. Then he ſtode vp and put of his cap and thanked me for teachyng of him, and ſayd: I was a ſtubborne fellow, and tooke ſcorne to be taught.

Aunſ. I ſayd, I ought to hold hym accurſed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Arch. Then he aſked me, whether I did beleue that Chriſt did geue that he tooke, or not?

Aunſ. I ſayd, I do beleue as much as can be proued by the Scripture, and more I will not beleue.

Arch. Then he began with Moyſes rod, how God commaunded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seyng that this was by Moyſes beyng but a man, how much more Chriſt beyng both God and man tooke one thyng, and gaue to his Diſciples an other?

Compariſon betwene cunning Moyſes rod, and the bread into Chriſtes body: not lyke.

Aunſwere. I ſayd, his compariſon was nothyng lyke, for Moyſes rod when it was layd downe, he ſawe that it was turned into a very Serpent in deede, but in this Sacrament no man can ſee neither qualitie nor yet quantitie to be chaunged.

Byſh. Then ſayd the Byſhop, that myne opinion and fayth was like vnto the Capernaites.

The opinion of the Papiſtes much lyke to the Capernaites

Aunſ. I ſayd, it was more like their opinion then myne.

1557. June.

Arch. The Archdeacon aſked me, whether Chriſt toke not one thyng, and gaue an other?

Aunſ. I ſaid, Looke what he brake, he gaue vnto them, & bad them eate: and other aunſwere I wyll make none, contrary to the word.

Arch. Then he ſaid, he marueyled why I would not beleue them, ſeyng this learnyng had continued this fifteene hundred yeares: neyther yet dyd ſay, as other had before, how Chriſt dyd cal it his body.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: when Cranmer which was here Biſhop, was in authoritie, he ſayd, that he dyd hold the truth, and commaunded vs to beleue hym, and he hath geuen his lyfe for his opinion, and would you haue me to beleue you, becauſe you ſay, that you hold the truth? & that which makes me beleue chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am ſure is the truth in deede.

Biſh. The Biſhop ſaid, he hath ſpoken the truth, & that I would not beleue hym.

Aunſ. I ſayd, if he dyd not now ſpeake the truth, I was ſure he had ſpoken the truth, for he had preached before, Doctrine cleane contrary vnto this.

Then were the reſt of my articles read: which I anſwered, and in euery article, we had vp this breaden God. And they ſent for a candle light, and I thought they would haue condemned me, but God would not ſuffer their cruell hartes to haue their pleaſure at that tyme: bleſſed be his name for euermore. Amen.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry, & began to chide with me, becauſe I would not deſire a day of the Biſhop, and ſayd: I was a noughty ſtubborne felow, and ſaid, it had ben my duetie to haue deſired hym to haue ben good to me, that I might haue a day.

Aunſ. Then I ſayd: I haue ſpoken the truth, and therfore I would aſke hym no day, except he would geue me a day of his owne mynd.

Commiſ. Then ſaid the Commiſſary: Doeſt thou not thinke that thou mayeſt be deceyued, ſeing he may be deceiued that hath gone to ſtudy al the dayes of his lyfe?

Aunſ. I ſayd, yes, I might be deceyued in that I was a man: but I was ſure Gods word could not be deceyued.

Commiſ. Then he prayed me to be content, and confeſſe that I might learne, and ſayd, they would be glad to teache me.

Aunſ. And I ſaid, I would be as glad to learne as any man. And thus they roſe vp & went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this Mathew Playſe after, whether he dyed in priſon, or was executed, or deliuered, I haue as yet no certayne knowledge.

¶ The hiſtorie of ten true godly Diſciples, and Martyrs of Chriſte, burnt together in one fire at Lewes. ann. 1557. Iune. 22.

June. 22.

IN the towne of Lewes were ten faythfull ſeruauntes of God put in one fire, the. xxij. day of Iune, whoſe names followe.

X. Godly Martyrs.

1. Rich. woodman.
2. George Steuens.
3. W. Maynard.
4. Alexãder Hoſmã his ſeruaunt.
5. Tomaſin a Wood Maynards Mayd.
6. Margery Morys.
7. James Morys her ſonne.
8. Denys Burgis.
9. Aſhdons wyfe.
10. Groues wyfe.

Of the which number Richard Woodman was the firſt. Concernyng whoſe apprehenſion firſt by his enimies, and of his deliueraunce out of B. Boners handes, then of his ſecond takyng agayne by the procurement of his father, brother, kinſfolkes, and frendes, alſo of his ſundry examinatiõs and conſtant aunſweres before the biſhops, & laſtly of his condemnation, and of his letters ſent to his faithful frendes, here foloweth to be declared by his owne wordes, and relation regiſtred. Which Rich. Woodman, by his occupatiõ was an Ironmaker, dwelling in the Pariſh of Warbleton, in the Countie of Suſſex, and Dioces of Chicheſter, of the age of thirty yeares, and ſomwhat more. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this.

The lyfe and ſtorye of Rich. Woodman.

There was one Fayrebanke, who ſomtymes had ben a maryed Prieſt, and ſerued the Cure of Warbleton, where he had often perſwaded the people not to credite any other doctrine but that which he the preached, taught, & ſet forth in kyng Edwardes dayes. And afterward in the beginnyng of Queene Maryes raigne, the ſaid Fayrebanke turnyng head to tayle, preached cleane contrary to that which he had before taught.

Fayrebankes preaching contrary to hym ſelfe.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearyng hym in the Church of Warbleton ſo to preache contrary to hym ſelfe, admoniſhed hym of his inconſtancie, howe before tyme he had taught them one thyng and now an other, and deſired hym to teache them the truth. For the which wordes he was apprehended, and brought before Maiſter John Aſhbornham, maiſter Coſton, maiſter Culpeper, and maiſter Roberts, Juſtices of peace in the Countie of Suſſex: and by them committed to the Kynges Bench, where he continued from June: the ſpace almoſt of a yeare and a halfe: and from thence was tranſferred by Doct. Story into Boners Colehouſe, where he remayned the ſpace of a moneth, before he came to examination.

Juſtices of Suſſex troublers of Richard Woodman, and what were their names.

At length, the ſame day, when Maiſter Philpot was burned, which was the. xviij. of December, he with foure other priſoners was deliuered, and ſet at libertie by Boner hym ſelfe. Notwithſtandyng ſhortly after he was ſought for againe, and at laſt found out and taken by meanes of his father, brother, and certaine other his acquainted frendes, and ſo was ſent vp againe to London to B. Boner, where he remayned in the Colehouſe eight weekes. He was there ſixe tymes examined, and. xxvj. tymes before, ſo that his examinations in all were xxxij. from his firſt apprehenſion to his condemnation. Touchyng the whole diſcourſe wherof, for ſo muche as the matter is ſomthyng ſtraunge, and wyll peraduenture ſcarſe finde credite vpon my narration, with them which deny al thynges, that like them not to beleue, ye ſhal heare hym ſelfe ſpeake, and teſtifie both of the maner of his troubles, and alſo his owne examinations by hym ſelfe recorded, in order as foloweth.

Richard Woodman deliuered out of his firſt trouble.

Richard Woodman agayne apprehended, and by whoſe meanes.

XXXij. examinations of Richard Woodman.

¶ A true certificat written by Richard Woodmã of his taking, and how he was brought to the Sheriffes the. 15. day of March. 1556. and how long he was in priſon, and how he was there vſed, tyll he was brought before the Biſhop of Chicheſter at blacke Fryers in London, with the order of his examinations folowing after the ſame.

GEntle reader, here you ſhall perceiue how the ſcriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poore Lambes. Firſt you ſhall vnderſtand, that ſince I was deliuered out of the Biſhop of Londons handes, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1555. and the ſame day that M. Philpot was burned (which was the. xviij. of December) I lay in his Colehouſe eight weekes lackyng but one day. And before that, I was a yere & almoſt a halfe in the Kings Bench, after my firſt apprehenſiõ, for reprouyng of a preacher in the pulpit in the pariſh of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherfore I was at two ſeſſions before I was ſent to priſon, and caryed to two more Seſſions while I was in priſon, twice before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and fiue tymes before the Commiſſioners: and then ſent to Londons Colehouſe, and many tymes called before hym, as it appereth by my examinations which I wrote, the which examinations the Biſhop of Chicheſter now hath, for they were found in my houſe when I was taken: wherin is conteyned al the talke which I had before the aforenamed. Alſo there be in London, that had copies of the ſame of me, when I was in the Colehouſe.

The certificate of Richard Woodman concerning the treaty of his owne ſtory and troubles.

The firſt apprehenſion of Rich. Woodman.

And it pleaſed God to deliuer me with foure or more out of the butchers handes, requiring nothing els of vs but that we ſhould be honeſt men, & members of the true catholike Church, that was builded vpon the Prophetes & Apoſtles, Chriſt being ẏ head of ẏ true church: ẏ which all we affirmed, that we were mẽbers of the true church, & purpoſed by Gods helpe therin to dye. And hereupon we were deliuered: but he wylled vs many tymes to ſpeake good of hym. And no doubt he was worthy to be prayſed, becauſe he had ben ſo faithful an aid in his maiſter ẏ deuils buſines. For he had burnt good M. Philpot the ſame mornyng, in whoſe bloud his hart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tel what he dyd, as it appered to vs, both before & after. For but two dayes before, he promiſed vs that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were deliuered: yea & the morow after that he had deliuered vs, he ſought for ſome of vs againe, yea & that earneſtly. He ſought vs after his great drõkennes, wherfore he is like to haue bloud to drinke in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not with ſpede. The Lord turne al their harts, if it be his wyl.

Richard Woodman deliuered out of Boners handes, with 4. moe.

What the Byſhop required at their deliuerance.

B. Boner bloudthirſtye.

This haue I written, chiefly to certifie al people howe we were deliuered, becauſe many carnall Goſpellers and many Papiſtes haue ſayde, that it was practiſed that we ſhould be ſo deliuered, becauſe they thinke that God is ſubiect to man, & not man to God. For if they dyd, they would not blaſpheme hym as they doe, as if they thought they ſhould neuer geue accompt for it. Haue not many of them read, how God deliuered Iſrael out of Egypt? & Daniell out of the Lyons den? & Sydrach, Miſaak, and Abednago out of the burnyng ouen? with diuers other ſuch like examples?

Woodman purgeth hym ſelfe of falſe ſclaunder.

Falſe ſurmiſes agaynſt Richard Woodman.

yea God is the ſame God that he was then. He is no older, nor leſſe in power, as ſome count hym in wondring at his workes. Now to the matter.

After I was deliuered, the Papiſtes ſayd that I had conſented to them, whereof they made them ſelues glad: the which was the leaſt part of my thought (I prayſe God therefore) as they well perceiued, and knewe the contrary within a while. For I went from Pariſh to Pariſh, and talked with them, to the number of thirteene or fourteene, and that of the chiefeſt in all the Countrey: and I angred them ſo, that they with the Commiſſioners complained on me to my lord Chamberlaine that was then to the Queen, Syr John Gage, ſhewing hym that I baptiſed chyldren, and marryed folkes, with many ſuch lyes, to bring me into their handes agayne. Then the Commiſſioners ſent out certaine Citatiōs to bring me to the Court. My L. Chāberlaine had directed out foure or fiue warrants for me, that if I had come there, I ſhould haue ben attached and ſent to priſon ſtraight way. Which was not Gods wyl: for I had warnyng of their laying awayt for me, and came not there, but ſent my deputie, & he brought me word that the Bayliffes waited for me there: but they miſt of their pray for that time: whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Woodman complayned of to Syr John Gage Lord Chamberlayne.

Warrantes ſent out to attache Woodman.

L. Chamberlaine ſendeth to take Woodman at his plough.

Then within three dayes after, my lord ſent three of his men to take me, whoſe names were, Deane, Jeffrey, and Fraunces. I being at plough with my folkes, right in the way as they were commyng to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all other, came to them and ſpake to them, aſking them howe they dyd. And they ſaid, they arreſted me in the King and Queenes name, and that I muſt go with them to their Maiſter the Lord Chamberlaine. Which wordes made my fleſhe to tremble and quake becauſe of that ſodain. But I anſweared them, that I would goe with them. Yet I deſired them that they would go to my houſe with me, that I might breake my faſt & put on ſome other geare, And they ſaid, I ſhould. Then I remembred my ſelfe, ſaying in my hart: Why am I thus afrayd? they can lay no euyl to my charge. If they kil me for wel doing, I may think my ſelfe happy. I remembred how I was contented gladly before to dye in that quarel, and ſo had continued euer ſince: and ſhould I now feare to dye? God forbid that I ſhould, for then were al my labour in vaine.

Woodman arreſted.

Feare comming vpon Woodman at his firſt taking.

Woodman comforted in hys ſpirite after his feare.

So by and by I was perſwaded, I prayſe God, conſidering it was but the frailtie of my fleſh, which was loth to forgoe my wyfe and chyldren and goodes: for I ſawe nothing but preſent death before myne eyes. And as ſoone as I was perſwaded in my mynd to dye, I had no regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad and ioyfull, I prayſe God, as euer I was. This battaile laſted not a quarter of an houre, but it was ſharper then death it ſelfe for the tyme, I dare ſay.

Woodmā aſketh for their warrant.

How God worketh for his ſeruauntes.

The vnorderly doynges of the Papiſtes in attachyng men without any warrant.

So when I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhewe me their warrāt, thinking thereby I ſhold haue ſeen wherfore I was arreſted: to the intēt I might the better anſwer for my ſelfe, when I came before their Maiſter. And one of them anſweared, they had not their warrant there. Which wordes made me aſtonied: and it was put in my mynde by God, that I neede not to go with them, vnleſſe they had their warrant. Then ſaid I to them, that is maruelle that you wyll come to take a man without a warrant. I ſemeth to me that you come of your own mynd, to get thanke of your maiſter: for in deede I heard ſay (ſaid I) that there was. 4. or. 5. warrantes out for me, but they were called in againe, becauſe I had certified my Lord and the Commiſſary by a letter that I ſent to the Commiſſaryes court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, which was, for baptiſing of children, & marying of folkes: the which I neuer did, for I was neuer Miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing: wherefore ſet your harts at reſt: I wyl not go w you (ſaid I) vnles you wyl cary me by force, & if you wil do ſo, at your own aduētures. And ſo I roſe frō the bord, & ſtepped into my chāber, meanyng to go frō them if I could, poſſible ſeeing God had made y way ſo opē for me. I meant to play Peters part w thē, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a feare amongeſt them, that as ſoone as I was gon into my chamber, ere euer I could come out againe, they were gone out of my houſe.

Woodman refuſeth to goe with them, vnleſſe they ſhew their warrant.

Gods great worke, how the perſecutors which came to take Woodman, went away without him.

When I ſaw that, I knewe it was Gods doing to ſet me at libertie once againe. Yet I was compelled to ſpeake to them, and ſaid: If you haue a warrant, I deſire you for Gods ſake to ſhew it me, and I wyll go with you with all my hart: if not, I deſire you to depart in Gods peace and the Kings: for ſurely I wyll not go with you without the order of the law: for I haue ben to ſimple in ſuch thynges already. For before I was ſent to Priſon firſt, I went to the Juſtices to two Seſſions, without any warrāt or cōmaundement, but had word by one of their men, & I went gently to thē, and they ſent me to priſon, and kept me there almoſt a yeare and three quarters, without al right or equitie, as it is openly knowen, not hearyng my cauſe iuſtly debated. And it ſemeth to me that I ſhould be thus euil handled, and therfore I wyl not go to none of them al henceforth without the extremitie of the law.

Then one of them anſweared me, and ſaid: we haue not the warrant here, but it is at home at my houſe: the worſt is you can but make vs fetche it. Then I ſaid: Fetch it, if you wyll, but if you come in my houſe before you haue it, at your owne aduenture. So I ſhut my dore, and went my way out of the other dore. So they got helpe to watch my houſe, while one of them ſet the Conſtable and many moe, thinking to haue had me in my houſe, and to haue taken me in my houſe, and carryed me away with a Licence: but I was gone before, as God would haue it. Notwithſtanding they ſought euery corner of my houſe, but could not preuaile. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it againe that night, and kept me abroade, and in deede there came ſeuen of his men and the Conſtable, and ſearched my houſe.

Woodman eſcapeth the handes of his takers.

Woodmans houſe agayne ſearched for hym.

And when they ſaw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rent their coates, that I had ſcaped thē ſo, knowing they ſhould haue ſuch a checke of their maiſter. When I heard that they had ſought ſo for me againe, I perceiuyng that they were gredy of their pray, came home, and my wife told me al things.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would lay all the Countrey for me, and the ſea coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go ouer, and then I thought that they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife that I would make my lodging in a wood not paſt a flight ſhot from my houſe, as I dyd in deede, euen vnder a tree, & there had my Bible, my pen & myne ynke, and other neceſſaries, & there cōtinued a 6. or. 7. weekes, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea I thought my ſelf bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the woods for the name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the country, that I was ſeene and ſpoken to in Flaunders: whereupon they left laying awayte for me, for they had layd all the Countrey for me, and the ſea coaſt from Portſmouth to Douer, euen as God put in my mind they would.

Woodman lodged vj. weekes in a woode.

All the countrye and ſea coaſtes layde for Woodman.

So when all was huſht, I went abroad among our frends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into Flaunders and in Fraunce: but I thought euery day ſeuen yeare or euer I were at home agayne. So I came home againe as ſoone as it was poſſible. I was there but three weekes, but as ſoone as I was come home, and it once knowē among Baals prieſtes, they could not abide it, but procured out warrātes againſt me, cauſing my houſe to be ſearched ſomtymes twiſe in a weeke. This continued frō Saint James tyde to the firſt Sonday in Lent. Otherwhile I went priuily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I wēt from home a fortnight or three weekes, otherwhile I was at home a moneth or fiue weekes together, liuyng there moſt commonly and openly, doyng ſuch workes as I had to do: and yet all myne enemies could lay no handes on me, tyll the houre was full come: and then by the voyce of the countrey, and by manifeſt proofes, mine owne brother as concernyng the fleſh, deliuered me into their handes, by that he knew that I was at home.

Woodman deliuered by his owne brother into his enemies handes.

For my father & he had as much of my goods in their handes, as I might haue. lvi. li. for by the yeare cleare, and therunto payed. It was a Lordſhip and a honor & halfe a honor, that I had deliuered into their handes, to paye my debtes, and the reſt to remayne to my wyfe & chyldren. But they had reported that it would not pay my debtes: which greued me ſore. For it was two hundred poundes better then the debtes came to. Which cauſed me to ſpeake to ſome of my frendes, that they would ſpeake to them to come to ſome reckenyng with me, and to take all ſuch money againe of me, as they were charged with, and to deliuer me ſuch writings and writs as they had of myne, againſt, or to whō I would appoynt them.

Auri ſacra fames quid non mortalia cogis pectora? Virgil.

So it was agreed betwixt my Father and me, that I ſhould haue it againe, and the day was appoynted, that the reckenyng ſhould be made and ſent to me that ſame day that I was taken, my brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould haue put hym out of moſt of all his occupying, that he was in: for it was all myne in a manner that he occupyed, as all y countrey can & doe well know. Wherein (as it is reported) he told one Grauillar my next neighbour, and he told ſome of M. Gages men, or to M. Gage hym ſelf: and ſo he ſent to his brother, and his brother ſent twelue of his men (he beyng Sheriffe) in the night before I was taken, & they lay in y buſhes not farre frō my houſe, tyl about ix. of y clocke, euen the houre that was appointed amongeſt them ſelues: for about the ſame tyme they thought to haue had me within my houſe.

Brother betrayeth the brother.

They had taken a marcke myne and two of my chyldren that were abroad in the land: and kept them with them till theyr houre was appoynted to come in, and then a little girle one of my children, ſaw them come together, and came runnyng in, and cryed: mother, mother, yonder commeth .xx. men. I ſittyng in my bed and makyng of ſhoe thonges, heard the wordes, and ſuſpectyng ſtraight way that I was betrayed, I ſtirred out of my bed and whipt on my hoſe, thinkyng to haue gone out of the dores or euer they had beene come. My wife beyng amaſed at the childes wordes, looked out at the dore, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped to the dore and barred it faſt, euen as I came out of my chamber into the Hall, and ſo barred the other: So the houſe was beſet rounde ſtraight way, and they bad open the dores, or els they would breake them in peeces. Then I had no ſhift, but eyther I muſt ſhewe my ſelfe openly, or make ſome other remedie.

Woodmans houſe againe beſet, and ſearched.

So there was a place in my houſe that was neuer found which was at the leaſt, I dare ſay .xx. tymes and ſometimes almoſt of .xx. men ſearched at once, both by night and by day. Into which place I went: And as ſoone as I was in, my wife opened the dore: wherby incontinent they came, and aſked for me: and ſhe ſayd I was not at home. Then they aſked her wherfore ſhee ſhut ŷ dore, if I were not at home. Shee ſaid, becauſe ſhee had ben made afraid diuers tymes, with ſuch as came to ſearch vs, & therfore ſhee ſhut ŷ dore. For it is reported (ſaith ſhee) that who ſoeuer can take my husband, ſhal hang hym or burne him ſtrayt way: & therfore I doubt they wyll ſerue me or my children ſo: for I thinke they may do ſo vnto vs as wel as to him, ſhee ſaid. Wel, ſaid they, we know he is in the houſe, and we muſt ſearch it, for we be the Sheriffes men: let vs haue a candle. It is told vs, there be many ſecret places in your houſe. So ſhee lighted a candle, and they ſought vp and downe in euery corner that they could finde, and had geuen ouer, and many of them were gone out of my houſe into the Churchyard, and were talking with my father, and with ſome that he had brought with hym.

Woodman put to his ſhiftes.

The part of a truſty wife to her husband.

Nowe when they could not finde me, one of them went to hym that gaue the word that I was at home, and ſaid, we can not finde hym. Then he aſked them whether they had ſought ouer a wyndowe that was in the Hall (as it was knowen afterward) for that ſame place I had tolde hym of my ſelfe. For many tymes when I came home, I would ſend for hym to beare me company: yet as it chaunced I had not told hym the way into it. Then they began to ſearche anewe. One looked vp ouer the wyndowe and ſpyed a litle loft, with three or foure Cheſtes, and the way went in betwixt two of the cheſtes, but there could no man perceiue it. Then he aſked my wyfe which was the way into it. Here is a place that we haue not ſought yet. Then ſhee thought they would ſee it by one meanes or other. She ſaid, the way was into it out of a chamber they were in erenow. So ſhee ſent them vp, & cryed: Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedie, but make the beſt ſhift for my ſelfe that I could. The place was boarded ouer and faſt nayled, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I muſt nedes come amongeſt them all in the Hall. Then I had no ſhyft, but ſet my ſhoulders to the bourdes that were nayled to the rafters to keepe out the rayne, and brake them in peeces, which made a great noyſe, and they that were in the other Chamber, ſeeking for the way into it, hearde the noyſe, and looked out of a wyndowe, and ſpyed me, and made an outcry. But yet I got out, and leaped downe, hauyng no ſhooes on.

This belike was his brother.

Woodman at length after long ſeeking found out.

So I tooke downe a lane that was ful of ſharpe Synders, and they came runnyng after, with a great cry, with their ſwordes drawẽ, crying: Strike hym, ſtrike hym. Which wordes made me looke back, and there was neuer a one nigh me by an hundred foote: and that was but one, for all the reſt were a great way behynd. And I turned about haſtily to goe my way, and ſtepped vppon a ſharpe Sinder with one foote, and ſauyng of it, I ſtepped in a great miery hole, and fel downe withal, and ere euer I could ariſe and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the wyld, as he is counted in all Suſſex. But if I had had on my ſhooes, they had ben like to haue gone away arrandles, if there had ben fiue hundred more, if I had caught the plaine ground once, to the which I had not a ſtones caſt: But it was not Gods wyll: for if it had, I ſhould haue ſcaped frõ them al, if there had ben ten thouſand of them.

Parker in Suſſex a bloudy perſecutor of Woodman.

Then they tooke me and led me home againe to put on my ſhooes and ſuch geare as I had neede of. Then ſayde John Fauconer: Now your Maiſter hath deceyued you. You ſayd, you were an angel, & if you had ben an angel, why dyd you not flee away from vs? Then ſaide I, what be they that euer heard me ſay that I was an angell? It is not the firſt lye by a thouſande that they haue made of me. Angels were neuer begotten of men, nor borne of women: but if they had ſaid, that they had heard me ſay, that I do truſt I am a Saint, they had not ſaid amiſſe. What, do you thinke to be a Saint? yea that I do, & am already, in gods ſight, I truſt in God: for he that is not a ſaint in gods ſight already, is a deuil. Therfore he that thinketh ſcorne to be a ſaint, let him be a deuil. And with ŷ word they had brought me to myne owne dore: where met with me my father, and wylled me to remember my ſelfe.

Woodman taken of his enemyes. John Fauconer a blaſphemous perſecutor.

Euery true Chriſtian man is a Saint in Gods ſight.

To whom I anſwered: I prayſe God, I am wel remembred wherabout I goe. This way was appoynted of God for me to be deliuered into the handes of myne enimies, but woe vnto hym by whom I am betrayed. It had bene good for that man, ŷ he had neuer ben borne, if he repent not with ſpeede. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me: For the father ſhalbe againſt the ſonne, and the brother ſhall deliuer the brother to death, as it is this day come to paſſe. Then ſaid one: He doth accuſe his Father: a good childe in deede. I accuſe hym not, but ſay my mynd: for there was no man knewe me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare ſay, would not hurt me for all the good in this towne.

Woodman betrayed eyther by hys owne father, or by his owne brother.

There was one George Beching that maried one of my ſiſters, and he thought that I had ment hym, that he had betrayed me: & he ſaid: Brother, I would you ſhould not think that I was the cauſe of your taking. To whom I anſwered, that I meant him not: I meant one that was nearer of my bloud then he was. Then ſaid one of Lauſe, that had bene a Goſpeller, & ſtood from them, when I was brought to a Seſſions to Lauſe, and he ſaid, I thought you would haue ben an honeſt man when you were at Lauſe, and I offered Huſſey the Sheriffe to be bound for you, that you ſhould goe home to your wyfe, and come to hym againe. Then I remembred what he was, and ſaid: Be you the Peuterer? And he ſaid, yea. Then ſaid I: It is happened to you according to the true Prouerbe, as ſaith S. Peter: The dogge is turned to his vomit againe, and the Sowe that is waſhed, to wallow in the myre, and the end of al ſuch wyll be worſe then the beginnyng. Then his mouth was ſtopped ſo, that he had nothing to ſay.

George Beching brother in lawe to Woodman.

A Pewterer of Lewſe, a turne coate.

All this while I ſtood at my dore without: for they would not let me go in. So I put on my ſhooes & my clothes, and then they put on an harnes about myne armes made of a dogges ſlippe: which reioyced my hart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I tooke my leaue of my wife and children, my father & other of my frendes, neuer thinking to ſee thẽ more in this world. For it was ſo thought of al the countrey, that I ſhould not lyue ſixe dayes after my taking: for they had ſo reported. But yet I knewe it was not as they would, vnleſſe God would graunt it. I know what God can doe: but what he wyl do, I know not: but I am ſure he wyl worke al things for the beſt, for them that loue & feare hym. So we departed and went our waye, and came to Firle about three of the clocke. And thus much touching the cauſes and effect of the troubles of Rich. Woodman. Now let vs ſee his examinations, which folow in this order.

Woodman reioyſeth to be bounde for the name of Chriſt.

Woodman taketh his leaue of his wyfe and Children.

The name of that place, ſo farre as we could gather by the copy was Firle.

¶ The firſt examination of Rich. Woodman, before Doctor Chriſtopherſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, Doctor Story, Doctor Cooke, and other.

First you ſhal vnderſtand, that I was ſent frõ the Sheriffes to London, the .xij. day of April, in the yeare of our Lord. 1557. and afterward vpon the .xiiij. day of the ſame moneth I was brought before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, & Doctor Story, and Doctor Cooke. So the Sheriffes man deliuered my warrant and me to the biſhop. Then the biſhop aſked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Richard Woodman brought before the B. of Chicheſter. D. Story, and D. Cooke.

Chicheſter. I am ſory for you, and ſo are all the worſhipfull men of your Country. For it hath bene reported to me, that you haue bene a man of good eſtimation in all the Country, amongeſt the poore and riche, tyll nowe of late. Wherefore looke well vpon your ſelfe, your wyfe, and chyldren, your Father, and other of your frendes, and be ruled. Thinke not your ſelfe wiſer then all the Realme. Be enfourmed, and you ſhall haue their fauours al, as much as euer you had.

Wood. You haue charged me with many thynges, wherein I haue neuer offended, and if you wyl geue me leaue, I wil ſhew you.

Chicheſt. Yea, I pray you, ſay your mynde.

Wood. If it pleaſe you, you haue charged me as though I made my ſelfe wiſer then al the Realme: GOD doth knowe, I ſtande to learne of euery man that wyll or can teache me the truth. And where as you ſay, I haue bene well eſteemed both of the poore and rich, God doth know, I knowe not that I haue geuẽ any iuſt offence, either to rich

Richard Woodman preferreth the kingdome of Chriſt, before lyfe, or wyfe, and all worldly reſpectes.

Q. Mary. An. 1557. June.

or pore. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I loue them in him, and my life alſo. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods handes, and I haue them all as I had them not, I truſt, according to S. Pauls wordes. But if I had tẽ thouſand pound of Gold, I had rather forgoe it all, then them, if I might be in choyce, and not diſpleaſe God.

Chicheſt. The Shrieffe tooke payne to come to me of loue he sayd whiche he bare to you, as to himſelfe: and ſayd, you were deſirous to ſpeake with me.

Woodman appealed to his Ordinary.

Wood. I thought it meete to appeale to my Ordinary. For they go about to ſheede my bloud vnrighteouſly. For they haue layde many vniuſt thinges to my charge. wherfore I thought it meete to appeale to you, ẏ if you cã finde any fault in me, meete to be reformed by Gods worde, I ſtand to bee reformed: and likewiſe, if my bloud ſhall be ſhedde vnrighteouſly, that it might bee required at your handes, becauſe you haue taken vppon you to be the Phyſicion of our countrey.

D. Story a great ſpiller of bloud by his owne confeſſion.

Story. Is not this a peruerſe fellow, to laye to your charge, that his bloude ſhalbe required at your handes? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalte bee put to death vniuſtly, that thy bloud ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemne a hundred ſuch heretickes as thou art, I helped to ridde a good ſort of you, And I promiſe the I will helpe to ridde the so, the beſt that I can.

Wood. Then I woulde haue aunſwered hym, but the Byſhop deſired vs both to geue hym place.

Chicheſt. Well, neighbour Woodman: I call you neighbour, becauſe you be one of my Dioces: and you are ſent to me that I ſhould geue you ſpirituall counſeil: for I am your ſpiritual Paſtour. Therefore heare what I ſhal ſay to you.

Wood. Firſt I deſire you to heare me a few wordes. You haue ſaid, you wil geue me ſpiritual counſel. Be you ſure that you haue the ſpirit of God?

The papiſtes in doubt whether they haue the ſpirite of God.

Chich. No, I am not ſure of that?

Wood. No, be you not ſure of that?

Chich. No by ſaint Mary, I dare not be ſo bold to ſay ſo: I doubt of that.

Wood. Then you be like the waues of the ſea, as ſaith S. James, that be toſſed about with the wynd, & be vnſtable in al your wayes, & can looke for no good thing at the Lordes hand: yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therfore God wil ſpue you out of his mouth, as ſaith S. John. Then they were in a great furie, eſpecially D. Story, ſaying:

D. Story in a fury.

Story. What a peruerſe fellowe is this? he hath the Deuyll within hym, and is madde. He is worſe then the Deuyll. Nowe I perceiue that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all ſuche heretikes, to boaſte them ſelues.

Chich. Yea ſurely, he is ſent to me to learne, & taketh vpõ him to teach me.

Wood. I ſeing their blindneſſe and blaſphemie, it made my harte melt, and myne eyes guſh out with teares, ſaying: The Jewes ſaide to Chriſte, he had the Deuyll, and was madde, as you haue ſaide here by me. But I knowe, the ſeruaunt is not aboue his maiſter. And God forbid that I ſhould learne of him that confeſſeth that he hath not the ſpirit of God.

He is no true Chriſtian that hath not the ſpirite of God. 1. Cor. 7.

Chich. Why, doo you thinke that you haue the Spirite of God?

Wood. I beleue verily that I haue the ſpirit of God.

Chich. You boaſt more then euer Paul did, or any of the apoſtles, the which is great preſumption.

Wood. I boaſt not in my ſelf but in ẏ gift of God, as Paul did: for he ſaid: he beleued verily that he had the ſpirite of God, making therof no doubtes, in the firſt to the Corinth. the. vij. chapt.

Chich. It is not ſo: you belye the text.

Wood. If it be not ſo, let me be burned to morow.

Story. Thou ſhalt not be burned to morow: but thou ſhalt be burned within theſe ſixe daies, I promiſe thee.

Whether Paul was ſure to haue the ſpirite of Chriſt.

Chich. If it be ſo, it is wrong tranſlated, as it is in a thouſand places more.

Wood. Then one looked in a Latine Teſtament, and an other in a Greeke Teſtament, and they ſaid, it was in them both, that Paul ſuppoſed that he had the ſpirit of God, but he was not ſure.

Chich. Euen ſo I hope and ſuppoſe that I haue the ſpirit of God, but I am not ſure.

Wood. If that place be wrong trãſlated, and ſo many places of the Bible, as you ſay, then I may ſay with Chriſt, it can not be auoyded but offences muſt be geuen: But wo vnto them by whom they come. I may ſay woe vnto falſe Tranſlaters. For curſed are they that adde or take away. But take you heede that you belye not the Tranſlaters. I beleue they had the feare of God more before their eyes, then you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong tranſlated, I can proue places enough that Paul had the ſpirite of God as I my ſelfe and al Gods elect haue.

Chich. How proue you that?

1. Cor. 7.

Wood. No man can beleue that Jeſus is the Lorde, but by the holy Ghoſt. Firſt to the Corinth. the. vij. I do beleue that Jeſus Chriſt is my redeemer, and that I ſhalbe ſaued from al my ſinnes by his death & bloudſhedding, as Paul & all the Apoſtles did, and as all faithfull people ought to do: which no man can do without the ſpirit of God. And there is no damnation to thẽ that are in Chriſt Jeſus: ſo is there no ſaluation to them that are not in Chriſte Jeſu. For he that hath not the ſpirit of Chriſt, is none of his, but is a caſt away, as he ſaith in the ſame text. And againe: We haue not receiued the ſpirite of bondage, to feare any more, but we haue receiued the ſpirite of adoption, whereby we crye, Abba father. The ſame ſpirit certifieth our ſpirites, that we are the ſonnes of God. Here are proofes enough, that Paul was ſure that he had the ſpirit of God. Alſo S. John ſaith; He that beleueth not that Chriſt is come in the fleſhe, is an Antichriſte, and denyeth both the Father and the Sonne: which is ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, which ſhal neuer be forgeuen in this world, nor in the world to come. Beſides al this, He that beleueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in hym. So is it impoſſible to beleue in God, vnleſſe God dwell in vs. Oh good God, what more iniurie can be done vnto thee, then to miſtruſt that we haue receiued thy holy ſpirit by thy gift? Thus may all men ſee their blindnes, and whoſe ſeruants they be, as they do declare them ſelues both by their wordes and deedes.

Rom. 8. Rom. 8. Gal. 4. 2. Tim. 1.

The Papiſtes bewray their owne blyndnes.

Story. Oh my Lord, what an heretike is this ſame? why heare you hym? Sende hym to Priſon to his felowes in the Marſhalſea, and they ſhalbe diſpatched within theſe xij. dayes.

Wood. When I heard hym ſay ſo, I reioyced greatly in my hart, deſiring God, if it were his wyll, to keepe hym in that mynd. For I looked ſurely to haue gone to the Biſhop of Londõs Colehouſe, or to Lollards tower: yea I thought my ſelf happy if I might haue gone to Lollards tower: but it pleaſed God to put in the harts of them, to ſend me to the Marſhalſea amongeſt our brethren and my olde priſon felowes: So mercyfully hath God deale with me in eaſing of my burden, that I looked for. So when they perceiued that I feared not impriſonmẽt, but rather reioyced, as they wel perceiued, then ſaid the Biſhop: Me thinkes he is not afraid of the priſon.

Richard Woodman glad to goe to the Marſhalſey.

Wood. No, I prayſe the liuyng God.

The liuing God, is a poynt of Hereſie among the Catholickes.

Story. This is an heretike in deede: he hath ẏ right termes of all heretikes: the liuyng God, I pray you be there dead Gods, that you ſay, the liuyng God?

Wood. Be you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeak the wordes which are written in the Bible?

Story ſcorneth at the holy Byble.

Story. Bybble babble, bybble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of ẏ Bible? There is no ſuch word written in all ẏ Bible.

Baruche. 6.

Wood. Then I am much to blame, if it be not ſo written: Beholde, for the offences that you haue done, you ſhall be carried away captiue by Nabuchodonoſer to Babylon, and there ye ſhalbe ſeuen generations: and when you be there, you ſhal ſee Gods of gold, of ſyluer, of wood, and of ſtone borne before you and behind you vpon mens ſhoulders, to caſt out a feare among the Heathen. When you ſhal ſee all theſe abominations, thẽ ſay in your hart: It is the liuing god that ought to be worſhipped. Here I proue my ſaying true, both that there is a liuyng God, and that there be dead Gods. Alſo Dauid ſaith in his Pſalmes: My ſoule hath a deſire and longing to enter into the courtes of the Lorde: My hart and my fleſhe reioyce in the liuyng God: with diuers other places that I could recite. wherfore I marueile that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the truth.

D. Story ſet to ſchole in the ſcriptures.

Pſal. 84.

Chich. I doo not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I knowe it as well as you: but ſuch is the ſpeach of all heretikes.

If the liuing God in heauen doe make an heretike, what maketh then the dead God on the altar.

Story. My Lord, I wyll tell you how you ſhal knowe an heretike by his wordes, becauſe I haue bene more vſed to them then you haue bene: that is, they wyll ſay (the Lord) and (we prayſe God) and (the liuyng God.) By theſe wordes you ſhal know an heretike.

Storyes rule to know an hereticke that is a true Chriſtian.

Wood. All theſe wordes are written for our learnyng, and we are commaunded of the Prophetes to vſe them dayly, as this: The Lordes name be prayſed from the riſing vp of the Sunne, vnto the going downe of the ſame. Alſo, As many as feare the Lord, ſay alwayes, the Lorde be prayſed.

When D. Story can not confute them by learning, he confuteth them by impriſonment.

Story. My Lord, ſende hym to priſon, you ſhall do no good with hym. I wyl go to Church and leaue you here. This is an old heretike. Waſt thou neuer before me ere now?

Wood. Yes forſooth, that I haue.

Story. Yea, I trowe ſo: and I ſent thee to the Biſhop of

London,

1557.
June.

Londõ, and he releaſed thee, and thou promiſedſt hym to be an honeſt man, and that thou wouldeſt be of the true Catholike church, which thou haſt not fulfilled.

Wood. I promiſed him nothing but I haue fulfilled it. No man ſhalbe able to proue the contrary.

Story. Well, it wyll be tried well enough. My Lorde, I wyll take my leaue. I feare me you ſhall doo this man no good.

Chich. I would not haue you to vſe ſuch ſpeache as you doo: as the Lord be prayſed, and the lyuyng God, with ſuch like wordes. Can you not ſay as wel, our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

No but if he ſhould ſay: the Sacrament of the altar, worſhipped might he be: then he were a perfect catholicke. The Lord, hereticall. our Lord, Catholicke, with the Papiſtes.

Wood. I maruelle why you ſhoulde reproue me therefore, ſeyng it is the wordes of God? I doo not refuſe to ſay our God, or our Lord, when I talke the ſcriptures where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt folowe, that I denyed the wordes of God, and muſt needes be an heretike: but I do not. Wherefore I maruelle what you meane to finde fault therin. It ſeemeth to me, that you miſtruſt that I beleue not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my meanyng in deede.

Wood. I beleue in the lyuyng GOD: if you do not ſo, then our beliefes be not alike in deede. But if it pleaſe you to examine me vppon any particular matter, nowe, or at any other tyme, I wyl make you aunſweare therto by Gods helpe.

Chich. Though you beleue in God, I can proue, you beleue not as you ought to do, as I can ſhewe you by your hand writing. You haue denied the catholike church. Wherfore he that erreth frõ the church, it can not be ſaid, that his faith is good. Wherfore be ruled by the Church, from the which ye haue erred. I can ſhewe you perilous thinges of your writing, if it ſhould be knowẽ: but ye ſhal not be hurt for me, if you wyll come to any good order. But I promiſe you, I would not for three thouſand pound, ſome had ſo much againſt me, as I can ſhew againſt you of your owne hand writing, which you can not deny.

Fallacia equiuoci. He that erreth from the Church, which church erreth not in the right fayth, his fayth can not be good in deede.

Wood. I wyll not deny my hand, by Gods helpe. For I know well, I haue written nothing at any tyme but the truth. There may be things written againſt me, reporting it to be myne, and yet be not: but my hand can not well be counterfeited: there be enow that know my hand.

Chich. Do you know it your ſelfe, if you ſee it?

Wood. Yea, that I do. Then he aroſe, and ſet a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come ſee. I loked on them, and it was my hand in deede.

Chich. How ſay you, is it not your owne writing?

Wood. Yes ſurely it is.

Chich. How ſay you to this, is not this your hand alſo?

Wood. I looked, & it was: and I ſaid: yes verily, is it.

Chich. Wel, you know what it meaneth, I dare ſay.

Woodman charged with his owne writinges.

Wood. Yea, I knowe it very well: here is a great deale, the whiche I had thought had bene in my houſe, but I thanke God that it is here: for in this you ſhall trie whether it be true, or not. For in this is conteyned all the talke that was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me when I was before them fiue tymes, and alſo before the Biſhop of London diuers tymes: and I am ſure you nor they ſhall finde no wordes falſe therin written: and I thinke the ſheriffes men when they ſearched my houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and caried it with them: but I neuer knew it before now. But I am not ſory for it, but am rather glad. For herein you may ſee all the wrong that I receyued at their handes, and howe long I was in priſon, and how I was toſſed vp and downe, and how I was deliuered at length, and by this you may trie whether it be ſo or not. I dare ſay, they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would haue turned me to diſpleaſure: but in very deede al thinges worke for the beſt, to thẽ that feare God.

Richard Woodman 5 tymes before the Cõmiſſioners.

Chich. In deede I find no great fault in this: but here is perilous geare, here is ſedition. This was ſet vp vpon the church doore, you know it wel enough.

Wood. In deede I wrote it to the Prieſt, and to other that toke vppon them to fetche my childe out of my houſe without my leaue, and vſed it at their pleaſure, when they knewe it was baptiſed alreadye, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conſcience compelled me to ſhewe them my mynde in writing, wherein is conteyned nothing but the Scriptures of GOD, rebukyng them for their folly.

Richard Woodmans childe being baptiſed by the midwife, was brought out of the houſe by the papiſtes and confirmed in the Church.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and vncharitably. It is ſuch geare, coupled together, I promiſe you, as I neuer ſee the like. But I promiſe you, I wyll make the beſt of it. And I proteſt before God, I would you ſhoulde doo as well as myne owne ſoule and body. Be contented to be enfourmed. God hath done his part on you. Caſt not your ſelfe away. Remember your wife and children, and the poore that lacke your occupying. Meane to folow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. S. Paul ſaith: Let euery man walke wherin he is called, and therin abide. Remember you are called to an other vocation, for Gods ſake walke therin. It is not your office to do as you haue done. You might doo as much good, by the report of worſhipfull men, as any man might do in all the Countrey, by your example: and if you would folowe the Lawes of the Catholike church, it would be an occaſion to bring a great many into the true Churche, that are out, as you are.

D. Chriſtopherſon B. of Chicheſter beginneth with fayre wordes to perſwade Woodman from his doctrine.

Wood. I would not that you ſhould ſay, that I am out of the Church of God. For I am not, but do allow the church of God, according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could wynne any into ỹ true Church, ỹ be out, by any meanes that I could vſe, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I loue all people as my ſelfe. And where you ſay, I haue ben a Preacher, it is not ſo. I neuer toke any ſuche thing vpon me, as it is wel knowen. But as for teaching I can not deny: for it becõmeth euery man to teach & inſtruct his houſhold in the feare of God, & all other (as farre as he can) that deſire it of hym. And where as you haue blamed me for reading the ſcripture, & leauyng my vocation, as you ſay, I leaſt not my vocatiõ in reading the ſcripture. For I truſt I folowed my vocation the better therefore. And the greateſt cauſe that I was cõpelled to reade the ſcriptures, was, becauſe the preachers & teachers were ſo changeable.

Woodman not out of the church.

A man may teach though he be no preacher.

Reading the Scripture letteth no man to walke in his vocation, but rather doth further hym.

Chich. No? Did you not preach at a Fayre?

Wood. No ſurely, but it was ſo reported. I was at a Fayre in deede. Whileſt I was in Priſon, I had leaue of the Counſaile, to go home to pay my debtes, & then I went to a Fayre to ſel cattell, and there met with me diuers poore men that I had ſet aworke, and of loue aſked me howe I dyd, and howe I could away with impriſonment. And I ſhewed them howe GOD had dealt with me, and howe he would deale with all them that put their truſt in hym: and this they called preachyng. And ſince that, it hath bene reported that I haue baptiſed children, and maried folkes, the which I neuer dyd: for I was neuer Miniſter. Wherfore if I had ſo done, I had done cõtrary to the order of the apoſtles, as God forbyd I ſhould.

Lies and ſclaunder.

Chich. I am wel apayd, if you be faultles in thoſe things, for I haue heard ſay the contrary.

Wood. I haue ſhewed you the truth, and that no man lyuyng ſhalbe able to proue the contrary.

Chich. You ſaid, you do not diſallowe the true Catholique church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Chich. Why do you not thẽ go to the Church? You come not there, it is enfourmed me.

Wood. I truſt I am in the true church euery day. But to tell you truth, I come not at the Church where the moſte do reſort. For if I ſhould, I ſhould offend, & be offended. For the laſt tyme that I was there, I offended many, and was offended my ſelfe. Wherefore for conſcience ſake I would not come there. For I was ſent to priſon for my commyng there, & nowe I am ſent to you for bidyng thence. So they wyll not be pleaſed any way with me, for they ſeeke my lyfe. Wherefore loke you to it, for I am now in your handes, and you ought to be a houſe of defence againſt myne enimies. For if you ſuffer them to kyll me, my bloud ſhalbe required at your handes. If you can finde any iuſt cauſe in me worthy of death, by Gods word, you may condemne me your ſelfe, and not offend God: wherfore loke to it. The matter is weighty: deliuer me not into their handes, and thinke ſo to be diſcharged.

Woodman diſalloweth not the Catholicke Church.

The Byſhop charged with his office.

Chicheſt. I tell you truth, I can doo litle in the matter. For I haue not full authoritie, as yet of myne office: but I wyl ſend for you and talke with you, if I wiſt I ſhould do you any good.

Wood. I would be glad to talke with you and to ſhew you my mynd in any thing that you ſhal demaund of me, now or at any other tyme.

Chich. So then he deſired the Sheriffes men to tary dinner with hym: that this man (ſaid he) may dyne with me alſo: for it is poſſible that he may haue no great ſtore of meate whither he ſhal go.

The Byſhop biddeth Woodman to dinner.

Wood. So we tarryed dynner with hym, and had no further talke, neither howe to proue where the true church of God is, nor of the Sacraments, nor of any other thyng pertainyng to meward, not for the ſpace of two houres or more: but he entred in talke with me, howe I vnderſtode many Scriptures, and for Biſhops and Prieſtes Mariages, and whether Paul had a wyfe or not. To whom I anſwered: It is a thing that I haue litle to doo with, as concernyng Mariages: but I am very well content to talke with you in the matter, as farre as my poore learnyng wyl ſerue. So when he had talked with me of diuers Scriptures, he liked

Talke betwene Richard Woodman and the Byſhop about Prieſtes mariage.

my talke wel. He aſked me how I ſaid by S. Paul, whether he were maried, or not. To whom I aunſwerede: I proue by the ſcriptures, that he was neuer maried.

Paule if he were not maryed, yet he had power to mary as well as the other had.

Chich. How proue you that?

Wood. I wyl proue it well enough, by Gods helpe. But yet I wyl proue that Paul might haue had a wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.

Chich. Why, had the Apoſtles wiues?

Wood. Yea, all, ſauing Paul and Barnabas, as I vnderſtand it. For theſe are Paules wordes in the firſt to the Corinth. ix. chap. Am I not an Apoſtle? am I not free? haue I not ſeene Ieſus Chriſt? Are not ye my worke in the Lord? And if I be not an apoſtle to other, yet to you I am an apoſtle. For you are the ſeale of my Apoſtleſhip in the Lorde. Mine anſweare to them that aske me, is this: Haue we not power to eate and to drinke? either haue we not power to leade about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles haue, and as the brethrẽ of the Lord? Either haue not Barnabas and I power thus to doo? So this text proueth that Paul & Barnabas were vnmaried. But Paul declareth, that the reſt had wyues, & that they had power likewiſe ſo to haue, but they foũd no neede therof. But Paul declareth in the. vij. chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. that he that hath no power ouer his owne fleſh, may mary: For it is better to mary then to burne. Wherfore, to auoyd fornicatiõ (ſaith he) let euery man haue his wife. He ſaith: Let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman her husbande. By this place of ſcripture I vnderſtand, that biſhops & prieſtes may haue wyues, becauſe they are mẽ, rather then burne, or to commit fornication. But I thinke verily, he that can abſtaine, hauing power of his owne wyll, doth beſt: but if he mary, he ſinneth not.

1. Cor. 9.

1. Cor. 7.

Prieſtes ought to haue wiues, rather then to burne, by Saint Paules doctrine.

So then he debated the Scriptures with me diuers wayes, that a Biſhop nor a prieſt ought not to haue a wife: but I proued by diuers Scriptures, both in the old Lawe and in the new, that women were at firſt made for the helpe of men, the which was ſpokẽ generally to al men. Wherfore (ſaid I) euery man may haue a woman, & ſinne not, in honeſt matrimony, as wel Biſhops & Deacons, as other men, which you cal Prieſtes, if they be true Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, and of that order that the Biſhops & Deacons wer in Paules time. For Paul declareth to Timoth. 1. and the 3. That a Biſhop ſhould be the husband of one wife, & how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, & how they ſhould bring vp their childrẽ: and likewiſe the Deacons. This (ſaid I) proueth more plainly, that both Biſhops and Deacons had wyues in the Apoſtles tyme: the which he could not deny. But then he alledged that no biſhop nor prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken vpon hym that office: but if he had a wife before he tooke the office, tryed meete for the purpoſe, for his life & for his learnyng, he might keepe his wife, and bring vp his childrẽ according to S. Paules meaning to Timothy, or els might they haue no wyues. Then ſaid I: I thinke Paules meanyng in that place was, that a mã that hath had two wiues, might not be made a biſhop nor a deacõ, if he had neuer ſo much learning. But that place maketh not that a Biſhop or a Deacon may not mary after they be made Biſhops and Deacons. For I am ſure that Paul was in ye ſtate of a biſhop, when he ſaid: He had power to leade about a ſiſter to wife, as wel as the other Apoſtls had. Here Paul declareth, that it was in his power to haue a wife, after he had the office of a Biſhop, which was not in his power, if he had ben forbidden of God.

Gene. 2.

1. Tim. 3.

Biſhops and Deacons were maryed in the Apoſtles tyme. Papiſtes hold, that Byſhops and Deacons hauing wyues before, might keepe them ſtill: but not hauing before, might not afterward mary.

Paul confeſſeth him ſelfe after his Apoſtleſhip to haue power to mary.

Thus haue I ſhewed you my mind in this behalfe, both of Paul, and alſo for the mariages of Biſhops & Prieſtes, as I vnderſtand the ſcriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I haue litle to do withal: but as you required me to ſay my mynd in that matter, ſo I haue done.

Chich. Mary I am glad that you haue ſaide as you haue done. Many doo affirme boldly that Paul had a wyfe, and yet can not proue whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: but you haue ſayd very wel. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by Gods word. And if you wil be cõtented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you ſhal do wel: therfore gentle goodman Woodman be ruled. God hath geuẽ you a good wyt. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould doo as well as myne owne ſoule and body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) al the worſhipful men in the coũtrey, as they haue reported to me.

The Byſhops fayre wordes to Richard Woodman.

Wood. Why, my Lorde, I take God to recorde (whom I truſt to ſerue) that I would be as glad to lyue in reſt and peace, as any man in all the world, if I might. And I ſtand to learne, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I holde, if it can be proued that it be not agreable to Gods worde. And the truth is ſo, I haue talked with a doſen Prieſtes a the leaſt, ſince I was deliuered out of priſon, of certaine matters, and they haue not bene able to certifie me in any thing that I haue aſked them: and therefore haue they complayned on me to the Sheriffe and Iuſtices, making tales & lyes on me, to turne me to diſpleaſure, as much as in them lyeth. I promiſe you, there be as many vnlearned Prieſtes in your Dioces, as in any one Dioces in England, I thinke: the more it is to be lamented.

Richard Woodman complayned of by vnlearned Prieſtes which could not certifie him in matters of religion.

Chich. I promiſe you, I doo much lament it my ſelfe: for I heare ſay no leſſe: but it is true that you ſay. I woulde I could remedie it, but I can not: but I wyl doo the beſt that I can, when I come into the countrey, and I wyll be glad to talke with you ſome other tyme, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I haue ben this halfe yeare & more. Come to dynner: our dynner is redy. I cauſed not you to tary for anye great chere that you ſhall haue, nor I would you ſhould not thinke that I go about to wynne you with my meate. But you bee welcome with all my hart. Come, ſit down.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner: and there dyned with hym a Marchant man, one of the ſheriffes men, and I, and no mo, and we had good chere, God be prayſed therfore. We had no talke of the ſcriptures al the dynner while: but when dynner was done, the Byſhop ſayd.

A Byſhop like dinner without any talke of ſcriptures.

Chich. Now call M. Stories man. For the commiſſioners haue committed you to priſon: but I will ſend for you or euer it be long, and I pray god I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

Wood. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I woulde bee very glad to talke with you, for I like your talke well. And the if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to examine me vpon any particular matter, I will ſhewe you my mynde therein, by Gods grace, without diſſimulation. But I pray you let me haue nothing to do with M. Story, for he is a man without reaſon, me thynke.

D. Story a man without reaſon.

Chich. Well, or euer you go, how ſay you to the vij. Sacramentes? Let me heare what you ſay to thẽ, that I may be the willinger to ſend for you agayne.

Wood. I know not ſeuen Sacramentes.

Chich. Then what ſhall I talke with you? Howe many do you know?

Wood. I know but two: one the Sacrament of Baptiſme and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can iuſtly proue by gods word, that there be more then two, I ſtãd to be reformed.

vij. Sacramentes denyed.
Two onely Sacraments Richard

Chich. If I proue not ſeuen by Gods worde, then beleue me not: and ſo he bad me farewell.

Then the Sheriffes two men, and one of Doctour Stories men, caryed me to Doct. Cookes houſe, whiche Doct. Cooke commaunded them to cary me to the Sheriffes priſon in Southwarke ſaying he ſhall be called before vs agayne ſhortly and all his felowes, and we ſhall diſpatch them for troublyng the countrey any more.

And I ſo was brought to the Marſhalſea: where I now am mery (God be prayſed therfore) looking for iudgement of my fleſhe: for they intende to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God wil geue them leaue: but God hath their hartes in hys hands, and they can do nothyng to me, but as God will geue them leaue. Wherfore I commit my cauſe to God only, and I am ſure there ſhall not one heare of my head periſh without my heauenly fathers wil, although I bide neuer ſo much trouble. Iob periſhed not for all his trouble, although God gaue the deuill leaue to trouble & trye hym diuers and many wayes, as God hath ſuffered his members to trouble & trye me diuers and many wayes, I prayſe God. They ſhal as little preuayle agaynſt my fayth (I haue no miſtruſt) as the deuill preuayled not agaynſt Iob, what ſoeuer they doe with my goodes, life or body. For he that kept Iob in al his trouble, neyther ſlombreth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me and all his elect, that whether we liue or dye, it ſhall bee to the prayſe and glory of god. For if we liue, we liue at ye Lords will, & if we die, we die to ye Lords wil: ſo, whether we liue or dye, we are the Lordes, bleſſed be his name therfore.

Woodman caryed to the Marſhalſey.

Luke 21.

The deuils members perſecutors of the Chriſtians.
Iob.
Pſal. 121.
Rom. 14.

Wherfore, deare brethren and ſiſters to whom thys my wrytyng ſhall come, be of good chere, and feare not what mã can do vnto you. For they can but kill the body: but feare him that hath power to kill both body and ſoule. And yet once agayne I bid you be of good chere. For the Sheriffe & diuers other Gentlemen and Prieſtes, whyleſt I was at the Sheriffes houſe ſayd to me, that all the herretickes in the countrye hong on me, as the people did in tymes paſt vpon S. Auguſtine, or S. Ambroſe, or ſuch like. Wherfore ſayd they, looke well on it, you haue a great thing to anſwere for. To the which I aunſwered: I pray God lay nothyng more to my charge, then he will doe for hereſy, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my ſinnes as farre from me, as it is from the Eaſt to the weſt: So that I am ſure they ſhall neuer come nere me any more, yea, and that they call hereſie, we ſerue God withall. And I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imagination and thoughts that if they might winne

Richard Woodman to the faithfull brethren.

Pſal 103.

Thoſe that feare God hang not on man.

me to them, they ſhould wyn a great many likewiſe: & thinking to kyl me, if they can not wyn me, as I truſt in God, I am ſure they ſhall neuer by Gods grace, if it were poſſible to kyl me ten tymes: for I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chaine by faith, that it is vnpoſſible for me to looſe vs aſunder, neither for life nor death, I prayſe my lord God therfore. And no doubt their ful intent and purpoſe is to kyl me, thinking therby to make other afraid. Which death of my body were beſt of al for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may liue for ÿ comfort of other, his name be prayſed therfore. I know what he can do: but what he wyll do, I know not. But if death be offred me, ſo that I can not refuſe it, without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my brethren in receiuyng of death, but ſhalbe rather an occaſion of the ſtrengthnyng of their faith, by chuſing & receiuyng of it, and that with ioy. For as Chriſt hath geuen his life for vs, ſo ought we to geue our liues for the defenſe of the goſpell, & comfort of our brethren. And where as the Biſhop ſaith, he wyl proue ſeuen ſacraments, be you out of doubt he ſhal neuer be able to do it, no more then he hath proued other arguments with me already.

The inſeparable knot of loue betwene Chriſt and his members.

Chriſtians ought to geue their lyues for defence of the Goſpell, if they be therto called.

Thus fare ye wel frō the Marſhalſey, wher I now am, as a ſheepe appoynted to be ſlaine, God be prayſed therfore.

The ſecond examination of Richard Woodman, before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, two of his Chaplemes: and D. Story at the laſt came to vs, the. 27. day of Aprill.

The ſecond examination of Richard Woodman, before Doct. Chriſtopherſon. Byſhop of Chicheſter D. Story &c.

FIrſt, I was ſent for to the Marſhalſey by Doct. Storye, and was carryed to his houſe beſides Saint Nicholas Shambles: and when I had ſpoken to hym, he ſente me to the Biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſaid, he would come to hym his ſelfe ſtraight way: and when we were in the Biſhops hall, we had not taryed long, but the Biſhop ſent for me: and when I came before hym, I dyd my duetie to him as much as I could.

Chich. Then ſaid the Biſhop: you be welcome: how do you now?

Wood. Well, I prayſe God, thanking your Lordſhip for the gentle talke that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chich. Well, goodman Woodman, I haue ſent for you of loue and goodwyl that I bare to you, to talke with you: and I would haue you tel me your mynd in fewe wordes. For in deede the laſt tyme that I talked with you, our talk was ſo long, that I fel into a great drieth therby, and haue bene the worſe in my body euer ſince. Wherfore I pray you ſhew me your mynde briefly, in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demaunde of you, accordyng to your promiſe that you made when you were with me the laſt tyme. How ſay you, wyll you?

Wood. Yea, forſooth: I wyll anſweare to any thyng that you ſhall demaunde of me (by Gods helpe) as well as I can.

Chich. How ſay you by the ſeuen Sacramentes? for there we left of, and there we wyll begynne againe. You ſayde then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? wyl you deny al ſauyng two?

Prouing of vij. Sacramentes.

Wood. I ſay now as I ſaid then. You ſaid there be ſeuen ſacramentes, and I ſaid, I knewe but two: but if you could approue ſeuen by Gods word, when I came before you againe, I muſt nedes graunt them. And you ſaid if you could not proue them by Gods word, I ſhould not beleue them: & now I am come to ſee how wel you can proue them. Herewith he was moued and al his Chaplaines.

Chich. By God and my troth, I weene he thinketh I can not proue them. How ſay you to the ſacrament of Matrimonie?

Wood. Why, my Lorde, Saint Paull ſaith to Timothie: A biſhop ſhould be faultles: and you vſe much ſwearyng, which is a greate faulte in a Biſhop of all other, that ſhould be an example to the flocke. Then he and his Prelates were in a great rage with me, becauſe I reproued him for his ſwearing.

D. Chriſtopherſon B. of Chicheſter reproued for ſwearing.

Chich. What, I perceiue this man is worſe then he was ÿ laſt day: What, he taketh vpō hym to teach me to ſpeake, as though I could not tel what I had to do.

Prieſt. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a ſtout fellowe in dede, as we haue ſeene.

Wood. Yea, I am ſtout, becauſe I do that I am cōmaunded. I dare not for my life hold my peace, for I ſhould beare your ſinne, the which I wyl not do for none of you al, I tel you plainly.

Swearing not to be borne wyth.

Chich. Where finde you that you are commaunded to reproue me?

Wood. If thou ſe thy brother ſinne, reproue hym: if he repent, thou haſt won thy brother. But you repent it not, me thinketh, but rather goe about to mainteyne the ſame. Chriſt ſaith: He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my commaundementes, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the kingdome of heauen: and you goe about to teach men ſo, as farre as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why my lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in hym.

Chich. No, ſo me thinketh. I wyl neuer talke with hym more. Goe call M. Story: let hym do with hym what he wyl. He hath ben with his felowes in the Marſhalſey, and now he is worſe then he was before. I had ſome hope in hym the other day, but now I ſee none.

Chriſtopherſon because he was reproued for ſwearing geueth him ouer to D. Story.

Wood. No, I prayſe God, my faith hangeth vpon no men, but vpon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: but I feare me they be ÿ worſe for hym. I know this man of old, before myne old Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, looke well to it: wyll you deliuer me to other men, to ſhedde my bloud, and ſo think to waſhe your handes of me, as Pilate dyd by Chriſt? Nay you can not be ſo diſcharged.

Chich. I haue nothing to do with you: but of my gentlenes I haue ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your mynd in any particular matter that I would demaund of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I wyll do ſo, if you do demaund it of me. But you go about to deliuer me to other to kyl me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet: wherfore my lord Cardinall may examine you, and condemne you, or my Lorde of London, for you are now in his Dioces.

Chriſtopherſon not yet conſecrated, refuſeth to take the condemnation of Woodman.

Wood. Yea my Lord, is the matter euen ſo? Then I perceiue wherabout you go. Nay, I wyll talke no more with you then, if you be at that poynt. Aſke me what you wyll: but I wyl ſhew you nothing of my mynd. I promiſe you, I wyl not anſwere in particular matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to other, and they to kyl me.

Chich. I goe not about to kill you, but woulde be glad to heare your mind in the ſacramentes, that if you vnderſtand them not aright, I would be glad with al my hart to ſhew you my mind how I vnderſtand them. For I would you ſhould do as wel as myne owne ſelfe.

Wood. If you woulde talke with me to do me good, I would be content to heare you, and ſhewe you my mynd: otherwiſe I would be loth.

Chich. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I wyl do you no harme: for if I meant to do you harme, I could lay your own hand writing againſt you, but I will not: wherfore be in no doubt of me. How ſay you to the ſacrament of Matrimonie? Is it a ſacrament, or no? How thinke you by it?

Whether Matrimony be a Sacrament.

Wood. I thinke it is a holy inſtitution, ordeined of God in Paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the worldes ende.

Chich. Loe, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceiued in that, as you be in al the reſt. Come hither. You can reade Latine I am ſure.

Wood. Yea, I can reade Latin, but I vnderſtand very litle.

Chich. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that Paul calleth it a holy Sacrament. For theſe be the wordes: For this cauſe ſhall a man leaue father and mother, and ſhal be ioyned to his wife: and two ſhalbe made one fleſhe: This is a greate Sacrament.

Ephe. 5.

Wood. I remember ſuch a ſaying: but S. Paul calleth it not a ſacrament. But he ſaith: It is a great myſterie.

S. Paules wordes be theſe: This miſtery is great. &c.

Chich. Where ſaith he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in what Text it is, but I am ſure theſe be S. Paules wordes, and that he calleth it not a ſacrament in al his writings.

Chicheſt. What, the laſt day ye were full of Scriptures: here it is written, and there it is written. What, we can rehearſe the Scriptures as well as you. Wherfore if we be ſure it be written, it is no greate matter for the place. Come hither, I wyl ſhewe you the place, I thinke, that you meane.

Wood. I looked, and it was written, Sacramentum. I know it is a great myſterie in the Engliſh tranſlation.

In the Greeke text S. Paule calleth it myſterium.

Chich. I permit it be a myſterie. What is a myſterie?

Wood. A myſterie is (I take it) vnſeene: for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt & the congregation. And the great myſterie that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be maried, which is hid in Chriſt, the which we ſee not, but Chriſte. But the bodie which is in the congregation, which is the outward mariage we ſee, but the inward mariage of the hart we ſee not. Wherfore Paul calleth it a myſterie. And therfore if it be a ſacrament, it is inuiſible to vs: It is not ſeene, as other ſacramentes be.

What is a miſtery, and what difference there is betwene a miſtery and a Sacrament.

Chicheſt. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible Sacrament, ſeene as the other be: for is not the mariage ſeene? is not the mã and woman ſeene?

Wood. My Lord, I pray you what is a ſacrament?

Chich. It is the ſigne of a holy thing.

Wood. Me thinkes you haue certified me very well. There nede not be a ſigne of a holy thyng, where the holy thing is it ſelfe. Then hys Chapleynes woulde haue interrupted me; but I deſired my Lorde I might ſay out my minde in the matter. So with muche ado he bade me ſaye what I woulde.

Argument.

A thing ſignified, and a thing ſignifiyng can not bee at one tyme in reſpecte of it ſelfe, in one ſubiect.

Matrimony is a holy thing it ſelfe ſignified.

Ergo, Matrimony can not be a Sacrament ſignifiing a holy thing.

There nede not be a ſigne of a thing, where the thing is it ſelfe. Matrimonie is a holy thing it ſelfe and is ended outwardly, and nede no more ſignes but them ſelues: wherfore it can not be a ſacrament, as other be.

The hoſe in a Hoſiers ſtalle, may bee a ſigne ſignifiing moe hoſe to be within, but it is no ſignifiing ſigne of it ſelfe. Neyther agayne is euery ſigne of an other thing to bee called a Sacrament.

Chich. Loe, howe muche you ſpeake agaynſt your ſelf. And for an exãple: I come by a Hoſier, and there hangeth a payre of Hoſe, the which be Hoſe, and be a ſigne of Hoſe that be to ſel within.

Prieſt. How ſay you to that? Now my Lord hath hyt you home in dede.

Wood. He hath hyt me perilouſly, I tel you, with Sophiſtrie to blinde myne eyes withall. I marueile you be not all aſhamed of it. I can anſweare that to al your ſhames, if I migh be iuſtly heard, I tel you plainly.

Prieſt. What, you be angry me thinkes.

Chicheſter proueth Matrimony to be a Sacrament by a payre of hoſe.

Wood. I am not angrye, but I am earneſt, I tell you, to ſee your blyndnes and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is Gods worde, to proue my matter true by, and you wyll proue your matter true by a payre of Hoſe. And as well can you proue it by that, as by Gods worde.

Prieſt. Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. S. Paul ſaith to the Galathians the firſt chapter: If an angel come frõ heauen, and preach any other doctrine then may be proued by Gods word, hold hym accurſed: and ſo do I, I tel you plainly.

Letters written in the booke ſpeaking properly, be one thyng: the teſtament and worde of God is an other thing. And yet by figure of ſpeach the booke of the teſtament is called the teſtament as bread and wyne be called the body and bloud of the Lord.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in my hand: if I hurle him in the fire and burne hym, haue I burned Gods worde, or not? I wyll bye a new for. xvi. pence.

Wood. I ſay, you haue burned Gods worde, and I beleue, he that wyl burne a teſtament willingly, would burne God hym ſelfe, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are al one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on (quoth I.) your laughyng wyll be turned to weeping, and al ſuch ioy wyll be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with ſpede.

Chich. Then the biſhop began to helpe to cloke the prieſts folly, ſaying: why, if my Counting houſe were ful of bokes, and if my houſe ſhould be on fire by chaunce, and ſo be burned, were Gods word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your wyll: but yet if you ſhoulde burne them willyngly, or thinke it wel, & not being ſory for it, you burne Gods word as well as he. For he that is not ſorye for a ſhrewd turne, doth allow it to be good.

Heb. 13.

Chich. Folowe your vocation: you haue a litle learnyng. We haue an aultar, whereof you may not eate. What meaneth S. Paul thereby?

Wood. There is no man ſo fooliſhe, to eate ſtones, I trowe.

Chicheſt. What mockers and ſcorners be you, to ſaye, no man wyll be ſo fooliſhe, to eate ſtones? it is a playne mocke.

Wood. Why, my Lorde, you ſaide I had no learnyng, nor knowledge, nor vnderſtandyng. Wherefore it becommeth you to make things more playne to me, and not to aſke me ſuche darke queſtions, and yet blame me too: me thinke it is too much.

Chich. I dare ſay you know what it meaneth wel enough. The moſte foole in my houſe wyll vnderſtand my meanyng better then you do.

Wood. There ſtoode ſome of his men not farre of, talkyng together beſide a wyndowe. He called one of them by his name.

Chich. Come hither. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eate of this table, what do I meane thereby?

The Biſhop of Chicheſter rightly anſwered of his mã according to his queſtion.

The man. Forſoth my Lorde, you woulde not haue me eate of this table, laying his hand thereuppon. With this anſweare he made all them in the houſe to fall on laughing, and I coulde not holde it in, but burſt out with laughter, and ſayd [illegible]

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almoſte as well as I.

Chich. He meaneth well enough, if you woulde vnderſtande hym.

Aunſweare me agayne, to make it more playne. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eate of this table. What meane I thereby?

The man. Forſoth you woulde not haue me eate this Table.

Wood. Theſe wordes made them al laugh. Wherewith the Biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the anſweare proued no better, and ſaid.

Chich. He meaneth that I would not haue hym eate any of the meate that is ſet vppon this table. How ſayeſt thou, doſt thou not meane ſo?

The man. Yes forſoth, my Lorde, that was my meanyng in deede.

Wood. Yea, my Lorde, nowe you haue tolde hym what you meane, he can ſay ſo too: and ſo could I haue done (as litle witte as I haue) if you had ſaid Paul meant ỹ no mã might eate of that which was offered vpon the aultar, but the prieſtes.

Chich. Yea, I perceiue you vnderſtande the meaning of Paul wel enough, but that you liſt to cauil with me.

Wood. Why, my Lord, do you thinke I vnderſtande ſuch darke places of ſcripture, without learnyng? you ſaid ere now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherfore I anſwered you, as you iudged of me.

Sacrament of the altar.

Chich. Well, let this matter paſſe and let vs turne to the principall againe. Howe ſay you by the Sacrament of the Aultar?

Wood. You meane the ſacrament of the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chich. I meane the ſacrament of the altar, and ſo I ſay.

Wood. You meane Chriſt to be the altar, do you not?

Chich. I meane the ſacrament of the altar in the Church. What, is it ſo ſtraunge to you?

Wood. It is ſtraunge to me in deede, if you meane the altar of ſtone.

The altar how it is to be taken and where it is.

Chich. It is that altar that I meane.

Wood. I vnderſtand not the alter ſo.

Chich. No, I thinke ſo in deede: and that is the cauſe that you be deceiued. I pray you, howe do you vnderſtande the altar then?

Wood. If you wil geue me leaue tyll I haue done, I wyll ſhew you how I vnderſtand the altar, and where it is.

Chich. Yea, you ſhall haue leaue to ſay your mind, as much as you wyl.

Math. 18. Math. 5.

Wood. It is written, Math. 18. That whereſoeuer two or three be gathered together in Chriſtes name, there is he in the midſt among them: and whatſoeuer they aske the father vpon earth, it ſhalbe granted them in heauen, agreeing to the. 5. of Math. ſaying: When thou commeſt to offer thy gyft at the altar, and there remẽbreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leaue there thy offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gyft. The prieſtes would haue interrupted me: but the biſhop bad the let me alone.

Chich. You ſhal heare a pretty concluſion anone.

Chriſt the true and only altar.

Wood. I pray you let me make an end and then find fault with me, if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of ſcripture, I proue that Chriſt is ỹ true altar, wherõ euery chriſtian man & woman ought to come and offer their gyftes. Firſt whereſoeuer ỹ people are gathered together in Chriſtes name, there is he in the middeſt: and where he is, there is the aultar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gyft, if we be in loue and charitie: if we be not, we muſt leaue there our offering, and goe firſt and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with hym quickly, and ſo forth, and then come and offer the gift. Some wyl ſay, howe ſhall I agree with my aduerſary, when he is not nigh by a hundred myles? may I not pray tyl I haue ſpoken with hym? To all ſuch I anſwer: if thou preſume to pray among the faithful, wiſhing any euil to any man, woman, or child, thou aſkeſt vengeaunce vppon thy ſelfe. For no ſuch aſketh any thing els of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy aduerſary, that is, make thy life agreable to gods word. Say in thy harte without diſſimulation, that thou aſkeſt God and all the world forgeuenes from the bottome of thy hart, entending neuer to offend them more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus haue I ſhewed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I vnderſtand it.

The place of Math. 5. expounded.

Chich. Do you vnderſtand the offering and the aultar ſo? I neuer heard any man vnderſtand it ſo, no not Luther the great heretike that was condemned by a general Councel, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an heretike, I thinke he vnderſtode it not ſo in deede: but I am ſure all Chriſtians ought to vnderſtand it ſo.

Chich. O what vaine glory is in you, as though you vnderſtood al thing, and other men nothing. Heare me: I wil ſhew you the true vnderſtanding, both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We haue an altar (ſaid Paul) that ye may not eate of: meaning thereby, that no man might eate of that which was offered on the altar, but the Prieſt. For in Paules tyme all the liuyng that the Prieſt had, the people came and offred it on the aultar, money or other thinges: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembred that they had any thing againſt their brother, then they leaft their offering vpon the aultar, and went and were reconciled to their brother: and they came againe and offered their gyfte, and the Prieſt had it. This is the true vnderſtanding of the place that you haue rehearſed: wherefore you be deceiued.

Heb. 13.

Wood. My Lord, that was the vſe in the old law. Chriſt was the ende of that. But in deede I perceiue by Paules wordes, the ſacrifice was offred in Paules tyme: yet that maketh not that it was wel done, but he rebuked it. Wherfore it ſeemeth to me that you be deceiued.

The Catholickes will not haue the worde to iudge.

Chich. Who ſhal be iudges betwixt vs in the matter?

Wood. The .xij. of Iohn declareth who ſhal be iudge in the laſt day.

Chich. You meane the word ſhall iudge the worde: Howe can that be?

Wood. Saint Peter ſaith: The Scripture hath no priuate interpretation, but one Scripture muſt be vnderſtand by an other.

Chich. And you wyll vnderſtande it one way, and I wyll vnderſtande it an other way: and who ſhalbe Iudges betwixt vs then?

Woodman referreth him ſelfe to the true Church.

Wood. The true Church of GOD is able to diſcuſſe all doubtes: to whom I referre it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you wyl ſay ſo in deede.

Wood. My Lord, I neuer meant otherwiſe.

Chich. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the altar.

Wood. What do you offer now vpon the altar?

Doctrine preiudiciall to Chriſtes paſſion to ſay that the ſacrament of the altar doth pacifie the wrath of God.

Chich. We offer vp in the bleſſed Sacramente of the Aultar the body of Chriſt, to pacifie the wrath of God the father: and therewith they put of their cappes al, to that abominable Idoll.

Wood. Saint Paul ſaith to the Hebrues, in the tenth chapter: We are ſanctified by the offering of the body of Ieſus Chriſte vpon the Croſſe once for all: and euery Prieſt is daily miniſtring and oftentimes offereth one maner of offering, which can neuer take away ſinnes: and that is the offering that you vſe to offer. As farre as I can ſee, you be prieſtes after the order of Aaron, that offered vp Sacrifice for their owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of the people.

Chicheſt. Nay, Aarons ſacrifice was with bloud, which ſignifieth the death of Chriſte, the whiche was ended vpon the Croſſe by his bloudſheddyng: but we are Prieſtes after the Order of Melchiſedech, the which offered bread to the Kyng in remembraunce, and ſignified the geuyng of Chriſtes body in bread & wyne at his laſt ſupper, the which he gaue to his Diſciples, and commaunded it to be vſed to the end of the world. This is the ſacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

The Catholickes make them ſelues Prieſtes, not after the order of Aaron but of Melchiſedech.

Wood. Me thinke you haue made the matter verye playne to me, that as Chriſte was the ende of all Sacrifices, ſo was he the beginnyng of the Sacramentes, willyng them to be vſed in the remembraunce of him, to the worldes ende.

Chicheſt. What, in remembraunce of hym, and not hym ſelfe, as his worde ſaith: Take, eate, this is my bodye? It is not the ſigne onely, but the thing it ſelfe. Howe ſay you? is it not his body, after the wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt? How ſay you? goe briefly to worke, for I can not long tary with you.

The Catholickes make the ſacrament both a ſigne ſignifiyng, and the thing it ſelfe ſignified.

Wood. My Lord, if you wyl anſweare me to one ſacrament, I wyl anſweare you to an other.

Chich. Yes, I am very wel contented with that.

Whether the wordes only make the ſacrament of baptiſme, without the child there to be baptiſed?

Wood. If you ſay the wordes of baptiſme ouer the water, & there be no child there, is there true baptiſme?

Chich. No, there muſt be the water, the worde, and the child, and then it is baptiſme.

Wood. Verye well. Then if a childe be baptiſed in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, it is not truely baptiſed.

Chich. No, the childe muſte be baptiſed in the name of the father, & of the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, or els it is not truly baptiſed.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacramentes: may there?

Chich. No, ſaid the Biſhop.

Wood. Now, my Lord, I wyl anſwere to you, if it pleaſe you.

Chich. Wel, how ſay you: Take, eate, this is my body, is it not Chriſtes body, as ſoone as the wordes be ſaid?

Wood. My Lorde, I wyll aunſweare you by your owne wordes, that you aunſweared me, whiche is true: the water, the word, and the childe, all theſe together make Baptiſme: the bread, wyne, and the worde make the Sacrament: and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his bodye. Here I proue it is not Chriſtes body, but to the faithful receyuer. For he ſaid: Take, eate, this is my body.

The word, water and childe, make baptiſme: So the word bread, and the receauer, make the ſacrament of the Lordes body.

He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And Saint Auguſtine ſaith: Crede & manducaſti: Beleue and thou haſte eaten. And Saint Iohn ſaith: He that beleueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in hym: wherfore it is vnpoſſible to dwell in God, and to eate his bodye, without a true faith.

The fayth of the receauer maketh it the body.

Prieſt. Then the faith of the receyuer maketh it his body, and not his word, by your ſaying. I pray you, what did Iudas eate?

Wood. Iudas did eate the ſacrament of Chriſt, and the deuyl withal.

Prieſt. He eate the body of Chriſt vnworthily, as S. Paul ſaith.

Wood. Nay, S. Paul ſaith no ſuch thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating of his body vnworthily, but of ỹ ſacramẽt vnworthily. For he ſaith: Who ſo euer eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthily, eateth & drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lordes body: and not becauſe he eateth the Lords body. If Iudas had eate Chriſtes body, it muſt nedes folowe that Iudas is ſaued. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixt of Iohn: Who ſo euer eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blond, hath eternal life, and I wyll raiſe him vp againe at the laſt day.

If Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, then muſt he be ſaued.

Prieſt. My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mynd.

Chich. I ſee it is but folly to talke with you: it is but loſt labour. Howe ſay you? Do you not beleue, that after the wordes be ſaid, there remaineth neither bread nor wyne, but the very body of Chriſt really? make me a plaine anſwere, for I wyl talke no more with you.

Whether bread remayne in the Sacrament.

Wood. I wyll make you a direct aunſweare, howe I beleue of the true Sacrament. I do beleue, that if I come to receiue the ſacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt, truly miniſtred, beleuyng that Chriſt was borne for me, and that he ſuffered death for me, and that I ſhall be ſaued from my ſinnes by his bloudſheddyng, & ſo receiuyng the ſacrament in that remembraunce, then I beleue I do receyue whole Chriſt, God & man, myſtically by faith: this is my beliefe.

The true confeſſion of Richard Woodman touching the Sacrament.

Chich. Why, then it is no body without faith. Gods word is of no force, as you count it.

Wood. My Lord, I haue tolde you my mynde without diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you wyl talke with me by the Scriptures: and if you wyl do ſo, I wyll beginne anew with you, and proue it more plainly three or foure maner of wayes, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I haue ſaid, your ſelfe.

Then they made a great laughing, and ſayd: This is an Heretike in deede, it is tyme he were burned. Whiche wordes moued my ſpirite, and I ſayde to them: Iudge not, leaſt you be iudged. For as you iudge me, you ſhall be iudged your ſelues. For that you call hereſie, I ſerue God truely in, as you all ſhal wel know, when you ſhalbe in hel, and haue bloud to drinke, and ſhall be compelled to ſay for payne: This was the man that we ieſted on, whoſe talke we thought fooliſhneſſe, and his ende to be without honour: but nowe we may ſee howe he is counted among the Saintes of GOD, and we are puniſhed. Theſe wordes ſhal you ſay, being in hell, if you repent it not with ſpeede, if you conſent to the ſheddyng of my bloud: wherfore looke to it, I geue you counſel.

Sap. 5.

Prieſt. What, you be angry, me thinkes. Now I wyll ſay more to you, then I thought to haue don. You were at Begill a twelue moneth agon, and ſent for the Parſon & talked with hym in the Churchyard, and would not goe into the church: for you ſaid, it was the Idols temple. Yea I was with myne old Lord, when he came to the Kinges Bench to you, and you ſaid many ſtout wordes to hym.

Wood. That I ſayde, I ſaide: and where you ſaide, I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zelous in the truth, and ſpeake out of the ſpirite of God with chearefulnes.

The zeale of Gods ſpirite in Richard Woodman.

Prieſt. The ſpirite of God? hough, hough, hough: thinke you that you haue the ſpirite of God?

Wood. I beleue ſurely that I haue the ſpirite of GOD, I prayſe God therfore: and you be deceyuers, mockers, and

1557. June.

D. Story commeth in.

ſcoꝛners befoꝛe God, and be the children of hell, al the ſort of you, as farre as I cã ſee. And therwith came in D. Story, pointing at me with his finger, ſpeaking to the Biſhop in Latin, ſaying at length.

Story. I can ſay nothing to hym, but he is an heretike. I haue heard you talke this houre and a halfe, and can heare no reaſonableneſſe in hym.

Wood. Iudge not, leſt you be iudged: foꝛ as you iudge, you ſhalbe iudged your ſelfe.

Story. What, be you a pꝛeaching? you ſhal pꝛeach at a ſtake ſhoꝛtly with your felowes. My Loꝛd, trouble your ſelfe no moꝛe with hym.

With thoſe woꝛdes, one bꝛought woꝛde that the Abbot of Weſtminſter was come to dyne with the Biſhop, and many other Gentlemen and women. Then there was ruſhing away with ſpede to meete hym. Then ſaid Doctoꝛ Story to my keper.

D. Story commaundeth Richard Woodman againe to the Marſhalſey.

Story. Cary hym to the Marſhalſee againe, and let him be kept cloſe, and let no body come to ſpeake to hym.

Wood. And ſo they departed. Then one of the pꝛieſtes begon to flatter with me, and ſaide: foꝛ Gods ſake remember your ſelfe. God hath geuen you a good wyt: you haue read the ſcriptures wel, and haue boꝛne them wel in memoꝛy: It were great pitie you ſhould doo amiſſe.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to ſay my wyt is good, and that I haue read the ſcriptures wel: and but euen now you ſaid I was an heretike, & deſpiſed me. If I be an heretike I can haue no good wit, as you haue cõfeſſed. But I think your owne conſcience doth accuſe you. God geue you grace to repent, if it be his wyl.

Prieſt. I cal it a good wit, becauſe you are expert in al queſtions.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with Gods woꝛd. Then one cried: Away, away: here cometh ſtraungers. So we departed, & I came againe to the Marſhalſee with my keper.

The third examination of Richard Woodmã (copied with his own hand) before D. Langdal parſon of Buxted in Suſſex, and Chapleine to my Lord Montague, and M. Iames Gage, at my Lord Montagues houſe beſide S. Mary Oueries in Southwarke, the. 12. day of May. Anno. 1557.

The third examination of Richard Woodman, befoꝛe D. Langdale, and M. Iames Gage May. 12.

THe. xij. day of May, the Marſhal came to the Marſhalſee, & ſent foꝛ me to ſpeake with hym. When I came befoꝛe hym, & had done my duetie, he aſked my name, & what countrey man I was. I ſhewed hym both. Then he aſked me when I was abꝛoad in the citie. To whom I anſwered, if it ſhall pleaſe your maiſterſhyp, I was abꝛoad in the citie on monday was ſeuennight.

Marſhal. What made you abꝛoad?

Wood. The biſhop of Chicheſter ſent foꝛ me to talke with me at home at his houſe beſide ſ. Nicholas Shambles.

Mar. Were you abꝛoad no otherwiſe then ſo?

Wood. No foꝛſooth: I was neuer abꝛoade ſince I was ſent hither, but then. Foꝛ I haue nothing to doo abꝛoad, vnleſſe they ſend foꝛ me.

False lyes and lewde repoꝛtes.

Mar. This is a marueilous matter. I pꝛomiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeuẽ yeres, as I was foꝛ you within theſe thꝛee dayes. It is repoꝛted that you were abꝛod in the citie at certain Tauernes, & ſpake ſeditious woꝛdes, both in the Tauernes and ſtreates as you went.

Wood. Syꝛ, the truth is, I was in neuer a houſe noꝛ Tauerne, whiles I was abꝛoad, but in the Biſhops houſe, as my keper can, & wyll (I am ſure) teſtifie: noꝛ I neuer talked with any man in the ſtreates as I came, but with my keper, ſauyng with one man in deede, of the Pariſhe of Framfield in Suſſex, where M. Iames Gage dwelleth. His name is Rob. Smith, being one of my moſte enemies: who ſtood in a wayne as we came by, and was vnladyng of Cheeſe (me thought) but a litle way from the Marſhalſee. In deede I bade hym God ſpeede, and aſked hym howe he dyd: and he ſaid, wel, he thanked me: and he aſked me how I dyd, and I ſaid, wel, I pꝛayſe God: and that was al the talke that we had: & theſe woꝛdes were ſpoken as I came by hym. I pꝛomiſe you ſir, I ſtoode not ſtyll whyle I ſpake them, as my keper can tel: and I thinke theſe woꝛdes were no ſeditious woꝛdes, but might be ſpokẽ wel enough (I thinke) oꝛ els it were very ſtrayte.

Woodman warned to appeare.

Marſhal. Then it is to be thought, that that man repoꝛted otherwiſe then it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Wel make you redy, foꝛ you muſt go foꝛth ſtrait way, wher you ſhalbe examined of that and of other thinges, where you ſhal anſweare foꝛ your ſelfe. Goe make haſt: foꝛ I wil tary tyl you be ready.

Woodman taketh his leaue of his fellowes.

Wood. So I departed from him, & went to my pꝛiſon felowes, & tooke my leaue of them, deſiring thẽ to pray foꝛ me, foꝛ I thought verily to come no moꝛe to them. Foꝛ I ſuppoſed I ſhould haue gone befoꝛe the Counſaile, becauſe the Marſhal ſaid he would tary foꝛ me hym ſelf: and eſpecially becauſe he ſaid it was repoꝛted that I had ſpoken ſeditious woꝛdes, it made me to thinke, it is poſſible that there may be ſome falſe things imagined vpõ me, to bꝛing me to my end. I remẽbꝛed that Chꝛiſt ſaid: The ſeruaunt is not aboue his Lorde. Seeing the Iewes bꝛought falſe witnes againſt Chꝛiſt, I thought they would do much moꝛe, oꝛ at the leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer thẽ: which made me caſt ÿ woꝛſt. But I was & am ſure (I pꝛayſe my Loꝛd God) that all the woꝛld is not able to accuſe me iuſtly of any ſuch thing. Which thing conſidered, made me mery & ioyful: and I was ſurely certified that they could doo no moꝛe againſt me, then God would geue thẽ leaue: And ſo I bad my pꝛiſon felowes farewel, & went into the Poꝛters Lodge to the Marſhal, & he deliuered me to one of his owne men, & to one of my Loꝛd Mountagues men, & bade me go with them: & they caryed me to my loꝛd Mountagues place in Southwarke, not farre from S. Mary Oueries, and bꝛought me into a chamber in my Loꝛd Mountagues houſe: and there was one D. Langdale, chapleyn to my Loꝛd. My kepers ſaid to the Doctoꝛ: this is the man that we went foꝛ.

Woodman deliuered to one of the Loꝛd Mountagues men.

Lang. Is your name Woodman?

Wood. Yea foꝛſooth, that is my name.

Lang. Then he beganne with a greate circumſtaunce, and ſayd: I am ſoꝛy foꝛ you, that you wyll not be ruled, but ſtande ſo muche in your owne conceite, deſpiſing your father and other, iudging that all the Realme doth euyll, ſaue a fewe that doo as you do: with many ſuche woꝛdes, which be too long to rehearſe: but I wyll declare the ſubſtaunce of them.

Religion eſteemed by auncitours and Grandfathers, and by place.

Lang. What thinke you of them that died long agone, your Graundfather, with their fathers befoꝛe them? you iudge them to be damned, and al other that vſe the ſame that they dyd, thꝛoughout al Chꝛiſtendome, vnleſſe it be in Germany and here in England a fewe yeares, and in Denmarke: and yet they are returned againe. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould doo well. Your father is an honeſt man, and one of my pariſhe, and hath wept to me diuers tymes, becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loueth you wel, and ſo doth al the countrey, both rich and pooꝛe, if it were not foꝛ thoſe euyl opinions that you hold: with many ſuch like tales of Robin Hood.

Wood. I pꝛay you geue me leaue to ſpeake a fewe woꝛdes to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your mynd.

Wood. You haue told a great tale and a long, as it were againſt me (as you thinke) ſaying, I hold this and that: I iudge my Father and my Graundfather, and almoſt all the woꝛld, without it be a few that be of our ſect. But I iudge no man. But the. xij. of Iohn declareth, who it is that iudgeth, and ſhal iudge in the laſt day. The father ſhall not beare the ſonnes offences, noꝛ the ſonne the fathers offences: but that ſoule that ſinneth, ſhal dye, as ſaith the Pꝛophet. And againe, we may not folow a multitude to doo euyl, as ſaith the Pꝛophet: Foꝛ the moſt go the wꝛong way. And Chꝛiſt ſaith in the. xij. of Luke, that his flocke is a litle flocke. Here be places enough to diſcharge me, although I do not as the moſt do. But can any man ſay, that I doo not as I ought to doo? Where be my accuſers?

Multitude not to be folowed in doing euill.

To doe as moſt men do and to doe as a man ought to doe, be two thinges.

Lang. What, you be full of ſcripture me thinke, and call foꝛ your accuſers, as though you were afrayde to vtter your mynd to me. But I would haue you not to be afraid to talk with me: Foꝛ I meane no moꝛe hurt to you then I doo to my ſelfe, I take God to my recoꝛd.

Hard truſting any man in this woꝛld.

Woodman blamed foꝛ aunſwering with ſcriptures.

Wood. I can not tel. It is hard truſtyng of fayꝛe woꝛdes, when a man can not truſt his father noꝛ bꝛother, noꝛ other that haue ben his familiar frende, but they deceyue hym. A man may lawfully folowe the example of Chꝛiſte towardes them that he neuer ſawe befoꝛe, ſaying: Be as wiſe as Serpents, and as innocent as doues. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you. And it maketh me ſuſpect you muche, becauſe you blame me foꝛ anſwearing with the ſcriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vauntage of me, if I ſhould ſpeake myne owne woꝛdes. Wherefoꝛe I wil take as good heede as I can, becauſe I haue bene deceyued already by them I truſted moſte. Wherefoꝛe blame me not though I aunſweare circumſpectly. It ſhal not be ſaid, by Gods helpe, that I wyl runne wylfully into myne enimies handes: and yet, I pꝛayſe God, my life is not deare to my ſelfe, but it is deare with God: Wherfoꝛe I wyl do the vttermoſt that I can to keepe it.

D. Langdales talke with Richard Woodman, vpon what occaſion, and by whoſe pꝛocurement.

Lang. You be afraid where no feare is, foꝛ I was deſired of Maiſter Sheriffe and his bꝛother, and of other of your frendes, to talke with you, and they tolde me that you were deſirous to talke with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to doo with me, and as though you were ſent to priſon for nothyng: for you call for your accuſers, as though there were no man to accuſe you. But if there were no man to accuſe you, your owne hande wrytyng dyd accuſe you enough, that you ſet vpon the Church doore (if you be remembred) and other letters that you let fall abroade, ſome at one place, and ſome at an other. Wherefore you neede not call for your accuſers. Your owne hand wyll accuſe you enough. I warrant you: it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pounde there were ſo muche againſt me.

Woodman charged with his owne hand writing.

Wood. I wyll not deny myne owne hand, by Gods helpe. For it can not lightly be counterfeited. I doe not deny but I wrote a letter to the prieſt and other of the pariſh, declaryng to them their folly and preſumption, to come into my houſe without my loue or leaue, and fet out my chylde, and vſe it at their pleaſure. Which moued me to write my mynd to them: and becauſe I coulde not tell howe to conuey it to them, I ſet it on the Church doore. Which letter my Lorde of Chicheſter hath: for he ſhewed it me whẽ I was before hym: wherin is conteined nothing but the very ſcriptures, to their reproche. Let it be layde before me when you or he wyl: I wyl anſweare to it by the helpe of God, to all their ſhames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you ſay I dyd, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherfore if they be offended with me, for that I wyll aunſweare them with Chriſtes wordes, in the. xviij. of Math. wo vnto them ſelues, becauſe they geue me the occaſion.

Richard Woodmans writing ſet vpon the Church doore vpon what occaſion.

And where as you ſaid, I was deſirous to ſpeake with you, and that Maiſter Sheriffe and his brother, and other of my frendes wylled me to talke with you, and that I fare nowe as though I had nothing to doe with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherfore I am ſent to priſon, then the leaſt chyld in this towne knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not M. Sheriffe to ſpeake with you: but in deede he deſired me that I would ſpeake with you, & to vtter my fayth to you. For he ſuppoſed that I dyd not beleue wel: and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talk with you at ý firſt. For I remẽbred not that you were the parſon of Burſted: wherfore I ſaid to hym, I would not vtter my faith to any but to the biſhop. I ſaid, he is myne Ordinary: Wherfore I appeale vnto hym. I am commaunded by S. Peter in the firſt Epiſtle the third chapt. to render account of my hope that I haue in God, to hym that hath authoritie: wherfore I wil talke with none in that matter, but with him. Wherfore ſend me to him, if you wil, or els there ſhal no mã know my faith, I tel you plainly.

Woodman required of M. Shirieffe and other his frendes, to talke with D. Langdale

D. Langdale parſon of Burſtede, where Woodmans father dwelt.

Theſe wordes then made the Sheriffe angrye: and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remẽbred that it was you that he would haue me to talke with, and then I remembred that I had made a promiſe to my father, and goodman Day of Weſtfeld, not paſt a fourtnight before I was taken, that when ſoeuer you came into the countrey, I would ſpeake with you by Gods helpe, becauſe they prayſed you ſo muche, that ye were learned, and they would fayne heare vs talke.

Woodmans frendes deſirous to heare hym and D. Langdale talke together.

So al theſe things called to remembraunce, I deſired my keeper, which was the Sheriffes man, to ſhew his maiſter that I would faine ſpeake with hym: for I had remẽbred things that were not in my mynd before, when I ſpake to hym. So he went to his maiſter, & ſhewed hym the matter, and he came to me: and then I tolde hym my mynd, & what promiſe I had made: and he ſaid, he would ſend for you on the morow, as he dyd, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come: you preached before the Queene, he ſayd. Whereupon the Sheriffe came vp hym ſelfe, and ſpake to the Biſhop that he ſhould come downe, but he was ſicke. So when he came home agayne, he ſent me to the Biſhop, and I haue talked with hym twiſe already, and I am ſure he can find no fault in me, if he ſay iuſtly: and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to priſon. For I was not gylty of that whiche was layde to my charge, that I had baptiſed children, the which I neuer dyd, as God knoweth: wherefore I haue wrong to be thus handled.

This Byſhop was D. Chriſtopherſon.

Woodman ſent to priſon not knowing wherfore.

D. Lang. In deed it hath bene reported that you haue chriſtened children, & that you chriſtened your owne childe: but ſince I heard ſay you would not haue the childe chriſtened, which is a damnable way, if you deny Baptiſme: and they ſaid, your childe was not chriſtened in a fourtnight or three weekes after it was borne, and the chiefeſt of the pariſh were fayne to fetche it out of your houſe againſt your wyll. Wherefore you wrote raylyng wordes agaynſt the Prieſte and them for their good wyll: the whiche declareth that you allowe not baptiſing of chyldren. And if the chylde had dyed, it had bene damned, becauſe it was not Chriſtened, and you ſhoulde haue bene damned, becauſe you were the let thereof.

Richard Woodman falſely ſlaundered for denying baptiſing of children.

Wood. What abominable lyes haue you told? Be you not aſhamed to ſpeake ſuche wordes as you haue done? Firſte you ſay, I chriſtened myne owne childe, and by and by you ſaid, I denyed baptiſing of children, and that my child was a fourtnight or three weekes olde ere it was baptiſed. What abominable lyes be theſe? I neither baptiſed my child my ſelfe, neither helde againſt the baptiſing of it, but dyd moſte gladly allowe it: for it was baptiſed as ſoone as it was borne, and I was glad therof: therefore you be to blame to report ſo of me.

Lang. I pray you, who baptiſed it? ſome vnthrift of your prouiding.

Wood. Nay ſurely, the Midwife baptiſed it.

Lang. But it was your mynd that it ſhould be ſo.

Wood. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt. xx. miles nor heard that my wife was brought in bed foure dayes after the child was chriſtened. For it was not like to liue: & therfore the Midwife baptiſed it.

Woodmans childe baptiſed by the midwife. Woodman falſly belyed.

Lang. Would you haue had it to church to haue bene chriſtened, if it had not ben chriſtened?

D. Langdale to curious an Inquiſitour.

Wood. That is no matter what I would haue done. I am ſure you can not denie but it is ſufficiently done, if ý midwife doe it, and I hold not againſt the doing of it, neither did I it my ſelfe, as you ſaid I did.

Lang. Wherfore were you diſpleaſed with them that fet it to Church?

Wood. Firſt tel me whether the child were not truely baptiſed by the Mydwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truely baptiſed, if ſhee baptiſed it in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt.

Wood. Yea that I am ſure ſhee dyd, and you graunt that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that I blamed them for, was becauſe they dyd more to it then neede was, by your owne ſaying. Yea, they fet it out of my houſe without my leaue: the which was not wel done.

Woodman troubled without iuſt cauſe.

Lang. They had it to Church to confirme that was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more then needes. But God forgeue them, if it be his wyl. But let that matter paſſe. But I would you ſhould not ſay that I holde againſt bapetiſing of chyldren, for I doe not, I take God to recorde: but doe allowe it to be moſt neceſſary, if it be truely vſed. But me thought you ſpake wordes euen nowe that were vncomely to be ſpoken: if a childe dye, & be not baptiſed, it is damned. Howe thinke you? be all damned that receiue not the outward ſigne of baptiſme?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How proue you that?

Lang. Goe, ſaith Chriſt, and baptiſe in the name of the father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, and he that beleueth, and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued: and he that beleueth not, ſhalbe damned. Theſe be the wordes of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

All children be damned by D. Langdale, which dye without baptiſme.

Wood. Then by your ſaying, Baptiſme bringeth faith, and al that be baptiſed in the water, ſhalbe ſaued: ſhal they? how ſay you?

Lag. Yea, that they ſhal: if they dye before they come to diſcretion, they ſhalbe ſaued euery one of them, and all that be not baptiſed, ſhalbe damned euery one of them.

Al children being baptiſed by D. Langdale, ſhall be ſaued.

Wood. Then my ſpirite was moued with hym to reproue him ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt ſcriptures freſh in my mynd againſt his ſaying. Then ſaid I.

O Lorde God, howe dare you ſpeake ſuch blaſphemie againſt God and his worde, as you doe? howe dare you for your life to take vpon you to preach, & teach the people, and vnderſtand not what you ſay? For I proteſt before God, you vnderſtand not the ſcriptures, but as farre as naturall reaſon can comprehend. For if you dyd, you would be aſhamed to ſpeake as you doe.

Richard Woodman chargeth D. Langdale with ignorance in the Scriptures.

Lang. Wherein haue I ſpoken amiſſe? take heede, you haue a toye in your head wyll make you diſpayre. I dare ſay you can not tell what you ſay. Wherefore reproue you me as you doe?

Wood. Becauſe you blaſpheme GOD: and as for diſpayring, take heede to your ſelfe: For I can not ſee but you be out of your wyt already: and as for me, I prayſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you haue ſaid: the which ſhall turne to your ſhame, if you wyll talke the Scriptures with me.

So, when he perceyued that I ſpake earneſtly, and challenged hym to talke by the worde, his colour beganne to chaunge, and his fleſhe beganne to tremble and quake. And I ſaid.

Proue your ſayinges true, if you can: for I wyl proue them falſe, by Gods helpe. You ſaide, All children, or other that be not baptiſed with water, all ſhall be damned. I dare not ſaye ſo, for all the good in the worlde. And you brought in the ſaying of Chriſt for your warrant. In the

Mar. 16.

xvi. of Marke it is written: Who ſo beleueth, and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued: which wordes be very true: and who ſo beleueth not, ſhalbe damned, which wordes be very true alſo. He ſaith: He that beleueth not, ſhalbe damned. Yea, S. John ſaith: He that beleueth not, is condemned alredy, becauſe he beleueth not. But neyther of theſe two Scriptures, nor no other ſcriptures in all the newe Teſtament ſaith, that he that is not baptiſed, ſhalbe damned, or is damned already. But if he beleue not, he ſhalbe damned, and is dāned already, as is aforeſaid. Then he would haue interrupted me, and would haue layd to my charge, that I was an Anabaptiſt. But I would geue him no place to ſpeake, but ſaid:

Let me make an ende, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall haue as muche to doo, by Gods helpe, with this matter, as euer you had to aunſweare thyng in your lyfe. You knowe (I am ſure) it is no maner to plucke a tale out of a mans mouth, nor it is not the order of reaſonyng, as you know that better then I can tel you. Then Doctor Langdale bade me ſay on.

Fayth, not Baptiſme ſaueth. Not lacke of baptiſme, but lacke of fayth condemneth.

Wood. My ſaying was, that they that beleue not, ſhall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not ſay, for al the goodes vnder heauen, that al they that receyue no materiall Baptiſme by the water, ſhall be damned, as you haue ſaid: yet I would you ſhould not gather of theſe wordes, that I denye Baptiſme, as you were aboute to laye to my charge, or euer I had halfe told my tale. But I would not haue you, nor no man ſo raſh in iudgement, to condemne the thing that they are not able to proue by the word, & to make it ſeme to the ſimple, that the outward waſhing of the water were the cauſe of fayth,

Baptiſing of water is not the cauſe of fayth. The Catholickes doe holde the contrary.

Lang. Why, is it not ſo? wyll you denye it? Howe ſay you? Wyll you denye it? I ſay, the chylde hath no fayth before it is baptiſed: and therefore the baptiſing bryngeth the fayth. How ſay you to it? Make me a plaine aunſweare to this queſtion.

Wood. Nowe I perceyue you goe about nothyng els, but to take vauntage of my wordes. But by Gods helpe, I wyl aunſweare you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your ſayinges vntrue. And yet I wyll not ſpeake myne owne wordes, but the wordes of the holy Ghoſt, out of the mouth of the Prophets and Apoſtles: and then aſke them whether they wyll denye it.

A Catholicke paradoxe. The purpoſe of Gods election ſtandeth by grace, and not by reaſon of wordes.

You ſayd, that fayth commeth by Baptiſme, and by the vſe of material water. I muſt be ſo bold to aſke you where Iacob was baptiſed before he had faith. Saint Paul ſaith in the nynth chapter to the Romanes: Or euer the chyldren were borne, or euer they had done eyther good or bad, that the purpoſe of God which is by election, might ſtand, not by the reaſon of woorkes, but by the grace of the caller, the elder ſhall ſerue the younger. Iacob I haue loued, and Eſau I hated: How thinke you, had this child faith or euer he were borne, or no? anſwere to this, if you can.

Lang. What, you ſpeake of the olde Lawe. Iacob was not chriſtened, but circumciſed. I ſpake of Baptiſme, and you are gone from baptiſing to the tyme of Circumciſion: anſweare me to the baptiſing. And me thinke by your talke, you deny originall ſinne and free wyll, by the wordes that you brought in of Saint Paul.

Doctor Langdales argument. Children dying without baptiſme may be ſaued. Ergo, children haue no originall ſinne.

For if children can be ſaued without baptiſme, then it muſte nedes folowe, that chyldren haue no originall ſinne, the whiche is put away in the baptiſing. But I thinke you know not what original ſinne is, nor free wyll neyther, me thinke by your talke.

Wood. Yes, I prayſe God (I thinke) I can tell them all better then you can, me thinke euen by your wordes. Firſt I pray you what free wyll hath man to doo good of hym ſelfe? Tel me this firſt, and then I wyl anſwere to al your other queſtions that you haue obiected againſt me.

Abſurde doctrine.

Lang. I ſay that all men haue as much free wyll nowe, as Adam had before his fal.

Wood. I pray you, how proue you that?

Lang. Thus I proue it, that as ſinne entred into the world, and by the meanes of one that ſinned, al men became ſinners, the whiche was by Adam, ſo by the obedience of man, righteouſnes came vpon all men that had ſinned, and ſet thē as free as they were before their fal, the which was by Ieſus Chriſt. Rom. v.

Aunſwere. This righteouſnes by Ieſus Chriſt cōmeth vpon all men, not in taking away imperfections of nature, but in not imputing the imperfections of man, to damnation.

Wood. Oh Lorde, what an ouerthrowe haue you geuen your ſelfe here in original ſinne, and yet can not ſee it? For in prouyng that we haue free wyl, you haue denyed quite original ſinne. For here you haue declared, that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fal, and I am ſure Adam had no original ſinne before his fall. If we be as free nowe as he was then, I marueyle wherefore Paul complayned thriſe to God, to take away the ſtyng of it, God makyng hym aunſweare, and ſaying: My grace is ſufficient for thee.

We are made free by the death of Chriſt, not from falling but from damnation due by the Lawe for our falling. Originall ſinne.

Theſe wordes with diuers other, approueth originall ſinne in vs: but not that it ſhall hurt Gods electe people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his. But you ſay in one place, it is not without Baptiſme: and in an other place you put it away quite by the death of Chriſte: and in verye deede you haue ſpoke truer in the matter then you be aware of. For all that beleue in Chriſte, are baptiſed in the bloud Chriſt, that he ſhed on the Croſſe, and in the water that he ſwet for paine, and puttyng away of our ſinnes at his death. And yet I ſay with Dauid in the. 51. Pſalme: In ſinne was I borne, and in ſinne hathe my mother conceyued me: but in no ſuche ſinne that ſhall be imputed, becauſe I am borne of God by fayth, as Saint John ſaith. Therfore I am bleſſed, as ſaith the Prophet: Becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſinne, and not becauſe I haue no ſinne: but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſinnes. Not of our owne deſeruyng, but of his free mercye hath he ſaued vs. Where is now your free wyll become that you ſpake of? If we haue free wyll, then our ſaluation commeth of our owne ſelfe, and not of God: the which is great blaſphemie againſt God and his worde.

John 3. Pſal. 32.

Perfect doctrine.

For ſaint Iames ſaith: Euery good gyft, and euery perfecte gyft commeth from aboue, from the father of light, with whom is no variablenes, neither is he chaunged into darkenes. Of his owne wyll begate he vs. For the wynde bloweth where it luſteth, and we heare the ſounde therof, as ſaith Saint John. But we can not tell from whence it commeth, neither whyther it goeth: Euen ſo is it with euerye one that is borne of God. For Saint Paul ſaith: It is God that woorketh in vs the wyll and alſo the deede, euen of good wyll. Seyng then that euerye good and perfecte gyft commeth from aboue, and lighteth vpon whom it pleaſeth God, and that he worketh in vs both the wyll and the deede: me thinke all yͤ reſte of our owen wyll is litle worth, or nought at al, vnles it be to wickednes. So me thinke here be places enough to proue that a man hath no free wyll to doo good of hym ſelfe: with a hundred places moe, that I could recite, if tyme dyd ſerue. And as for originall ſinne, I thinke I haue declared my mynd therin, how it remayneth in man: whiche you can not denye, vnleſſe you denye the word of God. Now, if you wyll ſuffer me, I wyl proue my ſaying of Iacob and Eſau, that I brought in, to proue that fayth was before Baptiſme, and you refuſed it, becauſe (you ſaid) Iacob was not baptiſed. If you wyl geue me leaue, you ſhall ſee what I cā ſay therein: for me think you think my talke long. This I ſaid, becauſe I ſaw he was ſore offended at my ſayinges.

James. 1. John. 3. Phil. 2.

Adams free will nothing.

Faith was before baptiſme.

Lang. Say what you can. For it auayleth me to ſaye nothyng to you. For I was deſired to ſende for you, to teache you, and there wyll no wordes of myne take place in you: but you goe aboute to reproue me. Saye what you wyl, for me.

D. Langdale ſeemeth to be put to ſilence.

Wood. I take not vpō me to teache you, but to aunſweare to ſuche thynges as you lay vnto my charge: and I ſpeake not myne owne mynde, but the mynde of the holy Ghoſte, written by the Prophetes and Apoſtles. Wyll you geue me leaue to aunſweare briefly in that matter, that you maye report to other what I holde? And he ſaid, he was cōtented. But I thinke it was for nothing, but to haue caught vauntage of my wordes.

Wood. Firſt, if you be remembred, you ſaid, that if my child had dyed without Baptiſme, if I had bene the cauſe that it had not bene baptiſed, the child ſhould haue bene damned, & I too. How ſay you?

Lang. Yea, that you ſhould.

Children dying without baptiſme are not therfore damned, ſpeaking abſolutely. Children beare not the offences of their fathers.

Wood. That is moſte vntrue. For the Prophete ſaith: The father ſhal not beare the childes offences, nor the child the fathers offences: but that ſoule that ſinneth, ſhall dye. What coulde the chylde haue done withall, if it had dyed without Baptiſme? the child could not doo withall. How ſay you vnto this? And I am ſure, that which I brought in, in the old Law, to proue that fayth is before Baptiſme, is not diſagreeable vnto the worde. For Circumciſion was a figure of baptiſme. And that I may bryng to proue Baptiſme by, as well as S. Peter dyd: for he brought in Noes floud, which was a lōg time before Iacob & Eſau, to proue Baptiſme, ſaying: While the Arke was a preparing, wherein fewe (that is to ſay) eight ſoules were ſaued by water, like as Baptiſme alſo nowe ſaueth vs, not in puttyng away of the filth of the fleſhe, but that there is a good conſcience conſentyng to God.

1. Pet. 3. Gene. 6.

Here Peter proueth, that the water had not ſaued Noe and the other ſeuen, no more then it ſaued all the reſte, if it had not bene for their fayth, whiche faith nowe ſaueth vs: not in puttyng awaye of the filthy ſinne of the fleſhe, by the waſhing of the water, but by a good conſcience conſentyng vnto God.

But you ſayde: If they be baptiſed with the water, if they dye before they come to yeares of diſcretion, they be all ſaued: the which S. Peter is cleane agaynſt, vnleſſe you graunt that children haue fayth before they be Baptiſed.

Now I aſke you what conſent of conſcience the children haue, beyng infantes. For you ſay they beleue not, before they be Baptiſed: Ergo, then they conſent not to be Baptiſed, becauſe they beleue not. And by this it followeth that none ſhalbe ſaued, although they be Baptiſed. I would fayne ſee how you can aunſwere to this.

Lang. You are the moſt peruerſe man that euer I knew. You wote not what you ſay. The children are Baptiſed in their* Godfathers and Godmothers fayth, and that is the good conſcience that S. Peter ſpeaketh of: and the Chriſtenyng is the keepyng of the law, that S. Paule ſpeaketh of, ſaying: neither is Circumciſion any thyng worth, nor vncircumciſion any thyng worth, but keepyng of the law is altogether. Like as the Circumciſion was the keepyng of the old law, ſo is Baptiſme the keepyng of the new law.

* Nay, rather in the fayth of their parentes. Neither is it the fayth of the Godfathers and Godmothers that ſanctifieth the childe but their diligence may helpe hym in ſeing him catechiſed.

Wood. Ah, me thought if you would talke with me, you ſhould be fayne to bryng in the old law, to mainteine your ſayinges by (for all that you refuſed it) when I brought it in. But yet it ſerueth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you thinke for. For here you haue confeſſed that neither circumciſion auayleth, nor vncircumciſion: the which you your ſelfe haue coupled with Baptiſme, prouyng that none of them both preuayleth, but keepyng of the law is altogether: the whiche law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſignes: the which is nothyng ſo, for Abraham beleued God, & that was counted to him for righteouſnes: And this was before hee was Circumciſed. So the children beleue before they be either Circumciſed, or Baptiſed, accordyng to my firſt ſaying of Iacob and Eſau: Iacob I loued, but Eſau I hated.

Falſe doctrine of D. Langdale. Fyrſt, where he ſayth the keeping of the lawe is altogether. Secondly that the keeping of the lawe ſtandeth in the outward ſignes. Thirdly, that children dying before Baptiſme are damned. Fourthly, that children be baptiſed in the fayth of their Godfathers & Godmothers. &c.

These wordes declared that Iacob had fayth in his mothers wombe: alſo Iohn Baptiſt was ſanctified in his mothers wombe, and therfore it was counted to them for righteouſneſſe: and I am ſure, if they had dyed before, they had either receiued Circumciſion or Baptiſme as concernyng the outward deede, they ſhould haue bene ſaued. For Gods giftes and callynges are ſuch, that hee cannot repent him of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and chaunge. For you ſay, keepyng of the outward law is altogether. But a bad excuſe is as good as none at all.

And where you ſayd, the children be Baptiſed in their Godfathers and Godmothers fayth, they beyng all vnbeleuers, in what fayth is that child Baptiſed then? in none at all, by your owne ſaying. Whiche wordes made hym ſtampe and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very fewe beleuers, if there be not one of three that beleueth. You enter into Iudgement agaynſt the people. Belike you thinke there be none that beleue well vnleſſe they be of your mynde. In deede then Chriſtes flocke were a very litle flocke.

Wood. In deede these be Chriſtes wordes, in the 12. of Luke, the whiche we may ſee to bee very true. Yea you ſayd, if there were not one amongeſt three, that were very fewe. But there is not one amongeſt three hundred, for any thyng that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeeke their neighbours goodes and lyues as there be.

Many called, but fewe choſen. **Luke. 12.**

Lang. Is the flocke of Chriſt ſuch a litle flocke as you ſpeake of? you may call it a great flocke. How many be there of the? Can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty queſtion. I promiſe you, it is that you aſke me: as though I did make my ſelfe equall with God.

No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch vauntage of my wordes, nor I know not how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you looke, I am ſure, that I ſhould enter into Iudgement.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeyng you be ſo cunnyng.

Wood. You ſhall ſee my iudgement in it by and by. Firſt the Prophet: Follow not a multitude to doe euill, for the moſt go the wrong way. There is one pointe to know the. Then Chriſte ſayth in the vij. of Mathew: Broade is the way and wyde is the gate that leadeth into deſtruction, and many there bee, that goe in thereat: and ſtraite is the gate, and narrow is the waye that leadeth vnto lyfe, and fewe there be that finde it. And in the xij. of Luke, it is written (whiche wordes were ſpoken of Chriſt): Come you little flocke, it is my fathers will to geue you a kyngdome. The thyrd point is this. In the third of Marke, and ſecond of Mathew: You (ſayth Chriſt) ſhall know the tree by the fruites. A good tree bringeth forth good fruites, and a badde tree bryngeth forth badde fruites: So by fruites I know them. For euery tree that bryngeth not forth good fruites, muſt bee hewen downe and caſt into the fire (into hell I thinke Chriſt ment) and your fruites declare that you bee one of them. Thus haue I proued foure wayes that the people that ſhall be ſaued, is but a ſmall company in compariſon of the reſt. But if that bee not inough for the proofe therof, I haue twenty wayes more to proue it by, and you were neuer the nere of your purpoſe.

Gods election ſtandeth not by the moſt part, but by the feweſt. Math. 7. Luke. 12.

Marke. 3. Math. 2.

4. Argumentes prouing Chriſtes flocke to be a ſmall number.

Lang. What a noughty man are you? you would make the patienteſt man in the world angry with you. I thinke your talke to nothyng but pryde and vayne glory, with frompes and mockes, & deſpiſing and iudging of men. It was tyme ſuch a fellow were taken in deede. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole countrey. I thinke he is bleſt of God that tooke you: for you are not meete to be in a common wealth.

D. Langdale taketh on againſt Woodman without cauſe.

Wood. With diuers other ſuch like wordes that I can not recite, they came out ſo thicke, with ſtampyng and ſtaryng, and chafing as though he had bene out of his witte. I held my peace, vntill he had made an ende of his tormentors talke and then I ſpake.

Wherein haue I ſayd amiſſe? or haue I not aunſwered you vnto euery queſtion that you haue demaunded of me? what fault can you finde in one word that I haue ſayd? I dare ſay you can finde none. I marueile why you take on thus agaynſt me, hauyng no cauſe ſo to do.

Lang. No, no, you haue not aunſwered me to original ſinne, you deny originall ſinne.

Wood. With theſe wordes came in at the doore Mayſter Iames Gage: And I thinke he ſtoode at the doore a good while before hee came in, and that Doctor Langdall ſawe hym: For his face was to the doore warde, and my face was from it.

M. Iames Gage entreth talke with Woodman.

Gage. Ah Woodman, me thinke maiſter Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes ſir me thinke we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt Syr he is the noughtieſt man that euer I talked with in all my life: for he will haue his owne way in all thinges.

Gage. Woodman, leaue that pride. Do not truſt ſo much to your owne wit. Harken to this man. This is a learned mā, I tell you. He is knowen to be learned For els he ſhould not be allowed to preach before the Queenes maieſty: and I dare ſay he will tell the nothyng, nor will the to do nothyng, but that he will do him ſelfe: and I dare ſay he will not goe to the Deuill to bryng the thether: Howe ſay you maiſter Doctour? Thou mighteſt thinke vs mad, if we would hurt our ſelues to hurt thee. No I promiſe the, my brother, neyther I, nor no gentleman in the countrey, I thinke of my conſcience, but would thou ſhouldeſt do as wel as their own bodyes and ſoules, as a great many of them haue ſayd to thy face whileſt thou waſt at my brothers, the which thou canſt not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can ſay none otherwiſe but I was gently entreated at your brothers, both with meate and drinke & gentle wordes, both of you and hym, and diuers other gentlemen: and I am ſure you nor they can ſay, that you founde me vnreaſonable at any time. For I ſayd I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, as God knoweth: and here maiſter Doctour (I thinke) can ſay no otherwiſe: For I dare ſay he cā finde no fault in the talke that we haue had.

Lang. No mary, I can finde nothing els in you. I promiſe you maiſter Gage, if you had ben here, you would haue ſayd ſo your ſelfe. He tooke me vp in deede, and ſayd he marueyled how I durſt preach. For he ſayd, I vnderſtode not the ſcripture, but as farre as naturall reaſon comprehendeth: as though he vnderſtoode all, and I nothyng. With diuers other ſuch like wordes he made a great complaint to hym on me, and ſayd to maiſter Iames Gage, he would make you beleue that I could finde no fault in him. Yes iwis: he denyeth originall ſinne, meanyng thereby that he is without ſinne.

D. Langdale complayneth to M. Gage of Woodman, cauſeles.

Woodman falſly belyed.

Gage. Yea? Doth he ſo? by S. Mary that is a great matter, Woodman: leaue that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can you liue without ſinne?

Wood. Sir, nowe I perceiue he will ſoone lie on me behynd my backe, when he will not ſticke to lie before my face. He ſayth I denyed originall ſinne: and it was he him ſelfe, as I will let you be iudge in the matter. For as he went about to proue that man hath free will, he ſayd wee were ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam, was before his fall: whiche wordes proue playnely that wee haue no originall ſinne: And I tooke hym withall and ſayde hadde Adam originall ſinne before his fall? and then he could not tell what to ſay but cauilled with wordes, and ſayd he ment not ſo: and therfore I marueile he is not aſhamed to make ſuch lies to my face. These wordes made them both aſtonied.

D. Langdale denyeth originall ſinne, yet accuſeth Woodman: for the which he is culpable hym ſelfe.

Gage. M. Doctour he ſayth euen nowe you could finde no fault in all his talke. I will bidde you aſke him a queſtion,

& I will warrant you ſhall finde fault inough. I pray you aſke him how he beleueth in the Sacrament of the aultar. I thinke he will make but a bad account therof.

Wood. yes, I will make account good inough of that, by Gods helpe.

Lág. Well, how ſay you to the Sacrament of the aultar?

Wood. I ſay I know no ſuch Sacrament, vnleſſe Chriſt be the aultar that you meane.

Gage. Lo, I told you, you ſhould ſone finde fault in him, if you came to that poynt with him. You ſhould haue begun with that firſt, and neuer haue talked with him about other thynges. What? know you not the Sacrament of the aultar?

Woodman knoweth no ſacrament of the altar, vnleſſe they take Chriſt to be the altar.

Wood. No ſure, I know none ſuch, vnleſſe Chriſt be the aultar that you meane: for Chriſt is the aultar of all goodneſſe. And if you meane Chriſt to be the aultar of the Sacrament you ſpeake of, you ſhall ſone heare my mynde and belief therein.

Lang. Well, we meane Chriſt to bee the aultar. Say your mynde, and go briefly to worke: for I thinke it is almoſt dinner.

Gage. I pray you go roſidly to worke, that you may make an end before dinner.

Woodmans iudgement of the Sacrament.

Woodman. yes, you ſhall ſone heare my mynde therein by Gods helpe. I doe beleue that whenſoeuer I come to receaue the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, beyng truely miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes Inſtitution, I beleuyng that Chriſt was borne of the virgine Mary, and that hee was crucified on the Croſſe, and ſhedde hys bloud for the remiſſion of my ſinnes, and ſo take and eate the Sacrament of bread and wyne in that remembraunce, that then I do receiue wholly Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by fayth. This is my beliefe of the Sacrament, the which no man is able to diſproue.

Gage. By Saint Mary I can finde no fault in this. How ſay you Maiſter Doctour?

D. Langdale ſeeketh a knot in a ruſhe.

Lang. Syr, you ſee not ſo much in it as I do. For he goeth craftely to worke: I tell you, as I haue heard. For though he haue graunted that the faythfull receauer receaueth the body of Chriſt, GOD and man, yet he hath not graunted that it is the body of Chriſt before it bee receiued, as you ſhall ſee by and by I warrant you, by his owne wordes. How ſay you? is it the body of Chriſt as ſone as the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt or not? for, theſe wordes will try him more then all the reſt.

Whether the Sacrament be the body of Chriſt before it be receaued.

Wood. Doth the word ſay that it is his body before it is receiued? if it do, I will ſay ſo to.

Gage. Why? then you ſhall agree well inough, if you will be tryed by the word.

Wood. yes forſooth, that I will: God forbid els.

Gage. Why? the word ſayth it is his body before it is eate.

Wood. Thoſe wordes would I fayne heare: but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Luke. 22.

Lang. No? that you ſhall ſee by & by (M. Gage quoth he) & turned to the 22. of Luke, & there he read: When ſupper was done, Chriſt tooke bread, gaue thankes, and brake it, & gaue to his Diſciples, and ſayd: take, eate, this is my body. Then they ſpake both at once: Here he ſayth it is his body.

Eating goeth before the wordes of conſecrating.

Wood. Maiſter Gage, I do not deny but he called it his body, but not before eatyng, as I ſayd before. Wherefore I pray you marke the wordes. Chriſt ſayd, Take, eate, I pray you Syr marke theſe wordes that he ſayd: Take and eate, and then he ſayd, it was his body. So you ſee, eatyng goeth before. For he ſayd: eate, this is my body. So accordyng to the very worde, I do beleue it is his body. Whiche wordes made them both aſtonied.

D. Langdale driuen to his ſhiftes.

Lang. Why, then by your ſaying Judas eate not the body of Chriſt. How ſay you? did he not?

Wood. Nay, I aſke you. Did he?

Lang. I aſke you.

Wood. And I aſke you.

Lang. And I aſke you.

Woodman. Mary and I aſke you. And I bidde you aunſwere if you dare for your lyfe. For what ſoeuer you aunſwere, vnleſſe you ſay as I haue ſayd, you will damne your owne ſoule. For Maiſter Gage, I proteſt before GOD, I would you ſhould doe as well as myne owne ſoule and body: and it lamenteth my hart to ſee how you be deceaued with them: they be deceauers all the ſorte of them. He can not aunſwere to this, but either hee muſt proue Judas to be ſaued, or els he muſt proue that it is no body before it bee receaued in fayth: as you ſhall well perceaue by Gods helpe, if he dare to aunſwere the queſtion.

Gage. yes, I dare ſay he dareth. What? you neede not to threaten him ſo.

Wood. Then let him aunſwere if he can.

Then he ſayd he knew what I would ſay to him: therefore he was much in doubt to aunſwere the queſtion.

Lang. Maiſter Gage, I will tell you in your eare what wordes he will aunſwere me, or euer I ſpeke to him.

D. Langdale aſked to aunſwere to Richard Woodman.

Wood. Then he told M. Gage, a tale in his eare, and ſayd:

Lang. I haue told maiſter Gage what you will ſay.

Gage. yea, and I will tell the truth for both parties.

Wood. Well, how ſay you? did Judas eate ye body of Chriſt or not?

Lang. yea, I ſay Judas did eate the body of Chriſt.

The Catholickes holde that Judas dyd eate the body of Chriſt.

Argument.

Who ſo euer eateth the fleſhe of Chriſt hath euerlaſting lyfe. Iohn. 6.

Iudas did eate the fleſhe of Chriſt:

Ergo, Iudas hath euerlaſting lyfe.

Wood. Then it muſt needes followe, That Judas hath euerlaſtyng life. For Chriſt ſayth in the ſixt of John: who ſo eateth my fleſh, and drynketh my bloud, hath eternall life, and I will rayſe him vp at the laſt day. If Judas dyd eate Chriſtes body, I am ſure you cannot deny but that he dyd both eate his fleſh, and drynke his bloud, & then is Judas ſaued by Chriſtes own wordes. Therfore now you are compelled to ſay that it was not Chriſtes body, or els that Judas is ſaued.

Gage. Surely theſe be the very wordes that M. D. tolde me in mine eare, that you would ſay to hym.

Wood. Well, let vs ſee, how well he can auoyde this argument.

Lang. Judas is damned, and yet he eate the body of Chriſt: but he eate it vnworthely, and therfore he is damned:

Wood. Where finde you that Judas dyd eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely?

S. Paules wordes miſalleaged by D. Langdale.

Lang. They be S. Paules wordes. j. Corinth. xj. chap.

Wood. M. Gage, I deſyre you for Gods ſake marke my wordes well what I ſay. If S. Paule ſpeake any ſuche wordes there or in any other place, or if there be any ſuche wordes written in all the whole Bible, that euer any man eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely, then ſay that I am the falſeſt man that euer you heard ſpeake with tong. But in deede, theſe be the wordes of S. Paul: who ſo eateth of this bread, and drynketh of this cup vnworthely, eateth and drynketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords body: that is, becauſe he preſumeth to eate the ſacrament of the Lords body with out fayth, makyng no difference betwixt the Sacrament and other bread and drynke: And that is S. Paules meanyng, and not that any man doth or can eate the body of Chriſt* vnworthily. For who ſo euer eateth the body of Chriſt, hath euerlaſtyng life, as is aforeſayd in the 6. of John. with which wordes one came for them to come to dinner in all the haſt.

1. Cor. 11.

Makyng no difference of the Lordes body expounded.

* Chriſt ſpeaketh of eating hys fleſhe ſimply, without any determination of vnworthines: that is, ſimply who ſoeuer beleueth in Chriſte hee ſhall bee ſaued: neyther is anye vnworthines in beleuing in Chriſt.

Gage. I am ſory. I would fayne here more of this talke: but we ſhall haue an other day well inough.

Lang. Nay Maiſter Gage, I will neuer talke with hym more: for he is the vnreaſonableſt man that euer I talked with in all my life.

Wood. Then maiſter Gage put of his cap and deſired hym that he would not refuſe to talke with me, and that it might not be greuous to him. For he ſayd: we will ſeeke all the meanes poſſible to make him an honeſt man, and to keep him from burnyng, if we could. For if my brother and I had not bene, he had bene burned ere this tyme. Then there was great curteſy betwixt them.

Note well the workyng of this mans charitie, to doe for a man more at requeſt, then for any compaſſion of the partye.

Lang. Sir, for your ſake, and for my maiſter your brothers ſake, and for his fathers ſake, and other of his frends ſakes that haue ſpoken to mee many tymes wyth weepyng teares, I will do the beſt to him that I can: but for no loue nor fauor that I beare to hym, I tell you truth.

Gage. Woodman, you heare what M. Doctor ſayth. When will you come agayne?

Wood. Euen when you will ſend for me. For I am a priſoner, and can not come when I would. Or if I ſhould deſyre to come, it will coſt me money, and I haue none to geue: but if you ſend for me, it ſhall coſt me none.

Gage. Well, I will ſend for you on Friday or Saterday, at the fartheſt: for to morrow I muſt ride forth of towne, and I would fayne here your talke.

Wood. Sir I would be very glad you ſhould heare our talke alway: and I truſt in god you ſhall heare me ſay nothyng, but the word of God ſhall be my warrant. So M. Gage tooke his leaue and went his way to his lodgyng, which was right in my way as I went vnto priſon ward agayne, and when he came without my Lorde Mountagues gates, there wee met with one Hode of Buxted, a Smith. Then ſayd Maiſter Gage.

Gage. Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hode hath brought me in remembraunce of as ſoone as I ſaw hym, for he heard when the tale was told me.

Gage. Hode, did not you heare when Smith of Framfield told me that hee ſawe Woodman abroade in the Citie at libertie?

Hode. yea forſooth, that I did.

Gage. yea ſurely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had ben conformable. But I heard otherwiſe afterwarde agayne, that you had leaue of the Keper to goe abroade and ſpeake openly in the ſtreates, as you went vppe and downe.

Lewde tales and falſe lyes rayſed vpon Woodman.

Wood. In dede ſo the Marſhall told me to day. But in dede I was neuer abroad ſince I came to priſon, but whē I was ſent for, and in dede the ſame tyme I was abroad with my Keper, cōmyng from the Byſhop, and as I was cōmyng, euen not farre from the Marſhalſey, I ſaw goodman Smith ſtād in a wayne vnladyng of Cheſe, & I aſked him how he did, euē as I wēt by, & neuer ſtayed for yͤ matter, & thereupō it did riſe. So I departed frō them, with my Keper, to the Marſhalſey agayne, where I now am mery I prayſe God therfore, as a ſheepe appointed to be ſlayne.

¶The fourth examinatiō of Richard Woodman, had before the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and a certaine Doctour, with diuers other Prieſtes and Gentlemen, the xxv. day of May. Anno. 1557.

Woodman.

The 4. examination of Richard Woodman before the Byſhop of Wincheſter. &c.

I Was ſet from the Marſhalſea to the ſayd Byſhops and Prieſtes, ſittyng in S. Georges Churche in Southwarke, by one of the Marſhals men & one of the Sheriffes men. When I came before them, & had done my duty to thē, as nigh as I could, then ſayd the Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Wincheſter. What is your name?

Wood. My name is Richard Woodman forſoth.

Wincheſter. Ah Woodman, you were taken and apprehended for Hereſie about a three yeares agone, and were ſent to priſon in the Kynges Bench, and there remained a long tyme. Myne old Lord of Chicheſter, beyng a learned famous man well knowen in this Realme of England, and almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome, I thinke, came to priſon to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him diuers tymes, trauelyng and perſwadyng with you many wayes (becauſe he was your Ordinary) to plucke you from your hereſies that you held, but hee could by no meanes auertiſe you.

This olde Byſhop of Chicheſter was Doct. Day.

Whereupon you were deliuered to the Commiſſioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they ſent you vnto my Lord of Lōdon. My Lord of London callyng you before him diuers tymes, labour was made vnto him of your frendes, that you might be releaſed. My Lord hauyng a good hope in you, that you would become an honeſt man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in tymes paſt, yea & you your ſelfe promiſing him that you would go home and recāt your hereſies that you held, deliuered you: ſendyng alſo a letter of your recantation to the Commiſſary that hee ſhould ſee it done. But aſſoone as you were out of his handes, you were as bad as euer you were, and would neuer fulfill your promiſe, but haue hid your ſelfe in the woods, Buſhes, Dennes, and Caues, and thus haue continued euer ſince, till it was now of late. The the Sheriffe of that Shyre (beyng a worſhypfull man) hearyng thereof, ſent certaine of his men, and tooke you in a wood, and ſo caryed you to his houſe. I cā not tell his name. What is your Sheriffes name?

Vntrue. For B. Boner deliuered him of hys owne accord at the burning of Philpot. vpon other cauſes.

Falſe and vntrue.

Wood. Forſooth his name is Syr Edward Gage.

Syr Edward Gage Shrieffe of Suſſex.

Wincheſter. Well, you were apprehended for hereſie, and beyng at Maiſter Gages three weekes or more, ye were gently entreated there: he and other Gentlemē perſwading with you diuers tymes, litle preuailed.

Then you appealed to the Byſhoppe of Chicheſter that now is. The Sheriffe like a worſhypfull man ſent you to him, and he hath trauelled with you, and other alſo, and can do no good with you, wherupon we haue ſent for you.

Wood. Then I ſpake to him. For I thought he would be long, before he would make an ende. I thought he was a yeare a tellyng of thoſe lyes that hee had told there agaynſt me already, yea I kept ſilence from good wordes: but it was great payne and grief vnto me (as Dauid ſayd).

At length the fire was ſo kindled within my hart, that I could not chooſe but ſpeake with my toung: for I feared leaſt any of the company ſhould haue departed or euer I had aunſwered to his lyes, & ſo the Goſpell to haue bene ſclaundered by my long ſilence keeping. So I ſpake, I prayſe God therefore, and ſayd: my Lord, I pray you let me now aunſwere for my ſelfe, for it is tyme.

Wincheſter. I permitte you to aunſwere to theſe thynges that I haue ſayd.

Wood. I thanke God therfore. And I thinke my ſelfe happy (as Paule ſaid whē he was brought before king Agrippa) I may this day aunſwere for my ſelfe. My Lord, I promiſe you there is neuer a word of your ſayings true that you haue alledged agaynſt me.

Woodman charged with falſe matter.

Winch. I can not tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I neuer did ſee you before this day: but I am ſure it is not all lyes that I haue ſayd, as you reporte.

Wood. Yes my Lord, there is neuer a true worde of that you ſayd. And further, where you ſayd you neuer ſaw me before this day, you haue both heard me, and ſeene me, I dare ſay, before this day.

Wincheſter. I thinke I heard you in dede on Monday where you play'd the malapert: but I can not tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not takē in the woodes by the Sheriffes men?

Wood. No ſure, I was taken beſides my houſe, I beyng in my houſe when they came: wherfore that is not true.

Wincheſter. Were not you at the Sheriffes three weekes.

Wood. Yes that I was a moneth full, and was gently entreated of him. I can ſay no otherwiſe: for I had meate and drinke inough, and fayre wordes.

Winch. Ah, I am well apayed: it is not all lyes then, as it chaunced. For I ſpake, but of three weekes, and you cōfeſſe a moneth your ſelfe.

Woodman. Yet your tale is neuer the truer for that. For you ſayd I was there three weekes for hereſie, the whiche is not ſo. For I was not apprehended for hereſie at the firſt, neither did myne old Lord of Chicheſter trauaile with me to pull me from hereſie, as you ſayd: for I held none thē, neither doe I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the Commiſſioners nor to the Byſhop of London for hereſie, neither was I deliuered to him for any ſuch thyng, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſayd I did. Wherfore I marueile you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many lyes, beyng a Byſhop that ſhould be an example to other.

Winch. Lo, what an arrogant hereticke this ſame is. He will deny God: for he that denieth his own hād denieth God.

Wincheſter ſwift in iudging.

Wood. My Lord, iudge not leaſt you be iudged your ſelfe. For as you haue iudged me, you ſhalbe iudged, if you repent not. And if I haue ſet my hand to any recantation, let it be ſene to my ſhame before this audience: for I will neuer deny myne owne hand, by Gods helpe.

Richard Woodman cleereth him ſelfe of recantation.

Win. It is not here now, but I thinke it will be had wel enough: but if it can not be found, by whom will you be tried.

Wood. Euen by my Lord of London: for he delt like a good man with me in that matter that I was ſent to priſon for. For it was vppon the breach of a Statute, as Maiſter Sheriffe here can tell. For he was Sheriffe then, as he is now, and can tell you how I was toſſed vp and downe from Seſſions to Seſſions: & becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to priſon agayne.

The honeſt dealing of B. Boner with Woodman herein.

This was Doct. Day.

Then my Lord of Chicheſter beyng myne Ordinary, and I beyng his tenaunt, came to me, to perſwade with me that I ſhould haue conſented to them, and to finde my ſelfe in fault, where I was in none. To the whiche I would not agree, but I deſired him that he would ſee me releaſed of my wrong but he ſayd he could not, but willed me or my frendes to ſpeake to the Commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporall matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the handes of almoſt .xxx. men, both Eſquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all the coūtrey where I dwelt, yͭ I had not offēded in yͤ matter yͭ I was ſent to priſon for. Whereupon he deliuered me, not willyng me to recant hereſies, for I held none (as GOD knoweth) neither do I now: nor I know not wherfore I was ſent to priſon, no more then any man here knoweth: for I was taken from my worke.

The cauſe and maner how Woodman was deliuered by B. Boner.

Winch. No? wherfore appealed you then to my Lord of Chicheſter, if it were not for hereſie?

Wood. Becauſe there was layd to my charge that I had Baptiſed childrē, and maried folkes, the which I neuer did, for I was no where Miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to myne Ordinary, to purge my ſelfe therof as I haue. Wherfore if any man haue any thyng agaynſt me, let them ſpeake: for I came not hither to accuſe my ſelfe, neither will I.

Wherfore Woodman appealed to his Ordinary.

Winch. Maiſter Sheriffe can you tell vpon what breach of the Statute he was ſent to priſon firſt?

The Sheriffe. Yea forſooth my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will geue me leaue, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

Winc. Nay Maiſter Sheriffe, I pray you tell you the matter, ſeyng you know it.

The Sheriffe. My Lord, it was for ſpeaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

The cauſe why Woodman was firſt apprehended.

Winch. Ah, like enough, that he would not ſticke to reproue a Curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned him ſelfe to ſpeake to me in the Pulpit on Sonday? you played the malaperte fellow with me, and therefore it was no great maruaile though he played that part with an other.

Woodman. Why, you will not blame me for that. I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other cauſe, but to purge our ſelues of theſe hereſies that you layd to our charge. For theſe were your wordes: Good people, theſe men that be brought before vs, beyng here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the holy

Ghoſt

Richard Woodman and his fellow priſoners falſely accuſed and belyed of the B. of Wincheſter in the Pulpit.

1557.

June.

Ghoſt to be God (poyntyng to vs with your left hand) the which might ſeeme to the whole audience, that you ment vs all. Wherfore to cleare our ſelues thereof, we ſpake, and ſayd we held no ſuch thyng. And you ſeyd you would cut out our toungs. But I am ſure you haue no ſuch law.

Win. Yes, that we haue, if you blaſpheme, and as it chaunced, I founde ſuch amongeſt you.

Wood. In deede, after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged our ſelues.

Speaking to the Curate in the pulpit made hereſie.

Winch. But I pray you, how can you purge your ſelfe for ſpeakyng to the Curate, that it is not hereſie?

Wood. Forſooth theſe be the wordes of the Statute: Whoſoeuer doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer iij. monethes impriſonment, & furthermore be brought to the quarter Seſſions, there (beyng ſory for the ſame) to be releaſed vpon his good abearyng one whole yeare. But I had not ſo offended, as it was well proued. For he that I ſpake too, was not lawfully authoriſed, nor had not put away his wife. Wherfore it was not lawfull for him to preach by your owne law, & therfore I brake not the Statute, though I ſpake to him.

Woodman cleereth him ſelfe from breach of the Statute.

Winch. I am glad. I perceaue this man ſpeaketh agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages: he is not contented with Prieſtes that haue wiues. He is honeſter man, then I tooke him for. Maiſter Sheriffe, haue him away. I am glad he loueth not Prieſtes Mariages.

Note the pretty ſhift of this Catholicke Prelate.

Wood. Then I would haue aunſwered to his ſayinges, but hee would in no wiſe heare me, but bad the Sheriffe haue me away. So the Sheriffe tooke me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeake, but goyng out of the Chauncell doore, I ſayd: I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would haue geuen me leaue: but ſeyng he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not goe home to my wife and children, and keepe them as my bounden duety is, by the helpe of GOD. So I was ſent to the Marſhalſea agayne, where I now am mery, I prayſe God therfore, as a ſheepe appointed to be ſlayne.

Moreouer, I was credibly enformed by one of our brethren that heard our talke, that the Byſhop ſayd when I was gone, that they would take me whileſt I was ſomewhat good, whiche wordes ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpake agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages: but I did not, but did not onely aunſwere to ſuch queſtions as he aſked me, as you ſhall perceiue well by the wordes if you marke them, which wordes were theſe.

Woodman falſely taken to ſpeake agaynſt Prieſtes mariage.

How can you purge your ſelfe from hereſie, for talkyng to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, ſayd the Byſhops? meanyng thereby I thinke to haue taken vantage of my wordes: but it was not Gods will that he ſhould at that tyme. For I aunſwered him by the wordes of the Statute, whiche wordes be as hereafter followeth (that is): Who ſo euer doth interrupt any preacher or preachers lawfully authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three monethes impriſonment. But I proued that this man was not lawfully authoriſed to preach (by their own law) becauſe hee had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no Prieſt may ſay Maſſe, nor preach with the Maſſe, but hee muſt firſt be ſeparated from his wife: That is becauſe honeſt Mariages be good and commendable, and theirs nought and abhominable, therfore they cannot dwell together.

A Prieſt keeping his wyfe, yet would needes holde agayne with Papiſtrie.

Now, I geue you all to vnderſtand, that I did not reproue this Prieſt becauſe hee had a wife, but becauſe hee taught falſe doctrine, which greued my ſoule, becauſe he had bene a feruent Preacher agaynſt the Maſſe and all þ Idolatry thereof ſeuen yeares before, and then came and held with it agayne: for the whiche cauſe I reproued him in the Pulpit. And the wordes that I ſpake to him are written in diuers of my Examinations of my firſt impriſonment for that ſame. But in very deede, I knew not of the Statute when I reproued him. But becauſe I was ſent to priſon vpon the breach of it, I bought a Statute booke, and when I had peruſed it, I perceiued I had not offended by their owne law: and therfore ſtill when I was called to aunſwere, I aunſwered them wͭ their owne law. But yet they kept me in priſon a yeare and almoſt three quarters or euer I was releaſed. I was at myne aunſwere for that eighteen tymes. If any thinke I do not allow Byſhops and Prieſts Mariages, let them looke in my firſt examination before the Byſhoppe of Chicheſter that now is, duryng this my impriſonment now, and there they ſhall find what I haue ſayd in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day. But we may all ſee that they cã do nothyng but as God will permit them to do. But when the tyme is full come, I truſt in GOD, I ſhall runne that ioyfull race that my brethren haue done. Thus I commit you all into the handes of God, who is the preſeruer, defender, and keeper of all his elect for euermore. Amen.

Richard Woodman ſauing him ſelfe frõ his enemies by their owne lawes.

The fift examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterb. Doctor Langdale, with a fat headed Prieſt, and other whoſe names I know not, with certaine alſo of the Commiſſioners, at S. Maryes Oueries church in Southwarke, in the preſence, of three C. people at the leaſt, the xv. day of Iune. An. 1557.

The fift examination of Richard Woodman, before the B. of Wincheſter, and diuers other. June. 15. Anno. 1557.

WInchester. Woodman, you were before vs the laſt day, and would not be acknowen in any wiſe that you were ſent to priſon for hereſie, and called for your accuſers, and ſtoode ſtoutly in defendyng of your ſelfe, and in your departyng I had thought you had ſpoken agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages, thinkyng by your wordes we ſhould haue founde you an honeſt man, and conformable when we had called you before vs agayne. You told ſuch a fayre tale for your ſelfe, as though you had bene free from all that was layde to your charge. For you ſayd it was all lyes that I told agaynſt you: but ſince I haue proued the contrary, as here is your owne hand to ſhewe. By the whiche I haue proued that you reproued not the Prieſt for lackyng of authoritie, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not his preachyng. For in deede I tooke it that you reproued him for becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, but I haue proued the contrary ſince.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reproue him for lacke of authoritie, or becauſe I liked not his preachyng, but I told you wherfore I was firſt ſẽt to priſõ. For you ſayd I was ſent to priſon for hereſie, and made a long tale agaynſt me. And in deede I told you that there was neuer a word of your ſayinges true, but was all lyes, as it was in deede. For I neuer was ſent to priſon for hereſie, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heauen and earth to witneſſe, but I told you I was ſent, to priſon vppon the breach of a Statute, whiche was for ſpeakyng to a Prieſt in the Pulpit, and for that cauſe the Iuſtices of that Countrey had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would haue had me to haue bene bounde to my good abearyng: and becauſe I refuſed it, they ſent me to priſon. And theſe be the wordes of the Statute, as I told you the laſt day. If any man doe interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queenes Maieſtie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that then euery partie that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three monethes impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter Seſſions, and there beyng ſory for the ſame, and alſo bounde for his goodabearyng, one whole yeare, to be releaſed, or els to remaine to priſon agayne.

The wordes of the Statute.

And whẽ I was in priſon, I bought a Statute booke, whiche when I had peruſed ouer, I founde by the wordes thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, as the Byſhoppe of London was certified by the handes almoſt of .xxx. men, both Eſquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all that countrey. For he had not put away his wife, and therfore the Statute tooke no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of London ſeyng me hauyng ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bad the Sheriffe haue me away: you ſayd you were glad I held agaynſt Prieſtes Mariages, becauſe I aunſwered to the queſtion you aſked me.

No breach of this Statute, and why.

The fat Prieſt. My Lord, doe you not heare what he ſayth by my Lord of Londõ? He ſayth he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothyng els.

The Prieſt ſcanneth vpon the meaning of Woodman.

Wood. What? can you tell what I meane? let euery man ſay as he findeth: he did iuſtly to me in that matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any thyng elles, as you ſay, he ſhall aunſwere for it, and not I: for I haue nothyng to do with other mens matters.

Winch. Well, how ſay you? how liked you his preachyng? I pray you tell vs.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. How ſo euer I liked it, I offended not the Statute. Wherfore you haue nothyng to ſay to me for that, I am ſure.

See how neerely theſe men ſeeke matter agaynſt hym whereby to trap him.

Wincheſter. Well, how like you this then? Here is your owne hand writyng: I am ſure you will not deny it. Will you looke on it?

Wood. It is myne owne hãdy worke in deede, the which by Gods helpe I will neuer deny, nor neuer did yet. I prayſe God therfore.

Wincheſter. And here is good geare I tell you. I pray you herken well to it: theſe be the wordes, before the Commiſſioners. How ſay you? Do you not beleue, as ſoone as the wordes be ſpoken by the Prieſt, that there remaineth neither they had no wyne, but onely the very body of Chriſt, both fleſh and bloud as he was borne of the virgin Mary? theſe were the wordes of the Commiſſioners.

Luke. 22.

Woodman charged with his aunſweres before the Commiſſioners at his laſt examination.

And then thou ſaydeſt: thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe thē the Scripture ſayth. I can not finde (ſayd you) that it is the body of Chriſt before it is receiued by fayth, bringyng in the xxij. of Luke, ſaying: Chriſt ſayd, take, eate, this is my body: ſo I can not proue that it is his body before it is eaten. Then ſayd the Commiſſioners: did not Judas eate Chriſtes body? And if you can proue that Judas is ſaued (ſayd you) I muſt graunt that he eate his body. For Chriſt ſayth in the vj. of John. Who ſo eateth my fleſhe, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall lyfe, and I will rayſe him vp at the laſt day: which wordes proue (ſayd you) that if Judas eate the body of Chriſt, he muſt needes be ſaued. How ſay you now? did Judas eate the body of Chriſt or no?

D. White B. of Wincheſter bent to haue the bloud of Woodman.

Wood. Then I perceiued they went about nothyng but to catch wordes of me in his Dioces, to condemne me with. Though I ſhould confounde him neuer ſo much, I perceiued that hee was fully bent thereto. To whom I aunſwered and ſayd:

I will aunſwere you to no ſuch thyng, for I am none of your Dioces: wherfore I will not aunſwere to you.

Wincheſter. Thou art within my Dioces, and thou haſt offended within my Dioces: and therfore I will haue to do with thee.

Richard Woodman appealeth from the B. of Wincheſter, to his owne Ordinary.

Wood. Haue to do with me and you will: but I will haue nothyng to do with you. I tell you playnly: For though I be now in your Dioces, I haue not offended in your Dioces: if I haue, ſhew me wherein.

Winch. Mary here is thine owne hand writyng the which thou affirmedſt in my Dioces.

Wood. I do not deny, but it is myne owne hand writyng: but that prooueth neuer the more that I haue offended in your Dioces: for ÿ doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, the which you haue nothyng to do withall.

Wincheſter. No? hold him a booke, and thou ſhalt ſweare, whether thou holdeſt it now or not, & whether thou wroteſt it not in my Dioceſſe, as I thinke thou diddeſt: Lay thy hand on the booke.

Woodman refuſeth to ſweare or aunſwere before Wincheſter being not his Ordinary.

Woodman. I will not be ſworne for you: for I am not of your Dioces, and therefore you haue nothyng to do with me. And as for the writyng of that ſame, I neuer wrote word of it in your Dioces.

Lang. No? did you not? my Lord let me ſee: I will finde where you wrote it.

Wood. Then he tooke it, and looked on it and anone he ſpide that I was ſent for out of the Kynges bench, to come before the Commiſſioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may ſee, it was in the Kynges Bench, the which is in your Dioces.

Wood. Although I were ſet out of the Kynges Bench, that prooueth not that I wrote it there, nor I did not, I promiſe you truely.

The fat Prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Woodmā. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſeruice to tell you: finde it out as well as you can: For I perceaue you goe about to ſhedde my bloud.

Wincheſter. It is no great matter where it was written: it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall heare more of it. Here the Commiſſioners aſked you whether Judas did eate any more then bare bread, and you aunſwered, that he eate more then bare bread.

Woodman in a great burning of conſcience, for feare leſt he had graunted ſo much to the Commiſſioners before, ſaying that Judas did eate more then bare bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away backe to the Kynges Bench agayne, and aſked you not what more, for the which cauſe (as you haue written here) you had a hell burnyng in your conſcience. For you had thought they would haue ſent a diſcharge to the Kynges Benche, and ſo let me go (ſayd you) and Regiſter my name in their bookes, that I had graunted that Judas did eate the body of Chriſt, and ſo the Goſpell ſhould haue bene ſlaundered by me. For the which cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcantly eate, drinke, or ſleepe for that ſpace, as all my priſon fellowes can teſtifie. If all you (I ſay) that go to the Church of Sathan, and there heare the deteſtable doctrine, that they ſpit, and ſpue out in their Churches, and Pulpites, to the great diſhonour of GOD, if all you (I ſay) that come there, had ſuch a hell burnyng in your conſcience for the tyme, as I had till I came before them agayne & had vttered my conſcience more playnly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your writyng, is it not? how ſay you?

Wood. I do not deny, but it was myne owne hande.

Winc. And I pray you, where is there ſuch ſpittyng and ſpuing out of falſe doctrine as you ſpeake of?

Wood. In the Sinagoge of Sathan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe doctrine.

Winc. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that iudge your ſelfe: I came not hether to be a iudge.

Winc. Well, here you haue affirmed that Judas (your M.) eate more then bread: but yet he eate not the body of Chriſt as you haue declared by your wordes. For you had a hell burnyng in your conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the commiſſioners vnderſtode by your wordes that Judas had eaten the body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſayd, he eate more then bread. Therfore thou hadſt a great ſort of Deuils in thee, for in hell be many Deuils: and therfore the Deuill, and Judas is thy maiſter, by thyne owne wordes.

Wood. Nay, I defie Judas and the Deuill, and hys ſeruauntes: for they be your maiſters and you ſerue them, for any thyng that I can ſee, I tell you truth.

The Byſhops Argument.

The deuill is maiſter in hell.

Woodman felt a burning hell in his conſcience. Ergo, the deuill was Woodmans Maiſter.

Aunſwere.

Hell is takē in ſcripture two wayes, eyther for the place where damned ſpirites and ſoules bee tormented for euer out of this lyfe: or els for Gods correction and anguiſh of the ſoule in this life which ſometime is felt ſo ſharpe, that it is reſēbled to hell it ſelfe. As where we read: The Lord bringeth to hel, & bringeth out agayne. &c. Tob. 13. The paines of hell haue found me. &c. Pſal. 114.

Wincheſt. Nay, they be thy maſters. For the deuill is maiſter where hell is, and thou ſaydeſt thou hadſt a hell burnyng in thee. I pray the tell me howe thou canſt auoyde it but that the deuill was in the by thyne owne ſaying.

Wood. The hell that I had, was the louing correction of God toward me, to call me to repentaunce, that I ſhoulde not offende God and his people in leauyng thynges ſo darke, as I left that. For the which cauſe, my conſcience bare me recorde I had not done well, as at al times I haue felt the ſting of it when I haue broken the commaundementes of God by any meanes, as all Gods people do, I dare ſay, and it is the louyng kindnes of God towardes them, to driue them to repentaunce. But it is to be thought that your conſcience is neuer troubled, howe wickedly ſo euer you doe. For if it were, it ſhoulde not ſo bee ſtraunge to you as you make it, whiche declareth playnely whoſe ſeruant you be.

Wincheſt. What a naughty fellow is this? This is ſuch a peruerſe villayne as I neuer talked with all in all my life. Hold him a booke, I will make him ſweare, to aunſwere directly to ſuch thynges, as I will demaunde of him: and if he will not aunſwere, I will condemne him.

Sap. 5.

Wood. Call you me a fellow? I am ſuch a fellow, I tell you, that will bryng you all to hell if you cōſent to ÿ ſheddyng of my bloud, and you ſhall haue bloud to drinke, as ſayd S. John in his Reuelation the xv. chap. and beyng in hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for payne of conſcience: this is the man that we had in deriſion, and thought his life madnes, & his ende to be without honour: but now we may ſee how he is counted among ÿ Saintes of God, & we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſay in hell, if you repent it not, if you doe condemne me. This you ſhal finde in ÿ fift chapter of ÿ booke of wiſdome, and therfore take heede what you do. I geue you counſell.

Wincheſt. Wiſdome? what ſpeakeſt thou of wiſdome? thou neuer haddeſt it: for thou art as very a foole as euer I heard ſpeake.

1. Cor. 1.

Wood. Do you not knowe, that the fooliſh thynges of thys world muſt confound the wiſe thynges? Wherfore it greueth me not to be called a foole at your hand.

Win. Nay thou art none of thoſe fooles: thou art an obſtinate foole, and an hereticke. Lay hand on the booke, and aunſwere to ſuch thynges as I will lay agaynſt thee.

Richard Woodman agayne refuſeth to ſweare or aunſwere before the Byſhop, being not his Ordinary.

Wood. I will not lay hand on the booke for none of you all, you be not my Byſhop, and therfore I will haue nothyng to do with you.

Wincheſt. I will haue to do with you. This man is without law: he careth not for the king nor Queene, I dare ſay, for he will not obey their lawes. Let me ſee the Kynges Commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that or not.

Wood. I woulde you loued the King and Queenes Maieſty, no worſe then I do, if it pleaſed God: You would not do as you do then.

Wincheſt. Hold him a booke, he is a ranke hereticke. Thou ſhalte aunſwere to ſuche thynges as I will demaunde of thee.

Wood. I take heauen and earth to recorde I am no hereticke, neyther can I tell wherfore I am brought to priſon, no more then any man here can tell, and therwith I loked rounde aboute on the people, and ſayd to the Byſhop: If you haue any iuſt cauſe againſt me, worthy of death, lay it agaynſt me, & let me haue it: for I refuſe not to dye (I prayſe God) for ÿ truth ſake, if I had x. liues. If you haue no cauſe let me go home (I pray you) to my wife and children to ſee them kept, and other poore folke that I would ſet a worke by the helpe of god. I haue ſet a worke a hundreth perſons, ere this, all the peare together, and was vniuſtly taken from them: but God forgeue them that did it, if it be his will.

Wincheſter. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for helpe? But I would ſee any man ſhewe thee a chearefull countenaunce, and eſpecially you that be of my Dioces. If any of you bid GOD ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a chearefull countenaũce, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be receaued in agayne, till you haue done open penaunce, and therfore beware of it.

A charitable commaundement of a Catholicke Prelate vnder payne of excommunication, no man to ſay: God ſtrengthen him.

Wood. I looke for no helpe of men, for God is on my ſide, I prayſe him therfore, and therfore I neede not care who be agaynſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cryed: away with him, and bryng vs an other. So I was caried agayne to the Marſhalſea, where I am now mery (I prayſe GOD therfore) as a ſheepe appointed to be ſlayne. But for lacke of tyme, I haue left out much of our talke, but this is the chiefeſt of it.

¶The vj. and laſt examinations of Richard Woodmã written and copied with his owne hand.

BE it knowen vnto all men by this preſent writyng, that I Richard Woodman, ſometyme of the Pariſh of Warbelton, in the County of Suſſex, was cõdemned for Gods euerlaſtyng truth, an.1557. Iuly.16. by the Byſhop of Wincheſter, in the Churche of S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke, there ſittyng with him the ſame tyme the Byſhop of Chicheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Doctour Langdale, M. Roper, with a fatte headed Prieſt, I can not tell his name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedyng of my bloud, vpon this occaſion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed that Iudas receaued the Sacramẽt with a ſop and the deuill withall: and becauſe I would not be ſworne vppon a booke to aunſwere directly to ſuch Articles as he would declare to me: and becauſe I would not beleue that there remained neither bread nor wyne after the wordes of conſecration: and that the body of Chriſt could not be receaued of any but of the faythfull. For theſe Articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the helpe of God.

The firſt examination of Richard Woodman, before the Byſhop of Wincheſter & diuers other in the Church of S. Mary Oueryes.

FIrſt, the Byſhop ſayd when I came before him.

Win. You were before vs on Monday laſt paſt, and there you affirmed certaine hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you reuoke them?

Wood. I held no hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Win. No? did you not affirme, that Iudas receiued bread? which is no hereſie, vnleſſe you tell what more then bread.

Wood. Is it hereſie to ſay that Iudas receaued more then bread? I ſayd he receaued more then bare bread: for he receiued the Sacrament, that was prepared to ſhewe forth the Lordes death: and becauſe he preſumed to eate without fayth, he eate the deuill withall, as the wordes of Chriſt declare: after he eate the ſoppe, the Deuill entred into him, as you can not deny.

Win. Hold him a booke. I will haue you aunſwere directly whether Iudas did eate the body of Chriſt, or no.

Richard Woodman agayne refuſeth Wincheſter to be his Iudge.

Wood. I will aũſwere no more: for I am not of your Dioces: wherfore I will haue nothyng to do with you.

Winc. No, you be in my Dioces, and you be of my Dioces, becauſe you haue offended in my Dioces.

Wood. I am not of your Dioces, although I am in your Dioces: and I was brought into your Dioces agaynſt my will: and I haue not offended in your Dioces: if I haue, tell me wherein.

Truth taken for hereſye.

Wincheſter. Here is your owne hand writyng, the which is hereſie. Theſe be the wordes. I can not finde (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt to any, before it be receaued in fayth. How ſay you? is not this your owne hand writyng?

Wood. Yea, I do not deny but it is myne owne hand writyng: but when, or where was it written, or where were the wordes ſpoken?

M. Roper Commiſſioner, and witnes againſt Woodman.

Before the Commiſſioners: and here is one of them. Maiſter Roper, the wordes were ſpoken before you. Were they not?

Rooper. Yes in deede, that they were Woodman. I am ſure you will not deny them: for you haue written the wordes euen as you ſpake them.

Wood. No Syr, in deede I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and I am glad that you haue ſene it. For you may ſee by that whether I lye or not.

Roper. In deede the wordes be written word by word as hee ſpake them.

Woodmans hand writing brought in againſt hym.

Wincheſter. Well, here you affirme that it is your owne deede. How ſay you now? will you be ſory for it, and become an honeſt man?

Wood. My Lord, I truſt no man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt man: and as for that, I marueil that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of London diſcharged me of all matters that were layd agaynſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

Woodman firſt releaſed, and yet called to accompt agayne, agaynſt all good order.

Win. You were releaſed, and it might fortune, it was not layd to your charge then: therefore we lay it to your charge now becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an hereticke: & we may call you before vs, and examine you of your fayth vpon ſuſpicion.

Wood. In deede S. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I haue in God, and I am contẽted ſo to do, if it pleaſe my Byſhop to heare me.

Chicheſter. Yes, I pray you let vs heare it.

Wood. I do beleue in god ỹ father almighty, maker of heauẽ & of earth, and of all thinges viſible and inuiſible, and in one Lord Ieſus Chriſt, my Sauiour very God and man. I beleue in God the holy Ghoſt, the comforter of all Gods elect people, and that he is equall with the father, and ỹ ſonne. I beleue the true catholicke Church, and al the ſacramentes that belongeth thereto. Thus I haue rendered accompt of my hope that I haue of my Saluation.

Sacrament of the altar.

Win. And how beleue you in the bleſſed Sacrament of the aulter? And with that word they all put of their cappes to that abominable Idole.

Wood. I pray you be contented: for I will not aunſwere to any mo queſtiõs: For I perceaue you go about to ſhede my bloud.

Woodman made an Anabaptiſt, becauſe he will not ſweare before hym that is not his Ordinary.

Win. No? hold him a booke. If he refuſe to ſweare, hee is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhall be excommunicated.

Wood. I will not ſweare for you: excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meete to take an oth, for you layd hereſies to my charge in yonder Pulpite, the whiche you are not able to proue: wherefore you be not meete to take an oth of any man. And as for me, I am not of your Dioces, nor will haue any thyng to do with you.

Win. I will haue to do with thee: and I ſaye thou art a ſtrong hereticke.

All truth is hereſye, with theſe men.

Wood. Yea, all truth is hereſy with you: but I am content to ſhew you my mynde, how I beleue on ỹ Sacrament of ỹ body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, without flatteryng. For that you looke for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, But what I hold my ſelfe of it. I will not medle of any other mans beliefe on it.

N.Harp. Why? I am ſure all mẽs fayth ought to be alike.

Wood. Yea, I graunt you ſo, that all true Chriſtians faith ought to be a like. But I will aunſwere for my ſelfe.

N.Harp. Well, let vs heare what you ſay to it.

Woodmans confeſſion of the Sacrament.

Wood. I do beleue that when I come to receaue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, if it be truly miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, I commyng in fayth, as I truſt in God I will, when ſoeuer I come to receaue it, I beleuyng that Chriſt was borne for me: & that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my ſinnes, and that I ſhall be ſaued by his death and bloudſheddyng, and ſo receaue the Sacrament of bread and wyne in that remembraunce, that then I do receaue whole Chriſt, God and man, miſtically, by fayth. This is my beliefe on the Sacrament.

Myſtically.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying: miſtically by fayth. The fatte Prieſt. What a foole art thou? miſtically by fayth thou canſt not tell what myſtically is?

1. Cor. 1.

Wood. If I be a foole, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch fooles of thys world to confound ſuch wiſe thynges as you are.

What is Myſtically.

The fatte prieſt. I pray thee what is miſtically.

Wood. I take miſtically to be the fayth that is in vs, that the world ſeeth not, but God onely.

Win. He can not tell what he ſayth. Aunſwere to the Sacrament of the aulter, whether it be not the body of Chriſt before it be receaued, & whether it be not the body of Chriſt to who ſo euer receaueth it. Tell me, or els I will excommunicate thee.

Woodman appealeth to his Ordinarye. M. Chriſtopherſon B. of Chicheſter hys Ordinarye, not yet conſecrated.

Wood. I haue ſayd as much as I will ſay: excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your Dioces. The Biſhop of Chicheſter is myne Ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needes haue my bloud, that it may be required at his handes.

Chiches. I am not conſecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

Wood. No in deede, your Kyne bryng forth nothyng but Cow calues, as it chaunceth now: Meanyng therby that he had not his bulles from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and ſayd I was out of my wit, becauſe I ſpake feruently to euery mans queſtion: all the whiche I can not remember: But I ſayd:

So Feſtus ſayd to Paul when he ſpake the wordes of ſobernes and truth out of the ſpirite of God, as I do. But as ye haue iudged me, you be your ſelues. You will go to hell all the ſort of you, if you condemne me, if you repent it not with ſpede.

Woodman for his feruent ſpeach rebuked.

1557. June.

Wood. Then my Keeper and the Sheriffes deputie Fuller, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſayd: I pray you let me alone: I aunſwere for my life.

Then there was much ado, that I ſhould keepe ſilence, and ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the Biſhop of Wincheſter and the Archdeacon of Caunterbury, ſaying: we go not about to condemne thee, but go about to ſaue thy ſoule, if thou wilt be ruled and do as we would haue thee.

Woodman. To ſaue my ſoule? nay you can not ſaue my ſoule. My ſoule is ſaued already, I prayſe GOD therfore. There can no man ſaue my ſoule, but Jeſus Chriſt: and he it is that hath ſaued my ſoule before the foundation of the world was layd.

This fatte prieſt well ſeene in the Scriptures.

The fat Prieſt. What an hereſie is that my Lord? here is an other hereſie. He ſayth his ſoule was ſaued before the foundations were layde. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoule ſaued before it was?

Ephes. 1.

Jeſus Chriſt onely Sauiour of mans ſoule, and not man.

Wood. Yes I prayſe God, I cã tell what I ſay, & I ſay the truth. Looke in the firſt of the Epheſians, & there you ſhall finde it, where Paule ſayth: Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which hath bleſſed vs with all maner of ſpirituall bleſſinges in heauenly thynges, by Chriſt, accordyng as he hath choſen vs in him ſelfe before the foundation of the earth was layd, that we ſhould be holy and with out blame before him, thorough loue, and thereto were we predeſtinated. Theſe be the wordes of Paule: and I beleue they be moſt true. And therfore it is my fayth, in & by Jeſus Chriſt that ſaueth, and not you, nor any man els.

The fat Prieſt. What? fayth without workes? S. James ſayth: fayth without workes is dead, and we haue free will to do good workes.

Good works not diſallowed.

Phil. 2.

Wood. I would not that any of you ſhould thinke that I do diſallow good workes. For a good fayth can not be without good workes. Yet not of our ſelues, but it is the gift of God, as ſayth S. Paule to the Philippians, the 2. Chapter. It is GOD that woorketh in vs both the will and alſo the deede, euen of good will.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury made Ordinary by the Cardinall to examine Rich. Woodman.

Wincheſter. Make an ende: aunſwere to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of Caunterbury: he is made your Ordinary by my Lord Cardinall: and he hath authoritie to examine you of your fayth vpon a booke, to aunſwere to ſuch Articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuſe it not: for the daunger is great if you do. Wherfore we deſire you to ſhew your ſelfe a ſubiect in this matter.

Then they ſpake all, and ſayd: loe, my Lord deſireth you gently to aunſwere to him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an othe, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinall may put whom he will in the Byſhops office, vntill he is conſecrated.

Woodman. I know not ſo much. If you will geue me tyme to learne the truth of it (if I can proue it be as you ſay) I will tell you my mynd in any thyng that he will demaund of me, without any flattering.

Prieſt. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true: and therfore aunſwere to him.

Wood. I will beleue none of you all, for you be turne coates, and chaungelynges, and be wauering mynded, as ſayth S. James: you be neither hoate nor cold, as ſaith Saint John, therfore God will ſpue you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can beleue none of you all, I tell you truth.

Wincheſt. What? be we turne coates, and chaungelinges? what meaneſt thou by that?

Richard Woodman chalengeth his iudges to be all turne coates and chaungelinges.

Wood. I meane that in King Edwardes tyme you taught the doctrine that was ſet fourth then, euery one of you, and now you teach the contrary: and therefore I call you turne coates, and chaungelinges, as I may well inough. Which wordes made the moſt part of them quake.

Winch. Nay, not all, as it chaunced.

Wood. No? I pray you where were you then?

Winche. I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenaunt will beare me recorde.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therfore, I dare ſay: it was for ſome other matter.

Then they tooke all hart of grace, and ſayd: my Lord, he cõmeth to examine you, we thinke: if he will not aunſwere to the Articles, you were beſt to excommunicate him.

Winche. He is the naughtieſt verlet hereticke, that euer I knew. I will read the Sentence agaynſt hym.

The free ſpeach of Woodman to the Byſhops and Prieſtes.

Wood. Then they ſpake all at once: and I aunſwered them as faſt as I could. But I can not remember it all, the wordes came out ſo thicke, and that I ſpared them not (I prayſe God therfore): for I ſpake freely.

Then they ꝥ ſtode by, rebuked me, & ſayd: you can not tell to whom you ſpeake, I thinke.

Woodman. No? thinke you ſo? they be but men. I am ſure I haue ſpoken to as good as they be, and better then they will euer be, for any thyng that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeede.

Wincheſter about to read the ſentence.

Winc. Geue eare: for I will read ſentence agaynſt you.

Wood. Will you ſo? wherfore will you? you haue no iuſt cauſe to excommunicate me: and therefore if you doe condemne me you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I prayſe God, I am not afrayde to dye for Gods ſake, if I had a hundred lyues.

Winch. For Gods ſake? nay for the Deuils ſake. Thou ſayeſt thou art not afrayde to dye: No more was Judas that hanged himſelfe, as thou wilt kill thy ſelfe wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Wood. Nay, I defie the deuill, Judas and all their members. And Judas fleſh was not afrayde, but his ſpirite and conſcience was afrayde, and therefore diſpayred, and hong him ſelfe. But I prayſe GOD, I feele lothſomnes in my fleſhe to dye, but a ioyfull conſcience and a willyng mynde thereto. Wherfore my fleſhe is ſubdued to it, I prayſe God: and therfore I am not afrayde of death.

Chicheſter. Woodman, for Gods ſake bee ruled. You know what you ſayd to me at my houſe. I could ſay more if I would.

Wood. Say what you can: the moſt fault that you founde in me was, becauſe I prayſed the liuyng God, and becauſe I ſayd, I prayſe God, and the Lord: which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you haue any grace, for I told you where the wordes were written.

Winc. Well: how ſay you? will you confeſſe that Judas receaued the body of Chriſt vnworthely? tell me playnly.

No man can receiue the body of Chriſt vnworthely.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can proue before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man euer eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely, then I will be with you in all thynges that you will demaunde of me: of the which matter I deſire all this people to be witnes.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? then we ſhall agree well inough. Saint Paule ſayth ſo.

Woodman. I pray you where ſayth he ſo? rehearſe the wordes.

1. Cor. 11.

Prieſt. In the xi. of the firſt to the Corinthians, he ſayth: Who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lordes body.

The place of S. Paule 1. Cor. 11. expounded.

What it meaneth to make no difference of the Lordes body.

Wood. Doth theſe wordes proue that Judas eate the body of Chriſt vnworthely? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contẽted. Then ſayd I: theſe be the wordes euen that you ſayd. Good people, harken well to them: Who ſo eateth of this bread, & drinketh of this cup vnworthely: He ſayth not, who ſo eateth of this body vnworthely, or drinketh of this bloud vnworthely. But he ſayth: Who ſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthely (which is the Sacrament) eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Sacrament which repreſenteth the Lordes body, and other bread and drinke. Here good people, you may all ſee they are not able to proue their ſayinges true. Wherfore I can not beleue them in any thyng that they do.

Wincheſter. Thou art a ranke hereticke in deede. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read ſentence agaynſt thee.

Wincheſter readeth ſentence agaynſt Woodmã, and can not tell wherefore.

Wood. Judge not leaſt you be iudged. For as you haue iudged me, you be your ſelfe. Then he read the Sentence. Why, ſayd I: will you read the Sentence agaynſt me, and cannot tell wherfore?

Wincheſter. Thou art an hereticke, and therfore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Richard Woodman condemned and caryed to the Marſhalſey, being not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Wood. I am no hereticke. I take heauẽ & earth to witnes. I defie all herettickes: and if you condemne me, you will be damned, if you repent it not. But God geue you grace to repent all, if it be his will: and ſo he read forth the ſentence in Latin, but what he ſayd, God knoweth, and not I. God be iudge betwene them & me. When he had done, I would haue talked my mynde to thẽ, but they cryed away, away wͭ him. So I was caried to the Marſhalſea agayn, where I am, & ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe God: & I prayſe God moſt hartly, that euer he hath elected, & predeſtinated me to come to ſo high dignitie, as to beare rebuke for his names ſake: his name be prayſed therfore, for euer and euer. Amen.

And thus haue you the examinations of this bleſſed Woodman, or rather Goodman: wherein may appeare as well the great grace and wiſedome of God in that man, as alſo the groſſe ignoraunce and barbarous crueltie of his aduerſaries, eſpecially of Doctour White Byſhop of Wincheſter. Now foloweth likewiſe the effect of his Letter.

¶A godly Letter of Richard Woodman written to a Chriſtian woman Miſtres Robertes of Hawkhurſt.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from his ſonne our alone Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, by the operation and workyng of the holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plentoouſly vppon you (deare ſiſter Robertes) that you may the more ioyfully beare the Croſſe of Chriſt that ye are vnder, vnto the ende, to your onely comfort and conſolation, and to all our brethren and ſiſters that are round about you, both now and euer. Amen.

Phil. 1.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commende me vnto you, and to all our brethren and ſiſters in thoſe parties, that loue our Lord vnfaynedly, certifiyng you that I and all my brethren with me, are mery and ioyfull, we prayſe God therfore, lookyng dayly to be diſſolued from theſe our mortall bodyes, accordyng to the good pleaſure of our heauẽly father: prayſing God alſo for your conſtauncie, and gentle beneuolence, that you haue ſhewed vnto Gods elect people, in this troubleſome tyme of perſecution: whiche may be a ſure pledge and token of Gods good will and fauour towardes you, and to all other that heare therof. For bleſſed are the mercyfull, for they ſhall obteine mercy. Wherefore the fruites declare alway what the tree is. For a good man or womã, out of the good treaſure of their hartes bryng forth good thynges.

Math. 24.

Math. 5.

God asketh more then the hart onely.

James. 2.

Wherfore deare Siſter, it is not as many affirme in theſe dayes (the more it is to be lamented) that ſay, God aſketh but a mãs hart: which is the greateſt iniury that cã be deuiſed agaynſt God and his word. For S. Iames ſayth: Shew me thy fayth by thy deedes, and I will ſhewe thee my fayth by my deedes, ſaying: the deuils haue fayth, and tremble for feare, and yet ſhall be but deuils ſtill, becauſe their myndes were neuer to do good. Let not vs therefore be like them, but let our fayth be made manifeſt to the whole worlde by our deedes: and in the middeſt of a crooked and peruerſe nation, as S. Paule ſayth, let our light ſhine as in a darke place.

Phil. 2.

Oh deare hartes, now is the Goſpell of GOD ouerwhelmed with many blacke and troubleſome cloudes of perſecution, for the which cauſe very few go about to haue their eyes made cleare by the true light of the Goſpell, for feare of loſing of the treaſures of this world which are but vayne, and ſhall periſh.

Let not vs therfore be like vnto them which light their candle and put it vnder a buſhell: but let vs ſet our candle vpon a candleſticke, that it may geue light vnto all them that are in the houſe: that is to ſay, let al the people of the houſhold of God ſee our good workes, in ſufferyng all thynges patiently that ſhalbe layd vpon vs for the Goſpels ſake, if it be death it ſelfe. For Chriſt dyed for vs, leauyng vs an example, that we ſhould folow his ſteppes, and as he hath geuen his life for vs, ſo ought we to geue our lyues for the defence of the Goſpell, to the comfort of our brethren.

Math. 5.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, that their fayth is good, and yet they doe all the deedes of Antichriſt the deuill, and be not aſhamed to alledge certaine Scriptures to mainteine their wickedneſſe? Saint Paule ſayth: To beleue with the hart iuſtifieth, and to confeſſe with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Oh good GOD: here may all men ſee that no man nor woman can haue a true fayth, vnleſſe they haue deedes alſo: & he that doubteth, is like the waues of the Sea toſſed aboute of the wynde, and can looke for no good thyng at the Lordes handes. May not a man iudge all ſuch to be like thoſe whiche Saint Iohn ſpeaketh of, that be neither hoate nor cold, and therfore God will (he ſayth) ſpue them out of his mouth? If we iudge euill of ſuch, haue not they geuen vs occaſion? Had it not bene better for them to haue had a milſtone tyed about their neckes, and to haue bene caſt into the Sea, then they ſhould geue ſuch offences to Gods elect people in condemnyng them as they doe, in goyng to the Sinagoge of Sathan, and there to receiue the marke of the beaſt, in that they ſee and heare GOD blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole worlde, that they allow their doynges to be good? and theſe do not onely defile themſelues, but alſo be an occaſion to confirme the Papiſtes in their Papiſtrie, and ſo be an occaſion of our weake brothers fallyng, the whiche will be all required at their handes: whiche will be to heauy a burden for them to beare, if they repent it not with ſpeede. For they that know their Maiſters will and do it not, ſhalbe beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, doe not we perceiue that now is the acceptable tyme that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? yea euẽ now is the axe put to the rootes of the trees, ſo that euery tree that bryngeth not forth good fruites now, muſt be hewed downe and caſt into the fire.

Rom. 10. Confeſſing with the mouth, and beleuing in hart, muſt goe together

Apoc. 1.

Math. 18.

Apoc. 13.

Sclaunderers of the Goſpell.

Luke. 12.

Math 3.

Now is the Lord come with his fanne in his hand, to try the wheate from the chaffe. The wheat he will gather into his barne, and the chaffe he will burne as is aforeſayd. Now is the tyme come, that we muſt goe meete the bridgrome with oyle in our lampes. We are alſo bidden to the feaſt: let vs make no excuſes. Yea, our Maiſter hath deliuered his talentes vnto vs: God geue vs grace to occupye them wel, that at his commyng he may receiue his owne with vauntage. Yea now is the Lord come to ſee if ther be any fruite vpon his trees, ſo that if the Lord come and finde none, he wil ſerue vs as he did the wild figge tree, that is, neuer fruite ſhall grow on him more. Alſo, if we go to meete the bridgrome without oyle in our lãpes, and ſhould go to bye: the doubt is, we ſhould be ſerued as was the fooliſhe virgines: that was, God ſayd to them: departe, I know you not. Or if we ſhould make excuſes to come to the feaſt, other ſhall be bidden in our rowmes. If we occupy not our talentes well, they ſhalbe taken away from vs and geuen to other, and all ſuch vnprofitable ſeruauntes ſhalbe caſt into priſon in hell, where ſhalbe weepyng and gnaſhyng of teeth.

Math 25.

Luke. 13.

Luke. 14.

Math. 25.

Oh good GOD what a ſorte of fearefull ſayinges are here contained? what Chriſtian hart will not harken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceaue now that this is the time that our maiſter Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that the father ſhould be agaynſt the ſonne, and the ſonne agaynſt the father, and one brother agaynſt an other: that the brother ſhall deliuer the brother to death: yea and that the wicked ſhall ſay all manner of euill ſayinges agaynſt vs for his names ſake: the which I haue well found by experience I prayſe God therfore, that hath geuẽ me ſtrength to beare, it. For I thinke there can no euill bee deuiſed but it hath bene imagined agaynſt me, and that of my familiar frendes, as Dauid ſayd: but I prayſe my Lord God, they are not able to proue any of their ſayinges true, but that they go about to finde fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelues liſt not to take vp their croſſe and folow Chriſt, and therfore they ſpeake euill of the thyng that they know not: the whiche ſhall geue account for it before him that is ready to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

Math. 10.

Math. 5.

Richard Woodman hated of his owne frendes.

But my truſt is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counſell of S. Iohn ſaying: My ſheepe will heare my voyce, ſtraungers they will not heare: meanyng thereby that ye ſhould not beleue ſtraungers, countyng them ſtrãgers that go about to ſubuert the Goſpell. Wherfore marke well what they be, and try them well or euer you geue credite to them, accordyng to S. Iohns counſell in his Epiſtle, ſaying: Beleue not euery ſpirite, but try the ſpirites whether they be of God or not: meanyng thereby that they that be not of God, will ſpeake good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherfore (deare ſiſter) be of good cheare, & geue no credite to ſuch people, what ſo euer ye heare them ſay. For I haue no miſtruſt, by Gods helpe, but that all the world ſhall ſee and know that my bloud ſhall not be deare in myne owne ſight, when ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe GOD to geue my aduerſaries leaue to ſheede it. I do earneſtly beleue that God whiche hath begon this good worke in me, will performe it to the ende, as he hath geuen me grace, and will alway, to beare this eaſie yoke and light burden: the which I haue alwayes founde, I prayſe my Lord God.

John. 10.

1. John. 4.

For when I haue bene in priſon, wearyng other while boltes, other while ſhakels, other while lying on the bare grounde, ſometyme ſittyng in the ſtockes, ſometyme bounde with cordes, that all my body hath bene ſwollen, much like to bee ouercome for the payne that hath bene in my fleſhe, ſometyme fayne to lye without in the woodes and fieldes, wandring to and fro, few I ſay, that durſt to keepe my company for feare of the rulers, ſometyme brought before the Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Lordes, Doctours, and Biſhops, ſometyme called dogge, ſometime deuill, heretické, whoremõger, traytour, theefe, deceauer, with diuers other ſuch like: yea and euen they that did eate of my bread, that ſhould haue bene moſt my frẽdes by nature, haue betrayed me. Yet for all this I prayſe my Lord God that hath ſeparated me from my mothers wombe, all this that hath happened to me hath bene eaſie, light, & moſt delectable & ioyful of any treaſure that euer I poſſeſſed: for I prayſe God they are not able to proue one iote or title of their ſayinges true. But that way that they call hereſie. I ſerue my Lord God, and at all tymes before whom ſo euer I haue bene brought, God hath geuen me mouth and wiſedome, where agaynſt all my aduerſaries haue not bene able to reſiſt, I prayſe God therfore.

The manifold troubles which Woodman hath paſſed through.

Woodman comforted in his troubles.

Wherfore deare ſiſter, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and ſiſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay, for it ſhall be geuen you the ſame hower, accordyng to the promiſes, as I haue alwayes founde, and as you and all other of Gods elect ſhall well finde when the tyme is full come. And where as I and many other haue hoped, that this perſecution would haue bene at an ende ere this tyme: now I perceaue, God will haue a further tryall to roote out all diſſemblers, that no man ſhould reioyce in him ſelfe: but he that reioyceth, ſhall reioyce of God.

Luke. 21. Math. 10. Experience of the Lord to keepe promiſe with his people.

1. Cor. 13.

Wherfore if prophecy ſhould fayle, and tounges ſhould ceaſe, yet loue muſt endure. For feare hath paynefulnes, but a perfect loue caſteth out all feare: whiche loue I haue no miſtruſt but God hath poured it vpon you ſo aboundantly, that nothing in the world ſhalbe able to ſeparate you from

God.

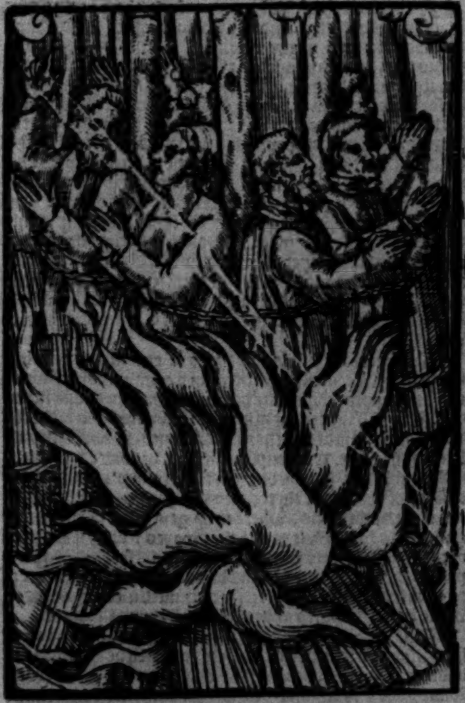
Rom. viij. 1557. June.

God. Neither high nor low, riche nor poore, life nor death, ſhalbe able to put you from Chriſt: but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into new Hieruſalem, there to liue for euer, beholdyng the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now haue, and all other faythfull people that continue to the end. Geue all honour and glory to God the father, God the ſonne, and God the holy Ghoſt, thre perſons and one God, to be honoured now and euer. Amen.

After theſe examinations thus had and commenſed betwene Richard Woodman and the Byſhops, he was (as is afore told) iudged by ſentence of condemnation, and ſo depriued of his lyfe: with whom alſo was burned 9. other, to witte, fiue mẽ and foure women, which were taken not paſt two or thre dayes before their Iudgement. The names of all whiche beyng alſo before expreſſed, here agayne follow in this order. Richard Woodman, George Steuens, William Maynard, Alexander Hoſman his ſeruaunt, Tomaſine a Wood his mayde, Margery Moris, Iames Moris her ſonne, Denis Burgis, Aſhdownes wife, Groues wife.

Theſe perſons here aboue named, and bleſſed Martyrs, were put to death at Lewes, the xxij. of Iune.

¶The burnyng of x. Martyrs at Lewes.



The Martyrdome of x. godly Martyrs of Chriſt at Lewes. Anno. 1557. June. 22.

Of the whiche number the vij. laſt were apprehended (as is ſayd) either the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſayd Woodman and Steuens were together committed to the fire: in whiche ſpace no writte could come downe from London to the Iuſtices, for their burnyng. Wherfore what is to be ſayd to ſuch Iuſtices, or what reckenyng they will make to God and to the lawes of this Realme, I referre that to them that haue to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be founde alſo of other Iuſtices, who without any lawfull writte of diſcharge, or order of law, haue vnlawfully & diſorderly burnt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt (whoſe bloud the law, both may and alſo ought to reuenge): eſpecially at Saliſbury, and alſo at Canterbury, and Gerneſey. But concernyng theſe matters though mans law do wincke or rather ſleepe at them, yet they ſhall be ſure Gods law will finde ſuch murtherers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betyme.

Certayne Iuſtices charged for burning of Chriſtes people without any lawfull warrantes or writte.

¶One Ambroſe dyed in Maydſtone priſon.

Ambroſe dyed in priſon. Confeſſor.

After theſe x. aboue named burnt at Lewes, about the ſame tyme and moneth, one Ambroſe dyed in Maydſtone priſon, who els ſhould haue bene burned in the like cauſe and quarell, as the other were.

¶The condemnation and Martyrdome of Richard Luſh.

In the Regiſters of Gilbert Byſhop of Bathe & Welles, I finde a certificate made to K. Philip and Q. Mary, of one Richard Luſh, ther condemned and geuen to the ſecular power to be burned for the cauſe of hereſy, whoſe affirmations in the ſayd certificate he expreſſed in tenour and effect, as followeth.

The condemnation of Richard Luſhe.

First, for denying the verity of the body & bloud of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the aulter.

His articles.

2 Item, for denying auricular confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt.
3 Item, for affirming onely to be three ſacramentes, to wit, of Baptiſme, of the ſupper and of Matrimonie.
4 Item, for refuſing to call the Lordes Supper by the name of the Sacrament of the aulter.
5 Item, for denying Purgatory, and that prayer and almes profite not the dead.
6 Item, that Images are not to be ſuffered in the Church and that all that kneele to Images at the Church, be Idolators.
7 Item, that they which were burnt alate for religion, dyed Gods ſeruauntes and good Martyrs.
8 Item, for condemnyng the ſingle, life of Prieſtes, and other votaries.
9 Item, for denying the vniuerſall and catholicke Church (meanyng belike the Church of Rome).

For theſe aſſertions, as there are expreſſed, he was condemned, and committed to the Sheriffes, and alſo a certificat directed by the Byſhop aforeſayd, to the King and Q. whereby we haue apparantly to vnderſtand, that the ſayd Richard Luſh, thus condemned by Biſhop Borne, was there burnt and executed, vnleſſe peraduenture in ẏ meane ſeaſon he dyed or was made away in the priſon: whereof I haue no certaintie to expreſſe.

The Martyrdome of Richard Luſhe in the dioces of Bathe and Welles.

¶A note of Iohn Hullier Miniſter and Martyr burned at Cambridge.

Concernyng the ſtory of Iohn Hullier, Martyr, partly mencioned before pag. 1800. for the more full declaration of the death and Martyrdome of that good man, becauſe the ſtory is but rawly and vnperfectly touched before, for the more perfectyng thereof, I thought thereunto to adde that which ſince hath come to my hand, as followeth.

Referre this to the ſtory of Iohn Hullier, Martyr pag. 1800 The ſtory of Iohn Hullier with more matter enlarged.

Firſt Iohn Hullier was brought vp at Eaton Colledge and after, accordyng to the foundation of that houſe, for that he was ripe for the vniuerſity, he was elected ſcholer in the kinges Colledge where alſo not tarying ful the three yeares of probation, before he was fellow of the Colledge, he after a litle ſeaſon was one of the x. Conductes in the Kynges Colledge, which was an. 1539. Then at length in proceſſe of tyme he came to be Curate of Babrame 3. miles from Cambridge, and ſo went afterward to Linne: where he hauyng diuers conflictes with the papiſtes, was from thence caried to Ely, to D. Thurlby then Byſhop there: who after diuers examinations, ſent hym to Cambridge Caſtle, where he remayned but a while.

Iohn Hullier firſt Scholer at Eaton.

Iohn Hullier Conduct in the kings Colledge. Hullier brought from Linne to the Byſhop of Ely.

From thence he was conueyed to the towne priſon commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almoſt a quarter of a yeare, while at length he was cited to appeare at great S. Maries on Palmſonday euen, before diuers Doctors, both Diuines & Lawyers, amongeſt whō was chiefeſt Doctor Sharton, alſo Doct. Young, D. Sedgewyke, D. Scot. Mytch, and others. Where after examination had, for that he woulde not recant, he was firſt condemned, the ſentence beyng red by D. Fuller.

Hullier priſoned in the Tolbooth.

Then conſequently he was diſgraded after theyr popiſhe maner with ſcrapyng crowne and handes. When they had diſgraded hym, he ſayd cherefully: this is the ioyfulleſt day that euer I ſaw, and I thanke ye all, that ye haue deliuered and lightened me of all this paltry.

Hullier diſgraded.

In the meane tyme whileſt it was doyng, one ſtanding by, aſked Hullier what booke he had in his hand. Who aunſwered a Teſtamẽt. Wherat this man in a rage tooke it and threw it violently from him. Then was he geuen ouer to ẏ ſecular powers, Braſey beyng Maior, who carying him to priſon agayne, tooke from him all his bookes, wrytynges, and papers.

Braſey Mayor of Cambridge.

On Maundy Thurſday commyng to the ſtake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding hys peace and praying to himſelfe, one ſpake to him ſaying, the Lord ſtrengthen thee. Wherat a Sergeant named Briſley, ſtayed and bad him hold his toung or els he ſhould repent it.

Briſley Sergeant. perſecutor.

Neuertheleſſe Hullier aunſwered and ſayd (either thus or very like, the effect was all one): frend I truſt that as God hath hetherto begon, ſo alſo he will ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his worke vpō me. I am bydden to a Maundy, whe-

Hulliers ſtedfaſt truſt in God.

ther I truſt to go, and there to be ſhortly. God hath layd the foundation, and I by his ayde will end it.

Hullier preparing him ſelfe to the ſtake.

Then goyng to a ſtoole (prepared for him to ſit on) to haue his hoſen plucked of, he deſired the people to pray for him agayne, and alſo to beare witneſſe that he dyed in the right fayth, and that he would ſeale it with his bloud, certifying them that he dyed in a iuſt cauſe, and for the teſtimonie of the veritie and truth, & that there was no other rocke but Ieſus Chriſt to build vppon, vnder whoſe banner he fought, and whoſe ſouldiour he was: and yet ſpeakyng, he turned him ſelfe about towardes the Eaſt, and exhorted the people there likewiſe.

Three notorious Papiſtes in Trinitie Colledge.

Now it chaunced on a bancke to ſtand three Archpapiſtes, George Boyes, Henry Barley, and Gray, all three of Trinitie Colledge. This Boyes was one of the Proctors of the Vniuerſitie that yeare. To whom Maiſter Gray ſpake, ſaying: heare ye not Maiſter Proctor, what blaſphemies this fellow vttereth? ſurely it is euill done to ſuffer him.

Boyes Proctor of Cambridge.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Hullier.

At whoſe woordes, this Boyes ſpake with a loude voyce: M. Maior, what meane ye? if ye ſuffer him thus to talke at libertie, I tell ye the Counſaile ſhall heare of it, and we take you not to be the Queenes frend. He is a pernitious perſon, and may doe more harme then ye wot of. Whereat ſimple Hullier as meeke as a Lambe, takyng the matter very patiently, made no aunſwere, but made him ready, vtteryng his prayer. Whiche done, he went meekely him ſelfe to the ſtake, and with chaynes beyng bounde, was beſet with reed and wood, ſtandyng in a pitchbarrell, and the fire beyng ſet to, not markyng the wynde, it blew the flame to his backe. Then he feelyng it, began earneſtly to call vpon God. Neuertheleſſe his frendes perceiuyng the fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the Sergeauntes to turne it and fire it in that place where the winde might blow it to his face.

Bookes burned with Hullier.

The laſt wordes of Iohn Hullier at his death.

That done, there was a company of bookes whiche were caſt into the fire, and by chaunce a Communion booke fell betweene his handes, who receauyng it ioyfully, opened it, and read ſo long as the force of the flame and ſmoke cauſed him that he could ſee no more: and then he fell agayne to Prayer holdyng his handes vp to heauen, and the booke betwixt his armes next his hart, thankyng God for ſendyng him it: and at that tyme the day beyng a very fayre day and a whote, yet the wynde was ſomewhat vppe, and it cauſed the fire to be the fiercer, and when all the people thought he had bene dead, he ſodenly vttered theſe wordes: Lord Ieſu receaue my ſpirite, dying very meekely.

Papiſtes of Cambridge forbid the people to pray for Hullier.

The place where he was burned is called Ieſus greene, not farre from Ieſus Colledge. Seager gaue him certaine gunpouder, but litle to the purpoſe: for he was dead before it tooke fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a teare was ſhed for him.; Which the Papiſtes ſeyng, cried, he was not to be prayed for, & being but a dãned man, it could profite him nothing: neuertheleſſe they continued prayng. Whereat the Papiſtes fell in ſuch a rage that they manaced them with terrible threatnynges to warde. His fleſh beyng conſumed, his bones ſtode vpright euen as if they had bene aliue. Of the people ſome tooke as they could get of him, as peeces of bones. One had his hart, the whiche was diſtributed ſo farre as it would go: one tooke the ſcalpe and looked for the toung, but it was conſumed except the very roote.

One, rounded him in the eare and deſire him to be conſtaunt to the end, at whiche he ſpake nothyng but ſhewed a ioyfull countenaunce, and ſo continued both conſtaunt and ioyfull to the end.

A note of Edmund Allin.

Referre this to the ſtory of Edmund Allin, Martyr. Pag. 1870.

IN the ſtory of Edmund Allin before mẽtioned, pag. 1870 I ſhewed thee good Reader, that he beyng taken by Syr Iohn Baker, eſcaped out of priſon: how I could not then tell. The truth therof now thou ſhalt heare, with other certaine matter, not vnworthy in the ſayd ſtory to be noted.

Edmund Allin when he was firſt taken by Sir Iohn Baker of Cranbroke, and kept priſoner, both he and his wife in the ſayd Syr Iohn Bakers houſe the one from the other, Syr Iohn Baker entreated the ſayd Edmund Allin to come to Maſſe in his Chappell the next day.

After much ado he graunted, and then he ſayd he ſhould goe lye with his wife that night, and deſired him to perſwade her to come alſo, and he would deliuer them both out of priſon. When he was come to his wife, he told her what he had promiſed, and ſhe with teares ſayd, hee ſhould go alone for her. Then he likewiſe lamentyng the ſame, ſayd, he would go with her to death.

The next day, Syr Iohn Baker came to haue him fulfill his promiſe to come to his Chappel. He ſayd: I will not: do what you will with me. And he called out his wife, and ſayd, thou old whore, thy huſband would be a Chriſtian but for thee. Then he beate her very ſore with his ſtaffe in his hand, and ſent thẽ both to priſon the next day, ſending with them a cruell letter that they ſhould be burned out of hand: and yet by Gods mighty power they were deliuered by this meane: their keeper beyng a Bell Ringer of Canterbury, who had Allin and his wife to an Inne, and there they dined, and the keeper with them. When they had dyned, the keeper went his way and left them in the Inne geuyng no man charge with them: and ſo they eſcaped that tyme.

A note of Thomas Rede.

Referre this to Thomas Rede, Martyr. pag. 1807.

THom. Rede who was burned at Lewes, as it appeareth aboue pag. 1807. before he was in priſon, determined with him ſelfe to go to church. The night followyng, he ſawe in a viſion, a company of tall younge men in white, very pleaſaunt to behold: to whom he would haue ioyned himſelf, but it would not be.

Then he looked on him ſelf and he was ful of ſpottes, & therewith waked & tooke hold and ſtode to the truth: god be thanked therfore, and ſo conſtantly was burned with his fellowes, as is aboue ſpecified, pag. 2095.

Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper burnt at Norwich.

July. 13. Simon Miller a Marchant, Martyr.

The wordes of Simon Miller to the people. The cauſe why Simon Miller was taken.

IN the moneth of Iulye next enſued the Martyrdome of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwellyng then in the towne of Linne, a Godly and zelous man in the knowledge of the Lorde and of his truth, deteſtyng and abhorryng the contrary enforced Religon then ſet forth, came from Linne to Norwich, where he ſtanding in the prease and hearyng of the people, comming out the ſame tyme from their popiſh ſeruice ended in the Churche, began to aſke them comming out of the Churche, where hee might go to haue the communion. At which wordes diuers much maruelyng to heare and ſee his boldnes, one that was an euill diſpoſed Papiſt, hearyng the ſame, ſayd: if he would needes go to a communion, he would go bryng him thether where he ſhould be ſped of his purpoſe. Whereupon ſhortly after he was brought to the Chauncellour of Norwiche (whoſe name was Dunnyng): who after a few wordes & ſmall talke paſſed with this examinate. Committed hym to warde.

Simon Miller examined before Doct. Dunning. Simon Millers confeſſion eſpied in his ſhoe.

Simon Miller diſmiſſed to his houſe at Linne.

In the meane while as he was in examination, he had in his ſhoe his confeſſion written in a certaine paper, wherof a peece appearyng aboue his ſhoe, was ſpyed and taken out. The Chauncellour aſkyng if he would ſtand to the cõfeſſion of the ſame faith therein conteyned, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Whereupõ as is ſayd, he was committed. Thus the ſayd Simon being in the Byſhops houſe vnder cuſtody of the keeper there called M. Felow, how it happened it is not certayne, whether by gentlines of the keeper (who was ſomewhat gentle that wayes) or by leaue geuẽ of the Byſhop: or els whether he had condeſcended of a purpoſe to theyr articles, he was diſmiſſed and went home to his houſe at Linne. Where he continued a certayne ſpace, while he had diſpoſed and ſet there all thyng in order.

Simon Miller returneth agayne to his confeſſion, and is condemned.

That done, he returned agayne to the Biſhops houſe to his priſon and keeper, till the tyme at length he conſtantly abydyng in his profeſſed purpoſe, and defenſe of Gods truth, was by the ſaid Byſhop and his Chauncellour condemned and committed to yͤ fire about the xiij. day of Iuly.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

Elizabeth Cooper reuoketh her recantation in the open Church.

WIth this Simon Miller alſo was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as is afore ſayd) a pewterers wife, dwellyng in S. Andrewes pariſhe in Norwiche, where ſhee had before recanted, and beyng vnquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the laſt came into the ſayd S. Andrewes Churche, the people beyng at their popiſh ſeruice, and there ſtandyng in the ſame, ſayd ſhe reuoked her recantation before made in that place, and was hartely ſory that euer ſhe dyd it, willyng the people not to be deceiued, neyther to take her doynges before for an example, &c. Theſe are ſuche like woordes ſhee ſpake in the Church.

Then cryed one Bakon of the ſayd pariſhe, laying hys armes abroade, ſaying: Maiſter Sheriffe, will you ſuffer this? and repetyng yͤ ſame, vrged hym to go frõ the church to her houſe, at whoſe knockyng ſhe came downe, and was taken and ſent to priſon.

The Shrieffe agaynſt his will enforced to lay handes vpon Elizabeth Cooper.

This Sheriffe (named M. Thomas Sutterton) & ſhe had ben ſeruantes together before in one houſe, and for the frendſhip he bare vnto her, and the more for the goſpels ſake he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by thoſe other perſons (before ſpecified) much agaynſt his own conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

This

Elizabeth Cooper ſtrengthned at the ſtake by Simon Miller.

This good woman beyng condemned, and at the ſtake with Symon Miller to be burnt, when the fire came vnto her, ſhe a little ſhranke therat, with a voyce cryng once, ha. when the ſayd Symon Miller heard the ſame, he put his hand behynde him toward her, and willed her to bee ſtrong, and of good cheare: For good ſiſter (ſayd he) we ſhall haue a ioyfull and a ſweete ſupper. Whereat ſhe beyng, as it ſeemed, thereby ſtrengthned, ſtode as ſtill and as quyet as one moſt glad to finiſh that good worke which before moſt happely ſhe had begon. So in fine ſhe ended her life with her companion ioyfully, committyng her ſoule into the handes of almightie God.

The Martyrdome of x. faithfull and bleſſed Martyrs, fiue men and fiue women, burnt at Colcheſter, fiue in the forenoone, and fiue in the after noone, for the teſtimony and witnes of Chriſt Ieſus and his glorious Goſpell.

Auguſt. 2. The Martyrdome of x. godly Martyrs, v. men and v. women, at Colcheſter.

As it is no new thyng in thoſe whom we call Prelates and Prieſtes of the Church, to be raiſers vp of perſecution agaynſt Chriſt and his poore flocke: ſo is it much to be marueiled or rather lamented, that noble perſons, and men of honour, and worſhyp, would be made ſuch miniſters to ſerue the affections of theſe tyrauntes, as commonly, as well in all the ſorowfull dayes of the late Queene Mary, as namely in this preſent ſtory is to be marked.

And firſt thou remembreſt (gentle Reader) how mention was made a litle before pag. 1863. of xxij. whiche were ſent vp priſoners together from Colcheſter to London by the Earle of Oxford, the Lord Darcy, Maiſter Tyrrell of Saint Oſithes, and other Commiſſioners and Iuſtices. &c. The which xxij. (as is aforeſayd) through a gentle ſubmiſſion put vnto them, were afterward releaſed and deliuered.

W. Mount, Alice his wyfe, Roſe Allin her daughter.

In the number of theſe foreſayd xxij. was one William Mount of Muchbently in Eſſex, husbandman, with Alyce his wife, and Roſe Allin mayde, the daughter of the ſaid Alyce Mount: whiche commyng home agayne to their houſe at Muchbentley aforeſayd, refrayned themſelues from the vnſauery ſeruice of the Popiſh Church, and frequented the company of good men and women whiche gaue themſelues diligently to readyng, inuocating, and callyng vpon the name of God through Chriſt: whereby they ſo fretted the wicked Prieſt of the towne called Syr Thomas Tye, & other like vnto him, that caſtyng their heades together, they made a peſtilent Supplication to the Lord Darcy, in the name of the whole Pariſh, the tenure wherof hereafter followeth.

Thomas Tye Prieſt, a wicked promoter.

The maner of a Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by him deliuered to Syr Iohn Kyngſtone, Prieſt and Commiſſary.

A Supplication of the perſecutors to the L. Darcy.

Pleaſeth it your honorable Lordſhyp to be aduertiſed that we confeſſe, whileſt your good Lordſhyp lay here in the countrey, the people were ſtayed in good order, to our great cōfort: but ſince your Lordſhyps departure, they haue made digreſſion from good order in ſome places, and namely in the Pariſh of Muchbentley, by reaſon of three ſeditious perſōs, William Mount and his wife, and Roſe her daughter, who by their colourable ſubmiſſiō (as it doth appeare) were diſmiſt & ſent downe from the Biſhop of London, & ſince their commyng home they haue not onely in their owne perſons ſhewed manifeſt ſignes and tokens of diſobedience, in not commyng to the Churche, nor yet obſeruyng other good orders: but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly haue ſeduced many from commyng to the Churche, and from obeying all other good orders, mockyng alſo thoſe that frequent the Church, and calling them Church Owles, & blaſphemouſly callyng the bleſſed Sacramēt of the altar a blind God, with diuers ſuch like blaſphemies. In conſideration wherof, may it pleaſe your honour (for the loue of God, and for the tender zeale your good Lorſhip beareth to Iuſtice, and cōmon peace and quietnes of the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties louyng ſubiectes) to award out your warraunt for the ſayd William Mount, his wife, and Roſe her daughter, that they beyng attached & brought before your good Lordſhyp, we truſt the reſt will feare to offend (their ryng leaders of ſedition beyng apprehended) to the quietnes of other obedient ſubiectes.

Cruell perſecutors.

Your dayly Oratours the Pariſhners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye Prieſt, Iohn Carter, Thomas Candeler, Iohn Barker, Richard Mere, Iohn Paynter, William Hartys, Iohn Ricarde, with other.

Thomas Tye a falſe brother, and a bloudy perſecutor.

This beyng done, the ſayd Syr Thomas Tye, bethought with himſelfe where the perſecuted did reſort. For in the beginning of Queene Maries raigne, for a xij. moneth and more, he came not to the Church, but frequented the cōpany of Godly men and women, whiche abſtained from the ſame, and as they thought, he laboured to keepe a good conſcience, but the ſequele ſhewed him to be a falſe brother.

Now (as I ſayd) he partly knowyng the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further enquire of other about the ſame, and beyng therof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his purpoſe, immediatly about the tyme the Supplication aboue ſpecified was exhibited to the ſayd Lord Darcy, wrote ſecretly a Letter to Boner Byſhop of London, wherein he maketh his accompt how he had beſtowed his tyme, & complayned of diuers honeſt men, among the which was the ſayd Williā Mount and his company. The tenure of which Letter hereafter followeth.

A Letter ſent to Boner Byſhop of London, from Syr Thomas Tye Prieſt.

Tyes letter to B. Boner.

Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duety done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignifie vnto your Lordſhyp the ſtate of our parties concernyng Religion. And firſt ſince the commyng downe of the xxiiij. rancke heretickes diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſorte of Schiſmatickes were neuer ſo bold ſince the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties raignes, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbentley where your Lordſhyppe is Patrone of the Churche, ſince William Mount, and Alyce his wife, with Roſe Allin her daughter came home, they doe not onely abſent themſelues from the Churche, and ſeruice of God: but doe dayly allure many other away from the ſame, whiche before dyd outwardly ſhew ſignes and tokens of obedience.

They aſſemble together vppon the Sabboth day in the tyme of diuine ſeruice, ſometymes in one houſe, ſometyme in an other, and there keepe their priuie conuenticles and ſcholes of hereſie. The Iurates ſayth, the Lordes Commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their othe. The Queſt men in your Archdeacons viſitation alleaged that forasmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home they haue no more to doe with them nor none other. Your Officers ſayth, namely Maiſter Boſwell, that the Counſell ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your Officers proue not fauorers of heretickes. The rebels are ſtout in the Towne of Colcheſter.

The miniſters of the Churche are hemde at in the open ſtreetes, & called knaues. The bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar is blaſphemed & rayled vpon in euery Alehouſe and Tauerne. Prayer and faſtyng is not regarded. Seditious talkes and newes are rife, both in towne and countrey, in as ample and large maner, as though there had no honorable Lordes and Commiſſioners bene ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of Iohn Lone of Colcheſter Hieth (a peruerſe place) which Iohn Lone was twiſe indicted of hereſie, and there vpon fled with his wife and houſehold, and his goodes ſeaſed within the Towne of Colcheſter, to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties vſe. Neuertheleſſe the ſayd Iohn is come home agayne, & nothing ſayd or done to him. Wherupon the heretickes are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little diſcōfort of good & Catholicke people, which dayly prayeth to God for the profit, vnity, and reſtauration of his Church agayne, whiche thyng ſhall come the ſooner to paſſe, through the trauaile and paynes of ſuch honorable Lordes and reuerēd fathers, as your good Lordſhyp is, vnto whō I wiſh long life and continuance, with encreaſe of much honor. From Colcheſter the xviij. of December.

Your humble Bedes man
Thomas Tye Prieſt.

When Iudaſly this wicked Prieſt had thus wrought his malice agaynſt the people of God, within a while after, the ſtormes began to ariſe agaynſt thoſe poore perſecuted William Mount and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelues from the heate therof. And continuyng ſo a litle ſpace, at laſt, the vij. day of March. an. 1557. being the firſt Sonday in Lent, and by ij. of the clocke in the mornyng, one Maiſter Edmund Tyrrell (who came of the houſe of that Tyrrels whiche murdered kyng Edward the v. and his brother) toke with him the Bailiffe of the hundred called William Simuell, dwellyng in Colcheſter, and the two Cōſtables of Muchbentley aforeſayd, named Iohn Baker and William Harries, with diuers other a great nūber: & beſettyng the houſe of the ſayd William Mount round about, called to them at length to open the doore, whiche beyng done M. Tyrrell with certaine of his cōpany, went into the chamber where the ſayd father Mount and his wife lay, willyng them to riſe: for (ſayd he) ye muſt go with vs to Colcheſter Caſtell. Mother Mount hearyng that, being very ſicke, deſired that her daughter might firſt fetche her ſome drinke: for ſhe was (ſhe ſayd) very ill at eaſe.

W. Simuell, Iohn Baker, William Harries perſecutors.

The taking of W. Mount, his wyfe, and Roſe Allin their daughter.

Then he gaue her leaue & bad her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Roſe Allin, mayde, toke a ſtone pot in one hand, & a candell in the other, & went to draw drinke for her

1557. August.

Talke betwene Edmund Tyrrell and Roſe Allin

mother: & as ſhe came backe agayn through the houſe, Tyrrell met her, & willed to geue her father & mother good counſell, and to aduertiſe them to be better Catholicke people.

Roſe. Syr, they haue a better inſtructour then I. For the holy Ghoſt doth teach them I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to erre.

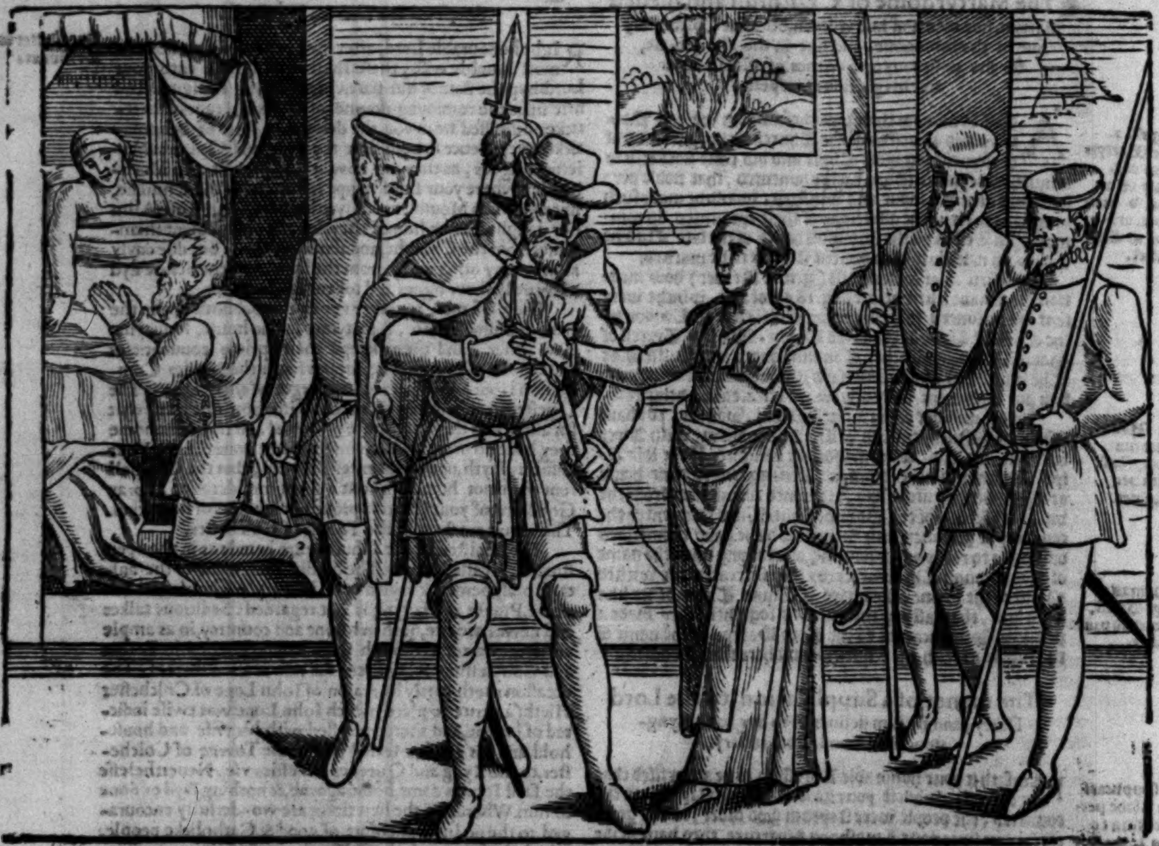
Tirrell. Why ſayd Maiſter Tyrrell, art thou ſtill in that mynde, thou naughty houſwife? Mary it is tyme to looke vpon ſuch heretickes in deede.

Roſe. Syr, with that which you call herēſie, do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you trouth.

Tirrell. Then I perceiue you will burne, goſſyp, with the reſt, for companies ſake.

Roſe. No Syr, not for companies ſake, but for my Chriſtes ſake, if ſo I be compelled, and I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enhable me to beare it.

¶ The burnyng of Roſe Allins hand, by Edmund Tyrrell, as ſhe was goyng to fetch drinke for her mother, lying ſicke in her bed.



Tirrell. So he turnyng to his company, ſayd? Sirs this goſſip wil burne: do ye not thinke it? Mary Sir, quoth one, proue her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Tyrrell burneth Roſe Allins hand

Then that cruell Tyrrell takyng the candell from her, held her wriſt, and the burnyng candell vnder her hand, burnyng croſſe wiſe ouer the backe thereof, ſo long till the very ſinnowes crackt aſunder. Witnes hereof Williā Candler then dwellyng in Muchbently, whiche was there preſent and ſawe it. Alſo Miſtres Bright of Romford, with Anne Starky her mayde, to whom Roſe Allin doth declared the ſame, and the ſayd Miſtres Bright alſo miniſtred ſalue for the curyng therof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at Romford goyng vp towardes London with other priſoners.

The pacience of the faythfull.

In which tyme of his tyranny, he ſayd often to her: why whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore, wilt thou not cry? &c. Unto whiche alwayes ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe had no cauſe, ſhe thanked GOD, but rather to reioyce. He had, ſhe ſayd, more cauſe to weepe then ſhe, if he conſidered the matter well. In the ende, when the ſinnowes (as I ſayd) brake that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her from him violently and ſayd: ha ſtrong whore, thou ſhameleſſe beaſt, thou beaſtly whore. &c. with ſuch like vile wordes. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his rage for the tyme, at the laſt, ſayd: Sir, haue ye done what ye will do? And he ſayd, yea, and if thou thinke it be not well, then mend it.

The deuill payeth the perſecutors their wages.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and giue you repentaunce, if it be his will. And now if ye thinke it good, begin at the feete, and burne to the head alſo. For hee that ſet you a worke, ſhall pay you your wages one day I warrant you: & ſo ſhe went and caried her mother drinke as ſhe was commaunded. Furthermore, after the ſearchyng of the houſe for more company, at the laſt they founde one John Thurſton and Margarete his wife there alſo, whom they caried with the reſt to Colcheſter Caſtell immediatly.

Shee reuengeth not euill for euill.

And this ſayd Roſe Allin beyng priſoner, told a frend of hers this cruell act of the ſayd Tirrell, and ſhewyng him the maner thereof, ſhe ſayd: while my one hand (quoth ſhe) was a burnyng, I hauing a pot in my other hand, might haue layd him on the face with it, if I had would: for no mā held my hand to let me therein. But I thanke God (quoth ſhe) with all my hart, I did it not.

Alſo beyng aſked of an other how ſhe could abyde the paynefull burnyng of her hand, ſhe ſayd, at firſt it was ſome grief to her, but afterward, the longer ſhe burned the leſſe ſhe felt, or well neare none at all.

And becauſe Maiſter Tirrell ſhall not goe alone in this kynde of crueltie, you ſhall heare an other like example of a blynd Harpers hand burnt by Byſhoppe Boner, as is teſtified by the relation of Ualentine Dyngley ſometyme Gentleman to the ſayd Byſhop: who declared before credible witneſſe, as followeth: how the ſayd Byſhop Boner hauyng this blynd Harper before him, ſpake thus vnto him: that ſuch blynd abiectes whiche followe a ſorte of hereticall Preachers, when they come to the feelyng of the fire, will be the firſt that will flye from it.

To whom the blynd mā ſayd: that if euery ioynt of him were burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord not to flye. Then Boner ſignifying priuilie to certaine of his men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burnyng coale. Whiche coale beyng put into the poore mans hand, they cloſed it faſt agayne, and ſo was his hand pitiouſly burned. Amongeſt the doers wherof was the ſayd Maiſter Ualentine Dyngley witnes and reporter hereof, as is afore declared.

We read in the ſtory of Titus Liuius of king Porſenna:

who

1557. August.

who after the burnyng of the right hande of M. Scæuola, whiche came purpoſely to kill him, beyng onely contented therewith, ſent him home to Rome agayne. But thus to burne the handes of poore men and women whiche neuer meant any harme vnto them, and yet not contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole bodyes without any iuſt cauſe, we finde no example of ſuch barbarous tyrannie, neither in Titus Liuius, neither in any other ſtory amongeſt the Heathen.

But to returne to our Colcheſter Martyrs againe, as touching William Munt and his wife, and burning of their daughter Roſe Allins hande, ſufficient hath bene declared. With the ſaid William Munt and his familie, was ioyned alſo in the ſame priſon at Colcheſter, an other faithfull brother named John Johnſon, alias Aliker, of Thorpe, in the Countie of Eſſex labourer, of the age of. xxxiiij. yeares, hauyng no wife aliue, but three young children, who alſo was with them indicted of hereſie, and ſo al theſe foure lay together in Colcheſter Caſtle.

The other ſixe priſoners lay in Mote hal in the ſaide towne of Colcheſter, whoſe names were:

Firſt, William Bongeor, of the pariſh of S. Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, of the age of. lx. yeares.

2 Tho. Benold of Colcheſter, Talowe Chaundler.

3 W. Purcas of Bocking in the Coūtie of Eſſex, Fuller, a young man, of the age of. xx. yeares.

4 Agnes Syluerſide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colcheſter, widow, of the age of. lx. yeares.

5 Helene Ewring, the wife of John Ewring, Myller, dwellyng in Colcheſter, of the age of fiue and fourtie yeares or thereabouts, who was one of the two and twentie priſoners mentioned before, pag. 1863. ſent vp in bandes from Colcheſter to London, and after being deliuered with the reſt, repayred home to Colcheſter againe to her huſbande, where notwithſtandyng ſhee enioyed her libertie not verye long: for ſhortly after her returne, met with her one Robert Maynard then Bayliffe of Colcheſter, a ſpecial enimie to Gods Goſpel, who ſpying her, came to her, & kiſſed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom ſhee conſiderately aunſweared againe, and ſaid, that it was but a Judas kiſſe. For in the ende (quoth ſhee) I knowe you wyl betray me: As in deede it came to paſſe, for immediately after that talke ſhee was apprehended by hym againe, and there lodged with the reſt in the towne priſon (as is afore ſaid) called the Mote hall.

Helene Ewring apprehended the ſecond tyme.

Robert Maynard a great enemy to the Goſpell.

6 The ſixt of this company was Elizabeth Folkes, a young maid, and ſeruaunt in Colcheſter, of the age of twentie yeares.

Theſe ſixe were impriſoned in the towne priſon of Colcheſter, called Mote hal, as the other foure aboue ſpecified, were in the Caſtle.

Diuers examinations theſe good men had at ſundrye tymes before diuers Juſtices, Prieſtes, and Officers, as M. Roper, John Kingſtone Commiſſary, John Boſwel Prieſt and Boners Scribe, and others moe, whereof the ſaid Boſwell made relation to Biſhop Boner, certifying hym of their depoſitions, as is to be read in our firſt booke of Actes and Monumentes. pag. 1607. Laſt of al they were examined againe in Mote hall the. xxiij. day of June, by doctour Chadſey, John Kingſtone Commiſſary, with other prieſtes, and Boſwel the Scribe, in the preſence of the two Bailiffes of Colcheſter, Robert Browne & Robert Maynard, with diuers other Juſtices both of the town & countrey, and other Gentlemen a great ſort: at which tyme and place, and before the ſaid perſons, they had ſentence of condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirmyng the reall preſence of the Sacrament in their Aultar. The effect of their wordes therein, was this, or ſuche like, as here foloweth.

❡ Firſt the Lordes faythfull priſoners in Mote Hall.

William Bongeor.

William Bongeor, of the pariſh of S. Nicholas in Colcheſter, Glaſier, ſaid: that the ſacramēt of the altar was bread, is bread, and ſo remaineth bread, and for the conſecration, it is not the holyer, but rather the worſe. To this he dyd ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their Papiſticall doctrine: and ſo had ſentence read againſt hym.

Thomas Benolde.

Thomas Benold of Colcheſter, Talow Chaundler, affirmed the like in effect, that the ſaid William Bongeor did: and ſo had ſentence alſo read againſt hym.

W. Purcas condemned.

W. Purcas of Bocking, ſaid, that when he receyued the Sacrament, he receyued bread in an holy vſe, that preacheth the remembraunce that Chriſt dyed for hym. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their popiſh matters: and ſo alſo had ſentence read againſt hym.

Agnes Syluerſide, alias Smyth, ſayd: that ſhee loued no Conſecration. For the bread and wine is rather worſe then better therby, ſhee ſaid. This good olde woman aunſweared them with ſuch ſounde iudgement and boldnes, to euery thing they aſked her, that it reioyced the hartes of many, and eſpecially to ſee the pacience of ſuch a reuerende olde age, againſt the tauntes and checkes of her enemies. To this ſhee alſo ſtood, and had ſentence read againſt her in like maner.

Agnes Siluerſide condemned.

Helene Ewring aunſwered the like in effect as the other dyd, clearly denying al the lawes ſet forth by the Pope, with her whole hart. This good woman was ſomwhat thicke of hearing, but yet quicke in vnderſtanding the Lords matters (his name therfore be prayſed.) Againſt her alſo there was ſentence read.

Helene Ewring condemned.

Elizabeth Folkes the young mayden, being examined whether ſhee beleued the preſence of Chriſtes body to be in the Sacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no: aunſwered, that ſhee beleued that it was a ſubſtantiall lye, and a reall lye. At which wordes the Prieſtes and others chaufed verye much, and aſked her againe, whether after the Conſecration there remayned not the body of Chriſte in the Sacrament. And ſhee aunſweared, that before Conſecration and after, it is but bread, & that man bleſſeth without gods word, is curſed and abominable by the word. &c. Thē they examined her of confeſſion to the Prieſt, of going to church to heare Maſſe, of the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome. &c. Unto al which ſhee anſweared, that ſhee would neither vſe nor frequent none of thē all, by the grace of God, but vtterly deteſt and abhorre thē from the bottome of her hart, & al ſuch trumpery.

Elizabeth Folkes condemned.

A ſubſtanciall lye.

A reall lye.

Then read they the ſentence of condemnation agaynſt her. In which tyme Doct. Chadſey wept, that the teares trickled downe his cheekes. So the ſentence being read, ſhee kneeled downe on both her knees, liftyng vp her handes and eyes vnto heauen, with feruent prayer in an audible voyce, praiſing GOD that euer ſhee was borne, to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: and Lorde, ſayde ſhee (if it be thy wyll) forgeue them that thus haue done agaynſt me, for they know not what they doo. Then riſing vp, ſhee exhorted al thoſe on the Bench, to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to Priſon, as Robert Maynard the Bayliffe, and ſuche like: which Maynard commonly when he ſate in iudgemēt vpon life and death, would ſit ſleepyng on the Bench many tymes: ſo careful was his mynd on his Office. Further ſhee wylled haltyng Goſpellers to beware of bloud, for that would crye for vengeance. &c. And in the ende ſhee told them all, laying her hand on the Barre, if they dyd not repent their wicked doinges therin, that vndoubtedly the very barre ſhould be a witnes againſt them at the day of iudgement, that they had there that day ſhed innocent bloud.

Doctor Chadſey wept.

Elizabeth Folkes prayſeth God at her condemnation.

Elizabeth Folkes prayeth for her enemies. Sleeping Maynard.

This Elizabeth Folkes, the day before ſhee was condemned, was examined onely vpon this Article, whether ſhee beleued that there was a Catholike church of Chriſt, or no. Unto which ſhee anſweared, yea. Then was ſhee immediately (by Bowſels meanes the Scribe) deliuered vnto her vncle Holt, of the ſame Towne of Colcheſter, to keepe: who carryed her home vnto his houſe: and ſhee beyng there, might haue departed thence many tymes, if ſhee had woulde: for there was meanes offered to conuey her away. But ſhee hearing that ſome doubted, that ſhee had yelded to the Pope (although it was moſte vntrue) woulde in no wiſe content her ſelfe, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſh of mynd and terrour of conſcience, that (no remedie) ſhee would to the Papiſtes againe, for any perſwaſion that could be, and commyng before them at Coſins houſe at the white Hart in Colcheſter, ſhee was at vtter defiance with them and their doctrine: & ſo had, as ye haue heard, in the end, a papiſticall reward, as the reſt of her brethren had.

Elizabeth Folkes might haue eſcaped, and woulde not.

❡ The Lordes faythfull priſoners in Colcheſter Caſtle.

W. Munt condemned.

William Munt of Muchbentley in Eſſex, of the age of lxi. yeares, ſaid: that the Sacrament of the Altar was an abominable Idoll, and that if he ſhould obſerue any part of their Popiſh proceedynges, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bryng his curſe vppon hym, and therefore for feare of his vengeaunce he durſt not doo it. This good father was examined of many thynges, but God be thanked, he ſtood to the truth, and in the end therfore had ſentence of condemnation read agaynſt hym.

John Johnſon condemned.

John Johnſon of Thorpe in Eſſex, wydower, of the age of. xxxiiij. yeares, was examined as the reſt, and made aunſweare in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſtes counted hym none of theirs, and therefore condemned hym with their bloudy ſentence, as they had done the reſt before. This John Johnſon affirmed, that in the receiuyng of the ſacrament, accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitutiõ, he receyueth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually. &c.

Alice Munt condemned.

Alice Munt, the wife of the ſaid William Munt, of the age of xli. yeares, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in effecte as her huſband dyd, and was therefore alſo condemned by their bloudy Sentence in like maner.

Roſe Allen.

Roſe Allins aunſweres.

Roſe Allyn mayd, the daughter of the ſaid Alice Munt of the age of twentie yeares, being examined of auricular confeſſion, of goyng to Churche to heare Maſſe, of the Popiſh ſeuen Sacramentes. &c. aunſweared ſtoutly that they ſtanke in the face of God, & ſhee durſt not haue to doo with them for her lyfe, neyther was ſhee (ſhee ſayd) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichriſt, and ſo ſhould haue (if they repented not) the reward of Antichriſt. Being asked further, what ſhee could ſay of the Sea of the Biſhop of Rome, whether ſhee would obey his authoritie, or no: ſhee anſweared boldly, that ſhee was none of his. As for his Sea (quoth ſhee) it is for Crowes, Kites, Owles, and Rauens to ſwimme in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I ſhal not ſwimme in that Sea, while I lyue, neyther wyl I haue any thing to doo therwith. Then read they the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, & ſo ſent her vnto priſon agayne vnto the reſt, where ſhee ſong with great ioy, to the wonder of many.

Roſe Allin condemned.

Thus theſe poore condemned Lambes, beyng deliuered into the handes of the ſecular power, were commytted agayne euery one vnto the Priſon from whence they came, where they remayned with much ioy and great comfort (in continuall readyng, and inuocatyng the name of God) euer lokyng and expectyng the happy day of their diſſolution. In which tyme the cruel Papiſtes leaſt not their miſchieuous attemptes againſt them (although they would ſeeme nowe to haue no more to doo with them) for bloudy Boner, whoſe throte neuer cryed ho, ſhortly after got a writ for the burnyng of the foreſayd ten good creatures, and to ſhew the more diligence in the cauſe, he ſent his owne truſtye man downe with it, named Edward Coſin, and with hym alſo his Letter for the furtheraunce of the matter, the thirty day of July, the next moneth after the condemnation.

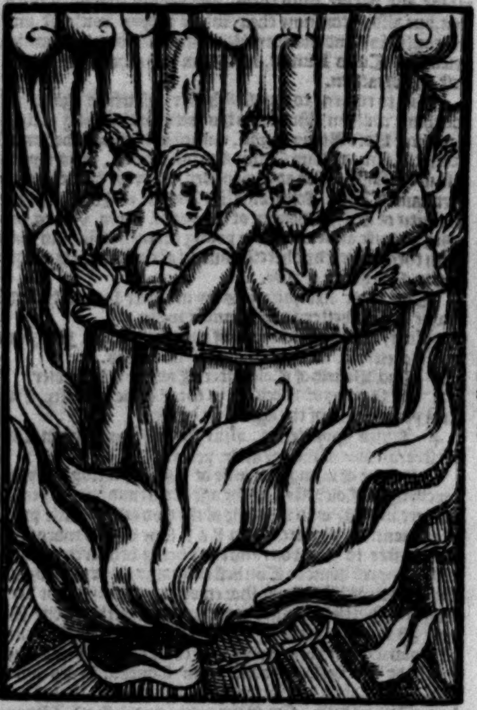
The wryt beyng thus receyued of the ſayd Bayliffes, and they hauyng then no leyſure therabouts, appoynted the day of the execution therof, to be the ſecond day of Auguſt next folowyng. And becauſe the faythful ſoules were in two ſeuerall Priſons, as the Caſtle was for the Countrey, and Mote Hall for the Towne, therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote Hall ſhould be burnt in the forenoone, and thoſe at the Caſtle, by the Sheriffe of the Shyre, in the afternoone, as here thou mayſt ſee it more plaine how it came to paſſe accordingly.

The ſecond day of Auguſt, 1557. betwixt ſixe & ſeuen of the clocke in the mornyng, was brought from Mote hall vnto a plat of ground hard by the towne wal of Colcheſter on the outward ſide, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Siluerſide alias Smith, Helene Ewring & Elizab. Folkes aforenamed, which beyng there, & al thyngs prepared for their martyrdome, at the laſt theſe ſayd conſtant perſons kneeled downe and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch ſort as they would: for the cruell tyrantes would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Maiſter Clere among the reſt (who ſometyme had bene a Goſpeller) ſhewed hym ſelfe very extreme vnto them: the Lord geue hym repentance (if it be his good wyl) and grace to be a better man. When they had made their prayers, they roſe, & made them ready to the fire. And Elizabeth Folkes when ſhee had pluckt of her Petticote, would haue geuen it to her mother, (which came & kyſt her at the ſtake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the wicked there attendyng, would not ſuffer her to geue it. Therfore takyng the ſaid peticote in her hand, ſhee threw it away frõ her, ſaying: Farewel al the world farewel faith, farewel hope: and ſo taking the ſtake in her hand, ſayd: Welcome loue. &c. Now ſhee being at the ſtake, & one of the officers nayling the chain about her, in the ſtriking of the ſtaple, he miſt the place, and ſtrake her with a great ſtroke of the hammar on the ſhoulder bone: wherat ſhee ſodeinly turned her head, lyftyng vp her eyes to the Lord, and prayed ſmilyngly, and gaue her ſelfe to exhortyng the people agayne.

When all ſixe were alſo nayled likewiſe at their ſtakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their handes for ioy in the fire, that the ſtanders by (which were by eſtimation thouſandes) cryed generally all almoſt: The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lorde comfort them, the Lorde poure his mercyes vppon them, with ſuch like wordes, as was wonderful to heare.

Thus yelded they vp their ſoules and bodyes into the Lords hands, for ỹ true teſtimonie of his truth. The Lord graunt we may imitate the ſame in the like quarrell (if he ſo vouch vs worthy) for his mercyes ſake. Amen.

The martyrdome of three men and three women at Colcheſter, burned in the forenoone, beſides foure other burned at after noone.



The Martyrdome of W. Bongeor, W. Purcas, Tho. Benold, Agnes Siluerſide, alias Smith, Helene Ewring, Elizabeth Folkes at Colcheſter in the forenoone. Anno. 1557. Auguſt. 2.

W. Munt, Alice his wyfe, Roſe Allen their daughter. John Johnſon, burnt the ſame day at afternoone.

In like manner, the ſayde daye in the afternoone, was brought forth into the Caſtle yard, to a place appoynted for the ſame, W. Munt, John Johnſon, Alice Munt, and Roſe Allyn aforeſayd, which godly conſtant perſons, after they had made their prayers, & were ioyfully tyed to ỹ ſtakes, callyng vppon the name of God, and exhortyng the people earneſtly to flee from Idolatrie, ſuffered their martyrdome with ſuch triumph & ioy, that the people dyd no leſſe ſhowte thereat to ſee it, then at the other that were burnt the ſame day in the mornyng.

The age of theſe tenne made the ſumme of 406.

Thus ended all theſe glorious ten ſoules that day, their happy lyues vnto the Lord, whoſe ages al dyd grow to the ſumme of. 406. yeares or therabouttes. The Lord graunt we may well ſpende our yeares and dayes likewiſe, to his glory. Amen.

John Thurſton dyed in Colcheſter Caſtle.

John Thurſton a confeſſor of Chriſt. Auguſt. 2.

Before you haue heard of the takyng of one John Thurſton, at Muchbentley, in the houſe of one William Munt of the ſame Towne: whiche ſayde John Thurſton afterwarde, about the moneth of May, in the yeare aforeſaid, dyed in Colcheſter Caſtle, a conſtant confeſſour of Jeſus Chriſt.

The ſtorye and death of George Eagles, otherwiſe termed Trudgeouer, a moſt payneful trauayler in Chriſtes Goſpell, who for the ſame Goſpel moſt cruelly was martyred by the cruell papiſtes.

George Eagles Martyred.

Among other Martyrs of ſingular vertue and conſtancie, one George Eagles deſerueth not the leaſt admiration, but is ſo much the more to be commẽded, for that he hauyng litle learnyng or none, moſt manfully ſerued & fought vnder the banner of Chriſtes Church. For oftentymes the wyl and pleaſure of God is to beautifie & adorne his kingdome with the weake & ſimple inſtrumentes of this world, ſuch as in the old Teſtament Amos was, who with many other of obſcure and vnknowen names, were called from the heardes and foldes to the honour of Prophetes: as likewiſe we reade of the Apoſtles that were called from fiſhermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherfore this George

Eagles is not to be neglected for his baſe occupatiō, whom Chriſt called thence to ſet forth and declare abroad his goſpell. Rather we ought to glorifie God the more thereby in his holynes, which in ſo blynde a tyme inſpired hym with the gift of preaching, and conſtancie of ſuffering: who after a certaine tyme he had vſed the occupation of a Taylor, being eloquent and of good vtteraunce, gaue and applyed hym ſelfe to the profite of Chriſtes church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright & cleare daies of king Edward the ſixt, he had not vnfruitfully ſhewed & preached the power and force of the Lorde: ſo afterward in the tempeſtuous tyme and fall of the church (at what tyme the confeſſors of Chriſte and his Goſpell were turmoyled, diuers of them murthered, part baniſhed, and other ſome conſtrayned for feare not to ſhew their heades) he expreſſed and vttered his manly ſtomacke. For he wandring abroad into diuers and farre Countreys, where he could finde any of his brethren, he dyd there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, not tarying in this towne, and ſometyme abiding in that certaine monethes together, as occaſion ſerued, lodging ſometyme in yͤ countrey about, & ſometyme for feare lyyng in fieldes & woodes, who for his unmoderate & vnreaſonable goyng abroade, was called Trudgeouer. Oftentymes he dyd lye abroade in the night without couert, ſpendyng the moſt part thereof in deuoute and earneſt prayer. His diet was ſo aboue meaſure ſpare and ſclender, that for the ſpace of three yeares, he vſed for the moſte parte, to drinke nothing but very water, wherunto he was compelled through neceſſitie of the tyme of perſecution: and after when he perceiued that his body by Gods prouidence proued wel enough with this diet, he thought beſt to inure him ſelfe therwithal againſt al neceſſities.

The painfull trauell of George Eagles.

Nowe when he had profited Chriſtes Church in this ſort, by going about and preachyng the Goſpell a yeare or two, and eſpecially in Colcheſter and the quarters thereabout, that priuie enimie which enuieth alwayes the ſaluation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurketh and layeth wayte by al meanes poſſible for hym, ſo that there were diuers eſpies ſent out, who had in commaundement, where ſoeuer they founde hym, to bryng hym either quicke or dead.

But whē this their attēpt could not preuayle, but all was in vaine (the ſayde Eagles with his brethren keepyng in cloſe, and hidyng them ſelues in out and darke places, as in barnes, thickets, holes and priuie cloſets) his aduerſaries went about an other way to compaſſe this their enterpriſe of taking hym. For in the Queenes name a greeuous Edict was proclaymed throughout foure Shyres, Eſſex, Suffolke, Kent, and Northfolke, promiſing the party that tooke hym, twenty pound for his paines: doubtles a worthy hyre to entice any Iew to treachery. For many being inflamed with greedy deſire of the money, deuiſed & inuented all wayes and reaſons they could poſſible to be enriched with the hurt and deſtruction of this ſely man.

At length it came to paſſe, that this George being ſeene by chaunce at Colcheſter vppon Mary Magdalen day, at which tyme they kept a Fayre in the Towne, ſhoulde haue forthwith bene deliuered to his aduerſaries, if he perceiuyng the ſame (as God would haue it) had not conueyed hym ſelf away as faſt as he could, a great multitude purſuyng after, and ſeeking diligently for hym. Who firſt hyd hym ſelfe in a Groue, and from thence he ſtale into a corne fielde there by, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enimies, in ſo much as they were all, ſauyng one, paſt hope of takyng him, and therfore ready to depart their way. This one hauyng more ſubtility and wicked craft in his head thē the reſt, would not depart thence with his felowes, but clymed vp into a high tree, there to viewe and eſpie if he might ſee Egles any where ſtyrre or moue. The poore mā thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no noyſe abroade, roſe vp vpon his knees, and lyftyng vp his handes, prayed vnto God. And whether it were for that his head was aboue the corne, or becauſe his voyce was heard, the lurker perceiuyng his deſired pray that he hunted after, forthwith came downe, and ſodainly laying handes on hym, brought hym as priſoner to Colcheſter. Notwithſtanding the greedy and Iudas knaue which had ſo much promiſed hym, was fayne to be contented with a very ſmall reward, and glad to take that too, leaſt he ſhould haue had nothyng at all.

Quo non mortalia pectora cogis, auri ſacra fames. Virg. Aeneid. 3.

This George, not without great lamētation of diuers good men, and great lacke vnto the church of God (of which to his power he was a worthy inſtrument) was committed to priſon there, and from thence within foure dayes after conueyed to Chelmſford, where he aboade all that night in deuoute prayer, and woulde not ſleepe, neyther woulde eate or drinke, but bread and water. The next day he was carryed to London to the Biſhop or the Counſayle, & there remayned a certayne tyme, and then was brought downe to Chelmſford to the Seſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled companyes together, contrary to the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme in that caſe prouided. For ſo it was ordeyned a litle before, to auoyde ſedition, that if men ſhould flocke ſecretly together, aboue the number of ſixe, they ſhould be attached of treaſon: which ſtrayt law was the caſting away of the good Duke of Somerſet before mentioned.

And albeit it was well knowen that poore Eagles dyd neuer any thyng ſeditiouſly agaynſt yͤ Queene, yet to cloke an honeſt matter withall, and to cauſe hym to be the more hated of the people, they turned Religion into a ciuile offence and crime, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or fayth before the Iudges: yet coulde he not bryng to paſſe by any meanes, but that he muſt needes be indicted (as is ſaid) of treaſon, whoſe indictment dyd run much after this faſhion.

George Eagles indictement.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by yͤ name of George Eagles, otherwiſe Trudgeouer the worlde, for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer, that God ſhould turne Q. Maryes hart, or els take her away.

He denyed that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed that he prayed that God would turne her harte in his prayer. Well, notwithſtandyng he was condemned for a traytor, although the meanyng therof was for Religion.

Richard Potto Inholder at the Cocke in Chelmſford.

This thyng done, he was caryed to the new Inne, called the ſigne of the Crowne in Chelmſforde, by the beaſtly Bayliffes, whiche ſome of them were they that before dyd the beſt to take hym, and beyng in the Inne, one Richard Potto the elder, an Inholder, dwellyng at the ſigne of the Cocke in the ſame town, dyd much trouble hym in perſwadyng hym to confeſſe he had offended the Queene in his prayer whiche he was condemned for, and to aſke her forgeuenes. To whom he ſayde, that he had not offended her grace in that behalfe. So in proceſſe of tyme he was layde vpon a Sled with an Hurdle on it, and drawen to the place of execution being faſt bound, hauyng in his hand a Pſalme booke, of the which he read very deuoutly all the way with a loude voyce tyll he came there: and beyng on the Ladder, this aforeſaid Potto did much trouble him with yͤ matter aforeſaid, when he would haue vttered other things, til ſuch tyme as the Sheriffe commaunded Potto to holde his peace and trouble hym no more. So he made his confeſſion and ſtood very conſtant ſtyl: then he was turned of the ladder. With hym were caſt certaine theeues alſo, and the next day when they were brought out to be executed with hym, there happened a thing that dyd much ſet forth and declare the innocencie and godlynes of this man. For being led betweene two theeues to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other, to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the truth, one of theſe turned the counſell he gaue, into a ieſting matter, and made but a flowte of it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtaine heauen, ſaith he, for as much as this holy man ſhall go before vs, as captaine & leader vnto vs in the way. We ſhall flee thither ſtrayt, as ſoone as he hath once made vs the entrie.

In this, George Eagles and that other dyd greatly reproue hym, who on the other ſide gaue good heede to Georges exhortation, earneſtly bewailyng his owne wickednes, and callyng to Chriſte for mercy. But the more that the firſt was bydde to be ſtyll and to leaue of his ſcoffing, the more peruerſe dyd he continue in his fooliſhneſſe and his wicked behauiour. At length he came to the Gallowes, where they ſhould be hanged, but George was caryed to an other place there by to ſuffer. Betweene the two it was the godlyers chaunce to goe the foremoſt, who beyng vpon the Ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and take heede to thēſelues, how they dyd tranſgreſſe the commaundementes of GOD, and then had committed his ſoule into Gods handes, he ended his life after a godly and quiet maner.

The mockers turne commeth next, which would haue ſayd likewiſe ſomewhat, but his tongue dyd ſo fumble and faltar in his head, that he was not able to ſpeake a worde. Fayne would he haue vttered his mynd, but he could not bring it out. Then dyd the vnder Sheriffe bydde hym ſay the Lordes prayer, which he could not ſay neither, but ſtutteryngly, as a mā would ſay, one word to day, and an other to morowe. Then one dyd begin to ſay it, and ſo bade hym ſaye after.

An example to be noted of a theefe, reiecting and deriding wholeſome and Godly preaching.

Such as were there and ſawe it, were very much aſtonyed: eſpecially thoſe that dyd behold the iuſt puniſhment of God, againſt hym that had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. George Eagles in the meane tyme, after he had hanged a ſmal tyme, hauyng a great checke with the haltar, immediately one of the Bayliffes cut the halter a ſunder, and he fell to the ground beyng ſtyl aliue, although much amaſed with the

the checke he had of the ladder.

W. Swallow tormentor of George Eagles.

The one William Swallowe of Chelmſforde a Bayliffe dyd draw hym to the ſledde that he was drawen thyther on, and layde his necke thereon, and with a Cleauer, ſuch as is occupyed in many mens Kitchins, and blunt, did hackle of his head, and ſometyme hyt his necke, and ſometyme his chynne, and dyd fowly mangle hym, and ſo opened hym. Notwithſtandyng this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt & conſtant in ẏ very myddeſt of his tormentes, tyl ſuch time as this tormentor William Swallow dyd plucke the hart out of his body. The body being diuided in foure partes, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the aforeſaid Swallowes dore, and there laid vpon the fiſh ſtalles before his dore, tyll they had made ready a horſe to cary his quarters, one to Colcheſter, & the reſt to Harwich, Chelmſford, and S. Rouſes.

His head was ſet vp at Chelmſford on the Market Croſſe on a long pole, and there ſtood tyl the wynd did blow it downe, and lyng certayne dayes in the ſtreat tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buryed in the Churchyard in the night. Alſo a wonderful worke of God was it that he ſhewed on this wicked Bayliffe Swallow, who within ſhort ſpace after was ſo puniſhed, that al the heare went welnere of his head, his eyes were as it were cloſed vp and could ſcante ſee, the nayles of his fingers and toes went cleane of. He was in ſuch caſe of his body, as though he had ben a leper, & now in his laſt age almoſt a very begger, & his wyfe which he a litle after maryed, God hath puniſhed with the fallyng ſicknes, or a diſeaſe like vnto that: which may be a warnyng or glaſſe for al men and women to looke in, that be enimies to Gods true ſeruants.

Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon a cruell perſecutor.

W. Swallowes wyfe puniſhed with the falling ſicknes.

Gods iudgement vpon Richard Potto an other perſecutor of George Eagles.

No leſſe token of his marueylous iudgement dyd God ſhewe vppon the foreſaide Richard Potto, whiche dyd ſo much trouble this George Eagles in the Inne, and at the place of execution, as is aboue ſpecified. He lyued tyl the begynnyng of Queene Elizabethes raigne, all which tyme he litle ioyed, & on a tyme being in a great chauffe with two or three of his neighbors in his owne houſe, feelyng hym ſelfe not well, he ſaid to one of his ſeruaunts: Go with me into the chamber, and when he came there, he fel downe on a low bed, as heuy as it had ben lead, and lay there fomyng at the mouth, and could neuer ſpeake after, neither yet vnderſtand what was ſayd to hym, as by al meanes was tryed by his neighbours with ſignes to hym made, but lay as ſenſles as it had ben a very dumbe beaſt, & within three or foure dayes dyed. God graunt that this token ſent of God, with many moe like, may be a warnyng to vs euer hereafter while we ſhal lyue, vnto the worldes end.

Beſides this, God hath wonderfully ſhewed his work. For at a tyme when they laid great wayt for this George Eagles, ſo that it was thought that it was vnpoſſible but that he ſhould be taken beyng ſo beſet, his frends dyd put hym in a Prentice apparell, that is to ſay, watchet hoſe, as their maner is, and an olde cloke, and ſet hym on a packe of wooll, as though he had rydden to cary wooll to the ſpinners, ſo he rode amongſt the midſt of his aduerſaries and eſcaped them all for that tyme. An other troubler of the ſayd George Eagles was alſo Iuſtice Browne, who enioyed not his crueltie many yeares after. &c.

Alſo when he was at the Seſſions at Chelmſforde, there was a rumor rayſed ẏ he had accuſed diuers honeſt men that dyd keepe hym in their houſes, and was conuerſant with hym, and al to diſcredite hym, which rumor was very falſe and vtterly vntrue. Witnes one Reynold, with diuers other dwellyng in Chelmſford.

¶ The martyrdome and examination of Richard Craſhfield of Wymoundham, condemned to death for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſte.

Auguſt. 5.

ABout this tyme ſuffered at Norwich, a godly man & a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, called Richard Craſhfielde, whoſe examinations before the Chauncellor, named Dunnynges, as he penned them with his own hand, ſo haue we faithfully recorded the ſame.

The examination of Rich. Craſhfield before Dunning Chauncellour of Norwich.

How ſay you Syrrha, ſaid the Chancelor, to the ceremonies of the church?

Then ſaid I: what ceremonies?

He ſaid vnto me: Do you not beleue that all the ceremonies of the church were good and godly?

My anſweare was: I do beleue ſo many as are grounded in the Teſtament of Ieſu Chriſt.

Sacrament of the altar.

Tuſh, ſayd he, do you beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was.

Then ſayde he: Do you not beleue that Chriſte toke bread, gaue thankes, brake it, and ſaid: Take, eate, this is my bodye?

Yes verily, ſaid I, and euen as Chriſt did ſpeake, ſo did he performe the worke.

Tuſh, ſaid he, do you not beleue this, that after ẏ wordes be ſpoken by the prieſt, there is the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes bodye, fleſh, and bloud? How ſay you, do you not beleue this? Speake man.

I do beleue that Chriſtes bodye was broken for me vppon the Croſſe, and his bloud ſhedde for my redemption, wherof the bread and the wyne is a perpetuall memorie, the pledge of his mercye, the ryng and ſeale of his promiſe, and a perpetuall memorie for the faithfull, vnto the ende of the world. So thē I was commaūded in to Priſon vntyll the next day.

¶ An other examination of Richard Craſhfielde.

An other examination of Richard Craſhfield.

THe day folowing I was brought forth. Then the Chauncellor ſaid vnto me: Richard, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe mynded thē you were yeſterday? He rehearſing al the wordes that we had afore, ſaid: are not theſe your wordes? Wherto I anſwered, yes.

Worſhiping of Images.

Then ſaid he: how ſay you, can you not finde in your hart, when you come to Church, to kneele downe before the Roode, and make your prayer?

I anſweared and ſaid, No: rehearſing the commaundement of God forbiddyng the ſame.

He ſaid: haue you not read or heard, that God cōmaunded an Image to be made?

I anſwered, what Image?

He ſaid, the brazen Serpent.

I ſaid, yes, I haue heard it read, howe that GOD dyd commaunde it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken downe.

Then D. Brigges ſaid: wherfore did God cōmaund the Seraphins and Cherubins to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell: I would faine learne.

Then ſaid the Chancellor: But how ſay you to this? can you finde in your hart to fall downe before the picture of Chriſt, which is the Roode?

I ſayde, No: I feare the curſe of GOD: for it is written that God curſeth the handes that make them, yea, and the handes that make the tooles wherewith they are carued.

Then D. Brigges raged, and ſaid: Liſt nowe what a peece of ſcripture he hath here gotten to ſerue his purpoſe: for he wyl not allow but where he lyſteth.

Confeſſion to the prieſt.

Then ſaid the Chancellor: How ſay you to Confeſſion to the prieſt? when were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſſe my ſelfe dayly vnto the eternal God, whom I moſt greuouſly offend.

Then the Chancellor ſaid: you do not then take confeſſion to the prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, No, but rather wicked.

Playing on the Organes.

Then the Chauncellor ſaid: Howe ſay you by yonder geare, yonder ſinging, and yonder playing at the Organes? is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceiue no godlynes in it.

Then he ſaid: why, is it not written in the Pſalmes: that we ſhal prayſe God with Hymnes and ſpiritual ſongs?

I ſaid, yes, ſpiritual ſongs muſt be had: but yonder is of the fleſhe, & of the ſpirit of error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bytter and odious.

Eſay. 56.

Then ſaid the Chauncellor: why, is it not written: My houſe is an houſe of prayer?

Luke. 19.

I ſaid, yes. It is written alſo: That you haue made my houſe of prayer a den of theeues.

With that, the Chancellor loked, and ſaid: Haue we?

I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I cōmaunded to ward.

An other examination of Richard Craſhfield.

The thurſday next folowing, was D. Brigges ſent to me for to examine me of my faith. And he ſaid: Coūtreymā, my Lord Biſhop (for loue he would haue you ſaued) hath ſent me vnto you, becauſe to morow is your day appointed: therfore my lord hath thought it meete, that you ſhould declare vnto me your faith: For to morow my Lord wyl not haue much adoo with you.

I anſwered & ſaid: Hath my Lord ſent you? It is not you to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my mynd.

Then he ſaid to me: I pray you ſhewe me your mynde concernyng the ſacrament of the altar.

I anſwered: Are you ignorant what I haue ſaid?

He ſaid, No: for it was well written. Except you beleue, ſaith he, as the Churche hath taught, you are damned both body and ſoule.

1557. Auguſt.

I anſweared and ſaid: Iudge not, leaſt ye be iudged: condemne not, leaſt ye be condemned.

And he ſaid: Lo, we ſhall haue a traytor as wel as an heretike: for he wyl diſallow the kings iudgement.

I ſaid, No: I doo not diſallow the kings iudgement, but yours I doo diſallow. For I pray you tel me, how came you by this iudgement?

He anſwered and ſaid: By the Church: for the Church hath power to ſaue and condemne, for if you be condemned by the Churche, be ye ſure that you be damned both bodye and ſoule.

The Popes Church taketh Chriſtes office out of his hand.

Then I anſweared: If you haue this power, I am ſore deceiued. For I beleue that Chriſt ſhal be our Iudge. But now I perceiue you wyll doo much for hym, that you wil not put hym to the paine.

Then he ſaid: ſtand nearer countreyman: why ſtand ye ſo farre of?

I ſaid, I am neare enough, and a litle to neare.

Then he ſaid: Did not Chriſt ſay: Is not my fleſh meat and my bloud drinke in deede?

I ſaid: To whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe wordes?

He ſaid: To his diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the text) ſaid: whereat did Chriſtes diſciples murmur inwardly?

He ſaid: No, they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels (ſaid he:) for the diſciples wer ſatiſfied with thoſe wordes.

I ſaid: Did not Chriſt ſay thus, as he taught at Capernaum? wheras his diſciples murmured, ſaying: This is an hard ſaying. Who can abide the hearing of it? Ieſus perceiuyng their thoughtes: ſaid: Doth this offend you?

Then he raged and ſaid: Oh, thou wraſteſt the text for thine owne purpoſe. For the diſciples dyd neuer murmur, but the vnbeleuers, as thou art.

Note here the ignorance of theſe Catholicke men, in the Scriptures.

I ſaid: yes, but I perceiue you know not the text.

Then ſaid he with much raging: I wyll laye my head theron, it is not ſo.

Then ſaid I: I haue done with you.

Then ſaid he: what ſhall I tell my Lord of you?

If you haue nothing to tel hym, your errand ſhalbe the ſooner done, ſaid I. And ſo we departed.

An other examination of Rich. Craſhfield.

Then on Friday I was brought forth to receiue iudgement. Then the Chancellor ſaid vnto me: Are you a new man, or are you not?

I anſwered and ſaid: I truſt I am a new man borne of God.

God geue grace you be ſo, ſaid he. So he rehearſed all my examination, and ſaid: How ſay you, are not theſe your wordes?

I ſaid, yes: I wyl not deny them.

Then he ſaid to Doctour Pore, ſtanding by: I pray you talke with him. Then he alledging to me many fayre flattering wordes, ſaide: Take, eate, this is my body. How ſay you to this? Doo you not beleue that it is Chriſtes body? ſpeake.

I ſaid: Haue you not my mind? why doo you trouble me?

He ſaid: What dyd Chriſt geue? was it bread, or was it not?

I ſaid: Chriſt toke bread and gaue thankes, and gaue it, and they toke bread, and did eate. And Saint Paul maketh it more manifeſt, where he ſaith: So oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, ye ſhall ſhewe forth the Lordes death vntyll he come. Saint Paul ſaith not here, as you ſay: for he ſaith: So oft as you ſhall eate of this bread. He doth not ſay, body. So they intending that I ſhould go no further in the text, ſaid: Tuſh, you go about the buſhe. Anſwere me to the firſt queſtion. Let vs make an end of that.

1. Cor. 10.

What ſay you to the bread that Chriſte gaue? Let me haue your mind in that.

I anſwered: I haue ſaid my mind in it.

The the Chancellor ſaid: No, we wil haue your mind in that.

I anſwered: I haue ſaid my mind in it.

Then the Chauncellor: No, we wil haue your mynd more plainly: For we intend not to haue many wordes with you.

I ſaid: My faith is fully grounded and ſtabliſhed, that Chriſt Ieſus the Eaſter Lambe hath offred his bleſſed body a ſacrifice to God the father, the price of my redemption. For by that onely ſacrifice are all faithfull ſanctified, and he is our only aduocate and mediatour, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he don alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Then Doctour Briggs ſtarte vp, and ſaid: Truth, your wordes are true in deede. You take well the litterall ſenſe: but this you muſte vnderſtande, that like as you ſaide that Chriſte offered his bodye vppon the Croſſe, which was a bloudy ſacrifice, and a viſible ſacrifice: ſo likewiſe we daily offer the ſelfe ſame body that was offred vpon the croſſe, but not bloudy and viſible, but inuiſible, vnto God the father.

Vnbloudye ſacrifice of the Maſſe.

Doo you offer Chriſtes body, I ſaid? Why then Chriſtes ſacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when al men ſhalbe lyers.

Then he ſaid: Thou ſhalt not feare hym that hath power to kyl the body: but thou ſhalt feare hym that hath power to kyl both body and ſoule.

I anſwered & ſaid: It is not ſo. But the text is thus: Thou ſhalt not feare them that haue power to kyll the body, and then haue done what they can. But thou ſhalt feare him that hath power to kyll both body and ſoule, and caſte them both into hel fire, and not them.

He anſwered and ſaid: Yes, for it is the church.

I aunſweared and ſaid: why, Chriſt ſaith: I geue my life for the redemption of the worlde. No man taketh my life from me (ſaith he) but I geue it of myne own power, and ſo I haue power to take it againe. Therfore Chriſt the ſonne of God did offer his bleſſed body once for al. And if you wyll preſume to offer his body daily, then your power is aboue Chriſtes power. With that he chafed, and ſaide: what, ſhall we haue doctrine? ye are not hereto appoynted.

Then the Chauncellor ſtood vp, and ſaid: wyl ye turne frō this wicked error, and be an example of goodnes, as you haue bene an example of euyll (for by your wicked reading you haue perſwaded ſimple women to be in this errour) and ye ſhal haue mercy.

Craſhfield condemned.

And I ſaid: it is of God that I doo craue mercy, whō I haue offended, and not of you.

Then ſaid the Chauncelour: when were you at your pariſh church? Theſe two yeares and more you haue ſtend excommunicate, wherefore you are condemned. And ſo I was condemned.

Thus haſte thou, gentle Reader, the examinations of this godly young man, ſet forth and written with his owne hande, who not long after his condemnation was by the Sheriffes & Officers there, brought to the Stake, where with muche pacience and conſtancie he entred his bleſſed Martyrdome. At the burnyng of which Chriſtian Martyr, one Thomas Carman the ſame tyme was apprehended, by what occaſion, it is not yet to vs fully certaine, whether it was for wordes, or for praying with hym, or for pledgyng hym at his burnyng: concernyng whiche Thomas Carman, his ſtory here after foloweth in his order & place, further to be ſeene.

The Martyrdome of Richard Craſhfield. Anno. 1557. Auguſt. 5.

¶ One Fryar and a certayne godly woman burned at Rocheſter, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles.

About the ſame tyme and Moneth, one named Fryar, with a woman accompanying hym, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles in the like cauſe of righteouſnes, ſuffred the like martyrdome by the vnrighteous papiſts, whoſe tyrannie the Lord of his mercy abate and cut ſhort, turnyng that wicked generation, if it be his wyl, to a better mynd.

Auguſt. 10. One Friar, and the ſiſter of George Eagles, burned at Rocheſter.

¶ The apprehenſion and death of Maiſtreſſe Ioyce Lewes, the wyfe to thomas Lewes, of Manceter, moſt conſtantly ſufferyng for Gods woorde, at Lichfielde.

Maiſtreſſe Ioyce Lewes, a gentlewoman borne, was delicately brought vp in the pleaſures of the world, hauing delight in gay apparel & ſuch like fooliſhnes, with the which follyes, the moſt part of the gentlefolkes of England were then and are yet infected: who was maryed firſt to one called Appelby, afterward to Thomas Lewes of Mancetter. In the beginnyng of queene Maryes time, ſhee went to the church and heard Maſſe as others did, but whē ſhee heard of the burnyng of that moſt godly and learned M. Laurence Saunders, who ſuffred in Couentrie, ſhee began to take more heede to the matter, and inquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhee knew feared God, ye cauſe of his death: & when ſhee perceyued it was becauſe he refuſed to receyue the Maſſe, ſhee began to be troubled in conſcience, and waxed very vnquiet, & becauſe her houſe was euen hard by M. Iohn Glouers houſe, of whom mention was made before. pag. 1614. and 1620. (a man of bleſſed memorie, and of a ſingular example for his vnfayned godlynes and manyfold troubles which he ſuffered for the Goſpel) ſhee dyd oftentymes reſort to hym, & deſired him to tel her the faultes that were in the Maſſe,

The ſtory of Miſtreſſe Ioyce Lewes, Martyr.

Of M. Iohn Glouer read before pag. 1614 and 1620.

and other things that at that tyme were vrged as neceſſary to ſaluation.

Now he perceiuyng both her vnquiet mynd, & alſo the deſire ſhee had to know the truth, did moſt diligētly inſtruct her in the wayes of the Lorde, approuyng vnto her out of Gods holy word, that the Maſſe, with all other papiſticall inuentions, was odious in Gods ſight: and beſides this, reproued her, for that ſhee delighted in the vanities of this world ſo much. By the which godly counſel geuen by hym, it happened that ſhee beganne to waxe weery of the world, throughly ſorowfull for her ſinnes, being inflamed with the loue of God, deſirous to ſerue hym according to his worde, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe things the which dyd diſpleaſe the Lord her God. And becauſe ſhee had learned the maſſe to be euyl and abominable, ſhee began to hate it. And when at a tyme ſhee was compelled by the furiouſnes of her huſband to come to the Church, at the ſame tyme when the holy water was caſt, ſhe turned her backe towards it, & ſhewed her ſelf to be diſpleaſed with their blaſphemous holy water, iniurious to the bloud of Chriſt: Wherupon ſhee was accuſed before the biſhop, for the deſpiſing of their ſacramentals.

Miſteris Lewes cited by the Byſhop.

Immediatly a Citatiō was ſent for her to her huſbands houſe, to appeare before the biſhop incōtinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation, deliuered it to her huſband: who looking vpon it, & perceiuyng what it was, was moued with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with hym againe, or els he would make hym to eate it. The Sumner refuſed to take it agayne, for he thought no man durſt haue bene ſo bold to trouble hym. But in the end Lewes cōpelled the ſaid Sumner to eate the Citation in deed, by ſetting a daggar to his hart: and when he had eaten it, he cauſed hym to drinke to it, & ſo ſent hym away. But immediatly after, the ſaid Lewes with his wife were cōmaūded to appeare before the biſhop, where the ſaid Lewes by & by ſubmitted him ſelf, & deſired the biſhop to be good to him, excuſing hym ſelfe after the beſt faſhion he could. Wherupon the biſhop was content to receiue his ſubmiſſion, with condition that his wife ſhoulde ſubmit her ſelfe alſo. But ſhee ſtoutly told the Biſhop, that by refuſing of the holy water, ſhee had neither offended God nor any part of his lawes. At the which words the biſhop being greeuouſly offended, and becauſe ſhee was a Gentlewomā, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gaue her one monethes reſpit, binding her huſband in an hūdred poūd to bring her again vnto hym at the monethes end, and ſo they were both let go.

Miſteris Lewes iſtructed by M. Iohn Glouer.

When they came to their owne houſe, the ſaide Mayſtreſſe Ioyce Lewes gaue her ſelfe to moſt diligent prayer and inuocating of the name of GOD, reſortyng continually to the aboue named man of God, Maiſter Iohn Glouer, who dyd moſte diligently inſtructe her with Gods worde, willyng her in any wiſe not to meddle with that matter in reſpect of vayne glory, or to get her ſelfe a name, ſhewyng her ẏ great daūgers ſhee was like to caſt her ſelfe in, if ſhee ſhoulde meddle in Gods matters otherwiſe then Chriſt doth teach.

When the Moneth was nowe almoſte expired, and the tyme at hande that ſhee ſhoulde be brought before the Biſhop, her huſbande being aduertiſed by the ſaide Maiſter Iohn Glouer and others, not to carrye her to the Biſhop, but to ſeeke ſome wayes to ſaue her, or if the worſt ſhoulde come, to be content to forfeit ſo much money, rather then to caſt his owne wyfe into the fire: he anſweared, he would not loſe or forfeyt any thing for her ſake: and ſo like a murtherer of his owne wyfe, caryed her to the bloudy Biſhop, where ſhee was examined, and found more ſtoute then ſhee was before death was threatned. And to begin withal, ſhee was ſent to ſuch a ſtinkyng Priſon, that a certaine mayde which was appoynted to keepe her company, dyd ſwounde in the ſame priſon.

Miſteris Lewes impriſoned.

Beyng thus kept in priſon, and oftentymes examined, and euer founde ſtoute, at the lenght ſhee was brought in iudgement, and pronounced an heretike, worthy to be burned. When the Biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhee would not come to the Maſſe, and receyue the Sacramentes and ſacramentals of holy church, ſhee anſwered: Becauſe I finde not theſe thynges in Gods worde, which you ſo vrge and magnifie, as thynges moſt needefull for mens ſaluation. If theſe thynges were in the ſame worde of God commended, I would with all my hart receyue, eſteeme, and beleue them. The Biſhop anſwered: If thou wylt beleue no more then is in the Scripture, concernyng matters of Religion, thou art in a damnable caſe. At the which wordes ſhee was wonderfully amaſed, and beyng moued by the ſpirite of God, told the Biſhop, that his words were vngodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, ſhee continued a whole twelue moneth in priſon, becauſe ſhee was committed to the Sheriffe that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed: for ẏ which thing after her death, he was ſore troubled and in daunger of hys life. All that time ſhee was in priſon, her behauyour was ſuch both in wordes and deedes, that all they that had anye ſparke of godlines or ciuile honeſty, did greatly lamente her caſe, that ſhee ſhould be put to death.

Miſteris Lewes a yeare in priſon after her condemnation.

Now when the tyme dyd drawe neare the which God had appoynted for her deliueraunce, the wrytte De comburendo, (as they terme it) beyng brought downe from London, ſhee deſired certaine of her frendes to come to her, with whom, when they came, ſhee conſulted how ſhee might behaue her ſelfe, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable vnto the enemies of God. As for death, ſayde ſhee, I doo not greatly paſſe: when I beholde the amiable countenance of Chriſt my deare Sauiour, ẏ vgleſome face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In the which tyme alſo ſhee reaſoned moſte comfortably out of Gods worde, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the euenyng, before the day of her ſuffering, two of the prieſtes of the cloſe of Lichfield, came to the vnder Sheriffes houſe where ſhee laye, and ſent worde to her by the Sheriffe, that they were come to heare her confeſſion: for they would be ſorye ſhee ſhould dye without it. Shee ſente them word againe, ſhee had made her confeſſion to Chriſte her ſauiour, at whoſe hands ſhee was ſure to haue forgeuenes of her ſinnes: As concernyng the cauſe for the whiche ſhee ſhould dye, ſhee had no cauſe to confeſſe that, but rather geue vnto God moſte humble prayſe that he dyd make her worthy to ſuffer death for his worde: And as concernyng that abſolution that they were able to geue vnto her, being authoriſed by the Pope, ſhee dyd defie the ſame, euen frō the bottome of her hart. The which thing when the Prieſtes heard, they ſaid to the Sheriffe: Wel, to morow her ſtoutnes wyll be proued and tryed. For although perhaps ſhe hath now ſome frendes that whiſper her in her eares, to morowe wyl we ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come neare her: and ſo they went their wayes with anger, that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

Miſtres Lewes refuſeth to be confeſſed of the Prieſtes.

All that night ſhee was wonderfully chearful & mery, with a certaine grauitie, in ſo much that the maieſtie of the ſpirit of God dyd manifeſtly appeare in her, who dyd expell the feare of death out of her hart, ſpending the time in prayer, readyng, & talking with them that were purpoſely come vnto her for to comfort her with the word of God.

Temptations of Miſtres Lewes before her death and Martyrdome.

About three of the clocke in the mornyng, Satan (who neuer ſleepeth, eſpecially when death is at hand) beganne to ſtyrre hym ſelfe buſily, ſhootyng at her that fiery darte the which he is wont to doo agaynſt all that are at defiaunce with hym, queſtionyng with her, howe ſhee could tell that ſhee was choſen to eternall lyfe, and that Chriſte dyed for her. I graunt that he dyed, but that he dyed for thee, howe canſt thou tel? with this ſuggeſtion when ſhee was troubled, they that were about her, dyd counſel her to folowe the example of Paul, Galathians. 2. where he ſaith: Whiche hath loued me, and geuen hym ſelfe for me. Alſo that her vocation and callyng to the knowledge of Gods word, was a manifeſt token of Gods loue towardes her, eſpecially that ſame holy ſpirite of God workyng in her hart that loue and deſire towardes God to pleaſe hym, and to be iuſtified by hym through Chriſt, &c. By theſe and like perſwaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſte, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and ſhee cōforted in Chriſt.

Ioyce Lewes comforted in her temptations.

About eight of the clocke, maiſter Sheriffe came to her into her chamber, ſaying theſe wordes: Maiſtreſſe Lewes, I am come to bring you tidynges of the Queenes pleaſure, the which is, that you ſhal liue no longer but one houre in this world: therfore prepare your ſelf therunto: it ſtandeth you in hand. At which wordes being ſo groſſely vttered and ſo ſodenly by ſuch an officer as he was, ſhee was ſomewhat abaſhed. Wherefore one of her frendes and acquaintaunce ſtanding by, ſaid theſe wordes: Maiſtreſſe Lewes, you haue great cauſe to prayſe God, who wyll vouchſafe ſo ſpeedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witnes to his truth, and to beare record vnto Chriſt that he is the onely Sauiour.

After the which wordes ſpoken thus, ſhee ſaid: maiſter Sheriffe, your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thanke my God that he wyl make me worthy to aduenture my life in his quarrell. And thus maiſter Sheriffe departed: and within the ſpace of one houre, he came againe, cum gladijs & fuſtibus: and when he came vp into the chamber, one of her frendes deſired hym to geue hym leaue to goe with her to the ſtake, & to comfort her, the which the Sheriffe graunted at that tyme, but afterwardes he was ſore troubled for the ſame when ſhee was dead.

Anno. 1557. September.

Joyce Lewes brought to the place of Martyrdome.

Now when ſhe was brought through the towne with a number of bill men, a great multitude of people being preſent, ſhe being led by ij. of her frendes (whiche were M. Michaell Reniger and M. Auguſtine Bernher) ſhe was brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far of, and the throng of the people great, and ſhe not acquainted with the freſh ayre (being ſo long in priſon) one of her frends ſent a meſſenger to the Sheriffes houſe for ſome drinke: and after ſhe had praied three ſeuerall times, in the which prayer ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh ỹ idolatrous maſſe, and to deliuer this Realme from Papiſtry (at the ende of the whiche prayers the moſt part of the people cried Amen, yea, euen the Sheriffe that ſtoode hard by her, ready to caſt her in the fire for not allowyng the maſſe, at this her praiers ſaid with the reſt of the people, Amen) when ſhe had thus praied, ſhee tooke the cup into her handes ſaiyng: I drinke to al them that vnfainedly loue the goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and wiſh for the aboliſhment of Papiſtrie. When ſhe had dronken, they that were her frendes, dranke alſo. After that a greate number, ſpecially the women of the towne did drinke with her: which afterward were put to open penaunce in the Churche by the cruell Papiſtes, for drinkyng with her.

Her praiers.

Women put to penaunce, for pledging Joice Lewes.

When ſhe was tied to the ſtake with the chayne, ſhe ſhewed ſuch a cherefulnes, that it paſſed mans reaſon, beyng ſo well coloured in her face, and ſo pacient, that the moſt part of them that had honeſt harts did lamēt, and euen with teares bewaile the tiranny of the Papiſtes. When the fire was ſette vppon her, ſhe neither ſtruggled nor ſturred, but onely lifted vp her hands towardes heauen, being dead very ſpeedely: for the vnder Sherieffe at the requeſt of her frendes had prouided ſuch ſtuffe, by the whiche ſhe was ſodeinly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

The Martyrdom of miſtres Joyce Lewes.

This amongeſt other thinges may not be forgotten, that the papiſtes had appointed ſome to rayle vpon her openly, and to reuile her, both as ſhe went to the place of Execution, and alſo when ſhe was at the ſtake. Amongeſt others there was an old Prieſt, whiche had a payre of writing Tables to note both the names of the women that dranke of her cuppe (as before you heard) and alſo deſcribed her frendes by their apparell: for preſently hee could not learne their names, and afterwardes enquired for their names, and ſo immediately proceſſe was ſent out for them, both to Couentry and to other places: but GOD, whoſe prouidence ſleepeth not, did defend them from the handes of theſe cruell tirantes. Unto the which God, with the Sonne and the holy ghoſt be honour and glory for euer, Amen.

¶ *The Martyrdome of Rafe Allerton,* James Awſtoo, Margery Awſtoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Iſlington.

September. 17. The ſtorie of Rafe Allerton.

IN ſearching out the certaine nomber of the faithfull Martyrs of God that ſuffered within the time and raigne of Queene Mary: I find that about the xvij. day of September, were burned at Iſlington, nigh vnto London, theſe foure conſtant profeſſours of Chriſte, Rafe Allerton, James Awſtoo, Margery Awſtoo his wife, and Richard Roth. Amongeſt the whiche: it firſt appeareth that this Rafe Allerton was more then a yere before his condemnation, apprehended & brought before the Lord Darcy of Chich, and was there accuſed, aſwel for that he would not conſent and come vnto the idolatry and ſuperſtition which then was vſed, as alſo that he had by preachyng entiſed others to doe the like. Beyng then hereupon examined, he confeſſed that he commyng into his pariſh church of Bentley, and ſeeyng the people ſittyng there, either gaſing about, or els talking together, exhorted them that they woulde fall vnto praier and meditation of Gods moſt holy worde, and not ſit ſtill idely. Whereunto they willingly conſented. Then after praier ended, he reade vnto them a chapiter of the Newe Teſtamente, and ſo departed.

Rafe Allerton attached.

In whiche exerciſe he continued vntill Candlemas, and then beyng enformed that hee might not ſo doe by the law (for that he was no prieſt or miniſter) he left of and kepte hymſelf cloſe in his houſe vntill Eaſter then next after. At what time, certaine ſworne men for the inquiry of ſuch matters, came vnto his houſe and attached hym for readyng in the Pariſhe of Welley. But when they vnderſtoode that hee had red but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moued the people) they let hym for that tyme depart. Notwithſtanding for feare of their crueltie he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his owne houſe, and keepe himſelfe in woods, barnes, and other ſolitary places, vntill the tyme of his apprehenſion. After this examination, the Lorde Darcy ſent hym vp vnto the Counſell: but they (not myndyng to trouble themſelues with hym) ſent hym vnto Boner. Who by threatninges and other ſubtill meanes, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearefull hart of this man (as yet not throughly ſtaied vpon the ayde and helpe of God) that within ſhort tyme he won hym vnto his moſt wicked will, and made hym openly at paules croſſe to reuoke and recant his former profeſſion, and therupon ſet him at liberty of body. Which yet brought ſuch a bõdage and terror of ſoule and conſcience, and ſo caſte hym downe, that except the Lorde (whoſe mercies are immeſurable) had ſupported and lifted hym vp againe, he had periſhed for euer.

But the Lord, who neuer ſuffereth his elect children vtterly to fall, caſting his pitifull eyes vppon this loſt ſhepe, with his mercifull and fatherly chaſtiſement, did (with Peter) raiſe him vp againe, geuing vnto him not onely harty and vnfained repentance, but alſo a moſte conſtaunt boldnes to profeſſe againe (euen vnto the death) his moſt holy name and glorious goſpel. Wherefore at the procurement of one Thomas Tye Prieſt, ſometime an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſte, but nowe a fierce perſecutour of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the hiſtory of William Munt and hys wife, page 1897.) he was again apprehended, and ſent vp againe vnto Boner, before whom he was the eight day of Aprill, and ſondry other times els examined. The report of which examination, written by his owne hande with bloud for lacke of other inche, hereafter followeth.

Thomas Tye Prieſte, perſecutour and promotour.

¶The examination of Rafe Allerton at his ſecond apprehenſion, appearyng before the Biſhop of London at Fulham, the viij. day of Aprill. An. 1557. written by hym ſelfe, with hys owne bloud.

The examination of Rafe Allerton.

BOner. Ah Syrrha, how chaunceth it that you are come hether againe on this faſhion? I dare ſaie thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Rafe. Yea my Lord, ſo I am. For if I were gilty of ſuche thinges as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſory.

Boner. By ſainct Mary that is not well done. But let me heare: art thou an honeſt man? for if I can proue no hereſie by thee, then ſhall thine accuſers doe thee no harme at all. Goe to, let me heare thee: For I did not beleue the tale to be true.

Rafe. My Lord, who doth accuſe mee? I pray you let mee know, and what is mine accuſation, that I maye aunſwere thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God, if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not to be afraide, nor aſhamed to aunſwere for thy ſelfe. But tell me in faithe, haſt thou not diſſembled.

Rafe. If I cannot haue mine accuſers to accuſe me before you, my conſcience doth conſtraine mee to accuſe my ſelfe before you: For I confeſſe that I haue greeuouſly offended God in my diſſimulation at my laſt beyng before your Lordſhip, for the which I am right ſory, as God knoweth.

Boner. Wherein I pray thee, diddeſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Rafe. Forſooth my Lorde, if your Lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand vnto a certaine writyng, the contentes whereof (as I remember) were, that I did beleue in all thinges as the Catholicke Church teacheth. &c. In the whiche I did not diſcloſe my minde, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no difference betwene the true Church and the vntrue Church.

Boner. Nay, but I pray thee let mee heare more of this geare. For I feare me thou wilt ſmell of an hereticke anone. Which is the true Church, as thou saieſt? Doeſt thou not call the heretickes church the true church, or the Catholicke churche of Chriſt? Now whiche of theſe two are the true church, ſaieſt thou? Go to: for in faithe I will knowe of thee ere I leaue thee.

Rafe. As concernyng the church of heretickes, I vtterly abhorre the ſame, as deteſtable and abhominable before God, with all their enormities and hereſies: and the church Catholicke is it that I only embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure and true.

Boner. By S. Auguſtine, but that is well ſaid of thee. For by GOD almightie, if thou haddeſt allowed the Chuch of heretickes, I would haue burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Morton. Then ſaid one Morton, a Prieſt: My Lorde, you knowe not yet what Churche it is that hee calleth Catholicke. I warrant you hee meaneth naughtely enough.

Boner. Thinke you ſo? Now by our bleſſed Lady, if it be ſo, he might haue deceaued me. How ſay you ſyrha, which is the Catholicke church.

Rafe. Euen that whiche hath receaued the wholſome ſound, ſpoken of Eſay, Dauid, Malachie, and Paule, with many other moe. The which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in euery place, and vnto the endes of the world.

Boner. Yea, thou ſaieſt true before GOD. For this is the ſound that hath gone throughout al Chriſtendome, and he that beleueth not the ſound of the holy Church, as S. Cyprian ſaith, doth erre. For he ſaith, that whoſoeuer is out of the church, is like vnto them that were out of Noes Ship when the floud came vppon all the whole world: ſo that the Arke of Noe is likened vnto the churche: and therefore thou haſt well ſaide in thy confeſſion. For the churche is not alone in Germanie, nor was here in Englande in the tyme of the late ſchiſmes, as the Heretickes doe affirme. For if the churche ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a lyer. For hee promiſed that the holy Ghoſte ſhould come to vs, lead vs into all truthe, yea, and remaine with vs vnto the ende of the world. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needes affirme, that the waye which is taught in Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, Flaunders, Denmarke, Scotland, and all Chriſtendome ouer, muſt needes be the true Catholicke church.

He meaneth belike, Boner & his felowes.

Rafe. My Lorde, if you remember, I ſpake of all the worlde, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendome onely, as me thinke your Lordſhip taketh it, the whiche kynde of ſpeakyng you doe not finde in all the Bible. For ſure I am that the Goſpell hath beene both preached and perſecuted in all landes: firſt, in Iewry, by the Scribes and Phariſeis, and ſince that tyme by Nero, Diocleſian, and ſuche like, and nowe here in theſe our dayes by, your Lordſhip knoweth whom. For truth it is that the churche which you call Catholicke, is none otherwiſe Catholicke then was figured in Caine, obſerued of Ieroboam, Ahab, Iezabell, Nabuchadonoſor, Antiochus, Herode, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniel and Eſdras maketh mention of theſe laſt daies by a plaine prophecie, and now fulfilled as appeareth, & affirmed by our Sauiour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, ſaying: There ſhall come greuous wolues to deuour the flocke.

Boner. Now, by the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, Maiſter Morton, he is the rancheſt heretike that euer came before me. How ſay you? haue you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what hee was, my Lorde, at the firſt, I.

Boner. Now by all Hallowes thou ſhalt be brent with fire for thy lying, thou horeſon verlet and prickelouſe, thou. Doeſt thou find a prophecy in Daniel of vs? nay you knaue, it is of you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretenſed holines. Go to, let me heare what is the ſaying of Eſdras, and take heede ye make not a lye, I aduiſe you.

iiii.Eſd,xvi.

Rafe. The ſaying of Eſdras is this: the heate of a greate multitude is kindeled ouer you, and they ſhall take away certaine of you, and feede the Idoles with you, and hee that conſenteth vnto them, ſhal be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorne, and troden vnder foote: yea they ſhall be like mad men, for they ſhal ſpare no man: they ſhal ſpoyle and waſt ſuch as feare the Lord. &c.

Boner. And haue you taken this thing to make your market good? Ah ſyrha, wilt thou ſo? by my faith a pretty inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the people. By my trouth I thinke there be no more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: Is there any that vnderſtandeth this ſcripture on this faſhiō? Before god, I thinke there be none in all England, but thou.

Three ſortes of Religion in Englande.

Rafe. Yes my Lorde, there are in England three Religions.

Boner. Saiſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Rafe. The firſte is that whiche you hold: the ſeconde is cleane contrary to the ſame: and the third is a Neuter, being indifferent, that is to ſay, obſeruyng all thinges that are commaunded, outwardly, as though he were of your part, his hart beyng ſet wholy againſt the ſame.

Boner. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needes be of one of them.

Rafe. Yea my Lorde, I am of one of them: and that which I am of, is euen that whiche is contrary to that which you teach to be beleued vnder paine of death.

Boner. Ah Syr, you were here with mee at Fulham, and had good cheare, yea and mony in your purſe when you went away, and by my faith I had a fauour vnto thee, but nowe I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knaue. Why, wilt thou take vpon the to reade the Scripture, and canſt not vnderſtand neuer a word? for thou haſte brought a text of Scripture, the whiche maketh cleane againſt thee. For Eſdras ſpeaketh of the multitude of you heretickes, declaryng your hate againſt the catholicke churche, makyng the ſimple or idle people to beleue that all is idolatrie that we doe, and ſo intiſe them away vntill you haue ouercome them.

The place of Eſdras explaned.

Rafe. Nay not ſo my Lorde. For hee maketh it more plaine, and ſaith on this wiſe: They ſhal take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it be knowen who are my choſen (ſaith the Lord) for they ſhall be tried, as the ſiluer or gold is in the fire. And wee ſee it ſo come to paſſe, euen as he hath ſaid. For who is not nowe driuen from Houſe and Home, yea and his goods taken vp for other menne that neuer ſwette for them, if hee doe not obſerue as you commaund and ſet forth? Or els, if he be taken, then muſt he either denie the truthe, as I did, in diſſemblyng, or els he ſhall bee ſure to be tryed, as Eſdras ſaieth, euen as the Golde is tryed in the fire. Whereby all the worlde may knowe that you are the bloudy churche, figured in Caine the tyraunt, neither yet are ye able to auoyde it.

Morton. I promiſe you my Lorde, I like hym better now then euer I did when hee was here before you the other tyme. For then hee did but diſſemble, as I perceiued well inough: but nowe mee thinke he ſpeaketh plainly.

Boner. Mary ſyr, as you ſay in deede, he is plaine. For he is a plaine Hereticke and ſhalbee burned. Haue the knaue awaie. Let hym be caried to Little eaſe at London, vntill I come.

Rafe. And ſo was I caried to London vnto Little eaſe, and there remained that nighte, and on the nexte morrowe I appeared before hym againe, the Deane of Paules and the Chauncellour of London beeing preſent. Then were brought forth certaine wrytynges that I had ſet my hand vnto.

Allerton charged with his owne hande wrytyng.

Boner. Come on your waies, ſyrha. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Rafe. Yea, they are my hand all of them: I confeſſe the ſame, neither yet will I denie any thyng that I haue ſet my hand vnto. But if I haue ſet my hand to anie thinge that is not lawfull, therefore am I ſory. Neuertheleſſe, my hand I will not denie to be my doyng.

Boner. Well ſaid. Now ye muſt tell me: Were you neuer at the church ſince you went from me, at Maſſe and Mattins? &c.

Rafe. No my Lord, not at Maſſe, Mattins, nor none other ſtraunge worſhipping of God.

Boner. Yea, saieſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neither at thine owne Pariſhe Churche, nor at none other? And doeſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtraunge worſhippyng? Why, I prate thee, wilte thou not beleeue the Scripture to be true?

Rafe. Yes my Lorde, I beleeue the Scripture to bee true, and in the defence of the ſame I entende to geue my life, rather then I will denie any part thereof, God willing.

Deane. My Lorde, thys fellowe will bee an honeſt man, I heare by hym. He will not ſtand in his opinion: for hee ſheweth hymſelfe gentle and pacient in hys talke.

Boner. Oh, hee is a glorious knaue. His painted termes ſhall no more deceaue mee. Ah horeſon Pricklouſe, doth not Chriſte ſay: this is my body? And how dareſt thou denie theſe wordes, for to ſay as I haue a wrytyng to ſhewe, and thine owne hande at the ſame? Let mee ſee, wilt thou denie this? Is not this thyne owne hand?

Rafe. Yes my Lorde, it is myne owne hande, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion therein

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is agreeable to Gods word. And where as you doe lay vnto my charge that I ſhould deny the wordes of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte: oh good Lorde, from whence commeth this raſh, haſty, and vntrue iudgement? Forſooth not from the ſpirite of truth: for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of lyers. Wherupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diſſamouſly? wherefore I beſech you, if I deny the Scriptures canonicall, or any part thereof, then let me dye.

Sir Thomas Tie, lately turned to his vomet, thirſteth for blood.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſwadeth other men to doe as he hymſelfe doth, contrary to the order appointed by the Queenes highnes and the Clergie of this Realme. For a great ſore of the pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and an other day to an other place to heare hym: ſo that very few commeth to the churche to heare diuine ſeruice: and this was not onely before that he was taken and brought vnto the Councell, but alſo ſince his returne home againe, he hath doone muche harme. For where both men and women were honeſtlye diſpoſed before, by Saint Anne, now are they as ill as he almoſte. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the Pariſhe, ſaiyng that we were of the malignant churche of Antichriſt, and not of the true churche of Chriſte, alleadging a great many of Scriptures to ſerue for his purpoſe, ſaying: good people, take heede, and beware of theſe bloudthirſty dogges. &c. And then I commaunded the Conſtable to apprehend hym, and ſo hee did. Neuertheleſſe after this apprehenſion, the Conſtable let hym goe about his buſines all the nexte daie, ſo that without puttyng in of ſuerties hee let hym go into Suffolke and other places, for no goodnes, I warrant you my Lord: it were almes to teache ſuch officers their duetie, how they ſhould let ſuche rebels go at their owne libertie, after that they bee apprehended and taken, but to keepe them faſte in the ſtockes vntill they bryng them before a Juſtice.

Rafe. As I ſayd before, ſo ſay I now againe: thou art not of the church of Chriſt, and that will I proue, if I may bee ſuffered. And where you ſayde, that you commaunded the Conſtable to apprehend mee, you did ſo in deede contrary to the Lawes of this Realme, hauing neither to lay vnto my charge, Treaſon, Fellony, nor murther: no neither had you Precept, Proces, nor warrant to ſerue on me, and therefore I ſaye, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeeke to trouble the Conſtable becauſe hee kept mee not in the ſtockes three daies and three nightes, it doth ſhewe a parte what you are. And my goyng into Suffolke was not for any euill, but only to bye halfe a buſhel of corne for bread for my poore wife and children, knowing that I had no longer tyme to tary with them. But if I had runne away, then you woulde ſurely haue layd ſomewhat to his charge.

Alerton apprehended, contrary to the lawes of the realme.

Boner. Go to, thou art a Marchaunt in deede. Ah ſyrrha, before God thou ſhalt bee burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Roth, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mynde that thou art of or no? canſt thou tell.

Rafe. He is of age to aunſwere: lette hym ſpeake for himſelfe: for I heare ſay that he is in your houſe.

Boner. Lo what a knaue here is. Go Cluny, fetche mee Roth hither. By my trouth he is a falſe knaue: but yet thou art worſe then he. Ah ſyrrha, did not you ſet your hand to a writing, the tenure wherof was, that if thou ſhould at any tyme ſay or doe heretically, then it ſhould be lawfull for me to take thee as a Relaps, and to proceede in ſentence againſt thee?

Allerton charged with Relaps.

Rafe. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be aſked whether it be ſufficient, that my hand or name writyng be able to geue authoritie to you or to any other to kil me. For if I, by writyng my name can doe ſo muche, then muſt my authoritie be greater then yours. Neuertheleſſe, I haue neither ſaid nor doone heretically, but like a true chriſtien man haue I behaued my ſelfe. And ſo I was committed into priſon agayne, and the .xxiiii. day of the ſame moneth, I was brought before the Biſhoppe, the Lorde North, D. Story, and others, and after a long talke in latine amongeſt themſelues (vnto the which I gaue no aunſwere, becauſe they ſpake not to mee, although they ſpake of me) at the laſt the Biſhop ſaid.

Boner. Howe ſaye you ſyrrha? tell mee brieflye at one worde, wilt thou bee contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneele thee downe at Maſſe, ſhewyng thy ſelf outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good will? Go to, ſpeake.

Rafe. I will not ſay ſo.

Boner. Awaie with hym, awaie with hym.

The ſeconde daie of Maie I was brought before the Biſhop, and three noble men of the counſell, whoſe names I doe not remember.

Allertō brought againe before Boner and certaine Lordes.

Boner. Loe my lordes, this ſame is the fellowe that was ſent vnto me from the Counſell, and did ſubmitte hym ſelf, ſo that I had halfe a hope of hym: but by S. Anne I was alwaies in doubte of hym. Neuertheleſſe he was with me, and fared well, and when I deliuered hym, I gaue hym money in his purſe. How ſaieſt thou? was it not ſo, as I tell my lordes here?

Rafe. In deede my Lorde, I had meate and drinke enough: but I neuer came in bed all the while. And at my departyng you gaue me .xii. d. how be it I neuer aſked none, nor would haue doen.

A lorde. Bee good to hym my Lorde. He will bee an honeſt man.

Boner. Before God, how ſhould I truſte hym? he hath once deceiued me already. But ye ſhall heare what he will ſaie to the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar. How ſaie you ſirha? after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the verie bodie of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, God and man, and none other ſubſtaunce, vnder the forme of bread?

Rafe. Where finde you that, my lorde, written?

Boner. Lo ſir. Why? Doeth not Chriſte ſaie: This is my bodie? Howe ſaieſt thou? Wilte thou deny theſe wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt? Or els, was he a diſſembler, ſpeakyng one thyng, and meanyng an other? Goe to, now I haue taken you.

Rafe. Yea my Lorde, you haue taken me in deede, and will keepe me vntill you kill me. Howe bee it my lorde, I maruaile why you leaue out the beginnyng of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lorde? For Chriſt ſaied: Take ye, and eate ye, this is my bodie. And if it will pleaſe you to ioyne the former woordes to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwere. For ſure I am that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neither did he ſaie one thing, and meane an other.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Boner. Why? Then muſte thou needes ſaie, that it is his bodie: for he ſaieth it hym ſelf, and thou confeſſeſt, that he will not lye.

Rafe. No my Lorde: he is true, and all menne are liers. Notwithſtandyng, I vtterly refuſe to take the woordes of our Sauiour, ſo fantaſtically as you teach vs to take them: for then ſhould wee conſpire with certaine heretickes, called the Neſtorians: for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural body, & ſo me thinke you doe, my lorde. If you will affirme his bodie to be there, as you ſaie he is, then muſte you needes alſo affirme, that it is a fantaſticall bodie, and not a true naturall bodie, and therefore looke to it for Gods ſake, and let theſe woordes goe before: Take ye, and eate ye: without whiche wordes the reſt are not ſufficient: but when the worthie receiuers doe take an eate, euen then is fulfilled the woordes of our Sauiour, vnto hym, or euery of them, that ſo receiueth.

Boner. Ah, I ſee well thou canſte not vnderſtande theſe wordes: I will ſhewe thee a parable. If I should ſet a pece of beefe before thee, & ſaie, eate: is it no beef? and then take part of it awaie, & ſende it to my Cooke, and he ſhall chaunge the faſhion thereof, and make it looke like bread. What wouldeſt thou ſay that it were no beefe, becauſe it hath not the faſhion of beefe?

Biſhoppe Boners parable.

Rafe. Let me vnderſtande a little further my lorde: ſhall the Cooke adde nothyng thereunto, nor take nothyng therefrome?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he doe or no, ſo longe as the ſhape is chaunged into an other likeneſſe?

Rafe. Ah, will you ſo my Lorde? your Sophiſtrie will not ſerue: the truthe will haue the victorie, neuertheles, as Eſay ſaith: He that refraineth hym ſelf from euill, muſt be ſpoyled. And Amos hath ſuche like woordes alſo. For the wiſe muſt be faine to hold their peace: ſo wicked a tyme it is, ſaieth he. Neuertheleſſe he that can ſpeake the truthe, and will not, ſhall giue a ſtraite accountes for the ſame.

Eſaye.lix.

Amos.v.

A Doctor. By my lordes leaue, here me thinkes thou ſpeakeſt like a foole. Wilte thou bee a iudge of the Scripturs? Naie thou muſte ſtande to learne, and not to teache: for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long agoe.

A Prieſt. No by your leaue, we haue a Churche, and not a Congregation. You miſtake that woorde, Maiſter Doctor.

Rafe. Then ſaide I to my fellowe priſoners ſtandyng by: My brethren, doe ye not heare how theſe men helpe one an other? let vs do ſo alſo. But we neuer came all in together after that tyme, but ſeuerally one after an other. Then was I caried away for that tyme. The xix. day of May I was brought before the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Chicheſter with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudgeouer? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Rafe. I know hym very well, my Lord.

Rocheſter. By my faithe I had him once, and then hee was as dronke as an Ape, for he ſtonke ſo of drinke, that I could not abide hym, and ſo ſent hym away.

Rafe. My Lorde, I dare ſaie you tooke your markes amiſſe. It was either your ſelfe or ſome of your owne company: for he did neitheir drinke Wine, Ale, nor beere in a quarter of a yeare before that tyme, and therfore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine examinations you ſhall haue when I am cōdemned, if I can haue any tyme after my commyng into Newgate, the which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deale more plainly: for the pithy matters are yet vnwritten. Thus fare you wel good frēds all. Yea I ſay, fare well for euer in this preſent world. Greete ye one an other, and be ioyful in the Lord. Salute the good widowes among you, with all the reſt of the congregation in Barſold, and Dedham, and Colcheſter.

This promiſe of his, beyng either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or els if hee did write the ſame not commyng to my handes, I am fayne in the reſt of his examinations to follow the onely report of the Regiſter: who witneſſeth that the xv. day of May. an. 1557. in the Biſhops Palace at London, he was examined vpon certeine interrogatories, the contentes whereof be theſe.

Articles miniſtred againſt Rafe Allerton.

1. First, that he was of the pariſhe of Muchbentley, and ſo of the Dioces of London.

2. Secondly, that the x. day of January, then laſt paſt, M. John Morant preaching at Paules, the ſaid Rafe Allertō did there openly ſubmit himſelf vnto ẏ church of Rome, with the rites and Ceremonies thereof.

3. Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe aſwell vnto the ſame ſubmiſſion, as alſo to one other bill, in the which he graunted, that if he ſhould at any tyme turne again vnto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawful for the biſhop immediatly to denounce and adiudge hym as an heretike.

4. Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the ſacrament, after the wordes of conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth ſtill materiall bread and materiall wine: and that he beleued that the bread is the bread of thankeſgeuyng, and the memoriall of Chriſtes death: and that when he receiueth it, he receaueth the body of Chriſte ſpiritually in his ſoule, but materiall bread in ſubſtaunce.

5. Fiftly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo aduiſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth article laſt before ſpecified.

6. Sixtly, that he had ſpoken againſt the B. of Rome, with the ſea & church of the ſame, and alſo againſt the ſeuen ſacramentes and other ceremonies and ordinaunces of the ſame church, vſed then within this Realme.

7. Seuenthly, that he had allowed and commēded the opinions and faith of M. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others of late burned within this Realme, and beleued that their opinions were good and godly.

8. Eightly, that he had diuers times affirmed that the religion vſed within this Realme at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good nor agreable to Gods word, & that he could not conforme hymſelfe therunto.

9 Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the booke of common prayer ſet forth in the reigne of king Edward the vi. was in all partes good and godly: and that the ſayd Rafe and his cōpany priſoners, did daily vſe amongſt themſelues in priſon ſome parte of the ſame booke.

10. Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon, he would not come to Maſſe, Mattins, nor Euenſong, nor beare Taper, Candle, or Palme, nor goe in proceſſion, nor would receaue holy water, holy bread aſhes, or pax, nor any other ceremonie of the church thē vſed within this Realme.

11. Eleuenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at libertie he would not confeſſe his ſinnes to any prieſt, nor receaue abſolution of him: nor yet would receaue the ſacrament of the altar, as it was then vſed.

12. Twelfly, that he had affirmed, that praying to ſaintes and praiers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his owne will and pleaſure, neither that it is lawful to reſerue the ſacrament or to worſhip it.

13. Thirteenthly, that the ſaid Allerton hath, according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come vnto his pariſh church euer ſithens the xth day of January laſt, or to vſe, receaue or allow any ceremonies, ſacramentes, or other rites then vſed in the church.

To all theſe articles he anſwered affirmatiuely, denying preciſely none of them: ſauing to this clauſe conteined in the xij. article, that a man is not bound to faſt and praie but at his owne will and pleaſure, hee ſaide that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he cōfeſſed that he had not faſted nor praied ſo oft as he was bound to doe. And vnto this anſwere hee alſo ſubſcribed in thys ſorte.

> Excepte it bee proued otherwiſe by the holy Scripture, I do affirme theſe articles to be true. By mee Rafe Allerton.

The next examination was the fourth day of July. The actes whereof, becauſe they doe appeare more amply in his other examination, had the x. day of September, I do here omit, geuing you farther to vnderſtand, that vpon the vij. daye of the ſame Moneth of July, he was brought before Doctour Darbiſhere in the Biſhops Palace, who examined hym againe vpon the former articles, and after perſuaded hym to recant, threatenyng hym that otherwiſe hee ſhould bee burned. To whom he boldly aunſwered: I would I might bee condemned euen to morrowe: for I perceaue my Lorde (meaning Boner) doth nothing but ſeeke mens bloud. Upon which ſaiyng Darbiſhire committed him againe to priſon, and the x. daye of September the biſhop cauſed him (with ẏ other three aboue named) to be brought vnto Fulham, and there in his priuate chappel within his houſe, he iudicially propounded vnto hym certayne other newe articles: of the whiche, the tenours of the firſt, fifte, ſixte, and ſeuenth are already mencioned in the ſecond, third, and fourth former obiections: as for the reſt, the contentes thereof here followeth.

Thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the information geuen againſt thee, & remainyng now in the actes of this court of thine Ordinary Edmund Biſhop of London, was and is a true information.

Perſecutours.

This informatiō was geuen by Thomas Tye, Curate of Bentley (of whom ye haue already heard) and certeine other of the ſame pariſh and affinitie: as namely John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffrey Beſtwod, John Richard, Richard Meere.

Information geuen againſt Rafe Allerton, by ſir Thomas Tye Prieſte, a wicked promotour.

The effect wherof was, that one Laurēce Edwardes of Bentley aforeſayd, had a child that was vnchriſtened, and beyng demaunded by the ſaied Tye, why hys child was not baptiſed, he made aunſwere it ſhould be when he could find one of his religion (meanyng a true profeſſour of Chriſtes Goſpell) Whereat the Curate ſaid: ah, ye haue had ſome inſtructor that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea (quoth the ſaide Edwardes) that I haue: and if your doctrine bee better then his, then I will beleue you: and therwithall fondly offered to fetch hym. Wherupon the Conſtable goyng with hym, they brought before the ſaid Curate the ſayd Rafe Allertō: of whom in this information they make this reporte that he was a ſeditious perſon, who ſithens his commyng doune from the biſhop had ſet vppon the Conſtables doore certeyne ſeditious letters, mouyng and perſwadyng thereby the people to followe his malicious diſobedience: and that theſe his perſwaſions had taken effect in many: And farther that the ſayde Rafe Allerton (the Curate askyng hym whether he had inſtructed this Laurence Edwardes that it was againſt Gods commaundement to enter into the Churche) caſting abroad his handes, ſhould ſay. Oh good people, now is fulfilled the ſaiyng of the godly prieſt and prophet Eſdras, who ſaith: The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few: they haue takē away their houſes, and ſpoiled their goods. &c. Which of you al haue not ſene this day, who is he here amongeſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe things done vpon vs this day. The church which they cal vs vnto, is the church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting church, and the church malignant. With theſe and many

iiij. Eſdr. xvj.

many mo wordes (ſaid they moſte maliciouſly and falſely alledged out of the Scriptures, he thus perſwaded a greate multitude there preſente (as muche as in hym lay) vnto diſobedience. For the which cauſe the Conſtables did then apprehend hym.

3. Item, thou Raſe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letter ſent vnto me by my Lord Darcy, beginnyng with theſe wordes (pleaſeth it your Lordſhip. &c.) was thine owne letter, and was ſubſcribed by thine owne hand.

The contentes of the letter mentioned in this Article, and written by Allerton, vnto the Lorde Darcy, was a confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion: the effect and purporte whereof becauſe it appeareth in the beginnyng of this his hiſtory, I doe here omit.

4. Item, thou Raſe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the other Letter, ſent alſo to me from my ſaide Lorde Darcy, beginnyng thus (pleaſeth it your Lordſhip. &c.) and endyng with theſe wordes (whenſoeuer it bee) is thyne own very letter, and ſubſcribed with thyne owne hand.

This was alſo an other letter written by hym vnto the Lord Darcy, the contentes wherof were, that wher the ſaid Lord had commaunded hym to declare where he had bene euer ſithens Whitſontyde laſt before hys firſt apprehenſion, this was to certifie his Lordſhippe, that he was not able ſo to do, otherwiſe then as he had already ſhewed hym by his former letters. And moreouer, where as he charged hym to haue read vnto the people abroad in the woodes, he certified hym that hee did neuer read any thyng abroad, ſauing once when he was in the cõpany of George Eagles and others, Richarde Roth tooke a writyng out of his boſome and deſired the ſaid Raſe to read it, whiche requeſt he then accompliſhed: and demaundyng of hym whoſe doyng the ſame was, the ſayd Roth told that it was Maiſter Crãmers, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and farther he could not ſhew hym. Neuertheles he was ready and willyng to ſuffer ſuche puniſhment as his Lordſhippe ſhould thinke mete, deſiryng yet that the ſame might be with fauour and mercie, although hee feared neither puniſhment nor death, praiyng the Lord, that it might be in his feare, when ſoeuer it ſhould be.

8. Item, thou Raſe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the Letters written with bloud, beginnyng with theſe wordes (Grace, mercy and peace. &c.) and endyng thus (Farewell in GOD) remaynyng now regiſtred in the Actes of this Court, were written voluntarily with thine owne hand.

He wrote this Letter in the Priſon with bloud for lacke of other inke, and did meane to ſend the ſame vnto Agnes Smith, alias Siluerſide, at that tyme impriſoned and afterwardes burned at Colcheſter for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell of Chriſte, as before is mentioned. The copy of which letter here enſueth.

¶A Letter vvritten by Raſe Allerton, vnto Agnes Smith, Widow.

A letter of Roſe Allerton.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods holy ſpirite, and the aboũdant health both of ſoule and body, I wiſhe vnto you, as to myne owne ſoule, as God knoweth, who is the ſearcher of all ſecretes.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed almighty God of his infinite mercy, to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer Martyrdome for Ieſus Chriſtes ſake, although heretofore I haue moſte negligently dalyed therwith, and therefore farre vnworthy I am of ſuch an high benefite, to be crowned with the moſte ioyfull crowne of Martyrdome: neuertheleſſe it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leaue mee, but hath raiſed me vp again accordyng to his promiſe, which ſaith: Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: For the Lord vpholdeth him with his hand. Wherby we perceiue Gods election to be moſt ſure: for vndoubtedly hee will preſerue all thoſe that are appointed to dye. And as hee hath begon this worke in me: euen ſo I do beleue that he wil finiſh the ſame, to his greate glory, and to my wealth, through Ieſus Chriſt. So be it.

Pſal. xxxvij.

Dearely beloued ſiſter (I am conſtrained ſo to call you becauſe of your conſtant faith and loue vnfained) conſider, that if we be the true ſeruauntes of Chriſt, then maie not we in any wiſe make agreement with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord nor agreement betweene them ſaith the Scriptures, and a man can not ſerue twoo maſters, ſaith Chriſte. And alſo it is prefigured vnto vs in the old law, wheras the people of God were moſte straitly commaunded that they ſhould not mingle them ſelues with the vngodly heathen, and were alſo forbidden to eate, drinke, or to marry with them. For as often as thei did either marry vnto their ſonnes, or take their daughters vnto them, or to their ſonnes, euen ſo oft came the greate and heauy wrath of God vppon his owne people, to ouerthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sanctuary of God: and brought in ſtraunge Princes to reigne ouer them, and wicked rulers to gouerne them, ſo that they were ſure of hunger, ſword, peſtilence, and wilde beaſtes to deuour them. Which plagues neuer ceaſed, vntill the good people of God were cleane ſeparated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh dearely beloued, this was written for our learnyng, that we through patience and comfort of the ſcriptures might haue hope. And is it not in like caſe happened nowe in this realme of Englande? For nowe are the people of God had in deriſion, and troden vnder foote, and the Cities, Townes, and houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that haue no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy ſanctuary of Gods moſte bleſſed worde, is layd deſolate and waſt, ſo that the very Foxes run ouer it. &c. yet is it the foode of our ſoules, the lanterne of our feete, and the light vnto our pathes: and where it is not preached, there the people periſh. But as the Prophet ſaith: he that refraineth himſelfe from euill, muſt be ſpoyled. Why ſhould we then be abaſhed to be ſpoyled, ſeeyng that it is told vs before, that it muſt ſo happen vnto them that refraine from euill? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

Eſaye. lix.

R. A.

Item, thou Raſe Allerton canſt not deny, but that the Letters written with bloud, beginnyng with theſe wordes in the ouer parte therof. (The angell of God. &c.) and ending thus (bee with you, Amen) and hauyng alſo this poſtſcript (do ye ſuppoſe that our brethr. &c.) remainyng now regiſtred in the actes of this court, are thyne owne hand writyng. 9.

For the better vnderſtandyng of this article, I haue alſo here inſerted the Copy of the Letter mentioned in the ſame: which letter he wrote (by his owne confeſſion) vnto Richard Roth, then in daunger of the ſubtill ſnares of that bloudy Wolfe Boner.

¶A Letter written by Raſe Allerton vnto Richard Roth, his fellowe Martyr.

A letter of Raſe Allerton.

THe Angell of God pitch his tent about vs, and defend vs in all our wayes. Amen, Amen.

O deare brother, I praye for you, for I heare ſay that you haue bene diuers tymes before my Lord in examination. Wherefore take heede for Gods ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrinke not away when you are entiſed to cõfeſſe an vntruth, for hope of life, but be ready alwaies to geue an anſwere of the hope that is in you. For whoſoeuer confeſſeth Chriſte before men, hym will Chriſt alſo confeſſe before his father. But hee that is aſhamed to cõfeſſe hym before men, ſhall haue his reward with them that doe denie hym. And therefore deare brother go forward: ye haue a ready way, ſo faire as euer had any of the Prophetes or Apoſtles, or the reſte of our brethren, the holy Martyrs of GOD. Therefore couet to goe hence with the multitude while the way is ful. Alſo deare brother vnderſtand that I haue ſeen your Letter, and although I cannot reade it perfectly, yet I partly perceiue your meanyng therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certayne comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſſe for lacke of paper, vntill my Lorde be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhall bee accompliſhed, GOD willyng without delaye. Thus fare ye well in God. Our deare brother and fellow in tribulation Robert Allen ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the holy ghoſt be with you, Amen.

Raſe Allerton.

Poſt ſcriptũ.

Do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren and ſiſterne are not yet diſpatched out of this world? I thinke that either they are dead, or ſhalbe within theſe two dayes.

And for the other obiection yet remainyng, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhewe the follie of thoſe bloudye tyrauntes (whiche of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſions to quarell with the Saintes of

God) then for any weighty thyng therein contained: I woulde neither trouble you with the readyng thereof, nor yet my ſelfe with writing. But that ye maye iudge of them as their doynges do geue occaſion, I will now proceede in the matter.

10. Item thou Rafe Allerton canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt, that the writyng of letters in a little peece of paper on both ſides of it, with this Sentence on the one ſide followyng (looke at the foote of the ſtockes for a knife) and with this ſentence following vpon the other ſide (looke betweene the poſt and the wall for two bookes and two Epiſtles, leaue them here when ye go) remainyng now in the Regiſtry and Actes of this court is voluntarilie written by thee Rafe Allerton with thine owne hand.

11. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canſt not denie, but that thou art priuy to a certaine writyng, remainyng now in the Regiſtry and actes of this Courte, the beginnyng whereof is with theſe wordes (I would haue meane wiſe. &c.) and endyng thus (from houſe to houſe.)

12. Item, thou Rafe Allerton, canſt not deny, but that thou art priuy and of conſent and maintenaunce of a certain great Woodknife, a long cord, a hoke, a ſtone, and of a trencher written vppon with Chalke, hauyng this ſentence (All is gonne and loſte, becauſe of your folly:) of twoo bordes written vppon with chalke, the one hauyng this ſentence (vnder the ſtone looke) and the other hauyng this ſentence, (whereas you byd mee take heede, I thanke you, I truſt in God that I ſhalbe at peace with him ſhortly) remainyng now regiſtred in the actes of this court.

Aunſweres to the articles.

Ex Regiſt.

For aunſwere vnto all theſe Articles, he graunted that the firſt nine were true, as the Regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I finde noted in the backeſide of the information, ſpecified in the ſecond article (although croſſed out againe) that he denied ſuch thinges as were there in the ſame, informed againſt hym. Wherfore it is not likely that he did ſimply graunt vnto the contentes of the ſeconde article, but rather that he onelie affirmed that ſuch an information was geuen againſt hym, and not that the ſame was true.

Thus much I thought to warne the Reader of, leſt that in miſtaking his aunſweres, it might ſeeme that he graunted hym ſelfe to bee a ſeditious and a rebellious perſon: of which fact he was moſt cleare and innocent. And beyng farther demaunded vpon the contentes of the eight article, where he had the bloud he wrote that letter withall: he ſaid that Richard Roth, ſometime his priſon fellow did make his noſe bleede, and thereby he got the bloud wherwith he did then write. The Biſhop againe aſked hym to whom hee woulde haue ſent the ſame. He anſwered, vnto one Agnes Smith, alias Siluerſide of Colcheſter. Why (quoth the Biſhop) Agnes Smith was an Heretike, and is burned for Hereſie. Nay, ſaid Allerton, ſhe is in better caſe, then either I my ſelf, or any of vs all. Then beyng againe demaunded (vpon the ninth obiection) to whom he would haue ſent the letter mentioned in the ſame: hee aunſwered, that he ment to haue ſent it vnto Richard Roth, at that preſent ſeparated from hym. Whereupon the Biſhop farther enquired, what he ment by theſe wordes (brethren, and ſiſterne) ſpecified in the ſaide letter: he aunſwered, that he ment thereby, ſuche as were lately condemned at Colcheſter, & were like (at the writyng therof) ſhortly to bee burned. Nowe, as for the contentes of the x. and xi. articles he vtterly denied them. But to the xii. he confeſſed, that he wrote vpon the ſaide Trencher and other boardes, the wordes mencioned in the ſayde Article, and that hee did leaue the ſame in the Priſon houſe, to thentent that Richard Roth ſhould read thē. Boner alſo bringyng out the woden ſword, mencioned in the ſaied Article, aſked hym who made it, and for what purpoſe. Whereunto he aunſwered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no euill purpoſe. But beyng idell in yͤ priſon, and findyng there an old board, hee thought the tyme better ſpent in makyng thereof, then to ſit ſtill and do nothyng at all.

The forenoone being nowe ſpent, the reſte of this tragedy was differred vntill the afternoone. Wherein was miniſtred vnto him yet certaine other obiections, the tenour wherof was.

Other obiectiōs miniſtred to Rafe Allerton.

FIrſt, that he had miſliked the maſſe, callyng vpon Sainctes and caryng the Croſſe in Proceſſion, with other their ceremonies, calling them Idolatry, and alſo had diſſuaded them therefrom.

Item, that he was much deſirous to haue the people beleue as he did, and therfore beyng in priſon with his fellowes, did ſing Pſalmes and other ſonges againſt the Sacrament of the Altar and other ordinaunces of the church, ſo loud, that the people abroad might heare them and delight in them.

2. Item, that he had diuers tymes conſpired againſt his keeper, and had prouided thinges to kill hym, and ſo to breake the priſon and eſcape awaie.

3. Item, that he had railed againſt the Biſhop beyng his Ordinary, callyng hym a bloudy Butcher, tyraunt, and rauenyng Woulfe, and alſo againſt his Officers, eſpecially Cluny his Sumner, callyng hym Butchers Cur, with other ſuch names.

4. Item, that hee had murmured, grudged, diſdained, and miſliked that the biſhop had proceded againſt certeine of his Dioces, and had cōdemned them as heretickes: or that he ſhould procede now againſt hym and others yet remainyng in errours, notwithſtandyng that he and his Chapleyns had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

5. Item, that he ought faithfully to beleeue, that there is one Catholicke Church, without the which there is no ſaluation: of the which Church Ieſus Chriſt is the very prieſt and ſacrifice, whoſe body and bloud is really and truely conteined in the Sacrament of the Altar vnder the formes of Bread and Wine: the Bread and wine beyng by the diuine power tranſubſtanciated into his body and bloud.

6. Item, that he had kept himſelfe, and alſo diſtributed to others certaine hereticall and corrupt bookes, condemned and reproued by the lawes of this Realme.

7. Item, that he had contrary to the orders and ſtatutes of this Realme, kept company with that ſeditious hereticke and traitour, George Eagles, commonly called Trudgeouer, and had heard hym reade in woddes and other places, yet not accuſing, but allowyng and praiſing hym.

8. Unto which articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part, ſo fooliſhe and full of lyes, he would in a maner make no anſwere, ſauyng he graunted that he did miſlike their Maſſe and other Ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreouer hee tolde the Biſhop that he and his complices did nothing but ſeke how to kill innocentes.

The Biſhop then aſked him, whether he would beleue in al pointes touching the ſacrament of the altar, as is conteined in the general Councell holden & kept vnder Innocentius. 3. and therwithall hee did read the decree of the ſaid Counſell touchyng the Sacrament.

Whereunto Allerton againe made aunſwere and ſaid: I beleue nothing conteined in the ſame Councel, neither haue I any thyng to doe therewith: and it were alſo very neceſſary that no man els ſhould haue to doe therwith.

Then (quoth Boner) thou art of the opinion that the heretikes lately burned at Colcheſter were of.

Yea (ſayde he) I am of their opinion, and I beleue that they be ſainctes in Heauen.

This doone, the Biſhop perceauing that he would not recant, demaunded what hee had to ſaie, why hee ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt hym. To whom hee aunſwered: ye ought not to condemne me as an hereticke, for I am a good chriſtian. But now go to, doe as you haue already determined: For I ſee right well, that right and truth be ſuppreſſed, and cannot appeare vpon the earth.

Theſe wordes ended, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of condemnation, and ſo deliuered hym vnto the temporall officers: Who reſerued hym in their cuſtody vntill the xvii. day of September, at which tyme, both hee and the other three before mencioned were all burned, as ye haue already heard. Of which other thre, becauſe as yet little is ſayde, I will therfore now procede to declare ſuche cauſe of their cruell deathes as in the Regiſtry is recorded.

¶ Iames Auſtoo and Margery his wiſe.

Examinatiō of Iames Auſtoo and Margerie his wife.

TOuchyng the firſt apprehenſion of theſe twoo perſons, I finde neither occaſion why, neither tyme, nor maner how. Howbeit as the daies then ſerued, it was no hard or ſtraunge matter to fall into the handes of ſuch as with crueltie perſecuted the true profeſſours of Gods goſpell, eſpecially hauyng ſo many promoters, and vnneighbourly neighbours to helpe them forwardes. By whiche kind of people, it is not vnlike these two godly yokefellowes were accuſed and taken: and beyng once deliuered into the pitileſſe handlyng of Boner: their examinations (ye may be ſure) were not long differred. For the xvi day of July 1557. they were brought before him into his palace at London. Where firſt he demaunded of the ſaid James Auſtoo (amõgſt other queſtions) where he had béne confeſſed in Lent, and whether he receiued the Sacrament of the altare at Eaſter or not.

To whom he aunſwered that in déede he had béne confeſſed of the Curate of Alhallowes Barkyng, nigh vnto the Tower of London, but that he had not receaued the Sacrament of the altar, for he defied it from the bottom of his harte.

Why, q the Byſhop, dooſt thou not beleue that in the Sacrament of the altare there is the true body and bloud of Chriſt?

No ſaid Auſtoo, not in the Sacrament of the altar: but in the Supper of the Lord, to the faythfull receauer is the very body and bloud of Chriſt by faith.

Boner not well pleaſed with this talke, aſked then the wife, how ſhe did like the Religion then vſed in this Church of England?

She aunſwered that ſhe beleued, that the ſame was not accordyng to Gods word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did goe thereunto, did it more for feare of the law, then otherwiſe.

Then he agayne aſked her if ſhe would goe to the Church and heare Maſſe, and pray for the proſperous eſtate of the kyng, beyng then abroad in his affaires.

Wherunto ſhe ſaid that ſhe defied the Maſſe with all her hart, & that ſhe would not come into any church wherin were Idols.

After this the Byſhop obiected vnto them certaine Articles, to the number of xviij. The tenure wherof (becauſe they touch onely ſuch common and triflyng matters as are already mẽtioned in diuers and ſundry places before) I do here for breuity ſake omit & paſſe ouer: geuyng you yet thus much to vnderſtand, that in matters of faith, they were as ſound, and aunſwered as truly (God be therfore prayſed) as euer did any, eſpecially the woman, to whom the Lord had geuen the greater knowledge & more feruentnes of ſpirite. Notwithſtandyng, accordyng to the meaſure of grace that God gaue them, they both ſtode moſt firmely vnto the truth. And therfore to conclude, the x. day of September, they were (with Raſe Allerton, of whom ye haue heard) brought agayne before the Byſhop within hys Chappell at Fulham, where he ſpeakyng vnto them, ſayd firſt on this wiſe: Auſtoo, dooſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to doe?

Yea (q Auſtoo) I know where I am: For I am in an idols temple.

After which wordes their Articles being agayne read, and their conſtancy in fayth perceaued, Boner pronounced agaynſt either of them ſeuerally the ſentence of condemnation, and deliuering them vnto the Shrieffe there preſent, did rid his hãds (as he thought) of them: but the Lord in the ende will iudge that: to whom I referre his cauſe.

Margerete Auſtoo terrified in priſon.

It ſo happened vpon a night that as this Margery Auſtoo was in the Byſhops priſon (which priſon I ſuppoſe was his dogge kennell, for it was, as is reported, vnder a payre of ſtayres) by the Byſhops procurement there was ſent a ſtout champion (as appeared) about twelue of the clocke at night, who ſuddenly opened the doore, & with a knife drawen or ready prepared, fel vpon her, to the intent to haue cut her throte. Whiche ſhe by reaſon of ẏ clearnes of the Moone perceauyng, and callyng vnto God for helpe, he (but who it was ſhe know not) giuyng a grunt, and fearyng (belike) to commit ſo cruell a deede, departed hys wayes without any more hurt doyng.

The next night followyng, they cauſed a great rũbelyng to be made ouer her head, which ſeemed to her to haue bene ſome great thunder, which they did for to haue feared her out of her wittes, but yet thankes be to God, they miſſed of their purpoſe.

Richard Roth.

Examinatiõ of Richard Roth.

IN the Godly fellowſhip of the forenamed .iij. Martyrs, was alſo this Richard Roth, as is already before ſpecified. Who being apprehended and brought vp vnto the Biſhop of London, was by him examined the fourth day of July: at what time ẏ Biſhop did earneſtly trauell to induce him to beleue that there were ſeuen ſacramentes in Chriſtes Church, and that in the ſacrament of the altar (after the wordes of conſecration duely ſpoken) there remayned the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud and none other. Wherunto, (at that preſent) he made only this aunſwere: that if the ſcriptures did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſwaded, he would ſo beleue, otherwiſe not. But at an other examination (which was the ix. day of September) he declared playnly, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar (as it was then vſed) there was not the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the maſſe was deteſtable and cõtrary to Gods holy worde and will, from the which fayth and opinion he would not goe or decline.

The next day being the x. day of the ſame moneth of Septẽber, the biſhop at his houſe at Fulham (by way of an article) laid & obiected againſt him: that he was a comforter and boldener of heretickes, and therfore had writte a letter to that effect vnto certain that were burned at Colcheſter: the copy wherof enſueth.

¶ A letter written by Rich. Roth, vnto certaine brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, condemned at Colcheſter, and ready to be burned for the teſtimony of the truth.

A letter of Richard Roth.

O Deare brethren and ſiſters, how much haue you to reioyce in God, that he hath geuen you ſuch faith to ouercome this bloud thirſty tirauntes thus farre: and no doubt he that hath begon that good worke in you, will fulfill it vnto thend. O deare hartes in Chriſte, what a crowne of glory ſhall ye receaue with Chriſt in the kingdome of God? Oh that it had bene the good wil of God, that I had bene ready to haue gone with you. For I lye in my Lordes little eaſe in the daye, and in the night I lye in the Colehouſe, from Raſe Allerton, or any other: and we looke euery day when we ſhall bee condemned. For he ſayd that I ſhould be burned within x. dayes before Eaſter: but I lye ſtill at the pooles brinke, and euery man goeth in before me: but we abide paciently the Lordes layſure, with many bandes, in fetters and ſtockes: by the which wee haue receaued great ioye in God. And now fare you well deare brethren and ſiſters, in this worlde, but I truſt to ſee you in the heauen face to face.

Oh brother Munt, with your wiſe and my deare ſiſter Roſe, how bleſſed are you in the Lorde, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for hys ſake: with all the reſt of my deare brethren and ſiſters knowen & vnknowen. O be ioyfull euen vnto death. Feare it not, ſayth Chriſt, for I haue ouercome death, ſayth he. Oh deare hartes, ſeing that Ieſus Chriſt will be our helpe, oh tary you the Lordes layſure. Be ſtrong, let your hartes bee of good comfort, and wayte you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that feare him, and deliuereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our liues are in the Lordes handes: and they can doe nothing vnto vs before God ſuffer them. Therfore geue all thankes to God.

Oh deare hartes, you ſhall be clothed with long white garmentes vppon the mount Sion, with the multitude of Saintes, and with Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, which will neuer forſake vs. Oh bleſſed Virgins, ye haue played the wiſe virgines part, in that you haue taken oyle in your lampes, that ye may goe in with the brydegrome when he cũmeth, into the euerlaſting ioy with him. But as for the fooliſh they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelues ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither goe about to take vp his croſſe. O deare hartes, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord? for deare is the death of his ſaintes. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Rich. Roth, written with
mine owne bloud.

This letter he confeſſed in dede (vpon the ſaid examination) to haue written with his bloud, and that he ment to haue ſent the ſame vnto ſuch as were condemned at Colcheſter for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and were afterwardes burned there, as ye haue already heard.

The Byſhop then farther aſked hym, what hee thought his priſon fellow Raſe Allerton to bee?

The teſtimonie of Ric. Roth of Raſe Allerton.

He aunſwered that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God: and that if at any tyme hereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, Anno, 1557. September.

ligion, he thought he ſhould dye a true Martyr. And moreouer finding him ſelfe agreued with the Byſhops priuy and ſecret condemninges of Gods people, hee ſayd vnto him in this ſort: My Lord, becauſe the people ſhould not ſee and behold your doinges, ye cauſe me and others to bee brought to our examinations by night, beyng afrayd (belike) to doe it by day.

The Byſhop not greatly caring for this talke, proceded to examine him of other matters, amongeſt which this high and waighty thing was one, videlicet, how he did like the order and rites of the Church then vſed here in England.

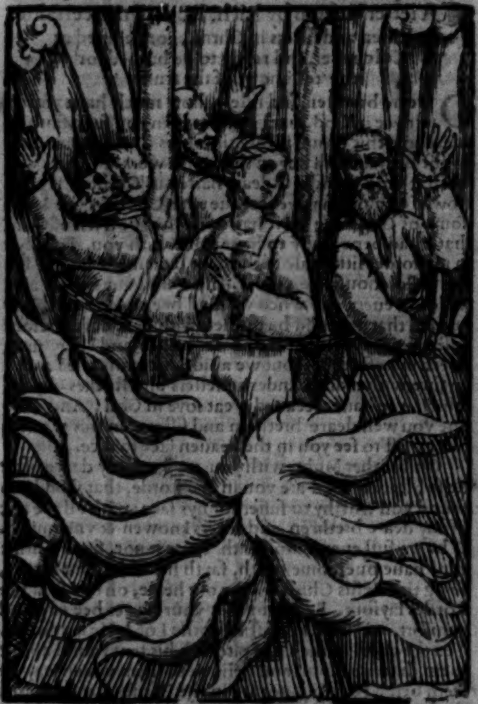
To whom he ſaid, that he euer had and yet then did abhorre the ſame with all his hart.

Then diuers of the Byſhops complices entreated and perſwaded hym to recant, and aske mercy of the Byſhop.

The condemnation of Richard Roth.

No (q Roth) I will not aske mercy of him that can not geue it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mentioned) condemned, and deliuered vnto the Shriffe. And the xvij. day of September they all moſt ioyfully ended their lyues in one fire at Iſlington, for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, as before is declared.

¶ Foure Martyrs burned at Iſlington.



The Martyrdome of Rafe Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margerie Auſtoo, Richard Roth, at Iſlyngton. Anno. 1557. September. 17

¶ Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurſton, two godly Chriſtian women, burnt at Colcheſter for the ſincere profeſsing of Chriſtes Goſpell.

September. 17 Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, Martyrs.

A Little before (gentle reader) was mention made of tenne that ſuffred Martyrdome at Colcheſter pag. 1897. at which tyme there were twoo other women alſo, one called Margaret Thurſtõ, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that ſhould haue ſuffred with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame time and place that the other aboue named tenne were, for the like cauſe, and aunſwered alſo in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurſton, that morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the Caſtle, was for that time deferred. What ỹ cauſe was, the teſtimonie of Ioane Cooke ſhall declare vnto vs. Which Ioane Cooke, the wife now of Iohn Sparke beyng then in the Caſtell of Colcheſter for religion, did demaund of this widow Thurſton, whoſe huſband dyed in the priſon being impriſoned for religion, wherfore the ſayd Margaret beyng a condemned woman, ſhould be reſerued, whẽ the other ſuffered in the Caſtel Baily. She aunſwered, that it was not for any feare of death, but beyng prepared as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe felte in her ſelfe a great ſhiuering and trembling of the fleſhe. Wher upon forſaking the company ſhe went aſide to pray: And whileſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted vp with a mighty winde that came round about her. Euen at that inſtant came in the Iayler and company with him, and whileſt ſhe turned her ſelfe to fetch her Pſalter, they tooke the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was remoued out of the Caſtell and put into the towne priſon: were ſhe continued vntill Fryday ſeuennight after her company were burnt. That day, not twoo howers before her death, ſhe was brought to the Caſtell agayne, where ſhe declared thus much to the aforeſayd Ioane Cooke.

A note of Margaret Thurſtõ.

The Martyrdome of Margaret Thurſtõ, and Agnes Bõgeor deferred, for what cauſes.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who ſhould haue ſuffered in like maner with the vj. that went out of Motehall, was alſo kept backe at that time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong writtẽ within the writ, as in the Bayliffes letters of Colcheſter, ſent to Boner about the ſame, more plainly doth appeare in the booke of our firſt edition. pag. 1632.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of Auguſt, that the ſayd ſixe in Motehall were called out to goe to their Martyrdome, was Agnes Bongeor alſo called with them, by the name of Agnes Bowyer. Wherefore the Bayliffes vnderſtanding her (as I ſayd) to be wrong named within the writ, commaunded the ſayd Agnes Bongeor to priſon againe, as ye haue heard in the letter before named, and ſo from Mote Hall that day ſent her to the Caſtel, where ſhe remayned vntill her death. But when ſhe ſaw her ſelfe ſo ſeparated from her ſayd priſon fellowes in that ſort, Oh good Lord what pitifull mone that good woman made, how bitterly ſhe wept, what ſtraunge thoughtes came into her mynde, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed her ſelfe, and into what plunge of diſpayre and care her poore ſoule was brought, it was pitious and wonderfull to ſee: which all came becauſe ſhe went not with them to geue her life in the defence of her Chriſt: For of all thinges in the world, life was leaſt looked for at her hãdes. For that morning in whiche ſhe was kept backe from burning, had ſhe put on a ſmocke that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe: And alſo hauing a childe, a litle young infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the tyme ſhe was in priſon, agaynſt that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend it away to an other nurſe, and prepared her ſelfe preſently to geue her ſelf for the teſtimony of ỹ glorious Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt. So litle did ſhe looke for life, and ſo greatly did gods giftes worke in her aboue nature, that death ſeemed a great deale better welcome then life. But this tooke not effect at that time as ſhe thought it would, and therfore (as I ſayd) was ſhe not a litle troubled.

The name of Agnes Bõgeor miſtaken.

Agnes Bõgeor troubled for not ſuffering with her companie.

Beyng in thys great perplexitie of mynde, a frend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abrahams obedie͂ce was accepted before God for that he did ſacrifice his ſonne Iſaac, or in that hee would haue offered him. Unto which ſhe aunſwered thus: I know (q ſhe) that Abrahams will before God was allowed for the deede, in that he would haue done it, if the Angell of the Lord had not ſtayed him: but I (ſayd ſhe) am vnhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignitie, and therefore Abrahams caſe and myne is not alike.

Why (q her frend) would ye not willingly haue gone with your companie, if God ſhould ſo haue ſuffered it?

Yes (ſayd ſhe) with all my hart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chiefe and greateſt griefe.

Then ſaid her frend: my deare ſiſter, I pray the conſider Abraham and thy ſelf well, & thou ſhalt ſee thou dooſt nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (q ſhe) there is a farre greater matter in Abraham then in me: For Abraham was tried with the offering of his owne child, but ſo am not I, and therfore our caſes are not like.

Good ſiſter (q her frend) way the matter but indifferently. Abraham I graunt (ſayd he) would haue offered his ſonne: & haue not you done the like in your litle ſucking babe? But conſider further then this, my good ſiſter (ſayd he) where Abraham was commaunded but to offer his ſonne, you are heauy & greued becauſe you offer not your ſelfe: which goeth ſomewhat

more

Anno.1557. September,

more neare you then Abrahams obedience did, & therfore before God aſſuredly, is no leſſe accepted & alowed in his holy preſence: which further the preparing of your ſhrowde alſo doth argue full well &c. After which talke betwene them, ſhe began a litle to ſtay her ſelfe, and gaue her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found no litle comfort.

Agnes Bõgeor recouereth comforte.

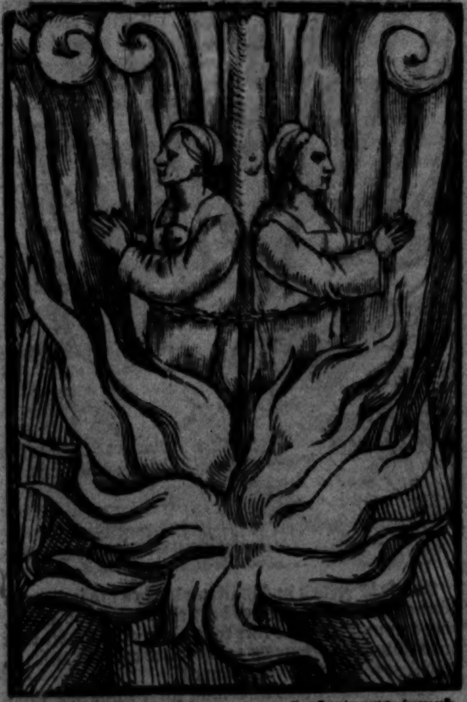
In the time that theſe foreſayd ij. good women were priſoners, one in yͤ Caſtle, and the other in Mote hall: God by a ſecret meane called yͤ ſayd Margaret Thurſton vnto his truth agayne, who hauing her eyes opened by the working of his ſpirite, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, neuer more while ſhe liued to do the like againe, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame, agaynſt all the aduerſaries of the croſſe of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in ſhort time a writ from London for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof, was executed the xvij. day of September, in the yeare aforeſayd:

A writte for the burnyng of Margaret Thurſton, and Agnes Bõgeor.

{ Margaret Thurſton. }
{ Agnes Bongeor. }

Now whẽ theſe foreſayd good womẽ were brought to the place in Colcheſter where they ſhould ſuffer, the xvij. day of September in the yeare aforeſayd, they fell downe both vpon their knees, and made their humble prayers vnto the Lord: which thing being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake ioyfully, and were immediatly therto chayned, and after the fire had compaſſed them about, they with great ioy and glorious triumph, gaue vp their ſoules, ſpirites, and liues into the handes of the Lord: vnder whoſe gouernement and protectiõ, for Chriſtes ſake we beſech him, to graunt vs his holy defence and helpe for euer more, Amen.

¶ The burnyng of two godly women at Colcheſter.



The Martyrdome of Margaret Thurſtõ, Agnes Bõgeor, at Colcheſter. Anno.1557. September.17

Thus (gẽtle Reader) God choſeth the weake things of the world, to confound mighty thinges.

¶ John Kurde, Martyr.

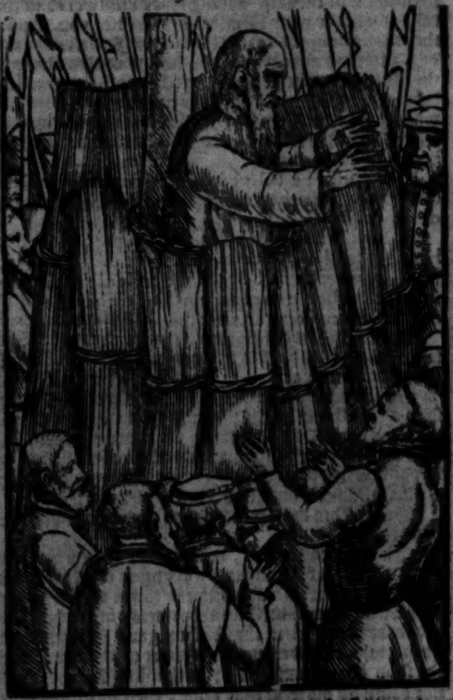
September.20 John Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, in yͤ pag. thus marked 1860. ſome thing was touched of a certaine Shomaker, ſuffering at Northampton, being vnnamed, whom becauſe we vnderſtãd by a letter ſent from the ſayd parties, that he ſuffered in this yere. 1557. and in the moneth of September, therefore we though there to place hym. His name was John Kurde a Shomaker, late of the Pariſh of Syrſam, in Northampton ſhiere, who was impriſoned in Northampton caſtel, for denying the Popiſh tranſubſtantiation, for the which cauſe William Bynſley Bacheler of law, and Chauncellour vnto the Byſhop of Peterborow, and new Archdeacon of Northamptõ, did pronounce ſentence of death agaynſt the ſayd Kurde, in the Churche of all Saintes in Northampton in Auguſt. an. 1557. And in September followyng, at the commaundement of Syr Thomas Treſham, Shriefe thẽ of the ſhiere, he was led by his officers without the Northgate of Northampton, & in the ſtonepittes was burned. A Popiſh Prieſt ſtãdyng by, whoſe name was John Rote, Vicare of S. Giles in Northampton, did declare vnto him, that if he would recant, he was authoriſed to geue him his pardon. His aunſwere was that he had his pardon by Jeſus Chriſt. &c.

William Binſley Chauncellour to the Biſhop of Peterborough, and now Archdeacon of Northãpton, condemned Ihõ Kurd.

John Rote a Popiſhe prieſt: Popiſhe pardon refuſed.

Iohn Kurde Martyr, burned at Northampton.



The Martyrdome of John Kurde at Northampton. Anno.1557. September.20

¶ The true certificate of the taking of
one Ihon Noyes of Laxfield in the Countie of
Suffolke Shomaker, which was taken the ix. day
of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord God.
1557. as hereafter followeth.

September.22

IN the moneth of September this preſent yeare, or (as ſome report) in the yeare paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr Ioh. Noyes, whoſe ſtory here foloweth.

Perſecution by the Conſtables, Sheriffes, and Juſtices of Suffolke.

Firſt M. Thomas Louell beyng then chief Conſtable of Hoxton Hundred, in the Countie aforeſayd, and one John Jacob, and William Staunard then beyng vnder Conſtables of the aforeſayd towne of Laxfield, and Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Staunard of the ſame towne, beyng then accompted faithfull and Catholicke Chriſtians, though vndoubtedly they approued moſt cruel hinderers of the true profeſſours of Chriſt and his Goſpell, with others, were commaunded to be that preſent day before the Juſtices, whoſe names were M. Thurſton Syr John Tyrrell, & M. Kene, and Syr John Sylyerd beyng hye Shriffe.

Charge geuen by the Inquiſitours.

Theſe ſittyng at Hoxne in the Countie of Suffolke aforeſayd, and there the ſayd townesmen aforeſayd hauing commaundement of the ſayd Juſtices, to inquire in their towne if there were any that would neglect to come to their ſeruice and Maſſe, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bryng the true certificate to the ſayd Juſtices within xiiij. dayes then next enſuyng: they then cõmyng homeward, beyng full of hatred agaynſt the truth, and deſirous

Anno, 1557. September.

rous to get promotion, without any ſuch commaundement of the Iuſtices (as farre as we can learne) tooke counſel one with an other how to attach the ſaid Iohn Noyes without any more delay.

Counſell taken for attaching of Iohn Noyes.

This deuiliſh enterpriſe agreed vpō, chiefly through the counſell of M. Tho. Louell, Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard aforeſaid, with expeditiō his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſaid Iohn Noyes on the backſide of the ſaid houſe goyng outward, and Nicolas Stannard called to the ſayd Iohn and ſayd, whether goeſt thou? And he ſayd: to my neighbours. And the ſayd Nicholas Stannard ſaid: your Maiſter hath deceiued you: you muſt go with vs now. But the ſaid Iohn Noyes aunſwered: no, but take you heede your Maiſter deceiue not you. And ſo they tooke him, and caried him to the Iuſtices the next day. After his appearance and ſundry cauſes alleaged, the Iuſtices & the Shriffe together caſt him into Eye dongeon, and there he lay a certaine tyme: And then was caried from thence to Norwich, and ſo came before the Byſhop where were miniſtred vnto him theſe poſitions folowyng.

Iohn Noyes houſe beſette aboute.

Iohn Noyes taken by Nicolas Stannarde Perſecutour.

Iohn Noyes caſt into Eye Dungeon.

Ex Regiſt.

1. Whether he beleued that the ceremonies vſed in the Church, were good and godly to ſtirre vp mens mindes to deuotion.

2. Item, whether he beleued the Pope to be ſupreme head of the Church here in earth.

3. Itē, whether he beleued the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to bee in the Sacrament of the altar vnder the formes of bread & wine, after the wordes of cōſecratiō.

Articles againſt Iohn Noyes.

Wherunto he aunſwered, that he thought the naturall body of Chriſt to be onely in heauen, and not in the Sacrament. &c.

Reall preſence denied.

For the which, Sentence at laſt was read by the Byſhop agaynſt him, in the preſence of theſe there ſittyng the ſame time, Doct. Dunnyng Chauncelour, Syr W. Woodhouſe, Syr Thomas Woodhouſe, M. George Heydon, M. Spenſer, W. Ferrar Alderman of Norwich, M. Thurſton, Wyneſden with diuers other.

Sentence read againſt Iohn Noyes.

More of his examination then this, came not to our handes.

In the meane tyme, his brother in law one Nicholas Fiſke of Dinnyngton goyng to comfort him at ſuch time as he remained priſoner in the Guild Hall of Norwich, after Chriſtian exhortation aſked him if he did feare death when the Byſhop gaue Iudgement agaynſt him, conſideryng the terrour of the ſame. And the ſayd Noyes anſwered: he thanked God he feared not death no more at that tyme, then he or any other did beyng at libertie. Then the ſayd Nicholas required him to ſhew the cauſe of his condemnation. Upon whiche requeſt the ſayd Iohn Noyes writ with his owne hand as followeth.

I ſayd (q he) that I could not beleue that in the Sacrament of the altare there is the naturall body of Chriſt, that ſame body that was borne of the Uirgine Mary. But I ſayd that the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt is receiued of Chriſtian people in the remembraunce of Chriſtes death as a ſpirituall foode, if it be miniſtred accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution.

The cauſe of Iohn Noyes condemnation.

But they ſaid I could not tel what ſpiritually ment. The Byſhop ſaid that ẏ Sacramēt was God, & muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſayd the Chauncellor alſo.

Then aunſwered I: My Lord, I can not ſo beleue. Then q the Byſhop, why? then ſay thou dooſt beleue. Notwithſtandyng theſe ſubtle colluſions could not preuayle.

Now beyng condemned hee was ſent agayne from Norwich to Eye priſon, and vpon the xxi. day of September in the yeare aforeſayd about midnight, he was brought frō Eye to Laxfield to bee burned, and on the next day mornyng was brought to the ſtake where was ready agaynſt his commyng the foreſayd Iuſtice. M. Thurſton, one M. Waller then beyng vnder Shriffe, and W. Thomas Louell beyng high Conſtable, as is before expreſſed, the which commaunded men to make ready all thinges meete for that ſinfull purpoſe. Now the fire in moſt places of the ſtrete was put out ſauing a ſmoke was eſpied by the ſaid Thomas Louel proceding out from the toppe of a chymney, to which houſe the Shriffe and Grannow his man went and brake open the doore and therby got fire and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When Iohn Noyes came to ẏ place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled down and ſayd the 50. Pſalme with other prayers, and then they makyng haſt bound him to the ſtake, and beyng bound the ſayd Iohn Noyes ſayd: Feare not them that can kill the body, but feare him that can kill both body and ſoule, and caſt it into euerlaſting fire.

Iohn Noyes brought to the place of Martyrdome.

The fire putte out in the towne where Iohn Noyes ſhould bee burned.

When he ſaw his ſiſter weepyng and makyng mone for him, he bad her that ſhe ſhould not weepe for hym, but weepe for her ſinnes.

The wordes of Iohn Noyes to his ſiſter.

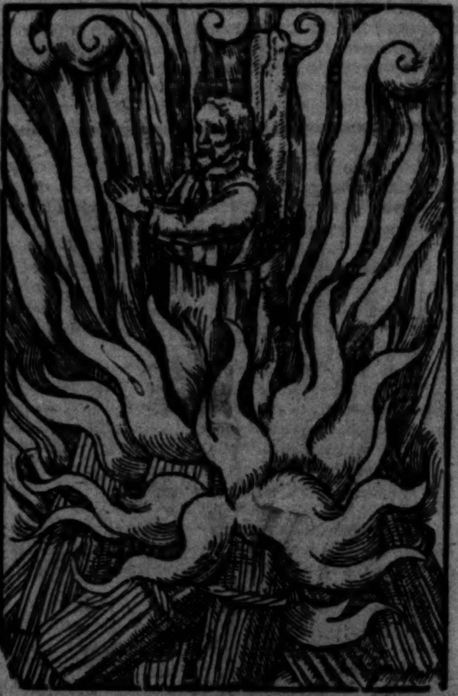
Then one Nicholas Cademan being Haſtler, a valiant champion in the Popes affaires, brought a fagot and ſet agaynſt hym: and the ſayd Iohn Noyes tooke vp the fagot and kiſſed it, and ſayd: bleſſed be the time that euer I was borne to come to this.

Then he deliuered his Pſalter to the vnder ſhrieffe, deſiring hym to be good to his wife and children, and to deliuer to her that ſame booke: & the Sheriffe promiſed hym that hee would: notwithſtanding hee neuer as yet performed hys promiſe. Then the ſayd Iohn Noyes ſayd to the people: they ſay they can make God of a peece a bread: beleue them not.

Then ſayd he, good people beare witnes that I do beleue to be ſaued by the merites and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt, and not by my owne deedes: and ſo the fire was kindled and burned about hym: and then he ſayd: Lord haue mercy vpon me: Chriſt haue mercy vpon me: Sonne of Dauid, haue mercy vpon me.

The wordes of Iohn Noyes to the people.

¶ *The burnyng of Iohn Noyes, Martyr.*



The Martyrdome of Iohn Noyes at Laxfield.
Anno. 1557.
(or as ſome ſaie. An. 1556)
September. 22

And ſo he yelded vp his life: and when his body was burned they made a pit to bury the coales and aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his feete that was vnburned whole vp to the ancle with the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtode one Iohn Iaruis by, a mans ſeruant of the ſame towne, a plaine fellow, which ſayd: Good Lord, how the ſinnewes of hys armes ſhrinke vp. And there ſtoode behinde hym one Grannow and Benet being the Sheriffes men, and they ſaid to their Maiſter, that Iohn Iaruis ſaid, what vilayne wretches are theſe. And their Maiſter bad lay hand on hym, and then they tooke hym and pinyed hym, and caryed hym before the Iuſtice that ſame day, & the Iuſtice did examine hym of the wordes aforeſayd, but he denyed them, and aunſwered, that he ſayd nothing but this: good Lord, how the ſinnewes of his armes ſhrinke vp. But for all this the Iuſtice did binde his father & his maiſter in fiue poundes a peece, that he ſhould be forth commyng at all tymes. And on the Wedneſday next hee was brought agayne before theſe Iuſtices, Maſter Thurſton and Maſter Kene, they ſittyng at Freſingfielde in Hoxton hundred, and there they did appoint and commaund that the ſayd

Iohn Iaruis wrongfully troubled for wordes ſpoken at the burnyng of Noyes.

Iohn

John Jaruis ſhould be ſet in the ſtockes yͤ next market day, and whipt about the market naked. But hys Maſter one William Jaruis did after craue frẽdſhip of the Conſtables, & they did not ſet him in the ſtockes till the Sonday morning, & in the afternoone they did whippe him about the market with a dog whippe hauing three cordes, and ſo they let him goe.

¶ The copy of a certaine letter that he ſent to comfort his wife at ſuch tyme as he lay in priſon.

A letter of Ihõ Noyes to his wife.

WIfe, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I dyd read in the new Teſtament, I thought it good to write vnto you certaine places of the Scripture for a remembraunce. S. Peter ſayth: Dearely beloued, bee not troubled with this heate that is nowe come among you to trye you, as though ſome ſtraunge thing had happened vnto you, but reioyce in ſomuch as ye are partakers of Chriſtes ſuffringes, that when his glory appeareth ye may be mery and glad. If ye be rayled on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirite of glory, and the ſpirite of God reſteth vpon you. j.Peter.iiij.

It is better if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doyng then for euill doyng. j.Peter.iij.

j.Peter.iiij. See that none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a theefe, or an euill doer, or as a buſy body in other mens matters: but if any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian mã, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalfe: for the time is come that iudgement muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt beginne at vs, what ſhall the end of them be that beleue not the Goſpell of God? Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſoules to him in well doing.

ij.Timo.iij. S.Paule ſayth: All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution.

S.Iohn ſayth: See that ye loue not the world, neither the thinges that are in the world. j.Iohn.ij.

If any man loue the world, the loue of the father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the luſte of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away & the luſt thereof, but hee that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for euer.

Coloſſ.iij. S.Paule ſayth: If ye be riſen agayne with Chriſt, ſeeke thoſe thinges which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on thinges that are aboue, and not on thinges which are on the earth.

Math.xviij. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: Who ſo euer ſhall offend one of theſe litle ones that beleue in me, it were better for him that a milſtone were hanged about his necke, & that he were caſt into the ſea.

The Prophet Dauid ſayth: Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth them out of all. Pſal.xxxiiij.

Feare the Lord ye his ſaintes, for they that feare him, lacke nothing.

When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and deliuereth them out of all their troubles: But misfortune ſhal ſlay the vngodly and they that hate the righteous ſhall periſhe.

Heare oh my people. I aſſure thee, O Iſraell, if thou wilt harken vnto me, there ſhall no ſtraunge God be in the, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my people would obey me, for if Iſraell would walke in my wayes, I ſhould ſoone put downe their enemies and turne my hand agaynſt their aduerſaries.

Our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: The Diſciple is not aboue his maiſter, nor yet the ſeruaunte aboue his Lorde. It is enough for the Diſciple to be as his maiſter is, and that the ſeruaunt bee as his Lorde is. If they haue called the maſter of the houſe Belſebub, how much more ſhal they call them of his houſhold ſo: feare not them therefore.

ii.Cor.vi. S.Paule ſayth: Set your ſelues therefore at large, and beare not a ſtraũgers yoke with the vnbeleuers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſnes with vnrighteouſnes? what company hath light with darckenes: eyther what part hath the beleuer with the Infidell? &c. Wherefore come out from among them, & ſeparate your ſelues now, ſayth the Lord, & touch none vncleane thing: ſo will I receiue you: And I will be a father vnto you, and ye ſhalbe my ſonnes and daughters, ſayth the Lord almightie.

i.Cor.ii. For neither eye hath ſeene, nor the eare hath heard, neyther can it enter into the hart of mã, what good thinges the Lord hath prepared for them that loue him.

i.Peter.i. Ye are not bought neither with ſiluer nor golde, but with the precious bloud of Chriſt.

There is none other name geuen to men, wherein we muſt be ſaued. Actes.iiii.

So fare ye wel wife and children, and leaue worldly care, and ſee that ye be diligent to pray.

Take no thought (ſayth Chriſt) ſaiyng: what ſhall we eate or what ſhall we drinke, or wherewith ſhall we be clothed: for after all theſe thinges ſeeke the Gentils) for your heauenly father knoweth that ye haue neede of all theſe thinges: but ſeeke ye firſt the kingdome of heauen, and the righteouſnes thereof. And all theſe thinges ſhalbe miniſtred vnto you. Math.vi.

¶ *The Martyrdome and ſuffering of Cicelie Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the teſtimonie and witnes of Chriſtes Goſpell.*

September.23 Cicelie Ormes Martyr.

About the xxiij. day of the ſayd moneth of September, next after the other aboue mentioned, ſuffered at Norwich Cicelie Ormes: wife of Edmund Ormes worſtedweuer, dwelling in S. Laurẽce pariſh in Norwich. She being of the age of xxxij. yeares or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper aboue mentioned, in a place called Lollardes pit without Biſhops gate, at the ſaid Norwich, for that ſhe ſaid ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they dranke on. For ſo ſaying, one maiſter Corbet of Sprowſon by Norwich, tooke her and ſent her to the Chauncellor. When ſhe came before him, he aſked her, what ſhe ſaid to the Sacrament of Chriſtes body. And ſhe ſayd, ſhe did beleue, that it was the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. Yea ſayd the Chauncellor? but what is that that the prieſt holdeth ouer his head? ſhe aunſwered him and ſaid, it is bread: & if ye make it any better, it is worſe. At which wordes the Chauncellor ſent her to the biſhops priſon to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatning & hote wordes, as a man being in a great chafe.

M. Corbet of Sprowſon, perſecutour. The Chauncelors name was Dunnyng.

The xxiij. day of Julye ſhe was called before the Chauncellor agayne, who ſat in iudgement with Maſter Brigges and others. The Chauncellor offred her if ſhe would goe to the church and keepe her toung, ſhe ſhould be at libertie, and beleue as ſhe would. But ſhe tolde him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therein, doe with her what he would: for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſaid God would ſurely plague her. Then yͤ Chauncellor told her, he had ſhewed more fauour to her, then euer he did to any, and that he was loth to condemne her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, vnlearned, and fooliſh woman. But ſhe not weying hys wordes, tolde him if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinfull fleſh, as ſhe would (by Gods grace) be content to giue it in ſo good a quarrell. Then roſe he and read the bloudy ſentence of cõdemnation againſt her, and ſo deliuered her to the ſecular power of the Sheriffes of the Citie, Maiſter Thomas Sutherton, and maiſter Leonard Sutherton brethren, who immediatly caryed her to the Gildhall in Norwiche, where ſhe remayned vntill her death.

This Cicelie Ormes was a very ſimple woman, but yet zelous in yͤ Lordes cauſe, being borne in Eaſt-Deram, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Hawnd, Tailor. She was taken the v. day of July, & did for a twelue moneth before ſhe was taken, recant, but neuer after was ſhe quiete in conſcience, vntill ſhe was vtterly driuen frõ all their Popery. Betwene the time ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had gotten a letter made, to geue to the Chauncellour, to let hym know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottome of her hart, and would neuer do yͤ like againe while ſhe liued. But before ſhe exhibited her bill, ſhe was taken & ſent to priſon, as is before ſaid. She was burnt the 23. day of September, betwene vij. and viij. of the clocke in the morning, the ſayd two Sheriffes beyng there, and of people to the number of 200. When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneled downe and made her prayers to God. That being done, ſhe roſe vp, & ſayd; good people, I beleue in God the father, God yͤ ſonne, and God the holy ghoſt, three perſons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant, but I recant vtterly from the bottome of my hart, the doinges of the Pope of Rome, and all his popiſh prieſtes and ſhaueling. I vtterly refuſe, and neuer will haue to do with them again by Gods grace. And good people, I would you ſhould not thinke of me, that I beleue to be ſaued in that

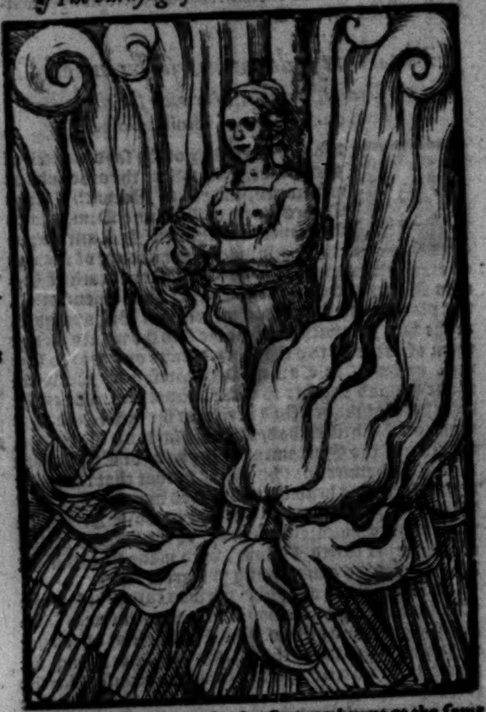
Briggis a Popiſh perſecutor. Cicelie Ormes firſt recanted.

Cicelie Ormes repenteth her recantation.

that I offer my ſelf here vnto the death for the Lordes cauſe, but I beleue to be ſaued by ÿ death of Chriſtes paſſion: and this my death is and ſhall be a witnes of my faith vnto you all here preſent. Good people, as many of you as beleue as I beleue, pray for me. Then ſhe came to the ſtake and laid her hand on it, and ſayd: welcome the croſſe of Chriſt. Which being done, ſhe looking on her hand, & ſeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it vpõ her ſmocke, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that Simon Miller & Elizab. Cooper was burned at. Thẽ after ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſayd welcome the ſweete croſſe of Chriſt, and ſo gaue her ſelfe to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid: My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, and my ſpirite reioyceth in God my Sauiour, and in ſo ſaying, ſhe ſet her hãdes together right againſt her breſt, caſting her eyes and head vpward, & ſo ſtoode, heauing vp her hands by litle and litle, till the very ſinowes of her armes braſt aſunder, and then they fell: but ſhe yelded her life vnto the Lord as quietly as ſhe had bene in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no paine: So wonderfully did the Lord worke with her: his name therefore bee prayſed for euermore, Amen.

Note well this ſaying of Cicelie Ormes.

The burnyng of Cicelie Ormes at Norwich.



The Martyrdome of Cicely Ormes at Norwiche. Anno. 1557. September. 23

The laſt wordes of Cicelie Ormes at the ſtake.

The trouble and diſturbance among good men and women at Lichfield.

October. 27.

AFter the death & Martyrdome of Miſtres Ioyce Lewes, a litle aboue ſpecified pag. 1905. diuers good men and women in ÿ ſame towne of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the byſhop and his Chauncellor, for kiſſing the ſaid Ioyce Lewes, & drinking with her about the time of her death. the names of which perſons were theſe: Ioane Loue, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Byddell, Helene Bowring, Margaret Cooteſkote, Nicholas Byrde, Iohn Hurleſton and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glouer, Agnes Penyfather. &c. Theſe with other were produced to their examination before the biſhop and his Chãcellor for the cauſe aboue named, & therfore adiudged for heretikes, for that they did pray and drinke with ÿ ſayd Miſtres Lewes, but eſpecially Agnes Penifather ſuſteined the moſt trouble, for ÿ ſhe accõpanied the ſayd Ioyce Lewes going to her death. Which Agnes being examined farther of the ſayd byſhop, what wordes ſhe had ſpoken to two prieſtes of the church of Lichfield, called Iohn Adye and Iames Foxe, concerning the ſaid Ioyce Lewes after her burning, ſaid as followeth: that ſhe being aſked by the ſaid two prieſtes being at her fathers houſe in the citie of Lichfield, at ſuch time as ſhe came frõ the burning of the ſayd Ioyce Lewes, wherefore ſhe the ſayd Agnes did weepe for ſuche an heretike, meaning Ioyce Lewes, whoſe ſoule, ſaid they, was in hell: the ſaid Agnes Penyfather to the demaund made this aunſwere, that ſhe thought the ſaid bleſſed Martyr to be in better caſe then the ſayd two prieſtes were. With the which wordes ſhe being charged, and willed to ſubmitte her ſelf as the other had done aboue rehearſed, to ſuch penaunce as they ſhould inioyne vnto her, refuſed ſo to doe, and therfore was commaunded to cloſe priſon, the Shrieffes being charged with her vnder payne of one hundred poundes, that none ſhould haue any acceſſe vnto her. At length at the perſuaſion of her frendes, ſhe was compelled to do as the other had doone before. and thus much concerning thinges done at Lichfield.

Good men and womẽ troubled in Lichfield, for kiſſing maiſtres Ioyce Lewes before her death

Agnes Penifather accuſed of two Prieſtes for wordes.

The perſecution and crueltie exerciſed by the Papiſtes in the Dioces of Chicheſter.

AND now from Lichfield to come to Chicheſter, although wee haue but little to reporte thereof, for lacke of certeine relation and recordes of that countrey, yet it ſemeth no litle trouble and perſecution there alſo to haue raged, as in other countreyes. For what place was there almoſt in all the Realme, where the Popes miniſters did not beſturre them, murtheryng ſome or other, as in the Actes of this Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may ſufficiẽtly declare. Wherfore as this plague of the Popes tyranny was general to all other people and countreyes of England, ſo likewiſe in the Dioces of Chicheſter diuers and many there were condemned and Martyred for the true teſtimonie of righteouſnes within the compaſſe of Queene Maries reigne. In the number of whom were theſe.

Perſecution among the Godly menne at Chicheſter.

- Iohn Foremã, of Eſtgrynſted.
- Iohn Warner, of Berne.
- Chriſtian Grouer, of the Ardeaconry of Lewes.
- Thomas Athoth, Prieſt.
- Thomas Auyngton, of Erdinglie.
- Denys Burgis, of Buxſted.
- Thomas Rauenſdale, of Rye.
- Iohn Milles, of Hellinglegh.
- Nicholas Holden, of Withiam.
- Iohn Hart, of Withiã.
- Margery Moris, of Hethfield.
- Anne Trye, of Eſtgrenſted.
- Iohn Oſeward, of Woodmancote.
- Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote.
- Iames Moris, of Hethfield.
- Thomas Dougate, of Eſtgrenſtede.
- Iohn Aſhedon, of Ketherfield.

Martyrs.

The greateſt doers againſt theſe godly & true faithful Martyrs, & ſitters vpon their condemnation, were theſe: Chriſtopherſon the B. after Day, Rich. Briſley Doctour of law and Chauncellour of Chicheſter, Rob. Taylor Bach. of law his deputy, Thomas Paccarde Ciuilian, Anthony Clerke, Albane Langdale Bach. of Diuinitie. &c.

Perſecutours.

The examination of Tho. Spurdance one of Q. Maries ſeruauntes, before the Chauncellour of Norwich.

THe Biſhops Chauncellor did aſke me, if I had beene with the prieſt, and confeſſed my ſinnes vnto him. And I ſayd: no, I had confeſſed my ſinnes to God, and God ſaith: In what houre ſo euer a ſinner doth repent and be ſory for his ſinnes, and aſke him forgeuenes, willing no more ſo to doe, he will no more recken his ſinne vnto him, and that is ſufficient for me.

The examination of Thomas Spurdance.

Then ſayd the Chauncellour: thou denyeſt the ſacrament of penance.

I ſaid: I deny not penãce, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my ſinnes vnto the prieſt.

Then ſayd the Chauncellor: that is a denying of the ſacrament of penance. Write this article.

Haue you receaued the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (ſayd he) at this tyme of Eaſter?

And I ſayd, no.

And why haue ye not, ſaith he?

I ſayd: I dare not medle wͭ you in it, as you vſe it.

Why? doe not we vſe it truly, ſayd he.

I ſayd: no, for the holy ſupper of the Lord ſerueth for the Chriſten congregation, and you are none of Chriſtes members, & therfore I dare not medle with you, leſt I be like vnto you.

Why are we none of Chriſtes members, ſayd the Chauncellor?

I ſayd: becauſe you teach lawes contrary to Gods lawe.

What lawes are thoſe, ſayed he?

I ſayd: theſe iiij. articles that you ſweare the people vnto here, be falſe and vntrue, & you doe euill to ſweare the people vnto them.

Then ſayd he: good people, take no heede vnto his wordes: for he is an hereticke and teacheth you diſobedience: and ſo he would no more ſpeake of that matter.

Then ſayd he: how beleueſt thou in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? doeſt thou not beleue that after it is cõſecrated, it is ẏ very ſame body that was borne of the virgin Mary?

I ſayd: no, not the ſame body in ſubſtance: for the ſame body hath a ſubſtance in fleſh, bloud, and bones, and was a bloudy ſacrifice, and this is a drie ſacrifice.

And I ſayd: is the Maſſe a ſacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor aunſwered that ſat by him: it is a ſacrifice both for the quicke and the dead.

Thẽ ſayd I: no, it is no ſacrifice: for S. Paul ſayth that Chriſt made one ſacrifice once for all: and I doe beleue in none other ſacrifice, but only in that one ſacrifice that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made once for all.

Then ſaid the Doctor: that ſacrifice ẏ Chriſt made, was a wet ſacrifice, and the Maſſe is a drie ſacrifice.

Spurdance examined vpõ the Sacrament of the altar.

Then ſayd I: that ſame drie ſacrifice is a ſacrifice of your own making, and it is your ſacrifice: it is none of mine. Then ſayd the Chauncellor: he is an hereticke: he denieth the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſayd I: will ye know how I beleue in the holy Supper of our Lord?

And he ſayd, yea.

Then ſayd I: I beleue that if I come rightly and worthely as God hath cõmaunded me, to the holy ſupper of the Lord, I receaue him by fayth, by beleuing in him. But the bread being receaued, is not God, nor the bread that is põder in the pixe, is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with handes, neither will be worſhipped with the workes of mens handes. And therfore you doe very euill to cauſe the people to knele downe, and worſhip the bread: for God did neuer bid you holde it vp aboue your heades, neither had the Apoſtles ſuch vſe.

Then ſaid the Chauncellor: he denieth the preſence in the ſacrament. Write this article alſo. He is a very hereticke.

Then ſayd I: the ſeruaunt is not greater then his maſter. For your predeceſſors killed my maſter Chriſt, the Prophetes, and Apoſtles, and holy vertuous men, and now you alſo kill the ſeruauntes of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous bloud that hath bene ſhed, euen from righteous Abel vntill thys daie, ſhall bee required at your handes.

Well, ſayd the Chauncellor: haue him away.

¶ An other examination of Spurdance before the Byſhop in his houſe.

An other examination of Tho. Spurdance before the Biſhop.

The Byſhop ſaied: ſirrha, doſt thou not beleue in the catholicke fayth of holy churche?

And I ſayd: I beleue Chriſtes catholicke church.

Yea ſayd he? in Chriſtes church, of the which the Pope is the head. Doſt thou not beleue that the Pope is ſupreame head of the catholicke church?

And I ſaid, no. I beleue not that he ſhould be aboue ẏ Apoſtles if he take them to be his predeceſſors. For when there came a thought among the Apoſtles, who ſhould bee the greateſt when their maiſter was gone, Chriſt aunſwered thẽ vnto their thoughtes: The kinges of the earth beare domination aboue other, but ye ſhall not ſo doe, for he that will be greateſt among you, ſhall become ſeruaunt vnto you all. How is it then (ſayd I) that he will clime ſo high aboue his felowes? And alſo we were ſworne by my maiſter K. Henryes tyme, that we ſhould to the vttermoſt of our power, neuer conſent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to doe here in England, ſo neither in his owne contrey more then a Byſhop hath in his dioces.

Luke. xxij.

Yea ſayd the Biſhop: what of that? We were then in error and ſinne, now we are in the right way agayne, and therefore thou muſt come home agayne with vs, and knowledge thy fault and become a Chriſtian mã, and bee ſworne vnto the Pope as our ſupreame head. Wilt thou be ſworne vnto the Pope? How ſaiſt thou?

The Popes ſupremacie.

Then I ſayd: no I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I liue. For you can not proue by the ſcripture, that the Pope is head of the church, and maie doe therein what him liſt.

No, ſayd he? yes I trow: For as the Belweather, which weareth the Bell, is head of the flocke of ſheepe, euen ſo is the Pope the head of the churche of Chriſt. And as the Bees in the hieue haue a maſter Bee whẽ they are gone out, to bring them home agayne to the hieue: euen ſo the Pope, when wee bee gone aſtray, and wandred from the folde, from the hieue. &c. then is ordeined our head by ſucceſſion of Peter, to bring vs home agayne to the true churche: as thou now my good fellow, haſt wandred long out of the way, like a ſcattered ſheepe. &c. Heare therefore that Belweather, the maiſter bell. &c. and come home with vs to thy mother the true Church agayne.

Unto whom I anſwered: My Lord, all this is but naturall reaſon, and no Scripture: but ſince ye can not proue the Pope to be authoriſed by Scripture, ye aunſwere not me, as I thought ye would.

Ha, ſayd he: I ſee well ye be ſtout and will not be aunſwered: therefore ye ſhall bee compelled by lawe whether ye will or no.

The Phariſies Lawe.

My Lord ſayd I: ſo did your forefathers intreate Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death: and ſo likewiſe, you haue a law, which is tyranny, and by that would ye inforce me to beleue as you doe. But ẏ Lord, I truſt, will aſſiſt me agaynſt all your beggerly ceremonies, and make your fooliſhnes knowen to all the world one day.

Then ſayd he: when were ye at church and went in proceſſion, and did the ceremonies of the church?

And I ſayd: neuer ſince I was borne.

No, ſayd he? how old are you?

And I ſayd: I thinke about xl.

Why ſayd he, how did you vſe your ſelfe at church xx. yeares ago?

I ſayd: as you doe now.

And euen now, ſayd he, you ſayd you did not the Ceremonies ſince you were borne.

No more I did, ſayd I, ſince I was borne a newe: as Chriſt ſayd vnto Nicodemus, except ye be borne a new, ye can not enter into the kingdome of heauen.

Then ſayd a Doctor that ſat by: he is a very Anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion playne.

No ſyr, you ſay falſely, ſayd I, for I am no Anabaptiſt: for they deny children to be Baptiſed, and ſo doe not I.

Well, ſayd the Byſhop: why doeſt thou not goe to the church, and doe the Ceremonies?

And I ſaid: becauſe they be contrary to Gods worde and lawes, as you your ſelfe haue taught: but now you ſay it is good agayne: and I thinke if there were a returne to morrow, you would ſay that is falſe agayne which you hold now. Therefore I may well ſay there is no truth in you.

Then ſaid the Biſhop: thou art a ſtubborne fellow, and an hereticke, and a Traitor.

No ſayd I: I am no Traitor, for I haue done, I thinke, better ſeruice to the crowne imperiall of England then you.

If you had done ſo good ſeruice (ſaid he) you would be obedient to the lawes of the realme.

So I am, ſaid I. There is no mã a liue (I thanke God) to accuſe me iuſtly that euer I was diſobedient to any ciuill lawes. But you muſt conſider my Lord, that I haue a ſoule and a body: & my ſoule is none of the Queenes, but my body & my goodes are the Queenes. And I muſt geue God my ſoule, and all that belõgeth vnto it: that is, I muſt doe the law and commaundementes of God, and who ſo euer commaundeth lawes contrary to Gods lawes, I may not doe them, for loſing of my ſoule, but rather obey God then man.

Obedience to Princes, how farre.

And he ſayd: why doeſt thou not theſe lawes then? are they not agreable to Gods law?

And I ſayd: no, you can not proue them to bee Gods lawes.

Images.

Yes ſayd he: that I can.

Then ſayd I: if you can proue me by the word of God, that you ſhould haue any grauen Images made to ſet in your churches for lay mens bookes, or to worſhip God by them, or that ye ſhould haue any ceremonies in your churche as you haue, proue them by the word of God, and I will doe them.

Then ſayd he: it is a good and decent order to furniſh the church: as when you ſhall goe to dinner, you haue a cloth vpon the table to furniſh the table before the meate ſhall come vpon it: ſo are theſe ceremonies a comely decent order to be in the church among Chriſten people.

Theſe ſayd I, are inuentions and imaginations out of your owne brayne, without any word of God to proue them. For God ſayth: looke what you thinke good in your owne eyes, if I commaund the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe Ceremonies are againſt Gods lawes for Saint Paul ſaith they be weake and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galathians for doing of them.

Well, ſayd he: if you will not doe them, ſeing they be the lawes of the realme, you are an hereticke and diſobedient: and therefore come home agayne and confeſſe your fault with vs, that you haue beene in errour. &c. Will you doe ſo?

And I ſayd no, I haue bene in no errour: for the ſpirituall lawes were neuer truelyer ſet forth then in my maiſter K. Edwardes time, and I truſt vnto God I ſhall neuer forſake them whiles I liue.

Then came a Gentleman to me and ſayd: are ye wiſer then all men? and haue ye more knowledge then all men? will you caſt away your ſoule willingly? my Lord and other men alſo would fayne you would ſaue your ſelfe: therefore chooſe ſome man where you will, eyther ſpirituall or temporall, and take a day: my Lord will geue it you.

Then ſaid I: if I ſaue my life I ſhall looſe it, and if I looſe my life for Chriſtes ſake, I ſhall finde it in life euerlaſting. And if I take a day, when the day commeth, I muſt ſay thē euen as I doe now, except I will lye, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then haue him away, ſayd the Byſhop.

Tho. Spurdance by whom he was apprehended.

This aboue named Thomas Spurdance, was one of Quene Maryes ſeruauntes, and was taken by two of his fellowes, the ſayd Queenes ſeruauntes, named John Haman otherwiſe called Barker, and George Looſon, both dwelling in Codnam in the Countie of Suffolke, who caried hym to one maiſter Goſnall, dwelling in the ſayd Codnam, and by him he was ſent to Bury where he remayned in priſon.

❡*The ſtorie and Martyrdome of three conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt.*

Nouemb. 18. The ſtory and martyrdome of John Hallingdale, William Sparow, Richard Gibſon.

NOt long after the Martyrdome of the two good womē at Colcheſter, aboue named, were three faithful witneſſes of the Lordes Teſtament tormented, and put to death in Smithfield at London, the xviij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aforeſayd, whoſe names hereafter folow.

John Hallyngdale.
William Sparow.
Richard Gybſon.

Which three were produced before Boner Byſhop of London, the v. day of Nouember. 1557. and had by hym and his Officers certaine Articles miniſtred, the ſumme whereof hereafter followeth.

Articles miniſtred by Boner vnto Ihon Hallyngdale.

Articles againſt John Hallingdale.

1. FIrſt, that the ſaied Iohn Hallyngdale is of the Dioces of London, and ſo ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of London.

2. Secōdly, that the ſaid Iohn before the tyme of the reigne of kyng Edward the ſixte late kyng of Englande, was of the ſame faithe and Religion that was then obſerued, beleued, taught, and ſette forthe here in this Realme of Englande.

3. Thirdly, that duryng the reigne of the ſaied kyng Edward the ſixt, the ſaid Ihon Hallingdale, vpon occaſion of the preachyng of certaine miniſters in that tyme, did not abide in his former faithe & Religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did & doeth continue til this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do (as he ſaieth) till his liues ende.

4. Fowerthly, that the ſaied Iohn Hallyngdale, hath thought, beleued, & ſpoken diuerſe tymes, that the faithe Religion, and Eccleſiaſticall ſeruice, receiued, obſerued, and vſed now in this Realme of Englande, is not good & laudable, but againſt Gods cōmaundement and worde, eſpecially concernyng the Maſſe, and the ſeuen Sacramētes: and that he the ſaied Iohn, will not in any wiſe conforme him ſelf to the ſame, but ſpeake and thinke againſt it, duryng his naturall life.

5. Fiftly, that the ſaid Iohn abſenteth hym ſelf cōtinually from his owne Pariſhe church of S. Leonardes, neither hearing Mattins, Maſſe, nor Euenſong, nor yet confeſſyng his ſynnes to the Prieſte, or receiuyng the Sacramente of the Altar at his handes, or in vſyng other Ceremonies as they are nowe vſed in this Churche and Realme of Englande: and as he remembreth, he neuer came but once in the ſaied Pariſhe Churche of ſainct Leonard, & careth not (as he ſaith) if he neuer come there any more, the ſeruice being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, as he ſayth there are, eſpecially the Maſſe, the Sacramentes, and the ceremonies and ſeruice ſet forth in Latin.

6. Sixtly, that the ſayd Iohn, when his wife, called Alyce, was brought in bed of a mā child, cauſed the ſayd child to bee chriſtened in Engliſh, after the ſame maner and forme in al points, as it was vſed in the time of the reigne of Kyng Edward the vj. aforeſayd, and cauſed it to be called Ioſue, & would not haue the ſaid child chriſtened in Latin after the forme and maner as it is now vſed in the Church and Realme of England, nor will haue it by his will (as he ſayth) to be confirmed by the Byſhop.

His aunſweres to the Articles.

Unto all the which Articles the ſaid John Hallingdale made aunſwere, confeſſing them all, and euery part of them to be true, and ſaying that he would not reuoke his ſayd aunſweres, but ſtand vnto them according as it was in euery Article aboue written.

The Reall preſence denied.

Furthermore, the ſayd John Hallingdale, being demaūded by the ſayd Boner, whether he did firmely beleue that in the Sacrament commonly called the ſacramēt of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and bloud of our Sauiour Chriſt, or no: made aunſwere that he neither in the tyme of the ſayd King Edward vi. nor at that preſent did beleue, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is really the very body and bloud of Chriſt. For he ſayd, that if he had ſo beleued, he would (as other had done) haue receiued the ſame, which he did not becauſe he had and thē did beleue that the very body of Chriſt is onely in heauen, and no where els. And furthermore the ſayd John Hallingdale ſayd that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late haue bene burned for heretickes, were no heretickes at al, becauſe they did preach truly the Goſpell: vpon whoſe preachyng, he grounded his faith and conſcience, as he ſayd, accordyng to the ſaying of S. John in the xviij. Chap. of his Reuelation, where he ſaith, that the bloud of the Prophetes & of the Saintes, and of all that were ſlayne vpon earth, was found in the Babilonicall church, by the which, he ſaid, is vnderſtand the church where the Pope is the head.

John Hallingdale againe brought before the biſhop.

After which examination, the ſayd John was ſent vnto priſon agayne. And the next day, being the vi. day of the ſayd moneth, he was called before the Biſhop agayne, who perſwading him with ſome wreſted ſentences of the Scripture, the ſaid Joh. Hallingdale anſwered: Becauſe I wil not (ſaith he) come to your Babilonicall church, therfore (ſpeaking vnto Boner) you go about to cōdemne me. And being of Boner further demaunded, whether he would perſeuer & ſtand in his opinions or no, he made anſwere that he would continue and perſiſt in them vnto ẏ death. Then Boner red the bloudy ſentence of condēnation. At which time the ſaid John affirmed openly that (thanking God) he neuer came into the church ſince the abomination came into it: and ſo he was ſent to priſon againe.

Sentence red againſt John Hallingdale by Biſhop Boner.

Upon the ſame vi. day alſo, in the forenoone, was produced before the Byſhop, the forenamed William Sparrow, and had layed vnto him certayne articles, which hereafter followeth.

❡Articles miniſtred by Boner vnto William Sparrow.

Articles againſt William Sparrow.

FIrſt, that thou William Sparrow waſt in times paſt detected and preſented lawfully vnto thy Ordinarye the Byſhop of London, called Edmund, who alſo is nowe thine Ordinarie of the ſayd dioces: and thou waſt pre-

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ſented and detected vnto him for hereſie, errors, and vnlawfull opinions, which thou dideſt beleue, ſet foorth, and holde.

2. Secondly, that thou before the ſayd Ordinarie, didſt openly and iudicially confeſſe the ſayd hereſies, errours, and vnlawfull opiniõs, as appeareth plainely in the actes of the court, had and made before thy ſayd Ordinarie.

3. Thirdly, that thou after the premiſſes, didſt make thy ſubmiſsion in writing, and diddeſt exhibite and deliuer the ſame as thy deede, to thy ſayd Ordinarie: openly cõfeſsing and recogniſing they hereſies, errours, vnlawfull opinions, and thine offenſes and tranſgreſsions in that behalfe.

4. Fourthly, that thou after the premiſſes, diddeſt promiſe vnto thy ſayd Ordinarie voluntarily and of thine owne minde, that alwayes after the ſayd ſubmiſsiõ, thou wouldeſt in all pointes conforme thy ſelfe vnto the common order of the Catholicke church obſerued and kept here in this Realme of England, and in no wiſe fall agayne to hereſies, errours, or vnlawfull opinions.

5. Fiftly, that thou ſince thy ſayd ſubmiſsion, haſt willingly fallen into certayne hereſies and errours, and haſt holden and ſet foorth diuers vnlawfull opinions, to the right great hurt of thine owne ſoule, & alſo to the great hinderaunce and looſſe of diuers others, eſpecially agaynſt the ſacrament of the altar, agaynſt confeſsion auricular, with other the Sacramentes of the Catholicke church.

6. Sixtly, that thou ſince the ſayd ſubmiſsion, haſt willingly gone about diuers places within the dioces of Lõdõ, and ſowen diuers hereticall, erroneous, and blaſphemous ballets, and waſt apprehended and takẽ with the ſayd ballets about thee, and committed to priſon.

Vnto all which articles the ſayd William Sparrow aunſwered in effect as hereafter followeth.

1.2.3.4.
His aunſweres to the articles.

TO the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles he anſwered affirmatiuely, as thus: that he was preſented and detected to Boner, vnto whom hee made his ſubmiſſion. &c. as in the articles.

5. To the fifth article, hee aunſwered, that if hee had ſpoken agaynſt them, he had ſpoken but the truth: for they bee naught, meaning the contentes of the ſayd article.

6. To the ſixt, he graunted to the article, adding that he did ſell the ſayd ballets then ſhewed and red before him, and that the ſame did conteine Gods word.

After which aunſwers the ſayd William Sparrow was ſent vnto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoone, being produced before the Biſhop agayne, and there charged with his ſaid ſubmiſſion, made the yeare before vnto the Byſhop, he aunſwered thus: I am ſory (ſayd he) that euer I made it, and it was the worſt deede that euer I did, adding further vnto thẽ: Holde vp your abominatiõ ſo long as ye can. Alſo being layd vnto him, and charged by the Byſhop that he went to church, and there was confeſſed and heard Maſſe, the ſayd William Sparrow made aunſwere and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled cõſcience he ſaid, God knoweth. And ſpeaking further to the Byſhop, he ſayd: that which you call truth, I doe beleue (ſayd he) to bee hereſie. And alſo the Byſhop chargyng hym agaıne with the contentes of the fifth article aboue named, he aunſwered that he had ſo done, as is conteined in the ſame article, and ſo will doe againe if he were at liberty. And being further demaunded of Boner, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame, or no: he made aunſwere that he would no goe from his opiniõs: and adding therunto, he ſayd: that which you call hereſie (ſpeaking to the Byſhop) is good and godly, and if euery heare of my head were a man (ſayd he) I would burne them all, rather then to goe frõ the truth.

Then being demaũded what ground of learning he had to cleaue to his opinions, he made aunſwere and ſayd, that all the lawes new vſed (meaning the eccleſiaſticall lawes) are nought and abominable. And further, thereunto he ſayd: that the Maſſe is nought and abominable &c. Which wordes being ſpoken, the Byſhop immediatly red the ſentence of condemnation vpon him, and ſo deliuered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſent to priſon agayne.

Sentence red againſt Williã Sparrow.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

VVIth the other two aboue named, ſuffred alſo in the ſame fire, Richard Gibſon, who firſt was caſt into the cõpter in the Pultry (where he had bene priſoner by the ſpace of two yeares for ſuretiſhip in a matter of debt, & then ſtoode vpõ his deliueraũce) then vpon ſuſpition and euill wil was accuſed to Boner, for that in the priſon he was neuer confeſſed nor receaued at the Popiſh aultar: by reaſon whereof hee was called for, and ſuſteined diuers & ſundry cõflictes and examinations in the cauſe of his faith and religiõ. But firſt he ſemed to make a certayn ſubmiſſion which alſo hee exhibited with the other 28. mentioned aboue Pag. 1865. but becauſe it ſeemed ſomething to differ in wordes from the other, it appeareth not to be receaued: or whether it was receaued or no, it is not fully certayne. This is certayne, that although his ſubmiſſion was in the Biſhops Regiſter recorded, yet he was not deliuered out from impriſonmẽt till the day of his burning. The Articles firſt obiected and miniſtred vnto him by the Biſhop, were theſe.

Articles obiected and miniſtred to Richard Gibſon by Boner Byſhop of London.

1.
Articles againſt Richard Gibſon.

FIrſt, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon priſoner in the Cõuter in the Pultry in the Dioces of Londõ, hath otherwiſe then became a faithfull Chriſtian man and a good ſubiect of this Realme of England, behaued him ſelfe in wordes and deedes, in diuers conditions and pointes, contrary to the order, Religion, and fayth of Chriſtes Catholicke church, and contrary to the order of this Realme, to the pernitious and euill example of the inhabitauntes of the Citie of London, and the priſoners of the priſon of the ſayd Counter in the Pultry, and greatly to the hurt and dammage of his owne ſoule, offendyng eſpecially in the Articles followyng. By reaſon whereof the ſayd Richard Gibſon was, and is of the iuriſdiction of the ſayd Byſhop of London, and ſubiect to the ſayd iuriſdiction, to make aunſwere to his offences and tranſgreſsion vnder written, accordyng to the order of the law.

2. Secondly, that the ſayd Richard Gibſon hath vnreuerently ſpoken agaynſt the Pope, and Sea and Church of Rome, and likewiſe agaynſt the whole Church of this Realme of England, and agaynſt the vij. Sacramentes of the Catholicke and whole Church of Chriſtendome, and agaynſt the Articles of the Chriſtian fayth here obſerued in this Realme of England, and agaynſt the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholicke Church.

3. Thirdly, that the ſaid Richard Gibſon hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and alſo all other heretickes here in this Realme of Englãd, accordyng to the Eccleſiaſtical lawes condemned for heretickes, and alſo liked all their hereticall and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, eſpecially agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar, and the authoritie of the Pope and Sea of Rome, with the whole Religion thereof.

4. Fourthly, that the ſaid Richard Gibſon hath comforted, ayded, aſsiſted and mainteyned both by wordes and otherwiſe, heretickes and erroneous perſons, or at the leaſt ſuſpected and infamed of hereſies and errours condemned by the Catholicke Church, to continue in their hereticall and erroneous opinions aforeſayd, fauouring and counſellyng the ſame vnto his power.

5. Fifthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed and ſayd that the Religion and fayth commonly obſerued, kept, and vſed nowe here in this Realme of England, is not good and laudable nor in any wiſe agreable vnto Gods word and commaundement.

Queene Maries religion diſproued.

6. Sixtly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed that the Engliſh ſeruice, and the bookes commonly called the bookes of Communion, or Common prayer, here ſet forth in this realme of England in the tyme of K. Edward the ſixt, were in all partes and pointes good and godly, and that the ſame onely and no other ought to be obſerued and kept in this realme of England.

The books of Engliſhe ſeruice.

7. Seuenthly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of priſon and at libertie, he will not come to any pariſh church, or eccleſiaſtical place to heare Mattins, Maſſe, Euenſong, or any diuine ſeruice nowe vſed in this realme of England, nor come to proceſsion vpon times and dayes accuſtomed, nor beare at any time any Taper, or Candle, nor receiue at any time Aſhes, nor beare at any time Palme, nor receiue Pax at Maſſe time, nor receaue holy water, nor holy bread, nor obſerue the Ceremonies or vſages of the Catholicke church, here obſerued or kept commonly in this realme of England.

Mattens, Maſſe, Euenſong refuſed.

8. Eightly, that the ſayd Gibſon hath affirmed that he is not bound at any time, though he haue libertie, and the preſence of a Prieſt conuenient and meete, to cõfeſſe his ſinnes to the ſayd Prieſt, nor to receiue abſolution of his ſinnes, at his handes, nor to receaue of him the ſacramẽt commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, after ſuch forme as is now vſed within this realme of England.

Popiſhe faſt and prayer.

9. Ninthly, that the ſaid Gibſon hath affirmed, that prayer vnto ſainctes, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, auailable, or profitable: and that no man is bound at any time, or in any place, to faſt or pray, but onely at his owne will and pleaſure, and that it is not lawfull to reſerue or keepe the ſayd ſacrament of the altar, nor in any wiſe to adore and worſhip it.

The greateſt matter which he was charged withal, was for not comming to confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receauing the ſacramentes of the popiſh making, and for that he would not ſweare to aunſwere vnto theyr interrogatories layd agaynſt him.

Rich. Gibſon a talle & bigge man of ſtature.

Notwithſtanding after theſe his firſt examinations, he continued in the aforeſayd priſon of the Counter a good ſpace, frõ the moneth of May, vnto Nouember: at what time he was agayne produced vnto the finall examination iudiciarie. Where is to be noted, that M. Gibſon being a very bigge and talle mã, of a perſonable and heroycall ſtature, was ſent for of Boner by a little and ſhort perſon, a promoter, like Robin Papiſt, called Robin Caley, if it were not he him ſelfe.

Intolerable bragging of a vile promoter.

This Robin Caley hauing the conducting of the ſayd Gentleman from the Pultry, would needes hale him through Chepeſide, the Gentleman deſiring him to turne ſome other way. But the more the Gentleman entreated, the more fierce was this ſely Iacke vppon him: and drawing and holding him by the arme, would needes hale him through the high ſtreete, that all the world might ſee what he could do in his office. M. Gibſon deſirous to be led without holding, willed and entreated him to let his arme looſe: he would goe quietly of his accorde with hym whether he would, onely crauyng that he might goe by hym freely without notyng of the people.

The ſaucie and impotent miſer the Promoter hearing this, who was ſcarſe able to reach vnto his ſhoulders: nay (ſaith he) thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy wayes. Thou ſhalt not chooſe but come: and ſo reaching at his arme, would needes dragge him vnto the Biſhop. The Gentleman content to goe, yet loth to be notified in the ſtreetes, gently requeſted agayne and agayne, that refraining his holde, he would ſuffer him to goe of hys owne free and voluntarie will: he ſhould not neede to feare him, for he would not ſtart frõ him. To whom the caytiffe, looking vp to his face: Come on thy way, ſaith he, I will hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Maſter Gibſon ſeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched myſer, and moued therewith not a litle, could beare no longer, but ſayd: Wilt thou, ſayd he? and addeth moreouer, bitterly looking downe towardes him, that if he did not incontinently plucke away his hand (and ſo ſtayed withall) he would immediatly wring his necke from his body. Whereupõ Robin Papiſt the Promoter, was fayne to plucke awaie his holde, and ſo proceded they vnto the Biſhop, there to be examined agayne before him.

An other appearing of Rich. Gibſon.

After this, an other day beyng aſſigned hym to appeare agayne, much talke paſt betwene him and Darbyſhire, then Chauncellour. But in fine, being required to ſweare that hee ſhould aunſwere vnto all they would demaund, he denyed to aunſwere vnto all thinges the Byſhops ſhould cõmaund hym as Ordinarie: for hee is not, ſaieth hee, myne Ordinarie, and ſo byd him goe tell the Byſhop. Before the which Byſhop he beyng then commaunded to appeare the Friday next following, was brought vnto the Iuſtice hal without Newgate, where hee had the like conflictes with the foreſayd Byſhop and diuers other Iuſtices. At length he was aſſigned the Saterday followyng, to be preſent in the Byſhoppes conſiſtory Court, to heare his finall ſentence. At which day and place, the ſayd Examinate appearing as he was commaunded, the Byſhop after other matter of communication, aſked him if he knewe any cauſe why the ſentence ſhould not be read agaynſt him. To whom the ſayd maiſter Gibſon aunſwered, that the Byſhop had nothyng wherefore iuſtly to condemne him. The Biſhops reaſon was againe obiected to hym, that men ſayd he was an euill man. To whom Gibſon replyyng agayne: yea, ſayth he, and ſo maie I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after this and ſuch other talke, the Biſhop haſted vnto the ſentence. Which beyng red, Gibſon yet agayne admoniſhed to remember hymſelfe and to ſaue his ſoule, ſayd, that he would not heare the Byſhoppes bablyng, and ſayd moreouer, boldly proteſting and affirming that hee was contrary and an enemy to them all in hys mynde and opinion, although he had afore time kept it ſecret in mynde for feare of the law. And ſpeaking to the Byſhop: bleſſed, ſayd he, am I that am curſed at your hands. We haue nothing now but, thus will I. For as ỹ Biſhop ſaith, ſo muſt it be. And now hereſie is to turne the truth of Gods word into lyes, and that doe you, meaning the Byſhop and his fellowes.

Sentence red againſt Rich. Gibſon.

Thus this valiaũt souldiour fightyng for the Goſpell and ſincere doctrine of Gods truth and Religion, againſt falſehode and errour, was committed with his fellowes to the ſecular power.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibſon. An. 1557. Nouemb. 18.

And ſo theſe three godly men, Iohn Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and M. Gibſon, being thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were the xij. day after theyr condemnation (which was the xviij. daye of the ſayd moneth of Nouember) burnt in Smithfield in Londõ. And beyng brought thether to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound therunto with chaines, and wood ſet vnto them, and after wood, fire, in the which being compaſſed about, and the fiery flames cõſuming their fleſh, at the laſt they yelded gloriouſly and ioyfully their ſoules and liues into the holy handes of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and gouernement, I commend the good reader, Amen.

¶ It is a litle aboue declared in this ſtorie of Richard Gibſon, how Boner miniſted vnto the ſaid Gibſon certayne Articles, to the number of ix. Now let vs ſee likewiſe the Articles which the ſayd Gibſon miniſtred agayne to Boner, accordyng to the ſame number of ix. for him to aunſwere vnto, as by the ſame here vnder written may appeare.

¶ Articles proponed by Richard Gibſon vnto Edmund Boner, Byſhop of London, by him to be aunſwered, be yea, or nay, or els to ſay he can not tell.

Gibſons queſtions or demaundes put to B. Boner.

1. WHether the holy Scriptures of God, written by Moſes & other holy Prophetes of God, through faithe that is in Chriſte Ieſus, is auailable doctrine to make all men in all thinges vnto ſaluation learned without the helpe of any other doctrine, or no.

2. What is authoritie and from whence it commeth, to whom it apperteineth, and to what end it tendeth.

3. Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth ſufficiently teach all men, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he or they be, their full, true, & lawful duety in their office: and whether euery man of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he, or they be, are bound vpon the payne of eternall damnation, in all thinges to doe as they are hereby taught and commaunded, and in no wiſe to leaue vndone any thyng that is to be done, beyng taught and commaunded by the ſame.

4. Whether any man, the Lord Ieſu Chriſt God and man onely except, by the holy ordinaunce of God euer was, is, or ſhalbe Lord ouer faith, and by what lawfull authoritie any mã, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer he or they be, maie vſe Lordſhip or power ouer any man for faith ſake or for the ſecrecie of his cõſcience.

5. By what lawfull authoritie or power any mã, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng ſoeuer he or they be, maie be ſo bold as to altar or chaunge the holy ordinaunces of God, or any of them, or any part of them.

6. By what euident tokens Antichriſt in his miniſters maie bee knowne, ſeyng it is written that Sathan can chaunge him ſelfe into the ſimilitude of an Aungell of light, and his miniſters faſhion them ſelues as though they were the miniſters of righteouſnes, and how it may be knowen to hym that is deſirous thereof, when he is one of that number or in the daunger thereof, or when he is otherwiſe.

7. What the Beaſt is, the which maketh warre with the Saintes of God, and doth not onely kill them, but alſo will ſuffer none to bye nor ſell, but ſuch as worſhip hys image, or receiue his marke in their right handes, or in their foreheades, his name or the number of his name, or do worſhip his image, which by the iuſt and terrible ſentence of god already decreed, ſhalbe puniſhed in fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels and before the lambe:

and

Anno.1557. Nouember. December.

and they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night, but the ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend vp for euermore: Alſo what the gorgious and glittering whore is, the whiche ſitteth vpō the Beaſt with a cup of gold in her hand, full of abominations, with whom the kinges of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitours of the earth and ſhe her ſelfe alſo is dronken with the bloud of Saincte, whiche is the wine of her fornication, whoſe fleſhe the hornes of the beaſt ſhall teare in peeces, and burne her with fire. For God hath put in their hartes to doe his wil.

8. Whether a king ouer al thoſe people which are borne and inhabite within his owne dominions, regions, and countreis, or any part of them, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer they be, here vpon this earth immediatly vnder Chriſte, by the holy ordinaunce of God, is lawfull, ſupreme and chief gouernour or no: And whether a kyng ouer all thoſe people within his dominions, regions, and countreys, and euery part of them, by the holy ordinaunce of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwiſe to doe, nor ſuffer otherwiſe to be done, then in his owne name, power, and auctoritie (the name of God onely except) as lawfull, ſupreme, and chief head in all thinges that belongeth to rule (without exception) to gouerne and rule: And whether all thoſe people of what dignitie, eſtate or callyng ſoeuer they be, are bound by the holy ordinaunce of God, to owe their whole obedience and ſeruice in all thinges without exception (their duetie to god onely excepted) to their kyng onely, as to their ſupreme and chiefe gouernour vppon earth immediatly vnder Chriſte: And whether a kyng without offence againſt God and his people, may geue away, and not hym ſelfe vſe that his aucthoritie and power geuen him of God, or lawfully may without offence to god and his people (after knowledge thereof had (ſuffer hym ſelfe by fraud or guile, or by any other vnlawfull meane, to bee beguyled, defrauded, and ſpoiled thereof, & whether any ſubiect, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng ſo euer he or they be, without offence to God and to his kyng, to the miniſhyng or derogatyng of the ſupreme prerogatiue royall of his kyng, or of any part thereof, may do ought, or after knowledge thereof had without offence to God and to his kyng, may conceale the ſame.

9. Whether the holy written law of G O D bee geuen of God vnto all men, of what dignitie, eſtate, or callyng by office ſoeuer they bee, aſwell thereby to gouerne all their Dominions, Regions, and countreis, and their people therein inhabityng, as themſelues: and whether any law or lawes (the holy law of God onely excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or countrey where as it or they bee vſed, may bee lawfully vſed before it or they bee, as the lawfull law or lawes of the ſame dominion, Region, or countrey, by publicke and common order of the ſame Dominion, Region or countrey lawfully allowed: and whether any Subiect, without offence againſte G O D and his kyng, within the Dominion of hys Kyng, may lawfully vſe any ſuche law or lawes not ſo allowed.

He meaneth the Canon law.

Emanuell.

Pſal. xxxix. ¶Aſcribe vnto the Lord, O ye mightie, aſcribe vnto the Lord, worſhip and ſtrengthe: geue the Lorde the honour of his name, and bow your ſelues to the holy maieſtie of the Lord.

Pſalme 84. I will harken what the Lord God will ſay: for hee ſhall ſpeake peace vnto his people, that they turne not themſelues vnto foliſhnes. This vj. of Aprill. 1557.

By me Richard Gibſon.

¶ The death and Martyrdome of John Rowgh Miniſter, and Margaret Mearyng

burned at London the xxij. of December.

December 22.

John Rough, Margaret Mearyng, Martyrs.

IN this furious tyme of perſecution, were alſo burned theſe two conſtaunt and faithfull Martyrs of Chriſte, John Rough a Miniſter, and Margarette Mearyng.

This Rough was borne in Scotland, who (as him ſelfe confeſſeth in his aunſweres to Boners Articles) becauſe ſome of his kinſfolke woulde haue kept him from his right of inheritaunce which he had to certaine landes, did at the age of xvij. yeares, in deſpite (and the rather to diſpleaſe his frendes) profeſſe hym ſelfe into the order of the blacke Friers at Sterlyng in Scotland: where he remained the ſpace of xvi. yeares, vntill ſuche tyme as the Lorde Hamulton, Earle of Arren, and gouernour of the Realme of Scotlande aforeſaid (caſtyng a fauour vnto hym) did ſue vnto the Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, to haue hym out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular Prieſt he might ſerue hym for his Chaplaine. At whiche requeſt the Archbiſhop cauſed the Prouinciall of that houſe, hauyng thereto authoritie, to diſpence with hym for his habite and order.

A zelous occaſion of a Friers ly profeſſion.

John Rough firſt called to the truth.

This ſute beeyng thus by the Earle obtained, the ſaid Rough remained in his ſeruice one whole yeare: during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to geue hym ſome knowledge of his truthe, and thereupon was by the ſaid gouernour ſent to preache in the freedome of Ayre, where he continued four yeares, and then after the death of the Cardinall of Scotland, hee was appointed to abide at S. Andrewes, & there had aſſigned vnto hym a yearely penſion of xx. pound from kyng Henry the eight, kyng of England. Howbeit, at laſt waiyng with him ſelfe his owne daunger, and alſo abhorryng the Idolatrie and ſuperſtition of his countrey, and hearyng of the freedome of the Goſpell within this Realme of England, hee determined with hym ſelfe not to tary any longer there: And therefore ſoone after the battaile of Muſcleborough, he came firſt vnto Carliell, and from thence vnto the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protectour of England, and by his aſſignement had appointed vnto him out of the kinges treaſury xx. poundes of yearely ſtipend, and was ſent (as a Preacher) to ſerue at Carliell, Barwicke, and Newcaſtell. From whence (after he had there, accordyng to the lawes of God, and alſo of this Realme, taken a countrey woman of his to wife) he was called by the Archbiſhop of Yorke that then was, vnto a benefice nigh in the towne of Hull: where hee continued vntill the death of that bleſſed and good king Edward. vi.

John Rough firſt commyng to England in K. Edwardes tyme.

But in the beginnyng of the reigne of Queene Mary (perceauyng the alteration of Religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feelyng hys owne weakenes) he fled with his wife into Friſeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouryng truely for his liuyng, in knittyng of Cappes, hoſe, and ſuche like thinges, till about the ende of the moneth of October laſt before his death. At whiche tyme, lackyng yearne and other ſuch neceſſary prouiſion for the maintenaunce of his occupation, he came ouer againe into England, here to prouide for the ſame, and the x. day of Nouember arriued at London. Where hearyng of the ſecrete ſocietie, and holy congregation of gods children there aſſembled, he ioyned himſelfe vnto them, and afterwardes beyng elected their Miniſter and Preacher, did continue moſte vertuouſly exerciſed in that Godly fellowſhip, teaching and confirmyng them in the truth and Goſpell of Chriſte. But in the ende (ſuch was the prouidence of God, who diſposeth all thinges to the beſt, the xij. daye of December, he with Cutbert Simſon and others, through the crafty and traiterous ſuggeſtion of a falſe hipocrite and diſſembling brother called Roger Sargeaunt, a taylor, were apprehended by the Vicechamberlaine of the Queenes houſe, at the Saracens heade in Iſlington: where the Congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble themſelues to their godly and accuſtomable exerciſes of prayer, and hearyng the word of God: which pretence, for the ſafegard of all the reſt, they yet at their examinations, couered and excuſed by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The Vicechamberlaine after he had apprehēded them, caried Rough and Simſon vnto the Counſell, who charged thē to haue aſſembled together to celebrate the communion or ſupper of the Lord, and therefore after ſundry examinations and aunſweres, they ſent the ſaide Rough vnto Newgate: but his examinations they ſent vnto the Biſhop of London, with a Letter ſigned with their handes, the copy whereof followeth.

John Rough with his wife flieth into Friſeland.

John Rough ioyneth himſelf to the congregation at London.

John Rough apprehended and by whom.

¶A letter ſent from the Queenes Councell vnto Boner Biſhop of London, touching the examination of Iohn Rough Miniſter.

A Letter ſent from the Counſell to B. Boner.

AFter our hartye commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſende you here incloſed the examinatiō of a Scottiſh man, named Iohn Rough, who by the Queenes Maieſties commaundement is preſently ſent to Newgate, beeyng of the chief of them that vpon Sondaie laſte, vnder the colour of commyng to ſee a Play at the Saracens head in Iſlington, had prepared a Communion to he celebrated and receiued there

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among certaine other ſeditious and hereticall perſons. And foraſmuche as by the ſayd Roughes examination, contayning the ſtorie and progreſſe of his former life, it well appeareth of what ſort he is: the Queenes highnes hath willed vs to remit him vnto your Lordſhip, to the end that beyng called before you out of priſon, as oft as your Lordſhip ſhall thinke good, ye maie proceede, both to his further examination, and otherwiſe orderyng of him, accordyng to the lawes, as the caſe ſhall require.

And thus we bid your Lordſhip hartely wel to fare. From S. Iames the xv. of December. 1557.

Your Lordſhips louyng frendes.

Perſecutors.

Nicholas Ebor. F. Shrewſbery, Edward Haſtinges, Antony Mountague, Iohn Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Boner now minding to make quicke diſpatch, did within three dayes after the receite of the letter (the xviij. day of December) ſend for thys Rough out of Newgate, and in his palace at Londõ miniſtred vnto him xj. articles: Many whereof becauſe they containe onely queſtions of the profeſſion and religion of that age, wherein both he and his parentes were chriſtened (which in ſundry places are already mentioned) I do here for breuitie omit: minding to touch ſuch onely, as pertayne to matters of faith now in controuerſie, and then chiefely obiected agaynſt the Martyrs & Saintes of God, which in effect are these.

Articles againſt Iohn Rough.

Sacrament of the altar.

Confeſſion.

1. First, that thou Iohn Rowgh diddeſt directly ſpeake agaynſt the vij. ſacramentes, vſed commonly and reuerently, as thinges of eſtimation and great worthynes in the catholicke church: & alſo dyddeſt reproue and cõdemne the ſubſtance of the ſayd ſacramentes, but eſpecially the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in that ſame is not really and truely the very body and bloud of Chriſt: and that confeſsion to the prieſt, and abſolution geuen by him (as the miniſter of Chriſt) for ſinnes, is not neceſſary or auaileable in any wiſe.

Latine ſeruice.

2. Item, thou haſt miſliked and reproued the religion & eccleſiaſticall ſeruice, as it is now vſed in this realme, and haſt allowed the religiõ and ſeruice vſed in the latter yeares of king Edward the vj. and ſo much as in thee hath leyne, haſt by woord, writing, and deede, ſet forwardes, taught, and preached the ſame openly, and in ſundry places, affirmed, that the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice and doctrine therein contained, is agreable in all pointes to Gods word and vnto the truth, condemning vtterly the Latine ſeruice now vſed in the Queenes reigne, and inducing other by thyne example to doe the like.

3. Item, thou haſte in ſundry places within this realme commended and approued the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Crãmer, late Archbiſhop of Cãterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remayneth after the words of conſecratiõ, materiall bread and materiall wine, without any tranſubſtantiation.

Bookes of Cõmunion.

4. Item, thou haſt in ſundry places of thys Realme, ſince the Queenes reygne, miniſtred and receaued the Communion as it was vſed in the late daies of Kyng Edward the ſixt, and thou knoweſt, or credibly haſt heard of diuers, that yet do keepe bookes of the ſayd Communion, and vſe the ſame in priuate houſes out of the church, & are of opinion agaynſt the Sacrament of the altar.

Agaynſt the ſupremacie of the Pope.

5. Item, that thou in ſundry places of this Realme haſt ſpoken agaynſt the Pope of Rome and his Apoſtolicke ſea, and haſt playnly cõtemned and deſpiſed the authoritie of the ſame, miſliking and not allowing the fayth and doctrine therof, but directly ſpeaking agaynſt it, and by thine example haſt induced other the ſubiectes of this realme, to ſpeake and doe the like.

6. Item, thou doeſt know, and haſt beene conuerſant with all, or a great part of ſuch Engliſh men as haue fled out of thys Realme for religion, and haſt conſented and agreed with them in their opinions, and haſt ſuccoured, maintayned, and holpen them, and haſt bene a conueyer of their ſedicious letters and bookes into this realme.

Abominable ſightes in Rome.

7. Item, that thou haſt ſayd, that thou haſt beene at Rome, and taryed there about xxx. dayes or more, and that thou haſt ſeene litle good or none there, but very much euill. Amongeſt the which thou ſaweſt one great abomination, that is to ſay, a man (or the Pope) that ſhould go on the ground, to be caried vpõ the ſhoulders of foure men, as though he had bene God and no man: Alſo, a Cardinall to haue his harlot riding openly behinde him: And thirdly a Popes Bull that gaue expreſſe licence to haue and vſe the ſtewes, and to keepe open bawdry by the Popes approbation and authoritie.

8. Item, that thou ſithens thy laſt comming into England out of the parties beyond the Sea, haſt perniciouſly allured and comforted diuers of the ſubiectes of this Realme, both young, old, men and women, to haue and vſe the booke of Communion, ſet forth in thys Realme in the latter dayes of King Edward the ſixt, and haſt alſo thy ſelf red and ſet forth the ſame, cauſing others to doe the like, and to leaue their comming to their pariſh churches to heare the Latine ſeruice now vſed.

Cutbert Simſon.

Hugh Foxe.

9. Item, that thou the third ſonday of Aduent the xij. daie of this December 1557. waſt apprehended at the Sarracens head at Iſlington, in the countie of Middelſexe and dioces of London, by the Queenes vicechamberleine, with one Cutbert a taylour, Hugh a hoſier, and diuers other there aſſembled, vnder the colour of hearing a play, to haue read the communion booke, and to haue vſed the accuſtomed faſhion, as was in the latter dayes of king Edward the ſixt.

The aunſweres of Iohn Rough to the foreſayd Articles.

Hys anſweres to the articles.

1. TO the firſt he ſayd and cõfeſſed that he had ſpoken againſt the number of the ſayd ſacramentes, being fully perſwaded that there bee but onely twoo ſacramentes: to wit, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord: and as for the other fiue, he denyed them to be ſacramentes, and therefore hath ſpoken agaynſt them. And as cõcerning the ſacramẽt of the altar (which he then called the Supper of the Lord) he confeſſed that he had ſpoken & taught that in the ſayd ſacrament there is not really and ſubſtantially the very body and bloud of Chriſt, but that the ſubſtaunce of bread and wine doth remayne in the ſayd ſacrament, without any tranſubſtantiation at al. Farther, as touching confeſsiõ of ſinnes to the prieſt, he aunſwered that he thought it neceſſarie, if the offence were done vnto the prieſt: but if the offence were done to an other, then confeſsion made to the prieſt is not neceſſarie, but reconciliation onely to be made to the partie ſo offended.

2. To the ſeconde, he anſwered that he then did and had before miſliked the order of latine ſeruice then vſed: and alſo did allow the ſeruice vſed in the latter time of King Edwards reigne, for that the holy ſcripture doth the ſame, & therfore he graunted that he did teach & ſet forth the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice, as in the ſame article is obiected.

3. To the third, he graunted that he had approued the doctrine of the parties articulate as agreable to Gods word, and that they were godly learned men, and ſuch as had perfect vnderſtandyng in the contentes of the ſame article.

4. To the fourth, he aunſwered that he did well like the Communion vſed in King Edwardes dayes, but ſaid that he had not miniſtred or receaued the ſame here in England ſince the Queenes reygne, neither yet knew any that had the bookes thereof. But on the other ſide, he knewe many that had thoſe bookes, and that there alſo he had receiued the Communion in ſundry places.

5. The contentes of the fift he graunted to bee true.

6. To the ſixt, he cõfeſſed that he had bene familiar with diuers engliſh men and women being in Friſeland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Maiſter Scory, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundreth perſons, which fled thither for religion, vſing there the order ſet foorth in the reygne of Kyng Edward, and otherwiſe he denieth the contentes of this Article.

7. The contentes of the ſeuenth hee graunted in euery point to be true.

8. To the eight, he anſwered and confeſſed that ſithens his laſt comming into England (which was aboue the x. day of Nouember) hee had in ſundry places in the ſuburbes of London prayed and red ſuche prayers and ſeruice, as is appoynted in the booke of the communion, and had willed others to do the like, both men and women, whiche hee did know by ſight, but not by name. Howbeit he did neither cauſe any to withdraw themſelues from the Latine ſeruice, but he ſaied that it were better to pray in a toung that they did vnderſtand, then in an vnknowen tounge.

9. To the ninth he confeſſed that at the tyme and place articulate hee was preſent to heare and ſee a play, and there was apprehended by the Queenes maieſties Vicechamberlayne, with one Cutbert a taylor, and one Hugh a hoſyer, and diuers other both men and women, whoſe

names

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names he knewe not, and by him was brought before the Counſaile, who ſent hym vnto Newgate, and from thẽce he was brought to the Biſhop, And otherwiſe he denieth the contentes of this Article.

An other appearance of Iohn Rough before the Biſhop.

Vpõ theſe anſweres he was diſmiſſed, and the next daie (beeyng the .xix. daie of December) he was againe brought before the ſaied Biſhoppe and others. Who, when they perceiued his conſtantneſſe, determined the next daie after to bryng hym openly into the Conſiſtorie, there to adiudge, and condẽne hym as an hereticke. Whiche purpoſe they accompliſhed. For the .xx. daie at afternoone, in the preſence of the Biſhops of London, and S. Dauides, with Fecknam Abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, he was thether produced. Where, after muche and many faire perſuaſions, Boner red vnto him the articles, and aunſweres before mentioned, in the which thei charged him to haue receiued the orders of the churche, and therefore might not marie, and that he had refuſed to conſent vnto the Latine ſeruice then vſed in the churche. Whereunto he then anſwered and ſaid, that their orders were nothyng at all, and that he beyng a prieſt might lawfully marie, and that his children whiche he had by his wife, were lawfull. And as touchyng ye ſeruice then vſed, he vtterly deteſted it, ſaiyng, that if he ſhould liue as long as did Methuſhelach yet he would neuer come to the churche to heare the abominable Maſſe, and other Seruice, beyng as it was then. Vpon whiche wordes the Biſhop proceded to the actuall degradation of the ſaied Rough, exemptyng hym from all the beneſices and priuileges of their churche: and after condemnyng hym as an hereticke, committed his bodie vnto the ſecular power, who takyng hym into their charge & cuſtodie, caried hym vnto Newgate.

John Rough condemned and degraded by Boner.

A note of Maiſter Rough.

Moreouer, as touchyng the ſaid M. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he beyng in the North cõtrey in the daies of king Edward the ſixt, was the meane to ſaue D. Watſons life (who in Queene Maries tyme was Biſhop of Lincolne) for a Sermon that he made there. The ſaid Watſon after that, in the ſaid daies of queene Mary, beyng with Boner at the examination of the ſaid M. Rough, to requite the good turne in ſauing his life, detected hym there to be a pernicious hereticke who did more hurt in the North partes, then an C. beſides of his opinions. Unto whom M. Rough ſaied againe: Why ſir, is this the rewarde I haue for ſauyng your life, when you preached erronious doctrine in the daies of kyng Edward the ſixt? This M. Rough ſaid, he had liued thirtie yeres, and yet had neuer bowed his knee to Baall: and beyng before Boner, emong other talke, he affirmed that he had been twiſe at Rome, and there had ſeen plainly with his eyes, which he had many tymes heard of before, namely that the Pope was the verie Antichriſte, for there he ſawe hym carried on mennes ſhoulders, and the falſe named Sacramente borne before hym. Yet was there more reuerence giuen to hym, then to that whiche they coumpted to bee their God. When Boner heard this, riſyng vp, and makyng as though he would haue torne his garmentes: haſte thou, ſaied he, been at Rome, and ſeen our holy father the pope, and weſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſorte and with that flyng vpon hym, he plucked of a pece of his bearde: and after makyng ſpedie haſt to his death, he burnt hym half an hower before ſixe of the clocke in the Mornyng, because the daie (belike) ſhould not bee farre ſpent, before he had doen a miſchieuous deede.

B. Boner plucketh of halfe the bearde of John Rough.

An other note concernyng John Rough.

Further note that this Maiſter Rough beyng at the burnyng of Auſtoo in Smithfield, and retournyng homeward againe, mette with one Maiſter Farrar, a Marchaunt of Hallifaxe, who aſked hym where he had been. Unto whom he aunſwered: I haue been (ſaieth he) where I would not for one of myne eyes, but I had been. Where haue you been, ſaied M. Farrar? Forſothe ſaieth he, to learne the waie. And ſo he told hym, he had been at the burnyng of Auſtoo, where ſhortly after he was burnt hymſelf.

¶ A letter written by Iohn Rough, vnto certaine of his godly frendes, confirmyng and ſtrengthnyng thẽ in the truthe, whiche he had before taught.

A Letter of John Rough.

THE comfort of the holie Ghoſte make you able to giue conſolatiõ to others, in theſe daungerous daies, whẽ Sathan is let loſe, but to the triall onely of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his Wheate from the Chaffe. I haue not leaſure and tyme to write the greate temptations I haue been vnder. I ſpeake to Gods glorie: my care was to haue the ſenſes of my ſoule open, to perceiue the voice of GOD, ſaiyng: Who ſoeuer denieth me before menne, hym will I deny before my Father and his Aungelles. And to ſaue the life corporall, is to looſe the life eternall. And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſte, ſhall not raigne with hym. Therfore moſte tender ones, I haue by Gods ſpirite giuen ouer the fleſhe, with the fighte of my ſoule, and the ſpirite hath the victorie. The fleſhe ſhall nowe ere it bee long, leaue of to ſynne: the ſpirite ſhall raigne eternally. I haue choſen the death to confirme the truthe by me taught. What can I doe more? Conſider with your ſelues, that I haue doen it for confirmation of Goddes truthe. Praie that I maie continue vnto the ende. The greateſt parte of the aſſault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I haue in al my aſſaultes felt the preſent aide of my God, I giue him moſte hartie thãkes therefore. Looke not backe, nor be ye aſhamed of Chriſtes Goſpell, nor of the bondes I haue ſuffered for the ſame: thereby ye maie bee aſſured it is the true worde of GOD. The holy ones haue been ſealed with the ſame marke. It is no tyme for the loſſe of one man in the battell, for the campe to tourne backe. Vp with mennes hartes, blowe doune the dawbed walles of hereſies: Let one take the Banner, an other the Trumpette, I meane not to make corporall reſiſtaunce, but praie, and ye ſhall haue Elias defence, and Elizeus companie to fight for you. The cauſe is the lordes. Now my brethrẽ I can write no more, tyme will not ſuffer, and my harte with panges of death is aſſaulted: but I am at home with my GOD yet aliue. Praie for me, and ſalute one an other with the holy kiſſe. The peace of God reſte with you all, Amen. From Newegate priſon in haſt, the daie of my condemnation.

John Rough.

¶ Margaret Mearyng Martyr.

The ſtorie and examination of Margaret Mearyng, Martyr.

IT is before declared, that in the companie of John Rough, was burned one Margarete Mearyng, who, as the Regiſter maketh mention, was at one tyme and daie brought with the ſaied Rough forthe to examination: where the Biſhop hauyng no priuate matters to charge her withall, did the 18. daie of December obiecte againſte her thoſe common and accuſtomable Articles mentioned before page. 1585. To whiche ſhe aunſwered as followeth.

Her anſweres to the Articles.

1. FIrſt, that there is here in yearth a catholicke church and that there is the true faithe of Chriſte obſerued, and kept in the ſame Churche.

2. Item, that there were onely twoo Sacramentes in the Churche, namely the Sacramente of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

3. Item, that ſhe was Baptiſed in the faithe, and belief of the ſaied Churche, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the deuill and all his workes. &c.

4. Item, that when ſhe came to the age of fowertene yeres, ſhe did not knowe what her true beleefe was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to vnderſtande the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, that ſhe had not gone from the catholicke faithe at any tyme: but ſhe ſaied that the Maſſe was abhominable before the ſight of GOD, and before the ſight of all true Chriſtian people, and that it is the plaine Cup of fornication, and the whore of Babilon. And as concernyng the Sacramente of the altar, ſhe ſaied ſhe beleued there was no ſuche Sacrament in the catholicke Churche. Alſo ſhe ſaied, that ſhe vtterly abhorred the authoritie of the Biſhoppe of Rome, with all the Religion obſerued in the ſame Antichriſtes Churche.

6. Item, ſhe aunſwered to the ſixt Article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. Item, that ſhe hath refuſed to come to her Pariſhe Churche, becauſe the true Religion of Chriſte was not then vſed in the ſame: and farther ſaied that ſhe had not come vnto the Churche by the ſpace of one yere, & three quarters, then laſte paſt, neither yet did meane any more to come vnto the ſame in theſe Idolatrous daies.

8. Item, as touching the maner of her apprehenſion, ſhe ſaied that Cluney the Biſhoppes Somner, did fetche her to the Biſhop.

Margaret Mearyng apprehended by Cluney.

Theſe aunſweres beyng then regiſtered, they were againe (with the ſaied Articles) propounded againſte her the .xx. daie of December, and there beyng demaunded if ſhe would ſtande vnto thoſe her aunſweres, ſhe ſaied: I will ſtand to them vnto the death: for the very Aungels of heauen doe laugh you to ſcorne, to ſe your abhominatiõ that you vſe in the church. After ye whiche wordes the Biſhoppe pronounced the ſentence of condemnation: and then deliueryng her vnto ye Sheriffes,

Sentence againſt Margaret Mearyng.

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The Martyrdome of Iohn Rough & Margaret Mearing in Smithfield. Anno.1557. December.22

ſhe was with the forenamed Iohn Rough caried vnto Newgate. From whence they were bothe together led vnto Smithfielde, the.xxij. daie of the ſame monethe of December, and there moſte ioyfully gaue their liues for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell.

A note of Margaret Mearing

When the latter ende of this hiſtorie of Maiſter Rough, and Margaret Mearyng was in finiſhyng, there came to our hãdes one neceſſarie thing of the ſaid Margaret Mearyng, whiche wee thought not good to omit. The matter is this. Maiſter Rough beyng chief Paſtor to the congregation in the ſaied tyme of quene Mary, as before ye haue heard (of whiche companie this Margaret Mearyng was one) did not well like the ſaid Margaret, but greatly ſuſpected her, as many other of them did beſides, becauſe ſhe would oftẽ tymes bryng in ſtraungers emong them, and in her talke ſeemed (as they thought) ſomewhat to buſie. &c. Nowe, what they ſawe or vnderſtoode further in her, we know not, but this followed the euill ſuſpition conceiued of her. Maiſter Rough the Fridaie before he was taken, in the open face of the congregation, did excommunicate her out of the ſame companie: and ſo ſeemed with the reſte to exclude, and cut her of from their felowſhip and ſocietie. Whereat ſhe beyng moued, did not well take it, nor in good parte, but thought her ſelf not indifferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her frendes in a heate, ſhe threatened to remoue them all. But the prouidence of God was otherwiſe. For the Mondaie after Maiſter Rough beyng taken by the information of one Roger, Sergeaunt to the Biſhop of London (as hereafter thou ſhalt heare) was laied priſoner in the gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, where none of his frẽdes could come to hym to viſite hym. Then this ſaied Margaret hearyng thereof, got her a baſket, and a cleane ſhirt init, and went to Weſtminſter, where ſhe faynyng her ſelf to be his ſiſter, got into yͤ priſõ to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort hym.

Margaret Mearyng releueth Maiſter Rough in priſon.

Then commyng abroade again, ſhe vnderſtandyng that the Congregation ſuſpected the ſaied Sergeaunt to be his promoter, went to his houſe, and aſked whether Iudas dwelte not there. Unto whom aunſwere was made, there dwelte no ſuche. No, ſaied ſhe? Dwelleth not Iudas here that betraied Chriſte? his name is Sergeaunte. When ſhe ſawe ſhe could not ſpeake with hym, ſhe wente her waie. So the Fridaie after, ſhe ſtandyng at Marke lane ende in London, with an other woman, a frende of hers, ſawe Cluney Boners Somner, commyng in the ſtreate towardes her houſe. Whom when ſhe ſawe, ſhe ſaied to the other woman ſtandyng with her: whether goeth yonder fine felowe ſaied ſhe? I thinke ſurely he goeth to my houſe: & in viewyng hym ſtill, at the laſte ſhe ſawe hym enter in at her doore. So immediatly ſhe went home, and aſked hym whom he ſought. Whereunto Cluney made aunſwere and ſaied, for you: ye muſte goe with me. Mary, ꝙ ſhe, here I am: I will goe with you, and commyng to the Biſhop, ſhe was laied in priſon, and the Wedneſdaie after burnt with Maiſter Rough in Smithfield, as ye haue heard.

The takyng of Margaret Mearyng Martyr.

Anno.1558.

¶ *The ſufferyng and cruell tormentes of Cutbert Simſon, Deacon of the Chriſtian* Congregation in London, in Quene Maries daies, moſte paciently abidyng the cruell rage of the Papiſtes for Chriſtes ſake.

Anno.1558. The ſtorie and cruell handelyng of Cutbert Simſon, Deacon and Martyr. March.28.

NExte after the Martyrdome of M. Rough, miniſter of the Congregation, aboue mentioned, ſucceded in the like Martyrdome the Deacon alſo of that ſaied godlie companie or Congregation in London, named Cutbert Simſon, beyng committed to the fire, the yere of our Lorde.1558.the.xxviij.daie of Marche.

This Cutbert Simſon was a man of a faithfull, and zealous harte to Chriſte and his true flocke, in ſo muche that he neuer ceaſed labouryng, and ſtudyng moſte earneſtly, not onely how to preſerue them without corruption of the Popiſhe Religion, but alſo his care was euer vigilente, howe to keepe them together without perill, or daunger of perſecution. The paines, trauaile, zeale, pacience, and fidelitie of this man, in caryng, and prouidyng for this Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expreſſed: ſo is it wonderfull to behold the prouidence of the Lorde by viſion, concernyng the troubles of this faithfull miniſter, and godlie Deacõ, as in this here followyng maie appeare.

The viſions ſent to Gods Saintes concernyng their afflictions.

The Fridaie at night before Maiſter Rough Miniſter of the Congregation (of whom mention is made before) was taken, beyng in his bed he dreamed, that he ſawe two of the Gard leadyng Cutbert Simſon Deacon of the ſaid congregation, and that he had the booke about hym, wherein were written the names of al them whiche were of the Congregation. Whereupon beyng ſore troubled, he awaked, and called his wife, ſaiyng: Kate ſtrike light: For I am muche troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When ſhe had ſo doen, he gaue hym ſelf to read in his booke a while, and then feelyng ſlepe to come vpon hym, he put out the candle, and ſo gaue hym ſelf again to reſte. Beyng a ſlepe, he dreamed the like dreame againe: and awaked therewith, he ſaied: O Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle againe and roſe. And as the ſaid Maiſter Rough was makyng hym ready to goe to Cutbert to ſee how he did, in the meane tyme the ſaied Cutbert came in with the booke, conteinyng the names and accomptes of the Congregation. Whom when Maiſter Rough had ſeen, he ſaied: brother Cutbert, ye are welcome, for I haue ben ſore troubled with you this night, and ſo tolde hym his dreame. After he had ſo doen, he willed hym to laie the booke awaie from hym, and to cary it no more about hym. Unto whiche Cutbert aunſwered, he would not ſo doe: for dreames he ſaied, were but phantaſies, and not to be credited. Then Maiſter Rough ſtraightely charged hym in the name of the lorde to doe it. Whereupon the ſaied Cutbert tooke ſuche notes out of the booke, as he had willed hym to do, and immediatly left the booke with M. Roughes wife.

The next daie followyng, in the night, the ſaid M. Rough had an other dreame in his ſleepe, concernyng his owne trouble. The matter wherof was this. Hee thought in his dreame that he was caried hym ſelf forceably to the Biſhop, and that the Biſhoppe plucke of his beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaiyng theſe wordes: Nowe I maie ſaie, I haue had a peece of an hereticke burned in my houſe, and ſo accordyng it came to paſſe.

Now to returne to Cutbert again, as we haue touched ſomethyng concernyng theſe viſions, ſo nowe remaineth to ſtorie alſo of his paines & ſufferynges vpõ the racke, and otherwiſe like a good Laurence for the congregations ſake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

¶ *A true report how I was vſed in the Tower of* London, beyng ſent thether by the Counſell the.xiij. daie of December.

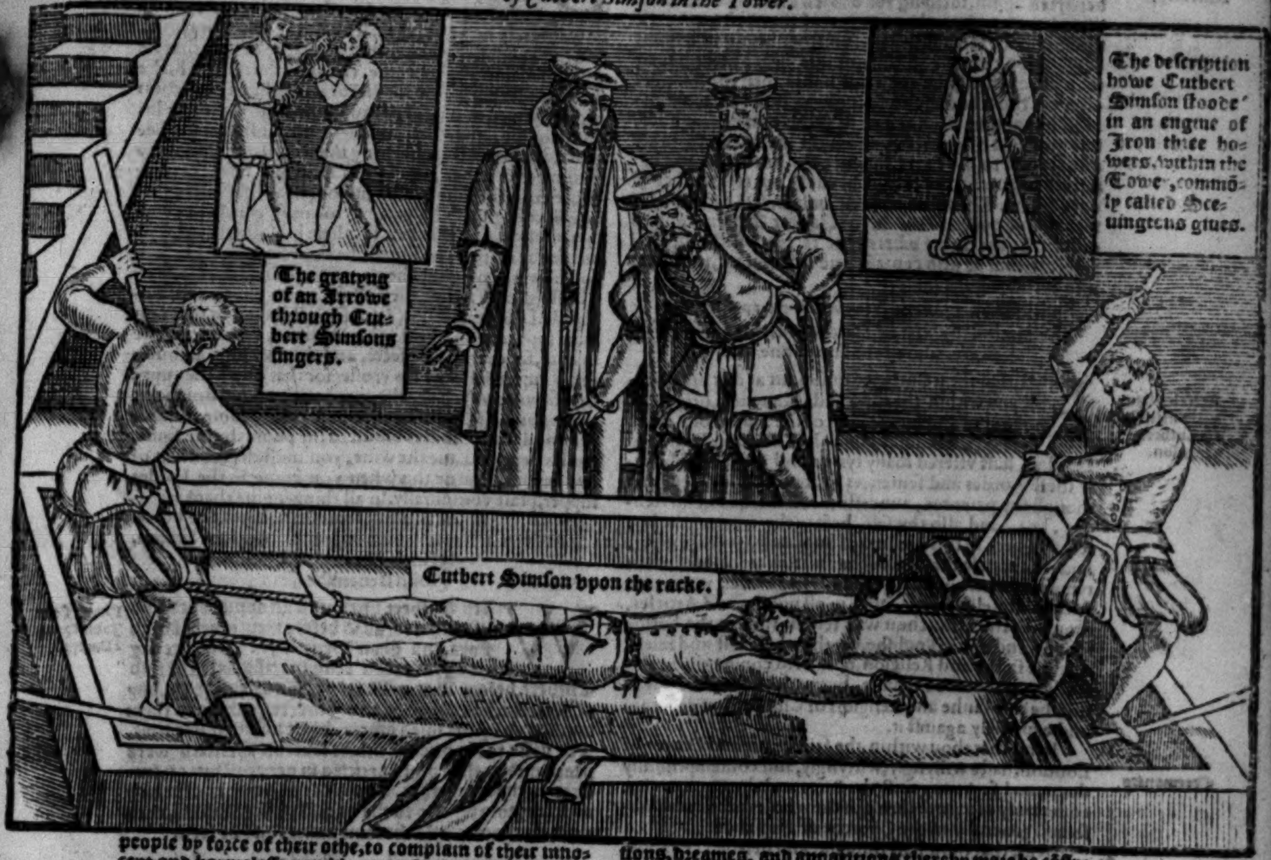
A letter of Cutbert Simſon, to certaine of his frendes.

ON the Thurſdaie, after I was called vnto the warehouſe, before the Cõſtable of the Tower and the Recorder of London Maiſter Cholmley, they commaunded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the Engliſhe Seruice. I aunſwered I would declare nothyng. Whereupon I was ſette in a racke of Iron, the ſpace of three howers, as I iudged. Then they aſked me if I would tell them. I aunſwered as before. Then was I looſed, & caried to my lodging again. On the Mondaie after, I was brought into the ſame place again, before the Lieutenant, and the Recorder of Lõdon, and they examined me. As before I had ſaied, I aunſwered. Then the Lieutenaunt did ſweare by God I ſhould tell. Then did they binde my two forefingers together, and put a ſmall arrowe betwixt them, and drewe it through ſo faſt that the bloud followed, and the arrowe brake. Then they racked me twiſe. Then was I caried to my lodgyng again: and x. daies after the Lieutenaunt aſked me if I would not confeſſe that, whiche before they had aſked me. I ſaied I had ſaied as muche as I would. Then fiue weekes after, he ſent me vnto yͤ high prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hande I receiued the Popes curſe, for bearyng witneſſe of the reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſte. And thus I commende you vnto God, and to the worde of his grace, with all them that vnfainedlie call vpon the name of Ieſus, deſiryng God of his endleſſe mercie, through the merites of his deare ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, to bryng vs all to his euerlaſtyng kyngdom Amen. I praiſe God for his greate mercie ſhewed vpõ vs. Sing Oſãna vnto the higheſt wͭ me Cutbert Simſon, God forgiue me my ſinnes. I aſke all the worlde forgiueneſſe, and I doe forgiue all the worlde, and thus I leaue this worlde, in hope of a ioyfull reſurrection.

If any be diſpoſed to ſe the depoſitions, whiche the cruell Papiſtes did extorte out of poore and ignoraunt people,

Anno, 1558.
March.

¶ A true deſcription of the racking and cruell handelyng of Cutbert Simſon in the Tower.


The gratyng of an Arrowe through Cutbert Simſons fingers.
The deſcription howe Cutbert Simſon ſtoode in an engine of Iron three howers, within the Tower, commonly called Skeuingtens giues.
Cutbert Simſon vpon the racke.

people by force of their othe, to complain of their innocent and harmeleſſe neighbors, as here they doe by tormentes, let hym reſort to our firſt booke, page. 1632.

¶ A note for Cutbert Simſons pacience.

A note of Cutbert Simſon.

NOw as touchyng this Cutbert Simſon, this further is to be noted, that Boner in his Conſiſtorie ſpeakyng of Cutbert Simſon, gaue this teſtimonie of him there to yͤ people, ſaiyng: ye ſee this man (ſaieth he) what a perſonable man he is: and after he had thus commended his perſone, added moreouer: And furthermore concernyng his pacience, I ſaie vnto you, that if he were not an hereticke, he is a man of the greateſt paciēce that yet euer came before me. For I tell you, he hath been thriſe racked vpō one daie in the Tower: Alſo in my houſe he hath felt ſome ſorowe, and yet I neuer ſee his pacience broken. &c.

The pacience of Cutbert Simſon.

It is thought and ſaied of ſome, that that arrowe, whiche was grated betwixte his fingers, beyng tide together, was not in the tower, but in the biſhops houſe.

A viſiō of Cutbert Simſon.

The daie before the bleſſed Deacon and martyr of GOD Cutbert Simſon, after his painefull rackyng ſhould goe to his condemnation before Boner, to bee burned, being in the biſhops colehouſe there in the ſtockes, he had a certain viſion or apparition very ſtrāge whiche he hymſelf with his owne mouth declared to the Godly learned man M. Auſten, to his owne wife, and Thomas Simſon, and to other beſides, in the priſon of Newgate a little before his death. The relation wherof I ſtande in no little doubt, whether to report abrode or not, conſideryng with my ſelf, the greate diuerſitie of mennes iudgementes in the readyng of hiſtories, and varietie of affections. Some, I ſee, will not beleue it, ſome will deride the ſame, ſome alſo will bee offended with ſettyng forth thynges of that ſort incertaine, eſteemyng all thynges to be incertain and incredible, whatſoeuer is ſtraunge from the common order of Nature. Other will be perchaunce agreued, thinkyng with themſelues, or els thus reaſonyng with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet for ſo muche as the cōmon errour of beleuyng raſhe miracles, phantaſied viſions, dreames, and apparitions thereby maie be cōfirmed, more expedient it were the ſame to be vnſetforthe.

Theſe and ſuche like will be, I knowe, the ſaiynges of many. Whereunto briefly I aunſwere, grauntyng firſte, and admittyng with the wordes of Baſill, οὐ πᾶν ὄνειαρ ἐςὶ προφητεία. That is, not euery dreame is ſtraight waie a Prophecie. Againe, neither am I ignoraunt that the Papiſtes in their bookes and legēdes of ſainctes haue their prodigious viſions, and apparitions of Angels, of our ladie, of Chriſt, & other ſainctes: whiche as I will not admit to bee beleued for true, ſo wil they aſke me again, why ſhould I thē more require theſe to be credited of them, then theirs of vs.

What credite is to be giuen to viſions, and how farre.

Firſte I write not this, bindyng any man preciſely to beleue the ſame, ſo as they doe theirs, but onely report it as it hath been heard of perſones knowen, namyng alſo the parties, who were the hearers thereof, leauyng the iudgemente thereof notwithſtandyng free vnto the arbitremēt of the reader. Albeit, it is no good argument, procedyng from the ſingular or particular, to the vniuerſal, to ſaie that viſiōs be not true in ſome, ergo, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe, or obiecte againe, why ſhould ſuche viſions be giuen to him, or a fewe other ſingular perſones, more then to all the reſt, ſeyng the other were in the ſame cauſe and quarell, and died alſo Martyrs as well as he? To this I ſaie, concernyng the Lordes tymes and doynges, I haue not to meddle nor make, who maie worke where, and when it pleaſeth hym. And what if the Lorde thought chiefly aboue the other, with ſome ſingular conſolation to reſpecte hym, who chiefly aboue the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſte exquiſite tormentes for his ſake? What greate maruell herein? but as I ſaied, of the Lordes ſecrete tymes I haue not to reaſon. This onely whiche hath out of the mannes owne mouth been receiued, ſo as I receiued it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for hym to iudge therof as God ſhal rule his mynde. The matter is this.

The daie before this Simſon was condemned, he beyng in the ſtockes, Cloney his keper cometh in with the keies, about 9. of the clocke at night (after his vſual maner)

maner) to viewe his priſon, and ſe whether all were preſent, who when he eſpied the ſaied Cutbert to be there, departed again, lockyng the doores after hym. Within twoo howers after, about aleuen of the clocke, toward midnight, the ſaied Cutbert (whether beyng in a ſlumber, or beyng awake I can not ſaie) heard one commyng in, firſte openyng the outward doore, then the ſeconde, after the third doore, and ſo lookyng into the ſaid Cutbert, hauyng no Candell or Torche that he could ſee, but giuyng a brightneſſe, and light moſte comfortable and ioyfull to his harte, ſaiyng: Ha, vnto hym, and departed againe. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he ſawe, he hym ſelf declared fower or fiue tymes to the ſaied Maiſter Auſten, and to other. At the ſighte whereof he receiued ſuche ioyfull comfort, that he alſo expreſſed no little ſolace, in telling and declaryng the ſame.

¶ *Articles ſeuerally miniſtered to Cutbert* Simſon the. xix. of Marche, with his aunſweres alſo to the ſame annexed.

Articles ſeuerally miniſtred to Cutbert Simſon.

1. FIrſt, that thou Cutbert Simſon, art at this preſent abidyng within the Citie and Dioces of London, & not out of the iuriſdiction of the Biſhop of Rome.

2. Item, that thou within the Citie and Dioces of London, haſt vttered many tymes, and ſpoken deliberatly theſe wordes and ſentences followyng, videlicet: that though thy parentes, aunceſtours, kinſefolkes, and frendes, yea, and alſo thy ſelf, before the tyme of the late ſchiſme here in this Realme of Englande, haue thought, and thoughteſt, that the faithe and Religion obſerued in tymes paſte here in this Realme of Englande, was a true faithe and Religion of Chriſt, in all pointes and Articles, though in the Churche it was ſette forthe in the Latine tongue, and not in Engliſhe, yet thou beleueſt and ſaieſt, that the faithe and Religion, now vſed commonly in this Realme, not in the Engliſhe, but in the Latine tongue, is not the true faithe and Religion of Chriſte, but contrary and expreſſely againſt it.

Ceremonies.

3. Item, that thou within the ſaied Citie and Dioces of London, haſte willyngly, wittyngly, and contemptuouſly doen, and ſpoken againſt the Rites and the Ceremonies, commonly vſed here through the whole realme, and obſerued generally in the Churche of Englande.

Seuen Sacramentes.

4. Item, that thou haſt thought, and beleued certainly, and ſo within the Dioces of London, haſte affirmed, and ſpoken deliberately, that there bee not in the Catholicke Churche ſeuen Sacramentes, not of that vertue and efficacie, as is commonly beleued in the Churche of Englande them to bee.

Sacrament of the altar.

5. Item, that thou haſte likewiſe thought, and beleued, yea, and haſt ſo within the Citie and Dioces of London ſpoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the Sacramente of the altare, there is not really, ſubſtancially, and truely, the verie bodie and bloud of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

6. Item, that thou haſte been, & to thy power art at this preſent, a fauourer of al thoſe, that either haue been here in this Realme, heretofore called heretickes, or els contented, and condemned by the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges for heretickes.

Vsing of Engliſh ſeruice.

7. Item, that thou, contrary to the order of this Realme of Englande, & contrary to the vſage of the holy church of this Realme of Englande, haſte at ſundrie tymes and places, within the Citie and Dioces of London, been at aſſemblies, and conuenticles, where there was a multiude of people gathered together, to heare the Engliſhe ſeruice ſaied, whiche was ſet forthe in the late yeres of Kyng Edward the ſixt, and alſo to heare, and haue the Communion booke reade, and the Communion miniſtered, bothe to the ſaied multitude, and alſo to thy ſelf, and thou haſt thought, and ſo thinkeſt, and haſte ſpoken that the ſaied Engliſhe ſeruice, and Communion booke, and all thynges conteined in either of them was good and laudable, and for ſuche thou diddeſt, and doeſt allowe, and approue either of them at this preſent.

¶ *The aunſwere of the ſaied Cutbert* to the foreſaied Articles.

His aunſweres to the articles.

VNto all whiche Articles, the ſaid Cutbert Simſon aunſwered thus, or the like in effecte.

To the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. and. 6. Article, he confeſſed thē to be true in euery part thereof.

To the. 7. Article he ſaied, that he was bounde to anſwere vnto it, as he beleueth.

¶ *A letter of Cutbert Simſon, written to* his wife out of the Colehouſe.

A Letter of Cutbert Simſon to his wife.

DEarely beloued in the Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, I can not write as I doe wiſhe vnto you. I beſeche you with my ſoul, commit your ſelf vnder the mightie hande of our God, truſtyng in his mercie, and he will ſurely helpe vs, as ſhall be moſte vnto his glorie, and our euerlaſtyng comforte, beyng ſure of this, that he will ſuffer nothyng to come vnto vs, but that whiche ſhalbe moſte profitable for vs. For it is either a correction for our ſynnes, or a triall of our faithe, or to ſet forthe his glorie, or for altogether, and therefore muſte needes bee well doen. For there is nothyng that commeth vnto vs by fortune or chaunce, but by our heauenly fathers prouidence. And therfore praie vnto our heauenly father that he will euer giue vs his grace ſo to conſider it. Let vs giue hym moſte hartie thankes, for theſe his fatherly corrections: for as many as he loueth, he correcteth. And I beſech you now bee of good cheare, and coumpte the croſſe of Chriſte greater riches, then all the vaine pleaſures of Englande. I doe not doubt (I praiſe God for it) but that you haue ſupped with Chriſt at his Maundie, I meane beleue in hym, for that is the effecte, and then muſte you drinke of his cuppe, I meane his croſſe (for that doeth the cuppe ſignifie vnto vs). Take the cuppe with a good ſtomacke, in the name of God: and then ſhall you bee ſure to haue the good wine Chriſtes bloud to thy poore thirſtie ſoule. And when you haue the wine, you muſt drinke it out of this cuppe. Learne this when you come to the Lordes ſupper, praie continually. In all thinges giue thankes.

In the name of Ieſus ſhall euery knee bowe.

Cutbert Simſon.

{Hugh Foxe. John Deueniſhe.}

Hugh Foxe, John Deueniſh Martyrs.

WIth Cutbert likewiſe was apprehended and alſo ſuffered (as is before mencioned) Hugh Foxe, and Ihon Deueniſhe. Who beeyng brought to their examinatiōs with the ſaid Cutbert, before Boner Biſhop of London, the xix. day of Marche, had Articles and Interrogatories to them miniſtered by the ſaied officer, albeit not al at one time. For firſte to the ſaied Cutbert ſeuerall Articles were propounded, then other articles in generall were miniſtred to thē altogether. The order and maner of which articles, now ioyntly to thē miniſtred here follow, with their aunſweres alſo the ſame annexed, to be ſeen.

¶ *Articles generally miniſtred to them all three* together, the ſaied. xix. daie of Marche with their aunſweres to the ſame annexed.

Generall articles obiected to them all three together.

AFter theſe Articles thus miniſtered and laied to Cutbert Simſon, with his aunſweres likewiſe vnto the ſame, the Biſhop callyng them all together, obiected to them other poſitions and Articles, the ſame whiche before are mentioned in the ſtorie of Bartlet Grene. page. 1736. onely the. viij. Article out of the ſame omitted & excepted, whiche Articles becauſe they are already expreſſed in the page aboue mentioned, wee neede not here to make any newe reporte thereof, but onely referre the reader to the place aſſigned.

¶ *The aunſwers generall of Cutbert Simſon, Hugh* Foxe, and Ihon Deueniſhe, to the Articles by the Biſhop to them generally propoſed.

Their aunſweres generall to the articles.

1. TO the firſt Article thei all aunſwered affirmatiuely: but Ihon Deueniſhe added, that that Churche is grounded vppon the Prophettes and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head corner ſtone, & how in that Churche there is the true faithe and religion of Chriſt.

2. To the ſeconde Article, they all confeſſed and beleued, that in Chriſtes Catholicke Churche, there are but two Sacramentes, that is to witte, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lorde: otherwiſe they doe not beleue the contentes of this Article to be true in any parte thereof.

3. To the iij. Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely.

4. To the. iiij. Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely.

5. To the fifte Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, that they doe beleue, and haue and will ſpeake againſte the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, the Sacrament of the altar, and likewiſe againſte the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, and are nothyng ſorie for the ſame, but will doe it ſtill whiſſe they liue.

6. To the ſixt Article, thei all aunſwered, and denied to acknowledge the authoritie of the Sea of Rome, to bee lawfull and good, either yet his religion.

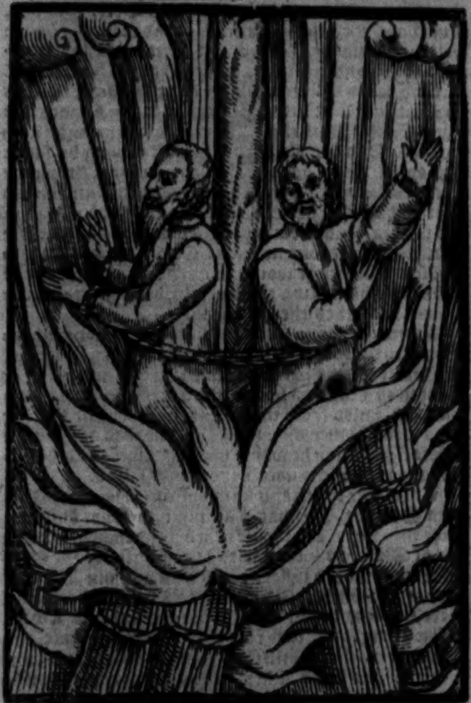
7. To the ſeuenth Article, they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, that they haue, & will doe ſo ſtill while they liue: and

and Iohn Deueniſhe addyng thereto, ſaied that the Sacramente of the altar, as it is now vſed, is no Sacramente at all.

To the eight Article, they all confeſſed, and beleued all thynges aboue by them acknowledged and declared, to bee true, and that they bee of the Dioces of London, and iuriſdiction of the ſame.

.8. Theſe three aboue named perſones, and bleſſed witneſſes of Ieſus Chriſt, Cutbert, Foxe, and Deueniſhe as they were altogether apprehended at Iſlyngton, as is aboue declared, ſo the ſame all three together ſuffered in Smithfield about the .xxviii. daie of Marche, in whoſe perfect conſtancie the ſame lorde (in whoſe cauſe and quarrell they ſuffered) giuer of all grace, and gouernour of all thynges, be exalted for euer. Amen.

❡ Three godlie Martyrs burned in Smithfield.



The Martyrdome of Cutbert Simſon, Hugh Foxe, Iohn Deueniſh in Smithfield. An. 1558. March. 28.

❡ The ſuffering & martirdome of VVilliam Nicole, put to death by the wicked handes of the Papiſtes at Herefordweſt in Wales.

Aprill. 9.

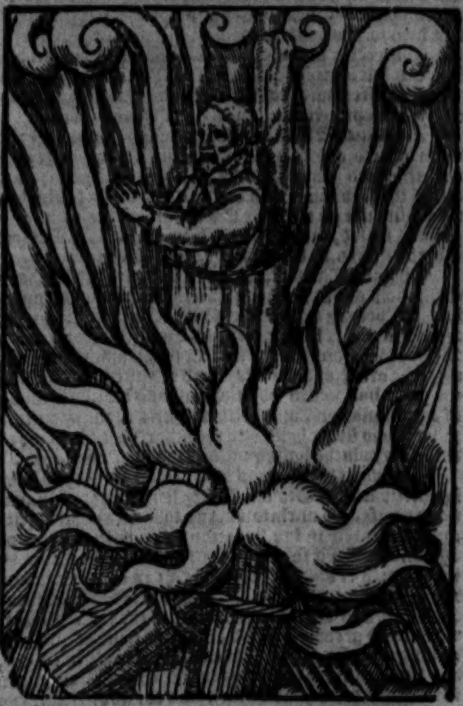
William Nicoll, Martyr.

WE finde in all ages from the beginnyng, that Sathan hath not ceaſſed at all tymes, to moleſt the church of Chriſt with one afflictiō or other, to the triall of their faithe, but yet neuer ſo apparauntely at any tyme to all the worlde, as when the lorde hath permitted him power ouer the bodies of his ſainctes, to the ſhedyng of their bloud, and peruertyng of Religion: for then ſlepeth he not, I warrant you, frō murderyng of the ſame, vnles they will fall doune with Achab and Ieſabell to worſhip hym, and ſo kill and poyſon their owne ſoules eternally: as in theſe miſerable latter daies of Queene Mary we haue felt heard and ſeene practiſed vpon Gods people. Among whom we finde recorded an honeſt good ſimple pore man, one William Nicol, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for ſpeakyng certaine wordes againſt the cruell kingdome of Antichriſt, and the ninth day of Aprill. 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at Herefordweſt in Wales, where hee ended his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, and gloriouſly gaue his ſoule into the handes of the Lorde, whoſe goodnes bee praiſed for euer and euer, Amen.

Wil. Nicoll a ſimple ſoule.

This William Nicoll (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good ſoule, that many eſteemed him halfe fooliſh. But what he was we know not, but this are wee ſure he died a good man, & in a good cauſe, whatſoeuer they iudge of hym. And the more ſimplicitie of feblenes of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruell and tirannicall act therein. The Lord geue them repentaunce therfore, if it be hys bleſſed will, Amen, Amen.

The burnyn of W. Nicole at Herefordweſt in Wales.



The Martyrdome of William Nicoll at Herfordweſt in Wales. An. 1558. Aprill. 9.

❡ The Martyrdom of VVilliam Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, put to death by the perſecutyng papiſtes at Norwich in the countie of Norfolke.

May 19.

The ſtory and Martyrdom of W. Seaman, Tho. Carman, and Thomas Hudſon.

IMmediatly after William Nicole ſucceded in that honorable and glorious vocation of Martyrdome three conſtant godly men at Norwich in Norfolk, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, the 19. of May an. 1558. Whoſe names be theſe.

William Seaman.
Thomas Carman.
Thomas Hudſon.

William Seaman.

The ſayd William Seaman was an huſbandman, of the age of xxvi. yeares, dwellyng in Mendleſham in the county of Suffolke, who was ſought for ſundry tymes by the commaundement of Syr Iohn Tirrell knight, and at laſt he himſelfe in the night ſearched his houſe and other places for hym: notwithſtandyng, hee ſomwhat miſt of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gaue charge to his ſeruauntes, Robert Bauldyng, and Iames Clarke with others, to ſeke for hym. Who hauyng no officer, went in the euenyng to his houſe, where he beyng at home, they tooke hym and caried hym to their Maſter Syr Iohn Tirrell. This Bauldyng beyng Seamans nigh neighbour, and whom the ſayd Seaman greatly truſted as a ſpeciall frend, notwithſtādyng to do his Maſter a pleaſure, now became enemy to his chief frend, and was one of the buſieſt in the takyng of hym. Nowe as they were goyng to cary hym to their Maſter Syr Iohn Tyrrell in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light betweene them out of the element and parted them. This Bauldyng beyng in company with the reſte when the light fell, and albeit he was then in his beſte age, yet after that time neuer enioyed good day, but pined away euen vnto the death.

Sir Iohn Tirrell Knight.

Robert Bauldyng.

Iames Clarke, perſecutors.

A light out of the element.

Well, for all that ſtraunge ſight (as I ſaid) they caried him to their Maſter. Who when he came, aſked hym why he would not go to maſſe, and receaue the ſacrament, and ſo to worſhip it? Unto which William

Gods puniſhment vpon a perſecutor.

Anno. 1558. Maie.

Seaman brought to Biſhop Hopton, and by hym condemned.

Seamans wife and his three yong children, were perſecuted alſo by ſir Jhon Tirrell.

Seaman aunſwered, denying it to be a Sacrament, but ſaid it was an Idoll, and therfore would not receiue it. After whiche wordes ſpoken, ſir John Tirrell ſhortly ſent hym to Norwich to Hopton then biſhop, and there after conference and examination had with hym, the biſhop red his bloudy ſentence of condemnation againſt hym, and afterward deliuered hym to the Secular power, who kept hym vnto the daie of Martyrdome.

This ſaied William Seaman lefte behinde hym when he died, a wife, and three children very yong: and with the ſaied yonge children, his wife was perſecuted out of the ſaid toune alſo of Mendleſham, becauſe that ſhe would not go to heare Maſſe, and all her corne and goodes ſeaſed, and taken awaie by maſter Chriſtopher Coles officers, he beyng lorde of the ſaied toune.

Thomas Carman Martyr.

Thomas Carmã (who, as is ſaid, pledged Richard Craſhfield at his burnyng, and thereupon was apprehended) beeyng priſoner in Norwiche, was about one tyme with the reſt examined and brought before ẏ ſaied Biſhop, who aunſwered no leſſe in his maiſters cauſe, then the other, and therefore had the like rewarde, that the other had, which was the Biſhops bloudy bleſſyng of condemnation, and deliuered alſo to the Seculare power, who kepte hym with the other, vntill the daie of ſlaughter, whiche haſted on, and was not long after.

Carman condemned.

Thomas Hudſon, Martyr.

Thomas Hudſon was of Ayleſham in Norfolk, by his occupation a Glouer, a very honeſt poore man, hauyng a wife, and iij. children, and labored alwaies truly and diligentely in his vocation, beyng of. xxx. yeres of age, and bearyng ſo good a will to the Goſpell, that he in the daies of kyng Edward the. vi. twoo yeres before Queene Maries raigne, learned to reade Engliſhe of Anthonie and Thomas Norgate of the ſame Towne, wherein he greatly profited about the tyme of alteratiõ of religion. For when Queene Mary came to raigne, and had chaunged the ſeruice in the churche, puttyng in for wheate, draffe, and darnill, and for good preachyng blaſphemous criyng out againſt truthe, and godlines, he then auoidyng all their beggerly Ceremonies of ſuperſtition, abſented hym ſelf from his houſe, and wente into Suffolke a long tyme, and there remained, trauelyng from one place to an other, as occaſion was offered. At the laſt, he returned backe again to Norfolke, to his houſe at Ayleſham, to comforte his wife and his children, beyng heauie, and troubled with his abſence.

Hudſon learneth to reade Engliſhe.

Hudſon flieth ſtill Papeſtrie.

Now when he came home, and perceiued his continuaunce there would bee daungerous, he and his wife deuiſed to make hym a place among his fagots, to hide hym ſelf in, where he remained all the daie (in ſteede of his chamber) readyng and praiyng continually, for the ſpace of halfe a yere, and his wife like an honeſt womã beyng carefull for hym, vſed her ſelf faithfully, and diligently towardes hym.

Berry the Commiſſarie, a perſecutour.

In the meane tyme came the Vicare of the Towne, named Berry (who was one of the Biſhoppes Commiſſaries, a verie euill man) and inquired of this ſaied Thomas Hudſons wife, for her houſeband. Unto whõ ſhe aunſwered, as not knowyng where he was. Then the ſaied Berry rated her, and threatened to burne her, for that ſhe would not bewraie her houſebande where he was. After that, whẽ Hudſon vnderſtoode it, he waxed euery daie more zealous then other, and continually read and ſang Pſalmes, to the wonder of many, the people openly reſortyng to hym, to heare his exhortations, and vehement praiers.

Hudſõ wareth bolde in the truthe.

At the laſte he walked abroad for certaine daies, openly in the Towne, criyng out continually againſt the Maſſe, and all their trumperie, and in the ende, commyng home in his houſe, he ſatte hym doune vpon his knees, hauyng his booke by hym, readyng and ſingyng Pſalmes continually without ceaſſyng, for three daies and three nightes together, refuſyng meate and other talke, to the greate wonder of many.

John Crouch bewraieth Thomas Hudſon to the Conſtabler.

Then one Jhõ Crouch his next neighbor, went to the Conſtables Robert Marſham, and Robert Lawes in the night, to certifie thẽ therof: for Berry commaunded openly to watche for him: & the Conſtables vnderſtãdyng the ſame, went cruelly to catch him in ẏ breake of the daie, the. xxij. of the moneth of Aprill. Anno. 1558.

The takyng of Tho. Hudſon.

Nowe when Hudſon ſawe them come in, he ſaied: Now myne hower is come. Welcome frẽdes welcome: You bee they that ſhall leade me to life in Chriſte, I thanke God therefore, and the Lorde enhable me thereto for his mercies ſake. For his deſire was, and euer he praied (if it were the Lordes will) that he might ſuffer for the Goſpell of Chriſte. Then they tooke hym, and leade hym to Berry the Commiſſarie, whiche was Vicare of the toune, and the ſaied Berry aſked hym firſt: where he kept his Churche for fower yeres before. To the whiche the ſaied Hudſon aunſwered thus: where ſo euer he was, there was the Churche.

Talke betwene Berry and Hudſon.

Doeſt thou not beleue, ſaieth Berry, in the Sacrament of the altar? What is it?

Hudſon. It is wormes meate: my beliefe (ſaith he) is in Chriſt crucified.

Sacrament of the altar.

Berry. Doeſt thou not beleeue the Maſſe to put awaye ſinnes?

Hudſon. No, God forbid: it is a patched monſtre, and a diſguiſed Puppet, more longer a pecing then euer was Salomons Tẽple. At which wordes Berry ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed hym ſelfe as a mad man, and ſayde: well thou villayne, thou: I will write to the biſhop my good Lord, and truſt vnto it, thou ſhalt be handled accordyng to thy deſertes. Oh ſyr, ſaide Hudſon: there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lordes and many Gods. With that, Berry thruſt hym backe with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar ſtandyng by, ſaide: I pray you ſyr, be good to the poore manne. At whiche wordes Berry was more mad then before, and would haue had Cliffar bound in a recogniſance of 40. poundes for his good abearyng, both in worde and deede: which his deſire toke no effect. Then he aſked the ſaid Hudſon whether he would recant or no. Unto whiche wordes Hudſon ſaid: the Lord forbid: I had rather dye many deathes, then to doe ſo.

The Maſſe.

Richard Cliffar.

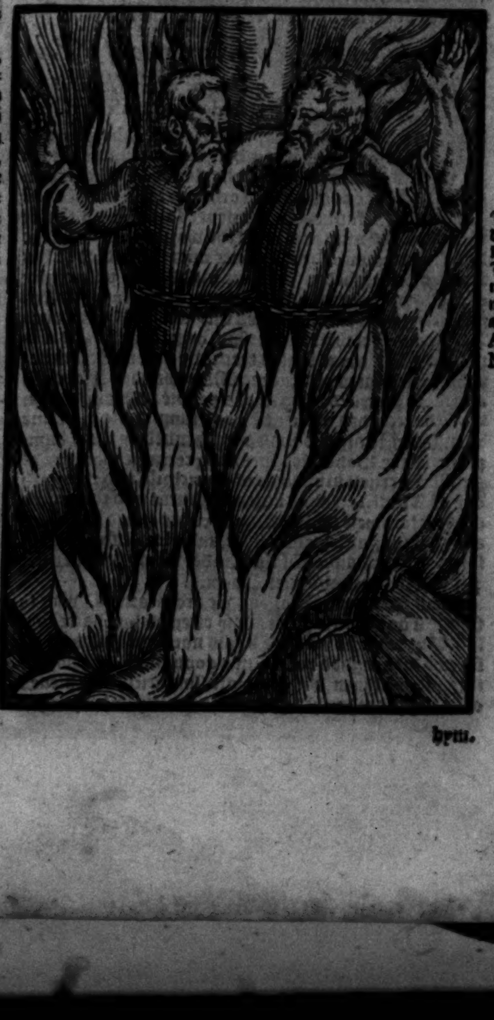
Then after long talke, the ſaid Berry ſeyng it booted not to perſwade with him, tooke his pen and ynke, and wrote letters to the Byſhop thereof, and ſent this Hudſon to Norwich bound like a theefe to hym, which was. viij. miles from thence, who with ioy and ſinging there went thether, as mery as euer he was at any tyme before. In priſon he was a moneth, where he did continually read and inuocate the name of God.

Seaman, Carman, and Hudſon, condemned at Norwiche.

These thre chriſtians and conſtant Martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Tho. Hudſon, after they were (as ye haue heard) condemned, the xix. day of May. 1558. were caried out of priſon to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, which was without Biſhops gate at Norwich, called Lollards Pit. And beeing all there, they made their humble praiers vnto the Lorde. That beyng done, they roſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtandyng all there with their chaines about them, immediatly this ſaied Thomas Hudſon commeth forthe from them vnder the Chaine, to the greate wonder of manie: whereby diuers feared and greatly doubted of

Thomas Hudſon commeth from vnder the chaine to praie.

Three Godly Martyrs burned at Norwich.



The Martyrdome of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, at Norwiche. Anno. 1558. Maie. 19.

hym.

Anno. 1558. Maie.

him. For ſome thought he would haue recanted: other iudged rather that hee went to aſke a further daie, and to deſire conference: and ſome thought hee came forth to aſke ſome of his parētes bleſſing. So ſome thought one thing and ſome an other: but his two companions at the ſtake cryed out to him to comforte him what they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Chriſt to bee of good chere. &c. But this ſweete Hudſon, felt more in his hart & conſcience, then they could conceaue in him. For (alas good ſoule) he was compaſſed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of minde, not for his death, but for lacke of feeling of his Chriſt, and therefore being very carefull he humbly fell downe vpō his knees, and prayed vehemently and earneſtly vnto the Lord, who at the laſt, according to his olde mercyes, ſent him comfort, and then roſe he with great ioy, as a man new chaunged euen from death to life, and ſayd: Now I thanke God I am ſtrōg, and paſſe not what man can doe vnto me. So going to the ſtake to his fellowes agayn, in the end they all ſuffered moſt ioyfully, conſtantly, and manfully the death together, and were conſumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comforte of Gods Childrē, & the magnifying of the Lords name, who be prayſed therfore for euer, Amen.

Hudſon carefull to haue the feeling of Chriſte.

Hudſon ſatiſfied of hys deſire.

After this, the fore named Commiſſary Berry, made great ſtirre about other which were ſuſpected within the ſayd towne of Ayleſham; and cauſed twoo hundred to creepe to the Croſſe at Penticoſt, beſides other puniſhmentes which they ſuſteyned.

Berry ſtriketh a poore manne, whereupon he died.

On a time this Berry gaue a poore mā of his pariſh of Marſham, a blow with the ſwingell of a flayle, for a word ſpeaking, that preſently theron hee dyed, and the ſayd Berry (as is ſayd) held vp his hand at the barre therefore.

Berry ſtriketh a poore woman whereupon ſhe died.

Then, after that in his pariſh of Ayleſham alſo, an. 1557. there was one Alice Oxes came to his houſe, and going into the Hall, hee meting her (being before moued) ſmote her with his fiſt, whereby ſhe was fayne to bee caryed home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

To write how many cōcubines and whores he had, none would beleue it, but ſuch as knewe him in the countrey he dwelt in. He was rich and of great authoritie, a great ſwearer, altogether geuen to women, and perſecuting the Goſpel, & compelling men to idolatrie.

John Norgate a Confeſſour.

One Iohn Norgate a man learned, godly, and zealous, who would not goe to their traſh, but rather dye, being ſore hunted by the ſayd Berry, prayed hartely to God, and the Lord ſhortly after in a conſumption deliuered him. Notwithſtanding, the rage of this wicked man waxed more fiercer and fiercer. He troubled ſundry men, burnt all good bookes that he could get, and diuorſed many men and women for religion.

The rage of Berrie.

Berrie maketh a feaſt, wherat is one of his Concubines.

When he heard ſay that Queene Mary was dead, and the glory of theyr triumph quailed, the ſonday after, being the xx. of Nouember, an. 1558. he made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after diner vntill Euenſong. Then went he to church, where he had miniſtred Baptiſme, and in going from church homeward, after Euenſong, betwene the churchyarde and hys houſe, being but a litle ſpace (as it were a churchyard bredth aſunder) hee fell downe ſodeinly to the ground with a heauy grone, & neuer ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance. This hapned his neyghbors being by to the example of all other. The Lord graunt we may obſerue his iudgementes. And thoſe that had his great riches, ſince his death haue ſo cōſumed with them, that they bee poorer now then they were before they had his goodes, ſuche iudgement hath the Lorde executed to the eyes of all men.

Gods puniſhemente, and terrible ende of Berrie.

Berries goodes conſumeth as wax agaynſt the fire.

Gods puniſhemente vppon Dunnyng Chauncellour of Norwiche.

At that time one Dunning, Chauncellor of Lincoln (which in ſome part of Queene Maryes dayes was Chauncellor of Norwich, and a very mercyles tyraunt as liued) dyed in Lincolneſhyre of as ſoddaine a warnyng, as the ſayd Berry dyed.

Thus haue I ſhewed the (good reader) the conſtancie, boldnes, and glorious victory of theſe happy Martyrs, as alſo the tyrannicall cruelty of that vnfortunate Commiſſarie, and his terrible end. The Lord graunt we may all effectually honor the iudgementes of God, and feare to diſpleaſe his holy maieſtie, Amen.

The perſecution of mother Seman.

Jone Seaman alſo perſecuted by ſir John Tirrell.

About thys tyme, or ſomewhat before, was one Ioane Seman, mother to the foreſayd William Semā, being of the age of 66. yeares, perſecuted of the ſaid Sir Iohn Tyrrell alſo out of ẏ town of Mendleſham aforeſaid, becauſe ſhe would not goe to Maſſe, & receiue agaynſt her conſcience. Whiche good old woman beyng from her houſe, was glad ſometyme to lye in buſhes, groues, and fieldes, and ſometyme in her neighbours houſe, when ſhe could. And her huſband beyng at home, about the age of. lxxx. yeares, fell ſicke: and ſhe hearyng thereof, with ſpede returned home to her houſe agayne, not regardyng her life but conſideryng her duety, and ſhewed her diligence to her huſbād moſt faythfully, vntill God tooke hym away by death. Then by Gods prouidēce ſhe fel ſicke alſo, and departed this life within her owne houſe ſhortly after. And when one M. Simondes the Commiſſary heard of it, dwellyng therby at a towne called Thorndon, he commaunded ſtraitly, that ſhe ſhould be buried in no Chriſtian buriall (as they call it:) wherethrough her frēdes were compelled to lay her in a pit vnder a motes ſide. Her huſbād and ſhe kept a good houſe, and had a good report amongeſt their neighbours, willing alwayes to receiue ſtrāgers, and to comfort the poore and ſicke, and liued together in the holy eſtate of Matrimony verie honeſtly aboue forty yeares, and ſhe departed this life willingly and ioyfully, with a ſtedfaſt fayth and a good remembrāce of Gods promiſe in Chriſt Ieſus.

The duetie of a good wife.

Simondes the Commiſſarie, would not let mother Seaman bee buried in the churchyard.

The perſecution of mother Benet.

Mother Benet a Confeſſour.

IN the ſaied time of Quene Mary, there dwelt in ẏ towne of Wetherſet by Mendleſham aforeſayd, a very honeſt woman called mother Benet, a widow, which was perſecuted out of the ſame town becauſe ſhe would not go to Maſſe & other their beggerly ceremonies: but at the laſt ſhe returned home agayne ſecretly to her houſe, & there departed this life ioyfully. But Syr Iohn Tyrrell & M. Simondes the Cōmiſſary, would not let her be buryed in the Churchyard. So was ſhe layd in a graue by the hygh way ſide.

Sir Iohn Tyrrell and maiſter Simondes would not ſuffer mother Benet, to bee buried in the Churchyarde.

The ſame good old woman mother Benet, in the time of perſecution, met one of ẏ ſaid mother Semans neighbours, & aſked her how the ſayd mother Seman did, and ſhe aunſwered that ſhe did very well, God be thāked. Oh (ſaid ſhe) mother Seman hath ſlept a great ſlepe before me: for ſhe was neuer couetous that I could perceiue. Her huſbād in his mirth would ſay vnto her: O woman, if thou were ſparyng, thou mighteſt haue ſaued me an. C. Markes more thē thou haſt. To the which ſhe would aunſwere agayne gently and ſay: O man be content, and let vs be thankefull, for God hath geuen vs inough if we can ſee it. Alas good huſbād would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I can not ſkim vp my butter, and keepe my cheeſe in the chamber, & wait a great price, and let the poore want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But huſband, let vs be rich in good workes: ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, & haue all good thinges geuē vs. &c. Thys good woman of that vice of couetouſnes (of al that knew her) was iudged leaſt to be ſpotted, of any infirmytye ſhe had. The lord roote it out of the hartes of them that be infected therwith, Amen.

The charitable almoſes of mother Seaman, to bee noted.

❡*The Martyrdome of three conſtant & Godly perſons burnt at Colcheſter for the defence and teſtimony of Chriſtes Goſpell.*

Maie. xxvi. Twoo menne and one womā, Martyrs.

THou haſt heard (good Reader) of the forenamed three that were burnt at Norwich, whoſe bloud quenched not the perſecuting thurſt of the Papiſtes. For immediately after, euen the ſame moneth, vpon the xxvi. daie, was ſeene the like murther alſo at Colcheſter in Eſſex, of two mē and a woman, lying there in priſon, appointed ready to the ſlaughter: who were brought forth the ſayd daie vnto a place prepared for them to ſuffer, & accordingly gaue their liues for the teſtimony of the truth, whoſe names likewiſe hereafter followeth.

William Harries.
Richard daie.
Chriſtian George.

Martyrs.

Theſe three good ſoules were brought vnto ẏ ſtake, and there ioyfully and feruētly had made their prayers vnto the Lord. At the laſt being ſetled in their places, and chayned vnto their poſtes, with their fire flaming fiercely rounde about them, they like conſtante Chriſtians triumphantly prayſed God within the ſame, and offered vp their bodyes a liuely ſacrifice vnto his holy

The Martyrdom of William Harries, Richard Day, and Chriſtian George, at Colcheſter.

Anno. 1558.
May. 26.
June.

maieſtie: in whoſe habitation they haue now theyr euerlaſting tabernacles: his name therefore be prayſed for euermore. Amen.

The ſayd Chriſtian Georges husbād, had an other wife burnt before thys Chriſtian, whoſe name was Agnes George, whiche ſuffered (as you haue heard) with the thirten at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the ſaid Chriſtian, he maried an honeſt Godly woman agayne: and ſo they both (I meane the ſayd Richard George, and hys laſt wyfe) in the ende were taken alſo, and layd in priſon, where they remayned till the death of Queene Mary, and at the laſt were deliuered by our moſt gracious ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, whom the Lord graunt long to raigne among vs, for his mercyes ſake, Amen.

Rich. George and his wife priſoners, deliuered by Queen Elizabeth.

¶ In the moneth of June came out a certaine Proclamation, ſhort but ſharpe, from the King and the Queene agaynſt wholeſome and godly bookes, which vnder the falſe title of hereſie and ſedition, here in the ſayd Proclamation were wrongfully condemned.

¶ *By the Kyng and Queene.*

A Proclamatiō by the Kyng & Queene.

WHereas diuers bookes, filled both with hereſie, ſedition, and treaſon, haue of late, and be dayly brought into this Realme, out of forreine countreyes and places beyond the ſeas, & ſome alſo couertly printed within this Realme, and caſt abroad in ſundry partes therof, wherby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an encouragemēt geuen to diſobey lawfull princes and gouernours: The King and Queenes maieſties, for redreſſe hereof, doth by this their preſent Proclamation, declare and publiſhe to all their ſubiectes, that whoſoeuer ſhall after the proclaming herof, be found to haue any of the ſayd wicked & ſeditious bookes, or finding thē, do not forthwith burne the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken for a rebell, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence according to the order of Martiall law.

Geuen at our Manor of Saint Iameſes, the firſt day of Iune.

Iohn Cawood Printer.

¶ *The order and occaſion of taking certaine godly men and women praying together in* the fieldes about Iſlington, of whom 13. were cōdemned by Boner, & after ſuffered in the fire for the truthes ſake, as in this ſtorie here following maie appeare.

June 27.

XL. men taken.

XIII. Martyrs burned.

SEcretly in a backe cloſe in the fielde by the Towne of Iſlington were collected and aſſembled together a certaine companie of Godly and innocent perſons, to the number of fourty, men and women. Who there ſitting together at prayer, and vertuouſly occupyed in the meditation of Gods holy word, firſt commeth a certaine man to them vnknowen: who looking ouer vnto them, ſo ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying that they looked like men that ment no hurte. Then one of the ſayd companie aſked the man, if he could tel whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bolde there to ſitte. Yea, ſayd he, for that ye ſeme vnto me ſuch perſons as entende no harme, and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an houre after, cōmeth the Conſtable of Iſlingtō, named King, warded with ſixe or ſeuen other, accompanying him in the ſame buſines, one with a bowe, an other with a bil, and other with theyr weapons likewiſe. The whiche ſixe or ſeuen perſons the ſayd Conſtable left a litle behynd hym in a cloſe place, there to bee ready if neede ſhould be while he with one with him ſhould go a vieu them before. Who ſo doing, came through them, looking & vewing what they were doing, & what bookes they had: and ſo going a litle forward, and returnyng backe againe, bad the deliuer theyr bookes. They vnderſtāding that he was Cōſtable, refuſed not ſo to do. With that commeth forth the reſidue of his fellowes aboue touched, who bad them ſtand and not to depart. They anſwered agayne, they would be obedient & ready to goe whether ſoeuer they would haue them: and ſo were they firſt caried to a brewhouſe but a litle way of, while that ſome of the ſaid ſouldiours ran to ÿ Iuſtice next at hād. But the Iuſtice was not at home: Wherupō they were had to ſir Roger Cholmley. In ÿ meane time ſome of the women being of the ſame number of the aforeſaid xl. perſons, eſcaped away frō them, ſome in the cloſe, ſome before they came to the brewhouſe. For ſo they were caryed. x. with one man, 8. with an other, and with ſome moe, with ſome leſſe, in ſuch ſort that it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were caryed to Syr Roger Cholmley, were. 27. which Syr Roger Cholmley & the Recorder taking theyr names in a bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as aunſwered to theyr names, they ſent to Newgate. In the which number of them that aunſwered, and that were ſent to Newgate, were. 22.

King Conſtable of Iſlingtō.

Syr Roger Cholmley, and Recorder of London, perſecutors.

These 22. were in the ſayd priſon of Newgate 7. weekes before they were examined, to whom word was ſent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would heare a maſſe, they ſhould all be deliuered. Of theſe fore ſaid 22. were burned 13. in Smithfield 7. at Braynford. vi.

22. ſent to Newgate.

IN priſon 2. dyed in Whitſon weeke, the names of whom were Mathew Withers, T. Tylar.

Confeſſors.

Seuen of them which remained, eſcaped with theyr liues hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whoſe names were theſe.

Iohn Milles.
Thomas Hinſhaw.
R. Baily, wolpacker.
Robert Willeys.
Hudleys.
T. Coaſt, haberdaſh.
Roger Sandey.

Perſecuted Chriſtians.

The firſt 7. were brought forth to examination before Boner, and ſo hauing theyr condemnation, were burnt (as is ſaid) in Smithfield. The other 6. folowed not long after, and ſuffred at Braynford, wherof ſpecially here followeth now in order of ſtory to be ſeene.

¶ *The examination, and condemnation of ſeuen godly and faithfull Martyrs of* Chriſt, burnt in Smithfielde.

June 27.

VII. Martyrs burned in Smithfield.

COncerning the examination and condēnation of theſe aboue ſayd, which were apprehended and taken at Iſlington, 7. firſt were produced before Boner the 14. of Iune, to make aunſwere to ſuch articles and interrogatories, as by ÿ ſayd Byſhop ſhould bee miniſtred vnto them. The names of theſe ſeuen were:

Henry Ponde.
Rainold Eaſtlande.
Robert Southam.
Mathew Ricarbye.
Iohn Floyd.
Iohn Holyday.
Roger Holland.

Martyrs.

To theſe 7. conſtant and godly Martyrs produced before Boner, certaine articles were miniſtred in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

Articles by B. Boner miniſtred to the bil. Martyrs aforeſayd.

FIrſt that ye being within the citie and dioces of London, haue not (according to the common cuſtome of the catholicke church of this realme of Englād) come to your owne pariſh churche, not yet to the Cathedrall church of this citie and dioces of London, to heare deuoutly and chriſtianly the Matins, the Maſſe, the Euenſong, ſong or ſaid there in the latin toung, after the common vſage and maner of the church of this realme. 1.

Second, that ye haue not come to any of the ſayd churches to pray, to go in proceſſion, or to exerciſe your ſelues there in godly and laudable exerciſes. 2.

Third, ye haue not cōformed your ſelues duely to all the laudable cuſtomes, rytes, and ceremonyes of any the ſayd churches. 3.

Fourth, ye haue not bene confeſſed at due times and places to your owne curate, of your ſinnes. 4.

Fifth, ye haue not receaued at your ſaid Curates hāds (as of the miniſter of Chriſt) abſolution of your ſinnes. 5.

Sixt, ye haue not at due tymes and places, of your Curate receaued reuerently and duely the ſacrament of the altar. 6.

Seuenth, ye haue not faythfully and truely beleued that in the ſayd ſacrament of the altar there is really and truely the very body and bloud of Chriſt. 7.

Eight, ye haue not by your mouth, nor otherwiſe by your dede expreſſed or declared in any wiſe, that ye without wauering or doubting do thinke and beleue, that the fayth and religion now obſerued in the church of England, is a true fayth and religion in all pointes. 8.

Ninth, ye haue not made any ſignification, that ye doe in deede approue, or allow in any wiſe, the cōmmō ſeruice in latine, here obſerued and kept in the church of this realme of England. 9.

Tenth,

Anno.1558. June.

10. Tenth, ye haue not beleued, nor doe beleue at this preſent, that the ſeruice in latin, commonly vſed and obſerued in the church of this realme, is good and lawfull, and not agaynſt the word of God.

11. Eleuenth, ye haue in times paſt liked, allowed, and approued, as good and godly, and ſo doe like, alow, and approue at this preſent, the ſeruice in Engliſh, the bookes of common prayer, the bookes of Communion, the religion and faith ſet forth and vſed in the time of King Edward the ſixt, eſpecially as it was ſet forth and vſed in the latter dayes of the ſayd Kyng Edward.

12. Twelfth, ye haue in times paſt beene very deſirous, and ſo are at this preſent, that the ſayd Engliſh ſeruice, the ſayd booke of common prayer, the ſaid booke of cōmunion, and the ſayd religion and fayth ſo ſet forth and vſed in King Edwardes time, might now agayne be reſtored, ſed foorth, and vſed, and your ſelfe freely at your libertie, without any reſtraynt, or lettes to vſe it: and alſo in all pointes and thinges to doe therin, as ye did, eſpecially in the latter dayes of the ſayd Edward the ſixt.

13. Thirtene, ye haue of late bene charitably ſent to from me the Byſhop of London, and alſo by mouth exhorted that where of late ye did leaue your Churches, and went in the time of diuine ſeruice into the fieldes & prophane places, to read Engliſh Pſalmes, and certayne Engliſh bookes, ye would leaue of that, and beyng out of priſon, and at your libertie, come in to your own Pariſh Churches, there to heare Mattins, Maſſe, and Euenſong, after the common order of the Churches of this Realme, and to make due confeſsion of your ſinnes to your owne Curate, and receiue at hys handes (as of the miniſter of Chriſt, hauing therin ſufficient authoritie) abſolution of your ſinnes, heare Maſſe, receiue the Sacrament of the altar, with a true faith, accordyng to the belief of the Catholike Church, and obſerue all other the rites and cuſtomes of the ſaid Catholicke church vſed in this realme of Englād, aſwell in goyng in proceſsiō after the Croſſe, as alſo otherwiſe generally.

14. Fourtene, ye beyng ſo required, haue refuſed, and doe refuſe ſo to doe, ſaying amongeſt other vayne and light wordes, that foraſmuch as ye were impriſoned by the ſpace of 6. weekes, not knowing wherwith ye were charged, your peticion ſhould be and was, that ye might firſt aūſwere to your former cauſe, and then ye would be ready to aunſwere me the ſayd Byſhop to all that by me ſhould be layd to your charge.

¶ Unto the whiche Articles, all the forenamed 7. (onely Reynold Eaſtland excepted) made aunſwere in effect as hereafter foloweth.

¶The aunſweres of the forenamed perſons to the Articles aforeſayd.

There aunſweres to the Articles aforeſayed.

1. TO the firſt Article they aunſwered all affirmatiuely. Roger Holland addyng that hee came not to their Latin ſeruice theſe. 2. yeares before.

Mathew Ricarby added that he came not to churche ſince Latine ſeruice was renued, becauſe it is agaynſt the woord of God, and Idolatrie committed in creping to the Croſſe.

Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to goe to church, he would.

2. To the 2. Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, Henry Pond adding as in the firſt Article. Iohn Floyd added that the Latin ſeruice then vſed, was ſet vp by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he ſayd) in Kyng Edwardes dayes, which hee beleued to be true. Robert Southam added, that he refuſed to come to Church, becauſe it is furniſhed with idoles, and becauſe the ſacrament of the altar he beleued to be an idoll.

3. To the 3. Article they all aunſwered affirmatiuely. For they ſaid, that the cuſtomes, rites, and ceremonies of the Church then vſed, are not agreable to Gods word.

4. 5. To the 4. and fifth Articles they all aunſwered affirmatiuely, adding that they beleued no Prieſt hath power to remit ſinne.

6. To the 6. Article Iohn Holyday, Henry Pōd, and Robert Southam aunſwered, that ſince the Queenes Maieſties reigne, but Robert Southam added, not for x. yeares before, he had receiued the Sacrament of the altar, either at their Curates handes or any other Prieſt. Iohn Floyd, Mathew Ricarby, and Roger Hollād aunſwered affirmatiuely, addyng in effect that the Sacrament of the altar is no Sacrament approued by the word of God. &c.

7. To the 7. Article they all confeſſed the contentes therof to be true in euery part: Henry Pond addyng that he knoweth not nor beleueth any ſuch Sacramēt called the Sacrament of the altar, but confeſſeth the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and beleueth that to bee approued. John Floyd added that thoſe that knele and worſhip the Sacrament of the altar, commit idolatrie. &c.

8. 9. 10. To the 8. 9. 10. Articles, they all confeſſed the contētes of thoſe Articles to be true. But Iohn Holyday, Henry Pond, and Iohn Floyd added, that they do allow the Latin ſeruice for them that vnderſtādeth the ſame, ſo farre forth as it agreeth with Gods word. For ſome part thereof is not agreable to Gods worde (they ſayd:) but to ſuch as do not vnderſtand the ſaid ſeruice in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profite them. Robert Southam added & ſayd, that it was a fonde queſtion to aſke a ſimple man, whether the Latin ſeruice bee good and lawfull. Mathew Ricarby and Roger Holland denied the ſeruice in Latin to be good.

11. To the 11. Article, they all cōfeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part, ſauing Henry Pond, and Mathew Ricarby, who aunſwered in effect that they could not iudge therof, but leaue them to be tryed by the word of God.

12. To the 12 Article, they graunted & confeſſed the ſame to be true, and deſired of God that the ſeruice were in the Engliſhe agayne.

13. To the 13. Article they all graunted and confeſſed the ſame to be true.

14. To the 14. Article they all graunted and confeſſed the ſame to be true in euery part.

Thus haue ye the aūſweres of theſe mē to the foreſayd Articles, ſaue that Reginald Eaſtland required to aunſwere therunto, refuſed ſo to do, alledgyng that he knoweth that to end a ſtrife an oth is lawfull, but to begin a ſtrife an oth is not lawfull, and therefore hee now refuſeth to take his oth in the begynnyng of this matter agaynſt him. Whereupon beyng charged by the Byſhop, he ſaid: for his not aunſwering to the Articles, he was contēt to ſtand vnto the order of the law for his puniſhment, whatſoeuer it ſhould be.

An othe to ende a ſtrife lawful, but to beginne a ſtriefe it is vnlawfull.

The 17. day after of the ſayd moneth of June, the ſaid Eaſtland appeared agayne before ẏ Biſhop, who ſtādyng firme in that he had ſaid before, denied to make any aunſwere in that caſe. &c. Wherupō the ſaid Eaſtland with the other 6. his felow priſoners, were aſsigned by the Biſhop to repayre agayne to the ſame place at afternoone, who beyng there preſent in the foreſayd conſiſtory as they were commaunded, and ſtandyng altogether before the ſayd Byſhop, he begynnyng thus with them, aſked thē, if he had committed them to priſon. They ſaid no, but M. Cholmley and the Recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

The condemnation of Reinold Eaſtlāde.

Then being demaunded further by the Byſhop if he had done any thing or acte to keepe them in priſon, or to hinder their liberty from priſon, to this they aunſwered, they could not tell. Then the foreſayd articles beyng agayne recited to them, all they aunſwered and knowledged them to be the articles, & that they would ſtand to their aunſweres made to the ſame. Whereupon the Byſhop diſſeuering them a part one from an other, proceeded with them ſeuerally, firſt beginning with Reginald Eaſtland, who there declared that hee had bene vncharitably hādled and talked withall ſince his firſt impriſonment in that behalfe. Then being required to reconcilie hym ſelfe agayne to the catholicke faith, and go from his opinions, he ſayd, that he knew nothyng why hee ſhould recant, and therefore woulde not conforme hym ſelfe in that behalfe. &c. and ſo the ſentence was read agaynſt him, and he geuen to the ſecular power. &c.

The wordes of Eaſtland to the Biſhop at his condemnation.

After hym was called in John Holiday, who likewiſe beyng aduertiſed to renoūce his hereſies (as they called them) & to returne to the vnitie of their church, ſayd, that he was no hereticke, nor did hold any hereſy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholicke fayth, & ſo would offer hym ſelfe to be iudged therein. Whereupō he likewiſe perſiſting in the ſame, the ſentēce was pronounced againſt him, cōdemning him to be burnt.

The cōdemnation of John Holidaie. The wordes of Jhō Holidaie.

Next to him was condemned with the like ſentence, Henry Pond, becauſe he would not ſubmit him ſelf to the Romiſh church, ſaying to Boner, that he had done or ſpokē nothing wherof he was or would be ſory, but that he did hold the truth of God and no hereſie. &c.

The cōdemnation of Henrie Ponde.

After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewiſe denyed to bee of the Popes church, and ſayd hys mynde of the Latin ſeruice, that the prayers made to ſaintes is idolatrie, & that the ſeruice in Latin is profitable to none but only to ſuch as vnderſtand the Latin. Moreouer, being charged by Boner of hereſie, and

The condemnation of John Floyd.

Anno. 1558. Iune.

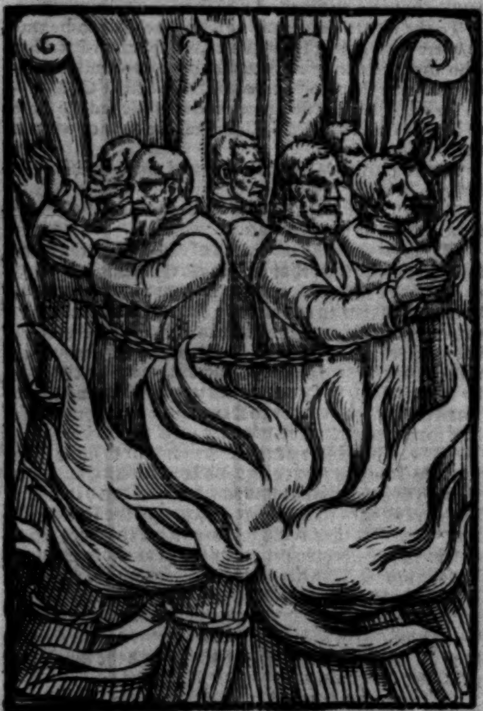
The condemnation of Robert Southam, Mathew Ricarby, & Roger Holland.

ſaying that whatſoeuer he and ſuch other now a daies doe, all is hereſie: for this he was condemned with the ſame butcherly Sentence, and ſo by the ſecular power was ſent away.

Then Robert Southam, after hym Mathew Ricarby, and laſt of all Roger Holland were ſeuerally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with hys fellowes (as ye heard) ſtanding to their aunſweres, and refuſing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romiſhe churche, who were altogether condemned, the ſentence beyng red agaynſt them, and ſo all the 7. by ſecular magiſtrates beyng ſent away to Newgate the 17. of Iune, not long after about the 27. of yͤ ſayd moneth were had to Smithfield, and there ended their liues in the glorious cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell. Whoſe particular examinations came not to our handes: ſauing only the examinations of Roger Holland, whiche here followe in order and maner as we receaued them by the information of certayne who were preſent at the ſame.

The burnyng of vij. godly Martyrs in Smithfield.



The Martyrdoms of Henry Ponde, Raynold Eaſtland, Robert Southam, Mathew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland, in Smithfield.

An. 1558. Iune. 27.

¶ The examinations and condemnation of Roger Holland.

The firſt examinatiõ of Roger Holland.

THis Roger Holland a marchãt Taylor of Lõdon, was firſt prentiſe with one maſter Kempton at the black boy in Watling ſtreete, where he ſerued his prentiſhip with much trouble vnto his maiſter in breaking him from his licencious libertie which he had before beene trayned and brought vp in, geuing himſelfe to riot, as dauncing, fence, gaming, banquetting, and wanton companie: and beſides all this, being a ſtubborne and an obſtinate Papiſt, farre vnlike to come to any ſuche ende as God called him vnto: the which was as followeth.

His maſter, notwithſtanding this his leudnes, putting him in truſt ŵ his accomptes, he had receaued for him certayne money, to the ſumme of xxx. pounds, and falling into ill cõpany, loſt the ſayd money euery grote at dice, beyng paſt all hope which way to aunſwere it, and therefore he purpoſed to cõuey him ſelfe away beyond the ſeas, either into Fraunce or into Flaunders.

Now hauing determined with him ſelfe thus to doe, he called betymes in the morning to a ſeruaunt in the houſe, an auncient and diſcrete mayde, whoſe name was Elizabeth, whiche profeſſed the Goſpell, with a life agreeing vnto the ſame, & at all times much rebuking the wilfull and obſtinate papiſtrie, as alſo the licencious liuing of this Roger Holland. To whom he ſayd: Elizabeth I would I had followed thy gẽtle perſwaſions and frendly rebukes: which if I had done, I had neuer come to this ſhame and miſerie which I am now fallen into: for this night haue I loſt xxx. pounde of my maſters monie, whiche to pay hym and to make vp myne accomptes, I am not able. But thus much I pray you deſire my miſtres, that ſhe would intreat my maſter to take this bil of my hãd, that I am thus much indebted vnto hym, and if I be euer hable, I will ſee him payed, deſiring him that the matter may paſſe with ſilence, and that none of my kinred nor frendes neuer vnderſtand this my leude part. For if it ſhould come vnto my fathers eares, it would bring his gray heares ouer ſoone vnto his graue: and ſo was he departing.

The mayde cõſidering that it might be his vtter vndoing: ſtay ſayd ſhe, and hauing a peece of money lying by her, geuen vnto her by the death of a kinſman of hers, who (as it is thought, was Doct. Redman) ſhe brought vnto him xxx. pounde, ſaying: Roger, here is thus much money: I will let thee haue it, and I will keepe this bill. But ſince I doe thus much for thee, to helpe thee and to ſaue thy honeſtie, thou ſhalt promiſe me to refuſe al leude and wylde companie, al ſwearing and ribaldry talke: and if I euer know the to play one xij.d. at eyther dice or cardes, then I will ſhew thys thy bill vnto my maſter. And furthermore thou ſhalt promiſe me to reſort euery day to yͤ lecture at Alhallowes, and the ſermon at Paules euery Sonday, and to caſt away all thy bookes of papiſtry and vayne ballets, & get thee the teſtamẽt and the booke of ſeruice, and read the ſcriptures with reuerence and feare, calling vnto God ſtill for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray vnto God feruently deſiring hym to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the ſinnes of thy youth: and euer be afrayd to breake hys lawes or offend his maieſtie. Then ſhall God keepe thee and ſend thee thy hartes deſire.

A godly example of a mayde, ſetting more by the ſoule of a Chriſten brother, thẽ by her money.

After this tyme, within one halfe yeare God had wrought ſuch a chaunge in this man that hee was become an earneſt profeſſor of the truth, and deteſted all Papiſtrie and euil companie: ſo that he was in admiration to all them that had knowen him and ſeene his former life and wickednes.

Roger Hollãd brought to the loue of the Goſpell.

Then hee repayred into Lankeſhiere vnto hys father, and brought diuers good bookes with him, and beſtowed them vppon his frendes, ſo that hys father and others began to taſt of the Goſpell and deteſt the Maſſe, idolatrie, and ſuperſtition: and in the ende hys father gaue him a ſtocke of money to begin the world withall, to the ſumme of fiftie pound.

Roger Hollãd conuerteth hys parentes to the Goſpell.

Then he repayred to London againe, and came to the mayde that lent hym the money to pay hys maſter withall, & ſayd vnto her: Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the frendſhip, good will, and the good counſell I haue receaued at thy handes, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwiſe then to make thee my wife: and ſoone after they were maryed, whiche was in the firſt yeare of Queene Marie: And hauing a childe by her, he cauſed Maſter Roſe to baptiſe hys ſayd childe in his owne houſe. Notwithſtanding hee was bewrayed vnto the enemyes, and he being gone into the countrey to conuey the child away that the papiſtes ſhould not haue it in their anointing handes, Boner cauſed his goodes to be ſeaſed vpon, and moſt cruelly vſed his wife.

Roger Hollãd repayeth the maide her money againe, and marryeth her.

Hollandes childe Chriſtened in hys houſe.

After this he remayned cloſely in the Citie and in the countrey in the congregations of the faithfull, vntill the laſt yeare of Queene Marie. Then he with the vi. other aforeſayd, were taken in or not farre from S. Iohns wood, and ſo brought to Newgate vppon May daie in the morning. an. 1558.

Roger Hollãd brought to Newgate.

Then beyng called before the Biſhop, D. Chedſey, both the Harpſfieldes, and certaine other, after many other fayre and craftie perſuaſions of Doct. Chedſey to allure him to their Babilonicall Church: thus the Byſhop began with him:

Holland, I for my part do wiſh well vnto thee, and the more for thy frendes ſake. And as Doct. Standiſh telleth me, you and he were both borne in one Pariſh, and hee knoweth your father to be a verie honeſt Catholicke Gentleman. And M. Doctour told me that he talked with you a yeare a go, and found you very wilfully addict to your owne conceite. Diuers of the Citie alſo haue ſhewed me of you, that you haue bene a great procurer of mens ſeruantes to be of your Religiõ, and to come to your congregations: but ſince you be now

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in the daunger of the lawe, I would wiſh you to play a wiſe mans part: So ſhal you not want any fauour I can do or procure for you, both for your own ſake, and alſo for your frendes, which be mē of worſhip and credite, & wiſh you well, and by my trouth Roger ſo do I.

Then ſayd one M. Egleſton a Gentlemā of Lankeſhyre and nere kynſman to Roger, beyng there preſent: I thanke your good Lordſhip: your honor meaneth good vnto my coſin, I beſech God he haue the grace to follow your counſaile.

Holland. Syr, you craue of God you knowe not what. I beſech God open your eyes to ſee the light of hys word.

Egleſton. Roger, hold your peace, leſt you fare the worſe at my Lordes handes.

Holland. No, I ſhall fare as pleaſeth God: for man can doe no more then God doth permit him.

Roger Hollād willed to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the Biſhop.

Then the Byſhop and the Doctors, with Iohnſon the Regiſter, caſting their heades together, in the end ſayth Iohnſon: Roger, how ſayeſt thou? wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto my Lord before thou be entred into the booke of contempt?

Holland. I neuer ment but to ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the Magiſtrate, as I learne of S. Paul to the Romaines the xiij. cap. and ſo he recited the text.

Chedſey. Then I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt.

Holland. I meane not yet to bee no Papiſt: for they and the Anabaptiſtes agree in this point, not to ſubmit them ſelues to any other Prince or Magiſtrate, then thoſe that muſt firſt be ſworne to mainteine them and their doynges.

Chedſey. Roger, Remember what I haue ſayd and alſo what my Lord hath promiſed hee will performe, with further frendſhip. Take heed Roger, for your ripenes of wit hath brought you into theſe errours.

Holland. M. Doctor, I haue yet your wordes in memory though they are of no ſuch force to preuaile wͭ me.

Then they whiſpered together agayne, and at the laſt ſayd Boner: Roger I perceiue thou wilt be ruled by no good counſel for any thyng that either I or your frendes or any other can ſay.

Roger Hollād firſt a great papiſt.

The wickednes of Roger Holland before he was called to the Goſpell.

Holland. I may ſay to you my Lord, as Paul ſaid to Fœlix and vnto the Iewes, as doth appeare in the 22. of the Actes, and in the 15. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth. It is not vnknowen vnto my Maſter whom I was prentiſe withal, that I was of this your blynd Religion that now is taught, and therin did obſtinatly and wilfully remayne, vntill the later end of kyng Edward in maner, hauing that liberty vnder your auricular confeſſion, that I made no conſcience of ſinne, but truſted in the Prieſtes abſolution, he for money doyng ſome penaunce alſo for me: which after I had giuen, I cared no further what offences I did, no more then he paſſed after he had my money, whether he faſted bread and water for me or no: ſo that lechery, ſwearyng and all other vices I accompted no offence of daunger, ſo long as I could for money haue them abſolued. So ſtraitly did I obſerue your rules of Religion, that I would haue aſhes vpon Aſhwenſday, though I had vſed neuer ſo muche wickednes at night. And albeit I could not of conſcience eate fleſh vpon the Friday, yet in ſwearyng, drinkyng, or dicyng all the night long, I made no conſciēce at all. And thus was I brought vp, and herin haue I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, & called me by his grace to repentaunce of my former idolatrie and wicked lyfe: for in Lankeſhyre their blyndnes and whoredome is ouermuch more, then maie with chaſt eares be heard. Yet theſe my frendes which are not cleare in theſe notable crimes, thinke ẏ Prieſt wͭ his Maſſe can ſaue thē, though they blaſpheme God, and keepe concubines beſides their wiues, as long as they liue. Yea I know ſome Prieſtes, very deuout, my Lord, yet ſuch as haue vi. or vij. children by iiij. or v. ſundry women.

At theſe examinations diuers of Roger Hollandes frendes and kinſfolke beyng men of worſhip, were preſent both of Lankeſhire and Cheſhire.

M. Doctor, now to your antiquitie, vnitie, and vniuerſalitie (for theſe D. Chedſey alledged as notes and tokens of their Religion.) I am vnlerned. I haue no Sophiſtry to ſhift my reaſons withall: but the truth I truſt I haue, which nedeth no paynted colours to ſet her forth. The antiquitie of our Church is not from Pope Nicolas or pope Ioane, but our Church is frō the begynnyng, euen from the tyme that God ſayd vnto Adam that the ſeede of the womā ſhould breake the Serpentes head: and ſo to faithful Noe: to Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, to whom it was promiſed that their ſede ſhould multiplie as the ſtarres in the ſkye: and ſo to Moſes, Dauid & al the holy fathers that were from the begynnyng, vnto the byrth of our Sauiour Chriſt. All they that beleued theſe promiſes were of ẏ church, though the number were oftentymes but few & ſmall, as in Helias daies whē he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, whē God had reſerued 7000. that neuer had bowed their knees to that Idol: as I truſt there be ſeuen hundreth thouſand more then I know of that haue not bowed their knees to that Idoll your Maſſe and your God Maozim: the vpholdyng whereof is your bloudy crueltie, whiles you dayly perſecute Helias & the ſeruauntes of God, forcing thē (as Daniel was in his chāber) cloſely to ſerue the Lorde their God: and euen as we by this your crueltie are forced in ẏ fieldes to pray vnto God that his holy word may be once agayne truly preached amongeſt vs, and that he would mitigate and ſhorten theſe Idolatrous and bloudy daies, wherin al crueltie reigneth. Moreouer, our church haue bene ẏ Apoſtles & Euangeliſtes, the Martyrs and Cōfeſſors of Chriſt that haue at all times and in all ages bene perſecuted for the true teſtimonie of the word of God. But for the vpholdyng of your Church and Religion, what antiquitie cā you ſhew? Yea the Maſſe, that Idol and chief piller of your Religiō, is not yet four hundreth yeares old, & ſome of your Maſſes are yonger, as that Maſſe of S. Thomas Becket the traitor, wherin you pray that you may be ſaued by the bloud of S. Thomas.

The Maſſe how olde it is.

Latine ſeruice.

As for your Latine ſeruice, what are we of the laity the better for it? I thinke hee that ſhould heare your prieſtes mumble vp their ſeruice, although he did well vnderſtād latin, yet ſhould he vnderſtand few wordes therof: the Prieſtes do ſo champe them and chaw them, and poſteth ſo faſt, that neither they vnderſtand what they ſay, nor they that heare them: and in the meane time the people whē they ſhould pray with the Prieſt, are ſet to their beades to pray our Ladies Pſalter. So crafty is Sathan to deuiſe theſe hys dreames (which you defend with Fagot and fire) to quench the lyght of the word of God: which (as Dauid ſaith) ſhould be a lanterne to our feete. And agayne, wherin ſhall a yong man direct his wayes, but by the word of God? and yet you will hyde it from vs in a toūg vnknowen. S. Paul had rather in the Church to haue fiue wordes ſpoken with vnderſtanding, then ten thouſand in an vnknowē toung: and yet will you haue your Latin ſeruice and praying in a ſtraunge toung, wherof the people are vtterly ignorant, to be of ſuch antiquitie?

The Greeke Church differing from the latine.

The Greeke Church and a good part of Chriſtendome beſides, neuer receiued your ſeruice in an vnknowen toung, but in their owne naturall language which all the people vnderſtand, neither yet your tranſubſtantiation, your receiuyng all alone, your Purgatory, your images. &c.

As for the vnitie which is in your Church, what is it els but treaſon, murther, poiſonyng one an other, Idolatry, ſuperſtition, wickednes? What vnitie was in your Church, when there was three Popes at once? Where was your head of vnitie when you had a woman Pope? Here he was interrupted and could not be ſuffered to procede, but ſaith the Byſhop: Roger theſe thy wordes are very blaſphemy, and by the meanes of thy frendes thou haſt bene ſuffered to ſpeake, and art ouer malepert to teach any here: Therfore keeper take hym away.

The ſecond examination of Roger Holland.

The 2. examinatiō of Roger Holland.

The day that Henry Pond & the reſt were brought forth to bee againe examined, D. Chedſey ſayd: Roger, I truſt you haue now better conſidered of the Church then you did before.

Holland. I conſider thys muche: That out of the church there is no ſaluation, as diuers auncient Doctours ſay.

Boner. That is well ſayd. M. Egleſton I truſt your kynſman wil be a good Catholicke man. But Roger, you meane, I truſt, the church of Rome.

Holland. I meane that church which hath Chriſt for her head: which alſo hath his word, and hys Sacramentes accordyng to his word and inſtitution.

Chedſey. Then Chedſey interrupted him, and ſayd, is that a Teſtament you haue in your hande?

Holland. Yea M. Doctour, it is the new Teſtament. You will find no faute with the tranſlation (I thinke.) It is of your owne tranſlation: it is accordyng to the great Bible.

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Boner. How ſay you? how do you know it is the Teſtament of Chriſt, but onely by the Church? For the Church of Rome hath and doth preſerue it, and out of the ſame hath made decrees, ordinaunces, and true expoſitions.

No (ſaith Roger) the church of Rome hath & doth ſuppreſſe ỹ readyng of the Teſtamēt. And what a true expoſitiō (I pray you) did the Pope make therof when he ſet his foote in the Emperours necke & ſayd: Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Lyon and the Aſpe: the yong Lyon and the Dragon ſhalt thou treade vnder thy foote.

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Then ſayd the Byſhop: Such vnlearned wilde heades as thou and other, would be expoſitours of the Scripture. Would you then the auncient learned (as there be ſome here aſwel as I) ſhould be taught of you?

Hollād. Youth delighteth in vanitie. My wildnes hath bene ſomewhat the more by your doctrine, then euer I learned out of this booke of God. But my Lord, I ſuppoſe, ſome of the old Doctours ſay: If a poore lay man bryng his reaſon and argumēt out of the word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be neuer ſo great Doctours. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned Doctours, and giuē to poore fiſhermen. Notwithſtandyng I am ready to be inſtructed by the Church.

Boner. That is very well ſaid Roger. But you muſt vnderſtand that the church of Rome is the Catholicke Church. Roger, for thy frendes ſake (I promiſe thee) I wiſh the well, and I meane to do the good. Keeper, ſee he want nothyng. Roger, if thou lacke any mony to pleaſure thee, I will ſee thou ſhalt not want. This hee ſpake vnto hym alone his fellowes beyng apart, with many other fayre promiſes, and ſo he was ſent to priſon agayne.

The laſt examination of Roger Holland.

The laſt examination of Roger Hollād.

The laſt examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory and there excommunicated all ſauyng Roger, and ready to haue their ſentence of iudgement giuen, with many threatning wordes to feare them withall: the Lord Strāuge, Syr Tho. Iarret, M. Egleſtō Eſquier, & diuers other of worſhip both of Cheſhyre & Lācheſhyre, that were Rog. Hollādes kinſmē & frendes, beyng there preſent: which had bene earneſt ſuters to the Byſhop in his fauour, hopyng of his ſafetie of life. Now the Byſhop hopyng yet to wynne hym with hys fayre and flatteryng wordes, began after this maner.

Boner. Roger I haue diuers tymes called thee before, home to my houſe, and haue conferred with thee, and beyng not learned in the Latine toung, it doth appeare vnto me thou art of a good memorie & of a verie ſenſible talke, but ſomething ouerhaſty: which is a naturall diſeaſe to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I my ſelfe ſhall now and then be haſty, but myne anger is ſone paſt. So Roger, ſurely I haue a good opinion of you, that you wil not with theſe lewde fellowes caſt your ſelfe headlong from the church of your parentes & your frendes that are here, verie good Catholickes (as it is reported vnto me.) And as I meane the good, ſo Roger play the wiſemās part, and come home with the loſt ſonne & ſay: I haue runne into the Church of ſchiſmatikes and heretickes, from the Catholicke Church of Rome, and you ſhall, I warrāt you, not only finde fauour at Gods handes, but the Church that hath authoritie, ſhall abſolue you and put new garmentes vpon you, and kill the fatlyng to make thee good chere withall: That is, in ſo doyng, as meate doth refreſh and cheriſh the minde, ſo ſhalt thou finde as much quietnes of conſcience in commyng home to the Church, as did the hungry ſonne that had bene fed afore with the hogges, as you haue done with theſe heretickes that ſeuer them ſelues frō the church. I giue them a homely name, but they bee worſe (puttyng his hand to his cap for reuerence ſake) then hogges: For they know the Church and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay this much to a Turke, hee would (I thinke) beleue me. But Roger, if I did not beare thee and thy frendes good will, I would not haue ſaid ſo much as I haue done, but I would haue let myne Ordinarie alone with you.

The Rhetoricall perſuaſiōs of D. Boner.

At theſe wordes his frendes that were there, gaue the Biſhop thankes for his good will and paynes that he had taken in his and their behalfe.

Boner. Well Roger, how ſay you now? Do you not beleue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration, there remayneth the body of Chriſt really and corporally vnder the formes of bread and wine: I meane the ſelfe ſame body that was borne of the virgine Mary, that was crucified vpō the croſſe, that roſe agayne the third day.

Holland. Your Lordſhip ſayth, the ſame body which was borne of the virgine Mary, which was crucified vpon the Croſſe, which roſe agayne the third day: but you leaue out, whiche aſcended into heauen: and the Scripture ſayth he ſhall there remayne vntill he come to iudge the quicke and the dead. Then he is not conteined vnder the formes of bread and wine by Hoc eſt corpus meum. &c.

The Papiſtes how they take one peece of Scripture, and leaue out an other.

Boner. Roger, I perceiue my paynes and good will, wil not preuaile, and if I ſhould argue with thee, thou art ſo wilfull (as all thy fellowes be, ſtandyng in thine own ſingularitie & fooliſh conceite) that thou wouldeſt ſtill talke to no purpoſe this vij. yeare, if thou mighteſt bee ſuffered. Aunſwere whether thou wilt confeſſe the reall & corporall preſence of Chriſtes body in the Sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My Lord, although that God by his ſuffraunce hath here placed you to ſet forth hys truth and glory in vs his faithfull ſeruauntes: notwithſtandyng your meanyng is farre frō the zeale of Chriſt, and for all your wordes, you haue the ſame zeale that Annas & Caiphas had, truſting to their authoritie, traditions and ceremonies, more then to the word of God.

Boner. If I ſhould ſuffer him, he would fall frō reaſonyng to raylyng, as a francticke hereticke.

Lord Straunge. Roger (ſaith the Lord Straunge) I perceaue my Lord would haue you to tell him whether you will ſubmit your ſelfe vnto him or no.

Boner. Yea, ſayth Boner, and confeſſe this preſence that I haue ſpoken of.

With this Roger turnyng him to ỹ Lord Strāuge and the reſt of his kynſmen and frendes, very chearefully kneled downe vpon his knees and ſayd: God by the mouth of his ſeruaunt S. Paul hath ſayd: Let euery ſoule ſubmit him ſelfe vnto the higher powers, & he that reſiſteth receiueth his owne damnation: and as you are a Magiſtrate appoynted by the will of God, ſo doe I ſubmit my ſelf vnto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for Magiſtrates.

Boner. That is well ſayd: I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the preſence of Chriſtes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the altar?

The preſence in the Sacrament.

Holland. I ſay, and I beſech you all to marke & beare witnes with me (for ſo you ſhall do before the iudgemēt ſeat of God) what I ſpeake: for here is the concluſion: And ye my deare frendes (turnyng him to his kinſmē) I pray you ſhew my father what I do ſay, that he maie vnderſtand I am a Chriſtian man: I ſay and beleue & am therin fully perſuaded by the Scriptures, that the Sacramēt of the Supper of our Lord miniſtred in the holy Communion accordyng to Chriſtes inſtitution, I beyng penitent and ſory for my ſinnes, and myndyng to amend and lead a new life, and ſo commyng worthely vnto Gods board in perfect loue & charitie, do there receiue by fayth, the body and bloud of Chriſt. And though Chriſt in his humane perſon ſit at ỹ right hand of his father, yet (by faith I ſay) his death, his Paſſiō, his merites are myne, and by faith I dwell in him and he in me. And as for the Maſſe, tranſubſtantiatiō, and the worſhippyng of the Sacrament, they are mere impietie and horrible idolatrie.

Boner. I thought ſo much, ſayth Boner (ſufferyng hym to ſpeake no more) how hee would proue a verie blaſphemous hereticke as euer I heard. How vnreuerently doth he ſpeake of the bleſſed Maſſe? and ſo read his bloudy ſentence of condemnation, adiudgyng hym to be burned.

Sentence red againſt Roger Holland.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and whē he ſhould departe, he ſaid: my Lord, I beſech you ſuffer me to ſpeake ij. wordes. The Biſhop would not heare him but bad him away. Notwithſtandyng, beyng requeſted by one of his frendes, he ſayd: ſpeake, what haſt thou to ſay.

Holland. Euen now I told you that your authoritie was from God and by his ſufferance, and now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his ſeruauntes which haue bene poured forth with teares for hys afflicted Saintes, which daily you perſecute, as now you do vs. But this I dare be bold in god to ſpake (which by his ſpirite I am moued to ſay) that God will ſhorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his

Roger Hollād propheſieth of ſhortening the tyme of Biſh. Boners crueltie.

Church:

Churche: And this ſhall you in ſhort tyme well perceaue, my deare brethren, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place ſhall there not be any by hym put to the triall of Fire and Fagot: And after this day there was neuer none that ſuffered in Smithfield for the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, God be thanked.

The laſt that ſuffered in Smithfield.

After theſe wordes ſpoken, ſaith Boner: Roger, thou art I perceiue as madde in theſe thy hereſies as euer was Joan Bocher. In anger and fume thou wouldeſt become a railyng Prophet. Though thou & all the ſort of you would ſee me hanged, yet I ſhall liue to burne, yea I will burne all the ſort of you that come in my handes, that will not worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, for all thy pratlyng, and ſo went his waie.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his frendes to repentance, and to thinke well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Goſpell, and with that the Biſhoppe came backe, chargyng the keeper that no man ſhould ſpeake to them without his licence, and if they did, they ſhould be committed to Priſon. In the meane ſeaſon H. Pond and Roger ſpake ſtil vnto the people, exhortyng them to ſtand in the truth: adding moreouer, that GOD would ſhorten thoſe cruell and euill dayes for his elect ſake.

The cruell daies ſhortened for the elect ſake.

The day they ſuffered, a Proclamation was made, ꝧ none ſhould bee ſo bold to ſpeake or talke any word vnto them, or receiue any thyng of them, or to touche them, vpon payne of impriſonment, without either bale or mainprice: with diuers other cruell threatning wordes, contained in the ſame Proclamation. Notwithſtandyng the people cryed out, deſiryng God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill praied for the people, and the reſtoryng of his woorde. At length Roger embracing the ſtake, and the reedes, ſaid theſe wordes.

The Martyrdome of Roger Holland with ſixe other in Smithfield.

Lord I moſt humbly thanke thy maieſty, that thou haſt called mee from the ſtate of death, vnto the light of thy heauenly word, and now vnto the felowſhip of thy Saintes, that I may ſing and ſay, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſtes. And Lord into thy handes I cōmit my ſpirite. Lord bleſſe theſe thy people, and ſaue them from Idolatry, and ſo ended his life, lookyng vp into heauen, prayſing, and prayſing God, with the reſte of his fellowe Saincetes. For whoſe ioyfull conſtancie the Lord be praiſed.

¶ The Martyrdome of ſixe which ſuffered at Brainford for the true teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt.

July 14. Sixe Martyrs burnt at Brainford.

NOt long after the death of the fore named vij. godly Martyrs that ſuffred in Smithfield, were vi. other faithfull witneſſes of the Lordes true Teſtament, Martyred at Braynford, vij. miles from London, the xiiij. day of July. 1558. which ſayd vi. were of that company that weer apprehended in a cloſe hard by Iſlington (as is aboue ſpecified) and ſent to Priſon. Whoſe names and articles proponed to them, with their aunſweres vnto the ſame, hereafter followeth.

Martyrs.

Robert Mylles.	Iohn Slade.
Stephen Cotton.	William Pikes,
Robert Dynes.	or Pikers, a Tanner.
Stephen Wight.	

Theſe vi. forenamed Martyrs (gentle reader) had their articles miniſtred to them by Thomas Darbiſhere Boners Chancellor, at ſundry times, as Robert Milles the xx. day of June, Stephen Wight the xxi. day of the ſayd moneth, Ste. Cotton and Joh Slade the xxij. day, and Robert Dines and william Pikes the 23. day. At which ſaid times, though they were ſeuerally examined, yet had they all one maner of articles miniſtred to them, yea and the ſelfe ſame Articles that were miniſtred to John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company afore ſayd. Which ſayd articles I leaue the reader to looke for in pag. 1930. and thinke it not neceſſary any more to rehearſe them, but onely to proceede with their aunſweres to the ſame, which briefely and in ſumme hereafter followeth.

¶ The aunſweres of the forenamed perſons to the articles afore ſayde.

1. TO the firſt Article they all graunted the ſame, and addeil thereto for goyng to Church, that Robert Mylles and Stephen Wight came not there for iij. quarters of a yeare before, and Iohn Slade and William Pikes not ſince the Queenes reigne, Stephen Cotton not for a twelue moneth before, and Rob. Dynes not for. ij. yeares before.

The aunſweres of the ſixe former Martyrs to the Articles. 2.3.4.5.6.

The. 2. 3. 4. 5. and. 6. Articles they all aunſwered in effect, as the forenamed Iohn Holyday, Henry Pond and their company did. pag. 1931. ſauyng they added, that as their rites, cuſtomes, and ceremonies are againſt the worde of God, ſo will they obſerue and keepe no part of the ſame. Stephen Wight added further, that he receiued not theyr Sacrament of the Aultar for two yeares before, nor Iohn Slade and William Pikes ſince Queenes Maries reigne, nor Stephen Cotton for a tweluemoneth before, nor Robert Dynes for three yeres before.

7. To the vij. article, they all graunted the ſame in euery part like vnto the afore named Henry Pond and his company, pag. 1931. ſauyng Robert Dines added that is was no part of his beliefe.

8. To the eight article they all graunted the ſame in euery part as the forenamed William Hollhday and his company. pag. 1931. but Robert Milles added thereto that hee wil not come to church, nor allow their religion, ſo long as the croſſe is crept to and worſhipped, and Images are in the Churche. Iohn Slade affirmed in effect as Robert Milles did, addyng further that there bee not vij. Sacramentes, but two Sacramentes, which is Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lorde. Stephen Cotton would no further allowe the Popiſhe religion, then it agreeth with Gods word: and Robert Dines affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton alſo.

9. 10. To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Milles, Iohn Slade and Steuen Cotton aunſwered that they do not allow the popiſh ſeruice then ſet forth, becauſe it is againſt the truth, and in a ſtraunge language which the cōmō people vnderſtand not. Robert Dines and william Pikes, wil neither allow nor diſallow the latine ſeruice, becauſe they vnderſtand it not. And Steuen Wight would make no direct aunſwere to the articles at all, and to the 11. 12. 13. and 14. articles we finde no aunſweres recorded of the ſayd Stephen Wight, but of the reſte of his fellow priſoners we finde aunſweres to thoſe articles, whiche hereafter follow.

11. To the xj. article, Robert Milles, Iohn Slade and Steuen Cotton aunſwered, that concerning the bokes, faith, and religion ſpecified in this article, they doe allow them ſo farre forth as they agree with Gods woorde. &c. Robert Dynes woulde make no aunſwere thereto, becauſe hee thought hymſelfe vnmeete to iudge thereof: and william Pikes doth not remēber that he hath miſliked the ſeruice, and the fayth, and religion ſet forth in king Edward the ſixt his tyme.

12. To the xij. they graunt, that if they might receaue the ſacrament as they did in king Edward the ſixt dayes, they would with all their hart ſo do.

13. 14. To the 13. and 14. articles, they confeſſe and graunt the contentes of them to be true in euery part.

When at the dayes before ſpecified, theſe good men were produced before Boners Chauncellor Thomas Darbiſhire, and had the foreſayd articles miniſtred vnto them, and they (as ye haue heard) had made aunſwere vnto the ſame, in the end the Chauncellour commaunded them to appeare before them agayne the xi. day of July after in the ſayd place at Paules. Where when they came, hee required of them, whether they would tourne from their opinions to the mother holy churche: and if not, that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary but that they might proceede with the ſentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all anſwered, that they would not go from the truthe, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they liued. Then he charged them to appeare before him againe the next day in the afternoone, betwene one & two of the clocke, to heare the deffinitiue ſentence red againſte them, accordyng to the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes then in force. At which time, he ſittyng in iudgement, talking with theſe godly and vertuous men, at the laſt came into the ſayd place ſyr Edward Haſtinges and ſyr Thomas Cornwales knightes, ij. of Queene Maries officers of her houſe, and beeyng there, they ſat them downe ouer againſt the Chauncellour, in whoſe preſence the ſayde Chauncellor condemned thoſe good poore lambes, and deliuered them ouer to the ſecular power, who receaued and caried them to Priſon immediatly, and there kept them in ſafetie till the day of their death.

The ſixe Martyrs brought againe before Darbiſhire.

Syr Edward Haſtinges and Syr Thomas Cornwales at the condemnation of theſe Martyrs.

In the meane tyme this naughty Chauncellor ſlept not, I warrāt you, but that day in which they were cōdemned, hee made certificate into the Lord Chauncellors office, from whence the next daye after was ſent a writ to burne them at Brainford afore ſayd, which ac-

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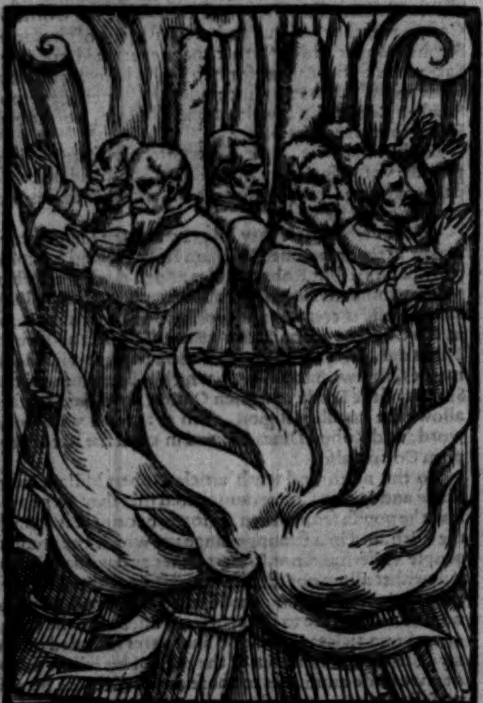
cordingly was accompliſhed in the ſame place, the ſayd xiiij. day of July: Whereunto they beyng brough, made

The burnyng of ſixe Martyrs at Brainford.



The Martyrdome of Robert Willes, Ste. Cotton, Robert Dynes, Ste. Wight, John Slade. Will. Pikes, at Brainford. Anno 1558. July 14.

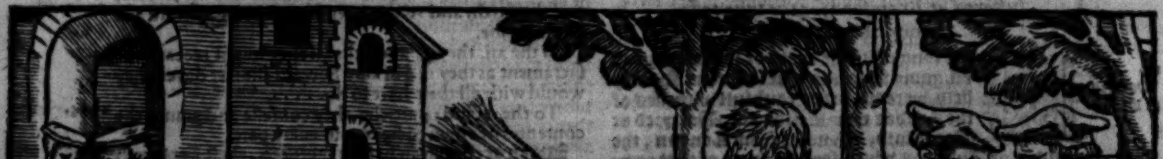
their humble prayers vnto the Lord Jeſus, vndreſſed themſelues, went ioyfully to the ſtake wherto they were boūd, and the fire flaming about them, they yelded their ſoules, bodies, and liues into the handes of the omnipotent Lord, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, & to whoſe protection I commend thee gentle reader, Amen.

Among theſe vi. was one Williā Pikes (as ye haue heard) who ſometyme dwelt in Ipſwich in Suffolke, by his occupation a Tanner, a very honeſt godly man, and of a vertuous diſpoſition, a good keeper of hoſpitalitie, and beneficiall to the perſecuted in Q. Maries daies. This ſaid William Pikes, in the 3. yeare of Q. Maries reigne, a little after Midſomer, beyng then at liberty, went into his Garden, and tooke with hym a Bible of Rogers tranſlation, where he ſitting with his face towardes the South, readyng on the ſaid Bible, ſodenly fel doune vpon his boke betwene a. xi. and xij. a clocke of the day, iiij. droppes of freſh bloude, and hee knew not frō whence it came. Then he ſeyng the ſame, was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no meanes learne (as I ſaid from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, called his wife, and ſaid: In the vertue of God wife, what meaneth thys? will the Lord haue iiij. ſacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will haue bloud: his will be done, and geue mee grace to abide the triall. Wife, let vs pray (ſaid he) for I feare the day draweth nigh. Afterward he dayly looked to be apprehēded of the papiſtes, & it came to paſſe accordingly, as ye haue heard. Thus much thought I good to write hereof, to ſtir vp our dull ſenſes in conſidering ỹ Lords works, & reuerently to honor the ſame. His name therefore be praiſed for euermore, Amen.

Moreouer, concernyng the ſaid William Pikes, as he was in newgate ſore ſicke and at the point of death, ſo that no man looked he ſhould liue vi. houres, there declared to them that ſtoode by, that he had bene twiſe in perſecution before, & that now he deſired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorifie his name at the ſtake, and ſo as he praied it came to paſſe at Bramford.

Ye heard before of thoſe 22. taken at Iſlington 13. were burned, and 6. eſcaped, albeit very hardly, and ſome of them not without ſcourgyng by the handes of the Biſhop. In the which number was Thomas Hinſhaw and John Milles, accordyng to the expreſſe Picture here after purported.

¶ *The right Picture and true counterfeite of Boner, and his crueltie, in ſcourgyng of Gods Sainctes in his Orchard at Fulham.*



Ex

Anno. 1558. July.

¶ Ex epigrammate Ennij apud Ciceronem alluſio.

Si fas cadendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuiquam eſt,
Bonnero cœli maxima porta patet.

¶In effigiem Boneri, carmen.

QVę noua forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid aluus
Pondera quid ventris, craſſitieſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides, anne ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint, ſi neſcis pondera, dicam.
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſcitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.
Qui patre Sauago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur, hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

¶The ſame in Engliſhe.

MVſe not ſo much, that natures worke
is thus deformed now,
With belly blowen, and head ſo ſwolne,
for I ſhall tell you how:
This Canniball in three yeares ſpace
three hundreth Martyrs ſlew:
They were his foode, he loued ſo bloud,
he ſpared none he knew.

It ſhould appeare that bloud feedes fat,
If men lye well and ſoft:
For Boners belly waxt with bloud,
though he ſemde to faſt oft.
O bloudy beaſt, bewaile the death,
of thoſe that thou haſt ſlayne:
In tyme repent, ſince thou canſt not
theyr liues reſtore againe.

G. G.

¶In Bonerum.

CArnificis nomen debetur iure Bonero,
Qui ſine Chriſticolas crimine mactat oues.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Siq; iſto peius nomine nomen, amat,
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. crudelia facta
Narras? rem gratam non facis ipſe magis.
Det Deus vt ſapias meliora Bonere, vel iſtis
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

¶The ſcourgyng of Thomas Hinſhaw.

The ſtory of Thomas Hinſhaw.

IN the Godly number aboue mentioned, which were apprehended at Iſlington, there congregated together for their exerciſe of Praier and readyng, was this Thomas Hinſhaw aboue named, a young man of the age of xix. or xx. yeares, Prentiſe in Paules churchyard with one Maſter Pugſon. Who with the reſt, was caried to the Conſtables of Iſlington, and there euery one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chiefe Iuſtice M. Cholmley, dwellyng in the old Baily in London, and by hym then the ſaid Tho. Hinſhaw was ſent to Newgate, and there remaining priſoner without conference with any about eight weekes, and at the laſt was ſent for to Boner B. of London, and by hym, Harpſfield and Cole examined. After whiche examination, he was ſent to Newgate again, where he remained a three wekes followyng. Which time being ouer paſſed, he was ſent for agayne before the ſaid Biſhop, the day beyng Saterday, and with hym had much talke to litle purpoſe. The next day after alſo, whiche was Sonday, they perſwaded with him very much in like maner, and perceauyng they could not bend hym vnto their bowe, in the afternoone, the Biſhop goyng vnto Fulham, tooke hym with him: where immediatly after his commyng, he was ſet in the Stockes remaynyng there all the firſt night with bread and water.

M. Cholmley Iuſtice.

Boner Harpſfield, and Cole.

Hinſhaw caried to Fulham and there ſet in the ſtockes with bread and water.

The next mornyng the Biſhop came and examined him himſelfe, and perceauing no yeldyng to his minde, he ſent M. Harpſfield to talke with him: who after lōg talke, in the end fell to raging wordes, calling the ſayd Thomas Hinſhaw peuiſh boy, and aſked hym whether he thought he went about to damne his ſoule, or no. &c. Vnto which the ſaid Thomas aunſwered, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintain their darke and deuiliſh kingdome, and not for any loue to truth. Then Harpſfield beyng in a mightie rage, told the Biſhop therof. Wherat the biſhop fumed and fretted that, ſcant for anger being able to ſpeake, hee ſaide: Doeſt thou anſwere my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well inough, be aſſured: ſo he ſent for a couple of roddes, and cauſed hym to kneele againſt a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the ſaid Thomas without any enforcement of his part, offered himſelfe to the beatyng, and did abide the fury of the ſaid Boner, ſo long as the fat panched Biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearines he was fayne to ceaſe, and geue place to his ſhameful act. He had two Willow Rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left of.

Hinſhaw beaten with Rods. The boy was beholdyng to Biſh. Boners grand paunch.

Now, after this ſcourgyng, the ſaide Tho. Hinſhaw notwithſtandyng did ſuſteine diuers cōflictes and examinations ſundry tymes. At laſt beyng brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his chapell at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered articles againſt him, which the young man denied, and would not affirme, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, do what they could.

The Articles were theſe.

Articles obiected.

COncernyng Palmes, Aſhes, Holy bread, Holy water, Auricular Confeſsion, receauyng the Sacrament at Eaſter, hearyng diuine ſeruice then ſet forth. &c.

Whether he had receiued al thſe, or whether he would receaue them or no.

Item, what he thought of the ſeruice ſet forth in Kyng Edwardes time, in his latter dayes, and in eſpeciall, what he thought of the verity of Chriſtes body in the ſacramēt

In which all his aunſweres, the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw kept an vpright conſcience, and entangled himſelfe with none of their ceremonyes: ſo mercifull was the Lord vnto hym.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or ſuch a thing, the foreſaid examinate fell ſicke of a burnyng ague, wherby he was deliuered vpon entreatie, vnto his Maſter Martin Pugſon in Paules Churchyard aforeſaid: for the Biſhop thought verely, he was more like to dye then to liue. The whiche his ſicknes endured a tweluemonth or more, ſo that in the meane time, Queene Mary dyed. Then he ſhortly after recouered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writyng of this yet aliue, both witnes and reporter of the ſame, the Lord therefore be prayſed, Amen.

Thomas Hinſhaw deliuered to maſter Pugſon his maſter.

The ſcourgyng of Iohn Milles by B. Boner.

The ſtory of Iohn Milles Capper.

BEſides the aboue named was ſcourged alſo by the handes of the ſaid biſhop one Iohn Milles a Capper, a right faithful and true honeſt man in all his dealinges and conditions. Who was brother to the foreſaid Robert Milles, burned before at Bramford, as is aboue ſignified. pag. 1936. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number with them at Iſlington, as is mentioned alſo before. Pag. 1930. and beyng brought before Boner, and there examined, was commaunded to the Colehouſe, with the foreſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, where they remained one night in the Stockes. From thence he was had to Fulham, where he with the ſayd Hinſhaw, remayned viij. or x. dales in the ſtockes: duryng which time he ſuſteined diuers conflictes with the ſaid Boner, who had hym oft tymes in Examination, vrging him, and with a ſticke which he had in his hand, ofttimes rapping him on the head, and flirting him vnder the chin, and on the eares, ſaiyng he looked downe like a theefe. Moreouer, after he had aſſayed all maner of waies to cauſe him to recāt and could not, at length, hauing him to his Orchard, there within a litle herbar, with his owne handes beat him, firſt with a Willowe rod, and that being worne well nigh to the ſtumpes, he called for a burchen rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him, was this: Boner aſked him when he had crept to the Croſſe. He anſwered, not ſince hee came to the yeares of diſcretion, neither would to be torne with wild horſes. Then Boner bad hym make a Croſſe in his forehead, whiche hee refuſed to doe. Whereupon he had hym incontinently to his Orchard, and there callyng for roddes, ſheweth his crueltie vpon hym, as he did vppon Thomas Hinſhaw, as is aboue declared.

Iohn Milles with Thomas Hinſhaw layd in the ſtockes at Fulham.

Hinſhaw and Milles beaten of Boner.

This doone, he had hym immediatly to the pariſhe church of Fulham, with the ſayd Thomas Hinſhawe, and with Robert Willis, to whom, there beeyng ſeuerally called before him, he miniſtred certaine Articles, aſking if they woulde ſubſcribe to the ſame. To the which the ſaid Iohn Milles made his aunſwere accordyng to his conſcience, deniyng them all, except one article, whiche was concernyng kyng Edwardes ſeruice

Ihō Milles denieth to ſubſcribe to B. Boners Articles.

An old coniuryng Prieſte.

in Engliſhe. Shortly after this beatyng, Boner ſente to hym in priſon a certain old Prieſt, lately come from Rome, to coniure out the euill Spirite from hym, who laiyng his hande vpon his heade, began with certaine woordes pronounced ouer hym, to coniure, as he had been wont before to doe. Milles marueilyng what the Prieſt was aboute to doe, ſaied he truſted no euill ſpirite to be within hym, and laughed hym to ſcorne. &c.

The vnſauerie reaſõs or talke of Biſh. Boner goyng about to perſwade John Milles.

Boners iudgemente, that we ſhould truſte more to menne, then to the ſcriptures of God.

As this John Milles was diuerſe tymes and ofte called before Boner, ſo muche cõmunication and talke paſſed betwene thẽ, whiche to recite all, it were to long. And yet it were not vnpleaſaunt for the reader, that luſteth to laugh, to ſe the blind and vnſauorie reaſons of that biſhop, whiche he vſed to perſwade the ignoraunte withall. As in the proces of his other talke with this Milles, Boner goyng about to perſwade hym not to meddle with matters of the ſcripture, but rather to beleue other mennes teachyng, whiche had more ſkill in the ſame: firſt aſked if he did beleue the ſcripture? Yea, ſaied he, that I doe. Then the Biſhop why (q he) S. Paule ſaieth: if the man ſlepe, the woman is at libertie, to goe to an other man. If thou were a ſlepe hauyng a wife, wouldeſt thou bee contente thy wife to take an other man? And yet this is the ſcripture.

This ſimilitude holdeth κατὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν.

Item, if thou wilte beleue Luther, Zwinglius, and ſuche, then thou canſt not go right. But if thou wilt beleue me. &c. thou cãſt not erre. And if thou ſhouldſt erre, yet thou art in no peril, thy bloud ſhould be required at our handes. As if thou ſhouldeſt go to a farre country, and mete with a fatherly man as I am (for theſe were his termes) and aſke the waie to the heade citie, and he ſhould ſaie, go this waie, and thou wilt not beleue hym, but folowe Luther, and other heretickes of late daies, and goe a contrary waie, howe wilte thou come to the place thou aſkeſt for? ſo if thou wilt not beleue me, but folowe the leadyng of other heretickes, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to deſtruction, and burne bothe body and ſoule.

Raſhe and preſumptuous iudgement of Boner.

As truely as thou ſeeſt the bodies of thẽ in Smithfield burnte, ſo truely their ſoules doe burne in hell, becauſe they erre from the churche.

Biſh. Boners wiſhe in puniſhyng Gods Sainctes.

Oft tymes ſpeakyng to the ſaied John Milles, he would ſaie: they call me bloudy Boner. A vengeance on you al. I would fain be rid of you, but you haue a delite in burnyng. But if I might haue my wil, I would ſow your mouthes, and put you in ſackes, and drowne you.

The occaſion and maner of deliuering Jhõ Milles.

Now, ſomewhat to ſaie concernyng the deliuerance of the ſaied John Milles, the ſame daie that he was deliuered, Boner came vnto the ſtockes where he laie, and aſked hym how he liked his lodgyng, and his fare.

Well ſaid Milles, if it would pleaſe God I might haue a little ſtrawe to lye or ſit vpon.

Milles wife entreateth for her houſeband.

Robert Rouſſe kenſeman to John Milles.

Then ſaied Boner: thou wilte ſhewe no token of a chriſtian man. And vpon this his wife came in, vnknowyng vnto hym, beyng very great with child, & looking euery hower for her lying inne, entreatyng the biſhop for her houſeband, & ſaiyng, that ſhe would not go out of the houſe, but there would lay her belley in the Biſhops houſe, vnleſſe ſhe had her houſebande with her. How ſaieſt thou (q Boner) thou hereticke? If thy wife miſcarie, or thy childe, or children, if ſhe bee with one, or twoo, ſhould periſhe, the bloud of them would be required at thy hãdes. Then to this agrement he came, that he ſhould hire a bedde in the toune of Fulham, and her houſebande ſhould goe home with her the morowe after, vpon this condition, that his kinſman there preſent (one Robert Rouſſe) ſhould bryng the ſaid Milles vnto his houſe at Paules the next daie.

The condition putte to John Milles to ſaie: In nomine Patris. &c.

Whereunto the ſaid Milles ſaied, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife beyng importunate for her houſebande, and ſeyng that ſhe would go no further, but there remaine vnleſſe ſhe had her houſebande with her, the biſhoppe fearyng belike the rumour, whiche might come vpon his houſe thereby, bad the ſaied Milles make a croſſe, and ſaie: In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus ſancti, Amen.

John Milles ſent home with his wife.

Then the ſaied Milles began to ſaie: In the name of the Father, and of the Sõne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen. No, no, ſaieth Boner, ſaie it me in Latine, In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus ſancti, Amẽ. Milles vnderſtãding the matter of that latin to be but good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his wife, his foreſaied kinſman being charged to bryng him the next day vnto Paules: either els ſaid Boner, if thou doeſt not bryng hym, thou art an hereticke aſwell as he. Notwithſtandyng the charge beyng no greater, his kinſman did not bryng hym, but he of his owne voluntarie accord, came to the ſaid Biſhop within a fewe daies after, where the Biſhop put vnto hym a certaine writyng in Latine to ſubſcribe vnto, conteinyng as it ſemed to hym, no great matter, that he needed greatly to ſticke at: albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell. So ſubſcribed he to the bill, and retourned home.

And thus much cõcernyng the 22. taken at Iſlington.

¶ *The hiſtorie and cruell handelyng of Richard Yeoman,* Doctor Tailors Curate at Hadley, conſtantly ſuffryng for the Goſpels ſake.

Iuly. 10.

The ſtorie and Martyrdome of Richa. Yeoman Miniſter.

After the ſtory of theſe. 22. taken at Iſlington, procedyng now (the Lorde willyng) wee will proſecute likewiſe the takyng and cruell handelyng of Richard Yeoman miniſter. Whiche Yeoman had been before Doctor Tailours Curate, a godlie deuout old man, of. lx. yeres, whiche had many yeres dwelte in Hadley, well ſeen in the ſcriptures, and giuyng godly exhortations to the people. With him D. Tailour left his Cure at his departure. But aſſone as M. Newal had gottẽ the benefice, he droue awaie good Yeoman, as is ſaied, pag. 1447. & ſet in a popiſhe curate to maintain and continue their Romiſhe religiõ, which now they thought fully ſtabliſhed. Then wandered he long tyme frõ place to place, mouyng and exhortyng al men to ſtand faithfully to gods word, earneſtly to giue thẽſelues vnto praier, with pacience to beare the croſſe now laied vpon them for their triall, with boldneſſe to confeſſe the truthe before the aduerſaries, and with an vndoubted hope to waite for the croune, and reward of eternall felicitie. But when he perceiued his aduerſaries to lye in waite for hym, he wẽt into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pinnes, and pointes, and ſuche like thinges, he trauailed frõ village to village, ſellyng ſuche thinges, & by that poore ſhift gat himſelf ſomwhat to the ſuſteinyng of himſelf, his poore wife, & children.

Richard Yeoman fleeth into Kent.

Richard Yeoman ſet in the ſtockes by M. Moile of Kent.

Richard Yeoman retourneth againe to Hadley.

At the laſt, a iuſtice of Kent called M. Moile, tooke poore Yeoman, and ſet hym in the ſtockes a daie and a night, but hauyng no euidẽt matter to charge him with, he let hym go again. So came he ſecretly again to Hadley, and taried with his poore wife, who kepte hym ſecretely in a chamber of the toune houſe, commonly called the Guilde halle, more then a yeare. All the whiche time, the good old father abode in a chamber locked vp all the daie, and ſpente his tyme in deuoute praier, and readyng the ſcriptures, and in cardyng of woll, whiche his wife did ſpinne. His wife alſo did goe and begge breade and meate for her ſelf, and her children, and by ſuche poore meanes ſuſteined they them ſelues. Thus the ſainctes of God ſuſtained hũger and miſerie, while the Prophetes of Baal liued in iolitie, and were coſtly pampered at Ieſabels table.

Parſon Newall a wicked perſecutour.

Yeoman taken by Parſone Newall.

This John Dale died in Bury Gaile, as is before mentioned.

The wordes of John Dale to Parſon Newal and his curate.

At the laſt, Parſon Newall (I knowe not by what meanes) perceiued that Rich. Yeoman was ſo kept by his poore wife, and takyng with hym the Bailiffes deputies and ſeruauntes, came in the night tyme, & brake vp fiue doores vpon Yeoman, whom he founde in bed with his poore wife and children. Whom when he had ſo founde, he irefull cried, ſaiyng: I thought I ſhould finde an harlot, and an whore together. And he would haue plucked the clothes of from them. But Yeoman held faſt the clothes, and ſaied vnto his wife: wife, ariſe and put on thy clothes. And vnto the Parſon he ſaied: Naie Parſon, no harlot, nor whore, but a maried man and his wife, accordyng vnto Gods ordinaunce, and bleſſed be God for lawfull Matrimonie. I thãke God for this greate grace, and I defie the Pope and all his Poperie. Then lead they Rich. Yeoman vnto the cage, & ſet hym in the ſtockes vntill it was daie. There was then alſo in the cage, an old mã named Jhõ Dale, who had ſitten there iij. or iiij. daies, becauſe when the ſaied Parſon Newal with his Curate, executed the Romiſh ſeruice in the Churche, he ſpake openly vnto hym, and ſaid: O miſerable & blind guides, will ye euer be blind leaders of the blind? will ye neuer amẽde? will ye neuer ſe the truth of gods worde? will neither gods threates nor promiſes enter into your hartes? will not the bloud of Martyrs nothyng mollifie your ſtonie ſtomackes? Oh indurate harde hãrted, peruerſe, & crooked generation. O dannable ſort, whõ nothing can doe good vnto.

John Dale ſett in the Cage by Parſõ Newal.

Theſe and like wordes ſpake he in feruentnes of ſpirite againſt the ſuperſtitious religiõ of Rome. Wherfore parſon Newall cauſed him forthwith to bee attached, & ſet in the ſtockes in the cage. So was he there kept till Syr Henry Doyle a Juſtice came to Hadley. Now whẽ poore Yeoman was taken, the parſon called earneſtly

Syr Henry Doyle entreated for Gods Saintes, but could not be heard.

earneſtly vpon ſir Henry Doyle to ſende them both to priſon. Syr Henry Doyle earneſtly laboured and entreated the parſon, to conſider the age of the men, and their poore eſtate: they were perſons of no reputation nor Preachers: wherefore hee would deſire hym to let them be puniſhed a day or two, and ſo to let them go, at the leaſt Iohn Dale who was no Prieſt, and therefore ſeyng he had ſo long ſitten in the cage, he thought it puniſhment inough for his tyme. When the parſon heard this, he was exceding mad, and in a greate rage called them Peſtilent Heretikes, vnfit to liue in the common wealth of Chriſtians. Wherefore I beſeech you Syr, (quoth he) accordyng to your office defend holy church, and helpe to ſuppreſſe theſe ſectes of hereſies. &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelues, to the euill example of other, againſt the Queenes gracious proceedynges. Sir Henry Doyle ſeeing he could do no good in the matter, & fearing alſo his peril if he ſhould to much medle in this matter, made out the writte, and cauſed the Cōſtables to cary them forth to Bury gaile. For nowe were all the Iuſtices, were they neuer ſo mightie, afraid of euery ſhauen crowne, and ſtoode in as much awe of them, as Pilate did ſtande in feare of Annas and Cayphas, and of the Phariſaicall broode, which cried: Crucifie hym, Crucifie hym. If thou let hym go, thou art not Keyſars frend.

The kingdome of Rotuſſes.

Yeoman and Iohn Dale ſent to Bury gaile.

Wherefore, whatſoeuer their conſciences were yet (if they would eſcape daunger) they muſt needes be the popiſh Biſhoppes ſlaues, and vaſſales. So they tooke Rich. Yeoman and Iohn Dale, pinioned and bound them like theeues, ſet them on horſebacke, and bound their legs vnder the horſes bellies, and ſo caried them to the Gaile at Bury. Where they were tyed in irons, and for that they continuallye rebuked Popery, they were throwne into the loweſt Dongeon. Where Iohn Dale through ſicknes of the priſon and euill keepyng, dyed in Priſon, whoſe bodye when hee was dead, was throwen out and buried in the fieldes. Hee was a man of xlvi. yeares of age, a Weauer by his occupation, wel learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honeſt in all his conuerſation, ſtedfaſt in Confeſſion of the true doctrine of Chriſte ſet forth in K. Edwardes time: For the whiche he ioyfully ſuffered priſon and chaines, and frō this worldly dungeon he departed in Chriſt to eternall glory, & the bleſſed paradiſe of euerlaſting felicitie.

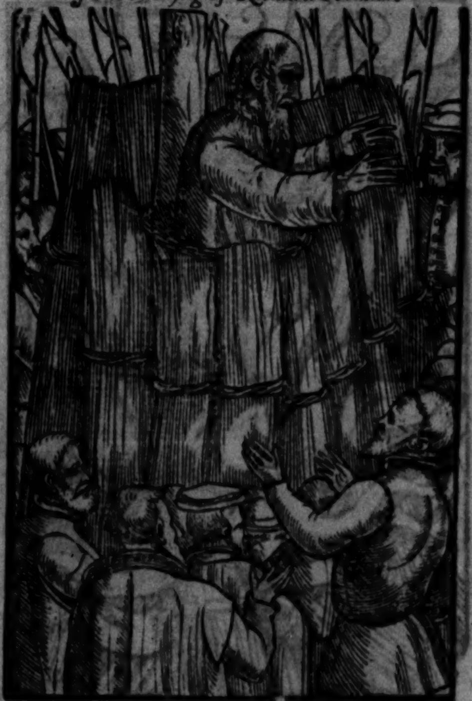
Commendation of Iohn Dale.

Yeoman remoued to Norwich.

After that Iohn Dale was dead, Rich. Yeomā was remoued to Norwiche priſon, where after ſtraite and euill keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelf to be of the faith & confeſſion that was ſet forth by the late king, of bleſſed memory, holy K. Edward the vi. & from ẏ he would in no wiſe vary. Beyng required to ſubmit himſelfe to ẏ holy father the Pope, I defy him (q he) & all his deteſtable abominatiōs: I will in no wiſe haue to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles obiected to him were his mariage, & the Maſſe ſacrifice. Wherfore when he continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, diſgraded, and not onely burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended hee his poore and miſerable life, and entred into the bleſſed boſom of Abraham, enioying with Lazarus the comfortable quietnes that God hath prepared for his elect ſaintes.

The chief matters obiected to Rich. Yeoman.

¶ The burnyng of Richard Yeoman.



The Martyrdome of Rich. Yeoman, Winſter, at Norwich. An. 1558. July 10.

¶ The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

The ſtory of Iohn Alcocke.

THere was alſo in Hadley, a yong man named Iohn Alcocke, whiche came to Hadley ſeekyng worke, for he was a ſhereman by his occupatiō. This yong man after the Martyrdom of Doct. Tailour, and taking of Rich. Yeoman, vſed firſt in the church of Hadley to read ẏ ſeruice in Engliſh, as partly is aboue touched, pa. 1447. At lēght after the cōmyng of Parſon Newall, he being in Hadley church vpon a Sonday when the Parſon came by with Proceſſion, would not once moue his cap, nor ſhew any ſigne of reuerence, but ſtode behind the font. Parſon Newal perceauing this, whē he was almoſt out of ẏ church dore, ran back again, & caught him, & called for the cōſtable.

Parſon Newal in a rage againſt Iohn Alcocke, for not goyng on Proceſſion.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and aſked: Maſter Perſon, what hath he done, that ye are in ſuch a rage with hym?

He is an hereticke and a traytor (quoth the Parſon) and deſpiſeth the Queenes procedinges. Wherfore I commaund you in the Queenes name, haue hym to the ſtockes, and ſee he be forth commyng.

Well (quoth Rolfe) he ſhall be forth comming: proceede you in your buſines and bee quiet. Haue hym to the ſtockes (quoth the Parſon.)

Robert Rolfe an honeſt Conſtable of Hadley.

I am Conſtable quoth Rolfe, and maye bayle him, and will bayle him: he ſhall not come in the ſtockes, but he ſhall be forth comming. So went the good Parſon forth with his holy Proceſſion, and ſo to Maſſe.

At after noone Rolfe ſaid to this young man: I am ſory for thee, for truly the perſon will ſeke thy deſtruction, if ẏ take not good heede what thou anſwereſt hym.

The young man anſwered: Syr, I am ſory that it is my luck to be a trouble to you. As for my ſelfe I am not ſory, but I doe commit my ſelfe into Gods handes, and I truſte hee will geue me mouth and wiſedome to aunſwere accordyng to right.

Well (quoth Rolfe) yet beware of hym. For hee is malicious, and a bloudſucker, and beareth an old hatred againſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of diſpleaſure againſt me.

I feare him not (q the young man) he ſhall doe no more to me then God will geue him leaue: and happy ſhal I be if God wil cal me to dye for his truthes ſake.

After this talke, they then went to the parſon, who at the firſt aſked hym: Fellow, what ſaieſt thou to the Sacrament of the altar?

Alcocke brought to Parſon Newall.

I ſay (q he) as ye vſe the matter, ye make a ſhameful idoll of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous Prieſtes all the ſort of you.

I told you (q the parſon) he was a ſtout hereticke.

So, after long talke the Perſon committed hym to ward: and the next day rode he vp to London, and caried the young man with hym, and ſo came the young man no more again to Hadley, but after long impriſonment in Newgate, where after many examinatiōs and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelfe to aſke forgeuenes of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, he was caſt into ẏ lower doungeon, wherwith euil keping, & ſickenes of the houſe he died in priſon. Thus died he a Martyr of Chriſtes veritie, which he hartely loued and conſtantly confeſſed, and receaued the garland of a well foughten battell at the hande of the Lord. His body was caſt out & buried in a donghil. For the Papiſtes would in all thinges bee like them ſelues: Therfore would they not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodies to haue honeſt and conuenient ſepulture.

Perſon Newal carieth vp Iohn Alcocke to London.

Iohn Alcocke dyed in Newgate.

Iohn Alcocke buried of the Papiſtes in a donghill.

¶ Thomas Benbrige, Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruell Papiſtes, for the defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt Ieſu.

July 19. The ſtory of Thomas Benbrige, Martyr.

THomas Benbrige a gentleman, ſingle & vnmaried, in the Dioces of Winchester, although he might

haue

Anno. 1558. Iuly.

haue liued a pleaſaunt & a gentlemans life in the wealthy poſſeſſions of this world, yet to followe Chriſt, had rather enter into the ſtraite gate of perſecution, to the heauenly poſſeſſion of life in the lordes kingdome, then here to enioy pleaſures preſent with vnquietnes of cõſcience. Wherfore manfully ſtandyng againſt the Papiſtes, for the defence of the ſincere doctrine of Chriſts Goſpell, he ſpared not him ſelf to confirme the doctrine of the Goſpell. For the which cauſe he being apprehended for an aduerſary of the Romiſhe religiõ, was forthwith had to examination before D. White B. of Wincheſter, where he ſuſteined ſondry conflictes for ŷ truth againſt the ſaid Biſhop and his Colleagues. The articles of the Biſhoppe miniſtred to hym, with his aunſweres to the ſame annexed, be here following.

M. Benbrige examined before the B. of Wincheſter.

¶Articles miniſtred to Maiſter Benbrige, with his aunſwers followyng the ſame.

Articles oppoſed againſt M. Benbrige.

1. FIrſt, we articulate againſt you, that the churche of God miniſtreth rightly accordyng to the rite Apoſtolicall.

Aunſwere.

To this he aunſwereth, that Baptiſme is not adminiſtred at this preſent, ſo as it was in the Apoſtles tyme, for that it is not miniſtred in the Engliſh tongue.

The reall preſence.

2. Item, we articulate that the church of God doth beleue and hold, that in the ſacrament of thankeſgeuyng, after the words of conſecration pronounced of the prieſt the true and naturall body of Chriſt is preſent really.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwereth, that he beleueth not, that in the ſacrament is contained the bodye and bloude of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, ſaiyng: this is the marke that ye ſhote at.

Confirmation.

3. Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth that confirmation is a ſacrament in the church, and that by impoſition of handes of a Biſhop, cometh grace.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a ſacrament or not, and whether the Biſhop geueth grace or not: he knoweth not the order and faſhion of miniſtration.

4. Item, we articulate, that penaunce is a Sacrament in the churche, and that by auricular confeſſion and abſolution pronounced by the prieſt, ſinnes be forgeuen.

Aunſwere: Penaunce no Sacrament.

He aunſwered negatiuely, denying ſinnes to be forgeuen by abſolution pronounced of a prieſt, and that it is not neceſſary for a man to recite all his ſinnes to a prieſt.

5. Item, we articulate againſt thee, that the churche doth beleue and holde, the ſame authority to bee nowe in the church, which Chriſt gaue to his Apoſtles.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered negatiuely, for that the church hath not the ſame power and ſtrength to worke.

6. Item, we articulate, that the church beleueth and holdeth that the order of miniſters, now being in the church of Chriſt, is inſtituted of Chriſt hym ſelf.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered that he beleueth not the biſhops to bee the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, for that they be not called as they were, nor haue that grace.

Head of the Church.

7. Item, we articulate, that the church beleueth and holdeth, the Pope to be ſupreame head in the Churche and the Vicar of Chriſt in earth.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the deuill that is ſupreame head of the Churche whiche you ſpeake of.

8. Item, we articulate, that the church doth hold and beleue that it is neceſſary to be baptiſed.

Aunſwere.

He denied not the ſame.

Purgatory.

9. Item, we articulate, that the church doth hold and beleue, that there is purgatory, and that the ſoules of the dead be relieued with the almes and praiers of the liuing.

Aunſwere.

He aunſwereth and ſaieth, as touching purgatory he will not beleue as their church doth beleue.

10. Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth, that Matrimony is a Sacrament of the church.

Aunſwere: Matrimony no Sacrament.

He aunſwered, that he will not ſay that Matrimony is a Sacrament, but to bee a ſacrate order and ſigne of an holy thyng &c.

M. Luther.

Moreouer, happenyng into the mention of Martine Luther, he ſayd: that the ſaid Martine Luther died a good chriſtian man, whoſe doctrine and lyfe he did approue and allowe.

M. Benbrige condemned.

M. Benbrige brought to the ſtake.

Thus haue ye the articles miniſtred by the Biſhop, and alſo the aunſweres of the ſayd Maſter Benbrige vnto the ſame, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdome, by the ſheriffe called Sir Richard Pechſal, where as he ſtanding at the ſtake began to vnty his pointes, and to prepare hym ſelfe. Then he gaue his gowne to the keeper, beeyng belike his fee. His Ierkin was layd on with gold lace fayre and braue, whiche he gaue to Syr Richard Pechſall, the high ſheriffe. His cappe of Veluet he tooke of from his head, and threw it away. Then liftyng his mynd to the Lord, he made his prayers.

D. Seaton forbiddeth to pray for hym.

That done, beyng now faſtened to the ſtake, Doct. Seaton willed hym to recant and hee ſhoulde haue his pardon: but when he ſaw it preuailed not to ſpeake, the ſayd dreamyng and doltiſh Doct. willed the people not to pray for hym vnleſſe he would recant, no more then they would pray for a dog.

Maſter Benbrige ſtandyng at the ſtake with hys handes together, in ſuche maner as the prieſt holdeth his handes in his memento, the ſayd Doctor Seaton came to hym agayne and exhorted him to recant: vnto whom he ſayd: away Babylonian, away.

Then ſaid one that ſtode by: Sir, cut out his toung: and an other beeyng a temporall man, rayled on hym worſe then Doctor Seaton did a greate deale, who (as is thought) was ſet on by ſome other.

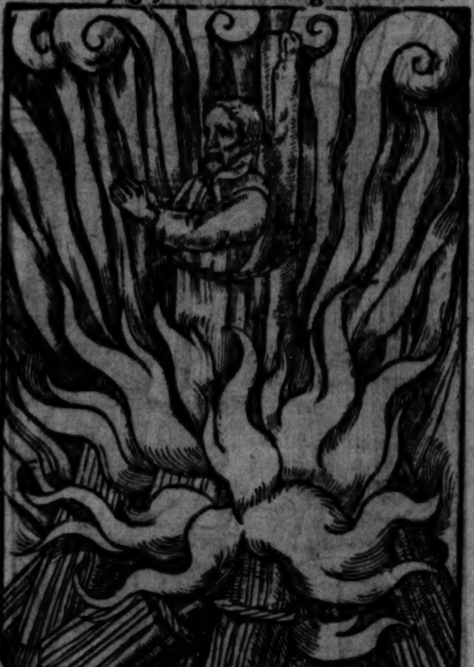
Maſter Benbrige recanteth at the ſtake.

Syr Richard Pechſall.

Then, when they ſaw he would not yelde, they bad the Tormentors to ſet to fire, and yet he was nothyng like couered with faggotes. Firſt the fire tooke away a peece of his bearde, wherat he nothing ſhrancke at all. Then it came on the other ſide and tooke his legs, and the nether ſtockings of his hoſe beyng lether, made the fire to pearce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable heate therof made him to cry: I recant, and ſodenly therwith he thruſt the fire from hym. And hauyng ij. or iij. of hys frendes by, that wiſhed his life, they ſtept to the fire and holpe to take it from hym alſo: who for their labour were ſent to priſon. The Sheriffe alſo of his owne authority toke him from the ſtake, and ſent hym to priſon againe: for the which he was ſent vnto the Fleete, and there laye a certaine tyme. But before hee was taken from the ſtake, the ſayd Seaton wrote articles to haue him to ſubſcribe vnto them, as touchyng the Pope, the ſacrament, and ſuch other traſhe. But the ſayd Maſter Benbrige made much ado ere he would ſubſcribe them in ſo much that Doct. Seaton willed them to ſet to fire againe. Then with much paine and great grief of hart he ſubſcribed to them vpon a mans backe. That beyng done, he had his gowne geuen hym againe, and ſo was led to priſon. Beyng in priſon, hee wrote a letter to D. Seaton, and recanted thoſe woordes hee ſpake at the ſtake, vnto which he had ſubſcribed: for he was greued that euer he did ſubſcribe vnto them. Whereupon expreſſing his conſcience, he was the ſame day ſeuennight after burnt in deede, where the vile tormentours did rather broyle hym then burne hym. The Lord geue his enemies repentaunce.

M. Benbrige repenteth his recantation.

The burnyng of Thomas Benbrige Gentleman.



The Martyrdome of Thomas Benbrige. Anno 1558. Iuly. 29.

¶The

1558.
Auguſt.
Nouēb.

¶ The vniuſt execution and martyrdome of foure burned at ſaint Edmundes Bury.

Auguſt. The ſtory of 4. Martyrs in Suffolke.

IN this yeare aforeſaid, which was the laſt of Q. Maryes raigne D. Hopton being B. of Norwich, & D. Spenſer bearing the roume of his Chauncellour, about S. Iames tyde, at ſ. Edmunds Bury, were wrongfully put to death foure chriſtian martyrs, to wyt:

Martyrs.

Iohn Cooke, a Sawyer.
Robert Myles, aliâs Plummer, a Shereman.
Alexander Lane, a Wheelewright.
Iames Aſhley, a Bacheler.

The examination of theſe forenamed perſons, being ſeuerally called before the Biſhop of Norwich, and Syr Edward Walgraue, with others; was partly vpon theſe articles folowing.

Syr Edw. Walgraue perſecutor.

Firſt ſir Edward Walgraue called Iohn Cooke to him and ſaid: How fortuneth it that you go not to church?

Iohn Cooke ſaid: I haue bene there.

Examination of Iohn Cooke.

Sir Edward ſaid: what is the cauſe that you go not thither now in theſe dayes?

Iohn Cooke ſaid: becauſe the ſacrament of the altar is an abominable Idol, and (ſaith he) the vengeaunce of God wyl come vpon all them that doo maintayne it.

Syr Edward ſaid: O thou ranke traytor, if I had as good commiſſion to cut out thy tongue, as I haue to ſit here this day, thou ſhouldeſt be ſure to haue it cut out. Then cōmaunded he the Conſtable to haue hym awaye, ſaying, he was both a traytor and a rebel.

Examination of Robert Myles.

Then he called Robert Myles, and ſaid: Howe fortuneth it that you go not to the church?

Robert Myles anſweared: becauſe I wyl folowe no falſe Gods.

Then ſaid the biſhop: who told thee that it is a God?

Then ſaid Myles: Euen you and ſuch as you are.

Then the Biſhop commaunded hym aſide, & to appeare before hym the next day.

Examination of Alexander Lane.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, & aſked him how it chaunced that he would not go to the church?

He ſaid, that his cōſcience would not ſerue him ſo to do.

Then ſir Edward ſaid: How doeſt thou beleue?

Then ſaid Lane: Euen as it is written in Gods booke.

Then ſir Edward commaunded hym to ſay his beliefe.

Thē the ſaid Lane being ſomwhat abaſhed, ſaid his beliefe, to theſe wordes, which he miſſed vnwares: Borne of the virgine Mary.

Then ſir Edward ſaid: what, was he not borne of the virgine Mary?

Yes, ſaid Lane, I would haue ſaid ſo.

Nay, ſaid ſir Edward, you are one of Cookes ſchollers, and ſo commaunded hym away, and to come before hym the next day.

Examination of Iames Aſhley.

The Martyrdome of Cooke, Myles, Lane, and Aſhley, at Bury. Anno. 1558. Auguſt.

After the like maner they paſſed alſo with Iames Aſhley, whō they warned the next day likewiſe to appeare before them againe. So in fine they appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus theſe foure bleſſed Martyrs & ſeruants of Chriſt, innocētly ſuffered together at S. Edmūds Bury as is aforeſaid, about the beginnyng of Auguſt, not long before the ſicknes of Queene Mary.

¶ The Martyrdome of two godly perſons, ſuffring at Ipſwich for the Goſpel of Chriſt and his euerlaſtyng teſtament, named Alexander Gouch, and Alice Driuer.

Nouember 4
M. Noone a perſecutor.

MAiſter Noone, a Iuſtice in Suffolk, dwelling in Marteſham, hunting after good men to apprehend them (as he was a bloudy tyrant in the dayes of triall) at the length had vnderſtanding one Gouch of Woodbridge, & Driuers wife of Groſborough, to be at Groſborough together, a litle frō his houſe, immediately tooke his men with hym & went thither, & made diligent ſearch for thē, where the poore man & womā were cōpelled to ſtep into an hay golph to hide thē ſelues from their crueltie. At the laſt they came to ſearche the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforkes, at the laſt found them: ſo they tooke them & led them to Melton Gayle, wher they remaynyng a tyme, at the length wer caryed to Bury, againſt the Aſſiſe at S. Iames tyde, and being there examined of matters of fayth, dyd boldly ſtande to confeſſe Chriſte crucified, defying the Pope with all his papiſticall traſhe. And among other thinges Driuers wife likened Queene Mary in her perſecution, to Iezabel, and ſo in that ſenſe calling her Iezabel, for that, ſir Clemēt Higham being chiefe Iudge there, adiudged her eares immediately to be cut of, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhee ioyfully yelded her ſelf to the puniſhment, and thought her ſelfe happy, that ſhee was counted worthy to ſuffer any thyng for the name of Chriſt.

Gouch and Alice Driuer taken at Grouſborough.
Gouch and Alice Driuer caryed to Melton Gaile.
Q. Mary called Ieſabell.
Alice Driuers eares cut of, for likening Q. Mary to Ieſabell.

After the Aſſiſe at Bury, they were carryed to Melton Gayle agayne, where they remayned a tyme. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of. xxxvi. yeres or thereaboutes, and by his occupation was a Weauer of ſhredding Couerlettes, dwellyng at Woodbridge in Suffolke, & borne at Vfford in the ſame Countie. Driuers wyfe was a woman about the age of. xxx. yeres, & dwelt at Grouſborough where they were taken, in Suffolke. Her huſband dyd vſe huſbandry. Theſe two were caryed from Melton Gayle, to Ipſwich, where they remained and were examined. The which their examination, as it came to our handes, here after foloweth.

Alexander Gouch.

Gouch and Alice Driuer caryed to Ipſwich.

¶ The examination of Driuers wyfe, before Doctour Spenſer, the Chauncelour of Norwiche.

D. Spenſer after the death of D. Dunning who dyed ſodenly in Lincolneſhire, was Chaūcellor vnder Byſhop Hopton.

FIrſt, ſhee commyng into the place where ſhee ſhoulde be examined, with a ſmilyng countenaunce, Doct. Spenſer ſaid: Why woman, doeſt thou laugh vs to ſcorne?

Driuers wife. Whether I doo, or no, I might well enough, to ſee what fooles ye be.

Doctor Spenſer. Then the Chauncellour aſked her wherfore ſhee was brought before hym, and why ſhee was layd in priſon.

Dry. Wherfore? I thinke I neede not to tell you: for ye know it better then I.

Spenſ. No by my troth woman, I know not why.

Dry. Then haue ye done me muche wrong (quoth ſhee) thus to impriſon me, and know no cauſe why: for I know no euyl that I haue done, I thanke God, and I hope there is no man that can accuſe me of any notorious fact that I haue done, iuſtly.

Sacrament of the altar.

Spenſ. Woman, woman, what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the aultar? Doeſt thou not beleue that it is very fleſhe and bloud, after the wordes be ſpoken of conſecration?

Driuers wyfe at thoſe wordes helde her peace, & made no anſwere. Then a great chuffeheaded Prieſt that ſtoode by, ſpake, and aſked her why ſhee made not the Chauncellour an anſweare. With that, the ſayd Driuers wyfe looked vpon hym auſterly, & ſaid: Why prieſt, I come not to talke with thee, but I come to talke with thy Maiſter: but if thou wylt I ſhal talke with thee, commaund thy maiſter to hold his peace. And with that the prieſt put his noſe in his cap, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Chauncellour bade her make anſwere to that he demaunded of her.

A ſurly Prieſt put to ſilence.

Dry. Syr (ſayde ſhee) pardon me though I make no anſweare, for I can not tel what you meane therby: for in all my lyfe I neuer heard nor read of any ſuch ſacrament in all the ſcripture.

Spenſ. Why, what ſcriptures haue you read, I pray you.

Dry. I haue (I thanke God) read Gods booke.

Spenſ. Why, what manner of booke is that you call Gods booke?

Dry. It is the old and new Teſtament. What cal you it?

Spenſ. That is Gods booke in deede, I can not deny.

No Sacrament of the altar to be found in Gods booke.

Dry. That ſame booke haue I read throughout, but yet neuer could find any ſuch ſacrament there: & for that cauſe I can not make you anſweare to that thing I knowe not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I wyll graunt you a ſacrament, called the Lords ſupper: and therfore ſeeing I haue graunted you a Sacrament, I pray you ſhewe me what a Sacrament is.

D. Gaſcoyne perſecutor.

Spenſ. It is a ſigne. And one D. Gaſcoine, being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the ſigne of an holy thing.

What a ſacrament is.

Dry. You haue ſaid the truth ſir, ſaid ſhee. It is a ſigne in deede, I muſt needes grant it: & therfore ſeeing it is a ſigne, it can not be the thing ſignified alſo. Thus far we do agree: for I haue granted your own ſaying. Then ſtood vp ẏ ſaid Gaſcoine, & made an Oration with many fayre wordes, but litle to purpoſe, both offenſiue & odious to the myndes of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he aſked her if ſhee did not beleue the omnipotencie of God, & that he was almighty, and able to performe that he ſpake. Shee anſwered, yes, and ſaid: I doo beleue that God is almightye, and able to performe that he ſpake and promiſed.

D. Gaſcoynes oration litle to purpoſe.

Talke betweene Alice Driuer and D. Gaſcoyne.

Gaſcoine. Very wel. Then he ſaid to his diſciples: Take, eate, this is my body: Ergo, it was his body: For he was able to performe that he ſpake: and God vſeth not to lye.

Dry. I pray you, dyd he euer make any ſuch promiſe to his diſciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gaſc. Thoſe be the wordes. Can you deny it?

Dry. No, they be the very wordes in deede, I can not deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gaue vnto them?

Gaſc. No, it was his body.

Dry. Then was it his body that they dyd eate ouer night?

Gaſc. Yea, it was his body.

Dry. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gaſc. It was Chriſtes body.

Dry. How could ẏ be, when his diſciples had eatẽ hym vp ouer night? except he had two bodyes, as by your argumẽt he had: one they did eate ouer night, and an other was crucified the next day. Such a Doctor, ſuch doctrine. Be you not aſhamed to teache the people, that Chriſte had two bodyes? In the. 22. of Luke, He tooke bread, and brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying: Take. &c. and do this in the remembraunce of me. Saint Paul alſo ſaith. 1. Cor. 11. Do this in the remembraunce of me: for as often as ye ſhall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye ſhall ſhewe the Lords death tyl he come: and therfore I maruelle ye bluſh not before al this people, to lye ſo manifeſtly as ye do. With that Gaſcoine held his peace, & made her no anſwere: for, as it ſeemed, he was aſhamed of his doings. Then the Chancellor lyft vp his head of from his cuſhion, and cõmaunded the Gayler to take her away.

If Chriſt had but one body, and that body was eaten vp ouer night, what body then was crucified the next day? Luke 22. 1. Cor. 11.

Gaſcoyns mouth ſtopped.

The Channcellour when he could not anſwere her with reaſon, ſendeth her to priſon.

Dry. Nowe, ſaide ſhee, ye be not able to reſiſt the truth, ye commaund me to priſon againe. Well, the Lord in the ende ſhal iudge our cauſe, and to hym I leaue it. Iwiſſe, Iwiſſe, this geare wyl go for no payment then. So went ſhee with the Gayler away.

The ſecond examination of Alice Dryuer.

THe next day ſhee came before them agayn, and the Chancellour then aſked her, what ſhee ſaid to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

An other examination of Alice Driuer before D. Spenſer and Gaſcoyne.

Dry. I wyll ſay nothing to it: for you wyll neither beleue me nor your ſelues. For yeſterday I aſked you what a ſacrament was, & you ſaid, it was a ſigne: and I agreed therto, & ſaid, it was the truth, confirmyng it by the ſcriptures, ſo that I went not from your owne wordes: and nowe ye come and aſke me againe of ſuch a ſacrament as I told you I neuer read of in the ſcriptures.

Spenſer vp with his ſacrament of the aultar agayne.

Spenſer. Thou lyeſt noughty woman: we did not ſay that it was a ſigne.

Dry. Why maſters, be ye not the men that you were yeſterday? wyl ye eate your owne wordes? Are ye not aſhamed to lye before al this multitude here preſent, who hearde you ſpeake the ſame?

Then ſtood vp D. Gaſcoyne, & ſaid, ſhee was deceiued: for there were three churches: the malignant Church, the church militant, and the Church triumphant. So he would faine haue made matter, but he could not tel which way.

Gaſcoyne againe tineth the matter in hand. Three Churches.

Dry. Syr, is there mention made of ſo many Churches in the ſcripture?

Gaſc. Yea.

Dry. I pray you, where finde you this worde (Churche) written in the ſcripture?

Gaſc. It is written in the new Teſtament.

Dry. I pray you ſir, ſhew the place where it is written.

Gaſc. I can not tel the place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired hym to looke in his Teſtament. Then he fombled & ſought about him for one: but at that tyme he had none, and that he knew wel enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At the laſt ſhee ſaid: Haue ye none here ſir?

Gaſ. No.

Dry. I thought ſo much in deed, that ye were litle acquainted withall. Surely you be a good Doctor. You ſay, you ſit here to iudge accordyng to the lawe, and howe can you geue iudgement, and haue not the booke of the law with you? At which wordes Gaſcoyne was out of countenaunce, and aſked her if ſhee had one.

Gaſcoyne little acquainted with the new Teſtament.

Dry. No, ſaid ſhee.

Gaſc. Then ſaid he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Dry. Wel ſir, I had one, but you tooke it from me (as you would take me frõ Chriſt, if you could) & ſince would ye not ſuffer me to haue any booke at al: ſo burning is your charity. But you may wel know (I thank god) that I haue exerciſed the ſame: Els could I not haue anſwered you (to Gods glory be it ſpoken) as I haue. Thus ſhee put them al to ſilence, that one looked on another, & had not a word to ſpeak.

The Papiſtes put to ſilence by a ſeeple woman.

Dry. Haue you no more to ſay? God be honored. You be not able to reſiſt the ſpirit of God in me a poore womã. I was an honeſt poore mans daughter, neuer brought vp in ẏ vniuerſitie as you haue ben, but I haue driuen ẏ plough before my father many a time (I thank God:) yet notwithſtãding in ẏ defence of gods truth, & in ẏ cauſe of my maſter Chriſt, by his grace I wyl ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you al, in the maintenaunce and defence of the ſame: & if I had a thouſand lyues, it ſhould goe for payment thereof. So the Chancellor roſe vp, and read the ſentence in Latine of condemnation, and committed her to the ſecular power, and ſo went ſhee to priſon again, as ioyful as the byrd of day, prayſing and glorifying the name of God.

Alice Driuer brought vp at her fathers plough.

Spenſer readeth ſentence agaynſt Alice Driuer.

Alexander Gouch Martyr.

AT whiche tyme Alexander Gouch alſo was examined, who was taken with her, as before is ſaid, whoſe examination here after foloweth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the ſacramẽt & other ceremonies of ẏ Popiſh church. And as for ẏ his beliefe was, ẏ Chriſt was aſcended into heauẽ, & there remayneth, & that the ſacrament was the remẽbrance of his death and paſſion, and for refuſing the Maſſe, and the Pope to be the ſupreme head of Chriſtes Church, for theſe cauſes was he condemned, and dyed with Alice Dryuer at Ipſwich, the fourth day of Nouember, whiche was the Monday after al Saintes. 1558. Doctor Myles, Spenſer being Channcellor, they both ending their lyues with earneſt zeale, nothing fearing to ſpeake their conſcience when they were commaunded to the contrary.

The Articles whereupon Gouch was condemned.

The Martyrdome of Gouch and Alice Driuer, at Ipſwich. Anno. 1558. Nouember. 4.

Theſe two godly perſons being come to the place wher the ſtake was ſet, by vij. of the clocke in the mornyng, notwithſtanding they came the ſelfe ſame mornyng from Melton Gayle, which is ſixe myles from Ipſwich, being in their prayers, & ſinging of Pſalmes both of them together, Syr Harry Dowel then being Sheriffe, was very much offended with them, and wylled the Bayliffes of Ipſwich to bid them make an end of their prayers. They knelyng vpon a Broome fagot, one of the Bayliffes, whoſe name was Richard Smart, commaunded them to make an ende, ſaying: On, on, haue done, haue done: make an ende, nayle them to the ſtake: yet they continued in prayer.

Gouch and Alice Driuer brought to the ſtake.

Then Sir Harry ſent one of his men, whoſe name is Richard Coue, that they ſhould make an end.

Then Gouch ſtood vp, and ſaide vnto the Sheriffe: I pray you M. Sheriffe, let vs pray a litle while, for we haue but a litle tyme to lyue here.

The Martyrs not ſuffred to pray.

Then ſaid the Bayliffe: Come of, haue them to the fire.

Then the ſaid Gouch & Alice Driuer ſaid: Why M. Sheriffe and M. Bayliffe, wyl you not ſuffer vs to pray?

Away, ſaid ſir Harry, to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered: Take heede M. Sheriffe. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth ouer your heads.

Then they being tyed to the ſtake, and the yron chayne being put about Alice Driuers necke: O (ſaid ſhee) here is a goodly neckercher: bleſſed be God for it.

Then diuers came and tooke them by the hands as they were bound ſtanding at the ſtake. The Sheriffe cryed, lay handes on them, lay handes on them. With that a great nũber ranne to the ſtake. The Sheriffe ſeeing that, let them al alone: ſo that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a Barbour, a buſie doer about them. Who hauyng then a Freeſe gowne vpon hym, ſold it immediately: ſaying, it ſtunke of heretikes, with other foule wordes moe. After this within three or foure weekes Gods hand was vpon hym, and ſo he dyed very miſerably in Ipſwich.

Bate a raylyng perſecutor.

Example of Gods iudgement vpon perſecutors.

The martyrdome of three which were burned at Bury, for the true teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſte.

ALthough our hiſtory haſteth apace (the Lord be prayſed) to the happy death of Q. Mary, yet ſhe dyed not ſo ſoone but ſome there were burned before, & moe ſhould haue ben burnt ſoone after them, if Gods prouiſion had not preuented her with death. In the number of them which ſuffered the ſame moneth when Queene Mary dyed, were three that were burned at Bury, whoſe names were theſe:

The Martyrdome of 3. good men in Bury.

{ Philip Vmfrey. { Henry Dauid, his
{ Iohn Dauid. } { brother. }

Concernyng the burnyng of theſe three, here is to be noted, that ſir Clement Higham, about a fourtnight before the Queene dyed, did ſue out a writ for the burnyng of theſe three aforeſaid godly and bleſſed martyrs, notwithſtanding that the queene was then knowen to be paſt remedie of her ſickneſſe.

Sir Clement Higham perſecutor.

The trouble and martyrdome of a godly poore woman whiche ſuffered at Exeter.

ALthough in ſuch an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in ſundry quarters of this Realme were put to tormentes of fire in Queene Maryes tyme, it be harde ſo exactly to recite euery particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape vs eyther vnknowen, or omitted: yet I can not paſſe ouer a certaine poore woman, and a ſeely creature, burned vnder the ſaid Queenes raigne, in the Citie of Exeter (whoſe name I haue not yet learned:) who dwellyng ſometyme about Cornewaile, hauing a huſbãd & childrẽ there, much addicted to ẏ ſuperſtitious ſect of Popery:

The ſtory of a poore woman burned at Exceſtor in Queene Maryes tyme.

1558. Noueb.

Huſband againſt the wyfe.

was many times rebuked of them, & driuen to go to church, to their Idols and ceremonies, to ſhrift, to folow the Croſſe in Proceſſion, to geue thankes to God for reſtoring Antichriſt againe into this Realme. &c. Which when her ſpirite could not abide to do, ſhe made her prayer vnto God, calling for helpe and mercy, and ſo at length lying in her bed, about mydnight, ſhe thought there came to her a certaine motion and feeling of ſingular comfort. Wherupon in ſhort ſpace, ſhe beganne to grow in contempt of her huſband and children, and ſo taking nothing from them, but euen as ſhe went, departed from them, ſeeking her liuing by labor and ſpinning as wel as ſhe could, here and there for a tyme. In which tyme notwithſtanding ſhe neuer ceaſed to vtter her mynd, as well as ſhe durſt: howbeit ſhe at that tyme was brought home to her huſband againe. Where at laſt ſhe was accuſed by her neighbours, and ſo brought vp to Exceter, to be preſented to the Biſhop and his Clergie. The name of the Biſhop whiche had her in examination, was Doctour Troubleuile, his Chauncellour (as I gather) was Blackſtone. The chiefeſt matter wherupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was for the Sacrament (whiche they call of the Aultar) and for ſpeaking agaynſt Idolles, as by the declaration of thoſe which were preſent, I vnderſtand, which reporte the talke betwene her and the biſhop on this wiſe.

Her departing from her huſband and returning agayne.

The poore woman ſent vp to Exceſter.

D. Troubleuile B. of Exceſter.

Blackſtone Perſecutors.

Talke betwene the woman and the Byſhop.

Biſhop. Thou fooliſhe woman (quoth the Biſhop) I heare ſay that thou haſt ſpoken certayne wordes of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar, the body of Chriſte. Fye for ſhame. Thou art an vnlearned perſon and a woman: wylt thou meddle with ſuche high matters, whiche all the Doctours of the world can not define? wylt thou talke of ſo hye myſteries? Keepe thy worke, and meddle with that thou haſt to do. It is no womans matters, at cardes and towe to be ſpoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman. My Lord (ſaid ſhe) I truſt your Lordſhip will heare me ſpeake.

Biſh. Yea mary (quoth he) therfore I ſend for thee.

Woman. I am a poore woman & do liue by my handes, getting a peny truely, & of that I get I geue part to the poore.

Biſh. That is wel done. Art thou not a mans wyfe?

And here the Biſhop entred into talke of her huſband.

To whom ſhe anſwered againe, declaring that ſhe had a huſband and children: and had them not. So long as ſhe was at libertie, ſhe refuſed not, neither huſbande, nor children. But now ſtanding here as I do (ſaid ſhe) in þ cauſe of Chriſt & his truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt, or my huſband, I am contented to ſticke only to Chriſt my heauenly ſpouſe, and renounce the other.

The wyfe renouncing her huſband for Chriſtes ſake.

And here ſhe making mention of the wordes of Chriſt: He that leaueth not father or mother, ſiſter or brother, huſband, &c. þ biſhop inferred þ Chriſt ſpake þ of þ holy martyrs, which dyed becauſe they would not do ſacrifiſe to the falſe Gods.

Woman. Sikerly ſir, and I wyll rather dye then I wyll do any worſhip to that fowle Idol, which with your maſſe you make a God.

Biſh. Yea, you callet, wyl you ſay that the ſacrament of the altar is a fowle Idol?

Wom. Yea truly, quoth ſhe: there was neuer ſuch an Idol as your ſacrament is, made of your prieſts, & cōmaunded to be worſhipped of al men, with many fond phantaſies, where Chriſt did cōmaund it to be eaten and drunken in remembraunce of his moſt bleſſed paſſion our redemption.

The Sacrament of the altar made an Idoll.

Biſh. See this pratling woman. Doeſt thou not heare, that Chriſt did ſay ouer the bread: This is my body, & ouer the cup: This is my bloud?

Wom. Yes forſooth, he ſaid ſo, but he meant that it is his body and bloud not carnally, but ſacramentally.

Biſh. Lo, ſhe hath heard pratling among theſe new preachers, or heard ſome peeuiſh booke. Alas poore womā, thou art deceiued.

Wom. No, my Lorde, that I haue learned, was of godly preachers, & of godly bookes which I haue heard read. And if you wyll geue me leaue, I wyll declare a reaſon why I wyl not worſhip the ſacrament.

Reaſons ſhewing why the Sacrament of the Lordes body is not to be worſhipped.

Biſh. Mary ſay on, I am ſure it wyl be goodly geare.

Woman. Truely ſuch geare as I wyl loſe this poore life of myne for.

Biſh. Then you wyl be a martyr, good wyfe.

Woman. In deede if the denying to worſhip that bready God be my martyrdome, I wyl ſuffer it with al my hart.

Biſh. Say thy mynd.

Wom. You muſt beare with me a poore woman, quoth ſhe.

Biſh. So I wyl, quoth he.

Woman. I wyl demaund of you, whether you can denye your Crede, which doth ſay, that Chriſt perpetually doth ſit at the right hand of his father both body & ſoule, vntyl he come againe, or whether he be there in heauen our aduocate & do make prayer for vs vnto God his father. If it be ſo, he is not here in the earth in a peece of bread. If he be not here, & if he do not dwell in temples made with handes, but in heauen, what ſhal we ſeeke hym here? if he did offer his body once for al, why make you a new offring? if with once offring he made all perfect, why do you with a falſe offring make al vnperfect? if he be to be worſhipped in ſpirite and truth, why do you worſhip a peece of bread? if he be eaten & drunken in faith & truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among vs, why do you ſay, you make his body and fleſhe, and ſay it is profitable for body & ſoule? Alas, I am a poore woman: but rather then I would do as you do, I would lyue no longer. I haue ſaid ſir.

Biſh. I promiſe you, you are a iolly Proteſtant. I pray you in what ſchooles haue you ben brought vp?

Wom. I haue vpon the ſondayes viſited the ſermons, and there haue I learned ſuch things, as are ſo fixed in my breſt that death ſhal not ſeparate them.

Biſh. O fooliſh woman, who wyl waſt his breath vpō thee or ſuch as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wenteſt away from thy huſbande? if thou were an honeſt woman, thou wouldeſt not haue left thyne huſband & childrē, and run about the countrey like a fugitiue.

Wom. Syr, I laboured for my liuing: And as my maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one citie, I fled vnto an other.

Biſh. Who perſecuted thee?

Wom. My huſband and my children. For when I would haue hym to leaue Idolatrie, and to worſhip God in heauen, he would not heare me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredome, nor for theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with hym & his, of that foule Idoll the Maſſe. And whereſoeuer I was, as oft as I could, vpon ſondayes and holy dayes, I made excuſes not to go to the popiſh church.

The wyfe perſecuted by huſband and children.

Biſh. Belike then you are a good houſwife, to flee frō your huſband, and alſo from the church.

Wom. My houſwifry is but ſmal: but God geue me grace to go to the true church.

Biſh. The true church: what doeſt thou meane?

Woman. Not your popiſh Church, full of Idolles and abominations, but where three or foure are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church wyl I go as long as I lyue.

Biſh. Belike then you haue a Church of your owne. Wel, let this mad woman be put downe to priſon, vntyl we ſend for her huſband.

Wom. No, I haue but one huſband, which is here already in this citie and in priſon with me, from whom I wyl neuer depart: and ſo their communication for that day brake of. Blackſtone and others perſwaded the Biſhop that ſhe was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wyt (which is no new thing, for the wiſdome of God to appeare fooliſhnes to carnall men of this world) and therfore they conſulted together, that ſhe ſhould haue libertie and goe at large. So the keper of the Biſhops priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinning and carding, and did all other worke as a ſeruant in the ſaid kepers houſe, & went about the citie, when and whither ſhe would, and diuers had delight to talke with her. And euer ſhe continued talking of the ſacrament of the altar. Which, of all thing they coulde leaſt abide. Then was her huſband ſent for, but ſhe refuſed to goe home with hym, with þ blemiſh of the cauſe and Religion, in defence whereof ſhe there ſtood before the Biſhop and the prieſtes.

Then diuers of the Prieſtes had her in handling, perſwading her to leaue her wicked opinion about the Sacrament of the Aultar, the natural body and bloud of our Sauiour Chriſte. But ſhe made them anſweare, that it was nothing but very bread and wyne, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay, that a peece of bread ſhould be turned by a man into the naturall body of Chriſt, which bread doth vade, and Mice oftentymes do eate it, and it doth mould & is burned: And (ſayd ſhe) Gods owne body wyll not be ſo handled, nor kept in priſon, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your God: it ſhall not be myne: for my Sauiour ſitteth on the right hand of God, & doth pray for me. And to make that ſacramental or ſignificatiue bread inſtituted for a remembraunce, the very body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, it is very fooliſhnes and deuiliſh deceit.

Talke betwene the woman and the prieſtes about the Sacrament.

Nowe truely (ſaid they) the deuyl hath deceiued thee.

No (ſaid ſhe) I truſt the liuing God hath opened mine eyes, and cauſed me to vnderſtand the right vſe of the bleſſed ſacrament, which the true church doth vſe, but the falſe church doth abuſe.

Then ſtept forth an old Fryer, and aſked what ſhe ſaid of the holy Pope.

Talke betwene the woman and a Fryer.

I (ſaid ſhee) that hee is Antichriſt and the deuyl.

Then al they laughed.

Nay (ſayde ſhee) you had more nede to weepe then to laugh, & to be ſory that euer you were borne, to be the chapleynes of that whore of Babylon. I defie hym and all his falſhood: and get you away from me: you do but trouble my conſcience. You would haue me folow your doings: I wyl firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh woman (ſayd they) we come to thee for thy profite and ſoules health.

O Lorde God (ſayde ſhee) what profite riſeth by you that teache nothyng but lyes for truth? howe ſaue you ſoules, when you preache nothyng but damnable lyes, and deſtroy ſoules?

How proueſt thou that (ſaid they?)

False doctrine of the Papiſtes reproued.

Do you not damne ſoules (ſayd ſhee) when you teach the people to worſhip Idolles, Stockes, and Stones, the worke of mens handes? and to worſhip a falſe GOD of your owne makyng, of a peece of bread, and teache that the Pope is Gods Vicar, and hath power to forgeue ſinnes? and that there is a Purgatorie, when Gods ſonne hath by his Paſſion purged all? and ſay, you make God and ſacrifice hym, when Chriſtes body was a Sacrifice once for all? Do you not teache the people to number their ſinnes in your eares, and ſay they be damned, if they confeſſe not all: when Gods worde ſaith: Who can number his ſinnes? Do you not promiſe them Trentalles and Dirges, and Maſſes for ſoules, and ſell your prayers for money, and make them bye Pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſhe inuentions of your owne imaginations? Do you not altogether agaynſt God? Do you not teache vs to pray vpon Beades, and to pray vnto Saintes, and ſay they can pray for vs? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray deuyls? Do you not a thouſande more abominations? And yet you ſay, you come for my profit, & to ſaue my ſoule. No, no, one hath ſaued me. Farewell you with your ſaluation. Muche other talke there was betweene her and them, which here were too tedious to be expreſſed.

In the meane tyme durying this her monethes libertie graunted to her by the Biſhop, whiche we ſpake of before, it happened that ſhee entryng in ſaint Peters Church, beheld there a cunnyng Dutchman how he made newe noſes to certayne fine Images whiche were diſfigured in kyng Edwardes tyme: What a madde man art thou (ſaid ſhee) to make them new noſes, which within a few dayes ſhal al loſe their heades. The Dutchman accuſed her, and layde it hard to her charge. And ſhee ſaid to hym: Thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy Images. He called her whore. Nay (ſaid ſhee) thy Images are whores, and thou art a whore hunter: for hath not GOD ſay: you go a whoring after ſtraunge Gods, figures of your owne makyng? and thou art one of them. Then was ſhee ſent for, and clapped faſt: and from that tyme ſhee had no more libertie.

The reuolting of one Daniell a miniſter, from the Goſpell to Popery in Q. Maryes tyme.

During the tyme of her impriſonment, diuers reſorted to her, to viſit her, ſome ſent of the Biſhop, ſome of their owne voluntary wyll: amongeſt whō was one Daniell a great doer and preacher ſumetymes of the Goſpell, by the dayes of Kyng Edward, in thoſe partes of Cornewall and Deuonſhyre, whom after that ſhee perceyued by his owne confeſſion, to haue reuolted from that whiche he preached before, through the greuous impriſonmentes (as he ſayde) and feare of perſecution, which he partly had ſuſteyned by the cruell Juſtices in thoſe parties, earneſtly ſhee exhorted hym to repent with Peter, and to be more conſtant in his profeſſion.

Moreouer, there reſorted to her a certaine worthy gentlewoman, the wyfe of one Walter Rauley, a woman of noble wyt, and of a good & godly opinion, came to the priſon & talked with her: ſhee ſaid her creede to the gentlewoman, & when ſhee came to the article: He aſcended, there ſhee ſtayed, and bade the Gentlewoman to ſeeke his bleſſed bodye in heauen, not in earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with handes, & that ſacrament to be nothing els but a remembraunce of his bleſſed paſſion, & yet (ſaid ſhee) as they now vſe it, it is but an Idol & farre wide from any remembraunce of Chriſtes body: which (ſaid ſhee) wyl not long continue, & ſo take it, good maiſtreſſe. So that as ſoone as ſhee came home to her huſband, ſhee declared to hym, that in her life ſhee neuer heard a woman (of ſuch ſimplicitie to ſee to) talke ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly: in ſo much that if God were not with her, ſhee could not ſpeake ſuch things: to the which I am not able to anſweare her (ſaid ſhee) who can reade, and ſhee can not.

William and John Kede, two godly brethren.

Alſo there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not onely brethren in the fleſhe, but alſo in the truth, and men in that Countrey of great credite, whoſe father Robert Kede, all his lyfe ſuffered nothyng but trouble for the Goſpell. Theſe two good and Chriſtian brethren were preſent with her, both in the Hal and alſo at the Priſon, & (as they reported) they neuer heard the like woman: of ſo godly talke, ſo faithfull, or ſo conſtant, and as godly exhortations ſhee gaue them.

The conſtancie of this woman many wayes tryed.

Thus this good matrone, the very ſeruaunt and handmayd of Chriſte, was by many wayes tryed, both by harde priſonment, threatnynges, tauntes, and ſtormes, called an Anabaptiſt, a madde woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runnagate. Shee was proued by libertie to goe whyther ſhee woulde: ſhee was tryed by flatterie, with many fayre promiſes: ſhee was tryed with her huſbande, her goodes and children, but nothyng could preuayle: her hart was fixed, ſhee had caſt her anker, vtterly contemnyng this wicked world: A rare enſample of conſtancie to all profeſſors of Chriſtes holy Goſpel.

Gregory Baſſet a rayling Papiſt.

In yͤ Byll of my Information, it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhee was of ſuche ſimplicitie and without learnyng, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but ſhee would tell you the Chapter: yea, ſhee woulde recite to you the names of all the bookes of the Bible. For which cauſe one Gregory Baſſet a rancke Papiſt, ſaid, ſhee was out of her wyt, and talked of the Scripture, as a dogge rangeth farre of from his maiſter when he walketh in the fieldes, or as a ſtolen ſheepe out of his maiſters handes, ſhee wiſt not whereat, as all heretikes do, with many other ſuch tauntes, whiche ſhee vtterly defied. Whereby as almighty God is highly to be prayſed, workyng ſo mightily in ſuch a weake veſſel: ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature, haue alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe: when as we ſee this poore woman, how manfully ſhee went through with ſuche conſtancie and pacience.

The conſtant pacience in this woman and Martyr to be noted.

At the laſt, when they perceyued her to be paſt remedie, and had conſumed al their threatnynges, that by neyther priſonmēt nor libertie, by menaces nor flattery, they coulde bryng her to ſing any other ſong, nor wynne her to their vanities and ſuperſtitious doynges, then they cryed out, An Anabaptiſt, an Anabaptiſt. Then at a day they brought her from the Biſhops priſon to the Guildhal, and after that deliuered her to the temporall power, accordyng to their cuſtome, where ſhee was by the Gentlemen of the countrey exhorted yet to cal for grace, and to leaue her fond opinions: And goe home to thy huſbande (ſayde they:) thou art an vnlearned woman, thou art not able to aunſweare to ſuche high matters.

The woman brought from the Byſhops priſon to the Guild Hall. Exhortations to haue her recant.

I am not, ſaid ſhee, yet with my death I am content to be a witnes of Chriſtes death: and I praye you make no longer delay with me: my hart is fixed, I wyl neuer otherwiſe ſay, nor turne to their ſuperſtitious doinges.

Then the biſhop ſaid, the deuyl dyd leade her.

No, my Lord (ſaid ſhee) it is the ſpirite of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me. Then was there a great ſhout and laughing among the prieſtes and other.

The conſtant ſtanding of this woman. Blaſphemy of the Byſhop. How God reueled hys truth vnto her.

During yͤ tyme yͭ this good poore womā was thus vnder theſe prieſtes handes, amongeſt many other baytings & ſore conflictes which ſhee ſuſteyned by them, here is moreouer not to be forgotten, howe that M. Blaxton aforeſaid, being treaſurer of the Church, had a concubine which ſundry tymes reſorted to hym, with other of his goſſips: ſo that alwayes when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, there to make his minion with the reſt of the cōpany ſome myrth, he examinyng her with ſuch mockyng & gyring, deriding the truth, that it would haue vexed any Chriſtian hart to haue ſeene it. Then when he had long vſed his fooliſhnes in this ſort, and had ſported hym ſelfe enough in deriding this Chriſtian martyr: in the end he ſent her to priſon againe, and there kept her very miſerably, ſaying that ſometymes he would ſend for her, when his foreſaid geſt came to hym, to vſe with her his accuſtomed folly alſo. But in fine, theſe vile wretches (after many combates and ſcoffing perſwaſions) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouſe, at length condemned her, and deliuered her ouer to the ſecular power.

Judgement geuen againſt this good woman. Shee thanketh God for her iudgement geuen.

Then the Judgement beyng geuen and read, whiche was, that ſhee ſhould go to the place whence ſhee came, and frō thence to be led to yͤ place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames tyl ſhee ſhould be conſumed: ſhee lifted vp her voyce and thanked God, ſaying: I thanke thee my lord my God, this day haue I found yͭ which I haue lōg ſought. But ſuch outcries as there were againe, & ſuch mockinges were neuer ſeene vpon a poore ſelly woman: Al which ſhee moſt paciently tooke. And yet this fauour they pretended after her iudgement, that her lyfe ſhould be ſpared, if ſhee would turne & recant. Nay, that wil I not (ſaid ſhee:) God forbyd that I ſhoulde loſe the lyfe eternall for this carnal and ſhort lyfe. I wyl neuer turne from my heauenly huſband, to my earthly huſband: from the felowſhip of Angels, to mortal children: And if my huſband and chyl-

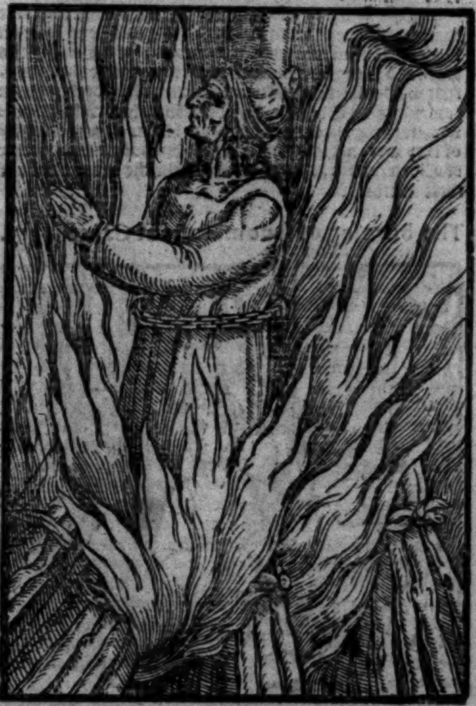
Agayne ſhee denyeth to recant.

The woman deliuered to the Shrieffe, and led to the place of execution.

drẽ be faithfull, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my ſiſter, my brother, my kinſman, God is my frend moſt faithfull.

Then was ſhee deliuered to the Sheriffe, & innumerable people beholdyng her, ſhee was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walles of Exeter, called Sothenhey, where againe theſe ſuperſtitious prieſtes aſſaulted her: and ſhee prayed them to haue no more talke with her, but cryed ſtyl, God be mercyful to me a ſinner, God be mercyfull to me a ſinner. And ſo whyles they were tying her to the ſtake, thus ſtyl ſhee cryed, and would geue no anſwer to them, but with much pacience toke her cruell death, and was with the flames and fire conſumed: and ſo ended this mortal lyfe as conſtant a woman in the faith of Chriſt, as euer was vpon the earth. Shee was as ſimple a woman to ſee to as any man might behold: of a very litle & ſhort ſtature, ſomwhat thicke, about. liiij. yeares of age. Shee had a chearfull countenance, ſo liuely, as though ſhee had ben prepared for that day of her mariage to meete the Lambe: moſt pacient of her wordes & anſweres, ſober in apparell, meate & drinke, and would neuer be idle: a great comfort to as many as would talke with her: good to the poore, and in her trouble, money, ſhee ſaid, ſhee would take none: for ſhee ſayd, I am going to a citie where money beareth no maiſtry: whiles I am here, God hath promiſed to feede me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whoſe cõſtancie God be euerlaſtingly prayſed. Amen.

¶ The cruel burnyng of a woman at Exeter.



The pacient Martyrdome of a poore woman at Exeter, being one Preſtes wyfe.

Touching the name of this woman (as I haue nowe learned) ſhee was the wife of one called Preſt, dwelling in the Dioces of Exeter, not farre from Launceſton.

¶ The perſecution and martyrdome of three godly men burnt at Briſtow, about the latter yeares of Queene Maryes raigne.

The ſtory of iij. Martyrs which ſuffred at Briſtow.

IN writing of the bleſſed Saintes, which ſuffered in the bloudy dayes of Queene Mary, I had almoſt ouerpaſſed the names and ſtory of three godly Martyrs, which with their bloud gaue teſtimonie likewiſe to the goſpel of Chriſt, beyng condemned and burnt in the towne of Briſtow. The names of whom were theſe:

{ Richard Sharpe. } { Thomas Hale. }
{ Thomas Benion. }

Martyrs. Rich Sharpe Martyr. M. Dalby Chauncellor of Briſtow, perſecutor.

Firſte, Richarde Sharpe weauer, of Briſtowe, was brought the .ix. day of March. an. 1556. before M. Dalbye Chauncellor of the towne or citie of Briſtowe, and after examination concerning the ſacrament of the altar, was perſwaded by the ſayd Dalby & others, to recant, and the .xxix. of the ſame moneth was enioyned to make his recantation before the pariſhoners in his pariſh Church. Which when he had done, he fealt in his conſcience ſuch a tormenting hel, that he was not able quietly to worke in his occupation, but decayed and chaunged, both in colour & liking of his body. Who ſhortly after vpon a Sonday came into his pariſh church, called Temple, & after high Maſſe, came to yͤ quere doore, & ſaid with a loud voyce: Neighbors, beare me recorde that yonder Idol, (and poynted to the altar) is the greateſt & moſt abominable that euer was: and I am ſory that euer I denyed my Lord God. Then the Conſtables were commaunded to apprehend hym: but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffred hym to go out of the Church. After by night he was apprehended & caried to Newgate, and ſhortly after, he was brought before the ſaid Chancellor, denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the body & bloud of Chriſt, & ſaid, it was an Idol, & therfore was condẽned to be burnt by the ſaid Dalby. He was burnt the .7. of May. 1557. and dyed godly, paciently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the articles of our faith.

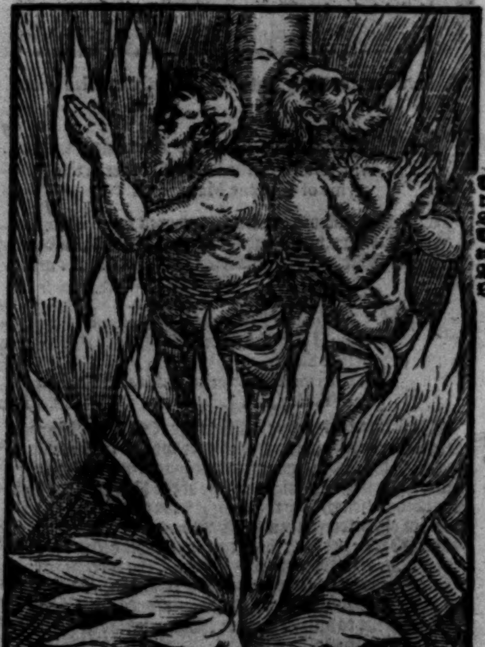
Richard Sharpe condemned.

¶ Thomas Hale, Martyr.

Thomas Hale, Martyr.

THe Thurſday in the night, before Eaſter. 1557. came one M. Dauid Herrys Alderman, & John Stone, to the houſe of one Thomas Hale, a Shoomaker, of Briſtow, and cauſed hym to riſe out of his bed, & brought hym forth of his dore. To whõ yͤ ſaid Tho. Hale ſaid: you haue ſought my bloud theſe two yeres, & now much good do it you with it. Who being committed to the watchmen, was caried to Newgate, the .24. of April, the yere aforeſaid, was brought before M. Dalby the Chãcellor, cõmitted by hym to priſon, & after by hym condemned to be burnt, for ſaying the ſacrament of the altar to be an Idoll. He was burned the .7. of May with the foreſaid Rich. Sharpe, and godly, patiently, and conſtantly embracing the fire with his armes.

¶ Two godly martyrs burned at Briſtow.



The Martyrdome of Richard Sharpe, and Thomas Hale at Briſtow. Anno. 1557. May. 7.

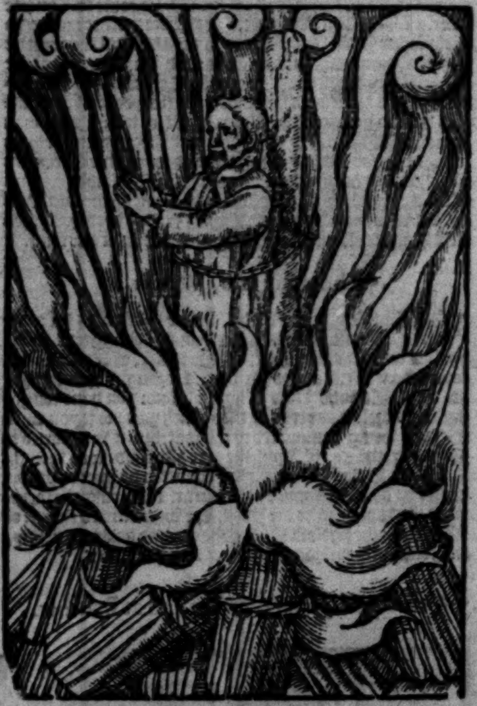
Richard Sharpe and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound backe to backe.

¶ Thomas Benion.

Thomas Benion, Martyr.

THomas Benion a Weauer, at the commaundement of the Commiſſioners, was brought by a Conſtable, the thirteenth day of Auguſt. 1557. before Maiſter Dalby, Chauncellour of Briſtowe, who committed hym to priſon for ſaying there was nothyng but bread in the Sacrament as they vſed it. Wherefore, the twentie day of the ſaid Auguſt he was condemned to be burnt by the ſayde Dalby, for denying fiue of their Sacramentes, and affirming two, that is: the Sacrament of the bodye and bloud of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme. He was burnt the ſeuen and twentie of the ſayde moneth and yeare, and dyed godly, conſtantly and paciently, with confeſſing the articles of our chriſtian faith.

¶ Thomas Benion burned at Briſtowe.



The martyrdome of Thomas Benion at Briſtow. Anno. 1557. Auguſt. 27.

¶ The Martyrdome of fyue conſtant Chriſtians, which ſuffered the laſt of all other in the tyme of Queene Mary.

Nouember. 10.

The laſt that ſuffered in Queene Maryes tyme, were fiue at Canterbury, burned about ſixe dayes before the death of Queene Marye, whoſe names folowe here vnder written.

Martyrs.

- John Corneford, of Wortham.
- Chriſtopher Browne, of Maydſtone.
- John Herſt, of Aſhford.
- Alyce Snoth.
- Katherine Knight, otherwiſe called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

V. laſt Martyrs that were burned in Queene Maries tyme.

Theſe fiue, to cloſe vp the final rage of Queene Maryes perſecution, for the teſtimonie of that word, for whiche ſo many had dyed before, gaue vp their lyues, manfully and paciently ſuffering the violent malice of the Papiſtes. Which Papiſtes although they then might haue eyther wel ſpared them, or els deferred their death, knowing of the ſicknes of queene Mary: yet ſuch was the implacable deſpite of that generation, that ſome there be that ſay, the Archdeacon of Canterbury the ſame tyme being at London, and vnderſtandyng the daunger of the Queene, incontinently made al poſt haſt home to diſpatche theſe, whom before he had then in his cruel cuſtodie.

Their Articles why they were condemned.

The matter why they were iudged to the fire, was for beleuyng the body not to be in the ſacramēt of the altar, vnleſſe it be receyued, ſaying moreouer that we receyue an other thyng alſo beſide Chriſtes body, which we ſee, and is a temporal thyng, accordyng to S. Paul: The things that be ſeene, be temporal. &c.

Item, for confeſſing that an euyll man doth not receyue Chriſtes body: Becauſe no man hath the ſonne, except it be geuen hym of the father.

Item, that it is Idolatry to creepe to the croſſe, and S. John forbiddyng it, ſayth, Beware of Images.

Item, for cōfeſſing that we ſhould not pray to our Lady and other Saintes, becauſe they be not omnipotent.

For theſe and ſuche other Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine, were theſe fiue cōmitted to the fire. Agaynſt whom when the ſentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the maner of the papiſtes, one of them, John Cornford by name, ſtyrred with a vehemēt ſpirit of the zeale of God, proceedyng in a more true excommunication againſt the papiſtes, in the name of them all, pronounced ſentence agaynſt them, in theſe wordes as folow.

An example of Gods worke to be noted.

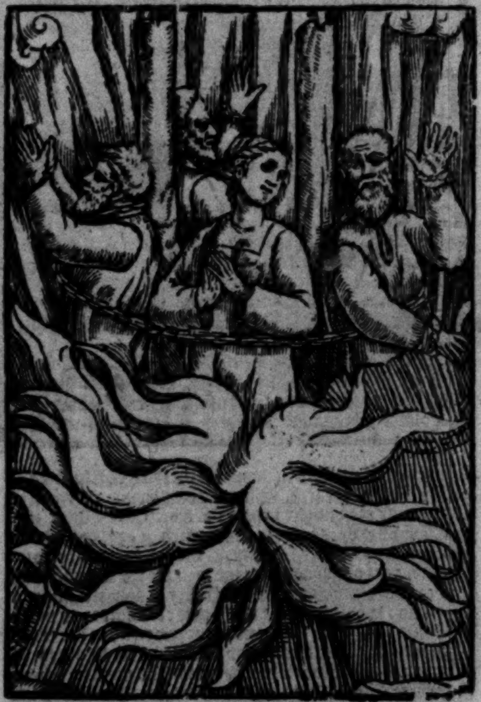
In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the ſonne of the moſt mighty God, and by the power of his holy ſpirite, & the authoritie of his holy Catholike & Apoſtolike church, we do geue here into the handes of Satan, to be deſtroyed, the bodyes of all thoſe blaſphemers and heretikes, that do maintayne any error againſt his moſt holy word, or do condemne his moſte holy truth for hereſie, to the maintenaunce of any falſe Churche or fayned Religion, ſo that by this thy iuſte iudgement, O moſt mighty God, agaynſt thy aduerſaryes, thy true Religion may be knowen, to thy great glorye, and our comfort, and to the edifying of al our nation. Good Lord ſo be it, Amen.

Sentence of condemnation pronounced by John Cornford againſt the Papiſtes.

This ſentence of excommunication beyng the ſame tyme openly pronounced and regiſtred, proceedyng ſo, as it ſeemeth from an inwarde fayth and ſharpe zeale to Gods truth and Religion, toke ſuche effecte agaynſte the enimie, that within ſixe dayes after, Queene Mary dyed, and the tyrannie of all Engliſhe Papiſtes with her. Albeit, notwithſtanding the ſicknes and death of that Queene, whereof they were not ignoraunt, yet the Archdeacon, with other of Canterburye, thought to diſpatche the martyrdome of theſe men before.

The cruell dealing of M. Harpeſfield the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

The burning of fyue martyrs at Canterbury.



The Martyrdome of iij. men and ij. women at Canterbury. Anno. 1558. Nouemb. 10.

In the which fact, the tyrannie of this Archdeacon ſeemeth to exceede the crueltie of Boner: who notwithſtandyng he had certayne the ſame tyme vnder his cuſtodye, yet he was not ſo importune in halyng them to the fire, as appeareth by Father Liuyng and his wyfe, and diuers other, who being the ſame tyme vnder the cuſtody and daunger of Boner, deliuered by the death of Queene Mary, remayne yet ſome of them aliue.

Theſe godly martyrs in their prayers which they made before their martyrdome, deſired god that their bloud might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed, and ſo it was.

This Katherine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley nowe dwellyng in Maydſtone, whiche Robert was in trouble all Queene Maryes tyme. To whom his Mother commyng to viſite hym, aſked hym howe he tooke this place of Scripture (whiche ſhee had ſeene, not by readyng of the Scripture, for ſhee had yet in manner no taſte of Religion, but had founde it by chaunce in a booke of prayers: I wyll poure out my ſpirite vpon all fleſhe, and your ſonnes and your daughters ſhall propheſie: your olde men ſhal dreame dreames, and your young men ſhal ſee viſions. And alſo vpon the ſeruantes, and vpon the maydes in thoſe

Ioell. 2.

those dayes will I poure my ſpirite, &c. Whiche place after that he had expounded to her, ſhe begon to take hold on the Goſpell, growyng more and more in zeale and loue thereof, and ſo continued vnto her Martyrdome.

A note of Alice Snoth.

Among ſuch young women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certaine mayde, and ſuppoſed to be this Alyce Snoth here in this ſtory mentioned, or els to be Agnes Snoth aboue ſtoried, pag. 1751. (for they were both burned) that when ſhe was brought to bee executed, ſhe beyng at the ſtake, called for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Iuſtice hearyng her, ſent for thē, but they durſt not come. Notwithſtandyng the Iuſtice willed the meſſenger to go agayne, and to ſhew them that they ſhould incurre no daunger therfore.

Hereby M. Boner may ſee, that the Martyrs dyed in the ſame fayth wherin they were baptiſed by their Godfathers, and Godmothers.

Then they hearyng that, came to know the matter of their ſendyng for. When the mayde ſaw them, ſhe aſked them what they had promiſed for her: and ſo ſhe immediatly rehearſed her fayth, and the commaundementes of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promiſed in her behalfe: and they ſayd no.

Then ſayd ſhe: I dye a Chriſtian woman: beare witnes of me, and ſo, cruelly in fire was ſhe conſumed, and gaue ioyfully her lyfe vppe for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes Goſpell, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of ẏ godly, & alſo to the ſtoppyng of the ſclaunderous mouthes of ſuch, as falſely doe quarell agaynſt theſe faythfull Martyrs, for goyng from that Religion wherein by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were firſt Baptiſed.

The ſtory and condemnation of Iohn Hunt and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but by the death of Queene Mary eſcaped the fire.

The ſtory of Iohn Hunt, and Richard White.

BEſides theſe Martyrs aboue named, diuers there were in diuers other places of the Realme impriſoned, whereof ſome were but newly taken and not yet examined, ſome begon to be examined, but were not yet condemned: certaine both examined and cōdemned, but for lacke of the writ eſcaped.

Other there were alſo, both condemned, and the writ alſo was brought downe for their burnyng, and yet by the death of the Chauncellour, the Byſhop, and of Queene Mary, happenyng together about one tyme, they moſt happely and marueilouſly were preſerued and lyued many yeares after. In the number of whom was one Iohn Hunt and Richard White impriſoned at Saliſbury. Touchyng whiche hiſtory, ſomethyng here is to be ſhewed.

Firſt theſe two good men and faythfull ſeruauntes of the Lord, aboue named, to witte, Iohn Hunt, and Richard White had remained long tyme in priſon at Saliſbury, and other places there about, the ſpace of two yeares and more. Duryng whiche tyme, ofttymes they were called to examination, and manifold wayes were impugned by the Byſhoppe, and the Prieſtes. All whoſe examinations, as I thought not much needefull here to proſecute or to ſearche out, for the length of the volume: ſo neither agayne did I thinke it good to leaue no memory at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſſe, namely of the examination of Rich. White before the Byſhop of Saliſbury, the Byſhop of Gloceſter, with the Chauncellour and other Prieſtes, not vnworthy perchaunce to be rehearſed.

The examination of Richard White, before the Byſhop of Saliſbury in his chamber in Saliſbury, the 26. day of Aprill. an. 1557.

Examination of Richard White.

THe Byſhoppe of Saliſbury at that tyme was Doctour Capon. The Byſhop of Gloceſter was Doctour Brokes. Theſe with Doctour Geffrey ẏ Chaūcellour of Saliſbury, and a great number of Prieſts ſittyng in iudgement, Richard White was brought before them. With whō firſt the Byſhop of Gloceſter, whiche had the examination of him, beginneth thus:

Byſhop Brokes. Is this the priſoner?

The Chauncellour. Yea my Lord.

Brokes. Frend, wherfore cameſt thou hether?

White. My Lord I truſt to know the cauſe, for the law ſaith: in ẏ mouth of two or three witneſſes things muſt ſtād.

Doctour Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy faith when thou cameſt hether?

White. No my Lord, you did not examine me, but commaunded me to the Lollardes Tower, and that no man ſhould ſpeake with me. And now I do require myne accuſer.

The Mayor of Marlborow perſecutor.

Then the Regiſter ſayd: the Maior of Marlborow did apprehend you for wordes that you ſpake there, and for that I commaunded you to be conueyed hether to priſon.

White. You had the examination of me in Marlborow. Say you what I haue ſayd, and I will aunſwere you.

Geffery. Thou ſhalt confeſſe thy fayth ere thou depart, & therfore ſay thy minde freely, and be not aſhamed ſo to do.

White. I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God to ſaluation vnto all that beleue, and S. Peter ſayth: If any man do aſke the a reaſon of the hope that is in the, make him a direct aunſwere and that with mekenes. Who ſhall haue the examination of me?

Chaunc. My Lord of Gloceſter ſhall haue the examination of thee.

White. My Lorde, will you take the paynes to wet your coate in my blood? be not guiltye therof: I warne you before hand.

Brokes. I will do nothyng to the contrary to our law.

White. My Lorde, what is it that you doe requeſt at my handes?

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Brokes. I will appoſe thee vpon certayne articles, & principally vpon the ſacrament of the alter? Howe doeſt thou beleue of the bleſſed Sacrament of the alter? Beleueſt thou not the reall, carnall, and corporall preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, euen the very ſame Chriſt that was borne of the virgine Mary, that was hanged on the Croſſe, and that ſuffered for our ſinnes? (and at theſe wordes they al put of their cappes and bowed their bodies.)

White. My Lord what is a Sacrament.

Brokes. It is the thyng it ſelfe the whiche it repreſenteth.

White. My Lord that can not be, for he that repreſenteth a Prince can not be the Prince hym ſelfe.

Brokes. How many Sacramentes findeſt thou in the ſcriptures called by the name of Sacramentes?

White. I finde ij. Sacramentes in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of the ſacramentes, But I thinke S. Auguſtine gaue them the firſt name of Sacramentes.

The name of Sacramentes not found in the Scriptures.

Brokes. Then thou findeſt not that worde Sacrament in the Scriptures.

White. No my Lord.

Brokes. Did not Chriſt ſay: This is my body? and are not his wordes true?

How the Papiſtes play wyth ſcriptures, as the deuill did when he tempted Chriſt.

White. I am ſure the wordes are true, but you play by me as the deuill dyd by Chriſt, for he ſayd, If thou be. &c. Mat. 4. For it is. &c. Pſal. 91. But the wordes that followed after he cleane left out, whiche are theſe: Thou ſhalt walke vpō the Liō & Aſpe. &c. Theſe wordes the deuill left out becauſe they were ſpoken agaynſt hym ſelfe: and euen ſo doe you recite the Scriptures.

Brokes. Declare thy fayth vpon the Sacrament.

Whites opinion of the ſacrament.

White. Chriſt and his Sacramentes are like, becauſe of the natures, for in Chriſt are ij. natures, a diuine and a humane nature: ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, there be two natures: the whiche I diuide into ij. partes, that is, externall and internall. The externall part is the element of bread and wyne, accordyng to the ſayng of S. Auguſtin. The internal part is the inuiſible grace whiche by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an externall receauyng of ẏ ſame Sacramēt, & an internall. The externall is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the eare. The internall is the holy Ghoſt in the hart, whiche worketh in me fayth, whereby I apprehend all the merites of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly vnto my ſaluation. If this be truth beleue it, & if it be not, reproue it.

Double receauing of the Sacrament, externall and internall.

Doct. Hoſkins. This is Oecolampadius doctrine, and he hath taught it to the people.

Brokes. Doeſt thou not beleue that after the wordes of cōſecration there is the naturall preſence of Chriſtes body?

White. My Lord, I will aunſwere you, if you will aunſwere me to one queſtion. Is not this article of our beliefe true: He ſitteth at the right hād of God the father almighty? if he be come from thence to iudgement, ſay ſo.

A Papiſh Warrant for Chriſtes body both in heauen and in earth at one tyme.

Brokes. No. But if thou wilt beleue the Scriptures, I will proue to thee that Chriſt was both in heauen and in earth at one tyme.

White. As he is God, he is in al places: but as for his mā hode, he is but in one place.

Brokes. S. Paul, ſayth. 1. Cor. 15. Laſt of all he was ſeene of me. &c. Here S. Paule ſayth he ſawe Chriſt, and S. Paul was not in heauen.

How S. Paul ſaw Chriſt.
Supra. Pſal. 54.

White. S. Pauls chief purpoſe was by this place to proue the reſurrection. But how do you proue that Chriſt when he appeared to S. Paule, was not ſtill in heauen: like as he was ſene of Steuen, ſittyng at the right hand of God? S. Auguſtine ſayth the head that was in heauen dyd cry for the body and members whiche were on the earth & ſayd Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? And was not Paul taken vp into the third heauen where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth. Cor. 15. For there hee doth but onely ſay that he ſaw Chriſt, but concernyng the place, he ſpeaketh nothyng. Wherefore thys place of ſcripture proueth not that Chriſt was both in heauen and earth at one time.

Brokes. I told you before he would not beleue me. Here

M. Brokes leaueth the ſcripture and prooueth the Sacrament by other matter.

Q. Mary. An. 1558. Nouember.

be three opinions, the Lutherians, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholickes. If you the Oecolampadians haue the truth: then the Lutherians and we the Catholickes be out of the way. If the Lutherians haue the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholickes be out of the way. But if we the Catholickes haue the truth, as we haue in deede, then the Lutherians and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way: as ye are in deede, for the Lutherians do cal you heretickes.

White. My Lord, ye haue troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brokes. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remoue him from his errour? Away with him to the Lollardes Tower, and diſpatch him as ſoone as ye can.

This was the effect of my firſt examination. More examinations I had after this, whiche I haue no tyme now to write out.

The trembling and ſhaking of Blackſton at the examination of Rich. White.

Amongeſt many other examinations of the foreſayd Richard White, at diuers and ſondry tymes ſuſteined, it happened one tyme, that Doctour Blackſton Chauncellour of Exeter ſat vpon him, with diuers other, who alledgyng certaine Doctours, as Chryſoſtome, Cyprian, Tertullian, agaynſt the ſayd Richard, and beyng reproued by him for his falſe patchyng of the Doctours, fell in ſuch a quakyng, and ſhakyng (his conſcience belike remorſing him) that he was fayne, ſtowpyng downe, to lay both his handes vppon his knees, to ſtay his body from tremblyng.

Condemnation of John Hunt and Rich. White.

Then the ſayd John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captiuitie, at length were called for and brought before Doctour Geffrey the Byſhops Chaūcellour, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high Sheriffe at that preſent was one named Syr Anthony Hungerford, who beyng then at the Seſſions, was there charged with theſe two cōdemned perſons, with other malefactours there condemned likewiſe the ſame tyme, to ſee the execution of death miniſtred vnto them.

The Chriſtien zeale of M. Clifford.

In the mean time Maiſter Clifford of Boſcon in Wiltſhyre, ſonne in law to the ſayd Syr Anthony Hungerford the Sheriffe, commeth to his father, exhortyng him and coūſellyng him earneſtly in no caſe to medle with the death of theſe two innocent perſons: and if the Chauncellour and Prieſtes would needes be inſtaunt vpon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the writte to be ſent downe De comburendo, for his diſcharge.

Syr Anthony Hungerford hearyng this, and vnderſtandyng Juſtice Browne to be in the Towne the ſame time, wēt to him to aſke his aduiſe & coūſel in ẏ matter: who told him, that without the writte ſent downe from the ſuperiour powers, he could not be diſcharged: and if the writte were ſent, then he muſt by the law do his charge.

Example of Chriſtian pietye in a Shrieffe to be noted.

The Sheriffe vnderſtandyng by Juſtice Browne how farre he might go by the law, and hauyng at that tyme no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after takyng his horſe departed.

The Chauncellour all this while maruelyng what the Sheriffe ment, and yet diſdaynyng to go vnto him but lokyng rather the other ſhould haue come firſt to him, at laſt hearyng that he was ridden, taketh his horſe and rydeth after him: who at length ouertakyng the ſayd Sheriffe, declareth vnto him, how he had committed certaine condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe duety had bene to haue ſene execution done vpon the ſame: which for that he had not done, the matter he ſayd, was great, and therefore willed him to looke well vnto it how he would aunſwere the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

A note to be obſerued concernyng the Papiſtes dealynges.

The Papiſtes charged with manifeſt diſſimulation.

Wherein note, gentle Reader, by the way, the cloſe and couert hypocriſie of the Papiſtes in their dealynges. Who in the forme and ſtile of their owne ſentence condemnatory, pretende a petition vnto the ſecular power, In viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, vt iuris rigor mitigetur, atque vt parcatur vitæ, That is, That the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their lyfe may be ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their owne doynges and dealynges, when this Chaūcellour (as ye ſee) is not onely contented to geue Sentence agaynſt them, but alſo hunteth here after the Officer, not ſufferyng him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of men, goyng and doyng contrary to their owne wordes and profeſſion? But let vs returne to our matter agayne.

The Sheriffe hearyng the Chaūcellours wordes, and ſeyng him ſo vrgyng vppon him, told hym agayne that he was no babe, whiche now was to be taught of him. If he had any writte to warrant and diſcharge him in burnyng thoſe men, then he knew what he had to doe. Why, ſayth the Chauncellour, did not I geue you a writte, with my hand and viij. moe of the Cloſe ſet vnto the ſame? Well quoth the Sheriffe, that is no ſufficient diſcharge to me, and therefore as I told you, if ye haue a ſufficient writ and warrant from the ſuperiour powers, I knowe then what I haue to do in my office: otherwiſe, if you haue no other writ but that, I tel you, I will neither burn thē for you nor none of you al. &c.

Burnyng without a ſufficient Writte.

Where note agayne (good Reader) howe by thys it may be thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poore Saintes and Martyrs of God, ſuche as had bene burned at Saliſbury before, were burned belyke without any authoriſed or ſufficient writ from the ſuperiours, but onely vpon the information, of the Chauncellour and of the Cloſe, through the vncircumſpect negligence of the Sheriffes, whiche ſhoulde haue looked more ſubſtantially vpon the matter. But thys I leaue and referre vnto the Magiſtrates. Let vs returne to the ſtory agayne.

Doct. Geffrey the Chauncellour thus ſent away from the Sheriffe, went home, and there fel ſicke vpon the ſame (for anger belike) as they ſignified vnto mee, whiche were the parties them ſelues, both godly and graue perſōs, who were then condemned, the one of them, whiche is Richard White beyng yet aliue.

Rich. White now Vicar of Malbrough in Wilſhire.

M. Michell vnder Shrieffe burneth the writte.

The vnder Sheriffe to this Sir Antony Hungerford aboue named, was one M. Michell, likewiſe a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burne the aboue named Richard White, & John Hunt, but the vnder Sheriffe receauyng the ſayd writ, ſaid I will not be guilty, (quoth he) of theſe mens bloude, and immediatly burnt the writyng, and departed his way. Within iiij. dayes after the Chauncellour dyed. Concernyng whoſe death this commeth by the way to be noted, that theſe ij. foreſayd John Hunt and Richard White beyng the ſame tyme in a lowe and darke Dungeon, beyng Saterday, toward euening (accordyng to theyr accuſtomed maner) fell to euenyng prayer. Who kneelyng there together, as they ſhould begin theyr prayer, ſodenly fel both to ſuch a ſtrange weepyng and tendernes of hart (but how they could not tel) that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace bruſtyng out in teares. After that night was paſt, & the mornyng come, the firſt word they hard, was, that the Chauncellour their great enemy was dead. The tyme of whoſe death they found to be the ſame houre, when as they fell in ſuch a ſodeine weepyng. The Lorde in all his holy workes be prayſed, Amen, Thus much cōcernyng ẏ death of that wicked Chauncellour.

Gods workinges is be noted, concernyng the death of D. Geffrey Chaūcellour of Saliſbury.

This Richard White, and the ſayd John Hunt, after the death of the Chauncellour, the Byſhop alſo beyng dead a litle before, continued ſtill in priſon til the happy commyng in of Queene Elizabeth: and ſo were ſet at libertie.

¶ The Martyrdome of a young lad of eight yeares olde, ſcourged to death in Byſhop Boners houſe at London.

The ſtory of John Fetty, and Martyrdome of hys childe.

If bloudy tormentes and cruell death of a poore innocent ſufferyng for no cauſe of his owne, but in the truth of Chriſt and his Religion, do make a Martyr no leſſe deſerueth the child of one John Fetty, to be reputed in the catalogue of holy Martyrs, who in the houſe of Biſhop Boner vnmercifully was ſcourged to death, as by the ſequele of this ſtory here following may appeare.

Amongeſt thoſe that were perſecuted & miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, and yet mercifully deliuered by the prouidence of God, there was one John Fetty, a ſimple and godly poore man, dwellyng in the pariſhe of Clerkenwell, & was by vocation a Taylor, of the age of. 42. yeares or therabout, who was accuſed and complayned of, vnto one Brokenbury a Prieſt & a parſon of the ſame pariſh, by his own wife, for that he woulde not come vnto the Church, & be partaker of theyr Idolatry & ſuperſtition: & therefore through ẏ ſayd prieſtes procuremēt, he was apprehēded by Richard Tāner & his fellow, cōſtables there, and one Martin the Hedborough. Howbeit immediatly vpon his apprehenſiō, his wife (by the iuſt iudgement of god) was ſtricken mad, and diſtract of her wittes: which declared a meruelous example of the iuſtice of God agaynſt ſuch vnfaythfull and moſt vnnaturall treachery. And although this example perhaps for lacke of knowledge & inſtruction in ſuch caſes little moued the conſciences of thoſe ſimple poore mē to ſurceaſe their perſecutiō: yet natural pity towardes that vngrateful woman, wrought ſo in their hartes that for the preſeruation and ſuſtentation of her and her ij. children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her huſband alone and would not carry hym to priſon. but yet ſuffered hym to remayne quietly in his own houſe. During whiche tyme, he as it were forgettyng the wicked and vnkynde fact of his wife, dyd yet ſo cheriſhe and prouide for her, that within the ſpace of three weekes (through Gods mercifull prouidence) ſhe was well amended, and had recouered agayne ſome ſtay of her wittes and ſenſes.

Gods dreadfull hand vpon a wyfe ſeekyng the deſtruction of her huſband.

The wife perſecuting her huſband. John Fetty agayne apprehended.

The ſtrait handling of John Fetty by Syr John Mordant. Richard Smith dead in priſon through cruell handling.

But ſuch was the power of Sathan in the malicious hart of that wicked woman, that notwithſtandyng his gentill dealyng with her, yet ſhe ſo ſone as ſhe had recouered ſome health, did agayne accuſe her huſband: whereupon he was the ſecond tyme apprehended, and caryed vnto Syr John Mordaunt Knight, one of the Queenes Commiſſioners, and he vppon examination ſent him by Clunv the Byſhoppes Sumner, vnto Lollardes Tower: where he was (euen at the firſt) put into the paynefull ſtockes, and had a diſhe of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that he ſhould looke for litle other ſuſtenaunce. Which is credible inough, if we conſider their like practiſes vpon diuers before mentioned in this hiſtory, as (amongeſt other) vppon Richard Smith, who dyed through their cruell impriſonment. Touchyng whom, when a godly woman came vnto Doct. Story to haue leaue that ſhe might bury him, he aſked her if he had any ſtraw or bloud in his mouth: but what he ment thereby, I leaue to the iudgement of the godly wiſe.

The cruell handlyng and ſcourging of John Fetties chylde.

After the foreſayd Fetty had thus layen in the priſon by the ſpace of xv. dayes, hangyng in the ſtockes, ſometyme by the one legge and the one arme, ſometyme by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy, of the age of eight or nine yeares) came vnto the Byſhoppes houſe to ſee if he could get leaue to ſpeake with his father. At his commyng thether, one of the Byſhoppes Chaplaines met with him, and aſked him what he lacked, and whom he would haue. The child aunſwered that hee came to ſee his father. The Chaplaine aſked agayne, who was his father. The boy then told him & payntyng towardes Lollardes Tower, ſhewed him that his father was there in priſon. Why (quoth the Prieſt) thy father is an hereticke. The child beyng of a bold and quicke ſpirite, and alſo Godly brought vp and inſtructed by his father in the knowledge of God, aunſwered and ſayd: my father is no hereticke: but you are an hereticke: For you haue Balaams marke.

The miſerable tyranny of the Papiſtes in ſcourging a chylde.

With that the Prieſt tooke the child by the hand, and caried him into the Byſhops houſe (whether to the Byſhop, or not, I know not, but like inough he did) & there amongeſt them they did moſt ſhameleſly & without all pitie, ſo whippe and ſcourge, beyng naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore bloud, and then, in a ioly bragge of their Catholicke tyranny, they cauſed Clunv, hauyng his coate vpõ his arme, to cary the child in his ſhirt vnto his father beyng in priſon, the bloud runnyng downe by his heeles.

The childe al bloudy brought to his father in priſon.

At his cõmyng vnto his father, the child fell downe vpõ his knees, and aſked him bleſſing. The poore mã then beholdyng his child, and ſeyng him ſo cruelly arrayed, cryed out for ſorrow, and ſayd: Alas Wil, who hath done this to thee? The boy aunſwered, that as he was ſeekyng how to come to ſee his father, a Prieſt with Balaams marke tooke him into the Byſhops houſe, and there was he ſo handled. Clunv therewith violently plucked the child away out of his fathers handes, & caried him backe agayne into the Byſhops houſe, where they kept him three dayes after.

Clunny caryeth the boy agayne to the Biſhops houſe.

And at the iij. dayes end, Boner (myndyng to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the poore man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him, and therfore cauſed him early in a mornyng to be brought out of Lollardes Tower, into his bedchãber, where he found the Byſhop baſkyng of him ſelfe agaynſt a great fire: and at his firſt entryng into the chamber, Fetty ſayd, GOD be here and peace. God be here and peace (quoth Boner) that is neither GOD ſpeede, nor good morrow. If ye kicke agaynſt this peace (ſayd Fetty) thẽ this is not the place that I ſeeke for.

The wordes betwene Boner and John Fetty.

A Chaplaine of the Biſhops ſtãding by, turned the poore man about, & thinkyng to deface him, ſayd in mockyng wiſe: what haue we here? a Player? Whileſt this Fetty was ſtanding in the Byſhops chãber, he eſpyed hãgyng about the Byſhops bedſide a great payre of blacke beades: wherupon he ſayd: my Lord, I thinke the hangman is not farre of: for ẏ halter (pointing to ẏ beades) is here already. At which wordes the Byſhop was in a marueilous rage.

Boners Beades.

Then immediatly after he eſpyed alſo, ſtandyng in the ſayd Byſhops chamber in the window, a litle Crucifix (before whiche belyke Boner vſed to kneele in the tyme of his hypocriticall prayers). Then he aſked the Byſhop what it was: and he aunſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth Fetty?

Boners Crucifixe.

Yea that he was, ſayd the Byſhop.

And euen ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you. For you are vnto Gods people, as Cayphas was vnto Chriſt.

B. Boner compared to Cayphas.

The Byſhop beyng in a great fury, ſayd: thou art a vyle hereticke, and I will burne thee, or els I will ſpẽd all that I haue vnto my gowne.

Nay my Lord, ſayd Fetty, ye were better to geue it to ſome poore body, that he may pray for you. But yet Boner bethinkyng in him ſelfe of the daunger which the child was in by their whippyng, and what perill might inſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him: whiche thyng was accompliſhed.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch talke, the Byſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willyng him to go home and cary his child with him: whiche he ſo did, and that with a heauy hart, to ſee his poore boy in ſuch extreme payne and grief. But within xiiij. dayes after the child dyed, whether through this cruell ſcourgyng, or any other infirmitie, I know not, and therfore I referre the truth thereof vnto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecretes, and alſo to the diſcrete Judgement of the wiſe Reader. But how ſo euer it was, the Lord yet vſed this their cruell and deteſtable fact, as a meanes of his prouidence for the deliuery of this good poore man and faythfull Chriſtian: his name be euer prayſed therfore. Amen.

B. Boner for feare of the law in murdering a childe, deliuered the father out of priſon.

The Martyrdome of a childe ſcourged to death in Boners houſe.

¶The cruell handlyng and burnyng of Nicholas Burton Engliſhman and Marchaunt in Spayne.

FOraſmuch as in our former booke of Actes and Monumentes mention was made of the Martyrdome of Nicholas Burton, I thought here alſo not to omit ẏ ſame, the ſtory beyng ſuch as is not vnworthy to be knowẽ, aſwell for the profitable example of his ſingular conſtancie, as alſo for the notyng of the extreme dealyng and cruell rauenyng of thoſe Catholicke Inquiſitours of Spayne, who vnder the pretenſed viſour of Religion, do nothing but ſeeke their owne priuate gayne and commoditie, with crafty deuiſyng and ſpoylyng of other mens goodes, as by the notyng of this ſtory may appeare.

The ſtory of Nicholas Burton Martyr in Spayne.

The fift day of the moneth of Nouember, about the yeare of our Lord God. 1560. this Nicholas Burton Citizen ſometyme of London and Marchaunt, dwellyng in the Pariſhe of little Saint Bartlemewe, peaceably and quietly followyng his traffike in the trade of Marchaundiſe, and beyng in the Citie of Cadix in the partes of Andolazia in Spayne, there came into his lodgyng a Judas (or as they terme them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquiſition. Who in aſkyng for the ſayd Nicholas Burton, fayned that hee had a Letter to deliuer to his owne handes: by whiche meanes he ſpake with him immediatly. And hauing no Letter to deliuer to him, then the ſayd Promoter or Familiar, at the motion of the Deuill his maiſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, inuented an other lye, and ſayd that he would take ladyng for London in ſuch ſhyppes as the ſayd Nicholas Burton had fraighted to lade, if he would let any: whiche was partly to knowe where hee laded his goodes, that they might attache them, and chiefly to detract the tyme vntill the Alguiſiel, or Sergeant of the ſayd Inquiſitiõ might come and apprehend the body of the ſayd Nicholas Burton: whiche they did incontinently.

Nicholas Burton Londoner.

Who then well perceauyng ẏ they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoken, or done any thyng there in that countrey agaynſt the Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall lawes of the ſame Realme, boldly aſked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did ſo Arreſt hym, and bad them to declare the cauſe and hee would aunſwere them. Notwithſtandyng, they aunſwered nothyng, but commaunded him with cruell and threatnyng wordes to hold his peace, and not to ſpeake one word to them.

And ſo they caryed him to the cruell and filthy common priſon of the ſame Towne of Cadix, where he remained in yrons xiiij. dayes amongeſt theeues.

Nich. Burton layd in priſon, they hauing no cauſe to charge him with.

All whiche tyme he ſo inſtructed the poore priſoners in the worde of GOD, accordyng to the good talent whiche GOD had geuen him in that behalfe and alſo in the Spaniſh toung to vtter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaymed ſundry of theſe ſuperſtitious and ignorant Spanyardes to embrace the worde of God, and to reiect their Popiſh traditions.

Whiche beyng knowen vnto the Officers of the Inquiſition, they conueyed him laden with yrons from thence to a Citie called Siuill, into a more cruell and ſtraighter priſon called Triana, where the ſayd Fathers of the Inquiſition proceeded agaynſt him ſecretly accordyng to their accuſtomable cruell tyranny, that neuer after he could be ſuffered to write or ſpeake to any of his nation: ſo that to this day it is vnknowen who was his accuſer.

Nich. Burton caryed to Siuill.

Afterward the xx. day of December, in the foreſayd yeare, they brought the ſayd Nicholas Burton with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſyng the true Chriſtian Religion, into the Citie of Siuill, to a place where the ſayd Inquiſition ſat in Judgement whiche they call the Auto, with a Canuas coate, whereon in diuers partes was paynted the figure of an houge Deuill, tormentyng a ſoule in a flame of fire, and on his head a coppyng tanke of the ſame worke.

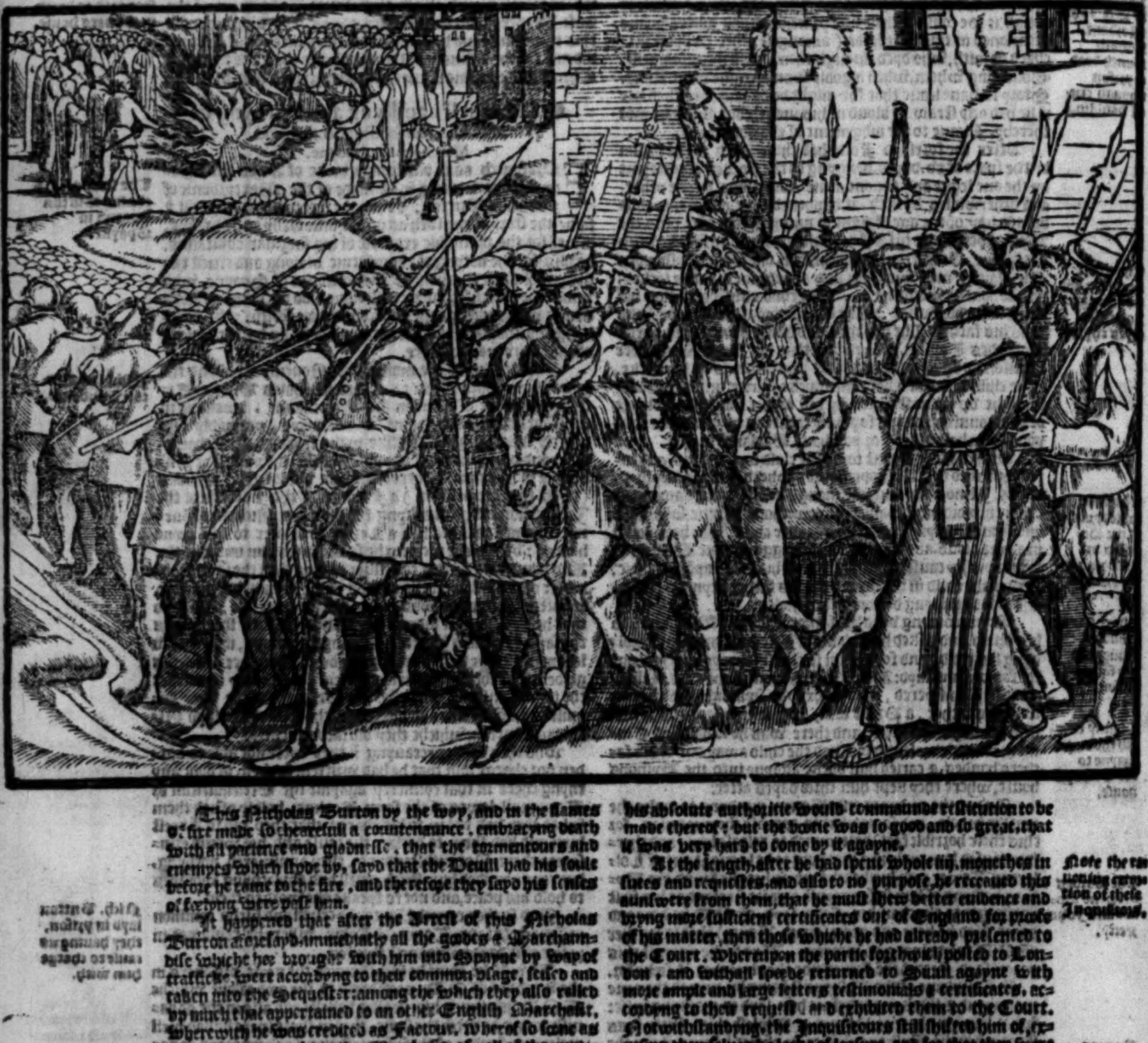
Nich. Burton, brought to iudgment after a diſguiſed maner.

Nich. Burton with an other Engliſh man of Southampton condemned.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven ſticke faſtened vppon it, that hee ſhould not vtter his conſcience and fayth to the people, and ſo hee was ſet with an other Engliſhe man of Southampton, and diuers others condemned men for Religion, as well French men, as Spanyardes, vppon a Scaffolde ouer agaynſt the ſayd Inquiſition, where their Sentences and Iudgementes were read and pronounced agaynſt them.

And immediatly after the ſayd Sentences geuen, they were all caryed from thence to the place of execution without the citie, where they moſt cruelly burned him, for whoſe conſtant fayth God be prayſed.

¶ The maner of the Popiſh Spaniardes, in cariyng Nicolas Burton a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, after moſt ſpitefull ſorte, to the burnyng.



This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire made ſo chearefull a countenaunce, embracyng death with all patience and gladneſſe, that the tormentours and enemyes which ſtode by, ſayd that the Deuill had his ſoule before he came to the fire, and therefore they ſayd his ſenſes of feelyng were paſt him.

It happened that after the Arreſt of this Nicholas Burton aforeſayd, immediatly all the goodes & Marchaundiſe whiche hee brought with him into Spayne by way of trafficke, were accordyng to their common vſage, ſeiſed and taken into the Sequeſter: among the which they alſo rolled vp much that appertained to an other Engliſh Marchaunt, wherewith he was credited as Factour. Wherof ſo ſoone as newes was brought to the Marchaunt, aſwell of the impriſonment of his Factour, as of the Arreſt made vppon his goodes, he ſent his Atturney into Spayne with authoritie from him, to make clayme to his goodes, & to demaunde thẽ: whoſe name was Iohn Fronton Citizen of Briſtow.

The trouble of Iohn Fronton Citizen of Briſtow, in Spayne.

When his Atturney was landed at Siuill, and had ſhewed all his Letters and wrytynges to the holy houſe, requiryng them that ſuch goodes might bee redeliuered into his poſſeſſion, aunſwere was made him that he muſt ſue by Bill, and retayne an Aduocate (but all was doubtleſſe to delay him) and they forſooth, of curteſie aſſigned hym one to frame his Supplicatiõ for him, and other ſuch Billes of petition, as he had to exhibite into their holy Court, demaundyng for eche Bill viij. Rials, albeit they ſtode hym in no more ſtead thẽ if he had put vp none at all. And for the ſpace of three or iiij. monethes this fellow miſſed not twiſe a day, attendyng euery mornyng and afternoone at the Inquiſitours Palace, ſuyng vnto them vppon his knees for his diſpatch, but ſpecially to the Byſhop of Tarracon, who was at that very tyme chief in the Inquiſition at Siuill, that he of his abſolute authoritie would commaunde reſtitution to be made thereof: but the bootie was ſo good and ſo great, that it was very hard to come by it agayne.

At the length, after he had ſpent whole iiij. monethes in ſutes and requeſtes, and alſo to no purpoſe, he receaued this aunſwere from them, that he muſt ſhew better euidence and bryng more ſufficient certificates out of England for proofe of his matter, then thoſe whiche he had already preſented to the Court. Whereupon the partie forthwith poſted to London, and withall ſpede returned to Siuill agayne with more ample and large letters teſtimonials & certificates, accordyng to their requeſt, and exhibited them to the Court. Notwithſtandyng, the Inquiſitours ſtill ſhifted him of, excuſing themſelues by lacke of leaſure, and for that they were occupyed in greater and more weightie affaires, and with ſuch aunſweres delayed him other foure monethes after.

Note the rauening corruption of theſe Inquiſitours.

At the laſt, when the partie had welnygh ſpent all his money, and therefore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholy to the Byſhoppe. Of whom when he repayred vnto him, he had this aunſwere: that for him ſelfe he knew what he had to do: howbeit hee was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained vnto the other Commiſſioners as well as vnto him: and thus by poſtyng and paſſyng it from one to another, the partie could obtaine no ende of his ſute. Yet for his importunitie ſake, they were reſolued to diſpatche him, but it was on this ſorte: One of the Inquiſitours called Gaſco, a man very well experienced in theſe practiſes, willed the partie to reſorte vnto him after dinner.

The vyle procedinges of the Inquiſitours of Spayne.

The fellow being glad to heare theſe newes, and ſuppoſing that his goodes ſhould be reſtored vnto him, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talke with the other that was in priſon, to conferre with him about their accomptes,

the

ÿ rather through a little miſunderſtādyng, hearyng ÿ Inquiſitor caſt out a word, ÿ it ſhould be nedefull for hym to talke with the priſoner, and beyng thereupon more then halfe perſuaded, that at the length they ment good fayth, did ſo, and repayred thether about the euenyng. Immediatly vpon his commyng, the Iayler was foorthwith charged with hym, to ſhut hym vp cloſe in ſuch a certaine priſon, where they appointed him.

Iohn Fronton impriſoned by the Spaniſh Inquiſitors for aſkyng his owne goods.

The partie hopyng at the firſt that hee had bene called for about ſome other matter, and ſeyng him ſelfe contrary to his expectation, caſt into a darke dungeon, perceaued at the length that the world went with him farre otherwiſe then he ſuppoſed it would haue done.

But within two or thre dayes after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demaūde his goods: & becauſe it was a deuiſe that well ſerued their turne, without any more circumſtaunce they bad him ſay his Aue Maria. The partie began & ſayd it after this maner: Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Ieſus. Amen.

Iohn Fronton iudged an hereticke for not addyng to Aue Maria, more then the Scripture hath.

A quarell picked agaynſt the Engliſh Marchant to ſpoyle him of his goods.

The ſame was written worde by word as he ſpake it: and without any more talke of claymyng his goodes becauſe it was bootles, they commaunde him to priſon agayne, and enter an action agaynſt him as an hereticke, for aſmuch as he did not ſay his Aue Maria after the Romiſh faſhion, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly, for he ſhould haue added moreouer: Sancta Maria mater Dei ora pro nobis peccatoribus, by abbreuiatyng whereof, it was euident enough (ſayd they) that he did not allow the mediation of Saintes.

Thus they picked a quarell to detaine him in priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwardes brought him forth into their Stage diſguiſed after their maner: where Sentence was geuen that he ſhould loſe all the goodes whiche he ſued for, though they were not his owne, and beſides this, ſuffer a yeares impriſonment.

❡The Martyrdome of an other
Engliſhman in Spayne.

An other Engliſh man burnt in Spaine.

Read. afore pag 907.

AT what tyme this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt ſuffered, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1560. December. xxij. there ſuffered alſo an other Engliſheman, with other xiij. one of them beyng a Nunne, an other a Frier, both conſtaunt in the Lord. Of whiche xiij. read before, pag. 907.

❡Iohn Baker and William
Burgate, Martyrs.

Iohn Baker W. Burgate Martyrs in Spayne.

IOhn Baker and William Burgate, both Engliſhmen, in Cales, in the countrey of Spayne, were apprehended, and in the Citie of Siuill burned the ſecond day of Nouember.

❡Marke Burges, and William
Hoker, Martyrs.

Marke Burges burnt in Luſhborne.

W. Hoker ſtoned to death in Siuill.

MArke Burges an Engliſhmā, Maiſter of an Engliſh ſhyp called the Minion, was burned in Luſhborne, a Citie in Portugall. an. 1560.

William Hoker a young man, about the age of xvj. yeares, beyng an Engliſhman, was ſtoned to death of certaine young men there in the Citie of Siuill, for the confeſſion of his fayth. an. 1560.

But of theſe and ſuch other Actes and matters paſt in Spayne, becauſe they fell not within the compaſſe of Queene Maryes raigne, but ſince her tyme, an other place ſhall ſerue hereafter (the Lord willyng) to entreate more at large of the ſame, when we come to the yeares and raigne of the Queene that now is, where we haue more conueniently to inferre not onely of theſe matters of the Martyrs (whereof ſomewhat alſo hath bene touched before, page. 907. but alſo of the whole Inquiſition of Spayne, and Plackard of Flaunders, with the tragicall tumultes and troubles happenyng within the laſt memory of theſe our latter dayes, accordyng as it ſhall pleaſe the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeuour with grace and ſpace to the accompliſhment therof.

❡A chapter or treatiſe concernyng ſuch as were ſcourged and whipped by the Papiſtes in the true cauſe of Chriſtes Goſpell.

A chapter concernyng ſuch as were ſcourged for religion.

Of this Statute. read before pag. 507.

AND thus through the mercyfull aſſiſtaūce and fauorable ayde of Chriſt our Sauiour, thou haſt as in a generall Regiſter (good Reader) the ſtory collected, if not of all, yet of the moſt part, or at leaſt, not many I truſt omitted, of ſuch good Saintes & Martyrs as haue loſt their lyues, and giuen their bloud, or dyed in priſon for the teſtimony of Chriſtes true doctrine and Sacramentes, from the tyme of the cruell Statute firſt giuen out by kyng Henry the iiij. Ex officio, pag. 507. vnto this preſent tyme, and eſpecially vnder the raigne of Queene Mary.

Now after thys bloudy ſlaughter of Gods good Saintes and ſeruantes thus ended and diſcourſed, let vs procede (by the good pleaſure of the Lord) ſomwhat likewiſe to entreate of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of Religion haue ben, although not put to death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the aduerſaries of Gods word, firſt beginnyng with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Farefaxe, who about the tyme of Anne Aſcue, were pitifully rent and tormented with ſcourges and ſtripes for their faythfull ſtandyng to Chriſt and to hys truth, as by the ſtory and examination both of ÿ ſayd Rich. Wilmot, and of Thomas Farefaxe nowe followyng, may appeare.

¶The ſcourgyng of Richard Wilmot,
and Thomas Fayrefaxe.

The ſcourgyng of Richard Wilmot and Tho. Fayrefaxe.

D. Cromes Sermon.

AFter the firſt recantation of Doct. Crome for his Sermon whiche he made the fiſt Sonday in Lent at Saint Thomas Acons, beyng the Mercers Chappell, his Sermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame daye, written in the x. chap. to the Hebrues, wherein he proued very learnedly by the ſame place of Scripture and others, that Chriſt was ÿ onely and ſufficient ſacrifice vnto God the father, for the ſinnes of the whole world, and that there was no more ſacrifice to bee offered for ſinne by the Prieſtes, for as much as Chriſt had offered his body on the Croſſe, and ſhed hys bloud for the ſinnes of the people, and that once for al. For ÿ whiche Sermon he was apprehended of Boner & brought before Steuen Gardiner and other of the Councell, where he promiſed to recant his doctrine at Paules croſſe, the ſecond Sonday after Eaſter. And accordingly, he was there & preached, Boner & all his Doctours ſittyng before hym but hee ſo preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former ſaying, then denyed any part of that whiche he before had preached. For the whiche the Proteſtantes prayſed God, and hartely reioyced.

D. Cromes recantation.

But Byſhop Boner with his champions, were not therewith pleaſed, but yet notwithſtandyng they had hym home with them, & ſo handled hym amongeſt ÿ woluiſh generation, that they made hym come to the croſſe agayne the next Sonday.

D. Crome cauſed to recant the ſecond tyme.

And becauſe the Magiſtrates ſhoulde now heare hym, And be witneſſes of this recantation whiche was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſtes ſacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that the ſacrifice of the Maſſe was good godly, and a holy ſacrifice, propitiatorie and auaileable both for the quicke and the dead: Becauſe (I ſay) that they would haue the nobles to heare this blaſphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured al the chiefe of ÿ Counſell to be there preſent.

Richard Wilmot Prentiſe in Bow lane.

Nowe to come to our matter at this tyme, the ſame weeke, betweene his firſt Sermon and the laſt, and while Doct. Crome was in duraunce, one Rich. Wilmot beyng Prentiſe in Bowe lane, beyng of ÿ age of eightene yeares, and ſittyng at his worke in his Mayſters ſhop the Tueſday, in the moneth of July, one Lewes a Welchman, beyng one of the Garde, came into the ſhop, hauyng thynges to do for hym ſelfe.

Lewes one of the Gard, a Welchman, a Popiſhe perſecutor.

One aſked hym what newes at the Court, and he anſwered that the olde hereticke D. Crome had recanted now in deede, before the Counſell, and that he ſhoulde on Sonday next be at Paules croſſe agayne, and there declare it.

Wilmot defendeth D. Cromes Sermon.

Then Wilmot ſittyng at his Maiſters worke, & hearyng hym ſpeake theſe wordes and reioycyng in the ſame began to ſpeake vnto hym, ſaying that he was ſory to heare theſe newes. For (ſayd he) if Crome ſhould ſay otherwiſe then hee hath ſayd, then is it contrary to ÿ truth of Gods word, and contrary to his own conſcience, which ſhal before God accuſe hym.

Lewes aunſwered and ſayd that he had preached & taught hereſy, and therefore it was mete that he ſhoulde in ſuch a place reuoke it.

Wilmot told hym that he would not ſo ſay, neyther did he heare him preach any doctrine contrary to gods word written, but that he proued his doctrine, and that ſufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then aſked him how he knew that.

Wilmot Aunſwered by the ſcripture of God, wherein he ſhall finde Gods will and pleaſure, what he willeth all men to do, & what not to do: and alſo by them he ſhould proue & trye all doctrines, and the falſe doctrine from the true.

The Lord Cromwell wrongfully accuſed.

Lewes ſayd: it was neuer mery ſince the Bible was in Engliſh: & that he was both an hereticke & a traitour that cauſed it to be trāſlated into Engliſh (meaning Cromwell) and therfore was rewarded accordyng to his deſertes.

Wilmot aunſwered agayne: what hys deſertes and offences were to hys Prince, a great many doe not knowe, neyther doth it force whether they do or no: once he was

ſure

The doynges of the Lorde Cromwell defended.

ſure that hee loſt his lyfe for offendyng his Prince, and the law dyd put it in execution: Addyng moreouer concernyng that man, that he thought it pleaſed GOD to rayſe hym vp from a low eſtate, and to place him in hyghe authoritie, partly vnto this, that he ſhould do that as all the Byſhops in the Realme yet neuer dyd, in reſtoryng agayne Gods holy word, whiche beyng had long before from the people in a ſtraunge toung, and now commyng abroad amongeſt vs, will bryng our Byſhops and Prieſtes, ſayd he, in leſſe eſtimation among the people.

Lewes aſked why ſo?

Wilmot ſayd: becauſe their doctrine and lyuyng was not accordyng to his word.

The common reaſon of the Papiſtes, why the Scriptures ſhould not be in Engliſh.

Then ſayd Lewes: I neuer heard but that all men ſhould learne of yͤ Byſhops and Prieſtes, becauſe they are learned men, and haue bene brought vp in learnyng all the dayes of their lyues. Wherefore they muſt nedes know the truth, and our fathers dyd beleue their doctrine and learnyng, and I thinke they dyd well: for the world was farre better then, then it is now.

Wilmot aunſwered: I will not ſay ſo. For we muſt not beleue them becauſe they are Byſhoppes, neither becauſe they are learned, neither becauſe our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I haue read in Gods booke how that Byſhoppes and learned men haue taught the people falſe doctrine, and likewiſe the Prieſtes from tyme to tyme: and in deede thoſe people our forefathers beleued as they taught: and as they did thinke, ſo did the people thinke. But for all this, Chriſt calleth them falſe Prophetes, theeues, & murtherers, blind leaders of the blynd, willyng the people to take heede of them, leſt they both ſhould fall into the ditch.

Gods truth goeth not alwayes by tytle and fame of great learning.

Moreouer, we read that the Byſhoppes, Prieſtes, and learned men haue bene commonly reſiſters of the truth, from tyme to tyme, and haue alwayes perſecuted the Prophets in yͤ old law, as their ſucceſſours did perſecute our ſauiour Chriſt & his Diſciples in the new law. We muſt take heede therefore, that we credite them no further then God will haue vs, neither to follow them nor our forefathers, otherwiſe then he commaundeth vs. For almighty GOD hath geuen to all people, as well to Kinges, and Princes, as Byſhoppes, Prieſtes, learned and vnlearned men, a commaundement and law, vnto the whiche he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any Byſhop or Prieſt, preach or teach, or Prince or Magiſtrate commaunde any thyng contrary to this commaundement, we muſt take heede how we obey them. For it is better for vs to obey God then man.

Learned men how farre they are to be credited.

Mary Syr, quoth Lewes, you are a holy Doctour in deede. By Gods bloud if you were my man, I would ſet you about your buſines a little better, and not to looke vpon bookes: and ſo would your Maiſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his Maiſter and young man with hym, which was ſeruaūt with M. Dauby in Watlyng ſtreete.

His Maiſter aſked what the matter was.

Wilmot cōplayned of to his Maſter.

Lewes ſayd that he had a knauiſh boy here to his ſeruaunt, and how that if he were his, he would rather hange him, then keepe him in his houſe.

Then his Maiſter, beyng ſomewhat moued, aſked his fellowes what the matter was.

They ſayd: they began to talke about Doctour Crome.

Then his Maiſter aſked him what he had ſayd, ſwearyng a great othe, that he would make him to tell hym.

He ſayd that he truſted hee had ſayd nothyng, whereby either he or Maiſter Lewes may iuſtly be offended. I pray you (quoth Wilmot) aſke hym what I ſayd.

Mary Syr (ſayd Lewes) this he ſayd, that D. Crome, did preach and teach nothyng but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sonday next, he would be ſory to heare it, and that if he do, he is made to do it agaynſt his conſcience. And more he ſayth, that we muſt not follow our Byſhops doctrine and preachyng: For ſayth he, they bee hynderers of Gods word, and perſecutours of that: and how Cromwell dyd more good ('that traytour) in ſettyng forth the Bible, then all our Byſhops haue done theſe hūdreth yeares: thus reportyng the matter worſe then he had ſayd.

Then ſayd Wilmot, that in many thynges he made his tale worſe then it was. His Maiſter hearyng of this, was in a great fury, and rated hym, ſaying: that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearyng that he would take away all his bookes and burne them.

M. Daubnies ſeruaunt, called Thomas Fayrefaxe, taketh Wilmots part.

The young man (Maiſter Dawbnies ſeruaunt) ſtandyng by, hearyng this, began to ſpeake on his part vnto Lewes, and his talke confirmed all the ſayinges of the other to be true. This young man was learned: his name was Tho. Fayrefaxe. Lewes hearyng this yoūg mans talke, as wel as the others, went his way in a rage vnto the Court.

On the morow they heard newes, ſo that the ſayd Wilmot & Tho. Fayrefaxe were ſēt for, to come to yͤ Lord Maior. The meſſēger was M. Smart, Swordbearer of Lōdō.

Wilmot and Thomas Fayrefaxe ſent for to the Lord Mayor.

They came before dynner to the Mayors houſe, and were commaunded to ſit downe at dinner in the Hall, and when the dynner, was done they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Syr Roger Cholmeley was, who examined them ſeuerally, the one not hearyng the other.

Rich Wilmot and Thomas Fayrefaxe examined before the Lord Mayor and M. Cholmley.

The effect of theyr talke with them was this. Syr Roger Cholmley ſayd vnto yͤ foreſayd Wilmot, that my Lord Maior and he had receaued a commaundemēt frō yͤ Counſell, to ſend for hym and his companion, and to examine the of certayne thinges, which were layd vnto theyr charge.

Then ſayd M. Cholmley to hym: Syrra, what countryman art thou? He aunſwered that he was borne in Cambridge ſhyre, and in ſuch a towne. Then he aſked hym how long he had bene in the Citie. He told hym.

Then he aſked what learnyng he had. He ſayd: litle learnyng, and ſmall knowledge. Then (deridyngly) hee aſked how long he had knowen Doct Crome. he ſayd: but a while aboute ij. yeares. He ſayd that he was a lying boy, and ſayd that he yͤ ſayd Wilmot was his ſonne. The other ſayd vnto hym, that was vnlike, for that he neuer ſee his mother nor ſhe hym. Cholmley ſayd he lyed. Wilmot ſayd he could proue it to be true. Then he aſked hym howe hee liked hys Sermon that he made at S. Thomas of Acres Chappell in Lent. He ſayd that in deede he heard hym not. He ſayde yes, and the other nay. Then ſayd he, what ſay you to hys Sermon made at the croſſe the laſt day? heard you not that.

Wilmot. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceaued a great nūber of people.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he ſhould haue recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and dyd not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea Syr, but howe ſay you now to hym? for he hath recanted before the counſell, & hath promiſed on Sonday next to be at the croſſe agayne, how thinke ye in that?

Wilmot. If he ſo dyd, I am the more ſory for to heare it: & ſayd he thought he dyd it for feare and ſauegard of hys life.

Cholmley. But what ſay you? was his firſt Sermon hereſy or not?

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no hereſie. For if it were S. Paules Epiſtle to the Hebrewes was hereſye, and Paule an hereticke that preached ſuch doctrine: but God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhoulde ſo thinke of the holy Apoſtle: neyther do I ſo thinke.

S. Paules doctrine made hereſie with Papiſts.

Cholmley. Why how knoweſt thou yͭ S. Paul wrot thoſe thynges that are in Engliſh now, to be true, wheras Paul neuer wrot Engliſh nor Latine?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that dyd ſeeke to aduaunce hys worde, dyd tranſlate the ſame out of the Greeke and Hebrue, into Latine and Engliſh, and that they durſt not to preſume to alter the ſenſe of the Scripture of God, and laſt will and Teſtament of Chriſt Ieſus.

Then the Lord Maior beyng in a great fury, aſked hym what he had to do to read ſuch bookes, and ſayd that it was pitie that his Maiſter dyd ſuffer him ſo to doe, and that hee was not ſet better to worke: and in fine ſayd vnto hym: that he had ſpoken euill of my Lord of Wincheſter and Boner, thoſe reuerend and learned fathers and councellours of this Realme, for the which his fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as due to the ſame. And Maiſter Cholmley ſayd: yea my Lorde, there are ſuch a ſort of heretickes and trayterly knaues taken now in Eſſex by my Lord Riche, that it is wonderfull to heare. They ſhall be ſent vp to the Byſhop ſhortly, and ſhall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am ſory to heare that of my Lord Rich, for that he was my Godfather, and gaue me my name at my Baptiſme.

Cholmley aſked hym when he ſpake with hym.

He ſayd, not theſe xij. yeares.

Cholmley. If he knew that he were ſuch a one, he would do the like by hym, and in ſo doyng he ſhoulde do God great ſeruice.

Wilmot. I haue red the ſame ſaying in the Goſpell, that Chriſt ſayd to his Diſciples: The tyme ſhall come (ſayth he) that whoſoeuer killeth you, ſhall thinke that hee ſhall do God high ſeruice.

Well Syr, ſayd Cholmley, becauſe ye are ſo full of your Scripture, and ſo well learned, wee conſider you lacke a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therfore you ſhal go to a place wher you ſhall be moſt quiet, and I woulde wiſhe you to ſtudy howe you will aunſwere to the Counſell of thoſe thynges which they haue to charge you wt, for els it is like to coſt you your beſt ioynt. I know my Lord of Wincheſter will handle you well enough when he heareth thus much. Then was the Officer called in, to haue him to the Counter in the Poultrye, and the other to the other Counter, not one of them to ſee an other: and thus remayned they viij. dayes. In the whiche tyme their Maiſters made a great labour

Wilmot and Fayrefaxe committed to priſon.

Sute made by the company of Drapers for Richard Wilmot and Tho Fayrefaxe.

vnto the Lord Maior, & to Syr Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be deliuered.

At length they procured the Wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in their ſute to the Maior. The Maior went with them to the Counſell: but at that tyme they could finde no grace at Wincheſters hand and Syr Anthony Brownes, but that they had deſerued death, and that they ſhould haue the law.

At length through intreataunce, he graūted them thus much fauour, that they ſhould not dye as they had deſerued, but ſhould be tyed to a cartes tayle, and be whipped three market dayes through the Citie. Thus they came home that day, and went an other day, and the Maior and the Wardens of the company kneeled before them to haue this open puniſhmēt releaſed, for as much as they were ſeruauntes of ſo worſhypfull a company, and that they might be puniſhed in their owne hall before the Wardens and certains of the company. At length it was graunted, with condition, as ſome ſayd, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

M. Brooke Maiſter of the company of Drapers.

Then were they ſent before the Maiſters the next day, to the Hall, both their maiſters being alſo preſent, and there were layde to their charges, the heynous offences by them committed, how they were both heretickes and traytours, and had deſerued death for the ſame, and this was declared with a long proceſſe by the Maiſter of the company, whoſe name was M. Brooke, declaryng what great labour & ſute the Maior and the Wardens had for them, to ſaue them frō death, which they (as he ſayd) had deſerued, and from open ſhame, whiche they ſhould haue had, beyng iudged by the Counſaile to haue bene whipped iij. dayes through the Citie at a Cartes tayle, and from theſe two daungers had they laboured to deliuer them, but not without great ſute and alſo charge. For, ſayth he, the cōpany hath promiſed vnto the Counſaile for this their mercy and fauour ſhewed towards them, beyng of ſuch a worſhypfull company, a hundreth poundes: notwithſtandyng we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our Hall within our ſelues for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other wordes, he commaunded them to addreſſe them ſelues to receaue their puniſhment.

Rich. Wilmot and Thomas Fayrefaxe ſcourged in Drapers Hall.

Then were they put aſunder, and ſtripped from the waſt vpward, one after an other, and had into the Hall, and in the middeſt of the Hall, where they vſe to make their fire, there was a great ryng of Iron, to the whiche there was a rope tyed faſt, and one of their feete thereto faſt tyed.

Then came two men down, diſguiſed in Mommers apparell, with viſors on their faces, and they beate them with great rods vntill the bloud did follow in their bodyes.

Brooke a cruell tyrant.

As concernyng this Wilmot, he could not lye in his bed vj. nightes after, for Brooke playd the tyraunt with them. So it was, that with the beatyng and the fright, and feare, they were neuer in health ſince, as the ſayd Wilmot with his owne mouth hath credibly aſcertained vs, and we cā no leſſe but teſtifie the ſame.

Thus haue we briefly rehearſed this litle tragedy, wherin ye may note the malice of the enemies at all tymes to thoſe which profeſſe Chriſt, and take his part, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer they be, accordyng to the Apoſtles ſaying: It is geuen vnto you not onely to beleue, but alſo to ſuffer with him. To whom be honour and glory. Amen.

Next after theſe two aboue ſpecified, followeth the beatyng of one Thomas Greene, who in the tyme of Queene Mary, was cauſed likewiſe to be ſcourged & beatē by Doctour Story. What the cauſe was, here followeth in ſtory & examination to be ſene, which he penned with his own hād, as the thyng it ſelfe will declare to the reader. The copy and wordes of the ſame as he wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayeſt note (gentle reader) the ſimplicitie of the one, ſo I pray thee, marke agayne the crueltie of the other part.

¶The ſcourgyng of Thomas Greene.

The ſcourgyng of Tho. Greene. The maiſter promoteth the ſeruaunt.

IN the reigne of Queene Mary, I Thomas Greene beyng brought before D. Story, by my maiſter whoſe name is Iohn Wayland a Printer, for a booke called Antichriſt, the which had bene diſtributed to certaine honeſt men: he aſked me where I had the booke, and ſayd I was a traytour. I told him I had the booke of a Frenchman. Then he aſked me more queſtions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he ſayd: it was no hereſie but treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawen, and quartered, and ſo he called for Cluny the Keeper of the Lollardes Tower, and bad him ſet me faſt in the ſtockes.

Tho. Greene put in the ſtockes.

Tho. Greene brought to the Colehouſe.

I was not in the Lollardes Tower two houres, but Cluny came and tooke me out, and caryed me to the Colehouſe, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the ſtockes, and he tooke him out, and put on my right legge a bolt and a fetter, & on my left hand an other, and ſo he ſet me croſſe fettered in the ſtockes, and tooke the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and ſayd: let vs ſhift your hand and legge, becauſe you ſhall not be lame: and he made as though he pitied me, and ſayd: tell me the truth, and I will be your frend.

And I ſayd, I had told the truth and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my legge in the ſtockes, and ſo went his way, and there I remained vj. dayes, and could come to no aunſwere.

Thomas Greene examined before D. Story.

Then Doctour Story ſent for me, and aſked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the booke. I ſayd I had told him, of a Frenchman. Hee aſked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchmā, and where he dwelt, and where he deliuered me the booke. I ſayd: I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I commyng to my frendes which were put in for Gods word and truthes ſake, and the Frenchman commyng to his frendes alſo: there we did talke together and became acquainted one with an other, and did eate and drinke together there, with our frendes in the feare of God.

D. Story ſcoffeth at Chriſtes ſeruauntes.

Then Story ſcoffed at me and ſayd: thē there was brother in Chriſt, and brother in Chriſt, and reuiled me and called me an hereticke, and aſked me if I had the booke of hym in Newgate. I ſayd no, and I told him, as I went on my buſineſſe in the ſtreete I met him, and hee aſked me how I dyd, and I him alſo: ſo fallyng in communication, hee ſhewed me that booke, and I deſired him that he would let me haue it.

In this examination Story ſayd, it was a great booke, and aſked me whether I bought it, or had it geuen me. I told him, I bought it. Then ſayd he, I was a theefe, and had ſtollen my Maiſters money. And I ſayd: a litle money ſerued, for I gaue him but fower pence, but I promiſed him at our next meetyng I would geue twelue pence more. And he ſayd: that was boldly done, for ſuch a booke as ſpake both treaſon and hereſie.

Then Story required me to bryng him two ſureties, and watche for him that I had the booke of, and I ſhould haue no harme. I made him aunſwere, I would bryng no ſureties, nor I could not tell where to finde them. Then ſayd he: this is but a lye, & ſo called for Cluny, and bad him lay me faſt in the Colehouſe, ſaying, he would make me tell an other tale at my next commyng: & ſo I lay in the ſtockes day and night, but onely when I eate my meate, and there remayned x. dayes before I was called for agayne.

An other examination of Tho. Greene before D. Story.

Then Doctour Story ſent for me agayne, and aſked if I would yet tell him the truth. I ſayd, I could tell him no other truth then I had, nor would. And while I was there ſtandyng, there were two brought, whiche I tooke to be priſoners.

Miſtres Story ſheweth her charitable hart.

Then miſtres Story fell in a rage, and ſware a great othe, that it were a good deede to put a hundred or ij. of theſe hereticke knaues in a houſe, & I my ſelfe (ſayth ſhe) would ſet it a fire. So I was cōmitted to priſon agayne, where I remained xiiij. dayes and came to no aunſwere.

Greene agayne examined before D. Story.

Then Story ſent for me agayne, and called me into the garden, and there I founde with him my Lord of Windſores Caplaine, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what I had ſayd and done. They ſayd: the booke was a wonderous euill booke, and had both treaſon and hereſie in it. Then they aſked me what I ſayd by the booke. And I ſayd: I knew no euill by it.

At which wordes Story chafed, and ſaid he would hāg me vp by the handes with a rope, and ſayd alſo he would cut out my toung, and mine eares alſo from my head. After this they alledged two or three thynges vnto me out of the booke: and I aūſwered, I had not read the booke through out, and therfore I could geue no iudgement of the booke.

Then my Lord of Windſores Chaplaine and the other two Gentlemen tooke me aſide, and entreated me very gently, ſaying: tell vs where you had the booke, and of whom: we will ſaue you harmeles. I made them aunſwere, I had told all that I could to Doctour Story, and began to tell it them agayne: but they ſayd, they knew ẏ already. So they left that talke, and went agayne to Story with me.

Greene examined of his beliefe.

Then Story burdened me with my fayth, and ſayd I was an hereticke. Whereupon the Chaplaine aſked me how I did beleue. Then I began to rehearſe the Articles of my beliefe, but he bad me let that alone. Then he aſked me how I beleued in Chriſt. I made him aunſwere, that I beleued in Chriſt which dyed and roſe agayne the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the father.

D. Stories blaſphemous ſcoffing in matters of our fayth.

Whereupon Story aſked me mockyngly, what is the right hand of God? I made him aunſwere, I thought it was his glory. Then ſayd he: ſo they ſay all. And he aſked me when he would be wery of ſittyng there. Then inferred my Lord of Windſors Chaplaine, aſkyng me what I ſayd by the Maſſe. I ſaid: I neuer knew what it was, nor what it mēt, for I vnderſtode it not, becauſe I neuer learned any

Latine and ſince the time that I had any knowledge, I had bene brought vp in nothyng but in readyng of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as haue taught the ſame: with many moe queſtions, which I can not rehearſe.

The Maſſe.

Moreouer, he aſked me if there were not the very body of Chriſt, fleſhe, bloud and bone in the Maſſe, after the prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him aunſwere: as for ẏ Maſſe I can not vnderſtand it, but in the new Teſtament I read, that as the Apoſtles ſtode lokyng after the Lord when he aſcended vp into heauen, an Aungell ſayd to them: Euen as you ſee him aſcende vppe, ſo ſhall he come agayne. And I told them an other Sentence, where Chriſt ſayth: The poore ſhall you haue alwayes with you, but me ſhall you not haue alwayes.

Then M. Caplaine put to me many queſtions more, to the whiche I could make him no aunſwere. Among all other, he brought Chryſoſtome and S. Hierome for his purpoſe. To whom I aunſwered, that I neither mynded, nor was able to aunſwere their Doctours, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no: but to that whiche is written in the new Teſtament I would aunſwere. Here they laughed me to ſcorne, and called me foole, and ſayd: they would reaſon no more with me.

Greene ſent agayne to the Colehouſe.

Then Doctour Story called for Cluny, and bad hym take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeake with me. So I was ſent vnto the Colehouſe: where I had not bene a weeke, but there came in xiiij. priſoners: but I was kept ſtill alone without company, in a priſon called the Salthouſe, hauyng vpon my legge a bolt and a fetter, and my handes manacled together with yrons, and there continued ten dayes, hauyng nothyng to lye on, but bare ſtones or a borde.

The ſtrait handling of Greene in priſon.

On a tyme whiles I lay there in priſon, the Byſhop of London commyng downe a payre of ſtayres on the backeſide vntruſt, in his hoſe and doublet, looked in at the grate, and aſked wherfore I was put in, and who put me in.

Talke betwene Thomas Greene and B. Boner.

I made him aunſwere, ẏ I was put in for a booke called Antichriſt, by Doctour Story. And he ſayd: you are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſayd it was a very wicked booke, and bad me confeſſe the truth to Story. I ſayd, I had told the truth to him already, and deſired him to be good vnto me, and helpe me out of priſon, for they had kept me there lōg. And he ſayd, he could not medle with it: Story hath begon it, and he muſt end it.

Two priſoners brought to B. Boners Salthouſe.

Then I was remoued out of the Salthouſe to geue place to two women, and caryed to the Lollardes Tower, and put in the ſtockes: and there I founde two priſoners, one called Lyon, a Frenchman, and an other with him: and ſo I was kept in the ſtockes more then a moneth both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to ſpeake with me, but onely my Keeper which brought me meate.

Thus we three beyng together, Lyon the Frenchman ſong a Pſalme in the Frenche toung, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard downe into the ſtreete, and the Keeper commyng vp in a great rage, ſware that he would put vs all in the ſtockes, and ſo tooke the Frenchman and commaunded him to kneele downe vpon his knees, and put both his handes in the ſtockes, where he remayned all that night till the next day.

Crueltie ſhewed vpon priſoners for ſinging Pſalmes.

Thomas Greene brought before D. Story and the Commiſſioners.

After this I beyng in the Lollardes Tower vij. dayes, at my laſt beyng with Story he ſware a great othe that he would racke me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story ſendyng for me, commaunded me to be brought to Walbrooke, where hee and the Commiſſioners dyned: and by the way my Keeper told me that I ſhould goe to the Tower and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and ſo there I ſtode before them, & ſome ſayd I was worthy to be hanged for hauyng ſuch hereticall bookes. After I had ſtayde a little while before them, Story called for the Keeper, and commaunded him to cary me to the Lollardes Tower agayne, and ſayd: I haue other matters of the Queenes to do with the Commiſſioners: but I will finde an other tyme for him. Whileſt I yet lay in the Lollardes Tower, the woman which brought the bookes ouer, beyng taken, and her bookes, was put in the Clinke in Southwarke by Huſſy, one of the Arches: and I Thomas Greene teſtifie before God, now that I neither diſcryed the man nor the woman, the which I had the bookes of.

This woman was one Younges wife.

Thomas Greene examined before M. Huſſey.

Then I lying in the Lollardes Tower, beyng ſent for before Maiſter Huſſy, he required of me, wherfore I was put into the Lollardes Tower, and by whom. To whom I made aunſwere, that I was put there by Doctour Story for a booke called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would be my frend, and ſayd he knew my frendes, and my father and mother, and bad me tell him of whom I had the booke, and ſayd: come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Doctour Story before.

Then he was very angry and ſayd: I loue thee well, & therfore I ſent for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I would tell him no other: wherupon he ſent me agayne to the Lollardes Tower. At my goyng away he called me backe agayne, and ſayd that Dixon gaue me the bookes beyng an old man, dwellyng in Birchin lane: and I ſayd he knew the matter better then I. So he ſent me away to the Lollards Tower, where I remayned viij. dayes and more.

Then M. Huſſy ſent for me agayne and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth then I had told Doctour Story before.

Dixon in Birchin Lane.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon of whom I had the bookes, the whiche had made the matter manifeſt afore: and he told me of all thynges touchyng Dixon and the bookes, more then I could my ſelfe, in ſo much that he told me how many I had, and that he had a ſacke full of the bookes in his houſe, and knew where the woman lay, better then I my ſelfe. Then I ſawe the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it profited not me to ſtand in the matter. He aſked me where I had done the bookes: and I told him I had but one, and that Doct. Story had. He ſayd I lyed, for I had iij. at one tyme, and he required me to tell him of one.

John Beane Prentiſe with M. Tottle.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, beyng Prentiſe with Maiſter Tottle. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaued before GOD, that he ſhould haue no harme. And I kneelyng downe vpon my knees, deſired him to take my bloud, and not to hurt the young man. Then ſaid he: becauſe you haue bene ſo ſtubburne, the matter beyng made manifeſt by other and not by you, beyng ſo long in priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my Judgement. I ſayd: yea, take my bloud, and hurt not the young men.

Tho. Greene adiudged to be whipped.

Then he made me aunſwere, I ſhould be whipped lyke a theefe and a vacabond: and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my Keeper to the Lollardes Tower: where I remayned two or three dayes, and ſo was brought by the Keeper Cluny, by the commaundement of the Commiſſioners, to Chriſtes Hoſpitall, ſometyme the Gray Friers, and accordyngly had there for the tyme the correction of theeues and vacabondes, and ſo was deliuered to Trinian the Porter, and put into a ſtinkyng dungeon.

Tho. Greene brought to the Gray Fryers.

Then after a few dayes I findyng frendſhyp, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yarde by the dungeon in the day tyme, and ſo remayned priſoner a moneth and more.

Tho. Greene agayne appeareth before D. Story and two gentlemen.

Where at length Doctour Story came and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and ſo I was brought into a coūtyng houſe before them. Then he ſaid to the Gentlemen: here commeth this hereticke, of whom I had the booke called Antichriſt, and began to tel them how many tymes I had bene before him, and ſayd: I haue entreated him very gently, and he would neuer tell me the truth till that it was founde out by other. Then ſayd he: it were a good deede to cut out thy toung and thy eares of thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretickes knaues. And the Gentlemen ſayd: nay that were pitie. Then he aſked if that I would not become an honeſt man: & I ſaid yes, for I haue offended God many wayes. Wherupō he burdened me with my faith. I told him I had made him aunſwere of my fayth before my Lord Windſores Chapplaine, as much as I could.

So in the end he commaunded me to be ſtripped, he ſtādyng by me, and called for two of the Beadels, and the whippes to whippe me: and the two Beadels came with a corde, and bound my handes together, and the one end of the cord to a ſtone piller. Then one of my frendes, called Nicholas Prieſtman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a būdell of rods, which ſeemed ſomething to pacifie the mynde of his crueltie: ſo they ſcourged me with rods. But as they were whippyng of me, Story aſked me if I would goe vnto my Maiſter agayne: and I ſayd nay. And he ſayd: I perceiue now he will be worſe then euer he was before: but let me alone (quoth he): I will finde him out if he be in England. And ſo with many other thynges which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whippyng of me, they bad me pay my fees and go my wayes.

The ſcourging of Tho. Greene before Doct. Story.

¶ Doctour Story commaunded that he ſhould haue an hundred ſtripes, but the Gentlemen ſo entreated, that hee had not ſo many, Story ſaying: if I might haue my will, I would ſurely cut out his toung.

Of the ſcourgyng of M. Bartlet Greene, alſo of John Milles, and of Tho. Hinſhaw, ye heard before. In lyke maner was ordered Ste. Cotton, burned before at Braynford, who teſtifieth him ſelfe to be twiſe beaten by Boner, in a Letter of his written to his brother, as by the ſame here folowyng for the more euidence may appeare.

¶The Copy of Steuen Cottons Letter written to his brother, declaryng how he was beaten of Byſhop Boner.

Bro-

1558.

Steuen Cottons Letter to his brother.

BRother, in the name of the Lord Ieſus I commende me vnto you, and I doe hartely thanke you for your Godly exhortation and counſell in your laſt Letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceiue by your Letter, you are informed, that as we are diuers perſons in number, ſo we are of contrary ſectes, conditions, and opinions, contrary to that good opinion you had of vs at your laſt beyng with vs in Newgate: be you moſt aſſured good brother in the Lorde Ieſus, we are all of one mynde, one fayth, one aſſured hope in the Lord Ieſus, whom I truſt we altogether with one ſpirite, one brotherly loue, do dayly call vppon for mercy and forgeueneſſe of our ſinnes, with earneſt repentaũce of our former liues, and by whoſe precious bloudſheedyng we truſt to be ſaued onely, and by no other meanes. Wherefore good brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeing theſe impudent people, whoſe myndes are altogether bent to wickedneſſe, enuy, vncharitablenes, euill ſpeakyng, do goe about to ſclaunder vs with vntruth, beleue them not, neither let their wicked ſayinges once enter into your mynde: And I truſt one day to ſee you agayne, although now I am in Gods priſon, whiche is a ioyfull ſchole to them that loue their Lord and God, and to me beyng a ſimple ſcholer, moſt ioyfull of all.

Good brother, once agayne I doe in the name of our Lord Ieſus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight ſtrõgly in the Lordes battaile, to be a good ſouldiour to my Captaine Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, & deſire my ſiſter alſo to do the ſame: & do not ye mourne or lament for me, but be ye glad & ioyfull of this my trouble: For I truſt to be looſed out of this dongeon ſhortly, and to go to euerlaſtyng ioy, which neuer ſhall haue end. I heard how ye were with the Commiſſioners for me, and how ye were ſuſpected to be one of our cõpany. I pray you ſue no more for me, good brother. But one thyng I ſhall deſire you, to be at my departyng out of this lyfe, that you may beare witnes with me that I ſhall dye, I truſt in God, a true Chriſtian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therfore beleue not theſe euil diſpoſed people, who are the authours of all vntruth.

Ste. Cotton twiſe beaten by Byſhop Boner.

I pray you prouide me a long ſhirt agaynſt the day of our deliueraunce: for the ſhirt you gaue me laſt, I haue geuen to one of my companions who had more neede then I: And as for the money and meate you ſent vs, the Byſhoppes ſeruauntes deliuered none to vs, neither he whom you had ſo great truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to: for qualis Magiſter talis Seruus. I haue bene twiſe beaten and threatned to be beaten agayne by the Byſhoppe him ſelfe. I ſuppoſe we ſhall go into the Countrey to Fulham, to the Byſhops houſe, and there be arreigned. I would haue you to harken as much as you can. For when we ſhall goe, it ſhalbe ſodenly done. Thus fare ye well, from the Colehouſe, this preſent Friday.

Your Brother, Steuen Cotton.

¶The ſcourgyng of Iames Harrys.

Iames Harris ſcourged.

Read before pag. 1804.

IN this ſocietie of the ſcourged profeſſours of Chriſt, was alſo one Iames Harris of Billerica in Eſſex, a ſtriplyng, of the age of .xvij. yeares: who beyng apprehended and ſent vp to Boner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Syr Iohn Mordaunt Knight, and Edmund Tyrrell Iuſtices of peace (as appeareth by their owne Letters before mentioned, pag. 1804.) was by Boner diuers tymes ſtraitly examined. In the which examinations he was charged not to haue come to his Pariſh Churche by the ſpace of one yeare or more. Wherunto he graunted, confeſſyng therewithall, ÿ once for feare he had bene at the Churche, and there had receiued the Popiſhe Sacrament of the aultar, for the which he was hartely ſory, deteſtyng the ſame with all his hart.

Iames Harris repenteth his commyng to the Popiſh Church.

The cauſe of Iames Harris ſcourging.

After this and ſuch like aunſweres, Boner (the better to try him,) perſwaded him to go to ſhrift. The Lad ſomewhat to fulfill his requeſt, conſented to go, & did. But when he came to the Prieſt, he ſtode ſtill and ſayd nothyng. Why quoth the Prieſt, ſayeſt thou nothyng? What ſhould I ſay, ſayd Harris? Thou muſt confeſſe thy ſinnes, ſayd the prieſt. My ſinnes (ſayth he) be ſo many, that they can not be numbred. With that the Prieſt told, Boner what he had ſayd, and he of his accuſtomed deuotion, toke the poore Lad into his garden, and there with a rodde gathered out of a Chery tree, did moſt cruelly whippe him.

¶The ſcourging of Rob. Williams a Smith.

The ſcourging of Rob. Williams.

OUer and beſides theſe aboue mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who beyng apprehended in the ſame company, was alſo tormented after the like maner with roddes in his arbour: who there ſubſcribyng and yeldyng him ſelfe by promiſe to obey the lawes, after beyng let go, refuſed ſo to doe: whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be founde, for that he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and went not abrode but by ſtelth: and nowe in the meane tyme of thys perſecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the handes, of hys enemies. The Lord therfore be honored for euer, Amen.

¶And foraſmuch as I haue begon to wryte of Boners ſcourgyng, by the occaſion therof commeth to mynde to inferre by the way, hys beatyng of other boyes and children, and drawing them naked through the nettels, in hys iorney rowyng toward Fulham. The ſtory although it touch no matter of Religion, yet becauſe it toucheth ſomethyng the nature & diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the reader weried percaſe with other dolefull ſtories, I thought here not to omitte.

¶Boner cauſeth certeine Boyes to be beaten.

B. Boner cauſeth certayne boyes to be beaten.

BOner paſſing from London to Fulham by Barge, hauyng Iohn Miles and Thomas Hinſhaw aboue mentioned with hym, both priſoners for Religion, by the way as he went by water, was ſaying Euenſong with Harpſfield his Chapleyne in the Barge and beyng about the middle of their deuout Orizons, they eſpied a ſort of young boies ſwimming and waſhyng them ſelues in the Thamis ouer agaynſt Lambeth, or a litle aboue: vnto whom hee went and gaue very gentle language, and fayre ſpeach, vntil he had ſet his men a land. That done, his men ran after the boyes to get them, as the Byſhop commaunded them before, beatyng ſome with nettles, drawyng ſome thorough buſhes of nettels naked, and ſome they made leape into the Thamis to ſaue them ſelues, that it was merueil they were not drowned.

Boners pitifull hart.

Now as the children for feare did cry, and as this ſkirmiſhing was betwene them, immediately came a greater lad thether, to know what the matter ment that the boies made ſuch a noyſe. Whome when the Byſhop eſpied, hee aſked hym whether he would maintayne them in their doynges or no. Unto whome the young fellow made aunſwere ſtoutly yea. Then the Byſhop commaunded hym to be taken alſo: but he ran away with ſpeede, and thereby auoided the Byſhops bleſſyng. Now when the Byſhop ſaw hym to flie away, and an other man ſittyng vpon a rayle in ÿ way where he ran, he willed hym likewiſe to ſtop the boy: and becauſe he woulde not, hee commaunded his men to ſet that man to hym alſo: but he hearyng that, ran away, as faſt as he could, & by leaping ouer the ditch, eſcaped ÿ byſhop in like maner.

Then the Byſhop ſeyng the ſucceſſe of his battayle to proue no better, cryed to a couple of ferry boyes to runne and holde him that laſt ranne away. And for that they ſayd they coulde not (as in deede it was true) therefore he cauſed hys men by and by to take and beat them. The boyes hearyng that, leapt into the water to ſaue them ſelues: notwithſtandyng they were caught, and in the water by the Byſhopes men were holden and beaten.

Boners deuout Orizons.

Nowe, after the ende of thys great ſkirmiſh, the Byſhops men returned to their maiſter agayn into the Barge and he and Harpſfield his Chaplayne went to theyr Euenſõg a freſh where they left, & ſo ſayd forth ÿ reſt of their ſeruice, as cleane without malice, as an egge without meat. The Lorde geue hym repentaunce (if it be hys will) & grace to become a new man, Amen.

¶The whipping of a begger at Saliſbury.

A poore begger whipt at Saliſbury, for not receiuing with the Papiſtes at Eaſter.

UNto theſe aboue ſpecified, is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a certaine poore ſtarued ſely begger, who becauſe he woulde not receaue the Sacrament at Eaſter in the towne of Colingborow, was brought to Saliſbury with Billes and Gleiues to the Chauncellour Doctor Geffrey, who caſt hym into the Dongeon, and after cauſed hym miſerably to be whipped of two catchpoles. The ſight wherof made all Godly hartes to rewe it, to ſee ſuch tyranny to bee ſhewed vpon ſuch a ſimple and ſely wretch: for they whiche ſaw hym haue reported, that they neuer ſawe a more ſimple creature. But what pity can moue the hartes of merciles Papiſtes?

Actes. 5.

Beſides theſe aboue named, diuers other alſo ſuffred the like ſcourgynges and whippinges in their bodies for the faythfull ſtandyng in the truth. Of whom it may bee ſayd, as it is written of the holy Apoſtles in the Actes, whiche departed from the Councell, reioyſing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Ieſus.

¶An other treatiſe of ſuch as beyng purſued in Q. Maries tyme, were in great daunger, and yet through the good prouidence of God mercifully were preſerued.

A treatiſe of Gods mercy and prouidence in preſeruing good men and women, in the tyme of this perſecution.

Q. Mary.

An. 1558.

ALthough the ſecrete purpoſe of almighty GOD, which diſpoſeth all thynges, ſuffered a great number of his faythfull ſeruauntes both men & women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemyes handes, and to abyde the brunt of this perſecution, to be tryed with roddes, with whippes, with rackes, with fetters and famine, with burnyng of handes, with pluckyng of beardes, with burnyng alſo both hand, beard, and body. &c.

Yet notwithſtandyng ſome there were againe, & that a great nũber, who miraculouſly by yͤ mercyfull prouidence of GOD, agaynſt all mans expectation, in ſafetie were deliuered out of yͤ fiery rage of this perſecution, either by voydyng yͤ Realme, or ſhiftyng of place, or the Lord ſo blyndyng the eyes of the perſecutours, or diſpoſing the opportunitie of tyme, or workyng ſome ſuch meanes or other for his ſeruauntes, as not onely ought to ſtyrre them vp to perpetuall thankes, but alſo may moue all men both to behold and magnifie the wonderous workes of the almighty.

About what tyme it began to be knowen that Queene Mary was ſicke, diuers good men were in hold in diuers quarters of the Realme, ſome at Bury, ſome at Saliſbury, as Iohn Hunt and Richard White, of whom we haue ſtoried before, & ſome at London amongeſt whō was W. Liuyng with his wife, and Iohn Lithall, of whom ſomething remayneth now compendiouſly to be touched.

¶ The trouble and deliueraunce of William Liuyng, with his wife, and of Iohn Lithall, Miniſters.

The deliuerance of W. Liuing, his wyfe, and of Iohn Lithall.

ABout the tyme of the latter ende of Queene Mary, ſhe then beyng ſicke, came one Core a Promoter to the houſe of William Liuyng, about vj. of the clocke, accompanyed with one Iohn Launce of the Grayhounde. They beyng not ready, they demaunded for buttons, ſaying they ſhould be as well payed for them, as euer was any: and he would come about three houres after agayne for them.

Deane Conſtable George Hãcocke Beadell, perſecutors.

In the meane while he had gotten the Conſtable called Maiſter Deane, and George Hancocke the Beadle of that Ward, and ſearchyng his bookes, found a booke of Aſtronomy, called the worke of Iohannes de ſacro buſto de ſphæra, with figures, ſome rounde, ſome triangle, ſome quadrate: which booke becauſe it was gilted, ſemed to him the chiefeſt booke there, and that he caried open in the ſtreete, ſaying: I haue found him at length. It is no maruell the Queene be ſicke, ſeyng there be ſuch coniurers in priuy corners: but now I truſt he ſhall coniure no more, and ſo brought him and his wife from Shoe lane through Fleete ſtreete into Paules Churchyard, with the Conſtable, the Beadle, and ij. other followyng them, till they were entred into Darbyſhyres houſe, who was Byſhop Boners Chauncellour: And after the Conſtable and they had talked with Darbyſhyre, he came forth and walked in his yard, ſaying theſe wordes.

Talke betwene Darbiſhyre and W. Liuing, Prieſt.

Darbyſhyre. What is your name?

Lyuing. William Liuyng.

Darb. What are you, a Prieſt?

Lyuyng. Yea.

Darb. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Lyuing. That ſhe is.

Darb. Where were you made Prieſt?

Liuyng. At Obourne.

Darb. In what Byſhops dayes?

Liuyng. By the Byſhop of Lincolne that was kyng Henryes ghoſtly father in Cardinall Wolſeyes tyme.

Darb. You are a Schiſmaticke and a traytor.

Liuyng. I would be ſory that were true. I am certaine I neuer was traytor, but alwayes haue taught obedience, accordyng to the tenour of Gods word: and when tumultes & ſchiſmes haue bene ſtyrred, I haue preached Gods word, and ſwaged them, as in the tyme of kyng Edward.

Darb. What, you are a Schiſmaticke. You be not in the vnitie of the Catholicke Churche: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth: you pray in Engliſh.

Liuyng. We are certaine we be in the true Church.

Darb. There be that doubteth therof, for ſomuch as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learne agaynſt I talke with you agayne, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a member therof.

Liuyng. If the Church of Rome be of that Church wherof Chriſt is the head, then am I a member thereof: for I know no other Church but that.

Darb. Well, Cluny take him with thee to the Colehouſe.

Then called he Cluny agayne, and ſpake ſecretly to him what I know not.

Cluny playeth the theefe.

Then ſayd Cluny: wilt thou not come: and ſo plucked me away violently and brought me to his owne houſe in Pater noſter Rowe, where he robbed me of my purſe, my girdle, and my Pſalter, and a new Teſtament of Geneua, and then brought me to the Colehouſe to put me in the ſtockes, ſaying: put in both your legges and your handes alſo: and except you fine with me, I will put a collor about your necke. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty ſhillinges: quoth he. I am neuer able to pay it, ſayd I.

Note the rauenous dealing of theſe Papiſtes.

Then ſayd he: you haue frendes that bee able. I denyed it: and ſo he put both my legges into the ſtockes tyll ſupper tyme, which was vi. of the clocke, and then a coſin of my wiues brought me meate, who ſeyng mee ſo ſit there, ſayd: I will geue you xl. pence and let hym go at libertie: and he tooke her money, and preſently let me forth in her ſight, to eate my ſupper. And at vij. of the clocke he put me into the ſtockes agayne, and ſo I remayned till two of the clocke the next day, and ſo he let me forth til night.

W. Liuing layd in the Lolardes Tower.

The thurſday folowing at afternone was I called to the Lollardes tower, and there put in the ſtockes, hauing the fauour to put my leg in that hole that Maiſter Iohn Philpotes leg was in, and ſo lay al that night, no body commyng to me, eyther with meate or drynke.

At a xj. of the clocke on the Fryday, Cluny came to me with meate, and let me forth, and about one of the clocke he brought me to Darbyſhyres houſe, who drew forth a ſcrole of names, and aſked me if I knewe none of them. I ſayd I knew none of them, but Foſter. And ſo I kneeled downe vpon my knees, and prayed hym that he would not enquire therof any farther. And with that came forth two Godly women, which ſayd: Mayſter Darbyſhyre, it is inough, & ſo became ſuerties for me, and payd to Cluny xv.s. for my fees, and bad me go with them.

William Liuing deliuered.

And thus much concernyng William Liuing. After this came his wife to examination, whoſe aunſweres to Darbyſhyre the Chauncellour, here likewiſe follow.

¶ The examination of Iulian Liuing, wife to William Liuing.

Talke betwene Darbyſhyre and Liuinges wyfe.

DArbyſhyre. Ah ſyrha: I ſee by your gown you be one of the Siſters.

Iulian. I weare not my gowne for Siſterhod, neyther for Nunnery, but to keepe me warme.

Darby. Nunne? No I dare ſay you be none. Is that man your huſband?

Iulian. Yea.

Darby. He is a Prieſt.

Iulian. No, he ſayth no Maſſe.

Darby. What then? he is a Prieſt. How dareſt thou mary hym.

Then he ſhewed me a role of certaine names of Citizens. To whom I aunſwered, I knew none of them.

Then ſayd he: you ſhall be made to know them.

Then ſayd I: do no other but iuſtice and right, for the day will come that you ſhall aunſwere for it.

Darby. Why woman, thinkeſt thou not that I haue a ſoule.

Iulian. Yes, I know you haue a ſoule: but whether it be to ſaluation or damnation, I can not tell.

Liuinges wyfe commaunded to the Lolardes Tower.

Darb. Ho Cluny, haue her to the Lolardes Tower. And ſo he tooke me, and caryed me to hys houſe, where was one Dale a Promotor, which ſayd to me: Alas good woman, wherfore be you here.

Dale a Promotor.

What is that to you, ſayd I?

You be not aſhamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherfore you came hether.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Chriſtes Teſtament.

Chriſtes Teſtament, quoth he? it is the Deuils Teſtament.

Oh Lorde, quoth I. God forbid that any man ſhoulde ſpeake any ſuch word.

Well, well, quoth he: you ſhall bee ordered well inough. You care not for burnyng, quoth he. By Gods bloud there muſt be ſome other meanes found for you.

What quoth I, will you finde any worſe then you haue founde?

Well quoth he, you hope and you hope: but your hope ſhall be a ſlope. For though the Queene fayle, ſhe that you hope for, ſhall neuer come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals Grace, and many more, betwene her and it.

Marke the hope of the Papiſtes.

Then quoth I: my hope is in none but in God.

Then ſayd Cluny: Come with me: and ſo went I to the Lollardes Tower. On the next day Darbyſhyre ſent for me agayne, and enquired agayne of thoſe Citizens that he enquired of before.

I aunſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sonday was fortenight?

And I ſayd, in no place.

The yͤ Conſtable of S. Brides being there made ſute for me.

And

The Conſtable of S. Brides ſurety for Iuliã Liuing.

And Darbyſhyre demaunded of him if hee would bee bounde for me.

He aunſwered, yea. And ſo he was bounde for my appearaunce betwixt that and Chriſtmas.

Then Darbyſhyre ſayd: you be Conſtable, and ſhould geue her good counſell.

So do I quoth he. For I byd her go to Maſſe, and to ſay as you ſay. For by the Maſſe, if you ſay the Crow is white, I will ſay ſo to.

Liuing and hys wyfe deliuered by the death of Q. Mary.

And thus much concernyng the examination of William Lyuyng, and his wiſe, whom although thou ſeeſt here deliuered through the requeſt of women, his ſureties, yet it was no doubt, but the deadly ſickenes of Queene Mary abated and hindred then the crueltie of thoſe Papiſtes, which otherwiſe would neuer haue let them go.

¶The trouble and deliueraunce
of Iohn Lithall.

Iohn Lithall brought to examination by Iohn Aruales.

AT the takyng of William Lyuyng, it happened that certaine of his bookes were in the cuſtody of one Iohn Lithall. Whiche knowen, the Conſtable of the Warde of Southwarke, with other of the Queenes ſeruauntes, were ſent to his houſe, who breakyng open hys doores and cheſtes, tooke away not onely the bookes of the ſayd William Lyuyng, but alſo all his owne bookes, wrytynges and Billes of debtes, whiche he neuer had agayne. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saterday after, as he was returned, and knowen to be at home, Iohn Aruales and certaine of the Queenes ſeruauntes beſet his houſe all the night, with ſuch carefull watch, that as he in the mornyng iſſued out of his doores, thinkyng to eſcape their handes, Iohn Aruales ſodeinly burſtyng out vpon him, cryed, ſtop the traytor, ſtop the traytor. Whereat Lithall beyng amaſed, looked backe.

And ſo Iohn Aruales came runnyng to him, with other that were with him, ſaying: ha Syrra: you are a pretty traytorly fellow in deede: we haue had ſomewhat to doe to get you. To whom he aunſwered, that he was a truer man to the Queenes Maieſtie then he. For you (ſayd he) are commaunded by God to keepe holy the Sabboth day, and you ſeeke to ſhed your neighbours bloud on the Sabboth day. Remember that you muſt aunſwere therfore to God. But he ſayd, come on you villaine, you muſt go before the Counſell. So was Lithall brought into Paules Churchyard to the Byſhops Chauncellour, by Iohn Aruales, ſaying, that he had there caught the Captaine of theſe fellowes, and ſo cauſed him to be called to examinatiõ before Doctour Darbyſhyre, who entred with him talke in this wiſe.

Lithall brought before D. Darbiſhyre Chauncellor.

Talke betwene Lithal and the Chauncellor.

Chauncellour. What countrey man are you?

Lithall. I am an Engliſhman, borne in Staffordſhyre.

Chaunc. Where were you brought vp?

Lith. In this our countrey of England.

Chaunc. In what Vniuerſitie?

Lith. In no Vniuerſitie, but in a free ſchole.

Chaunc. We haue had certaine bookes from your houſe and wrytynges, wherein is both treaſon and hereſie.

Lith. Syr, there is neither treaſon nor hereſie in them.

Chaunc. Thẽ he aſked for certaine other men that I knew.

Lithall. If you haue ought to lay to my charge I will aunſwere it: but I will haue no other mans bloud vpon my head.

Chauncellour. Why come you not to the Churche? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your owne Pariſh Churche?

Lithall. I am of the Churche of Chriſt, the fountaine of all goodnes.

Chaũ. Haue you no Miniſters of your church but Chriſt?

Lith. We haue others.

Chaunc. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole world diſparſed, preachyng and profeſſing the Goſpell and fayth onely in our Sauiour Ieſus, as he commaunded them.

Chauncellour. You boaſt much euery one of you of your fayth and beliefe: Let me heare therfore the effect howe you beleue.

Iuſtification by Fayth onely.

Lithall. I beleue to be iuſtified freely by Chriſt Ieſu, accordyng to the ſaying of S. Paule to the Epheſians, without either deedes or workes, or any thyng that may be inuented by man.

Chaunc. Fayth can not ſaue without workes.

Lith. That is contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Chaunc. Iohn Aruales, you and the Keeper haue this fellow to priſon.

Cluny, and Iohn Aruales. Then Iohn Aruales and Cluny the Keeper had me into Paules, and would haue had me to haue ſene the Apoſtles Maſſe.

Lithall. I know none the Apoſtles had; and therfore I will ſee none.

Cluny, and Iohn Aruales. Come kneele downe before the roode, and ſay a Pater noſter and an Aue in the worſhyp of the fiue woundes.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods own mouth to kneele to any Idoll or Image: therfore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremitie, the one hauyng me by one arme, and the other by the other, but God gaue me at that preſent tyme more ſtrength then both theſe, his name be prayſed for it.

Lithall denyeth to kneele before the Roode.

Then when they could not make me to kneele before the roode, neither to ſee their Maſſe, there gathered a great cõpany about vs, and all agaynſt me. Some ſpitte on me, and ſayd: fie on thee hereticke, and other ſaid it was pitie I was not burned already.

Then they caryed me to Lollardes Tower and hanged me in a great payre of ſtockes, in the which I lay three dayes and three nightes, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſturre nor moue.

Then I offered the Keeper certaine money and gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the ſtockes, and he ſayd I would not be ruled by him, neither to ſee Maſſe nor to kneele before the roode, and therefore I ſhould lye there ſtill. But I ſayd I would neuer doe the thyng that ſhould be agaynſt my cõſcience, and though you haue lamed my body, yet my conſcience is whole, I prayſe GOD for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the ſtockes, more for the loue of my money (as it may be thought) then for any other affection, & within foure or fiue dayes my wife got leaue of Maiſter Chauncellour to come to me, to bryng me ſuch thynges as were needefull for me, and there I lay fiue weekes and odde dayes. In the whiche tyme diuers of my neighbours and frendes made ſute to the Chauncellour for my deliueraũce, the Byſhop, as they ſayd, at that tyme beyng at Fulham ſicke. So my neighbours beyng there, about 20. of them, the Chauncellour ſent for me out of the Lollardes Tower to his owne houſe, and ſayd as followeth.

Lithalls neighbours make ſute for him.

Chauncellour. Lithall, here be of thy neighbours whiche haue bene with me to intreate for thee, and they haue informed me that thou haſt bene a very honeſt and a quiet neighbour amongeſt them, and I thinke it be Gods will that I ſhould deliuer thee before my Lord come home. For if hee come and thou go home agayne, I will be burned for thee, for I know his mynde already in that matter.

Lith. I geue you harty thankes for your gentlenes, and my neighbours for their good report.

Chauncellour. Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bounde for thy forth commyng whenſoeuer thou ſhalt be called for, and alſo thou wilt be an obedient ſubiect, I ſhalbe content to deliuer thee.

Neighbours. If it pleaſe your worſhyp, we will be bounde for him both in body and goodes.

Chauncellour. I will require no ſuch bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in 20. pounde a peece, that he ſhall come to aunſwere when he ſhall be called.

Lithall. Where finde you, Maiſter Chauncellour, in all ẏ Scripture, that the Church of GOD did bynde any man for the profeſſion of his fayth? whiche profeſſion you haue heard of me, that all our iuſtification, righteouſneſſe, and ſaluation, commeth onely and freely by the merites of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and all the inuentions and workes of men, be they neuer ſo glorious, be altogether vayne, as the wiſe man ſayth.

Chauncellour. Loe where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you: for in that I beleue as you do: but yet S. Iames ſayth that a man is iuſtified by workes.

S. Iames expounded.

Lithall. Saint Iames ſpake to thoſe that boaſted themſelues of fayth and ſhewed no workes of fayth. But O maiſter Chauncellour, remember I pray you, how all the promiſes and prophecies of the holy Scripture, euen from the firſt promiſe that GOD made to Adam, and ſo euen to the latter end to the Reuelation of S. Iohn, do teſtifie that in the name of Ieſus, and onely by his merites, all that beleue ſhall be ſaued from all their ſinnes and offences. Eſay ſayth: I am founde of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that aſked not after me: but agaynſt Iſraell he ſayth: All day long haue I ſtretched out my hand to a people that beleue not. And when the Iaylor aſked S. Paule what he ſhould do to be ſaued, the Apoſtle ſayd: Beleue in the Lorde Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued and all thy houſhold.

Eſay. 65.

Actes. 16.

Agayne, S. Iohn ſayth in the Reuelation, that there was none, neither in heauen, nor in earth, neither vnder the earth, that was able to open the booke nor the ſeales therof, but onely the Lambe Ieſus our onely Sauiour. And S. Paule ſayth: With one offeryng hath hee made perfect for euer them that are ſanctified.

Heb. 9.

Chaunc. With vayne glory you rehearſe much Scripture, as all ẏ ſort of you do: but you haue no more vnderſtanding than a many of ſheepe. But to the purpoſe. Will you that your neighbours ſhall enter into bondes for you, or not?

Lith. By my mynde they ſhall not. Wherfore I deſire you that you would not bynde me, but let me ſerue God with my conſcience freely. For it is written: They that lead into captiuitie ſhall go into captiuitie, and they that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.

Lithall refuſeth to put in bonde. Apoc. 13.

Alſo it is written in the Goſpell of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt: that who ſo doth offẽd one of theſe litle ones which beleue in me, it were better for him that a milſtone were hãged about his necke, and that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea. Of the which I am aſſured by his holy ſpirit that I am one. Wherfore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, vnto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Math. 18.

Chaune. You are a madde man. I would not bynde you, but that I muſt needes haue ſomewhat to ſhewe for your deliueraunce. Then he called two of my neighbours, Thomas Daniell and Saunders Mayde, which offered themſelues to be bounde, and called me before them, and ſayd: I haue a letter of his owne hand writyng with his name and ſeale at it, with a booke alſo agaynſt the Regiment of women, for the whiche I could make him to be hanged, drawen, & quartred, but on my fayth I will him no more hurt, then I meane to myne owne ſoule.

Lith. I deſire you that be my neighbours and frendes, that you will not enter into bondes for me: for you know not the daunger therof, neither I my ſelfe: It goeth agaynſt my conſcience that ye ſhould ſo do.

Chaſe. Why I will not bynde you to do any thyng agaynſt your conſcience.

Neighboures. Then they made the bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeale to it alſo: and I ſayd that I would not, neither could I obſerue the bonde, and therfore I would not ſet to my hand.

His neighbours enter into bonde for him.

Chaune. It is pitie that thou haſt ſo much fauour ſhewed thee: yet for theſe honeſt mẽs ſake I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſemblyng wordes of Maiſter Darbyſhyre, pretendyng for fauour of his ſureties to ſet him at libertie, it was no ſuch thyng, nor any zeale of charitie that moued him ſo to do, but onely feare of the tyme, vnderſtandyng the daungerous and vnrecouerable ſickeneſſe of Queene Mary, which then began ſomewhat to aſſwage the cruell proceedynges of theſe perſecutours, whereby they durſt not do that they would: for els Lithall was not lyke to haue eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Edward Grew.

Edward Grew, and Ippline his wyfe.

MOreouer, there was one Edward Grew Prieſt, & Ippline his wife compelled to fly from their dwellyng at a Towne called Broke: and ÿ man beyng very aged, traueiled abroad to keepe a good conſcience.

At the laſt he was taken and layd in Colcheſter Caſtle, where he remayned till Queene Elizabeth came to her regall ſeate, and by the alteration of Religion he was deliuered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccour him.

William Browne.

W. Browne of Suffolke.

WIlliam Browne Parſon of Litell Stonham, in the Countie of Suffolke, made a Sermon in the ſayd Towne, incontinently after the buriall of our good kyng Edward, and in his Sermon he ſayd: there goeth a report, that our good kyng is buryed with a Maſſe by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he hauyng a miter vpon his head. But if it were ſo (ſayth he) they are all traytours that ſo do, becauſe it is both agaynſt the truth and the lawes of this Realme, and it is great Idolatrie and blaſphemy, and agaynſt the glory of God: and they are no frendes neither to God, the kyng, nor yet vnto the Realme that ſo do. For this his preachyng, one Robert Blomefield, an aduerſary to the truth, beyng then Conſtable of the ſayd Towne, & Bailiffe vnto ſir John Jernyngham Knight (the chief Lord of that Towne) immediatly rode forth, & brought home with him one Edward Gouldyng, which was then vnder Sheriffe, Syr Thomas Cornewalis beyng then high Sheriffe.

Robert Blomefield, perſecutor.

Edward Gouldyng vnder Shrieffe. Syr Thomas Conewalis high Shrieffe.

So the ſayd Goldyng and Blomfield ſent for certaine men of the ſayd Towne, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a ſmall aunſwere. Then the Sheriffe made a Bill, and ſo feared the men, that two or three of them ſet to their handes, and one of them neuer ioyed after, but it was a grief to him till he dyed.

Then did they take men with them vnto the Parſons houſe, and in the night they tooke him, and with watchmen kept him vntill it was day. Then ſhould he haue bene caried the next day to the Counſell: but the ſayd Robert Blomefield was taken ſo ſicke, that he was like to dye: ſo that he could not cary him for his life.

W. Browne perſecuted and takẽ.

Then the ſayd Sheriffe ſent him to Ipſwich agayne, and there he was for a tyme. Then he was ſent to Bury priſon, and from thence to the Councell, and then into the Fleete: and ſo he lay in priſon from the beginning of harueſt till it was nigh Chriſtmas, and he ſayd God gaue him ſuch aunſweres to make when he was examined, that he was deliuered with quietneſſe of conſcience. And hauyng his libertie, he came agayne vnto the foreſayd Towne: and becauſe he would not go to Maſſe, his liuyng was taken away, and he and his wife were conſtrained to fly here and there, for his life and conſciẽce. In the laſt yeare of Queene Maryes raigne God did take him out of this life in peace.

W. Browne deliuered.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that this Robert Blomfield aboue named, immediatly after he had apprehended the ſayd Browne, fell very ſicke: And though at that tyme he was a wealthy man and of a great ſubſtaunce (beſide his land, which was better then twenty pounde a yeare) after this tyme, G O D ſo plagued his houſhold, that his eldeſt ſonne dyed, and his wife had a pinyng ſickeneſſe till ſhe departed this life alſo.

Example of Gods puniſhment vpon a perſecutor.

Then maryed he an other, a richer widow: but all would not helpe, and nothyng would proſper: For he had a ſore pinyng ſickeneſſe, beyng full of botches and ſores, whereby he waſted away both body and goodes, till he dyed.

So when he dyed, he was aboue. xx. ſcore poundes in debt, and it was neuer heard of any repentaunce he had. But a litle before his death, he bragged, and threatned a good mã, one Symon Harlſton, to put him forth to the Officers, becauſe he did weare no Surplis when he ſayd ſeruice.

Wherefore it is pitie ſuch bryers of Popery are left to the enemyes to take Chriſtians in. GOD take them away, or els from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blyndneſſe and ſtrife amongeſt men.

Furthermore, out of the ſayd Towne were conſtrayned to flye Robert Bocle and John Trapne, becauſe they would not goe to Maſſe and receaue their Sacrament of the aultar.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatiſe of the ſcourgyng of Thomas Greene, how hee was troubled and beaten by Doctour Story, for a certaine booke called Antichriſt, which he receaued of a woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who commyng from Emden to England, brought with her diuers bookes and ſparſed them abroad in London, for the whiche ſhe beyng at length eſpyed and layd faſt, was brought to examination xiij. tymes before the Catholicke Inquiſitours of hereticall prauitie. Of the which her examinations, &c. haue come to our handes.

Wherein how fiercely ſhe was aſſaulted, how ſhamefully ſhe was reuiled, how miſerably handled, and what aunſweres ſhe made vnto the aduerſaries in her owne defence, and finally after all this, how ſhe eſcaped and paſſed through ÿ pikes (being yet, as I heare ſay, aliue) I thought to giue the Reader here to ſee and vnderſtand.

The firſt examination of Elizabeth Young before Maiſter Huſſie.

The firſt examination of Elizabeth Young.

WHo examined her of many thynges: Firſt where ſhe was borne, and who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young. Syr, all this is but vayne talke, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to aunſwere vnto ſuch thynges as I came for. Ye haue not (I thinke) put me in priſon to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you goe to the matter that I came hether for.

M. Huſſy. Wherfore wenteſt thou out of the Realme?

Elizabeth. To keepe my conſcience cleane.

Huſſy. When waſt thou at Maſſe?

Elizabeth. Not this three yeares.

Huſſy. Then waſt thou not there iij. yeares before that.

Elizabeth. No Syr, nor yet iij. yeares more before that, for and if I were, I had euill lucke.

Huſſy. How old art thou?

Elizabeth. Fourty and vpwardes.

Huſſy. Twenty of thoſe yeares thou wenteſt to Maſſe.

Elizabeth. Yea, and twenty more I may and yet come home as wiſe as I went thether firſt, for I vnderſtand it not.

Huſſy. Why wilt not thou go to the Maſſe?

Elizabeth. Syr, my conſcience will not ſuffer me: For I had rather that all the world ſhould accuſe me, then myne owne conſcience.

Elizabeth Young refuſeth to goe to Maſſe.

Huſſy. What and if a louſe or a flea ſticke vpon thy ſleeue, and bite thy fleſh, thou muſt make a conſciẽce in the takyng her of: is there not a conſcience in it?

Elizabeth. That is but an eaſie Argument to diſplace the

Scriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my ſaluation dependeth vppon: for it is but an eaſie conſcience that a man can make.

Elizabeth Young will not ſweare and why.

Huſſy. But why wylt thou not ſweare vpon the Euangeliſt before a Iudge?
Eliz. Becauſe I know not what a booke oth is.
Huſſy. Then he began to teach her the booke oth.
Eliz. Syr, I do not vnderſtand it, and therefore I wyll not learne it.
Huſſy. Then ſaid he: thou wylt not vnderſtand it: and with that roſe vp and went his way.

¶ Her ſecond examination before Doctour Martin.

The ſecond examination of Elizabeth young.

Elizabeth Young for bringing ouer bookes.

Who ſaid to her: Woman, thou art come from beyond the ſea, and haſt brought with thee bookes of hereſie and treaſon, and thou muſt confeſſe to vs, who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them ouer (for once I knowe thee to be but a meſſenger:) and in ſo doing the Queenes highnes wyl be good to thee (for ſhee hath forgiuen greater thinges then this) and thou ſhalt find as much fauour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborne, and wylt not confeſſe, thou wylt be wonderous euyll handled: for we knowe the truth alredy, but thus we do, only to ſee whether thou wilt be true of thy word, or no.
Eliz. Syr, ye haue my confeſſion, and more then that I can not ſay.
Martin. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doeſt thou thinke that we wyll be full anſwered by this examination that thou haſt made? Thou rebel whore and traytorly heretike thou doeſt refuſe to ſweare vpō the Euangeliſt before a Iudge, I heare ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked inchmeale, thou traytourly whore and heretike, but thou ſhalt ſweare afore a Iudge before thou goe: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſſe how many bookes thou haſt ſolde, and to whom.

D. Martyn threatneth her with the racke.

Eliz. Syr I vnderſtand not what an oth is, and therfore I wyll take no ſuche thyng vppon me. And no man hath bought any bookes of me as yet. For thoſe booke that I had, you Commiſſioners haue them al.
Mart. Thou traytourly whore, we know that thou haſte ſold a number of bookes, yea, and to whom: and how many tymes thou haſt bene here, and where thou layeſt, and euery place that thou haſt bene in. Doeſt thou thinke that thou haſt fooles in hand?
Eliz. No Syr, ye be too wyſe for me: for I can not tel how many places I haue ben in my ſelfe: but if I were in Turkey I ſhoulde haue meate and drinke and lodgyng for my money.
Mart. Thou rebel whore, thou haſt ſpoken euyl wordes by the Queene, and thou dwelleſt amongeſt a ſorte of Traytours and Rebelles, that can not geue the Queene a good worde.

Elizabeth Young charged for ſpeaking againſt the Queene.

Eliz. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, nor yet is there any man that can approue any ſuche thynges by me, or lay vnto my charge. For I knowe by Gods worde, and Gods booke hath taught me what is my duetie to God, and vnto my Queene, and therefore (as I ſaide) I am aſſured that no man liuyng vppon the earth can approue any ſuch thinges by me.
Mart. Thou rebell and traytourly whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and handled, that thou ſhalt be an example to al ſuch traytourly whores and heretikes. And thou ſhalt be made to ſweare by the holy Euangeliſt, and confeſſe to whom thou haſte ſolde all and euery of theſe hereticall bookes that thou haſte ſolde: for we knowe what number thou haſte ſold, and to whom: but thou ſhalt be made to confeſſe it in ſpite of thy blood.
Eliz. Here is my carkas: do with it what ye wyll, & more then that can ye not haue. Maiſter Martin, ye can haue no more but my blood.

Then fared he as though he had bene ſtarke mad, and ſaid: Martin? Why calleſt thou me Martin?
Eliz. Syr, I knowe you well enough, for I haue bene before you ere nowe. Ye deliuered me once at Weſtminſter.
Mart. Where dwelleſt thou dwell then?
Eliz. I dwelled in the Minories.
Mart. I deliuered thee & thy huſband both: & I thought then that thou wouldeſt haue done otherwiſe then thou doeſt nowe. For if thou hadſt ben before any biſhop in England, and ſaid the wordes that thou diddeſt before me, thou hadſt borne a fagot: and though thou dydſt not burne then, thou art like to burne or hang now.

Elizabeth young & her huſband deliuered by D. Martyn

Eliz. Syr, I promiſed you tho, that I would neuer be fed with an vnknowen tongue, and no more I wyl not yet.
Mart. I ſhall fede thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fedde with that (I warrant thee) whiche ſhalbe ſmally to thyne eaſe.
Eliz. Doo what God ſhall ſuffer you to doo: for more ye ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the keepers houſe, and ſaid to the wyfe: Whom haſt thou ſuffered to come to this vile traytourly whore and heretike to ſpeake with her? Then ſaide the keepers wife, as God receiue my ſoule, here came neither man, woman, nor childe to aſke for her.
Mart. If any man, woman, or childe come to aſke for her, I charge thee in paine of death, that they be layde faſt, and geue her one day bread, and an other day water.

Elizabeth Young commaunded to cloſe pryſon to haue one day bread, an other day water.

Eliz. If ye take away my meate, I truſte that God wyll take away my hunger: and ſo he departed, & ſaid, that was too good for her: & then was ſhee ſhut vp vnder two lockes in the Clincke, where ſhee was before.

¶ The thirde examination before Doctour Martin agayne.

The third examination of Elizabeth young.

Then was ſhee brought before hym in his Chamber, within my Lorde Chauncellours houſe, Who aſked her, ſaying: Elizabeth, wylt thou confeſſe theſe thynges that thou haſt bene examined vppon? For thou knoweſt that I haue beene thy frende: and in ſo doyng, I wyll be thy frende agayne: geuyng her many fayre wordes, & then demaundyng of her howe many Gentlemen were beyonde the Seas.

D. Martyn ſeeketh to know how many gentlemen were fled ouer the Seas.

Eliz. It is too much for me to tel you how many are on the other ſide.
Mart. No, I meane but in Frankford and Emden, where thou haſt bene.
Eliz. Syr, I dyd neuer take account of them: it is a thing that I looke not for.
Mart. When ſhall I heare a true worde come out of thy mouth?
Eliz. I haue tolde you the truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mynd, therfore ye wyl not credite it.
Mart. Wylt thou yet confeſſe? and if thou wylt, that that I haue promiſed, I wyll doo: and if thou wylt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt goe euen hence to the Racke, and therfore confeſſe.

Elizabeth Young agayne threatned with the racke.

Eliz. I can ſay no more then I haue ſayd.
Mart. Well, for as muche as ſhee wyll confeſſe no more, haue her awaye to the Racke, and then ſhee wyll be marred. Then anſwered a Prieſt that ſate there, and ſayde: Woman, take an oth and confeſſe: Wylt thou be hurt for other men?
Eliz. I can confeſſe no more then I haue. Doo with my carkas what ye wyl.

Shee agayne refuſeth to ſweare to accuſe other.

Mart. Dyd ye euer heare the like of this heretique? What a ſtoute heretique is this? We haue the truth, and we knowe the truth, and yet looke whether ſhee wyll confeſſe. There is no remedie but ſhee muſte needes to the Racke, and therefore away with her, and ſo commaunded her out of the doore, and called her keeper vnto hym, and ſayde to hym: There is no remedie but this heretike muſt be racked: and talked with hym more, but what it was ſhee heard not.

Then he called her in agayne, and ſayde: Wylt thou not confeſſe, and keepe thee from the Racke? I aduiſe thee ſo to doo: for if thou wylt not, thou knoweſt not the payne yet, but thou ſhalt do.
Eliz. Syr, I can confeſſe no more. Doo with my carkas what ye wyl.
Mart. Keeper, awaye with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſayd. Let her knowe the payne of the Racke. And ſo ſhee departed, thinkyng no leſſe, but that ſhee ſhould haue gon to the Racke, tyl ſhee ſaw the keeper turne toward ye Clincke agayne. And thus dyd God alienate their hartes and diminiſh their tyrannous power, vnto the tyme of further examination: for ſhee was brought before the Biſhop, the Deane, and the Chauncellour, and other Commiſſioners, firſt and laſt thyrteene tymes.

Elizabeth young commaunded agayne to the Clincke.

¶ The fourth examination was before the Biſhop of London, ſir Roger Cholmley, Doct. Cooke, the Recorder of London, Doctour Roper of Kent, and Doctour Martin, as concernyng her fayth, &c.

The fourth examination of Elizabeth yong.

Firſt, ſhee beyng preſented by Doctour Martin, before the Biſhop of London. Doctour Martin beganne to declare agaynſt her, ſaying: The Lorde Chauncellour hath ſent you here a woman, whiche hath brought bookes ouer from Emden, where all theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the lande with treaſon and hereſie: neyther yet wyll ſhee confeſſe who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them ouer. Wherfore my Lord Chancellor committeth her vnto my Lord of London, he to do with her as he ſhal thinke good. For ſhee wyll confeſſe nothing, but that ſhee bought theſe ſaid bookes in Hamſterdame, and ſo brought them ouer to ſel for gaine.

D. Martin preſenteth her to the Commiſſioners.

D. Cooke. Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall lyne, and make her to confeſſe.

Martin. The booke is called Antichriſt, & ſo may it be well called, for it ſpeaketh againſt Ieſus Chriſt & the Queene. And beſides that, ſhee hath a certaine ſparke of the Anabaptiſtes, for ſhee refuſeth to ſweare vpon the foure Euangeliſtes before a Iudge: For I my ſelfe and M. Huſſy haue had her before vs foure tymes, but we can not bring her to ſweare. Wherfore my Lord Chauncellour would that ſhee ſhould abſteine & faſt, for ſhee hath not faſted a great while: For ſhee hath laine in the Clincke a good while, where ſhee hath had too much her libertie.

The booke called Antichriſt.

Elizabeth Young a great while in the Clinke.

Then ſaid ỹ biſhop: why wilt thou not ſweare before a Iudge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptiſtes.

Eliz. My Lord, I wyl not ſweare that this hand is mine.

No ſaid the Biſhop? and why?

Eliz. My Lord, Chriſt ſaith, that what ſoeuer is more thē yea, yea, or nay, nay, it commeth of euyll. And moreouer, I know not what an oth is: and therfore I wyl take no ſuch thyng vpon me.

Elizabeth Young refuſeth to ſweare and why.

Then ſaid Cholmley: xx. pounde, it is a man in a womans clothes: xx. pound it is a man.

Elizabeth Young thought to be no woman.

Boner. Thinke you ſo my Lord?

Cholm. Yea, my Lord. &c.

Eliz. My Lord, I am a woman.

Biſh. Sweare her vpon a booke, ſeeing it is but a queſtion aſked.

Then ſaid Cholmley: I wyll lay twentie pound it is a man.

Then D. Cooke brought her a booke, commaunding her to lay theron her hand.

Eliz. No, my Lord, I wyl nat ſweare: for I knowe not what an oth is. But I ſay that I am a woman, and haue children.

Biſh. That know not we: wherfore ſweare.

Cholmley. Thou yl fauoured whore, lay thy hand vpon the booke: I wyl lay on myne, and ſo he layd his hand vpō the booke.

Eliz. So wyl not I myne.

Then the Biſhop ſpake a word in Latine, out of ſaint Paul, as concernyng ſwearing.

Eliz. My Lord, if ye ſpeake to me of S. Paul, thē ſpeake Engliſh, for I vnderſtand you not.

The Biſh. I dare ſweare that thou doeſt not.

Eliz. My Lord, S. Paul ſaith, that fiue wordes ſpoken in a language that may be vnderſtand, is better then many in a foreine or ſtrange tongue which is vnknowen.

Doctour Cooke. Sweare before vs whether thou be a mā or a woman.

Eliz. If ye wyll not beleue me, then ſend for women into a ſecret place, and I wyl be tryed.

Cholm. Thou art an yl fauoured whore.

Sacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid the Biſhop: How beleueſt thou in the Sacrament of the altar?

Eliz. My Lorde: if it wyll pleaſe you that I ſhall declare myne owne fayth, I wyl.

The Biſh. Tell me howe thou beleueſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

Eliz. Wyll it pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my fayth? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I wyl beleue it.

Doct. Cooke. That is wel ſaid, declare thy fayth.

The confeſſion and fayth of Elizabeth Young.

Eliz. I beleue in God the Father almightie, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God. I beleue all the Articles of my Creede. I beleue al thinges written in the holy Scripture, and all thinges agreeable with the ſcripture, geuen by the holy ghoſt into the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. I beleue that Ieſus Chriſt the only ſonne of GOD, that immaculate Lambe, came into the world to ſaue ſinners, & that in him, by hym, and through him I am made cleane frō my ſinnes, and without hym I coulde not. I beleue that in the holy ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, which he dyd inſtitute and ordeyne, and leaft among his Diſciples the night before he was betrayed, when I do receiue this ſacrament in faith and ſpirit, I do receiue Chriſt.

The Sacrament to be receaued in ſpirite and fayth.

Biſh. No more, I warrant you, but the ſacramēt of Chriſtes body and bloud, receiued but in ſpirite and faith, with theſe heretiques.

Cholm. Ah whore, ſpirit and faith, whore?

Cholmley can not abyde ſpirite and fayth.

Eliz. This ſacrament neuer man coulde or dyd make, but only he that dyd that, which no man could do,

Mart. Then thou muſt allow that graſſe is a ſacrament: for who could make graſſe but he only?

Eliz. Syr, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient Sacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his Sacrament ſufficient once for all, for there was neuer man that coulde ſay: Take, eate, this is my body that is broken for you, but onely Ieſus Chriſte, who had his bodye broken for the ſinnes of the worlde: which Sacrament he hath leaft here amongeſt vs for a teſtimoniall of his death, euen to the worldes ende.

Inſtitution of the Sacrament by Chriſt onely once for all.

Mart. Who taught thee this doctrine? dyd Scory?

Eliz. Yea, Biſhop Scory and other that I haue heard.

Biſh. Why, is Scory Biſhop now?

Eliz. If that do offende you, call hym Doctour Scory, if ye wyll.

Roper. I knew when he was but a poore Doctour.

Mart. What do ye cal Scory?

Eliz. Our Superintendent.

Biſh. Loe, their Superintendent.

Mart. And what are ye called?

Eliz. Chriſtes congregation.

Biſh. Lo, Chriſtes congregation, I warrant you.

Doct. Cooke. What liuyng hath Scory?

Eliz. Syr, as farre as I doe know, he liueth by his owne, for I know no man that geueth hym ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent hym out of England.

Eliz. Syr, I know no ſuch thing.

Cholm. Harke whore, harke: harke how I do beleue.

Eliz. My Lord, I haue told you my beliefe.

Cholmley. Harke, thou yll fauoured whore, howe I do beleue. When the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of Conſecration, I do beleue that there remayneth the very bodye that was borne of the virgine Mary, was hanged on the Croſſe, was dead and buryed, and deſcended into hell, and roſe agayne on the third day, and aſcended to heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. The ſame body when the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes, commeth downe, and whē the Prieſt lifteth vp his body on this wiſe (he lifting vp his handes) ſayd there it is. Eliz. I haue told you alſo how I do beleeue.

Confeſſiō of Cholmleyes fayth.

Mart. Away with her.

Cholmley. Ah euill fauoured whore, nothing but ſpirite and fayth whore?

Mart. Away with her, we haue more to talke withall.

Then was ſhe caryed into the Colehouſe, and ſearched for bookes, and then put into the Stockehouſe, and her knife gyrdle, and apron, taken from her.

Elizabeth Young caried to the Stockehouſe.

¶The fifth examination before the Byſhop of Londons Chauncellour. &c.

The fifth examination of Elizabeth Young.

Then was ſhe brought out of the ſtockhouſe and brought before the Biſhops Chauncellour, who required of her, what age ſhe was of.

Eliz. Syr, fortye yeares and vpwardes.

The Chauncellour. Why, thou art a woman of a fayre yeares: what ſhouldeſt thou medle with the Scriptures? it is neceſſary for thee to beleue, and that is inough.

It is more fit for thee to medle with thy diſtafe, then to medle with the Scriptures. What is thy beliefe? I would heare it: for it can not be good, in that thou art brought into priſon.

Eliz. Syr, if it wil pleaſe you to heare it, I wil declare it vnto you. But I pray you that you wil take your pen and write it, & then examine it: and if ye finde any thing therin that is not fit for a Chriſtian woman, then teach me better, and I wil learne it.

Elizabeth Young offereth agayne to declare her beliefe.

Chaunc. Well ſaid. But who ſhalbe Iudge betweene thee and me?

Elizab. The Scripture.

Chaunc. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Eliz. Yea ſir.

Chaunc. Wel, go thy way out at the doore a litle while, for I am buſie, and I wyl cal for thee anone agayne.

Then he called me againe, and ſaid: Now woman, the tyme is too long to write. Say thy minde, & I wyl beare it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to hym, as ſhee had done before the Biſhop.

Chaunc. Woman, ſpirit and faith I do allow, but doeſt not thou beleue that thou doeſt receiue the body of Chriſt really, corporally, and ſubſtantially?

Really. Corporally. Subſtantially.

Eliz. Theſe wordes really and corporally, I vnderſtande not: as for ſubſtantially, I take it, ye meane I ſhould beleue that I ſhould receiue his humane body (which is vpon the right hand of God, and can occupy no moe places at once) and that beleue not I.

Chaunc. Thou muſt beleue this, or els thou art damned.

Eliz. Syr, can ye geue me beliefe or faith?

Chaunc. No, God muſt geue it thee.

Eliz. God hath geuen me no ſuch faith or beliefe.

The Chauncellour then declared a text of S. Paul in Latine, and then in Engliſhe, ſaying: I could make thee beleue, but that thou haſt a cankered hart, and wylt not beleue. Who then can make thee to beleue?

Fayth commeth of God: Ergo, no vntruth is to be beleued.

Eliz. You ſaid euen nowe, that faith or beliefe commeth of God, and ſo beleue I, and thē may not I beleue an vntruth to be a truth.

Chaunc. Doſt thou not beleue that Chriſtes fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh?

Eliz. No ſir, I beleue not that, for my fleſhe ſhall putrifie and rot.

Chriſt is fleſhe of our fleſh, but not in our fleſhe. John. 6.

Chaunc. Chriſt ſaid, my fleſh is fleſh in fleſh.

Eliz. Who ſo receiueth hym fleſhly, ſhal haue a fleſhly reſurrection.

Chaunc. Chriſt ſaith in the ſixt of John: My fleſh is meat in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.

Eliz. Chriſt preached to the Capernaites, ſaying: Except ye eate the fleſhe of the ſonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye ſhall not haue life in you: and the Capernaites murmured at it. And his Diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among them ſelues: This is an hard ſaying, and who can abyde it? Chriſte vnderſtode their meanyng, and ſaid: Are ye alſo offended? Wyll ye alſo goe awaye? What and if ye ſhall ſee the ſonne of man aſcend vp to heauē from whence he came? wyll that offende you? It is the ſpirite that quickeneth: the fleſhe profiteth nothing. I pray you ſir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

Thys man dare not expound the Scripture, yet he dare iudge vpon hereſie.

Chaunc. O God forbyd. Woulde ye haue me to interprete the ſcriptures? We muſt leaue that for our old auncient fathers, which haue ſtudyed the ſcriptures a long tyme, and haue the holy ghoſt geuen vnto them.

Eliz. Why ſir, haue ye not the holy ghoſt geuen and reueled vnto you?

The Papiſts dare not aſſure them ſelues to haue the holy Ghoſt.

Chaunc. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo beleue: but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of the ſpirit. Wyl you ſay that ye haue no profite in Chriſtes fleſhe?

The Capernaites fayth. The place of John. cap. 6. expounded how Chriſtes fleſh is meate.

Eliz. Syr, we haue our profite in Chriſtes fleſh, but not as the Capernaites dyd vnderſtande it: For they vnderſtode, that they muſte eate his fleſhe, as they dyd eate Oxe fleſhe and other, and drinke his bloud, as we drinke wyne by drawyng it out of a Bole. But ſo we muſte not receiue it. But our profite that we haue by Chriſte, is to beleue that his body was broken vpon the Croſſe, and his bloud ſhed for our ſinnes: That is the very meanyng of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eate his fleſhe and drinke his bloude, when he ſaid: My fleſhe is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.

Chaunc. How doth thy bodye liue, if Chriſtes fleſh be not fleſh in thy fleſh?

Eliz. Syr, I was a body before I had a ſoule: which body God had created, & yet it could not lyue, til God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body liue. And when it ſhal pleaſe God to diſſolue my life, my fleſh wyl offer it ſelfe vnto the place from whence it came, & through the merites of Chriſt, my ſoule wyl offer it ſelfe to the place from whence it came.

Chriſtes fleſh is fleſh in our fleſh, ſay the Papiſtes.

Chaunc. Yea, but if thou do not beleue that Chriſtes fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaued.

Eliz. Syr, I do not beleue that.

Chaunc. Why, doth not Chriſte ſay: My fleſhe is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede? Canſt thou denie that?

Chriſtes fleſh is meate for our ſoule, ſay the Chriſtians.

Eliz. I denie not that: for Chriſtes fleſhe and bloude is meate and drinke for my ſoule, the foode of my ſoule. For who ſo euer beleueth that Jeſus Chriſte the ſonne of God hath dyed & ſhed his bloud for his ſinnes, his ſoule feedeth theron for euer.

Chaunc. When thou receiueſt the Sacrament of the altar, doeſt thou not beleue that thou doeſt receiue Chriſtes body?

Eliz. Syr, when I doo receyue the Sacrament whiche Chriſte did inſtitute and ordaine the night before he was betrayed, and left among his Diſciples, as often (I ſay) as I receiue it, I beleue that ſpiritually and by faith I receyue Chriſte. And of this Sacrament I know Chriſt hym ſelfe to be the authour, and none but he. And this ſame ſacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my conſcience, and an augmenting to my faith.

In the Sacrament miniſtred and receaued according to Chriſtes inſtitution, we receaue Chriſt.

Chaunc. Why, dyd not Chriſt take bread and gaue thankes and brake it, and gaue it to his Diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my bodye that is geuen for you? Dyd he geue them his body, or no?

Eliz. He alſo tooke the Cuppe, and gaue thankes to his Father, and gaue it vnto his Diſciples, ſaying: Drinke ye all hereof: for this is the Cuppe of the newe Teſtamente in my bloud, whiche ſhall be ſhedde for many. Nowe I pray you Syr, let me aſke you one queſtion: Dyd he geue the cup the name of his bloud, or els the wyne that was in the cup?

One queſtion ſolued by an other.

Then was he very angry, and ſaid: Doſt thou thinke that thou haſt an hedge prieſt in hand?

Eliz. No ſir, I take you not to be an hedge Prieſt. I take you for a Doctour.

Chaunc. Some thinketh: thou wylt take vpon thee to teach me.

Eliz. No ſir: But I let you knowe what I knowe: and by argument one ſhal knowe more.

The Sacrament a witnes both of Chriſtes death and of his comming agayne.

Chriſt ſaid: As oft as ye doo this, doo it in the remembraunce of me: but a remēbrance is not of a thyng preſent, but abſent. Alſo S. Paul ſaith: So oft as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, ye ſhal ſhewe forth the Lordes death tyl he come. Then we may not looke for hym here, vntyll his commyng againe at the latter day. Againe, is not this article of our beliefe true: He ſitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty: frō thence he ſhal come to iudge the quicke and the dead? But if he ſhal not come, before he come to iudgement, then how is he here preſent in your ſacrament of the altar? Wherefore I beleue that the humane body of Chriſt occupyeth no more but one place at once, for when he was here, he was not there.

Chriſtes body occupieth but one place at once.

The ſixt examination before the ſayde Chauncellour.

The ſixt examination of Elizabeth Young.

Who ſaide vnto her: Woman, the laſte tyme that thou waſt before me, our talke was concernyng the Sacrament.

Eliz. Syr, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothyng that ye can deny, by the ſcriptures.

The fleſhly reaſon of the Papiſtes.

Chaunc. Yea thou wylt not beleue that Chriſtes fleſhe is fleſh in thy fleſh.

Eliz. No ſir, God hath geuen me no ſuch beliefe, for it can not be found by the ſcriptures.

Chaunc. Wilt thou beleue nothing but what is in the ſcripture? why, how many ſacramentes doſt thou finde in the ſcripture?

Eliz. The Church of Chriſt doth ſet forth twaine.

Chaunc. I wyl as wel find ſeuen by the ſcripture, as thou ſhalt find twaine.

Name of Sacramentes geuen by the Church.

Eliz. Syr, I talke not to you thereof, but I ſaye that the church of Chriſt ſetteth out twaine, and I haue ben taught no more.

Chaunc. What are thoſe twaine?

Eliz. The ſacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, and the ſacrament of Baptiſme.

Two Sacramentes.
Wedlocke.

Chaunc. What ſayeſt thou by the Sacrament of Wedlocke?

Eliz. I haue not hearde it called a ſacrament, but the holy eſtate of matrimonie, which ought to be kept of al men that take it vpon them.

Prieſtes mariage.

Chaunc. Howe ſayeſt thou by Prieſtes? Is it good that they ſhould mary? is it to be kept of them?

Eliz. I come not hyther to reaſon any ſuch matters, for I am no Diuine, and alſo it is no part of my faith.

Chaunc. Can ye not tell? ye ſhal tel or euer you goe.

Eliz. Syr, then muſt ye kepe me a good whyle, for I haue not ſtudyed the ſcriptures for it.

Chaunc. No? why, ye wyll not be aſhamed to flee vnto the higheſt myſtery, euen to the ſacrament, at the firſt daſh, and ye are not afrayd to argue with the beſt Doctour in the lande.

Eliz. Gods myſteries I wyll not medle with, but al thinges that are written, are written for our edification.

Praying for the dead.

Chaun. What ſay ye by prayer for the dead? is it not meet that if a mans frend be dead, his frende commende his ſoule vnto God?

Eliz. There is no Chriſtian man that wyll commende his frende nor yet his foe, vnto the Deuyll. And whether it be good for hym, when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alyue.

Purgatory.

Chaunc. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to be good for thē when they be dead, and lying in Purgatorie. Is it not meete that prayer be made vnto God for them?

Eliz. Syr, I neuer heard in the ſcriptures, of Purgatory, but in the ſcripture I haue heard of heauen and hel.

Oblation for the dead.

Chaunc. Why, ye haue nothyng but the ſkimmyng of the ſcriptures. Our auncient fathers could find out in the bottome of the ſcriptures, that there is a Purgatorie. Yea, they could find it in the new Teſtament, that a Prieſt ſhal take the ſacramēt and go to the altar, and make an oblation and offer it vp euery day.

Eliz. Syr, that coulde neuer be founde in the Bible nor

Teſtament,

Teſtamẽt, as farre as euer I could heare.

The holy Communion blaſphemed.

Chaunc. Whom doeſt thou heare read eyther the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of Schiſmatickes, baudie Byſhops, and hedge Prieſtes (whiche haue brought into the Churche a ſtinking Communion, which was neuer heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) whiche haue deceaued the Kyng and all the Nobilitye, and all the whole Realme.

Eliz. Syr it is a vile name that ye geue them al.

Chaunc. Where are al the hedge knaues become now, that they come not to their aunſwere?

So many Martyrs haue beene ſlayne, and yet the Papiſtes bragge, as though none will come forth to aunſwere them.

Eliz. Aunſwere Syr? why, they haue aunſwered both with the Scriptures and alſo with their bloud, and then where were you that ye came not forth to aunſwere in their tymes? I neuer knewe none of you that were troubled but twayne, and that was not for Gods worde, it was for their diſobedience?

Chaunc. No, I pray you? dyd ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Eliz. Syr, I neuer knewe that any of you euer was eyther hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Fiſher B. of Rocheſter.

Chaunc. No? dyd ye neuer heare that the Byſhop of Rocheſter loſt his head for the ſupremacye of the Byſhops of Rome,

Eliz. Then he dyed not for Gods word.

Nothing to be receaued to ſaluation but onely that which is found or founded in Scripture.

Chaunc. Well, thou wilt beleue nothyng but that which is written in Gods worde. Where canſt thou finde the Sabboth daye in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabboth? For the right Sabboth daye I wyll proue to be Saterday. Or where canſt thou finde the Articles of the Crede in the Scripture, by the name of the Articles? Or where canſt thou finde in the Scripture that Chriſt went downe into hell.

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye find for to diſproue any of theſe thynges?

Chaunc. What prieſt haſt thou layne withall, that thou haſt ſo much Scripture? Thou art ſome Prieſtes woman. I thinke, for thou wilt take vpon the to reaſon and teach, the beſt Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was neuer yet Prieſtes wife nor yet Prieſtes woman.

Chaunc. Haue I touched your conſcience?

Eliz. No Syr, ye haue not touched my conſcience, but beware ye hurt not your owne.

Chaunc. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or teſtament, and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a Doctor that hath gone to ſchole thirty yeares: and before God, I thinke if I had talked thus much with a Jewe, as I haue done with thee, he woulde haue turned ere this tyme But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſayd by Jeruſalem, ſaying: O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem: how oft would I haue gathered thee together: euen as a hen gathereth her chickins, but thou wouldeſt not. And ſo woulde we gather you together in one fayth, but ye will not: and therfore your owne bloud be vpon your owne heads, for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the ranckeſt heretickes that euer I heard, for thou beleueſt no thing but what is in yͤ ſcripture, and therfore thou art damned.

But we read not that Chriſt did draw them into priſons and condemned them to be burnt that would not come.

Elizabeth Young deemed an heretike becauſe ſhee beleueth all thinges written and agreable to the Scripture and nothing els.

Eliz. I doe beleue all thynges written in the ſcripture, and all thynges agreable with the Scripture, geuen by the holy Ghoſt into the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I beleue the truth, and will not beleue an vntruth?

Then the Chauncellour called yͤ keeper ſaying: Clump take her away: thou knoweſt what thou haſt to doe with her, and ſo ſhee departed and was brought agayne to the ſtockhouſe, and there ſhe lay certayne dayes and both her handes manacled in one yron: and afterward was remoued into the Lollardes Tower, and there ſhe remayned: with both her feete in the ſtockes and yrons till the next tyme of examination.

Elizabeth Young had to the Stockehouſe, and then to the Lollardes Tower.

❡ The ſeuenth examination before the Chauncellour and the Biſhops Scribe.

The ſeuenth examination of Elizabeth Young.

When ſhee was brought before the ſayde Chauncellour and the Scribe, the Chauncellour ſaid vnto her: woman, thou haſt bene twiſe before me, but thou and I could not agree: and here be certaine articles that my Lorde the Biſhop of London would that thou ſhouldeſt make aunſweare vnto, which are theſe: firſt how many ſacramentes thou doſt allow.

Two Sacramentes.

Eliz. Syr, as many as Chriſtes Church doth allowe, and that is twaine.

Then ſpake the Scribe. Thou waſt taught ſeuen before king Edwardes dayes.

Chaunc. Which two ſacramentes be thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Eliz. The ſacrament of the body & bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſacrament of Baptiſme.

Chaunc. Doeſt thou not beleue that the Pope of Rome is the ſupreme head of the church, immediately vnder God in earth?

Head of the Church.

Eliz. No ſir, no man can be the head of Chriſtes Churche: for Chriſt hym ſelfe is the head, and his word is the gouernour of al that be of that church, where ſoeuer they be ſcattered abroad.

Chaunc. Doeſt thou not beleue that the Biſhop of Rome can forgeue thee all thy ſinnes, hereticall, deteſtable, and damnable, that thou haſte done from thyne infancie vnto this day?

Byſhop of Rome.

Eliz. Syr, the Biſhop of Rome is a ſinner, as I am, and no man can forgeue me my ſinnes, but he onely that is without ſinne, and that is Jeſus Chriſte whiche dyed for my ſinnes.

Chaunc. Doeſt thou not know that the Pope ſent ouer his Jubileis, that all that euer would faſt & pray and goe to the church, ſhould haue their ſinnes forgeuẽ them.

The Scribe. Syr, I thinke that ſhee was not in the realme then.

From the Byſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities.

Chaunc. Haſte thou not deſired God to defende thee from the tyrannie of the Biſhop of Rome and all his deteſtable enormities?

Eliz. Yes that I haue.

Chaunc. And art thou not ſory for it?

Eliz. No ſir, not a whit.

Chaunc. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the Maſſe was wicked, and the ſacrament of the altar moſt abominable?

Eliz. Yes that I haue.

Chaunc. And art thou not ſory for it?

Eliz. No ſir, not a whit.

Chaunc. Art thou content for to go to yͤ church and heare Maſſe?

Eliz. I wyll not go to the church, either to Maſſe or Matins, tyl I may heare it in a tongue that I can vnderſtand: for I wyl be fed no longer in a ſtraunge language. And alwayes the Scribe did write euery of theſe articles, as they were demaunded, and anſwered vnto.

Then the Scribe aſked her from whence ſhee came.

The Chancellor ſaid: this is ſhee that brought ouer al theſe bookes of hereſie and treaſon.

Then ſaid the Scribe to her: woman, where haddeſt thou al theſe bookes?

Eliz. I bought them in Amſterdam, & brought them ouer to ſell, thinking to gaine therby.

Then ſaid the Scribe: What is the name of the booke?

Eliz. I can not tel.

The Scribe. Why, wouldeſt thou bye bookes, and know not their names?

Then ſaid Clamp the keeper: Syr, my Lord Biſhop dyd ſend for her by name, that ſhee ſhould come to maſſe, but ſhee would not.

Chaunc. Yea, dyd my Lord ſend for her by name, & would ſhee not go to Maſſe?

Elizabeth Young refuſeth to goe to Maſſe.

Eliz. No ſir, I wyl neuer go to maſſe, til I doe vnderſtand it, by the leaue of God.

Chaunc. Underſtand it? why, who the deuyll can make thee to vnderſtand Latine, thou being ſo old?

Then the Scribe commaunded her to ſet to her hande to al theſe ſaid thinges.

Elizabeth ſaid: ſir, then let me heare it read firſt.

Then ſaid the Scribe: maiſter Chauncellor, ſhall ſhee heare it read?

Chaunc. Yea, yea, let the heretike heare it read.

Then ſhee heard it read, and ſo ſhee ſet to her hand.

Elizabeth Young ſetteth her hand to her examination.

❡ The eight examination before the Biſhop.

The eight examination of Elizabeth Young.

When ſhee was brought before the Biſhop, he aſked the keeper: is this the woman that hath the three children? And the keper ſaid: yea, my Lord.

Biſh. Woman, here is a Supplication put vnto my handes for thee. In like caſe there was an other ſupplication put vp to me for thee afore this, in the whiche thou madeſt as though that I ſhould keepe thy children.

Eliz. My Lord, I dyd not knowe of this ſupplication, nor yet of the other.

The Deane made ſute for Elizabeth Young.

Then ſaid the Biſhop: maiſter Deane, is this the woman that ye haue ſued ſo earneſtly for?

The Deane. Yea, my Lord.

The Deane. Woman, what remaineth in the ſacrament of the altar, when and after that the Prieſte hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration?

Eliz. A peece of bread. But the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, which he dyd inſtitute and leaue amongeſt his diſciples the night before he was betrayed, miniſtred according to his word, that ſacrament I do beleue.

The Deane. Howe doeſt thou beleue concernyng the bodye of Chriſte? where is his body, and howe many bodyes hath he?

Eliz. Syr, in heauen. He ſitteth on the right hand of God.

The Deane. From whence came his humane body?

Eliz. He tooke it of the virgine Mary.

The Deane. That is fleſhe, bloud, and bones, as myne is. But what ſhape hath his ſpirituall bodye? hath it face, handes, and feete?

Eliz. I know no other body that he hath, but that bodye whereof he meant when he ſaid: This is my body whiche is geuen for you: and this is my bloud which ſhalbe ſhed for you. Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, whiche he tooke of the virgine Mary, hauyng the perfecte ſhape and proportion of a humane body.

Story.

Doct. Story. Then ſaid Story: ye haue a wiſe bodye, for ye muſt goe to the ſtake.

The Deane. Art thou cōtent to beleue in the faith of Chriſtes church? But to aſke of thee what Chriſtes Churche is, or where it is, I let it paſſe.

Eliz. Syr, to that church I haue ioyned my fayth, & from it I purpoſe neuer to turne, by Gods helpe.

The Deane. Wouldeſt thou not be at home with thy chyldren, with a good wyl?

Eliz. Syr, if it pleaſe God to geue me leaue.

The beliefe of the Papiſtes followeth the multitude. True beliefe dependeth not vpō men, but vpon the rule of Gods word.

The Deane. Arte thou contente to confeſſe thy ſelfe to be an ignoraunt and a fooliſhe woman, and to beleue as our holy Father the Pope of Rome doth, and as the Lorde Cardinalles grace doth, & as my Lord the Byſhop of Lōdon thine Ordinary doth, and as the kynges grace and the Queenes grace, and all the Nobilitie of England doo: yea, and the Emperours Grace, and all the noble Princes in Chriſtendome.

Eliz. Syr, I was neuer wiſe, but in fewe wordes I ſhall make you a briefe aunſweare howe I do beleue. I do beleue all thynges that are written in the Scriptures, geuen by the holy Ghoſt vnto the church of Chriſte, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man.

Then ſaid Story: and who ſhalbe Judge?

Eliz. Syr, the ſcripture?

D. Story. And who ſhal reade it?

Eliz. He vnto whom GOD haue geuen the vnderſtandyng.

Bish. Woman, be reformable, for I would thou were gone, and M. Deane here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Deane. Woman, I haue ſued for thee in deede, and I promiſe thee, if thou wylt be refourmable, my Lord wyl be good vnto thee.

Eliz. I haue bene before my Lorde Biſhop, and before Maiſter Chauncellour three tymes, and haue declared my fayth.

Deane. And yet I know that maiſter Chancelor wyll ſay, that thou art a ranke heretike.

D. Story. Away with her.

Elizabeth Young committed to the Deane.

Bish. Maiſter Deane, ye knowe that I may not tary, nor you neither. Let her keper bryng her home to your owne chamber, ſone at foure a clocke at afternoone, and if that ye finde her reaſonable, then let her goe, for I would that ſhee were gone.

Then ſaid the Deane, with a good wyll, my Lord: and ſo ſhee was ſent vnto the place from whence ſhee came, vntyl it was foure of the clocke at afternoone.

¶ The ninth examination before the Deane, before whom it pleaſed God to deliuer her.

The ninth examination of Elizabeth Young.

When it was foure of ỹ clocke at afternoone as the houre was appoynted, and the Deane was ſet, he aſked her: Art thou a foole now, as thou waſt to day?

Eliz. Syr, I haue learned but ſmal wiſedome ſince.

Deane. Doeſt thou thinke that I am better learned then thou?

Eliz. Yes ſir, that I doo.

Deane. Thinkeſt thou that I can doe thee good?

Eliz. Yea ſir, and if it pleaſe God that ye wyl.

Talke betwene the D. and Elizabeth Young about receauing the Sacrament.

Deane. Then I wyll doo thee good in deede. What doeſt thou receyue when thou receyueſt the Sacrament whiche Chriſt leaft among his Diſciples the nyght before he was betrayed?

Eliz. Syr, that that his Diſciples dyd receyue.

Deane. What dyd they receyue?

Eliz. Syr, that that Chriſt gaue them, they receyued.

Deane. What aunſweare is this? was Chriſte there preſent?

Eliz. Syr, he was there preſent, for he inſtituted his owne ſacrament.

Deane. He tooke bread, and he brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you. When thou receiueſt it, doeſt thou beleue that thou receyueſt his body?

Eliz. Syr, when I receiue, I beleue that through faith I doo receiue Chriſt.

Deane. Dooſt thou beleue that Chriſt is there?

Christ not absent from his Sacramentes.

Eliz. Syr, I beleue that he is there, to me, and by fayth I doo receiue hym.

Deane. He alſo tooke the cup and gaue thankes, and gaue it to his Diſciples, and ſaid: Drinke ye al hereof: This is the cup of the new Teſtament in my bloud, whiche is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinnes. When thou dooſt receiue it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordeined among his diſciples the night before he was betraied, doeſt thou beleue that Chriſt is there?

Eliz. Syr, by faith I beleue that he is there, and by fayth I doo beleue that I doo receyue hym.

Deane. Now thou haſt anſwered me. Remēber that thou ſayeſt, that when thou dooſt receiue accordyng to the inſtitution of Chriſt, thou dooſt receiue Chriſt.

Eliz. Syr, I beleue Chriſt not to be abſent from his own ſacrament.

Deane. How long wylt thou continue in that beliefe?

Eliz. Syr, as long as I doo lyue, by the helpe of God: for it is, and hath bene my beliefe.

Deane. Wylt thou ſay this before my Lord?

Eliz. Yea ſir.

Deane. Then I dare deliuer thee. Why, thou calfe, why wouldeſt thou not ſay ſo to day?

Eliz. Syr, ye aſked me no ſuch queſtion.

Deane. Then ye would ſtand in diſputatiō how many bodyes Chriſt had.

Eliz. Syr, in deede that queſtion ye dyd aſke me.

Deane. Who ſhall be thy ſureties that thou wylt appeare before my Lorde of London and me vppon Fryday next?

Eliz. Syr, I haue no ſureties, nor knowe not where to haue.

Two women ſureties for Elizabeth Young.

Then ſpake the Deane vnto two women that ſtoode there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying: women, wyll ye be her ſureties ỹ ſhee ſhal appere before my lord of London and me vpon Fryday next?

The women. Yea, ſir, and it pleaſe you.

Deane. Take heede that I finde you no more a babler in the ſcripture.

Eliz. Syr I am no babler in the ſcripture, nor yet any mā can burthen me therewith.

Deane. Yes, I haue hearde of you well enough what ye are.

Then ſayde he to the two women: what if a man ſhould touche your conſcience, doo ye not ſmell a litle of hereſie alſo?

The women. No ſir.

Deane. Yes, a litle of the frying pan, or els wherfore haue ye twayne ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one woman anſweared: becauſe that her chyldren were like to periſh, and therfore God put me in mynd to ſue for her.

Then ſaide the other woman: And I gaue her chyld a Nourſe, and I am threatned to ſtand to the keppyng of her chylde, and therfore it ſtandeth me in hand for to ſue to haue her out.

Elizabeth Young vpon ſureties deliuered.

Deane. Woman, geue thankes vnto theſe honeſt women, who haue ſo earneſtly ſued for thee: and I promiſe thee ſo haue I. Theſe great heretikes wyl receyue nothyng but in ſpirite and fayth: and ſo he roſe and departed.

Eliz. Syr, God be prayſed, & I thanke you for your goodnes, and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away: and vpon the Fryday next, becauſe ſhee was acraſed, her two ſureties went thyther, and were diſcharged.

¶ Elizabeth Lawſon.

Elizabeth Lawſon, Confeſſour.

Robert Kitrich, Tho. Elas, perſecutors.

Syr John Sylliarde Shiriffe.

In the towne of Bedfield and in the Countie of Suffolk, was dwellyng a godly ancient matrone named Elizabeth Lawſon, about the age of. lx. yeares. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an heretike, by the Conſtables of the ſame towne, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the yere of our Lord. 1556. becauſe ſhee would not go to church to heare Maſſe, and receyue the ſacrament, and beleue in it. Firſt they layd her in a Dungeon, and after that ſhee was carryed vnto Norwich, and from thence to Burye Gayle, where at laſt ſhee was condemned to be burnt. In the meane time ſir Joh. Sylliard had her home vnto his houſe he being high Sheriffe that yeare, where ſhee was hardly kept and wrapped in yrons, tyll at length when they by no

wile

wiſe could moue her to recant, ſhee was ſent to priſō again with ſhameful reuilynges.

Elizabeth Lawſon in priſon two yeares and three quarters.

This ſhee continued in Priſon the ſpace of two yeres and three quarters. In the meane tyme there was burnt her ſonne and many other, wherby ſhee woulde often ſay: Good Lord, what is the cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? wel, good Lord, thy bleſſed wil be don, and not myne.

Elizabeth Lawſon ſory that ſhee was not burned.

Elizabeth Lawſon bayled vpon ſuretyes in Q. Elizabethes tyme.

Not long after this, (moſt happyly) folowed the death of Queene Mary, after whom ſucceeded our Queene that now is. At which tyme this Elizabeth Lawſon remained yet ſtyl in Bury priſō, til at laſt ſhee was bayled vpō ſureties, or els ſhee coulde not be deliuered. For ſhee beyng a condemned perſon, neither the temporalty, nor yet ſpiritual authoritie would diſcharge her without ſureties.

Now ſhee beyng abroad, & her ſureties made afrayde by wicked men, ſaide, they woulde caſt her agayne in Priſon, except ſhee would ſee them diſcharged.

Elizabeth Lawſon preſerued from perſecution, ended her lyfe in peace.

Then ſhee got a Supplication, to go vnto ẏ Queenes maieſtie, and came to a frende of hers to haue his counſell therein: Who willed her to ſtay a while, becauſe ſhee was olde, the dayes ſhorte, and the expenſes great, and wynter fowle (for it was a litle before Chriſtmas) and to tary vntyll Sommer. In the meane tyme God brake the bond, & ſhortned her iourney: for he tooke her home to hym ſelfe out of this lyfe in peace.

Elizabeth Lawſon troubled with the falling ſickneſ, after her perſecution neuer felt it more.

This good olde woman, long before ſhee went to Priſon, had the fallyng ſickneſſe, and tolde a frende of hers, one Symon Hariſton, after ſhee was apprehended, that ſhee had it neuer more, but lyued in good health and ioy of hart, through her Lord Chriſt.

Shee had a very vnkinde man to her huſbande, who while ſhee was in priſon, ſold away her rayment, & woulde not helpe her, and after ſhee was out of Priſon, ſhee returnyng home vnto hym, yet would he ſhewe her no kindneſſe, nor helpe her neither: and yet the houſe and lande that he dwelt in, he had by her: wherfore as long as ſhee lyued, ſhee was found of the congregation.

The ſaid Elizabeth Lawſon alſo had a ſiſter, wyfe to one Robert Hollon of Mickfielde, in the ſame Countie of Suffolke, whiche likewiſe was perſecuted and driuen out from houſe to houſe, and a young man her ſonne with her, becauſe they would not goe to the church to heare Maſſe, and receyue the ſacrament of the aultar.

¶ Thomas Chriſtenmas and William Wats.

Tho. Chriſtenmas, W. Watts.

IN this perilous rage of Queene Maryes raigne, were two men perſecuted, one called Thomas Chriſtenmas, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge in Kent. As theſe traueled from place to place, not reſtyng two nightes together in one place, it happened them on a tyme to come to Rocheſter in Kent, where as they entring into the towne, euen at the Townes ende, met with a litle Damoſell of eight yeares of age, but whyther ſhee went, they knewe not. It was then night, and they weery, and faynt therfore would haue lyen in the ſame town, but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloudy Catholickes. At laſt they deuiſed to aſke the Damoſell whether there were any heretikes in the towne, or no? and ſhee ſaid, yea. They aſked her where? Shee aunſweared them, At ſuche an Inne, tellyng them the name, and where the Inne was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought them ſelues better, and God ſo mouyng their hartes, they went to the childe agayne, and aſked her howe ſhee knewe ẏ the Innekeeper (of whō ſhee ſpake before) was an heretike. Mary (quoth ſhee) well enough, and his wyfe alſo. Howe knoweſt thou, prety mayden, ſaid they? I pray thee tell vs. How knowe I, ſaid ſhee? mary becauſe they go to the Church: and thoſe that wyl not holde vp their handes there, they wyll preſent them, and he hym ſelfe goeth from houſe to houſe, to compell them to come to Church. When theſe two men heard this, they gaue God prayſe, and auoyded that houſe, takyng the warnyng of that Mayd (of good bringyng vp, as it ſhoulde ſeeme) to be Gods maruellous prouidence towardes them.

Gods prouidence vpon Tho. Chriſtenmas and W. Wattes.

¶ An other eſcape of William wats.

W. Wattes an other tyme deliuered by the Lordes prouidence.

W. Wattes apprehended and brought before the Byſhop.

THis foreſaid William Wats, dwellyng in Queene Maryes dayes, at Seale in Kent, the laſt yeare of her raigne ſaue one, was apprehended by his enimies, and brought by the Conſtables before the Biſhop and Iuſtices at Tunbridge, where the biſhop and Iuſtices would haue perſwaded hym all they could, to turne from the truth: howbeit in vaine, for they coulde not remoue hym, although they ſpent al the forenoone thereabouts, with many flattering wordes: ſo mercyful was the Lord vnto hym.

Now, when dinner tyme was come, as they ſhoulde riſe, they committed the priſoner to the conſtables agayne, and ſo roſe vp to go to dinner. The Conſtables tooke Wats and led hym to a vittelling houſe, where after they had well filled them ſelues, they fell a ſleepe, ſuppoſing theyr priſoner to be ſure enough vnder theyr handes. Wats wife beyng then in the houſe with her huſband, and very carefull for his well doyng, ſeyng the Conſtables thus faſt a ſleepe, deſired her huſband to depart and go thence, for ſo much as the Lord had made ſuch away for him. Vnto which her wordes he would not conſent, although ſhe perſwaded hym all that ſhe could.

An other notable example of the Lords prouidence.

At the laſt (they replying one agaynſt an other) a ſtraunger heard them, and aſked her what the matter was, that ſhee was ſo earneſt with her huſband. The wife told hym. Thē ſayd the ſtraunger vnto Wats, theſe wordes: Father, go thy wayes in Gods name, and tary no longer: the Lorde hath opened the way vnto thee. Wherupon the ſayd Wats went his way, and his wife departed from hym and went home to her houſe at Seale, thinkyng her huſband had gone an other way. Now as ſhe was goyng in at her doore, tellyng her frendes of his deliuerance, immediatly came ẏ ſayd Wats in alſo, and they all beyng amaſed therat, willed hym in all haſt to get hym away: for they thought there would be ſearch for hym immediatly.

W. Wattes deliuered out of his enemies handes.

W. Wattes ſought for agayne.

Then Wats ſayd he woulde eate meate firſt, and alſo pray: which he dyd, and afterward departed thence. So ſoone as he was out of ẏ doores, & had hyd hym ſelfe in an holly buſh, immediatly came the ſayd Conſtables with xx. perſons into the ſayd houſe to ſearch for him, where they pearſed the fetherbeds, broke vp his cheaſtes, and made ſuch hauocke, that it was wonderfull: and euer among as they were ſearchyng, the Conſtables cryed: I will haue Wats, I will haue Wats, I tell thee, I will haue Wats: but (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they ſawe it booted not to ſearch for hym, in the ende they tooke his wife, and ſet her in a payre of ſtockes, where ſhee remayned two dayes, and ſhee was very boulde in the truth, and at the laſt deliuered through the prouidence of God: whoſe name be glorified in all hys workes, Amen.

W. Wattes wyfe ſet in the ſtockes.

¶ Iohn Glouer of Manceter, Gentleman.

Gods prouidence in deliuering M. Iohn Glouer.

WHat a fatherley and manifeſt prouidence of the Lord likewiſe dyd appeare in the preſeruyng of M. Iohn Glouer of the Dioces of Couentrye and Lichfield, in the Towne of Manceter: firſt at the takyng of Robert his brother. At which tyme although the commiſſion came downe for hym, yet ſo God ordered the matter, that his brother beyng ſicke was apprehended, and yet he beyng whole eſcaped. Wherof mention is made before, pag. 1615.

An other narrow eſcape of M. Iohn Glouer.

And agayne, an other tyme howe miraculouſly the mercifull prouidence of the Lord wrought his eſcape out of hys enemies handes, they beyng at hys chamber doore, & drawing the latch to ſearch for hym: and howe his wife the ſame tyme was taken and ſent to Lichfield, read before, pag. 1610.

¶ One Dabney.

The eſcape of a godly man called Dabney.

THere was at London a certayne honeſt Godly perſon, a Painter named Dabney, whom Iohn Auales in the tyme of Queene Mary had brought before Boner to be examined for his faith. It happened the ſame time, as ẏ ſayd Dabney was there, that ẏ Biſhop was occupied with examination of other, ſo that he was byd to ſtand by, and to wayte the Byſhops layſure. Vppon the ſame, or not long after, ſodeinly commeth word to the Byſhop to prepare him in all ſpeede: the generall proceſſion taried for hym. The Biſhop hearyng that, ſettyng all buſines apart, buſtleth hym ſelfe with all ſpeede poſſible to the Church, there to furniſh the proceſſion. By reaſon wherof Dabney, whiche newly came to the houſe, was there left alone, while euery man els was buſied in preparyng and ſettyng them ſelues forward, accordyng as the caſe required

To be ſhort, as the tyme called on, Boner with hys houſhold maketh haſt ſo faſt as they can out of the doores to the proceſſion. Dabney beyng left alone, commeth downe to the outward Court next the gate, there walkyng with him ſelfe all heauy, lookyng for nothyng leſſe then to eſcape that daunger. The porter, who was onely left at home, ſeyng the man to walke alone, ſuppoſing he had ben ſome Citizen there left behynde, and waytyng for opening of the gate, went and opened ẏ wicket, aſkyng if he would go out. Yea ſayd hee, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my hart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you ſo do.

Gods ſecret workyng in the deliuerance of Dabney.

And thus the ſaid Dabney takyng the occaſion offered of God, beyng let out by the porter, eſcaped out of the Wolues mouth. The proceſſion beyng done, when the Biſhoppe returned home, Dabney was gone and could not be found. Wherupō much ſearch was made, but eſpecially Iohn Auales layd much priuy wayt for hym: Who after long ſearchyng, when he could not get hym, at length he receiued xv. crownes of his wife to let hym alone when hee ſhould ſee hym: and ſo that good man eſcaped.

¶ *Alexander Wimſhurſt.*

Alexander Wymſhurſt a Miniſter, deliuered by Gods prouidence frō his enemies.

ALike example of God almighties goodnes toward his afflicted ſeruauntes in that daungerous time of perſecution may alſo appeare euidently in one Alexander Wymſhurſt a Prieſt, ſometyme of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, and then the Popes own knight, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a mā better inſtructed in the true feare of GOD. It happened that one had promoted hym to Boner for religion, vpon what occaſion I do not vnderſtand. Accordyng to the old maner in ſuch caſes prouided, he ſent forth Robin Caly, otherwiſe called Robin Papiſt, one of hys whelpes, to bryng in the game, and to cauſe this ſeely poore man to appeare before him. Litle Robin lyke a proper man, beſtyrreth him in his buſines, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had gotten him, bryngeth hym along by Chepeſide, not ſufferyng hym to talke with any of his acquaintaunce by the waie, though there were of his old frēds of Oxford that offered to ſpeake vnto hym.

Wymſhurſt taken by Robin Caly.

When they came into Paules, it happened this Alexander to eſpy Doct. Chadſey there walkyng vp and downe. To whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to doe pleaſure, and for that he had bene of his old acquaintāce in Oxford, he was very deſirous to ſpeake to him ere he went through. Chadſey perceyuyng that Robin Calye did attend vpon hym, ſayd that he durſt not medle in the matter. Yes (ſayth litle Robin) you maye talke with him if it pleaſe you, maſter Doctour. To bee ſhort, Alexander openeth his caſe, and in the end deſireth for old acquaintaunce ſake that he would finde meanes he might be rather brought before Doctour Martin to be examined, then any other. Nay ſaith he (alleagyng the wordes of Chriſt vnto Peter in the laſt chapter of S. Iohn:) You remember brother what is written in the Goſpell: When thou waſt young, thou diddeſt gird thy ſelfe, and wenteſt whether thou wouldeſt: but beyng aged, other men ſhall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not, thus abuſing the Scripture to his priuate meanyng: wheras notwithſtandyng hee might eaſely haue accompliſhed ſo ſmall a requeſt, if it had liked him.

Wymſhurſt talketh with D. Chadſey.

D. Chadſey a ſure frend at nede.

Thence was he caried to Story & Cooke Cōmiſſioners, there to learne what ſhould become of him. Before thē he did vſe him ſelfe boldly & ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did vrge him with captious queſtiōs very cruelly. Whē they had bayted the poore mā theyr fil, they aſked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (ſaid he) but my lawfull wife. She is thy whore, ſaid they. She is not my whore (ſaid he agayne) but my wife, I tel you. So when they perceiued that he would not geue place vnto thē, nor attribute to them ſo much as they looked for at his hād, accordyng to the ordinary maner they commaunded hym to priſon. And now marke wel the prouidence of God in his preſeruation.

Wymſhurſt brought to D. Story and D. Cooke, Commiſſioners.

Wymſhurſt cōmaunded to priſon.

Hee was brought into Clunes houſe at Pater noſter row, thence to be caried to Lollardes tower out of hand, but that Cluny (as it happened) his wife, and hys mayde were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſines, that as then they had not layſure to locke vp their priſoner. In the hall where Alexander ſat, was a ſtraunge woman whoſe huſband was then preſently, in trouble for religion, whiche perceiued by ſome one occaſion or other that this man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alacke good man, ſayth ſhe: if you will, you maie eſcape the cruell handes of your enemyes, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould looke vnto you. God hath opened the way vnto you of deliueraunce, and therefore loſe not the oportunitie thereof, if you be wiſe. With thoſe & ſuch like wordes being then perſwaded, he gat out of the doores, and went away, without any haſt making at all: ſo that if any had followed, he might haue bene eaſely recouered agayne. But vndoubtedly it was Gods will that hee ſhould ſo eſcape the furie of his aduerſaries, and be preſerued from all daungers of death and impriſonment.

Good counſell ſent of God.

A way made by Gods prouidēce to Alexander Wymſhurſt to eſcape.

¶ *Boſoms wife.*

Boſoms wife.

AS the workes of the Lord are not to bee kept ſecret, whatſoeuer the perſons be in whom it pleaſeth him to worke: ſo commeth to remembraunce the ſtory of one Boſoms wife not vnworthy to be conſidered. This good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly called vpon and vrged to come to church. At lēgth through importunate crying and calling vpon, ſhe graunted vnto thē, and came. Being in the church, and ſitting with her mother in the pue, contrary in all thinges to the doinges of the Papiſtes, ſhe behaued her ſelfe: to wit, when they kneeled ſhe ſtoode, when they turned forward, ſhe turned backward. &c.

The behauiour of Boſoms wife in the Church.

This being notorious in the church, at length the Conſtable and Churchwarden named Saunders, attached her in the Queenes name, charging her with her mother the next day to appeare at Kingſton. Who at their commaundement ſo did.

Boſoms wife ſummoned to appeare at Kingſton.

The next day, accordyng as they were aſſigned, they came to Kingſtō to appeare before yͤ foreſayd officers. who at the ſame time (as it chaūced) were going ouer the Fery, and meeting them by the way, ſaluted thē by their names, but at that tyme had no further power to ſpeake vnto them. Afterward, as they were in the bote going ouer, they knockt their handes, ſtampt and ſtared, lamenting that they had let them ſo paſſe their handes. This the Ferymā declared vnto them, & what they ſaid in the bote. Whereupon the good woman taking her iourney to London, eſcaped theyr crueltie, through yͤ ſecrete working (not doubt) of the Lord: who in all his workes and euermore be prayſed, Amen.

Boſoms wife through Gods helpe eſcapeth.

¶ *Lady Kneuet in Norfolke.*

The Lady Anne Kneuet.

AMong the number of the Godly that were kept vnder the prouidence of the Lord in thoſe perillous dayes, I maie not forget an auncient good Lady of much worſhip, called Lady Anne Kneuet, who till her death dwelt in Norfolke, in a towne named Wimondham vi. myles from Norwich. Which ſayd good Lady in Queene Maries dayes, being iudged by the cōmon people, more then an hundreth yeare of age, and by her owne eſtimation well towardes a C. kept her ſelfe from their Popiſh Church, or hauing any Papiſticall traſh miniſtred in her houſe, but only the ſeruice that was vſed in the latter dayes of kyng Edward the vi. which dayly ſhe had ſayd before her, either by one M. Collin who was then by Gods prouidence preſerued in her houſe, or els by one of her Gentlewomen or houſhold ſeruaūtes that could ſerue the place in the ſayd M. Collins abſence.

Now, this worſhipfull Lady continuing in this maner of true ſeruyng of God, ſhe and her familie were many tymes threatned by meſſengers, that the Byſhop woulde viſite her therefore. Vnto which meſſengers ſhe would alwayes aūſwere, that if his Lordſhip ſent word before what daie hee would come, he ſhould therafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whoſe prouidence ruleth the raging Seas, neuer ſuffered thē all that toyling time to moleſt her: Although oftentimes, when ſhe had ſeruice before her, there were very great enemies to the truth and of much authoritie, that came in, and kneled to prayer amōg them, and yet had no power to trouble her therfore.

Lady Kneuet threatned by the Biſhop.

This good Lady (gētle reader) kept good hoſpitalitie, as any in that countrey, of her liuing. She alſo ſuccoured many perſecuted, that came to her houſe in the ſayd Q. Maries dayes. Were they neuer ſo ſimple, they were eſtemed of her as the frendes of the Goſpel, and departed not from her without money and meate. Borne ſhe was long before kyng Edward the fourth dyed, and ended her life in the Lord Ieſus peace, about the beginning of the ſecond yeare of our moſt ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabethes reigne, as one fallyng into a moſt ſweete ſlepe.

The great age of the Lady Kneuet.

Unto whom not vnworthely maie be compared the Lady Elizab. Vane, who likewiſe being a great harborer and ſupporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Cōfeſſors of Chriſt, was in great haſſardes & daūgers of the enemies, & yet notwithſtādyng, through the mercyfull prouidence of the Lord, remained ſtill vntouched. Of this Lady Vane thou ſhalt read before pag. 1559.

Lady Elizab. Vane a great releeuer of Gods people.

¶ *Miſtres Robertes.*

FUrthermore, to both theſe maie alſo be aſſociate an other gentlewomā, to make yͤ third, named Miſtres

The Miraculous deliueraunce of Miſtres Roberts.

This Gentlewoman was a great ſuccourer of the perſecuted that came to her houſe, and ſpecially of good Woodmā, whom ye heard of before, and to whom he wrote a letter, pag. 1893.

Roberts, yet liuing and dwelling (as I vnderſtand) in the towne of Haukhurſt in Suſſex. She being earneſtly addicted to the truth of Chriſtes Goſpel, and no leſſe conſtant in that whiche ſhe had learned therein, ſo kept her ſelf during al the brunt of Q. Maries time, that ſhe neuer came to their Popiſh ſeruice, nor would pollute her conſcience with hearyng their Idolatrous Maſſe. There dwelt the ſame tyme not far of, a Iuſtice called Syr Iohn Gilford, who beyng as feruent on the contrary ſide, to ſet forwarde the procedinges of Queene Mary, thought to proue maſteries with this gentlewoman, in forcyng her to the Churche. And firſt ſendyng his wife, he attempted her by faire wordes & gentle perſuaſions, to conforme her ſelf to the princes lawes, and to come as other Chriſten people did, to the Church. Notwithſtanding ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in the ſinceritie of the truth, would by no perſuaſions be wonne to do therin againſt her conſcience: and ſo kept at home a certeine ſpace, till againe the ſecond tyme, M. Gilforde thinking not to geue her ouer ſo, ſent his officers & ſeruauntes to her, by force and power to hale her out of her houſe to the Church, and ſo did. Where by the way ſhe for griefe of conſcience ſwounded, and ſo of neceſſitie was brought home again: and falling into an ague, was for that tyme diſpenſed withall.

Syr Ion Gilford a troubler of Miſtres Roberts.

The third tyme yet the vnquiet ſpirite of M. Gilford beyng not content, after the tyme that ſhe recouered health againe, would nedes come his owne perſon to compell her, wild ſhe nild ſhe, to come to Church. But (as the Prouerbe goeth) who can let, that GOD would haue done? For when M. Gilford had purpoſed as pleaſed him, the Lord ſo diſpoſed for his ſeruaūt that as the ſaid M. Gilford was cōming vp the ſtaires toward her chamber, ſodeinly his old diſeaſe the goute ſo tooke him & terribly tormented him, that he could go no farther: And ſo he that purpoſed to cary her to the Church againſt her will, was fayne him ſelfe to be caried home to his houſe to his payne, proteſtyng and ſwearyng that he would neuer from hence forth trouble that Gentleman more, and no more he did.

Syr Iohn Gilford ſtopped of his purpoſe, by gods working.

❡ *Miſtres Anne Lacy.*

Miſtres Anne Lacy.

IN this number of good gētlewomen beyng in trouble and daunger for Gods word, is not to bee omitted the memory of one Miſtres Anne Lacy widow in Nottingham ſhyre, who was in great daunger in Q. Maries tyme, in ſo muche that the Proceſſe was forth againſt her, and ſhe ready to haue bene apprehended, beyng ſo neerely purſued, that ſhe was driuen to hide her Bible and other bokes in a dunghill. M. Lacy her brother was then Iuſtice of peace: but to whom (as I haue heard) ſhe was but ſmally beholden. Neuertheles where kindred faileth, yet Gods grace neuer faileth ſuch as ſticke to hym: for in this meane tyme, as the proceſſe came out againſt her, Queene Mary dyed, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

❡ *Croſmans wife.*

Croſmans wife.

Barbour of Tibnam Conſtable, perſecutour.

Example of Gods gratious prouidence.

ONe Croſmans wife of Tibnam longrow in Norfolke, in Q. Maries tyme, for not goyng to Church, was ſought for at her houſe by one Barbour of ẏ ſayd towne, then Conſtable of the hundreth: who when hee came to her houſe, ſhe beyng at home with a child ſuckyng in her armes, ſtept into a corner on the one ſide of the chimney & they ſeeking the chābers, the child neuer cried (although before they came, it did) as long as they were there, & ſo by this meanes the Lord preſerued her.

❡ *The congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.*

The ſtory of a congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.

THere were ſome likewiſe whiche auoyded the violent rage of the aduerſaries by meanes onely of their number, and mutuall concord in godlines, wherin they did ſo hold together that without much adoe none wel could be troubled: Wherof we haue example in a certayne towne of Suffolke called Stoke. After the three ſharpe yeares of Q. Maries perſecution beeyng paſte, yet notwithſtandyng the inhabitauntes of the towne aforeſaid ſpecially the women, came not to their church to receaue after the Popiſhe maner, the Sacrament. Who, if thei had bene but few, thei could by no means haue eſcaped impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the Papiſtes thought it not beſt to lay hands vpon them. Onely they appointed them xvi. dayes reſpite after Eaſter, wherein as many as would, ſhould receaue the Sacrament: thoſe that would not, ſhould ſtand to the perill that would follow. Of this company which were many, geuyng their handes together, the chiefeſt doers were theſe.

Eaue, an old woman of three ſcore yeares.
Alice Coker her daughter.
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cuttyng.
Alice Spenſer.
Henry Cauker.
Ioane Fouke.
Agnes Spauldyng.
Iohn Steyre, and his brother.
Iohn Foxe.

Confeſſors.

Theſe, after the order was taken for their not commyng to the Churche, tooke aduiſement among themſelues what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by promiſe one to an other, that they would not receiue at all. Yet ſome of them afterward being perſuaded with faire promiſes that the Cōmunion ſhould be miniſtred vnto them accordyng to kyng Edwardes booke, gat them vnto the Pariſh Prieſt (whoſe name was Cotes) and aſked hym after which ſort he woulde miniſter the Sacrament. He aunſwered to ſuch as hee fauoured, that he would geue it after the right ſort: the reſt ſhould haue it after the Papiſticall maner.

Cotes Pariſhe prieſt at Stoke.

To bee ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but onely Iohn Steyre and Iohn Foxe: of which the one gaue his wife leaue to doe as ſhe thought beſte. The other went about with threates to compell his wife, ſaiyng that otherwiſe he would diuorce hym ſelf from her. As for the reſt, they did withdraw themſelues from church, reſortyng to their wonted company. Onely Foxes wife taryed ſtill at home, all in her dumpes and heauines, whoſe huſeband practiſed with the Curate in the mean tyme, that the next day after he ſhould geue her the ſacrament, which was the xvij. day after Eaſter. But the very ſame day, vnknowyng vnto her houſband, ſhe gat her ſelfe ſecretly to her company, and with teares declared howe violently her houſband had delt with her. The other women bad her notwithſtandyng to be of a good cheare, and ſaid that they would make their earneſt prayers vnto the Lorde, both for her and her huſband, and in deede when they had ſo done, the matter tooke very good ſucceſſe. For the next day after, goodman Foxe came of his owne accord vnto them, a farre other man then he was before, and bewailed his owne headines and raſhnes, praiyng them that they woulde forgeue him, promiſing euer after to be more ſtrong in faith, to the great reioyſing both of them and his wife.

Iohn Steyre and Iohn Foxe reuolted.

The Chriſtian conſtancy of Elezabeth Foxe.

The effect of chriſtian praier.

Iohn Foxe recouered agayne to the truth by prayer.

About halfe a yeare after this, the Biſhop of Norwich ſendeth forth certaine of his Officers or Apparitours thether, which gaue them warnyng euery one to come to the church the next ſonday followyng. If they would not come, they ſhould appeare before the Commiſſary out of hand, to render accompt of their abſence. But the women hauyng ſecret knowledge of this before, kept themſelues out of the way for the nonce, to auoyde the ſummons or warnyng. Therefore when they were not at the churche at the day appointed, the Commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them accordyng to the Biſhop of Romes lawe, and within three weekes after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceiued that an Officer of the Towne was ſet to take ſome of them, they conueiyng them ſelues priuily out of the towne, eſcaped all daunger.

The women of Stoke ſummoned by the Biſhop.

How the women of Stoke eſcaped.

❡ *The congregation in London.*

The preſeruation of the congregation at London.

NO leſſe maruelous was the preſeruation of the congregation in London, which from the firſt beginnyng of Q. Mary, to the latter ende thereof, continued, notwithſtandyng whatſoeuer the malice, deuiſe, ſearching and inquiſition of men, or ſtreitnes of lawes could worke to the contrary. Suche was the mercifull hand of the Lorde, accordyng to his accuſtomed goodnes, euer working ẇ his people. Of this great boūtiful goodnes of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I ſpeake of. How oft, and in what great daungers did he deliuer them?

First at the Blacke Friers, when they ſhould haue reſorted to Syr Thomas Cardens houſe, priuy watch was layd for them, but yet through the Lordes vigilant prouidence the miſchiefe was preuented, and they deliuered.

The congregation at Maſter Cardens houſe.

Againe, how narrowly did they eſcape about Algate where ſpies were laid for them, and had not Thomas Simſon the Deacon eſpied them, & bid them diſperſe themſelues away, they had bene taken. For within two houres the Conſtable commyng to the houſe after they were gone, demaunded of the wife what company had bene there. To whom ſhe to excuſe the matter, made aunſwere againe: ſaying that halfe a doſen good fellowes bene there at breakefaſt, as they went a mayyng.

In other tyme alſo about the great condit, they paſſyng there through a very ſtraite Alley, into a Clothworkers loft, were eſpied, and the Shrieffes ſent for: but before they came, they hauyng priuie knowledge thereof immediatly ſhifted away out of the alley, John Auales ſtandyng alone in the Mercers Chapppel ſtaryng at them.

The Congregation againe deliuered.

The congregation in a ſhep at Billinſgate.

In other like eſcape they made in a ſhip at Billinſgate, belongyng to a certaine good man of Ley, where in the open ſight of the people they were congregated together, & yet through Gods mightie power eſcaped.

The congregation in a ſhip betwixt Ratcliff and Redriffe.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Redriffe, in a ſhip, called Jeſus Ship, twiſe or thriſe they aſſembled hauing there cloſely, after their accuſtomed maner, both Sermon, praier, and Communion, and yet through the protection of the Lorde they returned, although not vnſpyed, yet vntaken.

The congregation in a Coupers houſe in Puddyng lane.

Moreouer in a Coupers houſe in Puddyng Lane, ſo neare they were to perill and daungers, that John Auales commyng into the houſe where they were, talked with the good man of the houſe, and after he had aſked a queſtion or twoo, departed, God ſo workyng that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

The congregation in a houſe in Thamis ſtrete.

But they neuer eſcaped more hardly, then once in Thamis ſtreete in the night time, where the houſe being beſet with enemies, yet as the Lorde would, they were deliuered by the meanes of a Marriner, who being at that preſent in the ſame company, and ſeeyng no other way to auoyde, pluckt of his ſlops, and ſwame to the next Boate, and ſo rowed the company ouer, vſing his ſhoes in ſteede of owres, and ſo the ieopardy was diſpatched.

I haue heard of one who being ſent to them to take their names, and to eſpy their doinges, yet in beeyng amongeſt them, was cōuerted and cried them al mercy.

An other notable example of Gods merciful prouidence.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the extreame and preſent daunger which that godly cōpany was in at the taking of maſter Rough their miniſter, and Cutbert Simſon their Deacon, had not the Lordes prouidence geuen knowledge before to maſter Rough in his ſleepe that Cutbert ſhould leaue behind him at home the booke of all their names, whiche hee was wont to cary about him? wherof mention is made before pag. 1925.

The Miniſters of this congregation.

In this church or congregation were ſometyme xl. ſometymes an hundred, ſometimes two hundred, ſometymes mo, and ſometimes leſſe. About the latter tyme of Q. Mary it greatly increaſed. From the firſt beginning, whiche was about the firſt entry of Q. Maries reigne, they had diuers Miniſters, firſt maſter Scamler, then Thomas Fowle, after hym Maſter Rough, then Maſter Auſten Bernher, and laſt M. Bentham. Concerning the deliueraunce of which M. Bentham. (being now Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield) Gods mightie prouidence moſte notably is to be conſidered. For how is it poſſible by mans eſtimation, for the ſayd Maſter Bentham to haue eſcaped, had not the preſent power of the Lorde, paſſing all mens expectation, bene preſt and ready to helpe his ſeruaunt in ſuch a ſtraite? The ſtory and caſe is this.

A ſtory of Maſter Bentham.

The Queenes proclamation, no man to pray for the Martyrs, nor to ſpeake vnto them.

At what time the ſeuen laſt burned in Smithfield, mencioned in this booke before, pa. 1934. were condemned and brought to the ſtake to ſuffer, came downe in the name of the king and Queene a Proclamation, being twiſe pronoūced openly to the people, firſt at Newgate, then at the ſtake where they ſhould ſuffer, ſtraitly charging and commaunding, that no man ſhould either pray for thē, or ſpeake to thē, or once ſay god helpe thē.

The congregation embracing the Martyrs contrary to the Proclamation.

It was appointed before of the godly there ſtanding together, which was a great multitude, that ſo ſone as the priſoners ſhould be brought, they ſhould go to them to embrace and to comfort them: and ſo they did. For as the ſaide Martyrs were commyng toward the place in the people ſight, beyng brought with bills and glaiues (as the cuſtome is) the godly multitude and Congregation with a generall ſway made toward the Priſoners, in ſuch maner, that the bylmen and the other Officers beyng all thruſt backe, could nothyng doe, nor any thing come nigh. So the godly people meetyng and embracing and kiſſing them, brought them in their armes (which might as eaſely haue conuied them cleane away) vnto the place where they ſhould ſuffer.

Maſter Bentham Miniſter of the congregation.

This done, and the people geuyng place to the Officers, the Proclamation with a loud voyce was read to the people, conteinyng (as is before ſaide) in the Kyng and Queenes name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or once ſpeake a word vnto them. &c. M. Bentham, the Miniſter then of the Congregation, not ſparyng for that, but as zeale and Chriſtian charitie moued hym, and ſeyng the fire ſet to them, turnyng his eyes to the people, cried and ſaid: We know they are the people of God, and therefore we can not chooſe but wiſh well to them, and ſay: God ſtrengthen them: And ſo boldly hee ſaid: Almighty God for Chriſtes ſake ſtrēgthen them. With that, al the people with a whole conſent and one voyce folowed & ſaid: Amen, Amen. The noyſe whereof was ſo great, and the criers therof ſo many, that the Officers could not tell what to ſay, nor whō to accuſe. And thus muche concernyng the Congregation of the faithfull, aſſemblyng together at London in the tyme of Queene Mary.

Maſter Bentham ſpeaketh and praieth for the Martyrs without daunger.

An other deliuery of Maſter Bentham out of great perill.

The ſaid M. Bentham an other tyme, as he paſſed through S. Katherines, intendyng to walke and take the ayre abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approching vpon him, needes to go with them to a place whether they would lead him. M. Bentham aſtonied at the ſodainnes of the matter, and maruellyng what the thing ſhould be, required what their purpoſe was, or whether they would haue him. They aunſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the Crowners queſt was called and charged to ſit vppon him of the whiche queſt he muſt of neceſſitie be one. &c. He againe, loth to medle in the matter, excuſed hym ſelfe, alleagyng that in ſuch kind of matters he had no ſkill, and leſſe experience: if it would pleaſe them to let him goe, they ſhould meete with other more meete for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not bee ſatiſfied, he alleaged further, that he was a ſcholer of Oxford, and therby was priuileged from beyng of any inqueſt. The Crowner demaunded the ſight of his priuilege. He ſaide, if he would geue him leaue, he would fetch it. Then ſaid the Crowner: the Queene muſt bee ſerued without all delay, and ſo conſtrained him notwithſtandyng to be with them in hearyng the matter.

Maſter Bentham forced againſt his will to ſit in the Crowners queſt.

Maſter Bentham refuſeth to ſweare vpon a Popiſhe Primer.

Beyng brought to the houſe where the Crowner and the reſt of the queſt were ſitting, as the maner is, a booke was offred him to ſweare vpon. M. Bentham openyng the booke, and ſeing it was a papiſticall Primer, refuſed to ſweare therupon, and declared moreouer what Superſtition in that booke was contained. What, ſaid the Crowner? I thinke we ſhall haue here an hereticke among vs. And vpon that, after much reaſonyng amongeſt them, he was committed to the cuſtody of an officer till further examination: by occaſion wherof, to all mens reaſon, hard it had bene and ineuitable for M. Bentham to haue eſcaped, had not the lord helped where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contendyng and debatyng about matters of hereſie, ſodeinly commeth the Crowner of the Admiralty, diſanulling and repealyng the order and callyng of that inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertainyng to his office, and therefore the other Crowner and his company in that place had nothyng to do: And ſo the firſt Crowner was diſcharged and diſplaced: by reaſon wherof M. Bentham eſcaped their handes, hauyng no more ſaid vnto hym.

Meanes wrought whereby maſter Bentham eſcape.

¶ *Engliſh men preſerued at the taking of Calice.*

Engliſhe men at Calice preſerued.

The worthy workes of the Lordes mercy toward his people bee manifold and can not be comprehended, ſo that who is he liuyng in the earth almoſt who hath not experienced the helpyng hand of the Lorde, at ſome tyme or other vpon hym? Amongeſt many other, what a peece of Gods tender prouidence was ſhewed of late vppon our Engliſhe brethren and countrey men, what tyme Calice was taken by the Tirant Guiſe, a cruell enemy both to Gods truth and to our Engliſh nation? And yet by the gratious prouiſion of the Lorde few or none at all, of ſo many that fauoured Chriſt & his Goſpell, in that terrible ſpoyle miſcaried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one John Thorpe and his wife, whiche feared the Lorde, and loued his truth, who beyng ſicke the ſame tyme, and caſt out into the wild fieldes, harbourles, deſolate, and deſpayryng of all hope of life, hauyng their young infant moreouer taken from them in the ſaid fieldes, and caryed away of the ſouldiours: yet the Lorde ſo wrought, that the poore woman beyng almoſt paſt recouery of life, was fet and caried, the ſpace welnigh of a mile, by ſtraungers whom they neuer knewe, into a village, where both ſhe was recouered for that night, and alſo ỹ next

John Thorpe and his wife.

daye commyng toward England, they chaunced into the ſame Inne at the next Towne, where they found their young child ſittyng by the fire ſide.

¶ Edward Benet.

A ſtory of Edward Benet, now dwelling in S Brides pariſhe.

ONe Edw. Benet about yͤ ſecond yeare of the reigne of Q. Mary, then dwelling at Quenehiue with one Grynocke a Baker, was deſired of one Tyngle priſoner then in Newgate, to bryng him a new Teſtament. He procuring one of M. Couerdals tranſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchef, ſaiyng to George the keeper which aſked him what he had, that it was a peece of poudred beefe. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiuing what it was, he brought hym to Syr Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaiyng that booke was not lawfull, and ſo committed him to the Counter in Woodſtreete, where he continued xxv. weekes.

Edward Benet xxv. weekes in the Counter, for bryngyng a new Teſtamēt to Tyngle, which after died in priſon, and was buried on a doungehill.

D. Story commyng to the priſon to examine other priſoners, this Benet looking out at the grate, ſpake to hym, deſiryng him to be good vnto him, and to helpe him out, for he had layne long in priſon. To whom D. Story then aunſweryng: What, ſaid he, waſt not thou before me in Chriſtes Church? Yes forſooth, ſaid Benet. Ah, ſaid Story, thou doeſt not beleeue in the Sacrament of the Aultar. Mary I will helpe thee out: come, ſaid he to the keeper, turne him out, I will helpe him: and ſo tooke Benet with hym and brought hym to Cluny in Pater noſter Rowe, and bad him bring him to the Colehouſe, and there he was in the ſtockes a weke.

Doct. Stories wordes to Edward Benet.

Then the Biſhoppe ſent for him to talke with him, and firſt aſked hym if he were ſhriuen? No, ſayd Benet. He aſked him if he would be ſhriuen? No, ſaid he. Then he aſked hym if the Prieſt could take away hys ſinnes? No, ſayd Benet, I do not ſo beleue. Then he and Harpſfield laughed at hym and mocked hym, aſkyng him if hee did not beleeue that what ſoeuer the prieſt here bound in earth, ſhould be bound in heauen: and whatſoeuer he looſed in earth, ſhould be looſed in heauen? No, ꝙ Benet: But I beleue that the miniſter of God preaching Gods woord truely, and miniſtring the Sacramentes according to the ſame, what ſoeuer he bindeth in earth, ſhall be bound in heauen, and what ſoeuer he looſeth. &c. Then the Biſhop putting hym aſide, ſaid, he ſhould go to Fulham and be whipped.

Edward Benet brought to Boner and examined.

Then came to him. M. Buſwel a Prieſt, liyng in the Colehouſe in the ſtockes, and brought Cranmers recantation, ſaiyng that he had recanted. My faith, ſaith the other, lieth in no mās booke but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saterday Benet with fiue others was called for to come to maſſe, into the Chapel. The Maſſe beyng done and they commyng out, fiue of them went to priſon and were after burned. Benet beyng behind and commyng toward the gate, the porter openyng to a company goyng out, aſked if there were no priſoners there. No, ſaid they. Benet ſtandyng in open ſight before hym, with other ſeruing men whiche were there by reaſon that Boner made many Prieſtes that day (hauyng one of his ſleues & halfe the fore part of his coate burned of in the priſon, beyng more like a priſoner then any of the other) when the gate was opened, went out amongeſt them, and ſo eſcaped.

How Edward Benet eſcaped out of the Biſhops houſe.

Againe, in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary, the ſame Benet beyng taken againe with the xxiij. beyond Iſlington, and brought to Syr Roger Cholmleys, the people commyng very thicke did cut of ſome of them, to the number of viij, which were behind, among whom was Benet. Then he knocking at the gate to come in, the Porter ſaid, that he was none of the company. Hee ſayd yes, and knocked againe. Then there ſtode one by of the congregation, named Iohnſon, dwellyng nowe at Hamerſmith, which ſaid: Edwarde, thou haſt done well, do not tempt God, go thy way. And ſo takyng the warnyng as ſent of GOD, with a quiet conſcience eſchued burnyng.

An other eſcape of Edw. Benet. Of theſe xxiiij. read before pag. 1930. viij. of the xxiiij. taken at Iſlington, eſcaped and how Good warning ſent of God.

¶ Ieffrey Hurſt brother in law to George Marſhe the Martyr.

The ſtory of Ieffery Hurſt dwelling in the towne of Shakerley in the Pariſh of Leyght.

IN the Towne of Shakerley in Lancaſhire dwelled one Ieffrey Hurſt the ſon of an honeſt yeoman, who had beſides him a xi. children, the ſaid Ieffrey being the xij. and eldeſt of the reſt: and for that their father being willing to bring them vp, ſo that they ſhould be able an other day to helpe themſelues, he did bind this Ieffrey prentiſe vnto the craft of nailyng, to make all kinde of nayles: whiche occupation he learned and ſerued out the time of vij. yeares. The which yeres being expired, he gaue him ſelfe at times to learne of his other Brethren whiche went to ſchole: and as he was very willing to the ſame, ſo GOD ſent him knowledge wherin he did perſeuer and go forwardes, in ſuch ſort that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuaunce came by more knowledge, and ſo hauyng the Bible and diuers other bookes in his houſe, did come by prettie knowledge in the Scripture. After this, hee tooke vnto him a wife beeyng the ſiſter of M. George Marſhe, of whoſe Martyrdome mention is made before, pag. 1484. and beyng much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a litle. Now when Q. Mary was entred, the firſt yeare of her reigne he kept him ſelf away from their doynges and came not at the Church: Whereupon he was laid in waite for, and called heretike, and Lollard, and ſo for feare of further daunger, he was compelled to leaue his wife and his child, and all, and fled into Yorkeſhyre, and there beyng not knowen did leade his life, returnyng ſometymes by night to his houſe to comfort his wife, and bryngyng with hym ſome Preacher or other, who vſed to preache vnto them ſo long as the tyme would ſerue, and ſo departed by night againe. The names of the Preachers were: M. Reneſes, M. Beſt, M. Brodbanke, M. Ruſſell, & euery time they came thether they were about xx. or xxiiij. ſometymes, but xvi. at leaſt, who had there alſo ſometimes a Communion. And thus in much feare did he with other lead his life, till the laſt yeare of the reigne of Queene Mary. Then it chaunced that the ſaid Ieffrey Hurſt, after the death of his father, came home, and kept him ſelfe cloſe for vij. or viij. weekes.

Ieffrey Hurſt brother to George Marſh the Martyr.

Ieffrey Hurſt leaueth wife, children, and houſe for perſecution.

Preachers vſing to Ieffrey Hurſtes houſe and to preach.

There dwelt not farre of at Morleſſe, a certain Iuſtice of peace and of quorum, named M. Thomas Lelond, who hearyng of him, appointed a tyme to come to his fathers houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the houſe for bookes, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo did. Ieffrey and his company hauyng knowledge of his commyng, tooke the bookes which were in the houſe, as the Bible, the Communion booke, the new Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, and diuers others, & threw them al vnderneath a tub or fat, conueiyng alſo the ſaid Ieffrey vnder the ſame, with a great deale of ſtraw vnderneth him: for as it chaunced they had the more time, becauſe that when the Iuſtice came almoſt to the doore, he ſtaid & would not enter the houſe till he had ſent for Hurſtes mothers landlady M. Shakerlay, & then with her conſent to go forwards. In the meane time, Ieffrey by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window yͤ Teſtamēt of Tindals tranſlatiō, & a litle boke conteining the third part of the Bible, with the boke of Eccleſiaſticus, to try what they would ſay vnto them.

M. Thomas Lelond Iuſtice of peace at Morleſe in Lancaſhire, a cruell perſecutor.

Ieffrey Hurſt conueied vnder a Drifat.

Miſtres Shakerlay Hurſtes Landlady.

This done, Miſtres Shakerlay came. Vnto whom eftſones the Iuſtice declareth the cauſe of his cōming and how he was ſory to attēpt any ſuch thing againſt any of her tenantes for her ſake, but notwithſtandyng he muſt needes execute his office. And againe you muſt (ſaid he) note this, that a ſkabbed ſheepe is able to infect a great number: and eſpecially hauyng, as he hath, ſo many brethren, and ſiſters, he is able to marre them all, if it be not loked vnto in time. And thus cōcluding, M. Lelond entred into the houſe, & being come in, ſet him ſelfe in a chaire in the midle of the houſe, and ſendyng Syr Rafe Parkinſon his Prieſt, and one of his men, and one of Miſtres Shakerleys men about the houſe, to ſearch and rifle the cheſtes for bookes (which ſo did) in the meane tyme hee talked with Hurſtes mother, beyng of yͤ age almoſt of iiij. ſcore yeares: And chiding with her that ſhe would ſuffer her ſon ſo to order and behaue him ſelfe like an hereticke, ſaid: thou olde foole, I know my ſelf that this new learning ſhal come again: but for how long? euen for thre monethes or iiij. monethes and no longer. But I will lay thee old foole in Lancaſter dungeon for this geare, and well worthy.

M. Lelond entreth to ſearch Hurſtes houſe.

Rafe Parkinſon a Popiſh perſecutyng Prieſt.

The Papiſtes follow falſe prophecies, of the Goſpell to come againe after four Monethes & more.

Now as concernyng the Searchers, they found nothing but Latin bookes, as Grammer and ſuche like. Theſe be not they that we loke for (ſaid they) we muſt ſee further, and ſo looked into Hurſtes chamber where they found the foreſaid bookes. Then ſyr Rafe taking vp the teſtament, looked on it and ſmiled. His Maſter ſeyng that, ſaid: now Syr Rafe, what haue we there? Forſooth, ſaith he, a Teſtament of Tyndals tranſlation, plaine hereſie, and none worſe then it. Then is al their goodes, ſaith he, loſt to the Queene and their bodies to priſon, and was wonderfully haſty: notwithſtādyng through Miſtres Shakerley, for a ſpace he was content to ſee farther.

The new Teſtamēt of Tyndals tranſlation made hereſie.

Then the Prieſt looked on the other booke: What ſay ye to that Syr Rafe, is that as euill as the other? No ſayde he, but it is not good that they ſhould haue ſuche Engliſh bookes to looke on: for this and ſuch others, may do much harme. Then he aſked the mother where her eldeſt ſonne was, and her daughter Alyce? She aunſwered, ſhe could not tell: they were not with her of long tyme before. And he ſwore by Gods body, he would make her tell where they were, or hee would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon, and yet he would haue, them, notwithſtandyng too. To be ſhort, for feare he had hys brother John Hurſt and hys mother bound in a hundreth pound to bryng the parties before hym within xiiij. dayes, and ſo departed he, and the Prieſt put both the bookes in his boſome, and caried them away with hym. Then John Hurſt went after them, deſiryng that he might haue the booke whiche the Prieſt found no fault with: but he (ſaid they) ſhould aunſwere to them both, and whiche ſo euer was the better, was not good.

Search made for Hurſt and his ſiſter Alice. The old mother threatened to go to Lancaſter Caſtle.

Hurſtes mother and brother bound in a C. pound for his forth commyng.

As this paſt on, when the tyme was come that Jeffrey Hurſt and his ſiſter ſhoud be examined, the Juſtice ſent for them betymes in the mornyng, and had prepared a Maſſe to beginne withal, aſking Jeffrey Hurſt if he would firſt go and ſee his maker, and then he would talke further with hym. To whom then Jeffrey aunſwered and ſayd: Syr my Maker is in heauen, and I am aſſured in goyng to your Maſſe I ſhall finde no edification thereby, and therefore I pray you holde mee excuſed.

Maſter Lelondes maker.

Talke betwene Jeffrey Hurſt and the Juſtice.

Well well, ſaid he, I perceaue I ſhall find you an hereticke, by God: but I will go to Maſſe, and I will not loſe it for all your pratling. Then into his Chappell hee went, and when Maſſe was done, hee ſent for them, and cauſed his Prieſt to reade a ſcrole vnto them as concernyng the vij. Sacramentes, & euer as he ſpake of the body and bloud of Chriſt, he put of his cap, and ſaid, loe ye may ſee: you wil deny theſe thyngs and care not for your Prince: but you ſhall feele it ere I haue done with you, & all the faculty of you, with other talke more betweene them, I know not what: but in the end they were licenſed to depart vnder ſuerties to appeare againe before hym within three wekes, and then to goe to Lancaſter. Howbeit in the meane while it ſo pleaſed God, that within foure daies of the day appointed, it was noyſed that the Queene was dead, and within xiiij. dayes after, the ſayd Jeffrey Hurſt fette home hys two bookes, and nothyng was ſayd vnto hym.

Jeffrey Hurſt denieth to come to Maſſe.

Examination after Maſſe.

Jeffrey Hurſt and Alice his ſiſter, let go vnder ſuerties.

Jeffrey Hurſt by the death of Queene Mary, releaſed.

It followed after this that Gods word begonne to take place, and the Queenes viſitors came downe into that Countrey, who did chuſe fower men in the pariſh: to wit, Symond Smith, Jeffrey Hurſt, Hery Browne, George Eccerſly, which fower were Proteſtantes, to ſee the Queenes proceedinges to take place: which according to their power did the ſame, notwithſtanding it did little preuaile: and therefore the ſayd Jeffrey beyng ſore greeued with the office, fell ſicke, in which ſicknes it pleaſed GOD to call him, making a very godly end, God haue the prayſe for it.

Jeffrey Hurſt in Q. Elizabethes tyme put in authoritie to ſee the proceedyng of Religion.

Now to returne to the foreſaied Thomas Lelond againe, he continuing in his office ſtill, did very fewe tymes come to the Church, but ſaide he was aged and might not labour, and there kept with hym Syr Rafe Parkinſon his Prieſt, whiche could (as it was ſaide) miniſter the Communion vnto the people, and ſing Maſſe to his maſter: Yea and (as the ſame reported) did a pretier feat then all that: for he begot twoo children by a ſeruaunt in a houſe, his maiſter knowyng it, and ſaiyng nothing, for that he would not looſe his good Maſſe Prieſt.

Tho. Lelond the Popiſh Juſtice, would not come to the Church in Q. Elizabethes tyme, and yet continued Juſtice ſtill.

A Catholicke father of the Popiſh church.

Furthermore, this was noted in the ſame Juſtice Lelondes behauiour at ſeruice tyme, that he had a litle dogge which he would play with all ſeruice tyme, and the ſame dogge had a coller full of Belles, ſo that the noyſe of them did moleſt and trouble others as wel as himſelfe, from hearing the ſeruice. Alſo in the ſame Juſtice it was noted and obſerued, that as he ſat in his Chappell at ſeruice time, his maner was on a willow barke to knit knottes, for that he could not be ſuffered to haue his Beades, and to put the ſame vpon a ſtring alſo. Witnes hereof Edward Hurſt, with others.

Note a catholicke knaue of a Popiſh Juſtice.

Furthermore, as concernyng Henry Browne one of the iiij. choſen men aboue mencioned, this is alſo to be added, that the ſaid Henry Browne dwelling in the towne of Pinington in the ſame pariſhe, An. 1564. had a little boy, who as he was plaiyng in the towne, one Glaues wife gaue vnto the boy a payre of beades made of wood, to play him withall. The little boy being glad thereof to haue ſuche a trimme thing, went home and ſhewed his father of them. His Father ſeyng the Beades, tooke them and burned them, and when he had ſo done, went forthe and aſked who had geuen vnto his little boy that payre of Beades.

The trouble and eſcape of Henry Brown out of his enemies handes.

That did I, ſaid Glaues wife.

Well ſaid he, I haue burned them.

Haſt thou ſo, ſaid ſhe, and thruſt him frō her. They ſhalbe the deareſt Beades that euer thou ſaweſt, and incontinent went and complayned vnto the ſayde Juſtice, how Browne had burned her Beades.

Glaues wife maintainer of Popery, and a perſecutor.

This matter the Juſtice tooke ſore to ſnuffe, and was very angrie, and did direct his letter vnto the conſtables of the ſame Towne, by his owne hand ſubſcribed: the title of whiche ſuperſcription on the backe ſide was this: To the Conſtables of Pinington geue this.

Juſtice Lelond writeth to the Conſtables to apprehend Henry Browne.

This done the Conſtables accordyng to this their charge did bryng him afore the Juſtice at time appointed, and when the Juſtice came to talke with hym, hee was in ſuch a chafe, that he called him theefe, and ſayd that he had robbed his neighbour in burnyng of her beades, and that there was ringes and other Juels on them, and that he might as well haue picked her purſe: wherefore I will lay thee (ſaide he) in Lancaſter for this geare.

Henry Brown troubled for burning of Beades in Q. Elizabethes tyme.

Whileſt they were thus talkyng, there came all his ſeruauntes about them from their worke, ſaiyng: is this M. Doctour Browne that will burne Beades? I pray you Syr, let vs haue hym here and preach. I will geue a quarters wages, ſaith one: and I will geue money ſaith an other, and he ſhalbe maſter Doctour: with much deriſion and ſcoffing at this poore man.

Like maſter, like men.

He hearing this, ſpake againe boldly, and ſaid: did you ſend for me to make a laughing ſtocke of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to Churche, and ſee ſuche Papiſtry aboliſhed your ſelfe, then thus to trouble mee for doyng my duetie: but I tell you plainly, you do not come to church as you ought to doe, and wherfore with more thinges that I haue to charge you withall, I ſay you doe not well. When all this miſdemeanour of the Juſtice laide to his charge, would not preuaile, & alſo witnes came in of the Papiſtes, which did know the Beades, & teſtified that they were plaine and coſt but a halfepeny, he then went into his Parlor in a chafe, and one M. Erberſton a Papiſt with hym: Which Erberſton turned backe & ſaid: is it you Henry Browne, that keepeth this ſturre? you are one of them that pulled downe the Croſſes in the church, and pulled doune the Roode ſeller, and al the Saints: you were beſt now to go paint a blacke Deuill, and ſet him vp and worſhip hym, for that will ſerue well for your religion. And thus vnder ſuertiſhip hee did depart till July followyng, and then he ſaid he ſhould go to Lancaſter to priſon, and ſo came he away.

A lamentable thing when ſuch Juſtices beare rule ouer Chriſtian congregations.

Henry Brown vnder ſuerties diſmiſſed for a tyme.

The time drew on that he ſhould appeare, but God ſtaied the matter, and in July, as ẏ foreſaid Thomas Lelond ſatte in his chayre talking with his frendes, he fell doune ſodeinly dead, not muche mouing any ioint: And thus was his end: from ſuch God vs defend.

The puniſhmēt of Gods ſtroke vpon an obſti- perſecutor.

¶ *William Wood of Kent.*

The examination of William Wood Baker, dwellyng in the Pariſhe of Strowd, in the County of Kent, before Doct. Kenall Chauncellor of the dioces of Rocheſter, Doct. Chadſey, the Maior of Rocheſter, & M. Robinſon the Scribe, the xix. day of October, and in the ſecond yeare of Queene Mary, in S. Nicolas Church in Rocheſter.

Examination of W. Wood.

M.Robinſon. William Wood, you are preſented becauſe you will not come to the Church, nor receiue the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar. How ſaye you? haue you receiued, or haue you not?

W. Wood charged for not commyng to church.

Wood. I haue not receiued it, nor I dare not receiue it, as you do now miniſter it.

Kenall. Thou Herericke, what is the cauſe that thou haſt not receiued the bleſſed Sacrament of the Aultar? and at this word all they put of their caps, and made low beyſaunce.

Wood. There be three cauſes that make my conſcience afeard that I dare not receaue it. The 1. Chriſt did deliuer it to his xij. Apoſtles, & ſaid: Take, eate: And drinke yea all of this. &c. and you eate and drinke vp all alone. The 2. cauſe is: you hold it vp to be worſhipped, contrary to Gods commaundements: Thou ſhalt not bow

3. cauſes why W. Wood durſt not receaue the Sacrament of the altar.

1.Corinth.14.

downe nor worſhip. The 3. cauſe is: you miniſter it in a ſtraunge tong, contrary to S. Paules doctrine: I had rather haue fiue wordes with vnderſtandyng, then tenne thouſand with tounges: by reaſon wherof the people be ignoraunt of the death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou Hereticke, wilt thou haue any playner wordes then theſe: Hoc eſt corpus meum? Take, eate, this is my body? wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures: God forbyd, but with my hart I do faithfully beleue them. S. Paule ſaieth: God calleth thoſe thinges that are not, as though they were And Chriſt ſaith: I am a Vyne: I am a doore. S. Paule ſaith: The Rocke is Chriſt. All whiche are figuratiue ſpeaches, wherein one thyng is ſpoken, and an other thing is vnderſtanded.

Robinſon. You make a very long tale of this matter. Learne Wood, learne.

Kenall. Nay, theſe heretickes will not learne. Looke how this hereticke glorieth in hym ſelfe. Thou fole, art thou wiſer then the Queene, and the Counſell, and all the learned men of this Realme?

Wood. And it pleaſe you, Maiſter Chauncellour, I thinke you would bee loth to haue ſuche glory, to haue your life and goodes taken away, and to be thus railed vpon, as you raile vppon mee. But the ſeruaunt is not greater then his maſter. And where you do mocke mee, and ſay I am wiſer then the Queene, and her Counſel, S. Paule ſaith: The wiſedome of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhnes before God, and he that will be wiſe in this world, ſhall be accompted but a foole.

Kenall. Doeſt not thou beleue that after theſe wordes ſpoken by a prieſt; Hoc eſt corpus meum: This is my body, there remaineth no more Bread and Wine, but the very fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, as he was borne of the virgine Mary, really and ſubſtātially, in quantitie and qualitie, as he did hang vpon the Croſſe?

Wood. I pray you M. Chauncellour, geue mee leaue for my learnyng, to aſke you one queſtion, and I will aunſwere you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warrant you.

Ezech.v.
M. Woods queſtion propounded to the Doctours.

Wood. GOD ſpake to the Prophet Ezechiell ſaiyng: Thou ſonne of man, take a raſour and ſhaue of the heare of thy head and of thy beard, and take one part and caſt it into the ayre: take the ſeconde part and put it into thy coate lap, and take the third part and caſt it into the fire: and this is Ieruſalem. I praye you, M. Chauncellour, was this heare that the Prophet did caſte into the fire, or was it Ieruſalem?

Kenall. No, it did ſignifie Ieruſalem.

The naturall quantitie of Chriſt not in the Sacrament.

Wood. Euen ſo this word of Chriſt: This is my body, is not ſo to be vnderſtanded that Chriſtes carnall, naturall, and reall body is in the ſame, in quantitie and quality, as it was borne of the virgin Mary: and as he was crucified vpon the Croſſe, is preſent or incloſed in the Sacrament: but it doth ſignifie Chriſtes body, as S. Paule ſaieth: So oft as ye doe eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lordes death till he come. What ſhould the Apoſtle meane by this word, till he come, if hee were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the ſame quantitie and qualitie as he was borne of the virgine Mary, and as he did hang on the Croſſe, as you ſay? but ſaint Paule ſaith: Ye ſhall ſhew the Lordes death till he come. This doth argue þ he is not here as you would haue vs to beleue.

Doct. Chadſey. I will proue that Chriſt is here preſent vnder the forme of bread, but not in quantity & quality.

Kenall ſayd: yes he is here preſent in quantitie and qualitie.

Chadſey. He is here preſent vnder a forme, and not in quantitie and qualitie.

Yes, ſayd Kenall.

No, ſayd Chadſey.

The Papiſtes could not agree in their owne doctrine.

I will proue him here in quantity and quality, ſaid Kenall.

I will proue the contrary, ſayd Chadſey.

And theſe two Doctours were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirme, the other to deny, contendyng and ragyng ſo ſore one at the other, that they fomed at the mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in an others face, ſo that in a great fury and rage the two Doctours roſe vp from the Iudgement ſeate, and Doctour Kenall departed out of the Churche in greate rage and fury immediatly.

Wood. Behold good people, they woulde haue vs to beleue that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantity and quality preſent in the Sacrament, and yet they can not tell them ſelues, nor agree within them ſelues how he is there.

M. Wood deliuered, as was S. Paule by the contention of the Phariſeis and Saduces.

At theſe wordes the people made a great ſhout and the Maior ſtode vp and commaunded the people to be quiet, and to kepe ſilence. And that God that did deliuer S. Paul out of the hands of the high Prieſtes, by the contention that was betwene the Phariſeis and the Saduces, did euen ſo deliuer mee at that tyme out of the mouthes of the bloudy Papiſtes, by the meanes of the contention of theſe two Doctours. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord whiche hath promiſed to lay no more vpon his, then he will make them able to beare, and in the middeſt of temptation hee can make away for his (whom and when it pleaſeth hym) to eſcape out of all daungers.

Many other like examples of Gods helpyng hend haue bene declared vpon his elect Saintes and Children in deliueryng them out of daunger by wonderfull and miraculous waies, ſome by one means, ſome by an other. What a notable worke of Gods mightie hand was ſeene in Simon Grinæus, mencioned in the Commentarie of Melancthon vppon Daniell. Who hauyng a ſodayne warnyng by a certaine olde man, who was not ſeene after, nor knowen then of any what he was, auoided the perill of takyng and burnyng, as by the relatiō of Melancthon writing and witneſſing of the ſame, may appeare in the wordes of his owne ſtory here following.

¶ The hiſtory of Simon Grinæus collected out of Melancthons Commentaries vpon the x. Chapiter of Daniell.

The Story of Simon Grinæus.
Ex Commentarijs Phil. Melanct. in cap.10. Danielis.
John Faber Biſhop of Vienna perſecutor.
Obſequium amicos, Veritas odiū parit.

When I was (ſaieth he) at the aſſembly holden at Spyre in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. by chaunce Symon Grynæus came thether vnto me from the vniuerſity of Hedelberge, where he heard Faber the Biſhop of Vienna in a Sermon, defend and maintaine certaine deteſtable errors. When the Sermon was done, he folowed Faber goyng out of the Church and ſaluted hym reuerently, declaring vnto hym that the was moued of a good zeale and intent, ſomwhat to ſay vnto hym. Faber was contented to talke with hym.

Faber gently admoniſhed of Grinæus for his Sermon.

Then Grinæus ſaid vnto him that he was very ſory that a man of ſuche learnyng and authority ſhould openly maintaine ſuche errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might be refuted by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the ſcripture. Ireneus writeth (ſaid he) that Polycarpus was wont to ſtop his eares whenſoeuer hee heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mynd then (thinke you) woulde Polycarpus haue heard you argue and reaſon what it is that the mouſe eateth, when ſhe knaweth the conſecrated hoſte? Who would not bewaile ſuche ignoraunce and blindnes of the church? With this Faber brake of his talke, as hee was about to ſaye more, and aſked his name. This man diſſembling nothing, gently tolde him that his name was Grinæus.

This Faber (as many well knew) was alwayes tymerous and fearefull in the company of learned men, Wherfore he fearyng the learnyng, eloquence, and feruent zeale of Grinæus, ſpecially in ſuch a matter as this was, fayned as though hee had bene ſente for by the kyng, and that he had no leyſure now to reaſon vppon this matter. Hee pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintaunce and longer talke with Grinæus, intreatyng him, that both for his owne priuate cauſe, and alſo for the common wealth, he would come againe the next day vnto hym, and ſo ſhewed him his lodgyng, and appointed him an houre when he ſhould come. Grinęus thinking þ he had ſpokē vnfainedly, promiſed ſo to do.

Godly warnyng ſet by an old man to Grinæus.

When he was departed frō Faber, he came ſtraight way vnto vs, and was ſcarſly ſet at the table (for it was ſupper tyme (reciting a part of his talke with Faber vnto mee and others there preſent, when as I ſittyng with my company, was ſodenly called out of the Parlar by a certayne auncient fatherly man, who ſhewyng a ſingular grauitie in his countenaunce, wordes, and behauiour, ſpake vnto me and ſayde, that the Sergeantes woulde by and by come vnto our lodgyng, beeyng ſent by the kynges commaundement, to cary Grinæus to Priſon, whom Faber had accuſed to the Kyng, commaundyng that Grinæus ſhould ſtraight waies depart out of the Towne, and exhorted mee that wee ſhoulde in no caſe delay the tyme: and ſo biddyng me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could vnderſtand. I returning againe vnto my companie, bad them riſe, and told them what the old man had ſayd vnto me.

Grinæus accuſed, and purſued.

By and by, we taking Grinæus in the midſt of vs, caryed him through the ſtreete to the Riuer of Rhene, whereas after we had ſtayed vpon the hether banke a while, vntill Grinæus with hys companion were caried ouer in a ſmale boate, returning agayne to our lodging, we vnderſtoode that ẏ Sergeantes had ben there, when we were but a litle way gone out of the houſe. Nowe in what great daunger Grinæus ſhoulde haue bene, if he had bene caryed vnto priſon, by this crueltie of Faber euery man eaſely maie coniecture. Wherefore we iudged that that moſt cruell entent and purpoſe of hym, was diſapointed by Gods mercifull prouidence. And as I can not ſay, what olde man it was that gaue me that warning, euen ſo likewiſe ẏ Sergeantes made ſuch quicke ſpeede, that except Grinæus had bene couered and defended by Aungels through the maruelious prouidence of God, he could neuer haue eſcaped.

Grinæus warned to flye, eſcapeth.

Gods mercyfull prouidence in defeating the cruell purpoſe of perſecutors.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there by many good men yet aliue, which both know the ſame, and alſo were preſent at the doyng thereof. Therefore let vs giue thankes vnto God, which hath geuen vs his Aungels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet mindes, we maie fulfill and doe the office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of Gods mighty and mercyfull cuſtody, the Church of Chriſt in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences maie appeare as well among the Germanes, as alſo in all other places & ages, but in no place more, nor in tyme more plentyfull, then in thys perſecutyng tyme of Queene Marie in thys our Realme of England: as partly hath beene already hiſtoryed, and part yet remaineth (the Lord willyng) moreouer hereunto to be added.

¶ *Lady Katherine, Ducheſſe of Suffolke.*

The old hatred of Steuē Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

STephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurmiſing ẏ Lady Katherine Baroneſſe of Willoughby and Creſby and Ducheſſe Dowager of Suffolke, to be one of his auncient enemies, becauſe he knew he had deſerued no better of her, deuiſed in the holy time of the firſt Lẽt in Quene Maries reigne, a holy practiſe of reuenge, firſt by touchyng her in the perſon of her huſband M. Richard Bertie Eſquier, for whom he ſent an attachment (hauyng the great Seale at his deuocion) to the Sheriffe of Lyncolnſhyre with a ſpeciall letter, cõmaũding moſt ſtraitly the ſame Shriffe, to attach ẏ ſaid Richard immediatly, and without baile to bring him vp to Lõdon to his great Lordſhip. M. Bertie her huſbãd beyng cleare in conſcience, and from offence toward the Quene, could not coniecture any cauſe of this ſtraunge proceſſe, vnleſſe it were ſome quarel for Religiõ, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the proceſſe pretended.

M. Rich. Bertie huſband to the Ducheſſe, attached by the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Shriffe notwithſtandyng the cõmaundement, aduentured onely to take the bonde of M. Bertie with ij. ſuerties, in a thouſand pound for his appearaũce to be made before the Biſhop on good Friday folowyng, at which day M. Bertie appeared, the Byſhop then lying at his houſe by S. Mary Oueryes. Of whoſe preſence when the Byſhop vnderſtode by a Gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into hys dinyng chamber, where he found a preaſe of ſuters, ſaying he would not that day heare any, but came forth onely to know of M. Bertie, how hee being a ſubiect durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light twoo former proceſſes of the Queenes.

M. Bertie appeareth before B. Gardiner.

Talke betwene B. Gardiner & M. Bertie.

M. Bertie anſwered, that albeit my Lordes wordes might ſeme to the reſt ſomewhat ſharpe towardes him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For where as he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauyng vſed no obſtinacie or contumacie, now he gathered of thoſe wordes, that my Lord ment not otherwiſe but to haue vſed ſome ordinary proceſſe: albeit in deede none came to his handes.

Yea Mary, ꝙ the Byſhop, I haue ſent you twoo ſubpenas, to appeare immediatly, and I am ſure you receiued them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe mã but to Maſter Solicitour, and I ſhal make you an example to all Lyncolnſhyre for your obſtinacy.

M. Bertie denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordſhip to ſuſpẽd his diſpleaſure and the puniſhmẽt till he had good triall therof, and thẽ, if it pleaſed him, to double the paine for the fault, if any were.

The deuotion of Biſhop Gardiner to good Friday.

Well, ꝙ the Byſhop, I haue appointed my ſelfe this day (accordyng to the holines of the ſame) for deuotiõ, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enioyne you in a M. l. not to depart without leaue, and to bee here agayne to morow at vij. of the clocke. M. Bertie well obſerued the houre, and no tot fayled: At which time the B. had with him M. Mariãt Stapford, to whom hee moued certaine queſtions of the ſaid M. Bertie, becauſe M. Sariant was towardes the Lord Wriotheſley late Earle of Southamptõ, and Chãcellor of England, with whom the ſayd M. Bertie was brought vp. M. Seriant made very frendly report of M. Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuerſation together. Wherupõ the Biſhop cauſed M. Bertie to be brough in, and firſt makyng a falſe trayne (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarell of Religion, he aſſaulted him in this maner.

M. Bertie attached for debt of 4000. poundes due to the Queene.

Winch. The Queenes pleaſure is (ꝙ the Byſhop) that you ſhall make preſent payment of iiij. M. l. due to her father by Duke Charles, late huſeband to the Ducheſſe your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was.

Bert. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip (ꝙ M. Bertie) that debt is eſtalled, and is accordyng to that eſtallement, truly aunſwered.

Kette Capteine of the rebels in Northfolke in K. Edwards time.

Winch. Tuſh (ꝙ the Byſhop) the Queene will not be bound to eſtallementes, in the tyme of Kettes gouernement, for ſo I eſteme the late gouernment.

Bert. The eſtallement (ꝙ M. Bertie) was appointed by kyng Henry the viij. beſides the ſame, was by ſpecial Commiſſioners confirmed in kyng Edwardes tyme, and the Lord treaſurer beyng an executor alſo to the Duke Charles ſoly and wholly, tooke vpõ him before the ſayd Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Winch. If it be true that you ſay (ꝙ the Byſhop) I will ſhew you fauour. But of an other thing M. Bertie, I will admoniſh you, as meaning you wel. I heare euill of your Religion: yet I hardly can thinke euill of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godly and Catholicke as any within this lãd, your ſelf brought vp with a maſter, whoſe educatiõ if I ſhould diſalow, I might be charged as author of his errour. Beſides, partly I know you my ſelfe, and vnderſtand of my frendes, enough to make me your frend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I pray you if I may aſke the queſtiõ of my Lady your wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet vp the Maſſe, as ſhe ws lately to pull it downe, when ſhe cauſed in her progreſſe, a dogge in a Rochet to be caried, & called by my name: or doth ſhe thinke her lambes now ſafe inough, which ſayd to me when I vayled my bõnet to her out of my chãber wyndow in the Tower, that it was mery with the Lambes, now the Wolfe was ſhut vp? An other tyme my Lord her houſeband hauing inuited me and diuers Ladies to dinner, deſired euery Lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loued beſt, and ſo place them ſelues: My Lady your wife takyng me by the hand, for that my Lord would not haue her to take him ſelf, ſayd that for ſo much as ſhe could not ſit down with my Lord whom ſhe loued beſt, ſhe had choſen me whom ſhe loued worſt.

A Dogge clothed in a Rochet vnder the name of B. Gardiner.

It is mery with Lambes, when Wolues be tyed vp.

Of the deuiſe of the dogge, ꝙ M. Bertie, ſhe was neither the author nor the allower. The wordes, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhip, yet if it ſhould pleaſe you without offẽce to know ẏ cauſe, I am ſure ẏ one will purge the other. As touchyng ſetting vp of Maſſe, which ſhe learned not only by ſtrõge perſuaſions of diuers excellent learned mẽ, but by vniuerſall conſent and order whole vi. yeres paſt, inwardly to abhorre: if ſhe ſhould outwardly alow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew her ſelfe a falſe Chriſtian, and to her prince a maſquing ſubiect. You know my Lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more worth then a M. trãsformed temporizers. To force a confeſſion of Religiõ by mouth, contrary to that in the hart, worketh damnation where ſaluation is pretended.

Purgation of the Lady Ducheſſe for not comming to Maſſe.

Yea mary (ꝙ the Biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe neuer required to come from an old Religion to a new. But now ſhe is to returne from a new to an auncient Religion: Wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſyp, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

For that, my Lorde (ſayd M. Bertie) not long ſithen, ſhe anſwered a frend of hers vſing your Lordſhyps ſpeach, that Religion went not by age but by truth: and therfore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion and not by commaundement.

I pray you (ꝙ the Byſhop) thinke you it poſſible to perſuade her?

Yea verely (ſayd M. Bertie) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable inough.

The Biſhop therunto replying, ſaid: it wil be a marueilous grief to the Prince of Spayne, & to all the nobilitie that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall finde but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this lãd, the Queene, and my Lady your wife, and one of them gone from the fayth.

M. Bertie aunſwered, that he truſted they ſhould finde no fruites of infidelitie in her.

M. Bertie releaſed from his band of appearing.

So the Byſhop perſuadyng M. Bertie to trauaile earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offring large frendſhip, releaſed him of his bande from further appearance.

Wayes practiſed how to conuey ÿ Ducheſſe ouer the ſeas with ÿ Queenes licence.

M. Bertie deuiſeth cauſe to paſſe ouer into Flaunders.

The Ducheſſe and her houſeband, dayly more and more, by their frendes vnderſtandyng that the Biſhop ment to call her to an accompt of her fayth, whereby extremitie might follow, deuiſed wayes how by the Queenes licence they might paſſe the Seas. M. Bertie had a ready meane: for there reſted great ſummes of money due to the old Duke of Suffolke (one of whoſe executors the Ducheſſe was) beyond ÿ Seas, the Emperour him ſelf beyng one of thoſe debters. M. Bertie communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licẽce to paſſe the Seas, and the cauſe, to the Biſhop, adding, that he tooke this tyme moſt meete to deale with the Emperour, by reaſon of likelyhode of Mariage betwene the Queene and his ſonne.

I like your deuiſe wel (q the Byſhop) but I thinke it better, that you tary the Princes commyng, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father.

Nay (q M. Bertie) vnder your Lordſhips correctiõ, and pardõ of ſo liberall ſpeach, I ſuppoſe the tyme will then be leſſe conuenient: for when the Mariage is conſummate, the Emperour hath his deſire: but till thẽ he will refuſe nothyng to winne credite with vs.

By S. Mary (q the Byſhop) ſmilyng, you geſſe ſhrewdly. Well, procede in your ſute to the Queene, and it ſhall not lacke my helpyng hand.

M. Bertie licenced by the Queene to paſſe the ſeas.

Preparation made how to conuey the Ducheſſe ouer the ſeas.

M. Bertie foũd ſo good ſucceſſe, that he in few daies obteined the Queenes licẽce, not only to paſſe the ſeas, but to paſſe and repaſſe then ſo often as to him ſeemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſines and cauſes beyond the ſeas. So he paſſed the ſeas at Douer, about the beginnyng of Iune in the firſt yeare of her reigne, leauyng ÿ Ducheſſe behynd, who by agreemẽt & cõſent betwixt her and her houſbãd, followed, takyng Barge at Lyõ Key, very early in the mornyng, on the firſt day of Ianuary next enſuyng, not without ſome perill.

M. Cranwell a truſty frend to M. Bertie.

There was none of thoſe that went with her, made priuy to her goyng till the inſtant, but on old Gentlemã called M. Robert Cranwell, whom M. Bertie had ſpecially prouided for that purpoſe. She tooke with her her daughter an infant of one yeare, & the meaneſt of her ſeruauntes, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not aduẽture that fortune with her. They were in number iiij. men, one a Greeke borne, whiche was a rider of horſes, an other a Ioyner, the thyrd a Brewer, the fourth a foole one of the Kitchen, one Gentlewoman, and a Laundreſſe.

The Ducheſſe with her company departeth the realme.

The maner of the Ducheſſe flying out of her houſe.

As ſhe departed her houſe called ÿ Barbicã, betwixt iiij. and fiue of the clocke in the mornyng, with her companie and baggage, one Atkinſon a Herault, keeper of her houſe: hearyng noyſe about the houſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hand as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith beyng amaſed, ſhe was forced to leaue a male with neceſſaries for her young daughter, and a milke pot with milke in the ſame gatehouſe, commaundyng all her ſeruauntes to ſpede them away before to Lion Key, and takyng with her onely the two womẽ and her child, ſo ſoone as ſhe was forth of her own houſe, perceiuyng the Harrault to follow, ſhe ſtept in at Garter houſe hard by. The Harrault commyng out of the Ducheſſe houſe, & ſeyng no body ſturring, not aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in: and while he ſtayd rãſacking parcels left in the male, the Ducheſſe iſſued into the ſtreete, and proceded in her iourney, knowyng the place onely by name where ſhe ſhould take her boate, but not ÿ way thether, nor none with her. Likewiſe her ſeruauntes hauing diuided them ſelues, none but one knew the way to the ſayd Key.

The Ducheſſe with her companie taketh Barge.

So ſhe apparelled like a meane Marchauntes wife, and the reſt like meane ſeruaũts, walking in ÿ ſtreetes vnknowen, ſhe toke ÿ way that led to Finſbury field, and the others walked the Citie ſtreetes as they lay open before thẽ, till by chaũce more then diſcretiõ, they mette all ſodeinly together a litle within Moregate, frõ whence they paſſed directly to Lion key, and there tooke barge in a mornyng ſo miſty, that the ſteareſman was loth to launch out, but that they vrged hym. So ſoone as the day permitted, the Counſaile was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her houſe to enquire of the maner thereof, and to take an inuẽtory of her goods, beſides further order deuiſed for ſearch and watch to apprehẽd and ſtay her.

Purſuite after the Ducheſſe.

The Ducheſſe ſoiourned in M. Goſlings houſe by Leigh, vnder the name of his daughter.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lãdes end, before her approching thether. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling a Marchant of Londõ, an old acquaintaunce of Cranwelles, whether the ſaid Cranwell brought the Ducheſſe, namyng her Miſtres White, the daughter of Maſter Goſling, for ſuch a daughter hee had which neuer was in that countrey. There ſhe repoſed her, and made new garmẽts for her daughter, hauing loſt her owne in ÿ male at Barbicã.

The hard aduenture of the Ducheſſe vpon the Seas.

When the tyme came that ſhe ſhoulde take ſhippe, being cõſtrayned to lye that night at an Inne in Leigh (where ſhe was agayne almoſt bewrayed) yet notwithſtãding, by Gods good workyng ſhe eſcaping that haſard, at length, as the tyde and wynde did ſerue, they went aborde, and being carried twiſe into the ſeas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrary wynde were driuen to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recule, certayne perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhippe: yet hauing examined one of her company that was a land for freſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicitie of his tale, onely the appearaunce of a meane Marchauntes wife to be a ſhipborde, he ceaſed any further ſearch.

The Ducheſſe landed in Brabant.

M. Bertie with the Ducheſſe his wife arriued at Santon.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoone as the Ducheſſe had landed in Brabant, ſhe and her women were apparrelled lyke the women of Netherland with hukes, and ſo ſhe and her houſband tooke their iourney towardes Cleuelãd, and beyng arriued at a towne therein called Santon, tooke a houſe there vntill they might further deuiſe of ſome ſure place where to ſettle themſelues.

The free towne of Weſell in Cleueland.

A protection procured for the Ducheſſe, of the Magiſtrates of Weſell.

About fiue miles from Santon, is a free towne called Weſel, vnder the ſaid Duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hans townes, priuileged with the company of the Stilyard in Londõ, whether diuers Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their Miniſter one Frances Peruſell, thẽ called Frances de Riuers, who had receaued ſome curteſie in Englãd at the Ducheſſe handes. Maiſter Bertie beyng yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obtaine a protectiõ from the Magiſtrates, for his abode & his wiues at Weſell: which was the ſooner procured becauſe the ſtate of the Ducheſſe was not diſcouered but onely to the chiefe Magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

M. Bertie and the Ducheſſe in daunger of taking by the B. of Arras at Santon.

An other eſcape of the Ducheſſe and her houſeband.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering that the Ducheſſe and her houſeband were greater perſonages then they gaue themſelues forth, and the Magiſtrates not very wel inclined to religiõ, the Byſhop of Arras alſo being Deane of the great Minſter, order was taken, that the Ducheſſe and her houſeband ſhould be examined of their condition and religion vpon the ſodayne. Which practiſe diſcouered by a gentleman of that countrey to Maſter Bertie, he without further delay takyng no more then the Ducheſſe, her daughter, & two other with them, as though he mẽt no more but to take the ayre, about three of the clocke in the after noone in February, on foote, without hieryng of horſe or wagon for feare of diſcloſing his purpoſe, mente priuily that night to get to Weſell, leauing his other family ſtill at Santon.

The hard diſtreſſe of ÿ Ducheſſe by euill wether.

The hard intertainment of M. Bertie and the Ducheſſe at their entring into Weſell.

After the Ducheſſe and hee were one Engliſh mile from the Towne, there fell a mighty rayne of continuance, whereby a long froſt and iſe before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more ÿ wearines of thoſe new lacquies. But beyng now on the way, and ouer taken with ÿ night, they ſent their ij. ſeruauntes (which onely went with them) to villages, as they paſt, to hyre ſome carre for their eaſe, but none could be hyred. In the meane tyme Maſter Bertie was forced to cary the childe, and the Ducheſſe his cloke and rapier. At laſt, betwixt vi. and vij. of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Weſell, and repayring to their Innes for lodging & ſome repoſe after ſuch a payneful iorney, found hard intertaynment: for goyng from Inne to Inne, offring large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the Inholders, ſuſpecting Maſter Bertie to be a Launceknight, and the Ducheſſe to be his womã. The childe for colde and ſuſtenance cryed pitifully, the mother wept as faſt, the heauens rayned as faſt as the cloudes coulde poure.

Gods prouidence in time of diſtreſſe.

Maſter Bertie deſtitute of all other ſuccour of hoſpitalitie, reſolued to bring the Ducheſſe to the porch of the great church in the towne, & ſo to bye coales, victualles, and ſtrawe for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods helpe he might prouide her better lodging. M. Bertie at that time vnderſtoode not much Dutch, and by reaſon of euill wether and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen vpon any that could ſpeake Engliſh, French, Italiã, or Latin, till at laſt goyng towardes the Church porch, hee heard ij. ſtriplinges talking Latin, to whom he approched, and offred them two ſtiuers to bring him to ſome Wallons houſe.

The meeting of M. Peruſell & the Ducheſſe at Weſell.

By theſe boyes, and Gods good conduicte, he chaunced at the firſt vpon the houſe where Maſter Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured thẽ the protectiõ of the Magiſtrates of that towne. At the firſt knocke, the goodman of the houſe him ſelf came to the doore, & opening it, aſked M. Bertie what he was. M. Bertie ſaid, an Engliſh mã, that ſought for one M. Peruſells houſe. The Wallon willed Maſter Bertie to ſtay a while, who went backe and told Maſter Peruſell that the ſame Engliſh gentleman of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent, by likelihoode, his ſeruaunt to ſpeake vith him. Whereupon M. Peruſell came to the doore, & beholding Maſter Bertie, the Ducheſſe, and their childe, their faces, apparells, and bodyes ſo farre from their olde forme, deformed with durt, wether, and heauines, could not ſpeake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering thẽ ſelues, they ſaluted one an other, and ſo together entred the houſe, God knoweth full ioyfully: Maſter Bertie chaunging all his apparell with the goodman, the Ducheſſe with the goodwife, & their child with the child of the houſe.

The Citizens of Weſell admoniſhed by their precher of their hardnes toward ſtraungers.

Within few dayes after, by M. Peruſells meanes, they hiered a very faire houſe in the towne, and did not let to ſhew them ſelues what they were, in ſuch good ſort, as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this tyme through the whole Towne what diſcurteſie the Inholders had ſhewed vnto them at their entrie, in ſo much as on the Sonday followyng, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towardes ſtrãgers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not onely Princes ſometyme are receiued in the Image of priuate perſons, but Aungels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his Iuſtice would make the ſtraungers one day in an other land, to haue more ſenſe of the afflicted hart of a ſtraunger.

A frendly part of Syr John Maſon towardes the Ducheſſe.

A traine layd for ẏ Ducheſſe by the L. Paget and ẏ Duke of Brunſwicke.

The tyme thus paſſing forth, as they thought them ſelues thus happily ſettled, ſodeinly a watchword came from Sir John Maſon, thẽ Q. Maries Ambaſſadour in Netherland, that my Lord Paget had feyned an errant to the Bathes that wayes: and wheras the Duke of Brũſwicke was ſhortly with x. enſignes to paſſe by Weſell for the ſeruice of ẏ houſe of Auſtricke agaynſt the French king, ẏ ſaid Ducheſſe & her huſbãd ſhould be with the ſame charge and companie intercepted.

M. Bertie and ẏ Ducheſſe remoue to Weineheim vnder the Palſgraue.

Wherfore, to preuent the crueltie of theſe enemies, M. Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Wineheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palſgraues dominion, where vnder his protection they cõtinued till their neceſſaries began to faile them, and they almoſt feyntyng vnder ſo heauy a burden, began to fayle of hope.

The helping hand of ẏ Lord againe in their neceſſitie.

Ioann. Alaſco a meanes to the king of Poole, for ẏ Ducheſſe of Suffolke.

The Ducheſſe ſuited into Pooleland by the kynges letters.

M. Barlow a meſſenger from the Ducheſſe to the king of Poole.

At what tyme, in the middeſt of their diſpayre, there came ſodeinly letters to them from the Pallatine of Vilua and the king of Poole, beyng inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a Baron named Ioannes Alaſco, that was ſometime in Englãd, offring them large curteſie. This puruiſion vnlooked for, greatly reuiued their heauie ſpirites. Yet conſidering they ſhoulde remoue from many their countreymen and acquaintance, to a place ſo farre diſtant, a Countrey not haunted with the Engliſh, and perhaps vpõ their ariuall not finding as they looked for, the ende of their iourney ſhould be worſe thẽ the beginning: they deuiſed thereupon with one Maſter Barloe, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome paines therein, they would make him a fellow of that iourney. So finding him prone, they ſent him with letters of great thankes to the King and Pallatine, and alſo with a few principall Iewelles (which onely they had left of many, to ſolicite for them, that the king would vouchſafe vnder his ſeale, to aſſure them of the thing whiche he ſo honorably by letters offred.

The Pallatine of Vilua a great frend to the Ducheſſe.

The Ducheſſe taketh her iourney toward Pooleland.

The troubles happening to the Ducheſſe in her iourney to Pooleland.

That ſute by the forewardnes of the Pallatine, was as ſoone grãted as vttered. Vpõ which aſſurance the ſayd Ducheſſe and her houſband, with their family, entred the iorney in Aprill. 1557. frõ the caſtle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towardes Franckford. In ẏ which their iorney, it were long here to deſcribe what daungers fell by the way vpon them, and their whole company, by reaſon of the Lãtgraues Capitaine, who vnder a quarell pretẽſed for a ſpaniell of M. Berties, ſet vppon them in the high way, wyth hys horſemen, thruſting their boreſpeares through the wagon where the children & women were, M. Bertie hauing but iiij. horſemen with him. In the which brable it happened the Capitaines horſe to be ſlayne vnder him.

Whereupon a rumour was ſparſed immediately through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues captaine ſhould be ſlaine by certaine Wallõs, which incenſed the ire of the Countrey men there more fiercely agaynſt M. Bertie, as afterward it proued. For as hee was motioned by his wife to ſaue him ſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and to recouer ſome towne there by for his reſkue, hee ſo doyng was in worſe caſe then before, for the townesmẽ and the Captaynes brother ſuppoſing no leſſe but that the Captaine had bene ſlayne, preſſed ſo egerly vpõ him, that he had bene there taken and murthered amõg them, had not he (as God would) ſpying a ladder leaning to a window, by the ſame got vp into the houſe, & ſo gone vp into a garret in the toppe of the houſe, where he with his dagge and rapyre defended himſelfe for a ſpace: but at length the Burghmaſter comming thether with an other Magiſtrate, which could ſpeake latin, he was counſelled to ſubmit him ſelf to the order of the law. Maſter Bertie knowing him ſelfe cleare, and the captayne to be aliue, was the more bolder to ſubmit him ſelfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the Magiſtrate would receaue him vnder ſafeconduct, and defend him frõ the rage of the multitude. Which beyng promiſed, M. Bertie putteth himſelf and his weapõ in the Magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tryed.

Then Maiſter Bertie wrytyng hys letters to the Lantgraue and to the Earle of Erbagh, the next daie early in the mornyng the Earle of Erbagh dwellyng within eight miles, came to the town, whether the Ducheſſe was brought with her wagon, Maiſter Bertie alſo beyng in the ſame towne vnder cuſtody. The Earle, who had ſome intelligence of the Ducheſſe before, after hee was come, and had ſhewed ſuch curtiſie as hee thought to her eſtate was ſeemely, the towneſmen perceauing the Earle to behaue himſelfe ſo humbly vnto her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further vnderſtanding the Captayne to be aliue, both they and eſpecially the authors of the ſturre ſhrunke away, and made all the frendes they coulde to Maſter Bertie and his wife, not to report their doynges after the worſt ſort.

M. Bertie with the Ducheſſe honourably intertained of the king of Poole.

And thus Maſter Bertie and his wife eſcaping that daunger, proceded in their iourney toward Poleland, where in cõcluſion they were quietly entertained of the king, & placed honorably in the Earldome of the ſayd king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozã, where M. Bertie with the Ducheſſe hauing the kinges abſolute power of gouernment ouer the ſayd Earldome, continued both in great quietnes and honour, till the death of Queene Marie.

¶ *Thomas Horton Miniſter.*

A ſtory of Thomas Horton, Miniſter.

AS ye haue heard of the daũgerous troubles of the Ducheſſe of Suffolke in tyme of her exile for religion ſake, whom notwithſtanding the Lordes preſent protection ſtill deliuered in all diſtreſſes, as well from her enemyes in England, as in Dutchland from the Launceknightes there: ſo haue we no leſſe to behold and magnify the Lordes mercyfull goodnes in preſeruing of Thomas Horton from the like perills of the ſame countrey. Which Thomas Horton, what a profitable inſtrument hee was to the Church of Chriſt in Queene Maries time, all our Engliſh men almoſt beyond the ſeas then, did both know and feele.

This good Thomas Horton, as he vſed oftentimes to tra-to trauayle betwene Germany and England, for the behoofe and ſuſtenaunce of the poore Engliſhe exiles there: ſo hee iourneying vppon a tyme betweene Maſtricke and Collen, chaunced to be taken there by certayne Rouers, and ſo beyng led by them away, was in no litle daunger: and yet this daunger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent helpe of the Lord was greater to ayde and deliuer him out of the ſame.

¶ *Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner.*

The ſtorie of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege.

VNto theſe afore rehearſed examples of Gods bleſſed prouidence toward his ſeruauntes, may alſo be added the happy deliueraunce of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companiõ, now Miniſter. Whoſe ſtorie briefly to courſe ouer, is this.

M. Brent Iuſtice in Kent, a perſecutor.

This Thomas Sprat had bene ſeruaũt ſometimes to one M. Brent a Iuſtice, & a heauy perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his maiſter for Religion ſake, he went to Calyce, frõ whence he vſed often with the ſaid W.Porrege for their neceſſary affaires, to haue recourſe into England. It ſo happened about the fourth yeare of Queene Maries reigne, that they landyng vppon a tyme at Douer, and taking their iourney together toward Sandwich, ſodeinly vpon the way within three miles of Douer, met with the foreſayd M. Brent, the twoo Blachendens, and other Gentlemen moe, with their ſeruãtes, to the number of x. or xij. horſes. Of the which twoo Blachendens, beyng both haters and enemies of Gods word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of W. Porrege, the other had not ſeene him, but onely had heard of his name before.

The two Blachendens in Kent, perſecutors.

Thus they beyng in the way where this Iuſtice with his mates ſhould meete them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat firſt eſpying M. Brent, was ſore diſmayde, ſaying to his companion: yonder is M. Brent, W. Porrege: God haue mercy vpon vs. Well, ꝙ the other, ſeyng now there is no remedy, let vs goe on our way. And ſo thinking to paſſe by them, they kept them ſelues a loufe, as it were a ſcore of from thẽ, Thomas Sprat alſo ſhadowing his face with his cloke. Notwithſtãdyng, one of M. Brentes ſeruauntes aduiſing him better then his Maſter did: yonder, ſayd hee to his Maſter, is Thomas Sprat. At which wordes they all rayned theyr horſes, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, ſayd W. Porrege. Now here is no remedy but we are taken: and ſo perſuaded him to goe to them beyng called, for that there was no eſcapyng from ſo many horſemen in thoſe playnes and dowes, where was no wood neare them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but onely one, which was a birdbolt ſhot of.

Thomas Sprat almoſt taken in the way by the Iuſtice.

All this notwithſtanding, Sprat ſtayed and would not go. Then they called agayne, ſittyng ſtill on horſebacke. Ah ſirrha, ꝙ the Iuſtice? why come ye not hether? And ſtil his companion moued him to go, ſeyng there was no other ſhift to flie away. Nay, ſaid Sprat, I wil not goe to them, & therwithall tooke his legges, running to the hedge that was next to him. They ſeing that, ſet ſpurres to their horſe, thinking by & by to haue him, and that it was vnpoſſible for him to eſcape their handes, as it was in deede, they beyng on horſebacke and he on foote, had not the Lord miraculouſly deliuered his ſeely ſeruaunt from the gaping mouth of the Lion ready to deuour hym.

Thomas Sprat called of the Iuſtice, but would not come.

God alwayes ſtronger then the deuill.

For as God would, ſo it fell out that he had got ouer the hedge, ſcrawlyng through the buſhes, when as they were euen at his heeles, ſtriking at him with their ſwordes, one of the Blachendens crying cruelly: cut of one of his legges.

Thomas Sprat getteth ouer the hedge from his perſecutours.

Thus Sprat had ſcarſely recouered the hedge from hys enemies, when one of M. Brentes ſeruauntes, which had beene felow ſometymes in houſe with him, followed him in his bootes: & certeine rade vp at one ſide of the hedge, & certaine at the other, to meete him at the vpper end. Now, while they were folowyng the chaſe after Thomas Sprat, onely one remained with W. Porrege (who was one of yͤ Blachendens, not he which knew him, but the other) who began to queſtiõ with him: not aſkyng what was his name (as God would) for then he had bene knowen and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into Sprats company, and whether he went? Unto whom he aunſwered and ſaid: from Calyce, and that Sprat came ouer with him in the paſſage boate, and they twoo were goyng to Sandwich, and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart. Anone as he kept along yͤ hedge, one of the horſemen which rode after Sprat, returnyng backe, and meetyng with the ſayd W. Porrege, demaunded the very ſame queſtions as the other had done: to whom hee made alſo the like aunſwere as afore, and ſo departed, takyng an other contrary waie from the meetyng of the other horſeman. And thus W. Porrege eſcaped.

William Porrege eſcapeth.

The Lord diſpoſing the way of his ſeruauntes.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he beyng purſued on the one ſide by horſemen, on the other ſide by his own fellow, who followed after him in his bootes, crying: you were as good to tary, for we wil haue you, we will haue you: yet notwithſtanding he ſtill kept on his courſe, til at length he came to a ſteepe down hill at the hedge end, downe the which hill he ran from them, for they could not ryde downe the hill, but muſt fetch a great compaſſe about: and ſo this Thomas Sprat ran almoſt a mile, & as God would got a Wood. By that time he came to the Wood, they were euen at his heeles: but the night drew on, and it beganne to rayne, and ſo the malice of theſe perſecutors was at an ende, the Lord working for his ſeruauntes, whoſe name be praiſed for euer and euer, Amen.

Thomas Sprat deliuered by Gods helpe frõ his aduerſaries.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforeſayd, which ſo cruelly ſought the deſtruction of other, was cruelly murthered by his owne ſeruauntes.

¶ *Iohn Cornet.*

The troubles of Iohn Cornet, & how hee was deliuered.

HEre might alſo be recited the hard aduẽtures and ſufferinges of Iohn Cornet, and at length his deliuerance by Gods good working, out of the ſame. Who beyng a prentiſe with a minſtrell at Colcheſter, was ſent by his maſter about the 2. yeare of Q. Maryes raigne, to a weddyng in a towne thereby called Roughhedge, where he beyng requeſted by a company there of good men, the Cõſtables alſo of the pariſh beyng preſent thereat, to ſing ſome ſonges of the ſcripture, chaunced to ſing a ſong called Newes out of Lõdon, which tended agaynſt the Maſſe, and againſt the Queenes miſproceedinges. Whereupon the next daie he was accuſed by the Parſon of Roughhedge called Packeſley, and ſo committed, firſt to the Conſtable, where both his maſter gaue hym ouer, and hys mother forſooke & curſed him. From thence he was ſent to the next Iuſtice, named M. Cãnall: and then to yͤ Earle of Oxford, where he was firſt put in yrons and chaynes, & after that ſo manacled that yͤ bloud ſpurt out of his fingers endes, becauſe he would not confeſſe yͤ names of thẽ which allured him to ſing. And marueile it was that the cruell Papiſtes were ſo contended, that they ſent hym not alſo to B. Bonet, to ſuffer the extremitie of the fire. But Gods gracious prouidence diſpoſed otherwiſe for his ſeruaunt. For after he was manacled, the Earle cõmaunded him to be brought againe to the towne of Roughhedge, and there to be whipped till the bloud followed, and ſo to be baniſhed yͤ town for euer: and ſo he was, during all the time of Queene Mary.

Packeſley parſon of Roughhedge, perſecutours.

The mother agaynſt her owne ſonne.

Cornet whipped out of the towne, and is baniſhed.

¶ *Thomas Bryce.*

Thomas Bryce preſerued.

IF our ſtorie ſhould procede ſo wide and ſo large, as did the exceeding mercy of Gods prouidence in helping his ſeruauntes out of wretchednes and thraldome of thoſe bloudy dayes, our treatiſe, I thinke, would extend to an endles proceſſe. For what good mã or woman was there almoſt in all this time of Quene Mary, who either in carying a good conſcience out of the land, or tarying within the Realme, could well eſcape the Papiſtes handes, but by ſome notable experience of the Lordes mighty power and helping hand working for him? What ſhould I here ſpeake of the miraculous deliuerance of Thomas Bryce, who being in the houſe of Iohn Seale, in the pariſh of Horting, & the Bailiffe with other neighbours cõmyng in, ſent by Syr Iohn Baker to ſearch and to apprehẽd him, and knowyng perfectly both his ſtature and colour of hys garmentes, yet had no power to ſee or know him ſtanding before their faces. So mightely the Lord dyd blynd their eyes, that they aſking for him, and looking vpon him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly tooke vp his bagge of bookes, and ſo departed out of the houſe, without any hand layd vpon him.

God blindeth the eyes of them which ſought for Th. Bryce, that they could not ſee hym.

Alſo an other time, about the 2. yeare of Q. Mary, the ſayd Thomas Bryce, with Iohn Bryce his elder brother, comming then from Weſell, meeting together at their fathers houſe, as they iorneyed towardes Lõdon to geue warning there to one Springfield, which els was like to bee taken vnawares by hys enemyes

An other ſtorie of Tho. Bryce & his brother.

wayting for him vpon Gaddes hyll, fell in companie with a Promotor, whiche dogged them and followed them goyng to Grauesend, into the towne, and layed the houſe for them where they were, and all the wayes as they ſhould goe to the water ſide: ſo that it had not bene poſſible for thē to haue auoyded the preſent daunger of thoſe perſecutors, had not the Lordes prouident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his ſeruauntes through the Hoſtler of the Inne, couertly to conuey thē by a ſecret paſſage: whereby they tooke Barge a mile out of the towne, and ſo in the end both the liues of them, and alſo of Springfield was preſerued, through the Lordes gracious protection.

Thomas and Iohn Bryce deliuered by Gods good meanes and protection.

¶ *Gertrude Crokehay.*

GErtrude Crokehay dwelling at S. Katherines by the Tower of London, and beyng then in her huſbandes houſe, it happened, in the yeare. 1556. that the Popes childiſh S. Nicolas wēt about the Pariſh. Which ſhe vnderſtanding, ſhut her doore againſt him, not ſufferyng him to enter into her houſe.

The trouble & deliueraunce of Gertrude Crokehay.

Then Doct. Mallet hearyng therof, and beyng then Maiſter of the ſayd S. Katherins, the next day came to her with xx. at his taile, thinking belike to fray her, and aſked why ſhe would not the night before let in S. Nicolas and receaue his bleſſing. &c. To whom ſhe aunſwered thus. Syr, I know no S. Nicolas (ſayd ſhe) that came hether. Yes ꝙ Mallet, here was one that repreſented S. Nicolas.

This D. Mallet is now Deane of Lincolne.

In deede Syr (ſayd ſhe) here was one that was my neighbours child, but not S. Nicolas: for S. Nicolas is in heauē. I was afrayd of them that came with him to haue had my purſe cut by them: for I haue heard of men robbed by S. Nicolas clerkes. &c. So Mallet perceiuing that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, & ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Thē in the yeare 1557. a litle before Whitſontide, it happened that the ſayd Gertrude aunſwered for a childe that was baptiſed of one Thomas Saunders, which childe was Chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe after the order of the ſeruice booke in king Edwardes time, and that being ſhortly knowen to her enemies, ſhe was ſought for. Whiche vnderſtandyng nothing thereof, went beyond the ſea into Gelderland, to ſee certayne landes that ſhould come to her children in the right of her firſt huſband, who was a ſtraunger borne, and beyng there about a quarter of a yeare, at the length commyng homeward by Andwarpe, ſhe chaunced to meete wyth one Iohn Iohnſon a dutch man, aliās Iohn De villa of Andwarpe, ſhipper, who ſeing her there, went of malyce to the Margraue, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt: whereby ſhe was taken and caryed to priſon. The cauſe why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claymed of Maſter Crokhay her huſband a peece of money which was not his due, for a ſhip that Maſter Crokhay bought of him, and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in priſon, lay there a fortnight. In the which tyme ſhe ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who priuely were drowned in Renyſh wine fattes, and after ſecretly put in ſackes and caſt into the Riuer. Now ſhe, good woman, thinking to be ſo ſerued, tooke thereby ſuch feare that it brought the beginning of her ſicknes, of the which at length ſhe dyed.

An other trouble of the ſayd Gertrude in Dutchland.

Crueltie in Flaunders vſed ſecretly agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Thē at the laſt was ſhe called before the Margraue and charged with Anabaptiſtry: which ſhe there vtterly denyed, and deteſted the error, declaring before him in Dutch her fayth boldly, without any feare. So the Margraue hearing the ſame, in the ende beyng well pleaſed with her profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome her frendes, deliuered her out of priſon, but toke away her booke, and ſo ſhe came ouer into England agayne.

Gertrude returneth into England.

¶ *William Mauldon.*

I Lightly paſſe ouer here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon, how in the daungerous time of the vi. Articles, before the burnyng of Anne Aſkew, he was ſcourged beyng young, of his father, for profeſſing and confeſſing of true Religion: and afterward beyng examined in auricular confeſſion by the Prieſt, his bookes were ſearched for, and ſo at length he was preſented vp by the ſame Prieſt in a letter writtē to the Byſhop. Which letter, had it not bene burned by an other prieſt to whoſe hands it came (as the Lord would haue it) it had vndoubtedly coſt him his life.

A ſtorie of William Mauldō.

W. Mauldon. accuſed & ſcourged for true religion.

This one thing in the ſaid William Mauldō is to be noted, that he beyng young, in thoſe dayes of King Henry, when the Maſſe moſt floriſhed, the altars with the Sacrament thereof being in their moſt high veneration, that to mans reaſon it might ſeeme vnpoſſible that the glory and opinion of that Sacramēt and Sacramētals, ſo highly worſhipped, and ſo deepely rooted in the hartes of ſo many, could by any meanes poſſible ſo ſoone decay and vaniſh to naught: yet notwithſtandyng hee beyng then ſo young, vnder the age of xvi. yeares, by the ſpirite (no doubt) of propheſie, declared then vnto hys parentes, that they ſhould ſee it euen ſhortly come to paſſe, that both the Sacrament of the altar and the altars them ſelues, with all ſuch plantations which the heauenly father did not plante, ſhould bee plucked vp by the rootes: and euen ſo within the ſpace of very few yeares the euent therof followed accordyngly: the Lord therefore bee prayſed for his moſt gratious reformation.

The Prophecie of W. Mauldō in K. Henryes time, for the fal of Maſſe and Sacrament of the altar.

¶ *Robert Horneby.*

I Let paſſe likewyſe the daungerous eſcape of Robert Horneby, ſeruaunt ſometyme and groome of the chamber to Lady Elizabeth, ſhe beyng thē in trouble in Queene Maryes dayes: who beyng willed to come to Maſſe, refuſed ſo to doe, and therfore cōming afterward from Woodſtocke to Hampton court, was called before the Counſaile, and by them committed to the Marſhalſea, and not vnlyke to haue ſuſteyned further daunger, had not the Lordes goodnes better prouided for him, who at length by Doct. Martyn was deliuered.

Rob. Horneby through Gods working preſerued.

¶ *Miſtres Sandes.*

THe like alſo maie be teſtified and recorded of Miſtres Sandes, now wife to Syr Morice Bartlet, then Gentlewoman wayter to the ſayd Lady Elizabeth beyng in the Tower. Which Miſtres Sandes denyed in like maner to come to Maſſe, and therefore beſide the heauy diſpleaſure of her father, was not only diſplaced from her roume, and put out of the houſe, but alſo was in great ieopardy of further tryall. But the Lord who diſpoſeth for euery one, as he ſeeth beſt, wrought her way out of her enemies handes by flying ouer the ſeas, were ſhe continued amongeſt other baniſhed exiles in the Citie of Geneua and of Baſill, till the death of Queene Marie.

Miſtres Sandes, now Lady Bartlet, preſerued from perſecution.

¶ *The preſeruyng of Iohn Kempe.*

ANno 1. Mariæ. Iohn Kempe thē of Godſtone in Surrey, nowe Miniſter in the Iſle of Wight, was by Iames Sciner Iuſtice, and Syr Thomas Saunder Sherife, purſued and driuen from his houſe, for that he refuſed to come to church. Yet hee returned to his wife and familye in the ende of Iuly enſuyng, where, vppon a Sonday as hee conferred in Scripture with three or four of his neighbours, one Thomas Simſon ſodainly preſented hymſelfe before them, a good ſpace harkenyng and beholdyng the company, but ſlipped out againe without any word. Where behold the mightie workyng of Gods ſpirite, in preſeruing the one, and conuerting the other. For the ſaid Simſon from that tyme forward ſeekyng acquaintaunce with Iohn Kempe, was conuerted to the truthe, confeſſyng that hee entred the houſe to haue betraied them preſent, but beeyng amaſed at the ſight, and ſtroken with their wordes, departed quietly with a chaunged purpoſe.

Iohn Kempe troubled for not commyng to church.

The ſayd Kempe alſo about the beginnyng of October enſuyng, as he went vpon a Sonday mornyng toward Brynſted, met vpon a greene called new chapell Grene, with one Iohn Eſtland, aliās, Launder, of whō he aſked whether he went, Launder aunſwered to the church of Lingfeild: why ꝙ Kempe, are you then weary of the truth and Goſpell of God? will you now run to Idolatry, and ſtraunge religion, then all ſhall be in vaine whiche hitherto you haue done, ſuche haultyng and double dealyng God liketh not, and ſo departed, Launder proceedyng in his iorney to the church, came to the dore, but moued in hart and conſcience could not go in, as he hym ſelf confeſſed, returnyng home agayne, and about the end of the ſame moneth went with Thomas Simſon to Brighchamſton in Suſſex, to ſhift for a ſeaſon, where they with others were apprehended in Dyrick Caruers houſe, and ſuffered Martyrdome, Anno 1555. Iuly 22. pag. 1594.

God liketh not double dealing and halting on both ſides.

Item in Nouember followyng James Skinner Iuſtice, gaue out a ſtraite precept to apprehend Iohn Kempe: whereupon the firſt of this moneth, one Dunſted Conſtable, with twoo other Conſtables, aſſociate with Iohn Wood, who had maried Kemps ſiſter, alſo diuers other perſons, beſet the ſaid Kemps houſe, ſearched it, and euery houſe within twoo myles where they might ſuſpect him to be, for that he had appointed the ſame day to come thether, which he did to one Ridleys houſe of Lingefeild, there readyng & praiyng with certayne of the Godly aſſembled, to whiche houſe, as they were commyng, the ſaid perſecutyng Officers met with an old papiſt, named Iohn Tetherton, and tould hym whether they were goyng for Iohn Kempe, to whom the ſaide Papiſt aunſwered, that Kempe was not at Ridleys houſe, for I hard Ridley ſaye ẏ he was at the Brideale, from whence I now come, vpon which information they turned backe to Kemps houſe, there takyng a Siſter of hys of xv. yeares of age, and caried her with them, threatenyng her with priſon, but ſhe beyng conſtant, was reuyled and beaten by her brother in lawe Iohn Wood, and by hym ſent home againe. The ſame day at night, Kempe was certified that hys ſeruauntes, and neighbours which feared GOD, and went not that day with him, were caried to the Iuſtice, vpon which information, he determined with hym ſelfe to meete them before the Iuſtice, the next mornyng, by no meanes perſwaded to the contrary: to whom George Steuen (afterwarde Martyre) ſaide: If you will no otherwiſe chuſe but go, I will ſurely beare you company, come what will. Thus they came together by the backe ſide to the ſaid Kemps houſe, where they purpoſed to lodge that night, for that they heard before that al was wel, & entred on a bridge that goeth into a litle Courte before his doore, where ſodenly it came into Kemps mind, that there were in the houſe that watched for hym, and ſo ſtaied: thereupon Steuen aſked hym what he lacked, he aunſwered M. Man was afrayde that ſome did watch for hym in the houſe, and therefore is loth to goe in, but by the grace of God I will make him to go in with violence. Yet through the perſwaſion of his companion he forſooke the doore, and returned to the ende of his houſe ouer a Pale, where his mayde ſeruauntes did lodge, and knocked at the window with his ſtaffe. His Siſter aunſwered, and aſked who was there, Kempe bade her ariſe and open the doore. At the whiche noyſe the Conſtable, and other Watchmen in the houſe, ſtert vp, and ſaid, he is come, ſo that they takyng their weapons in hand, went to the doore to haue taken hym, but hearyng no more noyſe ſtayed there a while, then ſaid one of them named Robert Bedell, it is not hee, but it is his Maydens that bee at Prayer. Wherupon they went in and ſate downe againe. But Kempe ſeyng that his Maides did not riſe, knocked again, and ſpake with a louder voyce, ſo that they knew him, and came to the window, his Siſter with teares ſpeakyng theſe wordes: alas brother what doe you here? for here is the Conſtable, William Launder, Robert Bedell, and Iohn Picknutte watchyng purpoſely for you. Kempe aſked her for his men and Neighbours, whē he underſtoode that none was taken, or caried to the Iuſtices as before was reported, hee willed his horſe, Bootes, Cloke, and Swerde to be ſent by Laũder his man the next day to one Coles houſe, at which talke the Conſtable with his Watche iſſued out, but Kempe tooke him to his heeles and ſo eſcaped. Thus he traueled to Horſome, Aukold, Gylford, Hedgate, frõ whence at his departing, he promiſed to viſite them againe at Chriſtenmas enſuyng. Of whiche promiſe the Iuſtices hauyng intelligence, both in Surrey & Suſſex, M. Couarte directed a Precept to the Conſtable of Horſom to ſearche ſtraitly for Iohn Kēpe: alſo maſter James Skinner directed his warraunts to Aukolde, and to the Conſtable of Hedgate to the ſame ende.

Kempe accordyng to his promiſe came in the twelue dayes to Horſome, accompanied with one Iohn Clemant, Robert Cockes, and an other, to a Sythſmithes houſe, to whom he vſed ſometime to reſort. Where hee ſtandyng after ſupper by the fier, with a litle Bible in his hand that he vſed to cary, and talkyng to the company preſent out of the ſame booke, ſodainly came the Conſtable with his Search and knocked at the doore. Then ſaid the Smith, what ſhift wil you make, for the Searche is come againe, as before twoo nightes together, what ſoeuer the matter is, to whom Kempe anſwered, for my ſelfe I care not, but onely for you and this company. Why ſhould you care for mee, quoth the Smith: becauſe ſaith Kempe the lawe is ſuch, as if I be taken in your houſe, you ſhall looſe your goodes. I feare not that quoth the Smith, and therefore care not for mee, but go aſide your ſelfe if you will. But he refuſed the counſell, and ſtoode ſtill lookyng vppon the Conſtables men and Bayleiffes in the face, who being entred, enquired of the Smith what geſtes he had: you may ſee here quoth the Smith, and you know this man Maiſter Conſtable, pointyng to Kempe, as alſo you knowe him Maiſter Kempe pointyng to the Cõſtable. Then ſaid Kempe I know hym not, but beyng put in mind of him by a token thã readely geuen of the ſmith, Kempe deſired the Conſtable to pardon his forgetfull head, addyng, that he was glad to ſee him, thankyng God and hym for his laſt company, truſtyng alſo that as god had then geuen hym attentiue eares to heare his worde, ſo nowe hee had geuen a harte to beleue, and a mynd to followe that whiche he hard. The Conſtable ſighing and chaunging countenance ſaid, I pray God I may, aſkyng fiue or ſixe tymes if there were anie other in the houſe, and at euery time hee proffered as hee would depart, but turned againe, his countenance often chaunging, yet in the ende departed quietly, afterwarde debatyng with the Bayleiffe what was to bee done, for that man is that Kempe whom we doe ſeeke, why ſaith the Baileiffe, we haue no remedy but to take hym, not ſo q the Conſtable, for my Precept reacheth to ſearch for hym, not to take hym. Which his talke he himſelfe reported, at Ridleys of Lingfeld the weke followyng. The next mornyng Kempe went out into the towne and was watched by the conſtable, who counſelled the Smith to perſuade Kempe to depart, certifyng that in his purpoſed iorney, there were writs and men ready in watch to apprehend him. Kempe notwithſtandyng proceeded in his iourney, nothing perſuading the contrary, and in the Pariſh of Hedgate, went thrice ſeuerall times, in ſeuerall daies by the Conſtables doore, not knowing that there was any precept to attache him in that place. Yet the next mornyng he was purſued by the conſtable and his aſſiſtaunt almoſt two miles, to a riuer where they could not paſſe for that the water was riſen, but Kempe was gayded another way, and ſo by Gods prouidence deliuered.

After this, about Shroftide, Kempe, three of his ſeruaunts, and other of his neigbours, about the nombre of xv. were ſerued with a Proceſſe to appeare before the Ordinary at Sainte Mary Oueris in London, where beeyng conuented, Simon Launder, George Steuens, George Barker, mother Steuen and others deſired Kempe for Chriſtes ſake not to appeare, leſt it might turne to their greater daunger, where otherwiſe they might eſcape. Kempe condeſcended to their whole conſent, & departed, the reſt appeared, of whom Kempes ſeruauntes, Thomas Laũder, Agnis Kempe, and Elizabeth Godfray were ſent to Priſon by Doctour Lewis, yͤ other went home again. Thus Kempe beyng cleane driuen from his houſe, trauailed to Briſtowe Faire. An. 1555. where he bought Freyſes, and brought them to Bartelmew faire in London, there to ſel them by retaile, his lodging in London was within on Maſter Stiell, his houſe in Heywharfe lane, where beyng at ſupper with his frendes on Bartelmew daye at late night, Iohn Iuales came to the houſe, & made a ſhakyng on the window to find the houſe, Wherfore vpon the perſwaſion of his frend hee went to lodge at Boſſe Alley, but beyng diſapointed, came backe againe with his wife and frendes, & would haue lodged in his foreſaid chambre of maſter Stiell, but he was not permitted, for there were in that place Iohn Iuales, the conſtable, the Aldermans Deputie with other, ſearchyng for hym, but not beyng found, they caried to priſon M. Stiel, George Roberts, and his wife. Kempe notwithſtanding ſould his Freyſe the next day by retaile in the Faier: In the meane tyme Doctor Story and Doctor Martin promiſed releaſement to Maiſter Stiell, if he would conduct the officers to Kempes ſtandyng in the Faire. Which Maiſter Stiell promiſed ſo to doe, who notwithſtandyng ſent a watchword priuely to Kempe for to eſcape. But Kempe refuſed ſo to doe, till ſuche time as the officers laid their hand vpon the ſtandyng, and the cloth, demaundyng for Kempe, whereupon immediatly he ſlipped backe among the people and eſcaped, willyng Roger Holland to bribe the officers with good cheare, and in the meane tyme to port awaye the Freyſe into ſome one Bothe next, deſiryng the Maſter therof, eyther Maiſter Parker or Maiſter Polyſons, to ſay, that the Frieſes were theirs, if the queſtion ſhould be asked. Thus when the Officers had made good cheare, they came to ẏ Woolſacke againe, and enquired after the cloth: anſweare was geuen, that Cartes had conueyed it awaye. Then they turned and layd it to Hallons charge, that they were betrayed by hym: but Hallons alſo eſcaped among the people, and ſo loſt their praye, both man and cloth. And thus much of the true report of his perſecution and eſcape, written by his owne hand, requeſted thereunto by his frendes, eſpecially moued thereunto vpon conſcience, not any vayne glory, to purge hym ſelfe of ſuch reportes as haue ben geuen out hurtfull to his good name, by one Morys & Tye a prieſt to D. Boner. Wherfore the ſaid John Kempe deſireth thee the chriſtian reader, for Chriſtes cauſe, to remoue that miſtruſt which the foreſaid Morys, Tye, & alſo Cartes by report of others, did take as a trueth, and ſet downe in wrytyng. And that all men ſhould knowe, that the report is not true, he hath ſet out his articles in his own hand, conteynyng in effect all the doctrine which he did teach in Q. Maryes tyme, and euer ſince to this day, as followeth:

The Papiſtes miſſe of their pray.

¶ Articles affirmed, as foloweth, by John Kempe, Miniſter.

The effect of the doctrine taught by John Kempe in Queene Maries tyme.

1 God of hym ſelfe is onely good, & from hym only al good things and goodnes do procede, and nothyng els but good.

2 Chriſt is the only ſauiour, & that ſaluatiō & euery part therof commeth only and freely by him, through his merites, death, paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion.

3 Man of his own nature is of him ſelf voyde of goodnes, voyd of righteouſnes, & of his own nature inclined only to euyl, & can by no meanes come to God, but by ẏ grace of his callyng, and by the workyng of his ſpirite.

4 It is mans duetie to obey Gods calling, to be ruled by his ſpirit, & to walke in his commaundementes al the dayes of his lyfe.

5 God hath onely elected man in Chriſt, and that onely of his free mercy and grace, without any deſertes in man, eyther going before, or folowing after.

6 Gods election is certaine and ſure in Chriſte, and can not be chaunged, and the elect ſhal neuer periſh.

7 We our ſelues be certaine & ſure to be Gods chyldren in Chriſt, to eternal lyfe, whē we are regenerate by the ſpirite of God, and walke in his commaundementes.

8 Man is iuſtified by faith onely before God, and before men he is iuſtified by workes, and not of fayth onely.

9 Man is condemned before God for his vnbeliefe and miſbeliefe, and before mē for his lewd lyfe and wicked actes.

10 God hath reprobated man onely for his owne infidelitie, blaſphemous ſinne, and wickednes, and the reprobate ſhal neuer be ſaued.

11 No man ought to ſay or thinke of hym ſelfe, or of any other, that he is Gods elect child to eternal lyfe, when he walketh in his wickednes, contrary to Gods commaundementes.

12 Like as Chriſt by his merites is the only cauſe of ſaluation and euery part therof, euen ſo is the Deuyll & mans ſinne, the only cauſe of damnation.

13 God neither ordeyneth, wylleth, nor commaundeth ſinne to be done of man.

14 God hath his ſecret wyl, working, and determination which is vnknowen to man, but he hath no ſecret wil, working, or determination, contrary to his word & written wil.

¶ The ſtorye of Thomas Roſe yet lyuyng, a Preacher, of the age of. lxxvj. yeares, in the towne of Luton, and Countie of Bedford.

The ſtory of Tho. Roſe yet lyuing.

This Thomas Roſe a Deuonſhyre man, was borne in Exmouth, and being made prieſt in that countrey, was brought out of it by one M. Fabiā, to Polſted in Suffolk, where the ſaid M. Fabian was parſon, & in ſhort tyme after, by his meanes was placed in the town of Hadley. where he firſt cōming to ſome knowledge of the goſpel, began firſt there to entreat vpon the Crede, & therupon to take occaſiō to inueigh againſt Purgatory, praying to ſaints & images, about the tyme that M. Latimer beganne firſt to preach at Cambridge, in the tyme of Bilney & Arthur. 47. yeres ago, or therabout, in ſo much that many embracing the truth of Chriſtes Goſpell, againſt the ſaid Purgatory and other poyntes: and the number of them daily increaſing, the aduerſaries began to ſtyr againſt hym, in ſo much that M. Bale (who afterwarde became a godly zelous man) was then brought to preach againſt ẏ ſaid Tho. Roſe, & ſo dyd. This notwithſtāding he cōtinued ſtyl very vehement againſt Images, & the Lord ſo bleſſed his labors, that many began to deuiſe how to deface & deſtroy them, & eſpecially foure men, whoſe names were Rob. King, Ro. Debnam, Nic. Marſh, & Rob. Gardner, which vſually reſorted to his ſermons, & by his preaching were ſo inflamed with zeale, that ſhortly after they aduentured to deſtroy the Rode of Douercourt, which coſt three of them their lyues, as appeareth before pag. 1002. The three perſons which ſuffred, and were hanged in chaynes, were offered their lyues, to haue accuſed the ſaid Thomas Roſe, as of counſel with them, which refuſed ſo to do, and therfore ſuffred. The ſaid Thomas Roſe had the coat of the ſaid Rood brought vnto hym afterwards, who burned it. The Rode was ſaid to haue done many great myracles and great wonders wrought by hym, and yet beyng in the fire, could not helpe hym ſelfe, but burned like a blocke, as in very dede he was.

Three offered to haue their lyues ſaued to accuſe Tho. Roſe, but would not.

At this tyme there were two ſore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerke, and John Clerke, two brethren: theſe complayned to the Counſaile, that an hundred men were not able to fetche the ſaid Thomas Roſe out of Hadley: who then was vpon examination of his doctrine, committed to the Commiſſaries keping. And in dede ſuch was the zeale of a number towards the truth thē in that towne, that they were much offended, that their Miniſter was ſo taken frō them, and had therfore by force ſet him from the Commiſſary, if certain wiſe men had not otherwiſe perſuaded, which at length alſo with more quiet did ſet hym in his office againe, which thing ſo angred ẏ two brethren, Walter Clerk and John Clerke, that they complayned to the Counſaile, as aforeſaid: wherupon a Seriaunt at armes named Cartwright, was ſent from the Counſaile, who areſted the ſaid Thomas Roſe, & brought him before the Counſaile. Then his aduerſaryes being called, they laid to his charge, that he was priuie of the burnyng of the Rode of Douercourt, and vpon this was he committed to the priſon in the Biſhop of Lincolnes houſe in Holburne, Biſhop Langley the kyngs Confeſſor, and there remayned he in priſon, frō Shroftyde tyl midſomer, very ſore ſtocked frō Shrouetide til after Eaſter. The ſtockes were very hye & great, ſo that day & night he did lye with his backe on the ground, vpon a litle ſtraw, with his heeles ſo hye, that by meanes the bloud was fallē frō his feete, his feete were almoſt without ſenſe for a long tyme, & he herewith waxed very ſicke, in ſo much that his keper pityeng his eſtate, & hearyng hym cry ſometimes through the extremitie of paine, went to the biſhop, & told hym that he would not keepe hym to dye vnder his hand, & vpon this he had ſome more eaſe & libertie. Now at this time his mother was come frō Hadley to ſee hym, but ſhee might not be ſuffred to ſpeake with the ſaid Tho. Roſe her ſonne (ſuch was their crueltie) but the biſhop flattered her, & gaue her a payre of pardon beades, & bade her goe home & pray for ſhee might not ſee him, which thing pierced the harts both of the mother & ſonne not a litle. At this time alſo certaine men of Hadley, very deſirous to ſee hym, trauailed to ſpeake with hym, but might not be ſuffred, tyll at length they gaue the keeper. iiij.s. & yet then might not ſpeake to him, or ſee him, otherwiſe then through a grate. And thus continued he tyl midſomer in priſon there. Then was he remoued to Lambeth, in the firſt yere of D. Cranmers cōſecratiō, who vſed hym much more courteouſly thē euer the biſhop of Lincolne did, & at length worked his deliuerance, & ſet hym at libertie: but yet ſo, that he was bidden not to come within. xx. myles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the Goſpel halfe a yeare, tyll Hadley men hearyng therof, labored to haue hym to Hadley againe, & in dede by meanes of ſir John Rainsford knight, obteined at ẏ Archbiſhops hand to haue hym thyther: howbeit, by meanes one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enioy his office againe there, but went to Stratford three myles of, and there cōtinued in preaching ẏ word thre yeres, tyl at length the aduerſaries procured an inhibition from the Biſhop of Norwich, to put hym to ſilence. But a great number trauayled to haue hym cōtinue in preaching, & ſubſcribed a ſupplication to the Archb. with ſeuen ſcore hands, who vnder their ſeales alſo teſtified of his honeſt demeanor, ſo that the aduerſaries this way preuailyng not, they indicted hym at Bury in Suffolk, ſo that he was cōſtrained to flee to London, & to vſe the ayd of the L. Audeley then L. Chancelor, who remoued the matter frō hym, & called it before hym, & after certaine examination of the matter, dyd ſet hym free, & dyd ſend hym by a token to the L. Cromwel then L. priuie Seale, for a licence from the king, to preach: which beyng obteyned by the L. Cromwel his meanes (who hereupon alſo had admitted the ſaide Thomas Roſe his chapleyne) forthwith he was ſent into Lincolnſhyre and to Yorke. In the meane tyme ſuch complaynt was made to the Duke of Northfolke for that he had preached againſt auricular confeſſion, tranſubſtantiation, & ſuch other poyntes cōteyned in the ſixe articles (which thē to haue don, by law was death) that the Duke in his owne perſon not onely ſought hym at

Tho. Roſe areſted by a Seriaunt at Armes.

The cruell handling of Tho. Roſe by the Papiſtes.

Tho. Roſe ſet at libertye by Doct. Cranmers meanes.

Tho Roſe Chapleine to the L. Cromwell.

Norwich, but alſo beſet al ȳ hauens for hym, frō Yarmouth to London, & being Lieutenant, cōmaunded that whoſoeuer could take the ſaid Tho. Roſe, ſhould hang hym on the next tree. Howbeit the ſaid Thom. Roſe at his cōmyng home, hauing warnyng thereof by certaine godly perſons, was conueyed away, & paſſed ouer to Flaunders, & ſo to Germanie into Zuriche, where tyme he remayned with M. Bullinger, & afterward went to Baſil, & there beyng with M. Grineus, tidinges came that M. doct. Barnes ſhould be biſhop of Norwich, & thinges ſhould be reformed, & he reſtored. But whē he came ouer into England againe, it was not ſo, & therfore forthwith fled againe beyond ȳ ſeas, being ſo haſted, that if the mighty prouidence of God had not ſent hym in readynes to receiue him, the ſelf ſame man, hoie, & boy, then beyng caryed hym ouer, it had not bene poſſible for hym to haue eſcaped. Such was the goodnes of god towardes hym, that he ſafely was conueyed, & liued at Geneua the ſpace of three yeres, when length purpoſing to come ouer into England, about buſines that he had, he, his wife, & their child beyng but a yere & three quarters old, vpon the ſea, the ſhip being in great danger, wherin they ſayled, (for the maſt being hewen down in that peryl, they were caryed whither ſoeuer the waues toſſed thē) they with diuers others made ful accompt of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken priſoners, & caryed into Depe in Fraunce, hauyng al their ſtuffe taken frō them, & xl.li. in money. There they remained priſoners frō Michaelmas tyll Hallowtyde, in great heauynes, not knowyng what ſhould become of them, but dependyng only vpon Gods prouidence, it pleaſed God at the ſame tyme, that one M. Young of the towne of Rye (who had heard hym preach before) came thither for the redemyng of certaing Engliſhe men there taken priſoners. This M. Young moued to ſee thē in this caſe, much pitied them, and cōforted them, and told them he would pay their ranſome, & ſo he did, had them away, & brought them to Rye, and from thence by ſtealth came they to London. At length the honourable Earle of Suffolke hearing of the ſayd Tho. Roſe, ſent for hym, his wife, & his chyld, and had thē to his houſe at Attleborough, where they continued, tyll at length it was blowed abroad, that the Earle was a maynteiner of ſuch a man to reade in his houſe, as had preached againſt the Catholike faith (as they terme it.) The Earle being at the parliament, & hearing therof, wrote a letter to warne hym, to make ſhift for hym ſelfe, & to auoyd. So that frō thence he paſſed to London, makyng ſhrewd ſhyfte for a yere there and ſomewhat more, tyll the death of kyng Henry. After the kinges death, he & others which in the kinges generall pardon were excepted (and therfore dead men, if they had ben taken whileſt king Henry liued) by certaine of the Coūſaile were ſet at libertie, & at length, after K. Edward was crowned, were licenced to preach againe by the kyng, who gaue vnto ȳ ſaid Tho. Roſe, the benefice of Weſtham by London. But at the death of that vertuous and noble prince, he was depriued of al, and ſo ſhould alſo haue bene of his life, had not God appoynted hym frendes, who receiued hym in London ſecretly, as their teacher in the congregation, amongſt whom for the poore priſoners at their aſſemblies, x. li. a night oftentymes was gathered. And thus he continued amongſt them, & with the Lady Vane almoſt a yeare, in the raigne of Q. Mary. But although he oftentymes eſcaped ſecretly whilſt he read to the godly in ſundry places of London, yet at length through a Iudas that betrayed them, he with. xxx. that were with him, were taken in Bow churchyard at a Shiermans houſe on New yeres day at night being Tueſday. The reſidue being committed to priſons, the ſaid Tho. Roſe was had to the B. of Wincheſter Ste. Gardiner, but the Biſhop would not ſpeake with hym that night, but committed him to the Clynke tyl Tueſday after.

The mightie prouidence of God in preſeruing T. Roſe from his enemies.

T. Roſe agayne deliuered.

Thomas Roſe apprehended.

¶ The firſt examination of Thomas Roſe before Wincheſter at ſaint Mary Oueryes.

The firſt examination of Tho. Roſe.

On Thurſday being brought before the B. of Wincheſter at S. Mary Querica, the ſaid Thom. Roſe ſpake as foloweth:

Roſe. It maketh me to marueile (my Lord, quoth he) that I ſhould be thus troubled for that whiche by the worde of God hath ben eſtabliſhed, and by the lawes of this Realme allowed, and by your own writyng ſo notably in your booke De vera obedientia, confirmed.

Byſh. Ah ſirrha, haſt thou gotten that?

Roſe. Yea, my lord, I thanke God, and do confeſſe my ſelfe much therby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of the ſupremacie againſt the B. of Romes vſurped authoritie, no man hath ſaid further. And as I remēber you cōfeſſe in it, that when this truth was reuealed vnto you, you thought the ſcales to fal from your eyes.

Biſhop. Thou lyeſt like a varlet, there is no ſuch thyng in my booke, but I ſhall handle thee & ſuch as thou art well enough. I haue long looked for thee, & at length haue caught thee. I wyll know who be thy maintayners, or els I wyll make thee a foote longer.

Roſe. My lord, you ſhal doe as much as pleaſeth God, and no more, yet the lawe is in your hand: but I haue God for my maintener, & none other. At theſe wordes one of his ſeruantes ſtepped forth, & ſaid: My lord, I heard this mā preach at Norwich in Iohn Roberts houſe, & in his prayer he deſired God to turne Q. Maryes hart, or els to take her out of the world: and this was in K. Edwardes tyme.

Roſe. My lord, I made no ſuch prayer, but next after the kyng I prayed for her after this ſort, ſaying: Ye ſhal pray for my Lady Maryes grace, that God wyl vouchſafe to indue her with his ſpirite, that ſhe graciouſly may perceiue ȳ myſteries conteined only in his holy lawes, & ſo render vnto him her hart purified in true faith, & true & loyal obedience to her ſoueraigne lord & kyng, to the good enſample of the inferiour ſubiectes. And this, my lord, is already ſubſcribed in mine owne hand writyng to the Counſaile. Unto this he ſaid litle, but turnyng his face to certaine that were by hym: This is he (quoth the Biſhop) that my Lord of Norwych told me had begotten his mayd with chyld.

Tho. Roſe belied of Wincheſter.

Roſe. This is no hereſie, my lord, although it be a lye. In deede certain wicked perſons rayſed this report of me, for ȳ hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgatiō of my ſelfe herein, I had no leſſe then fiue of ȳ Conſtables handes, & there might be but a diligent examination for this matter in the countrey by men of worſhip appoynted for that purpoſe, who can al teſtifie (I thank God) that I am moſt cleare frō ſuch wickednes, & in deede they haue cleared me frō it, & therfore I doubt not but al good mē wyl eſpie the miſcheuous deuiſes of myne aduerſaries, whiche (when other wayes fayled) by ſuch ſubtler meanes went about to bryng me into diſcredite & hatred: but God which is ȳ helper of ȳ innocēt, & ſearcher of mens harts, hath & doth defend me, & hath layed open thinges that were hyd, to their ſhame. One of the chiefeſt reporters of this, that I ſhould ſo abuſe my ſelfe, was one M. Clarke ſeruant & in ſome eſtimatiō with the old lord Treaſurer of England, reputed & take for a Courtier, who afterward for his good demerites hanged hym ſelfe in the Tower. Then the biſhop cōmaunded that I ſhould be caryed to the tower, & to be kept ſafely, where I dyd lye tyl it was the weeke before Whitſontyde. Before which tyme I was twiſe called, when as the biſh. came to the tower about other priſoners. Notwithſtanding the B. had no great talke with me, but ſpake frendly. Howbeit, one ſir Rich. Southwel knight ſtyll accuſed me for my prayer, & ſaid, I had put a difference betwixt Lady Mary & Lady Elizabeth, for that I praied in K. Edwards faith, and prayed that he would confirme Lady Elizabeth in that which was wel begon in her. Unto this the biſhop ſaid litle: but in the weeke before Pentecoſt I was conueyed frō the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the biſhop and his Clergie, as cōcernyng my fayth, the maner wherof here foloweth.

Tho. Roſe cleared from Wincheſters ſlaunder.

Tho. Roſe committed to the Tower

¶ The ſecond examination of Tho. Roſe before the B. of Norwich, Hopkins by name, in his owne Palace, in the preſence of ſir W. Woodhouſe knight, M. Steward the Chancellor, D. Barret, with diuers others, the Wedneſday in Whitſon weeke. an. Domini. 1553.

The ſecond examination of Tho. Roſe before the B. of Wincheſter.

After I was preſented by my keeper, the biſhop immediately aſked me what I was. I told hym I had bene a Miniſter.

Biſhop. What is this to the purpoſe, were yeu Fryer or a Prieſt?

Roſe. Fryer was I neuer, but a prieſt haue I bene, and beneficed by the kinges maieſtie.

Biſhop. Where were ye made Prieſt?

Roſe. In Exeter, in the Coūtie wher I was borne. Thē the biſhop required of me my letter of Orders. I told hym I knew not where they were become, for they wer thinges of me not greatly regarded.

Biſhop. Wel, you are ſent to me to be examined: what ſay you, wyl you ſubmit your ſelfe to the order of the church of England?

Roſe. My lord, I truſt I am not out of the order of Chriſtes church in England, neither do I know my ſelfe an offender theragainſt.

Biſh. What, yea, ye haue here preached moſt damnable and deuiliſh doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached, was both true, ſincere, & holy. But in deede ȳ doctrine that is now ſet forth, is moſt wicked & damnable, yea, & that both againſt Gods lawes & mans. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded vpon the worde of God, ſet out alſo by the authoritie of two moſt mighty kynges, with the conſent of all the Nobility and Clergie of the ſame, ſo that I preached nothyng but their lawful procedynges, hauyng their lawful authoritie vnder their broad Seales for cõfirmation of the ſame, for whiche my doyng ye can not iuſtly charge me. For why, ſithens the lawe ceaſed, I haue kept ſilence, ſo that the Counſaile which ſent me vnto you, haue not charged me therwith. Wherfore ye doe me open wrong to burthen me with that wherin I am free.

Chaunc. What ſir? ye are very captious, anſwereſt thou my Lord after ſuch a ſort?

Roſe. Syr (ſayd I) I anſwere for my ſelfe, and according to the truth, wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chaunc. Thou art an euyl man. Waſt thou not abiured before now?

Roſe. No, ye vntruely report me, and are in no wiſe able to proue that which ye haue ſpoken: ſo that your wordes appeare to procede altogether of malice, which I haue not deſerued at your handes. But in this I well perceyue, ye are made an inſtrument to vtter other mens malice conceiued of old.

Chaunc. What ſayeſt thou to the reall preſence in the ſacrament?

Roſe. I wiſt right well ye were made an inſtrument to ſeeke innocent bloud: wel ye may haue it, if God permyt, it is preſent and at hand, for I am not come hyther to lye, but to dye (if God ſee it good) in defence of that which I haue ſayd. Wherfore ye may begyn when ye ſhal thinke good, for I haue ſayd nothyng but the truth, & that which in thoſe dayes was of all men allowed for truth, and againſt the which ye at that tyme durſt not once whiſper: although ye now brag neuer ſo much.

Biſh. Wel father Roſe, ſaid he, what ſoeuer hath ben done in tymes paſt, ſhal not nowe be called in queſtion, ſo that ye now ſubmit your ſelfe. For not only you, but all the whole realme hath ben out of ẏ right way, both hie & low, ſpiritual & tẽporal, but al notwithſtãding haue ſubmitted thẽ ſelues & acknowledged their faith. Wherfore if ye wyll be accoũted for an Engliſh man, ye muſt likewiſe ſubmit your ſelfe.

How Tho. Roſe ſubmitteth hym ſelfe.

Roſe. My lord, I am an Engliſh mã borne, & do moſt hũbly require of the chriſtian cõgregatiõ of Euglãd, to be coũted as a particular mẽber of ẏ ſame, & with all due reuerẽce ſubmypt my ſelf as in forme & maner folowing: That what ſoeuer law or lawes ſhall be ſet forth in ẏ ſame for the eſtabliſhmẽt of Chriſts true religiõ, & that according to ẏ faith & doctrine of the holy patriarches & prophets, Jeſus Chriſt & his holy apoſtles, with ẏ faithful fathers of Chriſtes primatiue church: I doe not only hold it and beleue it, but alſo moſt reuerently obey it. At which my aſſertion the Biſhop ſeemed to be greatly reioyced, & ſaid: wel, then we ſhal ſoone be at a poynt. But ſayd he, you ſhall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, ſo that ye ſhall nowe depart and pawſe your ſelfe, vntyll we call for you agayne, and ſo ended our firſt meetyng.

¶ The third examination of Thomas Roſe.

The 3 examination of Tho. Roſe.

ON the frydaye folowing I was called agayn into Chriſtes church in their Ladies Chappel (as they termed it) where was gathered a great part of the whole Citie of Norwich, & after I was by my keper preſented, the Biſh. began wt a great proteſtatiõ, & after many wordes demaũded of me, whether according to my former promiſe, I woulde ſubmypt my ſelfe or no? I anſwered as before I had don, that according to my former proteſtation I woulde moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the Chauncellor, to vtter his gentlenes, I thinke ye doe but faine.

Roſe. The fault then (ſayd I) ſhal be in your ſelfe, & not in me. For if ye burthen me with nothing but ſcriptures, & the Fathers of Chriſtes primatiue church, then, as I ſayd before, ſo I ſay againe, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chaunc. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be a member of the church of England, your mother here for trial of obedience, prouoketh you, as mothers are wont, to allure you to receyue this litle gyft at her hand.

Roſe. Forſooth, ſaid I, if ſhee offer it me, as receyued of God my father, I ſhall gladly receyue it, as from the hande of my very true and ghoſtly mother.

Auricular confeſſion.

Chaunc. What ſay you to eare confeſſion? is it not a law eccleſiaſtical, and neceſſary for the Church of England?

Roſe. Some wayes it might be permitted, & ſome wayes not, & that becauſe it had not his original of God & his bleſſed word: and yet I deny not, but that a man being troubled in his conſcience, and reſortyng to a diſcrete, ſober, and chriſtian learned man, for the quietyng of his mynd, might wel be permitted: but to bynd a man vnder paine of damnation, once euery yeare to number his ſinnes into the eare of a filthy lecherous prieſt, is not of God, neyther can be approued by his word.

Biſh. Ah ſirrha, ye wyl admit nothyng but ſcripture, I ſee wel.

Nothing but ſcripture to be admitted for the regiment of the ſoule.

Roſe. No truely, my Lord, I admit nothing but ſcripture for ẏ regimẽt of the ſoule: for why, faith cõmeth by hearing, & hearing by the word of God, & where the word of god is not, there ought no beliefe to be geuen. For what ſoeuer is not of fayth, is ſinne: and here they leaue of ſpeakyng any more of that matter.

But then M. Chauncelor began to whet his teeth at me, ſaying: yea, but you haue here preached that the real, naturall, and ſubſtantiall preſence of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar: what ſay ye to that?

Roſe. Verily I ſay, that you are a bloudy man, & ſeeke to quench your thirſt wt ẏ bloud of an innocẽt, & therfore to ſatiſfie you in that behalf, I ſay verily vnto you, that euẽ ſo I haue here preached: and although cõtrary to law, you charge me with ẏ ſame, yet wyl I in no wiſe deny it, though iuſtly I might doe it, but ſtand therunto, euen to ſeale it with my bloud, deſiryng all that be here preſent, to teſtifie the ſame, and beleue it as the onely truth.

Biſh. I charge you al beleue it not.

Roſe. Yea? But my Lord, ſaid I, if ye wyl needes haue credence geuen you, you muſt bring Gods worde to mayntayne your ſayinges.

Biſh. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay: This is my bodye? and can there be any playner wordes ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true, my lord, the wordes be as plaine as cã be: And euẽ ſo be theſe, where as it is ſaid, I am a dore, a vine, & Chriſt called a ſtone, a Lyon, & yet is he naturally none of theſe. For they be al figuratiue ſpeches, as both the ſcriptures and fathers doe ſufficiently proue.

At which my ſaying, the Biſhop would haue had me ſtay, ſaying, I ſhould haue an other day, wherein I might take better aduiſement.

Transſubſtantiation and Reall preſence againſt the Scriptures and the auncient fathers of the primatiue Church.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord, ſaid I, for I am at a ful point with my ſelfe in that matter, and am right wel able to proue both your tranſubſtantiation, with the real preſence, to be againſt the ſcriptures & the anciẽt fathers of the primatiue church. For Juſtinus which is one of the aunciẽteſt writers that euer wrote vpõ the ſacramẽts, writeth in his. 2. Apologie, that the bread, water, & wyne in the ſacramẽt, are not to be taken as other meates & drinkes, but be meates purpoſely ordeyned to geue thankes vnto God, & therfore be called Euchariſtia, and alſo haue the names of the body and bloud of Chriſt, & that it is not lawfull for any man to eate & drinke of thẽ, but ſuch as profeſſed the religion of Chriſt, & liue alſo according to their profeſſion: and yet, ſaith he, ẏ ſame bread & drinke is chaunged into our fleſh & bloud, & noriſheth our bodyes. By which ſaying it is euident, that Juſtine meant that ẏ bread & wyne remaine ſtyl, or els they could not haue ben turned into our fleſh & bloud, and noriſh our bodyes. At which my ſaying they wer not a litle troubled, but enforced thẽ ſelues to haue denyed the Doctor, & would ſuffer me to ſpeake no more, but ſtrayt way was I carryed away vnto my lodging: and ſo ended the ſecond day of myne apperance, which was the fryday in Whitſon weeke, and then was I appoynted to appeare againe on the Monday folowyng. Howbeit, vpon what occaſion, I know not, it was deferred vnto the Wedneſday, which was Corpus Chriſti Euen.

¶ His talke with the Earle of Suſſex, ſir William Woodhouſe, and the Biſhops Chapleines.

IN the meane tyme the B. ſent two of his chapleins to me, with whõ I had cõmunicatiõ about the real preſence: and after long reaſoning to & fro, cõcernyng this poynt, at lẽgth I droue them to this iſſue, whether they dyd confeſſe that Chriſt in the ſelfe & ſame body which was conceiued of the virgin Mary, & wherin he ſuffred & roſe againe, doe in the ſelfe & ſame body, naturally, ſubſtantially, & really ſit at the right hãd of god ẏ father, wtout returne frõ thẽce vntil ẏ day of ẏ general iudgmẽt, or not? Wherũto they anſwered, yes truely, ſaide they, we cõfeſſe it, hold it, & beleue it. Thẽ I agayne demaunded of thẽ, whether they did affirme, after the wordes pronoũced by ẏ miniſter, there to remain fleſh, blood, bones, heare, nayles, as is wont moſt groſly to be preached, or not? And they wt great deliberatiõ anſwered, ẏ they dyd not only abhorre ẏ teaching of ſuch groſſe doctrine, but alſo would deteſt thẽſelues, if they ſhould ſo think. At which. 2. principal poyntes, wherin they fully confirmed my doctrine which I euer taught, I was not a litle cõforted & reioyced, but marueilouſly encoraged. Wherupõ I demaũded agayne of thẽ, what maner of body they then affirmed to be in ẏ ſacramẽt? Forſooth, ſaid they, not a viſible, palpable, or circũſcriptible body, for that is alwayes at ẏ fathers right hãd, but in the ſacrament it is inuiſibly, and can neither be felt, ſeene, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotencie of Gods word, they know not howe.

The Papiſtes affirme the reall body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament but they know not how.

And for this they brought in S. Auguſtine, although of them not truely underſtanded, yet would they admyt none other ſenſe then their owne, but would take upon them to confirme it with Martin Luther. Melancthon, Bucer, & Calvine, ſo that I perceyuyng their obſtinacie in that behalfe, gaue them ouer for that tyme, and afterwardes talked with Doctour Barret, whom I alſo founde of the ſame iudgement in that behalfe. For (ſaid he) if ye ſhould diſſent from the Fathers of the Primatiue church in this behalfe, of which S. Auguſtine is one, ye ſhal be counted to dye out of the fauour of God. Wel, al this their obſtinacie and blaſphemous errors imprinted & deepely weighed in my mynd, I gaue them al ouer, and the more quietly to bring them to confeſſe that openly, which they unto me had graunted priuately, I graunted them, accordyng to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtatiō, a preſence, although not as they ſuppoſed.

After all this, came there unto me the honorable Earle of Suſſex, and that gentle knyght ſir William Woodhouſe, with great perſwaſions: unto whō I ſayd, after long talk, that I would doe all that I might, ſauyng my conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute, and no more I haue, as knoweth God, by whom al men muſt be iudged.

The laſt appearance of Thomas Roſe before the Byſhop.

¶ His laſt appearance before the Biſhop.

NOw to come to my laſt appearance, after I was before the Biſhop preſented, he forthwith demaunded of me, whether I were reſolued, as he had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, that euen as alwayes I had ſaid before, that euenſo I was now. Unto whō by low bowyng my knee, I gaue my due reuerence, and the rather for that the honorable Earle of Suſſex was there. Wherewith ſome whiche would be counted great Goſpellers, were, contrarye to all Chriſtianitie, ſore offended. Then I ſayd, that what ſoeuer lawes were ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtes true religion, and that accordyng to the doctrine of Chriſtes holy Apoſtles, & the faithful fathers of the primatiue church, I dyd not only obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and beleue them. Yea, and yet to the further blyndyng of their eyes, I ſaid, that if any thing could iuſtly be proued by gods holy worde, by me heretofore preached or taught untruely, either for lacke of learnyng, ſlide of tongue, or of ignorance, yet by better knowledge when it ſhal iuſtly be tryed & examined by the ſame: I ſhall not refuſe (the thyng perfectly approued) to reuoke yͤ ſame. Prouided alwayes, the word of God herein to be iudge.

Al this ſpake I (as God knoweth) to keepe them frō ſuſpectyng that which I went about, and that they ſhould haue none occaſion to iudge me of obſtinacie. Then ſayd I moreouer, Al you muſt of force confeſſe, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had beſides the authoritie of Gods eternal veritie, the authoritie of two moſt noble and mighty princes, with the aduice and counſel of al the Nobilitie and Cleregie of the ſame, and that with great deliberation from tyme to time, with open diſputations in both the Uniuerſities: enacted alſo by parlament with the conſent of yͤ whole body and Commons of the ſame, and that without any reſiſtance or gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a religion moſt pure & perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely preached by the principal Biſhops and Doctors, and that before the kyngs maieſties perſō, & I as one being called to that office, dyd yͤ like, with al the reſt, and in the zeale of God, & with a pure conſcience dyd ſet forth yͤ ſame as the onely and abſolute truth of God, and the iuſt and moſt true proceedynges of my ſoueraigne Lord and king, and I had then my head at that preſent euen where it now ſtandeth, betwixt myne eares, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehende with all diligence, that whiche then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the onely and abſolute truth, and a thyng unto me moſt deſirous and wel liking, without my deſire to heare the cōtrary, tyl now through this my captiuitie I am compelled to heare the cōtrary part ſpeake, who are euen here preſent, and which my Lord ſent unto me.

Of whom after long diſputations priuately to and fro before this tyme had betwixt us, at length I haue heard by them a contrary doctrine, which I neuer before had hearde, and therefore muſt confeſſe myne owne ignoraunce in the ſame. For (quoth I) after I had enforced theſe men here preſent (meanyng the Biſhops two Chapleynes) to confeſſe Jeſus Chriſtes naturall body with his full complete members in the due order and proportion of a perfect manns body to be preſent at the right hand of God the father, and that without returne from thence untyl the laſt iudgement, and alſo that after the wordes pronounced by the prieſt there remayneth no ſuch groſſe preſence of fleſhe, bloud, bones, heare, and nayles, as was wont to be preached, but that after I had demaunded of them what maner of bodye they affirmed to be preſent, they ſayde: A body inuiſible by the omnipotencie of Gods worde, which neyther can be felt nor ſeene, nor that hath any diſtinctiō of members, but ſuch a body as occupyeth no place, but is there, they knowe not howe, neceſſitie compelled me to confeſſe myne ignoraunce in that behalfe: although in very deede they perceyued not my meanyng therein, neither was it in my thought they ſhould ſo doe. For by this their confeſſion, and my ſilence, afterward I perceyued their horrible blaſphemies.

And me thought, in this I had well diſcharged at that tyme my conſcience, in cauſing them in open audience to cōfeſſe the ſame, and ſo I graunted a preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed.

For onely I ſayd, that Chriſt after the word pronounced, is preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper, whiche thyng I neuer denyed, nor any godly man that euer I heard of. For (ſayde I) Euſebius Emiſſenus a man of ſingular fame and learnyng, about three hundred yeares after Chriſtes aſcenſion, ſaith: That the conuerſion of the viſible creatures of bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Chriſt, is like unto our conuerſion in Baptiſme, where nothyng is outwardly chaunged, but all the chaunge is inwardly by the mighty workyng of the holy Ghoſt, whiche faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the hart and mynd of man, as by the example of Peter preachyng to the people. Actes. 2. By which he ſo pierced their conſciences, that they openly with moſt earneſt repentance confeſſed their ſinnes, ſaying: Men and brethren, what ſhal we doe? Repent, and be baptized euery of you (ſayd Peter) in the name of Jeſus Chriſt: ſo that at this Sermon there were which turned unto Chriſt, three thouſand perſons, in whō Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and framed, as that he dyd dwel in euery one of them, and they in hym: and after the like maner (ſaid I) is Chriſt preſent in the lawfull uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſayd, accordyng to the truth, that Chriſt dwelt in euery one of theſe perſons rehearſed, yet meant I nothyng leſſe, then that he in them ſhoulde haue a groſſe, carnall, or fleſhly dwellyng.

Actes. 2.

And no more meant I (as knoweth God) hym carnally or naturally to be in the Sacrament, but accordyng to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtation, that is, to the ſpiritual nouriſhmēt of al ſuch as worthyly come unto that holy Supper, receiuyng it accordyng to his holy inſtitutiō.

How Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament.

And thus I ended, which the Papiſtes moſt maliciouſly and and ſclaunderouſly named a recantation, whiche I neuer meant nor thought (as God knoweth.)

Now after I had thus concluded my ſpeach, the Biſhop takyng me by the hand, ſaid: Father Roſe, you may be a worthy inſtrument in Gods church, and we wyll ſee to you at our commyng home (for he was about to take his iourney in viſitation of his Dioces) and they feared much at this very tyme, leaſt Queene Mary ſhould haue miſcaryed in chyld trauaile, which was looked for, beyng then accoũted very great with chyld, ſo that they were not ſo fierce as they had bene, and doubted very much of ſome ſturre, if I ſhould haue ſuffered, and therfore were glad to be ryd of me, ſo that by any colorable meanes for their own diſcharge it might be: ſo that the night folowyng I was onely committed to myne old lodging.

On the morowe when the Biſhop was ready to ryde forth in viſitation, he called me before hym, and perceiuyng that ſir William Woodhouſe dyd beare me great fauor, ſaid, he was ſory for me & my expenſes, and therfore wiſhed that I were ſomewhere, where I might ſpend no more money, tyl his returne. Why my lord (quoth ſir Williā Woodhouſe) he ſhall haue meate and drinke & lodgyng with me tyll your returne again, ſeeing you now breake up houſe, & hereupon I went home with ſir Williā that good knight, who moſt gentlly enterteyned me, & I had great libertie. Upon this the papiſtical prieſtes of the Colledge of Chriſtes Church in Norwich, for that they ſaw me at libertie in ſir Williams abſence (who alſo was then from home a fortnight) blaſed it abroad, that ſir William was bounden for me in body and landes. At his commyng home therfore I aſked ſir Williā if he were ſo bounden for me: and he denyed it. Then ſayd I: Syr, but for the reuerēce I beare to you, I might haue bene an hundred myles from you ere this. But I truſt now ſir, ſeeing you be not bounden for me, I may goe viſite my frendes. Goe where you wyl, ſaid ſir William, for (quoth he) I tolde the Biſhop I woulde not be his Gaylor, but promiſed onely meate, drinke, and lodgyng for you. Shortly after, upon the deuiſe of ſome frendes, I was cloſely conueyed to a frendes houſe, where almoſt a moneth I was ſecretly kept, tyl rumours were ouer. For at the Biſhops returne, ſearchyng was for me, in ſo muche as all houſes where it was knowen I had bene acquainted, were ſearched, and the ſhippes at Yarmouth.

Popiſh prieſtes loue to blaſe abroad lyes.

At the length the Biſhop ſent to a Comtrer, to know of hym which way I was gone, and he anſweared, that I was gone ouer a water, and in the keping of a woman. And in very deede I was paſſed ouer a ſmall water, and was hyd by a bleſſed woman and godly wydowe (whiche lyued in a poore cottage) the ſpace of three weekes, tyl al the great heate was ouer.

Then was I conueyed to London, and fro thence paſſed ouer the ſeas, where I lyued tyl the death of Q. Mary, that it pleaſed God for the cōfort of his church, & reſtoring of al poore exiles and priſoners for his names ſake, to bleſſe this Realme, with the gouernment of our noble Queene, whō God to the glory of his owen name, & ÿ defence of his Church, according to his good wyll and pleaſure long preſerue and continue ouer vs, Amen.

A Complaynt againſt ſuch as fauoured the Goſpell in Ipſwich, exhibited to Queene Maryes Counſayle, ſittyng in Commiſſion at Bechelles in Suffolke, the. 18. of May. An. 1556. by Philip Williams, *aliâs* Footman, Iohn Steward, and Mathewe Butlar, ſworne for the purpoſe.

¶ The names of ſuch as fledde out of the Towne, and lurked in ſecrete places, as:

S. Mary Tower
Robert Partriche.
Roſe Nottingham, daughter of william Nottingham the elder.

S. Laurence.
Anne Fenne, ſeruaunt to Robert Nottingham.
Andrewe Yngforbye his wife and daughter.
Thomas Thompſon Shomaker, ſuppoſed to haue receyued but twiſe theſe. xvij. yeares.
Marten Algate Lockeſmyth his wife.

S. Margarets.
William Pickeſſe, Tanner.
John Whodles, Couerlet weauer, and his wife.
William Harſet, Brycklayer.
Thomas Fowler, Shomaker.
W. Wright his wife at the Wynd myl.
Laurence Waterward late Curate, borne in a town called Chorley, in Lankeſhyre.

S. Nicholas.
Widowe Swayne.
Mathew Byrd and his wife.
Stephen Greanwich and his wyfe.
Wil. Colman, ſeruant to the ſaid Stephen.
Rob. Colman and his wife.
Roger Laurence, aliâs Sparow.
John Carelton, Sadler.
William Colman.
James Hearſte his wife.

S. Peters.
Rich. Bauer apprentiſe with Nicholas Nottingham.
Richard Hedley a ſeller of heretical bookes.

S. Stephens.
James Bochyng Shomaker his wife.
John Rawe, late ſeruant to James Ashley.
William Palmer. } ſeruaunts to Ste. Greene Shomaker.
Rich. Richman }
John Deerſley. }
Rich. Richman Shoomaker his wife, daughter to mother Fenkel Mydwife.

S. Clementes.
Maiſtres Tooley, who departed to Darſham in Suff.
Agnes wardal the elder widowe.
Robert Wardal her ſonne.

S. Mathewes.
John Shoomaker and his wyfe.

¶ The names of ſuch as haue not receyued the Sacrament.

S. Clementes.
Robert Bray.
John Nottingham.
Agnes Wardal, wife of Robert Wardal.
Nicholas Nottingham.
Richard Michel.
William Jordane his wyfe.
Richard Butteral.
Robert Browne.

S. Peters.
John Reade.
Thomas Spurdance.
John, ſeruant to Stephen Grinleſſe.

S. Stephens.
Robert Scoldyng.

S. Margarets.
John Greenwich and his wyfe.

S. Nicholas.
Thomas Sturgeon Maryner.
John Fynne his wife.

S. Mary Keye.
Robert Branſtone, brother and ſeruaunt to William Branſtone.

S. Mary Tower
Marten Johnſon, who lyeth bedrede.
Agnes his keeper. } ſeruants to Rob. Nottingham.
Bent Alderd. }

S. Laurence.
Robert Pyke his ſonne.

S. Mary at Elmes.
John Ramſey and his wyfe, nowe in priſon.

¶ Names of ſuch as obſerue not ceremonies.

Robert Cambridge refuſed the Pare.
Robert Brage his wyfe refuſed to ſuffer any chylde to be dypped in the Font.
Joane Barber wydowe. } refuſed to beholde the eleuation of the ſacrament.
Thomaſin her daughter. }
Maiſtreſſe Ponder mother to Joane Barber. } in the ſame fault.
Tye a Maryner his wyfe.
S. Clementes.

Richard Haward refuſed the Pare at Maſſe in [illegible] Laurence.
S. Mary at Elmes.

M. Lyons at Maſſe at S. Mary Stoke refuſed the Pare.
Mother Fenkel. } refuſe to haue chyldrē dypped in Fontes.
Joan Ward aliâs Bentleys wife. }
S. Peters.

Mother Beryſſe Mydwyfe refuſeth to haue chyldren dypped in Fontes.
S. Stephens.

George Buſſhe his wyfe reiected the Hoſt after recept of it.
S. Nicholas.

¶ Names of prieſtes wyues that haue acceſſe to their husbandes.

Rafe Carleton his wyfe Curate of S. Mathewes, & S. Mary at Elmes.
Elizabeth Cantrel, wyfe to Rafe Cantrel.
Jane Barker, wife to Robert Barker Prieſt, late of Bury.
Latymer his wyfe, Curate of ſaint Laurence and S. Stephens.
William Clarke his wyfe, late Curate of Barkham, and S. Mary at Elmes.

¶ Names of maynteyners agaynſt this complaynt.

Robert Steroppe, Cuſtomer to Queene Mary.
Gylbert Sterop, deputie to Edward Grymſtone Eſquier, for his Butlerage.
Maiſter Butler the elder, Searcher.
Maiſtreſſe Toly ſwelling by much riches into wealth.
Margaret Bray, who alſo preſumeth vpon the office of a Mydwife, not called.
Joane Barber wydow, } practiſing much wholſome counſel.
Maystreſſe Byrd. }
S. Clementes.

Baſtian Mannes wyfe and hym ſelfe more riche then wiſe.
S. Mary Keye.

¶ Their requeſtes to puniſh and conuent certayne, whoſe enſample might reuerſe other from their opinions.

To conuent Richard Byrd Gayler, who by euyl counſel doth animate his priſoners of his ſect. Alſo for that he with his wife dyd checke vs openly with vnſemely wordes, tendyng almoſt to a tumult.

To conuent Tho. Sadler, for certayne wordes ſpoken to John Bate the Cryer of the town, the firſt of May.

That it might pleaſe ÿ B. to wiſh his Commiſſary & officiall to be vpright & diligēt in their office, & to appoint a Curate of more abilitie to feede his cure w gods worde.

That none may be ſuffered to be Mydwyues, but ſuch as are Catholike, becauſe of euyl counſel at ſuch tymes as the neceſſitie of womens trauayle ſhal require a nūber of women aſſembled.

That Rafe Carleton Curate may be cōuented, whether by corruption of money he hath ingroſſed his booke, of any that are there named, and hath not receyued in deede as it is reported.

¶ The myraculous preſeruation of Lady Elizabeth, nowe Queene of England, from extreme calamitie and daunger of lyfe, in the tyme of Queene Marye her Siſter.

The bleſſed protection of almighty God in preſeruing the Lady Elizabeth in her manifolde daungers and troubles.

But when all hath bene ſaid and tolde, what ſoeuer cã be recited touching the admyrable workyng of Gods preſent hand in defending and deliuering anye one perſon out of thraldome, neuer was there ſince the memory of our fathers, any example to be ſhewed, wherin the Lordes mightye power hath more admirably and bleſſedly ſhewed it ſelfe, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of al good hartes, and to the publike felicitie of this whole Realme, then in the myraculous cuſtody & outſcape of this our ſoueraigne Lady, now Queene, then Lady Elizabeth, in the ſtrayt tyme of Queene Mary her ſiſter.

In which ſtory, firſt we haue to conſider in what extreme miſery, ſicknes, feare, and peryl her highnes was: into what care, what trouble of mynde, and what daunger of death ſhee was brought. Firſt with great routes & bandes of armed men (and happy was he that might haue the caryng of her) being fetched vp as the greateſt traytour in the worlde, clapped in the Tower, and againe toſſed from thence, from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, frõ poſt to pyller, at length alſo priſoner in her owne houſe, and garded with a ſort of cutthrotes, which euer gaped for the ſpoyle, wherby they might be fingring of ſomwhat.

The troubles of Lady Elizabeth in Queene Maries tyme.

Secondly, to conſider againe we haue, all this notwithſtanding, howe ſtraungely, or rather myraculouſly from daunger ſhee was deliuered: what fauour and grace ſhee founde with the almighty, who when all helpe of man and hope of recouery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty protection, and preſerued her highnes, & placed her in this princely ſeate of reſt and quietnes, wherein nowe ſhee ſitteth, and long may ſhee ſit, the Lorde of his glorious mercy graunt, we beſeech hym.

In which ſtorye, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full all the particulars and circumſtaunces therunto belongyng, and as iuſt occaſion of the hiſtory requireth, beſides the importunate length of the ſtorye diſcourſed, peraduenture it might moue offence to ſome being yet aliue, & truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intende (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to vſe ſuch breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the ſtory, the profite of the Reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, then the Queene hath bene mercifull in pardonyng their liues.

The hiſtory of the Lady Elizabeth.

Therefore nowe to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragicall matter, firſt here is to be noted, that Queene Mary when ſhee was firſte Queene, before ſhee was crowned, would goe no whyther, but would haue her by the hande, and ſend for her to dynner and ſupper: but after ſhee was crowned, ſhee neuer dyned nor ſupped with her, but kept her aloofe from her. &c. After this it happened, immediatly vpon the ryſing of ſir Thomas Wyat (as before was mentioned. pag. 1397. 1399.) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with falſe ſuſpition of Syr Thomas Wyates ryſing. Wherupõ Queene Mary, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaide Elizabeth her ſiſter, at that tyme lying in her houſe at Aſhridge, the next day after the riſing of Wyat, ſent to her three of her Counſaylours, to wit, Syr Richard Sowthwell, Syr Edward Haſtinges, then Maiſter of the horſe, and Syr Thomas Cornwalles, with their retinue and troupe of horſemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty. Who at their ſodaine and vnprouided commyng, found her at the ſame tyme ſore ſicke in her bed, and very feeble & weake of body. Whither when they came, aſcendyng vp to her graces priuie chamber, they willed one of her Ladyes, whom they met, to declare vnto her grace, that there were certaine come from the Court, which had a meſſage from the Queene.

Syr Rich. Southwell, Syr Edward Haſtinges, and Syr Thomas Cornwalles ſent to fetch vp Lady Elizabeth.

Her grace hauyng knowledge therof, was right glad of their commyng: howbeit being then very ſicke, & the night farre ſpent (which was at ten of the clocke) ſhee requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they woulde reſort thyther in the mornyng. To this they anſwered, and by the ſaid meſſenger ſent worde againe, that they muſt needes ſee her, and would ſo doe, in what caſe ſoeuer ſhee were. Wherat the Lady being agaſt, went to ſhewe her grace their wordes: but they haſtily folowing her, came ruſhyng as ſoone as ſhe into her graces chamber vnbydden.

At whoſe ſo ſodaine commyng into her bed chamber, her grace being not a litle amaſed, ſaide vnto them: Is the haſt ſuch, that it might not haue pleaſed you to come to morow in the mornyng?

The inhumanitie of the knightes.

They made aunſwere, that they were right ſory to ſee her in that caſe. And I (quoth ſhee) am not glad to ſee you here at this tyme of the night. Whereunto they anſwered, that they came from the Queene to doe their meſſage and duetie: which was to this effect, that the Queenes pleaſure was, that ſhee ſhould be at London the ſeuenth day of that preſent moneth. Whereunto ſhee ſaide: Certes, no creature more glad then I to come to her Maieſtie, beyng right ſorye that I am not in caſe at this tyme to wayte on her, as you your ſelues doe ſee and can wel teſtifie.

In deede we ſee it true (quoth they) that you doe ſay: for whiche we are very ſorye. Albeit we let you to vnderſtande, that our Commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtrayneth vs, that we muſte needes bryng you with vs, either quicke or dead. Wherat ſhee beyng amaſed, ſorowfully ſaid, that their Commiſſion was very ſore: but yet notwithſtanding ſhee hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrayt. Yes verily, ſayd they. Whereupon they called for two Phiſitions, Doctour Owen and Doctour Wendye, demaunded of them, whether ſhee might be remoued from thence with life, or no. Whoſe aunſwere and iudgement was, that there was no impediment to their iudgement, to the contrary, but that ſhe might trauaile without daunger of lyfe.

A ſtraite Cõmiſſion from the Queene to bring the Lady Elyzabeth either quicke, or dead.

In concluſion, they willed her to prepare agaynſt the mornyng at nyne of the clocke to goe with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queenes Lytter for her. After much talke, the meſſengers declaring how there was no prolongyng of tymes and dayes, ſo departed to their chamber, being entertayned and cheared as appertayned to their worſhips.

The gentlenes of Q. Mary to ſend her horſlitter to bring her ſiſter to trouble.

On the next morowe at the tyme preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhee was, very faynt and feeble, and in ſuche caſe, that ſhee was redy to ſwound three or foure tymes betweene them. What ſhould I ſpeake here that can not well be expreſſed, what an heauy houſe there was to beholde the vnreuerend and doulefull dealyng of theſe men, but eſpecially the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent Lady and Maiſtreſſe.

Lady Elizabeth taketh her iourney toward the Queene.

Now to procede in her iourney from Aſheridge, al ſicke in the Lytter, ſhee came to Redborne. where ſhee was garded al night: From thence to Saint Albones, to Syr Rafe Rowlets houſe, where ſhee taryed that night, both feeble in body, and comfortles in mynd. From that place they paſſed to Maiſter Doddes houſe at Mymmes, where alſo they remayned that night: and ſo frõ thence ſhee came to Highgate: where ſhee beyng very ſicke, taryed that night and the next day. Duryng which tyme of her abode there, came many Purſeuantes and meſſengers from the Court: but for what purpoſe, I can not tel.

From that place ſhee was conueyed to the Court: wher by the way came to meet her, many Gentlemen, to accõpany her highnes, whiche were very ſory to ſee her in that caſe. But eſpecially a great multitude of people there were ſtanding by ẏ way, who then flocking about her Lytter, lamẽted & bewayled greatly her eſtate. Now, when ſhee came to the Court, her grace was there ſtrayt wayes ſhut vp, and kept as cloſe priſoner a fortnight, whiche was tyll Palme Sonday, ſeeing neither King nor Queene, nor Lorde, nor frende, all that tyme, but onely then the Lorde Chamberlayne, Syr Iohn Gage, and the Vicechamberlayne, which were attendant vnto the doores. About which tyme Syr William Sentlow was called before the Counſayle. To whoſe charge was layd that he knewe of Wyates rebellion. Which he ſtoutly denied, proteſting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traytors and rebels: but being ſtraytly examined, he was in concluſion committed to the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth brought vp to London.

Syr William Sentlow cõmitted to the Tower.

The Fryday before Palme ſonday, the biſhop of Wincheſter, with. xix. other of the Counſaile (who ſhal be here nameles) came vnto her grace from the Queenes maieſtie, and burdened her with Wyates conſpiracie: which ſhee vtterly denyed, affirmyng that ſhee was altogether gyltleſſe therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with buſines made by ſir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Weſt countrey: which alſo ſhee vtterly denying, cleared her innocencie therin.

Lady Elizabeth charged with Syr Thomas Wyats conſpiracie.

Lady Elizabeth charged with the buſines of Syr Pet. Carew.

In concluſion, after long debatyng of matters, they declared vnto her, that it was the Queenes wil and pleaſure that ſhee ſhould go vnto the Tower, while the matter were further tryed and examined.

Lady Elizabeth threatned to goe to the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth purgeth her ſelfe to the Lordes.

Whereat ſhe beyng agaſt, ſayd that ſhee truſted the Queenes Maieſtie would bee more gracious Lady vnto her, and that her highneſſe would not otherwiſe conceiue of her, but that ſhe was a true woman: declaryng furthermore to the Lordes, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therfore to be a further meane to the Queene her ſiſter, that ſhe beyng a true woman in thought, word, and deede towardes her Maieſtie, might not be committed to ſo notorious and doulefull a place, proteſtyng that ſhe would requeſt no mercy at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be proued to haue conſented vnto any ſuch kynde of matter as they layde vnto her charge: and therefore in fine deſired their Lordſhyppes to thinke of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be delt withall for her truth.

Lady Elizabethes ſeruauntes remoued from her.

The Queenes men, and wayting women attendant vpon Lady Elizabeth.

Whereunto the Lordes aunſwered agayne, that there was no remedy, for that the Queenes Maieſtie was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go vnto the Tower. Wherewith the Lordes departed with their cappes hangyng ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an houre or little more, came foure of the foreſayd Lordes of the Counſayle, whiche were the Lord Treaſurer, the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, the Lorde Stuarde, the Earle of Suſſex, with the Garde, who wardyng the next Chamber to her, ſecluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladyes and Gentlewomen, ſauyng that for one Gentleman Vſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, were appointed in their roomes iij. other mē of the Queenes and three wayting women, to geue attendaunce vppon her, that none ſhould haue acceſſe to her Grace.

At whiche tyme there were an hundreth of Northren ſouldiours in white coates, watchyng and wardyng about the Gardens all that night, a great fire beyng made in the middeſt of the hall, and two certaine Lordes watchyng there alſo with their band and company.

Vpon Saterday followyng, two Lordes of the Counſell (the one was the Earle of Suſſex, the other ſhall be nameleſſe) came and certified her grace that forthwith ſhe muſt go vnto the Tower, the Barge beyng prepared for her, and the tyde now ready, whiche taryeth for no body. In heauy mode her grace requeſted the Lordes that ſhe might tary an other tyde, truſtyng that the next would be better and more cōfortable. But one of the Lordes replyed, that neither tyde nor tyme was to be delayed.

The hard dealing of a certayne Lord with the Lady Elizabeth.

The Earle of Suſſex gentle to the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth writeth to the queene but it would not ſerue.

And when her grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queenes Maieſtie, he aunſwered, that he durſt not permit that, addyng that in his iudgement it would rather hurt then profite her grace in ſo doyng.

But the other Lorde, more curteous and fauorable (who was the Earle of Suſſex) kneelyng downe, told her grace, that ſhe ſhould haue libertie to write, and as he was a true man he would deliuer it to the Queenes hyghneſſe, and bryng an aunſwere of the ſame, what ſoeuer came therof. Whereupon ſhe wrote: albeit ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeake with the Queene, to her great diſcomfort, beyng no offender agaynſt the Queenes Maieſtie.

And thus the tyde and tyme paſſed away for that ſeaſon, they priuily appointyng all thynges ready that ſhe ſhould go the next tyde, which fell about midnight: but for feare ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtayed till the next day, beyng Palme Sonday, when about .ix. of the clocke theſe ij. returned agayne, declaryng that it was tyme for her grace to depart: ſhe aūſweryng, if there be no remedy, I muſt be contēted, willyng ỹ Lordes to go on before. Beyng come forth into the gardē, ſhe did caſt vp her eyes toward the window, thinkyng to haue ſene ỹ Queene, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſayd, ſhe marueiled much what the nobilitie of the Realme ment, which in that ſorte would ſuffer her to be led into captiuitie: the Lord knew whether, for ſhe did not. In the meane tyme commaundement was geuen in all Lōdon that euery one ſhould keepe the Church and cary their Palmes, while in the meane ſeaſon ſhe might be conueyed without all recourſe of people into the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth ſent to the Tower.

After all this, ſhe tooke her Barge with the two foreſayd Lordes, iij. of the Queenes Gentlewomen, and three of her owne, her Gentleman Vſher, & two of her Groomes, lying and houeryng vppon the water a certaine ſpace, for ỹ they could not ſhoote ỹ Bridge, ỹ Barge men beyng very vnwillyng to ſhoote the ſame ſo ſoone as they did, becauſe of the daunger therof: for the ſterne of the Boate ſtroke vpon the grounde: the fall was ſo bygge, & the water was ſo ſhallow, that ỹ boate beyng vnder the bridge there ſtayed agayne a while. At landyng, ſhe firſt ſtayed and denyed to land at thoſe ſtayres where all traytours & offendours cuſtomably vſed to land, neither wel could ſhe, vnleſſe ſhe ſhould go ouer her ſhoe. The Lordes were gone out of the Boate before, and aſked why ſhe came not. One of the Lordes wēt backe agayne to her, and brought word ſhe would not come.

Then ſayd one of the Lordes whiche ſhall be nameles, that ſhe ſhould not chooſe: And becauſe it dyd then rayne, he offered to her his cloke. Which ſhee (puttyng it backe wͭ her hand with a good daſh) refuſed. So ſhe commyng out, hauyng one foote vpon the ſtayre, ſayd: Here landeth as true a ſubiect, beyng priſoner, as euer landed at theſe ſtayres: And before thee O God I ſpeake it, hauyng none other friendes but thee alone.

The wordes of Lady Elizabeth entring the Tower.

To whome the ſame Lord aunſwered agayne, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her Landyng there was a great multitude of their ſeruauntes and warders ſtandyng in their order. What needed all thys, ſayd ſhe. It is the vſe (ſayd ſome) ſo to be when any priſoner came thether. And if it be (quoth ſhe) for my cauſe, I beſech you that they may be dimiſſed. Whereat, the poore men kneeled downe, & with one voyce deſired God to preſerue her grace: who the next day were releaſed of their cold coates.

After thys, paſſyng a little further, ſhe ſat downe vppon a cold ſtone, and there reſted her ſelfe. To whom the Lieutenaunt then beyng, ſayd: Madame, you were beſt to come out of the raine, for you ſit vnwholſomly. She then replying, aunſwered agayne: better ſittyng here then in a worſe place: for God knoweth, I knowe not whether you will bryng me. With that her Gentleman Vſher wept: ſhe demaundyng of hym what he ment ſo vncomfortably to vſe her, ſeyng ſhe tooke hym to be her comforter and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her truth to be ſuche, that no man ſhould haue cauſe to weepe for her. But foorth ſhe went into the priſon.

The Chriſtian prayer of Lady Elizabeth.

The doores were locked and bolted vppon her: whiche dyd not a little diſcomfort and diſmay her grace. At what tyme ſhe called to her Gentlewoman for her booke, deſiryng God not to ſuffer her to build her foundation vpon ỹ ſandes but vppon the rocke, whereby all blaſts of bluſteryng weather ſhould haue no power agaynſt her. The doores beyng thus locked and ſhe cloſe ſhut vp, the Lordes had great conference how to keepe warde and watch, euery mā declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeyng ſtraitly and circumſpectly, to keepe her.

The Lord of Suſſex ſpeaketh for Lady Elizabeth.

Then one of them, whiche was the Lord of Suſſex ſwearyng, ſayd: my Lordes, let vs take heede, and doe no more then our commiſſion will beare vs, what ſo euer ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let vs conſider that ſhe was the Kyng, our Maiſters daughter, and therfore let vs vſe ſuch dealyng, that we may aunſwere vnto it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen, for iuſt dealyng (quoth he) is alwayes aunſwerable. Whereunto the other Lordes agreed that it was well ſayd of hym, and thereupon departed. Beyng in the Tower, within ij. dayes commaundement was that ſhee ſhould haue Maſſe within her houſe. One M. Young was then her Chapleyne: and becauſe there was none of her mē ſo well learned to helpe the Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, the Maſſe ſtayed for that day.

The next day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to ſchole before & were learned, had two Abcies prouided and deliuered them, ſo that vppon the Abcies they ſhould helpe the Prieſt. One of the ſayd Yeomen, holdyng the Abcie in hys hand, pretendyng ignorāce at Kirie eleyſō, ſet ỹ prieſt makyng as though he could anſwere ỹ no farther.

The B. of Wincheſter enemie to Lady Elizabeth.

It would make a pitifull and a ſtraunge ſtory, here by ỹ way to touch and recite what examinations and rackinges of poore men there were to finde out that knife that ſhould cut her throte: what gapyng among my Lordes of the Clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſhe their goodly white rochettes in her innocent bloud: but eſpecially the byſhop of Wincheſter Steuen Gardiner, then Lorde Chauncellour, ruler of the roſt, who then within fewe dayes after came vnto her, with diuers other of the counſell, and examined her of the talke that was at Aſhridge, betwixt her & Syr James Acroft, concernyng her remouyng from thēce to Dunnyngton Caſtell, requiryng her to declare what ſhe ment thereby.

Lady Elizabeth examined by the B. of Wincheſter.

At ỹ firſt, ſhe being ſo ſodainly aſked, did not wel remēber any ſuch houſe: but wͭin a while, well aduiſing her ſelfe, ſhe ſayd: In deede (quoth ſhe) I do now remember that I haue ſuch a place, but I neuer lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moued me therunto, I do not remēber.

Then to enforce the matter they brought foorth Syr James Acroft. The Byſhop of Wincheſter demaunded of her what ſhe ſayd to that man. She aunſwered that ſhe had little to ſay to hym, or to the reſt that were then priſoners in the Tower. But my Lordes (quoth ſhee) you do examine euery meane priſoner of me, wherein me thinkes you do me great iniury. If they haue done euill & offended ỹ Queenes Maieſty, let them aunſwere to it accordyngly. I beſech you my Lordes, ioyne not me in thys ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as cōcernyng my going vnto Dunnington Caſtell, I do remember that maiſter Hobby and mine officers, and you Syr James Acroft, had ſuch talke: but what is

that

that to the purpoſe, my Lordes, but that I may go to my owne houſes at all tymes?

The Lord of Arundell kneelyng downe, ſayd: your Grace ſayth true, and certainely we are very ſory that we haue ſo troubled you about ſo vayne matters. She then ſayd: my Lordes, you do ſift me very narrowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me then GOD hath appointed: and ſo God forgeue you all.

The frendly ſpeach of the Earle of Arũdell to the Lady Elizabeth.

At their departure, Syr James Acroft kneeled down, declaryng that hee was ſory to ſee the day in, whiche hee ſhould be brought as a witnes agaynſt her Grace. But I aſſure your grace (ſayd he) I haue bene maruelouſly toſſed and examined, touchyng your hyghneſſe, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtraunge to me. For I take God to recorde before all your honours, I do not know any thyng of that crime that you haue layd to my charge, and will thereupon take my death if I ſhould be driuen to ſo ſtraite a triall.

Syr James Acroft examined touching the Lady Elizabeth.

That day or thereaboutes, diuers of her owne officers, who had made prouiſion for her dyet, brought the ſame to the vtter gate of the Tower, the common raſcall ſouldiours receiuyng it: whiche was no ſmall grief vnto the Gentlemen, the bryngers therof. Wherfore they required to ſpeake with the Lord Chamberlaine, beyng then Conſtable of the Tower. Who, commyng before his preſence, declared vnto his Lordſhyp that they were much afrayde to bryng her graces dyet, and to deliuer it vnto ſuch commõ and deſperate perſons as they were whiche did receaue it, beſeechyng his honour to conſider her grace, and to geue ſuch order, that her viandes might at all tymes be brought in by them whiche were appointed thereunto. Yea Syrs, ſayd he? who appointed you this office? They aunſwered: her Graces Counſaile. Counſaile quoth he? There is none of them whiche hath to doe, either in that caſe or any thyng elles within this place: and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerued with the Lieutenauntes men as other the priſoners are. Whereat the Gentlemen ſayd that they truſted for more fauour at his handes, conſideryng her perſonage, ſaying that they miſtruſted not, but that the Queene and her Counſaile would be better to her Grace then ſo, and therewith ſhewed them ſelues to bee offended at the vngratefull wordes of the Lord Chamberlayne towardes their Lady and Miſtres.

These were not the officers of the Tower, but ſuch as went in white and Greene.

Lady Elizabethes ſeruantes reſtrayned for bringing her diet to the Tower.

At this he ſware by God, ſtrikyng him ſelfe vppon the breſt, that if they did either froune or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neither Sunne nor Moone. Thus takyng their leaue, they deſired God to bryng him into a better mynde toward her grace, and departed from him.

Diſpleaſure betwene the Lord Chamberlayne and Lady Elizabethes men.

Upon the occaſion wherof, her graces Officers made great ſute vnto the Queenes Counſaile, that ſome might be appointed to bryng her dyet vnto her, and that it might no more be deliuered into the common Souldiours of the Tower. Which beyng reaſonably conſidered, was by them graunted, and thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerke of the kitchin, and her two Purueyers to bryng in her prouiſion once a day. All which was done, the Warders euer waytyng vpon the bryngers therof.

The Lorde Chamberlayne him ſelfe beyng alwayes with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gaue heede that they ſhould haue no talke with any of her Graces waytyng ſeruauntes, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſayd ſute of her Officers were ſent by the commaundement of the Counſaile, to wayte vppon her grace, two yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantry & Ewry, one of her Buttry, an other of her Seller, two of her Kitchin, & one of her Larder, all whiche continued with her the tyme of her trouble.

Lady Elizabethes wayting men in the Tower.

Here the Conſtable, beyng at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the commyng in of ſuch a company agaynſt his will, would haue had his men ſtill to haue ſerued with her Graces men. Whiche her ſeruauntes at no hand would ſuffer, deſiryng his Lordſhyp to be contented, for that order was taken, that no ſtraunger ſhould come within their Offices. At whiche aunſwere beyng ſore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatenyng wordes: well (ſayd he) I will handle you well inough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would needes haue his meate roſted with her Graces meate, and ſayd that his Cooke ſhould come thether and dreſſe it. To that her Graces Cooke aunſwered: my Lord, I will neuer ſuffer any ſtraunger to come about her dyet, but her owne ſworne men, ſo long as I lyue. He ſayd they ſhould. But the Cooke ſayd, his Lordſhyp ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did hee trouble her poore ſeruauntes very ſtoutly: though afterward he were otherwiſe aduiſed, and they more curteouſly vſed at his handes. And good cauſe why. For he had good cheare, & fared of the beſt, and her Grace payed well for it. Wherfore he vſed him ſelfe afterward more reuerently toward her Grace.

Variance betwene the Lord Chamberlaine and Lady Elizabethes ſeruantes.

After this ſort, hauyng lyen a whole moneth there in cloſe priſon, and beyng very euill at eaſe there withall, ſhee ſent for the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord Shandoyes to come and ſpeake with her. Who commyng, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might haue liberty to walke in ſome place, for that ſhe felt her ſelfe not well. To the which they aunſwered, that they were right ſory that they coulde not ſatiſfie her graces requeſt, for that they had commaundement to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe breake. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be graunted that ſhe might walke but into the Queenes lodgyng. No nor yet that (they aunſwered) could by any meanes be obteyned without a further ſute to the Queene and her Counſell. Well, ſayd ſhe, my Lordes, if the matter be ſo hard, that they muſt be ſued vnto for ſo ſmall a thyng, and that frendſhyp be ſo ſtrait, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, ſhe remaynyng in her olde dungeon ſtill, without anye kynde of comfort but onely God.

Lady Elizabeth denyed the libertie of the Tower.

The next day after, the Lord Shandoyes came agayne vnto her grace, declaring vnto her that he had ſued vnto the Counſell for farther liberty. Some of them conſented therunto, diuerſe other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in ÿ Tower. But in concluſion, they did al agree, that her grace might walke into thoſe lodgynges, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlayne, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen dyd accompany her, the windowes beyng ſhut, & ſhee not ſuffered to looke out at anye of thẽ: wherewith ſhe contented her ſelfe, and gaue hym thankes for hys good will in that behalfe.

Afterwardes there was libertie graunted to her grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates beyng ſhut vp: which notwithſtandyng was as much diſcomfort vnto her, as the walke in the garden was pleaſaunt and acceptable. At which tymes of her walkyng there, the priſoners on that ſide ſtraitly were commaunded not to ſpeake, or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till her grace were gone out agayne, hauyng in conſideration therof theyr keepers waityng vpon thẽ for that tyme. Thus her grace with this ſmall libertie contented her ſelfe in God, to whome bee prayſe therfore.

Libertie graunted to Lady Elizabeth to walke in a little garden.

Duryng thys tyme, there vſed a litle boy, a mans childe in the Tower, to reſort to theyr chambers, and many times to bryng her grace floures, which likewiſe hee dyd to the other priſoners that were there. Wherupon naughty & ſuſpicious heades thinkyng to make and wryng out ſome matter therof, called on a tyme the childe vnto them, promiſing hym figges and apples, and aſkyng of hym when he hadde bene with the Earle of Deuonſhyre, not ignorant of the childes wonted frequentyng vnto hym. The boy aunſwered, that he would go by and by thether. Further they demaunded of hym, whẽ he was with the Lady Elizabethes grace. He aunſwered: euery day. Furthermore they examined hym, what the Lord of Deuonſhyre ſent by hym to her grace. The childe ſayd, I will go know what he will geue to cary to her. Such was the diſcretion of the childe, beyng yet but foure yeares of age. This ſame is a crafty boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlayne. Howe ſay you my Lorde Shandoyes? I pray you my Lord (quoth the boy) geue me the figges you promiſed me. No mary (quoth he) thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lorde Courtny. The boy aunſwered: I will bryng my Lady my miſtres more floures. Whereupon the childes father was commaunded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

Suſpicious heades.

A young childe examined for bringing flowers to the Lady Elizabeth.

The next day, as her grace was walkyng in the garden, the childe peepyng in at a hole in the doore, cryed vnto her, ſaying: miſtres, I can bryng you no more flowers. Whereat ſhe ſmiled, but ſayd nothyng, vnderſtandyng therby what they had done. Wherefore afterwardes the Chamberlaine rebuked highly his father, commaundyng hym to put hym out of the houſe. Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a crafty knaue, quoth the Lorde Chamberlaine: let me ſee hym here no more.

The fift day of May, the Conſtable was diſcharged of hys office of the Tower, and one Syr Henry Benifield placed in his rowme, a man vnknowne to her grace & therefore the more feared: which ſo ſodayne mutation was vnto her no little amaſe. Hee brought with hym an hundreth ſouldiours in blew coates, wherwith ſhe was merueilouſly diſcomforted, and demaunded of ſuch as were about her, whether the Lady Janes Scaffold were taken away or no fearyng by reaſon of their commyng, leſt ſhee ſhoulde haue played her part. To whom aunſwere was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of anye ſuch tyranny: for God woulde not ſuffer any ſuch treaſon agaynſt her Perſon. Wherwith beyng contented, but not altogether ſatiſfied, ſhee aſked what Syr Henry Benefield was, & whether he was of ÿ conſcience or no,

The Conſtable of the Tower diſcharged of his office.

Syr Henry Benifield with his company, placed about the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of lyfe.

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that if her murderyng were ſecretly cõmitted to his charge, he would ſee the execution therof.

Lady Elizabeth in doubt of Syr Henry Benifield.

Shee was aunſwered, that they were ignoraunt what maner of man he was. Howbeit they perſwaded her that God would not ſuffer ſuch wickedneſſe to procede. Well, quoth ſhe: God graunt it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollifie all ſuch tyrannous hartes, and diſappoint all ſuch cruell purpoſes: & I beſeech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy ſeruaunt and at thy commaundement, truſtyng by thy grace euer ſo to remaine.

About which tyme it was ſpread abroade, that her grace ſhould be caried from thence by this new iolly Captaine and his ſouldiours: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was vnto her a great grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a company was appoynted to her garde, requeſtyng rather to continue there ſtill, then to be lead thence with ſuch a ſort of raſcals. At laſt, playne aunſwere was made by the Lord Shandoys, that there was no remedy, but from thence ſhe muſt needes depart to the manour of Woodſtocke, as he thought. Beyng demaunded of her, for what cauſe: for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furniſhed. She beyng deſirous to know what he ment thereby, demaunded, wherwith. He aunſwered, with ſuch matter as the Queene and Counſaile were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on Trinitie Sonday beyng the xix. day of May, ſhe was remoued from the Tower, the Lord Treaſurer beyng then there for the ladyng of her Cartes, & diſchargyng the place of ye ſame. Where Syr Henry Benifield (being appointed her Gayler) did receiue her with a cõpany of rakehels to garde her, beſides the Lord of Darbyes band, waftyng in the Countrey about for the Moneſhyne in the water. Vnto whõ at length came my Lord of Tame, ioyned in Commiſſiõ with the ſayd Syr Henry, for the ſafe gardyng of her to priſon: and they together conueyed her grace to Woodſtocke, as hereafter followeth.

Lady Elizabeth remoued from the Tower to Woodſtocke.

Lady Elizabeth ſecluded from her ſeruauntes.

Lady Elizabeth in diſpayre of her life.

The firſt day they conducted her to Richmond, where ſhe continued all night, beyng reſtrayned of her owne men, which were lodged in out Chambers, and Syr Henry Benifieldes ſouldiours appointed in their roomes to geue attendaunce on her perſon. Whereat ſhe beyng marueilouſly diſmayed, thinkyng verely ſome ſecret miſcheef to be a workyng towardes her, called her Gentleman Vſher, and deſired him, with the reſt of his company, to pray for her. For this night (quoth ſhe) I thinke to dye. Wherewith he beyng ſtricken to the hart, ſayd: God forbid that any ſuch wickednes ſhould be pretended agaynſt your grace. So comfortyng her as well as he could, at laſt he burſt out into teares, and went frõ her downe into the Court, where were walkyng the Lord of Tame and Syr Henry Benifield.

Then he commyng to the Lord of Tame (who had profered to him much frendſhyp) deſired to ſpeake with him a word or two. Vnto whom he familiarly ſaid, he ſhould with all his hart. Which when Syr Henry, ſtandyng by, heard, he aſked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Vſher aunſwered: no great matter Syr (ſayd he) but to ſpeake with my Lord a word or two.

Lady Elizabethes Vſher talketh with the Lord of Tame.

Then, when the Lord of Tame came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe: My Lord (quoth he) you haue bene alwayes my good Lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remaine. The cauſe why I come to you at this tyme, is to deſire your honour, vnfaynedly to declare vnto me whether any daunger is ment towardes my miſtres this night, or no, that I and my poore felowes may take ſuch part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: for certainely we will rather dye, then ſhe ſhould ſecretely and innocently miſcary. Mary (ſayd the Lord of Tame) God forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould be wrought: and rather then it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are ready to dye at her feete alſo: and ſo (prayſed be God) they paſſed that dolefull night, with no litle heauynes of hart.

The gentle hart of the Lord of Tame to Lady Elizabeth.

Afterwardes paſſing ouer the water at Richmond, goyng towardes Wyndſore, her grace eſpyed certaine of her poore ſeruauntes ſtandyng on the otherſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhe beheld, turnyng to one of her men ſtandyng by, ſhe ſayd: yonder I ſee certaine of my men: go to them and ſay theſe wordes from me: Tanquam ouis.

Tanquam ouis. i. Like a ſheepe to the ſlaughter.

So ſhe paſſyng forward to Windſore, was lodged there that night in the Deane of Windſores houſe, a place more meete in deede for a Prieſt then a Princeſſe.

Lady Elizabeth honorably receaued and beloued of the people.

And from thence her grace was garded and brought the next night to Maiſter Dormers houſe, where much people ſtandyng by the way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome an other, ſo that Sir Henry was greatly moued therwith, and troubled the poore people very ſore, for ſhewyng their louyng hartes in ſuch a maner, callyng them rebels & traytors, with ſuch like vyle wordes.

Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through the villages, the townesmen rang the Bels, as beyng ioyfull of her commyng, thinkyng verely it had bene otherwiſe then it was in deede, as the ſequele proued after to the ſayd poore men. For immediatly the ſayd Sir Henry hearyng the ſame, ſent his ſouldiours thether, who apprehended ſome of the ringers, ſettyng them in the ſtockes, and otherwiſe vncurteouſly miſuſing other ſome for their good willes.

The gentle entertaynement of Lady Elizabeth at the Lord of Tames houſe.

M. Benifield grudging at the gentle entertainment of Lady Elizabeth.

The rude and vngentle manly behauiour of Syr Henry Benifield.

On the morrow her grace paſſing from Maiſter Dormers (where was for the tyme of her abode there a ſtrait watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames houſe, where ſhe lay all the night, beyng very princely entertayned, both of Knightes and Ladyes, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Syr Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, ſaying vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to aunſwere to their doynges in that behalfe, lettyng them to vnderſtand that ſhe was the Queenes Maieſties priſoner, and no otherwiſe: aduiſing them therfore to take heede and beware of after clappes. Whereunto the Lord of Tame aunſwered in this wiſe: that he was well aduiſed of his doynges, beyng ioyned in Commiſſion as well as he, addyng with warrant, that her grace might and ſhould in his houſe be mery.

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her iourney from Richmond toward Woodſtocke, the Lord of Tame, with an other Gentleman beyng at Tables, playing, and droppyng vye crownes, the Lady Elizabeth paſſing by, ſtayed & ſayd, ſhe would ſee the game played out, which ſir Henry Benifield would ſcarſe permit. The game runnyng long about and they playing drop vey crownes, come on, ſayth he, I wil tary, ſayth ſhe, and will ſee this game out.

After this, Syr Henry went vppe into a Chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chayre, two cuſhions, and a foote carpet, very fayre and Princelike, wherein preſumpteouſly he ſat, and called one Barwicke his man to pull of his bootes. Which as ſoone as it was knowen among the Ladyes and Gentles, euery one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorne, obſeruyng his vndiſcrete maners in that behalfe, as they might very well.

When ſupper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladyes ſhould withdraw them ſelues euery one to his lodgyng, maruelyng much that he would permit there ſuch a company, conſideryng ſo great a charge committed to hym.

Syr Henry (quoth my Lord) content your ſelfe, all ſhall be voyded, your men and all. Nay my ſouldiours (quoth Syr Henry) ſhall watch all night. The Lord of Tame aunſwered: it ſhall not neede. Well ſayd he, neede or neede not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſtyng belike the company: which God knoweth was without cauſe.

Lady Elizabeth commeth to Woodſtocke.

The next day her grace tooke her iourney from thence to Woodſtocke, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the Tower of London, the ſouldiours gardyng and wardyng, both within & without the walles, euery day to ye number of three ſcore: and in the night without the walles xl. duryng the tyme of her impriſonment there.

The ſtrait watch kept at Woodſtocke.

At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her walke, which was very comfortable to her grace. But alwayes when ſhe did recreate her ſelfe therein, the doores were faſt locked vp, in as ſtraite maner as they were in the Tower, beyng at the leaſt v. or vj. lockes betwene her lodgyng and her walkes: Syr Henry him ſelfe keepyng the keyes, and truſtyng no man therewith. Whereupon ſhe called him her Gayler: and he kneelyng downe deſired her grace no to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From ſuch officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliuer me.

A mery ſtory concerning the ſtrait keeping of the Lady Elizabeth.

And now by the way as digreſſyng, or rather refreſhyng the reader, if it be lawfull in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame: occaſion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touche briefly what happened in the ſame place and tyme by a certaine mery conceited man, beyng then about her grace: who notyng the ſtraite and ſtraunge keepyng of his Lady and miſtres by the ſayd Syr Henry Benifield, with ſo many lockes and doores, with ſuch watch and ward about her, as was ſtraunge and wonderful, ſpyed a Goate in the ward where her grace was: and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed mynde, or to notifie her ſtraite handlyng by Syr Henry, either els both, he tooke it vppe on his necke, and followed her grace therewith as ſhe was goyng into her lodging.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe aſked him what he would do with it, willyng to let it alone. Vnto whom the ſayd partie aunſwered: no by Saint Mary (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the Queenes frendes or no. I will cary him to Syr Henry Benifield (GOD willyng) to know what he is. So leauyng her grace, he went with the Goate on his necke, and caryed it to Syr Henry Benifield. Who when he ſaw him commyng with it, aſked him halfe angerly what he had there.

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The ſtraitnes of Syr Henry Beniſeld merely noted.

Unto whom the partie aunſwered, ſaying: Syr (quoth he) I can not tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I founde him in the place where my Ladyes Grace was walkyng, and what talke they haue had I can not tell. For I vnderſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeeme to me to be ſome ſtraunger, and I thinke verely a Welchman, for he hath a white freſe coate on his back. And for ſo much as I beyng the Queenes ſubiect, and perceauyng the ſtraite charge committed to you of her keepyng, that no ſtraunger ſhould haue acceſſe to her without ſufficient licence, I haue here founde a ſtraūger (what he is I can not tell) in place where her Grace was walkyng: and therfore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duety, I thought it good to bryng the ſayd ſtraunger to you, to examine, as you ſee cauſe: and ſo he ſet him downe. At which his wordes Sir Henry ſeemed much diſpleaſed, and ſayd: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I ſee: and ſo they departed.

Lady Elizabeth with much ado, ſuffered to write to the Queene.

Now, to returne to the matter from whence we haue digreſſed, after her Grace had bene there a tyme, ſhe made ſute to the Counſaile that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queene. Whiche at laſt was permitted: ſo that Syr Henry Beniſield brought her penne, inke, and paper: and ſtandyng by her while ſhe wrote (whiche he ſtraitly obſerued) alwayes ſhe beyng wery, he would cary away her Letters, and bryng them agayne when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhyng thereof, he would haue bene meſſenger to the Queene of the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her grace denyed, ſaying: one of her owne men ſhould cary them, & that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor none of his therein.

Then he aunſweryng agayne ſayd: none of them durſt be ſo bold, (he trowed) to cary her Letters, beyng in that caſe. Yes (quoth ſhe) I am aſſured I haue none ſo diſhoneſt, that would deny my requeſt in that behalfe, but wilbe as willyng to ſerue me now as before. Well (ſayd hee) my Cōmiſsiō is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her grace replying agayne, ſayd: you charge me very often with your Commiſsion. I pray GOD you may iuſtly aunſwere the cruell dealyng you vſe towardes me.

The cruell dealing of Syr Henry Beniſield to the Lady Elizabeth reproued.

Then he kneelyng downe, deſired her grace to thinke and conſider how hee was a ſeruaunt, and put in truſt there by the Queene to ſerue her Maieſtie, proteſtyng that if the caſe were hers, hee would as willyngly ſerue her grace, as now he did the Queenes highneſſe. For the which his aunſwere, her grace thanked him, deſiryng GOD that ſhe might neuer haue neede of ſuch ſeruauntes as he was: declaryng further to him, that his doynges towardes her were not good nor aunſwerable, but more then all the frendes he had would ſtand by.

The Letters of the Lady Elizabeth caried to the Queene.

To whom Syr Henry replied and ſayd, that there was no remedy but his doynges muſt be aunſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſtyng to make good accompt thereof. The cauſe which moued her grace ſo to ſay, was for that he would not permit her letters to be caried iiij. or v. dayes after the writyng thereof. But in fine he was cōtēt to ſend for her Gētleman from the Towne of Woodſtocke, demaundyng of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the cariage of her Graces Letters to the Queene, or no: and he aunſwered, yea Syr, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon Syr Henry halfe, agaynſt his ſtomacke, tooke them vnto him.

D. Owen & D. Wendye, Q. Maries Phiſitions, ſent to the Lady Elizabeth.

Then about the eight day of Iune came downe Doctour Owne and Doctour Wendye, ſent by the Queene to her grace, for that ſhe was ſickely: who miniſtryng to her, and lettyng her bloud, taried there and attended on her grace v. or vj. dayes. Then ſhe beyng well amended, they returned agayne to the Court, makyng their good reporte to the Queene and the Counſaile of her graces behauiour & humbleneſſe towardes the Queenes highnes. Which her Maieſtie hearing, tooke very thankefully: but the Byſhops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the Queene, they marueiled that ſhe ſubmitted not her ſelf to her Maieſties mercy, conſideryng that ſhe had offended her highnes.

The popiſhe Prelates repined agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizab. requeſted to ſubmitte her ſelfe to the Queene.

About this tyme, her Grace was requeſted by a ſecret frende, to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes Maieſty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quyet and commoditie. Unto whom ſhe aunſwered, that ſhe would neuer ſubmitte her ſelfe to them whom ſhe neuer offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I haue offended and am giltie, I then craue no mercy, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth ſhe) I ſhould haue had ere this, if it could be proued by me. For I know my ſelfe (I thanke GOD) to be out of the daunger thereof, wiſhyng that I were as cleare out of the perill of my enemyes, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted vp within walles and dores as I am. God geue them a better mynde when it pleaſeth him.

Counſell of the Papiſtes to mary the Lady Elizabeth to a Spanyard.

About this tyme was there a great conſultyng among the Byſhops and Gentlemen touchyng a Mariage for her grace, whiche ſome of the Spanyardes wiſhed to be with ſome ſtraunger, that ſhe might go out of the Realme with her portion: ſome ſaying one thyng, and ſome an other.

Wicked counſell geuen agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

A Lord (who ſhalbe here nameleſſe) beyng there, at laſt ſayd, ẏ the Kyng ſhould neuer haue any quyet common wealth in England, vnleſſe her head were ſtriken from the ſhoulders. Whereunto the Spanyardes aunſwered, ſaying: God forbyd that their Kyng and Maiſter ſhould haue that mynde to conſent to ſuch a miſchief.

Spanyardes more fauorable to Lady Elizabeth then ſome Engliſh men.

This was the curteous aunſwere of the Spanyardes to the Engliſhmen, ſpeakyng after that ſort agaynſt their owne countrey. Frō that day the Spanyardes neuer left of their good perſwaſions to the Kyng, that the like honour he ſhould neuer obtaine, as he ſhould in deliueryng the Lady Elizabethes grace out of priſon: whereby at lēgth ſhe was happely releaſed from the ſame. Here is a playne & euident example of the good clemency & nature of the Kyng and his Counſellers towardes her grace (prayſed be God therfore) who moued their hartes therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to Hampton Court.

Lady Elizabeth in daunger of fire.

But before her remouyng away from Woodſtocke, we will a litle ſtay to declare in what daungers her life was in duryng this tyme ſhe there remayned: firſt through fire, which began to kindle betwene the bordes and ſelyng vnder the Chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſparke of fire, gotten into a crany, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that ment her no good, the Lord doth know. Neuertheleſſe a worſhypfull Knight of Oxfordſhyre, which was there ioyned the ſame tyme with Syr Henry Beniſield in keepyng that Lady (who then tooke vp the bordes and quenched the fire) verely ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

Lady Elizabeth in daunger of killing. An other conſpiracie of murder agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it bee true) of one Paule Peny a keeper of Woodſtocke, a notorious ruffin and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſayd Lady Elizabeth: who both ſaw the man, beyng often in her ſight, and alſo knew therof.

An other tyme, one of the priuy Chamber, a great man about the Queene, and chief darlyng of Steuen Gardiner, named Maiſter Iames Baſſet, came to Blandenbridge a myle frō Woodſtocke, ẇ xx. or xxx. priuye coates, and ſent for Syr Henry Beniſield to come and ſpeake with him. But, as GOD would, whiche diſpoſed all thynges after the purpoſe of his owne will, ſo it happened, that a little before the ſayd Syr Henry Beniſield was ſent for by poſt to the Counſell, leauyng ſtraite word behynde him with his brother, that no man, what ſoeuer he were, though commyng with a Bill of the Queenes hand, or any other warraunt, ſhould haue acceſſe to her before his returne againe. By reaſon wherof ſo it fell out, that Maiſter Beniſieldes brother commyng to him at the Bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approche in. Who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent Lady.

Lady Elizabeth preſerued by the Lordes prouidence from execution in the Tower.

In the lyfe of Steuen Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1679. howe that the Lady Elizabeth beyng in the Tower, a writte came downe ſubſcribed with certaine handes of the Counſell for her execution. Which if it were certaine, as it is reported, Wincheſter (no doubt) was deuiſer of that miſchieuous drift: and doubtleſſe the ſame Achitophell had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſſe, had not the fatherly prouidence of almighty GOD (who is alwayes ſtronger then the Deuill) ſtirred vp Maiſter Bridges Lieutenaunt the ſame tyme of the Tower, to come in haſt to the Queene, to geue certificate therof, and to know further her conſent touching her ſiſters death. Wherupon it followed, that all that deuiſe was diſappointed, and Wincheſters deuiliſh platte forme, which he ſaid he had caſt through the Lordes great goodnes, came to no effect.

Wincheſters platforme ouerthrown. Wherof read before pag. 1678. col. 2.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that duryng the priſonment of this Lady and Princeſſe, one Maiſter Edmund Tremayne was on the Racke, and Maiſter Smithwike, and diuers other in the Tower were examined, and diuers offers made to them to accuſe the giltleſſe Lady, beyng in her captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithſtandyng, no matter could bee proued by all examinations, as ſhe the ſame tyme lying at Woodſtocke had certaine intelligence by the meanes of one Iohn Gayer: who vnder a colorable pretence of a Letter to Miſtres Cleue from her father, was let in, and ſo gaue them ſecretely to vnderſtand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth at her departyng out from Woodſtocke wrote theſe Verſes with her Diamond in a glaſſe window.

Verſes written by Lady Elizabeth in the glaſſe Window.

Much ſuſpected by me.
Nothyng proued can be.
Quod Elizabeth priſoner.

And thus much touchyng the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodſtocke. Whereunto this is more to be added, that duryng the ſame tyme, the Lord of Tame had labored to the Queene, and became ſuretie for her, to haue her from Woodſtocke to his houſe, and had obtained graunt thereof.

Wher-

Lady Elizabeth not ſuffred to come to the Lord of Tames houſe.

whereupon preparation was made accordyngly, and all thynges ready in expectation of her commyng. But through the procurement either of Maiſter Beniſield, or by the doyng of Wincheſter her mortall enemy, letters came ouer night to the contrary: whereby her iourney was ſtopped.

Lady Elizabeth wiſheth her ſelfe to be a milkemayde.

Thus this worthy Lady oppreſſed with continuall ſorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourſe to any frendes ſhe had, but ſtill in the handes of her enemies was left deſolate and vtterly deſtitute of all that might refreſhe a doubtfull hart, fraught full of terrour and thraldome. Whereupon no maruell if ſhe hearyng vpon a tyme out of her Garden at Woodſtocke a certaine milkemayd ſingyng pleaſauntly, wiſhed her ſelfe to be a milkemayde as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better and lyfe more merier then was hers, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Lady Elizabeth remoued from Woodſtocke to Hampton Court.

Now after theſe thynges thus declared, to procede further there where we left before. Syr Henry Beniſield and his ſouldiours, with the Lord of Tame, and Syr Raulfe Chamberlayne gardyng, and waytyng vppon her, the firſt night from Woodſtocke ſhe came to Ricote. In which iourney ſuch a mighty winde did blow, that her ſeruauntes were fayne to hold downe her clothes about her: In ſo much that her hode was twiſe or thriſe blowen from her head. Whereupon ſhe deſirous to returne to a certaine Gentlemans houſe there neare, could not be ſuffered by Syr Henry Beniſield ſo to do, but was conſtrained vnder an hedge to trimme her head aſwell as ſhe could.

After this, the next night they iourneyed to Maiſter Dormers, and ſo to Colbrooke, where ſhe lay all that night at the George, and by the way commyng to Colbrooke, certaine of her graces Gentlemen and Yeomen met her, to the number of three ſcore, much to all their comfortes, which had not ſene her grace of long ſeaſon before: notwithſtandyng they were commaunded in the Queenes name immediatly to depart the Towne, to both their and her graces no litle heauyneſſe, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeake with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, ſauyng her Gentleman Vſher, three Gentlewomen, two Gromes, and one of her Wardrope, the ſouldiours watchyng and wardyng round about the houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut vp within her priſon.

L. William Haward gentle and fauorable to Lady Elizabeth.

The next day followyng, her grace entred Hampton court on the backeſide, into the Princes lodgyng, the doores beyng ſhut to her, and ſhe garded with ſouldiours, as before, lay there a fortnight at the leaſt, or euer any had recourſe vnto her. At length came the Lord William Haward, who maruelous honorably vſed her grace. Whereat ſhe tooke much comfort, and requeſted him to be a meane that ſhe might ſpeake with ſome of the Counſell. To whom (not long after) came the Byſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord of Arundell, the Lord of Shrewſbury, and Secretary Peter, who with great humilitie humbled them ſelues to her grace. She agayne likewiſe ſalutyng them, ſayd: My Lordes (quoth ſhe) I am glad to ſee you: for me thinke I haue bene kept a great while from you deſolately alone, wherefore I would deſire you to be a meane to the Kyng and Queenes Maieſties, that I may be deliuered from priſon, wherein I haue bene kept a long ſpace, as to you my Lordes, it is not vnknowen.

Lady Elizabeth requeſted by Wincheſter to ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes mercy.

Lady Elizabeth ſtandeth to be tryed by the lawe.

When ſhe had ſpoken, Steuen Gardiner the Byſhop of Wincheſter kneeled downe, & requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit her ſelfe to the Queenes grace, and in ſo doyng he had no doubt but that her Maieſtie would be good vnto her: ſhe makyng aunſwere that rather then ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lye in priſon all the dayes of her life, addyng that ſhe craued no mercy at her Maieſties hand, but rather deſired the law, if euer ſhe did offend her Maieſty in thought, word, or deede: And beſides this, in yeldyng (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeake agaynſt my ſelfe, and confeſſe my ſelfe to be an offender, which neuer was towardes her Maieſtie: by occaſion wherof the Kyng and the Queene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: And therfore I ſay my Lordes, it were better for me to lye in priſon for the truth, then to be abroad and ſuſpected of my Prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her meſſage to the Queene.

Talke agayne betwene Wincheſter and Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth denyeth to confeſſe any fault done to the Queene.

On the next day, the Biſhop of Wincheſter came agayne vnto her grace, & kneelyng downe declared that the Queene marueiled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly vſe her ſelfe, not confeſſing to haue offended: So that it ſhould ſeme the Queenes Maieſtie wrongfully to haue impriſoned her grace.

Nay quoth the Lady Elizabeth, it pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well quoth Gardiner, her Maieſtie willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell an other tale ere that you be ſet at libertie.

Her grace aunſwered, that ſhe had as lief be in priſon with honeſty & truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected of her Maieſtie: and this that I haue ſayd, I will (ſayd ſhe) ſtand vnto, for I will neuer bely my ſelfe.

Wincheſter agayne kneeled down, and ſayd: Then your grace hath the vauntage of me and other ẏ Lordes for your long and wrong impriſonment.

What vauntage I haue (quoth ſhe) you know, takyng God to recorde I ſeke no vauntage at your handes, for your ſo dealyng with me: but God forgeue you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled deſiryng her grace that all might be forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhe beyng faſt locked vppe agayne.

Lady Elizabeth ſent for to the Queene.

A ſeuennight after the Queene ſent for her grace at. x. of the clocke in the night, to ſpeake with her: for ſhee had not ſeene her in two yeares before. Yet for all that ſhe was amaſed at the ſo ſodayn ſendyng for, thinkyng it had ben worſe for her then afterwardes it proued, and deſired her gentlemẽ and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhee ſhould not tell whether euer ſhe ſhould ſee them agayne or no.

Lady Elizabeth brought to the Queenes bed chamber.

At which tyme Syr Henry Beniſield with Miſtres Clarencius commyng in, her grace was brought into the garden vnto a ſtayres foote that went into the Queenes lodgyng, her graces Gentlewomen waityng vpon her, her Gentleman Vſher and her Gromes goyng before with torches: where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen being commaunded to ſtay all ſauyng one woman, Miſtres Clarencius conducted her to the Queenes bed chamber, where her Maieſty was.

At the ſight of whom her grace kneeled downe and deſired God to preſerue her Maieſty, not miſtruſtyng but that ſhe ſhould trye her ſelfe as true a ſubiect towardes her Maieſty, as euer dyd any, and deſired her Maieſtye euen ſo to iudge of her: and ſayd that ſhee ſhould not finde her to the contrary, what ſoeuer report otherwiſe had gone of her.

Talke betwene the Queene and Lady Elizabeth.

To whom the Queene aunſwered: you wil not confeſſe your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your truth: I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If it doth not, quoth the Lady Elizabeth, I requeſt neyther fauour nor pardon at your Maieſties handes. Well, ſayd the Queene you ſtifly ſtill perſeuere in your truth. Belike you will not confeſſe but that you haue bene wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your Maieſty) to you.

Why, then (ſayd the Queene) belike you will to other.

Small comfort at the Queenes hand toward her Siſter.

King Phillip thought to be a frend to Lady Elizabeth.

No, if it pleaſe your Maieſty (quoth ſhe) I haue borne the burden, and muſt beare it. I humbly beſech your Maieſty to haue a good opiniõ of me, and to thinke me to be your true ſubiect, not onely from the beginnyng hetherto, but for euer, as long as life laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable wordes of the Queene, in Engliſhe: but what ſhe ſayd in Spaniſhe, God knoweth. It is thought that Kyng Philip was there behynde a cloth, and not ſene, & that he ſhewed hym ſelfe a very frend in that matter. &c.

Lady Elizabeth by Gods prouidence ſet at libertye.

Syr Henry Beniſield diſcharged.

Thus her grace departyng, went to her lodgyng agayn and the ſeuennight after was releaſed of Syr Henry Beniſield her Gailor (as ſhe termed hym) and his ſouldiours, and ſo her grace beyng ſet at libertie from impriſonment, went into the country, and hadde appointed to goe with her Syr Thomas Pope, one of Queene Maries Counſellours, & one of her Gentlemen Vſhers, M. Gage, and thus ſtraitly was ſhee looked to al Queene Maries tyme. And this is the diſcourſe of her highnes impriſonment.

Miſtres Aſhley ſent to the Fleete.

3. Gentlewomen of Lady Elizabethes ſent to the Tower.

Note the wonderfull workyng of the Lordes prouidence in ſauing of Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth deliuered by the death of Steuen Gardiner.

Then there came to Lamheyre. M. Ierningham, and M. Norris Gentleman Vſher, Queene Maries men, who tooke away frõ her grace Miſtres Aſhley to ẏ Fleete and. iij. other of her Gentlewomen to the Tower: which thynge was no litle trouble to her grace ſaying that ſhee thought they would fetch al away at the ende: But God be prayſed, ſhortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the mercifull prouidence of the Lordes goodnes, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſe (as is partly touched in thys ſtory before, pag. 1678.) the life of this excellent Princeſſe the wealth of all England, was preſerued. For this is credible to bee ſuppoſed, ẏ the ſayd wicked Gardiner of Wincheſter had long labored his wits, and to this onely moſt principall marke bent all his deuiſes, to bryng this our happy & deare ſoueraigne out of the way, as both by his wordes and doynges before notified, may ſufficiently appeare.

But ſuch was ẏ gracious & fauourable prouidence of ẏ lord, to ẏ preſeruatiõ not onely of her Royall Maieſty, but alſo the miſerable and woful ſtate of this whole Iland and poore ſubiectes of the ſame, whereby the proud platformes & peuiſh practiſes of this wretched Achitophel preuailed not but contrariwiſe both he, and all the ſnares and trappes of hys pernicious counſell layd agaynſt an other, were turned to a net to catch hym ſelfe, according to the Prouerbe: Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.

How the Lord here beganne to worke for Lady Elizabeth.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death alſo and droppyng away of other her enemies, whereby by litle and litle her ieopardy decreaſed, feare diminiſhed, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloude: and albeit as yet her grace had no full aſſuraunce of perfect ſafetie, yet more gentle entertainement dayly did grow vnto her, till at length to the moneth of Nouember, and xvij. day of the ſame, three yeares after the death of Steuen Gardiner, followed the death of Queene Mary, as hereafter GOD grauntyng ſhalbe more declared.

A note of a ſtory declaring the malignant hartes of the Papiſtes to ward Lady Elizabeth.

Although this hiſtory followyng be not directly appertainyng to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not vnaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcouer and ſhew forth the malicious hartes of the Papiſtes toward this vertuous Queene our ſoueraigne Lady in the tyme of Q. Mary her ſiſter, which is reported, as a truth credibly told by ſondry honeſt perſons, of whom ſome are yet aliue and to teſtifie the ſame. The matter wherof is this.

Rob. Farrer of London a ſore enemye to Lady Elizabeth.

Laurence Sheriffe, ſworne frend and ſeruaunt to Lady Elizabeth his miſtres.

Rob. Farrer rayleth agaynſt Lady Elizabeth.

Soone after the ſturre of Wyat and the troubles that happened to this Queene for that cauſe, it fortuned one Robert Farrer a Haberdaſher of Lōdon dwellyng neare vnto Newgate market, in a certaine mornyng to be at the Roſe Tauerne (frō whēce he was ſeldome abſent) & falling to his cōmon drinke, as he was euer accuſtomed, & hauyng in his company iij. other cōpanions like to him ſelfe, it chaunced the ſame tyme one Laurence Sheriffe Grocer, dwellyng alſo not farre from thence, to come into the ſayd tauerne, and findyng there the ſayd Farrer (to whom of long tyme he had borne good will) ſat downe in the ſeate to drinke with him, & Farrer hauyng in his full cuppes, & not hauyng conſideratiō who were preſent, began to talke at large, & namely agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth, & ſayd: that Gill hath bene one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, ſhe and all the heretickes her partakers ſhall well vnderſtand of it. Some of thē hope that ſhe ſhall haue the crowne, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hoppe hedles, or be fried with Fagots before ſhe come to it.

The part of a good truſtie ſeruaunt.

The aforeſayd Laurence Sheriffe Grocer beyng then ſeruaunt vnto the ſayd Lady Elizabeth, and ſworne vnto her grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintaunce and neighbour Farrer in ſpeakyng ſo vnreuerently of his Miſtres, but ſayd vnto him: Farrer I haue loued thee as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thee, but hearyng of thee that I now heare, I defie thee: and I tell thee, I am her graces ſworne ſeruaunt, and ſhe is a Princeſſe and the daughter of a noble Kyng, and it euill becommeth thee to call her a Gill, and for thy ſo ſaying, I ſay thou art a knaue, and I will complaine vpon thee. Do thy worſt, ſayd Farrer, for that I ſayd I will ſay agayne, and ſo Sheriffe came from his company.

Shortly after, ẏ ſayd Sheriffe takyng an honeſt neighbour with him, went before the Commiſſioners to complaine: the whiche Commiſſioners ſat then at Boner the Byſhop of Londons houſe beſide Paules, and there were preſent Boner then beyng the chief Commiſſioner, the Lord Mordant, Syr John Baker, Doctour Darbyſhyre Chauncellour to the Byſhop, Doctour Story, Doctour Harpſfield and other.

Rob. Farrer complayned of to the Commiſſioners, but no redreſſe was had.

The aforeſayd Sheriffe commyng before them, declared the maner of the ſayd Robert Farrers talke againſt the Lady Elizabeth. Boner aunſwered: peraduenture you tooke him worſe then he ment.

Yea my Lord, ſayd D. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would ſay there is not a better Catholicke nor an honeſter man in the Citie of London.

How B. Boner and D. Story beare with him that rayled againſt Lady Elizabeth.

Well, ſayd Sheriffe, my Lord, ſhe is my gracious Lady and Miſtres, and it is not to be ſuffered that ſuch a varlet as he is, ſhould call ſo honorable a Princeſſe by the name of a Gill: And I ſaw yeſterday in the Court that my Lord Cardinall Poole metyng her in the Chamber of preſence, kneeled downe on his knees and kiſſed her hand, and I ſaw alſo that Kyng Philippe meetyng her, made her ſuch obeyſaunce that his knee touched the grounde: and then me thinketh it were to much to ſuffer ſuch a varlet as this is, to call her Gill, and to wiſhe them to hoppe hedles that ſhall wiſhe her grace to enioy the poſſeſſion of the crowne when God ſhall ſend it vnto her as in the right of her inheritaūce. Yea, ſtay there quoth Boner. When God ſendeth it vnto her, let her enioy it. But truly (ſayd he) ẏ man that ſpake ẏ wordes that you haue reported, ment nothyng agaynſt the Lady Elizabeth your Miſtres, and no more do we: but he like an honeſt and zelous man feared the alteration of Religion, whiche euery good man ought to feare: and therefore (ſayd Boner) good mā go your wayes home and report well of vs toward your Miſtres, and we will ſend for Farrer & rebuke him for his raſh and vndiſcreet wordes, and we truſt he will not do the like agayne. And thus Sheriffe came away, and Farrer had a ſlap with a Foxe tayle.

Now ẏ ye may be fully informed of the aforeſayd Farrer, whom Doctour Story prayſed for ſo good a man, ye ſhall vnderſtand that the ſame Farrer hauyng ij. daughters beyng handſome maydens, the elder of them for a ſumme of money he hym ſelfe deliuered to Syr Roger Cholmeley to be at hys commaundement, the other he ſold to a Knight called Syr William Godolphin to be at hys commaundement: whom he made hys lackey and ſo caried her with him beyng appareled in mans apparell to Bolein, and the ſayd Farrar followed the Campe. He alſo was a great and a horrible blaſphemer of God, and a common accuſer of honeſt and quiet men, alſo a common dronkard. And nowe I referre the life of theſe Catholickes to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you pleaſe.

Note the vngodly lyfe of theſe Catholickes.

But of this matter inough and to much. Nowe let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of Q. Mary. After whoſe deceaſe ſucceded her foreſayd ſiſter Lady Elizabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after ſo long reſtrainement, ſo great daungers eſcaped, ſuch bluſterous ſtormes ouerblowne, ſo many iniuries digeſted and wronges ſuſteyned by the mighty protection of our mercifull God, to our no ſmall comfort and commodity, hath bene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of daunger to peace and quietnes, from dread to dignitie, frō miſery to Maieſty, from mournyng to rulyng, briefly, of a priſoner made a Princeſſe, and placed in her throne Royall proclaymed nowe Queene, with as many glad hartes of her ſubiectes, as euer was anye Kynge or Queene in thys Realme before her, or euer ſhall be (I dare ſay) hereafter.

Lady Elizabeth proclaimed Queene the ſame day that Queene Mary dyed.

The Lord make England thankfull to him for his great benefites.

Touchyng whoſe floriſhyng ſtate, her Princely reigne and peaceable gouernement, with other thynges diuers & ſondry incident to the ſame, and eſpecially touchyng the great ſtyrres and alterations which haue happened in other forein nations, and alſo partly among our ſelues here at home, for ſo much as the tractatiō hereof requireth an other Volume by it ſelfe, I ſhall therfore differre the reader to the next booke or Section enſuyng: wherin (if the Lord ſo pleaſe to ſuſteyne me with leaue and life) I may haue to diſcourſe of all and ſingular ſuch matters done and atchiued in theſe our latter dayes and memory, more at large.

Now then after theſe ſo great afflictions fallyng vpon thys Realme from the firſt beginnyng of Queene Maries reigne, wherein ſo many men, women, and children were burned, many impriſoned and in priſons ſtarued, diuers exiled, ſome ſpoyled of goodes and poſſeſſions, a great number driuen from houſe and home, ſo many weepyng eyes, ſo many ſobbyng hartes, ſo many children made fatherles, ſo many fathers bereft of their wiues and children, ſo many vexed in conſcience, and diuers agaynſt conſcience conſtrayned to recant, and in concluſion, neuer a good man almoſt in all the Realme but ſuffered ſomethyng duryng all the tyme of this bloudy perſecution: after all thys (I ſay) now we are come at length (the Lord be prayſed) to the xvij. day of Nouember, which day as it brought to the perſecuted members of Chriſt, reſt from theyr carefull mournyng, ſo it eaſeth me ſomewhat likewiſe of my laborious wrytyng, by the death I meane of Queene Mary. Who beyng long ſicke before, vpon the ſayd xvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aboue ſayd, about iij. or iiij. a clocke in the mornyng, yelded her life to nature, & her kyngdome to Queene Elizabeth her ſiſter.

Nouember 17. Q. Mary endeth. Q. Elizabeth beginneth her raigne.

The maner of Q. Maryes death.

As touchyng the maner of whoſe death, ſome ſay that ſhe dyed of a Tympany, ſome by her much ſighing before her death, ſuppoſed ſhe dyed of thought and ſorow. Whereupon her Counſell ſeyng her ſighing, and deſirous to know the cauſe, to the ende they might miniſter the more ready conſolation vnto her, feared, as they ſayd, that ſhe tooke that thought for the Kynges Maieſty her huſband, which was gone from her. To whom ſhe aunſweryng agayne: In deede (ſayd ſhe) that may be one cauſe, but ẏ is not the greateſt wound that pearſeth my oppreſſed mynde: but what that was ſhe would not expreſſe to them.

Albeit, afterward ſhee opened the matter more playnely to M. Riſe and Miſtres Clarentius (if it bee true that they tolde me, whiche heard it of M. Ryſe hym ſelfe) who then beyng moſt familiar with her, and moſt bold about her, told her that they feared ſhe tooke thought for Kyng Philips departyng from her. Not that onely (ſayd ſhee) but when I am dead and opened, you ſhal finde Calyce lying in my hart &c. And here an ende of Queene Mary, and of her perſecution.

Q. Mary tooke thought for the loſſe of Calice.

Of whiche Queene thys truly may be affirmed and left in ſtory for a perpetuall memoriall or Epitaph for al Kinges and Queenes that ſhall ſuccede her to be noted, that before her neuer was read in ſtory of any Kynge or Queene England ſince the tyme of Kyng Lucius, vnder whome in tyme of peace, by hangyng, headyng, burnyng, and priſonyng: ſo much Chriſtian bloude, ſo many Engliſhmens liues were ſpilled within thys Realme, as vnder the ſayd Queene Mary for the ſpace of foure yeares was to be ſeene and I beſech the Lord neuer may be ſeene hereafter.

More Engliſh bloud ſpilled in Q. Maries tyme, then euer was in any Kinges raigne before her.

¶A briefe declaration ſhewyng the vnproſperous ſucceſſe of Queene Mary in perſecutyng Gods people, and how mightily God wrought agaynſt her in all her affaires.

The reigne of Queene Mary how vnproſperous it was both to her and to her realme in all reſpectes.

NOw, for ſo much as Queene Mary, duryng all the tyme of her reigne, was ſuch a vehement aduerſary and perſecutour agaynſt the ſincere profeſſours of Chriſt Jeſus and of his Goſpell: for the whiche there be many whiche do hyghly magnifie and approue her doynges therein, reputyng her Religion to be ſounde and Catholicke, and her proceedynges to be moſt acceptable and bleſſed of almighty God: to the intent therfore, that all men may vnderſtand, how the bleſſing of the Lord God did not onely not procede with her procedynges, but contrary, rather how his manifeſt diſpleaſure euer wrought agaynſt her, in plagyng both her and her Realme, and in ſubuertyng all her Counſailes and attemptes, what ſo euer ſhe tooke in hand: we will beſtow a litle tyme therein, to perpende and ſuruey the whole courſe of her doynges and cheuaunces: and conſider what ſucceſſe ſhe had in the ſame, which beyng well conſidered, we ſhall finde neuer no reigne of any Prince in this land, or any other, which had euer to ſhew in it (for the proportion of tyme) ſo many Argumentes of Gods great wrath and diſpleaſure, as was to be ſene in the reigne of this Queene Mary, whether we behold the ſhortnes of her tyme, or the vnfortunate euent of all her purpoſes: who ſeemed neuer to purpoſe any thyng that came luckely to paſſe, neither dyd any thyng frame to her purpoſe what ſoeuer ſhe tooke in hãd touchyng her owne priuate affaires.

Q. Mary neuer had good ſucceſſe in any thing ſhee went about.

Of good kynges we read in the Scripture, in ſhewyng mercy and pitie, in ſeekyng Gods will in his word, & ſubuertyng the monumentes of Idolatry, how GOD bleſſed their wayes, encreaſed their honours, and mightely proſpered all their proceedynges: as we ſee in kyng Dauid, Salomon, Joſias, Joſaphath, Ezechias, & ſuch other. Manaſſes made ỹ ſtreetes of Hieruſalẽ to ſwymme with the bloud of his ſubiectes, but what came of it the text doth teſtifie.

A good king alwayes maketh a flouriſhing realme.

Of Queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we muſt needes ſay, whiche we ſee, that ſhe in ſparyng the bloud, not onely of Gods ſeruauntes, but alſo of Gods enemyes, hath doubled now the reigne of Queene Mary her ſiſter, with ſuch aboundaunce of peace and proſperitie, that it is hard to ſay, whether the Realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in Queene Maryes tyme, or of Gods fauour and mercy in theſe ſo bleſſed and peaceable dayes of Queene Elizabeth.

Compariſon betwene the reigne of Q. Mary and Queene Elizabeth.

Gamaliell ſpeakyng his mynde in the Counſell of the Phariſies concernyng Chriſtes Religion, gaue this reaſon, that if it were of God, it ſhould continue, who ſoeuer ſayd nay: If it were not, it could not ſtand. So may it be ſayd of Queene Mary and her Romiſhe Religion, that if it were ſo perfect and Catholicke as they pretend, and the contrary fayth of the Goſpellers were ſo deteſtable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this ſo Catholicke a Queene, ſuch a neceſſary piller of his ſpouſe his Church, continued no longer, till ſhe had vtterly rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? yea how chaunced it rather, that almighty God, to ſpare theſe poore heretickes, rooted out Queene Mary ſo ſoone from her throne, after ſhe had reigned but onely fiue yeares and fiue monethes?

Gamaliels reaſon. Actes 5.

Now furthermore, how GOD bleſſed her wayes and endeuours in the meane tyme, while ſhe thus perſecuted the true ſeruauntes of GOD, remayneth to be diſcuſſed. Where firſt this is to be noted, that when ſhe firſt began to ſtand for the title of the Crowne, and yet had wrought no reſiſtaunce agaynſt Chriſt and his Goſpell, but had promiſed her fayth to the Suffolke men, to mainteine the Religion left by kyng Edward her brother, ſo long God went with her, aduaunced her, and by the meanes of the Goſpellers brought her to ỹ poſſeſſion of ỹ Realme. But after that ſhe breakyng her promiſe with GOD and man, began to take part with Steuen Gardiner, and had geuen ouer her ſupremacie vnto the Pope, by and by Gods bleſſyng left her, neither did any thinge well thriue with her afterward duryng the whole tyme of her Regiment.

Q. Mary proſpered ſo long as ſhee went not agaynſt the Lord.
Q. Maries promiſe to the Goſpellers broken.

For firſt incontinently the fayreſt and greateſt Shyp ſhe had, called great Harry, was burned, ſuch a veſſell as in all theſe partes of Europe was not to be matched.

The ſhip called the great Harry burned.

Then would ſhe needes bryng in kyng Philip, and by her ſtraunge Mariage with him, make the whole Realme of Englãd ſubiect vnto a ſtrãger. And all ỹ notwithſtãding, either that ſhe did or was able to do, ſhe could not bryng to paſſe to ſet the crowne of Englãd vpon his head. With king Philip alſo came in the Pope and his Popiſh Maſſe: with whom alſo her purpoſe was to reſtore agayne the Monkes and Nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kynde of attemptes to the vttermoſt of her abilitie: and yet therein alſo GOD ſtopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her tyme here in her land? the lyke whereof lightly hath not in Englãd bene ſene, in ſo much that in ſundry places her poore ſubiectes were fayne to feede of accornes for want of Corne.

Q. Maryes mariage with a ſtraunger.
Q. Mary diſappoynted of her purpoſe in crownyng king Philip.
Q. Mary ſtopped of her will in reſtoryng Abbey landes.

Furthermore, where other Kynges are wont to be renowmed by ſome worthy victory and prowes by them atchieued, let vs now ſee what valiant victory was gotten in this Queene Maryes dayes. Kyng Edward the vj. her bleſſed brother, how many rebellions did he ſuppreſſe in Deuonſhyre, in Northfolke, in Oxfordſhyre, and els where? what a famous victory in his tyme was gottẽ in Scotlãd, by the ſingular workyng (no doubt) of Gods bleſſed hãd, rather then by any expectation of man? Kyng Edward the iij. (which was the xj. kyng frõ ỹ cõqueſt) by princely puiſſãce purchaſed Calice vnto Englãd, which hath bene kept engliſh euer ſince, til at length came Queene Mary, the xj. likewiſe from the ſayd kyng Edward, which loſt Calyce from England agayne: ſo that the wynnynges of this Queene were very ſmall: what the loſſes were, let other men iudge.

The victory of K. Edward 6. in Scotland.
The ill lucke of Q. Mary in loſing of Calice.
The xj. king after the Conqueſt got Calice, and the xj. agayne after him loſt it.

Hetherto the affaires of Queene Mary haue had no great good ſucceſſe, as you haue heard. But neuer worſe ſucceſſe had any womã, thẽ had ſhe in her childbyrth. For ſeyng one of theſe two muſt nedes be graunted, that either ſhe was with child or not with child, if ſhe were with child and did trauaile, why was it not ſeene? if ſhe were not, how was all the Realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the prayers, the ſolẽne proceſſions, the deuout Maſſes of the Catholicke Clergy? why did they not preuayle with God, if their Religõ were ſo godly as they pretend? If their Maſſes Ex opere operato be able to fetch Chriſt from heauen, and to reach downe to Purgatory, how chaunced then they could not reach to the Queenes Chamber, to helpe her in her trauaile, if ſhe had bene with child in deede? if not, how then came it to paſſe, that all the Catholicke Churche of England did ſo erre, and was ſo deepely deceaued?

The ill lucke of Q. Mary in her childbyrth.

Queene Mary, after theſe manifold plagues and corrections, which might ſufficiently admoniſh her of Gods diſhonour prouoked agaynſt her, would not yet ceaſe her perſecutiõ, but ſtil continued more & more to reuenge her Catholicke zeale vpon the Lordes faythfull people, ſettyng fire to their poore bodies by doſens & halfedoſens together. Wherupon Gods wrathfull indignation increaſing more & more agaynſt her, ceaſed not to touche her more neare with priuate miſfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken frõ her the fruite of children (which chiefly and aboue all thynges ſhe deſired) then he bereft her of that, whiche of all earthly thyngs ſhould haue bene her chief ſtay of honour, and ſtaffe of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company euen of her owne husband, by whoſe Mariage ſhe had promiſed before to her ſelfe whole heapes of ſuch ioye and felicitie: but now the omnipotent gouernour of all thynges ſo turned the wheele of her owne ſpynning agaynſt her, that her hygh buildynges of ſuch ioyes & felicities, came all to a Caſtlecome downe, her hopes beyng confounded, her purpoſes diſappointed, and ſhe now brought to deſolation: who ſeemed neither to haue the fauour of GOD, nor the hartes of her ſubiectes, nor yet the loue of her husband: who neither had fruite by him while ſhe had him, neither could now enioye him whom ſhe had maryed, neither yet was in libertie to mary any other whõ ſhe might enioy. Marke here (Chriſtian Reader) the wofull aduerſitie of this Queene, and learne with all, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulnes will needes reſiſte him, and will not be ruled.

Q. Mary left deſolate of King Phillip her husband.
The ill lucke of Q. Mary with her husband.

At laſt, when all theſe fayre admonitions would take no place with the Queene, nor moue her to reuoke her bloudy lawes, nor to ſtay the tyranny of her Prieſtes, nor yet to ſpare her owne ſubiectes, but that the poore ſeruaunts of GOD were drawen dayly by heapes moſt pitifully as ſheepe to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heauenly Maieſtie of almighty God, when no other remedy would ſerue, by death to cut her of, which in her lyfe ſo litle regarded the lyfe of others: geuyng her throne, whiche ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſtes Churche and people, to an other who more temperatly and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of fiue yeares and fiue monethes. The ſhortnes of whiche yeares and reigne, vneth we finde in any other ſtory of Kyng or Queene ſince the Conqueſt or before (beyng come to their owne gouernement) ſaue onely in kyng Richard the thyrd.

The ſmall end and death of Q. Mary.
Q. Mary reigned 5. yeares and 5. monethes.
The ſhortnes of Queene Maries reigne noted.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing vp of this ſtory, I thought to inſinuate, touchyng the vnlucky and rueful reigne of Queene Mary: not for any detraction to her place and ſtate Royall, wherunto ſhe was called of the Lord, but to this onely intent and effect, that for ſomuch as ſhe would needes ſet her ſelfe ſo confidently to worke and ſtriue agaynſt the Lord and his proceedynges, all readers and rulers

An admonition to all Chriſtian rulers.

not onely may ſee how ẏ Lord did worke agaynſt her therfore, but alſo by her may be aduertiſed and learne what a perillous thyng it is for men or women in authoritie, vpon blynd zeale and opinion, to ſtyrre vp perſecution in Chriſtes Church, to the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, leſt it proue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to perſecute heretickes, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as dyd the Iewes in perſecutyng Chriſt and his true members to death, to their owne confuſion and deſtruction.

¶The end and ſeuere puniſhment of God vpon the perſecutours of his people and enemyes to his word, with ſuch alſo as haue bene blaſphemers, contemners, and mockers of his Religion.

A treatiſe of Gods ſeuere puniſhment agaynſt cruell perſecutors, and enemies to his worde.

Leauyng now Queene Mary, beyng dead and gone, I come to them which vnder her were the chief miniſters and doers in this perſecution, the Byſhops (I meane) and Prieſtes of the Clergy, to whō Queene Mary gaue all the execution of her power, as dyd Queene Alexandra to the Phariſeis after the tyme of the Machabees. Of whom Ioſephus thus writeth: Ipſa ſolum nomen regium ferebat, cæterum omnem regni poteſtatem Phariſæi poſſidebant. That is: ſhee onely reteyned to her ſelfe the name and title of the kyngdome, but all her power ſhe gaue to the Phariſeis to poſſeſſe. &c. Touchyng which Prelates and Prieſtes, here is to be noted in lyke ſorte the wonderfull and miraculous prouidence of almighty GOD, which as he abridged the reigne of their Queene, ſo hee ſuffered them not to eſcape vnuiſited: firſt beginnyng with Steuen Gardiner the Arch perſecutour of Chriſtes Churche, whom he tooke away about the middeſt of the Queenes reigne. Of whoſe poyſoned lyfe and ſtinckyng ende, for ſo much as ſufficient hath bene touched before pag. 1680. I ſhall not neede here to make any new rehearſall therof.

Ioſephus De antiquit. Lib. 13.

The death of Ste. Gardiner.

Gods puniſhment vpon D. Morgan Biſhop of S. Dauies.

After him dropped other away alſo, ſome before the death of Queene Mary, and ſome after, as Morgan Byſhop of S. Dauids, who ſittyng vpon the condemnation of the bleſſed Martyr Byſhop Farrar, and vniuſtly vſurpyng his rowme, not long after was ſtricken by Gods hand after ſuch a ſtraunge ſorte, that his meate would not go downe, but ryſe & pyke vp agayne, ſometyme at his mouth, ſometyme blowen out of his noſe moſt horribly to behold, and ſo he continued till his death. Where note moreouer that when Maiſter Leyſon beyng then Sheriffe at Byſhoppe Farrars burnyng, had fet away the cattell of the ſayd Byſhop, from his ſeruauntes houſe call Matthew Harbottell, into his owne cuſtody, the cattell commyng into the Sheriffes ground, diuers of them would neuer eate meate but lay bellowyng and roaryng, and ſo dyed.

A note of wrong gotten goodes.

Iuſtice Morgan ſtricken with madnes.

This foreſayd Byſhop Morgan aboue mentioned, bringeth me alſo in remembraunce of Iuſtice Morgan, who ſat vpon the death of the Lady Iane, & not long after the ſame, fell mad and was bereft of his wyttes, and ſo dyed, hauyng euer in his mouth, Lady Iane, Lady Iane. &c.

D. Dunning a cruell Chauncellor, ſtricken with ſodeine death.

Before the death of Queene Mary, dyed Doct. Dunnyng the bloudy and wretched Chauncellour of Norwich, who, after he had moſt rigorouſly condemned and murthered ſo many ſimple and faythfull Saintes of the Lord, continued not long him ſelfe, but in the middle of his rage in Queene Maries dayes dyed in Lincolneſhyre beyng ſodenly taken (as ſome ſay) ſittyng in his chayre.

The ſodeine death of Berrey a Cōmiſſary in Northfolke.

The like ſodeine death fell alſo vppon Berry Commiſſary in Northfolke, who (as is before ſhewed in the ſtory of Thomas Hudſon) foure dayes after Queene Maryes death, when he had made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, commyng home from the Churche after Euenſong, where hee had miniſtred Baptiſme the ſame tyme, betwene the Churchyard and his houſe, ſodeinly fell downe to the grounde with a heauy grone, and neuer ſtyrred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentaunce.

Gods ſtroke vpon D. Thornton Byſhop or Suffragan of Douer.

What a ſtroke of Gods hand was brought vppon the cruell perſecutour of the holy and harmeles Saintes of the Lord, Byſhop Thornton, Suffragan of Douer, who after he had exerciſed his cruell tyranny vpon ſo many Godly men at Canterbury, at length commyng vpon a Saterday from the Chapter houſe at Canterbury to Borne, and there vpon Sonday followyng, lookyng vpon his men playing at the bowles, fell ſodeinly in a Palſey, and ſo had to bed, was willed to remember GOD. yea, ſo I do (ſayd he) and my Lord Cardinall to. &c.

An other Suffragan of Douer brake his necke after he had receaued the Cardinals bleſſing.

After him ſucceeded an other Byſhop or Suffragan, ordained by the foreſayd Cardinall. It is reported that he had bene Suffragan before to Boner, who not lōg after he was made Byſhop or Suffragan of Douer, brake his necke fallyng downe a payre of ſtayres in the Cardinals chamber at Grenewich, as he had receiued the Cardinals bleſſyng.

Amōg other plentyfull & ſondry examples of the Lordes iudgement and ſeueritie practiſed vpon ẏ cruell perſecutors of his people, this is not the leaſt that foloweth, concernyng the ſtory of one Williā Fennyng, the effect and circumſtaunce of which matter is this.

Iohn Cooper, of the age of xliiij. yeares, dwellyng at Watſam in the Coūty of Suffolke, being by ſcience a Carpenter, a mā of a very honeſt report and a good houſekeeper, a harbourer of ſtraungers, that trauailed for conſcience, and one that fauoured Religion, and thoſe that, were religious, he was of honeſt conuerſation and good lyfe hatyng all Popiſh and Papiſticall traſhe.

This man beyng at home in his houſe, there came vnto him one William Fennyng, a ſeruyng man, dwellyng in the ſayd Towne of Watſam, and vnderſtandyng that the ſayd Cooper had a couple of fayre Bullockes, did deſire to bye them of him, which Cooper told him that he was loth to ſell them, for that he had brought them vp for his owne vſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to bye other and that he would not do.

When Fennyng ſaw he could not get them (for he had often aſſayed the matter) he ſayd he would ſit aſmuch in his light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of high treaſō. The wordes he was charged wyth were theſe: how he ſhould pray that if GOD would not take awey Queene Mary, that then he ſhould wiſhe the Deuill to take her away. Of theſe wordes did this Fennyng charge him before ſir Henry Doiel Knight (vnto whom he was caryed by M. Timperley of Hinchleſam in Suffolke, & one Grimwood of Lowſhaw Cōſtable) which wordes Cooper flatly denyed, & ſayd he neuer ſpake them, but that could not helpe.

Notwithſtandyng he was arraigned therfore at Berry before ſir Clemēt Highā, at a Lent Aſſiſe, & there this Fennyng brought ij. naughty mē that witneſſed the ſpeaking of the foreſayd wordes, whoſe names were Richard White of Watſā, & Grimwood of Hitchā, in the ſayd Coūtie of Suffolke. Whoſe teſtimonies were receaued as truth, although this good mā Iohn Cooper had ſayd what he could to declare himſelf innocēt therin, but to no purpoſe God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by ſir Clemēt Hyghās wordes, who ſayd he ſhould not eſcape, for an exāple to all heretickes, as in deede he throughly performed. For immediatly he was iudged to be hāged, drawē, & quartered, which was executed vpō him ſhortly after, to ẏ great grief of many a good hart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, & leaues behynde him alyue his wife, & ix. children with goods & cattell, to the value of iij. hūdred markes, the which ſubſtaunce was all taken away by the ſayd ſir Henry Doiel Sheriffe, but his wife, and poore children left to the wide world in their clothes, and ſuffered not to enioy one peny of that they had ſore laboured for, vnleſſe they made frendes to bye it with money, of the ſayd Sheriffe ſo cruell and greedy was he & his officers vpon ſuch thinges as were there left.

Well, now this innocēt man is dead, his goodes ſpoyled, his wife & children left deſolate & comfortles, & all thyngs is huſht, & nothyng feared of any part, yet the Lord who ſurely doth reuenge the giltles bloud, would not ſtill ſo ſuffer it, but begā at the length to puniſh it himſelf. For in the harueſt after, ẏ ſayd Grimwood of Hitchā one of the witneſſes before ſpecified, as he was in his labour ſtaking vp a goffe of corne, hauing his health, & fearyng no perill: ſodeinly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediatly moſt miſerably he dyed: ſuch was the terrible Iudgement of God, to ſhew his diſpleaſure agaynſt this bloudy act, and to warne the reſt, by theſe his iudgementes to repentance. The Lord graunt vs to honour the ſame for his mercyes ſake. Amen.

The iudgement of God vpon Grimwood.

This foreſayd Fennyng, who was the procurer of this tyranny agaynſt him, is yet aliue, and is now a Miniſter, which if he be, I pray God he may ſo repent that fact, that he may declare himſelfe hereafter, ſuch one as may well aunſwere to his vocation accordyngly.

But ſince we haue heard that he is no chaungelyng but continueth ſtill in his wickednes, and therfore preſented before the worſhypfull Maiſter Humerſton Eſquire and Iuſtice of Peace and Coram for that hee had talke with ſome of his frendes (as he thought) how many honeſt women (to their great infamy) were in the Pariſhe of Wenſthaſton wherein he is now Vicare reſident, wherefore hee was commaunded the next Sonday enſuyng, to aſke all the Pariſh forgiuenes vpon hys knees openly in ſeruice tyme, which he dyd in Wenſthaſton Church before ſayd, and moreouer the aboue ſayd Fennyng is reported, to bee more lyke a ſhifter then a Miniſter.

To theſe examples alſo may be added the terrible iudgement of God vppon the Parſon of Crondall in Kent, who

vpon

A terrible example of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon one Nightingall Parſon of Crondall in Kent.

vppon Shroueſonday hauyng receiued the Popes pardon from Cardinall Poole, came to his Pariſh, and exhorted the people to receaue the ſame, as he had done hym ſelfe: ſaying, that he ſtode now ſo cleare in cõſcience as whẽ he was firſt borne, and cared not now if he ſhould dye the ſame houre in that clearenes of conſcience: whereupon beyng ſodenly ſtricken by the hand of God, and leanyng a litle on the one ſide, immediately ſhronke downe in the Pulpit, and ſo was found dead, ſpeakyng not one word more. Read before pag. 1478.

D. Geffrey Chauncellor of Saliſbury.

Not long before the death of Queene Mary died Doctour Capon Byſhoppe of Saliſbury. About the whiche tyme alſo followed the vnprepared death of Doctour Geffrey Chauncellour of Saliſbury, who in the middeſt of his buildynges, ſodeinly beyng taken by the mightie hand of God, yelded his life, whiche had ſo litle pitie of other mens lyues before. Concernyng whoſe cruelty partly mention is made before, pag. 1984.

As touchyng moreouer this foreſayd Chauncellour, here is to be noted, that he departyng vpon a Saterday, the next day before ÿ ſame, he had appointed to cal before him. 90 perſons and not ſo fewe, to examine them by Inquiſition, had not the goodneſſe of the Lord, and his tender prouidẽce, thus preuented him with death, prouidyng for his poore ſeruauntes in tyme.

And now (to come from Prieſtes to Lay men) we haue to finde in thẽ alſo no leſſe terrible demonſtrations of Gods heauy iudgement vpon ſuch as haue bene vexers and perſecutours of his people.

M. Woodroffe a cruell Shrieffe, plagued.

Before in the ſtory of Maiſter Bradford, mention was made of Maiſter Woodroffe, who beyng the Sheriffe, vſed much to reioyce at the death of the poore Saintes of Chriſt, and ſo hard he was in his office, that when Maiſter Rogers was in the cart goyng toward Smithfield, and in the way his childrẽ were brought vnto him, the people makyng a Lane for them to come: Maiſter Woodroffe bad the carmans head ſhould be broken for ſtaying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the ſpace of a weeke, but he was ſtricken by the ſodeine hand of God, the one halfe of his body, in ſuch ſort that he lay benummed and bedred, not able to moue him ſelfe but as he was lifted of other, & ſo continued in that infirmitie the ſpace of vij. or viij. yeares till his dying day, pag. 1805.

The betrayer of George Eagles, plagued.

Likewiſe touchyng Raſe Lardin the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of ſome, that the ſayd Raſe afterward was attached hym ſelfe, arraigned, and hanged. Hereof read more in our firſt edition, pag. 1615.

Among other perſecutours alſo came to our handes the crueltie of one Maiſter Swingfield an Aldermans Deputie about Thames ſtreete, who hearyng one Angelles wife, a midwife that kept her ſelfe from their Popiſhe Churche, to be at the labour of one Miſtres Walter at crooked Lane ende, toke thre other with him, and beſet the houſe about, and toke her and caryed her to Boners officers, bygge with child, xxviij. wekes gone. who layde her in Lollardes Tower, where as the ſame day ſhe came in, through feare and a fall at her takyng, ſhe was deliuered of a man child, and could haue no woman with her in that nedefull tyme. Lying there v. wekes, ſhe was deliuered vnder ſureties by frendſhyp, and Doctour Story hearyng thereof charged her with fellony, and ſo ſent her to Newgate. The cauſe was for that ſhe had a woman at her houſe in her labour that dyed, and the child alſo, and ſo he charged her with their death.

Gods puniſhment vpon Maſter Swinefield and other which betrayed one Angels wife.

But when Syr Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he deliuered her: and not much more then x. wekes after, if it were ſo lõg, dyed the ſayd Maiſter Swingfield, and the other thre that came to take her.

A ſtory of Burton Bailife of Crowland, how he was plagued for ſetting vp Maſſe.

Becauſe ſome there be, and not a few, which haue ſuch a great deuotiõ in ſetting vp the Popiſh Maſſe, I ſhall deſire them to marke well this ſtory folowyng. There was a certaine Bailiffe of Crowlãd in Lincolnſhyre named Burton, who pretendyng an earneſt frendſhyp to the Goſpell in kyng Edwardes dayes, in outward ſhew at leaſt (although inwardly he was a Papiſt or Atheiſt, and well knowen to be a man of a wicked & adulterous lyfe) ſet forth the kynges procedynges luſtely, till the tyme that kyng Edward was dead and Queene Mary placed quietly in her eſtate.

Then perceauyng by the firſt proclamation concernyng Religion, how the world was lyke to turne, the Bailiffe turned his Religion lykewiſe: and ſo he moued the Pariſh to ſhew them ſelues the Queenes frendes, and to ſet vp the Maſſe ſpedely. Neuertheles the moſt ſubſtauntiall of the Pariſh, marueilyng much at the Bailiffes inconſtant lightnes, conſideryng alſo his abhominable lyfe, and hauyng no great deuotion vnto his requeſt: knowyng moreouer that their duety and frẽdſhyp to the Queene ſtode not in ſettyng vp the Maſſe, ſpared to prouide for it, as lõg as they might: but the Bailiffe called on them ſtill in the Queenes name.

Burton earneſt in ſetting vp the Maſſe.

At laſt, when he ſaw his wordes were not regarded, & purpoſing to wynne his ſpurres by playing the man in the Maſſes behalfe and the Queenes, he got hym to the church vpon a ſunday mornyng, and when the curate was beginnyng the Engliſhe ſeruice, accordyng to the Statute ſet forth by Kyng Edward the vj. the Bailiefe commeth in a great rage to the Curate and ſayth: Syrra will you not ſay Maſſe? buckle your ſelfe to Maſſe you knaue, or by Gods bloud I ſhall ſheath my dagger in your ſhoulder. The poore Curate for feare ſetled hym ſelfe to Maſſe.

The ſtinking death of a Popiſh Maſſemonger.

Not long after this, the Bailiffe rode from home vpon certeine buſines, accompanyed with one of hys neighbours and as they came ridyng together vppon the Fennebanke homeward agayne, a crow ſittyng in a willow tree toke her flight ouer hys head, ſingyng after her wonted note, knaue, knaue, and withall let fall vpon hys face, ſo that her excrementes ranne from the topp of his noſe down to his beard. The poyſoned ſent and ſauour whereof ſo noyed hys ſtomacke, that he neuer ceaſed vomityng vntill he came home, wherewith hys hart was ſo ſore & hys body ſo diſtempered: that for extreme ſicknes he got hym to bed, and ſo lying, he was not able for the ſtincke in hys ſtomacke and paynefull vomityng, to receiue any reliefe of meate or drynke, but cryed out ſtill, ſorowfully complaynyng of that ſtincke, and with no ſmall othes, curſing the Crow that had poyſoned hym. To make ſhort, he cõtinued but a few dayes, but with extreme payne of vomityng and cryng hee deſperatly dyed without any token of repentaunce of hys former life.

Reported and teſtified for a certeintie, by diuers of hys neighbours, both honeſt and credible perſons.

Of the Martyrdome of James Abbes, read before, 1595.

A ſtory to be noted of all rayling perſecutors.

The Sheriffes ſeruaunt there rayling agaynſt James Abbes.

Of James Abbes Martyr, ye heard before. In ÿ time of whoſe Martyrdome what befell vppon a wicked rayler agaynſt hym, now ye ſhall further vnderſtand. Whereby all ſuch railing perſecutors may learne to feare Gods hande, & to take hede how or what they ſpeake againſt his ſeruãtes. As thys James Abbes was led by the Sheriffe towarde hys execution, diuers poore people ſtode in the way, and aſked their almes. He then hauyng no money to geue them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſome thyng amongeſt them, dyd pull of all hys apparrell ſauyng hys ſhyrt, and gaue the ſame vnto them, to ſome one thing, to ſome an other: in the geuyng whereof he exhorted them, to be ſtrong in the Lord, and as faythfull followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt vnto the truth of the Goſpell, whiche he (through Gods helpe) would then in their ſight ſeale and confirme with his bloud. Whiles he was thus charitably occupyed and zealouſly inſtructyng the people, a ſeruant of the Sheriffes goyng by and hearyng hym, cryed out aloud vnto them, and blaſphemouſly ſaid, beleue him not good people. He is an hereticke and a mad man, out of hys wit: beleue hym not, for it is hereſy that he ſayth. And as the other continued in his Godly admonitions, ſo dyd this wicked wretch ſtill blow forth his blaſphemous exclamations vntill they came vnto the ſtake where he ſhould ſuffer. Vnto the which this cõſtant Martyr was tyed, and in the end cruelly burned, as in hys hyſtory more fully is already declared.

A fearefull example of Gods righteous iudgement agaynſt the Sheriffes ſeruaunt rayling agaynſt James Abbes.

But immediatly after the fire was put vnto hym (ſuch was the fearefull ſtroke of Gods iuſtice vpon thys blaſphemous railer) that he was there preſently in the ſight of all the people, ſtricken with a frenſie, wherewith he had before moſt raylyngly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madnes, caſtyng of hys ſhoes with al the reſt of hys clothes, cryed out vnto the people and ſayd: Thus dyd James Abbes that true ſeruaunt of God, who is ſaued, but I am damned. And thus ranne he rounde about the Towne of Bury, ſtill cryng out that James Abbes was a good man and ſaued, but he was damned.

The Sheriffe then beyng amaſed and cauſed hym to be taken & tyed in a darke houſe, and by force compelled hym agayne to put on his clothes, thinkyng thereby within a while to bryng hym to ſome quietnes. But he (all that notwithſtandyng) as ſone as they were gone, continued hys former ragyng: & caſtyng of hys clothes, cryed as he dyd before: James Abbes is the ſeruant of God and is ſaued, but I am damned.

Example how Popery bringeth to deſperation.

At length he was tyed in a carte, and brought home vnto his maſters houſe, & within halfe a yeare or therabouts, he beyng at the poynt of death, the Prieſt of the pariſhe was ſent for: who commyng vnto hym, brought ẇ him the Crucifix and their houſelyng hoſt of the alter. Which geare when the poore wretch ſaw, he cryed out of the Prieſt & defied all that baggage, ſaying that the Prieſt with ſuch other as he was, were the cauſe of hys damnation, & that James Abbes was a good mã, and ſaued. And ſo ſhortly after he dyed.

Clarke hanged hym ſelfe.

Clarke an open enemie to the Goſpell and all Godly Preachers, in K. Edwardes dayes hanged hym ſelfe in the Tower of London.

The ſodeine death of Troling Smith.

The great and notable Papiſt called Trolyng Smith, of late fell downe ſodenly in the ſtreete and dyed.

Dale the Promoter eaten with Lyce.

Dale the Promotor was eaten into his body with Lice, and ſo dyed, as it is well knowen of many, and confeſſed alſo by his fellow John Auales, before credible witnes.

Coxe the Promoter ſodenly dyed.

Coxe an earneſt Proteſtant in kyng Edwardes dayes, and in Queene Maryes time a Papiſt and a Promotor, goyng well and in health to bed (as it ſeemed) was dead before the mornyng. Teſtified by diuers of the neighbours.

Alexander the cruell keeper of Newgate, dyed a rotten death.

Alexander the Keeper of Newgate, a cruell enemy to thoſe that lay there for Religion, dyed very miſerably, beyng ſo ſwollen that he was more lyke a monſter the a man, and ſo rotten within that noman could abyde the ſmell of hym. This cruell wretch, to haſten the poore Lambes to the ſlaughter, would go to Boner, Story, Cholmley, and other, cryīg out: rid my priſon, rid my priſon: I am to much peſtered with theſe heretickes.

The ſodeine death of James Alexanders ſonne.

The ſonne of the ſayd Alexander called James, hauyng left vnto him by his father great ſubſtaunce, within three yeares waſted all to nought: And whē ſome marueiled how he ſpent thoſe goodes ſo faſt: O ſayd he, euill gotten, euill ſpent: and ſhortly after as he went in Newgate market, he fell downe ſodenly and there wretchedly dyed.

John Peter Alexanders ſonne in lawe, rotted away.

John Peter, ſonne in law to this Alexander, an horrible blaſphemer of God, and no leſſe cruell to the ſayd priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably dyed. Who commonly when he would affirme any thyng, were it true or falſe, vſed to ſay: If it be not true, I pray God I rotte ere I dye. Witnes the Printer hereof, with diuers other.

Juſtice Lelond perſecutor plagued.

With theſe I might inſerte the ſodeine death of Juſtice Lelond perſecutor of Jeffray Hurſt, mentioned before, pag. 1969.

Rob. Baulding perſecutor.

Alſo the death of Robert Bauldyng ſtricke with lightnyng at the takyng of William Seamen, whereupon he pyned away and dyed, pag. 1929.

Beard the Promotor. Rob. Blomfield perſecutor.

Likewiſe the wretched end of Beard the Promotor. Moreouer, the conſumyng away of Robert Blomfield, perſecutor of William Browne, ſpecified pag. 2268.

The iudgement of God vpon John Rockwood Lady Honor, and George Bradway Perſecutors in Calice. Rich. Long drowned him ſelfe.

Further, to returne a little backward to Kyng Henryes tyme, here might be induced alſo the example of John Rockewood, who in his horrible end, cryed all to late, with the ſame wordes whiche he had vſed before in perſecutyng Gods poore people of Calyce. pag. 1199.

Alſo the Judgement of God vpon Lady Honor a perſecutor, and of George Bradway a falſe accuſer, both bereft of their wittes, pag. 1198.

Likewiſe of Richard Long a perſecutor, who drowned him ſelfe, pag. 1197.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon Syr Rafe Ellerker, perſecutor.

And what a notable ſpectable of Gods reuengyng iudgement haue we to conſider in Syr Rafe Ellerker, who as he was deſirous to ſee the hart take out of Adam Damlyp, whom they moſt wrongfully put to death: ſo ſhortly after the ſayd Syr Rafe Ellerker being ſlayne of the Frēchmen, they all to mangyng him, after they had cut of his priuie members, would not ſo leaue him, before they might ſee his hart cut out of his body, pag. 1166.

The ſodeine death of D. Foxford. Pauier a perſecutor, hanged him ſelfe.

Doctour Foxford Chauncellour to Byſhop Stokeſley, a cruell perſecutor, dyed ſodeinly, read pag. 1027.

Pauier or Pauie, Towne Clerke of London, and a bitter enemy to the Goſpell, hanged him ſelfe, pag. 1027.

Steuen Gardiner hearyng of the pitifull end of Judge Hales after he had drowned him ſelfe, takyng occaſion thereby, called the followyng and profeſſion of the Goſpell a doctrine of deſperation. But as Judge Hales neuer fell into that inconuenience before he had conſented to Papiſtry: ſo who ſo well conſidereth the ende of Doctour Pendleton (whiche at his death full ſore repented that euer he had perued to the doctrine of the Papiſtes, as he dyd) and lykewiſe the miſerable ende of the moſt part of the Papiſtes beſides, and eſpecially of Steuen Gardiner him ſelfe, who after ſo lōg profeſſing ȳ doctrine of Papiſtry, whē there came a byſhop to hym in his death bed & put hym in remēbraunce of Peter denying his Maiſter, he aunſweryng agayne ſayd, that he had denyed with Peter, but neuer repented with Peter, and ſo both ſtinckyngly & vnrepentantly dyed: will ſay, as Steuen Gardiner alſo him ſelfe gaue an euident example of the ſame, to all men to vnderſtand that Popery rather is a doctrine of deſperation, procuryng the vengeaunce of almighty God to them that wilfully do cleaue vnto it.

The ſtinckyng end of Steuen Gardiner proueth Popery and not the Goſpell, to be the doctrine of deſperation.

Gods iuſt ſtroke vpon John Fiſher B. of Rocheſter, and Syr Thomas More.

John Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, in Kyng Henryes tyme, after they had brought John Frith, Bayfield, and Baynham and diuers other to their death, what great reward wanne they thereby with almighty GOD? Dyd not the ſword of Gods vengeance light vppon their owne neckes ſhortly after, and they them ſelues made a publicke ſpectacle at the Tower hill, of bloudy death, whiche before had no compaſſion of the lyues of others? Thus ye ſee ȳ ſaying of the Lord to be true: He that ſmiteth with the ſword, ſhall periſhe with the ſword.ᵃ

a Math. 3.

So was Heliodorus in the old time of ȳ Jewes plagued by Gods hand in the Temple of Hieruſalem.

Of Valerianus read before pag. 75.

So dyd Antiochus, Herode, Julian, Ualerianus the Emperour, Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exerciſed their crueltie vpon Gods people, feele the like ſtriking hand of God them ſelues alſo, in reuengyng the bloud of of his ſeruauntes.

And thus much concernyng thoſe perſecutours, as well of the Clergy ſort, as of the laity, which were ſtricken and dyed before the death of Queene Mary. With whom alſo is to be numbered in the ſame race of perſecutyng Byſhops which dyed before Queene Mary, theſe biſhops followyng.

Biſhops that dyed before Q. Mary.

Byſhops
- Coates Byſhop of Weſtcheſter.
- Parfew Byſhop of Harford.
- Glynne Byſhop of Bangor.
- Brokes Byſhop of Gloceſter.
- Kyng Byſhop of Tame.
- Peto Elect of Saliſbury.
- Day Byſhop of Chicheſter.
- Holyman Biſhop of Briſtow.

Now after the Queene immediatly followed, or rather waited vpon her the death of Cardinal Poole, who the next day departed: of what diſeaſe, although it be vncertayne to many, yet to ſome it is ſuſpected that he toke ſome, Italiā Phyſicke, which dyd hym no good. Then folowed in order.

Biſhops that dyed after Q. Mary.

Byſhops
- John Chriſtopherſon Biſh. of Chicheſter.
- Hopton Byſhop of Norwich.
- Morgan Biſh. of S. Dauids.
- John White Byſhop of Wincheſter.
- Rafe Bayne Biſh. of Lichfield & Couentry.
- Owen Oglethorpe Byſhop of Carlill.
- * Cutbert Tonſtall Byſhop of Durham.
- Thomas Reynoldes elect of Herford, after his depriuation dyed in priſon.

* Note that B. Tonſtall in Q. Maries tyme was not great bloudy perſecutor. For M. Ruſſell a Preacher was before him, and D. Himmer his Chauncellor would haue had him examined more particularly. The Biſhop ſtayed hym, ſaying: hetherto we haue had a good report among our neighbours: I pray you bring not thys mans bloud vpon my head.

Beſides theſe Byſhops aboue named, firſt dyed at the ſame tyme.

- Doct. Weſton Deane of Weſtminſter, afterward Deane of Winſore, chief diſputer agaynſt Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer.
- M. Slechurſt Maiſter of Trinity Colledge in Oxford, who dyed in the Tower.
- Seth Holland Deane of Worceſter, and Warden of Alſoule Colledge in Oxford.
- William Copynger Monke of Weſtminſter, dyed in the Tower.
- Doctor Steward Deane of Wincheſter.

A note of D. Weſton.

¶ To beholde the workyng of Gods iudgements, it is wonderous. In the firſt yeare of Queene Mary, when the Clergye was aſſembled in the Conuocation houſe, and alſo afterward when the diſputation was in Oxford againſt D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, he that had ſeene then Doct. Weſton the Prolocutor in his ruffe, howe highly he toke vpon hym in the Scholes, and how ſtoutly he ſtode in the Popes quarell agaynſt ſimple and naked truth, full litle would haue thought, and leſſe dyd he thinke hym ſelfe (I dare ſay) that hys glory and lofty lokes ſhoulde haue bene brought downe ſo ſoone, eſpecially by thē of his own religion, whoſe part he ſo doughtely defended. But ſuch is ȳ reward and end commōly of them, who preſumptuouſly oppoſe them ſelues to ſtriue agaynſt the Lord, as by the example of this Doctorly Prolocutor right well may appeare. For not long after the diſputation aboue mentioned, againſt Byſhop Cranmer and his fellowes, God ſo wrought agaynſt the ſayd Doct. Weſton, that he fell in great diſpleaſure with Cardinall Poole and other Byſhops, becauſe he was vnwillyng to geue vp his Deanery and houſe of Weſtminſter, vnto the Monkes and religious men, whome in dede he fauoured not, although in other thinges he maynteined the Churche of Rome. Who notwithſtandyng, at laſt through importunate ſute, gaue vp Weſtminſter, and was Deane of Windſore: where not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the ſame was by the Cardinall put from all his ſpirituall liuinges.

D. Weſton out of fauour with the Papiſtes.

D. Weſton taken in adultery.

D. Weſton appealed to Rome.

Wherfore he appealed to Rome, and purpoſed to haue fled out of the Realme, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London, and there remayned vntill Queene Elizabeth was proclaymed Queene, at which tyme he beyng deliuered, fell ſicke and dyed. The common talke was that if he had not ſo ſodeinly ended hys lyfe, he woulde haue opened and reueled the purpoſe of the chief of the Clergy, meanyng the Cardinall, whiche was to haue taken vp kyng Henries body at Windſore and to haue burned it. And thus much of Doctor Weſton.

The Death of D. Weſtō.

The reſidue that remayned of the perſecuting Clergy, &

eſcaped the ſtroke of death, were depriued, and committed to priſons: the Catalogue of whoſe names here followeth.

Catholicke Byſhops after Q. Maries death depriued and impriſoned. Note that ſome of theſe Byſhops afterward through the goodnes of Q. Elizabeth were diſperſed and ſuffered to be kept in their frendes houſes.

Nicolas Heath Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour.
Thomas Thurlbye Byſhop of Ely.
Thomas Watſon Byſhop of Lyncolne.
Gilbert Burne Biſh. of Bath & Welles.
Richard Pates Byſhop of Worceſter.
Troubleſield Byſhop of Exetor.
John Fecknam Abbot of Weſtminſter.
John Borall Deane of Windſore and Peterborough.
In the tower

Of Dauid Poole B. of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in ſome other priſon.

Goldwell Byſhop of S. Aſſe.
Maurice Elect of Bangor.
Ranne away.

Edmund Boner Byſh. of Lōdon, in the Marſhalſee.
Thomas Wood Byſhop Elect, in the Marſhalſee.
Cutbert Scot byſhop of Cheſter, was in the Fleete, from whence he eſcaped to Louane & there dyed.

Henry Cole Deane of Paules.
John Harpesfield Archdeacon of Lōdon, and Deane of Norwich.
Nicolas Harpesfield Archdeacō of Cant.
Anthony Draycot Archdea. of Hūtingtō.
W. Chadſey Archdeacon of Midleſex.
In the Fleete.

A note of D. Chadſey. 34. Articles of D. Chadſey. D. Chadſey ſubſcribed to the reformed Religion in K. Edwardes tyme.

¶ Concernyng whiche Doctour Chadſey here is to be noted: that in the begynnyng of kyng Edwardes reigne he recanted and ſubſcribed to 34. Articles, wherein he then fully conſented and agreed with his owne hand wrytyng to the whole forme of doctrine approued and allowed then in the Church, as well concerning Juſtification by fayth onely, as alſo the doctrine of the two Sacramentes then receaued, denying as well the Popes ſupremacie, tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Inuocation of Saintes, eleuation and adoration of the Sacrament, the ſacrifice, and veneration of the Maſſe, as alſo all other like excrementes of Popiſh ſuperſtition, accordyng to the kynges booke then ſet forth.

D. Chadſey mutable and inconſtant in his religion.

Wherefore the more maruell it is, that he beyng counted ſuch a famous and learned Clerke, would ſhew him ſelfe ſo fickle and vnſtable in his aſſertiōs, ſo double in his doings, to alter his Religion accordyng to tyme, and to mainteine for truth, not what he thought beſt, but what hee might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the Lord Protectour and of his brother ſtode vpright, what was then the conformitie of this Doctour Chadſey, his owne Articles in Latine written and ſubſcribed with his owne hand, doe declare, whiche I haue to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the kinges vncles the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his Religion turned withall, & eftſoones he tooke vpon him to diſpute agaynſt Peter Martyr in vpholdyng tranſubſtantiation at Oxford, which a little before with his owne hand wrytyng he had ouerthrowen.

The egernes of Doctour Chadſey in puniſhing the poore Martyrs.

After this enſued the tyme of Queene Mary, wherein Doctour Chadſey to ſhew his double diligence, was ſo eger in his Commiſſion to ſit in iudgement & to bryng poore men to their death, that in the laſt yeare of Queene Mary when the Lord Chauncellour, Syr Thomas Cornwalles, Lord Clinton and diuers other of the Counſell had ſent for hym by a ſpeciall Letter to repayre vnto London out of Eſſex, he wrytyng agayne to the Byſhop of London, ſought meanes not to come at the Counſels byddyng, but to continue ſtill in his perſecutyng progreſſe. The copy of whoſe letter I haue alſo in my handes (if neede were) to bryng forth.

W. Mauldon prentiſe wyth M. Hew Apparry at Grenewich.

Mention was made not long before, of one William Mauldon, who in kyng Henries tyme ſuffered ſtripes and ſcourgyngs for confeſſyng the veritie of Gods true Religiō. It happened in the firſt yeare of Queenes Elizabeth, that the ſayd William Mauldon was bounde ſeruaunt with one named Maiſter Hew Aparry then a wheate taker for the Queene, dwellyng at Grenewich. Who beyng newly come vnto him, and hauyng neuer a booke there to looke vpon, beyng deſirous to occupy him ſelfe vertuouſly, looked about the houſe and founde a Primer in Engliſhe, whereon hee read in a Winters euenyng. Whiles he was readyng, there ſat one John Apowell that had bene a Seruing man, about xxx. yeares of age, borne toward Wales, whom the ſayd M. Hew gaue meate and drinke vnto, till ſuch tyme as he could get a ſeruice. And as the foreſayd William Mauldon read on the Booke, the ſayd John Apowell mocked him after euery word, with contrary gaudes and floutyng wordes vnreuerentely, in ſo much that hee could no longer abyde him for grief of hart, but turned vnto him, and ſayd: John take heede what thou doeſt: Thou doeſt not mocke me, but thou mockeſt God. For in mockyng of his word, thou mockeſt him: and this is the word of God, though I be ſimple that read it: therfore beware what thou doeſt.

Then Mauldon fell to readyng agayne, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking, and when Mauldon had read certaine Engliſh Prayers, in the end he read: Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Chriſt haue mercy vpon vs. &c.

And as Mauldon was recityng thoſe wordes, the other with a ſtart ſodenly ſayd: Lord haue mercy vpon me.

With that Mauldō turned & ſaid, what ayliſt thou John? He ſayd, I was afrayde.

Whereon waſt thou afrayde, ſayd Mauldon?

Nothyng now, ſayd the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldō and he went to bed, Mauldon aſked him wherof he was afrayde?

He ſayd, when you red Lord haue mercy vpō vs, Chriſt haue mercy vpon vs, me thought the heare of my head ſtode vpright, with a great feare which came vpon me.

Then ſayd Mauldon: John thou mayeſt ſee, the euill ſpirite could not abyde that Chriſt ſhould haue mercy vpon vs. Well John (ſayd Mauldon) repent and amend thy lyfe, for God will not be mocked. If we mocke and ieſte at his word, he will puniſh vs.

Alſo you vſe rebauldry wordes & ſwearyng very much: therfore for God ſake John amend thy lyfe. So I will (ſayd he) by the grace of God: I pray God I may. Amen ſaid the other, with other wordes, and ſo went to bed.

A terrible example of Gods iudgement to be noted of all ſuch as be contēners and mockers of God and hys wordes.

On the next day, about viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, the foreſayd John came runnyng downe out of his Chamber in his ſhyrt into the Hall, and wraſteled with his Miſtres as he would haue throwen her downe. Whereat ſhe ſhriked out, and her ſeruauntes helpe her, and tooke him by ſtrength and caryed him vp vnto his bed, and bound him down to his bed (for they perceiued playnly that he was out of his right mynde.)

After that, as he lay, almoſt day and night his toung neuer ceaſed, but he cryed out of the deuill of hell, and hys wordes were euer ſtill: O the deuill of hell: now the deuill of hell: I would ſee the Deuill of hell: thou ſhalt ſee the deuill of hell: there he was, there he goeth, with other wordes, but moſt of the Deuill of hell.

Thus hee lay without amendement about ſixe dayes, that his Maiſter and all his houſhold was weery of that trouble and noyſe. Then his Maiſter agreed with the keepers of Bedlem, and gaue a peece of money, and ſent him thether. It ſeemeth that he was poſſeſſed with an euill ſpirite, from the which God defend vs all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therfore repent and amend, leſt the vengeaunce of GOD fall vpon you in like maner. Witnes hereof William Mauldon of Newyngton.

Gods puniſhment vpon a young damſell of 12. yeares olde, blaſpheming the Maieſtie of God.

The ſame William Mauldon chaunced afterward to dwell at a Towne vj. myles from London called Waltamſtow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1563. & the fourth yeare of Queene Elizabethes reigne. Unto this ſchole, amongeſt other children, came one Benfieldes daughter named Denis, about the age of twelue yeares.

As theſe children ſat talkyng together, they happened among other talke (as the nature of children is, to be buſie with many thynges) to fall in communication of GOD, and to reaſon among them ſelues, after their childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be.

Whereunto ſome aunſwered one thyng, ſome an other. Among whom when one of the children had ſayd, that he was a good old father: the foreſayd Denis Benfield caſtyng out impious wordes of horrible blaſphemy: what he (ſayd ſhe) is an old dotyng foole.

What wretched and blaſphemous wordes were theſe ye heare. Now marke what folowed.

When William Mauldon heard of theſe abhominable wordes of the gyrle, hee willed his wife to correct her for the ſame. Whiche was appoynted, the next day to bee done. But when the next morow came, her mother would neede ſend her to the market to London, the wench greatly intreatyng her mother that ſhe might not go, beyng maruelouſly vnwillyng thereunto. Howbeit through her mothers compulſion, ſhe was forced to goe, and went. And what happened? Her buſineſſe beyng done at London, as ſhe was returnyng agayne homeward, and beyng a little paſt Hackney, ſodenly the young gyrle was ſo ſtricken, that all the one ſide of her was blacke, and ſhe ſpeachles. Whereupon immediately ſhe was caryed backe to Hackney, and there the ſame night was buryed. Witnes of the ſame ſtory William Mauldon and his wife, alſo Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all alyue.

Blaſphemy puniſhed.

A terrible example (no doubt) both to old & young, what it is for children to blaſpheme the Lord their GOD, and what it is for parentes to ſuffer their young ones to grow

A leſſon to children and young gyrles.

vp in ſuch blaſphemous blyndnes, and not to nurture them betyme in the rudimentes of the Chriſtian Catechiſme, to know firſt their creation, and then their redēption in Chriſt our Sauiour: to feare the name of GOD, & to reuerence his Maieſtie. For els what do they deſerue but to be taken away by death, which cōtemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the benefite of lyfe?

And therfore let all young mayden, boyes, & young men, take example by this wretched ſely wench, not onely not to blaſpheme the ſacrate Maieſtie of the omnipotēt God their creator, but alſo not once to take his name in vayne, accordyng as they are taught in his commaundementes.

A leſſon to fathers and Godmothers.

Secondly, let all Fathers, Godfathers, and Godmothers take this for a warnyng, to ſee to the inſtruction and Catechiſing of their children, for whom they haue bounde them ſelues in promiſe both to GOD and to his Church. Which if the Father, and Godfather, the mother and Godmothers had done to this young gyrle, verely it may bee thought this deſtruction had not fallen vpon her.

A leſſon to all Atheiſtes, Epicures, and Infidels.

Thirdly, all blynde Atheiſtes, Epicures, Mammoniſtes, belly Gods of this world, & ſonnes of Beliall, hypocrites, infidelles, and mockers of Religion, whiche ſay in their hartes (there is no God) learne alſo hereby, not onely what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, to behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the world to come, vnleſſe they will be warned betyme, by ſuch examples as the Lord God doth geue them.

A leſſon to all blaſphemers and ſwearers.

Fourthly and laſtly, here may alſo bee a ſpectacle for all them whiche be blaſphemous and abhominable ſwearers or rather tearers of GOD, abuſing his glorious name in ſuch contemptuous and deſpitefull ſorte as they vſe to do. Whom if neither the worde and commaundement of GOD, nor the callyng of the Preachers, nor remorſe of conſcience, nor rule of reaſon, nor their witheryng age, nor horye heares will admoniſhe: yet let theſe terrible examples of Gods diſtrict Iudgement ſomewhat moue them to take heede to them ſelues. For if this young mayden, who was not fully xij. yeares old, for her vnreuerent ſpeaking of God (and that but at one tyme) did not eſcape the ſtroke of Gods terrible hand, what then haue they to looke for, which beyng men growen in yeares, and ſtricken in age, beyng ſo often warned and preached vnto, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous othes, not onely to abuſe his name, but alſo moſt contumeliouſly and deſpitefully to teare him (as it were) and all his partes in peeces?

Leuar of Abingdon, a blaſphemer of Gods Martyrs, plagued.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1565. at Brightwell in the County of Barkſhyre, vppon certaine communication as touchyng the right reuerent Martyrs in Chriſt Byſhoppe Cranmer, Byſhop Ridley and Maiſter Hugh Latymer, there came into an houſe in Abyngdon one whoſe name is Leuar, beyng a Plowman, dwellyng in Brightwell aforeſayd, and ſayd, that he ſaw that euill fauoured knaue Latymer when he was burned: And alſo in deſpite ſayd, that he had teeth like a horſe. At which tyme and houre, as neare as could be gathered, the ſonne of the ſayd Leauer moſt wickedly hanged him ſelfe, at Shepton in the County aforeſayd within a myle of Abyngdon.

Theſe wordes were ſpoken in the hearyng
of me Thomas Ienens of Abyngdon.

Tho. Arundell Archb. of Canterbury.

Did not Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury giue Sentence agaynſt the Lord Cobham, and dyed him ſelfe before him, beyng ſo ſtricken in his toung, that neither he could ſwallow nor ſpeake for a certaine ſpace before his death? pag. 567.

Fryer Campbell plagued.

Frier Campbell, the accuſer of Patrike Hamelton in Scotlād what a terrible end he had, read before pag. 948.

Gods Iudgement vpon Haruy a perſecuting Commiſſary.

Haruey a cōmiſſary that cōdēned a poore mā in Calyce, was ſhortly after hāged, drawen, & quartered, pag. 1200.

Gods iuſt plague vpon William Swallow.

William Swallow the cruell tormentor of George Egles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the heare of his head, & nayles of his fingers & toes went of, his eyes welneare cloſed vppe, that he could ſcant ſee. His wife alſo was ſtricken with the fallyng ſicknes, with the which malady ſhe was neuer infected before, pag. 1902.

Gods iuſt plague vpon Richard Potto.

Likewiſe Richard Potto, an other troubler of the ſayd George Egles, vppon a certaine anger or chafe with hys ſeruauntes, was ſo ſodenly taken with ſickeneſſe, that fallyng vpon his bed like a beaſt there he dyed and neuer ſpake word, pag. 1902.

Richard Denton burned in his owne houſe.

Richard Denton, a ſhrinker from the Goſpell, while he refuſed to ſuffer the fire in the Lordes quarell, was afterward burned in his owne houſe with two moe, pag. 1612.

Fettyes wyfe ſtricken with madnes.

The wife of Iohn Fetty beyng the cauſe of the takyng of her huſband, how ſhe was immediatly vppon the ſame by Gods hand ſtricken with madnes, and was diſtract out of her wittes, read before, pag. 1949.

Thomas Mowle and George Reuet, ij. perſecutours, were ſtricken miſerably with the hand of GOD, and ſo dyed, pag. 1811.

Rob. Edgore bereft of his wittes.

Alſo Robert Edgore, for that hee had executed the office of a Pariſhe Clarke agaynſt his conſcience, through anguiſh and grief of conſcience for the ſame, was ſo bereft of his wittes, that he was kept in chaynes and bondes many yeares after, pag. 1811.

Two Papiſtes of new Colledge in Oxford drowned themſelues.

As touchyng Iohn Plankney fellowe of New Colledge in Oxford, Ciuilian, and one Hanyngton, both fellowes of the ſame houſe aforeſayd, and both ſtubburne Papiſtes, the matter is not much worthy the memory: yet the example is not vnworthy to be noted, to ſee what litle comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortles doctrine & profeſſion of Papiſtry, as in theſe ij. young men, amongeſt many other may well appeare. Of whom the one, whiche was Plankney, ſcholer ſometyme to Marſhall (who wrote the booke of the Croſſe) is commonly reported and knowen to them of that Vniuerſitie, to haue drowned him ſelfe in the riuer about Ruly, at Oxford, an. 1566: the other in a well about Rome, or as ſome do ſay, at Padua, and ſo being both drowned, were both taken vp with Crucifixes, as it is ſayd of ſome, hangyng about their neckes: the more pitie, that ſuch young ſtudentes did ſo much addict their wittes, rather to take the way of Papiſtry, then to walke in the comfortable light of the Goſpell, now ſo brightly ſpreadyng his beames in all the world, whiche if they had done I thinke not contrary, but it had proued much better with them.

A ſtory of a Courtier and one of the Garde, which happened, An. 1568.

Albeit (I truſt) the Goſpell of Chriſt beyng now receaued in the Queenes Court amongeſt the Courtiers and ſeruauntes of her Garde, hath framed their lyues and manners, ſo to lyue in the due feare of GOD and temperaunce of lyfe, with all ſobrietie, and mercyfull compaſſion toward their euenchriſten, that they neede not greatly any other inſtructions to be geuen them in this ſtory: yet for ſo much as examples many tymes doe worke more effectually in the myndes and memoryes of men: and alſo partly conſideryng with me ſelfe, how theſe, aboue all other ſortes of men in the whole Realme, in tyme paſt haue euer had moſt neede of ſuch holeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leaue their vnordinate ryot of quaffyng and drinkyng, and their Heatheniſh prophanatie of lyfe: I thought here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtraunge and foreine perſon, but of one of their owne Coate, a Yeoman of the Gard, not fayned by me, but brought to me by Gods prouidence for a warnyng to all Courtiers, and done of very truth no longer agoe then in the yeare of our Lord. 1568. And as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the partie not vnknowen, beyng called Chriſtopher Landeſdale, dwellyng in Hackney in Middleſex. The order of whoſe lyfe, and maner of his death beyng worthy to be noted, is this as in ſtory here vnder foloweth.

Admonition to Courtiers.

An example of Chriſtopher Landeſdale, one of the Garde, for all Courtiers to looke vpon.

This foreſayd Landeſdale beyng maried to an auncient woman yet liuyng, hauyng by her both goodes and landes, notwithſtādyng liued long in filthy whoredome with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a ſonne and a daughter, and kept them in his houſe vnto the day of hys death. Alſo when he ſhould haue bene in ſeruyng of God on the Sabbaoth day, hee vſed to walke or ride about his fieldes, & ſeldome he or any of his houſe came to the Church after the Engliſh ſeruice was agayne receiued. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer and a great drunkard, and had great delight alſo in makyng other men drunken, and would haue them whom he had made drunkardes, to call him father, and he would call them his ſonnes: and of theſe ſonnes by report, he had aboue fourty. And if he had ſeene one that would drinke freely, he would marke him, and ſpend his money with him liberally in ale, or wyne, but moſt in wine, to make him the ſooner drūken. Theſe bleſſed ſonnes of his ſhould haue great cheare oftētymes, both at his owne houſe and at tauernes: & not long before his death he was ſo beaſtly drunken in a tauerne ouer agaynſt his doore, that he fell down in the tauerne yarde, and could not ariſe alone, but lay groueling, till he was holpen vp and ſo caryed home.

Landeſdale a feaſter of the rich, and vnmercifull to the poore.

This father of drunkardes, as he was a great feaſter of the riche and wealthy of Hackney and others, ſo hys poore neighbours and poore tenauntes fared litle the better for him: except it were with ſome broken meate, which after his feaſtes, his wife would cary and ſend vnto them, or ſome almes geuen at his doore.

Beſides all this, he did much iniury to his poore neighbours in oppreſſyng the commons neare about him, which was a ſpeciall relief vnto them, ſo that his cattell eate vp all without pitie or mercy.

Poore Lazarus lying by the rich mans doore.

There chaunced after this about two yeares before hee dyed, a poore man, beyng ſicke of the bloudy flixe, for very weakenes, to lye downe in a ditche of the ſayd Landeſdales not a ſtones caſt from his houſe, where he had a litle ſtraw brought him. Notwithſtandyng the ſayd Landeſdale had backe houſes and barnes enowe to haue layde hym in, but would not ſhew hym ſo much pitie. And thus poore Lazarus there lay night and day, about ſixe weekes ere he dyed.

Certayne good neighbours hearyng of this, procured thynges neceſſary for his releefe, but he was ſo farre ſpent, that he could not be recouered: who lay broylyng in the hot ſunne with a horrible ſmel, moſt pitiful to behold.

This poore man a litle before he dyed, deſired to be remoued to an other ditch, into the ſhadow. Wherupon one of the neighbours commyng to Landeſdales wyfe, for a bundel of ſtraw for hym to lye vpon, ſhee required to haue hym remoued to Newingtō ſide, becauſe (ſhee ſayd) if he ſhould dye, it would be very farre to cary hym to the church.

Yet the rich glutton was better, for he ſuffered Lazarus to lye at his gates.

Beſides this, there was a mariage in this Lādeſdales houſe, and the geſtes that came to the marriage, gaue the poore man money as they came and went by hym, but Landeſdale diſdayned to contribute any releefe vnto hym, notwithſtandyng that he had promiſed to M. Searles, one of the Queenes Gard (who had more pitie of hym) to miniſter to hym thynges neceſſary.

To be ſhort, the next day poore Lazarus departed this lyfe, & was buryed in Hackney Churchyard: Vpon whō Landeſdale did not beſtow ſo much as a windyng ſheete, or any thyng els towardes his buriall. And thus much concernyng the end of poore Lazarus. Now let vs heare what became of the rich glutton.

The death of poore Lazarus in the ditch.

About two yeares after this, the ſaid Landeſdale beyng ful of drinke (as his cuſtome was) came riding in great haſt from London on S. Andrewes day in the euenyng, an. 1568. and as it is reported by thoſe that ſaw hym) reelyng to & fro like a drunkard, with his hat in his hand, and commyng by a ditch, there tumbled headlong into the ditch. Some ſay that the horſe fell vpon hym, but that is not like. This is true: the horſe more ſober then the maiſter, came home leauyng his maiſter behynd hym. Whether he brake his necke with the fal, or was drowned (for the water was ſcarſly a foote deepe) it is vncertayne: but certaine it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he beyng foūd dead in the ditch, the Crowner (as the maner is) ſate vpon hym: and how the matter was handled for ſauyng his goods, the lord knoweth: but in the ende ſo it fell out, that the goodes were ſaued, and the poore horſe indited for his maſters death.

The end of this vnmercifull Epicure in the ditch.

The neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and conſideryng the maner therof, ſaid, it was iuſtly fallen vpon hym, that as he ſuffered the poore man to lye and dye in the ditch neare vnto hym, ſo his end was to dye in a ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in this ſtory (Chriſtian brother and Reader) the true image of a riche glutton & poore Lazarus, ſet out before thine eyes. whereby we haue all to learne, what happeneth in the ende to ſuch voluptuous Epicures and Atheiſtes, which beyng voyd of al ſenſe of Religion and feare of God, yeelde them ſelues ouer to all prophanitie of lyfe, neither regarding any honeſtie at home, nor ſhewing any mercy to their needy neighbour abroade.

The image of the rich glutton, and poore Lazarus.

Chriſt our Sauiour ſaith: Bleſſed be the mercyfull, for they ſhal obteyne mercy: but iudgement without mercye ſhall be executed on them which haue ſhewed no mercye, &c. And Saint Iohn ſaith: He that ſeeth his brother haue neede, and ſhutteth vp his compaſſion from hym, howe dwelleth the loue of God in hym? &c. Agayne, Eſay againſt ſuch prophane drunkardes and quaffers, thus cryeth out: Woe be vnto them that ryſe vp early to folow drunkennes, and to them that ſo continue vntyll night, tyll they be ſet on fire with wyne. In thoſe companyes are Harpes and Lutes, Tabrets and Pypes, and wyne: but they regarde not the workes of the Lord, and conſider not the operation of his handes. &c. Woe be vnto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out wyne, and experte to ſet vp drunkenneſſe. &c.

Math. 5.

1. Iohn 3.

The puniſhmentes of them that be dead, be wholeſome documentes to men that be alyue. And therfore as the ſtorie aboue exemplified may ſerue to warne al Courtiers and yeomen of the Garde: ſo by this that foloweth, I woulde wiſh all Gentlemen to take good heede and admonition betyme, to leaue their outragious ſwearing and blaſphemyng of the Lord their God.

A warning to gentlemen.

In the tyme and raigne of kyng Edward, there was in Cornewall a certaine luſty young Gentleman, whiche dyd ride in company with other moe Gentlemen, together with their ſeruantes, being about the number of twenty horſmen. Amongeſt whom this luſty yonker entring into talke, began to ſweare, moſt horribly blaſphemyng the name of God with other ribauldry wordes beſides. Vnto whom one of the company (who is yet alyue, and witnes hereof) not able to abyde the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, in gentle wordes ſpeaking to hym, ſaid, he ſhoulde geue anſwere and account for euery idle word.

A fearefull example of Gods puniſhment vpon a gentleman a great ſwearer, in Cornewall.

The Gentleman takyng ſnuffe therat: Why (ſaid he) takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy windyng ſheete. Well (quoth the other) amend, for death geueth no warnyng: for as ſoone cōmeth a lambes ſkyn to the market, as an olde ſheepes. Gods woundes (ſaith he) care not thou for me, raging ſtil after this maner worſe and worſe in wordes, tyl at length paſſing on their iourney, they came ridyng ouer a great bridge, ſtandyng ouer a peece of an arme of the ſea. Vpon the which bridge this Gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch ſort, as he ſprang cleane ouer with the man on his backe. Who as he was goyng, cryed, ſaying: horſe & man, and al to the deuil. This terrible ſtory happenyng in a towne in Cornewall, I woulde haue bene afrayde amongeſt theſe ſtories here to recite, were it not that he which was then both reprehender of his ſwearyng & witnes of his death, is yet alyue, and nowe a Miniſter, named Heynes. Beſides this, alſo biſhop Ridley then biſhop of London, preached and vttered euen the ſame fact and example at Paules Croſſe. The name of the gentlemā I could by no meanes obteyne of the party and witnes aforeſaid, for dread of thoſe (as he ſaith) which yet remayne of his affinitie and kynred in the ſaid countrey.

Gentle exhortation neglected.

The terrible end of a ſwearer.

Hauyng nowe ſufficiently admoniſhed, firſt the Courtyers, then the Gentlemen: now thirdly for a briefe admonition to the Lawyers, we wyl here inſert the ſtraunge end and death of one Henry Smyth ſtudent of the lawe.

This Henry Smyth hauyng a godly Gentleman to his father, & an auncient proteſtant, dwellyng in Camden, in Gloceſter ſhyre, was by hym vertuouſly brought vp in the knowledge of Gods word, and ſincere religion: wherin he ſhewed hym ſelfe in the beginnyng, ſuch an earneſt profeſſour, that he was called of the Papiſtes, pratling Smith. After theſe good beginnynges it folowed, that he commyng to be a ſtudent of the lawe in the myddle Temple at London, there through ſiniſter company of ſome, & eſpecially as it is thought, of one Gyfford, began to be peruerted to popery, & afterwarde going to Louane, was more deepely rooted and grounded in the ſame: and ſo continuing a certaine ſpace among the papiſts, of a yong proteſtant, at length was made a perfect papiſt. In ſo much, that returning from thence, he brought with him pardōs, a Crucifixe, with an Agnus dei, which he vſed cōmonly to weare about his necke, & had in his chamber, Images, before which he was wont to pray. Beſides diuers other popiſh traſh, which he brought with hym from Louane. Now what ende folowed after this, I were loth to vtter in ſtory, but that the fact ſo lately done, this preſent yeare. an. 1569. remayneth yet ſo freſh in memorie, that almoſt all the citie of London not only can wytnes, but alſo doth wonder therat. The end was this.

The miſerable ende of Henry Smith a Lawyer of the midle Temple after he was peruerted from the Goſpell.

Note what lewde company doeth in corrupting good natures.

M. Smithes Images and Agnus Dei.

Not long after the ſayd Henry Smyth with Gyfford his companion was returned from Louane, beyng nowe a foule gyzer and a ſcornefull ſcoffer of that religion which before he profeſſed, in his chamber where he lay in a houſe in Saint Clementes Pariſhe without Temple Barre, in the euenyng as he was goyng to bedde, and his clothes put of (for he was founde naked) he had tyed his ſhyrt, (which he had torne to the ſame purpoſe) about his priuie places, and ſo with his owne gyrdle, or Rybon garter (as it ſeemed) faſtned to the bedpoſt, there ſtrangled hym ſelf. They that were of his Queſt and other, which ſaw the maner of his hangyng, and the point where he ſate vpon his bed ſide, do record that he thruſt hym ſelfe downe from his beds ſide where he ſate, the place where he had faſtned the gyrdle beyng ſo low, that his hyppes welneare touched the floore, his legges lying acroſſe, and his armes ſpread abroad. And this was the maner of his hangyng, hangyng his Agnus Dei in a ſyluer tablet, with his other idolatrous traſh in the windowe by hym. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the Churchyarde, he was buryed in a Lane called Foſkew Lane.

Henry Smith a Lawyer hanged himſelfe in his chamber, and after what maner

This heauye and dreadfull ende of Henry Smyth, although it mighte ſeeme enough to gender a terrour to all young Papiſh ſtudents of the lawe: yet it dyd not ſo worke with all, but that ſome remayned as obſtinate ſtyll, as they were before. Amongeſt whom was one named Williams, a ſtudent of the Inner Temple, who beyng ſometyme a fauourer of the Goſpell, fell in like maner from that, to be an obſtinate Papiſt, a deſpitefull rayler agaynſt true Religion, and in concluſion was ſo hot in his Catholike zeale, that in the myddeſt of his raylyng, he fell ſtarke mad, and ſo yet to this preſent day remayneth. The Lord of his mercy turne hym to a better mynd, and conuert hym, if it be his pleaſure. Amen.

One Williams a Lawyer, and a rayler agaynſt the Goſpell, fell madde.

The miſerable ende of Twyford, is here no leſſe to be remembred, a buſie doer ſometymes in kyng Henryes

Of the miſerable end of this Twyford, read before pag. 1218.

dayes by Boners appointment, in ſettyng vp of ſtakes for the burnyng of poore Martyrs. Who when he ſaw yͤ ſtakes conſume away ſo faſt: ye ſayd he, will not theſe ſtakes hold? I will haue a ſtake (I trow) that ſhall hold, and ſo prouided a bygge tree, and cuttyng of the toppe, ſet it in Smithfield. But thankes be to God, or euer the tree was all conſumed, God turned the ſtate of Religion, and he fell into a horrible diſeaſe, rotyng aliue aboue the grounde before he dyed. Read more of hym, pag. 1228. But becauſe the ſtory both of hym and of a number ſuch other like, is to be foūd in ſundry places of this hiſtory ſufficiently before expreſſed it ſhall bee but a double laboure agayne to recapitulate the ſame.

Declaration of foreine examples.

Wherfore, to paſſe ouer our owne domeſticall examples of Engliſh perſecuters plagued by gods hand (wherof this our preſent ſtory doth abound) I will ſtretch my penne a litle further to adioyne withall a few like examples in foreine countreys.

¶ Foreine Examples.

Hofmeiſter ſodenly ſtricken with death going to Ratiſbone.

HOfmeiſter the great archpapiſt, and chiefe maſterpyller of the Popes falling Church, as he was in his iourney going towards the Councel of Ratiſbone, to diſpute againſt the defenders of Chriſtes goſpel, ſodenly in his iourney, not farre from Vlmes, was preuented by the ſtroke of Gods hand, and there miſerably dyed, with horrible roring & crying out. Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei.

What inconuenience commeth by the Popes deſperate doctrine.

What a pernitious & peſtilent doctrine is this of the papiſtes, which leadeth men to ſeeke their ſaluation by merits and workes of the law, and not by faith onely in Chriſt the ſonne of God, and to ſtay them ſelues by grace? And what inconuenience this doctrine of doubting and deſperation bringeth men to at length, if the plaine worde of God wyll not ſufficiently admoniſhe vs, yet let vs be warned by examples of ſuch as haue bene eyther teachers or folowers of this doctrine, and conſider wel what end commonly it hath and doth bring men vnto. To recite all that may be ſayd in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonitions ſake, it ſhalbe requiſite.

The Miſerable ende of Guarlacus reader in Louane.

In the Vniuerſitie of Louane was one named Guarlacus a learned mā, brought vp in that ſchole, who at lēgth was reader of Diuinitie to the Monkes of S. Gertrudes order. Where after he had ſtoutly mainteyned the corrupt errors of ſuch popiſh doctrine, at laſt fallyng ſicke, when he perceyued no way with hym but death, he fel into a miſerable agonie & perturbatiō of ſpirit, crying out of his ſinnes, how wickedly he had lyued, and that he was not able to abyde the iudgement of God, and ſo caſting out wordes of miſerable deſperation, ſaid, his ſinnes were greater then that he could be pardoned, and in that deſperation wretchedly he ended his lyfe. Ex Epiſtola Claudij Senarclæi ad Bucerum ante hiſtor. de morte Diazij.

The ſtory of Arnoldus Bomelius ſtudent at Louane.

An other like example we haue of Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the ſaid Vniuerſitie of Louane, wel cōmended for his freſh floriſhing wyt & ripenes of learning, who ſo long as he fauoured the cauſe of the Goſpel, & tooke part with the ſame agaynſt the enemies of the truth, he proſpered and went wel forward, but after that he drue to the company of Tyleman, maiſter of the Popes Colledge in Louane, and framed hym ſelfe after the rule of his vnſauery doctrine, that is, to ſtand in feare and doubt of his iuſtification, and to worke his ſaluation by merits and deedes of yͤ law, he began more & more to grow in doubtful diſpayre & diſcomfort of mynd: As the nature of that doctrine is, vtterly to plucke away a mans mynde from all certaintie and true libertie of ſpirit, to a ſeruile doubtfulnes, ful of diſcomfort and bondage of ſoule.

Note what euill inſtruction and company doth.

Thus the yong man ſeduced & peruerted through this blynd doctrine of ignorance & dubitation, fel into a great agonie of mind, wandring and wraſtlyng in hymſelfe a long ſpace, tyl at lēgth being ouercome wͭ diſpayre, & not hauyng in yͤ popiſh doctrine wherwith to raiſe vp his ſoule, he wēt out of the citie on a tyme to walke, accompanied with three other ſtudents of yͤ ſame Vniuerſitie, his ſpecial familiars. Who after their walke, as they returned home agayne, Arnoldus for wearynes (as it ſeemed) ſate downe by a ſpring ſide to reſt hym a whyle. The other ſuppoſing none other but that he for wearynes there reſted to refreſh hym ſelfe, went forward a litle paſt hym. In the meane tyme, what doth Arnoldus, but ſodenly taketh out his daggar, & ſtroke hym ſelfe into the body.

An horrible example of Arnoldus Bomelius which killed hymſelfe with his owne dagger.

His felowes ſeeing hym ſhrinkyng downe, and the fountaine to be al colored with the bloud which iſſued out of the wound, came runnyng to hym to take hym vp, and ſo ſearchyng his body where the wound ſhould be, at length foūd what he had done, and howe he had ſtriken hym ſelfe with his daggar into the breſt. Whereupon they tooke hym and brought hym into an houſe next at hand, and there exhorted hym as wel as they could, to repent his fact: who then by outward geſture ſeemed to geue ſome ſhew of repentāce. Notwithſtandyng the ſaide Arnoldus eſpying one of his frendes there buſie about hym, to haue a knyfe hangyng at his gyrdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with maine force ſtabbed hym ſelfe to the hart.

Admonition to our Louanians.

By theſe Louanian examples, as we haue al to learne, no man to be ſure of his life, but that he alwayes needeth to craue and call vnto the Lord to bleſſe hym with his truth and grace: ſo eſpecially would I wiſh our Engliſhe Louanians, which now make fortes in that Vniuerſitie againſt the open truth of Chriſtes goſpel, to be wiſe in time, and not to ſpurne ſo againſt the pricke. Ne forte, &c.

Iacobus Latomus of Louane.

Or if they thinke yet theſe examples not enough for ſufficient admonition, let them ioyne hereto the remembrance alſo of Iacobus Latomus, a chiefe & principall captayne of the ſame Vniuerſitie of Louane. Who after he had bene at Bruxels, and there thinkyng to do a great act agaynſt Luther & his felowes, made an Oration before the Emperour, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly, that he was laughed to ſcorne almoſt of the whole Court. Then returnyng frō thence to Louan agayn, in his publike lecture he fel in an open fury & madnes, vttering ſuch wordes of deſperatiō & blaſphemous impietie, that the other Diuines which wer there, & namely Ruardus Anchuſianus, were fayne to cary hym away as he was rauyng, & ſo ſhut hym into a cloſe chamber. From that tyme vnto his laſt breath, Latomus had neuer any thing els in his mouth, but that he was damned, & reiected of God, and that there was no hope of ſaluation for him, becauſe that wittingly & againſt his knowledge he withſtood the manifeſt truth of his word. Ex Epiſt. Senarclæi ante hiſtor. de morte Diazij. Item, Ex Oratione Pauli Eberi in comitijs Wittēbergæ habita.

Iacobus Latomus an enemie to the Goſpell, brought to madnes and deſperation.

The terrible wordes of Latomus in his deſperation.

Gods will in his worde to accept our fayth onely for iuſtification.

Thus almighty God, not only by his word, but by examples alſo, diuers and ſundry wiſe doth warne vs, firſt to ſeeke to know the perfect wyll and decree of the Lorde our God appoynted in his word. The perfect wil and ful teſtament of the Lord in his word is this, that he hath ſent and geuen his onely ſonne vnto vs, being fully contented to accept our fayth onely vpon hym for our perfect iuſtification and full ſatiſfaction for all our tranſgreſſions: & this is called in Scripture, Iuſticia Dei. To this wyl and righteouſnes of God, they that humbly ſubmyt them ſelues, finde peace and reſt in their ſoules, that no man is able to expreſſe, and haue ſtrength enough agaynſt all the inuaſions & tentations of Satan.

Obedience to Gods will rewarded.

Diſobedience to Gods will puniſhed.

Contrarywiſe, they that wyll not yeelde their obedience vnto the wyll and ordinaunce of God expreſſed in his worde, but wyll ſeeke their owne righteouſneſſe, which is of man, labouryng by their merites and ſatiſfactions to ſerue and pleaſe God: theſe not onely doo finde with God no righteouſnes at all, but in ſteede of his fauour, procure to them ſelues his horrible indignation, in ſteede of comfort, heape to them ſelues deſperation, and in the ende what inconuenience they come to, by theſe aboue recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is euident to ſee. And out of this fountaine ſpringeth not onely the puniſhmentes of theſe men, but alſo all other inconueniences whiche happen amongeſt men, where ſo euer this pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the Papiſtes taketh place.

The chiefe fountayne of all miſchiefe in the world.

A Fryer of Munſter ſtricken with lighening.

A Dominicke Fryer of Mounſter, as he was inueying in the Pulpite agaynſte the Doctrine of the Goſpell then ſpringyng vp, was ſtriken with a ſodayne flaſhe of lighenyng, and ſo ended his lyfe. Ex Pantal. in. 1. parte. Rerum memor.

A Taylors ſeruaunt in Lipſia.

Manlius in his booke, De dictis Philippi Melancth. maketh mention of a certaine Taylors ſeruaunt in Lypſia, who receiuyng firſt the Sacrament in both kyndes with the Goſpellers, and afterward beyng perſwaded by the papiſtes, receyued with thē vnder one kynde. Whereupon beyng admoniſhed of his mayſter to come to the Communion agayne in the Church of the Goſpellers, he ſtoode a greate whyle and made no anſweare. At laſt crying out vpon a ſodaine, he ranne to the wyndow therby, and ſo caſt hym ſelfe out and brake his necke.

In the ſame Manlius mention is alſo made of a certayne Gentleman of name and authoritie, but he nameth hym not, who hearyng theſe wordes in a ſong: Ein feſte

burg

Gods puniſhment vpon a certaine popiſh gentleman vnnamed.

1558.

burg iſt unſer Gott: that is, Our onely hold or fortreſſe is our God. Pſalm. 46. aunſweared, and ſaid: Ich wil helffé die burg zerſchieſſé, oder ich wil nit leben: yͭ is I wyll helpe to ſhake agaynſt thy ſtay or fort, or els I wyll not lyue. And ſo within three dayes after he dyed without repentaunce, or confeſſing his fayth. Ex Manlio, De dictis Philip. Melancth.

Sadoletus Cardinall.

Of Sadoletus the learned Cardinall likewiſe it is reported of ſome, that he dyed not without great torments of conſcience and deſperation.

The Comendator of S. Antony plagued.

The Commendator of S. Antony, who ſate as ſpirituall Iudge ouer that godly learned man Wolfgangus, burned in Lotharyng, in Germanie, and gaue ſentence of his condemnatiõ, fell ſodainly dead ſhortly after. Reade before. pag. 857.

Abbot of Charilocus ſodeinley dead.

Alſo his felow the Abbot of Clarilocus, and Suffragan to the Biſhop of Metz, at the crackle of gunnes ſodenly fel downe and dyed. pag. 857.

David Beaton Archb. of Scotland perſecutor ſlayne in hys owne Caſtle.

David Beaton Archbiſhop of S. Andrews in Scotland, ſhortly after the burnyng of M. George Wiſard, how he by the iuſt ſtroke of God was ſlayne, and wretchedly ended his life within his owne Caſtle, in the diſcourſe of his ſtory is euident to ſee, who ſo lyſteth further to reade of that matter. pag 1235.

Ex Ioan Sleidano. Lib. 23.

Ioannes Sleidanus, in his. 23. booke maketh relation of Cardinal Creſcentius, the chiefe Preſident and moderator of the Councel of Trident. an. 1552. The ſtory of whõ is certayne, the thyng that happened to hym was ſtraunge and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others ſuch as haue grace to be warned by other mens perils. The narration is this.

The terrible iudgement of God vpon Cardinall Creſcentius, Preſident of the Councell of Trident. An. 1552.

The. 25. day of March in the yere aforeſaid, Creſcẽtius the Popes Legate & Vicegerent in the Cõcel of Tridẽt, was ſittyng all the day long vnto darke night in writing letters to the Pope. After his labor, whẽ night was come, thinkyng to refreſh hym ſelf, he began to riſe: and at his riſing, behold there appeared to hym a mighty blacke dog of a huge bignes, his eyes flamyng with fire, & his eares hanging low down welneare to the ground, to enter in & ſtrayt to come toward hym, and ſo to couch vnder the bord. The Cardinal not a litle amaſed at the ſight therof, ſomwhat recouering hymſelfe, called to his ſeruaunts, which were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, & to ſeeke for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there nor in no other chamber about, the Cardinal therupõ ſtriken with a ſodayn conceit of mynd, immediatly fell into ſuch a ſicknes, wherof his Phiſicions which he had about hym, with al their induſtry & cunnyng could not cure hym. And ſo in the towne of Verona dyed this popiſh Cardinall, yͤ Popes holy Legate, & Preſident of this Cõcel: wherin his purpoſe was (as Sleidane ſaith) to recouer and heale againe the whole authoritie & doctrine of the Romiſh See, and to ſet it vp for euer.

The wretched end of Cardinall Creſcentius Preſident of the Councell of Trent.

There were in this Councell beſides the Popes Legates and Cardinall of Trident. lxij. Biſhops, Doctours of Diuinitie. xlij. And thus was the ende of that Popiſh Councell, by the prouident hand of the almighty, diſpatched and brought to nought. Ex Sleidano Li. 23.

Two adulterous Biſhops of Trident Councell, iuſtly ſlayne in adultery.

This Councell of Trident being then diſſolued by the death of this Cardinall, was afterward notwithſtandyng recollected agayne about the yeare of our Lord. 1562. agaynſt the erroneous proceadynges of which Councell, other writers there be that ſay enough. So much as perteyneth onely to ſtory, I thought hereunto to adde concernyng two filthy adulterous Biſhops to the ſaid Councel belõgyng, of whom the one hauntyng to an honeſt mans wyfe, was ſlaine by the iuſt ſtroke of God, with a Bore Speare. The other Biſhop, whoſe haunt was to creepe through a wyndow, in the ſame wyndow was ſubtilly taken and hanged in a gryn, layd for hym of purpoſe, and ſo conueyed, that in the mornyng he was ſeene openly in the ſtreat hangyng out of the wyndow, to the wonderment of al that paſſed by. Ex proteſtatione Concionatorum Germa. aduerſus conuentum Trident. &c.

D. Eckius the Popes ſtout Champion.

Amongeſt all the religious orders of Papiſtes, who was a ſtouter defender of the Popes ſide: or a more vehement impugner of Martin Luther, then Iohn Eckius, who, if his cauſe wherein he ſo trauailed, had bene godly, had deſerued (no doubt) great fauour and condigne retribution at the handes of the Lord. Now for ſo much as we can not better iudge of hym then by his ende, let vs conſider the maner of his departyng hence, and compare the ſame with the end of M. Luther.

The end of Martin Luther compared to the end of Eckius.

In the which M. Luther, being ſuch an aduerſary as he was to the Pope, and hauyng no leſſe then all the world vpon him at once, firſt this is to be noted, that after al theſe trauailes, the Lord gaue hym to depart both in great age, & in his owne natiue cõtrey where he was borne. Secondly, he bleſſed hym with ſuch a quiet death, without any violent hand of any aduerſary, that it was counted rather a ſleepe then a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was myld, ſo his ſpirit & mynd continued no leſſe godly vnto the end, continually inuocatyng and callyng vpon the name of the Lord, & ſo cõmending his ſpirit to hym with feruent prayer, he made a bleſſed and an heauenly endyng. Fourthly, ouer and beſides theſe bleſſinges, almighty God dyd alſo adde vnto hym ſuch an honorable buryall, as to many great princes vnneth happeneth the like. And thus briefly concernyng the end of M. Luther, as ye may reade before more at large. pag. 838.

The maner of Iohn Eckius death.

Now let vs conſider & conferre with this the death of Iohn Eckius & the maner therof, which we find in yͤ Engliſh tranſlatiõ of the hiſtory of Io. Carion. fo. 250. in theſe wordes expreſſed. This yere (ſaith he) dyed at Ingolſtat doctor Eckius a faithfull ſeruant & champion of the Pope, and a defender of the abominable Papacie. But as his lyfe was ful of al vngodlynes, vncleannes, & blaſphemy, ſo was his end miſerable, hard, and pitiful, in ſo much that his laſt wordes (as it is noted of many credible perſons) wer theſe: In caſe the foure thouſand guildens were redy, the matter were diſpatched. &c. (Dreamyng belike of ſome Cardinalſhip that he ſhould haue bought.) Some ſay, that the Pope had graunted hym a certayne Deanery, which he ſhoulde haue redeemed from the Court of Rome with the foreſayd ſumme. Now what a heauenly end this was of M. Eckius, I leaue it to the readers iudgement.

Eckius laſt wordes.
Eckius dieth dreaming of his guildens.
Ex Appendice Hiſt. Ioan. Carionis.

Gods iudgement vpon one Iohn Vander Warſe: Shoulted of Antwarpe, a perſecutor.

In the citie of Antwerp was (as they terme him there) a Shoulted, that is to ſay, the next officer to yͤ Markgraue one named Iohn Vander Warſe; a Baſtarde ſonne of a ſtocke or kinrede called Warſe, of good eſtimation amongeſt the chiefeſt in Antwarpe: who as he was of nature cruell, ſo was he of iudgment peruerſe & corrupt, & a ſore perſecuter of Chriſtes flock, with greedines ſeekyng and ſheddyng innocent bloud, and had drowned diuers good men & womẽ in the water: for the which he was much commended of the bloudy generation. Of ſome he was called a bloudhoũd or bloudy dogge. Of other he was called Shildpad: that is to ſay, Sheltode: for that he beyng a ſhort grundy and of litle ſtature, dyd ride commonly with a great broade hat, as a churle of the countrey.

Shildpad a kinde of ſhelfiſh faſhioned lyke a Tode, with a hard and a broad ſhell vpon his backe.

This man, after he was weery of his office (wherin he had continued aboue. xx. yeares) he gaue it ouer: and becauſe he was now growen rich and wealthy, he entended to paſſe the reſidue of his lyfe in pleaſure and quietnes.

Our Ladyes drunken feaſt.

Duryng which tyme, about the ſecond yeare after he had left his Office, he came to Antwarpe to the feaſt called our Ladyes Ommegang, to make mery: which Feaſt is vſually kept on the Sonday folowyng the aſſumption of our Lady. The ſame day in the afternoone about foure of the clocke, he being wel loden with wyne, rode homewardes in his wagon, with his wyfe and a Gentlewoman waiting on her, and his foole. As ſoone as the wagon was come without the gate of the citie, called Croneborgh gate, vpõ yͤ wodden Bridge beyng at that tyme made for a ſhyft, with Rayles or barres on both ſides, for more ſafetie of the paſſengers, halfe a mans height and more) the horſes ſtood ſtil and would by no meanes go forward, what ſoeuer the guider of the wagon could doo.

Then he in a drunken rage cryed out to hym that guyded the wagon, ſaying: Ride on, in a thouſand deuyls name, ride on. Wherat the poore man anſweared, that he could not make the horſes to go forward. By & by, while they were yet thus talking, ſodenly roſe, as it wer, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noyſe (the weather being very fayre, and no wynd ſtyrring before) & toſt the wagon ouer the barre into the towne ditch, the ropes wherat the horſes had ben tyed, beyng broken a ſunder in ſuch ſort, as if they had bene cut with a ſharpe knife, the wagon alſo being caſt vpſidedown, with the fore end therof turned toward the towne agayne, & he drowned in the myre: & when he was taken vp, it was found, that his necke alſo was broken. His wyfe was taken vp aliue, but dyed alſo within three dayes after. But yͤ Gentlewoman and the foole by Gods mighty prouidence, were preſerued and had no harme. The foole hearing the people ſay, that his maiſter was dead, ſayd: and was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done. an. 1553. Witnes herof not only the Printer of the ſame ſtory in Dutch dwellyng then in Antwarpe, whoſe name was Fraunces

Fraunces Fract the Printer and witnes hereof a good man and Martyr.

Fract, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of the Papiſtes, but alſo diuers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of Engliſh marchauntes, which then were at Antwarpe, and are yet alyue.

Bartholomeus Caſſaneus plagued.

Of the ſodaine death of Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus or Caſſanus, perſecutor, reade before. pag. 916.

Minerius plagued of God.

Of Minerius the bloudy perſecuter or rather tormenter of Chriſtes ſaintes, how he dyed with bleedyng in his lower partes, ye heard before pag. 962.

A iudge with iij. perſecutors plagued by Gods iudgemẽt.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Judge which accompanyed the ſaid Minerius in his perſecutiõ, who a litle after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three more of the ſame company kylled one an other vpon a ſtrife that fell amongeſt them. pag. 962.

The terrible vengeance of God vpon Iohn de Roma a terrible perſecutor. Read before pag. 916.

Joannes de Roma a cruel Monke, whom rather we may call a hell hound, then perſecuter, what helliſhe tormentes he had deuiſed for the poore Chriſtians of Angrongne, the contentes of the ſtory before doth expreſſe. pag. 916. Agayne, with what like tormentes afterward, and that doublefolde the Lorde payde hym home agayne, who in his rottyng and ſtinkyng death, neyther could finde any enemie to kyll hym, nor any frend to bury hym, who neither could abyde his owne ſtinkyng carrion, nor any man els to come neare hym. Whereof reade alſo in the ſame page and place aboue ſpecified.

The Lord of Reueſt plagued.

Such a like perſecuter alſo the ſame tyme was the lord of Reueſt, who likewiſe eſcaped not the reuenging hande of Gods iuſtice, being ſtriken, after his furious perſecution, with a like horrible ſicknes, and ſuch a furie and madnes, that none durſt come neare hym, and ſo moſte wretchedly dyed. Whereof reade before. pag. 916.

John Martyn plagued.

Touchyng the like grieuous puniſhment of God vpon one John Martin, a perſecuter, reade pag. 918.

Eraſm. in Epiſtola Apologetica. De vtilit. Coloquior.

Eraſmus in an Epiſtle or Apologie written in defenſe of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certayne noble perſon of great riches and poſſeſſions, who hauyng wyfe & children with a great familie at home (to whom by S. Paules rule he was bound in conſcience principally aboue al other worldly thynges to attend) had purpoſed before his death to go ſee Hieruſalem. And thus al thinges being ſet in order, this Noble man about to ſet forward on his iourney, cõmitted the care of his wife (whom he left great with child) and of his Lordſhips & Caſtles to an Archbiſhop, as to a moſt ſure & truſty father. To make ſhort, it happened in the iourney this Noble man to dye. Whereof ſo ſone as the Archbiſhop had intelligence, in ſteede of a father, he became a thiefe & robber, ſeiſing into his owne handes all his Lordſhips & poſſeſſions. And moreouer, not yet contented with all this, he layde ſiege agaynſt a ſtrong fort of his (vnto the which his wyfe for ſafegard of her ſelfe dyd flee) where in concluſiõ, ſhee with ẏ child ſhee went withal pitifully was ſlaine, & ſo miſerably periſhed. Which ſtory was done (as teſtifieth Eraſmus) not ſo long before his tyme, but ẏ there remayned the nephewes of the ſayd Noble man then aliue, to whom the ſame inheritaunce ſhould haue fallen, but they could not obteyne it.

Gods puniſhment vpon a noble gentleman in going a pilgrimage.

Admonition.

What cõmeth of blynd ſuperſtition, when a man not cõteynyng hym ſelf within the compaſſe of Gods word, wandereth in other bywayes of his owne, and not contented with the Religion ſet vp of the Lord, wyl bynd his conſcience to other ordinaunces, preſcriptions, and Religions deuiſed by men, leauyng Gods commaundements vndone for the conſtitutions and preceptes of men, what ende and reward (I ſay) commeth therof at length, by this one example, beſide infinite other ẏ like ſort, mẽ may learne by experience: and therfore they that yet wyll defende Idolatrous pilgrimage and raſhe vowes, let them well conſider hereof. It is rightly ſayd of S. Hierome, to haue bene at Hieruſalem, is no great matter, but to lyue a godly and vertuous lyfe, that is a great matter in very deede.

Falſe deuotion a perilous thing.

Agaynſt Idolatrous pilgrimage.

A wonderfull example of Gods iudgement at Gaunt. Anno. 1565.

In the yere of the Lord. 1565. there was in the town of Gaunt in Flaunders, one William de Weuer, accuſed & impriſoned by the Prouoſt of S. Peters in Gaunt (who had in his Cloyſter a priſon & a place of execution) and the day when the ſaid William was called to the place of iudgmẽt, the Prouoſt ſent for M. Gyles Brackelman, principal aduocate of the Counſaile of Flaunders, and Borough Maſter and Judge of S. Peters in Gaunt, with other of the rulers of the towne of Gaunt, to ſit in iudgment vpon him, and as they ſate in iudgement, the Borough maiſter named M. Gyles Brackelman reaſoned with the ſayde William de Weuer, vpon diuers articles of his fayth.

Three cauſes why ſaintes are not to be prayed vnto.

The one wherof was, why the ſaid William de Weuer denyed that it was not lawful to pray to Saintes: and he anſwered (as the report goeth) for three cauſes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the creator.

The ſecond was, that if he ſhould call vppon them, the Lord dyd both ſee it, and heare it, and therfore he durſt geue the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chiefeſt cauſe was, that the creator had commaunded in his holy worde, to call vpon hym in troubles: vnto which commaundement he durſt neyther adde, nor take from it.

The Borough maiſter M. Gyles Brackelman alſo demaunded whether he dyd not beleue that there was a Purgatorie, which he ſhould go into after this lyfe, where euery one ſhould be purified and cleanſed.

Purgatory denyed.

He aunſweared, that he had read ouer the whole Bible, & could finde no ſuch place, but that the death of Chriſt was his Purgatory: with many other queſtions proceedyng after their order, vntyll they came to pronounce his condemnation. But or euer the ſayde condemnation was read forth, the iudgement of God was layde vpon the ſayde Borough Maſter, who ſodaynly at that preſent inſtaunt was ſtriken with a Palſey, that his mouth was drawen vp almoſt to his eare, & ſo he fel downe, the reſt of the Lords by and by ſtandyng vp and ſhadowing hym, that the people could not wel ſee hym: and alſo the people were wylled to depart, who beyng ſtyl called vpon to depart, anſweared, the place was ſo ſmall to goe out, that they could goe no faſter. Then the Borough Maſter beyng taken vp, was caryed to his houſe, and it is not yet vnderſtand nor cõmonly knowen, that euer he ſpake worde after he was firſt ſtriken, but was openly knowen to be dead the next day folowyng. And yet, notwithſtandyng that this was done about ten of the clocke, they burned the ſayde William de Weuer within three houres after on the ſame day.

The iudgement of God vpon Gyles Brakelman the Borough Maſter.

William de Weuer Martyr, burnt at Gaunt. An. 1565.

The. 4. day of March. 1566. the like example of the Lords terrible iudgement was ſhewed vpon Syr Garret Triest knight, who had long before promiſed to the Regẽt to bryng downe the preachyng. For the which act (as the report goeth) the Regent agayne promiſed to make hym a Graue, which is an Earle. Of the which Syr Garret it is alſo ſayd, that he cõmyng frõ Bruxels towardes Gaunt, brought with hym the deathe of the Preachers, and beyng come to Gaunt, the ſaid ſir Garret with other of the Lords hauyng receyued frõ the Regent a Commiſſion to ſweare the Lordes & Commons vnto the Romiſhe Religion, the ſayd Syr Garret the fourth day of March aboue noted, at night beyng at ſupper, willed the Lady hys wife to cal him in the mornyng one houre ſooner then he was accuſtomed to ryſe, for that he ſhould the next day haue much buſines to doo in the towne houſe, to ſweare the Lordes and people to the Romiſh Religion. But ſee what happened. The ſayd ſir Garret goyng to bed, in good health (as it ſeemed) when the Lady his wyfe called him in the mornyng, accordyng to his appoyntment, was found dead in her bed by her, and ſo vnable to proſecute his wicked purpoſe.

An other terrible example of Gods iudgement agaynſt Syr Garret Trieſte Gentleman and then Alderman of Gaunt, a perſecutor. Anno. 1566.

The fift day of March. 1566. which was the day that ſir Garret Trieſte appoynted to be there, and the Lordes of Gaunt were come into the towne houſe (as they had afore appoynted) to proceede and to geue the othe, accordyng as they had their Commiſſion, and M. Martin de Peſter the Secretary, being appoynted & about to geue the oth, as the firſt man ſhould haue ſworne, the ſaide Martin de Peſter was ſtriken of God with preſent death likewiſe, and fell downe, and was caryed away in a chayre or ſettel, and neuer ſpake after. Witnes hereunto:

An other example of Gods iudgement vpon Marten de Peſter one of the principall Secretaryes of Gaunt. An. 1566.

Theſe men of Gaunt are witneſſes hereof.

Peter de Bellemaker.	Rogyer Vanhulle.
Abraham Roſſart.	Ioys Neuehans.
Maerke de Mill.	Lyauin Neuehans.
Lieuen Hendrickx.	Wil. vãden Boegarde.
Ihan Coucke.	Ioys de Pytte.

A ſtory of a tame deuill conuerſed in an Abbey in Sueuia.

About the borders of Sueuia in Germanie, not far frõ the citie of Uberlyng, there was a certaine Monaſtery of Ciſtercian Monkes, called Salmeſuille, founded in ẏ dayes of Pope Innocen. 2. by a noble Baron named Gunthérame, about the yeare of our Lord. 1130. This Celle thus being erected, in proces of tyme was enlarged with more ample poſſeſſions, findyng many & great benefactours and endowers, liberally contributyng vnto the ſame: as Emperours, Dukes, and rich Barons.

Amongeſt whom moſte eſpeciall were the Earles of Montforte, who had beſtowed vpon that Monaſtery many new liberties and great priuiledges, vpon this condition, that they ſhould receiue with free hoſpitalitie any ſtranger both horſeman or footman, for one nightes lodging, who ſoeuer came. But this hoſpitalitie dyd not long ſo continue, through a ſubtile and deuiliſh deuiſe of one of the Monkes, who tooke vpon hym to counterfeyt to playe the part of ÿ Deuyll, ratlyng and ragyng in his chaynes, where the ſtraungers ſhould lye, after a terrible maner in the nyght tyme, to fray away the geſtes: by reaſon wherof no ſtranger nor trauayler durſt there abide: and ſo continued this a long ſpace.

A ſubtill deuiſe of the Monkes to fray away their geſtes.

At length (as God would) it ſo happened, that one of the Earles of the ſayd houſe of Montford, benefactours to that Abbey, cōmyng to the Monaſtery, was there lodged, whether of ſet purpoſe, or by chaunce, it is not knowen.

When the night came, and the Earle was at his reſt, the Monke after his wonted maner begynneth his pageant, to play the same, yea rather the wylde Deuyll. There was ſtampyng, rappyng, ſpittyng of fire, roryng, thunderyng, bounſing of boordes, and ratling of chaynes, enough to make ſome man ſtarke mad. The Earle hearing the ſoden noyſe, and being ſomwhat peraduenture afrayd at the firſt, although he had not then the feat of coniuryng: yet taking a good hart vnto hym, and runnyng to his ſword, he layd about hym well fauoredly, and folowing ſtyl the noyſe of the deuyl, ſo coniured hym at laſt, that the Monke which counterfeited the deuyl in ieſt, was ſlaine in his own likenes in earneſt. Ex Gaſpare Bruſchio, in Chronologia Monaſteriorū Germaniæ.

The puniſhment of God vpon a Monke that woulde counterfeite the deuill.

Ex Gaſpare Bruſcio in Chronologia Monaſteriorum Germ.

Read afore pag. 890.

¶ After the impriſonment of the congregation, which were taken hearyng Gods worde in S. Iames ſtreate in Paris, an. 1558. (as is aboue ſtoryed) was a letter written to the kyng, which was diuulgate abroad, prouing and declaryng by diuers hiſtoryes, what afflictions and calamities from tyme to tyme, by Gods righteous iudgment haue fallen vpon ſuch as haue bene enemies to his people; & haue reſiſted the free paſſage of his holy word. In which letter, for ſo much as beſide the ſayde examples, muche other good fruitfull matter is conteyned, worthy of all men to be read, and eſpecially of Princes to be conſidered, I thought here good to copie out the whole, as the French booke doth geue it. The trāſlation of the which letter into Engliſh, is after this tenor, as foloweth.

¶ A Letter tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, written to K. Henr. 2. French king.

COnſider, I pray you ſir, and you ſhall finde, that all your afflictions haue come vpon you, ſince you haue ſet your ſelfe againſt thoſe which are called Lutherans.

The doinges of Henry 2. French king agaynſt the Lutherans, neuer proſpered with him.

When you made the Edict of Chaſteaubriant: God ſent you warres: but when ye ceaſed the execution of your ſaid Edict, and as long as ye were enemie vnto the Pope, and going into Almanie for the defence of the libertie of the Germanes afflicted for Religion, your affayres proſpered as ye would wiſh or deſire.

On the contrary, what hath become vppon you ſince you were ioyned with the Pope againe, hauyng receiued a ſword from him for his owne ſafegard? And who was it that cauſed you to breake the truice? God hath turned in a moment your proſperities into ſuche afflictions, that they touch not onely the ſtate of your owne perſon, but of your kingdome alſo.

This truce was betwene the French king, and the Emperour, which the Pope cauſed to be broken.

To what end became the enterpriſe of the Duke of Guiſe in Italy, going about the ſeruice of the enemie of God, and purpoſing after his returne to deſtroy the Valleys of Piemont, to offer or ſacrifice them to God for his victories? The euent hath wel declared, that God can turne vpſiddown our counſels and enterprices; as he ouerturned of late the enterpriſe of the Conſtable of France at S. Quintins, hauing vowed to God, that at his returne, he would go and deſtroy Geneua, when he had gotten the victory.

The cruell purpoſe of the Duke of Guiſe diſappoynted.

The wicked vowe of the Conſtable of Fraunce defeated.

Haue you not heard of L. Ponchet Archbiſh. of Tours, who made ſute for the erection of a Court called Chamber Ardente, wherin to condemne the Proteſtantes to the fire? who afterwards was ſtriken with a diſeaſe called the fire of God: which began at his feete, and ſo aſcended vpwarde, that he cauſed one mēber after an other to be cut of, and ſo dyed miſerably without any remedy?

L. Poncher Archb. of Tours.

The maruelous iudgment of God vpon a burning perſecutor.

Alſo one Caſtellanus, who hauing enriched hym ſelfe by the Goſpell, and forſakyng the pure doctrine thereof, to returne vnto his vomit agayne, went about to perſecute the Chriſtians at Orleance, and by the hande of God was ſtriken in his body, with a ſicknes vnknowen to the Phiſitions, the one halfe of his body burnyng as hot as fire, and the othe as cold as Iſe: and ſo moſt miſerably crying and lamenting, ended his lyfe.

Gods fearfull hand vpon Caſtellanus perſecutor.

There be other infinite examples of Gods iudgements worthy to be remembred: as the death of the Chancellor and Legate du Prat, which was the firſt that opened to the Parlamēt, the knowledge of hereſies, and gaue out the firſt Commiſſions to put the faithful to death, who afterwarde dyed in his houſe at Natoillet, ſwearing and horribly blaſphemyng God, and his ſtomacke was founde pierced and gnawen a ſunder with wormes.

Legate Du Prat the firſt beginner of perſecution agaynſt the faythfull horribly plagued.

Alſo Iohn Ruſé, Counſeller in the Parlament, cōmyng from the Court after he had made report of the proceſſe againſt the poore innocents, was takē with a burning in the lower part of his belly, & before he could be brought home to his houſe, the fire inuaded all his ſecret partes, and ſo he died miſerably, burning al his belly ouer, without any ſigne or token of the acknowledging of God.

Iohn Ruſe comming from accuſing of the faythfull, was terribly ſtricken with Gods hand.

Alſo one named Claude de Aſſes, a Counſeller in the ſaid Court, the ſaide day that he gaue his opinion and conſent to burne a faithful Chriſtian (albeit it was not done in deede as he would haue it) after he had dyned, committed whoredome with a ſeruant in the houſe, and euen in doyng the act, was ſtriken with a diſeaſe called Apoplexia, wherof he dyed out of hand.

The wicked end of Claude des Aſſes, a wicked perſecutor.

Peter Liſet, chiefe Preſident of the ſayd Court, and one of the authors of the foreſaid burnyng chamber, was depoſed from his office, for beyng knowen to be out of his right wyt, and beriued of his vnderſtandyng.

Peter Lyſet author of the burning chāber, plagued.

Alſo Iohn Morin, Lieutenant Criminall of the Prouoſt of Paris, after he had bene the cauſe of the death of many Chriſtians, was finally ſtriken with a diſeaſe in his legges, called the Wolues; wherby he loſt the vſe of them, and died alſo out of his wits, many dayes before denying and blaſphemyng God.

The mighty hand of God vpon Iohn Morin a greeuous perſecutor.

Likewiſe Iohn Andrewe, Bookebynder of the Pallace, a ſpye for the Preſident Liſet, and of Bruſeard the kings ſollicitor, dyed in a furie and madnes.

Iohn Andrew Booke bynder, plagued.

The Inquiſitor Iohn de Roma in Prouence, his fleſh fel from hym by peece meale, ſo ſtinkyng that no man might come neare hym.

The terrible vengeance of God vpon Ioh. de Roma a terrible perſecutor.

Alſo Iohn Minerius of Prouence, which was the cauſe of the death of a great nūber of men, women, and chyldren, at Cabriers & at Merindol, dyed with bleedyng in the lower parts, the fire hauing take his belly, blaſphemyng and deſpiſing of God: beſides many others whereof we might make recital which were puniſhed with the like kynd of death.

Ioh. Minerius a cruell perſecutor plagued of God.

It may pleaſe your maieſtie to remember your ſelfe that ye had no ſooner determined to ſet vpon vs, but new troubles were by and by moued by your enemies: with whō ye could come to no agreement: which God would not ſuffer, for as much as your peace was grounded vpon the perſecutiō which ye pretended againſt Gods ſeruants: As alſo your Cardinals can not let through their crueltie, the courſe of the Goſpell, which hath taken ſuch roote in your Realme, that if God ſhould geue you leaue to deſtroy the profeſſors therof, you ſhould be almoſt a kyng without ſubiectes.

The French king by ſundry ſortes of troubles warned of God.

Tertullian hath well ſaide, that the bloud of Martyrs is the ſeede of the goſpel. Wherfore to take away all theſe euyls commyng of the riches of the papiſtes, which cauſe ſo much whordome, ſodomitrie and inceſt, wherin they wallow, like hogges, feedyng their idle bellyes; the beſt waye were to put them from their landes and poſſeſſions, as the old ſacrificyng Leuites were, accordyng to the expreſſe commaundement which was geuen to Ioſua. For as long as the ordinaunce of God tooke place, and that they were voyde of ambition, the puritie of Religion remayned whole and perfecte: but when they began to aſpire to principalitie, riches, and worldly honors, then began the abomination of deſolation that Chriſt found out.

Riches and Pride of the Clergie, the fountayne of all euils.

It was euen ſo in the Primatiue Churche: For it flooriſhed and continued in all pureneſſe, as long as the Miniſters were of ſmall wealth, and ſought not their particular profite, but the glory of God onely. For ſince the Popes beganne to bee prince like, and to vſurpe the dominion of the Empire, vnder the colour of a falſe Donation of Conſtantine, they haue turned the Scriptures from their true ſenſe, and haue attributed the ſeruice to them ſelues, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Maieſtie may ſeiſe with good right vppon all the temporalties of the benefices, and that with a ſafe conſcience, for to employ them to their true and right vſe.

The pureneſſe of the Primatiue church how long it continued and whereby.

The falſe Donation of Conſtantine.

Firſt for the findyng and mainteynyng of the faithfull Miniſters of the worde of God, for ſuch liuyngs as ſhall be requiſite for them, accordyng as the caſe ſhall require. Secondly, for the entertaynement of your Iuſtices that geue iudgement. Thirdly, for the relieuyng of the poore, and maintenance of Colledges to inſtruct the poore youth in that whiche they ſhall be moſte apt vnto. And the reſt, whiche is infinite, may remayne for the enterteynement of your own eſtate and affayres, to the great eaſement of your poore

Exhortation to the King to ſeiſe vpon the temporalties of the Clergye.

The riches of the popes Clergie how they ought to be employed poore people, which alone beare the burthen, and poſſeſſe in maner nothyng.

In this doyng, an infinite number of men, and euen of your Nobilitie, which liue of the Crucifixe, ſhould employ them ſelues to your ſeruice and the common wealthes ſo muche the more diligently, as they ſee that ye recompence none but thoſe that haue deſerued: where as nowe there is an infinite number of men in your kingdome, whiche occupie the chiefeſt and greateſt Benefices, whiche neuer deſerued any part of them. &c. And thus much touchyng the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Popes Lordly Clergie. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

The malicious and lying ſlaunders of the papiſtes to bring the true Goſpelles in hatred with Princes.

But when the Papiſtes ſee that they haue not to alledge for them ſelues any reaſon, they aſſay to make odious to your maieſtie the Lutherans (as they call vs) and ſay: if their ſayinges take place, ye ſhalbe fayne to remaine a priuate perſon: and that there is neuer chaunge of Religion, but there is alſo chaunge of Princedome: A thyng as falſe, as when they accuſe vs to be Sacramentaries, and that we denye the authoritie of Magiſtrates, vnder the ſhadowe of certayne furious Anabaptiſtes, which Satan hath rayſed in our tyme to darken the light of the Goſpell: For the hiſtories of the Emperours which haue begon to receyue the Chriſtian Religion, and that which is come to paſſe in our tyme, ſhew the contrary.

Conſtantine confirmed in his kingdome the more, by receiuing the Goſpel.

Was there euer Prince more feared and obeyed, then Conſtantine in receiuyng the Chriſtian Religion? was he therfore put from the Empire? No, he was therby the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſame, and alſo his poſterity whiche ruled them ſelues by his prouidence. But ſuche as haue fallen away and folowed mens traditions, God hath deſtroyed, and their race is no more knowen in earth: So much doth God deteſt them that forſake hym.

Examples of England and Germany, how Princes looſe no honor by the goſpell.

And in our tyme the late kynges of England and Germanie, were they conſtrayned in reprouyng ſuperſtitions, which the wickednes of the time had brought in, to forſake their kyngdomes and princedomes? Al men ſee the contrary: and what honour, fidelitie, and obedience the people in our tyme that haue receyued the reformation of the goſpel, do vnder their princes and ſuperiours. Yea, I may ſay, that the princes knewe not before what it was to be obeyed, at that tyme when the rude and ignoraunt people receyued ſo redily the diſpenſations of the Pope, to driue out their own kynges and natural Lordes.

The Popes religion more noyſome to the ſtate of Princes, then the doctrine of the Lutherans. Wholeſome remedy ſhewed agaynſt the Popes pride.

The true and onely remedie, Syr is, that ye cauſe to be holden a holy and free Coūcell, where ye ſhould be chiefe, and not the Pope and his, who ought but onely to defend their cauſes by the holy Scriptures: that in the meane while ye may ſeeke out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor parciall, whom ye may charge to geue report faythfully vnto you of the true ſenſe of the holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kynges Ioſaphath, Ezechias, and Ioſias, ye ſhall take out of the Church all Idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and abuſe, which is found directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that meanes ye ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſeruice of God, not regarding in the meane tyme the cauilling pretenſes of the Papiſtes, which ſay, that ſuch queſtions haue bene already anſweared at general Councels: for it is knowen well enough, that no Councel hath ben lawfull ſince the Popes haue vſurped the principalitie and tyrannie vpon mens ſoules, but they haue made them ſerue to their couetouſnes, ambition, and crueltie: and the contrarietie which is among thoſe Councels, maketh enough for their diſproufe, beſide a hundred thouſand other abſurdities againſt the word of God, which be in them. The true profe for ſuche matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no tymes nor age hath any preſcription to be alledged agaynſt them: for by them we receyue the Councels founded vpon the word of God, & alſo by the ſame we reiect that doctrine which is repugnant.

A blynde ſhift of the Papiſtes to ſtop Princes from calling generall Councels.

The contrarieties in the popes Councels, enough for their diſproofe.

Prophecie agaynſt the French king.

And if ye do thus Syr, God wyl bleſſe your enterpriſe, he wyll increaſe and confirme your raigne and Empire, and your poſteritie. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and vnhappy are the people which ſhall dwell vnder your obedience. There is no doubt but God wyll harden your hart as he dyd Pharaoes, and take of the crowne from your head, as he dyd to Ieroboam, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other kynges, which haue folowed mens traditions, agaynſt the commaundement of God: and geue it to your enemies to triumph ouer you and your chyldren.

And if the Emperour Antonine the meeke, although he were a Pagan and Idolater, ſeeyng hym ſelfe bewrapt with ſo many warres, ceaſed the perſecutions which were in his tyme agaynſt the Chriſtians, and determined in the ende to heare their cauſes and reaſons, howe much more ought you that beare the name of moſt Chriſtian kyng, to be carefull and diligent to ceaſe the perſecutions agaynſte the poore Chriſtians, ſeeyng they haue not troubled, nor doo trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your kingdome, & your affayres: conſideryng alſo that the Iewes be ſuffered thorough al Chriſtendome, although they be mortall enemyes of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, whiche we holde by common accord and conſent for our God, Redeemer, and Sauiour: and that vntyll you haue heard lawfully debated, and vnderſtande our reaſons taken of the holy Scriptures, and that your maieſtie haue iudged, if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhmentes: For if we be not ouercome by the worde of God, the fires, the ſword, nor the cruelleſt torments ſhal make vs afrayde. Theſe be the exerciſes that God hath promiſed to his, of the which he foretold ſhould come in the laſt tymes, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuche perſecutions ſhal come vpon them.

Tranſlated out of the Frenche booke, entituled, Commentaryes of the ſtate of the Churche and publike weale. &c. pag. 7.

¶ The ſtory and ende of the French kyng.

The ſtory and end of Henry 2. the French king, that would not be warned.

Who ſoeuer was the authour or authours of this letter aboue prefixed, herein thou ſeeſt (good Reader) good counſel geuen to the kyng, if he had the grace to receyue it, and had folowed the ſame, no doubt but Gods bleſſing workyng with hym, he had not only ſet that Realme in a bleſſed ſtay, from much diſturbance, but alſo had continued hym ſelfe in al floriſhing felicitie of princely honour and dignitie. For ſo doth the Lord commonly bleſſe and aduaunce ſuch kinges and Princes, as ſeeke his honour, & ſubmyt their willes to his obediēce. But cōmonly ẏ fault of kings and potentates of this world is, that beyng ſet about with Paraſites, eyther they ſeldome heare the truth told them, or if they doo, yet wyll they not lightly be put from their owne wylles, diſdaynyng to be admoniſhed by their inferiours, be their counſel neuer ſo wholeſome and godly. Whiche thing many tymes turneth them to great plagues and calamitie, as by plentiful examples of kynges deſtroyed, wounded, impriſoned, depoſed, drowned, poyſoned. &c. may wel to them that reade hiſtories appeare, but eſpecially in this preſent example of Henry Frenche kyng, the ſeconde of that name, is in this our age notoriouſly to be conſidered. Who beyng well warned before (as may ſeeme) woulde not yet surceaſe his cruell perſecution agaynſt the Lordes people, but rather was the more hardened in harte, and inflamed agaynſte them: in ſo much that he ſayd to Anne du Bourg, one of the high Court of Parlament in Paris, threatnyng hym, that he woulde ſee hym burne with his owne eyes.

What commeth to kinges that refuſe good councell.

Henry 2. French king wholy ſet to perſecute the church of Chriſt.

Further, howe his purpoſe was to extende his power and force likewiſe agaynſt other places moe, in perſecuting the Goſpell of Chriſt, and profeſſours thereof, to the vttermoſt of his abilitie, I leaue it to the report of thē, which in this matter know more then I here wyll vtter.

Gods mighty power agaynſt his enemies.

But notwithſtandyng al theſe crackes and threatnings of the kyng (to ſee what the Lord can doo in makyng hygh kynges to ſtoupe) euen the ſame day when the kyng was in his moſt rage agaynſt theſe good men, almighty God takyng the cauſe in hande to fight for his Church, ſo turned the matter, that he made the great enemie of his, both with his mouth and with his hande, to worke his owne deſtruction: with his mouth in commaundyng, with his hand in geuyng hym the Launce into his hand, which the ſame day gaue hym his deathes wounde, as by the ſequele hereof in readyng ye may vnderſtand.

¶ The ſtroke of Gods hande vpon Henry. 2. French Kyng.

Kyng Henry being in the Parlament houſe, which was kept at the Fryer Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the Pallace was in preparyng agaynſte the marriage of his daughter and his ſiſter, and hauyng heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg Counſaylour in the Lawe, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſayde Anne du Bourg and Loys du Faur Counſaylours, to be taken priſoners by the Conſtable of Fraunce, who apprehended them, and deliuered them into the handes of the Countie of Mongommery, the which caryed them to priſon. Agaynſt whom the kyng being wrathfull and angrye, among other talke, ſayd to the ſayd Anne du Bourg: Theſe eyes of myne ſhall ſee thee burnt: And ſo on the. 19. of Iune, Commiſſion was geuen to the Iudges to make his Proces.

Durying this meane while, great feaſtes and banquets were preparing in the Court, for ioy and gladnes of the mariage that ſhoud be of the kings daughter and ſiſter, againſt the laſt day of Iune ſaue one. So when the day and tyme

about

Henry 2. the French king ſore ſet agaynſt the poore Proteſtantes.

aboue prefixed was come, the Kyng employed all the mornyng in examinyng as well the Preſidentes, as Counſaylours of the ſayd Parliament, agaynſt the Priſoners and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine, which being done, they went to dynner.

The Kyng after he had dyned, for that he was one of the defendauntes at the Tourney, whiche was ſolemnely made in Saint Antonies Streate, neare to the Priſon where the foreſayde Priſoners were committed, he entred into the Lyſtes, and there in iuſtyng, as the manner is, had broken many Staues right valiauntly as coulde be, runnyng as well agaynſte Countye of Montgommery, as other moe.

Henry 2. the French king in his triumph iuſteth againſt Montgommery.

Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers on. And becauſe he had done ſo valiauntly, and was thought nowe to haue done enough, he was deſired to ceaſe with prayſe. But he beyng the more inflamed with hearyng of his prayſe, woulde needes runne an other courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to runne againſt the Kyng, and kneelyng vppon his knees for pardon not to runne: the Kyng beyng egerly ſet, commaunded hym vpon his allegeaunce to runne, & (as ſome affirme) dyd alſo hym ſelfe put the ſtaffe in his hand, vnto whoſe handes he had committed the foreſayd priſoners a litle before. Montgommery thus being enforced whether he would or no, to runne agaynſt the kyng, addreſſed hym ſelfe after the beſt wiſe to obey the Kyngs commaundement.

Montgomery agaynſt his will cōmaunded to iuſte agaynſt the king.

Whereuppon he and the Kyng met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their Speares, the kyng was ſtrikē with the counter blowe, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the viſour of his Helmet ſodenly fell downe at the ſame inſtaunt, that the ſhyuers entred into his head: ſo that the braynes was periſhed, and therupon ſo feſtered, that no remedie could be founde, although Phiſitions and Surgeons were ſent for from all places in the Realme, as alſo from Brabant by king Philip, but nothing auailed, ſo that the. xi. day after, that is, the. x. of Iuly. 1559. he ended his lyfe in great dolour, hauyng raigned. xij. yeares, three monethes, and ten dayes.

Henry 2. the French king ſtricken and killed in his owne iuſting.

Some report, that among other wordes, he ſaid, that he feared he was ſtriken for caſting ÿ poore Chriſtians wrōgfully in priſon: but the Cardinal of Lorayne ſtanding by (as he was alwayes at hand) ſaid vnto hym, that it was the enimie that tempted hym, & that he ſhould be ſtedfaſt in the fayth. By this meanes the Hall which was prepared for a place of ioy and gladnes, dyd now ſerue for a Chappell to keepe ÿ corps, being dreſſed with blacke mournyng cloth, & nyght and day there was nothyng heard but mournyng and lamentyng for the ſpace of. xl. dayes.

The deuelish perſwaſiō of the Cardinall of Lorayne at the death of the French king.

About two yeares after this, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1561. there were certayne Gentlemen put to death at Amboiſe, for takyng armes agaynſt the houſe of Guiſe. Touchyng which Gentlemen, this is to be noted, that as one of them ſhould be brought to the place of execution, where the other laye dead before hym, he thruſt his hands into the bloud of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then lyftyng them vp to heauen, cryed with a lowde voyce: Lord beholde the bloud of thy chyldren: thou wylt in tyme and place reuenge it.

Certaine gentlemen executed at Amboyſe for ſtanding agaynſt the houſe of Guyſe.

Not long after the ſame, the Chauncellor Oliuier, who was condemner of thē, at the inſtigation and purſuit of the Cardinall of Lorayne, through great remorſe of cōſcience fel ſicke, and in a frenſie caſting out ſighes vnceſſantly, and afflictyng hym ſelfe after a fearful and ſtraunge faſhion for his vnrighteous ſentence, and more then barbarous crueltie, ſhriked vpon a ſodayne with an horrible cry, and ſayde: O Cardinal, thou wylt make vs all to be damned. And within a very few dayes after he dyed.

The Lordes puniſhment vpon the Chaūcellour Oliuier for his ſentence geuen agaynſt certayne Gentlemen Proteſtantes.

Fraunces the ſecond of that name, Kyng of Fraunce, at the perſwaſion of the Cardinall of Lorayne and of certaine others, cauſed an aſſembly of ÿ Eſtates of the realme in the towne of Orleans, among other thynges to mayntayne the Papall See, to the ouerthrowe of thoſe whiche would lyue after the ſinceritie of the Goſpell: but being fallen ſicke, ſhortly after in the foreſayd place, of a Feuer, through an Impoſtume in his left eare, he dyed, the fourth of Decemb. 1561. hauyng raigned but one yeare and about fiue monethes.

The death of Frances 2. French king after he began to withſtand the courſe of the Goſpell. How the Lord worketh for his Goſpell.

It was ſayd of this kyng Fraunces (as the authour aboue mentioned reporteth) that when he was drawyng towardes his end, the Cardinal of Lorayne made hym to ſay and pronounce theſe wordes which folow: Lord forgeue me my treſpaſſes, and impute not vnto me the faults which my miniſters haue done vnder my name and authoritie.

The wordes of king Fraunces at his death.

Neyther is it vnworthy of obſeruation, that after the father happened in much like ſort by Gods mighty iudgement vpon Carol. 9. his ſecond ſonne, & brother to Frances aboue mentioned, in theſe our latter dayes, who after the horrible and bloudy murder of the Admyrall, and other true profeſſours of Chriſtes Goſpel, both men, women, and chyldren, to the number of many thouſands, of diuers cities, in ſo much that the priſons and ſtreates are ſayd to be coloured with bloud, ſmoking after ſuche a cruell ſort, as in our tyme or countrey the like hath not hitherto ben ſeene: by the terrible ſtroke of Gods iuſt reuenge, the ſame king, by credible report of ſtory, is ſaid to dye of bleeding, not only at his eares & noſe, but in al other places of his body, where bloud might haue any iſſue.

The terrible ſtroke of Gods reuenge vpon Carol. 9 the French king.

Unto theſe afore recited hiſtoryes of kyng Henry and hys twoe Sonnes, might alſo be added the death of the Emperour Charles the fift, who in like maner beyng an enemie, and a great terrour to the Goſpell, was cut of likewiſe for doing any more hurt to the church, much about the ſame tyme, ann. 1558. which was but three monethes before the death of Queene Mary, & ten monethes before the death of the ſayd Henry the ſecond. Touchyng ÿ death of which Charles and Henry, and Frances, this Epitaph folowing was written in Latine verſes, and printed in the French ſtory booke, aboue alledged.

The death of Charles the Emperour.

An Epitaphe vpon Charles Emperour. Henry 2. the French king, and Fraunces his ſonne.

Conſilijs Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus, ingens
Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus & excors,
Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice, malis dum conſultoribus vtens,
Sitis piorum ſanguinem,
Ipſe tuo vecors inopina cæde peremptus,
Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris
Franciſcus infœlix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula Reges,
Vos ſapere vel mori iubent.

Not long after Anne du Bourges death, the Preſident Minard, who was a ſore perſecutour, and the condemner of the ſayd Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the Pallace or Counſel chamber, to his owne houſe, beyng vpon his Mule, euen hard by his houſe was ſlayne with a Dagge, but who was the doer therof, or for what cauſe he was ſlayne, for all the inquiſition and diligent ſearch that could be made, it was neuer knowen.

The ſodayne death of Preſident Minard.

Amongeſt many other examples worthy to be noted, let vs alſo conſider the end of the king of Nauarre, brother to the worthy Prince of Condy, who after he had ſuſteined a certayne tyme, the cauſe of the Goſpel, at length being allured by ÿ flatteryng wordes of the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorayne his brother, and vppon hope to haue his lands reſtored agayne, whiche the kyng of Spayne reteyned from hym, was contented to alter his Religion, and to ioyne ſide with the Papiſtes, and ſo being in campe with the Duke of Guiſe at the ſiege of Roane, was there ſhot in with a pellet. After which wound receyued, being brought to a towne three myles from the campe, called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backſliding from the Goſpell, promiſing to God moſt earneſtly, that if he might eſcape that hurt, he would bryng to paſſe that the Goſpell ſhould be preached freely through all Fraunce: Notwithſtandyng within fiue or ſixe dayes after he dyed.

The puniſhment of God vpon the king of Nauarre after he had reuolted from the Goſpell to Popery.

Neyther dyd the Duke of Guiſe hym ſelfe, the greate Archenemie of God and his Goſpell, continue in lyfe long after that, but both he with ÿ whole triumuirat of France that is, three the greateſt captaynes of Popery, were cut of for doyng any more hurt, to wyt, the Duke of Guiſe before Orleance, the Conſtable before Paris, the Marſhal of S. Andrew before Dreux.

The Duke of Guyſe ſlayne before Orleance. The Conſtable before Paris. The Marſhall of S. Andrew before Dreux.

¶ Of the Emperour Sigiſmundus.

AMonges others, here is not to be paſt ouer nor forgotten the notable examples of Gods iuſt ſcourge vpon Sigiſmundus the Emperour, of whom mention is made before, in the condemnation of Iohn Huſſe, and Hierome of Prage. pag. 575. After the death and wrongful condemnation of which bleſſed Martyrs, nothing afterward went proſperouſly with the ſaid Emperour, but all contrary: ſo that both he dyed without iſſue, & in his warres euer went to the worſt. And not long after, Ladiſlaus his daughters ſonne kyng of Hungary, fighting againſt the Turke, was ſlaine in the field. So that in the tyme of one generation, all the poſteritie and offſpring of this Emperour periſhed. Beſides this, Barbara his wife come to ſuch ruine, by her wicked lewdnes, ÿ ſhee became a ſhame & ſclaunder to ÿ name and ſtate of al Queenes. Wherby all Chriſtian princes and Emperours may ſufficiently be admoniſhed, if they haue grace, what it is to defile them ſelues with the bloud of Chriſtes bleſſed Saintes and Martyrs.

¶ A note of Chriſtopher Parker.

Chriſtopher Parker, called Parker yͤ wyld, mentioned before in this booke of Monumentes. pag. 1877. who being a perſecuter of Richard Woodman, dyd manacle his handes with a coard, dyd caſt hym ſelfe into a pond, and ſo drowned hym ſelfe at Herſtmonceux in Suſſex, the eight day of September. 1575.

¶ The ſtory of one Drayner of Kent, commonly called Iuſtice Nyne holes.

The ſtory of one Drayner otherwyſe called Juſtice nine holes.

I May not in this place omyt the tragedie of one Drayner of Smarden in the Countie of Kent, Eſquire, who bearyng grudge agaynſt one Gregory Doddes, Parſon of the ſayd towne, for reprouyng his vicious lyfe, ſent for hym by two men, which tooke him and brought him before him, where he was had into a Parlour, as it were to breakfaſt. In which behynde the doore he had placed one Roger Mathew ſecretly, to beare witnes what he ſhould ſay, no more being in ſight but the ſayd Drayner & one of his men, who wylled and perſwaded hym to ſpeake freely his mynd, for that there was not ſufficient record of his wordes to hurt hym. But the Lord kept his talke without peryll, wherby the ſayde Drayner ſent hym to the next Juſtice called M. George Dorrell, who perceiuyng it to be done more of malice then otherwiſe, deliuered him vpon ſureties, to appeare at the next Seſſions at Cant. and at length was baniſhed the Countrey.

A maliitious practiſe to intrappe a good man.

This ſaid drayner afterward, being choſen Juſtice, to ſhewe hym ſelfe diligent in ſeekyng the trouble of his neighbors, made on the Roodloft nyne holes, that he might looke about the church in Maſſe tyme. In which place alway at the ſacring therof, he would ſtand to ſee who looked not, or held not vp his hands therto: which perſons ſo not doyng, he would trouble and puniſh very ſore. Wherby he purchaſed a name there, & is called to this day, Juſtice nyne holes: who now (God be thanked) is John out of office, and glad of his neighbours good wyll.

It ſo fell out, that ſince this was publiſhed, the ſayde Drayner came to the Printers houſe, with other aſſociate, demaundyng: Is Foxe here? To whom anſweare was geuen, that maſter Foxe was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth Drayner?) It was anſwered, yea: Wherupon being required to come vp into his houſe, was aſked what his wyll was. Mary, ſaith he, you haue printed me falſe in your booke: Why ſayth the Printer is not your name M. Drayner, otherwiſe called Juſtice nyne holes? It is falſe ſayth hee: J made but v. with a great Augure, and the Parſon made the reſt. It was anſwered: J haue not read that a Juſtice ſhould make him a place in yͤ Roode lofte to ſee if the people helde vp their handes. Hee ſayde where as you allege, that J dyd it to ſee who adored the ſacrament, or who not, it is vntrue: for J ſet as litle by it, as the beſt of you al. In deede, ſaith the Printer, ſo we vnderſtand nowe, for you being at a ſupper in Cheape ſide among certaine honeſt company, & there burdened with the matter, ſaid then, that you did it rather to looke vpon fayre wenches, then otherwiſe. He being in a great rage, ſware to the purpoſe, ſaying: Can a man ſpeake nothing, but you muſt haue vnderſtanding therof? But ſaith he, dyd J any man any hurt? It was anſwered, that he ment litle good to M. Doddes aforeſaid, eſpecially procuryng a ſecret witnes behynd his doore, to catche ſome wordes that might tende to Doddes deſtruction. Which thing, Drayner ſware, as before, was not true. To whom the Printer replyed, that it was moſt true, for that the partie there ſecretly hydde, hath ſince vpon his knees, aſkyng forgeuenes for his intent, confeſſed yͤ ſame to Doddes hym ſelfe. J will hang that knaue ſayth he: And ſo he departed in a rage: & ſince is deceaſed, whoſe death & order therof, J referre to the ſecrete Judge.

Drayner conuict of falſhood.

¶ A lamentable hiſtorie of Iohn Whytman, Shomaker, who ſuffered moſt cruel tormentes at Oſtend in Flaunders, for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, and the truth of his Goſpel. an. 1572.

A lamentable hiſtory of Jhon Whiteman Shoomaker.

IOhn Whitman Shomaker, being about the age of. 49. yeares, borne in Tinen a towne in Brabant. After his commyng ouer into England, dwelt in Rye in the County of Suſſex, maryed. xxiij. yeares: alwayes a profeſſour of the Goſpel, as wel in the tyme of the freedome therof, as in tyme of perſecution. About Candlemas, in the yeare. 1572. vnknowen to his frendes in Rye, vnderſtandyng of ſhyppyng in Rye, which was redy bound for Oſtend in Flaunders, went aboord the Saterdaye mornyng, and arryued at Oſtend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinſmen there dwellyng. The next day being Sonday, in the mornyng, he accompanyed with his ſayd kinſman, tooke his iorney as it were to haue paſſed hyther into yͤ countrey.

When they were about three myle on their way out of the Towne, ſodaynely Whytman ſtayed, and woulde go no further: but immediately returned backe againe to Oſtend. Whither ſo ſoone as he was come, yt being ſeruice tyme in their church, he forthwith addreſſed hym ſelfe thither, & at yͤ tyme of the heaue offeryng ſtept to the ſacrificer, & tooke frõ ouer his head his Idoll, ſaying theſe wordes in the Dutch tongue: Is this your God? and ſo breaking it, caſt it downe vnder his feete, & trode theron. Forthwith the people in an vprore came to lay hold on hym, & hardly in the church eſcaped he death by the ſouldiers there preſent, but being reſcued by ſome, to the intent to be further examined and made a publike ſpectacle, he was caried immediatly to priſon. Upõ the next day, being Monday, the Judges & other Counſellers being aſſembled, he was brought forth into the common hal, & examined of his fact, the intent, the cõſel, & abettors therof, & alſo of his faith: where he very conſtantly in defence of his Chriſtian faith, & great deteſtatiõ of Idolatrie, demeaned him ſelf in ſuch ſort, yͭ he wrong teares frõ yͤ eyes of diuers, both of yͤ chiefe, & others preſẽt. So was he committed againe to priſon. The next day being Tueſday, he was brought out againe before the Judges into the ſame place. And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increaſed in his conſtancie. Wherupon ſentence was geuen vpon hym, to haue his hand cut of, and his body ſcorched to death, & after to be hanged vp. So the day folowing, beyng Wedneſday, he was brought out of priſon to the towne hall, ſtandyng in the market place, all thyngs belongyng to execution being made ready there. Which when they were all ready, the hangman went into the hall, & with a cord tyed yͤ hands of Whitman, & came out leading him therby: ſo ſoone as Whitman was out of the houſe, he made ſuch haſte, & as it were ran to the place of execution, that he drew the hangman after hym. There was a poſt ſet vp with ſparres frõ the top thereof, aſlope downe to the grounde, in maner of a Tent, to the end that he ſhould be onely ſcorched to death, & not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman cõmaunded hym to lay downe his right hand vpon a blocke, which he immediatly with a hatchet ſmote of, the good man ſtil continuyng cõſtant, yͤ hangman ſtept behynd hym, & byd hym put out his tongue, which he forthwith dyd, as far as he could out of his mouth, through yͤ which he thruſt a long inſtrument like a Packe needle, and ſo let it ſticke. Then the Judges ſtandyng by in the common Hall, read agayne his fact and ſentence. Wherunto he could make no anſwere, his tongue hanging out of his head: ſo was he ſtripped out of his Caſſocke, his hoſe being put of in priſon: and put within his Tent, and made faſt with two chaynes, and fire put round about, which broyled and ſcorched his body moſt miſerably, al blacke, he not being ſeene, but heard to make a noyſe within the Tent. When he was dead, he was caried out to be hanged vpon a gybbot beſide the towne.

Jhon Whitman could not ſuffer the abhominable Idolatry of the Papiſtes.

Jhon Whitman apprehended.

Jhon Whiteman brought before the Judges.

Sentence geuen agaynſt Jhon Whitman.

The martyrdome and death of Jhon Whitman.

Spectatores præſentes, Cutbert Carr, Bartholomeus Bellington, Nautæ Rienſes.

¶ Admonition to the Reader.

IT hath bene a long perſwaſion gendred in the heades of many men theſe many yeres, that to ground a mans fayth vpon Gods word alone, and not vpon the Sea & Church of Rome, folowing al the ordinances & cõſtitutions of yͤ ſame, was damnable hereſie, and to perſecute ſuch men to death, was high ſeruice don to God. Wherupõ hath riſen ſo great perſecutions, ſlaughters, & murders, with ſuch effuſion of Chriſten bloud through all partes of Chriſtendome, by the ſpace of theſe. 70. yeares, as hath not before ben ſeene. And of theſe men Chriſt hym ſelf doth full wel warned vs long before, truely propheſying of ſuch tymes to come, whẽ they that ſlea his Miniſters & ſeruants, ſhould thinke thẽſelues to doo good ſeruice vnto God. Joh. 16. Now, what wicked ſeruice, and howe deteſtable before God this is, which they falſly perſwade them ſelues to be godly, what more euident demonſtrations can we require, then theſe ſo many, ſo manifeſt, & ſo terrible examples of Gods wrath pouring down frõ heauẽ vpon theſe perſecuters, wherof part we haue already ſet forth: for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is vnpoſſible. Wherfore, although there be many which wyll neither heare, ſee, nor vnderſtande, what is for their profit, yet let al moderate & wel diſpoſed natures take warnyng in tyme. And if the plaine worde of God wyll not ſuffice them, nor the bloud of ſo many martyrs wil moue thẽ to embrace the truth, & forſake errour, yet let the deſperate deathes & horrible puniſhments of their owne papiſtes perſwade them, how perillous is the end of this damnable doctrine of papiſtry. For if theſe papiſts which make ſo much of their painted antiquitie, doo think their procedyngs to be

John. 16.

3. Argumentes agaynſt the papiſtes. Gods worde. Bloud of Martyrs. Gods puniſhment. The plagues of God, ſet agaynſt pretenſed antiquitie.

ſo Catholike, a ſeruice ſo acceptable to God, let them ioyne this withal, & tel vs, how commeth then their procedinges to be ſo accurſed of God, & their end ſo miſerably plagued, as by theſe examples aboue ſpecified, is here notoriouſly to be ſene?

Agayne, if the doctrine of them be ſuch hereſie, whom they haue hytherto perſecuted for heretikes vnto death, how then is almighty God become a maynteyner of heretikes, who hath reuenged their bloud ſo greuouſly vpon their enemies and perſecuters?

Henry 2. the French king and king Fraunces his ſonne, ſtricken, the one in the eyes, the other with an impoſtume in the eare. Steuen Gardiner.

The puttyng out of the French kynges eyes, which promiſed before with his eyes to ſee one of Gods true ſeruantes burned, who ſeeth not with his eyes to be ẏ ſtroke of Gods hand vpon hym? Then his ſonne Fraunces after hym, not regardyng his fathers ſtripe, would nedes yet procede in burnyng the ſame man: & dyd not the ſame God which put out his fathers eyes, geue him ſuch a blow on the eare, that it coſt hym his lyfe? if the platforme of Mr. Gardyner had ben a thyng ſo neceſſary for the church & ſo gratefull vnto God, why then dyd it not proſper with hym, nor he with it: but both he & his platforme lay in the duſt, & none left behynd hym to build vpon it? After the tyme of Mr. Gardiner, & at the Councel of Trent, what conſpiracies and policies were deuiſed? what practiſes & traynes were layd through the ſecret confederacie of princes and prelates, for the vtter ſubuerſion of the Goſpell & all Goſpellers, which if God had ſene to haue bene for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, howe or by whom were they diſcloſed and forepriſed, but by the Lord hym ſelfe, which would not haue them come forward?

Q. Mary.

The vehement zeale of Queene Mary, which was like to haue ſet vp the Pope here againe in England for euer, if it had ſo much pleaſed the Lord God as it pleaſed her ſelf: or if it had ben ſo godly as it was bloudy, no doubt but Gods bleſſing would haue gone withall. But when was the realme of England more barren of al Gods bleſſings? what prince euer raigned here more ſhorter tyme, or leſſe to his owne hartes eaſe then dyd Queene Mary?

Conſtable of Fraunce.

The Conſtable of Fraunce when he conuented with God, that if he had victory at S. Quintyns, he would ſet vpō Geneua, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargayne with God: Much like to Julian the Emperor, who going againſt the Perſians, made his vow that if he ſped wel, he would offer the bloud of Chriſtiās. But what dyd God? came not both their vowes to like effect?

Franciſcus de Spiera. King of Nauarre. Henry Smyth. D. Sharton. The end of Gardiner. John de Roma. Twyford. Balyfe of Crowland. Suffragan of Douer. D. Dunning. D. Geffray. Berry. Poncher Archb. Creſcentius. Card. Rockwod. Latomus. Guarlacus. Eccius. Thornton. Panyer. Longe. Bomelius, all profeſſors of Popery.

The examples of ſuch as reuolted from the Goſpell to Papiſtry, be not many: but as fewe as they were, ſcarſe can any be found which began to turne to the Pope, but the Lord began to turne from them, and to leaue them to their ghoſtly enemie: As we haue heard of Franciſcus Spiera, a Lawyer in Italie, of the Kyng of Nauarre in Fraunce, of Henry Smyth and Doctor Sharton in England, with other in other Countreys mo, of whom ſome dyed in great ſorow of conſcience, ſome in miſerable doubt of their ſaluation, ſome ſtriken by Gods hand, ſome driuen to hang or drowne them ſelues.

The ſtinkyng death of Steuen Gardyner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the Bayliffe of Crowland: The ſuddayne death of the Suffragane of Douer, of Doctour Dunnyng, of Doctour Geffray, of Berry the Promoter: The miſerable and wretched ende of Poncher Archbiſhop of Towers, of Cardinall Creſcētius, Caſtellanus: The deſperate deceaſe of Rockwode, of Latomus, of Guarlacus: The earthly endyng of Henry Beauforde Cardinall of winchester, of Eckius, of Thornton called Dicke of Douer: The wylfull and ſelfe murder, of Panyer, of Richard Long, of Bomelius, beſides infinite other: The dreadful takyng away and murren of ſo many perſecutyng Biſhops, ſo many bloudy Promoters, and malicious aduerſaryes, in ſuch a ſhort tyme together with Queene Mary, and that without any mans hande, but onely by the ſecret working of Gods iuſt iudgement.

To adde to theſe alſo the ſtinkyng death of Edmund Boner, commonly named the bloudy Biſhop of London: who, not many yeares ago, in the tyme & raigne of Queene Elizabeth, after he had long feaſted and banketted in Durance at the Marſhalſee, as he wretchedly dyed in his blind Popery, ſo as ſtinkyngly, and as blyndly at mydnyght was he brought out and buryed in the outſide of al the citie amongeſt theeues and murderers, a place right conuenient for ſuch a murderer: with confuſion and deriſion both of men and chyldren, who trampling vpon his graue, wel declared how he was hated both of God and man. What els be al theſe (I ſay) but playne viſible argumentes, teſtimonies, and demonſtrations euen from heauen againſt the Pope, his murderyng Religion, and his bloudy doctrine? For who can deny their doinges not to be good, whoſe end is ſo euil? If Chriſt byd vs to know men by their fruits, and eſpecially ſeeing by the end al thynges are to be tryed, how can the profeſſion of that doctrine pleaſe God, which endeth ſo vngodly? Eſaias chap. 50. propheſying of the ende of Gods enemies, which would nedes walke in the light of their owne ſettyng vp, and not in the light of the Lords kindlyng, threatneth to them this final malediction: In doloribus (ſaith he) dormietis, i. In ſorowe ſhall you ſleepe. Let vs nowe take a ſuruey of all theſe perſecuters, which of late haue ſo troubled the earth (and almoſt haue burned vp the world with fagots and fire, for maintenance of the Popes Religion) and ſee what the end hath ben of them that are nowe gone, and whither their Religiō hath brought them, but eyther to deſtruction, or deſperatiō, or confuſion and ſhame of lyfe. So many great Doctours and Biſhoppes haue cryed out of late ſo mightyly agaynſt prieſts mariage, and haue they not, by Gods iuſt iudgment workyng their confuſion, ben detected them ſelues and taken the moſt part of them in ſinfull adultery, and ſhamefull fornication? Cardinall Joannes Cremenſis the Popes Legate here in England, after he had ſet a law that prieſts ſhould haue no wyues, was he not the next day after, beyng taken with his whores, driuen out of London with confuſion and ſhame enough, ſo that afterwarde he durſt not ſhewe his face here any more? Beſides the two Biſhops in the late Councell of Trent, moſt ſhamefully taken in adulterie, mentioned before. Alſo beſides innumerable other like forreyne ſtoryes, which I let paſſe, to come now to our owne domeſticall examples. I coulde well name halfe a ſcore at leaſt of famous Doctours, and ſome Byſhops, with their great Maiſters of Popery, who in ſtandyng earneſtly againſt the mariage of Prieſtes, haue afterward bene taken in ſuch diſhoneſt factes them ſelues, that not onely they haue caryed the publike ſhame of adulterous lecherers, but ſome of them the markes alſo of burnyng fornication with them in their bodyes to their graues. Whoſe names although I ſuffer here to be ſuppreſſed, yet the examples of them may ſuffice to admoniſh all men that be wiſe, and which wyl auoyd the wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

Eſay. 50.

Page. 102.

A ſecret note of Papiſtes which haue bene great cryers out of Prieſtes mariage, and them ſelues after taken in open adultery.

Compariſon betweene the end of Popiſh perſecutors and the Goſpellers.

And thus hauyng hitherto recited ſo many ſhamefull lyues and deſperate endes of ſo many popiſhe perſecutours ſtriken by Gods hand: now let vs conſider agayne on the contrary ſide the bleſſed endes geuen of almighty God vnto them, which haue ſtand ſo manfully in the defenſe of Chriſtes Goſpel, and the reformation of his Religion, and let the papiſtes them ſelues here be Judges. Firſt what a peaceable and heauenly end made the worthy ſeruant and ſingular Organe of God M. Luther?

The godly end of the Goſpellers to be noted.

To ſpeake likewiſe of the famous John Duke of Saxonie and Prince Electour, of the good Palſgraue, of Philip Melancthon, of Pomeranus, Vrbanus Rhegius, Berengarius, of Vlricus Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Pelikanus, Capito, Munſterus, Joannes Caluinus, Petrus Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Joan. Muſculus, Bibliander, Geſnerus, Hofman, Auguſtinus Marlozatus, Lewes of Bourbon Prince of Condy, and his godly wyfe before hym, with many moe, whiche were knowen to be learned men, and chiefe ſtanderdes of ẏ Goſpel ſide agaynſt the Pope, & yet no man able to bring forth any one example eyther of theſe, or of anye other true Goſpeller, that eyther kylled hym ſelfe, or ſhewed forth any ſignification or appearaunce of deſpayre, but full of hope and conſtant in fayth, and repleniſhed with the fruite of righteouſnes in Chriſt Jeſu, ſo perioded they their lyues in quiet peace vnto the Lord.

The bleſſed end of K. Edward vj. The pacient end of the Duke of Somerſet the kynges vncle.

From theſe Forreyners, let vs come nowe to the Martyrs of Englande, and marke likewiſe the ende both of them, and ſemblably of all other of the ſame profeſſion. And firſte to begynne with the bleſſed and heauenly departure of Kyng Edwarde the ſixte, that firſte put downe the Maſſe in Englande, and alſo of the lyke godly ende of his good Vncle the Duke of Somerſet, whiche dyed before hym, with an infinite number of other priuate perſons beſides of the like Religion, in whoſe finall departyng, no ſuche blemiſhe is to be noted lyke to the deſperate examples of them aboue recited: Let vs nowe enter the conſideration of the bleſſed Martyrs, who although they ſuffered in their bodyes, yet reioyced they in theyr ſpirites, and albeit they were perſecuted of men, yet were they comforted of ẏ Lord with ſuch inward ioy and peace of conſcience; that ſome writyng to their frendes, profeſſed they were neuer ſo merye before in all their lyues, ſome leapte for ioye, ſome for triumphe woulde put on their Scarfe, ſome their weddyng garment goyng to the fire, other kiſſed ẏ ſtake, ſome embraced ẏ fagots, ſome clapt their handes, ſome ſong Pſalmes, vniuerſally they all forgaue, & praied for their enimies, no murmuring, no repining was euer heard amongeſt thē, ſo that moſt truly might be

The quyet and ioyfull end of the Martyrs.

verified in them, which their perſecuters were wont to ſing in their hymnes.

Cæduntur gladijs more bidentium.
Non murmur reſonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conſcia,
Conſeruat pacientiam. &c.

Two ſpeciall notes of the true Church of Chriſt.

Briefly, ſo great was their pacience, or rather ſo great was Gods ſpirit in them, that ſome of them in the flamyng fire moued no more, then the Stake whereunto they were tyed. In fine, in them moſt aptly agreed the ſpeciall tokens whiche moſte certaynely folowe the true chyldren of God: that is, outward perſecution, and inward comfort in the holy Ghoſt. In the worlde (ſaith Chriſt our Sauiour) ye ſhall haue affliction, but in me ye ſhal haue peace. &c.

Outward affliction & peace of conſcience.
2. Timoth. 3.

And likewiſe the wordes of Saint Paull be playne: Who ſoeuer (ſaith he) ſtudyeth to lyue godly in Chriſt, ſhal ſuffer perſecution. &c.

2. Cor. 1.

But then what foloweth with this perſecutiõ, ẏ ſaid Apoſtle againe thus declareth, ſaying: As the paſſions of Chriſt abound in vs: ſo aboundeth alſo our conſolation by Chriſt. &c. accordyng as by the examples of theſe godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceyue. For as their bodyes outwardly lacked no perſecutions by the handes of the wicked: ſo amongeſt ſo many hundredes of them that ſtode and dyed in this Religion, what one man can be brought forth, whiche eyther hath bene founde to haue kylled hym ſelfe, or to haue dyed otherwiſe then the true ſeruaunt of God, in quiet peace and muche comfort of conſcience?

The wretched end of Papiſtes giue teſtimonie againſt their owne doctrine.

Whiche beyng ſo, what greater proofe can we haue to iuſtifie their cauſe and doctrine agaynſte the perſecutyng Church of Rome, then to beholde the endes of them both: Firſte, of the Proteſtantes, howe quietly they toke their death, and chearefully reſted in the Lord: and contrarywiſe to marke theſe perſecuters, what a wretched end commonly they doo all come vnto.

Admonition to perſecutours which yet remaine alyue.
The end and death of Edmund Boner.

Experience wherof we haue ſufficient in the examples aboue declared: and alſo of late in Boner, who albeit he dyed in his bed vnrepentant, yet was it ſo prouided by God, that as he had bene a perſecuter of the light, and a chylde of darkenes, ſo his carkaſe was tumbled into the earth in obſcure darknes at mydnight, cõtrary to the order of al other Chriſtians: and as he had bene a murderer, ſo was he layd amonges theues & murderers, a place by Gods iudgmẽt rightly appoynted for hym.

And albeit ſome peraduenture that haue bene notable perſecutours in tyme paſt, doo yet remayne alyue, who beyng in the ſame cauſe as the other were, haue not yet feale the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them thinke, that becauſe the iudgement of God hath light ſooner vppon other, therefore it wyll neuer light vppon them: or becauſe God of his mercy hath graunted them ſpace to repent, let not them therefore of Gods lenitie buyld to them ſelues an opinion of indemnitie. The bloud of Abel cryed long, yet it wrought at length. The ſoules of the Saintes ſlayne vnder the altar, were not reuenged at the firſt. Apocal. 6. but reade forth the Chapter, and ſee what folowed in the ende. Bloud, eſpecially of Chriſtes ſeruaunts, is a perilous matter, and cryeth ſore in the eares of God, and wyl not be ſtylled with the lawes of men.

God maketh the perſecutors of his people commonly to bee their owne perſecutours.

Wherfore let ſuch bloud gyltie homicides beware, if not by my counſell, at leaſt by the examples of their felowes. And though Princes and Magiſtrates, vnder whoſe permiſſion they are ſuffered, doo ſpare their lyues, let them not thinke therefore (as ſome of them ſhame not to ſay) that man hath no power to hurt them, and ſo thinke to eſcape vnpuniſhed, becauſe they be not puniſhed by man, but rather let them feare ſo much the more. For oftentymes ſuch as haue bene perſecutours and tormentours to Gods chyldren, God thinketh them not worthy to ſuffer by man, but either reſerueth them to his owne iudgment, or els maketh them to be their owne perſecuters, & their own handes moſt commonly hangmen to their owne bodyes.

Saul murderer of him ſelfe.

So Saul after he had perſecuted Dauid, it was vnnedful for Dauid to purſue hym agayne, for he was reuenged of hym more then he deſired.

Achitophell murtherer of hym ſelfe.

It was nedeleſſe to cauſe Achitophell to be hanged, for he hym ſelfe was the ſtyfeler or ſtrangler of his owne lyfe.

Iudas murderer of hym ſelfe.

Neyther for the Apoſtles to purſue Iudas that betrayed their Maiſter, for he hym ſelfe was his owne hangman, and no man els, that his bodye bruſt, and his guttes braſt out.

Senacherib murdered of his own ſonnes.

Senacherib, had he not for his perſecutours his owne ſonnes, and coſt Ezechias nothing to be reuenged of him for his tyrannie.

Herode and Antiochus murdered by lyſe.

Antiochus and Herode, although the chyldren of God whom they ſo cruelly perſecuted, layd no hand vpon them, yet they eſcaped not vnpuniſhed of Gods hande, who ſent Lyſe and wormes to be their tormenters, which conſumed and eate them vp.

Pilate murderer of him ſelfe.

Pilate, after he had crucified Chriſte our Sauiour, within fewe yeares after was he not driuen to hang hym ſelfe?

Nero murderer of him ſelfe.

Nero, after his cruell murders and perſecutions ſtyrred vp agaynſte the Chriſtians, when he ſhoulde haue bene taken by the Romanes, GOD thought hym not ſo worthy to be puniſhed by the handes of them, but ſo diſpoſed the matter, that Nero hym ſelfe when he could finde no frende nor enemie to kyll hym, made his owne handes to be his owne cutthrote.

Diocleſianus and Maximinianus Emperours depoſed them ſelues.

Diocleſianus, with Maximinian his felow Emperour which were the authours of the tenth and laſt perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, beyng in the myddeſt of their furious tyrannie agaynſt the name of Chriſte, neded no mans helpe to bridle them and plucke them backe: for God of his ſecret iudgement put ſuch a ſnaffle in the mouthes of theſe tyrants, that they them ſelues of their owne accord depoſed and diſpoſſeſſed them ſelues of their imperiall function, and lyued as priuate perſons all their lyues after: And notwithſtandyng ẏ Maximinian after that ſought to reſume his Imperiall ſtate agayne, yet by Maxentius his ſonne he was reſiſted, and ſhortly after ſlayne.

Maximinus eaten vp with lyſe.

What ſhoulde I here ſpeake of the cruell Emperour Maximinus, who when he had ſet forth his Proclamation engrauen in Braſſe, for the vtter aboliſhyng of Chriſt and his Religion, was not puniſhed by man, but had Lyce & vermyne guſhyng out of his entrals, to be his tormenters, with ſuch a rotting ſtinch layd vpon his body, that no Phiſitions could abyde to come neare, & were cauſed to be ſlaine for the ſame. pag. 82.

Maxentius, and K. Pharao both drowned in their owne harnes.

Maxentius the ſonne of Maximinian, & Pharao kyng of Egypt, as they were both like enemies agaynſt God and his people, ſo dranke they both of one cup, not periſhyng by any mans hand but both in like maner after were drowned with their harneys in the water.

Achaz.
Achab.
Ieſabell.
Manaſſes.
Ioachim.
Sedechias puniſhed of God for their perſecutions.

Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kynges among the Iewes, whiche were bloudye and wicked, were not ſpared, as Achaz, Achab, Ieſabell, Manaſſes, Ioachim, Sedechias, with many other, but had at length, although it was long, the hyre of their iniquitie: let not theſe bloudy Catholiques then thinke, whiche haue beene perſecutours of Chriſtes Saintes, that they beyng in the ſame cauſe as the other were aboue recited, ſhall eſcape the ſame iudgement, whiche the longer it is deferred, the ſorer many tymes it ſtriketh, vnleſſe by due repentaunce it be preuented in tyme: which I pray God it may.

The murdering mother Church with her bloudy children admoniſhed.
Eſay. 1.
Eſay. 1.

Innumerable examples moe to the ſame effecte and purpoſe might be inferred, whereof plentifull ſtore we haue in all places, and in all ages of men to be collected. But theſe hitherto for this preſent may ſuffice, which I thought here to notifie vnto theſe our bloudy chyldren of the murderyng mother Churche of Rome, of whom it maye well be ſayde: Manus veſtræ plenæ ſunt ſanguine. &c. Your handes be full of bloud. &c. Eſay Chapt. 1. to the intent that they by the examples of their other felowes before mentioned, may be admoniſhed to folowe the Prophetes counſell, which foloweth and byddeth: Lauamini, mundi eſtote. &c. Be you waſhed, and make your ſelues cleane. &c. Eſay 1. and not to preſume too farre vpon their owne ſecuritie, nor thinke them ſelues the further of from Gods hand, becauſe mans hand forbeareth them.

What the lawes of this Realme could ſay againſt the perſecutors in Q. Maryes tyme.

The nature of the church is not to perſecute with bloud.

I knowe and graunt, that man hath no further power vpon any, then God from aboue doth geue. And what the lawes of this Realme could make agaynſt them, as againſt open murderers, I wyll not here diſcuſſe, nor open that I could ſay (becauſe they ſhal not ſay that we deſire their blood to be ſpylled, but rather to be ſpared:) but yet this I ſay, & wiſh thẽ wel to vnderſtand, that the ſparyng of their liues which haue bene murderers of ſo many, is not for want of power in magiſtrates, nor for lacke of any iuſt law agaynſt thẽ, wherby they might iuſtly haue ben condẽned, if it had ſo pleaſed the magiſtrates to procede (as they might) againſt thẽ: but becauſe almighty God peraduenture of ſome ſecret purpoſe hauyng ſome thing to doo with theſe perſecuters, hath ſpared them hytherto, not that they ſhould eſcape vnpuniſhed, but that peraduenture he wyl take his own cauſe in his own hand, eyther by death to take them away (as he dyd by Boner, and by al Promoters in a maner of Queene Maryes tyme) or els to make them to perſecute thẽ ſelues with their owne handes, or wyl ſtyrre vp their conſcience to be their owne confuſion, in ſuch ſort as the church ſhal haue no neede to lay handes vpon them.

Wherfore with this ſhort admonition to cloſe vp ẏ matter, as I haue exhibited in theſe hiſtories ẏ terrible endes of ſo many perſecuters plagued by Gods hand: ſo woulde I wiſh all ſuch, whom Gods lenitie ſuffereth yet to liue, thus wiſely to ponder with thẽ ſelues, that as their cruell perſecution hurteth not the ſaints of God, whom they haue put to death: ſo the pacience of Chriſtes church ſuffryng them to lyue, doth not profite them, but rather heapeth the great iudgement of God vppon them in the day of wrath, vnleſſe they repent in tyme, which I pray God they may.

¶ An Oration of I. H. to the Queenes maieſtie, and deliuered to her maieſtie by a certayne Noble man, at her firſt entrance to her raigne.

¶ To the noble Queene Elizabeth.

ALbeit there be innumerable gyftes & benefites of almighty God, wherof euery one would wonderfully comfort any perſon, on whõ it ſhould pleaſe his goodnes to beſtow it: yet is none of them either ſeparate by it ſelf, or ioyned with any other, or yet al myngled together, to be compared with this one: that it hath pleaſed God of his mercye to deliuer this Realme our countrey from the tyrannie of malicious Mary, and to commyt it to the gouernment of vertuous Elizabeth. For if a man had al the treaſure of Salomon, & might not be ſuffered to haue the vſe therof: in what better caſe were he thẽ miſerable Tantalus, ouer whoſe head ẏ apples continually hong, yet beyng hunger ſterued, could he neuer touch them? If a man had as ſtrong a body as had Sampſon, and beſides were as whole as a fiſhe, as the prouerbe is, yet if he were kept in bandes, what ſhould it auaile hym? yea rather, if it be wel conſidered, it is a hurt to hym, if continuance of torments and paynes may be a hurt.

Great beauties and treaſures do nothing profit, where the vſe of them can not be enioyed.

If a man had as many chyldren as had Gedeon the Iudge, and might not be ſo ſuffred to bryng them vp in the feare of God, and good knowledge and maners: had he not bene more happy to be without them, then to haue them? If a man had as muche knowledge of God as had Saint Paul, and durſt not profeſſe it openly with mouth, as he is commaunded, but for feare of death ſhoulde declare the contrarye in dede, ſclaunder the worde of God, and denye Chriſte, which is forbydden, ſhoulde it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation, then otherwiſe?

And to be ſhort, if any one man had all theſe gyftes together, or generally all the gyftes of Fortune, the bodye, the mynde, and of grace, yet if he mought not haue the vſe of them, what ſhould they profite hym? Verily nothyng at all. For felicitie is not in hauyng, but in vſing, not in poſſeſſing, but in occupying: not in knowledge, but in doynge.

Felicitie not in hauing but in vſing.

But alas, our naturall Mother Englande, whiche hath bene counpted to be the ſureſt, the richeſt, and of late alſo the moſte godly Nation of the earth, hath bene theſe whole fiue yeares moſte violently by Tyrantes forced to lacke the vſe of all the gyftes and benefites that GOD and nature hath endued her. Her naturall and louyng chyldren coulde not be ſuffered to enioye their right inheritaunce, whereby they might releue and ſuccour her or them ſelues: but what ſoeuer they had, was eyther by open force or by craftye dealyng pulled from them. And ſurely this had bene tollerable, if none other miſchiefe had bene therwith intended.

He is a gentle theefe (if theeues may be counted gentle) that onely robbeth a man of his goodes, and refrayneth violent handes from his parſon. For ſuch loſſe with labour and diligence may be recouered. He may be called a mercyfull murtherer, that onely kylleth the aged Parentes, and vſeth no force on the chyldren.

For nature hath made all men mortall, and that in ſhort ſpace, and to kyll the parentes, is as it were but a preuention of a ſhort tyme, if it were to the vttermoſt enioyed. But theſe Tyrantes were more vngentle then common theeues, more emptye of mercye, then common murtherers. For they were not onely not contented to haue the goodes of the people, but they would haue it deliuered to them by the owners owne handes, that it might be ſayd to the world, they gaue it with the hart: and were not therwith pleaſed, but they would haue their lyues, that they ſhould not bewraye them, and yet herewith they were not ſatiſfied, but they meant to root out the whole progenie and nation of Engliſh men, that none ſhoulde be left to reuenge or crye oute on their extremities, and to bryng our Contrey into the Spaniardes dominion.

Wicked practiſes of moſt cruell Tyrantes.

It is an horrible crueltie for one brother to kyll another, much more horrible for the chyldren to lay violent and murtheryng handes on their parentes, but moſt horrible of al to murther the chyldren in the ſight of the parentes, or the parentes in the ſight of their chyldren, as theſe moſt cruell tormenters haue done.

But what doo I ſtande in theſe thynges which haue ſome defence, becauſe the Turkes perchance vſe ſo to doo, and Ethyophes kyll one an other, to make Sacrifice of men to their phantaſtical Gods?

It was not enough for theſe vnnaturall Engliſh tormentours, Tyrantes, and falſe Chriſtians, to be Lordes of the goodes, poſſeſſions, and bodyes of their brethren and Countrey men, but being very Antichriſtes and enemies of Chriſtes Croſſe, they would be Gods, and raigne in the conſciences and ſoules of men. Euery man, woman, and chyld, muſt deny Chriſt in worde openly, abhorre Chriſte in their dedes, ſclaunder his Goſpell with word and deed, worſhip and honour falſe Gods as they woulde haue thẽ, and them ſelues dyd, and ſo geue body and ſoule to the deuyll their maiſter, or ſecretly flee, or after inward torments to be burned openly. O crueltie, crueltie, farre exceedyng al cruelties committed by thoſe ancient and famous tyrantes and cruell murderers, Pharao, Herode, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Diocletian, Decius, whoſe names for their cruell perſecution of the people of God, and their open tyrannie practiſed on the people, haue ben, be, & euer ſhalbe in perpetuall hatred, & their ſoules in continuall torment in hel. If any man would take vpon him to ſet forth particularly all the actes that haue bene done theſe full fiue yeares by this vnnaturall woman: No, no woman, but a monſter, and the deuyll of hell couered with the ſhape of a woman, as it is moſt neceſſary for the glory of God, and the profite of his Church, and this Realme it ſhould be don, he ſhal find it a matter ſufficient for a perfect great Hiſtory, and not to be conteyned in an Oration, to be vttered at one tyme by the voyce of man. But to cõprehend the ſumme of all their wickednes in fewe wordes: behold, what ſoeuer malice in miſchiefe, couetouſnes in ſpoyle, crueltie in puniſhyng, tyrannie in deſtruction could doo, that al hath this poore Engliſh nation theſe ful fiue yeares eyther ſuffered already, or ſhould haue ſuffered, had not the great mercy of God preuented it.

Crueltie of late dayes, farre exceding all cruelties committed by the auncient and famous tyrauntes in tyme paſt.

And albeit there haue bene many that haue haſarded and loſt their lyues to ſhake of this moſt rough yoke, (wherwith this Virgin rather the Virgin as ſhe would be called and taken) boaſted her ſelfe to be ſent of God, to tyde and tame the people of England, albeit there haue ben many that haue gone about to looſe their brethren out of the yoke of this moſt miſerable captiuitie: and albeit ſome haue proued to breake the bandes of this moſt cruel tyrannie, yet could they neuer bryng to paſſe, that they ſo earneſtly labored, and ſo manfully attempted.

And it is nothyng to be wondred, let ẏ papiſtes boaſt therof what it pleaſeth them. For almighty God beyng a moſt indifferent gouernour, puniſhyng euyll, & rewardyng good, could not of his iuſtice ſuffer his ſcourge ſo ſone to be taken from this Lande, if he meaneth the ſaluation of the people, as moſt manifeſtly it appeereth he dyd. For hauing once geuen to this Realme the greateſt Iewel that might be, that is, the free vſe of his liuely word, which if they had imbraced and folowed, would haue refourmed al diſorders and ſinnes. Wherfore his wrath is kyndled and prouoked, the people nothing regarded it, but eyther vtterly contemned it, or abuſed it, and many made it a cloke and colour to couer their miſchiefe. So that if he ſhould ſodaynly haue withdrawen this plague, as tyrantes & euyl gouernors be the plague of God, they would neither haue paſſed on his iuſtice, nor yet ſhould they haue feale the ſweetnes of his mercy. For cõmonly the people regard but thinges preſent, and neither remember thynges paſt, nor yet paſſe on thinges to come, vnleſſe they be warned by exceedyng extremities.

Tyrantes and euell gouernours be the plague of God.

Beſides this it is moſt euident, that he had determined to make this noble conqueſt alone with his owne hande and mighty power, and would not that it ſhould be done by man, leaſt man ſhould impute any part of the glory of this victorye, to his owne ſtrength, or to his owne policie, or that Fortune ſhoulde ſeme to beare any ſtroke in ſo glorious conqueſt, and ſo be partaker in mens opinions of the triumph ſo worthy.

God worketh all thinges to his owne glory.

Neyther dyd his almighty power worke this when man would haue it diſpatched, that is aſſone as the enemies began to gather their force, for it is not ſo great a victory to diſcomfit a few diſperſed people, as it is to deſtroy a perfectly vnited army, but he ſuffred them to make their force as great as was poſſible to worke what ſoeuer miſchiefes by ſpoyle, baniſhment, priſonment, hangyng, hedyng, burnyng, or otherwiſe could be imagined.

Neither would his moſt prouident wiſedome doo it out of ſeaſõ: but as ẏ good huſbãdmã doth not crop his tree, tyl it haue rendred his fruite: ſo would he not race out this peſtilent tyrannies, tyll the moſte profite might be taken thereof.

When he had geuen ſufficient leyſure to all kynde of men, to declare them ſelues, who were Crocodyles, ſometyme lying in water, ſometyme on land, that is, both Goſpellers and Papiſtes. Who were Sponges, ſuſpected whether they had lyfe, or no lyfe: whether they were Chriſtians or Epicures: who were Chameleons that could turne them ſelues into al colours, with Proteſtants Proteſtantes: with Papiſtes Papiſtes: with Spaniardes, Spaniardes: with Engliſhe men, Engliſhe men: who were Gnatoes that could apply them ſelues to euery mans appetite that was in authoritie: who were Marygouldes, that folowed Maryes madde affections: who were weather Cockes that dyd turne with euery wynd: who were Maſtyues, that could byte, and barke not: who were Curres euer barkyng: who wer Foxes that would promiſe much, and perfourme nothyng: who could bynde them ſelues with many othes, and doo cleane contrarye: who were Caynes that ſought the innocent Abels death: who were the woulfes that werryed the Lambes: and finally when he had ſuffered the ſpirituall ſhauelynges to ſpue out their venome, and euery man playnely to declare outwardly, what he was inwardly: then doth he worke this moſte victorious conqueſt. And with his workes ſeemeth playnely to ſay thus vnto vs: ye ſee, my people, what I haue done for you, not for your ſakes, which nothyng regarded the benefites that I moſt plenteouſly poured on you, and haue deſerued moſt greeuous puniſhment for your vnthankfulnes: but of myne infinite mercy, and for my gloryes ſake, which I wyll haue opened to all the world in theſe latter dayes, to the feare of euyl doers, & to the comfort of the wel doers. Prouoke no more my wrath, ye ſee what wyl folow it, be hereafter more prudēt & wiſe then ye were before. Ye may, if ye wyll, be more circūſpect in tyme to come, then ye haue ben in tyme paſt: ye may, if ye lyſt, put me to leſſe trouble, & keepe your ſelues in more ſafetie. I haue not only diſcouered myne, yours, & my lande of Englands enemies, & all the craftes, ſubtilties, & policies that haue ben, or may be vſed by thē, or any like hereafter, but I haue alſo taken away their head & captaine, and deſtroyed a great nūber of thē, that ye ſhould not be troubled with them, and ſome of thē haue I left, that ye may make them ſpectacles & examples to the terrour & feare of their poſteritie. Loue me, & I wyl loue you, ſeeke my honor and glory, & I wyl worke your cōmoditie & ſafetie: walke in my wayes & cōmaundements, & I wyl be with you for euer.

Affliction trieth men whether they be good or euell.

God plenteouſly poureth his benefites vpon vs, not for our ſakes, but of his infinite mercy, and for his glories ſake.

Surely if we conſider the wonderfull mercy that it hath pleaſed God to vſe towardes vs, in the deliuering of this realme & vs his people out of the handes of theſe moſt cruel tyrantes, as we can not but doo, vnleſſe we wyl declare our ſelues to be the moſt vnthankfull people that euer lyued, we muſt needes iudge it not onely worthy to be compared, but alſo farre to exceede the deliueraunce of the chyldren of Iſrael out of Egypt from the tyrannie of Pharao, and frō the powers of Holofernes and Senacharib. For it is not read, that eyther Pharao, or ẏ other two ſought any other thing, then to be Lordes of the goodes & bodyes of the Iſraelites, they forced them not to cōmit Idolatrie, and to ſerue falſe Goddes, as theſe Engliſh tyrantes dyd. But beſides, if we wyll note the wonderfull workes of God in handlyng this matter, we ſhal wel perceyue, that farre much more is wrought to his glory & to ẏ profite of his church & people, then perchance all men at the firſt doo ſee. For he hath not onely diſpatched the Realme of the chiefe perſonages and head of theſe tyrantes, but alſo as it were declareth, that he mynded not, that eyther they or their doynges ſhould continue. For albeit ẏ al actes done by tyrantes tyrannouſly, be by al lawes, reaſon & equitie, of no force, yet becauſe no diſputation ſhould folow on this, what is tyrannouſly don, & what is not tyrannouſly done, he hath prouided that this queſtion needeth not come in queſtiō. For he vtterly blynded their eyes, & ſuffred thē to build on falſe groūdes, which can no longer ſtande, then they be propped vp with rope, ſword, & fagot. For her firſt Parlamēt wherē they grounded & wrought a great part of their tyrānie, & wherein they meant to ouerthrow what ſoeuer king Edward had for ẏ aduauncemēt of goddes glory brought to paſſe, was of no force or authoritie. For ſhee perceiuyng that her enemies ſtomake could not be emptyed, nor her malice ſpued on ẏ people by any good order, ſhee cōmitteth a great diſorder. Shee by force & violence taketh frō the Cōmons their libertie, that according to ẏ ancient lawes & cuſtomes of the realme they could not haue their free election of Knightes & Burgeſſes for the parlament. For ſhee wel knew that if either chriſtiā men, or true Engliſh men ſhould be elected, it was not poſſible to ſucceede that ſhee intended. And therefore in many places diuers were choſen by force of her threates, meete to ſerue her malicious affections. Wherfore that parlament was no parlamēt, but may be iuſtly called a cōſpiracie of tyrantes & traytors. For the greater part by whoſe authoritie & voyces thinges proceded in that Court, by their actes moſt manifeſtly declared thē ſelues ſo, the reſt beyng both chriſtians & true Engliſh men, although they had good wils, yet not able to reſiſt or preuaile againſt the multitude of voyces & ſuffrages of ſo many euel falſe to God, & enemies to their countrey. Alſo diuers Burgeſſes being orderly choſen, & lawfully returned, as in ſome places ẏ people dyd what they could to reſiſt her purpoſes, were diſorderly & vnlawfully put out, and others without any order or law in their places placed. Doctor Taylor biſhop of Lincolne a chriſtiā Biſhop & a true Engliſh man, being lawfully & orderly called to the parlament, and placed in the Lordes houſe in his degree, was in his robes by violence thruſt out of the houſe. Alexander Nowell wyth two other, all three being being Burgeſſes for dyuers ſhyres and chriſtian men & true Engliſh men, and lawfully choſen, retorned, & admitted, were by force put out of the houſe of the Commons, for the which cauſe the ſame Parlamēt is alſo voyd, as by a Preſidēt of the parlament holden at Couentry in the. 38. yere of king Henr. 6. it moſt manifeſtly appereth. And the third Parlamēt called in the name of her huſband & of her euyl grace, wherein they would haue vndone, that her noble father & the Realme had brought to paſſe for ẏ reſtitution of the libertie of the Realme, & for extinguiſhment of the vſurped authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome, is alſo voyde & of none authoritie. For that the title & ſtyle of ſupreme head of the church of England, which by a ſtatute made in the. 35. yeare of the raigne of the ſaid king Henry, was ordeyned, that it ſhould be vnited & annexed for euer to the Imperiall crowne of this Realme, was omitted in the writs of ſummonyng. Wherefore as a woman can bryng forth no chyld without a man, ſo can not thoſe writs bryng forth good & ſure fruit, becauſe this part of the title whiche was ordeined by the Parlamēt for the forme to be alwayes vſed in the kinges ſtyle, was leaf out. For greater error is in lacke of forme, then in lacke of matter. And wher ẏ foundatiō is naught, there can nothing builded theron be good. There is no law ſpiritual nor tēporal, (as they terme thē) nor no good reaſon, but allow theſe rules for infallible principles. And if any man wil ſay, that it was in ẏ free choyſe, libertie, and pleaſure of the Kyng of this Realme and the Queene, whether they would expreſſe ẏ ſaid title in their ſtyle, or not, as that ſubtile Serpent Gardyner beyng Chancellor of the Realme, & trayterouſly ſendyng out the wryts of Parlament without the ſame ſtyle, perceyuyng he had ouerſhot hym ſelfe in callyng the Parlament, and hauing committed many horrible murthers and moſt miſchieuous actes, would haue excuſed it, as appeareth by a peece of the Statute made in the ſame Parlamēt, in the. 8. chap. and in the. 22. leafe, it may be iuſtly & truely anſwered, that they could not ſo doo. For albeit euery perſon may by law renounce his owne priuate right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the cōmon wealth or a third perſon.

Wonderfull is the mercy of God in deliuering this Realme from the tyranny of the Papiſtes.

The Papiſtes buildinges ſtand ſo long onely as they be propt vp with rope, ſword, and fagot.

Burgeſſes vnlawfully diſorderly and violently thruſt out of the Parlament houſe in Queene Maryes dayes.

The third Parlament in Q. Maries dayes, not orderly and formally called and therfore of none effect.

And this title & ſtyle more touched the cōmon wealth & Realme of England, then the king. For as I ſaid before, it was ordeyned for ẏ cōſeruation of ẏ libertie of ẏ whole realme, & to exclude ẏ vſurped authoritie of ẏ B. of Rome. And therfore no King or Queene alone could renoūce ſuch title: but it ought (if they would haue it taken away) be taken away orderly & formally by act of Parlament ſufficiētly called & ſummoned. For the natural & right way to looſe & vndo things, is to diſſolue thē by that meanes they were ordeined. And ſo it moſt manifeſtly appeareth that all their doynges frō the beginnyng to the end, were & be of none effect, force, nor authoritie: but al ẏ they haue don, hath bene meere tyrannie. O moſt maruelous prouidēce of almighty God, that alwayes & in all thynges doth that is beſt for the wealth of his people. O moſt mighty power, that ſo ſodenly ouerthroweth the counſelles of the wicked, and bringeth their deuiſes to nought. O infinite mercye, that ſo gently dealeth with his people, that he ſaueth them whō he might moſt iuſtly deſtroy. O moſt ioyfull, moſt merry, & neuer to be forgotten, Wedneſday, in which it hath pleaſed thee O God, to deliuer thy Church, this Realme, & thy people frō ſo horrible tyrannie. No tongue can expreſſe, no pen can endite, no eloquence can worthely ſet out, much leſſe exornate theſe thy maruelous doings. No no hart is able to render vnto thy goodnes, ſufficiēt thankes for ẏ benefits we haue receyued. Who could euer haue hoped this moſt ioyful tyme? Yea, who dyd not looke rather for thy moſt ſharpe viſitation, and vtter deſtruction of this Realme, as of Sodome, Gomorre, and Hieruſalem.

A ioyfull day.

But we ſee & fele good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than al mens ſinnes, and farre aboue al thy workes.

And albeit there is no Chriſtian and naturall Engliſhman, woman, or child, either preſent or that ſhall ſuccede vs, which is not or ſhalbe partaker of this moſt excedyng mercy and wonderfull benefite of almighty God, and therfore is bounde continually to prayſe and thanke him: yet there is not one creature, that is more bound ſo to do, then you noble Queene Elizabeth. For in this horrible tyranny & moſt cruell perſecution, your grace hath bene more hunted for, then any other. Diuers tymes they haue taken you, ſometyme haue had you in ſtrong hold, ſecluded from all libertie: ſometyme at libertie, but not without moſt cruell Gaylours cuſtody: and many tymes they determined, that without iuſtice ye ſhould be murthered priuily. They thought if your Grace had bene ſuppreſſed, they ſhould haue fully preuayled. If ye had bene deſtroyed, their doynges for euer ſhould be ſtabliſhed. If ye had bene takẽ out of the way, there were none left, that would or could vndoe, that they ordeined. But he that ſitteth on hygh, & laugheth at their madnes, would not ſuffer that the malicious purpoſes, moſt cruell deuiſed iniuſtice, ſhould haue ſucceſſe. He tooke vpon him the protectiõ of you. He onely hath bene your Ioſaba, that preſerued you from this wicked Athalia. He onely was the Ioiada, that deſtroyed this cruell Athalia. He onely hath made you Queene of this Realme, of ſteade of this miſchieuous Marana. No earthly creature can clayme any peece of thanke therfore, no mans force, no mans cõſell, no mans ayd hath bene ẏ cauſe therof. Wherefore the greater his benefites hath bene toward you, the more are you bounde to ſeeke his glory, and to ſet forth his honour. Ye ſee his power what he is able to do, he can alone ſaue, and he can deſtroy, he can pul downe, and he can ſet vp. If ye feare him and ſeeke to do his will, then will he fauour you, and preſerue you to the end frõ all enemyes, as he did kyng Dauid. If ye now fall frõ him, or iuggle with him, looke for no more fauour, thẽ Saule had ſhewed to him. But I haue a good hope, that both his iuſtice and benefites be ſo printed in your hart, that ye will neuer forget them, but ſeeke by all meanes to haue the one, and to feare to fall into the other. I truſt alſo your wiſedome will not onely cõſider the cauſes of this late moſt ſharpe viſitation, but alſo to your vttermoſt power endeuour to outroote them. And for aſmuch as beſides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleaſed his diuine prouidence to conſtitute your hyghneſſe to be our Debora, to be the gouerneſſe and head of the body of this Realme, to haue the charge and cure therof, it is requiſite aboue all thynges aswell for his glory and honour, as for your diſcharge, quietnes and ſafety, to labour that the ſame body now at the firſt be clenſed, made hole, & then kept in good order. For as if the body of man be corrupted and diſeaſed, he is not able to manage his thynges at home, much leſſe to do any thyng abroad: ſo if the body of a Realme, be corrupt and out of order it ſhall neither be able to do any thyng abroad, if neceſſitie ſhould require, nor yet proſper in it ſelfe. But this may not be done, with peecyng and patchyng, coblyng and botchyng, as was vſed in tyme paſt, whileſt your moſt noble father and brother reigned. For as if a man cut of one head of the Serpent Hidra, and deſtroy not the whole body many will grow in ſteade of that one, & as in a corrupt body that hath many diſeaſes if the Phiſicion ſhould labour to heale one part & not the whole, it will in ſhort tyme breake out a freſh: ſo vnleſſe the body of a Realme or cõmon wealth be cleane purged frõ corruption all the particular lawes and ſtatutes, that can be deuiſed ſhall not profit it. We neede no foreine examples to proue it, looke vpõ this Realme it ſelfe, it will playnly declare it. And as it is not inough to clẽſe the body from his corruption, but there muſt be alſo preſeruatiues miniſtred to keepe it from putrefaction: for naturally of it ſelfe it is diſpoſed to putrifie: ſo after the body of a Realme is purged, vnles there be Godly ordinaunces for the preſeruation therof ordeined & duely miniſtred, it will returne to the old ſtate. For this body which is the people, is vniuerſally naturally diſpoſed to euill, and ſaue compulſion will hardly do that is his duety. This muſt your Grace do if ye mynde the aduauncement of Gods glory, your owne quietnes and ſafetie, and the wealth of this your politicke body. And they be not hard to bryng to paſſe, where good will will vouchſafe to take to her a litle payne. The Realme will ſoone be purged, if vice & ſelfe loue, be vtterly condẽned. It wilbe in good ſtate preſerued, if theſe three thynges, Gods word truly taught and preached, youth well brought vp in Godly & honeſt exerciſes, & iuſtice rightly miniſtred may be perfectly conſtituted. And without this foundation let men imagine what it pleaſeth them, the ſpirituall houſe of God ſhall neuer be well framed, or builded, nor the publicke ſtate of your Realme well ordered. For in what body Gods word lacketh, the vnitie and charitie, that ought to be among the members therof, and which knitteth them together, is ſoone extincted. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good ſucceſſe be hoped: no more thẽ the huſbãdmã can looke for a good croppe where he ſowed no good ſeede. And where iuſtice is not truly and rightly miniſtred, there the more lawes and ſtatutes together be heaped, the more they be contemned. And ſurely if this thyng could not without excedyng charges be cõpaſſed, as God forbyd, that charges ſhould be weyed, be they neuer ſo great, where gods glory and the wealth of the Realme may be furthered: yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did kyng Dauid the father and kyng Salomõ his ſonne, employ to buyld the ſtony houſe of God? How much more charges ſhould a Chriſtian Prince employ, to buylde & ſet vp the lyuely houſe of God? But verely, I am fully perſwaded, that it ſhall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deale of ſuperfluous charges, whiche otherwiſe your Grace ſhalbe forced to ſuſtaine, ſhall thus be cleane cut away, and ſo your reuenewes by a meanes moſt profitable, and to no good perſõ hurtfull, encreaſed. Wherfore for Gods ſake noble Queene, let not the opportunitie now by God offered be by your Grace omitted. A Phiſitiõ cã in nothing ſomuch declare his good wil & cũnyng, nor purchaſe himſelfe ſo great eſtimation, as when he findeth his patient throughly ſicke and weakened, and doth reſtore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewiſe if a Prince ſhould deſire of God a thyng whereby he might declare the zeale, that he beareth to God, or whereby he might wynne fame and glory, he could deſire nothyng ſomuch, as to come into a ſtate corrupted, as this Realme of England at this preſent is, not to deſtroy it as did Cæſar, but to make it as dyd Romulus.

God preſerueth the innocent, and maketh fruſtrate the malicious purpoſes of the wicked.

An apt ſimilitude.

Three thinges which preſerue the good eſtate of a Realme or common wealth.

Charges not to be weyed, where Gods glory is to be furthered.

If your Grace cã bryng this to paſſe, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly: ye ſhall do more, then any of your progenitours did before you. All men ſhall confeſſe that you are not onely for proximitie of bloud preferred, but rather of God ſpecially ſent & ordeined. And as the Queene of Saba came frõ farre of, to ſee ẏ glory of kyng Salomõ, a womã to a man: Euen ſo ſhall the Princes of our tyme, come men to a woman, and kyngs marueil at the vertue of Queene Elizabeth. Thus ſhall we your ſubiectes, be moſt bounde to prayſe God, and to thinke our ſelues moſt happy, that being ſo ſodenly from the worſe, be forthwith preferred to the beſt: rid from extremeſt calamitie, and brought to the greateſt felicitie: & it ſhalbe beſides an example for al euill Princes to leaue their perſecutiõ of Chriſt in his members, to ceaſe frõ their tyranny, wherewith they cõtinually oppreſſe their poore ſubiectes. And ſo all people, not onely we of this your Realme: but of all other nations, ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to pray for your Graces health, and encreaſe of honour.

Certaine Cautions of the Authour to the Reader, of thynges to be conſidered in readyng this ſtory.

AMongeſt other eſcapes and ouerſightes in the Edition of this ſtory committed, part of them we leaue to thine owne gentle caſtigation gentle Reader: certaine other ſpecialties ther be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to giue thee warnyng as hereafter foloweth.

Firſt, when mention is made pag. 34. of Peters beyng at Rome & ſufferyng at Rome, folowyng certaine Authors: yet for ſomuch as other writers there be, & reaſons to proue that he was not at Rome, I deſire thee therefore that this my affirmation may not preiudice other mens iudgementes, if any ſee or can ſay further in that matter.

Cautions of the Authour to the Reader.

Touchyng the ſtory of the Turkes, where as I in folowing our Chriſtian Authors wrytyng of the Turkes, haue noted in ẏ pag. 712. Solymannus to be ẏ 12. Turke, after Ottomannus as they do all record: I haue founde ſince by the cõputatiõ of the Turkes ſet forth in the Table of their own deſcent, the ſayd Solymannus to be but the 11. Emperour of the Turkes: & this Solymannus his ſonne which now reigneth, to be but the twelfe. Which I thought here to ſignifie vnto thee, becauſe of their owne turkiſh prophecie noted in the pag. 746. leſt in conſtruyng of that Prophecy being in the ſame place expounded, thou be deceiued.

Item. 1116. where Maiſter George Blag is named to be one of the priuy chamber: here is to bee noted alſo that although he were not admitted as one of the priuie chamber yet hys ordinary reſort thether and to the Kynges preſence there, was ſuch, as, although hee were not one of them, yet was he ſo commonly taken.

Item, pag. 1317. in the ſtory of the Duke of Somerſet, where it is ſayd that at the returne of the Earle of Warwicke out of Norfolke there was a conſultation amongeſt the Lordes aſſemblyng them ſelues together in the houſe of M. Yorke. &c. agaynſt the Duke of Somerſet: here is to be noted that the commyng of the Lordes to the ſayd houſe of M. Yorke was not immediatly vpon the Duke of Northumberlandes returne, but firſt he went to Warwicke, and from thence after a ſpace came to the houſe aforeſayd.

Item, here is alſo to be noted touchyng the ſayd Duke of Somerſet, that albeit at his death relatiõ is made of a ſodeine fallyng of the people, as was at the takyng of Chriſt, this is not to be expounded as though I compared in any part the Duke of Somerſet with Chriſt.

And though I do ſomethyng more attribute to the cõmendation of the ſayd Duke of Somerſet, whiche dyed ſo conſtantly in his Religion, yet I deſire thee gẽtle reader, ſo to take it, not that I dyd euer meane to derogate or empeyre the martiall prayſe or factes of other men, whiche alſo are to be commended in ſuch thynges where they well deſerued.

Item, touchyng the ſame Duke of Somerſet, where the ſtory ſayth, pag. 1317. he was attaynted, read indited.

This N. Vnderwoode dwelleth now at Coton by Nunne Eaton, and Laurence in Nunne Eaton.

Item, pag. 1348. where mention is made of one Nicolas Vnderwode to be the betrayer of the Duke of Suffolke: ioyne with the ſayde Vnderwode alſo Nicolas Laurence, alias Nicolas Ethell keper of Aſtley Parke, who takyng vpon hym and promiſing to kepe the Duke, for ij. or three dayes vntill he might finde ſome meanes to eſcape, conueyed hym into an hollow tree, and after moſt traiterouſly betrayed hym.

Item, fol. 1348. in the ſtory of Syr Thomas Wiat there is alſo to be corrected, that where the ſtory ſayth that he was taken by Syr Clement Parſon, whiche was not ſo, nor he no ſuch Knight, amend it thus, that he firſt came to Clarentius beyng ſent vnto hym, and afterwarde yelded hym to Syr Morris Bartley.

Briefly and in generall, beſides theſe caſtigations aboue noted, if thou finde any other cõmitted in the printing hereof, gently I deſire the gentle reader, to beſtow a little paynes with thine owne hand to amend them.

¶ The Martyrdome of one Snel, burned about Richmond in Queene Maries tyme, omitted in the hiſtory.

The Martyrdome of one Snel by Richmond.

AT Bedaile a market towne in Yorkſhyre, were two men in the latter dayes of Queene Mary, ẏ one named Iohn Snel, and the other Richard Snel. Who beyng ſuſpected for Religion, were ſent vnto Richmond, where Doctor Dakins had commiſſion from the Byſhop of Cheſter to haue the examination of them.

This Doctor Dakins many tymes conferred with them, ſome tymes threatenyng fire and fagot if they would not recant, and ſomtymes flatteryng them with fayre fables if they would returne into the holy Catholicke Church. But they ſtode conſtantly to the ſure rocke Ieſus Chriſt, in whom they put their whole truſt and confidence, whiles at laſt beyng ſo long impriſoned that their toes rotted of, and the one of them could not go without crouches, they brought them to the Church by compulſion, where the one of them heard their abhominable Maſſe, hauyng a certayne ſumme of money geuen hym by the beneuolence of the people, and ſo departed thence: but the firſt newes that was heard of hym within ij. or iij. dayes was that he had drowned hym ſelfe in a riuer runnyng by Richmond called Swale.

Gods puniſhment vpon the Doctor that condemned Snel.

Immediatly after D. Dakyns geuyng ſentence that the other ſhould be burnt, came home to hys houſe and neuer ioyed after, but dyed. The commiſſary of Richmond named Bullings, preached at his burnyng, exhortyng hym to returne to the Church: but hys labor was in vayne, the cõſtãt martyr ſtanding ſtrõgly to the faith which he profeſſed.

Then beyng brought to the ſtake, whereunto he was tyed by a girdle of iron, there was geuen vnto him gunpouder and a little ſtrawe was layde vnder hys feete, and ſet round about with ſmall woode and tarre barrels, the fire was put in the ſtrawe, which by and by flamyng about hys head, he cryed thriſe together, Chriſt helpe me: In ſo much that one Robert Atkinſon beyng preſent, ſayd: hold faſt there and we will all pray for thee. Thus this bleſſed Martyr ended hys life.

¶ A ſtory of one Laremouth, omitted in the body of the ſtory.

ALbeit I am loth to inſert any thyng in thys booke which may ſeeme incredible or ſtraunge to ordinary workyng, for quarrellyng aduerſaries, which do nothing but ſpie what they may cauill: yet forſomuch as beſides other reporters the perſon is yet aliue, called Thorne a Godly miniſter, which heard it of the mouth of ẏ party hymſelfe, I thought therefore firſt for the incredible ſtraungenes therof, neyther to place this ſtory in the body of theſe Actes and Monumentes, and yet in ſome outcorner of ẏ booke not vtterly to paſſe it vntouched, for the reader to conſider it, and to credite it as he ſeeth cauſe. The ſtory is this.

The maruelous deliueraunce of one Laremouth.

There was on Laremouth, otherwiſe called Williamſon, Chapplayn to Lady Anne of Cleue, a Scottiſhman, to whõ beyng in priſon in Q. Maries tyme, it was ſayd as he thought, thee ſoundyng in his eare: ariſe and go thy wayes. Whervnto when he gaue no great hede at the firſt, ẏ ſecond tyme it was ſayd to hym agayne in the ſame wordes. Vpon thys as he fell to hys prayers, it was ſayd the third time likewiſe to hym, ariſe and go thy way, whiche was about halfe an houre after. So he ariſing vpon the ſame, immediatly a peece of the priſon walle fell downe, & as the officers came in at the outward gate of ẏ caſtle or priſon, he leapyng ouer the ditch eſcaped, & in the way metyng a certayne beggar, chaunged hys coate with hym, and commyng to the Sea ſhore, where he found a veſſell ready to go ouer, was taken in, and eſcaped the ſearch, which was ſtraitly layd for hym in all the countrey ouer.

¶ A litle ſhort Letter of William Hunter ſent out of priſon to his mother a litle before his Martyrdome, to be referred and placed in his ſtory, page. 1465.

A Letter of Wil. Hunter to his mother a little before his burning.

MOſt reuerent and louyng mother, after my moſt humble wiſe I haue me harty cõmẽded vnto you, deſiring you to pray vnto God moſt hartely for me, that I may haue his bleſſing and yours, the whiche I eſteeme more worth vnto me, then any worldly treaſure. In this preſent Letter you ſhall vnderſtand the cauſe of my writyng vnto you at this tyme, that I am in good health and proſperitie, as euer I was in this preſent lyfe. Wherfore I render thankes vnto almightie God for it, who alone is moſt worthy of all prayſe, truſtyng in God you be in health alſo. Furthermore I certifie you wherfore my father continueth here, to the intent to heare ſome Godly and ioyfull tidynges, both for ſoule and body, which I truſt it ſhalbe to your ſingular comfort and conſolation, and to the great reioyſing of all other of my frendes. Therfore I deſire you, gentle mother to admoniſhe my brother vnto a Godly life, with diligent attendaũce and to pray for me, conſidering his bounde duety, that God may by your faithfull prayer, ayde and ſtrength me in this my proſperous iourney and courſe, whiche I runne truſtyng to obtaine a crowne of euerlaſtyng lyfe, which doth euer endure.

No more vnto you at this tyme, but God preſerue you vnto euerlaſtyng lyfe. So be it.

¶ Concluſion of the worke.

AND thus to cõclude (good Chriſtian reader) this preſent tractatiõ not for lacke of matter, but to ſhorte rather the matter for largenes of ẏ volume, I here ſtay for this preſent tyme with further addition of more diſcourſe either to ouerweary thee with longer tediouſnes, or ouercharge the booke with lõger prolixitie, hauyng hetherto ſet forth the Actes & proceedynges of the whole Church of Chriſt, namely of the Church of England, although not in ſuch particular perfectiõ, that nothing hath ouerpaſſed vs, yet in ſuch generall ſufficiency, that I truſt not very much hath eſcaped vs, neceſſary to be knowen, touchyng the principall affaires, doynges, & proceedynges of the Church & Churchmẽ. Wherin may be ſene the whole ſtate, order, deſcent, courſe & continuaunce of the ſame, the increaſe & decreaſe of true religiõ, the creepyng in of ſuperſtitiõ, the horrible troubles of perſecutiõ, the wonderfull aſſiſtaũce of the almighty in mainteynyng his truth, the glorious cõſtãcie of Chriſtes Martyrs, the rage of enemies, the alteration of tymes, the traueiles & troubles of the Church, from the firſt primitiue age of Chriſtes Goſpell, to the ende of Queene Mary, and the begynnyng of this our gracious Queene Elizabeth.

Duryng the tyme of her happy reigne, which hath hetherto cõtinued (through the gracious protectiõ of ẏ Lord) the ſpace now of 18. yeares as my wiſh is, ſo I would, ẏ good will of ẏ Lord were ſo, ẏ no more matter of ſuch lamentable ſtories were offered to write vpõ. But how it is I cã not tell how, the elder the world waxeth, the lõger it cõtinueth, the nerer it haſteneth to his end, the more Sathã rageth: geuing ſtill new matter of writing bookes & volumes: In ſo much that if all were recorded & cõmitted to hiſtory, that within ẏ ſayd cõpaſſe of this Queenes reigne hetherto, hath happened in Scotland, Flaunders, Fraũce, Spayne, Germany, beſides this our owne hiſtory of England & Ireland, with other cõtries ioyned, I verily ſuppoſe our Euſebiꝰ or Polyiſtor Alexãder, which Pliny writeth of, would not ſuffice therũto.

But of theſe incidents & occurrentes hereafter more, as it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to geue grace & ſpace. In the meane tyme the grace of the Lord Ieſus worke in thee (gẽtle reader) in all thy ſtudious readings. And while thou haſt ſpace ſo employ thy ſelf to read, that by readyng thou mayſt learne dayly to know that may profite thy ſoule, may teach thee experience, may arme thee with pacience, and inſtruct thee in all ſpirituall knowledge more & more, to the perpetuall comfort, and ſaluatiõ in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord to whom be glory in ſecula ſeculorum. Amen.

¶ FINIS.

To the Chriſtian Reader.

Conſidering that a tyred trauailer deemeth it no ſmall part of pleaſure, by reſtyng and lookyng backe, to recount with hymſelfe the length of his iourney: alſo that other ſome by opportunitie and heigth of ſtandyng had rather vewe the the game by proſpect then by chace: eſpecially for that moſt men deſire to ſee that they heare, and remember that they read: for this (I ſay) and for that, well meanyng both to vſe of eye, and practiſe of the memory, it is thought both eaſie and profitable with no leſſe neceſſitie, ſo to deale with thee the Reader, as did ſometyme,

Ouid. Epiſt. pri.

returnd to Greece
Aliue from Troian fate
The worthy wightes, with frend, with neece
And euery che with his mate,
Who on a Table with ſome wyne
By finger drewe the coaſt
Of Troy, the bulwarkes, and the place
Of euery Princes hoaſt.

Wherefore I haue in a ſhort ſumme compriſed the whole, and brought the large courſe of this famous worke to a ſmall compaſſe, at the firſt ſight ſhewyng in a Table, as well to hym that hath peruſed the ſame as not, for the memory of the one, for the ſpeedy and certaine knowledge of the other, what doctrine it doth containe to inſtruction, what examples of hiſtory to imitation. And for that in doctrine men deſire either ſome open treatiſe which we call commonly cōmō place, either expoſitions of Scriptures baſtard or naturall, either the titles & ſubiect beyng ſet downe, to haue ſeuerally vnder his letter Alphabeticall what ſoeuer may be ſayd thereof or attributed vnto it: I haue of purpoſe laboured theſe three wayes, that nothyng might paſſe whiche my labour might atcheiue, or thy contentation might deſire. Which becauſe it might be ſtrengthened agaynſt two ſortes of aduerſaries the Popiſh Pagane, or Paganiſh Papiſt, who glory in antiquitie, boaſt in conſent or rather conſent in boaſtyng, I haue alſo collected the doctrine, rites, and diſcipline of the Primitiue Churche placed vnder the letter P. The Primit. Church I call whiche from the death of Chriſt reacheth ſix hundred yeares: collected, not fully but onely and ſo farreforth as is contained in this hiſtory. But becauſe not to haue, but to vſe is as requiſite (I ſpeake to them whiche are not altogether of a ſtayed iudgement) and for that in theſe our dayes men ſo labour to vſe it, yͤ with great zeale & knowledge they earneſtly frame thē ſelues to yͤ foreſayd platforme of the firſt, old, and auncient primit. Church: take this caueat of him albeit ſimple, which meaneth well, for a perfect rule, (if that thou doeſt intend to vſe this primit. Table accordyngly) that lawes generall are not grounded vpon commaundementes extraordinary, and particular exāples as they do not impayre, ſo alſo do they not grounde a doctrine generall. But it is not my habilitie and therfore not my purpoſe to geue preceptes of doctrine or example. Wherefore take this onely as pertinent to the matter, & in deede the purpoſed drift of this place, yͭ in ſearchyng for example of vertue, vice, pollicie, or other action what ſoeuer, yͤ readyeſt meanes to finde the ſame is to looke vnder the name of the partie, not the predicate, or the qualitie. And leaſt in this alſo thou ſhouldeſt wander at the firſt, looke vnder the ſyrname, not the proper which we cal Chriſtiā. So ſhalt thou at the firſt eaſely finde, which I in long tyme hardly haue ſought. Farewel in Chriſt.

R. Day.

A Table or Index, of the moſt notable thynges contained in this hiſtory, to the which the number of the page ſhall directly lead the Reader.

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